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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1956

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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BRIEFS

DEPARTING BULGARIAN ENVOY--Comrade Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on 3 December received Petur Danailov, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on a farewell visit in connection with end of his mission to our country. The ensuing talk took place in a cordial atmosphere. [AU071036 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Dec 81 p 5 AU]

ROMANIAN ENVOY TO ISLAMABAD--Mohammad Ziaul Haq, president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, on 3 December received the credentials of the new ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania to Islamabad, Constantin Burada. During the ensuing talk, the two sides expressed satisfaction with the upward trend of Romanian-Pakistani friendly relations and their determination to continue to develop them in the interests of their peoples and the cause of peace, detente, independence and progress throughout the world. [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Dec 81 p 5 AU]

ROMANIAN-CSSR EVENT--The CSSR economic agency in Bucharest gave a press conference on 3 December which was attended by representatives of the central press, of radio-television and the Romanian News Agency--AGERPRES. Miroslav Horak, commercial counselor at the CSSR Embassy in our country, stressed the main aspects of Romanian-CSSR economic cooperation and emphasized the possibilities for expanding and diversifying that cooperation in the interests of the two peoples. [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Dec 81 p 5 AU]

CSO: 2700/106

BULGARIAN PARTY ORGAN'S REPORTS ON POLAND

AU221157 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 21 December 1981 carried on page 5 several reports on recent developments in Poland and reaction to them abroad. The page opens with a 900-word TASS report: "Decisive Measures Adopted by the Military Council of National Salvation." It refers to a communique issued by the Polish Ministry of Interior and dispatched through PAP on the situation in the country, where according to the communique "martial law is being observed along general lines" and the "curfew has been shortened in certain areas," but in other areas and enterprises, "however, this measure cannot be adopted since subversive 'solidarity' elements continue to provoke unrest." The report mentions that "'solidarity' criminals are blackmailing the authorities in a Katowice mine and are threatening to cause an explosion." Basing itself on the Polish Radio and on TRYBUNA LUDU and ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, the report describes activities and statements by the KOS-KOR "anticommunists" Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, "who indefatiguably strive for the conflagration of fratricidal war in Poland in order to bring back capitalism." The rest of the report is devoted to Western reaction to Polish events, described as "actual interference in the country's domestic affairs." The report closes with a quotation from TRYBUNA LUDU: "Poland, however, is being gradually resurrected and is once more taking its worthy place in the fraternal family of the socialist community."

This report is followed by a 700-word BTA report from Warsaw, entitled "Life Normalizes," which describes improvements in the food supply and "restriction of the black market." This information is attributed to PAP and the Polish Radio. The BTA report cites an interview with the Polish minister of domestic trade on improvements in supplies and on "small Christmas presents prepared in the enterprises for the working people's children." It mentions improvements in coal production and the "general improvement of working discipline in enterprises and among the citizens," adding that "Warsaw citizens have gone out to clear the streets of snow." The report also mentions a meeting of the Democratic Party Presidium where "the political situation and economic conditions were discussed" and the "necessity of strictly observing the martial law regulations" was confirmed.

A 600-word report by Warsaw correspondent Angel Bonev entitled "Order and Calm Return" describes the situation in Warsaw and mentions cases of citizens' spontaneously expressing gratitude to the military and militia forces patrolling the streets. "Aktivists of party organizations in large Warsaw enterprises have voluntarily joined the military forces to assist them in maintaining public order," Bonev remarks. He cites the Polish Radio in reporting "street demonstrations in Gdansk

where some people have been injured," adding that "irresponsible people tried to create disorder in Warsaw, as well but--here--the public did not support them." Bonev mentions the discovery of "documents in the headquarters of the so-called 'Trade Union' and of metal sticks filled with a special gas, made in the West." Bonev adds in this respect: "The counterrevolution has prepared well for an armed attack against the government and only the resolute intervention of the army prevented it from implementing its bloodthirsty intentions. The counterrevolution still hopes to retrieve its losses."

Bonev closes his report by describing the miners, railroad workers and other working people's effort to increase production and adds that "certain collectives have voluntarily prolonged their working days by several hours in order to produce more goods." He notes that "discipline is systematically improving" and that "after so many days of chaos, anarchy and arbitrariness, reassuring and gratifying reports and news are more and more frequently reaching us."

The last report on this page of RABOTNICHESKO DELO is a 2,000-word dispatch from New York by correspondent Georgi Todorchev, entitled "The Policy of Double Standards," which refers to U.S. President Reagan's recent press conference on current world events. According to Todorchev this press conference revealed "the two-faced political and moral standards of the White House, the subjectivism of political leadership in the United States and its criteria in conducting that country's foreign and domestic policy." Todorchev cites Reagan stressing the necessity "to render psychological support to Poland" and adds that the President "threatened to permanently ban food supplies to the Polish population by distorting the goals and intentions of the present Polish Government." The Bulgarian correspondent adds in this connection: "The President considered it appropriate to address drastic accusation to the Polish Government for the measures adopted in order to normalize life in the country and he made obviously premeditated attempts to shift the 'responsibility' for events in Poland onto the Soviet Union with expressions, opinions and appeals which could easily be interpreted as interference in the domestic affairs of another country." Todorchev then describes statements by Richard Perle, U.S. deputy undersecretary of state for defense, who reportedly said that "If the situation in Poland develops beyond certain limits, the United States will discontinue its trade relations with the USSR and interrupt the SALT talks." Todorchev quotes the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR as saying that "It will depend on the level of resistance in Poland whether any measures against the Soviet Union should be adopted," and that "the Polish crisis may strengthen Reagan's position vis-a-vis Congress, when he demands an increase of military expenditures for 1983."

Todorchev adds that "political and ideological primitivism characterizes a number of official statements made these days in the United States." He quotes the WASHINGTON POST as noting "Reagan's attempts to blame the Soviets for the Polish crisis," and adds that "this actually fans anti-Polish and antisocialist hysteria among the monopolies' mass media." He further notes: "The screams of the emigres and extremists in this respect show an escalation since they have lost hope of bloodshed in Poland. It is a characteristic fact that the U.S. press passes over in silence, or plays down news and facts from Warsaw about a conspiracy against the government, and about the arming of subversive elements and their provocations, and that the U.S. press continues in editorials and commentaries to insinuate 'ideas' about sabotage and armed resistance against the government."
CSO: 2200/38

BRIEFS

PERUVIAN AMBASSADOR--On 14 December Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, received (Abraham Padelja Pendestu), Peruvian ambassador to Bulgaria, and gave a dinner in his honor in connection with his final departure from Bulgaria. [Text] [AU201510 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 14 Dec 81]

GEORGI KIRKOV SOCIETY SESSION--The Georgi Kirkov Society for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge closed its third national conference today. The participants were outstanding scholars, scientific workers, public figures and representatives of the mass media. They discussed the activities of lecturing propaganda and the results of the society's work during the 5 years that have elapsed since the last conference. The new republic conference of the society held a plenum at which a 19-member executive bureau was elected. Prof Nikola Stefanov, head of the BCP Central Committee Science and Education Department, was elected new chairman of the Georgi Kirkov Society. [Text] [AU201510 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 18 Dec 81]

STOYAN MIKHAYLOV AT EDUCATION MEETING--On 16 December a conference took place at the BCP Central Committee at which some urgent tasks of the professional training of the students springing from the decisions of the BCP Central Committee July 1979 plenum and the 12th BCP Congress, as well as from the postulates of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, worked out by the 24 October national conference were discussed. The conference was attended by secretaries of the BCP okrug committees, deputy ministers and first secretaries of the Komsomol okrug committees. Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary, chaired the meeting. Aleksandur Fol, minister of national education, spoke at the conference. [AU201510 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Dec 81]

LILOV IN VIDIN--On 17 December in Vidin, new and reconstructed shops of the city's chemical combine were commissioned. The celebration was attended by Comrade Aleksandur Lilov. [AU201510 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 17 Dec 81]

CEMA CONFERENCE IN SOFIA--A 3-day international conference organized by the Academy for Social Sciences and Social Management at the BCP Central Committee began in Sofia today. Bulgarian scientists-economists and their colleagues from the European member countries of CEMA are discussing the role of the economic mechanism in achieving the strategic trend in the economic policy of the socialist countries (?as related to the economy). [Text] [AU201510 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 15 Dec 81]

BOZHINOV IN VARNA--A conference of the Varna okrug party, state, economic and public aktiv was held today. Dimitur Popov, first secretary of the Varna okrug party committee, chaired the conference. Todor Bozhinov attended the conference and spoke about the tasks stemming from the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. He outlined the trends toward the socioeconomic development of the country during the Eighth 8-Year Plan and up to 1990 based on comprehensive intensification. Touching more precisely on the problems expected to be solved by the counterplans of the worker's collectives, Comrade Bozhinov emphasized that they must be elaborated on the basis of the further automation of the production processes, implementation of new technologies, thrifty use of the raw and processed materials and power supply, expansion of the raw and power supply base and full utilization of production capacities. [Text] [AU201510 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 16 Dec 81]

BOZHINOV IN MIKHAYLOVGRAD--Comrade Todor Bozhinov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, today met the Mikhaylovgrad Okrug Party Committee Bureau and the Okrug People's Council Executive Committee. Anastas Purvanov, first secretary of the okrug party committee, briefed Todor Bozhinov on the okrug's success in fulfilling its 1981 industrial plan. Todor Bozhinov spoke about the effectiveness of the counterplans, emphasizing that the worker collectives have to request detailed elaboration of these plans regarding the automation of production and for a program of reduced utilization of materials, fuels and manual labor. [AU201510 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Dec 81]

ZHIVKOV SPEECH TO STUDENTS--Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 8 December 1981 carries on pages 1 and 2 a 1,400-word report on a meeting of Sofia University students with members of the Politburo, headed by Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council. The report includes a brief, 300-word summary of Todor Zhivkov's address to the students congratulating them on their holiday and dwelling on the country's socioeconomic successes and on the share of Bulgarian youths in these achievements. The report closes with the following words: "Comrade Todor Zhivkov also dwelt on certain topical issues of the contemporary international situation," without giving further details on Zhivkov's foreign policy comments. [Editorial Report] [AU091720]

SENEGALESE VISITOR ARRIVES--At the invitation of the BCP Central Committee, (Oumart Dransoko) deputy secretary general of the Party of Independence and Labor of Senegal, arrived in Sofia today. He was welcomed at Sofia airport by Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, and by other officials. [Text] [AU061450 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 5 Dec 81]

FINNISH AMBASSADOR RECEPTION--Esko Kalevro Vaartela, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Finland in our country, gave a reception at the embassy in Sofia tonight, on the occasion of Finland's national holiday--the day of the proclamation of independence. The reception was attended by Comrade Petur Tanchev; Angel Balevski, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; members of the government; and heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Sofia. The reception proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. [Text] [AU081802 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 7 Dec 81]

BULGARIAN-CSSR TRADE PROTOCOL--A protocol on the trade exchange between Bulgaria and the CSSR was signed at the Ministry of Internal Trade and Public Services on 3 December. It envisages an increase in the supply of consumer goods to the internal markets during the coming year. [Text] [AU031458 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 3 Dec 81]

PEKO TAKOV IN VELIKO TURNOVO--On 6 December Peko Takov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the State Council, met the students and faculty of Veliko Turnovo's Kiril and Metodiy University and greeted them on 8 December--the day of Bulgarian students. [AU071031 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 6 Dec 81]

NEW U.S. AMBASSADOR--Robert L. Barry, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of America has arrived in our country. [Text] [AU051026 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Dec 81 p 2]

DELEGATION'S RETURN FROM AFRICA--The BCP Central Committee delegation, headed by Penka Astadzhova, member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the BCP Central Committee Organizational Department, has returned to our country. The delegation visited the People's Republic of Congo and the People's Republic of Benin from 17 through 29 November 1981 for an exchange of experiences in party-organizational work. A cooperation plan for the 1981-83 period was signed between the BCP and the Congolese Workers Party during this visit. [Text] [AU051026 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Dec 81 p 8]

STOYAN MIKHAYLOV ACTIVITIES--Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary, received a group of scientific workers from the Institute of Contemporary Social Theories, headed by Prof Radomir Bogdanov, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the United States and Canada Institute, and Prof Georg (Grassnig), head of the GDR Institute for Economies and Politics. The meeting proceeded in a cordial, comradely atmosphere. Stoyan Mikhaylov briefed his guests on the work of our scientific and ideological front in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. Rusi Kararusinov, director of the Institute for Contemporary Social Theories and by Emil Markov, head of the BCP Central Committee International Information Group, also attended the talks. [Text] [AU051026 Sofia RABOTNICKESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Dec 81 p 8]

BULGARIAN-GDR AGREEMENT--A cooperation plan between the Bulgarian painters' union and the GDR painters' union was signed in Sofia yesterday for the period of 1982. [Text] [AU051026 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Dec 81 p 6]

TODOR BOZHINOV IN VARNA--On 3 December Todor Bozhinov met the students of Varna's higher machine-electrotechnical school and spoke on the new tasks facing the scientific intelligentsia. [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 3 Dec 81]

DIPLOMATS IN SHUMEN OKRUG--On 3 December chiefs of diplomatic missions accredited in Sofia accompanied by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Shumen. They will spend 3 days in Shumen Okrug and visit sites related to Bulgaria's 1,300th anniversary as well as industrial plants. [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 3 Dec 81]

PEKO TAKOV AT MEETING--On 3 December in Sofia the day of Bulgaria's constitution was marked in a festive meeting which took place at the Ivan Vazov People's Theater. The meeting was attended by comrades Peko Takov, Petur Tanchev and other officials. [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Dec 81]

PENCHO KUBADINSKI AT RECEPTION--On 3 December Yigletu Ashagrie, Ethiopian ambassador to Bulgaria, gave a cocktail party in honor of the visiting Ethiopian delegation for the session of the joint Bulgarian-Ethiopian Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation. The cocktail party was attended by Comrade Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the Bulgarian side of the commission. [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 3 Dec 81]

STOYAN MIKHAYLOV RECEIVES PZPR GROUP--On 3 December Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov received the PZPR Central Committee press, radio and television department working group which is visiting Bulgaria. The working group was briefed on the activity of the Bulgarian mass media. [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 3 Dec 81]

LEADERS MEETINGS WITH STUDENTS--A meeting of students from the Karl Marx Higher Economic Institute with Comrade Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, was held at the Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia today. On the occasion of the students international holiday the students of the Mining-Geological Higher Institute met Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary. [Text] [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Dec 81]

LEADERS AT STUDENT'S CELEBRATIONS--Bulgarian leaders continued meeting students in Bulgaria in connection with their holiday. Thus Grisha Filipov met the students and teachers of the Dimitur Blagoev Higher Economic Institute in Varna. In his speech he emphasized the need for more fully implementing the scientific-technical achievements as well as the role of Bulgarian students in building a developed socialist society. Pencho Kubadinski met with the students of the Kliment Okhridski University in Sofia, and Stanko Todorov met the students of the Higher (?Chemical)-Technological Institute in Sofia. Geogri Yordanov greeted the students of the Prof Asen Zlatarov Higher Chemical-Technological Institute in Burgas and Petur Dyulgerov met the students in Blagoevgrad. [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Dec 81]

SPORTS COOPERATION WITH LIBYA--Sofia, 4 Dec (BTA)--The first protocol on cooperation in the field of physical culture and sports was signed here today by Bulgaria and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah. The protocol provides for exchange of experience between sports specialists and coaches in weightlifting, gymnastics on the apparatus, track-and-field, as well as in the field of mass sport at the industrial enterprises. The document also provides for cooperation in training the representative teams of the two countries, in the propaganda of the physical culture and sports. A Bulgaro-Libyan commission for sports cooperation is in the process of founding for the purpose. [Text] [AU051026 Sofia BTA in English 1352 GMT 4 Dec 81]

LILOV IN TURGOVISHTE--On 2 December Comrade Aleksandur Lilov, and the BCP okrug secretaries on ideological matters from northeastern Bulgaria took part in an expanded plenum of the BCP Turgovishte okrug organization, which dealt with the ideological work of the party and its role in forming the working people's working and sociopolitical activity. [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Dec 81]

TAKOV IN VELINGRAD--A conference organized by the Economic Tourist Association has been held in Velingrad. Peko Takov, chairman of this association and BCP Central Committee Politburo member, chaired the conference, which decided to take measures to meet the growing needs of the Bulgarian citizens. [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 3 Dec 81]

DZHUROV AT ANNIVERSARY MEETING--A festive meeting was held at the central club of the Bulgarian People's Army today to mark the anniversary of the Red Army victory against the German fascists near Moscow. Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense; Col Gen Kiril Kosev, head of the people's army main political administration; as well as deputy ministers of defense, generals and officers of the army; veterans of the great fatherland war; and many officials attended the meeting. Nikita Tolubeyev, ambassador of the USSR to Bulgaria, and military attaches of socialist countries accredited in Sovia also attended. Col Gen Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense, delivered an address on the heroism of the Soviet Army in this first defeat of major importance inflicted upon fascist Germany during World War II. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Dec 81 AU]

SOVIET DEPUTY MINISTER VISIT--Yevgeniy Stepanovich Matveyev, USSR deputy minister of the Heavy and Transport Machine Building Ministry, opened an exhibition in Sofia tonight, at which various machines and equipment used in the mining industry were displayed. Ilya Kharalambiev, deputy minister of the Bulgarian Ministry of Machine Building and Electronics [as heard], delivered a speech at the opening. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Dec 81 AU]

YAKHIEL VISITS FRANCE--A Bulgarian Communist Party study delegation headed by Central Committee member Niko Yakhiel visited France 23 through 28 November at the PCF's invitation. The delegation was informed of the PCF's activity in the cultural sphere. [Text] [PM091505 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 28 Nov 81 p 9]

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES OUTGOING PERUVIAN AMBASSADOR--Comrade Todor Zhivkov has received Mr Abraham [name indistinct] Tempesto, Peruvian ambassador to Bulgaria, in connection with his final departure from the country. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, also attended the talks.[Text] [AU081755 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 8 Dec 81]

CPSU DELEGATION VISIT--Ognyan Doynov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, received the visiting CPSU Central Committee working group headed by Viktor [as heard] Isayev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Construction Department. They held a cordial and comradely talk on problems of party leadership in industry, construction and building materials. The talk was attended by Stanoy Yonev, head of the BCP Central Committee Architecture and Construction Department. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Nov 81 AU]

BULGARIAN-ALGERIAN ENGINEERING COOPERATION--Algiers, 30 Nov (BTA)--A Bulgarian-Algerian protocol was signed here today on expanding Bulgarian-Algerian cooperation in mechanical engineering. At the talks held here between the representatives of the two countries the two sides agreed on cooperation in the manufacture of various machines and spares, in the electronics and electrical engineering, in mining, etc. The two sides also agreed on cooperation in some branches of the light industry. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1350 GMT 30 Nov 81 AU]

BCP DELEGATION TO FRANCE--At the invitation of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party a working group of the BCP Central Committee led by Niko Yakhiel, BCP Central Committee member, visited France from 23 to 28 November. The working group studied the work of the French communists with the intellectuals. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 1 Dec 81]

BCP DELEGATION TO PRAGUE--At the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee, a BCP Central Committee delegation headed by Comrade Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, left for Prague today. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Nov 81 AU]

BULGARIAN-CZECH PROTOCOL--A protocol on trade and payments in 1982 between Bulgaria and the CSSR has been signed in Prague. The protocol provides for an increase in the mutual exchange of trade by 9.8 percent as compared with 1981. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 Nov 81 AU]

TAKOV IN STARA ZAGORA--Comrade Peko Takov has attended a celebration in Stara Zagora upon presentation of the Georgi Dimitrov order to Velko Dimitrov, a former partisan leader. A letter from Todor Zhivkov to Velko Dimitrov was also read in which Zhivkov congratulated him on being awarded this high order. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Nov 81 AU]

BRITISH DELEGATION VISIT--Comrade Petur Tanchev received the delegation of the British members of parliament visiting Bulgarian headed by (Royster Hughs), chairman of the British parliament section for friendship with Bulgaria. The meeting was attended by Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council and by Jill Bullard, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United Kingdom to Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 27 Nov 81 AU]

CYPRIOT DEMOCRATIC PARTY DELEGATION--At the invitation of the Fatherland Front National Council, a delegation of the Cypriot Democratic Party led by (Gerakos Papadimitriou), member of the party Central Committee Politburo, arrived in Bulgaria on 29 November. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 29 Nov 81 AU]

CSO: 2200/36

WOMAN'S IMAGE IN SOCIALIST LITERATURE CRITICIZED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 166, 12 Nov 81 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "Criticism of Woman's Image in GDR Literature." A translation of the East Berlin SONNTAG article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] East Berlin's literary historian Karin Hirdina sees "good reasons" for a "socialist feminism" in view of woman's image as portrayed in the literature of the GDR during the last 2 to 3 years. In many books by male authors women are only "something like stepping-stones on the road of the hero." There is a predominance of the "cliche of the emotional and sentimental woman," and it seems that the image men have of women is an "almost biological concept," as if it were the "nature" of the woman to be compliant, sympathetic and compassionate, mother and responsible for all warmth and humaneness in life. Books by female authors "all too frequently" contain "nothing but the reversal of patriarchally colored images of men and women." Books are populated with "feeble, somewhat dopey men, nothing more than silhouettes that can hardly be taken seriously." "Against their will," women who had been victimized by excessive demands "betrayed the goal of their longings: to feel secure under the protection of these scorned men." In reality they did not want their "freedom" at all. (SONNTAG 45/81)

GDR Scholar's Critique

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 35 No 45, 8 Nov 81 p 4

[Summary of paper on 'The Women and the Literature of the GDR,' presented by Dr Karin Hirdina as main topic at Cultural League conference, sponsored by Central Commission on Literature, Leipzig, 6-7 November 1981: "The Difficulty of Saying I"]

[Text] The number of women writers in the GDR is remarkable. Anna Seghers and Christa Wolf--well, we have already grown accustomed to them, they are classics in our literature. But approximately since the middle of the 1970's many names have been added: Renate Apitz, Helga Koenigsdorf, Brigitte Martin, Beate Morgenstern, Doris Paschiller, Rosemarie Zeplin....The phenomenon is a sign of cultural progress: Progress in the emancipation of woman. And simultaneously: Never before has so much been written about the difficulties of this emancipation. By women themselves. A basic topic: the double burden on women between work and family. As has been

the case in the past, women still feel responsible for the (private) reproductive sphere--the responsibility in society's production sphere has been added.

Has emancipation--once an area of new promises of happiness--become a burden? Do we, perhaps, need a socialist feminism? If we only consider the literature of the last 2 or 3 years (and they are the topic of this discussion), it appears that there are good reasons for it when one looks more closely at the picture created by male and female writers. Example: Erwin Strittmatter's "Wundertaeter" [Miracle Worker] Volume III. I have only one objection to his book: With respect to the characterization of women, Strittmatter does not go beyond cliches. His Buedner is loved by several women, all of whom exist only in reference to him, the man.

As happened already much earlier--in Dieter Noll's "Werner Holt"--women are something like stepping stones on the road of the hero (that was Guenter de Bruyn's biting satire at that time). Katharina, the practically gifted, naive soul. Sawade, the emancipated woman without any inclination for everyday things. And Rosa: Behind all appearances of emancipation (studies in Moscow, political experiences, own biography), the real person is revealed, "the adorable witch," "girlish, irresistible." In addition there is the atmosphere: the tamed jackdaw in front of the window during the night of love. The whole thing is on the borderline of kitsch.

Even more annoying: John Erpenbeck's "Der blaue Turm" [The Blue Tower]. The name of the main character is Bettina, who is telling the story in the first person. To make sure that everybody understands the richness of the reference of the name, she is portrayed as a romanticist, unreasonable. Her answer: "I would rather fail than become what you call reasonable. I hate your cold, analyzing, practical reason." It appears that it is gradually becoming fashionable here to denounce rationality and put in its place "human and warm" feelings. The romanticist's life is controlled by her feelings. The anonymity of modern scientific operations, pressure to produce--does not appeal to her. Goethe would probably have called her a "romantic nut." The bad thing about it: Erpenbeck seems to be serious, even when he insists that he also wants to show the dangers of the romantic lifestyle in his portrayal of Bettina. He uses the cliche of the sentimental and emotional woman to warn against the disappearance of feelings, against rationalistic-male bias. Nevertheless, even the language demonstrates painfully how a man envisions female feelings. The night with the lover: "The miracle happened, we really became one, he handled my body with strength and tenderness." The male claim to dominance is even apparent in the choice of words. It could present feminists of the purest conviction with a worthy tool for devastating polemics.

A third example: Erich Koehler's "Hartmut und Joana." Joana, the career woman, finally mayor, at liberty in the choice of her lovers, an example of a capable, emancipated woman, has lost all interest in poetry, human charity. Hartmut perishes. An "unnatural" woman. It seems as if in the minds of men women are almost pictured as biological beings. The "nature" of women is to be affectionate, intuitive and sympathetic, mother and in charge of all warmth and humanity in life. And: She lives, above all, in reference to man. She is like a mirror which has no substance until a man looks into it. These books contain very little evidence of a historical change in the image of patriarchal longings and norms, and, consequently, not much can be found about the real social conditions and conflicts under which women live in our society.

Therefore we need the statements by women themselves, their authentic experiences. But: after reading the most recent works by female authors I quickly gave up a tentatively adopted feminine position. All too often nothing else can be found but a mere reversal of patriarchically portrayed images of men and women. Actions are a result of revenge against the "male society." Weak, somewhat dopey men are populating the books, nothing but silhouettes that can hardly be taken seriously. Or--as an added pendant: The women, as victims of excessive demands, betray against their will the goal of their longings: to be secure in the care of one of these reviled men. In reality they do not want their "freedom" at all. Brigitte Martin's Edith, for instance ("Nach Freude anstehn" [Lining Up for Joy], bursts out saying: "Yes, I make all decisions myself and I do everything myself because I do not have a man who knows what he wants." Even the liberated woman is nothing but a victim. Even she sees herself as a mirror that has not substance--without a man.

The difficulty for women to determine their own selves. The frame of reference: the ordinary day, the private sphere. The behavioral demands within the family and the object-oriented, sober attitutdes in the working world do not go together. Interestingly, several female authors choose technical professions for their characters (Martin, Paschiller, Zeplin), where the contract between traditional and new demands on abilities is probably particularly apparent. But only the possibilities are there; the female authors are squandering opportunities of exploiting the severity of this conflict. Work outside the home only doubles the duties and demands, there is nothing in it that provides an opportunity to develop one's own potential, a prerequisite for real emancipation.

These books contain little about authentic work experience by women. There is no differentiation when it comes to the demands of gainful employment and the motivation exhibitied. It would certainly be different for someone who does assembly work than it is for the female scientist. (Maxi Wander's "Guten Morgen, du Schoene" [Good Morning, Beautiful] remains unequaled. There is also little mention of any expansion in communicative relations by working wormen. Only Doris Paschiller ("Die Wuerde" [Dignity]) places greater significance on social relations outside the family, connected with professional activities. Her book is a certain exception anyway. It deals with the problems in the lives of women, treating not only the dualism of a guilty men's world and an innocent women's world, but she shows how they are more or less interrelated. The marriage Paschiller tells us about is suffering from the inability of both partners to understand each other. Lack of communication and talking is a danger that can be experienced not only in marriage but also in social relationships outside this private sphere--that is her topic. It is an effort of delving into social problems instead of merely insulting men.

In our literature, the search of many women for their own selves, which no longer can only be a one-way mirror, often is still marked by a lack of freedom. The women are only victims, men are only villains. For a long time, however, women have been co-villains themselves, they reproduce cliches that have been handed down or they only reverse them. It seems to me that this literary trend is a "proper" variation of feminist bias. The dimension of history--presence--future has been lost, the mere stock-taking of empirical reality is dominating. The consequence, however, is a reduced stock-taking. Conflicts are becoming mere problems, problems get blown up into conflicts.

The exceptions: In "Kein Ort. Nirgends." [No Place. Nowhere.] and in her essays about the Guenderrode and Bettina von Arnim, Christa Wolf introduced philosophic-historic and world-historic dimensions. There is some sadness in the realization that the conflicts that are a product of history have not yet been solved and that emancipation has become a human task; only this dimension makes it possible to replace norms and relationships marked by claims to domination with others that are solidaric relationships--even between the sexes. Only the process of socialist-communist development will provide an opportunity to overcome the traditional division of labor and roles. The difficulty of saying I is not a woman's question.

The other exception: a male author. Guenter de Bruyn creates female characters who apparently are nothing else but the embodiment of patriarchal dreams. Elke in "Maerkische Forschungen" [Research in the Mark]--like Irene in "Preisverteilung" [Awarding of Prizes]--is a very "natural" woman: the center of the family, functioning within the responsibilities of the family atmosphere, the household, the children. But it is exactly this concept that is treated with irony by the author because it is the male viewpoint. Of course, De Bruyn feels that the characteristics are important that have been acquired by women while caring for the family: intuitiveness, common sense. But by tying these characteristics and demands only to the woman, the man will eventually become a comical character and suffer damage (as happened to Poetsch).

In world history, the problem of emancipation can only be solved in reference to women and men and also, it consists not only of a mere change of consciousness. If there is nothing but a lament about a condition, the consciousness of this task will be lost and literature will be satisfied with treating the symptoms.

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BRIEFS

CANADA DEVELOPMENT MINISTER VISITS--Horst Schmidt, minister of development and cooperation from Alberta, Canada who visited our country, today had a talk with Gheorghe Vlad, minister of Petroleum, on the concerns and results achieved in the oil and gas industries in Romania and Alberta, Canada, and on concrete actions to develop cooperation between the two sides. [Text] [AU111510 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 81]

INTERNATIONAL MEDIA ATTENDANCE--"The big Bucharest peace march of over 300,000 citizens of Bucharest and the country's counties and the big mass rally devoted to overall disarmament, security, cooperation and peace is enjoying a particular international response." All major press agencies reported this important event and cited from President Nicolae Ceausescu's speech on the need for an end to the arms race, for peace, security and detente. TASS, for instance, stressed the "support of the Romanian working people for the appeal of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front for disarmament and peace" as reflected in the large participation in today's peace march in Bucharest. ASSOCIATED PRESS reported on the march while it was still underway. Other press agencies, including TANJUG, also devoted appropriate coverage to this event. [Summary] [AU051911 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 5 Dec 81]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES INDONESIAN ENVOY--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today received Brig Gen Soesidarto, ambassador of Indonesia in Bucharest, on a farewell visit in connection with the end of his mission in our country. The ensuing talk took place in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [AU081645 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 8 Dec 81]

CEAUSESCU INTERVIEW WITH ITALIAN JOURNALIST--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu today received Italian journalist (Arturio Pelegrini) of the daily IL POPOLO to whom he granted an interview. [Text] [AU081644 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 8 Dec 81]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES BULGARIAN ENVOY--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the republic, today receive Petur Danailov, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in Bucharest, on a farewell visit in connection with the end of his mission to our country. The ensuing talk took place in a warm and comradely atmosphere. [Text] [AU101446 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 81]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES ITALIAN JOURNALIST--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu today received Italian journalist (Letto Repeta), special envoy of the daily CORRIERE DELLA SERA. The meeting was attended by Comrade Eugen Forescu, deputy section chief at the party Central Committee. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu gave an interview on this occasion for the daily CORRIERE DELLA SERA. [Text] [AU091654 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 9 Dec 81]

CSO: 2700/103

DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION ANALYZED IN LIGHT OF LATEST CENSUS

Impressions From Statisticians' Gathering

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 199, 10 Oct 81 pp 14-15

[Text] An unprecedented demographic explosion is continuing. Last year there were 4.3 billion people living on our planet. There will be about 6 billion of them by the end of this century. What is the demographic situation in Yugoslavia? What are the principal problems of public policy in this area? What conclusions are suggested by this year's population census?

We sought answers to these questions in Novi Sad, where last week the regular annual meeting of Yugoslav statisticians and demographers took place. For 3 days the top experts from the entire country discussed reproduction of the Yugoslav population, i.e., births and deaths, changes in the population and changes in the age-specific composition--those things on which renewal of the entire population depends.

The basic conclusion of this meeting was expressed by Dr Milos Macura, member of the academy. Put briefly--renewal of the population in Yugoslavia has not been taking place as recorded in the relevant documents. That is, whereas the average length of life has been extended, and the mortality rate reduced or kept at the same level, the movement of the birth rate has been mixed. It has been in line with the expectation in Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro, but it has been contrary to the expectation in Vojvodina, Croatia, and Serbia proper on the one hand, and in Kosovo on the other.

Adverse Trends

"For a quarter of a century now the net rate of reproduction in Serbia proper, Vojvodina and Croatia has been below the level necessary for reproduction of the population," Dr Macura said. "On the other hand in Kosovo that rate has dropped only slightly. These are extremely unfavorable trends from the demographic and social standpoint, and in Kosovo from the economic and humanitarian standpoints as well. After all, in one region we have depopulation and aging of the population on a large scale, while in another we have an overpopulation which is difficult to endure. Thus instead of the demographic differences diminishing, they have been increasing over the last 10 years."

What are the prospects for halting these adverse trends? Recent research conducted in regions with low fertility has shown that there are not many reasons for optimism. That is, not only are the women in these regions not planning a sufficient number of children, but their conception of the ideal family is not one which would ensure simple reproduction of the population!

In the words of Dr Gordana Todorovic, the opinions of married women are especially disturbing in Serbia proper and Vojvodina. In a survey they favored, in the language of averages, of course, a family of 2.21 and 2.28 children, respectively. Yet if simple reproduction is to be ensured under the present conditions of births and deaths, married women would have to give birth to an average of 2.5 children!

The measures taken in that direction up to now have not yielded the anticipated results. Dr Macura says:

"Amendments of the law on marriage, liberalization of abortion, extension of maternity leave and enlargement of the network of institutions for children--all these are necessary and worthwhile improvements. Nevertheless, they are only partial measures insufficient to essentially correct the situation. A large number of the causes of the low birth rate still persist: high unemployment, unfavorable housing conditions, unfavorable conditions for the creation and growth of the family, and so on."

Birth Control

There was quite a bit of discussion in Novi Sad about birth control as a method of family planning. Dr Gordana Todorovic made an interesting observation about how family planning differs from one part of Yugoslavia to another, but the result is the same--a low birth rate! She says:

"Whereas married women in Slovenia and Croatia prevent conception by contraception, women in Serbia and Vojvodina decide on abortion. About 80 percent of the pregnancies of married women in Slovenia end in a live birth. However, in Serbia less than 50 percent of the pregnancies of married women end in live birth, and almost exactly the same percentage end in abortion. We thus have a paradox: pregnancy taken to term is higher in Slovenia than in Serbia proper, though there are barely half as many conceptions there! There is no point in even talking about how harmful this 'model' held by women in Serbia and Vojvodina is."

Kosovo and parts of Macedonia stand in contrast to these regions; there people are still not sufficiently aware of the need for birth control. In the words of Olga Ivanova, the traditional social norms concerning marriage and the size of the family in Macedonia are expressed in the high number of births, specifically among the Albanian and Turkish populations. There is hardly any use of contraceptive devices, nor any limitation of the number of births. Ivanova says:

"In Macedonia the Albanian and Turkish populations have a higher natural increase. In opstinas with the highest representation of these groups the natural increase is also the highest. Tetovo, Gostivar, Kicevo, Struga, Kumanovo and Debar opstinas are typical in this respect."

The Problems of Kosovo

The drop in the birth rate in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia confirms the thesis of demographers that the birth rate drops during industrialization and rapid socioeconomic development. The changing of circumstances which have an effect on reproductive behavior have brought about a very rapid drop in the number of births in those regions. The drop in fertility has been especially rapid in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Developments in Kosovo represent an exception to all this. Dr Macura explains:

"Kosovo has had slower economic development than the other regions and has been lagging behind them. That is why the gap between Kosovo and Slovenia, which is the most advanced region in the country, is almost 1:2 today. But that cannot be the reason why fertility in Kosovo is not declining at the necessary rate, since Kosovo has unquestionably experienced important changes in the economic structure, the social structure and the composition of the population. Normally such transformations would have to bring about a faster drop in the birth rate."

For the demographic conditions in Kosovo to change as they have elsewhere in the country, Dr Macura feels, the net rate of reproduction of its population ought to be about 25 percent lower than it is, judging by the experience of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia. But judging by the experience of the other regions, that rate ought to be all of 50 percent lower. Why isn't it?

"Since neither the large drop in the mortality rate, nor the relatively favorable socioeconomic factors have not calmed down the birth rate in Kosovo, we must assume that only conservative social forces could have brought about the persistence of the old model," Dr Macura said. "Those forces must have prevented the flow of information on up-to-date birth control, detracted from the importance of family planning and nurtured outdated social standards and an outdated ideology, acting through the institutions of religion, patriarchal family authority and in other ways."

Everyone Is Practicing Family Planning

The statisticians and demographers at the conference in Novi Sad also discussed a number of other interesting questions.

Dr Stane Krasovec, a member of the academy from Slovenia, for example, said that there has long been a fear among Marxists whenever the issue of family planning was raised. It is supposedly anti-Marxist to discuss that. But today even the Chinese are beginning to practice family planning, though, to be sure, it is presented as protection of the mother's health.

Dr Dusan Breznik, our prestigious demographer, said that the family of the future is a small family. ("Don't expect the man living on the 10th floor to have 5 children!") And further: the high birth rate is above all a question of people's education and awareness, since "the pill alone will not resolve humanity's problem."

Ante Novak, "the father of Yugoslav statistics," warned the statisticians present about the upcoming offensive by politicians. ("Imagine the pressure of the politicians on you! The speed at which you will have to work, the kind of data you will have to give! Preparation should be made for that offensive and erroneous interpretation of the data prevented by virtue of professional competence.")

The paper by Dr Alice Wertheimer-Baletic of Zagreb aroused polemical tones. She forecast that toward the end of this century Croatia will have a manpower shortage. There will be a shortage of about 80,000 workers!

The 3-day conference in Novi Sad is over. Dr Dusan Breznik, who chaired the conference, concluded:

"It is clear that there are none among us who do not wish humanity well. We all want people to live longer and for the death rate to be lower. However, when it comes to births, here we were unable to agree."

Interview With Ex-Director Novak

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 199, 10 Oct 81 pp 15-16

[Interview with Ante Novak, former director of the Federal Bureau of Statistics, by Branko Vukovic: "Our Makeup Is Important"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] The census has been taken, its first results are known and published. The official assessment is that the census succeeded beyond all expectation. What do you think?

[Answer] I think that on the basis of what we know so far it is very difficult to say whether this year's census has succeeded and to what extent. There is no question that the census of Yugoslavia as a whole is perfect. However, it is still an open question whether the data obtained in certain regions are altogether reliable. It would therefore be wise to wait for certain checks which should show the accuracy of the census data. Only then will we be able to make a competent assessment of the census.

[Question] There is a widespread belief that the statistics lie and that one should not put too much trust in them.

[Answer] The statistics do not lie, but lies are told by means of statistics. Unfortunately, this type of lie is still strongly manifested in our country. We therefore should require strict monitoring of statistical data.

[Question] The census results which have been published indicate that the basic elements of population policy are not being achieved.

[Answer] We have been warning for a long time that we need a well-thought-out population policy. Now we wonder what is going on with that policy. Do we have one at all? Like hell we have one! I am grateful to my colleagues in Ljubljana who denied the assertion that we have such a policy at least in Slovenia.

Unfortunately, a terrible "Marxist" prejudice still prevails everywhere in Yugoslavia: that these problems are resolved automatically and in and of themselves. And that is not true.

We have now come into a situation where it doesn't work anymore. The problems have grown to such a degree that they have become a serious hindrance to development. All the demographic events have become alarming. They warn us that if we do not make a radical change of direction immediately, we will have very grave conflicts and upheavals in the future.

[Question] Is the situation the same in the other socialist countries as well?

[Answer] The situation is not the same. That assertion that all the socialist countries are conducting the same population policy was made by a colleague back in 1973. Nonsense! I answered him by saying that he should see what our people are carrying into Romania and what they are bringing back. They were smuggling condoms in the direction of Bucharest and bringing back Gerovital! I don't know what the situation is now, since I am living in Ljubljana, but at that time the smugglers were doing a big business.

Policy Conducted Behind Closed Doors

[Question] Do we have enough public discussion of population policy?

[Answer] In a recent assembly I delivered a harsh attack on the way in which our population policy is conducted. Do you know what the politicians told me? "Consideration is after all given to this, it is just that nothing is said to the public." But I do not accept that kind of explanation. Excuse me, but I cannot abide a policy conducted behind closed doors! And what sort of political prejudice is it that does not allow discussion of the essential demographic issues?

[Question] Demographic developments are also showing up weaknesses in other special policies and not only population policy.

[Answer] Naturally. Take any policy you like, economic policy, housing policy, investment policy, health care policy, social welfare policy--they are all closely bound up with demographic trends.

Take investment policy. Had the comrades in Kosovo invested more in the manufacturing industry, they would have solved the problem of unemployment considerably more rapidly. There would then have been smaller emigration and less basis for the nationalistic outbreaks. We in Slovenia, on the other hand, have pushed the manufacturing industry, though we do not have manpower. That is why we now have 140,000 workers from other republics who have to be provided housing, health care, social welfare and so on. In Macedonia there was no polycentric investment policy, which is why they now have pressure on the cities and huge differences between the rural and urban areas. In Slovenia, however, where the pattern of investment was uniform, there are almost no backward villages. And so on. The linkage is obvious.

[Question] At the conference in Novi Sad you called attention to the fact that these trends can also in large part be affected by megalomania.

[Answer] The pressure and desire for there to be as many of us as possible date back a long way. At one time we asked when we would reach a population of 20 million. Today they are wondering in Macedonia when Skopje will become a city of 1 million inhabitants. Slovenian politicians ask when there will be 2 million of us in Slovenia. Perhaps it is difficult for them to remember anything but round numbers. But I ask: What does that bring us? That is primitivism! The important thing is the makeup and not the size of our population.

[Question] You advocate conscious and planned guidance of population?

[Answer] There is no other way. If we within the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance lack a deliberate population policy, other forces do have one. Show me the church that does not have its own, and that a thoroughly deliberate population policy, its dogmas, its moral rules, its veto: "Do not have an abortion!" Do you suppose that the nationalistic forces do not have a population policy? "More children, as many children as possible, to increase our numbers!"

Take Kosovo. The statistics clearly show that the birth rate has been dropping just a bit, but the mortality rate has been dropping still faster, so that the natural increase is growing steadily. The credit for this can be given in large part to the Albanian nationalists, who have used the most perfidious means to augment the natural increase. "The more of us there are, the sooner we will create Great Albania!"

What have the organized social forces in Kosovo done in the field of family planning? Nothing! They have allowed the hodzas and the nationalists to launch the slogan: "As many children as possible!" And I love children, we all love children, but let us not exaggerate! Because of such an attitude we now have a situation where a portion of the population in Kosovo has objectively become a social and material burden. This results in basic differences in development, and here the principal factor is a demographic one, but it is being ignored in the current debates.

[Question] Can you explain that position in more detail?

[Answer] You see, according to the 1978 data the difference between Kosovo and Slovenia in terms of national income was 100:716. The people from Kosovo get excited: "The damned Slovenians have eaten up everything!" However, when the demographic factor is eliminated, this ratio becomes 100:448. In actuality the differences would be still smaller, since a portion of the forces would move from the area of consumption of national income into the area of creation of national income; that is, the consumer would become a producer.

Now, I can understand that worker in Ljubljana when he says: "I want to help, but let us make an agreement. If I have three children, then you have three, too, but not six, eight or 12. I want to give my children an education, too." Do not think that these facts are not taken into account in the common sense of our peasants and workers.

[Question] So, aid to Kosovo should be planned and organized?

[Answer] All the underdeveloped should be helped, not only Kosovo, but we must know in advance where that money is going. The help must be a function of our strategic goal which we wish to achieve. We know, for example, that at present the prices of certain products are lower in Pristina than in Belgrade or Split. Why? By what logic? Instead of teaching him to work, you are teaching him the opposite. There is a Chinese saying: "Do not give a hungry man a fish, but teach him to catch fish."

It is clear, then, that one of the things to do in seeking a way out is to lower the birth rate in Kosovo, since today it is the highest in Europe. I do not honor the argument that this touches upon someone's religious or moral convictions, since in essence these convictions are inherently political.

SFRY Population

Republics and Provinces	Population 1971	Population 1981	Increase, %
SFRY as a whole	20,523,000	22,352,000	8.9
Bosnia-Hercegovina	3,746,000	4,116,000	9.8
Montenegro	530,000	583,000	10.0
Croatia	4,426,000	4,576,000	3.3
Macedonia	1,647,000	1,914,000	16.2
Slovenia	1,727,000	1,884,000	9.0
Serbia	8,447,000	9,279,000	9.9
Serbia proper	5,250,000	5,666,000	7.9
Kosovo	1,255,000	1,585,000	27.4
Vojvodina	1,953,000	2,028,000	3.8

	Natural Increase	Migration
Serbia	799,106 (9.46)	33,164 (0.39)
Serbia proper	333,682 (6.35)	82,017 (1.56)
Vojvodina	72,760 (3.73)	2,946 (0.15)
Kosovo	392,664 (31.57)	-51,799 (4.10)

We Are All the Same in Loving Children

[Question] Some people explain the high growth rate by saying that certain nationalities have a traditional love of children.

[Answer] What next! This is a question of customs, dogmas, prejudices, primitivism and pressures, and is not because someone loves or does not love children. What will happen when population jeopardizes humanity's survival? Will we die of hunger because someone "loves children"?

[Question] One Kosovo author, Dr Musa Limani, regards the thesis that the natural population increase is having an adverse effect on economic development is anti-Marxist.

[Answer] I have not read that. However, this position, consciously or unconsciously, signifies a nationalistic position. Is it un-Marxist if we regulate haphazard processes by deliberate measures? If we have too little food, will we go ahead and raise the birth rate? What will that kind of "Marxist" do when population threatens our survival? These are all common sense questions we must be mindful of, even if someone tells us 100 times that we are anti-Marxists, neo-Malthusians and the like.

[Question] You have advocated what is referred to as a differentiated population policy.

[Answer] Our basic goals are to reduce the rate of natural increase and to diminish the large demographic differences from one region to another, and that necessitates a differentiated population policy. Where the natural increase is higher, it needs to be restricted. In regions where the natural increase is lower, it needs to be encouraged.

The basic contradictions have been manifested within SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, where the differences between Kosovo and Vojvodina are huge. In future it is here that the main battle will be waged to normalize the birth rate and the rate of natural increase.

[Question] How is the rate of natural increase to be reduced?

[Answer] First of all, if we are to conduct a uniform policy, we must first make the individual and the masses aware, eradicating bad habits and preserving good ones. We will not achieve anything if we anathematize the woman who has given birth to 10 children, not even if we expel her husband from the League of Communists. No sort of practicalistic measures, especially coercion, can help.

The most important thing is to create a general climate of trust and tolerance. Every man and every woman must understand family planning, contraception, abortion, and so on. If we give support in that respect to the progressive forces in Kosovo, then the processes we have been speaking about will take a different course. Moreover, it is worth remembering that it is possible to act rather quickly and effectively in the realm of ideology, but changing morality and customs is a terribly slow process.

[Question] We are paying a high price for having neglected these issues so long.

[Answer] Mistaken strategic moves made in a society's development do not take their revenge immediately. We Yugoslav communists, and here I make no exception for even the highest leadership, have a bad habit of frequently putting off the resolution of burning issues. Our thinking is to let the issue ripen, later we will take care of it, we have more urgent business, and so on. The ordinary man understands this more quickly than so-called thinking people, since he is first to be hit in the head with the problem.

Forebodings in Serbian Assembly

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1610, 8 Nov 81 pp 17-19

[Article by Teodor Andjelic: "Population and Policy"]

[Text] For that small group of those who really know, the demographic crisis in Yugoslavia has lasted for a quarter of a century already. But only last week, in the assessment of the specialists--did a political body for the first time with real seriousness and in public--at times even in dramatic tones--discuss population policy, which for all practical purposes does not exist in most of Yugoslavia.

The reference is to the debate in the Assembly of SR Serbia and to the truly initial conversations concerning the way in which population is reproduced in that republic. In that republic (without the provinces), as indeed in most of the country, a process has been going on for 22 years at whose conclusion, should everything continue as up to now, "we must expect a disturbance to occur in the reproduction and composition of the population somewhere in the mid-21st century which cannot be otherwise described than catastrophic."

This is literally what is written in the study that was the point of departure for the debate in the assembly. This analysis was prepared by Dr Bogoljub Stojanovic, Dr Miroslav Macura, Tripo Mulina, Dr Miroslav Rasevic and Milos Macura, member of the academy, who was the editor. We immediately asked him to explain the meaning of the word "catastrophic."

Dr Milos Macura says that the situation is similar in Croatia and in Vojvodina. Should the current demographic process continue, those regions and Serbia proper would perhaps have even a 30-percent smaller population than today in the year 2050. And, what is particularly essential, that population would consist mostly of elderly people.

"Such a society," Dr Milos Macura said, "would not be able to perform its basic functions."

Eight Birth Rates

In the demographic sense Yugoslavia is the world in small, but with three important differences: our population is multiplying considerably more slowly than the world population, in which declining fertility, which is reaching the low European level, has the decisive role; second, the demographic differentiation of our republics and provinces is altogether different from the planetary differentiation; and finally, none of our regions has experienced the negative natural increase which has occurred in recent years in Europe.

There are several facts about what is called differentiation: Kosovo, as the only region with a very rapid demographic growth, has a share of only 7 percent in the population of Yugoslavia; Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro, as sections with a growth that is slowing down, have a share of 30 percent;

Serbia proper, Croatia, Slovenia and Vojvodina, where growth is slow, comprise 63 percent of the population of Yugoslavia.

Differences from one political-administrative division to another in the birth rate and death rate are especially important, and they have been changing over the last three decades.

The number of live births was the highest in 1952--500,000, but since that time there has been a steady decline, reaching 381,000 in 1979.

The highest number of deaths (270,000) was recorded in 1951; by 1966 that number had dropped to 180,000, and then by 1979 it had risen to 191,000.

Thus the natural increase of Yugoslavia's population has dropped in 27 years from 302,000 to 190,000 people. The rate of natural increase has dropped most in Vojvodina (to one-fourth), in Croatia and Serbia proper (a drop of 2.9-fold), and then in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro (2.6- and 2.1-fold), while the drop has been moderate in Macedonia and Slovenia (1.8- and 1.6-fold, respectively), and altogether slight in Kosovo (a drop of 5 percent). It is interesting, however, as we were told by Dr Dusan Breznik, director of the Center for Demographic Research of the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade, that according to their surveys, for example, the number of conceptions is almost identical in Vojvodina and Kosovo.

Birth Control

Under "conditions of the full possibility of birth control" countries are rare in Europe where the so-called rate of reproduction is holding the level adequate to renew the population in the long run. In Yugoslavia that rate has been maintained only in Slovenia.

Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro seem to completely confirm, in an almost textbook way, the classical demographic hypothesis concerning the declining pattern of the birth rate during industrialization and urbanization.

But Kosovo is an exception to this tendency. In that region fertility first rose and then showed a slow decline.

Dr Milos Macura says that Kosovo has also indubitably experienced important transformations of the economy, the population and society. "Such transformations would normally have had to result in a faster drop of the birth rate," Dr Macura says.

"Had demographic conditions been changing like others in the country, at Kosovo's present level of development the net rate of reproduction of its population ought to have been about 25 percent less than what it is judging by the experience of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro and all of 50 percent less judging by the experience of the other regions. Since neither the large drop in the death rate, nor the relatively favorable socioeconomic factors have been able to essentially alter reproductive behavior and slow down the birth rate," Dr Milos Macura said, "we must assume that only conservative social

forces could have tended to conserve the old model of reproduction of the population. They must have prevented the flow of information, reduced to a minimum the importance of family planning and nurtured outdated social standards and ideology, acting through the institutions of religion and patriarchal family authority."

Unprecedented

If current processes in Kosovo continue, by the year 2000 its population density would attain that of Great Britain, one of the most densely populated countries in Europe. Incidentally, the situation in Europe is now as follows: the number of new births is far below the level necessary to renew the population only in Albania and Ireland; 9 countries are slightly above that level, including the Soviet Union, thanks to the large number of newborn infants in the Asian republics; in the other 16 countries this number has for shorter or longer periods been below the level, and in at least 4 countries the annual number of births is below the number of deaths, so that the natural increase is negative.

Yugoslavia's Demographic Crisis

The European situation is also very important to Yugoslavia, since a majority of the European countries--and this can soon be expected in the major portion of our country--are conducting an explicit policy to encourage the birth rate. The methods related to that policy are in principle constructive, and only in exceptional cases are they restrictive (for example, in Romania and Bulgaria, where abortions and contraceptives are restricted to a considerable extent).

The policy of rehabilitation of the birth rate is older than the policy of reducing the birth rate. But it seems that the younger of these two policies is more important to most of the world. Naturally, because of a singular precedent throughout history: the world population increased from 2.5 to 4.4 billion over the last 30 years.

Postwar history seems to have pointed up the fact that in our final calculation even population cannot grow infinitely. In answer to our question about a possible natural, biological selection that would bring the size of the population into line with the planet's capabilities, Dr Dusan Breznik answered:

"I do not put any stock at all in such theories. And I especially don't take seriously those scholars who see a way out of the demographic explosion in genetic self-regulation of the human species."

Yet different groups of scholars offer differing answers to the new situation that has come about. One of the extreme positions--that a smaller population might be desirable--is defended by certain leading figures in the natural sciences. Within the science of demography there are also serious views to the effect that a negative growth is not catastrophic, but it appears that the prevailing view among the specialists is that the birth rate needs to be maintained at the level of simple reproduction of the population, and that not so much because of the size of the population, but primarily in order to avoid paralysis of society because of the tremendous number of elderly people.

Dr Milos Macura told us that the working group which had done this study for the Executive Council of the Assembly of Serbia had calculated which is more expensive: youth or old age? And they calculated that the social benefits for old age are threefold greater than possible expenditures for the policy to support the birth rate.

The Third Child

Today the burden of reproduction of the population has mostly been left to the family. All the costs of children are borne for a number of years mostly by the parents themselves. Let us add to that unemployment and the chronic housing crisis. One does not need to be very wise or highly educated to understand why we are reproducing ourselves at a low level! The fruits of "pleasure in poverty" may become, and are, very expensive!

The "Program of Measures To Support the Birth Rate" of that working group, attributes particular importance to the policy of family supplements. They need to be radically reformed; family supplements ought to cover all the expenses of children--costs which have not been socialized in one way or another. And, above all, the entire policy should be centered on the third child.

If our population is to be able to reproduce itself, it is indispensable that all women give birth to an average of 2.15 children. Since some of them do not wish this or cannot, the actual average is somewhat higher than 2.5 children.

All in all, taking into account the truly complicated series of different and mutually intertwined factors, the basic condition for simple reproduction of the population is the third child.

But in most of Yugoslavia today the predominant pattern is the one-child family, and according to the study of the working group, the number of children which parents want to have is smaller among almost all age groups of women than the ideal number of children for reproduction of the population. There is an exception in the older age groups of women (between the ages of 40 and 50) who naturally desire a number of children higher than the ideal. The ideal measure is this: 1,000 daughters for every 1,000 women. Here again the situation is extreme in Kosovo, where the average woman gives birth to two daughters.

The decline of the birth rate is a natural phenomenon which has occurred in every advanced country in the 20th century. But our society seems to have omitted to grapple with that pattern at the right time. The suggestions for conclusions of the debate in the Serbian Assembly include the following: "The population density and the set of natural conditions for conduct of economic activity and for living do not at all require that the population be restricted at its present size. However, in view of the depth of the decline of the birth rate and the tendency for it to decline further, it seems reasonable for simple reproduction to be established for the present as the optimum goal of population policy, which is a condition for avoiding all the far-reaching and unnecessary consequences in the future."

[Box, p 17] Yugoslavia and Kosovo

In the period from 1952 to 1979 Kosovo's contribution to the natural population increase of Yugoslavia increased from 22,000 to 41,000 (from 8 to 22 percent); the absolute contribution of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro dropped from 120,000 to 78,000; and the contribution of the other regions has been dropping in both absolute and relative terms. Within that framework, the "contribution" of Serbia proper has dropped from 73,000 to 37,000 (from 25 to 17 percent).

The differing rate of change of the mortality rate plays an important role in all this. It has been particularly rapid in the economically less developed regions. There the number of deaths was lower in 1979 than in 1952 by all of 20,000. In the other regions this number was 13,000 higher because of the aging of the population.

This very fact is a cause of differentiation: extending the length of life signifies an important reserve for the natural population increase, which in time is exhausted and then disappears altogether as the population grows older. But the number of new births has a very important role in differentiation of the natural population increase. Everywhere it has been dropping, but at different rates. The only exception is Kosovo; there the number of live births was 30 percent higher in 1979 than in 1952, though the birth rate dropped from 44.7 to 32.1 per 1,000 inhabitants.

In the postwar period the population of all parts of Yugoslavia has been growing all the while. To be sure, at a different pace and at differing rates which are dropping at a differing pace.

Demographic Computation

	Birth Rate			Death Rate			Natural Increase		
Regions	1952	1970	1980	1952	1970	1980	1952	1970	1980
Yugoslavia	29.8	17.8	16.9	11.8	8.9	8.8	18.0	8.9	8.1
Croatia	23.4	13.9	14.6	11.1	10.0	10.8	12.3	3.9	3.8
Vojvodina	23.8	13.0	13.4	12.1	10.2	10.9	11.7	2.8	2.5
Serbia proper	27.4	14.8	14.6	10.8	9.1	9.6	16.6	5.7	5.0
Slovenia	22.8	16.0	17.4	10.4	10.1	10.5	12.4	5.9	6.9
Montenegro	32.0	20.3	17.5	9.3	6.7	6.4	22.7	13.6	11.1
Macedonia	39.9	23.2	21.1	14.4	7.6	7.2	25.9	15.6	13.9
Bosnia-Hercegovina	40.2	21.4	16.5	12.5	7.1	5.9	27.7	14.3	10.9
Kosovo	44.7	36.5	31.4	17.4	8.9	6.3	27.3	27.6	25.1

Note: All rates are given per 1,000 inhabitants. The regions are listed in descending order on the basis of the rate of natural increase and the birth rate.

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STIPE SUVAR CITES CRITICS OF COMMUNIST PAST

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 81 p 9

[Article by V. Vignjevic]

[Text] A conference was held today in the Section of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY for Education, Science, Culture, and Physical Education concerning the theme "Culture and Art in the Preservation of the Traditions of the Revolution." A number of cultural and public workers, as well as creative artists from all over the country, participated in this extremely interesting discussion, which was organized by this Section and by the Association of Cultural and Educational Communities of Yugoslavia.

"The preservation of the traditions of the revolution is an organized and very complex ideopolitical, cultural, and educational social activity which has its source in the revolution and which strives to give it a more genuine continuity," stressed Djordje Radisic, president of the Cultural and Educational Communities of Serbia, in his introductory report.

Emphasizing that this, the jubilee year of the uprising and the revolution has provoked this type of discussion in our country, Mladen Oljaca has supported the more precise establishment of the problems of all organized socialistic forces in implementing cultural policy. It has not been defined everywhere, especially in the manner set forth in the Resolution of the XI Congress of the LCY concerning the transformation of culture as part of the self-management process.

Having made two methodological observations, the first that one must be against the possible over-glorification of the approach to this subject, and the second that it is of value to avoid too narrow of a comprehension of culture and art, and to understand that the People's Liberation Struggle in its entirety was also a powerful cultural revolution, Comrade Stipe Suvar said the following:

"In literature, history, and sociology, a few theses of the petit bourgeois, the reactionary consciousness, have predominated in the treatments of our socialistic movement and struggles. Some representatives of the intelligentsia also promote these arguments; they say that the People's Liberation Struggle offered some verse, or some clamour, and nothing more. Or, they give another thesis which refers to Stalinism, treating it as the "original sin" of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia before the war and during the revolution, and not just

after liberation, which resulted from the conflicts in the literary left and from the Information Bureau. Even today, thousands of voices (of both the left and the right) argue loudly against this thesis. This is worth explaining, first of all, from the point of view that no left, which is not in the League of Communists, interests us, except as a petit bourgeois, radical opponent. If we follow the most widespread literary ideas which are in vogue in the young generation, these theses predominate, as well as the opinion that here, in this country, all creative people are persecuted today."

In the same line of thinking are also the theories concerned with the "poetry of resistance," with the redemption, for example, of Goran and Nazor "to atone for the sins of the rebels." This is nicely explained to us in literary gatherings in honor of the jubilee. These are subtle theses, but better suited for limited use in other countries; a modest export of trivial spiritual trappings. We must prove, contrary to these theses, that this so-called resistance, actually poetry during the revolution, with all of its plebian creators, was the destruction of the old world, and at the same time, our spiritual struggle. This means that we must consider the People's Liberation Struggle and the revolution as something which has not been completed; indeed, it still goes on, both today and tomorrow," said Suvar.

In addition to the greater number of written contributions, Prvoslav Ralic, Predrag Golubovic, Tome Momirovski, Ivan Potrc, and others also participated in the discussion. Although no conclusions have been made, on the basis of all the reports (and the dialogue concerning the same subject will be continued at the beginning of next year), one gets the impression that there remain quite a number of problems connected with this area which have not yet been sufficiently addressed, both from the political and the cultural point of view. And, it has become apparent that in that great task which still lies ahead of us the greatest burden must fall not only on the organizers of this meeting, but also on all other organized socialistic forces in our country.

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ORTHODOX PAPER PROTESTS EQUATING VELIMIROVIC WITH STEPINAC

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVLJE in Serbo-Croatian 1-15 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Dr Atanasije Jevtic: "Who Benefits From Leveling?"]

[Text] Under the department "Pretexts" OSLOBODJENJE of Sarajevo published on 7 July 1981 an article by the editor in chief Ljubisa Jaksic entitled "The Cleronationalists--Against Their Own Peoples," which is actually a commentary on the speech of Branko Mikulic delivered at Tjentiste on 4 July (see OSLOBODJENJE for 5 July).

It is neither "cleronationalism" nor "cleronationalist" (the names themselves are enough to show that we have nothing to do with this) which have brought us to take up that article and its pretext here, but the leveling we are familiar with and which has been consistently applied to us according to a criterion and method which need to be deliberately reassessed once again for the sake of the truth and for the benefit of history, both past and future.

After all, how otherwise is one to understand when the Orthodox people's brotherhoods of zealots and communities of peaceable and apolitical believers from among Serbian peasants and workers, who have nothing against them except supposedly their religious and ethnic identity, are compared to and equated with movements and associations which are not that, or which perhaps, precisely because of other charges, would in fact like such leveling? How, to go further, is one to understand when people like Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac and the Bishop of Zica Nikolaj Velimirovic are compared and equated at the same stereotyped level of the "war criminal"? We are neither thinking nor speaking here about the former, but in the name of historical truth we cannot but protest against placing the latter in the now stereotyped category of the "war criminal" solely because in his ideology he was an anticommunist, or, more accurately, an antitheist. (Among other things, there is the fact that during his internment in Vojvodina he rejected a German demand that he sign a condemnation of the communists, saying that the church can judge only atheism.) This kind of cheap political leveling neither serves the truth, nor, we are witnesses, does it yield desirable results, since it does not look the problems straight in the eye.

In his hallucinations of the horror that is to come from the "effects of this kind of organization of Orthodox believers," i.e., of Orthodox zealots (who, let us recall, began to "organize" during the sufferings on the Salonika front and

in subsequent tribulations), the newsman Lj. Jaksic mentions the alleged "war-criminal biography" of Bishop Nikolaj, but he does not know, or refuses to know, that Nikolaj's biography was better known to the Serbian zealots than he thinks. After all, there is probably no Orthodox Serb or other man in our country or in the world who does not know that Nikolaj spent 4 entire years of the war in German prisons and camps (Ljubostinja, Rakovica, Vojlovica, Vienna and Dachau), together with the Serbian Patriarch Gavrilo Dozic, and accordingly was neither a "war criminal," nor could he have had a "war-criminal" biography. For any normal human understanding there is probably a difference between a man who was immediately confined by the occupier, imprisoned and finally taken off to the camp at Dachau along with the head of his church, and others who freely carried on their deeds and their misdeeds under the fascists. (The fact that Patriarch Gavrilo returned to Yugoslavia after the notorious camp at Dachau, while Nikolaj did not is a matter of personal choice which does not justify his being labeled a "war criminal.")

Pious Serbian believers and their patriarchs and bishops like Nikolaj was did not have, nor did they create Dachau nor Jasenovac, common graves or forcible conversions, but along with their people they did indeed experience and survive them, if indeed they did survive. If their only "sin" was, or is even today, that they were and are men of living Orthodox faith, men who are opposed to having another theistic or atheistic faith or ideology imposed on them, then it truly is a falsification and shameless act to attribute to them a nonexistent "war-criminal biography." This language of calculated leveling (on the basis of which two Serbian priests were recently sentenced each to 6 years in prison) not only does not contribute to a sober confrontation of the truth, but casts a cloud and a shadow on clear examination of him who is a criminal and of him who is not a criminal even more than does the difference in religious, ideological, political and human conceptions.

If it is a question of discussing the truth, we are prepared to continue such a discussion with everyone who desires the truth.

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STATUS OF AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES WITHIN SERBIA ARGUED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1609, 1 Nov 81 pp 21-22

[Article by Stevan Niksic: "Scholars Discuss the Provinces"]

[Text] Last week's discussion in the Political Science Association of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia concerning the political system of SR Serbia and relations between the republic and the provinces began with an observation made by the association's president, Dr Radoslav Ratkovic, professor, to the effect that this is a "major historical problem." It is a problem whose background includes the activity, actions and motives of former generations, one which is of interest to the present generation, and one whose resolution will have an effect on future generations, Ratkovic observed, and he advocated that as many people as possible become involved in discussions of this kind. It was unfortunately obvious that this would remain no more than a fond wish, at least on this occasion. Representatives of the corresponding associations from the provinces, who had been invited, did not respond to the invitation to participate in the discussion. More accurately, the Political Science Association of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo sent one of its members, who did attend, but said nothing, and no one came from the Vojvodina association.

Agreement was reached on the assessment that relations between the republic and the provinces are in every respect a Yugoslav topic, and this thesis had many advocates at this meeting.

Asymmetrical Federalism

In his introductory address on the topic of the government and self-management in the context of the principal topic Ratkovic pointed to the frequent tendency to ignore the fundamental constitutional provisions in which the republics and provinces are clearly distinguished. He also expressed the opinion that the limits of the constitution have actually been exceeded already by certain extreme interpretations of this kind and that one can therefore speak of attempts to revise it. A similar opinion was expressed by Dr Miodrag Visnjic, in whose judgment implementation of the constitution is showing that the system of communications and relations in which the provinces figure as an element of federalism has been institutionally built up and developed in practice far more than one in which they are an integral part of SR Serbia. "Perhaps this is a logical

consequence of development of the provinces up to 1968, and especially up to 1971, when they developed predominantly as an integral part of SR Serbia, though in a particular way and to a particular degree the component of their presence in the Federation was also well known," Visnjic observed, thereafter, having reflected for a moment, adding: "But then again perhaps it is not logical"!

Dr Jovan Djordjevic, professor, spoke among other things about asymmetrical federalism. He used this term to describe a federalism which "favorizes only one partner and deprives the other of autonomy."

History shows that asymmetrical federalism quickly turns into hegemony of one participant or into separatism of the other, Djordjevic says. And he then added: "The contradictory nature and unwiseness of asymmetrical federalism in Yugoslavia have been retained under the influence of various overt and covert tendencies from 1971 up to the well-known Kosovo events. Aside from implementation or nonimplementation of the SFRY Constitution and the Constitution of SR Serbia, we must also single out among these tendencies the political and mental climate which has fragmented the country's ethnic structure and contributed to the constant inclusion of autonomy in the orbit of federalism since 1971."
Dr Borislav Jovic recalled that the provinces do not have equal economic rights with the republics. "I am not on this occasion going into the question of whether this is a good solution, but am speaking of this as a fact," he said. "The provinces cannot have any greater interest in integration within Serbia, except for a possible emotional interest, than the interest it has in collaborating with the Yugoslav economy as a whole. However, it is a fact that there are strong forces toward disintegration at the Yugoslav level, forces which are pulling toward autonomy, toward economic separatism in those republics and consequently in the provinces as well."

Jovic sees the roots of economic separatism and autarky above all in the "profound contradiction between the social character of the means of production and the group-ownership character of appropriation of the results of labor." He sees the solution to the problem of the "unity of Serbia" solely in strengthening the spirit of community in Yugoslavia as a whole, and he feels that only in this way is it possible to find the key to the economic troubles which are at the same time the cause of many other troubles.

The Roots of Separatism

Dr Zivojin Rakocevic, professor, spoke on the same topic in a somewhat different manner, debating to some extent with Jovic. That is, he feels that the problem does not lie exclusively in the so-called "group-ownership tendencies" as against the social character of income, but that it goes much deeper and concerns certain contradictions which arise out of the system itself and out of inconsistencies in adhering to the principle adopted long ago concerning the operation of economic laws under socialism. After having presented the opinion (which he called "heretical") that there never did exist a unified Yugoslav market in the true sense of the word, Ratkovic observed that the policy of destatization and debureaucratization, set forth in the LCY Program, has been implemented very contradictorily and with fluctuations. "Although the 1961 and 1965 reforms did not signify any major breakthroughs in this sense, we were quick to

abandon them and throw up our hands, since we did not have the nerves to persist on that reform course.

"Hasn't the problem of Vojvodina as a province within Serbia actually taken on more weight because socialism has been warring unceasingly with agriculture. It cannot abide agriculture via facti, which is why it failed to solve the problem of commodity production, of the market, of establishing relations with the world.... What is it that has recently been motivating the comrades in Vojvodina to put unceasing questions about compensation, the prices of farm products, and so on, and to wage a bloody fight for this? I have called the attention of some of them to the fact that this is a very one-sided approach and in the long run will not yield favorable results. But is this not the origin of the aspirations to exceed even the boundaries which have been postulated in legal and political terms in the Constitution of SR Serbia? Or, Kosovo. Isn't the problem of the advanced and the underdeveloped in the background of everything? Can we then ask whether we ourselves have found exactly the most appropriate solutions to that problem, which is perhaps the greatest problem of the age," Ratkovic said.

Eight Parties

Noting that a moment of crisis has now come in Yugoslav society, Dr Vladan Cetkovic, professor, said that the basic issue today is not only the question of the relations between the republic and the provinces, between republics and republics, but--"whether under present conditions we can produce and exist in the way we have been producing and existing up to now or must something change in that respect"? In his opinion, this has become the central issue for the Yugoslav public and it is the task of scholars, among others, to undertake an exploration for solutions "to everything which obviously does not work any longer the way it worked up to now."

In his participation in the discussion Dr Balsa Spadijer, professor, spoke in particular about the "confederalist tendencies" in the League of Communists, which, he said, are emerging "under the strong pressure of centers of political power which have become independent." "It is clear that the tendency toward confederalization of the League of Communists is tending to break it apart. At one time were witnesses of creation of all but a kind of multiparty system of a particular type in which six or eight parties, or the elites of those parties, enter into compacts, agreements or conflicts. Everything that happened in Kosovo indeed demonstrates that this tendency is one that should not be neglected." In Spadijer's opinion, the reason for all this is not the exclusive copying of the system of decisionmaking by government bodies and agencies, but that the role of the state has again become strong and the League of Communists is again beginning to lean in that direction. For years, Spadijer said, we have advocated separation of the League of Communists from the government, and in that we did succeed, but the question is whether we also separated the structures of the League of Communists from the functioning of the system of government to the extent we desired?

Speaking about democratic centralism, Spadijer emphasized that ideological unity is one of its principles and that "ideological confederalism in the LCY" is by

contrast now being manifested seriously. "We can ask ourselves today on what issues there is a unified ideology and on what issues there are very serious ideological differences as a consequence of federalistic of confederalistic tendencies in the LCY which are tolerated at the moment?"

In the same context Spadijer also spoke about the danger presented by tendencies to strengthen bureaucratic centralism, which in his opinion are the consequence of an erroneous definition of the positions and the independence of the leagues of communists of the republics and provinces.

Milivoje Draskovic spoke about the "pronounced tendency" for the provinces (at any price) and "in every possible respect" to put themselves on a par with the republic and in this way to insist on a kind of "emancipation" of the provinces from SR Serbia. It was his judgment that "aspirations of this kind may among other things be an expression of a primitive separatism." Where does such a strong desire for statehood come from? asked Dr Radivoje Marinkovic, professor. This shows, he believes that the self-management dimension is declining in importance in real relations. But Marinkovic relates this at the same time to something which he referred to as "the domination of the political sphere over the economy." Since domination of the political sphere over the economy is secured through government and political power, it is logical, in his opinion, for everything to "revolve" around how the government power is to be distributed.

An Organization of Conspirators

Milan Vujicic advocated a somewhat different approach in this discussion, taking the view that the problem of relations between the republic and the province is above all a problem of the relations between the "whole and the parts" in the political system of Yugoslavia and that in broader terms who can speak about "partialization" of the parts within the framework of larger systems, of the parts "holding up in bunkers," from the OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] on up. He mentioned the example of JAT [Yugoslav Air Transport] (the organization in which he works) where, he says, "there is no responsibility whatsoever toward the common cause in earning income at the level of the work organization." Dr Miodrag Perovic expressed the opinion that delegations of SR Serbia, SAP Kosovo and SAP Vojvodina in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly ought to establish more direct links and enter into agreement when issues come up that are of interest to the republic as a whole.

At the end, speaking as the last participant in this discussion, Dr Dragomir Draskovic, taking the events in Kosovo as his point of departure, attempted to draw certain fairly general conclusions. "Not a single meeting of the LCSe [League of Communists of Serbia] Central Committee has actually raised the question of democratic centralism, nor was it raised, as you know by the 21st Meeting of the LCY Central Committee either. I do not object to the arguments that the League of Communists has become governmentalized and that there are tendencies toward and a practice of ossifying the idea of the state, but that is not all. The League of Communists is under attack from within, an attack being aimed at separating it from the working class and the people. It is under attack by a type of conspiratorial organization whose nature is very difficult to discuss ...," Draskovic said.

The discussion in the Political Science Association of SR Serbia was by all appearances only one of many similar discussions on the topics of the present moment in politics which will be conducted this fall. In a few days a discussion is also to be held in the Marxist Center of the LCSe Central Committee where the topic of the relation between the republic and the provinces will again be discussed. But, as on this occasion, that will not be the only topic under discussion.

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DEFENDERS OF SENTENCED POET DJOGO ASSAILED

Sarajevo SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian No 1223, 9 Nov 81 p 4

[Commentary by Enver Dizdar: "A Question for Grandchildren"]

[Text] Our editorial board has received an extremely illegible copy of a letter headed "To be specific: A few questions for the comrade-newspapermen," signed with the name of Ilija Moljkovic. We shall not be publishing the letter, since it is unreadable from a variety of standpoints. However, inasmuch as the author remarks that he has sent it to a large number of weekly Yugoslav publications, we do not doubt that it will be available to readers for inspection. In any case, we ought to note that the letter addresses Stevan Stanic of NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE and the undersigned, Enver Dizdar, in connection with--what else?--"Woolly Times" and Gojko Djogo. The last sentence of Moljkovic's text reads as follows:

"Comrade Stanic, Comrade Dizdar, and the other comrade-newspapermen who helped to indict and sentence Djogo, it is now your word and God's word..." No more, no less.

All right, let comrade Moljkovic carry on. It only he were the only one. But little by little, and more and more frequently, new threads of "Woolly Times" are being spun. They are being spun on wobbly looms and battlefields [play on words of similar origin] of calculatedly imaginary anxiety for the freedom of what a writer has said, written down, thought, "sacred" as it is, "above life" as it is, "beyond any possibility of guilt and therefore out of the reach of justice." There he is, the most holy, the most honored, the god who is not subject to any human law--the litterateur.

KNJIZEVNE NOVINE (to mention only the latest threads of Djogo's wool) devotes the last 6 pages of its most recent issue to documents from the trial of Gojko Djogo. In order to provide "readers with a fuller insight into the nature of this case," KNJIZEVNE NOVINE prints the text of the indictment, extracts from the concluding speech of Gojko Djogo, and the text of the substantiation from the verdict, from which (of course!) the poems for which Djogo was on trial are omitted whenever they are cited in the document in their entirety. Comment, it would seem, is unnecessary.

Momo Kapor [popular novelist] has also gotten caught up in this, in an interview that he gave to the Belgrade weekly [actually biweekly] ZUM REPORTER. Since we assume that the same people do not read both our periodical and ZUM REPORTER, we shall cite what Kapor was asked and what he answered.

"ZUM REPORTER: 'Literature has obtained readers and interpreters of a new sort--the courts. What is your comment on this "literary" phenomenon?'

"Kapor: 'I am truly astounded by any judge who, by pronouncing an unjust punishment on a writer, will remain forever registered in the history of Serbian literature. Myself, I would not dare. After all, it is uncomfortable to survive until the time when grandchildren return from school and ask grandfather why a poet had been sentenced in 1981 for writing poetry. What can the grandchildren be answered? To be specific, grandchildren lack understanding for the demands of the current political situation of 50 years earlier, for complicated political relations, accidents of circumstances, and all the rest. Grandchildren expect grandfathers to be infallible and courageous, and not to succumb to anybody's pressures. I do not know how the grandchildren of that Belgrade mayor, the one who exiled Tin Ujevic [a penniless poet] to Imtoski under guard [during the interwar era], felt. Probably they did not have an easy time of it at school. Perhaps they changed their surname to shake off the traces of their shame. To sentence a poet for writing poetry is the same as killing a pigeon on a public square. Anyone can do that, but not everyone will. Naturally, so as not to remain in the sphere of metaphor, let me say that I am referring to the poet Gojko Djogo. I am compelled to say this at this moment because perhaps someone else, soon, will have to say it on my behalf or on behalf of my friends."

If things were as Momo Kapor and his like-minded fellows describe them, we would welcome their "infallibility and courage" (even so, we really do regard them as "brave" indeed). But things are not that way, surely not. They know that well themselves. They well know, being intelligent people, all the ways in which hostility to someone or something can be expressed and manifested. They also know that poetry can be a vehicle and weapon of hatred, not just of love. Why should poetry be immuned from such a capability? Or perhaps they think that poetry is so supernuman that a person cannot judge it? Let us say, in any case, that a book and a poem can be considered an entirely human product, is it not so?

In conclusion, let us ask--in view of the entirely real possibility that Kapor and company will have grandchildren--whether they will change their surnames and traces a little later, when they realize how shameful it was to rise in defense of a person who was impudent enough to attempt to besmirch Josip Broz Tito.

CSO: 2800/150

BRIEFS

OFFICIAL REPLACED--The [Macedonian] Republican Social Council for Questions of Social Order held a session yesterday to discuss several current problems and the experience from the participation of the Republic in reaching agreements with the socialist republics and autonomous provinces on questions of mutual interest which will be decided upon in the federation. It was stated that agreement among the republics and provinces in the organs of the federation develops with well-known deadlocks and excessive difficulties, which is not just a result of the method of work and the framework of the agreement process, but also of the condition of the economy and the increased difficulties in the overall functioning of the economy and the political system of the country. Taking into consideration that the mandate of the current president, Dr Trajce Grujoski, has expired, the council elected Servet Saliu as the new president with a one-year mandate. [Excerpts] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 25 Nov 81 p 3]

JOBS FOR ALBANIAN WOMEN--Tetovo, 26 Nov--A new dispersion section of the Teteks Wool Combine in the village of Pirok was put into operation at a ceremony attended by President of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Macedonia, Blagoj Popov and by political leaders from Tetovo and the Republic, including Azem Zulficari. This is a modern facility with a production shop of 3,600 square meters. Its cost of construction was 140 million dinars and it will employ 150 women per shift. In his statement the director general of the Teteks Wool Combine, Stojan Gorcevski, said that this shop has much greater significance than just a technological production unit. Its opening is helping in the solution of the problem of employment of the female workforce of Albanian nationality, which for historical reasons has been much slower to be included in the universal socioeconomic movement. Vice President of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Macedonia, Hisen Ramadani, particularly dwelled on the question of realizing the rights and equality of peoples and nationalities, stating that on the question of nationalities Yugoslavia represents a truly positive example in the contemporary world and sets an example of a real approach to realization of the rights and equality of peoples and nationalities. [Excerpts] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 27 Nov 81 pp 1, 4]

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END

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6 JANUARY 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1957

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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CHARTER 77 REPORT ON POLLUTION OF CSSR ENVIRONMENT

Rome LISTY in Czech No 6, Nov 81 pp 34-40

[Text] The Charter 77 spokesmen have received from a circle of signatories a treatise on the state of the environment in our country.

We welcome this contribution because the resolution of the problems submitted and dealt with therein, causes a real or at least generally sensed division of this society into the powerful and the powerless, into authorities and "ordinary people." Our living environment is the concern of all citizens, and if we find a common language in resolving this problem, it will mean a rare opportunity not only for the environment but also for our society in the 1980's.

It is obvious that the outline of the problem as presented is merely fragmentary and considers only certain aspects of a broad, changing, and even today not fully understood range of problems. Given the nature of this matter, it cannot be otherwise; moreover, access to information in this area is difficult or lacking altogether. The treatise, for example, does not deal with the problem of radiation, noise, accumulation of harmful chemicals in food, production and export of wood substances and other raw materials, pollution of subsoil water, local technology for the mining of uranium, effects of urbanization on the land, influences of international political relations, etc. We hope that the treatise will be received by competent authorities, as well as the public, primarily as a stimulus for dealing with these and other aspects, and for putting the outlined problems in the broadest possible perspective, so that we may gradually seek out the causes of the present state of affairs, and adopt concrete remedial measures.

It is clear that environmental problems transcend the framework of professional expertise alone, they are part of one of the basic human rights, namely the right to life,

which is also the right of those who come after us. Consequently, responsibility for the environment is an inseparable part of all of us who defend the basic rights and liberties of man. It is obvious from the treatise which follows that without the cooperation of all citizens, these problems cannot be resolved.

The very condition of our environment indicates the need for open discussion, freedom of expression and association for those who want to defend their own interests but also live up to their civic responsibility. Last but not least, it indicates the inevitability of respecting the right of self-determination of nations and their free development.

We consider this report on the environment as a text which we hope will stimulate a great number of citizens and officials to a broader and deeper consideration of the problem, and that it will bring about within them a determination to participate in the elimination of the ominous phenomena which threaten us, as well as future generations.

12 May 1981
Vaclav Maly, Charter 77 Spokesman,
Prof Bedrich Placak, M.D., Charter 77 Spokesman,
Jaroslav Sabata, Charter 77 Spokesman,
Ladislav Lis, Member of the Collective of Charter 77 Spokesmen.

REPORT ON THE STATE OF OUR ENVIRONMENT

Much has changed in our country in the past 30 years. We are often told in great detail about the positive changes, the richness of our society's achievements and the emergence of new values. The balance sheet presented to the public, however, hardly ever mentions the changes for the worse, the destruction of values or the threat to them. It should be noted that these are not transitory values, but permanent and often irreplaceable losses. Negative changes are seen not only in relations among people, they have also afflicted the relations between man and nature. Our living environment has greatly deteriorated.

The countryside has changed. Where a new settlement emerges, the land can no longer produce. The settlement, however, need not be built on fertile land or, even worse, on the best tillable acres. During the past 7 years, we have lost 10 percent of all fertile agricultural land to all sorts of construction projects. The quality of the land which remains, deteriorates from year to year. Acres smothered by heavy machinery allow neither water nor air to permeate, they contain little humus and an increasing amount of weeds. This portion of natural resources on which our lives depend is in a serious state.

In the span of one generation, the forest has ceased to be a forest in the sense of European tree-growing culture. Except for proliferation of fungi, the harvest of forest fruits is diminishing. It can be said without exaggeration that most of our forests are immediately threatened with terminal decay.

If the numbers of hares and pheasants have dropped many times lately, if we fail to find even a single partridge in the countryside, it is only an ominous indication that the different kinds of plant and animal life are vanishing. Variety in nature is not only a cultural asset but also an important genetic factor which we must not overlook lest we upset the necessary balance in nature.

Never before have we experienced such far-reaching metamorphoses within such a short time. None of the generations which inhabited this land before us, have harmed nature as much as ours. Nature can no longer overcome the abuse of human activity. If we continue in this manner, we will endanger the natural sources of our existence and our territory will become uninhabitable.

There is no doubt that the deterioration of the environment is closely linked with the necessary growth of production. All industrially advanced countries must pay this price of progress (if mere quantitative growth in production can be called social progress). The threat to the environment in the CSSR, however, is specific and in many respects more serious than in a number of other countries. This stems from some of the special features of our economic life.

In comparison with international standards, we are not a big country and square mileage and character do not reflect the volume and especially the kind of our economic operations. There is an overabundance of heavy industry, while the quality of environmental protection against noxious manifestations and their consequences is low. Our industrial operations require large amounts of energy, primarily for transportation (to a lesser extent for extraction) of all raw materials, secondly, for their processing which is highly energy-consuming and, lastly, for transport again of heavy products, often too costly in terms of labor.

All these operations produce waste matter which harms, or destroys outright, our living environment. In comparison with the volume of waste matter and harmful byproducts, we must realize that our country is too small to afford such behavior for too long. We occupy first place in the world in the per capita production of ash debris. We pollute the waters as if we had 4 million more inhabitants, and filter it in a manner which reflects 4 million less. In comparison with advanced European states, our environmental protection is less effective, both in the quality of technological means used to improve the existing situation and in the damage to society by industrial and other enterprises which pollute the environment, and against which we apply insufficient protective measures.

Over the years, not enough attention has been devoted to the protection of the environment, which remained of secondary interest even at the recent CPCZ congress. In the discussion contribution of the prime minister of the CSR, the following was stated: "We also do not forget that without clean air, clean rivers and an abundance of forests, our concern for the living standard would completely lose its meaning." Is it true that we do not forget?

The Air We Breathe

Our atmosphere is polluted with harmful substances, in small concentrations in some places, beyond the permissible limits in others. Even in places to which we travel in search of "fresh air," we can measure considerable amounts of pollution.

For along with the air, we inhale oxides of phosphorus, carbon, and nitrogen, halogens, phenols, nitrates, hydrogen sulphide and emissions from gasoline and fuel oil, as well as a whole range of toxic substances which the present development of the human organism did not take into account.

Entire regions are polluted through the constant presence of harmful emissions: the Low and High Krusne Mountains from the Karlsbad area to Decin, the atmosphere of Central Bohemia is deteriorating rapidly, as is the Melnik area, also affected are the Pardubice area and Northern Moravia. Automobile-exhaust pollution has been added to industrial emissions. The atmosphere in Prague and Bratislava is as bad as that of the highly polluted areas of Most and Chomutov. Certain Prague districts even have a higher concentration of sulphur dioxide than the North Bohemian region (see VECERNI PRAHA of 9 February 1981). Gas emissions are joined by solid particles. The fall of ash in the CSSR has an annual average of 280 kilograms per inhabitant (we are at the head of the world chart), in certain sections of Bratislava this reaches as much as 1,000 tons per square kilometer annually. About 4 million inhabitants, i.e., 26 percent of the population, live in highly polluted areas which are harmful to health.

The main source of pollution is the burning of fossil fuels. In Europe as a whole, we annually pollute the atmosphere with 25 million tons of sulphur, and our share considerably exceeds the average corresponding to our size and number of inhabitants. Our fuels and energy consumption is based predominantly on the use of lower quality fuels, especially brown coal and lignite. Such fuels have a low heating capacity and produce large quantities of waste, especially sulphur and ash. These conditions will not improve, on the contrary, the sulphur content in coal increases constantly and, with the dropping of heating capacity, it is necessary to burn increasingly more coal. In addition to electric plants and production enterprises, such coal is used in 70 percent of households.

Tall chimneys reaching up to several hundred meters do not provide a solution and represent merely a form of abili. They help improve the situation in the immediate vicinity of the pollutant, while scattering harmful substances across a larger area. The industrial regions and neighboring states trade their emissions in this manner.

The polluted atmosphere has lately become an enormous burden on the national economy as well. Among other things, it raises the acidity of soil, disrupts building operations, and causes rapid deterioration in metal construction. Nevertheless, the greatest harm done by pollution is to living organisms. Even leaving aside the effect on human beings (we are as yet far from understanding all the long-term consequences of emissions), the state of our forests is disturbing enough even today.

In some ways, forest growth is subjected to double the amounts of pollution which inevitably lead to extinction. Other forest areas which vegetate under seemingly tolerable concentration of pollution do not die off immediately, but are seriously weakened. They thus become susceptible to assault by living organisms and weather conditions which a healthy forest would be able to cope with. With the exception of Sumava [Bohemian Forest] where this metamorphosis is as yet little noticeable, all forests in the Bohemian border regions have been severely damaged. Some are

beyond salvage, such as the Krusne, Luzicke and Jizerske mountains, and the western part of the Giant Mountains. A situation threatening annihilation, however, may soon be reached in the forest growth in the Beskydy, Jeseniky, and Orlicke mountains, and other inland forests. The effect of emissions and weakening of coniferous trees, is already noticeable.

Our forests represent a national treasure which we inherited from our forefathers and which we should safeguard for future generations (a tree grows for 100 years), not only as recreational areas and ornaments of unparallelled beauty on our land, but they are also an irreplaceable factor in water economy, in protection of soil, living things, and in the formation of the atmosphere. Even if for no other reason than to save the forests, all efforts must be focused on the improvement of air quality.

The Water We Drink

A similarly disturbing phenomenon is water pollution. In the near future, we will have to transport clean water over long distances and purchase it in containers, as we do milk and other beverages.

It is quite natural that all substances dispersed in the air will, sooner or later, end up in water. On top of this, there are pollutants which reach water without the intermediary of the atmosphere, simply by being placed there.

Our potable water contains a number of elements which reach it predominantly in the form of waste. On the other hand, this type of water lacks certain minute natural elements essential for the development of organisms. Two factors share in approximately equal parts in water pollution. The first pollutes it along the entire length of streams and in the whole process of water circulation. This is the way water is reached by chemical matter used in agriculture, especially nitrates. Together with rainwater, the soil of underground fertilizer waters is permeated with other matter distributed in the fields, and industrial emissions falling over our entire territory. These constantly growing impurities are joined each year by hundreds of so-called accidents which strike at both surface and underground waters. The most serious of these is crude-oil spillage which is caused by a wide variety of technological shortcomings (the last serious crude-oil accident was the leak in the pipeline near Havlickuv Brod. It is regrettable that the public was not--as in similar cases--informed of the causes and the magnitude of the calamity).

This type of pollution factor is largely general and anonymous. The second factor, just as devastating to water quality, almost always has an exact address and the measure of responsibility is clear. On hundreds of sites, waste is knowingly released into streams. We are referring to that portion of urban and industrial waste which industry is unable to process. Most organic pollution comes from the sewer system, and from the food, chemical and textile industries, as well as paper mills. Even though the rest of the industrial sector has a lower share in this type of pollution, it often involves exceptionally noxious substances.

The bulk of this so-called waste water can, before releasing it into the streams, be cleaned and adapted to acceptable and, in hygienic terms, permissible levels.

For as long as 22 years, our laws have demanded filtering but, unfortunately, these laws also permit the government to authorize exceptions. At the present time, more and more exceptions are being granted, and those in the know have no doubt that when the Czech and Slovak governments deal with this problem the next time, they will have no choice but to extend most of these exceptional permits.

Every year, plans for the construction of filtering stations are lowered in the central organs, and even the approved remainder is usually not implemented in practical terms. With the current rate, it seems that we will not be able to build the needed installations in less than 50 years (the rate of construction of new filtering stations in 1976-80 was indeed lower than in 1961-65) and since the sources of pollution will in the near future multiply rather than decrease, the quality of air and water will in the coming years continue to deteriorate.

The air in the countryside is still somewhat clearer than in the industrial concentrations, but the same cannot be said of the water. Frequently, water in the country is polluted with nitrates to such an extent that it can be considered a liquid suitable for use as fertilizer. Sometimes it is so bad that it cannot even be used for irrigation. City water usually contains less nitrate but more of the other toxic substances, including dozens of virus types capable of infecting hundreds of thousands of people every year.

Threatened Land, Threatened Man

Polluted air and water have a negative effect on people's health. We must also bear in mind that by no means all aftereffects manifest themselves today, and that therefore we do not even know them all. The deterioration of the environment came about too suddenly and the metamorphoses found us unprepared. The human organism did not have time to develop protective mechanisms, assuming that such exist.

For the time being, it is possible to live with polluted air and polluted water. The question is how well and for how long. The chief hygienist of the CSR announced officially that a concentration of 660 units of sulphur dioxide is the upper limit tolerable by man without damage to his health. But according to regional measurements in 1979, such concentration in the city of Chomutov reaches 860 units of SO_2. In the vicinity and in the direction of the mountains it rises to as much as 1,300 units, 1,000 in Jirkov, 880 in Klasterec nad Ohri, and 1,200 in Vejprty. Similar conditions exist in many localities of the Most, Teplice, and Usti areas, but also in the vicinity of Karlsbad and Cheb.

Children growing up in areas in which there is increased burning of energy coal, have as much as one-fifth higher count in red blood corpuscles. This is the way our organism reacts to sulphur dioxide in the atmosphere to restore oxygen sufficiency. It is an emergency measure. Each such change deprives the organism of energy which then manifests itself in different ways. Lack of reserves used up in the defense against a polluted environment becomes noticeable especially in time of sickness. In polluted industrial areas, among which we can in full measure include, for example, the industrial districts of Prague, there may not actually be more cases of upper respiratory tract inflammations, but in those which occur, the complications are usually more serious. In heavily polluted

areas, cases of leukemia in children are more common and the knitting of children's bones occurs a year later than is normal.

All this damage at an early age carries over into adulthood. Water containing nitrates fed to infants creates conditions for heart disease after the age of 30. If it is replaced by mineral water, there may be damage to the kidneys which are then still in the formative stage. Thus, the only way to ensure healthy development is to use clean water.

The average life expectancy in highly polluted areas is already 3 years less than elsewhere. Only the future will show how coming generations which have lived with pollution since birth will react, and ewhat aspects of their own physical damage they will pass on to their children at conception. Economic losses caused by deterioration of the environment are of such magnitude that often they are likened to the total cost of our entire retirement benefits system. Even more significant, however, are the losses which cannot be translated into figures and which represent a great worsening of the quality of life.

Secrecy Delays Needed Changes

The deteriorating environment is talked about in our country with an officially weighed measure of criticism. Some data appear from time to time in publications with limited circulation and intended for a small circle of specialists, other data, such as, for instance, on the harmful effects of pollution on health, are considered secret. We believe that this factual concealment of the truth is dangerous. Efforts to create the impression that the deterioration of the environment, while an unpleasant problem, is one of a secondary nature which is in the process of being resolved today and will remain manageable in the future, are obviously prompted by fear of panic. But, in fact, if there is panic, it will be the consequence of ill-conceived long-term concealment of an alarming reality. If the authorities admitted, for example, what the inhabitants of Chomutov are exposed to every day, the number of people moving out of the area would promptly increase. Many citizens would consider their and their children's health more important than higher wages. This would cause economic complications, there might arise questions of who is responsible and above all, doubts whether the economic development of past years had been planned and conceived intelligently, or whether in its consequences it was bound to bring about negative changes in our living environment.

For example, extraction and burning of brown coal is planned to increase in the coming decade, while coal extracted in the future will contain 7-10 percent sulphur, so that the sulphur content in the atmosphere will increase by half again. Moreover, this coal will be mined at enormous expense.

More towns and industrial complexes which will have to be relocated, will be sacrificed to surface mines several dozen meters deep, while no one has a realistic idea whether there is any chance of restoring the land destroyed in the process. If we continue in this manner, the quality of water will also get worse every year because pollution sources still grow faster than measures against them. Even today, the amount of nitrates in water is alarming, while intensification of agricultural production is merely in its initial stages. The

effects of pollution are often noticeable only some time after the entry of the harmful substances into the soil; consequently, we cannot tell if the amount of nitrates in water corresponds to the current quantities of chemicals used in agriculture. One thing is certain, namely, with the current thinking in agriculture and its corresponding practices which have the sole purpose of a constant quantitative rise in production, water and air will later be in even worse condition than today.

Main Pollution Sources and the Road to Improvement

We believe that in order to achieve a meaningful turn in this problem, we must focus on the principal sources of pollution, even though we must not overlook the others. The main source of atmospheric pollution is the type of noxious emissions produced by burning brown coal and most emissions from thermal electric plants. Thus far, we have not resorted to technology which would isolate the sulphur and prevent it from entering the atmosphere. Unless we do this on a large scale, there is no choice but to reduce, rather than increase, the use of brown coal. This need not cause our energy inventory to decrease, provided we overcome prevailing views that to each additional requirement in production we must react by further increasing it. The capacity of 100 (or 1,000, or 5,000) megawatts of electric energy anticipated for the necessary increment in our energy inventory, can be resolved in one of two ways; either by new capital investment construction which is the currently preferred method, or by decreasing current consumption by the same amount. There is no doubt that the second alternative is equally effective, less costly and more desirable with respect to the environment. While we have a state program of rationalization in energy consumption, it is inadequate and not properly adhered to. This is not because we have reached the limit of our capabilities, but rather because we have insufficiently applied factors which would inevitably lead to savings in this field. International comparison clearly shows that in energy consumption per production unit, we are far behind developed states. About 30 percent can be saved if we apply already known technological methods. Instead of progressive investment in energy savings which would benefit the environment, we keep investing in increasing extraction of brown coal and in additional electric plants which harm the environment. Most of our electricity--about three-fourths--is used up by large and medium consumers. Yet, production enterprises are still not sufficiently motivated to deal with the problem of savings seriously. The catch is that in terms of budget considerations, they do not feel pressed into this, since the cost is anticipated in the production plans. Also, they have learned to live with limited availability of energy, which is easier and less demanding than engaging in the complicated process of introducing new, more economical technology. The lack of concern in many enterprises about the need for energy conservation is primarily the result of economic calculations under the given indicators. The management knows that the superior organs which request a product, will in the end agree to allocate sufficient energy resources. And even in the worst situation, there is always the reserve of free resources, for example, Saturdays. The struggle for energy is waged in negotiations with distribution plants and higher organs, rather than with technological components.

For the most part, the enterprises are not even equipped for energy conservation. While other developed industrial countries established the position of specialist in energy conservation years ago, our enterprise workers in energy often lack even rudimentary technical knowledge. Even if they do have such qualifications, they cannot or are not permitted to put it to practical use. They are not expected to be experts on energy conservation, rather their basic task is to ensure sufficient amounts of energy, and their performance is rated accordingly. For this purpose, there are no supraenterprise branch and state organs which would effectively deal with the problem and provide practical assistance to the enterprises in the handling of it. It is not surprising that under these circumstances, there remain many unexploited opportunities for energy conservation and that the main developmental trend is focused on finding new energy sources.

While insufficiently informed citizens get a taste of the deteriorating environment, they are ignorant of its true state and its relationships. Consequently, they consider calls for energy conservation (primarily in the production process where it would be more effective) just another type of moralizing official exhortation toward economizing generally, and they react accordingly. Until such time as the need to improve the critically threatened environment becomes the subject of a broadly-based, open discussion, and until energy conservation is understood as a task transcending all other political and economic imperatives as a goal directed at the protection of health and salvage of the land, we cannot expect a turn in energy consumption toward real rationalization.

It is difficult to take seriously the words of our national economic officials on the need for energy conservation when we find that in a district capital it is impossible to find even simple insulation materials for windows and doors. It is well known that in our country, perhaps more than anywhere else in Central Europe, we are guilty of an enormous waste in energy. In a society whose environment is so overburdened with burning coal, we would expect more concern for improvement by the state. We believe it is not asking too much to require responsible institutions to check the heating systems in buildings (where most losses occur) as is customary in other countries, and advise the manager or owner how to effectively prevent waste, how to use supplementary energy sources and how to economize in this area. Again, the catch is that by far most citizens living in housing settlements have no immediate material incentive to conserve heating and hot water. Energy experts have found, for example, that the system of measuring heating and hot-water consumption in individual households leads to substantial savings (30 percent immediately). Unfortunately, we do not have the means for the introduction of heating and hot-water meters. Automatic regulation in thermal plants is indeed economical, however, there is a lack of necessary equipment (small and medium thermal plants in cities do not even have ash separators). There is a shortage of thermostats of sufficient variety and at acceptable prices. Most electrical appliances for home use are wasteful in energy, and more rational models are still too expensive. We are falling behind the global trend of energy conservation, without even considering effective new technological advances. A more thoughtful policy of energy conservation and consumption, overall state support and, where needed, subsidization at the expense of coal mining and thermal plants, can contribute to a halt in environmental deterioration. In order for things to start improving, it will be necessary to gradually eliminate all industrial emissions and, above all, to restructure the whole system of energy production and consumption.

Certain International Relationships

Even if we do not increase the amount of noxious substances in the burning of coal, we still cannot be sure that the harmful content of our atmosphere will not grow. Pollution sources in the GDR contribute to half of the overall pollution in Northern Bohemia. Pollution originating from sources in the Polish People's Republic [PLR] add significantly to atmospheric deterioration in the areas of the Jizerske and Luzicke mountains. Our own efforts to halt emissions would produce only limited results, if the planned growth of brown coal electric plants in the GDR and PLR is implemented in areas from whence we are afflicted today.

Whereas up to now the reaction to mutual pollution was that there is no sense in blaming one another, effective measures adopted by one side must establish an entirely new relationship, i.e., emphatic defense of national interests and international resolution of a critical situation.

Is Nuclear Energy the Answer?

In Europe and other parts of the world there has for years existed an activist movement of opponents of nuclear power plants. We understand its motivation and carefully monitor its argumentation. For us, Czechoslovak citizens, however, the immediate threat comes from the existing traditional sources of electricity. We are overwhelmed with gas and solid emissions to an extent which imperils life itself. Unless we want to give up the bulk of electric power and sink to a lower level of technology and civilization, we must turn to other, unconventional energy sources. The best answer, of course, would be in the new "clean sources," i.e., direct conversion of solar energy, geothermal, and hydraulic energy, etc. It is doubtful though that practical application of these sources will materialize before the year 2000. Naturally, we should even now exploit all technologically viable opportunities of solar collectors, thermal pumps for heating water, etc. Special attention should be given to the construction of hydroelectric plants, especially on smaller streams where some small plants had shortsightedly been liquidated. Recently, nuclear power plants have been coming to the fore.

Research conducted around the world, indicates that nuclear energy is many times safer (British findings claim 140 times) than thermal energy plants. Under Czechoslovak conditions, this sounds promising. Nevertheless, we should consider the undisputable, as well as anticipated, risks. If, however, we still favor nuclear power due to its being "clean," we must, of course, insist that all measures to protect human health and the environment, be consistently respected. The Czechoslovak nuclear program is based on the VVER electric power plants. These installations in Jaslovske Bohunice and Dukovany, however, do not have the active zone protected by a double layer as is customary today in nuclear plant construction in the West, and even in Finland, which has already installed this type of protection. This is a matter of mandatory caution in the interest of the population in countries where a nuclear plant cannot be built in the wilderness, but sometimes as close as 20 kilometers from the nearest settlement. In Western European countries, the protective coating is planned and tested against external shock equivalent of an airplane crash. The likelihood that a nuclear power plant would ever become the site of an airplane disaster is remote, but the consequences of such an improbable accident in a densely populated country would be so catastrophic that it is not hard to understand such caution, and demand it here, too.

Equally stringent measures must be enforced in the storage of radioactive waste (fully leakproof for 600 years), in the disposal of water containing tritium, and finally in special training and restrictions on work schedules of nuclear plant personnel. If these technicians work perhaps only 12 hours a week with ample opportunity for maximum concentration, it is more important to society than the so-called productive utilization of labor with the attendant risk of human error. In other words, in the construction and operation of nuclear plants, the criteria for economizing cannot be applied in the same manner as in other types of endeavor.

Automobile Traffic

Inhabitants of urban centers residing near communciations arteries with heavy motor car traffic, suffer not only from industrial emissions but are, in addition, afflicted with the effects of toxic exhaust fumes of gasoline and engine oil. Their health is thus doubly jeopardized. Our motor construction, chemical composition, and even maintenance practices are not up to world standards and requirements for environmental protection. Even though atmospheric pollution by exhaust fumes from the internal combustion engine still remains a global problem in certain formerly critically polluted areas, thanks to effective technological and organizational measures, the situation is beginning to improve, as for instance, in Japan. Pollution in our big cities, especially Prague and Bratislava, however, is not likely to recede in the foreseeable future. Radical curtailment of traffic and exclusion of transit roads from the inner city, are not yet on the horizon, on the contrary, Prague inherited a new source of pollution (the long-distance expressway runs through the city). Introduction of trolley buses for urban mass transit is not being considered, neither are electric-powered vehicles. Yet, the constantly diminishing green areas in cities, can no longer fulfill their role of filters. The desirable size of plant life area per inhabitant is 20-25 square meters, but in Bratislava this comes to only 4 square meters. According to the VECERNI PRAHA of 9 April 1981, in the Nove Mesto district of Prague, there is only 1.2 square meters of green area per person, and in the Smichov district 0.89 square meters.

What Can Be Done to Purify Water

Directives have been issued demanding adherence to certain rules in the vicinity of local water works, in the so-called protective zones. We must welcome this effort and support it in every possible way. Control of pollution sources emanating from agriculture does not need capital investment and costly measures nearly as much as it needs thoughtful and intelligent action. Often we find cases where a whole variety of chemical substances is placed in the soil, not because the crop absolutely needs them or because it was impossible to achieve the same effect by other, cleaner methods, but rather because the distribution of chemicals is planned in a stereotyped manner and had been earlier agreed on in contracts. We must create conditions in which we have a much better overview of the situation in order to reduce pollution caused by releasing noxious substances from sewers and industrial waste into our streams. It has already been mentioned that construction of filtering stations is being postponed and runs behind planned requirements, as well as in keeping up with growing pollution. In the next 20 years, the amount of organic pollutants is expected to rise by a full one-third of the present amount. Central organs still do not consider the need of the population for clean water of primary importance. This is demonstrated by the fact that less

than .5 percent of all planned capital investment is allocated for waste-filtering stations. We are aware that there are many diverse needs and special interests which have to be considered in the allocation of public funds, but the purity of water, a crucial element of life which we use every day and on which depends the present and future well-being of the nation, should certainly be considered more valuable than the equivalent of one two-hundredth of all anticipated other interests.

Our Tasks

We maintain that the state of the living environment in the CSSR is very serious, certainly more serious than is officially admitted. If responsible citizens during the next few years succeed in halting the deterioration of the environment, it will be an important milestone for society. Eventually, actual improvement of the quality of air, water and the overall condition of nature is imperative for the future of our two nations. It will require more modern technological approaches, newly-conceived, less wasteful energy consumption and the ability to process that which today we consider waste. Making our environment healthier will not be possible without basic reconstruction of the industrial branches which henceforth must give nature a chance to adapt itself to the disruptive effects of progress.

Last but not least, we must gradually recapture again that long-lost, as well as newly-perceived, wisdom which is able to distinguish what in the life of man is really important. The finite character of life's necessities must lead us not only to the art of deliberate economic management, but also to the willingness to give up certain claims to an even more leisurely and, through technology, more guaranteed way of life oriented only toward the consumption of material assets. We will be confronted with a new way of thinking, a new assessment of values and an awakening to new responsibilities. The very condition of our living environment summons us to this task.

We Propose:

--Open a public discussion on the state and outlook of our environment, and make it possible for the public to effectively participate in the recovery of our natural resources through spontaneous associations and initiatives; only through cooperation between the authorities and informed citizens can we hope to achieve beneficial changes. This effort will make use of already existing concepts which are oriented, more or less, in the right direction. We should enhance the authority of the existing Union for the Protection of Nature, and authorize the establishment and activity of similar associations and committees at all levels.

--Organize freely-elected committees for the protection of the environment and healthy working conditions in plants whose production most negatively affects the environment (chemical, lime and cement works, large electric plants, metallurgical works and mines). In cases where, as a result of production, the environment continues to deteriorate further and remedial action fails to bring about the desired results, these committees will have the right to propose a halt in operations and in capital investment construction.

--National committees of all levels will inform the public of environmental damage caused by industrial or agricultural operations which, by their importance, transcend the jurisdiction of a given national committee.

--Organize a committee for the protection of the environment which, as an independent citizens' initiative--and separate from official organs or already existing associations--would study the problem and propose appropriate action.

--In design and operations of nuclear power plants, all safety measures customary in European countries with dense populations, must be applied.

--Motivate trade union plant committees and higher union organs to insist, in line with their mission, on the observance of laws and standards which apply to this area and, if needed, propose supplements and amendments. If appropriate, the union organs should revise their collective contracts and add clauses dealing with environmental protection at the enterprise and broader level.

--We call on economists and economic managers to assess without bias the impact of contemporary national economic concepts of our state on the environment and present their conclusions to the public for evaluation.

--Ensure deserved publicity for economic problems, publish in sufficiently large editions the works of Czechoslovak specialists, as well as translations of foreign authors. Prepare regular, comprehensive reports on the state of the environment and its prospects to be published in easily accessible periodicals on the national and regional levels; publish an ecological atlas of the CSSR containing information on the principal sources of air and water pollution, on the state of our fauna and flora, etc. In highly threatened areas, also inform the public by means of the mass information media on the degree of noxious concentrations, dangerous drinking water, etc.

--Initiate tripartite negotiations of the CSSR, GDR and the PLR, where measures against further deterioration of the environment in the border regions would be coordinated. Adopt the principle that measures by one of these countries must not be frustrated through higher noxious emissions on the territory of the other two. Publicize the course and results of such negotiations. We propose that CSSR state representatives take the initiative toward the formation of a permanent European council for the environment, based on principles of cooperation among participants of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Following a preliminary exchange of views and programs, strive in the first phase for effective cooperation with all neighboring countries; in the second, enter negotiations proper on the all-European level.

--Make arrangements for existing organs and, in the future, for new organizations, associations and individuals who are interested in environmental problems, to allow them free communication and exchange of information with similar organizations, associations and individuals abroad.

--We propose that the Directives for National Economic Development for 1981-85 include proposed solutions for the negative effects of the existing orientation of production, extraction of raw materials, and related transport operations, on

the living environment. The directives should set aside a portion of capital investment for the installation or modernization of ash separators, equipment in electric and thermal plants for the removal of sulphur, construction of filtering stations, etc. Make it quite clear to enterprises and national committees that, in accordance with appropriate new legislation, the Czech and Slovak governments will after 1985 no longer grant exceptions for the filtering of water waste. Include in the cited directives measures which would lead to a significant improvement of the environment by the end of this decade at the latest.

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STUDENT QUESTIONS ON MILITARY ACADEMIES ANSWERED

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 14 Nov 81 p 3

[Answers to student questions by Lt Col Stefan Durkovic: "Military Schools"]

[Text] In these days, students at basic and high schools are making the final decision on what field of study they will major in at high school or college. Many of them are interested in study at military schools. This is borne out by the questions which they sent to our editor. In our supplement FREKVENCIA CSO 77 MILITARY SCHOOLS, these questions are answered by CSLA [Czechoslovak People's Army] member Lt Col Stefan Durkovic.

High Schools

[Question by Milan Pacovsky, Cadca] What are the conditions that an applicant for study at the military school must meet?

[Answer] He must be interested and possess prerequisites indispensable for performance of service as a professional soldier as well as political and moral qualities and good health. CSSR citizenship also is required. Naturally, he must successfully complete ZDS [9-year basic school] and, if an applicant for study at college, he must also pass maturita [secondary school graduation examination]. There is emphasis on the age limit but we shall deal with that in connection with another question.

[Question by Viera Patakyova, Nove Zamky] My son is interested in study at a military school. Whom should he ask for assistance: the school or military administration?

[Answer] Requests and applications for all types of military schools are accepted and discussed by the appropriate--okres or district--military administration. The applicant for study at a high school will call on the military administration according to the place of his residence. The applicants for study at a college, 2-year officer school, 1-year maturita course and female applicants for a course for women will get in touch with the military administration in the territory where they attended the high school.

[Question by Peter Sykora, Krupina] I have heard that there is an age limit for study at military schools.

[Answer] Boys who apply for study at high schools, those who have finished the eighth or ninth grade of ZDS by 15 July of the year in which they send the application must be 14 years old and must not be older than 16 years when they start the study. Applicants for study at military colleges must not be older than 24 years in the year in which they start studying, but a 21-year limit applies to students at the Military College for Pilots in Kosice.

[Question by Michal Sedlak, Puchov] Do students at military schools have vacations or only furloughs?

[Answer] Since the military schools are part of the Czechoslovak educational system, similar regulations apply to the duration of studies and vacations. Students at military high schools have vacations at the same time and of the same length as corresponding civilian schools, that is, 10 days during Christmas and New Year holidays and 7 days of vacation in spring. Summer vacations last 6 weeks. During vacation, high school students can wear civilian clothes. College students have a vacation of 7-10 days during the Christmas and New Year holidays, 7 days after the end of the winter semester and 30 days of summer vacation.

[Question by Ernest Stric, Kezmarok] Some people say that the maturita certificate or engineer's diploma issued by a military school is not valid upon return to civilian life.

[Answer] This is not true. Our army is naturally interested in continued service of graduates from military schools. However, if an individual for reasons of health or other reasons returns to civilian life, his education acquired in the army fully applies to his civilian status and employment. This is clearly formulated in the laws and decrees applicable to high schools, in the law on colleges, Labor Code and other regulations.

[Question by Maria Ferencova, Michalovce, and Maria B, Dubnica nad Vahom] What possibility of studying at military schools exists for girls?

[Answer] At the present time, the CSLA does not accept girls for any type of military schools. This does not mean, however, that you cannot become a CSLA member. After completing high school study ending with the maturita, you can register for study in a 1-year technical course. The upper age limit for the female applicant is 21 years. You can enroll in the course at Kosice: for ground specialists of air force at Nove Mesto nad Vahom, signal file service and in Prague, operator of radio-technical troops, signal specialist (spojovaci specialista) of state air defense. After the completion of the course, you will become a member of the staff sergeant corps. The okres or district military administration will supply you with information on start of these courses.

[Question by Rudolf Bockal, Humenne] In which town are the military gymnasiums located?

[Answer] There are four military gymnasiums in our entire country: at Banska Bystrica, Moravska Trebova, Opava and Prague-Ruzyn. These are selective boarding schools, basic subjects are determined by the curricula of civilian gymnasiums--Czech or Slovak language, Russian language, mathematics, physics, geography, history, chemistry, descriptive geometry, biology and geology, creative arts or music and military preparation. In addition to Russian, students learn another foreign language. The 4-year course at the military gymnasiums ends with the maturita examination.

[Question by Stefan Lambert, Komarno] What subjects are part of entrance examinations for military technical high schools?

[Answer] In the mother tongue--Slovak or Czech--mathematics and physical fitness. Part of the entrance proceedings is also an interview with the applicant. Study at military secondary technical schools lasts 4 years and ends with the maturita examination. Military high schools are in the following cities: Martin--the graduates can perform commander and technical functions in the artillery units, army engineer corps and armament service; Nove Mesto nad Vahom--communication electric engineering (oznamovacia elektrotechnika); Zilina--training of experts for food supply, armament and health service as well as service for motor fuels and lubricants; Valasske Mezirici--command and technical functions for chemical, railroad and highway troops; Nitra--graduates perform technical functions in tank and automobile units; Presov--training of staff sergeants for the function of technicians in engineering-aviation service, radio operators for air force and technicians for weather service for air force; Liptovsky Mikulas--electrical equipment for air defense troops; and Roudnice nad Labem--graduates become members of military orchestras.

[Question by Vladimir Hubka, Bratislava] If I were to start studying at a military technical high school, when would I be called to basic military service?

[Answer] Students at military technical high schools do 5-month substitute military service instead of basic military service. According to the military law, they do substitute military service from 15 February to 15 July in the fourth year of their studies. When the student starts substitute military service, his parents cease to be entitled to family allowance.

[Question by Peter Dzurik, Liptovsky Mikulas] If I am not accepted by the military high schools, can I file an appeal against the decision and to whom should this appeal be addressed?

[Answer] Upon the conclusion of entrance proceedings, the parents are notified of the result. The notification is simultaneously sent to the appropriate military administration and principal of the school in which the applicant finishes his obligatory school attendance. The appeal can be filed by the parents within 15 days of the notification. The appeal is sent to the CSSR Ministry of National Defense through the mediation of the military school which conducted the entrance proceedings. The applicant will be notified in writing of the final decision.

[Question by Jan Jurek, Banska Bystrica] I have heard that 2-year schools for officers [DDS] were abolished in our army. Is this true?

[Answer] You have incorrect information. The DDS are at Presov, Martin, Liptovsky Mikulas, Nitra, Nove Mesto nad Vahom and Valasske Mezirici. The boys trained in blue-collar and agricultural jobs are offered complete high school education with the maturita examination and military technical training qualifying them for performance of basic commander and officer's technical functions. These are boarding schools. The DDS students do substitute military service during the first 5 months of their studies whereupon they are accepted as professional soldiers in the rank of sergeant first class. The monthly income of the DDS student is Kcs 850 in the first year and Kcs 950 in the second year. Following practical service in the units, they continue their studies at the military college.

[Question by Juraj Novotny, Poprad] What is the purpose of 1-year maturita courses and what are the work possibilities upon their completion?

[Answer] One-year maturita courses take place in selective boarding schools. The students acquire complete general high school education with the maturita examination and are prepared for study at military colleges. Registration is open to CSSR citizens from the ranks of blue-collar and agricultural apprentices properly trained up to 20 years of age who meet the political, moral and health requirements and have the required grades. The 1-year maturita courses are organized at the military educational center of the First Czechoslovak Army Corps in Martin and military education center in Liptovsky Mikulas. After completing the course, the students enroll in military college from which they graduate with the rank of lieutenant with an engineer's diploma. For the 1982/1983 school year for graduates with a matura, CSLA will also reopen 1-year schools for officers in the following cities: Hranice in Moravia--motorized rifle shooting (motostrelecky smer); Opava--construction and housing; Liptovsky Mikulas--air defense; Presov--air force commanders. The students will graduate with the rank of second lieutenant with the prospect of continuing their study, after practical service in the unit, at military college.

Schools of Higher Learning

[Question by Ivan Gasparik, Senica] I will submit to the matura examination at the end of this school year. For which military schools of higher learning can I apply?

[Answer] It is a pity that you do not indicate the type of school which you attend and in which field of study you are interested. As a result, I can give you general information only. There is a military college for ground troops at Vyskov in Moravia for study in the following fields: motorized rifle-shooting troops and reconnaissance; tanks; artillery; army engineer and chemical disciplines. At the A. Zapotocky Military Academy in Brno the following fields can be studied: tanks and automobiles; army engineer troops and engineering; armament--technical; armament--electrical engineering; military communication equipment; military computers; geodesy, cartography and weather service. In Bohemia, it is possible to study at the J. E. Purkyne Military Institute for Medical Research

and Advanced Training in Hradec Kralove: general medicine, stomatology and general pharmacy, and in the military department of the Charles University Faculty of Physical Education and Sports. There are five military colleges in Slovakia: Military Technical College at Liptovsky Mikulas with emphasis on air defense, radar and signal troops; Military College of Aviation in Kosice for pilots' training and engineering air service; at Zilina there are two schools: Military College for Securing Rear and Equipment--economics of the army--food, armament, motor fuel supply and financing, and Military Faculty of the Transportation and Communications College--construction and restoration of railroad tracks, military transportation. Bratislava offers the possibility of studying military policy at the Military Political Academy.

General Information

[Question by Pavol K., Dolny Kubin] If I register for study at a military college, will I have to do the basic military service?

[Answer] According to the defense law every CSSR citizen, mentally and physically able, must do service in the state armed forces. Nobody can be excused from this basic service, one of the most honorable duties of the citizen. As a student at a military college, you will do substitute military service during the first 5 months of your studies. Then you will become a professional soldier with all rights and requisites. As is the case at a military high school, room and board and outfit are paid for by the military administration.

[Question by Mikulas Jankovic, Filakovo] What scholarship does the military college student receive?

[Answer] After enrolling at a military college, the student does substitute military service during the first 5 months. Upon the completion of substitute military service, he becomes a professional soldier in the rank of sergeant first class. His monthly income usually is Kcs 900 during the first year of studies, Kcs 1,000 during the second year, Kcs 1,200 during the third year, Kcs 1,300 during the fourth year and Kcs 1,500 during the fifth and following years. Married students receive a special monthly allowance of Kcs 300 for their dependent spouse and Kcs 200 for each of their dependent children. Students graduate from the college with an engineering degree and rank of lieutenant.

[Question by Julius Bakos, Brezno] I have decided to study at the SNP [Slovak National Uprising] Military Aviation College in Kosice, pilot branch. My friends, however, tell me that pilot training in the Zvazarm aeroclub is a precondition for enrollment. Otherwise allegedly I will not be accepted...

[Answer] Although completion of training in airplanes or gliders of the Zvazarm aeroclub is not a condition, applicants who have completed this training are selected on a priority basis. In addition to the basic conditions of enrollment at any military college, the applicant for pilot training must not be older than 21 years, must have complete secondary education, including the maturita examination, and must meet a particularly strict criterion in regard to health. Prior to the entrance examinations, the applicant is invited to the Institute for Aviation Medicine in Prague where, following scrupulous examination, the decision is made whether he is physically fit.

[Question by Jozef Miklosovic, Lucenec] A friend who is studying at a military college praised the material facilities at his school so highly that I suspected him of exaggeration. Are the technical facilities at military schools really so excellent?

[Answer] You have not said what your friend specifically talked about. The fact is that military colleges are located in recently built comprehensive compounds. Their classrooms, laboratories, special equipment rooms and special classrooms are furnished with the most modern aids and equipment. In addition to the educational section, the compound usually contains dormitories and space for cultural activities and sports. The teaching staff has the best specialists of the army in its ranks. All teaching aids, extensive libraries, facilities for various hobby clubs are available to students. It is possible to say that military schools have created all conditions and prerequisites for a harmonious development of student personality.

[Question by Jan Vretenar, Opava] I want to study at the CSSP [Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship] military technological college at Liptovsky Mikulas. At the present time, however, I am doing basic military service. Do I have the right to take time off for entrance examinations?

[Answer] A soldier doing basic military service has the right to apply for study at military school. If you need time off for entrance examinations, you can be granted an extraordinary furlough. This is a specific case in which the commander of the unit will decide whether your personal absence will not be detriment to combat efficiency and combat readiness of your unit.

[Question by Bozena Karabova, Bratislava] My son will finish military gymnasium by the end of this school year. Does he have a chance to study at the military college of physical education in Prague?

[Answer] The correct name of the school is: the Military Department of the Charles University Faculty of Physical Education and Sports (VO FTVS UK) in Prague. I want to emphasize, however, that the purpose of study at a gymnasium is to prepare students primarily for study at the Military College for Ground Troops at Vyskov in Moravia and Military Technical College at Liptovsky Mikulas. If your son decides in favor of another school, his application will be ruled upon by the gymnasium commander, who will evaluate your son's physical fitness and talents for sports. Oral and written entrance examinations are in biology and social sciences with emphasis on the theory and methodology of physical education. The practical part of entrance examinations consists of swimming, gymnastics, track athletics and some sports games which are specified in accordance with the entrance proceedings every year. During the study at VO FTVS UK, the student must master also skiing and skating. Upon completion of studies, the graduates are sent as physical education instructors to military units, formations, schools and CSLA establishments.

[Question by Lubomir Vojtek, Stara Tura] The high standard of our military medicine is well known. Where do the physicians acquire such broad technical theoretical knowledge and practical experience?

[Answer] Military physicians are educated at the J.E. Purkyne Military Institute for Medical Research and Advanced Training in Hradec Kralove. The study in the department of general medicine lasts 6 years and in the department of stomatology and pharmacy 5 years. The institute closely cooperates with the Medical Faculty of Charles University in Hradec Kralove.

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WRITERS' DEFENSE OF BIERMANN, CONSEQUENCES RECOUNTED

Protest Action's Development, Consequences

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 35 No 48, 23 Nov 81 pp 86-87, 90, 92, 94, 96-98, 101-103, 106, 108

/Article by Karl-Heinz Jakobs, dissident GDR writer in FRG: "'We Will Never Forget Their Big Mouths'—GDR Author Karl-Heinz Jakobs on East German Writers and Biermann's Deprivation of Citizenship"/

> /Text/ The relationship between the artistic community and the SED regime was severely shaken by the expulsion from the GDR of songwriter Wolf Biermann. 13 GDR artists, joined by hundreds of others, protested against Biermann's expatriation. Numerous writers, musicians and actors left their homeland for good; more than a dozen others obtained permission to take up residence in the West for an extended period of time. Novelist Karl-Heinz Jakobs, one of those involved at the time, provides this account of what the relations between the SED and the GDR writers' community were in the aftermath of Biermann's expulsion. Jakobs, too, is now living in the FRG.

On the morning of 17 November 1976, Heym called up Hermlin to discuss the news item and the commentary that appeared in that day's newspaper. Heym asked Hermlin whether they should not take action to protest the expatriation. Hermlin thought they should but had no idea of what the two of them might actually do. Heym got the impression that Hermlin dreaded the consequences. They hung up without having agreed on a course of action.

3 hours later, Hermlin called up Heym and asked him to come over. He said he had given the matter more thought and now wanted to talk things over. When Heym arrived at Hermlin's apartment, he was surprised to find others of his colleagues already there. Hermlin had prepared the draft of a protest resolution and proposed to turn it over to the French news agency where he had good friends, he said.

Those in attendance said they were prepared to sign the document. Only Christa Wolf asked for 10 minutes to think things over and retired to an adjoining room.

When she came back, she asked whether it would not be preferable to appeal to Honecker directly. This suggestion was turned down on the grounds that such an appeal would have no effect whatsoever. Only a quick and courageous expression of protest over the Western media held any promise of success. It was decided to provide both NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and Agence France Presse (AFP) with a copy of the protest, with the former being given priority on publication.

In order to make sure, a 3-hour embargo was placed on AFP. Christa Wolf argued that the embargo was too short; but her motion did not carry. There followed some discussion as to who else might be persuaded to put his name to the document. When they called up Dr Hacks, he turned them down saying he had not yet taken leave of his senses. Fritz Cremer, just released from hospital on a trial basis, said he would sign. To everyone's surprise, Rolf Schneider just happened to drop in then and proceeded to sign the document immediately.

Gerhard Wolf and Hermlin then took the letter they all had signed and drove to sculptor Cremer's house. The only change he suggested was that the words "we demand" in the last paragraph should be replaced by "we ask." His suggestion was complied with and from that point on the protest was turned into a petition. Cremer also said: who are we to make demands on the party.

Gerhard Wolf and Hermlin told Cremer several times they had not come to pressure him but merely to talk things over so that he would not say later he had been passed over.

Each time Cremer said: no, don't worry. I am for it. When Gerhard Wolf and Hermlin had already said goodbye to him, Cremer called after them: yes, the way the text now reads, I am for it. It is hard to say whether Cremer knew or sensed which way the petition would go.

After they left Cremer's house, Hermlin and Schneider drove to the NEUES DEUTSCHLAND building and left the document with the doorman, pointing out to him that it should be brought to the editor-in-chief's attention immediately. In a covering letter, emphasis was made of the significance of the document. After that, Hermlin and Schneider took the list of signatures to the Frenchman. It was now exactly 2.30 pm.

By the time the document landed on Honecker's desk it was 6 pm; the embargo had run out a half-hour earlier. By then, the text was already being circulated by the Western media and even if he had wanted to, Honecker no longer was free to make a decision. Lateron, there would be a great deal of dispute concerning this half-hour gap. Didn't the party and didn't Erich himself deserve more confidence than the 3 hours the embargo provided, the minister of culture asked the Berlin writers on 23 November on the verge of tears. The petition, he said, expressly stated that thought should be given to the measure decided upon. How was one to reflect on something with a 3-hour embargo hanging over one's head ? Would it not have been fairer to give Erich at least 12 hours' time ?

Or 24 hours, someone called out from the floor. Or 4 days, cried another. Or 4 years, shouted a provocateur.

By this time, 110 cultural figures had put their name to the petition. The SED leadership, worried about the possibility of the protest's widening, put pressure on the signers to withdraw their names.

Among the 35 writers, there were 10 SED members and one member of the party leadership. For this reason, it became the job of the Berlin party organization above all to get the petitioners to return to the fold of disciplined party members and citizens. Toward this end, four party meetings were scheduled in all, the first one taking place on 23 November.

It became known that the minister of culture promised the aged, ailing Cremer that his imprisoned son-in-law would be released, if the sculptor publicly stated that he was pressured into signing and was withdrawing his name for that reason.

At the first party meeting, the minister of culture very excitedly waved a document on the podium, offering one and all to have a look at it. It stated that Cremer's son-in-law was released 12 hours prior to the time that Cremer declared his signature to be null and void. He kept on waving the document; but no one wanted to read it.

The second party meeting at the Berlin writers' union took place on 26 November. On the next day, Honecker asked Hermlin to stop by and showed him a handwritten slip of paper which contained only one sentence: It was a mistake for us to turn to an imperialist news service.

Honecker then asked Hermlin to sign the piece of paper, saying that he needed the statement for the next plenum of the central committee. He added that he wanted to prevent the central committee from adopting measures which might lead to a confrontation between the writers and the party as in December 1965. If Hermlin signed, he would be able to placate the plenum in the sense that this time the writers were willing and aole to work out the situation that had arisen in their union all by themselves.

Honecker asked Hermlin why he had not gone to him directly on 17 November. Hermlin replied by saying he knew that Honecker was at an important meeting at the time and that the petition simply could not be held up. If you had let me know, Honecker then said, I would have come out of any meeting, however important.

At this stage, Hermlin altered Honecker's wording to: it was my mistake...Honecker called his secretary into the room and gave the handwritten paper to copy on the typewriter. Hermlin asked that no carbon copy be made of the typewritten statement which, he said, was meant only for Honecker to present to the plenum.

At the opening of the first party disciplinary proceedings shortly before Christmas 1976, each accused was shown a text signed by Hermlin—whoever approved of it would have nothing to fear. What they did not know was that this text was a fake not identical with the sentence Honecker was to present to the central committee. They thought Hermlin had had a change of heart; but none of them signed the statement.

When Hermlin learned of the bogus text that was meant to sway his five colleagues, he handed a statement to the party leadership of the Berlin writers' union and to SED district headquarters in Berlin repudiating the sentence he had jointly composed with Honecker. A few days later, he repudiated the repudiation of the repudiation.

Party proceedings were also instituted against Hermlin. At the third party meeting, which took place immediately thereafter, he was penalized with a severe reprimand. At this point, he was faced with new proceedings since by repudiating his repudiated repudiation he was indirectly accusing Honecker of blackmail and treachery and both the party leadership and the district organization of falsifying documents.

Everything Honecker and Hermlin talked about and wrote in private has undergone correction several times since. At first, word was that Hermlin had expressly forbidden Honecker to make use of the altered sentence anywhere but in the central committee. But now word is that the content of their private conversation was not reported in full.

The truth is that Honecker did ask Hermlin whether he would permit him to present the jointly composed sentence to the party leadership of the writers' union and that Hermlin agreed.

And when the party leadership had the text in hand, Hermlin was asked whether it could not also be shown to those of his colleagues against whom party proceedings were to begin that day so as to give them a chance to disengage themselves from the petition without losing face.

Hermlin accepted that line of argument. In other words, the way things happened was not the way he said at first—that a bogus text was circulated without his knowing or agreeing to it.

I think the first version is correct. I think Hermlin was subsequently persuaded to accept the second version. If he had indeed agreed to have the paper he had worked out with Honecker shown to his five associates at the start of the party proceedings against them, he would not have had to repudiate his repudiation later on.

Now everyone testifies to the authenticity of the repudiation of his repudiation. And it is a fact as well that new party proceedings were already pending with the aim, this time, of expelling him from the party..

But what need was there to move for his ouster, if superhuman efforts had just succeeded in not having the man who initiated the petition expelled from the party—the author of the petition, the man who had blackmailed Cremer, the man who had handcarried the petition to the French ?

There is no information on the contents of the repudiated repudiation. The new party proceedings were not instituted only because Hermlin later repudiated the repudiated repudiation.

What took place at the third party meeting shortly before Christmas 1976 tends to bear this theory out. Like other meetings of the SED district organization, this one, too, was secretly and undisturbedly recorded on film and on tape.

Originally, the Berlin party secretary, Mr Naumann, had wanted to have the hall secured by a combat group unit, a uniformed, heavily-armed outfit trained for civil war and patterned after the Nazi storm troops. But by the time of the meeting, the party members were so cowed that he could dispense with the plan.

The first two against whom proceedings were instituted were given a reprimand; but Hermlin, the actual initiator of the petition, its author, the man who carried it to the French news service himself, was given a severe reprimand. This was a clear indication of the conciliatory nature of this party meeting. There can be no more severe punishment than that meted out to Hermlin.

The next motion was one calling for expulsion; it was directed against Gerhard Wolf. Now that was the real sensation on that day—when it became apparent that others were to be sacrificed in Hermlin's stead. The man who was most surprised by it was Gerhard Wolf who had just been told by Hermlin that the quasi joint Honecker-Hermlin text shown to him at the start of the proceedings was in fact a forgery prepared by the district organization.

Wolf excitedly urged Hermlin to clear things up immediately; but Hermlin merely shook his head. Gerhard Wolf was expelled from the party. After the meeting, Gerhard Wolf confronted Hermlin once more and categorically asked him to uncover the forgery. But Hermlin told him he could not do that since he had given his word to Honecker that he would keep mum so as not to jeopardize the latter's mission at the central committee.

Wieland Herzfelde brought a bit of levity into the proceedings when he suddenly said he could not understand why Guenther Ruecker was being expelled from the party while the traitor Hermlin was not.

Those who sat next to him informed him that it was not Guenther Ruecker but Gerhard Wolf which prompted Herzfelde to exclaim: that makes no difference to me—they cannot expel Guenther Ruecker and leave Hermlin, the traitor to the party, unscathed.

Once again those next to him try to clear up the confusion by saying that it is Gerhard Wolf who is being expelled but Herzfelde only got angrier. This really is the end, he said: Guenther Ruecker is being ousted and Hermlin who has been stabbing the party in the back for a long time is not.

The original motion directed against Jurek Becker called for striking his name from the party rolls. This new, extremely clever tactical maneuver served to confuse everyone, particularly Gerhard Wolf who thought he was being betrayed by one and all, since he would be stamped as the actual initiator and main consiprator, if he alone were expelled.

This got him very excited but Becker placated him by saying: don't worry, they will expel me, too. He then made a brief, powerful declaration whereupon the original motion was retracted and a new motion made and before he knew it, Becker, too, was expelled. Saran Kirsch's name was stricken from the party rolls.

The only addendum to the proceedings involving the petition would be the visit of the GDR minister of culture in Moscow. Immediately after the petition became public, the minister of culture was summoned to Moscow. First, he told his Soviet counterpart just who it was that was being expelled: the son of Jewish parents from Hamburg who came to the GDR in 1953 and then made a name for himself by writing poems against the party and its representatives. The minister was then asked how such an unknown could suddenly be catapulted to the center of the world stage. The minister had come prepared for just such a question. He took out a book published in the Soviet Union containing Wolf's name, who was not so unknown after all. The minister of culture later confided to his closest associates that he neglected to tell his counterpart that Wolf's poems were included only in the first edition of the book, having been withdrawn subsequently at the author's own request.

But the Soviet official still could not understand what it was all about. Since everyone knows this official to be an anti-Semite, the minister of culture said: the whole business has become a purely Jewish affair in the meantime. One look at the list would show they were all Jews or at least most of them. The non-Jews were the ones being led astray. In bad times, he said, the Jews were loyal to the party, as the Soviet official knew only too well; but in liberal times they tended to get out of line. But this would soon change.

As for Heym, his involvement could be explained in another way: he had served in American intelligence during the war and, as the Soviet official no doubt knew—once a secret agent, always a secret agent.

The Petoefi circle in Hungary in 1956, the Czech chartists in 1968 and the 1976 petitioners were all alike, guided from the outside, aiming to destroy the achievements of socialism and to establish a Trotskyite (social democratic ? my notes on this subject are not clear) system instead. But in the GDR, he said, the party fought back in time and thereby saved the Red Army from having to intervene. We gave proof to the Soviet Union, the minister said, that stable conditions prevail in the GDR and that we are quite capable of dealing with our problems ourselves.

The idea that the petition was not spontaneous but instigated by outside elements came up soon after it was published as did the idea that its content was only meant on paper to get the expelled poet to come back.

The question is: instigated from what quarter, by whom ? And: what was the real purpose of the petition ?

The way the text was phrased and then was made public, no government in the world —except for a Polish government in a state of extreme weakness—could have ventured to fulfill the demands contained in the document.

This chronology has been written for the purpose of finding answers to this question.

This is how Mr Naumann, the first secretary of the Berlin district SED organization saw it: It is interesting to see just who comes crawling out of his rat's nest all of a sudden. But the working class merely has to put its foot down hard just once and look at them scurrying back to their holes. We have their number now and we will not forget their big mouths. And all those that don't beat it, we will crush underfoot.

Chairman Goerlich, for his part, views the petition in an entirely different light.

At the first party meeting of the Berlin writers, he had this to say: During the course of 1976, the FRG intensified the ideological confrontation continuously in order to establish a favorable starting position vis-a-vis the GDR at the Belgrade follow-up conference. It did everything in its power to step up the civil rights campaign in the GDR and to incite innocent citizens to leave the country.

Immediately prior to the Bundestag elections, Kunze's book "The Wonderful Years" was published. Among those taking part in the Bochum initiative calling for "freedom of expression—freedom to travel" were politicians like Bahr, Eppler and Schuetz as well as the GDR traitor Heinz Brandt and anti-communists such as Dutschke and Flechtheim.

The aforementioned artist, on whose behalf freedom to travel was being demanded, offered himself as a tool for this provocation. In order to prepare himself for his trip tactically and strategically, he had 14 days time (or is it years ? I cannot decipher the word in my notes). The performance he gave was not a concert but an anti-communist commentary interspersed with songs.

On what occasions, for that matter, did the ARD alter its evening program schedule so radically because of fast-breaking events ? At the time of Adenauer's death, Kennedy's assassination or the events in Hungary ?

There was no applause during Goerlich's speech; nor was there a word of protest. In his case, the question always is whether he believes what he says. In effect, he committed a political mistake which the minister of culture corrected shortly thereafter by taking all the blame upon himself, by stepping into the breach created by Goerlich's overzealousness.

Ever since the currency reform and the establishment of the FRG, it has been the SED's trauma to appear merely to be reacting to the opponent in the people's eyes and not to be able to adopt politically farsighted measures on its own. That has something to do with the fact that it always has something to hide.

The truth is that the SED has been on the offensive ever since it was founded but that its actions were always in contrast to the content of its propaganda. Thus, it denied the existence of the barracked people's police for years in the mistaken belief not to be able to admit it while publicly arguing against the militarization of Germany.

What Goerlich did was to portray the GDR government and the SED as innocent victims of the FRG—employing a line of argument meant to arouse pity but merely succeeding in undermining the leadership role of the party.

Five more speakers in the same vein followed Goerlich and none were applauded. It was as if the audience were paralyzed. Holtz-Baumert asked that the petitioners not be castigated but be helped instead. Everyone was amazed. 3 days later, at the second party meeting, he was to jump up, his voice wild with rage. Kerndl said: from today onward we must try to clear up a good deal of our relationship to each other and to the party.

A woman named Wiebach, whom I did not know, accused the chastised poet of lying. She said that no one had ever been thrown in jail in the GDR for telling a political joke. She said she knew that very well, since she was a court employee. Even she was unable to move anyone to expressing mirth or displeasure. Kammitzer said he could see people protesting against some perceived injustice. Unfortunately, the petitioners had failed to realize, he said, that the man subsequently banished for good reason had committed serious misdeeds. In fact, he should have been haled into court but that would have unleashed a hate campaign against the GDR. Under the circumstances, it was best to expatriate him.

All of those who took the floor appear to have been motivated by the painful desire to justify the actions of the party, to plead for understanding.

Noll said he thought the party had played the enemy's game by expatriating the man. Perhaps, he said, the matter should have been thought over but once the ultimatum was out, there was no way back. How can we possibly get back together again, he cried saying that he did not know what was to be done.

For the first time that afternoon there was a reaction from the audience. You have been in the party for 30 years now, Li Weinert shouted; you ought to know what is to be done.

Everyone turned around to look at her; everyone stared at her without saying a word.

When Anna Seghers went to the lectern, she was received with long, loud and cordial applause. It almost seemed that the interruption from the floor had awakened those in the hall from their stupor.

There were many who did not join in the applause. She has always openly said what she thought and driven the functionaries to distraction. Even when everyone else was silent as they were on that day, she spoke her mind.

But anyone who believed he might join her side was disappointed. On that day, she did not resume her seat after delivering her speech, which was a tough one for the functionaries to take, but smiled to the left and the right and then waved and made her way slowly home. It is said that she escaped two assassination attempts by hair's breadth while in exile in Mexico.

Hermlin was her friend, Seghers said; he still was—just the same, she had to criticize him. The worst part of it is, she said, that my friends gave the letter to the foreign press. How could my best friends be so stupid ? There has been a lot of duplicity over the last few days, she said. My friends have cheated and the functionaries, too, have cheated.

My friends cheated on the question about which agency they contacted. Did they contact the West German agency ?

Hermlin: No.

Seghers: To the French agency ?

Hermlin: Yes.

Is it true, Seghers asked, that one cannot debate issues all the way through in our country. There was no doubt that the expatriated poet had great talent; nor was there any doubt that his was a dangerous talent. He was like a Brazilian macumba that bewitches people. Now, she said, he will run completely out of steam.

Is there no way of talking things out in our country, Seghers asked over and over again. Why was this terrible ban on performing and publishing slapped on this young man ? Why wasn't a way found after the 8th party congress to get closer to this man and to settle the matter peaceably ?

Why didn't anyone speak to him before he left for Cologne ? Every little songstress who wants to go abroad cannot leave until her program has been expressly approved. But this man was permitted to leave without a word. Why ?

Or was all this part of a plan ? Did one hope that Biermann would make some gaffe in Cologne ? Was he let out for that reason ? Could all this have been part of a plan to silence an opponent of some stature ?

At that point, there was a third reaction from the floor. It was Gotsche, red-faced, with beads of perspiration on his forehead, shouting something. I could only catch one word but would not want to repeat it here because I cannot attest to his having said it. It had something to do with firearms. There were frightened faces all around.

Seghers turned to him directly, even taking two small steps in the direction of where he was sitting. I know you, Gotsche, she said. I have told you before that you are harmful to the party. What you have just said also is harmful to the party.

Why didn't you get in touch with me until after the whole business was over, she asked. Young people come to my house and ask: who is there that will still tell us the truth. I do not think, she said, that you functionaries have any idea what is really being said in people's homes.

The petitioners should not be punished, she said pointing out that many valuable people had added their names to the petition trusting in the good name of the original signatories, in their sincerity and sense of responsibility. Any punishment of the original signers or of those who joined in later would severely damage the party.

The worst appeared to be over, she said. The content of the petition had changed in a strange way. It was as if the request to let the banished poet return had never been made.

By now, she said, it is merely a question of whether it is right to punish the petitioners or not. None of the speakers bothered to note that the new "free choice of domicile—freedom to return" initiative was more or less identical with the contents of the petition.

A Mr Klein, whom I did not know, deplored the fact that the party was always concerning itself with critics and dissidents but never with authors who hewed to the party line. Henniger came up with an insipid tirade saying that it looked as if the petitioners were worried about their bank accounts in the West. Hermlin took the floor to speak without emotion about Heine, himself and the history of the petition.

The debate began to fall apart; there was little left to say. Just then the minister of culture rushed to the lectern with such a burst of speed he almost fell. He said he had been behind the move to expatriate Biermann for some time. No one else but he was responsible for what had happened. He listened to Biermann's Cologne performance on the radio and subsequently urged that the matter be expedited.

This was a matter being debated at the highest levels of the party for a good while. Its eventual outcome predetermined, it was to be made public most expeditiously.

This would seem to indicate that they meant to let the man dangle a while longer; to await the end of his tour; to wait for him to provide more proof.

But what if only his first performance could be characterized as an "anti-communist commentary interspersed with songs" with a bit of imagination ? What if he restricted himself to pure anti-fascism thereafter ?

Then the whole plan would be for naught. It was known at any rate that the songwriter had been pressured by friends. Originally, he had assembled an anti-fascist program but his friends had thrown it out saying that he could not hope to make a hit that way in his first appearance in 13 years over there.

Later, the NEUES DEUTSCHLAND commentator was hard put to characterize Biermann's continuous praise of communism as "massive attacks against our socialist state."

The actual outcome of this party meeting then was the involuntary admission that a trap had been laid for the songwriter. Everybody knew it but no one was willing to admit it.

When Peter Edel strode to the lectern, several people groaned in dismay. Everybody knew what was coming; no one listened but everyone looked at his mouth suffused with white foam. The foam, however, is not the result of anger but of plaster of paris, since Edel, also known as an artist, uses that substance to make a new cast of his teeth every morning for fear of having to see the dentist.

With regard to Hermlin, there were two groups of party and cultural leaders irreconcilably opposed to each other. The one group wanted to punish the man for something he had done and the other wanted to reward him for something in which he might not knowingly have participated.

I have already mentioned which of the two groups carried the day at first: they let him off with a severe reprimand. Later, he was given the patriotic order of merit in gold.

After the minister of culture accused Hermlin of having blackmailed ailing Cremer —a fact Cremer testified to expressly in a letter to Hermlin—he went on to cite other misdeeds of his high-ranking opponent charging him with collaborating with the enemy and having sold out to the enemy.

Under Stalin, either accusation would have sufficed to hand the man over to the firing squad. But times are different and for that reason the minister of culture had to come up with still more evidence.

At the PEN congress in London, he said, Hermlin had voted for an American resolution censuring the Soviet Union at a time when the imperialist powers were engaged in a world-wide offensive against the socialist countries.

Later, Hermlin defended himself in a long, halting speech. Soviet writers had been sentenced and deported for having their works published abroad. That is what the American protest was about. He had voted for the resolution to show his support for the imprisoned Soviet colleagues. He had felt justified to do so, since Amnesty International for the first time had not included the GDR in its annual report citing countries whose citizens were being persecuted for political reasons.

The minister of culture also pointed out that Hermlin had joined the West Berlin academy of arts and sciences without first notifying the minister. He had only mentioned it in passing once it was a fait d'accompli. In this regard, he had acted even more shabbily than Kunze who did ask for the minister's approval prior to joining the Bavarian academy of fine arts.

By using a rhetorical trick, the minister of culture succeeded in making it appear that substantial payments were part of academy membership, forcing Hermlin to point out that the West Berlin body does not pay out funds in his rebuttal.

All this, as I have said, was discussed on 23 November 1976. 150 authors put in an appearance at this party meeting and were forced to witness a peep show by their party and cultural elite.

No mention was made of the fact that Juergen Fuchs had already spent 4 days in jail for having added his name to the petition, thereby placing his trust in the sincerity and sense of responsibility of the original signers.

Nor was any mention made of the fact that the two songwriters Christian Kunert and Gerulf Pannach had spent 2 days in jail by then.

Or that young poets and poetesses, whether they signed the petition or not, were fearfully rushing from place to place hiding their manuscripts while being pursued by state security agents in automobiles.

All this was known and was being passed on by word of mouth during the intermissions; but no one dared to shout it out in anger or to ask that the persecution be reconsidered.

That evening I said to Christa Wolf that Fuchs sent me his poems a month earlier. What do you think I should do with them, I asked. Burn them, she said.

This account includes a good deal that may sound melodramatic or like political pornography. Later on for instance, I will copy the following entry out of my notebook: "At that point, he started to cry. He rubbed his eyes, swallowed several times and began to leave the podium. He took a few steps and stopped, lowering his head. It seemed he could not go on—he was so deeply moved. But applause here and there in the hall made him return to the empty lectern."

That is how I will later present details of the drama in order to give an impression of the general mood and the fight itself. I can even say how long the individual scenes lasted, since the events had such a sobering effect on me that I was able to consult my watch and time them.

The one who led the fight to punish Hermlin was the minister of culture; the one who led the fight to reward him was Hermann Kant. The former bet everything on the first meeting on 23 November; the latter bet everything on the second meeting on 26 November.

On 26 November all petitioners were present with the exception of Christa Wolf who suffered a heart attack on the way to the meeting.

The minister of culture had this to say: who counts the heart attacks that we all suffer ?

At the previous party meeting, Bengsch had announced he would address this one. He proceeded to analyze the situation as a counter-revolution that has collapsed.

Those who signed the petition, he said, wanted to establish a social democratic platform in the GDR. They had revealed themselves as remote control tools of the SPD. It was thanks to the resolute action by the party that the attempt to create social democratic conditions in the GDR was thwarted.

He also told the audience what price the banished poet had set on betraying the GDR—it ran to six figures.

A woman named Steineckert related that she saw level-headed, grown people in the street in the past few days who broke down and cried about the fact that a mere dozen authors had succeeded in maneuvering the party to the edge of the abyss. She had also heard people say that the German lied would wither away for 100 years now the poet and singer was banished.

But she pointed out that this will not happen—neither in 50 years, nor in 10, nor even in one year or one day. No doubt she had access to a whole brood of songwriters. She then recounted intimate details concerning her long-standing friendship with the banished man whom she called an unprincipled cad.

Every effort made by the cultural authorities to approach him were turned down by him maliciously, she said. She then quoted him as saying he did not want to publish in this god-forsaken country. He wanted to go to jail instead, write a prison diary and receive the Nobel Prize.

He called Ernst Busch a senile old goat; he wrote a long poem composed of critical remarks by others and then sent a tape of it to the minister of culture, denouncing some of his best friends in the process.

By this time, there was no more mention of thinking things over, of reflecting on them or of thinking as such. A deluge of rhetoric went cascading down on the assemblage. Baierl and Hauser just talk and talk. Eva Strittmatter was given the job of defending the resolution to be passed. One could see how hard it was for her; there were red blotches all over her face and later that evening she would have a crying fit.

The petitioners then went into lengthy explanations of what they don't like about the party, what the party has done to them and why they could not, cannot and will not keep silent any longer; how they came to join the party and what they expected of it.

Once upon a time, Kunert said, Dr Bauer told me: you may not be able to finish off the party but the party can certainly finish you off. Dr Bauer, who sat with the presidium, just smiled and shook his head as if to say: what a bald-faced lie. In fact, it was not a bad acting job at all.

Hermann Kant jumped to his aid. Dr Roland Bauer is my friend, he cried; I believe him rather than Kunert. No one rose to protect Kunert from this attack by two of the most notorious hatchet men

Gerhard Wolf then quoted from a letter his wife had written to the party: Once upon a time, a leading party member told me you can compose a fiery protest against the war the Americans are waging in Vietnam but we will not publish it. Once again Dr Bauer shook his head—in someone else's stead this time because he was not even the one under attack.

At that point someone else should have shaken his head—someone the audience might really have trusted. Under the circumstances, everyone could tell that things were indeed the way Wolf had just quoted. Dr Bauer's vehement denial gave proof of the fact that the incident had been correctly reported.

These were recollections by Kunert and Wolf dating back to the somber December of 1965 when the party cracked the whip over the best of its poets and silenced them for years. Everyone of us has similar recollections.

So does Hermlin who on another occasion elsewhere told of how he was not permitted to go to the West and when the permission was finally granted, how he was summoned by a high cultural functionary who said to him: we can deal with you as we did with Bishop Scharf. You can take your trip now but when you want to come back, perhaps the door will be closed for you.

It is pretty much as I said. Anyone who signed the petition did not do so in order to bring a banished poet back into the country. There are a lot of imponderables in cases such as these. 10, sometimes 15 or 20 years of tacitly suffered injustice are reflected in a little, innocent piece of paper that later goes by the name of petition. The party knows what is in store when it takes a look at the names of the signers. But it also knows the human beings behind the signatures and it knows this particular person must be treated in such and such a way to obtain such and such results and this other one must be treated differently—each according to his individual character.

There were lots of farewell speeches on this 26 November. When Hermann Kant mounted the podium, Ruth Werner clapped demonstratively. She clapped and clapped but no one joined in the applause.

Although it seemed somewhat unmotivated at first, he started to philosophize about friendship in general and about his friendship with Hermlin in particular. Friendships are like that, he said—one fights with each other; one does not see each other for a while sometimes, but in such friendships there never comes a moment...

The audience crouched and listened; people looked at each other questioningly as if to say: I can't trust my ears or maybe I've come to the wrong meeting; maybe this is the boys scouts. Is this man on the podium really forcing us to listen to him ? Is there no one who will get up and take the microphone away from him ?

No one dared. The machinery of this meeting was too well oiled for that. Kurt Stern had said he would have signed the petition too, if he had been in the country while it was being circulated. In response, Hauser shouted clear across the hall: I don't understand, Kurt. Does that mean you want to be expelled, too ?

That was the kind of language being used on that 26 November— that language and the language of the man on the podium.

Kant went on to say he had just returned from Moscow and his first concern was for his friend Hermlin. He could not describe his deep satisfaction upon hearing that his friend had disassociated himself from the course the petition had taken to the imperialist media. He had learned that Hermlin called it a mistake to have gone to the imperialist news service and that he would bear the consequences for this act, if asked to do so.

Kant used even more moving language to describe the decades-long friendship and the sorrow which took hold of him when he heard of Hermlin's terrible blunder. He was close to tears; he wiped his eyes, swallowed several times and began to leave the podium (4 seconds). He then took a few steps, lowering his head and stopped. It seemed he could not go on—hewas so moved (7 seconds). But applause here and there in the hall made him return to the empty lectern (5 seconds).

This is how Hermlin was saved for the GDR. He himself later corrected Kant's interpretation of the fateful sentence. He had not said: it was my mistake that we turned to the imperialist news service. That was the wording contained in the handwritten note for comrade Honecker. The sentence my friend Hermann Kant was referring to, he said, pausing momentarily to fight off tears, actually read: if it was a mistake for me to...then I am ready to accept the consequences.

In this fussy manner he corrected Kant's version but who was there in the hall that could still perceive and see through the fine web of duplicity.

At the same time that these semantic games were taking place, 40 Jena workers and students had already been arrested for having signed the petition trusting in the good name, the sincerity and the sense of reponsibility of the original signers.

And at that very moment the name of the poet Bernd Jentzsch was added to the list of wanted persons because his open letter to Honecker had become public. He was the first of more than 100 writers and artists who managed to cross over to the West from the GDR over the next 5 years.

Writers were smuggling their notes and manuscripts across the border and those that could not either buried or burned them.

In state security interrogation rooms, works of art, diaries, manuscripts, letters, sheet music and phonograph records were piling up.

And so Kant assumed power. Until then, Erwin Strittmatter and Christa Wolf were considered the only two possible candidates for the post of president of the writers' union once it was announced that Anna Seghers was ready to step down.

After Kant rescued Hermlin from the threat of having to emigrate, he also saved Christa Wolf's skin a few weeks later who insisted on being punished like her husband through expulsion from the party. In influencing her, he employs somewhat crude methods, telling her he just could not stand all these ugly faces around him. He would become more and more isolated in the process, he said; he would rather have honest faces around.

The ugly faces he was referring to are those of Gotsche, Neutsch, Abusch, Schulz, Noll and others. He then proceeded to work on Christa Wolf until he had weakened her powers of discernment sufficiently for her to make a statement the import of which she seemed not to realize. Under the then prevailing conditions, she said, the document we composed in Hermlin's apartment and subsequently on 17 November represented the only conceivable possibility to react to a state of affairs she had come to view as unjust. But this procedure could not be repeated indiscriminately.

This is what she said on a January day in 1977. Hermann Kant jumped up and applauded her.

Writers' Petition

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 35 No 48, 23 Nov 81 p 87

/Inserted text of 17 November 1976 open letter signed by 13 GDR writers: "The Petition"/

> /Text/ After Wolf Biermann had performed songs critical of his homeland at a concert in Cologne and the GDR had abrogated his citizenship for that reason, 13 East German writers and artists addressed the following open letter to SED chief Erich Honecker on 17 November 1976:

Wolf Biermann was and still is an irksome poet—he has that in common with many a poet of the past.

In recognition of the argument contained in Marx'"18th Brumaire," which states that the proletarian revolution must constantly be criticizing itself, our socialist state should, in contrast to anachronistic social systems, be in a position to tolerate such irksomeness with deliberative equanimity.

We do not identify with every word and every action of Biermann's and disassociate ourselves from attempts to make use of the events surrounding Biermann against the GDR. Biermann himself has never left any doubt, even while in Cologne, about which of the two German states he favors—all his criticism notwithstanding.

We protest against his expatriation and therefore ask that the measures adopted be reconsidered.

/Signed/ Sarah Kirsch, Christa Wolf, Volker Braun, Franz Fuehrmann, Stephan Hermlin, Stefan Heym, Guenter Kunert, Heiner Mueller, Rolf Schneider, Gerhard Wolf, Jurek Becker, Erich Arendt, Fritz Cremer.

List of Main Personalities

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 35 No 48, 23 Nov 81 p 90

/Inserted name list: "The Protagonists in the Biermann Affair"/

/Text/ Erich Arendt, 78, member of the GDR academy of arts.

Roland Bauer, 53, member of the SED central committee; until 1978, secretary for science, popular education and culture for the SED district organization Berlin.

Jurek Becker, 44, author ("Jacob, the Liar") has been living in West Berlin since 1977 on a permanent GDR visa.

Volker Braun, 42, author ("Unfinished Story") and dramatic adviser; member of SED.

Fritz Cremer, 75, sculptor, SED member, vice president of the GDR academy of arts.

Franz Fuehmann, 59, author, member of the GDR academy of arts.

Guenter Goerlich, 53, chairman of the Berlin section of the GDR writers' union.

Stephan Hermlin, 65, member of the PEN presidium, vice president of the international PEN Club.

Wieland Herzfelde, 85, university professor and writer, honorary president of GDR PEN center. From 1917 to 1933 co-founder and director of the Malik publishing house in Berlin.

Stefan Heym, 68, author ("Collin") was an American citizen until 1951, has lived in the GDR since 1952.

Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, 55, GDR minister of culture.

Hermann Kant, 55, since May 1978 president of GDR writers' union, member of SED district organization Berlin.

Sarah Kirsch, 46, lyric poet, left GDR in 1977, has been living in West Berlin since.

Guenter Kunert, 52, writer, member of GDR PEN center, has been living in FRG since 1976 on a 3-year visa.

Heiner Mueller, 52, dramatist ("Philoktet").

Guenther Ruecker, 57, writer (mostly of radio plays), member of GDR academy of arts.

Rolf Schneider, 49, writer, presently working as dramatic adviser in Mainz, has permanent GDR visa. In 1979, Schneider published a novel entitled "November" in the FRG dealing with Biermann's expatriation. The book was not published in the GDR.

Anna Seghers, 81, chairman of GDR writers' union from 1952 to 1978; presently honorary president of same organization.

Kurt Stern, 74, member of the presidium of writers' union and of GDR PEN center.

Christa Wolf, 52, writer, member of presidium of GDR PEN center and of academy of arts.

Gerhard Wolf, 53, writer ("Poor Hoelderlin"), member of GDR PEN center, husband of Christa Wolf.

9478
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DISSIDENT WRITER DISCUSSES STEFAN HEYM'S LATEST WORK

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 35 No 45, 2 Nov 81 pp 240, 242, 243, 246

["Jurek Becker on Stefan Heym: 'Ahasver'--The Wandering Jew Is Never Silent'—Review by Jurek Becker of "Ahasver," book by Stefan Heym, published by C. Bertelsmann Verlag, Munich; 320 pages, DM34.00. A translation of an interview with Stefan Heym by DER SPIEGEL editors in West Berlin is published under the Heading, "Stefan Heym Discusses Socialism, 'Abgrenzung,' Censorship," in JPRS 77013, 16 Dec 80, No 1834 of this series, pp 6-17]

> [Text] Novelist Stefan Heym ("Collin"), 68, who emigrated to East Berlin from exile in America in 1951 was expelled from the GDR authors' league in 1978; since then his books have been published only in the West. Author Jurek Becker ("Nach der ersten Zukunft"), 44, lives as a GDR citizen in West Berlin.

For a long time after Stefan Heym had published his novel "Collin" little attention was paid to the book until a strange event took place: because he violated the GDR's foreign exchange law, justice there presented Heym with criminal proceedings. And before you knew it the flop turned into a best seller because the book trade does not hesitate for long. It must be feared that the GDR authorities will not let themselves become involved again in such a generous gesture. That would be a great pity because "Ahasver" is far more deserving of getting on the list. It has become a magnificent book.

The author's basic idea is to act as if his story were dealing with factual materials, as if he had succeeded in gaining access to documents which finally shed a little light on certain events: what the facts of the devil's existence are, what artifices the devil uses in order to blur the lines between good and evil and right and wrong, in which direction hell is presumed to be, and the like. Anyone who doubts facts cannot be helped.

On the other hand, the author is naturally telling a story, this is nowhere denied, stories have their own logic which is not as simple as that which holds for everyday logic; factual material from the world of literature is of a special quality which can scarcely be precisely characterized. If someone were to come

along with the surveyor's rod of science, with historical proofs or excavations or the standards of probability, he would only make a fool of himself and stand out as someone who did not comprehend the nature of the thing. For stories cannot be right or wrong, but only good or bad.

Ahasver was a Jewish shoemaker, Via Dolorosa, Jerusalem. When Jesus, while dragging the cross to Golgatha, came to the shoemaker's house and stopped in order to rest there, he chased him away from his door. Jesus cursed him, Ahasver was condemned to wander on the earth, restlessly, until the Savior's return. The shoemaker Ahasver developed into the Eternal Jew, in the course of the centuries he repeatedly reappeared, in varying guise, in various parts of the world, and was recognized without any doubt by witnesses. In times when there was less mistrust than there is today, deceivers exploited the good belief in the legend, pretended to be the Eternal Jew and collected charitable gifts wherever they were trusted.

Stefan Heym used the real Ahasver as the model for an imposing new invention. His Ahasver, a fallen angel, does not simply reject the Savior in a narrow-minded way, but rather has reasons for doing it. He loves him, he is prepared to tear himself apart for him, he implores him to resist, to lay down the cross, to take the sword and fight against his tormentors. But Ahasver is not ready to yield against his conviction: this is the issue. He says: "Do you believe that it makes any difference to him up there if they drive nails through your hands and feet and let you die on the cross bit by bit? He made man as he is and you want to change man through your miserable death?"

Heym's Ahasver is one who refused to submit, who is not a sufferer like Jesus, but rather a subversive and revolutionary. He says to the Savior: "Rabbi, your humility sickens me." For that reason he refuses him the small bit of help, as a final argument, or, since all arguments are to no avail, out of disappointment. In return he must wander restlessly and eternally; and so? That does not amount to much in a world which is like it is, rather, he is more at home nowhere.

His attitude is stubborn and uncompromising, like that of the author. Although never impolitely, he gives no consideration to those who might be especially affected by stories of this kind. In church circles this may lead to irritations and opposition, no different from party circles.

A second part of the book, it could be called the present-day section, takes place at the time of the Reformation. Protestantism has taken hold in parts of Europe, an originally rebellious, revolutionary movement is established and itself becomes the authority. The ideals under which the whole thing was started decay, those newly in power oppress and blackmail and persecute in a manner no worse than their predecessors. From a distance the differences blur, naturally that is not so crude with Heym.

He tells a mysterious story. A Paul von Eitzen, an average person from Hamburg who as a young man believes in authority is successful in a nice theological career in the 16th century, he manages to become superintendent in Schleswig. The reader can, but does not need to, take note of the fact that there really

was a Paul von Eitzen and that he resembles the one described. It is a luxury which the author allows himself, also an example of the cited coexistence of facts and bold assertion, the artistic piece of an inventor with rich resources.

In any case, on his way through life Eitzen experiences wonderful support. A certain Leuchtentrager, a chance travelling acquaintance, is infatuated with the pale young man and helps him in such an effective manner as no other could: he lets him pass tests with brilliance, he has sermons occur to him, he sets his loins on fire and is always there when he is needed. We the readers early come to the conclusion that this Leuchtentrager is not a being like you or me. From the way he walks (he limps), from the way he smells, from the way he arrives; mostly he does not even arrive, but rather is simply there. Thus, the devil, the only natural explanation.

He sponsors Eitzen, he elevates the dogmatist to high rank and honors so that he can represent Luther's teachings as a horrible judge. Thus, the Reformation takes on an appearance which its own founder will not ever recognize, the devil has had a hand in the matter. Finally, he arranges the meeting of Eitzen and the Eternal Jew. Ahasver, the changer, and Eitzen come across each other in many chapters. Anyone who makes such revolutionary speeches as Ahasver does not have the right to live in Superintendent Eitzen's opinion; and Eitzen has a lot of pull, clerical pull, which is also the influence of the state. Ahasver is condemned to death, but he has even more pull. We know he cannot die until Jesus returns.

About 20 years ago Anna Seghers wrote: "Can the devil once again become independent in a writing in our time? Not devoid of power, but without devil's attributes--he still often appears like that in art, as sort of a carnival ghost--but rather in full possession of his power, as a genuine symbol of negation. Can the devil once again be presented in an authentic manner, after Dostoyevski and Thomas Mann, as a reflection of a terribly tempting doubt which bewilders people today?"

The answer to this can be "yes," Heym has written this book, only he did completely change one condition of Segher's requirements. His devil, Ahasver's constant companion, is absolutely not the symbol of negation; he is not a "part of that power which always wants evil and always creates good," and not the spirit which always negates.

Leuchtentrager has thought up a more diabolical method: he supports people in their fruitless strivings. He affirms. He helps to preserve the God-ordained order because he sees that he could never establish a more wretched order. He enters service with the authorities and together with them hinders change, in this sense he is the opposite of Ahasver. Heym has given the figure a new dimension via the epistemological component: the devil Leuchtentrager is a participant in social events, as a reactionary.

In 1980 a learned correspondence is carried on concerning the existence of Ahasver, and though not stated, also concerning the existence of the devil; this is the third section of the book. Those involved in the correspondence

are Prof Dr Dr h.c. Siegfried Beifuss, director of the GDR Institute for Scientific Atheism (which does not exist), and a professor from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, who answers to the already familiar name of Leuchtentrager. Both have worked on Ahasver. But the one has the advantage of knowing Ahasvar personally, and we know which one. Ahasver, he claims, still lives today as a shoemaker in Jerusalem, Via Dolorosa.

The author's original purpose with the correspondence may have been to introduce the unschooled reader to the material; for who is an expert in the matter of the Ahasver legend? The result of this didactic intention (to the extent the assumption applies) is a pleasure, a mixture of scientific discussion, false friendliness and malicious wit. Experts exchange their views, draw conclusions only from facts which they reveal to us so that we do not have to grope in the dark; thus, the reader himself reaches conclusions. In addition, there develops a base satire on the intellectual atmosphere of a country which is in no way denegrated if it is termed repressive and moldy.

At first it is hard to understand how a relevant dispute can develop here: rarely did it seem so obvious who was right and who was wrong in a dispute. Just let somebody come to me and try to claim that a 2,000-year old Jewish shoemaker lives right around the corner from him, in fact, the very one who at the time refused the shade of his house to Jesus!

Yet in an obscure way that which every day is held to be true and just is invalidated, reality ceases to be reality. It changes into a condition in which the other rules hold, the tricky or cabbalistic ones. We learn to understand the incomprehensible, indeed, to view it as the only meaningful thing. Our experiences are multiplied by minus one.

On New Year's Eve night 1981 Dr Siegfried Beifuss is suddenly no longer there; two foreign gentlemen visited him without having passed the GDR border crossing points, and only two specific people were in a position to do that. In Beifuss' apartment, Leipzing Street, near Checkpoing Charlie, ninth floor, there is a hole in the wall; the two gentlemen disappeared with the director of the Institute for Scientific Atheism and only a touch of sulfur remained behind. The state organs stand perplexed in front of the hole and do not comprehend what happened there. But we, smarter by one book, can only wonder what there is not to understand about the matter when the state of affairs is so unambiguous.

It seems strange to me to maintain that Stefan Heym in telling the story of Ahasver is reporting about his own life. When should he have ever turned the Savior away from his door, and after all, he is not so old either, and in what different shapes should he have appeared? Nonetheless, it could be answered that it is not a matter of a photograph, and also that other, no less important details support the assumption.

Nonetheless, Heym is also an old Jew who does not look his age. And he, too, has been knocked about, persecuted, punished, called names, and nowhere properly tolerated. He, too, has little cause to feel at home. Yet mainly he has not lost hope and thinks that it must still be possible to make something out of the world. Two agitators who continuously receive a thrashing and who not on their lives give any peace of mind.

It would be a mistake to read "Ahasver" in such a way as if behind each word a different one had to be suspected, the one that was really meant. The search between or behind the lines will not enhance the value of the book, there is enough in the lines.

Of course "Ahasver" has a secret, as does every art, I would like to say, a mysterious one that attracts the reader. He must open himself to the mystery and not try to check up chapter by chapter. That is no doubt how the book will be read in the GDR Ministry for Culture before deciding not to print it; yet others should not read in this way.

When Ahasvar explains to the Savior "that truth is not located in any central places, but rather is visible to anyone who wants to see," then there is nothing to convey. The author clings strictly to this proposition because his book is unbelievable, but true.

Recently Stefan Heym said that God had helped him write down "Ahasver." I am completely convinced of it.

12124
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ROLE OF STATE IN MOVEMENT TOWARD COMMUNISM

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 4, (Jul-Aug) 1981 pp 16-32

[Article by Ion Ceterchi: "The Romanian Communist Party's View Regarding the Role of the Socialist State in Creating a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing the Country Towards Communism"]

[Text] The question of the state and its nature and role in the process of socialist revolution and the building of socialism and communism has a special theoretical and practical significance, a question to which the Romanian Communist Party accords a great importance.

As is known, the transition from capitalism to communism goes through different historical stages characterized by radical transformations of a structural and superstructural nature. During the course of this process, the socialist state is born and developed, changes take place in the social essence and basis of state power and the organization and functions of the state are improved and continually adapted according to the requirements of the each stage of society's development. For its part, the state exercises a significant role in the achievement of these transformations. Under the leadership of the communist party, the state constitutes a powerful political instrument for the creation of the economic and social structures of the new order and its ideology and for the conscious, scientific guidance of the giant effort of building socialism and communism.

The theory of scientific socialism reveals the cardinal significance of the workers' acquistion of state power, led by the working class, in order to ensure the victory and carrying out of the socialist revolution. The historical experience of the revolution and the building of the socialist order. although it is a view in the perspective of history that can be measure merely in decades, demonstrates that only by creating a new and powerful state that is superior and radical different in its social essence and the content and forms of its activities compared to the preceding types of states can the working class guide and organize the fulfillment of the complex historical tasks of building socialism and communism and raising society to higher levels of civilization and culture.

In the context of the contemporary ideological struggle, an important place is held by dealing with the question of state power, a view which each working class party forms with regards to the place, role and essence of the state under the conditions of the socialist order. Both the revolutionary parties of the working class in the

non-socialist countries, which are called upon to organize and carry out the struggle of the masses to bring about certain democratic and revolutionary changes in the direction of socialism under the conditions of the capitalist order or in numerous "third world" nations, and especially the governing communist parties in the socialist countries, which are at different stages of socialist construction, must formulate and specify their position with regards to the political system of the new order and especially with regards to the place, role and essence of the state within the framework of this system.

It can be said that today the position with regards to the role of the state and the concept about the characteristics of political power in socialism are the touchstone for the programs of the communist and workers parties and the subject of broad discussions. There is an even greater responsibility for the communist parties in the socialist countries, where the problem also has a direct practical aspect with consequences on a domestic and international level, with socialism having to prove in practice its superiority over the non-socialist political systems. Nothing can be more damaging than a rigid, dogmatic and non-creative attitude in this regard. On the contrary, the communist and workers parties must have a creative attitude by which they can develop and enrichen revolutionary theory. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out: "The fundamental problem under the conditions of the contemporary era, which is characterized by the rapid development of the forces of production, by the broadest technical-scientific revolution and by a giant leap in human knowledge, is the continuing enrichment of scientific socialism and the growth of each party's contribution to the development of our revolutionary theory in accordance with the imperatives of the development of human society and social practices. Only in this manner will the communist parties and the revolutionary movement be able to even more powerfully develop and fulfill their historical mission to revolutionarily transform the world and ensure peace."[1]

Beginning with the realities of our country and with the materialist-dialectic analysis of economic, social and ideological transformations that are taking place in Romanian society and keeping in mind the relationship of forces on the international level, the Romanian Communist Party and its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have formulated a clear position with regards to the socialist political system, the role and place of the state in this framework, the characteristics of state power, the relationships between the party as a leading political force in society and the state, between the state and mass and public organizations and between the state and the popular masses, and the relationship between the state and the citizen. Synthetically formulated, this concept is presented in the Program of the Romanian Communist Party in the following terms:

"The party begins with the materialist-dialectical and historical concept which says that the state is a product of the division of society into antagonistic classes that will gradually disappear as the classes disappear, as society is homogenized and as the unified working people of the communist society are created. We have in mind that during the period of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing towards communism the state has to fulfill an important

role in the organization of all economic and social activities. At the same time, keeping in mind international conditions and the fact that there still are countries in the world with different social systems, the state has important tasks in defending revolutionary gains and the independence and sovereignty of the country. Certainly, depending upon specific conditions, during one period or another there will be greater stress on a certain facet of the state's activities, but under any circumstances its role will increase in the scientific organization of economic and social activities."[2]

On the basis of this concept, springing from a dialectical approach to the state and from the study of its synamics, we find that in the more than 3 decades since the full acquistion of power and the establishment of the people's republic the Romanian socialist state has passed through different stages, being subjected to certain profound changes. The role and functions of the state have been developed and its organization and activities have been improved, adapting to the requirements of the different stages of the development of society.

Generally, it can be said that the stages through which the Romanian socialist state has passed correspond to those experienced by our society after the victory of the socialist revolution.[3] Thus, the period of going from capitalism to socialism generally corresponds to the stage of development of the state from the proclamation of the people's republic (1947) to the triumph of socialist relations throughout the entire economy and the creation of a unified socialist economy, which on a political-juridic and legislative level was expressed by the adoption of the Constitution of victorious socialism on the basis of the principles and theses formulated by the Ninth Party Congress in 1965. There then followed a stage of consolidating the socialist gains, covering the period between the Ninth and Tenth Party Congresses. After the Tenth Party Congress (1969), we entered the current stage of creating a multilaterally developed socialist society, a stage that will cover, as is known, a period of several five year plans, while, at the same time, preparing for the future transition to the building of communism.

In referring to the evolution of the state during these stages, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu presented some substantial theoretical evaluations: "During the entire period of socialist construction the workers state played a role of the greatest importance in providing the unified leadership in all the areas of economic and social affairs. As our society moved from one historical stage to another, the state's activities were increased and improved and, along with the elimination of the exploiting classes, the political and organization facets of these activities were accentuated, creating a new and fundamentally different organizational framework compared to the one that existed during the first years of the proletariat's acquisition of power."[4]

Actually, during its evolution the Romanian socialist state has travelled down a significant path. If during the first stage the essence of state power expressed the will and the interests of the vast majority of society, since it was aimed at eliminating the exploiting classes and exploitive relations and ensuring the triumph of socialist relations throughout the entire society, currently the essence of the

Romanian socialist state represents the power of a people composed entirely of new social classes and categories and friends of the workers, regardless of their nationality. The mission of the state is to develop, consolidate and improve the forces of production and socialist social relations for the purpose of creating a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing towards communism. To this end, it will be necessary to ensure Romania's transition from the ranks of the developing nations to the ranks of the medium-developed countries by 1985, and, on the basis of achieving the guidelines for economic-social development in the 1981-1990 decade, as approved by the 12th Party Congress, to achieve generally the tasks of creating a multilaterally developed socialist society, marking an important step forward towards a communist society.

Clearly, throughout this entire period, with the state being of the socialist type, it is radically different and superior to the capitalist type of state. For the first time in the history of our country, political power belongs to those who work, being used exclusively in their interest and against their exploitation. For the first time, state power is called upon to organize, guide and direct society towards the well-being and happiness of all the people and towards new levels of civilization and culture in the interest of the entire nation and each citizen.

In carrying out the socialist revolution, the working class needs the state in order to ensure and consolidate its victory in the revolution and to achieve the socialist and communist revolutionary transformation of society. Socialism is a new, superior order that is radically different from the capitalist order. For that reason, its creation can be achieved only after overthrowing the capitalist order and after eliminating the social and national domination of the exploiting classes and their state power. Once the working class acquires political power, it is used to completely crush the economic power of the bourgeoisie and then to ensure the triumph of socialist relations in the entire economy and finally eliminate the exploitation of man by man, giving a decisive rebuff to any attempt by the overthrown classes to recapture their lost positions. The political power is also used to consolidate the workers' power on the basis of ensuring the necessary conditions for their real and effective participation in the management of all of society. Similarly, it is also used to ensure the triumph of the new, socialist culture and ideology, based on the scientific, materialist-dialectic concept about the world and society, and to ensure carrying out of the principles of the new morals and ethics and the norms of socialist social behavior throughout society.

Likewise, the socialist state is used to ensure national independence and sovereignty, to defend revolutionary gains against any acts of external aggression, with the socialist state being in the ranks of the states and social forces committed to the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, to eliminate force and the threat of force and wars, and to create a new international economic and political order based on the new, consistently democratic principles of international law.

The development of our socialist state in the more than 3 decades since the full acquisition of power completely confirms the materialist-dialectic and historical thesis with regards to the necessity of the state in creating a socialist society and in scientifically organizing and leading society.

Beginning with the realities of the development of the Romanian socialist society in the contemporary context, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has formulated theses of special theoretical and practical value with regards to the dynamics of the essence, role and functions of the state, its relationship with the other social-political institutions of our society and its position within the framework of the political system, as well as in reference to the purpose and perspectives for the development of the state in the future.

In analyzing the evolution of the Romanian socialist state, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has emphasized, first of all, the necessity of dialectically dealing with this process, keeping in mind the situation that the state does not remain immutable after the acquisition of power, but is transformed as changes take place in the economic-social structure of society and in its ideology.

The emphasis on this characteristics has special importance since it points out the perspectives for the development of the socialist state and the transformations that take place in its essence on the basis of broadening the social base of political power. Actually, if during the period of going from capitalism to socialism socialist state power was based on the will and interests of the vast majority of society, being directed, however, against the exploiting minority that was thrown out of power, after the victory of socialism and the disappearance from society of the exploiting classes and class antagonism the social basis of power was represented by the fraternal alliance and friendship of the working class, the cooperativized peasants, the intelligentsia and the other social categories regardless of nationality, which themselves were radically transformed, taking on new, socialist characteristics. As is mentioned in the Report presented at the 12th Party Congress, "Our society is composed of friendly social classes and categories actively participating in the production of material and spiritual goods. Among them there is a continuing closeness with regards to working conditions, technical-professional horizons, general culture and the manner of material and spiritual life."[5]

We have in mind, therefore, the transformations that are taking place in the social structure of the country, in the physionomy of the classes and the relationships between them and in the direction of strengthening the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and the unity of all the people and of ever more powerfully affirming the cohesion of our socialist nation.

These changes, which will be accentuate as the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society progresses, generate an aver greater degree of closeness between the social classes and categories, bringing about the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of all the people and the process of social homogenization that has begun in our society.

At the same time, our nation, as shown by the unit of will and interests of all its members, is fully affirmed as a socialist, free, independent and sovereign nation. On the basis of the just solution of the nationality problem, an enduring brotherly unity has been achieved for all workers regardless of their nationality, with the coinhabitating nationalities equally actively participating in the building of a new society.

The leading role in the state is played by the working class, the most advanced class of our society. The fulfillment of such a role clearly does not confer any type of privilege to the working class, but, on the contrary, gives it special responsibilities towards all the people in ensuring the rapid and consistent advancement of the country towards multilaterally developed socialism and communism. At the basis of this power is the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and the unity of all the social classes and categories regardless of nationality.

From the point of view of historical type, state power in our country has a socialist nature. Considered from a social point of view, it has the characteristics of a true people's power since it effectively belongs to all the people. At the same time, we can characterize it as a workers and workers-peasants power since the working class has a leading role and the worker-peasant alliance is at the base of this power. From a national point of view, a characteristic of state power lies in the fact that it belongs to a socialist nation unified with the coinhabitating nationalities, having definitively resolved the nationality problem on the basis of achieving full equality for all citizens regardless of their nationality.

On the international affairs level, state power is characterized by full sovereignty and independence and by solidarity with the social forces that struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, and for peace and social progress.

The Romanian socialist state is thus the political organization of the people's power led by the working class and working to achieve a multilaterally developed socialist society and advance the country towards communism. It represents the sovereign right of the people to be free and masters of their own destiny, to adopt fundamental, immediate and future decisions and to establish its future in full cognizance of its cause.

Certainly, the state is not the only political organization called upon to serve the working class in the construction of the new order. It is a distinct element having its own functions within the political system composed of the Romanian Communist Party, numerous mass and public social-political organizations contained in the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, and the forms of self-management through which the workers directly participate in the adoption of fundamental decisions on the development of the country and in the management of social-economic units and all of society.

The Romanian Communist Party has the leading role in the political system of our country. As the leading political force for all society and the vital center of our nation, the party is the political organization that unites the most advanced sons of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the workers regardless of their nationality. Guided by the scientific, materialist-dialectic and historical ideology, the party, as the central coordinator in all the areas of economic and social affairs, decides together with all the people upon the program for creating the new, socialist and communist society and upon the guidelines for the development of the economy, science and technology, culture and the country's domestic and foreign policies during each stage.

The leading role of the party, one recognized by all the people, involves its special responsibilities towards the people and the nation and is achieved not by placing it above society or outside of society, but by placing it within the social, state and economic organisms through the organic integration of communists in economic and social affairs and through their direct participation in work groups in solving the problems of socialist construction and uniting the general efforts of the workers. The Constitution notes the role of the party as the leading political force in the state and in society, in this manner sanctioning a fundamental principle of our political system. As a governing party, the Romanian Communist Party has the decisive, leading role in forming and adopting laws and other state acts and in elaborating domestic and foreign policies.

The most concentrated expression of the party's policy for creating a new order is given in the party's Program, the basic ideological, theoretical and political Charter of the party that establishes in a unified manner the general strategy and tactical guidelines of the party's and state's domestic and foreign policies for a period of 20 to 25 years and the fundamental directions of the development of Romanian society on the path to socialism and communism.

Our party has formulated its own concept with reagards to the place and role of political, mass and public organizations, trade union organizations, organizations for women, cultural-scientific and artistic organizations and others within the framework of the system of socialist democracy and the system of political organization in our society. The principles for the organizationa and operation of all these organizations have been improved, adapting to the transformations that our society has experienced and the current requirements of building a new order.

Special mention is needed for the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front as the broadest permanent, democratic and revolutionary political organism that unites under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party not only all the mass and public organizations and the coinhabitating nationalities' workers councils, but also its own organizations composed principally of workers who are not party members, thus mobilizing all the people in the carrying out of the party's and state's domestic and foreign policies.

The state, the exponent of the people's power, occupies a separate place in the system of political organization in society since it has the exclusive right to adopt obligatory decisions that take the form of laws, decrees and other normative acts, and to apply the laws, whose respect is guaranteed, against those who violate them through the coercive resources of the state apparatus. As an exponent of the people, the socialist state is also in a legal sense the holder of the property rights on the means of production and all the goods belonging to all the people that are found in state property.

Our party has made an original theoretical contribution of special importance within the framework of the political system in establishing relationships between the state, the party and the other mass and public political organizations, between the state and the masses and between the state and the citizen. This contribution

has been expressed in the practical means of organizing the political system and developing and improving it in our country, especially after the Ninth Party Congress. We especially have in mind the blending of party, state and public activities, the integration of the state in society and the combining of representative democracy with direct democracy and worker self-management based on the self-administration of social-economic and national units and the dialectic nature of the application of the principle of democratic centralism, as well as the spread of the application of the principle of collective leadership and work.

The blending of the activities of the socialist state with those of the communist party and the mass and public organizations is expressed in different ways, such as the organizations of a dual nature, belonging to the party and state. There are, for example, the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development, the Central Council of Workers' Review of Economic and Social Activities, the Council of Socialist Culture and Education and the National Council for Science and Technology, as well as other local organs corresponding to these central organs. There also is the inclusion of certain representatives of party organs and mass and public organizations in the composition of different state organisms. The blending of the activities and organization of these bodies is possible and necessary because both the party organs and the state and public organs express the will and interests of all our people and militate for the achievement of the same goal and the program of creating a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing the country towards communism. They all militate for the carrying out of the same domestic and foreign policies, as evidenced by the means and methods specific to each one.

The thesis regarding the need to integrate the state in society begins with the profoundly popular and consistently democratic nature of our socialist state and with the fact that the power stems from the people and is called upon to be exercised by the people for its own use. Within this context, we note the important measures taken along the line of improving the exercise of state power through the elective organs, as well as for ensuring the direct participation of the citizens in the leadership of the state and society, combining representative democracy with direct democracy and implementing worker self-management.

In this regard, we can mention the measures taken to increase the role and improve the activities of the Grand National Assembly as the supreme representative organ of state power elected on the basis of a direct, secret and obligatory vote. The electoral system has been developed along the line of continuing to further the democracy of this system, ensuring, on one hand, a social composition of the organs of state power that correspond to the social and national composition of our society and according a preponderant place for the representatives of the workers who work directly in production and the working class. At the same time, the proposal of a number of candidates for an electoral district has had and has the purpose of broadening the democratic means of electing workers' representatives to these bodies.

The experience of recent years shows that the Grand National Assembly, as the supreme organ of state power and the sole law-making body, makes decisions in the most important areas of domestic and foreign policies and in the leadership of economic and

social affairs, science, technology and culture. On the basis of the proposals of the party leadership and the decisions of the congresses, national conferences, Central Committee, Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee, the Grand National Assembly approves the laws of the country that are obligatory for all state, political, public and mass organs and for all citizens. There has been an increase in the role of the permanent commissions of the Grand National Assembly and the members. The permanent commissions issue opinions on all the drafts submitted for discussion in the Grand National Assembly or the Council of State and, at the same time, conduct a review of the manner in which the laws are respected in all state activities. Being not only eligible but also recallable and responsible to the electorate for all their activities, the members have a close tie with the citizens in the electoral districts, periodically present reports on their activities and the body to which they belong and militate for the achievement of social-economic projects in their electoral districts.

There has been an improve in the activities of the Council of State as the supreme organ of power having permanent activities, which, during the period between sessions of the Grand National Assembly, approves decrees having the power of law, thus ensuring the continuity of the supreme leadership of the state on the basis of oarty decisions. The Council of State is at the same time also subordinate to and controlled by the Grand National Assembly.

Of special political importance was the 1974 creation of the position of president of the Socialist Republic of Romania who, as chief of state, represents the state power domestically and in international relations. The election of the secretary general of the party to the position of president of the Republic is still further proof of the organic and indestructible unity between the party and the socialist state and the special trust that the party and all the people give to the remarkable personality of the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the most beloved son of the people and the most authentic exponent of the will and interests of our nation.

There has been a more precise defining of the boundaries between the activities of the supreme organs of state power and the activities of the government and the ministries as executive organs. All the activities of the government as well as the ministries and other central organs of the state administration are directed towards the implementation of the laws, decrees and decisions of the supreme organs. These central organs are headed by leadership councils composed of personnel from the ministries, as well as specialists and workers who work directly in production. As executive organs, they are called upon to take specific measures from day to day in order to implement the laws and the country's sole national economic and social development plan under the best possible conditions and to achieve the domestic and foreign policies of the Romanian socialist state.

Similarly, on a local level there has been considerable improvement in the activities of the state organs on the basis of the new administrative-territorial organization carried out at the beginning of 1968 within the framework of the counties, municipalities, cities and towns. The people's councils, as local organs of state power, are true organs for the self-management of administrative-territorial units. Having broad authority in the management of local economic and social-cultural affairs, they are called upon, together with the close cooperation of the citizens, to contribute to the harmonious development of all the counties and localities in the country.

The creation of the Congress of the People's Councils, the Legislative Chamber, the National Conference of the Presidents of the People's Councils and the county conferences of the members of the people's councils has a special significance for increasing the role of the local organs of state power and the for confirming the people's councils as organs of power and, at the same time, as organs of local self-management within the entire system for the leadership of administrative-territorial units in our country.

Clearly, in the process of furthering the democratic aspect of the organization and activities of the state organs we should mention the truly revolutionary measures taken at the December 1977 National Party Conference in the field of the activities of the organs of justice, the State Prosecutor and the Ministry of the Interior. These measures deal with attracting the masses to the process of carrying out justice and getting the workers to participate in the process of educating and reeducating those who have violated the norms of socialist law. "Only with the broad participation of the masses will we be able to ensure the continued decrease and, in the end, the elimination of all types of violations and deviations from the norms of social behavior."[6]

A special characteristic of the democratic nature of the political system is the means of the workers' direct participation in the management of social-economic, scientific, cultural and educational units and the extension and affirmation of the citizens' direct participation in the leadership of the state and society. We are talking about the measures that were taken to improve the management of socialist units, beginning with the 1967 National Party Conference, and that have been continually improved, acquiring their current form of organization on the basis of the decisions of the 1977 National Party Conference and the March 1978 Plenum of the Party Central Committee with regards to strengthening the self-management and self-administration of socialist units. In this regard, workers' general assemblies were institutionalized in the socialist units, with the assemblies headed by the president of the trade union, as well as workers councils whose president is the secretary of the party organization in the unit and executive bureaus of the workers councils whose president is the director of the enterprise. We find here a new means of combining the activities of the state, party and public organs and the achievement of the direct participation of the workers in the socialist units in the adoption of plans, in the analysis of the manner of fulfilling these plans and, in other words, in the management of the units. Thus, we actually achieve worker self-management in the units, whose content has been improved on the basis of the self-administration and self-financing of the units, as sanctioned and codified on the basis of the party decisions in 1978 regarding the introduction of the new economic-financial mechanism.

And, the forms of the citizens' direct participation and the system of self-management have been developed and improved through the creation of certain bodies of self-management and certain democratic fora at the national level. In this regard, we can mention the Congress of Workers in Industry, Construction and Transportation, which is convened once every 5 years (the first was held in 1977), the National Council of Workers as the permanent organ of the Congress, the Congress on Agriculture, which, similarly, is convened once every 5 years (the first was also held in 1977), and the National Council of Agriculture as the permanent organ of this Congress.

In the field of cultural-ideological activities, we can note the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, convened for the first time in 1976. In 1978, the Congress on Education and Learning was institutionalized for the purpose of discussing the principal problems in the development of this essential sector of activity; it was convened for the first time in 1980.

Similarly, we should also mention the systematic organization of numerous conferences and working meetings at the central level, by branch of activity and at the local level to analyze and resolve the most important problems in the development of society. The practice of having public discussions on the most important draft laws prior to their approval by the Grand National Assembly is also one of the means of the citizens' direct participation in the adoption of decisions at the highest state level.

The authority of the different fora of socialist democracy and the manner in which they are staffed are once again proof of the blending of party, state and public activities and the stress that our party places on the development and furthering of direct democracy and on the citizens' direct participation in the leadership of the state and society. It should be mentioned that these organisms of self-management, both in the socialist units and in the national fora, are organically integrated in the system of society's political organization, giving these organisms certain characeristics that are specific to our country. They effectively contribute to the achievement of workers' power without speaking, however, of transforming them into state organs and without nationalizing them. Beginning with the fact that socialism is built by the people for the people, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed once again at the 12th Party Congress the need for all state organs to base their entire activity on the broad participation of and consultation with the masses and on the broad use of the masses' initiatives, experiences and creative abilities. He also stressed that the organisms of socialist democracy must effectively operate as fora for the responsible discussion and just and effective solution of all problems.[7]

Thus, in analyzing the place of the state in the system of our society's political organization during the current stage, we find that in our party's concept the state, as an instrument of political power, has its own well-defined role within the system of leadership of society and its activities are organically combined with the activities of the other parts of the system of political organizations. Carrying out its activities under the political leadership of the party, the activities of the state are combined and organically blended with the activities of the public organizations and with citizens' direct and immediate participation in political and social-economic affairs.

The organization of the state is achieved on the basis of certain well-defined and outlined principles which the party places at the foundation of the structure and operation of state organs and the entire state apparatus.

These principles, which are not rigid, but rather improvable, have an interconditioning and complementary relationship. Such principles are: democratic centralism, collective leadership, personal responsibility, the principle of the masses' participation in management and of carrying out economic-financial self-management and

self-administration, the principle of the supremacy of the organs of state power and of the subordination of the executive organs to them, the principle of socialist legalities and the principle of socialist ethics and equity, humanism and social justice as expressions of satisfying the general and personal interests of the workers.

Similarly, we can mention the measures that were taken for the continued rationalization of the state organs' organization and methods of operation through a more just definition of their size, the simplification of their organization and operation, the reduction of the state apparatus, the growth of the portion of the apparatus directly involved in production and the reduction of the administrative apparatus, ensuring an increased level of competence and effectiveness in resolving problems.

Thus, in our country a system was created for organizing the state and, more generally, for the political organization of a broadly democratic society. It is a system adapted to the conditions of the current stage of development of the country with its own structural and functional characteristics through which a democratic and scientific leadership is achieved on the basis of the masses' active and direct participation in the discussion and adoption of decisions.

Noting this finding, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasizes: "We could say that we have an organizational framework - both at the level of the economic-social units, cities and towns and at the national level - that is unique in its type and which ensures the direct participation of all the categories of workers, regardless of their nationality, in the management of the economy, social affairs and all of society. What is decisive now is the operation of these organism under proper conditions so that the elaboration and implementation of the state's domestic and foreign policies can be the result of the collective thinking and will of the workers and all our people. It is essential to ensure the proper operation of this democratic framework and the full use of the possibilities that it offers."[8]

According to the Romanian Communist Party's concept, the role of the state is ever more actively affirmed in the construction of the new order, with its functions being continuously adapted to the tasks of each stage of development in society. "Within the framework of the general activities for the scientific organization and leadership of society there has been a continuous strengthening of our socialist state and its functions have been improved in accordance with current requirements," notes the report to the 12th Party Congress.[9]

By the functions of the socialist state we mean the fundamental directions of the activities of the state, the overall grouping of its organs and its entire mechanism as directed towards the achievement of the program of building socialism and communism. As is generally accepted by political science and socialist laws the functions of the state in this concept are not to be confused with the specific activities of the state in one field or another, for example, in the field of planning, education, introducing technical progress, training personnel, foreign trade and so forth, nor with the tasks of the different categories of state organs - legislative, administrative, carrying out justice and so forth. In order to denote these distinctions, some authors use the term "funadamental functions" for the so-called functions of the state and non-fundamental functions for the specific activities of the state and its

organs. Without denying some utility for this division, especially in a didactic sense, we nonetheless believe that its acceptance will generate some confusion, especially with regards to defining the content of the different categories of functions. For this reason, we have used the concept of the functions of the state only in one sense, that of the fundamental directions of its activities.

The functions of the socialist state are determined by its essence as an instrument of political power in society and by its role in the different stages of socialist construction.

As will be seen, the functions of the socialist state have their own dynamics and their scope, content and weight change throughout the different stages of the evolution of the state. Certainly, as has been stressed a number of times in our party's documents, the general, objective trend is to increase and ever more powerfully affirm those functions that deal with the organization and management of economic-social affairs and the development of the complex and multilateral process of building the new order. Under the conditions where the power belongs to the workers, led by the working class and its communist party, the state is called upon to ensure the organization and management of all of society through its own means in accordance with the party's directives and program for building a new order. For that reason, we felt it was necessary to separate into a distinct function this activity of the state, a function identified by the organization and management of society, which, in a way, is an integrating summary of all of the functions. We clearly take into account the role and place of the state in the system of political organization and the fact that the Romanian Communist Party is the leading political force in the entire society. For that reason, the statal organization and management of society is achieved within the framework of the general mechanism for the operation of the socialist political system, on the basis of the fundamental principle of the leading political role of the party. Under the guidance and leadership of the party, the state ensures the organization and management of all of society in accordance with the general interests of socialist and communist construction by using its own means and, first of all, its right to elaborate obligatory decisions and norms having the power of law for all of society.

We must keep in mind, similarly, that this leadership is not achieved by circumstances or by a restricted group of "elected" people or by an elite. On the contrary, it is appropriate for the socialist state to ensure a democratic and scientific leadership as brought about by the participation of certain ever broader masses in political affairs and by the understanding of the laws of the development of society and the newest advances of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. It is necessary to continually work for the improvement of these essential characteristics of the state's activities. "Beginning with the consideration that both in a multilaterally developed socialist society and, at a still-far-off time, in communism, the state will have an important role in the unified management of economic and social affairs. It is necessary," points of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, "for us to permanently work for the improvement of the state's activities and the entire system of organizing society, placing special stress on ensuring the scientific, democratic leadership of the vast effort to build the new order."[10]

The socialist state has an important role not only in eliminating the vestiges of the capitalist relations based on exploitation, but also in creating the new socialist relations and the new economy based on the socialist ownership of the principle means of production, as well as in ensuring the creation and development of the technical-material base of socialism and continually improving the new production relations. This brings about the permanent growth of the economic role of the socialist state, the amplification of its activities to organize and manage the economy and the diversification of the economy. That is why the economic function of the socialist state has special weight and experiences a permanent development and amplification for the purpose of ensuring the complete victory of communism.

We felt that the separation of this function of the socialist state into one distinct area was opportune and based on scientific criteria, beginning with the ever greater importance that our party and state give to the problems of improving the quality of life, permanently increasing the workers' material and spiritual standard of living and raising the level of civilization and culture of all the people. We must basically keep in mind the fact that man himself stands at the center of the party's and socialist state's policies along with the concern for the free and complete affirmation of his creative abilities and his personality is of special importance for the concerns of the state to have a quality of life that is of a new quality based on the principles of a socialist society and the norms of socialist ethics and equity. We should also mention the state's concerns for demographic development, the strengthening of the family and the protection of the environment.

An important function of the socialist state, one present right from the establishment of socialist power and which has experienced and is experiencing a strong development, is the cultural-educational and ideological function. This function encompasses in its sphere of activities the complex activity of the state for the socialist education of the masses, the continual raising of their level of knowledge and culture on the basis of developments in education, science, art and culture, and the permanent education and continual improvement of professional training during this tumultuous period of development in science and technology. It attests to the state's involvement in the process of carrying out cultural revolution, pursuing the placement of the entire concept about the people's world on the basis of dialectic and historical materialism and the scientific concepts about the world and life. The activities of the state organs and its institutions are especially complex. It involves, on one hand, the struggle against retrograde, idealistic and mystical concepts in society and, on the other hand, the creation of a new awareness based on the principles of a materialist-dialectic scientific concept, socialist ethics and equity and the triumph of socialist ideology. The content of this function is even more rich and varied and experiences a continuing improvement and adaption to the new requirements of life.

It is clear that in the first stage of its existence, during the first years after the acquisition of complete power, the socialist state was called upon to carry out a function of crushing the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes, to which end the appropriate means and methods for the conditions in our country were used.

In the end, this led to the annihilation of the attempts of the exploiting elements thrown out of power to reacquire their positions and block the carrying out of the revolutionary process and the achievement of the objectives of socialist construction.

This function ceased to exist with the elimination of the exploiting classes and at the moment when there were no longer social categories hostile to the people's power, creating the social-political and moral-ideological unity of all the people in accordance with the new structure of society, with the state becoming an instrument of the power of our entire society. Certainly, this did not mean the disappearance from our society of all acts against the socialist order, rights, laws and the norms of socialist ethics and equity. Unfortunately, there continued to be individuals who did not follow the socialist principles of organization and life and infringed upon socialist or private property, socialist rights and the freedom, dignity and even the lives of the people. For that reason, the socialist state continues to exercise a distinct funtion of defending socialist gains and combatting antisocial phenomena. This function is achieved both through efforts to persuade people, seeking first of all to prevent illegal behavior, and, when it is necessary, through repressive means employed by the organs of justice, the state prosecutor and the Ministry of the Interior, pursuing, in the final analysis, the reeducation and return to society of those found guilty of violating the laws. The achievement of this function is carried out on the basis of a close cooperation between the state organs, the masses of citizens and the workers collectives. The direction for the development of this function was given by the December 1977 National Party Conference and the 12th Party Congress and involves attracting the masses, public opinion and the work collectives to the struggle against violations of the laws and the norms of socialist ethics and equity in the process of reeducating those who have committed illegal acts and those punished by law.

These are the internal functions of the socialist state, which, as can be seen, involve the entire sphere of social activity from leadership activities in general to those of managing economic-social and cultural-educational activities and to the activities for guiding the workers' behavior in accordance with the laws and norms of socialist ethics and equity and for combatting acts that violate these norms. The achievement of these functions takes place not through a juxtapositioning of the activities of the different state organs, but through their interaction and interconditioning. Even if certain organs of the state are called upon to carry out first of all and principally a certain function, they also contribute more or less, to a greater or lesser degree, to the achievement of other functions of the state. For that reason, we emphasize the complementary nature of the functions of the state and the blending and interaction of the activities of the state organs in the achievement of these functions.

Keeping in mind the fact that the state is a part of the political system of our society, a system which also involves, as we have seen, the party as a leading political force, the mass and public organizations, the activities of the workers collectives and the citizens in the process of managing society, we can and must mention that the achievement of the state's functions is carried out with the participation of the

entire system of political organizations in society. They are carried out under the leadership of the party with the active support of the mass and public organizations and with the direct participation of the masses. Without such an understandind we cannot have a real picture of the manner in which the state's functions and all state activities are carried out.

Within the framework of external functions, keeping in mind the party's policy which begins with the need for our state to actively participate in the international division of labor and to intensify its collaboration and cooperation with other countries and all peoples, an important position is held by the function of developing relations of collaboration and cooperation with other states and for the promotion of a new international order. As a socialist country, Romania places in the center of its international relations collaboration and cooperation with all the socialist countries, to which it is tied by the commonality of its social-political order and by the goals which it pursues, of ensuring the triumph of socialism and communism, peace and progress. At the same time, our state develops relations for collaboration and cooperation with the developing nations and the non-alined nations. Since it is also a developing nation, it is even more natural for Romania to give special importance to its relations with these countries in their struggle to finally eliminate the gaps existing today in the world by ensuring its economic-social progress.

On the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence our state also develops relations with the developed capitalist countries and all the states of the world regardless of their social order, actively participating in the international division of labor and the world trade of goods. Keeping in mind the objective needs of contemporary social development, our state actively militates for the creation of a new international economic and political order and for the triumph of new democratic principles that will govern international relations.

Beginning with the realities of the contemporary world, where the danger of war has not been eliminated and where there are still numerous hotbeds of war, aggressive imperialist policies and an unprecedented accumulation of arms, it is necessary for the states and peoples to wage a consistent struggle for the defense of international peace and security and for the final elimination of wars and violent means of resolving conflicts and misunderstandings between states. For that reason, a distinct external function of our socialist state is the struggle that it consistently wages for the defense and promotion of international peace and security.

At the same time, keeping in mind the international context within which the building of the new order is taking place, where the danger of certain new wars has not been eliminated, as well as the responsibility for defending the revolutionary gains, our state also carries out the function of defending the country, with the purpose of ensuring the defense of national sovereignty and independence and the participation of the Romanian socialist state in international affairs as a sovereign and independent state.

In evaluating the external functions of the state, we must keep in mind the remarkable achievements made by our country, especially after the Ninth Party Congress, as a

result of carrying out an active, principled foreign policy full of initiatives under the direct guidance of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. As a result, socialist Romania has acquired a well-deserved prestige in international affairs and makes a significant contribution in a spirit of high principles to the cause of freedom and independence, security and the collaboration of peoples, and to the struggle for the solution of the major problems confronting contemporary mankind and the cause of detente and progress on our planet.

The external functions of the socialist state, in dialectical unity with the internal ones, have as a defining characetistic the promotion of the new in international affairs. The principal directions towards which these functions converge are the elimination of the old world policies and order based on force, inequality and domination, which generated countless wars, and on forms of oppression and dependency and domination and subordination, and the creation of certain new interstatal relations that will ensure peace and collaboration between all nations on the basis of the free and independent development of each people.

The working class's acquisition of power first in one state and later in a number of countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America makes the promotion of the new in international politics a component of the external functions of the socialist state. As a result of the profound national and social revolutionary changes that are taking place in the contemporary world, objective conditions are being created for the affirmation of the new in international affairs through the appearance of other progressive social forces and through the decisive role of the popular masses everywhere in determining the course of contemporary mankind's development. These forces are militating for a new, democratic international policy, for the independent affirmation of all the nations of the world, detente and peace, and against imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policies of force and diktat and spheres of influence and domination.

In dealing with the external functions of the state we must keep in mind both their interdependency with internal ones and the participation of all the social organisms, the mass and public organizations under the leadership of the communist party, in the achievement of these functions. The unity of content of all the functions of the socialist state - internal and external - is expressed in the finality of all state activities, as outlined in the Constitution: "Its purpose is the development of the order and prosperity of the socialist nation, the continued growth of the people's material and cultural well-being, the assurance of freedom and dignity for man and the multilateral affirmation of the human personality."

The analysis of the functions of the Romanian socialist state and the evolution of the state demonstrates the permanent growth of the role of the state in organizing and leading society, a valid process for the period of creating a multilaterally developed socialism and in the future for ensuring the transition to communism.

The need for the role of the state to grow and to be amplified during the current stage and in the future is an essential thesis of our party and it has in mind not an increase in its administrative role, but in its constructive, creative activities for scientific organization and leadership.

The detailed analysis of the manner of carrying out each of the state's functions will give us the opportunity to ascertain the scope of the state's activities within the entire system of political organization in society, the powerful furthering and broadening of socialist democracy as a law of developing the socialist state and worker self-management, the ever more powerul integration of the socialist state in society, the interaction of the activities of the state, the party and the public, and the ever broader participation of masses and each citizen in the management of the socialist units, the state and all of society.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Meeting of the Central Party and State Active, 3 August 1978," Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1978, pp 40-41.

2. "The Program of the Romanian Communist Party for Creating a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Towards Communism," in "The 12th RCP Congress," Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1974, p 683.

3. Here, we are referring only to dividing into periods the evolution of the Romanian state after the proclamation of the people's republic and the full acquistion of power, a moment when we can speak of a socialist type of state. The previous period, and especially the one between 6 March 1945 and 30 December 1947, represents a phase of transition where the state power had a series of characteristics corresponding to that revolutionary stage, without being able to characterize it as a socialist power. The state of this period, representing a revolutionary-democratic power having a pronounced worker-peasant nature, ensured the transition to socialist type state in our country.

4. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 13, Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1976, p 73.

5. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the 12th RCP Congress, Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1979, p 59.

6. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech to the Second Congress of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, 17 January 1980." "Speech at the Conclusion of the Proceedings of the Congress, 18 January 1980," Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1980, p 24.

7. Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., p 13.

8. "National Conference of the RCP, 7-9 December 1977," Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1978, p 2.

9. Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit, p 15.

10. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 13, p 75.

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ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS IN IMPROVING MINING OPERATIONS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Oct 81 pp 41-43

/Article by Petru Furdui, chairman of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions in the Mining, Petroleum, Geology and Electric Power Enterprises: "With the Face Always Turned Toward the Mining Initiatives"/

/Text/ In carrying on the socialist competition organized by the trade unions, under the leadership of the party bodies and organizations, for fulfilling the plan targets and the pledges made, the working people are uncovering and utilizing new resources of production, are helping to improve the processes and methods of work, to affirm the new, being aware that this is to their benefit and that of our whole society. Many of the creative ideas--technical, organizational and ethical--that they bring and put into practice to continually raise the efficiency of the production activity and to increase national wealth demonstrate, once again, the disposedness of the miners and the other workers to do, on their own initiative, more than is required of them by the plan figures, to resolve prime requirements that involve mainly the development of ore or coal production, known under the generic name of initiatives in production. The more than 20 initiatives and advanced methods of work that are now being applied, for instance, in the mining units alone, by nearly 100,000 working people are a graphic expression of their determination to utilize as well as possible the entire technical and human potential that they possess. At the same time, they constitute strong arguments for an optimistic frame of mind that characterizes the miners and the technical personnel, the researchers and the designers in this basic branch of the economy, for whom a wide field for asserting their inventiveness, talent and diligence has been opened up through the program drawn up by the party leadership with regard to providing the country's energy independence in this decade.

The existence of such a multitude of initiatives and advanced methods in work laid before the committee of the union of our trade unions and its executive bureau the not-at-all easy task of knowing them all, measuring their value and acting speedily to generalize, on the scale of the whole branch, the most efficient ones from a production and economic viewpoint. So it is that, as early as 1979, we assumed a bigger role in conducting the process of discovery, selection, expansion and generalization of the initiatives, thus giving an organized character to this new concern, in which we have gained some methodical experience, which, as the Resolution of the Congress of the UGSR /General Union of Romanian Trade Unions/ asks of us, we are now trying to develop, to utilize to the full by means of our own actions.

I would like to mention that knowledge of the new initiatives and methods that appear is a major aspect of our concern thus far, which, naturally, we are continuing by

means of all the actions put in our programs. To this end, together with the competent bodies within the ministry and in collaboration with the territorial bodies of the trade unions, we periodically review, according to zones of the country, everything new that appears as a specifically mining initiative or method and their practical efficiency, pursuing especially the ones that involve the growth of physical output and the reduction of standardized consumptions of supplies. We do not schedule such analyses specially, independently, but as a separate chapter within the quarterly examination of the progress of the socialist competition. The latest investigations of this kind were done at the Valea Jiului and Oltenia mining combines and the Deva and Baia Mare ore centrals. Within them we proceeded to inventory all the initiatives appearing in the respective basins, regardless of their value, then selecting, according to the criterion of the economic effect and of the capacity to mobilize the masses, the ones that may be worth the effort to be promptly generalized in all the specialized units of the branch, on the basis of a concrete program.

Due to the concern for identifying the best out of the multitude of initiatives and methods and due to the concerted effort made by our union, the affiliated trade unions and the personnel in the ministry, supported strongly by the local party bodies, in the mining branch such initiatives as the following are being applied in the coalfields in Valea Jiului and Oltenia: "The Brigade of High Productivity and Socialist Education"; "With Each Excavator in the Quarry, a Bigger Volume of Mining Mass!"; "100 Linear Meters of Advance on the Average per Month in the Opening and Preparatory Work"; "Let Us Achieve Advances of 150 Linear Meters in the Work in Coal and of 120 Linear Meters in That in Rock on the Brigades Equipped with Cutter-Loaders!"; and "Worker Guidance." The initiative "The Brigade of Socialist Education and Labor" is giving good results in the units within the Baia Mare Mining Central, with the top formations being honored with the "Diamond of Maramures" trophy, there being success in creating among them a strong competition in work. Besides these initiatives specific to the mining sector, some of a more general economic order are also being applied, such as: "The Savings Account of the Trade-Union Group"; "Let Us Work 1 Day per Month with Fuel Saved!"; "The Friend of the New Employed in Work"; and "Each Engineer and Technician Should Solve a Technical Problem Outside His Own Tasks!".

The detection of everything that is new in the matter of initiatives and methods is only part of our general concern, perhaps its easiest aspect. Because--why not say it--while in the majority of the mines we find understanding and prompt steps are taken to create all the conditions needed for applying the good methods or initiatives, in others we must perform explanatory work to convince even the technical and administrative leaders, who say that, anyway, they have enough on their minds.

Consequently, in the fieldwork of the members of the committee of the union of trade unions we have also introduced, as a mandatory component, the task of helping the trade-union committees and the working people's councils to apply and generalize the initiatives, to keep track of the effect and to improve them. The action undertaken not long ago by us together with the Gorj County Trade-Union Council is, I believe, indicative of the way in which we proceed in order to expand and generalize the initiatives. At the Rosia Pesteana Mining Enterprise, for example, we had studied the disciplinary situation of the personnel and, finding many infractions, we considered it advisable to, among other measures, also give the working people's council and the trade union there concrete help in increasing the role of the foremen in production, by establishing the objectives of the initiative "Worker Guidance" in relation to the specific character of the respective unit.

First, through the activist of the union and that of the county trade-union council who are responsible for this unit, we acted to experimentally apply this initiative, for the first time in the Pesteana Quarry, and then, for 6 months, we followed it day by day in order to see its practical efficiency. Notices and folders were printed up and posters that illustrate the initiative's content, the directions and the requirements that it involves were made up to support its application. In addition, conferences and discussions between brigades and the trade-union active and the foremen in the quarries were organized in order to share basic experience gained. The working people's council there was convinced to exhibit greater interest in this initiative, to collaborate closely with the trade-union committee on organizing the matter of knowing and distinguishing the results according to work formations or the time when it is necessary to give help in solving the problems posed by the introduction of the initiative. As a result, the unexcused absences were reduced considerably, since the intransigence of the foremen and the opinion of the staff, through the trade-union groups, acted coordinately and with severity, an occurrence that had as a result a 9-percent rise in the index of use of equipment and excavators.

On the basis of these good results and the experience accumulated, we decided to act to extend this initiative to the whole mining basin of Oltenia, for which purpose we organized a conference with a character of an exchange of experience at the Rovinari Mining Enterprise, in which the trade-union-group organizers, top workers, brigade members and foremen, chairmen of the trade-union committees and management personnel of the sectors and in the quarries participated. The content and the way in which the initiative was being applied, the results obtained and the lessons that must be taken into account were presented on this occasion. Beginning with this year, "Worker Guidance" was undertaken in all the mining units in Oltenia, with some mining sectors in Valea Jiului and Baia Mare also entering into its area of spread, it now being applied by about 12,000 working people, according to our records.

Working in this way to implement the instructions given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the UCSR Congress, we ensured that a number of initiatives would take on a mass character. The initiative "The Brigade of High Productivity and Socialist Education" was generalized in all the units in the basin of Valea Jiului, at Motru and Baia Mare, containing in its sphere a total of over 2,000 miners, and at the Lupeni Mining Enterprise, the initiative "The Brigade of High Productivity and Socialist Education" is being applied by 50 brigades and 8 mining sectors and led to the achievement of over 40,000 tons of coal above the plan for the first half of this year, with the whole pledge for 1981 thus being overfulfilled. In addition, in this period, significant quantities of coal above the plan were extracted at the Barbateni, Paroseni, Uricani and Vulcan mining enterprises and at the Cimpu lui Neag Quarry.

From our own experience, however, we have become convinced that we must also devote just as much attention to maintaining at a higher and higher level the interest in undertaking and applying the initiatives and to involving with concrete responsibilities, besides the trade unions, the technical, engineering and management personnel in the mining units, in the combines and even in the ministry. Because, in many units, these personnel, although they appreciate the contribution of the workers' initiatives to mobilizing the staffs to attain the priority objectives of production (and the efficiency obtained is graphic), are nevertheless not involved decisively enough to contribute to the creation of the technical-material conditions that would permit the undertaking and implantation of these initiatives.

This is precisely why the practice--now a permanent feature--of organizing in each quarter, together with the managements of the mining combines, in the basins of Valea Jiului and Oltenia, conferences with technical personnel in the management of these big production units, heads of mining sectors, foremen, brigade members, trade-union-group organizers and trade-union chairmen has found a place for itself in our style and methods of work. On this occasion, the results obtained in applying the advanced methods or initiatives and the concrete contribution made by those present are analyzed separately and measures for the future activity are established for each enterprise. Being aware of the decisive contribution that the initiatives have to effectively increasing the spirit of competition in work, and of the fact that the concerns of the trade unions in this regard must be intensely stimulated, we also introduced, by mutual agreement with the management of the ministry, two special occasions as part of the conferences: 1. The recognizing of the trade unions that have concerned themselves more closely and methodically with utilizing the initiatives, whose experience we present then and there; and 2. The awarding of bonuses, from the funds of 0.05 percent of the combines and 1 percent of the enterprises, to the best work formations, which, applying the described initiatives, have found salutary solutions for extracting more coal or ore, for obtaining a higher output on each work front. New pledges for expanding some initiatives are made on this occasion.

Frankly, what does not please us, out of all that we have done in this field, is the fact that a very valuable initiative like the one that has inscribed on the credit line the motto "Not one car of coal rejected because of rock that can be separated at the workplace!" is applied by a small number of brigades and, unfortunately, it has been abandoned at some units in Valea Jiului. And this is when the working people's councils and the trade unions in the mining units in Valea Jiului, in pursuit of quantity, are neglecting the quality of the output. To give ourselves an idea of the importance of the initiative, it is sufficient to state that over 40 million lei in penalties for deviations from the quality prescribed for the coal furnished were paid to the electric-power enterprises in the first half of this year.

It goes without saying that a number of actions devoted to spreading and generalizing these initiatives are contained in our programs, with us being concerned with helping methodically, on the spot, particularly those trade unions and collective bodies that, although they participated in our conferences and exchanges of experience, have not acted with the due seriousness to promote the valuable initiatives, exhibiting laziness, formalism or superficiality regarding such an element for stimulating the production activity that could bring them great benefits.

We are sure that, by expanding our own actions devoted to rapidly discovering the new initiatives and by selecting the most valuable ones for application, expansion or generalization--constant concerns, to which we will add those pointed out in the last part of these lines--we will help the affiliated trade unions to the utmost to utilize the new disposedness of the miners also generated by these initiatives, thus all contributing to the providing of the primary energy resources that would support the program for economic and social development of the homeland drawn up by the 12th party congress, to the attainment of the stage of a country with an average level of development by Romania in this 5-year period.

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JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTE BETWEEN CROATIAN COURTS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Nov 81 SEDAM DANA pp 14-15

[Article by Maja Miles]

[Text] Courts, of course, do not dispute with one another every day (we use the term "dispute" only provisionally and quite loosely, since it is not a question of any legal dispute, but of a dispute of views and opinions). That is why what is happening (and has been happening for several months) between the Supreme Court of Croatia and the Administrative Court of Croatia is a true little curiosity, with all the accompanying spices and preconditions for it to become a very rare plant: an authentic juridical scandal, and, if not, at least a very hot topic for the courthouse corridors. At present the story is just circulating about how two very high (to put it mildly) republic courts have gotten into an argument, an argument about which of them is higher, which outranks the other and which is subordinate on what occasions and for what subject matter, and indeed which on this very subject is the more professionally and legally competent? So that we do not create pictures and conclusions from the nightmare of reports we have been furnished by the well-informed, by the less-well-informed and by the altogether uninformed--we set off to inform ourselves about the mysterious events on the spot.

The spot is No 3 Zrinjevac, a building housing both of the parties to this unusual quarrel. The events consist of a correspondence which at the moment is made up of three "pieces"; two of the administrative court and one of the supreme court. And that is all, except the total of 38 pages of rather dense printed text containing material for at least two or three conferences, topics for lawyers to win very subtle points and so many open questions that we can only say: whoever has the task of finding the ultimate agreement is to be pitied.

In any case, the task here for a newsman is not to be envied in the least: to provide what we refer to as an objective report, since when you read it page by page and piece by piece in just 1 hour, each of them at least several times in nearly complete persuasion, only to be at once dissuaded by the next one and persuaded of the exact opposite. Nor is it any wonder, if we remember that this is not a dispute whose participants are just anybody, but who are two very high authorities in the legal and constitutional system; such as these usually know what they are talking about.

Except that this time one is saying one thing, the other something else, and they are equally convincing.

Which Has Jurisdiction Over What?

To be brief. Everything began with a proposal of the Constitutional Court of Croatia that certain things be amended in the Law on the Regular Courts (the republic law which was passed in 1977 and which supposedly was already in need of being amended, on the basis of the traditional short life of our laws), and in particular that the status of the administrative court be changed so that it would finally become what--in its opinion--it should be and for what it was originally established (once again in 1977): the highest court in the republic for administrative disputes. Yet to achieve this, the Supreme Court of Croatia, which today has rather broad opportunities to "outrank" the administrative court, has to be deprived of certain of its powers, or those powers have at least to be limited: some have to be altogether passed on to the administrative court, while others would be shared with the administrative court. But we will not enter into all the cases which in the opinion of the administrative court should be redistributed, but only those which are most important. For example: when the so-called extraordinary legal remedy of petition for protection of legality (which is declared by the public prosecutor if he deems that the court has violated some republic law) is allowed against rulings of the administrative court, the supreme court ought no longer to make the decision, or at least not alone. That is, it is absurd, the administrative court asserts, for the Supreme Court of Croatia--which is otherwise not concerned at all with administrative matters except in those (extremely rare) cases of protection of legality, to be able to set aside decisions of a republic court (the administrative court) which is specialized in disputes of precisely that kind, and it is still more absurd for it to do so in what is referred to as a small panel--consisting of only three judges. Three judges, that is, who spend the entire year working on altogether different cases, now all of a sudden quash verdicts which are the expression of long years of practice, of great experience, and that everyday experience with the very specific attribute of dealing with highly entangled subjects such as expropriation and nationalization proceedings, tax, construction, housing and administrative accounting disputes, old-age and disability pensions, and so on.

It would be more logical, professional and consistent for the new law to provide that the judges of the supreme court rule on petitions for protection of legality jointly with judges of the administrative court--in a joint common session. As a matter of fact, that in fact was the case before 1977, when the administrative court was not even any separate court, but only a division of the supreme court, and when decisions on petitions for protection of legality against its rulings were made in joint sessions. How is it that it is different now when, to paraphrase the problem as stated by the administrative court, it is an independent court, and that the highest court in its domain? Yet the method of ruling on appeals is actually "lower"?

It sounds logical. But that is not yet all: that same joint session, the administrative court proposes, ought to be envisaged in all cases when the supreme court is adopting its so-called legal views on matters of principle in the

various fields of administrative law. The opinion of the supreme court on matters of principle have great influence on practice, and it would be logical for the administrative court, that is, its judges, who best know administrative subject matter (by contrast with the judges of the supreme court, who encounter it only sporadically) to be given the chance, when necessary, to have its say (not only to have its say, but also to vote). And not only that: the law should also provide for the administrative court itself to have its own "common and joint session" in which it would set forth its own opinions on matters of principle: after all (and this is a paradox which especially troubles the administrative court), the opinions on matters of principle which are now set forth solely by the Supreme Court of Croatia do not affect the practice of administrative officers and agencies, since they are not bound by them, just as (legally) the lower courts are not bound by those opinions either (in criminal, civil and other cases). Thus their strength does not go beyond mere authority; by contrast the legal views of the administrative court which are binding in individual decisions upon administrative officers and agencies (this is a specific feature of the administrative dispute) would have a formidable direct impact on "those down below."

Lengthy and Sharp Response

Otherwise--that is, if neither of these proposals goes through, there is hardly any point at all, the administrative court asserts, in having a supposedly separate and supposedly republic court for administrative cases; it would be best for it to be returned to the bosom of the supreme court from which it came. For it to be reduced again to a "division"--and then it would as such actually have more influence on the practice of the highest court in the republic than it does the way it is now. Second phase: the supreme court responds to the proposals of the administrative court, and that rather extensively and rather sharply. None of the changes being proposed comes under consideration: first, because some of them cannot be regulated by republic law at all (the one about courts), since they fall under federal jurisdiction, and the others could not be implemented "even if they were otherwise acceptable," because this would violate nothing more or less than the republic constitution.

In other words, there is perhaps the basis for the administrative court's objection to the number of judges on the panel of the supreme court which has the power to rule on certain of its decisions. But the makeup of a judicial panel is a part of adjective law and a provision of the federal constitution explicitly places this in the competence of the federal legislature (in other words: in this case one needs to wait not for amendment of the Law on Regular Courts, but amendment of the Law on the Administrative Dispute). An explicit federal provision places judicial proceedings in the competence of the Federation (except for so-called special proceedings, but the administrative dispute does not come under that head), and that is a very important provision whose purpose is to ensure the equal position of citizens before courts throughout Yugoslavia.

On the other hand the Constitution of SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia has given the Supreme Court of Croatia--and not a single other "high" court--the power to set forth views on methods of principle and legal conceptions, and that not without reason and gratuitously, but in order to ensure uniform application of

laws by the (regular) courts throughout the republic; for the same reason it has been given the power, the exclusive power, to rule on extraordinary legal remedies such as the petition for protection of legality which so much bothers the administrative court. Thus the constitution has reserved this for it, the supreme court, and it alone, and that all the way to one domain in which now the administrative court would like to participate. Sharing those powers with the administrative court would--we are freely interpreting the positions of the supreme court--actually mean a trampling of the constitution and turning things topsy-turvy. The mere fact that the administrative court is a specialized court which best knows the field in which it works does not at all support the view that it should take over the power of the supreme court in those fields, but precisely the opposite: the more specialized the courts, the greater the need for a joint and supreme arbiter to be above them, an arbiter which would equalize their practice in the application of (frequently the same) laws, in order to prevent one and the same legal system (and often the same laws) from being differently interpreted from area to area. That is why the constitution has designated one and only one supreme court for all the branches of the (regular) courts, and that is why the administrative court can neither be absolutely supreme even in an administrative dispute, a court above which there would be none higher.

For the same or similar reasons it cannot participate in sessions of the supreme court either, not even when views are being adopted within its own field of administrative law: incidentally, this would be as if district courts claim such rights only because the matter involves the cases they otherwise try and the like. Likewise, only the judges elected to the supreme court can rule on a petition for protection of legality with the full right to vote, and it would be absurd for those meetings to be attended by the judges whose decisions are being deliberated (except possibly as advisers, without the right to vote).

Nor does it come under consideration that the administrative court again become a division of the supreme court, since in the first place there are no real reasons for that, nor could that step backward be taken at this moment: when our jurisprudence is organized altogether differently than it was before 1977. For that matter, who asserts that the administrative court should not have become precisely what it is? No one--except the administrative court!

It Is Difficult To Judge the Courts

This is a description, certainly only in the briefest outline, of more than 16 typed pages of the very astutely developed line of argument (our job here, let us not forget, is truly an unenviable one). Here again we can make the observation: it really sounds convincing, but now comes a new "item"--"Review of the Opinion of the Supreme Court," offered by the administrative courts, and the arguments (counterarguments) are again quite convincing, to put it mildly (conclusion: when lawyers, lawyers moreover of high caliber, endeavor to convince you of something, there is no hope for you, and this time there were lawyers like that on both sides).

First of all, asserts the Administrative Court of Croatia, it just is not altogether true that only and exclusively the Federation can prescribe the makeup of

a court, and that here the republics and provinces would not be able to do anything at all in their own laws. The makeup of a court, to be sure, according to the generally accepted interpretation, by and large falls in the area of procedural guarantees, and is therefore a part of adjective law, which truly is in federal jurisdiction. But, the administrative court asserts, this does not mean that the federal legislator himself cannot leave a portion of the issues of adjective law to the republics, which is precisely what he has done in the Law on the Administrative Dispute, since he has prescribed that the decision in an administrative dispute shall be made by a panel of three judges "unless law specifies that the decision on some action taken against decision rendered in an administrative dispute be decided by a larger panel of judges." The "law," then, and not "federal law"--which accordingly could be a republic law.

And as for violation of the supreme position of the supreme court in the judicial hierarchy, were it to open the doors of its meetings to administrative judges, it should not be forgotten that this would be nothing new. Indeed this inviolable position claimed by the Supreme Court of Croatia is not defended by any other supreme court in the other republics or provinces. In Slovenia the supreme court and the special court of associated labor (which has jurisdiction over a portion of the cases tried in our republic by the administrative court) have a "joint session" in which they jointly adopt views on matters of legal principle, and no one there raises the question of whether this has violated the exclusive right of the supreme court to guarantee uniform application of laws in the republic; in Serbia the higher economic court (they have no administrative court, which outside of Croatia has been instituted only by Bosnia-Hercegovina) participates similarly in the proceedings of the supreme court; and not only that--the Higher Economic Court of Serbia participates even when the supreme court is deciding on extraordinary legal remedies against ... its own verdicts and the verdicts of economic courts in Serbia. In Bosnia-Hercegovina on the other hand, the only republic where there is a separate administrative court like ours, the institution has been introduced of the expanded joint session of the supreme court in which the panel includes judges of the administrative court and in which legal conceptions are adopted--exactly the arrangement which our administrative court would like to see, but our supreme court is refusing.

And so on, and so on. And these are only the main, or at least most interesting "points of dispute." Now the supreme court will probably respond to the new arguments, perhaps dissuade all those whom the administrative court has just managed to convince, or again convince those whom the administrative court has dissuaded. But that is the way when courts "quarrel" (and again this is said very provisorally): it is difficult to act as their judge.

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8 January 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1958

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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No. 1958

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ORGANIZATION, FUNCTION OF WARSAW PACT DESCRIBED

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian No 48, 28 Nov 81 p 11

[Article: "Structure of the Warsaw Pact Organization"]

[Text] Sergeant-Major Kalman Pongracz wrote to our editorial office inquiring about the structure of the leading bodies and organs of the Warsaw Pact Organization and about the role of the Committee of Defense Ministers. Since his question is of interest to many of our readers we are replying with the following.

The basic document for the defense organization of European socialist countries was signed on 14 May 1955 in Warsaw. As is well known, the alliance was created to counter the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which was established in 1949. Its basic task is to secure peace in Europe; to develop, on the basis of the principles of internationalism, fraternal friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance among the member states, and a reliable collective for the defense of socialist achievements.

The highest organ of our defense community is the PTT (Political Consultative Commission). In general, it meets annually or as necessary, and it has the right of decision in the most important political and military political questions. The first secretaries (secretaries-general) of the communist parties of the member states and the workers' parties, the heads of state, and on occasion the foreign and defense (national defense) ministers participate in its work.

The highest level military organ of the Warsaw Pact Organization is the HMB (Committee of Defense Ministers). The committee was formally established by a March 1969 resolution of the PTT, but in practice the ministers, in bilateral or multilateral form, had also been consulting prior to that time. The HMB meets periodically in various capital cities, and the defense ministers of the member states serve by turns as chairman. The main task of the committee is continuously to follow internal and international events affecting the activities of the organization, exchange experiences gained in the development of the armed forces in the member states, closely coordinate joint activities, and work out proposals serving effective combined defense.

The positions, recommendations and proposals of the HMB are standard in the work of the joint upper leadership organs as they are in the activities of the national military leadership. Decisions are passed by majority vote, but are binding only

The Leading Bodies, Organs and the Organizational Structure of the Warsaw Pact Organization

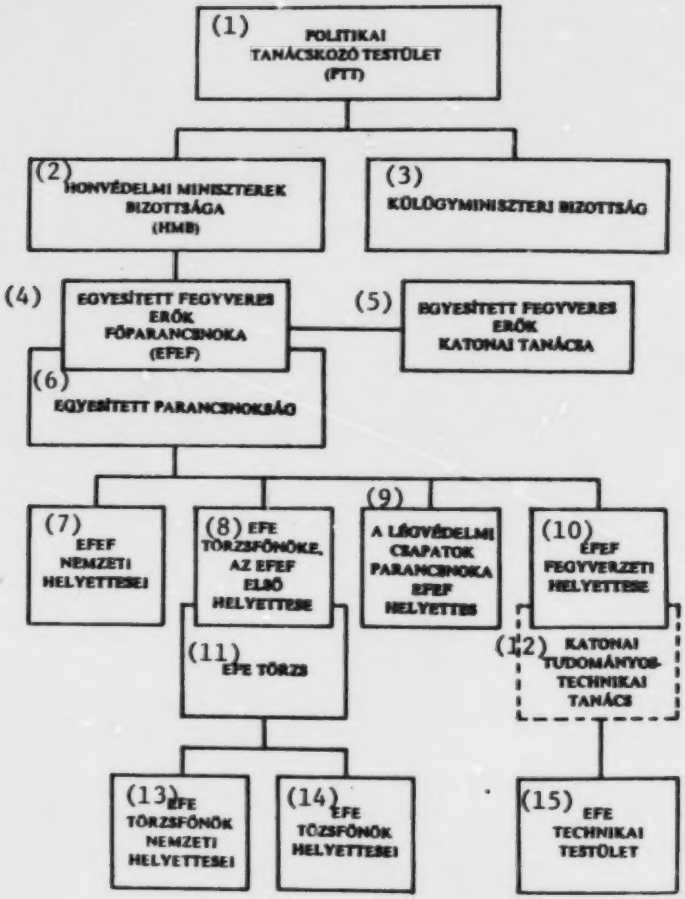

Key:

1. Political Consultative Commission
2. Committee of Defense Ministers
3. Committee of Foreign Ministers
4. United Armed Forces Commander
5. Military Council of the United Armed Forces Command
6. United Command
7. National Deputies of the EFEF
8. EFE Chief of Staff, EFEF First Deputy
9. EFEF Deputy of the Air Defense Commander
10. EFEF Armament Deputy
11. EFE Staff
12. Military Scientific-Technical Council
13. National Deputy of the EFE Chief of Staff
14. Deputies of the EFE Chief of Staff
15. EFE Technical Body

on those who join in the yes vote. The earlier consultations of the ministers used to be primarily mutual information forums, but now the committee plays an incomparably greater role in all aspects of the development of military integration. Within the Warsaw Pact Organization the United Armed Forces Command operates as a permanent organ. At the top is the Chief Commander (at present V. Kulikov, marshal of the USSR). The Command is responsible for the practical execution of joint military tasks, oversees the training of the United Armed Forces, the preparation and conduct of joint exercises. The governments of the member countries appoint chief commander deputies from among their own armies. The Hungarian deputy chief commander is General Karoly Csemi, state secretary in the ministry of defense.

The chairman of the EFE (United Armed Forces) Military Council is the chief commander and its members the chief commander deputies. The Military Council has essentially consultative and proposal-making functions. Among other things, it investigates such problems, for example, as the maintenance of the combat readiness and mobilization capability of the United Armed Forces at the constantly desired level, the organizational build-up of the troops, the organization of their training, the long-term plans for quality development, the improvement of troop leadership, the measures for preparing the theaters of operation, and so forth.

The direct operational superior organ of the chief commander is the staff of the United Armed Forces. The chief of staff (at present Army General A. Gribkov), as first deputy of the chief commander, coordinates the activities of the leading organs of the United Armed Forces command.

6691
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DANGERS OF OPPORTUNISM, SECTARIANISM STRESSED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 7 Dec 81 pp 2-3

[Article by Sevo Tarifa, deputy director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Studies in the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party: "The Class Struggle Is Carried out Properly When Opportunist or Sectarian Deviations Are not Tolerated"]

[Text] In his report to the 8th Congress of the Albanian Workers Party Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed: "To properly carry out the class struggle means to carry it out without tolerating deviations of the right or of the left, opportunistic or sectarian deviations." This teaching has a great theoretical and practical significance.

Opportunism of the Right--The Main Danger

In the body of the proletariat and of its party, opportunism is like a knife with two cutting edges: right and left. The right cutting edge is rightist opportunism, revisionism, which has been and remains the main enemy of our party and of the entire international Marxist-Leninist Communist movement.

One of the outstanding characteristics of our party is its intolerance toward the class enemies and its determined and principled struggle against them. In its 40-year existence it has encountered and vanquished foreign enemies, various imperialists and Titoite, Khrushchevite, Chinese and Eurocommunist revisionists and, from the very beginning, opportunists and factionalists such as Anastas Lulo, Sadik Premte and other enemies who appeared, from time to time, out of its own ranks. In this framework, our party is ready to carry on a bitter class struggle against deviations of the right. This struggle is expressed in two directions: against the opportunistic views and hostile activity of betrayers of the party and against opportunistic manifestations of our people who have been educated and tempered in the class-revolutionary spirit.

Rightist opportunism is the main danger. The causes are varied. Some of the internal causes include: the pressure on the party exerted by remnants of the classes which have been overthrown, which operate not only directly against the dictatorship of the proletariat, although the latter is vigilant and active, but also indirectly, secretly working to prevent the building of socialism in the country; the pressure of old vestiges which exist in the awareness of individuals, who are "invisible enemies", "they do not have teeth but their bite is fatal"; the pressure of new hostile elements who, from time to time, come out of our ranks, who gradually take

anti-socialist positions and become dangerous to society; the petit-bourgeois origin of many communists which leads some of them to falter and to tolerate the class enemy; the inadequate ideological training of a number of communists which often makes them confuse antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions, underestimate the class enemy, relax their vigilance, and slip into positions of rightist opportunism.

The espousal of rightist opportunism is also explained by external causes. The following are the main external causes: imperialist-revisionist political pressures against our country, which are many and varied and have the aim of bringing the Albanian Workers Party to its knees, stifling the only revolutionary voice in Europe, and removing Albania from the path of socialism; the ideological aggression of the capitalist-revisionist world, which, in regard to our country, is widespread and fierce, and which aims at denigrating its socialist reality and debasing our opinions; the economic blockade and the economic and financial crises of the capitalist-revisionist world which also have dangerous results for Albania; the military threats of foreign enemies which aim at frightening our people who do not get frightened, at arousing the phychoses of war, insecurity, pacifism, opportunism and capitulation.

These internal and external manifestations, which make rightist opportunism the main enemy and danger, have an objective nature because they exist independent of our will, awareness and desire. But this does not mean that they are inevitable; it does not mean that the subjective factor, the party, cannot do anything against them. On the contrary, a true Marxist-Leninist party, such as our party, which follows a correct line and struggle to prevent evil, takes action to prevent the birth of revisionism so that the tragedy of the Soviet Union and some other countries, where the revisionists and counterrevolutionaries have come to power, will never occur.

In addition to the struggle which our party has been consistently carrying on against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism, it has carried on and is carrying on an unceasing and fierce struggle against liberalism and bureaucracy, which are grist for the mill of counterrevolution, which are two dangerous enemies and which threaten the dictatorship of the proletariat from within, and, therefore, a determined struggle against them is vital for the fate of socialism.

Sectarianism--Leftist Opportunism

Life shows that the line of our party has never been opportunistic or sectarian. It has always been engaged in a struggle between the two extremes. Some manifestations of opportunism, and of sectarianism, are the result of errors of specific individuals and are a consequence of distortion in the practice of the correct line of the party.

What are the causes of sectarianism and what are some of its bad consequences?

The opportunist makes the enemy his friend while the sectarian goes to the other extreme and makes his friend the enemy and goes so far as to call a party person an enemy. The opportunist does good things for every child of the enemies while the sectarian does bad things to all these children. The two of them do not differentiate. The opportunist indicates that he is ready to admit any element into the Front, even a person who has been condemned for hostile activity while the sectarian does not approve of the admission to this organization of any person even one who could be a member.

However, it is not only persons who make concessions to the enemy who are guilty of opportunism. Persons who make concessions to a comrade or friend whose faults they see but do not criticize also fall into opportunism. The opportunist is meek when he should be harsh. The sectarian is always ready to say that everything should be resolved by administrative measures while the opportunist pardons you when you should not be pardoned. In this case, sentimentality nurtures opportunism. A person who is an opportunist today with a comrade or a friend runs the risk of being an opportunist tomorrow with an enemy. Small mistakes which are not corrected turn into big mistakes.

What are the general reasons why some people fall into sectarianism? They are: narrow and rigid viewpoints which hinder the broad and correct judgment of issues; the arrogance of those who think that they are all-powerful, that they have unlimited rights and can do what they want, even though it conflicts with regulations; the wavering of individuals of petit-bourgeois origin who, when they are criticized for rightist opportunism, go over to the other side, to leftist opportunism.

Sectarianism is damaging. It makes people dissatisfied; it dulls them intellectually; it irritates them; it immobilizes them in their work. When people are not treated tactfully they become dissatisfied. In this way, the sectarian errors of this or that communist or cadre damage the ties of the party with the masses and their unity. Manifestations of sectarianism hinder the activation of cadres and activists because the sectarian is confined to a narrow circle of male comrades and even fewer female comrades, in whom he has little trust. Sectarian concepts hinder the augmenting of the ranks of the party, the rise of new cadres to positions of responsibility, the underestimation of old cadres, the discovery of new forms and methods for the organization of the work, education and mobilization of people.

A Struggle on Two Fronts

The present-day revisionists accuse us of being sectarians because they want us to be opportunists like they are. But we are neither opportunists nor sectarians because both are dangerous. Rightist opportunism leads to revisionism. It is the real main enemy but this does not mean that sectarianism does not present any danger. Sectarianism is the other cutting edge of opportunism, rightist opportunism. Therefore, as the 8th Congress of the AWP said, opportunistic or sectarian deviations "are equally dangerous and have serious consequences for the party, for the unity of the people and for socialist society". In the final analysis, the most dangerous thing is the one which is not combatted. In an organization or collective which struggles only against opportunism but not against sectarianism, the latter can be more dangerous. In a place where only sectarianism is combatted, opportunism thrives and, in this case, it is more dangerous. This means that the disease which is not combatted spreads. Therefore, good work is done when neither one nor the other are forgotten.

Sectarianism is the brother of opportunism. He who is a leftist today is preparing to be a rightist tomorrow. A leftist action today runs the risk of becoming an opportunist action tomorrow. A balance can be achieved only by correctly implementing the party line, properly noting manifestations of sectarianism as well as opportunism.

The secret of the struggle against opportunism and sectarianism lies in the fact that they must not be combatted only when they raise their heads. A continuing preventive work must be carried on so that evils are exposed before opportunistic and sectarian manifestations appear. This requires, at all times, political clear-thinking, ideological maturity, revolutionary sharpness, class education, a militant spirit, sincerity toward the people and a deep hatred of the class enemy. But, our correct and determined attitude in regard to enemies should not lead to sectarianism. As the party teaches us, opportunism is not combatted from positions of sectarianism. The Marxist-Leninist theory of our party is properly put into practice when the fire is not extinguished against one or against the other, because as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 8th party congress: "Only by carrying out the class struggle correctly and without deviations, with the broad participation of the working masses led by the party will the present always be built correctly and will it rest on sound bases and will the future of the fatherland and of socialism be assured."

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RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE, UNITED STATES, CANADA ASSESSED

Sofia MEZHDUNARODNI OTNOSHENIYA in Bulgarian No 4, 1981 pp 42-47

[Article by Lenko Lenkov: "Relations of Bulgarian People's Republic with Western European Capitalist Countries, the United States and Canada at the Beginning of the 1980's"]

[Text] The Bulgarian People's Republic has met the 1980's with increased international prestige acquired because of the principled basis of our foreign policy--the strengthening of peace and opposition to warmongering aggressive forces, peaceful joint collaboration as equals between states with a different social order.

Consistently conducted on all lines, our country's foreign policy guarantees the sovereign and independent development of present-day Bulgaria on the path towards the further all-round progress of a developed socialist society. This conclusion was affirmed from the rostrum of the Twelfth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The congress reported the successful fulfillment of the foreign policy goals set by the Eleventh Congress and, first and foremost, of the most important goal--the intensification of the alliance with the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries and active promotion of the strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the socialist community. The congress of Bulgarian communists made a thorough class analysis of the international situation and found that despite the open opposition of the enemies of detente collaboration between states with a different social order is developing satisfactorily on the European continent: political contacts at all levels have become more intensive and fruitful of results; the volume and scope of economic, scientific, technical and cultural relations have grown. Thanks to the omnifaceted and energetic activity of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community detente has continued and international security has been fortified despite significant artificial deterioration of the international situation because of actions of the most aggressive circles of imperialism, and especially the United States. The course of confrontation, accompanied by saber-rattling and unconcealed military preparations, shows that the danger of a new war has not been definitively eliminated.

In this situation the Twenty-Sixth CPSU Congress updated the peace program, thus giving the peace-loving forces exceptionally favorable opportunities for reenforcement of the peace offensive. The Soviet Union's important foreign policy initiatives in the most urgent world-troubling areas show how the reactionary course of confrontation can be thwarted and new impetus given to detente under conditions of the 1980's.

The Bulgarian Communist Party, viewing these conditions and preconditions creatively and from the standpoint of the scientific approach, has projected the country's new foreign policy course and the lines of its further development, aimed at clearly and realistically attainable goals in the struggle for a widening of political and military detente and for progress of the people and peace-loving humanity. Adapted to the development of present events in the world, the foreign policy course of the Bulgarian People's Republic, affirmed from the rostrum of the congress, is a constructive continuation of the Blagoev-Dimitrov policy and a new creative application of the party's April foreign policy line. This consistency in our foreign policy is, in final analysis, our contribution to the normalization of the international situation, to the creation of an equilibrium of forces in the world such that imperialism cannot dictate the fundamental lines of development. That is why the fundamental tasks now facing our foreign policy continue to be active and constructive cooperation in guaranteeing lasting peace and creating the most favorable foreign policy conditions for the building of socialism and communism in our country and the other fraternal countries, and further affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence. For Bulgarian communists and for our entire people the equal and mutually advantageous collaboration of states with a different social order is the only sensible way to eliminate the danger of a new world war.

The Western European countries, the United States and Canada occupy an important place in Bulgaria's system of political, economic and cultural relations with the developed capitalist states. Our foreign policy towards these countries is directed towards a persistent and consistent surmounting of the natural and artificial barriers in the path to detente under the conditions of the political climate created since the Conference on Security and Cooperation. The real and positive effect of high-level contacts and meetings has created conditions and preconditions for a widening of bilateral relations. Our presence in these countries is becoming more and more active and fruitful of results at the beginning of the present decade. Comrade T. Zhivkov's recent meetings with leaders of the FRG, Portugal and Malta, with the king of Belgium, the chancellor of Austria, with the ministers of foreign affairs of Finland and Spain have been of prime importance for the positive development of Bulgaria's relations with the developed capitalist countries. To be noted especially is Comrade T. Zhivkov's exceptional contribution to a full, successful and constructive scientific exposition of the principles, goals and problems of Bulgaria's foreign policy during national and international events--speeches to the National Council of the Fatherland Front, the 80th anniversary of the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union], the World Parliament of Nations for Peace, and at the ceremonial session on the occasion of the 1300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state. As a whole, the energetic foreign policy activity of the country's party and government leader has given a new invigorating impetus to, and raised to a higher level, the development of relations with the aforementioned countries.

Very useful also have been Comrade P. Mladenov's meetings with his colleagues from Austria, Spain, Finland, France, Iceland, Denmark, the FRG etc., at which new demarches for the widening of collaboration with these countries were frankly and logically outlined. It is to be noted that at the present moment a number of meetings of the Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs with ministers of the aforementioned states have been prepared or are in the process of preparation, thus eloqnently attesting to the broad scope of the country's foreign political contacts

and indisputably confirming Comrade T. Zhivkov's statement that "in no other period of our history did we maintain so diverse and mutually advantageous contacts with the developed capitalist countries."

From the beginning of 1980 to the present moment the number of our ministers who have visited Western European countries, the United States and Canada, and of their counterparts who have visited our country, exceeds 40. The mutually advantageous and beneficial contacts along this line have been primarily in the promising areas of economic relations, culture, tourism etc.

The exchange of parliamentary delegations is continually expanding. An ever larger number of prominent political, economic and cultural figures from Western countries visit Bulgaria and show lively interest in our peaceful foreign policy, our economic potentialities and rich cultural heritage.

A token of our active peace-loving foreign policy and of our country's increased potentialities and prestige is the national and international forums and meetings that have been held in Bulgaria: the celebration of the 80th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, the International Detente Dialogue Meeting, the World Parliament of Nations for Peace, the Third International Meeting of Writers, the meeting of ministers of education of European countries, the meeting of ministers of culture, the "Banner of Peace" International Children's Assembly and many others. They have furthered the mutual acquaintance of the participants and the exchange of ideas and have doubtless contributed to the cause of world peace.

A recognized and useful form of political exchange with the capitalist countries is regular consultations between ministries of foreign affairs. These contribute substantially to the clarification of many problems and stimulate the development of bilateral relations. In our relations with some countries these consultations are at present the most recognized and acceptable form of official exchange.

Exchanges with the capitalist countries by way of political parties, social, trade-union, youth, sports and other organizations also have a definite place in the conduct of our foreign policy. The results in this area are encouraging and concretely attest to the political prestige of our country, which more and more is winning recognition as a sought-after, desired and esteemed partner.

An important trend in our country's activity in broadening economic, scientific and technical relations with other states is the rational utilization of the potentialities of the international division of labor. Naturally, the center of our attention has been and continues to be collaboration with the countries of the socialist community. But at the same time our country desires the establishment of stable and mutually advantageous economic relations with the developed capitalist countries and the broadening thereof subject to strict observance of mutual obligations. The constructive principled approach of our party and government to economic collaboration with these countries confirms the peace-loving character of our foreign policy in international economic relations as well. On the other hand, the rapid development of the present-day material and technical base has become a precondition for the continuous qualitative improvement and activation of Bulgaria's foreign economic

relations, including those with the Western European countries, the United States and Canada. The program of the Twelfth BCP Congress has created an objective foundation for new dynamic prospects in our foreign economic relations.

At the beginning of the new decade our commerce with the countries of Western Europe, the United States and Canada exceeds 2.6 billion foreign-exchange leva. The structure of our exports to these countries, which valuewise exceed imports, is constantly improving. A wide basis in treaty law for the development of economic exchange with a large part of the European capitalist countries has been constructed and is being improved. New forms are coming into practice: industrial cooperation, the setting up of mixed enterprises, of projects in third countries etc. etc.

Our country firmly stands by its policy directed towards the overcoming of discriminatory restrictions and the improvement of the commercial and political conditions of our economic relations with the capitalist market. At the same time the United States still holds back from granting us the most-favored-nation clause for overtly political reasons. The adoption of a politically realistic position by the U.S. Congress and the granting of the clause without advance conditions would create the preconditions for the expansion of Bulgarian-American economic relations and for their normal development on a mutually advantageous and equal basis. Nor do we meet with an adequate expression of political good will on the part of the European Economic Community. Displaying patience, constructiveness and initiative, our country, as a participant in the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance, calls for the materialization of tangibly created conditions for vigorous and mutually advantageous economic collaboration between CEMA and EEC and between the countries of these communities.

The overcoming of discriminatory barriers, the growth of balanced trade, the rise in the efficiency of our exports, and the further development of new forms of economic exchange are the basic directions to be taken for the development of Bulgaria's foreign economic relations in the years ahead, which, seen against the results already achieved, conclusively attests to the correct and successful foreign economic policy towards the Western countries.

Our international relations in the area of cultural collaboration are constructed on the principle of peaceful coexistence, too. Our socialist culture makes its contribution to the struggle for peace and detente, for social progress and the spiritual flowering of humanity. The preconditions for this are the thousand-year history of our country, an artistic potential tremendous in its scale, and the high achievements of our present-day culture and art. Since the signing of the Final Act at Helsinki the Bulgarian international cultural policy has increasingly been more closely linked with our consistent peace policy and subordinated to the long-term and immediate goals of the Bulgarian state in the international arena. The Twelfth BCP Congress assigned to cultural policy the tasks of popularizing the progress of real socialism and the rich history of the Bulgarian people, of promoting the better acquaintance of people, of strengthening the confidence between countries, and of being an important means of mobilization in the struggle for peace.

Bulgarian socialist culture and art continue indisputably to win international recognition. The "Thracian Art," "Bulgarian Medieval Civilization" and other exhibitions

in Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, France etc. have had tremendous success. The practice of organizing Bulgarian film, music and theater weeks has been gaining ground and a more comprehensive picture of Bulgarian culture is thus formed in the individual countries. Representatives of the Bulgarian People's Republic take an active part in international cultural events organized by the Western countries and win prestigious prizes. Creative contacts are being actively developed between writers, critics, theater lovers etc. Our country is world famous as the initiator and organizer of international competitions, festivals, meetings etc., for welcoming exhibitions, theatrical casts, troupes of artists etc., and for opening wide its doors to real and genuine values created by human genius and to cultural collaboration on behalf of peace and progress.

The celebration of the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state opened up new, still greater and more lasting opportunities for carrying on large-scale comprehensive activities and for the mutual exchange of cultural values with these countries. In prospect is the realization of unique ideas, programs and events, which will have a long-term effect and be an original contribution to international cultural collaboration.

One of the fundamental tasks of our foreign policy that is taking on increasingly greater significance and timeliness is the fashioning of a broad basis in treaty law for bilateral relations with the developed capitalist countries of Western Europe, the United States and Canada. Agreements in various areas outline the directions and prospects for long-term stable development of relations with these countries on principles of peaceful coexistence. They have as their aim that the most favorable foreign political and foreign economic conditions and preconditions should be secured for building a developed socialist society in our country. At the beginning of 1981 the Bulgarian People's Republic had over 150 agreements, entered into and in effect, with these countries. The number of draft agreements presented or in process of consideration and coordination is large. Experience shows that the work involved in building, expanding and updating the treaty basis of Bulgaria's relations with the developed capitalist countries is complex. The difficulties stem primarily from the fact that, owing to their political, economic and narrowly class interests, our partners exhibit restraint and reserve. All the treaties, agreements, protocols and other official documents signed between the Bulgarian People's Republic and individual Western countries are the fruit of our country's initiative and persistent work.

An important element in our foreign policy as well is the strengthening of security and collaboration in Europe and the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. An eager participant from the very beginning of the process, the Bulgarian People's Republic is actively approaching the preparation and conduct of the Madrid meeting. Our country is for the formulation of a balanced final document of the meeting as regards all sections of the Final Act. The Madrid meeeting would make an especially valuable contribution if the difficulties and unconstructive position of certain Western countries were overcome and a decision taken to convene an all-European conference for military detente and disarmament.

Combining a creatively multilateral diplomacy and a bilateral approach, the Bulgarian People's Republic continues to improve qualitatively the geographic thrust of our foreign policy. Our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany are now

growing and expanding. A common desire exists to seize the opportunities for a dynamic, long-term and lasting collaboration.

Our relations with France and Italy are developing well. The basis for this is the growing objective opportunities and the mutual interests of our nations. The development of our relations with these countries, however, still lags behind the real opportunities.

Bilateral Bulgarian-Austrian relations encompass almost all areas. Their upward trend is welcomed by both sides. The frank, constructive and useful dialogue, held recently by the chairman of the State Council, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, with Austrian chancellor, Dr Bruno Kreisky, not only regarding bilateral economic and other questions but also regarding urgent international problems, is a good example of relations between two states with a different social order.

There is also progress and good prospects in the development of our economic, political and cultural relations with Holland, Belgium, Spain and Switzerland. Our collaboration with Finland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Iceland is also developing well.

A certain expansion of economic, scientific, technical and cultural relations with the United States, Great Britain and Canada has been achieved. Our country has repeatedly expressed its readiness to create a solid foundation and political relations with these countries.

The forecasts say that the 1980's will not be easy. The most important task facing mankind is the protection of peace, equal collaboration and mutual respect. The surest and most effective way of solving the burning and urgent problems of present-day international life is not military force, but constructive dialogue and negotiations. The Bulgarian People's Republic is fully resolved to make its contribution to the achievement of real results in peaceful coexistence and the protection of peace.

6474
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PARTY WEEKLY DISCUSSES DEVIATION FROM DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 30 Oct 81 pp 9,10

[Article by Zivorad Djordjevic: "The Principle Is Clear--the Deviation Is in Application"]

[Text] Democratic centralism is again becoming the center of discussions in the League of Communists. This is not just a question of the usual pre-congress discussion about one of the themes from party life. It could rather be asserted that the main reason for this discussion was deviation from this principle in the practice of the League of Communists, and inconsistent application of it. All of us, more or less, want a united LCY, and we also want democratic centralism, but we are also striving for autarchy and independence of individual parts of the LCY (which are hard to identify with the efforts for democratization); this is seriously contradicting our above-mentioned verbal commitments. Thus the attempts in practice to disrupt the unity of the LCY and to violate on this basis the principle of democratic centralism make it necessary for a thorough discussion to take place, before the 12th LCY Congress, the republican congresses, and the provincial conferences, not about democratic centralism as a principle, but primarily about the application and observance of this principle.

In the ideological and political-normative sense, the documents and commitments of the LCY do not leave anything open to question in defining the need for democratic centralism and its essence. The LCY Statute is very clear: democratic centralism is the basic principle for the internal life, organization and activity of the LCY and all of its members, organizations, forums, and organs; this principle makes possible the united and disciplined implementation of a democratically adopted policy.

What Is Really New

Even such clear commitments, however, are more and more frequently being disputed, and attempts are being made to have something that is unambiguous covered with a veil of a suspicion of ambiguity, and, in the name of the "need to respond to the demands of the time," to change the basis for the unity of the LCY, and thus also the cohesion and stability of all of Yugoslav society.

Some authors are raising the following questions: what type of unity is suitable for the LCY--one based on classical democratic centralism, which imposes strong obligations, or one based on democratic agreement? There are also some theoreticians

who openly reject democratic centralism, considering it an obsolete and outgrown LCY principle. They say that Lenin's party is not the same thing as the present-day LCY (which is correct), but in saying this they are forgetting that "not being the same" is not being "absolutely different"; in democratic centralism they see only a bureaucratic concept of centralism, but they do not see its significant democratic component--the participation of the membership in constructing a policy; and they therefore conclude that democratic centralism is the "immanent over-emphasized role of the leading organs." They want to be authentic Marxists who start from practice, but they behave like scholastics who cannot perceive their own time because of their excessively strong prejudices.

Many "affairs" are obviously mingled together here. We want unity, unity based on self-managing agreement; and this is in order. But we really do not want a democratic centralism that imposes obligations. This means that we will arrive at unity through democratic agreement, but what will oblige us to observe and carry out our agreements in order for us to preserve our unity? The critics of democratic centralism are left without an answer to this. Experience teaches us that because of our nonobservance of agreements, in short because of our irresponsibility, we have seriously threatened not only the unity of the LCY but also the unity of society as a whole. By rejecting the "obligatory" element in democratic centralism, we in fact are not only rejecting this principle as such, but are rather turning the LCY into a debating tribunal, with the validity of democratically adopted decisions ending with the conclusion of the debate. Thus, the obligatory discipline of the members and organizations in carrying out the policy agreed upon, as a constituent part of democratic centralism, within the complex Yugoslav community, is not transitional in nature and cannot be replaced or eliminated. Conscious discipline is also significant today, and it will be 50 years from now just as much as it was 50 years ago. This also applies to democratic centralism as a dialectical union of the democratic participation of the membership in the formation of policy and conscious discipline. It is another question that the critics of democratic centralism, at the very mention of the term "centralism," grab their pockets in order to pull out all possible spiritual and political weapons, and that they obviously do not want to realize that not every centralism is always undemocratic, as well as that not every decnetralization is always democratic. If a "centralist" decision is reached in a very democratic manner, and if such a decision preserves unity, can it be denounced as undemocratic?

The critics of democratic centralism are trying to show that "democratic agreement" and "obligatory discipline" are mutually exclusive and that the second should be replaced by the first, thus eliminating the principle of democratic centralism. However, just as violating the right and opportunity of every member to participate in creating policy would reduce the LCY to a bureaucratic organization, neglecting obligatory discipline in carrying out a democratically agreed upon policy would likewise turn it into an ordinary discussion club.

Advocating a consistent application of democratic centralism does not at all challenge or exclude the need to strengthen democracy within the LCY by full mobilization of the membership in creating policy. This really is a constituent part of democratic centralism, and this is what must be continually strengthened in the LCY, and what gives new features to democratic centralism. This innovation in democratic centralism--the democratic method of formulating party policy and decisionmaking--is entailed by democratic centralism as we have defined it. This

is why the meaning of the struggle by the LCY to modernize democratic centralism, to adapt it to the needs of the time, is in expanding the actual participation of the membership in formulating party policy, in redistributing power between the leadership and the membership, and not in abolishing the principle because it entails obligatory discipline which supposedly threatens the freedom of agreement.

The Roots of Arbitrariness

The challenges to democratic centralism are least of all abstract ideological or theoretical constructions. Furthermore, the verbal challenges are marginal in contrast to arbitrariness in practice in the application of democratic centralism. Thus the roots of the challenges are precisely in the everyday life of the LCY. There are many of them, but we will mention two basic ones: a weakening of unity and cooperation, disruption of what links us, and a strengthening of what divides us; and a neglect of responsibility, in fact, an opportunistic toleration of irresponsibility. The roots are thus in practice, and the actual ideological resistance of a dogmatic-bureaucratic and anarcholiberalist nature to democratic centralism is only a spiritual manifestation of the actual relationships within the LCY and society as a whole.

The increasingly more pronounced tendencies toward regional separation into republican, provincial, and commune areas are also having a serious effect on possible appearances of autarchic behavior by individuals parts of the LCY. The intense discussions conducted during the 1970s about whether the LCY is a united organization or a federation of republican and provincial organizations did not then have purely theoretical features, but rather, in fact, were a reflection of division and danger to Yugoslav unity. This dilemma is not being openly posed today, but an attempt is being made to push through a point of view that we have outgrown the principle of democratic centralism. In fact, as in the 1970s, it expresses our division and separation by republican, provincial, and commune borders.

If the republican, provincial, or commune organizations (or to put it more precisely, their leaderships) serve primarily to achieve the national or regional interests of their areas (and unfortunately, it happens that this is not always a question of nationalism, but rather of the partial interests of the leaderships and bureaucratized groups and individuals in them), then the application of democratic centralism threatens such a distorted role for the party organizations and their leaderships. Thus if the LC, instead of struggling to achieve the interests of the working class, gives primacy to regional, partial, and autarchic interests, then it itself serves to divide and break up our unity and cooperation; and then it is pointless to speak about being consistent in the application of democratic centralism, because democratic centralism imposes an obligation of unity and consistency, while autarchy and partialization are a deviation from this.

Practical experience increasingly assures us that in spite of the economic disunity and nonfunctioning of the united Yugoslav market, more and more, under the guise of pluralism of self-managing interests, all possible territorial specific features are being glorified to the point of absurdity, while for the most part what divides us is being stressed, and what links us is being neglected. Furthermore, we are frequently witnesses of attempts to have every reference to Yugoslav cooperation and unity declared unitarianism. They are deliberately ignoring the notorious facts

that togetherness and unity are not the same thing as unitarianism, but also the fact that our delegate system, and the entire self-managing socialist system and method of policy formulation in the federation, in practice make unitarianism essentially impossible as a widespread practice, not only for a single nation, but also for groups and individuals on the level of society overall. The truth is that such attempts are possible, but have no prospects of being accepted or disseminated. All of the delegate bodies and the leaderships of sociopolitical organizations in the federation are elected on an equal basis. It is obvious that such bodies, by definition, cannot conduct a unitarianist policy. All of this basically undercuts the roots of unitarianism as a mass ideological orientation. Without underestimating the danger from the frustrated ambitions of individuals and groups for indulging in unitarianism, and without denying the necessity of struggling against unitarianism as a social relationship, it should nevertheless be said that the necessary struggle of the LCY against separation and nationalism and for unity and cooperation should not always be challenged with warnings of "beware of unitarianism!"

The opportunistic toleration of irresponsibility is another great source of attempts to bypass democratic centralism. In fact, even not carrying out decisions, i.e., violations of democratic centralism, is irresponsibility. The spread of irrsponsibility in society, however, damages the fabric of the LC, like any other infection, and exerts an influence on the violation of democratic centralism. Here we are obviously mixing concepts with intentions. If we refer to the need to observe the laws--legal, political, moral, in a word, social norms--it is almost as though an alarm were raised and warnings were issued about the danger from administration and bureaucratization, and the danger to self-management, while the fact is forgotten that self-managing socialist society is an organized society, the social relationships in which, and life in which, are subordinated to social rules of behavior. legal and political norms, and that not adhering to these rules leads to the disintegration of society. On the other hand, it is forgotten that referring to responsibility is not only within the jurisdiction of the state. The socialist self-managing system is planned in just such a way as to have social control, in the broadest sense of the word, exercized by the working class organized through self-management, so that the functioning of responsibility does not mean the activity of the specter of the bureaucratic mechanism of the government.

But tolerating irresponsibility and applying democratic centralism are mutually exclusive. The application of democratic centralism in any form whatsoever does not suit an irresponsible person or someone who tolerates irresponsibility, because it would disrupt the autocracy and anarchic behavior of the first, and the opportunistic tranquility of the second. Thus, while we play with the application of democratic centralism, we will also have irresponsibility, and conversely, while we tolerate irresponsibility, democratic centralism remains in the background.

Survival Through Application [of Democratic Centralism]

As long as the cohesion of Yugoslav society must be ensured through the unity of the LCY, the application of democratic centralism remains a necessity. The need for democratic centralism originates in the LCY's responsibility to the working class and the working people. It is difficult to conceive of achieving the interests of the working class in a complex multinational community without implementation of those principles which are a condition for the normal functioning of an organized society.

We must, in fact, ask whether the Yugoslav community can exist without some guarantee that will make possible the achievement of a minimum of unity, cohesion, organization and responsibility. In other words, the question is what factor will coordinate the federal structure of Yugoslavia, which is based on the statehood of the republics, with the need for the unity of Yugoslavia, and which will democratically and authoritatively overcome these differences, at certain times of disagreement that can threaten necessary unity, and even survival. It is obvious, we will say, that this factor is the LCY and its united ideology; but we can see that in spite of the united ideology, we differ, not in ideology, but in expressing the different interests of republican, provincial, and even commune etatist structures. Thus, without the consistent application of democratic centralism, the achievement of what is in the general interest of the working class is threatened. It is worthwhile to recall Veljko Vlahovic's timely warning that "abandoning the principle of democratic centralism in the LCY would mean its breakdown into various factions guided by different interests and concepts, which originate primarily from the contradictions of socialist development. In fact, this would represent a liquidation of the League of Communists, and thus also an abandonment of socialist social development to uncontrolled natural processes."

9909
CSO: 280/111

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA LC DISCUSSES OPSTINA STATUS

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 81 pp 3-4

[Summary of the address by Sabrija Pojskic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the LCBH Central Committee, and of the subsequent discussion: "Strong Affirmation of the Opstina as a Self-Managing Association"]

[Excerpts] After emphasizing that it is in the opstina, as the basic sociopolitical community, that the numerous needs and interests of the working people and citizens and of their self-managing organizations and communities are expressed, reconciled with one another and realized in practice, that they exercise their rights and discharge their obligations on an everyday basis, and that it is here that the work and life of the working people and citizens take their most concrete form, Sabrija Pojskic said that it clearly follows from this that achieving the constitutional position of the opstina is an extremely important and large question of political ideology. After all, the further strengthening of the position of associated labor and of the workingman within it and in society depends to a considerable degree on the consistent self-management transformation of the opstina on the foundations of the constitution, just as the self-management transformation of the opstina depends objectively on a constant strengthening of the position of associated labor.

Experience has shown, and the working group came to that conclusion in preparing this meeting, that overall relations in the opstina develop as a function of the development of the relations of socialist self-management, especially in basic organizations of associated labor and local communities and as a function of the effective operation of the institutions of the political system.

The shortcomings and sometimes lags in development of the relations of socialist self-management which have been manifested even as group-ownership behavior and practice, with a more or less pronounced narrow, partial and local interest, Pojskic said, with rather pronounced tendencies of representative decisionmaking rather than decisionmaking based on delegacy, as well as the practice of reaching agreements on the vital issues and interests within narrow groups and narrow confines, so that the decisionmaking by the working people and citizens is sometimes reduced to a formality thereby, constitute a serious obstacle to more decisive breakthroughs in building up the constitutional position of the opstina, and clearly demonstrate that the tendencies toward bureaucratic-technocratic behavior do exist.

We can say today that a sizable number of organizations of the League of Communists, primary organizations above all, as well as certain organs of the League of Communists, still have not equipped themselves adequately for effective conduct of ideological-political activity aimed at building up the opstina as a self-managing community of working people and citizens. It is a fact that certain members and primary organizations of the League of Communists have not become fully aware of the responsibility they themselves bear for resolving all the overall issues in the opstina through the process of mutual linkage and interdependence of self-managing organizations and communities. The reasons for this situation and these relations should be sought in the manifest tendencies toward confinement into "one's own" organization and self-managing community. Regardless of the motives that lead to confinement, this objectively impedes, and sometimes even prevents, the interests of the working people in the opstina, which at times are quite important, from being reconciled and jointly resolved through the decisionmaking of the workers themselves. Primary organizations of the League of Communists are not discharging one of their basic obligations in such cases, which is, together with the working people and citizens, in conformity with real capabilities and in the concrete socioeconomic conditions, to stimulate and contribute to development of those processes which ensure effective resolution of all issues of common interest to the working people and citizens and thereby of each individual interest.

Promoting the Process of Decisionmaking on the Basis of Delegacy

All the problems and difficulties are manifested most vividly in the activity of opstina assemblies, especially the shortcomings which are manifested in organizations of associated labor and local communities, whether they be a consequence of improper organization, or, much more frequently, the result of slowness in development of the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management. It is here that we should look first for the basic reasons why more full-fledged processes of reconciliation and resolution of all the interests of the working people and citizens, of organizations of associated labor and of local communities are still not being created in opstina assemblies. Among other things, this naturally has the result that the opstina assembly manifests itself considerably more as a body of government, and incomparably less as a body of self-management in which the interests of self-managing organizations and communities are reconciled through a democratic contest of opinions and decisionmaking procedure based on delegacy. The result is that on the one hand executive and administrative organs, and indirectly, through delegates who often are not tied to the delegate base, even by the specialized staff services of organizations of associated labor, exert a large influence on decisionmaking in opstina assemblies, while on the other hand decisions concerning major social issues are made without sufficient participation of the working people and citizens in the decisionmaking process. There is a danger in this that the working people and citizens will become passive in the decisionmaking process, that is, that they will not be sufficiently involved in the overall flows of delegate decisionmaking concerning common interests.

It is obvious that institutional creation of organizations of associated labor, of local communities and of the other institutions of the political system is not in and of itself enough for the constitutional conception of the opstina to

be realized effectively. Our experience already allows us on the basis of critical assessments and the experience gained to find opportunities for practical solutions which will contribute to more successful functioning of the institutions of the political system in conformity with the delegacy principle of decisionmaking. One of the things made necessary thereby is that the conditions and opportunities for advancement of the process of decisionmaking by the working people and citizens through delegates and the scope and content of opstina assembly proceedings be subjected to more detailed critical assessment and examination. Certain forms of practical behavior, however, indicate that opstina assemblies are having a fair amount of difficulty in divesting themselves of the operating procedures and subject matter which are typical of the system of representation, and the result is that the old relations and content are retained to a considerable extent within the new institutions....

It is often said in discussions of the development of the delegate system that the delegations are overburdened with material, that they are not sufficiently tied to their constituency, and so on, which is true, Pojskic went on to say. However, the priority issue concerning the functioning of the delegate system is why the delegate's constituency is still expressing its interests and needs insufficiently. When there is not the necessary initiative of the delegate base in this direction, neither the delegation nor the delegate is able to raise particular issues in delegate assemblies. The reasons for this, it seems, should be sought in the fact that the working people, because of the insufficient development of self-management relations within their basic organization of associated labor and local community, are not yet able to examine their interests and needs over the long run and to commit themselves on that basis to ascertaining their common interests and needs.

The LC's Extremely Important Role

However, it is a fact that in the practical realization of this process there is still not enough awareness of mutual interests, of differences, and of the manner of and opportunities for their reconciliation. Practice is still predominantly oriented toward self-interest and to a lesser extent toward seeking and finding solutions of common interest through discussion and agreement. It is here that we should seek the principal causes of the slower pooling of labor and capital on the basis of income sharing and the lack of success in implanting the principle of free exchange of labor. The possibility for the movement of social income in line with broader social interests is often confined for all practical purposes at the level of the opstina. LC organs and organizations in the opstina objectively contribute to this as well, not through their decisions and the stands they take, but by the fact that they do not fight vigorously enough against that practice and behavior.

The differing nature of interest is a reality that must be taken for granted. Only through the organized effort of the League of Communists and the other subjective forces within the institutions of the political system is it possible to overcome those differences and interests, and that precisely on behalf of more effective realization both of each individual interest and also of the general and common interest. It must be constantly born in mind that the shortcomings in, say, one organization of associated labor, are inevitably generating

difficulties and problems to a greater or lesser degree in a number of other organizations within the opstina as a whole. That is why the need to reconcile all interests always emerges as the individual interest of each organization and community. Unfortunately, this is often forgotten in the activity of a number of organizations of the League of Communists.

Overcoming the Old Practice More Decisively

There is a need to overcome more decisively the practice whereby the activity of the primary organizations of the League of Communists is mostly exhausted by the taking of stands, while the concrete monitoring and guidance of the activity of party members in the institutions of the political system to implement them is neglected. That is why it is no accident that the activity of communists often goes no further than the organizational forms of the activity of the League of Communists, while at the same time there is a lack of broader activity in the bodies of self-management, in delegations, in sociopolitical organizations, and especially in the Socialist Alliance.

The successful effort and strengthening of the role of the opstina conference of the League of Communists are inseparable from its constant linkage with and reliance on the initiatives of the rank and file and of basic organizations of the League of Communists. Along that line it is especially important to ensure within the opstina organization of the League of Communists that the rank and file of the League of Communists, on the principles of democratic centralism, enjoy maximum participation in formulating positions, which thus will strengthen responsibility for implementing them through the institutions of the political system. Wherever the rank and file of the League of Communists are still participating little in formulating views in the opstina organization of the League of Communists, those positions are also being implemented incompletely, committees and conferences are operating in a top-heavy fashion more than is necessary, there is not enough close linkage among basic organizations of the League of Communists, committees and conferences, nor are they sufficiently open to the initiatives and opinions of the working people and citizens.

[Discussion]

Alija Latic had this to say, among other things:

"The adaptation of certain organizational arrangements within the institutions of the political system in the opstina is also a precondition for fuller exercise of the right and discharge of the obligation to conduct a broader effort based on independent initiative. Let us recall, for example, that 122 local communities have more than 5,000 inhabitants (some even more than 10,000), that approximately the same number of local communities have between 4,000 and 5,000 inhabitants, which means that in size of population more than 200 local communities are larger than the smallest opstinas in the republic, and then that a considerable number of opstinas are also rather large in both area and population, and that there are still OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor] with a large work force. It is not difficult to conclude that under such conditions it is objectively difficult for the working people and citizens to display broader and more direct initiative in the process of self-management decisionmaking and

perform still more effectively the functions of the political system in the opstina."

This kind of internal organization of the opstina and of the institutions within it, in Latic's words, also objectively limits the effective effort of the League of Communists and the other organized socialist forces. In certain of the larger opstina organizations there are even more than 30,000 members of the League of Communists and as many as 750 primary organizations of the LC. This makes it more difficult for the opstina leadership to have firm everyday links with the primary organizations and to strengthen unity in political ideology and in action of the opstina organization of the LC and for members of the LC to act more fully as principals in formulating and implementing policy.

Making Executive Organs More Accountable

Participating in the debate in yesterday's meeting of the LCBH Central Committee, Milan Skoro spoke among other things about the abnormalities and oversights in opstinas as the basic sociopolitical communities, emphasizing among other things that often the working people and citizens are dissatisfied with technocratic and other behavior displayed in the bodies of government. In the communes, Skoro said, there are things which are not and cannot be accepted from the standpoint of the League of Communists as the vanguard of the working class. There are, for example, a tendency, and this, as he put it, is very dangerous to the future development of the system of communes and the broader sociopolitical communities, for the commune to represent itself as a federation of local communities. This is contrary to the nature of the commune.

"The local community," Milan Skoro said, "cannot assume the functions of a sociopolitical community. That is not its constitutional function, nor does the practice of socialist self-management make this necessary."

He advocated that in the coming period, through the organized effort of the League of Communists and all the other social structures, that there be a reassessment of certain elements of the system in order to evaluate how we are doing in developing an opstina in which the working people and citizens are to realize their most direct interests and needs. The opstinas differ greatly from one another in area, in population and in level of economic development.... Certainly this should be borne in mind during the conversations and concrete implementation of agreements among people to create urban communities.

Presidiums as Working Bodies

Raif Dizdarevic said in the discussion that the question of strengthening work and responsibility and of introducing the 1-year term of office in opstina assemblies is a very urgent one. This stands immediately in front of us. If it is the conception that we will achieve what we want through the initiative to strengthen collective work and to introduce the 1-year term of office merely by the fact that every year we will change the individuals holding the positions of the presidents of the opstina assembly and of the chambers, but without an ongoing activity on the part of the subjective factor, which will ensure the further development and strengthening of the delegate system in the commune, then

there are real dangers of our not achieving this historical step in development of the political system of socialist self-management democracy which we intended and do intend to achieve by strengthening collective work and by introducing the 1-year term of office. Dizdarevic expressed the fear that we might go from one extreme to the other. At present we have had the very evident extreme that the presidents of opstina assemblies have often remained for a long time in their posts. Often the objective situation has brought that about. People did what the objective situation demanded and what it led them to do. "But I am afraid that now we might go to the other extreme, to the situation where in the course of a year of performing a function people will simply pass in transit through that office." We need to ensure, Raif Dizdarevic said, that during the next term of office, over the next 4 years, the delegate assembly develop further in the spirit of delegacy, that its role and its work become stronger, that all delegations be committed more fully, and that means that all the working people and citizens become more involved in the spirit of self-management. If we fail to organize ourselves for this and if we do not consciously keep a watch on it, we could find that the power of the executive bodies of administration and specialized staff services is dominant in the communes, and that would represent a real danger of our coming to a halt in development of the delegate system in opstinas.

One of the possible solutions, in the opinion of Raif Dizdarevic, would be to form the presidiums of opstina assemblies as working bodies rather than as organs of assemblies, and that working bodies which would be made up of delegates for a term of office coinciding with the term of office of the assembly and oriented above all toward preparing what the chambers of the assembly and the assembly as a whole needs for adoption of programs, which would be followed by its concern for implementation of the programs of the assembly as a whole, for ensuring the necessary coordination of efforts within the assembly, and then for the necessary coordination of the work of the assembly with assemblies of self-managing communities of interest. Of course, when we speak about the work of the assembly, about coordination, and so on, it is above all the assemblies and delegations we are talking about. Then their power might also extend over ensuring continuous accountability to the delegate assembly, to all delegations and to all the self-managers of all organs and holders of office elected and appointed by the delegate assembly and accountable to the delegate assembly under the constitution and law. This presidium as a working body, in the opinion of Raif Dizdarevic, would be a factor that would contribute to strengthening collective work of the delegates in assemblies as a whole and in delegations in opstinas as a whole. Certain other arrangements, he said, are also possible, but unless in supplementing the opstina charter we provide some mechanism which will guarantee this kind of development of the delegate system in the commune, with respect to the work of the opstina assembly there is a real fear and danger that the influence and power of executive organs, administrative agencies, and specialized staff services could predominate, while the work of the delegate assembly and of the delegation could die out, and that would be a long step backward.

Raif Dizdarevic spoke in particular about operating procedures in assemblies in general. There is something that exists in the republic and also exists in the opstinas--confinement of bodies solely to themselves and confinement of those who have been elected to bodies primarily to the work of those bodies, within

those bodies and between bodies. There is not enough direct involvement of party members among citizens and workers in all the organs of the assembly. This should be corrected, Dizdarevic said.

What Do the Demands for New Opstinas Bring With Them?

In his speech Milanko Renovica paid particular attention to the questions of the transformation of the opstinas in a geographic sense. Since this is a very complex set of problems, a very careful approach should be taken to all initiatives for a change, but this does not mean any delay whatsoever. These initiatives must be the result of sound analytical work if the criteria or elements for shaping the opstinas are to be at all uniform.

In other words, this means that in forming the opstinas consideration should be given to all the elements so that the working people in such a community might exercise their basic constitutional rights and discharge their duties as in the basic sociopolitical communities, and so that they might realize their overall interests in a basic geographic and functionally linked socialist self-managing community.

This, as Milanko Renovica put it, necessitates verification of two parallel tendencies which differ, however, in their intensity. First, the creation of new opstinas, as a rule smaller ones, and second, for a time there has existed a rather disguised tendency, a tendency undeveloped and unaffirmed, and that is the creation of larger and stronger opstinas. This latter tendency, he said, is slacking off. Those behind it were the organs in the opstinas and those outside the opstinas. It has been almost displaced, weakened and neutralized by the policy of the uniform development of a republic whose backbone would be the opstina. The opstina is that socioeconomic framework in which the policy of socioeconomic development is to be set forth and carried out. Accordingly, what happened in practice was that those places which had been underdeveloped and which continued to be opstinas had a far greater and more intensive development than those places which had been urban or certain other agglomerations and had a certain tradition, including an industrial tradition, and where for various reasons those opstinas were abolished or merged--their economic, social and other functions were crippled, their development was crippled, and this is now encouraging the initiative to create new opstinas.

That means that this former tendency, this practice of creating new opstinas, should truly undergo a definite sociopolitical verification to see what concrete form it might take in the context of our present development.

7045
CSO: 2800/123

ARGUMENT OVER 'KARDELJIZATION' OF SYSTEM REJECTED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1610, 8 Nov 81 pp 22-23

[Reaction of Branko Vukusic to an article by M. Kesetovic published in NIN on 18 October 1981: "On the 'Kardeljization' of the System". Translation of this article is published in JPRS 79705, 22 Dec 1981, No 1951 of this series pp 60-64]

[Text] One passage in the committed and topical article on our present "moment of truth" (M. Kesetovic, NIN, No 1607, 18 October 1981) deserves particular examination. That is, in analyzing the causes of our present difficulties, certain "saviors" assert that the source of the problem lies in "Kardeljization of the system." I categorically concur in Kesetovic's view that the truth is precisely the opposite--our practice has been "de-Kardeljized" to such an extent and is so much out of line with our commitments in the constitution, system and principles we have adopted, that one would do better to look here for the principal explanation of our present situation. I also have certain specific reasons of my own for such an opinion, and I sense the need and duty to substantiate it.

In the last years of Kardelj's life I had the good fortune to work alongside this great man of our own and the world's communist movement. I had occasion to see for myself the extent to which this tireless creator was the exact opposite of certain notions about him which were circulated covertly about the man himself while he was alive and now are being circulated ever more openly about his work as well.

Those who speak about "Kardeljization" of the system in a pejorative sense certainly know quite well that "Kardeljization" is actually "Titoization." Kardelj's work is so Titoist in all its elements that it is impossible to distinguish it.

In their work, and especially in that which has not yet been published, there is so much that is topical that it is impossible to seek a way out of our current problem without constantly turning to the creativity of these inseparable great men of our revolution. The example of Kosovo best confirms this for us. Comrades Tito and Kardelj issued a timely warning about the situation we had got in. Only now have their warnings become accessible to the public. What good fortune it would have been if that had been at the time when those admonitions were uttered, since then the public would probably have reacted more constructively than those to whom those warnings were addressed.

Had the Public Known

It can be said without exaggeration that truly there are no current problems on which the published or unpublished works of E. Kardelj do not contain answers, not only in principle, but even very concrete answers. We are knocking on many doors that are already open. For example, there is a great deal of talk now about the harmfulness of "OUR-ization" [OUR = organization of associated labor] and the fragmentation of our economy, about local, republic or other barriers within the framework of the unified Yugoslav market, about the payments balances of the republics and about the further growth of our indebtedness, about the trade imbalance, the growth of imports, and especially about certain "manias" which have truly taken on proportions contrary to all good sense. These are the mania for investments, the mania for licenses, the mania for SIZ's [self-managing community of interest], etc. At the same time these developments are being linked to our system or even to its "Kardeljization," but no one mentions, or not sufficiently aware, that it was Comrade Kardelj who in the last years of his life waged a tireless struggle against precisely those things. "OUR-ization" is a particular danger to self-management, since there is no self-management without integration and association of the entire Yugoslav economy, Kardelj warned. Had the public known of certain timely warnings related to our present crisis, then certainly no one would have been able to sell it "a pig in a poke," nor speak about the need for "de-Kardeljization" of the system. It would be easier to know who is only verbally and who is really in favor of Tito's road to socialism and continuation of that road, to know what the real resistance and lack of comprehension is, and to know what is outright "rooting" for someone else's solution to problems which are above all ours. The public must know at least by now that Comrades Tito and Kardelj noted in time, issued warnings and vigorously fought for resolution of the problems which have now taken on proportions that are disturbing to everyone.

First about our present crisis situation. Comrade Kardelj "sounded the alarm" back in 1974, at the time when the negative impact of the world economic crisis was just beginning to be felt. Together with Comrade Tito he emphasized the need for economic stabilization as an essential precondition for our internal stability and independent international position, and he advocated an entire program of stabilization measures.

From 1977 up until his death Comrade Kardelj was extremely worried by the deterioration of our economic situation, especially by the uncontrolled growth of all forms of spending, prices, the payments deficit and the contracting of indebtedness, and that not only to cover the mania for investments, but also imports and current spending. Disappointed that his warnings had not been received with enough seriousness and responsibility, he openly cautioned that "this is not at all a time for arguing about whether the situation should be dramatized, about whether matters are critical, since the figures are serious enough in and of themselves."

Now they are far more serious, and yet some people are still amazed that our present difficulties are being "dramatized." For Kardelj to sound the alarm was not to "cause a panic," but to responsibly discharge obligations and duties. Just before his death Comrade Kardelj even warned that if we failed to straighten

out the situation in a radical way we could experience the "fate of Chile," which was preceded by economic chaos and domestic destabilization. He thought about presenting his fear in public in the form of an interview or the like. Now when his most pessimistic fears are being borne out, there is a need not only for the public to know what kind of warnings those were, but also to define its attitude toward solutions which Comrade Kardelj was not able to carry through.

Against "Octuplication" of Capacities

Kardelj was energetically opposed to the mania for contracting foreign indebtedness at a time when this had not yet taken on the proportions which have in recent years brought us to a level of indebtedness that is truly beyond all justifiability. He was for credits not being taken to resolve our current problems, but exclusively for the needs of development. Even today we are in a situation where we are taking credit even for petroleum. He also called for matters to be put to rights in the entire domain of our economic relations with foreign countries, in which extreme liberalism and lack of organization predominate. He was also specifically concerned with the problems of our foreign trade network, and he suggested that a law be passed which would serve as the foundation for prohibiting the operation of our representative offices abroad which handle only import transactions. All import transactions should be conducted within the country, and anyone interested in selling should come to Yugoslavia and here in the country buy what fits into our priorities from the standpoint of the associated Yugoslav economy.

As for modernization of our economy, Kardelj was for purchasing technology on the basis of the coordinated priorities of the associated Yugoslav economy rather than for all possible licenses and technologies of all manner of producers to be obtained through a mania for licenses and joint ventures. That is why he condemned cases not only of duplication, but of "octuplication" of capacities.

Recently there has been much justified public criticism of the SIZ's. There is talk not only of SIZ-omania, but even of actual SIZ-ophrenia. However, even in this case not enough people know that Kardelj was more severe in his criticism of the practice of the SIZ's than our critics today. He warned back in 1974 that "if we allow things to get out of hand in the SIZ's, those who are attacking our system of self-management will bend this to their own end." He was the first to begin talking about SIZ-omania and even about SIZ-ocracy as a new variety of our technobureaucracy. If things are left to go their own way, Kardelj said, another form of government bodies will be created: in other words, what our present critics of the SIZ's detect as their parastatal functions. In other words, according to Kardelj, if this practice were to continue, then we would create a kind of "parallel government" in society which we would one day have to "destroy by revolutionary means."

Unfortunately, we have continued with that practice and we have reached the point Kardelj warned about, but the public is not aware of those warnings of his. The SIZ's, especially in the domain of material production, ought not to have power, nor funds, nor a staff. In practice, they today have a staff which

according to certain estimates (about 50,000) is threefold greater than the number of people on the federal payroll. Not only does this staff have power, but that power has taken on a character which is leading toward new forms of alienation of the working class from management of the results of its labor.

Accordingly, when we speak of "Kardeljization" or "de-Kardeljization" of our practice, the public must be aware of Kardelj's authentic warnings and positions. They exist not only concerning the several issues we have just mentioned, but also, I repeat, on practically all our current problems and difficulties.

The question inevitably arises how it is possible that Comrade Kardelj did not manage to put through the solutions he advocated jointly with Comrade Tito? Had he succeeded in this, we certainly would not have been in these difficulties. One should not forget that the role of Comrade Kardelj was inestimable as the "most imaginative architect of the Tito era," that we have the foundations of our strategy already built, that we have the constitution, the Law on Associated Labor, and a number of laws embodying the system, and that the directions for development of the political system have been set down and were adopted as the basic decision of the 11th LCY Congress. All of this has been adopted as by plebiscite as the "rules of the game" of our society.

However, Comrade Kardelj did not hide the fact that in the practical implementation of the policy that had been adopted, especially in a society like ours, there are not only objective difficulties and lack of understanding, but also open resistance. Never did Kardelj dogmatically defend any solutions or commitments on our road toward the building of socialism. As a matter of fact, it was he who wrote the famous sentence in the LCY Program to the effect that "nothing is sacred." However, he was uncompromising when it came to the foundations of the system and our ideological and strategic commitments. And it is precisely they which are under attack during this crisis in the seventies, which, according to Kardelj, "must never be allowed to happen again." Then, as indeed now, the technobureaucratic forces, in a tie-up with nationalism especially, are becoming the greatest danger to authentic socialist self-management.

Kardelj advocated concrete resolution of concrete problems in accordance with the undisputed and generally accepted goals. It is only along that road that the real answer can be found as to where the problem is and what should be changed: practice or a particular solution? That is why, according to Kardelj, the concrete problems must always be resolved in "an unceasing checking against the revolutionary goals of our society." Now that we have gotten into a crisis situation, it is time to adopt that pattern of action.

7045
CSO: 2800/142

EXCESSIVE FEDERAL STAFFS, PRIVILEGES DUE FOR CUTS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1608, 25 Oct 81 pp 20-21

[Interview with Rajko Gagovic, chairman of Administrative Commission of Yugoslav Assembly, by Dragan Jovanovic: "A Fifth Are Superfluous"--date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Since last Wednesday, officials' apartments and Mercedes with low registrations have again been in the public eye. A committee of the Federal Council for Sociopolitical Relations of the Assembly of Yugoslavia has approved a proposed change in the law on the issue of official apartments and the use of official automobiles, a law which is to be in effect by November. All of this did not take place without the usual delegates and others being upset as usual.

Rajko Gagovic, the chairman of the Administrative Commission of the SFRY Assembly, feels that there is not much new to say about the apartments and Mercedes, except the bleak but clear provisions with which the public is already familiar. For Gagovic, the automobiles are "exaggerated and disappearing trivia" from the life of the federal administration.

When he says that the use of apartments and Mercedes is trivia, Gagovic is referring to something else: "I assert that in the sociopolitical relations of the SFRY Assembly and in the federal administration in general, there are many more employees and officials than necessary. A great deal would be saved if numbers of positions were reduced and if a new systematization and a better organization of labor took place. Even labor discipline in the federal administration is fairly lax--from being late to work, taking coffee breaks during working hours and holding unnecessary meetings, to using annual leave in two or three parts, while it is difficult to punish a nonworker in the administration. A program is being prepared right now according to which the number of employees is to be reduced in the next 5 years, and the administration is to be organized more efficiently."

[Question] Is it known at least approximately how many superfluous employees and officials there are?

[Answer] "About 15,000 people are employed in the federal administration, and about 700 employees and officials in the Assembly of Yugoslavia. I do not know how much of a reduction would have to be made in the federal administration in general, but in the Assembly of Yugoslavia at least 20 percent of the employees and officials are superfluous," says Gagovic.

[Question] Still, could we say something about apartments?

Ordinary Efficiency Apartments and Two-Room Ones

[Answer] So far, the apartments, as a rule, have been issued to officials for long-term use. According to the new decision, which will probably come into effect by November, the apartments will be given for official use as long as the employment lasts, and now a 1-year term is most frequent. Thus, an official, a user of an apartment, who comes to Belgrade, does not abandon the apartment in the republic or province from which he comes, but rather in Belgrade receives an efficiency or at most a two-room apartment which he has to give back at the end of the year.

[Question] What will determine the size of the apartment received?

[Answer] This primarily depends on the importance of his position, his years of service, and the entertainment requirements of the position. For example, the president of the Federal Executive Council and the assistant secretary for finances cannot have the same apartment, the more so because 2 years ago both the president of the Federal Executive Council and the president of the SFRY Assembly renounced the right to a residence.

[Question] Are there also two-room efficiency apartments?

[Answer] Yes, there are also two-room ones, and there are also both furnished and unfurnished apartments, and larger rents.

[Question] Who receives an apartment in Belgrade?

[Answer] Only officials who serve for a term of 4 or 8 years, and these are mostly judges of the supreme or constitutional courts and other judicial organs.

[Question] Who can receive an apartment in Belgrade, on a long-term basis and according to the new law?

[Answer] Only an official who has left an apartment in his previous place of residence, or one who is retiring at the expiration of his position and wishes to remain in Belgrade.

[Question] Can officials change their apartments?

[Answer] They can exchange smaller ones for larger ones, especially if their families become larger, but according to the new regulations they will not be able to exchange one larger one for two smaller ones, and an official apartment cannot be inherited. It is felt that these innovations alone will introduce more efficiency and more funds for residential construction. Naturally, irregularities and manipulations of official apartments will be avoided; these have taken place, and as a result of them the residential fund of federal organs and organizations has been depleted and the records have become unreliable.

Mercedes With One Passenger

Gagovic also responded willingly to questions about the new regulations for the use of official automobiles. We will single out only the answers that the daily press,

interpreting the new provisions, has not mentioned. Trips with an official automobile outside Belgrade for employees of the SFRY Assembly are approved personally by the secretary general of the assembly, and trips by official vehicles to foreign countries can be approved only by the president of the Assembly of Yugoslavia. Next, an assembly employee can use an official car only if he is doing work for the SFRY Assembly, and not other sociopolitical work, such as, let us say, leaving for a republican congress. The number of users who have a right to transportation from home to work has been drastically reduced. In addition to the president of the SFRY Assembly and the president of the Federal Executive Council, this right was retained only by the vice president of the assembly, the members of the Federal Executive Council, the presidents of assembly councils, the general secretary and several others.

[Question] In last week's assembly debate, delegate Ilija Bukic asked why official automobiles are used most on Saturdays and Sundays.

[Answer] "We checked, and this is not correct," Gagovic replied forcefully.

Here, our interlocutor considered it appropriate to mention as well other conservation measures taken by the federation. First, entertainment allowances, except for foreigners, have been completely abolished. "Find in any prominent Belgrade restaurant or hotel a domestic commercial meal that we have paid for, report it to me, and I will pay you for it in gold," says Gagovic. "Alcoholic beverages are no longer poured in the offices of officials. Only one reception has remained in the protocol of the federation, the one for 29 November. Trips abroad have been restricted, and will be limited even more, except for the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs."

Our interlocutor, however, still remains faithful to the position mentioned at the beginning of this article, according to which these are trifles that really mean a fair amount.

In a report recently sent by the Federal Executive Council to the delegates of the Federal Council, it is said that: "...it is felt that there are not too many unassigned and available workers..." And there are "only" 180 of them.

Is this also a trifle?

9909
CSO: 2800/105

ABSENCE OF OFFICIALS' INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY EXPLORED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1609, 1 Nov 81 pp 24-25

[Article by Nenad I. Kecmanovic]

[Text] What is a capable politician in a socialistic, self-managed society? Is it a man who possesses a broad, universal cultural knowledge, or who primarily possesses some specialized knowledge, or, is it most important that he be thoroughly versed in Marxism?

How much would the possible comprehension of the more specific characteristics of politics as a profession, or about the optimal characteristics of its representatives, their inherent inclinations, be able to help us in the realization of democratic elections and of socialistic self-management personnel policy? A great deal, of course, but not enough considering that our public has a quite insignificant insight into the individual qualities of its representatives in professional politics, much less be able to point with confidence at the competent or the incompetent.

Institutions and the "Free-shooters"

It is interesting that the struggle against the forum style of work, decisionmaking by cabinet, and the closed nature of the political structure to the eyes and ears of the public, has never, at least not explicitly, encompassed the struggle for the democratic verification of the personal contribution of each social and political worker as well. In the tradition of our political life, the focus has always been placed ont the authority of the institution, the organ and the organization, but the individual public remarks, which stand out even less than the agreed upon positions, except when one is dealing with a small group of the most distinguished leaders, are treated as "butting in," "free-shooting," "being in too much of a hurry," acting in an undisciplined manner, trying to act like a leader, having an unhealthy ambition to distinguish oneself, etc.

In an interview last year for the DELO of Ljubljana, Stipe Suvar grappled with this problem: "You say that it is not possible for the man whom everyone applauds to be a good politician; I say that he is good who does not profess. If a man professes, then he can be extremely ambiguous. If someone wants to pursue a political career in peacetime, he will do best if he does not break the rule, in an almost religious sense, what is allowed and what is not. For the most part, these are not

legally formed rules. Every large organization spawns its internal rules of life and behavior. That is why it is very important how a man fits into the organization and that he not stick out, that everyting for the most part is in order. No one bothers you, and you yourself don't bother anyone."

The struggle between different opinions is basically desirable and probably is expressed in closed meetings of the appropriate political forums, but these differences in viewpoint usually do not leave these meetings. As a rule, unified positions are disclosed to the public, originally by the leading people, and the rest are repeated in developed form, so that both the individual contributions and failures continually remain unknown for the electorate. That is why the phenomenon of retirement under the pressure of public opinion is unknown in our system, in the same way that political ascent on the basis of mass support and popularity is also unheard of. No reasonable person accuses the minister of a particular area for a foreign-trade imbalance, no one holds the finance minister reponsible for inflation, or the person responsible for ensuring supplies for shortages of coffee or oil.

But then it remains for us to ask: How do we know who is a capable politician and who is not, or, for whom do we vote and for whom do we not?

It might be said that the young generation of our political officials, lacking the "revolutionary pedigree" from the period of the underground, wartime whirlwind and the socialistic restoration, is particularly handicapped by the delineated style of lack of exposure. Personal capability and individual contribution have, indeed, very little opportunity to break out of the apparition of the authority of the office for which they are employed, or the organ or institution in which they operate.

The Tito initiative had, it seems to us, in addition to everything else, the objective of overcoming these weaknesses in our political life. Collective labor and responsibility, that is, decisionmaking and governing, and the limitation of the mandate must directly expand the creative expression of all members of the political leadership, and do this at all levels, it must provoke the constructive competition of capabilities, and in particular, their public affirmation, which may be the only way of establishing the trust and support of the masses, not only in the election process. A one-sided interpretation of the Tito initiative which would only proceed in the direction of removing the perennial supremacy of isolated officials at the head of the governing political bodies, would bring as much harm as it would benefit. This would only be a step further in the strengthening of some abstract collective authority which would be constructed on the impersonality of its active adherents. If nothing else, this version of the Tito initiative, which would de facto eliminate every personality from the Yugoslav political scene, would take the procedure of political elections down a literal blind alley.

Teamwork is not an attack on individual creativity. When our football team provides fine collective play in front of thousands of people at the stadium and millions of viewers on television, then even those who are not experts in sports can clearly see which players shine and which disappoint. When we are talking about our political team, the individual contribution remains, on the whole, unknown to the public; only the experts know who is doing what.

Discussing this problem in either context, Brank Mikulic at one time stressed that the Tito initiative did not have as its purpose the destruction of the social prestige of our distinguished social and political workers, but only to free it of the mystification which the function sometimes represents. He illustrated this with examples from Kardelj and Vlahovic and still other giants of our revolution, who in recent years have not found their political activities at the head of any organ or organization, but in spite of this neither their work nor their personalities have lost any of the former authority. As a supplement to the Mikulic evaluation, we might also cite contemporary examples of discussions which have been conducted in the highest state and party bodies of the federation right after the dramatic events in Kosovo. The frank, energetic, and well-considered statements of Lazar Kolisevski, Danet Cujic, Slavko Sajber, Bosko Siljanovski, Vojo Srzentic, and many other social and political workers from all areas of our country were given no less attention than the presentations of the authors who presided over the meetings of these organs. In brief, these were positive, and fortunately, not isolated examples of public affirmation of individual access and contribution in the line of programed determinations of our society, and these were independent of the authority of the various functions which these people momentarily occupied, which means they were precisely in the spirit of the authentic understanding of the Tito initiative.

A Screen To Hide Political Silence

On the other hand, the opportunisitc passivity, playing the waiting game, playing it safe, careerism, avoidance of personal responsibility, the impoverishment, or the concealment of one' own position, the withdrawal into the anonymity of would-be collective work, do not represent only the universal pathological syndrome of behavior inside the socialistic, self-management society, but also the special problem in carrying out democratic elections. Quite simply, how do you vote for someone who continuously refuses to establish open and sincere, let alone political, contact with you. It would be futile to try to remove this from the new columns, the screen, the radio waves, the meetings and the speaker's platform if, as Milovan Danojlic would say, one suffers from logorrhea (the disease of loquaciousness). "A man does not only speak when he has something to say, but also when he does not. As well as so many other talents, the power of speech can be twisted and directed at the wrong purposes, but it cannot be revoked. Then comes a break in the process of communication; the beginning of babbling, of talking for the sake of talking.... Everywhere the content is empty, and the purpose is only that of talking." When he suffers from acute logorrhea, the politician blocks communication with the electorate. The barrage of noisy and empty phrases which are foolishly repeated has to serve as an imposing screen for political silence.

When its existing, two-way, officially proclaimed line of communication is interrupted, the base is inclined to establish a one-way, informal, underground connection. To put it in more specific terms: concerning the politician of whom one does not know what he has done or what he has failed to do, where he has hit and where he has missed, what he thinks and to what extent he tries to hear the voice of the people, there begins to take place an increase in the guessing, the assumptions, the slander, the retelling of stories, the gossip, the fabrications, the half-truths, good and bad, but always incomplete accounts of the truth. The lack of genuine information which concerns us is legitimately compensated for by people's imagination, always ready to be stimulated by the slightest kernel of truth.

Private and Public Life of Elected Officials

Even in the scope of reviewing the so-called private life of a "political personality," to which the electorate is by right not indifferent, we, it seems, have still not found the proper solution. We care quite justified in our negative assessment of the Western model with its sensationalistic invasion into the personal and family life of the stars of the political scene, as well as of the Eastern model which unnaturally reduces the image of the distinguished politician to a function, and which wraps everything that comes out of this strict, official, rigid framework in a veil of mystery. Our own model, which should exemplify our social and political context and the spirit of the times, we have not, however, constructed and defined more precisely. Having abandoned the wartime and postwar formula of publicly verified asceticism even outside of the job, which legitimately brought forth many tragicomic excesses, we went, one should say, to the other extreme in the treatment of the right to a private life. Complete separation of private and public life is not only against communist ethics, but in some excessive manifestations has promoted the sort of example of double-standard morality and lifestyle which falls below the level of civil norms of behavior.

In the light of all the problems enumerated above, the no less insignificant dilemna about whether to put one or more candidates before the electorate, around which our pre-election discussions usually turn, can seem like getting off the track. As soon as it is so, it will no longer be a problem: all of the discussions in principle long ago gave the unambiguous response that every election means an alternative. But does the problem amount only to this?

9548
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TALES OF FORCED MIGRATION FROM KOSOVO RECOUNTED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1612, 22 Nov 81 pp 20-21

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic: "Why They Left"]

[Text] Dragoslav Stankovic, a peasant from near Gnjilane, who now lives in Smederevo, explained his departure from Kosovo this way:

"You have to get out when the blame is not put on those who do the beating, but those who are beaten!" Dragoslav planted wheat on his field in Kosovo in 1979. When he went from Smederevo to reap it, there was not a single spike left in the field--all had been reaped and carried away. Judicial proceedings against the robbers are still going on. He told this in a meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins who had left Kosovo and settled in Smederevo Opstina with representatives of the opstina commission for investigating emigration, as well as with Hisen Prekazi and Vukasin Jokanovic from the provincial commission and Miodrag Trifunovic, a member of the republic commission.

This was a meeting which was held last Friday in the auditorium of the Slavija Local Community in Smederevo; it lasted exactly 5 hours. Some 100 immigrants out of the total 6,000 in this opstina attended the meeting. They were all men, mostly between the ages of 40 and 50 who had immigrated here between 1955 and 1981.

Reasons and Destinies

Aside from one physician and a few retired people, those in the auditorium also included lawyers, professional managers, and engineers, but most were workers and farm laborers.

Those who attended were informed that a working group had been created in Serbia to analyze the emigration. In its work it is using the materials of opstina commissions; then a survey conducted among 5,000 emigrants; 1,800 people have been interviewed; complaints and charges filed with republic agencies have been analyzed; and statistical data and information of law enforcement agencies have been used. All of this, it was said, comprises a sound basis for analyzing the causes of the emigration and for formulating proposals for a long-term solution of this problem. The analysis has shown that the predominant reasons for

emigration were various forms of pressure in the workplace, on the street, in schools, on farms.... This analysis, the audience was told that evening, has been examined in a meeting of the Serbian Republic Executive Council and the Federal Executive Council.

"Since the provincial committee is at the end of its task, frank and direct conversation in the presence of the comrades from Kosovo concerning the causes of your emigration will be useful to them in this responsible task," Miodrag Trifunovic said.

Hisen Prekazi then added that such talks had already been held in Kraljevo and Kragujevac and that they are a valuable contribution to an objective analysis.

Some 20 people spoke up. Among the first was Branko Miselic, who left Pristina in 1969. He had been chief of the department for municipal services in Pristina when in 1968 he was beaten when he and a group of activists were attempting to prevent demonstrators from demolishing the city. He moved away when, as he says, he realized that the demonstrators were under "someone's protection." In Smederevo he has become manager of an enterprise, but he says that he had it better in Kosovo. That is where his friends and relatives have remained.

"My in-laws, who live on Goles, complained that their Albanian neighbors have intentionally driven livestock onto their farm. I went to the local community, later even to the police, to seek protection for them. They replied that there is a commission which is resolving problems of this kind. These people simply do not understand--when the most reputable owner of a farm leaves a village because of pressure, the other Serbs and Montenegrins immediately ask themselves: What reason is there now for us to wait?" Miselic said.

Podujevo Opstina has a population of 77,000. Back 20 years ago there were 10,000 Serbs and Montenegrins living there. Today, according to published figures, there is a total of 2,860. Svetozar Garic moved out of Donja Dubnica near Podujevo 6 years ago. He says that for all practical purposes there is not a single Serbian family left in that village which was once predominantly Serbs.

"We did not leave for economic reasons; we had large farms there. Most of my fellow villagers left because of a conflict with Albanian neighbors. For years their livestock had been destroying my crops. They would beat my children between home and school. That is why I transferred them to a school several kilometers away and they would take a roundabout route. I decided in spite of everything to stay in Dubnica at all costs. However, little by little I was left by myself. And then there were troubles one after another at work, and twice I was laid off. It became impossible. I boarded up the windows and door in a five-room house, left behind 10 hectares of fields and forest and came here to live as a subtenant. I tried to sell the farm, but my neighbors drove all the purchasers away with threats that they intended to buy the farm. I put a value of 270 million on the land and buildings: they told me that 90 was enough. While I was here, the neighbors cut down the trees in my woods, their livestock grazed on my grass, so now they do not even need to purchase the farm. They are not even members of the human race."

Jerotije Petrovic from Ajvalija spent 22 years in the mines together with the miners as a highly skilled mechanic.

"I saw that the situation was bad when the manager found me talking Serbian to a friend, Goranac, whom he shouted out to speak Albanian to me. A few days later Redza happened to fall asleep by the water pump, and 300 miners were waiting for the water to recede. The young technician who had just come from Kragujevac woke up Redza, and the latter responded by breaking two of his teeth. The lad packed up and returned to Kragujevac the same day. It was then that I thought perhaps it was time for me to go, too. I had 1.5 hectares of land which an Albanian neighbor had his eye on. I went to mow the hay when I heard a clicking behind me. I turned around, and my neighbor was reloading his pistol. I asked him: 'Say, neighbor, what are you doing there?' And he said: 'Get out of the field, a darkness has fallen upon my eyes, I cannot see anything!' Thus I fled, leaving behind my scythe, my farm and my house. For a long time I was unable to sell what I had built up in 22 years of work in the mine, since my neighbor had got word around that it was his field. I sold the farm with the help of an honest Albanian, to whom I gave a good commission, and he found me a buyer in some other village. The purchaser, an Albanian, had five sons and was not afraid of my neighbor. I told him everything--that he had been threatening and that he had been demanding my field. He said: Let him go screw himself, I am buying it with my own money!"

Dragomir Stevic, lawyer, came from Pristina in 1973, but he often goes to Kosovo to see his relatives and friends:

"I feel a moral duty here to say how many honest Albanians there are, my comrades, colleagues and acquaintances, people whom I am glad to see even today. In the present situation, believe me, it is hardest on them," Stevic said among other things.

General and Specific Parts

And thus word by word, for all of 5 hours. The people from Kosovo noted down every fact. Thus a place was also found for a certain policeman named Zeco, a village tyrant, from whom, someone said, they "received many a blow."

If we set aside the portions of the statements which have to do with actions set in Kosovo on the basis of emotional subjectivity, and they occur everywhere, the following facts remain. Almost all the immigrants, those who spoke up and those with whom we conversed, asserted that they were better off materially in Kosovo. They said that by selling their houses, livestock and farms they had become poor people instead of property owners. They said that direct pressure was exerted on them or that they felt the general climate to be pressure. They argue that other members of their families had also been subjected to pressure.

They said that there was no effective protection against the bullying either from the police or the courts. They then added that they sold their property below its value, but in spite of everything, they said, they would gladly return to Kosovo if conditions were different.

There were people emigrating even from the end of the war, but emigration was more intensive after 1966 and 1968, and then, because of well-known circumstances, in 1981 the emigration took on the form of flight, the emigrants said.

At the end of the meeting we asked Vukasin Jokanovic if the reasons mentioned for emigration were the same as those alleged by people in Kosovo in their application for emigration. Jokanovic said that the applications are not identical, and that the people in Kosovo, aiming at an early departure, are avoiding complications and are giving other reasons in their statements. That is why, according to him, the commission there does not consider their statements to be objective.

The differences in the statements are obvicus. This leads one to reflect that the conclusions and indeed even the solutions offered, both in Kosovo and outside it, could vary. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why a section of the provincial commission was talking to emigrants in these cities in Serbia. In Smederevo we were unable to obtain the analysis of the commission there, since, we were told, it had been classified as a "government secret." Some of the figures are known from Kosovo. In Pristina there were 1,265 applications for emigration between 11 March and 9 November. Of the 930 applications examined, some kind of pressure is mentioned in only 8 cases. In 10 years 2,750 people left Urosevac. Officially only one because of pressure: a bus driver who got in an argument with an Albanian passenger and after that left for Krusevac.

The new situation obviously imposes the need to search for dual causes: causes for the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and causes behind their giving false reasons in their applications, which they change after they leave Kosovo. Speaking about this, Sefki Ferovic, chairman of the commission in Pristina, said that in Kosovo there is not enough activity in the effort to combat all forms of pressures by Albanian nationalism and that there are cases of opportunism, of refraining from accusations, of avoiding conflict in the taking of political and legal measures against the Albanian and other chauvinists. This was also confirmed by the people in Smederevo, who say that they do not yet see the real effect of the effort to create conditions which would prevent a large-scale exodus. If nothing radical is done soon, they say, then later it perhaps will not have any practical value at all.

The commissions are readier to grant consent to emigration if the grounds are "embellished." Once their consent is obtained, there is no problem obtaining the notice of departure from the police; this certificate is in turn necessary to give notice of one's taking up residence somewhere else. If specific pressure is alleged as the reason--there is no consent to the departure until the accuracy of the testimony is established. Thus the commission has become an administrative barrier to emigration. Many people are leaving even without the consent. That has led to an obvious change of argument: instead of analyzing the cause of emigration, the commissions are studying the justifiability of applications for emigration. The number of applications directed is not small--in Pristina alone 274 have been rejected out of a total of 930. This also suggests that the committee is in a way expanding its powers even beyond the constitutional principles concerning the freedom of movement and choice of place to live and work.

In the joint session of the Presidium of the Serbian LC [League of Communists] Central Committee and the Presidency of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia on Monday it was emphasized that it was indispensable to take all necessary political and other measures to halt the emigration from Kosovo, to guarantee creation of conditions for return of those families who emigrated under various pressures and want to go back, and to study the possibilities of a fair reimbursement of those citizens who sold their property under various pressures at a price below the real value.

At the end of the Smederevo meeting someone asked Prekazi whether people in the province were examining the possibilities for a return of Serbs and Montenegrins who had moved out of Kosovo?

"Eh, if we were able to bring back two or three for a start, it would be a great encouragement for all of us," Prekazi said.

7045
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SELF-MANAGING INTEREST COMMUNITIES UNDER FIRE

'Struggle Between Two Bureaucracies'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1610, 8 Nov 81 pp 12-14

[Article by Scepan Rabrenovic: "Money From Someone Else's Pocket"]

[Text] Do you perhaps know how many self-managing communities of interest there are in the country? According to the most recent statistical data, last year there were precisely 7,826 of them, or about 300 more than in the previous year. It is equally true that there are more of them today than there were yesterday and that tomorrow there may be more of them than there are today.

At a meeting in Belgrade a few days ago it was said that the way things are going, soon every street would have its own self-managing community of interest. It seems that whenever a problem is not clear to us or when agreement is not reached on the solution to a problem, we have to have another SIZ [self-managing community of interest]. And it also happens this way: as soon as a little bit of money is put together, a SIZ is established to spend it. And the SIZ's are past masters at that.

The problem, of course, does not lie in the number of SIZ's, but in the way they operate and the way they spend money. But that is not the whole matter: it is well known that the SIZ's have great power, that they are on a par with the government, and that the more money they have, the greater their power.

Last week in a session of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly in which implementation of the assembly resolution on the free exchange of labor was being debated Dr Boro Petkovski, a delegate, presented the datum in his introductory statement that 3,842 self-managing communities in the social services last year had at their disposition 18.7 percent of the total social product. We calculated that those "18.7 percent" amounted to about 290 billion dinars last year.

How much is 290 billion dinars? A great deal. Still more when we realize that about 167 billion dinars were left to the economy in that same year to expand plant and equipment and for reserves. And that in a year of which it is said that the position of the economy in distribution improved.

According to the most recent statistical data published by EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Belgrade, the revenues of self-managing communities of interest in the social services in the first 8 months of this year amounted to 247 billion dinars, by the end of the year this amount will climb to 400 billion dinars, or about 100 billion dinars less than the net personal incomes that will be paid to employees in the economy.

It is not difficult to conclude on the basis of these figures that social service expenditure is high, that is, above the level of the country's economic development. In this situation both those furnishing the money and those spending it are dissatisfied. Associated labor because it is impoverished and because this impoverishment has lasted for a long time, and employees in the social services because the funds they have received are inadequate. It is quite certain that the standard of living of both has fallen since the self-managing communities of interest were established.

Both Are Poor

The problem seems to lie above all in unwise expenditure of money, and the money is being spent unwisely because of the autonomous and independent behavior of those who are spending it, frequently with the sponsorship of the SIZ's themselves. It is said, for example, that every opstina or regional self-managing community of interest for health care endeavors to have its own clinical centers with expensive equipment. The situation is similar with education: there has been a virtual deluge of junior and senior postsecondary schools.

But when the self-managing communities of interest were established, the intention was for them to be a place where the producers and those spending the money would reach agreement on their common interests, and the purpose of all this would be to increase the productivity of plant and equipment of associated labor. Fictitious illness and the numerous university students educated with no regard for the development of the economy can only increase the costs.

The social services have to be paid for, and no one disputes that. The question is only how to optimalize that payment and how those paying the bill are to have an insight into the spending of the funds. The supposition is that this will be possible by virtue of free exchange of labor through the self-managing communities of interest. It has turned out that this is neither free, nor is it an exchange of labor. There are quite a few people who now say that it is not even possible for labor to be exchanged: How, for example, are skilled and unskilled labor to be "exchanged"? One obstacle crippling the so-called free exchange of labor has been the fact that no true measure exists of the results of labor--not only of the results in the social services, but not even of the results in associated labor. How, then, is an exchange of labor going to occur at all? This is that pivotal question around which everything revolves, but it is also a question which is not being posed often enough.

Instead of that, we have been too much concerned, and we still are, with purely organizational matters: with the makeup of the self-managing communities of interest, with their proper number, with the question of the level at which they are to be established and how large their staff should be. On the basis of what

was said in that session of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly, the self-managing communities of interest are not so much self-managing organizations as they are the long arm of the state or some kind of parallel government organizations. We quote the words of Dr Boro Petkovski: "The system of organization through self-managing communities of interest has shown a tendency to become independent of other essential components...the SIZ's have begun to develop into parastatal organizations of a sort...as protectors of the interests of society in the sphere of the social services."

And that, it was said, accounts for the "marked presence of state-ownership elements in social ownership." How else and otherwise to explain that the self-managing communities of interest are being financed fiscally--on a budgetary basis.

This method of financing has had the result that the funds appropriated are "lost," become anonymous, so that hardly anyone knows what is happening to them, how they are being spent--only the results are known, and they are not good. The self-managing communities of interest have almost become transformed into a prototype of a present-day bureaucratic institution--into the opposite, that is, of the model which was aimed at. In basic organizations of associated labor, for example, little is known about what is happening to the funds appropriated for housing construction and about all the channels through which those funds travel. Leave to one side that in many communities there are complaints that this money is being used to build stadiums or certain other projects--it is a fact that the resources are greater than the resulting housing units. Last year about 30 billion dinars earmarked for housing construction went unspent, and that in a situation of a housing shortage and when construction is becoming more and more expensive every day.

Hardly any notice was given to the statement which the trade union organization of the Beko clothing manufacturing firm of Belgrade prepared for the Third Congress of Self-Managers, in which it is evident that the workers of that work organization are setting aside more funds for housing construction every year than for investments in fixed capital, and that they are obtaining a negligibly small number of housing units in proportion to the funds appropriated. The Beko workers have therefore proposed that this kind of self-managing community of interest for housing be abolished.

Expenditures Which Have Been Hushed up

There are no figures on how much the staffs of the SIZ's cost. It seems that data on this are not recorded anywhere or are intentionally kept quiet. It is known only that last year the SIZ's as a whole employed 43,300 workers, who had an average monthly personal income of 8,757 dinars (employees in the economy earned 7,167 dinars last year on the average). It is also known that the SIZ's are categorized in statistical reports as sociopolitical communities and organizations. And not otherwise.

Were those the only costs, the economy could easily bear them, and the earnings of those 40,000 or so white-collar workers would not represent a great burden. It is known, however, that those are not the only costs, that there are also

certain others--anonymous expenditures which are not recorded. Two surveys prove that this is so. According to the first, which was conducted by Josip Stohan of the Economics Institute in Zagreb, at the beginning of the seventies public service expenditure did not exceed the level of the country's economic development. According to studies done by Dr Zoran Popov of the Institute of Economic Science in Belgrade, moreover, the economy's legal obligations amounted to 22 percent of its income up to the mid-seventies. After that those legal obligations increased to 26 percent of the economy's income. And that is precisely the time when the self-managing communities of interest were established. That 4-percent increase applied to the income of the economy represents a huge amount of money, and if it is actually true that all those funds went to maintain the staff of the SIZ's, then it might be said that a "low blow was dealt" to the working class at that time.

How much the government has also participated in that "blow" has depended on the extent to which the sociopolitical communities were and are now in a tie-up with the SIZ's. According to what was said in the session of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly, that tie-up has existed--especially at the time when the self-managing communities of interest were established.

Over the past year more criticism of the operation of the self-managing communities of interest has been coming from government bodies and agencies than from associated labor. This is no accident. The self-managing communities of interest, by the very fact that they have resources, have taken power away from government bodies and agencies. A republic secretary for culture, for example, has today considerably less influence than the secretary of that republic's self-managing community for culture. That is why criticism of the operation of the self-managing communities of interest coming from government entities takes on the appearance of a kind of courting of the working class. Actually this is a conflict between two bureaucracies in a battle for power which for the present associated labor is observing almost disinterestedly, out of a conviction that it cannot change anything.

A More Correct Pay Envelope

The economic troubles and the problems related to stabilization have only hastened the effort to resolve the problem of financing the social services. Everyone agrees that the economy should be given relief, it has been announced that the federal budget next year will be only slightly larger than last year, and it is assumed that social service expenditure next year will also be growing more slowly. However, the problem of financing the social services is not an urgent one solely for that reason. The SIZ's have become independent, they represent a kind of alienated power in society, and the interests of associated labor have been subordinated to them. The question is only what is to replace them, that is, how associated labor is to be afforded a greater influence on the spending of funds and how all this is to be a function of the development of both the social services and the economy.

One belief is that the workers in associated labor would be more interested in the way these funds are spent if the provision of the Law on Associated Labor concerning personal incomes as a gross category containing all taxes and contributions burdening the worker's personal income were implemented. Only a "more

correct pay envelope" would make it possible for the workers to see what they are financing and what amounts they are giving for that purpose. Solidarity funds are cited as an example of enhanced worker motivation in such a case: ever since the pay envelope has stated how much the worker is setting aside each month for the reconstruction of the Montenegrin coast, there have been more demands for closer monitoring of the expenditure of those funds. Previously, in the case of the earthquake in Skopje, for example, there were no such demands, since it did not say on the pay envelope how much each worker was setting aside each month to rebuild Skopje, but these funds were appropriated through a contribution which was not "visible" to the workers.

The influence of associated labor on the spending of these funds could also be achieved, according to some, if the funds were set aside on the basis of specific programs which would be adopted both by associated labor and also by the social services.

In a recent statement to NIN on the need for an economic and social reform, Dr Ljubisav Markovic, the well-known professor and economist and chairman of the Committee for the Plan of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly, said among other things: "There must be a thorough examination of the condition of the so-called special-interest organizations. A substantial portion of the services should be paid for out of the net income of economic organizations and the workers."

Interview With Assembly Personage

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1610, 8 Nov 81 pp 12-13

[Interview with Dr Miodrag Visnjic, chairman of the Commission of the Serbian Assembly for Special-Interest Organization in the Social Services, by Dragan Jovanovic: "It Is Not Just the SIZ's We Blame"; date and place not specified]

[Text] In the recent past, when talk is revived about SIZocracy, SIZomania and other "SIZisms," the fashionable anti-SIZ euphoria has been mentioned least. Dr Miodrag Visnjic, a man who by virtue of his political office and scientific affinity has been concerned with the self-managing communities of interest, let us know at the very outset of the interview that he has a somewhat different position on this issue.

The self-managing communities of interest have indeed with good reason been subjected to fierce criticism because of many shortcomings. There is no dispute about this. But the criticism ranges from certain demands for improvements to the idea of abolishing the SIZ's. What stands behind those demands for doing away with them? Is it a solution to return the funds to budget-financed agencies of the republics and opstinas? Dr Visnjic says.

[Question] What is the origin of these efforts?

[Answer] No distinction is made between criticism of the concept and criticism of practice. As for the theoretical concept of special-interest organization,

perhaps we did not think everything through, but by and large the constitutional concept cannot be disputed. But the criticism of practice is by and large appropriate.

[Question] What should be done to bring the theory and the practice of the SIZ's into conformity?

[Answer] It is obvious that we need a radical step in optimalizing the structure of the SIZ's, since there are a very great many of them. They have been formed even for things that did not require them. Certain needs of the citizens and the working people and certain social services could have been met without organizing SIZ's. A SIZ for every street or for every facility leads nowhere. Especially when the attitude has been adopted: as soon as you call anything a SIZ, you must immediately give it social status and, of course, money. The most serious work is being done in the republic to unify related activities under one SIZ.

[Question] How is it that the SIZ's have become ossified bureaucratic bodies?

[Answer] Ever since the self-managing communities of interest were organized in 1974 we have been concerned mainly with their organizational aspect: how delegations were to be elected to their assemblies, how many delegations, and so on, and less concerned with the essential matters (free exchange of labor and income-sharing relations). Second, when in that same year, 1974, we made a model of the SIZ, we wanted to cram into it, as on Procrustes' bed, every form of self-managing special-interest organization. Thus in practice the SIZ's grew to become strong institutionalized organisms. But that was not Kardelj's thinking about them. He regarded them as flexible self-managing organisms in which OUR's [organization of associated labor] could come together with other OUR's and even enter into direct discussion and agreement on the rendering and use of services.

[Question] Is it true that there has been hardly any of that in practice?

[Answer] In practice the assemblies of the SIZ's, which are not yet an expression of operation on the basis of delegacy, have been dominant. It is in them that agreements are to be achieved, rather than for decisions to be made in the name of associated labor. And then the assemblies of the SIZ's ought to be smaller bodies and not representative bodies consisting of 100 delegates or more.

[Question] The special-interest communities, then, have become alienated from associated labor?

[Answer] Yes, an inversion has taken place: the SIZ's have tended more to take on the elements of government agencies instead of self-managing those government agencies. The logic whereby the social services operate regardless of the income earned in material production has not yet been overcome.

[Question] How does the workingman look on all this?

[Answer] The workingman still does not see any functional link between what he is setting aside for health care and education and what he is getting. We are still talking about gratis medical treatment and education, but all this is paid for, and the price is high. The workingman still does not feel that he can exert the kind of influence whereby he gets better services for larger appropriations. If the truth be known, he often does not even come into contact with those rendering the services. Thus in most cases both are dissatisfied.

[Question] How is one to explain this?

[Answer] By the inherited system of budget financing, which was carried over to the system for financing institutions even in the framework of the SIZ's. There have been no qualitative changes at all. Whatever was previously received as funding from the budget is by and large received even now from the contributions, plus that guaranteed 20 percent under the resolution for this year.

[Question] What is the relationship between the executive officers and bodies of the SIZ's and the administrative agencies of sociopolitical communities?

[Answer] One can speak both about dualism and also about a tie-up of these entities. The bodies of sociopolitical communities determine by law the size of the needs for social services, and the bodies of the SIZ's are supposed to meet those needs, although they do not participate in passing the law. One can also speak about a tie-up between the executive officers and agencies of sociopolitical communities and the organs of the SIZ's, and that tie-up, by the nature of the thing, is very dangerous.

[Question] What are all the things which should be borne in mind when the SIZ's are criticized?

[Answer] Aside from criticism being sound and serious, it should also be objective and realistic. That is, it must be recognized that the area for free exchange of labor is restricted: three-fourths of the OUR's do not even plan their own personnel, much less the needs for education and culture. And then we have not worked out criteria and scales for evaluating labor in the social services. Finally, delegate relations are underdeveloped, and there is administrative interventionism and a deliberate resistance on the part of certain structures toward special-interest organization.

[Question] Finally, are there also certain constructive processes taking place in special-interest organization?

[Answer] Certainly there are. At one time we criticized the surpluses in the treasuries of the SIZ's. At the beginning of this year we abolished the rates of the contributions of all republic special-interest communities in the social services except for pensions and sciences. These communities now obtain their funds through association, and what has happened? Instead of the surpluses, the republic self-managing communities of interest now have deficits. Some of the opstina special-interest communities are beginning to put their hands on the funds that are supposed to go to the region and the republic.

[Question] Let us end with the question we began with: Why has there been from time to time such an outcry about the SIZ's?

[Answer] For all the shortcomings and problems of the SIZ's, it seems that we have become just a bit too nervous about their not performing their function, but have we as a society provided all the conditions for them to function? Neither the SAWP, nor the trade union, nor the League of Communists has ever become truly involved in the battle for special-interest organization either in associated labor or in the local community. And back in 1974 it was stated that the SIZ is the touchstone and keystone of our system.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1959

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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LILOV STATES DIFFERENCES OF OPINION IN POLICY OF 'PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM'

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Nov 81 p 6

[Statement by Aleksandur Lilov at the international discussion by representatives of communist and workers parties of the periodical PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM: "The Preservation of Peace Is the Main Task"]

[Text] Prague, 26 November (BTA). Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, head of the delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party, was the first speaker at the morning session of the international conference of representatives of fraternal communist and workers parties which discussed the work of the periodical PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM.

The BCP Central Committee, Aleksandur Lilov said, congratulates the international collective of the periodical PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM for its successful activities of our common publication. The BCP accepts the report of the editors and gives a positive rating to the periodical's contribution to the dissemination of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, the elaboration of contemporary problems of the international communist and workers movements, the exchange of valuable experience in the building of real socialism and the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and reaction and for peace, disarmament and detente.

To the extent of its possibilities, our party will continue to give comprehensive support to the periodical, which is a major permanent theoretical and informational link in the communist and workers movements. As a founder of the periodical, our party has been actively participating in all of its initiatives. Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary, is one of its noted regular contributors on topical and complex problems. Other contributors include members of the Politburo, BCP Central Committee secretaries and noted Bulgarian scientists and public figures.

In Bulgaria, PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM enjoys high prestige. It raises important and interesting problems, attracts competent authors, struggles for the purity and creative development of our revolutionary scientific theory and summarizes and offers to our party members and cadres the experience of Marxist-Leninist parties the world over.

We ascribe great importance to and rate positively the role of the periodical in the unification of the international communist and workers movements. Its very existence and regular publication are a manifestation of the parties' awareness of the

need for unity and of the real existing unity within our movement. The periodical is a valuable result and factor of unity in the international communist and workers movements. To ignore or belittle this would be erroneous and, considering the current difficult international situation, also dangerous to the movement. We may be exigent and critical, we may dispute one or another piece of material in the periodical--this is normal and even necessary with such a multinational and multiparty periodical--but we cannot, we have no right to underestimate its unquestionable major and positive role.

Total harmony of thought and unanimity in a theoretical, not to mention a multiparty theoretical periodical is neither possible nor necessary. Differences may appear and, as we know, do appear, both in the movement and the periodical. They must be controlled on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles upon which relations among our parties are based today: proletarian internationalism, equality, independence and respect.

At the same time, we must possess the clear awareness that the vocation and main purpose of the periodical is to strengthen unity rather than intensify or aggravate differences in our movement. Our party cannot support the feeling of differences as being basic in the content and work of the periodical. We cannot underestimate differences by underestimating our unity, the more so since that which unites us is more essential and important than that which divides us at this time. It is as inadmissible to underestimate specifics and differences as it is to convert PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM into a rostrum above all of differences in the international communist and workers movement.

The magazine reflects, as it should, the status of the movement, whose problems are, as they should be, problems of the periodical as well. However, not all problems and differences covered in the periodical must automatically develop into problems of the movement. We must learn how to work jointly even better. We must cooperate. We must discuss the conditions in which we find ourselves now, at the end of the 20th century, since we are aware of the vital need for unity within the movement and of the fact that the moment we lose our proletarian, socialist and communist solidarity and unity we will be exposing ourselves to a fatal danger and to the dislocation of international communist and workers movements.

The BCP believes that despite the features of the present stage or the differences and difficulties familiar to all of us within the international communist and workers movements, which have today reached a tremendous scale and tremendous successes and have entered the stage of their political, organizational and theoretical maturity, objective conditions exist for our joint political and theoretical periodical, which is our great common achievement, to continue to perform its highly responsible assignments successfully.

This can be achieved mainly if the periodical remains based on the positions of Marxism-Leninism and the editors continue to base their work on a principle-minded, constructive and democratic basis. If these prerequisites are observed there is no problem to which an acceptable solution cannot be found.

We approve the measures suggested in the report on improving the democratic nature of the management and activities of the periodical's editorial collective. We believe that the continued application of the principle of attentive and maximal consideration of the opinions of the representatives of all fraternal parties in discussing

and approving materials going to press is proper and consistent with the contemporary situation in the communist movement. We especially support suggestions regarding the broadening of the tasks and functions of the editorial council and the creation of an international collective secretariat. This will improve the work of problem and regional commissions, particularly with a view to the further energizing of the work of all representatives of fraternal parties in the periodical's scientific-theoretical, informational and organizational activities.

It is in this context that we must consider the discussion on the periodical's work and content. This is not a question of procedural-organizational and political discussions but of theoretical discussions without which no science can develop, including our revolutionary Marxist-Leninist science. Instead of avoiding problems, we must discuss and resolve them in order to resolve them promptly and like Marxists. All of us must master the art of holding open and creative discussions and engaging in real theoretical arguments. This involves respect for the scientific method and arguments and for the viewpoint and positions held by our partners. It must be a discussion without anathemas or insinuations but also without circumvening or glossing over the main and sensitive problems. It must be a discussion based on the law of theoretical creativity. We must conduct our discussion of contemporary global problems and of our own struggle on a high theoretical and political level. This would provide the best indication of the health of the international communist movement. We are convinced that the periodical can make a great contribution to converting such discussions to a permanent style of communist theoretical thinking. Actually, it would be unfair not to point out that the periodical has already acquired some experience in this direction. Our party is in favor of the discussions held jointly with the other fraternal parties on central and topical problems organized by the periodical during the period under consideration. They have been mentioned in the report of the editorial collegium and editorial council. We are particularly pleased by the fact that the periodical's editors are aware of the still unused opportunities for the organization of truly creative discussions on problems vital to the communists and the working people and for the need to prepare them even more thoroughly in order to improve the lasting effect of our communist discussions.

The period covered in the report submitted at this conference by the periodical's editorial collegium and editorial council was saturated with changes in global developments and in our movement. In our view, PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM remained in step with the tasks and struggles of our parties and our movement in this difficult situation. We are particularly pleased by the interest in and help given by the periodical by the BCP. A substantial number of materials from and for Bulgaria were published. The periodical was given the opportunity to study the work of party, scientific research and ideological institutions and to participate in the various international theoretical conferences and symposia held in Bulgaria and in the work of the World Parliament of Peoples for Peace which was held in Sofia. This year, we were visited by a group of representatives of communist parties from different areas, who are working with the periodical, and who studied our ideological work in connection with the celebration of the 90th anniversary of the founding of a revolutionary Marxist party in Bulgaria and the celebration of 1300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state. The result was the publication of a report to which we gave a positive rating.

In our view, the international theoretical conference held in Sofia on "The Building of Socialism and Communism and Global Developments," in December 1978 with the participation of delegations from 73 parties, 60 of which were headed by chairmen,

general and first secretaries, politburo members and central committee secretaries and many noted scientists and theoreticians, was the most important manifestation of the joint work of the BCP with PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM. Very valuable and extensive exchanges of ideas and experience related to main problems of global development took place. The conference contributed to strengthening the unity of our movement and quite clearly showed the need for political and theoretical contacts among Marxist-Leninist parties. Conferences of this type and level must be held more systematically.

The timely discussion of topical practical problems and the steady enhancement of the theoretical standard of materials published by the periodical and of the discussions it sponsors, on the basis of the increasingly extensive summation of the experience and theoretical contributions not only of all individual parties but of the overall experience of the entire communist movement are a decisive prerequisite for the success of the periodical and for enhancing its role in the movement.

We must continue to pay particular attention to the summation of acquired historical experience in building real socialism and above all the experience of the CPSU and the USSR. Allow me to point out that the question of solidarity with countries of victorious socialism, the USSR above all, has not become obsolete in the least. The BCP does not understand and rejects any other formulation of this matter. It is true that the CPSU and the USSR are not the leading center of the international communist and workers movements. This problem was clarified and resolved a long time ago. However, no one so far has disputed the historical fact that after the Great October Socialist Revolution the CPSU and the USSR were and remain the center and vanguard of contemporary social progress in the world, the contemporary revolutionary process and the contemporary struggle for peace and disarmament. Imperialism is well aware of this, and that is the precise reason for which it directs its main attacks against the USSR. This periodical of the international communist and workers movements acts properly in fighting anti-Sovietism as it continues to, as this is one of the main lines of imperialist ideology and policy. This in no case lowers or conflicts with its obligation of countering the attacks of imperialism mounted against other socialist countries and communist parties in the capitalist countries.

Something else: as members of the delegation of a country which is a member of the Warsaw Pact, we categorically state that the USSR, Bulgaria and the other socialist countries continue to support the idea of the simultaneous abrogation of the Warsaw Pact and NATO or, as a first step, the abolishment of their military organizations. We continue to struggle for this. The new program for peace for the 1980's does not reject or change but extends the current program in which this, like many other problems, has been given its clear solution familiar to all.

The collective measures organized by the periodical (theoretical conferences, symposia, round-table discussions, etc) make comparisons among the experience of individual parties possible. They enable us to determine and interpret the specific, the unique and the common features of this experience and to reach new knowledge and specific enrichment of our theory through collective efforts and comradely discussions.

Many scientific centers and Marxism-Leninism institutes are at work within the communist movement. They are engaged in relatively independent studies. It would be desirable for the periodical to publish theoretical results of collective scientific studies written not only by individual authors but by the respective institutes. This would give us one more opportunity to compare collective experience in scientific research and to popularize new theoretical summations.

Naturally, the meetings of fraternal parties (congresses, plenums, etc) are the main results of the collective creative efforts of the communists in the field of theory. The periodical must find ways to compare, sum up and popularize such exceptionally valuable experience.

In 1982 Bulgaria will celebrate the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth. We hope that the periodical will publish a profound theoretical study of the most valuable traditions and materials on the growth of our movement starting with the period of the comintern and to bring to light the durable significance of a number of theoretical-methodological concepts which the great Georgi Dimitrov formulated and applied.

The BCP Central Committee is planning to hold an international theoretical conference on the work of Georgi Dimitrov and our contemporaneity in June 1982 and invites all Marxist-Leninist parties represented at the conference and members of the periodical to participate in it. Before the end of the year the BCP will issue official invitations and provide all parties with the necessary information.

Our international periodical has information tasks as well. Specific actual information about the experience of individual parties is extremely necessary and the periodical is doing useful work in this direction. It would be desirable to present this experience on the level of a theoretical interpretation rather than merely as a description of facts.

Everything seems to indicate that the 1980's will be an exceptionally difficult and important period in the struggle of the international communist and workers movements and, consequently, in terms of the periodical's activities.

We are facing a new political situation which is considerably different from that of the 1970's. Its main feature is the attempt on the part of imperialism, American imperialism above all, to put an end to detente and to replace it with a policy of aspiration toward one-sided military superiority. This will inevitably result in another quantitative and qualitative arms race, i.e., a policy of balancing on the brink of nuclear catastrophe.

Today, at the start of the 1980's, we are witnessing a violent global clash and an intensive struggle along two basic and determining directions in world politics: between the safeguarding of peace and cooperation among nations and international tension, new arms race and preparations for a thermonuclear war. This is a struggle between the socialist and imperialist lines and between the course followed by the USSR and the United States. The destiny and future of mankind depend on which line will prevail and which path will be taken--that of detente or that of a new arms race.

All of us realize that the main task today is the preservation of the peace and detente and the avoidance of war. No task is more important today. Consequently, problems of peace and war must be given priority in PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM. We have entered a period in which this periodical must justify its title most categorically and in all directions, as follows:

As a source of information;

As a theoretical rostrum;

As a propagandist;

As the discoverer of new forces, allies and trends;

As organizer of the masses;

As a summarizer of experience;

And as a laboratory for new ideas and initiatives.

The periodical must become particularly active in all of these directions and bring to light the significance of the peace program for the 1980's, as approved by the 26th CPSU Congress, support and implementation of the peaceful initiatives of the USSR and the socialist countries and of the communist parties and peaceloving forces in the nonsocialist countries, and the even greater development of the new antiwar movement in Western Europe and the rest of the world.

As regards China, the periodical is following the right line. We respect and will continue to respect the Chinese people and the Chinese socialist revolution, which was one of the great events of our time. The periodical must not criticize the PRC and the Chinese Communist Party in general, despite major existing differences. We are criticizing the foreign policy of the Chinese leadership, which is erroneous and dangerous to the cause of socialism. It is a policy which aligns socialist China openly and officially with imperialism. It is not a class policy or the right way. We state and substantiate this clearly. Today the "China trump" is the main direction followed by American imperialism in its aggressive policy. This is a fact which must not be underestimated by any one of our parties.

However, the 1980's faces not only a new political but a new ideological situation in the world.

The periodical must play an important role in the study, characterization and assessment of the contemporary ideological situation and struggle and thus help our parties to formulate a proper ideological strategy for the new circumstances.

A major distinguishing feature of the newly developing situation is that today the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism has entered a far more active stage. This is confirmed by the fact that today ideological confrontations have become very sharp. A variety of fast and very aggressive forms of confrontation with a broad social scope and even broader social response have developed. Naturally, our age has never shown any ideological conciliation or abatement of the ideological class struggle. However, the new aspect of today's situation is the drastically emphasized aggressive nature of different ideologies, as a result of which we note a profound ideologization of social behavior, class struggle and international life. There is no significant event today which is purely spontaneous or which is not backed by a more profound ideological motivation.

Consequently, today ideology, conceived as the product of social conflicts and as the instrument of their development and resolution, plays a substantially greater role. The ideological motivation which governs sociopolitical actions is an important component of contemporary social processes, and we would be unable to gain a complete understanding of what is taking place around us unless we are aware of the many-sided and aggressive nature of ideological forces and intentions in the contemporary world.

It would also be a major error to assume that the unparalleled aggravation of the ideological confrontation is a very temporary situation, for both our victories and the intensification of internal contradictions in the capitalist countries encourage imperialism, American imperialism above all, to hold back and restrict by force the development of revolutionary processes in the world and in real socialism, which is their main support. The objective of the entire overt and covert dynamics of U.S. official policy and ideology is to implement its model of planetary relations on the basis of military and political superiority. The ideological initiative of the new Washington administration, which is to gain for the United States political and moral leadership in the world and to impose on global public opinion the idea that America has some kind of special mission regarding the other countries in the world is neither politically nor ideologically accidental. Under the circumstances of the profound economic, social and political crisis, such global claims have the advantage, as Marxism proved in the 1930's, that for a while they can have an intoxicating effect on a large percentage of the masses. Thus, at the beginning of the 1980's, the militant bourgeois ideology clearly proved its intention of becoming more closely linked with mass feelings and of using for its class objectives some areas of social awareness which have been previously neglected. In its search for new directions along which to increase its influence and by using new means for expanding its influence, contemporary bourgeois ideology is trying to transfer the battle for the minds of the people to the broadest possible area of mass consciousness. Unquestionably, it is precisely there that it is seeking revenge for the historical defeats suffered by capitalism and is looking for a strong and aggressive alternative to communist ideas and accomplishments.

This takes us to another distinguishing feature of the present situation: we are the witnesses of and participants in the ideological struggle which involves the large masses of our contemporaries. When we speak of ideology today it is absurd to think only in terms of scholastic theories or ideological enthusiasms of groups of intellectuals or politicians or else limited party masses. The reason for which ideology plays such a considerable role in our time is its mass scope and the fact that it is the actual manifestation of and tool in the confrontation between large social and class forces.

This makes it incumbent upon us to engage in an even better theoretical and political discussion with the millions of followers of scientific socialism, to win over new millions of people among its supporters, to warn them of the danger threatening the world and the revolutionary gains of the working class, to mobilize them in the struggle and to inspire them with confidence in the future. I believe that it is precisely in this area that we can see the great opportunities which today's circumstances offer PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, which talks to its readers in 37 languages and is distributed in 145 countries.

The fact that real socialism will remain as the focal point of the ideological struggle, as the greatest accomplishment of the international communist and workers movements, is a major distinguishing feature of the situation in the 1980's. The entire concentrated ideological and propaganda indoctrination of the masses by imperialism is focused on proving that socialism and the notorious "Soviet military threat" are to be blamed for everything. Unquestionably, both today and tomorrow imperialism will continue to wage an ideological struggle against our countries and the international communist and workers movements with greatly intensified zeal, malice and class hatred. Unquestionably, the problems of real socialism, its nature, form, development stages and means for reaching it will be the common denominator

always and everywhere. This is fully explainable, for it is precisely socialism which remains the latest and most important idea of our time. It is the slogan of the left-wing forces in the developed capitalist and developing countries; it is the main threat to traditional bourgeois "liberals" and extremist bourgeois "neo-conservatives," to sporadic neofascist forces and to all other reactionary forces today.

The new forms and specific means of struggle against real socialism to which our enemies will resort will become clear with time. It is already clear, however, that the main attack and differentiated approach are aimed at undermining the unity of the socialist countries and that their main objective is to transfer the center of the ideological struggle to the socialist countries.

Finally, another interesting characteristic of today's situation is that it is not only quite strongly colored but considerably complicated by the energizing of ideologies which have a more limited, a medium-range radius of action, so to speak.

Strange as it seems, the various religious doctrines became energized in the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's--a period of most tempestuous scientific and technical progress. At the same time, an interest has been revived in the ideas of Rousseau and Buffon regarding the "natural condition" of man. An increasing number of publications are promoting one or another kind of scientific superstition, actively supported essentially by young people, who are looking for an ideological alternative to the contemporary capitalist society. A noticeable interest is being shown in some ideas and schools of thought considered obsolete and "unfashionable."

Still in this respect, let us note the increased role which some new movements which display their own ideologies are playing in contemporary development, ideologies which are outside and independent of ours and which, alarmingly, occasionally clash with our ideology. Iran has provided us with the most typical example of this: the role which Islam plays as the ideological banner of the Iranian revolution is unquestionable.

Consequently, our task for the 1980's will be to pay greater attention to these and other basic ideological manifestations which will form the ideological content of the forthcoming period and to study them more profoundly and comprehensively in order to formulate a proper ideological strategy and our tasks under the new circumstances.

These are the questions which our delegation would like to formulate at this conference.

I express the confidence of the BCP, Aleksandur Lilov said, that PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM will continue to fulfill successfully its quite difficult and complex but very necessary service to the international communist movement.

5003
CSO: 2200/39

SLOVENIAN COMMENT ON POLISH MARTIAL LAW SITUATION

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 19 Dec 81 p 1

[Article by Marjan Sedmak: "Shots in Katowice"]

[Text] The Polish military, which seized power on Sunday morning, accompanied this entry into the arena of history with signs whose national symbols and patriotism the sensitive Polish people cannot overlook. As General Wojciech Jaruzelski raised the national flag above the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, this was symbolic--symbolic with an important message--and also supported by words: at the moment in which the armed forces suspended the process of confrontational democracy and of the political resolution of the crisis, the army represented national unity whose basic driving force was patriotism and independence and Polish integrity. Along with force which will not permit Poland to return to the situation prior to August 1980.

But the road to hell is--obviously, this time, too--paved with good intentions. The military intervention aggravated that fundamental conflict which permeates Polish society, the conflict between the party-state monopoly of power on the one hand and the ambitions of the working class to have control of its fate, on the other hand. The very introduction of martial law which suppressed democratic confrontation and consistently asserted its authority is a return to the old situation. The inexorable character of brute force was demonstrated on Wednesday when seven Katowice miners fell under the fire of the security troops. The militarization of socialism obviously cannot avoid strong arm tactics, turned against its own working class.

The question of who--challenged or not--pulled the trigger is not important. In Katowice they were shot in the name of the military council and the Polish armed forces, which for Poles henceforth will no longer be what they have been. And were they not shot as a sign of a certain insensitive dogmatism which does not know how to and, above all, does not want to, bridge the gap between itself and its own working class?

CSO: 2800/154

BRIEFS

CZECH HARVEST RESULTS--According to Czech Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Food O. Vanek, this year's plan of the overall agricultural production will be fulfilled by 95 percent only. The only production plans fulfilled were those of winter rape, hops and potatoes. In the Czech lands the average per-hectare-yield of cereals was 3.58 tons--0.46 tons less than last year. The sugar beet growers delivered 14 percent less sugar beets than the plan envisaged. The hops growers, however, exceeded their production plan by 5 percent, and the quality of this year's hops is "very good." More than 65 percent of the procured hops was classified as being of the first and second quality, and its price will be about KC$80,000 per ton. [Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Dec 81 p 1]

SUGAR CAMPAIGN IN SLOVAKIA--The sugar campaign in Slovakia is in its closing stage. The Slovak sugar refineries have processed 1.69 million tons of sugar beets until now, with 180,000 tons still to be processed. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Dec 81 p 2]

ARABLE LAND IN SLOVAKIA--Between 1970 and 1980, the area of arable land in Slovania shrank from 1,682,762 hectares to 1,516,198 hectares. In the west Slovak region, the area of arable land shrank by 2,777 hectares and another 8,192 hectares were put at the disposal of the city of Bratislava. In the central Slovak region the arable land decreased by 81,636 hectares and in the east Slovak region by 82,151 hectares. [Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 17 Dec 81 p 3]

TRADE CONTRACTS WITH MOZAMBIQUE--An economic delegation led by Mozambique's Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Jose Dias Marques paid a visit to the CSSR on 4-9 December. The delegation conducted talks on the further development of mutual economic cooperation with Jaroslav Jakubec, CSSR deputy minister of foreign trade. Representatives of the CSSR and Mozambican foreign trade organizations signed contracts valued at KC$20 million during the visit. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Dec 81 p 2]

AGRICULTURAL LAND--According to Jan Roubal, deputy chairman of the CSSR People's Control Committee, in the CSSR there are at present 6,871,000 hectares of agricultural land. This figure includes 106,000 hectares which are not tilled--they have to be ameliorated [rekultivovane]--and more than 20,000 hectares of land temporarily not tilled because of construction work or extraction of raw materials. In the past 10 years, agricultural land shrunk by about 241,000 hectares. [Prague PRACE in Czech 11 Nov 81 p 3]

CSO: 2400/96

CONTROVERSIAL GDR, FRG WRITERS' MEETING IN EAST BERLIN DISCUSSED

Swiss Commentary

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 18 Dec 81 p 5

/Report by 'R.M.,' datelined Berlin, 15 December: "An Unusual Peace Discussion in East Berlin—Candid Words at a West-East Writers Meeting"/

/Text/ "If Schmidt and Honecker are able to get together, we should also be able to do so," said one of the participants in the peace discussion between writers and scientists from East and West held on Sunday and Monday (13-14 December) at an East Berlin hotel. This event, at least, was no less unusual than the Schmidt-Honecker summit meeting in snowy Schorfheide on Lake Werbellin. At any rate, it is highly unlikely that such open and critical statements on the peace issue as were made by a variety of speakers at the Hotel Stadt Berlin in front of media representatives of East and West had ever been heard at a GDR function before. The meeting was even more unusual in the sense that a number of writers were permitted to take part who had either been expelled from the official writers union—like Stefan Hermlin and Rolf Schneider—or were among the many artists and authors who left the GDR involuntarily in recent years—like Jurek Becker and Thomas Brasch.

An Inner-German Affair

The man who had issued the invitations was lyric poet Stefan Hermlin, who escaped from the Nazis and spent some time in Switzerland during the war and who, after settling in East Berlin in 1947, became one of the GDR's most respected writers. He is considered a multi-faceted personality, liberal by GDR standards and, despite intermittent differences with the regime, a loyal supporter of it and a man with personal connections to SED chief Honecker. East Berlin insiders have no doubt but that this particular connection was a decisive factor in Hermlin's being able to push through his initiative for an East-West writers debate which appears to have run into major difficulties with the party bureaucracy at the outset.

In the West, Hermlin's invitations to the peace discussion encountered understandable skepticism. Robert Jungk voiced this skepticism at the very beginning of the discussion when he said that he and some of his Western colleagues were wondering whether this event would not be abused for political purposes. Doubts of this sort, it seems, were at least one reason why only some 20 writers and 10 scientists from the West attended the East Berlin roundtable composed of some 90 participants. For that matter, the East-West forum was an inner-German affair as

to its makeup. The GDR was represented by its entire phalanx of prominent writers; on the Western side, the best known participants were Guenter Grass, Heinar Kipphardt, Carl Amery, Luise Rinser and Peter Schneider. Switzerland was represented by Adolf Muschg and Austria by Ernst Jandl.

There was more than enough Eastern-style peace rhetoric to be heard in the course of the 1½-day meeting. Above all it came from the ancient party-line professors from the East Berlin academy of sciences and several guests from the USSR who repeated their sterile statements over and over again about the supposedly lily-white desire for peace by the Kremlin leadership and its utter blamelessness for the arms race. The blame for the constantly growing nuclear arms arsenals, their argument ran, and for all other evils in the world must be laid at the door of the capitalist system exclusively with its profit motive and above all at the door of the Reagan administration which was said to be coolly planning the atomic annihilation of Europe.

Grass on "Unloved Giants"

Although a majority of the speakers did spout this type of propaganda in a variety of more or less unimaginative ways, there was no lack of clear response to it—not only from Western participants. Guenter Grass was the first speaker to protest against this simplistic method of assigning guilt. His fear of nuclear annihilation, he said, was not restricted to the plans for stationing new American medium-range missiles in Western Europe but was determined equally by the Soviet SS-20's already in place. Grass accused the politicians of the East and the West of having failed because they have built up such vast potentials for destruction in the name of securing peace through deterrence which now threaten to get out of control. He called the USSR and the U.S. "two unloved giants, who want to be loved and who occasionally force their love upon us." Interestingly enough, only a handful of Eastern dogmatics took exception with this attempt at equating the two superpowers morally and politically. Most Western participants, at least, seemed ready to accept this dubious contention either tacitly or explicitly as a kind of axiom—not infrequently with a European type of arrogance.

Stefan Heym, who served in the American Army during the war, who settled in the GDR in the fifties and was expelled from the writers union 2 years ago, brought the peace discussion back to reality whenever it strayed into abtractions. He asked whether this forum could ignore the fact that just a few kilometers further east the fuze of a possible nuclear inferno might already be burning ? Once before, a world war broke out over Poland. Furthermore, one should take note of the fact that wars of intervention no longer are the monopoly of any one side. The Zurich writer Adolf Muschg also addressed the Polish problem directly. He asked for—vainly, as it turned out—concrete answers to the question why the freedom to establish unions and the freedom of assembly fought for in this socialist country was being rescinded once more. Muschg warned the Eastern participants not to view the peace movement in the West solely in terms of anti-nuclear missile protest. The fact is, he said, the movement calls for an alternative quality of life generally, for protest against the destruction of nature and against production euphoria which is being actively promoted under socialism particularly. But if an intervention in Poland did take place, the peace movement in the West would surely "go down the drain."

Critics of the GDR from the GDR

The two GDR authors de Bruyn and Rolf Schneider criticized the SED regime for crowing about the peace movement and the pacifists in the West and at the same time repressing similar tendencies in their own country. Like several other speakers from East and West, de Bruyn called for permission to establish an independent peace movement in the GDR free from government interference and the establishment of civilian service for conscientious objectors such as exists in the FRG. Rolf Schneider called attention to the progressive militarization of education, to the support for war games and obligatory instruction in military affairs.

In order to break out of the vicious circle of the arms race, FRG writer Peter Schneider suggested the two German states should send out a first signal of hope by both disarming unilaterally. Interestingly, official host Stefan Hermlin also voiced guarded sympathy for pacifist ideas in contrast to the majority of the orthodox GDR participants. The slogan "make peace without weapons," he said, may sound utopian but does have a "realistic core" in an age of absolute arsenals of annihilation. At any rate, one could not simply brush aside the call by many people for unilateral disarmament. To support this thesis, he cited—for whatever reason—a letter by Lenin to a reader of the JOURNAL DE GENEVE, which was published for the first time just recently. Still, Hermlin also pointed out that Lenin who, as is well known, would have nothing to do with pacifism in his own empire had expressed different views on this subject as well.

Selective Coverage by East Berlin

The GDR media, as was to be expected, have given prominent but very selective and completely watered-down coverage to the 2-day writers forum in East Berlin. The newspapers make mention of the party-line statements almost exclusively while disregarding those statements and demands which are unfavorable to the regime. But a large part of the population will nonetheless be able to see and hear these very things on Western TV. Whatever aims this unusual event might originally have pursued, it might have consequences in the GDR which hardly correspond to Honecker's interests.

The discussion begun in East Berlin is to be continued at a new gathering in a Western city. Perhaps it will be possible at subsequent meetings of this sort to work on and to expand on this or that unconventional peace theory which may have been spawned at the East Berlin forum the ideological differences to the contrary notwithstanding.

SED Organ's Report

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Dec 81 p 6

[Article by ND correspondents: "Banish the Threat of War Through United Forces—Arguments and Opinions at the 'Berlin Meeting for Promotion of Peace'"]

[Text] Paraphrasing Heinrich Heine's "Germany—A Winter's Tale," GDR author Jurij Brezan said that hundreds of thousands of people were robbed of their sleep today as he opened the "Berlin Meeting for the Promotion of Peace" on Monday. People were aware, he said, of the U.S. government's strategic scenarios in which Europe figured as an atomic battleground. "To keep this from happening with the help of the arts, the sciences and the will of millions to live," Brezan said, "seems to me to be the primary, the most important, in fact the only way that offers promise of success."

Most Urgent Task Is to Safeguard Peace

The Second World War has left a deep imprint on his generation, Soviet writer Daniil Granin said. Today's armaments were a heritage of that war, he said, and the fight for peace today was above all the fight for disarmament. It was no accident that the recent peace demonstrations in Western Europe were primarily directed against the aggressive policies of the United States. They were indicative of the sure instinct of millions of people as to where the real dangers lie which threaten peace today.

Physicist Dr Karl Lanius (GDR) referred to the previous day's call for informing the public about the dangers and threats posed by excessive armaments. He pointed out that the new medium-range missiles as well as the neutron bomb are a clear technical indication that U.S. military planners consider a nuclear war both possible to wage and to win.

So as to identify those responsible for the arms race, Erik Neutsch (GDR) put the question as to who said there were more important things than peace—it was Haig, was it not ?

Konrad Wolf, the president of the GDR academy of fine arts, said that he met many Soviet people during the war and experienced their love and desire for peace. Yevtushenko's poen "Do You Believe the Russians Want War ?" was addressed to those, he said, who have forgotten that the USSR suffered most from World War II.

Along with a number of other participants, author Carl Amery (FRG) came out in favor of a nuclear-free zone in Europe from Poland to Portugal. Referring back to Jurij Brezan's remarks, Amery said the Europeans should not play the role of slaves and gladiators submitting to U.S. military strategy but should make their own specific contribution to disarmament. FRG writer Dieter Lattmann recalled the peace message Leonid Brezhnev recently enunciated on his visit to Bonn.

The need to take an active part in safeguarding turned out to be the main theme of the discussion although there were different points of view expressed on how a secure peace and disarmament are to be achieved.

USSR Disarmament Proposals Not to Be Rejected

Prof Dr Daniil Proektor from Moscow objected to equating the USSR and the U.S. in speaking of a threat to peace. The main goal of USSR policy is not the arms race, he said, but the constant elevation of people's standard of living. For this, we must have peace. The policy of the USSR is based on the assumption that no political issue admits of a military solution in this day and age.

Law professor Axel Azzola (FRG) presented a brief on legal disarmament in the FRG, coming out against all aspects of the sole representation claim vis-a-vis the GDR.

FRG dramatist Heinar Kipphardt said it was necessary not only to ban nuclear weapons but war itself as a political instrument. There were already 5,000 nuclear warheads being stored on FRG soil, he said; but apparently that is not enough for the Americans because they want to introduce Pershing-II missiles and the neutron bomb on top of that.

Prof Dr Heinz Kamnitzer from the GDR gave his emphatic support to the European writers' appeal which brings a great many creative personalities together on a common platform in their efforts to achieve peace and disarmament. The point is to achieve optimal, general disarmament which is to the advantage of all and the disadvantage of none.

Stage director Manfred Wekwerth (GDR) said it was imperative to take up viable and realistic proposals. The Soviet Union, he said, has been issuing impassioned appeals for safeguarding peace, against the arms race and for negotiations for some time. He also recalled the proposal to declare a moratorium on deployment of medium-range missiles, the gesture of withdrawing 20,000 Soviet troops and 1,000 tanks from the GDR and the initiatives aiming at a nuclear-free zone in Europe and in northern Europe.

No Deployment of U.S. Nuclear Missiles

Manfred Wekwerth continued by saying that history will have lots of time to pass judgment on the social orders of the two German states but that there is much less time to guarantee the survival of the two because of the danger of war. But there is a better chance of survival, if the deployment of new nuclear missiles in the FRG can be averted.

Prof Dr Friedrich Jung (GDR) discussed the question of whether it is true to say that no politician can be trusted on the issue of peace. As for himself, he said, he looked upon the statesmen of his own country as tried and true representatives of peace. He was very pleased to hear Erich Honecker come out so clearly and in complete agreement with the interests and hopes of the GDR's population on Lake Werbellin when he declared the preservation and safeguarding of the peace as the basic GDR position in the struggle for peace.

The question raised by various participants as to who threatens whom was answered by Prof Dr Gerhard Kade (FRG) who pointed out that the arms race has been heated up time and again by the U.S. ever since the first atom bomb was dropped in 1945. Qualitative and quantitative rearmament was always accompanied by ever new lies regarding a threat posed by the Soviet Union. The first-strike strategy, evolved in the early seventies, he said, was aimed at eroding nuclear parity. One should not be speaking of war guilt as in the past but would have to speak of a guilt connected with preparing for war.

GDR author Benito Wogatzki said the "Berlin Meeting" was a kind of test to see whether it is at all possible to talk to each other, given the many different views. What was achieved is a start at best, he said. A lot remains still to be done.

9478
CSO: 2300/82

DEPUTY INTERIOR MINISTER DISCUSSES COUNTERINTELLIGENCE EFFORT

Warsaw WOJSKO LUDOWE in Polish No 10, Oct 81 pp 8-12

[Article by Brigadier General Wladyslaw Pozoga, deputy minister of internal affairs: "We Will Defend Socialist Poland"]

[Text] In October we will be celebrating the holiday that honors the Polish Armed Forces and also the holiday honoring the Citizens Militia and the Security Service. There is something deeply symbolic in this. A common heritage, common goals, brotherhood sealed in the shedding of blood, and the toil of constant vigilance. And they share the same most sublime duty--to work together in service of the socialist Homeland.

Both of these holidays are preceded by the anniversary of the Polish September [September 1939]. It is almost as if the former two holidays were an outgrowth of the latter. "The defensive war of 1939, the heroism of the Polish soldier is a proud chapter in our history, and it is right that we should pay tribute to this. It is also a historical lesson. What this lesson teaches us in essence is that we should never again permit ourselves to be weak, defenseless, and isolated. This lesson is just as important today as it ever was. In an unstable and dangerous world NATO militarist circles are building up their military infrastructure and are working actively to enhance their air power," said army general Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of national defense, in a speech delivered during the graduation ceremonies of the Higher Officers School of Antiaircraft Defense Troops in Koszalin on the eve of the 42d anniversary of the Hiterite invasion of Poland.

I belong to that generation of Poles who will never be able to forget the experiences of that September and to that group of Polish citizens for whom the experiences of those days and what happened after September has determined their role in society and dictated that they should pursue certain lines of work. The things that were experienced and felt by my generation were perhaps expressed most beautifully and most faitfully as well as so very concisely by Wladyslaw Broniewski in his poem "September Sun:"

". . . . I will look up into the sky and it will hurt,
there will be no joy under the September sun.
This sun has risen above the horizon,
conferring its blessings on the enemy planes,
this sun routed us with an ironclad front,
the guns did it with their roar, the tanks with their menacing rumble.

. . . . the armies were coming, faster than the Polish infantryman,
the bombs blew up the train stations,
the hastily abandoned towns were in flames,
the Germans were coming . . . ."

"It is therefore necessary," said army general Wojciech Jaruzelski on 30 September 1981 in a comment addressed to young officers responsible for defending our skies, "to keep an ever vigilant eye trained on the sky, not to let ourselves be taken by surprise, and be equal to every combat situation."

Important anniversaries always incline us to stop and think about things, to remember, to reflect. They move us to take stock of things, to sum up what we have gained and what we have lost. Balance sheets always have a cost column. Everyone is pretty much aware of what we have gained. But the costs are unknown or forgotten. We doublecheck our findings, analyze the present situation, and try to predict the shape of things to come. We try to define our role and the work we will have to do in order to fulfill this role.

Not just for professional reasons, but also for emotional reasons I very often take time to look at documents, studies, reports, and memoirs dealing with the events of September. The memoirs of commanders and ordinary soldiers, politicians, scholars, and ordinary people. I read studies and documents dealing with the activities of the Abwehr and other Hitlerite special services which carried out missions on Polish soil that were dedicated to serving the expansionist and vindictive policy goals of the Third Reich.

Running through all of this memorial literature and welling up from the nethermost regions of human life and experience there is a note of sorrow and bitterness that is a product of hopelessness and helplessness. The helplessness of regular army units, the civil administrative authorities, and the residents of our countryside in the face of German intelligence and the fifth column. "The atmosphere of helplessness was intensified by the operations of German air power and armor as well as by the efficiency and flawless organization of the sabotage operations that were taking place on a scale and in a form that was a complete surprise to the higher ranking commanders of that day" (Brigadier general Ksawery Floryanowicz). "Unfortunately, the fifth column disrupted the defense by engaging in widespread sabotage" (Tadeusz Radwanski). "Keeping track of the comings and goings of the commanders and staff officers of the newly organized command in Bielsko posed no problems for the Germans living in this town . . . They were of course constantly going through our things which we left behind in the hotel. One day I noticed that somebody had been exceptionally careless by leaving my suitcase in a special mess. On another day, during lunch, a general discovered splinters of glass in his pea soup, but, fortunately, he spotted the glass before he ate any of the soup (division general Jozef Kuropieska).

"I kept running into more and more signs of the destructive work being done by German saboteurs. Telephone lines were being cut, telephone and post offices were being destroyed . . . . Yes, this was all their dirty work! And, at the same time, German sabotage operations were becoming more and more noticeable in the rear areas of the 'Pomeranian' army. Some of these saboteurs were even recruited from among the ranks of the reserve officers and enlisted men of the Polish Army. Their

destructive activities were beginning to take on extremely diverse forms. Dressed in Polish uniforms, they scceeded in imparting false information to the commanders of retreating units. The same story which I had witnessed a couple of days earlier in Pomerania was repeating itself. Unfortunately, there was nothing that could be done to effectively prevent this . . . . In one line of troops there turned up eight young Germans. They all had Polish uniforms and Polish identification papers, and they spoke good Polish. Lying next to them were stolen weapons and a radio transceiver" (Stanislaw Slawinski).

Things like this were happening not just along roads of retreat being travelled by the "Pomeranian," "Poznan," and "Lodz" armies. These things were happening wherever a heroic defense was being put up against the barbarian invaders of our country, wherever, to quote division general Tadeusz Kutrzeby, "a soldier of the Republic was trying to perform the impossible duty, in 1939, of defending Poland."

So, this is why memories of September will always be linked in my mind with our October celebrations. This mental association is cemented by all of the things that our nation has gone through, running the gamut from Gliwice provocation and the intelligence preparations for the Hitlerite aggression that preceded it, the atrocities committed by firing squads, the Gestapo's underground dungeons and concentration camps, through the Wehrwolf and UPA [Ukrainian Revolutionary Army] bands that roamed the country after the liberation, the Gehlen and later on the BND [Bundesnachrichtsdienst--FRG intelligence service] spy rings and today's NATO intelligence services.

Our social and political system was formed in the heat of a pitched battle. Hostile class forces had not withdrawn from the battlefield. It was necessary to fight for the realization of the new social ideals proclaimed by the program of the Polish Workers Party and by the July Manifesto of the Polish National Liberation Committee and for the enactment of reforms. And these battles had to be fought at a time when Hitlerite fascism still had not been crushed, at a time when the occupying forces were ruthlessly trying to achieve their ambition of bringing about the destruction of the Polish nation throughout most of our national territory. These battles were being fought by a new and still evolving governmental apparatus with a new class profile, a government that was totally unlike any of its predecessors. One of the instruments used in this struggle that was created at the very dawn of People's Poland was the public security service apparatus. To a large extent, it bore the brunt of this fight, and it had the duty of launching a counter-offensive against enemy positions and protecting security, law and order. It also had to make the greatest sacrifices.

It seems as though things have really reached the point now where we should start talking about this apparatus as it deserves to be talked about. That is, without resorting to demagoguery, coy phrases, or broad generalizations. We need to tell the truth, the truth that was and the truth that is. Right now is the time to speak the truth, since the wave of unwarranted attacks unleashed many months ago against this apparatus, attacks which are assuming ever newer forms, and the outright offensive that is being instigated and ceaselessly abetted by forces hostile to Poland and socialism, a campaign that was provoked by anarchist, criminal, and hooligan elements, show no signs of letting up, rather they are intensifying. At a time when highly refined forms of harassment, provocation, desecration, and

other forms of pressure are being applied against security service and Citizens Militia officers and their families--mothers, wives, and children--as well as against monuments commemorating their courage. The aim of all this clear--to split the ranks of the security apparatus, to bring about its psychological demobilization and total paralysis.

Can anyone be surprised by this, when we know who is behind this and what they are trying to accomplish. Who is it that trying to egg on and exploit the renewal process and to what purpose? Are the Bandera-ite "striltsy" [reference to Ukrainian nationalist fighters active during World War II and led by Stepan Bandera] starting to raise their voices? Acting on behalf of Solidarity, is one of the bloodthirsty NEZ [enezetowski; expansion of acronym or meaning of reference unknown] ringleaders going to take over the office of the Ministry of National Defense representative in one of our largest workplaces during a strike, and are others going to start keeping white and colored books [another historical reference; meaning unclear], dossiers on "troublemakers?" We know what they did with these books years ago. We know what kinds of atrocities they committed. It is thanks only to the magnanimity of people's power and the amnesty which it granted that these people's lives were spared.

So, what kind of people are we? Where did we come from to join this apparatus? The fact of the matter is that we emerged from the ranks of the people's Polish Army and from the underground guerilla army. We came here from farmhand barracks and from out of the blast furnaces of iron and steelworks. This is our heritage and to this day this remains our class profile. Our ideological outlook on the world was shaped by the party. It is our nature to fight. And to work responsibly in service of the Homeland.

Take a look at our Obituary Chronicle. Thousands of our colleagues have fallen in the line of duty in open battles with gangs, from being hit by snipers' bullets, and in obscure skirmishes with intelligence agents. Both officers and enlisted men have lost their lives. Couriers working for small security offices and their chiefs. Young people, some very young people who never even had a chance to find out what life is all about, and hardened veterans of battles fought for the sake of a free and independent Poland, defenders of the Spanish Republic and--soldiers who saw action during the Polish September. Women paid with their lives too. Women officers, women who were mothers and wives. And their children also paid with their lives.

Here is a telling document dating back to 1951. The foreign intelligence agent Czaykowski, writing from Krakow to his headquarters about the "Forest Unit" operating in the Baba Gora area, goes into raptures over its methods. He emphasizes that "this unit is notorious for its elite character and atrocities," and he regards this as the "secret of its success." He describes one such method used by a gang which tied an Internal Security Corps soldier to a tree in the middle of a huge anthill. He concludes with the observation: "the guy was gagged real tight and he died from the pain, because the ants chewed up his legs right down to the bone." Later on in this report we read about how in the village of Dkomielna Czarna in Myslenice powiat "a group of people drove up in broad daylight in an elegant limousine from out of the woods and murdered Surowka, a respected worker and party activist . . . ."

We would do well to recall that during the first few postwar years alone security service officers rounded up: 276 collaborators with the Hitlerite intelligence service, 2,678 officers and agents of the Gestapo, 16,000 members of the SS, SA [Sturmabteilung], and NSDAP [Nazi Party]. It was not until then that many of these people received justly deserved punishment for their bandit-like and nefarious deeds. However, some of them managed to postpone this moment of truth. "Bruno," the Sicherheitsdienst [Nazi intelligence service] resident in Poznan, who later on did work in the Ukraine, found refuge in a false name and beneath a doctor's smock until the 1950's, and it was only that he gave himself away by trying to establish contact with the Gehlen organization. Viktoras Galvanauskas, an agent of bourgeois Lithuania's military intelligence service and later of the Gestapo, murderer of several thousand people and member of the Wilno Sonderkommando unit, was not unmasked until just a couple of years ago. Many members of the Hitlerite intelligence service and the Gestapo have been unmasked thanks to our collaboration with the security agencies of the fraternal socialist countries.

With the onset of the cold war, with the help of its imperialist allies, the German intelligence hydra was resurrected in the form of the Gehlen organization, which later transformed into the West German intelligence service (the BND)--an intelligence service that is much more numerous than that of the Third Reich and is equipped with far superior assets. Together with the Bundeswehr, this is the principal, and as ever anti-Polish, military intelligence force of the aggressive NATO pact. We are constantly being served with reminders of this aggressiveness, among other ways, on the basis of its intelligence collection interests and operations.

Along the borders of the socialist countries and in various parts of the world the headquarters of hostile intelligence services have set up centers and field stations dedicated to the recruitment, training, and dispatch into our countries of spies and saboterus. In the old days this kind of activity was characterized by the setting up of spy rings made up of a dozen or so or sometimes even several scores of agents. As a rule, these spy rings were established by people who made their way into Poland from abroad by illegal means, i.e., through defections, in submarines, aircraft, and ballons, people who were prepared to wage a merciless struggle, people who were equipped with the weapons, the latest material-technical devices and money, and, usually, poison. Their missions included, among other things, fanning the already dying flames of the civil war, in addition to engaging in subversion and sabotage. Many of these people were recruited from among the ranks of former members of the OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists] and fascist UPA bands.

The aggressive actions taken by Polish counterintelligence, which consisted of penetrations of adversary operations and the disruption of their programs, the increasingly more refined planning of our own operations, the enormous dedication of our officers, and, first and foremost, the vigilance and assistance of the general public laid a favorable groundwork for effectively thwarting and foiling the plans of hostile forces. In one year alone (1953) 336 agents of imperialist intelligence services were arrested and 17 large spy rings were broken up. In West Berlin alone during those years more than 90 intelligence organizations, hundreds of meeting sites, and thousands of agents hostile to Poland were exposed. Nor was there any letup in their activities in later years, during the era of

detente. The only changes were in the forms and tactics of these activities. The forms and tactics of these activities were coopted to an ever greater degree by centers engaged in psychological warfare and ideological subversion, by the military-industrial complex, and by the most reactionary forces in the West. So, after the "Polish October" and the well-known events which followed in its wake, over a span of only 15 months (from January 1958 to March 1959) the Security Service apparatus arrested more than 50 spies working for various intelligence centers operating out of West Berlin and the FRG.

The constant upsurge in espionage activity and, at the same tim,, the effective measures taken by our counterintelligence services to put a stop to this activity is attested to by the fact that 166 spies have been exposed and arrested over the past 9 years. Some of them did not have enough time to carry out the missions to which they were assigned by their principals and still had not developed a full-fledged program of espionage activity in keeping with the instructions they had received, since they were exposed and arrested before they had a chance to do so. Many, unfortunately, did manage over a rather long period of time to actively pursue this kind of activity in exchange for "Judas' silver."

Counterintelligence programs are always highly involved, and in recent years, in view of the complicated political situation, it has also become much more difficult to pursue these programs. In order to take action along these lines, in addition to possessing a great deal of experience, it is also necessary to constantly analyze the facts and to display great discretion and boldness when making decisions in a given case. The success of counterintelligence programs is contingent upon the by now traditional and always exemplary and, nowadays, exceptionally close collaboration of the appropriate services of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense as well as upon the understanding and support of the general public.

One of the important factors that has been hampering counterintelligence programs of late is the considerable lack of confidence, an attitude that--as I mentioned--is often inspired by certain forces in addition to being a product of ignorance of the facts, on the part of many people in government agencies, including in particular the Security Service. This is because over the past 10 years the activities of hostile intelligence services and, in this context, the role of the Security Service have been taboo subjects. Nothing has been written nor has there been any talk about these issues in the mass media. To the extent that anything at all has been published on this subject--apart from internal use only publications --, it has been confined to a dry and terse communique on the unmasking of a spy by the Security Service, the institution of legal proceedings, or the handing down of a sentence by a military court. This has been the sum total of the information that has been made available to public opinion. The fact of the matter is, quite naturally, that no counterintelligence service in the world stands to gain anything from tipping its own hand. However, I am proceeding from the basic assumption that effective counterintelligence work on behalf of our Homeland can only be a product of a highly developed and conscious display of activism on the part of the public at large. Familiarizing the public with some of the methods and interests of the NATO special services in our country is not only of prophylactic importance, rather it might also help to foster a public awareness of these problems and proper civic attitudes. This is attested to, among other things, by

public reaction to Witold Rutkiewicz's film entitled "A Diary of Treason" (about the case of Leszek Chrost who was sentenced lsst year to 25 years in prison for espionage by the Court of the Warsaw Military District) and broadcast over television on 11 June 1981.

To the extent that we are able to do so, this is the kind of approach which we are trying to encourage on an increasingly larger scale, especially right now at a time when hostile special services and centers of subversion, resorting to the use of various ways and means, are stepping up their espionage activities directed against Poland.

One is bound to ask the question: who are these people who decide to betray their Homeland? What kinds of people make successful recruits for intelligence services? In the vast majority of cases these are young people. Many of them finished their university studies in People's Poland and have achieved professional and social positions of high standing. Most of them have had opportunities for upward social and professional mobility. These people were well off and, for the most part, enjoyed high standards of living and real prospects for systematically raising their living standards, among other ways as a result of frequent business trips abroad. They started to cooperate with hostile special services out of base motives, chiefly out of the desire to make money and get rich quick at all costs. After conducting preliminary studies of these prospective agents and learning something about their personality traits, the intelligence services would win them over in most cases by employing the so-called step-by-step method. They gradually maneuver these people into a dependent relationship and then draw them into a cooperative relationship.

Here are some examples. The aforementioned Leszek Chrost, born in 1932, university educated, a veteran foreign trade official, and most recently deputy director of the department for foreign trade and cooperation with foreign countries in the Ministry of the Heavy and Agricultural Machinery Industry, was recruited while serving with a trading agency in Bangkok; Stanislaw Dembowski, born in 1928, university educated, former minister plenopotentiary of the PPR serving with the MK NIK [expansion unknown] in Laos, and most recently senior advisor in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was recruited in Laos; Leon Celegrat, born in 1937, professionally educated, career NCO in the Polish Armed Forces, and Andrzej Badowski, born in 1951, professionally educated, career NCO in the Polish Armed Forces,--both recruited by the American intelligence service in Vietnam; Henryk Trybek, born in 1924, university educated, management official in industry; Marian Blotny, born in 1924, university and technical school graduate, an employee of the General Walter Machine Building Works in Radom; Zenon Suchojad, born in 1947, secondary school graduate, staff employee of a political apparatus--all recruited while on tours of duty abroad; Anatol Szulski, born in 1927, university graduate, staff member of the Mining Institute in Katowice--recruited by an intelligence officer in Poland and abroad.

One might also mention a person who was arrested just this year, i.e., Bohdan Walewski, born in 1933, university graduate, veteran official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, most recently a section chief in the same ministry, recruited by the U.S. intelligence service while serving in a foreign post.

The arrested agents were employed in central governmental agencies or in institutions or enterprises of critical importance to the nation. By virtue of the positions

which they occupied they had access to important information and documents, which they proceeded to hand over to hostile intelligence services. For example, in one of the last espionage assignments given to Chrost--assignments spelled out in a list of intelligence requirements which we intercepted--the following questions were asked:

"12. What was the rate of inflation in Poland in 1977? How can the rate of inflation be compared with increases in worker wages?

13. What percentage of the national income is earmarked for the repayment of foreign debts?

14. What kinds of personnel changes are expected to take place in the PZPR?

15. What is the current thinking of the PZPR leadership about the dissident movement?

16. Please provide us with a description of the agenda of the recent meeting held in Budapest (from 27 February to 1 March) on ideological issues. What problems were discussed and how were they resolved?

17. Have you heard anything at all about the state of Cardinal Wyszynski's health? Who would the party like to see as his eventual successor?

18. Do you have any information about the volume of grain that Poland is supposed to receive from the Soviet Union and the other East European countries over the course of this year or further into the future?

19. If Poland does not receive any grain this year from the Soviets: what effect will this have on livestock herds and meat production? What impact will this have on living standards? Might this tend to encourage the possible outbreak of civil disturbances?

20. Please comment on the level of supplies of consumer goods and foodstuffs in the marketplace. What implications does this level of supplies have for the regime and for the general population? How would you assess the current climate of public opinion?

21. Do you know anything at all about secret clauses appended to CEMA agreements: If so, please furnish details.

22. Does CEMA have any unknown committees established under the terms of such secret clauses? If so, please furnish details concerning their rolds, membership, and accomplishments.

23. Do you have any access to data on Polish oil imports or on the sharing of oil resources among CEMA members? What kinds of trends are in evidence in Soviet oil exports to the East European countries?"

This list of requirements, from which we have quoted the above passage verbatim, concludes with the following words: "In order to avoid confusion and save space

please assign numbers to your responses that correspond to the numbering of the above questions. Looking forward to your responses, we would like to say that we very much appreciate your cooperation and send you our best regards. Your friends."

Most of the agents who were exposed and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment by military courts committed espionage crimes as a result of immoral behavior while living abroad, alcohol abuse, tendencies toward recklessness, running afoul of the laws of the country in which they were residing. These facts formed the basis for and was used as compromising evidence during the recruitment process.

I would like to stress that when all is said and done the munber of people who embark on the road of treason is not very large and disproportionate to the enormous efforts invested by hostile special services--and to the system which they have built up practically everywhere where our citizens travel, including neutral countries, a system based on surveillance, the use of various underhanded deceptive methods--ranging from the blandishments of supposed friendships to bribery and extortion, and the fielding of a whole army of informers and case officers. As the political sophistication of our citizens increases it becomes all the harder for hostile services to recruit them. The principal difficulty lies in the fact that our people are deeply patriotic and, in the wake of the painful lessons which history has not spared us, highly sensitive to the threat posed by foreign intelligence services and other forms of hostile activity.

Treason and espionage are soundly condemned as the most severe crimes, and we regard those who commit these crimes with abhorrence. This has been borne out by facts that have come to light in recent years, fact which reveal that agents are being sent to Poland recruited in third countries, and, in order to throw our counterintelligence off guard, it often turns out that these agents are citizens of neutral and so-called Third World countries.

At this point one might mention the case of M. P. Vaisha, an agent of the U.S. and FRG intelligence services who was convicted of espionage in 1978 by the Warsaw Military District Court. Vaisha is a citizen of one of the non-aligned countries and made frequent trips to Poland as a businessman and had dealings with various institutions at the national and local levels. As a result of his wide-ranging contacts with responsible officials of these institutions (as a consequence of his arrest, several of these officials, including, inter alia, Kazimierz Tyranski, were convicted of having accepted bribes in exchange for their support of the interests of a foreign firm, the betrayal of industrial and commercial secrets, and other offenses) and access to original documents he was in a favorable position to engage in intelligence gathering activities.

Some other foreign agents were captains of western merchant vessels, citizens the FRG: R. Albrecht, J. Wenzel, and I. Wagener (sentenced to 10 years in prison by the Pomeranina Military District Court) ho made frequent calls in our seaports where they carried out a wide range of espionage missions.

We are now faced with the fact that an openly interlocking relationship exists between the activities of imperialist centers of subversion and espionage and the activities of internal antisocialist forces. We are faced with the most serious

threat to our socialist system and national security in the history of People's Poland. In view of the crisis situation in which the country now finds itself hostile intelligence services enjoy increased opportunities to effect penetrations, and this is accompanied by a simultaneous increase in the destructive impact of the activities of our political adversary which is making a consistent effort to implement its program dedicated to the takeover of political power, destroy the structure of the socialist state, promote anarchy and the psychosis of defeatism, and wage a campaign of psychological terror against go ernment officials, members of the social and political aktiv, and all patriotic and reasonable forces.

Within the context of the overall stragegy aimed against the socialist countries special attention is being focused on Poland. It is stated in one of NATO's policy documents that Poland has never been as important as it is now. Its location economic problems, its role in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, and also its historical ties with western countries dictate that a systematic effort should be made to keep abreast of the changes and events taking place in this country.

The events that are now unfolding in Poland are regarded by the forces of imperialism as a unique opportunity to realize their long-range goals that tie in with the global ideological confrontation between East and West. This is primarily a question of the attempt to further weaken our country, destroy the unity and stability of the European socialist countries, and turn Poland into a model for counter-revolutionary transformations in these countries. The policy shift of imperialist forces toward confrontation with the countries of the socialist community is playing a critical role in encouraging an upsurge in hostile activities directed against Poland. The strategic goals of these forces and the tactics which they are employing with a view to the realization of these goals have been modified so as to conform to the unique conditions and situation that prevail in our country.

This is an especially conspicious feature ofthe strategic and tactical plans of the principal NATO countries, which are exploiting the current crisis in Poland not only in order to step up their intelligence collection efforts targeted against our national defense and economy, but first and foremost in order to gather intelligence on our domestic situation coupled with a simultaneous upsurge in subversion-propaganda campaigns. The guidelines and instructions issued to special services and centers of subversion call for the fulfillment of missions that are primarily dedicated to undermining the leading role of the party, sowing discord in socialist society, and turning society against its government.

With regard to the campaign that is being carried on the area of subversion and propaganda the known and documented objectives of the principal NATO countries include, inter alia, the following programs that are being carried out by the officially accredited diplomatic missions of these countries:
--promoting contacts between western trade unions, primarily those that support the policies of their governments as well as those that have been infiltrated by special services, and Solidarity;
--promoting contacts between Polish intellectuals and representatives of cultural institutions;
--strengthening contacts with Polish journalists, many of whom, in the judgement of our adversaries, might serve as important instruments for helping to deliver the West's propaganda message to our people, and these journalists will play an increasingly larger role in pace with the further development of the liberalization process.

The imperialist countries have assigned a special role to their special services which, by means of their intelligence collection methods, are striving to perpetuate the destabilization of our country, exerting an influence on the policies of antisocialist coalitions, also including the extremist wings of Solidarity. Both during the period preceding the outbreak of the crisis and now too we have been witnessing a marked upsurge in the activities of the special services representing the NATO countries, although by now we are faced with more than just this, that is, we are also witnessing a tendency to merge intelligence gathering activities with subversion and propaganda campaigns.

As far as intelligence collection activities are concerned, the main emphasis has been placed on economic issues, and the interest of these special services in our social and political situation boils down mainly to gathering information about and lending impetus to:
--situations and moods in worker and youth circles, including in particular university student circles;
--the activities of antisocialist groups, especially so in terms of their standing and influence within Solidarity and also in terms of the long-range policies of this union and the feasibility of giving the antisocialist opposition a controlling influence in the shaping of these policies.

A multifaceted program of intelligence-gathering and subversive activities is being stepped up by the intelligence residencies established in the diplomatic missions of capitalist countries. Taking advantage of their diplomatic status, intelligence officers have not only increased the frequency of their contacts and meetings with those people from areas of the country, institutions, and professional circles that are of interest to them, rather they are also engaged in the recruitment of Polish citizens for purposes of espionage as well as in the running of agents previously recruited abroad.

There has also been a significant increase in the espionage-related penetration of our country by the military attaches of the NATO embassies as well as by other foreigners, including a very large number of journalists, who make frequent trips to Poland for limited periods of time with this aim in mind. The activities of many of these journalists far exceed the normal bounds of journalistic interests, and as a result more than 100 of them have had to be expelled from the country. Military attaches have been equipped with advanced technical and electronic devices and, depending on the nature of the missions which they are to perform in the field, with personal gear such as disguises, rubber socks [?] and gloves, mini-radio sets, and so on. They are making a systematic effort to penetrate our country's entire defense system: border areas, lines of communication, military installations and facilities, and defense-related industrial plants. They are interested in the level of ideological commitment and morale and the professional standares of our armed forces, including in particular the career military personnel the status of military training programs, signs of increased combat readiness, integration within the framework the Warsaw Pact, and so on.

Taking advantage of the present situation, intelligence services are inspiring and assisting antisocialist elements to foment tensions in various segments of society and to promote counterrevolutionary processes and acts. Western imperialist circles are furnishing wide-ranging material and political assistance to dissident and extremist activists and groups (KSS, KOR, and KPN [Social Self-Defense Committee,

Workers Defense Committee, and the Confederation for an Independent Poland]) who proclaim that they are ready to take over political power in Poland. This assistance is being manifested in the sending, through various semiofficial (as supposed gifts) and illegal channels, of funds, propaganda materials written and printed in the West, advanced printing equipment (the effects of which we are witnessing on the streets of our cities) and radio and television equipment.

There is even a growing tendency on the part of certain ambassadors of western capitalist countries to participate directly in meetings with representatives of Solidarity, including in particular representatives of its leadership bodies. There is an obvious political purpose behind all this, i.e., their aim is to enhance the legitimacy of Solidarity leaders as equal official partners of the representatives of the capitalist countries, to "harden" the positions they take in negotiations with the government, and in this way to somehow underscore the fact that a "parallel government" exists in this country. In some of the diplomatic missions of the capitalist countries in Warsaw special positions have been created for the purpose of maintaining continuous contacts with Solidarity, positions which are filled for the most part with intelligence officers.

The migratory movements of individuals across international borders, a phenomenon which has been exploited for years--and with special intensity of late--by special services, are a serious problem in terms of the threat to our country. This is above all a question of an intrinsically new development, namely, the wave of illegal economic emigration to the capitalist countries. This entails adverse repercussions for the prestige, interests (the exodus of young, educated, professionally experienced and necessary people, especially so in the case of members of the technical intelligentsia, physicians, and so on), and security of our country, and it also entails often tragic consequences for the individuals who succumb to the illusions of getting rich quick in the West.

There can be no doubt that this illegal emigration has expanded not only the intelligence-gathering (through mass interrogations of our citizens), but also the recruitment opportunities of intelligence services, and it has also provided greater opportunities for sending propaganda messages to our people. We are dealing with this problem in a very responsible and selective way, trying to avoid and limit its adverse consequences. What is more, we will continue to investigate the validity of restrictions and limitations imposed in connection with the issuance of passports, a problem which is still giving rise to such a negative climate of opinion with regard to our ministry. The overly simplistic handling of cases and misunderstandings are still occurring in this area. Not everyone who resides abroad for an extended period of time has ties with foreign intelligence services or is even providing them with information. However, anyone who enters into contact with a foreign intelligence service or cooperates with a hostile center will be called to account by our service. This is our mission, and this is the duty of counterintelligence.

I want to stress that the NATO special services are stepping up their activities not only with respect to Poland, but also in relation to the entire socialist community. This gives rise to the need for close collaboration between the fraternal counterintelligence services of our countries. This is our internationalist duty, and at the same time it is one of the main preconditions to mounting

an effective resistance against the ubiquitous activities of the special services representing the member countries of this bloc.

Under conditions marked by a rise in the level of both external and internal hostile activities the Ministry of Internal Affairs has continued to implement party policies as defined by the Sixth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and reaffirmed by subsequent plenary sessions as the only valid framework for socialist renewal and for finding a political solution to the present crisis. We are committed to these policies, we have been implementing these policies in a consistent manner, and will continue to do so in accordance with the instructions set forth by the 9th Special Congress of the PZPR. By defending our socialist homeland against the espionage activities of hostile special services we are at the same time helping to prevent many people from embarking on the road to treason and also the road that leads to their personal tragedies. Working shoulder to shoulder with the peoples Polish Armed Forces, we will discharge our common duty to the socialist homeland, to the party, and to the nation.

11813
CSO: 2600/101

DOMINATION OF LITERARY SCENE BY CEAUSESCU ALLEGED

Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 4 Dec 81 p 6

[Article by N.F., permanent correspondent of LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in Geneva: "Ion Caraion, a Romanian Emigre Poet"]

[Excerpts] "Everything is unreal in our country, everything falls into the realm of the absurd. Just like the stories told by those who fled, in 1940, the Bessarabia occupied by the Soviets and which seemed unbelievable to us." Ion Caraion, poet, prose writer and "inner dissident," according to literary critics in the West, has just asked for political asylum in Switzerland. He tells us of the great troubles of Romanian literature and about his odessy as a leftist in a leftist regime.

First of all, his identity: son of a peasant, descendant of a line of Orthodox priests, he is married to a Jewish woman whose father died in the Nazi camps. Their 14-year old daughter is a Catholic, in accordance with the wishes of her parents. They left Romania thanks to the insistence of religious from the Abbey of Solesmes "where our daughter made her First Communion which was prohibited to her in Romania."

An anti-Nazi journalist during the war, he worked for their newspapers after the liberation. "In 1946, I gave them my resignation. I was arrested in 1950 and sentenced for acts against the social system and then for plotting against the new social system, treason, espionage, etc. I was in prison for 11 years."

What happened after you were released?

One cannot say that I was free. Let us say that I was out of prison. The writer who is destined to forge "the new man" has a privileged status. At least he does not deceive. I deceived. The first volume of my "Journal," an essay of testimonies of former political prisoners, was harshly criticized in the review SAPTAMINA. The review's director, the "writer" Eugen Barbu, said in regard to my subject that "all the prisoners were not detained unjustly." When this same review began to launch an anti-Semitic campaign (see LA LIBRE BELGIQUE of 5 November 1980), I rebelled. The article which I wrote at the time of the death of my friend, the writer Marin Preda, (see LA LIBRE BELGIQUE of 2 July 1980) did not improve the situation; nor did my repeated demands to leave the country.

But while I rose up against the increasing decadence of our literature, Eugen Barbu, highly placed in the hierarchy of the party, which I never consented to join, was promoted to the position of academician. As for me, I received insulting telephone calls night after night.

Did you not appeal to higher authorities?

I had a futile discussion at the "Council for Socialist Culture and Education," a real ministry. But how far can you get when Elena Ceausescu, the president's wife, who reigns over Romanian science and culture, attended school only symbolically, being incapable of continuing her studies beyond the second grade which she repeated. Frightened by the fascist Stalinist atmosphere, we asked to be received by President Ceausescu; our group numbered the best writers including German and Hungarian writers. After months of waiting, we were given an audience, at the end of the first quarter of this year.

And what was his reaction?

Since I had known him ever since my collaboration with the beginning Communist journals, I told him that we were once more in the situation of democracy opposed to fascism, like during the war, when I was being attacked by the newspapers of the right-wing extremists, currently in exile; but now, I was being attacked by the Communist press of the country, in the same terms. Briefly I condemned the fawning, the lying, all the evils which debased Romanian literature. Those who accompanied me supported me. Ceausescu appeared to be deaf; he spouted some slogans about the understanding which should reign among writers, the "constant progress" of our literature which is pluralistic in form, but unanimous in regard to its Marxist content. Finally, he deplored the suppression of preliminary censorship.

How did the writers react?

The reply to Ceausescu came at the Writers Union Congress which began on 1 July. Voices were raised and opinions were expressed with a freedom and with an arrogance which one rarely hears even in the West. After we elected our chairman and the bureau of the Union, a certain Dascalescu, an obscure writer but a member of the executive committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, took out of his pocket a list with the names of another chairman and other members of the bureau. They were substituted for the names of those elected. The trick was played. By Ceausescu who knows how to have the last word, in literature, too.

CSO: 3100/197

BELGIAN REPORTER REVIEWS CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 2 Dec 81 p 20

[Article by Michel Rosten: "Romanian Uncertainties--the Polish References"]

[Excerpts] The economic crises, the poverty and--one must admit--a press campaign in the West make Romania an ideal candidate to succeed Poland on the big toboggan of peoples democracies. It is very tempting to make analogies between the fates of the two socialist countries to the extent that the events lead observers to formulate, on the basis of identical symptoms, the same diagnosis.

However, there are big differences between the two regimes and certain factors make one think that the Romanian Communist Party has some serious assets which keep it (and which should keep it for some time) from the serious misfortunes which the Polish Communist Party has been suffering for 16 months. In the first place, one cannot discern in Romanian society any consensus of opinion against the Communist Party. The party maintains its antennas, its collaborators and its accomplices at all levels.

The opposition is confined to individual initiatives which are severely, one might say, brutally, repressed. It does not have any organization worthy of the name. As for the church, it shows a confusing docility in regard to the government. The Orthodox Church has 17 million members to whom 6,000 priests minister the needs required by conscience. The state, which advocates atheism, has not wished to (or dared to?) engage in a war with the beliefs which "weigh down" the good people.

The deputy director of the Department of Cults adds: "The state believes that socialism should be a work of all the people. There are many believers in our country. In order for them to renounce their faith it will be necessary to convince them of the progress of science. In the meantime, the relations between the various religions and the state are excellent. All the religions have become members of the Socialist Democracy and Unity National Front organization. Some bishops have been elected deputies. The priests are paid by the state. The clergy help us and we help them."

At the present time, in contrast to what has happened in Poland, no colusion between the church and the faithful against the Communist Party can be envisaged. In addition, there is no tradition of workers struggles in Romania. There have been some notable episodes, especially in the mining sector, but they have not

left any tangible results or caused any upheaval at the level of the head of the party. In Warsaw, Comulka and Cierek fell under pressure. In Bucharest, heads also roll but they are not known to the public at large.

From the point of view of the trade unions, the differences between the two countries hardly need to be emphasized. On the banks of the Danube, the strictly socialist concept of the protection of the workers remains. In other words: there could not be any strike in the true sense of the word since every conflict should be resolved before it degenerates. A paunchy trade union leader (Mr Ceausescu, the secretary general of the Central Committee and the president of the Republic has attacked Romanians who eat too much and consume too many calories) gives some explanations:

--The trade unions are in a progressive position. They participate in working out measures intended to eliminate inconveniences appearing in production. They have sought to eliminate causes arising from the negligence of labor organizers. They maintain a dialogue. They have a desire to act in the bosom of the people. They claim to ensure a harmonious development which leads them to maintain a permanent contact both with the party and with the masses.

--But if the activities of the Romanian trade unions are for the welfare of the Romanian workers, how can you explain the tragic story of Mr Paraschiv, the worker who tried to establish a free trade union and was put into a psychiatric hospital and returned to his family in the state of ashes in a small urn?

--As far as I am concerned, this is the first time that I have heard about an attempt to establish a free trade union.

The dialogue stopped as a former ambassador, who had become a trade union official by chance, took up the gauntlet:

--Some people have come to Romania to look for the founders of this so-called free trade union. They found out that the addresses they had were false. And when the Romanian authorities tried to find out who the people on these lists were, they discovered that there were no such people. In regard to freedom of the trade unions, we believe that we are free and that we enjoy complete freedom of action.

--It was barely 2 years ago that the Polish trade union officials were using the same language.

--It is necessary to know the realities, to discover conflicts at the very beginning and to act to resolve them. We do not want to discuss the Polish situation but in our country there is a real connection with the masses. President Ceausescu consults them. In the West you consider that socialism is responsible for all the errors and that the importance of these errors should lead us to renounce socialism. But we have not chosen socialism in order to renounce it.

The power of Mr Ceausescu is solid. But he has been at the helm of his country for 17 years and has thrown overboard certain officers (both brilliant and mediocre) each time that bad weather appeared. Thus he has become progressively exposed to a palace revolution. Thus observers stationed in Bucharest rule out a change in the person heading the party much less than they do a Polish-style popular uprising. That is the source of the Romanian uncertainties.

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CHARACTER, CAUSES OF WORK STOPPAGES DISCUSSED

Belgrade RAD in Serbo-Croatian 11 Dec 81 p 10

[Article by Zoran Slavujevic: "Like Every Taboo Subject"]

[Text] An undeveloped theoretical view on certain social phenomena is necessarily accompanied by biases. This is also the case with discussions of work stoppages in Yugoslavia, which have for a long time, and even today, as a taboo subject in many circles, remained inaccessible to the broader public, and thus to scholarly thought as well.

For this reason discussions about the nature of the work stoppages are still accompanied by a dogmatic denial of them as a form of the struggle by parts of the working class, or even by an uncritical acceptance of them as a significant and effective method in the struggle by a group of workers to improve its position. Even if certain efforts are being made to consider more thoroughly the nature of work stoppages in a self-managing society, they have not gone any further than establishing a division between "acceptable" and "unacceptable" work stoppages, or a mere assertion that they are a contradictory social phenomenon. In any case, a dialectical understanding of the contradictory nature of work stoppages is lacking, and in place of this we are offered a division into "good" and "bad" work stoppages, or an eclectic combination of the "positive" and "negative" elements of work stoppages.

Not Only a Type of Class Struggle

The contradictory nature of work stoppages is revealed, however, in the levels of analysis of this social phenomenon--in the originators of work stoppages, their causes, reasons, and goals and their attitude toward self-management as a social relationship, their attitude toward the mechanism for self-managing decision-making, the relationship between the intentions and the objective socio-political consequences of work stoppages, etc.

In principle, depending on the person, work stoppages represent a form of class struggle, because the workers are always trying to use work stoppages to satisfy certain interests. Nevertheless, dwelling on this means dwelling on an abstract and idealized definition of the working class as a revolutionary subject a priori, in any situation, at any time, and in any part of it. In actuality the social essence of the working class is a profoundly contradictory essence: the working class is a revolutionary subject that draws its revolutionary potential from the

elements of its hired position that are reproduced in the still contradictory nature of social relationships in socialism. In them the working class is constituted into the leading social force in the interweaving of complex mediations in the relationships between social essence and social consciousness, historical interest and immediate interest, end and means, everyday and epochal, etc.

The complexity of these mediations and of the elevation of the working class to a revolutionary subject over a long period of class conflicts and with the necessity for continual renewal of all of these processes with every new situation, and with every concrete case of social activity, leaves room for the manifestation of many contradictions within the working class as a socialogically heterogeneous social group, and for the manifestations of partial interests by some parts of it, group-proprietor aspirations, a hired mentality, and so forth. The rest of the contradictions of work stoppages originate in the contradictory nature of the social relationships and the social essence of the working class, and the differing level of the development of class consciousness among individual parts of it as subjects.

Several Contradictions

The contradictory nature of work stoppages is also expressed through the very different causes and reasons, and particularly through the different demands made by the workers who are stopping the work. In the most general sense, this has to do with the contradiction between the concrete goal of the work stoppage and self-management as a social relationship. Work stoppages frequently begin as a reaction by a group of workers to undeveloped self-management relations, primarily in OURs [organizations of associated labor] (often work stoppages begin because of technocratic usurpations of the self-managing rights of workers and the obstinacy of individuals), but also elsewhere, even up to the level of the overall social community (there are work stoppages that are a reaction by groups of workers to the bad material position of OURs and the transfer of income on the basis of unequal business conditions). Work stoppages, however, also begin as a form of resistance to the establishment of new socio-economic relationships, with the goal of preserving the rights and privileges that they have achieved, at the expense of other parts of the working class (demands that individual groups of workers be paid bonuses for overfulfilling the plan even though the organization has not sold its products, a transfer to a new system for distributing funds for individuals, etc.). In such cases the workers who are stopping work are not acting as the representatives of class interests, but rather of partial and egotistical interests, and instead of a desire for self-managing relationships to be developed, it is desired that the group-proprietor relationship be maintained.

Work stoppages are also contradictory from the standpoint of their relationship to the mechanism for self-managing decision-making. They appear in spite of the self-managing institutions, and very frequently, even before all of the possibilities for action through the self-managing mechanism have been utilized. But they appear as a result of the (non) operation of the self-managing mechanisms, in regard to it, and with the aim of exerting pressure on the self-managing institutions to have some issue settled in a certain way or to have it settled at all.

Although work stoppages are an "extra-institutional," "extra-systemic" form of the struggle of the workers, their action is most frequently directed directly against

the mechanism of self-management itself. They appear in areas where the mechanism for self-managing decision-making is not operating, or is used mostly to legalize the previously made decisions of management bodies and influential factors within and outside the OURs. They also appear, however, in areas where self-managing decision-making by the workers is being implemented, but where some groups of workers who have not succeeded in achieving their partial interests are trying to politicize them at any cost, and to force their acceptance in spite of the democratic procedure, though again by the competent self-managing body.

A Criticism of Concrete Practice

Furthermore, a contradiction can be noted between the intentions and the objective consequences of work stoppages. Although a work stoppage is an expression of workers' demands for the satisfaction of certain interests of theirs, its incidental nature and the relatively brief politicization of the workers cannot replace the need for daily and continued participation in the implementation of their self-managing fights. For this reason, there is a contradiction between the effectiveness of work stoppages in regard to resolving concrete circumstance, and their ineffectiveness in regard to a more radical change in social relationships within the organization itself (this is confirmed by the cases of a repetition of work stoppages at individual OURs, even when the concrete demands of the workers had previously been met and the immediate causes had been eliminated, and the directors and others designated as enemies of self-management had been replaced), and especially in a broader framework.

The contradictions between the intentions and the objective consequences of work stoppages also originate partially in the fact that a strong politicization of the workers in work stoppages frequently entails recognition of and taking into account a non-self-managing concentration of social power in the hands of individuals outside the OURs (they often count on direct involvement by the president of the DPZ assembly or by the Party and union officials of the commune, republic, province, etc.), thus justifying the activity of factors who are not authorized to act for this purpose as factors in the self-management system, and affirming their role as arbitrators.

These and other contradictions of work stoppages show that it is not possible to accept or reject them as a form of the struggle by the workers for the development of self-management, without a concrete analysis of each case, the concrete conditions in which they begin, the degree of the development of self-management, and their concrete causes, reasons, and goals, in order to establish their real nature and perform a social evaluation of the intentions of the group of workers who have stopped work. This analysis is not only a prerequisite for conducting concrete political action and taking the necessary measures; such an attitude toward work stoppages is also necessary because, regardless of their contradictory nature, they always represent (an acceptable or unacceptable) criticism of the concrete practice and work of individual socio-political organizations and bodies, either because they have not been resolute in participating in the development of self-management relations and implementing the self-managing rights of workers (in curbing bureaucratic and technocratic expropriations of the rights of workers, but also the group-proprietary, egotistical, and partial aspirations of groups of workers, the hired psychology, etc.), or because of the fact that they are not making use of their constitutional rights and obligations with respect to settling disputes in associated labor that could not be settled through the regular channels.

PARTY PAPER CRITICIZES 'DEFEATIST' ATTITUDES

Belgrade KOMMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 81 p 15

[Article by Prvoslav Ralic: "A Calculated Defeatism"]

[Text] In the last few months, it has been possible to detect a certain "ideological offensive" by various "demystifiers" of Yugoslav socialist self-managing society. From where have they appeared so aggressively on the scene, precisely at this time? What is motivating them so strongly to look under society's skirt with a voyeuristic passion? Are they the product of some subsequent democratization of our society, or is it a question of an assessment by the right-wing forces in our country that their time has come, and that it is therefore necessary to spread ideological confusion over the strategic revolutionary orientation of this society.

We are hearing and reading various defeatist statements about the fact that this society, together with its leading political forces, has become involved in a crisis to such an extent taat there is no longer any way out of this crisis. The ideological message of this calculated defeatism is obvious: our society can be led further only by certain "new political forces." In a relatively short time, these "critics" of society have said everything that they had to say. But they did not say anything; they only "explained" themselves. They have expressed themselves in a way that indicates that they deliberately do not want to recognize the builders of this society, and that they do not see the crisis of society in revolutionary terms, but rather in political terms--counting on some new relationship of political forces into which their right-wing restorationist ambitions would fit comfortably.

The Crisis --- Breakdown Or Stimulus?

How does one find oneself on the other side of the defeatist understanding of the crisis of our society? How should the crisis be viewed in revolutionary terms? It is the theoretical and ideological task of the organized subjective forces to give answere to these questions.

We must rebel against the fault-finders' statement about the crisis. A crisis does not denote only hopelessness, chaos, mere disorganzation, and an exclusively negative tendency. A crisis is also evidence of what has not been done, which orientations have been accepted and which have been rejected by actual social

practice, which relationship of forces is the one that is unfavorable in society, which social forces are not on the scene but ought to be, what the real limits are to the development of socialist self-management, and how and by whom the limits should be destroyed. We must learn to view a crisis as a dissoultion of what exists, as a reasonable trial of a nonsocialist practice and insufficiently thought-out orientations. Viewing a crisis in revolutionary terms means creating a new questioning and critical attitude, because a social crisis is always a crisis in the society's basic practice and its orientation in time.

If it wants to surmount this crisis and not serve to deepen and intensify it, a view of the social crisis must reveal its roots and those who are responsible for it, and the ways and means to surmount it. A mere contention about society's being in a crisis conceals the essence of the crisis and deepens it. A defeatist view of the social crisis is a crisis present in this view and a crisis of thought as such. We therefore need a creative, revolutionary statement about the crisis.

A way out of the crisis could consist of the successful achievement of what has been endangered. What has been endangered is socialist self-management. The crisis is really bringing to light all of the seriousness with which one must approach further theoretical formulation of the problems and the development of orientations for socialist self-management. The depth of the crisis and its extent both require radical revolutionary action.

The social crisis is thus not only a warning about the "remnant" of the old, its insistance and claim to legalization, but also a crucial reminder of the need for the emergence of something authentically new. Every social crisis is a product of history, and so it cannot be surmounted without new historical creative action. The consequences must be drawn form Marx's position that "Communism is the solution to a crisis." In accordance with this, we cannot resolve our social crisis without new Communist activity.

The right-wing forces in our society, by the nature of things, reject any vanguard role for the League of Communists. They openly wirte about the obsolescence of this organization, and challenge the authority of its forums. Today it is necessary to be resolutely opposed to anti-Party standpoints. Criticism of the Party is one thing, and it must be open and constant. It is another thing, however, to see a "conspiracy" in the Party, and challenge Party organization. Whose interest is it in to have the working class without its historically created vanguard, for the Party to be without leadership, and for it to lack ideological unity regarding the strategy of the Yugoslav socialist revolution? This is in the interest of the forces that have brought us to the social crisis that we are experiencing. Thus the question must be posed: what is really in a crisis in our society? What are the real roots of the crisis?

Are all of the revolutionary, social, productive, creative subjective forces of our society in a crisis, or is this a matter of a crisis of those parts of the social organization which have objectively become an obstacle to the development of socialist self-management? The essence and nature of the crisis, and those responsible for it, must be identified. We do not need a demagogically negative, restrictive statement about the crisis. This has always been an unhistorical statement. A social crisis is not just a simple paralysis of society, but rather

evidence that there has been a shift in the relationship among the driving forces of social development, a change in the relationship of political forces, a removal of those responsible for revolutionary practice, a loss of the sharpness and radicalness of the social revolution, a weakening of the vanguard role of the League of Communists, a breakdown in the system of values, and an emergence of a social structure of society that resists revolutionary changes. The stagnation in the development of socialist self-management--and this stagnation is the very essence of the crisis of which we are speaking--has made possible the formation of certain social layers on a nonsocialist property basis, who are now wondering where the discussions of a social crisis are coming from, when in fact they have never been better off.

A way out of the crisis can clearly not be found through the factors and forces that have led to the crisis. A way out of it can be found only through those who are bearing the consequences of the crisis in their own lives. Thus the interpretation of the crisis in Yugoslavia should not be just a forum interpretation; it must be a substantive one. Active awareness of overcoming the crisis must be widespread, and it must be formed in the world of labor itself. This means that those bearing mass responsibility for self-managing initiatives must become involved in searching for a way out of the crisis, along with the revolutionary-productive forces of labor and creativity, the organized subjective forces of society who are guided in their activity by the criteria of revolutionary practice, who know the historical collaboration of revolutionary practice and revolutionary theory to be realistic and concrete.

Not Alleviating, But Overcoming the Crisis

When revolutionary activity is in a crisis, then this is evidence that it has lost its radical nature and liberating role. The reasons for this lie in sectorial pressures: pressures from the autonomous political sphere in the LCY and the state, pressures from autonomous isstitutions in the political and economic systems, and pressures from labor divided into managers and executors. The more mediation there is between people, the less room there is for revolutionary initiative and creativity. It is obvious that we need a new revolutionary initiative from the masses and corresponding vanguard activity by the League of Communists. We need an ideological differentiation in the League of Communists that would free it from non-revolutionary and non-vanguard behavior, and prevent resistance within it to more radical development of socialist self-management and the Yugoslav socialist community. Room must be made for critical thoughts and acts, so that the system of socialist self-management will not be enslaved by the taboos of "systemic" decisions and so that it will be effectively implemented--in accordance with the real possibilities for its development.

Instead of alleviating the crisis, we must find a way out of it. Thus every statement about stabilizing this society can no longer be a sectorial one. We will not achieve stabilization by quantitative measurements. We do not need some mere stability. We must discover the means of achieving the crucial social stability, the stability of revolutionary development, and those responsible for it. We need clear criteria for socialism, progress in self-management, and criteria for Communist activity for the present conditions. The League of Communists must be based to a much greater extent in the processes and movements of the liberation of

human labor, and must not allow all of the interests of the existing world of labor to be reflected in it.

Tito's warning is current today, as it was once before: "There is no one who will help us unless we do help ourselves and unless we rely on our own forces; there is no one who will solve our problems unless our working people solve them themselves through their work and their efforts." Demagogic and defeatist statements about the crisis of our society do not take into account the fact we can surmount the crisis that we are experiencing only through our own forces and revolutionary action. The best response to defeatism will be radicalization of the struggle for socialist self-management. Approaching its congresses, the League of Communists must prepare itself for this.

9909
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BRIEFS

HOSTILE PROPAGANDA--Vladimir Seks (38), lawyer from Osijek, was sentenced on Thursday by the district court in Osijek to 13 months in prison for hostile propaganda. The Osijek public prosecutor charged Seks with hostile propaganda directed against the socialist system and security of Yugoslavia. It was established that three times in the spring of 1981 the accused had falsely described in public places the political situation in our country, had slandered the social order and called for the break-up of the brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities. [Excerpt] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 81 p 12]

SENTENCED FOR HOSTILE PROPAGANDA--Yesterday Sacir (Acifa) Salija (1959) from the village of Orcuse near Gostivar, former worker in "Energoinvest" residing in Sarajevo, was sentenced to 2 years in prison by the criminal council of the Sarajevo district court for the criminal act of hostile propaganda based on Article 133, paragraph 1 of the SFRY Criminal Code. In September 1981 before a group of workers, Salija called for a change (in violation of the constitution) of the socialist self-management system and presented in a malicious and untruthful way the sociopolitical conditions in the country. [Excerpt] [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 81 p 16]

ARRESTS LINKED TO FIRE--Etem Rogova, investigative judge of the Prizren Opstina Court, has imprisoned eight persons because of the fire which broke out on 5 November in the department store in Prizren; those arrested include the night guard, the head of the auto-parts display, head of the paint and varnish display, and several clerks [all named]. The court believes that they are all responsible for the fire which caused tens of millions of dinars in damage. Investigation of the fire is drawing to a close, pending a report from experts of the Federal SUP (Secretariat for Internal Affairs) in Belgrade. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Dec 81 p 5]

SRAJEVO FACULTY CRITICISM--At a critical discussion on 16 December of the Action Conference of the LC organizatin in the "Veljko Vlahovic" political science faculty in Srajevo it was said that a stagnation of the faculty has been felt in the last few years resulting from disrupted interpersonal relations and undeveloped self-management. Delegates from the 18 basic LC organizations in the faculty devoted particular attention to current relations among communists which require critical reexamination. Interpersonal relations have reached a serious crisis, and confrontation among individuals has escalated to antagonism which has

turned into personal hatred and intolerance, some even with nationalistic characteristics, it was said at the meeting. Some members of this faculty stop at nothing in their mutual settling of accounts, while disruptive personal relations are also having a negative effect on the students. In the discussions the cases of Dr Nenad Kecmanovic and Dr Vojislav Seselj were mentioned several times because of their articles in the press recently. The present situation burdened with problems has seriously shaken the reputation of this advanced educational institution where 1,700 regular and 1,500 part-time students are enrolled. Participating in the Conference meeting were Hamdija Pozderac, member of the LCY CC Presidium, and Vlado Sultanovic, member of the CC of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Dec 81 p 3]

CLERGY DECORATED--At a ceremony yesterday in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Assembly Munir Mesihovic, president of the SAWP Republic Conference, presented decorations to seven religious officials in our republic from the SFRY Presidency for special services in promoting relations between the state and religious communities, cultivating brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities, and for their overall contribution to the advancement of our society. Those decorated were [Catholic] Brother Vlado Karlovic, [Orthodox] Priest Dragoljub Jankovic, and hadzi hafiz Husein efendeija Mujic, [Orthodox] Priest Momir Umicevic, [Catholic] Priest Marko Salic, and imam Mustafa efendija Nurkic, as well as Dr Ahmed efendija Smajlovic. [Excerpt] [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 81 p 1]

SLOGANS IN UROSEVAC--The fact that some of the youth continue to "spread poison" is shown by the fact that the pamphlets and slogans found in almost every restaurant are mostly by young people. Discussions at the recent meeting of the Socialist Youth League pointed out that young people in this opstina must carry the fight more decisively against these manifestations, especially by independently uncovering all those who are carrying out hostile action. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 81 p 8]

BEATINGS IN PEC--At the 11 December Pec Opstina SUBNOR [Federation of Veterans' Associations of the People's Liberation War] presidium meeting excesses were again reported resulting from hostile action which goes beyond all limits with regard to personal security. The report of the presidium says: "We are faced with hostile actions from the writing of slogans and pamphlets to physical attacks on citizens, which [attacks] unfortunately happened the day before yesterday in Pec, where several citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality were beaten and some of them seriously injured....Government organs in their work to suppress vandalism have not lived up to the trust citizens should have in them, because there is the conviction among citizens that it is difficult for one to move about freely." The presidium demanded that energetic measures be taken to assure the security of citizens and their property. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 12 Dec 81 p 3]

PARTY OUSTERS IN PEC--At a 10 December meeting of the Pec LC Opstina Committee it was reported that opportunism, liberalism, the forming of groups, abuse of positions, and violations of self-management had disrupted interpersonal and internationality relations at certain work organizations and institutions, primarily at the "Agrometohija" [Wholesale, Retail Trade] organization, the OUR for Joint Service in the Agricultural-Industrial Combine, and the "Saban

Spahija" technical school center in Pec Opstina, where tasks have been poorly carried out and where there are various abuses, negligence, and other negative phenomena in contradiction to the LCY program and statute. The opstina committee decided to expel from the party eight members of the "Agrometohija organization [these and others below all named are both Serbs and Albanians], to replace the director and to place the organization under receivership; in addition to expelling the director from the LC, it was recommended that he also be expelled from the SAWP Opstina Conference. It was also proposed that the "Prokletije" Forestry Enterprise be placed in receivership and the director removed, that 12 [named] employees of the [above-cited] OUR in the Pec Agricultural-Industrial Combine be expelled from the party, that the director, as well as the head of accounting, of the OUR be removed and the OUR placed in receivership. It was also proposed that 11 professors and the former director of the Technical School Center be expelled from the party and 7 others given party warnings. Finally, the committee suggested that the LC organization in the Pec Social Accounting Service take measures against Inspector Milan Djordjevic for doing poor work. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 12 Dec 81 p 3]

SARAJEVO FACULTY MEMBERS CRITICIZED--In the long discussions at yesterday's and last night's meetings of the Action Conference of the LC in the "Veljko Vlahovic" political science faculty in Sarajevo many critical words were spoken against the conduct of a number of communists; the judgment was made that interpersonal relations are at the lowest level and that individuals had gotten far too much out of line. In this regard severe judgment was made of the behavior of recently elected docent Dr Vojislav Seselj who has written articles in the press with questionable and unacceptable content. Using insinuations, truths and half-truths, imputation and provocations, it was said that he imposed great damage on the faculty and its party organization, as well as on individual faculty members as a result of which he was recently expelled from the LC. Also criticized was Dr Nenad Kecmanovic who last night, while nagging at everyone and criticizing everyone, defended Seselj in an unprincipled and unfounded way. Hamdija Pozderac, member of the LCY CC Presidium, present at the discussion, condemned the behavior of the two young instructors, as well as all similar unfounded "sniping" in this faculty, and advocated the continuation of a principled, democratic dialogue until there is complete political differentiation from those whose behavior and views diverge from LC policy. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 81 p 4]

KOSOVO LC MEMBERS--At yesterday's meeting the Kosovo Provincial LC Committee decided that the 13th meeting of the LC Conference of Kosovo will be held in April 1982. Judging from the latest data, at the end of 1981, Kosovo will have 98,000 members (at the end of September it had 91,335 members). They will be represented at the 13th Conference by 310 delegates who must be elected by 31 March 1982. At the same time there are an additional 95 current members of the provincial LC committee, as well as members of the statute commission and of the control commission of the Kosovo LC, who have delegate status, so that the number of Conference delegates will total 433. According to the decision of the LC provincial committee, the number of delegates from the ranks of direct producers and private farmers will be more than their percentage in the LC of Kosovo, while a little less than half of the delegates will be from organizations of associated labor, then, in appropriate ratio, from the ranks of youth, veterans, education, science, culture, and health. [Excerpt] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 22 Dec 81 p 7]

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1960

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PUBLICATION OF NEW POLITICAL, SOCIAL STUDIES REVIEW

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Dec 81 p 3

[Excerpts] By decision of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party the publication of the bulletin STUDIME POLITIKO-SHOQERORE [Socio-Political Studies] by the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Studies has begun. According to this decision, this organ will contain "studies of a political, ideological, and socio-economic nature, written by research institutions, institutions of higher education, central organs of the mass organizations, party committees, etc, articles of criticism for domestic and foreign social sciences publications, and certain unpublished party documents" etc.

Many social studies, from headquarters and the grassroots, will be in the bulletin STUDIME POLITIKO-SHOQERORE. They will be studies which make a concrete contribution to the resolution of economic and social problems related to the tasks of the 7th five-year plan and the future development of the country, for the creation of deep convictions among the masses in regard to the possibility of fulfilling the tasks of the plan, for the mobilization and fullest use of the energies and creative capacities of the people, for the surmounting of the obstacles resulting from difficulties of growth and from the imperialist-revisionist blockade as well as from the world economic and financial crisis.

Studies of a political and socio-ideological nature connected with problems of the socialist superstructure will be represented extensively in the bulletin. The bulletin will include studies on various issues of international relations, the world communist and workers movement, the peoples liberation movement, and present-day world development, having as a basis the revolutionary foreign policy of our party, especially the profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation, which the 8th party congress made and the pertinent guidelines which it gave in the field of foreign policy.

In light of the fact that our party plays a vanguard militant role in the defense of Marxism-Leninism, a special place in the bulletin will be occupied by studies to expose the ideology, policies and practical activity of various currents of modern revisionism--Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese and Eurocommunist. These studies are valuable for the revolutionary education of our communists and workers, so that they will assimilate, as thoroughly as possible, the revolutionary line of the party for the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution and continually strengthen their confidence in the inevitable victory of socialism on the international level.

In the field of history, chiefly studies on the history of the Albanian Workers Party will be represented in the bulletin. The Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, after preparing the second publication of the text of the hisotry of the AWP, has intended, in the coming years, to undertake general studies on the historic experience of the party in regard to certain great issues of its revolutionary activity, such as the Marxist-Leninist (political, philosophical, economic, cultural and military) thought of the party, the strategy and tactics of the party in the various stages of the revolution, issues related to the construction and the inner life of the party, the struggle of the party against modern revisionism, etc. Other central institutions, in addition to the Institute, will prepare studies on this topic. Research work on various topics of party history will also begin in the district.

The bulletin will also include studies with the special aim of combatting and unmasking the slanders and distortions of Albanian historic and contemporary reality, which are executed systematically by so-called scientific institutions, historians and sociologists in the capitalist and revisionist countries.

Just like all social studies, the bulletin STUDIME POLITIKO-SHOQERORE, which is being initiated after the 8th party congress, must respond to these tasks by ensuring the high scientific level of the material published in it. All workers in the social sciences, in implementing the directives of this Congress, must act with systematic persistence to carry out a more profound scientific research work, to struggle for the elimination of all schematism and jargon which are often found in social studies, for the implementation of a more truly scientific, Marxist-Leninist methodology, and to perfect the organization of research work. But the execution of obligations in regard to the social sciences is not an issue solely for scientific workers and institutions. It is a matter for the party organs and organizations as the 8th plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party stressed "they must understand and value the importance of scientific activity more than they have up to now." They must direct this activity closely so that it will be developed completely in accordance with the directives and guidelines of the party.

The bulletin STUDIME POLITIKO-SHOQERORE will be published twice a year. The Central Committee of the party has charged the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies with the task of publishing the bulletin but the institute can carry out the assigned duty only with close cooperation among all social science research and teaching institutions, all party committees, government organs and mass organizations.

CSO: 2100/35

BRIEFS

MILITARY STRENGTH--The numerical strength of Albania's People's Liberation Army is as follows: Ground forces: 30,000 troops, divided into one armored brigade (T-34/85; T-54; T-59), 5 infantry brigades, 2 armored battalions, 3 artillery regiments, 2 antiaircraft regiments and 8 light coastal battallions: The navy: 3,000 men: 3 submarines of the Russian W-class; 3 patrol boats of the Russian Kronstadt class; 44 destroyers, 6 motor torpedo boats of the Chinese Shanghai II class: 17 mine sweepers (of Russian origin). The air force: 10,000 men, about 100 combat planes. Besides there are paramilitary groups with 13,000 men, the internal security force with 5,000 men and the border troops with about 8,000 men. [Excerpt] [The Hague LEGERKOERIER in Dutch Oct 81 pp 14-15] 8490

CSO: 3105/61

SYSTEM OF MANAGEMENT CHECKS, DOUBLECHECKS

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 45, 11 Nov 81 p 12

[Interview with Eng Jan Roubal, deputy chairman of the CSSR People's Control Committee, by Jiri Janouskovec: "An Important Management Tool"; date and place not specified]

> [Text] Just what is control? The reply to this question would be quite simple if we understood control as just inspecting the state of things. But because it deals with the behavior and actions of people under specific conditions, appraises the results of their work and the reasons why there are deviations from prescribed courses, it is not such a simple matter.
>
> That is why we asked to interview a person with a wealth of experience in matters of control--the deputy chairman of the CSSR People's Control Committee, Eng Jan Roubal.

[Question] With the gradual implementation of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy a whole series of regulations was issued which prescribe and define relations within organizations as well as between enterprises and subordinate bodies and also some others. Among the important documents is CSSR Government Resolution No 190 of July of this year--Measures to Improve the System of Control in the National Economy and State Administration.

What is the significance of control under present conditions and in the present stage of implementing the Set of Measures?

[Answer] No system of management can rely on the automatic operation of its tools, on some kind of self-control. And it is no different at the present time when the Set of Measures is being implemented. It is the people who put it into operation. The effectiveness of improving the management system depends on their procedures and actions. And that leaves a lot of room for the influence of control.

Control cannot operate in isolation from the management system of society. It is an integral part of it. It pursues the same goals, it advocates efficient operation of management tools and it ascertains and signals the presence of deviations. But that would not be enough. Control must try to bring about correction! And that is one of its most important roles at the present time.

[Question] What is the current structure of control bodies and what do you think are the main problems of their work?

[Answer] We cannot say that we are suffering from a shortage of control bodies. There are many of them operating in the national economy. Basically, they may be grouped into two large groups according to their relationship to direct management. First of all, there are the so-called external control bodies which check on organizations without regard to their departmental affiliation. These include, for example, the people's control committees, state inspectorates, state testing facilities and also inspections conducted by state bodies, particularly in the areas of finance, planning, prices and wages.

The other large group consists of so-called internal control which is conducted along managerial lines. These include control units of ministries, general management bodies, enterprises and organizations. However, special units are also supposed to exercise control within the area of their jurisdiction and on individual levels of management in the area of their jurisdiction.

The most important kind of internal control, however, is that carried out by supervisory personnel as part of their managerial work. It may be designated as the most effective because it can be conducted regularly, every day, and any areas containing fundamental problems of organization can be selected and appropriate decisions made for rapid corrective measures. No agency can take the place of that kind of control.

If we exclude the workers in technical control, there are about 19,000 inspectors and checkers working in the whole republic. That number of people should be sufficient. Unfortunately, that is far from the case. Many control bodies are small operations involved in the solution of important problems of the national economy. Often they only ascertain various deficiencies but take little initiative to try to eliminate the causes. Nor do their efforts to tighten discipline always have the desired emphasis or results. Technical control suffers most from this problem and so do many aspects of internal control in general.

[Question] The CPCZ Central Committee and the government of the CSSR discussed the Measures to Improve the System of Control. From this it is apparent that raising the efficiency of the control system is of great importance. Why are they proceeding with changes in the control system already implemented, when will the changes be put into effect and what do they consist of?

[Answer] First to the changes. There are a number of reasons why they are necessary. Many control bodies have not yet formed adequate barriers to undesirable or even antisocial activity. They put little emphasis on eliminating defects and firming up discipline and responsibility. They only uncovered the deficiencies but made little effort to eliminate them. In other words, control did not, with some exceptions, become a real management component. These

practices of many control bodies did not meet the needs of the management system before 1981, much less are they adequate to the needs stemming from the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy.

The measures adopted are aimed at assuring high effectiveness of control, directing it toward the main tasks of development of the national economy and the inspection activities themselves and at the same time making sure they are impartial. Control is supposed to strengthen the efficacy of state administration of the national economy, be an inseparable part of it, one of its tools--all this not only on the central level but at all levels of management. The interests and needs of society must be pursued everywhere.

Prevention is more clearly emphasized in the measures adopted. This means coming up with control findings at the time that important problems are being discussed and decided on by the government, the ministries, general management bodies, enterprises and national committees. After all, this is logical--it is much better to anticipate problems than to have to solve or correct them later, often with unfavorable consequences.

And the time of implementation? The governments--federal and national--have prescribed that all measures are to be instituted without delay so that no later than the beginning of next year they will be reflected in distinctly improved effectiveness of the work of every control body.

[Question] In the course of preparing the data for the CSSR government resolution, surely they also evaluated past experience in control work. Could you tell us what has impaired the effectiveness of control up to now and perhaps still does?

[Answer] There are several causes. Basically, there is no doubt that many control bodies concentrated on partial and secondary problems. That kind of orientation represents very little help to management bodies and supervisory personnel. Many control bodies assigned low standards for their operations. Instead of directing their work toward the elimination of deficiencies, making permanent remedies and assuring positive developments, they were content with measures which could not bring about changes or reverse unfavorable developments.

It was forgotten that the control of any kind of material problem cannot cease with the adoption of measures but must follow through with consistent application. And in the case of internal and technical controls, supervisors did not always make conditions conducive to impartiality in their work.

All of these problems are clearly resolved in the measures adopted.

[Question] Control is an essential part of the work of all supervisory personnel. Nevertheless, it is not always appreciated. Why?

[Answer] Yes, that is true. But the reason will not be found in control itself. The remedy is not in ordering management personnel to do control work. Let us rather seek the answer in the area of evaluating the work of supervisory and all other management workers. As long as superior bodies judge their work on the basis of how many different directives, instructions or orders they issued and how many meetings they held, then they will consider these formal actions as fulfillment of their responsibilities rather than looking to actual results.

Nor can we expect that in the future all management workers will consider control as an essential part of their work.

In fact, the management worker must be judged, as emphasized at the 16th CPCZ Congress, according to the results achieved in the sector he manages. If this principle is consistently applied, then everyone will realize the need for controls and will organize them himself.

[Question] Deficiencies exist not only in the control operations of lower levels of management but also in VHJs [economic production units] and ministries. What must be done to improve the qulaity of control on this level?

[Answer] Briefly put, in their orientation, in providing for their objectivity and in close association with management operations. Control units in these management elements up to now have been oriented toward periodic reviews of management which of course revealed various disorders, but the status of management definitely did not improve. There was little room left for checking into key problems or for tasks which are essential to the successful fulfillment of the function of the department or sector for the whole national economy. Today, on the basis of the measures, the conditions are better for directing the work of control units.

All production ministries, certain others, and all central bodies are establishing the position of chief controller whose job will be to set up and coordinate the work of the entire internal control system. Among his important duties is attendance at meetings of management boards where he will submit information and experiences of control on matters under discussion. The objectivity of his work and the operations of the unit he manages will be enhanced by the fact that he will be appointed to his job and recalled from it by the minister in the case of chief controller of an enterprise, otherwise by the VHJ manager.

[Question] The principles of socialist society make it possible and, in fact, require, the participation of workers in management, thus also in control. How will the control system make this participation possible?

[Answer] Everything that was created here resulted from the work of the people. So one can understand that state and economic bodies rely on the initiative of the workers, that they make use of their motivation and suggestions. Therefore, all control bodies, not only people's control committees, which have regular contact with workers must develop cooperation with leading workers, agriculturists, with brigades of socialist labor, with innovators, design engineers and technologists, with workers of research and scientific centers, in accordance with the matter at hand and the problem under examination. A broad base for developing people's participation in control work can also be found by increasing the cooperation of control bodies with social organizations, especially the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement], the SSM [Union of Socialist Youth] and the Union of Women. It has proven productive to discuss control decisions and measures adopted with managerial workers at political-union aktivs directly in enterprises and plants. They are important because, with the participation of control bodies, the workers are also informed about how certain abuses will be eliminated which they often themselves pointed out at production conferences, and also they themselves can look for ways to contribute toward carrying out the measures adopted.

[Question] Worker participation in control also calls for social control. Where is the place for it?

[Answer] Yes, this involves control carried out by the workers, by the citizens in general and also that carried out by social organizations affiliated in the National Front, citizens' committees, the commissions of national committees and others. In the system of control there are, besides the people's control committees of town and local national committees also plant commissions of people's control. They operate without professional personnel, relying only on the work of their members and other volunteer workers.

[Question] To raise the effectiveness of control in the national economy and state administration it is essential to assure increased responsibility by workers of control bodies themselves. Where does this responsibility lie?

[Answer] Control can claim credit for an active part in the results which society has achieved in the past. All control bodies and all workers, however, must also be aware of their joint responsibility in those cases where prescribed objectives have not been met.

At the present time, the whole system of control stands before the task which may be expressed by these words: We must carry out the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress. We face a challenging period in our development. If control is to fulfill its social mission at this stage it must make a basic change in the quality and effectiveness of its own work. With full commitment, it must work to resolve problems and overcome difficulties. It must give management bodies and organization heads more help in their work.

That is a great responsibility, not only for officials and management personnel of all control bodies, but for every controller personally.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

8491

CSO: 2400/88

CPCZ CULTURAL WEEKLY EVALUATES SOLIDARITY

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 46, 18 Nov 81 p 11

[Article by Viktor Borsky: "The Face of Polish Counterrevolution"]

[Text] The recent meeting of Solidarity officials in Gdansk confirmed even in its official program that this union, until recently pretending to be a "trade" representation has, without doubt, adopted a platform of a "social," i.e., political organization. Insofar as the program adopted at this meeting still contains mention of trade union activity, this constitutes merely a supplement intended to serve as a facade for those segments of worker membership which have not yet seen through the aims of the leadership.

Demands and Ultimatums

The programmatic declaration adopted by Solidarity in early October, contains a list of demands of a clearly counterrevolutionary orientation. This program in its substance was again ratified at the session of the all-Polish Solidarity leadership in Gdansk, held on 3-4 November. Solidarity demands:

--Reform of the Polish state on the basis of allowing a so-called free play of political forces, with the elimination of the leading role of the communist party under the thesis that "the state cannot identify itself with any one political party." Along these lines, it demands the holding of so-called free elections based on the rejection of the existing election law and the whole system of the National Front. The "free" nature of these elections will lie in that Solidarity will direct the preelection campaign and manipulate it through a new election law which it wants to "present" to Polish society in early December. Given the well-known semifascist methods of the Solidarity agitation teams in enforcing the interests of this union's leadership, there is little doubt how "free" such elections would really be;

--Revision of Polish international political and economic obligations under the guise of "reliable guarantees within the framework of international alliances" and the need for "restricting military expenditures to the minimum," which in fact means severing Poland's ties with the socialist community in the military, as well as economic sphere. Solidarity thus fully obliges the Reagan administration in its effort to disrupt the balance of forces in the world;

--Separation of "political and economic powers," i.e., abolishing the leading role of the communist party in economic management and cadre policy. In this connection, Solidarity rejects the government program of economic stabilization, and its leadership meeting of 4 November confirmed that it will call for a so-called referendum on the question of self-management in enterprises. This demand, in fact, represents an attempt to liquidate the socialist production system in Poland in favor of retail production and the private sector;

--Full control of information media by Solidarity and the abolition of "state monopoly" in this sphere. Simultaneously, it proclaims that it is entitled (by whom?) to establish its own information media, including radio and television stations. These stations are to be furnished by the intermediary of the yellow trade union center, AFL-CIO, and paid for by CIA funds.

In its program, Solidarity also demanded immunity for perpetrators of counterrevolutionary activity and overall restrictions on the security organs (this while criminal activity is constantly on the rise in Poland). In reading this "program," a justifiable question arises, namely, who are its real authors and whom is it to serve? The Polish working class and other working people? Not likely.

Godfathers in the "Committee for Workers Defense"

In order to reply to the above question, we have to go back a few years to the early 1970s. It was then that the foundation of a new strategy began to appear, a strategy which was to reduce selected socialist countries into a state in which they could easily be "impregnated" by counterrevolution, as stated, for example, by the American authors T.W. Stanley and D.M. Witt in their book Diplomacy of Detente (Entspanungsdiplomatie, Baden Baden 1971, page 117). This was to be imperialism's reply to the principles of peaceful coexistence which was being determinedly introduced into international practice by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. A part of this new strategy was the establishment of the so-called "parallel structures" to serve as a "fifth column of anticommunism in the socialist countries." Based on materials published in the West, we see that in the 1970s and early 1980s, Poland was to become the guinea pig for this strategy. Stated in simple terms, the reasons for this choice can be found in the economic and sociopolitical situation in Poland as it existed in the middle 1970s.

Anticommunist centrals observed very carefully the rising indebtedness of Poland in the West, the increasing linkage between the Polish economy and Western concerns, which made it dependent on imports of Western raw materials, spare parts, etc. Simultaneously, the situation in Polish agriculture (in 1979, more than 70 percent of the land was in the hands of private farmers), due to several bad harvests and faulty organizational work in agricultural production emanating from the lack of collectivization, was the reason that since the mid-1970s Poland became dependent on large quantities of grain deliveries from the hard-currency states, which made it even more vulnerable to political and economic pressures.

The party's serious mistakes in ideological and organizational work which led to its estrangement from the working people--along with the existence of a virtually independent Catholic Church which has been acting as an ideological second force in the state ever since the mid-1950s, led to a disruption of

internal unity in the Polish nation. This too was well known to the anticommunist centrals. The awareness of these two factors was the reason why, since the mid-1970s, these centrals concentrated on Poland in a systematic manner.

Having learned from their defeats in Poland and Czechoslovakia in the 1960s, the anticommunist centrals came to the conclusion that antisocialist forces in the countries of the socialist community, which draw together merely a segment of the intelligentsia, do not have a sufficient base of sympathizers which would enable them to exert effective pressure and achieve their aims. For this reason, it was decided that the "parallel structures" should strive to gain influence at least on a part of the working class and religious believers.

A specific problem in Poland was to find a suitable slogan and program which would bring together not only the revisionist renegades formerly active within the PZPR who were infected by thoughts of "democratic socialism" and Trotskyism, but also part of the Catholic intellectuals closely cooperating with the episcopate, plus a small group of the traditionally antisocialist and antisoviet intelligentsia uncompromisingly oriented toward the restoration of a bourgeois republic in Poland. The needed slogan was found in the form of "defense of human and civil rights," based on a warped interpretation of the Helsinki Final Act. This enabled them to unite all antisocialist elements in a struggle against the communist party, against socialism in Poland. Each little group of the antisocialist forces was able to formulate its own long-term program, outline its own objectives which were to be realized only after the liquidation of the leading role of the PZPR and the destruction of socialism in Poland. The program of the counterrevolutionary forces was elaborated with direct participation of the ideological diversionist center of the Polish emigration in Paris, which is directed by the CIA. This center which publishes, among other things, the magazine KULTURA, made no secret of its ideological and practical participation in the preparation of this program. As early as 1975, this magazine published an article written by a certain Marian Kowalski in which the author states that "the most important, yet most overlooked, task of the emigration is the drafting of alternate political programs for the Poles," and that "in the formulation of programs intended for Poles at home and abroad, no one can replace the importance and influence of the emigres." A year later, 1 month before the establishment in Poland of the illegal counterrevolutionary organization KOR (Committee for Workers Defense), the same Paris magazine published a programmatic proclamation attributed to a fictitious organization called the Union of Polish Independence, containing clearly outlined aims and 26 specific demands. The KOR program cited in many articles subsequently published by its founders Michnik, Kuron, and Drawicz, is nothing but a paraphrase and adaptation to individual stages of the counterrevolution of the basic program "document" of the diversionary Kultura center. The "minimal" program of the counterrevolution was the establishment of the "parallel structures" independent of state control and a gradual "installation of pluralism without authorization." The maximum program (the so-called social outlook, as it was labeled by Michnik) was the step-by-step transformation--based on gradual institutionalization of the "parallel structures," of Poland into a parliamentary democracy of the "Finnish type," only loosely linked with the socialist community under the so-called recognition of Polish national priorities in the area of domestic and, to a great extent, foreign policy. This meant virtual implementation of what is contained 5 years later in the program of the union Solidarity.

Unity of the Counterrevolutionary Forces

All detachments of anticommunism have truly united toward the implementation of counterrevolutionary objectives in Poland, from the centrals of ideological diversion, emigres, renegades striving for the "third way" between capitalism and socialism, all the way to the Fourth Trotskyist International, and militant catholicism. They were joined in one goal, namely, the overthrow of socialism in Poland. Slogans of "independent unions," and "abolition of party monopoly," can be found in articles by Kuron and Michnik published in the emigre KULTURA, as well as on the pages of the Trotskyist magazine HORNET which, before its "return" to Poland, was edited by Edmund Balaka, but also in "pastoral letters" and resolutions of the Polish episcopate's conference as early as in 1976. The implementation of these aims has now been taken over by Solidarity, including the above-mentioned slogan of "parliamentary democracy."

In addition to the above-cited program, the second session of the Solidarity get-together, announced the termination of the activity of the so-called Committee for Workers Defense, KOR. Professor Lipinski who made the announcement in the name of KOR, stated that "Solidarity is KOR's heir." He thus expressed not only the direct link in the continuity of objectives of the two organizations, but also the fact that virtually all the objectives of the counterrevolution's minimum program, have been achieved in present-day Poland.

The Solidarity leadership has today fully adopted as its own the counterrevolutionary program of the antisocialist forces and its implementation. This program is not a program of the Polish workers, but a program of the foreign anticommunist centers and their lackeys among renegade intellectuals in Poland.

The programmatic "unity" on which all antisocialist groups agreed, also shows that the road from revisionism, reformism, socialism with a human face, to blatant anticommunism, is a short one. The initial minor "opinion concessions" soon turn into a fall into the ranks of enemies and open treason. This is demonstrated by the thinking processes of renegades like Kuron and Modzeiewski, onetime proponents of "democratic socialism" in Poland but, in the end, by our own experiences with renegades of the type of Pelikan, Mlynar, and others.

9496

CSO: 2400/92

DOLEZAL COMMENT ON PRAGUE RADIO ATTACK AGAINST DISSIDENTS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Dec 81 p 2

[Article by Vaclav Dolezal: "Second 'Talks from the Other Side'--What Wouldn't He Do for Dollars"]

> [Text] The second airing of "Talks from the Other Side" which was prepared by Czechoslovak Broadcasting (it was broadcast yesterday by the Hvezda station and will be repeated today, Wednesday, by the Prague station at 1745 hours) also included a number of authentic statements. Statements that were not intended for public presentation, statements voiced by leaders of emigre groups, so to say, confidentially among themselves.

Tigrid, who has been working for the American CIA espionage service ever since World War II, admits in one of his talks with Pelikan what generous presents he has just brought back with him from the United States. He was invited to make his transoceanic trip by his control organs hiding under the company label of International Advisory Council (IAC) led by American George Minden. The latter assigns him specific tasks. After his return, Tigris cynically boasted of having once again managed to "panhandle some goodies in New York," that he "really put the screws to Minden who has quite a bit of money" from which "a bit is dished out in all directions," to include the "mutual enterprise" run by Tigrid and Pelikan.

For this revelation of mutual contacts, as stated by the broadcast commentator, Mr Minden of IAC will probably have little praise for his agent.

However, Minden is not the only source of financial means for anti-Czechoslovak espionage and other anti-Czechoslovak activities. The CIA also uses other "middlemen" posing under entirely innocent cover names. These include, e.g., the Ford Foundation or Volkswagen Foundation, or various councils, associations and internationally awarded prizes. Through these front companies, the CIA finances the activities of Pelikan's emigre group and its venomous publications as well as Tigrid's group headquartered in Paris and its publications. The means of these emigre groups are then used to finance people who live in Czechoslovakia and who for one reason or another let themselves become recruited for cooperation with enemy centers.

The documents heard by listeners of "Talks from the Other Side" confirm that these traitorous activities are motivated primarily by greed. On Tigrid's authorization, a certain Corry visited two persons living in Czechoslovakia who openly let him know that "if he had brought money, that would have been something else again." "What a creep," Tigrid's wife, unburdening herself when referring to one of Tigrid's "collaborators" in Prague.

At any rate, money was carried to various addresses by that couple of French tourists whose automobile was intercepted on the Czechoslovak border this spring. That put into the hands of our authorities complete lists of these and similar people, to include conclusive materiel evidence of their hostile activities.

Emigre leaders right away looked for a scapegoat on whom to pin that debacle. They found a sacrificial lamb in emigre Kavan and decided to break up with him. As Tigrid said himself: "I'll kick him out, I'll fix his wagon. You know me, ...that's my specialty...."

As listeners of the second airing of "Talks from the Other Shore" found out, the latest "specialty" of Mr Tigrid is now--the working class. He was directed by his overseas providers to assess "Polish experiences" with the so-called Solidarity and their "applicability" to influencing the working class in Czechoslovakia. Tigrid, as a post-February refugee, has never forgotten the action of Czechoslovak workers against reactionary elements in February of 1948, has never had any compassion for the Czechoslovak working class. He also did not hide his disdain when he talked about it with Pelikan: "Well, otherwise I toil with that shitty working class. Well, I'm writing a book."

Let the readers forgive us for having taken the liberty of citing Tigrid's defamatory, insulting statement in all its authenticity. It is characterized by a typical vicious class hatred. Yet, Tigrid is writing a book about the working class he so detests. What would he not do for dollars.

8204

CSO: 2400/89

CSSR WRITERS' UNION SENDS OPEN LETTER TO WESTERN WRITERS

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 46, 18 Nov 81 p 1

[Text] Esteemed colleagues, the century whose end is approaching, is the most eventful period in the history of mankind. In the short span of a few decades, it has brought us discoveries and created values of which entire generations of our descendants will be proud as they enjoy their benefits. It brought freedom to many nations, raised in broad measure the dignity of man, and brought mankind the prospect of a previously unheard of happy life. Unfortunately, it also brought two world wars of which the second was even more terrible than the first, and spattered the planet with numerous conflagrations of military conflicts, violence, terror, and economic and social oppression. The dignity of people, their right to a happy and full life, often the right to life itself, have often been and still are threatened, sometimes denied them altogether. We recognize that the most horrible danger, incomparable with anything in the past, aimed against man is the threat of a new, nuclear this time, war. We recognize that while wars of the past could at times remain localized in certain parts of the world, a nuclear war would have an entirely different character, would inevitably enshroud the whole world, destroy all that nature and human toil had created over millenia, and threaten the very existence of mankind.

This fact is being increasingly more clearly understood by people of all continents as they ponder their and their children's future and the fate of their world. Especially among people of all European nations there is a growing and justified wave of revulsion and resistance against the threat of a war such as the history of mankind has never experienced, resistance against those who are feverishly preparing for it.

Not a single day goes by without the ruling circles of the United States of America providing growing evidence through their proclamations, as well as political, economic, and military measures, of their determination to manufacture and amass not only on their territory, but also in your countries and in areas thousands of miles removed from the United States, new, even more lethal, weapons of an aggressive character.

For us, Europeans, it is disturbing when American government spokesmen try to reassure and deceive the world by their assertion that a nuclear war could be limited in scope and, in a criminal and unrealistic manner, calculate that

a nuclear conflict could be waged in Europe alone, thus sparing the very circles which would lead mankind into a nuclear disaster. We Europeans are angry and indignant to see these circles' willingness to sacrifice to their inhumane interests and intentions the values of old, cultured Europe and all that has been created in the course of history, including the lives of her inhabitants.

The mission of a writer, the mission of culture in our history has always been synonymous with humanism. We are and always wish to remain guardians of the heritage of Romain Rolland, Thomas Mann, Maxim Gorki, Martin Andersen-Nexo, and other great figures of world humanism. We march in the same ranks with millions of people who wish to preserve peace for themselves and their children and who opt in this fateful period for the alternative of life and prosperity against the alternative of nuclear death.

We still have enough work ahead of us on this planet in order to fulfill the vision of a happy life for all mankind.

While the classical sources of energy on our planet are inexorably nearing exhaustion, nuclear energy which could within a brief timespan become a giver of life and resolve this problem of mankind, is to be transformed into an instrument of destruction.

In our century, in an era of incredible scientific and technological progress, no man endowed with human conscience can forget that half of humanity is starving, that millions of mothers lack even a drop of milk for their children, that millions of people desperately need a piece of bread. It is the shame of the world that millions of people, deprived of all hope, are unable to apply their energy and working skills to the benefit of the human community, that there are millions of illiterates, and millions lack basic health care. At the same time, rich natural resources lie idle instead of feeding the hungry and providing a meaningful future for millions of hopeless, unfulfilled human lives.

We cannot ignore tha fact that technological progress creates a situation where clean water and air will become increasingly rare, where emissions and toxic waste accumulate and ecological problems have grown to enormous proportions which can only be dealt with on a global scale through dedicated international cooperation requiring immense scientific and technological effort and gigantic material and financial resources.

All these problems affecting all of humanity can be resolved; however, this would demand an effort and means which are beyond the capability of any one state alone. Yet, at this very time, the principal imperialist superpower, the United States of America, focuses its scientific research and technological development primarily on war preparations and production of increasingly lethal weaponry, thus fomenting an ever more costly arms race.

We are convinced that the attention of hundreds of millions must be focused on the truth, on the development of life, and on an effort to disperse the deceptive fog which conceals the truth of where the threat of death is coming from.

Esteemed colleagues, even though we live and create in different societies, even though our work reflects different views of society, we turn to you so that we might, in unity and in accordance with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, raise our voices against preparations for nuclear war. We need not necessarily agree on everything, but we are neighbors in one house, our only planet, and the fate of one of us depends on the other. The fate of this house we share depends on us all.

Together with masses of hundreds of millions of people craving peace, let us raise our voice and demand a halt to a new round of rearmament. Let us protest against the decision of the American administration on the production of the neutron bomb, and against their intention to place at any cost new American nuclear weapons on the territories of Western Europe. Let us together do all we possibly can toward a ban on weapons of mass destruction and let us together call for disarmament. Let us insist that all the most serious global problems be dealt with through negotiations. Let us devote all our creative power, energy and authority to the defense of this cause.

Let us not forget that the American hawks would prefer to see Europe become the principal area of a nuclear war, Europe, the cradle of a great and noble culture. Let us not forget that a possible nuclear attack would necessarily and justifiably bring about retaliation and catastrophic consequences for people of those nations from whose territories the rockets with nuclear warheads had been fired.

The great social importance of our work, esteemed colleagues, lies primarily in the strength of literature which has the power to rouse human conscience, courage and responsibility to awaken the yearning for a happy and productive life in even richer forms than heretofore, a yearning for understanding among peoples. To defend life and all its values is an inseparable part of our mission. Let then our work and our word as citizens become now and in the future a humanist voice of reason and conscience, a voice of the need for a free peaceful life of all nations and their mutual cooperation.

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WRITER PRESENTS STUDY ON CENSORSHIP, FORBIDDEN LITERATURE

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[Article by Akos Szilagyi: "The Literature of Sensual Temptation"]

[Text] The primary temptation of forbidden literature—judging from its effects--is neither political, nor moral, etc; it is, to a much greater extent, a sensual temptation, Unlike the political, moral, etc. effects of forbidden literature, this is a temptation which probably none of its readers can remain completely unaffected by. Except, of course, those of its "readers" who actually do the forbidding and who, by virtue of their position in the literary division of labor, from the outset are deprived of this precarious and ecstatic pleasure. For them reading is not only not forbidden, but is a duty which is an explicit requirement in their field of work; one of pure monotony and boredom. The prohibitors are just as bored with forbidden literature as pastry chefs are with their cakes. They are unable to find sensual pleasure even in their own prohibitions, for such a pleasure is not a one-time experience, it does not stem from their personal arbitrariness, nor is it something which in itself is gratifying. It is addressed and directed toward others, and is already in a finished form decided in accordance with predetermined spiritual points of view. The person of the prohibition is no more important here than that of a bureaucrat within the bureaucratic system. In European culture the symbolic figure in the center of this activity has been the censor. A censor may do his work with or without enthusiasm, he may be educated or ignorant, a sensitive soul or a witless harebrain--either way, he will still not be able to find sensual pleasure in his work, for such pleasures are not permissible. For him a literary work is not a "call for freedom"[1], but a call for the suppression of freedom. No one has ever met a happy censor! Fanatic censors, maybe, but their fanaticism is really nothing more than an organic inability to be happy. A fanatic is anything but happy. The ecstasy of fanaticism is prosaic and is completely spiritual in nature.

It is a universal rule--as I shall attempt to argue below--that forbidden spiritual products and objects, persons and ideas,which have been outcast and outlawed, develop an inherent and inevitable spiritual relationship with the prohibitors, and by necessity, a sensual bond with the suppressed. The ban, in a sense, doubles the subject to which it applies, by dividing it into a spiritual and a sensual "part". This connection, however, only deserves attention if the relationship behind it is not one of personal eccentricity, and if it is not just a mere action gratuite, but a socially recognized and valid rule, norm or institutional mechanism

which aims to preserve, convey or extend the legitimacy of a given form of rule. Forbidden literature--as the concept suggests--is based on this type of prohibition, regardless whether the connection is conscious or not. The historically changing ideologies and mechanisms which have served to ban literature can only be explored by way of a thorough sociological analysis. The intent of this essay, however, is not to explore the differences among the various taboos of magic practices, or between the "index" of the Christian Church and the modern, secular censorship of the press. As an attempt to present a philosophical approach to the subject, its very aim is to stress the existing similarities and coincidences of substance, and its starting point is the present.

"Forbidden Literature" As Enticer and Demon

The sensual appeal of forbidden literature will continue to last as long there as there are things to ban, reasons for which to ban them, people to ban them for and people who want to ban them. Forbidden literature does not cease to exist just because from time to time certain works are included in it or excluded from it, depending on the changing spiritual views upon which the ban is based, or on the prohibitors' material interests. What is more, forbidden literature does not even have to be read for its sensual power to captivate and fill one with fear, just as a believer does not actually have to commit the sin of adultery to be tempted by its demonic appeal. It is enough for him to know that it exists and to fell dominated by it. For, among other things, the tempation lies in the very fact, that he cannot commit it, that he is forbidden to do it. The person who reads forbidden literature is--in a way--fornicating with literature. He commits the sin and--whether he admits it to himself or not--enjoys the fact that he is commiting it. In extreme cases, the reading of forbidden literature may also trigger remorse and feelings of guilt (not only in the religious, but also in the political sense); what is more,--at a certain level of narrow-mindedness--it may even end with confession (in the case of literature forbidden in the secular sense, this would be the equivalent of political denunciation). The point, however, is that as a result of the ban, literature takes on a demonic and enticing character, while its reader becomes a fornicator. (Naturally, this is merely a false mental reflection of the given symbolic rule's religious, political and ideological perversion.)

Inaccessibility, concealment and secrecy--all tend to slip an element of sensual excitement into reading forbidden literature. The original and traditional reader mentality, therefore, becomes inevitably aesthetic. As a result, originally unaesthetic subjects are being aesthetically transmitted into our consciousness. It is for this reason, that often after we have "taken possession" of the forbidden work we feel no satisfaction at all. After all, we are talking about works, politics, philosophy, morality and aret. The disappearance of a particular work's sensuality, however, does not for a moment put an end to the sensual appeal of forbidden literature as a whole, nor to the enjoyment of it itself. The reason for this is that the thing we enjoy is not the original content of the work, but its incidental and transient form; what we enjoy is the taste of the forbidden fruit, what is more the ban itself which banishes the work into the world of sinners. As a result of the ban, the forbidden part of literature becomes sensual, thus causing us to disregard all of its specific and unique characteristics and content. Forbidden literature is also a secret literature: it represents the

after-life of living literature, which may appear both as a ghost and an enticer. Sometimes it frightens its victim, sometimes it fills him with plesant thrills. "Secret" is the word which perhaps best expresses the contradiction between the original content (and form) of forbidden literature and its incidental form (and content). For secret is "a universal sociological form which shows complete indifference toward its contents' meaning of value....Secrets provide a special position for those who harbor them, they behave purely as socialogically defined stimuli and are theoretically independent of the content which they protect". (Georg Simmel[2]) It is this type of secret which--in the mind of the reader--first awakens a literary work from its material dream; it is what makes the taboo exciting. At first, acceptance is aimed, even unintentionally, at this form of sensuality. Because just as sensual love is indifferent to the woman's individuality (age, appearance, morals, feelings) and is interested only in abstract womanhood[3], so is the reader of forbidden literature indifferent to the "individuality" of the writing, its own content and the "Project" which the work contains; he is interested only in the sensuality which lies in its negativity and which has been activated as a result of the ban.

This secondary aesthetic character, of course, does not constitute a new subject; it merely covers the original with a new layer, which is not intended to mean that the subject is dead from the outset, or that it is something which one can treat as he pleases. It is the manner of acceptance which becomes sensual, and it does so in such a way so that it causes no significant distortion in the subject itself. It simply enjoys the subject differently, perceiving it to be something different than what we see it to be. This is why we say that this secondary aesthetic character is transient both in the historical sense and from the point of view of individual acceptance. As soon as it wears off of the work it can easily lose all of its magic, because from that moment on the only way it can survive is by using the power of its own magic. As far as individual forbidden works are concerned, reading them constitutes continuous descration and profanation. The pleasure of getting a taste of the secret is followed by bitter mornings of disappointment. In these cases, too, the paradox of the "aesthetic state" remains valid. The sensual freshness of the forbidden work can only be preserved by pushing it aside. We forego reading it, in order to preserve its sensuality for ourselves for ever. By way of this platonic reader relationship, the sensuality of the forbidden work remains inexhaustible. It is true: the less of an actual reader he is, the more the potential reader of forbidden literature is exposed to temptation, for he must be satisfied with the sensual fantasies which he created about it, just as an adolescant or a monk must.

It is, therefore, not so much the work itself which the secret doubles, as it is our acceptance, our views and our relationship with that work. The secret changes the reader's position in his relationship with the work. A secret can only be shared, it turns the reader into an insider, it changes reading into a mysterious ritual which is advisable to be kept secret in front of others. It confronts, ostracizes and uplifts. Not only does the work become independent, it becomes fetishized and begins to wield a certain amount of power over the reader. In their relationship the work is the initiator. It flirts and teases until the unsuspecting reader loses his self-control, abandons his reticence and forgetting everything he had been taught in school, attacks the work with his senses keyed up with excitement.

Looking at it from this point of view, we cannot differentiate between works which are written with the knowledge that they will be banned, and works which--regardless of their original intent--are dragged into the community of forbidden literature as a result of existing social divisions between literature and culture. In other words, it does not make any difference whether a literary work is the "enticer" or the "victim" of the ban. In general, only a somewhat small--although undoubtedly the most militant--part of forbidden literature is comprised of "reflected" forbidden works, the subject, theme and self-consciousness of which stems from their opposition to the ban and from their daring contempt for, or derisive evasion of the ban. In such cases, instead of surrounding the work with an air of sensuality, the ban becomes the theme and the subject of the work, that is to say, it gives the work a double meaning.

Censorship and Index

This unique quality of forbidden literature which stems from the sensual appeal of the forbidden fruit and the demonic power of secrets, was cleverly described by Marx in one of his early works, entitled "Discussions on the Freedom of the Press": "In the country of censorship--he wrote--everything is forbidden, which means that printing an uncensored writing is considered a notable event. It is viewed as a martyr, and there can be no martyrs without glory and believers. It is considered an exception, which only adds to its value. Every mystery is captivating. Where public opinion is a mystery to itself, it is automatically captivated by any writing which formally breaks through the mystical barriers. Regardless whether they are good or bad, censorship turns all forbidden writings into extraordinary writings, while freedom of the press divests every writing of its materially impressive element"[4].

From the point of view of our inquire, therefore, the contrast between forbidden and non-forbidden literature should not be viewed in terms of "free" vs. "suppressed" literature, or "rebellious" vs. "subservient" literature or even as "censored" vs. "uncensored", but rather as "secret" v . "open" literature, as "sinful" and "mystical" literature vs. Moral and plain literature, as "diabolic" or "demonic" literature vs. "angelic" or even "saintly" literature, as "profane" vs. "formal" (usually religiously acquired) literature, and as sensual vs. spiritual literature. This point of view, however, is not intended to be forced onto anyone; it stems from the very nature of suppressed practices, and as such it is applicable not only to forbidden literature: "every suppressed practice or belief will have an inevitably profanizing outlook--even if they do not happen to intend to descrate--inasmuch as by virtue of their mere existance they question the monopoly of handling sacred matters that is, the legitimacy of the holders of this monopoly" (Pierre Bourdieu).[5]

This paradox connection (i. e., that the spiritual ban pertaining to the subject views that subject as a sensual one) can be clearly seen in the historically early forms of forbidden literature already; let us consider, for example, the differences between the apocryphal and canonized texts of the bible. Let us also not forget that it was Christianity which first treated sensuality as a principle: "it was Christianity that drove and purged sensuality from this world (....) Christianity was the first to spiritually define sensuality (S. Kierkegaard).[6] The reverse side of this is usually also true: everything which has been driven out or purged

from this mortal world, having been found to be in contradiction with the principle of the spirit, returns from the other side in the form of sensual tempatation. Sensuality provides a way to defend and rebel against spiritual oppression. Since, however, sensuality feeds not on liberation but on oppression and suffering, it is a perverted kind of sensuality. What could demonstrate this better than the fact that it detaches itself from the spirit and stand in contradiction with it--it is a demonic sensuality, and abstract sensuality. It asserts itself as an independent force both towards those who impose the ban ond toward the world itself. When a literary work's strives for autonomy are suppressed, that autonomy assumes a distorted, negativistic form, as if it were meant to be a revenge, a kind of inevitable punishment for the imposing of the ban. The problem is that this also affects the literature, the work itself.

Incidentally, during the long centuries of the Christian Church's autocratic rule, this spiritual principle was manifested in a trancendence conveyed through belief, and starting from the bourgeois era, usually in a kind of quasi-transcendence conveyed through politics (i.e. moral and ideological Sollens, the Future Humanity, etc.) The relationship of this type of ideologies--i.e. the type which aims to place the entire practice under its control and which strives for autocratic rule--to literature (to the work, the author, the institution) is without exception a relationship between the subject and the means which it uses to express, popularize, advertise, etc. something. All attempts for autonomy are ruthlessly avenged as deviations and departures from the proper and normal.[7] But this is precisely what awaken literature to a sense of its autonomy. At first, the manifestation of this autonomy is still negative, taking on the form of sensual temptation. It is the ban imposed on it which makes it realize that it is not an instrument, that it is something different, and this sense of being something different fills it with pleasure.

For forbidden literature to exist, having an ideology that justifies the banning of such literature by itself is not enough; the ban can only become a separate spiritual principle, and can only be organized into an apparatus, if the ideology which it represents is still not quite natural or is not natural anymore, if it still has not been able to establish or has already lost its uniqueness and exclusiveness. Its absolute and eternal character--together with the world order which it has become identified with--becomes insecure and uncertain. Thus the sphere of forbidden literature could not become isolated in literature before--as in Europe, for example--the official apparatus of the Christian Church became isolated from the community of Christians, or--as in China--before the Imperial bureaucracy became separated from the communities of land. Regulation of the literary public (even if it is limited only to the caste of those who can read and write)[8], and the selection of works--according to some higher spiritual point of view--requires an ideologically and politically well-organized apparatus for administering the ban. It was the emergence of a "totalitarian" ideology and the consolidation of political power over individuals and social classes which provided the precondition for the Church and the imperial bureaucracy to become guardians of the symbolic order" in moments of danger, and to find their own, and by no means always symbolic, means to help them preserve that order. The reason for this was that in these societies upsetting the symbolic order carried with it the danger that it might lead directly to the disintegration of the entire social order. It was not out of spiritual "narrow-mindedness" that they reacted so sensitively

to every ideological challange, but because safeguarding the symbolic order directly helped to preserve the political order, and with it the entire politically structuralized social form.[9]

The "Index Librorum Prohibitum" (the "Index of Forbidden Books") was first published in 1559, by pope Paul IV., in other words relatively late, some 100 years after the invention of the press. From time to time, of course, censorship had been used quite early in Europe against doctrines suspected of heresy. In 325, for example, they banned and destroyed the writings of Arius' disciples, the Arians. Also put to the flames were all of the writings of Arnold Bresciai. And lists of forbidden works, the so called catalogues, had existed well before the first index appeared. In 1515, Leo X. even had the offices of the Holy Officium, the Inquisition--a unique church police--taking part in the work of compiling these catalogues. He had made it the task of the Inquisition's special congregation of cardinals, to announce and implement the imposition of bans.[10] The spreading of printing merely made the imposing of bans better organized; in the final analysis, however, the activization of church censorship was not the result of this technical invention, but rather it came as a response to the various heretic movements, above all the Reformation, which brought the first major shock to the unity and external validity of that symbolic rule.

As the bourgeois spirit presented its challange, it also brought with it the emergence of secular censor bureaus (the first of which was established in 1486, on the orders of the prince-elector Berthold of Mainz). The old order was already on the defensive, although here and there it was still able to launch counter-attacks. The church, however, became increasingly less able to single-handedly manage the defense of the symbolic rule and the legitimization of its political power. Religious polemics were still kept within the pale of the Church, and only religious consciousness and organization were torn into pieces in their wake. It never even occured to anyone during these polemics, that the other side might have an earthly interest in arguing his "official" or "heretic" position; what was at stake, they thought, was finding "the" divine truth and the only interpretation of that truth which precludes all other possibilities. Heretic teaching--covertly or overtly--was itself striving for spiritual monopoly and absoluteness. From the 18th century on, however, these religious polemics gave way to political debates, which began to question not only the "mistakes" and "blunders" of those exercising the symbolic rule, and not just the "imperfections" of the official ideology, but the entire feudal-political system already. A new truth emerged: the "heretic" political teaching no longer asked to be placed before the same tribunal with its opponent; instead, it set up a new tribunal, the tribunal of reason. Criticisms of the Catholic religion and church gave way to a universal criticism of religion ("Ecrasez l'infane"), which was no longer just a kind of opposing religious trend or heresy within Christendom; instead; it became established as a universal philosophical criticism of the Church (i.e. the atheistic ideologies, demands to separate state and church, declaring religion to be a private matter, etc.)

Forbidden literature had never been richer or livelier than during the transitional period in which all of the forces that had a stake in overthrowing the existing feudal society were already in place, and when the old institutions were still able to keep them under control by outlawing, persecuting and imposing bans on their various manifestations and representatives. The narrow-mindedness, incompetence and even defenselessness of the old order's institutions of oppression in

coping with the change lied precisely in their inability to go beyond imposing bans. "The ruling class no longer has faith in its ideology. It has assumed a defensive position; it does, to a certain extent, attempt to delay the spreading of new ideas, but it is unable to do anything to stop them without itself becoming imbued with them. It has recognized that the best instruments for building up its rule are its own religious and political principles, but since it views them merely as instruments, it does not have complete faith in them anymore; as a result, the revealed truth has become displaced by a pragmatic truth. Although censorship and suppression have become more visible, they hide secret weaknesses and desperate cynicism."[11] The reason for this was that instead of ending or undermining it, the imposition of bans intensified and multiplied the effectiveness of these new efforts. It confronted them with the spirit and the order which it was protecting, in other words, it placed that spirit and order into a relative position, it helped shape its opponent's self-awareness, increase its independence and outline its goals. This mode of defense, however, even if temporarily, can only be effective in a society in which the safeguarding of the symbolic order is directly contributed to the preservation of the political system--i.e. of a society founded on coercion and force--in other words, in which social rule is based not on material, but on personal, ideological and political foundations.

Destruction, Revival

As a result of the bourgeois transformation, the individual, the various social groups and clssses gradually broke out of the universe of the closed ideology--that was so jealously protective of its own purity and monopoly--which they had been locked into by the long centuries of European feudalism. The poetry of the bourgeois revolution called for equality, fraternity and liberty, while the prose of bourgeois life went on to separate ideas, people and their conditions of existence, viewing them as unrelated concepts. It, however, also secularized and profaned all spheres of political and ideological life, which previously had been united by religion under the control of the Church bureaucracy. Although at a rate and in a manner which differed from country to country, forbidden literature itself was beginning to lose ground and fade away. In a bourgeois society interwoven with liberal political practices, the screening of ideas is not something which is primarily and directly ideological in nature, it is not decided on the basis of views advocated by some special autocratic ideology; literature is not controlled by the use of certain ideas or political means, just as it is not compelled directly to adopt a given subject or form.

In a developed bourgeois society power does not manifest itself in the political forms of personal dependence, and it does not accumulate on the side of the symbolic rule; instead, it becomes an independent material force supported by an economy that had found its independence under capitalism, and as such it places itself above personal relations and above all of the ideological, moral and political objectives of individuals, groups and classes. The precondition for this unparalleled personal, political and ideological autonomy, which here is used to describe the movement, self-organization and self-expression of individuals as well as social groups and classes, is the autonomy of capital. This, however, ruthlessly subordinates all spiritual, political and personal autonomies: it makes them formal, although by no means gratuitious or purposeless. Thus, while in the realm of ideas this is a most colorful and lively period (a period branded

by conservative critics as "chaos", "disorder" and "decline", and celebrated by liberal apologetics as "pluralism" and "true freedom of expression"), in everyday life it is the somber logic of material power which prevails--but not in the form of an ideology, nor as a spiritual mediator between people and people, and people and objects. It does not subjugate the universal order as new ideas should; instead, projecting itself as the universal order and the natural state of affairs, it procedes to subjugate those ideas as things which--while nice, perhaps,--are somewhat useless and which, therefore, are not to be taken quite seriously. Capital does not present itself as a "God" or a "tyrant", who must be driven from throne but as nature itself. Ideologically, there are just as few restrictions on obtaining capital as there are on breathing through one's nose, and it is virtually just as impossible for everyone to get some, as it is to avoid death and continue living. "Bourgeois ethics"--wrote Sarte--"do not emanate from Providence: their universal and abstract rules are materially defined; they are not products of an all-powerful congenial will, rather, they resemble physical laws which have not yet been defined."[12]

This new form of subjugation is certainly neither ideological, nor political: it cannot be personified, it cannot be tied to any special ideological slogans, it cannot be traced back to tyranny or political interests and it cannot be blamed on any "ideals", "persons", 'doctrines" or "parties".

Bourgeois society has not eliminated subjugation itself, only the type of subjugation which is based on ideology and politics.[13] The concensus of the bourgeois society has been voiced by the very ideology, which--at least from the point of view of its ideals--has traditionally advocated the freedom of all ideologies, beliefs, convictions and political views: liberalism.[14] It, however, does not recognize the synthetic relationships either, between reality and ideas or between one group of ideas and another. Its "pluralism" refers to the atomization and coexistance of ideas, principles and persons.

Only a society which no longer has to rely on political and ideological--i.e. force and propaganda--methods to "eliminate" this social power which has come to assert itself as a material power, but which instead has matured, in every respect, to the point where it can replace material and state rule with direct rule by individuals and social groups, and production for profit with production to meet needs only such a society can hope to rise above this, in recent history unique and dualistic structure, which while being more favorable from the point of view of spiritual freedom, is less congenial from the standpoint of material power.

As long, however, as the overthrow of capitalist rule, the "retaking" of social power which has so alienated itself, can only be accomplished by political means, in other words, as long as the domination of persons over persons cements into a political power, a state form over people, eliminating all remnants of the autonomous self-organization of social groups and classes (as elements of the old dualistic organization which have outlived their usefullness), the establishment of monolithic and monopolistic political and ideological power will continue to be unavoidable, as will the development of a closed ideological universe, which while patiently or impatiently does tolerate other ideologies, can never give up its superiority or abandon its rightful claim to the absolute truth which it is willing to share with no one. Without an ideology it could not be what it should be right

from the start, and it could not accomplish all the things which--in place of, and in opposition to capital--it has undertaken with the combined eagerness of all who have fallen behind.

Despite all its efforts, of course, the "truth" can never conform precisely to the ideology, just as there can never be an exact correspondence between economic realities and political demands. The traditional political means of regulating, restricting and banning the "truth" begin to reassert themselves. Among other things, this leads to a resurfacing of "approved" and "forbidden" literature, "authorized" and "unauthorized" authors (and even readers!); in literature, we begin to see a conflict emerging between the "official" and the "unofficial" spirit; a whole line of works and authors become blacklisted; libraries become decimated (while at the same time private libraries are decimated by fear); a part of these banned works are retained as "reserve books"; publishers and periodicals are placed under central control; foreign publications are strictly screened and undesirable works are withheld; the past becomes subjected to a process of ideological selection, and limits are established to restrict public exchanges of views and public thinking regarding the present as well as the future.[15]

Removal of the persistently recurring "past" (that is, from now on: the present) continues, and so does the constant purging of the truth of its perplexing elements that are in contradiction with the official spirit. "Really old garbage" (Marx), which tends to inevitably accumulate day after day, must be cleared away.[16] It would put the present which has now become immaculate, in a bad light, and especially: it would make the present relative and comparable to something else, putting it into a time frame--and not even in the time frame of the story of salvation--and eventually it would be impossible to bring it under control. In its old, misguided way it would again begin to show signs of independence and resistance. Ideas, books, archives, as well as institutions, parties, persons and sometimes even entire social classes end up in this "garbage dump". Hauling them there is taking on increasingly incredible dimensions, and in the final analysis it does not solve anything. The "garbage" can be collected, stored and burned (pardon the frivolous comparison!), but the "garbage dump" itself cannot be hauled away, the reaccumulation of "garbage" cannot be prevented and the "garbage men" gradually become more and more independent and thus will have a direct stake themselves in seeing to it that the accumulation of "garbage" continues.

But why does this will, which is striving so hard for the truth, demand a completely new and blank page in history, why does it want to "put a dash" between the past and the present, and why does it try so hard to present itself in every respect as the new truth whose time has already arrived? Because without doing so it would become impossible to create the kind of unprecedented concentration of political power--aiming at and drawing its legitimacy from the future--which alone can insure modernization--excluding capital and with it all of the self-regulating mechanisms of a "padded" economy and progressing at an accelerated rate--in the backward and underdeveloped nations of the "second" and "third" world. Only this (explanation) can enable us to really understand why the historical beginnings of socialism have taken the form of state-socialism, and why socialism has commenced in the East; developments, which naturally have added new contradictions to the already existing contradictions between capital and labor, and which to this day have defined, stiffened and retarded the only possible way of world-historical development

which can reunite the goals of democracy and socialism. The beginning--from the point of view of the historical destiny of socialism--is laden with the burden of allowing some unfortunate and terrible possibilities to materialize; this, however, is hardly anything optional. This is the only way to break through the net of increasingly disadvantageous determinations.[17] The reason and purpose behind the emergence of the late feudal state was to become the first testing ground for the strategy of state-accelerated closing-up--east of the Elba (enlightened absolutism, the czarist bureaucratic state, the Prussian way, etc.). The inevitability of the beginning, however, is not in itself inconsistent with having alternatives to select from during the beginning. While from the point of view of historical philosophy it is perhaps unimportant whether early, or "raw" communism, or as we have historically come to know it, state-socialism, is "despotic" or "democratic"[18], it is not so when we look at it from the point of view of those who make up history, the specific individuals themselves. And when we come right down to it, it is not negligible when it comes to a choice between development or rigidity either. It is not unimportant whether the supremacy of the state is based on terror or on a concensus steming from hegemony; neither is it immaterial to note what dimensions its supremacy will take, to what extent it can permit the forming of autonomous interests, and in general, how it is able to relate to all of this and how it views itself and its own historical role. It is not at all a matter of indifference whether it can make its subjects to celebrate their losses of freedom as the realization of "real" freedom, or whether it reinforces its own oppressive nature in their mind, thus allowing room for schizophrenia that results from such a situation to spread, while fighting against itself, or at least tolerating the autonomous movements of society.

But let us, for another little while, get back to that "happy" state, where "forbidden literature" unnoticably passed away. Is it really so great that it died.

Publicity Device

Capital turns even literature into an enterprise. It cares only about one thing: the literature business must be profitable. The system of everything-is-for-sale engulfs literature, too, and this system--even if not in a spiritual, in a grossly material sense--is itself monolithic: it strives for exclusiveness and parades as the absolute world system. From here on, however, it is no longer a unified political and ideological power that subordinates and engulfs social life as a whole, which regulates or limits literary production, but the totally impersonal and--from the political, ideological and moral point of view--completely "unprincipled" and "idealess" power of the market-commodity concept. Naturally, this power also has its own unique political legitimacy, and it also has its own ideologies of self-defense and offense[19], but it is very well off without them, it gets along with anything as long as the attacks and challanges to its legitimacy are kept on a spiritual level and stop short of actually tempering with it. It can go as far as to take radically anti-capitalist literature that rebels against it and turn it into a commodity, as long as there is demand for it on the literary market. The reverse of this is also true: the profit-logic of the enterprise will refuse to defend even the most sophisticated apologetic literature, if it does not sell. The enterpreneur's involvement in the dissemination of literature is based not on ideological, but on business interests. Capital-praising literature, if it is unmarketable, does not generate any capital; instead, it leads to bankruptcy.

In a market which is subordinated to the logic of capital, the only elements capable of suspending business considerations are political organizations, state institutions, private foundations pursuing their own goals, which are maintained from other capitalist ventures, In this sense, the various organizations of propaganda, ideological education, manipulation, and finally, research can attain a certain degree of independence from the market, but at the same time they become dependent on their clients, supporters and sponsors.

As we have just seen, the entrepreneur's interest in literature is based not on literary, ideological or political, but on business considerations. He could also invest his money elsewhere, and would do just that if the literature business were not profitable. If it helps to increase his capital, he has no reason to be concerned about it, and if it does not bring in any profit, he has no reason to support it. His personal reservations, moral doubts or political affiliations vis a vis a particular work are private matters, which have nothing to do with business. A rich publisher, of course, is able to afford to do many things; he may patronize certain authors, he may lend his support to certain spiritual and political trends (while dropping others), he may also publish works that are not especially profitable, but the financial means necessary to do this, again, could only come from his own capitalist undertakings. Standing up against the large, monopolistically structured publishers, daily papers, and less often periodicals, breaking their market--and, of course, at a certain point--spiritual terror, is not merely a question of moral courage and new ideas (these could be engulfed and "integrated" within moments by the attacked side itself); it is a question, first of all, of capital strength and competitiveness, as demonstrated by the case of the tragic-fated, progressive Italian publisher, Feltrinelli.

From this point on, the limits of free speech seem to take the form of purely material and financial restrictions, which is an indication that the idiocy of "unprincipled" and "idealess" things is very much complex: it is "tolerant" toward "principles" and "ideas", and is definitely in support of "pluralism"; there is only one "tiny little" thing in which it does not tolerate any opposition; and this thing is called: financial profit. This new bourgeois publicness, as manifested in literature, is no longer subjected to spiritual censorship; it, however, is subjected to material censorship which compared to the former, is much more complete, much better refined and much more incomprehensible and unassailable. Money is the protagonist of the capitalist society. Restrictions on obtaining it are not personal, political or ideological; instead, they are "economic" and material restrictions, restrictions resulting from private property. These restrictions seem to assert themselves as the natural laws of human existence, which no turbulance, back-talk, denunciation, ridicule and criticism can ever overthrow or undermine. Spiritually, these natural laws are conveyed and confirming is all any ideology can do, even those, which from the point of view of their content are aimed precisely at denuncing, criticising and contesting these natural laws. On a territory dominated by the material power of a "well-padded" independent economy, the direct power-constituting and power-shattering effects of spiritual manifestations, as well as their counter-power, which has been virtually the equivalent of direct action, comes to an end. The bourgeois writer of the 20th century, who is now "free to do anything: romantically longs for the return of the "bad old times", when liberal writing was still facing suppression and restrictions: "A spiritual creation in those days were considered doubly significant, for it

expressed ideas that gave rise to social upheavals, while at the same time also placing its author in danger." (J.P. Sarte)[20] On the territory of material rule, literature has lost its once-enjoyed power. The system of political and spiritual oppression, the system of personal dependence which itself was either helping to preserve, or aiming to destabilize indirectly.

Even radical anti-capitalist ideologies--precisely because they are "only" spiritual manifestations--can do nothing more than convey these non-ideological domains and to regenerate the system of material dependence. They do this primarily by virtue of their mere existence, because they tend to emphasize the quasi-spiritual graniosity of capitalist power, its "tolerance toward political and ideological matters, as well as its "pluralism". This fact indeed becomes an argument in the various ideologies which defend the system and which, of course, neglect to explain the real relationship between actual and spiritual power. Second, the circumstances under which it must strive to attain spiritual influence leave it with no other choice than to go out into the market and start looking for buyers. Thus, while it is fighting against the private ownership-based system of business enterprise, in reality it becomes its prisoner itself: it turns into a business enterprise. Spiritually, therefore, it is forced to help legitimize the capitalist relationship, and in practice, to accept and reproduce the capitalist logic. Even though compared to the world of feudal personal and ideological dependence or isolation this can indeed be considered freedom, the question arises: "Can a press that has stooped to becoming an industry be considered faithful to its character: does it act in accordance with its noble nature; is such a press really free? A writer must certainly earn in order to exist and to be able to write, but he should under no circumstances exist and write in order to earn." (Marx)[21]

As the capitalist society, in which all human relations are subjected to an alienated economy, but in which no one has control over that economy, grows increasingly stronger, literature which had been subjected to spiritual--religious and political--censorship, i.e. forbidden literature, begins to gradually lose ground giving way to "free" literature which is subjected to material censorship. As this occurs, "forbidden literature" itself becomes a business, a good investment. We are talking not only about pornography, but in general, about uncovering and making public secrets and mysteries which the bourgeois press attaches such great importance to (publication of secret documents and correspondence, the airing of intimacies, etc.). Naturally, actual censorship, literary persecution, seizing of works and prosecution of authors are resorted to only in extraordinary cases, depending on the extent to which feudal-ecclesiastic institutions have continued to assert themselves and on the manner in which their role has continued to manifest itself in a particular country[22], and even then they are only publicity moves, and at times provoked and only imitated procedures designed to turn a work into marketable work, and occasionally, the author into a martyr. (Here we will not deal with the capitalism of fascist-type totalitarian states, for it is a separate and complex subject, one which from the point of view of bourgeois development as a whole is merely an "interlude", representing the "exception" rather than the "rule". Literature, of course, may "ban itself", once it loses its patience with this newly found freedom: it may withdraw and exclude itself from market-controlled literature, it may decide to break with it, it may choose to rebel, shock, disgust, etc. There has, however, never been an outcast, outlawed, self-exiled or underground literature, that would have been able to find its way out of the

market's binding hold, and avoid the fate of sooner or later turning into a business venture. The very thing that has eventually turned it into such a venture has been its rebelling stance against the omnipotence of the market and its goods. The monetary sensuality of scandal, self-exclusion, self-ban and rebellion is only good for giving a little boost to market demand (sometimes, of course, it is a pre-planned, consciously employed publicity device). The publicity image of the "forbidden fruit" turns even inedible foods into edible ones. The literature of the bourgeois era, therefore, does not get to enjoy the questionable joy of possessing the sensual appeal of a forbidden fruit; at best, its destructive force is used as a publicity device. In the new, bourgeois culture the place of forbidden literature is taken not by the literature of Negativity, the Great Negation, but the literature which from the point of view of business is simply uninteresting and unfit to publish (because it is unsalable or is losing money).

As far as the sensuality of rebellion is concerned--"non olet": money has no odor. But it is not only the human nose which is unable to sense the odor of money; money is similarly insensitive to the odor of human matters. It does not have the slightest intention to dwell on the political, moral and artistic content of "underground" literature and make faces with its nose up in the air. Business, is business. And from this point of view there is only one thing that matters: how much, where, and what can be sold most rapidly and with the greatest efficiency on the market.

Anachronism and Coercion

The literature of sensual temptation reappears again in those anti-capitalist societies, which must still resort to state rule and political and ideological force to break, and more or less replace the power of capital. In these societies aggregate power is once again the sum of purely political and ideological factors. Consequently, the criteria which they establish limiting the freedom of spiritual activities and the functioning of the social public and of the various political institutions, are once again contextually and spiritually motivated, in contrast with the--spiritually and qualitatively--insensitive criterium of profitability. This, however, is not necessarily an unequivocal step forward in all cases, since this new spiritual and political dependence, the political and ideological supremacy of the state, the lack of autonomous social organization continue to carry with them the possibility of establishing new relations of power--similar to those of pre-capitalist societies--imposing irrational restrictions and allowing new inhumanities to take their toll. And today we know very well: these are not just possibilities! The danger is especially great, that in those anti-capitalist societies which are founded on this policy, the political and ideological state will use these new qualitative and spiritual criteria against various people and social groups, and--claiming to act in the name of the common interest!--it simply equates itself with that society. It may restrict, eliminate, destroy, persecute every spiritual manifestation, institution and organization which emphasize dissimilarity, diversity and duality; in other words, non-uniformity even if they do so involuntarily, by virtue of their mere existence.

But we can agree--taking it out of the context of historical movements that have occured until now, and separate from the network of mutually reinforcing and traversing economic (the "second and third world"), political (traditions, imitation

models, catch-up strategies) and military (influence zones, the geographic situation) forms of coercion--,so once again, can we agree with those who already claim to see the horrible features of a new post-capitalist civilization making their mark on our admittedly distorted present? Why would "under-development" point to the future instead of the past? Just because the new society is one which ideologically is aimed at the future? Does that mean, therefore, that we must also equate it with its own ideology? In reality, the danger is much more real that--due to the fact that these material and spiritual preconditions are lacking--there could be a forced (and, of course, not simple!) return to pre-capitalist forms. These horrible features identified mistakenly as "new" and "forthcoming", are actually nothing more than atavisms and anachronisms, which can be consistently observed even in the non-discredited past of these societies. None of this, however, is going to make the prospect of a frightening union between the past and the future more comforting, especially when we are faced with the consequences of these anachronisms which at times can be catastrophic. After all, it is not all the same whether we equate it with the nature of the new civilization, or whether we see it as the embodiment of the economic and cultural immaturity of that new civilization, imbeded in the paradigm of a coerced "third-road" direction of development.[23] For this will detemmine our relationship with the established order and the image of our own future.

The old thesis is reconfirmed: No social formation can ever disappear until all of the productive forces have evolved which can never be replaced by newer and more advanced production relations that would allow it more sufficient breathing room, and until their conditions of material existence are fully developed in the womb of the old society itself.[24] The problem is, that in the paradigm of "third-road" forms of development that results from unequal progress[25], their very aim--at least that of the various political movements which subscribe to the ideology of Marxian socialism--is to place these conditions of material existence onto a political foundation and to do so already within the--purely political guaranteed--framework of the new society itself. Based purely on political (force, coercion) and ideological foundations (propaganda, faith, fanaticism and heroic sentiments), however, this can only begin, at best, but can never be carried through, for no amount of will and sentiment can spare people from the fate of feeling compelled to produce the material conditions of the new society first. Consequently, they become increasingly forced to work within their own politically guaranteed limits--as if acting as a test-tube, artificially--trying to recreate the womb of the old system, and use it--presuming that they recognize in time the difference between what they are actually able, and what they want to achieve--as a kind of "incubator".[26] This, however, does not reduce their inner contradictions; it merely provides them with a new form of movement and a prospect for their release.

The pre-socialist tasks of "original stockpiling" and industrialization--in addition to the disconnection of the economy's "self-regulating" mechanisms, and to the conditions of breaking out of the capitalist world market--could only be carried out by a state which represented the entire society. Spiritually this led it to try to abridge the gap between its social goals, economic tasks and ideals, and reality using ideology: it forced the chaotic, dynamic and "impure" reality under the universe of a single, closed and unified ideology. Only this kind of ideology, and only a coercive apparatus which totalizes that ideology directly extending it over the whole of reality, could lead people to accept, and convince them to view

the non-existent as existent and the existent as "non-existent". All spiritual manifestations (from gestures and mimics to political jokes, and from political platforms to artistic styles), which did not belong to this universe or pose a threat to its homogeneity from the inside, suddenly became invalid, damaging and hostile. And they were all handled and treated accordingly. This anachronism--as I already pointed out--did not stem from the mental infatuation, foolishness and impatience of any particular person or group; instead, it stemmed from the nature of state socialism, that is, from the fact that the realization of socialism as a form of political society occured not in a democratic, but in a despotic political system. Of course, in a society "imbeded" in politics, the role of individuals becomes immensly and dangerously more important, however, instead of pursuing their own personal ideas, they follow the logic--which is, of course, also intertwined with their interests--of one of the various types of political society. The life of societies organized in this manner was imbued with conservative ethos, the self-discipline of concensus was replaced by the iron discipline of terror, the avant-guarde of professional revolutionaries was succeeded by a caste of bureaucrats (thus giving life to the most oppressive form of the political possibilities presented by enlightened avant-guardism), and the legal process of natural leader selection was supplanted by a uniform process of charismatic and traditional selection of the unfittest.

This ideologically overexaggerated monolitism--as we know--is "nothing more than a misconception of the conceited mind, which holds that within the limits it had outlined, history will come to an end, and future events can be nothing more than mere reproductions of the concepts of a unique but absolutely alienated center" (Fuad Muhic).[27] Although it is a misconception, it is one which actively strives for realization. The reason for this is that following the overthrow of material power, ideology and politics become the most materialistic movements in the social world. And it is a fact that an idea which has become materialized and is striving for realization, behaves differently from "idealess" and "senseless" material, i.e. from matter itself. The moment "spirit" becomes combined with practice, the dispassionate apathy which matter has displayed toward all spiritual manifestations, every ideology, faith and conviction comes to an end. Since it is mot matter but spirit, since it is not objective but subjective and since it is not a quantity but a quality--it cannot exist without appreciating the human world, and it cannot do without choices, priorities or "biases": it must state, negate, challange, attract and dismiss. Whenever it is the "spirit" which begins to build new forms of practice, it always seems "more impatient" and "more restricted" in doing so than "matter". The reason for this is that from its point of view it really does matter what it decices to accept or reject, what its choices are and why, and how and according to what values it goes about sorting out the truth. It must reject or subordinate all values and criteria which recognize only one--a purely quantitative--determination as being of any importance: what can be turned into profit and how much of it can be made. However, this is precisely where the "weak point" of these new forms of practice lies: the greater the distance is between the "spirit" and the "truth", between the prescribed goals and the given possibilities, and the more completely and the more one-sidedly the "spirit" is able to subordinate the whole of the real world, the more tragic its potential consequences are going to be. It is under these kinds of circumstances that the "spirit" begins to portray itself as the starting point of the truth, a divine creative principle, a perfect and pure idea which can never be challenged by the facts. It violates

the truth; it is intolerant toward all other spiritual versions of it which stand in contradiction with its own, and "perceiving" them as "false" spiritual views it strives to eliminate them; as the final step, it takes the new quality criteria and the new standard, and connects them with a tiny "elite", i.e. to the state, portrayed as the subject of the universal interest.

It is here, where one of the great internal contradictions of spiritually founded forms of practice lies; however, only certain historical situations and social preconditions can bring it into light and demonstrate its logical inconsistency. There is, however, no other choice: it either realizes that it is not and can never become one with the truth (and that if it could, it would have horrible consequences), or it will perish. In order for it to become one with the truth it would have to destroy it first, and by the time it would realize that it is holding a corpse, it would be too late already, for it itself would disintegrate under the impact of the resulting catastrophy. But this contradiction might also have a different end: the truth could force it to renounce its statism and its intolerance (while not abandoning its independence and freedom); to place the spiritual wealth and pluralism of actual forms of practice in the center of its set of values, instead of the terror of the pure and self-elated spirit; to affirm and help attain the autonomy of the subject in every human being and social group, to identify with it and to tolerate all differences, dissimilarities and contrasts which were so unimportant during the era of capitalist material rule, and which are to become so vastly important in spiritually conveyed forms of practice.

It does not hurt sometimes to ask ourselves how the founders of "scientific socialism" would have felt, and how they would have acted in a, one might say, corporative society[28] which has adopted their ideology, but which instead of "refunctioning" the bourgeois freedom and helping formal freedoms to evolve into material freedoms, has simply destroyed them. This comes to mind especially when we think about the never-ceasing moral struggle which they had to wage to preserve their own personal integrity, their spiritual and political independence against the movement, and the movement's apparatus, the party. For they themselves never became party-men and never perceived the movement in terms of its narrow, political interpretation; they are not whom we would consider the "martyr", the "fanatic" or the "bureaucratic" activist-type.

"Dependence, even on a workers' party, is a bitter fate"--wrote Engels in a letter to A. Babel.--" Aside from the question of money, it is an unfortunate position to be in for anyone who has initiative to be the editor of a paper which belongs to the party. Marx and I have agreed from the start, that we could never accept such a job, and that the only kind of paper we can have is one which is financially independent even from the party itself. 'Nationalization' of your press may have its disadvanaages if it is carried too far. It is imperative to have a press within your party which does not depend directly on the presidium or even the congress, in other words, one which is freely able to form and opposition to challenge certain party measures within the program and the accepted tactics, and staying within the bounds of its party functions, to freely criticize even the program and the tactics themselves. You, as the presidium of the party, must support and even call for the creation of such a press; this way your moral influence on it will still be greater than if it became established partly against your will."[29] The reason, of course, that these reservations and objections are considerable is not because they came from Engels, but because they are both true and timely. Furthermore,

these lines do not even apply to the way and entire society's political life and news-reading public is structured; they refer only to conditions within the party. What has subsequently ensued and happened to us since then has been--almost as if it were meant to be a continuation of Engels' letter, using a tone of concern and inner criticism--wittily summed up in a short aphorism by Brecht: "When a state suppresses anti-state literature, it is actually damaging the literature which represents the state interest, by depriving it of its voice, its teeth and its objectivity."[30]

But the statist notion of literary freedom, according to which the state has the right to do anything, while the only thing literature may do is to become one with that ideology, was alien not only to Engels and Brecht, but also to the first democratic-minded ideologists of the forced state-socialist beginning. This is how Lunacharskiy felt about censorship even during the bloodiest period of the Civil War: "Those who say that we need censorship to prevent publication of even some great artistic works, if they are clearly of a counterrevolutionary tendency; those who say that we must select to ensure that the most necessary works are published before works that are undeniably useful, but rank only as third or even fourth in importance, will be proven right. Those, however, who say: 'forget all these preconceived ideas demanding freedom of speech'; or what 'our communist system calls for state censorship of literature'; or that 'censorship is not merely a terrible feature of a temporary era, but an inseparable part of our consolidated, socialized socialist way of life'; those who conclude that criticism should become a kind of unique denunciation, or that all literary works should conform to the same revolutionary standard, are the kind who, when scratched under the communist surface, will turn out to be dyerzhimordas [unyielding people], who having gotten their hands on a little power, suddenly believe they can act arbitrarily, talk big, and mainly that they can harass and ban."[31] Later, under the conditions of the NEP-type of state socialism, when the state still had not completely extended its control over the entire economic, cultural and political life, when it still had not eliminated the various degrees of independence among the various organs representing society's interests, and when it did not need to have complete uniformity ider in ideology or in spiritual life in general, nor did it feel compelled to control everything from above, literary life was practically bursting with energy. A whole line of autonomously controlled literary organizations were established, each having its own, separate periodical, and sometimes even its own publisher;[32] in addition to the state publishers, one after the other, new cooperative book-publishers began to appear; there was also a revival in private book publishing;[33] even some of the more important memoirs of White emigrants that had appeared in the West were published, as were the works of Russian writers living in the West; during the early 1920's, even the Smenohevist movement was granted its own periodical, (i.e. the story of NOVAIA ROSSIYA), and all attempts aimed at imposing the dictatorship of a single group of school of thought on literature were driven back. When, however, from 1929 this policy which has striven for "civil peace", concensus, consolidation and control by economic means was replaced by a new modernized form of "war communism" the state declared war on the entire "civil" (in Russia, at that time, primarily peasant) society, and using practically civil-war methods, it proceeded to eliminate even that little remaining autonomy which it had come to enjoy as a result of the socialist revolution (i.e. the nationalization of the trade unions, the atrophy of the Soviets, the dictatorship of the Secretariat and later of the Secretary, etc.).

To what extent this was avoidable or unavoidable, how much of it was attributable to ideology, to the Eastern way of social development to the political organization of the party, to external--military and economic--challenges, and to personnel changes, will continue to be a subject of debate, an open question for a long time to come. It is a fact, however, that things which during the Civil War period had been considered extraordinary and terribly coercive, became the law and the normal state of affairs in the society which was "consolidated" through the use of terror under state socialism. Eventually, the forcible merging of state and society led to the elimination of all differences of interest that had separated citizenship from class-membership and private interests, which destroyed both the mechanisms of economic--market--regulation and the possibilities of self-management, that is to say, both the essential organizational forms of the still unsurpassable past, and the new forms of the future which is still to be attained.

From that point on, ideology was used to conceal various equation or substitution processes (i.e. general secretary-class, or state-party-people), to substantiate the various evidence supporting it and even prove its progressiveness and superiority, in other words, to help directly to preserve this new political society. It is at this point and for this reason, that ideology becomes a matter of life or death, and it is indeed true: even the smallest crack, split or ambiguity will put a social system built in this manner itself in danger. Today it does not take any kind of special insight or audicity anymore to recognize: this homogenous, static ideology which had uniformly combined and subjected every sphere of the social consciousness and practice, was in every respect a negation of Marx's ideology.

In the light of an ideology which strives for homogeneity and absolute rule, all "differences", all "departures" and all "contradictions" are portrayed and handled as social deviations. In effect, it is the challenge of autonomy, of independent existence, which it considers to be the most catastrophic in all of this, and it is undoubtedly correct in assuming that even in the most harmless "departure" or "difference" there is a temptation of autonomy. However, since it is essentially a spiritual definition, which--and this is where its danger lies--has very real practical requirements and manifestations, by negating, banning, excluding and condemning them it takes the objects of its negation and turns them into sensual objects. Everything that finds itself face to face with this closed, homogenous spiritual universe, will, just by virtue of its opposition, acquire a sensual power: it becomes demonized. It is most significant, that the homogenous ideology itself acknowledges this transformation (incidentally, it acknowledges many things, all we need to do is pay attention!) when in its interpretations it paints a consistently demonic image of both its imaginary and real opposition: it is a constantly tempting, constantly luring, satanic power, or one which has a pact with the devil. This is precisely why it is so dangerous; for instead of affecting our spirit, it appeals to our base senses, and because it "contaminates" us, it "works itself into our heart" and "occupies" our body without us even realizing it or being able to resist it, since secretly we are attracted to it, we want it and enjoy it. We want to take a bite of the forbidden fruit: after all, we are people. The ancient legend of man driven from Paradise is put into a new light, for perhaps the very reason he took a bite of the forbidden fruit was because he wanted to be driven out, because he did not want to continue living in Paradise, where--according to Hegel--"only animals can survive, not people".

Only one method of defense remains: the suppression of sensuality, asceticism, fanaticism and rigorousness. The ethos of state-socialist culture is anti-sensual. Here we witness the return not only of religious taboos and morals taking on a new form (i.e. suppression of bodily pleasures, self-denial, sacrifice, ecstasy, zealotry), but also of the consciously self-humiliating--although, granted, not always actually experienced--ceremonies of self-punishment, confession and mortification (let us recall, for example, the so called "self-criticisms", the rites of ideological self-purification and exorcism, the dividing of the political world into "hell" and "heaven", the modernized and repoliticized forms of witch-hunting which were quite effective in manipulating mass-consciousness, the distortions of the party which were so reminiscent of a church hierarchy, the naturalization of the political morals of Jesuitism, etc.)

For a conceited "spirit", which has never geen confronted with its antithesis, and which portrays itself as a fully realized and eternal world order, there can be no more infuriating challenge than sensuality, regardless whether it is expressed in the form of "disorderliness", "rebellion", or a "departure" hidden in an anti-authoritarian gesture, a new artistic trend, or in a joke or remark. However,--by its very nature--it is precisely this spirit which brings to life, expands, unifies and gives a profanizing, critical and liberating meaning to the realm of sensuality by banning, persecuting and excluding more and more of the elements, interrelationships and properties which constitute the truth and the true consciousness from the domain of ideologically sanctioned experiences.

Bans demonize literature, by turning it into the literature of sensual temptation. Lists of "forbidden works" begins to circulate, and sometimes even the mere mentioning of "banned writers" is considered a taboo, works of the past and of the recent past branded as suspicious, heretic and subversive are pulled off the shelves of public libraries (during certain periods this not only keeps the paper-mills busy, but it also causes some anxious people to feverishly begin to decimate their library, burn their letters and manuscripts themselves, in the intimate privacy of their home, which, of course, also has long traditions in our region).

It is precisely as a result of the ban imposed on it, that the power of forbidden literature begins to multiply. The gaps in its moral, artistic and political argumentation become filled in. There is no longer any need to use rational arguments and standards to convince it that it is right. It is convincing and captivating even without that. The temptation of the "devil" is impossible to resist, for it promises not work but enjoyment, it offers not suffering but pleasure. The power of literature lies not in its content, but in its form. The ban gives it a new character in the form of sensual literature, and our relationship with the forbidden fruit, the mysterious object of our desire, is always mixed with a touch of fear and yearning.

Toward a Happy End

Let us sum up what we have said so far. With the rise of the bourgeois society, the monolithic ideology which had striven for absolute predominance, comes to an end. Yet, it is still not human needs, but the needs of the capitalist rule which determine the extent to which the limits of the "permissible" and the "tolerable" can be expanded. Everything, that permits and tolerates capital, and does not

hamper its free movement is permissible and tolerable, especially if they themselves are generating capital. Everything that hampers the movement of capital is to be eliminated; undertakings which fail to produce capital or generate a profit are forbidden not for ideological reasons, but because they are considered financially irrational, impossible and absure. This is irrespective of how important they may really be from the point of view of the interests and needs of certain people and social groups, and perhaps even of society and humanity as a whole. The rationality of various activities--including spiritual activities--is no longer defined by ideologies, or even by people; it is determined solely by one thing: financial profit. And this is the kind of criticism which can fully assert itself even without, or despite ideologies. If it is able to successfully integrate the existing contradictions between capital and labor, then this external homogeneity is due not to a single, closed ideology, but precisely to the chaotic, coexisting and mutually cancelling or reinforcing voices of various ideologies, to diversity and competition, which constitute the ideological ideal itself in a society whose existence is determined not by ideological ideals, but by the material power of capital.

Theoretically, it is not hard to recognize: the only way material dependence can be overcome in this world of values and norms is by allowing human criteria to become predominant once again. The practical question, however, is this: who can represent this "human criterion", and how (in what manner, with what kind of guarantees, against what and whom); how can it be asserted (and what is it that makes this criterion "human"? in such a way, so that it does not turn into the ideology of anyone's special interests, or into an anachronistic, although perhaps --ideologically--forward looking form of spiritual and personal dependence? How can we ensure, that this anti-human criterion of financial profit which is so alien to man, becomes replaced by something other than the--undoubtedly human--criterion of "royal" prerogatives and privilages. Today, as we witness the crisis of statist, corporative-technology social organization, it is not hard to see that this new "human criterion", portrayed as a kind of final spiritual principle of eternal validity, cannot be "represented" by some privilaged group of society, be they the "elite of teachers", the "avant-garde of scientists" or the "caste of bureaucrats". The realization of the "human criterion" may only become the ideology and never the practice of a state which symbolizes the "true consciousness" the "universal interest" or the "future", which in practice also equates itself with the whole of society. No criterion, no goal, no standard or value can be considered human, if it appears outside of real life as a preconceived and predetermined spiritual principle, which after the autonomy of "individuals" (i.e. of living people, and social groups) has been destroyed, is asserted above them and used against them, and which they are forced to accept "in their own interest". Taking into consideration the manner and the consequences of its realization, even the most consistently "human" criterion may become anti-human. We know that the thesis, "nothing is of greater value to us than the human being" has gotten along beautifully with even the most anti-human practices. For in this abstract formula there are two unmentioned questions which must be answered: what do they mean by "to us" (well, what about "you", are you not human beings?), and what does the human being mean to you in terms of value, what is a human being when expressed in terms of value: autonomy, freedom, subject, a social concept, an individuum, or some sort of instrument, thing or object for something else, which only "you" know, and which is always transcendent in comparison?!

We have discussed how the despotic model of state socialism had evolved within the "second world" development model, inseparably from the forced and absurd jump it had to take to catch up (i.e. forced-paced industrialization, stockpiling based on central distribution), and how this model has had to lock every aspect of practical and spiritual life into a monolithic ideological universe, in order to eliminate capitalist rule. In other words, it was forced--at least to some extent --to return to the pre-capitalist societies' state of personal subordination, authority centered rule and "narrow-minded" ideological state (all of which have also had flourishing traditions in these countries).[37] But regardless whether we consider what happened a necessity or an avoidable (and above all: to-be-avoided) "evil", we must be aware of its anachronistic nature. We must recognize, that this kind of a return to the past will quickly lose its external and internal conditions, and will also fail as a "catch-up" strategy. It is becoming clear, that--perhaps from the very start--it is much more advantageous, productive and progressive to temporarily stay with a system of material dependence which, for the time being, differs from that of capitalism only in that it is not subjected exclusively to the logic of profit and to the interests of the capitalists, while also differing from the despotic version of state socialism in that it does not subject all material and personal factors to the state bureaucracy. The integration of external and internal, social and economic differences should continue simultaneously--and, of course, at opposite ends, complementing and correcting one another--through the institutions of marketing, planning and self-government, as well as through the various institutions set up for the safeguarding of interests. Undoubtedly, this leads to a certain kind of pluralism, the kind which during the period of transformation becomes a part of socialism's own history. The socially controlled autonomy of the market is complemented with the autonomy of those directly involved in production, thus making it possible from two sides to control and influence political power, which earlier had been virtually impossible. There is no longer a reason for controlling and curbing spiritual life from above or for depriving it of its autonomy. The greater the autonomy which direct producers have, and the more freedom of action, movement and expression the citizens, social groups and individuals can enjoy, the more is accomplished of the goals of socialism. From this point on, the stability of state rule is no longer the only criterion of socialist power; it is replaced by such factors as the performance, autonomy and democratic organization of the economy, the political institutions and the social public, without having to give its place to state autonomy and absolute rule.

Perhaps we need not dwell to much on the effects of state-directed, disciplined and top-controlled spiritual life, which--looking at its final consequences--have always been demoralizing, and have always spread feelings of apathy, lack of initiative, insincerity and servility. The well-known relationship continues to hold true: "if the people are forced to look upon free writings as illegitimate, they will eventually begin to view everything illegitimate as free, freedom as something illegitimate, and anything legitimats as non-free."[38] (Marx) The totalitarian spirit of an alienated and coercive state which transcends all individuals, social groups and classes, destroys the living spirit of the common person, and within the limits of a forced public life creates a "private-mob" psychology.

Human self-liberation does not go by the formula, "one step forward, two steps back". Only this kind of liberation can raise the literature of sensual temptation out of the sinful dimension of sensuality, to which it had been confined by the ban, without yielding ground to the apathy of matter. And once this happens, we too can look this literature into the eye without embarassment and without becoming excited--as one of the unpleasant peculiarities of prehistory.

LEADERS OF YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS INTERVIEWED

Interview With Sawic

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish 5-18 Nov 81 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Tadeusz Sawic, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] by Waldemar Janda; date and place not given]

[Question] In the face of the experiences of the 1970's, does the student movement have a chance today to be a vital social force?

[Answer] In light of the 1970's, all that may be said is that there was a potential chance. A practical opportunity opened up for us, as it did for the student movement, only after the workers' protest, when we saw that it was possible to join together to create a force of protest. But at that time we did not make use of this opportunity, and I do not think that student organizations and the student community could have protested with success at that time. I think that this has been determined by history, because of the barrier which has been set up between workers and students. It was only the August protest which allowed us to believe that we, too, can be useful for something. What's more, it enabled us to become fully aware of the fact that our thinking is very similar.

[Question] What kinds of reactions did [the events of] August trigger in the organization?

[Answer] In our reactions, there was definitely something that was particularly catastrophic. This was not because we had to deny what we were doing at the time, but because did not have enough power to voice our anxiety and get results.

[Question] What forces served to weaken the organization? What was the basic reason that the SZSP was not the organization the students wanted it to be?

[Answer] The main reason was--and let us be honest about this--that the SZSP acted as a conveyor belt, a buffer between the authorities and the community. In trying to explain to students many phenomena from the sphere of political and social life, phenomena which, in fact, we ourselves did not understand, we lost any sort of opportunity for credibility within the academic community.

[Question] In other words, the SZSP was used to convincing the community that the authorities were infallible, that what they were doing was right...

[Answer] Yes, although there were also clashes with the representatives of authority. However, no practical conclusions were drawn from our criticism. Unfortunately, this information rarely became generally known.

[Question] The fact that the organization was used by the authorities to impose their will upon students discredited it. At the same time, however, another mechanism was in operation. The SZSP was a platform for reaching the authorities.

[Answer] This is an enormous exaggeration, a myth with which it is now worthwhile to take issue. The possibility did exist for individuals. But it should likewise be said that the authorities did not trust us. The SZSP was also--and this was, I believe, the organization's way of defending itself--a forum for the existence of controversial views. Perhaps these views did not become known on the outside. We were dealing with a phenomenon which characterized social and political life--a certain dualism. On the one hand, there was the official set of the "wise and healthy" SZSP which unequivocally supported the authorities, while on the other there was the set of the "doubting and uncertain." This is also why I think that to say today that the SZSP was a channel for reaching the authorities is an oversimplification. If we look today at all the social and political forces, we can find those which have clashed with the SZSP everywhere. Despite everything, authentic artistic and intellectual values have developed here in many autonomous clubs and branches. These values have preserved their specific character and have defended themselves against deviations.

[Question] Many of those who had doubts about unconventional views accidentally found their way into the organization, or entered in defiance of it.

[Answer] Too many people say this. The organization was aware of this differentiation of views from within.

[Question] Often this awareness was the cause of the fear of those who led the SZSP.

[Answer] Yes, often it was. But this fear took two directions. For some, it was the fear before one's decedents, while for others it was more and more the fear of what was setting in, the fear of the spectre of the nation's collapse.

[Question] The onset of the SZSP's regeneration occurred at a meeting of the aktiv in Uniejow in September 1980.

[Answer] Yes, for the SZSP Uniejow was a basic turning point in the organization's transformation and in the change in its aktiv. The program which we adopted at that time, a program of subjective participation in history, did not provide us, however, with the guarantee of success. There continued to exist within the community the belief that it was merely a temporary turn. Moreover, what is being said and who it is that is speaking was, and still is, important. It is a problem of SZSP credibility, which is a problem for every movement which has lived through [the events of] August and a problem which existed in the past under the old structures.

[Question] Of what did the changes in the SZSP consist?

[Answer] The organization decided to articulate in an independent manner the problems of that part of the community which it represented. Until this time it has been searching for its identity, its program. This program has been shaped by the rank-and-file movement which has arisen in the SZSP. The negative mechanism of the SZSP's being a conveyor belt between the authorities and the community has been cast off. Since August [1980], through the third congress and its current activity, we may speak of a liberated SZSP. We may speak of an organization which boldly determines and expresses all of the problems and views which prey upon its members.

[Question] In your opinion, how should the organization evolve, if it is agreed that it is to evolve?

[Answer] The discussion over the concept of the organization continues. We have adopted a broad formula for the independent political organization of the academic community, which we have put into statutory form, while preserving everything which is connected with the sphere of union activity.

[Question] The SZSP today appears to be a very diversified organization from the viewpoint of the views of its members. Some even charge it with vagueness and ideological muddiness. It is possible to state what view is held in common by the majority of SZSP members? Is there any ideological community?

[Answer] I would hesitate to speak unequivocally of an ideological community within the SZSP. I think that this common ground lies in seeking. We may rather speak of the existence of a political community.

[Question] Which means?

[Answer] Which means that the various groups within the SZSP take various positions with regard to reality. But the major trend, if you will excuse a hackneyed phrase, is the line of understanding and dialogue.

[Question] Of understanding and dialogue between whom?

[Answer] Among all prosocialist forces. The attempt to define an ideological canon within the SZSP itself is premature. It is a process; there is a need for understanding within the SZSP itself.

[Question] However, there are various groups in existence with a specific enough ideological program.

[Answer] Yes, on the one hand there is the group which aims to politicize the organization on the basis of the Marxist platform; on the other, there is the socializing group which wishes to combine the political formula of the organization with the union formula. The discussion between these views recurs again and again. It is difficult, however, to predict which current will prevail. Today they are clearly polarized.

[Question] Is the SZSP threatened with a split?

[Answer] I don't think so, since, as has been demonstrated during a great many critical moments, the SZSP has managed to come to an agreement from within. Those groups making up the organization have managed to limit themselves. I do not know whether, in perspective, it will be a process at the end of which a clash, a split will occur, however.

[Question] And how do you evaluate the effect of the SZSP on the community?

[Answer] If we are to propose such a basic criterion as the criterion of sympathy within and outside of the community, then in our case it is always too little. The SZSP must win people's sympathy. If, however, we are to speak of actual influence upon what is happening in the academic community, then what is needed to be able to evaluate this is another test after the test of the Lodz strikes. Of course, I am not inciting anything. But otherwise it is difficult to determine its importance. In my estimation, this influence is increasing. My optimism issues from the fact that for a long time the SZSP image was built by negotiation, in spite of efforts to seek a new image. Today, after all of those transformations--which were not always satisfactory--we are different. It is important that new people are creating this new quality. The paradoxical shift of the SZSP into the opposition camp in higher schools likewise changes our situation. Consequently, our influence is probably identified with the magnitude of the organization, with the number of its members.

[Question] The SZSP, however, has not abandoned its privileged position within the student community. It still controls a number of institutions (e.g., ALMATUR [Office of Travel and Tourism], clubs) which, although serving the entire student community, nonetheless lead to the suspicion of an organization with a monopoly on activity in the student community. This causes a lack of credibility in it.

[Answer] You say that the SZSP occupies a privileged position today. I think that this is not at all the case. We have various types of institutions, but I see no justification whatsoever for our losing them. In the first place, they serve the entire academic community without exception; secondly, we have a natural right to them, since we participated in their development and they are our property. Nor is this a privileged position, for in this way we have found ourselves likewise under the control of newly arisen organizations and under the pressure of the entire community as well.

[Question] Then is cooperation possible between organizations? For, although ideas of a self-governing body have been alive in schools for a long time, self-governing bodies arise first in factories, not in schools.

[Answer] The hopes which students have placed in the student movement renewal have not been fully realized. In its new organizational form, the community has felt better because it has had the chance to have its real divisions reflected. These have always existed and now they have been realized in organizatonal pluralism. At the same time, students have felt that they can do something, that they are more significant. And what happened? I do not wish to return to the

thesis (one with which I disagree) that we are to present ourselves as a whole, and that this will give us greater power. The apparent unity of the student movement has been founded on this thesis. It is an illusion. Today we are faced with the dilemma of mutual understanding. Unfortunately, the inertia of the community is also a fact. A large part of it--this is merely an observation, not an accusation--stands on the sidelines. This does not mean that it is not involved. But this model, this proposal of a student organization does not suit everyone.

[Question] Does the creation of a self-governing body not lead to its assumption of the sphere of union activities which are now the domain of existing organizations?

[Answer] Perhaps the self-governing body will create a new image for the student movement. It will be the catalyst of transformations of all organizations. At the same time, a year of experience, unfortunately, has not indicated this. There is the danger that self-government will become a forum for the political battle between organizations, which is both a useless function and can in general frustrate the idea of the self-governing body.

[Question] And on what issues are mutual consultation in the forum of the self-governing body and joint action necessary today?

[Answer] Of greatest importance is the issue of the higher school system. We cannot waste the opportunity for the independence and democratization of the school. Today it is possible for us to implement our ideas about its form. The self-governing body is the place for disputing and polemicizing, but also for seeking out a community of ideas. Instead, the whole discussion has shifted into the political sphere, and while the school system is not independent of this sphere, the whole struggle is unprofitable both because it is a battle over the government of minds and because it is a struggle over trifles.

[Question] Nonetheless, the situation within the community is changing. There are more and more partners for consultation. ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] circles are arising in the school...

[Answer] With what sort of ideology! With what!

[Question] Socialist, leftist.

[Answer] But this does not mean that the SZSP, in searching for a program, is distancing itself from leftist views. It is merely a question of the definition of the left.

[Question] Isn't it true that the SZSP is the only organization which wants to have people of various viewpoints within its ranks? The ZSMP is markedly specific, as are the KZMP [Communist Union of Polish Youth] and the ZMD [Union of Democratic Youth], the NZS [Independent Association of Students] is decidedly in favor of...

[Answer] Of what?

[Question] They are opposed to the method of exercising authority.

[Answer] But that is no program. It is a continual concept of negation. To return to the ZSMP, it enters the school without any sort of ideology. For isn't it true that it promises a job after studies are completed and patron housing. Its method is always the carrot-and-stick method. If only the ZSMP proposed the idea of joining the young intelligentsia with the working class...So I do not see any reason for the SZSP to have a complex for its lack of specificity.

[Question] But it is alleged that the SZSP's shallowness renders the setting up of powers within the student community impossible, because it wants to seize everything for itself, even though it is unable to come to terms with itself.

[Answer] Every new movement adopts the principle that it will climb up upon the mistakes and on the necks of those who are already embedded within the community. The SZSP has been so embedded. It is merely a clever trick today to suspect us of shallowness while not perceiving one's own shallowness. For me, only the KZMP is specific enough. But on the other hand, is the KZMP in a position to serve the broader aspirations of the community, or only the needs of those who have taken an unequivocal stand in their favor? I do not know whether the SZSP is in this position, but we are openly searching and we are not ashamed to admit our shortcomings. The NZS, in my opinion, is likewise an eclectic organization.

[Question] The NZS brings together people of very varied ideological orientations, but its political orientation is clearly defined: it is the ally of [NSZZ] Solidarity, "the opponent of whatever is old," which includes the SZSP. NZS operatives say that on one side of the barricade is the association representing the general student population, and on the other side, the government and the SZSP.

[Answer] That is an oversimplification! I am not jealous of the illustrious position of our NZS colleagues, who define themselves as opposed to everything that should be destroyed. It is a very attractive position, which can unite many people. But what sort of permanence can such a basis for unity have? The SZSP is not in principle a progovernment organization, unperceiving of the mistakes of the authorities. It is continually defined in this way because it is convenient to say that the government and the SZSP stand in one house. With the broadening of the government platform, it will be more difficult to determine whether someone is progovernment or antigovernment, because the criteria for setting up the division will have to break down. This will come about when the government begins to represent the majority of the Polish people.

[Question] You spoke of a test which would be necessary to evaluate the organization's popularity. In an earlier such test, during the Lodz strikes, the SZSP was blamed for hampering the strikes, for countering them. This did not add to the SZSP's popularity.

[Answer] Nonsense. To say that would be like saying today that the NZS called those strikes. The SZSP neither hampered them, nor did the NZS call them. The strikes were the result of the objective development of the situation in the student community. They were a reply to the resounding problems of higher education which had not been resolved by the government, and in particular by the Ministry of

Higher Education. In spite of our protests. Of course, the NZS had the advantage of being a new force. It was a new thing in the company of other new things. Thus the association: the SZSP as a conservative, oppositional force and the NZS as a progressive, restitutive force. That was too simple.

[Question] But the SZSP's approach to the strikes was considerably more severe; it counted on the success of negotiations.

[Answer] We wished to avoid confrontation with other social groups at any price. The fact that this was not a mistake has now been confirmed. The danger of confrontation was there, we should not forget this. We were opposed to drastic measures, although we accepted the strike as the ultimate form of struggle. At the time, the strikes were, in fact, an indispensable form of action. This was the fault of the authorities. To return to the division into progressive and conservatives--I think that the dividing line is not between the NZS and the SZSP, but primarily between NSZZ Solidarity and the party. This line is found within each of these organizations.

[Question] If this is so, then why is there not the transformation of these organizations into new organizations reflecting these divisions?

[Answer] And who would want to unite under a banner of conservatism?

[Question] In its program documents, the PZPR refers exclusively to socialist unions of youth. In this way it passes over the existence of other organizations. But the members of these organizations represent a large part of the community. What is your position on this question?

[Answer] That is something for the party itself to decide.

[Question] In other words, you believe that the policy of the party with regard to the student movement is its affair and that the SZSP will not present its position?

[Answer] The SZSP has declared many times that it is for a very broad platform of cooperation. We bear out this statement. The party commits itself to cooperation with all those who are not opposed to it. If I were to speak my mind to the PZPR and to suggest something to them, I think that the platform of cooperation with the youth movement shoud be broader. It is not feasible today to limit the youth movement to four loyal organizations. The youth movement's view of the problems of young people is already in a state of misunderstanding, to say nothing of their problems viewed solely and exclusively by several of many existing organizations. The party should decide in favor of broader dialogue with the youth. I believe that the current PZPR position issues from the fact that unions cooperating with the party are attacked by other organizations. Hence the party's dilemma--will its opening itself up to others be treated as a vote of no confidence in its current partners? This is likewise a problem for the new trade union movement. To whom should it open itself up among the youth, should it be open solely and exclusively to those who unequivocally declare their full support or should it also decide to cooperate with those who think somewhat differently, which does not mean that they are opponents?

[Question] Does the SZSP have official contacts with the [NSZZ] Independent Self-governing Trade Union Solidarity?

[Answer] We have contact with them in the schools, but not on a central scale. This does not mean that we are opposed to such contact. On the contrary--we are in favor of such cooperation. We do not intend to forego it. We have natural possibilities for cooperation with NSZZ Solidarity and the ZNP [Polish Teachers Union], since with reference to schools there is, perhaps, a community of interests and methods in the approach to the self-governing higher school. We also have working students within our ranks, and contact through them with unions is a very natural thing. This also makes possible our reaching out beyond the student ghetto, the mechanisms of which are always very destructive to the community and its organizations. Contacts with NSZZ Solidarity are complicated by the tendency to compartmentalize--these are good, those are bad. Such is the manner of association. This is a tremendous oversimplification. Many of us would like to avail ourselves of the possibility of evaluating reality in exclusive black and white terms. But our vision must be more complex than that, based on a penetrating view, moderately objective, of what surrounds us. This takes time.

[Question] But that is just a step away from saying that time will resolve everything, and our activities and activism will rise to another plane.

[Answer] No, I do not wish to be understood to say that history rushes me along, although I often feel that way. I would rather that it be we--and this may likewise refer to the SZSP--who moved history. I am a firm believer in Norwid's wise saying that "It is not God who sets up a threshhold for people, but people who set it up for themselves."

Interview with Guzy

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish 5-18 Nov 81 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Jaroslaw Guzy, chairman of the National Coordination Commission [KKK] of the Independent Association of Students [NZS] by Wojciech Borek; date and place not given]

[Question] Let us begin with the basics, i.e., with a characterization of the NZS. I would like you to start by trying to define the ideological place of the community of association members.

[Answer] It is an organization which arose under special conditions and its ideology has not been defined precisely and put into writing. What is the reason for this? The NZS came into existence after August [1980] based on principles similar to those that served as the basis for [NSZZ] Solidarity, only within the student movement. Of course, it does not have the character of a trade union, because there is a completely different system of community needs. The NZS is trying to construct an operational model in which the union portion does not enter the foreground to the detriment of that activity which issues from motives such as those which guided the founders of the organization. Hence an ideology which has issued from the need for restitution, in the name of society, of those rights which have been taken away from it by the authorities during the entire 35-year

period. This is our basic ideology, evident in our every move. It is that which binds us: the restriction of the rights of the academic community, of civil rights is always extolled in our program.

[Question] We are entering a sphere which invites controversy. The NZS defines itself as an apolitical organization. On the other hand, if you say that the sphere of union activities is secondary then what, if not politics, is primary?

[Answer] No. I do not remember any political NZS actions. It is a question of the definition of "apoliticism" and a definition of politics in general. We do not concur with that definition of politics which is advanced, for example, by the journalists of TRYBUNA LUDU or ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, or the theoreticians of the WSNS [Higher School of Social Sciences] (not all!). Hence the controversy. In my opinion, there should be no such controversies. We are not conducting political activity. We are conducting an activity which is viewed as political by the authorities. But the authorities would like to see everything as political, and, consequently, reserved for their own jurisdiction. We cannot agree with this; hence the constant conflicts. I don't know whether you agree with the concept of politics as expounded by the authorities, but I do not agree with that concept.

[Question] For me, the definition of something as political or apolitical is of less significance than content. A defensive attitude underlies both politicism as you have described it and apoliticism. Just as someone may be attacked for their "politicism," they may also be attacked for their "apoliticism."

[Answer] Yes, of course. In other words, to state it clearly: The NZS is not evading all issues which are of interest to students. On the other hand, the organization has clearly offered proof of the fact that it is not entering directly into the sphere of politics (in this case the sphere of politics is activity leading to the acquisition of authority). The NZS will not submit a register of voters in the coming elections to the people's councils. This does not mean that it will not act in the name of reforming electoral law. But such action is not political activity; it is normal social activism in the name of restoring political rights to society. And here accusations of politicism may occur.

[Question] The question of the pluralism of attitudes within organizations is closely linked with politicism. Within the NZS, a whole spectrum of views and world views exists. In this context, I would like to ask about the origins of the association. What is the tradition closest to yours, and in what direction do you intend to continue it?

[Answer] Our tradition is quite clearcut and concrete. The KZS Congress referred back to the traditions of the SKS [Student Solidarity Committee]. Hence the pluralistic formula of the independent student organization. We do not aim to transform ourselves into an organization which would not permit a student with definite political views to become a member. There is no formal reason for a PZPR student member not to sign up in our organization. We do not wish to be exclusive within the community. In conjunction with this, there were discussions concerning an ideological declaration at the congress, i.e., whether to adopt one in general. The possibility of limiting the open formula of our organization was

feared. Of course, certain statutory formulations already impose an ideology, but it is an ideology which is so open and universal that, in fact, it closes the door to no one.

[Question] Does not the openness of your ideology mean a lack of ideology? Was the fact that you did not adopt an ideological declaration not something of a retreat from obstacles?

[Answer] No. We ascertained that the community was not yet mature due to a lack of more serious discussion of the subject. This does not mean that at the next congress, which is to be held in Wroclaw in December, we will not adopt such a declaration. In any event, among those who are discussing such an eventual declaration, there are no adherents of the idea to diminish the pluralism declared by the NZS. Thus, even if we do adopt some sort of ideological declaration, it will likewise be very universal.

[Question] If I remember correctly, two concepts collided at the congress, conventionally known as "Warsaw socialism" and the "Christian Democratic" concept.

[Answer] There were many blunders in that discussion. These two declarations functioned on various planes, complementing one another. One, the Warsaw declaration, referred back to the democratic opposition and independent student movements from the 1970's, while the second referred to much more deeply rooted traditions. But to define the latter as Christian Democratic or National Democratic is unwarranted. We may, perhaps, quarrel with certain elements of phraseology, but it is not an unequivocal issue even for experts on the subject. With regard to the contents therein, in my opinion they have not violated the pluralism which we have declared.

[Question] Is the association not threatened with a split because of its announced pluralism and strong decentralization?

[Answer] I do not think so, for one reason. In such a political system as we function, under this system of authority, it is an obvious fact that all independent activities should be activities of solidarity. It is no accident that the independent trade union is called Solidarity. We must be close-knit. I do not perceive decentralizing tendencies. Even if they do appear--and that is normal, because there are always differences within a pluralistic model--the external system reminds us that we must act jointly.

[Question] Let us continue for a moment on the subject of pluralism. How does one reconcile the close ties with the church with pluralism?

[Answer] Like the whole of our society, we are rooted in a certain tradition, in which the church is the unchallenged moral authority. Hence, as an institution which has never lost its independence, which has helped foster the preservation of an enclave of life not under the dominion of the authorities, it is close to us. Our visit to the primate had the characteristics of a symbol. It was not a visit of the faithful to the head of the church...

[Question] A propos, are you a Catholic?

[Answer] I am, but not the kind that would please every pastor. What is important in the church for us is the universal qualities to which the church appeals more and more in contemporary society. I have not observed any conflict in the direct activity of the believers and the nonbelievers among us.

[Question] And what is the nature of the association's ties with [NSZZ] Solidarity?

[Answer] There are no formal ties. We are really an independent organization, and our contacts with Solidarity issue merely from our and their goodwill. It is a dual sort of contact with the entire union and with the elements in the academic community. These contacts, which had been more or less sporadic, now augur of greater steadfastness. By virtue of a resolution adopted at the congress, the newly elected union authorities are obliged to conclude an agreement on cooperation with us. This agreement will guarantee such things as the settlement of the problem of graduates, who will thus be protected by the union.

[Question] Let us devote a few words to independence. At the First NRZ Congress, the dominant trend was one which led to being shut off and to the psychosis of the beleaguered fortress. It was said: independence above all. But this cuts off the possibility of constructive action.

[Answer] I did not notice that we had concentrated our attention on our independence. Rather, if we are to speak of the hermeticism of our community, it is hermetic in the face of the moves of the authorities, who would like to subject the community in some way to themselves. And here, of course, the term "beleaguered fortress" is justified. In what way were we shut off--to ideas, to people? I think that this was your subjective feeling.

[Question] Yes, but it was this very atmosphere which led to soft-pedaling the issue of student self-government. Centers where the NZS felt itself threatened feared the self-governments.

[Answer] I would interpret this situation differently. Gdansk and Wroclaw quarreled over the subject of the self-governing body. Local experiences in these centers were diametrically opposed. It was not without reason that Wroclaw was afraid that a self-governing body appointed from above as the "only representative" of the community would menace NZS interests. In a passive community, the self-government is a body which is easy to suppress. School authorities, ill-disposed to the NZS, at Lodz University, for example, aim at appointing a self-governing body to make life easy for themselves.

[Question] But similar fears undercut the idea of the self-governing body per se.

[Answer] No, they do not. We discussed the idea of the self-governing body with our Wroclaw colleagues and we were in agreement on many fundamental questions. Later, at the congress, more thorough discussion was lacking. The discussion was fairly one-sided, without rejoinder. Hence, to an outside observer, the self-governing body might have appeared to be an enemy of the NZS or an unwillingly accepted alternative. For the interim, people wish to determine the form of the self-governing body when they feel it is needed.

[Question] Program discussion was also lacking at the congress. The only association program for the present is, to the observer's eyes, a program of immediate opposition and demand. You are joined together, for example, by the issue of political prisoners. This seems to be too little. An association should work out a constructive program.

[Answer] This is a reproach with reference to the congress. But the congress consisted of 3 days filled to the brim and not preceded by discussion. The NZS came into being independent of itself at many academic institutions, and its first actions, as well as its initial program declarations were extremely convergent.

[Question] Yes, it was easy in the various centers to become integrated with regard to what was unsatisfactory, to what was obviously to be questioned. I am concerned about the manner of entering the second phase, when it comes.

[Answer] We do anticipate entering the second phase. Hence the call for a second congress to be held as soon as possible, in order to work out a program of action. In advance, we envisage that it will be a program congress. We want to be well prepared in order to guard against running amok procedurally, which would bungle any attempts at merritorious discussion.

[Question] What, in your opinion, will be the makeup of the program to be worked out there?

[Answer] I see it to be on two planes. The first plane is composed of academic matters, the second, general social matters. Here we go beyond certain models adopted for a student organization, because we try to have an effect on everything that is happening in the country, in accordance with the will of our members. To move to concrete issues: there are the matters of the progressive reform of the higher school system, recruitment for studies and teaching programs. At the same time let us remember that in our decentralized structure most issues are left up to the schools, and if possible they are left up to faculties. The reason for that is so that certain things would be done by the people who are directly interested in them. Next, the issue of unemployed graduates and many others. Beyond this, the NZS aspires to continue to be an organization which acts in the name of democratic changes in the country. Here the program is intuitively perceptible. Our demands do not boil down to obtaining the release of those several persons from the leadership of the KPN [Confederation for Independent Poland] who are still under arrest, but amount to ensuring that the system of abiding by law and order does not permit the imprisonment of people for their convictions.

[Question] I understand that this intuitive program of the NZS was implemented during the course of the year of the association's existence. What is the balance sheet for these activities? What have you done for the community, what can you be proud of?

[Answer] Our accomplishments have been many, although they are not enough, and they have certainly not been summed up. I will speak of the examples I know best, i.e., from the bailiwick of the Jagellonian University [UJ]. Initially, the NZS completely took the initiative in such matters as programs of study. The

opposition to the forms of teaching ideological subjects and to the Russian-language course was most spectacular. The NZS began to be concerned over the quality and the level of studies. At the UJ all of this was conducted more or less without conflict because the school authorities were well disposed. In Lodz, however, the problems began at the level of the academic institution, since the demands which the school authorities were in a position to fulfill were not implemented.

[Question] This was the reason for the student strike, which led to later understandings.

[Answer] Yes. A paradoxical situation ensued in which there were some Lodz demands which had already been resolved in Krakow in the fall of the preceding year. In Lodz, the NZS was not as strong as it was in other centers, but it was immediately evident who had written the demands and who took the initiative in supporting these demands and in discussion. In view of the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] position during the strike, the idea of the Student Unity Committee [SKJ] collapsed. The SKJ turned out to be a sham union of the student community, which is not uniform where organizations are concerned. The SZSP is not our partner and because of this we cannot work in cooperation with it. It is an organization which has not changed in practice since the time that SZSP operatives were ceremonially awarded party membership cards--an organization compromised in the past.

[Question] You express your resentment of the SZSP, resentment which was vehemently stressed at the NZS congress. The tone of the third SZSP Congress was similar. Emotions ruled the day in both cases. For the present, the academic community is socially unified, the interests of all students are held in common. Despite this, differences in the plan of organization take on a radical character.

[Answer] You speak of the common interests of students which both organizations should implement. But the SZSP did not implement the interests of students! Let's not kid ourselves. And if they did implement them, then they did so to the extent that decisionmaking factors made this possible, not forgetting their own privileges. It is not so that the government is on one side and that we and the SZSP are on the other. No, we are on one side together with the students, for there is no other organization which attempts to represent student interests before the authorities, and the government and the SZSP are on the other side. During the strikes the SZSP was used, in fact, to liquidate them.

[Question] But there are such matters as the recent changes in the draft law on higher schools, on which both organizations take a similar position.

[Answer] Verbal protests mean little. The storm has quieted, but certain subtle changes have been wrought and it will be interesting to note the SZSP's position when the law is passed. I suspect it will be more or less in line with the official view. A situation may occur, however, which will surprise me, although it is the desirable one, i.e., that our views will be united.

[Question] Are you aware that you represent the better students?

[Answer] No, we represent all students. Our members are not better, they are more active. We commit ourselves to act in the name of the entire community, and when that community holds us in poor esteem, we will not have the effect we now have.

[Question] In your estimation, is the influence of the NZS in the community greater than the influence of the SZSP?

[Answer] In my estimation, yes. It depends what we mean by influence. You may say: you do not organize tourist excursions abroad and the percentages are unmistakably clear. But is everyone who tours with ALMATUR [Office of Travel and Tourism] an SZSP devotee? Let's not pretend that this is so.

[Question] And what do you propose in the place of tourist attractions to people who wish to enter the association?

[Answer] If someone becomes a member of the NZS, he has the right to advance his own ideas and no one will impose anything on him. He himself may conceive those projects which he wishes to see implemented by the NZS. This is a basic matter. The organization is whatever the members make of it, and if a given person enters the NZS then he, too, will leave his mark upon our joint action.

8536
CSO: 2600/114

CREATION OF NEW YOUTH FEDERATION REPORTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Katarzyna Zaczkiewicz]

> [Text] The Independent Youth Front, the Committee of the Polish Youth Union (ZMP), the Council of Self-Governing Body Cooperation, the School Youth Movement, the Communist Union of Polish Youth, the Student Renewal Movement, the Independent Student Union. After August school centers teemed with those fervently desiring to support organizational renovation. This in spite of widespread conviction about the passivity, lack of ideals and consumer attitude of the young toward life.

Teachers, school directors marvelled; in school superintendent's offices--consternation. Educators had no idea how to react to such unprecedented activity. However, in the majority of cases they looked at it with suspicion, because slogans proposed by students, particularly the most general ones, free expression of political opinions of striving for truth, seemed to have been realized long ago, so the educators were surprised by their revindication. Well, what was talked about at school heretofore?

Dynamite Without Label

Here and there, a sloppily printed paper, barely holding together with one staple or a clip, could be found under the bench. Such papers have been disturbing for quite a time--however, one has got used to them. Now, 1 year after the beginning of the renewal in the country, exactly on 12 and 13 September, small students' organizations, not linked with each other, assumed an institutionalized form and created in Gdansk a National Founding Committee (OKZ) of the Independent Federation of School Youth (NFMS). Some 150 students from high schools (mostly general high school students) agreed on a small-size program comprising 16 items.

Program presidium has been elected and its task established as of an executive organ. The federation set for itself very general objectives, which one could call as vague, and large, like fundamental law records (for example establishing communal education). Only half of the program's items concerned directly

the school and the organization of the educational program, which was intentional. "We refuse to have our eyes and ears closed, and not only at school"--said the deputy chairman Tomasz Sokolewicz from the J. Rej High School in Warsaw. "The question is to have an efficient flow of information, of objective learning, in other words--a restructuring of the school system."

Point 1 of the program advocates values which are indisputable and not contrary to the socially accepted system--patriotism, tolerance, personal freedom, truth, while the already existing social and political organizations add such values as peace and justice to the list. Sixteen and 17 year-olds fortunately do not know anything about war from their personal experience, nor can their imagination reach that far. And as concerns justice or social equality which the members of the NFMS mentioned--they are to be covered by the word freedom. A free and tolerant person--as they see--will undoubtedly strive for justice.

Education and individuality--self-education, control of the program of instruction and an active role in the school life--occupy a leading place in the program. The federation does not define itself politically, which does not mean that its members are neglecting to raise their political awareness (point 4), by organizing circles of self-education, forming "networks of independent periodicals" and "independent student libraries." They aim at "objectivization of humanities in teaching programs," "making possible the observance of certain anniversaries, which would be acknowledged by the federation as worthy."

They are aware of their influence on what occurs or what will take place at the school, and I suspect that after reading the program goals of the federation, a number of teachers will have doubts whether these young people are not planning to replace us in the process of education and management of educational institutions?

And so, the members of the federation aim to "achieve student's participation in pedagogical councils" and not only with the right to express their opinion on excursions, contributions and fees, amusements, but also with the right to vote on the subject of students' qualifications! But what is more, they demand student representation during the admission examinations to high schools.

The way of admitting additional places and preferences are, so far, an impenetrable charade shrouded in strictest secrecy. It may be worthwhile to attempt to dissipate charges of the arbitrariness in grading and favoritism. But what will happen with the authority of educators, the secrecy of deliberations of the pedagogical council, ensured by the school statute and school discipline? Which school superintendent's office will agree to the anarchism of education? It looks as if the defendants intend to occupy the places of jurors.

"We don't want to take over the role of the ZNP members"--they say--"we wish to become joint managers" and not school managers with full rights. However, with such a bold program this word "joint" does not surface, it vanishes in the abysmal depth of the sea of competence, which those federalists are demanding.

A question also arises, how can these ambitions be realized, what is and what will the reactions be?

The Reaction of the Environment

"What is a teacher's opinion--such is his reaction." Members of the Polish Teachers Union (ZNP) treat with hostility any type of organization with the adjective "independent." As Marzena Duszynska, a member of the federation, comments, school superintendents try to "ditch" the activity of the organization and to explain that they understand the nature of the school differently. The important problem is that the student will study, change his clogs and look neatly and decently.

School directors do not declare themselves openly against students' organizations, but consider that "something like that" does not fit in the school. This "something" (the word "organization" is carefully avoided), the so-called school periodical, for example WOLNA TRYBUNA. At the Batory General High School in Warsaw this periodical had to be submitted to the school director's censorship prior to distribution to students. WOLNA TRYBUNA does not exist anymore, but at a place where it is difficult to take it down, an indecent paper hangs. Sometimes the school director calls an "activist" in for a talk and asks in a friendly way: "What is going on in your head, would it not be better to join in a circle of true interest?" The deputy chairman of the federation, Tomek, had to change schools because he was accused of belonging to the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN). At the PAX High School in Warsaw the spokesman of OKZ was advised by a lady professor that he better not try to join the school self-governing body.

But the movement has not been "ditched" everywhere. Certain teachers are simply delighted that, at last, young people want to do something and take active part in lessons of civic upbringing which, until now, were boring and colorless and to give reports on interesting historical subjects, research source materials and search for the truth. In 46 general high schools in Warsaw, history textbooks for the fourth grade were put aside and the students turned to publications of the independent union "Solidarity" and set up school libraries as well.

Plans for the Future

The federation has spokesmen in 18 Polish towns starting with Male Gluszyce, to Lignica, Inowroclaw, Jastrzebie to Gdansk and in the capital. These spokesmen serve as contacts between the regions. They supply information to anybody who is interested, transmit to their members federation resolutions and programs. Similarly to "adult" organizations, they use the help of experts--most often university professors, particularly during the organization of "self-educational lectures."

Founding committees are soon to be merged in a general regional meeting of the region, by 14 November democratic elections for the National Congress are planned, which will work out a program and tasks for the federation. An extended and detailed program will result from an analysis of requirements supplied by separate regions.

The basic aim of the Founding Committee is to attain as soon as possible licensing of the federation. However, if the licensing should meet with serious difficulties from the authorities--the members of the union would not hesitate to stage protests, the form and place of which have not as yet been defined by OKZ.

In general, the Federation of School Youth has not explained many of its plans. However, the unprecedented dynamism of the programs and the fight to obtain or to gain individual recognition for the school at this time creates embarrassment to educational authorities, and yet it should lead to the formulation of a clear position. The rise of an independent school organization may be treated as a childish tomfoolery, passed over in silence, not noticed. However, it is known from experience, that practice of seeming or factual nonengagement, based on the principle "let's wait, somebody will get bored with it"--under today's realities, will be undermined by tension and prove incorrect.

For several months youth weeklies have been described as activities of independent organizations. However, no official response has been heard. And teachers are waiting, because--so-far--they don't know how to react. Who does or doesn't play his game at the expense of, or with the help of young people? As a matter of fact, what is it all about? Demands of self-government seem to be valid, this is the aim of the social renewal, but political problems are provoking and they are unclear. There has never been anything like this in the school history. It may be proper, as long as it is not too late to undertake an essential discussion with the young people who after all, sometimes think, evaluate, criticize independently, and consistently demand changes.

9481
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PRISTINA TELECAST ON TEXTBOOKS CRITICIZED

Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 81 p 12

[Article by Ljiljana Bulatovic, reporter for TV Belgrade: "As if Nothing Had Happened!"]

[Text] Why was there hardly one remark of any seriousness made on the content of the textbooks which have been used to teach youngsters in Kosovo?

Periodically, a program in the series "Do We Really Know One Another?" appears on television. The program involves the efforts of all TV centers. This time, 28 October of this year, the host was TV Pristina.

With good reason, the hosts chose the theme of the role of textbooks in familiarizing students with other republics and nationalities in our country. Keeping in mind the extent to which they were mentioned in analyses of the conditions for counterrevolution in Kosovo, it was natural to expect that this show would put an end to the critical analysis of textbooks in Kosovo.

However, by the content and the manner of dialogue of the hosts one was not really able to tell whether the program was recorded before the so-called "disagreeable events" in Kosovo or quite recently. The guests on the program were, for the most part, cast in the role of the audience in spite of their effort to talk truthfully about the general and particular problems of political textbooks published in our country.

The program cannot be quoted, but an unpleasant impression of it remains: people responsible for this problem in Kosovo and those who have been newly appointed did not find a single serious comment to make on the content of textbooks which have been used to teach and to educate dozens of generations of youngsters from Kosovo. Even the executive secretary of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of Kosovo, Rahman Dedaj, only posed a few questions which would generally be worth talking about, whether a little more attention should be given to Albanian writers and history in other republics and provinces, etc. He considered the most important problem in the publishing of textbooks to be "structural and conceptual," and he remarked that textbooks are still burdened with traditionalism, too much emphasis on history, and "sometimes nationalism."

Listening to him, it was hard to believe that an executive secretary of the League of Communists of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo feels the need to speak in this way about the role of textbooks in the mutual familiarization of Yugoslav children! And this after everything that the Yugoslav public has learned anyway about the content of textbooks which have been used to teach those thousands of youngsters who have loudly expressed such an anti-Yugoslav disposition!

To a remark by Comrade Midorag Bogicevic from Sarajevo that 80 percent of the writers in readers for elementary school in Kosovo are Albanian, the newly appointed director of the provincial enterprise for the publishing of textbooks began to count the names of Yugoslav writers in the readers just mentioned. The percentages he arrived at are not important. However, this was not the only tacit negative truth. To the questioning assertion of Comrade Bogicevic that surely Comrade Tito is represented in the proper manner in the histories and readers in the province as well as in all textbooks, the hosts tacitly agreed. It is even more difficult to forgive them for this. Either they are not acquainted with the facts or they do not wish to speak the truth.

Although the program was recorded in the month of July in Kosovo during conditions in which such large numbers of youngsters were placed under an irredentist banner, our TV crew was not able to come to a more complete understanding of the truth concerning the textbooks. Even when we were assured, for example, that there were no reprinted textbooks from Tirana, several days later some were seized in stores in Podujev.

It is not our intention to rub salt in the wounds of the Kosovo counterrevolution, but this article is a protest against the forgetfulness and the suppression which is again beginning to overcome us. For this reason we recall the speech of Tihomir Vlaskalic at a meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia on 6 May of this year: ..."It is not only a matter of textbooks which in an incomprehensible manner have a broad potential for the indoctrination of young people.

We must also purge and make difficult everything which produces a reactionary consciousness of dogmatic etatism and Albanian nationalism. We must free the young generation from the pressure of indoctrination and educate them in the spirit of equality and brotherhood and unity, in the spirit of Yugoslav socialistic patriotism."

Finally, in the Conclusions of the Central Committee of the LCY from a meeting on 7 May is this statement as it appears: "Considering the gravity of the situation in the university and in the secondary schools in Kosovo, it is necessary to carry out a critical analysis of the system of education, cadre policy, as well as of textbooks, above all from the ideological, political and pedagogic point of view."

The TV program lasted 45 minutes. This does not mean that any of these conclusions were touched upon. This is in keeping with the spirit of things when textbooks in Kosovo are in question--nothing was accomplished. The well-intentioned viewers were irritated to find out the truth about these textbooks and the measures taken to replace and change them. Periodically there has been a speech on this theme in different forums in Kosovo, but it does not have any connection with what happened that afternoon on the screen.

Finally, a couple of explanations: first of all, it is not customary for television reporters to criticize television programs in the newspaper. This is not the case here. This is a protest against the suppression of those little stumbling blocks which get in the way of realizing self-management socialistic relations in our country, especially those involved in the education of young people. At the same time, this is also the continuance of an intention to speak about things as they are, an intention which we expressed aloud after the counterrevolution in Kosovo, which in some forms continues there even today. This is also a protest against the news that Saban Hiseni, the replaced director of Radio Pristina, has become an advisor in the main office of Radio-Television Pristina.

The second explanation is for the question, why in the EKSPRES? Because I value highly the view this paper took toward the events in Kosovo and because I believe in the consistency of its editorial policy.

9548
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QUESTION OF ONE VERSUS SEVERAL LC CANDIDATES DISCUSSED

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 13 Nov 81 p 11

[Article by Milivoje Tomasevic: "Elections and Cadre Policy"]

[Text] It should not be the case that elections are the end of cadre policy in this period of the selection dilemna (one or more candidates). Many think that the harmony between the basic determinations of cadre policy and the practice of elections is seriously disturbed, that elections and cadre policy are even in irreconcilable conflict.

All agree on the main points, that no one dares to achieve a monopoly in cadre policy, and that this position in our society must be made more democratic. Nor is there any argument over the sovereign right of the citizen to have a say about those who influence his life, and therefore, he himself should choose the people in whom he will place his trust.

More Candidates for Every Position

The dilemna originates in the realization of cadre policy. Some people think that there should be more candidates on every list for every position. In favor of this opinion, one can cite Tito's words from a report at the 11th LCY Congress: "In the process of nomination and selection, for every position, even the most responsible, a greater number of candidates should compete; it is understood that they meet the established criteria. Then people will really be able to choose, according to their own judgment and decision, the best candidates, for whom they will extend genuine support...Attempts of individuals and groups to choose, concerning cadre policy and selection, people outside the election organs and bodies, or allegedly in their name, but in fact opposed to the principles and criteria of our cadre policy, must be prevented."

In spite of such a "platform" which is built into our basic documents in favor of the thesis concerning more candidates, examples can also be cited of inferior work of individual cadre coordinating bodies. These bodies, as was recently reported in the press, instead of directing cadre policy and worrying about respecting social criteria, sometimes directed their work at administrative appointment, and in this way practically held a monopoly in cadre policy.

Essence and Form

In practice, when only one candidate exists for each position, elections resemble voting to a greater extent than they do determination. When the voter votes only "for" or "against," then it is difficult really to regard this as being the same thing as the sovereign right of the citizen to choose for himself the one in whom he will put his trust.

The defenders of the thesis that more candidates than the number being chosen should not be placed on the cadre lists say that the essence (to choose the best) is more important than the form (the methods of the elections). They say that an emphasis on more candidates might cause more harm than good, might lead to factional and cliquish competition or even to the political division of citizens on demagogic and unprincipled bases. They recall that the emphasis on more candidates on the whole has led to sharp conflicts, factionalism along with the use of prohibited methods and dramatic outcomes.

It is useful, indeed, to remember, even in the extreme, how elections have been carried out until now. In the first postwar elections, there existed a unique alternative to the "blind ballot box." Anyone who was not "for" someone was given the opportunity (secretly) to drop their marker into the "opposition box." The Election Law of 1953 provided the opportunity to nominate more people than the number of positions for representatives of the federal and republic parliaments.

This was, however, too much of a temptation for people who did not have sufficient political experience and so many candidates were put into severe political struggles which for some groups and individuals brought more harm than good. Then began the search for an election process which would guarantee democracy and which would prevent undesirable conflicts.

The "Fatique" of the Selection System

That this is no simple matter is demonstrated by the fact that the two extreme positions are defended with equal zeal and almost the same quality of argument. Indeed, there is no doubt that emphasizing only one candidate must not automatically mean that the proceedings are not democratic. In the same way, a formal selection procedure with more candidates on the list does not guarantee democracy.

Fortunately, one essential point cannot be disputed. It is the complex "fatique" which is evident in the present selection system. That the selection proceedings are ripe for a change can be illustrated, on one hand, by the well-known lack of interest of the "base" (in the last delegate elections those people whose names were near the end of the list according to alphabetical order lost fairly regularly, regardless of their proven personal qualities) which can be interpreted as a form of protest. On the other hand, individuals in whose selection the "base" did not have a critical influence would have to feel a greater responsibility toward those who "pushed them through," like it or not, than toward those people who only voted for them officially and whose (official) representatives they are.

Therefore, there is no argument concerning the main problem--making cadre policy more democratic. The argument, however, lies in how this should be done. It is obvious that something in the lists and in the manner of selection must be changed. There are two reasons for this: everyone who is chosen (directors, delegates, officials) must be put into the position of being even more dependent on the electoral base, of being accountable to it, and on the basis of this accountability people can choose those they trust. At the same time, this is an altogether reliable way to force people who are elected to consider less their advancement and to struggle more for the policies and programs of the LCY. Only then will those who are chosen have the full support of the base. It remains, therefore, that in the preparations for the elections a way be found which would also provide for the corresponding national and class structure.

Finally, it should be said what is being particularly emphasized in meetings of the Commission for Organizational and Statutory Questions of the LCY, that the LCY, in the precongress period and in the elections which have already started in several republics, can stimulate others by its example, as it has done in the past.

The Key to Structure

To a remark that national, class, social, sexual, old-age and other aspects of structure cannot be provided by a secret vote involving more candidates, Branko Mikulic, at a meeting of the Commission for Organizational and Statutory Questions, responded:

"This can be easily created by a convention. For example, out of a group of clerks, the one who receives the most votes wins, out of a group of workers the one with the most votes also wins; however, the worker who wins may have even fewer votes than, for example, the clerk who lost."

9548
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'WITCH-HUNT' CITED IN PRESS REPORTING ON RELIGION

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Nov 81 SEDAM DANA p 14

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic: "Religious Affairs in a Counterproductive Cycle"]

[Text] A few days ago, responding to the question of Vatican Radio (a program in Croatian) as to what he thinks "about the recent attacks on our Ivan (Merc) in the domestic public press and would that perhaps hurt his process (for beatification)," Father Bozidar Nagy said: "You will perhaps be surprised if I say that not only will this not hurt, but it will be beneficial. This has given him a great deal of publicity, and now many people are interested in him who had never heard of him before. Numerous orders are coming in for his books and literature about him."

These remarks undoubtedly deserve a certain attention, since it is indeed true that there was no basis for all those adverse things uttered in recent months about Ivan Merc in a portion of our public press, and for that reason the "paper" campaign was actually counterproductive. It is certainly not our point that certain individuals or tendencies should not be written about solely because this could contribute to their popularity, but that what is said about them should be well founded and full responsibility should be borne for words uttered in public. And certainly this should be done when the reasons are good and sound.

Recently, however, opposed tendencies have been noted in certain of our newspapers (when it comes to the public issues of religion and the activity of the religious communities): ignorance and irresponsibility. As though, if we can so put it, people have become persuaded that no wrong can be done if blows are being struck against certain ecclesiastical values (and not uncommonly against religious values as well). What is more, they seem to believe that they will also receive public applause for this. Isn't there eloquent evidence of this in the fact that a portion of the press writes about these issues only from the angle of cases in which there has been a lack of restraint, while they are silent about a number of constructive facts, since supposedly they are not "attractive" enough? (Of course, there is in all this a certain amount of completely conscious raising of dust in "the yard next door" so as to "ensure" peace in one's own yard.)

Chimeric Criticism

And this unquestionably detracts from social policy in this area, since the impression is given that the representatives of these tendencies are at the same time exponents of official policy. So that instead of commitment to the fundamental achievements of this sociopolitical community being the actual line of demarcation (and then also the point of opposition and computation), by the logic of newspaper escapades of this kind, it appears at times that it is, for example, Ivan Merc.

And truly, should we allow Ivan Merc or any other unimportant person or fact to become our public touchstone? And allow some newsman (how absurd!) to publicly admonish the entire leadership of a republic on this basis for not having already put certain people on "slim rations"!

And finally, what is achieved by this "policy"? Father Bozidar Nagy concluded his guest appearance on Vatican Radio with these words: "Untruths of this kind, whose purpose is to manipulate an insufficiently informed reading public, not only offend the religious sentiments of citizens, but also arouse those who are not religious to ask themselves the justified question: "How much truth is there, then, in those other writings and attacks on the church and its people, which have unfortunately become more frequent in our press of late?" Of course, we do not intend to concern ourselves with the purport of Father Nagy's thought expressed in this way (though there are things which might be said), but we wish to call attention to the counterproductive nature of unscrupulous and chimeric social criticism, if the name at all applies to this kind of criticism.

One thing is certain: Ivan Merc will be used for a long time as a strong, so to put it, psychological argument in an attempt to defuse as well all that relevant and principled social criticism which has been uttered concerning certain tendencies within the church in recent months and which will continue to be relevant. At the same time, it will also be a welcome pretext for clericalistic circles to push a new (irrelevant, but equally dangerous for all that) differentiation (and for the sectarians to take it up), thus creating a new vicious cycle of unnecessary social tensions.

We have thus arrived at a point from which it is quite obvious where this crusade is leading. After all, one thing is certain: it does not lead toward a constructive relationship between, if we may so put it, Christianity and Marxism (of which the joint construction of socialism, this socialism which we have here and now, is a practical consequence), a relationship that would constitute a dialogue and those things which would make that dialogue possible, but leads toward a frontal collision and conflict. Which is exactly what is desired by the retrograde forces in both the church and in society. This is probably the only point on which they agree, as has been borne out by numerous examples.

The Constructive Forces

The dangers of this newspaper "witch-hunt" which has become current in the recent past are also manifested in this circumstance: that is, its protagonists, we believe, are nevertheless unaware of all these consequences. What is more,

we would say that they are actually giving evidence of their social "orthodoxy" and that in undertaking this kind of "involvement" they are "on the line." (Much like our university professor and public figure who, thinking probably that he was advocating a Marxist thesis, declared a few days ago that "religion is in and of itself based on fear of mysterious, unknown and invisible forces, on submission to them, and indeed on superstition"!?!)

Which brings us to the next point: Should people be concerned with this problem area (and we, of course, are not confining ourselves to the field of journalism) who do not know a miter from a chasuble or a rosary from a pectoral. Or, on the other hand, should personnel be found who will know how to be responsible and well founded in their public activity.

Of course, we are aware that a mere knowledge of the subject matter is not everything, but still knowledge does free one of the prejudices of ignorance. Which is to say, to paraphrase Monseigneur Edelby, that it is not wise to honor with immediate condemnation every silly fool who utters something stupid.

These critical remarks are not, of course, aimed at suppressing or toning down socially justified and principled confrontation of and opposition to all the relevant and negative tendencies that emerge within the various religious communities and which will unquestionably be manifested for a long time yet. It is precisely out of an awareness of the latter fact that we appeal for a social criticism that will not, so to speak, destroy its own effectiveness by being maladroit, but will strengthen and follow up that effectiveness. We also believe that external criticism, however principled and "devastating," is still not sufficient, and that internal criticism should be "assisted." But we certainly will not achieve it unless we create social conditions which by their own particular logic will bring to the fore within the church itself those constructive forces which exist in it even today and which are neither small nor insignificant. After all, we should not forget that the church is a living organism which is not immune to the world around it and that often the internal balance of power is a kind of reflection of certain circumstances in society.

Nor, then, can it be a matter of indifference to us whether various participants in public affairs act responsibly and competently or contaminate public policy with their activity and discourage the constructive forces within the church.

7045
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MISUSE OF EARTHQUAKE RELIEF FUNDS DESCRIBED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1610, 8 Nov 81 pp 19-20

[Article by Petar Ignja]

[Text] Yugoslav society has given 10 billion (old) dinars as aid to the stricken residents of Kursumlija opstina, who were hit by the Kopaonik earthquake. "The opstina fathers" divided up half the total among their unharmed friends.

Generally, the Kursumlija case is known to the public. Part of the money, which Yugoslav society gave to assist those who suffered in the Kopaonik earthquake, found its way into the pockets of those whose property had not suffered the slightest harm from the earthquake, because of the involvement of influential people in the opstina assembly. Today, people laugh bitterly and ask how private cafe owner Milan Milosavljevic from Kastrat received loan credit intended solely for repairing damages caused by the earthquake, even though it is well known that his house had simply burned down from other causes. How? Simply, on the basis of an invented record.

But let us begin at the beginning. We would remind the reader that the Kursumlija opstina was hit by an earthquake on 18 May of last year. The villages below Kopaonik mountain in general were damaged, for the epicenter was somewhere in the opstina of Brus. The Serbian executive council gave Kursumlija opstina 5 billion old dinars from the "solidarity fund," and those 5 billion went properly to those who had suffered the most damage. And then responsible officials of the opstina assembly, probably operating on the principle that when someone is giving, you should take as much as possible, requested that the Serbian executive council give another 5 billion dinars. They got that money too, and at that point there was enough money to develop a system of manipulation.

Personal Commissions

After the earthquake, the city of Nis tried to help Kursumlija opstina by sending a specialized, experienced team to assess damages. Those poeple did their task honestly (with the healthy prerequisite that because of their specialized skills and their neutrality, they could be expected to do so), and they transmitted their findings to the Kursumlija opstina assembly. How did responsible officials at the Kursumlija opstina assembly react to this brotherly aid from Nis? They simply thanked them for the cooperation as a preliminary, and rejected the findings of the Nis commission and relied (with foresight) on themselves and their own ability.

They formed at least ten local commissions that were headed by some sort of construction engineer for each one, largely technical people, and to these were added at least someone to keep the records. Thus equipped, they set out to assess the damages suffered at Kursumlija. Malicious tongues assert that many of the assessments were made at cafes or in offices.

The Nis commission established that at most three houses in the city itself were severely damaged by the earthquake; the local commissions multiplied this number into more than 3 hundred!

This fact says enough about the reason why the opstina functionaries of Kursumlija did not accept the work of the specialists from Nis.

Some other numbers will help the reader to understand everything that happened in Kursumlija. In the opstina 1931 loans were made, with the city and immediate surrounding area receiving 1040 loans and the city of Kursumlija itself, 371. Investigative judge Ljubinko Popovic, who later carried out the overall investigation aimed at establishing criminal responsibility said quickly in passing (since he was leaving for new duties in Nis) that the basic fact was that some part of the money went where it was intended, while a good part of it was distributed in Kursumlija itself, where not a single window was broken.

There is reliable evidence to show that 891 houses in Kussumlija opstina were damaged. Simple mathematics can show that more than half the loans were given without any justification at all. We would say that it is a matter of 5 billion old dinars, of which according to official data, the city of Kursumlija got 1.6 billion.

The readers will certainly be interested to know who resisted this dishonesty. The war veterans. The opstina Federation of Veterans' Organizations of the National Liberation War reacted to the entire presidium, and sent petitions to republic sociopolitical organizations.

We asked Miodrag Ilic, president of the Kursumlija LCY opstina conference, why the League of Communists did not react in a timely manner. The answer: "This happened during party elections."

When those who were caught in the affair began to retreat, as in some action film, some unseen hands disposed of both the records of the Nis commission and certain other suspicious records of the local damage-assessment commissions. The opstina investigative judge says that he did his part of the job, but since large amounts of money were involved, everything was turned over to the district public prosecutor in Prokuplje, as required by law. It remains to be seen, what form a complaint will take and whether it will eventually come to a trial in court. We cannot make all the facts public because it is still early, and the findings of the continuing investigation remain confidential. Legal proceedings have, however, been initiated to determine political responsibility, and those most responsible have been punished. Those punishments are another story in themselves.

The Serbia LCY opstina committee and the presidium of the veterans' organization opstina council in Kursumlija held a joint session on 19 June 1981 to consider the report of the opstina assembly commission, the executive council commission, and

the investigative judge of the Kursumlija opstina court on irregularities in the procedures for assessing damages and making loans to restore damages of the earthquake. The conclusions are clear: The commissions involved in assessing damages were unqualified, there were no damages from the earthquake in Kursumlija and the villages outside of the directly threatened region, and the loans intended to repair destroyed and damaged houses were distributed without any proper criteria. There were many irregularities and abuses throughout the process.

It was also proposed that the Kursumlija opstina assembly, as the responsible agency, should pass a resolution calling for the return of the loans that have been made.

About Punishments

The opstina assembly has accepted that proposal. Even the delegates who received loans "through connections" voted for it, and the date for repayment was set at 1 October. Yet nobody has yet returned a loan. The date was recently extended to 1 November. It remains to be seen as to whether a massive rush to return those loans will take place.

[Inset No 1, p 20] "What in fact is expected by the request of the basic LCY organization of the administrative agency of the Kursumlija opstina assembly, asking that the LCY committee deliver the stenographic record of its session to that organization." This question was asked by Dr Zivota Zivkovic, secretary of the presidium of the Nis LCY local organization committee, in a discussion at a committee session. "It wishes to see what particular individuals had to say in the discussion and then to attach the overall set of problems to particular persons and interpersonal relationships. Such attempts to divide up the committee have already been made. For this reason, the basic LCY organization is not turning over its records, so that the committee cannot see what healthy forces it can rely on and what other forces are hindering action. Such attempts at collusion must be disarmed."
[Reported in NISKE NOVINE (Nis News)]

[Main text] Punishments have also been suggested for those most responsible. It is proposed that a final warning before expulsion be addressed to the assembly president, Dragisa Ilic (reliable evidence shows that his four brothers and his father all got loans, although supposedly the president himself did not). A similar disciplinary measure would be aimed at several other responsible officials of the opstina assembly. But the suggestion of the opstina committee was only a suggestion. The basic LCY organization of the Kursumlija opstina assembly had a different opinion: according to their party comrades, for all they had done the leaders deserved only--a comradely reprimand! The opstina committee came back onto the scene, and, utilizing the rights of democratic centralism, carried out the discipline it had suggested. It was asserted that the opstina president could not remain in his function, and supposedly, a delegate motion for his removal was initiated.

[Inset No 2, p 20] How the Assessors Were "Punished"

The people who worked in the commissions for determining damages (and the text indicates how they performed their task) also were given party disciplinary punishments. They received--comradely criticism. It would be funny, if it were not so pitiful.

[Main text] We asked Miodrag Ilic, president of the LCY opstina conference, about the penalties. Did he feel that such people could remain in the party? The man said that his opinion is nothing more than one man's voice, but that the decision on punishment was not approved unanimously, but on a 6 votes for and 4 votes against tally. He admitted that there are people who regard these penalties as Draconian measures!

And so that is what happened at Kursumlija, even though a final period has not been placed on the affair. What do the people who were directly involved in this dishonest work of taking advantage of human misfortune have to say about all this? We could not reach them for comment. Some were not at their jobs, others were not in Kursumlija. We had neither the time nor the strength to chase them down. If they have anything to say, certainly any newspaper would give them space to say it.

We did, however, learn that Modzo Milosavljevic, of Kosanicka Raca, had come to the opstina assembly office "regarding housing." His house had been determined to be dangerous for habitation and this man asked "the state" to let him use the tent for a while longer (the date for returning it had already passed). He would try to find some accommodation with his brother or other relatives. Midzo Milosavljevic of Raca had not received a loan.

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1961

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15 January 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1961

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OFFICIAL REPORTS ON MEETING OF BLOC IDEOLOGISTS

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 12, 1981 pp 3-10

[Article by Tamas Palos, deputy department head of the Central Committee: "Policy of the Communists--Peace, Progress and Socialism"]

[Text] Everyone who spoke said the convening of the conference held on 3-4 November 1981 in Moscow by the ideological and international affairs secretaries of the Central Committees of the communist and workers parties in 11 socialist countries[1] was timely and important. Important because the fraternal parties regarded it as necessary to discuss and evaluate the world political developments which have occurred since the last conference (in Berlin, July 1979), to exchange their experiences in ideological work, and to strengthen the cooperation which has developed in the internal class struggle. Timely because quite a few new developments were awaiting discussion and analysis, and the fraternal parties wanted to designate the main lines and concrete goals for uniting their efforts on the basis of the most recent observations. On one hand, the participants in the conference saw the altered conditions of recent times in that the international situation had become to a large extent more strained and, on the other hand, as they put it in their communique, "the continuous development of the world of socialism and its building work have placed new tasks before the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries."

At the end of the conference, the terms "important" and "timely" were supplemented by a new word of appreciation: the delegates referred to a "useful" conference. This can be explained by the fact that the talks achieved their goal, because at the high level of Central Committee secretaries, 11 communist and workers parties had:

--coordinated their evaluation of the world political situation;

--affirmed the unchanged reality and importance of the earlier peace proposals and initiatives of the socialist countries;

--discussed timely questions regarding the cooperation of the participating fraternal parties in the struggle for peace, socialism and social progress;

1. The Bulgarian Communist Party, the CSSR Communist Party, the Cuban Communist Party, the Laos Revolutionary People's Party, the Polish United Workers Party, Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the GDR Socialist Unity Party, the Romanian Communist Party, the Soviet Union Communist Party, and the Vietnamese Communist Party.

--formulated the concept that the parties represented at the conference are prepared to cooperate in the most urgent problems of the present time and in the guarding of peace with everyone who joins in the effort to continue the process of detente and put an end to the arms race;

--become familiar with one another's experiences in respect to how they will further develop the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its propagation in a creative way, and how they will strengthen certain elements of general socialist thinking;

--expressed the determination of the parties regarding active participation in the international ideological struggle and their readiness to broaden cooperation in the interest of popularizing the ideas of communism and peace in opposition to the reactionary bourgeois ideology and propaganda that is hostile to socialism.

As reported in the press announcement, all these things took place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and unity. Behind these things is the significant fact that the communist and workers parties working on various continents of the earth and in varying situations on the direct solution of tasks have taken a unified position on the questions that were discussed, which, as is evident, are very important. Of course, even at this conference this was accompanied by a variety of views and opinions that is natural considering the above-mentioned conditions. But it also happened that among the 11 delegations only 10 were able to join in a joint declaration in defense of Cuba because the representatives of the Romanian Communist Party did not wish to take part in this action.

On balance, the Moscow Conference was a successful continuation of the series of conferences held regularly since December 1973 with the participation of the ideological and foreign affairs secretaries of the central committees. At the present, the seventh, conference, the leader of the Hungarian delegation, Miklos Ovari, could state in a well-founded manner: "We shall make broad use of the results in the domestic and international propaganda work of our party." On basis of the delegation's report, his words have been affirmed since then by the leading party body.

The leading party politicians of the socialist countries stated unanimously at the conference that in the present world situation many elements of detente and tension are present. At foreign political presentations, however, it is frequently asked whether we can still speak of detente. We can firmly reply with a yes. Not only because no change has occurred in the basic factor resulting in detente, in the power relations, but also because the achievements of detente have been permanently built into the relations among states, and the warlike powers have not been able to uproot these. And the subjective bases of detente, the unflagging efforts of the progressive forces for peace and their global repercussions continue to be forceful in guarding the results achieved by way of detente and in continuing on this course.

Together with the existence of detente, it is a fact that in recent years the international situation has become more strained and the political victories of the detente which unfolded in the 1970's are in danger. As the cause of this, they unanimously pointed out the following at the Moscow Conference:

1. Let us first look at the facts.

The new United States government announced as soon as it assumed power that it would reject the ratification of the SALT II Treaty.

The capitalist countries are impeding by every means they can that agreement at the Madrid Conference should come about in respect to the expansion of the zone of confidence-building measures and in respect to calling a conference on European military detente and disarmament.

The NATO countries regard the Central European discussions in Vienna on reductions in force as being deadlocked.

The United States and its allies have rejected the Soviet proposal for a moratorium on the placing of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

2. In the meantime, on the other hand:

NATO has made a decision on the placement of new-type nuclear missiles in Europe.

The American President has decided on beginning the serial production of neutron bombs.

In the Pentagon budget alone, military goals will be increased next year by more than $40 billion, and thus will come to $226 billion. By 1986, the United States is planning to spend $1.5 trillion for this purpose.

Organization of the American rapid deployment force is proceeding at a forced pace, and in the middle of November in the "Bright Star '82" military exercise framework it already tried out in the Middle East those forces which the United States is inclined to use against any people "in the defense of its global interests."

The United States has declared its willingness to deliver modern American weapons, military technical means and technologies to China.

3. As we could read in the Moscow announcement, all this was accompanied by the effort of:

--"the imperialists to intervene in the internal affairs of the socialist states and other countries and seek to disintegrate the socialist community";

--"the imperialists and their allies to incite and support reactionary forces in Latin America, the Caribbean countries, the Middle East, in the southern part of Africa, in the horn of Africa, in Southeast and South Asia, and in other areas of the world."

4. All of the above-mentioned actions have been accompanied by large-scale propaganda. According to the statement of the fraternal parties, "In order to lay an ideological smokescreen over their own activities, the militarist groups are loudly circulating baseless fabrications about "the Soviet military threat."

Under this pretext they are conducting an unbridled ideological and propaganda campaign not only against the socialist countries but in effect against every revolutionary and fighter for national liberation and peace. They present the broad-scale and mounting antiwar movements in the capitalist countries, which are socially and politically manifold, as if they were organized from the outside and were antithetical to the national interests of the countries."

In light of the Moscow Conference there are at present four main lines of activity we face from the aggressive forces of imperialism:

--the hindering of negotiations;
--unbridled armament;
--the damaging of relations among states;
--anticommunist, antidetente propaganda.

And the deduction from all this is that a dangerous change has taken place in the foreign policy of the United States and thus in its international attitude regarding the cause of detente and world peace. The greatest danger is represented by that concept of the extreme circles of imperialism that the interests of the capitalist world can be realized only by acquiring military superiority and upsetting the balance.

The ideological and foreign affairs secretaries of the central committees seek an answer not only to what has happened in the imperialist camp, but also the reasons therefore. In general, three conditions were discussed.

First, those forces have taken over political power in the United States which are linked more closely than anything heretofore to the military-industrial complex, and they represent those interests to the extreme. These firms manufacture weapons in great volume for army orders and pocket tremendous profits in the sale of weapons of mass destruction. For example, the MX missiles represent a $33 billion order, the cruise missiles a $4 billion order, the system of nuclear submarines equipped with Trident missiles an $11 billion order, and the new-type strategic bombers a $12 billion order.

Furthermore, American concerns gain great profits from weapons exports. According to data in FORTUNE Magazine, the leading U.S. military industrial firms are also the largest exporters. Among these are General Dynamics, Lockheed, Boeing, McDonnel-Douglas, and so forth. But military industrial enterprises in other NATO countries have also revived markedly.

Secondly, certain capitalist circles see the way out of the crisis of capitalism in a more aggressive policy because it is in this way that they would like to guard or gain their domination over areas rich in energy sources and raw materials. And they see a means therein of torpedoing the revolutionary process by way of a ruthless fight against the left wing in their own countries and harshly opposing the forces of progress, peace, and national liberation.

Thirdly, imperialism hopes to acquire military superiority over socialism, thereby weakening the positions of socialism and the favorable effect it has

exercised on world development. It is from here that the power politics of imperialism emerge and those doctrines which change with the times but are always essentially the same, such as, "mass retaliation," "rolling back" and so forth. This also incites them to warlike extortion and to an arms race, among other things, in the calculation that in this way they will succeed in economically "exhausting" socialism and burying its social stability.

In their policy of raising tensions and bringing about confrontations, the leading circles of imperialism are giving an increasingly greater role to the European theater. Recently in this connection, the American President made his frightening announcement on the possibility of a limited nuclear war on the continent. To make a realistic judgment of the European situation, it is worthwhile to note the duality latent in the West European attitude. On one hand, it is obvious that the class interests of the United States and of the European capitalist countries are the same, and in fact from the viewpoint of the defense of their allegedly threatened social system they are interested in a "strong America" and the maintenance of its large Western armament potential. But on the other hand, from the viewpoint of their situation, endowments, possibilities, and, finally, their own interests, they calculate more carefully the realities of the world and of Europe, and therefore in many respects they do not follow American thinking and give voice to different views and endeavors.

However, the bourgeois propaganda which maintains that the socialist countries are "speculating" on differences between the United States and Western Europe is false. The socialist countries do not wish to incite differences of view; their interest is that progress and peace should be victorious in the whole world, including Europe.

The international strains are increasing the foreign political measures of the Chinese leadership and their open collaboration with the extreme, aggressive circles of imperialism. By virtue of the coincidence or convergence of political concepts, a Chinese-American political collaboration has developed which endangers the world, including the peace of Asia. The representative of the Vietnamese Communist Party spoke of this very graphically when he pointed out: "In Southeast Asia, Beijing's strategy is directed at weakning and then annexing Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and thereby opening a new path to gaining domination over the entire area." To this end, it is constantly provoking Vietnam militarily, conducting psychological warfare against it, and doing everything to disrupt its economic life. It attacks Laos in a similar way. Against Cambodia, to quote the Vietnamese delegate--"it has started an undeclared war which consists of three elements: Chinese command and weapons--Thailand border country--Pol Pot bands." In all these matters, Beijing finds allies in the United States, Japan, and the ASEAN countries. On balance, the conference summarized the mainsprings of present imperialist policy as follows: "It is endeavoring to continue its colonial and neocolonial policy, oppress the people, and to stop and choke off movements that are struggling for national and social liberation. All this is related to the deep economic crisis of the capitalist world and the unprecedented sharpening of social and political contradictions. It shows that in the interest of overcoming its own crisis imperialism will not recoil even from foreign political adventurism, and it seeks to shift the burdens of the crisis onto the backs of the people."

The communist and workers parties of all socialist countries reacted at the Moscow Conference to the above-mentioned changes in imperialist policy as they have at recently held party congresses, or as we have seen at the various forums of the Warsaw Pact: resolutely, consistently, moderately and calmly, with the interest of peace in mind. Again they showed that they are aware of their great responsibility because, as they emphasized, "the socialist community is the main factor in keeping the peace and solidifying security." Accordingly, they recommended to the attention of their foes and partners that "the foreign political proposals and initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states and other socialist countries have represented an alternative of a type building a peace program for the 1980's, as compared to the aggressive lines of American imperialism and its allies."

One of the pronouncements of the Moscow Conference which evoked a large reaction was that it vouched for the complete openness of the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries toward all those forces which advocate peace.

Among these, the policies of the new, independent states of Africa, Asia, and Latin America are acquiring an increasingly more prominent and greater influence. There are already more than 100 states which are following a peace-loving foreign political direction. These states which have chiefly selected the path of socialist development, have resolutely made themselves heard in the United Nations and other international forums. The movement of the nonaligned nations, which brings together most of the liberated countries, contributes to an important degree to the defense of peace and to the restraining of the arms race.

A very important part of the peace potential consists of the general democratic antiwar movement. Today this movement is again being strengthened and given greater and greater impetus, which is particularly striking in the West European countries.

What are the causes of this? On one hand, the fact that American policy is making people more and more uneasy; and on the other hand, the effect of the peace-loving initiatives of the socialist countries, which reveal the real possibilities for eliminating the danger of war.

Various political forces have linked into the antiwar movement. These include the communist parties, important circles of social democracy, and the environmental-protection movement. A more important factor is the working class and the trade movement. The working class already senses that the weight of the militarization of the economy will fall on its shoulders with the increase in inflation and unemployment, the rise in taxes, and the reduction of funds for socioeconomic goals. They are active in many bourgeois political parties, including certain circles of parties belonging to government coalitions. It is characteristic that in the antiwar movement an increasingly greater role is being assumed by respected military leaders who filled high posts in the army of their country or the headquarters staff of NATO. The realistic-thinking members of the ruling classes in the capitalist countries also advocate the avoidance of nuclear war.

Under present-day conditions, the antiwar movement frequently assumes an international, continental character. An example of this is the Peace March '81, which

started in Copenhagen on 22 June, passed through the territories of the FRG, the Netherlands, Belgium, and marched into Paris.

The Moscow Conference well reflected the fact that the fraternal parties have attributed, in the more strained international situation, an exceptionally outstanding importance to the stability of the socialist community, its unity, and its coordinated and manifold international presence. They are endeavoring to have their international cooperation strengthened in every area of life for the benefit of the socialist community as a whole and for every single member. The bilateral meetings held this summer in Crimea, including the talks between Janos Kadar and Leonic Ilyitch Brezhnev, provided important guides on the road to the realization of common goals. It was confirmed that the further development of the economic cooperation conducted in the CEMA framework, the increased efficiency of the institutional system and the deepening of socialist economic integration was of special importance for every country. In fact, in face of the increasing threats of imperialism, the defense capability of the Warsaw Pact could be maintained at the requisite level only by making economic cooperation more efficient.

In their comments, the representatives of the fraternal parties also dealt with the Polish events. To summarize what was said, we may formulate as their joint position a strengthening of their solidarity with the communists of socialist Poland and all Polish patriots. They support their struggle against the counterrevolution and the antipeople forces of anarchy, for the overcoming of the crisis, the consolidation of socialism, the leading role in society of the PZPR, and the development of the Polish People's Republic as a solid member of the socialist community. In this regard it was said: bourgeois propaganda seeks to show the Polish crisis as "the crisis of socialism" and the failure of "the Soviet model." But the troubles were not caused by the fact that the Polish leaders allegedly followed blindly "the Soviet model," but by the fact that they deviated from the principles of building socialism which had proved successful for decades. To be sure, these principles require that by taking realistically into account the national endowments and characteristics of their countries, the communist parties should strictly adhere to the Leninist norms of party life, consider carefully solidifying their relations with the masses and the improvement of socialist democracy, conduct a realistic economic policy, educate the workers in an internationalist spirit, bear witness to a revolutionary vigilance and oppose antisocialist forces in a firm and timely way.

In solving their domestic and international tasks, the countries of the socialist community can count on the energetic support of the others, the participants in the conference stated. To buttress this stance, they discussed and established that according to congressional resolutions it is an unchanged and timely task to strengthen cooperation among the parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. And to make sure that they were unified in interpretation, the participants repeatedly stressed: "These principles in themselves include full equal rights, respect for independence and sovereignty, nonintervention in domestic affairs, solidarity and mutual assistance."

Given the nature of the conference, there was a great deal of discussion of the fact that the place and role of the ideological fight has increased in the international struggle. This may be regarded as an objective phenomenon because the conflicting class interests of the working class and the bourgeois confront each other also on the ideological front, and the international class struggle includes in itself the ideological struggle. But this is also true in a national framework.

We must speak of this clearly nowadays because the United States and all of NATO is waging a propaganda campaign of extreme incitement against the socialist community, and primarily against the Soviet Union, the communist parties, the national democratic and liberation movements and the peace forces. It masks its activity prejudicially with ideological slogans. Nevertheless, it is evident that international imperialism has turned to ideological undermining work for directly political goals, the arresting of detente, the upsetting of the strategic balance, and the insistence on armaments. It is striving not for an open battle but for the misleading of international public opinion including that of its own population. In this, it exploits the internal and external difficulties of the socialist world system.

Undoubtedly in the present tense international situation, the conditions of propaganda and information work are more complicated. In addition to the wildly anticommunist, antisocialist and antiprogressive propaganda of the imperialist power centers, we must also reckon with ultraradical, psuedoleft and Maoist propaganda.

We need a propaganda that is on the offensive where we can build on the moral, political, social, economic and military strengths behind our international efforts and which are available to the socialist world system. We can also make use of the opportunity presented by the fact that interest in the ideas of socialism and its practice continues to grow in the nonsocialist world. And we can also rely on the circumstance that the peoples of the world are becoming more and more aware of the actual danger that threatens their peace and security. Despite political and ideological differences, more and more people regard it as important to seek that which binds them together in the struggle for peace and disarmament. Consequently, they are receptive to all those calls which mobilize for disarmament, for the restraining of armaments and for the prevention of war.

Under these circumstances, such tasks come to the forefront of the international information work of the socialist countries as convincingly show and popularize their foreign political line and their peace policy and unmask the armament policy and the antidetente line represented by the imperialist circles. The present situation requires propaganda which will help make it clear that gone are the times when "the powerful of this world" decide on matters of war and peace. The situation requires the dispersion of illusions that all can be settled in the negotiation rooms of international conferences. Everyone must be aware of the fact that he too is responsible for the fate of peace.

The program for ideological cooperation was enhanced further at the Moscow Conference. The guiding idea of the concrete agreements was that we must study mutually and more deeply, apply and circulate creatively those rich experiences

which the socialist countries have gained in solving important economic and social problems, in realizing the leading role of the party, in developing socialist democracy and statehood, and in ideological educational work.

They dealt separately with the question of what they might do in strengthening the unity of their countries and parties in the means of mass information. They expressed the view that one of their important tasks was socialist economic integration, production cooperation realized in bilateral relations and a more multilateral and systematic familiarity with technical-scientific cooperation. By this means, mass communications should be an example of relations among free and independent peoples and contribute to their more rapid advance toward socialism and communism. The participants in the conference emphasized that it is necessary to broaden and strengthen the mutual informing of public opinion regarding results of their countries, in order that the many sided cooperation of their peoples should be strengthened.

The MSZMP delegation[2] which on the basis of its authorization participated actively in the work of the conference, also urged further development of cooperation among the socialist countries and the communist parties. It evaluated the basic processes and phenomena of the international situation in harmony with the fraternal parties, and it outlined several of the more important characteristics of the carrying out of the 12th Congress resolutions. It especially dwelt on how important we regard it that we should speak better and more convincingly in our ideological work of the prospects for peace, analyze the international positions of socialism and progress more deeply, and explain more vigorously their determining role in the development of international relations. At the same time, we must reveal more deeply the present-day characteristics of social development. It is important for us to reason with more credibility, with greater conviction on behalf of our principles, plans, their long-range foundations and their reality. In our ideological work, a continuingly essential task is a deeper and more creditable analysis of our practice in building socialism and its propaganda.

The MSZMP delegation assured the delegations present at the conference that our party will be in the future, too, a participant in bilateral and multilateral ideological cooperation between the communist and workers parties. This position was affirmed at the 3 December session of the Central Committee. In this sense, it is the task of party organs, organizations and institutions active in every area of ideological work to utilize the experiences of the Moscow Conference in socialist building work and in the struggles waged in the international arena. The whole system of means in agitation and propaganda work seeks to help in this task.

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2. Mikos Ovari, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; Andras Gyenes, secretary of the Central Committee; Imre Gyori, department chief of the Central Committee; Sandor Laszlo, scientific director of the TIT [Society for the Propagation of Scientific Knowledge].

PROPER ROLE, ACTIVITIES OF PARTY ORGANS DISCUSSED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 23 Dec 81 pp 2-3

[Article by Thimi Nika: "The Party--A Leading Force of Our Socialist Society and State"]

[Excerpts] The 8th Congress of the Albanian Workers Party gave special attention to increasing and uninterruptedly perfecting the leading role of the party, tasks which are closely allied with the development and further expansion of the revolution in all fields and the complete building of the socialist society. The report presented by Comrade Enver Hoxha at this Congress is a document with great political and ideological importance and is another contribution of inestimable value not only for the defense but also for the further enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the party of the working class, that party which V.I. Lenin called "the thought, the honor and the conscience of our times."

In Albania, the party directs the entire life of the country. Our party has been and remains a revolutionary party, because during its entire history, strongly relying on Marxist-Leninist doctrine, on the laws of the materialistic development of society, it has worked out and executed a correct, pure and crystal-clear line, in complete accord with the interests of the working class and the other working masses. This line has enabled the party to orient itself well in every situation, no matter how difficult and complicated, to understand the present, to foresee the future, to devise and execute a revolutionary strategy and tactic at all times, to consistently carry on the class struggle against foreign and domestic enemies, among the people and in its own ranks.

In order to ensure its leading role everywhere and at all times, our party has always resolutely implemented the principle of the class struggle. It has shattered and caused the shameful defeat of all the diabolical plans and efforts of its many and varied enemies, both domestic and foreign, who, in order to bring about the degeneration of the socialist system, have directed their attacks, in particular, against the party and against its leading role. In the process of this struggle, the Albanian Workers Party has amassed a rich revolutionary experience, with great theoretical and practical value, from which it has drawn very important lessons and conclusions in regard to the protection and construction of socialism and the strengthening of the party of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our party has always waged the class struggle correctly and without mistakes, according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, taking a principled

stand in every situation, not falling into opportunism or sectarianism. While successfully waging the class struggle, it has continually increased and strengthened its leading role in the entire life of the country, and it has executed great duties on the glorious road of the building of socialism and the defense of the fatherland.

The 8th party congress assigned the duty of forming a clearer and more complete concept in regard to the execution of the leading role of the party in all links and in every field. In order to achieve this, the Congress stressed, it is necessary to struggle against narrow understandings of this matter, which are reflected in the erroneous opinion that "only the leading organs and apparatuses make up the party," not the great organized masses of all Communists. There have been cases where, on the basis of the principle that "the party directs everything," some people have involved the party organizations and committees and their directors in the concrete resolution of minor problems of production, administration, technology, etc. These attitudes show an obvious misunderstanding of the fact that the party leadership is, first of all, a political and ideological leadership and the party organizations should carry on a broad ideological and political activity for the theoretical and practical analysis of directives and decisions in order to make workers conscientious about executing them. Of course, the leadership of the party is also practical and concrete. Therefore, the most correct combining of all sides, with priority being given to the political and ideological aspects, which makes it possible to achieve a deep understanding of the correct execution of the leadership of the party, will stop the monopolization of work, the stifling of the initiative of the cadres and the masses, the duplication and displacement of party levers, and the weakening and withering away of the leading role of the party.

The sole and undivided leadership of the party and the revolutionary implementation of this principle have nothing in common with the monopolization of works and duties by its organs and basic organizations. The monopolization of works has negative consequences and leads to various distortions, to lack of confidence in the party levers and to their undermining. Protective attitudes and flaunting of authority also have negative consequences. Therefore, they should be severely combatted whenever and wherever they appear.

Of course, the party organizations cannot do all this by itself. Therefore, they put their levers into action; they charge them with concrete duties, they guide them and monitor them and require that they give reports on the exact execution of their duties. Therefore, it is very important that the party organs and organizations achieve the best possible collaboration with the levers for the execution of the tasks of the party.

The party has many levers and has trained a large army of cadres. It has assigned duties, powers and responsibilities to all; it guides and monitors them and asks for reports from them. But each one has full responsibility for its own work. But what has been happening on some occasions? As the 8th party congress revealed, there have been incorrect tendencies on the part of some state and economic organs. In the name of ensuring the leading role of the party, they have been asking the permission of party organizations and forums

for everything. They have been attempting to legitimize their activities. Such attitudes have nothing to do with ensuring the leading role of the party forums and organizations but are motivated by a desire to share responsibility with these groups; therefore they should be severely combatted and the party organizations should not permit such things.

The range of issues with which the party organs and organizations are concerned is very broad. It covers political, ideological, economic, cultural, and defense problems and the entire life of the country. But, in the name of leadership and management, these groups should not become involved in details, in minor matters or in matters which the party has delegated to the governmental organs, the economic organs or its other levers, for solution.

The work of the party is, above all, work with individuals, work to educate, enlighten, mobilize and organize them. This makes it possible for the party to successfully carry out its main leadership function and, at the same time, it eliminates a great danger for a party in power--its transformation into an operating organism with state functions, a danger which the party has always combatted and has not allowed to appear.

The 40-year experience of the party and the documents of the 8th party congress prove the correctness and vitality of the Marxist-Leninist teaching that the more the revolution progresses and expands, the more the leading role of the party should be strengthened and perfected in every sphere of life and of state and social activity. At the same time, it is a crushing blow against the "theories" of the disciples of the bourgeoisie and against revisionism, such as those on the reduction of the role of the party to a "means of ideological influence," on the "party of all the people," on "political pluralism," "the great and single democratic party," etc, whose aim is to leave the working class without its conscientious vanguard in the revolution and in socialist construction. History has relegated these "theories" to the dustbin.

CSO: 2100/34

HUNGARIAN AIRLINE CRASH AT PRAGUE RUZYNE AIRPORT TOLD

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 22 Oct 81 p 7

[Text] Prague (from our reporters)--Yesterday, the air traffic at the Prague Ruzyne airport was flowing at its accustomed rhythm and speed as any other day. Planes landing and taking off in all directions were taking their turns on runway 31. At 14.19 hours, a Hungarian MALEV Airline aircraft, a scheduled Amsterdam-Prague-Budapest flight 641, was making its approach. The weather around the capital reflected a typical autumn day. Low clouds and haze were reducing visibility, a situation which no pilot appreciates. The crew to control tower communications were strictly following a hundred times repeated routine exchanges. Employees at the airport were doing their work and subconsciously registering each take-off and landing even when it was not a part of their job descriptions. And everybody watching the blue and white Hungarian aircraft could see that the landing maneuver was not following the usual procedures.

The pilot must have his hands full, people on the ground and in the surrounding buildings were saying. The scenes that followed appeared to be cut out of a disaster movie. The airplane hit the runway hard with its front wheels. While the rear landing gear started smoldering, the left front tire split, the jet engine pitch rose, the aircraft made a sharp left turn off the runway, grass was flying through the air and then, with a crashing sound, the fuselage broke off just behind the wings.

The aircraft remained helplessly grounded next to the landing strip with 83 passengers and nine crew members on board, its front landing gear dug in one meter deep into the soft terrain. By that time the sound of sirens filled the air. Fire engines left their stations and rescue vehicles were called in immediately. This was the most critical moment of the rescue operation. Will the jet fuel ignite or not? The [aircraft] doors and emergency exits opened and, with trained hands, the crew dropped the emergency slides. The first passengers started to leave the aircraft. To the consternation of those who were watching, the rescued passengers began to light up their cigarettes. Once again, they were lucky. No jet fuel was leaking from the aircraft and so, even now, there was no fire. Two men in white freed the aircraft pilot Takac in the pilot compartment and provided first aid to the slightly injured passengers. In the Pod Petrinem hospital six ambulatory beds were standing by for the ambulance arrivals. However, they were not needed because only two passengers were brought here. An American and a Canadian with spine injuries. As we were

informed just prior to press deadline by the resident physician Dr Pavel Balan, the men were not in shock and their injuries were slight. "Perhaps they did not even realize that they have really been born the second time." The aircraft captain Takac was hospitalized at the Motole university surgical clinic of Professor Nahodil. The injured [pilot] is out of danger.

The transportation minister of the CSSR, Vladimir Blazek, has appointed a commission of experts to investigate the air crash; Hungarian experts will participate in the investigation.

CSO: 2400/101

HEGEDUS AIRS VIEWS ON POLISH MILITARY TAKEOVER

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 15 Dec 81 p 3

[Text] "The power takeover by the military is politically and sociologically understandable. It is too early to judge it from an ethical viewpoint." Such is the opinion of Andras Hegedus, Hungary's premier between 1955 - 1956. This man who called Soviet troops into Hungary in 1956 and who has been one of the most prolific critics of the Kadar regime since the 1960's now takes a stand midway between his two former positions in evaluating the Polish situation. Naturally, there is no approval, but neither is there a vehement emotional denunciation as was the case after the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia. At age 59, Hegedus, recipient of a pension resulting from a high communist award, is torn between a concept of absolute freedom and reality as its exists in East Europe.

"Without presuming to be capable of analyzing Jaruzelski's personality, I consider him representative of the rationale of the military decision maker who comprehends the true problems of Poland more clearly than an ideologist. He could find the right way between extreme conservatism and a high-handed exercise of power of the kind which toppled both Gomulka and Gierek. It would be the sort of power which could cooperate with the various autonomies which have arisen on a partnership basis." Hegedus fears nothing more greatly than civil war: "It now depends on both sides whether the process of democratization initiated in August 1980 can proceed."

According to Hegedus, "on the one hand the military leadership must have learned from past experiences which indicate that it is impossible to install a monolithic power structure permanently in Poland." It was issues of this sort that resulted in the overthrow of both Party chiefs up to 1980. "To repeat the mistake a third time would be too much." On the other hand, he warns that "the autonomous movements must learn that unless they seek unity, they will plunge Poland into civil war which will leave them no future. Aside from irrational heroism, they have nothing to offer from such behavior."

At the same time Hegedus speaks of a "magic formula" of communism, a third way which differs both from the path of government administration taken in the Soviet Union in 1917 and the self-management adopted in Yugoslavia in 1947. He sees the struggle between power and the masses which took place before Jaruzelski's coup as the beginning of a historical compromise which failed to become institutionalized but which, in his opinion, is necessary. "This compromise has not

yet inevitably come to an end." The rapid dissolution of power over the past months have made the step of martial law a nearly logical necessity because of two simultaneous dangers, but it should be terminated after a period of consolidation. "One of the dangers consists of political factors: the compromise theory is inconceivable without power; it is based on a contract between two forces. Without power, there is anarchy."

According to Hegedus, the second danger is the following: Because of Poland's geopolitical position, the other Warsaw Pact members could not tolerate anarchy since this would threaten the entire balance of power in Europe. "Although the danger of civil war was and continues to be acknowledged, [without the takeover,] the threat of invasion for geopolitical reasons would have existed."

Leaving themselves no room for doubt, those who analyze Eastern power relations affirm the widely-held Western view that there has been no state power in Poland since August 1980. "This erroneous view has led to conclusions which disrupt the framework for possible compromise. Western views have strengthened the notion that compromise could provide only a temporary solution and could thus never evolve into a firm institutional form."

Hegedus, who prolonged his visit to Vienna by a day because of developments in Poland--his avidity for total information is constantly apparent--does not consider the power takeover a military coup in the classical sense. "In the first place, Jaruzelski was the elected head of the Party and, in the second place, this is not to be interpreted as a power takeover by the military but as the reinstatement of government control which would have been impossible through Party organizations. Of course, it would have been better if this step could have been avoided. I consider a rollback from military to civilian political power not only possible but necessary."

At this point the concept of ethics arose. "I will beware of judging the whole affair from a moral viewpoint, above all assuming the right to justify it. Ethical judgement depends on whether Poland can avoid civil war by having taken this step. Naturally, there is great danger that it can break out--possibly as a result of a general strike--before the government can begin to lay the groundwork for a compromise." Hegedus' criticism of Jaruzelski: "For this reason I would have held it necessary for the military authorities to state unequivocally their intention of restoring civilian political rule. Unfortunately, this did not happen."

CSO: 2300/86

MORAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN MARXISTS, CHRISTIANS POSSIBLE

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 Nov 81 p 7

[Article by Laszlo Makkai: "Dialogue of Marxists and Christians"]

[Text] On 25 September leaders and workers of the Philosophical Institute of the MTA [Hungarian Academy of Sciences], and of the philosophy faculties of the Lajos Kossuth Science University and the Debrecen Agricultural Sciences University held a symposium on religious theory as guests of the Academy Committee in Debrecen to which they invited several of the leading theologians of the domestic Protestant churches. The next day several of these same people participated in a dialogue between Protestant theologians and Marxist researchers on Protestantism.

The basic note of the symposium was sounded by an introductory lecture by Jozsef Lukacs analyzing the present relationship between Marxism and Christianity in that he set down the apparently parodoxical fact that while religion is one form of alienation, it is so under certain historical conditions and as such its current role can be part of the struggle against alienation. The socialist revolution and the struggle for the liberation of the colonial world made the Christian churches see that they should go back to their own progressive traditions but not in the traditional way, not striving for power positions but rather struggling with ideological weapons against the brutal manifestations of inhumanity. Christian humanity and Marxist humanism can unite in this struggle and they have frequently done so already.

One conditions for the search for new paths is that Marxist researchers on religion have a basic knowledge of contemporary Christianity, analyzing in a scientific way its developmental trends. The three chief reports at the sumposium examined the relationship between faith and knowledge, the concepts of man and personality and social policy ideals in contemporary Christian teachings. The speakers were aware of the different Christian denominations but the emphasis was on what is most important from the Hungarian viewpoint, Protestantism and Roman Catholocism. They spoke with recognition of the progressive motifs of the Second Vatican Council and the openness shown by it toward social justice, but still the opinion developed that "a progressive reception of social progress developed earlier and more markedly" in Protestantism, not least of all because Protestantism "shows a greater affinity for making use of the contemporary profane philosophical and ideological apparatus" (Jozsef Poor) or asserts that "a harmony between faith and knowledge cannot, but need not, be produced" (Gusztav Gecse).

Special attention was turned toward the so-called service theology of the domestic Protestant churches, which determinedly rejects methods aimed at ruling, regarding as its task charity and service to society in every good cause. This theology "does not alienate the believing strata of our population from their tasks in this world, does not turn them against their obligations in this world, but rather presents them as tasks and obligations following from their faith. This interpretation of man and personality approaches the individual in contact with his real social relationships and tries to arous in the believer a feeling of responsibility for the great, fateful questions of mankind" (Jozsef Poor). The social-policy teachings of this tehology correspond to this also, recognizing the justice of the socialist revolution and the moral higher order of socialism, as aspirations in accordance with the humanizing will of God serving historical truth, approving the limitation on the selfish aspects of private property, respecting work in that it enriches not only the individual but also the community and taking a stand against war and for peace. All this is a "qualitatively new social doctrine" which does not break with Calbin but rather modernizes and further develops his initiatives. Thus it can be said that "such a theological transformation has not taken place in the Protestant churches since the Reformation" (Istvan Konya). This theological self-realization is all the more significant because it was not simply forced by historical events, but has as its source a return to the Bible and a new interpretation of it.

Meeting with the new phenomena of religion also prompted the Marxist researchers on religion to inquire again of the sources, the classics of Marxism. For example, one of the reports at the symposium pointed out that Marx posted as a goal the transcending of both religion and philosophy in "positive humanism." Transcendence, aimed at transcending bare reality, is a property not only of religion but also of philosophy, including Marxist philosophy, but the latter realizes this goal via immanence, via real social existence, and not in an illusory fashion. At the same time, one can observe in contemporary religioup development also a rapprochement of transcendence and immanence. "Thus Marxism is not only the successor to and transcendence of philosophy, but also--in the final analysis--to and of the ideals of religion.... The cooperation of Christians and Marxists is not contingent and by chance...but rather it is a struggle against the world of alienation which necessarily goes in the same direction, although from different foundations and in different forms. Because the basic dividing line is not drawn between Christians and Marxists but rather between the Christians and the Marxists on one side and those on the other side who...reject every higher ideal in regard to the individual and historic prospects of human existence" (Ferenc Lendvai L.). In accordance with this is the recognition that "barren secularization and the increasing absence of religion in themselves can appear as victories only for an abstract atheism" because there has been no justification of the hope that "the victorious Marxist world view would take the place of the soil slipping out from under religious faith on a mass scale." There is no lack of evidence here that religion is being replaced by "world-view or ideological apathy, agnosticism, skepticism, the freezing of individual existence into barren particularity and anew alienation" (Istvan Jori).

The dialogue following the symposium started from the thesis that while both Marxism and Christianity must oppose nihilism, this obligation to cooperate cannot eclipse the fundamentalworld-view differences. "The limits of cooperation continue to be defined by our antagonistic world-view starting points," it was emphasized from the Marxist side (Istvan Konya), and this received a clear Christian answer: "At present, we see no possibility that Christian theology can take over dialectic

historical materialism as a fundamental phiosophical view, or that Marxism can take over the starting point of Christian theology" (Elemer Kocsis). Under the present conditions of our thought apparatus and world-view positions the boundaries of atheism and of faith in Gof cannot be crossed over; the Marxists reject the idea of convergence just as the Christians reject the attempts of syncretism.

So the greatest difference is in the chief question, in the teachings concerning man. Atheism is "an essential motif of Marxism, because it recognizes no other author or player in history but man" (Jozsef Lukacs) while Christianity recognizes no other type of man than one who is "in the image of God, a being createdin the likeness of God" and as such "ordained to serve one another with love as communal beings, thus remaining, as it were, in communion with God also, creating, as it were, a second world with their work and abilities" (Elemer Kocsis).

But going beyond this obvious and actual opposition, there are also apparent contradictions between Marxism and Christianity deriving from differences of terminology which can be clarified and dispersed by mutual goodwill and devoted research.

In the final analysis, however, neither the apparent nor the real contradictions should hinder the moral understanding and cooperation of Marxists and Christians. "We may debate about what we regard as the source of moral values, about what we regard as the source of rules and norms, but certainly our views should not diverge in regard to the real demands, content and norms of morality...." Indeed, "it was not by chance that Marx made a distinction between atheism, as theoretical humanism, and practical humanism, communism.... Is communism, as practical humanism, unacceptable to a believing Christian? Obviously it is impossible to join up with theoretical humanism, with atheism," but the path toward practical humanism "is not closed." In other matters "we should leave the decision to history" (Jozsef Lukacs).

It was noted, as if in approval of this, that the theology of service, which in itself is not unique to Hungary, has a unique Hungarian aspect in that "service involves positive cooperation with Marxists and active participation in the building of our socialist society." This decision of the Protestant churches was born of faith and they assumed with this the risk of faith too, but this demands the recognition that "Christianity does not necessarily represent social backwardness even in socialism," and it is a condition for productive cooperation that "we be able to regard the religious person and the nonreligious person as of equal value without reservations from the theoretical viewpoint" (Karoly Prohle).

The answer to anxieties in this regard was given earlier and from a most worthy source. Jozsef Szigeti quoted in the dialogue the words of the historian Zsigmond Pal Pach: "We must see and appreciate the fact that religion transmits moral values and norms--according to its own use of concepts--between God and the believers, in other words between society and the individual; which is to say it prescribes moral rules for human conduct, for the behavior of individuals toward their fellows. Thus, a religious believer adhering to human-moral norms may come closer to us, may stand closer to us, the Marxists, than an atheist who is indifferent toward his fellows. We must see this and must respect religion as one possible branch of that complex system mediating the link between the individual and society, as one possible counterbalance to keep the natural individualism of man from becoming barren egoism, cold selfishness and alienation from the community. The other side

of the coin, naturally, is that the churches, church personalities and representatives of church communities must see and bear witness to the fact that in contemporary Hungary active participation in the building of socialism is compatible with the religious life. If this insight is mutual, then Marxists and believers can and will really find one another in the national community of socialist Hungary" (TARSADALMI SZEMLE, No 5, 1981, pp 40-410.

The dialogue is continuing Bishop Dr Tibor Bartha has undertaken to be the host for the next round within the frameowrk of the College of Doctors of Theology, the scientific forum of the Reformed Church.

8984
CSO: 2500/68

ENTRENCHED BUREAUCRATS SEEN THREATENING REFORM

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Nov 81 p 5

[Article by Andras Banki: "Bottleneck"]

[Text] The results of sociological studies prove that safety becomes an increasingly emphasized value in leadership style with advancing years--sticking to tested methods--whether they worked or not--and distrust of the new or different. It is also a statistical fact that about half of those in positions of power, those working in leadership categories in Hungary, were born in the 1920's, and so are now treading down their fifties. So the question arises whether the preponderance of this age group in the leadership is not an objective obstacle to the renewal aspirations germinating or already shooting up in our society.

I do not like honor laps and I did not take pen in hand to write about the historical merits or mistakes, luck or misfortune of those who are now in their fifties. We are well acquainted with the historical antecedants which raised this age group, the generation of "bright winds," very young, to leading offices at the end of the 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's. And we are well acquainted with those historical events in which this generation--because of their positions--played the chief role and acted as a driving force: The personality cult, the counterrevolution, the consolidation, the new economic mechanism and then its sudden halt and revival. So why do I refer to these processes? Because one can conclude from their contradictory tendencies that this generation does not have a uniform profile; there were and there are among them both progressive and retrograde forces.

I am 30 years old; but my faith and trust in the younger age groups does not derive from some sort of generational prejudice. I could have no cause for prejudice because even the younger--and really not so young--generations cannot be regarded as uniform. They also--like the older generation--are divided by an inclination to conservatism, dogmatism or apologetics or by receptivity to reforms, attraction to the new and different; they are divided by a compromising or uncompromising attitude, intellectual sluggishness or intellectual freshness, knowledge or ignorance and by much else besides. For my part, I side with unceasing renewal, progressive changes and changers and with all those who have similar values, intentions and aspirations, whether they be young or old. And if I place in the foreground the younger of them--those 20 or 30 or 40 years old--it is simply because the stakes are higher for them, objectively, since they have longer careers before them; they can win more or lose more and as a result they are more interestedin development, in the formation and transformation of reality.

But, it is the predecessors who decide with greatest weight in the selection of successors. In itself this would not be a problem; but it is dangerous in those organizations, those ossified hierarchies, in which the little chiefs serve the big chiefs and the big chiefs serve the bigger chiefs in an unprincipled way in which, in this way, subjective motives play the chief role. In such organizations--and unfortunately there are a good many of them--the predecessors have won their dubious merits in the noxious equalization of results, juggling them until they cannot be measured, in the ideologized elimination of the principle of utility and uselessness, in the corruption of the humane into the pseudohumane and one cannot expect them not to choose their successors from their own "camp." And it is true of these situations that frequently a really good leader is not the result of the selection mechanism but rather of the failure of the contraselection.

It is a crucial question of our social development today whether we can develop our institutional system and our institutional mechanisms so as to give greater scope to a "more socialist" development of our social and production relationships, whether we can progress further in the democratization of power and property in spite of a bureaucracy which reproduces itself. And this is an indispensable conditions if we are to make relationships lacking interest into relationships involving interest, give greater freedom to responsible management of property and the creative spirit, realize the performance principle, encourage undertakings and expand individual and collective freedom.

Let us not be idealists; what is involved here is a struggle. And we cannot expect from the bureaucracy--and the bureacrats in it--that, by their very nature, they will deign to seize the banner of reform. Despite this the situation is far from hopeless. And the less so, the stronger the political will urging the introduction and realization of the reforms and the stronger the mass base for the reforms.

And if we are talking about a struggle, then naturally, a key question is who those in leading posts are. It is urgent to think about this. In the present situation, requiring a difficult and swift development, can we permit ourselves leaders who are bound to the old habits by too strong ties dup to their positions and their political, ideological views? To me nothing is more obvious than that the reform policy and the realization to the reforms have personal consequences. An organized, strongly centralized guidance and redistribution based on the faith placed in the omnipotence of the state--it is true, not without necessity--required a different leadership style than the more independent management replacing it, one more strongly influenced by the market automatisms. And in this developing structure we no longer need leaders who reliably carry out higher directives, since the number of higher directives will probably greatly diminish. It follows that greater emphasis must be given in the work of leaders--and not only economic leaders--to such values as expertise, creativity, enterprising spirit and independent management. The more such leaders there are, the more quickly will the goals of the reform policy be realized; and the more consistent and the more daring policy is in working out and introducing reforms, the more this will favor the taking root of the new leadership style, the more it will favor the new type of leaders.

It is obvious that one cannot simply dismiss the wornout part of a generation, and even less can one expect them to dismiss themselves. But an acceleration of the change of generations is unavoidable in the interest of development; and this requires

a more varied approach to the problem. The generations behind those in their fifties--those in their forties, thirties and twenties--have piled up on one another. They stand in the anteroom, waiting to be invited in. Who among them will be summoned? The question demands attention not without cause. Because the exchange of generations can be successful and can serve development only if it is accompanied by a change of values and by a new quality.

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COMMANDER OUTLINES GOALS OF ARMY GENERAL STAFF ACADEMY

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17 Nov 81 p 4

[Article by Maj Gen Dr Jozef Kaminski, commander of the General Staff Academy of the Polish Army: "Training for the Future"]

> [Text] The community of the General Staff Academy of the Polish Army [ASG WP] has started a new academic year in optimistic anticipation of the further socialist development of the People's Republic of Poland and strengthening of its defense capability in permanent alliance with the states of socialist community. We are convinced that bringing the country out of the present deep crisis is possible primarily by way of enhancing authentic responsibility and joint responsibility for the increase in productivity and quality of the work carried out, for the fullest possible, rational utilization of the workday, and by way of strengthening personal discipline and social discipline, that of the collectives which we act within.

Coming out in favor of the constant and everyday implementation of the resolution of the Fourth Plenum of the PZRP by everybody in his position and in his field, we also require more of ourselves and plan for more ambitious goals in this academic year, both in the field of instruction and ideological indoctrination and that of scientific research. We view the extremely difficult situation in the country primarily from the standpoint of our defense capability and through the looking glass of the current and projected politicomilitary situation in Europe and the world, and also in the context of the discord between the detente and arms limitation trend represented by socialist countries and the course of threat and arms race pursued by imperialism.

Due to the role and importance of the ASG WP in our defense system we feel increasingly responsible for the situation and socialist development of People's Poland, for the continual consolidation and upgrading of the level of combat readiness of military commands, staffs and troops, and for the state and level of national defense.

Wholehearted adherence to ideology, high discipline, a feeling of responsibility and high skills of professional cadre, especially of the command and staff cadre, determine and posture of the armed forces, their everyday preparedness for the defense of the socialist motherland. The statement to this effect may, of course, be considered trivial. The ASG WP trains and indoctrinates exactly this kind of cadres--

future academy-graduate officers, who will, after their graduation from the academy, hold key positions in our armed forces and in the institutions associated with the sphere of defense.

In its 34 years of existence, the academy has undergone many changes.

However, it has always proceeded from the assumptions and implemented the policies laid down at the time the academy was founded. It has been incessantly improving the process of training and indoctrination and scientific-research activity, while simultaneously shaping high ideologicopolitical qualities, morale and discipline of its cadets. The academy has graduated thousands of officers who occupied and occupy today the highest posts in our armed forces. We take pride in the fact that the present first secretary of the PZPR, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski is a graduate of our school.

In recent years, the years 1977 and 1980, the panel of the minister of defense has twice evaluated the activity of the ASG WP and offered general directions for its further improvement on the initiative of General Jaruzelski.

The directives adopted at the panel meetings have been consistently carried out, creatively developed and enriched by new contents ensuing from the requirements of the current situation. In the era of sweeping changes occuring in all spheres of political, social, economic and scientific life, in times of the scientific-technical revolution, in the environment of continually intensifying ideological struggle, we consider it indispensable to further improve instruction, ideological indoctrination and scientific-research activities in order to ensure the safeguarding and defense of historical accomplishments of the Polish people and the preservation of its independent existence. In particular, we stress combining of training and indoctrination and the shaping of the personality of the contemporary commander and staff officer.

It should be recalled that the current official documents describing the profile and structure of the ACS WP define the "academy-graduate officer" as an officer who has been comprehensively trained and prepared to carry out command and staff functions in tactical, operational and central echelons of command, both in times of war and peace. This, of course, is a very general statement, which I would like to explain and clarify below.

First--the "academy-graduate officer" is an officer who has been comprehensively trained and prepared to discharge various command/staff and control functions that require assuming responsibility (or joint responsibility) for the organization and coordination of actions.

Second--"the academy-graduate officer" is an officer possessing deep and comprehensive knowledge, theoretically and, which should be stressed, methodologically prepared to discharge (regardless of the echelon of command) all the control and staff functions that require creative tactico-operational thinking and the sense of responsibility and self-dependence in action. From the practical standpoint, he should be prepared to discharge the function of a coordinator for the actions of different combat arms and branches of the arms forces within the framework of respective echelons of command.

Third--"the academy-graduate officer" is an officer prepared for the discharging of control and staff functions mainly in time of war. The needs of war must be crucial to the direction, subject and scope of his training. However, he must also be

prepared for action in time of peace, especially as far as the training of troops and staffs is concerned, that is, preparing them for action in time of war and maintaining continuous and high combat readiness.

Fourth--"the academy-graduate officer" is an officer with an exemplary ideologico-political and moral posture, social involvement and high discipline; he is a fervent patriot, and, at the same time, an internationalist.

Besdies, the academy-graduate officer should be distinguished by his ability for quick mental concentration under difficult and extremely complicated conditions, the logic of thinking and rational activity, industriousness and organizational resourcefulness. He should also be prepared, specifically in the ASG WP, to acquire knowledge independently and continuously and to spread this knowledge after the study has been completed.

Therefore, the academy-graduate officer should not only possess comprehensive, up-to-date and prospective knowledge, but also be able to think primarily in the categories of our state and its armed forces as well as the entire socialist community and its defense system. The officer should also acquire the skill to independently digest the new achievements resulting from the development of military technology and the art of war, especially in the art of operations of both friendly and aggressor forces.

The academy-graduate officer is a man of solid, substantial knowledge and practical skills, which are the foundation of mature and highly efficient organization and control of combat, battles and operations. He also possesses the methodological knowledge which facilitates solving on his own new problems in the art of war and, in general, those pertaining to the country's defense. The academy-graduate officer should be distinguished by initiative and self-dependence, sense of reality and inspiration. He should be a commander with comprehensive erudition and wide intellectual perspectives.

to meet these requirements which are only seemingly excessive, the academy-graduate officer must be a man of integrity, with stalwartness, modesty and an impeccable ideologicomoral posture as well as political and social involvement. This is why we shpae and foster in the course of our instruction and training process, from the very first year of studies, the mental proficiency and integrity of character of future academy-graduate officers. During the training course in the ASG WP we attach no less importance to the shaping of academy-graduate officer's personality than to his general and professional training.

We shape primarily the traits of the officer's character which will be indispensable for him in carrying out his everyday duties. We count among them strong willpower, decisiveness, composure, especially in complicated and conflict situations, ability to expend mental and physical effort over a long run, boldness in decisionmaking, persistence in action and absolute loyalty in carrying out binding decisions of superior officers. We strive to shape and develop tactico-operational imagination, the ability to project and predict the development of a situation, and, where necessary, to take calculated risks and assume responsibility for the outcome.

The academy-graduate officer must be courageous, must have an accordingly shaped character and be ready to defend his views even if they are unpopular at the moment and do not cause the proverbial smile of approval among superior officers.

I must stress that the shaping of positive character traits of the future academy-graduate officer is difficult and cannot be accomplished by classroom training alone. Hence, we attach immense importance to diligent and persistent work of each instructor with each cadet on a personal basis, to individual instruction from the first year of study on. This difficult task which we pose before our instructors engenders high responsibility and requires of them not only adequate training, but also authentic involvement and incessant striving for qualitative reevaluation of the effects obtained by their labor.

Because of this, we will require in the new academic year a further improvement of the ways and means of training and indoctrination, especially in target work, individual instruction activity which is skillfully directed. The goal which this activity consistently strives to attain is the comprehensive training of a clever academy-graduate officer, and, at the same time, a highly involved politicosocial activist. The academy-graduate officer must stand out as a superior-grade specialist, an organizer of contemporary and future battlefield situations, and of efficient and rational actions of large personnel teams, always under difficult, complicated and nonreproducible conditions and situations. Also, because of this, there must be an individual approach to each cadet of the ASG. His psychointellectual, moral and professional/personal traits must be understood in depth.

The individual aspect of learning is intimately intertwined with programmed training of the cadets. Professional training of the academy-graduate officers involves primarily a solid and comprehensive education in tactics and operations. Due to this, the art of war, and especially tactics and the art of operations are the superior integrating subjects which bind all the other subjpcts taught into a definitive hierarchical structure of the system of study in the ASG WP which is internally coherent.

By continually perfecting the traditional means and ways of education of the future academy-graduate officers, we strive for an opportunity for them to compare theory with practice in the study process. To ensure this, the cadets and also the school's faculty actively participate in the training exercises of military commands, headquarters and troops. For this purpose, we extensively use the training base of military units. We set up field camps in summer and winter, conduct command/staff exercises in the field employing technical means of control, organize military history field trips. We closely link the study in the field with history, the remote and the most modern, especially with the battles of the 1st and 2nd armies of the Polish Army and the operations of the Soviet Army.

The primary status of the tactico-operational training makes possible and guarantees an increasing amalgamation of the processes of instruction, ideological indoctrination and scientific research, which determine the everyday rhythm of the school's activity. The scientific-research activity constantly enlivens, enriches and increasingly markedly defines the quality content of the training of future academy-graduate officers. At present, no process of tactico-operational training at the required level could be carried out without these activities. Due to the inspirational role of the Army General Staff and close cooperation with the Main Board of Combat Training, the scientific-research activities serve to develop the theory of strategy, art of operations and tactics, being not only a training for highly skilled command and staff personnel, but also a meaningful contribution of the academy to the cause of strengthening the country's defense capability.

Training the personnel in the field of tactics and operations, we simultaneously try to foster among the future commanders, staff officers, commanders and officers of combat arms and branches of the armed forces and services high ideologicopolitical and moral qualities, based on deeply patriotic and internationalist values, on the conscious conviction that battle in defense of the socialist motherland is the superior responsibility of every officer.

Consciously and with high appreciation of the goals and tasks facing the ASG WP in the new academic year, we pose increasing demands in our activities, especially in instruction and indoctrination. We think that we not only have an opportunity, but all the prerequisites and conditions as well to realize our intentions. We are concentrating on solving the main tasksk on which success hinges; we use our time, the material base and our creative potential better and more efficiently. We require of the personnel of our school a high sense of responsibility and joint responsibility for the qualitative results of our work and everyday activities.

In connection with this, we attach tremendous, indeed, fundamental importance in this field to everyday party-political work, work with people and for people, to consolidation and bringing the collectives together in groups, panels, chairs, departments, and particular organization units. All our undertakings, organizational measures and executive actions are aimed at constantly improving the processes of instruction, ideological indoctrination and scientific research, at the comprehensive training of future academy-graduate officers, at carrying out difficult and extremely responsible tasks connected with command/staff activities in our armed forces.

9761
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SOLIDARITY POSITION ON SELF-GOVERNING SCHOOL DEBATED

Interview with KKP Presidium Member Waszkiewicz

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 14 Oct 81 p 3

[Interview with Dr Jan Waszkiewicz, Member of the Presidium of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity National Consultative Commission (KKP) by Krzysztof Maslon: "Vision of a Self-governing School"; date and place not given]

[Question] Between the first and second rounds of the NSZZ Solidarity Congress, the delegates deliberated in 13 problem groups, preparing the bases of a program to express the union attitude regarding the most essential questions of our social life. You presided over the deliberations of the problem group devoted to matters of education and culture. What activities does NSZZ Solidarity want to undertake for the good of Polish education?

[Answer] I should like to stress that we discussed education and culture together. We do not divide the program into two groups of questions and, considering that culture and education are the property of society as a whole, the property of the whole nation, we want, as a union, to lavish particular care on them.

[Question] Of what will this care consist?

[Answer] We must have a timeframe for our activities. The union program is intended for the next 2 years. We know very well what kind of years they will be. Given the deepening crisis and the problems connected with the introduction of economic reform, NSZZ Solidarity cannot easily be expected to advance the health of the schools in a thorough-going way, and yet we must lead our schools out of the abyss. That is our first task.

[Question] What do you mean by the term "cultural abyss"?

[Answer] Culture and education have been seen as nonproduction sectors of the national economy. Therefore, they have been treated with neglect for many years. Not only has very little money been set aside for them, but also, in every difficult situation, economies have been made at their expense. Thence have come grave deficiencies and poverty in education. There are, perhaps, still more serious signs of backwardness--poor administration of the school system or falseness in teaching methods and subject matter.

[Question] The schools are really in a difficult situation. Is there a chance to improve it? Can Union activities be of help to the schools?

[Answer] I think so. We shall strive for an authentic socialization of the educational system. We shall lend support to all attempts at decentralization of the educational system. The school is such a special place in which, if I may say so, there are many subjects in action. For there are teachers, and the employees in general, the youth, parents and, finally, educational authorities. Therefore, the slogan of self-government has very many multiple meanings. The form of a school should probably be decided by the local community. Note that fruitful results never come about when activities are carried on in opposition to the environment. So I think the future of the schools lies in the direction of their interaction with the local community and the local self-governing body.

[Question] This can lead to a situation where there are as varied schools as there are local self-governing bodies. A resident of a city or a village has a different view of the school. There will be varied demands, varied levels.

[Answer] We are aware of that. There will be inequalities. But don't they exist now? They do. And how! And, after all, when the local community really commits itself to the cause of its school, it won't be a bad school, for no one, after all, wants to do his own children any harm.

[Question] Varied schools, therefore varied programs, varied courses...

[Answer] Of course. The only common thing should be a certain program core. The rest should correspond to the needs of the community. Take religion-connected matters, for one. Atheistic upbringing--and I stress atheistic as opposed to secular--in a religious environment has lamentable effects. A child is brought up, formed, above all, by his family, his surroundings. You can't suddenly demolish his defined world order. When he grows up, he will choose his own truth. A child's head cannot really be a battleground for two opposed points of view of so weighty a variety. It's not the proper place for an ideological battlefield.

[Question] In the recommendations made by the problem group, I found a statement referring to changes in the school system. What are we to understand by this?

[Answer] The principal change is that to be effected by the activity of self-governing bodies within the school bounds. The role of the school administration will be limited, and it will finally begin to exercise a service function in the teaching process. I also think that we will stop seeing the influx into the school system of people who have not proven themselves in another line of work. The self-governing body will assure most control functions over the school. When people come to understand that the makeup of the school really depends on them, the work of many inspectors will become unnecessary. And this will be true for other areas of the system as well. What, e.g., will the inspector have to do in the preschool?

[Question] Here I come to the defense of educational inspectors. In the end, if a preschool superintendent steals, such an inspector can be dismissed.

[Answer] Let's not kid ourselves. No one is more concerned about children's interests than their parents. If they find out that such a person is stealing, they will throw her out. But now appeals are made to the PIH [State Trade Inspectorate], the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] and educational authorities, and often the matter drags on without results.

[Question] Do you, then, see the self-government as the future of education?

[Answer] Not exclusively. We must look for new educational solutions, such solutions as schools for writers, working according to their own programs. Let us only hope--and we place enormous emphasis on this--that the truth be taught in our schools. This demand extends to all of the teaching program, and especially history, the Polish language and civic upbringing. We should not set their heads spinning over such a fundamental matter as the history of our own people. And returning to systems questions: schools should be established by various associations, institutions...

[Question] Such as the PAX schools?

[Answer] Yes, except that until now there have been few such schools: there are several run by religious orders, and there is PAX. To take this further--there is an obstacle created to the establishment of good private schools when the entire material responsibility falls on the persons running the schools. The history of our educational system owes much to such schools.

[Question] But...

[Answer] Let me forestall the question or, rather, the reproach of elitism. Of course, such a school must cost a good deal, but it would serve as the basis of a whole developed stipend system which must be created--a system in which the union would take part--to diminish the material barrier.

[Question] But what will happen when such a school falls into the hands of someone who is unsuited?

[Answer] And how many such persons have made their way into education until now? Let us not fear too greatly. Today's school is not the school described by Dickens. We are not living in the 19th century. Poland is not a society of illterates. People have a very good sense of where work stops and shoddiness begins.

[Question] You cannot deny, however, that such shoddiness can occur.

[Answer] No, I cannot. But if mistakes are made, there will be considerably fewer victims of these mistakes than formerly, when the schools deserted whole generations of people whose education was injurious in many ways, leaving them crippled. Moreover, the self-governing body, to which I return again and again, ought to stand as an added security against perversions and excesses.

[Question] You have so much to say about the self-governing body. Do you likewise look to student self-governing movements?

[Answer] Of course, we are counting on student self-government, on the young people's familiarity with their own terrain, conditions, for taking action, potentials and needs. Ultimately, without the participation of those who are directly interested, we cannot embark upon our work.

[Question] Several of the concepts which you have outlined are very far-reaching. Meanwhile, the everyday school reality with which we have to deal is a far cry from that reality of which we would dream. In addition, the school is a specific working ground. Many teachers do not belong to NSZZ Solidarity; many will not wish to accept this program, for various reasons. Will the union program not hang in a void, or will it not merely cause friction in teacher's groups?

[Answer] Our program represents a vision for the future; it designates the direction to be taken. Thus, we do not define any target point. However, I believe that our demands are just and will be accepted. Of course, we are counting on difficulties and the resistance of a part of the community, even the resistance of parents and students themselves. What is to be said of the role of the local self-governing body in the school when, e.g., in a given locality, parents do not wish to meddle in the school's affairs, or they remain indifferent?

We wish to give a chance to those who really desire a better school for all of us. And there are many such people. To use a term which has become fashionable of late, let me say that I believe in the network of people of goodwill. And besides, we will not undertake spontaneous, radical activities. We must set up new schools rather than liquidating bad ones; we must attract good teachers into the profession, rather than dismissing poor teachers from their jobs.

[Question] We have finally come, then, to the constructive program. May I ask you once again to introduce yourself to our readers. What is your connection with education?

[Answer] I am 37 years old. By virtue of my education I am a mathematician. Before going into union work, I was a futurologist working in the Wroclaw Technical University Center for Prognostic Research. I have also worked in various other fields of learning: philosophy, sociology and the theory and practice of teaching. For 4 years I taught mathematics in a Gottwald-type school having a mathematics profile. I likewise lectured at the Technical University. I also had a certain theoretical input into the formulation of the ideas of the Wroclaw School of the Future. And very recently I participated as a union expert in the talks conducted by NSZZ Solidarity with the Ministry of Education and Upbringing.

Rebuttal of Waszkiewicz's Position

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 21 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Gdoula]

[Text] One week ago in this column we published the text of an interview with Dr Jan Waszkiewicz, Presidium member of the National Commission of the Independent Self-governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity. In that interview, entitled "A

Vision of the Self-governing School," Dr Waszkiewicz outlined the major directions which, in the opinion of an active member of the largest trade union in the country, our schools should take.

Krzysztof Maslon, who conducted the interview during the course of the NSZZ Solidarity Congress, essentially abandoned the idea of polemicizing with the views of his interviewee. He expressed a series of his own doubts and reservations, but did not polemicize, since this would have made the interview, an already lengthy text, considerably longer. It was rather a question of presenting our readers with the thoughts of NSZZ Solidarity operatives on general questions in the field of education.

In no way, however, does this mean that we concur with all the views of J. Waszkiewicz. Let us forego quoting such statements as "falseness in teaching contents and methods," and let us not question whether, in fact, it is possible to speak of falseness in teaching methods. We are ultimately dealing with an interview, and not with a scholarly or journalistic text.

Let us concern ourselves with J. Waszkiewicz's basic assumption. This assumption, i.e., the socialization of the school, is evident in the title of the interview. Am I opposed to the socialization of schools? Absolutely not. Frankly, it is my ideal for the education of the future. The problem lies in the fact that I understand school socialization differently than J. Waszkiewicz.

In the opinion of J. Waszkiewicz, the effect of local socialization upon the school should be decisive. It is enough merely to establish a "certain" program core, and the remaining contents of the teaching program should correspond to the needs of the community. This "remainder" may even be questions of a religious nature. Thus, Waszkiewicz's concept includes the possibility of negating the principle of school secularism. This is a marginal point; this is a question for us to return to at another time.

The concept of school socialization introduced by J. Waszkiewicz completely bypasses the question of state educational policy, when this policy was created to represent the interests of society. Agreed, educational policy, both past and present, has been subject to severe criticism. Such criticism suggests to me that educational policy must undergo very radical changes. However, I cannot agree with the thesis that because this policy is not perfect, it should be abandoned.

We cannot relieve the state of its duty to guarantee schools suitable material conditions, or its responsibility to create teaching programs which correspond to the contemporary levels of knowledge and of the development of civilization. Will the time come when the state will discharge this duty and fulfill this responsibility with excellence?

I do not believe that it will. The material needs of education will always be greater than the potential to meet them. Nor is it possible to create teaching programs which are thought by all to be contemporary, free of basic shortcomings, not too difficult and, hence, ensuring children a better education than that gained by their parents.

Then why do we need an educational policy? The answer is simple. The state alone is in a position to deal in a just manner with the material needs of all schools and, to the extent that it is possible, to eliminate the differences in conditions in schools. Local self-governing bodies, which have varying potential and varying hierarchies of values, are not able to do this.

In the question of programs, a similar situation exists. Programming the contents of education is a highly specialized activity requiring the involvement of specialists in fields which are widely divergent. At the same time, this programming must have a permanent character. It is naive to think that the local community will fulfill all of the conditions indispensable to the creation of a teaching program. This is simply the acceptance of the assumption that it takes no knowledge whatsoever to make a modern school. Education still amounts to economics and medicine, in which everyone is an expert...

A state educational policy, precisely in the sphere of educational programs, is the only basic determinant of the operational level of the school system. Teachers, students and parents alike must be aware of this level. It is the teaching program which is the objective arbiter for settling the numerous conflicts which arise among these three groups.

School socialization may not consist of the local community's determining the make-up of the school. This is an illusion. School socialization is based on the fact that local communities control and evaluate the operation of schools, using the state educational policy as the point of reference. There must be, of course, some sort of unequivocal criterion: feelings and the pretense of knowledge are not enough.

My vision of school socialization, which appears to be a very modest vision, is unfortunately very difficult to implement. The interest of the local communities or, in effect, of parents in the operation of schools is very superficial. It will be many years before the school becomes a "big deal" for local communities. The brutal truth is that until then parent-teacher meetings are all that is important for most parents.

My vision of school socialization does not lend itself to be ordained by decree. It is the end of a long process which will occur very differently in various communities. The vision of J. Waszkiewicz may be implemented immediately. The proper decisions are made and at once we have the correct educational mosaic. The material conditions of particular schools depend on the potential of local communities, meaning that the disparity between the rural school and the city school is increased. The teaching contents of elementary schools, depending on one's ambition, may boil down to learning reading and writing or it may practically turn it into a university. And so on and so forth.

Is this the question? For me--no. The outcome of J. Waszkiewicz's vision of the self-governing school is obviously the notion of the establishment of schools by various sorts of associations, institutions and even private persons. The history of our educational system owes much to private schools, it is true, but what was good historically may be disastrous today.

Until now, says J. Waszkiewicz, the schools have deserted whole generations of people whose education was injurious in many ways, leaving them crippled. I will ignore the absurdity of this appraisal which leads to the notion that in effect the whole of Polish society is made up of generations of cripples. I would only like to ask what sort of generations will be those generations which come from schools operating under the signboard of various political parties, trade unions religious associations and the like.

Under the signboard--obviously this is a mental capsulization. In the understanding of J. Waszkiewicz, the signboard entails determining the contents of education, which simply means indoctrinating young people in a spirit useful to the given organization. I think that young people should come away from the schools with the honest, documented knowledge that they live in a socialist state in which various political forces exist and in which the theoretical principles of socialism are often divergent from social practice.

Generally speaking, is this not the truth about our contemporary Polish society? Of course it is. And this truth should be present in the life of the school. School knowledge, although insufficient for one's whole life, nonetheless has a universal character. It must be certain, verified knowledge. It is, after all, the capital with which one enters life.

For this reason the current political quarrels, although they cannot but reach the schools, may not determine their operation. The school does not train the participants of today's quarrels, but prepares students to solve problems about which no one today has any conception. The school, while not avoiding the observation of current events and processes, must remain its own oasis of calm. This is really very important.

In opposition to J. Waszkiewicz, I would like my children to learn in a Polish school which, keeping pace with the realities, operates in a socialist country. All other epithets--party, solidarity's, branch or church--are truly unnecessary both for the school and for the children studying in the school.

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CONTROVERSY OVER TEACHERS' CHARTER CONTINUED

Background of Controversy

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Oct 81 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Krasniewski: "On the Eve of the Sejm's Session on Education: Disputes About the Teachers' Charter"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

> [Text] /It is in the public interest for the teaching profession to have an advantageous status compared to other categories of workers. Since no one is questioning the old opinion of Stanislaw Staszic [a Polish Enlightenment figure] that the state of the Polish commonwealth and its prospects depend to a sizable degree on the level of education, the teaching profession should attract the most valuable human beings, those who are well-educated and prompted by motives which precondition educational accomplishments./

A properly drafted decree--the Teachers' Charter--could provide encouraging premises for such a status. But the bill voted by the Sejm in 1972 had not filled the need, as evidenced by practice.

The work on the new version of the charter is proceeding along two tracks ever since October last year. This work was initiated by the Ministry of Education and, much earlier, the Polish Teachers' Union [ZNP]. Soon the Teachers' Solidarity joined in this work. /As early as last May an acute impasse had appeared. Mediation even had to be undertaken by the Sejm Commission on Education and Upbringing, because Solidarity activists had questioned the very need of voting on the charter, regarding it as a harmful manifestation of special privileges for an occupational category./ But even before those concerned had the time to react, during about the same period Solidarity began a major campaign in favor of the Dockworkers' Charter and crowned it with success. In such a situation the arguments against the Teachers' Charter lost their force, but time was lost.

Without going into details it should be said that after 16 July, when the draft of the decree had, after numerous consultations, reached the government, the path of the charter continued to be difficult. It was only on 8 October, after a strike alert had been declared by teachers in several voivodships one day before

the extraordinary plenary session of the Governing Board of the ZNP, convened to speed up the progress on this issue, that this important document was transmitted to the Sejm.

Elevating the Rank of the Profession

Of course, the government had its own arguments of a legislative nature, but the facts are in favor of the opinions of ZNP activists. They believe that, in addition to the valid difficulties, there also has been resistance and subjective obstacles by the institutions taking part in the preparatory work. All this has contributed to the tension, so much that there has arisen the threat of the application of the most radical forms of trade union protest.

/Why has the new version of the charter become so important to thousands of educators? Chiefly because this document appears to presage consistent and monitored improvements in the lot of teachers. At the last congress of the ZNP, as well as during its extraordinary plenary session, it was repeatedly stated that the teaching community was fed up with its status of economic pariahs. The documents of the Ninth PZPR Congress also presaged an end to that status./ Thus, if it is expected that the salaries of teachers should be raised to the level of the average wages paid to engineer and technician personnel in industry, and that this should be assured by a legislated machinery for the corresponding mandatory comparison and adjustment of these salaries, teachers want to have this in black and white.

This is to be accompanied by salary raises once every 2 years, a seniority pay allowance, allowances for work under difficult and unsalubrious conditions, decent overtime pay rates and remuneration for various extracurricular work. If, at the same time, the mandatory number of hours worked weekly does not deviate from the European average, and the salaries paid are supplemented with anniversary bonuses, the school bonus fund, and a fully paid 8-week annual vacation, and if moreover teachers receive an extra 15-percent increase in old-age pensions and annuities regardless of any merit increases they may be awarded, /then the teaching profession will ultimately become economically attractive/.

The efforts invested by the state and society in this better status will certainly after some time produce results by halting the current efflux of particularly valuable individuals from the teaching profession and thus at the same time will make possible a marked tightening of requirements for entering this profession. Until now accusations about the poor quality of performance of teachers have often been countered by ripostes about their low material status.

/It may be that the aforementioned premises of the charter will upset quite a few of our readers./ Even now, before any progress has been made in the negotiations about this document, people are talking about the prospects for a rosy life by teachers. The experience of many generations shows that an even more sizable increase in the wages of teachers would halt the efflux of mainly people genuinely interested in children and youth from preschools and schools.

/A teacher's work does not end when the clock strikes 3 or 4 pm. The average work week of a Polish language or literature teacher lasts 50 to 60 hours

depending on the class. Other humanities teachers work just as long, not to mention the teachers of the exact sciences.

/For now the Sejm is in charge of the charter draft, but much still remains to be done./ Various ministries have submitted proposals or reservations concerning the draft of the bill. For example, the Administration Ministry demands that the charter include vocational instructors in industry, although those people are not educators and lack certified teaching skills. That ministry also denied teachers the right to extra living space although it is known that they have to do at home so much homework planning and assignments. The Labor and Wages Ministry believes that pension and annuity provisions should be deleted from the charter and that the provisions of 1972 should remain effective. But teachers would like to have all the rights that they had won contained in a single document, as they fear that the announced general decree for all [occupational categories] could cause them irreparable damage.

Proposals and Reservations

The Sejm has received, along with the draft of the bill, an ensemble of conflicting opinions from the trade unions. /Teachers' Solidarity still questions the term "charter," believing that this should be a bill about the legal status of teachers./

That union also is of the opinion that the document should be of an interim nature until the Sejm votes upon a decree on the national education system. The ZNP suggests that the bill should be adopted with the reservation that later, after suitable adaptation, the charter would become a component part of a general bill on the nation's educational system. The state authorities respond that such proposals not only run counter to the principles of legislative procedure but also represent an attempt to restrict the freedom and independence of the Sejm. It is not possible at present to prejudice the Diet's opinion as to the structure and name as a component part of a decree which will be voted upon several years hence.

/Teachers' Solidarity further proposes that the phraseology in one of the paragraphs, "...upbringing in the spirit of socialist principles," be replaced with the more general "upbringing in the spirit of humanist principles."/ It also suggests deletion of references to discipline of labor and the duty of objective evaluation of students. In the opinion of Solidarity, the bill should contain the statement that recommendations by educational authorities should be implemented only if a teacher considers them as not conflicting with the law and his personal conscience. Another proposal deals with the wording of that part of the preamble which concerns the evaluation of a teacher's performance.

/In the opinion of the state authorities, certain of these proposals are of a restrictive nature. It is self-evident that educational authorities must follow the provisions of the law, while as for the term "conscience," that is too broad and subject to various interpretations. It is difficult to imagine education and upbringing unless the teacher maintains discipline and is objective in evaluating students. The proposal concerning the interpretation of recommendations from the authorities might lead to the questioning of any such recommendation, which would disorganize work at schools./ Not to mention that the deletion of the provision concerning the right to evaluate a teacher's performance would make teachers the

only occupational category to be outside the provisions of the Labor Law Code, which specifies the duty of evaluating workers. Besides, this right is universal.

Calm Is Needed

I mentioned only a few questions, but the controversy has also broadened to include salaries and forms of employment relationship. The ZNP demands that the bill include a provision specifying the schedule for the issuance of implementing regulations. Some of such regulations ensuing from the preceding bill have not yet been issued.

/But the subject of the sharpest dispute and of mass protests by the ZNP membership is the government's proposal for extending to 4 or 5 years the 3-year deadline for implementing the rights granted in the charter./ The union members claim that this proposal conflicts with the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress which postulates a 3-year period of the implementation of improvements in the material conditions of teachers, as does the resolution of the 32d ZNP Congress.

/Finally, the financial effects should also be mentioned. The implementation of the charter will require spending an additional 31.5 billion zlotys, of which nearly 27 billion would be for salaries. Personnel effects also have been calculated. The demographic peak and reduction in homework load will require employing about 160,000 teachers by 1990./

All these matters are at present extremely difficult to resolve. The consultations initiated 15 October by the Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing should be accompanied by calm if this work is to produce the expected results. Much indicates that some compromises will prove necessary.

/One should feel convinced that soon now the Sejm will adopt a decision that will satisfy the teaching community. At the same time, it must be stated with equal conviction that until then teachers arm themselves with patience, without depriving pupils of their care./

Differences Between Government, ZNP

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 25 Oct 81 p 3

[Text of Comments by the ZNP [Polish Teachers Union] Secretariat: "Teachers' Charter: Yes and No"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The teaching community is greatly disturbed by the revisions that have been introduced in the draft of the Teachers' Charter transmitted to the Sejm. What are these revisions? The Secretariat of the ZNP Government Board has performed a detailed analysis of the document to identify the postulates of the ZNP that it takes into account and the divergences between the government's position and the expectations of the teaching community. Below we publish the text of the comments prepared by the ZNP Secretariat.

On 8 October 1981 Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski transmitted to the Sejm the draft of the new Teachers' Charter.

/I. This draft takes into account certain fundamental postulates contained in the ZNP's concept of the updating of the charter, which markedly contributes to improving the socioeconomic status of teachers, in particular:/

1. The introduction of two forms of formalization of the employment relationship, namely, by appointment [tenure] and by employment contract, which includes the specified obligation of the school authorities to tenure a teacher after 3 years of work. The practice of appointment for a definite period, until recall, and of recommendation contracts has been dropped.

2. A marked restriction of the practice of arbitrary transfer of teachers from one post to another (without their consent) in the event of organizational changes.

3. The establishment of a comparable--to that of the occupational group of engineers and technicians employed in industry--salary level (Article 30).

4. The introduction of the principle that teachers receive salary increases once every 2 years throughout 30 years of teaching work (Article 30).

5. Granting teachers the right to:

--seniority pay allowance (Article 32);

--anniversary bonuses (Article 48);

--institutional bonus fund, the so-called "13" [bonus equal to 1 month's pay] (Article 49).

6. More advantageous rules for overtime pay. Among other things, overtime pay levels will be graduated according to rank, and vacation pay will be adjusted in full to average pay (Articles 34 and 67).

7. Further reduction--compared with the state as of 1 September 1981--in the number of weekly hours of teaching and upbringing activities (Article 42).

8. A marked restriction of employers' rights as regards burdening teachers with unpaid teaching and upbringing activities (Article 42).

9. A marked restriction of the possibilities for burdening teachers with overtime work without their consent (Article 34).

10. The provision of possibilities for graduated professional advancement as a form of promotion in rank (Article 46).

11. Obligating the employer to provide teachers in schools with the basic conditions for the accomplishment of pedagogical and upbringing tasks (Article 28).

12. Statutory granting of rights to the teachers' council to codecide on the staffing of managerial positions in schools (Article 16) and as regards the assignment of additional pedagogical-upbringing duties to teachers (Article 42).

13. Assuring the implementation of the right to free housing for all teachers employed in rural areas and in towns with up to 2,000 inhabitants or--in deficit [shortage] areas--up to 5,000 inhabitants (Article 54).

14. Introduction of a permanent pay allowance for teachers working in rural areas and in towns with a population of up to 2,000, or, in deficit [shortage] areas, up to 5,000 inhabitants.

15. Exempting teachers from rent increases for occupancy of additional dwelling space in the form of an additional room (Article 57).

16. Extending vacation leave to 8 weeks, especially for teachers in places without summer vacations (Articles 64 and 66).

17. An unambiguous rule that a teacher who works until the last day of school and then resigns has the right to [paid] vacation leave (Article 65). Previously that right was lacking.

18. The introduction of so-called nonservice status in the event that employment is not available for a teacher relocating to the permanent residence address of his or her spouse (Article 70).

19. Granting to teachers the right to old-age pension after 30 years of work, including 25 years of employment in category 1, (Article 87).

20. Broadening the basis for the determination of old-age pension by including bonuses for professional accomplishments (Article 87) and by granting a 15-percent extra allowance for old-age pension or annuity in lieu of the previous 10 percent (Article 88)--the ZNP is proposing 20 percent.

21. Granting to pensioners and annuitants the right to benefit from the health fund (Article 72).

22. Introduction of the possibility of appealing to organs independent of the educational authorities in the event of disputes ensuing from the employment relationship. Adoption in this respect of the regulations of the Labor Law Code (Article 93).

In addition, provisions of the previous charter which glaringly violated the principles of social justice have been voided. This concerns, e.g.:

--Article 96 which allows the dissolution of employment relationship with a tenured teacher without any disciplinary proceedings and solely upon consent of the minister;

--Article 32 which imposes the duty of substituting for other teachers, as the need arises, to the extent of 2 hours weekly, without extra remuneration.

/11. Independently of the aforementioned positive changes in the draft of the charter, it is necessary to identify the government's positions which diverge from the expectations of the teaching community and do not fully allow for the ZNP's position.

/One major difference between the government's draft of the Teachers' Charter and the ZNP is the schedule for implementing the provisions of the charter, which the government wants to stretch over the period until 1985 whereas the ZNP wants a 3-year period of implementation, i.e., ending in 1983 (the same position has been taken in the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR).

/Moreover:/

1. The provisions of the charter do not apply to teachers employed in posts requiring certified teaching skills at:

--central organs of state administration;

--trade union elements associating teachers.

2. The evaluation of a teacher's performance is given a prominent place in the charter although it ensues from general legal provisions and there was no need to define it in such categorical terms (Article 5).

3. There is no provision that a teacher is legally entitled to tenure if he satisfies specific requirements but has not been evaluated after 3 years (Article 10).

4. The position of the "gmina-town director of schools" has been retained instead of the proposed "inspector of education and upbringing," which entails vacation privileges and a double legal status (Article 16).

5. A provision allowing the discharge of a teacher from a managerial function in school following a 3-month notice has been introduced, but this should be allowed only in especially justified instances (Article 16).

6. The provision allowing the transfer or relocation of a teacher from one post to another without his or her consent has been retained (Article 17).

7. The adopted principle is that the average salary of a teacher /should not be/ lower than that of an engineer or technician in industry, instead of /may not be lower/ (Article 30).

8. The provision for annual adjustment of teachers' salaries in view of the rising cost of living has been deleted.

9. The definition of overtime hours includes the term "worked" instead of "assigned," which greatly affects the interpretation of payment for overtime hours (Article 34).

10. The remuneration for overtime hours during periods of justified absence has been limited to 1 week (Article 34).

11. The newly introduced provision that during a vacation leave the salary paid should be the average of the preceding 3 months instead of 10 months, except in cases where the salary fluctuates markedly so that an average of 12 preceding months has to be calculated (Article 67).

12. The table of working posts and of the weekly number of hours of teaching activities:

--differentiates between the number of hours for teachers in school libraries and in libraries of teaching materials;

--retains the differentiation in numbers of hours for school teachers and teachers employed in educational-professional counseling clinics;

--has not reduced the number of hours for Polish-language teachers, training-school teachers, special-school teachers, and others.

13. The provision of the previous charter awarding the Gold Cross of Merit to teachers for 20 years of /"irreproachable"/ teaching activity has been retained (Article 52).

14. There is introduced the provision that, following 30 years of distinguished professional activity the organ representing a teacher /submits/ a proposal for awarding the Order of Polonia Restituta [Rebirth of Poland] instead of that "the Order of Polonia Restituta is /awarded/" (Article 52).

15. The provision concerning the social and housing fund for teachers, pensioners and annuitants, and the crediting of such funds to pensioners and annuitants as well, has been completely deleted (Section 7).

16. The right to free housing and rural extra-pay allowance has not been extended to all teachers working in towns with a population of up to 5,000, and instead it has been restricted in such cases only to teachers working in areas defined as deficit [shortage] (Article 54).

17. The right to free housing has not been extended to pensioners or annuitants who started to receive their pension or annuity prior to 1972 (Section 7).

18. The right to a household allowance has not been granted to all teachers who undertake work directly after completing their studies (Article 61).

19. No allowance has been made for discounts for travel via PKS [State Motor Transport], with only discounts for travel via PKP [Polish State Railroads] being granted (Article 62).

20. The principle that a school director may obligate a teacher to perform activities relating to the conduct of tests and work connected with the commencement or ending of a school year for as many as 15 days during the school vacation period has been retained. (Article 64).

21. A provision obligating the concerned ministries to determine the actual list of occupational diseases has been omitted (Article 72).

22. The provision that Teacher's Day is a day of leisure has been deleted (Article 74).

23. The provision concerning the possibility of special investigations in disciplinary proceedings against teachers has been omitted (Section 10).

24. There is no provision that payments in kind are subject to inclusion in pension and annuity payments (inclusion in Article 87).

25. There is no provision that the extra allowance for teaching work is also payable in addition to disability pensions granted in cases of work accidents and occupational diseases (Article 88).

26. No allowance has been made for a provision awarding pensioned teachers an extra 25 percent allowance for clandestine teaching (Section 11).

27. There are no provisions specifying a regular updating of the level of pensions and annuities (Section 11).

28. A provision concerning the cooperation between the organizational units of educational administration and the trade unions of teachers has been omitted.

29. A provision placing the proper organs of state administration under the obligation of issuing implementing regulations with respect to the charter within a closely defined schedule has been struck out (Section 12).

/The information presented above does not include comments relating to purely editorial matters.

/The comments presented above are arranged by ordinal number of the articles contained in the draft of the charter./

Explanation of Sejm Commission Chairman

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 25 Oct 81 pp 1,2,3

[Article by Prof Dr Habilitatus Jarema Maciszewski, chairman of the Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing: "For the Common Good"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

> [Text] On 15 October this year, there was a session of the Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing, chaired by Prof Dr Habilitatus Jarema Maciszewski.
>
> The most important item on the agenda was exchange of opinions among the deputies concerning further work on the updated Teachers' Charter transmitted by the government to the office of the Sejm Marshal [speaker].
>
> In view of the fact that the further fate of the charter is of focal concern to all teachers, we turned to the chairman of the Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing for an explanation of the detailed course of further work by the Sejm on the draft of the new Teachers' Charter.

In recent years the Sejm has received hundreds of telegrams, letters, and resolutions from teachers' councils, elements of the Polish Teachers Union [ZNP], groups of teachers, and also--although in a small number--teacher commissions of the Independent Self-governing Trade Unions (NSZZ) Solidarity. A common tenor of most of these missives has been the protest against what their authors consider the slow progress of the work on the new Teachers' Charter, and against the changes which the government has introduced into the draft of that charter, as well as the unanimously expressed support for the resolutions of the National ZNP Congress and the extraordinary plenary session of the Governing Board of NZP-Education. Nearly all the mail has been addressed either to the Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing or to me personally.

I am unable to reply promptly to every letter and telegram and hence I avail myself of the kindness of the editors of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI to reply on its pages as soon as possible to all colleagues.

We all place great hopes in the new legal settlement of the teacher's status. Our hopes pertain to both the living and social conditions of the teacher community and the working conditions of the school and the teacher, which have always been very difficult and complicated and which at present during the period of the all-encompassing economic and sociopolitical crisis, endanger the normal functioning of schools, preschools, and educational-upbringing outposts. The new regulation of the legal status of the teacher is associated with the need--ripening over a number of years--to acknowledge not so much in word as in deed the high rank of our profession, its role and place in the nation's life.

Acting on this conviction, the Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing has been exerting every effort to speed up the work on the draft of this bill and acting as a mediator in the difficult process of smoothing out the differences among the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, the ZNP, and NSZZ Solidarity. These differences in opinion, which emerged during joint discussions of individual articles of the charter, as well as of the nature of this bill as a whole, have been a major reason why the transmittal of the charter to the Council of Ministers has been delayed.

More detailed information on this topic has already been published in GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, so I will not repeat it. The present situation is as follows:

/On 8 October this year, the government draft of the "Teachers' Charter" has been transmitted to the office of the Sejm Marshal. Its general tenor as well as its specific provisions are quite favorable to teachers and are generally in agreement with the opinions and postulates of teachers as well as the content of the social agreements concluded last year with the trade unions dealing with education and upbringing. As for those provisions in the draft of the charter which arouse or may arouse dissatisfaction, doubts, or a feeling that valid claims by teachers have not been accorded sufficient justice, these may be revised and corrected in the course of the legislative work of the Sejm. I cannot, of course, predict the final decisions of the Commission for Education and Upbringing and of the Sejm as a whole. I can only express here my deep conviction that that final version of the "Teachers Charter" will fully meet your expectations./

Soon there will take place a plenary session of the Sejm devoted to the state and developmental trends of Polish education, in accordance with the long-advanced postulates of the Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing and the ZNP congress. At that session--in accordance with legislative procedure--the first reading of the draft of the "Teachers' Charter' will take place. Next, the draft of that bill will be transmitted to the Commission for Education and Upbringing and the Commission for Legislative Work, which, on utilizing the results of public consultations, plenary discussions of the Sejm, and the personal concepts and opinions of the deputies, will prepare the final version of the draft of the bill, on introducing corrections, additions, and revisions. As approved by the commission, the draft of the bill will be presented for final approval to the Sejm. It is my hope that, despite the huge volume of work facing us, the bill will be voted upon as early as this coming November. The date on which it will become effective will be determined by the Sejm.

To maximally shorten the time of the work on the draft of the bill, the Commission for Education and Upbringing has decided, even before its first reading, to commence consultations with the teaching community. This week the commission presidium will meet with representatives of the leadership of ZNP-Education and the National Section for Education and Upbringing, NSZZ Solidarity. Representatives of both unions from the teaching community will be regularly invited to the commission's sessions, as is the custom introduced earlier. In this way, the final shape of the bill will be the result of joint work.

The version of draft of the bill transmitted to the government by the minister of education and upbringing was not entirely agreed upon between the ministry and both trade unions. To be sure, much had been jointly resolved, including some of the most important paragraphs. Certain problems, however, still await further discussion and resolution. The memorandum of differences transmitted to the government along with the draft of the bill by the minister of education and upbringing is fairly long. It is also worth noting that the differences with regard to several questions (if only, for examples the issue of what the bill should be named) between the ZNP and NSZZ Solidarity are quite considerable. /It is one of the commission's roles to reconcile positions, to try for a common consensus in proposing a solution and, in particularly difficult cases, to propose compromise solutions. I mention this in order to show that the task of the Commission for Education and Upbringing is not easy./

In the very near future deputies will begin to meet with their voters-teachers. /My ardent request to my colleagues [fellow teachers] is that they share with the deputies their comments, suggestions, and proposals and meet with them in an objective and constructive atmosphere. All suggestions and opinions will be considered, thoroughly examined, and weighed in the work on the final shape of the text of the bill. As a Sejm commission we have the complete right to present to the Sejm that version of the draft of the bill which we shall jointly regard as the most just and most adequate to the needs of Polish education and the feelings, opinions, and position of the teacher community./ In our work on the charter we will be able to settle many matters and details, including, e.g., the problem of "teacher-librarians" (rather than "school librarians" as formulated in the corresponding provision in the government's draft of the charter),

on bearing in mind that this bill will also open the road toward further regulations intended to prepare a new decree on the national education system.

/I will continue to keep my colleagues [fellow teachers] posted about all work relating to the charter in the pages of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI./

Sejm Speech of Minister Faron

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Nov 81 pp 3,4

[PAP report on speech by Minister B. Faron: "Updated Draft of the 'Teachers' Charter'"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /Justifying the draft of the bill known as "Teachers' Charter," B. Faron stated that it settles the basic aspects of the status of teachers, on voiding those provisions in the 1972 decree, "Charter of the Teacher's Rights and Duties," which no longer find application and at present do not meet the expectations of teachers./

The changes occurring in the nation's economic, social, and political life since August of last year have affected schools as well. Recently many decisions have been made to alter the work of schools, to deepen it and make it more authentic, both for teachers and students. Revisions have been made in the curriculums, especially with regard to the humanities and social sciences, and decisions regulating the inner life of the school, its administration, and the work of teachers have been taken. Lastly, as of the new school year, the material situation of teachers has improved to some extent. Despite economic difficulties, the government has decided to raise salaries and shorten the weekly number of teaching hours. As Minister Faron stated, these decisions represent a preliminary adjustment of the disproportions that had existed in teachers' salaries compared to other professional groups with analogous educational background. They are the first stage in the implementation of a program for improving the material situation of educators and revising the obligations contained in social contracts whose integral reflection can be found in the "Teachers' Charter" being presented today to the High Chamber.

That charter is an important element in the government's actions to improve the situation in Polish education and enhance the status of the teaching profession. The draft of the charter presented today does not yet meet all the expectations of educators. It is being widely discussed within the teacher community, and dissatisfaction has been expressed concerning some of the solutions it contains. There also exist many misunderstandings and lack of clarity concerning that draft as regards, among other things, the schedule for the implementation of the charter.

The working team for the preliminary drafting of the charter bill was appointed in the fall of last year. The project for updating the charter was submitted to the social commission last February, and early in May a revised version of the draft was published in GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in order to familiarize the broad teaching community with its text. At the same time, the draft was distributed for consultation among the ministries and political parties, among others, the

PZPR Central Committee, the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party [ZSL], and the Central Committee of the Democratic Party [SD]. The Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing was kept posted about the work on the draft. In view of the difference in opinions about the status of teachers--a topic which the Polish Teachers Union [ZNP] has always believed worthy of inclusion in the charter, whereas the Teachers' Branch of Solidarity proposed settling this issue in a more general way, as part of a collective-bargaining agreement, the Sejm commission undertook the role of a mediator between these two unions. Early in July, this led to a rapprochement of positions, but it has also caused delays in transmitting the draft of the bill to the government. The transmittal finally took place on 16 July.

The full implementation of the charter will require additional outlays of about 34 billion zlotys on education. In accordance with the proposal by the trade unions and the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress, the Ministry of Education and Upbringing proposed implementing the charter within the period of up to 1983. In view of the country's difficult economic situation, the government, while accepting the idea of outlays on this scale, postponed spending about 9.9 billion zlotys until 1984 and about 2 billion zlotys until 1985. This was the version of the draft of the bill that was approved by the government presidium, and the premier transmitted that draft to the Sejm on 7 October. In accordance with yesterday's declaration by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, the government has recently decided to shorten by 1 year the proposed period of financing the "Teachers' Charter," by moving forward about 6 billion zlotys to as early as the year 1982. This means that a sizable part of the rights contained in the charter will be translated into reality as of 1982. The presented schedule of work on the charter indicates that the government spent relatively very little time on drafting the text of the bill, without either being tardy or, the more so, underestimating the problems of teachers.

In the course of legislative work, the government has also introduced certain revisions in some provisions of the proposed bill that had been negotiated at the ministerial level. This concerns not only the aforementioned shortening of the period of implementation of the charter but also an increase in the extra pension allowance and, among other things, the awarding of the Order of Polonia Restituta to teachers who completed 30 years of pedagogical work and the extension of special free-housing privileges to all teachers employed in cities with a population of up to 5,000.

As regards the extra allowance for pensioners and annuitants who had engaged in clandestine teaching, the government proposes that this question be resolved in the "War Veteran's Charter," because then persons who have abandoned the teaching profession could also be eligible for this allowance. As regards the automatic awarding of the Order of Polonia Restituta, the government adopts the premise that such a procedure for awarding decorations of such high rank would not be socially justified even for persons engaged in such an important profession. hence the government proposes a mandatory submission of proposals for awarding this decoration to teachers, instead of its automatic awarding.

Considerable anxiety has been caused to teachers by the revision of the provision governing average salaries. The draft presented by the Ministry of Education and Upbringing states that "it may not be lower than the average wage of

engineers and technicians employed in industry," whereas the government's draft states that this salary "should not be lower."

The minister cited only certain instances of the disparities between the draft presented by the government and the document received by the Sejm, and he offered a justification for the government's revisions. Altogether there are 13 major disparities and for all of them the government justifies the necessity of revisions by either the possibility of settling the concerned issues in a more general way, through separate regulations, or in view of the deviations of the proposed provisions from the legal norms in force.

Irrespective of these disputed issues, the government has decided to present to the High Chamber the draft of the "Teachers' Charter" in full consciousness that this document can be improved and finalized precisely in the forum of the Sejm and in the Sejm commissions. The government's draft of the bill contains many favorable solutions for those employed in this unusually difficult and responsible profession. The charter postulates, among other things, another stage of shortening the weekly work week to 18 hours for teachers in elementary and secondary schools. In addition, it restricts, among other things, the possibility of burdening teachers with unpaid teaching and upbringing activities as well as with overtime hours without their consent. The average wage of engineers and technicians is regarded as a fixed criterion for determining the salary level of teachers. Along with this, the draft of the bill grants seniority pay allowances to teachers, e.g. 10 percent after 10 years, 15 percent after 15 years, and 20 percent after 20 years, as well as anniversary bonuses for 20, 25 and 30 years of work. The periods of waiting for promotion are moreover shortened from 4 to 2 years and the number of promotions is increased from 6 to 15. These provisions meet the demands advanced by teachers throughout the period of existence of the People's Poland, while the determination of the salary level according to that paid to engineers and technicians prevents once and for all a decrease in teachers' salaries in relation to other professional categories with the same educational background. In addition, the draft of the bill markedly broadens the rights of teachers to social security and pensions and offers definite priorities for teachers who work in rural and so-called deficit [shortage] areas. Further, the provisions contained in the draft are closer to the universal labor law code. This concerns in particular employee hiring and discharge procedures and pay allowances for vacation leaves, disciplinary penalties, etc.

The draft of the bill imposes on the employer the duty of assuring teachers with basic working conditions for the implementation of teaching-upbringing activities, and it obligates the minister of education and upbringing to define these conditions. It also abolishes traditional bureaucratic restrictions on the teacher's work and is intended to enhance his role in implementing the tasks of the school. It moreover eliminates provisions which have glaringly violated the principles of justice by permitting the discharge of tenured teachers without their consent and without disciplinary proceedings. Further, the draft grants to teachers' councils certain rights relating to [codetermination of] the appointment of directors of schools and educational institutions.

The government's draft of the bill takes into account the universal, deep and justified criticism by teachers with regard to their current legal status and

material and social position. It translates into reality most of the teachers' demands recorded in the public agreements between the ministry and government, on the one hand, and the teachers' trade unions, on the other.

The "Teachers' Charter" not only defines the rights of teachers, it also defines in detail their obligations, including the education of young people in the spirit of love for the fatherland, socialist principles of social coexistence, social justice, legality, and fraternity of working people throughout the world. The charter also mentions the duty of promoting the ideals of peace, caring for the broad development of personality in pupils, and fostering attitudes of active participation in the life of the country and the nation.

The charter also defines the required qualifications of teachers, specifying that persons with higher education that includes adequate teacher training and who display the proper moral attitude may be teachers. The duties enumerated in that document also include the necessity of consistent self-enhancement of knowledge and professional skills by the teacher.

Minister Boleslaw Faron stressed that, in his broad presentation of the progress of the work so far on the draft of the "Teachers' Charter" and of the principal provisions it contains, he has not concealed the disparities that have emerged between the version agreed upon between the ministry and the trade unions, on the one hand, and the final government version, on the other. Here he guided himself by the fact that the passions and discussions aroused by this draft are sometimes based on misconceptions, on an incomplete familiarity with the text. Hence he is convinced that the Sejm will, on making allowance for the proposals made during the discussions and for the position of the Sejm commissions for Legislative Work and for Education and Upbringing, vote a bill meeting the expectations of teachers.

1386
CSO: 2600/109

ORTHODOX PRIESTS CRITICIZE CHURCH HIERARCHY

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 1 Dec 1981 p 10

[Unsigned article: "Romanian Orthodox Priests Criticize the Ecclesiastic Hierarchy"]

[Text] According to documents published underground in Romania, five Romanian orthodox priests, members of the "Romanian Christian Committee," were victims of diverse types of harassment and persecution as a result of their writings in "Testimony of Faith," addressed to the patriarch of Romania. In this "Testimony," the authors criticize the attitude of the ecclesiastic officials, considering it "a prostituion of the Church." They say that the Church should not be involved in politics. If on a domestic level the Church has shown itself to be authoritarian, as it is on a foreign level, in Romania it is totally subservient to the atheist authorities. Religious affairs are compromised by a ritual lacking grace and by an orientation towards sterility, materialism and hypocrisy. The five priests, Liviu Negoita, Viorel Dumitrescu, Ambrus Cernat, Cornel Avramescu and Ionel Vinchici, stated that this situation must be changed and demanded: the implementation of the right to give children a religious education and the organization of a young Christian movement; individual ecumenical freedom without any constraints; the right to organize pilgrimages; the right to have access to the information media, radio and television; the release of Father Calciu from prison; the reintroduction of the "Lord's Army" movement; and the recognition of the Unified Church as the sister and supporter of Orthodox spiritual life.

The Patriarch did not directly respond to the "Testimony of Faith." Bishop N. Corneau met twice, however, with Father Negoita, urging him to renounce the ecumenical ideas in the document. Not only did he not renounce them, but in August Father Negoita wrote a letter to the publishing house that produces the journal MITROPOLITUL BANATULUI protesting an article that appeared there stating that the "priests' yoke" involves "spiritual restrictions" and implicitly criticizing the position of the reformist priests in the "Romanian Christian Committee." They were warned that they are using "ideas foreign to the Church" and "actions that have not connection with the Church!". Father Negoita objected that the Church cannot be reduced to a state of immutability.

After a long visit to Bishop Ploscaru on 30 June 1981, Fathers L. Negoita and Viorel Dumitrescu were stopped on the street and "invited" to the militia office, threatened and beaten. Later, Bishop Corneau reproached Father Negoita for having too long a conversation with Bishop Ploscaru...

Father Cernat was arrested in May, interrogated for 6 hours and threatened with physical torture (the investigator ironically told him "that the spikes will come out by themselves and he will fly over the machine). Before being released, he signed a "confession" and he was told that he must give up his work and that he would no loner receive a salary. Father Cernat replied that he would work without a salary. At the end of July, he was visited by Bishop Nicolae who informed him that he must go, that if he did not he would close the church and kick him out into "the street." Father Cernat is currently under strict supervision, is not permitted to carry out his profession as a priest and is used only in auxiliary, support work.

Father Vinchici was also dismissed and no longer has a job.

8724
CSO: 2700

EMIGRE SOURCE EXAMINES MEASURES FOR REDUCING WORK TIME

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 1 Dec 81 p 7

[Unsigned article: "Reducing the Length of the Workweek"]

[Text] The workers' strikes of July and August 1977 and the very powerful repression (arrests, tortures, worker transfers) brought about a decrease in labor productivity. The investigative organs of the apparatus (we understand this to mean the Party and the Government) arrived at the conclusion (copied from Western studies) that there was an incipient deterioration of the national workforce that would express itself in more and more violent outbreaks.

As a good student of Stalinist education (the only one who benefitted), Ceausescu proposed in September 1977 the reduction of the length of the workweek as a safety valve. This was followed by the December 1977 National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and the 12th RCP Congress which approved a program for the graduated reduction of the length of the workweek from 48 hours to 46 hours and the granting of 1 additional day off per month.

Clearly, this reduction was based not on an equal level of productivity, but on an increased one. Thus, for the normal fulfillment of tasks the ministries, the central and local organs, the industrial centrals and the economic units, with the participation of the so-called trade unions headed by the RCP organs, took over 28,000 measures that were to create a savings of 486 million man-hours per year, correlated with an increase in productivity of 4.2 percent in 1981, and "a better use of work time." Very detailed plans were made by sectors of production and the date 31 December 1981 was set as the end of the operation.

Additionally, the operation was also contingent upon countless local factors. Thus, according to the vicious criteria established by the party, the day off (the first Saturday of the month and not a full day) would be granted to enterprises on the basis of monthly achievements or achievements accumulated since the beginning of the year and the following plan indicators: the value of sold and paid-for goods production; physical industrial production by items; labor productivity based on net production; product quality; exports, including deliveries for export as established through cooperation with sub-contracting units; maximum expenditures per 1,000 lei of goods production.

The first five indicators could be expressed in an accounting format. The last, which appears to be the most simple, still does not have an arithmetic formula.

It should be noted that in those enterprises that require continuous operations the day off could be postponed or accumulated during a period of restricted operations, while in the administrative and service sectors the days off could be postponed for months.

By August 1981, in other words 32 months into the 36 month program, the apparatus of the Socialist Republic of Romania stated that 75 percent of the total number of workers were benefitting from a 46-hour workweek, with the day off not being given only in rare cases.

At the 14 July 1981 working session of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee that preceded Ceausescu's visit to the Crimea to see Brezhnev, it was decided that "in order to reduce the workweek it is necessary to achieve the same amount of production in a shorter period of time." After two and one-half years since the beginning of the operation, neither the apparatus nor the rest of the country had understood that they were talking about a reduction in work time.

To the instructions that had come down from the top, the work units had answered, as they had understood, with the inherent delays in a troublesome program by reorganizing production and labor, by requesting machinery and equipment to automate the work processes (at a time when Romania's foreign credit is considerably reduced) and by raising the level of professional qualifications of the different categories of personnel. All these phases cannot be quickly resolved.

Thus, the program for reducing the length of the workweek as promised 3 years ago is a new failure. This measure is not limited, however, to the failure to make good on the promises to the workers. "Scientific" organization immediately requires the intensive use of machinery and equipment. Those personnel having a lower level of qualifications became "unproductive" and, together with "auxiliary" personnel, they were put on leave as "unfit for certain production activities."

Thus, a group of unemployed workers was created that goes from city to city looking for work. A large part of these workers are pushed to committing delinquent acts and the statistical analysis of the Romanian press in recent months reveals a spectacular increase in all kinds of robberies and criminal acts committed by these uprooted people. An important part of the black market business, which the Romanian apparatus blames for contributing to the endemic poor supply situation among the people, is in the hands of these people.

When countries that are no less richer and have no more advantageous positions in international situations on the European continent begin programs to reduce the workweek from 40 hours to 38 or even 35 hours and when working more than 42 hours is considered illegal and trade unions state that it is even damaging to the health of the workers, the undermining of the failing regime in Romania becomes a national duty.

The living conditions of the Romanian workers, which are much poorer than those of the Polish workers, must be denounced by all the elements of exiled Romanians.

8724
CSO: 2700

ULTRALEFTIST VIEWS OF LCY ROLE REJECTED

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 81 p 20

[Article by Petar Mandic: "The League of Communists and Democratic Centralism; Element Instead of Organized Action"; Passages within slant lines in bold face]

[Text] The conception is popular that the ideological function of the LCY will become stronger to the extent in which the process of liberalization of its internal life has taken effect, that is, if it has reduced its occupation with the questions of its organizational and political construction in the spirit of democratic centralism.

This conception proceeds from the fact that democratic centralism is incompatible with the new role of the LCY in a self-managed society and that "according to the character of the relations which it assumes, it is incompatible with self-managed democracy." Challenging the role of the LCY and negating democratic centralism, the anarchist-liberals develop the thesis that /democracy/ and /centralism/ in the LCY come into irreconcilable opposition which can only be resolved by excluding /centralism/. They are particularly insistent that "democratic centralism is the source of the latent conflict of principle and the creative personality," that this is the principle with the help of which "membership is manipulated for the sake of leadership," that it is the "source of making relations in the LCY and in society bureaucratic," that it "separates people and their ideas," etc. Making the LCY democratic should be expressed in such a way that the character of its internal relations would enable minorities, even if they have antisocialistic ideological positions, to work freely and to struggle for their positions. In such a vision of democracy, "freedom" is conceived of as a category outside of class, as the right to work in the movement and against its interests, as "freedom for everyone," even for the class enemy, as the right without the responsibility for the consequences which come into being for the movement because of such activity.

The "Incompatibility" of Order and the Movement

The character of the anarchist-liberal concept of democracy and of the role of the LCY is best revealed by its "radicalized wing" which is known as the "new left" or the "ultraleft." Although it tries to present itself as the protagonist for new beginnings in the development of socialism, the ultraleft reveals its ideological orientation by the measures it proposes in order to "radicalize" and "to make democratic" social relations, and to get out of the existing "vicious circle."

Both the advocates of this ideological movement and the classical anarchist-liberals direct their basic activity against the LCY and its organized work on the principle of democratic centralism, as well as against the institution of the political system of socialistic self-management. It is worth saying that here there is nothing about criticism of the existing, but about negation of everything existing, about the demand for the destruction of the institution of the self-managed society in the name of some abstract interests of the working class. The basic ideological inspiration of this false leftwing "radicalism" is anarchism, with its motto in the thesis "that order and the movement are absolutely incompatible" and that they are "two diametrically opposed political phenomena."

The nihilistic concern of the ultraleftwinger emerges in the explicit assertions that "in today's world, socialistic self-management is the only utopia," that it is incompatible with today's reality, and as such it must be discarded as a real alternative. Insisting on spontaneity as a method of struggle for socialism, and struggling against democratic centralism as an organizational principle of the LCY, the ultraleftwing favors the point of view according to which "the spontaneity of class and the activity of the party organization are mutually excluded or sharply opposed to each other."

The LCY should operate exclusively on the basis of empirical consciousness, spontaneously, independent and ouside of party leadership. The ultraleft particularly insists on the viewpoint that behind the concepts of democratic centralism is concealed the "the most glaring form of bureaucratic centralization and the dictatorship of the party apparatus."

The ultraleftist destructive tendencies in relation to the LCY and its spiritual identity with the philosophy of Dilas emerge from the position of its advocates toward the manner of organization of the LCY. They find proof of the bureaucratic structuring of the LCY in the fact that the membership is not organized arbitrarily, "according to the way it is found," but in accordance with the "organizational scheme which is issued by the leadership," alluding to the Statutes of the LCY. The ultraleftwingers, as well as all opportunistic petit-bourgeois intellectuals, as Lenin warned, are bothered by discipline and organization, as well as the understanding which democratic centralism presupposes.

The aversion the ultraleft feels for the LCY is well expressed in the position that it has survived organization because of its Leninist nature. And since everyone from Dilas to his "radical" followers are united in the position that Leninism is the forerunner of Stalinism, they reach the conclusion that the LCY is "incompatible with self-management." In their opinion, the League of Communists, as long as it exists as an organization which constructs its relations on the principle of democratic centralism, will be the impetus for making relations in society bureaucratic, and because of this it must be abolished or given an auxilliary role.

The search for an "alternative to the existing" does not only mean a plea that an alternative to self-management be found, but also to the leadership role of the working class and of the LCY which, it is asserted, have not been acknowledged as revolutionary subjects because they themselves have been "make bureaucratic," especially the LCY, which has been transformed into the "sclerotic party of the movement." In order for the new "avantguarde" to be able to implement its role, the ultraleft aggressively comes out with the demand that it be given free space for operating outside the institution of the political system.

Lack of Faith in the Working Class

One should not, however, live under the illusion that the anarchist-liberals and the ultraleftwingers are genuine supporters of spontaneous and unlimited democracy for all. There is nothing about this. In question is the ideological vision which has as its goal--under the guise of the struggle for democracy--the breaking up of the institution of the political system of socialistic self-management, which is proclaimed as undemocratic, so that a state of division and anarchy emerges, in which then would appear on the scene those forces which would, having seized control, create its own system which might be even a form of restoration of the dogmatic Stalinistic variation of socialism, or a multiparty system with limited civil freedoms, or everything else but a true system of socialistic self-managed democracy.

In every case, the road from anarchy has never led to democracy, nor is this the goal of the anarchist-liberals. In reality, we are dealing with false radicalism. To be radical in the Marxist sense of the word means to begin with man and his specific life situation. The struggle for the resolution of the concrete problems for the economic and political emancipation of society is not possible without concrete critical analysis of social reality and the solving of the problems which inhibit the process of the liberation of labor and the working class. But the ultraleft does not make use of this method of analysis, instead negating all of the existing structure, and so in the name of false humanism it is transformed into a destructive force of society and into the most extreme protagonist of the struggle against the socialistic self-management values of society.

Marxist-based criticism is not and cannot be only a judge of the existing reality, but also must be a vision of a new, approaching one, as well as a response to the challenges of the contemporary struggle for socialism. Its revolutionary dimension consists in this. Instead of a Marxist analysis of social reality, the ultraleft makes use of an impressionistic philosophy, creating a utipian plan for society and the "liberation of man." Thus the notion of the hopelessness of society and the uncertainty of perspective of our self-management development is created. By its lack of faith in the working class as a historic subject, and by its search for a new historic alternative to the existing forces of society, that is, the working class and the LCY, the ultraleft in the best way possible reveals its petit-bourgeois ideological orientation and character. The implementation of its goals is possible only under the assumption that the LCY is indeed to be removed from the political scene. Only in this way is it possible to understand the revulsion of the anarchist-liberals and the ultraleftwing for the social role of the LCY. That is why they support the destruction of the pillars of its ideological and organizational construction, which are expressed in democratic centralism. Without these pillars, there would indeed be no LCY.

Although the LCY finds itself in an irreconcilable conflict with these ideological tendencies, they sometimes succeed in influencing the content and method of its work and the construction of its internal relations. These influences appear in the formalism of the work of some organizations and agencies, that is, in conceptions that it is enough on principle to discuss phenomena and the task of the LCY is finished. According to this reasoning, the implementation of these assignments is a matter for other organizations and agencies. It is not uncommon for social problems to be approached without entering into all sides of their political, social and economic essence, the establishment of their causes is overlooked and the responsibility for them is avoided.

Making relations in the LCY democratic is still perceived here and there as the right of individuals and organizations, under the guise of freedom of expression for a pluralism of self-management interests, to legalize rights of some economic and social subjects to insist without limitation on biased, local and individual group interests, independent of how much they agree with the broad interests of the society and associated labor. On this basis appear tendencies that a significant number of basic organizations of the LCY often identify with the interests of their own basic organizations of associated labor, independent of what is the class essence of these interests, that is, whether these interests are the expression of the broad interests of society and associated labor or are the expression of localism, particularism and regionalism.

9548
CSO: 2800/112

ASSEMBLY OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON DELEGATES' PAY, DUTIES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1611, 15 Nov 81 pp 15-17

[Interview with Janez Lukas, secretary general of the SFRY Assembly, by Svetislav Spasojevic: "Under the Assembly Dome"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Hardly a day passes that some Yugoslav newspaper does not publish at least one news item coming from the Yugoslav Assembly. This institution is probably the largest source of news in the country. It is another matter that almost nothing is known about the delegates who spend long and strenuous hours in the Assembly and about the people who are employed in it.

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly held 84 meetings with a total of 924 agenda items from 15 May 1978 to the end of this October! In that time each delegate of the Federal Chamber received 3,942 pieces of documentary material with a total of 42,941 pages. His counterpart in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces received 5,958 pieces of material printed on 50,165 pages. This is a job which, as one often hears in the Assembly, cannot always be done as it should be. Which raises the question of who are the people who have managed to study so many pieces of material in such a relatively short time and make decisions on the basis of that material which have very often been decisive for the country.

A picture of the Assembly from within must among other things contain data on the composition of the delegates with respect to age. There are 5 delegates between the ages of 20 and 30, 40 between the ages of 30 and 40, 74 delegates between 40 and 50, 131 delegates between 50 and 60, and 55 delegates between 60 and 70.

The figures eloquently indicate that the delegates are of a certain age and experience. There are more of them between the ages of 60 and 70 than those between 20 and 40, the youngest age group.

Occupations

The total of 308 delegates are divided as follows: 220 in the Federal Chamber and 88 in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. There are 44 women delegates in the Federal Chamber and 10 in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. In the Federal Chamber 135 delegates have senior postsecondary schooling; in the Chamber

of Republics and Provinces there are 36. There are 53 delegates in the Federal Chamber and 13 delegates in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces with junior postsecondary schooling. There are 29 delegates in the Federal Chamber and 8 delegates in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces with secondary specialized training. In each chamber there are two delegates with elementary schooling.

In the Federal Chamber there are 63 sociopolitical workers and 67 in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces; in the Federal Chamber 21 economists and in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 6; in the Federal Chamber 12 lawyers and in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 2; in the Federal Chamber 40 engineers and in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 2; in the Federal Chamber 12 members of the armed forces and in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 1; in the Federal Chamber 6 physicians, 2 veterinarians and 7 educationists, but in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 1 educationist; in the Federal Chamber 1 writer and 1 newsman; 5 enterprise directors in the Federal Chamber and 6 in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces; 14 highly skilled workers in the Federal Chamber and 1 in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. Also, there are in the Federal Chamber 11 technicians, 13 skilled workers, 1 actor, 2 farmers and 2 nurses.

Of the 320 delegates in the two chambers, 130 are sociopolitical workers. The others are employed and often say that their position is not equitable, since aside from their regular job, they also perform the extremely important duty of being a delegate.

Personal Incomes

The compensation for personal income paid to the delegate in the Yugoslav Assembly is regulated by a specific law and a social compact. A delegate who does not hold one of several elective offices is entitled to the same personal income he had over the last 12 or 6 months in the work organization in which he was employed. The rule for a delegate who does hold one of the elective offices is this: "... The personal income is arrived at by taking as the base the average personal income of employees in the SFRY economy, which is increased by a specified adjustment." For the chairmen of the Assembly's working bodies, for example, the adjustment factor applied is 3.8. Past labor is added to the amount obtained in this way. The compensation for personal income paid, say, to the chairman of a working body or one of the committees is 23,350 dinars without past labor and 28,645 dinars if he has 30 years of pensionable service.

The delegate also receives what is referred to as a supplement, which amounts to 2,000 dinars per month. In practice there are cases where the delegate receives a smaller personal income than what he had in his former job. The administrative commission of the SFRY Assembly is authorized on the recommendation of the administrative commissions of the republics and provinces to make occasional adjustments in the personal income of a delegate in order to compensate for that difference.

Here are the personal incomes of the officeholders elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly, with and without past labor:

The president of the Assembly receives 32,021 dinars without past labor and 37,625 dinars with it; the vice presidents of the Assembly 28,018 dinars and 32,921 dinars, respectively; the presidents of the chambers 28,018 (32,921); chairmen of committees of the chambers and joint committees 25,350 (29,786); delegates in the Federal Chamber from 17,463 to 30,560, including past labor; delegates in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces from 19,720 to 33,306 dinars, including past labor; officeholders whose term of office has expired from 25,867 to 29,819 dinars, including past labor; the secretary general of the SFRY Assembly 24,683 dinars without past labor and 29,003 dinars with it; the deputy secretary general, the chamber secretary and the secretary for legislation from 25,566 to 27,434 dinars; staff administrators appointed by the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly and councilors of the Yugoslav Assembly (including past labor) from 22,308 to 27,435 dinars; secretaries of committees and secretaries of joint commissions from 22,201 to 27,202 dinars, including past labor; and assistants to the secretary general, secretaries of staff services, the head of the Office of the President of the SFRY Assembly, and the chief of protocol of the SFRY Assembly from 22,527 to 26,650 dinars, including past labor.

The chairman of the Federal Executive Council has the same base pay as the president of the Yugoslav Assembly. The "base" of the president of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court is about 3,000 dinars less. The vice chairmen of the Federal Executive Council have the same personal income as the vice presidents of the SFRY Assembly, not including past labor, the members of the Federal Executive Council, the judges of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia and the president of the Federal Court have the same personal income as vice presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and the chairmen of working bodies in the Yugoslav Assembly, not including past labor.

Full-Fledged Apartment or Furnished Bachelor's Apartment

An order which is now under consideration by the delegates provides that a delegate elected as a holder of office in the SFRY Assembly may receive an apartment for temporary use so long as he holds that office, that is, so long as he does that work and performs those tasks, or for permanent use with the right of tenancy. An apartment which is allocated for temporary use (official apartment) does not come with the right of tenancy, and it must be returned upon expiration of the officeholder's term.

The right of tenancy can be acquired, that is, a delegate can receive an apartment for permanent use if he is an officeholder who does not have a dwelling and is moving his family to Belgrade, but he may not have the right of tenancy to two dwellings, since he must return the dwelling in his previous place of residence. If another apartment is allotted to him upon expiration of his term of office, for example, in his own republic or province, the apartment is returned to the housing stock of the Federation. In short, delegates who hold office have the same rights as any citizen, and the Law on Housing Relations which applies to everyone applies to them as well. The exception is the so-called official apartment, which makes it possible for the delegate holding office in Belgrade to perform his duty. This apartment, a bachelor's apartment as a rule, is furnished, and he must pay all the costs for it and depreciation on the furnishings.

Languages and Scripts

Speeches in the Yugoslav Assembly are translated simultaneously--in both directions--to and from Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Albanian and Hungarian. All documentary materials are translated and printed in the following languages (according to the terminology used in the Assembly): Serbo-Croatian (Cyrillic), Croatian literary language (Latin script), Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian in the ijekavski dialect used in SR Bosnia-Hercegovina (Cyrillic and Latin alternately), Slovenian, Macedonian, Albanian and Hungarian.

These are just some of the facts we talked about with Janez Lukas, secretary general of the SFRY Assembly, in our desire to create a picture of the "parliament from within."

[Question] It is often said that the delegates carry a heavy load. What is the total number of sessions that have been held in this convocation and how many items have been on the agenda?

[Answer] In performing their principal function of establishing policy and adopting laws and other general acts, the chambers of the SFRY Assembly have held 84 sessions from 15 May 1978 to 31 October of this year, with a total of 924 points on the agenda. The Federal Chamber held 37 sessions with 508 items on the agenda, and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 47 sessions with 416 items on the agenda. Joint working bodies of the Yugoslav Assembly held 233 meetings with 1,160 points on the agenda. The working bodies of the Federal Chamber have had 496 meetings and 2,593 points on the agenda, and those of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 514 meetings with 2,182 points on the agenda. The working bodies have also held 35 joint meetings with 48 items on the agenda. In addition, the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly has held 43 meetings with a total of 240 items on the agenda.

[Question] Is it possible for every delegate to do a proper job of reading the pages of various pieces of material every month or every year?

[Answer] In its meetings the Federal Chamber has taken up 172 drafts or proposed versions of laws, 119 proposed versions of orders and 47 proposed versions of other general acts. The Chamber of Republics and Provinces has in its sessions taken up 102 proposed versions of laws, 99 proposed versions of orders and 73 proposed versions of other general acts. Every delegate of the Federal Chamber, from 15 May 1978 to 31 October of this year, has received 3,942 pieces of documentary material with a total of 42,941 pages. This means that every delegate in the Federal Chamber has received on the average 94 pieces of material per month with 1,020 pages. A delegate in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces has over that same period received 5,968 pieces of documentary material with a total of 50,165 pages, or a monthly average of 142 pieces with a total of 1,194 pages. Yet I am not mentioning to you the material which is also regularly sent to the delegates from the various working bodies in the SFRY Assembly, informative materials issued by the Staff Service for Documentation, the Staff Service for Information, the Social Accounting Service, or the Assembly's Herald.... Last year, for example, the Assembly's print shop printed 32,671,000 pages in format A-4 and consumed 115 tons of paper. In the first 9 months of

this year it has already printed 39.1 million pages in that same format and consumed 120 tons of paper.

[Question] The observation has been made, though, to be sure, it is not uttered too loud, nor often, that the delegates substitute a few leading officeholders in the republics for their own constituency and consult only them concerning their activity.

[Answer] Performance of the jobs and tasks within the competency of the SFRY Assembly does not depend solely on the effective work of the delegates in it, but to a considerable extent on the successful functioning of the delegate system as a whole and on its capacity to perform the social role which it has in the process of the mode of operation and decisionmaking based on delegacy. Concerning every significant decision a democratic procedure has to be conducted in which organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations, as well as their delegations, state their position, and with respect to decisions within the jurisdiction of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, consent of the republic and provincial assemblies is also required. In order to make it possible for the delegations in the delegate base to state their positions, the material which has been proposed for consideration in the SFRY Assembly has to be worked up, that is, summaries have to be prepared of the positions and decisions proposed, and these are then published in the Assembly Herald, which is intended for the delegations. It comes out every 14 days, except during the summer recess of the Assembly, in 14 different editions in the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and in the languages of the ethnic minorities (in Albanian, Hungarian, Ruthenian, Slovak, Romanian and Turkish). This Herald is received by a total of 78,210 delegations of the principal self-managing organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations. Its circulation, incidentally, is 450,000 copies.

Debate in All the Languages

[Question] The democratic procedure of stating positions and reconciliation of positions on proposals and stands has on several occasions been frustrated because laws were passed by emergency and abbreviated procedure. Do you know the figures that might illustrate this assertion?

[Answer] According to the regular procedure for adoption of acts in the Federal Chamber, proposed versions must be delivered to the delegates 60 days before consideration, while in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces the period is 45 days. From the beginning of this term, that is, since 15 May 1978, up to the end of 1980 the Federal Chamber had adopted 94 laws through regular procedure and 14 by abbreviated procedure, and 19 laws were adopted by emergency procedure. In the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 54 laws were adopted by regular procedure and 41 by abbreviated procedure.

[Question] There are representatives of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities in the Yugoslav Assembly. Has it been made possible for them to follow the debate in their own language? How much has the demand for translation and other work which must be done by people employed in the Assembly affected the size of the staff?

[Answer] There is a well-organized staff service for translations into the languages of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. Last year it translated and edited 73,766 pages. In addition, there were over that same period 230 hours of simultaneous interpreting. In the first 10 months of this year more than 50,000 pages have already been translated. Specialized, technical and organizational tasks are performed for the Assembly by its staff services, which have a work force of 675. This is a large staff. A number of measures are in the works to reduce its size and to establish an optimum and efficient organization of the staff services. Resolutions which the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly and the Administrative Commission adopted last year prohibiting an increase in the size of the staff services of the Assembly, together with the specific program of the work community and sociopolitical organizations on economy and efficient conduct of business, are already being implemented. The staff members themselves have made a great effort to use their worktime as efficiently and optimally as possible and to perform additional jobs on their own through flexible organization, rescheduling of worktime, staggered working hours and work on more than one shift, thereby avoiding overtime.

[Question] How many delegates receive their personal income in the Yugoslav Assembly?

[Answer] There are 74 delegates who receive their personal income or compensation for personal income in the Federal Chamber and 76 in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. The other delegates obtain their personal income from the work organization in which they are employed.

[Question] What has happened with what is referred to as "Brkic's law"? That is, there is a law on officeholders whereby delegates can receive a personal income even after their term of office has expired if they have not been assigned to a new position.

[Answer] Those officeholders who were elected and appointed in the SFRY Assembly, but have not been assigned to other jobs upon expiration of their term of office, are receiving personal income or compensation for personal income on the basis of the special law in the SFRY Assembly. Upon expiration of the term of the Assembly convocation between 1974 and 1978 this right has been exercised by 72 delegates or officeholders, but today there are only 8 of them. There has been a debate for several years about the delegates obtaining their personal incomes in the republic and autonomous province.

[Question] How much does the Yugoslav Assembly actually cost?

[Answer] In 1980 the Federal Assembly budgeted 354,694,628 dinars, and in 1981 it planned 368,049,444 dinars, or 4 percent more than a year previously. The Yugoslav Assembly covers its expenses from the federal budget. Over the first 9 months of last year expenditures amounted to 56,952,454.20 dinars, while expenditures in the first 9 months of this year were 56,982,907.05 dinars. These two last figures do not include money paid for personal incomes. Last year there was a saving of 21,080,036.75 dinars of the funds approved, which was returned. These are the results of the economy program which is being carried out painfully, but persistently.

Delegates and the Telephone

[Question] What expenditures are made for entertainment?

[Answer] In 1980 the Assembly budgeted 826,000 dinars for entertainment. That same amount has been planned for this year as well. Of that 597,602 dinars were spent last year, and in the first 9 months of this year 313,551 dinars. In accordance with the Law on Temporary Prohibition of Disposition of a Portion of Public Funds and Payment of Certain Expenses, one of which is entertainment--this, incidentally, being a law adopted by this Assembly--it is no longer spending funds for entertainment this year.

[Question] Certainly it would be interesting to know the amount of funds set aside to pay per diems of delegates.

[Answer] Over the first 10 months of last year 4,507,204 dinars were spent for per diems of delegates in both chambers and for operation of joint working bodies, while over the first 10 months of 1981 this expenditure was 4,099,488 dinars. The Federal Chamber's share of these figures was 2,442,954 dinars in the first 10 months of 1980 and 2,207,610 dinars in the same period of 1981. In the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 1,362,500 dinars were spent in the first 10 months of 1980 and 1,466,585 dinars in the same period of 1981.

[Question] The telephone is an extremely important device in the delegate system. It is quite certain that the delegates use it practically every moment. What are the telephone expenses like, how large are they, and who pays for them?

[Answer] Over the first 10 months of last year telephone expenses in the Federal Assembly amounted to 3,917,664.25 dinars, and this year 5,295,696.50 dinars, or 35 percent more than last year. This increase occurred partly because of the higher rates of PTT [postal, telegraph and telephone] services. Though constant warnings have been issued and a possibility has been sought for reducing these expenses, success has not been achieved. After all, all accredited newsmen have the right to report to their editorial offices on the proceedings of Assembly chambers and working bodies without any sort of compensation. And then the delegates and delegations are in constant communication with the assemblies of the republics and provinces, and the staff services of the Assembly must also coordinate their work with the respective staff services.

[Question] Have there been any disagreements with work organizations from which delegates have come? Do they seek compensation for the time which their people spend in the Yugoslav Assembly?

[Answer] It is an honor to be a delegate, and we have never had such problems, as far as I know. Performance of this task is an important social function. We have had only two cases in which work organizations have sought compensation for the days or hours which their workers spend in the Assembly as delegates.

[Question] In what republics or provinces are those organizations located?

[Answer] In Montenegro and Kosovo.

[Question] That means that we are not talking about the only two delegates who are peasants?

[Answer] No, they have not sought compensation. However, under a decision of the Administrative Commission of the SFRY Assembly, they receive 350 dinars for every day spent in meetings of working bodies or sessions of the chambers.

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END

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19 January 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1962

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19 January 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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DUTCH REPORTER VIEWS ALBANIAN DOMESTIC SITUATION

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 12 Dec 81 pp 21, 31

[Report by Frits Schaling: "Albania: Test-tube of the Revolution"]

[Text] A visit to distant (in all respects) Albania causes even a world-wise Western reporter to be perturbed.

Culture Shock is somewhat too big a word for his experiences. However, the inhabitants of Tirana made him feel like a medieval leper.

A travel report from the country where God -- as well as everything he forbade -- is taboo.

On foot, carrying a suitcase, I arrive that Monday morning at exactly 10 am on a different planet. The Yugoslav border officials look at me somewhat compassionately as I get out of the taxi which brought me from the Montenegrin capital Titograd to the border crossing near Shkoder lake, surrounded by grey mountains. As I walk the 200 meters between the Yugoslav and Albanian barriers there is complete silence, interrupted only by the chirping of sparrows which fly freely between the two countries.

An armed Albanian border guard patrolling in the no-man's-land doesn't react to my greeting, but in the distance an unarmed colleague appears, obviously knowledgeable about the fact that that morning at 10 am a Dutch journalist is arriving. He accompanies me to the border office, an immense space -- of the type I will still see numerous times in hotel lobbies, museum halls or cultural palaces -- where a bust of Enver Hoxha, surrounded by small palm trees, insures a sacred atmosphere.

The hall is filled with small tables and armchairs in lilac and pale orange covers. Along one of the walls, decorated in light blue and light green -- the pastel colors which appear to symbolize warmth, conviviality and prosperity in Albania -- there is a bookcase with translations of the recent works of the Albanian party leader. In the middle there is a showcase with the familiar knick-knacks that can be bought for foreign currency: handwoven purses, wood carvings, small copper cans, Albanian brandy and cigarets.

On the other wall the first slogan: "Even if we have to go without food, we Albanians will not disavow our principles, we will not be traitors to Marxism-Leninism." An hour later, when I have been handed over to the department chief of the Committee for Cultural and Friendly Foreign Relations who has just arrived, Albania opens itself up to me. A gate over the road, provided with screens to block the view, slowly moves aside and the harsh green Polish Fiat in which I am being transported can pass. An exercise in alienation, lasting many days, is starting.

Alienation because it seems that the categories in which the Westerner is accustomed to think are completely absent in Albania. The possibility to find out whether that is an optical illusion simply doesn't exist.

It isn't even exactly a culture shock which the Western visitor experiences in Albania. Despite the fact that the country was under the Ottoman domination for almost 5 centuries, it is unmistakenly Europe that one encounters: the citadel built three centuries before Christ -- before our era the Albanians prefer to say -- the magnificent cities of Berat and Gjirokaster, built against the mountains in the south; the remains of ancient cities and amphitheaters in Butrint and Durres on the coast. The history, the landscape, the people, everything is recognizably European.

Nevertheless, Albania is different and that realization often forces itself upon a person so overbearingly that it becomes almost oppressive. Various foreign visitors have compared the situation of a Westerner in Albania with that of a medieval leper who announced his arrival with a rattle.

When one walks through the streets of Tirana alone, without a guide, primarily one's shoes -- which Albanians immediately take for a sign of capitalism -- function as that rattle. From your shoes, the gaze of the Albanian passer-by goes to infinity; you have been classified and you continue on as a space traveller on a space walk. Foreigners who have been living in Albania for a while experience the same isolation. Their conversations with Albanians are limited to remarks on the weather; their social contacts take place exclusively within the small diplomatic community -- there are 16 embassies in Tirana, including the Greek, Italian, Turkish and French one -- and a Western diplomat characterizes the life of foreigners in Albania as "hell."

But is that true for Albanians themselves? After a centuries-long domination by the Turks and after having been the puppet of conflicts of interest between superpowers for decades, the Albanians, under the iron leadership of the communist party, started an experiment in 1944 which without exaggeration can be called the "revolution in a test-tube."

Utopia

Without making any concessions to the change in policy forced by practical considerations which brought the Soviet Union to de-Stalinization and China to rapprochement with the West, Enver Hoxha adhered to an orthodox explanation of the theory which according to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin would lead to the one and only Utopia. Professor Zija Xholi, head of the department of philosophy of the University of Tirana, for example, says that "Comrade Hoxha proved that Lenin's

principles are still valid and that Marxism as a philosophy can also be applied to modern times. The wealth of the bourgoisie still exists, only the contrasts have now been shifted to the difference between developed and underdeveloped countries. We can do nothing but continue to follow the principles of Marxism/Leninism."

Consistently sticking to the letter of Marxist evangelism, Albania thus grew into a pure communist culture where agriculture is almost totally collectivized, where religion no longer exists, at least not in any outward form, and where personal property is limited to a bicycle (costing about 1.5 times the monthly income), a watch, an alarm clock, a radio, sometimes a TV set, and some household appliances.

Albania is a country without a department of justice, because the administration of justice usually takes place at the lower levels; those who make mistakes are tried by the people around them. It is also the state where a new human being is originating who "works in the interest of society as if it were his own interest," as explained by a man who looks as if he just left the church council meeting of the Calvinist Bond in a Dutch hamlet. Depending on one's basic position, humanistic or materialistic, one can judge the results of the social experiment taking place in Albania as horrifying and insane, or as impressive and positive.

In comparision to the period before the second world war, when Albania was the poorest and most backward country of Europe, an astronomical progress has been achieved: the barely 10 percent of the mountainous country which was suitable for agriculture at that time has been doubled through drainage of swamps, irrigation, and terrassing of hills, so that now the country is able to feed itself.

The construction of continually more gigantic dams was coupled with the electrification of the most isolated hamlets, and the growing electricity surplus is being exported to countries such as Yugoslavia and Greece. Malaria and syphilis, the two diseases which 40 years ago still claimed the greatest number of victims, have been eliminated and the average lifespan of Albanians has risen from 38 to 68 years. "If we still had King Zog (who escaped the country in 1939 after the Italian invasion), that development would have taken us 350 years," says Jovan Vujoshi, the director of the polytechnic school in Shkoder.

Under Its Own Steam

Of course the Albanians are aware of the fact that their standard of living is still low compared to that of the Western world, but they console themselves with the thought that in a much greater number of countries in the world the development level is much lower. When they look at their neighboring country of Yugoslavia, they see that there are many more things for sale in the stores, but that, on the other hand, Yugoslavia has a debt of over 20 billion dollars.

"We know from experience that financial dependence also carries along political dependence," says the scientific secretary of the Albanian academy of sciences, Professor Luan Omari. Albania has laid down in its Constitution that the country does not accept loans, does not let in multinationals and does not enter into joint ventures. That is not due to xenophobia," says Professor Omari, "but due to our determination to stand on our own legs."

"We are building the 5-year plan under our own steam," one of the slogans around the Skenderbeg Square also vows. Skenderbeg, the legendary Albanian hero who succesfully defended himself against the Turks for several decades in the middle of the 15th century, offers inspiration from the past for the challenge of today taken on by the Albanians after the rupture with China. Skenderbeg is the symbol of pride and inflexibility whose cult almost matches that of Enver Hoxha.

Just as sacrosant is the plan which regulates not only the economy of the country, but also the life of every Albanian to the smallest detail. Experiments made about 10 years ago to decentralize the decision-making process a little were rapidly halted when it became clear that the greater freedom of local managers led to "voluntarism" and to the tendency of "technocrats" to want a more direct contact with the West.

Currently the centralized planning based in Tirana is all-powerful again: every contact with abroad has to go via the capital. Whether it is a matter of foreign books and magazines for the library of a small provincial town or the trip of members of the Greek minority in the south of the country to Athens, permission for that comes from Tirana, where such a request is judged on the needs embedded in the plan.

Levelling

Just as precisely calculated is the need of the country for university graduates. The universities are annually given an overview as to the number of graduates which have to be delivered by the various departments. Good students are assured of a job as a member of the cadre assigned to him by the state. Those who fail the exams have to be satisfied with a more modest job: instead of engineer in a factory, he becomes a foreman, for example. The financial differences are negligible: the highest salaries in Albania usually are no more than twice the minimum wage.

"We fight for a general improvement of the standard of living, but no single individual or group is allowed to become rich," says an Albanian discussion partner. That explains why private possession of automobiles won't exist for a while in Albania. That it might come about sometime in the future is not categorically excluded, but at this moment (thus argues the Albanian leadership) there are other priorities in the economy. The only people who have access to motorized private transportation are invalids who are allocated a three-wheeled vehicle by the state.

Aside from the loudly honking, often delapidated Eastern European trucks and buses, which Albania has also been producing since recently, the traffic in the capital of Tirana makes an almost dreamy impression. An amorous couple is strolling freely in the middle of the wide Stalin Boulevard, and a cyclist making a left turn all of a sudden brushes past without a sound. Also cars which turn a corner often don't bother to indicate direction. On the sparse country roads, pedestrians, horses-and-buggies, chickens and turkeys no longer have the place all to themselves, but car drivers are always responsible when something happens. Thus our chauffeur, who continually exceeds the 60 km per hour limit on country roads, remains very conscious of the fact that the small group of boys romping along the road a hundred meters ahead might all of a sudden dart onto the road.

"A country of contrasts," my guide smartly remarks when the car cautiously threads its way among the cows trudging on the road, while a truck is approaching from the other direction. Albania is not planning, however, to bridge those contrasts rapidly. Transportation is still taking place largely the same way it has been for a long time: with ox carts and characteristic horses-and-buggies with a sort of wooden "cabin" over the driver's seat.

Albanians utilize all sorts of means at their disposal even if they are old-fashioned or "unproductive." Productivity in any event is not a norm which plays a big role in Albania. Although government officials complain that productivity could be higher and that there is still too much "lack of discipline," they are not really worried about it. At the textile factory in Berat I get non-comprehending looks when I suggest that 6000 workers for this factory seems a lot to me in comparison to the production. "In the West," the sharp answer is, "one tries to get the highest possible production with the lowest possible number of people. Our principal concern is that people have work, not a maximum in productivity."

The national defense is just as tightly organized as the economy of the country. All Albanians, men and women, are subject to the draft to age 50. After 2 years of military training, everyone has to go for one month of refresher training every year. Under the slogan: "Albania lives in peace, but continually guards against attack" the country is strewn with mushroom-like small cement bunkers. No matter how dubious the effectiveness of those often not-too-solid appearing, covered pill-boxes may seem, they undoubtedly serve to strengthen the national self-confidence and feeling of solidarity of the Albanians.

Completing the blueprint for a communist society has made Albania the first atheist country in the world. Churches and mosques have been torn down or are being used as sport halls or storage spaces of movie halls, and only valuable cultural monuments have remained intact. The mosque of Berat, for example, looks like a mosque, but upon entering one finds out it is being used as a museum of architecture. Everything which reminds of the three religions of the country -- in the past, 70 percent of Albanians were muslim, 20 percent orthodox and 10 percent roman catholic -- has disappeared. Funerals have become an exclusively secular affair.

"Of course we cannot keep people from having religious thoughts," says the poet Pano Cuka, a member of the Greek minority, "but the new religion in our country is called 'Albanianism.'" The fact that candles are nevertheless burned on the graves of the deceased is not denied but is attributed to the fact that religion still influences the minds of older people.

Taboos

Is a "new human being" originating in Albania? That question is usually answered in the affirmative, whereby one gives as an example the enormous effort with which volunteers helped repair the damage caused by the earthquake in 1979 in the northern part of the country. But what is still voluntary in a country in which social control penetrates so deeply into the pores of human consciousness?

Society condemns everything in Albania which deviates from the norm established by the regime. Homosexuality, premarital sex, prostitution, pornography, pop music and other modern forms of expression of the Western culture are taboos. Those who sin against those norms can count on "correction" by society in the form of forced labor.

For the time being it does not look as if the careful opening made toward the West by Albania has led to the "degenerating phenomena" which the puritan leadership abhors so much. Albania has opened the door a crack, but the chain is still firmly attached.

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CONSTRUCTION TROOPS CHIEF STRESSES SHORTCOMINGS

Sofia TRUDOVO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Nov 81 p 1

[Article by Lieutenant-General Vasil Vasilev, chief of construction troops: "The Quality of Construction Works Is an Inalienable Duty of Every Serviceman"]

[Text] The 12th congress of BCP has set before us the task to improve decisively the quality of construction work. Its effective realization depends not only on production-economic factors, technology and organization of construction, implementation of platoon organization and optimization of working processes, but also on a broad basis of moral, social and political problems. The Construction Troops have taken purposeful measures and achieved certain results in improvements of construction and installment activities. Quality is being viewed not only as a factor of great economic significance, but also as a factor which has tremendous social, ideological and political impact. There isn't a serviceman who fails to see clearly that we pay dearly for the existing shortcomings in our construction and installment activities.

We have talked for several years about restructuring our activity so that it meets the requirements of the new economic approach and its mechanisms, but in practice, some commanders continue to neglect quality. At many projects the prescribed technologies are violated, substandard materials are supplied, while poor care is taken of other materials. Still, after delivery of some construction project, work is required to eliminate some faults. Additional labor, materials and other resources are being used. All this causes losses to the country's economy. Such an approach, such an attitude in quality in the full implementation of the new economic mechanism would affect adversely the financial condition of the units as well as the material and social security of the servicemen.

Well organized, deeply meaningful and salutary labor is the most durable educational factor. The management of some projects, carried away by the fulfillment of economic indices and dealing with shortcomings, often neglects the compulsory technological sequence. We have to fight against such style of work. We have to realize that in the construction troops we have the responsible task to raise the technical culture and aesthetic taste of our soldiers. We are building thousands of apartments, hundreds of industrial and utility buildings which will satisfy the needs of the working population and will contribute to its aesthetic education for years to come.

The rapid and comprehensive implementation of scientific achievements and leading experience is of vital importance for the improvement of quality in construction activities. In this respect, a great deal has been done in the construction troops, but there is still some narrowness of goals in some organizations. Good plans are approved, many initiatives are fulfilled, successful technical projects and suggestions are made; machines, instruments and equipment with high productive parameters are shown at exhibitions of TNTM (Movement for Youth Technical and Scientific Creativity), but alarmingly little is done for their consequent implementation. How, then, are they going to be used in practice?

Despite the presence of the required number of engineers and technicians, we allow complex and requiring precision construction tasks to be executed in a primitive way, without the utilization of the necessary instruments and technique. At the same time we keep mechanized instruments and machines in the warehouse and remember them only at inventory time.

There is still a great deal to be desired in planning, studying, implementing and popularizing the positive experience in the struggle for quality. Within a unit, or even within a sub-unit, the positive experience of one team remains unknown to the others.

It is not accidental that a system of service and public organs for quality management was created in the construction troops. Their work is useful. When we evaluate their merits from the point of view of congressional decisions and normative documents and when we take into consideration the present condition of the quality in our construction projects, we will understand that there is much more room for improvement in this area.

The measures for re-training of engineers and technicians, and especially those of them directly involved in production, is insufficient. There are commanders and technicians who don't know well the novelties and requirements, are unable to work with measuring instruments, trust the master-builders too much and rely heavily on them, make gross errors, and show conciliatoriness and primitivism.

Formalism is allowed in the further training of rank-and-file soldiers. A great number of young people are still without special skills. The role of the master-builder is underestimated even if his work constitutes a considerable part of the working force. Highly rated specialists are rarely sent for training; there are almost no qualification courses for them.

The units seriously underestimate the public organs' work for quality. The created commissions sometimes exist only formally. Platoon councils intervene insufficiently; the servicemen community often remains indifferent to this problem. The daily control is neglected. The committees, commissions and groups for state and public control do not exhibit enough initiative for routine and surprise inspections.

Many of the good initiatives and suggestions remain only on p[illegible]r. For example, the Saratov system for flawless production is not popularized and implemented, the movement for personal quality stamp is neglected, as well as the issuing of warranty passports for the constructed apartments; forgotten too is the conducting of quality days etc.

We can say with certainty that the shortcomings and the unresolved quality problems in the construction activity are mainly subjective in character. Commanders, specialists, politorgans, party, trade union, and youth communist organizations have to exert a great deal of efforts to make their activity fully compatible with the requirements. At many places the commanding-organizational and party-political work for raising the cadres' responsibility for quality is not efficient enough. The violation of labor and technological discipline aggravates the quality of the construction work at some projects.

The development of a comprehensive system for management of quality should become our primary concern. Concrete measures should be taken for the creation of all necessary economic, technical, organizational and business preconditions for the improvement of our activity in this important index. We should begin from the Chief Administration of Construction Troops and reach down to the platoon level. Every serviceman should understand that the quality problem is of exceptional importance.

The comprehensive implementation of the requirements of the new economic mechanism, the introduction of platoon labor organization and platoon self-accounting will be a powerful factor for the successful fulfillment of the task for the improvement of quality and efficiency in construction work. The road to high quality has to pass through strengthening of labor, technological, financial and military discipline. Exactly this should be the inalienable responsibility of all commanders, specialists, party, trade union, and youth communist organizations.

Headquarters and the Political Administration believe that officers, specialists, foremen and soldiers will realize the importance of the issue and that the units will respond with concrete and effective deeds.

9804
CSO: 2200/37

SHARP CRITICISM OF FILM INDUSTRY, TELEVISION VOICED

West German Commentary

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Nov 81 p 7

['Ws' article, datelined Berlin, 18 November: "Too Reluctant to Broach the Socialist Way of Life--A Mechanic is Allowed to Criticize GDR Film Makers--Presentation of the Private 'Counterrevolutionary.'" A translation of the East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] In the GDR, the feature film production of the TV network and of DEFA, the republic's public motion picture company, has been subjected to sharp criticism. Apparently, it was in preparation for a discussion at the forthcoming plenary session of the SED Central Committee that on Tuesday [17 November 1981] NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the SED's central party organ, published--in place of the customary commentary--a long letter to the editor entitled "A Reader's Expectations of DEFA and Television: 'What More I Would Like to See From Our Film Makers.'" In this unusual editorial of the party organ, Hubert Vater, chief mechanic at the Erfurt Kraftverkehr [Motor Transportation] VEB, stated he had the impression "that presently we are being offered a number of insignificant and boring films." He said he did not only mean various imported films "many of which I consider a waste of money," but also productions turned out by DEFA and television studios.

Vater pointed out that DEFA had established its reputation through militant films and that "the conscious advocacy of socialism" had always been apparent. But now, he said, it appeared there was a lack of films living up to the social requirement--formulated by Honecker at the 10th SED Congress--to the effect that socialist works of art should initiate public discussion concerning the intellectual requirements and moral value concepts of society. The chief mechanic stated that most films "say too little about us and our time. Where are the works of art that make us aware of the--let me say--titanic dimensions of the achievement that is reflected in the construction and development of our stable and flourishing workers' and farmers' state?"

The worker, who the SED organ turned into an editorialist, specified what films he would like to see. He wants films that "help to make political and moral decisions, that present us with experience distilled from the life of the people." As examples, he mentions the development of new large-scale and efficient production units, i.e. the combines, and the housing construction program. He accuses the film makers of being too timid in approaching socialist life. He conjectures that their

difficulties may be due to their own insufficiencies, to "their dealing merely with insignificant little problems, their forgoing social impact"; or it might be due to the fact that they are not sufficiently encouraged to seek their subjects "not at the fringes, but at the center of events." Vater argues that in those places where the working class accomplishes its great achievements strong personalities are formed and tested; under such conditions, one has to show one's colors and prove through one's actions that one is true to one's socialist convictions. Vater states that he would like to see more frequently in films or on the TV screen individuals he regards as models. He feels that this is not asking too much.

GDR Mechanic's Criticism

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Nov 81 p 2

[Lead article by Hubert Vater, master mechanic, VEB for Motor Traffic, Erfurt: "A Reader's Expectations of DEFA and Television: What More I Would Like to See From Our Film Makers"]

[Text] For some time, I have been asking myself whether I expect too much when I go to the movies and whether it is for this reason that I am disappointed at some films or whether my dissatisfaction is justified. Since 1970, some film-oriented colleagues at our transportation combine (I myself am a member of this group) have with their wives been attending the "Cinema Meetings" of Erfurt Bezirk's [GDR administrative unit] Film Administration. After the picture shows, we frequently engage in discussions in the cinema club, which maintains steady contact with us. So we have for some time been presented with the latest films. I have the impression--and other viewers share this view--that presently we are offered quite a few insignificant and boring films.

Here I am referring not only to some imported films, many of which I consider a waste of money, but also to productions of our own studios--both those of DEFA and of the television network.

The Contribution of Art Is Important and Unique

The DEFA established its reputation through films that move and impress one even today, 30 years later. At the time they were produced they were even more impressive. Imbued with great social commitment, they broached questions that at that time were of crucial importance to the people. A good illustration in this regard is the film "The Murderers Are Among Us," which was DEFA's very first feature film.

Whenever I hear the statement that art can make a very special, absolutely unique contribution to man's awareness, there immediately come to my mind the books, plays and DEFA films of those early years of antifascist-democratic reconstruction.

DEFA's militant tradition, its conscious advocacy of socialism was always apparent, even though in subsequent years not every film met the self-imposed high standards. For the sake of fairness, I must say that I considered excellent a number of recent films, e.g. "The Fiancee," "Ring-Doves Do Not Weep," and "Roof Over the Head." But as I said, it seems to me that the really good, interesting films, which after all should be full of suspense and entertaining as well, are too rare; I feel that their share of the total production--television included--should be greater.

Every Premiere Should Really Be an Event

The striving for efficiency, which determines our entire economic activity, should be applied to the realm of art as well. What do I mean by that? Well, we certainly do not have at our disposal an unlimited number of artistic talents. I am sure that in the field of film production, too, it is necessary to economize on material resources. So these resources should not be wasted on trifling projects. I am thinking here of films such as "Also-Ran or Victory," "Don't We Make a Nice Couple" and some other films I went to see. Should not the film makers do their utmost to make every one of their films a social event?

At the 10th SED Congress, Erich Honecker spoke of the "public discussion concerning the intellectual requirements and moral value concepts of our society," which discussion is supposed to be initiated by socialist works of art. Honecker explicitly included films and TV plays. I feel that a social requirement has been raised here and in my view the latest film production comprised too few films that meet this standard.

What Does the Viewer Learn About Us and Our Times?

I am no expert, even though I have always taken a special interest in films. So I do not know why our movie theaters show films that in my opinion leave the audience unmoved. In regard to subject matter and artistic expression, there is hardly a single film among those recently produced that I would call remarkable. Most of these films say too little about us and our time.

I feel these films take insufficient pride in the great achievements that the working class and its party--in collaboration with all the working people of our country--has accomplished in the last decades. Where are the works of art that make us aware of the--let me say--titanic dimensions of the achievement that is reflected in the construction and development of our stable and flourishing workers' and farmers' state? After all, we made great sacrifices in transforming this state from intellectual and material ruins, from hopelessness and lethargy into what it is today.

As I pointed out, I see too little of this. Or consider the present: Everywhere, there are significant social changes. Problems are arising that concern all of us. How can we solve these problems in a constructive way? Do we receive from our films experience distilled from the life of the people; do they help us to make the politically and morally correct decisions?

I would like to mention here the housing construction program. Is not this great social project--the past efforts at implementation and the consistency of our present, continuing efforts--a tremendous achievement? Even in highly developed capitalist industrialized countries, the program is held in high esteem--for obvious reasons: In these countries, social programs of this type could not even be considered, let alone launched. Instead, the workers are weighed down with more and more social burdens, in accordance with the motto: Missiles instead of butter! New apartments for worker families? Police truncheons for those who protest against capitalist rack rents. We have been witnessing all this in our immediate neighborhood, in West Berlin.

New Living Conditions Provide Topics

Housing construction program--that means new living conditions for millions of people; personality development for those who move into these apartments and also for those who build these apartments. Thousands of young people from all parts of our republic have come to Berlin, in order to build the new residential districts. How many life stories are bound up with this, how many personal conflicts, how much everyday heroism? During the recent Central Committee report of the young construction workers, we saw them, the competent boys in their work overalls. These are self-confident, free young workers, who deep down in their hearts, feel closely linked with their socialist state. Can one really say that this is no subject for our film makers?

The same goes for another significant social process: For the development of new large-scale and efficient production units, that is to say, our combines. These are socialist enterprises characterized by unprecedented material capacities. How much responsibility and decision-making initiative is concentrated in these combines? How are they utilized and are they utilized for the benefit of the people rather than for profit? And what problems are they confronted with? How much courage is needed for facing up to the requirements resulting from the scientific-technological revolution, from the developments in the world markets?

Why Approach the Human Condition So Timidly?

This and much more is part of our socialist life. Sometimes I have the impression that our film makers have not been very successful in this field. Their approach is overly timid. Perhaps it is due to their own insufficiencies, their lack of ambition, their dealing only with insignificant little problems, their forgoing social impact. But perhaps it is due to the fact that they are not sufficiently encouraged to seek their subjects not at the fringes, but at the center of events.

I am convinced that in those places where the working class accomplishes its great achievements strong personalities are formed and tested. It cannot be otherwise. Under such conditions, one must show one's colors; one must prove by one's actions that one is true to one's socialist convictions. I would like to see more frequently in films or on the TV screen such individuals whom I regard as models. I would like to get to know and share their concerns and joys; I would like to weep and laugh with them.

Is this asking too much? Are my expectations excessive?

8760
CSO: 2300/66

OPERATION OF SPECIAL MILITARY TRAINS ANNOUNCED

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian No 45, 7 Nov 81 p 11

[Article by Peter Buki: "Every Two Weeks: Special Military Trains"]

[Text] According to a notice sent to the troops by the Military Transport Main Directorate of the Hungarian People's Army special military trains will start a regular weekend schedule beginning 13 November 1981 for soldiers traveling on passes or leave. In the name of our interested readers we asked Captain Bela Petrak, chief of the transport department, for details about the new possibilities which will favorably influence trips home by soldiers.

[Question] What made it necessary to start the special military trains?

[Answer] The collective of the transportation service of the People's Army has been searching for years for a way to make it possible for soldiers going home or returning on weekends to travel more comfortably, under cultured circumstances and in a shorter time. By the fall of this year we succeeded in creating conditions which will ease the travel problems of soldiers and expand the care taken of them.

[Question] What are the new possibilities offered by the special train?

[Answer] The trains will start every two weeks--at the end of every second week--on Friday afternoon from two garrisons, from Lenti and Szombathely, with 11 and 9 passenger cars respectively. The two trains will unite at Celldomolk and will travel on with 20 passenger cars, touching at Gyor, Budapest, Szolnok and Nyiregyhaza, without transferring, to Miskolc, arriving there at dawn Saturday. According to our preliminary calculations this will substantially shorten travel time for many hundred young soldiers on these weekends so they can spend a larger part of their passes or leaves with their families, loved ones and friends. Only professional soldiers and draftees can travel on the train, with travel documents valid for second class on an express train. It should be noted that although the special train takes a roundabout route tickets must be exchanged for the shortest route according to the schedule of fares.

[Question] And the return?

[Answer] The special train starts back from Miskolc Sunday evening and takes the same route. The schedule guarantees that travelers will return relatively rested to their barracks before the start of Monday training.

[Question] And what do you expect from the travelers on the special military train?

[Answer] First of all that they will make use of this opportunity! They should be careful of the cleanliness of the cars, of the equipment and condition of them and of the health of each other. We are distributing questionnaires to the first travelers on the special train; filling these out in a precise and considered way will make it easier for us to take into consideration even better the interests of the traveling soldiers. We ask the commanders to make it possible for soldiers getting ready to travel to buy their tickets in advance--perhaps with the help of a fellow soldier designated for this purpose--so the travelers will not have to crowd around the ticket booth and worry about whether the train is coming. And we ask them to organize transportation to and from the train station for personnel traveling on the special train.

[Question] Is there a possibility you will increase the number of special military weekend trains or expand the routes?

[Answer] If experience justifies it we will modernize the schedule beginning next year, taking into consideration the needs. If possible we will increase the number of runs. Until then we wish the future travelers on the special military weekend trains good traveling and happy arrivals!

8984
CSO: 2500/80

Key to Schedule:

Erk. = Arrive
Ind. = Depart
Allomas. = Station

IMPORTANCE OF INDEPENDENT POLISH STATEHOOD STRESSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by: Jerzy A. Salecki "Our Common Wealth And Only Hope"]

[Text] Attacks against the state were becoming increasingly numerous from month to month. Hundreds of strikes for any trifling reason, or no reason at all, senseless strikes, provoked by fervor, ill will, lack of imagination or even naivete were paralyzing the economy and increasing its problems.

Loud-mouthed demagogical propaganda of street slogans and mimeographed leaflets, playing up to the old traumas or emotions and ignorance, enhanced a mood of uncertainty, anxiety and confusion. Irresponsible pronouncements and threats formulated in the official declarations of so-called liberals fighting the "regime" helped multiply social divisions by counterposing citizens against one another.

The seemingly attractive, abundantly "democratic" concepts for the formation of new organs of society actually foreordained deprivation of the Sejm, people's councils, the government and the economic and local executive apparatus of their real authority. The massive assault on the structure of the state emboldened the riffraff of society, it fostered the concealment of inertia and indolence of ineffectual officials and promoted the widespread failure to enforce existing laws, to non-enforcement and the bypassing and violation of existing laws.

The Republic was threatened by a wave of anarchy. Instead of being genuinely self-governing--which is, after all, the essence of socialist democracy--it would have become a state of a thousand mini-parliaments, rather than the Sejm. It would have become a state of diverse clubs rather than people's councils accountable to the voters and having authority to govern but would have become a state of various confederacies, parties and associations whose common goal it was to weaken the socialist state. It would have given birth to a country torn apart by contradictions and by antagonistic cliques.

Could this have been consented to?

Consolidation of the state and establishment of conditions conductive to its power have been an unchanging canon of Polish political thinking. The memory of Mieszko I, Boleslaus the Brave and Boleslaus the Wrymouthed who, countering

the feudal tradition, tried in a divided Poland to safeguard the country's unity through a seignorial principle or, at least, to lay a foundation for reunification at a later date). The memory of Ladislas the Ell and Casimir the Great are not merely the memories of their victories on the battlefields but also memories of their actions--total political, economic actions and decisions in the areas of culture and science which strengthened the underpinnings of Polish statehood and were essential for an independent motherland for Polish nations--a state with its own emblem and flag, its own laws and its own culture and educational system.

Outstanding thinkers of the past: Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, Jan Ostrorog, Chancellor Zamoyski, Reverend Hugo Kollataj and the speaker of the Stanislaus Malachowski have all seen that a strong, law-abiding state to be the guarantor of national sovereignty and social development. They cautioned against blind self-interest and partisanship, against "the golden liberty" and against putting class or clan interests ahead of the national interests--Polish reason of the state which could be implemented only by a government controlled by the citizens, yet a strong government.

Throughout our thousand year history whenever society was torn apart by inner contradictions, feuds and strife, the state was weakened and reduced from an actor to puppet in the international arena. At all times, whenever the thesis state power was inconsistently implemented, society waned and rates of economic, social and cultural growth fell back.

Even at the times of most serious failure and defeat during a century and a half of enslavement the vision of statehood as a material symbol of independence gave impulse for action and struggle. What were the successive national uprisings--the Kosciuszko insurrection, the November 1831 and the January 1863 uprisings--if not armed upheavals meant to restore Polish statehood? What else, if not the striving to reinstitute the state motivated by the actions of a democratic nobility, various groups of the populist movement and, beginning in the last quarter of the 19th century, the programs and contests of a powerfully expanding worker movement? Their goal, always and invariably, has been the state--a Polish, independent state of all Poles.

The statehood concept and endeavor for the sake of a Polish state are, in fact, attest to our remembrance of nameless insurgents in the Wielkopolska uprising the Silesians who three times rose up in arms, the Kwiqtkowskis, Grabskis, and Swietoslawskis.

Although, as the poet said, there was a score of wrongs to be settled in the motherland, those laying down their lives in September 1939 to defend a Polish nation state, not a class state, were communists, socialists and populists who fought side by side with their political opponents to defend their own--yet at the same time common--state.

The state is neither a myth nor an embodiment of an ideal. It is simply the motherland defined by frontiers, laws, government and administration, symbols and social order. The state is a place on the globe that is recognized and guaranteed. The fact that so much blood had to be spilled by May 1945 in the fight for this place should make it even more precious and deserving of esteem.

Throughout 36 difficult years, we have all jointly been building a new independent Poland again, and new in its idea of social justice, its Piast-set boundaries, and its friendship and alliance with its neighbor--a world power guaranteeing our peaceful existence and survival between the Bug and the Odra [Oder] rivers. In the course of those 36 years socialism has become tantamount to the political awareness of an overwhelming majority of the Poles, a choice so much accepted and so deeply embedded in our thinking that everything that has been a distortion and sham of socialism encountered responses of protests and anger from millions of citizens.

These were not reactions against socialism or the socialist state. They were protests against errors made by people who wanted to use the red banner as a cover for their activities, and against a model of the clannish socialism" dominated by a chosen few who saw Leninist standards and socialist democracy as empty words and cliches.

After all, despite all the errors, distortions and even inequities, we have been jointly building up Poland, (we started building) a state that had been destroyed, that had no major industry and a--to this day neglected-- agricultural sector, we started rebuilding a culture and educational [system] that did not match the needs and aspirations of the nation. For 36 years, in toil and hardship often beyond measure and, at times, wasting our potential and resources, we, together, have been developing this state, our own Polish state. And, despite the crisis besetting us, despite the nationwide and personal problems, we need not be ashamed of the past years. That which has been done is what was possible, permitted by the possibilities and also--bluntly put--by the limitations of the leaders' economic and political horizons that let itself be felt.

The Polish socialist state is our common possession. It is our achievement and only hope. Thirty-six million citizens have no other place under the sun. Hence the overriding need these days for agreement consensus and unity despite variance, the ability to perceive fundamental goals while setting aside petty particular interests.

Our concern about the state and its present and future probably ranks with the anxieties of Zeromski who through his hero in SPRINGTIME demanded from the helmsmen of the Polish state to show the courage of a Lenin in dealing with the reforms that would render the independent state into a state of justice.

Today that justice is contained in the laws. It is our bounden duty to embody it in the formula for democracy and actualize it through work. The motherland is, in fact, a great collective obligation, wrote Cyprian Kamil Norwid, and in the words of the first president of reborn Poland, Gabriel Narutowicz the state is the sanctity of Polish survival and the Polish national flag.

These thoughts are worth holding in our minds and hearts precisely at this time. During these most difficult days.

8795
CSO: 2600/140

EWA FIALA COMMENTARY ON 'STATE OF WAR' PROCLAMATION

PM231441 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 p 1

[Report by Ewa Fiala: "A Burden That Will Bring Calm"]

[Text] On Sunday morning, many of us experienced a profound psychological shock. People at home listened over and cver again to the speech of the premier-general, to the announcements and resolutions of the Council of State, the proclamation of the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON] that had been formed during Saturday night and to communiques.

Until we actually went out into the street, came into contact with the town, reached our place of work, the internal instability was tremendous, overpowering. For no one--apart, perhaps, from experienced legal experts blessed, furthermore, with a vivid imagination--could appreciate the implications of what was happening. No one really knew what was, and would be our participation in the days to come.

"Curfew," silent telephone lines, severe, very severe sanctions--warnings of the consequences of transgressions, drastic restraints on liberties--all these are the realities of mid-December 1981. This burden and its accompanying inconveniences are tremendous. They will be the burden of every citizen. There is no reason to hide this, nor indeed any possibility of doing so.

However, it is necessary for each one of us to have a sincere and honest talk with oneself and answer a few of the most simple questions for oneself. Was there any other solution? Are the rigors that have been imposed upon us any harder to bear than the civil war we were on the brink of? Than the threat of bloodshed?

For it is not as though the conciliatory hand we have been extending these past months had turned into a clenched fist....It was that conciliatory hand (as the premier said) that met with a clenched fist, and could not break through the wall that was being constantly reinforced with unrest, with increasingly fierce conflicts, permanent protests, strikes, and the blocking of every initiative aimed at restoring calm and opening the way to leading the country out of the crisis.

At the moment, there is nothing in Poland now that we need more than calm and work. and that is by no means a contradiction. The state of war that has been declared should assure that for us.

It was against calm and against work that the "Solidarity" leadership proclaimed its resolutions in Radom and Gdansk. As if the 500 days from which each one of us had carried some unhappy news of a strike, a conflict, a street incident, of crimes, increasing with the wave of social unrest and growing anarchy, a new threat was being prepared for us. Rallies in the large city centers, a general strike, groups of 10 or 100 men leading "Solidarity" against the Party, against authority, against the Sejm, against the Polish constitution. Against People's Poland.

The hand of authority has not become a clenched fist. It has reached out to grasp the only, the last remaining rescue plank. A rescue for the Homeland. At such a time, difficulties and restrictions have to be borne. In such circumstances, one must not only have the awareness but also the assurance that the severe, extraordinary measures and sanctions do not apply to society, are not directed against the citizens, the trade unionists. They can affect only those who, aware of the goal for which they aimed, were the sowers of national unrest, were stirring up conflicts, and intended to start a fratricidal war.

Monday, the first day of the week under the state of war, so shocking and so difficult for many of us, certainly for very many of us, to accept, passed by quickly. There was no news that was too difficult to bear. The people, who have been entrusted with the maintenance of calm, and law and order in the country are equal to the task. Like soldiers, like Polish soldiers! Let us try to keep pace with them. We have a considerably easier task: to work and to remain calm.

CSO: 2600/180

WARSAW UNIVERSITY RECTOR INTERVIEWED

Krakow ZYCIE LITERACKIE in Polish 29 Nov 81 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prof Dr Henryk Samsonowicz, rector of Warsaw University, by Jerzy Klechta: "What We Do Not Want -- the Nation Knows for Certain"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Jerzy Klechta: I would like to begin with the question of what would happen if here and now, under the circumstances in which our country now finds itself, a dictatorship government, let us say, would come to power. Assuming that this government would take the economy in hand and supply the shops with goods, would society today, after August [1980], accept such a solution?

Henryk Samsonowicz: The study of the future and the advancement of various hypotheses is always rather risky. But personally I am convinced that our society would not tolerate any form of dictatorship at this time. And for me the alternative is only the method of opposition to the dictatorship, that is, whether it is to be an active opposition or withdrawal into oneself. At the same time, I can guess why you asked the question. For it is a fact that as all possible sorts of opinions and trends are being revealed and given vent to, some populist tendencies, apparent in different groups, are also very strong. Perhaps even in the groups that are ostensibly more leftist, these tendencies are stronger. Ostensibly leftist... In other countries, as we know, this led to the worst consequences. It led to fascism and totalitarianism of the worst kind.

[Question] We hear and read that a year "after August" we find ourselves one step away from ruin. Could our inability be the result of a lack of consistency? What dangers...

[Answer] After the August explosion it developed that all of the forecasts, including the sociological forecasts, to say nothing of the economic ones, were erroneous. A society formed, or is forming, which none of the present standards and none of the present sociological models was able to foresee. A society whose dissimilarity from everything which had been in Poland is so obvious that it now evades all forecasts. This is occurring because new qualities are developing, both positive and negative values. But these new values have meant that almost all of the past knowledge about society has had to be scrapped. Very simply, what we have now cannot be compared with past events, either in the 19th or the 20th century. I believe that there can be no talk about a collapse; the results of what happened a year ago and during the past

year are irreversible. Even if--in answer to your first question--someone were to come who would establish a dictatorship, he could not revoke not only certain institutional phenomena (for these are the easiest to revoke) but above all he could not change the social mentality, certain mental states which have already been developed and which exist at this time.

What is the danger? The very clear danger, of which all politicians must be aware, is society's tremendous weariness. Weariness under extremely difficult conditions, under living conditions that are very hard for families, for everyone. Weariness, however, is a very poor advisor. Weariness causes all sorts of tensions and nervous states which can lead to very dangerous effects. We must tell ourselves that we must do everything to avoid such false steps, but I do not believe it is possible to cancel everything which this past year gave to our society. No matter what may happen, these things are irrevocable.

As a historian, I will cite a very pessimistic example, but history, despite appearances, does not repeat itself. The May 3rd Constitution lasted a year; it functioned exactly a year and two months. The May 3rd Constitution fell, but, firstly, please realize what a tremendous role it played not during that year, for of course not much could be changed then, but during the next 20 years when it gave strength and hope and shaped the nation's mentality and made it possible to endure 150 years of subjugation. And during all the misfortunes that were connected with the lack of our own state. Secondly, the May 3rd Constitution, which changed a very bad political system at a very bad time, despite the fact that it was revoked by force, demonstrated some matters so clearly that the new Grodno constitutions had to adopt some of the ideas of this constitution. These constitutions were supposed to be a denial of the gains of the May 3rd law. Of course, they were a denial of the gains, but some of the ideas, as a matter of fact, had to be adopted. In short, there can be no return from certain events and some things..

I believe, however, that what occurs in Poland will depend on us alone. And the fact that all kinds of aspects of international politics and international economy come into play is, of course, obvious.

[Question] We are constantly seeking and elaborating on the truth, speaking the truth. There are people who say very unhesitatingly that we have cast aside the two or three faces which most people, in spite of themselves, showed: one face at home, and another at their jobs and among their colleagues. Is this true? What is the historical truth? In what way can it help the average person? Today we are dealing with a rebirth of the historical sciences. I know that my question is somewhat rhetorical, but nevertheless it is a fundamental question: What does historical truth give a person? Does it allow him to live better, with more dignity?

[Answer] Probably here we must clearly state what is history and what is historical truth. I understand historical truth to be a subjective, honest relationship to the examined past. For example, in writing about various problems from the 15th century I believe that I am making errors. However, my conscience is clear; I am acting in the best faith. If, under the influence of some kind of political circumstances I were to write a patent lie or a half-truth, then I would not be telling a historical truth, and this should be censured. Why does society need history?

Simply because society needs to be aware of itself, of its identity. A very broad identity. We are not a nation located only in space. We are a nation steeped in time. We want to identify ourselves and we are identifying ourselves. We are linked also with the great periods of our history--with the first Piasts, Poland's Golden Age, with moments that are full of glory, such as the aforementioned May 3rd Constitution and the rebuilding of the Polish state after the First World War. This, certainly, is ours. We are also linked with the tragic moments, such as the Polish September, the Warsaw Uprising and the entire resistance movement and many other difficult and dark pages of history. We need to identify ourselves because--and here we come to a certain misfortune connected with history--the false treatment of certain concepts of the nation have led to the growth of a feeling of shame for our past. And totally unnecessarily, for we have a great deal to be proud of, we have a beautiful history. Above all, we cannot instill into the beliefs of an adult or a child that whatever he does will always be wrong. That he should do something else, that precisely what he did not do is the greatest glory of his past life. We cannot tell him that he always had it bad and that in his home there were always only disturbances. And such a conception, very likely independent of the intentions of its creators, produced the worst possible results, for it brought the nation to a state of deep frustration. August 1980 freed millions of people of all sorts of complexes, including national ones.

During the last thousand years our achievements compared with the greatest world achievements in the field of construction of a social model, in economy, and even culture. Knowledge about this is the element for ridding ourselves of certain complexes. And here lies some danger, the danger of throwing the baby out with the bath water. That is, we are reluctant to speak about our various slips, shortcomings, errors. Although Pilsudski became a hero of the first order, no one even wants to hear about the fact that there was a Bereza [i.e., Bereza Kartuska], no one wants to hear about the Brest Fortress trial [i.e., 1931-1932 trial of accused Pilsudski opponents]. No one want to hear about the fact that the May upheaval was not a praiseworthy event. The upheaval was a negation of legality, about which we are now concerned. We are justifiably pointing to our greatness in the past centuries, but why, at the same time, do we not want to admit that we conducted, since the 17th century, a false nationalistic policy in the Ukraine. Some say that this would be to slander ourselves. This is not true. In order to know the truth about oneself one must know both his attributes as well as his faults. I agree that it is more pleasant to talk about the attributes, but unfortunately we must also remember the faults, both in the collective memory as well as the individual memory.

A person also needs a mental balance, which was absent because the official historical knowledge differed from that emanating from the home, from the traditions. A nationwide schizophrenia developed, a formation of an alter ego. As a result, the crisis of confidence deepened.

And of course this lack of confidence continues in us and weighs heavily on us. A phenomenon has appeared which we are now suffering with full effects, a bad phenomenon: that which does not agree with the required interpretation appears to be real. And this is just as serious a mistake and just as large a danger as the mistakes about which I spoke previously. Because the fact that the school textbooks on history between the two world wars were not good does not mean that all the textbooks were bad.

[Question] We are searching for our roots. We are seeking the truth so as to be able to draw a picture of the future. But does the nation with full certainty know where it is going? I am afraid that the future appears to be, to put it mildly, murky.

[Answer] Our nation does not have a clear vision of the future. It knows only what it wants. And it knows this only very generally. It knows that it wants the good things, like democracy, tolerance, lawfulness, and justice. But these are only very general slogans.

[Question] How are you able to bear everything that has been in a democratic manner placed on your shoulders? To be the rector of the largest and most important educational institution in Poland under circumstances of passionate ferment is an honor, but it is also a burden. The Polish intelligentsia of the late 20th century is being educated in this building. It will have to lift up this country, push it onto new tracks, change it.

[Answer] I must say that I make my life easier by dividing the responsibility fairly among my colleagues at the University. Furthermore, we began quite earlier at the University to search for better forms. We were probably 10 to 20 percent successful. But we do have here some definite results, some definitely tested forms of action. For example, the activities of the Senate and its commissions. Naturally, I must take responsibility for everything that happens here. I must sometimes make decisions without waiting to see what the University's public forum says. But please believe me, I do not feel alone because sometimes I simply accept, both for information purposes and for action, that which groups appointed for this purpose have decided. This does not mean that life here is easy and can be endured for long. Certainly not. Sometimes I am so tired that I do not have the strength to worry.

[Question] The last question. Assuming that there is no turning back from what happened in August 1980, what will we be like at the end of this century?

[Answer] Predictions for the future are not my strong point, although I can say how I would like it to be. I would like for our nation to create a model of action which would be the envy of everyone, both in the East and the West. I would like it to create forms of interpersonal contact which would be a model worthy of imitation. For envy does not exclude attempts at imitation. I would like us to combine everything which is good in our present system with everything that is good and just in the systems of other countries in the world, whether western or southern, or any others. I would like us to rise up and consider our history, our civilizational achievements, and consider our economic potential. For truly we are a country, a nation, that is wealthy.

9295
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DECREE OF EQUIPMENT USED IN MILITARY TRAINING OF YOUTH

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 92, 27 Nov 81 p 1

[Council of State Decree Modifying Law No 33/1968 on the Training of the Youth for the Defense of the Country]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees: Sole article--Law No 33/1968 on the training of the youth for the defense of the country, republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I No 69 of 31 July 1978, is modified as follows:

1. Article 17 will read as follows:

"Article 17--The Ministry of National Defense supplies arms and ammunition, the necessary materials for maintenance, compasses, gas masks, regulations, schedules and other instructional material needed in the training of the youth for the defense of the country."

2. Article 18 paragraph 1 will read as follows:

"Weapons earmarked for use in training the youth for the defense of the country, maintenance materials, small shots, as well as ammunition for small caliber weapons, fire marking equipment, compasses, gas masks and other instructional materials, are given for safekeeping and use, by the organs of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior, to the units in which the training centers operate."

3. Article 23 will read as follows:

"Article 23--The ministries producing small caliber weapons, compressed air weapons and ammunition for them, compasses and other materials needed in training the youth for the defense of the country, ensure that they are manufactured under the conditions established by mutual agreement with the Ministry of National Defense."

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 26 November 1981
No 338

CSO: 2700/119

INVESTMENTS, CONSTRUCTIONS BODY TRANSFERRED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 97, 30 Nov 81 p 2

[Decree of the Council of State on the Transfer of the State General Inspectorate for Investments-Constructions to the State Planning Committee]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--The State General Inspectorate for Investments-Constructions will operate, as of the date of the present decree, in the framework of the State Planning Committee, in accordance with provisions referring to its organization and operation in Council of State Decree No 264/1976 and in accordance with Law No 8/1977 on ensuring the durability, safety, functionality and quality of constructions and the Law No 9/1980 on Investments.

Article 2--The maximum number of personnel in the apparatus of the State General Inspectorate for Investments-Constructions is specified in the annex which is an integral part of the present decree.[1)]

1) The annex is communicated to the institutions concerned.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 30 November 1981
No 348

CSO: 2700/119

SYMPOSIUM ON CRIME PREVENTION HELD IN BUCHAREST

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 14 Dec 81 p 5

[Article: "National Symposium"]

[Excerpts] On 11 and 12 December, at the faculty of law in Bucharest there was a national symposium on "The principles of the policy of the Romanian Communist Party in regard to the ways and means of preventing and combatting infractions," organized by the office of the prosecutor general, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of the Interior, the Supreme Tribunal, the Union of Communist Youth, the Academy of Social and Political Sciences and the Association of Jurists.

Participating in the symposium were representatives of the leadership of the organizing institutions and ministries, scientific researchers in the field of the social sciences, university cadres, party activists and representatives of youth organizations and of other mass and public organizations, specialists from the organs of the office of the prosecutor general, the justice organs and the Ministry of the Interior.

The report presented by Comrade Nicolae Popovici, the prosecutor general of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in the plenary session opening the proceedings of the symposium, the scientific reports and papers presented in the three sections, as well as the discussions, treated problems dealing with the ideas of the Romanian Communist Party and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, in regard to the application of penal law in the present stage of development of our society, the participation of the collective, of the youth organizations and of other mass and public organizations and in regard to the role of scientific research in the field of criminology, in preventing and combatting anti-social manifestations and other violations of the laws and norms of social coexistence. Matters related to the tasks assigned to all educational factors in the activity of the formation and development of the socialist awareness of the masses, in light of the resolutions of the 12th party congress on the development of the political and juridical socialist awareness of the citizens were discussed.

CSO: 2700/120

DISCUSSION ON PREVENTING, COMBATTING CRIME CONTINUES

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 20 Oct 81 pp 14-17

[Article presenting letters to the editorial staff of ERA SOCIALISTA from Dr Constantin Iacovisac, Major Anghel Godeanu of the Ministry of the Interior, Gheorghe Barbulescu, president of the Sector No 1 Court in Bucharest, and Constantin Paunescu of the Institute of Pedagogical and Psychological Research: "Concepts and Practice in Preventing and Combatting Crime"]

[Text] Iacovisac: The discussion published in issue No 12/1981 of this magazine referred to problems of an especially current nature whose optimum resolution also depends to a great degree upon improvements in criminal legislation. The opinions expressed by the participants (it is good that in such discussions controversial points of view appear) open the possibilities for a broader dialogue.

As was also maintained in the discussion, it is necessary to have a differentiation in the punishments applied to minors according to the seriousness of the crimes committed and especially for very serious crimes, such as those against the lives of the people. I feel, however, that it is not necessary to reintroduce prison sentences for minors since, depending upon the gravity of the crime, the punishment could be ensured by maintaining the current educational measures (updated and improved with regards to the length of the measures as well as the manner of carrying them out).

In this regard, we could increase the length of the detention period according to the seriousness of the crime and the degree of the minor's social danger, organizing a system of reeducational institutes within which an institute could operate that has a stricter program. This option and the arguments for this solution are based upon the experience of applying prison sentences, a punishment which, in its content, could not be too greatly differentiated in comparison to the educational measure of interning minors in a special school, as well as upon the fact that special schools have those means of efficient influence that are capable of ensuring the social recuperation of minors, even those who have committed especially serious crimes.

The current special work and reeducational school for minors is based upon a regime of order and discipline within which the minors carry out productive activities, are trained in a skill and continue their obligatory 10 years of education. During school vacations, the minors do not leave the school, but rather carry out productive activities in the production workshops and at the annexed agricultural farm. In exceptional cases and only on the basis of certain special results in their work, education and discipline, minors are allowed to leave to spend a short period of time

with their parents, with the provision that the family will provide appropriate educational conditions. It can be noted that in these circumstances no one can speak of internment in a special work and reeducation school as not being a measure that restricts a person's freedom.

We emphasize that even the current forms of the institution can be further improved, with the elaboration of new legislation being a good opportunity. For especially serious crimes, of the type referred to in the discussions by comrades Iulian Poenaru and Simona Petrovici, the maximum punishment of 5 years could be increased while in the case of the laws for executing these sentences there could be a provision for a differentiated and more severe means of carrying out these punishments. Clearly, in this situation it is necessary to have an administrative framework that will rigorously ensure this separation and differentiated treatment (something that currently is not being done), as well as a just individualized approach to the punishments given out.

The minors and young people interned in such recuperative institutes have great age differences (they could be 14 to 15 years old and could be as old as 22 to 23 years of age), they have a varied level of skills and education (some have only several years of school and are not skilled, while others are in stage I of high school and have a skill) and they were interned for serious, but extremely varied crimes (beginning with robberies that were committed a number of times or under violent circumstances up to rape and murder). Through the new regulations, we can create not just a single type of institute, but a system of institutes within which we will be able to achieve a differentiation in the reeducational treatment according to danger posed by the minor, his age, educational level and degree of recuperability of the minor. This system will be able to provide a much greater level of recuperability than minors' prisons or even the current institutions.

The experience accumulated to date and the studies that have been carried out over the years demonstrate that the phase of internment in a reeducational institute must obligatorily be followed and continued by the phase of socioprofessional reintegration after their release from the institute. This second phase must, however, be better organized than in the present. In this regard, the law on carrying out punishments should more clearly state not only the tasks and responsibilities of those responsible for the integration, but also the sanctions for those cases where they fail to adhere to the law.

Godeanu: In my opinion, the problem of reeducating criminals is a problem of great social optimism. The social task of reeducating criminals involves assuming certain greater responsibilities and - and why not? - even risks, sometimes feeding doubts and other times the hope that the person who has seriously violated society's values, the person who has offended us by his crime will someday be just like all other people who did not violate the law. Our criminal policy involves a special strategy and organization, calls upon the combined efforts of all of society and is based upon realism since the process of reeducation can not be achieved automatically by itself and it is not free of difficulties that can hamper, under certain conditions, the recuperation and resocialization of those persons who through their reprovable behavior attempt to avoid the efforts made by society.

The actions for reeducation and social reintegration are very difficult to achieve in practice, especially in cases of adult criminals and most of all repeaters. For that reason I think that the social effort regarding reeducation must be first of all directed towards the young people who committed crimes, up to 21 years of age, expressing a special concern that these people do not become hardened criminals. Being persons who are in the midst of development and having a high level of suggestibility, there are sufficient reasons for us to believe that up to this age the negative characteristics of their behavior can be corrected - as was also shown during the discussions - under conditions of an adequate reeducational treatment.

In the case of young people between the ages of 18 and 21 who are sentenced to prison terms, we have been experimenting since April 1978 with a specific system of reeducation, which cannot, however, "go beyond" the framework of the existing legal regulations. The main directions of this system were to acquiant the young person with work, order and discipline, to train him in a skill that can be used in the national economy, to help him to complete his studies in general education (primary, middle and high schools) and to help him to understand the opportunities that he has for reintegration into society after completing his sentence.

With the help of other authorities (enterprises, schools, inspectorates of the Ministry of Education and Training, and youth organizations), we have obtained some good results, but judging by the most valid indicator of efficiency - the prevention of repeat crimes - we cannot say we are satisfied.

A recent survey conducted in Bucharest with regards to the manner of socioprofessionally reintegrating young people who have been released told us that 70 percent no longer committed crimes (with a great number being employed in work and practicing the skills learned in prison). About 12 percent are known to have committed new crimes and the other 18 percent were not reflected in the survey since they had moved away from their known addresses and no information was available about them. Similarly, we noted that after their release (on conditions) from prison very few of those who benefitted from this act of clemency immediately got jobs (the majority of them showed up for employment after more than a month from the time of their release, giving diverse reasons, including the need for a period to "relax" after serving their sentence). Only a small number continued their studies in general education that were begun but not finished in prison and others "were travelling" without any purpose through various places.

The aspects shown by the survey implicitly lead to the conclusion that there is need to make improvements to the system of social control in the case of these young people. I think that we should not consider the reeducational process completed at the point when people are released from prison, just as, similarly, I think that there could be substantial improvements to the current regulations regarding the length of incarceration sentences given to young people up to age 21 who have committed crimes and to those dealing with the specific content of the sentence and release from prison.

Proposing reeducation as an objective means that we are proposing that the person who violated the law will firmly believe in this objective, which he will see as something that can be achieved in a useful period of time when life will still allow him to apply in practice the reeducation he received while serving his sentence.

The program for carrying out a prison sentence should be regulated in such a way so as to offer the possibility for the progressive transfer of the prisoner, in accordance with his receptiveness to the reeducation methods, from a program of severity to semi-guidance and supervised self-control. In this manner, we could shape three stages in which the prisoner would be placed in accordance with the progress that he shows. A first stage - of disciplining, professional training and completing general education studies - that would last at least one-third of the sentence; a second stage to which the young person would have access only if he gives sifficient proof that he is adapting to the requirements of collective work and the norms of behavior. This would consist of moving the young person into a system of work without being under guard where he could work in and improve his trade skills (even in the enterprise where it is foreseen that he will be employed in the future), but with his housing and educational program being continued in prison; the third stage, influenced by his corrent movement through the other two, would consist of the opportunity of transforming the remainder of the sentence (which would not be greater than one-fourth of the sentence) into a punishment that could be carried out under the supervision of the work collective, without depriving the person of his freedom, with this period continuing until the complete expiration of the initial sentence. It is understood that the failure to adhere to the required conditions during the last stage to lead to returning the person to prison where he would serve out his sentence, but under the program established for adults.

It would be especially necessary for the assignment of these people to work and their post-sentence assistance to be a major desire for all parties involved in order to increase the efficiency of resocialization actions. Similarly, we need to achieve a unified coordination of social reintegration actions and to broaden the framework of cooperation and information with the social authorities right from the point of carrying out the reeducation process and especially with the prisoner's former or future work collective members. In this manner, more persons will be involved in the reeducation process from outside the prison who can have a greater influence in guiding the prisoner.

Barbulescu: As someone who works in justice, I feel that the discussion published in the pages of this magazine raises some problems of a theoretical, but also practical nature whose resolution will contribute to a better and more unified application of the norms dealing with the punishment of antisocial deeds.

The experience to date has confirmed the justness of the decision that has allowed the process of reeducating people who have committed crimes and do not pose a high level of danger to society to be carried out, usually, without depriving them of their freedom under the supervision of work collectives in the socialist units and by carrying out a useful activity. The judges, the persons who pronouce the decisions on those who have committed crimes and other deeds dangerous to society, have the express obligation to go to the socialist units where those who have been sentenced are serving their terms. On these occasions, we judges realized that some collectives that have been tasked with the supervision of convicted persons too easily give up when faced with a "resistance" on the part of some of these convicts and are "disarmed" by the rebuff of those who refuse to work and carry out their tasks and who repeatedly miss work, continuing to exhibit antisocial behavior and committing reprovable deeds. I am convinced that some collectives for guidance and reeducation

confined themselves merely to making formal observations on such recalcitrant persons and to measures lacking any educational or even coercive efficiency, and limit themselves too quickly and easily to requesting a cancellation of the punishment.

At the same time, the on-the-scene analysis that we have conducted show that some members of the guidance and reeducation collectives do not understand the normative acts and especially Law No 23/1969 regarding the carrying out of sentences, and as a result are not capable of adopting those legal methods necessary to appropriately organize the activities for supervising and guiding convicted persons. The elimination of this shortcoming could be accomplished by a thorough preparation and training of those persons (and even the heads of the units) called upon to carry out the functions of social reeducation and recuperation in the middle of the collective.

Similarly, a better cooperation is necessary between the organs of justice, the prosecutor's office, the militia and the heads of the enterprises where persons are assigned to serve their sentences on-the-job. Practice shows that each of these organs is limited to fulfilling its own program for following up on the way the sentence is being served within the collective without being involved in bringing together the activities and actions undertaken at the level of the courts, the prosecutor's office and the militia sections. Because of a lack of coordination and operative information on the part of certain units where these convicted persons are located, it is not always possible to maintain a clear record on the process of reeducating and resocializing these convicts, with "the alarm" to the legal organs or to those of public order coming too late in such cases and with those who were withdrawn from supervision being listed as "disappeared" from their place of domicile.

The exigencies of a legal and efficient recuperative activity require the people working in justice, the militia and the prosecutor's office to demonstrate much more firmness with regards to persons who commit acts of social parasitism and to ensure the trial of these persons in the presence of a broad public audience. The experience of conducting on-the-scene trials attests to the overwhelming influence of the collective upon the guilty parties, contributing at the same time to the creation of a powerful current of opinion supporting the prevention of antisocial acts and deeds and against those who would be "tempted" to set out on the path of crime.

It should be stressed that in those units where there is a powerful collective and a climate of order and discipline the reeducation process evolves positively and the convicts are integrated into social affairs after they serve their sentences, with some remaining in the collective in which they were assigned after the completion of their sentences. In this regard we should give as examples the workers collectives at C.A.T.C Jilava and Group 5 Worksite in Bucharest where, as a result of permanent supervision and persevering concern for the reeducation of convicts, good results were obtained in social recuperation actions.

I differ from the point of view expressed in the discussion by Simona Petrovici in the sense that for especially serious crimes minors should be sanctioned in such a manner so as to provide an appropriate punishment that will go beyond the limits to which they can currently be sanctioned. Actually, an appropriate punishment

for an extremely high level of social danger in some of the crimes committed by minors requires the imposing of certain punishments that deprive them of their freedom when they committ especially serious crimes (crimes of violence and so forth). I have this opinion since the step of internment of certain minors, as applied today, does not correspond to the serious social danger of certain crimes that have been committed (many of these minors are close to 18 years of age). At the same time, the deprivation of freedom would have a greater preventative effect.

Paunescu: I feel that the discussion raises some essential problems for understanding the spirit and the meaning of our criminal policy. Actually, the main problems were discussed in a realistic manner regarding the problems confronting those who apply the laws or contribute to the prevention of antisocial acts.

Since psychologists have special tasks from this point of view, I would like to refer to a problem revealed in the discussions with the participants: the relationship between the prevention of "latent delinquency" and the attitudes of expectancy expressed by some educators, social organs and so forth, with regards to the commission of antisocial acts.

It is known that antisocial manifestations constitute a serious perturbation in a person's mechanism for integrating with others. Can they be foreseen and, on this basis, be prevented before they are committed? This question is essential for any legal system, for any society. If the answer to this question is affirmative, a second question is immediately shaped: What methods do we adopt and which specialists do we call upon? The answer comes just as quickly: educators, psychologists, doctors, lawyers and sociologists. Their methods will be based upon understanding reality and the factors that determine or favor antisocial behavior. Can they be identified, mastered and neutralized?

For example, the urban environment is considered by specialists, under certain conditions, a factor favoring criminal behavior. Thus, for example, in some very congested areas of large cities there are records of problems of adapting to school and problems of behavior. An appropriate response to this, however, has not been formulated. On the contrary, as was pointed out by comrade Nicolae Dan during the discussions, some teaching faculty sometimes confine themselves to the formal "transmission" of a school program in a non-attractive, non-pedogogical manner, frequently stressing the cases of informational supersaturation to the detriment of civic education and the creation of civilized behavior. Such a "didactic activity" sometimes produces stress effects which, when added to other factors favoring deviant behavior, such as a lack of control and a permanent education guidance in the family, school dissatisfaction, involvement in negative street groups, a disorderly life and so forth, is expressed in non-participation in learning, including in learning and mastering certain moral-social values. These students adopt a rebellious attitude and an avoidance of groups.

On the basis of certain deficiencies in family education and the influence of the corrupt street environment, can this social attitude perhaps constitute a factor favoring illicit behavior? The answer is yes. This is due to the "escape" of the "problem" student from the attention of the educational organs, the rejection of social integration actions by those having reprovable behaviors and a lack of concern

on the part of certain educational authorities (teachers, professors, youth organizations) for combining the educational program with a substantial program for education and for uncovering and treating the cases where there is a failure to adopt to school and civic affairs. In some schools, I encountered students exhibiting signs of maladjustment - under some conditions the starting point towards criminal behavior. Their precarious school situation, the discord in the families from which they come and their critical mental health status were known, but neither the professors nor the doctors had taken the measures that they needed.

Through this passivity, was "the opening" perhaps not made easier towards criminality? Is not the recovery of a minor or a young criminal made perhaps more difficult to obtain than the reintegration of one who merely exhibits criminal tendencies? These are the questions that specialists frequently encounter, but unfortunately only after the commission of a serious antisocial act.

In this regard, it is understood that the prevention of dangerous violations plays a decisive role. It is even more necessary since "the special cases" are known. In this context, I agree with the point of view expressed in the discussions that the efficiency of prevention requires firm, effective actions and the renunciation of types of ideas like "let's wait and see if the minor straightens himself out." Such an expectational approach is still encountered in some schools or work collectives. It consists of tolerating certain antisocial behaviors and a climate of a lack of discipline and disorder. To know that someone has deviant tendencies and to do nothing to prevent them, waiting for the commission of a crime and only after that to began using the mechanisms of correction, can perhaps be the greatest mistake of an educator, but this mistake is many times "committed." Frequently, it is expressed through a lack of responsibility on the educator's part, the family and so forth towards "the little antisocial outbursts."

The discovery, prevention and neutralization of what is called "latent delinquency" are the forms of the efficiency of social education actions that involve the cooperation of all the factors (doctors, psychologists, lawyers and so forth) and the scientific organization of an integrated system of prevention and reeducation. Through the operational and actual convergence of all of these factors we can ensure a multilateral and efficient prevention of antisocial manifestations among the ranks of the minors. Otherwise, the concept and practice of decriminalization can be compromised, remaining simple theoretical desiderata.

8724
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SUCCESSES, SHORTCOMINGS OF FILM INDUSTRY REVIEWED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 20 Oct 81 pp 22-25

[Article by Calin Caliman: "The Romanian Film Industry in Search of a Personality"]

[Text] Despite all the differences of opinion noted, the recent discussions regarding the present and the future of the national film industry, which involves the artists, the audiences and the critics, have a "common denominator:" the desire to contribute in one way or another to the qualitative growth of the production of films according to the importance of the social-political and cultural-educational functions of cinematography in the overall group of complex concerns in creating an advanced socialist awareness, according to the importance of the film industry's responsibilities to the realities of contemporary Romania, according to the demands of a public that has naturally progressive exigencies and - why not? - according to the creative aspirations themselves of certain artists who have more than once given proof of certain superior artistic abilities. The personality of the Romanian film industry has over the years outlined its own defining characteristics (this is a piece of evidence that is beyond any discussion) and specific traits, as shown by certain timeless, durable works, recording the moments of a "spiraling" value growth with remarkable artistic highpoints. On the other hand, qualitative oscillations, contradictory arguments or even contrary arguments (detectable without too great a difficulty in the repertoire of each stage of the film industry) have hampered the stabilization of an overall picture, sometimes leaving the impression that the lines and shades of colors of this "portrait" tend to run together, to mix among themselves and to... be contradictory in a confusing drawing.

Naturally, each year of the film industry has had and will have those films that are better and poorer, it can be no other way. No film industry anywhere in the world was built only on great works. Yes, it can even be said that the outstanding artistic works of the international film industry - works that were never accidental - sometimes had long periods of accumulating various experiences. And, all the true schools of film making in the world have known how to maintain their position by consolidating the essential gains in experience. Any discussion of the Romanian film industry, I believe, must begin from this point and end up here: at the consolidation of the "principal fund" of films, authors, ideas and means of expression capable of representing authentic characteristics of the personality and at the avoidance of thematic, artistic and organizational errors that can fog the overall picture and disrupt the mechanism of creative work.

Thus, from the beginning the discussion of the basic problem of the contemporary Romanian film industry, the revealing of certain not only useful, but necessary lessons for the evolving perspective and the expected and desired qualitative leap forward cannot make abstracts of the arguments on the history of our film industry. The common duty of the artists, the critics and the spectators is to participate in the building of the desired film industry, not merely to comment on it "from afar" or sometimes with undeserved applause (for... two "bricks," let us say, narratively correctly placed one next to the other) or equally improper acidic remarks frequently made without understanding the cause or guided not by constructive purposes but by destructive ones (this sometimes still happens). The participation of this community in the creative efforts (which can be done in all kinds of ways) requires a good basic understanding of the entire creative path covered by the Romanian film industry so as not to start over and over again at "zero" in attempts at certain outstanding artistic performances and so as to use efficiently in the future the positive experiences of the past and the present.

Better than 3 decades have passed since the first production of our socialist film industry, the film by the producer Paul Calinescu, "The Valley Rings." This film marked, at the beginning of the 1950's, the inauguration of a new creative path for an old art form (even back then) going back decades, but one which could only record a very slow evolution because of certain difficult material and spiritual conditions or purely and simply stood still despite certain brave pioneers. It is not at all an accidental fact that this first film of the new Romanian film industry abandoned the realm of this plateau in order to penetrate into the center of realities, attempting to bring to life the pulse and rhythm of work in the first worksites in socialist Romania. Despite its naivete (sometimes beautiful, other times flagrant), this film with the "wrinkles" of a nonetheless revolutionary artistic time has, in a practical sense, an orientational function (which, it sometimes happens, we forget) for the evolution of national production: it shows the first (and basic, I would say) meaning of the socialist production of films and it inaugurates a course upon which nearly all the later creations of our film industry would be recorded, with artistic results that are more or less important. It is the "lesson" for the basis of films in reality and of the inspiration of life. A lesson that by definition is a participative one that stands at the basis of a number of successes on the honor roll of the Romanian film industry and it should not be forgotten for a second. It is also absolutely necessary to be continually adapted to the requirements of a constantly evolving reality.

This upward path was influenced by appearance and affirmation of a certain film industry personality that contributed decisively to the imposition and consolidation of an originality in Romanian films. We once again go back many years, but it cannot be done otherwise, to look at the masterpiece by the uncontested "master" of Romanian film comedy, Jean Georgescu, whose "Stormy Night" (inspired by Caragiale) remains a true model of creative screen work. Let us also remember the distinguished man of culture and education, Victor Iliu, and his films, especially "The Lucky Mill" with its remarkable qualities of ambiance, art and psychological analysis which have become a precious "object for study" for all the craftsmen of the seventh art form. Through a film of high civic and esthetic value such as "Woods of the Hanged,"

the producer Liviu Ciulei provided a major inspiration for the Romanian film industry, that of integrating the youngest art form into the area of effective expressions of the national culture. Then it was the turn of a Lucian Pintilie. Among his films, with deep reflections regarding the human condition in the contemporary world, "Reconstruction" remains one of the most significant and powerful films inspired by real life. Leaping over certain periods, let us stop at one of the youngest creative personalities, the producer Mircea Daneliuc, whose films demonstrate a powerful sense of observation in seeking reality and an active, firm and lucid attitude in commenting on the facts of life on the screen.

Between these chronological "extremes" there are numerous valued producers from different generations having distinct personalities in the overall scope of national production: Mircea Saucan and Iulian Mihu, Ion Popescu Gopo and Sergiu Nicolaescu, Malvina Ursianu and Lucian Bratu, Manole Marcus and Andrei Blaier, Mircea Veroiu and Dan Pita and other producers about whom we will have something to say in this article.

Why is it necessary for us to continually go over the personalities of the Romanian film industry? (We have mentioned several producers, but each creative "chapter" without a doubt has its own noted personalities, from the writers and renown cameramen to the broad "front" of certain first-class actors.) We have to because any film industry that is respected has to learn to cultivate its personality as is appropriate. All the great film industries in the world know this lesson well; the Romanian film industry still sometimes forgets this.

And, the personality of a film industry does not in a practical sense (merely) mean "the sum of creative personalities." Similarly, it is also determined by the constants having a defining nature in the creative process itself. Along this line of thinking, one of the most specific characteristics of the national film industry is, I believe, the affirmative and constructive nature of the sociopolitical and cultural-educational approach. Both through the prism of the thematic choices and in the selection of the specific film methods, our film makers in their representative works have tried to address the present and the future with the arguments of their times, offering precious "documents" about their eras and about the significant events that occurred on the level of consciousness. As a logical consequence, the political vocation of our film industry was gradually consolidated during the achievements of recent years with films like: "The Power and the Truth" by Manole Marcus, with a screen play by Titus Popovici, and "The Moment" by Gh. Vitanidis, with the screen play by Dinu Sararu - stimulating discussions regarding the qualitative changes that have occurred in the awareness of contemporary man and regarding the key problem of social responsibility, as pursued over an entire stage in the contemporary history of Romania. Through these types of films, the Romanian film industry becomes not just a witness, but an active participant in the development of contemporary society. By adding the representative force of the incursions into daily life and the prospective capacity in investigating reality (with both of these being consolidated in the production of films of current interest in recent years) and by once again stressing the permanent desire of having the specific national aspect in film making, we have before us several of the constants of the most precious content of the Romanian films produced throughout the years. "The lessons" of these constants? The renunciation of them (especially... involuntarily) has led more than once to mediocre

films that are of low civic and artistic interest, poor in substance and incapable of addressing contemporary times at the height of their real problems of life, events and feelings.

Therefore, we arrive at the main "test" of film making (of any film making): the film of current relevancy. The interest of the film makers (and the film studios) to discuss the problems of contemporary reality has increased during the recent period: this fact is also beyond any question, with the film of current relevancy practically becoming the "center of gravity" of each production year. The question, however, that is urgently asked beyond those quantitative aspects of the creative work is that regarding the educational-esthetic quality: Do Romanian films appropriately respond to the requirements of the complex process of creating and developing socialist awareness? As we will see, despite all the successes there are still large shortcomings - social-political and cultural-educational - in Romanian films with regards to reality, to the essential aspects of the multilateral and complex process of building socialism in Romania and to the problems of the life, work, events and feelings of contemporary man.

Before, however, analyzing these "shortcomings" (I would not call them "failures") of our national film production, that have practically maintained a state of dissatisfaction around the Romanian film industry over the years and not necessarily "the saint of creative dissatisfaction" that is constantly needed, let us bring into this discussion several arguments regarding improvements which, as we were saying, the film makers must keep in mind in their future attempts: they are "hurdles" under which they should no longer have to go, they are hurdles that must be overcome. Among the films of current relevancy from the mid-1970's, for example, there are several that undoubtedly consolidated the ethical and esthetic approach of our film industry: first, Mircea Daneliuc's "The Race," a sensitive and nuanced analysis of certain different worlds of contemporary thought and feelings; then, "Philip the Good," by Dan Pita which closely examined the destiny of a young man, a significant destiny for the dialectics of the changes in the awareness that have occurred in our times; Andrei Blaier's "Illustrated With Field Flowers," a film that dealt with the problem of moral responsibility with nerve and realistic verve, through the prism of one case; other films of the 1970's, such as Alexandru Tatos' "Red Apples," Malvina Ursianu's "The Passes of Love," Mircea Dragan's "Explosion," Serban Creanga's "The Owners," Timotei Ursu's "September," and Lucian Bratu's "The City Seen From Above." Even if, in part, they did not all succeed in convincing everyone, together they have an undoubted significance in consolidating the Romanian film of current relevancy and in opening certain new paths for the future. Portraits specific to the present and contemporary psychology, actions bearing the stamp of the times in which we live, problems resulting from the new social realities and relationships that are still being affirmed and furthered, questions from today's young people - all these film making contributions have considerably broadened the palette of the film dealing with currently relevant subjects. "The lesson" of these films should not be ignored either: without the "spirit of life" no film industry can discover and suggest its own identity and social-political, civic and esthetic appearance.

Actually, we can state without fear of error, even if not in a direct and explicit manner (but the idea of an "unseen hand," which is not at all new, is part of the dialectics of progress!), that "the lesson" of such films, as corroborated by the lessons of certain older films such as Mircea Saucan's "Meanderings," Lucian Bratu's "A Film With a Charming Girl" and Savel Stiopul's "The Last Night of Childhood," was brought to fruition during the evolutionary spiral of our film industry.

Actually, the 1980 film making year can be considered one of the most fertile years (I am personally inclined to even call it the most fertile) in the entire short history of the Romanian film industry. There has even been talk of a "qualitative modification of our film making landscape" - and I think rightly so. For a number of reasons I think that the creative experience of 1980 (which in itself also constitutes a "lesson") must be well analyzed and used most efficiently in future film making years and, implicitly, in the future evolutionary stages of the national film industry. We say this for a number of reasons. First, because it was not completely accepted and brought into awareness (of the public, the critics, the producers, the authorities responsible for disseminating Romanian films throughout the country and abroad, and even the artists themselves). Then, because this experience incorporates - voluntarily or involuntarily, I do not know - several of the main experiences accumulated over the years, in a practical sense closing out a stage of Romanian film making that coincides with the end of the eighth decade. Finally, because it constitutes from a thematic and stylistic point of view, if we are permitted to use this disjunction, a good "point of departure" in the general (perhaps even general?) effort to obtain a new, superior film making quality. When we say "film making quality," we are naturally thinking, moreover, of the political, social, moral, philosophical and esthetic quality of the approach to films.

Thus, 1980, an outstanding year for the national film industry, should not be viewed "in itself" as a rare and fortuitous example, but it must be viewed through the prism of its contacts, some of which were especially significant. Is it perhaps an accidental fact that precisely at the moment when national production grew within 1 year as much as in 10 it should coincide with "the outstanding year" of our film industry? No way. The task of rapidly increasing the number of films, which the party secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, asked the film industry to do as a basis for improving the quality and degree of originality of our national production, where the personality of each quthor could find its own distinct point of expression for satisfying certain higher exigencies, this task of high political and cultural-educational responsibility fulfilled by the film makers at the end of the last five year plan fully confirms by way of the practical results obtained the justness of the policy to qualitatively renew our film industry.

We should not at all ignore the fact that in a single film making year several films of current relevancy having large ethical and esthetic echoes were produced, such as Mircea Daneliuc's "Microphone Test" (a producer who, with this film of great sincerity having pertinent observations about life, has unleashed a true "battle of the natural" which our entire film making industry must win), Lucian Bratu's "Bride on the Train" with a screen play by D. R. Popescu (a film having profound ethical implications whose poetic realism sometimes becomes engrossing), Iosif Demain's "A Girl's Tear" with the screen play by Petre Salcudeanu (in which the authors take a careful moral x-ray of the contemporary village, exploring the mentalities

and attitudes that can facilitate and maintain ethical deviations and reprovable deeds) and an entire series of other films, like "Stop - Personnel at Lunch," "House Between the Fields," "Good Evening, Irina," "Peasant at the Opening," which broadened through the power of creative thought the palette of those films of current relevancy, pointing out problems in the life of today's young people or sanctioning the evil in people. Nor should we ignore the fact that in a single film making year our national film industry's heritage was enriched by a film of profound partiotic resonance - "Burebista" by the writer Mihnea Gheorghiu and the producer Gh. Vitanidis - or by a film of faultless cultural and esthetic content like Malvina Ursianu's "The Return of Voda Lapusneanu," in addition to other legendary pages such as "At the Crossroads of Great Storms" and "The Mountains in Flames" (the 1848 revolution as recalled by the writer Petre Salcudeanu and the producer Mircea Moldovan) or "The Stake and the Flame" (by Adrian Petringenaru, based on the homonymous novel by Eugen Uricaru).

Continuing along this line, nor should we ignore the appearance during a single film making year of two exceptional stylistic achievements - "The Pale Light of Pain" by Iulian Mihu (with the screen play by George Macovescu), a film recognized at the Moscow Film Festival, and "The Wolf Hunter" by Mircea Daneliuc (based on the novel by Dinu Sararu, "Some Peasants") - films "of art" having relevant political implications and a clear creative originality. Nor should we ignore the fact that in a single year the Romanian film industry gave the audiences of the silver screen certain far-reaching literary works such as "Ion" by Liviu Rebreanu (adapted for the screen by Petre Salcudeanu) in Mircea Muresan's films "Curse of the Land" and "Curse of Love" or "Poor Ioanide" by G. Calinescu (adapted for the screen by Eugen Barbu) in the movie version by Dan Pita, to which we could also add the films "The Last Night of Love..." by Sergiu Nicolaescu (a nonetheless "too liberal" adaptation according to Camil Petrescu) and "Loving Anastasia Passed By" by Al. Tatos (based on the homonymous novel by D. R. Popescu). Let us also mention several films "of the public" such as "Highway of Bones" (by Doru Nastase) and "The Artist, the Dollars and the Transylvanians" (by Mircea Veroiu), created at a meritorious professional level. Let us also note that a film like "The Labyrinth" (by Serban Creanga) that in other years would have undoubtedly been among the top "honors" but in the "context of 1980" it risks being left out.

It is necessary to make some summaries and draw some conclusions. The overall repertoire of 1980 presented itself (by itself) through its cultural content and through the diversity of its creative activities. The "ethical temperature" of the films of current relevancy went up, as did their effect on attitudes. The creative effort was more than once accompanied by distinct efforts to improve the films produced on an artistic level. The young artists had a broader field for their activities, which they brought to fruition with the power of young thinking... All these things are signs that we are engaged in a change of structure, especially in the concept and evolution of the film dealing with currently relevant events.

In recent years, however, in the film industry (thus, we are expanding the bounds of "the outstanding year") there also were a sufficient number of films of "current relevancy" that clouded and are still clouding, as we noted at the beginning, the

overall picture of the Romanian film industry. The causes differ from one case to another, but after we uncover several of them perhaps we will "find" several common (perhaps lost!) causes.

Why did the film industry not attain, except to a very small degree, its goals in making a film having a generous theme, such as "Investigation," for example, which aimed at discussing the implications of a work accident? The answer seems simple to us: because the center of interest of this investigation was moved from the necessary and complex human implications of the conflict towards a restrictive, technical problem, thus becoming a "discourse"... a discursive approach, losing sight of the specific nature of the film itself, not only as art, but also as a type. Moving on. Did not the film "Cumpana" perhaps move a possible drama (having ethical implications) away from reality? I think so, with the main cause being the excessive number of atemporal elements. Can a film like "The Morgan Girl" be convincing? A beautiful picture and song (in parentheses it should be said "improper") does not make it: reality is ignored by all types of artificial and even false "details about life."

Why does a melodrama like "A Song for My Son" have a reduced ethical and artistic level? Because it tries (in vain) to cram a "story about life," life itself, into a sketch, relating serious events in a jocular tone. Let us be well understood: it is very difficult to be convincing while speaking in a comic tone about a serious judicial error, an exclusion from the party, an unfounded detention, a fatal work accident, an orphaned child and a suicide. "The Third Fatal Leap" is perhaps a leap into the void of improbability. The story of certain young people at a large worksite in "Gliding" is filled with many unnatural accents in the people's manner of speaking and in their evolution. And, in the film "The Gates of Morning," a film inspired by the unusual realities of the world of fishermen, are not the lines of the conflict perhaps very "exaggerated" (until they are sometimes wiped out)?

And so forth. The examples could go on for a long time, right up to the present... Beyond identifying these "particular" causes, we can uncover several main (chronic) dificiencies which in a practical sense determine the destiny of many non-representative films. In many of the films of current relevancy, there continues to be (we are not the first to say so or for the first time) a still very narrow perspective among those in the business, and especially the writers, regarding contemporary realities: cute, luke-warm conflicts are called upon (hopelessly) to give the films the necessary fuel; aspects of too little significance for the present are called upon to speak about the rhythms of the events and feelings of our times; many new structural traits of the contemporary man have not made it to the screen; and descriptivism, schematicism and narrowmindedness continue to place their stamp on many (too many) Romanian films. The cause beyond all the causes, the "cause of the causes," is frequently identified with the lowered self-exigency of the authors - the writers, the directors and so forth - and the reduced exigency of the producers.

The "lesson" in this case among other films, and there are not too many, is offered by Mircea Daneliuc's "The Cruise," one of the few creations that continues the "powerful line" of 1980, giving it a thematic acuity and a demonstrative eloquence. "The Cruise" becomes an argument: the chance to defeat time, to convince and to provide emotions cannot but smile on those films about attitudes that succeed in

leading life towards events of art, culture and education through the filter of artistic thought and personality. Why doesn't a film like David Reu's "Personal Problems" (achieved on the basis of the valuable screen play by Grigore Zane) move towards superior artistic results? Perhaps because it is sometimes lacking the "feeling of proportions" and the "feeling of degrees"... What about Virgil Calotescu's "Ana and the Thief" (with a screen play by Francisc Munteanu)? Perhaps because it presents nothing more than the unwinding of a story... It is a decisive thing; in many of our films (even in the case of certain works of imagination and artistic virtuosity such as, for example, "Luchian" the film by the producer Nicolae Margineanu), the meditative and reflexive capacity leaves much to be desired, hampering as such the fulfillment of the political substance without which our films cannot be seen as being from a time of impressive spiritual and material changes.

Without a doubt, in the equation of the development of the Romanian film industry not just the artists and producers have an important role, not just the distributors (I repeat: in-country and abroad). The public and the critics play an important role. The Romanian film industry has good, stimulating and... patient audiences. There are seven million spectators each year at Romanian films, which is a beautiful performance. On the other hand, a fact that came out this summer at the Film Festival for Youth (an excellent initiative that was itself stimulating) is capable of provoking thought: in the discussions around the film "The Cruise," many of the young participants who saw the film were left talking about and confined to the story itself and did not succeed in going beyond this, towards the significant layers of the film. For the cinemagraphic culture of the audiences, especially the young people, more must be done: in order to go beyond the current evolutionary stage, the Romanian film industry needs an ever greater number of well-prepared spectators.

All these demands also require a reevaluation of criticism, in accordance with the current stage of the evolution of the Romanian national film industry. This industry is no longer a weak organism incapable of advancing without the "crutch" of critical encouragement, but, on the contrary, through the most representative works of recent years it has acquired an ideal and artistic vigor and marked personality traits that have lead it and must lead it towards the ability to accept and seek out the critical truth for a more rigorous determination of "its own awareness." That is why there is further need for a deep and substantial criticism that is attentive both to the ideas and the structure of the overall body of films and to the specific techniques that will place the accent on the content of the works being discussed without absolving it for the sake of "good intentions" and the quality of the art form. Certainly, there is not "ideal criticism" that will please everyone. But, there is a talented and responsible criticism that makes an effort to convince the greatest number of readers by using arguments. Respect for the profession and the persons under discussion is a moral imperative that is among the most important ones, as well as that of renouncing the comfortable aspects and favors of certain circumstances. The mechanism of criticism is not always spared such distortions which are unfavorable to a cinemagraphic record of far-reaching philosophical, moral and esthetic impact that will respond to the essential desired qualities of criticism: principledness, objectivity and combativeness.

The communist reponsibility of the Romanian film industry - to reality, to the audiences and to the specific problems of our times - is constantly broader and more profound. The new quality of the Romanian film industry must from desires become deeds. This cannot be achieved except by learning the lessons of the past and having clear insights into the future in order to be able to give ethical and esthetic consistency to the films inspired by the socialist present and the near or distant past of our country and the Romanian lands. To understand well and thoroughly the constructive sense of life and the aspirations of the people and to give to this sense an ever more convincing esthetic expression through the modern means of the art of film, in ever more attractive and diverse forms having a content of ideas that is constantly richer and more original - this is the supreme responsibility of our film industry in the immediate and distant future of the coming years.

8724
CSO: 2700/99

BRIEFS

PEOPLE'S COUNCIL OFFICIAL--In as much as the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Gorj County People's Council has become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the people's councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Petre Lungu is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Gorj County People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 102, 4 Dec 81 p 3]

FOREIGN TRADE CHANGES--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that as of 1 October 1981 the activity of exporting and importing pulp is transferred from the "Exportlemn" foreign trade enterprise to the "Forexim" foreign trade enterprise. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 102, 4 Dec 81 p 1]

CSO: 2700/119

BRIEFS

TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS FOR ALBANIA--A 10 December 1981 decision by the FEC (Federal Executive Council) amends a 27 November 1979 decision which permitted travel to countries with which Yugoslavia has diplomatic or consular relations even if these countries have not concluded agreements with the SFRY on eliminating the visa requirement. The amendment says that this stipulation does not pertain to travel by Yugoslav citizens to Albania. [Summary] [Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 68, 18 Dec 81 p 1747]

SENTENCED FOR HOSTILE PROPAGANDA--Yesterday the criminal council of the Sarajevo district court sentenced Hidajet (Metina) Krasnici (1960), a student from the village of Ljesane near Pec but residing in Sarajevo, to 3 and 1/2 years in prison for hostile propaganda based on Article 133, paragraph 1 of the SFRY Criminal Code. On the basis of letters he sent from Sarajevo, a diary which he kept, conversations with various people, and a tape recording, it was established that Krasnici had committed the act of which he was accused, from April to the end of June 1981 following the counter-revolutionary events in Kosovo. Acting from positions of Albanian nationalism, he called for a change in the socialist self-management system, the dissolution of brotherhood and unity, and described the sociopolitical conditions in our country in an untrue and malicious way. [Excerpt] [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 26 Dec 81 p 20]

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FRENCH SOURCE ON POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF SHEHU DEATH

Paris LE FIGARO in French 21 Dec 81 p 6

[Article by correspondent in Athens, Jean Delamotte: "Uncertainty for Albania--The Heir to Enver Hoxha Commits Suicide"]

[Excerpts] On Friday morning Albanian Prime Minister Mehmet Shehu took his own life during a "spell of nerves." A personal friend of the head of state, Enver Hoxha everything seemed to indicate that he would succeed him when Hoxha gave up his position. Fate decided otherwise. Mehmet Shehu, who was the father of two children, shot himself in the head. People who had seen him the night before said that nothing gave any signs of "the tragic event of the next morning." This man who presented the 7th five-year economic plan (1982-1987) during the 8th party congress [in November 1981] was physically and, especially, morally tired. The latent crisis with Yugoslavia in regard to the Albanians living in Kosovo, combined with the isolation from the world which Albania has known after the break with the Soviet Union and later China, seem to have played a determining role in the action of Mehmet Shehu.

In power since 1954, the Albanian prime minister worked in closest collaboration with Enver Hoxha, the first secretary of the party, and often helped him in carrying out his foreign policy. The brutal death of this man, who was operated on in Paris in 1972, in the strictest secrecy, poses a serious problem for Enver Hoxha. The latter, not departing from his Stalinist lets everyone think that the succession to Mehmet Shehu will be settled in the current Politburo of the party. The Politburo has a definite majority of former collaborators of the Albanian premier.

The sudden death of the number two Albanian poses serious questions for the most expert observers. Was it really a case of death occurring as a result of a spell of nerves, caused by a gradual lassitude, aggravated by an accumulation of major problems for Albania? Everything leads one to believe that this was the case. The spell of nerves seems, indeed, to have been caused by physical weakness. His worries and perhaps even poor health sapped his strength. Unless this "spell" might have been due to personal matters. But that seems less probable.

Note: In a communique published after the death of the Albanian premier, the Union of Albanian Nationalists in Europe states that "the death of the initiator of purges, of torture camps and of religious persecutions marks the beginning of the intensification of the active struggle of the Albanian people to regain their individual rights and freedoms."

CSO: 3100/213

CONSUMERISM: ITS CORRUPTIVE EFFECT WITHIN SYSTEM

Sofia FILOSOFSKA MISUL in Bulgarian No 11, 1981 pp 3-10

[Article by Nikola Nikolov, candidate of philosophical science and Partizdat chief philosophy editor: "Letter to My Contemporary"]

[Text] Time goes by, our hair is turning gray and white, as we frequently continue to wander around in the area of abstract concepts. "So what," you may object, "inertia is a powerful force." No, my friend, I disagree. Whether we realize it or not, this "inertia" has its specific scientific name: social position! It develops slowly and imperceptibly, the way a rock pushed by the current eventually changes its shape. The hierarchical position, size and means of earning of our income have the strongest influence on the thoughts and feelings of a person, on his entire life. This is something which neither science nor literature ignores when they deal with the individual.

You cannot fail to be impressed by the actions of today's educator. He mounts his attacks against us every day and has become so impressed by the power of the word (spoken or written) that he considers it as just about the only means through which we can change the human mind and develop in the people a Marxist-Leninist outlook. Apparently, he ignores the time in which we live. He does not realize in the least that once, under different circumstances, when reality could only be criticized and when there was no opportunity for making ideals part of life, the power of the word was indeed the most important means of revolutionizing the consciousness of the masses. Today, when we can implement the communist ideal step by step, whatever their power, words lose their meaning and become strongly depreciated if they are not always backed by practical action, by the personal refusal of a material benefit or the elimination of one or another privilege.

Do you remember, my friend, the first years after 9 September? At that time we lined up for a piece of cloth or fabric. Even the black bread was rationed. We did not even know the meanings of words such as washing machine, refrigerator or television set, not to mention private car, cottage or apartment. However, can we forget the enthusiasm which stemmed directly from our young freedom? Do you remember the songs at the brigade projects of Khainboaz, Dimitrovgrad and Pernik-Voluek? Do you remember the purity of our relations and how imminent the advent of universal social justice seemed! Our major problem then was to heal the severe wounds caused by the war and to socialize productive capital in industry and agriculture, and no more! That was to be the beginning of our broad way leading to fraternity and equality....

More than 35 years have gone by since. Productive capital has long become public property and we are surrounded by things about which we could only dream in the past: apartments, cottages, cars, television sets, refrigerators and washing machines. All of this has become reality, a profound part of our daily lives. However, despite this material well-being, the alarming question weighs on us: have we taken a decisive step forward in our moral relations as well?

My friend, how did it happen that for many people that thrust toward equality was converted into a desire for the accumulation of property? It is as though the question of an increasingly equitable distribution of goods was left somewhere behind and that our days began to be filled with endless conversations about the cottage, the car, the apartment, the children's studies, the frequency and place of our trips abroad, and the objects with which we have surrounded ourselves. Imperceptibly, property is "softening up" our brains. It could eliminate boundaries between different principles. Some fighters for equality have imperceptibly begun to turn into moralizers who are looking for reasons for the excessive pursuit of material goods by individuals in their "low consciousness," and are trying to resolve the major problem of restraining our acquisitiveness with the help of educational blabberings. They seem to be totally unaware of their profound self-contradiction when they express their support of the fact that human nature is the sum total of social relations and ties while continuing most zealously to ascribe to education some kind of miraculous power which could change the individual radically without, however, changing the relations and ties which are the fabric of the personality. This applies mainly to ownership relations in which we become firmly involved from birth, since the right to inherit stamps even the babies with the seal of ownership! Moralizing, which is attempting to replace the study of ownership relations with "simple matters of conscience and statements on justice," using "the entire heavy artillery of moral indignation" (Marx) is of absolutely no help.

My friend, I am sure that you will agree that as time goes on there is an increasing number of unresolved problems. One of them is that of consumerism, which is increasingly starting out as problem No 1, a problem whose resolution will determine our future steps toward completing the building of mature socialism. This is because consumerism affects most strongly the economic foundation of the new social system and opens a painful wound. As consumerism blossoms the aspiration toward bright ideals wanes. This is the alarm signal which calls for making a most thorough roll call in the ranks of the fighters for real socialism and communism.

Slowly but surely consumerism implants its own criterion of man, measuring him by the yardstick of his position and property. Accumulated money does not stand still, it wants to show off but not in its natural aspect, for all money looks alike, but in the guise of expensive and very expensive objects, from a ring to a luxurious cottage and splendid apartment, the type of car, television or refrigerator we have, fashion, household furnishings, the food we consume, etc. The intimate world of man becomes strongly and directly tied to his possessions, which leave a profound mark on his spiritual world and overall thinking, feelings and behavior. The property itself is an attitude displayed by the individual toward others in terms of material objects. It is precisely this "mine-yours" relationship that links individuals within a common chain of steps and actions, and at the same time, leaves deep marks in their souls, alienating them and pitting them one against the other.

Anywhere you look, in plains and mountains, ravines and rocks--you come across cottage areas. Should we ask ourselves the question of why we build a strong fence and a two- or three-story cottage in which we spend one or two days a week? How effective is this? What large amounts of materials, some of them expensive, are used, how much furniture is purchased only to remain locked for almost a full year, while elsewhere a hospital, a school or a kindergarten will remain unfinished and while some people are short of housing! To top it all, should owners of cottages have the right to use public rest homes?

You know, my friend, that there are things which could be passed over in silence without, however, becoming any less harmful. Has anyone failed to see the way consumerism destroys healthy human virtues by replacing them with gross practicalism embodied in the animation of objects? The person who has fallen into this muddy stream enjoys his acquisitions, touches them and melts in their sight as though they were living. He is ready to discuss any one of his objects hours on end! Friendship, comradeship, love, family, science and politics are all, in his view, subordinate to "money." His entire life consists of an uninterrupted calculation related to his benefits, while the interests of the collective and society are ignored. It was no accident that Marx said: "I laugh at so-called 'practical' people and at their wisdom. Naturally, if a person wants to turn into an animal, he can turn his back on the pains of mankind and show concern for his own skin."

Such a person does not stop at anything for the sake of wealth. The deformed feeling of "this is mine" is indifferent to the destiny of other people the way money is indifferent to the goods that are purchased with it--bread, poison, a palace or a hut. Such a person does not consider the hurt dignity of an honest man; his conscience remains mute as he faces his father, mother or sister at their dying hour, waiting impatiently to inherit; nor does he stop at even the most disgusting deals which may even include murder, for the sake of getting money, for "money is the basis of all secrets," as Balzac's characters frequently exclaim. Describing such a consumer, Gor'kiy categorically states: "He is always greedy and afraid. He can turn a toothache into a global event; all that matters to this parasite is the 'I.'"

Something else is striking: the maneuvering for positions and titles which bring material benefits greatly suppresses the individual, darkens his bright aspirations, destroys many people spiritually and corrupts some young people as well. Such people, who have committed themselves to the struggle for an actually illusory glory, avoid any serious discussion of important social problems and consider critical remarks as attacks of a personal nature. Such ego-blindness prevents them from being in step with real life.

Needs excite our passions and increase our wish to own one object or another. However, what does to own mean? Does it correspond to the real needs of a person today? No, for frequently these are two entirely different things. Possession means to take over something as "my property." Whether or not this is needed, to what extent is it needed, or is it owned only for impressing others, i.e., for the sake of prestige? In many cases it is precisely the latter that applies. "At a certain level of wealth," Count Monte Cristo, Dumas' character, used to say, "only that which is unnecessary becomes necessary." Such an acquisition of goods which deprives others who truly need them is not found in the animal world, it is the offspring of human society....

Once it has appeared, ownership soon proves to be a reliable and irreplaceable tool which some people use to dominate and exploit others. Some begin to live in palaces while others find themselves in huts, and hungry, although it is precisely they who build the palaces and produce all goods. It is thus that, having crossed the threshold of civilization, human history becomes marked by the shameful seal of slavery: slaves and slaveowners, serfs and feudal lords, hired workers and capitalists--all of human history is imbued with such forms of suppression of humanity. What is even more paradoxical is that the curtain has not been dropped and that the tragicomedy goes on. The rich class today has concentrated unparalleled power in its hands--science, technology and manpower to which it throws the pitiful remnants of the lord's table along with an abundance of lies about freedom and equality for all, spouted day and night

by the mass information media it controls--the press, radio and television. On top of all this, it has secured for itself a tremendous military might which can destroy even life on earth....

By consumerism we do mean in the least any kind of insatiable gluttony for food or any innate feeling of prestige acquired through the self-seeking accumulation of objects. Such biologizing of consumerism merely distracts our attention from its true nature and from the search for its deeper causes. Without this, however, we cannot engage in any kind of successful effort to limit and eliminate it. Consumerism is a social phenomenon. Its manifestation is possible only within society as a relation between people based mainly on material goods.

According to some, consumerism consists of object-mania; others reduce it to sponging, the result of innate laziness; others again blame poor family upbringing.

All of these explanations of consumerism contain a certain amount of truth. They consider one or another external feature, something which can be easily noticed. However, we know quite well that frequently phenomena may be misleading, for they do not entirely coincide with their real essence. For example, the most widespread opinion on the nature of capital is that it represents objects--machines, factories and other objects. Some people have gone so far as to describe as capital the stick held by a savage who uses it to defend himself from wild animals or to pick fruit. However, the systematic application of Marx' scientific approach clearly indicates that capital is not an object but a social relation, a historically developed production relation between the private owners of productive capital and hired workers without property of their own.

The very essence of consumerism is the use of someone else's labor without reciprocating, i.e., social parasitism. The question may be asked: is this not in fact sponging by another name? My answer is no, this is not a play on words. Looking at it more profoundly we will note a very substantial difference. For example, everyone knows that a member of a family may become a sponger. However, if this happens to be one of the spouses or a child, and the sponging is entirely at the expense of income earned honestly by the family, we are not dealing with true consumerism as a social phenomenon. In this case it is that specific family that has been hurt. The fact that society has not entirely applied the socialist principle of mandatory work by everyone who can work is a different matter.

That is why this type of sponging, although bordering on consumerism, is still not real consumerism. As a social phenomenon, real consumerism begins as of this point, when objective real opportunities arise for a person to obtain as personal property mainly material goods without having earned them. Yet this is precisely what political economy describes as the acquisition of someone else's labor without equivalent exchange.

It is at this point that we must look for the line that divides sponging within a family and consumerism as a social phenomenon. The former does not encroach upon public property. It is parasitism within the family, affecting its members. The latter is based entirely on public property and is parasitism at the expense of society. Actually, it means going beyond the framework of normal consumption in the sense that the individual does not limit himself to the necessary means for subsistence, bearing in mind the actual possibilities of production forces for the satisfaction of the needs of all members of society. His credo is the accumulation of surpluses,

naturally at the expense of the deprivation of others. However, what criterion do we use in determining whether a given income has been actually earned or represents the acquisition of someone else's nonequivalent labor? It is not a question of income acquired illegally such as through theft, fraud, other criminal actions, etc. It is a question of legitimately obtained income which has been earned neither partially nor entirely. What do we mean by this? Of late, we have witnessed the appearance of various positions such as deputies, assistants, consultants and secretaries of directors in excessive numbers and who may be doing all the work of their superiors. Inflated tables of organization may be found at all levels of the administrative apparatus. Thus, sometimes entire salaries are earned without work, or else only part of the salary has been actually earned. From the viewpoint of the characterization of consumerism, it becomes very important to find a proper criterion when we are faced with the actual payment of unearned high rather than low wages. In the first case, such undeserved earning make an easy life possible, even bordering on luxury, whereas in the second such funds may be insufficient to meet even normal needs.

Once Balzac raised the following great question: "What would become of our society if we were to engage in tracing the origin of all wealth?" Naturally, this applies to the bourgeois society. However, because of the inevitable existence of commodity-monetary relations in our socialist society, the secret of the amount of the income remains as a burden, although to a rather limited extent, affecting mostly the additional income such as fees, illegal acquisition, black market deals, etc. Exchange among private individuals can make a great difference in the income and is almost totally impossible to control. Although partial, the secret of the amount of income creates a serious problem in terms of public morality in a society such as ours, for it conflicts with its basic principle according to which no one must live at the expense of someone else and that work is the prime obligation and honor of everyone. In this respect, the existing method for informing the respective commissions of cases of unearned income is ineffective. "People begin to keep secrets," Hertzen wrote, "when their moral life breaks down; they are afraid of acknowledging this breakdown and hold on to the form with trembling hands, ignoring the essence; they cover their wounds with rags as if wounds could heal when they are concealed." Since we keep track of the amount and nature of the work of everyone, it is entirely logical and mandatory to know precisely how much the income is and how it is earned and consumed. Lenin expressed this idea most categorically as follows: until we reach the "higher" state of communism, "the strictest control will have to be maintained on the part of society and the state concerning the amount of labor and consumption." People who have honestly earned their income cannot conceal its size. The party appeal to everyone to earn his wage mandatorily stipulates that the income of everyone is disclosed, for wherever there is a secret related to the income, there may be a guilty conscience. This leads to undesirable consequences in terms of public morality, the more so since today we have reached the stage of building mature socialism as an approach to the transition to the higher phase of communism, for which reason we must carefully see to it that disparities in living standards are reduced.

More than 2 centuries ago Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote that all members of a society would live better if no one had something unnecessary. Baboeuf described this idea as the "elixir," and made it the essence of his book "The Social Contract." Marx exclaimed that this was "remarkable!" However, its implementation does not mean a war against objects which are naively proclaimed to be our "tyrants," "enslavers," etc. Consciously or subconsciously, things are blamed as the "culprits" for consumerism, because of lack of knowledge of the problem. This is an error. However, sometimes it is also an attempt to mislead others in the interest of those who have acquired considerable wealth.

A long time ago Marx gave a scientific answer to the question of who is the "culprit" for consumerism: possession. It turns objects into commodities, it allows a person to acquire one or another object or service, it dispenses justice, it does not hesitate to make some people slaves (overtly or covertly), something which is continuing to this day; it proclaims man as something less valuable than an object, sets brother against brother or son against father and mother in mortal combat. All of us know that objects are something dead, mute; however, they begin to "talk" in all languages the moment we "include" them in ownership relations. The model of car or television, the price of a cottage or a gilded lamp, seem to take a life of their own and "speak" about their owner, simply characterizing his position in the hierarchy of owners. The person complacently exhibits them, projecting the silent idea that "look, this is me!" An object as such has nothing mysterious about it, Marx wrote. However, the moment an object becomes a commodity "it immediately becomes something sensory, supersensory. It not only stands firmly on its own feet but in terms of all other commodities, assumes the leadership and grows in its wooden head insects which are far stranger than if that object were to leap into a dance by itself." The entire mystery of the commodity aspect of the product is found in the fact that the equivalence of various types of labor on the marketplace takes place through the accidental purchase and sale, for no plan is made in advance as to who will produce what, how much and when. Therefore, the individual goes to the market with a great number of doubts as to whether he will sell or buy what he wants. Naturally, at this point he gets the idea that "God only knows what will happen!" Yes, but God is far away in heaven while down here on earth it is money that sits on its throne, for money has the miraculous property of being traded for all kinds of objects, it can open doors like a magician and, generally speaking, if enough money is available, a feeling of lordship is developed.

This precisely is the reason for the fact that relations among people assume the phantasmagoric aspect of relations among objects. In the midst of this entire chaos money is singled out as the "royal commodity," surrounded by total secrecy and ascribed supernatural qualities. The most terrible crimes against mankind have been and are still being committed for the sake of owning more money, i.e., becoming socially more powerful. We do not know whether he was joking or serious when G. Flaubert wrote to G. Sand: "Oh yes! I would be ready to follow you to another planet, for money will soon make our planet uninhabitable." Today the stockpiled superweapons present the real threat that Flaubert's statement may prove to be true....

When we think of crimes committed throughout the ages, slavery, egotism and greedy aspirations for reciprocal plunder, unparalleled self-destruction in wars, we cannot avoid the thought that it is as though people were given a mind for the sake of living as stupidly as possible. My friend, I did not invent this, and it was quite well expressed by Robert Owen: "As long as the human mind does not reject the deception related to this mad puzzle about money, the people will be unable to think and act as sensible beings and the world will be nothing but a tremendous madhouse, constantly shaken up by anarchy and disturbances, in which every person will oppose those around him openly or secretly, although being truly and sincerely united should be the supreme and permanent interest of everyone."

You and I, my friend, know that under our circumstances public ownership and economic planning greatly restrict the market element and debunk the godliness of money. This is a big truth and thanks to it we are greatly superior to the exploiting society. However, it is paralleled by yet another truth: as long as commodity-monetary relations exist and individuals become owners, to a certain extent the element of market

relations and veneration for money remain. No one even dreams of promoting the cult of money which comes from birth. This is a minor truth on the basis of which consumerism grows. It is a real opiate without which one could do. However, once tempted, a little will no longer do and the perpetual motion machine gets into action. You may find it strange, but it is a fact that even "Secondary Raw Materials" has joined in the rush for public funds and big money....

My friend, have we become excessively soft in resisting the pressure of possessions? To this day I wonder how it happened that barbed wire fences have been built in mountains. Will this symbol of "my property," which is letting blood from the body of nature every day and which can no longer conceal the theft of public property worth millions and millions of leva, continue to exacerbate the open wounds in the heart with the claim that this is almost communism? Somewhere two or three apartments exist "hidden" from the law; somewhere else an entire area of summer homes appears "illegally," and is then easily legitimized; elsewhere again public funds amounting to tens of thousands of leva are borrowed for a short time. Meanwhile, the controlling authorities get short of breath in their efforts to extinguish these flames of ownership.

"What do you say, is it not natural for a person to acquire a few more possessions in order to live a somewhat better life?" True, you are right. But look at it this way: does the tragedy not begin precisely when a person obtains something? Gradually he begins to quarrel with everyone about everything and hides within the shell of his possessions to protect himself from everything and everyone. Yes, we may have come close to Balzac's "la Peau de Chagrin:" "Even though they are at the two extremities of the moral world, the savage and the philosopher are equally disgusted by property." Robert Owen was even more categorical: "As long as private property exists, under its natural influence man will be raised in a state of ignorant egotism, i.e., he will try to clutch at anything which could turn into his private property; and since everyone is raised in the spirit of this principle, everyone will openly or secretly be against his friends in order to obtain a bigger share of life's profusion."

Have you seen, my friend, how some people spend a lifetime skimming on the surface of the river and only glance at the deep parts, fearing to approach them, even though the water there is the quietest? Naturally, there is nothing insulting in this, for there may be an undertow and they may drown. However, is it not shameful and insulting when such a person, assuming that he is a writer, begins to imagine (and even to believe) that he is in the deep part, and begins to discuss major problems? Others pretend that there are no depths and continue to deal with petty matters or to belittle big ones. However, one cannot swim in the shallow parts of the river but can only make meaningless noises....Yes, please also note that everyone speaks about the truth, but how few speak the language of the truth? If you write frankly, with all your heart and soul, your life turns into an infinite concern but not for yourself, rather for the lives of all the others.

"When we were pouring the foundations....Oh, what troubles we had!" the poet exclaimed. Now, however, when it is the building that is being erected, is it any easier? For we are not dealing with some kind of "petty happiness" but with the great happiness of all people! It is precisely at this point that we face the evil spirit of consumerism which is crazily enamored precisely of the "petty happiness." Naturally, it does not always openly show its egotistical credo. It frequenty dons the mask of concern for the happiness of man and for his all-round development, and for some

reason, begins to plead in favor of unlimited favor of private property, neglecting the far greater importance of socialist public ownership. Together we read Marx and Engels and we find that place in THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO which reads that communists are not against private property earned through personal toil; they oppose the type of ownership which could control someone else's labor. However, how is it that when we come across this thought, to some it becomes clear that this applies to someone else's labor while others ignore it or simply distort it? Are we reading with different eyeglasses thoughts which directly affect our own lives? This is probably the case. Helvetius himself pointed out that it is interest that gives various objects different colors for different individuals....

My friend, you know that progress and society hardly follow a straight line. A train moves on tracks, as everyone knows, and if it leaves the tracks there is a wreck. Social progress, however, cannot take place by schedule. In this case a ship sails in the open sea and the compass is not always accurate, for millions of people are tugging at its arm here and there according to their own interests, frequently without realizing it. "We must be proud," Hertzen wrote, "that we are not threads, we are not needles in hands of fate, which is sewing the multicolored fabric of history....We know that this fabric is being sewn with our help. However, this is not our objective, it is not our purpose or a lesson to be learned, but the consequence of a complex general guarantee which binds everything extant through its beginnings and its ends, and its causes and effects. This is not all. We can change the design of a carpet. There is no owner, there is no design, there is only a foundation and we are by ourselves."

Trends in social life are never something abstract or anonymous. They are always carried by living people, by one or another individual. The point is that in the entire complexity of human interrelationships we do not seek with sufficient persistence and discover the true motive force, the interest which, in turn, is a form of manifestation of ownership relations. In the course of this tireless clash of interests, whose gravity depends on the level of property inequality, in the final account, almost never do we find someone boasting of being on the side of forces which are hindering social progress.

This, precisely, is the entire trouble: how to identify those who block the path of the new, of progress, so that we may determine the means with which to oppose them. Every one of us is involved in this struggle between the new and the old and it is very, very difficult to question the sincerity of your comrade....Naturally, the criterion was discovered and formulated quite accurately by Lenin: the individual must be judged not by his "thoughs and feelings" but by his actions. It turns out, however, that it is quite difficult to engage in really useful action and drop verbosity and verbiage.

If we merely agree, as some people claim, that consumerism appears and thrives precisely because some individuals are short of "intellect" which, please note, my friend, "is the only thing which can keep us 'healthily' away from excess," the task of surmounting consumerism may be reduced to a purely educational problem of how to help everyone gain the necessary "personal intellect" and no more! There would be no problem of ownership relations to be resolved. However, we come across people with a rather high "personal intellect" who do not keep any kind of distance away from excesses and not a word is being said about it....We see, therefore, that instead of explaining and proving, year after year all we hear is preaching....

However, if it is clearly understood that consumerism is based on economics, the struggle against it will assume more realistic features. Greater persistence will be displayed in the search for sources from which it draws its vital nourishment and grows in front of our eyes. And, in order to prevent it from blocking the sun, it is precisely these sources that must be eliminated boldly, unhesitatingly.

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COMMENT ON PRAGUE WORLD MARXIST REVIEW MEETING

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Nov 81 p 6

/Article by Jan Hrobar: "Voice of Fraternal Parties"/

/Text/ The international conference of fraternal parties on the work of the journal OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISM /Problems of Peace and Socialism/ held in Prague last week represents an important event for the world communist and labor movements. Ninety delegations of fraternal parties gathered here, the highest number recorded for meetings of this kind. That the delegations were headed by top or prominent party representatives--chairmen, general or first secretaries and members of the highest party organs--underscored the importance of this conference. This large and authoritative assembly was the expression of the wishes of fraternal parties for and their interest in international conferences, of growing endeavors for contacts, cooperation and joint handling of topical problems.

The conference evaluated the role of the journal which for more than two decades as an indispensable tool of all revolutionary and progressive forces has been disseminating the truth about socialism and communicating the experiences of fraternal parties and all that enriches revolutionary theory and practice. It was rightly noted that it is a unique international platform with no equal among worldwide communications--the journal is published in all world languages and it has 66 national editions. Its existence and fruitful function contribute to the unity and action capability of the movement. The discussion brought forth further suggestions for the deepening and expanding of its authority.

The Prague conference at the same time went far beyond the consideration of the editorial work of the journal. Naturally so, for the existence and the function of the journal requires deep analysis of a very broad spectrum of topical questions raised by the growth and activity of the revolutionary movement and the general situation in the world arena. Moreover, the conference took place at the time of serious polarization of the international situation and this further increased its importance. The concern for peace of communists dominated the discussion.

The conference participants considered all aspects of the situation that has developed in the world, the warmongering of the imperialistic forces and their attempts to retaliate for the victory of the forces of progress; and the tasks with which the international communist and labor movements and all the progressive and anti-imperialistic forces are faced at the present time.

The discussion participants gave the convincing answer that the place of communists is nownere else but in the first ranks of fighters for freedom and disarmament. They confirmed the steadfast determination to oppose the reckless policy of imperialism and expressed the unbreakable will to fulfill the mission of the avant-grade of peace forces. In their presentations, one heard the voices of the nations that refuse to live in the shadow of heaps of atomic and other weapons feverishly amassed in their homes by American imperialists and the armorbearers of the NATO pact. They made it known that a powerful wave of resistence has arisen in the world against the imperialistic threat to mankind.

The peace offensive of the Soviet Union, the activity of the entire socialist community as the principal force of the peace front of mankind received serious appraisal.

The conference participants at the same time turned attention to cooperation with all opponents of American weapon rattling. They called attention to the fact that the need for the closing of the ranks of the international communist and labor movements and the unity of all anti-imperialistic forces is greater today than ever.

The increasing role of all other forms of struggle against imperialism and reaction was pointed out. The need to oppose, on the ideological front, the growing efforts of the reactionaries to weaken and divide the proponents of peace and disarmament, and the intensified anticommunist and anti-Soviet slanders and campaigns.

The policy of Peking Maoists was subjected to sharp critique in the discussion. There was an absolute dominance of the view that Marxist-Leninist parties cannot hold a neutral attitude toward Maoism which, with its ideology foreign to the working class, its expansionism and hegemonism and its association with American imperialism, represents a serious danger for nations and the world peace. The conference participants expressed resolute support of all revolutionary and progressive forces that are exposed to malicious attacks and intrigues of the world reaction in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cuba, Nicaragua, Angola and on other leading fronts.

At the conference, in a comradely work atmosphere, each of the participating parties expressed its opinions freely on the basis of full equality. When the group is so large and the spectrum of questions it deals with so broad, it is not unusual to have differences of opinions on some of the problems considered.

The international conference of fraternal parties confirmed the invincible faith and strength of the communist and all revolutionary movements. It revealed that the obstacles place before mankind by imperialism are not unconquerable. It showed what is the place and the mission of the avant-grade of the world peace forces, and it constituted an important contribution to the current universal struggle with the forces of reaction and war.

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DIFFERING EVALUATIONS OF POPE PUBLISHED

CSSR Regime's Criticism

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Milan Sciranko, candidate for doctor of science: "The Ideology and Influence of Clerical Anticommunism"]

[Excerpt] Following the short pontificate of John Paul I, John Paul II, otherwise known as Karol Wojtyla, became the head of the Catholic Church. As the Luxembourg author, Jo Mutterge, wrote in his book, "Where Is Poland Headed" (Ou va la Pologne), "after the election of Wojtyla as pope, the Western press began to speak of the Eastern policy of Paul VI as a 'naive policy' which, they said, had come to grief. The press openly called on John Paul II to institute a firmer policy toward the countries of Eastern Europe. His election was assumed to be a mandate for sharpening relations between the state and the Catholic Church in Poland." In this way, bourgeois ideological centers once again emphasized the importance of the church in the struggle against real socialism and progress in the world. Brzezinski attempted to guide the church more actively as an important ideological institution against the socialist countries and, most of all, against the People's Republic of Poland. "When Wojtyla was active in Cracow," writes Jo Mutterge, "it was known that he supported the activity of Catholic activists and priests, or 'laymen.' These 'activists' for the most part were inclined toward militant catholicism, and their activities in the background brought about efforts leading to the creation of the conditions for the founding of a clerical political party." Under the guise of "human rights" then, a way was being sought toward the pluralization of the political system of socialist society. The "main" defender of human rights in the form of a representative of a "Western democracy," former president J. Carter, found in the Cracow cardinal "a passionate defender of human rights," whose views concurred on many points with the thoughts propagandized by "dissident circles," which called for the gradual dismantling of the political structure in Poland. This alliance is attested to also by the fact that long before the arrival of Wojtyla at the Vatican there existed a personal contact between him and Brzezinski, which was confirmed by the presence of the latter at the cermonial investiture of John Paul II on the papal throne in October 1978.

Even before this, the current pope was known for his views, which were evident in his efforts to maintain good relations with Western church circles in Europe, above all in the FRG, but also in the United States and, last but not least, with circles

of the Polish political emigration. Even our clerical immigration has achieved a place in these efforts. The unjustified demands of Slovak clericofascists and their lackeys are often passed on through official Vatican representatives.

Various actions are organized against our patriotically inclined priests, who are interested in the development and flowering of our peoples and nationalities. The class roots of this "crusade" are clear. The Fifteenth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, as of March 1980, "values the active participation of those who believe in socialist construction and respects greatly the progressive clerics of all legally functioning churches who are united with the people and display a positive attitude toward the policies of our country, to its efforts on behalf of a flourishing of the fatherland and the assurance of world peace.

Cardinal Tomasek's View

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 45, 8 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek: "Again with the Holy Father"]

[Text] I send you all greetings from St Peter's Square, where I last was on 13 May, on the day when the forces of darkness there attempted to murder our Holy Father, John Paul II. Immediately afterward, I sent a report concerning this, with the plea that you all ardently and constantly remember the Holy Father in your daily prayers and devotions. We may speak of a miracle, in that the Holy Father has remained not only alive, but has returned so quickly to good physical condition. I became personally convinced of this when I was near him on St Peter's Square during his general audience of Wednesday, 14 October. The square had been filling up since the morning with pilgrims and tourists from all the continents. Suddenly, everyone burst out in turbulent rejoicing, for the Holy Father had just arrived. He stood in an open jeep, blessing everyone on all sides, and bowed in greeting to all with his customary smile. The rejoicing of those present broke out even more. And it reached a crescendo when the Holy Father got out of the jeep and ever so slowly made his way among the rejoicing multitudes of people of various races and colors which lined the streets, so that he could open that unique audience which may be experienced only here.

The Holy Father opened the audience with the sign of the cross and the customary greeting "Praise be to Jesus Christ." He also greeted me and the other bishops who were present. The secretaries to the Holy Father then read the names of specific larger groups, the Holy Father bowed to them in greeting, and they stormily acclaimed him.

Then the Holy Father pronounced his main speech, in which he again remembered the bloody 13 May. He is fully aware that at that time it was a matter of life and death. For this reason, he again expressed great thanks for the extraordinary intercession of the Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, for 13 May was the first day of her revelation at Fatima. And he again thanked all those who were close to him, especially in their prayers and devotions. He stated that this event had given him a great opportunity, by allowing him to more fully make a peaceful sacrifice for the church and the whole world through his unity with the suffering Christ. Then the Holy Father addressed individually the larger foreign language groups: in French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, German and Polish.

Finally, he called upon me and the other bishops who were present, to stand beside him and to perform the apostolic benediction along with him for all those present.

When we stepped up to join him, the entire assembly recited the Latin prayer "I believe in God," and then we pronounced, along with the Holy Father, the apostolic benediction to all those present and to those who were listening on the radio.

And with this we were near to that particularly dear moment when I was able to greet the Holy Father. I greeted him not only for myself, but also for all of you who think of him lovingly. I assured the Holy Father of additional ongoing prayers, and at the same time I congratulated him on the third anniversary of his election as head of the church. The Holy Father also remembers you all regularly in his prayers and sends you his special benediction.

Since I saw the Holy Father up close, I can inform you with great pleasure that he appears healthy and is ready for work. Continue to remember him in your prayers.

His mission in the world has always been and will always be and possesses an ever greater significance: We have a common heavenly father, because we are, one to the other, throughout the world, brothers and sisters. We must help each other in the spirit of love: spouses must help each other, as must family members, neighbors, people at places of work, during daily contact, always and everywhere. This Christian civilization of love provides man with a proper focus and fulfillment for his life and contributes to the preservation of marriage, the family and human society.

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS OF LUBLIN VOIVODSHIP PZPR REPORTED

Position on Agricultural-Food Industry

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 16 Nov 81 p 2

[Article: "Deliberations of Executive Boards of the PZPR KW [voivodship committees]: Lublin, Praise for the Working Forces of the Agricultural-Food Industry"]

[Text] (Our own correspondents) The deliberations which the PZPR KW executive board held Saturday in Lublin devoted one of its two points of the agenda to an assessment of the working of the agricultural-food industry, giving special attention to the supply of basic raw materials to meet its processing needs and to the attitudes of the working forces.

From just about every angle, the situation in this industry is exceptionally complicated. There has been a clear drop in sales and a sizeable rise in the payroll fund in practically all the plants whose production determines the level of market supply. Despite the overall decline in production, owing to changes in the structure of the item assortment and the limitations on nonmarket sales, deliveries of goods to the market have increased in some cases. This applies, for example, to flour and grain products, milk for consumption, white cheeses, butter, poultry, jams, preserves, and pickled vegetables.

The procurement of grain has dropped considerably in the recent period. Owing to the shortage of the raw material, the potato industry is also having difficulties. The planned quantities of tomatoes, apples, pears, cherries, prunes, and wild strawberries were not procured. The plans for the procurement of raspberries, cauliflower, and cucumbers did not go well either.

The meat and egg industry faced the worst situation. It is calculated that procurement will fall short of this year's plan by about 14,500 tons of livestock for slaughter and 28 million eggs. Poultry procurement is expected to reach planned levels. At the present time it is only the procurement of milk which is exceeding the processing capacities in the voivodship's existing plants. Therefore, some has been transferred to other voivodships.

The problem of the agricultural-food industry's processing power was not discussed, because it had already been the subject of many sessions of the voivodship's political and administrative leaders. The industry's developmental plans and justified demands concerning the need for raw materials are generally known. Nonetheless, it was decided that there are possibilities for a more rapid expansion of the processing capacity in the dairy industry, for example, by adapting for this purpose the under-used installations in other sectors of the economy, such as the "Elektromontaz" plant in the Lublin Voivodship locality of Ostrowo. In this connection it was recommended that appropriate studies and actions be undertaken.

The above-mentioned great difficulties brought up in the executive board's sessions are taking place and being covered by the demand of the agricultural-food industry, especially those of the packaging for the fruit and vegetable industry. In this matter there was a search for solutions, stemming, for example, from the need to activate the procurement of multipurpose packaging and the development of alternate packaging production.

The principle of giving priority to the agricultural-food industry is generally respected, but there are problems nonetheless with guaranteeing the necessary supply of needed liquid fuels and resources for keeping things running, with spare parts for machinery and equipment, and building materials.

Against the backdrop of this complicated situation and the various serious difficulties and barriers, the executive committee of the KW gave a very high rating to the working forces in the agricultural-food industry and gave them its recognition and thanks. The working forces of this industry's plants have not exploited their right to strike or protest. Wherever the raw materials conditions have permitted, they have also worked on free Saturdays and on Sundays off. The raw materials crisis has inclined many management teams to introduce those production solutions which have insured and are continuing to insure a work front for their employees. There are known examples of commitment on the part of the working forces engaged in activating the procurement of needed raw materials, of their bringing in the raw materials using their own vehicles. There are examples where people have produced soap to meet their own needs. The employees of the grain industry and bakeries, of the dairy industry, potato industry, confectionary industry, and fruit and vegetable industry also merit great recognition.

A second equally broad and interesting subject of the deliberations was the problem of employing post-elementary school graduates. We shall discuss it in a separate publication. The executive committee discussed and ratified a plan of preparations for the next general PZPR Voivodship Committee meeting, which will take up the problems of strengthening the party within the workers' community.

School and Information Center Strikes

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 19 Nov 81 pp 1,2

[Article: "Position of the Executive Committee of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Lublin Concerning Strike Activity in the Educational Centers and Schools of Lublin Voivodship," issued by the Executive Committee, dated 18 November 1981]

> [Text] (Our own information) Yesterday the Executive Committee of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Lublin held a meeting to deliberate and assess the situation in the teaching community in connection with the promise of strike action in educational centers and schools of Lublin Voivodship. After a careful and thorough analysis of the causes and sources of the growing conflict in education, the Executive Board took the position published below on the teachers' planned protest activity. The major problems of the youth movement were presented and discussed as the second point of the agenda.

During the past few weeks there has been a worsening of the conflict situations in the educational community, in which there are a host of difficult and complicated problems, as in many other fields. As the result of critical comments coming in from the trade unions and educational groups, administrative officials of the voivodship have undertaken a number of steps aimed at upgrading the working conditions of the educational centers, expanding the scope of preschool care, the construction of new installations, and so on. Changes have also been made in the position of school superintendent in charge of education and upbringing in the manner consistent with the existing Charter of Rights and Duties of the Teacher and the principles for appointing employees of the state administration.

Mr Kazimierz Jagowdzik, a nonparty-member activist of the Polish Teachers' Union (ZNP) and experienced teacher for many years, was named school superintendent of education and upbringing. This change resulted from the broad sign campaign undertaken by the Education and Upbringing Section of Solidarity and the formulation of decrees and resolutions of protest against the appointment of a school superintendent without consultation with Solidarity. There was no mention of any warning or reservation concerning the school superintendent's professional or moral qualifications. The immediate recall or suspension of the school superintendent was accomplished through the initial condition of talks with administrative officials on many important problems which are vital to the functioning of education in Lublin Voivodship.

It was against this backdrop finally that strike preparedness was announced for educational centers and schools, calling for what is termed an active strike beginning on 20 November, counting on the participation of teachers and youngsters in the strike.

The Executive Committee of the PZPR Voivodship Committee is disturbed to see that another attempt is being made in our voivodship to bring social conflicts onto the school grounds. In the worsening socioeconomic situation, given the difficulties of daily life, as the result of the wise judgment of the voivodship's working people and the desire for agreement exhibited on both sides by trade union activists and voivodship officials, we have avoided many conflicts of a local nature and foundation.

The Executive Committee thinks that the instigation of strike sentiments should be decidedly resisted by the society of the voivodship and given the PZPR's efforts to create a front of national understanding, an idea supported by ZSL, SD, the bishops, the trade unions, and other social organizations, an idea which has gained the general approval of the society.

We are calling on teachers and upbringers, on party members and nonmembers, on all those who hold the idea of social understanding dear, to oppose decisively the strike action which has been undertaken. Let us not allow the idea of understanding and agreement to be destroyed by ambitious games. We think that it goes against the teacher's dignity to exploit upbringing authority to drag children and young people in to resolve conflicts taking place in the adult world.

We are calling on pedagogic councils, parent committees, and employees of work establishments for joint effort and a decisive stance against rashness, to insure that our schools, our children and young people, will have the possibility of learning in peace and of having the proper conditions for the correct conduct of the instruction and upbringing processes.

The Executive Committee expresses the conviction that through joint effort and a decisive stance by the teaching community and the society, we will be able to do without aspirations to shift tensions and strikes to the voivodship.

Lublin
18 November 1981

Executive Committee
PZPR Voivodship Committee in Lublin

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ROLE OF WORKERS' MOVEMENT IN ACHIEVING NATIONAL UNITY

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 4, Jul-Aug 81 pp 51-78

/Article by Virgil Smarcea and Florian Tanasescu: "Historical Role of the Romanian Labor Movement in the Romanian People's Struggle for National Unity, Independence, Territorial Integrity and Consolidation of the Single Romanian State"/

/Text/ The Romanians' history presents the picture of a people soon confronted with great adversities and vicissitudes caused by the conflict of the rival interests of the great empires in this area of Europe. There are few peoples on our continent who have known such distruction and alienation of material and cultural values, harassment, foreign pressures and interference, invasions and territorial annexations as the Romanian people have. There is no question that the Romanians' troubled existence in their ancient home, overrun by so many foreigners, and the courage with which they defended their own existence have helped to check the expansionist trends of the central continental states, creating favorable conditions for more rapid socioeconomic progress in particular but also for political, scientific, artistic and other advances.

Proud, brave, steadfast, freedom-loving and deeply devoted to their native land and to the idea of understanding and good coexistence with all peoples, the Romanians have found in their own moral qualities the inexhaustible source of resistance to difficulties. Though forced apart in their own land by the seizure of extensive territories by the great empires of the time, the Romanians did not change or vitiate those qualities. On the contrary they strengthened them, proving the hardihood of their character and their complete confidence in their own forces and in the triumph of historic law as well as reason in international relations.

Awareness of their common origin and lineage, constantly maintained like a sacred flame, and the sufferings endured by the Romanians over the years cemented their feeling of solidarity and steeled their energies to achieve their union within their ancient borders and to develop their nation in freedom and independence. National agreement on these vital questions took the form of active and full participation of all social-political forces of Romanian society in the struggle for unity and independence upon which the Romanian people's very existence depended.

In a historical period when large portions of Romanian territory were under foreign occupation and the masses were strongly motivated by the ideal of union and

independence, the labor movement in Romania favored and staunchly supported these ancient aspirations of the Romanian people. In all its activity it gave the highest expression to the Romanian people's ideals of national and social emancipation and to their long-standing traditions of defense of their national existence and of independence and integrity of their fatherland. The labor movement always viewed the aim of national unity in close correlation and interdependence with that of achieving or defending national sovereignty and independence.

The objective laws of the Romanian people's advance on the path of progress urgently required furthering the process of restoring national-state unity, which had entered upon a new stage in its evolution with the unfication of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859. Realizing the importance of that historic action, the socialist movement also expressed confidence in the Romanians' ultimate victory, being on the same level of understanding with the entire Romanian people. As the socialist Nicolae Codreanu concluded, "For most of us 1859 marks the beginning of the period of regeneration of the Romanians, the happy period of consolidation of the Romanian state and, in a word, the period of organization..." (1). In the same spirit but with broader implications ROMANIA MUNCITOARE, the central press organ of the PSD /Social-Democratic Party/, pointed out that "All Romanians unanimously recognize the greatness of this deed (unification of Moldavia and Wallachia -- our note) not only as a historic achievement but also as an omen for the future, because there are still Romanians outside the area of the united ones" (2). The same publication associated the unification in 1859 with the great figure of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza. ROMANIA MUNCITOARE for 21 October 1910 said, "The unification of the Romanian principalities, a very noble and patriotic deed, is epitomized in the person of Cuza-Voda." The said labor publication initiated the idea of raising a monument in memory of the Pasoptist revolutionary, the fighter for unification and patriot Alexandru Ioan Cuza.

But the labor movement's most eloquent and revealing estimate of the unification in 1859 was the application, beginning in 1908, of the decision of the Conference of Socialist Circles and Trade Union Organizations in 1907 whereby 24 January was declared a "red holiday" because it was a "symbol of awakening, unification and organization" (3) for the proletariat as well.

[illegible]formation of the modern Romanian state through the unification of Moldavia and [illegible]llachia served to encourage the national struggle of Romanians everywhere. Modern Romania polarized the attention and hopes of the entire Romanian people as the center of attraction for all the Romanian provinces under foreign occupation and the center of diffusion of the political-diplomatic initiatives to carry out the ideal of unity and independence, of ever vigilant maintenance of the national consciousness, and of full confidence in the Romanians' ultimate victory.

The ceaseless struggless for national freedom and progress duly led to the historic proclamation of the complete independence of the Romanian state on the memorable day of 9 May 1877. In those stirring times the socialist circles and the whole Romanian proletariat enthusiastically joined the first ranks of the creators of the ideal of independence and actively supported it both by writing and by actually participating with arms on the battlefields or by producing the necessities to maintain the Romanian army. "But today is the time when the Romanians, in the elan and enthusiasm of past memories, take up arms to defend their independence," as the newspaper SOCIALISTUL, the press organ of the Bucharest Socialist Circle, quite rightly said, also making the distinction between the just war waged by Romania and the wars resulting from the rivalries among the great powers. The same newspaper pointed out, "Europe,

free in 1848, was threatened in 1854 and went to shed its blood under the walls of the Crimea. Why? It was a necessity. In 1793 France was threatened by a coalition and had to defend itself. In 1854 the East was threatened by the Bear of the North and needed Europe's intervention. Who formed the coalition in 1793? The crowned heads of three empires. Who caused the eastern crisis in 1854? A crowned head" (4).

Reflecting the patriotic stand of the socialist circles and Romanian labor in general, Nicolae Codreanu said in a letter of 2 May 1877 to his friend and comrade at arms Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea, "Romania is at war with one of its many enemies, namely Turkey. The idea of the duty that must now be done for the nation is troubling not only men of honor but everyone, and I have certainly thought about what I should do for Romania under the circumstances and how I shall prove myself worthy of a true son of the Romanian nation. Therefore I have decided to leave the local medical service for a time and to go where the enemy's weapons or rather man's inhumanity is destroying young and strong lives at the whim and caprice of two tyrants" (5).

In fact, members of the socialist circles, physicians or students, as well as many workers volunteered for the Romanian army like Dr Nicolae Codreanu, and some of them fell heroically on duty, such as I. Corvin, P. Lazarescu et al. The valuable contribution made by the group of socialist medical students that included C. Stauceanu, I. Niculescu, Al. Spiroiu and Gh. Sabin among others to care of the wounded who fell in combat at Grivita was well known. Some socialists (N. Codreanu, N. Russel, C. I. Istrati, Gh. Sabin, C. Stauceanu, V. Gh. Manicea and Al. Spiroiu) were decorated with orders and medals for outstanding merit during the war of independence (6).

One important aspect of the aid lent by the Romanian labor movement to the heroic struggle of the Romanian army south of the Danube to establish the proclamation of absolute independence by force of arms was the collection of contributions for the soldiers on the battlefields and the donation of large sums of money for material support of the war or of the families bereaved by it. The Bucharest Builders Society donated 1,000 lei to the Romanian army (7). Workers at the Turnu Severin railroad station, the printers and shoemakers in Bucharest, the railwaymen at the Filaret Station in Bucharest, and the personnel of the army construction sites and the Third District of the Romanian Railroads donated various sums totaling 1,144 lei (8) to purchase weapons or pharmaceuticals, medical instruments and materials needed by the Romanian Red Cross. The shoemakers in Bucharest and the male and female workers of the Bucharest Briol House gave financial aid to the families of the soldiers who fell in the war (9) etc.

Such initiatives were also taken by the Romanian workers in the territories under foreign rule, especially those in Cernauti, Brasov, Fagara, Sibiu, Deva, Cluj, Abrud, Aiud, Timisoara, sighet etc.

The Romanian people's victory in 1877 was welcomed with complete satisfaction by the socialist movement and the entire Romanian people, and it resounded throughout Europe, especially in the southeastern area of the continent. As it said in the Resolution on the National Problem ratified by the Sixth Students Congress held in Braila (10) in September 1883, "An absolutely free Dacia will always be the ideal of Romanian youth."

Looking back on the history of the Romanian people, LUMEA NOUA for 7 May 1900 pointed out the significance of achieving independence in spirited, patriotic words: "There are days in the life of a people that are destined to be written large in history by virtue of the events they recall, and they will remain for posterity as peaks leading

upward from the times when the most glorious deeds of the nation were done .... The proclamation of Romania's independence was unquestionably an act of the greatest significance, and it is a dividing line between the centuries of oppression under Turkish rule and the independence we enjoy today. Through sacrifices and self-denial and at the cost of their blood the Romanian people have succeeded in freeing themselves from the Turks in a glorious war, securing an independence that will enable them to develop and progress on the path of civilization...." (11)

In reference to the troubled past of the Romanian people, Sofia Nadejde pointed out with zeal that the fulfillment of the ideal of independence "put an end to so many humiliations and sufferings of centuries." She went on to say, "No ideal was possible when we were crushed by foreign oppression. We needed the wide air of independence for the Romanian people to advance" (12).

When the Congress of Berlin was convened after the war to settle the differences between the great European powers, it decided that Dobrogea, an ancient Romanian territory, should be reunited with Romania while the counties in southern Bessarabia should be annexed to Russia (13).

The Romanian labor movement strongly opposed the policy of territorial compensation promoted by the great powers at the expense of Romania and the small and medium states in general. As Cristian Racovski pointed out, before the outbreak of the conflict in 1877 Russia and Austria-Hungary already "had an agreement that served their ultimate purpose," whereby "Russia agreed that Austria should occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina" while "Austro-Hungarian diplomacy allowed Russia to extend to the mouths of the Danube by annexing Cahul, Izmail and Cetatea Alba counties, thus shortening its 'road to Constantinople'" (14).

It was neither the first nor the last time the socialist and labor movements in Romania exposed the nefarious role of the two surrounding absolutist empires (Habsburg and Czarist) in the peoples' struggle for their national-state unity and their free and sovereign existence. The Romanian socialists had not forgotten the highly significant historical comment made by Friedrich Engels in his letter of 1888 to Ioan Nadejde, director of the Marxist journal CONTEMPORANUL, to the effect that the problem of uniting the Romanians and the other oppressed peoples could not be solved as long as the two absolutist empires existed, and that the defeat of one of those empires and the victory of the other would be a constant threat to the very existence of those peoples. Fr. Engels pointed out on the same occasion that only the simultaneous downfall of both the multinational empires would permit the liberation of the oppressed peoples and the national unification of some states or the restoration of others. In the light of that prediction the Romanian socialists took a firm stand against the policy promoted by the Austro-Hungarian and Czarist empires, expressing their complete confidence that the objective factors of the peoples' development and their advance on the path of progress would ultimately lead to fulfillment of their ideal of national liberation.

By the end of the last century the publications and works published by the socialist movement were exposing the expansionist tendencies of the great empires at the time and their bad effects upon the peoples who were the objects of their territorial partition. As a work published in 1897 in the Library of the daily LUMEA NOUA, the central press organ of the PSDMR [Social-Democratic Workers Party of Romania], pointed out, "Russia has always wanted to lay its hands on our countries, Wallachia and Moldavia." The same work went on to discuss the Romanian people's historic past,

stressing the sufferings caused by the very frequent violations of their ancestral land by other peoples driven by the desire to expand. The discussion began with the Russo-Turkish War in 1711, going on to the subsequent conflicts between the two empires, every one of which had dreadful effects upon the Romanian lands. "In 1877-1878 Russia started a war against Turkey on the ground that it wanted to deliver the Bulgarians as faithful Christians from the Turkish yoke. The Russian army was so weak that it almost had to turn back in defeat at the hands of the hastily mobilized Turkish army. Only the help given by the Romanians at Plevna... could save the Russians... When he was cornered by Osman Pasha at Plevna, the grand duke telegraphed Prince Carol I of Romania: 'Christendom is lost. In God's name cross the Danube under any circumstances...' In return for all those sacrifices... we incurred great affliction and harm. The Romanians told the world of the injustice that had been done them, but in vain" (15).

The war waged by Romania and Russia against the Ottoman Empire and the blood shed by the Romanian and Russian soldiers were a landmark in the history of relations between the Romanian people and the Russian people. Nicolae Ceausescu, president of socialist Romania, pointed out that "During this great war of critical importance to the cause of the Balkan peoples' freedom and independence, a strong solidarity and camaraderie were formed between the Romanian and Russian troops, and the old historic friendship between the two peoples was developed even further. The facts prove that there were always close ties between the democratic, progressive forces in the two countries in spite of the Czarist empire's policy and in opposition to it. These relations were to take on a new content with the development of the revolutionary labor movement in both countries, with the consolidation of class solidarity between the Romanian and Russian proletariat, and with the struggle for the victory of the October Revolution and the defense of the young Soviet state and for progress and peace" (16).

The expansionist policy of the great empires, so strikingly revealed by the PSDMR, continued to concern its direct successor, the PSD, reorganized in 1910. Its central publications and various socialist militants at assemblies or meetings decried "the Austrian empire's rapacious desires" (17) at the expense of Bosnia and Herzegovina, "the rapacious policy of Austria and Russia, who did not shrink from trading in the peoples' rights and freedoms" (18), the "traditional perfidious policy of Austrian diplomacy" (19), and "the great empires' attempts at economic and political expansion and domination over the small countries in their immediate vicinity" (20).

Confident of the revolutionary power of its own people as well as other peoples, the Romanian revolutionary movement sympathized with any manifestation of revolt on the part of populations under foreign rule, seeing in them the signals of the storm that would lead to the disappearance of the multinational monarchies. As ROMANIA MUNCITOARE for 6 November 1905 generalized, "These uprisings mark the beginning of the political liquidation of the czarist empire, accompanied by the social dislocation of the hateful regime" (21).

In the full course of World War I the Romanian socialists foresaw the imminent downfall of the czarist empire. "While it cannot be said, at least for the time being, that the war will bring the revolution upon any one of the other belligerent countries, that is becoming more and more probable, one might say more certain, in the case of Russia" (27).

As the RCP Program points out, the acquisition of state independence in 1877, to which the Romanian labor movement also contributed, "lent a new and powerful impetus to Romania's socioeconomic development and profoundly affected its entire historical evolution on the path of social progress, enabling the Romanian people to assert themselves more and more strongly as an independent nation" (23).

The results the Romanian people obtained in the way of economic and social-political development after 1877 proved the importance of achieving national sovereignty and independence, which opened up new prospects for the evolution of Romanian society.

Along with Romania's overall development, the Romanian labor movement considerably broadened its field of activity, gradually asserting itself as the social-political force with the most advanced view of the vital problems that were concerning all Romanians. New principles based on the indisputable truth that the will of a people to be united, free and independent overcomes any obstacle, as the previous history of the Romanians had made abundantly clear, were to amplify the Romanian labor movements efforts on behalf of that ideal.

The Romanian labor movement's entire theoretical and practical activity at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the next strikingly indicated that its objectives were confined to the Romanian people's major interests.

The problem of the struggle for national emancipation was soundly substantiated in the program documents and in the writings of leading militants of the proletarian political party in all stages of its development, and they strongly opposed foreign domination and solemnly proclaimed the inalienable and inviolable right of the Romanian nation, as well as all nations, to a free and independent existence. From the draft program of the socialist circles written in 1880 to the first Marxist program in Romania, published in 1886, and the program documents of the PSDMR, the PSD, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, the Romanian labor movement went through a period of analysis and fruitful activity, one of investigation and formulation of principles that would best answer the questions facing the Romanian people.

In this period the socialist journals and dailies BESARABIA, DACIA VIITOARE, EMANCIPAREA, SACEALA, CONTEMPORANUL, LUMEA NOUA, ROMANIA MUNCITOARE and LUPTA entered memorable pages of great theoretical significance in Romanian journalism in the broad campaign on behalf of the cause of the Romanian nation and its historic rights to the Romanian territories seized by force of arms by the great empires. Confident of the Romanian people's revolutionary energies and their capacity and power to resolve difficult situations, the socialist press and the militants of the labor movement, who were devoting their writing to the constant service of the cause of their compatriots, expressed their confidence in the achievement of the Romanian people's complete unity. "We have escaped the descendants of Soliman and we shall succeed in rescuing Transylvania, our sister, from the descendants of Attila! Is this unification possible or is it only the dream of deluded youth? I shall say that if justice has any power on this earth, Transylvania and the other regions of the old Dacia where Romanians are in the majority must be and will be joined sooner or later to the Romanian state" (24). Those were the words of vigorous optimism written by one of the socialist publications of the time. Edited by Mihail N. Saulescu, C. Mille, Gr. Maniu, Al. Badarau, V. Gh. Mortun, Vintila C. A. Rosetti et al., DACIA VIITOARE was published in Paris beginning 1 February 1883 and then in Brussels from the sixth issue on, with the mission of militating for "national unity" and for "a Romania from the Danube to the Tisza."

In this stage of its development the socialist movement already sympathized with the Romanian people's sufferings and emphatically expressed the view that no sacrifices, including the supreme one, could deter it from the resolute struggle to free the compatriots long under the foreign yoke. As the program article in the daily SACEALA for 29 January 1884 said with patriotic fervor, "Any promise is as sacred to us as the most binding oath that a Romanian can take, the oath upon the memory and ashes of our Romanian ancestors! ... We shall fight to the last drop of blood ... to see our beloved country strong and respected by all!"

Feeling that every people had the right to self-determination, the socialist militants declared their "sympathy with any movement or event favoring a national unification" (25). They believed "A fragmented nation is condemned to inability to develop the material, intellectual and spiritual resources that it possesses" (26).

The Program of the PSD in Romania, ratified in 1910 (27) and expressing the will of the entire party and all Romanian workers, also declared itself flatly against any national subjugation. Many leading militants of the PSD, as well as members of the socialist organizations of Romanians abroad, supported and soundly substantiated in their writings the Romanian people's right to be sole masters in their own country.

Thus Zamfir C. Arbore argued that the evolutionary trend of the European peoples was "not toward invasion or annihilation of the nations" but "toward national autonomy and free development of the national spirit" (28). Teodor Iordachescu firmly declared himself for "union with the other brothers" (29) and N. D. Cocea came out for liberation of Transylvania so that Romania could restore "the lost borders of its territorial integrity" (30).

The writings of the Marxist theorist Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea as well as the speeches, articles, studies and papers of Cristian Racovski, Alexandru Nicolau et al. were fully indicative of their authority in the labor movement. C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea thoroughly demonstrated the Romanians' historic right to national liberation and unity. In his work "War or Neutrality," printed in 1914, he made the following theoretical points among others: "Then what are the elements that compose a people, what are the absolutely indispensable and vital requirements for their existence? They are first of course the language, and then the national consciousness, the sense of cultural, moral, spiritual and ethnic unity. Those are essential factors and requirements for the formation and life of a people... Poland is broken and partitioned among three different states and does not exist as an independent country, but there is a strong consciousness of a single people in Poland, an awareness of cultural, moral and ethic unity, and consequently there is no doubt that this consciouness will be followed sooner or later by the restoration of Poland as a single country in one way or another and in one form or another.

"If an independent country and people like Romania has part of its people under foreign rule and it is trying to unify its country and people, the latter unification is the most important because it presupposes and entails the necessity, awareness and existence of the cultural, moral, ethic and spiritual unity" (31).

In an address to the great socialist meeting organized at the Roman Arenas in Bucharest in June 1915 in support of the struggle for national liberation of the Romanians in the occupied provinces, Cristian Racovski stated in reference to Transylvania that "No law, and still less a socialist one, can accept the legitimacy of Hungarian rule.

And no Hungarian victory, however brilliant and decisive it may be, can erase from history the Transylvanian Romanians' right to freedom and independence. By no means must Transylvania, and we socialists say this loudly and clearly as we have always said it, accept the idea that it is to remain under the rule of the Hungarian oligarchy" (32).

Alexandru Nicolau pointed out in his turn that "in the many territories seized by force" the conquered populations were without national rights, a fact that turned the socialists against territorial annexations. Concerning the Transylvanian problem the author commented, "As socialist we cannot accept the rule of the Hungarian oligarchy in Transylvania. The Romanians there have the right to the fullest freedom and independence. We recognize this right of the German, Hungarian, Serbian, Ruthenian and Jewish minorities" (33).

There are many other expressions of the Romanian socialists' stands on the national problem, including the press campaign of the Romanian socialist circles in the United States belonging to the Federation of Romanian Socialists in America in support of the Romanian people's struggle for "the complete freedom of the national territories" (34).

In connection with this extensive theoretical support of the Romanian nation's inalienable right to unity and independence, in 1912 the PSD leadership organized large meetings and demonstrations in Bucharest and the provinces, at which Gheorghe Cristescu, Cristian Racovski and others spoke, in honor of the struggle of the Romanians in the occupied territories and in protest against the seizure of historic Romanian territories by the great powers. The decision of the PSD Executive Committee on this event made the point that every man and every people must develop "in their language and according to the customs of their own genius" (35), as an essential requirement that was objectively fulfilled by human society's historical evolution itself.

The Romanian population under the oppressive yoke of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the zarist empire was subjected to a harsh regime of forced denationalization. More than once the Romanians rose to fight for liberation from foreign rule and for union with the motherland. All these demonstrations, which indicated the continuity and progress of their revolutionary struggle, enjoyed from the start the massive support of the political and trade organizations of the Romanian proletariat. The labor press and the socialist militants exposed and emphatically condemned the denationalization measures instigated by the Austro-Hungarian and czarist authorities in the conquered territories, expressing full solidarity with the Romanians there and with their bitter and heroic struggle. Note that the political organizations of the Romanian workers in the occupied territories, despite innumerable difficulties, played an active part in supporting, encouraging and organizing the Romanians' national resistance movement and in channeling it on a firmly offensive course. The press of the Romanian labor organizations in Transylvania, heavily censored by the Austro-Hungarian authorities, contained many proofs of the active presence of the idea of national liberation cleverly interlarded in the columns of the newspapers and journals. Under those circumstances the idea of the workers unity, frequently encountered in the writings of the socialist journalists in Transylvania, the Banat and Bucovina, took on the broad sense of the wish for unification of the entire Romanian people within their ancient borders. The appeal "Social-Democratic Romanian Brothers" launched by the editors of the daily ADEVARUL (36) said, "The time has come for us to gather together to be as one, for otherwise we are lost from the face of the earth."

Militants of the PSD in old Romania and leading representatives of the Romanian workers organizations across the Carpathians and of the socialist circles of Romanians abroad consistently condemned the Austro-Hungarian authorities' repressive measures against the Romanian population such as staging trials of the leaders of the national movement and the socialist journalists and militants, jailing some of them, censoring and prohibiting journals and newspapers, fining the editors of the Romanian press, prohibiting use of the Romanian language in public institutions and schools, breaking up political demonstrations and meetings, preventing development of workers trade unions etc. (37). "Every day the newspapers regardless of political persuasion decry and stigmatize the Hungarian politicians who are persecuting and oppressing the Romanians in Hungary, and for good reason the arbitrariness of the Hungarian government is to be condemned by the entire civilized world," it said in ROMANIA MUNCITOARE for 13 August 1909.

The resolution approved by the Circle of Romanian Socialist Workers in Erie Pennsylvania at the meeting protesting the policy of the Tisza government on 25 October 1908 said, "We protest and condemn the conduct of that bad government toward the non-Hungarian nationalities and especially (toward) the Romanian workers... We protest all the repressions of that reactionary government... We send you encouragement to fight on..." (38).

The socialist press in old Romania informed public opinion that upon the request of the Romanians in Chisinau it must intercede in the Duma "on behalf of the 2 million Romanians ... who are not allowed to have Romanian schools and are prevented from holding religious services in their ancentral language" (39).

The militants of the Romanian labor movement realized the importance of informing international public opinion about their historic past, their situation at the time and their resolve to fight by all means and most resolutely for the ideal of unification on a national scale. They set forth their stand on the Romanian people's vital problems at length at international demonstrations organized in Zurich, Vienna, Basel and other major European centers and through the press or directly in conversations with various representatives of political and cultural life in various states. On 27 September 1908 a conference was organized in Vienna of representatives of the oppressed peoples in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was attended by George Grigorovici on behalf of the Romanians. In his speech the Romanian delegate said, "I am speaking this time no only as a socialist but particularly as a son of the Romanian people. Nearly all of us Romanians are concerned about the events in Hungary. After all more than 3 million of our blood brothers are living in that country under the yoke of an unprecedented bondage. We Romanians suffer the sad fate of being torn into four parts under four masters and we find this fate hard to endure" (40).

During the discussions at the Socialist Congress in Basel in 1912 the same George Grigorovici greeted the participants in the name of the Romanian proletariat by pointing out the danger that "Romania will be sacrificed to the greed of Austrian or Russian imperialism" (41).

In Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Brussels or various U.S. cities the emigre Romanian socialists, organized in the Group of Romanian Socialist Workers in Paris, the Association of Romanian Workers in Vienna, the Federation of Romanian Socialists in America etc., and the socialist students studying in various European capitals sent messages of encouragement to their oppressed brothers and demonstrated the Romanians' right to national unity and freedom to public opinion in the countries where they were.

The entire proletariat's struggle for national unity, intensified toward the outbreak of World War I, was strongly supported by the permanent and close ties between the workers in Romania and those in the territories under foreign rule.

Those ties, in the form of moral and material support to the workers political and trade organizations in Transylvania, the Banat and Bucovina, mutual participation in various demonstrations organized in old Romania and the provinces under foreign occupation, joint representation of the Romanian proletariat at international socialist congresses and conferences, exchange of delegations, correspondence, socialist literature, the press and orators on 1 May and in electoral campaigns and other political events, were manifested in the formation and application of a uniform operational program. The press organs published in old Romania like VIITORUL SOCIAL or CALENDARUL MUNCII were designed to serve the interests of all Romanian labor. The first issue of the theoretical journal VIITORUL SOCIAL, published in Iasi beginning August 1907 announced that it was to become "the Romanian-language organ of socialists in all countries," recruiting regular contributors in Transylvania, Bucovina and Moldavia between the Prut and the Dniester (42). CALENDARUL MUNCII, intended to serve the movement in Bucovina and Transylvania, was also for such purposes.

Old Romania was also a refuge for its sons who were fleeing the persecution of the Austro-Hungarian and Czarist authorities, and they continued their activity there, maintaining close and regular contacts with the Romanian socialists in the occupied territories, including Tiron Albani, Ioan Cretu, Zamfir Arbore, Nicolae Codreanu et al.

The variety and intensity of the ties between the Romanian proletariat in the oppressed territories and that in old Romania graphically illustrate the workers' national consciousness and their ardent desire to unite all Romanians in one free and independent state. These ties lent an added consistency to the initiatives of the Transylvanian, Bucovinan and Moldavian socialists in defense of the national rights of the Romanian population in the occupied provinces. In 1910 G. Grigorovici, the first Romanian social-democratic deputy in the Parliament in Vienna, succeeded with the aid of the social-democratic parliamentary faction in Vienna in introducing special provisions for Bucovina in the trade treaty with Romania, namely abolition of passports for Romania and lower postal rates for correspondence, newspapers, books and printed matter, in addition to general aids to trade between Austria and Romania. The last of those provisions was to facilitate the cultural exchanges between the Romanians in Bucovina and those in the kingdom.(43).

In the period before the outbreak of World War I the aggravated contradictions among the great European imperialist powers compelled the socialists and the working class in Romania to examine all aspects of the resulting situation clearly and realistically. A 1915 publication stated that it was the proletariat's duty to defend its country against the invaders. "If Romania is threatened by foreign aggression, we socialists will do our duty not with resignation but with the clear consciousness of committing no violation of our principles" (44). This recognized the correctness of wars of national defense and liberation as the only just wars, waged by peoples victimized by aggression or subjugated peoples asserting their desire for national freedom, independence and unity. In summing up the viewpoint of the Romanian socialists, who strongly condemned wars of plunder and invasion, C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea declared, "Social-democracy favors other wars with all energy and resolve, such as wars of liberation, wars of the invaded against the invaders, and civil or revolutionary wars waged by the subjugated and oppressed classes against the oppressors" (45).

Although the clouds of war were gathering and auguring new sufferings for the Romanians, the labor movement did not for a moment cease to affirm its belief in the union of all Romania's sons within the natural borders in the independence and sovereignty of the fatherland. Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea wrote, "I found only expressions of feelings everywhere, and especially the desire to unite the country. But there is and can be no question about that. In a country with the misfortune to have part of its body under foreign rule, its unification is a common desire of all citizens (46). In his turn M. Gh. Bujor concluded, "Nations are national and historical frameworks for development of the peoples. An existence of its own has been established within those frameworks for every nation, with its traditions, its spiritual life, its ideals and its civilization as a precious and indispensable element in the concord of general civilization. In this sense the nations are necessary , because under the present circumstances it is only within these frameworks that the peoples can freely and fully develop all their originality and creative power. That is one, but clearly not the only one, of the reasons why social-democracy opposes partition of established countries, fragmentation of peoples and suppression of their national existence" (47).

The outbreak of World War I marked the beginning of more years of suffering for the Romanian people as a whole. For those in old Romania it meant considerably greater fears for the future of the country and for the Romanian nation's independent existence itself. For the Romanians in the conquered provinces it meant the start of a new Calvary, of years of bitter trials and dreadful terror. The peaceful population was to face the violence of gendarmes, staged trials, death sentences or internment in camps. By a mere accusation teachers, priests and men of the most diverse social categories and political convictions could be called traitors and consequently arrested and condemned.*

In August 1916 after 2 years of neutrality the Romanian government joined the Entente, which promised to satisfy the desire for the single Romanian national state to a great extent after the victory. In this way Romania's participation in that war stimulated the masses' struggle for the unity of all Romanians. The socialist movement and the working class in Romania did not identify the imperialistic character of the war waged by the great powers with the Romanian people's historic right to fulfill their national ideal, which was the moral support for the heavy human and material sacrifices made during the war by the Romanian people, who did not enter the armed conflict with intentions of conquest and annexation but out of the desire to fulfill their keen aspirations to unification, freedom and independence. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "Although World War I was imperialistic, the Romanian people did not participate in it with intentions of conquest and territorial annexation... The Romanian people's keen aspirations to unity were reflected by the political declarations of the time, the massive public demonstrations held throughout the country on that occasion, and especially by the unbounded enthusiasm with which the Romanian troops were welcomed in Transylvania by the masses of the entire population. Many citizens both in contemporary Romania and in Transylvania and Bucovina under Habsburg rule enlisted voluntarily, asking for the opportunity to fight for the cause of the nation as a whole" (48).

In the course of the effort of the entire people, who rose to fight for the defense of the nation's independence and for the union of all Romanians within the same state borders, an outstanding part was played by the heroic Romanian working class under the leadership of its political party. In a moving manifesto of the PSD addressed

to the citizens of Bucharest 3 months after Romania entered the war, when a large part of the nation's territory had been occupied by the armies of the Central Powers, an appeal was made to keep calm and remain in place "whatever the consequences of this war," because "our party, which is (a class party) ... will remain in place when misfortune brings about the occupation of our territory by other masters" (49). The Romanian workers and the socialist militants once again showed their great patriotism and profound dedication to the interests of the people and the nation. By fighting in the first lines of the front to defend their ancestral land or by aiding the general effort to supply the front with the necessities, and also by organizing the resistance and keeping up the morale of the population in the occupied territory, the Romanian workers made a valuable contribution to the great battle for national unity and for the freedom and independence of the nation.

The years 1917-1918 marked historic victories for the ideas of freedom and democracy in the world. The last empires in Europe, veritable prisons of the peoples, disappeared and were replaced by new states that strongly asserted their right to a free and independent existence. In noting this process SOCIALISMUL for 17 November 1918 said, "Once there was a Russian Empire! In less than a year all that was more reactionary, more oligarchic and more ugly has collapsed. That which appeared strengthened by the weight of centuries has fallen before the need of change. Peoples numbering hundreds of millions, half of Europe, with aspects of civilization have lent a new color to the state structures by reforming the old forms of government."

The national liberation movement was accordingly amplified and considerably strengthened in the occupied Romanian territories as it received the decisive contribution of the proletariat.

In Moldavia east of the Prut, the first of the Romanian territories long under foreign rule to be united with Romania, the revolutionary and socialist movement played an important part in accomplishing the historic act of 27 March 1918. The composition of the local and regional national committees, and especially that of the National Council as it was on the day of voting on unification with the motherland, emphatically indicated that the representatives of the revolutionary and labor organizations were in a large proportion, for 38 of the 150 delegates represented the councils of peasants, soldiers and workers, the socialist parties and the trade unions (50).

The Romanian socialists in Bucovina, Transylvania and the Banat also made a decisive contribution to the unification. Delegates of the PSD also participated in the congress of the population's representatives in Bucovina that decided to join Romania on 15/28 November 1918.

A telling contribution to the preparation and establishment of Transylvania's union with Romania was made by the Central Romanian National Council, organized on the socialists' initiative and composed equally of six representatives each of the PSD and the PNR /Romanian National Party/ in Transylvania, as follows: Tiron Albani (carpenter), Iosif Jumanca (printer), Ioan Flueras (coachbuilder), Enea Grapini (engineer), Bazilu Surdu (metallurgist) and Iosif Renoiu (metallurgist) on behalf of the PSD, and Iuliu Maniu, Theodor Mihail, Dr Aurel Vlad, Dr Al. Vaida, St. Ciceo-Pop, and Dr Aurel Lazar on behalf of the PNR (51). Throughout Transylvania national guards and councils were formed which included representatives of the working class in most cases.

The formation of the CNRC /Central Romanian National Council/ as an organ representing the interests of the Romanian population as well as a central authority for the efforts toward national emancipation met with the unanimous support of the Transylvanian proletariat (52). Expressing this support, the daily ADEVARUL, the central organ of the PSD in Transylvania, said, "The entire Romanian people are supporting the CNRC. The Romanian workers declare that they are supporting it body and soul and expect it to be up to the national standard of the Romanian people in Hungary and Transylvania and to improve the social position of the Romanian working people and peasantry" (53).

Soon after it was formed the CNRC received dozens of telegrams of affiliation from all corners of Transylvania and the Banat, including those from the social-democratic organizations. The following are a few of the latter:

"Rodna Noua. The Romanian PSD section and the Romanians of Rodna Noua Commune united in the local Romanian National Council are overjoyed to greet the victory of our cause and support the CNRC and its ideas with brotherly love." Signed Dumitru Cotul, secretary.

"Rodna Veche. The Rodna Veche section of the Romanian PSD expressed its devotion to the CNRC in the assembly held today (10 November). Long live the council and Romanian social-democracy." Signed Alex. Cardan, secretary, on behalf of the section.

"Brasov. We belong to the County Romanian National Council. Give us instructions on cooperation with the CNRC" (54). Victor Bratfaleanu, secretary of the local social-democratic organization, signed this telegram.

The CNRC played an important part in mobilizing the revolutionary energies of the working masses in Transylvania and the Banat. The Transylvanian socialists thought the unification with Romanian should be the result not only of the objective laws of development of Romanian society but also of the will of the masses. To this end they proposed consulting the masses "in a referendum by a public vote" (55). Their proposal was accepted. The meeting of the CNRC on the evening of 14 November decided to convene a great assembly of the masses in Transylvania, at which it was decided to unite that historic Romanian province with the motherland.

The Transylvanian socialists' contribution to the historic achievement of 1 December 1918 was also noted on other important levels. Ioan Mihut was assigned the mission of informing the CNRC from Budapest of the developments in Hungary, in order to counteract the attempts to check the Transylvanian Romanians' national effort by force. Iosif Receanu was assigned to report that the Romanian units in Vienna would take the oath of loyalty to the Romanian tricolor, and Ion Flueras was to negotiate with representatives of the Hungarian government to make extra trains available to the delegates who were coming to Alba Iulia (56).

PSD representatives such as Enea Grapini, Iosif Jumanca and Ion Flueras (57) participated along with PNR representatives in the negotiations in Arad with emissaries of the Hungarian government beginning on 13 November 1918 (58). Some PSD members like Iosif Renoiu made an extensive effort to prepare and organize the masses to attend the Alba Iulia Assembly. He organized the Bocsa Romana Romanian National Council, chaired the assemblies to elect the delegates to the great forum of the Romanian population in Transylvania in the communities of Ocna de Fier, Dognecea, Zarnesti and Sebes, and headed the Bocsa delegation to Alba Iulia (59).

Many socialist militants played an important part in organizing the national guards, maintaining order, defending the peaceful population from the Hungarian guards' attacks etc., including the action of Lt Marian Dreghici, chief of the Romanian National Guard in Ocna Mures and a notable member of the PSD section and the trade union in the community, who freed the Cucerdea CFR /Romanian Railroads/ Station and the communities of Vintul de Sus, Aiud and Miraslau, which had been occupied by armed groups of Szeklers to prevent the delegates and masses of Romanians from coming to Alba Iulia. After the fighting was over Lt Dreghici departed at the head of a column of delegates for the citadel of the first Romanian unification (60), which was accomplished in the reign of Mihai Viteazul the Unifier.

A few days before the Great Assembly at Alba Iulia and after the CNRC stated its stand on national-state unity, the Transylvanian social-democrats stated their attitude publicly.

ADEVARUL pointed out, "The Romanian PSD in Hungary and Transylvania is based upon the peoples' right to free self-determination and entirely agrees with the CNRC, which demands complete freedom for the Romanians in former Hungary. We have suffered enough, we have borne the shameful yoke of national slavery for centuries on end, we have been servants of others long enough, we have lived in poverty, ignorance and darkness, and we have laid up enough treasures for others. Therefore we wish to be free at once and we wish to be the sole masters of our fate. Furthermore, unification of all Romanians is one of our most beautiful dreams. We wish to become a great people through unification of all the Romanian lands, to whom all roads to progress and happiness will be open." In this way the labor movement again proved its profound devotion to the principle of self-determination of the peoples and its selfless service to the Romanian people's determined struggle for national-state unity.

On 1 December 1918, before the opening of the Great National Assembly at Alba Iulia, the Transylvanian labor delegates held a conference at which a resolution was proposed on the necessity of achieving the unity of the Romanian people within a free, independent and democratic state. The resolution said that Romanian social-democracy "wishes and even maintains for its part that the entire Romanian people everywhere will form and unite in an independent state wherein they will secure their development and happiness as sons of a single nation through common concentration of all the Romanian intellectual and physical capacities" (61).

In their turn the organized workers in old Romania, on the eve of the historic assembly, made a point of expressing their full support of the great act concluding the process of achieving national-state unity. "Great Romania! Is there anyone who does not wish it? Will there be anyone who rejects it?" SOCIALISMUL, which was being published in Bucharest, quite rightly wondered. It went on to say, "The workers with book learning will swell the ranks (of the Socialist Party -- our note) and the intellectuals .... will disseminate their knowledge to advantage. In a word, new populations steeled in centuries-long struggles for the freedoms and the good life will help to regenerate the people in the motherland" (62).

On 1 December 1918 over 100,000 Romanian citizens, workers, peasants, tradesmen and intellectuals, assembled on the field of Horea and resolved to unite Transylvania with Romania in a unanimous and inspiring decision. The 1,228 delegates from the entire province who were present included 150 representing the Social-Democratic Party, which had about 70,000 members and was the most active force in the struggle for unification. The social-democratic delegates represented the party's central

bodies as well as the socialist sections or groups in Arad, Brasov, Deva, Lugoj, Orastie, Rodna Veche, Turda, Timisoara, Sacarimb (63) etc.

The assembly approved the historic Alba Iulia Declaration, drafted by the representatives of all the social-political forces in Transylvania and the Banat, and elected the Grand National Council, composed of 150 members and out of which the Directing Council was formed. Because of their part in accomplishing the historic act at Alba Iulia the social-democrats held important posts in both political bodies, which were to bring Transylvania temporarily to complete economic, administrative and legislative unification with Romania. They had 30 members in the first body and Ioan Fluerras and Iosif Jumanca ranking as ministers in the second one.

At its first meeting, held 2 days after the historic assembly, the Grand National Council sent a telegram to King Ferdinand of Romania saying, among other things, "The national assembly of the Romanians in Transylvania, the Banat and the Hungarian Land (Crisana -- our note) held at Alba Iulia, the glorious citadel of Mihaiu Viteazul, has decreed the unification of his territories with the Kingdom of Romania unanimously and with boundless enthusiasm ... The decision crowns the centuries-long aspirations of the Romanian people" (64).

Romania's unification opened the era of profound structural changes in Romanian society, accelerated its socioeconomic progress and lent more impetus to the political presence of the working masses, who proved increasingly determined under the new historical conditions to solve the basic problems of Romanian society according to their own aims and the major interests of the Romanian nation. The memorable achievement in 1918 represented the will of a nation which had suffered for centuries on end from the aggressive policy of the great empires and which, despite the vicissitudes of time, had kept unchanged its ideal of national unification within the borders of ancient Dacia, free and independent.

The Romanian proletariat clearly expressed its stand on the act of unification as soon as it was accomplished, and on defense of the nation's sovereignty and independence. In the daily SOCIALISMUL's editorial entitled "Unification" on the historic decision at Alba Iulia the socialists in old Romania warmly welcomed the Romanian people's epochal achievement: "On 1 December the Great National Assembly at Alba Iulia proclaimed the merger of the Romanian people in Transylvania, the Banat and the Hungarian Lands in one Romanian state and their union with Romania.

"The resolution approved by the National Assembly proclaims 'complete freedom for all national minorities' as the basic principle of the new Romanian state.

"That freedom is very broad and gives proof that those who have cast off the yoke of foreign oppression do not know how to oppress others in turn ... The new Romanian state is founded on the broadest democratic principles ...

"Today we send our greetings to the workers organized in the new Romanian state across the mountains, calling upon them to unify the Socialist Party in Great Romania.

"The socialist movement must be strengthened and united against the Romanian bourgeoisie's power strengthened by the unification. We intend to form a single socialist Party in the territory from the Dniester to the Tisza" (65).

The organized workers in Transylvania, the Banat, Bucovina and Eastern Moldavia displayed the same patriotic attitude. The Provisional Managing Committee of the SDP in Transylvania, in its official proclamation to the Romanian workers on the second day after the Great Assembly, recalled the cruel lot of the Romanians, who had endured foreign oppression throughout their history, their heroic struggle for unity and independence, and the overwhelming importance of the creation of the single Romanian state to the destiny of the Romanian nation. The proclamation said, "After centuries of national and social enslavement of our people in Transylvania, the Banat and the Hungarian Land, the time for emancipation has arrived. For centuries on end we have been most cruelly oppressed by the Hungarian ruling class. They sought to destroy us. But now those tyrants who dug graves for us have fallen themselves, while we, after barbarous persecution, have steeled our strength and are now stronger and more alert than ever... The whole structure of the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy has now collapsed... and all the peoples hitherto held within that monarchy by the army's power have now become free and independent. The road to self-determination was thus opened to us Romanians, and then the assembly at Alba Iulia, where the representatives of the entire Romanian people in Transylvania, the Banat and Hungary gathered together and resolved to carry out our old ideal, the unification of all Romanians, came as a natural consequence of those events" (66).

In their turn the Bucovinan socialists expressed their full support of the act of unification. In its editorial of 11 January 1919 VORWAERTS ("Foreward"), the central organ of the SDP in Bucovina, concluded that "This unification (of Bucovina with Romania -- our note) is necessary and natural because the national states are indispensable to any further development."

The labor movement in Romania did not confine itself to taking stands or to official declarations concerning the national unity accomplished in 1918. Acting on behalf of harmonious development of the national economy and the internal social-political structures, the labor movement in Romania was constantly on the offensive against all outside threats to Romania's territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty. As the labor organizations pointed out, "Our independence is a sine qua non for our future. That is the supreme reason why Romanian socialism came out at Alba Iulia for the ideal of unifying all Romanians," (67) and they also firmly stated, "We accept no foreign states' interference in our internal affairs..." (68).

The resolution of the Congress of the PSD in Transylvania and the Banat, held on 6 and 7 January 1919, pointed out in this connection that "The Romanian people's unification in an independent state is a historical necessity" (69). Moreover the Provisional Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and the Provisional General Commission for Trade Unions in old Romania pointed out in the Declaration of 13 February 1919, wherein it enthusiastically welcomed the act of unification, the great importance of every nation's unrestricted development to fulfillment of its aspirations to freedom and independence. The Declaration said, "In view of the fact that any exclusive regime discriminating against a race or nation is to the detriment of the masses and restricts their free economic, political and cultural development, the Socialist Party as a representative of those masses is primarily for complete emancipation of the subjugated nations and accordingly for their self-determination" (70).

In rejecting some opinions expressed abroad at the time, especially in Hungary, that in view of the proletarian revolution in Hungary the Transylvanian Romanians had no grounds for unification with bourgeois Romania, the labor organizations pointed out that national unification was a key consideration for the destinies of the Romanians.

In the same connection they combatted the attitude of the Hungarian Austro-Marxists, pointing out that "It is naive to object that we, the Romanians in former Hungary, are uniting with a kingdom... The 'kingdom,' in origin and in principle, is unacceptable to socialism. But as long as there are kingdoms in Europe wherein socialism is living a full life (Belgium, England, Italy and Spain), the Romanian socialists cannot be any more inconsistent than their brothers in Belgium, England, Italy and Spain. And if the democratic Austro-Italian provinces could unite with Italy, why should Romanian socialism in Hungary support the Hungarian historical tradition even on a socialist basis? This single objection is refuted. Of course Romanian socialism has its ideal properly speaking, which it will carry out as soon as it has the necessary strength. But as long as there is a single argument against uniting, and there are thousands of arguments for unification of all Romanians, it is the task of Romanian socialism to contribute without hesitation to achievement of the ideal of unification of all Romanians" (71).

To cooperate with the Romanian diplomats' efforts on behalf of recognition of the plebiscites of 27 March, 24 November and 1 December 1918 by foreign countries, the labor organizations gave a mandate to Ion Flueras to join the Romanian delegation attending the Paris Peace Conference with the specific mission of demonstrating the Romanian nation's consensus on the act of unification, especially from the standpoint of the labor movement's interests. Also on behalf of Transylvanian social-democracy, Emil Isac went abroad with the mission of pleading for the cause of Romanian unity and independence in Berne, Paris and London. Dr Eleonora Rozvan, jointly with Ioan Flueras, was given the mission of holding discussions with the provisional leadership of the Socialist International and with a number of leading representatives of the labor parties in Europe in order to explain the Romanian socialists' attitude toward unification, "to present our (Romania's -- our note) situation to the Socialist International, and to refute the tendentious statements of the Hungarian socialists who tried to defame us at the Berne Conference" (72).

The peace negotiations at Paris were followed very carefully by the whole Romanian labor movement, which wanted state unification to be accompanied by the Romanian people's free development and not by new economic burdens and restrictions. Interest in this problem was reflected in the public discussions carried in the columns of the socialist press. In an editorial entitled "Universal Peace and the Romanian Question," the socialist daily ADEVARUL pointed out the necessity of free development of the Romanian people, who had forged their own destiny with their united forces. But as the said publication said, the way the Paris peace negotiations were going showed that the great powers intended to "exploit the small nations" among other things. It said that "Terms have been set for Romania to pay war damages to the Entente for Transylvania and Bucovina, damages incumbent upon those territories from the dissolved monarchy, as if the people in Transylvania and Bucovina were guilty of starting the war... The gentlemen settling the 'peace' go even further, claiming the small states and especially Romania should give a free hand to the capitalists in the Entente countries to exploit the petroleum, minerals and forests in Romania. In other words, we should allow them to take all the natural resources out of the country to enrich themselves while we sink further into poverty. The Romanian people can accept no such peace terms."

The changes made in the social-political structure of the postwar world and the creation or restoration of some national states (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania) on the ruins of the multinational empires had the immediate effect of making

the working masses and especially the proletariat very active in the political arena. Extensive social restructuring took place, the balance of political power shifted, and there was a continuous process of radicalization of the working masses due to the intensified and expanded class contradictions of the first postwar years.

A similar process took place in Romania, where the working class and other exploited social forces wanted the unification of the Romanian state to be accompanied by radical social-political reforms that would lead to improvement of the masses' living and working conditions and to democratization of state activity. Since the bourgeoisie were in control of the Romanian state, they used national unity to consolidate their own class positions, bringing about partial solution of the social problems and aggravating the contradictions between them and the working masses.

But the fact should be noted that the bourgeoisie, even in this situation, continued for a while to play a certain progressive role, particularly in the form of defense of national state unity. As Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "To try to contest the correctness of establishing single national states on the ground that this process went on under bourgeois leadership is to ignore the historical facts, which demonstrate the progressive role performed in a certain historical period by that class in social development and in liquidating the feudal system and the absolutist states.

"Despite their class limitations the bourgeoisie unquestionably played an important part in achieving Romania's national unity and served the objective requirements of historical development. At the same time it should be pointed out that the decisive role in achieving unity was played by the proletariat, who asserted themselves more and more effectively in the political arena of society, by the labor and socialist movement, and by the masses of the peasantry, who associated the unification with the hope of both national and social liberation" (73). In connection with the achievement of the single national state, the stand taken by the working class and the political and occupational labor organizations indicated, as it did at all critical points in the Romanian people's history, complete understanding of the developmental stage reached by Romanian society and the major requirements of Romania's evolution on the path of economic and social-political progress. As long as Romania's conformity to the new historical trends was firmly supported, the struggle for revolutionary reform of Romanian society was of an uncompromising nature, with the sole purpose in the workers' eyes of victory over the ruling classes. The proletariat, whose power and militance had increased rapidly, took the same stands of support of the people's unity and its consolidation as objective factors for the Romanian nation's progress and evolution, but they were firm in the effort to drive the bourgeoisie, whose role was conskdered ended, from power and to construct a society serving the interests and aspirations of the working masses and the progressive development of Romanian society.

In the view of the labor organizations, the national-state unity achieved in 1918 would become permanent only when the proletariat, as representative of the entire Romanian people's interests and aspirations, seized political power and governed the destinies of the Romanian nation.

The resolve with which the working class party acted at the time to solve the major problems of Romanian society also originated to a great extent in its organizing power and its influence upon the masses. It is noteworthy that the very representatives of the authorities at the time openly acknowledged the Socialist Party's power

and even entered it on the "list" of government parties. It was a recognition, unprecedented in modern Romanian history, of the labor movement's place and role in Romanian society and of its great and decisive merits in accomplishing the people's unity. As one of the contemporary journalists noted, "We just wish to point out the important conversion that has taken place in the Liberal Party's ranks regarding the important part a socialist party will play in modern Romania's political affairs. The minister of interior himself, in the midst of his political partisans (representatives par excellence of private capital) has acknowledged that the Socialist Party is a government party! If this opinion of his is not an act of snobbery, then it is a striking example of the swift progress of ideas in periods of ferment and change, since the official daily of the Liberal Party often and recently has categorically denied the necessity of class parties" (74).

As the revolutionary process developed, the socialist organizations more and more firmly expressed their wish to unite the whole labor movement in Romania. The conferences of the socialist organizations in Transylvania and the Banat in September 1919 and August 1920 as well as those of the socialist organizations throughout Romania in May and December 1919 were new and important steps toward complete unification of the labor movement in Romania.

The power with which Romanian organized labor acted to centralize the proletarian political and trade movement indicated the same wish to consolidate the single national state and was also the mature and highly responsible reaction of the Romanian proletariat to the achievement at the end of World War I.

Analysis of the general evolution of Romanian society throughout the period between the wars strikingly reveals the important part played by the labor movement in determining united Romania's internal structures, in its all-around and especially socioeconomic progress, and in defense of its independence, sovereignty and integrity.

Once national unity was accomplished it was necessary to consolidate the united Romanian state, and all forces of Romanian society were called upon to do so regardless of their political persuasion or opinions. There were times, as there would also be in the Romanians' battle to defend their own existence, that called for national coherence and coordinated efforts to complete the construction of lasting foundations for Great Romania.

The labor movement's considerable contribution to consolidation of the single Romanian state took the form of exemplary mobilization of the whole proletariat to restore the economy impaired by the war, support of the goverments between the wars in overcoming internal and external difficulties, and firm repulsion of any foreign attempts upon the nation's integrity and sovereignty.

The socialist organizations favored and acted for "national industrial reorganization, employment of all labor forces and factories," bold promotion of technical progress, "production of producer goods and transport means, raw materials and fuel to enhance the legacy that will come to socialist society, solution of the agrarian problem in the spirit of social justice, democratization of politics, and civil rights and freedoms.

The Romanian labor movement's stand is also illustrated by its moderation in criticizing the central political authorities in these times of great stress and constructive effort. In justifying that attitude, the socialist movement pointed out that

in case of any other stand "not only the crown but the country itself would suffer, in view of the extremely difficult domestic situation and the future foreign one" (75). The labor organizations commented that this attitude, required to serve the nation, did not exclude opposition to the activity of the bourgeois political parties and their leaders and did not mean abandoning the struggle for revolutionary reform of Romanian society.

Iosif Jumanca took a similar stand when he said, "One thing should be realized. Today things are changing. A new state is being formed here. Any state is born with hardships. It is wrong to think that this critical condition will persist for centuries on end. The Directing Council is well disposed toward us and we should not beat upon an open door with a sledgehammer... Unrestricted agitation is not permissible, although I wish it could be done... We would have anarchy."

In this connection the socialist Leon Gheller's statement about the Romanian proletariat's role takes on the value of a symbol: "You are the only class that bears today on its shoulders and in its spirit all the work and responsibility for the construction of the great and happy Romania of tomorrow" (76).

Being concerned with the nation's economic restoration and acceleration of its socioeconomic progress, the labor movement took a particular interest in this period in better organization of the productive process, its control and management, and in eliminating the disturbances that were interfering with its progress. It is very significant that the workers councils, flexible organizational forms with many functions, were established in this period on the initiative of the masses of workers. These councils were recognized by the managements of some private enterprises and in the negotiations with the state organs.

The formation of the workers councils became coordinated in the first months of 1919, until their operational regulations were drafted in November 1919 by the General Council of Trade Unions in Romania.

Formed in the main enterprises throughout the country, the workers councils played an important role in securing efficient production in both private and state enterprises, a role recognized, moreover, even by the authorities. The workers council of the Ploiesti Orion Refinery, headed by the worker T. Pislaru, had definite functions in the production process and in relations between the workers and the administrative council of the enterprise. As SOCIALISMUL commented, the employers "recognized the workers council as good and necessary and accorded it... the management of the work as well as the power to adjudicate the conflicts that arose without the boss' interference..." The council checked the workers' attendance, sanctioned violations of the work schedule, and judged the quality of the products. The same publication said, "The management no longer levied fines for absenteeism or negligent performance" (77).

T. Pislaru, secretary of the council, was paid by the refinery's administration for performing his functions in that capacity. We consider it indicative of the Romanian labor movement's influence that the secretary of the workers council had an office hung with portraits of Marx, Engels and Gherea in the administration building of the enterprise (78).

The workers councils accordingly reflected the proletariat's direct participation in the entire nation's effort to restore the national economy, which effort was appreciated not only by some private enterprises but also by some state bodies. In the beginning of 1920, as the General Directorate of Railroads announced, a workers council

was to be formed in the Ministry of Transportation, to be composed of representatives of the railroad workers, the traffic and technical personnel, and the station chiefs (79).

In the summer of 1920 the matter of the workers councils was also discussed by the governed, which appointed a special commission to study how they were to be "organized by the state" in "all institutions under its administration" (80).

Of course the workers councils' activity was not confined to the foregoing aspect, since they were also workers bodies that instructed the proletariat in matters of production management and organization in order to acquire some experience in that area, particularly necessary when political power was being taken over by the working class. This aspect of the workers councils' activity was well defined by their operational regulations themselves and also by some leading militants of the Socialist Party in various writings.*

The regulations stipulated, "In view of the historic role it is expected to perform in the future as leader of the socialized enterprises, the workers council must take and interest in the progress and development of production in the exploiting enterprises and especially the development and necessity of the mechanization to be introduced and materials necessary to obtain it, reception of the orders, the prices set etc., training of the technical personnel so essential to production, and recruitment for the organization of technical personnel from the present managements of the enterprises such as engineers, chemists, managers... craftsmen etc." (81).

Judging by the general activity of the working class party as a political unit representative of the major interests and aspirations of the whole Romanian nation, we must regard as quite realistic the opinion of the socialist militant Ion Sion, expressed in Moreni at the celebration of 1 May 1920 by the local trade union of petroleum workers: "... the Socialist Party's struggle is in the interest of the Nation" (82).

Romania's economic recovery in a relatively short time (1918-1924), surpassing the prewar levels of industrial and agricultural output in the main parameters beginning in 1924, was solely the result of the concerted effort of the proletariat and the peasant masses, who overlooked their own dissatisfactions caused by shortages and privations and fully committed themselves to the united Romanian nation's effort to build lasting foundations for the fatherland. This merit was recognized, evidently as far as the ruling classes could do so, both by investing some leading militants of the Socialist Party with important political and administrative positions and by due public commendations of some politicians of the time. Thus Ioan Flueras and Iosif Jumanca performed their activities during 1918 and 1919 as ministers on the Directing Council in Transylvania. It is appropriate to point out both socialist ministers' important contribution to the solution of many problems in the fields of social welfare and industry while they were on the Directing Council (83).

Some socialists like Oberlaender and T. Rozvan were communal councilors taking an active part in discussion and solution of important problems concerning the respective communities (in this case Cernauti) (84).

During these years the political party of the working class logged a spectacular gain in the number of seats obtained in the legislative assemblies. In the parliamentary elections of 1919 and 1920 the Socialist Party obtained seven deputy seats and one senatorial seat and 20 deputy seats and three senatorial seats respectively.

The Socialist Party was and appeared as a powerful political force in postwar Romanian society, of which the rulers of the time took some account. The proposal of the head of the government formed by the People's Party, General Averescu, that the Socialist Party designate a representative to hold a ministerial portfolio is a noteworthy fact indicative of this point.(85).

Committed to the Romanian people's constructive effort to consolidate the united state, the labor movement promoted with the same consistency relations with international labor organizations and proletarian parties abroad, basing them on the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty as well as those of independent organization and political activity of the party of the working class in Romania.

Relations with the Comintern, established in the formative stage of that international labor organization, were an important aspect in this connection and one that also brings out the Romanian labor movement's stand on the matter of the national-state unification in 1918 and on Romania's independence and sovereignty. Overlooking some manifestations that indicated from the very start that the Comintern took a peculiar view of its connections with the international communist and revolutionary movement, the Socialist Party in Romania openly and emphatically expressed its decision to join that international workers forum.

Events in 1920, in connection with relations with the Comintern especially, strikingly indicated the Romanian revolutionaries' patriotic position. As we know, in the summer of 1920 a delegation of Romanian socialists composed Gh. Cristescu, C. Popovici, E. Rozvan, I. Flueras, Al. Dobrogeanu-Gherea and D. Fabian visited Soviet Russia and held discussions with leaders of the Soviet State and members of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

Before they left Romania some members of the delegation were asked by representatives of the Romanian government to inquire of the Soviet authorities about the national treasure in Moscow and the situation of the Romanian prisoners in Russia.

The Romanian socialists held discussions in Moscow with representatives of the Comintern and in Kharkov with Cristian Racovski, then people's commissar for the Ukraine. After a constructive phase the discussions took an unfavorable turn that led to their interruption and Ion Flueras' departure from Soviet Russia.

The Comintern representatives accused the Romanian socialists of supporting the process of national-state unification, calling it "annexation" of "foreign" territories. They also leveled bitter reproaches at the Transylvanian socialists especially for supporting the consolidation of the single Romanian state, interpreting their presence in the Grand National Council formed at Alba Iulia and in the Directing Council in Transylvania as "collaboration" with the bourgeoisie and abandonment of the principles of the class struggle. In connection with this point, Bukharin, a representative of the Comintern leadership who was holding discussions with the delegation of Romanian socialists, stated the following in the meeting on 24 November 1920: "We received the Romanian delegation at the previous meeting with us, and among the representatives were also those from Transylvania. We asked them various questions, and among others some about the reasons that led them to take part in the government. Today we received a declaration from Mr Flueras wherein he not only did not repent of his behavior but also brought quite scandalous reasons for this behavior.

We know that Mr Flueras' behavior is shameless and therefore we suggest that Mr Flueras leave the hall (that is, the meeting)" (86).

Gh. Cristescu, C. Popovici and I. Flueras replied that the Romanian socialists had always supported the Romanian people's struggle for national unity and independence. In their view and in the view of the whole Romanian labor movement the national-state unity achieved in 1918 was the work of the entire people, which served to the greatest extent the vital necessities of their free and independent development.

Because the process of consolidating the single Romanian state called for concentration of the nation's energies, in October 1920 the General Council of the Socialist Party and the Trade Unions unanimously decided to unify the labor movement on a national scale.

The labor movement's ideological and organizational activity in 1918-1921, with the main purpose of reorganizing the working class party, made it possible for an event of profound significance for the destinies of the proletariat and the entire people to take place at the historic Socialist Party Congress in May 1921, for the whole party to become the Socialist-Communist Party, which name it bore until the Second Congress in October 1922. This significant moment marked the rise of the labor movement to a new and qualitatively higher level. As SOCIALISMUL for 9 May 1921 pointed out, "As successors of the old Socialist Party, we the Communist Party are beginning to organize and fight with all the fund of experience and lessons of a noble past."

The RCP embodied the Romanian people's interests and aspirations on a higher level. From the first moment of reorganizing the Socialist Party into the Communist Party, the communists took a broad view of the mission with which history had entrusted them. SOCIALISMUL for 9 May 1921 said, "Mankind expects much more of us than economic and political emancipation. It expects us to set it an example of truly human morality." It went on to point out that the RCP policy would meet "not only the requirements of the time but the very needs and aspirations of the people."

The RCP, the direct successor of the party of the working class formed in 1893, led the Romanian people's struggle for social liberation on to a higher level and tried selflessly to carry out the aim of revolutionary reform of Romanian society in the interest of the many (87). After the Great Congress of May 1921, which manifested the will of the Romanian working class to lend new impetus to the struggle for acquisition of political power by the proletariat and construction of socialist and communist society, the revolutionary organizations made a vast and tireless effort to mobilize the masses for the struggle against the ruling classes and for defense of the nation's independence, sovereignty and integrity.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Documents on the Start of the Labor and Socialist Movement in Romania. 1821-1878," Political Publishing House /PPH/, Bucharest, 1971, p 806.

2. ROMANIA MUNCITOARE, Vo VI, No 65, 21 Oct 1910.

3. Ibid., Vo IV, No 47, 20-27 Jan 1908. For other important aspects of the stand of the labor and socialist movement in Romania on the Unification in 1859, see

"The Masses' Role in the Unification of the Romanian Principalities," PPH, Bucharest, 1979.

4. SOCIALISTUL, Vol I, No 1, 26 May 1877.

5. "Documents on the Start of the Labor and Socialist Movement in Romania. 1821-1878," p 808.

6. Ion Mamina, Vasile Niculae, "National Independence: the Ideal and Action of Romanian Labor (1877-1918)," PPH, 1977, p 20.

7. "Documents on the Start of the Labor and Socialist Movement in Romania. 1821-1878," p 809.

8. Ibid., pp 818-824.

9. Ibid., pp 814, 842.

10. "Documents from the History of the Labor and Socialist Movement in Romania. 1879-1892," PPH, Bucharest, 1973, p 249. Romanian labor's participation in the war of independence, its role in supporting it and its attitude toward national independence are fully treated in "The Masses in the War for Romania's Absolute Independence. 1877-1878," PPH, Bucharest 1979.

11. LUMEA NOUA, Vol VI, No 43, 7 May 1900.

12. Ibid., Vol IV, No 1144, 11 May 1898.

13. Mircea Musat, "1918: An Epochal Event in the Romanian People's Historical Advance and Development," ANALE DE ISTORIE, Vol XXIII, No 6, 1977, p 71.

14. VIITORUL SOCIAL, Vol II, 2nd Series, Nos 11-12, 1914, p 548.

15. "National Peril or Russia and Romania," Bucharest, LUMEA NOUA Press, 1897, pp 5, 16-17.

16. "Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 14, PPH, Bucharest, 1977, p 329.

17. ROMANIA MUNCITOARE, Vol IV, No 39, 28 Sep 1908.

18. C. Racovski, "Universal Suffrage. Total Expropriation. The Democratic Republic," Socialist Publishing House Circle, Bucharest, 1914, p 10.

19. LUPTA ZILNICA, Vol XI, No 13, 17 Jan 1915.

20. Ibid., Vol Xi, No 150, 30 Jun 1915.

21. ROMANIA MUNCITOARE, Vol I, No 36, 6 Nov 1905.

22. LUPTA ZILNICA, Vol XI, No 122, 29 May 1915.

23. "RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism," PPH, Bucharest 1975, p 34.

24. DACIA VIITOARE, Vol I, No 2, 16 Feb 1883.

25. ROMANIA MUNCITOARE, Vol II, No 31, 1-8 Oct 1906.

26. Ibid., Vol IV, No 43, 12 Oct 1908.

27. Ibid., Vol V, No 8, 24 Jan 1910.

28. FACLA, Vol II, No 21, 21 May 1911, p 348.

29. ROMANIA MUNCITOARE, Vol VII, No 57, 25 Sep 1911.

30. FACLA, Vol III, No 45, 10 Nov 1912, p 888.

31. C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea, "War or Neautrality," Bucharest, 1914, p 49.

32. LUPTA ZILNICA, Vol XI, No 143, 23 Jun 1915.

33. Alexandru Nicolau, "La crime de l'oligarchie roumain," Paris (1916), p 32.

34. DESTEPTAREA, Vol I, No 22, 1 Dec 1914.

35. ROMANIA MUNCITOARE, Vol VIII, No 36, 10 May 1912.

36. ADEVARUL, Vol II, No 28, 1 Sep 1904.

37. Vasile Stoica, "Sufferings in Transylvania," C. Sfetea Institute of Graphic Arts, Bucharest, 1916, pp 237-290.

38. ADEVARUL, Vol IV, No 11, 20 Nov 1908.

39. ROMANIA MUNCITOARE, Vol V, No 103, 18 Feb 1910.

40. Ibid., Vol IV, No 45, 19 Oct 1908.

41. Ibid., Vol VIII, No 49, 22 Nov 1912.

42. VIITORUL SOCIAL, Vol I, No 1, 1 Aug 1907, p 5.

43. Const.-Titel Petrescu, "Socialism in Romania. 1835-6 September 1940," Socialist Library (no date) p 309.

44. "LUPTA and ADEVARUL, Stupid, Dishonest and Mendacious," Bucharest, 1915, p 38.

45. VIITORUL SOCIAL, Vol II, Nos 3-4, May-Jun 1908, pp 125-126.

46. LUPTA, Vol X, No 104, 14 Sep 1914.

47. CALENDARUL MUNCII, 1916, p 55.

* Some of the oppressions of the Romanian population are recounted in the following works: Tiron Albani, "The Lion in Sisesti," Journalists Circle Publishing House, Oradea (no date), p 188. "Twenty Years After Unification. Commemorative

Monograph on the Unification," Vol I, Grafica Institute of Graphic Arts, Oradea, 1938, p 41. Traian Mager, "Contributions to the History of the Unification. 1918-1919. Views from the Apuseni Mountains. The Halmagi Region. Historical Background. A Monograph," Vol IV, Arad, 1930, p 9. Ion Clopotel, "The 1918 Revolution and the Union of Transylvania with Romania," SOCIETATE DE MIINE Publishing House, 1926, pp 11-12. Silviu Dragomir, "La Transylvanie roumaine et ses minorites etniques," National Printing House, Bucharest, 1934, pp 32-33.

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49. "Documents from the History of the Labor Movement in Romania. 1916-1921," PPH, Bucharest, 1966, p 50.

50. "Ion Popescu-Puturi, "For a Just Cause. Romania's Entry into the War in August 1916 (II)," ANALE DE ISTORIE, Vol XXIV, No 2, 1978, p 12.

51. ADEVARUL, Vol XIV, No 45, 28 Oct/10 Nov 1918.

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56. Iuliu I. Mozei-Cimpianu, "Transylvanian Romanian Warriors," (no date), p 91.

57. Vasile Popeanga, "Arad, the Political Center of the National Struggle in the Period of the Dual Monarchy (1867-1918)," FACLA Publishing House, Timisoara, 1918, p 258.

58. Constantin Dumitrescu, "Throughout the Time of Battle. The Year 1918 in the Memories of Eyewitnesses," Dacia Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca 1978, pp 213-227.

59. Ibid., pp 195-196.

60. Ibid., pp 104-105.

61. Const.-Titel Petrescu, op. cit., p 297.

62. SOCIALISMUL, Vol XIII, No 3, 18 Nov 1918.

63. Ion Ardeleanu, Mircea Musat, "1918. The Romanian Socialists Leading the Masses' Effort to Conclude Formation of the Single National State," in ANALE DE ISTORIE, Vol XXI, No 6, 1975, pp 53-54.

64. "The Great National Assembly at Alba Iulia on 1 Dec 1918. Acts and Documents," (no date), pp 22-23. The Romanian people's heroic struggle for national unity and the working-class' contribution to formation of the single national state in 1918 are presented in depth in the monograph "Unification of Transylvania with Romania. 1918," 3rd ed revised and enlarged, PPH, Bucharest 1978.

65. SOCIALISMUL, Vol VIII, No 19, 11 Dec 1918.

66. ADEVARUL, Vol XIV, No 48, 2/18 Dec 1918.

67. Ibid., Vol XIV, No 51, 23 Dec 1918/5 Jan 1919.

68. Ibid., Vol XV, No 18, 18 May 1919.

69. "Documents from the History of the Labor Movement in Romania. 1916-1921," PPH, Bucharest, 1966, p 157.

70. SOCIALISMUL, Vol IX, No 37, 17 Feb/2 Mar 1919.

71. ADEVARUL, Vol XIV, No 51, 23 Dec 1918/5 Jan 1919.

72. Ibid., Vol XV, Nos 8, 9, 24 Feb/9 Mar, 3/16 Mar 1919.

73. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Way to Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society," PPH, Bucharest, 1979, p 274.

74. Alexandru Papacostea, "Political Romania. Doctrine-Ideas-Figures: 1907-1925," Bucovina Printing House, J. E. Torcutiu, Bucharest (no date), pp 177-178.

75. RCP Central Committee Archive, Reserve 28, Case 24/1920.

76. SOCIALISMUL, Vol XX, No 117, 23 Jun 1919.

77. SOCIALISMUL, Vol XIV, No 148, 9 Jul 1920.

78. Ibid.

79. ERDELY VASUTAS, Vol II, No 7, 15 Apr 1920.

80. SOCIALISMUL, Vol XIV, No 181, 16 Aug 1920.

* Among these was C. Popovici, who stated, "The workers' councils will also have the function the bosses fear, and that is it! But it will not be done by a memo sent to a factory, a trade union of even a union, but by the Socialist Party's whole trade union movement: There will be socialization." (RCP Central Committee Archive, Reserve 5, File 751, Sheets 46-47).

81. SOCIALISMUL, Vol IX, No 252, 16 Nov 1919.

82. Ploiesti State Archives, Ploiesti Police Station Reserve, File 21, Sheet 142.

83. ADEVARUL, Vol XV, No 28, 27 Jul 1919.

84. VREMEA NOUA, Vol II, No 82, 26 Dec 1920.

85. RCP Central Committee Archive, Reserve 28, Case 46/1920.

86. Archive of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies under the RCP Central Committee, Reserve XV, File 1226, Case 3, Sheet 17.

87. Ion Popescu-Puturi, Mircea Murat, "The RCP, the Standard-Bearer of the Battle to Safeguard the National Sovereignty and Independence of Romania," ANALE DE ISTORIE, Vol XXIII, No 2, 1977, p 36.

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IMPORTANCE OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION FOR ALL CITIZENS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 20 Oct 81 pp 8-10

/Article by Prof Dr Eng Marin Radoi, deputy minister of education and instruction: "Technical Education"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics/

/Text/ The evolution of modern society and the very fast rate of development of science and technology require the reevaluation and defining of the concept of education in a new view. Until not long ago, one who had a basic minimum of knowledge about world literature, was able to recite--sometimes without understanding fully--from the verses of the world's great poets, was familiar with a few musical works and had had the chance to admire one or more of the masterpieces of plastic art and in the field of architecture was considered an educated man. Under these conditions, education's characteristic dimension referred almost exclusively to the emotional area, and the access to such education had a unilateral and, mostly, limited character.

The strong development of the production forces, especially in recent decades, marked considerable progress. The output of modern machines and installations increased the people's productive power to proportions that sometimes enter the realm of the fantastic. All these things led to deep changes in the economic structure and necessitated requirements regarding the quality of the work force and the general level of education. With such a high degree of development of the production forces, it became possible for the most imposing revolution in science and technology in mankind's millennia-long history to appear in the middle of the 20th century.

At present, the concept of education has greatly expanded its sphere of inclusion from a quantitative viewpoint, as well as a qualitative one, requiring not only the memorization of data that refer to history and literature but also concrete, practical actions, connected with the production of material assets. It could be said that knowledge of the modern discoveries of science and the ability of the people to use them practically have come to the forefront. In other words, education means now, in particular, the capacity to act in accordance with the requirements of modern scientific, technical and cultural progress. It has thus become possible for us to speak, more than ever, of technical education in its capacity of an essential component of education, as a basic requirement of the training of the man of our times and as a leading concern of the school and of other connected fields.

The Concept of Technical Education and Creativity

There is usually confusion in establishing the sphere of inclusion of the concept of technical education, it being limited--most of the time--to the acquisition of skills

that refer exclusively to individual training. But it cannot be asserted that a good technician, regardless of what field, capable of rapidly and accurately diagnosing any defect in technical apparatus, "commands" a technical education. Especially as many people in very different specialties can also have skills or mere technical abilities. In the era of the metasciences, when the boundaries of the classic disciplines have long since been shattered, the shape and composition of technical education are acquiring wholly new dimensions, going categorically beyond what is usually meant by "technical knowledge."

Technical education implies an understanding of the basic principles of the natural sciences and technology and of the mechanisms on which the basic processes of life are based. We can say that a television repairman who mechanically performs high-quality current repairs without knowing the principles that govern the transmission of the picture by waves has good professional qualifications, that he has technical /knowledge/, but he does not have a technical /education/ in the true sense of the word. Which does not mean that there are not also repairmen who have a technical education. The essential difference between the two categories of repairmen is that while the former performs, as a rule, mechanical operations that are repeated and, after a time, become a trade, the latter--even in the case of performing the same operations--relies on a scientific understanding of the mechanism and its operating diagram. It can be said that /creativity/, the capacity to know the scientific operating mechanism and to take the respective diagram further, constitutes the essential dividing line between technical knowledge and technical education.

The importance of scientific and technical gains and the necessity of consciously using them are pointed out in our party's documents. This explains the special accent that is now being put on thoroughly mastering the basic disciplines that are taught in school, as well as the constant concern of the party and state for improving the training of the work force.

Technical education cannot be reduced to mere storage of knowledge, gathered over time, in an arithmetic fashion. Its true sense consists of the utilization, in the work process, of the laws that govern one or another of the branches of science, the use of them in a creative manner, transforming the knowledge and technical education from a latent state into an active state. Life demonstrates that the technical education that remains mere inert "baggage," a "stock" of technical knowledge without the proper practical utility, lacks any value.

The rapid evolution of science and technology and the social and economic implications of their use in various countries are strikingly posing new problems, problems that the concept of education did not include at all or almost at all in the past. Of them, the problems of ecology, of environmental preservation and conservation, and knowledge about the technologies of the various branches of production can be mentioned. In a broader sense, under the conditions in which, first and foremost, the problems of turning to a new, higher quality in all fields are being posed in our country, the concept of technical education includes--necessarily--knowledge connected with the laws of rapid growth in labor productivity and economic efficiency. Romania's predominantly intensive development in the 1981-1985 5-year period requires--as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Second Congress of Working People's Councils--the people who participate in the production of material assets to have not mere technical knowledge, but a high-level technical and economic education.

The information explosion, characteristic of each branch of the economy, and the new discoveries that are arising at very small intervals of time--lately at intervals even smaller than a year--require the continual maintenance and the renewal of the technical education. The cultivation of the spirit of creativity, the only thing able to transform the /potential/ technical education into an /active/ technical education, useful to society, has a very important role in this regard. In the book "The Sociology of Science," G. N. Volkov states that "modern production is acquiring such a character that it needs not so much the mechanical efforts of muscles as the creative efforts of man." And he continues by pointing out that in the process of improving the work force "the knowledge gained by man represents an accumulated energy of such a potential that it is not comparable to any of the energy forces already known, since this knowledge, this developed creative capacity of man, tames new forces of nature and puts them at the service of man and society."

The Creation of the Attitudes of the Mind and of the Whole Human Personality for Technology

Although there is a great variety of educational systems, sometimes with radical differences from one country to another--depending on the degree of economic development and their social system--their concern for achieving a suitable technical education constitutes a common trait. Such trends and concerns are connected with the necessity of utilizing the immense possibilities opened up by the scientific and technical revolution and with the imperatives of intensive economic development and of growth in economic efficiency.

The law on education and instruction in our country stresses, among the general principles on which school is based, the requirement of providing in education of all grades "a high level of scientific, technical and cultural training, polyqualification and the training of the pupils and students in broad lines, so that after graduation they may be rapidly and efficiently integrated into the production process and into social activity, may fulfill in the best way the obligations that devolve upon them and, when necessary, can go from one specialty or activity to another."

In the view of our party and state, technical education constitutes an essential component of education, of the training of personnel with a broad makeup, in close agreement with the requirements for the social and economic progress of the country. The technical education of the generations in the making is conceived in close connection with the requirements for the strong affirmation of the scientific and technical revolution in our country, with the evolution of the training of the work force. The school, regardless of the branch for which the young people are being trained, offers--mandatorily--to all pupils and students the same volume of knowledge belonging to the basic disciplines (mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology).

The structural changes in Romanian education in recent years have had as a basic coordinate its integration with production and scientific research, this also being an essential aspect of the formation of technical education. There is thus being accented all the more the obligation of the school to provide for the scientific and technical education of the young person, the acquisition by him of the skills and the inclination to work in productive activity, developing his creative spirit, his enthusiasm for the new, so that, after finishing his studies, he can be rapidly integrated into the activity of production and of scientific and technological research. Only by having such training will the future graduates have the capacity to use well

the modern technology in the economy's possession and to themselves contribute to the development of science and technology. Within the framework of the same requirements, our education of all grades is oriented in the direction of supplying the pupils and students with sound knowledge in the field of the economic sciences, of the scientific management and organization of production and labor, with a view to their active participation in the fulfillment of the economic and social tasks, in the continual growth of efficiency in all sectors of activity, in the whole work of multilateral development of our socialist society.

These orientations are part of the unitary, modern and prospective view promoted by our party, a view whereby society's development on the whole is indissolubly conditioned by the degree of instruction and education of each working person. From this come the major significance that technical education has and the extremely important role of the school in achieving it, taking into account the requirements of the modern era, the evolution of scientific and technical progress. It has become almost an axiom that the man of today can no longer live without technology. His world means nature augmented by his own creations, whose efficiency imposes a radical restructuring on man's personality, his psychology and intellectual activities, even his moral universe. From all these things there follows the immense importance of the effort of training whereby man must always be oriented with his face toward the future.

The current meaning of the word "technology" refers to the range of material means and engineering processes and to the aggregate of knowledge and action whereby man uses and adapts his environment and the energies that it contains. Technical education involves not only concrete knowledge of these elements but also, in a broader sense, the creation of the attitudes of the mind and of the whole personality of man for the use of technology.

No one can know everything nowadays. But what we can obtain through the educational process, in its entirety, is the orientation of the young person toward the rational use of all his abilities with maximum effects, a programmed mobility of his mind, which must be trained to learn continually. Mircea Malita spoke somewhere about "the learning of learning," distinguishing it from learning pure and simple. By learning we would be dealing just with an invariable transmission of knowledge taken from mankind's preexisting stock, while "the learning of learning" means a special faculty of the human mind--namely that of devising new knowledge and of preparing for circumstances that the past has not yet known.

The leap that man's personality must make is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the field of technical education. While modeling, for instance, is one of the most efficient means of knowledge nowadays, continually pushing back the limits of the known universe, basing its efficiency precisely on the rigors imposed by research activity, we must recognize in technical education an essential function in the very understanding of the world. Can current research "techniques"--true torches thrown into the unknown in order to illuminate it and bring it closer to us--really be separated from the noble process itself of knowledge, the one that provides dignity to the "thinking reed," as a famous French philosopher said of man?

Technology is now a major field of knowledge itself, a form of action on the environment that reflects social man's whole personality, his strivings and aspirations and his moral and spiritual universe. If that optimistic energy about which Tudor Vianu spoke is the basis for all cultural creation, how can we really conceive of

technology other than in the form of an extension of the will that arises from the belief in the possibility of attaining man's great goals.

The overcoming by man of the state of ignorance and of overestimation of the forces of nature constitutes the general sense of these changes that technical education is producing. The multilaterally developed socialist society that we are forging in our country is creating premises for the full affirmation of man's creative powers, in which technical education participates essentially, along with and in close connection with the political and ideological education of the man of tomorrow.

The Dissemination of Technical Education and the Echoes of a False Antinomy

The school represents the main means of formation and dissemination of technical education. It is meant to contribute to the training of the pupil to that level that permits the understanding by him of the intrinsic connection that exists between the basic principles of the modern sciences and the practical requirements.

The formation of creative thinking is a leading concern of the school with regard to the achievement of technical education. It is no secret to anyone that one of the gaps in our education is that it often overuses memorization and the system of one-way transmission of knowledge. Instead of being a true research laboratory where the young person himself comes to discover the basic principles of science and its effects on practical, production activity, the school is limited to the mere repetition of principles and knowledge.

The performance of the activity in laboratory classes is sometimes understood simplistically as the mechanical repetition of overly familiar work, instead of these classes being devoted to an experimental and theoretical investigation, through concentrated, fascinating activity, which would be based on the concern for combining the physical and intellectual capacities of the young person. In view of these shortcomings and the requirements for the formation of technical education, the teacher in the school of today must not limit himself to the transmission of information, becauses this transforms the pupil into a mere "memorization device." As a result, along with the problem of continually improving and adequating the school plans, programs and textbooks, the concerns for improving the teaching technology, the methodology and methods of teaching, must be increased considerably.

The dissemination of technical education is not limited just to the school. Simultaneously, the press, radio, television, the other mass media and the specialized periodicals offer a wide range of technical ideas that are of use to the amateur, as well as the professional. There is also a wide museum network, which, especially through the museums with a technical character, helps to form the technical education of the wide masses of working people, eager to know the evolution of the creative thinking of the human genius, the way in which various apparatus, instruments and machines were developed, from their primitive form to the most modern types that current technology is making available.

While arguing for a high-value technical education, widely disseminated among the young people and the other strata of working people, we do not underrate the important role that goes to humanistic education, capable of helping to developing thinking, imagination, to form the taste for beauty, the enthusiasm for the new. It must be recognized that the echoes of a false antinomy between the civilizing functions of

technology and the moral universe of humanistic education sometimes persist in many of the discussions of the experts in the past and in the present. Nowadays, the condemnation of technology has in view, often justifiably, the danger of an ecological disaster. It is pointed out that the exacerbation of the consumptions and the aggression against the environment will lead to devastation of the planet, which will make impossible the development of a harmonious life in accordance with man's aspirations. The contradiction is false, in the final analysis, since it opposes values and aspirations that should be harmonized in man's personality.

From a social viewpoint too, we sometimes note the polarization of the individuals educated, there being at one end of the spectrum the so-called "technical intelligentsia and at the other end the formula intellectuals--let us call it "education in general." Of course, one cannot ignore the necessity of specialization in today's society, with an electronics expert or an atomic researcher of high qualifications being able to isolate himself in his field, which is hardly accessible to a wider stratum of intellectuals. Somewhat similarly, the very elaborate formulations in today's artistic and cultural life sometimes take the form of an obsession with the language, hard to achieve in a life that is not devoted exclusively to these concerns. But such realities must not stop us from seeking to form a man with a harmonious personality, able to get from the humanistic field all the elements of intuition and imagination that he needs and, at the same time, to mold a consciousness imbued with the abstract thinking and the modes of approach to reality characteristic of current science and technology.

The problems that are seen thus entail a total revision of the educational perspective in school in general and all the more in higher education. Today's education is primarily formative and orientative, in contrast to that in the past, which had an additive character. From the current viewpoint, the word that defines our view about school is "do," without opposing it, as Gain Carlo Sacchi said, to "know." It is a question of learning through practical activity and work.

The question could naturally be posed: What indeed is the "strict" field of "technical education" and where does "professional education" begin? Of course, not only in the present framework but also in general, it would be hard to give an exact definition that would set the strict boundaries between the two concepts. This is especially because we are now witnessing a great diversification of the professions, a marked rise in the interpenetration of the various professions and scientific disciplines. However, it is beyond any doubt that through professional education the characteristic traits of technical education in a given field of concerns increase.

Technical education, professional education and humanistic education are, in fact, components of general education. Their participation, to a greater or lesser extent, in general education depends on the concerns, the profession, the attitudes and aptitudes of each. The specialist of today, trained in the school of work, is a basic element in a vast tableau of our socialist culture, a man capable of dreaming and thinking boldly, armed with the poet's imagination and the mathematician's abstract tools--if we can express ourselves thus--capable of creatively applying them in practice.

12105
CSO: 2700/101

SARAJEVO LC DISCUSSES CRITICS OF SELF-MANAGEMENT

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 81 p 7

/Article by A. Nuhefendic/

/Text/ The discussion of public criticism of socialist self-management held on 3 December 1981 in Sarajevo had the initial aim of deepening the theoretical points of departure that have already been formulated, but it can also be regarded as a step forward in the development of concrete aspects of public criticism today.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to expect an author to present a comprehensive and exhaustive summary of the broad, complex theme indicated. Time alone will tell the degree to which that was achieved by the participants in yesterday's meeting, which included numerous distinguished cultural, public and sociopolitical figures. Yet it is already clear that in their presentations they fulfilled some of the expectations of the organizers, the "Veljko Vlahovic" Marxist study center of the LCY central committee of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and the "Djuro Pucar Stari" Marxist study center of the Sarajevo city LC conference. Specifically, the debate contributed to a deepening and illumination of the ideas and questions that, to a certain degree, were determined at the conference held in Sarajevo last year on the theme "Marxist Criticism as Cultural Creativity." Yet a deeper consideration of the basic hypotheses of public criticism and a critical consciousness, in the words of Hamdija Pozderac, a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and president of the Marxist Study Center of the Bosnia and Hercegovina LC Central Committee, requires a status in contemporary social criticism here in Yugoslavia that would also point to rather heterogeneous ideological and political positions that form their basis and their point of departure.

Criticism As It Is

The keynote speaker, Dr Arif Tanovic, president of the Sarajevo LC city conference, specified that under the concept of public criticism in socialist self-management we can presuppose that we are talking about Yugoslav criticism in our society and at the historical moment in which we live. He went on to cite three types of public criticism: inherent socialist self-management criticism, and antagonistic bureaucratic-centralist and bourgeois-nationalist criticism. He also responded to the question concerning the new-left and anarcho-liberal viewpoints, and stressed that he agrees with those who assert that the so-called ultra-left here in Yugoslavia has compromised itself with its radicalism, and very few people now believe that it represents any progressive leftist ideas. Rather, it is disintegrating into either dogmatic bureaucratic viewpoints, which are primarily centralistic and statist, i.e., hegemonistic, or else bourgeois liberal tendencies.

The keynote speaker believes that in their ideological resistance to the anti-self-management front, public criticism by the progressive forces of our society must pay close attention to avoiding the stifling of our freedom of criticism. In that regard, he reminded the audience that Yugoslav society has proclaimed and promoted the principle that knowledge is its own judge, that the ideological battle should be conducted using ideological means, that in the struggle of opinion the argument has the predominant strength, and that revolutionary practice is the criterium of truth.

In speaking about the very prevalent criticism of the lack of consistency of social agencies and individuals in implementing politics that have been adopted, Dr Tanovic stressed that this criticism is certainly justified, for it is an expression of socialist concern for the self-management progress of the society. In that criticism, however, he believes that it is relatively easy to recognize well-intentioned and malevolent critics, to distinguish subjective and objective, concerned and malicious ones. Such varying tones show up in some media, which, in his words, claim to be serving socialist self-management.

The introductory presentation also touched on Yugoslav public criticism which clearly contained the method of bourgeois positivism, the cataloging of negative facts, actually consciously selected data that, when ordered on the basis of a previously determined concept, are designed to give a particular impression. This process gives an illusion of objectivity, accuracy and scientific approach. That type of criticism does not go beyond the surface, does not seek causes, objective conditions or principles, or reveal real possibilities for progressive actions. Dr Tanovic stressed that instead of this positivistic objectivism, we need scientifically objective, materialistic, dialectical, and thus Marxist, analysis of actual situations, and long-range projections of development, elaborations that take into account world trends and Yugoslav objective and subjective possibilities.

Lack of Conflict and Generality

Fuad Muhic focused his presentation on the period after Tito's death, and on certain opinions that he regards as unavoidable when we consider this topic. He spoke about tendencies that he regards to be similar to those of the time of ideological liberalism, e.g., tendencies that sought legalization as partners with LCY policies, so that thereby they could utilize certain mass communication media. Within the framework of this type of ideological liberalism, various forms of the domestic political underground tried their luck. That underground, which was suppressed, is now trying to achieve a legal expression, and its appearance can be perceived in some issues of certain magazines. Muhic therefore asks the question as to whether a portion of the popular press has not avoided the control of LCY policy.

For a time after Tito's death, the ideological situation in Bosnia and Hercegovina was favorable, but for some time there has been a feeling that certain factions in other environments are working intensively to undermine the situation in Bosnia and Hercegovina from within. Muhic specified the groups about which he was talking by citing the publication KNJIZEVNA REC (The Literary Word), which has published articles by individuals who, in Muhic's words, are nothing more than "intellectual filth."

Miodrag Bogicevic spoke about the lack of conflict and the generality of public criticism as one of the serious obstacles in the contemporary critical situation.

In his words, this situation leads to ambiguity, lack of principle and ineffectiveness of criticism. He also believes that explicity of public criticism in self-management under conditions of collective labor and the delegate system of decisionmaking is not really simple to achieve, for there are many opportunities to paralyze personal responsibility by appealing to formalistic decisions or generalized mechanisms that protect the phenomenon being criticized. This makes public criticism more difficult, so that the person who comes forward with criticism somehow puts himself into the position of being accused of opposing the social system, or some segment of it.

Joco Marjanovic spoke about those who recently have expressed positions that we need public criticism that includes discussions, dialogues and polemics without any taboo themes. They refer to the LCY Program, the Yugoslav Constitution and other documents, and speak of pluralism and varying interests, while forgetting the fact that Kardelj clearly and unambiguously stressed that the pluralism referred to involves a multitude of socialist self-management interests. Marjanovic also presented his estimate of the actual definitions and content of those dialogues and polemics, that is, of public criticism. Specifically, he believes that many of them have nothing in common with the struggle of opinions, with real criticism in socialist self-management. In that kind of criticism, even though the persons involved swear that they are speaking from positions supporting the interests of the working people and citizenry, personal motives and interests dominate, along with various forms of posturing and well known dogmatic and liberal appeals to the phantoms of the past.

12,131
CSO: 2800/146

HANDLING OF YOUTH FEDERATION OFFICIALS BEING QUESTIONED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1611, 15 Nov 81 pp 23-24

[Article by Veselin R. Todorovic: "The New Principles of the Old Structure"]

[Text] The number of youth officials did not decrease when the principle of collective work was adopted in the SSO [Socialist Youth League]. Perhaps because from time to time critical assessments have revived concerning professionalization, privileges and behavior of youth officials. It was all favored by the fact that the Conference of the SSO of Yugoslavia has not yet come before the public with the precise number of professional youth officials and at least the principal indicators of their (un)privileged status.

According to an analysis made in the republic conference just recently, there are 371 persons with positions in the SSO of Serbia. Of them 150 are professionals, 55 are appointed and 166 are administrative and technical personnel and other personnel.

All the chairmen and secretaries of the 118 opstina conferences hold those posts as professionals and receive the officeholder's supplement except in Cicevac, Bosilegrad, Krupanj, Veliko Gradiste and Rekovac. In 16 opstina committees of the SSO the chairmen have only the officeholder's supplement. In 67 opstina conferences the chairman is a professional, and in another 19 the secretary is as well. The opstina conferences of the SSO in Nis, Dimitrovgrad and Babusnica have a salaried member of the presidium. In Nis and Palilula the opstina conferences each have two specialized political workers, and another 17 opstina conferences each have one.

Administrative and other functions are performed by 92 persons on the staffs of 52 opstina committees of the SSO. The Stari Grad Opstina Conference of the SSO has a staff of six performing these tasks, the opstina conferences of the SSO in Pirot and Sabac each have five, Novi Beograd and Kragujevac each have four, and so on. There are 66 opstina conferences of the SSO which do not have any.

The chairman and secretary are professionally employed in all interopstina conferences and in the city conference.

The republic conference of the SSO has a staff of 79: 12 professional political officeholders, 28 appointees and 39 members of administrative and other personnel.

Income of Youth Federation Officials

A comparison of the data confirms that since 1979 there has been a quite considerable restructuring in the SSO of Serbia.

What truth about the (un)privileged status of youth federation officials do the most recent data disclose?

The average personal income of an SSO opstina conference chairman in the republic proper is 13,631 dinars, and that of a chairman of an interopstina conference or the city conference of the SSO is 16,865 dinars. The president of the SSO of Serbia earns 19,594 dinars a month, and the secretary of the presidium 18,967 dinars. The work of members of the presidium and of chairmen of commissions of the SSO republic conference is valued at 16,273 dinars, while department heads of the SSO republic conference, the ORA [Youth Labor Brigade Program] secretary and the editor-in-chief and managing editor of OMLADINSKE NOVINE receive 16,815 dinars.

"By contrast with the earnings of officials in other sociopolitical organizations, it is nonsense to proclaim the earnings of professionals in the SSO excessive and to create a sensation of it. However, by comparison with average earnings in production and with the earnings of young people in general, those earnings are higher than they should be," says Nebojsa Rodic, president of the material and financial commission of the Presidium of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SSO. "However, that is not always the case," he adds. "In the organization of associated labor I came from I had a higher personal income than here."

Housing, Cars, Entertainment....

According to the most recent data, over the last 7 years 50 housing units have been allocated by organs of the SSO of Serbia: 24 to SSO officials, 17 to appointees and 9 to people employed in work communities; opstina conferences have allocated 19 housing units, interopstina conferences 5 and the city conference 1. The republic conference has provided 4 housing units to its elected officials, 17 to appointees and 5 to persons employed in the work community. The executive council or other republic bodies have provided housing for seven officials of the republic conference of the SSO (usually the chairman). In addition, the republic conference has furnished part of the financing for resolving the housing problem of seven other of its professionals, one appointee and five members of the work community.

"In almost all cases the housing has been allocated only at the end of the term of office. While they are working in the republic conference, the professionals as a rule are housed privately or in the residence hotel for unmarried persons," Rodic said.

Organs of the SSO of Serbia possess 46 automobiles. Opstina conferences use 23 of these (the Cukarica Opstina Conference of the SSO even has 3 cars), interopstina conferences 10 and the city conference of the SSO 1. Most of these are Zastava cars. But the republic conference also has a 1981 Ford Commodore, two Fiat 132's, two Ladas and one Zastava 750.

No one in the conference (including the chairman) has the right to submit for official expenses bills for drinks and lunches or taxi fares, nor does any have a separate expense account.

Official Position as a Ticket to a Better Life

Youth federation officials are also among those reluctant to return to their native place and to the job they held when elected. Many succeed, and they say good-bye to their previous worker occupation once and for all. This reinforces assertion about their "promotion through politics." Since the 1-year term of office has been in effect, the "creation" of youth federation chairmen has been growing, and this is in inverse proportion to the opportunity for advancement. What do the most recent figures confirm?

Of the 96 youth federation chairmen last year in opstinas (for which the republic conference of the SSO has figures) 37 returned to the job they held before election, 2 obtained a better job in the same organization of associated labor and 10 moved to another work organization (4 of them to a supervisory position). Another 12 were elected to a new position of leadership in the SSO, and 3 chairmen of opstina conferences of the SSO were elected to a position of leadership in some other sociopolitical organization. Three continued working in the SSO as administrative personnel or as political specialists.

The chairmen and secretaries of all interopstina conferences and the city conference were professionals during the last term of office. Where are they now? Four have returned to their "native" organization of associated labor (but two of them to better jobs). Two entered associated labor for an indefinite period for the first time, and one of them immediately became a supervisor. Five moved to another "firm"--two to become supervisors. Five moved up in the Socialist Youth League.

The Higher Position, the Better the Opportunity

Of the 13 professionals employed last year in the republic conference of the SSO, 3 are still in the conference now, 2 hold other positions in the SSO, 2 have become directors, 1 is in an economic organization, 1 in the Trade Union Federation of Serbia, 1 in the Serbian Youth Vacation Program, 1 in the armed forces, 1 is unemployed and 1 is receiving a student scholarship.

Yet comparisons with the way things were done not so very long ago confirm that an ever increasing number of youth officials are loyal to their public commitment and are returning to the places where they were when elected to the new office. However, not even the "institution" of the 1-year term of office has yet "shaken" the rule that a high position in the SSO is also a high springboard to, say, a director's position or some other position in the nonproductive, usually political, "structure."

Those we talked to also indicate that the distorted practice of paying "personal incomes" to youth officials at the end of their term of office should be done away with. In the republic conference this is done for years back. At present two elected and three appointed persons are receiving pay on that basis (a former secretary of the SSO republic conference has also been receiving pay for 5 years now).

"There should not be any former officials in the youth organization waiting for assignment, people who, supposedly because of their service and distinguished political work in the past, are receiving high salaries and thereby confidently confirming their privileged status. A professional position in the SSO, as elsewhere, must not be a pass that leads directly to an easy and prestigious life," Rodic believes. After a fierce debate the presidium of the SSO republic conference was categorical at its last meeting: beginning 1 December of this year not a single dinar will be paid to anyone on that basis.

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IGNORANCE OF LAW CALLED RESPONSIBLE FOR VIOLATIONS

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 11 Dec 81 p 2

[Article by Aranit Cela, chairman of the Supreme Court: "The Laws of the State Should Be Known Better and Better by the Working Masses"]

[Excerpts] At the 8th party congress Comrade Enver stressed that the knowledge and implementation of the laws is a decisive condition for the activity of the state organs and of the masses of people to develop on the straight road and to be successful. It is precisely the great care of the party and its correct line which have made Albania a state with a strong juridical system, where this state organ is obliged to execute the laws of the state and every citizen is certain that no one will violate his rights. There is no country, no state in the world which has such a strong juridical system, where the laws of the state express the will of the working class and of the other working masses, where the laws are executed with full force, in everyday life.

In our country, a healthy situation exists in the juridical system in the implementation of our socialist legislation. But we cannot forget that as long as the imperialist-revisionist blackmail and encirclement exists, there is also the danger of degeneration in this direction. For this reason, continuing educational work and preventive actions are necessary for the precise implementation of the laws. There are cases of violations of the laws; sometimes, there are incorrect attitudes in regard to the implementation of legal norms, often resulting from lack of knowledge of the law, but sometimes also resulting from lack of juridical awareness and other things. Violations of the laws are found, in particular, in the area of the protection and handling of socialist property, in labor discipline and in the execution of contracts. These manifestations have been combated and should be combated severely. The organs of the judiciary and of the public prosecutor should react more strongly against any manifestation of illegality, especially by detecting violations and taking measures for their prevention. The organs of state government, appointed and elected persons must carry on a better struggle in this area and, in particular, the internal control organs should do better work. It is important to impress upon every person that no violation should remain undetected, without any stand being taken against it. This is achieved, among other things, by strengthening demands for accountability and increasing the sense of responsibility of each worker and organ.

The most important problem continues to be the knowledge of the laws by all state organs and by the working masses. In Albania, as Comrade Enver teaches us, every person should know the laws; this should be the main principle in the juridical field and the main political and ideological principle.

The government organs and the mass organizations, under the leadership of the party organizations in the districts and at the grassroots, have been more concerned with propagandizing the laws recently. Improvements have been made in the area of the collaboration of organs of the courts and the public prosecutor, and the internal affairs organs with those of the government and the mass organizations. Nevertheless, more must be done in this field. The quality of the work of the organs of justice in the field of propaganda and in the area of prevention, in general, should be improved, while constantly combating manifestations of formalism which are noted from time to time. For example, legal propaganda should be more vital; it should not be carried out through stereotyped lectures, but should take into consideration the concrete conditions and needs of the specific enterprise, agricultural cooperative, institution, sector or brigade where the discussion is being held.

Better work must be done to activate the great armies of assistant judges and people's prosecutors, whose main duty is to propagandize the laws and to be the first barricade against any manifestation of violation of the laws. They are everywhere in the enterprises, institutions, sectors and agricultural cooperatives. Their role in the area of the defense of socialist legality should be further increased. Good work has been done in Sarande and Pogradec districts by the courts in the villages and the city sectors for increasing political and juridical awareness. The district courts and the prosecutors offices should give more attention to the preparation of these organisms so that they will carry out their role as they should.

The government organs, especially the executive committees of the people's councils in the districts and in the grassroots, should do a better job in organizing and coordinating this legal propaganda work. The government organs in Korce, Berat, Fier, Tirana and other districts have given a good example in this area.

We believe that work must be improved in the future by setting up organizational forms which will ensure a continuing propaganda activity, not one which is carried out only when trouble occurs and when there are requests from higher authorities; not only a few cadres or organs in the districts, as happens in many cases, should be concerned with this work. Every organ or mass organization should be engaged in propagandizing the laws according to its area of responsibility. Above all, the section chief, the enterprise director, the chief engineer, the engineer, the brigade leader, the trade union organizations and the other social organizations, wherever they operate, should also be concerned with this work.

The profit is great. If the workers are informed about laws and regulations, if they are held accountable, and if there is continual monitoring of the implementation of the laws, the workers will learn state and proletarian discipline; it will have an influence on their general political, ideological and cultural development and, to a great extent, will make it impossible for elements with evil intentions to damage the interests of the state and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The struggle against violations of the law, and, in particular, the struggle to prevent these violations, requires organization, coordination and broad cooperation of all state organs and social organizations, under the leadership of the party organs and organizations.

CSO: 2100/36

U.S. USE OF COUNTERFEITING AGAINST SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ALLEGED

Rostock OSTSEE-ZEITUNG in German 9 Dec 81 p 4

['Exclusive Report for OSTSEE-ZEITUNG' by Dr Julius Mader: "Counterfeit Money as a Weapon of the USA — Behind the Headlines: Imperial Power Politics in the Gangster Manner -- Unscrupulous Breach of International Law — Insidious Methods of Counterrevolution"]

[Text] Soon to be published by the GDR Cultural League's Berlin District Committee of Numismatics Experts is the "1981 Yearbook of the Panel on Bank Notes and Securities." Included in the handbook is documentation on "Bank Notes as a Paper Weapon in the Counterrevolution." Its author wrote for our newspaper an exclusive prepublication article on this interesting and previously little-explored subject.

Official Government Counterfeiters

Since the end of World War II, the Pentagon and the clandestine U.S. CIA — official Washington institutions, in other words — have carried out counterfeiting operations in at least 10 instances. Just between 1948 and 1973, their operations were conducted in and/or against as many as nine states and their people in Europe, Asia and Latin America. It is significant that among them are six socialist states on three continents.

Moreover, most of these criminal acts — which were aimed at devaluing the legal national currency in circulation, undermining confidence in the validity, the legal validity, of foreign currencies and subverting and destabilizing the economies involved — were summed up and authenticated in detail in the telling documentary entitled "Air-Dropped Propaganda Currency" by R.G. Auckland, British publisher of FALLING LEAF, the journal of the Psywar Society (Psychological War Society, Gesellschaft fuer psychologische Kriegsfuehrung). The article mentions the following organizations as the principal producers and distributors of counterfeit currency: Munich's Radio Free Europe (RFE), the special psychological diversion organ controlled and financed by the CIA; NTS, the Paris-based band of counterrevolutionary Russian emigrants; New York's ominous "Crusade for Freedom"; and Cuban desperadoes in the North American state of Florida. The U.S. Army and Air Force have also unscrupulously breached international law many times with their counterfeiting operations. Gaining notice here were the "Psychological Warfare Section, First Radio

Broadcasting and Leaflet Group" of the Eighth U.S. Army (Korean EUSAK Code 8129 — Eighth U.S. Army in Korea), the "Army Psychological Warfare Branch" in Saigon and the Seventh Psywar Unit on Taiwan. Noted generals like D. MacArthur, M. Ridgway, M. Clark and V. Walters have gone down in recent history as organizers of counterfeiting activity.

As early as 1948, U.S. "security advisers" ordered counterfeit 2-peso notes made in the United States to be scattered from aircraft over Philippine territories controlled by the national liberation army (the Hukbalahap); this action was designed to demoralize the patriots. In the course of its military intervention against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [DPRK], the U.S. Air Force dropped tons of counterfeit 100-won notes over the DPRK in the early 1950's. In the middle of July 1953, the RFE carried out its secret "PROSPERO" operation directed against the CSR: Thousands of gas-filled balloons launched from FRG territory and equipped with automatic jettison devices carried counterfeit 1-koruna bank notes (Kc's) over the territory of the CSR. As psychological "assistance" for the terrorists who had been infiltrated into the GDR, counterfeit GDR 20-mark bank notes of the time and fake 10-ruble and 25-ruble notes were also launched for the CIA from FRG and West Berlin soil when easterly wind conditions were favorable. Each of the balloons carried 300 kg of counterfeit money.

"Paper Weapon" of "Clandestine Army"

Right after the victory of the revolution in Cuba, antisocialist elements in Florida joined with the mafia — as was later discovered and proven by the well-known counterfeiting expert Murray Teigh Bloom, author of "Counterfeiting in America" — and set about producing counterfeit peso notes in grand style under the patronage of the CIA. As early as its military intervention in Cuba's Bay of Pigs, this "clandestine army" of the CIA carried in its initial landing craft hundreds of pounds of its "paper weapon" in watertight rubber sacks. Attempts had been made for years before that to have frogmen carry the counterfeit bills through Cuba's territorial waters into the country and into the hands of their people there.

In 1965 it was Pentagon experts who, along with their puppet-general Nguyen Khanh in Saigon, directed counterfeit 5-dong notes — and even 1000-dong fakes in 1967 — against the National Front for the Liberation (NFL) of South Vietnam with the intention of subverting patriotic organizations. In the middle of August 1966, U.S. Air Force bombers dropped 1.6 million imitation 1-dong notes over the Democratic Republic of Vietnam [DRV]. With the barbaric escalation of its aggression in Indochina, the United States also raised its criminal counterfeiting activities to new dimensions: From August to October 1972, large amounts of fake 1-, 2- and 5-dong pieces of DRV currency were dropped from aircraft over the densely populated provinces of the DRV; in an abuse of Japanese territory, the U.S. Army had set up wholesale production of the money on Taiwan. Masumoto Denme, a Japanese communist and parliamentarian, alerted the Foreign Policy Committee of Tokyo's Lower House to this gangster operation, which also met with international condemnation in October of the same year in Copenhagen on the occasion of the third session of the International Commission for the Investigation of U.S. Crimes in Indochina.

As part of its "CENTAURO" coup d'etat plan in 1973, the CIA made active use of counterfeit escudos against the popular Unidad Popular government of Dr Salvador

Allende in Chile. Shortly after the coup, Hortensia Bussi de Allende, the murdered president's widow who was still privy to official business, made this statement on the affair from exile in Mexico: "For example, counterfeit Chilean bank notes were produced in the United States and put into circulation in Chile. Our country was literally flooded with them. This was supposed to fuel inflation!" After the coup, the United States was quick to remove all traces of evidence of the criminal counterfeiting activity carried out by its intelligence agency: All paper escudos were withdrawn from circulation by dictator Pinochet under the threat of draconian punishment.

Apt Pupils of Nazi Germany

The historical, ideological and organizational roots of U.S. counterfeiting activity are to be found directly in Nazi Germany, since Himmler's "Security Service (SD)" had counterfeited large quantities of pound sterling, dollar, ruble, zloty and Yugoslavian dinar notes during World War II. When Matthew Bunker Ridgway landed in Sicily in the 1940's as commanding general of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division, his troops were "bombarded" by Hitler's Wehrmacht with fake 1, 2, and 10 dollar bills. Ridgway showed himself to be an obviously apt pupil, for as commander of the U.S. interventionists against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, he used this perfidious weapon in the early 1950's against the Koreans and the Chinese. As commander of U.S. occupation forces in Austria in 1945, General Mark Clark, LLD, launched a feverish search in the "alpine fortress" for the remnants of the SD's "Bernhard" counterfeiting operation. After May 1952 in Seoul, this same doctor of laws, as commander of U.S. Forces in Korea, ordered up the 6027-9027 series of counterfeit won notes.

The head of the "Bernhard" counterfeiting project had been Walter Schellenberg, SS brigade commander, major-general in the Nazi police force and director of the SD's Foreign Intelligence Service. When he was brought before a U.S. military tribunal in Nuremberg in 1949 to account for his crimes — in the so-called Wilhelmstrasse trial — in typical fashion there was no mention at all of his criminal counterfeiting activities. Nevertheless, in the course of this activity he had helped produce and disseminate fake British currency with a total value of 134.6 million pounds sterling, and he had made preparations for a daily output of 1 million counterfeit dollars. Great Britain was thereupon forced to issue all new bank notes in 1945. During Schellenberg's imprisonment as a war criminal, U.S. and British intelligence experts questioned him for 21 days just on the counterfeiting charges alone. One of his confidants and fellow-counterfeiters, an SS stormtroop commander in the SD, Dr Wilhelm Hoettl, alias Walter Hagen, gave this jubilant account in Bavaria in 1955: "The British had said they regarded 'Operation Bernhard' as a kind of stratagem of war and had consequently decided not to pursue as a crime the traffic in counterfeit pounds produced by 'Operation Bernhard'..." (from "Operation Bernhard," Starnberg).

Meanwhile, proof that NATO, which came into being in 1949, has long since adopted the paper weapon as part of its arsenal is found in the candid and relevant article entitled "A Neglected Weapon of War," written by Canadian Army officer J. Coughlan and published in the 1951 edition of Ottawa's CANADIAN ARMY JOURNAL.

Loopholes Still Open

In the interim, the United States has demonstrated to many a nation that it is not above the idea of using counterfeit money to realize its imperial power politics in the manner of gangsters and Nazis. That may also be the real and inescapable reason why the United States to this day has not effected the legally binding ratification of the Geneva International Agreement on Combatting Counterfeiting, even though it signed the multilateral agreement in 1929.

7458
CSO: 2300/84

RIGORS OF PARACHUTE TRAINING DESCRIBED

East Berlin FLIEGER-REVUE in German No 11, Nov 81 pp 496-499

[Article by Hartmut Buch, FLIEGER-REVUE editorial board: "Jumps Between Noon and Midnight -- Reportage from a Jump Site of the National People's Army (NVA) Paratroops"]

> [Text] He had a strange feeling before this jump, but he was not sure if it was fear or not. It probably was fear. The contours of the ground far below were unclear. Now he had to leap from the aircraft. He was caught by the blast but somehow gave a push and turned himself. Up above loomed the bottom of the aircraft. Gennrich followed after him. Why did he jump after him? And now this: The stabilizer on Gennrich's parachute did not deploy. The cover remained closed. Had not he himself hooked up the static line? What would Gennrich do? Would he open the reserve or go into a free fall? Now he heard a startling cry. Or was it a whistle?

Thomas Dibus woke up still hearing the whistle used by the charge-of-quarters. "Wow, that was quite a dream," the 20-year-old thought to himself before he jumped out of bed. The "Willi Saenger" paratroop battalion had left its mark on Corporal Thomas Dibus, occupying the Berliner even in his sleep.

This was not his first time at such a jump training camp, but this year it was a new situation for the mature young man. He had mastered jumping, having already completed 76 jumps with the GST [Society for Sport and Technology] in Berlin. Added to these were the military jumps he had made since first proudly donning the beret. During this year's jump training camp, however, he was responsible not only for himself but also for other comrades. He was in charge of a jump group.

Despite the unaccustomed responsibility which he had to assume, he had looked forward to the jump training camp, as had all the comrades in the battalion. Parachute jumping is their specialty, and they do not just simply carry it out but do it with enthusiasm; otherwise they would be poor paratroopers. When all hands move out to the airfield in the summer and set up the tents, radio stations, field kitchens and all the things that make up an orderly camp, they are caught up in anticipation of the events that will take place during the weeks that follow. The jump training camp is a high point in their rugged army life. Of course, this high

point has two sides. On the one hand there was the fun of jumping, while on the other was the hard work and sacrifice because, weather permitting, jumping is carried out here around the clock, and weekends are seldom duty-free. The day Thomas Dibus woke up after his bad dream was supposed to be such a day for him and his group.

Early gymnastics, morning toilet, breakfast and morning formation were behind them as they proceeded to the closed hangars to pick up the parachutes that had been packed the day before. The pack covers are spread out, the parachutes laid out in columns and rows.

The comrades of the Dibus group are first-year personnel for whom jumps without weapons from an AN-2 at 600 meters altitude are planned for today. While the paratroopers busy themselves with their equipment, adjusting the automatic parachute opening mechanisms and carrying out other preparations, their glances travel now and again to the wind sock. The red- and white-striped sleeve stands out almost straight from the pole. The stiff breeze blowing in from the Baltic Sea dampens somewhat the pleasure with which they look forward to the forthcoming jump. The jumpmaster also carefully follows the wind gauge measurements, finally deciding that the third-year personnel will begin with jumps from the Mi-8 and the younger comrades will have to wait. While Thomas Dibus and his group march back to their quarters tent, the experienced comrades put on their parachutes, but that is not all. Protective gear, weapons, the large paratroop bags which they have to attach beneath the main chute, are also put on, hooked up and made fast. Heavily laden, the men move to the Mi-8.

The rotor blades cut the turbulent air, becoming faster and faster; swinging, the helicopter lifts off, noses forward and finally flies climbing away. No more than 3 minutes later, the Mi-8 hovers at the proper altitude over the airfield. The comrades below follow the drop maneuver with attentive gazes; among the observers are the troops of Corporal Dibus, who has advised them to observe this jump in strong wind.

Even sport jumpers with their efficient winged parachutes would certainly think twice about going up and jumping under these conditions. But the paratrooper must hazard the jump even with heavy equipment.

The first jumper has left the helicopter. The others follow at short intervals. A brief fall with the immediately opening small stabilizer chute, and then the green and brown RS-9's pop open in the blue summer sky.

The group has made a good jump; they hang together closely. The jumpers with the cargo bags release their loads, which drop down 10 meters and then hang there swinging on safety lines.

The wind quickly blows the group in the direction of the yellow landing cross. If they were to come down at this speed it would be comparable to a neck-breaking jump from a passenger train, but the first one is already slowing down his speed. The others follow with the same control maneuver. Now they are nearing the ground, and this is what the unitiatated observer can hardly believe: The jellyfish-shaped parachute canopy almost stands still above the ground. The first one lands, quickly

jumps to his feet and runs around the inflated canopy. Only in this way will it collapse.

Another one fails to accomplish this maneuver and is dragged over the turf by the parachute, the canopy standing up in the wind like a 60-square-meter sail, until he finally succeeds in releasing one side of the harness. One set of risers falls away and the canopy finally collapses, the wind going out of it like a balloon that has been punctured. The group assembles, then marches to the leader at the landing area who evaluates the jump.

Thomas Dibus and his group also discuss this jump, which for the young comrades was an interesting demonstration of the efficiency of their parachutes. This parachute must of course be mastered, must be controlled with no mistakes. In order to learn how to do this, they prepare thoroughly for each jump task. So Thomas Dibus also uses this time to discuss the upcoming jumps with his comrades, particularly the night jump planned for night. Of course, Thomas Dibus would also like to use this pause forced on them by the wind for a nap because he knows that it is going to be a very long, long day. But one must not give in to such "weaknesses" if one wishes to attain the lofty training goals with the best results. So the corporal goes over the jump tasks once more. He leads the discussion with knowledge and enthusiasm; he listens and proves himself to be a good military leader despite his youthfulness. The Berliner told us this about his route to becoming a paratrooper: "I have always been very active in sports, and therefore -- when I had to begin to think about my military service -- only the paratroops came under consideration. In the Berlin parachute sports section of the GST, where I had such an experienced teacher as Guenter Wolf for my jump instructor, I was able to prepare myself well, in terms of both conditioning and jumping. But to be honest, despite all the preparations the first weeks here in the battalion were hard. You often had to grit your teeth; without meaning to, you began to wonder what was the use of all this struggling, this drudgery...." Like all new comrades, Thomas Dibus thought much during these weeks about our socialist nation, the danger to peace posed by the imperialists and the absolute necessity for major efforts by our soldiers to increase combat readiness.

When the solemn swearing-in of the comrades in his duty year was held, he stood solidly behind the words of the oath of our army personnel. The ceremony and meaning of this hour were increased by the fact that his parents and also his GST jump instructor, Guenter Wolf, attended the oath-taking ceremony.

This high point was quickly followed by the normal routine. The Berliner was one of the best and thus was sent to NCO school, which he likewise completed with good results. In the spring, he acquired the packer qualification for the RS-9 and the reserve gear. This qualification authorized him to instruct other comrades in parachute packing, to inspect parachutes and, finally, to attest to the operational readiness of the parachute -- a very great responsibility, of which he is fully aware, and one which occupies him even in his sleep, as his dream this morning showed.

But Thomas Dibus accepts his new function resolutely and grows more sure of himself with each new day in the jump training camp, especially because he knows comrades in his group are striving to achieve the best training results, just as he is.

There is Michael Gennrich, the 18-year-old from Rathmannsdorf who completed his GST training in Magdeburg and came to the battalion with 22 jumps and good performances in running. He is one of the gung-ho troops, one of the comrades who for example can still finish a "little" 3,000 meter run around the airfield even after a strenuous day of jumping.

Not everyone brings such good qualifications to the orange-red berets. One example is Frank Rumpler from Senftenberg. Although he completed the GST's jump theory course and the ground training, he never received the chance to make a jump. So, like many others, getting acquainted with the sky was a new experience for the skilled machinist. When it comes to a training program that involves as much as paratroop training does, this is of course a disadvantage, but hard work and the help of other comrades keep it from being an insurmountable obstacle.

The 20-year-old had this to say about his first jump a few days ago: "When I put the parachute on for the first time, I was already very excited. Then we had to take them off again; the wind was too strong. Another day of waiting; another day of excitement. Then I finally made it; I was sitting in the AN-2. What feelings those were. But I knew I would jump. Stand up, move in front of the jumpmaster, your foot in the hatch -- jump. The chute opened; I checked out the canopy and looked for the spot. Then my first reaction was a happy one. I'd like to have jumped again right after I landed.

The young man from Senftenberg meanwhile has seven jumps recorded in his jump book; numbers eight and nine are to come today, the latter being his first nighttime jump.

Finally, after lunch, the jumpmaster also clears the first-year comrades to jump. Commands once again reverberate over the staging area. The group leaders check out the parachutes that their soldiers have put on, and then they report to the comrades of the paratroop corps, the specialists, that they are ready to go. Then these specialists make their inspection, which involves giving a grade.

Once again, group after group marches to the small Antonov aircraft, the parachutes open over the airfield and groups of paratroopers guide themselves toward the yellow landing cross.

Corporal Dibus is in high spirits after his group's jump. They received a grade of "1" for their preparations and the jump itself, thus assuring themselves of being among the leaders in the soldiers' competition. Now they have to do just as well with their night jump this evening.

The hours until dusk are spent on an evening run, supper and jump preparations. Once the sun has completely disappeared below the horizon, it is finally time to harness up. Half an hour later they are sitting close together in the AN-2. The tension of their first night jump shows on some of the faces. The group leader says an encouraging word and then peers out into the night while the aircraft gains altitude. The city's harbor installations are clearly visible in the glare of the floodlights. Steaming away from the coast, which looks somewhat lighter, is a small freighter, recognizable by its navigation lights. The paratroopers do not have long to enjoy the lights below or to dwell on their thoughts. As soon as the jumpmaster opens the hatch, the air stream comes whistling into the cabin. The men

stand up, move close together and concentrate on the drop, which is to be done as a group this time as well. Now the jumpmaster moves away from the hatch. Thomas Dibus is the heaviest, so he jumps first; the others follow at intervals of seconds. The Berliner feels the jerk of the chute as it opens; shortly thereafter it blots out the starry sky like a dark cloud. The jumper shines his flashlight on the canopy. No damage -- everything's all right. Where are the others? He turns the canopy toward his group and tries to count the number of parachutes floating above him. He is unable to locate them all. The illuminated altimeter indicates a scant 100 meters. Prepare for landing -- the ground is already coming up to meet him. Feet out in front, hit the ground, roll. He hears the other comrades landing beside and behind him.

Now Thomas Dibus flashes his light around -- signals coming out of the darkness for the others, who are supposed to gather around. After about 10 minutes they are all there and without injury. Two of the comrades are already trading impressions of their first night jump. In a friendly way, their corporal admonishes them to put this off until later.

Thomas Dibus is satisfied. They achieved good ratings and have advanced another step further in their training. The tension slowly drains out of him; weariness creeps in. Now -- in an hour at the latest -- they'll be falling into their cots. This time, says Thomas Dibus to himself, his sleep will definitely be dreamless.

7458
CSO: 2300/85

SWEDISH PAPER COMPILES LIST OF INTERNED PERSONS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 23 Dec 81 p 13

[Article by Peter Johnsson]

[Text] Today DAGENS NYHETER is able to present a list of 260 people in Warsaw who have been arrested since the military council took over power in Poland on 13 December. DAGENS NYHETER is the first of the news media to gain access to the material which was completed on Tuesday.

The list contains the names of intellectuals, known cultural figures and scientists--most associated with Solidarity and prominent people in the struggle for a more open society.

This is the first list that has been made. It is based on information compiled from reports smuggled out of Poland in various ways. This information is now being collated in Switzerland where the Solidarity exile organization has its headquarters.

First List of 260 Intellectuals

It is hard to obtain reliable information as to how many people have been interned in Poland since the military council introduced martial law a week and a half ago. The number varies from the 50,000 of Solidarity to the 5000 of the authorities but other information from diplomatic sources in Warsaw tends to confirm Solidarity's figure rather than that of the authorities.

Naturally it is even harder to obtain the names of people who are interned in camps or jails. The authorities have issued false and misleading information on this point too. For example concerning Miroslaw Chojecki, legendary publisher of underground literature in Poland. According to the official version he is sitting behind bars. But he is the first person I met at the airport in Zurich. And when the coup occurred he was in the United States, he told me.

The names of those arrested get out to the West in different ways. Friends of those in prison give the information to people leaving the country. This information is then passed on to the Solidarity members who are in exile in various places in Europe.

The list published by DAGENS NYHETER was compiled after information from different places in Europe was compared. The information is as reliable as it can be considering the Polish regime's effective cutting off of the country. Thus some mistakes are unavoidable.

This list concerns only the Warsaw area and includes mainly intellectuals.

Of course the list is also incomplete. It is not difficult to name people who are not on the list but are quite certainly interned.

Obtaining the names of imprisoned Solidarity activists from the ranks of the workers is much harder. Only the most well-known names leak out.

Men Interned in Warsaw

Key:

1. Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki. Legal adviser to Solidarity. Well-known lawyer who on several occasions defended opposition people when they were brought to court. After events in 1976, defender of workers in Radom and Ursus. Under Stalin era imprisoned himself and condemned to death. Sentence changed to life imprisonment and after Stalin's death Sila-Nowicki was set free. Born in 1933.

2. Janusz Onyszkiewicz. Born in 1939. Solidarity's "Machiavelli." Professor of mathematics at Warsaw University. Has been guest professor at among other places the universities at Oxford, London, Leeds, Manchester, Paris. Since this September member of Solidarity's highest leadership. Close cooperator with and adviser to Walesa. Politically involved since student uprising in 1968.

3. Jacek Kuron. One of Poland's most well-known opposition figures. Under 1960's and 1970's arrested several times. One of those behind the founding of KOR--the Committee for Social Self-Defense--in 1976. Since August 1980 adviser to Solidarity presidium. Now arrested along with his wife, Grazyna, and son, Maciej. Kuron was born in 1934.

4. Zbigniew Bujak. A 26-year-old electrotechnical engineer from the big Ursus tractor factory in Warsaw. Bujak is chairman of the Warsaw region Solidarity and a member of Solidarity's highest leadership. Seen by many as Walesa's successor. Bujak is free today, according to some reports, after having fled from a prisoner transport.

List of Names [numbers as printed]

A

1. Arkuszewski, Wojciech
2. Adkowski, Jaroslaw
3. Amsterdamski, Stefan, philosopher
4. Amsterdamski, Piotr
5. Abgarowicz

B

6. Bogucka
7. Bugaj, Ryszard, expert in Solidarity
8. Bochenski, Jacek, author
9. Bialostocki, Jan, professor of art history
10. Buc, Andrzej
11. Beylin, Marek
12. Bartoszewski, Wladyslaw, vice chairman of P.E.N. Club
13. Bartoszewski, Witold
14. Borowski
15. Bak, Mieczyslaw
16. Borowik, Wladyslaw
17. Burek, Tomasz,historian
18. Bogustawski, Andrzej [as published; should be Boguslawski]
19. Boguslawski
20. Bujak, Zbigniew, see photo
21. Bratkowski, Stefan, chairman of journalists union
22. Broniarek, Emil
23. Bielinski, Konrad, editor in chief of underground paper, INDEPENDENT
24. Bielinski, A., member of doctors union
25. Borgowski [Borkowski?]
26. Buke, Andrzej
27. Brykczynski, Jerzy
28. Bigotowski, Bogdan
29. Bialolecki
30. Balasinska, Malgorzata, Solidarity's foreign section
31. Baranski, Marek, Warsaw University
32. Bielski, Bogdan
33. Borkowski, Tomasz, works for underground publishing house, NOWA [Independent Publishing House]
34. Borowik, Marek, NOWA
35. Borowik, Wojciech, NOWA
36. Boguta, Grzegorz, NOWA
37. Brodzik, Piotr
38. Bula, Tyrska [as published]
39. Bucht, Andrzej
169. Brandys, Marian, author

C

40. Celinski, Andrzej, national council of Solidarity
41. Celinski, Wojciech
42. Chajn, Jozef, sympathizer of KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense]
43. Chimiak, Marek
44. Czabanski, Krzysztof
45. Czaputowidz, Jacek [probably Czaputowicz], Independent Students' Association, NZS--Students' Solidarity
46. Czuma, Andrzej
47. Cisko, Maciej, journalist

C (Cont.)

48. Chomicki, Jan, Independent Students' Association
49. Czarniecka, Joanna
50. Chmielewski
51. Cwierlikowska, Dorota
52. Chrzanowski, Wieslaw, expert in Solidarity national council
53. Chodakiewicz, Witold, engineer
54. Chodkiewicz
Czarnik, Oskar

D

55. Drawicz, Andrzej, writer
56. Dorn, Ludwik, editor in chief of underground paper GLOS [ROSTEN]
57. Duriasz, Jozef, actor
58. Dyher, Jerzy, member of Solidarity leadership in Warsaw
59. Dworak, Jan, works for weekly SOLIDARNOSC

F

60. Ferenc, Witold, journalist for GLOS
61. Frybes, Marcia
62. Fikus, Dariusz,journalists union
63. Friszke, Andrzej
64. Falecka

G

65. Gorski, Mieczyslaw
66. Golar, Eugeniusz
67. Geremek, Bronislaw, expert in Solidarity national council
68. Grunwald, employed by Central Statistics Institute
69. Gut-Gutkowski, member of Warsaw Solidarity leadership
70. Gogulski, Ireneusz, journalist with Solidarity regional paper
71. Gutowski, Zygmunt, Solidarity leadership in Warsaw
72. Guzy, Jaroslaw, member of NZS, Independent Students' Association
73. Glinski, Piotr
74. Gzula, Jerzy
75. Grudzinski, Mieczyslaw, KOR member, Solidarity film group
76. Galbarczyk, Daniel
77. Grzesiak, Bogdan, printer for NOWA, the underground book publishing firm

H

78. Holzer, Jerzy, historian
79. Herczynski, Ryszard, philosopher at Warsaw University
80. Hertz, Pawel, authors' union
81. Hopfinger, Maryla

I, J

82. Illowiecki, Maciej, journalist with publication POLITYKA
83. Jezewska, Elzbieta
84. Jordan, Andrzej, Solidarity leadership in Warsaw
85. Jedlicki, Jerzy, Scientific Academy in Warsaw
86. Jastrun, Tomasz, authors' union
87. Jaworski, Seweryn, regional vice chairman

K

88. Konwicki, Tadeusz, author
89. Kuron, Jacek, see photo
90. Kuron, Grazyna, Jacek Kuron's wife
91. Kuron, Maciej, Jacek Kuron's son and member of students' union
92. Kaputowicz
93. Kunicki-Goldfinger, mathematics professor, Scientific Academy
94. Kijowski, Andrzej, literary critic
95. Kawalec, Stefan, Solidarity leadership in Warsaw
96. Kretkowski, Slawomir, NOWA, underground publishing firm
97. Katyhski, Andrzej [as published; should be Katynski]

K (Cont.)

98. Kabanski, Krzysztof
99. Kaminski, Tomasz
100. Kruk, Roland, member of Independent Students' Association, NZS
101. Kecik, Wieslaw, member of Farmers' Solidarity
102. Kecik, Marzena
103. Kolo, Eugeniusz
104. Kozlowski, member of students' association, NZS
105. Kozlowski
106. Komar, Mical [as published; should be Michal], author
107. Kurowski, Stefan, expert in national council. associate professor
108. Komorowski, Bronislaw, historian
109. Karbowiak, Ireneusz
110. Kowalska, Zena
111. Kowalski, Sergiusz, KOR member
112. Kania
113. Kaczynski, Andrzej
114. Kesy, Marek
115. Kuczynski, Waldemar, historian
116. Kubikowski, Zbigniew
117. Klocher, Ryszard
118. Kuligowski
119. Kusinski, Stanislaw, Solidarity regional leadership
120. Karpinski, Marek
121. Kloczkowski
122. Kaczynski, Jaroslaw, jurist
123. Karpezo, Stanislaw, Solidarity leadership at URSUS tractor factory
124. Kaniewski, Jerzy, URSUS
125. Kowalsczyk, B [as published; should be Kowalczyk]
126. Knap, Zbigniew, Solidarity regional leadership
127. Knapp, Jacek, Solidarity regional leadership
128. Kolesnik, Barbara
129. Kracher
130. Kupiecki, Dariusz
131. Kuligowski
170. Ksiadz, Kantowski
171. Kaczor, Kazimierz
173. Kowalska, Kinga

L

132. Litynska, Krystyna, KOR member
133. Litynski, Jan, KOR member
175. Lutek, Alexander
176. Leski, Krzystof [as published; should be Krzysztof], Solidarity news bureau, AS
177. Lipski, Jan Tomasz, KOR member
178. Lipski, Jan Josef [as published; should be Jozef], KOR member
179. Lukasiewicz, Mallgorzata [as published; should be Malgorzata], translator
180. Lukasiewicz, Piotr, sociologist
181. Lubienski, Tomasz, writer
182. Lapinski, Zdzislaw
183. Lojek, Jerzy, historian
184. Lojek, Pitr [as published; should be Piotr], Independent Students' Association
185. Luczywo, Helena, AS, Solidarity news bureau
186. Lewandowska, Irena, translator

M

134. Michnik, Adam, Solidarity-Warsaw
187. Malachowski, Alexander [as published; should be Aleksander], writer
188. Macierewicz, Antoni, KOR member
189. Markuszewski, Jerzy, producer and KOR member (released Tuesday afternoon according to Polish Radio)
190. Markuszewski, Tomasz, son of Jerzy M.
191. Moszula, Piotr
192. Mazowiecki, Tadeusz, editor in chief of SOLIDARNOSC
193. Majewski, Janusz, Catholic Theological Academy
194. Mroczek, Piotr, Solidarity leadership on radio and TV
195. Mordon, Issis
196. Mikolajska, Halina, KOR activist, actor

N O P

135. Nagorski, Wiktor
136. Nowicki, Marek, Solidarity-Warsaw
137. Nowicki, Piotr
197. Nowakowski, Marek, writer
198. Narkusz, adviser to Solidarity national council
199. Olszewski, Jan
200. Onyszkiewicz, Janusz, see photo
138. Prorok, Leszek, literary historian
231. Przewlocki, Janusz
232. Pawlak, Antoni, writer
Pawlicka, Malgorzata

R

139. Romaniuk, Adam, son of Krystyna R.
140. Romaniuk, Krystyna, secretary in Solidarity
141. Romaszewska, Zofia, Solidarity-Warsaw
142. Romaszewska, Agnieszka, Independent Students' Association
143. Romaszewski, Zbigniew, Solidarity leadership in Warsaw
144. Regulska, Elzbieta, KOR member
145. Ross, Tadeusz
146. Ruszar, Jozef, weekly publication, SOLIDARNOSC
233. Rubinstein, Ryszard, mathematician
234. Romaniuk, Krzystof [as published; should be Krzysztof]
235. Rusinek, Stanislaw, Solidarity-Warsaw
236. Rozner, Andrzej, employed by the underground paper GLOS
237. Rayzacher, Maciej, actor, KOR member
238. Rykowski, Zbigniew, Independent Students' Association

S

147. Sokolowski, Lech, Warsaw Solidarity leadership
148. Sielawa, Bogdan, Independent Students' Association
149. Sielawa, Witold, works with ROBOTNIK
150. Srebrny, Marian, regional Solidarity leadership
151. Stawicki, Andrzej
152. Stachnik, Tadeusz, member of KPN (Confederation for an Independent Poland)
153. Szczepanski, Jaroslaw, SOLIDARNOSC
154. Sopocko, Jan, Solidarity leadership with radio and TV
155. Sciskalski, Jan, Solidarity-Warsaw
156. Sliwinski, Krzysztof, head of foreign bureau with Solidarity-Warsaw
157. Swierkowska, Dorora [as published; should be Dorota], Solidarity librarian
172. Sadurski, Karol, Solidarity-Warsaw
202. Stachowinski
203. Stachlik
239. Slaninski, Piotr
240. Slanicki, Andrzej
241. Szczypiorski, Andrzej, writer
242. Sila-Nowicki, see photo
243. Sicziak [as published], Marek
244. Stelmachowski, Andrzej, member of a Catholic club and expert in Solidarity
245. Starewicz
246. Studzinski, Bogdan
247. Szpakowski, Zdzislaw, employed with the Catholic paper WIEZ [LANKEN]
248. Strzelecki, Jerzy
249. Strzelecki, Jan
250. Suwala, Halina
251. Skorzynski, Jan
252. Strochalski, Krzystof [as published; should be Krzysztof]
253. Skukinski, Piotr
254. Starczewski, Stefan
255. Sianko, Anna
256. Siemion, Stanislaw
257. Slasinski, Piotr
258. Slasinski, Maciej
259. Sokolowska, Anna

T U

158. Tomczak
159. Trapinski, B.
204. Tomaszewska
205. Tomaszewski
206. Tarkowski, J.
207. Tyszka, Andrzej, sociologist
208. Topinski, Piotr
209. Tobera, Marek, member of Scientific Academy
210. Tabin, Marek
160. Urbanowicz, Anna
211. Uminski, T.

W

161. Welpinski, Wieslaw
162. Wilczynski, J.
163. Woroszylski, Wiktor
164. Woycicki, Kazimierz
165. Wujec, Ludka
166. Wipych, Wlodzimietz [as published; should be Wlodzimierz], editor of Solidarity publication
212. Warpechowska, Anna, employed at literary research institute
213. Werner, Andrzej, critic
214. Wronski, Andrzej, logician
215. Wosiek, Maria, KOR member
216. Walc, Jan, weekly, SOLIDARNOSC
217. Wilczycki, Jerzy
218. Wocial, Jerzy
219. Wyszkowski, Krzystof [as published; should be Krzysztof], weekly, SOLIDARNOSC
220. Wolonicki, Leslaw
221. Wierzbicki, Piotr, writer
222. Wujec, Henryk, KOR member

Z

167. Zbikowski
168. Ziembinski, Wojciech, editor in chief of REPUBLICA
223. Zambrowski, Antoni
224. Zimand, Roman, writer
225. Zolnierkiewicz, Slawomir
226. Zielinska, Halina
227. Zulak
228. Zajaczkowska, Grazyna, Solidarity-Warsaw
229. Zazula, Andrzej
230. Zielinski, Marek

6578
CSO: 3109/80

COMPOSITION OF MILITARY COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL SALVATION PUBLISHED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 2

["Composition of the Military Council for National Salvation"]

[Text] Composition of the Military Council for National Salvation, established during the night of 12-13 December 1981:

Chairman:

General of Army Wojciech Jaruzelski

Members:

General of Arms Florian Siwicki

General of Arms Tadeusz Tuczapski

General of Arms Eugeniusz Molczyk

Admiral Ludwik Janczyszyn

General of Division Czeslaw Kiszczak

General of Division Tadeusz Hupalowski

General of Division Czeslaw Piotrowski

General of Division Jozef Baryla

General of Division Wlodzimierz Oliwa

General of Division Henryk Rapacewicz

General of Division Jozef Uzycki

General of Division Tadeusz Krepski

General of Division Longin Lozcwicki

General of Brigade Michal Janiszewski

General of Brigade Jerzy Jarosz

Colonel Tadeusz Makarewicz

Colonel Kazimierz Garbacik

Colonel (Reserves) Roman Les

Lt Colonel Jerzy Wlosinski

Lt Colonel Miroslaw Hermasz

9761
CSO: 2600/150

COUNCIL OF STATE RESOLUTION ON USHERING IN STATE OF WAR PUBLISHED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 2

["Resolution of the Council of State on the Ushering in of the State of War"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The Council of State of the People's Republic of Poland issued a resolution on 12 December 1981 on the introduction, effective 13 December 1981 of the state of war on the entire territory of the state due to the considerations of state security, proceeding from the need to ensure enhanced safeguarding of the fundamental interests of the People's Republic of Poland and its citizens and also with the aim of creating conditions for the effective safeguarding of state sovereignty and independence as well as quiet, calm and public order, securing the effective functioning of authority, state administration and national economy./

The state of war has been ushered in on the authority of article 33, paragraph 2 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Poland, which empowers the Council of State to usher in the state of war on a part of or on the entire territory of the People's Republic of Poland, if considerations of defense or state security so require.

For the duration of the state of war, certain civic rights provided by the constitution and specific laws and by international agreements ratified by the People's Republic of Poland are suspended or limited. This concerns, specifically, personal inviolability (article 87, paragraph 1 of the Constitution), inviolability of dwellings and confidentiality of correspondence (article 87, paragraph 2 of the Constitution) as well as the freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, meetings, marches and demonstrations (article 83, paragraph 1 of the Constitution).

Specific obligations of services to the cause of the country's defense are imposed on the organs of authority and state administration as well as the enterprises of socialized economy. Obligations of serving in the armed forces, in the militarized units and in the units of civil defense are imposed on the citizens.

The principle of subordinating the activity of all organs of state authority and administration, all units of socialized economy and social and professional organizations to the interests of the state and the nation has been adopted.

Special penal, penal-administrative and disciplinary liability of citizens has been introduced, especially with regard to public functionaries, for failure to obey legal order and unconscientious fulfillment of duties to the state.

The above matters are specifically regulated by the provisions of laws, decrees and executive legal acts of the Council of Ministers, Committee for the Defense of the Country (KOK), ministers and heads of central offices, vowodship defense committees, governors and mayors of province-level cities based on these laws and decrees.

The basic legal acts determining the consequences of the introduced state of war are the following decrees, adopted by the Council of State on 12 December 1981: the decree on the state of war and the decree on special proceedings in cases of crimes and violations during the state of war, the decree on the transfer of certain criminal proceedings to jurisdiction of military courts and on the change of structure of military courts and military organizational units of the Procuracy of the People's Republic of Poland for the duration of the state of war, and also relevant regulations of the law of 21 November 1967 on the comprehensive duty of defense of the People's Republic of Poland.

In order to acquaint the citizens with the new legal situation which has been established on the territory of the People's Republic of Poland, further communiques will be forthcoming. On 13 December 1981 on the entire territory of the country proclamations of the chairman of the Council of State were posted in which the rules, bans and limitations and special duties of citizens associated with the introduced state of war were publicly announced.

9761
CSO: 2600/150

DRAFT OF INTRAPARTY WORK PROGRAM IN POZNAN VOIVODSHIP PUBLISHED

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 21 Oct 81 p 3

["Principle Directions of Activity for 1981-1983", submitted by PZPR Voivodship Committee in Poznan]

[Text] On October 8, 1981, we published the draft of the PZPR Socioeconomic Program in the Poznan Voivodship for 1981-1983.

Today we publish the draft of the PZPR Intraparty Work Program in the Poznan Voivodship--the principle directions of activity for 1981-1983.

I. Consolidating the Party and its Leading Role

1. Intraparty life is based on three fundamental Leninist principles:

-- intraparty democracy,
-- democratic centralism,
-- openness of political life.

The full implementation of these principles by the party echelons, the primary party organizations (POP) and the members, will further the attainment of the program goals of the party and ensure permanent party ties with all of society.

2. Solicitude for the party's development must include care to preserve its class character and to closely observe statutory standards.

3. The work of the echelons and the primary party organizations and their executive boards must be based on the principles of collegiality. Before important decisions are made, the opinions of the involved echelons and primary party organizations must be obtained so that the opinions of the broadest ranks of party members may be considered in decisionmaking.

4. Resolutions passed by the party echelons, primary party organizations (POP) and their executive boards must be consistently implemented and the degree of their implementation should be regularly verified by the audit commissions as well as by higher-level echelons. Qualified voivodship committee departments collect the records on the resolutions that have been passed and supervise their implementation.

5. It is the duty of the echelons to inform the POP members about the resolutions that are passed and the reasons therefor, and the degree of their implementation. This practice serves to expand the openness of political life and the credibility of party activities.

6. Changes being made in the work style of the party's statutory apparatus, consisting of a departure from administration in favor of performing a service role to echelons and party members, should be intensified. The specific tasks and place of the permanent party apparatus and its service role to elected organs should be defined, while at the same time organizational efficiency and the precision of operation of all party organizations is preserved.

7. In striving to change the present method of implementing the principle of the party's leading role in our sociopolitical and economic life, it is necessary to:

-- give broad consideration to public opinions and feelings in party activities,

-- base party activities and resolutions on previous consultations with party members and nonparty persons and on the results of studies of social events and public opinion,

-- develop new methods of exerting the influence of party echelons on particular fields of sociopolitical and economic life. They should be based on party inspiration and supervision of the implementation of the party line, and not on the replacement of individual state, social and economic organs in making concrete decisions,

-- vigorously enforce the statutory responsibility of the party members for implementing the party's political-program line at their places of employment, dwelling places, and in the social activity that they demonstrate in other organizations. All of these activities should contribute to consolidating the party's leading role.

8. Consolidation of the party's leading role should take place also through increased activity, conforming to the party's statute and program, of its members who serve on such representative organs as the Sejm and the People's Councils.

II. Party Organs and Echelons

1. The party echelons are charged with:

-- establishing the basic party goals in a given locality or community,

-- directing the settlement of ideological, political and socioeconomic problems,

-- supervising the work of lower-level echelons and the primary party organizations. The echelon has an especially important duty to involve itself in the manner and degree to which primary organizations obtain support for party policies in the communities in which they function.

2. The problem commissions appointed by the committees must become the elements that develop the most important proposals and ideas for the echelons. They must also be the inspiring elements and must pass judgment on the activities of their own and lower-level echelons. The Voivodship Committee departments should also act as the secretarial staff to these commissions.

3. The right to represent the echelons on the outside and to present their positions belongs to the elected members, and with the authorization of the echelon or its organs, to the political workers of a given committee.

4. In order to increase the supervisory role of the general membership of the primary organizations and echelons over their executive organs, the leadership of the particular POP, echelons, and their commissions, submit reports on their activities in the middle of their terms which must be accepted by secret balloting.

5. The audit commissions and the party inspection commissions, in addition to fulfilling their statutory obligations, should halfway and at the end of their terms make an evaluation of the functioning of the echelons and their executive organs. The conclusions emerging from these evaluations should be submitted at the conference sessions, and in special cases, to the higher-level echelons.

6. At the party meetings and meetings of the echelons and other party organs, the participants should speak principally in their own name, and not that of their office. They should share their own thoughts or refer to problems which rankle the social circles in which they function. The party meetings should serve as a forum to exchange thoughts and viewpoints, to honestly analyze the realities and to assess the level of the party's work, to formulate evaluations and conclusions and to develop ideas, and should not be a forum in which to report on plant or community successes. Any censorship, or attemt to censor, any expressions, is forbidden and persons guilty of this will be charged with serious violations of the party's statute.

7. Permanent commissions should be appointed in the echelons, to which proposals, decisions and positions could flow from the party members and POP. This should be material which can be used in developing a work plan for the echelons and their problem commissions and to execute the decisions made by the collegial party organs. It is the task of the executive board of the committee at a given level to deal with the proposals formulated at the meetings of the POP, the committee and the commission, and to demand appropriate reaction to these proposals from those at whom they have been directed.

8. It is the duty of all echelons and POP to be mindful of the high authority of the deputies, councillors and members of various self-governing bodies who are party members. It is through them that the party and its echelons exert an important influence on the activities and decisions of representative bodies and self-governments, and indirectly, on the activities of the state and economic administrations.

9. The Voivodship Committee and echelons at the primary level are obliged to develop a system of party work with party members belonging to union, youth and social organizations. Comrades who are able to be persuasive on primary party goals and who at the same time are able to gain confidence and authority in their community should be utilized in party activities.

III. POP in Party Life

1. The primary party organizations, as the basic element of the party, while maintaining their independence and responsibility, are obliged to observe the general statutory principles of party functioning, the disciplined--in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism--implementation of its program and resolutions.

2. The POP are obliged to implement the crucial issues of party policy and to deal with the problems affecting the community in which they function. Having an important influence on the personnel composition of the party and the quality of its members, the POP are fully responsible for observing the statutory criteria for acceptance into the party and for enforcing the responsibility of the persons doing the recommending. A consistent implementation of this task will cleanse the party ranks of individuals who are irresponsible and prevent the infiltration of non-ideological persons into the party. This will guarantee implementation of the principle of the conformance of words with deeds.

3. The POP, in implementing the principle of openness of political life, are obliged to inform their members about the decisions and resolutions of party authorities at all levels about their work and about the political and socioeconomic situation, thus facilitating a multiplanar analysis of problems, with special consideration to objective, substantive criticism and self-criticism.

4. The POP should undertake activities which will ensure the proper functioning of enterprises and institutes; they should be the stimulators of a movement to raise the political awareness of the working people, the organizers of their participation in the sociopolitical and economic life of the country, the region and their workplace. Party organizations in places of employment, taking into account the multiplicity of information, viewpoints and assessments, should undertake activities to integrate the party community and different communities and generations around the politics of the party and its program. However, in order for this undertaking to be effectively implemented, the higher-level party echelons are obliged to supply the appropriately informative and persuasive propaganda material and the equipment indispensable to distribute and transmit this material.

5. The POP should not directly interfere in the process of managing and directing the enterprises. But as a discerning observer, they should propose optimal changes in those spheres where this may be required, cooperating with the workers self-government, trade-union organizations and youth organizations.

6. In the implementation of the party's program and political line and in order to increase the POP's authority, contacts among organizations operating in various communities should be employed. The development of self-government in the social and economic sphere makes this type of cooperation essential for it can ensure fuller implementation of the idea of the party's leading role.

7. The POP are obliged to evaluate and influence the interpersonal relationships in workplaces and the community and to popularize socialist standards of co-existence.

8. One of the conditions for strengthening the POP's authority in its community is to take a position on vital problems and processes appearing in the community and in the country's sociopolitical life.

9. The POP are obliged to closely cooperate with all social organizations, particularly with socialist youth unions.

10. Primary organizations and party echelons should give a great deal of attention to care of veterans of labor and battles and to utilize their knowledge and experience.

IV. Party Members

1. Joining and belonging to the party is the result of a voluntary and conscious choice of each of its members and assumes the acceptance of a series of obligations, such as absolute observance of the party statute and its ideological principles. In addition to activeness and commitment, every party member should possess the qualities of modesty, honesty, high moral values and civic integrity.

2. Deep patriotism and generosity of work for the good of the country, respect for national values, fulfilment of the ideals and principles of socialism, unswerving loyalty to proletarian internationalism, a struggle with everything that weakens socialist Poland and its alliances with the USSR and other countries in the socialist community and threatens its interests--these are the basic obligations of a party member.

3. In social organization activities each party member should implement the decisions of the party. This is especially important now when the party will fulfill its leading role through the party members in the social organizations, people's councils, trade unions and all types of self-government organs.

4. It is the duty of every party member to increase his familiarity with Marxist-Leninist theory and improve his professional qualifications and general knowledge.

5. Every party member must conduct himself in accordance with the principles proclaimed by the party. He must have the courage to express his convictions and critically oppose those acts that are deemed improper, unworthy or damaging to the party and society. The party requires from its members honest professional work, modesty, sincerity and integrity.

V. The Party's Cadre Policy

1. The influence on appointments to positions in the vast party apparatus and economic units is one of the important attributes of the political party in power. It is based on the selection of a leadership cadre which will create a favorable social climate and the conditions for implementing the party program, and will implement this program.

2. The basic goal of cadre policy is to ensure that appointments to management positions in the state and economic organizations will be made which will guarantee:

-- efficient and effective functioning of appropriate units,

-- conformance of the activities of these units with social needs and anticipations,

-- as concerns positions of particular political importance, conformance of activities of the cadre with the political line of the party.

In addition, the goal of cadre policy is also to create the conditions for proper utilization of the potential for knowledge and skills that is inherent in people and to clear the path for the advancement of all those who possess the indispensable moral and professional qualifications.

3. One of the most important elements of cadre policy is the development of a compact and clear system of cadre selection criteria and its consistent observance.

4. The criteria with which the leadership cadre of different levels and in various units should comply should meet the requirements of the function being performed and the range of responsibility. Irrespective of the requirements, the party, in its cadre policy, will be guided by the following general criteria:

-- high moral, social and ideological qualities, such as, for example, skill in working with and winning over people, decisiveness and communicativeness, conscientiousness and diligence,

-- professional, such as skill in decisionmaking, skill in leading groups of people, and an appropriate level of professional knowledge,

--mental and intellectual predispositions to increase their knowledge,

-- as concerns positions of particular political importance, the proper political qualifications as shown in their political stance, conforming to social expectations.

5. The system of criteria, irrespective of professional requirements and functions, should be developed by the initiative of the POP and party echelons in the shortest possible time, with the participation of representatives of science and experienced practicians.

6. A system of annual evaluations of the results of the work of the leadership cadre should be instituted, taking into account the above-cited criteria. This will assist in formulating the proper cadre conclusions and in improving the functioning of the state administration and the economic units.

7. It is necessary to form a reserve cadre composed of persons with suitable professional and moral and political qualifications, as well as intellectual and mental predispositions, which will ensure that the various functions will be performed. The creation of the reserve cadre will have an effect on the proper implementation of the promotion policy.

8. A critical evaluation should be made of the existing system of training cadre, from the standpoint of its effectiveness, and to make the indispensable revisions. Such an analysis should be made with the participation of the scientific institutes and professional organizations (Chief Technical Organization, Polish Economic Society, SIKP [expansion unknown], etc.).

9. The above-mentioned activities should ensure the proper and undeniable familiarity of the party echelons and organizations with the state of the cadre, which should make it possible for the party to advance people into leadership positions who are well-skilled and ideological, and who have the authority and confidence of the communities in which they function.

10. One form of leadership cadre selection is competition. The party echelons which are really familiar with the cadre can refer the highest qualified cadre to the competition. Party echelons, working with the allied factions and social organizations, can agree with them on candidates for positions, particularly in relation to elected positions in the power structure.

11. An effective and accepted social policy of dismissals from jobs should be developed. It is proper to publicly reveal the motives for the actions of people who were dismissed as a result of negligence, incompetence, or outright criminal activity. Those cadre who were honest and hardworking but could not meet the increased requirements should be dismissed in a manner that does not violate their dignity and they should be given recognition for their past services. Similar procedures should be applied in the case of people who were erroneously promoted, if the worker did everything he could to fulfill his tasks but underestimated his capabilities or the burden of duties undertaken.

12. Cadre policy should be at the center of attention of the party echelons and organizations. Its effectiveness and degree of social acceptance should be constantly examined and actions resulting from the changing situation should be undertaken pragmatically.

VI. Party Apparatus

1. To implement its program and maintain organizational cohesiveness the PZPR must have its own permanent apparatus, maintained from party funds. It is comprised of activists, party secretaries chosen by echelon members and workers appointed by the elective elements.

2. The party apparatus is strictly subordinate to the elective party echelons. In a disciplined and uniform manner it implements the policies and decisions of the collective leadership organs of the party.

3. The permanent party cadre concentrates its activities on preparing proposals for draft resolutions for the needs of the echelons, indicating strategy and policy. It organizes the supervision and execution of echelon decisions and fulfills a teaching function.

4. The apparatus workers should be skilled in analyzing social phenomena, in evaluating their political and class importance, in developing ideas, preparing draft resolutions and activity programs.

5. Party apparatus workers are obliged to unceasingly improve their qualifications through self-education, and also participate in organized forms of training.

6. It is essential that the political workers' affairs, insofar as the law is concerned, are in order. It is also necessary to prepare an intraparty document governing the working situation of those employed in the party apparatus (political worker status).

7. Political workers belong to party organizations in enterprises, state institutions or dwelling places. They have a duty to inform the POP about the work of the echelon in which they are workers, and vice versa.

VII. The Instruction System

The theoretical and ideological armament of the party and its members is an essential condition for maintaining party identity and its internal integrity. A solid knowledge about the goals, characters, forms and traditions of the actions of the communist party prevents confusion in the current ideological-program muddle which is the result of the moral-ideological crisis in the country. To implement this goal, the following component parts of the party education system should be put into effect:

1. Ideological-political preparation of PZPR candidates in a program covering familiarity with the foundations of knowledge on the ideological principles and program assumptions of the PZPR, the party statute and Leninist standards of party life. The forms of this training will differ, with the assumption that the course form will be regarded as basic.

2. A political ideology study department for party members of up to three years' standing. Its goal is to impart knowledge on Marxist philosophy, scientific socialism, political economy and the history of the Polish workers' movement.

3. Universal political instruction, whose goal it should be to interpret the crucial ideological and political problems of contemporary life in the country and to discuss current problems of party policy. The basic form of this instruction should be discussion at training meetings.

4. Training courses will be organized for newly elected secretaries and members of the executive boards of POP, teaching seminars and lecture clubs. The activities of the Marxism-Leninism Evening University will also be directed toward this goal.

5. Special attention should be given to the collection and examination of theory-program materials which are the ideological source of the activities of the opposition forces in relation to the party and socialism. A detailed familiarity with them by the Voivodship Committee lecturers and political workers is an essential condition for maintaining the party's effective ideological offensive.

6. Party echelons are obliged to ensure all possible assistance to the primary organizations in the area of party instruction. This pertains both to assistance in choosing lecturers and in preparing the indispensable materials.

VIII. The Party and Youth

1. The youth movement in the Poznan voivodship will be treated by the party in accordance with the Leninist concept of youth organizations, i.e., organizational self-government and independence of youth unions is recognized.

2. The party sees the youth organizations as a partner in solving sociopolitical and economic problems pertaining to the youth themselves.

3. The party expects that the youth will openly express themselves and voice their opinions and judgments on all problems bothering them.

4. The party's leading role in relation to the youth movement will be implemented through ideological-upbringing and program inspiration in the spirit of democracy based on genuine ideals of socialism, at the same time recognizing the total independence of unions in creating the goal and shaping the forms of ideological-upbringing work.

5. The party will support all initiatives emanating from the youth movement which strive to develop new planes of cooperation with all unions which recognize the principle of a socialist system.

6. The party will endeavor to develop a uniform upbringing system (taking into account the existing polarization of viewpoints) based on socialist values.

7. It is expected that the youth organizations will develop in the young generation some examples of life and thought that are based on the achievements of the past and the current attainments of Polish socialist culture.

8. The party will support and assist the youth in its striving to improve its living standards and material conditions and in its socio-occupational adaptation as quickly as possibly.

9. The party is interested in the development of physical culture among the youth. Physical training in the schools does not meet the developmental needs of the children and youth. Action should be taken to improve the base and cadre working in behalf of physical culture of the children, especially in the rural community.

Resolutions of the Plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Poznan Dated October 19, 1981:

Regarding the acceptance of organizational assumptions and materials of Section 2 the Program Reports-Elections Voivodship Conference of the PZPR in Poznan.

I. The PZPR Voivodship Committee in Poznan, conforming to the will of the delegates, resolves to convene Section 2 of the PZPR Program Reports-Elections Voivodship Conference. After Section 1 of the Conference, the efforts of the entire voivodship party organization were concentrated on actions aimed at consolidating the party around the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress under difficult sociopolitical and economic conditions in the country and in the voivodship. While being aware of the reasons for party mistakes in the past, we must focus the efforts of all party members and the entire party base on the creation of conditions for overcoming the crisis and on the rebirth of political, social and economic life. The program section of our Reports-Elections Voivodship Conference will assist in developing these conditions.

II. The PZPR Voivodship Committee in Poznan, after familiarizing itself with information on the course and tasks of the PZPR Central Committee Fourth Plenum presented by the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, comrade Edward Skrzypczak, and familiarizing itself with the state of preparations for Section 2 of the PZPR Program Reports-Elections Voivodship Conference in Poznan, by motions presented in the discussions on the materials for the Conference, resolves:

1. Accept the materials from the PZPR Central Committee Fourth Plenum as guidelines for the work of the PZPR Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference in Poznan, Section 2, Program.

2. Fix the time and place of the Conference for Saturday, October 24, 1981, with deliberations to begin at 9 o'clock in the Boguslawski Hall of the Palace of Culture in Poznan, on Armia Czerwona Street.

3. Approve the draft of the Conference agenda, as follows:

-- the report of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board, which, by authority of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum, will be delivered by the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, comrade Edward Skrzypczak,

-- the report of the Voivodship Party Control Commission, which, by authority of the Commission, will be delivered by the chairman of the Commission, comrade Henryk Stach,

-- discussion,

-- acceptance of decisions and resolutions.

4. Approve the drafts of the Conference materials:

-- the PZPR Socioeconomic Program in the Poznan Voivodship--a plan of action for 1981-1983,

-- the resolution on the 100th anniversary of the workers' resistance movement in Great Poland,

-- the resolution on the construction of a Poznan Army Monument.

5. The PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board is obliged to prepare and present to the Conference proposals regarding the following documents:

-- the Conference's ideological declaration,

-- resolutions on actions to grant Poznan the status of a provincial capital and to reactivate the district people's councils and district offices,

-- a resolution on strengthening the workers-peasants alliance.

Regarding the form of ideological discussion in the party:

During a period when social confrontation is intensifying, with concern for party unity the PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum deems it essential to:

-- concentrate all training-discussion, information-propaganda and agitational efforts and initiatives within the framework of new, democratically formed PZPR echelons,

-- call for all of the heretofore functioning forms of intraparty discussion to join in the activities of the ideological commissions of individual echelons and to create, within their frameworks, a joint platform for political discussion,

-- call upon all activists on the party's ideological front to continue their activity within the framework of the PZPR committees,

-- in undertaking the initiative of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Ideological Commission, support the intention to form a Party University as a plane for integrating the past forms of discussion in the party on the territory of the Poznan Voivodship.

9295
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MILITARY AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, DEVELOPMENT OUTLINED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 1 Dec 81 pp 1, 5

[Text] The country's food situation is extremely difficult. The rationing of many food articles, shortages in supplies for the residents of cities and for large urban centers, are already a common phenomenon and are frequently inferment.

The deep crisis which the national economy is experiencing is felt most severely in the area of food and the shorage carries with it many threats. No one will be satisfied living in a country aided from left and right by gifts and donations of food from abroad. Therefore, everything that helps to improve to feed the nation especially now, must be valued and given preference.

It is commonly believed that it is not the job of the military to carry out extensive development in the agriculture, it would be easy though to show precedents set in recent history. That is why certain land, forests pasturages and meadows remain under the control of the military. The cultivable land is of the lowest class, from lV to Vl. The reason the land is of such little agricultural use is due to the lack of land reclamation measures and to degenerating cultivation, because of a need to fulfill the duties of training areas, training grounds and airfields, as well as to the natural erosion of water and weather.

Even though the military has other duties to fulfill, for many years it has successfully conducted its own agriculture--cultivating grain, green fodder, fattening hogs and breeding cattle as well as growing fruit. These are not done in impressive quantities and are still far from exhausing all possibilities.

The intensification of military agriculture took place after 1975, when the national economy began to manifest the first symptoms of strong inefficiences. The perception of and suitable proposals for these symptoms, demonstrates positively who deserves acknowledgement today. Until recently, recognition of military agriculture has been denied, or at least not appreciated, today it is obvious to all and generally recognized.

How can the fact that the military farmers under difficult conditions manage to produce enough pork to satisfy 45 percent of the armed forces needs not be appreciated. A discussion about what sort of relief this creates for the nation under present conditions, would be in order.

What has been accomplished to date

Fattening of hogs and cattle and sheep breeding are important components of military agriculture. But besides cultivating grain, fodder crops and the development of water areas, much has also been done in other areas. Fruit growing is continually increasing. Plastic covered hot houses are generally used for the production of early and other vegetables. Rabbits, ducks and geese are bred. All this is done in several larger agricultural complexes within training areas, and around many barrack areas. They are not large but frequently high yielding farms operated by sections of food units, by schools and educational centers.

After successful years, as was the case with agriculture of the entire nation, the results of military agriculture were significantly decreased in 1980. Unfavorable climatic conditions contributed to [reducing] the level of fodder supply, and therefore the growth rate in the production of animals. Notable were also lower grain, and potatoes harvests.

Much was promised after the present year. In spite of the existing difficulties with harvesting equipment, among others, the planned land acreage was planted. The average grain yield was 22 quintals per hectar. The highest yield--29 quintals per hectare--was achieved by the navy, and the lowest by the Air Force.

The Armed Forces School of Anti-Aircraft Officers should be mentioned, among others, as one that developed agriculture especially well. They produced 37 quintals per hectar. Lt Colonel Zygmunt Burghardt, the organizer and animator of the school's agricultural activities, can consider this as--let us not be afraid of this unpopular word--success. Equally good results were achieved by the farm of Major Antonio Gajecki in conjunction with the Silesian military where more than 38 quintals per hectar were harvested. The builders didn't manage their land badly, where Lt. Colonel Benedykt Jarowski is in charge of this form of production. The artilleryman from the Pomeranian Military district and the Wroclaw Regiment of Territorial Defense did well also.

The prepared, preliminary balance-sheet for this year's military agriculture results indicates increased production of meat and grain. Many units, among others, the artillerymen from the Pomeranian military district, the airmen from the Silesian military district, the liaison from the Warsaw military district, as well as a series of schools, depots and educational centers produced more food than their annual needs of meat and goods. The growing of vegetables under plastic foil was also increased. Plans in this area were surpassed by 3 percent. Favorable results were obtained in the growth of field vegetables and in greenhouses. This is concomitant with an intense preservation of vegetables and fruit. The production of sour cabbage, pickles and mixed vegetables will completely satisfy the need of military mess halls and worker's canteens.

Other than these accomplishments, the ambitious military agricultural military plan for 1981 will not be accomplished in some areas. The production plan of pork will be, for example, 2 to 3 percent short.

As a rule, the obtained production results attest to the progress in the dimension an increased production growth of military agriculture. It should be mentioned

however, that the dimensions as well as the production growth of this agriculture do not exhaust all potential capabilities for fattening and breeding animals as well as cultivating grain, fodder crops and vegetables.

Standing in the way of military agricultural development are, among others, shortage of fertilizers, pesticides, fodder concentrates, etc. There are great difficulties with equipment maintainance due to catastrophic shortages of spare parts, tires and storage batteries. As is the case with the entire nation, there are immense problems with attempts to purchase tractors and agricultural equipment. Too many delays accure in the construction of farm buildings and the construction needed for agricultural use.

Such are the realities. The economic crisis and severe food shortages also force the armed forces into undertaking all possible actions and available means to take advantage of all agricultural reserves and to improve the efficiency of this form of management.

The road to increased animal production in the military--according to estimates by specialists from the Rations Service Command--leads through the creation of self-sufficent fodder bases, the guarantee of indespensable reproduction material for fodder and breeding as well as the construction of permanent farm buildings from available materials, within the agricultural system.

In order to obtain fodder, it is imperative to cultivate the two thousand hectars of unutilized croplands and grasslands in the training areas and the perimeters of the airfields. Crop production should completely equal fodder and breeding needs. There should be an intensification in the collection of stale bread and the use of kitchen waste for fodder. Rational nourishment and suitable nutritive fodder are important. Fattening during the closed cycle will be prefered which will facilitate the procurement of breeding stock.

According to preliminary estimates, with the accomplishment of all these propositions, military in 1982 animal production should double by next to this year. In order to accomplish this and to obtain positive results in other sectors of agriculture, tasks related to the development of this production must be precisely analyzed and designed in all districts and branches of the armed forces. In order to realize these tasks, all commanders, soldier's collectives, veterinary services and food co-operatives in units and garrisons should be included. Only through a joint effort will these ambitious plans be assured realization.

Not infrequently, barely 40-50 percent of the agricultural advantages are used.

For the needs of not only agricultural construction, trees from the forests of training areas can be used. Until now, they have been used for this purpose only minimally.

To outfit the military agriculture and forestry for proper implementation ability and with the necessary dynamics for development, the creation of new, higher structures of military, agricultural-forestry management seem appropriate. In the final analysis, this will surely be worth while.

9820
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CEAUSESCU HAILED FOR COURAGE, HONESTY OF PLENUM SPEECH

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 3 Dec 81 pp 1, 2

[Article by Adrian Paunescu]

[Text] I am sorry that I have to repeat myself, but the use of big words when necessary, and when not necessary, places us in a situation of sometimes being disarmed when faced with the event, weary, lacking the freshness of spirit and words, the only thing which could express the significance of that event. One event is Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the 24-25 November 1981 plenum, a speech that I would consider as a great moment of truth. Unfortunately, for a long time, too long, and not only in our times and not only here, some people got accustomed to and tried to get people used to the idea that the ideal is the same thing as the real and from the moment that they wanted to round off a number, it became rounded off in reality. Sometimes the reality became so mystified under certain circumstances that people said: "Great, you guys, but we still cannot eat numbers." But the people saying this themselves were content with the situation of being producers of empty numbers, not covered by reality and truth. There could not be a more vicious circle: as the producers, they gladly accept the advantages of an untrue situation, the advantages of rounding off number the advantages of eluding the truth, while as beneficiaries they are indignant that some people give inexact numbers and the disadvantage of falsifying the truth distresses them.

Some people could say that the lie must be hidden because the enemies of the cause will profit from the unpardoning unmasking of the mechanisms of the lie. Of course, it would seem to be "good" sense to hide the truth in one area or another. But the lesson of a formidible confrontation with the exact light of the truth, which President Nicolae Ceausescu gives, has not merely a political or social or economic significance; in my opinion--and here I think we should dwell--it has a great, very great moral significance.

I think that the moral significance in the end is the most lasting one. One sector and another of the ones criticized by the president will correct their activity. Possibly another sector will continue for a time to lag behind or defects in other sectors will appear.It is human from a purely economic aspect for more mistakes to be made. But the moral significance of this great gesture of courage and resoluteness, of revolutionary lucidity and real love for the party cannot be overlooked. Because, curiously enough, the moral significance, that which the first senses of the human being do not even discern because they cannot be felt, seen or heard but merely understood and mastered at the level of moral awareness, will penetrate as an example in all the acts of the foundation and continuity of our national collectivity.

We shall be all the more required to speak the truth and do our duty, each in our own sector of activity, following this resolute act. The moral significance of President Nicolae Ceausescu's speech of November 1981 is that which moves his words from under the sign of immediate policy to lasting history. This is not the first time he has taken a position, this man of the country, which becomes history, but it becomes history under a title which is dear to all men of conscience: the policy of truth.

Of course, as he said in his speech, the president did not dwell on certain problems but he gave precise diagnoses for other problems, with the treatment which must be applied to be clarified under future circumstances. In particular I am referring to the problems of agriculture, about which we are convinced that they are the subject of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's day-to-day thought and action.

However, most of the problems found a principled solution in the November speech, with these problems being, in particular, in the area of the struggle for truth. Once again we learn that the only way for us to exist with everyone in the world and for us to exist with everyone within the country is the truth. And we do not learn this after the lie has made its victims. Rather, we learn it in nearly a prophylactic way.

Even from the advice which the party's secretary general gave to everyone to get to work right away, we see that in the coming period there is a danger resulting from the habit of applauding instead of working.. It would be inadequate and improper for some merely to continually quote the words delivered at this plenum, without applying them to themselves and to the sectors where they do their activity, instead of taking the great example of the relentless struggle for truth by the president as the working weapon and tool in our day-to-day life. This has happened before, for example, at the national conference at the beginning of the 70's, when Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu requested speed and requested original thought while some people, instead of demanding speed in their sectors of activity and instead of encouraging original thought, thought that their duty was merely to applaud with mediocre enthusiasm the ideas then and then to see to their work unhindered, with the warm calm prior to that high moment of truth. What is important is to change a given circumstance, to change a precise historical situation, if it suits us, if it is favorable to us, if we truly love it, into a lasting working tool. Since the active thought of our president is truly exemplary in this speech, then let it become truly exemplary for us, let us understand it as such as to base it on our own struggle for truth in the service of that same cause. When Mihai Viteazul took weapons in hand to fight with his enemies and thus be an example to his soldiers, let us not forget that his soldiers did not just sit down in two lines and clap for Mihai Viteazul, feeling that the struggle for national independence and unity of the Romanian country had to be given only by the prince. No, let us remember, the first reaction of Mihai Viteazul's soldiers was to shout "hurray" and to be excited by the desire to sacrifice themselves for the country and by the desire to prove that they were the army of that brave one, but in the following moments they started the work they had to do and they followed Mihai Viteazul into battle, not quoting his acts of bravery like parrots but accomplishing them themselves, each at the level of his powers, courage and capacity for sacrifice. I think that here lies the crux of everyone's problems of conscience. Putting aside those who feel that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu spoke great truths but that he said them and so let us all not start telling them now because it is dangerous, leaving aside those who, thus, do not understand that the president is not inventing but he is discovering the truth and that he is the bearer of

that truth, from the people to the people and that, thus, he could not help but tell us , leaving aside the occasional opportunists, to be careful of the long-standing opportunists who could understand that a simple reference to this moment arrives at creating a climate of truth of work everywhere in society and of value and good faith. Our duty as communists and patriots is that, by following this brilliant sexample, we should also assume responsibility at every level of existence and tell the truth and fight for the truth. Of course, each person has his own tools. For the peasant, to speak the truth does not mean to give a theoretical explanation of why he was absent from the spring work or the fall jobs. For a worker, to speak the truth does not mean to confess each that "Sir, I could not work because I had something to do." Each one speaks the truth with his work. The peasant's truth is the harvest. The worker's truth is production. The intellectual's truth is the efficiency of his activity. So, let us create a sum of our truths, influenced by this great political truth which President Nicolae Ceausescu told about Romania's domestic and international problems today. The November 1981 RCP Central Committee plenum in many respects had the weight and resonance of a party congress.

A little earlier we noted that a great politican does not invent but rather discovers truths. Let us recall honestly how many times we, as simple citizens, talked among ourselves, sometimes whispering so nobody else would hear us and tell on us, that on my word of honor things are not good, everyone was saying that, look, some people are disinforming the comrade. Why are they reporting what is not true, why are they saying that the harvesting is completed when it is not, why are they putting products on the market, especially when the comrade visits? President Nicolae Ceausescu told about many of these problems from the tribune of the November plenum with an extraordinary firmness and a skill of finding out the truth which simply fascinates you. Were these not exactly the problems we were thinking about ourselves? Did we not say,oh, how good if the comrade found out that some people are giving false reports and that some are gilding the outside while there is disorder on the inside, oh, if he could see how we suffer sometimes and if he could know. And, look, he did found out and did not keep it to himself, but he let the entire party and all the people know. And he actively admitted them, also initiating measures which resulted from a profound investigation of those lies. Of course, there also is another way to resolve these lies, a secret way, with small punishments in the office and measures taken behind closed doors. It is impressive that, despite the rumors which it will arouse among the enemies to our cause, this policy of the truth has been carried out and is being carried out without risk to the use of the nation and the high moral significance. Because, I repeat, we will have to understand from this truth being told that we ourselves are obligated not only to speak the truth but also to implement it, not only to quote it, but to make the truth incarnate. We must understand that we ourselves are obligated to the truth. Bread is a truth and we must produce it. Industrial product is a truth and it must be of a brilliant competitiveness. Intellectual product is a truth and it is not the case for us to hide behind our hands and not recognize that too many times we abandon ideas because "they are not possible" and we stop the fight.

Again we feel that the dictionary is somewhat tired of so many big words like the ones delivered or written on various occasions and again we must admit that we need a fresh soul because we are living through moments sometimes which, through the load they really bear, become history. I would consider this moment of truth of November 1981 as among the great battles of the Romanian nation. It even is a battle with us ourselves. The circumstance whereby, we have those forces for a new freshness

within this party, proceeding from the awareness of the person elected to head it, forces capable of setting a straight path for our ship in the storms of the age and against weakness and lies of some of the boatmen, is proof of the tireless force and fitality.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, our appluase will be, must be, our acts. Each day we shall quote the wise and courageous words, at the level of our work and possibilities, that which you have founded for an entire party and for all the people: the struggle for truth. And even if it is sometimes inconvenient--and we know that it will be inconvenient many times--and even if it is tiring, even if it will seem that we are the direct descendants of Sisyphus on occasions, we shall conduct this struggle with all the powers and that dose of romanticism which has not disappeared and which should not be ashamed before the low kind of pragmatism of some who feel that man is a registration number. And we shall continue to think of everything, the new economic-financial mechanism, the need for clearing up the peasant's status, the need for a deeper use of the most important raw material in the world, the gray matter, the need for competition of values and correct incentives and our place in the world and our true friends and we shall recognize honestly that our entire life, if it is a struggle for truth, in itself quotes this stormy plea for the truth which you have made and that only at the moment when we no longer exist will we be able to say that we have closed the quotation.

8071
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NATIONAL UNITY SAID TO TRANSCEND 'STATE PLURALISM'

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 19, 5 Oct 81 pp 11-14

/Article by Dr Florin Constantinu, N. Iorga Institute of History: "State Pluralism and National Unity"/

/Text/ Did the existence of several Romanian states (countries) (state pluralism) in the Middle Ages and well into the modern period affect the Romanians' national unity? Did state pluralism correspond to an ethnic pluralism, or in other words did the existence of several political units in the Carpatho-Danubian area reflect the existence of several peoples in that area, which is identical with the ancient Dacian homeland? These are questions to which Romanian historiography has given scientifically substantiated negative answers, but they come up again whenever the ethnic unity of the Romanians in Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania and Dobrogea is questioned or actually contested by prejudiced interpretations of the Romanians' past. The older and more recent studies of the Romanian historians have proved that state pluralism could not impair, to say nothing of destroying, the Romanians' national unity as a historical fact or its spiritual expression, the consciousness of national unity that became the national consciousness after the Romanian nation was formed. Knowledge of the conclusions of Romanian historiography about the problems of the Romanians' ethnic and liguistic unity and the forms of their unity before the national state was established cannot be confined to the circle of professional historians. Those conclusions concern every citizen of the nation, who should know his own people's past so that he can properly answer any distortions of that past. The memorable appeal in Miron Costin's work "On the Moldavian People" is still valid today: "Now look at yourself, dear reader, as in a mirror and consider whence you came, forgetting all other tales that some have told about you out of ignorance, others out of envy, which has never been lacking in the world among peoples, and others from confused and unfounded writings."

State Pluralism in Other Peoples' History

State pluralism is not peculiar to the Romanian people's history. The existence, especially in the medieval period, of several states inhabited by fractions of one and the same people is to be found in the past of several peoples on the European continent and, for that matter, outside it too.

After the territorial fragmentation of Kievan Russia and the separation, in the group of eastern Slavs, of the Russians from the Ukrainians and Belorussians, the Russian

people lived within several principalities like Rostov, Iaroslav, Tver, Moscow et al. of which Moscow became the unifying center around which the centralized Russian state was formed in the second half of the 15th century. There were several medieval kingdoms on the territory of present-day Spain, namely Aragon, Castille, Leon and Navarre, which were unified by 1512. Germany and Italy were not unified until the second half of the 19th century. For centuries Italy was a geographical reality identified with the Italian peninsula but not a political one, since there were several states within the peninsula (the Papal States, the Venetian Republic, the republics of Genoa, Siena and Florence, which became a principality, the Duchy of Milan, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, et al.). Italy was unified in four stages (1859, 1860-1861, 1866, and 1870) around the Kingdom of Piedmont. The unification of Germany, on the territory of which there were over 300 states upon the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, was accomplished by the Kingdom of Prussia and was not completed until 1871 (The empire proclaimed then maintained a federal structure).

The examples can be multiplied, but the foregoing are conclusive. Just as no one can contest the existence of the Italian people because there was a Venetian state, a Genoese state, etc. within whose borders Italians lived, the existence of a Wallachian state and another Moldavian or Transylvanian one cannot invalidate the existence of the Romanian people. Parts of one and the same people, the Romanians, lived within those states.

State pluralism is characteristic of feudal society. The predominantly natural economy (closed) characteristic of the medieval world favored areas inhabited by the same people and regional peculiarities expressed politically by the formation of states that were sometimes quite limited in size (microstates). As the productive forces and economic exchanges developed many ties were formed among these political units that were enhanced in some cases by extraeconomic factors (external threats for example) that hastened their territorial and institutional unification. In other cases a series of historical factors delayed the maturity of the historical conditions for national unity or acted against that unity. In the case of the Romanian countries the conquest of Transylvania by the Hungarian kingdom, the establishment of Ottoman rule over the Romanian countries, the Habsburg rule over Transylvania and later over Bucovina too, and the impact of the simultaneous expansions of the great empires in that part of Europe restricted the natural development of Romanian society and created conditions unfavorable to the unification of Romanian territory.

Factors for the Romanian People's Unity

The existence of several Romanian states (countries) meant a division solely on the level of political-administrative organization, which could not affect the much more profound reality of the Romanian people's unity, generated by a series of such factors as territory, language, economic activity, social-political structure, culture etc., which facilitated relations among the Romanian countries and accordingly favored the Romanian people's unity.

a. Territorial Unity

A rapid glance at the physical map of Romania immediately reveals the symmetrical nature of the Romanian territory, centering on the Transylvanian plateau, bordered by the chain or rim of the Carpathians, and then descending into an amphitheater through the zones of the Subcarpathians, hills and plains. The Carpathians were never a barrier, since the mountain roads over the peaks and the passes permitted easy

communication between the populations on both sides of the mountain range. In its turn the Danube, although marginal for a large part of its course along Romanian territory, was the end point of two great trade routes through Romanian territory in the Middle Ages and in that period it performed an important strategic function in the struggle to defend independence. It may be said that the Carpathians and the Danube were the definitive unifying factors of the Romanian area.

b. Linguistic Unity

The Romanian language is characterized by its uniformity and the ease with which it is spoken and understood by all Romanians. Aside from their Balkan branch (Aromanians, Meglenoromanians, and Istroromanians, vestiges of the great eastern Romanian bloc dislocated by the Slavic invasion in the sixth and seventh centuries), the Romanians north of the Danube (Daco-Romanians) speak a language without dialects that considerably facilitates communication.

Another equally characteristic and noteworthy trait of the Romanian language was its resistance to the successive waves of migratory populations, who could not essentially change its main vocabulary, to say nothing of its grammatical structure, even when they ruled over the Romanian territory and finally settled among the indigenous Romanians. The Italian humanist Antonio Bonfini (1434-1503), who lived at King Matia Corvin's court for a long time, noted the Romanians' efforts to preserve their language. "(They) resist so stubbornly that you see it as a struggle not so much to keep their lives intact as their language. For who would not marvel, if he stopped to consider the frequent waves of Sarmatians and Goths as well as Huns, Vandals and Gepidae and the inroads of Germans and Langobards, that the remnants of the Roman language have still been preserved among Dacians and Getae?"

The use of the Slavonic language, according to the medieval tradition, in the princely chancellery and in the religious service did not alienate Romanians from their mother tongue. About the year 1475 Nicolaus Machinensis, bishop of Modrussa, who knew Vlad Tepes, noted the difference between the Slavonic religious language (In the Middle Ages there was the theory of the so-called sacred languages in which religious services could be held) and the Romanian mother tongue (vernaculus sermo) that the Romanians spoke "from their origins" (ab incunabilis).

This ancestral language united the Romanians throughout the Carpatho-Danubian area across the frontiers of state pluralism. The Moldavian, the Wallachian and the Transylvanian knew that their dialects, which naturally showed certain distinctive features, were nothing but one and the same Romanian language. Miron Costin says it plainly: "As we see that although we are now called Moldavians we do not ask, 'Do you know Moldavian?' but 'Do you know Romanian?'" That is clear proof that their language was one of the most powerful factors for the Romanians' national unity.

c. Economic Unity

As we know feudal society was characterized by its natural economy (closed), which does not mean that trade did not exist. Even if there were only the natural conditions (some bread grains, vines etc. could be grown only under certain soil and climatic conditions), economic exchanges would still have been a necessity. Actually there was a commodity production in feudal society, the extent and economic importance of which increased with the advance toward capitalism and the formation of the regional markets anticipating their unification in a single national market corresponding to the national state.

Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, separated by political borders, were united by a dense network of economic relations. In the 15th-16th centuries Brasov, Sibiu and Bistrita were economic centers of the whole Romanian area, and Brasov was a kind of economic capital of medieval Romanian society.

This situation was clearly determined by relations with the Romanian territories south and east of the Carpathians, a fact correctly perceived by the great minister in Wallachia Vintila, who wrote to the Brasovans in 1558, "You well know that without us you cannot be your country, Tara Birsei, and without our country you cannot exist."

When later on the court in Vienna tried to break Transylvania's economic unity with Moldavia and Wallachia in the second half of the 18th century, the Transylvanian Aulic Chamber in Vienna pointed out, in 1779, "the tie between the great Principality of Transylvania and the neighboring countries, Moldavia and Wallachia, and the urgent need of importing large quantities of the raw materials the Principality of Transylvania needs." Transylvania's economic orientation toward the Romanian Principalities is illustrated among other things by the figures on its trade in 1838. Exports to the Romanian Principalities and the Turkish provinces amounted to 2,995,091 florins compared to 89,144 florins in exports to Hungary and the Austrian provinces, and the imports from the Romanian Principalities and Turkish provinces amounted to 4,157,055 florins compared with 172,408 florins in imports from Hungary and the Austrian provinces.

The great Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga pointed out this economic unity of the Romanian area in the period of state pluralism in terms of notable authenticity and clarity. Stating that Moldavia and Wallachia "formed a single country economically," he went on to say, "The first unification of the Romanians existed when that idea had not occurred to the scholars, in the perfect unity of their economic life based upon the perfect unity of their life in general, and Transylvania also entered into that life through Romanian intercirculation: a single body and a single veined system, I should say, through which the same living blood flowed."

d. Unity of Social-Political Structure

Romanian medieval society was formed uniformly throughout the Romanian territory, so that state nuclei (principalities and voievodates) appeared in the 9th-10th centuries throughout the Carpatho-Danubian area which evolved toward formation of a single feudal state. The conquest of Transylvania by the Hungarian kingdom (begun in the 10th century and not finished until the beginning of the 13th century because of the resistance encountered) interrupted this process by removing the geographic "heart" of the Romanian area that is Transylvania.

But it is indicative of the Romanian character, from the demographic and institutional standpoint of Transylvania, that the conquerors themselves, when they had to give a political-administrative organization to the recently subjugated territory, were forced to resort to the typically Romanian institution of the voievodate(As the great Romanian Slavic scholar I. Bogdan said, beneath the Slavic cover of the word there is a characteristically Romanian content that distinguishes the Romanian voievodate from the institutions of the same name in Slavic: in Romania the voievod is the supreme leader while among Slavs he performs a subordinate role). The two free Romanian countries south and east of the Carpathians, Wallachia and Moldavia, were also voievodates.

The typical feudal social structure (with two basic classes, the great landlords and the peasants) in the whole Romanian area, which developed free of foreign interference, consisted of boyars and peasants, free or dependent, organized in territorial communities with similar structures throughout the area inhabited by Romanians. In Transylvania the Hungarian conquest brought a class of Hungarian nobles just as in Dobrogea the Turkish conquest introduced the system of land organization typical of Ottoman society. But it is significant that in Tara Fagarasului, long under the Wallachian princes' authority and escaping the central Hungarian authorities' strict control because of its location, the division into boyars and serfs persisted long after Transylvania passed under the Hungarian crown.

The same way of life in the Romanian areas caused the Transylvanian peasants, who were subject to a regime of manorial obligations much more oppressive than the one across the Carpathians, to seek refuge in Moldavia and Wallachia. They came to theirs to stay among theirs in such numbers that the inhabitants of the two Romanian countries east and south of the Carpathians could exclaim in the 18th century, "All Transylvania has come to our country."

Romanian Countries' Political and Military Collaboration

Faced with the same dangers (especially the Ottoman expansion directly threatening their existence as states), the Romanian countries developed a close collaboration on the political and military levels to unite and thus strengthen their forces before the common enemy. In the same struggle in defense of their own state structures and for their independence, the three Romanian countries' cooperation often took the form of true confederations, as for example in the time of Iancu de Hunedoara, who organized and led an anti-Ottoman front of Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia. The close and staunch tie at the time among the Romanian countries was expressed by Bogdan II, voievod of Moldavia, who wrote Iancu de Hunedoara on 11 February 1450, "The land of my reign and the land of your reign shall be one."

The rule of some domains in Transylvania (such as Ciceul and Cetatea de Balta, Bistrita, Rodna and Ungurasul) by some Moldavian princes, the aid given by the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia to the Orthodox Romanians in Transylvania and their churches, and especially the three Romanian countries' collaboration before the Ottoman peril lent relations among Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania a stability and depth which were among the prerequisites of their later unity.

The effort toward political unification of the three Romanian countries, also manifested by Sigismund Bathory or Gabriel Bethlen, could have no chance of success unless its promoter was a Romanian, since the Romanians formed the indigenous population and the overwhelming majority of those countries. No foreigner, but a man of the land could hold the scepter of authority over the entire Romanian people. This was Mihai Viteazul, prince of Wallachia (1593-1601).

The first unification of the Romanian countries, achieved by him in 1600, was of short duration because the international situation (the hostility of the Ottoman and Habsburg empires especially) was against it. Mihai Viteazul's deed remained as a political legacy that the following generations exploited under more favorable conditions. Mihai Viteazul was no conqueror of foreign countries but the unifier of the Romanian soil and the Romanians, who knew and said plainly in those years "that we are all of one law and one language," as the Wallachian boyars put it in a letter to the Moldavian ones of 5 September 1599, an especially significant testimony because it came from a group hostile to the great prince.

Consciousness of National Unity

On this objective basis of ethnic, linguistic, economic, social-political and cultural unity the Romanians formed and developed their consciousness of national unity as the collective spiritual reflection of the historical fact of the existence of the Romanian people as a single people forced to live in several political entities but perceiving their unity.. There are so many expressions of this consciousness that it is difficult to choose among them. But let us mention a few. In a message to the Venetian senate in 1478 Stefan the Great, voievod of Moldavia, referred to the neighboring state of Wallachia as "the other Wallachia," that is another Romanian country. It was accordingly clear to the great prince that his country and the neighboring one were in fact political units of one and the same people, the Romanians, regardless of the two countries' official names.

The idea of all Romanians' ethnic unity was clearly and concisely expressed by the first of the series of great Romanian chroniclers, Grigore Ureche: "The Romanians, inhabiting the Hungarian Land, Transylvania and Maramures, are of the same place as the Moldavians and they all came from Rome." Their unity is much more fully and soundly treated by the Moldavian chronicler Miron Costin, who devoted a special work, "On the Moldavian People," to these problems. Besides the wealth of information, the political purpose of the chronicler's scientific inquiry should be pointed out: The Romanian should know his true origin, hold his head up, and do away with prejudiced explanations.

The Wallachian chronicler Constantin Cantacuzino had the same ideas and the same political purpose: "... We, the Romanians, are true Romans and noble Romans in faith and in manhood... But the Romanians understand not only those here (in Wallachia -- our note) but also those in Transylvania, who are also natives, and the Moldavians, and all those who are elsewhere and speak that language... We also consider them Romanians because they have all come from the same source and [cura]."

The culmination of all these efforts to prove the Romanian quality and unity of the Romanians is the scholarly prince Dimitrie Cantemir's learned work, "Chronicle of the Antiquity of the Roman-Moldavian-Vlachs," which combines in the title of the first part the ideas of continuity and unity and the true legacy of political ideology: "Chronicle of the Whole Romanian Land (Later Divided into Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania) from Its Colonization by Trajan, the Emperor of Rome... And for the Romanians Who Then Settled There and Have Been Constantly Living There Until Now."

Consciousness of this unity of the Romanians is apparent in nearly all the important works of medieval Romanian culture. The metropolitan Varlaam significantly entitled his "Collected Sermons" the "Romanian Book of Instruction" (1643) and it actually enjoyed a wide circulation in all three Romanian countries. The code of laws published in Iasi by Vasile Lupu in 1646 was also entitled "Romanian Book of Instruction." On the title page of Serban Cantacuzino's "Bible" (1688) it says that it "was dedicated to the Romanian people." In 1821 Tudor Vladimirescu asked for relations to be established "with the Moldavians, because we are of one people and one law.... being of one mind and one voice with Moldavia we should be able to enjoy the benefits of these principalities equally by helping each other. On the field of Blaj in 1848 the Romanian peasants cried, "We wish to be united with the Nation," because for them and for the Transylvanian Romanian masses "the nation" meant the whole Romanian national community across any frontiers.

Once the Romanian nation was formed, consciousness of national unity became the national consciousness. Romanian society's progress in transition from feudalism to capitalism objectively required formation of the national state by liquidating state pluralism. The latter had become anachronistic and had to be eliminated.

The unification of Moldavia with Wallachia in 1859, followed by completion of national unity in 1918, was to meet this objective necessity by making the Romanians' unification in a single state irreversible and as lasting as granite. Conceived on the land that became their country, the Romanian people faced the vicissitudes of the centuries together. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the RCP, "The descendants of the Dacians and Romans, the new people who asserted their own existence, have developed constantly and remain the true and sole masters of ancient Dacia."

5186
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RFE INTERVIEW WITH VIRGIL TANASE DISCUSSED

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 24 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Vasile Baran]

[Txxt] Some eight years ago, it was warm (I know because I was thinking of taking a little sunbath along a stream passing through Cumpatul Sinaia), I met Virgil Tanase, a young man. At that time I was writing a scientific-fantasy novel, but I still did not know very well how it would be, and he lent me a book which, as he said, would help me "theoretically." That is even what the first chapter was called: "The Fantasy Between Theory and Expression," in which Roger Caillois unraveled the symbol of the "Octopus of Japan." The volume I borrowed actually was "20th Century." I read it all at one sitting and, at the same time, with pencil in hand, because it was very valuable to me in working out the novel which appeared the next summer, entitled " Island of the Mannequins" with the subtitle of "A Fantasy Novel" (I had not dared to also call it "scientific," since I had feared mathematics since I was a child). What is certain is that the fantasty only now was being produced. I had written on the borrowed book: Virgil Tanase, Villa 1, Palace pavilion, third floor, Room 328, thinking to take it to him. But he had left. Nobody could tell me where. And I was left with that "Century" with a cover represetning a Japanese statue. Being from Gorj, son of a peasant (here if you cannot give back something you borrowed, you keep it as something not to be touched until you find the owner!), I put it in the bookcase, in the most protected corner and went about my work, of course, with the thought that he would appear sometime. Despite this, from time to time, needing Caillois' study (this time for writing a new fantasy novel entitled "The Flat Earth," which appeared lsst year), I caught sight of that notation: Virgil Tanase, Villa 1, Palace pavilion, third floor, Room 328, and I was thinking: where could he be?Someone had told me that he had seen his name in the want ads of a Paris weekly in a column in which he was looking for "any" job. I asked myself, does he exist or not?

Until, at the end of 1981, I found news that he does exist. Virgil Tanase was invited by "Free Europe" radio to a discussion on the subject: "What chances does a Romanian writer have of being published in the west?" "What chances," he was asked, and he answered, "I am tempted to answer you with a paradox: at the same time, it is much easier than in Romania and much more difficult." His answer aroused interest.

I said to myself, let's see what is easy and what is hard.

And Virgil Tanase began explaining clearly, without any paradoxes:

"The young Romanian beginning writer must take into account that the French literary market is completely different from the Romanian one and, primarily, this method of trial, which is the literary review, does not exist. In Romania, a poem, a group of poems, skits, a portion of a novel may appear in literary reviews. In France--because I can only speak of the situation in France, which I know best--there are very few literary reviews which publish literature."

This would be the hard part. And what is the easy part?

Books, I tell myself. Then it is alright! Virgil Tanase, however, does not allow me to slide so fast toward the fantasy. Right away he adds: "Now we should know that the space can be rather long between the point at which a writer tries out his hand and the point at which he arrives at jumping over the lath, especially when it is in Paris, but, at the same time, if you have certainty and faith in your talent--very important--you can develop in awaiting this point."

Simple, but at the same time complicated. First of all it is a matter of talent. That is, a matter of something very important, as he himself emphasizes rightfully. Because outside of talent there would be nothing left to discuss. You can place the young aspiring writer even in a greenhouse with sun and fruit in the trees in full winter and bring him guitars, but if he hasn't got it, he hasn't got it! Then the space between the points, the point at which you start and the point at which you must jump over the lath. Because, look, it can happen, as a clown once said, for the horse to jump over you and not you over the horse. But even more serious is the length of this space which can be endless, as does happen. Anyhow, until now we have not heard of a Romanian writer who has left the country during our years to another part of the world and has become famous.

You give a book, it does not appear, but it is not a catastrophe. You give another one, the publishers translate it with their money, throw it out, "but even this is not a catastrophe." Then when does the catastrophe occur? Virgil Tanase answers: "Here I think it is a difficult problem because a poorly translated book is devaluated more than a manuscript."

But if "finally it appears?" That's good, I tell myself, the mouth of the catastrophe can close, but, look V. T. is asked a direct question: "What chances do I have to be a young writer in Paris?" and he, Virgil Tanase, answers, "I know from my own experience" and he explains:

"In France at least you cannot live from your writing except from a certain share of the sales and up. There are very few French writers who actually live from their writing and they all have side professions, either in education, in journalism or they work for a publisher; very little can be earned from one book: it is a percentage of the sales. For my last book, around 5 francs got back to me , the author, per copy."

He was asked: "How much do five francs represent of the price?" and he answers: "Just one-tenth. So I would have to sell 50,000 copies so be able to live at least one-two years from this book."

And he goes on:

"When a book in Paris is sold in several thousand copies, this is a great success. Here the possibilities do not exist to live from your writing."

Virgil Tanase's answer to the last question, "what advice would you give a young person who wants to come to Paris to try out his chance as a writer?" completely bursts the cloud of fantasy, and, like a cliff appearing before a ship, raises the reality:

"No matter what our talent would be, outside of just some cases of very great chances, there is a point between writing and the point of affirmation. All this time must be ensured, you have to have something to live from, you have to have peace to be able to write another book and I think we cannot have any illusions, even in the happy case where the book is published." "You have to have something to live from," V. T. says, and his confession seems to me to be one of the most natural: you have to have something to live from, no matter where you are and no matter what you are doing, in whatever profession you are working, you must be covered! However, what bothered me the most in this last answer was the unexpectedly serious finding: "You have to have peace to be able to write another book."

Because the peace which the person who abandons his country desires in no way is the same as the peace of the man who comes to his own home each night. No matter how many friends he makes there, he still is a foreigner. I was told about an important director, very respected in the countries where he was making movies as an artist of his country. But from the moment at which he asked for political asylum, everybody looked on him as a nobody. He no longer represented his nation, there no longer was a pride in his country. This occurrence was told to me by another director, who had admired him a lot, but now not even he respects him as before. It is not a good idea to stay too long in a place which is not your own, even as a guest.

"We cannot have any illusions," V. T. said in his answer, not "even in the happy case where the book is published." And he is absolutely right: A book is a life which cannot be described by fleeing from your own country.

So "Free Europe" radio, so concerned with the fate of writers from Romania, be they young or old, that it breaks your heart, gives us the real picture of what what the mirage of affirmation in the west means "right from the sinner's mouth." So even when the "literary" mentors of "Free Europe"--Monica Lovinescu and Virgil Ierunca--propose to scrape together their own "work," they cannot exceed the limits of some awkward collections of words, words, words.

Words which, no matter how much poison they throw out on the airwaves, are in flagrant contradiction even with the assertions of the hotbed which seeks only to denigrate the real conditions of the discovery, promotion and affirmation of talents in Romania.

The example which this very hotbed has given through V.T.'s confessions has been more than eloquent.

8071
CSO: 2700/109

WRITER UPSET BY CRITICISM OF ANONYMOUS CALLER

Cluj-Napoca TRIBUNA in Romanian 10 Dec 81 p 5

[Article by Ion Aurel Stoica]

[Text] Recently, I got a telephone call from someone who presented himself as a constant reader of TRIBUNA and he asked if I knew the expression "noblesse oblige." I answered that not only did I know it, I believed sincerely that nobility does have oglibations.

Further, he asked my profession and I answered that I was a mechanical engineer and some information about myself.

Continuing, without respecting the elementary rule of a telephone conversation of giving your name, he said he felt that as far as I was concerned I had rejected nobility as long as I was writing about philosophical, ethical, economic and physical problems, about people and personalities who had entered into the history of science, about the industrial revolutions, problems of biology, computers and, more recently, literary problems and others.

Because he did not wish to hear my point of view, I feel obligated to write something in my defense.

First, I state that I detest intellectual prostitution, people who read little, write and talk a lot, those who communicate words and not ideas, who waltz through the libraries and read only on the bus, who through a lack of culture do not belong to any system of thought, who have obtained their informative perfumes from discussions over a cup of coffee or a glass of Bacchus' liquor and only the words which could pierce the cigarette smoke got through to them; people who think they are cultured because they read police novels and do not fall asleep watching the scientific television series or the television encyclopedia programs, which I also enjoy and feel honor for the national television station; to them, I say that not everything that glistens is gold, that sand and bronze have wide usage in man's demiurgic process of changing his nature for his own good, but I do not replace gold as a symbol of value and, metaphorically speaking, did not inspire authors who theorized that ashen gold is the supreme individual and collective wealth of peoples and of humanity.

Second, I do not think that those who assert, spitting out the words, that meditation and particularly global meditation is a profession which you gain by a diploma or may be a means of existence are correct; I am convinced and I have innumerable

examples of people who through their very deep knowledge of their specialty, through their vast general culture, cultivating their passion and vocation for generalizations, came in the front door, coming from exact sciences to the citadel of global meditation, general and universal about life and knowledge; to deny someone the right to do philosophical meditation just because he did not graduate from the faculty of philsophy I think is at the least immorality and evilness, if not even ethnical trogloditism and it is identifcal with considering all graduates of this faculty as philosophers; prior judgments do not refer to me, I am trying to reflect modestly, because I like to feel that I am living, I do not claim to communicate invented valuable ideas, but I like so much what Spinoza wrote in his famous book, "Ethics": "free man thinks the least on death ; his wisdom is to meditate not about death, but about life." And I venture to add that optimism and pleasure with life are given by understanding the fact that nature probably can only create life through death, that this life in which the sum of born life is greater than the sum of death is that which ensures the continuity of the living and intelligence on this planet called earth; by this, I did not want to say that of all the animals man is the only one who is aware of the fact that individual life is finite in time that is, if he knows that life ends with death, then he should believe that death is the purpose of life. I am convinced that detachment from these dreadful tragedies, as well as the refusul of dissipation because life is short, can only be given to you by knowledge and meditation according to the natural qualities with which you were born and the information you have obtained with a lot of sweat and convulsion in the synapsis.But it is worth it.

Third, I confess that I have great admiration for the people who have the ability to have complete and all-encompassing knowledge. I admire them, and I envy them, I admire them and regret enormously much that I do not also have such qualities,but the aspiration for global knowledge crushes me because the universal aspect is the only one in which I fully believe. To calm myself, I am drawing from my memory the short belie that it is impossible for a single mind to master more than a minute specialized fragment of the sum total of universal knowledge.

Believing that the synthesis of acts and theories is an adventure, even if I have only incomplete and second-hand knowledge about some of them, I shall continue to communicate them as long as I have this opportunity through the amiability of the leadership and workers of the prestigious cultural magazine, TRIBUNA, even at the risk of becoming ridiculous in the minds of those who do not give their name when we talk on the phone.

Good luck, dear citizen who called me without having the courage to tell me who you are and what you want; because I know something, I am perfectly well aware of how little I know.

That is all I wanted to say in my defense, asserting that for what I communicate through writing I am responsible and nobody else.

8071
CSO: 2700/114

NEW CUSTOMS REGULATIONS APPROVED, PUBLISHED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I Nos 90-91, 27 Nov 81 pp 1-32

[Decree of the Council of State on the Approval of the Customs Regulations]

[Text] On the basis of Article 3 in the Customs Code of the Socialist Republic of Romania - Law No 30/1978, the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. - The annexed Customs Regulation is approved and is an integral part of this decree.

Article 2. - This decree goes into effect on 1 January 1982.

At the same time, the following acts are abrogated:

- Decree of the Council of State No 278/1979 regarding food products that can be removed from the country by physical persons, as published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 65 of 28 July 1979;

- Article 1, paragraphs 2 and 3, Article 2 and Articles 6-9 in Council of State Decree No 395/1976 regarding Import Customs Tariffs of the Socialist Republic of Romania, as published in BULETINUL OFICIAL Nos 109-110 of 9 December 1976;

- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 2145/1956 regarding the regulation of items received from abroad via postal packages;

- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 986/1958 regarding certain measures in connection with the receipt of items from abroad via postal packages;

- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 403/1961 regarding the regulation of bringing goods into or removing goods from the country by travelers, as published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRI No 18 of 11 July 1961;

- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 93/1962 regarding the approval of the customs tariffs for physical persons, as published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRI No 2 of 18 February 1962;

- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 1944/1968 for the approval of the Regulation regarding the customs system applicable to diplomatic missions, consular offices and the members of these offices, as well as to other persons conducting official missions who come into or pass through the Socialist Republic of Romania, as published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 123 of 16 September 1968;

- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 202/1973 regarding bringing in or receiving from abroad certain durable goods by Romanian citizens, as well as their purchase of certain goods that are sold in-country for hard currency, as published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 21 of 1 March 1973;

- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 1680/1973 and Decision of the Council of Ministers No 222/1974, as well as any other contrary dispositions.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 26 November 1981
No 137

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The Customs Regulation

In accordance with the principles and provisions of the Customs Code, this regulation contains the procedural norms and other norms regarding the carrying out of customs activities in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Chapter I

The Payment of Duties on Export and Import Goods

Section 1
General Provisions

Article 1. - The goods slated for export and import and the means of transportation that cross the state borders of the Socialist Republic of Romania are subject to the payment of duties.

Article 2. - The payment of duties on goods and transports involves the following operations:

a) the presentation of transports and the accompanying transport documents at the customs units;

b) the customs control of the transports;

c) the declaration of the goods and the presentation of these goods for the payment of duties;

d) the customs control of the goods;

e) the check of the customs declaration and the setting of customs tariffs; the granting of customs clearance.

Section 2
The Presentation of Transports and the Accompanying Transport Documents at the Customs Units

Article 3. - At border crossing points, transporters of goods slated for export or import or the representatives of these transporters are required to present themselves, together with the accompanying documents, to the customs uni s.

Article 4. - For railroad transportation, the railroad organs are required to present the train's dispatch orders to the customs unit at the border station after the train has entered the country. The presentation of the dispatch order is done within the timeframe outlined for the technological handling of trains arriving from abroad.

Upon departing from the country, the dispatch order is presented to the customs unit prior to the train's departure within the timeframe established for the technological handling of the train in order to cross the state border. This time period will be at least 1 hour.

The dispatch order contains the number of each railcar, the bill of lading, the amount of goods and their names in Romanian. Upon leaving the country, this order will also show the number of the customs document and the issuing customs unit.

Article 5. - In transporting goods by highway, the transporter is required, upon the vehicle's entry or departure from the country, to present the vehicle's registration certificate and the documents accompanying the goods.

Article 6. - In transporting goods by sea or by river, the commander, the owner or the ship's agent who is transporting goods that are to be unloaded or transloaded is required to turn over to the customs unit, within 24 hours of docking, the original copy of the cargo manifest and to leave a copy of it.

When unloading or transloading operations are not going to be carried out, it is not necessary to leave a copy of the cargo manifest.

For ships loaded with bulk goods and instead of a cargo manifest, the commander, the owner or the ship's agent can present a notice that will give data to identify the cargo.

Article 7. - The cargo manifest will contain the number of each consignment or martime bill of lading or baggage receipt, the stamps and identifying names of the crates, and the name, quantity and, as the case may be, the gross or net weight of the goods, as well as the names of the supplier and the recipient.

Ships' agents are required to note on a copy of the cargo manifest the name of the goods in Romanian.

Article 8. - The commander, the owner or the ship's agent is required to leave at the port's custom unit a declaration of on-board provisions within 12 hours of the ship's docking. For strings of powerless-vessels in-tow, a single declaration of on-board provisions can be submitted for the entire convoy, with specific lists for each vessel.

Ships that stay for less than 12 hours and do not carry out unloading, loading or transloading operations are exempted from the requirement to submit a declaration of on-board provisions.

In those cases where ships are required, in accordance with the law, to stop at Danubian ports to be cleared into the country the on-board provisions declaration is submitted immediately.

Article 10. - In the on-board provisions declaration, the commander, the owner or the ship's agent is required to declare to the customs units the following types of goods found on the ship:

a) weapons, munitions, explosive materials and psychotropic, intoxicating and toxic products and substances;

b) other goods that are prohibited from entering or leaving the country in accordance with the law;

c) tobacco products and alcoholic beverages belonging to the ship and its crewmembers;

d) stores and unused items of current use that belong to the ship;

e) unused goods and goods that are not of a personal use that belong to the crewmembers, as well as their valuable items.

The goods outlined in letter d) are not listed in the on-board provisions declaration if they are listed in the ship's documents.

The goods outlined in letters a) and b), as well as the tobacco products and the alcoholic beverages are maintained under a customs seal during the entire in-port period. The customs organs can also place a customs seal on other goods.

Article 11. - In transporting goods via air, the provisions referring to the ships' cargo manifests are applied appropriately, with the timeframe for submitting them being 3 hours.

The aircraft commanders are required to declare to the customs units any intoxicating, psychotropic and toxic substances and products on-board the aircraft.

Article 12. - The customs organs can request the submission of a provisions declaration in the case of transport categories other than ships from those persons who are responsible for these types of transports.

Article 13. - In transporting goods via the mail or by messenger, the mail organs and, as the case may be, the railroad organs are required to present a list of mail sacks or packages to the customs border units.

Section 3
The Customs Control of Transports at the Customs Border Units

Article 14. - The customs control of transports at the border crossing point is carried out at the customs units at the border by customs teams established according to the law, and it consists of identifying the means of transport on the basis of the accompanying documents.

Article 15. - In transporting goods via the railroad, the customs organs, in the presence of the railroad organs, check:

a) the existence of the railcars recorded in the dispatch order. When the customs organs find differences in the number of railcars, the Romanian railroad organs are required to appropriately modify the dispatch order;

b) the exterior of covered railcars that contain goods by checking the integrity of the seals, the windows, the roof, the walls and the floors;

c) the interior and the exterior of open railcars that contain goods;

d) the exterior of the locomotive, the engine room and the engineer's cab.

Article 16. - Railcars that do not meet the sealing conditions and railcars that have seals missing or seals that have been opened are also subjected to an interior customs control. Similarly, the customs organs check the goods contained in these railcars. The Romanian railroad organs complete an identification document which is also signed by the customs organs. This same procedure is also applied to mail sacks and packages.

If the seals are not those that were applied at the time of shipment, the organs check for the existence of the documents attesting to the placement of new seals. If the documents are missing, the customs organs note this fact on the train's dispatch orders and conduct an interior control of the transport vehicle and the goods. The results of this control is reported in a report.

The identification documents and the reports noted in this article are completed in accordance with international railroad regulations.

Article 17. - In transporting goods via highways, the customs organs check the exterior of the vehicle, the driver's compartment and, if need be, the refrigeration equipment. For highway vehicles not carrying a load, an interior check of the compartment is also made for goods.

If during the exterior check of the vehicle the organs find that seals are missing or that the seals applied at the time of shipment have been tampered with or the cargo compartment was tampered with, they conduct an interior check of the vehicle and a check of the cargo. The customs organs give the results of the control in a report on their findings, which they sign and give to the transporter, as well as a report on the customs declaration.

Article 18. - The customs organs can carry out the customs control at one of the customs units within the country's interior when the appropriate conditions do not exist for a customs control at the vehicle's point of entry into the country. In these cases, the vehicles transit the country under a customs seal or are accompanied by a customs official to the nearest customs unit in the interior of the country, in the direction of the vehicle's destination, where conditions exist for a customs control.

The transportation and goods handling costs, as well as those to cover the customs organs' travel, are paid by the transporter.

Article 19. - In transporting goods by sea or by river, the customs organs conduct the control upon the ship's arrival, after the health check.

The customs check upon a ship's arrival is conducted in the presence of the organs of the harbor master, the owner, the commander or the second officer, as well as the representative of the shipping agency.

Article 20. - The customs control upon a ship's arrival consists of an examination of the cabines, rooms, larders, restaurants and engine rooms in order to determine if there is agreement between the on-board provisions declaration and the actual goods that are subject to declaration. At the same time, the commander, the owner or the ship's agent give to the customs organs the original of the cargo manifest.

Article 21. - After conducting the arrival customs control, the customs organs leave for the use of the commander, the crew and the passengers the usual amounts of tobacco products and alcoholic beverages, depending upon the length of time the ship is to be in port and in accordance with the criteria established by the General Directorate of Customs.

The commander or the owner is required for the period of the ship's stay to use only those provisions and goods recorded in the on-board inventory and is responsible, together with the ship's agent, to the customs organs for any shortages or substitutions for the declared goods, as well as for any undeclared goods.

The customs organs make note on the on-board provisions declaration regarding any removal or introduction on-board the ship of goods subject to declaration and about any goods that are maintained or removed from under the customs seal.

Article 22. - When a ship unloads or loads goods in two or more Romanian ports, the customs organs in these ports make notes on the original copy of the cargo manifest regarding the operations that are carried out.

The customs organs verify the notes made in the ports where the ship has docked previously and receive a copy of the cargo manifest.

The provisions in paragraphs one and two also apply to the on-board provisions declarations.

Article 23. - The commander, the owner or the ship's agent is required to notify the customs organs of the ship's departure at least 6 hours in advance for the purpose of conducting the customs control.

The departure customs control consists of verifying the situation of the on-board provisions and the agreement between the cargo manifest and the customs declaration or the customs permits that were issued.

Article 24. - During the conduct of the ship's customs control, only the commander, the second officer or ill persons are allowed to enter or leave the ship.

Article 25. - The organs of the port's harbor master allows the departure of ships used in international traffic only after the customs organs approve the on-board provisions declaration and, if need be, the cargo manifest.

Article 26. - For ships under foreign flags that enter shipyards or tie up for winter, the commanders, owners or their agents are required to submit to the customs organs an on-board provisions declaration and a copy of the cargo manifest. At the same time, the ship falls under customs supervisions.

Article 27. - Ships or aircraft can dock or land at border points where customs organs operate.

In cases of force majeure or when there are seriously ill persons on-board ships or aircraft, the docking or landing is also permitted in places other than those points where customs organs operate. In these types of situations, the commander of the ship or aircraft is required to immediately notify the organs of the Ministry of the Interior or the first border guard post in order to ensure supervision, as well as the closest customs organs.

Article 28. - In the transport of goods using Romanian aircraft, the customs control in the aircrafts' interior is conducted immediately after landing, as well as prior to take-off. During this check, the organs verify if there are goods on-board in addition to those belonging to the aircraft in order to apply the customs system appropriate to their destination.

Foreign cargo and passenger aircraft are subjected to an interior customs control in suspicious cases or if the aircraft stay at the airport more than 6 hours beyond the take-off time listed in the flight schedule.

The customs control in the interior of Romanian aircraft is conducted upon arrival after the unloading of passengers, and for departures prior to the loading of the passengers.

Article 29. - The customs control on containers being shipped by any type of transport is conducted according to the standards outlined for checking covered railcars.

Section 4
The Declaration of Goods and the Presentation of Them for the Payment of Duties

Article 30. - Goods entering the country are immediately recorded by the customs organs in the documents register on the basis of the accompanying documents.

For those goods slated for export and for those in transit, the General Directorate of Customs can establish simplified documentation standards.

In the event of a lack of documents, the recording of the goods is done on the basis of the findings of the customs organs or other documents presented to the customs organs by those interested parties which will show the goods that are to be subjected to the payment of customs duties.

Article 31. - The declaration of goods and their presentation for the payment of customs duties are done by the importers, exporters or their representatives by submitting a written customs declaration.

The importers or the exporters can declare and present their goods for the payment of duties to the customs units at the border or in the country's interior.

Article 32. - Goods that arrive at the border for the purpose of being imported, but for which the declaring party cannot submit the customs declaration accompanied by the necessary documents, will be permitted to transit to one of the customs units in the interior of the country in order to make the duty payment. The costs stemming from these operations will be paid by the importer.

Article 33. - Goods that are being exported are declared and presented to the customs organs at the border together with the transportation documents as follows:

a) in transportation via railroads, at least 2 hours prior to the train's departure;

b) in transportation via highways, immediately after arrival at the border;

c) in transportation via the sea or rivers, immediately after the loading of each portion of the goods on-board;

d) in transportation via aircraft, during the day in which the aircraft is to cross the state border or at the most 2 days prior if the air transport request was submitted to the transporter.

Article 34. - The customs declaration for exports can also be submitted to the customs units in the country's interior on the condition that the goods will be presented to these units accompanied by the international transport documents at the most 24 hours prior to shipping.

In the case of container-transported goods, the customs declaration can also be submitted if it is accompanied only by the internal transportation documents, on the condition that the goods will be shipped towards a container port or terminal and the shipper will note on the shipping documents that the goods are slated for export, also indicating the country of destination. These transport movements are noted in the documents of the transport and shipping enterprise that receives them in the port or terminal of destination.

Article 35. - The declaration of goods that are being imported or are in transit is done within 5 days from the date of recording the goods in the documents register by submitting a customs declaration accompanied by the necessary documents.

The timeframe for submitting a customs declaration, in the case of transloading railcars that have different rail gauges, is computed from the date of the end of the transloading and weighing operations.

Goods that arrive in country via sea or river are declared within 5 days at the most from the end of the loading of the ship or after the unloading of each consignment of goods. Bulk goods are declared by quantities effectively unloaded.

Article 36. - Customs units can extend the timeframe for submitting a customs declaration in cases where:

a) the declaration of the goods is not possible because of a lack of markings, accompanying documents or other necessary elements;

b) the goods were incorrectly shipped or shipped prior to the delivery schedule.

The extension of the duty payment timeframe is done at the justified request of the importer, submitted within 5 days.

Article 37. - The customs declaration for exports and imports of newspaper and printed materials, electricity, goods tranported via pipelines, and other goods that are export or imported under special conditions can be periodically submitted at intervals established by the General Directorate of Customs.

Article 38. - The customs declaration is submitted to customs units together with the following documents:

a) the export or import authorization issued by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation;

b) the goods transport document or in the absence of this other documents issued by the transporter containing the data referring to transportation;

c) the specific list, original invoices or their copies containing entries regarding the markings and identification numbers of the packages and the names and quantities of the goods;

d) other documents specified as annexes to the transport documents if these are necessary to identify the goods;

e) the certificate of origin in those cases outlined by this regulation;

f) the health-veterinary or phytohealth certificate issued, in accordance with the law, for the transport of animals;

g) other documents outlined in special laws.

Article 39. - The export or import authorization can be replaced by a document in which the exporters, importers or their representatives provide on their own responsibility the data contained in the authorization, in accordance with the norms established by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation. This data refers to the number and the validity of the authorization, the type of goods, the recipient and the shipper.

Article 40. - The exporter or the importer is required to submit a customs declaration for the goods recorded in each transport document.

In the case of goods of the same type, which have the same destination, the same export or import authorization and are presented at the same time to the customs organs, a single customs declaration can be submitted for a number of transport documents.

Article 41. - The original copy of the customs declaration and, as the case may be, a copy of the specific lists or the original invoices or their copies are retained by the customs organs. The other documents presented are returned to the party making the declaration.

The customs organs can request and retain copies of any documents submitted for the payment of customs duties.

Article 42. - The customs declaration upon which the customs organs issue the customs clearance constitutes the executor title for pursuing and paying customs tariffs.

Article 43. - The quantity of the goods is declared by recording the gross or net weight in the transport documents and, if need be, another quantitative specific element, in accordance with the contractual provisions.

The quantity of the goods unloaded from ships can be declared in accordance with the data recorded in the transport documents.

The quantities recorded in the customs declaration can be corrected later, at the request of the declaring parties, on the basis of justifying documents.

In suspicious cases, the transporter is required to weigh the goods, with the costs being paid by the importer or exporter, at the request of the customs organs which record the weight in the documents. If conditions are not present to weigh the goods, the goods are directed by the transporter to the closest customs unit where such conditions exist.

Article 44. - The parties making the declaration can verify prior to making the customs declaration the type and quantity of goods that have arrived or that are being shipped, in the presence of the customs organs.

The modification or the completion of the customs declaration that is to be submitted can be done by the party making the declaration only up until the moment that the customs control of the goods begins and only under the party's signature.

Section 5
The Customs Control of Goods

Article 45. - In the customs control on exported or imported goods, there is an identification made of these goods on the basis of the customs declaration accompanied by the necessary documents.

Article 46. - Those parties making the customs declarations are required to present the goods for the control, to handle them and unpack them at the request of the customs organs and to repack them without damaging the goods. The cost for this is supported by those units for which these operations are carried out.

Article 47. - In the customs control of goods, the declaring party and the transporter take part in activities, except when the transport occurs via sea and river when the presence of the transporter is not mandatory. The control on goods found in warehouses or on loading ramps is also done in the presence of the administrator there.

Article 48. - Transport vehicles and crates containing goods for export that clear customs in the interior of the country are sealed by the customs organs immediately after the customs control is conducted.

Goods that are slated for export, controlled and assessed customs duties in the interior of the country are not subjected to a customs control at the border, where only the number, serial and integrity of the seal that was applied are checked on the basis of the customs export document.

Article 49. - Those transport vehicles and crates containing goods slated for export, assessed customs duties in the interior of the country and arriving at the border without customs seals, broken seals, incorrectly applied seals or seals that do not correspond to those mentioned in documents, as well as in vehicles and crates that no longer meet the sealing requirements, are checked by the customs organs at the border. The customs control is also conducted when there are suspicions that there are goods in the transport vehicles other than those listed in the documents.

When appropriate conditions do not exist for a customs control at the border, the transport vehicles are directed to the closest customs unit in the country's interior where conditions exist to conduct the control.

The transportation, handling, packaging and unpacking of goods for the purpose of a customs check are done by the party making the customs declaration, with the costs being paid by the units producing the goods for export.

Article 50. - The customs control on goods is conducted as follows:

a) bulk goods are checked by observation or examination in the transport vehicles where they are found, on loading ramps or docks or on the platforms in the container handling terminals;

b) goods packed in crates are checked by examination while on the transporting vehicle. When conditions do not exist to check the goods on the vehicle, the customs organs can request that the goods be unloaded;

c) goods packed in creates that are in warehouses, on loading ramps or docks or on platforms in container handling terminals are checked by examination by each consignment of goods;

d) goods transported by pipeline, as well as electricity, are checked from the point of view of quantity by reading installed meters.

The customs organs note in the customs document the number of crates opened for inspection.

Article 51. - The customs organs can also conduct the customs control at the export goods loading place or at the imported goods unloading place, depending upon the customs personnel available, if the goods are perishable or require special packaging and transport or if control conditions are not available at the border and if the complete loading and unloading of the transport vehicle is done in one place.

Article 52. - For the purpose of conducting a customs control at the place of loading, the shipping units have the following obligations:

a) to request in writing a control at the nearest customs unit at least 2 days prior to the date established for loading the transport vehicle;

b) to prepare the goods and to take the measures necessary so that the transport vehicle will correspond to the customs sealing conditions;

c) to ensure the loading of the goods at the place and on the date and hour that were established.

Article 53. - The customs control on the goods can be carried out, under the conditions of Article 51, at the unloading site by the nearest customs unit.

Article 54. - The customs organs can also carry out other operations for paying customs duties at the goods loading and unloading sites if all the conditions regarding exporting and importing are met.

Article 55. - Concomitantly with the customs control on goods there also is the customs control on the interior of the railcars and the highway vehicles that transport the goods. This control is carried out at the customs unit or at the goods loading or unloading site.

Section 6
The Provision of Assistance in the Loading and Unloading of Goods by Those Empowered to do so in the Producing, Supplying and Receiving Units

Article 56. - The goods producing or supplying units that have a significant amount of deliveries for export are obligated to provide assistance in loading transport vehicles by using their own empowered representatives.

The units mentioned in paragraph one are established by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

The empowering of persons, by the producer or supplier units, who will provide assistance to the transport vehicles will be done with the approval of the organs of the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 57. - Those so empowered by the producer or supplier units making goods for export have the following obligations:

a) to verify whether the transport vehicles correspond to the customs sealing standards;

b) to carry out, prior to loading, a check of the interior of the transport vehicle and a check of all the goods that are loaded;

c) to permit loading into the transport vehicle only those export goods listed in the transport documents;

d) to check at the end of the loading operations whether only those goods listed in the transport documents are inside the transport vehicle;

e) to apply the proper seals to the transport vehicle after the end of the control.

After completing these operations, those so empowered will complete a note of assistance that will attest to carrying out the loading. For highway transports, the assistance note is also signed by the driver of the vehicle.

The assistance note is presented to the customs units by the transporter for the purpose of paying customs duties on the goods.

Article 58. - In the case of export goods loaded onto the same transport vehicle at a number of loading points, those so empowered carry out the following operations:

a) they check the seals applied at the loading points;

b) they retain the assistance note completed at the previous loading point;

c) they issue an assistance note totalling the goods found on the transport vehicle and mentioning the seals that were applied.

Article 59. - The provisions listed in Articles 48 and 49 paragraph one are also appropriately applied to those goods for which assistance was given in loading.

When appropriate conditions do not exist for a customs control at the border, the transport vehicles are directed to the nearest customs unit in the interior of the country or to a unit subordinate to the same central organ, as well as the producer or, as the case may be, the supplier unit that loaded the goods and where the customs control will be conducted.

The customs organs can send a customs official to accompany the goods to the interior of the country.

The transportation, handling, packaging and unpacking of the goods for the purpose of a customs control are done by the party making the customs declaration or by the unit to which the goods were directed.

Article 60. - The costs regarding the operations outlined in Article 59, as well as those involved in sending out an accompanying customs official, are supported by the goods producer or supplier unit.

Article 61. - The model and number of assistance seals needed by those persons empowered by the producer or supplier units making goods for export, as well as the model of the assistance note are established by the General Directorate of Customs.

The producer or supplier units making goods for export are required to provide, in accordance with the law, strict documentation of the assistance seals. These units can issue technical working norms regarding assistance in loading goods, with the approval of the General Directorate of Customs.

Article 62. - The customs organs establish the manner of training for personnel who have attributes in carrying out assistance operations and periodically reviews the fulfillment of obligations regarding assistance in loading goods by the producer or supplier units.

Article 63. - The Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation can authorize, in cases of need, certain units receiving imports to provide assistance by way of empowering their own people to unload transport vehicles carrying imported goods.

The means of carrying out unloading assistance is established by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

Article 64. - Violation of the obligations regarding assistance in the loading and unloading of goods by the persons so empowered by the units results, as the case may be, in disciplinary, material, civil, legal or criminal action.

Section 7
The Check of the Customs Declaration and the Setting of Customs Tariffs. The Granting of Customs Clearances

Article 65. - For the purpose of granting customs clearances for exports or imports, the customs organs check if:

a) the type of goods found during the customs control corresponds to that recorded in the customs declaration;

b) the quantity of goods recorded in the transport documents or in the specifying lists correspond to those in the customs declaration;

c) the number and validity of the authorization recorded in the customs declaration correspond to the date in the export or import authorization or in the document that replaces it.

Article 66. - For imports, in addition to the operations outlined in Article 65, the customs organs check the tariff and tax parameters recorded in the customs declaration on the basis of the customs tariff.

When there is disagreement in the customs declaration with regards to the tariff parameters or the customs tax, the customs organs modify this document and certify the changes made.

Article 67. - The units authorized to carry out foreign trade operations are empowered to calculate the amount of the customs tax for imported goods and to forward the sums to the state budget.

Article 68. - The customs clearance is granted in writing after fulfilling the conditions and formalities of paying the customs duties.

The customs clearance has a provisional nature until the transfer of the amount of the customs duties owed into the state budget.

Article 69. - Goods for which a customs clearance has not been issued remain under customs supervision at the expense of the exporter or importer or can be maintained in the custody of the transporter or the party making the customs declaration until the situation is clarified.

Goods slated for export which have not been issued a customs clearance can be returned to the interior of the country by the transporter at the request and at the expense of the exporter.

Article 70. - The customs organs notify in writing the management of the units authorized to conduct foreign trade operations in cases where they find that the type of

goods presented for export do not correspond to those listed in the export or import authorization or the recipient is one other than that mentioned in the documents.

Article 71. - If at the paying of the customs duties it is found that the export goods have deteriorated or are damaged, inappropriately packaged or inappropriately transported, the customs organs retain these goods until they are checked by the local organs of the General State Inspectorate for the Quality Control of Products, which will establish the appropriate measures.

The party making the customs declaration informs the exporting enterprise of those goods not accepted for export.

Article 72. - For the transportation of goods via sea, river and air, disagreements between the declared data and those found at the time for paying duties are resolved as follows:

a) the differences between the data recorded in the cargo manifests and the goods actually loaded or transloaded are brought into agreement on the basis of the documents showing the findings for the goods actually unloaded;

b) for differences on the low side between the goods and quantities actually unloaded from the ship or aircraft and the goods and quantities found at the time of paying duties in the warehouses or on the docks, the customs organs pursue the payment of the customs duties that are due from the managing unit, after which the differences are removed from the customs documents;

c) for difference on the high side between the goods and the quantities recorded in the cargo manifests and those recorded in the export customs declarations, the cargo manifest or the export customs declarations are corrected, as the case may be, if the additional goods met the conditions for being permitted to be exported;

d) for differences on the low side between the goods and quantities recorded on the cargo manifests and those recorded in the export customs declarations, the cargo manifest or the export customs declaration, as the case may be, are corrected.

Article 73. - For the transportation of goods via railroad or highway, for differences between the data recorded in the transport documents and those in the customs declaration the customs organs ask the party making the declaration to correct these documents.

If it is found that the differences are the result of tampering with the transport vehicles or crates while on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the transporter is obligated to complete a findings document, on the basis of which the differences will be removed from the customs documents, after the transporter has paid the customs duties.

Article 74. - For mail transportation, for differences between the data recorded in the postal documents and the goods found during the check, the postal organs complete a findings report that is approved by the customs organs. On the basis of these reports, the differences are removed from the customs documents.

If it is found that the differences are the results of tampering with the transport vehicles or crates while on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, procedures are followed in accordance with Article 73 paragraph two, in this case with the customs duties being paid by the postal organs.

Article 75. - If upon acceptance of the goods differences are found compared to the data recorded in the customs declarations, the importer or the exporter can request, in writing, the customs organs to correct the customs declarations, after presenting the necessary justifications.

Article 76. - When it is found that the differences that have appeared are a result of the influence of natural factors that occurred during transportation, handling or storage, the statements regarding the declared weight are modified appropriately by the transporter on the basis of legal regulations and are noted in the customs documents.

Article 77. - The importing enterprises are obligated to inform the units using the imports regarding the disagreements between the goods received and the data recorded in the transport documents.

Article 78. - Goods arriving from abroad without transport documents are subjected to customs duties on the basis of a declaration submitted by the importer to the customs organs which shows the origins of the goods.

Article 79. - For those goods that are declared and presented for customs duties payments through representatives, these representatives transmite the customs declaration accompanied by documentary memoranda to the importer or exporter, which has the obligation to preserve them and present them for a customs control.

Chapter II

The Customs Tariff

Section 1
Applying the Customs Tariff

Article 80. - The customs tariff for goods imported into the Socialist Republic of Romania is approved by a decree of the Council of State.

Customs duties are not applied on exported goods.

Article 81. - The applicable customs duties are those in effect on the date of recording the goods at the customs units.

The customs duties are applied to the in-customs value of the imported goods.

Article 82. - The in-customs value for imported goods consists of the import price, composed of:

a) the foreign price converted to lei in the case of imported goods whose price includes foreign costs for transportation, handling and insurance, as well as any other costs in hard currency;

b) the foreign price converted to lei to which foreign costs are added for transportation, handling and insurance, as well as any other hard currency costs, in the case of goods whose foreign costs do not include these costs and on the basis of transport and insurance documents;

c) the foreign price converted to lei and increased by a percentage amount if there are no transportation, handling and insurance documents at the time that the customs duties are calculated.

Article 83. - The percentage amount mentioned in Article 82 letter c) is established by the units authorized to carry out foreign trade operations and represents the average amount of transportation and insurance costs over the enterprise's foreign routes for the previous semester by group of products and type of trade.

In the case where one of the elements outlined in paragraph one is missing, the percentage amount is figured from the freight costs or the transportation and insurance tariffs forwarded by the Romanian transport enterprises and the State Insurance Administration.

Article 84. - Handling costs in Romanian ports and demurrage charges, as well as any type of premium, are not included in the in-customs value of the goods. Reductions and rebates of any type are taken into consideration in establishing the in-customs value.

Article 85. - The conversion of foreign prices into lei in order to establish the in-customs value is done in accordance with legal norms.

Article 86. - In the absence of documents that attest to the value of imported free-of-charge goods and for which customs duties are owed, the importer establishes the in-customs value on the basis of the import prices used for such goods or similar goods.

Those goods that are temporarily received from abroad and then, later, brought in as imports, are subjected to customs duties, which are levied on the in-customs value at the time the goods entered the country.

Article 87. - The units authorized to carry out foreign trade operations pay customs duties within the timeframes established by the Ministry of Finance.

Article 88. - The failure to adhere to the timeframes outlined in Article 87 results in increases of 0.05 percent for each day of delay, calculated on the amount of customs duties owed.

The Ministry of Finance can approve the reduction or exemption of payments because of delays.

Article 89. - Units where goods under customs control have been withdrawn from the units' administration are required to notify the customs organs, which will then complete customs findings reports. The customs duties on the withdrawn goods are paid by these units within 5 days of the completion of the customs findings reports.

Article 90. - The reports outlined in Article 89 constitute executor title and contain:

a) the unit which is responsible for the administration of the goods;

b) the circumstances under which the withdrawal was committed;

c) the value of the goods, the amount of the customs duties and the legal timeframe for payment.

The report is forwarded, together with payment bill, to the unit responsible for the administration of the goods. In the case of non-payment, the report is forwarded for action to the banking or financial organs, as the case may be.

Article 91. - Goods that are imported under the condition of a specific use and which, later, are used for other purposes are subjected to the customs duties schedule according to the new purposes.

The importer or, as case may be, the user of the imports is required to notify the customs organs of the new destination of the goods and to meet the obligations stemming from modifying the destination of the goods.

Article 92. - In cases in which later checks show that the customs duties were not paid in full, the remaining differences, as established 1 year from the date of the payment of duties, are paid by the importer within 5 days from the date of notification.

Overpayments, uncovered as a result of certain later checks or claims that have been submitted and determined within 1 year from the date of the payment of duties, are returned to the appropriate parties within 30 days from the date of setting the difference due.

Repayments are made by the units that levied the duties from their current customs duties receipts.

Article 93. - Claims regarding the levying of customs duties are resolved by the chief of the customs unit where the duty payments are made.

Objections to the solution given by the chief can be made, within 30 days from the date of receiving the solution, to the General Directorate of Customs, whose decision is final and executory.

Article 94. - Goods that are slated to be sold for hard currency are levied customs duties upon being imported at the moment they are released from customs, but without the payment of customs duties, according to the provisions of this regulation.

If, after levying customs duties at the time of import on goods slated to be sold for hard currency, these goods are directed to other purposes, customs duties will be owed.

Imported goods to be sold for hard currency that are the object of a consignment contract can be returned to the foreign supplier on the basis of documents providing for their importation.

Article 95. - Consumer goods imported within the framework of a direct exchange of goods are exempted from customs duties on the basis of reciprocity.

Section 2
The Organization and Operation of the Customs Commission

Article 96. - The Customs Commission carries out the attributes established in the Customs Code with regards to the proposals to reduce, exempt or suspend customs duties.

The Customs Commission is headed by the minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation or by one of his deputies and is composed of a representative from the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, the Ministry of Finance and the State Committee for Prices, designated by the leadership of these organs.

The secretariat of the Customs Commission is provided by the General Directorate of Customs.

Article 97. - The Customs Commission meets whenever it is necessary by being convened by the minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

The Customs Commission makes decisions with the approval of all its members.

In order to resolve proposals forwarded for examination, the Customs Commission can request the necessary documents and economic analyses from the ministries or other interested central organs.

Chapter III

The Temporary Movement of Goods and Other Items Across the Border. Storage, Transloading and Customs Transit

Section 1
The Temporary Movement of Goods and Other Items Across the Border

Article 98. - The units authorized to carry out foreign trade operations can temporarily send abroad or receive from abroad those goods that fall within the purpose of their activities and in those cases outlined in the Customs Code.

Article 99. - The temporary sending abroad or receiving from abroad of goods involving payments of any kind is authorized by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, which also establishes the timeframe for completing these operations.

For other operations, the timeframes are established by the customs organs in accordance with the purpose and nature of the activities that require temporary movement, without exceeding 2 years.

Article 100. - The timeframes that are established can be extended by the organs that authorized the operations, at the justified request of those interested.

The extension of operations beyond the 2-year time limit can be approved by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

Article 101. - Goods that are temporarily received from abroad can be used only for the purpose recorded in the customs declaration. If the goods are received for processing, with or without the addition of indigenous or foreign materials, this will be noted on the customs declaration.

Those responsible for the operations are required to notify the customs organs of changes in the initial use or destination.

The temporary operations carried out by one party can be transferred to another party, with the prior approval of the customs organs, only if the second party meets the conditions for carrying out the operations.

Article 102. - For the temporary receipt of goods that are not exempted from customs duties in the Customs Tariff Schedule, the parties will mention in the customs declaration the in-customs value and the amount of the customs duties.

The customs organs can request that the parties making the customs declaration submit specification lists, technical documents, photographs and plans, and can also take other necessary measures to identify the goods.

Article 103. - The customs declaration for the temporary receipt or sending of goods, on the basis of which the customs organs have issued the customs clearance, constitute the executory title for the payment of the customs duties due in cases where the operation was not completed within the timeframes granted.

Article 104. - The following goods can be temporarily sent or received without submitting a customs declaration:

a) transport vehicles used in international traffic, as well as spare parts needed to repair these vehicles that are on these vehicles or sent separately;

b) containers, pallets, special containers, bottles, drums, crates, as well as other similar goods used in international traffic;

c) vehicle tarpaulins and supplies listed in the documents accompanying the transport vehicle;

d) shelves, grates, partitions, shutters and other objects found on the transport vehicles.

Article 105. - Operations for temporary sending and receipt are concluded by:

a) the return to the country of the goods temporarily sent abroad or the export of these goods, in accordance with legal norms;

b) the return abroad of those goods temporarily received or the importation of these goods, in accordance with legal norms;

c) the customs organs' removal from their records of the operations of temporarily sending goods abroad, if the hierarchically superior organ of the party conducting the operations confirms the existence of certain circumstances that make it impossible to return the goods or when the goods are not returned for economic reasons;

d) the customs organs' removal from their records, without the payment of customs duties, of the operations of temporarily sending goods abroad, if there are reasons of force majeure or other circumstances that make it impossible to return the goods or if the goods were destroyed.

For the return abroad of those goods resulting from processing, the foreign trade enterprises will make note in the customs declaration that they are the result of the processing of goods temporarily received for this purpose.

Article 106. - Operations to temporarily receive or send goods can be concluded for all the goods that are involved in the operation or for a portion of them.

The customs organs and the parties involved in the operations are required to maintain documents on the temporary receipt or sending of goods until the total completion of these operations.

Article 107. - When the temporary sending or receiving operations are not completed within timeframes, the customs organs take the customs duties within 30 days from the date of findings if these duties are owed and retain them for a period not to exceed 30 days.

If upon the expiration of this timeframe the temporary operation is not completed, the sums are turned over to the state budget and the operation is removed from the customs organs' records.

The customs organs notify the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation of the operations involving the temporary receiving or sending of authorized goods that were not completed on-time. In other cases, the customs organs notify the Ministry of Finance.

Article 108. - In completing the operations of temporarily receiving or sending goods, the party making the customs declaration is required to present the customs declaration used in the temporary receiving or sending together with the documents necessary to identify the goods.

In cases where the operation is concluded at another customs unit, this unit is required to forward the customs document within 15 days to the initial customs unit.

Article 109. - In the temporary introduction or removal of goods from the country, outside of the foreign trade activities and without making payments of any type, the legal entities are required to confirm in writing that the goods are necessary in order to achieve the object of their activities. For these operations, it is mandatory to have a guarantee for the payment of the customs duties, when such duties are owed.

The timeframes for the operations outlined in this article are established by the customs organs in accordance with the duration of the activities for which the goods were temporarily removed or introduced.

Article 110. - Goods for the supply and maintenance of the headquarters of the representatives and the offices of the commercial companies and foreign economic organizations cannot be the object of operations for the temporary introduction of goods into the country, with the exception of the cases listed in Article 151.

Article 111. - The use of goods temporarily sent abroad by the units authorized to carry out foreign trade operations and the sale in-country of those goods temporarily received by these units are approved by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

The provisions in paragraph one are also applied to those goods temporarily removed or brought into the country by natural persons outside of the realm of foreign trade activities.

Article 112. - Foreign goods can be released into customs custody on the basis of a release-reception report for a timeframe established by the customs organs, with guarantees for the customs duties. The conclusion of these operations is carried out in accordance with the norms contained in this section.

Section 2
The Storage of Goods in Warehouses

Article 113. - Foreign goods can be stored temporarily under customs supervision, with guarantees for the customs duties. For these goods, storage fees are owed, which are levied by the units having the storage areas, in accordance with the established charges conforming to the legal norms regarding prices and tariffs.

Article 114. - Requests to the units authorized to carry out foreign trade operations for the storage of goods are presented to the General Directorate of Customs for notification and to the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation for approval.

The storage of goods in warehouses that are not the object of foreign trade activities is approved by the customs organs.

The approval for storage can authorize that the goods in storage be sorted, tested, treated, packed, marked or subjected to certain similar operations.

The timeframe for holding goods in storage is established in the storage approval. Extension of this timeframe is granted by the organs that gave the storage approval, upon a justified request from the party involved.

Article 115. - In the case of removing goods from storage, the party involved in the operation is required to submit within 5 days the necessary documents for the purpose of completing the customs formalities appropriate to the new destination.

The storage customs declaration constitutes an executory title for collecting the customs duties owed.

Article 116. - The parties involved in the storage are required to maintain records on the stored goods.

The customs organs have the right to verify whenever they feel it is necessary the documents regarding the storage and the goods being stored.

Article 117. - Goods, including supplies, unloaded from ships wrecked or damaged in the national or territorial waters of the Socialist Republic of Romania are subject to the provisions regarding storage.

Section 3
The Transloading of Goods

Article 118. - The transloading of goods covered by customs can be done directly from one means of transportation to another or through the temporary storage of the goods.

Article 119. - Transloading operations are carried out under customs supervision within the area of the customs units.

In cases of necessity, the customs organs can approve the transloading of goods in other locations.

Transloading is done on the basis of a permit issued by the customs organs.

Article 120. - In railroad stations where the transloading of goods from railcars having different rail guages takes place, the transloading is done without a permit under customs supervision. The transporter is responsible for the type and quantity of the goods transloaded.

Article 121. - In the case of force majeure or technical defects in the transport vehicle, the transloading can also be done in locations where customs organs do not operate, but in the presence of militia organs or those of the local state administration.

The transporter is required to certify in transport documents the type and amount of goods transloaded, to seal the transport vehicles and to present them to the nearest customs unit for the purpose of completing the new customs documents.

Article 122. - After carrying out the transloading, in accordance with Article 121, the customs documents and the transport documents are appropriately modified and are approved by the customs organs, which will take the measures to seal the transport vehicles.

Section 4
Customs Transits

Article 123. - Goods that are not assessed customs duties upon their entry in the country can be transported under customs transit on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania under customs supervision, between two customs units, with guarantees for the customs duties in accordance with this regulation.

Those goods for export that have cleared customs in the interior of the country are considered under customs transit until they reach the border.

Article 124. - The clearing of goods in transit consists of an exterior customs check of the transport vehicle and a check of the agreement between the customs transit documents and the accompanying transport documents.

In case of suspicions, the customs organs also conduct a customs check of the goods in transit.

Article 125. - The parties involved in the transit are the transporters of the goods. They are required to present a customs transit declaration, directly or through their representatives, to the customs organs.

The customs organs can request that the customs transit declaration be accompanied by specifications or invoices which show the value of the goods in transit. The customs transit declaration is approved by the customs organs.

For goods of the same type found in a single transport vehicle and having a number of transport documents and a single destination, a joint customs transit declaration is submitted.

The data recorded in the customs transit declaration must agree with that in the accompanying transport documents and the other documents.

Article 126. - For goods cleared for export in the interior of the country, the customs transit is conducted on the basis of an export customs declaration, without being subject to confirmation by the customs organs at the border.

Article 127. - The General Directorate of Customs can order an exemption on the submission of the customs transit declaration for complete railcars contained in trains whose destination is the territory of another country and which travels on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania with changes to the trains' consist.

In the cases listed in paragraph one, the transport document, stamped with the words "TRANZIT VAMAL" [Customs Transit], takes the place of the customs transit declaration and has the same effects.

Article 128. - The timeframe for the goods brought into the country and transported in-transit is established by the customs units according to the type of transport vehicle and the destination of the goods, up to 45 days.

Within the framework of the established timeframe, the party making the transit is required to present the goods, together with the customs transit declaration and the accompanying documents, to the destination customs unit, which will confirm the receipt of the transit to the unit that issued the approval for transit, within 15 days.

Article 129. - The customs transit declaration constitutes the executory title for the payment of customs duties in cases where the transporter does not present the goods to the destination customs unit within the timeframe established or presents them with some missing.

In these situations, if there are no documents attesting to the price, the in-customs value is in all cases considered to be the average price by ton and group of products charged within the framework of import or export operations by those units authorized to carry out foreign trade operations and which are communicated to the customs organs upon request.

The customs unit that issued the customs transit declaration levies the customs duties that are owed after it has requested information from the destination customs unit regarding the arrival of the transiting goods.

Article 130. - A transit can also be accomplished between a customs unit and the headquarters of an import-using unit on the basis of approval from and respect for the procedures established by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

Article 131. - The organs of the Romanian railroad are required to present, upon request, the necessary documents and information regarding customs transits to the customs organs.

Article 132. - The international customs transit documents listed in agreements and understandings to which the Socialist Republic of Romania is a party replace and have the same effect as the customs transit declarations.

Article 133. - In-transit goods that are used on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania are subject to authorization from the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

Goods cleared for export which can be used directly are exempted from authorization if, in advance, a request was made to annul the customs declaration.

Chapter IV

Customs Supervision

Article 134. - Customs supervision is organized at each customs unit according to the specific nature and requirements of the activities.

Article 135. - Customs supervision is principally achieved by:

a) the establishment of permanent or temporary, fixed or mobile supervision posts on transport vehicles, at points of access for persons in ports and airports, at ramps to ships and aircraft, in storage areas and in other places where goods and other items are subject to customs procedures;

b) the carrying out of objective controls on transport vehicles or in those places where goods are found under customs control;

c) the carrying out of customs control on all goods that cross the state borders during certain times and for certain categories of goods;

d) the application of customs seals on goods, transport vehicles and points of access to areas where goods subject to customs are found;

e) the maintenance of documents on goods subject to customs in registries or in customs documents.

Article 136. - The following are subject to customs supervision:

a) goods that have not cleared customs procedures upon entry into the country;

b) goods in transit;

c) goods that cleared customs procedures upon leaving the country;

d) ships under foreign flags and foreign aircraft while they are in territorial waters or in ports and, as the case may be, at airports;

e) ships under the Romanian flag and Romanian aircraft while they are carrying out operations to load, unload and transload goods.

Customs supervision is not applied to those goods found in units specializing in sales in hard currency, as well as those that were sold for hard currency.

Article 137. - Customs units that operate in ports exercise supervision in the port area and in the roadsteads, on boats and on pontoons, as well as of the goods on persons who enter, leave or carry out their activities in these ports.

Customs units that operate at highway points, airports and railroad stations carry out their supervision in these areas. For railroads, customs supervision is also carried out during the customs check in passenger trains.

Article 138. - The customs units in the interior of the country that operate in railroad stations, in post offices or in their own areas exercise their supervisory attributes in these places, as well as in other places where the customs organs go for the purpose of carrying out certain customs operations.

Article 139. - In free ports and zones, the customs supervision is carried out through:

a) the organization of mobile customs teams outside those perimeters in which the specific operations of the free ports and zones are carried out;

b) the organization of customs control points at the points of access for goods, persons and transport vehicles that connect together the perimeters within which the specific operations of the free ports and zones are carried out on the customs territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania;

c) other measures of customs supervision listed in the normative acts for creating and operating free ports and zones.

Article 140. - The conditions necessary for the proper operation of customs supervision and control for the free ports and zones are ensured by the administrations of these ports and zones by joint agreement with the customs organs.

The free ports' and zones' administrations are required to notify the customs units in writing regarding the measures they have taken with regards to the prohibited goods found on transport vehicles that are to carry out operations in the free ports and zones.

Article 141. - The goods subject to customs are placed under a customs seal, with the exception of parcel post deliveries, in-transit postal sacks, goods placed in storage and those that are the object of temporary introduction or removal operations.

The seals applied by Romanian legal entities or foreign legal entities can be assimilated by the General Directorate of Customs by the application of customs seals.

Article 142. - Customs seals are applied to doors, windows or other systems of access to the transport vehicles.

In the sealing of parcels, these parcels must be packaged in such a way so that the seal can be applied over the packaging and the parcel cannot be opened to its contents with breaking the seal or without leaving visible traces of the attempt.

Article 143. - Transport vehicles and the areas where goods are under customs control can be sealed if they meet the following conditions:

a) the construction will permit the removal or introduction of goods only through openings that can be sealed;

b) the construction will be sufficiently solid to prevent the breaking of the walls, floors or roof, without leaving traces of the attempts;

c) the construction will not permit the entire or partial removal of the walls, floors or roofs and their replacement, without leaving traces that can be seen from the exterior;

d) the doors, windows and piping will be equipped with rings or other devices that will permit the easy application of the customs seals.

Chapter V

The Payment of Duties Within the Framework of Other Operations Involving the Movement of Goods Across the Border

Section 1
Bringing Goods Into or Removing Them From the Country Outside the Realm of Foreign Trade Activities by Legal Entities

Article 144. - Romanian legal entities can bring goods into or remove them from the country outside the realm of foreign trade activities under the following conditions:

a) the goods will be received or sent without payments of any kind being made;

b) the parties involved will present to the customs organs favorable statements from the central or central organs to which they are subordinate in the case of goods whose value exceeds 25,000 lei or for goods that are not exempted from the payment of customs duties.

The conditions listed in letter a) do not refer to those goods brought into the country by legal entities which, in accordance with the law, have the right to use their own hard currency funds.

Article 145. - Donations can be received by Romanian legal entities under the conditions outlined in law.

The exemption of customs duties on donations, according to Article 30 in the Customs Code, is applied on the basis of a written confirmation from the donor which shows that the goods were sent with a clear title.

Article 146. - The customs tariff schedule that is applied to goods brought into the country by legal entities outside the realm of foreign trade activities is the one listed for importing goods. Customs duties are not applied when removing goods from the country.

Automobiles, as well as items and parts of them, are subject to the tariff schedule listed for goods belonging to natural persons.

Article 147. - The customs organs establish the amount of the duties, take payment of them and forward them to the state budget.

Article 148. - The in-customs value for goods brought into the country by legal entities outside the realm of foreign trade activities consists of the foreign price converted into lei plus the transportation and insurance costs incurred during the foreign travel.

In the absence of documents attesting to the transportation and insurance costs incurred during the foreign travel, 10 percent is added to the foreign price.

The conversion of foreign prices into lei in order to establish the in-customs value is done, according to legal norms, under the conditions established in the order from the minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

When there are no documents regarding the value, the customs organs establish the in-customs value by comparing them to similar goods brought into the country previously or for which they have foreign price documentation.

Article 149. - The following are exempted from customs duties payments:

a) goods brought into or removed from the country by Romanian military organs and units, those slated for use in national defense, including transport vehicles that are used to carry out these operations, on the basis of reports forwarded to the customs organs by the military organs;

b) parcels that constitute diplomatic or consular pouches that are received or sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the condition that they bear the phrase "diplomatic correspondence" or "consular correspondence," as the case may be, that they are accompanied by a "courier voucher" and that they are sealed by the sender;

c) goods brought into or removed from the country by the organizations and organs listed in Annex No 1 (this annex was forwarded to the interested institutions).

Article 150. - The following are exempted from the payment of customs duties:

a) goods received by the Society of Red Cross of the Socialist Republic of Romania;

b) goods arriving for the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania or the Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade within the framework of the objectives of their activities.

Article 151. - Foreign legal entities can bring goods into the country only with the payment of customs duties, with the exception of documentary and publication materials, advertisement items, models, prototypes and goods for fairs, expositions, congresses, conferences, symposia, competitions and other similar events that are permitted without the payment of customs duties according to this regulation. The Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation can establish the limits for certain goods that are brought into the country.

The representatives and offices of foreign commercial companies and economic organizations can remove the following at the end of their activities without paying duties:

a) goods brought into the country for which customs documents are presented;

b) goods acquired in the Socialist Republic of Romania for their normal needs, if these goods were paid for in hard currency or in lei stemming from an exchange of hard currency, with the presentation of a document showing the manner of payment.

On the basis of reciprocity, reductions or exceptions to the payment of customs duties are applied or the temporary introduction of goods is granted, without guarantees for the payment of customs duties, in the case of goods brought into the country to equip and maintain the representatives and offices listed in paragraph two. Fulfillment of the conditions of reciprocity are confirmed to the customs organs by the interested central Romanian organ.

Article 152. - Goods for equipping the representatives and other Romanian units headquartered abroad can be removed from the country or returned to the country without the payment of customs duties, based on the address of the sending or receiving unit which shows that the goods are recorded in their accounting documents.

Section 2
Bringing Into or Removing From the Country the Following Items: Samples, Reference Models, Tests Materials for Experiments and Research, and Publication, Advertising and Documentary Materials

Article 153. - Samples are considered those goods or parts of goods received free from foreign partners to learn, test or analyze their technical characteristics for the purpose of importing or producing them in-country, as well as those sent free to foreign partners for the purpose of testing the foreign markets or obtaining orders.

By "samples having commercial value," it is understood to mean those goods or parts of goods that can be given uses other than that of samples.

By "samples without commercial value," it is understood to mean those goods or parts of these goods that are sectioned, divided, taken apart, perforated or were subjected to other similar operations.

Article 154. - The units authorized to carry out foreign trade operations can bring in or remove from the country, not paying customs duties, representative samples of the goods in their field of activity.

The bringing in or removal of samples is done on the basis of a customs declaration for the samples. The units are required to register the samples in their accounting records on the basis of the customs declaration and are responsible for the administration and use of these samples in accordance with the purpose for which they were received.

Article 155. - Customs declarations for the removal of samples from the country will be signed by the persons who legally represent the user units.

The units authorized to carry out foreign trade operations are responsible for the value and the quantity of the samples forwarded to the foreign partners, as well as for the opportunities for such operations.

Article 156. - The customs declarations for the introduction of samples into the country can also be signed by the party making the declaration, as empowered by the user.

The units authorized to carry out foreign trade operations are required to confirm, either directly or through their representatives, that the samples brought in or removed from the country fall within the scope of their activities. In contrary cases, the customs organs do not permit these operations to occur and inform these units' hierarchically superior organs.

Article 157. - The economic representatives, agencies and sections of other countries within the Socialist Republic of Romania can bring into or remove from the country, without payment of customs duties, samples and specimens, on the basis of requests submitted to the customs organs.

Article 158. - The representatives of foreign commercial companies and economic organizations and the economic representatives authorized to operate in the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as other foreign companies and organizations, can bring samples and specimens into the country while adhering to the following conditions:

a) without payment of customs duties if they do not have commercial value or if they are turned over to the enterprises authorized to carry out foreign trade operations and they correspond to the scope of their activities;

b) with the payment of customs duties, if they are not turned over to enterprises authorized to carry out foreign trade operations;

c) with guarantees for the customs duties, if they are temporarily brought into the country.

Article 159. - The legal entities listed in Article 158 can remove samples and specimens from the country if these were obtained from the units authorized to carry out foreign trade operations, on the basis of customs declarations for the samples as issued by these units.

Article 160. - In the case of operations to temporarily introduce or remove samples, the provisions are applied regarding the temporary introduction and removal of goods.

Article 161. - The customs procedures regarding samples are also applied to reference models.

The provisions of Articles 157, 158 and 159 are also applied to samples transported by foreign natural persons that come into the country for commercial transactions.

Article 162. - The materials for specimens, experiments or research, as well as plants and animals for experiments, can be brought into or removed from the country by Romanian legal entities without the payment of customs duties if they are in normal amounts and fall within the scope of their activities. For these operations, the customs organs can request the presentation of a notice from the hierarchically superior organ of the party involved.

Similarly, it is permitted to bring into the country or remove from the country, without the payment of customs duties, those goods that are part of an equivalent exchange approved according to the law between research institutes, art institutes, sports associations and other units. The hierarchically superior organs of the units that are carrying out these exchanges give confirmation of these conditions to the customs organs.

Article 163. - Publicity materials and advertising objects can be brought into or removed from the country without the payment of customs duties by:

a) the units authorized to carry out foreign trade operations;

b) Romanian units specializing in publicity and advertising for foreign trade and tourism;

c) the economic representatives, agencies and sections of other countries;

d) the press agencies;

e) the representatives and offices of foreign commercial companies and economic organizations authorized to operate in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Publicity materials and advertising objects can be brought into or removed from the country without the payment of customs duties by foreign economic companies and organizations other than those authorized to operate in the Socialist Republic of Romania with the condition that they are used at fairs, expositions or other similar events, as well as in negotiations.

Exemption from customs duties is granted if the publicity materials refer to the activities of the units that bring the materials into the country or if the advertising objects have printed on them the name of these units or the companies that they represent.

The units authorized to carry out foreign trade operations are required to draw up norms regarding the manner of use of publicity and advertising materials, with notification to the central organ to which they are subordinate.

Article 164. - Foods or items of small value slated to be consumed or distributed in fairs, expositions or other similar international events can be brought into the country without the payment of customs duties on the condition that the in-customs value of these goods does not exceed 200 lei per day for the period of the event for each participating company or organization.

To the same end, they can bring into the country without paying customs duties 200 cigarettes, one liter of alcoholic beverages, five liters of wine or ten liters of beer per day for the period of the event for each participating company or organization.

Article 165. - Romanian units that participate in economic, cultural, scientific, sport or other events organized abroad can remove from the country those goods listed in Article 164 in the types and amounts established according to the regulations in effect.

Article 166. - Documentary materials in the form of documents, photographs, slides, sound recordings or films, as well as printed matter and other similar materials, can be brought into or removed from the country without the payment of customs duties if these operations are not prohibited by legal norms.

For Romanian units, these operations are carried out on the basis of a note signed by the chief of the unit. In taking them out of the country, it must also note that the materials do not contain secret data.

Foreign legal entities can remove from the country materials of Romanian origins in the list contained in paragraph one only if they present proof showing that these materials were officially made available to them.

Article 167. - Documentary materials and specimens for experiments and research belonging to natural persons can be brought into or removed from the country without the payment of customs duties if these operations are not prohibited by legal norms.

In removing these materials from the country, it is necessary to present a favorable note from the specialized central organ, with the exception of documentary materials found in public circulation.

Section 3
Providing Supplies to Transport Vehicles Used in International Traffic

Article 168. - Ships under foreign flags that dock in Romanian ports can be supplied with fuels, lubricants and food stuffs, as well as with other materials, by the Romanian enterprises authorized to do this, while adhering to the norms regarding the export of goods.

Article 169. - In ports where specialized enterprises for suppling ships do not operate, food stuffs and other goods needed by ships under foreign flags can be procured from the commercial organizations designated by the local people's council. Payment for these goods can be made in lei obtained from the exchange of hard currency or stemming from the shipping agency or in lei obtained from the Romanian ship tranport enterprise through payments in hard currency. In these cases, the quantities of goods must be in relation to the number of persons found on-board and the length of the trip to the next port of call.

The bringing of these goods on-board is done without the payment of customs duties.

Article 170. - Goods that are to be used for supplies and that are brought on-board the ship are subject to a customs check on the basis of the customs permit and the delivery document.

In the case of the goods listed in Article 168, a single customs declaration for export is submitted for all the goods brought on-board for the period of the ship's stay in port.

The provision of supplies can be done using Romanian products or products from abroad that have been imported for this purpose in accordance with legal provisions.

Article 171. - Romanian shipping enterprises can provide supplies of fuels, lubricants, materials or food stuffs to foreign ships if, within the framework of certain understandings with similar foreign enterprises, it was established to have deliveries through compensation. The Romanian enterprises are required to maintain records of these operations.

The provision of supplies to Romanian ships that travel over foreign routes is done by the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications or by other authorized units, while adhering to legal provisions, on the basis of the customs permit and the delivery document, without the submission of an export customs declaration.

Goods to supply or equip Romanian ships on voyages or in shipyards can be shipped abroad by the authorized units on the basis of the delivery document, with the submission of an export customs declaration.

Article 172. - The agencies of transport enterprises authorized to operate in the Socialist Republic of Romania can temporarily bring in the country and store goods for the supply and repair of their own transport vehicles used in international traffic by completing the appropriate formalities.

The agencies are required to record these goods in documents that will be made available to the customs organs upon their request.

Article 173. - Vehicles belonging to foreign natural persons can transport into or remove from the country, without the payment of customs duties, only that amount of fuel for the capacity of the normal tank for these vehicles. The bringing in or removal from or the transit of the country of fuels in excess of this amount is not permitted.

Fuels found in the tanks within the normal capacities for the vehicles belonging to Romanian natural persons can be brought into or removed from the country without the payment of customs duties. The bringing in or removal from the country of fuels in excess of this amount is not permitted.

The provisions in paragraphs one and two are applied at the entry into the country of Romanian and foreign natural persons who are traveling within the framework of a low level of border traffic or who are crossing the border on the occasion of certain holidays on the basis of understandings between the Socialist Republic of

Romania and the neighboring countries, as well as foreign tourists who enter into the country more than once in a month or who remain in the country for 24 hours at the most. Upon leaving the country, a quantity of fuel is permitted, limited to 10 liters for automobiles, without the payment of customs duties.

Article 174. - The provisions regarding the provision of supplies to Romanian and foreign ships is also applied, in an appropriate manner, to Romanian and foreign aircraft.

In these cases, a loading permit is not issued and an export customs declaration is not submitted. The customs check is carried out based on the delivery document.

Article 175. - Consumer goods that are used to supply restaurant cars and sleeping cars used in international traffic are exempt from the payment of customs duties. These goods are declared to the customs organs at the border crossing point, without the completion of other customs formalities.

Chapter VI

Bringing Goods Into and Removing Them From the Country by the Diplomatic Missions and Consular Offices Accredited in the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as by the Members of These Offices

Article 176. - Goods slated for the official use of diplomatic missions and consular offices, as well as for the personal use of the members having diplomatic status at these places and their families, are exempt from customs control both upon entering and leaving the country, under the conditions established by international agreements to which the Socialist Republic of Romania is a party and on the basis of reciprocity.

Article 177. - The following can be brought into or removed from the country without the payment of customs duties, under the conditions established in the international agreements to which the Socialist Republic of Romania is a party and on the basis of reciprocity:

a) goods slated for the official use of the diplomatic missions and consular offices;

b) goods slated for the personal use of the members having diplomatic status at the diplomatic missions and consular offices, as well as the members of their families;

c) goods slated for the personal use of the members of the administrative, technical and service staff of the diplomatic missions and consular offices, as well as the members of their families, at the time of their appointment.

Article 178. - The bringing into and the removal from the country of unaccompanied goods is permitted on the basis of a request from the diplomatic mission or the consular offices, signed by the chief there, and a specifications list presented to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the case of baggage accompanied by the owner, the bringing in or the removal is permitted without the presentation of the request and the specifications list.

The request to bring goods in or to remove them, completed in three copies and forwarded to the Romanian customs organs through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, will note the amount of the goods brought in and their description, in accordance with the formats made available to the diplomatic missions, with the requester specifying if these goods are for personal use or the mission's use.

If the requester does not know the contents of the packages received, the customs organs can proceed with the opening of these packages in the presence of the requester or a representative of the requester for the purpose of completing the formalities outlined in paragraph two.

Article 179. - Goods that are prohibited only from being taken out of the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as those goods of an artistic, historical and scientific nature, musical instruments and objects made of precious metals or stones that exceed the level of personal use and other goods of special value, can be removed from the country without other formalities if they were declared in writing to the customs organs upon their entry into the country.

Article 180. - At the request of the diplomatic mission or the consular office, the customs organs, depending upon available personnel, can carry out the customs procedures at the location of the diplomatic mission or the consular office or at the residence of those persons having diplomatic status.

Article 181. - For the following categories of consumer goods, the exemption from the payment of customs duties outlined in Article 177 is applied within limits per calendar year, in the following manner:

a) for the official use of the diplomatic mission and the consular office:

- cigarettes: 2,000 packs (20 per pack);

- alcoholic beverages (over 22 percent alcohol): 300 liters;

b) for the use of personnel with diplomatic status and the members of their families:

- cigarettes: 500 packs (20 per pack) per family;

- alcoholic beverages (over 22 percent alcohol): 50 liters per family.

Upon notification of the bringing of the consumer goods listed in this article into the country, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs keeps track of the conditions of reciprocity, as well as the agreements to which the Socialist Republic of Romania is party, in order to apply reductions or increases corresponding to the established limits.

Article 182. - Goods listed in Article 181 that are transported as accompanied baggage or unaccompanied parcels are declared in writing upon their introduction into the country in the documents listed in Article 178. In the absence of these documents, goods are not permitted to be brought into the country that could be left in the care of the customs organs, in accordance with this regulation.

After clearing through customs, a copy of the request submitted for these goods that has been approved by the customs organs is forwarded by them to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which keeps track of the goods that were brought in.

Goods listed in Article 181 that exceed the established amounts can be brought into the country with the payment of the customs duties applicable to goods belonging to natural persons.

Article 183. - The temporary introduction into the country of vehicles, with an exemption on the payment of customs duties, for the official use of the diplomatic mission and consular offices, as well as for the use of their members and their families, is permitted within the limits provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on the basis of reciprocity or under the conditions established in international understandings.

The formalities for temporarily bringing them in are those listed in Article 178. Records of these operations are maintained by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Article 184. - When there are firm reasons to believe that within the parcels destined for the diplomatic mission and the consular offices, as well as in the transport vehicles or in the baggage of their members having diplomatic status or of their family members, there are goods that are not exempted from the payment of customs duties or that were not declared in accordance with Article 182, or are prohibited from being brought in or removed from the country or are subject to quarantine, the chief of the customs unit can conduct a customs check in the presence of the owner of the goods or an authorized representative of the owner.

Article 185. - Goods brought into the country that are exempted from customs duties that are transferred via commercial organizations, are subject to, according to the provisions of the Customs Code, the customs duties applicable to goods belonging to natural persons.

Article 186. - Diplomatic pouches used for the purpose of communications between diplomatic missions and the ministry of foreign affairs of the accredited country are exempted from customs duties and are not subject to customs control upon their entry or departure from the country.

Under the conditions of paragraph one, diplomatic pouches used for the purpose of communications between the diplomatic missions of the same country are also permitted.

Article 187. - Diplomatic pouches can be transported on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

a) when accompanied by diplomatic couriers given this mission by the ministry of foreign affairs of the country to which they belong or by a diplomatic mission of the accredited country;

b) when unaccompanied.

Article 188. - Diplomatic pouches must be equipped with the seals of the ministry of foreign affairs or of the sending diplomatic mission, bear the words "diplomatic correspondence" or "official dispatch," travel on the basis of a "courier voucher" and not contain other than diplomatic documents or objects of official use.

If the diplomatic pouch is accompanied by a diplomatic courier, this person must possess a "courier voucher" in which is indicated the last name, first name and position of the accompanying person, as well as the number and destination of the parcels.

Unaccompanied diplomatic pouches, in addition to bearing the words "diplomatic correspondence" or "official dispatch" and the sender's seals as outlined in paragraph one, will have to bear a label also noting the number of the "courier voucher."

If these conditions are not met, the diplomatic pouches are sealed by the customs organs and transited to a customs unit in Bucharest in order to establish the means of releasing or returning them to the sender.

The release of unaccompanied diplomatic pouches is done on the basis of a written certificate issued by the receiving diplomatic mission.

Article 189. - Diplomatic pouches can be transported by the commander of an aircraft if he has an official document which shows the number of parcels that constitutes the pouch.

The diplomatic mission can send one of its members to directly take possession of the diplomatic pouches from the hands of the aircraft commander.

Aircraft commanders that transport diplomatic pouches are not considered diplomatic couriers.

Article 190. - Diplomatic pouches in transit through the Socialist Republic of Romania can be sealed by the customs organs upon their entry.

Article 191. - The provisions regarding diplomatic pouches are also appropriately applied to consular pouches.

Chapter VII

The Bringing of Goods Into or the Removal of Them From the Country by Natural Persons

Section 1
The Declaration of Goods Brought Into or Removed From the Country by Natural Persons

Article 192. - Natural persons are required to declare, verbally or in writing, the goods that they bring into or remove from the country and to present them to the customs organs.

Article 193. - The following goods are subject to written declarations in all cases:

a) weapons, munitions and explosive or radioactive materials;

b) intoxicating and psychotropic products and substances, as well as toxic substances and products;

c) radio transmitter-receiver devices;

d) perfumes;

e) objects of precious metals, with or without precious stones, that exceed the level of personal use established in Annex No 2;

f) postage stamps;

g) goods of a cultural or artistic nature, only upon their removal from the country.

Article 194. - Goods of a cultural or artistic nature or of a special value can be declared in writing upon the introduction of them into the country by natural persons for the purpose of removing them from the country without approval.

Upon the request of a natural person, the customs organs make available free-of-charge the forms for the written declaration.

Article 195. - Postal packages that arrive for natural persons are declared and presented to the customs organs by the postal organs, accompanied by the transport documents and the documents attached to them.

Section 2
The Customs Control of Goods Belonging to Natural Persons

Article 196. - The customs control of goods belonging to natural persons consists of comparing the goods declared with the goods found in the accompanied or unaccompanied baggage and in packages.

Article 197. - Natural persons are required to present the goods for the customs check.

The customs organs directly carry out the customs check when the natural persons refuse to present the goods.

In special cases, a customs check of the person's body can be conducted.

Article 198. - Customs organs issue the customs clearance in writing for goods subject to customs duties and verbally for those exempted from duties, if the legal conditions are met for the introduction of goods or the removal of them from the country.

Section 3
The Temporary Introduction or Removal From the Country of Goods Belonging to Natural Persons and the Transit of These Goods Through the Country

Article 199. - The temporary introduction and removal from the country of goods by natural persons is permitted with guarantees for the payment of customs duties.

The guarantees and the keeping of records are not necessary in the cases of goods exempted from customs duties upon entry and removal.

The timeframes for the temporary introduction and removal of goods are established by the customs organs.

Article 200. - Operations to temporarily introduce or remove goods are concluded within the established timeframes by one of the following methods:

a) the reintroduction or, as the case may be, the return of the goods;

b) the payment of the customs duties that are owed;

c) the abandonment of the goods temporarily brought into the country to the customs organs;

d) the turning over of the goods to the state units authorized for the collection of wastes, with presentation of proof of having turned over the goods given to the customs organs.

Article 201. - Customs duties become payable if the owner does not conclude the temporary introduction or removal of the goods within the timeframe. In these cases, the guaranteed sums are forwarded to the state budget.

Article 202. - In order to clear the goods temporarily brought in or removed by natural persons, the General Directorate of Customs can establish the specific customs formalities.

Article 203. - The following are excepted from the obligation to guarantee the payment of customs duties and carry out customs formalities: vehicles and self-propelled vehicles and their tractors, as well as boats, if they are temporarily introduced or removed by natural persons for the period of their stay in country or, as the case may be, while abroad.

At the end of their stay in-country or abroad, the owners are required to return or, as the case may be, reintroduce the goods or pay the customs duties that are owed, with the operation being considered completed.

For vehicles that are the object of the provisions contained in Articles 227-235, the provisions of this article do not apply.

Article 204. - Goods listed in Article 203 that are temporarily brought into the country by natural persons with residences abroad can be entrusted to certain Romanian legal entities to be held on the basis of a report for up to 1 year if the goods cannot be removed from the country along with owner's departure.

In the report, the obligation of the owner is recorded for resolving the status of the goods within 1 year from the date the goods are entrusted to be held.

If upon the expiration of the timeframe outlined in paragraph two the situation is not resolved, the goods become the property of the state and the legal entity that is holding them declares them within 15 days to the local financial organs, which take the goods to put them to use.

Goods that are entrusted to be held cannot be used in any manner.

Article 205. - Works of art created currently by professional or amateur artists can be taken out of the country under the conditions and with the approvals outlined by law for the organization of certain expositions that do or do not involve sales, without guarantees for the payment of customs duties.

For those goods that are permitted to be removed from the country and which are not returned within the established timeframes, the owners are required to pay the customs duties owed.

Article 206. - Natural persons with residences abroad can transit the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania with their personal effects, supplies and medicines found in their accompanying baggage or on their persons, as well as with other goods in normal amounts, without completing the customs transit declaration and without guarantees for the payment of customs duties.

For those goods susceptible to being transferred to other during the period of their transit, the General Directorate of Customs can establish measures that will ensure their removal from the country, including guarantees up to the level of the value of the goods being transited.

Section 4
Limits for Goods Brought Into or Removed From the Country by Natural Persons

Article 207. - Natural persons can bring into or remove from the country, with exemption from or the payment of customs duties, those goods destined for personal, family or household use within the limits and conditions listed in Annexes Nos 2 and 3.

The minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation can establish temporary restrictions for certain goods upon their introduction or removal from the country, with or without the payment of customs duties.

It is prohibited to bring into the country those automobiles with a rate of gasoline consumption greater than 11 liters per 100 kilometers, with the exception of those that are temporarily brought in in accordance with the provisions of this regulation.

Article 208. - The carrying out of commerce by natural persons using goods brought into the country is punished under the conditions outlined by criminal law.

Section 5
The Application of Customs Tariffs for Goods Belonging to Natural Persons

Article 209. - Customs duties for goods that are brought into or taken out of the Socialist Republic of Romania by natural persons are those established by the customs tariff schedule listed in Annex No 4.

In the case of exceeding the value or quantity limits listed for the introduction or removal of goods by natural persons increased duties are applied as established in this regulation.

Article 210. - The customs tariff schedule for goods belonging to natural persons is the one in effect on the date of registration of these goods at the customs unit or, for those that are not subject to registration, on the date of their presentation at the customs unit.

Article 211. - The customs organs establish the amount of the customs duties, which they collect and forward to the state budget.

Article 212. - Customs duties for goods brought into or removed from the country by natural persons are paid in lei or in hard currency quoted by the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

For automobiles and other vehicles brought into the country by natural persons, the customs duties are paid only in hard currency quoted by the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Article 213. - For automobiles that are specially adapted for use by ill or handicapped persons, the customs duties can also be paid in lei.

The customs duties listed in the customs tariff schedule for these automobiles are applied on the condition of the presentation of a medical certificate which shows the need to use a specially adapted automobile, as well as a technical statement that shows that the automobile is adapted for use by ill or handicapped persons.

These automobiles can be transferred only to those persons who fall within the provisions of paragraph one.

Article 214. - The methods of paying the customs duties in hard currency are as follows:

a) the submission of the hard currency sums by Romanian citizens or foreign citizens abroad for the purpose of transferring the sums to the Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade in the account specially opened for the payment of customs duties. The customs duties equivalent in lei is directed into the accounts of the customs units, as established by the Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade and the General Directorate of Customs;

b) the submission of the sums in lei by foreign citizens to the customs units, as obtained from the legal hard currency exchange of the hard currency, with the amount representing the customs duties;

c) the submission of the customs duties in hard currency to the Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade by Romanian or foreign citizens, into the account specially opened for the payment of customs duties. The Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade transfers the customs duties equivalent in lei into the account of the customs unit, as indicated by the person paying.

Article 215. - The Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade, together with the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, can also establish methods of paying the customs duties in hard currency other than those listed in Article 214 for Romanian workers sent abroad in the interest of their jobs.

Article 216. - The release of the goods subject to customs duties is done after the payment of these duties.

Natural persons with residences in the Socialist Republic of Romania who do not have on their persons the sums necessary to pay the customs duties for the goods that are brought into the country in their accompanying baggage can immediately obtain the goods on the basis of a declaration-pledge to pay at a later date the customs duties.

Article 217. - For those goods released on the basis of a declaration-pledge, the customs duties are deposited by the natural persons at the savings and loans units into the account specially opened for customs duties within 30 days from the date of the declaration-pledge.

Within this timeframe, the owner is required to send the payment receipt to the customs unit through which he entered the country.

If the customs duties are not paid in accordance with paragraph two, they are forwarded for follow-up and payment to the financial organs within 30 days from the expiration of the timeframe for making the payment on the basis of the declaration-pledge, which constitute the executory title.

Article 218. - If the persons who signed the declaration-pledge did not indicate their correct address, the organs that issued the border crossing document communicates the address of these persons, at the request of the customs organs.

The presentation of certain erroneous date by the natural persons in the declaration-pledge is punished in accordance with the law.

Article 219. - Customs duties for postal packages that are paid at customs upon entering the country can be paid to the postal organs, which transfer them into the account of the customs unit.

For each package, the postal organs retain a commission of seven lei from the customs duties paid. For those packages that contain goods that are exempt or excepted from customs duties or for which the amount of customs duties owed is below the legal commission rate, they are paid by the recipient of the package.

Article 220. - The in-customs value for the goods brought into or removed from the country by natural persons is determined in accordance with the provisions of Annex No 5.

Article 221. - In cases where a later check shows that the customs duties were not correctly determined, the underpayments can be established within 2 years from the date of the payment of the customs duties. If after a summons sent by the customs organs, the debtor does not pay within 30 days the difference owed, the amount is forwarded for follow-up and payment to the local financial organs.

Overpayments, uncovered as a result of certain later checks or claims that were made, are returned to the rightful party within 30 days.

Repayment of customs duties is done by the customs organs from the current receipts of customs duties.

Underpayments up to 25 lei are not pursued and overpayments of up to 25 lei are not returned.

Article 222. - Claims regarding the application of the customs tariff schedule are submitted within 1 year from the date of payment and are resolved by the chief of the customs unit where the customs procedures were carried out. Objections to the solution given to the interested party can be made within 15 days from the date of receiving the report to the General Directorate of Customs. Its decision is final and executory.

Article 223. - The transportation costs in hard currency for the foreign travel of the goods received or brought in from abroad are fully supported in the same hard currency by the owner of the goods. In contrary cases, the goods will be returned abroad at the direction of the recipient or the sender. If within 1 year the status of the goods is not resolved, they become the property of the state.

The Ministry of Finance can approve payment in lei of the equivalent value of the hard currency transportation costs in special cases or when they represent small amounts.

Article 224. - Customs duties are not applied for bringing in the following categories of goods:

a) pharmaceutical products;

b) prostheses, instruments, devices and powered or powerless carriages and tricycles, including spare parts for these items, for use by ill or handicapped persons, with notification to the health organs;

c) collectibles and objects of antiquity, as well as precious and semi-precious stones, precious metals and objects made from them, while adhering to the legal obligations regarding the possession and movement of these items;

d) goods removed from the country and which are returned having not been admitted at their destination.

Customs duties are not applied to mobile goods, including transport vehicles, secured by open inheritances in-country or abroad and provable on the basis of certain official documents.

Article 225. - The minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation can grant, with notification of the Ministry of Health, reductions or exemptions in customs duties for automobiles specially adapted for use by ill or handicapped persons.

Article 226. - The Ministry of Finance can approve, on a case-by-case basis, the gradual payment of customs duties.

Chapter VIII

The Temporary Movement of Automobiles Across the Border. The Guarantee of Customs Tariffs. Customs-Free Goods

Section 1
The Temporary Bringing in and Removal of Automobiles and Their Trailers From the Country

Article 227. - Natural persons and legal entities can temporarily bring in or remove automobiles and their trailers from the country under the conditions established for the temporary movement of goods across the border.

Article 228. - For automobiles and their trailers registered in the Socialist Republic of Romania, the provisions referring to the guarantees for the payment of customs duties are not applied in their temporary removal from the country and they do not met the customs formalities.

Article 229. - The provisions referring to the guarantees for the payment of customs duties are not applied and the customs formalities are not completed for automobiles and their trailers that are registered abroad for their temporary introduction into the country for:

a) persons with residences abroad who arrive in the country as tourists in organized groups or by themselves;

b) foreign specialists, technicians and students, as well as other persons with residences abroad, who arrive in the country on the basis of agreements, contracts or other understandings with the Romanian counterpart;

c) persons with residences in the Socialist Republic of Romania who are sent abroad in the interest on their jobs and who return for a vacation or to conduct a temporary mission in-country;

d) foreign personnel of representatives or offices of foreign commercial companies and economic organizations that are operating in the Socialist Republic of Romania, in accordance with legal norms.

Article 230. - For vehicles and their trailers registered abroad belonging to the representatives and offices of foreign commercial companies and economic organizations operating in the Socialist Republic of Romania according to legal norms, guarantees are given for 100 percent of the customs duties by depositing the amounts owed in hard currency.

On the basis of reciprocity, vehicles and trailers belonging to representatives and offices listed in paragraph one can be temporarily brought into the country without guarantees for the payment of the customs duties. Fulfillment of the conditions of reciprocity are confirmed in writing to the customs organs by the interested Romanian central organ.

The provisions in paragraph one also are applied to other foreign legal entities or natural persons who do not fit into the provisions of Article 229.

Article 231. - The parties involved in the operations to temporarily bring automobiles, other vehicles and their trailers into the country are required to register them within the timeframes outlined by law.

To this end, the parties carrying out these operations give proof to the appropriate authorities that they have met the conditions listed in Article 229. In cases where these conditions have not been met, the registration can be accomplished only with the presentation of the document showing the deposit of the customs duties.

Article 232. - Automobiles and their trailers registered abroad and temporarily brought into the country by natural persons can be entrusted to certain Romanian legal entities for holding for up to 1 year under the conditions listed in Article 204, without guarantees for the customs duties.

Article 233. - The failure to adhere to the requirements listed in Article 231 is determined by the customs organs or the organs of the Ministry of the Interior. In these cases, a penalty of 10 percent of the customs duties owed ia applied. If the penalty is not paid and the customs duties are not immediately deposited, the automobile and the trailer are confiscated.

Article 234. - It is prohibited to sell, donate or transfer with any title or rent automobiles, other vehicles and their trailers that are temporarily brought into the country while they are in the Socialist Republic of Romania, with the exception of those cases authorized by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

Violations of this provision are determined by the customs organs or the organs of the Ministry of the Interior. Upon this determination, the automobiles and their trailers are confiscated.

Article 235. - Parts and separate pieces for the repair of automobiles and their trailers that are temporarily brought into the country are released, without payment of customs duties, with the requirement of removing from the country the used parts and pieces. Until the used parts and pieces are removed from the country, the release from customs is accomplished by way of guarantees for the customs duties. The

completion of this operation can also be accomplished by the payment of the customs duties or the presentation of a document that shows that they were destroyed or turned over to metals collection units.

The provisions in paragraph one are also appropriately applied for parts and separate pieces that are removed from the country for the repair of automobiles and trailers temporarily taken out of the country.

Section 2
The Guarantee of the Payment of Customs Tariffs

Article 236. - The guarantee of the payment of customs tariffs is accomplished by one of the following methods:

a) the deposit of customs duties, which consists of temporarily depositing a sum with the customs organs equal to the amount of the customs duties due on the goods;

b) the submission of a letter of customs guarantee, by which a legal entity located in the Socialist Republic of Romania pledges to pay to the customs organs that sum representing the customs duties at the time that they become payable.

Article 237. - Customs duties guaranteed through letters of customs guarantee are collected by the customs organs within 10 days from the day that they become payable and are held in the customs units' accounts for a period of 30 days from the date of payment.

If within 30 days from the payment the owner does not fulfill this obligations, the customs organs forward the amount paid to the state budget. In the case of socialist units, the payment of the guaranteed amounts is made directly through banking units, without other forms.

Article 238. - Romanian railroad units, Romanian highway transport enterprises that are involved in international highway transportation and the Romanian postal organs, as well as Romanian air and sea transport enterprises, are not required to guarantee the payment of customs duties for transport vehicles and goods transported on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

In cases where, as a result of a failure to adhere to the timeframes for completing transit operations, the customs duties become payable, the customs organs directly collect the sums owed from the accounts of these units, without other formalities, and proceed according to Article 237.

The provisions of this article are also applied for transits, the temporary receipt of goods, storage and customs custody when the owners are units authorized to carry out foreign trade operations.

Article 239. - Transport vehicles belonging to foreign transport enterprises, as well as the goods listed in Article 104, are not subject to guarantees for the payment of customs duties while carrying out international transport activities on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Article 240. - Customs duties guaranteed with sums stemming from the exchange of hard currency are returned to the owners at the conclusion of operations are are changed back into hard currency by the hard currency offices.

Section 3
Goods That do not Meet the Conditions for Being Brought Into or Removed From the Country

Article 241. - Goods belonging to natural persons or legal entities, other than those units authorized to carry out foreign trade operations, that do not meet the conditions for being brought in or removed from the country in accordance with the Customs Code and the Customs Regulation are maintained under customs supervision, but available to the owners, for a period of 48 hours in the case of perishable goods and livestock or 90 days for other categories of goods.

The list of goods considered perishable is approved by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

Goods whose retention or movement is regulated by special laws are turned over to the competent authorities to get their approval for retention or movement.

Article 242. - Upon the expiration of the timeframe for holding goods listed in Article 241 and if the owners have not resolved the customs status of the goods, they become the property of the state.

In cases where the owners abandon the goods by way of a written declaration give to the customs organs, these goods become the property of the state at the moment the declaration is submitted.

Article 243. - Goods brought into the country, for which there is an international transport contract and the transporter cannot turn them over to the receiver for justified reasons or the receiver has not met the customs conditions, can be held by the transporter or other unit authorized by the customs organs under customs supervision for up to 1 year.

Upon the expiration of this period, the goods become the property of the state and are put to use by the units holding them, which then give to the customs organs the documents showing how they were used.

Article 244. - Goods of any type found by the customs organs in areas where they conduct customs checks become the property of the state if they are not claimed within the timeframes listed in Article 241.

Goods hidden in postal packages that arrive for natural persons and that are not listed in the accompanying documents are confiscated.

Article 245. - Goods that become the property of the state in accordance with this regulation are declared monthly to local financial organs, which proceed in putting them to use. If the goods are among those whose retention or movement is regulated by special laws, they are given directly to the competent organs to get approval for their retention or movement.

Chapter IX

Sanctions

Section 1
Customs Violations

Article 246. - The following are violations and are punished with a fine of from 200 to 500 lei:

a) the presentation by the party making the customs declaration of certain documents containing false data, if this act does not constitute a violation listed in Article 248 letter c);

b) the failure to declare imported goods within the legal timeframes or the failure to submit documents containing all the date needed for the transport vehicles used in international traffic and the goods transported by them;

c) the unloading, loading or transloading of goods on ships without a customs permit;

d) the failure of the owners of goods to adhere to the temporary movement of goods across the border within the timeframes established for the completion of these operations;

e) the failure of parties in charge of warehouses to present records at the request of the customs organs regarding the goods stored there or the failure of the transporter to present data regarding goods in transit;

f) the failure of the postal organs to meet their obligations to declare and present to the customs organs postal packages for the purpose of clearing customs;

g) the failure of the shipping or receiving units to adhere to the requirements calling for the carrying out of a customs check at the point for loading or unloading goods and to ensure the accomplishment of these operations at the place and within the timeframes established.

Article 247. - The following constitute violations and are punished with a fine of from 500 to 1,500 lei:

a) the failure of the transporter or the administrator to maintain goods that have not been cleared through customs during the period of their transport or storage, if the act resulted in shortages of or substitutions to these goods;

b) the breaking or removal of markings, customs seals or other items similar to these;

c) the failure to present goods transported in transit to the destination customs unit within the timeframes or the exceeding of the timeframe for storage;

d) the failure of persons who enter or leave the country to meet the requirement of presenting the goods on their person or in their baggage;

e) the transfer, in any form, of goods belonging to persons involved in transit;

f) the failure of the units that provide assistance in the loading or unloading of transport vehicles to pursue adherence to the obligations incumbent upon those empowered to provide the assistance.

Article 248. - The following constitute violations and are punished with fines of from 1,500 to 5,000 lei:

a) the docking of ships in places other than at control points where customs organs operate, with the exception of cases of force majeure or serious illness on-board;

b) the departure from ports or airports by ships and aircraft that traveling foreign routes with customs organs approval;

c) the submission of a customs declaration containing false data regarding the type, quantity and destination of the goods, if the act led to the levying of lower customs duties, to the exemption from the payment of customs duties or to the avoidance of certain restrictions, authorizations or approvals;

c) the failure to meet the obligation to declare to the customs organs the modification of the destination of the goods compared to the purpose declared upon entry into the country;

e) the transfer of the goods in order to supply transport vehicles used in international traffic or the failure to meet the obligation of recording them in documentary records;

f) the transporter's release of goods that have not been cleared through customs directly to the user;

g) the attempt to withdraw or the withdrawal from the customs procedure of any goods or the failure to immediately present to the nearest customs organ those goods of foreign origin that have not been cleared through customs upon their entry into the country, if the act was committed in places under customs supervision by a person who was not crossing the border of the Socialist Republic of Romania and if the in-customs value of the goods does not exceed 25,000 lei. In these cases, the goods are confiscated;

h) the attempt to cross the border or the crossing of the border at places other than those established for customs control or through the use of false customs documents or certain customs documents, if the value of the goods do not exceed 3,000 lei. In these cases, the goods are confiscated.

Article 249. - The following constitute violations and are punished with a fine of from 2,000 to 8,000 lei:

a) the hiding of goods for the purpose of removing them from customs control by persons who enter or leave the country, if the value of the goods do not exceed 25,000 lei. In these cases the goods are confiscated;

b) the failure to note in the declaration on provisions the real types or amounts of goods found on the transport vehicles. The additional goods uncovered are confiscated.

Article 250. - The following constitute violations and are punished with a fine of from 5,000 to 25,000 lei:

a) the acts listed in Article 248 letter g) and Article 249 letter a) is the in-customs value of the goods exceeds 25,000 lei;

b) the hiding of goods in specially constructed places for this purpose in transport vehicles for the purpose of removing these goods from customs control by those persons who enter or leave the country.

In these cases, the goods are confiscated.

Article 251. - The application of sanctions for customs violations are prescribed within 2 years of the date of their commission.

Article 252. - The acts listed in this section constitute violations if they are not committed in such a manner so as, according to criminal law, to be considered crimes.

The measure of confiscating the goods involved in these violations is applied even if these goods are not the property of the violator.

Section 2
Determining Violations and Applying Sanctions

Article 253. - Customs violations are determined through violations reports completed by the customs organs in accordance with their job requirements within the customs area, as well as in any other place where operations are carried out under customs supervision.

Article 254. - Customs violations can be determined outside the areas under customs supervision by militia and border guard officers and sub-officers. Reports of violations, together with the goods involved in the violations, are forwarded immediately to the nearest customs unit from the place of the act for the purpose of applying the sanctions outlined by law.

Attempts to move goods across the border or the movement of goods across the border at places other than those established for customs control, outlined in Article 248 letter h), is also sanctioned by the militia or border guard officers and sub-officers. In these cases, the general norms are applied regarding the violations listed in Law No 32/1968.

Article 255. - The customs organs have the right to retain, for the purpose of confiscation, those goods involved in the violations listed in Article 248 letters g) and h) and Article 249 and Article 250.

For those goods that are retained, the customs organs issue to the violator a document in which these goods are specified.

Article 256. - After applying the sanction, the violation report, together with notification of the fine, is communicated to the violator within 30 days from the application of the sanction or it is posted at the customs unit in cases where it is impossible to make notification.

Article 257. - Sanctions can also be applied to legal entities for violations listed in Article 246, Article 247 letters a), b), c) and f), Article 248 letters a)-f) and Article 249 letter b).

In the case of the violations listed in Article 247 letters a) and b), for those goods transported via railroad the sanctions are applied to the Regional Railroad Directorate in whose region the violations were committed.

In the case of the violations listed in Article 247 letter c) and Article 248 letter f), for those goods transported in transit via railroad the sanctions are applied to the Regional Railroad Directorate within whose territorial limits the destination customs unit listed in the customs transit declaration is located.

Article 258. - For the violations listed in Article 246, Article 247 letters a), b), c) and f), Article 248 letters a)-f) and Article 249 letter b), the sanction is applied by the chief of the customs unit to which the finding customs organ belongs.

The chief of the customs unit also applies the sanction for violations committed by natural persons where the value of the goods is up to 10,000 lei.

Article 259. - For violations committed by natural persons where the value of the goods os over 10,000 lei, as well as for the violations listed in Article 250 and those found by the chiefs of the customs units, the sanction is applied by the director general of customs.

The customs organs forward the reports, in three copies, to the General Directorate of Customs within 5 days from the finding of the violation or from the receipt of the violations report completed by militia or border guard officers and sub-officers.

Article 260. - The chief of the customs unit or, as the case may be, the director general of customs, decides upon:

a) the application of sanctions and, as the case may be, the confiscation of the goods;

b) the return of the violation report so it can be reaccomplished, when it was completed without adhering to legal norms;

c) the cancellation of the violations report, if it is unfounded or illegal.

Article 261. - The violator can lodge a complaint against the report by which the sanction was imposed within 15 days from the notification from the customs unit where violation was found.

The customs unit forwards the complaint, together with a copy of the report and the conclusion,within 5 days to the General Directorate of Customs or, as the case may be, to the court in whose territory the violator's residence is located or the location of the legal entity to which the sanction was given. In the case of foreign citizens, the complaint is sent to the court in whose territory the headquarters of the General Directorate of Customs is located.

Article 262. - The director general of customs or a persons specially named by him resolves the complaint by reaching a conclusion, if the sanction was imposed by the chief of the customs unit and the violation is punished with a maximum fine of 1,000 lei.

For other violations, the complaints are resolved by the courts listed in Article 261, paragraph two.

Article 263. - The payment of fines is accomplished by:

a) payment to the customs unit that completed the violations report;

b) payment to the units of the Savings and Loan Banks, with the requirement of sending a payment receipt to the customs units within 30 days from the date the sanction imposed was considered final and executory;

c) compulsory follow up by the financial organs, and for foreign citizens who have been fined the pursuit and payment is accomplished through the financial organs of the Sector 1 People's Council in Bucharest.

Article 264. - When customs violations are committed by a person from a ship's crew or an aricraft's crew, the commander, the owner and the agent are responsible together for the payment of the fine.

Article 265. - Customs organs will not permit the departure of a ship or an aircraft in cases where fines that are owed have not been paid to the customs unit or guaranteed by a letter of customs guarantee.

The harbormaster or the airport commander is required to retain the ship or aircraft until the amounts owed as fines are obtained, at the written request of the customs organs.

Article 266. - The Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation can completely or partially renounce, for firm reasons, the carrying out of sanctions established in final and executory violations reports.

Article 267. - To the degree in which this regulation does not state otherwise, for customs violations the general norms are applied regarding violations, with the

exception of the regulations regarding the reduction of fines in the event of their payment on-the-spot or over a certain period of time.

Article 268. - If the customs organs uncover events that are considered crimes, in accordance with the law, they proceed in accordance with the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code and retain the evidence.

Upon request from the criminal investigations organs, the customs organs turn over the evidence, in accordance with the law, for the purpose of an investigation. After the conclusion of the investigation, in cases where it is found that no crime was committed, the goods are returned to the customs organs for the purpose of giving them back or putting them to use.

Chapter X

Final and Transitory Provisions

Article 269. - In the meaning of this regulation, it is understand that:

a) customs units means the customs house and the customs points, as well as their subunits, called customs posts;

b) customs organs means the workers and the leadership in the General Directorate of Customs and in the customs units;

c) the person making the customs declaration means the legal entities or the natural persons who declare and present the goods to customs, as well as their representatives. The units authorized to carry out foreign trade operations and other legal entities can be represented in declaring goods to the customs organs and in meeting the other requirements regarding clearing customs only by socialist units authorized for this purpose, according to the law;

d) introducing or removing goods means crossing the border under the conditions of the law with goods belonging to legal entities or natural persons, outside the realm of foreign trade activities.

Article 270. - In cases where the customs organs, while conducting the customs control according to the norms outlined in this regulation, note aspects that create suspicions about the failure to adhere to customs procedures, they proceed with a check of the entire transport vehicle and the goods.

Article 271. - In sending customs personnel outside the immediate customs area for the purpose of conducting operations outlined in this regulation, those who request this support the costs for transportation, housing and meals in accordance with legal norms, on the basis of a bill completed by the customs unit.

Article 272. - The failure of customs personnel to fulfill their obligations stemming from their jobs, as outlined in the Customs Code and this regulation, results in disciplinary, administrative or criminal actions, as the case may be.

Article 273. - The transit, storage and other temporary operations, as well as the introduction into or the removal from the country, of those goods or items whose retention or movement is regulated by special laws or by bilateral or multilateral agreements are subject to notification of the competent organs that can approve the retention or the movement of these goods or items. These organs can also establish specific conditions for carrying out operations.

Article 274. - The norms regarding the import and export of goods, as well as other customs operations, whose involved parties are authorized to carry out foreign trade operations are also appropriately applied to operations carried out by legal entities and natural persons outside the realm of foreign trade activities, if this regulation does not provide otherwise.

Article 275. - The norms regarding the customs list and the establishment of the origins of the goods are those listed in Annex No 6.

Article 276. - The norms regarding the manner of carrying out the customs check on goods belonging to natural persons who cross the state border and the transport vehicles in which they are traveling are those listed in Annex No 7 (this Annex was forwarded to the interested institutions).

Article 277. - Goods that have deteriorated during transport are subjected to customs duties proportionally reduced with the degree of damage, while those that are destroyed are exempted from the payment of customs duties.

The provisions of paragraph one do not apply to automobiles brought into the country by legal entities or natural persons outside the realm of foreign trade operations.

Article 278. - The timeframes listed in this regulation are calculated days-off, according to the norms outlined in the Civil Procedure Code.

Article 279. - At the request of the customs organs, the port and airport authorities, as well as the organs of the railroad border stations, do not permit the departure or entry of transport vehicles if they do not meet the conditions listed in the Customs Code and this regulation.

Article 280. - The General Directorate of Customs establishes the manner and mode of using customs registries, forms, seals and stamps, according to the law. Customs forms and seals are used by the customs organs free of charge.

In the case where the party making the customs declaration is a legal entity, it can print, at its own cost, and use certain customs forms with the approval of the General Directorate of Customs.

Customs units organize and keep records of customs operations.

Article 281. - For the clearing of customs of certain categories of goods that are brought into or taken out of the country without involving payments of any kind, as well as for newspapers, documentation, publications, sound recordings or films slated for distribution, the General Directorate of Customs can establish specific formalities

or documents for clearing customs. When customs duties are owed, these documents constitute executory title for pursuing and paying the customs duties.

Article 282. - The customs forms listed in international agreements and understandings to which the Socialist Republic of Romania is party replace the customs forms established according to Article 280.

Article 283. - In places where customs operations are conducted, the units of the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications or, as the case may be, the Department of Civil Aviation, as well as the units that ship or receive foreign trade goods, are required to provide the customs units, without payment:

a) rooms to conduct the customs check of goods or persons;

b) offices to carry out customs formalities;

c) warehouses for the storage of goods that are retained, confiscated or that become state property in any other manner;

d) equipment to weigh goods.

This is also required of the county people's councils for those customs units that carry out their activities at highway control points for crossing the state border or at control points for low-level border traffic.

The Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications provides free telephone connections through Romanian Railroad lines for conversations between the customs organs at the borders and those in the interior located at railroad stations.

Article 284. - In applying this regulation, one keeps in mind the procedures and other norms contained in international agreements and understandings to which the Socialist Republic of Romania is party, as well as the recommendations of a customs nature of international organizations accepted by the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Article 285. - Customs operations begun under the program outlined by customs regulations issued prior to this regulation are completed in accordance with the norms contained in those regulations.

The provisions in paragraph one do not apply to:

a) operations for the temporary movement of goods that are found in the records of customs units and whose timeframe for being concluded is extended by a period of 3 months from the date the Customs Regulation takes effect, a date after which they are suspended or can be renewed in accordance with the provisions of this regulation;

b) goods belonging to natural persons that are in customs custody on the date this regulation goes into effect, after which the provisions of this regulation are applied.

Article 286. - The existing customs forms and registries on the date this regulation goes into effect are appropriately used until supplies are exhausted.

Article 287. - Annexes Nos 1-7 are an integral part of this regulation.

Annex No 2

The Conditions and Limits Within Which Natural Persons can Bring in or Remove Goods From the Country

I. General Provisions

1. The following categories of goods are not permitted to be brought into the country by natural persons:

a) automobiles that consume more than 11 liters of gasoline per 11 kilometers;

b) microbuses and other similar vehicles;

c) hunting or target practice weapons, as well as munitions for them;

d) bottles for liquified gas other than those for camping;

e) copying and duplicating equipment;

f) air conditioning equipment.

2. The introduction of the following categories of goods by natural persons is permitted only with the payment of customs duties in hard currency:

Type of Goods	Customs Duties Listed in the Schedule, Increased by (in percent):
a) Motorcycles up to and including a 125 cubic centimeter engine displacement	300
b) Mopeds, scooters and powered bicycles	300
c) Pieces and items of any type of furniture	300
d) Refrigerators	300
e) Sewing machines	300
f) Televisions	300

Type of Goods	Customs Duties Listed in the Schedule, Increased by (in percent):
g) Radios	300
h) Cooking stoves and ranges and other heating devices	200
i) Clothes washing machines	200
j) Vacuums	200
k) Bicycles	200
l) Rugs and coverings of any size	200
m) Boats, with or without motors	100
n) Boilers	100
o) Calculators	100
p) Radio-cassette players	100
r) Cassette players	100
s) Natural furs and clothing made from furs	100
t) Automobiles that consume less than 11 liters per 100 kilometers of gasoline or using other types of fuels - the customs duty:	100 percent of value

3. The minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation can also establish prohibitive customs duties, in lei or in hard currency, for other categories of goods.

4. The introduction of the following categories of goods into the country by natural persons is permitted only with the payment of the duties listed in the customs tariff schedule or with the payment of increased customs duties to the levels established for each category of person:

a) Motorcycles with over 125 cubic centimeter engine displacement;

b) Auto-moto spare parts, component pieces and accessories;

c) Boat motors and parts for them;

d) Injectors for heating equipment;

e) Water pumps for household use;

f) Windows for household use that are operated by motors of any type;

g) Hot plates;

h) Freezers;

i) Presses for pressing clothes, for household use;

j) Dish wasing machines;

k) Knitting machines for household use;

l) Clothing from animal skins;

m) Typewriters;

n) Movie cameras;

o) Projection equipment;

p) Photograph enlarging and developing equipment;

r) Musical instruments of any type;

s) Tape recorders and video-recorders;

t) Record players;

u) Sound amplifiers;

v) Music machines (composed of at least three devices to record or playback sounds or pictures, of the same brand and that cannot operate independently, as components or in a single housing);

z) Goods with an individual value of over 10,000 lei.

Persons with their residence abroad pay customs duties only in hard currency.

5. The temporary introduction or transit of the categories of goods listed in points 1-4 are permitted in accordance with the norms outlined in the Customs Regulation.

II. Persons With Their Residence in the Socialist Republic of Romania

A. Workers Sent Abroad in the Interest of Their Jobs

6. Workers sent abroad in the interest of their jobs for a period of over 30 days can remove from the country without the payment of customs duties:

a) clothing, other personal articles and medicines necessary for the period of their stay, as well as study and documentary materials;

b) other goods of personal, family and household use, including furniture, on the condition that the durable goods will be declared in writing to the customs organs so they can be brought back into the country without paying customs duties;

c) gifts worth up to 500 lei in total.

7. Workers sent abroad in the interest of their jobs for a period of over 30 days can bring back into the country without paying customs duties:

a) the goods removed from the country listed in point 6;

b) articles of clothing, footwear and articles of household use acquired and used while abroad;

c) articles of clothing, footwear and articles of household use acquired abroad whose total value does not exceed 10,000 lei.

The goods listed in letters b) and c) are permitted only if they are other than those listed in points 2 to 4 and only if they are in reasonable quantities that do not exceed personal, family or household use.

The exemptions outlined for the goods in letter c) are permitted only once during a mission, on the basis of a statement issued by the unit that sent the people abroad. The units in the country that send personnel abroad are required to keep records and to issue only a single statement during the time of the mission.

In other cases, where workers bring in to the country during the period of their mission those goods listed in letter c) and for those goods found in their accompanying baggage, exemptions are applied as outlined for tourists, while for unaccompanied goods customs duties are applied in accordance with the Customs Regulation.

8. Workers sent abroad in the interest of their jobs for a period of over 30 days can bring back into the country, with the payment of customs duties, the following limits:

a) goods whose total value does not exceed 10,000 lei, with payment of the customs duties outlined in the customs tariff schedule;

b) goods whose total value is between 10,001 and 20,000, with the payment of customs duties increased by 100 percent;

c) goods whose total value exceeds 20,000 lei, with the payment of customs duties increased by 200 percent.

9. Workers sent abroad in the interest of their jobs for a period of up to 30 days can remove from the country, without the payment of customs duties:

a) clothing, other personal items and medicines necessary for the period of their stay abroad, as well as study and documentary materials;

b) gifts worth a total of 300 lei.

10. Workers sent abroad in the interest of their jobs for a period of up to 30 days can bring back into the country, without the payment of customs duties:

a) the goods taken out of the country listed in point 9;

b) articles of clothing, footwear and articles of household use whose total value does not exceed 5,000 lei. For personnel who work on transport vehicles used in international traffic and oceanic fishing vessels, the level is 2,000 lei, while for those personnel sent abroad for a period of up to 5 days the limit is 300 lei.

The goods listed in letter b) are permitted only if they are other than those listed in points 2 to 4 and if they are transported as accompanied baggage.

11. Workers sent abroad in the interest of their jobs for a period of up to 30 days can bring back into the country, with the payment of the customs duties listed in the customs tariff schedule, those goods whose total value does not exceed 5,000 lei. Goods over this limit are not permitted to be brought back into the country.

12. Goods of Romanian origin purchased abroad by workers in the sales stores of Romanian foreign trade enterprises that operate according to the law, can be brought back into the country with out the payment of customs duties, on the basis of a purchase invoice which states the origins of the goods.

13. Workers sent abroad in the interest of their jobs can bring back into the country, without the payment of customs duties, those goods purchased for hard currency, according to legal norms, from the units authorized for this purpose that operate at border points.

14. The provisions of points 6 to 13 are applied to workers sent abroad to carry out certain service duties, including those workers who carry out their jobs on transport vehicles used in international traffic and on oceanic fishing vessels, workers sent to work at enterprises or organizations located abroad, persons sent for studies, special training or additional training, and other persons who earn legal hard currency incomes abroad as a result of their activities.

B. Tourists

15. Tourists can remove from the country, without the payment of customs duties:

a) clothing and other objects, as well as medicines necessary for the length of their trip, keeping in mind all the conditions of the trip;

b) a camera and 24 cassettes or 10 rolls of film;

c) a portable radio-receiver;

d) a tent and camping equipment, as well as the usual sport items;

e) other normal goods for a trip, on the condition that the durable goods be declared in writing to the customs organs so they can be brought back into the country without paying customs duties;

f) gifts in the accompanied baggage, with a total value of 1,000 lei.

16. Tourists can take out of the country, with the payment of customs duties, those goods whose total value does not exceed 500 lei and with the payment of customs duties increased by 100 percent, and goods whose total value does not exceed 5,000 lei.

17. Tourists can bring back into the country, without the payment of customs duties:

a) the goods taken out of the country, under the conditions in point 15, letters a) through d);

b) goods acquired while abroad, placed in the accompanying baggage, within the limits of a total value of 2,000 lei, other than those listed in points 2 to 4.

18. Tourists can bring back into the country, with the payment of customs duties, goods within the following limits:

a) goods whose total value does not exceed 5,000 lei, with the payment of the customs duties listed in the customs tariff schedule;

b) goods whose total value is between 5,001 and 10,000 lei, with the payment of customs duties increased by 100 percent;

c) goods whose total value exceeds 10,000 lei, with the payment of customs duties increased by 200 percent.

19. In the case of tourists who leave the country more than one in a month or who remain abroad no more than 24 hours, the provisions of point 48 are applied.

20. The provisions of point 12 also appply to tourists.

C. Persons Who Establish Their Residence in Another Country

21. Persons who establish their residence in another country can remove, without the payment of customs duties, the following goods:

a) as accompanied baggage: clothing and other articles necessary for the length of the trip; gold jewelry without precious stones, within the limit of 10 grams for each person 16 years of older, and silver objects within the limit of 20 grams for each person;

b) as unaccompanied baggage:

- goods of personal, family or household use, except for automobiles;

- tools and instruments of a professional use, on the basis of a statement which shows the type of profession.

The minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation establishes the limits for the goods that can be removed from the country within letter b).

22. Persons who establish their residence in another country can remove, with the payment of customs duties, goods with a total value of no more than 15,000 lei.

III. Persons With Residence Abroad A. Tourists

23. Tourists can temporarily bring into the country, without guarantees for the customs duties, the following goods:

a) clothing and other personal articles, as well as medicines, that are needed for the length of their trip, keeping in mind all the conditions of the trip;

b) two cameras and 24 cassettes or 10 rolls of film for each camera, as well as a mini-camera and 10 rolls of film for it;

c) a pair of binoculars;

d) a portable radio-receiver and a portable television;

e) a device to record and play back sounds, with or without a device to record pictures and with or without a radio-receiver;

f) a portable musical instrument;

g) a baby carriage;

h) a tent and other camping equipment, as well as normal sports equipment, including a boat, a bicycle and two hunting rifles with 100 rounds for each rifle;

i) a portable typewriter.

When there are suspicions that the goods are not being brought in for personal use, the customs organs can request guarantees for the payment of customs duties, can retain or take other measures listed in the legal norms in effect.

Tourists can bring into the country, without the payment of customs duties, those gifts found in their accompanying baggage within the limits of a total value of 2,000 lei, other than those goods listed in points 2 to 4.

24. Tourists can bring into the country, with the payment of customs duties in hard currency, goods within the following limits:

a) goods whose total value does not exceed 5,000 lei, with the payment of the customs duties listed in the customs tariff schedule;

b) goods whose total value is between 5,001 and 10,000 lei, with the payment of customs duties increased by 100 percent;

c) goods whose total value exceeds 10,000 lei, with the payment of customs duties increased by 200 percent.

25. Tourists can remove from the country, without the payment of customs duties:

a) goods in the category of those listed in point 23;

b) goods purchased with hard currency;

c) gifts found in their accompanying baggage within the limits of a total value of 1,000 lei.

26. Tourists can remove from the country, with the payment of customs duties in hard currency, goods within the limits of a total value of 500 lei, as well as with the payment of customs duties increased by 100 percent, and goods whose total value does not exceed 5,000 lei.

27. In the case of tourists who enter the country more than once in a month or who remain in the Socialist Republic of Romania no more than 24 hours, the provisions of point 48 are applied.

B. Foreign Persons Traveling in the Interest of Their Jobs

28. Persons traveling in the interest of their jobs can temporarily bring into the country, without guarantees for customs duties, those goods listed in point 23, as well as goods of family or household use if these goods enter the country no more than 6 months after they came into the possession of their owner.

The release from customs of those goods of family or household use is done on the basis of a statement issued by the Romanian units or the foreign units authorized to operation in the Socialist Republic of Romania, where these persons are working. The bringing in of these goods beyond this timeframe is permitted only with the payment of the customs duties at the level outlined in point 30.

29. Persons traveling in the interest of their jobs can bring into the country during the period of their stay, either directly or through packages and without the payment of customs duties, goods, other than those listed in points 2-4, whose value does not exceed 4,000 lei per calendar year for each person of age and 2,000 lei for each minor, on the basis of certain customs document cards. For students, the level is 2,000 lei per calendar year.

30. Persons traveling in the interest of their jobs can bring into the country, with the payment of customs duties in hard currency, goods within the following limits:

a) goods whose total value does not exceed 500 lei, with the payment of customs duties listed in the customs tariff schedule;

b) goods whose total value is between 501 and 5,000 lei, with the payment of customs duties increased by 100 percent;

c) goods whose total value exceeds 5,000 lei, with the payment of customs duties increased by 200 percent.

31. Persons traveling in the interest of their jobs can remove from the country, without the payment of customs duties:

a) goods brought into the country under the conditions of point 23, with the exception of gifts, which are permitted within the limits of a total value of 500 lei;

b) goods listed in point 28 paragraph two, if they present an inventory or other document approved by the entering customs organs;

c) goods purchased with hard currency;

d) goods of personal, family or household use acquired with sums of lei that were legally obtained as income, bonuses, allowances, honorariums, stipends or other similar incomes. The total value of these goods cannot exceed 30 percent of the sums received.

32. Persons traveling in the interest of their jobs can remove from the country, with the payment of customs duties in hard currency, goods within the following limits:

a) goods whose total value does not exceed 500 lei, with the payment of the customs duties listed in the customs tariff schedule;

b) goods whose total value is between 501 and 5,000 lei, with the payment of customs duties increased by 100 percent.

The removal of goods from the country above these limits is not permitted.

33. The provisions of points 28, 30, 31 letters a)-c) and 32 are applied to persons who come into the Socialist Republic of Romania to carry out certain job duties or commercial transactions, studies, specialized training or additional training, and to persons employed at foreign units or organizations located in the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as to persons with residences abroad who earn legal incomes in lei in the form of incomes, allowances, honorariums, food allowances, stipends or other similar incomes.

The provisions in points 29 and 31 letter d) are applied only to those persons who come into the Socialist Republic of Romania to carry out certain attributes listed in agreements, contracts or other arrangements concluded by the Romanian side (specialists, technicians, professors, students and so forth) and who are paid in lei by Romanian organizations or joint companies.

34. Persons who work on transport vehicles used in international traffic can temporarily bring into the country, without guarantees for customs duties, clothing and other personal articles, as well as medicines needed for the period of their trip.

35. Persons who work on transport vehicles used in international traffic can bring into the country, with the payment of customs duties in hard currency, goods whose total value does not exceed 500 lei, as well as with the payment in hard currency of customs duties increased by 100 percent for those goods whose total value is between 501 and 1,000 lei.

36. Persons who work on transport vehicles used in international traffic can remove from the country, without the payment of customs duties:

a) goods in the category of those listed in point 34;

b) goods purchased with hard currency.

37. Persons who work on transport vehicles used in international traffic can remove from the country, with the payment of customs duties in hard currency, those goods within the limits of a total value of 500 lei, as well as with the payment in hard currency of customs duties increased by 100 percent for goods within the limits of a total value of 1,000 lei.

C. Persons Who Establish Their Residence in the Socialist Republic of Romania

38. Persons who establish their residence in the Socialist Republic of Romania can bring into the country, without the payment of customs duties:

a) goods of a personal, family or household use;

b) transport vehicles with or without a motor; transport vehicles with a motor are permitted if they do not consume more than 11 liters of gasoline per 100 kilometers and if a document is presented that shows that it was the property of the person prior to establishing a residence in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The provisions of points 2 to 4 are not applied in these cases.

39. Exemptions from the customs duties listed in point 38 are granted on the basis of a receipt issued by the organs of the Ministry of the Interior which shows the approval and the date of the definitive establishment of residency in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Exemptions from customs duties are granted if the goods entered the country as accompanied or unaccompanied baggage during an interval of 6 months from the date of definitively establishing residency in the Socialist Republic of Romania. Goods that arrive prior to the date of establishing residency in the Socialist Republic of Romania can be released from custody, with guarantees for the customs duties, on the basis of a receipt showing that the owner had requested approval for establishing residency in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

IV. Goods Received or Shipped From the Country as Gifts by Means of Packages

40. Natural persons can receive from abroad, with the payment of the customs duties, goods within the limits of a total value of 5,000 lei and with the payment of customs duties increased by 100 percent for goods whose total value is between 5,001 and 10,000 lei. For goods that exceed these limits, customs duties increased by 200 percent are applied. Foreign natural persons pay these customs duties in hard currency.

41. Natural persons can receive goods from other natural persons abroad under the conditions of point 40 through the intermediary of certain foreign companies, with the anticipated payment of the customs duties in hard currency, within the framework of certain contracts concluded with these companies by authorized foreign trade enterprises.

The contracts concluded between the foreign trade enterprises and the foreign companies that ship the goods will state the goods that are allowed to be brought into the country in packages, according to the legal norms in effect in the Socialist Republic of Romania, and will note that the failure to adhere to these norms can lead to the cancellation of the contract.

42. Natural persons can ship out of the country in packages, with the payment of customs duties, goods that are gifts within the limits of a total value of 500 lei, as well as with the payment of customs duties increased by 100 percent for goods whose total value does not exceed 5,000 lei. Foreign natural persons pay customs duties in hard currency in the shipping of packages.

V. Final Provisions

43. In applying the provisions of this annex, one also keeps in mind the restrictions that can be established by the minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, according to the Customs Regulation.

44. The provisions of Annex No 3 are applied for the introduction or removal from the country of food products.

45. Workers sent abroad on long missions, as well as foreign persons that come into the country in the interest of their jobs, can ship upon their departure abroad, and through packages, goods that belong to them, with the exception of jewelry, under the conditions and within the limits of this annex and with the at-customs presentation of the border crossing documents or a receipt from the units to which the belong.

46. For Romanian personnel sent abroad in the interest of their jobs, family members can ship, via packages and without the payment of customs duties, objects of clothing, footwear and underwear necessary for the length of their stay abroad.

47. Goods belonging to Romanian tourists or foreign tourists shipped via packages are permitted without the payment of customs duties only if they are those listed in point 15 letters a), d) and e) or in point 23 letters a), g), h), i), as the case may be.

The sending or receiving of these goods is permitted on the basis of a border crossing document in the case of foreign tourists, a receipt or a trip ticket and so forth, that will attest that the person has crossed the state border and to the purpose of the trip in the case of Romanian tourists.

48. Romanian or foreign persons who travel within the framework of the low-level border traffic or who cross the border on the occasion of certain holidays, on the basis of understandings between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the neighboring countries, can bring goods in or remove them without the payment of customs duties, as follows:

a) clothing, footwear and other items of small value that are strictly necessary for the length of their trip, as well as medicines for their personal use;

b) gifts within the limit of a total value of 150 lei.

These persons can bring in or remove from the country, with the payment of customs duties, goods within the limit of a total value of 150 lei.

Romanian or foreign personnel traveling in the interest of their jobs, with the exception of those who work on transport vehicles used in international traffic, who work on the territory of neighboring countries or in-country, as the case may be, traveling repeatedly over a period of no more than 24 hours, benefit once a month from the low-level border traffic program.

49. Romanian or foreign natural persons who travel within the framework of certain agreements concluded between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the neighboring countries regarding the occasional crossing of the border can bring in or remove from the country, without the payment of custom duties, goods within the limits outlined for individual Romanian tourists or foreign tourists, as the case may be. These persons are not permitted to bring in or remove goods with the payment of customs duties.

The provisions in paragraph one are applied by the organs of the Ministry of National Defense when the crossing of the border is done at places other than the state border control crossing points or the low-level traffic points where the customs organs are operating.

50. Natural persons can bring into or remove from the country, without the payment of customs duties, jewelry of a personal use.

"Jewelry of a personal use" means objects of precious metals, with or without precious stones, within the following limits:

- for men: one wedding ring, two rings, one watch with or without a chain, one medallion with a chain, one tie pin, one pair of cufflinks, one pen and pencil set and two pairs of eyeglasses;

- for women: one wedding ring, two rings, one watch with or without a chain, two medallions on chains, two pairs of ear rings, two chains, one broach, one necklace and two pairs of eyeglasses;

- for persons up to 16 years of age: one ring, one watch with or without a chain, one chain, one medallion on a chain, two pairs of eyeglasses, while for girls, also one pair of ear rings.

In the case of the low-level border traffic, "jewelry of a personal use" means objects of precious metals, with or without precious stones, within the following limits: one wedding ring, one ring, while for women, also one pair of ear rings.

In the case of the persons listed in point 21, "jewelry of a personal use" means objects of precious metals listed in point 21 letter a).

51. Goods that are listed in point 2 that are brought into the country by natural persons or received in packages are not subject to the limits and increases established in this annex for goods permitted with the payment of customs duties.

52. The application of customs duties or increased customs duties is done only on the difference in the value that exceeds the permitted ceiling for exemptions or, as the case may be, the ceiling established for the payment of customs duties.

Increased customs duties are applied beginning with those goods that are subject to the lowest custom duties.

53. The quantitative and value limits outlined in the Customs Regulation and in this annex are applied to persons for each transport, if it is not otherwise stated. "Accompanied transport" means the goods that a person takes along with himself in the same transport vehicle or which accompanies him in the same transport vehicle. "Unaccompanied transport" means the goods shipped and recorded in the same transport document.

54. The in-customs value is expressed by specific units of measure indicated in the lists of in-customs values, as communicated to the customs units by the General Directorate of Customs.

55. Goods exempted from customs duties belonging to works who work on transport vehicles used in international traffic and on oceanic fishing vessels, as well as those goods listed in point 29, can be recorded in the customs identification card. The model and the instructions for completing these cards are established by the General Directorate of Customs.

The customs identification cards for Romanian workers who work on transport vehicles used in international traffic are printed by the transport units where they work, while those for foreign personnel are printed by the General Directorate of Customs and distributed at a cost.

The model of the receipts that are issued of the purpose of applying the customs duties exemptions listed in this annex is established by the General Directorate of Customs.

56. The provisions in Article 57, letters f) through j) in the Customs Code are applied on the basis of certain documents that show the fulfillment of the conditions established for granting customs duties exemptions.

Annex 3

Norms Regarding the Removal or Introduction Into the Country of Food Products by Natural Persons

I. Persons With Residence Abroad

1. The food products that are listed in this point can be taken out of the country, with the payment of customs duties of 100 percent in hard currency, in the following amounts:

a) meat products and canned goods with or without vegetables - 150 grams;

b) chocolate candy - 150 grams;

c) imported tea - 50 grams;

d) alcoholic beverages (over 22 percent alcohol) - one liter;

e) wine, beer - two liters.

Food products other than the ones liste in paragraph can be taken out of the country, with the payment of the customs duties, but only within the limits of 50 lei.

2. The removal from the country of the following food products is not permitted:

- meat
- cooking oil
- wheat and corn flour
- sugar
- rice
- coffee, cocoa
- honey
- olives
- refined alcohol
- vegetables, fruits
- pepper and other imported condiments.

3. Crewmembers of ships under foreign flags can bring on-board, without the payment of customs duties, for their strictly personal use during the period of their stay in Romanian ports food products directly purchased from stores in lei stemming from the exchange of hard currency or from sums of lei received from shipping agencies, in the following situations:

- when the enterprise specializing in the supply of ships does not sell the products requested or the products requested are available in reduced amounts, or

- when an enterprise specializing in the supplying of ships is not operating in the port.

4. Food products can be brought into the country, without the payment of customs duties, within the limits strictly necessary for the stay of the transport on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, including two liters of alcoholic beverages (over 22 percent alcohol), four liters of wine or beer and 200 cigarettes. Personnel from ships or aircraft can remove from the port or airport such goods worth, at the most, 50 lei for each trip into the city.

Food products that exceed the limits outlined in the preceding paragraph can be brought into the country, with the payment of customs duties, with the application of the limits corresponding to Annex No 2.

II. Persons With Residences in the Socialist Republic of Romania

5. The food products listed in this point can be removed from the country, without the payment of customs duties, in the following amounts:

a) meat products - 150 grams;

b) canned meats, with or without vegetables - 500 grams;

c) sugar, candy, chocolate - 200 grams;

d) flour products, biscuits - 250 grams;

e) coffee, cocoa - 50 grams;

f) alcoholic beverages (over 22 percent) - one liter;

g) wine, beer - two liters;

h) cigarettes - 200.

Food products other than those listed in paragraph one can be removed from the country, without the payment of customs duties, only within the limits of a value of 100 lei.

6. Socialist units, including foreign trade enterprises, can ship food products under the conditions of Council of State Decree No 162/1978, without the payment of customs duties, for workers sent abroad for the purpose of carrying out certain construction projects, assembly projects and other similar projects.

7. The quantities of food products that can be removed from the country, without the payment of customs duties, on an individual basis by Romanian service personnel working on railroad trains and vehicles used in international traffic, as well as on ships under the Romanian flag that operate in international waters, are as follows:

Type of Product	Quantities		
	Personnel Working on Railroad Trains (Romanian Railroads and Posts, Telegraph Telephone and Radio)	Personnel Working on Vehicles (drivers and riders), as well as Unpowered River Vessels	Personnel Working on Maritime Vessels (including oceanic fishing) and Powered River Vessels
1. Meat products	150 g/person/day	150 g/person/day	1000 g/person/trip
2. Canned meats	250 g/p/d	250 g/p/d	500 g/p/t
3. Edible cooking oil	25 g/p/d	50 g/p/d	---
4. Sugar, candy and chocolate	100 g/p/d	150 g/p/d	1000 g/p/t
5. Flour products, biscuits	100 g/p/d	100 g/p/d	500 g/p/t
6. Coffee, cocoa	25 g/p/d	25 g/p/d	15 g/p/day
7. Imported tea	10 g/p/d	10 g/p/d	---
8. Pepper and other condiments	5 g/p/d	5 g/p/d	---
9. Cigarettes	20 p/d	20 p/d	20 p/d
10. Other foods	75 lei/trip	100 lei/trip	200 lei/trip

The removal from the country of food products over these limits as listed in this point is prohibited.

8. For those food products where daily limits are established, the total quantity per person/day is established by the unit according to the length of the roundtrip travel, as recorded in the customs identification card.

9. Food products can be brought into the country, without the payment of customs duties, within the limits of what is strictly necessary for the length of the transport over the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, including two liters of alcoholic beverages (over 22 percent), four liters of wine or beer and 2-0 cigarettes.

For personnel on ships and aircraft, the limit for alcoholic beverages of any type is one liter.

Food products that exceed the limits outlined in the preceding paragraph can be brought into the country, with the payment of customs duties and with the application of the limits in Annex No 2.

III. Common Provisions

10. Persons that travel within the framework of the low-level border traffic or certain understandings with the neighboring countries regarding the occasional crossing of the border, as well as foreign tourists who enter the country more than once

in a month or who remain in the Socialist Republic of Romania for less than 24 hours, cannot remove food products from the country.

11. Food products cannot be shipped from the country in packages, with the exception of those listed in point 6.

12. Persons up to age 16 do not benefit from the customs duties exemptions listed in this annex for alcoholic beverages and tobacco products.

13. The limits outlined in this annex are applied to each person who crosses the border.

14. The removal of food products from the country above the limits outlined in points I and II is not permitted.

Annex No 4

A. The Customs Tariff Schedule for Goods Brought Into the Country By Natural Persons

Type of Goods	Customs Duty (percent)*
1. Electrotechnical products, including parts and accessories for them	20
2. Vehicles:	
a) Automobiles, specially adapted for use by ill or handicapped persons (with presentation of a medical certificate at the customs point)	50
b) Other vehicles	50
c) Spare parts, components and vehicle accessories	40
3. Sports articles and materials, games and toys, including mechanical and electrical ones, as well as parts and accessories	15
4. Textile or animal skin or fur products, including goods made from them:	
a) Synthetic fur or synthetic leather, including goods made of them	30
b) Others	50
5. Industrial or handicraft products, including parts and accessories for them, other than those in 1-4:	
a) photographic devices to enlarge and develop photographs, photographic and cinemagraphic films, slides and magnetic tape	20
b) Watches	20
c) Cosmetic articles and perfumes	40
d) Others	40

*For goods in point 2, Annex No 2, the customs duties are paid only in hard currency and are increased according to the provisions of that point. For other goods, customs duties are paid in lei or in hard currency.

Type of Goods	Customs Duty (percent)
6. Food products, including prepared or canned products, beverages and tobacco products:	
a) Prepared products	10
b) Tobacco and tobacco products	40
c) Alcoholic beverages of any type	50
d) Others	20
7. Other Goods	30

B. The Customs Tariff Schedule for Goods Taken Out of the Country by Natural Persons

For goods taken out of the country by natural persons, the customs duties are 20 percent of the value. The customs duties for the products noted in Annex No 3 are applied according to the provisions of that annex.

Annex No 5

Norms Regarding Determining the In-Customs Value of Goods Belonging to Natural Persons

1. In the in-customs value for goods brought into the country is determined by taking into consideration the level of domestic retail prices set for such goods or for goods having similar characteristics from domestic production or from import.

2. For goods whose in-customs value cannot be established according to point 1, the in-customs value is determined on the basis of the foreign price stamped or printed on the goods being evaluated, or in the absence of these prices using those listed in catalogues, brochures or other documents giving the foreign prices for such goods or goods having similar characteristics. These prices are converted into lei according to the provisions of this annex.

3. The General Directorate of Customs will complete lists of domestic retail prices or, as the case may be, lists of prices contained in catalogues, brochures or other foreign price docunents for the purpose of the customs organs' determining the in-customs value of the goods. These lists will contain the prices of certain types of goods frequently brought into the country.

4. The list of catalogues, brochures and other documents on foreign prices will be approved by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

The General Directorate of Customs can annually revise the lists of prices according to changes in prices that occur for these goods.

5. The determination of the in-customs value in lei, as established on the basis of foreign prices, is done at the rate for non-commercial operations in effect on 31 December of the preceding year.

For hard currencies for which a rate of non-commercial operations has not been established, these currencies are converted into U.S. dollars at the rate communicated to the customs organs annually by the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania, after which they proceed to convert it into lei at the rate for non-commercial operations.

6. When the payment of customs duties is done in hard currency and the in-customs value of the goods brought into the country is established according to point 2, the customs duties listed in the customs tariff schedule are applied.

When the payment of the customs duties is done in hard currency and the in-customs value of the goods brought into the country is determined accroding to point 1, the value in lei is converted into hard currency in accordance with the provisions in point 5, paragraph one or two, to which the customs duties in the customs tariff schedule is applied.

7. Depending upon the intensity of the customs traffic and the variety of the goods brought into the country, the minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation can establish a simplified evaluation procedure, including the application of the in-customs value unique to certain products or groups of products, for the purpose of clearing the goods belonging to natural persons through customs without delays.

8. The in-customs value of automobiles brought into the country for which the payment of customs duties is done in hard currency represents the retail selling price of the vehicle in the country of origin based on the year of production, as listed in the price books. In the absence of these books, the invoice price for a new automobile is taken into consideration.

The in-customs value of automobiles adapted for use by ill or handicapped persons, for which the payment of customs duties is done in lei, represents the price in paragraph one converted into lei in accordance with point 5, paragraph one and increased by 100 percent.

9. For goods brought into the country by natural persons, the transportation, insurance, packaging and handling costs are not included in the in-customs value and allowances and rebates of any type are not taken into consideration.

10. In in-customs value of goods removed from the country represents the domestic retail price, as established according to legal regulations.

In the absence of purchase invoices or vouchers, or if domestic retail prices have not been established for the goods, the customs organs determine the in-customs value by comparing them with goods having the closest characteristics that have a domestic retail price.

If the in-customs value cannot be established by comparison, the natural persons will present estimations by the selling unit, second-hand goods units or units of the Art Fund, as the case may require.

The in-customs value of the goods removed from the country for which customs duties are paid in hard currency represents the price of the goods listed in purchase invoices or vouches, when this is expressed in hard currency or the purchase price is converted into lei at the rate outlined in point 5 paragraph one. The customs duties listed in the customs tariff schedule are applied to this value.

Annex No 6

Norms Regarding the Customs List and the Determination of the Origins of Goods

I. The Customs List

1. The customs list used in the customs tariff schedule for imports contains the names of all the goods that are involved in international trade, classified by sections, chapters and positions according to their material nature, degree of processing, destination and operating principle.

2. The titles of the sections and chapters in the list have only an indicative value. The tariff level is determined in accordance with the text of the position and the explanatory notes of the sections and chapters in the list, on the basis of the general regulations listed in this chapter.

3. An incomplete or unfinished product that presents the essential characteristics of a completed or finished product is placed within the position in the list which refers to that product.

These provisions are also appropriately applied to the completed or finished product when it is in a disassembled or unassembled condition.

4. Comments regarding a material within a position in the list refer to this material, either in its pure state or mixed or association with other materials.

Any reference to a product made from a certain material concerns the product made completely or partially from this material.

5. When the product can be placed in two or more positions or subpositions, the placement is done according to the following:

a) the position or subposition that is the most specific has priority over those of a more general nature;

b) goods made from mixtures and items composed of different materials, whose placement cannot be made according to the rules in letter a), are placed according to the material or product that gives it its essential nature, when it is possible to make such a determination;

c) in cases where the rules in letters a) and b) point to a number of positions capable of containing a product, it is placed in the position with the highest number.

6. Goods that cannot be placed on the customs list according to the rules outlined in points 3 to 5, will be placed in the position or subposition of the most similar products.

7. When the specification of imported goods contains a large number of positions, the importer can propose, for economic reasons and with the approval of the user, the grouping of the goods under a restricted number of tariff positions. The proposals are submitted for resolution to the General Directorate of Customs.

8. The listing rules established in this chapter are also appropriately applied to the customs tariff schedule for goods belonging to natural persons.

II. The Determination of the Origins of Goods

9. In determining the origins of imported goods, the following criteria are kept in mind:

a) the criterion "of goods produced entirely in a country" when only one country enters into consideration in determining the origin;

b) the criterion "of substantial transformations" when two or more countries take part in the production of the goods.

10. The following are considered "goods produced entirely in one country:"

a) mineral products and other products obtained from the ground and underground of that country, including from its territorial waters, as well as from the ground and underground marine regions under its national jurisdiction beyond the limits of its territorial waters;

b) vegetal products harvested in that country;

c) animals born and raised in that country;

d) products obtained from animals in that country;

e) products obtained from hunting or fishing in that country;

f) products obtained from ocean fishing and other products extracted from the sea by ships of that country, as well as products obtained from on-board factory-ships of that country;

g) waste and refuse stemming from production and processing operations, as well as goods that cannot be used, collected in that country and which can serve only in the recovery of raw materials;

h) goods obtained entirely in that country from the products listed in letters a) through g).

Goods produced entirely in one country are considered as being from that country.

11. Goods produced in two or more countries are considered as being from the country in which the goods are subjected to certain substantial production and processing operations which confer upon them characteristics for placement in the customs tariff schedule at a different position from that of each of the materials used in making the goods.

12. Exceptions to the provisions in point 11 are:

a) production and processing operations which, although they require a change in the tariff position, are not considered as being substantial or are considered substantial only under specific conditions;

b) production and processing operations which, although they are considered substantial under specific conditions, do not require a change in positions in their placement on the customs tariff list.

The determination of the nature of the substantial operation is done by the customs organs, taking into consideration the production operation which gives the article its essential characteristics.

13. The accessories, spare parts and tools destined to the used on a machine, device or vehicle are considered as having the same origines as the machine, device or vehicle wich which they are imported and normally sold, and they correspond in type and number to the usual equipment of these items.

14. Goods imported in a number of transport vehicles, in an unassembled state, are considered a single product for the purpose of establishing origins.

15. Packaging is considered to have the same origins as the goods that it contains.

In cases where the packaging is separately declared from the goods, the origins of this packaging will be established on the basis of the rules in this chapter.

16. In order to determine the origins of goods, the origins of energy products, installations, equipment and other tools used in production and processing of the goods are not taken into consideration.

17. "Substantial operations" are those operations in which the non-originating products give the finished product less than 50 percent of its value.

18. The following operations are not considered "substantial operations" and do not confer upon the product the status of a product originating from one country:

a) the marking, stamping or attachment of another distinctive name on the product or its packing;

b) the assembly of the pieces of a product in order to make a complete product;

c) the slaughtering of animals in a slaughterhouse;

d) the simple mixing of products, of different types or not, where one or a number of components of the mixture do not meet the legal conditions for attributes of origins;

e) the changing of the packaging and the separations and creating groups of goods;

f) the dusting, coloring, screening, sorting, classifying, pairing, washing, painting or any other simple finishing operation;

g) the ventilating, airing, drying, refrigerating, sorting or any other operation that ensures maintaining the goods in good conditions;

h) the packaging of goods;

i) the combination of two or more operations specified in letters a) through h).

19. In order to establish the origins of goods, the importing units present, upon the request of the customs organs, a certificate or origin in which the empowered authorities or organizations that can determine the origins certify expressly that the goods originate from a certain country.

The data that must be mentioned in the certificate of origin are established by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

The certificate of origin is requested by the customs organs when it is necessary to impose differentiated customs duties according to the origins of the goods.

8724
CSO: 2700

CHANGES IN OPSTINA LC ORGANIZATION IN MACEDONIA

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Dragan Nikolic: "Life Prompts New Solutions"]

[Text] Without a doubt, the Opstina conferences of the League of Communists have achieved significant results in their past work. However, the level of organization in places has not been satisfactory, above all because the opstinas have worked without adequate links to the party base and to the basic organizations. Because of this the activities of communists here and there have not been successfully integrated.

In programming and in establishing the content and the methods of work, the opstina conferences have done quite well in exceeding the forum activity. All topics, from economic stabilization to problems of internal communication and communication in general, have found a place both in the programs and in the activities of these conferences. Now there is the realization that in the past they were not sufficiently engaged in problems of education, culture, social policy, and the development of self-management relations. Experience has indicated, however, that some of these problems are essentially important for politics and security, such as education, and that others are of fundamental importance for total economic and social stabilization. These are problems of self-management, and political system development and especially delegate system development. Now, these areas are being given top-level priority according to what was said several days ago at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Macedonia LC. Weaknesses have been noticed in the activity of communists in self-management, political, and especially, the delegate system activities.

The Weaknesses Which Must Be Eliminated

In a pre-congress discussion which is being conducted, quite a few words have also been spoken about the role of the committee in implementing the tasks of the conference. Evaluations indicate that the committees, as political and executive organs of the conference, have been acknowledged as the agents which direct and coordinate activity. With a reduction in the number of members, the committee's action and collective work has become more effective. However, in some places more, in others less, the focus of the activity in the opstina has been transferred itself, whose organ it is. Taking into consideration that the conference

rarely has met in such conditions, the committee has gained in importance, its role and party authority have become stronger.

In the total scope of activity being developed in the opstina party organizations, activist groups of Communists and direct producers occupy an important place. They have significantly contributed to strengthening the class and revolutionary party direction, they have discussed many important questions of economic, political, and self-management development.

Here, for the most part, there should not be anything which needs to be added or done away with. There is one thing, however, which is not satisfactory, their self-initiative. They have had a tendency to discuss what is offered to them to a greater extent than what they themselves have set in motion and proposed. This, of course, is one of the causes of passivity, both of some activist groups as well as of individuals in them.

In several opstinas, the party organization has not successfully achieved Communist unity. In these circumstances, self-management has not been developed, but factionalist activity and the struggle for power have broken out. In these circumstances, most often communication between social and political organizations has not been achieved, there is also disunity in associated labor. Self-management becomes a matter of mere form in most cases, and it is then understandable that there is so much legal arbitration. There are also similar occurrences in some organizations of associated labor. In some places this type of activity is overcome (Combined Agricultural-Industrial Farm "Prilep") and in others it gets out of control (Surgical Clinic in Skopje).

It is alleged that communication of information has not been satisfactory. At one meeting of the Commission for Organization and Development of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the Macedonia LC, which was discussing the activity of the opstina organizations, it was noted that from the opstina more information was coming in concerning the fact that there were no detergents, or that some raw materials were in short supply, than information about actual political conditions.

Directions of Change Are Delineated

In party organizations in the opstinas, past experience is being used to improve the present. On the basis of these discussions, as on the basis of decisions recently made by the Central Committee of the LCY, a decision has been prepared concerning important innovations in the organization of opstina organizations of the Macedonia LC, which will be proposed to the Central Committee on December 10. A new format will be introduced by this decision: the opstina conference, as the highest party forum in the opstina, will meet every four years to evaluate the work of Communists in the preceding period. It is to be composed of delegates from the basic organizations, and it will pass a program of work for the following period and choose an opstina committee which will be the highest organ of the party organization. The opstina committee will choose the presidency from its ranks which will be a collective, political and executive organ, as well as a president of the opstina committee. The presidency will choose a secretary from its ranks and an executive secretary from the composition of the committee.

The number of members in the committee and the presidency, as in the commission for statuatory questions and supervision, will be established by decision of the opstina conference in agreement with the Presidency of the Macedonia LC.

Elections for the delegates of the opstina conferences will be held in February of next year, and the selection of the organs will be carried out a month later.

With good reason, it is expected that after these changes the conditions will be provided for greater ideological and working unity of Communists in the opstina, and with this a greater effectiveness in their political activity as well. With these changes, one of the former inconsistencies will be eliminated also, the fact that the opstina conference itself submits the reports on its activities.

9548
CSO: 2800

NEW LC ORGANIZATION IN VOJVODINA OPSTINAS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Dec 81 p 3

[Interview with Marija Zvekic Miskolci by Slobodan Stanojevic of BORBA Conferences," place and date not given]

[Text] On the basis of the authority given in the last meeting of the Central Committee of the LCY, preparations are quickly being made in the Vojvodina LC in order to create new, highly modified forms of organization and activity of the LC in 50 Vojvodina opstinas not later than 15 January of next year.

The essential changes consist of the following: the opstina election conference is being organized as the highest party forum in the opstina, and the opstina committees will take on the role of the former, often criticized, opstina conferences between the two election conferences. Its former role as the executive and political organ of the LC in the commune now is "bequeathed" to the presidency of the opstina committees.

"With the new manner of LC organization in the opstinas it is necessary to create conditions to enable all basic organizations and the total party membership to have greater influence in the creation of party policy and in establishing the priority of assignments in the opstinas, as well as to work more successfully in carrying out mutually agreed upon working goals," said Marija Zvekic Miskolci, member of the Presidency of the Provincial Committee of the Vojvodina LC, and president of the Commission of the Presidency of the Provincial Committee of the Vojvodina LC for the Development, and the Ideological, Political, and Organizational Construction of the LC, in an interview with BORBA.

A Small "Party Congress"

[Question] In what way will these changes be brought into party work? Responding to this question, Maria Zvekic Miskolci says:

[Answer] Up to now, the opstina conferences themselves have, in practice, evaluated their own work during the last mandate, and have themselves established the program for future tasks. Both one and the other were carried out without the broader influence of the party membership. This time it is necessary to make an important change: the establishment of an opstina election conference, which will, in essence, be a small opstina party congress; it is necessary to create

conditions so that practically the entire party membership is included in the evaluation of past work and in the establishment of the subsequent work program. Because the election conference will be made up of delegates from all basic organizations of the LC in an opstina, this means that discussions concerning these documents will have to be conducted beforehand in all party organizations. In other words, what has been done will be evaluated, and what is to be done will be agreed upon with a broader and more unified point of view.

These election conferences, as the highest party forum, will be convened every four years. In these conferences, a report on the work of the opstina party organization and its organs during the past four year period will be received, the program bases of the ideological and political activity of Communists for the next four years will be established; the opstina committee will be chosen, as well as the commission for statuatory questions, the supervisory commission, the delegates for the party conferences and congresses, and candidates will be nominated for offices in the organs of the LC of Vojvodina, the LC of Serbia, and the LCY. The new manner of organizing the election conferences and the sphere of activity of its work is necessary, as might be expected, in order to provide for broader and more democratic discussions in the opstinas concerning total party involvement and conduct.

We expect that in this way the organization of the opstina election conference, with delegates from all basic organizations, will provide a great deal of stimulation for the work of all party organizations. And in those places where there are several hundred basic organizations each in the opstina organizations, they will not be allowed to create a 'parade' from the election conferences, but a working group instead which, if necessary in order to provide for a broader, more democratic discussion of the delegates, can organize its work both in a plenum or by commissions. In other words, it is essential that mutual evaluations be concretely provided and unified agreement be established concerning future common working activity.

The New Role of the Opstina Committees

[Question] At the moment when the Central Committee of the LCY authorized the republic and provincial committees of the LC to implement changes in party organization, election activity was in full swing in the Vojvodina LC. In the basic organizations it had almost been completed. Moreover, the basic organizations had already chosen a number of members of the coming opstina conferences of the LC which were being discontinued by the new organization. Similarly, the process of reducing the number of delegates in the opstina conferences in Vojvodina was also underway; from the earlier number of 100, 150, and even more delegates, the opstina conferences had to be reduced to between 45 and 85 delegates.

Have the present changes "annulled" the election activity which had taken place up to now in any way?

[Answer] No, not in any case. since election activity is continuing in those places where it was going on. In other words, instead of the opstina conferences, opstina committees will be chosen in the future which will have at most 85 members. The delegates who were chosen up to now in the basic organizations for

the new structure of the opstina conferences will now, to a certain extent, change their "status"; that is to say they will become only candidates for future membership in the opstina committees. I say only candidates because the new opstina election conferences have the role of an election body, and they can either change or supplement the proposals which have come from the basic organizations.

[Question] What will be the new manner of activity of the new opstina committees and their presidencies?

[Answer] We expect that with a structure of 85 members at the most the new committees will be much more mobile and effective in their work than the former opstina conferences, which were quite unwieldy. In addition, they will be convened more often during the year and thus will be able to conduct the activities of all Communists in the commune with greater success. Moreover, the opstina committees themselves will not be establishing the tasks to be worked on (which has been done up to now by the opstina conferences), because in practice they will be receiving them from the entire membership through the election conference. Similarly, we expect that the presidencies of the opstina committees (which "inherit" the former committees) as political and executive organs, will work with greater responsibility both before the committee and before the election conference, and this also means before the entire membership.

[Question] Which activities will especially gain in intensity?

[Answer] We strongly believe that these changes will not only contribute to the greater influence of the membership in the formation of party policy, but also will result in the greater presence of the party organs of the opstina in the basic organizations. When I say this I do not only mean the physical presence of members of the committee and its presidency, although it is necessary to develop this vital and direct contact to a much greater extent than it has been in the past, but above all in making the working connections stronger.

"We expect, then, that in the future the internal party connections in the opstina party organizations will be far more developed than they have been in the past. And this will be accomplished especially through formats which have been inadequately utilized up to now, the theme conferences, consultations, activity conferences, activist groups, and other forms. Until now, let us assume, the opstina conference did not usually organize an activity or a thematic conference concerning problems of great concern to all in the areas of culture, public health, education.... In the future, this should be able to be accomplished. Because we foresee that in our statuatory format, by which these problems will be regulated, instead of the expression "I can" for these forms of activity, we will insert the words "I promise."

In this way there will be greater responsibility of the opstina organs for the better utilization of all forms of active connection between the Communists of an opstina in order to solve the problems which are of concern to all.

Great Cadre Change

[Question] The new manner of organization in the Vojvodina opstinas will not, however, change decisions made earlier about cadre policy, or about the selection and the duration of the mandate of the basic cadres. Thus, the presidents of the opstina committees will be chosen from the ranks of the committee for one year, and cannot be chosen again for a period of four years. The secretaries of the presidencies of the opstina committees will have a mandate of two years, and the selection of the executive secretaries is possible for four years.

[Answer] The new presidents of the committees in all 50 opstina party organizations will be chosen at the end of this year and the beginning of the next, since the one-year mandate for all the former presidents expires at that time. Those secretaries who began the first year of their two-year mandate at the end of last year will, for the most part, be the only former secretaries of the opstina committees who will remain and occupy the positions of the future secretaries of the presidencies of the opstina committees, and because of the new elections the mandate will now be discontinued. All in all, these will be the great cadre changes which will include many new cadres in party activities from associated labor, prepared to struggle for the implementation of mutually established tasks in the LC.

9548
CSO: 2800

PRIMA DONNA MUNITIC REMINISCES ABOUT LATE PRESIDENT

[Editorial Report] Followers of the ups and downs of prima donna Gertruda Munitic will be pleased to learn from an interview in Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 December 1981, pages 42-43, that her operatic career has been going well. The Split soprano has regularized her private life, having married a Montenegrin who works at the Titograd radio station, but she can also be enigmatic: "Why am I not in Belgrade more often? I do not know, or rather I know, but let us pretend that I do not know, maybe it is better so. I have just been saying that time heals all."

Munitic is unstinting in her admiration for the musical perspicacity of the late President Tito, for whom she sang "frequently"--and no wonder, for her art "was able to impart the joy of living [zivotna radost] to him." President Tito's favorite song was "Far Away Is My Pearl of the Sea," from the Croatian operetta "Little Florami," by Tijardovic. Munitic describes President Tito as an outstanding connoisseur of music, who was "unfailingly capable of deciding what he liked" about a particular singer. "I once ventured," Munitic says, "to inquire what he esteemed in my singing. He thought that over for a while, and then he said, in exactly these words: 'Gertruda, you are the symbiosis [simbioza] of voice, diction and charm. You have combined all of those in your person, and that is why the whole world just has to see you.' I said to him next, 'Yes, Comrade President, that is a wonderful idea, and I would gladly go out into the wide world, but then who will sing for this own folk of ours?' Comrade Tito was silent for a long while. When he finally spoke up, he was very serious. 'Right you are! Sing for our folk and our folk will reward you. But whenever you can, represent this Yugoslavia of ours, even if only twice or three times a year.'"

No evidence is on the record as to the musical tastes of Mme. Jovanka Budisavljevic-Broz.

Munitic, who has repeatedly stated that she "becomes" the characters that she plays on stage, remarks at the conclusion of the interview that she is thinking of doing the Broadway musical "Evita."

CSO: 2800/178

HISTORIAN DEDIJER IS ATTACKED, DEFENDS SELF

Critical Commentary

Sarajevo SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian No 1224, 16 Nov 81 p 4

[Editorial by Zlatko Dizdarevic: "History From Below"]

[Text] It is not uncommon in one's life for a man to carry feelings in himself for days, to know where they come from and where they lead, to see their roots and the sap that feeds them, and yet perhaps be unable to fully express them in words, arguments or anything precise and tangible. Such are the feelings, pent up in our very being, our identity here, that have been appearing as we have returned countless times these past days to the pages of "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita" [New Contributions to the Biography of Josip Broz Tito], which truly is the book we are reading the most. It is well known that the book was written by Dr Vladimir Dedijer, member of the academy. A member of Russell's court. President Tito's biographer, as it is put. By virtue of its significant historical material, then, this is a book which will enrich the world with valuable new truths about Tito and about us ourselves, just as there has been much that was exceptionally important in what Dedijer has written up to now.

However....

Dedijer says, and he has every right, that history cannot be dressed up. That is true. And it is a good thing. Dedijer also says that "our society is pluralistic, there are diverse aspirations and diverse interests within it" in explaining why people take differing views of "Novi prilozi...." And that is true. Just as it is true that he is proud of having consistently followed Tito's devotion to the "idea of truth, justice and fairness." And he also says this: "I am very proud that I have written this book freely in my own country. I believe that I am the only man who has managed that, and I want other authors to win the same right for themselves...."

In a conversation with the member of Russell's court conducted a few days ago one was reminded that in gathering material for the book we are reading the most and which is "not a description of a Pharaoh, in which the tone and style of hagiographies is absent...," he was aided by Roosevelt's wife and the secret correspondence between Hitler and the Japanese and by pearls from the British

archives and documents from old Soviet cellars, but also by "an individual thought to be reliable," and by Rankovic, whom Dedijer knows to be "as cunning as water is wet," and by Djilas, there it is, was "hasty" in expressing an "adverse opinion about the wives of certain of our high Yugoslav leaders." That same Djilas of whom Dedijer even today, in 1981, says in the presence of foreign newsmen: "Here and now I still stand by the position I took in defending Djilas in 1954."

We are grateful to all of them for their services so that today we could have the book that is most read in the country. Dedijer probably will also express gratitude to that "reliable individual" who told him about Comrade Jovanka Broz's washing machine so that he could "put it into the book in order to arouse the reader's interest in the third and fourth volume which are to come." The member of Russell's court will be grateful to all those who made it possible for him to "feel a bit like Agatha Christie." Many will also be grateful to him for this book. But since "our society is pluralistic, and there are differing aspirations and interests within it," perhaps we might say, and forgive us if we say it with pride: Our interest is not the same as that of Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt, nor that of the British archives, nor that of Russian papers, nor indeed that of Rankovic and Djilas. Perhaps we have not yet reached that level of "historical distance" from Comrade Tito as to prove with our most private life, expressed through "reliable individuals" that we belong in the ranks of the "great" and "worldwide" newspapers and reviews. Who knows, perhaps we have not even reached that level of understanding of history so that today, just 1.5 years after Comrade Tito's death, as well as in the future, we do not think the most important thing is to pass on to the very young the reasons why Tito divorced Pelagija and, imagine how tragic it is, we do not reliably know how that happened, just as, pity, we do not reliably know certain other things which will be revealed to us in the volumes to follow by certain other "reliable individuals."

Most probably we will be accused of the blackest dogmatism for all this by those who do not understand that their own liberalism is a textbook example of dogmatism in our context, just as we have been accused because we have been "striking the angels of freedom and democracy" in condemning Djogo, for whom even Dedijer has found "understanding." Perhaps because his sentiment of a "love of freedom" is in line with the "theory of distance." Even though that distance amounts to only 1.5 years.

Let one thing be clear, history will not be altered depending on whether this thing or that thing is written about or not. Everything that should be known, let it be known and recorded. But, for pity's sake, are details about the private life the largest truths about a man who created history through his life and deeds, are the key pieces of evidence of his "magnanimity" in his letters to Davorjanka Paunovic? Is the truth about Tito's Yugoslavia in Dedijer's saying that he is "the only man who managed that and wants other authors to win the same right for themselves"?

Alongside Tito we have learned in this country certain other truths about attitudes toward people which perhaps do not conform with the criteria of the world archives and the reflections of certain "reliable individuals." Perhaps for that reason we are not great and worldwide in that we love in a bit different

way, so that we can say: Let history have its own in the books and archives. Let everything be recorded. But leave us our own understanding of love, of human greatness and of devotion. Without rummaging around and banalization in the name of a "history which cannot be dressed up." Which accounts for that feeling of nausea in the face of "history," which after all should serve man, and not itself, and particularly not sinister, luciferian and in a subtle way petty bourgeois motives. Least of all those who are opposed to the pillars of that history.

Discussion in Subotica

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1205, 8 Dec 81 pp 24-25

[Account by Stevan Zec of a lecture delivered by Vladimir Dedijer at the Workers' University in Subotica: "I Ask Neither Forums Nor Friends"]

[Text] The large auditorium of the Workers' University in Subotica was packed. People were standing in the balcony and behind the last rows, there were two to a seat in some places, and there were people squatting along the wall. They even filled the lobby that leads into the auditorium. Many of them did not even see the speaker, the historian and member of the academy Vladimir Dedijer. But they could all hear him well. The sound system was first rate. Dedijer had come to Subotica to promote his book "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita" and the new edition of his old wartime "Dnevnik 1941-1945" [Diary 1941-1945].

"I came to Subotica on purpose both because this city is one of the centers of Hungarian culture and also because Tito's work is continued in practice and most obviously in communities like this where the lives of many nationalities are blended together. Tito is what is happening this evening," Dedijer said and turned to the wall behind the stage and indicated the slogan written in Serbo-Croatian and Hungarian, "Tito is that equality of languages."

Promotions of a writer's new book--in this case the book of a historian--are arranged so that the public can become personally familiar with the writer, can see him, and also so that the author can see those for whom he has written the book. Of course, there is also a commercial aspect, since after such meetings the writer usually gives autographs on copies of the book which have just been purchased. Meetings like this arouse attention, since the public expects to hear even what the writer did not wish, did not manage or did not dare to say in the book. For several hundred people of Subotica this was precisely such an occasion.

That same day, on Thursday, 26 November 1981, there was a meeting of the Information and Public Opinion Section of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY which debated the increasingly large scale of publishing activity related to the name and deeds of Josip Broz. It was said that this activity is often taking on undesirable characteristics, from the purely commercial to an unscholarly and superficial approach, which is evidence that the views and principles adopted on the use of the name and deeds of Josip Broz Tito are not being respected. It was said in this connection that not all the undertakings of publishing

organizations have been consistent in making the required evaluation of the quality and advisability of every work published. For example, the list of books published in the last 2 years which have been given some kind of public accreditation does not include Dedijer's "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita."

"You Will Earn Piles of Money"

The citizens of Subotica who went to see and hear Dedijer were not aware of this judgment, since the news was carried by radio and television only late that evening and by the daily newspapers the next day.

Vladimir Dedijer spoke in his introduction about his missions to Baghdad and Tehran where he went as a judge of the Russell court.

He told anecdotes about how there was never enough ink during the war, about how he could never be objective in assessing the movement of Draza Mihailovic because he has a wound in his knee from a Chetnik bullet, and other anecdotes already well known to a broad public of his fortunes and misfortunes while, as he put it, he was scribbler in the Supreme Staff of the National Liberation Struggle and Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia. Straightaway, at the very outset of the talk, he said that he did not see well with his right eye, that he was rather deaf, indeed that he easily became excited and wept, and if that happened: "Forgive me," to which several voices responded in unison: "We forgive you in advance." However, this did not happen to Dedijer. He insisted that every member of the audience who put a question to him state his nationality and occupation.

"That is so that I can learn something from you as well, so that I can know who is asking me what and why," Dedijer said.

Vladimir Dedijer, who is skilled as a speaker, was able on that evening to arouse spontaneous laughter, tumultuous applause, but also audible resentment and disagreement in the audience, especially when he spoke about Milovan Djilas. During the discussion one could not escape the impression that Dedijer was actually not answering questions from the audience, but had sections of a speech prepared in advance which he arranged and delivered according to his own plan. For example, in response to a very concrete question: "Would you like to explain why you fell into political disfavor in 1954 and under what conditions you were rehabilitated in the mid-sixties?" Dedijer answered briefly, "All that is written in my book, read it, my lad...."

In response to the request: "Tell us something about the First Session of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] in Bihac, which began on precisely the same date in 1942," Dedijer answered:

"On 7 November 1942 in Bihac we celebrated the anniversary of the October Revolution. I went to Tito and asked him to sign his name in my diary. He signed his name, looked at me and said: 'Listen, Vlado, you will make piles of money after the war writing books about us and our revolution.' I did not think that we would ever get out of those hollows in Bosnia and thought that we would all

die there, but, of course, I never said that publicly. So I answered Tito: 'Listen, Old Man, I make a gift to you of all the royalties from the books I write after the war.' Tito laughed and told me to remember what I had said and that he would hold me to my word. When the war ended, I kept that promise, and I am still keeping it."

Often it was rather difficult to see the connection between Dedijer's answers and the questions; we will quote the most interesting passages of what he said....

"The uprising in Lika involved large numbers of people thanks to the activity of the party. A great deal of the credit for this goes to Comrade Jakov Blazevic. I do not say this because he is now in power, since it is well known that I have a habit of picking on those in power, but rather I say this because in the case of Lika it was important that the party manage to create an organization in almost every village. Jakov Blazevic was for years secretary of the CPY for Lika, so that certainly his role here is large. On the other hand, the uprising flared up spontaneously, since the people did not want to submit to the knives of the Ustashi, and the party was able and ready to lead a popular rebellion. How did the members of the party manage that? By applied ethics, that is, by personal example. The communists were the first in the assault, they were the first to go hungry, if it was necessary, they were the only ones to go barefoot.... Lika was the only area in Yugoslavia where the uprising and fighting were constant from 1941 to the liberation. Brotherhood and unity between Croats and Serbs developed there in the true sense. The bright example of Lika is still greater because in neighboring Kninska Krajina, where the party was not strong enough, in spite of glorious examples, there was a strong Chetnik movement, there were Ustashi, and there were devils of every stripe."

Institutes Curry the Favor of Forums

"Historical distance is not a theory of mine. This is the theory of all intelligent men, and above all of Josip Broz. When I wrote his first biography 30 years ago, he emphasized in a letter to me: 'You arranged and noted all the facts accurately, but for an overall evaluation of our struggle a certain historical period has to pass, and only then can the final conclusions be framed.' Tito himself said that the time has not yet come to publish certain things. These are events whose disclosure might threaten the security of our country or hamper our relations with certain states, especially the Soviet Union. As to when something should be published, I am not the only one who decides according to my conscience, but I have many friends who give me advice. I do not ask any forum, and I have even written that I am not writing this book jointly with any forum or with any individual. It is certain that not everything one knows can be published even now. Look at the practice in other states. In England there is a law whereby documents may not be published until 30 years have passed. In France the period is 50 years. For example, all the participants in the French resistance movement wrote a declaration on activity during the war. This has been sealed, and it must wait 50 years. Incidentally, Tito often said that only future generations would make a true evaluation and render a true judgment of our revolution. Even in his own collected works in 1977 Tito repeated that thought, but much more broadly and with more supporting arguments. In any case,

I have kept that letter of Tito's from 30 years ago like a deed. For me it is like an icon. At the same time we have various flatterers. Those flatterers feel that if they begin to praise and curry the favor of those in power, if they make pharaohs of them, that they themselves will derive some benefit and advantage. Various of our institutes of history which are writing so-called contemporary history are like that in that they curry the favor of people in power. Unfortunately, they are my fellow historians. They get money from the budget, from what is taken from the pay envelopes of the workers. They get nine-tenths of the money earmarked for the study of our contemporary history. And what do they do? By and large they give lectures on how to write. But not one of them has the guts to sit down and say: Now let's see and let's write it down. No, they only give lectures, they curry the favor of various forums--and that is their principal job. These people would swallow me down with a glass of water. And that suits me just fine! (Laughter in the auditorium) I am constantly imploring them not to praise me whatever happens....

"The historian must constantly check the facts of what he writes and then check them again. He should not even put much trust in himself. I once asked Comrade Tito: 'Now, Old Man, why do you give three different birth dates in your biography?' He said: 'Look here, Vlado, there were 15 of us kids, who was to know when each one was born?' On one other occasion Tito reproached me: 'Why did you write that I repeated the first grade of elementary school?' And I said to him: 'Go and look at the documents, Old Man, you did stay back, that's all there is to it." Then Tito said that enemy propaganda would take advantage of this as a political datum against him and Yugoslavia in general. 'Like hell they will,' I told him. 'Listen here, Vlado,' Tito said, 'you had it easy, you were a bourgeois child, your mother brought you hot cocoa in bed. But I was up before dawn to drive the cows out to pasture. I was on the lookout for the cow to shit so that I could step in that hot dung and warm my feet. I went to school after all that was done....' Then I said: 'Listen, Old Man, let me write all that down.' And Tito said with a wave of his hand: 'Go to hell, write what you want.' Tito was a great man, but he was also able to shout at me when I annoyed him. Then I would stay out of his way. He was sudden and could fly into a temper. After a day or two he would call me in: 'What did you mean by that?' Tito did not bear a grudge."

Dudic on an Empty Stomach

"On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of our revolutionary the original diary of National Hero Dragojlo Dudic was published. I found it and received tremendous and decisive aid in that task from the Yugoslav People's Army. I wrote in the preface of the original edition that that diary of Dudic's was the greatest and best historical witness of our war, since this was history from below, about ordinary people. At one point Dudic says: 'No food for anyone now for 2 days. The detachment came into a village, the peasants brought out food, I wouldn't know how to describe the quality of the food. It is a strict rule with us that the noncommunist Partisans eat first, then the Partisans who are members of the party, and then, if anything is left, the commissars, the commanders and the commanding officers.' So, you see, it was because of that approach to things that we were victorious in the war, that we drove out the occupier and changed social relations. On one occasion I was to say: 'Now, 40 years after the war,

this diary of Dudic's ought to be printed in an edition of 2 million copies and presented to every member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and he should have to read it every morning on an empty stomach, before breakfast, like reciting Our Father who art....'" (Applause in the auditorium)

Ideologies Like Shirts

"There are no problems: just let everyone write his remarks about my book, and I will publish all that. Just as I have published what was said by Hebrang, Zujovic, Rankovic, Djilas and Ceca Stefanovic.... And that includes Blagoje Neskovic. And let Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo write down his remarks. Even though some have made mistakes here and there, we are still all Tito's children, so let every one of us speak out and write it down, and let the people and the readers be the judges, pass the verdicts and act as filter. Let the people decide, but not political organs and forums by any means....

"I haven't read Tempo's talk in the Petar Kocic Library in Belgrade, which was published in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, but I heard something about his doing some writing. Let Tempo write that down and send it to me, and I will publish it in the new edition of my book....

"Djilas has written more about our revolution than any of us. Much more than I have. Djilas suffers a bit from a disease which has also infected me. We come from up in the hills, and that means that we are what are referred to as violent characters from the Dinarids. That means that we are accustomed to gaze on Lovcen Mountain, and we don't see anything lower down. We like to look at our busts and to polish them all day and enjoy ourselves. Djilas is sick with a disease called narcissism. (Hubbub in the auditorium and one member of the audience saying: "And surely that isn't all.") His writing about others is mixed, but when he starts on himself, he is like the male grouse, he sees only himself, and he tells such fat lies, you know, that it's a real wonder. In the mountains where we come from people lie so convincingly, the sun is so clear there, the imagination so lively, and you get to believing even your own lies, like a little child. And that's the case with Djilas. (Still greater clamor in the auditorium, and then that same voice asks: "What is this man saying?") Djilas says that he carried out an execution in Nova Varos on Tito's order, and I dug out Tito's letter which was sent to Djilas: 'Don't carry out executions, think it over. Every man means an entire life. Do not render a verdict solely on the basis of one fact or suspicion, but weigh everything and take the case before the company conference. Let it render the judgment. And then let the decision wait overnight. Only then, in the morning, if necessary....' SVIJET of Sarajevo is attacking me saying my book is pro-Djilas, and on the other side I received an article from a Chetnik newspaper in London NASA REC saying that my book is anti-Djilas. So now let them figure out what is actually the case." (Clamor in the auditorium: "How dare he compare one of our newspapers with an emigre newspaper?")

"Who set fire to the village Zagarac in Montenegro? Well, it was we who did it in 1942, and not halfway either. Now, Djilas lies through his teeth about Zagarac. He accuses Peko Dapcevic and I don't know who else for having ordered Zagarac burned. But I have Djilas' letter. Some people from the Niksic committee

said: 'Let us not burn Zagarac.' But Djilas interrupted them: 'This is not social democracy! I am issuing an order: Burn the village!' And now that same Milovan Djilas is a great Social Democrat. Actually he is to be pitied, he changes ideologies as I do my shirts. Actually he is a restless soul like Maksim Crnojevic." (Hubbub in the auditorium once again)

When he felt that he had satisfied the audience's curiosity, Vladimir Dedijer said:

"That is enough for this evening. Forgive an old man, he's tired...."

As the audience was leaving the auditorium, Dedijer came up to me:

"Tell Tempo, my boy, to write me about that, and I will publish it. Just let them attack me! The more they attack me, the better the book sells."

7045
CSO: 2800/161

PERSONS AMNESTIED, GIVEN REDUCED SENTENCES

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 64, 4 Dec 81 pp 1627-1628

[Order of SFRY State Presidency issued in Belgrade 25 November 1981 and signed by its chairman Sergej Kraigher]

[Text] On the basis of Article 315, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 9, of the SFRY Constitution and Article 102 of the SFRY Criminal Code, and in relation to Articles 1, 2 and 5 of the Law on Clemency, the State Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has adopted the following

ORDER
On Clemency Toward Convicted Persons

I

The following convicted persons are released from serving the remainder of their prison sentences:

Dragos Dobrivoja Dragovic, Atif Uzeira Dzafic;
Dragoljub Ivana Gicovic, Ladislav Vjekoslava Goscak;
Fatima Himze Huseinovic, Safet Sulje Huseinovic;
Vase Gorgi Iliev, Enver Alije Ikovic;
Franc Ivana Jejcic, Emil Jozeta Jurkovic;
Zoran Miodraga Kalicanin, Karlo Ivana Kamenecki, Ibro Sinana Karic;
Adem Abida Lisica, Marko Djure Lisic, Dragic Vidosava Lovcevic;
Nenad Nikole Marketic;
Vladimir Miodraga Nedeljkovic, Petar Djure Nenadovic;
Hasan Ferida Pasic, Mirko Marka Prpic;
Ljubomir Djure Radulovic, Slavko Milosa Risticevic;
Smail Avdije Salesevic, Radovan Mihajla Savic, Simon Lazara Saveski, Branislav Djordja Senkovic;
Miroslav Jovana Visijan;
Dusko Jove Zivkovic, Azmi Sefketa Zuta.

II

The prison sentences of the following convicted persons have been reduced:

Barisic, Vinko Ivana, by 2 (two) years--from 20 (twenty) years to 18 (eighteen) years in prison,

Bojanovic, Blagoje Save, by 6 (six) months--from 3 (three) years to 2 (two) years and 6 (six) months in prison,

Dusic, Zivorad Radojka, by 6 (six) months--from 7 (seven) years to 6 (six) years and 6 (six) months in prison,

Filipovski, Jakov Marka, by 6 (six) months--from 2 (two) years to 1 (one) year and 6 (six) months in prison,

Furlan, Viktor Viktora, by 1 (one) year--from 6 (six) years to 5 (five) years in prison,

Gluhic, Senad Salke, by 6 (six) months--from 1 (one) year and 6 (six) months to 1 (one) year in prison,

Grbesa, Zlatko Vjekoslava, by 2 (two) years--from 14 (fourteen) years to 12 (twelve) years in prison,

Husic, Mirsad Hajrudina, by 6 (six) months--from 3 (three) years to 2 (two) years and 6 (six) months in prison,

Jasarov, Kadri Asana, by 9 (nine) months--from 4 (four) years to 3 (three) years and 3 (three) months in prison,

Jokic, Momcilo Radomira, by 1 (one) year--from 10 (ten) years to 9 (nine) years in prison,

Krasnici, Zenun Ramadana, by 6 (six) months--from 2 (two) years to 1 (one) year and 6 (six) months in prison,

Krizaj, Dusan Marjana, by 1 (one) year--from 3 (three) years to 2 (two) years in prison,

Mestrovic, Zelimir Vicka, by 2 (two) years--from 12 (twelve) years to 10 (ten) years in prison,

Mrvoljak, Husein Mehmeda, by 6 (six) months--from 2 (two) years to 1 (one) year and 6 (six) months in prison,

Pejic, Sreto Milosa, by 6 (six) months--from 1 (one) year and 6 (six) months to 1 (one) year in prison,

Pemic, Josip Ante, by 2 (two) years--from 15 (fifteen) years to 13 (thirteen) years in prison,

Pezerovic, Muhamed Huseina, by 6 (six) months--from 1 (one) year and 8 (eight) months to 1 (one) year and 2 (two) months in prison,

Smilevski, Konstantin Dimitrija, by 6 (six) months--from 4 (four) years and 6 (six) months to 4 (four) years in prison,

Stanic, Rajko Nevenka, by 6 (six) months--from 1 (one) year and 6 (six) months to 1 (one) year in prison,

Stojanovic, Djuro Mihajla, by 6 (six) months--from 2 (two) years and 6 (six) months to 2 (two) years in prison,

Saric, Nedeljko Petra, by 6 (six) months--from 4 (four) years to 3 (three) years and 6 (six) months in prison,

Tanasic, Zoran Stanimira, by 6 (six) months--from 5 (five) years to 4 (four) years and 6 (six) months in prison,

Useinov, Alija Zejnusa, by 6 (six) months--from 4 (four) years to 3 (three) years and 6 (six) months in prison,

Useinov, Kemal Zejnusa, by 6 (six) months--from 5 (five) years to 4 (four) years and 6 (six) months in prison,

Vlainic, Nenad Jove, by 6 (six) months--from 1 (one) year and 6 (six) months to 1 (one) year in prison,

Zuta, Dzemil Sefketa, by 6 (six) months--from 3 (three) years to 2 (two) years and 6 (six) months in prison.

III

The legal consequence of the sentence of prohibition of promotion is hereby terminated for the following:

Krstic, Dragan Predraga, imposed by verdict of the Supreme Military Court in Belgrade, No II K.155/80, dated 5 June 1980.

7045
CSO: 2800/162

END

JPRS 79933

25 January 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1965

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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JPRS 79933

25 January 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1965

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JIRI PELIKAN COMMENTS ON POLISH CRACKDOWN

PM381515 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 20-21 Dec 81 p I, Current Affairs and Culture Supplement

[Article by Jiri Pelikan: "Warsaw Like Prague: Different Tactic, Same Substance"]

[Text] A week after General Jaruzelski's military coup it is still too early to assess the entire extent of the tragedy or to forecast its possible developments, partly because of the lack of information caused by Poland's total isolation. But the known facts--the martial law, the de factor outlawing of the Solidarity Trade Union, the rigid censorship and above all the arrest of Lech Walesa and tens of thousands of citizens and the first losses of life by workers--enable us to make some initial observations.

The military coup is not a response to the latest decisions that emerged from the meeting of Solidarity's national leadership, as official Polish propaganda states, but had been planned for a long time--at least since General Jaruzelski's election as party first secretary and perhaps for much longer. The "operational armed forces groups" which Jaruzelski sent to all the country's important locations in October were part of thispainstaking preparation for the coup: They drew up lists of people to be arrested and prepared plans for the occupation of the trade union's offices and the evacuation of the factories. Only thus can one understand how within minutes of the declaration of martial law in the middle of the night thousands of Solidarity members and intellectuals had been arrested, the borders hermetically sealed, the television and radio stations occupied and the factories surrounded by tanks. While following the famous three-way meeting Jaruzelski accused Walesa of sabotaging the negotiations and at the same time planning to seize power, this week Poland discovered the truth, namely that it was General Jaruzelski himself that was pretending to want to negotiate while in fact gaining time to plan a military coup that would find Solidarity and Walesa himself unprepared and surprised.

Despite General Jaruzelski's claims that they are only temporary measures pending a normalization and that the regime does not want to return to the pre-August 1980 situation but intends to carry out the economic and political reforms, the aim of the operation is precisely the opposite of all this, namely to destroy the Solidarity Trade Union by trying to split it into good guys and bad guys and forcing Walesa himself to make the workers endorse the military coup. The same method was used after the stifling of the Prague spring, when the Soviets used Dubcek to halt

the people's resistance and, having discredited him, politically destroyed him. But for the time being Walesa refused to play this part. Even Husak proclaimed in 1969 that he wanted to salvage the reforms and military putchists--yesterday in Chile, today in Turkey--have justified repression by the need to establish order "against" chaos and anarchy.

But eventually they transform temporary repression into a permanent system. Borders are closed and censorship is imposed only when the intention is to govern with methods that must remain unknown to the public. Poland, which in recent months was the most open country in the Eastern bloc, is now the country most isolated from the rest of Europe, and the generals want to transform it into a kind if European Kampuchea.

Anyone who has followed the Soviet leader's attitude toward Poland's renewal process can have no doubts that General Jaruzelski's operation is the result of Soviet policy. Moscow has never concealed its hostility toward the new Polish course and in particular toward Solidarity and has indicated--both publicly, in various statements, and in negotiations with the Polish leaders--the need first to halt and then to eliminate the results of the Gdansk agreements of summer 1980. The only innovation is the change of tactic: Instead of "normalizing" Poland with his own military intervention, Brezhnev preferred to throttle it with Polish hands because he realized that this time the price to pay for such an intervention was too high both on the international plane (the end of detente and of the Euromissiles negotiations and economic agreements) and on the national plane (the fear of Polish resistance and of another Afghanistan). Back in May the well-known Soviet "journalist" Victor Louis indicated military dictatorship as the only solution to the Polish crisis, pointing out that the Polish armed forces belong to the Warsaw Pact and are commanded and controlled by Soviet marshals. Such an operation could not have been prepared without the Soviets' knowledge or without their consequent backing. This also explains the presence of Soviet General Kulikov, commander of the Warsaw Pact forces, in Warsaw during the coup. In the future, too, the USSR will do its utmost to avoid an armed intervention of its own, which would, however, be needed only if the Polish police and armed forces were unable to control the situation and to eliminate the resistance on their own.

This is why we consider any argument based on the "internal" nature of the change in Poland to be hypocritical and unacceptable. Indeed, as far as we socialists are concerned, the suppression of freedom and repression are never "an internal affair" to which one can remain indifferent. This is one reason why we have always been vigorous defenders of the principles of the Helsinki conference, including nonintervention in another state's internal affairs but also the principles of observance of human rights, trade union freedom, freedom of information and the citizens' freedom of movement within their own countries and abroad. We cannot therefore restrict ourselves--as some European statesmen do--to appeals for observance of the Helsinki accords solely in the field of interstate relations, but must also reject the military coup and its repressive measures as contrary to the overall spirit of those accords. The latest reports from the European conference in Madrid confirm our anxiety that all that has happened in Poland since Sunday will have harmful effects on the positive conclusion of this conference and also on the Geneva Euromissiles negotiations, in which we take such a great interest and to which we are so committed.

For the same reason we must consider hypocritical any argument--such as we have heard in the past few days from Mrs Thatcher in Strasbourg and from other European and U.S. statesmen--that "the Poles must resolve their own problems." How can "the Poles themselves" discuss and resolve when the army and armed police, with orders to shooot--and there have been casualties already, though only on one side--are on one side and the population, unarmed and without any rights, is on the other?

How can the prisoners discuss with those who keep them in prison and in the new concentration camps? Who would use the same argument in connection with the Chileans or the Turks? Who tells the Salvadoran revolutionaries to keep calm and not to resist the repression? We must condemn the military dictatorship in Poland, as we have condemned the dictatorships in Turkey, Chile and El Salvador; it is a principle that we have defended and intend to defend in the future, too, because there are no good and bad military dictatorships depending only on the various flags that they fly.

If the throttling of the renewal process in Poland is a huge tragedy for the entire Polish people and for all democrats throughout the world, its consequences are tragic above all for us who believe in the socialist ideal and who have watched the Polish experiment with high hopes of seeing the resurgence of the possibility of a form of socialism within freedom, which is a different kind of socialism from the Soviet one, which has been so discredited. Having witnessed the stifling of the attempts to democratize this model with gradual reforms and the backing of the ruling party--the most recent example was the Prague spring in 1968--we are now witnessing the destruction of an attempt at a self-managed form of socialism with the working class as the protagonist of this democratic and peaceful process. This poses with new emphasis the question whether the systems of so-called "real socialism" can be reformed, whether they are open to possible changes and developments. The past 18 months have created new hope and a positive answer can be given to this question. Unfortunately, after what has happened in Poland over the past week--which is the result of the long preparation and expression of a specific political concept--it would be a dangerous delusion to continue issuing a positive answer.

Poland will probably soon become another test for the communist parties and the entire Western left, not only in the stance that they adopt toward the repression but above all in their stance toward the new opposition to the military regime that will undoubtedly emerge from the remains of Solidarity and the other organizations destroyed and driven underground. Will this new Polish opposition be stronger than Czechoslovakia's, Hungary's or the Soviet Union's? Particularly bearing in mind its deep roots in the working class, with its traditions of struggle. The Italian Communists have shown in the past and over the past week that they can adopt correct political stances, as they did on Czechoslovakia or Afghanistan and now on Poland, but they have always refused to follow these stances with specific acts of solidarity with the various victims of Soviet policy. Will they now again restrict themselves to condemning the military regime, declining to help the Polish forces that will remain loyal to the renewal process and combat the military coup?

It is still too early to forecast future developments. But one thing is certain: The great hope of a different kind of socialism--self-managed and pluralistic--has been stifled by the brutal repression. After what has happened one cannot

hope for real negotiations and reforms. The Polish people will probably continue their resistance to the military regime, but they lack the necessary means and foreign allies to reverse the situation. Moscow permits no concessions and indeed continues its pressure on Jaruzelski to eliminate the spirit of Gdansk and to use all the brutal repression to this end--if the first deaths, the arrests and the major display of military means prove insufficient. But if the resistance is tough and long-lasting the regime might be forced to make concessions and one cannot rule out a kind of Polish "Kadarism," as long as--and this is by no means certain--the military regime is able to substantially improve the economic situation with Soviet aid.

We have no right to advise the Polish people to "behave calmly" and accept the coup d'etat. But we must state clearly on whose side we are and urge the government, the political forces and the national and international trade union organizations to inform Poland's present leaders unambiguously that democratic Europe cannot accept the state of martial law, with its prisons and concentration camps, in Poland. As Secretary Bettino Craxi has said: "Nothing must be done that could seem like passive indifference, which would only encourage the repression."

Warsaw Radio, with its nationalistic and antisemitic tone, is trying to persuade the Polish population that it is abandoned and alone, citing ambiguous and unilateral statements by certain Western politicians. We must persuade the Polish population, through our attitude and our actions, that this is not so, that the Polish people's voice, their aspirations to the greatest freedom and justice, are heard in the thousands of demonstrations and in the factories and cities of our continent. The socialists must be in the front line of this major battle, which we urge all democratic forces to join.

CSO: 3104/74

BRIEFS

LLESHI GREETS FINNISH COUNTERPART--Tirana, 6 Dec (ATA)--Haxhi Lleshi, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania has sent the following message to the premier of the Republic of Finland, Mauno Koivisto, in the absence of the president of the republic: On occasion of your national day, it is a pleasure for me that on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly as well as in my own name, to extend to you and your people our fervent greetings and the best wishes for the prosperity of the country and the happiness of the Finnish people. I express my conviction that the friendly relations existing between our two countries will develop still further. [Text] [AU061949 Tirana ATA in English 1700 GMT 6 Dec 81]

U.S. CAPITAL PENETRATION IN SFRY--Tirana, 12 Dec (ATA)--Under the title "Penetration of U.S. Capital in Yugoslavia Instigated," the press publishes today a news, which relying on the data of the Yugoslav News Agency Tanjug, deals with the ever greater penetration of the U.S. capital in the Yugoslav economy. "Profiting from the 'open door policy' of Yugoslavia, the news stresses, U.S. capital has deeply penetrated in Yugoslavia. It follows from the reports of Tanjug that the contracts concluded with the U.S. firms hold 1/3 of the total volume of the foreign investments in this country and they are extended in the most important branches of economy." During the last 7 years, "the U.S. export to Yugoslavia has increased by about 3 times, while the Yugoslav one to the USA nearly 40 percent." [From the press review] [Excerpt] [AU121524 Tirana ATA in English 0950 GMT 12 Dec 81]

DINNER HOSTED IN TIRANA--Nikolaos Akritidhis, minister of commerce of the Republic of Greece, this evening hosted a dinner at the Dajti Hotel in Tirana. The dinner was attended by Foreign Trade Minister Nedin Hoxha, Minister of Agriculture Themie Thomai, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Reiz Malile, Deputy Minister of Agriculture Spiro Lengo, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Jetnor Ramaj and others. The dinner was also attended by other members of the Greek Government trade delegation and by Apostolos Papasliotis, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Greech in Albania. [Text] [AU122145 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 12 Dec 81]

GREEK TRADE DELEGATION--A government trade delegation of the Republic of Greece led by Minister of Commerce Nikolaos Akritidhis arrived in Albania today. The delegation will engage in talks on trade between Albania and Greece in 1982. The delegation was welcomed by Minister of Foreign Trade Nedin Hoxha, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Jetnor Ramaj; Justin Papajorgji, director of the fourth directorate of the ministry of foreign affairs, and other officials of the ministry of foreign trade. Apostolos Papasliotis, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Greece to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and other embassy officials were also present to welcome the delegation. On its way to Tirana, the delegation was welcomed in Korce by Vangjel Cerrava, chairman of the People's Council Executive Committee, who also hosted a lunch in honor of the delegation. [Text] [AU121518 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 11 Dec 81]

CSO: 2100/37

YOUTH UNION OFFICIAL DESCRIBES U.S. TRIP

AU191321 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 16 Dec 81 p 5

[Interview with Marian Grigel, head of Ideo-Educational Work Department of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union (SYU) by Karel Cech: "The Emissaries of Our Youth; Talk with Marian Grigel About the SYU Central Committee Delegation's Study Visit to the United States;" date and place not specified]

[Text] Our Contemporaries

Recently a study delegation of our youth, led by Marian Grigel, head of the SYU Central Committee's Department of Ideo-Educational Work, returned home from a 3-week trip to the United States. After his return we asked M. Grigel to share with our readers his impressions and experience of the United States, which he and the other delegation members had acquired.

[Question] What was the purpose of your trip?

[Answer] At the invitation of our fraternal organization--the League of Young Workers for Liberation (YWLL)--we organized 35 concerts of the Slovak Vrchar [hill-inhabitant] ensemble in the state of New York and Georgia; and after the performances we talked to young Americans about the life of youth in our socialist fatherland. We performed in high schools, in progressive ethnic organization clubs, as well as in churches; of course, contrary to Europe, in the United States they often resemble social or cultural buildings, rather than churches. We landed in diverse environments; we met both students and working or unemployed youth; both white and black Americans; we were guests in the poverty stricken Bronx, as well as in luxurious villas in Roswell, an Atlanta suburb. Due to this we have gained, in my opinion even during the relatively brief time of 3 weeks that we spent there, an objective knowledge of the stances and opinions of contemporary America, and of its young generation in particular.

[Question] What have these meetings given you?

[Answer] We have convinced ourselves that the overwhelming majority of Americans are longing, the same as we are, for a life of peace. A number of them are nevertheless succumbing to the pressure of the bourgeois propaganda, which is intimidating them by speaking of the "red threat"; and that is why they do not realize that at the present moment it is above all the policy of the present American

Government that is dangerous for world peace--the policy evoking the ghosts of the cold war of the fifties and further fanning out the armament race.

The picture which the young people in the United States have about life in the socialist countries was sometimes revealed by the unimaginable naiveness of the questions we were asked during the talks by otherwise educated high school students. I have made notes of some of their questions: For instance, do communists have horns? Are women rationed in your country? Does money exist in your country? Do the children in Czechoslovakia know sweets? Are the clothes you wear your own, or were you allotted them for the trip to the United States? Do you have compulsory school education?...

During the dozens of concerts and talks we met about 8,000 young Americans. Naturally, I do not think that our meetings succeeded completely in eliminating all the layers of lies and slanders which have settled down in their heads during all the years they have been under the influence of the bourgeois propaganda. However, I am convinced that we have at least partly opened the eyes of the overwhelming majority, and that the meeting with the "emissaries of our youth" has acquainted them with life in Czechoslovakia, a country so distant from them, and also with the merits of the socialist society, of which they had had no prior idea.

[Question] The YWLL, which is rallying the most progressive part of American youth, helped organize your trip. Did you get to know its activities in greater detail?

[Answer] Twice we met James Steel, the league's chairman; we were in close contact with the members of the organization in every place we visited during our stay in the United States. We have convinced ourselves of the complicated nature of the league's work and of the obstacles which it encounters at every step. It is all the more necessary to place the proper value on all its results. In talks with the leadership of the league we have also agreed on a number of further joint projects, among others also on the mutual travel of young people and on similar trips of our group.

Our stay in the United States has contributed toward better information for the young people of both countries concerned: and particularly toward acquainting thousands of young Americans with the life of their contemporaries in the socialist world. It was a specific example of our interest in deepening the acquisition of mutual knowledge among the young generations in countries with different social systems in the spirit of Helsinki--it was our contribution to the deepening of peace, cooperation and understanding in the world.

CSO: 2400/106

BRIEFS

PERIODICALS IN CSSR--According to Federal Assembly Deputy J. Andrs, there are 1,071 periodicals being published in the CSSR, 30 of which are dailies, 283 weeklies, 165 biweeklies, 347 monthlies and 246 magazines coming out at different times. More than 2 billion copies of all these periodicals were published in 1980. [Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 30 Nov 81 p 1]

HUNGARY 'STRICT' WITH TOURISTS--Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 23 December on page 2 carries a 600-word Libor Sevcik article entitled "Border Regulations." The author opens the article by saying that "recently all kinds of rumors have been spread throughout the republic about the Hungarian customs officials' strict measures against our tourists returning from trips to Hungary." He took the opportunity of a recent trip to Hungary, Sevcik goes on to say, to inquire into the "real state of affairs." He then reviews the valid customs regulations for tourists leaving Hungarian territory, confirming that the "regulations really are strict" and that they are "rigidly observed" by Hungarian customs officials. He lists the goods that may not be taken out of the country at all and stresses that, even when returning with goods that may be taken out of Hungary, Czechoslovak tourists must prove that they "purchased the forints officially, before setting out on the trip." If the traveler fails to produce such a proof or if he purchased his forints "on the side," Sevcik goes on to say, the Hungarian customs officials confiscate the goods transported by him. According to Sevcik, the customs officials are not even obliged to certify the confiscation, unless the merchandise in question is worth more than 500 forints. Sevcik notes that the "unpopular measures" especially affect people who "use the word tourism to describe a shopping trip" and that those who observe the customs regulations "need not fear any harassment." He also points out that Czechoslovak customs officials are "equally uncompromising" in applying the "strict" Czechoslovak regulations against Hungarian travelers. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2400/106

OLSZTYN VOIVODSHIP PARTY PLENUM ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Report on Plenum Deliberations

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 10 Nov 81 pp 1, 2

[Article by Danuta Kolodziej-Gluchowska, Wieslaw Bialkowski, Stanislaw Jermakowicz]

[Text] [GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA's service] Yesterday a plenary meeting of the Voivodship Committee [KW] of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] was held in Olsztyn. Politburo member, secretary of the Central Committee [KC] Kazimierz Barcikowski participated, as did the presidium members of the Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP] and the Voivodship Audit Commission [WKR]. The order of the day was made up of two parts: organizational matters and a discussion of the current economic, social and political situation in the voivodship. To the second part, which had a consultative character, representatives of the economic and social aktiv and PZPR, ZSL [United Peasant Party] and SD [Democratic Party] workers were invited.

Comrade Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, candidate member of the KC Politburo, opened the deliberations. He turned to the members of the voivodship echelon with a request that they release him from his duties as KW first secretary, member of the Executive Board and member of the KW in conjunction with the function of KC secretary entrusted to him by the Fifth KC Plenum. Comrade Mokrzyszczk informed those present that he would ask his basic party organization in the Olsztyn Locomotive Shop to retain him within its ranks. He warmly thanked the Olsztyn voivodship aktiv for 7 years of cooperation, for the experience he had gained, and for the confidence his comrades had placed in him during the recent electoral campaign. "It is not easy to change one's place of work and to fulfill party and economic obligations in a new environment," he said. "Before coming to Olsztyn I worried about how I would be received here. Today I am moving on to other party work for a time. How well I did what you demanded of me is for you to judge. I tried to do solid work in executing my duties. No matter where I work, I will draw on my work experiences with my comrades in this voivodship." Comrade Mokrzyszczak assured that he would try to take part in the life of the Olsztyn voivodship party organization.

Next, Adam Weselak, KW secretary, assumed the chairmanship of the deliberations. In accordance with PZPR statute, he put W [lodzimierz] Mokrzyszczak's request to a vote. It passed, with two abstentions.

After reading the pertinent sections of the statute concerning the election of the KW first secretary, Comrade Weselak reported on the results of consultative meetings conducted within the regions on the topic of candidacy for this position. In the

name of the Executive Board, W [lodzimierz] Mokrzyszczak announced the candidacy of Jan Laskowski, hitherto KW secretary for economic affairs. Next, the candidacy of the following was announced from the hall: Marek Sapinski, KZ [Factory Committee] secretary in the POLAM-FAREL plants in Ketrzyn, candidate member of the KC; Stanislaw Biczysko, commander of the MQ [Citizen's Militia] Higher Officers' School in Szczytno; Wladyslaw Dragun, director of the Morag PPGR [State Enterprise of the Agricultural Economy] and Mikolaj Malachowicz, who did not accept the nomination.

Many questions were asked of the candidates, both specific and general, concerning their party positions now and in the past, their attitude to the line of the Ninth Congress and to the resolution of the Fourth Plenum, as well as how they intended to implement party decisions. The candidates gave their answers to these questions. Since a motion was made not to place M [arek] Sapinski on the list of candidates, this matter was voted on once again, and the majority of KW members voted to place him on the list.

Elections were done by secret ballot. During the first round of voting, none of the candidates received the majority vote required by statute (50 percent plus 1), so the voting was done again and Jan Laskowski was elected KW first secretary. Two members were also added to give the full complement to the KW (in conjunction with the departure of comrades W [lodzimierz] Mokrzyszczak and Tadeusz Szacila, who moved to another voivodship). In an open ballot, two deputy members of the KW were chosen, comrades from the Olsztyn city party organization, which did not have its own representatives in the Voivodship Committee: Zbigniew Wrzesniowski, doctor of agricultural sciences, scientific worker in ART [Articultural-Technical Academy] and Kazimierz Jakubiak, a locksmith from OZOS [The Olsztyn Tire Plant].

The Voivodship Committee complied with the proposal made by the POP [Primary Party Organization] Executive Board in the Nidzica IZOLACJA Plants concerning the transferral of the case of Wlodzimierz Dabrowski and the suspension of his rights as a member of KW to the WKKP. The decision was unanimous in favor of this.

KW Secretary Adam Weselak reported on the work of the KW Executive Board and Secretariat for the current term, i.e., since May 1981. The idea central to the work of the KW Executive Board and Secretariat," said A Weselak, "was concern over overcoming the sociopolitical and economic crisis in the voivodship, improving food supply, materials supply and the supply of raw materials for production, means of production for agriculture, and an improvement in the living and working conditions of inhabitants of the region. The Executive Board made a thorough analysis of its position on 21 problems of importance to the voivodship and stated this position more explicitly. These are problems which concern such questions as socioeconomic issues and the current economic problems of the voivodship, problems of the food economy, intraparty work and ideological-upbringing work. The implementation of the resolutions and decisions adopted have had basic signifigance for rejuvenating the ideological-political actions of party echelons and organizations, as well as for stabilizing the socioeconomic life of the voivodship. Recently, the KW Executive Board and Secretariat have held many community consultations and meetings on current, working subjects. With regard, e.g., to the economic issues examined in August, the KW secretary mentioned such matters as preparing for the heating season and supplying the populace with fuel, accepting the voivodship governor's decisions concerning the distribution of fuel among the particular sectors, the undertaking of an operation to obtain wood fuel and many resolutions concerning an improvement in water conditions and the life.

Much consideration was given and is still being given to issues of supplying people with basic articles and regulating goods. Suggestions were received concerning raising the sugar allotment per person and approaching the authorities to increase the procurement price of slaughter animals. The issue of soap production in the voivodships and streamlining the distribution of laundry detergents were examined, as were the introduction of farm slaughtering on the PGR [State Farms] and on RSP [Agricultural Producer Cooperatives] to meet the ration allotment of the labor force, the introduction of the temporary sale of industrial articles on the basis of lists and the increase of production in small-scale production plants which manufacture for the local market.

Other subjects include: ideological-upbringing work and political training in new, changed forms, party activities associated with the introduction of economic reform, commissions to fight against speculation and the results of the inspection of buildings occupied by the administration.

In October, the KW Executive Board resolved to undertake the urgent preparation of a voivodship plan for the implementation of the tasks comprised by the resolution of the Fourth KC Plenum. The plan is consistently being implemented.

The report also contains data concerning the number of members in the voivodship party organization: as of 30 September 1981, it numbered 50,729 people, or 4,527 fewer than in January of this year. During the 3rd quarter of this year, 120 candidates were accepted into the party. Forty-seven people were dismissed. A total of 4,213 people was stricken from the list of party members.

The second part of the meeting, in which the economic aktiv and political parties took part, was opened by Jan Laskowski, KW first secretary. During this introduction, he characterized the sociopolitical and economic situation of the voivodship, which served to initiate discussion. He stated that the same unfavorable phenomena are occurring in all divisions of production as are in evidence in the national economy. While the production decline in the Olsztyn voivodship is only 10 percent lower, this represents 3 billion zlotys. Only two enterprises have attained last year's production levels--IZNS [[Ilawa Auto Parts Plant] and WSS [Voivodship Consumers' Cooperative]. The work cooperative achieves good results. Discussions have been conducted with the WZSP [Voivodship Union of Labor Cooperatives] to encourage the creation of new cooperatives and the development of existing cooperatives, the intent being job offers for the graduates of secondary schools.

Production in repair-construction enterprises fell by 12 percent, while farm construction declined by 28 percent, mainly due to limited cement, steel and fuel deliveries. Along with the decline in material production, the monetary earnings of the populace rose by 33 percent, and in October, by 43 percent (income from the sale of farm products increased by 54 percent). This continues to upset the market. Outlays for the purchase of goods and services rose by only 18 percent. The past few months have been very difficult for the Olsztyn Voivodship: the low allotments have prevented the total implementation of rationing for meat, sugar and soap powders. Changes have been introduced into the system of rationing fats, sweetners and alcohol. Work forces suffer from a shortage of cleaning agents, protective clothing and shoes. The procurement situation is difficult: for the 10-month period procurement was lower than for a similar period last year: namely, procurement of livestock for slaughter dropped by 22.3 tons (more than 20 percent), procurement of milk fell by

28 million liters (8 percent) and procurement of grain fell by 30,000 tons (more than 40 percent). The number of head of livestock is reduced, and deliveries are reduced despite the high, profitable price of livestock for slaughter and good harvests of grain and potatoes. Contracting between farmers and the government for supplying farm products has declined. This means a further increase in supply difficulties, particularly with regard to meat.

Farming in the Olsztyn voivodship has received less feed concentrates than last year, but yields were higher and the sale of grain and root crops, lower. Is the regression in agriculture observable only in the material sphere? Farming is also suffering the consequences of the crisis. While the deliveries of machinery and tractors are greater than last year, there is a shortage of fertilizers, means of crop protection, construction materials and coal. The decision to sell industrial articles in exchange for slaughter animals is being received with mixed feelings. Some assert that this gives preference to large farms; others say that there isn't anything to buy in exchange for slaughter animals anyway. There is likewise the fear that this will deepen the mutual dislike of the rural and urban populations and may lead to conflicts which should not arise.

J Laskowski stated that party members received the resolutions of the Fourth and Fifth KC Plena with hope, as an incentive to take the offensive more often. The understanding that a resolute political battle against the ideological opponent is necessary is growing. Echelons and many party organizations have apppointed groups of the aktiv to conduct this battle; many organizations are awakening from their lethargy, are analyzing their attitudes and views and are overcoming their defeatist attitudes. The course of the October strike is evidence of the victory of rational thought. Currently in party echelons and organizations, discussions are being conducted with the leadership cadre and party members who are violating the basic norms of party consciousness [partyjnosc] or who are demonstrating political passivity. The situation in the voivodship party organization is not a uniform one. There is a fair-sized group of active POP's in the larger industrial plants, but there are also those which do not manifest a greater degree of activism. These must be given support and assistance by KW members and the permanent apparatus. The streamlining of party information and propaganda is likewise indispensable. An information and analysis team has been in operation for a short time in the KW, but its materials do not always reach everyone on time.

The KW secretary reported on the meeting of the Voivodship Commission for Cooperation [WKW], which recognized as necessary the activation of the local National Unity Front [FJN] committees and the broadening of their social base to include those who acknowledge the systemic principles of our state.

Discussion

Adolf Teresiak, Olsztyn Meat Plants: After the Fourth KC Plenum, work in our POP was revitalized and party members are gradually regaining confidence. The democratically elected founding committee of the workers' self-government is 30 percent PZPR members. The work force did not participate in the October strike. Discussions are conducted with the party cadre, according to the Fourth Plenum resolution. It is better that there be fewer of us, but that we be confident and represent a monolith. In the past, the fundamental criterion for evaluating the POP was the number of its members. The discussions enable those who cannot handle the obligations imposed upon them to leave the party.

The speaker was critical of a GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA report ("Prisoners' Revolt" [Bunt wiezniow]) stating that this should be found in the EXPRESS [full title unknown] and not in the party paper. He likewise spoke of instances in which there was no reaction to the failure to economize, including the indifference of party members in various plants.

Wladyslaw Dragun, PPGR, Morag, spoke of the lack of convergence of words and deeds. Statements are made, e.g., from the Congress platform, concerning the need to treat farming in an equal manner, and in practice the direct opposite is done. The division in farming has increased--in whose interest is this? Private farmers can purchase colored televisions and other attractive items in exchange for slaughter animals, and PGR workers, who sell everything that they raise, are deprived of this. Socialized agriculture in the Olsztyn voivodship supplies more than 60 percent of the ration-card allotment of meat for the voivodship. The PGR's have been left with no defense. We have nothing to be ashamed of, but we should be judged fairly. We do not want to be conflict with the private economy: we have cooperated well with it--the results of procurement prove this. The employees of meat plants receive a meat allowance--from the hog that we fattened--and our workers must travel 15 km to town and stand in line for a kilogram of meat, purchased with rationing cards.

The speaker criticized the dearth of party information. He called for the party apparatus to extend itself locally, coming more often among work forces, into the POP, there to give assistance to party members in their political struggle.

Michal Zuk, first secretary of the PZPR KM [City Committee] in Ilawa, spoke on the interpretation of a point in the Fourth KC Plenum resolution concerning the self-determination of party members. The various interpretations of this problem indicate the need for an explanation on the part of the KC Politburo. He also spoke of the negative consequences of the uneven rationing of goods in various regions of the country, and even in cities and gminas. Referring to the GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA report entitled "Bunt wiezniow," he stated that the reporters could write the article in no other way, since authoritative information was refused them.

Lucyna Siemionek, representing the party organization in the CPN [Petroleum Products Center], stated that the effectiveness of PZPR actions depends primarily on activities within party ranks, because its strength derives from them. Much also depends on properly and rapidly arming comrades with information and arguments--a situation which still leaves much to be desired. Lucyna Siemionek likewise called attention to the drawbacks of supplying plants with meat for ration cards. Deliveries to stores, and then to plants, arrive late, at about the 14th hour, and by the time the package reaches the employee, the meat is no longer fresh. There was also a statement made that the prices of products and services should be regulated. It is impossible to agree that, for example, 3,500 zlotys should be asked for sewing a coat.

Michal Sawczuk, forestry inspector from Wichrowo, spoke of the difficult situation, indeed the state of disaster in the forest economy following the recent severe hurricane. Many trees which had been growing for 40, 60 and 100 years were uprooted. In the Wichrowo Forestry Inspectorate, which covers 26,000 hectares, there is approximately 200,000 cubic meters of wood to be obtained from the fallen trees. Otherwise it will go to waste. But there is a lack of equipment, motor fuel for the machinery

and people. Thus the help of the army, which is trained in this type of work, is urgently needed. There is no shortage of wood for fuel in the forests either. There is enough both to supply those people who want it and schools, hospitals and nurseries. But crews from without are needed to fell the wood, since the forestry inspectorate is not in a position to supply even its retirees with the use of its own forces. (Relative to this problem, Jan Laskowski, KW first secretary stated that the viovodship anti-crisis staff should deal with this problem.)

The most important party task, in the opinion of Stanislaw Wiatrowski, first secretary of the PZRP KMig [City and Gmina Committee] in Nidzica, is the building of social understanding. Every party organization should ask itself the question: What should be done to bring about understanding, to get out of the crisis and begin to work? We can no longer continue to turn in place. The mass media should also serve the building of understanding. The preparation for economic reform in terms of regulations, especially financial regulations, should likewise be accelerated.

Jan Szwed, farmer from the gmina of Bartoszyce, said that he deplored everthing which sets the village against the city. In this context he proposed that the tied-in sale of slaughter meat deliveries be limited to the means of production needed by farmers, clothing and work boots, and not include goods such as colored televisions which people employed in industry likewise need. The sometimes false reports of a bountiful harvest also stir up conflict between the city and village. These reports suggest that the peasant is hoarding his food and does not wish to give it over to the state. Meanwhile in the north, because of excessive rainfall, potatoes and grain harvests have not been productive. Many tubers have been stricken by blight and have rotted or are still rotting. Some wheat plantations have yielded 15 quintals, although to the eye it seems that 40 quintals will be poured out. Nor does the future seem rosy, since there is a shortage of spare parts for machinery (how is the plowing to be done?), mineral fertilizers (at one time 350 kg of NPK [nitrogen-phosphorous-potassium] was sown per hectare, and now about 100 kg is sown) and chemical means of plant protection.

Next Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member, secretary of the PZPR KC took the floor (a discussion of his address is included separately).

First secretary of the KW Jan Laskowski reacted to several of the remarks made during the discussion.

KW members elected the secretary of the Voivodship Committee for economic affairs. Elected to this position was Jan Malinowski, formerly first secretary of the KM in Ostroga, a greaduate of SGPiS [Main School of Planning and Statistics]. A second candidate was Zbigniew Wrzesinski, secretary of KU ART [College Committee of the Agricultural Technical Academy].

The recommendations made during the discussion are included in the resolution which was passed. This resolution was made by Krystyna Labacka in the name of the Recommendations Commission.

Biography of Jan Laskowski

Jan Laskowski was born in 1935 in Lipinki (Nowe Miasto County) into the family of a highway worker. He holds a master's degree in political economy. He has belonged to the party since 1954.

He began his socipolitical work in 1952, when he took on a position with the ZMP [Polish Youth Union] County Board in Ilawa. He then joined the Provincial Board of the same organization as deputy director of a department. After completing basic military service, he worked as senior officer in the Voivodship Enterprise for the Wholesale Food Trade in Olsztyn, after which he returned to his work with the youth movement, first in the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] Troop Command in Olsztyn and then as commander of the ZHP troop in Ilawa. After completing his studies in the Higher School of Social Sciences [SWNS] in Warsaw, he began his work in the party apparatus. Since 1965, for three successive terms he has been secretary in PZPR County Committees, first in Nowe Miasto and then in Ilawa.

In 1969 he became director of the Ilawa Auto Parts Plant (now IZNS) and has worked in this position until June of this year, until he was elected economic secretary in the PZPR KW in Olsztyn. Yesterday he was elected first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Olsztyn.

Address at Olsztyn by Kazimierz Barcikowski

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 10 Nov 81 p 2

[Report on Kazimierz Barcikowski's 9 November 1981 speech to Olsztyn Voivodship Party Plenum]

[Text] What has been said at the Olsztyn Plenum to a great extent has anticipated what I wish to say. Above all, I totally share the conviction of Comrade Wiatrowski that the crisis will last as long as we allow. For us here today the crisis is already a smokescreen behind which we may hide our idleness, our lack of organization and our declining activity.... There is no crisis in a country in which there are 36 million people who want to get out of the crisis and who have the will to emerge from it. Our misfortune, of course, is that not everyone has yet decided to act in favor of getting out of the crisis. But be that as it may, in our party there must be the consciousness that neither has Poland in the interim become poorer, nor has it been destroyed by a natural disaster. What it has already achieved once it can achieve again, but only if we decide all together to achieve it. And if we merely talk about crisis and stand idle, the crisis will continue and it will get worse. The causes of the crisis also lie within the sphere of mental, social and political life. If this is so, then others may not succeed, but our party has every chance of rebuilding its status and winning social trust. For our party is, should be and can be that constructive force which will lead in getting us out of the crisis. We are not the only political force in Poland today, but we have every opportunity to be the only constructively operative political force. For in opposition to us there stands negation, often disheartening and often undermining the party's position. Society is beginning to have enough of behavior which undermines everything that has been done until now--destructive behavior. Even that which seemed attractive and fascinating 1 month, 2 months or 5 months ago today appears in the form of longer and longer queues. For negation has not yet resolved anything nor has it fed anyone.

That is why it is so important that a current of positive action be developed in our party. It is important that we learn to talk to people in their own language, telling them how to get out of this distress we are in. It is essential that people simply want to want. In order for this to be so, we in the party need much resoluteness much determination. And comrades, let's stop waiting for the Politburo to hand

down a regulation on how party members are to go about the process of self-determination. In party activity, as in any kind of activity, the binding principle is that if someone wants to do something, he will look for a way, for methods in which to do it. On the other hand, someone who does nothing looks for an excuse. Of course, he will always find one. Some say that the mental effort required to find an excuse is no less than the effort to find a way to do it. It too requires the exertion of one's powers, but leads nowhere. Let us consider, then, how to do something.

Returning to the issue of self-determination, Comrade Barcikowski said: We must answer a very simple question, are we together with the party or are we against it, do we want to be in the party or do we want to leave it?

Referring to the Fourth PZPR KC Plenum resolution, Kazimierz Barcikowski stated that it cannot be considered in isolation from the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. The Fourth Plenum resolution is a stage in the concretization of what the congress established. To look at it in political categories and not only in terms of tasks, two fundamental lines of action are evident in it. The first is the struggle for the restoration of the operation of the law in Poland or, we may say, the struggle for law on the basis of the law. What this means is that the norms of social, public order begin to function, norms are binding and which have been shattered, trampled and have lost much in significance. By consistent action we must reach a stage in which none of us is outside the law, or above the law, or alongside the law. There is a second line--the line of political openness. It is represented by the proclamation to build a patriotic front of understanding, a front built out of the initiative of our party. What is important is that this front of patriotic understanding not remain an empty slogan or a slogan of the authorities. It is to be a slogan of our party reaching from the top to the very bottom. This is also why, from the viewpoint of our participation in the front of understanding, we should examine our own policy, our own behavior and work methods, having in mind the attainment of greater understanding for the party throughout society. We must learn to work politically, and not to lead the party to self-isolation, but to broaden its front of operation.

We must look at the meeting between Comrade Jaruzelski, primate Glemp and Solidarity chairman Walesa in light of this statement. Without entering into details and into the fact that various interests crossed at this meeting, it should be asserted that this meeting was both necessary and fruitful.

Undoubtedly, an important plane of understanding for all social forces in overcoming the economic crisis, steering the country in the direction of development and perceptibly improving living conditions. It is clear that in order to move economic matters we must move political matters. Today we are dealing with a dual blockade--the political situation paralyzing the economy and, in turn, economic paralysis deepening social dissatisfaction and creating tension. But in considering how to get out of the crisis, we must also see the real possibilities without creating a mirage of hopes which are impossible to attain even as they arise.

In speaking of our embarking upon economic reform, the KC secretary strongly emphasized pricing issues. The change in supply prices and in retail prices is one condition for improving the economic situation. Only then will money be something desirable, and market equilibrium something attainable. The farmers who spoke here were

quite correct in saying that production is declining because people are losing interest in having money. The zlotys have lost their power to mobilize people to work. One hears opinions that a monetary devaluation may cure the situation. It will not. There cannot be such a devaluation which would hit people hard. It would mean the total breakdown of confidence in money. For this reason, the only way out is to realize a pricing policy and not to change the monetary system. Contradictory slogans also appear which declare: reform yes, price changes no. They suggest that supposedly it is possible to undertake a reform without reforming prices. This is impossible. But while prices are unrealizable, we must look for such stop-gap measures as the tied-in sale for deliveries of slaughter animals to purchasing centers. Perhaps this solution is not a good one, but [text illegible] a still worse one--compulsory deliveries. Opinion must be founded on facts, and it is a fact after the introduction of the tied-in sale procurement increased.

Referring to the statement about the paralysis in intraparty information, Kazimierz Barcikowski stated that in Solidarity propaganda carries because it runs with the current, although it is fundamentally based on half-truths and quarter-truths. We cannot use such methods of information, since we feel a responsibility for our words. This is perhaps the reason why party information is treated as less reliable than that of Solidarity.

The KC secretary, continuing the topic of informing society, said that the workday begins with the morning news report at 7 o'clock and people find out little more later by taking advantage of special information sources. This fact alone proves that we must have more confidence in the mass media.

Kazimierz Barcikowski also reacted to the issue of the difficult conditions which the party has encountered in such situations as those in which one hears rumors that it is going to be expelled from a plant. Attacks on the party and campaigns against it will continue, he said, until we stand tall and respond to these attacks with mettle. The party was born of struggle and it must once again learn to defend itself successfully and to act successfully. At the same time, it must also change its style of operations, aiming at greater effectiveness, and it must lead the struggle against evil, excesses and swindles, which action society will certainly recognize.

In his address, Kazimierz Barcikowski also commented on several statements made during the discussion. Referring to the remarks made by Comrade Dragun, concerning the delay in supplying PGR work forces with meat, he stated that there is much truth in this, although it is somewhat exaggerated. He pointed out, however, that when the PGR's had their own pork butcher shops, excesses occurred. Hence the question, should these butcher shops be reopened in farm enterprises, will there not be a wave of excesses, would this not represent a temptation to people hitherto honest? In answer to Michal Zuk, who proposed the equalization of ration-card norms throughout the country, he stated that food rationing is certainly not a just system. However, we must count on the fact that there are better possibilities for additional supply in agricultural regions such as Olsztyn than in Lodz or Slask.

The KC secretary also made reference to the critical remaks made during the discussion on the subject of the report on the prisoner's revolt in Kaminsk published in Monday's GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA. I read this article carefully, he said, and

I do not wish to offend my comrade reporters, but there is in this article much self-pity over the journalist's fate. It is touching to read of the difficulties reporters had in trying to reach the truth--a truth they did not reach. I myself considered what I would do had I been in the position of the officer in charge of the operation. I would not have admitted the reporters. What happened in Kaminsk was only minutes from being a great tragedy. In taking responsibility for such an operation, one cannot also assume responsibility for the safety of reporters. But I also would have found a place in GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA to censure this revolt.

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ROLE OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES IN STRENGTHENING PEACE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 19, 5 Oct 81 pp 15-18

/Article by Ion Nicolae: "Role of Confidence-Building Measures in Consolidating Peace and International Security"/

/Text/ The concept of "confidence-building measures" as components of peace and world security is a relatively recent one in the theory and practice of international relations and is still in course of development. Although various efforts have been made on behalf of a climate of international confidence and stability in the last few decades in the course of bilateral and multilateral agreements in various areas of the world, measures to further confidence have been prepared and applied on the European continent for the first time on a regeional scale. Agreement upon such measures at the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe was prompted by the very serious military situation in that part of the world.

Europe is the most heavily armed continent in the world today, a veritable military arsenal most seriously endangering the fate of all peoples in that region. The statistics of some strategic research institutes show that 80 percent of the total funds allocated to military purposes in the world today are being spent by the states that signed the Final Act. Over 10,000 of the 12,000 strategic nuclear warheads in the world are concentrated in Europe, as well as thousands of rockets with strategic and tactical nuclear warheads, over 15,000 combat planes, over 45,000 tanks, over 8 million men under arms, and military bases (land, sea, air or mixed) on the territories of 17 continentul states. Moreover the most powerful military blocs, whose existence fosters an atmosphere of fear, discord and animosity, are also confronting each other in Europe.

In view of the grave danger threatened by the vast concentration of troops and weapons in this part of the world, it is quite natural for the military aspects of European security to have priority in the efforts to create a climate of international confidence, security and peaceful collaboration. Building security and developing cooperation in Europe call for definite measures for military disengagement and disarmament that will protect the states on this continent from any act of force or outside interference and provide them with favorable conditions for peaceful, independent development. To this end the states attending the General European Conference also agreed to take simpler, political measures that would help to incease confidence in international relations and to promote detente, good will and general collaboration.

After some lengthy negotiations at the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Document on Confidence-Building Measures and Certain Aspects of Security and Disarmament was approved whereby some measures to increase confidence on the European continent were accepted. (1) The preamble to this document, in defining the complementary nature of the political and military aspects of security, points out the relationship between greater confidence among states and greater stability and security in Europe. In expressing the wish to eliminate the causes of tension, the document confirms the resolve of the states participating in the General European Conference to abstain from the threat or use of force against any state's territorial integrity or political independence in their mutual relations and in international relations in general. The preamble also stipulates that the states taking part in the conference recognize the necessity of helping to reduce "the risks of armed conflicts, misunderstandings or miscalculations concerning military activities... by providing clear and timely information..." The document includes such confidence-building measures as previous notice of extensive military maneuvers, previous notice of other military maneuvers, exchange of observers, etc.

At the special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament in May-June 1978 the representatives of the quasi-majority of states pointed out in their comments the significance of the measures for greater confidence among states and the necessity of adopting them on both the regional and global levels. The importance attached to these measures was reflected later in the opinion agreed upon in the Final Act (Paragraph 93) to the effect that "The commitment (of the states -- our note) to agree upon confidence-building measures could help significantly in creating conditions for further progress in disarmament" (2). The Final Act, approved by the special session, includes the following among the confidence-building measures: preventing accidental attacks due to miscalculations or communications failures, in areas of tension especially, by establishing "direct telephone lines" and other methods of reducing the risk of conflict; evaluation by states of the possible effects of military research and development upon the existing agreements and upon future efforts toward disarmament; and periodic reports presented in the UN General Assembly by the secretary general concerning the socioeconomic effects of the armaments race and its very harmful effects upon world security and peace.

Thanks to the increasing interest taken by the UN countries in the confidence-building measures, the 33rd Regular Session of the UN General Assembly approved a resolution (No 33/91 of 16 December 1978) at the West German delegation's suggestion that was coauthored by 19 other states in various regions, including Romania. This resolution requested the states to notify the UN secretary general of their opinions and experience concerning the confidence-building measures that they considered appropriate and feasible. In reply to the said resolution 3 0 states sent their answers to the UN secretary general stating their positions and experience concerning the confidence-building measures (3).

At the 34th Session of its General Assembly the world forum approved a new resolution (No 34/87 B of December 1979) wherein it was decided that a group of government experts (4), appointed by the UN secretary general on the basis of "an equitable geographic representation," would make a comprehensive study of the confidence-building measures. This document also pointed out that all the states should arrange for particular measures to strengthen confidence by taking the conditions and requirements peculiar to each geographic region into consideration. The study recommended in this resolution is to be presented at the current session of the UN General Assembly.

Confidence-building measures can be taken to mean those political acts or actions whereby a state or group of states, voluntarily or through a legal obligation bilaterally and (or) multilaterally or unilaterally assumed, demonstrates that its military, economic, political and other activities are not directed against other states but are intended to help build confidence and strengthen peace and international security.

The confidence-building measures are an integral part of the states' general efforts to strengthen peace and international security, since they are expected to help in allaying distrust and fear in international relations, in promoting opportunities for developing an extensive dialogue and for cooperation, in reducing the risks of starting armed conflicts because of misunderstandings or misinterpretations of the states' actions, in eliminating the sources of tension and conflict, and in creating favorable conditions for progress in disarmament. Moreover experience fully proves that the measures and actions taken by various states to check the armaments race, to intensify political, economic and cultural-scientific collaboration without barriers and discriminatory practices on the principles and standards of contemporary international law, and to settle the various existing disputes by peaceful means have a significant effectiveness in establishing confidence and in maintaining peace and international security.

The constant escalation of the armaments race and especially that of nuclear armaments is one of the main factors for distrust and instability in international relations today, it causes and maintains states of conflict in various areas of the world, and it jeopardizes the peace and security of all mankind. An extremely harmful phenomenon that keeps stimulating the growth of the states' military arsenals, the armaments race is also the material base of the policy of force and dictation, of partition and consolidation of spheres of influence, and of interference in other states' internal affairs. Against the background of constantly increasing armaments, the political climate in various areas is seriously affected by the military activities of some states or groups of states. The course of events demonstrates that the increased number of maneuvers and military exercises organized with large numbers of soldiers equipped with the most modern weapons in areas with many sensitive points creates strong feelings of apprehension, fear and suspicion among the states and peoples and ultimately results in further increases in armaments on the part of those who feel themselves threatened by such military actions. Because of the states of discord and the atmosphere of suspicion and distrust that it maintains in the world, the armaments race erodes the foundations of detente and seriously interferes with developing relations of international collaboration and basing those relations effectively upon the principles of international equity and justice.

The climate of confidence and collaboration among states is also undermined by many other factors. Distrust among states is intensively fostered in our times by the underdevelopment from which a large part of humanity still suffers, injustices in international economic relations, disregard of the new principles for relations among states, absence of political dialogue, etc. Furthermore some states have inherited a number of territorial litigations and disputes from prolonged imperialist and colonial rule. And new disagreements have been caused by differing opinions and interests in connection with the approach to problems of domestic or international evolution, by the contradictions among various states and groups of states that have been aggravated by the world economic crisis, and by the intensified effort to redivide and consolidate the spheres of influence. Therefore the confidence-building must be determined in the light of the nature of the problems, the factors causing distrust

among states, and the particular situation that obtains in a given region as well as in the world arena.

Depending on the contemporary international situation, the confidence-building measures may be general or specific, temporary or permanent, and unilateral, bilateral or multilateral, and they may be of a military, political, economic, legal or other nature. Regional efforts to prepare and apply these measures are to be specially emphasized. Of course it would be a mistake to "transplant" this kind of measures automatically to other regions. To be sure European experience in this field has already proved its usefulness, and it could serve as a source of inspiration for other areas of the world as well. But it is essential for measures of European origin to be adopted in the light of the particular requirements in the respective area and especially of the interests of the respective states and their wish to take such measures.

The extent to which confidence-building measures help to check the armaments race and to create a favorable climate for adopting specific measures for disarmament, and especially for nuclear disarmament, is decisive in promoting any effective confidence-building measures. Clearly such measures can never replace practical, specific disarmament measures or offer any real, viable alternative to actual and authentic disarmament. What is more, sole concentration on the role of those measures and approaching and applying them as ends in themselves may distract attention from the disarmament efforts and divert them to side issues, depriving the disarmament strategy itself of effectiveness and perspective. Despite the major contribution they can make to detente and greater confidence, such measures alone cannot accomplish the ultimate purpose of creating a world without arms and without wars. In the last analysis only practical, effective actions and measures for stopping the armaments race and for military disengagement and disarmament can contribute most effectively to creation of a climate of strong and lasting confidence favoring resumption and continuation of of detente and international collaboration.

Accordingly there is a close, dialectical tie between confidence-building measures and those for military disengagement and disarmament, and both are interdependent. This situation makes it necessary for the confidence-building measures to conform to an overall strategy that will ultimately lead to general and complete disarmament, the vital aim of the whole international community. Naturally a narrow view of the confidence-building measures could be harmful because it would limit the ways of disarming and, in general, the possibilities of determining the factors that could help effectively in establishing a climate of peace, detente, and international good will and security in all quarters of the globe.

As an integral part of the general disarmament effort, the process of determining and applying confidence-building measures must be guided by clear and well-defined principles in full accord with the requirements and distinctive nature of this kind of measures. Confidence building cannot logically be separated from the states' general behavior. Therefore the whole process of preparing and applying these measures must be governed by the principles included in the UN Charter, by other unanimously accepted standards of international law, and by the principles entered in the Final Act approved by the First Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament (1978).

Clearly commission by a state of acts incompatible with all these principles and norms as well as promotion of the policy of force, domination and interference in

other states' internal affairs and of redivision of the world into spheres of influence are reprehensible acts that undermine detente and the peace and security of all peoples. On the other hand, only strict observance of the principles of justice and international legality can actually strengthen confidence among states and contribute effectively to development and diversification of international relations or to preservation and consolidation of peace. The course of events is making it increasingly clear that confidence, peace and international security essentially depend upon all states' consistent observance of the principles of national sovereignty and independence, equality of rights and mutual benefit, noninterference in internal affairs, abstention from force and the threat of force, and every people's right to free and unrestricted self-determination.

Alongside these general principles applicable to all disarmament measures, perhaps some particular requirements or rules of conduct should be set for confidence-building measures. For example, the initiative in adopting these measures must be taken by the states in the respective area (Of course such an initiative may also come from the United Nations or a regional organization). But fully equal participation of all states in an area in preparation of confidence-building measures is essential to provide for, while participation of other states with security interests in the respective area should be decided by the states in the region.

In the present-day world undergoing extensive and radical changes and revolutionary reforms under the impact of all peoples' will to live in freedom and independence, it is inconceivable for any states or groups of states, whatever their military or economic power, to impose their views in the process of adopting and applying confidence-building measures. The view of some experts and representatives of some states that those measures are to be approached in connection with the relations among the great powers, between East and West, or between the political-military alliances is incompatible with the real interests of the peoples' peace and security. A climate of confidence, good will and collaboration does not require an "elitist" or "bloc-to-bloc" participation but the active involvement of all states on the principle of full equality of rights. In the last analysis the effectiveness and influence of confidence-building measures depend upon how far they are the common work of, and comprise the efforts and interests of, all the states and peoples regardless of their social system, size or economic and military capacity.

Other requirements would also have to be considered in adopting the confidence-building measures, such as the right of the states in the same region to determine the type and character of those measures; guaranteeing all states in the respective region equal security by establishing a military balance at lower and lower levels; observance by states in other areas of the measures agreed upon by the states or groups of states in a given region, requiring that the measures agreed upon in one area do not conflict with the peace and security interests of the states in other areas; the process of determining and implementing the confidence-building measures should be an integral part of the states' general efforts toward general and complete disarmament, etc.

Constant observance of each of these requirements and all of them together may be the real and lasting guarantee of a climate of confidence, good neighbors, peace and international security.

On the basis of the Romanian people's interests and the responsibility for the fate of the peace and security of all European peoples and mankind as a whole, Romania

made a sustained effort at the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe and made a significant contribution to the preparation of the confidence-building measures and the other provisions of the Final Act.

Romania regards the confidence-building measures as part of a strategy for the ultimate purpose of general disarmament, and especially nuclear disarmament, considering that kind of measures as a first step that absolutely must be supported and especially reinforced by real measures for military disengagement and disarmament. At the 12th RCP Congress Nicolae Ceausescu referred to the fact that disarmament is a complex and lengthy process and pointed out that "It would be particularly important to start some partial measures such as elimination of the foreign military bases, withdrawal of all troops and armaments within the national borders, gradual reduction of national armies, and dismantling of the military blocs. Such measures would strengthen confidence among states and permit transition to general and total disarmament."

As a European state Romania feels the confidence-building measures in the documents approved in Helsinki should be expanded and intensified so that their implementation will result in more confidence and stability on the continent and favor transition to firm measures for military disengagement and disarmament. Meanwhile the Romanian considers it necessary to broaden and improve the concept of these measures in the light not only of the military factor but also of other problems (economic, political, social etc.) whose favorable solution would help to develop relations of confidence and collaboration among all states on the continent.

To be sure the measures accepted in the Finnish capital in 1975 were the European states' first experience in this field, and though their application has not produced the expected results they were nevertheless a foreward step in the efforts to build security and cooperation in Europe. The serious situation still existing on our continent, aggravated even further by NATO's plans to install new nuclear rockets on the territories of some western countries and the American administration's decision to produce and stockpile the neutron bomb and to increase military expenditures, demands the immediate adoption of confidence-building measures of a more binding nature as well as effective measures for military disengagement and disarmament.

Romania presented its ideas on this subject in the reply to the UN secretary general concerning Romania's experience and proposals in connection with the confidence-building measures (UN Document a/34/416, pp 38-42).

That document points out that these measures can be adopted on both the regional and international levels. The confidence-building measures that Romania envisages on a worldwide scale may include starting negotiations to conclude and ratify an international treaty to renounce use of force in relations among states; concluding agreements whereby the states with nuclear weapons pledge that they will not resort in any way, pretext or circumstance to use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against the states without them and that they will abstain from producing, procuring or installing nuclear weapons on their territories; concluding an international agreement whereby the states assume the obligation to settle any difference or dispute solely by peaceful means; and freezing the military budgets and later gradually reducing them.

On the regional level, including the European one, Romania recommends a series of confidence-building measures including: freezing the expenditures, numbers of troops and armaments in order to gradually reduce them; commitment of the states to refrain from stationing new troops and armaments on the territories of other states, to

reduce gradually and withdraw all foreign troops within national borders, and to dismantle the military bases and especially the nuclear bases on the territories of other states; determination by two military alliances of a zone wherein foreign troops and armaments will not be stationed, military maneuvers or shows of force will not be organized, and there will be only limited numbers of troops, belonging to the countries on whose territories the respective zone is determined; continuing reduction of the activities of military blocs, commitment of the member states not to admit new members, and creation of conditions for simultaneous elimination of the blocs; guarantees by the nuclear states that they will not use such weapons against states without them that have assumed the obligation not to produce or procure them; reduction and cessation of military maneuvers and, in general, any show of force near the national borders of other countries; notice of troop movementsas well as sea and air maneuvers; demarcation in various parts of Europe of zones free of nuclear weapons and zones of good will and peaceful cooperation; and conclusion of a general European treaty requiring all states signatory to the Final Act to renounce the use or threat of force and not to be the first to use nuclear or conventional weapons against other states.

The proposals and suggestions the Romanian government submitted to the UN secretary general concerning the confidence-building measures are very binding and are based on the necessity of determining measures whose application can establish a lasting climate of confidence among states, detente, peace and security for all peoples.

Romania is keenly interested in the establishment of an atmosphere of, confidence, widespread collaboration, security and peace In Europe allowing the peoples to concentrate their forces and creative capacities on their socioeconomic development and to collaborate with the other nations of the world on progress, prosperity and civilization. Accordingly Romania very firmly advocated real measures for military disengagement and disarmament at the general European meeting in Madrid as a first requirement for building security and cooperation on our continent.

In connection with implementing such measures, it would be vitally important to agree that the balance of military power is not to be secured by new quotas of armaments but by increasing reductions of the military arsenals. Of course disarmament cannot be accomplished by any one country nor, in any case, by the small and medium countries first. It must be begun by the big, heavily armed countries with nuclear weapons.

The problems of military disengagement and disarmament should be the subject of a general European conference on strengthening confidence and disarmament as an integral part of the process begun in Helsinki, since the Final Act is a single and indivisible document from which no part or subject can be detached. The conference cannot be regarded as an end in itself but as a framework for mobilizing the political will of the participating states that committed themselves in the Helsinki documents to adopt effective measures of a scope and nature to constitute steps toward the ultimate goal of general and total disarmament under a strict and effective international control.

Romania made specific proposals at the Madrid meeting concerning the confidence-building measures, recommending expansion and intensification of the actions specified in the Final Act. Confirming its constant interest in reducing the risk of military confrontation on the continent, Romanian made the following proposals in addition to the

measures in the documents approved in Helsinki: cessation of multinational maneuvers near other states' borders, in order to help eliminate any source of unrest and to reduce the risk of armed conflict; cessation of increased military budgets pending an agreement to reduce them; cessation of installation of new military bases, and especially nuclear weapons, and disposition of new troops on the territories of other states in Europe; notice of extensive troop movements on the territories of European states (Notice will include information on the purpose of the movement, the category of the armed forces involved, numbers of troops, armaments and combat equipment, area of disposition, route of the movement and the transport means, the period of implementing the movement, and any other useful information); notice of air and ship maneuvers, separate or combined, performed in Europe and in the maritime area or in the airspace pertaining to Europe (Notice will include information similar to that specified in the Final Act for advance notice of extensive military maneuvers). Of course these proposals of Romania's as well as those of other states at the Madrid meeting are to be discussed at the Conference on Strengthening Confidence and Disarmament.

Achievement of security in Europe and the transformation of our continent into a zone of peace, good will and cooperation among peoples are vital aims of socialist Romania's foreign policy. For our party and state and the entire Romanian people , security, cooperation, detente and peace are no abstract ideas but indispensable conditions for Romania's all-around progress. Therefore Romania and its president Nicolae Ceausescu are taking very firm action to develop internatioal collaboration and to bring about general disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament. To this end Romania firmly advocates stopping installation of new medium-range nuclear rockets in Europe and beginning the elimination and destruction of the existing ones, as well as stopping neutron bomb production, and opposes its location on the European continent. In this spirit Romania acted in Madrid and will continue to militate for implementation of all the decisions accepted by the states attending the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, so that along with all the European peoples it will also make an active contribution in the future to preservation and enrichment of the legacy of the civilization created by the nations of Europe and all mankind and to defense and consolidation of peace on our continent and in the world.

1. "Document on Confidence-Building Measures and Certain Aspects of Security and Disarmament," (CSCF/II/C.1/102).

2. UN Document: NS-10/4, p 10.

3. "Report to the Secretary General on Confidence-Building Measures" (A/34/416).

4. The group of experts is composed of representatives of 14 states: Austria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Finland, Ghana, the FRG, Japan, Peru, Romania, Thailand, the USSR, the United States and Zaire.

5186
CSO: 2700/94

LUMEA URGES UNITY AND ORDER IN POLAND

AU171058 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0955 GMT 17 Dec 81

["Weekly LUMEA on Measures for Normalization of Situation in Poland"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Dec (AGERPRES)--In an article presenting the measures taken in Poland for bringing the situation back to normal and the establishment of order and discipline, the Romanian foreign policy weekly LUMEA writes among other things on 17 December:

On assessing the situation in Poland, the RCP and Romanian State repeatedly presented their position, clearly stressing that they do not wish to interfere in that country's affairs, that the grave and complex problems there can and must be solved by the Polish people themselves. In this sense, as sincere friends and allies to the Polish people, in the spirit of the traditional relations of friendship and solidarity between our parties, peoples and countries, the working class in Romania, the entire Romanian people express their hope that the recently taken measures will contribute to instating a climate of order, quiet and creative work, for the normalization of the situation, that should allow for the settlement by the Polish party and state, by the Polish people themselves, of the problems and difficulties encountered by the country.

The Romanian people are convinced that the Polish working people themselves, by rallying their energies, forces, working in the spirit of loftiest responsibility for the homeland's destinies, for the supreme interests of the nation can further successfully the grand work begun three-and-a half decades ago--the work of building a strong socialist Poland, holding her due place in the ranks of the socialist states, of all nations of the world. By strengthening the active participation of the (workers) class, of the people in governing the society, in defending and developing the socialist property, in developing the productive forces and improving the societal organization, the new social relations, under the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party, the unity of the whole people will stronger and stronger, the advanced social forces to Poland will triumph, the country's economic strength will grow, and its national independence and sovereignty will be strengthened.

CSO: 2020/16

HEALTH OFFICIAL URGES WISE USE OF HOSPITAL FACILITIES

Bucharest MUNCITORUL SANITAR in Romanian 10 Oct 81 pp 1, 6

/Article by Dr Radu Ozun, director of the Directorate of Medical Care in the Ministry of Health: "Let Us Increase the Responsibility for the Aid in Hospitals"/

/Text/ The health units meant for outpatient medical aid are composed of 5,400 medical dispensaries (territorial, school and enterprise) and over 400 polyclinic dispensaries. At the same time, a large number of modern hospitals commissioned in the years of socialist construction, and especially in the last decade, are in operation. The approximately 210,000 beds for medical care existing in these institutions provide a service of nearly 10 beds per 1,000 inhabitants, with our country being, from this viewpoint, among the countries with good coverage of the material base for hospitalization. The medical aid is provided free to the whole population, and it goes without saying that the advantages are unlimited for all citizens of the country.

Therefore, we have everything that we need for handling the necessary cases in the hospital. But whom do we admit?

According to the regulations in force, treatment in the hospital is provided mainly for communicable diseases, for medical, surgical and obstetrical emergencies or for chronic illnesses that require treatments or examinations only under hospital conditions. The admissions to the county hospitals, the university clinics or other specialized health units that have complex and special conditions for treatment must be done discriminatingly and only for the cases that require this.

The wide possibilities that specialized and general-medicine outpatient medical aid offers require greater exactingness, in such a way that the recommendation of admission may be preceded by exploration and as exact knowledge as possible of the case, by evaluation of the outpatient treatments applied and by full responsibility regarding the later progress of the patient.

It should be mentioned that these rules are applied properly in the majority of the specialized departments. The decisions on admission are made by specialists who, in their activity, collaborate continually with the general practitioners in the territorial or enterprise dispensaries. The patients receive medical care both through the units that provide medical aid at the workplace and through the residential health units, with the medical care and supervision of the patient being done by a dispensary, a polyclinic dispensary and a hospital, with the principle of territorialization being the basis. In the cases when the hospital to which the patient

belongs does not have conditions provided or competence for giving the necessary medical care, the specialized physicians, on the basis of the responsibilities and duties that they have, must refer the patients to other specialized health units that--through their equipment and staff--have the possibility of providing the treatments necessitated by the condition of the person in question.

Although, through the provisions of the law, these rights are given to each citizen and, in the large majority of cases, they are fully respected in all the health units, from letters and audiences and from findings in the field it follows that some of these regulations are not known or are not properly applied.

This is why we have the obligation to bring into discussion the situations of the many citizens who appeal to the Ministry of Health for the resolution of situations that normally should be resolved by the territorial health units, the hospitals and the county health directorates. Most of the complaints and notifications refer to the difficulties that some citizens encounter in the granting of medical aid at the workplace or the residence. There are also some deficiencies in the population's accessibility to the specialized officies and sections, in the providing of high-quality medical services. Much of the dissatisfaction mentioned is based on irregularities in the health units, which do not apply precisely the standards set with regard to the circuit of the patient, and especially the prompt granting of specialized consultations, admission to the hospital, and referral--when the situations require it--to the competent units.

This year, a large number of letters or persons in audiences have come to the Ministry of Health for various problems, especially health problems. Many of them, referred correctly for medical aid to hospitals, institutes or medical centers, nevertheless encountered difficulties, being "directed" to obtain "approvals" at the Ministry of Health. Such situations—if this is to be "divulged"--are found in some hospitals in the capital and in many county centers, there appearing, in these cases, a lack of concern and, in the final analysis, a denial of medical aid. It is a question of those who come with a referral slip and for whom there exists the obligation of all the health personnel, through the effect of the law, to give them medical aid, that is, for them to be consulted and, if necessary, admitted. Such states of affairs in the granting of consultations and analyses, the scheduling of admissions or the performance of treatments are more frequent in the counties of Prahova, Brasov, Galati, Ialomita, Giurgiu, Teleorman, Mehedinti, Braila, Buzau and so on.

There are also situations when, disregarding the real possibilities of territorial hospitals or overestimating their professional ability, some physicians postpone, in a manner forbidden at the very least, the prompt referral of the special cases to the county hospitals or other specialized hospitals (clinics, medical centers, institutes). This is why, with good reason, these patients appeal to the Ministry of Health to solve, naturally, their health problems. There have also been some cases when patients with a haggard general condition, feverish or with a pronounced functional disability have come to the Ministry of Health for admission, this being because they did not find the necessary concern in the respective area. These situations--few, it is true--show not only the lack of understanding on the part of some specialists but also negligence in not taking all the legal steps for the proper functioning of the health units.

Undoubtedly, these aspects can lead to phenomena of bureaucracy in medical aid and generate dissatisfaction, delays and, eventually, absences from productive activity.

Moreover, from the opinion surveys made among the patients who appear for an audience at the Ministry of Health, one finds that the shuffling of them is due to the lack of understanding and concern and the failure of some physicians to fulfill the obligations that devolve upon them, as well as of some personnel in the management of the polyclinics and hospitals and even of some health directorates.

Of course, these situations do not characterize the good organization and the quality of the medical aid in our country. However, the indicated deficiencies must be speedily eliminated. The observance of the rules that involve the circuit of the patient and the growth of promptness and of moral and professional responsibility, regardless of position, will provide for the resolution of all cases in a high spirit of understanding and concern, a spirit that characterizes our socialist medicine. It is thus necessary for the health directorates, the managements of the hospitals and polyclinics, and all personnel who participate in the medical-aid process, to follow the regulations precisely and to given the necessary importance and attention to the proper performance of medical aid on all levels of the health network.

And yet, for example, in the capital there are many health units with very good personnel and with special skills, where the patients of the respective types also get special care. However, this situation leads to congestion with some cases that can be handled on a county level. Such units in great demand are the Fundeni Clinical Hospital, the Medical Center for Phonoaudiology and Functional Surgery at the ORL /Otorhinolaryngology Institute/, the Emergency Clinical Hospital, the Giulesti Hospital and so on. This is precisely why the judgment of those who refer the patients to health units, especially the university centers, must be present in each particular case and, at the same time, they must take steps to create conditions needed for handling these cases in accordance with, of course, the competences established.

The health directorates are asked to take all due steps so that all the dispensaries, polyclinics and hospitals may utilize to the utmost and with greater efficiency their full capacity for action to resolve the whole casuistics that enters into their professional competence. Within the framework of the continual development of outpatient aid, a greater and greater accent must be put on the expansion and qualitative growth of the services at the level of the dispensaries and the specialized offices in polyclinics. In this context, it is also necessary to correctly utilize the material base that the first-aid stations possess, in the interest of increasing the efficiency and promptness of the medical aid in the area. It is necessary to evaluate systematically the activities within the first-aid stations, the way in which they promptly handle the problem cases and the immediate referral of them to the sections with beds and, when the circumstances require it, even to specialized medical centers, institutes and clinics, with the absolutely necessary medical documents.

In the cases in which the patients require admission and--to provide promptness--the elimination of postponements and delays, there is the obligation to direct the patient to the unit with beds with a referral slip. The circuit of the patient at the level of the various echelons and stages of medical aid enters into the competence of the specialized physicians, who have the obligation to take the steps that are required in each particular case, complying with the hierarchical stages established by means of the regulations in force--with the exception of emergencies, of course.

We make the specification that when it is felt that the chronic patients must be referred to medical clinics, centers and institutes, the contact with these units

regarding admission will be made in advance. The specialists in the units with beds that receive the patients for admission have the obligation to examine them as thoroughly as possible and, whenever necessary, to secure their admission. When the patient's condition does not absolutely justify hospitalization, the physicians will establish the outpatient treatment to be followed, with the obligation of giving the patient the necessary instructions. The health directorates must take steps, through the existing means, to inform the population about all the rights and obligations that it has in connection with the granting of medical aid, consultations and admissions to hospitals, such as the situations when they should call an ambulance, the conditions when the medical certificates are issued, and so on.

It should also be specified that in certain situations and in relation to the condition and requirements of the patients, it is recommended that the physician take the options into account as much as possible, especially with regard to the referral for admission to certain units in a position to handle the cases in an optimal fashion.

In all the above-mentioned situations, the approval of the Ministry of Health is not necessary, even if the health unit to which the patient is directed (with a referral slip) is located in another area of the same locality, in other localities in the county, or in another county, regardless of whether the unit that is to receive the patient is subordinate to the people's councils, the Ministry of Health or the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications. It is important to remember that the decision on admission belongs to the section chief, the only one who is in a position to judge the advisability of admission and to be responsible for his medical decisions. In connection with all these aspects pointed out, clear specifications have been made to all the health directorates, institutes and medical centers by means of Ministry of Health Circular No VI/C3/1,086 of 28 August of this year. It is thus necessary for these provisions to be applied precisely.

12105
CSO: 2700/113

BRIEFS

DATCU ADDRESSES MADRID CSCE CONFERENCE--Madrid, 16 Dec (AGERPRES)--Ambassador Ion Datcu, head of the Romanian delegation to the all-European conference in Madrid hailed in his address in the plenary meeting of 16 December the fact that the participants in the conference have a draft final document advanced by the neutral and non-aligned countries able to substantially contribute to the success of the efforts made so far by all the delegations participating in the conference. This draft document of the neutral and non-aligned countries reflects the positions on principle and the initiatives Romania has tabled during the all-European conference, that is the strict observance and application of the principles of the Final Act, the non-recourse to the use and threat of force in interstate relations in the first place, the conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe, the ensurance of the continuation of the process initiated in Helsinki, cooperation in the fields of industry, agriculture, science and technology, the development of contracts on youth line. The Romanian representative stressed the particular importance Romania attaches to the successful conclusion of the Madrid conference with results up to the European people's expectations. The Madrid Conference, the speaker said, can and must contribute to a better understanding among the participating states, can and must facilitate the efforts towards strengthening confidence and achieving disarmament, nuclear disarmament first of all, on our continent. Romania is of the opinion that the adoption at Madrid of the decision concerning the convening of a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe as an integral part of the CSCE process acquires a particular importance. At the same time, she is fully convinced of the necessity of ensuring the continuity of the process initiated in Helsinki in order to find concrete solutions to all the questions related to European security and cooperation, Ambassador Ion Datcu stressed. [Text] [AU162122 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 16 Dec 81]

DEATH OF PARAGUAYAN CP LEADER--Bucharest, 12 Dec (AGERPRES)--The Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Paraguay a telegram that reads: We were sad to learn the news of the death of Comrade Obdulio Barthe, the president of the Communist Party of Paraguay, an outstanding militant of the communist movement in Paraguay. We address you our sincere condolences and our profound compassion to the mourning family. [Text] [AU121948 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1854 GMT 12 Dec 81]

TANZANIAN PARTY OFFICIAL RECEIVED--Bucharest, 14 Dec (AGERPRES)--On 14 December, Marin Enache, secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, chairman of the Central Committee of workers' control of the economic and social activity, received

by the delegation of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, led by M. G. Baruti, member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of that party, that swapped experience in Romania at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. The two sides expressed their wish to further develop and deepen the good relations established between the Romanian Communist Party and the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania in the spirit of mutual esteem and respect, of the talks conducted and understandings coveted between the leaders of the two parties and states, Nicolae Ceausescu and Julius Nyerere, considering that this serves the friendship between the Romanian and the Tanzanian peoples, the cause of peace, security and progress in the world, collaboration among nations. [Text] [AU142030 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 14 Dec 81]

BURTICA RECEIVES HOYTE VICE PRESIDENT--Bucharest, 10 Dec (AGERPRES)--On 10 December, Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister, minister of foreign trand and international economic cooperation, had an interview with Hugh Desmond Hoyte, vice president of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana co-ordinator of the economic activity, planning and finances, who visits Romania at head of a delegation. On the occasion there have been tackled aspects regarding the stage attained by the economic relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, as well as the perspectives of the further development of trade exchanges and of the bilateral co-operation in domains of mutual interest. The same day proceedings were opened, in Bucharest, of the first session of the Romania-Guyana joint commission. The Guyana guest and the members of the delegation also conducted talks these days, with Ioan Avram, minister of the machine building industry, Petre Gigea, minister of finance, Ion Florea, minister of timber and building materials, Gheorghe Vlad, minister of oil and Gheorghe Fulea, deputy minister of mining. [Text] [AU102012 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 10 Dec 81]

BUCHAREST ART EXHIBITION--"Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu and other comrades of the party-state leadership, this morning visited the national exhibition of the laureates of the 'Song to Romania' national festival which has been organized at the art museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania." This exhibition depicts our people's creative energy and spirit as expressed in plastic and folklore art. [Summary] [AU161130 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 16 Dec 81]

PDRY AMBASSADOR--On 8 December, Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei received Muhammad Haydarah Masdus, new PDRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Socialist Republic of Romania in connection with his forthcoming accreditation. [Text] [AU131742 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Dec 81 p 5]

CSO: 2700/126

PROBLEMS OF YOUTH PRESS, ATTITUDES DISCUSSED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Dec 81 p 11

/Article by Seada Hodzic: "Peace and Unrest"/

/Text/ The situation regarding the youth press in Croatia has been relatively peaceful for almost a year now, in fact since the replacement of the editorial board of "Polet." There have not been any major "blunders" or excesses, which indicates to some people that the youth newspapers have finally found their place in society, that they are no longer an "incident," and that they have "become part of" the desires and efforts of both society and the younger generation. For others, who viewed the various excesses that the youth newspapers caused or unconsciously fell into in recent years favorably and even protectively, this is proof of a serious crisis in the youth press. For them, this indicates that opportunism and possibly even a fear of sanctions have crept into the editorial boards, and that they have adopted a policy of avoiding criticism and subordinated themselves to the will of youth leaderships and others. Naturally, conclusions are immediately drawn from this that the youth newspapers do not interest the younger generation, and that they have practically betrayed its desires and interests.

The Search for a "Formula"

It seems, however, that neither group is correct. The very fact that the youth newspapers have not been "stirring up a fuss" recently at least proves that they have found themsleves. We would likewise not agree that this is a sign of bureaucratization, apathy and opportunism on the part of the editorial boards, which are supposedly subjected every day to powerful pressure from the forums. It seems to us that it is more a question of an attempt to find a place for the youth press in the news system, especially news for young people, the search for a "formula" that will really make the youth newspapers into militant and responsible organs. Confirmation of this can be found in the youth organs themselves and in the numerous discussions of the role and problems of the youth press. The frequency of discussions of this topic in the youth organization, the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance is encouraging, because of the obvious efforts to help the youth press, with which no one is satisfied, not even the members of the youth organizations.

One of these discussions was arranged a few days ago by the news commissions of the Croatian LC Municipal Conference and the Presidency of the Zagreb SSOH Municipal

journalists, the present and former editors of "Polet" and "Studentski list," twenty journalists from communal and school papers and some from other public organs were invited. This was an interesting "round table," diverse not only in its composition but in its approach as well, and it was above all useful as proof that this topic must be discussed.

None of the participants disputed the fact that the Croatian youth press, which has a long and honorable tradition, made significant progress for years, and that it reached a large number of young people and became more interesting in its means of expression and its appearance. In any case, generations of journalists and editors of youth newspapers have made a great contribution to its recognition both among young people and in society in general. There have nevertheless been many reasons for criticism, as is still the case today, and many reasons for dissatisfaction with what it has offered and is offering, especially to young people.

The truth is, it is another question whether its errors have been pointed out to it in time or whether it has been left to drown in its own mistakes. The question is whether the temporary closings of individual publications, the replacement of editorial boards, and interventions by the public prosecutor have really been effective, or whether they have often come back like a boomerang. We are not even certain that it was necessary to react nervously, let us say, to the picture of the naked goalie in "Polet" with the inappropriate nickname "VIP," as an annoying "joke," without seeing the far more serious errors of a "conceptual nature" which cannot be overcome by restrictive measures, but only by consultation and discussion.

Anger Without Concern

Many people have been seriously angered, let us say, by the fact that the youth organs are stirring up a fuss by calling individuals in their leaderships bureaucrats and careerists, but few people have been concerned over the fact that for years some of them, guided by petty bourgeois logic, have fostered values that would have to be foreign to a self-managing socialist society. The disagreements have been caused by supposed radicalism, demagogic leftism and rarely has anyone been concerned over the fact that the youth newspapers are joking about the real problems of youth, about employment, let us say, about rewarding people according to their work, housing problems and about the attempts by some circles to instill a nationalist ideology among young people.

The youth organs have not even expressed a position in reaction to the increasingly more aggressive attempts by certain church circles to educate young people in a clerical-nationalist spirit. To tell the truth, there have been isolated attempts, but more often than not they have turned out ingloriously, like "Studentski list" a few years ago, when it aimed the edge of its pen crookedly and practically offended the feelings of believers, but gave the real culprits a pretext for a political demonstration.

It is incomprehensible that the language of some youth newspapers, "enriched" by swear words, can be more annoying than a phrase, but it is difficult to accept that this is a more serious problem than "fostering" the consciousness of an idle life, or suggesting to "papa's" and "mama's" sons and daughters that one can be idle without working. It is not clear to us how the derision of a "reformer" can be more irriating than the fact that the youth press has not explained the meaning and goals of the reform in education and instruction, or fought for it, but has even criticized some of the reform decisions and measures.

In short, it would be difficult for us to agree that the "incidents" and "execesses" are the key problem of the youth press, as long as it remains on the periphery of real youth and social problems. To that extent we can understand the words of Ratko Karabatkovic, a "Polet" journalist, about the disappointment experienced by many youth journalists and even their personal difficulties when they have been affected by the restrictions.

In such a situation, it is certainly too much to expect the youth organs to bear a burden that is obviously still too heavy for the SSO. At any rate, the positive examples of youth organs in several local and work organizations prove most clearly the assertion that the state of affairs in the SSO is also reflected in the youth press. As a rule, a successful "conceptual formula" is backed up by the substantive and successful work of a given youth organization. The high quality of these youth organs has originated first of all in their organic connection with the work, life and problems of the organization.

"Strong" and "Weak"

To tell the truth, even such successful newspapers are not without their problems and even annoyances, as is illustrated by the case of the Zagreb young workers' newspaper KROMOS. The "sponsors" of this newspaper cut back its funds after it dared to cross the Rubicon by "nicknaming the VIPs" in the collective after they violated a self-managing agreement on association, and "lecturing" the party organization because it was not implementing the conclusions of the meetings and conferences that had been held in order to overcome the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the collective. In fact, the causes were deeper, and KROMOS should not have expected to be able to resolve them just by caricaturing a few individuals, but caricaturing VIPs still should not be a reason for cutting back a newspaper's funds.

Even the appearance of illegal youth newspapers in some Zagreb schools is more a proof of the disagreement of young people with the attitude toward them than a confirmation of disobedience and wantonness, because the organs, the work of the students themselves, are in fact illegal for the school directors and the teachers' councils. They are not illegal for the school youth organizations, which are even offering them assistance.

Through the above-mentioned examples, the participants in the round table in Zagreb attempted to issue a warning about the fact that the social climate, no matter how much someone has urged the opposite, does not always help the youth press or even the youth, about whom the other "serious" organs, as a rule, write rarely and incompletely.

9909
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END

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26 January 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1966

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26 January 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1966

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GDR CALLS FOR 'SOCIALIST FAMILY' CONCILIATION WITH ALBANIA

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 170, 20 Nov 81 p 1

/Report from Berlin: "GDR for Closer Cooperation with Albania." A translation of the East Berlin HORIZONT article cited below follows this commentary/

/Text/ The East Berlin foreign affairs weekly HORIZONT (No 47, 1981) calls for Albania's reconciliation with the Moscow loyalists among the socialist countries. The resumption of equally and mutually beneficial cooperation between Albania and the "socialist family of nations" would, in the view of the GDR paper, "respond to the long-range interests of the Albanian people as well as to the cause of peace and socialism."

GDR Journal's Commentary

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 14 No 47, 1981 (signed to press 16 Nov 81) p 10/

/Article by Juergen Mertens: "Albania: Forty Years of Workers Party"/

/Text/ The Eighth Congress of Albania's Party of Labor met from 1-7 November last in Tirana, the Albanian capital. This congress coincided with the 40th anniversary of the party's establishment, the inevitable result of a long and difficult struggle by the Albanian people for national and social liberation.

The Great October Socialist Revolution had exercised a notable influence on the Albanian workers movement. The struggle of the Albanian people for national indeoendence and the territorial integrity of the country received a strong impetus from the annulment of secret imperialist treaties (designed further to partition Albania) by the workers and farmers government in Soviet Russia.

The revolutionary fervor in the world generally gained strength after the victorious October Revolution in Russia. One of its elements was the Albanian revolution of June 1924, which featured antifeudalism and anti-imperialism. Once it was suppressed, the Zogu regime took power and tried by terror and force to stifle the revolutionary movement in Albania. However, reaction was unable to break the fighting spirit of Albanian patriots.

In 1929 a communist group arose in Korce, the first political organization of the Albanian working class. In the following years communist organizations sprang up in Tirana, Shkoder, Fier, Vlore, Elbasan and Gjirokaster.

In 1939 Albania was occupied by the Italian fascists. At that time the communists took the lead in the struggle against the foreign occupation force and domestic reaction. The danger threatening the country made it imperative to establish a political party able to become a national force, the advance guard of the popular liberation movement. In November 1941 delegates from communist groups met (illegally) in Tirana. They resolved to found the Communist Party of Albania. Carrying on comprehensive political work with the masses this communist party united all antifascist forces in the National Liberation Front and led it into battle for the liberation of the country and the establishment of the popular power.

In 1944, thanks to the victorious advance of the Aoviet Army on the Balkan, the popular democratic revolution prevailed. It offered the Albanian people also the opportunity to carry out profound socioeconomic changes and to build up socialism. In close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries Albania was able within a very short period to overcome the heavy burden of the past and develop into an agrarian-industrial state.

We all know that, in the early 1960's, the Albanian leadership abandoned the tried and tested way of cooperation with the socialist fraternal states. The latter have since made repeated overtures to the Socialist People's Republic of Albania, stating their readiness for the development of all-round cooperation with that country.

No doubt resumption of equal and mutually beneficial cooperation between the Socialist People's Republic of Albania and the socialist family of nations would respond to the long-range interests of the Albanian people as well as the cause of peace and socialism.

11698
CSO: 2300/87

PARLIAMENTARY LEADER DISCUSSES PLATFORMS, POLICIES

Algiers AL-MUJAHID in Arabic 11 Dec 81 pp 18, 19

/Article by 'A. Huquqah: "Mr Stanko Todorov Holds a Conversation with AL-MUJAHID Magazine"/

/Text/ AL-MUJAHID has taken the opportunity to hold this conversation with Mr Stanko Todorov, member of the Political Bureau and chairman of the Bulgarian National Council, in which he replied to a group of questions that included important issues, during his visit to Algeria.

AL-MUJAHID: In the framework of the efforts the Group of 77 is exerting in the international context on behalf of a new international economic order, how do you view the need for coordinating the activities of the parliaments of the countries in this group in order to bring such a system about?

Answer: We realize that the colonialist imperialist system has broken down under the pressure of popular movements which have involved many independent countries that have pursued the road to independent development. However, these fledgling countries, which have become liberated from subjection to colonialism, are still subordinate and subject to the capitalist countries in the economic and social fields to varying degrees.

The initiative of this group of countries' is progressing along the road to development in the framework of the United Nations, with the objective of changing the system dominating international economic relations. It is characterized by progressivism and hostility to imperialism. We support it and the documents the United Nations has approved, in particular the statement and working program to establish a new international economic system and the covenant of nations' economic rights and obligations. These documents can help impart a democratic stamp to the system that controls international economic relations, but we must not forget that the capitalist countries are trying to crush the unity of the Group 77 and to preserve their privileged positions in spite of their apparent agreement /to these documents/.

While our country expresses its support for the notion of reorganizing international economic relations, it requests that this be done on the basis of equality and democracy. Meetings of the "north-south" type are limited in terms of contents

and goals and cannot by themselves lead to comprehensive solutions to international economic problems. The Bulgarian People's Republic believes that the problems of international economic relations are of concern to every country and that these problems are not receptive to temporary or partial solutions. They must be studied in the context of the existing bodies in the United Nations.

Coordinating the activities of third world parliaments in the framework of this trend is undoubtedly essential.

AL-MUJAHID: Among the responsibilities that have been assigned to parliaments is that of defending and at the same time preserving the gains of the masses of the people who have given them their trust. What activities has the Bulgarian parliament pursued on behalf of its people, and peace loving peoples?

Answer: In socialist Bulgaria, the people represent the source of all authority and have all the authority. This power is exercised by the National Assembly and by the local people's assemblies which the people elect on the basis of the right to equal direct secret public votes.

The National Assembly, in its capacity as an expression of the will and authority of the people, uses its powers to defend and protect the gains of the workers and the fruits of their labor and struggles. Here I can mention three major points of emphasis in its activities:

First, the National Assembly is the sole legislative body. In its eight electoral periods, it has issued the laws required deeply to implant public ownership of the means of production as an economic basis for socialist society.

The law includes the individual's right to own such things as private property when that means satisfying his personal and family needs. The constitution and the laws spell out the basic rights and duties of citizens: the right to a job, to choice of occupation, to a comfortable life, to insurance, to retirement pensions and to social assistance, the right to free education and to free medical care, the freedom and sanctity of the individual, freedom of religion and conscience, and freedom of expression, the press, assembly and demonstration. These rights entail duties: citizens must carefully and fully carry out the stipulations of the constitution and the laws, offer beneficial labor for society, preserve socialist attainments and strive to expand them, and strive to support the economic, defense and political power of the nation. Here I would like to point out that our constitution requires every Bulgarian to work to preserve and support peace.

Second, the National Assembly is the supreme body regulating the orientation of social development planning. It approves the country's economic social development plans and also reports on their execution. The assembly approves the state budget.

A session will soon be held to ratify the second 5-year plan, which covers the period 1981 through 1985. We will also be meeting to approve the 1982 plan and budget. The assembly's permanent committees are now studying the drafts which the government has presented to them and are preparing them for study.

Third, the National Assembly conducts final oversight over the activities of the various bodies of the state. It listens to reports on the activities of the government and officials in the ministries and departments, and it conducts parliamentary investigations and adopts suitable measures.

I would like to point out that the National Assembly's role is constantly expanding; this is expressive of socialism's natural tendency toward deepening and expanding socialist democracy.

The people's assemblies are in the fullest sense of the word bodies with unlimited powers through which workers can guide the process of the development of the economy and health and social activity and improve housing conditions and cultural and educational activities. They truthfully perform social self-management and carry out their activity with the support of the masses and mass organizations.

Our people do not try to set themselves apart from other people. Therefore you will find that the bodies that represent them--the National People's Assembly and the people's assemblies--are exceptionally active in the field of strengthening relations of friendship and cooperation with all friendly peoples. Our parliament's permanent demand is that peace in our universe be strengthened, and this must be considered the most lofty and sacred right of all the peoples in the world.

AL-MUJAHID: Could you speak to us about the relations that exist between the Bulgarian parliament which you represent and the Algerian National People's Assembly?

Answer: The history of the relations that link the Bulgarian and Algerian peoples goes back to the years of your war of liberation. These relations developed since that time and came to acquire a new content following Algeria's declaration of independence. Contracts were made between the parliaments in our two countries 10 years ago. In 1979 we were given the honor of receiving a high delegation from the Algerian National People's Assembly under the chairmanship of its honored chairman Comrade Rabah Bitat.

During our current visit, we have been given the opportunity to conduct useful talks on numerous issues, especially the issue of expanding Bulgarian-Algerian cooperation into all vital fields, the problems of the hour in international relations, and support for cooperation between our two parliaments, which support peace and security in the world. We have exchanged information concerning the tasks that our two countries must resolve in the current stage under the leadership of our two vanguard parties, the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Algerian National Liberation Front Party. We have of course talked about organizing activity in our two parliaments and have compared our experiences in this realm. I believe that the circumstances are good for consolidating friendly relations between the Bulgarian and Algerian parliaments. I need mention only two reasons:

1. There are extensive cooperative relationships between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria in various areas of life and they are constantly developing. Therefore it is natural that parliaments, in their capacity as the supreme bodies of power, should follow up on and direct this cooperation.

2. In our world today the role of parliaments is constantly evolving in the direction of exerting further efforts to solve important human problems, most important of which is preserving peace in the world.

During our discussions with Comrade Bitat, we stressed to him our strong will to cooperate in the name of peace and mutual understanding among peoples, in order to repel the danger of nuclear catastrophe and achieve disarmament--in a word, for the sake of a world without war. This is the will of our peoples, and we will exert our maximum effort to make peace and cooperation triumph in our world. We will continue our joint struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and racism and for the total liberation of South Africa from racist domination. We will struggle to establish just economic relations among nations.

AL-MUJAHID: Undoubtedly your visit to Algeria has enabled you to examine the actual state of domestic development in our country and the horizons of its progress through its national plans. Could you give us your impressions of our progress in eliminating backwardness?

Answer: The Algerian people, following their liberation from subjection to colonialism, have pursued a path of profound socioeconomic change, and the public sector occupies a prominent position in the domestic economy. Under the leadership of the National Liberation Front Party, agriculture and industry have pursued an accelerated course to raise the people's standard of living. We are pleased with the results the Algerian people have achieved in realizing the goals of the National Charter and the development plan, the 5-year development plan for 1980-84.

During our stay we have visited the Rubiya industrial truck production facilities and the agricultural equipment manufacturing complex in Tlemcen, as well as historic and cultural sites.

We have retained good memories of the Algerian workers who are insistently struggling to overcome the problems inherited from the era of colonial dominance.

Let me take the opportunity to wish the Algerian people further, more important victories in building an Algeria that is economically and culturally strong.

11887
CSO: 4504/143

CANDID DISCUSSION OF CITIZENS' TRUST IN STATE ORGANS URGED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 163, 6 Nov 81 p 2

/Report from Berlin: "SED Admonishes State Organs." A translation of the East Berlin NEUER WEG article cited below follows this commentary/

/Text/ The SED leadership admonished state organs to develop a "style of operations relevant to daily life." This would have to include exact knowledge of that which motivates people. According to the SED functionary journal NEUER Weg (No 20, 1981), the Politburo by resolution also called for "the further improvement of government publicity work with the goal to more consistently inform citizens about economic and communal tasks and thus develop their readiness to cooperate in the accomplishment of these tasks." Every suggestion, every criticism and every proposal should be seriously examined and answered. A climate of trust is said to be the precondition for the frank and persuasive discussion of political issues.

SED Politburo Statement

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 36 No 20, 1981 (signed to press 15 Oct 81) pp 795-797

/'NW' article: "The Proven SED Policies to Be Conveyed Even More Convincingly--Central Committee Politburo Accepts SED Rostock Bezirk Management's Report"/

/Text/ On 22 September 1981 the Rostock Bezirk SED management reported to the Central Committee Politburo on the topic "experiences of political work with the masses in the appraisal and implementation of the Tenth SED Congress resolutions." A Politburo comment states that the Rostock Bezirk management has further raised the standard of politico-ideological work in the implementation of the Tenth SED Congress resolutions and is now concentrating all its efforts on the accomplishment of economic tasks. The significant economic initiatives in the socialist competition for the implementation of the Tenth SED Congress resolutions are the evident expression of the Rostock Bezirk citizens affirmation of SED policy.

In its comment the SED Central Committes Politburo points out significant basic issues which should be even more strongly emphasized by management organizations in the further implementation of the Tenth SED Congress resolutions. What are these basic issues?

Basic Issues Which Determine Content

Starting out from the decisive issue of the socialist revolution, the question of power, it will be necessary to concentrate all our efforts on the all-round consolidation of the GDR. It is therefore an important concern of political work with the masses to deepen the preception that the political power of the working class, its alliance with the other classes and strata, represent irreplaceable preconditions for our successful advance on the way to socialism-communism.

Political work with the masses responding to the demand requires all party organizations further to raise the standard of their politico-ideological work. Involved here is the necessity further to strengthen class positions, revolutionary attitudes and the greatest possible personal readiness to serve among party members and the working people, enabling them always to assume the correct political stance and act accordingly.

In this connection we recommend that the Rostock Bezirk management utilize every opportunity for improving the efficiency of ideological work in order even better to encourage the creativity, energy and activism of the masses. In the course of trustful discussions the questions of the working people must be frankly answered with the aim of involving them in active and conscious work for the all-round consolidation of the socialist fatherland.

Another basic issue arises from the demands for the implementation of the economic strategy for the 1980's adopted by the Tenth SED Congress: Further to raise productivity, master scientific-technological progress and achieve the advanced growth in economic performance needed for the pursuit of the tried and tested line of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy.

This offers a significant starting point for effective politico-ideological party work. After all, we are concerned further to deepen the working people's appreciation of economic interrelations and the operation of the economic laws of socialism. Included here is the necessity for making it perfectly clear that the steadily closer linkage of the benefits of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution represents the main reserve for the ongoing improvement of the capacity of our socialist state. Lenin's finding that the improvement of productivity is crucial for the victory of the socialist social order continues to be at the heart of the party's politico-ideological work.

The Politburo points out that ideological work to explain the party's economic strategy must be so conducted as to turn into concrete economic results. To be carried on at the same time is the struggle for the all-round fulfillment of the 1981 plan and the additional achievement by the end of this year of 3 days output of disposable end products, largely by means of materials conserved. This leads to the task of making sure that all obligations of the working people to exceed the plan targets are met and all proposals from the plan discussion conscientiously realized. In agriculture, forestry and the food industry politico-ideological work must concentrate on even closer cooperation between animal and crop production as well as efficiency and quality.

It is an important concern of political work with the masses (where economic propaganda holds pride of place) to make the working people in industry, farming and all sectors aware that the assurance of the standard of living achieved and its gradual improvement require the greatest possible economic efficiency. This is reflected especially in a better cost-result ratio, declining consumption of raw materials, other materials and energy, the conservation of manpower and the greater utilization and refinement of raw materials.

In the socialist competition even greater attention must be devoted to the exchange of experiences, the discovery of reserves, the question of attitudes to socialist property, the evaluation of performance, work discipline, orderliness and safety. Another firm element of management are regular discussions with innovators and best workers in order constantly to encourage them to set an example.

To be purposefully used and promoted, therefore, are such tried and tested competition initiatives, tried and tested in Rostock Bezirk also, as "everyone every day with a good showing," "fewer produce more," "technology means speed," "cutting costs is the specialty of mariners," or "power, bread and peace." They are ideally suited to respond to the party policy formulated in the slogan issued after the Tenth SED Congress for the socialist competition: "The greatest possible rise in performance by increasing productivity, efficiency and quality--everything for the welfare of the people and for peace."

In the course of the 1981/1982 elections the labor union will therefore increase its authority as the school of socialism and initiator of the socialist competition, as the representative of the interests of blue and white collar workers. In accordance with the "FDJ Target Tenth Party Congress," the FDJ and Pioneer council elections will be concerned to strengthen the ideological steadfastness of our youth in every situation of the class conflict, further raise their readiness to study, work and defend the fatherland, define their socialist lifestyle and consolidate the FDJ's role as the helper and combat reserve of the party.

One basic issue particularly to be attended to in party management work arises from the present international situation. The Politburo's comment says that it is the most important task of our age to ensure and permanently stabilize peace. Here we are concerned mainly with explaining that the peace program proclaimed by the Twenty-Sixth CPSU Congress, supported by the Tenth SED Congress, represents the only alternative for maintaining peace, unmask the aggressive designs of imperialism and frustrate the further rearmament of the United States, the FRG and other NATO countries.

Clearly Reveal Contributions to Peace

In view of the exacerbation of the struggle for peace it is an indispensable element of political work with the masses persuasively to demonstrate the GDR's contribution to world peace, security and disarmament. Consequently one topic of political discussions with the working people must be Comrade Erich Honecker's official visit to Mexico and his meeting with Comrade Fidel Castro in Havana. These clearly showed once more the high esteem extended to the GDR and its representatives by all forces who sincerely strive for peace and understanding among the peoples.

Also important for political work with the masses is even greater official appreciation for each individual citizen's contribution to the support of the peace policy of the GDR and the entire socialist community. Every worker must be aware that activism and diligent labors lead to the further strengthening of socialism, and that the close and fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries represents a significant contribution to the struggle for the assurance of peace.

Imperative for the understanding of the processes now evolving in the international class conflict is the disclosure of the motive forces and causes of the dangerous confrontation policies of imperialism, the nature of its misanthropic profit and expansion policies. Based on this knowledge it will be possible to clearly reveal the criminal goals of imperialism which seeks to escape by aggression and war from the profound crisis of the system.

Political work with the masses in this meaning is directed further to develop the socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, strengthen the readiness and ability of the working people--especially the young generation--for defending, if necessary, the socialist fatherland and its achievements by military means against all imperialist attacks and attempts at interference. One conclusion arising is the need for the further improvement of socialist military education, the clear description of the enemy and the increase in political vigilance.

Another basic issue mentioned in the Politburo comment guides our attention to the persuasive explanation of the generally applicable laws of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. At the same time it will be necessary to illuminate its creative application to the strategy and tactics of domestic and foreign policies based on Tenth SED Congress resolutions and our party program. In this connection the resolution describes the political power of the working class in alliance with the class of cooperative farmers and other working people as the basis for the further evolution of socialist democracy. The struggle against all anticommunist and revisionist ideologies must be conducted without compromise, because such ideologies are imperialism's main tool for ideological diversion against real socialism and peace.

Even More Relevant to Daily Life

We have often found that profound trust of the citizens in the people's representatives and state organs creates a climate where political issues may be discussed frankly and persuasively. By such means it will also be possible even more comprehensively to involve the working people in the management and planning of social processes. The state organs therefore have a most responsible task in the further organization of political work with the masses. This begins with the development of a style of operations relevant to daily life and includes lasting relationships with citizens of all classes and strata as well as accurate knowledge of that which motivates people. Also involved is the need further to improve government publicity work with the aim to steadily inform the citizens about economic and communal tasks, thereby promoting their readiness to cooperate in the accomplishment of these tasks. Every suggestion, every criticism and every proposal must be seriously examined and answered.

The Politburo's 22 September 1981 resolution again underlines the fact that politico-ideological work is an indispensable element of the party's overall management work. It requires quick reactions to topical events and the ability to provide the necessary information and arguments to comrades in membership meetings and activist conferences. In future also the behavior of party, government and economic functionaries in work collectives as well as personal conversations and informal discussions in small groups with all strata of the public are to be firmly rooted in the topical operational plans for political work with the masses and prepared at the highest textual standard in accordance with the key issues.

The resolution also directs our attention to the steady perfection of tried and tested methods of work in party practice, such as verbal agitation (especially the work of agitators), the study of Marxism-Leninism, the history of the party and its resolutions in the party study year as well as the coordination of work with the masses by the party and all social organizations.

11698
CSO: 2300/88

STATE ORGANS' DISTRUST OF CITIZENS' JUDGMENT CHIDED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 176, 2 Dec 81 p 1

/Report from Berlin: "Criticism of Groundless 'Secrecy Mongering' of GDR State Organs." A translation of the East Berlin DIE WELTBUEHNE article cited below follows this commentary/

/Text/ Hermann Kalb, chairman of the People's Chamber Committee on Citizens Petitions sharply criticized the frequently groundless "secrecy mongering" of state agencies in the GDR. Kalb told People's Chamber deputies that it was not permissible to maintain secrecy in the construction of a supermarket as if this were a military object. The committee chairman emphatically admonished local councils at all times to remember their duty to inform the public. Unjustified secrecy mongering was "flagrant disregard or distrust of adult citizens" and showed "political immaturity and lack of responsibility" on the part of those responsible.

In a conversation with the East Berlin WELTBUEHNE (No 48, 1981) Kalb noted in this context that "socialist democracy" would function better in practice if the theoretical opportunities were fully used. Many citizens failed to insist on their rights and actually resigned themselves to clearly unlawful states of affairs. It would, therefore, be imperative "to deepen the citizens knowledge of the law in order to increase their security under the law." At the same time care must be taken for all written and oral citizens petitions to be processed conscientiously and politically. This was not always the case because many functionaries wrongly felt them to be negative and merely an additional burden.

People's Chamber Deputy's Criticism

East Berlin DIE WELTBUEHNE in German Vol 76 No 48, 1 Dec 81 pp 1527-1529

/Article by Frank Schumann: "Input as Proof of Trust"/

/Text/ Not too long ago all the mayors of a region met in conference with the competent kreis council. The chief item on the agenda was to be petitions. Right at the beginning one mayor stood up and stated with obvious pride that he might as well go home because in his area not a single petition had been submitted in the period under review. The council chairman is said to have replied that he, for his part, considered this a very dubious distinction because evidently there was much to be desired with regard to political activism in the community...

Hermann Kalb related this authenticated episode. He took more than an hour to deal with it, but that was due more to its hidden explosive force than to its incomprehensibility. The framework was given by the first major meeting of the People's Chamber Committee on Citizens Petitions, constituted afresh for the eight election term. Hermann Kalb, committee chairman for many years past and member of the presidium of the CDU main executive board, took the opportunity to inform the deputies about the method of operations and the duties of the committee. That was necessary because the majority of deputies present was confronted with these duties for the first time.

Of course most of them were already familiar with the legal bases of petitions: Article 103 of our constitution, the 1975 law on petitions, the latest government declaration by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the documents of the Tenth SED Congress, and so on. However, it is urgent for committee members to know how all this works in practice; after all, it is up to them to observe, check and provide guidance to the competent agencies for meeting their respective obligations. Working groups of the committee travel around the country 4 times per annum, but almost daily every single people's deputy is bound at his workplace, residential district and electoral district to devote special attention to these matters.

Hermann Kalb started by emphasizing (at a time when everybody was still under the impression of the incident described above) that petitions are the expression of socialist democracy. Unfortunately many responsible officials still and wrongly regard them as negative and something of a burden. Whoever thinks this way (and, unhappily, also tends to act accordingly) has failed to understand that such input represents the observance of civic responsibility, an offer by the citizen to the competent agency to be actively involved. Even if a petition is critical, it shows that the author is convinced of being able to obtain redress and aid from his state and its organs.

Mentioned in this connection were such terms as trust, confidence and the evolution of consciousness. Also discussed were unforgivable and irreparable errors committed by many agencies which process petitions in a bureaucratic and thoughtless manner. (Hermann Kalb: "Petitions are always management issues, not the processing of a particular subject.") Moreover, petitions are indispensable signals, often drawing our attention to conditions certainly deserving of criticism, which were unknown before--the inadequate information provided by some councils, to cite an example. Hermann Kalb quoted actual incidents and thereby demonstrated that the construction of a supermarket may not be shrouded in secrecy as if it were a military object. Citizens must be informed not only about what has happened but indeed even more about what is to happen--this ranges from changes in timetables, shifts and changes in the retail network to construction work in the region. The committee chairman reminded the deputies that they should constantly admonish the councils with regard to the latters informational duties. Unwarranted secrecy mongering, he said, was a flagrant sign of disregard or distrust of adult citizens and demonstrated political immaturity and lack of responsibility on the part of those responsible.

Petitions may be submitted in writing as well as orally, and it is not necessary to be at least 18 years old either. Petitions are not confined to any external juridical form, nor do they require the express declaration "petition." A prudent and committed deputy or state functionary should also follow up other suggestions

--whether in personal conversations, discussions, newspaper contributions, minutes or others--and deal with them as if they were petitions.

It was stated that more than 115,000 suggestions, proposals and petitions from citizens were received by the local state organs; more than half--and that is to be welcomed--oral applications. This is evidently due largely to the innumerable discussions and meetings before the popular elections and the Tenth SED Congress. At the same time it was assumed that it is also an indication of the clearly greater commitment of our citizens and their readiness to involve themselves in the settlement of those problems which touch upon them. This relates to the improvement of housing conditions, road traffic, energy, environmental control, and so on. On the other hand many petitions also reflect the fact that the demands and needs of individuals have grown faster than our social possibilities and potential. Though these conflicts cannot be resolved in confidential dialogues, they can at least be explained and made intelligible.

In conclusion Hermann Kalb therefore noted that it is always advantageous to answer petitions in personal conversations, because letters cannot replace personal contact with the citizens. He thereupon formulated phrases which were interesting not only for the committee members: State organs should make every effort at all times --not only during the official consulting hour on Tuesdays!--to grasp opportunities for talking to the citizens, and that includes the acceptance of petitions. Moreover, the agency which receives the petition must initiate the response. All too often it is the citizen himself who is sent on the "paperchase through the bureaucratic jungle." That is certainly not admissible. And finally a settlement of the citizen's problems must be found consonant with available economic possibilities and in accordance with the mandatory regulations. In most cases this will be possible, given good will on both side.

"Socialist democracy," Hermann Kalb told me in a subsequent conversation, "is as good as it works in practice. It is mainly up to all of us to utilize the theoretically available possibilities. Many citizens unfortunately still fail to insist on their rights. The reprehensible custom of restaurants, for example, to arrogate to themselves the right to seat customers is definitely illegal--unless exceptions were agreed with the local state organs. Yet people still line up in front of empty restaurants and, agrily or resignedly, wait to be assigned a table. It is therefore imperative to deepen the citizens knowledge of the law in order to enhance their security under the law. The state organs in our country must carefully evaluate the proposals, suggestions and criticism submitted by citizens and take into consideration every thought and intimation. We must find out whether every precaution is taken for all written and oral petitions to be processed conscientiously and with political responsibility and ensure that at all times all opportunites are used for seeking constructive solutions in order to meet the justified concerns of the citizens."

The People's Chamber Committee on Petitions met in Berlin for the first major discussion after the elections. Its duties are clearly spelled out. If the incident described at the beginning is not repeated ever agin, our thanks will be due this group of deputies and their efforts on behalf of the voters.

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GDANSK VOIVODSHIP PARTY PLENUM ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Gdansk Party Plenum

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 15 Oct 81 pp 1, 3

[Article by JAF-NOW: "Conditions for Applying Economic Reform; Current Sociopolitical Situation; M. Chabowski and M. Stefanski, Voivodship Committee Secretaries"]

> [Text] Yesterday in the hall of the Gdansk Voivodship Office, the Plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee deliberated. In opening the deliberations, Tadeusz Fiszbach, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, greeted the members of the central party authority, Jan Labecki, member of the Central Committee Political Bureau, the members of the Voivodship Committee, deputies to the Sejm, the party-management aktiv, and representatives of the districtiion administration and Jerzy Kolodziejski, the governor of Gdansk.

The main subject of the deliberations was the determination of conditions for applying reform in the Gdansk voivodship, a discussion of the current sociopolitical situation, and, in organizational matters, the election of two new Voivodship Committee secretaries. The plenum should concentrate, T. Fiszbach said in the introduction to the discussion, on an assessment of all possibilities and proposals for action aimed and rapidly and fully applying economic reforms.

Controversies appeared as early as during the fixing of the daily agenda. Before the plenum began, consultations were conducted in four rather subdistrict groups of members of the voivodship echelon. In the opinion of Voivodship Committee members from Gdansk and Sopot, the current sociopolitical situation in the voivodship should have been the main topic of discussion, which would have been useful to members of the Central Committee in the Gdansk voivodship before the plenary meeting of the Central Committee which began on Friday. Ultimately, during the discussion both these important subjects were dealt with in a lively manner.

The report by the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee on conditions for applying economic reform, which constituted an introduction to the discussion, was delivered by the Voivodship Committee secretary, Andrzej Karnabal (an extensive summary of the report is published below).

A discussion followed which was very lively and frequently controversial. Questions from the floor were put to the speakers, and in doubtful cases, explanations and amplifications were demanded. Frequently T. Fiszbach, who conducted the deliberations had to quiet the participants in the discussion. After each expression of an opinion, the speaker was given an opportunity to reply, which meant that a participant in the discussion more carefully and responsibly formulated his ideas.

The following took part in the discussion: Wojciech Solarski, Czeslaw Skowron, Jerzy Jarosz, Ryszard Bratke, Zygmunt Ceszke, Jerzy Kostarczyk, Zdzislaw Wesolowski, Tadeusz Olszewski, Klemens Gniech, Michal Muzalewski, Zbigniew Garbacz, Andrzej Kulawik, Jerzy Bojko, Stanislaw Kolodziejek, Jerzy Kiedrowski, Stanislaw Sucharski, Jozef Kurpisz, Stanislaw Kwidzynski, Tadeusz Kuta, Jerzy Kolodziejski and Jan Labecki.

The application of economic reform, it was said, was long delayed. Some people are waiting for January 1, 1982, believing that on that date reform will automatically go into effect and everything will change immediately. But the truth is that the basic standard legal instruments that are indispensable to the functioning of a self-dependent, self-financing and self-governing enterprise are not even half completed. There are people both in the party as well as in the old power structures who would like to halt the reforms, which would deprive them of their positions and appanage. Some managers, it was said, who have not made the proper preparations for applying reform cannot remain in their positions once reform goes into effect. The opinion was expressed that the workers' self-governments will make some serious changes in the leadership cadres, but those who will be eliminated deserve no sympathy. The honest, competent people, those with initiative, irrespective of party affiliation, will be able to defend themselves.

Many participants in the discussion mentioned that preparations for reform are still in the elementary stage, that it is still in the stage where legal standards are being formed and being discussed by specialists who cannot reach agreement on many detailed points. It is time to end these theoretical considerations and begin training the management and working aktiv in the enterprises. Success will depend on its knowledge, sensitivity to the situation and commitment to reform. The role of the party aktiv in conducting reform was emphasized, regarding it as the touchstone of party credibility. At the initiative of 30 party organizations, a conference was held recently in Wiezyca which was attended by representatives of 76 enterprises of the maritime economy and seven ministers and deputy ministers. It turned out there that instruction on the subject of reform had not been completed in even one enterprise, and it had been begun in less than 40 percent of the enterprises. Unfortunately, government representatives present at the conference had little to say. Thus it is doubtful that all enterprises will be ready to operate under conditions of reform on January 1, 1982.

It was stressed that the success of reform is dependent upon social acceptance. We must all work, it was said, to make all Poles aware that reform is the only formula for overcoming the crisis. But this will not be a painless operation--we must expect to make sacrifices. Society is weary of the protracted crisis, the market difficulties, the inefficient functioning of trade and the generally deteriorating standard of living and work, and may react in an unpredictable manner.

We are already having to deal with protest actions in some voivodships that even Solidarity is not controlling. That is why, in order for reform to succeed and tensions be eased, the goals, long- and short-range, of reform must be clearly defined.

The conditions for efficient application of reform and even all of its possible dangers, were the subject of an extensive speech by governor J. Kolodziejski. Never yet has so much depended in our postwar years on reform as now. Also, he said, it is more difficult to imagine worse conditions for applying reform, than those that now exist. He said further that the deepening crisis steadily limits the field of enterprises' economic self-dependence and in three months it may be even more limited. The struggle for self-government, which is a component of reform, is, naturally, a struggle for power, but it is also clear that self-government implements democracy, which is, of course, the essence of socialism. Thus the party cannot defend itself against self-government, whether workers' or territorial. Why are we afraid of trusting the very class of workers in whose name we are exercising power, asked one speaker rhetorically. The current concept of reform does not have the full support of society. We must fight for this support, for the Sejm law settles nothing automatically. The situation is so bad, said J. Kolodziejski, that nothing further can harm us and we must conduct reform immediately. And although in the Gdansk voivodship we are not too badly prepared intellectually and organizationally, nevertheless we do not have the appropriate economic conditions. We must expect also that there will be social conflicts. Already now the potential unemployment reaches 20 percent, and in some plants considerably more. Many people go to work, it is true, but they are getting paid for doing nothing. In January, when the enterprises feel the action of the economic laws, the dismissals of these surpluses will begin. We expect that about 20,000 people will be let go, for whom we must find work, after retraining them. To solve the problem, which may grow larger, we must take into account the possibility of an emigration to work elsewhere, either individual or organized. The latter is, for example, possible in the construction firms, for some of them already have an established reputation abroad.

J. Kolodziejski expressed the opinion that the next threat to reform will be an attempt to jack up the prices by the producers, which in turn will evoke a protest by the trade unions and a demand for price-increase allowances. In order to reconcile the parochial interests of the enterprises and the entire society we must develop an effective system of negotiation. If we are not able to do this, we may face anarchy.

The second current in yesterday's discussion oscillated around the country's and voivodship's most important sociopolitical problems. The struggle about the form of the country's political system continues. For some, renewal means a deep reformation of socialism under our own, Polish, conditions. But for others it means a change in this system. A political activist, it was said, should be fully aware of what the struggle is about. Loyalty to the principals of the political system, however, does not mean severance of social agreements and the selection of a course for confrontation, as some defenders of the old order would like, wanting to hold on at any price to their present positions. In this context, demands were made to form a joint front of common sense -- the party, along with the trade unions and the church. Some speakers, who called for deliberations at the same table, pointed out that many difficult and controversial problems could be solved here, right in

Gdansk. Let us not dwell on the differences in the party's and Solidarity's programs, one speaker appealed, but let us look for contiguous points in the name of a single national interest, in the name of saving the fatherland.

The political line of the PZPR daily, GLOS WYBRZEZA, raised doubts in some participants in the discussion. They accused the newspaper of departing from party principles. The question was even asked: Whose newspaper is GLOS WYBRZEZA--the party's Voivodship Committee or Solidarity's Regional Board? An exceptionally strong argument developed on the relationship of the GLOS with NSZZ Solidarity's First Congress, and on S. Kryda's article, "We Are Revolted by Such a Newspaper". The Voivodship Committee's Commission on Information and Propaganda was of another opinion and rated the activity of GLOS WYBRZEZA thus far very highly. It was stated that if a newspaper is to serve society and not be an internal organ for party members, it must reflect the attitudes and opinions of this society. The newspaper was able to fulfill these conditions.

The editor-in-chief of GLOS WYBRZEZA, Tadeusz Kuta, replying to the criticism, said that the evaluations of the newspaper made, among others, by the Central Committee's Press Section and by the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee in Elblag were positive. Nevertheless, this conflict of opinions will require some serious considerations and a reply to the question of how much truth there is in these accusations. T. Kuta said that at the present time one of the main goals of the party newspaper is the democratic defense of the elected authorities of the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

The speech by Jan Labecki, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, corresponded with this statement. Labecki, at the end of the discussion, expressed support for the line represented by GLOS WYBRZEZA. And in commenting on the so-called meeting of the Gdynia veterans, he said that the inspiration for several pronouncements that were unfavorable to the newspaper came from within. We have met with them before and their aim is to undermine the authority of the voivodship's party echelon.

Next J. Labecki discussed the current political situation preceding the approaching PZPR Central Committee Fourth Plenum. He expressed the fear that the radicalization of some circles of a determined society may revive the willingness to solve the growing conflicts by means of old methods. But we can no longer tolerate, he stressed, the already actually existing diarchy. Thus these currents must be channeled into a reformed National Unity Front, or some other such plane. This problem, to its fullest extent, will fall after elections to the territorial self-government.

Referring to economic reform, J. Labecki said that only the party will be responsible for its success politically. If reform does not succeed, this will be another blow to the party. The people should be made aware that self-government is not a miraculous cure for all ailments. It will probably produce some results, but this will take time. During the first period of functioning, the self-governments will try to shift all of the weaknesses of their plants, as well as waste in raw materials, organizational incompetence and lack of discipline, onto the shoulders of the purchasers, i.e., society. Only later, with time, will come the return to senses and the time for economic reckoning. In conclusion, the speaker stressed the fundamental economic importance to our country of Polish-Soviet relations. Yet in a part of our society we see a striving to undermine the credibility of these relations. It is in the interests of our country to firmly oppose these opinions.

On the point relating to organizational matters, the plenum approved the by-laws of the Voivodship Committee, its organs and executive apparatus and the principles of the functioning of the PZPR Voivodship Committee problem commissions in Gdansk.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum in Gdansk, in the form of a separate document, took a position on the current sociopolitical situation (the text of this document is published below).

Two additional Voivodship Committee secretaries were elected. Mieczyslaw Stefanski was elected secretary for agricultural affairs and Mieczyslaw Chabowski was entrusted with the functions of organizational secretary. The Plenum, at the motion of the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee, appointed Miroslaw Demichowicz to the position of manager of the Social Research Center, Tadeusz Wojewodzki to manager of the Information Center, and Jerzy Jakubowski to the position of manager of the Maritime and Transport Section.

T. Fiszbach took the floor at the conclusion of the deliberations.

New PZPR Voivodship Committee Secretaries

Mieczyslaw Chabowski was born in 1947 in Lebork to a workers' family. After graduating from the Communications Technical School in Gdansk, he began work in the Paris Commune Shipyards in Gdynia as an assembler. He was active in the youth movement, holding the position of chairman of the Plant Board of the Socialist Youth Union in the shipyard. In 1972 he went to work in the City Committee in Gdynia and in 1974 he was sent for studies to the Higher School of Social Science, in the Economic and Social Department. After completion of these studies in 1977 he became second secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee in the "Commune" and, after August, 1980, he was elected first secretary of the Plant Committee. He has been awarded the Gold Cross of Merit.

Mieczyslaw Stefanski was born in 1951 to a peasant family in Mikoszow, Koscierzyna. After completing the Technical Agricultural Academy in Olsztyn, with the degree of master of engineering, he conducted the family farm for a while. He was also a temporary instructor in the party's Gmina Committee. He completed postgraduate studies and has started doctoral studies. His last position was manager of the Agricultural Circles' Cooperatives in Koscierzyna. He has shown himself to be an able organizer and an energetic party activist.

Report of Executive Party Meeting in Gdansk

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 15 Oct 81 p 3

[Article: "Consistent Implementation of Economic Reform -- the Only Alternative for Solving the Crisis"]

[Text] The proper conduct of reform is not only an opportunity but it is a necessity from which there is no return. It is the determinant of the existence of our state. It is also the party's big chance to authenticate its activity in all of the social processes occurring in our country. Economic regression continues, and all attempts

at stemming it are failing. The decline in national income this year will be over 15 percent. The city's ties with the village are breaking down, the emigration for jobs is growing and we now have a flight from the zloty and a hyperinflation of the dollar. The rationing system has not calmed the market. Thus, we have a situation unheard of thus far in a socialist economy.

Undoubtedly, the intensity of this crisis is due to a large degree to serious political errors of past years. The scale of the current breakdown is rather proportional to the scale of the structural errors committed and the centralized apparatus for managing the economy has not reacted promptly enough to the crisis symptoms.

Today, despite the good will of the party and the government, despite the fact that we have a program for overcoming the crisis and we have the directions for economic reform, despite important changes in the leadership apparatus, it is difficult to stop the dynamic disintegration of our economy in all its elements.

This situation exists despite a number of actions implemented by the authorities. The program for economic stabilization and the directions for economic reform were unequivocally accepted by the party's Ninth Congress. Our voivodship party echelon also without hesitation proclaimed itself in favor of the far-reaching economic reform at its plenary meetings held November 10, 1980 and August 3, 1981. The position on this matter is contained also in the resolution of the Eighteenth Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference.

The lack of concrete results was due to the fact that the directive-order instruments for managing the economy, which were applied up to 1979 with supports, because it took supports and a tremendous social cost, to ensure relative effectiveness, ceased to function. Yet in their place no instruments were substituted which could have halted the declining tendencies in the first stage and, as a result, formed a basis for overcoming the present situation.

A further growth in personal incomes, with the already existing tremendous reserves and the progressive drop in national income, may soon lead to a final breakdown in the economic system.

It is our party and civic duty to realize this truth and to make everyone aware of it.

The party's historical task is based on the fact that it assumed political responsibility for finding a way to lead the country out of the crisis, the more so since it bears responsibility for the current state.

The paradox in the country's present situation, however, is the fact that the rhythm of social life shapes the political problems, and the socioeconomic justifications under this system are secondary. There are many examples of this. The best appears to be the recent discussion, having the characteristics of a political confrontation, and actions at the time of the passage of the law on an enterprise and self-government.

The Sejm passed both these laws going far beyond the limits of the government draft. It passed laws which embody the fruition of a nationwide discussion.

Opinions on the now-approved law were obtained, during the drafting phase, from the Presidium of the Solidarity National Consultative Commission and from the branch unions, and the law was acceptable to them.

The decision by Solidarity's Congress to call for a referendum on certain rules in the law on an enterprise and self-government is not only the next occasion for a confrontation with the authorities, but what is worse, it carries with it the risk of a national tragedy.

We are fully aware of the fact that the government is not in a position to implement any reform without the approval of the trade unions. Reform requires sacrifices, which Solidarity may induce society to make. But at the same time, the government cannot permit everything that happens in our country to be an unending struggle for power.

The importance of political issues in the totality of the life of the nation cannot conceal the fact that in the minds of an ever-larger number of people, everyday problems have begun to dominate. Elementary questions such as how to live, or more frequently, how to live through, must be answered concretely and credibly. The credibility of the government's measures in the socioeconomic sphere is the key to emerging from the impasse. Society could bear greater difficulties and sacrifices if it were confident, on the basis of experience, that the government is able to fulfill the obligations that it assumed in the program for stabilization and economic reform.

Thus, practically speaking, the key to reform of the economic and financial system lies in reducing society's distrust in the state's promises and efforts, at least enough so that this society can regard price increases and changes in the wages and income system as having been reasonably calculated, and that insofar as possible, the costs of solving the crisis are equally distributed and not transferred from one social group to another.

In order for this confidence to appear and materialize in constructive, and not destructive, behavior in enterprises, farms and on the market, the government and local administrative organs must pass, and very positively, a credibility test, i.e., demonstrate effectiveness by several successful endeavors, as seen by society. The process of calling persons to account for their actions has not satisfied social expectations. The decisions on rationing basic necessities were such an opportunity, but the ration cards, for the most part, were meaningless for there were insufficient supplies to fill the rations. The price increase on grain products was an opportunity to be one of these measures, but the simultaneous deterioration of the quality of baked goods deprived it of its advantage.

The opponents of socialism readily employ demagoguery in their attempts to weaken the party. But we have had too few opportunities thus far to demask this demagoguery, to refer to the actual, positive results of the actions of our state. The issue on which we are not always in agreement in the party and also in the voivodship party organization, is the degree of society's participation in the country's management through such institutions as workers' self-governments and trade unions.

There are comrades who claim that the party should not, actually cannot, limit its power in management, for this means distortion of socialism and a departure from the position of social democracy, "anarchosyndicalism", etc. Such a conception of our policy line under the present circumstances can be called "a hard line leading to nowhere".

There are comrades among us who say that under the present circumstances the party can share all of its power, not only in the individual enterprises but also in the state. Such a conception can be called "the soft line leading to nowhere".

The opinion prevails among party members that the party must jointly, with all forces based on socialism, direct the country's affairs, and that actually this occurred after August of last year, with the active participation of most party members, and that this also was recognized by the party's congress. But the problem which is difficult to solve is the concretization of decisions in the sphere of laws and the political practice of this golden mean, particularly in the economy.

This legal and political state, which could become our golden mean, in this issue is the recognition that the economic verifiers (self-financing) and the social verifiers (self-government, trade unions), are able to bear the largest part of the responsibility for the results of management, and leave the initiative, supervision and implementation of economic policy to the party and the government.

The conceptual preparations of economic reform in the economic strata and in the instrumental strata is considerably advanced and in its fundamental portion does not provoke any important controversies. Discussions around the method for solving certain elements are taking place and will continue.

The principle of self-financing the functioning of enterprises, the unequivocal desire to make prices realistic, the freeing of banks from state administration and the implementation of credit maneuverability, the independent division by the workforce of the surplus produced by the enterprise--these are only the more important instrumental solutions which can be used to rapidly create the bases for reversing unfavorable trends.

Mutual contacts of economic units will be based mostly on voluntary and contractual relationships, and the restrictions on material supplies is to be held to a minimum and as time goes on, eliminated. The state will guard the economy against monopolistic attempts.

All of this may quite rapidly lead to an improvement of economic interconnections and an effective and actual balancing of economic processes. If this is to become possible, the inflationary spiral must be halted, along with the accompanying acceleration of monetary incomes without coverage by production. For the short run, the only way out is a social agreement based on an understanding of the current situation and the importance of our intentions. It must integrate most of society around the economic reform system as a means of implementing social goals and it must halt the senseless inflationary spiral.

For a number of months, along with the discussion on directions of reform, preparations for applying this reform have been going on in many institutions in our land.

A doubt is also forming on whether the leadership cadre, brought up in our system, is able to adapt itself to the new requirements. Will it be able to "self-reform".

It is useless to consider this problem apart from the mechanism of cadre policy that results from laws on an enterprise and self-government. Certainly from the general assumptions of reform as well as from the laws it is evident that the self-government mechanism will be the main mechanism of verifying cadre. The appointment of directors will be additionally strengthened through the procedure of competitions.

Under these circumstances, it is in the vital interest of the party, its main task in the sphere of cadre policy, to improve the self-government mechanism in this field. The concentration should be on the selection of the proper criteria, so that the competition commissions can be guided by criteria of skills. We cannot defend persons in positions simply on the basis of a principle of defense, or because of past services. We must make our selections using objectively recognized criteria.

The far-reaching socialization of the process of applying reform will require that the state and economic administration suitably organize this process.

Various nonstereotypical initiatives, going beyond the current system of management functioning, are being undertaken. An example of this is the recently formed by several enterprises, union of enterprises, the first in Poland, which has called itself an Industrial Council. Other attempts of this type are taking place. Attempts to find different forms of cooperation and mutual assistance, that is, attempts to consolidate and create new economic ties. Without a doubt these are initiatives that are in accord with the spirit of reform. Furthermore, they surpass it without the traditional looking to see whether or not the appropriate regulations already exist.

As a party acting on the basis of a Ninth Congress resolution, we should give this our political support. We must undertake firm counteraction, particularly in cases where some social group attempts to sabotage reform, whether in the name of narrow interests or for doctrinaire reasons.

We thus see the main task before our plenum to be the granting of firm support to those social elements which participate in the work of reforming our economy. We should also attempt to point out specific undertakings. It appears that the most important undertaking in the immediate future is the elimination of organizational structures that make it difficult to apply reform.

The state and economic administration, in undertaking successive actions connected with the application of reform, must at the same time take the indispensable steps to safeguard social interestes. We should concentrate especially on the problem of the dislocation of workers. While being guided by the economic interests of the enterprises on the one hand, we should search for a new level of reasonable employment, and on the other hand, being guided mainly by the social interest, we should efficiently and rapidly employ the surpluses of working forces that arise.

In this sphere the close cooperation of enterprises with local organs is indispensable. Indispensable also is the cooperation of all political and social organizations for the good of the workers and society.

The assessment contained in the report authorizes the Executive Board to present to the Voivodship Committee a number of actions which we should immediately begin to implement.

On the assumption that the party's main task now is to convince society as to the correctness of applying this reform, we regard the following to be most important:

1. Immediate informational-propaganda activities showing society and the working class the necessity of conducting reform, the conditions for applying this reform, and obtaining through this the most universal agreement possible for a temporary halt in the growth of the standard of living, and even in its reduction, which is an unavoidable consequence of putting reform into effect.

2. Bringing the members of the party and all members of the workforces closer to the most important elements of reform and explaining how they function.

3. The party's political responsibility for the application and success of reform places on all its echelons and elements an obligation to prevent any conflicts that may arise from this.

4. The active cooperation of the Plant Committees and the Primary Party Organizations with plant commissions for economic reform and the dissemination among party members of the results of the work of these commissions.

5. With the assistance of instructors from the Plant Committees, City Committees, the Voivodship Committees and the Central Committees and the skills of the economic activists, the entire basic party aktiv of the enterprises should be retrained in the field of reform as quickly as possible, i.e., by the end of this year.

6. The plant party organizations should stimulate the administrations to take all possible technical and organizational measures to put reform into effect at the beginning of 1982 in a manner as gentle and as understandable to the workforces as possible.

7. The establishment of broad and multifaceted cooperation between the plant party organizations and the trade unions and other sociopolitical organizations in behalf of understanding and obtaining social acceptance for reform and the principles of its application.

8. An indispensable element for the application of reform is an increase in the efficiency of activities of all local administration elements. In view of the anticipated and postulated decentralization of administrative authority and the increase in the competence of the lowest levels of territorial self-government, it is essential that cadre and organizational changes be made in the administration offices at all levels.

9. It is the task of the Voivodship Office to develop the concept and conditions for applying reform in such important spheres of social life as: the municipal economy, trade and the food economy complex. The development of this concept should be accompanied by widespread consultation so that the solutions applied as a result would serve the people and not the institutions appointed for the implementation of this concept.

Gdansk Party Position on Socioeconomic Situation

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 15 Oct 81 p 3

[Text] Almost three months have elapsed since the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, yet the goals which it placed before the party have not been implemented to a satisfactory degree. This arouses a justifiable dissatisfaction in society and an ever-greater concern in party members.

The country's economic and political situation is developing in a dangerous direction. We are dealing with a progressive drop in production and national income, with the disintegration of the domestic market, and a deteriorating standard of living.

The course of the Solidary Congress, during which dangerous political trends became apparent, fills the broad ranks of society with a justifiable worry about today and tomorrow. However, people are looking with approval and hope to those forces of Solidarity which see the way to expand their union with restraint and judgment.

1. The Voivodship Committee states that everything that threatens the line of understanding is in conflict with the most vital interests of the nation, with Poland's reason of state.

The formula for national understanding was so expanded during the past year that we can now speak not just about the idea but also about the doctrine of a national understanding.

The idea of understanding is not abstract. It refers to a clearly defined place and time, to Poland's specific situation in 1981. It is addressed to all socio-political organizations who are in favor of socialism.

2. We are and will remain a party whose weapon in the struggle for socialism is the force of argument and not the argument of force, which struggles for the collective interest of the working people. That is why the Voivodship Committee believes that it is indispensable and urgent to rebuild on new foundations a front of patriotic understanding, open to all who are not against socialism, for all who are concerned about Poland. This front of national understanding, a front for the cooperation of all forces--political, social and trade union--is needed so that we can regain our ability and strength to conduct reform and to lift the economy so that it will be able to restore normal living conditions to society.

3. The circumstances in which our country and nation has found itself is dramatic. The Voivodship Committee concurs with the position of the Political Bureau, seeing in it a concrete offer of the front of social understanding and cooperation of all forces and groups in solving the crisis.

4. The PZPR Voivodship Committee believes that the crisis can be effectively overcome only in a atmosphere of public order, an atmosphere of social peace, with the mobilization and initiative of all working people directed toward honest work, with the simultaneous strengthening of all alliances with the Soviet Union and with all countries in the socialist community.

We are convinced that socialist renewal will also mean a strengthening of these alliances.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gdansk entrusts the further successful deepening of economic cooperation and trade relations with the Soviet union to the special care of the party organizations, economic administration and workforces of the industrial plants.

5. The Voivodship Committee believes that the initiatives of the workplants on the Gdansk Coast, expressed in the appeal to all patriotic forces, to be particularly valuable and regards the text contained therein worthy of wide support.

6. In continuing with the building of social understanding, begun in August 1980 with the allied political factions and social and youth organizations, the Voivodship Committee believes that it is useful to begin talks with the Solidarity Regional Board in Gdansk and the branch and autonomous unions functioning in our area, in order to develop some measures and actions aimed at jointly overcoming the crisis and lessening the troubles of everyday life of the people in the Gdansk voivodship.

7. The Voivodship Committee believes the following to be particularly important in the cooperation of the party organizations with the trade unions:

-- activating the functioning of the self-governments in accordance with the Sejm decisions as rapidly as possible,

-- guaranteeing a sense of certainty of the actions of the leadership cadre,

-- improving the market situation,

-- applying economic reform.

8. The Voivodship Committee states that it is the duty of all party members to assist the state, local and economic administration in its efforts to alleviate the effects of the crisis.

The Voivodship Committee calls upon all party members in the Gdansk voivodship to support its efforts, the efforts of the echelon and the party aktiv, aimed at uniting in order to regain the ability and strength to conduct socialist reform and lift the economy so that it can ensure normal living conditions and development to society.

Gdansk Party Resolution on Economic Reform

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 26 Oct 81 p 3

[Text] In accordance with the authority of the Executive Board, the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gdansk accepted the wording of the resolution of the Voivodship Committee, passed at the plenary meeting on October 14, 1981.

The document is composed of four parts.

In part one the Voivodship Committee affirms the acceptance of the assessment of the sociopolitical situation in the Gdansk voivodship presented by the Voivodship Committee's Executive Board. This assessment became the basis of the position taken by the Voivodship Committee on this matter. The text of this declaration was published in GLOS WYBRZEZA on the 15th of this month.

Part two of the resolution pertains to the basic point of the deliberations at the plenum of the Voivodship Committee--the conditions for applying economic reform.

/"The Voivodship Committee states, the resolution reads, that the urgent application of economic reform is the real and only change for creating the economic mechanisms which will guarantee the implemention of the assumptions of the political system in our country's economy, and thus restore authority and social recognition to the party's leadership role. The essential precondition for bringing the country out of the crisis is social peace and the conclusion of an anti-crisis agreement between the government and the trade unions.

To ensure that the economy will function properly under economic reform and to safeguard the implementation of overall-social goals, the planning system must be socialized and the functioning of local self-governments (voivodship and gmina [parish]) must be activated, in accordance with the directions of economic reform accepted at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress.

At the same time, the Voivodship Committee sees the dangers which may cause a delay or which may cause the full application of reform to be impossible to accomplish. These dangers include:

-- lack of approval for the actions and intentions of the authorities caused by low effectiveness of past decisions and the propaganda of negating all actions on the part of the extreme forces of Solidarity,

-- the continually deteriorating economic situation and lack of political stabilization, which carries with it a risk of an explosion of protest by society and national catastrophy,

-- lack of basic legal instruments, and often even drafts of these instruments, which are necessary before the enterprises can prepare to apply reforms. One of the conditions for the success of reform is that it have full social acceptance,

-- weak preparation and a waiting stance of a large part of the leadership cadre in the economy and the administration at all levels of management,

-- lack of basic knowledge on the conditions for the functioning of enterprises under economic reform and the social costs resulting from its application.

The Voivodship Committee believes that without honest information and knowledge about reform it will be impossible to obtain the full commitment of the party aktiv and all party members and their active participation in the formation and proper functioning of workers' self-governments.

The Voivodship Committee supports all party, social and occupational initiatives aimed at making it possible to fully apply reforms. An example of this type of activity is the conference, held on October 9th and 10th, 1981, of the sociopolitical and economic aktiv of enterprises of the maritime economy and the shipbuilding industry in Poland's northern voivodships. It is the task of the voivodship echelon to give political and organizational support so that the results of this conference can be fully utilized. Other examples are: verifying the leadership cadre jointly with the workers' councils and having the Voivodship Committee problem commissions cooperate with the Voivodship People's Councils and the City People's Councils."/ [in boldface].

The resolution states that the Voivodship Committee has recognized the motions contained in the Voivodship Committee Executive Board's and Gdansk governor's report to be an integral part of this document and obliges all of the addressees of these motions to implement them. The motions are contained in an attachment to the resolution. There are 15 of them and most of them pertain to the popularization of the assumptions of economic reform and the training of cadre involved in implementation of reform, with the participation of all interested organizations and institutions. They also bind the party echelons and organizations to actively function so as to implement economic reform and form workers' self-governments.

Attention is also called to the prevention of social conflicts which may arise as a result. It is said in the motions that the voivodship administration organs must immediately prepare and submit a forecast of the social consequences of economic reform, taking problems of employment, prices, incomes, etc., into consideration. They must also submit specific proposals for alleviating negative side effects. The motions also state the need to propose to the central authorities that they accelerate the preparation and issuance of the standards acts which are lacking for the introduction of reform, and also urgent preparation of the party concept of territorial self-government.

In part 3 the Voivodship Committee's resolution approves the rules and regulations for the work of the Voivodship Committee and its problem commissions and also the structure of the organs and executive departments of the Voivodship Committe, which was contained in the report of the plenum.

Part 4 of the resolution contains the five following general motions:

/"1. The Voivodship Committee authorizes all political workers to appear in its name and conduct party work in accordance with the provisions of the statute, the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress and the Eighteenth PZPR Voivodship Reports-Election Conference, and the resolutions of the subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee and Voivodship Committee. The political work of the political workers will be verified by the PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board.

2. The Voivodship Committee instructs the Intraparty Commission to appoint, by November 15, 1981, a group to consider the problem of forming a City Committee in Gdansk.

3. The Voivodship Committee notes for the record that the Executive Board will evaluate the work of the mass media and will submit this evaluation to the Voivodship Committee members.

4. The Voivodship Committee calls upon the Voivodship Party Central Committee (WKKP) to submit the results of all completed clarifying actions at the next plenary meeting.

5. In view of the compositions of the problem commissions, which are arousing reservations, the members of the central authorities from the Gdansk party organizations are obliged to submit the opinions on this, as contained in the protocol of the deliberations."/ [in boldface].

9295
CSO: 2600/160

RADOM ENGINEERING SCHOOL RECTOR HEBDA INTERVIEWED

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 18 Nov 81 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Prof Michal Hebda, Rector of the Higher School of Engineering (WSI) in Radom by Pawel Patora, special emissary of GLOS ROBOTNICZY: "I Was Forced To Be a Candidate!", date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Rector Hebda, it is difficult for journalists to get to talk with you...

[Answer] I am reluctant to talk with journalists, since their reports to date have been largely one-sided and have not helped matters. I would like some journalist finally to present the facts honestly, without hushing things up and making changes. Let him annotate his report later as he likes, but let the facts be published.

The mass media have created an atmosphere in which you have some kind of idiot here who is clinging spasmodically to his position.

[Question] But aren't you clinging to it?

[Answer] I do not want to be the rector here at all! I live in Warsaw. For 6 years I have commuted from Warsaw to Kielce or Radom. If this were to go on any longer, it would be counter to my personal, family, and professional interests. After all, I have received an offer for a much better job in Warsaw. I may check it out. If I remained here, it would be very difficult for me to satisfy the high material aspirations of the employees. For all of these reasons I tendered my resignation.

[Question] And yet, despite the fact that the Minister accepted this resignation, you resolved to be a candidate in the elections on 27 October.

[Answer] I was compelled to be a candidate. I was compelled to!

[Question] Who compelled you?

[Answer] My sense of morality. When representatives of nine organizations persuaded me between 7 pm and 1 am on the eve of the elections, it was difficult to stand firm.

[Question] But you were elected in a procedure that is now in dispute. After all that happened, why didn't you tender your resignation?

[Answer] The procedure was correct. The Senate convened the electoral commission, and the commission worked out the election regulations. The Senate confirmed these regulations, and the electoral commission carried out the elections in accordance with these regulations. The Senate ratified the election results unanimously and summoned the rector. Can one disregard this? Is all of this null and void? If I resigned, in what position would I leave the 800 people who declared for my candidacy?

[Question] First secretary of the PZPR School Committee Dr Wojciech Czerwiec told me that the party organization obliged you to be a candidate since it recognized that the program of educational institution development which you presented is the best one. What are the main assumptions of this program?

[Answer] This whole educational institution has had its curriculum planned by me from start to finish. My program for the future is, therefore, a continuation of what I have already done. I consider it necessary to strengthen and develop courses of studies and scientific research existing here which have no counterparts in Poland. We have emphasized those disciplines in which we can devise something valuable. These should be original directions. Duplicating directions which for years have been developed already in other large educational institutions such as the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy (AGH), Warsaw Technical University (Politechnika), etc does not provide an opportunity to rapidly reach meaningful results.

Therefore, we have, for example, the Institute of Prevention and Insurance, the only institution of its type in the CEMA countries (a few graduates of this institute are mechanics, a few are economists, and a few are organizers), and the Institute of Transport Systems, the courses at which exist nowhere else in Poland: crude oil technology, technology of explosive materials, artificial materials technology, footwear technology, economics of small-scale production, and many other courses found nowhere else.

When I came here there were several independent scientific employees. Their number has increased to about 40 now. There were not many more than 10 doctors, and now there are more than 100. In the course of 2 years (1979-1980) we have taken on 600 scientific employees. Apparatus worth 30-40 million zlotys has been expanded to apparatus worth approximately 300 million zlotys. The cost of investments implemented in these difficult times totals about half a billion zlotys. In 1978 rye was growing where we are speaking now. Two hostels (the third is nearing completion), the best student mess hall in Poland, a sports facility, and educational buildings have been erected. This development should be continued, and I assume this in my program. Bad vision or good, it is my own.

[Question] The implementation of this vision depends in large part on the methods employed. You are accused of having an autocratic, and even a despotic style of managing an educational institution... Do you think such methods are appropriate, and do you intend to change them?

[Answer] I believe that these are exceptionally humanitarian methods. One-man decisions, one-person responsibility give those who feel they have been wronged a chance for reversal of the decisions made. When decisions are made collegially, responsibility erodes. It is not true that these are autocratic methods. If we adopt some program following discussions, later I am not interested in having any more discussions. Programs once adopted must be carried to completion. First let us do something, and later let us discuss it. I do not like idle talk.

[Question] A while ago the session of the Senate of the WSI concluded. What was the subject of the deliberations?

[Answer] The first point of the daily order was an attempt to write an open letter to the higher school senates and colleges of rectors in some academic centers. Resolutions adopted by the colleges in Krakow, Gdansk, and other centers attest to the utter lack of information on the causes and course of what is occurring in these schools, for I do not suspect the rectors of having ill intent.

The second point was that the Senate adopted a position on the evaluation of the situation at WSI accomplished by the Conference of Higher Technical School Rectors, and on the suggestions conveyed to the Ministers by the 13 rectors and prorectors participating in this conference. These suggestions are unadoptable. The participants accuse us of having different voting regulations than other educational institutions had. They were exactly the same. Only after this whole "harangue" did they add one point concerning the election of the rector. The charge of lack of social consultation is odd. For pity's sake! Should the decision on conducting general elections be subject to social consultation? There was consultation on the previous draft of voting regulations for 9 months. I declare that I did not participate in efforts to prepare the draft. To this day I have not read the voting regulations.

[Question] Do you see some way to resolve the conflict constructively?

[Answer] We know that this educational institution and its interests are an element in the central political game. However, I provided a good solution, in my opinion, that was accepted by the Senate. First, we must break the strike immediately to facilitate the instruction of the 1,400 students involved, for there is no making up for losses. Second, there must be elections for new collegial authorities--faculty councils and a Senate. We must wade through this system until 15 January, when I complete all the budgetary and material matters. Then let the new Senate call for a vote of no confidence in me. Whoever wants to could determine the ceiling on the number of votes needed. If the no confidence vote passed, I would yield, and a new rector could be elected.

[Question] As far as I know, the strikers will not be inclined to accept this proposal...

[Answer] I know that they want to strike to the end. Let them strike, but it will be a very long strike, for I have my appointment until 1984. The strikers are a group of people blinded by passion. They are spreading a rumor that I would take vengeance if I remained. I have already proposed that we nullify this whole stike period, which would constitute a prelude to an agreement.

[Question] Would you be prepared to undertake negotiations with the Strike Committee?

[Answer] I would agree only if a consultative group were set up which offered to meet and talk with me. The strike has been a wildcat walkout up until now. The strikers have not even presented their demands, with which I became acquainted only during one of my meetings with the students.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

8729
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SEDITIOUS DOCUMENTS, WEAPONS FOUND IN SOLIDARITY OFFICES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Dec 81 p3

[Article: "What Were the Weapons For? Small Arsenal Found in Private Apartment"]

[Text] (Our own information) The concept of "confrontation" has recently come up many times in the mass media, and has awakened public anxiety, high feelings, and even horror. The threat of confrontation has been greater and greater, growing for several months, and recently after the "Solidarity" meetings in Radom and Gdansk, the vision of civil strife has become completely realistic. Today, then, the question of whether the activist extremists of "Solidarity" have been merely talking about confrontation or whether they have also been taking appropriate steps in the light of such a confrontation takes on particular significance.

The fact that this has not been limited merely to words was proved recently during a search made of the Mazovian Regional Headquarters of "Solidarity" in Warsaw. Materials were found, including instructions on how to proceed in the event of a state of emergency, given over the Television News during the past few days. The materials prove the union activists' preparations for a struggle and also for action contrary to the law and against the authorities. Confrontation was intended. It was represented as one of the stages of the struggle for power, a struggle which was to satisfy the personal ambitions of certain activists and which could involve numerous victims.

Alongside the propaganda and directive-type materials found in the "Solidarity" headquarters in Warsaw were also objects the nature of which provides a clue as to the purpose of their being stored and their possible final use. A metal club weighing about 3 kilograms was hidden under a piece of paper. A baton with a container with paralyzing gas in it produced in one of the Western countries was also found there. It is supposed that this is a model for the production of other such batons. For example, they are discussed in the instructions formulating the principles of how to proceed in the event that a state of emergency is declared.

Another confusing incident occurred on Thursday the 17th of this month in Piotrkow Trybunalski. Col Zbigniew Pudysz, spokesman for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, states that there had been an interrogation of two employees of the Glassmaking Machine Factory there, a 22-year old, Andrzej Lipinski, and 28-year old Wlodzimierz Rozycki, members of "Solidarity," and a small arsenal of firearms was found. There were four locally-produced pistols, two with silencers, already fired, ready for use at a moment's notice. They were being stored and were concealed. Also found in the hiding-place were ammunition and components of other firearms. Both men stated that they had hidden the weapons upon hearing that a state of war was coming into their area of the country. This was therefore a deliberate action in violation of the decree clearly stating that weapons should be turned over to the appropriate authorities within 24 hours of promulgation.

Of course there are other ways of interpreting the fact that Piotrkow "Solidarity" members produced and stored firearms, but there is no doubt that this was an act subject to criminal proceedings. Besides that, the two men's explanation seem naive.

Lt Col Stanislaw Trafalski of the investigative office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs said that men had said they were collectors of old weapons and wanted to add the pistols to their collection, but added that we should remember that it was with just such a weapon that a taxi driver was murdered in Piotrkow in June. What were the weapons found in the possession of the two "Solidarity" members to be used for? The investigation being energetically pursued will learn the answer to that question.

10790
CSO: 2600/170

LIST OF MILITARIZED ADMINISTRATIVE, ECONOMIC UNITS PUBLISHED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p4

[Article: "List of Organizational Units of the State Administration and the National Economy Included in Militarization"]

[Text] Minister of Transportation

1. Polish State Railroads (Polskie Koleje Panstwow) Enterprise

2. Industrial Association of State Motor Transport along with subordinate organizational units

3. Central Administration of Public Roads, together with subordinate organizational units

4. Industrial Association of Rolling Stock Repair Shops and organizational units in that group

5. Industrial Association of Road- and Bridge-Work Enterprises and organizational units in that group

6. Industrial Association of Railroad Work and organizational units in that group

7. Industrial Association of Inland Navigation and organizational units in that group

8. Central Civil Aviation Administration and subordinate organizational units

Minister of Communications

1. Polish Post, Telegraph, and Telephone State Enterprise

2. Industrial Association of Radio and Television Stations and subordinate organizational units

3. Industrial Association of Communications Construction along with subordinate organizational units

4. Industrial Association of Communications Motor Transport and subordinate organizational units

5. Organizational units of Postal Guard (Straz Pocztowa)

6. State Radio Inspector's Office and subordinate organizational units

Minister of Chemical and Light Industry

1. Petroleum Industry Center (CPN) Tank Operation Enterprise (PEC = Przedsiebiorstwo Eksploatacji Cystern)

2. Przyjazn [Friendship] Enterprise for the Operation of Oil Pipelines of the Petroleum Industry Center (CPN)

3. Chemical Plant No 18 in Prostki

4. Mazowsze Refining and Petrochemical Plants in Plock

5. Gdansk Refinery

6. Oil Refineries in Czechowice-Dziedzice, Trzebinia, Jaslo, Gorlice, and Jedlicze

7. CPN Petroleum Products Administration Plants in Sokolka, Walily, Narewka Mala, Zamek Bierzglowski, Nowa Wies, Debogorze, Gdansk Nos 1, 2, 3, and 4, Kelpinek, Boronow, Kedzierzyn-Kozle (sheet-iron works), Skarzysko Koscielne, Barycz, Krakow-Olszanica, Malaszewicze, Zawadowka, Koluszki, Zagan, Gudkowo, Chrusciel, Rejowiec Poznanski, Zurawica, Zlocieniec, Kolobrzeg, Jastrowie, Ugoszcz, Szczecin No 1, Swinoujscie Nos 2 and 6, Trzebiez, Warsaw Nos 1 and 2, Mosciska, Emilianow, Wroclaw, Kawice, Walbrzych, Grabowno, Wierun Stary

8. Petroleum Products Center (CPN) in Warsaw and CPN petroleum products sales enterprises throughout the country

9. Departments handling special production and the echelon of major power industry in the following enterprises:

1) ERG Plastics Plants in Tychy

2) Nitron-ERG Plastics Plants in Krupski Mlyn

3) Gamrat-ERG Plastics Plants in Jaslo

4) Pronit Substance and Dyes Plants in Pionki

5) Substance and Dyes Plants in Zloty Stok

6) Boryszew-ERG Plastic Plants in Sochaczewo

7) Krywald-ERG Plastic Plants in Knurowo

8) Organika-Sarzyna Chemical Plants in Nowa Sarzyna

9) Organika-Zachem Chemical Plants in Bydgoszcz

10) Wolbrom "Stomil" Rubber Industry Plants

11) Bydgoxzcz "Stomil" Rubber Industry Plants in Bydgoszcz

12) Grudziadz "Stomil" Rubber Industry Plants in Grudziadz

13) Poznan "Stomil" Tire Plants in Poznan

14) "Metalchem" Chemical Equipment Plants in Koscian

15) "Metalchem" Chemical Equipment Plants in Torun

16) "Organika-Rokita" Organic Chemical Plants on the Odra in Brzeg Dolny

17) Kedzierzyn Nitrogen Plants

18) "Polish Chemical Reagents -- POCH" Industrial-Trade Enterprise in Gliwice

19) Olsztyn Fishing Net Plants in Korszy

20) Technical and Touristic Equipment Plants in Legionow

21) "Polnam" Technical Clothing Plants in Czestochowa

22) "Modus" Clothing Industry Plants in Bydgoszcz

23) "Emfor" Clothing Industry Plants in Lodz

24) "Poldres" Clothing Industry Plants in Zyrardow

25) "Skogar" Lodz Leather Industry Plants, Leather Items Plant in Tomaszow Mazowiecki

Minister of Metallurgy and Engineering Industry

Departments (plants) handling special production in the following enterprises:

1. "H. Cegielski" Metal Industry Plants:

--Precision Goods Factory, Poznan

--Pressed Products Factory, Poznan

2. "Predom-Mesko Metal Plants, Skarzysko-Kamienna

3. Research and Development Center, Skarzysko-Kamienna

4. General Walter "Predom-Lucznik" Mechanical Plants, Radom

5. Polish Optical Plants, Warsaw

6. "Stalowa Wola" [Steel] Mill Industrial Complex, Stalowa Wola

7. "Beima" Pomeranian Electrical Equipment Plants, Bydgoszcz

8. "Unitra-Eltra" Radio Plants, Bydgoszcz

9. "Unitra-Dolam" Scientific-Production Center for Electronic Devices and Subassemblies, Wroclaw

10. "Techma-ASPA" Welding Apparatus Plants, Wroclaw

11. "Predom-Wrozamet" Heating Equipment Plants, Wroclaw

12. "Predom-Termet" Household Appliance Plants, Swiebodzice

13. Beam Conduit [Przewodow Nawojowych] Factory, Legnica

14. "Agromet-Dolzamet" Farm Machine Factory, Chojnow

15. "Wifama" Widzew Textile Machine Plants, Lodz

16. Olkusz Enamelware Factory, Olkusz

17. "Ponar-Tarnow" Specialized Machine-Tool Factory, Tarnow

18. Ball-Bearing Factory, Krasnik

19. "Baildon" [Steel] Mill, Katowice

20. Dabrowa Gornicza HZWD Micro-Mill

21. "Jednosc" [Unity] Mill, Siemianowice Slaskie

22. "Florian" Mill, Swietochlowice

23. Trzebinia Metallurgical Plants

24. Construction Machinery and Locomotive Factory, Chrzanow

25. "Szopienice" HMN, Katowice Szopienice

26. "Bedzin" Mill, Bedzin

27. M. Buczko Mill, Sosnowiec

28. E. Cedler Mill, Sosnowiec

29. "Labedy" Metal Rolling Mill, Gliwice-Labedy

30. "Silesia" Mill Rybnik Metal Products Plants, Rybnik

31. "Predom-Prespol" Household and Touristic Equipment Plants, Niewiadowo

32. T. Dabala "Predom-Desamet" Metal Plants, Nowa Deba

33. "Krosno" PZL Transportation Equipment Plant, in Krosno

34. "Unimor" Gdansk Electronics Plants, Gdansk

35. "Radmor" Radio Plants, Gdynia

36. "Ema-Elektron" Electrochemical Plants of Stargard, Stargard

37. "Rawar" Warsaw Radio Plants, Warsaw

38. Ostrow Mazowiecki Radar Equipment Plant with "Zawiszy" local division, Malkinia

39. Industrial Telecommunications Institute, Warsaw (Poligonowa Street)

40. Industrial Telecommunications Institute, Warsaw (Ratuszowa Street)

41. Industrial Telecommunications Institute division in Gdansk

42. Experimental Laboratory of the Industrial Telecommunications Institute in Warsaw

43. Tele- and Radio-Engineering Institute, Warsaw

44. "Unitra-Unima" Electronic Devices Plant, Warsaw

45. "Ponar-Pruszkow" Precision Cutting-Tool Factory, Pruszkow

46. "Lamina" Electronic Plants, Piaseczno

47. Radio Ceramics Plant, Warsaw

48. Experimental Research Ceramics Plant, Warsaw

49. Radio Ceramics Plant, Kozienice

50. Radio Subassemblies Factory, Warsaw

51. Semiconductor Factory, Warsaw

52. Electron Technology Institute

53. Radio Subassemblies Plant, Warsaw

54. "Unitra-Polkolor" Picture Tube Plants, Professional Tubes Plant, Warsaw

55. Electric-Tube Production Plants, Warsaw

56. "Polam" Research and Development Center, Warsaw

57. Tube-Materials Plant, Warsaw

58. "Ozarow" Warsaw Glassworks, Ozarow Mazowiecki

59. Magnetic Materials Plant, Warsaw

60. Scientific-Production Center for Hybrid Microelectronics and Resistors "Unitra-Telpod", Krakow Electronic Plants, Krakow

61. Krakow Cable and Cable Machinery Factory, Krakow

62. "Mera-KFAP" Krakow Measuring Equipment Factory, Krakow

63. "Mera-KFAP" Research and Development Center for Measuring and Regulating Nonelectric Sizes, Krakow

64. "Labedy" Mechanical Plants, Gliwice

65. Research and Development Center for Mechanical Equipment, Gliwice

66. "Bumar-Fablok" Construction Machine and Locomotive Factory, Chrzanow

67. M. Nowotka PZL Wola Mechanical Plants, Warsaw

68. M. Nowotka Mill, Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski

69. Malapanew Mill, Ozimek near Opole

70. "Ema-Indukta" Electric Machine Plants, Bielsko-Biala

71. "Ema-Apena" Electric Equipment Factory, Bielsko-Biala

72. Compact [size] Auto Factory, Plant No 1, Bielsko-Biala

73. Compact Auto Factory, Plant No 5, Ustron

74. "Ema-Celma" Electric Machine Plants, Cieszyn

75. Construction Machine Plants, Wadowice

76. "Polam-Kontakt" Southern Electrotechnical Equipment Plants, Czechowice

77. "Czechowice-Dziedzice" Rolling Mill for Metals

78. Light Metals Plants, Katy

79. "Bumar" Construction Machine Factory, Mragowo

80. "Bumar" Industrial Institute for Construction Machines, Biskupiec

81. "Miflex" Radio Subassemblies Plant

82. "Ema-Aparator" Electrical Equipment Plants of Pomerania, Torun

83. "Predom-Metron" Office Machine Factory, Torun

84. Truck Factory in Starachowice (with branches)

85. "Polmo-SHL" Specialized Motor-Vehicle Factory, Kielce

86. "Iskra" Ball Bearing Factory, Kielce

87. Jelcz Motor Vehicle Plants, Jelcz near Olawa

88. "Warel" Electronic Plants, Warsaw

89. Kasprzak RAdio Plants, Warsaw

90. M. Buczko Caple Factory, Ozarow near Warsaw

91. "Wamel" Electric Machine Plants of Warsaw, Warsaw

92. "Mera-Blonie" Mechanical-Precision Plants, Blonie

93. Professional Electronics Plant, Szydlowiec

94. "Tonsil" Loud-Speaker Manufacturing Plants, Wrzesnia

95. Lodz "Fonica" Radio Plants, Lodz

96. "Ema-Elaster" Electric Equipment Plants, Lodz

97. Bydgoszcz Cable Factory, Bydgoszcz

98. "Diora" Radio Plants, Dzierzoniow

99. "Mera Elwro Center for Automation and Measurement Computer Systems, Wroclaw

100. "Centra" United Electrochemical Plants

101. "PZL-Warszawa II" Transportation Equipment Plant, Zlochowice near Klobuck

102. "May-1" Carbon Electrode Plants, Raciborz

103. "Bumar-Labedy" Mechanical Equipment Complex, "Zawiercie Machine Factory, Zawiercie

104. "PZL-Warszawa II" Transportation Equipment Plant, Warszawa-Wola

105. "Agromet" Farm Machine Factory, Czarna Bialostocka

106. "Westerplatte Heroes" Northern Shipyards, Gdansk

107. Warsaw Steel Mill, Warsaw

108. Batory Steel Mill, Chorzow

109. Bierut Steel Mill, Czestochowa

110. "Zam" Metallurgical Equipment Plants, Katy

111. Lenin Mill Metallurgical Complex, Krakow and Bochnia

112. "PZL-Mielec" Transportation Equipment Plant, Mielec, along with the Transportation Equipment Research and Development Center

113. "PZL-Swidnik" Transportation Equipment Plant, along with its Transportation Equipment Research and Development Center

114. "PZL-Rzeszow" Transportation Equipment Plant, Rzeszow, along with its Aeronautical Propulsion Research and Development Center

115. "PZL-Hydral" Complex for Typical Components of Power Hydraulics, Wroclaw

116. "PZL-Warszawa Okecie" Scientific-Production Center for Light Aircraft, Warsaw

117. Aviation Institute, Warsaw-Okecie

118. "PZL-Kalisz" Transportation Equipment Manufacturing Plant, Kalisz

119. Pomeranian Foundry and Enamel Plant, Grudziadz

120. "Faol" Lower Silesian Production Plants for Precision Equipment, Zabkowice Slaskie

121. "Pafal" Production Plants for Precision Equipment, Swidnica

122. "Refa" Electric Equipment Plants, Swiebodzice

123. "PZL-Krakow" Transportation Equipment Plants, Krakow

124. "PZL-Sedziszow" Filter Manufacturing Plants, Sedziszow Malopolski

125. Scientific-Production Center for Computer Techniques and Measurement, Warsaw

126. "Lumen" Lubsko Electric Equipment Plants, Zielona Gora

127. Poznan Electrochemical Plants, ZZE Center, Poznan

128. "Centra" ZZG Battery Plants, Piastow near Warsaw

129. "PZL-Warszawa II" Transportation Equipment Manufacturing Plants, Grochow-Warsaw

Minister-director of the Maritime Economy Office

1. Gdansk Maritime Office

2. Szczecin Maritime Office

3. Slupsk Maritime Office

4. Gdansk-Gdynia Port Group, including subordinate organizational units

5. Szczecin-Swinoujscie port group

6. "Polish Ship Rescue" state enterprise

7. "Polish Ocean Lines" State Enterprise, along with subordinate organizational units

8. "Polish Steamship Company" State Enterprise, along with subordinate organizational units

9. "Polish Baltic Steamship Company" state enterprise, along with subordinate organizational units

10. Industrial Association of Fishing Economy, along with subordinate organizational units

Minister of Foreign Trade

1. "Baltona" Foreign Trade Enterprise, along with subordinate organizational units

2. Main Customs Office, along with its subordinate customs offices

Minister of Mining and Power Industry

1. Traffic-operations service of state power distribution, along with district and regional power distribution, as well as national gas distribution

2. Traffic-operations services along with personnel for transport and technological equipment for the power industry's electric power plants, hydroelectric plants, electric heating plants, and power-industry establishments

3. Hard- and brown-coal mines and organizational units which insure the continuity of mining

4. Gas Denitrogenization Plant in Odolanowo and gas systems press [systemowe tlocznie gazu]

5. "Famur" Piotrowice Machine Factory, Piotrowice

6. "Wiromet" Mechanical Power Plants, Mikolowa

7. "Emit" Manufacturing Plant for Electric Machinery and Transformers

8. "Fase" Rescue Equipment and Mining Lamp Factory, Tarnowskie Gory

9. Lower Silesian Electric Machine Manufacturing Plants, Piechowice

Minister of Internal Affairs

1. Main Fire Protection Command, along with those organizational units directly subordinate to it

2. Organizational units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Main Command of the Citizens Militia, and voivodship commands of the Citizens Militia (along with the security and health service) and other local organizational units of the internal affairs ministry.

Minister of National Defense

Enterprises, regional plants, and garrison technical repair workshops, along with military units and institutions in which civilians are employed.

Minister of Construction and Building Materials Industry

"Transbud" Industrial Association of Construction Vehicle-Equipment Enterprises, along with subordinate organizational units.

Minister of Domestic Trade and Services

"Konsumy" Catering-Trade Enterprise and subordinate organizational units.

Minister of Justice

Prisons system

Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy

Institute of Meteorology and Water Administration, along with subordinate organizational units.

Minister of Material Economy

Departments of the Main Administration of State Reserves (warehouses)

Minister of Finance and the chairman of the Polish National Bank

1. State Banknote Factory in Warsaw

2. State Mint in Warsaw

3. Bank security

"Polish Radio and Television" Committee on Radio and Television Affairs

1. Echelon of the directing committee

2. Radio programs group

3. Television programs group

4. Technical group

5. General group

6. Regional broadcast stations

7. Television centers

8. "Polfel" Film Production Establishment

Appropriate Ministers, Central Agency Heads and Directors of State Institutions, Along with Chairmen of Central Administrations of Unions of Cooperatives

1. Enterprises of sector motor transport and transport plants and motor-transport units of the echelon of power industry of the mining and power ministry

2. Professional fire departments

3. Organizational industrial fire protection units

Voivodship Governors and Mayers of Cities With Voivodship Rank, Along With Their Subordinate Local Bodies of State Administration at the Basic Level

1. Municipal transportation enterprises

2. Voivodship commands and regional commands of fire protection units and organizational units of professional fire departments subordinate to voivodship and regional commands of fire protection services

3. Urban water-supply and sewer-system enterprises.

10790
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HISTORIC ROOTS OF UNITY BETWEEN ARMY, PEOPLE

Bucharest VIATA MILITARA in Romanian Nov 81 pp 10, 13

[Article by Maj Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu: "The Historical Roots of the Unity Between the Army and the People--a Characteristic Trait"]

[Text] The glorious history of our people attests that the Romanian Communist Party is a legitimate heir of the advanced thought and action, of the over-2,000-year-long struggle for social and national emancipation, of the ideals of freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Romanian people. Our party has demonstrated an extensive power of analysis and synthesis, ability in using the objective laws of social development, maturity in mastering the outlook of dialectical and historical materialism and applying it creatively to Romania's conditions, in utilizing the conclusions and lessons resulting from the experience of the struggles for social and national liberation, the advanced positions and ideas of the revolutionary and socialist movement in our country regarding the defense of the homeland, regarding the indissoluble ties between the military organism and the broad masses of people.

As the multimillennial historical experience accumulated by the Romanians attests, our people have fought continually in an unwavering unity with the army to defend their freedom, independence and native land, being obliged to put forth an extensive military effort, to wage endless battles against the invaders or those who encroached upon the homeland's sovereignty. This urgently necessitated the finding of solutions, methods, forms of fighting, tactical and strategic ideas corresponding to the given situation, meant to secure victory under the conditions when the numerical and technical superiority on a military plane belonged to the invaders.

In the fight against the invaders, the Romanian people intuited, worked out and used with greater and greater efficiency the idea and method of the united struggle with the army, mobilizing all the material and spiritual resources in order to defeat or repel the attackers.

The indissoluble tie between the people and the army appeared among the Romanians, in primary forms, as early as in the time of the Geto-Dacians, who organized a broad popular resistance against invaders superior on a military plane. "From the formation of the centralized Dacian state by Burebista in the 1st century B.C., from the era of Decebal's flourishing Dacian society and then through 2,000 years of existence, up to the present day," the secretary general of the party points out, "our people had to carry on hard struggles to form and defend their own being, their national entity." The matter of the joint struggle of the whole populace with the army

appeared among the Romanians out of the need to defend themselves from the invaders. It can be said, without fear of being wrong, that the joint struggle of the people with the army for the defense of the homeland was and is an objective necessity for our country, springing from the need to defend themselves, to defeat the invaders and those who nourished such thoughts, to safeguard the basic interests of the Romanian people, their right to life and free development, masters of their own fate, free to develop themselves in conformity with their aspirations of civilization and peace. "The whole history of the Romanian people," it says in the party's program, "presents itself as the history of endless class struggles, of the battles waged by the broad masses of people for freedom and social justice, for independence and the defense of national being, for progress and civilization."

The art of the joint actions of the army and the people was applied constantly by the Romanian people's great leaders and commanders of armies, such as Burebista, Decebal, Basarab I, Mircea the Old, Vlad Tepes, Stephen the Great, Michael the Brave and many others, who employed in a contemporary fashion and on a wide scale forms and methods of all kinds, the use of all the means of fighting that they could have on hand in order to be able to cause losses to the enemy, including those improvised or invented in wartime, and so on.

In the course of time, the relationship between the army and the people among the Romanians constituted not only a permanent feature but also an educational condition for the defense of the ancestral land both in ancient times and in the Middle Ages, when the war against the invaders was going on at its peak and with results of the most positive kind, without a well-knit theory, a system of ideas and precepts, a doctrine having been worked out. The existence and use of this practice proved its utility in the day-by-day activity, in the fight against the invaders. Another period (specific to the domination of the bourgeois regime) then followed, one in which the concept of the joint struggle of the army with the people was theorized, and precepts and ideas were worked out, but because of the policy of exploitation conducted by the ruling classes, because of the irreconcilable conflict between the bourgeoisie and the working masses, the tie between the army and the people did not always find its application in practice.

Taking up and developing traditions of joint struggle of the generation of 1848, the socialist movement in Romania devoted special attention to the problems of the struggle of the whole populace and the army for the defense of the homeland, of its national independence and sovereignty.

With the transformation of the socialist party into the Romanian Communist Party, there began a new stage in the evolution of the concept of the joint struggle of the whole populace with the army for the defense of the homeland. As early as May 1921, the Romanian Communist Party put in its programmatic documents the ideas of the struggle of the army together with the masses. This idea was developed throughout the period up to 23 August 1944, in the light of the themes of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, with the Romanian Communist Party acting effectively to put them into practice. The participation of the whole army alongside the Romanian people in carrying out the antifascist and anti-imperialist national armed insurrection confirmed the correctness of the political line of the Romanian Communist Party in the field of the struggle of the army with the whole populace, its scientific character. After 23 August 1944, in the achievement of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, throughout the period of the socialist revolution

and construction, the idea of the joint struggle of the people together with the army evolved continually, was developed in accordance with the concrete conditions of each stage, becoming in our times a constant practice that is the basis for the instruction and training of our whole populace for the defense of the socialist homeland. In the stage of the forging of the multilaterally developed socialist society, it has been possible to achieve, at unprecedented dimensions, an indissoluble tie between the army and the whole populace for the defense of our socialist homeland.

For the Romanian people, who have carried on endless struggles for over 2,000 years in order to defend their ancestral land, being obliged to continually confront invaders stronger from a military viewpoint, the joint struggle of the people and the army was and is an objective necessity, prescribed by the need to negate the superiority of the attacker and to obtain victories in extremely difficult situations, with fewer forces and means of fighting then the attacker. Under these conditions, utilizing highly efficient procedures and forms of fighting, means of fighting from the most modern ones to improvised ones, exhibiting inexhaustible initiative and ingenuity in these directions, using simultaneous, continual, diverse attacks, on all sides and everywhere, against the enemy, panic, confusion, demoralization, fatigue, fear and disbelief in victory are produced in the ranks of the invader, his fighting capacity is reduced systematically, the delaying of his actions is obtained, depriving him of the possibility of utilizing his superiority on a military plane, creating for him the image of the specter of death at every turn, causing him losses in troops and means of fighting, and compelling him, ultimately, to abandon the territories conquered. At the same time, the objective necessity of the joint struggle calls for the maintenance of the fighting spirit of the army and the people who are defending their native land, in order to stimulate the confidence of the fighters of all categories in victory over the attacker, to increase their force of action and to keep their morale high--indispensable conditions for defeating a strong and treacherous attacker.

In their heroic struggle for the defense of the ancestral land, the Romanian people have drawn the conclusion, of incontestable value, according to which the standing army has always constituted the basic component element of the armed struggle, its spinal cord. Over the millennia, in the times of great trial for the fate of the homeland, the standing army has played an active role, allying itself with the broad masses of people, fighting together against the invaders and gaining victories of historic importance. The basis for these results lay in the social composition of the armies, since they were formed, for the most part, of sons of the working people who had the same aspirations as the people. The continual, unbroken unity between the people and the army over the centuries has constituted a distinct, characteristic trait of the armed struggle among the Romanians and, at the same time, an essential factor in all the victories obtained in the fight against invaders of any kind. The close, indissoluble tie of the people with the army--always deeply animated by the same ideals and aspirations as the broad masses of people--has had a decisive role in its evolution in the contemporary era, permitting its transformation into a socialist, revolutionary army, concomitantly with the changes occurring in the social, economic and political life of the country. Closely tied to the people, to their highest ideals, the army of socialist Romania is fully prepared, determined to do everything, together with the whole populace, in order to fulfill at the highest parameters the noble mission that the homeland has entrusted to it.

Under our country's conditions, in accordance with the idea of the struggle of the whole populace for the defense of the homeland, the role that goes to the army in the

national system of defense not only is not declining but, on the contrary, is increasing. This fact necessitates the continual improvement of the instruction of the military to a high qualitative level in the light of the requirements of the military doctrine of socialist Romania.

Starting from the highly responsible mission entrusted to the army in the defense of the fate of the country, together with the whole nation, the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party points out, "Therefore preparing ourselves for a defensive war, against aggression, it is normal for our army to be--through its entire activity, through all that it does, through its political and combat training--directly tied only to our people, to be only under the command of the party and state bodies of socialist Romania."

12105
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DRAGOSAVAC INTERVIEWED ON NOVI SAD TELEVISION

LD160946 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1419 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Text] Novi Sad, 15 Dec (TANJUG)--Regardless of all the difficulties, I view with optimism the preparations and the goals of our 12th LCY Congress and believe that it will maintain the live of continuity of the revolution and of Tito's achievements. This was asserted by Dr Dusan Dragosavac, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium to Jelena Cvetkovic in an interview for Novi Sad television that will be broadcast tonight on Yugoslav radio and television.

It is natural that many questions concerning stabilization and the developments in our economic and political life dominate the congress preparations, and this will certainly be so at the top gathering of Yugoslav communists.

Asked to say what, for lack of a better word, the controversial questions of our political system are, Dragosavac began by recalling the generally known international assessment that the world is in a rather deep crisis, both political and economic. In a certain way it reflects on us as a part of this world, and it is essential that we be aware of it and that we take all the necessary measures in our system and in our work to overcome these difficulties.

For several decades now, Dragosavac said, we as a country have experienced both economic and cultural dynamism and social and political development. Yugoslavia is now at the level of a medium-developed country, which means that we have improved our position and that we have reduced the difference between us and the most developed countries. This has also been a characteristic of our development in the period between the two congresses--so much so that according to some estimates, we now have a national per capita income of approximately $3,300.

More important than all material things is our sociopolitical system. The question of the socialist self-management system within our country, the development and advance of national equality, brotherhood and unity and the affirmation of the concept of the working class and its historic interests. And so is, of course, the question of the development of the (?character) of social ownership, socially owned means of production and socialization of some state functions and policy, and it is important that this should, in fact, yield results.

Dragosavac stressed this at the beginning of the conversation, pointing out that he did not wish to speak of this crisis in the world in order to justify our difficulties but to affirm that we should be aware of it and that we should organize ourselves better to overcome external influences and our own shortcomings.

We must take into account the fact that as a country of average development, we can open ourselves economically and let the positive influence of the more productive world have an impact on us. Admittedly, this is not a new idea, because such an opening has been characteristic of our development. We are not an isolated country. On the contrary, we have been and are a most open country in terms of communication and cooperation, and this should be nurtured still further, of course, even now.

When his attention was drawn to the fact that as far as the so-called controversial questions of our political system are concerned, the view is increasingly heard that our self-management is stagnating, Dusan Dragosavac said, among other things, that the question of the development of the social character of the means of production, the self-management of these social resources, the socialization of these social functions, and the state ones too, including all-people's defense and social self-protection, is not controversial. According to Dragosavac, the question of brotherhood and unity, equality and nonalignment is not controversial.

For our socialist legal development, with all that this implies, Dragosavac asserted, these are questions that require no discussion. The only question that is asked is how to develop this better and more successfully. The inadequate development of our self-management system and the shortcomings within it make things difficult for us, and it is up to us to overcome this, eliminate it and advance without hesitation.

[Question] What are these subjective weaknesses and reasons: How would you, Comrade Dragosavac, describe them within the context of the criticism of the slow linking up, of associated labor on the basis of self-management?

[Answer] First of all, I would say that there are also some objective elements. We have reached a degree of socioeconomic development from which a new, higher quality step forward should be made. This is the question of when social reproduction, in particular expanded reproduction, should be socialized, and when linked up associated labor should carry out this function. The influence exerted by factors outside the economy is still great, in particular on expanded reproduction, and in this context perhaps the executive organs, too, play too great a role. This role should not be underestimated. The executive organs will play this role to a significant extent in the future as well, as will the administrative organs in all areas. The question that arises is only in whose service is this role. It is present less in the service of associated labor, of self-management, in the service of precisely the socialization of expanded reproduction and linking up of associated labor. However, should it be in this service, then this role is in line with the historical interests of the working class and in line with socialism and is therefore a positive role.

In this connection Dragosavac said that we have considerable weaknesses in this respect. He noted that there has been some criticism of these subjective forces,

of the league of communists, the delegate system and executive organs. This criticism is valid, though in this respect, too, there are various kinds of criticism. We should be trained in order that we might develop as much as possible through our entire system--from the socialist alliance, the trade unions, the youth groups, the league of communists--in order that everybody examines first and foremost the problems that he should resolve. We have perhaps at present too many of those who only see problems with others and less with themselves. Communists must not become isolated, must not have tunnel vision; they must successfully carry our their tasks on the job and not defend one sector over another, because after all, all of us work in sectors.

With regard to Yugoslavia, Dragosavac goes on, we are a federal community. It cannot be anything else either, in view of the national composition and historical elements. This is our great achievement and advantage. However, it is no coincidence that we have decreed that the league of communists cannot be a federal organization but, on the contrary, a unified organization, because it ensures the unity of the system in which all our working people are vitally interested. Above all, their interest is to overcome exploitation, classes and a class society. This is a question of further promoting genuine socialist democracy. This is not a question of pluralism of political interests but a question of objectively acknowledging the existence of various interests in society and then resolving them successfully from unified positions.

The attention of the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium was drawn to the fact that assertions are often heard about republics and provinces creating their own national economies, that we are building togetherness at the expense of the particular as well as the particular at the expense of togetherness.

[Answer] Well, you see, even during the war and immediately afterwards our party, led by Tito and by a whole galaxy of revolutionaries, Kardelj and others, rightly grasped and linked this social and national element in our country. By proceeding precisely from social, class interests, historical interests of the working class, although the country was at that time also underdeveloped, the historical tendencies and the social trends were correctly assessed and on this basis the solution of the national question was also placed at the focus of attention, because at that time there were six republican governments, and a seventh top of that. Even at that time various people often spoke, some with good intentions and some maliciously, both at home and abroad; well, it was easy to bring down a government in the old Yugoslavia, but it is difficult now to overthrow seven, or nine today, in view of the fact that we have two provinces.

This, in fact, is expressed a little symbolically, but before the war, as it is known, Yugoslavia was a unitarist state, inequality was expressed in it through this single government and it was, therefore, easy to do this. However, there is now a different system here in which all are equal.

Dragosavac stresses that the republics and provinces are one of our great achievements which should continue to be developed and nurtured, and it will be necessary to do this for a long time. "When there are nations, when there are republics and provinces, they cannot be reduced to some kind of cultural autonomy. This is not in the spirit of Marxism and this is not our program. We know whose program it is

but we have overcome it. What is at stake here is the question of the entity as well as the question of economic problems and economic interests. In this respect we should not shrink from, if you like, even national, so to say, republican and provincial economies. What is essential and what should be done is to overcome capital relations in general. This is a question pertaining to both republic and province, every section and in the federation. Our weaknesses also stem partly from the fact that we are overcoming this still too slowly, and if capitals clash then this can easily also transfer itself to nationalism. In this respect we then resolve the problems with greater difficulties and the opposite is also ture: if we overcome this--and this is in the historical interest of the working class--only then will there be no troubles but, on the contrary this will be of advantage to everyone carrying out his function in his sphere." [Quote mark as received]

[Question] What about those famous obstacles of ours to artificial sovereignties? Was the next question addressed to Dragosavac.

[Answer] If this is also the sovereignty of the working people, a sovereignty linked with the working class, with the nation and with equality, then this sovereignty is positive, and vice versa. Of course, there are still those negative elements. Not it is a question of a way out. We have many now who think that the problem lies in our returning to the system which we had, which the others too have. This shows great weaknesses--as if we can ignore the republics and provinces. On the other hand, many think that the way out lies even in returning to some elements of the capitalist system. Since difficulties have emerged, many come forward who simply advocate one system or another. However, we see that these systems are experiencing a total crisis and that our weaknesses stem from the fact that there are still certain elements of both systems present in our country, Dragosavac said, and stressed that we must consistently develop self-management and associate labor and thus overcome the weaknesses of both systems. This is also the essence of the precongress debates and of the plans in the economic policy, to train ourselves to resolve these matters.

What also arises now is the question of federalism in the LCY, the relative differences in the understanding of the term and the essence of this so-called federalism are noticeable. But what we have are disagreements and lack of unity in the political and economic life. Do we have a unified league of communists at all or do the republics and provinces and even municipalities have "their own" league of communists?

Dragosavac believes that it is now abnormal for discussions to be held on these issues and for there to be different concepts, in particular just now before the congress. However, he thinks that it is not good or normal that other concepts are appearing which are not in the spirit of our league of communists program and that there is not sufficient political resistance to that.

Saying that in our multinational community, equality, national characteristics and individuality should be manifested, but that unity too is needed, Dragosavac stresses that this unity is the support of the league of communists. The unified interest of all is precisely this historical interest of the working class. This implies the social character of the means of production in the whole of Yugoslavia, and implies that the elements and vestiges of state ownership should be overcome,

that private ownership in the sense of private capitalist ownership should be overcome, though there is less of that in our country. Dragosavac pointed out that it is no coincidence that the constitution stipulates that the league of communists must preserve the unity of the system. This is a joint interest, an interest of all, and communists in all delegate assemblies should fight for it. Therefore the question of democratic centralism, of both of its elements, is fundamental for us. We have to develop democracy and discussion when policy is formulated but at the same time we must ensure discipline in implementing the policy, in the sense that this policy ensures unity which, naturally, takes into consideration certain specific features and makes initiative possible. However, as regards these fundamental issues of the socialist self-managing system and its nonaligned policy no concession of any kind can be made to anybody." [Quote mark as received]

Dragosavac agreed with the view that in discussions, the principle of federalist relations in the league of communists is sometimes introduced instead of applying the fundamental principle of democratic centralism, and it then happens that democratic centralism in the league of communists and, let us say, social agreement-making, are opposed to each other in an antagonistic way.

There are elements which the League of Communists must overcome. First and foremost, in order to avoid falling into pragmatism, it must develop and adopt all the results of contemporary science, and stimulate and develop science and Marxism. But, on the other hand, this distinguishes it from some kind of pragmatic narrow organization which has no prospects and does not open up perspectives. Similarly, the league of communists must not remain at the level of discussions, for in this case it would be transformed into some kind of discussion club, Dragosavac says. When it is a question of the composition of the league of communists leadership, one often discusses whether we need only high-brow intellectuals or workers as well. We need both, Dragosavac says, adding "that in committees they do not write dissertations, as we have universities for that." And precisely in order for the league of communist to be--and it is--a revolutionary organization, it must link both elements. It must also fight constantly against dogmatism, for Marxism is a science, and not some kind of dogma. This is a method for the promotion of social processes, for analyses. We must fight against sectarianism, for communists have never considered that they themselves are sufficient in order to develop and promote. This was a characteristic of our party and remains so, which our people were able to turn to their own historic interests in order for tasks to be carried out. The party must be everywhere where social problems are resolved.

It was suggested to Dragosavac that in the last few months it has been demonstrated that in the league of communists a two-fold attitude has been discussed increasingly in relation to carrying out what has been agreed and returning some kind of ethical image to communists.

[Answer] Yes, there are quite a few problems here. This has always been very important for the League of Communists. However, in the League of Communists there has never been any dispute over those basic human values. This is the question of freedom and democracy. It is, then, always essential to estimate what kind of freedoms are in question, and what kind of democracy, as well as whose class interest. We must, first and foremost, take account of the fact that classes are formed in production and that this is the central issue. I have been talking to

the comrades here in some collectives, and it is encouraging to see that despite all the difficulties they are to a certain extent free of those negative phenomena and penetration by various other weaknesses. This is what is encouraging, but it also points to the League of Communists obligations as a whole, and those of its leaderships, to fight more resolutely in other spheres in which something else is needed. When I spoke with all the Novi SAD collectives, I could see that the main concern was the issue of how this system should be linked and promoted. I could also see that the more developed collectives not only link up within Yugoslavia but also with others outside. This is a problem before us, how to make this much broader, better and more effective.

[Question] Comrade Dragosavac, our principled solutions to the national question and the organization of the federation and so forth are well known. Our practice is also well known. How do you, from the point of view of national relations and the equality of the nations and nationalities, assess the problems in this sphere, which were also set out in a certain way at the last session of the LCY Central Committee?

[Answer] The national problem, Dragosavac replied, must always be linked with the social problem, for we can only solve it successfully here from the positions of the interests of the working class, of self-management and associated labor. And for us, this is beyond any discussion, this is something about which we will not enter into any kind of dialogue with anyone. For us the question of the equality of the nations and nationalities is a question above discussion. This is the essence of Marxism, the essence of the program, and that is why it was put into the constitution.

However, we are conscious of the fact, and we must be so, that while society is a class society, while the world is as it is, regardless of the results which are achieved by socialism and other progressive forces, as long as there is such a thing as a nation. This positive program of national equality will always remain topical for us.

If we develop equality in a positive program, then we shall be more successful in the struggle against nationalism. Broader penetration onto the political scene by nationalism is only possible during individual moments of the slowing down of the development of self-management, vacillation or insufficient unity. I think that we have these elements now.

Dragosavac emphasizes "that we must, as Tito did, constantly emphasize brotherhood and unity, and affirm complete equality. And here we have taken a great step forward in affirming not only the nations, but also the nationalities, as completely equal, as well as overcoming the concept of national minorities. Our republics and provinces have specific national features and the states of sociopolitical communities are national...." Dragosavac adds that in this way we have managed to create a situation in which there are no national minorities and no more peoples which are more state-forming or less state-forming, a situation in which these nations and nationalities of ours experience this Yugoslavia on an equal footing and do not look, as they say, "over the fence." They were the initiators of overcoming this concept of national minorities. Because of this, we can justly assert that they also opted for this socialist self-managing Yugoslavia. And we

must continue to develop this moment, even against everything that is trying to destroy it, and as communists we must fight resolutely and in an ideopolitical way in the Socialist Alliance, the youth organizations, the trade unions and all other sociopolitical organizations. Naturally, Dragosavac says, it is not by chance that we envisaged other measures for the class enemy where it is a question of the dissemination of religious and national hatred.

Viewed historically we have had, and still have, individual clericalists in these organizations who are not reconciled to what our revolution has established once and for all and to the fact that in its solutions it went further than a bourgeois revolution. The French bourgeois revolution, for example, cleared up relations of the separation of church and state, and the state from education. Naturally, in our revolution we were able to go further, and we did so. This is now the result of the constitution and our laws, and they are issues which we will not discuss with anyone. Nor will we permit any kind of demand that we should go back in this sense, or the demand of any religious community to interfere as an organization in national relations. This would mean introducing intolerance. It is something else when individual nationalists in collusion with clericalists often act negatively, while pretending to be concerned for the nation. We must oppose this resolutely, above all by our political means, by explaining this to the people.

Dragosavac recalls the fact that in its program the League of Communists says that it is incompatible for the membership to be linked with various religious convictions or for them to coexist with various ideologies. Discussion within the League of Communists from positions of Marxism on how to work better and behave oneself are one thing, but it is quite a different thing to solve within the socialist alliance various self-management interests, again, on the main directions of the promotion of socialism, brotherhood and unity, the development of self-management and of associated labor and so forth. In our society there is coexistence between people of various ideological orientations and, as Dragosavac says, "the question of theistic believers and atheists. We do not enter into this private sphere, and everyone is free to be in the League of Communists if he adopts its program and statute. In the Socialist Alliance and self-management, regardless of whether they are atheists or theists, they are equal, but if anyone divides them on this basis, then we take measures, regardless of whether they are theists or atheists. In this sense too, we must struggle against sectarianism in the league of communism and opportunism. This is a constant theme, for there will always be both one and the other."

Replying to the question about international cooperation of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia and the manifested impression that our public and party membership do not have enough knowledge of this, Dragosavac said that we have a very broad cooperation of this kind. Our party and the revolution, with Tito and Kardelj at their head, before, during and after the war proceeded. By tradition, from the fact that we are never self-sufficient, we have tried to carry out in the best possible way our tasks of the continuity of the revolution which also includes our obligations toward the world. This was created a prestige for us in the world; we have established very broad ties in the sphere of state relations, in particular in the nonaligned movement and at the United Nations. We have been the pioneers in the affirmation of cooperation by countries with different systems, of noninterference in the internal affairs. We have demonstrated that the time has come for small people too. If they are on the right course, representing much and that "the great" can no longer shape their destiny. This is the example which we have set and many examples demonstrate this, along this line of the league of communists we have consistently helped every revolutionary movement and are helping and will help also in the future.

[Question] There is more and more talk about the new phenomena of pseudoliberalism in arts, publicist work and journalism. Can you, Comrade Dragosavac, throw more light on these phenomena, their scope and genesis? Is there continuity in all this starting with the seventies?

[Answer] There is continuity but it is a different matter when this emerges on the political scene sometimes to a greater, sometimes a lesser degree. As I have said earlier as long as a nation exists there will be problems not only of the national but also of nationalistic phenomena. And something similar exists also here in the above-mentioned sphere. We have three attitudes: the first is the bourgeois, the second dogmatic--that which we often call Stalinist--and both have conditions for existence, they have their continuity. And then there is that third attitude of ours: the dominant socialist self-managing one. At individual points in time when difficulties grow greater, when a crisis hits the world and when crisis elements arise in our country too, then the two former aspects are more prominent on the political scene.

Dragosavac says that regarding the issues of culture and science we clarified with our program a long time ago that the league of communists is not any kind of arbiter in this respect, neither are its forums. In this respect we should allow full breadth. It is known that people do not agree on aesthetic issues, the tastes differ and this is not disputed. The league of communists neither usurps a monopoly nor does it acknowledge monopoly to anybody else and it must fight against these monopolies. But what the league of communists must do, since it is not a sector-like but a revolutionary organization, is to fight against alien ideological concepts in these spheres too.

[Question] The 12th Congress of the LCY will be the first congress to be held without Comrade Tito, the man who set the tone of all the congress of Yugoslav communists. We are already now describing the forthcoming congress as a Titoist congress, as the congress of consistency, affirmation and unfolding of fresh prospects for socialist self-management. What do you think about that? This was the last question put by Novi Sad television.

[Answer] By proceeding from the continuity of our revolution, that is from its further development, Dragosavac stresses that the revolution can never stop. If it stops, if it is reduced to history, then this is the end of it as a revolution. The course of self-management, of socialism, the course of associating of labor, of equality, of brotherhood and unity and of nonaligned policy--these are the issues which should be developed further and promoted before the congress and then at the congress tasks regarding this course set. This represents continuity, the continuity of our line, the protagonists of which are Tito, as the leader of our party for many years, for decades. But I would mention in this context that in that period we also lost another personality such as Kardelj was, before that we lost Vlahovic, Milentije Popovic and many others. But, between the two congresses we lost two personalities who had never separated themselves from the revolution. And, it goes without saying, that an even greater obligation is borne by us. That is, that we affirm this line, Dusan Dragosavac, president of the LCY Central Committee presidium, said at the end of his interview to Novi Sad television.

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KOSOVO'S HASANI ANALYZES PROBLEMS

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[Text] Pristina 17 Dec (TANJUG)--Sinan Hasani, member of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee presidium and of the LCY Central Committee, in a conversation with Pristina radio-television editor Alui Aluaj, gave an all-round picture of the importance of the LCY's political platform for Kosovo and for the whole of our community. In Hasani's opinion the essential part in the platform is a social analysis of the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, that is an examination of the basic is causes which facilitated the operation of Albanian irredentists. The causes, Hasani emphasized, must first and foremost be sought in the erroneous policy on Kosovo's development.

As is well known, Sinan Hasani went on, immediately after the war and for several years afterward, the structure of the population was such that the majority consisted of peasants, with about 80 percent of the inhabitants engaged in agriculture. However, later on it came about that young people left the villages in large numbers and flooded the towns in a desire to be educated, even to be educated for civil service professions. When we look at the composition or the structure of our university in Pristina, then we shall see that about 70 percent of students have studied the arts while the productive branches were neglected, for fewer people were interested in that; only about 30 percent of students. This created quite a lot of problems and other difficulties for in this specific situation people could see no more secure prospects for themselves.

In addition, Hasani continued, people who studied the arts, for instance, such as history, literature, languages, sociology and other spheres, somehow did not get close to our development and sometimes even hampered this development--I am thinking here of the development of socialist self-management--because they often dealt with some problems or other representing romaticism, particularly in the sphere of history, literature and so forth.

I feel that the platform attributes particular importance to elucidating the role of management in these situations, the role of the political party leadership in the province, the document states that all these social trends have happened to us without these problems being overcome by the further development of our self-managing system, by the further development of unity, brotherhood and community. Such trends often gained in scope so as even to bring the community into question. This occasionally harmed our unity too, for the conviction was formed that our

development depends exclusively upon what the community can give and not upon adequate mobilization of all the subjective forces in the province.

For 7 months our sociopolitical activity has been conducted on the basis of the program of action of the League of Communists Provincial Committee. It can surely be said that we have achieved considerable, visible results. The first thing, which in my opinion is very important, is that working people, peasants and young people have been able to see with whom they are dealing. We have, however, come up against nationalism which has in the final analysis inflicted the greatest harm primarily upon the very people within which it manifests itself, in this specific situation upon the Albanian people itself. How and why is it precisely the Albanian people? Because nationalism represents a bourgeois ideology and policy, a profascist ideology. If anyone has inflicted damage upon the Albanian people, then this has been done in the first place by racism and the bourgeoisie which have for decades and centuries exploited this people.

In addition, nationalist ideology is very dangerous particularly for development, for unity and first and foremost for the working people, regardless of to which nation or nationality they belong. Accordingly, nationalist manifestations have damaged our struggle and our efforts exerted in the aim of further developing brotherhood and unity between the nations and nationalities in our province and in the whole country. I say this because I think that it is very important that the people and the working people, primarily the Albanians, begin to understand with whom they are dealing; that very sombre forces are involved which directly threaten the interests of the Albanian people and the brotherhood, unity, and community of all the nations and nationalities living in our province.

I think that through our specific actions against nationalist elements and through specific political work and actions we have managed to isolate to a considerable degree the nationalist and irredentist element and, on the other hand to introduce a more accurate concept of the policy of brotherhood and unity in our country.

In answer to a question as to what results have been achieved in preventing the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, Hasani said.

The problem of emigration or the problem of population movement is a problem which has long accompanied human society. However, you are right. The question is posed in the context of the program of aciton which we have adopted. In fact, the question of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins is posed from the viewpoint of a reactionary nationalist ideology, platform and policy, for these forces aimed at making the population of Kosovo a pure ethnic Albanian one, in order thereby to present other political specific demands relating to the matter of the republic or relating to the matter of the so-called Marxist-Leninist political organization as they call themselves. In relation to this we acted wholly justifiably and with political maturity when we set out with the appropriate analysis to prevent artificial emigration or emigration under pressure. For all the analayses showed that not all emigrations occur under pressure. There were such emigrations and similar manifestations, however.

In the program of action therefore, we did not say that emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins was taking place only because of pressure and nationalist irredentist policy and not permitting them to take place. If we compare data on these move-

ments, that is on the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo during the last 10 years and in the course of the period since the manifestation of counter-revolutionary events, then we may say there are now fewer cases of such emigrations. I think we have succeeded in preventing such a process, which was in fact unnatural or imposed by nationalist and irredentist reactionary forces.

I think that there is sometimes a certain opportunism, Hasani commented, so that people do not see the importance of this question sufficiently. It sometimes happens that adequate measures are not undertaken such as, for instance, those which are undertaken against any manifestation of nationalism. In the final analysis, wherever we have pressures relating to the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, and I reiterate that such instances have taken place, then it would be wholly justified for measures to be undertaken such as those undertaken against those responsible for demonstrations and against people organized in illegal hostile organizations. The gravity of such nationalism is no less than that of taking part in demonstrations for it represents a counterrevolutionary action and a hostile phenomenon.

In this respect we are therefore confronted by very serious tasks for in the future, too, we must struggle to prevent such manifestations in the aim of suppressing emigration in order to recover the full trust of the working people. This Kosovo belongs to all of us. This Kosovo is our home, our environment in which we live together, and in which we shall share together every good and evil. In no case can we permit brotherhood and unity to be brought into question so many years after the revolution.

Answering a question about the dimensions of the indoctrination of greater Albanian irredentism, Hasani said that this had more or less encompassed both economic and cultural life to a great degree. I consider that that indoctrination can be perceived also in certain of our scientific, cultural and other works and creativity, and also in our educational and upbringing process, particularly in regard to glorification of certain issues along the lines of national romaticism. We have not devoted sufficient attention to the problems of education on the basis of our achievements, our revolution and Yugoslav socialist patriotism. This indoctrination has penetrated in various ways and in various forms which cannot be perceived at first glance but when a person looks a little more deeply, then he sees all those goals and sees that it was not healthy or that it was reactionary.

Speaking then of Albanian propaganda, Hasani said that Enver Hoxha and other individual Albanian leaders were trying to encourage political activity against the sovereignty and integrity of our country. They are coming forward with direct territorial claims and in so doing fully identify themselves with Albanian irredentism and nationalism in Kosovo, rendering them open support and encouraging them to continue this sort of activity. This propaganda by Albania is quite intensive and it is well known that this is not in anybody's interest and even less in the interest of the Albanian people here or of Albanians in Albania. When I say that it is not in the interest of the Albanian people either here or there this means that it is even less in the interest of the Balkans and the situation prevailing in the world because it can be clearly seen that the deterioration of such relations is used by the great powers for the implementation of their objectives. The present situation in the world is very complex and everyone bears a great responsibility indeed for its exacerbation, particularly making such demands.

Yugoslavia will never permit its integrity and sovereignty to be violated and its borders to be violated which are the result also of the struggle of the Albanian people which fought together with other Yugoslav peoples and which has created this country together with all the nations and nationalities in socialist Yugoslavia to which it belongs.

It is becoming even clearer to us, stressed Hasani, that the question of the republic, that is to say of the slogan "Kosovo-Republic," does not stem from a need or from some problem that Kosovo has not resolved its status in our socialist community, either as a social political community or from the international aspect or from the aspect of international policy. For instance, we know that Kosovo was autonomy.

Bearing in mind out self-management principles and our self-management policy Kosovo is in a position to decide all significant questions just as the republics decide about the future of the country. It has the same rights as the republics both when what is involved is a situation of internal development and when foreign policy is involved. I will say it again that it has all the right that belongs to it. Accordingly, stressed Hasani, the demand for the republican status does not stem from something that it allegedly does not have with regard to a principled solution of the autonomous status of the province, including the position of the Albanian nationality. It represents, in fact, an aspiration of the nationalists and irredentists; in fact their aim of destroying socialist Yugoslavia. They know full well that the slogan of having a republic represents something which is attractive to inadequately informed people. They thought that in so doing they will win them over and gain a few points. However, in terms of their concept, by setting up the Republic of Kosovo they thought that they would change the constitutional order in Yugoslavia. However no one has the right on which the people themselves have decided. The people adopted the constitution and laid down the appropriate organization of the country. This is why these are unacceptable demands.

However, I wanted to say that the thought behind it is to discredit Yugoslavia. These are the two reasons which testify that other interests, too, are involved in this. First of all, Yugoslavia is a very popular country which is building its own socialism and developing its own path into socialism which this does not suit the enemy. In particular it does not suit the dogmatic Stalinist forces. Moreover, Yugoslavia pursues a nonaligned policy and this does not suit at all the great powers which are interested in specific spheres of interest.

We must admit, Hasani went on to say, that we have not paid sufficient attention to the questions of developing the relations between the socialist Republic of Serbia and Kosovo or to developing relations with the federation to ensure fuller cooperation. When I say fuller cooperation I am thinking of the Serbian constitution and of the constitution of the socialist autonomous province of Kosovo. The attribute of the statehood of Kosovo as an autonomous area has been fulfilled and continues to be fulfilled through Serbia, but when I say through Serbia I do not mean to say that we fulfill the attribute of statehood through (?somebody elses) attribute but through our own social attribute. In this sense we have to see also some other things because the relations between the republic and the province had not been unfolding correctly enough. However, the most important things for us is that we have opted for a self-management system while the problem of statehood,

both in practical terms and in theory, represents for us a process which should be gradually eliminated. If the situation is such, then the relations must be developed from the aspect of integration, from the aspect of associating the labor and the resources with a view to giving life to the activity which will ensure the affirmation of (?nationality) in all national areas. I think that (?in this respect) we must display an even more intensive activity.

Replying to the question what he could say about the so-called "Marxist-Leninist Party of the Albanians in Yugoslavia," Hasani said that it would have been a much better thing if the authors of this "party" called themselves an "anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist Party" rather than a "Marxist-Leninist Party" because as a matter of fact this party has nothing in common either with Marxism or Leninism. When Albanian nationalists in a specific situation realized that they could not get young people into action with nationalistic and fascist slogans they wanted to do a sort of turnabout in this matter. Although absolutely aware of their nationalistic ideology, the nationalists began to call themselves a "Marxist-Leninist Party." By doing that, they acted like wolves in sheeps clothing and are bleating like lambs when they are in fact constantly sharpening their teeth in order to be able to swallow every victim. This is the essence of the matter because this "party" has no connection with Marxism. When one looks at who these people are and what they are offering then one can see their origin. One can see that their parents were, for instance, ballists or members of various fascist organizations during the war. In one word, they are politically very suspect people. Just imagine these very people being concerned with questions of Marxism and Leninism. It is just too ridiculous. However, let me say this once again: they knew very perfidiously how to take the opportunity to attract young people whom they had not been able to dupe by resorting to old slogans because it is clear that what is involved is fascist ideology fighting against socialist Yugoslavia or against our Kosovo autonomy.

Bearing all this in mind they proclaim themselves "Marxists-Leninists." For this very reason one is sometimes sorry that they have been able to lead astray a section of young people in whose hands nationalists and irredentists placed live embers and from which they were not aware they would get burnt. That is why I think that it would be a good thing if they saw this, and it is high time they did see it, to avoid becoming victims of various manipulations. Young people must begin to think for themselves and realize whom they are serving when in certain schools they occasionally indulge in enemy activities.

It is very significant, Hasani went on to say, that most intellectual cadres, primarily teaching cadres, during the first few days understood these things and distanced themselves from the counterrevolutionary activities denouncing any such enemy activity. Furthermore it is significant that educational, scientific and other intellectual cadres carried out all the tasks stemming from the action program in a very serious way, investing efforts for their further implementation.

It is very important, Hasani stressed, that we should go on fighting for the schooling and the training of school pupils and students, who must be committed to proving their values by deeds rather than to wasting time and falling under the influence of someone who has no connection whatsoever with their progress and with no wish for their further national and cultural development. We must ensure the further education of the young people through schooling. National affirmation

cannot be attained through idleness or by searching for irrelevances. We must work as much as possible. This society has paid considerable attention to the development of Kosovo because we are the least developed area, but this does not mean that the people of Slovenia, Croatia or Serbia should now meet all our demands or that we need not work enough for our own development. This is not in keeping with human values and it is also immoral. If a worker in a part of the country works and helps you, then you too must strive to justify this aid and to make use of this aid for the most appropriate type of development. Sometimes we have many conceptions regarding our attitude to work. Our schools and our universities must work even more and must make even greater efforts to correctly educate the generations and to establish a more correct attitude toward work.

At the end of his talk, Sinan Hasani said that the consideration of the party, political and other responsibility of the leading people at the time of the events in Kosovo has been left to a group of the provincial committee presidium which must size up the problem even more closely. As far as the training of the leadership is concerned, we must bear in mind the fact that elections are imminent. The platform says that there have been problems in the cadres policy, such as familiarity and sometimes even grouping and that democratic cadre policy was lacking. In view of the fact that this was said in the platform, it is sure that it was done on the basis of appropriate analyses. Therefore, during the forthcoming elections we must eliminate all the past omissions, which can be attained only on the basis of a democratic policy to be pursued within the context of the cadre policy.

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FATES OF FIVE ALBANIAN FAMILIES IN KOSOVO TRACED

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[Article by Duska Vrhovac-Pantovic: "Caps, Scholarships and Isolation"]

[Text] I set off for the village of Vrela with a friend who had escorted me on this trip and another comrade from the opstina headquarters who on his own had offered to take us to the house of those I wished to talk to, the family of Imer Bljakaj. This family is isolated because Imer's two sons, Ibis and Idriz, have been punished as direct participants in the demonstrations in Istok. Ibis spent 60 days in prison, his scholarship was terminated, and he says that he does not know whether he will be allowed to take examinations this year. Idriz is still in prison, where he has been for more than 3 months. I learned unofficially that he was one of the leaders in Istok, and indeed criminal proceedings have been instituted against him.

Imer Bljakaj has been expelled from the SAWP and from the Federation of Veterans for opportunistic behavior. In front of the house we told him that I wished to talk with his son Ibis about the demonstrations. He invited us into the house, led us into a room in which one sits down in the oriental fashion, on the floor, and said that he himself was very much disposed to talk. Very explicitly and vigorously, confirming his words with his hand, he said almost without a pause:

"At no point did I think of altering this system. We never had such a system before, nor will we have a better one. I am not against the way things are today, even if they arrest me and whatever they do to me. This thing now is something which people have done to me. And they have done it out of spite! My children are attending the university. This one (he indicates Ibis, who is drinking coffee) is in his 3d year. The other, the one in prison, has finished, he only had examinations to take in two subjects. But they have done all this to me out of spite. Neither of them participated in the demonstrations. I have witnesses for this one, who was in Pristina, that policeman who states that my son fled from the demonstrators in Pristina. He says that the bus did not stop, and that he personally halted him and shoved him into the bus. He said that he would testify to that in any place, all the way to Belgrade even. All of this has been done to me out of spite. This was done to me by SS and IM (he stated the full first and last names of people from that village). When the first slogan was written here on the wall (near the house), they said that my son had written it. Idriz was a teacher in Istok. That is where he lived. He came

home that evening. He went to visit his sick grandmother at the house of SS. He spent the night there. The next day the slogan appeared, and they said that Idriz Bljakaj had written it. SS said that he would be a witness, that indeed the entire family would testify that he had spent the night with them. They took Idriz off for interrogation. And then that day they put him in prison when he set off for the high school, since he was going to hold a class. That is, he left the high school to prevent the students from breaking the windows. He was with the students. I. S. told the police: 'Strike this one, he's the main one!' They beat him with riot sticks. He remained there. Then we brought him by car. The next day they came and took him away. This one (Ibis) they picked up in Banja, where he was working for SN. They took him off 1 day earlier. One day he put on his white cap and went out. He didn't do anything else but wear the cap. Some 30 or so others were wearing caps, but not a single one was punished for it, just him. I will say the same at any place, and I will say it to their face. This is only out of spite. Now let them say what they want. This one spent 2 months in prison. The other three. Now they have extended it a 4th month. They have not been able to present absolutely any arguments against him. They do this only forcibly. The government has a long arm and can do what it likes. But I have never been, nor will I be, against this system. But people arrange things.... I was a fighter. I lost 75 percent of my health in the war. And so long as I am alive, I will not be against this system. Let them shoot me, let them put me in prison, let them do what they please. They cannot break me so that I will oppose the way things are today. But I am against evil people! Since those evil people have rigged all this. Let everybody know that!

"My sons are excellent students. Idriz is studying electrical engineering, and Ibis is in the School of Economics. This one (a third, Hajdar, who is present) is a clerk in a store here. He does not live with me, he has a separate household. Up until now we have not had any problems.

"I was a participant in the war from November 1944. I was involved in wartime operations everywhere, in Vrsac, in Bosnia, in Sarajevo, I was in the war in those areas right up until 1945. I know what freedom is, and there is no way that I can be opposed to the way things are today."

Although I wanted to hear the son first, the father, exercising his right as the eldest, wanted to explain everything and to tell everything:

"These two were members of the League of Communists. Now they have been expelled. Idriz was not a member.

"Nothing in my life has affected me more than this isolation. And they have isolated me without reason. But one cannot leave his skin. They have expelled me from the SAWP. I do not have the right to vote. No one can come into my house, nor can I go to see anyone else. Incidentally, I am able to talk with people in the street. No one can come here on either a gay or a sad occasion.

"I have one other son, he is in the army. He has graduated from a school in mathematics and has enrolled at the university. Now he will continue his studies when he returns. He has no problems at all. I also have a daughter. They were all excellent pupils. I have done everything for them to have an education, and now everything is falling apart."

The words poured out of old Imer spontaneously, but I asked if we could also hear from the sons, who had been listening carefully while their father spoke. The eldest, Hajdar, clerk in the Korenik commercial enterprise, has been expelled from membership in the League of Communists because of his brothers. He spoke quietly, collectedly, with no desire to say anything more than was necessary:

"When I learned of the demonstrations, first in Pristina and then in Istok, I did not feel good about it. I was afraid that my brother might participate, since he was at the university there. The other was employed in Istok. When I learned that Ibis was not a participant, that he had fled from the demonstrators and headed home, I will be frank with you, I was relieved. I was not around when that incident happened in Istok. I was told of this brother that he had not participated, that he was in the car of the agricultural cooperative here in Vrela. The other, as you have heard, was a teacher at the school in Istok. But when the demonstrators were approaching the schoolbuilding, when they began to attack the school, I heard that he went out to tell them not to do that. Some policemen assaulted him and gave him several blows with riot sticks. I felt bad when I heard that. Later I had problems at work.

"In party meetings I have always declared myself to be against the demonstrators, against all hostile activity. In the village as well I have declared myself to be against the hostile demonstrations. I have been expelled from the League of Communists solely because of my brothers. I defended myself, repeating their statements that they did not participate in the demonstrations. I was constantly told that actually they had not participated. I said at the time, in the meeting, and I say it now, that I am against all hostile activity. They have expelled me from the League of Communists because of them. I get along at work, but it is still not the way it was before. Something has changed. The people in the village say that his father has been expelled from the Socialist Alliance so that we cannot enter the store. It seems they are insisting on having me driven from my job."

Hajdar did not wish to say anything further. It seemed that the most difficult for him was after all the new attitude toward him of the people in the village, though he did not actually say so.

I asked Ibis to tell his story regardless of what we had already heard from his father and his brother. A broad-shouldered fellow who seemed straightforward and had something inscrutable in his expression, he spoke easily and quickly. I had the impression that he was repeating his story for the umpteenth time.

"It began on 11 March. It was Wednesday. There was a soccer match in Pristina between Partizan and Pristina. I went to the game. After the game I came straight home, I did not go to the dormitory at all. Thus I did not even see the demonstrations, much less participate in them. I learned about that event only the next day. I was against those who behaved that way. They were protesting against the food. There was trouble in the dining hall. You always had to wait at least an hour to get your meal. Most people did not stay in line so there was always a commotion. I stayed at home 2 or 3 days on that occasion. I had classes on the 26th of March. That day I heard the lecture in demography,

and another class had a lecture in marketing. When the classes were over, there was a crowd at the entrance to the building. There were a great many people. I wanted to go outside, but they didn't let us. Later professors and Comrade Azem Vlasi came. They appeared in front of the dormitory. It was a large gathering. However, since they did not reach agreement, they began to shout. They did not let us leave the dormitory. Anyone found outside was beaten. We stayed in the dormitory. They drove us out of the dormitories about 1900 hours. They delivered a speech to us in front of the dormitory. On Friday I came home again. I did not go to Pristina again until...Wednesday. It seems to me that day was the 1st of April, and as I approached the dormitory, the demonstrations had already begun. I slept in the dormitory that evening. The next day I wanted to return home, but they said they would not allow it. I went out with my two roommates. When I reached the traffic light, the bus left us behind. The policeman Sadrija happened to be there, and he stopped the bus for us. They conducted a search, and I finally came home.

"Nor was I in the demonstrations in Istok. When the demonstrations began, I was in a vehicle belonging to the OOUR [Basic Organization of Associated Labor] 'Cooperation' from Vrela. F. and S. were with me. Both are workers in that work organization. It is true that I was in Istok that day. I drove a tractor there about 1200 hours. I saw them when they headed up. I was against them. Had I wanted to, I would have joined them in Pristina.

"So, I have lost a lot. I missed the examination period in June. All I was able to take were the one-semester subjects in January. I don't know whether they will let me take any now in September.

"Yes, I spent 60 days in prison. No one asked me any questions there. In Istok they just beat me a couple of times with riot sticks, and nothing more. I told them to ask F. If he says that I was not in his car, then let them punish me. I spent 2 months in prison, but without evidence. They kept me for a few days in Pec, and then they took me off to Gnjilane. That was a tough prison. The rooms were small, and the windows were blocked up with sheet metal. There were 8 beds and 12 of us. The heat was horrible. All day we were wiping off the sweat with towels. The verdict was rendered there in Istok by the judge for misdemeanors. They did not give me even an opportunity to say anything. I suggested that they ask the people I was with. They put me in prison on the 1st of May. I had two comrades while I was there. I was the only one put in prison. Had we been participants, they would have locked up those two, too. One is from Banja and the other from Kamenica.

"I was always against the demonstrations. Even today I am opposed. They gained nothing. They only lost and caused trouble.

"When the slogan appeared here on the rock near our house, we held a meeting. SB stood up and took part in the discussion. He said among other things that the slogans were written by those who wander around at night. I added that if that was the case, then they were written by his children, since they are the ones who are constantly wandering around at night. And the slogan said 'We Want a Republic.' I played into their hands by saying that. They concluded that it could have been written only by someone from our neighborhood, since we are the closest.

"They have already cut off my scholarship. I have not received anything since February. It is difficult. There is no one to put me through school. My brother who had a salary is now in prison and has been discharged from his job. And the one who is in the army now has to be put through school.

"Earlier I was always very active. That is why they enrolled me in the party without my having applied. If the party organization were to give me some task now, any task whatever, whatever it would require of me, I would do it and prove myself to be exemplary. But I cannot talk with these people. The man who made the statement that I was a participant in the demonstrations was with me in prison in the same room. He admitted that he was involved in the demonstrations."

Old Imer tried once again to explain how he cared more for the present system than for his own family and how no one and nothing could change his opinion about that. As I was leaving the Bljakajs' yard, I thought how very quiet it was there. In seeing us out to the gate, Ibis couldn't resist one more sentence. "There is a wedding at our neighbor's, and I cannot go; that's tougher for me than those 2 months in prison...."

In Trbovac

I was looking for the house of Sadri Cetaj in the village of Trbovac. The son Ramadan, a high school senior at the Educational Center in Istok, was also one of the participants in the demonstrations, so I was told. His sister's scholarship has been cut off because of that.

It was not easy to get to the Cetajs' house. The boy whom we asked to get Ramadan returned and said that he was not at home, and his mother said she didn't know where he was. However, to help us he said that he thought that Ramadan was probably out in the fields nearby, and we could go and look. He was right.

It was about 1900 hours. It was already twilight. I was standing with my friend in the dirt road with fields on both sides, some 250 meters from the group of young men of which Ramadan was one. The boy who had been helping us went and told him what we wanted. They talked for a long time, and then the two of them showed their intention to come to our car. Yet they stopped again and had another heated discussion. Then three of them started toward us. Again they stopped.... Finally, four lads arrived, and a bit later another, who appeared to be 30 or so, joined them. It was not difficult to guess which one of them was Ramadan Cetaj. Nervous, brusque, but self-confident, fiery, he asked me: if that fellow in the committee had allowed me to come, why didn't he come with me, why didn't I go for permission to the president of his own local community, and, for the matter of that, what do I care what he thinks? It was not a pleasant atmosphere. I turned on the tape recorder and asked this robust lad why he participated in the demonstrations, did the cutting off of the scholarship mean anything to him, and why, when he was so harsh, didn't he state his opinion publicly?

"If I had been in the demonstrations, I would be in prison now. The scholarship? I haven't been receiving it for the past several months either. What is

50,000? You can drink that up in a tavern in one evening. I did not wear a cap, but if I had wanted, who could forbid me to do it?"

He responded nervously to a question about what he thought about the events that had taken place: "Are they right...? Who knows. Even Mahmut Bakali didn't know whether they were right. How should I know? It doesn't matter what I think. Do I have to tell you? I think one thing now, and then....

"On the day of the demonstrations I was in Istok, but indoors. I did not take part. Anyone who wanted could.... I am interested in learning. What do I care what others think? I am not even interested in what others say. Had I been in the demonstrations, I would not be here. Write whatever you like, I don't give a damn.

"And as for the cap, it is an ethnic symbol. I will wear it tomorrow if I like. I had the right to wear it, and now I'm not supposed to. No, it is not forbidden, but it is undesirable so long as the situation is like this. If your husband has something which he considers his symbol, do you have the right to forbid him to wear it? No one can prohibit that. It's the same with us. And I have mine. I will wear it when I like.... In any case, I told you, I don't care, write what you like...."

The atmosphere was extremely unpleasant. It had already become dark, and it made good sense to break off this conversation. I did not ask Ramadan Cetaj if he would let me take his picture. We said good-bye to him and his friends who had been standing there, but none of them wanted to say anything. And Ramadan himself, it seemed to me, expressed more in his behavior than in the words which I have conveyed here.

In Studenica

The first man whom we met in Studenica was the father of Nesat Gasi, the one we were looking for. He invited us to his house, but we still were left on the grass beside the road, and the father called Nesat. We were also joined by Nesat's two younger brothers. They listened quietly and looked at their brother unblinkingly.

"I would like to tell it just the way it was.... I am in the 11th grade at the Ribar Brothers' School Center in Istok. My name is Nesat Gasi from the village of Studenica. I was expelled from school just 2 weeks before the end of the school year. I did not have any hostile aim whatsoever that day. I was neither against Yugoslavia, nor against brotherhood and unity. That day I set off for school as on any other day. Since I had never seen demonstrations and such a large gathering, I was a bit surprised. I joined the crowd. A few days later they expelled me from the school.

"I also had a scholarship from the opstina. Fifty thousand old dinars a month. It was not enough, but it still helped me. I used that money to pay for my monthly bus pass, and I was also able to buy a few textbooks.

"My father was not here when I was expelled from school. He was off working in Germany. My uncle was here. Sometime afterward we all said what we had to say at the school. We swore that we would no longer behave like that. After those declarations, they took me away and held me for 28 hours in Istok. They questioned me about what my purpose was and so on. I explained everything to them. That I did not have any hostile aim whatsoever. I know that blood was shed to win our freedom. I know that we were all together: Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians and the rest. And I explained it all that way. It seems that they did not understand me or did not believe me.

"I am not an excellent student, I am average....

"No, no one in the group of demonstrators called to me or tried to persuade me. It was Thursday, market day. My uncle had brought a pair of oxen to the market. He had gone off to have lunch, and I was left with the oxen. But when he saw the group which was coming, my uncle immediately came back and said that we should quickly get out of the way and that the market would be disrupted. We set off. He led the oxen and I came behind. When we reached the curb by the bakery, they led me away. I was swept away by the crowd. No, I did not know anyone. The police appeared at the supermarket. I came back home from there. I do not know what happened after that. We did not go to school for a week after that. Then they asked us questions. After they interrogated us, they let us go home. They expelled me from school, they cut off my scholarship, that's how it is.

"I inquired whether I could enroll in school somewhere else. They said that they could not accept me anywhere until I obtained a statement of consent from the president of the youth organization and from those people in the committee. For me as a practical matter it is a question of my future. I have said I was sorry a hundred times. I didn't need this. Before I was always involved, I participated in all the events in the school. And now...now my neighbors avoid me. As though they are afraid of me. They believe the stories more than they do me, though I am telling the truth.

"It is not easy for me. Now I am at the best age. I do not know.... As though my path for development and advancement has been cut off. I feel like a bird without wings. Helpless. I have fallen very low. Had I known that it would turn out this way, I would have fled, I would have gone away, I would have been sure that I wasn't there.

"If they would only let me enroll in school. Even without a scholarship. I would get by somehow. Today there is nothing without school. I would do anything just to graduate from school. I would like to be a good youth and an honest citizen of this country.... That is what I would like."

Nesat uttered all these words quietly, but with a great deal of emotion. And then his father began to speak. He spoke very correct Serbian. I mentioned this, asking how it was that his son knew hardly any Serbian. Nimon Gasi laughed and explained: "I went to school in the time of King Peter. At that time you had to know Serbian.

"Well, as you see, I am already disabled. This son is my oldest, and I was relying on him. The other children are very small, and I have seven of them. We are living on welfare. We are very poor. I was hoping that Nesat would graduate, get a job, and help me. And now this has happened to me.

"I have always been against all the enemies of the new socialist Yugoslavia. I have nothing to complain of. I will write petitions. A son is a son. No one is perfect. He is young. He made a mistake, but they can forgive him. I am certain that my child cannot be an enemy of this country, which has always helped us. My family is receiving 173,000 dinars in welfare. As a veteran I am receiving 74,000. We get by, though that is not much.

"I qualified for 7 months' service as a fighter in the war. They have not expelled me from the Federation of Veterans. No one has behaved differently toward me, everything is the same as before.

"But even this 1 year, when it is lost, sets us back a great deal."

Returning from Studenica I was unable to avoid comparing Ramadan Cetaj and Nesat Gasi. They are on the same list....

In Dubrava

I was looking for Emina Maksutaj in the Dubrava Local Community headquarters in the village of Dubrava. Emina is studying English at the university in Prizren. Now she is also on the list of those whose loans or scholarships are being taken away, but not because she herself did anything, but because of her younger sister, Serifa, of whom I have heard she wore a white cap on her head on the day before the demonstration took place in Istok. Emina was in Prizren that day. She heard about it only when she came home.

Here again I first had to talk with the oldest man in the family, and only afterward with someone else, if he allowed. Emina's uncle came out, and when we told him what we wanted to talk about, he sent a child for Emina. Serifa, her younger sister, a student in the last year of high school, and her brother Rifat, a sophomore in high school, came along with Emina. A bit later their mother also came out of the house. I did not tell Emina that that very day they had decided to cut off the loan after all. I asked whether someone in her family had participated in the demonstrations and why her sister had worn the cap precisely that day, what was the situation in Prizren, and would she continue to go to school if her loan was cut off? Slowly, a bit in Serbian and a bit in Albanian, Emina spoke without holding back:

"Even myself I do not know what I really think. Some people say that they saw my youngest brother, who is in the 1st year of high school, that he participated in the demonstrations. He said that he did not take part. My sister said that she just happened to wear the cap that day. She was supposed to take it to an old uncle. I was told that they would perhaps cut off the loan because of the two of them.... And I.... I did not take part. When the demonstrations occurred in Prizren, I saw everything, but my girl friend and I fled, so to speak. I did not know what was happening. I had not heard anything before that. When I came home, they told me about my sister and brother....

"If they cut off the scholarship, I don't know what I will do.

"I was very active in secondary school. I love music and songs. I was a member of the folklore group. I always participated in the recitals we prepared. I always got along well with all my colleagues, regardless of nationality.

"And now, if they cut off the loan, it is highly doubtful I will be able to continue to go to school. In any case I will not be able to go to school fulltime. Though the scholarship is small, it made it quite a bit easier for me. There are nine of us in the family. I am the oldest. My father is rather old. He is now working abroad. We are building a house, we have bought land. And then me to support as well. That would be hard. I don't know whether I will be able to continue to go to school. They know that quite well. Those 70,000 mean a great deal to me. And I think that it is not fair. When I talked with the people in the local community headquarters, I told them my opinion. I also talked with my sister and brother. I am the oldest, and they should obey me. I do not believe that their opinion differs from mine. My sister cried and said that she was sorry, even though it did just happen that way. Had she known, she would not have worn it. In any case, here she is, let her speak for herself...."

Serifa: "On my home from school on Wednesday, I met my uncle who lives in Istok. He asked me to bring him Papa's cap. Papa wore it only when he was here, and now he is abroad. I cleaned the cap and took it to my uncle. I had a small bag, and I could not put the cap in the bag, and I didn't want to dirty it in my hands, so I put it on my head. That is how I came to wear it to the school. My uncle lives not far from the school. I took the cap to him.

"There were demonstrations the next day in Istok. That day I went to school as usual. I was inside with the teachers and the other students. They didn't let us go out. They didn't let those who were outside come in. On my home that day I met R. P., a neighbor. He works in the committee headquarters. He asked me why I had worn the cap. I told him that it just happened. He also asked me whether anyone had said anything, whether I knew there would be demonstrations? I answered that I did not know anything and that no one had tried to persuade me of anything. After that there were all kinds of stories. Even that I was a participant in the demonstrations and then this and then that.... But I have teachers and students as witnesses who were with me. Later, here in Dubrava, various meetings were held in the local community headquarters. I had nothing to confess. Incidentally, I am an excellent student, I am a member of the literary club, I am good at recitation. I would like to study economics, but I do not know if I will be able. There are many of us children, we are all going to school, we are all good students, and we want to continue. But my father cannot support it all."

Her brother Rifat is a sophomore. He says that he did not take part in the demonstrations. "I happened to be in the street coming home from school. There were about 20 of us. My homeroom teacher was with us. We headed for the school, but they didn't let us enter the school. We stayed there until the crowd broke up."

The mother stood to one side the whole time. She appeared to be listening carefully. Then she herself intervened. "We are a poor family. I have seven children. My husband is working abroad. I did not go to school, but I have tried to bring up my children as well as I could. To bring them up to be honorable and honest. I cannot tell you how bad I feel about it. My husband has also heard of all this. He has scolded us all in his letters. He is angry. He is giving us advice through his letters. We have so many problems of our own. We have six children going to school. It is not easy for us."

As I was leaving, Emina asked me to give her my address. She took a piece of paper and noted it down.

So, those are the first four of the list of those whose scholarships are being cut off because of.... After these conversations I had the strong impression that there were many more differences than similar ies among them....

In Kovrage

Zoja Idrizaj lives in the village of Kovrage. This was a girl whom the secretary of the Istok Opstina Committee of the League of Communists had mentioned the previous day as a model of the behavior of a conscious young person. We asked her to come out, and she came into the meadow in front of the house. She spoke spontaneously and modestly.

"I live here, but I go to the university in Belgrade. I was in Belgrade when the demonstrations took place in Istok. How bad my friends there felt about everything that happened here. But no one was even concerned with the fact that I came from here. No one behaved differently toward me than usual for even a moment. My friends here are mostly Albanians, in Belgrade they are mainly Serbs. There is no difference.

"When I came home, I felt a need to take part in the work of the youth organization. I wanted to help, to work, though previously I had not been so active. To make my contribution in some way. The first time I attended a meeting of the youth organization, participants in the demonstrations also attended. I think there were six of them. Three said they were sorry, but that was not the way they thought.... One of them said that he didn't expect that he would be put in jail. But what else could you expect, I asked him. 'A republic,' he said. You got what you deserved, I told him. And here there was an argument. He became quarrelsome, he said: 'Who are you to know whether we will get a republic or not?' Others also broke in. Finally, the demonstrators were expelled from the youth organization, and they had to leave the meeting.

"After that I had no problems at all. I attend the meetings regularly. I want all this to be straightened out. Both here in the village and more broadly. I will fight with all my strength. I will say that I am a conscious young person wherever I am. Without fear and with pride. So many lives were given for this country. We are free, and there are enough of us who are ready to fight. That is what Tito taught us to do."

He Is Sleeping on Dedinje

I said good-bye to Zoja. That evening I was to go to Pristina and the next day to Belgrade. Many impressions, few words with which to express them. It is not possible to draw any overall conclusion. After each conversation you seem to know more, but not to understand more. In any case, it is all a delicate matter, one must take great care with one's words and one's actions. This makes people less direct and spontaneous. Many disparate things are happening at the same time. On Friday evening in the outdoor restaurant of the Karagas Hotel in Pec I heard a professional singer sing the favorite song of the demonstrators "Kosovarja." The audience tapped out the time enthusiastically. I asked the singer to write down for me the words of the song in which a Kosovo woman is called upon to carry the flag and to be the leader. She wrote down the words of the song, and when I asked who wrote it, she pointed upward with her finger, behind her back. I understood that the song had been imported from Albania. She confirmed it by nodding her head.

By contrast with that, I had a pleasant surprise the next day in Pristina. As we were passing through the city in a car which had Ljubljana license plates, we met a group of young men and women in Youth Brigade jackets. They were singing. When they noted the Ljubljana license plates, they stopped and gave us the Youth Brigade greeting: "A comradely greeting for Ljubljana.... And again.... And yet again...." It was extremely pleasant to be greeted that way here. It doesn't matter which part of the country you come from. In the evening I heard the song of the Youth Brigade members once again from the window of my hotel room. In front of the Grand, and somewhat later from the streets of Pristina as well, it resounded: "Comrade Tito is sleeping on Dedinje, the wisest head in the world...," and "Comrade Tito, we give you our word...." I was glad that my last impressions in Kosovo were like that. Early in the morning I came back to Belgrade.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1967

New Albanian Civil Code

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1967

NEW ALBANIAN CIVIL CODE

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 3, Jul-Sep 81 pp 18-93

[The Civil Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; passages between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The Civil Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

/General Part/

Chapter I

/Content, Obligations, Bases and Principles of the Civil Legislation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania/

Article 1

The civil legislation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania expresses the will of the working class and of the other working masses, organized in the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Civil legislation regulates relationships of property and personal relationships not related to property between the enterprises, institutions, agricultural co-operatives and social organizations, and between these and the citizens, as well as between the citizens themselves.

Socialist ownership of the means of production and the socialist system of the economy are at the foundation of civil juridical relationships.

Article 2

Civil legislation aims at serving the complete building of socialism in accordance with the principle of relying on one's own forces and at fulfilling better and better the material and cultural needs of the citizens.

Article 3

Civil legislation is guided by the policy of the Albanian Workers Party and is based on the ideology of the working class, on Marxism-Leninism.

Civil legislation stems from the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Article 4

Civil legislation adheres to the principle that the development of economic and social relationships takes place in the process of the class struggle and the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism.

Article 5

In particular, civil legislation protects socialist property which is the inviolable basis of the socialist system and the source of the well-being of the people and of the strength of the fatherland.

Article 6

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania it is forbidden to grant concessions to and to create foreign companies and other economic and financial institutions belonging to foreigners or on a joint basis with the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist monopolies and countries; it is also forbidden to receive credit from them.

Article 7

Regulation of civil juridical relationships takes place under conditions when, in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, there is no exploitiong class, when private property has disappeared and when exploitation of man by man is forbidden.

Private property is protected by law and cannot be used in conflict with the interests of socialism.

Article 8

Civil relationships, set by this Code, are based on the principle of democratic centralization which coordiates planned centralized management with the initiative and creative thought of the working masses.

Article 9

Civil rights are protected by law.

The enterprises, institutions, agricultural cooperatives, social organizations and the citizens exercise their rights and fulfill their civil obligations in harmony with the requirements of the law and of the norms of socialist morality, by cooperating among themselves and by placing the general interest above special and private interest.

The exercise of civil rights in opposition to the requirements of the law and to socialist morality does not enjoy the protection of the law.

Article 10

The provisions of the law are in force only for the civil juridical relationships which take place after they come into force. Their execution in regard to juridical relationships, which took place before, is allowed only when it is explicitly stipulated by law.

Chapter II

/Civil Juridical Relationships and Juridical Actions/

Article 11

/The Meaning and Content of Civil Juridical Relationships/

Civil juridical relationships are social relationships of a political and ideological nature, determined by socialist relationships in production, and are regulated by civil legislation.

Civil juridical relationships, as political and ideological relationships have a class character; they express the will of the working class and of the other working masses.

Civil juridical relationships are relationships of cooperation and of aid existing between people liberated from exploitation who are working for the complete building of socialist society.

Article 12

/The Meaning of the Juridical Act/

The participants in civil juridical relationships carry out juridical acts, such as contracts of selling, supplying, donating, renting, ordering and so forth. Juridical acts are unilateral or bilateral actions.

Juridical actions, carried out freely, in harmony with the interests of the socialist state, aim at creating, changing or annulling a civil juridical relationship.

/The Form of the Juridical Act/

Article 13

A juridical act can be carried out verbally or in writing. When a juridical act is carried out in writing, it can be either a simple one, or a certified one, or one formulated by a notary.

Article 14

The following juridical acts must be put in writing:

a) Juridical acts in regard to which it is expressly stated by special provisions, that they must be carried out in writing;

b) contracts signed between enterprises, institutions, agricultural cooperatives and social organizations or between these and the citizens;

c) and contracts with a value of more than one thousand five hundred leks.

Article 15

A juridical act, which is not executed in writing, is invalid only when such a thing is expressly stipulated by law. In other cases, the juridical act is valid, but it cannot be proven by witnesses.

When a juridical act must be carried out in accordance with the law, by a notarial act, the juridical act is invalid if it is not carried out in this form.

Article 16

The following juridical acts can be executed verbally, regardless of the form required by special provisions:

a) sales in cash, regardless of the value, with the exception of the contracts which, according to special provisos, must be made by a notarial act;

b) the deposits made in a case of misfortune, such as fire, flooding or another extraordinary happening.

Article 17

The following juridical acts are invalid; those which:

a) are obviously dangerous to the state;

b) are in conflict with the law;

c) are carried out to deceive the law;

ch) are carried out by juveniles under 14 or by persons who have been totally deprived of their capacity for action because of psychiatric disease or because of deficient mental development;

d) are carried out in agreement between the parties involved, without the intention of bringing juridical results, that is, carried out to deceive others or to hide another juridical act.

Article 18

The court, by request from the interested parties, declares invalid juridical acts undertaken by:

a) juveniles over 14 years of age, when they carried out the act, without the agreement of parents or guardian;

b) persons, whose capacity for action has been limited because of psychiatric disease or deficient mental development, when they carried out the act without the approval of their guardian;

c) persons who, at the moment of the execution of the juridical act, were not aware of the importance of their acts, although at the moment of the execution of the act they had not been deprived of their capacity for action.

Article 19

A person, who has executed a juridical act while being deceived, threatened or mistaken, can request that his juridical act be declared void.

Article 20

Deception can cause a juridical act to be declared void when the lie used by one party to involve the other party in error is such that without this lie this party would not have executed the juridical act.

When the deception has been carried out by a third person, the deceived party can request that the juridical act be declared void only if at the time of its execution the other party had known of should have known of the deception.

Article 21

Threats can cause a juridical act to be declared void when the threat is such that it can frighten a person to the point that he himself, his relatives or his property are in danger of suffering serious and unjust harm.

Threats can also be made by a third person who does not participate in the juridical act.

Article 22

A mistake, that is, the wrong understanding of the juridical act, can cause this juridical act be declared void when it is such that, if the person had known the situation, he would not have executed the juridical act.

/The Consequences of the Invalidation of the Juridical Act/

Article 23

A juridical act which is declared void is so called from the moment when it is carried out.

Article 24

The invalid parts of a juridical act do not make the entire juridical act invalid if, from the circumstances and its nature or content, it appears that the parties would have carried out the juridical act even without its invalid parts.

Article 25

When a juridical act is void because it comes in contradiction with the law, because it was carried out to deceive the law, or because it is openly detrimental to the state, everything the parties have given to each other is taken and passed into the revenues of the state and, when it is not possible to obtain the same thing, its value is claimed.

If the juridical act does not damage the interests of the state and one of the parties has acted in good faith, the court can decide that everything that this party has given should be returned to it and, when it is not possible to do so, its value is paid.

Article 26

When a juridical act is invalid because it has been carried out by deception or under threat, everything that a party has taken from another party must be returned to the damaged party and, when it is not possible to return the same thing, its value must be paid. What has been given by the party, which has carried out the deception or the threat, is taken and passed to the state revenues and, when it is impossible to obtain the same thing, its value is taken.

Article 27

When the juridical act is not carried out with the purpose of causing juridical consequences, but to cover another juridical act, the hidden juridical act is valid if it has all the conditions determined by laws.

The other persons who have in good faith gained rights on the basis of such juridical acts are not hurt.

Article 28

When the juridical act is declared void because one of the parties has been in error, each party is obliged to return to the other party everything it has taken from it and, when it is impossible to return the same thing, its value is paid.

The party which requested that the juridical act be declared void is obliged to compensate the other party for the actual damage it has suffered because the juridical act was declared void.

In the case that the party proves that it is not guilty of falling in error or when the other party has known or should have known the error, it is not responsible for the compensation of the damage.

Article 29

When a juridical act is void because it lacks the form determined by the law, each of the parties is obliged to return to the other party everything it has taken from it and, when it is impossible to return the same thing, it must pay for its value.

Article 30

When a juridical act is void because it has been carried out by a juvenile under 14 years of age or when it is declared void because it has been committed by a juvenile over 14 years of age, each of the parties is obliged to return to the other party everything it has taken from it and, when it is impossible to return the same thing, to pay for its value.

The party that has the capacity to act is obliged to compensate the juvenile for the damage he has suffered since the juridical act became void or was declared void.

Article 31

Each of the parties is obliged to return to the other party everything it has taken from it and, when it is not possible to return the same thing, to pay for the value when the juridical act is or is declared void, according to the case, because:

a) it has been committed by a person who has been completely deprived of his capacity of action;

b) it has been committed by a person whose capacity for action has been limited;

c) it has been committed by a person who, at the time of the execution of the juridical act, was not aware of the importance of his act.

The party, which had the capacity for action, is obliged to compensate the other party for the damage suffered when it knew the cause of the invalidity of the juridical act.

Article 32

The lawsuit requesting that a juridical act be declared void must be brought within 1 year.

The deadline for suing dates:

a) for juridical acts carried out by persons who have had their capacity for action limited, from the day when they have become of age or when the capacity for action has been returned to them;

b) for juridical acts carried out by deception, threat and error, from the day when the deception or error has been discovered or when the threats have stopped, but, in any case, no longer than 3 years from the day when the juridical act was executed;

c) in the other cases, the deadline begins with the day when the juridical act has been committed.

Article 33

/A Conditional Juridical Act/

The juridical act is conditional when the initiation or deprivation of rights and of duties stipulated in this act depends on an event and it is not known whether this event will take place or not.

When the verification of the condition is prevented, in bad faith, by the party which would have profited from its nonverification, the condition is considered to be verified.

When the verification of the condition is caused by bad faith on the party of the party which would profit from its verification, the condition is considered not to be verified.

The consequences connected with the verification of the condition start from the moment of the verification of the condition, with the exception of the cases when, because of the content of the juridical act, it appears that these consequences must start at an earlier time.

Article 34

/The Juridical Act With a Deadline/

When in a juridical act it has been specified that its consequences start or end at a specified time, they start or end at the time set in the juridical act.

Chapter III

/The Subjects of Civil Juridical Relationships/

/Juridical Persons/

Article 35

To accomplish a specified action, juridical persons are created.

Juridical persons, as subjects of civil juridical relationships, are enterprises, institutions, agricultural cooperatives and social organizations which have material and monetary means and, consequently, can acquire rights for themselves, undertake civil obligations and be plaintiffs or defendants.

Article 36

Juridical persons are created as follows:

a) by law or by decision of the Leadership of the Council of Ministers;

b) by decision of the founder and, with the approval of the responsible government organ;

c) by decision of the founders, after the responsible organ approved it;

ch) by any other way stipulated by law.

Article 37

The juridical person, from the moment of its establishment, can obtain those rights and take upon himself those civil obligations that are allowed within the aims of his activity.

The juridical person acts, through his organs, within the limits of the rights set by law in the statute or regulations.

The juridical activities carried out by the organs of the juridical person within the limits of their jurisdiction are called activities of the juridical person.

Article 38

The agricultural cooperative, as a juridical person, acts on the basis of its statute which is based on the standard or basic statute approved by the Council of Ministers.

Article 39

The juridical person has his own name and seal.

The office of the juridical person is the place where the management organ is situated.

The rights and obligations of the juridical person--rights and obligations deriving from the use of the seal, of production seals and trademark--are established by special law.

Article 40

The juridical person is responsible for his obligations in accordance with the provisos of the Code of Civil Procedure.

The state and the juridical persons are not liable for the obligations of each other, with the exception of the cases when this responsibility has been accepted by them or wherever it is expressly stipulated in the law.

The state is not liable for the obligations that emerge from the activities carried out by the foreign trade enterprises, with the exception of the cases when it has expressly accepted such a responsibility.

Article 41

The organ which has the right to create a juridical person can pass a part of its activity to another juridical person and decide upon its termination by the means of reorganization (consolidation, distribution and absorption) or by means of dissolution.

Agricultural cooperatives cease to be juridical persons when their property passes over to a higher form of ownership. In regard to this aim, cooperative members make the appropriate decision freely, a decision which must be approved by the Leadership of the Council of Ministers.

Article 42

The rights and obligations of merged juridical persons pass over to the new juridical person.

The rights and obligations of appropriated juridical persons pass over to the juridical person which has appropriated them.

At separation, the rights and obligations of the juridical person pass over to juridical persons as shown in the relevant act.

Article 43

Through dissolution, the juridical person ends its activity. The property of the juridical person which is dissolved passes over to the juridical persons as indicated in the decision of dissolution.

The implementation of rights and payment of obligations of the juridical person dissolved are carried out by the commission established by the organ which had decided upon the dissolution.

Article 44

The creation of economic units with independent bookkeeping, and with a liquidating account in the bank for the enterprises is carried out by decision of the Leadership of the Council of Ministers, in accordance with the proposal of the ministry or the other central institutions to whose system the enterprise belongs. The creation of economic units with independent bookkeeping, without a liquidating account in the bank, is carried out according to dependence by order of the minister or of the director of the other central institution or by decision of the executive committee of the district people's council, on the basis of the proposal made by the enterprise itself.

Article 45

/The State/

The state is represented, as a subject, in those civil juridical relationships which stem from the direct disposal of budgetary means and of state assets which have not been given for administration to any juridical person and also in other civil relationships in which it participates directly.

In the cases shown above, the Ministry of Finance and the financial sections of the executive committees of the district people's councils act in the name of the government, apart from the cases when the law specifies other organs for this purpose.

/The Citizens/

Article 46

The citizens, without discrimination on the basis of sex, race, nationality, education, social position or material status, have juridical capacity, meaning capacity to have civil rights and obligations.

Juridical capacity begins at the moment of birth of the person and ends with his death or with the declaration that he is missing.

The child enjoys juridical capacity from the moment of conception, if it is born alive.

Article 47

All citizens are equal before the law.

No one can be limited in the exercise of civil rights, only in the manner and in the cases specified by law.

Any juridical act that limits juridical capacity or the capacity to act is invalid.

Article 48

The citizen, when reaching the age of 18, acquires full capacity so that with his activities he may gain rights and assume upon himself civil obligations. The woman, who has not reached the age of 18, acquires this capacity forever through marriage.

A juvenile of the age of 14 has limited capacity for acting. He can carry out juridical acts solely with preliminary approval of his legal representative. Nevertheless, he can become a member of an agricultural cooperative and other social organizations, can freely dispose of what he earns through his work, can make deposits in savings institutions and can dispose of these deposits by himself.

A juvenile under the age of 14 has no capacity for acting. He can carry out juridical activities suitable to his age, which can be carried out right then and there, as well as juridical activities which can be profitable to him without any compensation. The other juridical activities are carried out by his legal representative on his behalf.

Article 49

A citizen who is unable to do his work because of psychiatric disease or deficient mental development, can have his capacity to act removed or limited by court decision.

Article 50

A residence is the place where a citizen lives continually or most of the time.

A juvenile under the age of 14 and a person whose capacity for action has been removed have, as a residence, the residence of their parents or guardians.

Article 51

A citizen, by court decision, can be declared as missing, when there is no news about him at his last residence for more than 2 years or within 6 months if he had disappeared during a disaster.

The citizen, who is lost during combat activities, can be declared as missing by court decision when 1 year has elapsed since the cessation of combat activities.

The day of disappearance is determined by the court, taking into consideration the concrete circumstances of the event.

When the day of disappearance is not evident from the circumstances of the event, the last day of the periods mentioned in the first and second paragraphs of this article is set as the day of disappearance.

Article 52

When the person, who has been declared missing, is found, the decision is annulled by the court which had issued it.

The person who is found alive is given back all the rights to the property which he had lost as a result of the declaration of being missing. He also has the right to claim, at any time, his property from the third persons who had profited from it, property which had passed to them because of the declaration that he had been missing.

Article 53

The juridical capacity of foreigners is settled by the treaties or agreements concluded by the People's Socialist Republic of Albania with their countries.

When there are no treaties or agreements, foreigners enjoy the same civil rights recognized to the Albanian citizens. Nevertheless, limitations can be imposed by law or by provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Chapter IV

/Representation/

Article 54

The citizens and juridical persons can also carry out juridical activities through another citizen or another juridical person, with the exception of the cases when the juridical act, because of its character or according to the law, must be carried out by the person himself.

The right to represent can stem from the law and from the will of the person represented or it can also stem from the circumstances under which the relevant activities are carried out.

The representative acts on behalf of the person represented; through his activities, when they are carried out within the limits of the rights granted to him, direct consequences emerge for the person represented.

Article 55

The representative must act by himself, with the exception of the cases when he is allowed to designate a deputy or when the replacement is deemed necessary for the protection of the interests of the person represented.

The representative must immediately inform the person represented about the deputy he has chosen, otherwise, he is responsible for the activities of his deputy just as he is responsible for his own activities.

The deputy can be dismissed at any time both by the person represented and by the representative who has appointed him.

Article 56

When a citizen or a juridical person acts as representative without having this capacity or when the representative exceeds the limits of the rights invested in him, the juridical act carried out is not binding on the person represented, with the exception of the cases when the latter has approved this act.

The third person who has been in good faith has the right to seek compensation for damage from the representative.

Article 57

The power of attorney is the act which reflects the will of the person represented and is always made in writing.

The power of attorney to find a contract which, according to the law, can be executed only by notarial official letter, and the power of attorney to execute activities before courts and other state institutions, must be given in notarial official letters with the exception of the cases when, by special provisions, the confirmation of the power of attorney is permitted to be executed in another manner.

The power of attorney in the name of the enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives or of the social organizations can also be given with the signature of the manager or with the relevant seal.

The power of attorney, in order to get letters, postal parcels and other postal mailings or money from post offices, banks and savings institutions, the power of attorney to get wages and other compensations stemming from work relationships, and the power of attorney to get pensions, aid and scholarships can also be certified: a) by the chairman or secretary of the village people's council or by the city quarter people's council; b) by the enterprise, institution or organization where the person represented works or is attending courses; c) by the administration of the health institution where the person represented is a patient undergoing treatment; and d) by the command of the military unit to which the military man represented belongs.

The power of attorney given by a person who is confined to prison or another place can be certified by the administration of the prison or of the place where the prisoner is being detained.

Article 58

The power of attorney ends in these cases:

a) when the action for which it was given has been completed;

b) when the representative or the person represented has died or when the juridical person is terminated;

c) when the person represented has annulled the power of attorney or when the representative has renounced it.

The juridical activities, carried out by the representative after the changes brought in the power of attorney or after the power of attorney has been terminated, are binding on the person represented and his heirs if the third persons, with whom these activities are connected, did not have knowledge of the changes made in the power of attorney or when it has been terminated.

Chapter V

/The Statute of Limitation/

Article 59

A right which is not exercised within the deadlines set by the law cannot be protected through a suit by the court or by the competent organ.

When it is not stipulated otherwise in the law, the statute of limitation of the suit is:

a) 1 year and a half for suits between juridical persons;

b) and 3 years for suits between juridical persons and citizens and between the citizens themselves.

In regard to suits stemming from the supply of goods of quality in contradiction with the conditions set in the contract and in regard to request for disciplinary conditions, the statute of limitation is 6 months. The competent government organs have the right to seek the judgment of these issues within 1 year.

The parties cannot alter the statutes of limitation of the action.

Article 60

The statute of limitation for suits begins at the moment when the party has been given the right to sue.

In regard to obligations without deadlines and in regard to obligations which are fulfilled by request of the creditor, the statute of limitation of suits begins from the moment the obligation is created.

The statute of limitation for suing for damage compensation begins from the day the injured party knew or must have known about the damage and the person who had caused it.

In conflicts between juridical persons, stemming from the supply of goods of quality in contradiction with the conditions set in the contract, the limitation begins from the day of the drafting of the act of verification for the quality

of goods and, when the act of verification has not been done, the statute of limitation begins from the day of the expiratio the deadline for its completion.

The statute of limitation for suing for the return of what has been acquired or has been spared without reason begins from the day the injured party has known or must have known that the other person had profited and had been spared without reason.

Article 61

The right to seek compulsory execution of a final decision of the court or of another executive title must be exercised before 1 year elapses when the parties are juridical persons and before 3 years elapse in all other cases.

Article 62

The executed statute of limitation for suing is taken into consideration by the competent organ which examines the matter even without a request from the parties.

The introduction of a request for suing after the termination of the statute of limitation causes the collapse of the suit.

Nevertheless, the competent organ that examines the matter has the right to reinstate the statute of limitation for suing when it judges that the reasons which the plaintiff has given for completing this deadline are reasonable.

Article 63

The following are not subject to the statute of limitation:

a) a suit of the state to recover state property held in an illegal manner by an agricultural cooperative or a social organization or by a citizen;

b) a suit of an agricultural cooperative and of social organizations to recover their properties held in an illegal manner by the state;

c) a suit stemming from the violation of a personal nonproperty right, apart from the exclusions determined by the law;

ch) a suit for participation as co-owners;

d) a suit to recover the sums deposited in savings institutions or in banks;

dh) and other suits stipulated by special provisions.

The requests for compulsory execution of decisions connected with the suit, for which limitation is not applied, are also not subject to limitation.

Article 64

One cannot seek the return of the things or of money which a person has voluntarily given for the fulfillment of an obligation which, although unfathomable, is not without value, or which he has given for the fulfillment of a special obligation for himself, in harmony with the regulations of socialist morality.

Article 65

The statute of limitation is suspended in these cases:

a) when there is a natural disaster;

b) when the postponement of obligations is announced;

c) when one of the parties is in the people's army which is in a state of war;

ch) between spouses;

d) between children and parents as long as the latter exercise their parental rights;

dh) and between persons who are under guardianship and their guardians.

In the cases stipulated in letters a, b, and c, the statute of limitation is suspended if the situation happened or continues to exist in the last 6 months of the deadline of the statute of limitation.

The statute of limitation of action for compensation of damage to health or for death is suspended when the interested persons have presented a request for setting the state social security pension until the day they receive an answer.

The suspension period is not calculated in the deadline of the statute of limitation. After the suspension ends, the statute of limitation continues even in the cases where the time that remains is shorter than 6 months; this is extended up to 6 months.

Article 66

The statute of limitation is interrupted:

a) by every action of the debtor constituting knowledge of the law (knowledge of the law has no value for the interruption of the statute limitation in relationships between juridical persons);

b) by the presentation of the request for a suit either in a court or arbitration office which is not competent to examine the issue;

c) by presentation of a request for implementing the decision or the executive title.

The time elapsing before the interruption of the statute of limitation is not calculated in the deadline of the statute of limitation; and dating from the interruption, a new deadline for the statute of limitation begins.

/Special Party/

Chapter 1

/Ownership/

Article 67

/The Content and Object of Ownership/

Ownership is the right to possess, enjoy and dispose of riches within the limits determined by law.

The objects of ownership are movable and immovable material things.

Immovable things are land, buildings, and everything which is combined in an unmovable manner to the land or the building.

All the other things, including electric energy and any other energy, are movable things.

/Socialist and Private Ownership/

Article 68

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania assets are owned by the state, the agricultural cooperatives and private individuals.

Article 69

Socialist property is composed of the state property and cooperative property in agriculture.

/State Ownership/

Article 70

State property belongs to all the people and is the highest form of socialist property.

The state is the only owner of the entire state property.

The following are properties of the state alone: land and underground resources, mines, forests, pastures, waters, natural energy resources, plants and workshops, machine and tractor stations, banks, communications roads, and the rail, air and water transportation means, ports, telephones and telegraphs, the radio and television stations and motion picture houses.

Any other asset that is created within the state sector or which the state acquires according to the law is also state property.

Article 71

State assets are administered by juridical persons appointed by the government within the limits determined by the law and in accordance with the aims of their activity and with the tasks of the state plan.

Article 72

Objects which, according to special provisions, are included in the principal means can, by decision of the competent government organs, pass from the administration of one enterprise, government institution or social organization to another, but always without compensation.

The principal means, with the exception of those determined by special provisions of the Council of Ministers, in the abovementioned manner, can pass to the ownership of the agricultural cooperative, as a rule with compensation.

Article 73

By decision of the responsible government organs, the land is granted to the state enterprises and institutions, the agricultural cooperatives and the social organizations for social use and to the citizens for personal use.

The land is granted for use without compensation.

/Cooperative Ownership/

Article 74

Cooperative property belongs to the group of village workers who are voluntarily united into an agricultural cooperative.

The following are properties of the agricultural cooperative: the buildings, machines, pieces of equipment, the means of transportation, tools and working means, work and production animals, fruit tree crops, agricultural and livestock products, and other means necessary for its activities.

Article 75

The agricultural cooperative exercises its ownership according to the law, according to the statute and according to the state economic plan.

Article 76

The state supports the development and invigoration of the agricultural cooperative so that it will become a modern unit of the great socialist production.

The passing of cooperative property into property of all the people is done in accordance with objective conditions, with the consent of the members of the cooperative and with the approval of the state.

/Private Ownership/

Article 77

Private property consists of revenues from work and from other legal resources, the house of residence and other things which serve to satisfy the individual and family material and cultural needs.

Private property also includes objects belonging to the cooperative family on the basis of the statute of the agricultural cooperative.

Article 78

The owner, in the exercise of his right over immovable property, can be charged with limitations, which are set by special provisions and, if there are none, by regulations of socialist morality.

Article 79

Immovable things of cooperative and invidiaul property can become state property when required by general interest.

The criteria is for their transition and the manner of compensation are determined by law.

Chapter II

/Co-Ownership/

Article 80

/The Meaning of Co-Ownership/

Ownership of an article can belong to two or more owners (co-ownership).

/Co-Ownership in Shares/

Article 81

The shares of co-owners of an article in co-ownership are equal as long as the contrary is not proven.

Article 82

Each co-owner can use the common article according for the purpose for which it has been established and so as not to prevent the other co-owners from using it in accordance with the share they have.

Every co-owner gains from the advantages, and is charged with the obligations stemming from co-ownership in proportion with his share.

When some co-owners, or one of them, use the common article, they are obliged to pay compensation to the other co-owners for the use of their shares from the day they are asked to pay this compensation.

Article 83

The article in co-ownership is administered in accordance with the agreement between all co-owners and, when they disagree, in accordance with the regulations established by law.

Article 84

To sell the entire article in co-ownership, it is necessary to have the approval of all co-owners.

A co-owner has the right to sell his individual share.

The co-owner, who would like to sell his share, is obliged to give to the other co-owners a written proposal for selling his share and, if the other co-owners do not desire to buy his share with the same conditions as the third person, then, the co-owner has the right to sell his share to a third person.

Article 85

The sharing of the things in co-ownership is executed by the co-owners themselves in accordance with the form required for the transfer of ownership.

When co-owners do not agree in regard to the sharing of the article in co-ownership, the sharing is carried out by the organs established by law in the presence of all co-owners.

The sharing of the article in co-ownership cannot be carried out in kind, when such a thing is forbidden by law or when, through the process of sharing, the common article has been seriously damaged or when the purpose for which it has been set is lost.

/Co-Ownership Between Spouses/

Article 86

Things, deposits in savings institutions and everything else acquired by spouses during their marriage are the joint property of the two spouses.

Items of personal use are not included in the joint property of spouses.

Article 87

The regulation specified in Article 85 are also implemented in regard to conjugal wealth.

Juridical actions, carried out by anyone of the spouses in connection with their common property, are also valid when carried out without the approval of the other spouse. However, the sale of common immovable assets must always be done with the approval of both spouses.

The share of each of the spouses is determined on the basis of equality of shares. However, taking into consideration the revenues from the work of each spouse, the execution of domestic work, and any other work in administration, keeping and increase of objects in common ownership, the share of each one can be increased or decreased.

Article 88

/Obligatory Co-Ownership/

When the floors or parts of the floors of a building are in the individual ownership of various owners, the parts of the buildings which serve as common use for all owners, such as the foundations, outside walls, interior separation walls between the special parts of floors, the entrance, stairs and the roof, are common property and cannot be divided.

The expenses for the maintenance of the common pieces of the building are in the charge of the owners of the floors in proportion with the value of every floor or of every piece of the floor.

Chapter III

/Acquisition and Loss of Ownership/

/Acquisition of Ownership by Contract/

Article 89

Ownership is acquired through a contract containing the obligation for the transfer of ownership. The ownership of the article by contract is acquired from the moment of the handing over of the article.

The handing over of articles is carried out as stipulated in the contract and, when it is not stipulated in the contract, it is handed over to the acquirer, to the transporter or to the post office to be delivered to the acquirer at the place indicated in the contract and also by handing over the documents giving him the right to dispose of the article.

The contract for transferring ownership of immovable assets, which are private property, is done by notarial act and registered, otherwise, it is not valid.

Article 90

The person who, on the basis of a contract, has acquired a movable article by payment and in good faith, becomes the owner of this article even if the transactor is not the owner.

Nevertheless, the person, even acting in good faith, does not become the owner of the article if the article has been stolen, or has been lost by the owner and, also, if the article, which belonged to an enterprise, institution, social organization or agricultural cooperative, left their hands in an illegal manner.

A person, acting in good faith, becomes the owner of an amount of money and of money order payable to bearer--having the obligation to pay a sum of money--even

if these have been stolen or lost by the owner or belonged to an enterprise, institution or agricultural cooperative.

The person, who acquired the article, is in good faith when he did not know or was not obliged to know that the possessor was not the owner.

/Acquisition of Ownership by Limitation

Article 91

The person who, on the basis of a juridical act of transfer of ownership--an act which is not forbidden by the law--has acquired an article in good faith and has kept it in his own possession or has transferred it to the possession of another person, becomes the owner of this article, if the possession of the article has continued without interruption for more than 3 years.

Article 92

Ownership of an article which is socialist property, cannot be acquired in the manner described in Article 91 of the Code.

Article 93

The provisions of Articles 59-66 are also implemented in regard to the acquisition of ownership by limitation.

/Acquisition of Ownership by Inheritance/

Article 94

Ownership is also acquired by inheritance.

Inheritance is the transfer by law or by means of a will of the wealth of the dead person (the legator) to another person or to many persons (the inheritors).

Inheritance by law is made when the legator has not made a will or when the will is totally or partially invalid or when the legator has left only a part of his wealth by will.

Article 95

The inheritance is disclosed at the time of the death of the legator and at the place of his last residence or, when the latter is unknown, at the place where the entire wealth or the major part of it is situated.

Article 96

Only a person who, at the time of the disclosure of the inheritance, is alive or conceived before the death of the legator and was born alive, can inherit.

Article 97

Anyone who has kept toward the legator such an attitude which is in contradiction with the fulfillment of the tasks stipulated by law or in contradiction with the rules of socialist morality, therefore, making him unworthy, cannot inherit.

Article 98

The inheritor acquires an inheritance on the death of the legator.

The inheritor can give up his inheritance within 3 months from the disclosure of the inheritance. For the inheritor who was not born, at the time of the disclosure of the inheritance, the deadline starts from the day of his birth. The renunciation is done in writing before the court where the inheritance-wealth is situated.

Article 99

The inheritors are responsible for the obligations and other expenditures which are a burden on the inheritance-wealth in proportion with their shares up to the complete value of the inheritance-wealth.

Article 100

The inheritor can request from the competent organs the delivery of a testimony that certifies his inheritance right.

Article 101

The inheritor has the right to sue the person who holds the inheritance as if he was the inheritor in order to have the right to inheritance recognized and in order that the inheritance or the wealth gained through it be handed over to him in accordance with the rules on possession in good faith or bad faith.

Legal action can also be taken against the person who keeps the wealth as if he was the inheritor, on the basis of a testimony of inheritance. The person, who has acquired, in good faith and with counterpayment, articles of the inheritance-wealth from such an inheritor, is not obliged to return these articles.

Article 102

To protect the interests of the state or of the heirs, the judge alone, of the place where the inheritance is disclosed, after the death of the legator, has the right to order an inventory of the wealth inherited.

The officer in charge of the court decisions or the notary who conducts the inventory can make a guardian for this wealth.

The court, when it deems it necessary, appoints an inheritance supervisor for the administration of the wealth who, by court approval, pays the obligations and gives accounts when the heirs arrives.

Article 103

The legal heirs are: the children and children's children, the spouse, parents, brothers and sisters and the children of the deceased brothers and sisters, grandfather and grandmother, the persons incapacitated for work under the care of the legator, and the state. The abovementioned share the legacy according to the order established in this Code.

Adopted children are equal with [natural] children.

Article 104

The legator's children, his spouse who is able or unable to work and his parents who are incapacitated for work share in the inheritance in the first order. All these persons inherit equal shares.

When one of the children has died before the legator, or has become unworthy, or has renounced his inheritance, or has been excluded from inheritance, then, his children share in the inheritance and, if even those cannot become heirs, the children of those children and, thus, in this order, the children of the children come in the inheritance without limitation.

In these cases, the share which would have belonged to the parent who does not inherit is divided among his children in equal shares.

Article 105

When there are no heirs of the first order, in the second order come the legator's spouse who is capable of work, the parents who are capable of work and other persons incapacitated for work who had lived at least 1 year together with the legator before his death as members of his family and who were in his charge. All these persons inherit an equal share of the inheritance, but the spouse, in any case, receives no less than one-half of the inheritance.

Article 106

In the third order of inheritance we have persons incapacitated for work in the charge of the legator, whom we mentioned in Article 105 of this Code, when there are no other heirs of the second order, that is, the grandfather and grandmother, brothers and sisters, and the children of brothers and sisters who are still alive. All these persons inherit an equal share, without distinction between brothers and sisters of a father or only of a mother nor between the grandfather and grandmother on the father's side or on the mother's side. In regard to the children of sisters and brothers, the last paragraph of Article 104 of this Code is implemented.

Article 107

The state shares in the inheritance in the fourth order.

Article 108

The heirs of the next order share in the inheritance only when there are no heirs of the previous order.

Article 109

The heirs, who lived with the legator at the time of his death, if they share in the heritance, in addition to the shares belonging to them from the inheritance-wealth, household articles of ordinary use with the exception of the case when the legator has indicated differently in the will.

Article 110

The will is a unilateral juridical act carried out by the legator himself by the means of which he disposes of his wealth for the time after his death.

By a will, one cannot dispose of wealth in contradiction with paragraph two of Article 113 of this Code.

Article 111

Any person who enjoys full capacity for action can make a will.

Article 112

The legator can leave, by will, all his wealth or a part of it to one or several heirs from those indicated in Articles 104, 105 and 106, to the state or to the enterprises, institutions, agricultural cooperatives or social organizations.

When a legator has no inheritor, as indicated in Articles 104, 105 and 106, then, he can leave his wealth to any other person.

Article 113

A legator can exclude from his inheritance by will, one or several of his legal heirs.

Nevertheless, the legator cannot exclude his under-age children from legal inheritance, nor can he exclude the other under-age heirs who inherit by representation (Article 104, paragraph two), as well as his other heirs incapacitated for work if they share in the inheritance; he cannot affect in any way, by will, the share that belongs to these heirs on the basis of legal inheritance, except when those heirs have become unworthy of inheritance.

Article 114

The legator can authorize his heirs to give a part of their inheritance wealth to enterprises, institutions, agricultural cooperatives and social organizations or to other legal heirs, although they are not brought in as heirs.

Article 115

The will is made by a notarial act or written by the legator himself.

Article 116

The will by notarial act is carried out by an act drawn up or certified by a notary and signed by the legator.

The will, written by the legator himself, is totally written by hand by the legator himself and contains the date when it was made and signed at the end by the legator.

Article 117

A will written at a later date invalidates the one written at a former date, as a whole or only the part which does not agree with the new will.

The will is invalidated by a statement made by the legator before a notary.

Article 118

The following are declared null:

a) a will made by a person who has no capacity for action;

b) a will not drafted in the form determined by the law;

c) a deposition by will in favor of persons who cannot inherit;

ch) and a deposition by will in contradiction with paragraph two of Article 113 of this Code.

The rules invalidating juridical acts are also implemented in the invalidation of wills.

When a will is partially or totally invoiced, in regard to the invalid part, the legal merits are called to the inheritance.

Article 119

The person who has deposited money or valuable documents in the state savings institutions or in the State Bank of Albania has the right to designate the person or persons who should receive the deposit after his death; this is done by letter addressed to the savings institution or the bank.

When the person has not made such a deposition, the deposits pass to the heirs in accordance with the provisions on heritance.

/Other Ways of Acquiring Ownership/

Article 120

Wealth which is not owned by citizens or by agricultural cooperatives is state property.

Unowned things are the things which have no owner or whose owner has lost, by limitation, the right to claim them from an illegal retainer and whose ownership has not been acquired by any other person.

Unowned things pass to the ownership of the state by court decision.

Article 121

When private buildings are in danger of falling down or of becoming useless because of the fault of their owners, these buildings can pass to the ownership of the state under the conditions stipulated by law.

Article 122

A citizen, who has found something which has been lost, is obliged to hand it over to its owner and, when the owner is unknown, to the people's police or to the people's council which must deliver it to the People's Police within 3 days.

Article 123

When the owner or the one who has lost the object has not been found or has not come to claim the object within 6 months, the object becomes the property of the state.

Article 124

Valuable objects, whose owner is not known or, on the basis of the law, has lost his right to the objects, become the property of the state.

The person who finds the abovementioned objects is obliged to deliver them to the government organs.

Article 125

The movable cultural, historical, artistic or ethnographic objects, as well as the rare natural objects with a scientific importance which are discovered, detached or dug up from the earth or the sea, become property of the state.

Article 126

Ownership is also acquired in other cases stipulated in the law or on the basis of the decision of the court or of another government organ.

Article 127

In all the cases, in which, on the basis of the law or of the decision of the court or of another organ, ownership over buildings is acquired or recognized a registration must be filed with the responsible organ, otherwise, the person who has acquired the ownership or to whom it has been recognized, cannot dispose of this property.

The decisions of the court or of another government organ which declares as invalid juridical acts properly registered for the transfer of the ownership of immovable property, are sent again for a new registration.

Article 128

The ownership over the revenues from an object belong to the owner of this object, except the contract stipulates otherwise.

Article 129

An owner loses his ownership when another acquires it or when he gives it up.

The renunciation of ownership over immovable assets in the favor of another is valid only when it is carried out by notarial act and registered.

Chapter IV

/Protection of Civil Rights/

Article 130

/The Suit To Claim the Object/

The owne. has the right to sue in order to recover his object from any illegal possessor.

Article 131

/Suit Seeking To Prevent Violation of Ownership/

The owner has the right to ask that anyone, who violates his ownership, without depriving him of his possession, be prevented from doing so and from repeating it in the future and, when it is appropriate, to compensate him for the damage caused to him.

/Protection of Possession/

Article 132

The possessor has the right, by using suitable protection, to counter, then and there, any action which violates his possession or deprives him of it. The possessor, whose possession has been violated in an illegal manner or who has been deprived of his possession, has the right to seek by a suit, within 6 months, the cessation of the violation or the reinstatement of his capacity as possessor. This right is not given to a posessor who has taken posssession by force or secretly.

Article 133

Civil rights are protected by the court or by the arbitration organs on the basis of the law.

In special cases, when stipulated by law, these rights are protected by other government organs or by social organizations.

Private, nonwealth rights are also protected after death through recognition of the right, stopping of violation and reinstatement of the right violated.

Article 134

A suit for state wealth left in the administration of the enterprise or the institution is carried out by these juridical persons against any illegal possessor.

When the state wealth has not been left in administration, the action to recover it is carried out by the financial section of the executive committee of the district people's council.

Article 135

The owner has the right to claim, from a possessor in bad faith, in addition to the object, the value of all revenues gained from the use of this object or which should have been gained during the entire period of the possession in bad faith and, whenever possible, compensation for the use of the object.

The owner has the same right toward the possessor in good faith, but only from the day when he knew or should have known that he was an illegal possessor, or from the day when he was informed of the suit for the restitution of the object.

Article 136

The possessor in bad faith or the possessor in good faith, from the day he learned that he was an illegal possessor or from the day he was informed of the owner's suit to recover his object, is obliged to compensate the owner for the loss of or damage to the object or for the impossibility, for any other reason, of returning the object, even if it was not his fault.

The possessor is discharged of responsibility if he can prove that the damage would have been caused even if he had handed it over on schedule, with the exception of the cases when he had taken possession of the object through a penal act.

The possessor in good faith, until the day he was informed that he is an illegal possessor or until the day he was told about the suit brought by the owner to recover the object, is not obliged to return, to the owner, the revenues acquired from the use of the object nor to compensate the owner for the loss of or damage to the object or for the impossibility, for any other reason, of returning the object.

When the loss, damage or impossibility of returning the object has taken place because of the fault of the possessor in good faith, the latter is obliged to pay to the owner the amount which he has gained, in addition to the revenues which he had obtained from it.

Article 137

The possessor in good faith or the possessor in bad faith has the right to claim from the owner of the object repayment for the necessary expenditures made for the object.

The possessor in good faith also has the right to claim the useful expenditures which he has made for the object and which improved the value of the object, while the improvement of the value of the object continues at the time of the return of the object.

The revenues acquired by the possessor in good faith are calculated in the expenditures which he has the right to claim according to this proviso.

As long as the necessary and useful expenditures have not been paid, the possessor in good faith has the right to keep the object.

Article 138

The possessor in good faith, in regard to the other expenditures which he had made, but which were not necessary or useful for the object, and the possessor in bad faith, in regard to the expenditures which he had made, but which were not necessary for the object, have no right to seek their repayment. They have the right to remove from the object what they have added to it and which can be detached without damaging the object, with the exception of the case when the owner accepts to pay the counter value of what has been added.

Chapter V

/Obligations/

Article 139

/The Meaning of Obligation/

Obligation is a juridical relationship through which a person (the debtor) is obliged to give something or to execute or not to execute a definite action in favor of another person (the creditor), and the latter has the right to ask that something be given to him, or that the action be executed or not executed.

/The Sources of Obligations/

Article 140

The state organizes, manages and develops the entire economic and social life according to a single and general plan. The main source of obligations in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are the planning acts of the socialist economy carried out by competent organs.

Obligations also come from juridical actions stipulated by law and, especially, from contracts, from the causing of damage and from illegal profit in wealth.

Obligations can also come from juridical activities which are not stipulated by law, but which are not in contradiction with the law, with the state economic plan, and with the rules of socialist morality and which do not aim at harming the state.

Article 141

Planning acts create the obligation of the enterprises, institutions, agricultural cooperatives and social organizations to conclude contracts.

The contract signed in these cases must respond to this act by its content. When the conditions of the contract do not respond to the planning act, they are invalid and must be changed in conformity with the planning act.

The conditions of the contract, which are in conformity with the planning act can be changed only through changes in this act.

/The Contract/

Article 142

The contract is a juridical act by the means of which the tasks of the state plan are fulfilled and the material and cultural needs of the citizens satisfied.

When, for the implementation of the state plan, the enterprises, institutions, and agricultural cooperatives must supply or sell to each other products and goods and carry out works and services, they conclude contracts between themselves.

The citizens conclude contracts for the satisfaction of their material and cultural needs, and for the possession, enjoyment and disposition of their personal wealth.

Article 143

The content of the contract must be in conformity with the law, with the tasks of the state plan, with the principles of the economic policy of the state and with the rules of socialist morality.

Article 144

The contract is considered concluded when the parties have agreed upon all basic conditions needed for concluding that kind of contract.

The place of concluding the contract is the place where the parties have agreed upon the concluding of the contract.

When the parties are not present, the contract is considered to be concluded at the place of the person who proposed it.

Article 145

The proposal to conclude a contract, made to a person who is present, without determining the deadline for its approval, loses its force if the person who is present does not accept the proposal immediately.

The proposal to conclude, made to a person who is not present, without setting the deadline for its approval, loses its force with the passing of the time which, usually and according to circumstances, is necessary for receiving a response on the acceptance of the proposal.

Article 146

The person who makes a proposal to another person to conclude a contract is obliged to wait for the answer until the deadline, which he himself had set, elapses or if he has not set a deadline, until the time elapses which, usually and according to circumstances, is needed to receive the answer from the other party in regard to the acceptance of his proposal.

Article 147

The approval of the proposal must be made immediately; while, when the parties are not present, the acceptance of the proposal is made within the time limit which, according to concrete circumstances, is needed by the person who has made the proposal to receive the answer.

The approval of the proposal with changes, limitations or delays is considered to be unacceptable and, at the same time, considered as a new proposal.

As long as the proposal or the acceptance has not been received by the other party, each of the parties has the right to withdraw it.

Article 148

The proposal is considered to be accepted when the proposer has received the response of acceptance from the other party.

The proposal is also considered as accepted when the other party, by request of the proposer, has started to implement it.

Article 149

When, for the implementation of the planning act, it is necessary to conclude a contract, the proposing enterprise, institution, agricultural cooperative or social organization sends to the other party the draft of the contract in two copies already signed. The other party, when it has no objection, returns one of the copies of the signed contract is considered as concluded in accordance with the conditions indicated in its draft.

When the enterprise, institution, agricultural cooperative or social organization has objections and has forwarded its counterproposals by writing to the proposing party, then, the parties agree to hold talks in order to solve their conflicts. If no agreement is reached, the proposing party presents the issue for settlement to the responsible government organ within the set deadline; otherwise, the contract is considered as concluded with the counterproposals that have been made.

The deadlines for the execution of the actions shown above are determined by provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 150

The Council of Ministers can draw up standard contracts compulsory for established categories of contracts concluded between the enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives and also between these and the citizens.

Article 151

The contract is effective for the parties that have signed it. It can also be effective for third persons but only in the cases stipulated by law.

The settlement of the contract or the alteration of its conditions by one party, without the approval of the other party, is forbidden.

Article 152

The contract can also be concluded in favor of a third person. This person acquires the rights indicated in the contract from the moment that he has informed one of the parties that he would acquire these rights.

The debtor can make the returns deriving from the contract to a third person.

/Obligations With Many Subjects/

Article 153

When many debtors or many creditors participate in the same obligation and the object of the credit is divisible, each debtor is obliged to complete it and each creditor has the right to claim an equal share of the obligation, with the exception of the cases when it is expressed differently in the contract or in the law.

Article 154

When many debtors participate in the same obligation, so that the creditor will have the right to claim the implementation of the obligation, both by all debtors together and by each of them separately, whether as a whole or partially, the obligation is called in solidarity.

There is a solidarity obligation only when it is stipulated by law or when it comes from the will of the parties.

When many debtors participate collectively in an obligation toward an enterprise, institution, agricultural cooperative or social organization, it is considered that all are in solidarity, as long as the contrary is not proven.

Article 155

The implementation of obligation by one of the debtors in solidarity discharges all the other debtors from their obligation.

When in the law or in the contract it is not stipulated differently, the debtor who has implemented an obligation in solidarity, respecting all the requirements of the law, without damaging the interests of all other debtors, has the right to claim from them payment in equal parts of the obligation that he has implemented.

The share of the obligation of the debtor, who cannot pay, is equally divided, thus, increasing the share of the obligation of all debtors in solidarity.

Article 156

When many debtors or many creditors participate in the same obligation and the object of obligation is indivisible, debtors are considered debtors in solidarity and creditors are considered creditors in solidarity.

In these cases, each of the creditors has the right to claim complete fulfillment of the obligation and each of the debtors is obliged to completely fulfill the obligation.

The debtor, who has fulfilled the obligation, has the right to claim from the other debtors the payment, in equal shares, of the obligation fulfilled by himself.

/The Charge of the Subjects of Obligations/

Article 157

The creditor can transfer his credit to another person, with the exception of the cases when the law, the contract or the nature of the credit does not allow such a transfer.

The transfer of the credit to another person is effective on the debtor and the third persons from the date the debtor has been informed.

When the transfer of the credit to another person has been made with counterpayment, the creditor is responsible only for the situation of the credit at the time of its transfer.

Article 158

The assuming of obligation by another person, instead of the former debtor, is carried out solely with the approval of the creditor. The replaced debtor is discharged of his obligation.

A third person can become co-debtor in an obligation in agreement with the creditor or the debtor. The first debtor and co-debtor are responsible to the creditor as debtors in solidarity.

/The Fulfillment of the Obligation and the Consequences of Its Nonfulfillment/

Article 159

An obligation must be fulfilled according to its content in the place, manner and deadline established and, in harmony with the requirements of the law, the act of planning and the contract.

The parties must fulfill their obligations in the most profitable manner for the people's economy, and must give to each other all the necessary aid in order to fulfill their obligations.

Article 160

Monetary obligations in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are set and paid in Albanian currency, with the exception of the cases when, by special provisions, it is stipulated differently.

When, in regard to a monetary obligation it is necessary to pay interest, the latter cannot be higher than the percentage established by special provisions.

Article 161

When the place of the discharge of the obligation has not been determined by law, by contract or by planning act, and does not appear from the nature of the obligation itself, then, the obligation must be discharged, as follows:

a) for obligations whose aim is the handing over of an immovable object--at the place where the object is situated;

b) for an obligation in money--at the place where the creditor resides at the time of the discharge of the obligation;

c) for all other obligations--at the place where the debtor resides at the time of the discharge of the obligation.

Article 162

The creditor has the right to claim the fulfillment of the obligation at any time, if the deadline for its fulfillment has not been set or if its fulfillment has been left up to the creditor's request.

The debtor can fulfill his obligation before its deadline, with the exception of the cases when this is stipulated differently by law, in the contract or by the very nature of the obligation.

The fulfillment of the obligation ahead of schedule between the enterprises, institutions, agricultural cooperatives or social organizations is allowed only in the cases when it has been stipulated by law, by contract or at the pleasure of the creditor.

Article 163

The obligation can also be fulfilled by a third person, with the exception of the cases when the creditor wants this to be fulfilled by the debtor himself.

Article 164

If the debtor does not fulfill his obligation, the creditor has the right to seek fulfillment according to the contract or its kind and, if this is impossible, to seek compensation for the damage done to him.

Article 165

The debtor, who has not fulfilled his obligation or has not fulfilled it in the proper manner, is obliged to compensate the creditor for the damage caused to him.

In these cases, compensation for damage includes all the losses suffered by the creditor, that is, both the reduction of his wealth and the revenues which normally he would have received, had the obligation been fulfilled.

Article 166

The debtor, who fails to fulfill his obligation, is relieved of responsibility, if he proves that its fulfillment had become impossible because of circumstances that he could not prevent, with the exception of the cases when it is expressed differently in the law of the contract.

Impossibility of fulfilling an obligation also means the withdrawal or termination of the task of the state plan.

In all the cases mentioned above, the debtor must immediately inform the creditor in writing about the impossibility of fulfilling his obligation.

In such cases, if the article which constitutes the object of obligation has been sold, lost or damaged, the debtor must return to the creditor everything which he has gained from it as a compensation for this article.

Article 167

When the nonfulfillment of the obligation and the increase of the damage caused by this nonfulfillment are the creditor's fault, the organ that examines the matter can reduce the sum of compensation for damage to the creditor or relieve the debtor completely from the obligation of compensation for damage.

Article 168

The debtor, who has failed to fulfill his obligation on schedule, is responsible for paying the creditor compensation for the damage caused to him by the delay. He is also responsible for the impossibility of fulfilling the obligation after the expiration of the deadline, even because of an unexpected event, with the exception of cases when he proves that damage would have been caused to the creditor even if he had fulfilled his obligation at the right time.

When, because of the debtor's delay, the fulfillment of the obligation is no longer of interest to the creditor, the latter has the right to refuse the fulfillment of the obligation and to claim compensation for damage.

Regarding obligations, whose object is a sum of money, the creditor has the right to claim the payment of the legal interest from the day of the delay.

Article 169

The creditor is considered to be tardy when, without legitimate reasons, he does not accept the fulfillment of the obligation by the debtor or when he fails to execute the activities which he should execute, that is, the activities without which the debtor cannot fulfill his obligation toward him.

The tardiness of the creditor gives the debtor the right to be compensated for the damage caused because of the delay, if the creditor does not prove that the delay has not been caused willingly or because of his negligence or the negligence of the persons who, on the basis of the law or of the recommendation of the creditor, are asked to accept the fulfillment of the obligation.

Article 170

When the creditor is absent or late, the debtor can deposit the object, for which he is responsible, at a suitable place designated by the court in the place of the fulfillment of the obligation.

Money, valuable documents and precious objects can be deposited in the Albanian State Bank and at the place of the fulfillment of the obligation, even without the authorization of the court.

When the object, which the debtor is obliged to deliver, deteriorates rapidly, or when the depositing requires great expenses or when it is done with difficulty and, also, when the object, because of its nature, cannot be deposited, the debtor, after having informed the creditor, can ask the court to authorize him to sell the object which he has to deliver and to deposit the value obtained from the sale in the Albanian State Bank in the name of the creditor.

The deposit is considered as having not been made if the debtor removes the object deposited before having obtained the approval of the creditor.

/Termination of Obligation/

Article 171

The obligation is terminated by its fulfillment, compensation, renewal and by forgiveness because of the impossibility of fulfilling it through no fault of the debtor.

Obligation between enterprises, institutions, agricultural cooperatives and social organizations can also be terminated by decision of the competent organ.

Article 172

When two persons are, at the same time, creditor and debtor toward each other, each one of them has the right to compensate his own credit with that of the other party, if the two credits have, as their object, money or replaceable things of the same kind, and when the obligations themselves have become seekable.

The two credits conclude with the smallest credit as of the date on which it was possible to carry out the compensation.

Article 173

The following cannot conclude with compensation:

a) credits stemming from the cause of death or from deterioration of health;

b) credits which cannot be confiscated;

c) credits which, according to other legal provisions, cannot be compensated.

Article 174

The obligation ends with the agreement of the parties on its replacement by another obligation (renewal).

The means for assuring implementation of an obligation are removed by renewal, if there is no contradictory agreement.

Renewal of obligations between the enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives can take place solely when it does not conflict with the act of planning or with the financial discipline.

Article 175

Obligation between juridical persons is ended or changed, according to the case, when the act of planning, on which the concluding of the contract relies, has been changed by an act binding on the two parties.

/Disciplinary Conditions and Fines/

Article 176

In regard to the nonfulfillment of an obligation or the failure to fulfill an obligation on schedule and in the proper manner, the debtor is obliged to pay to the creditor a sum of money set by law or by contract (disciplinary conditions or fines).

The agreement on disciplinary conditions or fines must be made in writing regardless of the sum and of the form of the main contract.

Article 177

When the disciplinary condition is stipulated in the contract and the debtor does not fulfill his obligation properly, the creditor has the right to claim the payment of the disciplinary condition and compensation for the part damaged, which exceeds the sum of the disciplinary condition.

When a fine is stipulated in a contract and the debtor does not properly fulfill his obligation, the creditor has the right to claim payment of the fine and complete compensation for the damage caused by the nonfulfillment of the condition.

Payment of the disciplinary condition or of the fine does not discharge the parties from fulfilling their obligations, with the exception of the cases when it is stipulated in a different way.

Article 178

When the disciplinary condition or the fine is very large in comparison with the damage suffered by the creditor or when the obligation has been fulfilled partially, the competent organ examining the issue can reduce the amount of the disciplinary condition or of the fine.

/The Guaranty/

Article 179

The guarantor is obliged to insure the creditor of the complete or partial fulfillment of the obligation on the part of the main debtor.

A guaranty can be given both for a future obligation and for an obligation on condition.

The guarantor is obligated in solidarity with the main debtor, with the exception of the cases when it is stipulated differently in the contract of guaranty.

Article 180

The guarantor, who has fulfilled an obligation on behalf of a debtor, in accordance with the requirements of the law and without damaging the interests of the main debtor, takes the place of the creditor in all his rights toward the debtor.

The guaranty is withdrawn at the termination of the main obligation and, when the creditor has not brought suit against the guarantor, within 6 months from the day of the termination of the deadline for the fulfillment of the obligation.

/Objection to Juridical Activities of the Debtor/

Article 181

The state has the right to seek that the juridical acts of its debtors to reduce the quantity or value of its wealth, to the detriment of the state, be declared null, with the condition that the credit has been incurred before the execution of the juridical act. The enterprises, institutions, agricultural cooperatives and social organizations and the citizens have the same right.

When the juridical act is carried out by counterpayment, in order to declare it null, it is necessary for the person, with whom the debtor has carried out this act, to have had knowledge about the purpose of the damage of the debtor.

However, when this person is a relative or a close relative by marriage, it is not necessary to be proven that he had knowledge.

With the declaration of the juridical act as null, the rights gained by counterpayment by third persons of good faith before the initiation of the suit to declare the juridical act as null, are not affected.

Chapter VI

/Special Contracts/

/The Sales Contract/

Article 182

By the sales contract, one party (the seller) is obliged to transfer to the ownership of the other party (the buyer) an object and the buyer is obliged to take the object and pay its price.

On the basis of the state plan, the state enterprises conclude contracts to sell various kinds of goods to the agricultural cooperatives which are obliged to take them and to pay the suitable price.

When the buyer is an institution or a state enterprise, only the right of operational administration is transferred to it.

Article 183

The following cannot be buyers of an object: those who, on the basis of the law, keep or administer these objects, those who sell objects with compulsory execution, and those who are stipulated in special provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 184

When the object sold, after having been transferred into the ownership of the buyer, is lost, through no fault of any one of the parties, the buyer is obliged to pay to the state the purchasing price, with the exception of the cases when there is agreement to the contrary.

When the object sold is lost through no fault of any one of the parties at the time when the seller was late for handing it over, the seller is obliged to return the price received to the buyer and to compensate him for the damage suffered by him.

When the object sold is lost through no fault of the parties at the time when the buyer was late in receiving the object, the buyer is obliged to pay the seller the price of the object and to compensate him for the damage suffered.

Article 185

Expenditures for the delivery of the objects sold and the expenditures for keeping, weighing and counting them are borne by the seller; while expenditures for receiving them are borne by the buyer.

Article 186

The seller is obliged to deliver the object to the buyer in the same condition that it was at the time of the sale, together with the revenues from the date of the sale.

Article 187

When the seller does not deliver the object to the buyer, if in the contract it is not stipulated differently, the buyer has the right to claim the delivery of the object or the dissolution of the contract; in both cases, the responsibility for failing to fulfill the obligation is with the seller.

Article 188

The seller is obliged to hand over the object he has sold to the buyer without any right of ownership on the part of other persons.

Article 189

When a third person sues the buyer in order to recover the object sold because of reasons arising before the sale, the buyer is obliged to summon the seller to participate, on his side, in the judgment of the issue before the competent organ.

When the buyer does not summon the seller, the latter is discharged of his responsibility toward the buyer, if he proves that, had he participated in the judgment of the issue, he would have sufficient reasons to destroy the lawsuit seeking to recover the object which had been sold.

Article 190

When, by court decision, the buyer has completely lost his ownership over the object which has been sold, the seller is obliged to compensate the buyer for the damage he has suffered.

The buyer, who loses his ownership only over a part of the object which has been sold, has the right to seek the dissolution of the contract of sale and compensation for damage or the reduction of the price and repayment for damage.

Article 191

The buyer, who, at the time of the sale, had knowledge of the ownership of third persons over the object that had been sold to him, has the right to claim only the return of the price paid for the object, if, by decision of the competent organ he loses, completely or partially, the object that had been sold to him.

Article 192

The quality of the object sold must respond to the conditions of the contract. When the quality is not stipulated in the contract, it must respond to the normal conditions.

The seller is responsible to the buyer for the poor quality of the object sold, for the defects which reduce its value or which make it unsuitable for utilization.

Article 193

The seller is not responsible for the defects of the object sold, if the buyer had known them or had the opportunity to know them at the time of the signing of the contract.

Article 194

The buyer, in order to sue the seller for the lack of quality or for the defects of the object sold, must notify the seller about these things as soon as he discovers them.

Suits in the above cases must be brought within a year of the handing over of the article.

Article 195

The seller can guarantee the buyer that the object sold will preserve its quality for a definite period (period of guaranty).

The defects of the object sold with a period of guaranty must be reported to the seller by the buyer as soon as he discovers them, but not after the period of guaranty has elapsed.

The seller is not responsible for the defects of the object sold with a period of guaranty, when he proves that these defects have been caused because the buyer has violated the rules of utilization or of maintenance.

The suit in regard to the defects of the object sold with a period of guaranty must take place no later than 6 months after the seller has been notified about the discovery of these defects.

Article 196

The buyer, who has discovered the poor quality or defects of the object sold to him and has notified the seller about them in time, has the right to claim, if the contract does not stipulate differently, either the replacement of the object, or the reduction of the price, or the correction of the defects without charge, or the cancellation of the contract and compensation for damage.

Article 197

When the buyer does not pay for the object and does not take it, the vendor has the right to seek that the buyer pays for the object and takes it and, also, to compensate him for the damage caused by the delay, or to seek that the contract be canceled and compensation be given for the damages caused.

Article 198

The buyer, in regard to the objects sold to him with defects, when asking for their replacement by objects without defects or the cancellation of the contract, is obliged to return these objects to the seller together with the revenues. The seller, on his part, is obliged to compensate the buyer for the necessary expenses that he has made for the object and for the damage suffered by him.

/The Exchange Contract/

Article 199

In the exchange contract, each of the parties is obliged to transfer a specified object to the other party.

In regard to the exchange contract, relevant provisions for the sales contract are executed; and each one of the parties are regarded as the seller of the object which he gives and the buyer of the object which he receives.

The exchange contract, when one or both parties are juridical persons, can be concluded only in the cases stipulated by provisions of the Council of Ministers.

/The Supply Contract/

Article 200

By a supply contract, an enterprise is obliged, on the basis of the state plan, to supply another enterprise or social organization with a specified quantity of products, and the latter are obliged to take them and to pay the set price.

Article 201

The supply contract is concluded on the basis of the draft plan of distribution and of the regulation on the basic conditions of supply approved by the Council of Ministers and based on protocol agreements concluded between the ministries and other central institutions.

In the protocol agreements the division of products, according to groups and kinds, quality, variety, and the manner of packaging and wrapping, the manner of transportation and so forth are stipulated.

Article 202

Supply contracts are concluded for a period of 1 year divided into 3-month periods and into smaller periods set by the parties.

For machinery and pieces of equipment requiring a long period for production and for mass supplies, contracts can be concluded for longer than 1 year.

Article 203

In the supply contract, the following are stipulated: the quantity, quality, the complete nature of the product, the kind, packaging and wrapping, the supply deadlines, the responsibility of the parties in regard to the nonfulfillment of obligations and the price.

Article 204

Prices indicated in the supply contract must be the same as those set by provisions of competent organs.

When, during the period of the validity of the contract, there are changes in prices, the product is paid for the buyer on the basis of the prices which existed at the time of its delivery, with the exception of the cases when it is stipulated differently by provisions of the Council of Ministers in relation to the change of prices.

Article 205

The quality of the product to be supplied must respond to the conditions set in the contract.

Article 206

When the variety of products supplied does not respond to the variety indicated in the contract, the buyer has the right:

a) either to refuse the part of the product which is not of the same variety as specified in the contract and ask that this part of the product be supplied according to the variety indicated in the contract;

b) or to refuse to accept the entire product, when such a right is specified by the basic conditions of the contract.

Article 207

When the quality of products supplied does not correspond to the conditions set in the contract, the buyer has the right to refuse the product and not to pay its price; and, if he has paid the price, he has the right to ask for its return or to insist that the defects be corrected or that he himself correct them at the expense of the supplier.

Article 208

When the product supplied is not complete, the buyer has the right to ask that the product be completed with the missing parts or be replaced by a similar product which is not lacking any part.

As long as the product supplied has not been completed with the missing parts or has not been replaced by another complete product, the buyer has the right not to pay the price and, if he has already paid for it, to ask that the money be returned to him.

Article 209

The manner, place and deadlines of verification of the quality, quantity, completion and variety of products, which the buyer has received, and the manner of presenting demands in connection with these are regulated by special provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 210

The buyer, who refuses a product because it has been supplied to him without having contracted for it, or because it does not respond to the conditions of the contract or because it has been supplied ahead of schedule, is obliged to keep and take care of it in his own warehouse.

The manner of keeping and taking care of products and schedules are set by provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 211

The quantity of the product which has not been delivered by the supplier or which has not been accepted by the buyer by the set deadline must be supplied and accepted according to the manner and deadline established in the basic conditions of supply or in the contract.

Nevertheless, the buyer, after having informed the supplier, has the right not to accept the product that has been sent to him with delay, with the exception of when it is stipulated differently in the contract. The product sent by the supplier with delay, but sent before the notification of the buyer, must be accepted and the price must also be paid.

Article 212

For the object supplied with guaranteed deadlines, the supplier is obliged either to repair the object at his own expense, or to pay the expenses for the repair carried out by the purchasing party, or to replace the object, with the exception of the cases when it is stipulated differently in the contract.

Article 213

The conditions and ways for supplying goods for export are established by provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 214

The general provisions of the sales contract are also implemented for the supplying contract, if it is not stipulated differently by clauses of this contract.

/The Contract of Basic Constructions/

Article 215

By the contract of basic constructions, a construction enterprise (the builder) is obliged to execute with its own forces and means, in accordance with the order from an enterprise, institution, agricultural cooperative or social organization (the investor), the constructions stipulated by the state plan, while the investor is obliged to accept, on the deadline set in the contract, the constructions executed and to pay the price for the works done in accordance with the estimate of expenditures.

The manner and deadlines for the concluding of the contract are determined by special provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 216

The contract of basic constructions is concluded when the investor gives to the builder all the documents needed for the basic constructions (designs, estimates, place of construction and so forth). An exception to this rule can be authorized only by decision of the Leadership of the Council of Ministers.

The constructions designs and estimates of expenditures are approved in accordance with the ways determined by provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 217

For projects, whose construction continues more than 1 year, a general contract of basic constructions is concluded.

On the basis of a general contract, the parties conclude annual contracts for the constructions to be executed during the year.

Article 218

In these constructions, the construction enterprise can carry out special works (assembly, electrical-technical and technical-sanitary works and so forth) through other specialized enterprises.

Article 219

The investor is obliged:

a) to deliver the documents, technological materials, machinery and pieces of equipment on schedule in accordance with the order indicated in the contract;

b) to place specialists and technologists at the disposal of the construction enterprise and to resolve, in time, the issues which the construction enterprise raises in regard to designs and estimates;

c) to exercise continuing control during the entire period of the construction works so that the project is built with good quality according to the execution of designs and final estimates, within the limits of planned funds and complete value approved, in order that it will be put into operation on the set deadline and with planned capacity;

ch) to exercise control over the quality of materials used for the construction of the work;

d) to monitor the value of the work reported;

dh) and to coordinate work with other enterprises in order to connect the projects with the water mains, canalization, electric power and roads, in accordance with the deadlines specified of the contract.

Article 220

The construction enterprise is obliged:

a) to execute all the works indicated in the contract in accordance with the designs, schedules and technical conditions of execution, with its own means and materials;

b) to conclude special contracts with specialized enterprises for the execution of works which should be done;

c) to present its observations on the execution of designs and final estimates to the investor and to the designing institution no later than 30 days from the day of their delivery.

ch) and to deliver the project on schedule.

Article 221

After the completion of special pieces of construction or of the entire work, the construction enterprise makes its delivery, and the investor is obliged to accept them when they are completed according to the technical design and conditions indicated in the contract.

The acceptance of the project is carried out in accordance with the special provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 222

The manner of financing basic constructions is determined by provisions of the Council of Ministers.

/Contracts for the Collection of Agricultural and Livestock Products and of Medicinal and Oil-Seed Plants/

Article 223

By the contract for the collection of agricultural and livestock products and of medicinal and oil-seed plants, the agricultural cooperatives are obliged to produce or to collect and deliver their agricultural and livestock products to the collection enterprise, the food enterprises and the trade and forest enterprises, on the basis of the plan approved by the responsible organs; while, the latter enterprises are obliged to accept them and pay the set price.

These organs are also obliged to accept the quantity of products above the contract plan, when this product is in accordance with the variety and technical conditions approved.

The manner and deadlines for signing the contracts are set by provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 224

In the collection contract, especially, the following must be stipulated:

a) the quantity and quality of products, the deadlines, and the manner, conditions, and the place of their delivery;

b) the agro-technical measures that the agricultural cooperative must execute;

c) the material and technical aid which the enterprise must give;

ch) the obligation of the enterprise to receive the products on schedule and to pay for their value according to the prices set;

d) the responsibility of the parties in regard to the nonfulfillment of obligations.

Article 225

The agricultural cooperatives are obliged to take measures on schedule in order to assure the contracted agricultural and livestock products with the set quantity, quality and deadlines; they must execute the necessary agro-technical works and services. obtain high yields and deliver them in accordance with the technical standards and conditions as indicated in the special provisions.

/The Contract of the Machine Tractor Station for Agricultural and Livestock Works/

Article 226

By the contract for agricultural and livestock works, the machine tractor station (MTS) is obliged to carry out its works with its own mechanized means in accordance with stipulated conditions, while the agricultural cooperative is obliged to receive these works according to the contract and pay the MTS for the relevant expenses.

The manner and deadlines of signing the contract are set by provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 227

The contract for agricultural and livestock works must provide, on the basis of the production plan of the agricultural cooperative, for the following: the kinds, the volume, the quality indicators, and the deadlines within which the works will be executed.

Article 228

The MTS is obliged:

a) to carry out its works and agricultural and livestock services stipulated in the contract with its own means, according to quantity, quality and best agro-technical deadlines;

b) to keep its mechanized means in readiness for the execution of works on schedule;

c) and to keep ready and increase the training of its cooperative members charged with operating the agricultural machines and other pieces of equipment of the MTS.

Article 229

The agricultural cooperative is obliged:

a) to take measures and prepare the plots on schedule so that the MTS mechanized means will not be prevented from starting work on the basis of established schedules and will not be damaged;

b) to indicate, on time, the cooperative members who will work with agricultural machines;

c) to determine the conditions for the execution of works according to agro-technical and zootechnical requirements;

ch) and to pay, on schedule, the value of works and of services carried out by the MTS according to the rates set by the Council of Ministers.

Article 230

After it completes its works and services, the MTS hands them over to the agricultural cooperative.

Poor quality works and services carried out by the MTS are not accepted by the agricultural cooperative. When the agro-technical requirements allow it, the works and services are repeated by the MTS at its own expense.

/Contract for Giving Water to Agricultural Units for the Irrigation of Agricultural Crops/

Article 231

By the contract for giving water for the irrigation of agricultural crops, the enterprise which administers the distribution of water takes charge of distributing water to agricultural units from the irrigation system which it administers.

Article 232

The water administration enterprise is obliged to keep in readiness the irrigation works under its administration, to assure the necessary quantity of water from these works and to technically manage the good maintenance of the works and of the internal irrigation network of the units and of the internal network of the works it administers within the territory of the units.

Article 233

The agricultural unit is obliged to keep in readiness and in good condition the internal irrigation network, use the water which it receives for the irrigation of agricultural crops in an economical manner and to pay the price according to the state rates.

/Transport Contract/

Article 234

By the transport contract, the transporter (the automobile, railway, water and air transport enterprise) takes it upon itself to transport travelers, goods and baggage from one place to another; while the traveler or sender of goods or baggage is obliged to deliver the good s contracted for transport and to pay the transport fees.

Article 235

On the basis of the transport plan and for its execution, the transport enterprise signs a contract with the sender for the detailing of the transport plan.

In the execution of the contract for the detailing of the transport plan, in complex transport, the transport enterprises sign contracts among themselves.

Contracts are concluded for 1 year, divided into 3-month or monthly periods or, even, with shorter deadlines.

The manner and deadlines for concluding the contract are determined by provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 236

The contract of transportation is certified by the relevant document of transport (vouchers for the transport of goods, tickets for the transport of travelers and receipts for the transport of baggage).

Article 237

The transport of goods for every consignment is carried out on the basis of vouchers formulated by the sender and signed by him and by the transporter and delivered to the receiver of the goods.

Article 238

In regard to losses and damage of goods during transportation by motor vehicles of other enterprises, on account of the contracting transport enterprises, the enterprise that has transported the goods is directly responsible to the sender. When the goods are transported by two or more transporters, the first transporter is responsible for the damage caused.

Article 239

The transport enterprise is obliged:

a) to send its vehicles to the place specified and at the time specified in the contract for the transport of the load;

b) to inform the sender on time about placing the vehicles at his disposal;

c) to transport the goods and take good care of them from the moment it takes them in charge to the moment of their delivery to the receiver;

ch) and to assume responsibility for the loss of the goods in their total value while, in regard to damages, to pay compensation for a reduced value of the goods.

Article 240

The sender is obliged:

a) to prepare the load and to package it in accordance with the kinds of goods or with the technical conditions;

b) to load the vehicles within the set schedule, using his own workers and at his own expense;

c) and to pay the fees for the transport of goods and the expenses for supplementary transportation services up to the final destination in accordance with the manner indicated by the Council of Ministers.

The receiver of the goods is obliged to unload the transport vehicles.

Article 241

When, at the time that the goods are delivered, it is discovered that they are damaged or do not respond to the quantity shown in the transport document, the transporter is obliged, at the request of the receiver, to draft a written statement.

Article 242

When the delivery of goods is late, the transporter pays to the receiver a disciplinary condition in the measure determined by provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 243

The transporter is not responsible for the loss or damage to goods entrusted to him for their transportation, when the loss or damage has taken place:

a) because of natural disaster;

b) because of the fault of the sender or of the receiver of the goods (because of defects in goods, of their packaging and so forth);

c) because of reasons connected with loading or unloading by the means provided by the sender or the receiver of the goods;

ch) because the person entrusted by the sender to accompany the goods has not taken the necessary measures to keep them in good conditions;

d) and because of known natural wastes.

Article 244

The responsibility of the transporter, sender and receiver of the goods in regard to nonfulfillment of contract obligations, the documents which must be completed for seeking the goods which have not been delivered by the transporter and other transport regulations are stipulated by special provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 245

The conditions for the transport of passengers and of baggage and the responsibility of the parties are determined by directives of the Councils of Ministers.

Article 246

The persons who might have claims against the transporter, claims stemming from transportation, must, before suing him, present their demand to the management of the transport enterprise.

The persons who have the right to present a claim, together with the relevant documents, are stipulated by special provisions.

Article 247

The requests stemming from transport services can be presented within 4 months with the exception of the requests for fines and disciplinary condition.

The transporter is obliged to examine the requests presented and to inform the requester about their approval or disapproval within 2 months, except for the requests for fines and disciplinary condition.

Article 248

When the requests have not been approved or there has not been any answer within the deadline indicated in Article 247, the requestor has the right to sue within 1 month from the day he received the answer from the transporter or from the day of the phasing out of the deadline for an answer.

/The Processing Contract/

Article 249

In the processing contract, one party (the processor) is obliged, on his own responsibility and according to the requests from the other party (the customer), to make, change or repair an object for payment.

In the processing contract, only the state enterprises can be the processors; while each citizen or each juridical person can be a customer, with the exception of the cases stipulated by special provisions.

In this kind of contract, the agricultural cooperatives can also be processors.

Article 250

The processor carries out processing activities with his own materials and means, with the exception of the cases when it is stipulated differently in the contract.

When the processor carries out processing activities with his own materials, he is responsible for the quality of the materials.

Article 251

The processor is obliged to forewarn the customer before starting processing:

a) when the material brought by the customer for the execution of processing is of poor quality or unsuitable;

b) when the instructions given by the customer for the execution of processing cannot be carried out or when their execution can make the object processed instable and unsuitable.

The processor who has not forewarned as mentioned above is responsible for the damage suffered by the customer.

When the customer, despite forewarning at the proper time, does not replace the unsuitable material or does not change his instructions for the execution of processing, the processor can abandon execution of the contract and claim compensation for damage done to him.

Article 252

The processor is responsible for the loss of or damage done to the material given by the customer including, in the damage, the consumption of materials in excess of specified norms.

The processor is obliged to return the parts of materials in excess to the customer after the termination of processing.

Article 253

When the material is lost or damaged because of a natural disaster, the parties have no right to demand from each other the value of the material or of the work done.

When the product, processed with the material of the processor, is lost or damaged not because of the fault of the parties, but because the customer was late in taking it, the customer is obliged to pay to the processor the value of the material and of his work.

When the material given to the processor by the customer or when the product processed with this material is lost or damaged, and also when the completion of the product becomes impossible, not because of the fault of the parties, but because the processor was late in delivering it, then, the processor is obliged to pay to the customer the value of the material without the right to seek compensation for his work.

Article 254

The customer is obliged to accept the object processed according to the contract and to verify it; when the processing has not been executed according to the contract or has defects, the customer is obliged to inform the processor about these defects within 5 days from the day of the receiving of the object processed.

When defects cannot be discovered from the usual examination, the customer has the right to point them out to the processor within 5 months from the day of the receiving of the object processed, when it has not been specified otherwise in the contract.

Article 255

When the object has not been processed according to the contract or has defects, the customer, after having informed the processor, if the contract does not stipulate otherwise, has the right to seek the correction of the defects in the object processed within 10 days from the day of the receiving of the object; when the defects are so great that the object cannot be used anymore for its usual purpose or for the purpose specified in the contract, the customer has the right to ask the cancellation of the contract and compensation for the damage caused.

Article 256

The processor assumes responsibility for the quality of the processing within the deadline specified in the contract.

If, within the deadline mentioned above, the object is damaged because of the poor processing quality, the processor is obliged to correct the defects of the object at its own expense.

Article 257

When the enterprise or agricultural cooperative has assumed the execution of a work with the customer's material and the latter does not come to take possession of the work within 6 months, the enterprise or agricultural cooperative has the right to sell the work and, after having deducted the compensation for the work it has executed, to deposit the remainder of the sum obtained in the name of the customer, in accordance with paragraph two of Article 295.

/Contract for Insuring Property/

Article 258

By the insurance contract one party (the insurer), if the event stipulated in the contract is certified (the insurance incident), is obliged to pay to the other party (the insured) or to a third person--in whose benefit the contract has been concluded--the compensation of the insurance within the limits of the sum set by the policy.

The insurer is obliged to pay the premium (the price of the insurance) by the deadline indicated in the contract.

Only the state institution indicated by special provisions can be an insurer.

This institution can conclude contracts of liability according to special provisions.

Article 259

The contract of insurance can be voluntary or compulsory when it is stipulated explicitly by special provisions.

The contract of insurance must be carried out by the means of a certificate of insurance (insurance policy), which the insurer gives to the insured, otherwise it is not valid.

Article 260

The insured has the following obligations:

a) to tell the insurer, at the time of the signing of the contract, all the circumstances that he knows and which have a basic importance in determining the nature and scope of the danger;

b) to inform the insurer, during the period that the contract is in force, about all the changes in circumstances that he knows have taken place after the concluding of the contract and which can help increase the danger;

c) to inform the insurer, within the deadline indicated by special provisions, about the insurance incident and to take the necessary measures in his power, so as to stop or reduce the damage;

ch) and to take care of the property insured, according to the directives against fire and according to agro-technical and zooveterinary directives.

Article 261

When the insured does not give to the insurer the information indicated in letters a and b of Article 260, the insurer has the right to change or dissolve the contract of insurance; while, when the information contained in letter c has not been given, the insurer has the right not to pay the insurance compensation.

Article 262

The contract of property insurance can be executed both for the insurance of immovable objects and for movable objects or for the insurance of responsibility for damage (liability).

The sum of the insurance cannot be higher than the value of the property itself.

When the sum of the insurance is smaller than the value of the property insured, the compensation for damage is determined in proportion to the ratio between the amount of the insurance and the value of the property insured with the exception of the cases when, by special provisions, other ways are stipulated in regard to compensation for damage.

Article 263

The insurer is relieved of the obligations to pay the insurance compensation if the insurance incident was caused on purpose either by the serious negligence on the part of the insured or of the person in whose benefit the contract of insurance has been concluded.

The insurer, who has paid the insurance compensation, has the right to claim the return of the amount paid from the persons who are responsible for causing the damage.

Article 264

The contract of insurance comes into force at 12 pm on the day of the payment of the premium of insurance and, in the cases of payment of the premium by installments, at 12 pm of the day of the payment of the first installment.

When the ownership of property insured is transferred to another person, the contract of insurance is considered dissolved. In this case, the premium paid for buildings is returned to the insured in proportion with the period remaining until the termination of the deadline of the contract of insurance; whereas, the premium paid for movable objects is not returned.

Article 265

The conditions for voluntary or compulsory insurance of property are stipulated by special provisions of the Ministry of Finance.

/Rental Contracts/

Article 266

By the rental contract one party (the lessor) is obliged to give to the other party (the lessee), against payment, a determined object for temporary use.

The contract for the rental of the object must be executed in writing.

Article 267

The rental contract can be concluded with a deadline or without a deadline. When the rental contract is concluded with a deadline, this deadline cannot be longer than 5 years.

When the rental contract is concluded for an undetermined period, each party has the right to dissolve the contract at any time, after informing the other party 3 months in advance.

Article 268

The lessor is obliged to deliver the object to the lessee at a specified time and in such condition that it will serve the purpose for which it has been rented. The lessor is not responsible for the mistakes of the object rented because the lessee knew them or should have known them at the time of the concluding of the contract.

The lessor is obliged to make the necessary repair of the object, with the exception of the cases when it is specified otherwise in the contract.

Article 269

The rent cannot be higher than the rent indicated in special provisions.

Buildings which are private property in resorts can be rented for vacations, medical treatment, sports events and so forth.

The buildings mentioned above can be rented only after the approval of the responsible organ of the place where the building is situated.

The rent, in these cases, cannot be higher than the rents of the state buildings used for this purpose.

Article 270

The lessee is obliged to pay the rent.

The lessee is obliged to use the rented object for the purpose indicated in the contract and, when it is not written in the contract, for the purpose emerging from the very nature of the object. When the rental contract expires, the lessee is obliged to return the object to the lessor in the same condition that he took it, with the changes that the object has suffered as a result of use.

The lessee is obliged to make the usual repairs of the object at his own expenses, with the exception of when it is otherwise specified by law or by contract.

The lessee is obliged to compensate the lessor for the damage caused to the object because of his fault or because of the fault of the other persons whom he had allowed to use the object.

Article 271

When the object rented passes from the lessor into the ownership of another person, the rent contract is also valid for the new owner.

Article 272

The lessor has the right to dissolve the rental contract before the expiration of its deadline, when:

a) the lessee does not pay the rent within 3 months from the day the rent is due;

b) the lessee intentionally or because of negligence damages the condition of the rented object;

c) the lessee does not use the object according to the purpose indicated in the contract or emerging from the very nature of the object.

The dissolution of the contract in the cases indicated above can take place only when the lessor has forewarned the lessee about the nonfulfillment of his obligations.

Article 273

The lessee has the right to seek to dissolve the rental contract before the expiration of the deadline, when:

a) the lessor does not hand over the rented object;

b) the rented object does not serve the purpose for which it is rented;

c) the lessor does not carry out the necessary repair of the rented object.

/Rental Contract for Dwellings/

Article 274

By the rental contract for dwellings, the lessor is obliged to give a dwelling for residence, by counterpayment, to the lessee.

The rental contract of dwellings is concluded on the basis of the authorization for housing by the responsible state organ.

Article 275

The rental contract can be concluded with a deadline or without a deadline.

When the rental contract is concluded without a deadline, it is considered as being concluded for a period of 1 year.

At the expiration of the period of the rental contract, the lessee has the right to renew the contract. Until the contract is renewed, the lessee continues to keep the building in the former conditions.

Article 276

The rents for residential buildings and the space (norms) of housing area belonging to each person are set by provisions of the Council of Ministers.

The following residential areas are not included in the norm: kitchens, corridors, basements and any other place which is not used for habitation.

Article 277

The provisions of this contract are executed for dwellings which are state property in cities and villages and for dwellings which are private property in cities, regardless of the time of their construction.

Article 278

The lessee and the members of his family are obliged to respect the contract and the regulations on keeping dwellings in good condition.

The regulations on keeping dwellings in good condition are set by the Ministry of Communal Economy.

Article 279

The lessee and the members of his family are obliged to take good care of the dwelling and of its installations and to keep clean both the dwelling and places of common utilization. When the dwelling and places of common utilization are damaged or destroyed by the lessee or the members of his family, the lessee is obliged to pay the damage done.

When damage is caused to buildings of the state housing fund, repairs are immediately carried out by the organ that administers them; all expenses are charged to the faulty lessee and paid by him on the basis of the law on the drawing of state revenues.

Article 280

The lessor is obliged to hand over the dwelling to the lessee on schedule and in such a condition that it can be used for habitation. He is also obliged to carry out the necessary repairs for the residential dwelling, with the exception of the cases when it is specified otherwise in the contract.

Article 281

Any adult members of the family, who save separate salaries, have the same rights and obligations, as those of the lessee, toward the rental contract.

Article 282

Any adult member of the family, who has a separate salary, has the right to seek to conclude a separate contract if he has a separate room at his disposal. When he does not have such a room on his own, he has the right to seek participation in the contract as co-lessee, mentioning the part of the dwelling that he has at his disposal.

Article 283

When in the dwelling occupied by a lessee or the owner, a surplus of habitation areas above the set norms is created and this surplus area is a separate room, the lessee or owner has the right to put in this room a person chosen by himself among those designated by the competent state organ.

When the lessee or the owner does not exercise this right within a month from the date of the announcement or the lessee does not agree to settle in another dwelling suitable for habitation for his family, the competent state organ, that has the right to dispose of the separate room, enacts an administrative order.

The lessee or the owner has the right to complain to the court against the administrative order within 5 days from the date of the communication of the administrative order. The court decision is final. A complaint made within the deadline suspends the administrative order.

Article 284

Citizens who are summoned to discharge their active military service, youths and students who attend schools in other cities, persons who receive medical treatment at a health institution, those who go abroad on mission and those who are sent to another place temporarily on business, all have their living space secured for the entire duration until their service, study or treatment is terminated.

The living space is also kept for the persons detained until the termination of their investigation and the judgment of the cases for which they are considered as the defendants.

The persons sentenced to deprivation of liberty or interned or banished for more than 6 months lose the right to their living space, if the living space, which they use, constitutes a separate room.

Article 285

The lessees of state dwellings have the right, by the approval of the competent state organ, to exchange dwellings among themselves. In this case, each of them has the rights and obligations stemming from the new contract. In the cases when the dwelling is private property, in order to exchange it, it is also necessary to have the approval of the owner, when he lives in the same dwelling.

Article 286

By request of the lessor, the rental contract can be dissolved at any time by court order, when:

a) the lessee or the member of his family systematically damage the residential building or, as a result of their attitude, make it impossible for neighbors to live with them;

b) the lessee does not use the building in accordance with the law, the contract or its purpose;

c) the residential building, which is the private property of the lessor, because of the change of family conditions or of the conditions of his dwelling, is needed by him as a family residence;

ch) the lessor tries to exchange the building, his private property, with the dwelling in which he lives, if the two dwellings are approximately in the same condition.

Article 287

The rental contract can be dissolved by order of the competent state organ, when:

a) the lessor is given, by the competent state organ, the right to make changes in or radical expansions of the building;

b) the building, which is state property or private property, is needed by the state for governmental or social needs;

c) the building, according to the findings of reponsible organs, is in danger of collapse or when this building, because of the execution of city planning regulations, has to be demolished;

ch) the lessee, without any reason, does not use the dwelling rented to him for more than 6 months.

Article 288

When the rental contract is dissolved in accordance with the letter c of Article 286 and of letters a, b, and c of Article 287, the lessee is assured another housing space as large as the one he had, but not larger than the norm that belongs to him, within the perimeter of the city; this housing space must fulfill the necessary health conditions.

The court, when examining the disagreement in regard to the cases stipulated in letters a and b of Article 286 and, evaluating the circumstances of the issue, can deem it sufficient to give a warning to the lessee, instead of dissolving the contract. In the cases when the rental contract is unbound, the lessee is given other housing space which can be below the norm of the area belonging to him.

When the contract is dissolved on the basis of letter c of Article 287, the lessee does not lose the right to planning which has been given to him by the competent organs for his housing.

Article 289

When the rental contract is dissolved by order of the competent organ, according to Article 287 of this Code, the lessee has the right to complain in court within 5 days of the date of the communication of the order. The court decision is final. The complaint lodged within the deadline suspends the order.

A citizen, who is not the owner, who has occupied a house for habitation, without authorization from the competent organ, can be evicted from it by administrative order, and there is no obligation to give him other housing space.

Article 290

The lessee, who has carried out improvements in the dwelling which he has rented, with the approval of the lessor, has the right to ask from him the expenses for thse improvements. If the lessee has made these improvements without the approval of the lessor, he has no right to claim the expenses made for these improvements; however, he has only the right to remove the things which he has added to the dwelling, things which can be removed without causing any damage to the building, with the exception of the cases when the owner agrees to pay for their value.

The regulations established by the Ministry of Communal Economy are applied in the case of state buildings.

/The Contract of Deposit/

Article 291

In the contract of deposit, one party (the trustee) is obliged to keep the movable object entrusted to him by the other party (the depositor) and to return it to him at any time that he asks for it.

The contract of deposit, when it is concluded with compensation, must be executed in writing.

Article 292

The trustee is obliged:

a) to take all necessary measures to take good care of the object;

b) not to use the object entrusted to him, with the exception of the cases when it is otherwise stipulated in the contract or when its use stems from the very nature of the object.

Article 293

The trustee has the right to claim from the depositor extraordinary expenses in case that the latter have been necessary and urgent and necessry expenses when the deposit has been made without compensation.

The depositor is obliged to compensate for the damage caused to the trustee by the hidden defects of the object, if the depositor had known them and had failed to inform the trustee.

Article 294

A juridical person, which is the trustee, is responsible in all cases for the loss of or damage to the objects left in deposit, with the exception of the cases when it proves that their loss or damage was a result of:

a) the quality of the objects left in deposit;

b) natural disaster;

c) serious negligence on the part of the depositor.

Article 295

When the object left in deposit has not been removed on schedule, the trustee is not responsible for the loss of or damage to the object that happens after this time, with the exception of the cases when the loss or damage is caused intentionally or because of the trustee's lack of concern for the object.

A juridical person trustee, after the elapse of the period within which the object on deposit must be removed, has the right to sell the object through the

trade enterprise. The sums resulting from the sale of the object, after the deduction of the sums owed to the trustee, are handed over to the depositor or deposited in a credit institution in his name.

/The Contract on the Use of an Object Received on Loan/

Article 296

By the contract on the use of an object received on loan, one party (the lender) gives the other party (the borrower), without counterpayment, a specified object to be used temporarily and this party is obliged to return the same object by the deadline set in the contract or, when no deadline has been set, at the request of the party which has given the object.

The contract is considered concluded at the moment that the object is handed over.

Article 297

The borrower must use the object only for the purpose indicated in the contract or, when its purpose is not stipulated in the contract, it must be used for the purpose emerging from the nature of the object. The borrower cannot give the object to another person for use without the authorization of the lender.

The borrower is responsible for the loss of or damage to the object, with the exception of the cases when he proves that its loss or damage would have happened even if the object had not been given for use on loan.

Article 298

The borrower is obliged to make the usual repair of the object given to him for use on loan at his own expense; while the other repairs are carried out by the lender, if it is not specified otherwise in the contract.

The borrower is obliged to compensate the lender for damage caused to the object both through his fault and through the fault of other persons allowed by him to use the object.

The borrower is obliged to inform the lender immediately about the loss of the object or about damage caused to it, otherwise, he is obliged to reimburse the lender.

Article 299

The lender has the right to ask for the dissolution of the contract before the expiration of its deadline, when:

a) the borrower causes the deterioration of the condition of the object intentionally or because of negligence;

b) the borrower does not use the object for the purpose indicated in the contract or for the purpose stemming from its nature;

c) the borrower gives the object to another person for use.

Article 300

When the deadline of the contract expires or when the contract is dissolved before this deadline, the borrower is obliged to return the object to the lender in the same condition as it was received, with the usual changes caused by its normal use or in the condition stipulated in the contract. As long as the contrary is not proven, it is assumed that the object was received in good condition.

/The Loan Contract/

Article 301

By the loan contract, the one party (the lender) gives to the other party (the borrower) a sum of money or an object, specified in regard to number, weight or size; while, the borrower is obliged to return the same amount of money to the lender or the same number of the same kinds and of the same quality within the deadline stipulated in the contract; or, when the deadline has not been set, within 1 month from the day that the lender has asked the borrower to return them to him. The loan contract is considered concluded at the moment of the handing over of the sum of money or of the object.

Article 302

Loans granted by the Albanian State Bank in the form of credit, or financing or in any other form, and the loans it grants to the citizens, are regulated by directives of the Council of Ministers.

Article 303

The loan contract between the citizens is always concluded without compensation.

/The Contract of Donation/

Article 304

By the contract of donation, the one party (the donor) transfers a specified object into the possession of another party without payment.

The contract of donation for movable objects is considered concluded at the moment of the delivery of the object, with the exception of the case stipulated by Article 84/II of this Code.

The donation of immovable objects is carried out by notarial act, otherwise it is not valid.

/The Order Contract/

Article 305

By the order contract, one party (the agent) is obliged to execute one or more projects or juridical acts for the other party (the customer).

Article 306

The agent is obliged to execute the task entrusted to him in accordance with the instructions from the customer. He can depart from these instructions only when this action is necessary to protect the interests of the customer and when there had been no opportunity to reach an agreement with him in advance.

Article 307

The agent is obliged:

a) to give all the information connected with the execution of the order to the customer, when he desires it;

b) to give account on the execution of the order to the customer, even showing him the relevant documents;

c) to give the customer, on a timely basis, everything he has received for the execution of order.

Article 308

The agent is obliged to execute the order himself.

In extraordinary cases, the agent, in order to protect customer's interests, can charge a third person with carrying out the order; however, in regard to this action, he is obliged to inform the customer immediately.

Article 309

The customer is obliged:

a) to accept all the activities carried out by the agent within the limits of the contract;

b) to give the agent all the necessary means for the execution of the order;

c) to pay all the expenses incurred in executing the order;

ch) to pay the amount of compensation indicated in the contract.

Article 310

The order contract is terminated when:

a) the order has been executed according to the contract;

b) the deadline for the order has elapsed;

c) one of the parties to the contract has died, has been deprived of its capacity of action or has given up the order contract.

/The Contract of Commission/

Article 311

By the order of commission one party (the commission merchant) is obliged to execute, on the basis of the order from the other party (the customer), one or more juridical acts, with payment, in his name, but on behalf of the customer.

Article 312

By the contract bound by the commission merchant with the third person, the commissioned merchant and not the customer who acquires rights and takes obligations upon himself, even when the customer is mentioned in the contract or has had direct dealings with the third person in regard to the fulfillment of the contract.

Article 313

When the third person does not fulfill his obligations stemming from the contract concluded with the customer, and if damage is caused to the customer's property which is in the possession of the commission merchant, the latter is obliged to inform the customer immediately, collect and assure the proofs of the case and take all other necessary measures in order to protect the interests of the customer.

The objects which the customer has handed over to the commission merchant and the objects which the commission merchant has acquired on behalf of the customer are the property of the customer.

The commission merchant is obliged to have an insurance policy for the objects of the customer which are in his possession only if it is stipulated in the contract of the commission merchant or if the insurance is compulsory on the basis of the law.

Article 314

The directives on the order contract are also implemented in the case of the commission contract as long as it is not otherwise specified in this contract.

Chapter VII

/The Copyright/

Article 315

/Copyright Objects/

All works of creativity in fields of production and science, and literary or artistic works, which serve the building of socialism and the communist education of the masses, whatever the manner and form of their presentation and destination might be are copyright objects.

Adaptations, stagings, filmings, orchestrations, and every transformation of literary, musical or scientific works, and translations of literary or artistic works into another language are also copyright items.

Article 316

/The Subject and the Origin of the Copyright/

The author is the person who has created the work.

The copyright begins from the moment the work is expressed verbally or has taken the form of a manuscript, sketch, drawing, image, painting, or of any other concrete form.

In regard to photographic works, the copyright is in effect only if, each copy has the name of the author and the year and place of publication of the work.

/Co-Authorship/

Article 317

The copyright of a work created by two or more authors belongs, in an undivided manner, to all co-authors, both if the work constitutes an undivided entirety and when it is composed of parts which have a literary, artistic or scientific value in themselves.

Each of the co-authors has a copyright over his own piece of work, if this part has a value in itself and if there is no conflicting agreement between them.

Persons who have given technical assistance to the author of the work and the executors, producers and editors of the work are not called co-authors.

Article 318

The film studios, radio-broadcasting and television studios and other institutions which carry out the mechanical recording of the voice have a copyright in entirety over the works created by them.

The author of the literary subject, of the literary scenario, of the musical work, of the figurative arts work or of the photographic work maintains a copyright over his work when it is included in a work which is created collectively.

Article 319

The institutions which publish, by means of any kind of publishing house, scientific pamphlets, newspapers or other periodical publications, encyclopedias, dictionaries or guides, have a copyright in entirety over these publications. Every one of the authors of works, included in one of the publications mentioned above, keeps the copyright over his own work.

Article 320

The publication of a work is allowed only with the approval of the author.

The work is considered to be published when it is printed, shown, executed or presented to the public or when it appears in any other way.

Publication of letters and of diaries of a personal nature is allowed only by approval of the author and of the person to whom they have been sent. In the case of the death of one of them or of both of them, publication is allowed by approval of the spouse, of the children or of the parents of the deceased.

Article 321

Copyright over a work published for the first time in the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania or which is in the form of manuscript, draft or in another concrete form in its territory is given to the author, regardless of his nationality.

Article 322

The copyright of an author, who is not an Albanian citizen, over a work which is published or which is found outside the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the form of manuscript, draft or in another concrete form, is recognized in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania only if a special agreement is signed with the country concerned and only within the limits of this agreement.

The publication, presentation or execution, outside the country, of an unpublished work of an Albanian author, who is an Albanian citizen, is allowed only with the approval of the state institutions.

/The Content of the Copyright/

Article 323

The author is recognized the right to publish his work with his own name, with his pseudonym or without any name (anonymous); he is recognized the right not to allow alterations of his work or the use of his work in an unjust manner; he is recognized the right to publish, show or play and represent his work in public, dissiminate or use it in any other manner with all the means allowed; and he is also recognized the right to receive compensation.

Article 324

When a work is published, performed in public, presented or used in any other manner without the approval of the author and when a copyright has been violated, the author has the right to seek to stop and prevent the publication, presentation, dissimination, and performance of his work, or to stop its use in any other manner.

Article 325

The publication, presentation or performing in public of an unpublished work, and the republication, dissimination, reproduction, displaying or the use in any other manner of the work of another person is allowed only with the approval of the author.

Without the authorization of the author no additions, reductions or alterations can be made to his work on the occasion of its publication, presentation and performance in public; it is not allowed to use it in any other manner.

Article 326

The following are not considered to be copyright violations:

a) the use of the literary, musical or scientific work of another person for adaptation, improvement, musical orchestration, or for any other transformation and the creation of a sculpture from a painting or vice versa; however, the author must be informed about this;

b) the use in scientific works or in works of literary criticism and so forth of excerpts from published works of other people (quoted);

c) the inclusion of excerpts from published literary, artistic and scientific works and of individual photographs in scientific, political and educational collections, in educational books and manuals, in anthologies and calendars, however, within the necessary limits to achieve the purpose of the work;

ch) the publication in the daily or periodical press of speeches or reports delivered in meetings and political or social conferences and of data or of portions extracted from them;

d) the republishing in the daily and periodical press, or in commemorative publications, of news, articles and pictures published in other newspapers and in the periodical press, and excerpts from published literary, artistic or scientific works;

dh) the presentation or performance in cultural, scientific and other institutions of works published, presented or executed in public;

e^1) the reproduction of artistic works and artistic photographs, for which the author has already been compensated;

e^2) the broadcasting by radio or television of literary, artistic or scientific works published, presented or executed in public, and the filming of these works for historical documentary films;

f) the translation of a work into a foreign language.

Article 327

When required by the general interest, with the approval of the Ministry of Education and Culture, it is permitted to publish, present, perform or use, in some form, literary works and unpublished personal diaries without the authorization of the author.

Article 328

The amount the compensation to the author and the manner of payment are determined by directives of the Council of Ministers.

A person, who presents for publication the work of an author who has died, also receives an immediate compensation, in an amount specified by special directives.

/Invention and Rationalization Rights/

Article 329

Invention is the solution of a technical problem in any field of the people's economy, of culture, and of health or in other sectors, characterized by new basic elements, and which produces positive results.

The fact of giving only the idea of the invention without showing the way to put it into operation and without showing its effect is not considered to be an invention.

An invention is considered to be supplementary if it is the perfection of another invention, without whose implementation the supplementary invention cannot be used in an independent manner.

Article 330

Any solution which improves techniques and technology in production, which increases the volume of production and its entire range, and which produces new products, increases yields and reduces production costs is considered to be rationalization.

A solution which improves the management of work and the administration of the economy, when it has produced great economic profit is also considered to be rationalization.

The solution of the tasks established on the basis of the plans approved or of the recommendations given by the enterprises, institutions or organizations is not considered to be rationalization.

Article 331

The authors of inventions and rationalizations are given certificates of author for inventions and certificates of rationalizer for rationalizations.

When the invention or rationalization is the result of collective creativity, the certificate of author or the certificate of rationalizer is given to each co-author, mentioning the names of all those who have participated in this invention or in this rationalization.

The certificate for rationalization, valid for an enterprise or institution, is awarded by the enterprise or the institution; when it is valid for several enterprises, it is awarded by the ministry of another central institution.

The certificate of author is given, on any occasion, by the ministry or another central institution.

Article 332

The right to utilize the invention and rationalization belongs to the state.

In the conditions similar to those of the state, the agricultural cooperatives have the right to utilize inventions and rationalizations which deal with their activities.

Article 333

The utilization of an invention or rationalization by an author outside the country, and putting into operation outside the country of an invention or rationalization made in the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, are permitted only by authorization of the responsible government organs.

Article 334

To protect the rights of the inventor outside the state, the certificate of author is equal to the license.

Article 335

The authors of inventions and rationalizations are compensated on the basis of criteria established by the Council of Ministers.

Chapter VIII

/Obligations Raising From the Causing of Damage/

Article 336

The person who is guilty of illegally causing damage to the property of another person is obliged to compensate for the damage which he has caused.

The person who has caused the damage is not held responsible when he proves that the damage was not his fault.

Article 337

The person who has caused damage while being in a situation necessary for defense is not obliged to pay for the damage he has caused.

The person who has caused a damage while being in a situation of extreme necessity is obliged to pay for it. The court, however, taking into consideration the circumstances under which this damage has been done, can charge with compensation for damage the third person in the interest of whom the perpetrator of the damage has acted, or can discharge completely or partially from the obligation of compensation both the third person and the person responsible for the damage.

Article 338

A juvenile under 14 years of age is not responsible for the damage caused by him. His parents or guardian are responsible for his damage.

When a juvenile under 14 years of age has caused damage while under the direct supervision of an educational, educative or health institution or under supervision of a third person, the institution or the third person is responsible for the damage if it cannot prove that there was no chance of preventing the damage.

Article 339

A juvenile over 14 years or age is responsible for the damage caused by him.

When a juvenile, over 14 years of age, does not produce revenues from his own work or has no personal wealth, his parents or guardian are responsible for the damage caused by him.

Article 340

In regard to the damage caused by a person deprived of his capacity for action, the guardian or institution that is in charge of him is responsible for the damage.

A person, who is not aware of his action, is not responsible for the damage caused by him while he is in this condition, with the exception of the cases when, because of his own fault, he has put himself in this condition.

Article 341

When the damage is caused by the organ of the juridical person while in the execution of work or duty, the indemnity is paid by the juridical person.

The juridical person is responsible for the damage caused because of the fault of its employees and workers while discharging their duty, only when, because of its fault or the fault of his organs, incapable employees or workers have been taken in the service or when proper supervision has not been exercised over their activities.

Article 342

In regard to damages caused by irregular activities of white-collar workers during the exercise of state administrative duties entrusted to them, the juridical person is responsible only for the cases stipulated expressly by the law.

In any case, the juridical person is responsible for the damage caused by the irregular activities of white-collar workers in connection with the wealth (money) which, in the execution of a legal directive or of a decision or order of the competent organ, has been handed over for preservation to the juridical person.

The juridical person, which has paid compensation for the damage caused by the mistake of the persons indicated in Article 341 and in the first paragraph of this article, has the right to ask them for reimbursement of the compensation it has paid.

Article 343

A person, who carried on an activity which is a source of increased danger for the environment, is responsible for the damage caused by this source of increased danger, with the exception of the cases when he proves that the damage was caused by natural disaster.

Article 344

When the damage has been caused by several persons together, all these persons are responsible to the person who has suffered the damage, on a solidarity basis.

Article 345

For injury caused by a person when he is repelling damage threatening socialist wealth, the juridical person who administers this property is responsible.

Article 346

When the damage or the increase in its extent has been caused deliberately by the person or by the serious negligence of the person suffering the damage and when he has not shown proper concern for the reduction of this damage, the organ that resolves the issue can reduce the damage compensation or discharge the damager completely from obligation for damage compensation.

Article 347

Every person, who has paid compensation for the damage intentionally caused by other persons, has the right to ask them to reimburse him for the compensation he has paid.

The parents or guardians, who have paid compensation for the damage caused by juveniles or by persons who have been deprived of their capacity for action, have no right to ask them to return the damage compensation which they have paid.

Article 348

In regard to damage compensation, the court, according to the circumstances of the issue, can decide on the obligation of the person who has caused the damage either by asking him to replace the damage or to compensate for the losses, including according to the case, compensation for the benefit which has been lost.

Article 349

When death is caused, the damage suffered by the minors and the persons incapacitated for work who were in charge of the deceased, is compensated.

When there is deterioration of health, the damage resulting from the loss or reduction of the capacity to work is compensated, as well as the expenses incurred in connection with the deterioration of health. The size of compensation can be removed, reduced or increased depending on the health situation. The expenses incurred for treatment in the state institutions are free of charge and paid by the government.

In the cases mentioned above, when the person suffering the damage or the persons in charge of the deceased benefit from the state social security, the damage is compensated for by the state social security organ according to the manner specified in provisions. In other cases, the damage is compensated for by the guilty person.

The state social security organ, which has paid the damage compensation, has the right to seek reimbursement of the damage compensation from the person responsible for it.

Chapter IX

/Obligations Stemming From Illegal Profiteering/

Article 350

The person, who has profited or cheated in dealings, to the detriment of another person, without any legal reason or because it has not been proven or because he had disappeared afterwards, is obliged to return what he has taken or saved to the detriment of the other person.

Article 351

The person who has acquired an object of another person, according to Article 350, is obliged to return it together with the revenues obtained from it or which he should have obtained; however, he has the right to seek payment for the expenses incurred for the object, according to the provisions of the suit to recover the object from the illegal possessor (Articles 135-138 of the Code).

Chapter X

/Final Provisions/

Article 352

The provisions on the acquisition of ownership through inheritance are also implemented for the inheritances in effect before the coming into force of this Code, when the inheritance wealth has not been divided by agreement among the co-heirs, by court decision or by notarial act.

The provisions of this Code are also executed for the relationships of ownership between spouses, relationships which had begun before the coming into force of this Code, if they have not been divided by agreement between spouses, by court decision or by notarial act.

Article 353

Law No 2022, dated 2 April 1955, "On the General Part of the Civil Code"; Law No 2023, dated 2 April 1955, "On the Execution of the Law on the General Part of the Civil Code"; Decree No 2083, dated 6 July 1955, "On Ownership"; Decree No 2084, dated 6 July 1955, "On the Execution of the Decree 'On Ownership'"; Law No 2359, dated 15 November 1956, "On Juridical Acts and Obligations"; Law No 2360, dated 15 November 1956, "On the Execution of the Law 'On Juridical Acts and Obligations'"; Decree No 1892, dated 5 July 1954, "On Inheritance"; Decree No 4389, dated 7 May 1968, modified by Law No 4408, dated 25 June 1968 "On Copyright"; and Decree No 4548, dated 3 October 1969, "On Inventions and Rationalizations," with all the necessary adjustments and alterations of these acts, and every other provision in contradiction with this Code--are abrogated.

Article 354

This Code comes into force on 1 January 1982.

Tirana, 26 June 1981.
Law No 6340

9150
CSO: 2100/19 END

JPRS 79965

28 January 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1968

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28 January 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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No. 1968

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ART MUST PROMOTE CLASS IDEOLOGY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Dec 81 p 5

[Article by Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee: "An Everlasting Task--Socialist Creativity--A True and Eloquent Testimony of Our Time"]

[Text] The implementation of the program adopted by the 16th Congress for every area of our social action, as well as the planning and fulfillment of the cultural program of our party, is become increasingly more demanding. It is therefore so much more important for us to focus all our creative forces on the fulfillment of our tasks and to join without reservation the united front of those who are fighting for everything that is progressive and who champion the working people and socialism.

The world situation is imposing increasing demands on the level of our political administration in social development and on the contents and methods of our ideological education. The socialist countries, and thus also our society, must enhance even more the authority of conscientious and honest work for public welfare, form attitudes toward work as the highest value of socialism, do everything in our power to transform work into the innermost, most vital need of mankind. In this context we stress the irreplaceable role of literature and arts that ideologically and ethically affect the masses and the importance of ideological and political tempering of our creative intelligentsia.

For that reason, soon after the 16th CPCZ Congress we began to concentrate on the concepts for individual sectors of culture and arts for the coming years. We give a major role to national committees in enforcing and introducing whatever culture and arts may, and must, contribute for the fulfillment of the program stipulated by the 16th Congress.

Our work proceeds under rigorous internal and international political conditions that call for considerable responsibility, moral maturity and far-reaching initiative on the part of our people. Precisely such circumstances bring our people's consciousness distinctly to the forefront. Our socialist culture and arts are of quite extraordinary and completely intrinsic significance in this great struggle waged by the working people, who are gradually implementing the program of our 16th Congress. By the mediation and through the immediate impact of culture and arts we may approach every citizen with the policy of

the CPCZ and of our socialist state--with the policy of the communist and revolutionary movements all over the world. Through culture and arts we may introduce to our people also specific expressions of patriotism and internationalism, the role and position of the USSR, its communist party, its peoples and its efforts to preserve peace, in other words, all we regard as real socialism and its further development, all we regard as progress of mankind and its happiness. That is not all. With socialist culture and arts we may open an offensive and convincingly introduce socialism in any country abroad.

Equally meaningful is the fact that precisely in culture and arts we do not handpick from the wealth of ideas only what suits us best or what may be most easily implemented at the given moment, but that we interpret the 16th Congress fully and comprehensively, with all its postulates and with personal responsibility of each one of us.

We accomplished excellent results in culture and arts, but we cannot be satisfied with our achievements; it would be the greatest of errors to ignore all kinds of shortcomings existing in that area. The focus on economy, quality and effectiveness of every action enforced by our party applies urgently and to the fullest extent in culture and arts. We all, no matter what our position in the party and state administration, must realize that genuine cultural and artistic values stem exclusively from the authors' essential unity with the life of our society and its constructive efforts; from the knowledge of, and feeling for, the complexities of our era and its historic struggles; and from true identification with everything that fulfills the noble tasks and objectives of our society. Such values may be gained only from work where high criteria, civic awareness and a profound sense of truth inspire our cultural activists and artists to create works of the highest ideological and artistic merit.

It is generally known that the specifics of artistic creation in our society are scrupulously respected and that our artists are not ordered what to do. Our efforts are based mainly on sensitive, yet principled, ideological work; their purpose is to achieve an inner, fervently experienced unity with the workers' class and with other working people in order to consolidate and intensify in the whole creative vanguard and in each of its members an awareness of their participation and coresponsibility for the work created by the dedicated and constructive efforts of our people.

Our party's ideological program, along with the cultural and art vanguard, represents an extraordinary dynamic process of systematic adoption of Marxist-Leninist principles concerning creativity, as well as the struggle to unite all those who are pursuing in that area our party's cultural policy and its pivotal principles--ideological awareness, party consciousness and the common touch. Our task is to inspire every sector of social activity, to intensify and methodically to improve our work and to strip from it all superficial, formal and random aspects.

If our party and state authorities approach cultural and artistic creativity in such a way, that does not indicate that individuals, society or authorities administering and managing this particular area may be indifferent to many

negative phenomena either directly in the creative work itself or in civic and ethical attitudes of certain individuals.

We all are well aware that our people have every right to feel resentment over everything that contradicts their views of our socialist society and interpersonal relations and to become incensed by the excesses in the conduct and social expressions of certain individuals, no matter how famous they may be. Our people cannot accept their superciliousness and eccentricity, frequently bordering on disdain for the simple folks.

Our people often ask whether the presentations by various groups or individual artists demonstrate a socialist character and whether they can enhance the attitude of our young generation toward socialism and the communist party. They can see and recognize what is necessary from what is alien and brought to our country only to distract our people from their constructive efforts, to nurture in them misconceptions about the other part of our world and to kindle in them illusions about the situation in the bourgeois imperialist world. Our working people are not always quite certain that appropriate authorities are duly supervising and guiding the development of numerous professional groups in this or that sector of entertainment and furthermore that their activities are subject to systematic review and control. After all, many of us often harbor the impression that only the appropriately hirsute and socially least conformist individuals may operate in this particular field. Many other negative phenomena are in evidence, including all kinds of jokes denigrating socialism and the honest work of our people.

All those and other events point to one thing: precisely here we must become much more demanding, critical and determined. All that contributes to socialism and helps remedy the developing shortcomings and problems has now, and always will enjoy, steady support in our country; nevertheless, we can never tolerate contradictions to our ideology, injury to socialism, corruption of our people's taste and disdain for the achievements of our people.

We are fully aware that culture and arts must jointly stimulate creativity and interpret it not only in the countries of the socialist community; we must not isolate ourselves in this area, thinking that this is the best way to serve socialism and protect our society against the intrusion of bourgeois culture and arts. Naturally, this is not an easy path. It is an irrefutable fact that great culture and arts can develop and exist even in capitalist states and that the progressive artists living and working there are realists whose very art and creativity score capitalism and imperialism with all their afflictions and inhumane manifestations. We must bring their culture and arts closer to our people. However, the decadent culture that also exists in the capitalist countries has nothing in common with the concept of culture; it only poisons and deforms the taste and feelings of our people, especially the youth, and serve the interests of capitalism.

We must take pains to prevent precisely this type of pseudoculture from reaching our people. If it reaches them, it must be mercilessly rejected and its bearers must realize that we do not intend to tolerate it.

We cannot regard as modern anything that insults the feelings of our people, anything that corrupts the taste of our young people in the era of socialism, anything that diverts our people from their life and work in our socialist society and misguides them in the unknown. Progressive and modern art is in ample supply all over the world but it requires great skill to discover it and to bring precisely such works to our perceptive readers, listeners of popular and dance music, concert- and theatergoers, viewers of variety shows, etc.

Under the demanding domestic and foreign conditions in which we are implementing the decisions of the 16th Congress, the entire area of culture has an especially meaningful duty to enhance its ideological and international role in spreading in the world the truth about the advantages of socialism, to multiply the effect of arts and cultural education on the thought, action, value orientation and the life style of our people, to develop culture as an enormous battlefront where the class struggle is being waged: the struggle for peace and for the fulfillment of the tasks stemming from the building of socialism and communist education. All efforts in the creation and interpretation of cultural values, in a systematic development of the work in cultural education and administration, must be subordinated to that ideological role. In accordance with the decisions of the 16th Congress and the 15th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee, every artist and every cultural educational and administrative institution and organization on all levels of management must regard their share in ideological, international, patriotic, ethical and esthetic education as their most vital goal and as the purpose of all their activity. The tasks of ideological education must be regarded far more consistently than ever before as fundamental criteria when setting up dramatic and editorial programs and unified plans for cultural education, when reviewing artistic creation and when judging the standards of cultural activities as well as when selecting, training and deploying cadres in the whole area of culture.

The international situation and the effects of the ideological struggle as well as the aggravated conditions for the fulfillment of the demanding tasks in the building of socialism call more than ever before for deeper consciousness and mobilization of our forces. This demands that the arts and cultural education become more militant in terms of ideology when struggling against the vestiges and drawbacks in the development of socialism, so as to enhance continuously the advantages of socialism and its moral criteria in the consciousness of our people. The criteria of ideological awareness must be consistently enforced in the daily activity of authors of art works, script writers, film directors, editors in publishing houses, and reviewers as the very springboard for further advances in this area.

The crucial precondition for upgrading the ideological role of the arts calls for the development of ideological education for our creative intelligentsia. The formation of a creative vanguard on positions of socialism has been completed over the past years. Art groups on which our party depends as its leading aktiv have played in the past, and are playing now, an important role in consolidating the ranks of our creative vanguard. Not only the abundant harvest of precious works of art but also the outspoken civic attitudes of our artists attest to the beneficial atmosphere of our creative vanguard.

Yet despite these achievements we must not relax for a single moment our educational work among the artists. Practically all our prominent creative forces have adopted socialist positions; however, not all artists have matured sufficiently so that their work can meet the lofty criteria of ideology, maturity, party consciousness and professional excellence. Most young artists of the new generation entering our art world in the past decade are talented and educated but inexperienced and not always correctly focused or able to distinguish the really innovative from the fashionable, formalistic or even ideologically devious.

Art criticism, particularly in our daily publications and reviews, bears ample blame for such shortcomings. Often hardly any attention is paid to works created on purely ideological bases in workshops of true masters, while excessive and uncritical attention is devoted to marginal, mostly faddish and eccentric creations.

From these and other problems it follows that ideological education of our creative vanguard, in conjunction with an effort for further amalgamation of its ranks on the positions of meticulous criteria and responsibility, remains our constant task of utmost importance.

It is necessary in particular to upgrade the education of the young generation of artists and not to leave them to the tender mercies of undesirable ideological influences or to their own artistic rambling; they must be sensitively taught to dedicate themselves to the cause of socialism, to identify themselves with the role of arts in our socialist society and to embrace without any reservation the creative ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The program of ideological education offered to our artistic vanguard cannot be regarded merely as a matter for central institutions to deal with. It must be implemented also in the theaters, cinema, television and radio studios, in our publishing houses and in cultural establishments of individual krajs and okreses, in other words, wherever our artists live, work and create. Analogically, it cannot be regarded as merely a problem for individual educational programs but primarily as a ceaseless process, which is evident when specific artistic tasks are being fulfilled and when our artists and their creations are leaving their mark on the life of our society.

9004
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NOVEMBER 1981 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Nov 81 p 4

[Volkmar Bachmann review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 11, November 1981, signed to press 14 October 1981, pp 1073-1184: "On the Central Issue of Our Time." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others (except by Horst Hemberger and Harald Esche) are published in pages following this review]

[Text] "Strategies For and Against Peace" is the title given to EINHEIT's November issue. It thus takes up a topic which particularly at this time moves and excites people all over the world in view of NATO's decisions on stepped-up armament and the shift by the most aggressive imperialist powers, first and foremost the United States, toward a confrontation course. Well-known authors unmistakably prove in five contributions that the imperialist social system is incapable of solving the basic issues of human life in our time.

The inflation in the capitalist countries, fanned primarily by the growing government indebtedness resulting from stepped-up armament, Horst Hemberger writes, consumes ever more rapidly and completely the sociopolitical "results of the wage and tariff struggles of the workers class and its trade unions." ["Crisis, Armament and Social Dismantling," pp 1081-1084, by Prof Dr Horst Hemberger, economist, deputy director, faculty for political economy of capitalism, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee]

Ernst Krabatsch, in his contribution, describes the persistent peace policy of the socialist states and their incessant efforts for disarmament. Wolfram Neubert documents unambiguously that socialism and peace are part of each other, that they are, so to speak, of the same nature and, the writer emphasizes, that "for the implementation of the historic mission of the workers class and for the development and blossoming of the fundamentally new society, the socialist society, peace--and peace alone--provides the most favorable conditions." Guenter Sieber, in his article, documents the fraternal relations with the USSR which are serving peace.

Albrecht Charisius devotes his remarks to NATO and its key position in the anti-socialist confrontation policy of the U.S. administration. Sergej Henke and Harry Klug in turn analyze the gist of the efforts of some U.S. politicians to revert openly "to the policy of cold war" and thus to stroll along "the brink of the nuclear abyss."

A review of the book, "Anti-Communism Today" [pp 1181-1182; by Dr Harald Esche, staff employee, SED Central Committee] (published by Dietz Verlag, [East] Berlin, 1981), which exposes old and new features of imperialism's anti-Communist strategy at the beginning of the 1980's, completes the treatment of the topic.

[PLEASE NOTE: A translation of a 'Consultation' feature article, pp 1169-1172, by Prof Dr Manfred Engert (economist, director, Institute for Socialist World System Economics, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee) is published under the heading, "Objectives of GDR-USSR 'Production Cooperation' Program Explained," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

CSO: 2300/79

SOCIALIST STATES' 'COORDINATED POLICY' ON NATO DECISIONS EXPLAINED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 11, Nov 81 (signed to press 14 Oct 81) pp 1093-1100

['Strategies For and Against Peace' feature article by Ernst Krabatsch, main department chief, GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs: "Socialist Peace Policy in Action"]

> [Text] The states of the socialist community have adopted the peace program carried further by the 26th CPSU Congress in conformity with the requirements of the exacerbated international situation as the platform of their common struggle against the peril of a nuclear inferno threatening all mankind. Their coordinated peace policy is the only alternative for the confrontation course pursued by the most aggressive imperialist forces. This constructive policy, aimed at stopping the arms race and doing away with military confrontation, finds increasing agreement and support among the peace-loving people in the world.

Can the peoples and states stay on the path of ensuring peace and detente in the 1980's or are they thrown back at the course of military confrontation and at strolling along the brink of nuclear war? This is the question confronting humanity today. The imperialist stepped-up armament and confrontation policy is the greatest danger to peace and international security, independence and social progress. Comrade Erich Honecker has announced: "If the thus far longest period of peace in our century in Europe is to last, we must succeed in turning toward disarmament in the 1980's. We must succeed in restraining NATO's confrontation politicians and thwarting their designs. Not in the fear of war shall the peoples pursue their daily work, but in assured peace which ultimately must become their normal way of life. At that our policy is aimed."[1]

A New, Great Peace Initiative

To solve this most important problem for mankind, the USSR, at the 26th CPSU Congress, proposed an extremely far-reaching and constructive action program for peace. Its important world-political propositions found the full support

of the 10th SED Congress. The states of the socialist community regard it as the common platform for their action. It includes measures for the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons and conventional arms, and for the elimination and prevention of crises and conflict situations--be they in Europe, in the Near and Middle East, in the Indian Ocean region or in the Far East. It also contains confidence-inspiring measures, steps for the stabilization and deepening of detente and for the development of mutually beneficial cooperation.

Each proposition by itself and all of them together aim at a thorough and long-range recovery of the world situation and at thwarting the confrontation policy pursued by the most aggressive imperialist circles. The program focuses on maintaining the existing military-strategic balance between the USSR and the United States, the Warsaw Pact and NATO, on as low a level as possible. At the same time the socialist states declare their readiness to conclude agreements on the limitation and reduction of any kind of weapons if the other side, guaranteed its undiminished security, also is ready for it. They show understanding for any constructive proposal by other states.

It is only natural that the socialist peace program for the 1980's has had a lasting and positive echo all over the world. It has become an important factor of international life. The states of the socialist community are working steadily and consistently on its implementation. The results of the most recent Crimea meeting between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the leading representatives of the fraternal parties in the states of the socialist community bear witness to that. Preserving peace is the main issue in the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist states.

In today's complicated and perilous situations, where imperialism and its henchmen want to impose on mankind another cold war, the realistic and constructive position of the socialist states is gaining a very special value as a constant positive factor of world politics. What with all the contradiction between the systems and ideologies of socialism and imperialism, yet from the threatening danger of a nuclear world conflagration there arises the compelling need to settle all international issues--however complicated and grave they may be--by way of negotiation. The call for reason emanating from the socialist states thus is indissolubly tied up with their readiness for political dialogue and immediate serious negotiations.

Limitation and Reduction of Nuclear Weapons Instead of NATO Arms Speed-up

The states of the socialist community are making special efforts to avert the risk of another round of the nuclear arms race threatening in particular from the deployment of novel U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. A third, a nuclear, conflict would destroy everything that has been created by generations. That must not be. If these new weapons systems--108 Pershing II and 464 cruise missiles, as decided by the NATO Council meeting of 12 December 1979--actually are deployed, in contempt for the constructive Soviet negotiation proposals, the Soviet Union and its allies should have to take counter-measures to preserve the military equilibrium in this region.

The deployment of the new U.S. medium-range missiles would significantly alter the balance of power. By deploying these weapons, with a range covering large parts of the Soviet Union, one intends to upset the extant parity between the USSR and the United States in strategic nuclear weapons systems in Western Europe and achieve strategic superiority.

The USSR--together with the other states in the socialist community--is undeterred in its conviction that it is necessary and possible to prevent another round of the arms race in Europe. Its relevant propositions continue in force. Their implementation would lead to substantial results on behalf of peace. Even back in the early 1970's the USSR repeatedly proposed negotiations to the United States about these weapons, including of course the advanced deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons. No positive answer came. Three times the USSR offered such negotiations to the NATO states in 1979--in March, October and November. It was ready to reduce the number of its own missiles if no new weapons of this kind were to be deployed in Western Europe. As an answer, NATO came out with its missile resolution in December 1979. Nonetheless Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, in his talks with FRG Chancellor Schmidt in June 1980, reiterated the Soviet proposal for negotiating on the reduction of medium-ranger weapons, including of course the advanced deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons.

At its 26th CPSU Congress, the USSR proposed a moratorium on nuclear medium-range weapons in Europe, "freezing" the existing weapons qualitatively and quantitatively in their present condition. This first step was meant to go into effect at the start of the negotiations and facilitate the concluding of reduction accords. Even though that would stop the introduction of the very medium-range weapon allegedly "threatening" NATO, the United States and, mainly, the FRG were in a hurry to deliberately distort and reject that proposal. In view of the importance a positive solution of this problem would have, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, when SPD Chairman Willy Brandt visited Moscow on 30 June 1981, affirmed the Soviet Union's readiness to halt its deployment of medium-range missiles in the European part of the USSR on the very day that substantial negotiations about such weapons would start, provided of course the United States would also not add to its medium-range weapons during those negotiations.

This is persuasive evidence for the honest desire of the USSR and the other states in the socialist community to find a way out of the prevailing situation. Primarily the resolute peace policy of the USSR and the other states in the socialist community and the increasingly stronger and more active peace movement in Western Europe and the United States have had the effect that now the United States, after long hesitation, has announced it will start such negotiations on 30 November this year in Geneva. For the GDR, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer in his speech before the 36th UN session has welcomed that announcement as a step in the right direction and expressed the expectation that these negotiations would lead to tangible results.[2]

There continue to be doubts about how seriously the United States is willing to engage in negotiations--even among the closest U.S. allies. For all that, President Reagan, in a speech at West Point on 27 May 1981, has explicitly stated: "If there are arguments, then at most about which weapons are to be procured--and not whether, for the sake of treaties and agreements, we should forgo weapons."

The negotiations have not yet begun and already preconditions are being piled up. It is said the USSR should have to "alter its international stance" if it wanted to share a dialogue with the United States. What actually gives the United States--which in the various regions in the world supports reactionary regimes and the terrorist activities of those governments--the right to ask the USSR it should abandon its policy, firm in principle, of supporting the peoples' national liberation struggle, especially by those that are being threatened by imperialist aggression and counterrevolutionary intervention? It is all too obvious that this means looking for a pretext to delay or even prevent substantive negotiated results. That also is the aim of methods already well known from other disarmament negotiations where all too much is made of unjustified forms of "supervision" the USSR should, without further examination, agree to. The same is true of the "numbers game," as manufactured by the fabrication centers of imperialist intelligence services.

The U.S. decision to produce the neutron weapon--on the very day when the whole world commemorated the victims of Hiroshima--speaks for itself. Its own allies were surprised by it. That weapon, also intended for use in Europe, is meant to reduce the "nuclear threshold." Like the U.S. medium-range missiles it is supposed to "materialize" the doctrine of "limited" nuclear war. This grave decision on a further arms buildup can only be understood as a step "on a policy course that evokes serious dangers for the security and life of the peoples, indeed for all mankind."[3]

That decision once again threw the socialist states' negotiation offers to the winds. Since 10 March 178 there has been before the Geneva disarmament commission a draft convention of the socialist states on proscribing the production, storage, deployment and use of neutron weapons. Also rejected was the recent offer to have this issue quickly resolved by a task force of the commission. The socialist states continue to be convinced a negotiated solution on mutually refraining from this terrifying weapon would best conform to the peoples' interest in peace. As far as the neutron bomb itself is concerned, the NATO circles ought to be perfectly clear that for the USSR there no longer exists such a secret. The USSR has announced repeatedly it would not start the production of neutron weapons as long as none of them surfaced in other states.

Continuing the SALT Process

The socialist states most emphatically advocate continuing the SALT negotiations between the USSR and the United States. At the instigation of the United States, as one knows, SALT II, already signed--in the preparation of which representatives of three U.S. administrations were involved--remained unratified. Officially the Reagan Administration has declared efforts were under way for a "new position" on SALT. The "absence of a policy," however, is a policy too.

Both SALT I and SALT II were in a way a synonym for turning from the Cold War to detente, to mutually advantageous cooperation. They reflected a realistic policy, an agreement to place mutual relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Through implementing SALT II, a clear limit would be established, quantitatively and qualitatively, for strategic nuclear arms, the balance of strategic forces would be stabilized for the present and for long range, a basis would be created

for subsequently reducing strategic offensive weapons, and the danger of nuclear war would be considerably decreased.

But precisely that is what does not fit in with the declared concept to gain military superiority over the USSR and the other states in the socialist community and force them to their knees economically through an uncontrolled arms race. The intention is to subvert the treaties concluded with the Soviet Union and delay to when the cows come home, or rather to frustrate any substantive negotiations on arms limitation and reduction.

Concrete accords in this field would have immediate effects on halting the arms race and provide a firm foundation and new impulses for all negotiations. They would confine the arms race in its most dangerous and expensive domains. The USSR is ready to "continue appropriate negotiations with the United States without delay in preserving everything positive accomplished in this field up to now."[4] It is also proposing agreements on limitations for the new submarines of both countries and on proscribing any modernization of the extant and the development of new ballistic missiles with which these submarines are armed. The responsibility lies with the United States. A collapse of SALT would make the arms race uncontrollable and increase the danger of war to an unprecedented extent.

One thing is clear already, however: nothing--not even the enormous means the Reagan Administration has already allocated for the arms race--can accomplish a change in the existing strategic equilibrium to the detriment of the USSR. That is shown by the history thus far of the arms race for which imperialism bears the blame. It shows little sense of reality for the United States to claim the new weapons systems--either the MX missiles, or Trident 1 and Trident 2, the strategic B-1 bomber, the cruise missiles and so forth--should have to be introduced to induce the USSR through negotiations to further reductions from a "position of strength." The USSR has emphasized repeatedly it is ready for a reduction of strategic arms--even a critical one--, but only on the basis of equality and equal security. "We can accept no accords that would grant the United States a unilateral superiority. And we must have no illusions about that," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said.[5]

The illusory speculations of the Pentagon to be able to force the USSR to its knees by a "disarming nuclear first strike" or the threat of one, which received a new impulse from Carter's "Presidential Directive 59," increased the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear catastrophe. The Soviet Union, in contrast, has repeatedly pointed out on the highest level that its military doctrine is purely defensive in character and its nuclear missile forces serve to contain a possible aggressor. It plans no kinds of preemptive strikes against anybody. All efforts of the Soviet Union are aimed at "letting it come neither to a first or a second strike, so that there will be no nuclear war at all."[6] This was once more made persuasively clear when Foreign Minister A. Gromyko proposed to the 36th UN session to pass a declaration solemnly stating that he who would first use nuclear weapons would commit the gravest crime against humanity.

No one should get the mistaken idea, however, this new proposal by the Soviet Union was a sign of weakness. The military-strategic balance, indispensable for the security of the community of socialist states, will be ensured--through new accords on nuclear arms limitation or, if worst comes to worst, even without them.

Extricating the Vienna Negotiations from Their Deadlock

Also in the Vienna negotiations on mutual armed forces and arms reduction in Central Europe, the socialist states are making great efforts to achieve progress. Judging the goal of those negotations thus far--establishing an agreement--they still are in their initial phase. Established have been thus far

--the subject under negotiation, a mutual armed forces and arms reduction and measures tied to that in Central Europe;

--the principles for working out future accords, not diminishing the security of either side;

--the direct participants and the area for the reduction, the territories of the FRG, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and the GDR, Poland and the CSSR; and

--the two phases of the reduction, initially the USSR and U.S. ground forces, within one year and in the course of 3 years, setting limits for each direct participant.

There are, however, no concrete results as yet in reducing, in accordance with the goal agree upon in 1973, the high armed forces and arms concentration in Central Europe on a reciprocal and equitable basis.

The proposals submitted by the socialist participating states in July and November 1980, which go a long way toward accommodating the Western side, and the unilateral withdrawal of 20,000 Soviet soldiers and 1,000 tanks from the GDR have remained without response from the participating NATO states. Instead they seek to disguise their continuing lack of readiness to contribute to advances behind the well known "numbers game."

In fact, such an attitude comes down to subverting a reduction of military confrontation in Europe. The socialist states have thus called upon the NATO states to make a political decision for the first agreement, leaving out of account the controversial discussion of figures. On a basis of trust created by such an agreement negotiations could then be continued on a second reduction phase while the issue of figures comes under further discussion. The socialist states are meeting their responsibility with the greatest patience and solidity of principle in the up to now only body for negotiations through a concrete, jointly agreed up mandate for armed forces and arms reduction in Central Europe. To get to positive results, however, realism and concessions by only one side are not enough. Needed above all are commensurate steps by the NATO states, whose move it still is in Vienna.

For an All-European Forum Negotiating on Military Detente

A firm component of the comprehensive program of the socialist states for bringing about in the 1980's a turn to halting the arms race and to disarmament is their initiative for summoning an all-European conference on military detente and disarmament. At the Madrid conference the states that took part in CSCE are engaged in a harsh issue about that problem. By deciding to summon such a conference, the Madrid conference could greatly contribute to the consolidation and development of peaceful coexistence among states with differing social orders. Even though the most aggressive imperialist circles, especially those in the United States and its closest allies, keep erecting obstacles to summoning such

a conference, it still is beginning to assume distinct contours. It is meant to proceed in two phases, the first to be devoted to confidence-inspiring measures, and then disarmament problems are to be dealt with. The confidence-inspiring measures of the future are meant to become militarily important, politically binding and properly controllable in substance. That conference is meant to continue the CSCE process in the military field.

Due to NATO's attitude, the place and time of the conference and the geographic zone to which the confidence-inspiring measures are to apply are still undecided. The USSR has proposed to extend that zone over the whole European part of the Soviet Union (according to the Final Act of Helsinki such measures--as far as the USSR is concerned--apply to a strip of 250 km in width along its western border), provided the Western states are commensurately conciliatory. That is only logical and fair.

The proposal on the area of application which the United States has brought in on behalf of the NATO states provides for extending the zone to the whole European part of the USSR but for limiting it on the Western side to continental Europe. This U.S. proposal is not only unbalanced, it evidently aims at unilateral military advantages. Thus it is not astonishing that even Western delegations are describing it as a desire to block the Madrid conference at this advanced stage and to prevent the convoking of an all-European conference altogether. Also with respect to the area of application only such arrangements can be made as are based on equal rights and duties by all participating states--European and non-European. If the NATO states are not ready now to clarify the issue of expanding the area for confidence-inspiring measures, it may also be done at the military detente and disarmament conference. The socialist states are flexible in this regard as well. Yet the NATO states have insisted that issue has to be settled in Madrid itself. There is still hope that the seriousness of the many pronouncements such as "from political intent to success in Madrid," as they have lately been given more of a voice on the Western side, will be attested to by practical steps.

Eliminating Hotbeds for Conflict

When the most aggressive imperialist circles started their confrontation and arms buildup policy, it immediately affected the crisis regions on our planet--the Near East, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and South Africa. Each of these hotbeds of conflict differs from all the others in its development and dynamics and its concrete causes. Yet they all have in common that the reactionary and aggressive circles in those regions are backed by U.S. imperialism which arrogates to itself the right to declare various regions on the earth its "interest spheres" and to shore them up by military means--directly by bases, by tremendous naval formations or the so-called RDF with more than 200,000 men.

The socialist states approach the problem of international hotbeds of conflict, "which not rarely have threatened to grow into a vast conflagration,"[7] with great seriousness and a high sense of responsibility. The peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress, the positions taken by other fraternal parties, and also the 10th SED Congress resolutions attach special importance to eliminating the sources of conflict and expanding detente to all regions in the world.

The GDR is unalterably wedded to the position that peace in the Near East has for its precondition the complete withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Palestinian and Arab regions and the safeguarding of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to return to its homeland and the self-determination and formation of an independent Palestinian state. The separate accords between the United States, Israel and Egypt have worsened the situation. The Near East problem can be settled only through honest and constructive negotiations. A special international conference involving all interested sides could serve that goal.

The GDR also identifies with the Nairobi summit conference resolutions on the Namibia issue. It voted for the resolution of the eighth extraordinary UN special session which condemned the protracted occupation of Namibia and asked for sanctions against South Africa. It actively supports SWAPO. The attack by the South African racist regime on sovereign Angola is decisively condemned. The GDR demands an immediate halt of any military aggression.

The efforts by the contiguous and border states of the Indian Ocean to turn that region into a peace zone are given full support. The GDR likewise supports the constructive proposals on creating nuclear weapon-free zones in Latin America, Africa and the Near East and peace zones in the Mediterranean and in Southeast Asia.

Assuming an Active Responsibility for Peace

The fraternal socialist countires, in their efforts at implementing their joint peace program, are willing to cooperate with all forces that are concerned about the current international situation and seek to consolidate peace and security. Contacts among statesmen of countries with differing social orders are extremely necessary and valuable in this. The GDR is making a recognized contribution to it. That is attested to by the internationally significant results of Comrade Erich Honecker's official visits to Mexico, Japan and Austria, and it is also documented by many other meetings and negotiations between representatives of our state and leading personalities of other states.

Implementing the socialist states' peace concept is a tough and lenghty enterprise because this involves, after all, confrontation with strong imperialist forces no one should underrate. Wishful thinking and illusions are as much out of place here as pessimism and doubt in the ability of the peace-loving forces to turn peace into the nations' normal way of life. The peoples of the Soviet Union and of the socialist states fimrly allied with it, forming together the strongest bastion of peace, are not alone in this struggle.

More and more emphatically also many nonaligned states condemn the arms buildup and intervention policy of the most aggressive forces, mainly of the United States. An unprecendented range and action capability has been gained by the peace movement in the capitalist countries, mainly in West European states. The march of 500,000 in Washington on 19 September, the biggest anti-war demonstration in the history of the FRG on 10 October in Bonn, 1.5 million signatures thus far for the "Krefeld Appeal," more than 500,000 attending a peace demonstration in West Berlin, 1,200 delegates to the nordic peace conference in Aalborg, peace marches

in a number of NATO states--these are but a few examples of the decisive rejection the military course and the arms madness of the most aggressive NATO circles are increasingly running into. Chracteristic of this movement is that it embraces the broadest population strata, people all different in world-outlook and political persuasion. Many party executives are being pressed by the demands from their own membership ranks actively committed to the peace movement. Neither intimidation through job restriction, slander of "communist auxiliaries," demagogical cleavage tactics or the scheming instigation of the lie about the threat have been able to constrain or disorient that movement. And that is only natural, inasmuch as the realization is spreading irrevocably that the only alternative for the danger of general nuclear destruction is halting the arms race, and a third alternative does not exist.

The political, economic and, not last, military strength of the socialist states, the movement for stopping the arms race developing strongly in the capitalist and nonaligned states, the fact that more realistic and reasonable forces even in the ruling circles of imperialist states register reservations against the insane confrontation course of the United States and other NATO allies, the inevitable exacerbation of many ills of imperialism due to the economic and social effects of the arms race--these and other factors of international life nurture an optimism that the resolute struggle for turning to disarmament and carrying on detente will finally succeed despite the tough and by no means decreasing resistance from the most aggressive imperialist circles.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 26.

2. Cf. Oskar Fischer, "The GDR Is Committed to an Active Peace-Preserving Policy," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 26/27 September 1981, p 6.

3. Erich Honecker, "Positive GDR-Mexican Relations Serve the Safeguarding of Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 28 August 1981, p 1.

4. L. I. Brezhnev, "26th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 40.

5. Ibid.

6. L. I. Brezhnev, "The Outstanding Heroism of the Defenders of Tula," "Auf dem Wege Lenins" (On Lenin's Path), Vol 6, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 323.

L. I. Brezhnev, "26th CPSU Congress . . . ," op. cit., p 39.

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TRADE UNION ACHIEVEMENTS, TASKS REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 11, Nov 81 (signed to press 14 Oct 81) pp 1122-1131

[Article by Prof Dr Johanna Toepfer, economist, member, SED Central Committee; deputy chairman, National Executive Committee, Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB): "Revolutionary Struggle of German Workers Class for Social Security--Traditions, Lessons and Legacy"]

> [Text] The FDGB National Executive Committee sponsored a Scientific Conference on "Traditions, Lessons and Legacy of the German Workers Class' Revolutionary Struggle for Social Security" in [East] Berlin, 30 September-2 October 1981. Johanna Toepfer presented a paper on the conference topic to the 500 participants, domestic and foreign trade union functionaries, representatives of government, social and scientific organizations. EINHEIT is publishing a slightly abridged version of this contribution.
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> The workers class can gain and successfully secure social progress only if it acts in organized and uniform fashion, with the struggle for peace and the struggle for social security being inseparably combined and the struggle for social security, a component of the political struggle by the workers class for social progress, being led to include all basic human rights.

The FDGB finds its most important mandate in advocating the kind of conditions that guarantee peace, well-being and social security for the people, democracy and humanism permanently. That explains the trade unions' unconditional endorsement of the 10th SED Congress resolutions, which are aimed that way and show us the way toward it. Through its close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community, the GDR is making its contribution to peace and social progress.

At a time when the capitalist countries are stuck in the deepest crisis since the 1950's, among us the people's prosperity and full employment, growth, stability and social comfort characterize the life of the people. Social security means to

us the right to life, to work, to education, leisure and recreation, a secure income as well as health care, the care for mother and child, for senior citizens and the sick. We create social security for all classes and strata of our people, for every citizen in our country. Social security embraces the protection of the newborn as much as of working man, the veteran, the disabled. To us it is a politically, economically and legally ensured implementation of human rights.

If we reflect on the traditions and lessons of the almost one-and-one-half century of struggle by the German workers class for social security, we may assert, not without pride, that in the GDR that revolutionary struggle has led to results such as could never before be achieved. They rely on the experiences and results in the struggle of revolutionary German social democracy, the KPD and the international workers movement. The revolutionary forces in the German workers class were aware the everyday struggle against the consequences of exploitation was not the final goal of their social movement. That struggle is a compelling need to wrest from the capitalists as many social concessions to the workers as possible. With it, it is a compelling need for organizing and training the workers class for political struggle to overcome the capitalist exploiter system.

In moving toward its definitive liberation the workers class in our country overcame the influence of opportunism which creates the illusion that capitalism can be reformed and would peacefully, step by step, turn into a society of social justice. The communists and revolutionary forces in the trade unions unmasked the reactionary designs of the opportunists who were preaching class harmony between the exploiters and the exploited, intent on preserving and stabilizing capitalism. The capitalist social order, having entered its imperialist stage meanwhile, had long proven unable to solve the vital problems of working men. Through a calamitous succession of crises and wars, German imperialism had brought us poverty and misery, death and devastation. If its crime against the peoples were not to recur, its power had to be broken.

The founding of the GDR in 1949 therefore is a decisive turning point in the history of the German workers movement and the German people which had been initiated with the liberation from fascism. For the first time a German state had been created that conformed with the inevitabilities of the world historic era of transition from capitalism to socialism. Thanks to the Soviet Union's act of liberation and its solidary aid, to the existence of the socialist countries and the unity of the workers class, the almost one-and-one-half century of struggle by the revolutionary German workers movement was led to victory. In the GDR, the workers class, under SED leadership, preserves and implements all the humanistic and revolutionary traditions of the German people. It takes the lessons of its long sacrificial struggle to heart, the most important one of them is this: the struggle for peace and the struggle for social security must be inseparably combined.

Imperialist armaments and war policy is incompatible with humanity's striving for social security. The history of the German people documents that war preparation and war bring nothing but suffering, pain and misery to one's own people and for other peoples. From this the FDGB also derives its obligation not to confine the trade union mandate to the struggle for improving its members' social condition but to advocate first and foremost, as a fundamental task of trade

union activity, the preservation and safeguarding of peace. Two world wars have been unleashed in our century by German imperialism. Some 54 million dead, 90 million wounded, 28 million injured, and 4,000 billion dollars destroyed in value--that was the bill the workers class, the working people themselves, had to pay in World War II. The frightful consequences the war had for the workers class and all working people contrasted with the profit made by monopoly capital: in World War II alone, M 70 billion for the German and $ 123 billion for the American.

With the victory over Hitler fascism a new chapter opened in the history of the German people. The Soviet Union had borne the main burden in the war and made the greatest sacrifice for the liberation of the European peoples. Socialism and its most important bulwark, the Soviet Union, are the decisive reason for ensuring the longest peace period in this century for Europe after 1945 and for preventing, above and beyond that, armed conflicts in other parts of the world from growing into worldwide catastrophe.

The peace movement in the West European countries, grown into a political force in recent months, embodies the will and resolution of the peoples to defend their vital interests and not become a nuclear hostage to the United States. Today it is apparent to anyone that the arms buildup more and more coincides with social reductions, the curtailment of the social rights won, the increase in the host of unemployed and increasing social insecurity. High armaments expenditures provide the monopolies with top profits even before a war and consume the funds for social ends. That also is the main reason why the most reactionary imperialist forces are torpedoing the detente course and have returned to the course of confrontation. Disarmament cuts into the armament monopolies' gigantic profits. Annual world armament expenditures now come to more than $ 400 billion, which is more than $ 1.1 billion per day. Since 1960, NATO has more than tripled its arms budgets. Its military expenditures in the last 10 years alone exceed $ 1.5 trillion. On the other hand, e.g., the United States hs no national health and pension insurance system to this day, let along a comprehensive social insurance.

Inroads on social benefits for the working people are intensifying also in West European capitalist countries. It is typical that the proponents of social welfare reductions are using arguments today which the workers and their trade unions have been familiar with throughout history. A portion of the FRG press maligns the unemployed as playboys of today, as loafers and notorious shirkers. Today as in the past, the haute bourgeoisie seeks demagogically to justify the reductions in social welfare as a finance source for the arms buildup and to blame the working people for it.

The arms race, initiated by imperialism, deprives mankind of enormous resources in labor capacity, natural resources, production capacities and funds. Take the UN resolution 3093 A on "reducing the military budgets of the permanent members of the UN Security Council by 10 percent and using a portion of the funds released thereby as aid to developing countries." The reduction of arms expenditures as envisaged therein could yield some $ 40 billion annually for improving the material standard of living and social condition of the working people. Such funds could be used to fight against hunger, poverty and illness in the world.

International UN organizations have found that more than 1 billion people in the world are starving, one out of two each being critically undernourished. Some 80,000 children starve to death in the world each day. Of a total of 1.6 billion children, circa 600 million are forced down below the poverty subsistence minimum. Some 52 million children are drawn into the labor process, in part under the most disgraceful conditions. Four-fifths of the rural population in the developing countries and the poor in the cities of highly developed capitalist states have no access at all to medical care.

Returning to detente and targeted disarmament would have a positive effect on social progress in all regions in the world. That requires the solidarity of the trade unions, whatever their political leanings, for a common struggle against the arms race, the U.S. military hegemonial drive, the building of the neutron weapon. A solidarity of the European trade unions is needed against the deployment of new medium-range missiles in Western Europe. As to the FDGB, it stands firmly on the ground of the GDR's peace concept as announced by the 10th SED Congress. And it is ready for solidarity, for a joint struggle with all trade union organizations, on behalf of peace and on behalf of the social well-being of its members, for the preservation of peace.

The experiences of the German workers movement have taught us another historic lesson: The struggle for social security can succeed only if it is conducted as a component of the political working class struggle for social progress.

Limits and spaces for social achievements are inevitably determined by any given and prevailing economic, political and social power relations. History and contemporary life have demonstrated that the interests of the workers class and all the working people are incompatible with the rule of the exploiter class, the power of the monopolies. The nature of the capitalist social order is such that the rulers confine the working people's social struggle as narrowly as possible. Stating that fact does not mean slighting the every-day struggle for social objectives in capitalism. On the contrary, the more organized and cohesive that struggle is, the farther can the workers class expand those limits which were drawn by its adversary. Recent years and months especially have provided vivid examples of successful struggles by the workers, employees and other working people in West European countries. We are watching those activities with concern and great sympathy. We also believe that the existence of socialist countries--including the GDR--with their high degree of social security provides our combative colleagues in the capitalist countries with moral backing. A glance at history and at our times shows that wars and crises at once destroy what had been achieved in social progress through long years of tough conflict. Social improvements in capitalism are unstable, their duration is in doubt, social security remains unobtainable. That is why it was of great importance for the workers class in Germany to wrest social legislation from the bourgeois state in the outcome of social contest, forcing it to make available part of its budget for social welfare purposes for the working people. The bourgeois state, the power organ of the propertied, lets nothing go voluntarily, of course, and whatever concessions it has to make is dressed up to appear as if it stems from a social conscience of those in power. The German workers class has had its experience with that. Time and time again have the results of its struggle to improve its social condition been misused to disguise the exploitation relationship, the class character of the state in capitalism, so as to create the illusion of some so-called modified capitalism.

One hundred years after Bismarck's social legislation the historic experiences of the German workers class remain highly pertinent.

It can clearly be seen that capitalism is nowhere in the position to solve the problems of the masses. Arms buildup and the threat of war, unemployment and the curtailment of social welfare are incompatible with the working people's interest in peace, work and social security. As always the workers and their trade unions are facing the compelling need resolutely to defend their vital interests against profit greed and armaments madness. What with all the results to be acknowledged--social security, social comfort for the whole workers class and all working people remains unattainable in capitalism. When the trade unions in the GDR irrevocably opted for the new social order, for socialism, they took it for a fact that thereby the old barriers against genuine social security would come down and new room would be given for a policy enabling the working class to turn into the leading class that exercises the power in society. Our decision turned out to be correct. Through the destruction of the fascist-capitalist German state, through rendering impotent the corporations, monopolies and war profiteers and creating the people's property, and through passing the power into the hands of the workers class, fundamental prerequisites were created for a social policy in the interest of the working people. From the very beginning the SED had clear ideas of how this social policy was to be structured. This it set down in 1946 in the "SED's sociopolitical guidelines." Among the fundamental tasks was the creation of a uniform social insurance to be managed by the trade unions, and was a systematic improvement of health care and social welfare based on unified legal standards. These demands consistently continued the revolutionary traditions of the German proletariat and its struggle for improving its social situation, which had started one-and-one-half centuries ago with the accident, sickness and old age insurance scheme. The new start was of course immeasurably hard.

The basis for a new social policy was extremely narrow. The solidary aid of the Soviet Union gave us courage, fortitude and confidence in ourselves to be able to begin a democratic reconstruction amidst our shambles and despair. Among the first tasks of the antifascist-democratic forces was setting up uniform free trade unions. A uniform social insurance was created. The educational privilege was broken and measures were taken to have the workers class, with help from the trade unions, take part in the management and planning of the economy and the society.

Step by step we brought to realization the equality of women as a firm component of our struggle for establishing a democratic and, eventually, a socialist social order. In their struggle for the democratization of public life the workers class and its allies came to realize that only under socialist conditions could social security be granted all-around and extended systematically. Public property and the political power of the workers class became decisively prerequisite to moving the interests of the working people into the center of all public activity. The socialist state executed the will of the workers class, made into law, and created our social security for the workers class and, ultimately, for the people at large.

A socialist GDR for more than three decades furnishes irrefutable evidence to that the workers class is historically called upon and is capable to direct its destiny and that of the entire people with success, to manage the economy and the soceity, and to combine economic and social progress in firm unity. In the last decade we were particularly successful in developing social security for all citizens. Our declared main task is further to elevate the people's material and cultural standard of living based on a high developmental speed of socialist production, greater efficiency, scientific-technical progress and increased labor productivity. Such a policy with its tangible results awakens and encourages the working people's initiative. It commits them to higher economic dedication because it gives them the everyday experience that they themselves benefit from the results of their labor and skill. Every citizen, every family and every work collective has been able to derive an immediate benefit from our social policy of the last 10 years.

All trade union proposals for our social policy became an element of joint party, trade union and government resolutions and obtained the force of law. These joint resolutions are the outcome of close cooperation and identities in the shaping of the life of the workers class and the people at large. They reflect the greater authority and strength of our class organization and its high responsibility as the working people's agent. That economic and social policy are firmly united among us is among the essential experiences the people have been making. Some facts may illustrate our successful social policy during the last 10 years: between 1971 and 1980, some 1.4 million dwelling units were newly built or modernized. Thus the housing conditions in the last 10 years improved for circa 4.25 million people. Rentals remained stable and on the average come to from 3 to 5 percent of a family's net income.

Net monetary income of the population is rising steadily. Since 1976, e.g., M 6.7 billion were spent for a proficiency-oriented wage policy and higher minimum wages. A total of 1.8 million production workers got production wages in the form of proficiency-oriented basic pay--while our scientific labor organization was improved at the same time. Proficiency-oriented salaries were introduced for circa 450,000 master workmen and university and technical school graduates. Minimum wages were raised once more in 1976, to M 400. In connection with that there came differentiated pay raises up to M 500. All that affects in particular the income of the workers class. In the economy, the average monthly gross income per worker and employee rose from circa M 700 in 1970 to M 1,030 in 1980.

A total of M 17 billion was spent for higher pensions and social welfare benefits in the 1970's. In recent years, important measures came into effect to reduce the working people's legal working time and lengthen their recreational vacation. Annual vacation was extended by 3 days for 8.7 million working people in 1979. More than 1.2 million shift workers in 1977 got an extra 3-day vacation. Their working time was reduced to 42 or 40 hours per week. For circa 750,000 of them, working in three shifts or two subsequent ones, this extra vacation was raised once again in 1981 to 5 or 8 or 10 days. Starting in September 1981, apprenticeship money and scholarships for technical school and college students were raised. That also was the time when we started to provide training subsidies for all students, starting with 11th grade. Thereby every young citizen in this group,

without exception and irrespective of the income and position of his parents, receives a perceptible financial recognition for his training achievements in the interest of society.

We shall continue this policy also in the 1980's, under more complicated conditions. It has full trade union support. These are common and agreed-upon goals we are tackling here, tasks the working class in alliance with the cooperative farmers and all working strata is solving through effective work and high achievements for the all-round strengthening of socialism in our country. Social security for all citizens is and remains a component of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

Among the most important experiences in our more than 30 years of constructing socialism in the GDR is that the struggle for social security has to include the totality of basic human rights, i.e., the right to life, work, education, taking part in the management and planning of all social processes, leisure and recreation and a secure income, and health care, the care for mother and child, the senior citizens and the sick.

Social security is indivisible. We therefore have always conceived of it as a cohesive composite of social, occupational and population policy measures. In this we regard the right to work as one of the most fundamental conditions. Also in the history of the German workers movement it proved to be the cardinal issue: through unemployment capitalism produced one of the worst scourges for the working people. A permanent host of unemployed is used as pressure against social demands by the employed and the trade unions, as blackmail against workers who still have jobs, as means for curtailing social welfare benefits and raising monopoly profits, and as a cleaver against the workers class. At the climax of the 1932 world economic crisis the German Reich at the time had over 7 million unemployed. Today the FRG has 1.3 million, and further increases are expected.

Among the achievements of the GDR is that job security was constitutionally guaranteed and brought to realization. We have no unemployed and shall have none in the future. Work is the most important source for the material wealth of society, on it depend the opportunities for improving one's living standard. With it, man develops his personality in the labor process, finds recognition for the achievements he performs and can apply the knowledge and skills he has acquired.

The prognosis of our adversary is that because of continuing scientific-technical progress we too will soon have unemployed. He need not rack his brain over it, that is completely superfluous. Thanks to the advantages of socialism we are in the position to combine scientific-technical progress and economic growth with increasing social comforts of the people. In our workers and farmers state each scientific-technical achievement, all growth in productivity, is of benefit to the people and does not lead to unemployment. Part of our economic strategy for the 1980's also is our rationalization and our saving of jobs. Yet that is not done against the workers but rather together with them. If a worker must change jobs, he enjoys legal guarantees for retaining his wages, bonuses and

other material recognition, for the training he may then need without loss in pay, or for the length of his vacation. All that is agreed upon in good time in the relevant labor contracts with the working people, with endorsements required in each case from the enterprise trade union management. Not all problems, of course, that may come up with accepting a new job can be resolved by legal means. Yet it is intrinsic to our social order that the trade unions enjoy great opportunities and control rights for taking part in settling all social problems.

A guaranteed right to work is inseparable from ensuring the right to education for all. Among our first measures after 1945 was our breaking the educational monopoly by opening the universities, colleges and all educational institutions to the sons and daughters of the workers and farmers. Today, attending our 10-grade polytechnical secondary school is mandatory in the GDR. Some 86 percent of the young people who started their vocational training this year is made up of 10th grade graduates. Girls have the same educational and developmental opportunities as boys. All school graduates find an apprenticeship available. Replacements are trained in 291 occupations, 35 special crafts among them. The instruction facilities of 727 enterprise vocational schools and 254 communal vocational schools and the more than 500 apprentice workshops offer modern training. And the right to education is not confined to youth only in the GDR. We attach special importance to the training and advanced training of all working people because these measures also serve to equip the working people for the demands made by the scientific-technical revolution.

The GDR Constitution furthermore ensures all working people of the right to take part in the management and planning of the state and the economy. That is brought about in diverse forms on many different levels and handled mainly by the trade unions. Settling any question in the shaping of our socialist society, the management and planning of our economy, the implementation of the scientific-technical revolution, the development of working and living conditions, health protection and labor safety, and intellectual-cultural life calls for authoritative trade union participation. So it has been set down by our Constitution.

The trade union mandate thus entails all domains in the public life of working man. Thus in this also no decision is made without trade union involvement. The responsibility of the trade unions for determining the performance/benefit ratio, the material and moral incentives for work achievements, and the development of our social policy requires that they submit proposals, develop initiatives and take an active part in decision-making and the implementation of decisions made. Every year the working people in all enterprises discuss the national economic plan for the year to come. Trade union membership in the plan discussion this year came to 85 percent. More than 4 million of the members spoke in the discussion and presented over a million proposals and recommendations.

The trade unions in the GDR, according to the Constitution, have the right to legislative initiative. The labor code in force, e.g., came as an FDGB initiative. Its draft was examined through a broad democratic debate that included nearly 150,000 proposals from the working people. In the end the Ninth FDGB Congress approved the draft and handed it over to the People's Chamber for its review and decision-making. This way a labor code had been generated that bears the signature of the workers class and the working people at large. It

reflects the GDR's penetrating social advances in the 1970's. While bolstering our legality and law security our labor code also strengthens the role of the trade unions.

Social security also includes the right to being paid for work performed proper as to quality and quantity. The principle of "equal pay for equal performance" is vested in the GDR Constitution. Remuneration is governed by the performance principle: he who contributes the most to public wealth also should enjoy the greatest benefit from it.

The scope of social security is determined, not insignificantly, by public funds. These state allocations serve housing construction, public education, public health, subsidies for mother and child, for the family and young couples, recreation and old-age care. From them also are paid, however, the subsidies for a policy on stable retail prices for commodities of everyday need, which make up more than four-fifths of our entire merchandise inventory, and for stable rentals and services. From the national budget alone, an amount of over M 234 billion was allocated for these purposes between 1976 and 1980.

The housing problem is a social problem of the first rank to the workers and trade union movement. It is the goal of our housing construction program to solve this social problem by 1990. This kind of target can indeed be tackled by socialism only, simply because the real estate, housing construction and apartment rentals are no longer subject to the laws of a profit economy and the speculation that goes with it. Among the basic social rights, furthermore, is the right to vacation and recreation. We may point out that in the GDR more than one-third of all days in a year count as leisure time for a working person, with a work week between 40 and 43 3/4 hours. All citizens, regardless of their social condition, have access to recreational opportunities. More than 10.8 vacation trips are annually taken in the GDR. A great and extensive task in this goes to trade union recreation. The FDGB is the chief recreational agent for the workers class. Including the trade union and industrial recreational facilities it can dispose of more than 4.6 million vacation spots. And it makes a difference that a vacationer himself needs to pay only for circa one-third of actual costs. Two-thirds come from his trade union and from his socialist state. We attach great value to developing family recreation and taking care of the veterans of labor and of disabled citizens. It is a great social achievement that will be systematically further extended throughout the 1980's.

In developing and perfecting the GDR's social security we proceed from a streamlined social welfare policy. And we apply our funds in such a way that account is taken of differentiated needs by mothers, big families, and shift workers. Thus, in the last 5 years we spent more than M 2 billion alone on sociopolitical measures in support of working mothers and obstetrics. That included measures such as lengthening the pregnancy and maternity furlough from 18 to 26 weeks, excuse from work, with pay, for mothers after giving birth to their second and each additional child, and the 40-hour work week for mothers with two and more children below 16.

The basic rights of youth deserve special attention. We are proud that our youth has a safe present and future. Each youth has extensive school and vocational training, receives and keeps a job, and there is no income discrimination.

Providing for decent working conditions is one of the cornerstones of basic socialist rights. The labor code commits the state and economic managers to ensure everywhere in the enterprises working conditions under which man feels good and which make increasing demands on qualifications, work experiences and skills. That includes great job safety and the gradual reduction of heavy physical and hazardous work. In only 5 years, for instance, we have organized or reorganized vastly more than 1 million jobs.

The history of the German workers movement teaches that the workers class can gain and permanently ensure social progress only if it acts in an organized and uniform manner.

Taking to heart the lessons of history, we set up new, free trade unions after our liberation from Hitler fascism. The FDGB is the uniform and most inclusive class organization of the workers class in power. For more than three decades the trade unions have proven resolute agents of their members' interests. At all times throughout GDR history they have shown themselves a mighty force in coping with the material, cultural and social tasks in socialist construction. Socialism can be built only with strong trade unions. Social security is accomplished in our country by that the firm unity and great organization of the workers class--embodied in a unified party and in unified trade unions--produces a maximum of creative work achievements for constantly consolidating, and protecting, socialism. Lasting results in the trade union representation of interests are attainable only if solving everyday tasks is inseparably tied to the struggle for socialism, the state is placed firmly in the hands of the workers and farmers, and the leadership role of the working class party is made to prevail in the trade unions.

The trade unions have a strong influence on our social welfare policy. That pertains to all public domains but is of special importance in our social insurance. In 1956 the GDR Government charged the FDGB with the whole political, organizational and financial management of the workers' and employees' social insurance. Since that time the elected organs of the FDGB, of the labor unions and trade unions, and the enterprise trade union managements, on the basis of our Constitution, the labor code, the FDGB statutes and the resolutions from the FDGB National Executive Committee, have handled the workers' and employees' social insurance. Since then our social insurance has developed into an institution that grants and promotes social security for the workers, employees, pensioners and family members. On the basis of our economic development, its expenditures rose from nearly M 6.7 billion in 1957 to M 24.8 billion in 1980. The essential thing is that our socialist state guarantees the social insurance budget. The subsidies out of the state budget paid to the workers' and employees' social insurance rose from M 613 million in 1957 to almost M 11.5 billion in 1980. This makes sure at all times that the claims guaranteed to the working people through laws and other legal provisions can be met--without any increase in their premium payments. We no longer know such concepts as ordinary, extra or efficiency performance.

The insured, the working people, are taking an active part themselves in solving the various social insurance tasks. During the 1979/80 trade union elections, more than 280,000 authorized social insurance agents were elected in the trade

union groups. Close to 12,000 social insurance councils were set up in the enterprise trade union managements. All FDGB executive boards have trade union sick leave commissions. Trade union grievance commissions on the boards provide high law security. They all support the FDGB boards in planning, managing and implementing the social insurance tasks. That too is an essential part of our socialist democracy in action.

The FDGB finds its most important field of activity in the basic trade union organizations. In the socialist enterprises the workers class to a decisive degree realizes its mission as the leading social force in the GDR. This explains the outstanding importance of the enterprise in trade union activity. There are basic trade union organizations in all combines and almost all enterprises and institutions with a workforce of more than ten. Membership is organized in such a way that one always listens to what a worker has to say, that his suggestions are respected and taken into consideration.

The Constitution of our country and our labor code guarantee and encourage trade union activity in the enterprise. We find the crucial criterion for socialist democracy in its having its foundation and point of departure in the most important domain of public life, in material production. That gives much room to trade union activity in the enterprise. In accordance with the organizational principle, "one enterprise--one trade union," they represent the interests of the entire laborforce in their enterprise without exception and combine all members of an enterprise into strong, uniform and cohesive organizations. For good reasons we gage free trade unions against what they actually do on behalf of their membership and how the individual gets drawn into direct activities on behalf of social progress by his trade union.

In conformity with the FDGB statutes, trade union elections will start in November this year and reach their climax in the 10th FDGB Congress in April 1982. This event in the life of our class organization is going to further consolidate the unity and cohesiveness of the workers class and all working people and solidly unite the trade union organizations in coping with new great tasks. In our country's enterprises over 2 million trade unionists are going to be candidates for voluntary functions. As in the past, once again one out of every four unionists in the GDR, supported by the confidence of his voters, will then work directly on behalf of FDGB membership. In approximately 400,000 election meetings millions will take the floor and offer their propositions on improving our economic efficiency and our working and living conditions, and on developing our intellectual-cultural life.

All-inclusively and uniformly the trade unions direct the creativity of the workers class and the working people at large at constantly consolidating socialism in our country, at the goals of the GDR's interconnected peace, economic and social policy. By such efforts the FDGB lives up to the best traditions of the revolutionary German workers and trade union movement.

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'CENTRISM'S DISASTROUS ROLE' IN LABOR MOVEMENT HISTORY ANALYZED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 166, 12 Nov 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Rejection of 'Any Kind of Liberalism.'" A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Evidently under the impact of the Polish crisis, the theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 11, 1981) has asked for taking resolute issue "with all varieties of opportunism." To make sure that neither pluralistic Marxism interpretations nor bourgeois conceptions of freedom sneak into party ranks, the Leninist party norms were to be strictly observed. All historic experience had confirmed "what dangerous consequences could arise for a party's leadership activity and fighting ability from seemingly small compromises and any kind of liberalism particularly in these matters." Opportunism could be effectively met only "if democratic centralism is rigorously applied as the basic principle and the management instruments and the most important organs that form and convey ideology" are in the hands of the Marxist-Leninist forces and orient the masses. Theoretical and ideological vigilance, an ever more thorough study of Marxism-Leninism, and a growing ability creatively to apply the communist doctrine and the communist world movement's store of practical experience should be constantly ensured and organized. That way alone one could make sure "that no one can pretend to be a Marxist-Leninist who surrenders its position, that no demands can be declared to be in the workers' interests while they serve the imperialist adversary, and that no illusions are created where realistic assessments, inferences and deeds on behalf of socialism are necessary and wanted." EINHEIT underscored that the "might and strength of the SED" depended, not last, on that it "never gave room to opportunistic deviations."

SED Scholar's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 11, Nov 81 (signed to press 14 Oct 81) pp 1162-1168

[Article by Prof Dr Annelies Laschitza, sector chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee: "Centrism in the History of the German Workers Movement--Lessons From an Important Phase of Our History"]

[Text] In our country, under SED leadership, the lessons of history have been taken to heart, and they include the

> experiences of the struggle against centrism on the eve of World War I. Without wishing to acquit the revisionists and reformists from their chief responsibility, centrism yet, as a most dangerous variety of opportunism, bears an essential blame for the decline at that time of German Social Democracy as a revolutionary Marxist mass party. The might and strength of our party depend, not last, on that it never gave room to opportunistic deviations and also that it deprived centrism of any effective chance.

Studying the history of the workers movement is a strong factor in shaping awareness. It conveys important experiences for coping with the revolutionary tasks of the present and, with it, strengthens the conviction that in our country, under SED leadership, the lessons of history have been consistently absorbed. This applies in particular to the fundamental lesson from the history of the German workers movement that was drawn with the founding of the SED and its development as a militant Marxist-Leninist party, of which the Party Program says: "The workers class can fulfill its historic mission only if it eliminates the split of its ranks caused by imperialism and opportunism, establishes its unity on a revolutionary basis and is led by a determined, cohesive, battle-tested Marxist-Leninist party closely affiliated with the masses."[1]

This realization grew, not last, out of the experiences and the analysis of an important phase in the history of the German workers movement and the German people--the time when capitalism entered its imperialist stage, which also was the eve of the outbreak of World War I. When one studies this historic phase, the interesting question is often raised: how could it happen that opportunism acquired such a destructive influence in Germany's Marxist mass party which was still revolutionary at the turn of the century, and that right-wing social democratic leaders could misuse it in 1914 in support of the imperialist war?

The Open Outbreak of the Crisis in German Social Democracy

On 4 August 1914, when the first imperialist world war had become a brutal fact, the social democratic faction in the German Reichstag voted for the war credits and, thus, for the imperialist war for the benefit of German imperialism. The opportunistic leaders of German Social Democracy, who by force had gained this consent, appeared to have turned a party of the revolutionary class struggle overnight into a party favoring opportunistic class reconciliation. Unconscionably they betrayed the working class interests and for all intents and purposes bankrupted the Second International.

Many upright social democrats and some million followers of theirs found their world had collapsed. Democracy, peace and socialism is what they had wanted, what they had fought for, but now they were supposed to go to war, murder and ravage! Voting for war credits was in complete opposition to the desire for peace by most members of the Social Democratic Party and the workers class at large, and to the joy in peace in other classes and strata of the German people. It contradicted the resolutions of international socialist congresses of Stutgart,

1907, Copenhagen, 1910, and Basel, 1912, and it was furthermore in conflict with Karl Liebknecht and 13 other deputies in the social democratic faction itself. With their slogans of the "defense of the fatherland" and of "civil truce," the opportunistic leaders, furthermore, even supported the imperialists and militarists ideologically. These orgies, as Rosa Luxemburg wrote, "held under the hypocritical shingles of 'fatherland,' 'culture,' 'freedom,' and 'international law," devastating countries and cities, debasing culture, squashing freedom and international law, are a flagrant betrayal of socialism."[2]

Fateful damage had been done. The old revolutionary German Social Democratic Party, the party of August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, had been realigned by opportunism in scarcely more than 15 years into a social reformist, anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary workers party restraining millions of workers from their class and peace struggle and subjecting them to imperialist warfare. "The masses, betrayed by their leaders in the critical moment, had no chance to do anything," V. I. Lenin wrote.[3]

How could that happen? Still a few days before the outbreak of war, thousands and thousands had demonstrated, under the leadership of the Social Democratic Party, against militarism and war danger. At the annual party congresses before 1914, revisionists and reformists had for the most part been called to task. All official party announcements expressed the working people's interests and demands. International activities and demonstrations were the order of the day. And then this 4 August 1914!

The more intensively this question is studied, the clearer it becomes: much blame for the doom of the German Social Democratic Party as a revolutionary party goes to centrism as a most dangerous opportunism in pseudo-Marxist and pseudo-revolutionary garb.[4] This cannot and must not acquit the revisionists and reformists in the German Social Democratic Party of the main blame for splitting the party and the workers movement. But it is meant to help explain why and how the right-wing opportunist forces, despite the resistance shown to them within German social democracy, acquired such a decisive influence that they could alter completely the character, objective, strategy and tactics of that party.

Centrism it was which, with its appeasement, helped efface and conceal those contradictions and, with its pseudo-Marxism and pseudo-radicalism, covered up the crisis in German social democracy that had come into being long before 1914.

The Danger of Centrism

The German Social Democratic Party was the first party in which centrism fully came into its own. Greatly under Karl Kautsky's influence centrism turned into that opportunistic current of which Lenin in 1911 affirmed as its characteristic "to despise the program and seek to abridge, curtail, it in any possible way, without making the least attempt for any genuine, decisive revision. 'Revisionism,' in its specific meaning as a bourgeois castration of the Marxist truths, is characteristic of the era in which we live, not as militant revisionism that raises the 'banner of revolt,' but as a cowardly and covert denial that is often justified by 'practical,' allegedly practical considerations."[5]

Centrism began to emerge as a broadly opportunistic current in the German Social Democratic Party since 1905/1906. An essential cause for it was the intensifying issue between the Marxists and the revisionists/reformists on the basic question of the class struggle in the period of imperialism and the proletarian revolutions. Mainly in the debate on assessing and analyzing the first revolution in Russia, opinions differed. In this context centrism arose, even if hardly tangibly at first, as an ideology of reconciling, concealing and disguising the antagonisms of principle between revisionism and Marxism. In terms of its basic anti-Marxist and antirevolutionary orientation, its objective function in splitting the workers movement, and its socioeconomic base inevitably tying it to imperialism, centrism is identical with revisionism and all other manifestations of opportunism.

Not unil spring 1910, however, centrism began to take stronger effect and come fully into its own, when a political crisis got started and it became necessary to understand and evaluate the new situation, redefine the strategy and tactics and apply new ways and means in the class struggle. Which goes to say it started blocking and diluting the party at the very moment that the workers class had to cope with the difficulties of a new crisis-like situation, needed the party orientation for that, and the conflicts between the revolutionaries and reformists were exacerbated over it.

Karl Kautsky became the "theoretician" of centrism. Except for Rosa Luxemburg, against whom he landed in sharp polemics about massive strikes, for the time being no one in the German workers movement got the notion that Kautsky, who had just published his Marxist tract, "The Way to Power," could assume opportunistic positions and turn into the most influential centrist.

Not that Karl Kautsky denied there was a new situation in 1910, only he did not think it ripe for applying new means in the proletarian struggle. Rather, the workers class should become more open-minded to the liberalism of the bourgeoisie. Nor did Kautsky deny the proletarian revolution as his perspective, but how to approach the proletarian revolution one should not think about, and it should not be propagated as long as it was not there. Kautsky did come out against the reformists, but everything that he suggested came down to merely asking for reforms for the time being, assessing parliamentary struggle and bourgeois democracy too heavily and gradually wearing out the adversary. Kautsky was for peace and wanted to avert the danger of war, but he sought to prevent the imperialists from their arms race and war instigation less by means of revolutionary proletarian methods of struggle but rather by "reasoning with them" through taxes, appeals and such.

Kautsky and his followers did not openly defy the interests and goals of the workers class, they did not openly renounce the revolutionary party traditions and class positions. On the contrary, they pretended they were the real Marxists and accused the true Marxists of dogmatism and unruly adventurism. By maligning the positions of the Marxists they thus deflected from how through this centrist stance the crucial Marxist principles were successively thrown overboard. Also, Kautsky only appeared to be undogmatic. De facto he declared his social-reformist, social-pacifistic and conciliatory nations dogmas. Kautsky mainly proceeded to spread his own opinions by controlling the theoretical party organ, influencing

many journalists and party functionaries who thought of themselves as disciples of the Marxist Kautsky, and preventing leftists from saying anything about it. The freedom of opinion he pretended to grant everyone, did apply to all yet not to consistent Marxists. With slander and intrigues Kautsky staged a conflict with Franz Mehring, which would destroy him as the Marxist editor of NEUE ZEIT. With Clara Zetkin he had a falling out over basic situation assessments concerning the German and international workers movement.

In essence centrism neither was the "Marxist center," which its representatives claimed it was, nor a "middle" trend. Rather it was an especially dangerous offshoot of opportunism because in words it opposed revisionism and posed as Marxism although theoretically it came down to a revision of Marxism. Verbally it opposed reformism but in practice subscribed to reformism and sought de facto a social-liberal but not a revolutionary workers policy. On top of that its effect was most confusing because it boasted it was the preserver of party unity and constantly produced conciliatory commentaries on the party situation, while in fact it helped deepen the cleavage in German social democracy, and this to the extent that it managed to cover up the crisis spreading in the party and to malign the German leftists.

Rosa Luxemburg became such a hated opponent of Kautsky because she was the first who, sure in her aim, pointed to his vulnerable spots. Already in 1910 she disclosed some striking contradictions. He who in solidarity had welcomed the first revolution in Russia and had studied and analyzed its impulses and forms of struggle, at the very moment when one must not only theoretically side with these new experiences but also apply them practically in one's own country, would massively oppose even taking them into account. So it did not take long for him to place in doubt the international importance of the first revolution in Russia for Western Europe altogether. Right after coming into its own in history centrism appeared full of nationalistic arrogance toward the achievements and experiences of the Russian workers movement, which later expanded into open hostility to Soviet Russia and the Bolshevik party.

The centrists from the outset not only dimmed the view to what was new in the struggle by the international workers movement against imperialism, in their national presumption they absolutized the practices of their own party and directly interfered with the party development of the Social Democratic Workers Party of Russia. Furthermore, in the German press there were hardly any but Mensheviks who would be allowed to write about the situation in Russia and the Russian workers movement. This way one got to the distortions of internationalism that helped pave the way for social chauvinism, social pacifism and anti-Sovietism.

Under centrist influence, which would not only theoretically justify the positions of right-wing opportunism and help smooth the way for its representatives to leadership organizations, but whose representatives themselves would grab important functions and squeeze the Marxists out of their party functions, a situation arose in the last prewar years that was like the one which Lenin, in a different context, had described, right after the turn of the century, as follows: scientific socialism in the hands of those forces ceased to be "a unified revolutionary theory and became a mishmash that was diluted 'as anyone saw fit' with banalities from every new German textbook; the 'class struggle' slogan, rather than furnishing

the impetus for an increasingly broader and more energetic activity, served as a palliative; the idea of a party served not as a call for founding a fighting organization of the revolutionaries but justified some 'revolutionary chancery bureaucratism' and childishly toying with 'democratic' forms."[6]

Through an opportunistic control of the most important functions and leadership bodies, the spreading of social reformist and social-pacifistic illusions among the members and followers of the Social Democratic Party, the constant defamation of the German left wing and targeted measures to restrain its influence in the party, conditions arose under centrist influence which made it possible for the right-wing opportunists in collusion with the centrists to grab the power in the party right in the new situation that the outbreak of war had conjured up. Through a workers policy that was bourgeois but was camouflaged by socialist sloganry, they helped the bourgeoisie conduct an imperialist predatory war. Whether the individual centrists and their adherents were aware of it or not, whether they actually wanted it or not, objectively, centrism accelerated the destruction of German Social Democracy as a revolutionary Marxist mass party of the workers class. What was and remained difficult about it was that centrism was hard to comprehend and recognize for many, as Lenin observed, in a general way: "All followers of the 'center' swear by their word of honor they are Marxists, internationalists and for peace. The 'center' is the realm of the conciliatory petty bourgeois clap-trap, of internationalism in words, of cowardly opportunism and subservience to the social chauvinists in action. The heart of the matter is that the 'center' is not convinced of the need for revolution against their own governments, does not propagate it, engages in no relentless revolutionary struggle and invents against it the most insipid evasions that sound arch-Marxist."[7]

Experiences and Lessons From the Struggle Against Centrism

The emergence and open outbreak of the crisis in German Social Democracy prove the correctness of Lenin's assessment of centrism as particularly dangerous. This it is because the essentially bourgeois ideology and policy it champions hide behind pseudo-radicalism, pseudo-Marxism and appeasement.

The contradiction between words and deeds that is inherent in centrism left so much leeway within the German Social Democracy for the spreading of opportunism and, at once, helped conceal the ideological cleavage due to opportunism, so that centrism became extremely hard to recognize over the years and its party-splitting role became apparent not until the moment of open crisis came.

In 1911 Lenin wrote: "False and mendacious in appeasement is the basis--the desire to erect proletarian party unity on the alliance of all, including the anti-social democratic and nonproletarian factions."[9] Appeasement, being one of the characteristics of centrism, had especially deforming effects within the party, as it managed to exploit and misuse much that was positive in the attitude of the members: their pride in the party history tradition and their determination to preserve party unity.

Motives for appeasement can be most diverse and come from honest intentions. In its tendency, however, appeasement as a rule leads to opportunistic concessions and to forcing the Marxists back. "'Reconciling" persons and groups--that is the main point," Lenin wrote in describing appeasement. "If they do not agree on how a common line is to be carried out, that line must be so interpreted that it becomes acceptable to all. To 'plug up,' suppress the sources of controversies, 'settle conflicts' at any cost, neutralize hostile and opposed directions--that receives the chief attention of such 'appeasement.'"[9] Yet what was involved in the conflicts between the Marxist and opportunists always were key issues in the solution of the historic mission of the workers class, the question of power and of the proletarian revolution, the role of the party and of proletarian internationalism, questions, in other words, for the settling of which there is no middle ground but only the either/or between the two implacable ideologies--the socialist and the bourgeois.

In the crisis of German social democracy it became apparent all too soon that the centrists, as the "guardians of unity" and the "true Marxists," had a major share in the decline of German social democracy as a revolutionary mass party of the workers class and its losing its international model role. Centrism complicated and prevented the formation of a party of a new type, which had become a compelling necessity in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolutions for a successful struggle by the workers class and its allies.

The rightist-opportunist forces in collusion with centrists managed to make the German social democracy so inoperative when the war broke out for meeting the anti-imperialist tasks of working class struggle also because, under centrist influence, the unity and cohesiveness of the party had been proclaimed officially and constantly and been formally preserved up to 4 August 1914. The truth was that since capitalism had entered its imperialist stage and because of there being trends and representatives of two class lines, that of Marxism and of opportunism, ideological antagonisms had sharpened. Contradictory views affected the party policy and the party membership, so that there had to be confusion from which exclusively the enemies of the workers class benefited. Centrism itself brought out its own social-pacifistic and social-reformist concepts and practices, which made the position of the German social democracy on the domestic and foreign policy issues of the class struggle all the more obscure and uncertain. And so it could happen that millions of workers, ready to fight for their class objectives, could not effectively enforce their revolutionary will when the class struggle sharpened crisis-like, opportunists formed a majority in executive organs and in the party apparatus and the press, defamed and, at times, isolated, the Marxists as dogmaticians hurting the party, while, to top it all, opportunism managed to camouflage itself with pseudo-Marxist and pseudorevolutionary clap-trap.

Such and certainly still very many other party history experiences with the fateful role of centrism and the complicated struggle against it underscore how important it is to become aware, time and time again, of the lessons in this struggle and take them to heart. That can be done only by a new type of party, by a consistent and creative appropriation and application of Marxism-Leninism.

Successfully opposing centrism as an especially dangerous opportunism and granting it no chances for any influence requires of a revolutionary working class party to care incessantly for the unity and cohesiveness in its ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and resolutely to take issue with all varieties of opportunism.

With it, it means strictly observing the Leninist party norms which ensure that the party's word and deed always agree and that neither pluralistic "Marxism" interpretations nor bourgeois conceptions of freedom can infiltrate its ranks. All historic experience has confirmed what dangerous consequences can arise for a party's leadership activity and fighting ability from seemingly small compromises and any kind of liberalism particularly in these matters.

The Marxist-Leninist forces can effectively counter opportunism spreading under centrist influence only as long as democratic centralism is consistently applied as a fundamental principle and the management instruments and the most important organs that form and convey ideology are in their hands and orient the masses.

Theoretical and ideological vigilance, an ever more thorough study of Marxism-Leninism, and a growing ability creatively to apply the communist doctrine and the communist world movement's store of practical experience must be constantly ensured and organized. That way alone one can make sure that no one can pretend to be a Marxist-Leninist who surrenders its position, that no demands can be declared to be in the workers' interests while they serve the imperialist adversary, and that no illusions are created where realistic assessments, inferences and deeds on behalf of socialism are necessary and wanted.

The might and strength of our party depend, not last, on that it never gave room to opportunistic deviations and also that it deprived centrism of any effective chance. "The history of the SED," as Comrade Erich Honecker has emphasized, "is marked at once by uninterrupted, uncompromising struggle against anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, against nationalism and revisionism, and against all manifestations of reactionary bourgeois ideology. In the struggle for the construction of socialism and against the class enemy and his ideology, our party functionaries have been toughened and has the working people's socialist consciousness developed."

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 6.

2. Rosa Luxemburg, "Gesammelte Werke" (Collected Works), Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974, p 19.

3. V. I. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," "Werke," Vol 21, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 235.

4. Cf. "Geschichte der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands. Abriss" (SED History--Outline), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 29.

5. V. I. Lenin, "Questions of Principle for Election Campaigns," "Werke," Vol 17, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1967, p 19.

6. V. I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?" "Werke," Vol 5, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1955, p 540.

7. V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," "Werke," Vol 24, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 61.

8. V. I. Lenin, "About the New Faction of Appeasers or Virtuous Ones," "Werke," Vol 17, p 258.

9. V. I. Lenin, "Notes of a Journalist," "Werke," Vol 16, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 211.

10. Erich Honecker, "Die Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED, Reden und Aufsaetze" (The Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Decisions--Speeches and Essays), Vol 6, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 103.

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SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 11, Nov 81 (signed to press 14 Oct 81) 'Resumes' addendum

The Basic Question of Human Life in Our Time

[Summary of 'Strategies For and Against Peace' feature article by Prof Dr Wolfram Neubert, research group director, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 1085-1092]

> [Text] War or peace--that is the basic question today on which the life and future of humanity depend. In the effort of responding to it, two mutually opposed basic tendencies are found in world politics. The efforts by the respective main forces representing these tendencies are determined by the fundamental characteristics of the two social orders and the classes predominant in them. While the imperialist confrontation and arms buildup strategy threatens the peoples with peril and doom, the socialist peace strategy breaks a path for them into a secure future.

NATO and the Confrontation Course of the USA

[Summary of 'Strategies For and Against Peace' feature article by Prof Dr Albrecht Charisius, colonel, GDR Military History Institute; pp 1101-1107. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

> [Text] NATO occupies a key position in the U.S. Government's global strategy on starting a broadly based offensive, mainly by military means, against the main forces of the revolutionary world process. The U.S. Government uses its predominant role, the internal mechanism of the pact which it controls, to integrate NATO to a large degree with its confrontation course despite independent tendencies among its European partners--resulting from their different location in terms of military geography and their far greater dependence on developments on other continents.

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 168, 16 Nov 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "East Berlin: 'NATO Prepared Counterrevolution in Poland,'" West German commentary on article by Prof Albrecht Charisius in East Berlin EINHEIT, Vol 36 No 11, Nov 81, signed to press 14 Oct 81, pp 1101-1107]

[Text] Eastern attacks against NATO are becoming increasingly sharper. Now the GDR even blames NATO for the situation in Poland. For example, the journal SPORT UND TECHNIK, which is published by GST, the premilitary Society for Sports and Technology, claims in its most recent edition that "what NATO and its intelligence services have prepared" was currently "taking shape more and more. The counterrevolution's grabbing for power in Poland and the attempt to 'roll up' the community of socialist states from within."

The theoretical party journal EINHEIT in its most recent edition (No 11, 1981) aims at the same target. The "East-West Study" which had been confirmed by the NATO Council way back in 1978, contained a "sophisticated program for 'eroding' the social and state order in the socialist countries and for separating them from the USSR during the 1980's." At present, "the aggressive circles of the United States and the other NATO states" paid special attention "to the model case of Poland, which they intend to apply to other socialist states."

Furthermore EINHEIT alleges that the "counterrevolutionary actions" of 1953 in the GDR and of 1956 in Hungary had been initiated and massively supported by "world imperialism."

Imperialist 'Containment Policy' Against Peace and Progress

[Summary of 'Strategies For and Against Peace' feature article by Sergej Henke, philologist, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; and Dr Harry Klug, staff employee, SED Central Committee; pp 1108-1114]

> [Text] Taking issue with efforts by strategists of the confrontation course to revalorize ideologically imperialist containment by misrepresenting its character and legitimize the current recourse to that policy, in particular by the U.S. Administration, as an acceptable alternative for another world war. The hegemonistic and counterrevolutionary objective of this containment policy, pursued mainly by U.S. imperialism in the postwar period, the attempts at implementing its goals and its inherent threat to world peace, the causes that made that policy fail and the needed struggle against a new edition of it.

In Close Fraternal Alliance With the Soviet Union

[Summary of article by Guenter Sieber, member, department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 1115-1121]

> [Text] The indestructible fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the GDR's being deeply moored within the community of socialist states as a stable foundation for the security and growth of our republic's socialist achievements. The new horizons opened for an all-round cooperation among our countries by the recent party congresses of the CPSU and the SED. The common struggle for the safeguarding of peace. The unity of the fraternal socialist countries--a mighty barrier to the designs by the most aggressive imperialist forces.

Socialist Intensification as Management Task

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Willi Kunz, economist, deputy director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED Central Committee; chairman, Scientific Council for Problems of Socialist Economic Integration; pp 1132-1138. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

> [Text] Reaching a qualitatively new level of intensification is imperative for the economic performance growth we need. What are the basic requirements for an intensively expanded reproduction in our economy? Which objective and subjective conditions must be created through scientifically sound and purposeful management--especially also in the combines--to increase our efficiency by way of socialist intensification?

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 167, 13 Nov 81 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "Industrial Managers in SED's Line of Fire." West German commentary on article by Prof Willi Kunz in East Berlin EINHEIT, Vol 36, No 11, Nov 81, signed to press 14 Oct 81, pp 1132-1138]

[Text] The management functionaries of the large industrial combines in the GDR are evidently getting increasingly into the SED's line of fire because the economic results of many of the socialist corporations are lagging behind the party's demands. In its most recent edition (No 11, 1981), the theoretical party journal EINHEIT emphatically reminded the industrial functionaries of their personal responsibility for the performance development of their enterprises. A manager was mainly to be judged by how he led his enterprise to high achievements. The cost/benefit ratio remained a cardinal issue, crucial to evaluating skilled and less skilled management. The party journal admonished the managers especially to apply "much tougher yardsticks" to their activity in the future and conduct international standard comparisons "without compromise."

Struggle for Exploitation of New Reserves to Be Waged Politically

[Summary of article by Rolf Jobst, social scientist, secretary for economic policy, SED Gera Bezirk Management; pp 1139-1145]

> [Text] Proceeding from the contribution by the working people in Gera Bezirk to the fine balance-sheet for the 32nd anniversary of the GDR, it is being shown how bezirk management and its secretariat ensure resolute political leadership in their economic processes and direct the ideological work at forming clear militant positions. Which economic and ideological questions are they dealing with, and which methods are they using to exploit new reserves in rendering effective all qualitative growth factors and overcoming unjustified performance differences?

Dialectic--History--Humanism: On 150th Anniversary of Hegel's Death

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Manfred Buhr, director, Central Institute for Philosophy, GDR Academy of Sciences; member of the academy; and Todor Ilyich Oyzerman, corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences and GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 1146-1153]

> [Text] On the occasion of his 150th death anniversary, tribute is paid to Hegel's work and scientific achievement. His philosophy marks the culmination and conclusion of the intellectual movement that initiated and helped enforce the transition from feudalism to capitalism. That explains both the greatness and limits of his thought. Why did Hegel's philosophy become one of the theoretical sources for Marxism-Leninism? Why could the dialectic become fruitful only as a materialistic dialectic and the world-outlook of the workers class? Hegel's revolutionary legacy is preserved and extended by Marxism-Leninism.

'...An Inexhaustible Field for the Artistic Search'--On Aspects of Contemporary Soviet Literature

[Summary of article by Dr Regina Hager, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 1154-1161]

> [Text] With every phase in the development of socialist society the ideas of the nature of the socialist way of life have deepened. Soviet contemporary literature has an active share in the forming of new contents and forms in human fellowship. By reference to some works by Granin, Rasputin, Abramov and others it is being shown how the Soviet authors, with party-mindedness and great artistic skill, take part in the identification process pertaining to important matters of social development.

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ROLE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN RENEWAL STUDIED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Oct 81 p 8

[Article by Zsigmond Pal Pach: "Socialist Renewal and the Social Sciences"]

[Text] The decisive historical process that began more than 36 years ago, with our country's liberation, ran into a crisis a quarter century ago. The path of overcoming this deep sociopolitical, as well as conscious and moral, crisis, the summarization of a quarter century of experience of socialist renewal in Hungary calls for a historical review.

We are speaking about history, the history of our present era. We must apply the principles of historical research with strict theoretical and methodological precision and at the same time consider the characteristic conditions and opportunities of studying the era's historical phenomena.

The framework of researching the present era's history--and researching it in a small country--is obviously set by the way domestic events are imbedded in the international processes. Just as international factors played an important role in the creation of the crisis of the 1950's and in its sinking to a counterrevolution, there is no doubt that all the events in Hungary during the last quarter century can hardly be interpreted without considering the changes in the international power relationships, the development of detente, the solidification of the Hungarian-Soviet political and economic links, the favorable cycle of the world's economic growth during the 1960's, then its becoming increasingly difficult since the 1970's, with the first oil price explosion. But it is also obvious that Marxist historical analysis, when it concerns the present domestic factors, must start also from the definitive character of socioeconomic conditions and from the effect these exert on public awareness and social consciousness. This is what the Temporary Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party did practically as early as the day after the events, when in the first chapter of its memorable December 1956 resolution it explained the basic reasons of the counterrevolution. This is also the way we must pose the question: Why and how was Hungary able to turn the international conditions,

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Crisis and Renewal. Economy, society and politics in Hungary. Based on the opening presentation of a scientific session entitled "The MSZMP's 25 Years."

which for a while were more favorable, to its own advantage; why and how was it able not only to overcome the reality but also to lift itself from it with fresh momentum for growth--as a country of the socialist community with a hallmark of political, economic and cultural stability and one also characterized by the demand and effort of flexibly adjusting itself to the changes in domestic and foreign circumstances?

Directive Economic Policy

Posing this question necessitates first examining the basic problem area of economic growth and economic policy. The December 1956 resolution that specified the development of such a new economic policy, "with the involvement of the best economic experts" that must be built on "our given economic conditions and characteristics," as one of the most important tasks for the party, can also be considered the starting point here. "It must far-reachingly help the individual initiative and professional knowledge succeed. Financial incentives must be used in accordance with the national economy's interests...to promote technical development, to improve quality, to decrease costs, to increase the productivity of work. Planning...must turn its attention primarily to determine the national economy's most important ratios, and the rate of growth.... The main question of the entire economic policy is that gradual improvement of the standard of living of the workers must be the prime viewpoint in distributing the national income and in preparing our economic investment plans."

Knowing the present era in historical depth is not possible without revealing how the economic policy of the last 25 years was able to implement this resolution, which is valid and directive even to this day--of course, not independently of the complex system of political conditions as a whole--how it was able to proceed, hindered by what opposing factors and overcoming which ones; how it grasped one of the basic problems of rising above the crisis when, based on the appropriate growth of the national income, it achieved a 4 to 5 percent annual rate of increase in real wages in this unique period in our history and which--considering the entire quarter century--approximately doubled the per capita real wages of the workers and employees; and how the economy's socialist development led to the new qualitative requirements that are particularly timely, when preservation of the attained, appreciable standard of living also calls for new and great efforts.

The Science of Society's Development

From studying society's development we can obtain information for our picture of reality that cannot be substituted. Of course, the fact that during the last 25 years we witnessed among other things the birth of a new branch of science--or, more precisely, the rebirth of a branch of science--the development of Marxist sociology, is not the only reason for this. Primarily that recognition has become prevalent in our country--which, by the way, also made the rebuilding of sociology urgent--that even the best economic policy and economic directive system would be unable to create automatically an assurance for solving the social problems or by itself create the basis for planning the social processes and for the development of life style in the socialist direction.

Therefore in order to appreicate the growth path specified in the economic area by the December 1956 resolution, it is also necessary to study thoroughly the social implications, which have many ties to the economy but are in some ways independent of it and also have their own flexibility. If the scientific analysis--of our economic situation as well as our social relationships--finds a number of contradictions, problems and difficulties, undoubtedly after an objective evaluation of the data and facts it will conclude that the outstanding economic growth of the last quarter century in our country was combined with great social transformation and with changes in the life styles. Our socio-economic structure finally succeeded in this period to cast off the characteristics of being undeveloped. This stage shaped the industrialized and urbanizing society in Hungary. This stage terminated the traditional backwardness and poverty of the Hungarian village--by the socialist reorganization and large-scale industry-type development of agriculture and through the expedient use of opportunities in the farms producing retail goods.

Accepting the Break

Undoubtedly the depth of the crisis of the 1950's required a radical confrontation of the problems--based on the continuity of building socialism, while acknowledging and maintaining the basic achievements--and in many respects a confrontation of a new start. In this sense the crisis and the solution form a dialectic unit. But we would be interpreting the historical processes too mechanically and would be underestimating the role of politics and the significance of applying and implementing politics if we simply considered the achievements of a quarter century solely or overwhelmingly as the reaction to the deep crisis. The success of overcoming the crisis, the success of the last 25 years, is in the essence of these 25 years, the era of the birth, development and implementation of a new politics. This politics considered the many aspects of the factors of the crisis and faced them in a determined manner; it was not, and is not, limited to repairing problems but--by reviewing the entire area of problems of guiding society--implemented, and implements, the new concept, the renewed concept of building socialism in the long range and everyday practice of the country's life.

One of the most serious components of the crisis a quarter century ago was the conscious and moral aspect of discrediting the principle of socialism in the eyes of broad strata of the people--just as this also constituted the most serious sin and a framework of the mistakes of the old party leadership. It is much more difficult to reinstate the appreciation of principles and values than to earn them in the first place. It is much more complicated and trying to regain the confidence of the people than to waste it. To convince the masses that what they became disillusioned in was not the essence of socialism but a severely distorted form of it, is a practice actually foreign to the principles of socialism; it was possible to convince the masses of this only by consistent defense of the basic achievements of socialism, while at the same time renouncing the earlier methods and accepting the discontinuity with them, and by comprehensive renewal of the practice of building socialism extending over all areas of life. That this was successful constitutes the synopsis of 25 years of the MSZMP's work.

About Generations for Generations

The processes of rising above the crisis and socialist renewal also had manifold and enriching effects on the domestic historiography. In the research and writing of the history of the era beginning with the liberation, the second half of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's led to the birth of new and significant achievements. The results manifested themselves not only in the success of multifaceted elaboration on the 1945-1948 period but also in the fact that the research projects expanded to cover the history of the understandably much more complicated socialist period. The comprehensive review of the development of our latest historiography prepared for the occasion of the 30th anniversary of liberation reported these results.

But this upswing did not prove lasting, and a unique contradiction has developed in recent years. The public's interest--primarily the interest of youth--recently manifested itself again and again, with increasing urgency. New generations grew up for whom the recent past is just as much history as 1945 or 1919, and these new generations want to learn more and more about the struggles of the generations preceding them--about the birth of those historical events that they received in a finished form and about the development of those historical problems with which they are also struggling, which they themselves must also face. In these very same years when the interest so increased toward the history of the recent past, the labor force of historiography was not able to handle the new tasks. Perhaps it even backed off somewhat: it is publishing less in this area than a few years ago. Compared to earlier periods of history, it is providing education with less assistance to tie teaching the history of the era most closely to our credible and rich present.

How can this contradiction be explained? Do objective reasons contribute to this, or do historians feel that they are unable to satisfy the interest in this topic at a desired level? Do the difficulties of growth have an influence on this? Is it the interpretation of historiography's political sensitivity, the bureaucracy of the archives, the fear to create or the comfort of the lukewarm water of the usual topics? Or all these together?

Evaluation of the weights and relationships of these reasons cannot be our task. But we must not close our eyes to this: a situation is developing where novelists and film producers provide answers to questions posed to historians, well or not so well, but with their own methods and by the rules of their own branches of the arts, and of course not by the professional and methodological principles of historical science. This is beginning to produce a situation where the answers or attempts at answers through multifaceted analysis by historians, based on source research, pale beside the flashy detailed episodes of even some important and interesting memoirs and beside the answers and attempts at answers of even the most demanding artistic representations, which at times are impulsive, impressionistic, overly moralistic, or restricted to our domestic scene.

Exchange of Experience on the National Scale

Our historiography of the present era must move from this contradictory situation and must be ready and willing to accept its share of perhaps the broadest and most important area of shaping social awareness: the transfer of historical experience, the exchange of experience with youth on the national scale--preparing those generations that will have to stand their ground in the front lines against the problems of the next quarter century.

We have already passed the naive illusions. We know--history has taught us--that the growth of socialism, its struggle for existence, for implementation and for new opportunities triumphs over difficult obstacles and quagmire. We know--we lived and are living through it--that in some cases the path of socialism also cannot avoid crises, and some of these repeatedly occurred during the last decades in some socialist countries. The actualities of the Hungarian crisis a quarter century ago and of the 25-year Hungarian renewal are especially obvious if we consider the crisis in Poland a quarter century ago, the directions and efforts that led from it, its recurrences and its present tragic and threatening gulf. Marxist-Leninist social science must study these critical situations, research and analyze the ways of renewal--not only in the interest of revealing the historical facts true to reality and not only in the interest of fulfilling its obligations and responsibility to the nation, but also in the interest of theoretical generalization of what has been learned from the historical processes. Thus, the historical review of the experiences of a quarter century in Hungary can also be of international interest from the viewpoints of theory and of enriching Marxism--as the contribution of one of the countries of the socialist alliance.

8584
CSO: 2500/61

AUGUST AGREEMENTS RECOGNIZED AS RESPONSIBILITY TO THE NATION

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Leszczynski: "August Agreements. Responsibility to the Nation"]

> [Text] Not too orderly, written down in the course of difficult negotiations for every sentence and every word and without particular concern for legal order and stylistic accuracy. However, the social agreements, which were entered into at the turn of August-September of 1980 in a hot atmosphere made tense by strikes, had nevertheless, one primary value despite these or other structural imperfections. Namely, they expressed the generally felt hopes, expectations and needs which also pervaded the Party ranks. This was most important.

These agreements carried the prognosis of a solution to the real, complex problems which had been mounting for years; the prospect of freeing society from a stiff corset which restricts human initiative and enterprise, which deforms the principles of socialist justice and limits the qualities of a socialist, planned economy.

When on 30 August 1980, the Party's Central Committee approved the results of talks in Gdansk and Szczecin, then this was a concordant decision which included the feelings of society and of wide circles of Party masses. From then on, social agreements became an integral part of the Party program of socialist renewal and of the return to socialist values.

In the Spirit of the Agreement

The accords contained in the agreements, which pertain to consulting with society on crucial national issues, were treated by the Party as a necessity for the reconstruction and development of democratic structures, institutions and practices.

This was expressed by the recognition of independent and autonomous union organizations and evidenced by the initiated process of restoring the proper rank

and meaning in the life of the country to representative organs--the Sejm, national councils, legal and territorial self-governing units as well as the practice of consulting or negotiating new social and economic solutions.

The democratic infrastructure added on a new law, of better service to the freedom of speech, which pertains to the control of publications and pageants [events] and which was prepared with broad, social participation. The range of information and contents, indispensable for strengthening the awareness and consciousness of society, expanded incomparably during the post-August period in newspaper columns, on the radio and on television; the range and degree of criticism in publications decidedly increased.

In the Party, we interpreted from the social agreements, the need for a new, more complete outlook on the criteria and guarantees of social justice; creating of equal opportunities for a start on life as well as eliminating any and all signs of drawing unjustified advantages whether by virtue of the functions fulfilled or by way of speculation.

Within this context, undertakings should also be assigned a place, whose aim is to define the social minimum; to establish, the recognized by society, proportions of income, principles and criteria of fair compensation for cost of living increases; to protect the economically weakest families--retirees, pensioners and large families.

All these problems, which result directly from the August agreements, found themselves at the center of attention of the government, the ministries and the Sejm. They were discussed, consulted upon and discussed with trade unions and with social organizations. They became the subject of widespread social debate.

From the spirit of social agreements, undertakings grew out with the aim of overcoming the difficult crisis in which our country found itself as a result of the voluntarisitic, economic policy practiced in the 1970's which ignored realities. Immediate solutions taken up by the National Anti-Crisis Staff [OSA] served this purpose [the undertakings] as well, as did also and perhaps, above all, the economic reform planned on a large scale.

This is an undertaking of historical significance for Poland--a pioneer on socialist soil which, in practice, is without precedence in the world. The economic reform initiated by the Party creates a chance for freeing the economy from the confining bonds of centralism of bureaucratic strata and for the creation of conditions in which the qualities of the socialist means of management could manifest themselves more fully.

Within this context, social agreements became a premise for strengthening the socialist, structural foundation of the State; for the implementation, in practice, of the humanistic values of socialism. That is how the Party and with it, wide ranges of society understood the conveyed information which flowed from the agreements and at the same time, numerous masses expected that it would be possible to implement these goals in the ranks of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity.

It should also have been expected that with all the ideological and world outlook divergencies and differences in attitudes, the union leaders would lead their membership masses and their sympathizers in just this direction; in accordance with primary national interests and the Polish reasons of State; with a sense of responsibility and understanding of the complex conditions in which the country found itself. All this should have been expected.

Motives and Intentions

However, already the first test of civic maturity, which was the discussion surrounding shortening working time, revealed alarming tendencies among "Solidarity" leaders. By insisting on the immediate introduction, in a matter of 3 months, of free Saturdays, in defiance of obvious needs and economic propriety, they demonstrated that they place their ambitions of carrying out their own solutions above the real interests of society. In a similar manner, they had earlier forced through excessive wage increases, which in the country's apparent economic situation augmented the disorganization of the market.

In this way, by exposing certain points of the agreement, they in practice, ruled out the possibility of fulfilling other, primary points of vital significance for society. If, in the first phase, this uncompromising attitude which ignored realities could as yet be explained by mistrust inherited from the past towards actions of the authorities, then the later development of events exposed completely and openly, the true motives and intentions of extremist "Solidarity" leaders.

The July campaign in regard to the structure of workers' self-governments undertaken by "Solidarity" practically on the eve of the Party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress, revealed tendencies of dispersing national assets, of weakening the integral functions of the State and the actual taking over of authority in enterprises by union elements. These tendencies developed in dictatorial proposals concerning the role and place of a managing director or the exclusivity of control conducted by the union over the national economy.

Because of the extremist "Solidarity" activists, the crisis agitated area of economy became an auction area and a political battlefield, which affected in an unequivocally negative manner, the stabilizing process of the economy and the preparations of economic reform. This is documented by subsequent tensions, intentionally caused disputes and the use of obstacles in the course of negotiations. Let us make things perfectly clear: all this activity was, in fact, aimed at the August social agreements.

This year's autumn brought an all out attack on authority and directly on the Party. Indications of this may be found written on the walls of houses, factories and mines and in illegal tabloids and leaflets. They are expressed in resolutions on "solidarity" which demand the ousting of the Party from places of employment, the creation of armed units and the appointing of a provisional government.

By rejecting the idea of national conciliation and choosing the course of confrontation, the leaders of NSZZ "Solidarity" did, in fact, break the August

social agreements and strayed from their spirit and code. It is worth realizing, however, that the people's authority did not transact social agreements with the group of extremist trade union activists but with society, in accordance with its feelings, expectations and needs.

In this spirit, then, it [the people's authority] will implement them [the social agreements] under all kinds of conditions, even under state of war conditions, which had to be declared in order to save the country from disaster. For authority and for the Party, the social agreements never were and are not a tactical subterfuge but a primary, strategic imperative and responsibility to the nation.

9853
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POZNAN VOIVODSHIP PARTY PLENUM ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Report of Plenum Deliberations

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26 Oct 81 pp 1, 3

[Text] [GAZETA POZNANSKA reportage] "The fatherland needs the joint effort of the entire nation." Under such a slogan the delegates to the Voivodship Reporting-Electoral Conference in Poznan deliberated this past Saturday. They met again in a second session to determine the main directions for activity of the Poznan party organization for 1981-1983, basing their work on the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress and on the proposals of the Fourth KC [Central Committee] Plenum. The draft of the PZPR socioeconomic program for the Poznan voivodship had been prepared earlier by the Program Commission appointed at the party KW [Voivodship Committee] Plenum. It was based on the recommendations and demands voiced in the course of discussion preceding the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. It likewise made use of proposals presented by the Voivodship Congressional Team.

The deliberations, which took place in the Boguslawski Hall of the Poznan Palace of Culture, began with the singing of the national anthem. First Secretary of the PZPR Poznan KW, Edward Skrzypczak opened the meetings, welcoming the following officials who were in attendance at the conference: PZPR KC Politburo member, KC secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski and vice minister of Internal Affairs, Stanislaw Zaczkowski.

Leadership of the deliberations was assumed by the members of the Conference Presidium appointed during the first part of the sessions: Mieczyslaw Kurzawa, Adam Krzywoblocki and Marek Minski. After establishing the order of the deliberations and appointing Conference working commissions (a mandate commission and a proposals and resolutions commission), KW first secretary Edward Skrzypczak delivered an address in the name of the KW Executive Board (the text of which is published on p 3 of this issue).

Next, the chairman of the Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP], Henryk Stach made a report on the subject of the settling of accounts undertaken with regard to those party members who have violated statutory and legal norms.

Comrade Henryk Stach stated: "Prior to the Conference we submitted a report to our comrade delegates summarizing the 4-month activity of the WKKP, as well as a register of those persons who have been punished for violating statutory and legal

norms. Bulletin no 32 of the PZPR KW, presenting the cases of some persons in great detail, likewise represents an integral part of this report. These materials present a picture of the scope of WKKP work and the decisions undertaken by the WKKP. Delegates interested in familiarizing themselves with the details of the work carried out by us are invited to come to the WKKP, where they will receive further information.

In his address, H[enryk] Stach assured delegates that in the Poznan voivodship, the process of purging the party of those who have undermined its good name will be carried consistently to its limit. All persons who have come into conflict with the law will bear the consequences issuing from statutory and legal norms. Informal groups, the actions of which have brought socialism and the party so much grief in the past, have been dispersed. The ultimate liquidation of informal structures is one of the fundamental guarantees of authentic renewal.

Through the public settling of accounts for wrongdoing and the removal from PZPR ranks of those persons who placed their personal interests above society's interests, and by their behavior displayed attitudes that were nothing less than bourgeois, the party has taken on the work of moral regeneration. All members of the PZPR are responsible for creating its image. At the same time, the speaker pointed out that we must defend party members successfully against attacks from political opponents, against libel and slander.

The process of settling accounts in the Poznan party organization is nearing its end. Of the more important cases still underway are the explanatory proceedings regarding some comrades from the MO [Citizens' Militia] Voivodship Command, the PGR [State Farm] Associations and the former party directorship in Gniezno. As a rule of operation it was adopted that before a decision was made concerning punishment, adequate proof of guilt should be established.

"At today's conference," said H[enryk] Stach, "we wish to present before the delegates, for their final decision, those cases which have not been resolved, and which require party members and the social opinion of our voivodship to be resolved. In conjunction with this, the WKKP recommends to the Conference that the following be ousted from the PZPR: 1. the former PZPR KW first secretary Jerzy Zasada who, by his actions, caused irreparable damage to the Poznan party organization and completely lost its trust in him; he tarnished the name communist, which he took so lightly; 2. the former KW secretary Bogdan Waligorski, for losing the confidence of party members because of his use of his service position to obtain personal benefits which did not belong to him: his actions were all the more reprehensible in that he exercised the function of chairman of the ORMO [Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens' Militia] Social Council and chairman of the Voivodship Social Control Committee [WKKS]; 3. the former KW secretary Jozef Scibisz for using his position to obtain material benefits that were not his due and for unceasingly refusing to make explanation to the WKKP; in spite of many proposals made to this effect since 5 December 1980, he has not undertaken to do this.

"The guilt of the aforementioned is documented with the Central and the Voivodship Party Control Commission. Investigative officials will conduct explanatory proceedings against them."

At the beginning of the discussion, Prof Dr Jozef Radzicki, who had been invited to the conference, took the floor in order to present the problems linked with question of the restitution of territorial self-government. The speaker asserted that the entire local economy should be subordinated to two organs, on the one hand, the territorial self-government, and on the other, the state administration. The territorial self-government is defined as the working together of citizens for the entire local economy (communal affairs, craftsmanship, light industry, culture, trade, environmental protection and the like). The sociopolitical and economic benefits under such conditions would be tremendous: it would mean activating people on issues which are most vital to them, mutual control (of the administration by the self-government and the self-government by the administration) and preventing the flight of people from the village and small towns.

Next, the provincial governor of Poznan, Romuald Zysnarski presented information concerning the implementation of recommendations made during the course of the precongressional campaign and the first part of the Conference in the name of the state administration. There were several hundred of these. The most universal one concerned housing construction. Approximately 80,000 people in the voivodship are waiting for housing, of which 27,000 are newly married couples. It does not look like things will be significantly improved in this area. As in other regions, we have not fulfilled the five-year plan for housing construction. A second housing factory for us has been canceled. This year alone, we were short 488 dwellings for fulfillment of the plan. Unfortunately, despite WRN [Voivodship People's Council] and the governor's intervention, housing construction has again been cut off.

Communal construction will be restored, its first effects to be felt by the end of 1983. A number of office spaces are being converted into housing accommodations.

We would like to designate buildings being erected as office buildings, the construction of which has been halted, such as the Agromet-Project skyscraper on Staroleka street, Wiepofama on Dabrowski street and the Furniture Association on Grunwald street for health service needs. The sum of 190 million zlotys is needed to complete these projects.

New locations have been assigned for sector gardens. The educational situation must be improved; investment delays in this field are now approaching 2 to 3 years. Many buildings are under construction; it is important that these buildings be completed despite the lack of materials. We envisage local reserves for schools and preschools in the recovery of buildings lost by education.

The demand for changing the legal status of the city Poznan is expressed everywhere. Attempts are being made to gain separate status for the city, with the restoration of the City Section People's Councils [DRN].

The ROW issue, i.e., the issue of brown coal lodes in the Puszczykowo-Czempin-Gostyn region, is a subject on which scientists have expressed themselves. Their expert appraisals, together with our recommendation that these lodes should not be mined, have been forwarded to the premier.

Next the plenary discussion began.

During the course of deliberations, Edward Skrzypczak, first secretary of the KW, made a reference to the resolution of the NSZZ [Independent Self-governing Trade Union] Solidarity KK [National Commission] concerning a planned warning strike on 28 October 1981, stating that the conference should take a position with regard to the strike.

Comrade Karol Paczuszko from Szamotuly, requesting the floor on this issue, stated that he was disturbed by the NSZZ Solidarity KK resolution. He proposed that the conference pass a resolution, the keynote of which would be an appeal directed to party members not to strike on 28 October. This is because the announced strike is of a political nature. The time has thus come for PZPR members to say "no."

At the end of the discussion, PZPR KC Politburo member, KC secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski took the floor. (The text of his address is published on p 3).

Following the discussion, the Commission on Proposals and Resolutions submitted corrections and additions to the drafts of the socioeconomic program and of intraparty work. Following an exchange of remarks by the delegates and the insertion of corrections and additions, both documents were passed. We note that we published the drafts in GAZETA POZNANSKA.

The next documents passed by the Voivodship Conference were: a resolution concerning the 100th anniversary of the workers' movement in Wielkopolska; a declaration supporting the act of constructing a monument to the "Poznan" Army; a position paper on the issue of the NSZZ Solidarity KK resolution concerning a work stoppage on 28 October 1981; a resolution concerning the dismissal from the PZPR of former members of the party and administrative directorship of the voivodship; a resolution concerning territorial self-government and a resolution concerning the regulation of meat and processed meat products.

In the course of a stormy discussion on the issue of the settling of accounts and the adoption of a resolution by the conference concerning the dismissal from the party of those who violated statutory and legal norms, special emphasis was placed on the moral losses borne by the party as a result of the reprehensible actions of former high-ranking officials.

During the discussion on this subject it was demanded that the list of persons from the former party and administrative leadership of the voivodship be expanded to include the following: former KW secretary Jozef Switaj, former KW secretary Czeslaw Galgan and former Poznan provincial governor Stanislaw Cozas. The motion on this matter was passed and the conference proposed that the following be dismissed from the party: Jerzy Zasada, Bogdan Waligorski, Jozef Scibisz, Jozef Switaj, Czeslaw Galgan and Stanislaw Cozas.

Taking the floor at the end of the deliberations, KW first secretary Edward Skrzypczak thanked delegates for their remarks and the considerations introduced into the operating program of the voivodship party echelon. He emphasized the need for taking consistent action to lead the country out of the economic and political crisis.

"We must demand that our party members unequivocally define their political position in support of the line of socialist renewal not only in words but primarily through honest, reliable work. The program adopted at the conference designates the tasks for anyone who is following the path of his country's interests and of leading Poland out of the difficulties which plague her.

"The leadership of the party voivodship organization exercises authority in Your name and upon Your recommendation," stated the PZPR KW secretary in conclusion. "Keep watch over us unceasingly to make sure that we do this in accordance with the wishes and feelings of all party members in our voivodship. If you discover that we are not doing suitable work, you have the legal right to withdraw your support and recommendation. Our primary and only goal should be to serve society with its full acceptance...

The conference closed with the singing of the Internationale.

Address by Kazimierz Barcikowski

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26 Oct 81 p 3

[Text] I consider my participation in your conference to be another meeting with Wielkopolska, limited today to the Poznan voivodship. But Poznan was and still is the capital of the entire region. In conjunction with this, two assertions suggest themselves: the first is the well-known solidity and honesty of Poznan workers and farmers manifested in the good results of their labor both in industry and agriculture. Such solidity is very lacking today in Polish daily life. This makes your honesty and foresight all the more valuable. The second assertion is the sober party approach of this conference to work and to programming this work in accordance with current conditions and social needs. It is in this approach that the leadership role of the party, the task of which is to define and create values serving the satisfaction of social needs, is expressed. With such an approach to these questions, your party organization has the right to count on social support.

Many people today make numerous demands, but too many maintain positions of negation and a wait-and-see policy without feeling a personal need to become involved in working to overcome the current difficulties. Through the resolutions made at today's conference and the expression here of the will that they be implemented, your party organization offers proof that it knows what is needed and how to go about the work of seeing that society's expectations of improvement become a reality.

There is much said today in Poland about the crisis; indeed, it is a fact, but the mere assertion that it exists leads to nothing. Often we ourselves make the crisis deeper by reconciling ourselves, as it were, to a passive persistence in helplessness. It is dangerous, this mood overcomes people, paralyzing them. It must be repelled. We must look for ways out of the crisis.

Are there such roads and possibilities? I am most deeply convinced that there are. For the national wealth of Poland has not been reduced--there is something on which and with which to work; the Polish soil has not become less abundant

in raw materials, neither in mines nor by becoming less fertile. The number of people capable of work, young, educated people, has not been reduced.

Of course we have many problems--in our balance of payments, in goods turnover--we are not able to buy everything we need today abroad. But improvement itself depends upon our will, our determination to act to improve the situation. Thus, we must overcome the political crisis which is trammeling the strength of our people and paralyzing activity.

It is well-known that the crisis was engendered by the justifiable criticism of the mistakes of the past. The party has executed its stern appraisal of these blunders and has made recommendations for the future to ensure that these mistakes are not repeated.

However, this wave of criticism has given rise to forces which stand in a position of the negation of everything, which have adopted the direction of the destruction of life and its abandonment to anarchy, which consciously shirk their joint responsibility for the state and take their nourishment from the mounting tensions to make attacks on the socialist system. This is why these forces have become dangerous for peace and for our security. The greatest threat issues from their influence on the member masses of [NSZZ] Solidarity, made up of working people, people from the working class. We may say that these forces are the authors of a dangerous discovery, that through strikes, a decline in production, market disfunction and the abandonment of public life to anarchy we can aim to change the political situation in the country. And it is not important for these forces whether such a change would be in accordance with the good of working people. Because it is not social interest, but the implementation of their own goals through the eruption of social dissatisfaction that is their real goal.

Another wave of strikes is now flooding the country. They are erupting against the background of local conflicts, but they bear the threat of being transformed into a general social conflict. A general warning strike has been announced. Zyrardow has been on strike for many days. As you know, this is light industry working to supply the market. A trifling matter--the refusal to grant an employee a vacation to do trade-union work--in light of an insufficient number of members from the plant organization--became the cause of a strike of 31,000 employees of the Zielona Gora voivodship enterprises. In the Tarnobrzeg voivodship, from which I just returned, stands Stalowa Wola, a plant equal in production and export volume to the Cegielski metal industry plants. Neither the Siarkopol plant nor other plants are in operation.

The most peculiar thing about all of this is that, judging from my conversations with strikers, they themselves do not know what they are striking about. Moreover, something astounding came out in my conversations with those comrades: they strike in a cheerful mood, in picnic style. Then why are they striking? Simply because that was the order; the order given by leaders full of ambition, who compel obedience to their decisions likewise through the use of blackmail and threats.

Must it be so? Must work forces be deprived of their own will in the name of the ambition of these people?

Of course it cannot be so and does not have to be so; work plants do not have to be and will not be the grounds for the operation of methods which have nothing in common either with the principles of democracy or law and order. That is why it is important for people themselves to understand, so that they may be brought back to their senses. Our task is to assist in bringing about this understanding as quickly as possible in order to protect the country from still greater losses and moral harm.

A favorite trick of [NSZZ] Solidarity propagandists is unceasingly to accuse the government of incompetence. The strike announced for Wednesday is also to be a protest against government incompetence. Thus it is worthwhile to ask: can a strike increase government "competence"? This is sheer perfidy: last year there was not one instance in which some sort of constructive government action was not blocked or protested.

The party is accused of lacking a program. This is obviously a lie. Such a program was prepared at the Ninth Party Congress and then approved by the Sejm of the PRL [Polish People's Republic]. But for this program to be implemented, at least a minimum of understanding and support is necessary. In matters for discussion we can and must sit down together at a table, reconciling our positions in order to implement them together later. Meanwhile the game of the leaders of [NSZZ] Solidarity consists of retrenching any proposals for cooperation with subsequent conditions and demands. These amount to demands of a political nature, to changes in the political orientation of Poland and its alliances and defense links. Worthy of reflection is the silence in [NSZZ] Solidarity propaganda concerning the crimes of Hitlerian fascism perpetrated against the Polish people, while at the same time they create an uproar over and expose specific instances of historical resentment for the purpose of arousing anti-Soviet sentiments. The truth is that subsidies flow into the [NSZZ] Solidarity account from the anti-communist central headquarters, subsidies so willingly received and accepted. And everybody knows that nobody gives anybody money for nothing--these contributions must be repaid, repaid in terms of the appropriate political stance--the weakening of the forces of socialism and anti-Sovietism.

Thus it is time to pose the question: Where can this lead us as a state, as a people? Is there anyone among honest people who wants to see Poland become the object of the play of international forces. Such was the case in the past. And so it is time that we drew the appropriate conclusions from our past lessons in order to stand on a foundation of realities.

Much is now being said about the problem of responsibility. But there are various kinds of responsibility. There is the responsibility for what went on until August 1980. Here the party has assumed responsibility and is rendering its account to the people until today for this reason. But there is likewise the responsibility for what has happened after August, for everything that [NSZZ] Solidarity has done to deepen the crisis and what it has not done to overcome it.

We must see and evaluate the Fourth Plenum of the KC in light of this situation. At the plenum, the party once again confirmed its political openness to cooperate with all of the forces standing on the foundation of socialism. In accordance with this, the expansion of the formula of the National Unity Front [FJN] is currently being discussed, as is the broadening of its role in the

sociopolitical life of the country. Changes have been announced in the government in the direction of a coalition of social forces standing on the foundation of socialism. Premier Jaruzelski has likewise advanced a proposal for the creation of a governmental advisory-consultative council composed of specialists from various spheres and various orientations. In a word, we would like to speak and find understanding with all, but on the basis of their recognition of socialism.

There is also another issue, strongly emphasized in a resolution of the Fourth Plenum: it is the need for the effective counteraction of all claims and undertakings of the enemies of socialism, and of their aspirations to stand above the law. Therefore, the pertinent actions of state services will aim at enforcing the law and public order. We are not renouncing any methods stipulated in the Constitution for securing socialist legal order.

As the party we are in favor of self-government, broadly conceived. We are determined to follow this road. Of course, there may be quarrels and discussions over this. This is normal, since we are rejecting the principle of "the sole dominion."

We entered the Ninth Congress with a program of changes, and we uphold this program in all its totality. We do not intend to regress. But we must know that /the more quickly the party rebuilds its forces, the more firmly will we travel the road of reform [in boldface]. For this reason, the most important issue today is the increase in confidence of party forces. This will mean the increased capability of its operation. The power of the party will not grow, however, in only one place, in its central elements; this power must be formed in all organizations and elements, by all PZPR members. The truth is that /there is no socialist renewal without our party [in boldface]. Nowhere in the world has socialism been built, nowhere in the world has socialism been defended where there was not the Marxist-Leninist party.

In Poland the future belongs to socialism, to the guiding forces of socialism, the PZPR. Whoever does not realize this, or does not wish to realize this is making a big, inexcusable mistake.

Address by Edward Skrzypczak

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26 Oct 81 p 3

[Text] The current dramatic situation of our country was discussed during the deliberations of the Fourth KC Plenum. The course of this discussion and the resolution adopted, as well as the appeal of this plenum to the people justify the change in the position of the Central Committee first secretary. The preparation period for the Ninth Congress instilled new life into the party and aroused great hopes and expectations. The unusally dramatic electoral campaign in the party from the OOP [District Party Organizations] to the KC as well as the program documents resolved at the Congress and prepared by the entire party, the statute and the political decisions made at the Congress to settle accounts have considerably increased the authority of the PZPR. Unfortunately, during the 3-month period following the Congress, the planned destructive activity of the political oponents of our socialist system and the inconsistent implementation of

resolutions by those leading party activity and the government, by the Politburo have meant that the political results of the Ninth Congress have not added up in accordance with the expectations of party members and the working class.

The further decline of the economy is taking place along with the associated inflationary phenomena and the worsening of supply for the city populations, primarily food supply, and especially meat supply. The unsuccessful efforts of the government and the administration, paralyzed by the various destructive activities of political opponents, in accordance with the tactic, "the worse things are for them the better" have caused the practical breakdown of the system of regulation, particularly of meat. The sudden decline in the production of industrial articles and in coal production (in addition to the consequences of the lack of fodder) blocks the procurement of livestock for slaughter from farmers.

Provision difficulties lead to the clear provocation, radicalization and even to the abandonment to anarchy of the moods of the population, who are cynically used by our political opponents.

These difficulties are made worse by the lack of an emphatic change in the mechanism of exercising administrative authority, i.e., the continued preference of the centralized-directive-type system and the call issuing from this by particular voivodships and regions to meet the needs of market supply, e.g., with food--from the central storehouse.

The enormous political pressure of the situation and the mass of opponent propaganda, which we have not yet been able to counteract effectively, in many cases are causing the decline of activism and sometimes even the disintegration of party organizations.

A resolution of the Fourth Plenum, upholding the line of understanding from the Ninth Congress, defines with whom and to what limits such understanding is realistic. The foremost and sole task of party members and all people of good will has been recognized to be to battle the crisis--"who does not wish to do this in practice is an enemy of the people." Hence the appeal of the Fourth Plenum for Saturday work (especially in the mines) and for the necessity of temporarily suspending the strikes. Only people of ill will, avowed opponents of the real interests of the working class will interpret this as an "attempt" on the inalienable right of labor.

The consistent implementation of the Resolution of the Fourth Plenum by central authorities (which we are all crying for so much) is impossible without its active implementation in practice by all party members. The time for discussion has passed; the time for actions and, at the same time, resolute attitudes has arrived.

The traditions of good work, order and the responsibility of working people and of all social forces in our voivodship prove that our economic situation is relatively somewhat better than in other voivodships. Thus, until now, the political atmosphere has likewise been more peaceful in the Poznan voivodship. Enormously contributing to this is the awareness and responsibility, as well as the involvement of 100,000 party members and thousands of activists, including you delegates.

Poznan industry (both in the city and in the voivodship) is afflicted with the same calamities as those affecting industry throughout the entire country: raw materials problems and energy problems, the breakdown in cooperation, shortages in import, unutilized production capacities and irrational employment. Production value is 10 to 20 percent lower than in 1980. In spite of the enormous nuisance of purchasing food and other necessities, Poznan work forces (in Poznan and other cities of the voivodship) are mindful of their obligations to their fatherland and have not struck for a half-year. Diligence, involvement and sacrifice among workers in all three sectors as well as the favorable weather have brought good yields of grain and field crops. The patriotic understanding of the people's needs has meant that the procurement of harvested crops and slaughter animals from farmers is being realized practically by 100 percent. Particularly noteworthy is the implementation of slaughter animal procurement, which has amounted to approximately 105 percent of the state plan for a 9-month period of this year. This was accomplished despite the fact that farmers were not guaranteed the means of production due them, particularly coal, motor fuel and spare parts.

In accordance with a Resolution of the Fourth KC Plenum, we have undertaken a series of practical steps for the purpose of assisting farmers in these matters, counting on 100 percent and more procurement of slaughter animals, which should alleviate matters for us in the city as well.

The efforts of farmers, millers, bakers and merchants have enabled a perceptible improvement in the quality and quantity of bread in Poznan (this matter has not yet been settled in Gniezno).

An important element of political moods is the so-called settling of accounts. No one who has committed a crime in our voivodship will go unpunished. Such is the will of the working class. The party is consistently carrying out this often painful and awkward operation relentlessly within its ranks. This gives us the moral right to demand that other social organizations similarly combat the material excesses of their members. In accordance with a PZPR statute, party settling of accounts belongs to a realm that is separate from the echelons of the Party Control Commission [KKP].

In accordance with the best traditions of democracy and political culture, the drafts of the program, prepared by two groups of party members, have been published in the press and have been distributed to delegates. An atypical, discussion-type and even controversial form has been adopted for these programs: brief recommendations are given of the directions of activity to be taken in the most important fields socially and partywise, taking into consideration the economic realities of the term of office within which work is being dong.

Having adopted the thesis that the essence of socialist democracy is the self-government, we are in favor of the development of self-governing bodies in factories, in rural areas and in cities.

One of the fundamental expressions of this is the need to open city section people's councils and city section offices in Poznan and the change in the status of the city and voivoidship herein issuing.

We do not want to replace the economic and state administration; however, as the party of the working class, we are not indifferent to the consequences of the actions of directorates and offices. We will formulate tasks and keep strict control over the execution of these tasks, by means of members and committees, for the good of working people. We will watch over the selection of cadres--preferring competent, energetic and honest people (including young people), both PZPR members and citizens outside of our party.

We are convinced--and this is the result of the political achievements of Wielkopolska (even in today's critical times)--that as a nation we must feed ourselves and even export food. This is due to the level of modernity of our agriculture and to the diligence of farmers. Our task is not to get a green (or some other) light, but to sell, at temporarily official prices a sufficient amount of: coal, fertilizers, fuels, various tools, means of plant protection and the like.

A priority Poznan industry is the agricultural-foodstuffs industry, and the machine industry of the region must work on behalf of agriculture.

We believe that the only way out of the economic crisis is self-governing economic reform, the outline of which is contained in the Resolutions of the Ninth Congress.

Despite the fact that this will be very difficult, as the workers' party we will be firmly opposed to any form of obvious or concealed unemployment (which will take place during the first period of the institution of the reform.

Realistically evaluating the situation and the possibilities of the economy, we unquestionably will defend investments in the agricultural-foodstuffs field and in housing construction (this is a problem not only of social, but also of political significance), particularly for young people.

We will struggle for the use of various kinds of methods of obtaining housing, including communal construction. One of the initiatives to which we call everyone, and primarily trade unions, is the Housing Bank. Within its framework, in accordance with the party slogan and resoluton: "one domicile for one family" we will use "recreational" dachas for housing.

Wretched investment possibilities limit action in the socially important fields of health service and environmental protection. Here, noninvestment possibilities must be sought out. These do exist, in spite of the fact that finding and making use of them will require tremendous efforts, good will and the breaking down of numerous evnironmental and local particularisms. For example, the health service (buildings which are taken over), transportation (the PKP [Polish State Railroads] and the educational system (buildings which are taken over).

The Fourth Plenum Resolution, despite the dramatic national situation, does not change the political line of the Ninth Congress--the line of understanding and cooperation. The party is open to cooperation with all patriotic forces which desire to get the country out of crisis and which accept in practice the fundamental systemic-constitutional principles of the PRL [Polish People's Republic]. We shall aim to create a democratic platform of dialogue and

consultation and we invite all organized social and political forces to join us in this.

Wishing you successful deliberations, I ask you to conduct a problem discussion for the purpose of evaluating the work of echelons and enriching program materials. In this way we complete an important stage in the formulation of a program, embarking upon their [sic] implementation, taking action for the good of the working class and the nation as well as for socialism in our country.

Comments of Plenum Attendees

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26 Oct 81 p 4

[Excerpt] Janusz Tomidajewicz, scientific employee, Economics Academy: It is our duty to speak out on the issue of the policy taking shape today, after the Fourth Plenum. I understand the selection of a new KC first secretary to be the result of dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of party activity.

Today we have a situation in which other programs exist in addition to the party program, programs which are in competition with it. Thus, the party program can be treated as an alternative or we can aim to ram it through. Whatever is selected depends on the strength of social support, on whether this program will be convincing and whether the party will have credibility. Every false and ineffectual move on our part will make the selection of this program more difficult.

The party program today cannot be treated as definitive; it should be open to all sorts of initiatives. This is perhaps how we should understand the demand for the creation of a broad platform of all forces making up the nation.

Janusz Konieczny, first secretary, Niechanowo KG [Gmina Committee]: Upon the authorization of my constituency, I have presented the issues which are of the greatest urgency to farmers: the full guarantee of the means of agricultural production and the control of agricultural policy with the aid of prices. Errors in pricing policy wreak unfavorable consequences, e.g., in the decline in livestock (high prices for grain and fodder and low prices for slaughter animals). These errors have been corrected, but their consequences continue.

Besides the means of agricultural production, farmers also demand equal rights in the allotment of other articles--cleaning agents, clothing and also meat.

Wojciech Trawinski, engineer from WPEC [Voivodship Electric Power and Heating Industry]: The faulty operation of the heating system paralyzes many fields of life. Heat does not depend only on fuel. The developmental needs of the city require that in 1985, at the latest, a new heating station be in operation; the construction of new main conduits, or at least of one, is necessary. The maintenance of equipment should be carried out by specialized enterprises.

It is likely that beginning next year, the urban heating situation will get worse and worse. Improvement, on the other hand, depends on the efforts of city and voivodship authorities to introduce and continue those investments in the power field which are absolutely indispensable.

Czeslaw Baranek, first secretary, Duszniki KG [Gmina Committee]: The Duszniki Gmina is notably agricultural and ranks high in goods production. In spite of this, it has the same problems as all others--a shortage of the means of agricultural production, fuel, construction materials, rubber footwear and others, as well as a shortage of food, particularly meat and sugar. The distribution of food and industrial articles is supposed to be contingent upon the level of productivity of the given gmina--the more is produced, the more is to be received. Meanwhile, the data on the level of this gmina's fulfillment of its agricultural obligations compared to the way its stores are supplied indicate that farmers do not have incentives to increase production.

Andrzej Baraniecki, adjunct to the Poznan Agricultural Academy: After stipulating that his address could not be entered into the official record because he was making it without notes, he commented at length on the draft of the socioeconomic program in the Poznan voivodship. He pointed out the need for making particular sentences in the chapters of this document more precise, for replacing certain expressions with other, more precise ones and for changing some chapter titles. In analyzing a chapter which discusses democracy and the self-government, he pointed out that the increase in the responsibility of plant directorates should be emphasized more clearly here. In trying to make statements from the chapter "Let the Law Be the Law" more accurate, the speaker asserted that the form used for the names of former authorities accused of excesses in the bulletin published by the PZPR KW, was inadmissible. Without their guilt having been proved, they were unjustly punished with moral retribution. The discussant also proposed changes in other chapters to make them more precise.

The speaker sharply attacked GAZETA POZNANSKA, which cut and, according to him, distorted the sense of his statement in a report from the first part of the Conference (here we quote comrade Baraniecki): "The press released a castrated gelding with its legs broken."

Lech Bartkowiak, ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops] employee, asserted that priority should be given to all activities which will serve the development of agriculture. The speaker expressed the fear that the worker-peasant alliance is breaking down, and farmers are being blamed for not selling their farm produce and slaughter animals to purchasing centers, while industry is not supplying machinery and fertilizers to rural areas. He also pointed out the degenerate situation that continues in our people's nation in which rascals live well and hard working laborers live at the borderline of the minimum.

The discussant stated that the Conference must take a stand on the nationwide, one-hour strike called by the KKP [Solidarity National Consultative Commission] and, at the same time, must define the position to be taken by party members with regard to this political strike.

Marianna Przewoznik, supervisor in the Disabled Veterans' Service Cooperative in Poznan, devoted her entire statement to the social and daily-living issues of the elderly, pensioners and disabled veterans: "These are not issues to be settled in time," she asserted. "These issues must be settled immediately! Particularly now as we prepare for winter."

Comrade Przenwoznik said that the program has much to say about improving living conditions for young people, but it makes no mention of improving the lot of those whom fate has harmed most severely. She noted the wretched working conditions in most disabled veterans' cooperatives, and also gave many concrete examples of the discrimination of disabled veterans in offices, services centers and retail stores.

In conclusion she appealed to the youth, to social organization and to all people of good will to help the elderly and disabled veterans. "We are, after all, one family," she said, "and there must be a place for everyone in this family."

Kazimierz Konarski, GOPLAN technologist: Our goods are regulated and work is in full swing despite the raw materials shortages. Our production levels are the same as in previous years. Then why is there a shortage of sugar at the market? It's hard to say; the price is certainly a factor here.

During the first part of the conference I stated with optimism that we will get out of the crisis, but now this optimism deserts me. I cannot believe that not fully 3 months after the Congress, a new first secretary has been chosen.

Accounts have not yet been settled with the people who took advantage of their service positions. Those who were compromised are sent abroad, where they request political asylum. We must be concerned with social justice, hence the importance of the evocative slogan: "one domicile for one family." But there are still people who have two or three residences.

Leszek Nowak, employee, Poznan-East Construction Works, gave a detailed analysis of the chapter of the program entitled "For One Family One Domicile." He stated that this is a fair assumption, but that it is unrealistic for the next few years because we are lacking developed areas, sewage treatment plants and water service pipes. This is the result of the limited production of cement, steel and aggregates. These materials--cement, steel and aggregates--should be given priority treatment for housing and industrial construction; other materials should be designated for single-family housing construction. Thus we must adopt a less effective, but realistic program in construction.

The speaker stated that the proposed program draft lacks a diagnosis of the state of the economy and of the position of our voivodship on the national scale. He demanded that the voivodship party organization engage in broader economic contacts with the other voivodships of Wielkopolska. He pointed out that voivodship authorities should make decisions concerning the transfer of food to other regions.

Bogumil Janicki, secretary, PZPR KD [City Section Committee], Poznan--Nowe Miasto [New Town], expressing his position on the PZPR KC Fourth Plenum resolution, devoted particular attention to an item in it which discusses work on various days of the week. He demanded that a team of power industry specialists be appointed by the Voivodship Committee to draw up a balancesheet of power needs as well as a program for the operation of particular plants on various days of the week. This would enable the maximum production and the limitation of the problems associated with the energy crisis and would eliminate charges for forced stoppages and losses due to shut-offs.

Speaking of intraparty matters, comrade Janicki postulated that it was necessary to streamline the transmission of information, speeding it up and expanding it. He was also critical of the strike and of the announcment of teachers' strikes asserting that this is not an upbringing model for the young generation.

Sabina Kotulska, teacher from Poznan: "Without a modern, socialist system of teaching and upbringing, the proper formation of subsequent generations is impossible. We have been dreaming of 10-year old girls," stated comrade Kotulska, "but we are not able to cope with the current issues of the school system and with current teachers' issues. A problem which requires an immediate solution is the question of preschool upbringing. We must make it available to considerably more children than at present, recovering all available locations for this purpose. In seeking them out, however, we should not fail to notice entire buildings, such as, e.g., the building formerly used for the County People's Council on Stalingrad street, which has been empty for 3 years."

Comrade Kotalska also spoke of the lagging behind of textbook publications for new teaching programs. Speaking of the Teacher's Charter, she pointed out the differences that have become apparent in this regard between the resolution of the Ninth Congress and governmental implementation.

Stefan Kupidura, AGROMET, Poznan, stated that in the portion of the program draft concerning agriculture, too little is said concerning issues of the processing, storage and trade of agricultural-consumer products. He also stated that shifting industry to the production of articles needed for agriculture will require real economic incentives for industry. This is because, under an economic reform system, there may occur the phenomenon of the production of that which is most profitable for the plant and the elimination of products which bring relatively less profit. He postulated that economists propose an appropriate motivational system for plants producing on behalf of agriculture.

Zefiryn Grabski, chairman, ZW ZSMP [Voivodship Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth]: "Just as democracy is not a gesture of authority, understanding the needs of the younger generation cannot be a gesture. We must ask ourselves what will happen if the youth do not accept the current program? And they will not accept it if their problems are overlooked. We want the real recognition of our role as co-stewards of the country, the satisfaction of professional aspirations, the assurance of conditions of a reasonable start in life and the guarantee of its harmonious development." The speaker announced a plan for the appointment of a special team under the voivodship governor's office for resolving the problems of the younger generation. He stated that economic reform which has no basis in the youth has no chance of success.

In conclusion he discussed the current ZSMP situation. This organization is searching for its identity and wants to speak of its own matters in its own voice. The ZSMP is the party of a real ally.

Wlodzimierz Fischer, in the name of the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] Scientific Commission, expressed the need for the creation of a regional center for scientific coordination, which would voluntarily integrate scientists around important regional issues. It would undertake to solve problems of vital significance to the economy, culture and science. Among other things, it could

concentrate its efforts on problems of the development of a new, local fodder base for farming. Such a team should act not only upon the needs of the Poznan voivodship.

Wlodzimierz Danecki, employee of the Railroad Automation Plants in Poznan, informed participants of the Conference of the action taken thus far by the PZPR KW Ideological Commission and its program of work. A primary goal in ideological activity is to convince society that the party has credibility. To this end, real discussions and the free exchange of thoughts should be carried out. Soon a party university will come into being directed by the program council, grouping together active party members, scientific workers, journalists and teachers of history. The form of ideological training in the voivodship has changed; the transmission of current information from the KC and KW to local party organizations by teletype is being introduced on a broad scale. The profile of the PZPR KW Bulletin in Poznan has been modified. In conclusion the speaker stressed that the actions which have been undertaken will not be feasible without the fundamental efforts of party organizations.

Jerzy Paszke, director of the Poznan Poultry Plants: "I believe that the program, the points of which we are discussing today, is a feasible program. However, we are not taking into consideration the time factor. Many good decisions, above all in the economic sphere, have been introduced in a sluggish manner. The time which has elapsed since the first round of the Conference has been lost time; much of which we spoke in June has been obliterated.

Today we will resolve a program of action in the most important spheres for our voivodship. Who is to implement it? You answer--we are. Is it only we? The entire society must implement it. Whoever hampers the introduction of this program is the enemy of society.

To the warning strike called by the KKP we answer--no! No one can prohibit us from producing food and from producing goods to fill empty shelves in stores.

Of late we have spoken a great deal about the introduction of economic reform, about the "three S's" [independence, self-government, self-financing]. But we should constantly keep in mind three other factors which are: reason, imagination and courage.

Janusz Zwozdziak, first secretary, PZPR KD [City Section Committee], Poznan-Jezyce: "Our Conference must make clear, in a resolution, its position on recent KKP proposals. We must protest against the sowing of confusion in the country. We must clearly state that the road for improving the situation in our country is not the strike. I am afraid that those who go to work on Wednesday will be harrassed. We must protect these people."

The discussant spoke at length on intraparty work, which, above all, is to strengthen the directorial role of the PZPR. "We must clearly state," he asserted, "that we will not allow party organizations to be cast out of plants, and such attempts have been made recently."

In conclusion the speaker stated: "We are talking too much. Let's not talk the party away, let's get to work!"

Stanislaw Janc, from Poznan AMINO: "My party organization has conferred upon me the duty of bringing up the problems of the meat market at this Conference. My comrades from the plant have made a list of requests to the Conference on this matter, asking that the points therein also be supported. We calculate that the participants in the Conference will declare themselves in favor of the full satisfaction of meat rationing needs in our voivodship. Society is of the opinion that, of the amount of procurement that exceeds the plan, we should keep at least one-half of the mass of meat to correct the food situation in preschools, hospitals and social care institutions. We must bind the administration to assume more effective control over all rationing cards, for the repeated registration of unimplemented meat rationing cards smacks of scandal."

Jan Ludek, MO [Citizens' Militia] Municipal Command in Poznan: "Many demands have issued from this platform, many stipulations; but I am wondering what concrete things you comrades will do back home--in the academic institutions, in schools, at work, to implement the resolutions? We have been seized by a frenzy to settle accounts. Some comrades are already considering now how to settle accounts with the current authorities.

"A special atmosphere has been created among MO officials; they are talking about high wages and privileges. There are the demands of the various professional groups who call for higher wages for overtime. We are not paid for overtime; we don't have Saturdays off. Hence the 200 vacancies in our commands. Is society helping us? Call to mind the behavior of the crowd on the Dworcowy bridge or on Wola street, where a man was murdered before a crowd of gaping onlookers.

"I appeal today to anyone willing 'to work.' I propose that we begin with ourselves."

Jaroslaw Swierczynski, farmer from the RSP [Agricultural Producers' Cooperative] in the Wrzesien gmina [parish]: "The slogan 'Polish agriculture is one' still remains a slogan. Those at the bottom, however, are not divided. There one finds farmers, regardless of the sector they represent and their orientation, in agreement. Conflicts are ushered in, however, by those decisions which give preference to individual farmers or to others. Agricultural production cooperatives have been implementing the principal of the "three S's" for a long time. For some, these are uncomfortable because they would have to acknowledge that the concept of the real self-government copies our actions. The production cooperative farms on scarcely 4.5 percent of the land, and sells 11 percent of the grain and 9 percent of the slaughter animals. Thus, it cannot be discriminated against and allowed to fall apart." The speaker also called for the more just allocation of food. "We do not want to feed do-nothings! Why, in our country, does the Constitution speak of every citizen's right to work, when in other states it is directly stated that this is an obligation?"

Romuald Sobolewski, Voivodship Consultative Commission of the Branch Trade Unions [BZZ]: Calling to mind the path that the branch union movement has traversed from August 1980, the speaker pointed to the deep transformation in the style and methods of its operation. The class origins of the branch unions obliges them

to support the socialist structure and to recognize the leadership role of the party. Union members under the new conditions are trying to serve the work force as best they can. They are likewise always ready to cooperate constructively with other trade unions, including Solidarity. Unfortunately, such cooperation does not always come about, too often it is cast aside, although the indivisible interest of working people should be the primary good for all.

Branch unions, sensitive to the difficult situation of the country, do not promise their members unrealistic things. However, they are trying to defend employee interests through actions and not words.

Kazimierz Gorny, master in the Steel Casting Plant, HCP [H. Cegielski Works, Poznan] in Srem, expressed the view that the central authorities and other regions of the country should model themselves upon the experiences of the Poznan voivodship. "Here we know how to get along, we dispel conflicts and tension successfully. We work honestly and with a sense of sacrifice, although it is just as difficult for us as it is for the inhabitants of other voivodships. If everyone takes the example of Poznan regarding how to work and how to set up the relations between various social forces, getting out of the crisis will be simpler.

"At the same time, we demand that political anarchy in the country be stopped and that the resolution of the Fourth Plenum of the PZPR KC regarding this be implemented," stated comrade Gorny. "We have the moral right to demand law and order, security and respect for the law.

Discussion prepared by: Hanna Wojciechowska, Andrzej Niczyperowicz and Waclaw Rogalewicz

Selected Approved Resolutions

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26 Oct 81 p 4

/Excerpt/ A Resolution Concerning Dismissal from the PZPR

One of the fundamental conditions of the party's credibility is the process of the complete settling of accounts with all of its members who have let down the party and society, taking advantage of their positions for personal ends.

We may not punish those comrades who are not guilty, in this way creating reasons for their future rehabilitation. Hence, the careful examination of all cases, prolonging the process of the settling of accounts.

Additional factors have been the dodging of the accused and their numerous connections with interest groups. The break-up of these groups and the Party Control Commission's concluding of the investigative procedure makes possible today the undertaking of a final decision in the cases of: Jerzy Zasada, Bogdan Waligorski and Jozef Scibisz.

The aforementioned have lost the party's confidence, having placed personal interest above the good of society. The Conference resolves that they be dismissed from the party.

Moreover, upon the recommendation of the delegates, the following are dismissed: Czeslaw Galgan, Jozef Switaj and Stanislaw Cozas.

The Conference binds the WKKP [Voivodship Party Control Commission] to carry the settling of accounts to its conclusion when the subsequent investigations have been completed.

A Resolution concerning Territorial Self-Government

The Voivodship Party Conference declares itself to be in favor of the introduction of territorial self-government as the operational basis for the functioning of cities and gminas.

In conjunction with this we call for:

1. The restoration of city section people's councils and city section offices in Poznan.

2. The appointment of communal services, the sole task of which will be to take care of housing matters and the city infrastructure.

3. The introduction of communal ownership as a form of social ownership, the subject of which is the community of the gmina and the city.

4. The preparation of a system for creating the budget of cities and gminas, which would activate civic initiatives and would develop a sense of civic responsibility for the state of living conditions.

5. Changes in the existing administrative division of the country in the direction of opening territorial units, taking into account the historical, cultural and economic ties arbitrarily broken in 1975.

8536
CSO: 2600/119

PZPR MEETINGS OF RZESZOW AND TARNOBRZEG VOIVODSHIPS REPORTED

Rzeszow Voivodship

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 6-8 Nov 81 pp 1, 2

[From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the KW (Voivodship Committee) of PZPR in Rzeszow"]

[Text] The Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee of PZPR determined on Thursday / the tasks for the committee and party organizations in their work with youth organizations. /

The Polish events of last year pointed out the prominent role the younger segment of our society has to play. It proved the importance of the role of the younger generation in sociopolitical and economic life. The struggle for winning the youth over is still going on; therefore, advancing a new ideological offering towards the youth is a task for the party. In other words, a program should be drawn up which the young people could share in. No less important are the activities of committees, party organizations and party members which would assist the youth in fulfilling their aspirations.

Organizations such as the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), Rural Youth Union (ZMW), Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP) and the Polish Scout Union (ZHP) have numerous well-organized memberships in Rzeszow voivodship. Representatives of these organizations took part in this meeting. The Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee was acquainted with the current membership and political situation in these organizations. It considered what could be done in order to assist the organizations in the implementation of their goals with respect for their full independence. The youth organizations are rooted in various social groups; therefore, the Executive Board stated that their methods of activities should be different. They should be adjusted to the age and interests of the membership.

Among other things, such activities as upbringing through labor, participation in furthering technological progress, actions designed to save raw and other materials were acknowledged to be beneficial for the country with respect to the elements of the ZSMP operating in industrial enterprises. The vital importance of patronal housing construction was stressed; opportunities to shorten the waiting period for one's own apartment through enterprise housing construction porgrams were pointed out. Administrative authorities of the voivodship were obligated to exact the fulfillment of a 15 percent quota of the merchandise resources for young married couples. Attention was drawn to the role and importance of cultural and entertainment activities for the youth.

Excerpts from further resolutions state that the postulates forwarded by the young people to the administrative authorities should be fulfilled; social problems and problems of living conditions of students should be solved within the scope of this entire social group.

Taking into account concrete issues of the younger generation and proceeding from the concern for its ideologico-political level, organizational goals for party committees and organizations were set at the meeting of the Executive Board.

Further on, the Executive Board heard information on the preparations for the new year of party indoctrination. Proceeding from the assumption that indoctrination is necessary for each party member and candidate-which life has borne out-heads of party echelons and party organizations were obligated to consistently conduct training sessions in the format and by the methods currently available. The Executive Board attaches high hopes to the activity of lecturers, perhaps the best form of acquainting the party with current political and economic problems. Short-term courses, mainly in outlying areas, will be organized for the party aktiv. The superior form of training, the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism (WUML) will also be conducted. As far as the topics for training are concerned, the key issues pervading the party and the society of the nation were preferred: issues of the economic reform, current rural policy and internal party affairs.

The Executive Board also discussed some problems associated with the current economic situation, including the issue of supplying the inhabitants of the voivodship with foodstuffs and consumer durables. In accordance with the feeling of the society of the voivodship it decided to approach the Central Committee and the government with a proposal on the even-handed and just treatment of the level of supply in particular regions of the country. This refers primarily to the items subject to rationing.

Tarnobrzeg Voivodship

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 6-8 Nov 81 pp 1, 2

["From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee of PZPR in Tarnobrzeg"' passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] As we have previously informed our readers, the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee of PZPR in Tarnobrzeg took up the concept of the development of housing construction until 1985 at one of its previous sessions. The commission which was then set up prepared some proposals on this issue, which it offered to the attention of the Executive Board at its session on November 5, 1981.

The scope of housing construction was defined, proceeding from the assumption that the main social goals in this sphere are the stabilization of the waiting period for cooperative apartments at 10 years and securing the development of this kind of construction in the regions where key industrial projects are being carried out.

It was considered necessary to set the target for cooperative housing construction at 5200 apartments, and respectively, for enterprise housing construction at 2000 apartments (for the needs of the Polaniec electric power station, "Ozarow" cement mill, steel mill "Stalowa Wola," Sulphur Mining and Processing Enterprise (KIZPS) and the Grzybow sulphur mine. Gorzyce Transport Equipment Plant (WSK), Nowa Deba Foundry and Window Glass mill in Sandomierz) and for communal housing construction-at 250 apartments.

Three versions of the program were adopted, termed basic (7450 apartments), maximum (with the same quantity of apartments, securing a lead-time in land development for the duration of the next five-year plan, which would enable the construction of 13,000 apartments during that period and the stabilization of waiting time at 10 years) and, finally the minimal version assuming that investment will be preserved at the present level (about 3.5 billion zlotys over a five-year plan). This third version envisages the opportunity of constructing 4000 apartments, and, accordingly, the postponement until much later of the implementation of social goals.

The possibility of implementing these particular versions was evaluated. The needs in the sphere of land development were defined and housing construction potential was assessed. Among other things, it was stated in the motions that neither of the versions presented had been allocated guaranteed funds for implementation. It was considered necessary to ensure such funds for the minimal version and simultaneously prepare the investments determining the implementation of the basic version as well as to apply for necessary funds.

During the discussion, references were made to talks between the government commission and the Regional Strike Committee underway in Stalowa Wola, since housing construction is among the main subjects negotiated there. It was recognized that housing construction and broadly defined infrastructure associated with it are at present the most important social problems of Tarnobrzeg voivodship. Administrative authorities, enterprises and units involved in housing construction will be held responsible for the implementation of the minimal version; however, they must, should adequate conditions arise, do everything to achieve the goals of the basic version.

It was decided to undertake actions aimed at setting up a civil engineering enterprise. The Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee will approach the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the PZPR with an adequately justified motion in the matter.

It was recommended to update the waiting lists of housing cooperatives and also to analyze the material intensiveness of various housing construction techniques.

It was decided to widely discuss the draft program at the primary level with party echelons, trade unions and socio-professional communities associated with construction. Only after this consultation will the draft be introduced for consideration by the voivodship People's Council.

As a further item on the agenda, the implementation of commitments to agriculture made by the industry of the voivodship was discussed. The needs of agriculture in tractors, machinery and spare parts exceed supply several times in the voivodship. For example, the list of scarce spare parts for tractors and agricultural machinery includes 142 items.

In January 1981, an exchange of scarce sparts was organized in Tarnobrzeg where representatives of 35 enterprises participated. The sponsors, the Voivodship Administration Board, the "Agroma" from Kielce and the Voivodship Basic Agricultural School "SCh" presented the needs of agricultural to the interested parties. Twelve enterprises committed themselves to implementing production of 6 pieces of machinery and 32 lines of spare parts, the total value being 50.3 million zlotys. The largest commitments were made by the iron mill "Stalowa Wola," the machine tool plant "Ponar"

in Tarnobrzeg and the Craftsmen Cooperative from Janow Lubelski. The Transport Equipment Plant in Gorzyce has fully delivered on its commitments, it has produced 6,000 pistons for "Ursus" tractors worth 1.7 million zlotys, delivering them for distribution by "Agroma" in Kielce. The iron mill "Stalowa Wola" has produced only 43 pairs of gear wheels, valued at 86,000 zlotys instead of the intended 100. In June, it also signed up for the production of an additional 16 spare parts for the "Ursus" tractor and the "Bizon" combined harvester, but "Agroma" did not accept the producer prices it offered, which were several times higher than the currently official ones. This enterprise has also failed to produce 2,000 frames for 3-furrow plows and 1,000 tractor-drawn harrows (these were to be produced by the branch plants in Janow Lubelski and Lubaczow.)

The foundries in Nowa Deba and "Nimet" in Nisko, cooperatives and machine centers have had a mixed success in meeting their commitments. On the whole, the situation is not good. The total value of produced machinery and spare parts is only 9.7 million zlotys, or 19 percent of the commitments made.

Members of the Executive Board were also interested in the progress of agricultural procurement based on the principle of the so-called linked delivery, in the distribution of tractors and agricultural machinery. Information provided on this subject was rejected as incredible due to the incongruity of estimates of these interrelated issues. The setting-up of review teams was recommended, with members of the voivodship committee and individual farmers as members in order to investigate the distribution of machinery, the degree of fulfillment fo commitments made by the industry to agriculture, and the situation in the soc-called linked sales. It was recommended that guidelines for such sales be kept until the end of 1981, with guaranteed deliveries to the peasants of machinery, equipment and materials.

9761
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ALTERNATIVE VIEW OF SZSP ACTIVITY OFFERED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Nov 81 p 4

[Article by Wieslaw Debski: "Polemics: 'SZSP a Year after the Congress'"]

[Text] /In "TRYBUNA LUDU" 11 November 1981 appeared an article by Ilona Morzol entitled "SZSP Socialist Union of Polish Students a Year after the Congress--What's Ahead?," which was supposed to be an attempt at a critique of a year's activity of SZSP. Like any attempt at a critique of a social movement, written at a desk, based on a few documents and incomplete observations of a few conferences, it has to be unreliable. If one wants to accomplish such a critique, one has to show up at the educational institution earlier, talk to the people who are working out organizational programs directly among the students./

Reporter Morzol included in her article a lot of assessments with which I, as a member of SZSP and leader of the Union, cannot agree.

I recall that the 3rd SZSP Congress accepted the SZSP Declaration, the Program Platform and the SZSP Statute. These documents constituted the general framework of the organizational programs. Right after the Congress, a team made up of representatives from all the communities worked out a SZSP political program; it was then discussed in the entire organization, and its propositions were changed many times. It acquired its final form in the 3rd Plenum of the SZSP Supreme Council. The rather long period between the 3rd Congress and the 3rd Plenum was caused on the one hand by a discussion over the documents, and on the other by the fact that life did not favor a formal settlement. Student strikes, "the Bydgoszcz affair" and SZSP's participation in these events determined in practice the political organizational program, which found its expression in a document accepted later. This program is not finally closed, for day-to-day life simply corrects it. But the program of organizational activity was accepted at the 1st Plenum, a month after the Congress.

In listening to discussions of the SZSP aktiv, closely reading our documents, and, lastly, observing the ongoing activity of the Union, it is possible to discover the fine points of the political organizational program, as well as how the SZSP perceives its own part in the "alliance of reasonable people." One just has to go to "SZSP's Political Program," in order to find the political definitions of the organization, whose main points are the socialist character of SZSP, its independence and constructiveness of its work. We also include there the

understanding of these definitions. When we permit a discussion within the framework of SZSP on how we understand socialism, when we also want to have in the organization those who are not Marxists, does this mean that the organization is not defined? I believe that in a socialist organization there is room for Marxists and Catholics. I suppose that reporter Marzol thinks otherwise; we do not debate with dogmatists.

All along we have striven to be a constructive organization, building a positive program, bringing forward concrete proposals for solutions to the problems of the country and community. That is why, from the beginning of 1981, we put forward a proposal for the creation of a plane of constant dialogue of different social forces (which is presently being realized in the Front of National Accord). Our seats in the alliance of forces of reason give an indication of our actions so far in conflicting situations--and that is not all. We always strive to solve argument arguments by means of negotiation. I wish to remind reporter Morzol that it was the SZSP which came forth with a proposal during the student strikes for summing the Mixed Commission which would have tried to solve the inflated conflict; it was the SZSP that called for a resolution to the Bydgoszcz conflict; it was the SZSP that made an attempt in the Uniejow to resolve the conflict around the Law on Higher Schools. However, this does not mean the SZSP does not recognize a strike as a form of protest; the events of March and of recent days attest to that. In both cases these strikes were caused by the extreme incompetence of the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology.

We have translated our "Political Program" into concrete goals, into methods for their realization. The above examples are a witness to the realization of the most important goal in our political activities (contained in the declaration "What we are Fighting for"). Moreover, one can mention here, for example, point 2 of this declaration, which deals with the history of most recent Poland. We can point here to our substantial publications, discussion meetings carried out at least in the "Hybrydy" club, OPP [expansion unknown] "Sigma" and OPP DEFacto in Wroclaw. It would be difficult to mention here other socialist organizations which may compete with us in this respect. One could provide numerous examples. Reporter Morzol devoted a lot of space to the matter of procedure, for example, the absence of a quorum, etc. However, we have made a decision in a consistent way to abide by democratic principle and we want and must bear the price for this.

SZSP defined its relationship to the Independent Association of Students (NZS) (though in contradistinction to "TRYBUNA LUDU"). In the documents of the Supreme Council, one can find the statement that the SZSP will, where possible, cooperate with NZS, without eschewing confrontation in these debates. Every member of the SZSP may speak about ideological and political questions at educational institutions just as it is done in life.

Toward the end of her article, reporter Morzol writes in regard to the union and social activity of SZSP--"...one can already talk about a certain outline to the program." I wish to remind her that at press conferences and elsewhere we have presented time and again not an outline, but a very detailed SZSP social program--from a new plan for a stipend system, health care, vacations involving sport and tourism to means of employment, student cooperative societies, etc. It is necessary to stress that SZSP is the only organization so far which has been seriously dealing with these problems. In regard to all of this, I would like to

know if reporter Illona Morzol listened attentively to our discussions, read our documents, if she talked with our colleagues at educational institutions.

I, for my part, offer reporter Morzol my help in keeping her in touch with the Faculty Councils and sections of the SZSP which will enable her to become more closely acquainted with our Union and its problems.

I sincerely thank you for all the attention given to my text and your offer of help. I would be happy if I found the arguments included in your polemics confirmed in the practical activity of your organization--a hope I had expressed at the end of my article.

/ILONA MORZOL/

9866
CSO: 2600/129

ZSMP MAIN BOARD VICE CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish 29 Nov 81 pp 5, 15

[Interview with Jaroslaw Klima, vice-chairman of the ZSMP Main Board by Henry Urbankowski]

[Text] Henry Urbankowski talks with Jaroslaw Klima, vice chairman of the ZSMP Main Board, about the position of the Union of Socialist Youth (ZSMP) in work places before the economic reform.

[Question] How many members does the ZSMP have?

[Answer] I do not know. We will have a census in January.

[Question] There is a noticeable decrease in ZSMP membership. Why?

[Answer] There is a disillusionment in the ZSMP in its pre-Congress format, no doubt about that. Also, the fact that many of our members have become socially and politically active in other organizations, especially in the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity.

[Question] You talk about it so calmly.

[Answer] Because there is nothing to be upset about. You know how it was before August 1980 with that magic of big numbers and rising statistics. Today nobody thinks that way any more. Now, when organizations are being founded in competition to the ZSMP, we have gotten rid of "dead souls," or members who did not care about the Union's program.

[Question] The average age of the Union members has gone up recently. The most visible members are the ones in their late twenties and early thirties.

[Answer] This process of aging had been caused by the distribution of constituencies within the Federation. Only since last spring have we become more active in high schools. The effects will be known in a year or so when our suggested program for those young people will have been given a chance.

[Question] Are there any visible results of the renewal of the ZSMP?

[Answer] Not widely yet. But for example in Rybnik, where we had worked closly with school youth before, we note an increase in membership. And that is good news, because now you cannot force anybody to join the ZSMP. And there are still old prejudices against the Union.

[Question] But it would be hard to say that half a year after the Congress the Union has become more effective. And that is what many young people were counting on. I keep hearing from those who are disappointed and disillusioned, there are even those who want a 4th Congress.

[Answer] But which organization is effective today? Which finds it easy to implement its goals? Show me.

[Question] I have been thinking about Solidarity, but if Solidarity has to revert to such methods as strikes, then I am not fully convinced.

[Answer] Precisely. And those, who want a new ZSMP Congress, should be asked: what is the point of a permanent program-electoral campaign?

[Question] The demand for a new congress may imply a negative evaluation of the ZSMP officials, the administration from Smolna Street. I recall that when you were running for chairman during the ZSMP Congress, you yourself said that the first thing you would do if you were elected would be to fire all those Smolna bureaucrats.

[Answer] It was not exactly so, although I got a lot of negative comments.

[Question] I do not know. I was eavesdropping at the door because reporters were not allowed in the room at the time.

[Answer] I also said that I would do it after thoroughly checking their qualifications to work in the administration of a civic organization. Today I would feel bad if at that time somebody had been so brusque with my colleagues from the Working Youth Department. During my long career in the Union I have never seen people working so hard as they have recently.

[Question] One always blows one's own trumpet.

[Answer] I can give you concrete examples.

[Question] We will talk about them later. To my mind, what counts is not that you work your tail off, but that you produce results. Has the Union produced any results so far?

[Answer] The time is such that in order to accomplish something, you have to work several times harder than before, you have to overcome more obstacles because there are more battle fronts. It is also more difficult to find out who will help and who will hurt. To me, the biggest success of the ZSMP to date is the fact that the organization exists, that it has gained new, tremendous political experience in these hard times, in spite of attacks against us.

[Question] Attacks by Solidarity?

[Answer] No. Solidarity as a union has remained neutral towards us. In many work places one can even talk about a cooperation beneficial to both sides. To be sure, within Solidarity there were attempts to found new youth organizations, alternative to the ZSMP, but not much has come out of those attempts. There have been also personal attacks on our activists. So when we talk about Solidarity, we should not talk about the whole union, only about certain political forces and individuals within Solidarity.

[Question] So where exactly did those attacks come from?

[Answer] Most conspicuously, from the media unsympathetic to us. To be sure, we expected criticism, but not tendentious attacks.

[Question] You have been criticized, among other things, for ignoring problems of young people.

[Answer] This will sound like a broken record, but it is worth repeating: Nine out of the 21 demands by the shipyard workers in Gdansk had been included earlier in the ZSMP program approved at our 2nd Congress.

[Question] But you have not implemented even one of those nine demands.

[Answer] We did not have enough time. After all, the 2nd Congress came only 3 months before the August 1980 events. But even in such a short time we initiated procedures to negotiate those demands with the authorities. To be sure, without much hope that they would be implemented fully and quickly. Let us compare our effectiveness and Solidarity's. How many of those 21 demands have been implemented by that powerful union, using the methods that they do? If we look at it from this perspective, there is no use to be upset that some of our members have joined Solidarity, or that others have become elected party officials. Today, for the most part, they are our allies. I believe that we should strive, among other things, to revise the concept of youth which in Poland has been artificially prolonged.

[Question] And for the time being the ZSMP is increasingly becoming a trade union for youth.

[Answer] Because Polish youth has become a specific and distinctly separate social group which crosses class divisions, a group with great, unfulfilled aspirations, and what is worse, a group whose most important necessaties of life have also been ignored. At the same time, there is no political or social force in Poland which would focus on meeting the needs of the young people.

[Question] What about the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR)?

[Answer] Verbally, yes. In its programs. But only in response to our demands and lobbying efforts, not of its own will. We are becoming a trade union not because of the will or whim of our top-ranking activists, but because of the pressure from young people who come to us with their problems. The paradox of the Polish political system is that it is easier for us as a youth organization to become an independent force with trade-union or even political status than to deal with the young people's problems through the party or Solidarity channels.

[Question] But the problem remains. Do you not think that you have wasted over half a year fighting to establish the Committee on Youth Affairs at the Ministry Council?

[Answer] But the Main Board has concentrated on other things as well.

[Question] And yet that is how it is perceived by myself and by others.

[Answer] You can blame it on the mass media, including WALKA MLOKYCH. To go back to the fight for the Committee, I must say I admire Jerzy Jaskiernia for his persistence and fortitude. At the Congress Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski bought our idea on the spot. He gave us his word, and then he waited for a directive from the Political Bureau, for the approval by other youth organizations. I do not think it was really he who was stalling. After the idea of the Committee was accepted, prior to the 9th PZPR Congress, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee did not really want to put this idea to work.

[Question] It would mean then that they wanted to lower the status of youth organizations.

[Answer] Worse. To ignore the problems of the young generation.

[Question] Why is that Committee so important to you?

[Answer] Because, for example, when at a cabinet meeting there is a discussion about suspending consumer credit, a person with the mandate of the youth organizations--it may be even deputy prime minister himself--would say no and defend the credit for young couples or young independent farmers who are just starting out on their own.

[Question] Let us suppose there will be no Committee after all. Then you will have to keep on with what you have been doing so far.

[Answer] Of course, except that it would take more time and effort on our part and on the part of the government. It would also make it more difficult to coordinate our activities. So who needs those difficulties when times are difficult enough?

[Question] What can the ZSMP Main Board be proud of? What has been accomplished since the Congress took place a half a year ago?

[Answer] Among the so-called spectacular successes there is the new law about maternity leaves and benefits, which we strongly supported. To be sure, in these inflationary times the new law has a limited impact. That law was signed under curious circumstances. A group of our delegates threatened to stage a sit-in in the room where one of the sections of the 9th PZPR Congress was holding its meeting and that is how they forced deputy minister to go to the prime minister and ask him to sign the new act into law. The prime minister had kept it in his desk, ready to be signed, for several weeks. This time he signed it immediately. Generally speaking, during those 6 months since our congress we have continued to get ready to work on behalf of the young people and to represent their interests during the economic reform.

[Question] The ZSMP had taken its stand on the reform even before the congress.

[Answer] We supported a radical and speedy reform, within a short time, although we realized that such a reform would cause serious perturbations on the job market and in the production process during its implementation. At the same time, we have been thinking and talking about ways to minimize these negative effects.

[Question] You mean, to slow down, to ease the speed of the reform?

[Answer] No. A majority--a huge majority--of our members wanted a swift and radical reform and they would not accept any stalling. But our responsibility has been to prepare people for necessary sacrifice and to minimize the impact of that sacrifice.

[Question] Could you explain this with some concrete examples?

[Answer] Let us take the problem of unemployment. People will have questions and doubts about it. Those reporters who simplify the problem even quote numbers of vacant positions. But does that mean that we will not have temporary unemployment, that it will not affect young people in particular? We are preparing young people for the worst. We realize that structurally there is already considerable unemployment and that every young person's ambition is to have a job commensurate with his or her qualifications. But will it be possible? When the self-government starts to eliminate overemployment and change production, some of the people will find themselves out of work and faced with the necessity of finding new jobs for which they had not been trained. To be sure, before the congress we protested and demanded that young age be not the sole criterion when people are fired. Nobody has listened to those protests, and to fire young people will be the easiest way. Therefore we must do more than merely protest and demand. We have initiated the movement of youth work cooperatives in order to provide employment for those who cannot find it and for those who after 1 January 1982 will be out of work. Our Workers Universities will be able to provide training for over 100,000 people annually. The Universities are already prepared for this operation.

[Question] You also organize income-earning emigration to socialist countries.

[Answer] Emigration is too big a word. "Temporary stays" would be more appropriate.

[Question] Can you give us some details?

[Answer] At this point, government-level negotiations with the appropriate ministries of the USSR, CSSR and GDR have been almost completed.

[Question] Why is the ZSMP involved in this?

[Answer] Who else?

[Question] Intermediary agencies, administration.

/Answer/ It is not simple. It is not enough to send people abroad. You also have to organize their living conditions abroad in such a way that their stay in a foreign country would not result in unnecessary conflicts. Even in those towns where our people will be scattered among various work places, or perhaps especially

in those towns, there will be a need for spokespersons, experienced organizers of leisure time, people who will help during the initial period. This can be done only by a civic organization. We have this kind of experience from construction sites in the USSR, GDR and CSSR.

[Question] I agree, but they may be suspicious that you send your own people abroad, that there might be some extraneous reasons why people join the ZSMP.

[Answer] We would like to prevent this from happening, but we realize that we will have our hands full recruiting people here and, over there, organizing living conditions, alleviating tensions and work-related conflicts. We are concerned that the employees we send do not violate the local legal and political systems as well as existing customs.

[Question] Let us go back to the reform. Are you not afraid that the ZSMP, which is to take care of so many responsibilities and expectations of young people, may break down during the initial, most difficult period? That it may come to the point of being fed up with the reform?

/Answer/ I would not look for opponents of the reform in the ZSMP. We may expect to see numerous publications instigated by conservative forces within the government administration. In those publications, every difficulty will be blown out of proportion in order to make people abandon the experiment even before it has been given a chance. I believe in the reform. But I am also convinced that there is no alternative to that economic reform in our political reality. The system based on directives and distribution broke down completely, and has now become a laughing stock. There is a lot of evidence that our government administration is demoralized and incapable of thinking in a time of crisis. It is enough to look at the supply of goods to the market or at the chaos with food ration coupons.

How much longer can our society take it!

[Question] And in the meantime the government has suggested "a provisional system." There have been comments already that this system will serve the opponents of the reform.

[Answer] I do not think that the provisional system is supposed to push the reform further away in time, although it will probably be used by the opponents of the reform.

[Question] How do ZSMP plant commissions respond in a situation of a struggle between Solidarity and the old economic and political status quo?

[Answer] It varies. But there is a growing conviction that at present the most important thing is not to allow the ZSMP to be manipulated by either Solidarity or the authorities. The most important thing is to have your own opinion, as objective as possible.

[Question] In other words, just watching.

[Answer] No, not at all.

[Question] Building up the third force?

[Answer] That is not what our organization wants. We are honest. We want to make sure that young people advance in their careers, that they get positions commensurate with the qualifications and experience. That is the reason we put so much pressure on the party, for example. We do not intend to forget about our role to inspire the PZPR ideologically, which is written down in our statute.

[Question] But nevertheless I say that the ZSMP has dropped out, voluntarily or not, of the main battle front in work places.

[Answer] One may be left with such an impression when it comes to violent conflicts. In those situations we try to look for a compromise although sometimes we strongly support one of the parties in the conflict. It all depends on the merits of the matter, on who is right. In many situations we really try to initiate the new which is to come. Our colleagues, for example, have joined plant commissions which pave the way for the reform, others sit on self-government election committees (something we have fought for), and as members of those committees they play a role which I would compare to a locomotive pulling the train of reform.

[Question] Can you give some examples?

[Answer] Will you believe me if I say that our studies, explaining hundreds of problems concerning the interpretation of various proposed regulations about self-government and trade unions, have been selling like hot cakes on "the black market"?

[Question] I believe you.

[Answer] This work of ours has been highly appreciated by Minister Baka. And among plant activists and all young employees we strive for a state of preparedness for the reform.

[Question] My regrets. On the one hand, you know that it is especially young people who will be hit hard by the negative results of the reform. And yet, on the other hand, you are pushing for the reform.

[Answer] There is no other way. It is only through young people, through their energy and their spirit for innovation, that the reform may eventually produce results. After all, the reform must be geared towards producing a mechanism which will make people work. Under the present circumstances, you get paid even when you do not work, sometimes you get paid even more if you do not work. The reform must bring about a change in Polish mentality, it must make people aware that you get a higher pay for better work. And there must occur an objective mechanism whereby it will pay off to work.

[Question] What role do you seek to accomplish in the self-government of work forces? After all, you have fought for a clause in the statute, which would entitle you to having your own representatives.

[Answer] We have fought for that clause not because of vanity but because we want to be able to submit the most pressing problems of young people under the consideration of the self-government.

[Question] What kind of problems? Do you already have a program for next year?

[Answer] This will be decided by the autonomous plant organizations. However, we seek to have research and development written into self-government's projected work plans at each work place. We need this in order to be able to keep track of what the administration has done. According to economic laws, which will govern the reformed economic system, research and development should increase enterprise profits. As an organization, we have considerable experience as well as a pool of activists who have done well in Young Masters of Technology Competitions (TMMT).

[Question] Do you want to continue the competition in its present format? Do you want once again to pick up a responsibility that belongs to enterprise administrations?

[Answer] No. We want to force the administrations to stick to their responsibilities. The TMMT should continue only as a national competition for a concrete project or an invention, as a competition open to young people.

[Question] That is what you offer to employees. And how do you want to help them through the self-government?

[Answer] The other project for the self-government has to do with employer-sponsored home building. The crisis in the home building industry has reached the bottom and now we have got to do everything we can to reverse that process. We have already asked ZSMP plant organizations what should be changed and what barriers should be removed in order to speed up the home building.

[Question] What about the Patronat [cooperative home building association]?

[Answer] Buildings under construction should be completed. Although the Patronat has provided apartments to approximately 200,000 people, we see it as part of the old system of economic management, based on directives and distribution. Once the reform is implemented, there will be no room for the Patronat.

[Question] You have proposed youth cooperative home building associations.

[Answer] We have to free the initiative in every citizen and cooperative so that the waiting period for an apartment would be shortened at least for some people.

[Question] The home building is a huge topic in itself, so let us leave it for another time. Thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2600/157

LAW ON POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES DISCUSSED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 6 Dec 81 pp 6-7

[Interview with Professor, doctro, habilitatus, Jozef Werle, member of the commission developing a proposal for a draft law on the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN): "What kind of law on the Polish Academy of Sciences?"; date not given]

[Text] [Question] Sir, do you consider that a separate new law on the Polish Academy of Sciences is necessary?

[Answer] I regard it as necessary because the present law is unsatisfactory, it sanctioned a defective structure of PAN, and contained elements which could be called undemocratic. In addition, it created a kind of dual authority system in academia and bureaucratic redundancies which, not only in my opinion, are harmful for the development of science. Thus, this lowers PAN's prestige, caused personal friction, unhealthy rivalry, et cetera.

[Question] In asking about the need for a separate law on PAN, I had in mind primarily whether one unifying law on science would not be better? After all, there is no lack of advocates of such an idea.

[Answer] It seems to me that the draft plan on PAN does not in principle exclude the possibility of a law on science. It must be remembered that PAN is an institution with certain traditions, with a substantial history, which of course needs to be somewhat reformed and improved. Beyond this, there are other departments engaged in science such as the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, and industrial ministries.

A law on science could have two primary purposes in mind: uniting science in one ministry, or the unification of responsibilities, rights, academic degrees and titles, the authority of researchers working in all sorts of ministries, et cetera. I am personally opposed to the first idea. It means establishing one ministry to which all research would be subordinated. However, in spite of many similarities, the nature of the research conducted in schools, PAN institutes, and ministries, is different, and its goals are different. Thus, excessive "equalization" should not be sought because that would be harmful for science and society. I consider that the differences to data in goals, for example, among PAN institutions, the educational as well as industrial, are justified and warrant the different treatment of these institutions (for example,

in the area of finance and the reckoning of results). Thus, I believe that there will be at least three laws, namely, on higher schooling, on PAN, and on ministry establishments, which should take into consideration the nature of these units. Further, I see the possibility of some regulating of certain typically academic problems, but not necessarily a standardization by law of academic degrees and titles, or some other primary law on science.

[Question] Why is the work on a new draft law on PAN going on so long?

[Answer] The committee was appointed after a long delay. It could have been established by previous PAN authorities in Fall 1980. However, bearing in mind the approaching end of terms of office and new elections, they did not want to get involved in that. The new authorities whose terms began last January, shortly thereafter appointed a committee under the direction of Professor Kostrzewski to develop a draft plan. It seems to me that this first committee proceeded somewhat too rapidly in developing the details when it did not yet have a prediscussed concept, of the academy as a whole, its desired structure, and so on. Thus, the plan it prepared was criticized rather strongly by numerous scientific circles and there arose a series of counter-proposals by various social organizations and groups of scientists, as a result of which the Chairman of the Academy, Professor Aleksander Gieysztor, decided to appoint a new committee whose task it would be to consider the collected criticisms and to prepare a new and complete plan for PAN based on the principles of self-government, freedom of scholarship, and taking into consideration the introduction of democratic methods for activating the entire academic community in Poland.

[Question] Thus we have a new plan whose proposed structure can astound a nonacademic person. So large a number of different echelons, functions, bodies, and offices that it all seems to be excessively complicated, expanded. The description of this structure takes up probably three-quarters of the plan. By the way, how many members are there in PAN?

[Answer] Three years ago there were about 330 members, but today there are less than 300. I want to call attention to the fact that one of the ideas I was promoting during the discussions on the structure of the academy is broadening of the corporation concept. I believe that it is in a certain sense necessary to expand the corporation into PAN scientific committees. Committee members have not been elected up to the present. They were only nominated and, though they constituted a certain representation of specific academic disciplines, it was not a representation brought into being via elections by entire groups and was challenged at times.

We have close to 100 Scientific Committees. Assuming the average number of members per committee to be about 50, we already have a representation of about 5,000 scientists. The draft law plan anticipates that committee members will be elected by the greatest possible number of scientific circles with certain obvious restrictions on voting rights, for example, in the form of appropriate scientific qualifications. In this way, scientific circles would get corporation offices on committees that represent scientists in a given field, that ought to be most competent in resolving various meritorious problems, such as laying out

development directions in a given scientific field, evaluating the work of individual units, financing or eliminating certain subjects, offices, et cetera.

Corporations in the up-to-now narrower sense, that is, sections, the Presidium and General Assembly would, on the one hand, be responsible to some extent for general care and, on the other, for supervising the activity of scientific committees. As a result of these changes, PAN establishments would also be more closely tied to a corporation so expanded and, hence, with appropriate departments and committees and would, thereby, cease to constitute an academy section administered by a scientific secretary and central administration functionaries.

[Question] You mentioned three principles on which the new PAN concept is to be based, that is, self-government, scientific freedom, and democracy in activating scientific centers in Poland. How is this reflected in the proposed new academic structure?

[Answer] I would not agree with what you said earlier about an excessively complicated law. It could be that certain things can be eliminated from the plan and transferred to rules and regulations or to legal acts of a lower order as, for example, some of the matters pertaining to scientific establishments, matters relating to work, et cetera. However, the Committee was under pressure from some circles, and it swept away those problems. Nonetheless, I would like to emphasize that, even so, our plan is more concise than the plan on the Law on Higher Schools.

The main thought is that, in general, there be no nonelective offices in the Academy's leadership and that elections be based on democratic principles, making it impossible to carry on the various manipulations which occurred in previous years. For example, a new feature of the draft plan is the electability of a scientific secretary and his subordination to the Presidium, as well as to the Chairman, which at least means a partial restriction of the present dual authority: Chairman--Secretary. It has become generally accepted that the plan promotes a system of presidium rules, which in principle means that the General Assembly is the top academy authority. However, in view of the fact that the Assembly meets rather infrequently--twice a year--and is a rather large body, it conveys its powers to the Presidium, which meets every couple of weeks, and to the Chairman, Vice Chairman, and Secretary, the regular officiating executive organs of PAN who, however, are responsible for achieving the General Assembly's resolutions.

A similar system is contemplated for the departments, that is, instead of the previously nominated Department Secretary, a chairman would be elected by a department assembly, which also would be subordinated to the Presidium and PAN Chairman. This means a certain restriction on the present scope of the Scientific Secretary's authority who, in accordance with the plan, however, is to continue to take care in the name of the Chairman of contracts with the Council of Ministers.

Incidentally, this point is attacked and raises doubts in scientific circles, particularly among PAN institute workers. It is noted that the role of centralized administration will be substantially reduced in the new system under which

institutes will be more closely linked with the corporation through departments and committees. This, of course, has a bearing on the secretary's function as chief of the central administration, a secretary who might not necessarily be a PAN member but an efficient official.

[Question] So why have a scientific secretary at all? Should not an effort have been made to do away with that office if only for the sake of organizational purity?

[Answer] There was no lack of votes to have the secretary's functions, which were changed by the new law, entrusted to one of the vice chairmen, and to put a director at the head of the central administration with a simultaneous and clear restriction of the role of such an administration to purely service functions. One way or another, PAN's excessively developed central administration will have to be reorganized. To be sure, the statute does not concern itself fully with problems of PAN's administration. Nonetheless, with the general change in the tasks of individual academic establishments, this problem must arise and should be resolved for the good of Polish science.

[Question] The plan contemplates the creation of entirely new bodies--employee councils, while at the same time retaining scientific councils in establishments. Is that not a partial solution?

[Answer] The proposal for employee councils is the result of new tendencies. Up to now there was a director in an establishment, there were plant managers and a scientific council. Now there comes a self-governing organization, something in which I do not see anything bad, if only the kind of authority it should have can be determined. What is involved is that it not come down to conflicts against a background of unclear and undivided authority. We do not as yet have a clear picture of the authority of employee councils, scientific councils, and agency management; but this is more of a problem for statutes or regulations in which it will also be possible to introduce certain essential dependencies on internal structure, composition of staffs, specificity of establishment goals, and so on. The system which we are now trying to introduce is a system of effective social control for the functioning of science in contrast to the preceding administrative system, based not on election, but on nomination, and rather frequent authoritative decisionmaking by functionaries, et cetera.

[Question] I assume that the problem of employee councils and scientific councils, their authority and role in establishments will continue to provoke disputes. Should not such an important problem be spelled out precisely in a statute?

[Answer] Our committee will probably not be occupying itself with those detailed problems but perhaps it will be asked to prepare some general principle outlines or bases. The statutes will be defining the authority of those organs in each establishment, so that it seems to me that there is rather too much about them in the plan.

[Question] This is the kind of solution I am talking about. For example, could the employee council not take over the authority of the scientific council? Why so many bodies in one establishment?

[Answer] It is possible to execute the next manipulation so that a somewhat expanded scientific council absorbs the employee council. A second possibility is that the establishment just not create an employee council. The third possibility, that the employee council replaces the scientific council is unrealistic because the latter unit has tasks to do which require appropriate qualifications by members. For example, scientific degrees can be awarded solely by persons who themselves have suitable degrees.

An example of a PAN establishment is the botanical garden which is still undergoing development. It employs one docent, about 30 MAs and PhDs as well as 300 workers and other employees. The scientific council in such an establishment will in huge measure be comprised of persons from the outside, while the employees council, if it comes into being, will represent the staff itself. At any rate, many committee members regard it as a fitting general principle that a substantial number of outsiders be included in the composition of every establishment scientific council who would guarantee the expression of independent opinion free of personal ties as well also of dependence on management.

At the same time, it is a reality that the employee council, which includes persons with appropriate qualifications, can participate in scientific matters, for example, organizaing scientific work, accomplishing research plans, et cetera.

[Question] Did not your committee devote too little attention to employee matters?

[Answer] On the contrary, in my opinion there is too much on this subject. A substantial amount of what is in the draft plan could be found in a general law on degrees, titles, and scientific positions, for example, the detailed decisions pertaining to adjuncts, library workers, et cetera. But there were the pressures of social factors to include these matters in the law, so the committee acceded, though assuredly not in a manner which exhausted the problem. Many of these problems will be more precisely specified in laws and regulations.

I would also like to add that the plan was discussed at the last meeting of PAN's Presidium. The Presidium introduced a series of improvements which had already been brought to its attention. In the very near future, the plan will be sent out for public consultation. That consultation comes rather late and presumably will not end before the General Assembly which is to take place on 18 December. Nonetheless, the plan will be discussed at it, together with such comments from the academic community as manage to arrive by that time.

Interview conducted by:
HUGON BUKOWSKI

10,433
CSO: 2600/138

POLITICAL BUREAU MEMBER LABECKI INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 11-13 Dec 81 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Jan Labecki, member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee, 1st Secretary of the Plant Committee: "I Am Talking About the Opposition..."; in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, date not given]

[Text] [Answer] In all conscience, I do not feel like talking today. This will not be a good interview. It has been a long time since I had such a bad day; I feel a bit sick.

[Question] It is only 9 o'clock in the morning; perhaps it will get better....

[Answer] If it could only get better by our talk....

[Question] Perphas your being out of humor is associated with the banner which said "Why is the big party afraid of small Confederation for Independent Poland?" (KPN) and was hung over gate number 2 yesterday without discussion or permission from the PZPR?

[Answer] The party banner on the front of accord hangs at gate 3. Those who put it up were pelted with screws.

[Question] By whom?

[Answer] I see a very unhealthy murderous frenzy. Our political opponents have abandoned all restraints. They are exceeding all limits since they are no longer threatening but using force.

[Question] What kind of people are they?

[Answer] In a nutshell: extremists. In general, they constitute a new type. They failed to attain their goals in the Solidarity National Commission; hence, they moved into large work plants. It is an ugly, new quality. I still believed in collective wisdom but now I am beginning to doubt....

[Question] During the last meeting with Warsaw students, you said that socialism has not existed in Poland for 36 years. Therefore, is the statement about anti-socialistic forces in the shipyard a misunderstanding in a pejorative sense?

[Answer] I am talking about the opposition, not about antisocialist forces. The concept "antisocialist forces" has often been used in the past for personal convenience. These words have not lost their value. On the other hand, the opposition must be spoken of honestly because it has existed from the beginning days of People's Poland. Should someone believe otherwise, he is wrong. E. Gierek surely was part of it, when he supported his activity with the thesis of unity and negation of social class divisions. We were artificially made to believe something which did not exist. The opposition always operated destructively on all levels of the economy. Those who worked underground against the peoples' authority did not subside suddenly. They only changed their methods of fighting. They discarded firearms and reached for an ideological weapon. I say this is why it was difficult to avoid greater misunderstandings in the party. It is also a fact that, if we were building real socialism consistent with people's feelings and Marxist-Leninist theory, then we could not be having cyclical crises.

[Question] You mentioned limits which must not be exceeded. Do they also pertain to the authorities?

[Answer] Of course they do if one wants to govern in a state and be respected and recognized. It is never permissible to stop listening to the majority of the people. It seems to me that, up to now, the party has not been concerned with this. What was coming in from basic organizations was disregarded. After all, those signals were and are an excellent barometer, a source of information. Just consider this with respect to the rich assortment of suggestions collected during the campaign before the 8th [Party] Congress.

[Question] Let us return to the shipyard opposition. Is the party trying to combat it?

[Answer] That is a group which nothing reaches. Nothing and nobody.

[Question] Is it large?

[Answer] It is not numerous. But they are fanatics who are going "all out." They are openly agitating for the return of capitalism. They have discarded all restraints.

[Question] Is it not possible to nip this very harmful phenomenon in the bud?

[Answer] I thought, however, that everyone understood that there were limits which could not be exceeded. It turns out otherwise.

[Question] It would be a real tragedy if the majority of the shipyard work force declared itself in favor of this opposition. Surely this is not so.

[Answer] However, people are entirely different in a private face-to-face talk, than, unfortunately, they are in a group. In short, they are afraid to say what they think.

[Question] One symptom, a reflection of Polish thinking, is contained in the many letters the party receives. Would not the attitudes of people not associated with the shipyard also have changed?

[Answer] At the moment, the degree of these people's determination is evident. That means that a substantial part definitely proclaims itself in favor of decisively cutting and ending these manifestations of anarchy because they no longer have the strength to thrive in such a tense atmosphere. Some simply regard the situation just as our all-out opponents do.

[Question] Do you feel that your understanding of the situation and social attitudes is complete? How often do you talk about what is happening in the shipyard to members of the Central Committee?

[Answer] I am in Warsaw once a week, thus, rather frequently. I have always spoken honestly about this and continue to do so. The longer I work in the leadership of the party, the more this forces me to look and think differently than I had when I belonged to the "bottom" echelon of the shipyard. Unfortunately, I come to such conclusions somewhat too often.

[Question] Could the differences in the thinking of "top" and "bottom" echelons be so great?

[Answer] The basic problem boils down to the fact that, at the moment, the "bottom" wants to think in terms of "top" categories although it has poor capabilities for observation or for objective evaluation. A very dangerous symptom. It does not lead to anything worthwhile. On the other hand, because of its low credibility, the "top" echelon cannot reach the consciousness of "bottom" echelons insofar as real problems are concerned. This is the truth.

[Question] There still are indirect elements.

[Answer] At the moment, it is not an element for wielding power. A complete disassociation.

[Question] Authentication of the party movement was counted on during the report-election campaign which preceded the 9th PZPR Congress.

[Answer] I will answer truthfully. The hard opposition did everything to obliterate the attainments of the Congress from the realm of consciousness. It must be admitted honestly that this was successful in large part. As a result, not much of an awareness of what was accomplished has remained. A terrifying number of "bottom" party echelons are generally not aware of the contents of party documents. It knows only that the Congress took place, that something was resolved, and that is all.

[Question] Perhaps you are exaggerating. At least the most essential facts are known, namely, that the party favored dialogue, resolving differences by political methods, introducing agricultural reforms....

[Answer] Yes, you journalists know that. You take an interest in such matters. Ask the average man in the street, he will say that everything is due to "Solidarity". Union propaganda enforces that. Here in the shipyard, the local radio center reduces brains to pulp.

[Question] Do you lack arguments?

[Answer] Sometimes we try to respond logically. This is not simple. I have arguments at hand. However, one cannot wield them in a closed cage. They must be addressed to the entire country, to all socio-political groups. In a word, it is necessary to search for something new. I travel around the country quite often and meet all kinds of people. I manage to convince many of them after hours of long discussions....

When I am asked a specific question in the course of my meetings, I try to give a specific answer. This kind of meeting took place several days ago in the shipyard KA [expansion unknown] Division. In my opinion, it was of benefit to both sides. We touched on all subjects from food to politics through personal accounts. It is necessary in direct contacts at present to act within the limits of our life such as it currently is.

[Question] We were impressed with the understanding of good work which reigns in the shipyard. We are very much surprised by your appraisals today.

[Answer] I already said that a new quality has appeared which has a bearing on the situation; a hard opposition has entered large work plants and wants to smash the party by force.

[Question] And is the party viewing this passively?

[Answer] Of course not. It is only that the effectiveness of our action is somewhat limited. A basic fact must be remembered. At every turn in our postwar history there has been the phenomena of division within the party with its concomitant interparty struggle. Naturally, in an internal struggle, one does not devote too much attention to an external opponent. I am convinced that antagonisms do no one any good.

I am most frightened, however, by the fact that the "bottom" echelon wants to do big things but has very little potential. If things go on like this, they will lead to tragedy. In an organized society, everyone ought to have his place and do his only job. Sensible people see that but are afraid to open their mouths. I tell the workers to speak their minds anonymously through the local radio center. Their response is--perhaps it is better if you do it comrade....

[Question] Do you feel that your authority as a party activist in the shipyard has decreased lately?

[Answer] What I see rather is that I cannot depend on too many helpers. I am thinking of all of those characterized by good judgment. I am beginning to wonder now whether there are so few of them, or whether they prefer to sit quietly and, by their silence, automatically support the opponent.

[Question] Perhaps "Solidarity" is also beginning to lose control over the "new quality".

[Answer] Conversely, everything is happening with the blessing of "Solidarity". If it only wanted to take control, but the devil of it is that it does not want to. I'll say more--that a certain number of people selected by "Solidarity" authorities adjust and wind up this spring. Remember that the shaping of this union is decided by large enterprise plants. This is the situation in the shipyard.

[Question] Is not one of the reasons for such a turn of affairs the fact that the party's membership consists primarily of the older part of society and "Solidarity" of the younger? The source of our troubles is the economic crisis. A crisis immediately affects young people. Actually, youth has nothing to lose and that is why it listens to the ideas of the political opposition.

[Answer] You are referring to the theory of the generation struggle. However, youth which have arrived at the voting age want to sanction lawlessness. One cannot agree to that.

[Question] If everyone sanctions lawlessness, then that lawlessness becomes law.

[Answer] That must not be said because we would be sanctioning anarchy, terrorism, and antidemocratic order.

[Question] Prior to our meeting, we talked with the leadership of the shipyard's Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP). Activists of this organization say that they already have their first successes in their work. They stimulated young people to seek so-called [pustostanow]. About 200 to 300 interested persons show up for meetings. Now they have publicized winter camps. Action bears fruit. Action being a struggle for souls. As First Secretary of the Plant Committee in the Lenin Shipyard, don't you think that the party organization ought to redirect its action, particularly with respect to young people?

[Answer] It's easy to talk. After August, it suddenly turned out that everything needs to be changed and improved. This occupied a great deal of our time. A person raced around from day to day, slept 3 to 4 hours a night, did not eat or rest. As long as one moved forward, onward. Even so, I visit young people more often than they visit me. I will not say too often. A joint meeting of the Plant Committee and Plant Board is to take place soon. There simply was no time previously.

I have believed and continue to believe that economic reform and self-government have no shortage of problems. Toward the end of March, we and the workers' council took action as did "Solidarity" which met three times with us. When they saw that they had other goals, they did not pursue the subject further, that is, until they organized "Siec".

[Question] Would people not become involved in creating self-governing structures?

[Answer] Not now. We already are at the point of a selected but not yet established self-governing body.

[Question] After the economic reform becomes effective, what role should the party have in the plant?

[Answer] A shipyard is a bad example because it does not produce for the market. On the other hand, the party ought to concern itself with the protection of social goals in every other plant. At present, a model has formed in which everyone remembers everything with the exception of fulfilling social demands. I cannot imagine that Poles will roll up their sleeves and get to work after the reform. Neither do I believe in the miracle that that self-governing body will be paying attention to social goals. On the contrary, plant parochialism and gain criteria will arise. The party may expose these weak points and care about everybody's welfare.

I see a terrible devastation of people's minds and a decline in the principle of good work. Substantially greater destruction in this regard occurred after September than in the course of the entire 36-year postwar period. Everyone fills only his own fist and his own mouth. I am aware of the importance of these words.

[Question] We see a "snag" in your reasoning.

[Answer] I know, there is more than one.

[Question] We think that, after the reform becomes effective, workers will begin to calculate and readily realize that an increase in production is the greatest guarantor of increased profits and, therefore, of wages.

[Answer] Not here in the shipyard. The shipbuilding industry is not profitable anywhere in the world. In Poland, it is also subsidized. Why should anyone do any calculating when it is known that the state will make it up anyway. There will never be profit here, only losses. One needs to look at the shipbuilding branch soley from a social standpoint, that is, that thousands of people have employment and that what they are building might be sold for dollars.

Until we will understand that we work poorly as a nation, then we have nothing to dream about. Dream of a Japan--what kind of Japan? 'Tis but to laugh. One wanted to build Poland one way, another deludes us with a second Japan....

[Question] You say that the shipyard is seething. That is something that is not perceptible to the average observer outside of the gate. The plant is regarded nationally as being peaceful just like the voivodship in which it is located.

[Answer] The most frequent cause of conflicts are people, particularly the decisions they make. That is why I believe that anyone who is unqualified to fulfill managerial functions must go, there must be no exceptions. There is no room for incompetents in Gdansk voivodship. We are making many decisions of this kind. We will not be paying for representation. As long as I am here and

perform this highest function for the party, all unfit workers will have to change jobs. We cannot allow a situation in which the wholesale establishment distributes goods, while invoices are the only things that reach the store. Someone has to be responsible for that. If there are no people, then let it be the manager or the director. A state of dissolution, of everything falling to pieces without anyone's fault, can no longer be tolerated.

[Question] Does the party have enough strength to lead the country out of the crisis?

[Answer] It ought to have. However, one condition must be fulfilled, namely, the consolidation of the PZPR.

[Question] You said that before the 9th Congress.

[Answer] And I continue to say that because, as I mentioned, it has not yet come to that. It is true that the party was disarmed ideologically. The PZPR is now seeking its identity. Much time will elapse before it comes to that. The party will unite. I am not concerned about fractional divisions, although such exist and feud with one another.

[Question] You perform two responsible party functions, something that surely is not easy. Do you feel that the shipyard workers consider you to be a man of the "top" echelon who is manipulating the "bottom" echelons?

[Answer] This is a substantially more complex problem for someone who fulfills two party functions. I am at all times responsible to my own "I" because I want to be honest with myself as well as with everyone else. On the other hand, I was able to become aware of many things which I did not previously know. I wanted to avoid the designation "politician". Now I know that is no longer possible.

[Question] Every step of yours is observed carefully by the opposition.

[Answer] I know that and it constitutes an additional burden of restrictions. It is necessary to constantly watch one's activity and words. Even when I say something in good faith, and I have the right to make a mistake, then everybody judges me not as a worker, but as a member of the party authorities and a politician. In any event, comrades in the Political Bureau who do not perform any functions in their party mother organizations are less than half as busy as we. If I were working only in the area of my work plant, I would feel substantially better physically. Unfortunately, I now note the condition of the national party, trade unions, the opposition, and external conditions. However, I am not thinking of how to survive, live through the difficulties and be a member of the bureau in a different position. I know my place in the ranks well. I know where I am supposed to go. I know that I will leave. The dilemma in the selection of macro- or micropolitician would occur if I had to try to act on my own and look out for my own interest. I don't have those problems. The most important task for me is the defense of the party in the shipyard to ensure that it does not allow itself to be pushed out of its position. I want to fulfill this responsibility as long as I have the strength to do it.

[Question] We feel that, in spite of everything, you are an optimist.

[Answer] I must be. The deeper the crisis gets, the more strongly we feel the fatigue and the the greater the yearning for normal, human, and just life.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

Interview conducted by:

Ewa Grunert
Marek Ryczkowski

10433
CSO: 2600/130

VARIED MILITARY ACTIVITIES UNDER MARTIAL LAW REPORTED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 14 Dec 81 pp 1, 5

[Article by (K-cl ?) and (S. L.)]

[Text] The introduction of martial law throughout the entire country has placed special tasks before our armed forces, tasks of preserving law and order and public security, which demand quick, decisive action.

According to the statements made by the representatives of several military units and institutions across the nation, in the 3 days since the state of greatest national necessity was introduced, soldiers have patrolled streets and railway stations in the cities and they have protected state buildings and buildings serving the public. Under the new conditions of martial law, local city operational groups have assisted inhabitants to solve numerous problems. Military plenipotentiares--the commissars of the National Defense Committee [KOK] from particular ministries have set to work. Together with law and order forces, soldiers have participated in restoring the normal course of work in some enterprises and production plants. The execution of special tasks is not interfering with the implementation of intensive military winter training programs.

At their meetings, soldier teams report on the necessity of immediately counteracting cases of the violation of law and order and disruptions of the normal rhythm of the life and work of society. Amid their statements the predominant view is that what is indispensable is the consistent and public execution of compulsory martial law; although severe and often ruthless, it is necessary under the current situation which threatens the state.

In the Pila MGO [city operational groups]

City operational groups are at work in the Pila voivodship under the new conditions of martial law. According to the reports of group leaders, Lt Col Marian Bukowski (in Pila) and Lt Col Jerzy Walendzinski (in Valcz), the new situation was a shock to the region's inhabitants and the sudden intervention of operational groups was received anxiously, almost with dread. In a certain sense the shock facilitated the work of the soldiers, who are now able more rapidly and without conflict to eliminate the deficiencies and shortcomings observed during the first days of work.

Military operational groups cooperate closely with law and order forces. The deputy chief of the Voivodship Military Headquarters in Pila for political affairs, however, stresses that there has not yet been an opportunity for decisive intervention in disruptions of order and calm. Thus, they are continuing their work, most important of which are problems of housing construction, transportation and supplying people with rationed food products.

The work of military operational groups in the Pila voivodship continues to be accompanied by the unflagging recognition and support of broad circles of society, which makes known cases of dishonesty and waste, points out examples of mismanagement and makes requests for intervention under the most varied of circumstances.

At the Foot of the Wawel

The soldiers in subunits of the Sixth Pomorze Airraid Division have received the news concerning the establishment of a Military Council of National Salvation, under the leadership of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski and the announcement of martial law in the country with understanding and gravity.

Beginning at dawn on 13 December, paratroopers set about implementing tasks resulting from the situation which threatens the state, i.e., ensuring law and order and public safety, immediately counteracting all phenomena which violate the principles of law and order and creating conditions to guarantee the unbroken progress of work and production in offices, public service buildings, institutions and industrial plants.

The soldiers protect structures that are important for city life, including buildings, water intakes and radio-television broadcasting stations. They also control traffic on city streets.

Many soldiers wearing red berets express their concern over the fate of the country and ove- the fortunes of those close to them. At the same time, they stress the need to undertake radical steps and ruthless means of coercion against those traitors to the nation who, hiding behind the workers, are provoking intense confrontation and causing bloodshed. Staff Sergeant Stanislaw Blaszczak emphasizes that instigators should receive the stiffest penalties granted under compulsory martial law, and that the sentences passed on them by military courts should be announced in the mass media.

Among the Tank Corpsmen

Members of the Union of Former Professional Soldiers joined in the special work of the soldiers of the First Warsaw Tank Regiment named for the Heroes of Westerplatte. Joint patrols in the streets and throughout the city quarters ensure calm for city residents. As we were informed by Lt Col Henryk Miszterkiewicz, the Pomorze tank corpsmen also implement training programs effectively. Activities for perfecting the special functional skills of personnel and simulations are continuing in the subunits. Preparations for the winter firing school which awaits the regiment in the next few weeks are also being made. Plans are being made for firing tanks directly and from concealed firing positions and for individual firing from machine weaponry, as well as for numerous tests and simulation drills within the subunit.

Lt Col Miszterkiewicz emphasizes the sense of obligation felt by soldiers on vacation and on leave and the tank corpsmen's sense of the gravity of the situation. With the news that martial law had been announced in the country, they interrupted their vacations and reported to their subunits by Monday. Many of them express the view that only through decisive, consistent action now will the nation be victorious over lawlessness, anarchy and the rashness of the "Solidarity" extremists, who are working together with various kinds of "renewal" people toward the ruin of socialist Poland.

In Dolny Slask

The rhythm and character of life and service in the units and garrisons of the Slask Military District have changed diametrically with the introduction of martial law throughout the country. Above all, the responsibility of all soldiers to maintain order in the country, guaranteeing the efficient operation of the state organism, has increased.

According to information we have from units, the decision to introduce martial law was received with understanding in the soldier's community. Emphasis is being placed on exemplary discipline, sacrifice in the fulfillment of tasks and the intense vigilance of all at their posts.

Staff Master Sergeant Stanislaw Szewczyk said, "Martial law found me on duty. I was not surprised by it, it had to happen, since the counterrevolutionary deeds of "Solidarity's" leaders, the strikes and the increasing anarchy were leading the country into ruin. In the end, a stop had to be put to this. I have been in the army for 30 years, and was soon to retire. But because of the current national situation, I will serve as long as the situation warrants. I believe, however, that our fatherland will regenerate itself, and that all Poles will pull themselves together to raise the country up out of its fallen state."

When martial law was declared, Reserve Master Sergeant Antoni Koziol was on guard duty. "When I heard on the radio that martial law had been declared," he said, "my first thoughts were of my family back home. The decided majority of "Solidarity" members in my plant wish to work honestly and peacefully. I believe that national harmony will come into being. As a reserve soldier I can assure you that all tasks that my superiors order me to execute will be fulfilled in an exemplary manner."

When martial law was announced, many reserve soldiers and former professional soldiers volunteered for units in the Slask Military District. They expressed their readiness to don the soldier's uniform immediately and to embark on military service. Reserve Lt Col Zdzislaw Glogowski, who had served in a unit of combat engineers, sent a note to the unit leader asking to be recalled into military service. Colonel Glogowski writes in his statement: "My request is motivated by the fact that as a soldier formerly in the KBW [Internal Security Corps], I defended the authority of the people. Now, when the fatherland finds itself in danger, I wish once again to fulfill my patriotic duty and stand in defense of the people's authority."

They Patrol the Bridges

It is 6 o'clock. One can go out into the streets of Warsaw. People are making their way to the factories. There are few private cars about. On the other hand, the trams and buses are very crowded. A shadow of pensiveness seems to be cast over the faces of the inhabitants. Are they thinking only of the work that awaits them? They are probably also wondering what tomorrow will bring. The wish of the premier is that calm be maintained. Is there calm everywhere in the country? Have the people everywhere gone to work?

After 8 o'clock there are fewer people on the streets. There are also fewer cars on the roadways. But many vehicles cross the bridges which link the two banks of the Wisla. Bridges are important. In military language it is said that they fulfill a strategic function. The Wisla cuts the city into two parts. These two halves of the city must be joined. They can only be joined by bridges. Warsaw's bridges have their tradition. They were built during various periods--built and destroyed. They were rebuilt during various periods. Most recently, they were rebuilt after World War II, when Warsaw rose up out of its ashes.

The soldiers who bore Poland's freedom made a forced crossing of the Wisla. Soldiers also, among others, rebuilt the bridges which were destroyed by the invader. And now the time has come for soldiers to protect these bridges as they safeguard law and order in the land.

This is a time of unrest, a time of martial law. The bridges are neuralgic passageways in the lives of one and one-half million residents in a city separated by a river. These locations must be made safe, and traffic must run smoothly on them, without disruption. I met some soldiers on one of these bridges. I know their leader, Captain Tadeusz Pusz.

"For us," said the officer, "this is a sort of training in protecting and defending a structure. But it is too bad that this training is taking place during martial law. But it cannot be helped. There was no other way out: the situation was not resolved. Now it is important that we execute every undertaking, every task, every order expertly, in an exemplary manner. I am certain that my soldiers will likewise execute every command exemplarily. I am as sure of them as I am of myself."

I have known the captain for several years. He is a graduate of the Higher Engineer Officers School [WSOWInz.]. He is a leader, a combat engineer. We have met many times: in his garrison, on the firing range, over the rivers, when he was building bridges. Most of our meetings occurred during the building of bridges for society, for the national economy.

When we met in November of this year at a bridge being constructed by soldiers over the San River in Sanok, the captain said that it was the sixth bridge being built by him and his men in 1981. This sixth bridge was the most difficult to build. The river bottom was exceptionally hard, rocky and inaccessible. At first it was impossible to pound in supports. But the soldiers managed to deal with the adverse conditions of the terrain. The bridge was erected linking the two banks of the river.

The combat engineers returned to their garrison feeling that they had done their duty well. Not for long. Their next soldierly obligation was to report to Warsaw, to the bridges joining the two parts of the city.

They patrol the bridges. They check the vehicles crossing these bridges. They cooperate with MO [Citizen's Militia] officials. Their leader, Lt Ryszard Rybak, said:

"We have been working along with Captain Pusz for over 10 hours. I am full of admiration for the professionalism of this officer in every matter. And I am full of admiration for the sense of sacrifice of his subordinates. We are on guard here day and night."

Captain Pusz said: "I would rather build bridges than defend them. During the building process one sees something be made, something being made new again. And every bridge that is created serves society. And that is what has always pleased me the most, given me the greatest satisfaction. But what can we do, combat engineers do more than build roads and bridges. Under martial law combat engineers, like all soldiers, act in accordance with needs, with the situation."

From the bridge on which we stand one can see the Lazienki Route and the Wisla Highway. These are likewise the fruit of soldiers' work. Further on, over the Wisla, where the Torun Route intersects with the Wisla Highway, Captain Pusz's men took part in operation "Wiadukt" viaduct. They erected a structure of Bailye [sic!] combat engineers' bridges. The operation consisted of removing the supporting structure from under a ready-made carrying panel, lowering it, transferring it and once again mounting it to construct another section of the viaduct. The operation went quickly and smoothly. Thanks to the combat engineers, the national economy saved several million zlotys.

Captain Tadeusz Pusz has directed the construction of many bridges over Polish rivers--over the Pilica, the Bzura, the Sola, the Raba and the Wkra. But not only did they build bridges. They also built houses, roads and highways. But he recalls the building of bridges with the greatest sentiment. He would rather be in the garrison. But for the present martial law does not allow this. However, the captain believes that the situation will become normalized and that all people will return to work--all of them. The mass meetings, the debating and the organizing of strikes have stopped. Maybe real, honest, productive men will go back to building bridges.

But everything depends on whether things will calm down, on whether law and order, so indispensable, will prevail. We believe that they will.

It is the 22nd hour. The streets are deserted. Captain Pusz's men and Lieutenant Rybak's men stand guard at their posts.

(S. L.)

8536
CSO: 2600/162

PAPER PROTESTS ARREST OF SERBS IN GRACANICA

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 81 p 6

[Article by Mirko Cupic: "Epilogue of a Celebration"]

[Text] The celebration of the day of the liberation of Pristina on 19 November this year will leave an unpleasant memory with the inhabitants of the village of Gracanica, and with others as well. The commemoration of this significant date in the history of the peoples and nationalities of Kosovo was spoiled by an event that ended an exceptional holiday. What happened?

After the joint program presented by the members of the Zivojin Jovanovic KUD and the Janicije Popovic Amateur Theater from Gracanica, a supper was arranged for those participating in the program, in the "Gracanica" private restaurant. The young men and women were still in the same mood in which they had previously entertained several hundred spectators of their performance. Everything went very well while the songs "Yugoslavia" and "Oh Rade, oh Radmila" were being sung, but unpleasant scenes took place when the song "Oh Commander Sindjelic" was sung. Four workers from "Bosna-Put," who were sitting at a neighboring table, began to break glasses and bottles, as a result of which the owner of the cafe, Branislav Djekic, asked them to leave. The only one left at that table was their friend, Hamit Bejta, from the Klina area. When closing time was announced, and the guests had to leave the cafe, Bejta approached Srboljub Popovic and asked him, "Who is that commander Sindjelic?" "Where have you been living? You really haven't heard of Sindjelic?" Popovic answered. "No, I haven't," said Bejta; "I'm an Albanian." In response to this, Popovic added, "That's your business."

While the guests were on the street, a police car appeared from the direction of Kisnica. Simon Simoni, the commander of the Second Police Station in Pristina, stopped the car and asked them, "Are there any problems?" When they answered that there were none, Hamit Bejta began to shout, "Look, comrades, at that one," pointing out Popovic, "he told me that if I'm an Albanian I should go to Albania." Over twenty of those present reacted to this accusation by asserting that it was incorrect, but Commander Simon Simoni got out of the car and told Popovic and Bejta to go with him, while he ordered the rest to go home. He quickly changed his mind and issued a second order: "No one is to leave." At the same time, Simoni approached Srecko Todorovic and roughly pulled him out of his car. As he did this the commander's hat fell off his head; he later used this to accuse Todorovic of physical assault against an official.

Since he had meanwhile received reinforcements from Pristina, Simoni arranged for arrests. Thus the following people were put in jail after midnight: Srboljub Popovic, Srecko Todorovic, Momir Todic, Dragan Maksimovic, and Jovica Nikolic. The arrest of Dragan Todorovic did not take place until the following day, when he brought his father to the Communal Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Pristina, so that they could find out what had happened to his brother, and his father's son. When Simon Simoni heard that Dragan was the brother of the arrested Srecko, he addressed him with the following words: "You are under arrest too, because you were probably with your brother last night(!)" Although the police station in Gracanica is 200 meters away from the location of the incident, the police commander in Gracanica was not informed of what had happened. It should also be said that except for Jovica Nikolic none of the other five young men had been in the company of the Gracanica amateur actors at the holiday supper.

The next day, 20 November, the six young men were brought before Bakija Krasnicija, the Communal Court magistrate. Judging by the way this trial took place, it appears that the role of prosecutor was played by Hamit Bejta, on whose statement all of the charges were based. This is best confirmed by the fact that both Simoni and Bejta stated one thing in their reports, and something quite different when they were before the judge. None of the witnesses offered by the young men arrested were heard, not even the "Bosna-Put" workers in whose company Bejta had been, and who had been involved in the uproar in the cafe.

The arguments for the arrest and sentencing of the six young men can best be seen from this court's decision, UP.I.15886/81 of 20 November. In explaining the sentence of 60 days' imprisonment given by the judge to Srboljub Popovic and Srecko Todorovic, it says that the two of them "insulted and cursed the Albanian mother of Hamit Bejta," and that Todorovic threatened him. It is interesting that the other four, who were sentenced to 30 days in jail apiece, according to the decision, were convicted because "they did not leave the location of the incident." As the decision emphasized, some of them were held responsible for "joining the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs police..." There were no other charges.

The incident caused great disturbance in Gracanica, and elsewhere as well, because this is a village concerning which it has always and everywhere been emphasized that it is a model of how one should foster the brotherhood and unity and other legacies of World War II and the Revolution; and so it is understandable that the public demanded an explanation from the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, as well as from the sociopolitical bodies, for what happened. Instead of replying, as was stated at a meeting of the LC basic organization in Gracanica, Simon Simoni announced new arrests, commenting that he would "straighten out Gracanica." Such a statement angered the village even more, as well as all of the sociopolitical organizations, which sharply criticized such actions at a special joint meeting (held on 21 November) which was attended by representatives of the Pristina SO, the Communal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and the Executive Council of Kosovo. The Communists, as well as all of the citizens of Gracanica, are of the unanimous opinion that every offense must be punished, but also that occurrences of fabricated trials, which this one is in their opinion, must be resolutely opposed.

What life is like in Gracanica is best confirmed by the words of Djemalj Kucije, a retired policeman, who stated the following at the 23 November meeting of the Gracanica LC basic organization:

"I have been living here for 20 whole years. No one has looked crosswise at me or my family either earlier or now, and no one has ever teased or insulted my children. And I know that these young men are honest and respectable."

It is expected that the commune's sociopolitical bodies and other officials will soon discover who has stirred up Gracanica, and why.

9909
CSO: 2800/155

CAUSES OF RECENT WORK STOPPAGES EXAMINED

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 201, 7 Nov 81 pp 23-24

[Article by Ljiljana Nikolic]

[Text] A strike in the Yugoslav manner begins spontaneously, lasts 6 hours on the average, and what is most important, the immediate causes are quickly neutralized, but not the real problems about which the workers are protesting.

Darko Marinkovic, who recently received his master's degree in political sciences, described the situation as follows: "Despite certain positive changes that have come as a result of the democratization of society, strikes here in Yugoslavia still are a 'taboo' subject, or at least one about which we rarely and reluctantly speak. Facts about them are generally known only to the leaders." Marinkovic is employed by the Trade Union League of Serbia, and he has been analyzing this phenomenon for several years, and used it as the topic of his master's thesis.

This "taboo" theme, or as Marinkovic also calls it this "contradictory manifestation of socialist society," is apparently more often discussed and debated in theoretical and political spheres than in the places where it occurs, among the workers.

In mid-year the Presidium of the Yugoslav Trade Union League discussed "work stoppages" among other topics. The data were presented that last year there were 245 strikes in Yugoslavia, while in the first 3 months of 1981 there were 65.

This was regarded to be an essentially insignificant number, since there are 62,000 basic organizations of associated labor, with nearly 6 million employees, in the country, and there are increasing economic difficulties. Some 13,000 workers participated in all work stoppages combined. The number of stoppages is growing slightly, but the number of workers taking part is declining, according to the discussion. The number of workers involved ranged from 5 to 250, with most stoppages involving about 10 workers. The stoppages lasted as a rule a few hours of the day, and included only part of the labor organization.

The communications media also noted the information presented at this meeting, but there was no reference to the locations of the strikes, why the workers struck, or how they ended. According to present practice, only in Slovenia and Crotia are strikes given adequate regard and their causes and results studied. In Slovenia as well, the public is informed about every strike with at least a brief news report.

We would remind the reader that in June 1978, when the workers at the steel plant at Ravno na Koroskem went out on strike, or as we usually say, stopped work, it was a matter of low wages. At that time France Popit, president of the Central Committee of the Slovenian LC, personally went to the factory. Before him, however, teams of trained specialists arrived to study the causes and explain them in detail.

For Small Cause But Effective

Dr Neca Jovanov, the only person in Yugoslavia to receive a doctorate for strike research, says that "nowhere do people strike for such small cause, or with such good effectiveness, as here in Yugoslavia."

The accuracy of this statement is confirmed by the reaction of a trade union delegation from England, whose members laughed merrily when they heard what we call a "work stoppage." It was incomprehensible to them that work stoppages included instances where work was interrupted for half an hour, with 3-4 workers participating.

Most commonly, by stopping work the workers want to correct errors made in the distribution of personal income, because of improper housing assignment, lengthy waits for the payment of wages, or postponement of their annual vacations. Ideology and class consciousness obviously are not separated from the mouth and the stomach.

Most of the strikes are in the metal and electrical industries, along with textiles and construction activities. As Marinkovic stresses, they happen most frequently in those branches and activities where, for long periods of time, the industry has been in a poor material situation that has directly affected the workers' standard of living. These are branches with large numbers of workers, where intensive labor utilization puts a noticeable burden on income, and on the funds available for personal income distribution in the collectives involved. Large amounts of capital are necessary for production advancement, but they are lacking due to low rates of capital accumulation in these industries, as well as large payments required by sociopolitical communities. There are far fewer strikes, or none at all, in non-metal industries, graphics, chemicals, transportation, and community service activities. As a rule, the strikers are workers involved in material production, "my comrade in heavy industry," who also has as a rule a lower personal income than that received by those employed in administration. Bankers, merchants and the administrators "tangle the lines" of the economy, and they never strike.

According to an analysis prepared in Slovenia, more than a third of the cases of work stoppages occur because of improper implementation of self-management decisions, ineffectiveness and inactivity by self-management agencies, lack of information among the workers, and the failure to respect general self-management acts. These are the causes, but the immediate triggering events are often extremely innocuous. Darko Marinkovic says, "A man always wonders how such a minor, petty incident could provoke a strike." Most often it is a matter of devaluing the points for work performed relative to the planned or expected value, or delays in wage payment. This happens as a rule in collectives where the self-management relationships have been disturbed for a period of time, so that the apparent petty reason practically amounts to the last straw. For example, Marinkovic cites the situations that frequently occur where work stoppages have come because wages were not paid on the first of the month, but rather on the fifth, for various reasons. "Perhaps the collective did

not have sufficient funds in its bank account, or maybe the responsible service office was late in doing its work. The key, however, is not that the workers received their wages 5 days late, for certainly no one would have starved to death. The workers reacted because none of the leaders explained what was happening to them for days, they did not inform them as to why their wages were late or when they would receive them."

As Mika Spiljak once said: "Whenever there is a strike in some collective, it is immediately clear that the trade union has not done what it should have, and that the worker, for whatever reason, has not used the rights that legally belong to him. Someone, somewhere and by some method prevented it.... Usually a group of people gathers, including the factory director, the president of the workers' council, and party and trade union leaders, along with someone from the management. They always know how to reach agreement among themselves and how to make decisions about which the workers fail to ask enough questions."

The following case offers a concrete example: At the end of June this year, 20 workers of the Elektra basic organization of associated labor in Dubrovnik stopped work because their wages were not paid. As is usually the case, the funds for payment were found very quickly. Yet the problems that beset this collective, and that were the underlying causes for the work stoppage, remained after the strike. The opstina trade union council concluded that the collective's leaders has been irresponsible with public property, that the workers were uninformed, and that the collective had no meeting procedure, workers' control or disciplinary commission.

What Do The Workers Say?

Darko Marinkovic asserts that the workers who participated in the strikes frequently take the position that those who do not directly produce income often fare the best in the society. They also express their dissatisfaction at the high wages paid to workers in banks, insurance agencies and self-management interest communities, as well as the high wages of workers in other branches of industry and groups of activities, which the strikers regard to be unjustified.

Analyses made in a number of collectives which had experienced strikes show that the workers increasingly believe that to realize their controlling positions in organizations of associated labor they must resort more often to workers meetings and the self-management decision-making process in its entirety. They must be much more active and militant at their meetings, and most importantly, they must prevent others from imposing decisions on them that are not in their best interests, or do not further their capabilities to the utmost. This conclusion is supported by the fact that most strikes happened spontaneously, were transformed into workers' meetings in an organized manner, and then the causes that led to the strike were presented and suggestions were made to resolve the problems.

The workers have also always been careful to avoid any sort of violent incidents, such as breakage of machinery or other damage to their work collective. This sort of behavior comes from a simple fact that every worker knows: If they were to break the machinery, after the strike they would have to earn the money to repair it in order to have something to perform their work on. Actually, the strikers have sought to protect the basis premises of self-management, and that provides an answer to the question as to how there can be strikes in a socialist society, and against whom the workers in it are striking.

In the Yugoslav legal and political system, there is no special definition given of the state's relationship to strikes; i.e., no single law mentions the worker's right to strike. Neither the Constitution or the other laws, however, forbids the workers from protecting their interests or expressing their attitudes, even by means of strikes. As Mika Spiljak once said, "here strikes are not permitted, but neither are they forbidden."

Yugoslavia is a signatory of the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, under which the signatory states are obliged to provide, among other things, the right to strike.

The Yugoslav worker, however, knows that the strike is the last resort, to which one resorts when all major self-management devices fail.

12131
CSO: 2800/164

BRIEFS

RECALL OF MACEDONIAN DELEGATE--The Presidency of the Executive Committee of the SAWP of Macedonia supports the proposal to take action for the recall of Kimete Agai as delegate to the Social-Political Council of the Assembly of Macedonia due to the fact that he came into conflict with the ideological-political platform of the LCY, for which he was expelled from membership in the League of Communists. By way of explanation of this recall, among other things it was stated that Kimete Agai, as a professor of Albanian literature at the Pedagogical Academy in Skopje is "morally and politically responsible for the fact that his reading book for the fifth grade (in the Albanian language) contains texts that could arouse nationalistic feelings." /Text/ /Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 26 Dec 81 p 3/

NEW FOREIGN RELATIONS OFFICIAL--The Macedonian Social Council for Relations with Foreign Countries held a session on 25 December chaired by Vlado Maleski, member of the Presidency of Macedonia and president of the Council. At the session the Council discussed the anti-Yugoslav contents of the celebration of the "1300th anniversary of the formation of the Bulgarian state" in Bulgaria and abroad. In this regard, the reflection of the attitudes and actions of Sofia in connection with this celebration on Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations was also noted. Since the mandate of the current president of the Council has expired, Tome Buklevski, member of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communist of Macedonia, was elected president of the Republican Social Council for Relations with Foreign Countries with a one-year mandate. /Text/ /Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 26 Dec 81 p 3/

CSO: 2800/191

END

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1970

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No. 1970

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GDR WRITERS' CRITICAL VIEWS AT BERLIN 'PEACE MEETING' REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Jan 82 p 9

[Current Affairs' feature article: "To Declare War On the Lie, That Is What Matters -- Four Comments by GDR Writers at the 'Berlin Meeting for the Promotion of Peace,' Unpublicized in the GDR"]

[Text] If the SED leadership were to take stock today of the "Berlin Meeting for the Promotion of Peace" with writers and scientists from East and West -- a meeting inspired by the East Berlin writer and upper-middle-class,old-style communist Stephan Hermlin, and also organized by him alone with the blessing of Erich Honecker, whom Hermlin admires and holds in high esteem -- the internal arguments for and against the meeting would probably be even more heated than before the event. Involved here are the incalculable consequences for GDR domestic policy. The critics of this undertaking can point to the fact that the feared spread to the GDR of the Western "peace movement" -- which is spontaneous, multifaceted and attractive to young people -- has now actually happened. The SED's security experts had wanted to prevent this spread or at least limit it to easily controllable church circles. Now that the "Berlin Meeting" has been held, this is no longer possible. Nor can the infection be made to retreat by means of threats like those made by Politburo official Werner Walde. At the Third SED Central Committee Plenum in late November, Walde, an SED Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Cottbus SED Bezirk Directorate, had made the following remarks: "Nor will the enemy have any chance to use its phrase referring to the so-called social 'peace service' to protest the necessary military strengthening of socialism, no matter who may call for such actions that are inimical to peace, socialism and the constitution. These people forget in this regard that our entire republic is a social peace service."

Influenced by discussions at the Hamburg church congress on the subject of peace, conducted mainly by young people -- discussions which had also given Stephan Hermlin the idea of a meeting of writers from East and West to promote peace -- since last summer, several thousand young people in the GDR have petitioned church authorities to ask state authorities to institute a "social peace service" as a

substitute for military service in the National People's Army. Last fall, the synod of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR and the synods of all eight Land churches had lined up behind this demand. State authorities, however, not only let it be known that the introduction of this kind of substitute for military service was out of the question; they also sought to nip the discussions in the bud and prevented any public mention of them in the GDR.

The "Berlin Meeting" of writers and scientists made it evident that the peace debate in the GDR could not be stifled, that the question of what the individual and society can do to promote peace is alive. Now it is not only the clerics who, behind thick church walls, are reflecting on conscientious objection and service in the cause of peace, the outlawing of war toys, unilateral disarmament concessions and pacifist ideas expressed in the motto "Peace Without Weapons"; now it is well-known, successful and respected GDR writers who are openly discussing these topics. This is because the "Berlin Meeting" organized by Stephan Hermlin did not take place behind closed doors: Hermlin's condition that it had to be public -- that Western correspondents and Western television had to be allowed to attend, with no restrictions on their reporting -- was fulfilled. Thus, the occasion was truly a public one. Even though GDR radio and television, like the GDR newspapers, were intent on selective, one-sided coverage, reporting only on the presentations that followed the party line -- under the motto "Peace Must Be Armed" -- keeping silent on those that expressed other opinions, the coverage offered by the Western television companies made it possible for nearly all GDR residents to obtain a picture of what was discussed at this meeting, to ascertain that the rift cuts right through the ranks of GDR writers.

Stephan Hermlin had made this remark in an interview prior to the meeting: "I should like as many as possible in my country to be discussing thoughts on peace." Thanks to his meeting, this wish has been brought closer to fulfillment. It is doubtful whether this is pleasing to the party leaders in Moscow and East Berlin. In the same interview, Hermlin had described the Western "peace movement" as the really "totally new thing" produced by 1981; he added this comment: "I believe that increased democracy can come out of this, here as well as there." That the spread of the "peace movement" to the GDR will bring increased democracy there -- meaning greater freedom as well -- is only a dream for the time being. But it was also only a dream at first that something like the meeting of writers from East and West for the promotion of peace could happen. Now Hermlin can say this: "I have fulfilled a dream of mine, and I wish I didn't have to wake up."

The full texts of the presentations by Stephan Hermlin, Franz Fuchmann, Guenter de Bruyn and Rolf Schneider follow. They were not even mentioned by the GDR media. Peter Jochen Winters (FAZ writer)

Stephan Hermlin

When I ask myself what it is that distinguishes our present situation from earlier crisis situations, I arrive at the following conclusions: 1. The role of force in political relations has changed. 2. A curious contradiction has arisen between the legitimate right of states to self-defense for the purpose of protecting their integrity and sovereignty and nuclear defensive measures that from the beginning are suicidal in nature and lead to self-destruction. The debate over the stationing of intermediate-range missiles in densely populated areas has pointed up this contradiction. 3. War, which despite its steadily increasing ghastliness has been able to maintain a character protective of life and morality right up to the threshhold of the present day — I have in mind above all the defensive struggle by the anti-Hitler coalition against fascism -- has become an absurdity. It can no longer be an instrument with which to gain a political end, as it was for Clausewitz; it must be outlawed.

4. A reduction ultimately leading to the total abolition of atomic weapons would be a tremendous success, but it would not be sufficient. The scientific capabilities that exist would necessarily transform a conventional war into a nuclear war if one of the warring parties were to find itself losing the contest. The outlawing of war in any form is becoming the crucial demand facing mankind.

The slogan "Peace Without Weapons," which has taken possession of large segments of the youth population, has within it the essence of a grand utopia; which is to say that it has real substance. Although it seems scarcely plausible that disarmament could be carried out any other way than simultaneously and on the basis of equivalence, the demand for unilateral disarmament is not to be ignored. It has intensified and cannot simply be pushed aside.

In this connection I should like to cite a remarkable document that first came to light this year. On 18 December 1917, 2 months after the October Revolution, the JOURNAL DE GENEVE had published an "Open Letter from a German to Herr Lenin," written by a German pacifist by the name of Fernau. In his letter, Fernau welcomed the new Soviet government's peace initiatives but criticized the government at the same time for entering into peace negotiations with the reactionary German government. Lenin's reply — which is not found in the edition of his collected works and, as I said, was published only this year as No 3 in the series of "Articles on the History of the Workers Movement" -- read as follows:

"Militarism has lasted till now because everyone said he would be willing to disarm if his neighbor would. It (militarism, that is) will disappear when one of the powers becomes the first to disarm, and the others will sooner or later follow that example. Read, Herr Fernau, the by-laws of the League of Pacifists, which our Scandinavian neighbors founded recently. It calls above all for disarmament in Scandinavia itself, without waiting for the others to disarm. And read also, or read again, in Tolstoi's fairy tale about Ivan the Stupid the story of the czars, whose soldiers, when they met with no resistance whatsoever on the part of the vanquished populace, were revolted by such a totally one-sided war and returned to their homeland to till their fields. This is the reality of tomorrow, Herr Fernau. Work with us for its success. Do not overload your brain with the chimeras of a bloody past whose traces will soon disappear once all honest men apply themselves to that end!"

It is of course not true that this would have been Lenin's only opinion, or his final opinion, on eliminating militarism, bringing about disarmament and so forth. But it nonetheless shows that Lenin reflected in a very undogmatic, vivid, pragmatic and experimental way on the problem of eliminating war. In this respect as well, there is much in store for us.

Franz Fuehmann

1. It is a tragic paradox that mankind should be capable of destroying itself before it has even formed itself. Self-destruction as an act of formation. Indeed, mankind as a structured institution exists only in rudimentary form, as a common species, as fecundity, as a concept; what has been organized are peoples, states, nations and that power structure of blocs and camps which separate mankind not least of all by considering themselves the only conceivable model for mankind in the future. The unbroken tradition of an attitude of exclusivity that ultimately sees the path to the formation of mankind in the extinction of another instead of understanding the future as a systhesis of two opposite poles -- as something new, that is -- offers little hope of that saving grace that would increase by the same measure in which the threat is increasing.

2. The threat has taken on a new quality, has increased to the very threshhold of its critical limits.

3. If mankind wants to survive, it must begin to constitute itself as mankind -- which means first of all to understand itself as mankind.

4. I see a starting point for this understanding of self in the peace movement, as it has begun to develop in the 1980's as a revolt by citizens of our planet against the arms madness that is endangering the world. In this, its universal character that transcends national, religious, governmental as well as ideological barriers, there lies the initial starting point for what one might call world domestic policy formulated from below -- the smashing of a vicious cycle in which mistrust breeds increased armament and increased armament breeds increased mistrust. With its correspondence of universality and citizens' initiative, there can be no substitute for the peace movement; its essence, like its objectives, can be delegated to no one; it therefore cannot be confined geographically. Its relationship to government peace policy is one of neither identity nor competition; it is the rudimentary form of a power wherein hope, which otherwise threatens to despair, becomes a new, material force. With its process of growth and development, with its problems as well as its outward manifestations, in both social orders it ought to be worth our most single-minded attention.

5. If it is true that peace is the greatest good, then it follows that this greatest good -- like the struggle to preserve it -- cannot be something that is derived, cannot be part of something superior to which it must subordinate itself, cannot be a means to a different end or an instrument leading to a goal other than the one that it itself represents.

6. If one is to learn to understand oneself as mankind, one must learn to understand others. The desire for peace is not a monopoly. The earnest willingness to recognize and take into account the security needs of the opposite side ought to be

accompanied by the realization that there is a difference between the concept of the opponent and that of the enemy, a difference which corresponds to that of considering in principle a definitive guarantee of peace -- precluding war -- to be possible or ultimately impossible. Wallowing in images of the enemy demonstrates sagacity as little as winning a game played with war toys demonstrates strength. In this respect I agree completely with the opinion expressed by Stephan Hermlin on the slogan "Peace Without Weapons."

7. Peace research as a science ought to become the most important field of study in all areas of education; the results should be common international property.

8. The fact of this meeting of ours strengthens my conviction that the most important thing continues to be the discovery, development and continuation of a community of interests -- which means using every means and opportunity at all levels to do that which involves "taking steps to build trust." The basis of all trust is truthfulness; it always begins as truthfulness toward oneself.

Untruthfulness can never be the means to an end, no matter how good; it subverts this end and discredits it. Ultimately it only reduces trust, whose reserves are exhaustible -- in all areas and in every respect, moreover. Like rivers that have dried up, trust that has been lost or damaged can be regenerated only with difficulty.

I hold with Immanuel Kant, who said that "the lie..." is "the really rotten spot on human nature." Like war, the lie should be outlawed. Both spring from the same root, and both lead to destruction.

To declare war on the lie wherever one has an effect, that is what matters -- the little as well as the great deal that a writer can do for peace.

Guenter de Bruyn

In 1809, Jean Paul wrote a "Declaration of War Against War," developing the following thesis: "The standing armies are pushing one another to such mutually exaggerated size that the bodies politic are succumbing under the weight of bearing arms." Since in the interim a "murderous machine" has been invented -- one which "begins and ends a battle with one blast, so that the enemy fires only the second, and thus the campaign is over toward evening" -- immorality must already have turned humanity into inhumanity unless the states now "divest themselves of their heavy armaments together" and unite in a global federation of states. But if wars with one another are to be prevented, these federative states ought to be republics, not monarchies. For in republics (so the illusion goes -- and not just Jean Paul's), it would no longer be the way it used to be, with two parties deciding to make war and having millions wage and endure it; instead, it would be decided by the millions ("those who have to bear the full weight of the war on their bruises" and who draw nothing but a blank in spite of having invested their lives and worldly goods in the murderous lottery), and if it had to be done, two would do the fighting.

I quote Jean Paul here not to unmask as an illusion the ideas of bourgeois pre-democrats -- in states which call themselves democracies, the people would have the opportunity to make decisions on war and peace; rather, I do it because I wish to

point out how well suited to our established political thinking simple folk wisdom sometimes is -- like the notion that those who wield the power can jolly well fight their own wars with one another. If these bits of widsom often seem absurd when measured against the facts, the simplicity of the reasoning only argues against the facts. For instance, someone in the bus comes up with a sure remedy against nuclear war: namely, a United Nations law that, strictly administered and strictly monitored, prohibits any construction of nuclear weapon-proof bunkers for presidents, party leaders and generals. Or one can read on the wall of a building (not here, unfortunately) a poetically concise version of utopia: Suppose they had a war, and nobody went!

Behind all this wishful thinking is, after all, the simple recognition -- unclouded by ideologies and images of the enemy -- that the world is full of people who want to live, that there is misery in this world that has to be eliminated, damage to the environment that has to be halted, and that the money and strength and intelligence that would be used to these ends is being poured into the production and maintenance of machines of murder (or suicide as well), machines that are allegedly designed not for use but only as a threat. The attempt is being made to suggest to the millions who live in fear of them that their existence is the condition that precludes their being fired -- an explanation that not only turns logic upside down (because the best way to insure that an explosive force will not explode is for it not to exist) but also ignores the fact that every threat generates a greater one that must then be outdone again. If this constantly self-regenerating madness -- which negotiations have so far failed to bring to an end and have hardly even slowed -- is not to end in humanity in the real (not only the moral) sense being turned into inhumanity, the vicious circle must be broken, the death spiral must be reversed.

But (as the experience of recent decades has shown) only he who escapes the deadly cycle will be able to do this -- in other words, the one who proves himself to be not only the more courageous and the more moral but the cleverer one in terms of the aphorism about being able to yield ground. For a state's most enduring protection is the satisfaction of its inhabitants, and it is difficult for this satisfaction to flourish where a defense readiness that has been pushed to the extreme is consuming that which is supposed to be defended. In an age of the means for mass annihilation, the lesson of the Sermon on the Mount (given this state of affairs, it might also occur to a non-Christian) is transformed from a precept of religion to a precept of reason; morality becomes a strategy for survival.

The peace movements in Western Europe are an encouraging sign that the millions who would be the ones to suffer in the next war -- the dead, in other words -- are not prepared to be the unresisting victims. They might also be a sign that the risk is diminishing for the one who ventures the first step toward reason -- if these movements were to become stronger, to spread, not only across oceans but also beyond borders which, no matter how inviolable they are, would not be observed by nuclear death, which must not come, if it were to come after all. People in the GDR, too, are aware that the death of these 17 million people living between missiles has already been taken into account in map exercises; they are therefore frightened of all plans to increase armaments and welcome any offer of negotiations aimed at reducing arms. When they open up the newspapers, however, they have misgivings when the GDR state applauds the antiwar struggle by Christians, pacifists

and conscientious objectors on the other side of the borders but hinders the anti-war struggle by Christians, pacifists and conscientious objectors within its own borders. As gratifying as GDR support for the West European peace movement is, its usefulness will remain questionable as long as the impression must arise that what is celebrated as wonderful over there is not wanted over here. The peace policy of the GDR, which is seeking to ally with peace movements all over the world, is harming itself if it rejects the offer of alliance with independent peace movements in its own country -- the young Christians who are calling for a social peace service, for example. If we drive them underground, we shall not only be losing valuable forces but also damaging our own credibility. But what a gain it would be if an independent peace movement in the GDR were to get behind approval of proposals to outlaw nuclear weapons! This would undoubtedly give greater weight to the peace efforts in the GDR. It would be a desirable thing if our meeting here could be the starting point for an opening in this direction -- although I must admit that my hopes in this regard are extremely small.

Rolf Schneider

The praiseworthy peace initiative of European writers launched last summer by Bernt Engelmann has also been signed by numerous GDR authors. Newspapers here in our country have mentioned most of the names. Some were never mentioned; their owners had been expelled from the GDR Writers Association 2 years earlier. The express goal of the initiative was to view writers as multiplier factors and to use them to convey the idea of peace to their reading public. Those publicists who censored the aforementioned names out of the GDR press apparently considered the cultural policy complaints from '79 to be more important than the cause of peace. This is not merely shabby. We in the GDR -- the originator of this event here today has repeatedly offered public proof of this -- have much to make up for in matters of peace activity.

Stephan Hermlin made this observation in the light of the Hamburg church congress and the demonstration by 300,000 people in Bonn. There is presumably general agreement that without these manifestations the United States would not have traveled to the Geneva negotiations; and perhaps Helmut Schmidt would not have made it to the Werbellin this year. Manifestations of this kind are a force that is recorded gratefully in the GDR as well. What I have found to be scarcely mentioned in the GDR is the circumstance that the great majority of the West European and West German peace movement believes in the principle of radical pacifism.

The pacifist principle is not especially popular with those who govern the neighboring German state; the situation is virtually no different here in the GDR. But in view of the annihilation that is possible -- whose inconceivability and indescribability we describe here in eloquent words -- I wonder whether there can be any other position for the inhabitants of the two German states, the settlers along a political boundary line.

I should like to point out that pacifism in Europe has a proud tradition, supported by names like Bertha von Suttner, Rene Schickele, Heinrich Mann, Hermann Hesse, Romain Rolland, Carl von Ossietzky, Stefan Zweig, Kurt Tucholsky. Among them are many German names, tender monuments of humanism in a century of German barbarism.

Since we are fond of quoting these people in other contexts, we should feel free to include reflections on their pacifist convictions.

In GDR newspapers one can read, and in GDR schools one has to learn, that peace must be armed. I consider this thesis debatable. To my mind it is something out of an intellectual arms race. He who talks about weapons thinks about their use; he who uses weapons thinks of war as a possibility — a defensive war, for all I care, but there is killing in a defensive war, too; nuclear weapons are set off in a defensive war, too. It is but a short distance from an armed attack on a boundary line to a nuclear blitz.

From this point of view I ask myself, I ask my GDR colleagues, whether we should keep on allowing children — to whom neither death nor killing nor a nuclear blitz is conceivable — to play with rifles and tanks, those found in the playroom and those found on merry excursions to maneuver areas.

I ask myself whether it is useful when the instructions issued by the GDR civil defense apparatus pretend that it is possible to survive a nuclear war by holding some asbestos in front of one's belly and adopting the correct position on the ground in relation to the nuclear blitz.

I ask myself whether it is in tune with the times for the GDR's general education schools to be teaching military training as a required subject.

I ask myself whether it is right when the widespread desire of young Christians in the GDR to perform social peace service in place of universal conscription is brushed aside with nothing but the word "unconstitutional."

I ask myself these questions. Understand them as an expression of the fairly certain conviction that the act of promoting peace in our day can be envisaged only in this way: as fanning the fear of war and fanning a loathing of everything that serves the cause of war.

There is no reasonable alternative to refusal and the mental attitude that sustains it.

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BACKGROUND, CHANGES IN 'MOZGO VILAG' PRESENTED

Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian Mar-Apr 81 pp 3-4

[Letter to the Reader by the Editor, 17 May 1981]

[Text] Ten years ago when the anthology entitled MOZGO VILAG [Moving World] appeared for the first time, many of the then young writers felt that they were late starters. Six years later, this same generation of "over-aged" writers was called "young" and "starting" because, as a "reward" for its patience (and its talent, of course), it was given a magazine. It was at Christmas 1975 when the first issue of the bimonthly MOZGO VILAG reached the stands as the literary, artistic, critical and public education magazine of the KISZ's Central Committee. The number of authors increased in proportion with the number of issues sold on the streets, for "we, the young ones," became more and more numerous (and more and more old). More precisely: while we remained young according to an unfortunate common consent, embarrassingly numerous really young people became writers. This is how it happened that one of our editors received the poems of a high school junior together with the following recommendation: "Dear Professor, if you have the time, please read the enclosed writings. Your opinion interests me personally because the author is one of my most talented pupils..." We had to make a step forward.

Beginning with January 1980, MOZGO VILAG was allowed to appear every month. And although the 12 issues a year did not mean twice as much volume as we had when it was a bimonthly, we began to struggle with the works of (already 3 generations of) "young people" with renewed optimism.

We needed the experiences of a full year of editing to recognize that this optimism was not always justified. Our willingness for work, our stamina and our initiative sometimes displayed the symptoms of "over-aged changes," no matter how much we felt that, although our average age was beyond the midpoint of human life, we were still in possession of all the creative strength. We wanted to do something else, evidently something more and better; something different at any rate, in a different way than the other magazines. For we saw that precisely these, continually expandable, generational frames are the ones that mean strict limitations between the roles and tasks given to us; for we felt increasingly responsible for our readers and authors, and for the Hungarian spiritual life. We were looking for the possibilities of surpassing ourselves, of changing our working conditions and, consequently, of acquiring more and more readers. But we did

not expect the criticism of the conditions of our work (more broadly, the problematic elements of our social and cultural reality) to have emotional overtones as well, on the basis of which many people felt that our behavior was different from our original intentions.

When we are able now to talk about the editorial program of the renewed MOZGO VILAG (which also proves that our entire activity up to now, including our mistakes, is not considered as an opposition), we want, first of all, to define our basic ideological and political stand.

Ideologically, we are continuing to be committed to dialectic and historical materialism; politically, we remain committed to the socialism that we are building; our editorial methods and debates will be determined by Marxist scientific principles.

We publish in our magazine every humane artistic endeavor that can be aesthetically evaluated, every constructive theoretical experiment and every justified socio-critical emotion. But, in the spirit of the principles above, we are also going to debate some of these. We are going to start a debate whenever we see either the ideological or emotional signs of "outside views" and whenever reference to the ideals of socialism is only a camouflage of conservativism and doctrinarianism. But we will also argue when we recognize the distorted justification of individual or group interest, no matter in what kind of ideological or aesthetic dressing it appears.

MOZGO VILAG would like to be an artistic, critical and socio-theoretical magazine primarily for the generation which came on stage at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s together with the overture of the socialist "reform age." This does not mean, of course, that we want to set up a kind of generational reservation. One of our tasks is continuing to be a help to the most talented young artists and scientists, and we want to give more opportunities than before to the representatives of the older generation of writers to speak out.

We want to deal more regularly and more resolutely with the ideological and practical questions of socialist democratism, with the ideological, pedagogical and political aspects of the problems of "national traditions," with ethical categories of "public interest," with Marxism's concept of man and personality, with the ideological and aesthetic foundations of literary and art criticism, with the progressive phenomena of the Hungarian spiritual life beyond our borders, with the life of our immediate and less immediate neighbors, and finally, with the relationship between the post-liberation artistic generations, i.e., with the "nature" of socialist Hungary's spiritual continuity. Beyond the contents of this program, one of our main goals will be to create an ethical, open, and perhaps sharp, spirit and style of debate.

In looking back at the 3 periods of MOZGO VILAG's history of more than a decade, we say an appropriate farewell, first of all, to our founder, the KISZ's Central Committee, more precisely, to its Cultural Department. We say farewell to the Youth Magazine Publishing House which published our magazine for 5 years.

We say farewell to Miklos Veress, our leaving chief editor, who in 5 years made a real magazine out of the early struggling periodical. Although he has another job

as of March (we wish him much success as a senior editor of the ELET ES IRODALOM [Life and Literature]), he remains a permanent member of the community he created.

As it can be seen from the imprint of this issue, our editing work is essentially unchanged, although we have a new chief editor and another publishing house. The main reason for the latter change is the fact that the authors of most writings published in the Mozgo Vilag grew out of the KISZ age group and are ready in every respect to have the same opportunities within the framework of socialist cultural policies as their contemporaries have who are publishing in other magazines.

The new chief editor, Ferenc Kulin, assistant professor of literary history at the Lorand Eotvos College of Sciences, is not unknown to our readers. As Miklos Veress deputy and as the editor of the column of literary criticism, he was already among the editors between 1975 and 1980. His deputy, Jozsef Tamas Remenyi, who, as a deputy chief editor, guarded the magazine's continuity and faced the difficulties that it entailed, has been working for MOZGO VILAG since 1979. Andras Gergely, candidate of history and assistant professor at the Department of Philosophy of the Lorand Eotvos College of Sciences, will be a new editor.

The fact that the changes in the magazine's management correspond with the change in in MOZGO VILAG's publishing status, explains not only the changed profile described above but hopefully will also give a new impetus to our work. It would be, of course, too early to look for the new undertakings in the issues that will appear in the early months. Even the most dynamic concept is bound by the well-known slowness of the technical processes of making a magazine.

We know that we can eliminate our mistakes and show better results only through self-improvement; we also reckon with the continued interest of our readers. For this reason, we turn to you in closing, dear Reader. Thank you for having an interest in our work and for having the patience to wait for this belated double issue. Let your confidence in the magazine mean that you will not only read our magazine but will take part in the debates as well. We thank you in advance, and send you our greetings,

The Editors

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CSO: 2500/45

WRITER PROTESTS TACIT, MANDATORY CONFORMITY

Budapest ÉLET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 12 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Judit Fenakel: "And Finally One Becomes an Expert"]

[Text] At age 20, he staggers into the editorial office with his first article and awaits its publication with goosepimpled suspense. Well, it appears. The introduction is still as he had written it. The next paragraph seems rather shorter than in the original manuscript, half a sentence had been removed. Apparently they found it loquacious and made the information more concise. But, in the third paragraph appear strange new adjectives, which are not part of his vocabulary--he simply never uses them. He wrinkles his forehead and continues reading. The fourth and fifth paragraphs relax him somewhat. But, in the sixth, again there is a garbled sentence with the beginning ommited and the end shortened. In his recollection it was a strikingly complex sentence imbuing the entire text with a touch of irony. Now the text neither is striking nor has it irony. On the other hand, it is mildly unintelligible. Then comes the conclusion. Dear God! What happened to his sarcastic concluding sentence? The exclamation mark was tamed into a period. By leaving out the negative particle, no, the negation was turned into affirmation. The last two words were deleted while a mild adjective was added. With stomach churning, he reaches for the phone to protest. He decides, "I shall never write for them again."

"For whom?" he asks himself the next day. He begins to realize that he was robbed of the possibility for revenge. For whom will he write no more? for the jovial, smiling editor who complimented his talents? "See, young man," the editor told him, "we need many such manuscripts." Hardly two weeks after his complimentary remarks, the article or something similar did appear in the paper. And if he will not write any more for them? At least 10 others are standing in line for the two columns used by his article.

Thus, within a month, he writes the next article and ambles with it into the editorial office. The editor is not as cordial now but he too can have bad days. "We have an enormous number of manuscripts," he says indifferently. "We can hardly keep up with reading them." Starvation follows. Two weeks pass, one month, then another. He opens the paper impatiently, looking for himself--in vain. After another month, he decides on a modest phone call. They may have forgotten him. No, of course not, only there are many manuscripts. One is better than the other. His is a little less colorful now. He strives, writes a new one and is glad if it appears after half a year--with slight modifications,

of course. He blushes in front of his acquaintances because of the twisted sentences and a bombastic phrase. But he no longer complains. He wants to be published--and he is published, for the third and also for the fourth time. They always remove something from his manuscript and they always add something different. He gets used to it. He thinks that he has made it. His only task is to collect his thoughts and to write them down. He is already sort of an external coworker.

But his fifth article no longer reaches the published stage. He tries calling, in vain, for he is mired in the maze of secretaries. The editor is away, in conference, receiving foreign guests, has ceased to exist, at least as far as he is concerned.

Months, perhaps years, pass. He seems to have given up, although, with one eye, he scans the newspaper in case he was again squeezed in somehow. Then he stitches together his torn vanity and tries his luck again with one of the manuscripts multiplying in his drawer. Of course, by now he knows the ropes and sifts through the manuscripts. He selects one of the gentler ones and irons it, to be even more nice and flat. No sharp edges, corners, wrinkles should remain.

"I have not seen you for a long time, young man," the editor rejoices and reads the manuscript on the spot. He pouts his lips, scratches his head and pronounces the sentence. "You have forgotten everything we taught you."

He realizes that he is perched on the lowest rung of the ladder. He is also the only one who knows that he has been demoted. The others think that he is a new associate. Therefore, even those who are perched anxiously on the second and third rungs of the ladder will delete from and add to his work, until he learns that the procedure can be prevented. For instance, he himself could delete and add whatever those above him delete and add. But even this is double effort. He would spare his body and soul if he would compose in such a way that neither deletion nor insertion.... One learns fast. Soon he submits such well-rounded works that even an instrumental examination would not find corners jutting out. He no longer writes his thoughts but polishes them in a mechanical way. His lathe produces rollers and balls resembling each other, just as smooth and round as the rollers and balls produced by other lathes. It is a bit boring, but roundness can also exult in the absence of anything better. Sooner or later it will enhance his professional self-esteem that such perfectly round things are delivered from his pen, moreover, not even from his pen but straight from his head. After a while, he cannot think in any other but a round and faultless manner. No contradictions anywhere, the thoughts do not argue with each other--they fit together, just as matters of the world also fit together actually and globally, in an orderly fashion.

He becomes a true professional. Neither is this a small accomplishment. As he looks around, upward and downward, he is somewhere around the middle, say, on the third rung of the ladder. There are many above but also below him. The 20-year-olds come, elbow themselves and await, in goosepimpled suspense, publication, which depends on him now. He has good will and is supportive of the young. Therefore, in their own interest, he deletes a bit from their manuscript and even adds to it elsewhere--as demanded by professionalism.

Of course, the youths complain. They make a racket about censorship. But where is any censorship here? He smiles jovially at the noisy youths because he knows that they too eventually will fit into the trade. Five or six years, for the more clever ones even the three-month probation time may suffice, and they also will turn into true professionals. They will fan out of the mold, with closed eyes: actually it is right this way; in general things are in order; although there are difficulties but we will overcome them; steadily increasing development; effectiveness; human factor. They know with unsparing certainty when it is "colorful" and when "impressive," when it was "said," when "stressed" and when "pointed out." They have their professional code word for every facet of life. They write, instead of the "factory went bankrupt," that the production structure must be changed; instead of "we cannot get fresh bread," that the choice of goods is not quite satisfactory. Abandoned construction is a lack of capacity; lacking machine parts means certain organizational shortcomings; the leader usurping his power, he has not yet understood the essence of industrial democracy; black, dirty liquid coming from the faucet means that during cleaning, sediments not affecting health got into the water at some places; in the 23-bed ward, four patients are lying on the floor reads the number of surgical beds was increased by four; the hospital has no X-ray and EKG machines, there still remain certain inadequacies in instrumental supply.

We have a dictionary's worth of professional gobbledygook in order to ease the thousand cares and troubles of the world into the uniformly dulling printer's ink.

And yet--or rather, knowing all these--he sits on the third (fourth?) rung of the ladder, facing the manuscript that he just sanitized. His sanitizing is attested to by thick black lines. Indeed, he deleted 25 percent of the manuscript and rewrote about 15 percent of it--altogether 40 percent. In his momentary foolishness, he starts to reflect how long a written work--either an article or a commentary--retains its identity. After what percentage of intervention can it still be viewed as the product of the author's intellect instead of some confection industry? In general, where is the line between an individual piece and a serial product? If the line between the two is washed out, is there any need for separately laboring pens? After all, by bringing together the material and intellectual forces, we can create a single, mechanized pen, a pen-computer that would free the energy of many small producers.

One already has a mental image of the enormous state pen, the colorful, impressive giant structure, that writes everything--instead of us--within the briefest possible time, with the greatest possible speed and the least possible energy requirement. It just spews out lack of capacity, narrow cross section, effectiveness and human factor. And then these many, restless, dirty-nailed, bespectacled cripples, this mass of pushing, swarming, touchy, hungry, unpleasant human factors can finally get lost.

2473
CSO: 2500/85

WRITER EXPRESSES DISENCHANTMENT TO POET

Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian No 7, Jul 81 p 117

[Letter by Endre Manyoki to Erzsi Toth]

[Text] I wanted to write an introduction, Erzsi, I swear! But this one, too, ended up being a letter, an epistle... You see, I am slowly becoming a new kind of Kelemen Mikes, and it is not difficult to guess what kind of an exile it is from where I send, from time to time, silly and crazy lines to every direction, under pretense and under no pretense. This correspondence is "ur-ugy" [matter related to space] for me, to continue the pun and to play with space filled with chaos. You do not know how much I would like to write once about buds, about spring, and about the sky which, I would say, was azure. (Kosztolanyi's pun, az Ur, would be very appropriate here--but I do not know what to do with it.)

I do not know either, what this terrible compulsion is: to write a letter for all occasions. I have tried it a dozen times to make an extenuating ideology for this, saying, is there a way nowadays to tell the truth other than sending the sensitive reactions of an unstable nervous system (we know why it is unstable) in all directions in a closed letter? I said already, only a diary or a letter can describe what I am in my wholeness and by myself. For I do not have anything but myself, and even this picture is incomplete. How could I, then, display a picture of the world? That, too, is closed within myself.

It is only laziness and weakness, though. It is only loafing around in a daze lied into awakeness through nikotine, caffeine and alcohol. Nothing more. Searching. A kind of vegetating, similar to the existence of those who mine their food for the next day from garbage cans. And it is not too bad if it is only collecting and not selling oneself for food. Self-bazaar, [Another pun: magam-bazar, instead of magamba zar = to close in myself.]

You know, I have once elaborated on it a to z on a small piece of paper, how much I would love to live in a country where everyone is identified with words, in which everyone carries a name that is deserved. From the comma to the verb, everything would be there a significant and indispensable element of the sentence, which can be thus only meaningful. But here where the sentence always means something else and the word is supposed to hide the essence, the only decent role goes only to the question mark. It did not become a publication, for the classic, who is quite opposed to me, announced a counter-argument. It hurt me; there was

several weeks' work on that page and a half. But since then I have discovered that I would only conserve chaos as a questioning officer. This dream, then, remained a canned dream which I (lacking anything better) still warm up often. It will not make one alive: it is a little stale and the warranty date (the title) has already been long passed.

It would be good to talk about so many things, Erzsi! I would tell you what that introduction would have been about had I not written this letter instead. On that, too, I worked for weeks. First only the first sentence came about: Erzebet Toth's soul is red. It is the color of rebellion, Ady, mourning, life and death, and dried blood. The rest came easily: Erzebet Toth's soul is white.

It is the color of cleanliness, defenselessness, and the shirt pulled open by those standing in front of rifles. It is the color of Goya, the gray-white face of the fallen dead; a pigeon whose throat was cut. And, finally, of course: Erzebet Toth's soul is green. It is the color of freedom, spaciousness, the sea before the storm, the face of the drowned; the soldier's uniform; mimicry and provocation. The pigeon with the cut throat in the field.

This is what should have been nicely written. Perhaps. Perhaps not. Because the flag!... flying or rolled up?!... come on! Incidentally, how could it fly: seldom blows the wind in a box. Because (and this is what the problem is here) we ourselves, too, live in cans. Our bodies are pressed together with no air. This is for which, or against which, we should do something. We should either endure it by growing a gill, or... What should I say? How do you make the flag fly inside? I believe we must first open the box, no matter what it is made of and no matter how thick its walls are.

9414
CSO: 2500/46

SUSPENSION OF YOUNG WRITERS CIRCLE EXPLAINED

Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian Jul-Oct 81 p 3

[Excerpts] In our last issue, we reported that the FIJAK [Young Writers' Jozsef Attila Circle] which had held a number of meetings rather daring in tone had been suspended by joint agreement of the Hungarian Writers' Federation and the Ministry of Culture as of 11 March 1981. This was briefly reported in the 14 March 1981 issue of ELET ES IRODALOM. The reasons for the move were presented in a single sentence: "A majority of the leadership of the Circle wished to obtain functions for the Circle which ran contrary to the statutes of the writers federation and the rules for operating FIJAK."

How can it be that the party's position became a minority position in a literary group which is under strict control? And if this did indeed happen, how could it be that the party was unable to convince (or intimidate) the majority so that it would change its opinion?

Not long after our press deadline, the editors received a letter from Budapest. Even though the letter fails to answer all questions related to the suspension of FIJAK, we quote it:

The first explanation, spread by word of mouth, not in writing, is as follows. FIJAK convened a meeting at the end of last year at Szentendre. At the meeting, a number of persons violently attacked the literary policy of Gyorgy Aczel, the party's principal director of domestic cultural life. The poet and journalist, Akos Szilagyi, was most outspoken. His criticism was made strictly in accordance with communist guidelines. At the same time, suggestions were made: for an independent journal and for special programs, for example. Szilagyi's speech was published in KRITIKA, the cultural policy and critical periodical, but KRITIKA immediately rebutted it in an article by Istvan Szerdahelyi. Next, Szilagyi set forth his proposals in a letter to Gyorgy Aczel. Aczel asked Imre Dobozy, chairman of the Writers' Association, to suppress the letter. This Szilagyi and his colleagues who collaborated in composing the letter refused to do. Thereupon the secretariat of the Hungarian Writers' Association suspended the activities of the Circle.

This was followed by a committee meeting of the Writers' Federation, not attended by all members. In the course of it, writer after writer condemned the action of the secretariat. One exception was Istvan Kiraly, the party's full-time employee. Sharpest criticism came from Istvan Gall and Gabor Czako who said they were ashamed of being Aczel's puppets and of having supported base manipulations for years. There was no vote taken.

This is the extent of the word of mouth explanation which has been permitted to circulate. But there is another, more important, explanation: A young and talented poet, Erzsebet Toth, spoke up at the Szentendre conference of FIJAK. She said she had recently read Tibor Meray's book on Imre Nagy and realized from it that she had been told untruths. She demanded that the Hungarian people be given the truth about the revolution. On the following day Gyorgy Aczel gave Gyula Csak, who was representing the party at the FIJAK conference, a hysterical dressing down for not coming to the defense of the party and failing to take a stand against open, counterrevolutionary incitement. Incidentally, no one spoke up against 1956 nor in defense of the lies propagated in official party history. This was the true reason for the suspension of FIJAK.

CSO: 2500/44

RESPONSIBILITY IN EDUCATING INTELLECTUALS STRESSED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 12, 1981 pp 43-64

[Article by Laszlo Egyed and Dr Ida Jager, lecturers of Chemical University in Veszprem: "The Responsibility for Educating Intellectuals"]

[Text] The exchange of opinions conducted about youth's social role and the articles published on the subject of how ideologies are formed--which were printed in this year's PARTELET, issues No 1 and No 3--are urging us to write about creating a sense of political obligation in youth and about the practical problems involved in this. Mihaly Kordinesz's article published in the September issue, particularly his analysis concerning the political-ideological views and behavior of the intelligentsia, reinforced this impetus.

The joint activity of teachers and students happens everywhere in the institutions of higher learning on the basis of complex educational plans. The party members working in these education shops to become intellectuals deal systematically and in a planned manner with the tasks of political and public life education. They emphasize everywhere, unanimously in words and in writing, that ideological education, the formation of an ideology, is "not a resort task, nor is it the task of only the departments of Marxism-Leninism..." but can only result from complex, joint activity. Yet, in reality the areas that otherwise belong organically together often separate in practice. We seek the answer for this and how we can move beyond this pervasive problem, hoping that with joint efforts and the exchange of ideas we can reach our goals.

Practical Problems

The attempts at defining the essential content of the term "socialist intelligentsia" and the "how-to" of creating this "quality" [sic] have multiplied during the last decade. Experience shows that the politically conscious professional is formed (if he comes into existence at all) within a mechanism functioning according to a given distribution of work. In an extreme case in the natural sciences and technical departments the specialist is created by the special departments, and the ideological quality, by the departments of social sciences (especially the [department of] Marxism-Leninism). In a better case the "dual result" is created by joint activity of party members working in the institute in a deliberately planned and organized manner.

Though the usual picture of the situation has changed, a characteristic separation can still be seen: we hear of and read about the professional and public life, or professional and political activity, of the intelligentsia. But it is hardly debatable that an engineer, teacher or doctor relates our social goals to his surroundings every day during professional activity; his decisions and the quality of his work also influence the living and working conditions of people. Because of this very thing it does not make sense to treat professional and political education separately, and to describe the creation of professionally well-trained and politically active intelligentsia as educational requirements in this manner; this also promotes the maintenance of this harmful practice.

Simply put, the separation of professional and political activities within the education system reinforces the false ideological attitude that these can be separated. But in our social system they can not be separated at all, because they do not represent separate values. Exactly because of this we cannot be satisfied by our students "becoming good engineers, doctors, or good...professionals of any kind"--regardless of their total social quality, political and ideological culture, convictions and way of life. Because if we graduate only excellent professionals in the schools, the kind who are perfectly adequate in Katmandu, Boston or Munich, but not socialist professionals, whose political allegiance is on our side, then the quality of our work is also completely objectionable. It is irresponsible to say that our youth are "indifferent" or that they are "not sufficiently interested"; on the contrary, their interest and desire for knowledge of the social and political processes is increasing. The level and intensity of this, and how and with what degree of success we satisfy their needs in this direction, depend primarily on us. Even though we sense the separation between professional and ideological education, we are not testing effective solutions, at best we "fill the gaps" and are delaying the necessary and thorough changes with partial solutions. The false solutions or formalistic solutions, which perhaps at best realize forced "repolitization" of some professional subject, foreign to its essential nature, cause more harm than good. Thus there is no way we can excuse ourselves from searching for and applying the effective methods.

How well we can awaken the interest of young people and how well we can transform this interest to internal need and a constant, subjective concern also depend primarily on us--on the quality of our own personality, on the demands we make on ourselves. Therefore, the demands we make on each other, the responsibility the members of the party's basic organization feel for each other (and also for those who are not party members) and their consistent work significantly influence the success of our activity.

The work is often hindered if it appears that by transferring some (and "the more the better") information we promote the creation of active political involvement, even though knowledge and conviction are far from necessarily running together. Even though we know this, still in political work we often consider our job done when we create the former [appearance]. We lose the effects from emotion and from the subjective vehemence of relating our experiences and we force debates of creative character and wise reasoning, which may really generate conviction, into the background.

This is often manifested also in the relationships between KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] and the party organizations, as well as in the contacts between party members and nonmembers. We will not be able to end the separation between professional and political activity. This separation is present not only in education but also as a contrast between academic and political work. However, the existence of efforts that orient one's values and define youth's activity depends also on the work of communists working in the institutions.

The Sphere of Effectiveness of Educational Activity

In the resolution of MSZMP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] 10th Congress we read the following, among other things, about the job of educating youth: "Educating youth, preparing them for life, to build socialism and communism, and for all those tasks that await them in the country's life and in the struggles of the world's progressive forces, is the great social task of the adult generation. The education of youth is not solved automatically as society progresses, but only if our party and our government, our schools and our social organs, and last but not least the parents work on it systematically and with the proper care."

We can fully implement these tasks only if we can apply new formats and more effective tools in shaping the political profile of our youth, creating the motivation for accepting the political views. The conditions for this are, on the one hand, purposefully developed and consistent showing of example and, on the other hand, political activity through which we can develop the personality of our students. Many people reason that the main personality traits of youth accepted to the universities can be considered as developed. Basically this is true. Yet, due to their age they have little experience, their outlook on life is affected mainly by impressions obtained in the elementary and secondary schools and in the family. The socialism surrounding them is a self-evident social environment to them; they accept its main goals and consider it their own. Even if their opinion is uniform and correct in some questions, their political conscience has developed unevenly and is differentiated in judging details.

Recently their interest in domestic and foreign policy questions has become significantly stronger; as a result of the KISZ Central Committee's congressional letter [sic] this is directed at domestic policy and economic relationships. In spite of the avalanche of information, a "hunger for information" can be seen in some important basic questions. Often they have idealistic notions about socialism, and their knowledge of history, so important to understand the present situation more thoroughly, is very deficient. Often they cannot properly use the information they posses; the practical ability of finding and making use of the handgrips, the points of orientation indispensable in everyday life from the social science knowledge they have obtained, has not developed in them by itself. Under the influence of teaching and educational work the university youth should recognize the high-level scientific acquisition of ideological knowledge is based on familiarization with the objective laws of society, and this is the indispensable foundation of work--and of life. We must be such an information-disseminating medium, which teaches its students that the correct selection from the huge mass of information is possible only on the basis of a consciously and well-acquired scientific ideology.

Conviction deriving from an internal moral behavior must be reflected in every deed of those educators who handle the political education of the students and who wish to exert a conviction-strengthening effect on them. They must be competent professionals and propagandists of the communist principles. Such educators develop the correct political views, a form of behavior befitting the socialist man and a realistic value system in the students, in addition to the professional information material. Of course, the activities of individual educators is not sufficient for this; the entire university atmosphere must be such that the students become more open, more receptive to new information and to the social issues. This is how a valuable intelligentsia, on accepting the responsibility for changing the social processes, can develop in the complexity of the educational process.

What opportunities are available to shape the political profile of our students? First, we must mention the process of education. The well-prepared educator motivates his students in the right direction, particularly if within the framework of his area of professional expertise he professes definite ideological-political views and if he also relates these in the proper manner. Often a well-placed sentence or opinion means more than a debate session that turns out poorly. It would be important for our educators to take better advantage of the framework of scientific work done with the students. With work performed and well organized, the expectation of success or even of a failure presumes a relationship where the conversation may be about any topic, from the most personal issues to the problems of smaller or larger communities. This working relationship is also suitable for daring to politicize in a well-guided manner and with awareness of their political responsibility, trying to exert effects in the right direction, awakening the interests and the interpretation of reasons.

In addition to scientific activity and teaching and educational work, it is also a method of forming political awareness when an individual educator helps with the KISZ work of a study group. When he participates in the various events, providing information openly and clearly, he is also practicing public life activity and provides the group the opportunity to play a role in public life. We must note that the implementation of this format in practice is the most difficult thing to do. An educator must have very good pedagogical and practical feeling in order to be able to do this work interestingly and believably. At times the students view the help as interference. If the educator does not possess the human qualities to dissolve the community's possible resistance and is unable to get himself accepted, his work will become a formality only, and its effect will be hardly measurable.

We can do much to reach our goals also by just creating such directness in the teacher-student relationship in which the mutual "give-and-take," communication respecting each other, becomes natural. Such an attractive force between the party member teacher and the students assures this and also the appropriate foundation for preparing our students more successfully than before to perform the intellectual functions. If we consciously emphasize in connection with all academic subjects those elements that reinforce in them the dialectics of the desirable historical view and of patriotism-internationalism, then political conviction and exacting will really become an internal need for them.

8584
CSO: 2500/75

WARSAW VOIVODSHIP PARTY PLENUM ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Report on Plenum Deliberations

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Oct 81 p8

[Article: "Party Tasks in the Struggle for Socialism; Plenum of the Warsaw Committee of PZPR"]

[Text] The deliberations of the plenum of the Warsaw Committee of PZPR lasted 2 days, the subject being the current socioeconomic situation and the party organizations' tasks stemming therefrom.

Jerzy Boleslawski, secretary of the voivodship committee, made a speech on behalf of the executive group of the PZPR voivodship committee.

Discussion of the Speech

It was stated in the speech that we are approaching the deliberations in a situation in which hundreds, thousands, of our fellow party members, many of the basic party organizations [POP], are engaged in a political battle. The changing political reality and the realities surrounding the struggle are forcing us basically to revalue our previous assessments and directions of action. As never before in the history of socialist Poland, we are facing an exceptionally strong expansion of forces which have decided generally to attempt to separate Poland from the camp of the forces of socialism and progress.

These threats are growing from day to day, very suddenly. The forces of the right, aware of their goals and aspirations, are attacking with impunity. Step by step they are creating faits accomplis, are upsetting the structure of the socialist state, and are creating the conditions for a complete takeover of power.

Exploiting the justified dissatisfaction of the workforce, the numerous errors in the authorities' actions, the inconsistency and ineffectiveness in resolving the enormous problems, and also the strong ideological and political disorganization in the various social groups, they have managed to win many factions of society over to their slogans. There is a system-

atic implementation of a scenario in which with special viciousness an attack is made on the foundations of the existence of our state, our alliance with the Soviet Union. Anti-Soviet attitudes and enmity for the nations of the Soviet Union are incited in all sorts of ways.

As some people are attempting to explain, this is not all the manifestation of a lack of political imagination on the part of the instigators of these actions but the deliberate action calculated to separate Poland from its natural allies, to draw the country into the orbit of Western influence, and thereby to revise political order in Europe, to make our country into an outpost of anti-Sovietism.

Only our party can stand at the head of the forces which must set up a barrier to the further expansion of antisocialist moves. Hence, it is understandable that a permanent attack in being waged against our party. Only the tactics of it have changed.

Prior to the Ninth Party Congress it was a question of breaking up the party and depriving it of its Marxist-Leninist stance. The party defended its Marxist-Leninist nature, and the Ninth Party Congress worked out a socialist platform for the consolidation of all progressive forces of the nation. This circumstance, along with the absence of decisive resistance on our part, on the part of the authorities, and also the everyday impunity, inclined the forces of the right wing to seek new methods, direct attacks on the party and the state machinery, including extortion and political terror. The motives for such action are clear. It is a question of creating an atmosphere of enmity towards the party and its activists, of discrediting its program and the possibilities for its implementation. This makes it possible at the same time to divert the attention of the masses of "Solidarity" members and the whole society away from the fact that the program of this union is essentially a negation, a blockade against all attempts to overcome the economic crisis.

The right wing has written into the scenario of its actions a harnessing of the struggle for power of the vocational movement, in which millions of Poles still see a constructive force in the implementation of their noble hopes and expectations. These intentions have become particularly obvious in the campaign prior to the "Solidarity" congress and at the congress itself, at its forum and in the corridors. Because of manipulatory moves, with the help of demagoguery, right-wing representatives forced an antiworker rationale and content onto "Solidarity." They wrote into the union's program an alternative form of government, still in a form which veils the truth, but nevertheless an obviously extremely anticommunist alternative.

The need for joint action, for a mutual action to rescue the country, has been strongly accentuated by us too at our Warsaw party conference, the speech went on to say. On the other hand, today we face the fact that our proposals have been rejected, and this means a refusal to take part in the implementation of the program for political and economic stability.

In the ranks of the Warsaw party organization we have many thousands of comrades who have courageously committed themselves to defend the party and who are undertaking a political struggle, although they are being met with crude attacks on the part of aggressive "Solidarity" groups. In this struggle the party activists are becoming more and more worn out physically and psychically. Sometimes fighting in isolation, they do not receive sufficient support, even in the form of a sufficient number of arguments or constructive actions and efforts to authenticate the party's policy, which they are defending each day. This is particularly true where party members are astonished by erroneous decisions or unconvincing explanations made by the authorities on various issues which are confusing public opinion.

Because of the activity of party workers in the work establishments, many basic party organizations have been availing themselves of the period following the Ninth Party Congress for the political consolidation of the party ranks. Today they are organizations which come out of the social base, organizations which are revealing the real face of the extremist wing of "Solidarity," organizations which are not fighting against "Solidarity" but for its worker-movement character, for constructive cooperation in overcoming the crisis. On the other hand, the picture of the Warsaw party organization would not be complete, unless we were to add that there is a large number of basic party organizations and party plant echelons which are displaying a lack of political initiative.

The assessment of the current situation places before us the tasks of organizing a defense of the socialist state. It is upon how we undertake the task and when we put an end to the anarchy and destruction that the implementation of a socialist line of social reasoning and the fate of the socioeconomic reforms which have already been begun with such difficulty will depend.

The defense of socialism using all possible means is the patriotic duty of every Pole.

Such a position does not mean a departure from the line of dialogue and understanding. It is a question of understanding and agreement with all the social forces desirous of ending the crisis, of democratizing public life, and of deepening social justice, but there can be no agreements with those groups which are fighting against socialism. The defense of the socialist system and state is not a fight against "Solidarity." It is a struggle for objective reason and interests of the working class, for the right reason of our nation. It is also a struggle for the working-class nature of "Solidarity," its real character as a union. In this matter the authorities must be decisive. The past indecision, helplessness, and softness are perceived in a negative way by the society, by the workforces of the Warsaw work establishments. Millions of party members and people outside the party have already become sick of the anarchy and chaos, the unruliness and license, and the lawlessness. They are calling for consistent action and decisiveness. It is necessary for the central authorities to take such a position, in order to mobilize all

the forces of the party where the fate of the struggle for socialism in the broad sense is up for grabs, that is, the struggle for human convictions, attitudes, and views.

Today it is already obvious that unless there is a turnabout in all social forces, including the party elements and all the trade unions, toward the actual commitment to carrying out the program to stabilize the national economy, the state of its disintegration within 2 or 3 months will make it impossible for the reform to succeed. Meanwhile all of today's disputes about the configuration of the reform, including the campaign launched by "Solidarity" concerning the manner of appointing directors, prove to be moot questions, but this does not mean that in participating in the arresting of the crisis processes the party elements are to give up their work on self-government and reform. Both tasks are equally important.

Nonetheless, the crisis, which our country is going through has political foundations above all. For this reason, unless we overcome the political crisis, including that in the sphere of ideology, it is not possible to master the negative phenomena in the economy. It is already high time for us to start removing the masks which are making adversaries of socialism appear to be friends of the labor issue. We must demask them to show their real faces, to show their origins, ties, and real political goals and intentions, and the methods of operation and the way these have seeped into "Solidarity."

Today, in the era of struggle, organizational efficiency and political unity of the party are becoming the supreme issue as never before, an absolute condition to the effective defense of socialism in our country, and for this reason, particularly in the light of the results of the "Solidarity" congress, every basic party organization [POP] and every party activist must ask himself: How can I carry out the provisions of the party statute? Today as never before, the party needs unity of action. For this reason too we must take up the struggle against anyone who tries to undermine this unity.

In taking up the offensive on the political front, we cannot for a moment allow ourselves to lose sight of the market situation, production conditions and preparations of urban services and work establishments to operate during the winter. The situation in the realm of material production is absolutely catastrophic, but we cannot merely record the facts and give in to fatalism: it is bad and going to get worse. With greater consistency and energy on the part of the urban and plant administration and the social organizations it will be possible to make things easier for people, if only in the simplest matters.

The assessment made of the situation's development, as stated in conclusion, makes the whole party face the task of organizing the defense of socialism in our country, gradually broken down, step by step. It is on how we organize this defense that the future of our country will depend. The line of battle for socialism must be the understandings which our party line has

carryied out patiently and relentlessly. In our Warsaw party organization it is and will continue to be the battle line opposing all those who are against the ideals of working people, the patriotic aspirations of Poles, and the interests of our country.

Discussion

It is difficult to sum up the presentations of the several dozen speakers, who took the floor at the plenum of the Warsaw Committee of the PZPR. It is difficult to describe them in one sentence. There is no doubt as to one thing: all the voices pointed out the need to take immediate concrete steps to arrest the further anarchization of life, the deterioration of the economy, and the escalation of moves by antisocialist forces.

These matters were discussed with care and concern. Representatives of party organizations of various plants described the conditions they faced in their daily work. The party echelons today are being attacked by "anybody at all who wants to." Often the attacks are crude and vulgar. In this situation party members expect the leadership to support them. They expect definite action and arguments in defense of the party line. There was bitterness in the words of people when they told of how they were not receiving such support. The party is forever in upheaval. "Who told us where the Stop sign is?" someone asked.

There was also bitterness in the recounting of how the opportunity which had been created by the Ninth Party Congress had not been utilized. After the congress there had been renewal in the party organizations. People believed it when they were told it was possible to carry out the program of the congress and to get out of the vicious cycle of impotence. Those hopes were not fulfilled. The correct program of the congress, a program accepted by the members of the party, is not being carried out. One of the parties to the discussion stated that one of the reasons for this is that many comrades simply went on vacation after the congress, instead of energetically going into action.

The speakers pointed out that it is essential that a clear statement be made of what sort of socialism we wish to implement in Poland. At the present time we are dealing not with a line of understanding for which everyone is responsible but with "a line of unilateral concessions."

The building of party unity is a basic issue. Plant organization secretaries talked about how party members were turning in their party membership cards. These are often valuable, idealistic people who are disappointed and discouraged. On the other hand, the party still has those people who have nothing in common with its ideology and principles. The party should get rid of them. Party members' self-definition is essential. It was emphasized that we must know who we are with and who is with us. Only then do we have a chance in the political struggle.

A great deal of the discussion was devoted to the issues of youth, the upbringing of young people, and the values in which they are immersed. Young people are shocked by antistate, antisocialist, and anti-Soviet propaganda. We must take a decisive stance against anti-Soviet statements.

One of the women taking part in the discussion said that there were in our country 600,000 graves of Soviet soldiers who brought us freedom. Wherever our Polish tradition is, Catholic tradition honors the places of final repose. Our Polish graves are scattered all over the world. How would we feel if these graves were dishonored?

Many people talked about the issues of economic reform and the conditions under which we came to implement it. In the plants there is a shortage of everything: shoes, clothing, washing agents, to say nothing of the raw materials. For example, "Zelmot" [Automotive Electronics Plants] has not received a single kilowatt of power, because its quota for this year has been exhausted. People also mentioned the problems of the market, preparations for winter, and the functioning of urban services, along with all the issues directly related to the living conditions of the residents of Warsaw and the voivodship.

There are many problems for today, and especially for yesterday. For this reason all efforts must be focused on carrying out the problem set down by the Ninth Party Congress and on counteracting certain processes which have adversely impacted economic, social, and political life.

So much for a very abbreviated account of the course of discussion. The issues brought up in the discussion were commented on by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Central Committee secretary and member of the Politburo, in his speech. For example, he said that the party leadership is aware of the shortcomings and even errors in its operations, but it is operating in a specific, very difficult, complicated situation. Sometimes it is necessary to make a choice between the lesser of two evils. The causes of the party's weakness are to be found back in the pre-August period. The ranks of the party were overexpanded, and during the 1970's the party became disarmed politically.

We have a tremendous opportunity to get out of the crisis in which our country has plunged. This opportunity is the implementation of the program of the Ninth Party Congress.

Kazimierz Barcikowski also referred to many detailed questions and responded to some queries which had come up during the discussion. He also said that many of the matters which had been raised by the speakers would be taken up by the promised plenum of the Central Committee.

Provisions of the Resolution

In the capital-city voivodship, as everywhere else in the country, there is a growing wave of social conflict and tension, according to the resolution. The direct cause of them is the exceptionally difficult economic situation and the catastrophic shortage of basic foodstuffs, medicines, washing agents, and so on. The social tensions are being made worse by the confrontational tactics of the extremist current of "Solidarity," an aggressive political battle. The only chance of slowing down and reversing the adverse trends is the consistent implementation of the program line of the Ninth Party Congress, a line of party agreement and dialogue not with the enemies of socialism but with all progressive social forces which are expressing the desire to get rid of the sources of the crisis, the desire to democratize social relations, to deepen social justice, and to come to a mutual understanding on the foundation of the socialist path to the development of the country. It is the exceptional duty of all patriots, in and outside the party, to enter the struggle against the gravest threats facing the socialist state.

The resolution also lists the tasks for the party organizations to undertake, in order to create political conditions for the consolidation of the party ranks and for the simultaneous rebuilding of the party's moral authority.

Plenum Presents Tasks

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Oct 81 pp 1,7

[Article: "Current Tasks of the Capital-City Party Organization; Plenum of the Warsaw Committee Plenum of the PZPR"]

> [Text] (Our own information) Yesterday, the 12th of this month, the deliberations of the plenum of the PZPR Warsaw Committee, attended by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Poliburo member Albin Siwak, and deputy member of the Politburo Jan Glowczyk, began. The subject of the deliberations, which were chaired by Stanislaw Kociolek, First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, was a current assessment of the sociopolitical situation and the party organization tasks implied therefrom.

Voivodship Committee secretary Jerzy Boleslawski gave the executive board report, which served as the basis for discussion. The result of the discussion will help in working out the concrete program of action for the Warsaw echelons and party organizations vis-a-vis the growing political struggle and the economic complex of Warsaw and the country, which continues to be difficult. The discussion will continue today.

In our country there is a growing political struggle inspired by anti-communist subversive elements from the West. Forces inimical to socialism have used the working people's justified dissatisfactions and the numerous blunders committed by the authorities to draw into their plots the broad ranks of society, including young people. Thinking in terms of the principle, the worse the better, they have been paralyzing all efforts and moves to normalize life in our country. There has been an attack on the foundations of the existence of our state; our alliance with the Soviet Union, and there are leaflets and fliers being disseminated which are designed to evoke hatred for the peoples to whom we are linked by virtue of our joint struggle and later reconstruction. This is not because of a lack of political imagination but due to conscious effort.

The attacks continue on the party, which is opposing antisocialist actions, but the lack of effectiveness of the authorities' actions has encouraged the forces of the right wing to also go into subversion and political terror. The phenomenon in the work establishments is severe.

The motives for these actions are clear. It is a question of creating an atmosphere which is hostile to party activists and also of distracting attention of the mass membership of "Solidarity" and of the whole society away from the essence of the union's program, which, as the speech put it, is a negation and blockade of all attempts to overcome the economic crisis.

The congress of the "Solidarity" trade union made it evident that by using demagoguery the rightwing representatives are using the trade-union movement to obtain political dominance and undermine the program of the Ninth Party Congress, a program which was a comprehensive offer of social agreement and the joint overcoming of the political, social, and economic crisis, according to the report.

The group of political activists operating in the capital in the lowest elements of the PZPR is opposing these pressures, but sometimes it struggles in isolation, amazed by erroneous decisions or unconvincing decisions made by the authorities. As the speech emphasized, it is fighting not against "Solidarity" but for the working-class nature of this union. Many comrades in the work establishments are aware that it is necessary to put an end to anarchy and destruction in order to create a climate in which it is possible to implement the socialist line of social agreement, and there can be no agreement with groups fighting against socialism, the report of the executive board says.

Today it is necessary for the party activist group and echelons to have a more decisive profile in discharging their control functions. There is need for greater POP [Basic Party Organization] interest in issues related to the functioning of the socialist enterprise and the employee self-government and in activity to explain the consequences of actions which paralize the operation of the economic and state administration.

The crisis has a political foundation. For this reason it is necessary publically to expose the real initiators and organizers of the newly created groups and political directions originating in anticommunist doctrines. On the other hand, all the POPs and all the members of the party must describe their attitude about the sociopolitical phenomena in the country. Those who want to escape this should turn in their membership cards.

At the end of the report, the executive board assesses the economic situation in the capital and the state of its preparations for a period which will be difficult this year, winter.

Discussion

Two currents came up in the discussion, one which was critical and tried to bring about a reckoning, and one which sought solutions today as never before to difficult sociopolitical problems. Many parties to the discussion accused the party leadership of operating in isolation from the mass membership and of avoiding consultation with the public. It was pointed out that after the Ninth Party Congress, the party echelons got farther away from the POPs, leaving work establishment party activists on their own, often leaving them to fight for ideological principles without current arguments. While the working forces are bombarded with rightwing leaflets and fliers, the party elements often have no reliable information from their own echelons. On the other hand, some comrades who took the floor in the discussion pointed out that there are those organizations in which vacations were set up after the Ninth Party Congress. This also applies to a certain extent to the Warsaw echelon, which did not determine the membership for the problem-related committees until just now.

All PZPR members should be required to make a clear ideological declaration. How can we verify the party ranks? The views are divided. Some comrades are proposing that new party membership cards be issued, while other people feel that those who do not pass will drop out of the action.

Much attention was given to contacts between the party organizations and the elements of "Solidarity," emphasizing that PZPR is not fighting against the trade union but against that nature of the organization which has nothing in common with working-class interests. What is needed is a line of agreement, dialogue, but not with those who spit on us and turn their backs on us, the people said in the discussion.

What the party leadership and the government need is consistent action from the position of a clearly specified strategy. Conclusions should be drawn from reverses suffered, and work should be done to prepare politically a society which today is getting lost in the informational hum, as it is called.

What is needed is party unity in the workplace and in the leadership, in order not to give the initiative to adversaries, in order to be able to counteract the extended political crisis.

PZPR Warsaw Committee Resolution

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Oct 81 p7

[Resolution of the PZPR Warsaw Committee, dated 14 Oct 1981]

[Text] The Warsaw Committee affirms that in the voivodship of the capital-city of Warsaw, as elsewhere in the country, there is a growing wave of social conflicts and tension, caused by the exceptionally difficult economic situation and its accompanying catastrophic shortage of basic foodstuffs, medicines, washing agents, and so on. The social tensions are being made worse by the confrontation tactics of the extremist current of "Solidarity," a political battle which is aggressive in nature, a battle calculated to upset the economic and political structures of the socialist state. The consequences of this development of the situation are the disintegration of human relations, a growing sense of danger on the part of the citizenry, and social demoralization. The continuation of these trends will inevitably lead to the outbreak of uncontrolled conflicts and even a national catastrophe.

The Warsaw Committee confirms the opinion generally expressed in the Warsaw party organization that the only chance to slow and reverse these adverse trends is the consistent implementation of the program line of the Ninth Party Congress, one of party agreement and dialogue, not with those against socialist but with all progressive social forces expressing the desire to eliminate the sources of the crisis, to democratize social relations, to deepen social justice, and to extend understanding on the basis of the socialist path of development of the country. For millions of Poles inside and outside the party, the long-range prospects given by the Ninth Party Congress were and still are the hope for the normalization of living and working conditions, but there is the general opinion that the development of events after the congress are systematically undermining this hope. The state and party leadership at various levels, including those in Warsaw, have after all not inculcated the Congress resolutions by all means correctly made and accepted by the society to the extent necessary to arrest adverse processes in economic, social, and political life and to eliminate the causes of the negative phenomena. Nor has it been successful in focussing on the program of the Ninth Party Congress all the constructive social forces, including those of the party.

The Warsaw Committee affirms that it is the opinion of party members that the causes of these failures are to be found mainly in the slack nature of the actions of party officials, in their inconsistency, and in their lack of decisiveness in carrying out for the most part correct decisions and provisions. Such behavior does not objectively restrict the adversaries of the socialist system. It solidifies their conviction of impunity and makes it easier for them to carry out their plans and reach their goals. It inevitably leads to the disintegration of economic, social, and political structures and makes it impossible to implement the reforms.

Such behavior also endangers the very existence of the party, which has become still weaker in the recent period. Within the ranks of the party there is growing distrust of the possibility of overcoming the crisis. Faith in the party leadership and its ability to overcome the enemies of socialism in the political battle which the latter have thrust on society is dying.

The Warsaw Committee is expressing as well its conviction that various bodies of the state administration, including the Warsaw echelon, have failed to do all they could to ease the consequences of the crisis in the realm of living conditions. Frequently subjective difficulties are being hidden by objectively existing ones. The Warsaw officials are being called upon to bring about clear improvement in market supply, at least for milk and breadstuffs, and in the functioning of urban transportation. Shortcomings in the operation of urban services and administration should not be tolerated by the capital's party echelons under any circumstances.

The Warsaw Committee states that it is the inevitable duty of all patriots, inside and outside the party, to fight against the greatest dangers facing the socialist state. Here what is needed is a decisive stance on the part of the leading centers of power, along with the execution of constitutional legal order, and severe penal sanctions for anyone violating the law. This is a basic condition to law and order, a condition to the leadership's moral authority and authenticity.

There can be no tolerating those forces which openly prove unfaithful to the social agreement of August 1980 or any concessions to their demands. The Warsaw Committee of the PZPR is expecting the Fourth Central Committee Plenum to use the provisions of the statute of guarantees for the consistent implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress. It is only on this platform that the shaping of political agreements may take place.

The Warsaw Committee affirms that in the current socioeconomic situation it is essential to pursue action to activate and discipline party ranks and restore respect for statutory standards. It is essential to this end to rid the party of those who violate the norms of its internal life, or moral or ideological principles. It is also necessary absolutely and to the end to bring matters to a process of clearing the accounts and providing public opinion with current information. The tasks facing the party can be implemented only by ideologically cohesive and organizationally efficient echelons and elements.

The Warsaw Committee feels that during the upcoming period all party echelons and organizations should focus their efforts on the following, above all:

--the struggle against manifestations of anarchy and chaos and against efforts calculated to dismantle social, political, and economic structures;

--the organization of steps to insure bearable living conditions for the residents of the urban center of the capital city and the functioning of Warsaw during the winter, and to arrest the decline in production and restore labor discipline;

--decisive countering of attempts to shift the costs of the crisis to the shoulders of families of low and moderate means, with the involvement of people employed in the socialized economy;

--the mobilization of a battle front to fight manifestations of violation of the principles of social justice in all its forms, especially in using speculation for purposes of financial gain using legal loopholes in the system of relationships between the socialized economy and private enterprise, and so on;

--the support of effective and efficient actions by the state and economic administration to help normalize socioeconomic life and at the same time to combat inability in management and leadership;

--social concern for young people, especially young families.

It is the conviction of the Warsaw Committee that these tasks are those which the party organizations and echelons must undertake to create the political conditions for consolidating the ranks of the party and at the same time for building up their moral authority and position in the community in which they operate.

The Warsaw Committee is calling on members of the Central Committee from the Warsaw Party Organization to bring these views and concerns to the forum of the very next plenary session of the Central Committee.

PZPR Warsaw Committee
Warsaw
14 October 1981

10790
CSO: 2600/134

SOLIDARITY LEADERS REJECT CONCILIATION PLATFORM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6

[Report by "bgw:" "Acting Against National Interests, 'Solidarity' Leaders, Conferring in Gdansk on Saturday, Reject Platform of Conciliation"]

[Text] The second day of the proceedings of the National Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity did not produce any cooling off of emotions. The escalation of charges leveled against the authorities and the constitutional order goes on.

Although a few experts warned the National Commission against pursuing a policy geared toward confrontation, a majority of the union's activists turned deaf ears to these appeals to common sense.

For example, Patrycjusz Kosmowski from Bielsko claimed that it is already high time to kick the party committees out of the workplaces and that a program should be put together for a provisional government so that we will be ready for the moment.... "when the present government will be lying face down in the street...."

Mr Karwowski from Sloclawek went on to say that it is necessary to cut the government off from those workplaces on which it relies for support and then "...it will be necessary to overthrow it."

Antoni Kopaczewski did not mince words when he said that, "...we have reached a critical point and either we take over the government or we go to Siberia."

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk from Wroclaw was one of the few speakers who spoke in a somewhat more critical vein with reference to Solidarity's policies. He observed that a debate was underway about big-league politics and that some people were dreaming about winning seats in the Sejm, and yet nobody knows anything about ordinary work planning or about how to set up workers self-management bodies. However, this line of argument did not arouse any interest among the members of the National Commission. The problem of self-management was addressed in different tones.

Andrzej Rozplochowski from Silesia charged: "The communists have already made a mess of self-management, and that is why we should send the party packing."

Andrzej Gwiazda, who was elected as chairman of the Resolutions and Petitions Committee, presented some draft resolutions.

The key resolution on the union's strategy and tactics is based on the familiar "Radom line," so it amounts to a kind of ultimatum to the government and to the people and, as such, represents an outright rejection of the platform of national conciliation. Once again, during the course of the debate on whether or not to pass this resolution, no appeals were made to common sense. Rather the only argument was whether this resolution was "too soft" or whether it took a stiff enough "stand" against the government.

The tone of total negativism and severe and relentless criticism of everything that had anything to do with the government led to the modification and eventual acceptance of this resolution, the author of which was Jan Rulewski. This document asserted that the passage of a law on trade unions in any version other than the one recommended by Solidarity and the granting to the government of full powers of arbitration would lead to the declaration of a general strike. This document also advocates something which is utterly astounding--the creation of a commissioner's office in charge of the holding of a national referendum on the subject of...the system governing the exercise of political power, and the document further obliges the National Commission to hold such a national referendum by 15 February!

The culmination of all this ill will, of this refusal to live in the real world, of this by now open hatred for socialist Poland, in other words the last straw, was the endorsement by the National Commission of a statement made by Karol Modzelewski in which he roundly criticized the way in which the government and the country are run.

So, in an atmosphere of antisocialist euphoria and hysteria instigated by certain veteran political hucksters it came to pass that the "Radom line," which runs counter to our national interests, was reaffirmed. The Solidarity National Commission has set itself above the Constitution and the law. It has come out in favor of a confrontation that runs counter to the interests of the people and the socialist state.

11813
CSO: 2600/166

ZSL HOLDS REPORT-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6

[Article by Pawel Zaborowski]

[Text] Reports-election meetings have been held in more than half of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] caucuses. These meetings represent the first phase of the political campaign leading up to the 9th Special Congress of the ZSL. The next phases of this campaign will be the gmina congresses, which have already gotten under way in some regions, and the party's voivodship congresses.

The high priority given to this current campaign in the work of the ZSL is attested to by the fact that as a part of this campaign a debate is underway on the preliminary drafts of the ZSL's ideological manifesto and its platform and statute. All local ZSL organizations are supposed to make a contribution to producing the finalized versions of these documents.

The meetings of these basic party organizations are of fundamental importance to strengthening the position of the ZSL, and, at the same time, they are playing an important role in the life of rural areas and the national as a whole. The debate that is now underway at this level is giving ZSL members an opportunity to express their views both on matters related to the current activities of their peasant party and also on the subject of the country's current political and socioeconomic situation.

So far during this debate a great deal of attention has been devoted to the issues of the independence of the ZSL, the need to establish genuinely partner-like relations between the PZPR and the ZSL, and creating a larger role for ZSL representatives in governmental administrative bodies and in the management of various institutions and organizations. There is a fairly widely held view that the democratization process has filtered down to the gmina level only to a very limited degree. While bearing this in mind, however, participants in the reports-election meetings have expressed praise for the work being done by the local operations groups of the people's Polish Army.

During these meetings frequent references were made to the need for ZSL authorities at the national and voivodship levels to display greater initiative in the process of finding solutions to current problems and in the quest for ways to extricate ourselves from the present difficult political and economic situation.

With regard to the ZSL's action programs the participants in these meetings are pointing out the necessity for the ZSL to take a clearcut stand in favor of collaboration with all private farmers' professional organizations.

There is no point in making a secret of the fact that the meetings going on in the party caucuses have also called attention to the problem of apathetic attitudes on the part of some ZSL members. In the opinion of ZSL activists this is attributable to, among other things, the critical assessment of the implementation of the joint guidelines adopted in January 1981 by the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the ZSL NK [National Committee?] Presidium concerning crucial problems affecting agrarian policy, agriculture, and the food economy. As is apparent in light of the ongoing debate, it is expected that governmental and economic management authorities should be taking more effective actions in this area.

11813
CSO: 2600/164

NZS POLITICAL ACTIVITY CRITICIZED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 11-13 Dec 81 p 5

[Article by Jerzy Godula: "Where Are the Students?"]

[Text] The period of leniency is about to end. More than a year and a half has passed since August 1980. What at that time was young and barely able to fly should have well-developed wings now. It should now be able to function smoothly to accomplish chosen goals. It is worthwhile to look at all the youth organizations, independent and self-governing, that are supposedly by definition better than those existing before.

I followed the development of the Independent Association of Students [NZS] fairly closely due to my journalistic duties. I wrote--on occasion, with insufficient detail through no fault of mine--about a succession of imbroglios with the registration of this organization and later about the actual forms of its activity. I went to the First NZS Congress, held in Krakow in early April.

1.

The entanglements with the NZS's registration were clarified at the congress. The delegates themselves proved that the new student organization had not been repressed by the authorities but, in fact, the NZS activists had spread nonsense about repression.

Without informing the membership, they deleted from the statute of the organization an article stating that the NZS would observe the provisions of the Polish People's Republic [PRL] in its activities. Then they waited to see how the authorities would respond. Of course, the minister did not want to register an organization that did not intend to stay within the bounds of the constitution.

The NZS membership firmly believed that the statute contained an article referring to Poland's fundamental law. That was the statute they had signed. How then, could the minister demand that the statute be completed? What was the point? These were the questions that many people asked themselves because, after all, not everybody was likely to get the successive versions of the statute and be informed in detail on the progress of talks between the ministry and the NZS National Founding Committee [OKZ].

How can one term this move of NZS's leading activists? It should be called just what it was--a provocation addressed to the authorities and a fraud offered as a "free gift" to the membership. What gains were there in it? There were many--including raising discontent in the student community toward the ministerial authorities or, more broadly, the government and the party. Not only the student community was involved, since, in fact, the whole nation was concerned about the poor students who were being harassed, though they merely wanted to conduct apolitical, independent union activity.

2.

It is also worth realizing that the demand for registration of the association was the chief reason for a protracted student strike in Lodz, which is paradoxical in the light of the facts. Hurriedly added to that demand were many other demands of the students and society at large--hurriedly, because some of those demands indicated that the students were ignorant of fundamental legal acts, while others actually defeated the purposes of academic youth.

Not all the Lodz demands were nonsensical. Several have certainly brought in much new into the realities of academic or social life. Still, the demands for which it was [?] possible to "come to terms" without the "protocol of differences" could have been settled without a strike. That settlement would have come somewhat later, but it would have come with certainty.

When the association had been registered, numerous leaflets and bulletins made truculent claims that the minister registered the organization solely because of the pressure from the Lodz strike. The strike was, therefore, indispensable. Unfortunately, the minister registered the NZS because its activists finally deigned to return to the membership the original text of the statute with a reference to the constitution. It is a paradox that the minister who was so denigrated by the members of the association had actually been concerned with their vital interests.

3.

No attempts at constructive action are seen in the association's activities to date--constructive meaning such action that, on the one hand, can contribute to solving the problems besetting the students and, on the other hand, to expanding the student youth's role in society's life. I will not try to prove this thesis broadly, offering instead a few examples.

The first example is the students' problems. Following the Lodz strike, the Commission for Contacts with Student Organizations was formed. In the history of Poland's higher school system, this is the first forum composed of representatives of particular ministries, mandated to review any demands submitted by student organizations--to review and also to devise, jointly with the young people's representatives, appropriate solutions and make decisions.

Prior to the summer vacation, four sessions with NZS participation were held by the commission. What did those representatives of students who belonged to the association want to discuss? They wanted to talk about political prisoners, repression against the organization's activists, the association's inner

organizational matters like financing, a periodical publication, official passports for activists. These are undoubtedly important issues, though frequently purely subjective, but are these really the issues that the representatives of numerous student association are interested in?

Observing the bulk of very long and laborious deliberations of the Commission for Contacts with Student Organizations, I noticed that typical union matters had no attraction for the association's representatives. During those sessions they have played the part of young persons who know everything best. They are the only ones who want, and are able, to set our country right. Views of other people are of no account, they are not even worth knowing.

Another example is the role of student youth in society. What is the association doing so that the students become a ranking social group, with some influence over the course of public matters? The association is doing much to put the students in disrepute. It creates no new patterns for action adapted to the current conditions. It is seeking support from emotions rather than from reflection and prudence, as becomes the devotees of scholarship. It does not teach the courage to voice one's own views even, or perhaps especially, at times when they "run counter to a currently mandated trend."

After all, we are living in a period where an ability to discuss, persuade, win support for some view and change the situation by evolution is becoming the most important ability. This alone helps to protect the values generated in the wake of August 1980. Violent shocks are fine but not in every circumstance. The circumstances do not favor shock therapy on a national scale. What is the NZS doing in this setting? It proclaims strikes.

This needs another qualification--I oppose strikes except when other, more intellectual forms of protest have been exhausted. I cannot support a student strike of whose genuine causes I am informed afterward. A strike caused by repeated postponement of the deadline on submission of the draft law on higher schools to the Sejm is well-founded, but I will not give my support to the strike in connection with the WSI [Higher School of Engineering] in Radom.

I will not support that strike because it was proclaimed in the defense of those who provided the initial impulse for breaking the societal contract under which the school is bound to operate. That impulse consisted in an attempt to eliminate the head of the Radom school from a list of candidates for the rector position. Yet the social contract--that is, the draft law on higher schools--clearly states that "the rector, proctors, dean and assistant deans cannot be elected for the same position for a period exceeding two consecutive terms."

The present rector of the Radom WSI was never elected but appointed; thus he met the conditions for candidacy. This is the letter of the social contract and there are no reasons to violate it. In the course of time it was broken by a succession of partners, including the minister, but the social conflicts should be blamed on those who started--or, to put it differently, provoked--them.

4.

To return to the NZS, everything seems to indicate that strike actions are the association's specialty. When registering the organization, the NZS OKZ activists declared that there was a need for legal regulation of the strike issue. The point was to allow a proclamation of an occupation strike--when other ways of solving a conflict are already exhausted--to take place after it is accepted by a majority of students participating in a special assembly, convened under an agreement with the school authorities. The concern here was also about those who do not join a strike being able to attend regular classes.

The minister prepared an appropriate regulation, but the association activists did not accept it. They proposed the declaration of a strike to be tantamount to an automatic suspension of all classes, regardless of the number of those striking. This is, unfortunately, what is happening. To be sure, students engage in volunteer social work and attend unscheduled classes during strikes, but they are not studying the problems they should be studying in their chosen fields.

5.

Until now, the public has known very little about NZS activity. The public knows about the exhibit of so-called independent publications at the Warsaw Technical University [Politechnika] where offensive cartoons of Soviet leaders were displayed, about protest marches to defend political prisoners, about various actions whose organizers do not conceal their antisocialist attitudes and downright enmity toward the government, the party and all those forces that want the principles of socialism to be fully effective in our social life.

The public does not know whether the organization remembers the problems of daily living directly interesting the students, because such problems are barely marginal in the NZS activities.

Are the tens of thousands of NZS student members conducting antisocialist and anti-Soviet activity, contrary to the law and the statute of the association? Most certainly they are not. Pleading the students' cause, this is being done by a handful of activists from the central board and from particular schools. They refer to themselves, though not always openly, as opponents of the system under which they are living. To be an opponent of the system is something totally different from being an opponent of specific, detrimental features in the public life.

The association still does not have a program of its own. It is time for a program of this kind, reflecting genuine aspirations of all NZS members, to be developed. Otherwise, the activities of this organization will continue to be directed by small groups of activists for whom personal ambitions and thoughts are most important, rather than the interests of the student community and the whole society.

8795
CSO: 2600/131

MINISTERIAL CONCEPT OF EDUCATION COUNCIL PRESENTED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 22 Nov 81 p3

[Article: "Concept of the Social Council on Education and Upbringing"]

[Text] I am sending a concept by the Social Council on Education and Upbringing, as drafted at the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, and I am asking that it be published and that you weekly conduct a discussion in its columns. We are planning to have social consultation on the draft up to the end of this year.

If the editors want to take up the matter, I would be grateful to have you successively send me all the letters of readers who make a statement on the subject of a Social Council on Education and Upbringing.

Minister of Education and Upbringing
Boleslaw Faron

From the editors: We are convinced that the subject will really evoke the interest of our readers. Of course, all the letters on this subject which come in will be sent on, and we also commit ourselves to using some of them in our columns.

There is a broadly felt need to create a plan for the systematic expression of public opinion on the current needs of education and upbringing and on the directions of its further development. This plan could also be the source for seeking assistance for various persons, institutions, and organization on the behalf of education and upbringing facilities and schools, awakening social instances of initiative in this regard.

The demands of the social environment, especially the teachers trade unions, imply the expectations of creating such a plan . This is also expressed in the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, recommending the consideration of creating an education council.

In connection with the above, a Social Council on Education and Upbringing will be created at the Ministry of Education and Upbringing. Similar councils could be created, if there is need for them, at the level of the voivodships, cities, gminas, and even schools. These councils will have the function of giving opinions, consulting, and initiating.

The purposes of the Social Council on Education and Upbringing are:

--to integrate the society around the needs of education and upbringing,

--to express social expectations (present conclusions concerning the education and upbringing for the needs of the economy, culture, and social life),

--to help the Council of Ministers and Education Administration in the realm of directing and administering education;

--to give opinions on drafts of the major undertakings concerning current work and future intentions in the area of education and upbringing,

--to exercise social control to monitor the functioning of the system of education and upbringing to see that it is proper and coincides with social needs.

The whole system of problems of instruction and upbringing, along with the plans for development in this area, is the subject of interest of the Social Council on Education and Upbringing, especially the following:

--the effectiveness of the work of the schools and the teachers,

--general targets of the curricula, content of textbooks and other learning aids,

--problems of the upbringing and care of children and youth,

--pedagogical progress,

--living and working conditions of teachers and their professional education and continuing development,

--material conditions of the functioning and development of education,

--direction and management of the system of education and upbringing,

--scientific research on behalf of education and upbringing.

The council will be made up of personally appointed people considered to be authorities in the area of science, education, culture, the national economy, or else in socio-political life; members of creative associations, scientific societies, and social organizations.

Sitting on the councils at the lower levels (voivodship, cities, gminas, and especially schools) will be people recognized in their own communities, coming from local scientific institutions, work places, social organizations, and the community of families and teachers.

The Social Council on Education and Upbringing at the central level should be appointed by the premier at the request of the Minister of Education and Upbringing. At the voivodship level, the appointment will be made by the voivodship governor at the request of the superintendent of education and upbringing. In the cities and towns (gminas), the mayor or head will appoint the council at the request of the inspectors of education and upbringing, just as in the schools he will do so at the request of the principals. It needs to be resolved as to whether at the school level the council should not be expanded in membership and charge to include the tasks of the existing parent committees and upbringing committees. The pedagogical councils should operate independently of the social councils on education and upbringing.

In all cases the creation of the councils should come only after there has been broad social consultation as to both the usefulness of appointing a council in a concrete instance and as to the membership it should have. Owing to the lack of experience, the first term of the councils appointed should not be longer than 3 years. The councils could have their own regulations.

The council will be directed by a chairman elected from among its members. It seems useful to constitute boards (at least in the councils for the minister and superintendent) for the effective working of the council. The council will operate on the basis of a plan which it constructs itself. The plan is drafted for each term and for periods of a year. The operations of the council will be revealed in general meetings, the work of commissions, and other groups (sections, problem-based groups, working groups), in the drafting of analyses and expert reports, and in the organizing of the local community to assist the schools and education and upbringing facilities.

The funds necessary for the council's activities are to be assured in the budget of the school administration unit at the appropriate level. These units serve as the council's office organization. The Social Council on Education and Upbringing should exist independently of the collegium of the Minister of Education and Upbringing and the Interministry Collegium on Trade School Matters. In the voivodship it will be independent of the Collegium of the superintendent of education and upbringing, and the same will be true in towns and gminas. The further continuation of other councils, groups, and commissions at various levels of the education administration needs to be considered.

The Committee on National Education will be created to develop the future system of education and upbringing.

10790
CSO: 2600/158

OPINIONS ON HIGHER SCHOOLS LAW EXPRESSED

Background Examined

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Dec 81 p 3

[Text] Parliamentary debate of the draft law on higher schools has started. As is known, in accordance with the desires of academic communities this is the so-called social draft prepared by a codification commission which has in practice incorporated in its proposals the concepts resulting from discussions in various communities, associations and organizations. This is why the draft law includes many compromises and controversial regulations. Not only the government but various institutions, trade unions and student organizations have volunteered their remarks.

Working teams, where the members of parliament are going over particular chapters of the draft, must outline the ultimate content of this document. This will certainly be done by seeking the opinion of all interested parties. Therefore, the discussion over the draft law on higher schools goes on. We have solicited some remarks from the representatives of higher schools.

Interview with Jagiellonian University Rector

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Dec 81 p 3

[Interview with Professor Dr Jozef Gierowski, rector of the Jagiellonian University (UJ); by Ryszarda Moszczenska: "Self-government Is Not Based on Full Autonomy"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] The draft law on higher schools has been formulated under the powerful influence of the Jagiellonian University. Which segments of the draft are the work of scholars from Krakow?

[Answer] Our impact has been the greatest in regulations associated with labor relations, which include the concepts of Prof Sylwester Wojcik and Docent [Assistant Professor] Boguslaw Gawlik, members of the codification commission. We have also contributed a lot to chapter 1 of the draft on general assumptions and to the chapter defining the structure of the school. In principle, it is difficult to attribute something to us and something else to say, the University of Warsaw. We have discussed each article of the draft, we all have been looking for the best solutions.

[Question] However, the Jagiellonian University has introduced its own draft law; what has been its impact on the final version?

[Answer] That draft of ours was also based on other elaborations, among them, the famous theses prepared by the codification commission. We contributed primarily the desire to consider the entire scope of issues in the higher school system. The concept of self-government, from the Main Council on down to faculty and institute councils originated in our Faculty of Philosophy and History as long ago as October of last year.

[Question] Inasmuch as nobody questions self-government of higher schools, many objections, without saying the word disquiet, have been raised by the concept of the Main Council on Science and Higher Schools, the highest collective body.

[Answer] The Main Council is not exactly a new concept; there has always been the Main Council on Science, Higher Schools and Technology, whose functions have been advisory. We are suggesting that it assume the decision-making, consultative and revocatory functions as well, much as the senate of a school.

[Question[Therefore, it weakens the position of the minister [of higher schools]... On November 27, during the first reading of the draft in the parliament, somebody said that it would be better to honestly declare in the draft that the minister is redundant rather than assign him the role of a fig leaf.

[Answer] Everything boils down to trust. The concept of the draft proceeds from the experience of recent years. Should the minister be an intermediary between us and the government, should he, being a professor, consider himself a representative of the academic community and be committed to its defense, rather than to overseeing and, on top of that, overseeing in line with the interests and views of the government, then there might be less effort to insure against one-man decisions.

Let us dot all "i"s. There have been voices in the codification commission in favor of abolishing the post of minister. If the higher school system were involved in education alone, this could be a valid alternative. However, it is also involved in science, therefore, there must be somebody to plan and coordinate scientific activity.

Furthermore, I do not think that the draft law is too restrictive as far as the responsibilities of the minister are concerned. He has full initiative in bringing up issues.

Moreover, the minister supervises schools, he can require the school organs to provide explanations in any matter, he can suspend the senate decision on the grounds of it being contrary to the law and transfer it to the consideration of the council. In a word, the minister suggests and plans, the council confirms. Such decisions should be more correct and to the point than those made by one person. It would be good if the minister would identify with the main council; I would also be in favor of joint government by the minister and the council. I know that this is too idealistic a concept, but it deserves a try... I do not imagine that a chancellor can fail to cooperate with the senate, because if something is to be achieved, it can only be done in agreement with the academic community rather than in spite of it.

[Question] In case of a conflict, is the Council of State to mediate?

[Answer] This can be considered later. Already there has been a precedent. Representatives of the conference of chancellors have taken the matter of the Higher School of Engineering (WSI) to Radom to the prime minister.

[Question] Placing science before education is also seen as a drawback of the draft law.

[Answer] The higher school differs from the high and elementary school in that it conducts scientific research. The essence of a decent higher school is in researching first and disseminating next. I would admit I do not know what cause might be served by reversing the order of these activities, just as if the universities were to bring down a disaster on [full-time] science. The schools have a larger research potential and they are closer to real life. Anyway, our concept of the Main Council offered in the Jagiellonian University was a little bit different: it was to include representatives of schools, research centers and institutes as well as the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN). This would be an areopag of people embracing the entire scope of science; the composition of the council would be changeable; this would insure the infusion of thought and concepts, their novelty and openness.

[Question] Would the chancellor agree with the opinion that the upper limits of student admissions should be determined centrally, since this is what the interest of the economy requires?

[Answer] To my mind, the lower limits are important. If determined in accordance with the needs of the economy, they safeguard its interests in the best way. The apprehension that a school will train too many persons is comprehensible; however, this can be adjusted by, for example, allocating the funds geared to the desirable student contingents.

[Question] And, by the same token, is it correct to have partially unified programs of education for particular fields of study?

[Answer] On this point, I may yield. Already there are tendencies of carrying the individualization in drawing up programs and curriculum too far. When I was a student, this problem was solved in a different way: to become a bachelor, one had to pass a certain number of exams in basic subjects for a certain field, on top of other exams of course. In this way, unified fundamentals of educating graduates in the same field but in different schools were ensured.

[Question] The demand of an eight-week vacation for the academic instructors--is it not exorbitant?

[Answer] In general, I cannot imagine a scientist who does nothing and relaxes for two months. Something else is the issue here; assistants and adjuncts are incredibly overworked, especially in instruction. Spare time, at any rate the eight weeks, must be ensured for them in order to relax and carry out academic activities of their own. If we rigidly determine the time for a relaxing vacation and for their research activity, they will begin to behave like officials, they will do research only in the time so designated for them. This is unthinkable.

[Question] The National Council of Young Academic Employees thinks that the draft law is far from the ideal and demands that their problems be dealt with. Have those been overlooked?

[Answer] I suppose that the main issues are the situation of adjuncts and assistants and the issue of rotation. The draft law gives an assistant eight years to write a doctoral dissertation. (They used to say that it is too much time, now, it turns out that it is not enough...) Adjuncts, in their turn, are subject to rotation (extensions of the contract every several years) or stabilization by receiving nomination. The opportunity for conferring the degree of docent non-habilitatus will also be presented, which is especially essential in technical schools.

The draft law, therefore, safeguards the interests of schools so that they might shape their cadres, keep the best and let the less able go. In a majority of schools, a great infusion of workers occurred in the mid-1970s, a majority of them have written dissertations and, for example, we now have an immense number of adjuncts in the Jagiellonian University, about 600, or two times the number of independent scientific workers. What are we to do with them, anyway, not all of them will become assistant professors and professors? The new ones keep coming, the younger ones, sometimes more gifted, more needed by the school...

[Question] Larger schools with rich academic traditions certainly can handle self-government and autonomy. But can we grant all these privileges to new, less experienced schools without apprehension?

[Answer] Self-government...is not based on full autonomy. The members of the codification commission were aware of the fact that self-government can be abused, that it can become a mere front, that it can serve as the defense for weak individuals. Therefore, the Main Council is needed in order to preclude such phenomena. The council provides the limit for self-government of a school, it reviews what is going on in the school and in which way. So, at this level, the school's autonomy ceases. Initially, we considered introducing two types of schools, A and B. This, however, could create too formidable a barrier to overcome, whereas the goals are to encourage development of smaller academic centers, bringing in people and scientific teams, obtaining the right to confer degrees etc.

[Question] Do you also share the opinion that dispatch is necessary in parliamentary work on the law?

[Answer] Certainly, because by acting now according to the new law, we are in conflict with the current legal regulations. Everything is in order as long as there are no conflicts... If we had the law, there would not be the incidents with the WSI in Radom and the Higher Officers' Firefighting School (WOSP). At last, I think that if we want to bring up the youth in the spirit of abiding by the law, we ourselves must act in keeping with the law.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

Bialystok Academy of Medicine Representatives

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Dec 81 p 3

[Interview with Professor Dr Andrzej Kalicinski and Docent Dr Emanuel Trembaczowki, prorector of the Academy of Medicine in Bialystok; by Ewa Wilk: "Without Ordering Them About"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] How will the medical school system benefit from the new law on higher schools? What benefits will be, in your estimation, the most important?

[Andrzej Kalicinski] To my mind, the greatest achievement of the law is contained in one of its very first statements, proclaiming the pluralism of worldview and full intellectual freedom. It has special importance in teaching medicine. Let us take such an example: we now transplant cornea, kidneys and hearts. Currently, great ethical and moral problems are posed by taking the heart out of a seemingly live organism (that means the organism in which the activity of the brain is ceasing). Medicine can only operate at that level in the environment of full intellectual freedom. There can be no limits to the human mind, and the removal of such artificial barriers by the law is a positive development.

[Emanuel Trembaczowski] In my opinion, the separate statutes worked out be particular schools in an autonomous fashion will be tremendously important for the development of medicine. They will make it possible to emphasize the fields in which academies of medicine have shown outstanding achievements. In Bialystok, for example,, the coagulability of blood is such a field. Almost every school has an opportunity to set up working teams. The statute will allow us to introduce changes which will enable the free development of such teams. Changes in many structures that hamper development will become possible. The institute structure is already giving way and the system of chairs and clinics is setting in.

[Andrzej Kalicinski] Statutes and financial autonomy will allow the schools to even out the levels of particular establishments. So far, there have been weak establishments and strong estab hments. In the ministry, where the funds were distributed, only the strong on could get noticed. Therefore, the gap between the weak and the strong was getting wider. Now genuine needs of the school can be evaluated more objectively from the rector's level.

[Question] I notice a certain contradiction: one of you talks about emphasizing selected fields, whereas the other--about evening out the level of establishments.

[Andrzej Kalicinski] Contrary to what it seems like, there is no contradiction. It is possible to water "the most magnificent flowers" and to give a boost to no less able individuals who, however, lack the clout needed to move up--both at the same time.

[Question] Since the beginning of this year, your school has been operating on the basis of the new draft law. Can you already see the consequences of introducing this legal act?

[Emanuel Trembaczowski] Students and assistants have been introduced to the ruling circles. They can voice their opinions on almost all issues in the senate and

faculty councils. Introducing the students to these bodies did encounter some resistance. Spontaneity and being carried away by emotions so characteristic of young people were feared. It was thought that they would strive to reduce the time of study and make exams easier. These assumptions have not been borne out. The young people are learning quickly to govern democratically. Earlier, they learned only how to manage things, they themselves were ordered about.

[Andrzej Kalicinski] We were in anguish because those who were ruled were slighted, because there was no mutual respect for each other between the authority and the ruled. The latter obeyed the authority, but did not believe it. This is a natural outcome when the authority is nominated rather than elected. New authorities were elected by our meeting and confidence in this authority was strengthened by the following device: the term is three years, but a vote of acceptance is required after two years. So, our gathering is now the truly superior authority.

[Question] We started our interveiw with the issue of insuring free development of medicine and the widening of research horizons in this field of knowledge. A "return" of medicine to the universities would serve this goal. What do you think about this concept.

[Emanuel Trembaczowski] It seems to me, that, firstly, fields of research activities associated with natural sciences, for example, pharmacy, gravitate towards universities. Secondly, in centers such as Krakow or Warsaw tradition can play a significant role (there academies of medicine developed from medical faculties). To tell you the truth, where we work, in Bialystok, there would be no institution with which to join.

[Andrzej Kalicinski] So far, there has been no cooperation at all with the local branch of the Warsaw University. Relations with the Technical University (Politechnika) have been altogether antagonistic.

[Emanuel Trembaczowski] Immediately, barriers of technical character would spring up, such as the financing of health care. It should be borne in mind that medical schools do not only educate and conduct research, they also provide services. Instruction in such schools is inseparably linked with the work of clinics. This, among other things, accounts for the peculiarity of the medical school system. We are happy with this peculiarity being reflected in the draft and with the fact that a special Section of Medicine will be attached to the Main Council on Science and Higher Schools.

Once again about medicine in universities. Should the Krakow example be spread? No, I am against having everything done on orders once again.

[Question] Let me thank the gentlemen for the interview.

Wroclaw Technical University Professor

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Dec 81 p 3

[Interview with Professor Waclaw Kasprzak, Institute of Materials Science and Applied Mechanics at Wroclaw Technical University; by Ewa Wilk: "Several of the Main Sins"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Professor, I would like to know how you, a professor of exact sciences and until recently a prorector in the Technical University of Wroclaw, view the new law on higher schools. What is your forecast for the technical school system and in general for the Polish sciences in conjunction with this new legal act?

[Answer] It should be stressed that the law solves a problem of indeed fundamental importance: it guarantees self-government to the learned community. Besides this, however, it gives little, almost nothing. "The original sin" of the law is found in the very approach to the legislative process. As is known, Polish science is divided into three "sections"; schools, institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences and ministerial institutes. All "sections" need legal regulation. In my estimation, the law on higher schools will aggravate divisions among them. Our country cannot afford this three-section arrangement. Organizational estrangement causes duplication of institutes and research, whereas current subsidies to science do not even ensure the access to the sources of information (I mean magazines and scientific publications).

Therefore, my forecast for the future is bleak. So far, we have observed weak integration tendencies in science. The problem is whether the social system enhances certain objective tendencies or weakens them. It is evident that the law will promote disintegration tendencies. Each "sector" will want to dominate, the "tug-of-war over funds" will start, and the compromise achieved will be optimal not from the point of view of social interests but rather of narrow groups.

[Question] Where will the higher schools take positions in this "war"?

[Answer] The Polish Academy of Sciences will certainly use its authority as a public service institution; ministerial institutes will be able to live their own independent lives, as they do today, whereas higher schools are threatened with the reduction of their role to that of mere schools.

[Question] So, this is the first "sin" of the law, as you call it. Besides it, what other unsolved problems do you see?

[Answer] The law does not abolish the unusually elaborate, highly hierarchical structure of the learned community, where attachment to academic degrees is almost slavish. A young man taking up research receives training primarily in climbing up the ladder. Cognitive motivations of such a man are suppressed by motivations associated with his career. This is, nonetheless, natural, since independence is obtained only with the docent degree. Fully independent activity in science after the age of 40 means independence for the "old man." Certainly, the system of "fast growth" must be linked with more rigorous selection and rotation of scientific cadres.

[Question] At present, we do not yet know how this problem will be resolved in the law. However, does not any system of rotation entail the danger of--putting it rather bluntly--people who have "burned out" being kicked out into the street?

[Answer] Whatever view of the matter we take, the learned community must be very mobile. No person could be associated with for life; however, our scientific

workers are inviolable from a certain level on up. Let us consider other educational systems. In the USA, for example, the customarily secure position is only that of a full professor.

[Question] So far, we have been discussing the consequences of introducing the law for the learned community...

[Answer] Preserving the fiction of the higher school diploma as a document entitling one to practice a certain profession is a drawback of the law. A piece of paper takes the place of the genuine ability of the graduate, his professional usefulness in solving problems. Earning an academic degree exempts a person from raising his qualifications. After all, those who issue the diploma have only an indirect contact with industrial activity.

Once again, let us take a look at the higher schools of the USA. There, professional licenses, subject to periodical renewal, are granted by professional associations. On the other hand, these associations influence the shaping of the curriculum, whereas in our country a paradox is arising: full self-government of higher schools will come into conflict with the service function of instruction.

[Question] Do you mean establishing admission quotas and, subsequently, the associated problem of placement for the graduates?

[Answer] Not exclusively. I mean the broadly defined social interest, social control over the activity of schools. In an industrial plant, for example, decisions of the self-governing body will be verified by the market. At the same time, nobody controls decisions made in a higher school, there is no social mechanism or institution with controlling functions. Only science is represented in the Main Council on Science and Higher Schools; there are no representatives of industry and professional organizations.

[Question] Let us return to the issue of specialization. Does the law give students an opportunity for greater independence, for individualizing curriculum? Will higher schools stop resembling secondary schools?

[Answer] Massive introduction of individual study modes is impossible in the technical school system for a very simple reason--the economic distress pervading the schools. For laboratory classes, students have to be organized into groups; it is difficult to imagine that anybody can use the equipment whenever he pleases. Besides, a precise point system should be worked out for evaluating the students objectively.

Finally, there is the issue of scientific advisors to the students with individual curricula. Given our structure of higher schools, this is only a burden for the sponsoring scientist. In the USA, there are, for example no assistants in higher schools, therefore, every professor is interested in drawing students in their senior years of study into research activity. It is very important that the first independent ventures in science are not regarded as the first stage of professional activity. In this way, the maturing of a scientist occurs in a natural fashion.

I think that the "revolution" [in higher schools] based on the reduction of academic positions from seven to, say, four is possible under our conditions.

[Question] Now we are back to one of the "main sins" of the law, to the hierarchy of academic degrees...

[Answer] Indeed, I have pointed out many shortcomings of the law. However, I do not want to be misunderstood. I am an avid proponent of implementing the law, since it is a tremendous step ahead, despite those shortcomings.

[Question] Thank you sincerely for the interview.

Maria Curie-Sklodowska University Rector

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Dec 81 p 3

[Interview with Professor Dr Tadeusz Baszynski, rector of the Maria Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin; by Halina Zielinska: "For the Draft to Become a Law"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] In your opinion, which articles of the draft law are the most controversial?

[Answer] First of all, it should be mentioned that it is impossible to work out a draft law that satisfies everybody. A draft always stirs controversy and we must come to terms with this.

Nonetheless, it is necessary for us to be informed about the reservations voiced by the ministry [of higher schools] while the legislative process goes on--presumably, these reservations are no secret--and to discuss the draft with all interested communities.

Apart from statements on the issues of worldview--and I do not think that including such statements in the law is necessary--the article defining the ways to establish admission quotas for higher schools is controversial. As far as I know, the ministry thinks that the quotas must be set outside the school, because otherwise the economy cannot assume responsibility for the placement of graduates. Well, it can be said that in recent years nobody could guarantee anybody employment consistent with his line of education despite the system of coordination, plenipotentiaries and so on. Besides, should every higher school graduate be employed according to the education received? For example, why cannot a mechanic also be an art historian? Should a higher school, especially a university, be a center of promoting culture or rather an institution training people in a certain occupation? Should everybody be assigned a position to take after he graduates?

I personally think that making the development of higher schools dependent on the labor market entails a significant danger. Let us assume that the economy does not need, say, graduates in molecular biology. Can this be considered a valid reason to close down this direction in education? Of course, this would be an idiocy. Science cannot develop within the framework delimited by statistics and orders; higher schools are not institutions with solely educational functions, but with academic functions as well.

[Question] Does not according higher schools complete freedom in shaping curriculum entail a threat of chaos?

[Answer] If every higher school starts shaping curriculum anew and independently this could certainly lead to difficult situations; for example, it could altogether prevent students and academic cadres from switching schools. However, as far as I know, there is no revolution in the works; changes introduced in curriculum are usually known to the entire community. According the schools freedom in shaping curriculum will allow them to make use of their specific character. This will also facilitate establishing foreign contacts.

[Question] Much controversy is also stirred by the concept of setting up the highest collective body, the Main Council on Science and Higher Schools.

[Answer] The Main Council with advisory responsibilities has long existed, whereas the controversy arises around extending its responsibilities. In my opinion, the existence of the council, a collective elected body with legislative and revocatory functions in addition to the advisory function, will avert many conflicts.

The issue of funding higher schools unsolved in the draft is what bothers me. It is known that a part of our funding used to come through the so-called deductions, or work establishment grants. I do not think that work establishments will gladly give us money, at least not for the initial period after the transition to self-financing.

After all, many issues are controversial or only partially solved. However, as I have said, I cannot imagine an ideal draft law. The greatest danger does not lie in the shortcomings of the draft. In my opinion, the absence of a law on higher schools is the greatest danger. The old law has absolutely outlived itself, so higher schools are already making use of the new draft law. Some say that it is merely a draft, and, speaking objectively, one should admit they are right. Inadmissable arbitrariness has set in in regulating problems of academic life, from which the current situation in higher schools has resulted. So, it is of paramount importance that the draft turns into effective law.

9761
CSO: 2600/136

LEADING YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS DISCUSSED

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish 2 Aug 81 pp 18, 21

[Text]

Only a year ago, describing the whole Polish youth movement was as easy as apple pie. Now hardly a week passes without new organizations, programs or declarations added to the existing picture of changes within the movement. The stratification of the movement changes constantly, depending on the activities of various constituencies.

Beaming with its own, unreflected light, the former federal triumvirate is organizing congresses dedicated to radical renewal. The process of settling scores continues.

Yet it is difficult to find even the most competent historian or observer of the youth movement who can estimate how many unions, associations and societies are in Poland because they exist in all social groups, ranging from Marxist to Catholic. But after all, this is not of major importance. The time for statistics will come later. Together, we must discuss many problems in detail. Let us list the most important ones.

The first problem was detailed in two independent reports on career opportunities for young people. Both reports agree that the situation is bad. The political and economic crisis has affected especially young people who were looking forward to their mature and peaceful participation in the life of society when they suddenly realized that this perspective has been postponed. They will have to struggle for their career opportunities in a situation of unheard-of hardships and everyday inconveniences.

The second problem results from the first: the promises that have not materialized. Contrary to official statements, young people have participated only minimally in the process of alleviating the crisis, and they have had few opportunities to use their new skills. "We want to be treated as partners, we do not want to feel superfluous," representatives of various youth organizations point out in their programs, although they may differ in their proposed methods of becoming more useful.

Existing organizations, with their clearly defined constituencies, traditions and direct participation in the August 1980 events, should find it least difficult to adjust to the needs of the current situation. But, naturally, both formal obstacles and the prolonged process of settling scores have been impossible to avoid.

The crucial thing is to gain new faith in the new program and in the partnership between the unions on the one hand and the party, the government and trade organizations on the other.

Let us begin with a look at the post-August history of the best-known, the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), which irritated, astonished and even commanded respect during the past year, from the first plenums and meetings until its Third Extraordinary Congress and its present activities, which are a direct continuation of the congress.

In late fall 1980, there was a paradoxical situation. ZSMP members were setting up strike committees, making lists of demands and risking a hasty and unfair evaluation of their activities. In other words, they were present and active wherever historical events were taking place. When the strikes subsided, they were among the first who sought to make up losses from the strikes.

At the same time, the ZSMP as an organization was hibernating. It took a while before former ZSMP leaders changed their management methods, based on giving orders and issuing directives, for those based on consultation, analysis and democracy. Rather than visit local chapters, demand that changes take place more rapidly and work on a new program, they focused on discussing the problems of the endangered federation and rereading old resolutions, as if those were most important at the time. Our program was good, the leaders said, but no one wanted to or could realize it. "The credibility and the program of the ZSMP has survived the ordeal of August and September," said a last year's issue of WALKA MLODYCH. Is that true?

This question was best answered at the Third Extraordinary ZSMP Congress, which took place in an atmosphere that neither the new organizations (Rural Youth Union [ZMW] and Independent Association of Polish Students [SZSP]) nor the "old" ones (Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] and Polish Scout Union [ZHP]) could previously afford.

At the congress, the discussants said that they are fed up with their role as the party's kindergarten and with the symbolic response to important events through meetings only. Like many post-August phenomena, partnership should be understood literally, including the participation of representatives of party and state authorities in the congress, throughout the whole congress, not merely until the noon recess on the first day. This seemingly secondary motion lent wings to discussants at the congress.

The discussants were talking about irregularities and scandalous mismanagement in their work places, about completely ignoring young people's opinions and not allowing them to serve in an advisory capacity, and about manipulating the youth movement for the sake of obscure goals. The discussants did not spare the representatives of the party and state authorities who were present. They refused

to be misled and deceived by promises. They demanded truth, concrete statements and deadlines. To be sure, they elected chairman a few days later than they intended, at 4 am. Chairman Jerzy Rasilewicz and accredited correspondents called those procedures "crazy democracy" and thus unwittingly identified them with chaos. It is probably better to say "artistic chaos," which served to forge partnership. This term well reflects all the participants' enormous effort in making the congress happen.

After the congress, representatives of the ZSMP met with other unions. On 2 July 1981, a commission for joint international contacts was established. This solution is probably not yet final, for it allows little flexibility. But at least the largely divided Polish youth movement has found its first communication platform. The commission's declaration was signed by Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of ZSMP Main Board (ZSMP/ZG); Waldemar Swirgon, chairman of ZMW National Board (ZMW/ZK); Andrzej Ornat, supreme commander of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP); and Tadeusz Sawic, chairman of SZSP Supreme Council (SZSP/RN).

There are a few reservations about the present work of the ZSMP in order to avoid painting an idealized, or unreal, picture of the union. They have supported an idea of bringing people from various social groups to the union. They have complained that there are few high school and--this is especially Chairman Jaskiernia's concern--university students in the Union. What happened? So far, not much has. Apart from the anemic activities of the Council of School Youth, we have been unable to enter the "foreign market" of the remaining youth groups. It is now vacation time, the time of summer camps and reflection, so is would be worthwhile to come to a few conclusions before the new academic year.

What Is Happening Among Rural Youth?

Undoubtedly, ZSMP became too used to having the monopoly among rural youth. This is sometimes harmful, for one feels too secure. To be sure, the rural program of the ZSMP was good, but its realization was not satisfactory. Once again, we return to the problem of the union's credibility and possibilities, which apparently were not so obvious if they dissolved in unrealistic programs and unfulfilled promises. Has it then gained a competitor, a rival or a partner in [illegible] side?

"We consider the founding of an independent rural youth organizati[illegible] chance for a true partnership with young workers," Marek Nowosad[illegible] from Zamosc Voivodship said. This argument sounds authentic and [illegible] no social movement should exist only for its own sake. After all, e[illegible] exists in a variegated social milieu, not in isolation. The ZMW is not a [illegible] organization; it has been revived several times since the Rural Youth Uni[illegible] Republic of Poland (ZMW RP), "Wici," was founded in 1928. Under its prese[illegible] the ZMW was active between 1957 and 1973, only to be reorganized into the [illegible] Socialist Rural Youth (ZSMW) in 1973 and to be included in the Federation o[illegible] Socialist Unions of Polish Youth (FSZMP).

The most recent history of the ZMW began on 3 December 1981; its congress to[illegible] place between 20 and 23 March. Having discarded the burden of a provisional status, the ZMW, according to its leading activists, will spare no effort i[illegible] countryside. It is urgent to stop the flow of young people from villages t[illegible]

cities, to encourage them to take up farming and to survive the worst period for food producers and, whenever it is possible, to make this period less burdensome for them. This is the most important and pressing job facing the ZMW. This work in the countryside can and should be shared by the ZSMP.

Waldemar Swirgon, chairman of the ZMW/ZK, says, "No one questions the program of the ZMW of our perception of reality any more." For the time being, let us leave aside the question whether the ZMW has evolved in opposition to the ZSMP. However, both organizations stimulate, watch and compete with one another. This is what counts in the diverse youth movement.

Looking back at the good old traditions and heritage, we should first of all mention the ZHP. In its 70th year, the ZHP underwent crucial changes and transformations. But in fact these were merely a return to the earlier and tried traditions and symbols still fondly remembered by older scout instructors. Wojciech Pielecki, editor-in-chief of a scouting magazine, NA PRZELAJ, wrote just before the Seventh ZHP Congress, which took place on 15-18 March 1981; "This congress is a historical chance for a renewal. We must utilize all possibilities afforded by the congress, we must transcend our individual and group interests, we must rely on our scouting common sense. Do we realize how easy it would be to waste this congress?"

Why did scoutmaster Pielecki address scouts with such a dramatic question? The congress clarified two major tendencies within the ZHP, represented by teenage high school students and scout instructors, mainly teachers. The ratio between the two groups was balanced, 50-50 give-or-take-a-little, although according to some the ratio was 1 to 100. But differences between the new and the old were obliterated, and it was no longer important whether the chronologically older must be better or vice versa. The congress accepted as a solution a compromise. That strange creation, functioning in high schools as "Scout Service for Socialist Poland," was abandoned. On the one hand, the top ZHP officials remained largely the same, and the influx of new blood to the headquarters was negligible. On the other hand, ZHP uniforms were unified, and the oath and the official song were verified. Also, it was acknowledged, although almost informally, that two groups form the controversial and theoretical superstructure of the present ZHP: the seminar on "The Future of Scouting" and the Andrzej Malkowski Circles of [Scout] Instructors (KIHAM). In contrast to the previous agreements, both groups declared their apolitical character.

The most recent meeting of the ZHP Supreme Council on 19 June 1981 was geared chiefly toward continuing the policy of tolerance within the ZHP. In its resolution, the Supreme Council "took note of a regrettable fact, notably, the creation of an independent scouting movement in Lublin. We deeply believe," the resolution continues, "that the founders of that movement were motivated by their concern for the welfare of children, which is also of supreme importance to us. Hence we hope for a dialogue and cooperation." However, the Scout Intercommunication Movement "Impulse-Motives" in Lodz received a positive evaluation.

Overall, the Congress was not, despite everything, a milestone in the life of the ZHP nor a watershed marking new beginnings, as the case with the ZSMP. For example, Andrzej Janowski's article in KULTURA is an indication that the new is

yet to come: "On its 70th anniversary, Polish scouting needs to evolve into a new organization to be treated as their own by young people of the 1980's." Will such radical changes actually take place? The process of renewal in the scouting organization will be, after all, a little milder.

A completely different metamorphosis, including stormy discussions, a significant congress and even strikes, has occurred since August 1980 in the SZSP. The SZSP was the first youth organization to hold its congress as early as December 1980. It was also the first to leave the federation. But it has had to work hard to regain the trust of its student constituency.

At the Warsaw Program-Electoral Conference of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), student activist Zbigniew Siemiatkowski said, "When there is a plurality of attitudes and interests, it must be reflected in an organizational plurality. It is clear that the SZSP, which was founded as a youth organization and was active in the social and political reality in Poland of the 1970's, yielded to the same pathological laws operating within the PZPR. Like the PZPR, the SZSP gradually divorced itself from its constituents, becoming merely a nominal representative of their interests, and the SZSP administration was alienated from its members. We also had corruption and careerism among activists. No wonder that the union's credibility suffered among the students. With that baggage we entered Polish reality after August 1980. The SZSP had to cleanse itself of the pathology in order to command respect among its constituents. And it did cleanse itself."

The quotation is long, but could all other youth organizations not subscribe to this statement? The student community has been characterized by a very significant drop in its participation in any kind of volunteer work. Ten years ago 93 percent of the student population participated in all kinds of organizations. Now 60 percent of students do not participate in any organizations. In its best period, the SZSP membership included 77 percent of the student body.

Calm or even stagnation dominated the student community until February 1981. The Lodz University, followed by other universities, went on strike to defend the autonomy and self-government of higher schools, changes in the curricula, a new system of entrance exams, etc. The strikes ended when the so-called Lodz Agreement, including most of the students' postulates, was signed. Also, a new student organization was legally registered: NZS. The first founding committee of the NZS emerged 2 September 1980 in Gdansk. The first national congress of representatives of all larger [student] communities was held on 18 September 1980. At the congress, it was decided to form one national organization. The next congress met in March 1981 in Krakow, where the NZS has its headquarters.

The NZS often speaks of its apolitical character. It perceives itself as a student trade union. But is it really so? The activities of the National Founding Committee (OKZ)--for example its publications or protest marches demanding release of political prisoners--indicate something else. But let us refrain from making any further comments on this topic, since the history of the NZS is brief. A lack of definite ideology does not necessarily mean a lack of political character.

There is also another union with headquarters in Krakow. Its statute is very explicit: The "Union of Democratic Youth (ZMD) is a non-Marxist political

organization of young people age 15 through 30. It is open to everyone guided by progressive and humanistic ideals who wishes to participate actively in the patriotic effort of realizing democratic principles of social existence."

Since I wrote extensively about the ZMD in WALKA MLODYCH, No 21 (21 June 1981), I will only add that in February 1981 still another organization was founded in the tradition of an earlier union of the same name. The tradition of the earlier ZMD goes back to the period of 1945-1948 and 1946-1957. That organization worked closely with the Democratic Party (SD), perceiving it as a kind of a political university. The young democrats were chiefly high school and college students as well as young intelligentsia and artisians.

KZMP is a totally new organization, which came into existence by combining the Communist Union of Polish Youth (KZMP) and the Communist Youth Union (ZMK). On 3 July both unions in Lodz to elect the KZMP National Committee. According to the proposed statute, "the union wants to base its activities on communist ideals and on the tradition inherent in the work and struggle of its antecedents; it is ready for cooperation with the Workers' Party--renewed, communist in its program and democratic in its actions." The first meeting of the KZMP is expected to be held in the fall 1981.

Will the reformed organizations keep their word? Let us hope that those who do not want to leave behind only empty statements and declarations on paper, will succeed. But most importantly the young people cannot continue their monologue. They must find solid backing and support, and the party must be their partner in a dialogue of equals. They must find the best forms of communication among themselves. There is still a long way from today's stratification and instability to a reasonable plurality.

The last precongress document--i.e., Program Outline for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress--spoke only briefly about the role of the young generation in Poland's present and future. But it did contain a very important statement: "Young people cannot be treated as an object of upbringing. The party politics should focus on allowing the young generation to participate independently and actively in shaping their life and future.

"Young people are partners in a dialogue and full-fledged participants in the political life of the country. They are naturally critical, but this critical attitude may be used in a constructive manner. It should be directed toward solving public problems and performing social service to the young people and the whole generation."

Let us hope that once this statement becomes reality there will no longer be reports similar to the one presented recently by the ZSMP/ZG Social Analyses Team and the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs. We want to read less depressing reports about ourselves. "As soon as possible" said Sejm member Edmund Jan Osmanczyk, "we must cast aside all prerogatives and open up administrative and social barriers, from rural parishes to the capital, for the most talented, most ambitious, most highly qualified and most honest young Poles."

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DRECKI REPORTS ON LATEST H. HUPKA ARTICLE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 7

[Article by Ryszard Drecki: "Hupka and His Assistant"]

[Text] The well-known leader of the compatriots movement[*], Herbert Hupka, wrote an article for the latest issue of the revisionist weekly DER SCHLESIER [The Silesian] that virulently attacks the minister of education for the North Rhine-Westphalia Land, J. Girgensohn.

Hupka was indignant over a recent statement made by Girgensohn in which the latter came out against the publication and use in schools of maps that falsify the territorial-political dimensions of Europe, including in particular those maps which portray the Polish-German border in keeping with the wishes of the revanchists, that is, "in accordance with the status quo as of 1937." This revisionist activist takes particular issue with the arguments advanced by Girgensohn to the effect that, "Poland's western border should be portrayed as a normal national frontier."

For the record, it should be pointed out that similar statements made by the minister of education for the FRG's largest Land do not mean, unfortunately, that his subordinate educational offices are using only those maps which would correspond to a sense of truth and justice as well as to the joint recommendations of Polish and West German specialists. But it would seem that any reflections at all along these lines are sufficient to touch off a chauvinistic allergic reaction among the leaders of the compatriots movement.

But the saddest thing of all as far as Poles are concerned is the fact that Hupka is able to call on a Polish assistant to "back up" his arguments. "Perhaps he (minister Girgensohn) would be willing to let the Polish literary historian, Jan Jozef Lipski, give him some private lessons," taunts the compatriot activist. This is not the first and by no means the last time that the notorious article published by J. J. Lipski in the Paris-based KULTURA is going to be used as a "teaching aid" in the service of the propaganda of anti-Polish, revanchist circles in the FRG.

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*[Reference to ethnic Germans expelled from new western territories awarded to postwar Poland]

RESTRICTIONS ON FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6

[Text] For as long as martial law shall remain in force the civil liberties of freedom of speech and freedom of the press will be subject to restrictions. It has been declared to be mandatory that permits must be obtained in advance from agencies responsible for the control of publications and public performances for the distribution of texts and visual materials. Permits are required in particular for the printing and distribution of all forms of visual materials and print media, for example, for the publication of books, brochures, placards, leaflets, photographs, posters, and other printed texts and recordings. Permits are also required for the public presentation of a literary or dramatic work as well as for the exhibition of all forms of fine arts. As of the date on which martial law is promulgated all official rulings pertaining to the publication of newspapers and periodicals, with the exception of TRYBUNA LUDU and ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI and one daily newspaper each for the 16 publishing centers of the Workers Publishing Cooperative "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch," will become null and void.

The duty to obtain advance publishing permits does not apply, inter alia, to religious publications issued by churches and other religious associations or to printed matter intended solely for personal use.

Agencies responsible for the control of publications and public performances issue permits for the printing of publications and for the staging of public performances and they subsequently also issue permits for distribution of finished printed matter, audio recordings, and video recordings. These agencies may also suspend the presentation of all types of public performances if the substance or format of these performances deviate from a previously approved script.

During the period while martial law remains in force a ban will also be imposed on the use of plants, devices, and apparatuses that produce printed matter and illustrated materials by any means as well as on the operation of plants producing stamps and seals that are in the possession of physical persons, societies, associations, trade unions, and social and professional organizations. Conversely, such plants may be operated by state and cooperative organizational entities solely with the permission of the government minister or chairman of the central cooperative union board who has direct or indirect jurisdiction over the organizational entity in question.
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RULES GOVERNING DISSEMINATION OF PRINTED MATERIALS ANNOUNCED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6

[Text] The chairman of the Workers Publishing Cooperative "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" has issued a directive on the operations of editorial boards, publishing houses, printing plants, and publications distribution agencies. With a view to bringing the operations of newspaper printing, distribution, and paper warehouses into line with the new situation that has developed in Poland it has been decided that for as long as martial law shall remain in force the only newspapers to be published in Poland will be TRYBUNA LUDU and one daily newspaper each for the 16 publishing centers of the Workers Publishing Cooperative. The publication of all other newspaper and periodical titles under the jurisdiction of the Workers Publishing Cooperative is to be suspended for an indefinite period. The basis for this ruling is the executive order of the chairman of the Main Office for the Control of Publications and Public Performances dated 13 December 1981.

Enterprises responsible for the dissemination of Workers Publishing Cooperative newspapers and books will follow existing rules and regulations in making plans for the delivery to readers of copies of TRYBUNA LUDU, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, and other local daily newspapers.

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MANDATORY SURRENDER OF WEAPONS, FIREARMS, AMMUNITION ANNOUNCED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 5

[PAP]

[Text] In connection with the declaration of martial law the minister of internal affairs, acting on the strength of an executive order issued pursuant to article 21, section 2 of the Decree on Martial Law, has declared it to be mandatory for all persons in possession of small-caliber firearms, hunting guns, sports guns, and the ammunition used by these weapons, also including all explosive materials, to surrender these weapons, ammunition, and materials for safekeeping at the nearest Citizens Militia headquarters or precinct station by no later than 24 hours after the date on which martial law was declared.

In the event that these firearms, ammunition, and explosive materials are not surrendered for safekeeping voluntarily within the prescribed time period and at the prescribed locations, Citizens Militia officers may forcibly confiscate these weapons, ammunition, and materials.

The unlawful possession of firearms, ammunition, and explosive materials is a felony punishable by imprisonment for a term of up to 5 years and may be prosecuted under the rules of summary proceeding.

The minister of internal affairs has also imposed a ban on the carrying of all types of blade weapons such as knives, stilettos, swords, and so on, in addition to air guns, cap pistols, gas pistols and other similar objects and devices that might pose a threat to law and order.

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VARIOUS ISSUES OF 'MYSL WOJSKOWA' REVIEWED

Comment on Articles

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 6, Jun; No 7, Jul; No 10, Oct 81

[Article: "What Threat Lies in Employment of Toxic Agents?"]

[No 6, Jun 81 p 48]

[Text] For the United States of America, Vietnam proved to be, in this respect, the proving ground. It was there that the Americans employed large quantities of toxic defoliants and incapacitating agents. Sixty-one [as published] liters of herbicides, sprayed from airplanes and helicopters and from land placed dispensers caused the destruction of 20 percent of the forested areas and 5 percent of cultivated area. The most frequently used defoliants, at that time, were: 2.4 dichlorophenoxyacetic acid compounds, cacodyl dimethylarsenic acid and picloram which were prepared in several formulae: [code named] purple, orange, white and blue. Purple formula was used primarily over the jungle and cultivated fields with broadleaf vegetation, blue formula was used for destruction of rice fields. The defoliant destroyed the plants by poisoning the soil precluded any further plant growth. It was also dangerous to the population. Between 1961 and 1970 1,536,000 people were poisoned, and 1,622 people died. The poisonous effect on humans was a result of the direct action of the defoliant aerosol on the pulmonary system or the result of consuming the contaminated food or water. These poisons exhibit both primary and secondary (also genetic) toxic activity. In particular it is the secondary effect of the defoliant's activity on the environment that is very dangerous. They cause tremendous changes in the soil, vegetation and animal life and the effects are evident even after many years.

In addition to defoliants, so-called harassing agents of the "anti-riot" variety were employed in South Vietnam. They are so named because in a number of countries they are employed to quell street disorders. They are chloroacetophenon, CS and adamsite. While chloroacetophenon is relatively mild, adamsite may be extremely dangerous. In a very small concentration, it attacks breathing passages, mucous membranes and the skin. Also tested was the mind-altering agent BZ. After a short period of latency, it causes dryness of the mouth and skin, dilation of the pupils, vision disturbances and disturbances in the cardiovascular system. Next comes disorientation, loss of equilibrium followed by a stuporous or manic state. The serious poisoning stage persists for about 12 hours, deviations from psychological norm last for about 3 or 4 days, a return to normalcy is not possible until the fifth day. An overdose of BZ (i.e., exposure above the disabling dose) could cause death of the contaminated, however, multiple, massive applications could cause an inclination to cancer or extensive changes in the body's organs.

The above information was derived from an article by Lt Col Ireneusz Nowak, Ph D Eng: "About Employment of Toxic Agents in the Vietnam War" in MYSL WOJSKOWA [Military Thought] No 2/81. The statistical tables presented in the article contain collective data pertaining to employment of chemical toxic agents during the particular years of the war and the data on losses they caused.

[No 6, Jun 81 p 48]

[Article: "Effectiveness of Scientific Research Work"]

[Text] "The Polish people, who spend tens of billions of zlotys yearly on science, have a right to expect some more visible results from the scientists. In public opinion, our tremendous research-scientific potential (over 1,400 research units employing about 250,000 people, including 21,500 scientific workers and 67,500 engineer-technicians) results in far too few innovations and contributes in an unsatisfactory manner to improving technological, organizational and economic progress." In this manner Col (Ret) Dr Wiktor Zaleski begins deliberations on the subject of the results of scientists' work and on the possibilities of evaluation of their activity. His article, printed in MYSL WOJSKOWA No 2/81, is the first opinion in a discussion concerning an evaluation of the effectiveness of scientific-research work which was conducted by this publication. The author writes about attempts at introducing a framework of methodological principles for evaluation of the effectiveness of research, about scientific and economic values, application of qualitative and quantitative criteria, concerning publications, quotations and a simple measure of accomplished events. Let us pay attention to the latter. It utilizes a quantitative evaluation indicator of achievement of scientific-research work, using an analytical criterion of events to detect irregularities and reserves. It facilitates the direction of research and makes possible a reaction to motivating innovations in research work.

[No 7, Jul 81, pp 47-48]

[Article: "Electric Power Systems During Periods of Emergency and War"]

[Text] In MYSL WOJSKOWA No 3/81, Dr Jozef Krzyzanowski touches on the problems of supplying the national economy with energy during a period of war. The article begins with the basic data on power systems and electric power systems. It gives a definition of the national electric energy system as a "collection of sources and consumers with a balanced electrical energy system composed of thermal and hydroelectric plants working in parallel, transmission lines, transformer stations and the electric energy distribution net." It has a common reserve of power--both for emergency and repair--which can be utilized at a given time or in given location within the system.

Electric power systems are the main sector of power systems. This is divided into "major electric power systems" (in other words public utility) and "minor" or industrial electrical power systems. To the "major" type belong electropower and heat-generating plants, to the "minor" belong industrial thermal electric power plants which supply electric power and heat to industrial establishments, small hydroelectric power plants, emergency [auxiliary] generators and so-called renewable sources of energy--sun and wind and also heat pumps.

The national electric power system is characterized by great sensitivity, i.e., susceptibility to power failures which may encompass even very large areas of the country. Therefore, in time of war, it cannot guarantee an uninterrupted supply of energy to the national economy. It may be best to subdivide it into regional subsystems. This means that they should be prepared--while still in peacetime--for such eventuality. In other words they should be, as much as possible in a normal course of events, self-sufficient in the production of electric energy. Such possibilities may be the province of the "minor" power systems which, because of decentralization of strength and dispersion in terrain, will not present a profitable target to enemy strikes. This will represent power in the order of several tens of kilowatts in hydroelectric plants and emergency generators and up to 220 megawatts in industrial power plants. Since industrial power plants, small hydroelectric plants and emergency generators had already been discussed in various publications, Dr Krzyzanowski concentrated on the question of exploitation of renewable energy sources.

Solar energy is gathered by solar collectors. Their basic element is an absorber plate, blackened on one side, which collects the energy by absorbing the sun's radiation. This is passed, in the form of heat, to a flowing liquid or gas. The gas or liquid flow transfers the heat to storage tanks. More profitable than the sun--at least under our conditions--are windmills and generators utilizing the energy of the wind. The largest power demand is during the winter months, when the winds are the strongest, as compared to the summer.

Heat pumps, not used in Poland thus far (in other countries they bring considerable savings in energy), may serve equally for heating and for cooling. Their mechanism was explained by the author in an article: "Small Energy Power Systems for Emergency-Defense Needs," who argued the advisability of tackling this problem for the following reasons:

--independence from the industrial-distributive electric energy net which, for all practical purposes, will cease to exist in time of war;

--great difficulties in insuring a constant supply of energy-producing raw materials such as coal and oil during time of war;

--[anticipated] considerable destruction of large and intermediate-size electric power plants.

[No 7, Jul 81 p 48]

[Article: "Electronic Warfare Equipment in Local Wars"]

[Text] Electronic warfare conducted in the course of local wars depends on radioelectronic reconnaissance, destruction of radioelectronic [RE] objects by weapons of battle, RE neutralization and defense and also on disinformation.

In an article by Lt Col (Dipl)Zdzislaw Golab [MS] printed in No 3/81 of MYSL WOJSKOWA he discussed electronic warfare [EW] means used in Korea, Vietnam and the Middle East.

In Korea the RE jamming system, dating back to WW II, was primarily used. Because of strong action by the [North] Korean antiaircraft artillery the U.S. Air Force jammed the air defense system, in particular the locating radar for air targets [ADA acquisition radar] and the ADA directing station [ADA guidance radar]. Bomber formations were preceeded by B-26 aircraft who jammed Korean stations with noise transmitters and also employed passive measures by dropping dipole chaff. At that time the disinformation consisted of transmitting attack times and objectives in clear text, over standard radio nets.

In Vietnam the EW consisted of:

--jamming transmissions of radar stations which guided fighter interceptors;

--participation by EW suppor+ aircraft in bombinb raids;

--equipping combat aircraft with passive radar warning and jamming devices and with "Shrike" missiles which were programmed for destruction of ADA radars.

It is worth mentioning at this time, the nonreusable sensors which were deployed by the Americans on land (via parachute). They were characterized by solid construction and had a pointed end. They burrowed into the ground upon landing. They began work on activation by a radio signal. Such transmitters were emplaced in areas traversed by the National Liberation Forces. Their purpose was to disrupt the command processes of these forces.

Experiences gained in local wars are being used in development of RE systems and to perfect their combat employment methods and also in formulation of conclusions pertaining to the future conduct of war. For example, (based on Middle East wars) NATO specialists maintain that a war which may break out in Europe would be lost if, during its initial hours, enemy air defense radar systems--including the radio-technical antiaircraft missile systems of the enemy--are not detected and neutralized. Another conclusion refers to intensification of work on nonreusable jamming generators, which are being recognized as the most effective means in RE active neutralization. Available are transmitters of small [0.1 Watt], intermediate [1.0 Watt] and large [10.0 Watt] power which create noise jamming in a wide band of frequencies and which are pulse-responding in a signal frequency capable of disabling RE means. These can be dropped from aircraft or be dispensed by missile, artillery shells or be emplaced in terrain by unconventional forces.

The source of the above information was an article: "Electronic Warfare in Local Wars" which discussed the means and methods of [EW] in a broad and systematic way.

[No 10, Oct 81 pp 47]

[Article: "Elimination of Effects Caused by Weapons of Mass Destruction"]

[Text] The problem reflected by the above title is discussed on the pages of MYSL WOJSKOWA No 5/81 by Lt Col Jan Pigta, Ph D Eng. He approaches it from the point of view of combat readiness of military subunits, although this work should also be of interest to those readers who would analyze this problem from the point of view of civil defense.

The author concentrates on the following questions: results of employment of mass destruction weapons, established destructive properties of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and on the steps undertaken to neutralize these effects. The latter--he admits--can be subdivided into several categories, depending on the accepted criteria, based, for example, on the results, their intended purpose, sequence of their accomplishment and also by the type of committed means and forces.

The recovery process from the results of enemy employment of weapons or mass destruction is described by Jan Pigta in reference to undertakings, divided with regard to capabilities, of the specialized units employed (in other words with reference to the forces used). These undertakings are as follows:

--reconnaissance of areas of destruction;

--reconstruction of the damaged command structure;

--rescue, medical and evacuation tasks;

--sanitary and special precautions;

--localization of and combating of fires;

--isolating and marking activities [as in fencing off contaminated areas];

--reconstruction of maneuver, supply and evacuation routes, also resupply and restoration of destroyed materiel and supplies.

The author considers the reconstruction of the damaged command structure as an action of prime importance, whose implementation should start simultaneously with the organization of reconnaissance of contaminated areas. Occasionally--he writes--this may consist only of a restoration of lost communications. However, if several command points become neutralized the following principles should be observed in their reconstruction:

--mutual interchangeability of command points in each link;

--assumption of command functions by a lower echelon;

--assumption of command functions by an element detailed from a higher echelon;

--formation of new command points by utilization of elements from temporary command facilities;

--filling of gaps created by personnel and equipment losses in partially neutralized command facilities.

More detailed information pertaining to the particular undertakings may be found by readers in an article: "Elimination of Effects of Enemy Use of Mass Destruction Weapons and Restoration of Troop Combat Readiness."

'ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI' Articles

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 27 Jul, 1 Sep, 4 Nov 81

[Article by staff writer SZA: "Initiative and Assuming Responsibility for Actions"]

[27 Jul 81 p 4]

[Text] Actions of a commander or staff officer--from the lowest to the highest echelon of command--cannot be compared with any other, even the most demanding, intellectual activity of a man when it comes to the realm of reaching decisions and assuming responsibility for the results of their completion. This applies both during the preparation phase and during the conduct of combat operations. Contained within the commander's decision are the entire art and idea of a purposeful and most effective activity of various types of forces and means aimed at achieving a combat objective and completing combat operations while simultaneously and continually aiming at minimizing one's own combat losses.

The opening article in the July edition of MYSL WOJSKOWA written by Col Prof Dr K. Nozki is dedicated to the complex problems of decisionmaking and responsibility, maintenance of rational thinking and also to the right to assume a certain risk. The article is entitled: "Initiative and Responsibility in Command-Staff Operations."

A decision at which a commander arrives is, among other factors, an expression of the strength of his intellect, his education, tactical-operational imagination, even his intuition, as well as of profound evaluation and synthesis of available tactical and operational information and also a measure of the total competence of the staff which took part in the decisionmaking. In order that it be properly carried out, it must be well understood by his subordinates. It ought to inspire the imagination of the subordinates and all those who will carry out the will of the commander, inspire them to a creative and self-initiated action.

Speaking of the role of superiors (chain of command) in fulfilling the control function--to aid their subordinates, the author, quite rightly, states that this type of activity does not, in the slightest degree, reduce the responsibility of subordinates for the quality of their execution of orders. One has to bear in mind an old maxim that states: "With the loss of the right to decide, one also loses the feeling of responsibility and initiative is killed." On the other hand, the command function and decision system should function so that those who are afraid to make decisions, which also means responsibility, should not be able to hide behind their superiors' orders, provisions of regulations or instructions and would have no opportunity to dilute their responsibility in the collective responsibility of the staff.

The next problem discussed in the article is the right to assume risks, its conditions and demands. It concerns, of course, sensible risk, properly calculated in crossing the permissible barriers or limits. Any risk in a definite undertaking will lead to success only when it is undertaken with full understanding, when it is based not only on feelings and intuition but, above all, on an all-sided calculation and detailed evaluation, in particular those pertaining to the capabilities of action and counter-action by the potential oponent. One should not confuse risk-taking with adventurism;

the latter should be a totally unknown entity to the commander or staff office Risk in command-staff activity should result from or be totally subordinated t definite objective in combat, battle engagement or operation. A prerequisite t undertaking a tactical-operational risk must be purposefullness resulting from actual or expected situation.

I believe that the author's suggestion, that under the current conditions a fear of risk, avoidance of risk acceptance, is more dangerous than the actual risk-taking or for that matter justifiable exceeding of the limits (this pertains not exclusively to military situations and tactical-operational activities--SZA). Deliberate avoidance of risk-taking is very damaging to any problem-solving process, it involves procrastination, avoidance of responsibility, undertaking of standard decisions which are formally correct, in which one can hardly find fault and which have only one cardinal fault--they do not do the job.

(The above truths must be understood not only by military commanders but equally by all those who play a leading role in the sociopolitical and economic life of the country--SZA).

Additionally, in the General Military Department the following publications may be found: "Breaching of Defense at Night" (Lt Col [Dipl] W. Mroz and Maj [Dipl] J. Szczecki); "Selected Problems of Aviation in Support of a Combined Tactical Task Force Passing From Attack to Defense" (Maj [Dipl] W. Michalski); "Cooperation Between Antiarmor Detachments and a Team of Antiarmor Helicopters" (Lt Col [Dipl] Z. Czarnotta); "Automation of Decisionmaking Processes in the Accomplishment of Engineer Mining Tasks (Capt R. Krzewinski Ph D Eng and Maj W. Ruszkowski MS Eng); "Testing of Air Defense Effectiveness by the Use of Computer Simulation Method" (Maj E. Kolodzinski Ph D Eng); "Concerning the Moral Responsibility of Soldiers in Battle" (Lt Col Dr J. Kunikowski).

In the Organization and Information Department the following articles are provided: "Properties and Structure of Data Base Systems" (Capt M. Niedzielski MS Eng and Maj B. Szafranski Ph D Eng); "Making Military Systems More Efficient" (Col Dr T. Lojko): "Concerning the Content of Draft Program Assumptions" (Maj Dr J. Hascnke).

The Economics Department has following publications: "Review of Evaluation Methods of the Research-Scientific Work in the Military (Col Prof A. Rogucki Dr Hab); "Organization of Human Teams Assembled for Effectiveness in Directing Scientific Work in Military Research Units (Col [Ret] W. Zaleski Ph D) and "Utilization of the Results of Reliability Research for Standardization of Spare Parts in Military Technology" (Lt Col R. Rozanski Ph D Eng).

[1 Sep 81 p 4]

[Review by staff writer SZA: "Ergonomics and Engineering Psychology in the Military"]

[Text] Almost all aspects of modern life are affected by technology. It has made man's existence more efficient and more comfortable, at the same time it has created a certain

element of danger to his health, or even his life, and to his environment. In order to work out proper ways and methods to deal with this negative aspect, new branches of science have sprung up, for example, ergonomics and engineering psychology. The subject of these sciences are people and machine sets, operating in a given environment. These are sometimes called: "man--tools--work subject--work environment" or "man--technology--environment" or simply "man--machine."

One of the General Military Department articles in the September issue of MYSL WOJSKOWA written by Col J. Zapiora, Ph D Eng, is actually dedicated to "Problems of Application of the Achievements in Ergonomics and Engineering Psychology to the Military." (Speaking aside, these branches emerged and were developed in the first place to fulfill concrete military needs in connection with the necessity to increase the effectiveness of military combat systems and exploiting the latest technology primarily in the area of radar and automation.)

Development of engineering psychology is proceeding, generally speaking, in two directions which are characterized by two separate approaches: Machine oriented and human oriented. The machine oriented approach--proceeding from machine to man--is a typical one in an initial development step. It is based on adapting technological mechanisms to the various capabilities of the man who is being regarded as a simple link. In the second phase, these mechanisms are further subordinated to a deliberately oriented activity of the man.

The other approach--human oriented--proceeds in the other direction: from man to machine, and it is based on adapting man's various capabilities to technology.

The author, while underlining positive examples of utilization of the conclusions stemming from the ergonomic scientific research conducted primarily in military scientific centers and the Military Political Academy, calls attention to the still insufficient appreciation of engineering psychology's role among engineers, scientists and, what is rather strange, among military psychologists. Gains resulting from sound knowledge and application in real life of the principles developed by this [branch of] science, taking into account its requirements, could be markedly greater. This applies not only to the sphere of combat systems planning--by creating perfected combat tools, better adapted to the multifaceted psychophysical capabilities of the people who use and service them--but also to the sphere of inventiveness and rationalization as well as the technology of combat training.

In connection with the foregoing the author makes following assumptions:

1. Creating greater interest in the problematics of engineering psychology among commanders, military psychologists, engineers, professors and instructors;

2. Considering the possibility of introducing instructional programs in problematics of ergonomics and engineering psychology in certain military academies, principally in WAT [Military Technical Academy], WAM [Military Medical Academy] and ASG WP [General Staff Academy of Polish Armed Forces], also in higher officer's schools with a command-technological profile, in order to improve the quality of combat systems;

3. Determination of the need to form research-scientific cells for the study of solutions to ergonomics and engineering psychology problems for the benefit of the armed forces, in the sphere of improvement of quality of combat systems, temporarily within the framework of military academies, selected higher officer's schools and certain scientific-research institutions.

Another very current and interesting problem is treated by Col Dr S. Liszewski, in a voluminous article entitled: "Professional Suitability of the Graduates of Higher Officer's Schools." It is only to be regretted that the author gave it an overly theoretical and assumptive character (this is nowadays a very fashionable word), determining the need for and extent of the (generally well-known) requirements relating to the tasks and purposes of education while not saying nearly enough on how to fulfill these requirements. Nevertheless, I do recommend that not only those who have a professional interest in education become acquainted with this article.

An article by Col Dr L. Kuleszynski: "Concerning Some Aspects of Construction of Automated Military Command Systems" is dedicated to matters which are current and actual. I believe it will make it possible to explain, at least in part, some misunderstandings and will straighten out the undeserved, though very popular, opinions pertaining to the essence of creating such a system in the military.

In the Organization and Information Department we find two articles, one pertaining to: "Problems of Armed Forces Development in Light of Systems Research Methodology" (Maj P. Sienkiewicz Dr Hab, Ph D Eng), the other: "Problems of Increasing the Effectiveness of Information Transformation Process in Military Computer Centers" (Lt Col T. Gicala MS Eng).

In the Economics Department, Dr J. Krzyzanowski writes about a current and very painful problem--the national power system--presenting its characteristics in light of emergency-defense requirements. One may learn from the text about some difficulties which burden the national power system and the resulting conclusions and directions toward improvement. From among other publications in this department I would like to draw attention to an article by Lt Col H. Szajecki Dr Hab, Ph D Eng, "Qualitative Aspects of Military Organization Improvement."

I believe that an extensive review on the subject of: "Breaching of the Enemy's Tactical Sphere During WW II" by Col Prof Dr A Karpinski, printed in the Military History Department, will be of interest not only to military historians, similarly, an article by Lt Gen [Soviet] A.P. Paliy: "About Domination of the Ether" should be of interest not only to radioelectronics specialists.

About Electronic Warfare

An interesting article by Lt Cdr Kazimierz Jakubowski, MS Eng, also printed in MYSL WOJSKOWA and dedicated to naval electronic warfare which is described as composed of reconnaissance, counteractivity (or neutralization) and counter-counteractivity (defense). The author discusses in turn: action of naval forces during WW I and WW II, the Korean War, the Indochina conflict and the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. He discusses in detail the extensive development in ship techniques of electronic warfare which have occurred, in recent years, in Western countries--electronic warfare systems which are capable of detection, measurement, interception and analysis of

electromagnetic radiation from radio, radar, hydroaucustic systems and are also capable of active and passive jamming. Also described is the crosslinking of the electronic warfare technology with the ship's armament. There is no lack of information here concerning one of the most modern systems of radar jamming: the American automated AN/SIQ-32 system, introduced in 1979. The article by Kazimierz Jakubowski is entitled: "Electronic Warfare in the Naval Forces of Western Countries," see MYSL WOJSKOWA No 5/81.

[4 Nov 81 p 5]

[Review by staff writer SZA: "Radioelectronics in Combat"]

[Text] Armed conflict as a confrontation of opposing sides is a highly complicated phenomenon. Its course and results depend on many organizational undertakings, efficient exploitation of forces, equipment and materiel, effectiveness of weapons and other factors whose numbers are continuously growing in step with the development of civilization and scientific-technical progress. This interdependence could be observed clearly during the past decades. It was during that time that dynamic progress in many branches of science has been observed, most notable among them are nuclear physics, cybernetics, astronautics and electronics.

An article, dedicated to the latter, written by Lt Col Dr J. Sokolowski: "Concerning the Principles of Electronic Warfare" was published in the October issue of MYSL WOJSKOWA."

The author ennumerates the following as basic combat principles which determine combat effectiveness: purposefulness, activity, concentration of effort during decisive periods by those forces engaged in the main effort, effectiveness and surprise, continuity, timeliness and speed of action and also the coordination of electronic neutralization with the action of firing weapons and with other elements of electronic warfare. It would be difficult to consider any positive effects of radioelectronic [RE] activity against the enemy if we were not able to insure trouble-free working conditions for our own systems of command, reconnaissance and not be able to influence the means of combat. It is because of this that a comprehensive RE defense becomes a matter of extreme importance.

An achievement of RE defense undertakings does not exclude possibilities of disturbances of individual units and entire systems of RE. However, their meticulous execution, coupled with the destruction of the enemy's sources of jamming and reconnaissance may, to a great extent, limit the enemy's freedom of action and his possibilities in this respect. On the other hand, even the simplest violation of the fixed principles of use of our own RE potential creates intercept possibilities which lead to tracking of our own electromagnetic emissions and a [counter] use of RE means [by the enemy] leading to a period of disruption of our command posts, communications centers and troop formation elements.

Therefore, a lack of care in the defense of our own RE elements and systems or their clumsy operation can greatly reduce the efforts of RE neutralization and may become decisive in the continuity of troop command structure and the effectiveness of weapons employment which, in consequence, will reflect negatively on the efficacy of accomplishment of the assigned tasks.

Additionally I would like to draw the attention of readers to an article by Col Dr L. Kuleszynski: "Radio Activities on an Operational Scale" which treats the very fundamental and current problem of the modern "offensive breakthrough." We regret, however, that the author gave his work a principally historical aspect (descriptions of the action of typical rapid action groups in WW II), allowing too little space for drawing conclusions from the WW II occurrences and their meaning under the current conditions.

The article contains a preponderance of basic questions and expressed doubts as compared to answers (or at least attempts at answers) or the position of the author (this could turn out to be a blessing in disguise because it forces the reader to draw his own conclusions). There is also a lack of synthesis from the questions and objections scattered throughout the article. This would help the reader to take a holistic view of the problem tackled and to better understand the author's conclusions.

Nevertheless, I do recommend the article because it forms--in my opinion--suitable material which inspires further discussion and deliberations on this currently pressing problem and there are sufficient questions posed there to demand an answer.

Other publications in the General Military Department include: "Systems of Passing From Attack to Defense by a Tactical Combined Arms Team" (Maj K. Sokolowski); "Some Problems of Contemporary Defense" (Col Dr A. Prokop); "Interference Detachment" (Col Dipl [Ret] Z. Wontrucki); "Problems of Camouflage Prior to Multiaspected Reconnaissance" (Col J. Sanecki, Ph D Eng, Dr Hab and Lt Col J. Stepniak MS Eng); "New Role of Mine Barriers and Demolitions in Defense Activities" (MS Eng J. Garstka) and "The Geneva Accords 1980, Concerning Prohibitions and Limitations in Use of Some Conventional Weapons" (Col Dr M. Fleming and Col Dr A. Kulawiec).

In the Organization and Information Department there is an article deserving your attention: "Problems of the Innovation and Inventiveness Movement Within the Military Executive Organs" (Col M. Gnilka, MS Eng); also "Review and Evaluation of Actual Methods and Techniques Used in Initiation and Testing of Programs" (Maj Dr J. Haschka and Lt [Navy] W. Kubicki BS Eng); "Directions in the Development of Information Systems (SI) and Projection Methods" (Lt Col J. Iwaniak BS Eng).

The following publications are in the Economics Department: "Economics of Defense and Their Significance Under Present Conditions" (Col Dr J. Dzierzek) and "Economics Aspects of Ammunition Management" (Lt Col Z. Gorniak Ph D Eng).

Discussions and articles from publications of friendly armies are treated in: "Evolution of Antitank Combat," "On the Subject of the Continuous Growth of Effort During Attack" and "Temporary Duty of Academy Students in Military Units."

The issue ends with reviews and discussions of military publications.

9511
CSO: 2600/127

BRIEFS

YOUTHS DEMONSTRATE--An angry crowd of approximately 200 young people gathered on Sunday evening in front of the building in Mokotowska Street in Warsaw occupied by the NSZZ Solidarity Mazowsze Region authorities. The ZOMO [Citizens Militia Mechanized Reserve] unit that was blockading the street was the target of abusive jeers from the crowd. Exercising great restraint and following numerous appeals--in the name of the law--for the crowd to disperse, law enforcement forces broke up the demonstration several times. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6] 11813

CONGRESS SUSPENDED--In connection with the declaration of martial law it is reported that the Polish Culture Congress now underway in Warsaw will be suspended. The sponsors of this congress will be permitted to reconvene its proceedings after the situation in the country has been normalized. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6] 11813

TORUN PZPR PLENUM--On 12 December a plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee was held in Torun that was devoted to a discussion of the management of old housing stock. Representatives of the Ministry of the Construction and Building Materials Industries and the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy, and Environmental Protection took part in these proceedings, which were presided over by the first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, Edmund Heza. In view of the fact that similar problems exist within their own jurisdictions this plenum was also attended by representatives of local and voivodship-level party branch organizations from Bialystok, Bydgoszcz, Krakow, Lublin, and Wloclawek. Careful advance preparations were made for this plenary session. The materials prepared for this session by the Torun voivoda and the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee were the subject of consultations held with tenants self-management bodies, housing and local government administrations, enterprises engaged in maintenance-restoration work, and members of the scientific-technical professions. Old housing stock--a national resource that has been built up over the years--should be treated on an equal par with new housing construction. The plenum proceedings were conducted in this spirit, and it was in this spirit also that it formulated its resolution. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6] 11813

COMMITTEE MEETS--The next regularly scheduled meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Science and Education Committee was held on 12 December under the chairmanship of Central Committee Politburo member professor, Dr Tadeusz Porebski. The agenda of this meeting focused mainly on problems related to the role of science and the

functions to be performed by scientific institutions and establishments under conditions mandated by the national economic reform. The participants in the meeting paid special attention to the issue of making provisions for the optimal expenditure of funds allocated by the state for the advancement of science and technological progress. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6] 11813

RAKOWSKI MEETS--On 12 December deputy premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met with members of the PZPR POP in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy. The meeting was attended by minister Jerzy Wojtecki. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6] 11813

MOKRZYSZCZAK IN KETRZYN--With the participation of alternate Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak a meeting was held on 12 December in Ketrzyn attended by members of the party and economic aktiv from this town and several neighboring gminas. The meeting was devoted to a discussion of critical problems affecting the nation's sociopolitical and economic life. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6] 11813

BARCIKOWSKI IN CZESTOCHOWA--On 12 December Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski met with a group representing the party aktiv at the Boleslaw Bierut Iron and Steelworks in Czestochowa. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6] 11813

SAVINGS INTEREST RAISED--The Food Economy Bank [BGZ] reports that as of 1 January 1982 higher interest rates will be paid on all types of savings deposits paid into passbook savings accounts and combination saving-checking accounts with cooperative banks. Interest paid on demand deposits will go up from 4 to 6 percent; interest paid on deposits in combination saving-checking accounts will go up from 4 to 7 percent, and interest on passbook 3-year time deposits will go up from 8 to 13 percent. At the same time, the BGZ reports that the level of savings deposits on account with cooperative banks now amounts to Zl 117 billion. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6]

11813
CSO: 2600/166

DECREE REGULATES USE OF RADIO TRANSMITTERS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 92, 27 Nov 81 pp 2-3

[Decree of the Council of State Regarding Radio Transmitters]

[Text] The Council of State of Romania decrees:

Article 1. The possession, construction, installation, testing, or use of radio transmitters is allowed only with the authorization, issued according to law, by the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications (MTT).

The provisions of article 1 do not apply to radio transmitters belonging to the armed forces of Romania, or to patriotic guards.

Article 2. Records of radio transmitters whose posession, construction, installation, testing or use is authorized, are devised and maintained by MTT.

Records of radio transmitters belonging to the armed forces of Romania or to patriotic guards, are devised and maintained by the Ministry of National Defense (MAN) or by the Ministry of the Interior, according to case.

Article 3. The MTT communicates to the Ministry of the Interior-Department of State Security (MIDSS), the operating characteristics of authorized radio transmitters, as well as modifications that have been made and approved subsequent to the issuance of the authorization, in accordance to the information presented in the appendix (the appendix will be provided to interested institutions) to the present decree. The communication will be made at least five days before the authorization becomes effective, or before approval of the modifications to the operating characteristics of radio transmitters stipulated in the authorization.

Article 4. The MTT communicates to MIDSS the operating characteristics of radio transmitters for which it maintains records, as well as modifications to these characteristics, in accordance with the information in the appendix to the present decree. The communication will be made at least five days before the radio transmitters are placed in operation, or before the modifications are made to their operating characteristics.

In urgent cases, the communication stipulated in paragraph 1 can be made in less than five days, but no later than 48 hours before the radio transmitters are placed in operation, or before their operating characteristics are modified.

Article 5. The MTT exercises control over the manner in which are respected the legal provisions regarding the operation of radio transmitters subject to authorization.

In fulfilling its functions according to the law, MIDSS exercises control over the respect for legal provisions regarding the operation of all radio transmitters.

Article 6. The following deeds are considered as infractions and are punished with prison terms of three months to two years:

a) Posession, construction, installation, testing, or use of radio transmitters, as well as modifications to their operating characteristics, except for those belonging to the armed forces of Romania, without the authorization of the MTT;

b) Use of radio transmitters belonging to the armed forces of Romania, without communicating to MIDSS the operating characteristics or modifications of these radio transmitters.

In the situations stipulated under letter a), the radio transmitters are sealed for confiscation, or other measures are taken.

Article 7. The following deeds are considered contraventions and are sanctioned with fines of 1000 to 3000 lei:

a) Refusal on the part of physical or legal persons, who under the conditions of the present decree posess, build, install, test, or use radio transmitters, to subject themselves to the control exercised by the organs stipulated in article 5;

b) Failure to communicate to MIDSS the operating characteristics of authorized radio transmitters, or the modifications approved and performed on these transmitters;

c) The wilfull communication to MIDSS, of inaccurate or incomplete information regarding the operating characteristics of radio transmitters, or the modifications peformed on these characteristics.

Article 8. The contraventions stipulated in article 7 letter a), are noted by persons specially empowered by MTT and MIDSS.

The contraventions stipulated in article 7 letters b) and c), are noted only by persons specially empowered by MIDSS.

The agents who note the contraventions also apply sanctions.

In military units of MAN, determinations of the contraventions stipulated in article 7, and the application of sanctions for these contraventions, are carried out by officers specially empowered by that ministry, on the basis of their own observations, or upon notification from control organs of the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 9. Appeals against contravention reports can be made within 15 days from the date of communication.

Appeals against reports are resolved by the manager of the organ to which the observing agent belongs, or by another hierarchically superior staff member, empowered by the leader of the organ.

When a contravention is observed by a person specially empowered within MIDSS or MAN, the appeal is resolved by the commander of the unit to which the observer belongs.

Article 10. The provisions of articles 8 and 9 are complemented with the provisions of Law No 32/1968, regarding the determination and sanctioning of contraventions, to the extent to which the present decree does not stipulate otherwise.

Article 11. Decree No 544/1969 regarding the organization of records for radio broadcasting stations, and the Decision of the Council of Ministers No 2284/1969 to determine and sanction contraventions or regulations regarding records for radio broadcasting stations, as well as any other provisions to the contrary, are abrogated.

Nicolae Ceausescu
Chairman of the Socialist Republic Romania

Bucharest, 26 November 1981
No 340

11,023
CSO: 2700/117

VUKMANOVIC-TEMPO'S HISTORICAL STATEMENTS DISPUTED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Dec 81 p 6

[Article by Ugljesa Danilovic: "Don't Create Morsels for the Petit Bourgeois"]

[Text] ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, with regard to the recent, lengthy presentation of Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo in Belgrade, published a letter written by Ugljesa Danilovic, a member of the Council of the Federation. We present the text of the letter in its entirety:

In your newspaper on November 17, 1981 a review of the presentation given by Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo in the Petar Kocic Library in Belgrade was published.

In the interests of historical truth and in order to provide your readers with more complete information, I feel obliged, as a participant in the National Liberation War and the revolution to give my own view of some of the events and some of the claims presented by Tempo on this occasion. I will limit myself only to those questions which relate to the events which took place during our armed revolution.

In Tempo's presentation, we encounter some of the old theses and evaluations from his earlier articles and books, but new ones also appear.

Due to limited space and with respect to the patience of your readers, I will try to be as brief as possible, because a more serious and substantial discussion about the questions Tempo has brought up on this occasion should be carried out in another manner and by other means--in historical journals, scientific institutes, and so on.

In his presentations, Tempo remains faithful to his characteristic polemical style and to his accounts including all that which makes him reproachful in his opinion and evaluations of people and events from the revolution and contemporary social trends in our country. He justifies his manner, especially when he is concerned with events which took place during the revolution, by the statement that none of us soldiers are saints, and that it should not be considered a disaster when we have revealed the truth about our dishonorable acts during the war. To tell the truth, Tempo only sees faults in others, and his criticism of himself amounts only to the statement that he is not a saint.

Personal errors, of which there certainly were a number, were not such an essential and characteristic part of the essence of our revolution and its history, and one might well ask what purposes are served by such a stubborn insistence on presenting them. It is not a matter of needing to hide or suppress something, but we old revolutionaries should not create morsels from all this for the tastes and the gossiping of the petit bourgeois. In writing about and evaluating the events and the people from the revolution, one should remain faithful to those ethical and universal human virtues which helped us to be victorious in the revolution.

Tempo continually sees himself as a fighter for historical truth, as an opponent of "tailoring history" and the like. Fine. We all should believe in this. But, is he really the only fighter for this truth, and from whom is he defending this truth? Is it from us revolutionaries or from the counterfeitors of history? One arrives at historical truth by using scientific methods in which documents and the frequently different views and recollections of the participants of the historical events are perused and not on the basis of one's own evaluations and observations, which is, for the most part, Tempo's method of "seeking historical truth." For this reason the courage and immodesty of Tempo considers that only Comrade Tito can give an evaluation concerning the writing of Tempo's memoirs, "and no one else." As if Comrade Tito did not have more important and more responsible things to do than read our writings.

I will now turn to some of Tempo's statements and evaluations presented in the Petar Kocic Library. Quoting Tempo: "Every commanding officer and commandant who was in our war and who now writes some of his memoirs is including to ascribe to himself in the struggle with the enemy greater merit, more killed Germans, fewer losses on his side, etc. The real investigator must then search through everything thoroughly." In the context of such statements, without going into their evaluation, it would be difficult for a reader not to wonder what sort of "thorough searching" and appraisal an author is going through who says: "The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia sent me to Bosnia to organize an armed uprising...I organized a meeting with the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Bosnia..." (emphasis by the author) "I no longer had enough people to defend the Muslim and Croatian villages..." "I am ordering..." etc. It is not difficult to come to the conclusion that here we are concerned not only with the fact that he is overrating his own role in the revolution, but also with something which is much more serious; that is the underestimation and distortion of the role of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, its organizations and cadres, the partisan units and their commanders. This is how Comrade Tempo pictures his relations and behavior with the cadres and soldiers in the war of liberation.

Tempo again brings up the question of the date that the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Bosnia and Hercegovina was held in which resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia from July 4 were elaborated, and he maintains that the meeting of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Bosnia and Hercegovina was held on July 7 and not on the 13th, as "some historians" from Bosnia claim.

On one other occasion in a conversation with friends who had collected the memoirs of revolutionaries (see Tempo's memoirs, published in Contributions to History, Sarajevo, 1968 No 4 pp 651-661), Tempo said about the date of that meeting: "I know that I was

detained in Belgrade in all three to four days after this meeting (he refers to the meeting of July 4-U.D.). For me to hand over the press to Ivan Milutinovic and to produce the identity card I needed a day or two, so that at the most I remained in Belgrade three or four days. The next day, after my arrival in Sarajevo, the meeting was organized" (he refers to the meeting of the Provincial Committee).

I attended that meeting. I do not remember the exact date. For the rebellion and for history it is not all that important whether this meeting was held six days earlier or later.

Tempo says that he does not like dates: they why does he now stubbornly insist that the meeting of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Bosnia and Hercegovina was held on July 7? What is he trying to prove by this? Perhaps he wants to create the impression that he was incredibly quick and expeditious in that in only two days (July 5 and 6) he was able, in the face of all of his party dealings and affairs in Belgrade, to provide an identity card and permit for crossing into the Independent State of Croatia, that is, the other occupied zone; to travel by a slow, narrow-gauge train with innumerable interruptions and holdups due to wartime conditions, to arrive on July 7 in Sarajevo and to organize immediately, the same day, a meeting of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Bosnia and Hercegovina.

And before the meeting it was necessary by means of a password to connect up with the party, to find a secure apartment where the meeting could be held, and to inform all the members of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Bosnia and Hercegovina about all of this, which was not a simple task considering that these acts were illegal. And so if one speaks of Tempo's tempo, there is indeed much to say.

In his remarks and in his writing, Tempo is not able to free himself from tactless and underestimating references about some people and events about which he is discussing. He often cannot separate the essential from the peripheral and the secondary. For example, when he is talking about rebellious Romania he repeats the old story about soldiers who wear cockades and who belong to a partisan detachment, he talks about companies in which there are no commissars or communists, and the like. Now he rounds out his evaluations about the partisans in Romania with the formulation that they were "not much of an army that belonged to no one." However, immediately after this he contradicts himself with the assertion that the commanders of this army, when he told them that they would join the Chetniks if they did not wear the five-point star on their caps, responded: "We are only with Cica, and no one else. That major is fighting for the old Yugoslavia, and Cica is fighting for the new, but we will not wear the five-point star." According to these statements, this army belonged not to "no one" but to someone.

It is understandable that in the first few days of the uprising there were confused people who wore various designations on their caps and who could not point to the essential difference between us and the Chetniks, but this was not characteristic of the partisan army, rather a secondary and ephemeral phenomenon.

The fact that the soldiers wanted to fight for the new Yugoslavia is, of course, more important than the designation on their caps. I remember this "incident" with the cockades quite well. I was then in Podromania in the Provincial Committee. Present were Iso Jovanovic, Cica, Pavle Goranin, Tempo, and myself. Tempo had just come in from Rogatica and spoke about this "incident." However, my recollection of it differs from his to a large extent. It was not a matter of four battalions but of one or two companies, and in these companies they did not all wear cockades, but only a few individuals. (These are the cockades of the old Yugoslavia army and not of the Chetniks). And along with this it should be added that on this occasion Tempo was euphoric, and that he rudely attacked Cica and Pavle because there were not any party organizations in the companies, as if this could be accomplished in a month or two in such a large rebel army. Iso and I did not agree with this attack. Does it make any sense that now Tempo and I are competing over whose memory is more accurate?

As for Slavisa Vajnere Cica, the legendary partisan commander, Tempo says: "...a Czech Jew...an engineer, educated, tall, elegant, with an enormous black beard," and fails to say that Slavisa was a member of the Party and an eminent party worker in Sarajevo before the war. Along with the above, he says: "All the people in Romania thought that he was actually Prince Djordje Karadjordjevic..." One gets the impression that Comrade Tempo is not aware of what he has really said with this sentence. Does not the logical conclusion follow from this that those in Romania went into the rebellion with the myth of Karadjordjevic? And does he know that the process of political education of the Serbian inhabitants in Bosnia and Hercegovina, and the emancipation from the Serbian nationalistic, dynastic myths had begun long before the uprising, under the influence and the activity of communists and progressive youth, as well as of the opposition democratic movement in the country? In Romania, the party organization existed and functioned before the war, and local communists, together with those who had come from Sarajevo, were organizers of the uprising. People from Romania were aware of this. This is the first time I have heard that someone in Romania thought that Cica was Prince Djordje. And if some backward person thinks this, is it not rather rude and insulting to the aware partisan soldiers and to all the people in insurgent Romania to write in such a politically uninformed and backward manner?

As if to "mitigate" the effect of his "evaluations" concerning the development of the uprising in Bosnia and Hercegovina, Tempo falls into other contradictions and absurdities. How else could one comprehend the following excerpt from Tempo's text: "It was easy to start an uprising in Crna Gora, in every village there were 10-15 communists, and 20 members of the Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia. But again we quickly fled from Crna Gora. And where did we go to? To different places in Bosnia. And here we survived." It is not known whether there were that many communists and members of the Communist Youth in every village in any part of our country when the Party's activities were illegal. And if we suppose that it was the case in Crna Gora, because "it was easy to start an uprising," the question arises as to what influence these party organizations could have had when the partisans so "quickly fled from their territory." I think that further commentary would be superfluous. Tempo makes the claim that some documents from the People's Liberation Struggle have allegedly been concealed, locked up, and even destroyed by some individuals, because these documents attest to their "mistakes, poor performances, and errors," during the war. From the text it is apparent that this refers to documents from the year 1941. According to Tempo, some reports of his "disappeared," in which he "precisely described the situation in Bosnia in the first year of the war."

During my party and military duty I had the opportunity to inspect fully all the important documents which concerned the uprising in Bosnia and Hercegovina. I know nothing about these documents for which Tempo "searches." I know that a part of the party and military archives disappeared during the bombing of Srednje, and later at Tuzla. However, when such serious charges and suspicions are brought up in connection with the documents, the procedure should be to say exactly to whom and for what they are referring. Without such a concrete approach, making these general assertions is not far from insulting and slandering the party cadres and participants of the People's Liberation Struggle. And finally, I do not know what these new "mistakes" are that would be revealed in the "documents which have disappeared," about which Tempo has not yet spoken or written in a more detailed manner.

On the other hand, Tempo's approach to those documents which seem to him to be unfavorable regarding himself is interesting. Of primary interest here are the documents in which the preparations for the attack on Sarajevo are discussed, and in which Comrade Tito made remarks concerning the plans which he called "unrealistic" and "adventuristic." Tempo does not dispute the existence of these documents, but he does dispute their historical veracity. He explains it as if this was a matter of the military ruse which was necessary to panic the Chetniks and that it was successful in this intention. It is not clear how it is that the Chetniks panicked because of the partisan attack, not at them but at their enemy in Sarajevo, when this would have given them the ideal opportunity to sneak into the city on the backs of the partisans, to plunder and kill as they had done like vultures every other time they had had the chance.

I was not in Romania at the time and cannot be a reliable witness concerning this matter. However, from a letter written by the commander of the Romania partisan detachment on December 22, 1941, which informed the Headquarters of the Crna Gora People's Liberation Movement of the detachment in Metaljea, and which was signed by Cica, it is quite obvious that help was being requested from the Crna Gora partisans, not only in order to wipe out the influence of the Chetniks, but also in order to further the operation of emancipating Sarajevo. In the letter, among other things, is this statement: "This is especially important because these companies must be able to enter Sarajevo where they would insure order and prevent all the looting." (Collection of Documents and Information About the People's Liberation War, Vol IV, Book 2, p 212).

In addition to this, there also exists the memoirs of the surviving members of the Local Committee for Sarajevo which tell how the Committee was informed about the forthcoming partisan actions in Sarajevo and state that they had already made in this regard, some preparations in the city. Similar recollections also live in other wartime cadres from eastern Bosnia.

One hopes it is not the case that it was necessary to deceive comrades in Crna Gora and eastern Bosnia, as well as the party organization in Sarajevo, with this military ruse. All of this indicates a certain manipulation of the documents whose significance and importance Tempo stresses so many times.

On this occasion, Tempo gave his evaluation as well of the party conference in Ivancici, which was held at the beginning of January in 1942. He spoke about this in his memoirs, published in 1968 in Contributions of the Institute for Historical Studies in Sarajevo (see Contributions...No 4, p 657). At that time he said:

"I would evaluate the conference in Ivancici as one of the most important conferences in the course of our struggle. It was held after the conference in Krupnji and it established a much broader platform for the People's Liberation Struggle. Its significance and its resolutions came from this. Consequently, the results of this conference were reflected in the conception of the creation of a volunteer army in addition to the partisan army, whose use would later, in 1942, come to its full manifestation."

And now here is what he says about the same historic event: "Now we were in such a state of euphoria that every wartime conference was hailed as historic and portentous. There was one conference in Ivancici at the beginning of 1942 which some historians in Bosnia want to proclaim as being extremely important, because allegedly at this conference, the position was taken that the People's Liberation Struggle was moving into the second phase, and that an open class struggle against the kulaks and the typical wealthy villagers should now begin." One might well ask why, on this occasion, does Tempo give a completely opposite evaluation of the conference in Ivancici.

For these reasons, the party leadership in Bosnia and Hercegovina, revolutionaries, and historians consider the conference in Ivancici to be very important and momentous. The observance of the 40th anniversary of this conference will provide an opportunity to analyze on a broader and deeper level the political and military conditions in which it took place as well as the significance of its conclusions.

In conclusion, when we discuss and write at present about what happened 40 years ago, it is not surprising that there are disagreements, as well as different opinions and approaches. It is natural that many of our recollections have faded and disappeared. But if we want to be of assistance to historians who are writing and who will write about our revolution and if we want to remain faithful to the revolution, we must free ourselves from superficiality and improvization, as well as from the contradictions in our recollections which occur from time to time, and show greater tolerance and respect to others and to different opinions; we must be principled and constructive, because only in this type of environment can our discussions be useful and fruitful.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1971

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IMPORTANCE OF NEW CIVIL CODES IN DEFENDING PARTY POLICY

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Sep 81 pp 72-78

[Article by Vahid Lama: "Problems of the Recent Plenums of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party--The Civil Code and the Code of Civil Procedure Are Important Documents Which Express and Protect the Party Policy"]

[Text] The disappearance of private ownership and the prevention by law of the exploitation of one person by another, and the establishment, development, and perfection of socialist relations in production, as well as the broadening of the sphere of relations regarding socialist wealth among state enterprises, and between them and the agricultural cooperatives, have brought deep changes of a revolutionary nature to the economic bases of our society, on which, among other things, the superstructure and all juridical opinions and standards are based and established. These changes in our economic bases, which were achieved under the leadership of the party, laid down the task that, after the drafting of the new constitution and in accordance with Marxist-Leninist ideology, and on the basis of the experience gained by the state and economic organs in the implementation of the civil legislation, the Civil Code and the Code of Civil Procedure should be drafted and approved.

The approval of these codes at the 7th Session of the Legislature of the 9th Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania marks another step forward in the perfection of socialist legislation, especially legislation in the civil area. The Civil Code regulates relations related to wealth and those not related to wealth between the economic enterprises, the institutions, the agricultural cooperatives, the social organizations and the citizens, as well as relations among the citizens themselves. Whereas, the Code of Civil Procedure ensures, among other things, the implementation of those relations which are regulated by the Civil Code for a just solution and a quick judgement of civil matters, struggling against bureaucracy and liberalism.

The Civil Code and the Code of Civil Procedure are separate laws. Each has its own objective in the sphere of relations which it regulates. However, as an integral part of the sole socialist law, they are closely related to each other. The content of the Code of Civil Procedure is defined to a great extent by the Civil Code.

In expressing the relationship between the law and procedure, Marx wrote that "court procedure and the law are as closely related to each other as, for example, plants belonging to the same plant family are related to each other, as animal groups are related to each other in flesh and blood. The same spirit must permeate the court procedure, because the procedure is the life form of the law, therefore, an expression of its inner life" (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol. I, Published in Russian 1955, p. 158). Given this thought, we can say that the Code of Civil Procedure is the life form of the Civil Code.

The Civil Code and the Code of Civil Procedure, as components of the civil legislation, are documents of great ideological, political, economic, social, and juridical value. As Article 3 of each one of them says, they are guided by the policies of the Albanian Workers Party [AWP] and are based on Marxist-Leninist ideology. These two laws as the other laws in our land, in compliance with the Constitution, openly affirm the guiding role of the party and the dominance of the ideology of the working class. This spirit permeates every one of their provisions. The law, by expressing the will of the class in power, will reflect and protect, as a matter of course, the ideology of that class. As a result, people who are involved in civil law cases must respect the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism which guide socialist coexistence and the standards of communist morality.

The affirmation of the guiding role of the party and the dominance of the Marxist-Leninist ideology in our civil legislation is a very important theoretical and practical characteristic. This affirmation, among others, is of theoretical importance because it opposes the bourgeois doctrines of the law, according to which legislation, especially that which is implemented in the civil area, supposedly is not linked with the ideology or the policy of any single party, but is supposedly guided by the idea of "human rights", and pretends to serve "the interests of society as a whole" because "justice must be treated as divorced from politics, economics" and so on. At the same time, our civil legislation contravenes the theories of modern revisionists who preach that justice supposedly expresses the will of all the people; it also contravenes their ideas on "ideological pluralism". Our civil legislation confirms the Leninist principle that the dictatorship of the proletariat can only be achieved through the communist party and that socialism can only be constructed on the basis of the ideology of the working class. The sanctioning in our civil legislation of the guiding role of the party and of the Marxist-Leninist ideology is of practical importance as well, because, in the interpretation and implementation of the law, when people are involved in matters of law, as jurists or private citizens, they need in every instance to follow the economic policy of the party and the party's Marxist-Leninist ideology, because the law expresses in a concentrated form the political, ideological, economic, and organizational line of the party as it applies to defined social relations; all the laws in their entirety are composed of the broad party line, which has been realized in different sectors of life, even on its simplest levels.

The Civil Code and the Code of Civil Procedures approve the principle of the class struggle. This principle--which, for well-known reasons, people have tried to separate the law from the functions of the state as a political class organism that rules economically--is not accepted by bourgeois law and has not

been sanctioned juridically by the law of those countries where revisionists are in power. The manifestation of this principle in our civil legislation denounces, once again, the sermons of bourgeois ideology that, supposedly, the state is not the dictatorship of the ruling class, but supposedly is "an impartial arbiter to protect law and order in general." It also denounces the revisionist principle which says that, in socialism, the class struggle is ended. By proclaiming and defending these principles in the area of civil law and civil procedure, our party has held faithfully to Lenin's idea that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is a continuation of the class struggle of the proletarian under new forms" (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 30, p. 90). This truth has been proved in an irrefutable way by the experience of socialism in the world. The revisionist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and elsewhere was a harsh class struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist order at a time when the old exploiting classes have already been liquidated.

Another important problem of principle and of vital importance for socialist construction in our land, which is endorsed by the Civil Code and is based on the constitution, is the prohibition of the granting of concessions and the creation of Joint companies and other foreign economic and financial institutions with or in cooperation with monopolies, capitalists, bourgeois, and revisionist countries, as well as the prohibition of the taking of credits from them. This presentation of the norm of the Constitution in the Civil Code is derived from our party's Marxist concept that "no country, regardless of how large or small, can build socialism by receiving help and credits from the bourgeoisie and the revisionists; by integrating its economy in the deceit of the world capitalist economic system" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the AWP, p. 30). The correctness of the implementation of this principle has been fully proved in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which is successfully building socialism in the heart of European capitalism and bourgeois-revisionism by completely relying on its own forces and keeping at the same time, in an exemplary manner, political and economic independence. All the countries which have accepted credits and "aid" from capitalist countries have submitted to the activity of the economic laws of capitalism; they have fallen prey to the covetousness of others and have lost their national sovereignty. This is the path of betrayal taken by revisionist cliques, who have left in their wake economic chaos, loss of sovereignty, and huge debts for now and for generations to come.

In a special part of the Civil Code, based upon the Constitution, various aspects of civil rights have been dealt with, the most important being the right of ownership.

Ownership is the central institute of civil law. It defines the juridical character of all the other institutes of this branch of our socialist law. The Code reflects the important changes that have taken place since the first decree "on ownership" came into existence. The collectivization of agriculture was successfully concluded during this period; gradually, part of group property became state property. The land was transferred to state ownership and private ownership disappeared; the social product increased to a great extent and the organization of production was further perfected, and so on. As a result, these qualitative changes in ownership relations brought about the creation of a new economic situation: the transformation of a national economy into a completely

socialist economy. The changes mentioned above are reflected in the Civil Code because, as is well known, ownership is not only an economic and social relationship, but is, at the same time, a juridical relationship, regulated and protected by the law.

The Civil Code embodies the Marxist-Leninist theory of the Constitution that the basis of the economic order of the socialist system of relations in production is socialist ownership of the means of production in both its forms: state and cooperative ownership, in which the former is higher and is responsible for enforcing both forms of ownership. Priority belongs to socialist state ownership, whose pace of development greatly influences the development of cooperative ownership. Personal ownership, on the other hand, is derived from socialist ownership, its source is the participation of citizens in work in the socialist economy. In compliance with these principled criteria, it endorses the idea that, in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, wealth comes under the ownership of the state, the agricultural cooperatives, and individuals.

The Constitution and the Civil Code have defined the state and the agricultural cooperatives as the lawful subjects of socialist ownership, whereas they have defined individual citizens as lawful subjects of personal ownership. The state is the sole owner of all state property, which includes "the land; the resources of the subsoil; mines; forests; grazing lands; waters; natural energy resources; mills and factories; machinery and tractor stations; banks; all lines of communication; rail, water, and air transportation; post and telegraph offices; telephone lines; radio and television stations; and cinematography" (Article 18 of the Constitution and Article 70 of the Civil Code). The agricultural cooperative, as the group representing the farm workers; as a juridical person, is a collective owner and not the representative of any single member of this organization. "Buildings, machinery, equipment, transportation vehicles, tools and working instruments, beasts of burden and production, fruit trees, agricultural and animal products, as well as other means necessary to run this activity are the property of the agricultural cooperative (Article 21 of the Constitution and Article 74 of the Civil Code). The citizen can consider as personal property, "income from work and other lawful sources, residential dwellings and other things which help to fulfill the material and cultural needs of one's self and family" (Article 23 of the Constitution and Article 77 of the Civil Code). The law governing personal property includes objects of value which concern the cooperative family and are based on the statute which governs agricultural cooperatives.

The explanation of property rights in the Civil Code ensures the inviolability of socialist property and its protection from capitalist degeneration. For this reason, the law declares that personal property cannot be used to harm the social interests, or to encroach on the rights of state enterprises and institutions to be the sole administrator of state property, within the powers defined by the law and according to their functions and the duties of the state plan, but they cannot be subjects of exclusive state ownership because the right belongs only to the state.

Inheritance rights are linked to the rights of personal property. Inheritance rights in our socialist society, like property rights, have a character and

content that is completely contrary to the inheritance rights in bourgeois countries and in countries where revisionists dominate. In bourgeois revisionist countries, where private ownership flourishes, inheritance rights are a way of protecting and increasing, from generation to generation, the exploitation of the oppressed masses by the wealthy. This social injustice has come to an end once and for all in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, where the disappearance of private ownership greatly diminished this institution, but, as one of the victories of ownership, it is dealt with in the Civil Code where it covers the transfer, by law or by a will of property, from a deceased person to one or several of his heirs. In our country, this right embodies new advanced norms in complete agreement with the socialist principles of humanism and the policy of the party. Lawful heirs, according to our law, are "children and grandchildren, spouses and parents, brothers and sisters, as well as the children of surviving brothers and sisters, grandparents, disabled dependents of the deceased and the state" (Article 103 of the Civil Code). All the above mentioned inherit according to the order defined by law. From the circle of heirs recognized by the law, secondary heirs are in line to inherit only when there are no primary heirs. Thus, for example, if the deceased has no primary heirs, such as children, spouse, and a parent unable to work, the working parent of the deceased and others cannot inherit because they are secondary heirs.

Contracts are important means which directly serve to fulfill the state plan, as well as the material and cultural needs of the working masses. Contractual relations are part of the discipline of the plan. They serve to implement the economic policy of the party for coordinating consumption with production and for realizing the goals of production. Within the whole system of the socialist management of the economy, an important role is played by the accurate implementation of contractual relations and duties between the enterprises among themselves and between them and the agricultural cooperatives. This fact has been proved by the work experience in the area of implementing the duties of the plan. The positive experience gained in this direction is reflected in the civil code, where the meaning, type, and content of the contract; its relations; and its effects have been defined.

The correct evaluation and implementation of the legal provisions of the contract serve as very important tools in the hands of the state and the economic organs for fulfilling on time all the economic, technological, and financial indicators of the plan, in kind and in value, so as to eliminate certain biased, global, bureaucratic, and liberal expressions which are noted in the area of implementing the contractual duties and which, left alone, will lead to the distortion of the economic policy of the party, to expressions of spontaneity in production, to bargaining; "scratch my back and I'll scratch yours". Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that "the exact implementation of contractual duties is an inseparable part of the duties of the plan, it is, in fact, one of the most important because, however well we fulfill the tasks in production, in all its indicators, if we do not fulfill the contract and all its conditions on time, we have not realized the principal goal of material production, that is to say, the placement of production in the service of the user and the consumer" (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1972-1973, p. 194). These valuable lessons from Comrade Enver Hoxha have been kept in mind in the formulation of provisions which deal with contracts in a special part of the Civil Code.

Besides ownership, inheritance, and contracts, the Civil Code also handles and regulates other civil rights matters, such as relations in civil law and juridical actions, subjects of civil juridical relations, representation, statute of limitations cases, the right of authors and obligations which result from damage or injuries, and so on.

All the juridical means which are anticipated by the code serve to implement civil legislation and ensure the realization of tasks in the economic field, as well as the construction of socialism according to the principle of relying on our forces. However, lawful means by themselves are insufficient in realizing the goals of the law, if their establishment does not become a concern of the masses. Laws are necessary, but the "decisive factor which will ensure the preservation, protection, enforcement, and further strengthening of the social ownership, as the open letter of the Central Committee of the party says, is to place the whole nation on guard for its protection." The criminal "can hide from regulations and the law, but he can never hide from the people." (AWP, Principal Documents, Vol. V, Tirana, 1974, p. 28). Therefore, it is very important to know the established law, its deep ideological, political, and juridical content, and to have a transformation in the inner convictions of all the workers in our country of the need to conscientiously respect the laws.

The basic party organs and organizations, the state and economic organs, and all the other levers of the party, must work in a programmed manner to propagandize these codes, the duties which are derived from them, the sanctions which are called for in them, and the necessity to implement them. The task of propagandizing the laws, as the experience in our country has demonstrated, belongs not only to the courts and to the offices of the attorney general, but to all the state and economic organs, because all of them, without exception, in their functions are involved in the implementation of the law. In this matter, we must keep in mind the recommendations of Comrade Enver Hoxha that every forum, collegially or individually, every executive committee, people's council, factory manager, all of them, must become familiar with the laws which concern them, they must know how to resolve the thought and content of the law, and they must oversee their strict implementation. Civil legislation, like all our legislation, is known for the fiarness of the principles it sanctions, for the reasonable decisions it gives, and for the intelligent and lucid presentations it makes. Our legislation is original, built on the basis of the realities of the times and on prospects for socialist construction in our country. While progressing on the path of the continuous improvement of the law, our civil law has abandoned certain institutions of the law which today have been left behind and have been overcome by the conditions of our life. These are full ownership by the cooperative family, burdens (servitude), deposits, pawning, mortgates, and so on. The court of civil procedures does not charge court taxes, does not take to court a spouse who pays other beneficiaries in the inheritance through the sale of property at auctions, etc. Many legal provisions have been pruned of unnecessary explanations which made work difficult, especially in the Code of Civil Procedure. The Seventh Congress of the Party had laid down the duty for the government organs and the state administration organs, in cooperation with the mass organizations to exploit the existing capabilities better in order to solve correctly a series of problems which deal with the violation of our social norms, such as expressions of foreign attitudes toward work and social

ownership, and they must not allow these matters to go to the organs of justice at every instance. The implementation of this important task, which was put into operation right after the Seventh Party Congress, has shown that this kind of work, when it is done with care and without formalization, exercises a powerful educational influence with the popular masses. It is for this reason that the Code of Civil Procedure, by not accepting the old concept, according to which the only means of protecting civil rights was to examine them in court, has raised to the level of the law the demand that state organs, courts, and offices of legal aid work seriously and skillfully to find new ways and means to implement the tasks to prevent civil juridical misunderstandings.

The Civil Code and the Code of Civil Procedure, as elements of the superstructure of our society, expressing the party policy, reflect the objective laws of the development of the socialist society. In this manner, they will play an important role in strengthening economic relations, they will serve as a powerful tool in our people's great struggle under the leadership of the party for the construction of socialism, and they will fulfill the stipulated duty to protect the socialist state, the Albanian Workers Party, the lawful interests of the enterprises, the institutions, the agricultural cooperatives, the social organizations, and the citizens.

6160
CSO: 2100/25

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ZMW, ZSMP RURAL ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 26 Oct 81 p 4

[Article by (kas)]

[Text] There are, however, two organizations that attempt to bring together in their ranks young people from rural areas. Reactivated after several years of nonexistence, the Rural Youth Union aspires to regain its past influence, and the Union of Socialist Polish Youth does not give up its activity in rural areas.

In view of the above are conflicts and fierce rivalry "for the souls" necessary? Must the artificial division exist, must it contribute to the creation of antagonisms and consequently lead to setting at odds and splitting the young rural generation? At central levels frequent clashes ensue between these two organizations. There are various reasons for this: old unfinished business can be traced to when the Rural Youth Union and Union of Socialist Youth were merged, matters connected with the final division of their assets, etc. Not insignificant causes are considerations of a prestigious nature. The leadership is, therefore, not exemplary; consequently it contributes to sharp conflicts in villages and parishes in various regions of the country, although fortunately not everywhere.

Despite differences in programs, a common activity for the good of all rural youth is possible, as exemplified by the Warsaw Capital Voivodship. Maybe it results because the chairman of the Warsaw Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, Zdzislaw Sirojc, and the deputy chairman of the same body responsible for rural youth activities are both former activists of the Rural Youth Union. Perhaps, together with Krystyna Mielniczuk, chairwoman of the Warsaw Capital Board of the Rural Youth Union, they simply concluded that since both organizations aspire to care for rural youth, it does not make sense to waste time and energy for pointless quarrels; the common ground of cooperation should be considered, while organizational and programmatic autonomy are maintained.

A good idea was conceived by the Presidium of the Warsaw Capital Voivodship Committee of the United Peasant Party, which invited chairmen of the Warsaw Capital Voivodship Boards of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth and the Rural Youth Union in order--as defined by the chairman of the Warsaw Capital Voivodship Committee of the United Peasant Party, Stanislaw Szewczyk--to examine together the direction of activity in the rural youth: "We would like also to find out what problems you have and what kind of help from us you expect."

Krystyna Mielniczuk presented very difficult material situation of the Rural Youth Union. "We work as volunteers, we do not have any paid positions or any means of transportation. Making copies of the most important documents or information is a major problem for us. Any kind of help for us is, therefore, very much appreciated. I would like to thank you, Mr Chairman, for making available your Fiat 126p. It is the only car at our disposal. Unfortunately, in spite of frequent declarations from local village and gmina units of the United Peasant Party, their help boils down to the expression of good intentions.

"Work with rural youth of the Warsaw Capital Voivodship is particularly difficult; without a proper basis and means it is a Sisyphean effort. We note a loss of rural identity. Young people do not feel attached either to a village or to a town. Their home is a bus or a train, where they spend several hours daily commuting to their school or work. This is the reason for the loose ties young people have with the countryside; the lack of the so-called local patriotism and self-governing traditions results in the inability of youth to get organized. We have a basis of leadership cadres, committed activists from among the academic youth, but the lack of housing and other necessities makes our work difficult."

The chairwoman of the Warsaw Capital Board of the Rural Youth Union stressed also that the Warsaw Capital Voivodship is one of the rare ones without friction with the Union of Socialist Polish Youth--in spite of differences in methods and aims of their activities.

Zdzisaw Sirojc pointed out that it is fortunate that the Warsaw Capital authorities of the Rural Youth Union do not treat the Union of Socialist Polish Youth as an unhealthy competition in the village.

"One of the main aims of our activity is the implementation of the idea of the alliance of workers and peasants. We are glad that our colleagues from the Rural Youth Union understand that only by our presence in the rural milieu can we implement our program. When we are witnessing growing antagonisms between the village and the town because of the food crisis, our activities become particularly significant. We do not disturb one another; where it is possible we will support one another, simply because both our organizations aim at the welfare of rural youth. Division would only harm both the rural milieu and each of our organizations.

Summing up the discussion, the chairman of the Warsaw Capital Voivodship Committee of the United Peasant Party expressed his satisfaction that more unites than divides the Rural Youth Union and the Union of Socialist Polish Youth. This portends effective cooperation for the welfare of the village. At the same time he made a commitment that the United Peasant Party will assist both organizations in the implementation of their programs.

"One should not divide rural youth. We should try to take advantage of the organizational duality for the revitalization of this milieu," he said in conclusion.

9644
CSO: 2600/90

ZSMP MAIN BOARD CHAIRMAN JASKIERNIA INTERVIEWED

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 2-22 Nov 81 p 5

[Interview with Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Main Board, Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), by Maciej Czekala: "Bounce Back From the Bottom at All Costs"]

[Text] [Question] Shortly following the Third Exceptional ZSMP Congress, you acted as host in Szczecin. I gave our newspaper's readers an account of your meeting with the people involved in the youth movement in Szczecin Voivodship. At that time you were an optimist, a person giving the impression that you have your own program of action which you had already begun to implement very consistently. I also got the impression that the renewal which after August took in the whole country had a different nature in the youth movement. It simply began from "the top" and everything seems to show, or at least did show, that now the breeze of renewal which is constructive is about to descend to the lower levels, which means to your voivodship, town, city-district, plant administration, and circles levels.

Today, given the perspective of several months which have passed since this meeting, I want to ask you a few questions related to the Szczecin meeting and to yourself, to your observations, your feelings, and your opinions. Hence, let me ask you if you are still the optimist you were 6 months ago. I the implementation of the program of the ZSMP Congress and your own decisions going the way it was set down in the ZSMP leadership?

[Answer] It has already been 6 months since the Extraordinary ZSMP Congress, and many ZSMP activists are asking questions of this sort today, but this complex set of deliberations should be viewed on two planes: the general political plane and the intraorganizational plane, because in looking at the issues we want to accomplish and settle, it is necessary to pick out those which are related to the functioning of ZSMP, that is, those over which we have direct control, and to differentiate between them and those issues which are conditioned by the broader development of the political situation.

So, in what real do negative phenomena appear? Well, the Third Extraordinary ZSMP Congress, although it was convened a few months after August, nonetheless met during a period when there was still a certain optimism that this transitional state was something which would last a few months at most, but would end a some moment. At that time there was the general conviction that we had just about reached bottom and were on our way back, that the self-government mechanism was going to function, that the new political and social forces were becoming a part of the process of the country's functioning, and that in this situation there would be the opportunity for a more effective resolution of the problems of young people.

Meanwhile, from month to month the sociopolitical conditions have been getting worse. For example, let us take the issue of raising credit limits for young married couples from 50,000 zlotys to 70,000. Right after August this seemed to be progress. Today, given the destruction of the market situation and the growing inflation, this is not progress. Let us take a key issue for young people, like housing construction. The brickworks are being closed. The building materials plants are being eliminated. When we look at all this through the prism of reality, it seems to me that our ZSMP has wound up in an unusually difficult situation. The young people are expecting their matters to be handled in a more straightforward fashion, that there will be self-government, democracy, and so on, but on the other hand, the actual political context of decisions is getting continually worse. And this is the very reason why in this realm I am far less optimistic today. I continue to emphasize that the cause is not lost, but I think that until our system gets into the groove, until we achieve some minimum political stability and along with it the accompanying economic and social stability that go with it, the organization which has its own specific goals will not be able to achieve them. And today this is an issue over which we have absolutely no control.

[Question] Well then, over what does ZSMP and its leadership have an influence?

[Answer] We have noticed important defects in the functioning and construction of the Union. There was a basic problem related to the fact that since 1973 we have become "derived" from the secondary schools, technical schools, and institutions of higher education. The organization lost its membership base in the form of schools and its intellectual backing in the educational institutions. Today we are breaking down. Beginning this 1 September we have expanded our activity to all types of schools. Of course, this is not a rapid process. Our strong circles and boards have not suddenly appeared from one day to the next. But there is no longer the situation which practically speaking limited our possibilities to operate in this community. Therefore the conditions have appeared to create a ZSMP base. I am convinced that this generation of ZSMP activists now in the schools will acquire experience, and this will pay off sometime in the future. The same is true of the educational institutions. From the viewpoint of a multicommunity nature in the Union, we have done what our organization expected of us.

Let us take another aspect of our post-August activity, independence. I do not know whether in the history of ZSMP or that of its predecessors there has been as far-reaching independence as now. Many people who are acquainted with the inner history can confirm this. From the viewpoint of the shaping and implementation of the program, the situation is identical. Nobody thrusts a program on us, modifies it, or puts pressure on us.

Two the problems arise nevertheless against the backdrop of this phenomenon. First, from one extreme in the form of the fact that before the congress people said that the whole program, for example, of the ZSMP circle, is thrust on us and guided by the upper echelons of ZSMP, we went to the other extreme, where we went over to complete independence, which often means a lack of effects. It turns out that independence is often dangerous. Therefore we are presently at the stage of seeking a middle road: What to do in order not to return to direction from above, at the same time making it possible for the circles to operate effectively?

The other issue which has come into view against this backdrop is solitude. Before we talked about direction, and today we are starting to talk about being alone.

[Question] In part of your statement one observes an attempt to explain away the weak activity of most voivodship echelons of ZSMP.

[Answer] I would not generalize it that way. It is my feeling that one voivodship is not the same as another. No general opinion about ZSMP can be accurate. I know about marvelous voivodship boards and about weak ones. I know about wonderful gmina [parish] boards and about miserable ones.

With respect to the voivodships, I will go back to your initial question. Within the organization we have gone over to the following concept: first a congress, and then later we go to the campaign, and now the election campaign is reaching the voivodship level. On the other hand, you must take into account the operation of a certain psychological mechanism. Often operating in t voivodship are people who already know they are leaving. They do not have certain motives for acting. This is a factor which in practice delays meritorical activity, but this is the very reason we brought pressure to make the election campaign come to a conclusion this year, because the long the process went on, the longer there would be inertia in certain voivodship elements.

[Question] Let us return once more to independence in ZSMP, about which you spoke. How should we take the case of SZTANDAR MLODYCH, the recall of the editor in chief without going through the process of having the Main Board of ZSMP give its opinion?

[Answer] Right away here a basic issue needs to be explained. The general public thinks that SZTANDAR MLODYCH is an organ or publication of ZSMP. This is not true. It is correct that during the Third ZSMP

Congress there were deliberations concerned with making SZTANDAR MLODYCH a ZSMP publication. At that time there were arguments that after all there are the scouts and the student organization SZSP, and in this situation the newspaper cannot be ascribed to any concrete organization. As a result, SZTANDAR MLODYCH is the daily publication of young people.

As for the change in the editor-in-chief of SZTANDAR, from the formal point of view there is no obligation to consult us on the decision. Nonetheless, we pointed out to the sociopolitical leadership that, owing to the nature of the publication and the fact that it is associated with us in the minds of the public, the lack of consultation on this matter was a mistake. We brought up the problem, in order to determine how the publication should be situated in the future, because it must have some sort of relationship to the youth organization.

[Question] Are you acquainted with the fact that employees of the ZSMP Workers' University in Szczecin were conducting protest actions?

[Answer] I admit that against the backdrop of the number of actions which are currently going on in the country, somewhere somebody is constantly... Formal information on the protest action of the Workers' University in Szczecin has not reached me, but I do know that there is the issue there of changing the director, the change being made by the local ZSMP Voivodship Board Presidium. The party in question appealed the decision, and other institutions also sent us their views on the subject. We appointed a commission made up of members of the Central Audit Commission and social activists to go there and examine the issue on the spot. From Warsaw it is difficult to determine the motives for the action taken there in Szczecin. We are trying to see that the decision in this matter is just and honest. I do not want to be "led" by anybody on this. At the same time we do not want to go in the direction of blocking any sort of change, because it is just here that the arguments are divided, and in a meritorical issue I would not like to take a stand, because I do not know the party in question, and I have not gone enough into the various arguments to tell you anything more here about this in the course of our interview. On the other hand, we have taken action to see that the issue is examined and clarified.

[Question] Then let us conclude our interview. But I cannot keep from asking the following question: When can we expect -- in a month, 2 months, or half a year -- please set the timeframe yourself -- that you will be able to say that nonetheless your optimism, as expressed in assuming the duties of chairman of the ZSMP Main Board, is or was optimism founded in reality?

[Answer] I will answer the question this way: That depends on the further development of the sociopolitical situation in the country. If the situation develops in the direction it is going at the present time and tends to a certain destruction of the system or some sort of long hangover, then I think that there is no need for such a meeting, because the organization will share the fate of the system, the fate of political

mechanisms. I do not know what sort of regulations will be introduced in this place. On the other hand, if we achieve equilibrium, not in the sense of economic balance, because that is the long-range prospect of from 2 to 4 years, but if we bounce back from the bottom and are beginning to go towards a certain stability, which will make it possible to resolve the problems of young people, then I do not think we would have to wait very long for such a meeting. I think that we would expect it in perhaps a year. This is not a very optimistic date, but nonetheless...

On the other hand, I would like to add one thing. I do not want the readers to get the impression from our interview that pessimism is hampering the Union's ability to operate. I am not mentioning individual opinions, because there are so many various views today that daily I receive a stack of extremely different views coming in from the field. I think that we have broken through a great barrier in the realm of the flow of information into ZSMP. This is the circulatory system of ZSMP. It is a thing of capital importance. Many activists say that the quality of ZSMP action depends on it along with what it does to see that the group of activists is informed so that it can make decisions on the basis of a good understanding of the current situation. Although it may soon disappear, I think it is disturbing that there has been a decline in the initiative to create a Council of Ministers Committee on Youth. During the meeting in Szczecin I pointed out that many of the problems which ZSMP is undertaking -- let me emphasize, those in the social and existential sphere -- occur in the broader context which depends on the country's economic situation, and in the decision making sphere they depend on the creation of a certain platform for the analysis and solution of the issues of youth, and it is here that we are disturbed to find that it has already been 6 months since the ZSMP Congress, another month since the party congress, where the matter was listed, but the issue is not being resolved. Everyone knows that today the cause is not to be found on the side of the government or the people making the political deicisions but on the size of the nonuniformity of positions of the other youth organizations, which are either registering their disinterest in the affair or are bringing up some sort of doubts. One thing is disturbing: that we not stop with merely registering the doubts. Unless we show young people that certain platforms are being created to resolve its affairs and these two or three issues we are not resolving, it is going to be tremendously difficult for the organization to have any credibility or for the authorities or the state to have any credibility either, because realities are what count.

Of course I would not boil ZSMP's issues down merely to social issues. ZSMP cannot be treated like a restaurant one goes to, eats in, and walks out of, and we are disturbed that there is too little to eat. Our activity also consits of the issue of upbringing and moral training work, of patriotism, and today this is an open problem. The question of wiping out the blank spots in historical awareness. And in this area there are no barriers keeping ZSMP from taking action comprehensively, so my own special pessimism rests on the fact that many people association ZSMP

with certain expectations and aspirations of working young people. But progress in this realm depends on general stability in the country.

[Question] Which means that you do not regret having exchanged your scholar's office at the Jagiellonian University for this office?

[Answer] I will tell you that after 6 months' work here a person has things more cut out for him than after several years' work at the university. This by no means speaks badly for the work here or there. To be chairman of ZSMP and be chairman of ZSMP--it is a question of the time-frame. The work is hard. You can work even 24 hours a day and still have it turn how here or there that...

I do not regret my decision. What would I have done as a scholar for 6 months? I would have written some sort of paper, a chapter of a book. These 6 months which I have spent in Warsaw have been a tremendous source of satisfaction and a tremendous life experience. Somebody once said that Paris is worth a mass. The experience I have already gained is worth a great deal. I do not feel frustrated as a scholar, because I dealt with state law. So today I am dealing with exactly the same thing, only on a practical level.

[Question] Thank you for the interview, and, speaking as an optimist, I will say: "I will be seeing you next year."

10790
CSO: 2600/153

SWISS PAPER POINTS TO SOVIET JAMMING OF BROADCASTS TO POLAND

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 16 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by W.H.: "Polish Airwaves Screened Off"]

[Text] Shortwave broadcasts in Polish by the Voice of America and the BBC are being methodically jammed since late December 1981. All language broadcasts to East Europe and the Soviet Union by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty are also being jammed. Thus far, the Polish services of Deutsche Welle and Deutschlandfunk, like the expanded programming of Radio France Internationale and Radio Vatican, have not been affected. In other words, VOA Polish programs are being subjected to massive jamming for the first time in 25 years and BBC broadcasts for the first time in 18—in direct violation of Helsinky final act and the Madrid folloup conference.

Carefully Planned Action

Both broadcasting services, along with Deutsche Welle and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, have complained about the total jamming of their Russian programs since the summer of 1980. That particular move had no doubt been carefully planned and was introduced in one fell swoop. The latest measures, on the other hand, were introduced step by step which seems to indicate a degree of improvisation.

It started when some VOA broadcasts were jammed intermittently on 28 December of last year. 3 days later, systematic jamming began. Although VOA expanded its Polish broadcasts threefold to 5 hours a day at New Year's, all frequencies were already being jammed on 2 January. BBC, too, added to its Polish broadcasts. Jamming started a few days later on a frequency-by-frequency basis until by 4 January all broadcasts were affected.

Trackings indicate beyond the shadow of a doubt that all jammers are located in the Soviet Union—one in the Ukraine near Smolensk and the other in the Kaliningrad area. The British government has already launched a strong protest with Moscow against these latest hinrances to the free flow of information.

The Jamming Principle

Jamming can be effected locally or regionally. In all populated areas, the Soviet Union operates groups of jamming transmitters which feed omni-directional antennas and which put out a strong jamming signal on the chosen frequency within the reach of their groundwaves. This system calls for a great deal of technology and is costly; it also requires a communication network of its own in order to coordinate the jamming measures. In between the populated areas thus affected and rural, sparsely populated areas reception of foreign broadcasts is still possible, albeit in a restricted way in some instances.

Concentrated local jamming is augmented by area-wide jamming which is effective only on shortwave, however, where the sky wave reflected by the ionosphere is brought into play. Use is made of high-capacity transmitters at distances of 2,000-4,000 kilometers from the target area. Such a system is presently in operation, directed toward Poland since that country does not have a great many ground wave jammers at its disposal.

The jammers transmit heavily overmodulated signals. In the past, jamming was restricted to transmitting the second Soviet all-union program "Mayak" or machine noises and howling sirens. But now, special "programs" in the FM mode are transmitted via amplitude modulation. Most of the time these programs consist of American pop music of the forties or tape loops with brief spoken texts.

Permanent Soviet Radio Surveillance

One way to counter to these activities was to change frequencies rapidly; but this called for the listener in the target area to switch frequencies as well. But modern jammers can "follow along" in just a few seconds and periodic checks by Western broadcasters prove that the Soviet Union has all frequencies under constant surveillance and reacts in each instance.

A more effective antidote is to put the jammers "on a starvation diet" by coordinating program schedules internationally and operating on as many frequencies as possible until the jammer's potential is exhausted and at least one frequency gets through unjammed. This technique is known as "barrage broadcasting." In the Polish case, it soon became clear that the Soviet Union did not have sufficient reserves at its disposal and was forced to "transfer" transmitters jamming the Czech broadcasts of RFE. During the past few days, however, this shortfall was made up for by activating military transmitters.

Possible Countermeasures

Aside from operating very strong transmitters which can get through the jamming signal in the reception area, the best way of countering sky wave jamming is to make use of the "twilight effect" which applies when there is daylight at the jamming transmitter site but when the transmitter to be jammed is located in the twilight or night zone of the earth. At such times, the original signal is still reflected by the ionosphere but the jamming signal is absorbed totally or in part. This means that broadcasts from West to East can still be transmitted

but cannot be effectively jammed from East to West. Several RFE/RL transmitters located in Portugal make use of this technique. VOA broadcasts to Poland from Wooferton, England (using BBC facilities), from Kavala, Greece and from Tangiers in Morocco. Here, too, an attempt is made to capitalize on wintertime "skip conditions" so as to get through on higher frequencies until 8 pm local time. The VOA's Munich shortwave transmitter also broadcasts Polish programs; but it is the medium wave transmitter in Munich that is being used most of all which the jammers can do nothing about and which can be heard at times throughout Poland after dark.

BBC broadcasts to Poland mostly from Wooferton; only in the late afternoon is the Cyprus relay station used on one frequency. London takes advantage above all of the power shortage in Poland. Polish radio has been assigned the 207 m frequency to the 2000-kW transmitter at Konstantynov and the 200 kHz frequency to the 200-kW facility in Warsaw, both on long wave. This latter frequency is also being used by the BBC domestic service's "Radio Four" and by the World Service during the early morning hours. To save energy, Warsaw had to reduce transmissions on this frequency some time ago and has now had to shut them down altogether. Stations in Moscow and Leningrad, also operating on 200 kHz cannot compete with the 400 kW signal from Droitwich which leaves English-speaking Poles with access to Western information sources as long as Moscow does not decide to jam the Warsaw frequency, too.

Advantages for Polish Shortwave Listeners

Polish ham radio operators (who have been prohibited from broadcasting since the imposition of martial law) and dedicated shortwave listeners have found another way out. Outside regular programming, VOA Polish programs are broadcast in single sideband transmissions from Greenville, North Carolina to European and African relay stations for re-transmission. Those who have the technical know-how can receive these feeds with excellent quality. To be sure, these frequencies, too, could be jammed by the Soviet Union; but the Americans have other links available via cable or satellite so that the effort would not be worthwhile. In this connection, one should not forget that the operation of jamming transmitter systems is extremely costly. Estimates are that Moscow spends as much money on their upkeep alone as on its entire domestic broadcast operation which after all spans 14 time zones.

The Political Backdrop

As a rule, a change of government calls for certain procedures to be followed in the field of radio and television. The Polish military government quite clearly failed to live up to these procedures. To be sure, all regional radio stations were closed down on 13 December 1981 and all staff members were sent on furlough; the national radio programs were reduced to one as were the two television channels; the pop music broadcasts of the small boy scout station were terminated—but the external service "Radio Polonia" does not, as would be true to form, resort to airing domestic programs or to transmitting an endless program of patriotic or military music. The fact is that the frequencies were not used at all, which "Radio Canada International," VOA and other broadcasters soon discovered. "Radio Polonia" did not go back on the air until 22 December and has been broadcasting a stopgap program in German, English and Polish since.

At first, the introduction of total censorship and the news blackout had the desired effect. The West had nothing much with which to counter the official communiques except rumors, speculations and vague stories on the mood prevailing inside the country. But since the Warsaw military government was obviously interested in quickly conveying the image of normalization to the outside world, it decided to lift the most stringent restrictions on Western newsmen as time went by. In the meantime, they had availed themselves of the "brotherly" assistance of the Soviet Union. When the news blackout was relaxed the jamming activities began immediately. From the first day on, the Polish people could thus not be influenced by news from the outside.

Unmasking Soviet Goals

For decades now, producers and consumers on both sides of the iron curtain have lived with the reality that different social orders generate different forms of media news coverage. But the massive use of jamming against the "hate propaganda" of whatever the other side was seemed to decline in recent years. Most of all the Soviet Union was at pains to convey the impression in the aftermath of the Helsinki Conference that the methods of the Cold War were gone and forgotten—while setting up a more perfect jamming network in great secrecy just in case. It was probably no easy matter for the Kremlin bosses to divulge the existence of this jamming network concurrently with the Madrid followup session. But the aftereffects of the invasion of Afghanistan on Western news coverage and on the mood inside the Soviet Union itself led to the system's being activated prematurely in July 1980. And the Warsaw military leaders are now profiting from its reserve capacities.

9478
CSO: 2300/99

APPEAL TO HELP SICK NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 p 5

[Article by (l.o.): "Help the Sick! Appeal by the Minister of Health and Social Welfare"]

[Text] As we were informed by Dr Jerzy Lukowski, press spokesman for the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, (Minister) Tadeusz Szchachowski addressed an appeal to medical academy students and senior class students of medical secondary schools [premedical high schools]. The content of the appeal follows:

Colleagues! The situation in which we find ourselves demands that all health units continue to be an area for quite considerate work involvement on behalf of the ill. I appeal to you for the realization everywhere and at every moment of this imperative which is part of the vocation and social service that we mutually perform. No rationale or arguments can exist to justify any other conduct.

I appeal to you medical academy students and senior class students of medical secondary schools to apply to the nearest health service units where you live and engage in work there. Take advantage of the school break by becoming actively involved in taking care of the sick. Help your older colleagues in discharging their heavy and responsible obligations, and at the same time take advantage of the opportunity to improve your practical knowledge at the side of the sick. Feel yourselves to be health service workers.

This appeal is simultaneously a recommendation to managers of health service units to assure proper working conditions for you.

10433
CSO: 2600/181

STATUS OF FOOD DELIVERIES TO WARSAW CITY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 p 8

[Article by Irena Szaczkuszowa and Marzena Wieczorek: "Deliveries of Food Articles--Just as Heretofore. Increased Purchases Make Supply More Difficult"]

[Text] Yesterday was an unusually strenuous day for Varsovians making purchases. It was possible to buy only sugar and flour without any difficulty in all stores for hours. There were special difficulties with buying bread, the first shipments of which disappeared from stores in the course of 2 early morning hours, despite the fact that bakery supplies were almost 100,000 loaves greater than every Monday, and transportation was operating properly. During that time bread was sold without any restrictions.

It Did Not Suffice for Everyone

People were buying three-four loaves--said Romana Marcewicz, manager of the store on Warecka Street. The 700 kilograms from the morning delivery and 60 kilograms of "Old Polish" leftover from last Friday sufficed for barely 1 hour.
At 10
At 10 o'clock the shelves there as well as in other stores in the Soliborz housing areas Zatrasie, Piaski, Chomiczowka and in Srodmiescie stores on Rutkowskiego, Aleje Jerozolimskie, Bracka and Krakowskie Przedmiescie were empty.

Many persons were waiting for the second consignment of bakery products to the store at 30 Waszyngton street from 0800. It was not delivered until 1500.

That is the normal afternoon delivery time--we are told by Jadwiga Wlodarska, the manager of that unit--if it were brought earlier it likewise would not last long.

Because of customer demands only one loaf at a time was being sold in this store during the afternoon.

The purchase of other foodstuffs: dairy products, cereals, flour and even vegetables was greater than usual yesterday.

Here it needs to be added, that decisions were undertaken yesterday in the capital headquarters of the Warsaw Consumers' Cooperative (WSS) "Spolem" the administrator of the food trade which permit better supervision over trade activity under the difficult conditions linked with the lack of telephone

communications. All the officials were obligated to visit stores and make personal contacts with food producers. Round-the-clock duty schedules were instituted.

As we were advised by Cecylia Petrus, director of WSS "Spolem," in order to make it possible for residents to obtain food articles every day, and to slow down excessive purchasing, as of today, there will be limits on the amounts of purchases everywhere. For example, a customer will be able to purchase up to two loaves of bread, 5 kg of potatoes, and so on, at any one time.

Bakers Are Working Dedicatedly

We also visited Warsaw bakeries. Their staffs are working with great dedication. If it was necessary, they remained at their work posts until their replacements showed up. The trade ordered 52,000 loaves of bread from "Lowicka" bakery on Monday. By 1400 hours, 57,000 loaves were baked which were immediately distributed. During the afternoon, an additional 22,000 loaves were furnished.

According to Irena Liskiewicz, the manager of the "Belwederska" bakery, about 20,000 loaves of bread are baked during each of 3 shifts. The orders for Tuesday amount to 47,000 loaves, thus the bakers will see to it that more bread is made available than the trade ordered. When excessive purchases are restricted, bread ought to be available for sale at all times.

Bakers and trade also guarantee supplies of bread which assure the full satisfaction of needs. Hence, excessive purchasing is not warranted and simply leads to waste of bakery goods.

Normal Dairy Deliveries

We also took an interest yesterday in the production of milk and milk products. The chairman of the District Dairy Cooperative "Paraga," Boleslaw Ratajczyk, anticipates that production will be maintained at the present level although the raw material-fuel situation is not the best. This dairy supplies the capital and the capital voivodship portion with about 220,000 liters of milk, 8,000 liters of cream and 3,000 tons of cheese every day.

"Wola," Warsaw's largest dairy is also working without any disturbances. It furnishes stores with 200,000 liters of milk in bottles and 160,000 liters in foil cartons every day.

The capital received about 500,000 liters of milk from all of the milk plants (including the "Mokotow" milk plant) yesterday. Thus, if the present level of purchases is maintained, there should be no lack of this item.

Let us hope that with the initiation of close supervision over trade by "Spolem" employees, that the "intervention" supply problems arising because of the lack of phone service will not be as burdensome as they were the day before.

10433
CSO: 2600/181

PARTICIPANTS IN FIREFIGHTER SCHOOL STRIKE INTERVIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19-20 Dec 81 p7

[Article by Ewa Fiala: "Eight of the 'First' Troops"]

> [Text] (Our own information) "It turned out that somebody wanted to use our hands to handle affairs that were not ours, not the affairs of officer candidates." These words came from the lips of one of the students at the former Higher Officers' Firefighting School (WOSP), who talked on the 18th of this month with a group of journalists at the Fire Brigade Headquarters.

Among these officer cadets are those from Warsaw, but they also came from Lodz, Lublin, and Radom, where they are now doing their service in the fire brigades. They hope soon to return to the student benches, but

"It is only now, on normal duty, that we get the flavor of it. In the practice sessions it was entirely different. A man was never "first," always in the reserves. They did not take us students for the action work."

One can create an exact notion of the course of events at WOSP from the talks with cadets Szwed, Tomal, Krzywda, Bartoszcze, Kononowicz, and Zulnowski, of how often and about what the commander and his assistant at the school talked to them, which of the civilian lecturers talked and about what, usually members of Solidarity; when delegates came to the school from the Independent Association of Students (NZS) and Mazowsze Region Solidarity, who called them, and when they came uninvited. And therefore how the strike was going. But that is already in the past, and besides that, the newspaper accounts have made the facts known. Nonetheless, they discuss them still from the beginning, giving details and supporting them with every minor little thing. Only one of the eight (two asked that their names not be revealed) does not know but what if he had it to do over again he would find himself back among those on strike. He says frankly: "I do not know if I could separate myself from my colleagues." But after a moment's reflection he adds: "I don't know

whether today there would be people who would decide on this form of protest, on this way of "correcting" the school, of making things right." They were unanimous: "No." It was not a question of the school. The lesson had been painful. We understood a lot.

This understanding leads to associating certain facts. The first fact: Suddenly a lively discussion began on the draft of the higher education law. The cadets were told that in the draft law none of the democratic rights given other institutions of higher education applied to the WOSP ("democratic" is what they call them). Second fact: The Solidarity bulletin board began having communiques and statements about the rigors to which WOSP graduates were to be subjected. There will be the obligation to work 12 years in the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MSW). The WOSP diploma (of engineer) will not be honored in other areas of the economy; outside of MSW we will be [considered] technicians. They also wrote about the regime which, contrary to the broad freedoms which the new law guarantees to other institutions of higher education, was to let them fall through a big gap.

Not everybody believed it. They asked the commander. He spoke truthfully! "I did not read the draft law," but he gave them his word that they would not be technicians wherever they worked. He spoke too truthfully. Besides, what was the word of one, two, or even several people, since one continually heard first in a whisper, then out loud, and finally in a shout: "Untrue."

No, nobody was acquainted with the draft law. They knew that it was not even the first reading in the Sejm. But those who said, "Untrue," said it suggestively. They were from here, from WOSP, from the Warsaw institutions of higher education, and from the Mazowsze Region Solidarity. They had the advantage of numbers. The statements often repeated began to be convincing.

"We thought that it was a question of the school, of us, and of those who would be the next classes of cadets. First of all, during the rally, and even during the first hours of the strike, it seemed as though it was only a matter of the school, of our affairs. Then things went further, and finally it stopped being the subject altogether.

Seweryn Jaworski's speech came as a shock. He said practically nothing about the school. He criticized the government, the political system. Everything became just about clear."

They said that they understood nearly everything. I did not write everything, and this was on purpose, deliberately so. If people who are so young recognized right away that they already know and understood everything, I would take it as incorrect, but it is important that they are already figuring out that the game was not for the stakes that were originally listed at the top of the demands. It is important that they have their opinion of the school, that, believing that they will continue their studies in the vocation of their choice, they are heatedly dis-

cussing, in a language only they understand, using verbal shorthand, the curriculum, the classes, the practice courses, and life at Jelonki (the barracks), discussing the fact that many of them are outside Warsaw, that they must somehow be integrated with the city, have conditions created to participate in culture.

In the capital of the country, which was in a state of war, we talked with people who had participated in the noisy demonstrations of a few days before. Is it bad that they speak and think about tomorrow? Is it a bad thing that by the law of youth they want a better tomorrow? It is a good thing that it seems so close to them.

Out of 364 student-cadets at the former WOSP, 229 reported and took up duties at the brigade headquarters. They are serving as part of the "first troops" today, for tomorrow.

10790
CSO: 2600/184

MEETING OF COMMITTEE FOR CHILDREN REPORTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Dec 81 p 2

[Article: "Concrete Decisions for the Good of the Youngest"]

[Text] A meeting of the Committee for Children and representatives of certain institutions and social organizations, held in Warsaw on December 21, 1981, was devoted to the most important problems now affecting the youngest generation. The meeting, which was attended by Lt Col Miroslaw Hermaszewski, member of the Military Council for National Salvation (WRON) was conducted by Wojciech Zukrowski, chairman of the Committee.

During a two-months' period of activity, the Committee for Children undertook a number of important actions. It obtained agreement from the authorities to supply children up to age 4 in the cities with milk containing a higher content of fat. Thus, as of January 1, 1982, milk containing 3.2 percent butterfat will reach children in the largest urban centers, and as of February 1, 1982, in all Polish towns.

In the opinion of the committee members, the production of carbon tetrachloride for diapers must be increased immmediately, and full coverage of rationed items of sanitation on card "O" be guaranteed. It is proposed that the allotment of sanitary goods [diapers, etc.] be extended to cover children up to age 3.

The Committee activists proposed that all surpluses of paper and production capacity be assigning for the printing of books for children.

Consideration was given during the discussion on how children can be protected from afflictions which arise during a state of martial law. Aside from ensuring children and youth proper nourishment, the most important problem is organizing their free time. The interruption in school lessons, which, in the opinion of the representatives of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing was indispensable, has meant that some pupils are now not being cared for. Young people, not knowing what to do with free time, are susceptible to all kinds of manipulation and can easily become a tool in the hands of forces working against the authorities and may come into conflict with the law. /That is why it is the duty of every institution and organization involved in affairs of the young generation, without looking to the army, to develop and implement its own initiatives/ [in boldface].

Lt Col M. Hermaszewski gave assurance that activities whose goal is the good of the children can count on all kinds of help from the Military Council for National Salvation (WRON) and the military commissioners. The military can assist in organizing polytechnical lessons for youth, in conducting the nourishment programs in the schools, and in printing lesson materials for teachers. But the Council will not act as a substitute for organizations that are responsible for bringing up the young generation. Emergency initiatives are critically needed, but they must be treated in combination with long-range measures.

9295
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BRIEFS

SITUATION IN MEDICAL ACADEMIES--A conference of rectors, military studies directors and PZPR school committee secretaries from 10 medical academies from around the entire country took place in Warsaw on 6 January. The conference, whose participants included Minister of Health and Social Welfare Tadeusz Szelachowski, and the commissioner of that ministry, National Defense Committee plenipotentiary Brig Gen Prof Jerzy Bonczak, was devoted to discussion of the current problems concerning the functioning of medical schools and, against this background, to an evaluation of the possibility of beginning instruction at these schools as soon as possible. It was stated that in principle all medical academies in the country are prepared to begin instruction on 18 January, albeit in somewhat limited scope at first. The eventual commencement of student studies on that date will be preceded by the instruction of school directorial and teaching cadres on the rights and duties of students and employees during the "state of war." Initial student activities will also be devoted to these matters. Individuals who do not conform to the "state of war" requirements should expect severe sanctions, including dismissal from studies. The minister of health and social welfare announced that he would approach the premier with the recommendation that instruction begin on 18 January. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Jan 82 p 5]

YOUTH UNION FACTORY MEETING--At the invitation of its ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] members, the work force of the Warsaw Mechanical Works "Wuzetem" [i.e., WZM] on Czerniakowska Street was visited by Lt Col Pilot Miroslaw Hermaszewski, a member of the Military Council for National Salvation, and Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the ZSMP Main Board. The chief director of the factory, Jozef Arminski, expressed his sincere appreciation for the attitude of the predominantly young work force and asserted that it has been and is still possible to rely on the ZSMP members and on their initiative and devotion. In the conversation and discussion at the meeting there arose questions concerning i.a. the need for modification of the directions and form of ZSMP work. In particular, these questions concerned the efficient resolution of everyday social problems, aid in organizing the supply of provisions for the work force, greater initiative in housing affairs, etc. Questions of broadly conceived egalitarianism and equitable division of material goods were a constant theme in the discussions. These topics were covered i.a. within the context of credits for young married couples, credits which in recent months have been illusory due to the lack of a sufficient supply of goods. [Excerpts] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Jan 82 p 2]

NEED TO WORK--We have come to live in a state of war introduced in a situation of economic ruin and dangers for the country, when the problem becomes the assurance of daily bread and queues of distressed people stand in the cold for various articles essential for life. Long winter months and the specter of empty stores are before us, as are empty ports in which there is nothing to transship. An awareness that only work offers us the opportunity for emerging from poverty is something new. However, the realization of this truth was impossible under conditions of constant conflicts and an atmosphere strained to the limits of endurance. Now we must help ourselves and the only way out is work. Increased effort which can yield a larger quantity of goods, those earmarked for stores and those for export for which, among other things, we would be able to buy food and medicines, is an obligation toward one's family and closest friends as well as the state. At the same time, we await better distribution of goods. That also depends on people working in trade and transport. If there are millions of people standing in queues every day for bread, milk and whatever can still be bought, instead of being at work, that not only is a waste of health and energy but also of our work. Work on which our well being is dependent. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish No 294, 15 Dec 81 p 2] 10433

PHYSICAL EDUCATION, SPORTS--Current problems of youth physical education and sports were discussed at a joint meeting of Ministry of Education and Upbringing and the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Sports managements on the 14th of this month. These problems were the subject of discussions undertaken in various physical education teacher and activist centers, as well as during the little Diet of Physical Culture. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish No 294, 15 Dec 81 p 5] 10433

SCHOOL LAW--As reported by deputy Henryk Rafalski, chairman of the Sejm Commission on Health and Physical Culture, the Commission has begun to formulate opinions pertaining to a draft law on higher schooling. The problems relating to medical schooling and physical culture have not been given sufficient attention in this document. On the 14th of this month a discussion in the Commission was devoted specifically to these matters. The object was to ensure cohesiveness in the powers that the plan provides for the Main Council on Higher Schools, the senates of the higher schools, the rectors and the minister. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 p 2] 9295

SCOUT UNION CHILD CARE--On 15 December 1981, the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP) issued a special order which specifically instructs the organization's members to conduct lessons with children and youth as part of the scout preparedness for winter. /Each instructor is required to organize interesting and safe work for the patrols and troops/ [in boldface]. The ZHP instructors will establish "close contact with parents so that they may be certain that their child is properly cared for while attending scout activities. The scouts and the instructors, both in their assemblies and while on duty, will be in uniform and will wear the scout headgear," the order reads. During martial law, persons with full authority to act will be sent by the ZHP Headquarters to council commands to help in the efficient organization of scout work. The full text of the special order from the ZHP commander-in-chief was disseminated through organizational channels. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Dec 81 p 2] 9295

RURAL YOUTH UNION MEETING--On 19 December 1981 in Warsaw, Waldemar Swirgon, chairman of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union (ZMW) conducted a meeting of the chairmen of the ZMW Voivodship Boards (ZW). The forms and methods of the work of the ZMW circles and echelons in the new situation were discussed. The ZMW aktiv accepted the decision to declare a state of martial law with solemnity and understanding. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Dec 81 p 5] 9295

CSO: 2600/185

ANTONESCU YEARS REVIEWED IN PARTY JOURNAL

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 19, 5 Oct 81 pp 26-30 pp 26-30, 44

/Article by V. Liveanu: "The Nature of the Antonescu Regime"/

/Text/ So far from disappearing, interest in the study of fascism has been growing in the 36 years since the end of World War II, in the effort to reconsider and survey an immense human tragedy in the light of the past decades. The international development of the studies of fascism also involves confrontations among various schools of contemporary social thought, including the effort to rightly answer those who are trying to restore or revive some or others of the fascist practices and ideas.

The term "fascism" first appeared as a designation of the Italian party headed by Mussolini and then, as Prof Iorgu Iordan said back in 1934, its primary meaning was extended to new shades of meaning designating political trends in various countries ("Political Articles," Bucharest 1979, p 52). Therefore the parties and dictatorships called "fascist" (a term that rightly became infamous in the eyes of men worthy of the name) naturally had traits peculiar to each country in addition to their general characteristics. Accordingly the studies made in recent years, in making the necessary distinction between fascist dictatorships and those "of the traditional type," also note the importance of special study of the fascism in each separate country and the existence of varieties of fascism other than the German or Italian "classic fascism" that are indicated by designations like "military fascism," "clerical fascism," "agrarian fascism" etc. Marxist historians in Romania took an early interest in the distinctive characteristics of each of the successive dictatorships in Romania between 1938 and 1944. In his work "Under Three Dictatorships" written in 1941 L. Patrascanu called the royal dictatorship a reactionary dictatorship characterized by the king's personal power, without calling it fascist. In L. Patrascanu's view the Iron Guard movement, "a kind of fascist movement," was in power during the "Antonescu-Iron Guard dictatorship." In the same work and also in his work "Basic Problems of Romania" written in 1942-1943, L. Patrascanu characterized the dictatorship established by Ion Antonescu after the Iron Guard was expelled from the government as a "military-fascist dictatorship." In both works L. Patrascanu called the regime established in January 1941 "the military dictatorship" or "the Antonescu dictatorship" without considering the contradiction between those terms and the characterization of the regime as a military-fascist dictatorship. The judgments in L. Patrascanu's naturally coincided with those of the RCP. The RCP documents still characterize the Antonescu regime after January 1941 as a military-fascist dictatorship even today.

Recent works have enriched the subject matter of research on Antonescu's regime, bringing up many interesting aspects that were previously little studied or not at all and circulating new sources that call attention to important historical problems requiring clarification. Solution of the complex problems of this period actually requires not only citation of the historical sources but also their comparison and critical analysis, especially the documents wherein the Antonescian dignitaries tried to justify their activity both before and after 23 August 1944. Uncritical acceptance of the documents, arbitrary selections and distorted quotations lead to leaps from one bias to another, including conclusions that appear sensational but are actually anachronistic not only because they disagree with historical reality but also because they agree on the light in which the Antonescian leaders wished to appear in the eyes of the public and in the judgments of history.

We do not intend to discuss in this article the question of characterizing Antonescu's regime in its entirety. We shall confine ourself to indicating a few points of reference for relating Antonescu's regime to the other fascist regimes and for determining that regime's stand on the problems of relations with Hitlerite Germany.

As contrasted with those who see in fascism a kind of state possible in the most diverse social systems, the Marxist researchers, and not they alone, point out the genetic tie between capitalism and fascism. As Max Horkheimer, the noted representative of the Frankfurt School, commented back in 1939, "Who does not want to speak of capitalism must also keep silent about fascism," and a work of the West German researcher R. Kuehnl stated that the fascist dictatorship is one of "the forms of the bourgeois state" (1).

One of the first points we wish to stress is that the problem of the nature of Antonescu's regime is not identical with that of the stage of development of capitalism in Romania. The restructuring of the old order, which fascism wished to accomplish by terror and social demagoguery, was actually intended for consolidation of private property and social exploitation. But in contrast with the implications of the old formula to the effect that fascism everywhere necessarily reflected the most reactionary extremes of monopolist capital, regimes or movements regarded as fascist existed not only in countries where capitalism had been transformed into monopolist capitalism long before (in Germany for example) but also in capitalist countries where monopolist capital was still in a quite incipient stage (Spain, Bulgaria or Estonia). I do not think one can speak of a fascist dictatorship in any capitalist countries, but only in those that have already undergone a bourgeois parliamentary regime against which fascism has risen. Furthermore one can speak of a fascist dictatorship only in a certain historical stage, namely the one in which the socialist revolutions have taken place which it is one of the purposes of fascism to avoid. Some have even formed the opinion, which we share, that it is necessary to distinguish between fascism and neofascism, the former being characteristic of the 1919-1945 period alone.

Since the predominance of capitalist relations in Romania between the wars and the existence in 1919-1938 of the parliamentary system based on universal suffrage (with its omissions and limitations to be sure) cannot be questioned, we shall concentrate upon the political system between January 1941 and 23 August 1944. I feel the description, at times, of Antonescu's regime only as a regime of the right is not wrong in itself but inadequate. Any fascist regime is a regime of the right, but not every regime of the right in the 1919-1945 period was a fascist one. Not every rightist bourgeois regime in that period openly and completely suppressed any civil rights and

any trace of the representative system while intensifying the terror against the labor movement and any democratic trend, as it happened in the period of Antonescu's dictatorship.

The form of government in the period, or the form taken by the bourgeois state, is essential to the description of Antonescu's regime. The decrees of 5-8 September 1940, which suspended the 1938 Constitution, dissolved the parliament elected in 1939 and transferred all state powers to Gen Ion Antonescu, and the decree of 9 September 1940 whereby Ion Antonescu proclaimed himself chief of the Romanian state were the legal basis for the state regime in that period. It was a backward step both from the bourgeois parliamentary regime before 1938 and from the situation during the royal dictatorship.

The Constitution of February 1938 instituted a regime of the monarch's personal power, yet it proclaimed observance of civil rights and freedoms and maintenance of a parliament that lacked real power but permitted some public activity of the left and the antifascist trends, especially during elections. Workers trade organizations existed (guilds), although they were under the wing of the Ministry of Labor. Some anti-Hitlerite public assemblies and demonstration were permitted, without repression by the authorities. In the summer of 1940 the royal dictatorship was oriented toward Hitlerite Germany externally and took steps toward totalitarianism internally, but it was not until Antonescu's dictatorship was established that all civil rights and freedoms and all traces of parliamentary government were openly suppressed. The farcical plebiscites by open ballot staged by Antonescu's regime had nothing in common with parliamentary government but followed the models of the plebiscites organized by the fascist regimes in other countries. The law itself abolished any legal restriction and any form of check on the "leader" Antonescu's arbitrary exercise of all state powers, creating a legal framework wherein the terror against the labor movement, all democratic factions and trends, and all those the authorities considered dangerous to the regime was intensified by new repressive laws, by numerous sentences to imprisonment and death, and by deportations and internments in camps.

A state administration monopolized by one ultrareactionary faction or another of the representatives of the bourgeoisie, complete and open abolition of the democratic freedoms, human rights and the parliamentary system, transfer of the mass communication media to the complete control of the bourgeois state, legal concentration of that state's power in the hands of one person alone, maximum intensification of repressive measures, and violence to all organizations and persons opposing the state administration, all those traits characteristic of fascist dictatorships were also characteristic of Antonescu's dictatorship.

Priority on anticommunism and anti-Marxism and their use to justify the dictatorship are traits common to all fascist dictatorships, although not to them alone. All governments in the 1921-1940 period followed a repressive anticommunist policy, but never before did the terror against the labor movement go to the extremes it did in Romania during Antonescu's dictatorship.

Antonescu's regime preserved the form of a monarchic state. From January 1941 until Antonescu's arrest, the prerogatives reserved for the king, including command of the army or appointment of the prime minister, were merely symbolic formalities. Throughout Antonescu's dictatorship the whole power to decide matters of national government was in the hands of the "state leader," the situation being similar to the one in fascist Italy until July 1943.

It is well known that in the period from January 1941 to 23 August 1944 Antonescu's dictatorship differed from the fascist regimes in Germany and Italy in that it was not based on a fascist party of its own but was in conflict with the Iron Guard, the main fascist organization in Romania. It is absolutely necessary to analyze this conflict in order to correct the description of Antonescu's regime.

The fascist parties and groups served to intensify the role of political power in the bourgeois order, and the holders and beneficiaries of the power wished to be sole owners of the means of influencing and controlling society, the social prestige, or the material advantages. The conflict between Gen Ion Antonescu and the Iron Guard leadership originated in the struggle for supremacy in the state administration. The Iron Guardists thought the predominant role in the exercise of the dictatorship belonged to the Iron Guard and its paramilitary units. Their terror and plunder involved not only the fanaticism of violence and crime, bestial chauvinism and the fascist mystique of primitive, instinctive sensations and adventure but especially the tendencies of the Iron Guard's social affiliation.

Coming largely from the ranks of those dissatisfied with their position in the society of the time (They came from the petty bourgeoisie, the declassed strata, the newcomers to the city who had not found jobs, or the families of the former, more or less decadent aristocracy), the Iron Guardists did not wish to change the old order but on the contrary to preserve it by violence, while imposing upon it, also by violence, a new hierarchy that would raise them in the social scale and make them "the leading elite of the nation." The Iron Guard chiefs, who spared no appeals to honor and "life in poverty," organized or encouraged the criminal actions of their followers in order to intimidate all strata of the population and to secure their monopoly of the government. Those actions even struck and frightened some bourgeois circles that had previously supported the Iron Guard movement as a diversion against the labor movement and the progressive movements in general.

Gen Antonescu, convinced in his megalomania that the very existence of the Romanian state depended upon concentration of power in his hands, trusted in his struggle for power to his old ties with the army, to the rightist circles of the bourgeoisie and, in general, to the "traditional" hegemony of the ruling classes, and also to the general desire to put a stop to the Iron Guard's pillage and violent crimes. The "leader of the state" put down the Iron Guard's rebellion, expelled Iron Guardists from the government, prohibited their activity, and sent many of them to prison and concentration camps and some of them to the firing squad. But alongside these measures he yielded to the Hitlerite troops and services in Romania, who transported the main Iron Guard leaders to Germany and maintained contacts with the Iron Guardists remaining in Romania. Meanwhile Antonescu left some Iron Guardist groups at liberty and confined himself to keeping a close watch on their activity, because the hands of Antonescu's government were tied by adherence to Hitlerite Germany's policy and by loyalty to the camp to which the Iron Guardists also belonged.

And as we know the Iron Guardists, encouraged by some German circles connected with the SS, hoped to receive Hitler's supreme support when they started the rebellion. But Hitler agreed, on the advice of the Wehrmacht commanders and the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that Antonescu should crush the Iron Guardist rebellion. After the rebellion, when Antonescu rejected the reconciliation with the Iron Guard suggested through Killinger, Hitler again gave the advantage to the "state leader" and the German minister in Bucharest made several public declarations urging the Iron

Guardists to support the existing regime. As we know, Hitler's support of the "state leader" was the outcome of a realistic calculation: Gen Antonescu was more useful to Nazi Germany than the Iron Guardists because he could more readily secure maximum participation of the Romanian army and economy in support of the Hitlerite war because of his connections with the army and with the old leading circles of the nation. Throughout the whole period up to 23 August 1944 Hitler retained his confidence in Gen Antonescu and did not resort to the police "reserve facility" that he maintained in Germany because Antonescu's regime better served the interests of German fascist imperialism.

To appreciate the real significance of the conflict between Ion Antonescu and the Iron Guard, one must not view it "in itself" or in isolation but in the context of the positions in which the two rivals were. So far from making a 180-degree turn in his political policy, as desired and hoped for by so many of those who welcomed the expulsion of the Iron Guard from the government and the repression of the rebellion in January 1941, Antonescu went on to declare himself as well as the Iron Guardists supporters of the totalitarian state and he maintained the totalitarian regime in practice. Like the Iron Guardists, Antonescu's regime entertained and carried out a policy tied to Hitlerite Germany and proclaimed its unconditional ideological solidarity with the "Fascist Axis." As the Iron Guardists wished, Antonescu's regime joined the anti-Soviet war, increased the economic contribution to the German war effort, and took steps to strengthen the positions of German capital in the Romanian economy. After the defeat of the Iron Guard rebellion it actually put a stop to the assassinations of anti-Iron Guard politicians as well as the Iron Guardists' plunder and anarchic actions, but it also intensified the terror against the democratic and labor movements and adopted new racist laws and measures.

Of course it is to be assumed that an Iron Guard dictatorship would have committed more monstrous crimes than those of Antonescu's dictatorship (including those against some bourgeois politicians of the intelligentsia) and would have pursued a worse domestic policy than Antonescu's, so that the difference between the various varieties of fascism would have appeared in a way most disastrous to the nation, but not the difference between fascism and its opponents. Serious as the repressions and crimes of Italian fascism were, they did not attain the apocalyptic proportions of the repressions and crimes of the German Nazism that the Iron Guardists took as a model. But no one disputes the fascist character of Mussolini's regime for that reason.

After January 1941 Antonescu's regime differed from that of Hitler, Mussolini or Franco in the absence of a fascist party of its own. We say "of its own" because the legal activity that was nevertheless conducted under this regime by a fascist party is not to be overlooked. Actually Antonescu's regime, which made so much of "the creed of complete nationalism," permitted the legal existence of one party alone, the German National-Socialist Party, whose Romanian section comprised Romanian citizens of German origin. With the consent of Antonescu's regime, the Romanian section of the Nazi Party, which was directly under Berlin, had its own military units and espionage services and recruited Romanian citizens for the SS detachments. After January 1941 the Nazi Party administration continued to collaborate with Iron Guardist groups, had agents on the state staff, and freely propagated fascist ideas and practices in all political life.

It is true that Antonescu's regime did not found another party to replace the Iron Guard. Most of the members of the new government formed in January 1941 were generals. Later on the civilians in Antonescu's government came to outnumber the military.

But the powers of the state continued to be concentrated in the hands of General (later Marshal) Ion Antonescu. He assigned the function a fascist party would have performed, that of maintaining the totalitarian dictatorship, to the army and the repressive organization. It is known from the accounts of those close to him, brought to light by historians, that Antonescu acknowledged that he shared in the concept of "the police state" (2). At a conference of military commanders in February 1944 he was even more clear: "I have no party. My party is the army" (3). The events on 23 August 1944 were to dispel that illusion.

One more fact should be noted. In the government program published in November 1941, after he had proclaimed the military organization "the very purpose of our national existence" and expressed his decision not to found a party of his own, Antonescu announced his intention to gradually give the state a corporate organization including a state council (of a consultative nature, it was implied) and to found a whole series of other organizations in addition to the corporate organizations. The real function of these organizations would have been to bring all categories of the population under the control of the state headed by Antonescu.

The political basis of Antonescu's regime was that provided not by a political party but by the state leader's real qualification as a general, by his alleged qualification as representative of the army, and by his ability, due to military discipline, to control the army and through it the whole state organization. Control was exercised either directly by Antonescu or by the generals and colonels he appointed for longer or shorter periods to key posts ordinarily entrusted to civilians before 1941. Antonescu's intrument of government was not party discipline but military discipline, which he tried to extend over the entire population by various laws and organizational forms. This characteristic, wherein Antonescu's regime differed from the traditional fascist regimes, justifies its description as a particular variety of fascism, namely a military-fascist dictatorship.

The racist policy was a trait common to Antonescu's regime and the fascist regimes in Germany and many countries. On the one hand, since the Germans were declared a superior race the so-called "German ethnic group" was recognized as a special privileged status from state to state, but it also placed the Romanian citizens of German origin under the control of the Nazi services in Romania. On the other hand, the government kept up a violent chauvinist agitation, blaming the Jews and other national minorities for all the ills from which the Romanian nation was suffering. The diversionist agitation was encouraged by the anti-Semitic legislation, which excluded Jews from public institutions, required dismissal of many of them from private enterprises, prohibited or restricted their performance of the intellectual professions, prohibited them from residing outside of a limited number of communities, excluded them from all state schools, and did not recognize the diplomas issued by the schools for Jews that were left in operation. The measures for so-called "Romanianization" of the real property, capital and personnel of the enterprises and the various professions were intended to create a stratum of beneficiaries and supporters of the regime. After the outbreak of the anti-Soviet war Antonescu's regime deported a great many Jews and Gypsies to Transnistria , which deportations led to tens of thousands of deaths from maltreatment, executions, starvation and epidemics. Upon receiving a memo to the effect that deportation actually meant homicide, Antonescu placed a reply in the newspapers for 27 October 1941 which, according to L. Patrascanu, "was a direct incitement to a pogrom" (4). It is also known that Mihai Antonescu, a deputy and spokesman of the "state leader's," declared in a meeting of the Council of Ministers on 8 July

1941, "I do not care whether we shall go down in history as barbarians," and he advised, "Use a machine gun if necessary" (5).

But it is true that the horrors did not reach the proportions they did in Hitlerite Germany or in other occupied countries or satellites. But this was no thanks to Antonescu and those who exercised the military-fascist dictatorship under his leadership. The Romanian people's direct and indirect resistance and their profound sense of humanity mitigated some of Antonescu's regime's odious measures and even made them unenforceable, and they compelled the "state leader" to refrain from adopting some radical measures, especially when it became evident that Germany could not win the war. But this historical fact can in no way justify the opinion of some that Antonescu's regime was not a fascist one. Anti-Semitism was not inherent in all fascist regimes (for example, the one in Spain or the one in Italy before the consolidation of its alliance with Hitler) or in all of Germany's allies (Finland for example). Deprivation of its own people of any democratic rights was essential to a fascist regime, as well as an outbreak of terrorist measures against "its own" nation in order to maintain the old social order, and those very traits were common to Antonescu's regime and the other fascist regimes.

Antonescu's regime, as well as the other fascist ones, combined intensified exploitation of the masses, terrorist methods, chauvinism and demagogy concerning the so-called "national revolution" with social demagogy and promises to implement "social justice" and to improve the condition of the workers and peasants. The limited space of this article does not permit us to discuss this problem. But we mention that the conditions characteristic of the capitalist system and the measures of Antonescu's government naturally helped to shift the economic burdens of the war upon the backs of the working masses.

To support the Hitlerite war and meet Nazi Germany's demands at the economy's expense, Antonescu's regime intensified the state's intervention in the economy. In 1942-1943 offices were founded by law in a number of major industrial sectors which were actually compulsory capitalist syndicates and in which the representatives of the big private enterprises were accorded the function of purchasing and distributing the raw materials and selling the finished products. Through the offices the state distributed the raw materials, credits and orders to meet the economic needs of the war and to secure the capitalist profits. A banking law of March 1943 facilitated concentration of bank capital. State monopolist capital was not developed under Antonescu's regime as far as in Nazi Germany because monopolist capitalism itself was not developed as far in Romania as it was in Germany. Nor in other countries with fascist regimes were state intervention in the economy and state monopolist capitalism developed as far as they were in the Hitlerite Reich.

Antonescu's dictatorship was characterized by the critical part played in its establishment and maintenance by the direct support of Hitlerite Germany. Until the summer of 1940 the reactionary bourgeois circles banking on the ultimate victory of the fascist states and siding with Germany and Italy without reservations were in the minority of the ruling classes and had not succeeded in gaining the decisive influence in the state administration through their own forces. After the defeat of France in May 1940 many rightist politicians, officials and generals who had previously taken Francophile and Anglophile stands sided with Germany from then on. These included Gen Antonescu who, as distinguished from others, had already shown sympathy with the Iron Guardists in the prewar years. On 9 July 1940 the German minister in Romania reported to Berlin that Gen Antonescu had been on France's side until recently but

was "close to the Guard" and "assured me during a longer visit that he wishes to work with Germany " (6).

As he repeatedly stated, Gen Antonescu concluded that after the disappearance of the French military power from the continent the Romanian government had to choose between rapprochement with communist Russia or with Germany, and he opted for Germany. He himself declared in the Council of Ministers that in the summer of 1940, when he was in compulsory residence in Bistrita Monastery in Oltenia, "I negotiated with Germany on all problems of the state government, through Mr Mihai Antonescu but in secret" (7).

Convinced of the Messianic role he had been accorded to save the Romanian state from "Bolshevism" by a close alliance with Hitlerite Germany, Gen Antonescu objectively became the exponent of the most reactionary narrow circles of the bourgeoisie and landowners.

In the tragic days at the beginning of September 1940, powerful popular movements were developing in Romania against the Dictate of Vienna, whereby Hitlerite Germany and fascist Italy had torn northern Transylvania from the body of Romania. Many generals and higher officers were inspired by the desire to resist and not to withdraw the Romanian troops before the Horthyite troops. But as the Axis ministers in Romania reported, Gen Antonescu favored and acted for enforcement of the odious dictate, for cession of northern Transylvania to Horthyite Hungary. (8)

One of the reasons why King Carol appointed Antonescu prime minister on 4 September was that he knew Hitlerite Germany liked him.

On the same day the German minister in Bucharest announced to Berlin, "In agreement with my Italian colleague (the Italian minister) and because only the general's strong hand and a quick decision can save the country from chaos (indicating fear of the revolt aroused among the people by the Dictate of Vienna -- our note), I advised Gen Antonescu to assume his dictatorial rights" (9). The German minister did not stop at advice but suggested directly to King Carol that he turn over the power to Antonescu and leave the country, and he reported with satisfaction that Gen Antonescu "will restore order and effect arbitration in Vienna according to the program. He honors the request to send the military mission and wishes the closest collaboration with Germany... I think we have found in his person a man at the head of the Romanian government who is determined to carry out our important requests here" (10).

Actually in his capacity of state "leader" Antonescu conformed without reservations to the fascist Axis policy, concluded economic agreements that placed the national economy in the service of the Hitlerite war effort, brought German troops into Romania, and made it easy for them to cross the Danube against Yugoslavia and Greece. Then he joined the anti-Soviet war and placed the country in a state of war against England and the United States.

The main forces of the bourgeoisie, including Maniu and Bratianu, leaders of the national-peasant and national-liberal parties, supported Antonescu's government, especially in the initial stage of the anti-Soviet war, in order to defend the social order and prevent the return of the Iron Guardists to the government. L. Patrascanu commented that the Antonescu government had tried to make a platform of "defense of the common interests of the whole ruling class in Romania." But he also quite rightly said that we must make certain distinctions between the active element of the

bourgeoisie, represented by its top reactionaries won over to collaboration with the Nazi Reich, and the rest of the bourgeoisie, who still had reservations. Without that distinction the policy of the single national front adopted by the RCP would have been aimless.

The leaders of the PNT and PNL /National Peasants Party and National Liberal Party/ and especially Maniu and Bratianu, criticizing totalitarianism and unconditional adherence to the Axis but wishing to prevent uprising of the masses to independent action and development of revolutionary movements, saw in Antonescu's regime a suitable solution in the period of Germany's military predominance. They expected that when Germany was defeated the Anglo-American presence in Romania would be reestablished and they would restore the political system before 1938 with that support. Until then they considered it preferable to keep Antonescu at the head of the country because he enjoyed the confidence of Hitler, whose troops were in Romania.

Antonescu's regime could be maintained only with Germany's military and political support. This does not mean that Antonescu was a simple and faithful "follower of orders" but he tried to safeguard the positions of the Romanian ruling classes and certain interests of the economy and state they controlled. He satisfied Hitlerite Germany's essential interests as regards participation of the Romanian army in the anti-Soviet war and normal provision for the production and transportation essential to the front and the deliveries of petroleum, agricultural products and raw materials. But no matter how many troops, products and services his government made available to Germany, the Hitlerites were not satisfied and demanded more. The point was reached where the "state leader" himself, especially after the war took the course unfavorable to the fascist bloc, opposed some of Germany's exorbitant demands, demands that were often practically impossible to meet. Accordingly relations between the Antonescian and Hitlerite governments were not without undulations, contradictions and moments of discord.

But some authors' tendencies to conclude that Ionescu and his government put up any "resistance" to the subordination of the Romanian economy by Germany are groundless. In the course of the negotiations with Germany, Antonescu's government finished by contenting itself with some secondary concessions from the Hitlerites while satisfying their main and urgent demands. It was not by chance that Hitler kept his confidence in Antonescu throughout the period from January 1941 to 23 August 1944. That confidence was not groundless but reflected Antonescu's fulfillment of what was essential in the German demands. Even Antonescu's repeated secret approaches to the German representatives to regain northern Transylvania did not disturb Hitlerite Germany, which used the Dictate of Vienna to foment dissension among the satellite governments in order to keep them under its own thumb.

The fact that Antonescu tried to impose the interests of his own regime in his relations with Hitlerite Germany by no means attenuates but, on the contrary, makes even more clear his grave responsibility for his choice of the Axis policy, the Hitlerite war, and "loyalty" to the Reich. He bears the heavy responsibility for involving Romania in a situation that could only make it a "minor partner" enfeoffed but also plundered by Hitlerite Germany.

Antonescu's government did not conceal its concern for the interests of big Romanian capital in its economic negotiations with Germany.

In recounting to the Council of Ministers his visit to Hitler's headquarters with the "state leader" on 10-11 January 1943, Mihai Antonescu said he explained his request

that Germany pay for part of the Romanian deliveries in gold on the ground that the National Bank was "in regard to its structure in the position of a joint stock company, which has to cover any financial activity, balance or order resulting from a reserve for its stockholders." While in matters of economic relations with Germany Antonescu's government protected the reserves of the banks and joint stock companies, in matters of military relations, in which there was no question "but" the fate of the Romanian army and the lives of the soldiers, it did not prove very "considerate," especially in the first years of the Wehrmacht's successes.

In the middle of October 1941, after the great losses that were sustained, most of the Romanian troops were withdrawn to Romania. But in 1942, in the face of some generals' opposition, Antonescu sent great numbers to the front again, where they suffered catastrophic losses.

In a letter of 25 October 1943, the nuances of which some authors do not invariably present adequately, Hitler expressed his agreement with Marshal Ion Antonescu's intention to rejoin combat with all forces in the spring of 1944 after training and arming the new divisions, and he asked the marshal to consider the possibilities of sending every available unit to the front immediately (11).

It is significant that Antonescu replied to him, after the defeats suffered by the Axis, that he had no new units for the front because Germany had not yet sent enough war materiel, and he requested increased German deliveries of armaments. In the spring of 1944 Antonescu sent new divisions to the front, despite the losses suffered meanwhile in the Crimea, and in August 1944 the number of large units at the front reached 36 (12).

It is true that in November 1941, when the front had receded, Antonescu requested the withdrawal of the German troops in Romania in order to avoid the expense of maintaining them further, but that does not in the least change the fact that he promised to participate further in the Hitlerite war at a meeting with Hitler on 12 February 1942. As the German record of the conversation (incorrectly translated in some works) indicates, when Hitler expressed his intention to withdraw from Romania the German troops he needed at the front, Antonescu (we quote from the record) "protested slightly" and made objections "not much against the presence of the (German) troops and as much as possible against the disorder that had appeared in certain purchases by the German military authorities. He accordingly requested that both the economic organizations and the military services be subject to the (German) legation's control and pointed out in that connection that Herr von Killinger had accurate information" (13).

That was Antonescu's "resistance." It was confined to the request that all German purchases in Romania be subject to Baron Manfred von Killinger's control.

In his letter to Hitler of 15 November 1943, Antonescu expressed his satisfaction because Hitler, trusting in his Romanian ally, did not consider it necessary to increase the German troops in Romania (14), which implied maintenance of the existing troops, and in August 1944, when there were already 600,000 Hitlerite soldiers in Romania, Ion and Mihai Antonescu expressed their dissatisfaction with the transfer of some German divisions from Romania to other fronts, and they requested that some new new units be brought into Romania, especially tank units.

It is true that Antonescu's government did not agree to pay all the sums demanded by the Hitlerites for maintenance of the German troops in Romania. Some works mention

this point, but they neglect to say that Antonescu's government paid 64,169,000,000 lei for the maintenance of those troops, which sum proved insufficient to cover the current needs of the German army because it was also used to buy up some Romanian enterprises.

The documents on Romanian-German economic relations in 1941-1944, sometimes arbitrarily and not impartially selected, indicate that Antonescu's regime did not entirely meet Germany's excessive economic demands, but throughout its whole existence it accepted a system of deliveries, prices and payments whereby Romania supplied goods and services worth considerably more than the deliveries and payments made by Germany. In general the Romanian economists evaluate the economic damage done to Romania in this way at 62,459,000,000 lei at the rate of exchange in 1938. According to other data, the economic and military damage done by Germany to Romania is much greater.

In the first period of temporary military victories, Antonescu's regime did all it could to support the war against the anti-Hitlerite coalition. In his conversation with Hitler on 11 February 1942, Antonescu made the following statement, omitted in some works that refer to this conversation: "Romania is at the disposal of the Reich with all its military and economic potentials. If the war should last longer, difficulties would develop. And so it hopes the German armies will be able to turn against the English after a swift termination of the Russian campaign. It did not attach any critical importance to the American war effort" (15).

In 1943, after the German defeats, Antonescu's government began to look for contacts with the western allies in the capitals of the neutral countries. Then it also accepted the contacts initiated by the Soviet diplomats and conducted secret negotiations concerning the conditions for getting out of the war.

After he found in 1943 that it was impossible to bring about the solution he would have liked, namely a separate peace between Germany and the western allies in order to continue the anti-Soviet war, Ion Antonescu declared himself ready to leave the war along with Germany if Anglo-American troops were to reach Romania. Of course the English and Americans did not send troops into Romania. At his meeting with Hitler on 5 August 1944, as indicated by critical analysis of the reports on the conversations, Antonescu assured the Fuehrer of his loyalty and the decison to continue the war on Germany's side.

The RCP appealed to the entire people and all parties, groups and public figures to form the Anti-Hitlerite Patriotic Front and pointed out the necessity of liquidating Antonescu's government as a first step toward Romania's liberation from the domination of Hitlerite Germany and its departure from the war against the United Nations. But to leave no possibility untried, however remote, of undermining the Hitlerite domination and in view of the urgings of the historic parties to try to "turn" Antonescu against Germany, as well as information about the allies' contacts with Romanian negotiators, the Communist Party, as indicated by some documents, would have welcomed any favorable reply of Antonescu's government to the armistice proposals of the Soviet Union, England and the United States. Even after the start of the Soviet offensive on the Iasi-Chisinau front on 20 August 1944, when the vital national interests more than ever required Romania's immediate departure from the Hitlerite war, Ion Antonescu, as critical analysis of the documents shows, though inclined to resume the diplomatic contacts with the allies, took his former stand of continuing the anti-Soviet war until the impossible arrival of the Anglo-American troops in Romania and the illusory acquisition of "freedom of action" from Hitler.

Examination of the various aspects of the political regime in Romania in the period from January 1941 to 23 August 1944 leads to the conclusion that Antonescu's dictatorship combined essential traits in common with those of the fascist regimes in Germany and Italy, which traits originated in the nature and social function of fascism, but it had traits of its own that did not diminish its fascist character but distinguished it from the dictatorships of Hitler and Mussolini. The differences originated in Romania's particular conditions. Antonescu's regime, as a totalitarian form of the bourgeois state, was affected by its establishment as a result of the external pressures and intervention of Germany on behalf of the narrow pro-Hitlerite circles. Marshal Ion Antonescu did not use a party of his own as an instrument of political power, but mainly the military organization directly under him. This feature characteristic of Romania in 1941-1944, combined with some general "traditional" traits of fascism, justifies the evaluation of Antonescu's regime as a particular variant of fascism, namely as a military-fascist dictatorship.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Helga Grebing, "Aktuelle Theorien ueber Faschismus und Konservatismus. Eine Kritik," Stuttgart, 1974, pp 13-14.

2. Gh. Barbul, "Memorial Antonescu. Le troisieme homme de l'Axe," Paris, pp 74-75.

3. Bucharest State Archives, USA Microfilm Reserve, Reel 58 T 77-882, Frame 5630375.

4. L. Patrascanu, "Basic Problems of Romania," Bucharest 1944, 2d Edition, p 211.

5. "Trial of the Great National Betrayal. Shorthand Record of the Discussions at the People's Tribunal Concerning Antonescu's Government," Bucharest 1946, pp 35, 301-302.

6. Archive of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies, Telegram No 1,14? of the German minister in Bucharest.

7. Archive of the RCP Central Committee, Reserve 103, File 8,200, Sheet 5.

8. "I documenti diplomatici italiani," Series IX, Vol V, pp 517-518, 532.

9. Archive of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies, Telegram No 1,14? of the German minister in Bucharest.

10. Archive of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies, Reserve 10, File 9. Telegram of 4 Sep 1940 of the German minister in Bucharest.

11. A. Hillgruber, "Hitler, Koenig Carol und Marschall Antonescu," Wiesbaden 1954, p 177.

12. "Pages from the Military History of the Romanian People," Studies, Vol 5-6. Coordinator Ilie Ceausescu, Bucharest 1979, pp 240-241.

13. A. Hillgruber, "Staatsmaenner und Diplomaten bei Hitler," Frankfurt am Main 1970, pp 59-60.

14. A. Hillgruber, "Hitler, Koenig Carol und Marschall Antonescu," p 177.

15. A. Hillgruber, "Staatsmaenner und Diplomaten bei Hitler," p 49.

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CONSTITUTIONAL SPECIALIST DISCUSSES AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES

Belgrade OPSTINA in Serbo-Croatian Nos 10-11, Oct-Nov 81 pp 11-16

[Article* by Dr Jovan Djordjevic, member of the academy: "Autonomous Provinces and Their Place and Function in the Republic and in the Federation"]

[Text] I

1. The word "autonomy" comes from the ancient Greek term "autonoma," which means "in a position to enact one's own laws." "Autonomy" has subsequently had the same meaning as self-government and in philosophy has expressed the essence of freedom.

In geographically and ethnically complex communities, autonomy signifies the status of an independent group or organization which is not a state, nor is it a federal unit or self-governed communal entity. In that context autonomy is something less and more restricted than a federal unit, but broader and more essential in its powers and status than local self-government. It is then usually equated with the region and the political forms of regionalism.

2. In contemporary history and practice concerning the status of autonomy there are two conventional systems. The first is the hierarchical system in which the republic or state has a central position and ultimately has a check on all autonomy, even proclaimed political autonomy, and administers it, especially with respect to the basic economic, political, external and security interests and affairs.

The autonomous oblast and to some extent the autonomous republic in the USSR system of government, as well as provincial autonomy in PRC and in Italy offer a model of that kind of autonomy. In this case autonomy is a subordinate subsystem within the framework of the state's economic, political and legal system. Yugoslavia recognized a similar form of autonomy up until the 1963 Constitution and the 1971 Amendments, which means up to the present constitution or, more precisely, the constitutional system adopted in 1974.

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* Authorized version of a speech delivered at a professional conference of the Political Science Association of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia.

3. The other type of autonomy is an externalized autonomy in which the autonomous unit has an autonomous status within the framework of the unified system of the state. It is the state which determines and restricts the competencies of this autonomy, handles certain economic, political and cultural affairs for it, and ultimately protects its existence and status. This type of autonomy has existed in history, especially in the history of northern Europe as well as on other continents, especially in Southeast Asia and China. Even today it persists in Sweden, and to some extent in China as well.

4. Present-day autonomy in Yugoslavia is an internal, but at the same time total autonomy.

It is realized under the specific conditions of a complex and federal community in which self-management is mixed with nationalism and statehood, and that over the whole range of the political, that is, federal, structure. One effect of this has been that this internal autonomy, in its constitutional status and certain objective needs and tendencies, has been expressed less as an organic and well-adjusted autonomy, and more as an externalized and autonomistic autonomy.

Given those conditions, and especially under the influence of the ever greater equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities and that of the federal model in Yugoslavia and in Serbia, a form of autonomy which approaches federalism has established itself and gained strength since the beginning of the seventies. This was expressed in the formula that was adopted to the effect that the autonomous provinces are an element of federalism. In the context of political theory this corresponds to the objective, and indeed the constitutional situation, especially if we understand that federalism pertains to all forms of unification and autonomy, and not merely to the federal state and governmental unions (federation and confederation).

But from the rational and logical, the functional and the constitutional viewpoints, illogicalities arise when a relationship or a structure is defined with differing terms or with terms that have differing theoretical and logical meaning. This can be allowed when certain terms have an historical and symbolic origin, as is the case with Switzerland, where this typical federation is called a confederation, which formerly was its name. This kind of dualism--as critical thought demonstrates, and history confirms--is not only contradictory, but in practical application it results in dysfunctionality.

The same occurs when a form of asymmetrical federalism is established in the structure of a common state. This is a federalism favoring only one partner and depriving the other of autonomy. The former is favored not only in that it enjoys broad autonomy, but because it is included in the makeup and decisionmaking of the other partner, which for various historical, political and even symbolic reasons is regarded as a joint entity. In that way the partner which in our terminology is referred to by the erroneous and truly horrible expression "Serbia proper" is deprived not only of its identity, but also of its right to equality.

Asymmetrical federalism or alleged federalism is condemned in the theory of federalism because it breaks down not only the logic of federalism, which is a

symmetrical logic, but also the equality of the participants, which is the moral and political foundation of any true and democratic federalism. History shows that asymmetrical federalism quickly turns into hegemony of one participant or into separatism of the other. Which is why asymmetrical federalism has been abandoned in every rational construction of federalism, and this was done with one of the recent examples in the political system of Czechoslovakia, in the period following World War II, before that country's present constitution was adopted.

The contradictory and irrational nature of asymmetrical federalism in Yugoslavia, from 1971 up to the well-known events in Kosovo, was held under the influence of various overt and covert tendencies. Among those tendencies, which were and have remained an operative factor, one must distinguish, aside from the Constitution of SR Serbia and its implementation or nonimplementation, both the SFRY Constitution and also the political and mental climate which fragmented the ethnic structure of the country and contributed to the permanent inclusion of autonomy in the orbit of federalism since 1971. Thus the communal federalism with an ethnic basis that came about in the socialist revolution and in the period of its postwar implementation, was transformed into a nationalistic federalism based on the autonomous province. The more that kind of federalism was manifested, the greater the contradictions and dysfunctionalities that cropped up in the structure and functioning both of the political system and also of sociopolitical life of SR Serbia and within it.

II

1. Differentiation in thought and in social practice presupposes and creates two possibilities: unification, consensus and community, on the one hand, and isolation, the cult of the individual, and indeed even separatism and autarky on the other.

In the context of these contradictions and possible conflicts among the tendencies which differentiation gives rise to and to some extent makes possible, autonomy has two basic historic goals. The first corresponds to the general aspiration and need of social, and especially of national and ethnic-cultural groups, for self-expression and establishment of their political and cultural identity. Autonomy is thereby set in opposition to the inherited or upcoming centralism, to possible assimilation of some by others, or to inequality in institutions and in the population at large.

The other basic goal is manifested in the need and desire for differences to be unified and thereby overcome within the framework of unity and of a democratic complex of the whole.

These objective and rational goals may be one of the bases for understanding and clarifying the way these goals have been set in opposition to one another and the conflicts that have been arising on this basis. This also applies both to clarifying and understanding the goals which have a bearing on establishment of autonomies in Yugoslavia and also to clarification of the conflicts concerning them and the room that is open for emerging from them and for overcoming those conflicts.

2. Autonomies came about in Yugoslavia as the result of its socialist and democratic transformation, which cannot be unless the identity of social and ethnic groups is recognized or without sociopolitical independence, and also as the result of the need for new historical syntheses in overcoming the old social and political forms. Appealing to the history, biological origin and early date of settlement of an area is not only unhistorical and unscholarly, it even prevents the true states of affairs from being discovered and prevents ways out of them from being sought and attained.

An inability to establish those truths and ways of seeking and finding them transforms general and common problems, and accordingly also crises, which are always specific, into local problems and localism. From this follows the well-known truth that the establishment and purport of autonomies in Yugoslavia are neither local problems, nor are they related exclusively to the provinces, but are related also to Serbia as a whole. This also applies to establishing the foundation for resolving them when there are conflicts with the whole, that is, with the existence and future of the community. But also when directions are sought not only to clarify and reveal them, but also to overcome them.

These are joint problems both of the autonomies and also of Serbia, and indeed of Yugoslavia as a whole. They are inseparable from the conflicts, states and crises in those overall communities. Accordingly, the question of "community consensus," which is rightly emphasized today, but not sufficiently defined and oriented, must take as its point of departure a common idea and recognition of community in production, of difficulties and crises, in the search for ways out--without individual accusations and a turning of the back on reality and on general or community or joint responsibility.

3. The second direction in clarifying states of affairs and thereby conflicts, as well as ways of emerging from them, necessitates an examination of the circumstances which have supported and facilitated the emergence and effect of centripetal rather than centrifugal forces and those [circumstances] which have been depriving socialism of its inherent need and ability to develop unity and the whole and to promote centripetal forces and tendencies toward integration throughout the whole of society and in the behavior of the autonomies particularly. These include the expansion and strengthening of the state vis-a-vis self-management. The proclaimed self-managing and democratic political system in Yugoslavia and in the autonomy has been taking on ever higher forms and elements of the traditional national state. As everywhere, even in its micro form the national state has engendered nationalism, exclusiveness, regionalism, ideology instead of creative thought, and consumer attitudes and sets of mind by contrast with creative work and productivity in production.

The renewal and maintenance of such states cannot contribute to emergence from such states in the province, nor, for the same reason, to overcoming the aggravated and conflict situations that exist today in one of the provinces, which cannot be equated with the identity and aspirations of the other province.

4. The national state sponsors and supports both a national and a quasi-national economy. Given the conditions of economic, political and cultural underdevelopment, the national economy usually remains passive and consumption-oriented. It directs its energies and orientation toward an attitude of

exigency, and that concretely, toward an attitude of claims on the state. Claims predominantly of an economic nature. Statism is constantly engendered out of those demands.

Those demands disorient the internal creative forces and potential of the province, and in the republic they accentuate statism and a statist national economy. All of this gives rise in both regions to constant demands upon the other, a strengthening of statism, of contributions and of taxes.

In that context the more advanced partner of this national and undemocratic relationship drops to the level of understanding and effort of the one which is less developed and incapacitates his policymaking, not only in the economic sphere, so that it cannot plan, cannot create, cannot alter and cannot foresee.

5. An exclusive and quasi-national economy, in the context of a strengthened nationalism and statism, cannot furnish the forces to resolve contradictions in a community, and that means in the autonomous provinces and in the relationship to the republic and of all of them together toward the Federation, and of the latter toward them as a whole. Autarky, nationalism and statism engender and develop the emergence of bureaucracy, apathy of the masses and a weakening of the authority of both the government and also of self-management. This becomes all the more dangerous insofar as it contributes to a weakening of the creative interest of self-management, of democratic processes and of the strength of commitment of the working class, allied with the peasantry and other active groups, in Yugoslavia as a whole.

Only self-managing democracy, in itself and for itself free of ethnic and cultural stress, a vigorous, cooperative and responsible socialist social community at all levels of life and decisionmaking, is the way and the means of resolving conflicts between the integrational and disintegrational processes everywhere in the world and under socialism. There are no "saviors" who are located outside or in the mechanism of government, however formally strong it may be. The force which builds the model of a society and can free it of its weaknesses does not lie in a strong state nor in a national state economy. Appeals to such "saviors" are only evidence that certain groups, which make such appeals and seek roles as leaders for themselves, are unable to see that salvation lies in exposing states of affairs and finding ways and methods of overcoming them in the interest of the working class and progress.

Only that interest is capable of imparting strength and enthusiasm to the criticism of the status quo and to ideas and directions which make it possible to find the right way out.

All else in this domain only weakens militance and vigor, thoughtfulness and political acuity in debating and resolving crises, inequality and difficulties in political and cultural relations among the sociopolitical communities in present-day Yugoslavia.

The reverse direction on the same line can only revive statism, bureaucracy, negativism and passivity in the political system and in the consciousness and behavior of the leading political forces of Yugoslavia and its individual

citizens themselves. We cannot be otherwise and better unless we are able to examine and acknowledge who we are and where we are, where we are going and where we can get, rather than constantly colliding with one another and wandering.

III

1. This presupposes not only that our debates be frank and sincere and not only that our dialogues and exchanges of opinions be constructive. There are no constructive dialogues and no search for the way out in the field which is now of particular interest to us unless the true state of affairs is ascertained in Kosovo and in the relationship between the autonomy, the republic and the Federation as a whole. The true state of affairs is not ascertained solely on the basis of the constitution, and still less are the constitution and its application the only true road toward a way out of the present contradictions and difficulties in those states of affairs and relations. Still less does this lie in mere verbalism, accusations and self-accusation.

Dialogues and a new style of speech, of thought, of politics and of activity are needed to evaluate all these matters.

There is no new style unless we are aware of what we are saying, of what we are speaking about, why we are speaking, what orientation we are adopting, and with whom we are speaking.

2. Our political life is burdened down with verbalism, and that means not only with empty words, but even, as Marx put it, with dead ideas. This is the purport of a verbalism which burdens not only our dialogues, but also our search for the truth. Speech is the first and basic form of communication and method of distinguishing the truth from untruth, stupidity from intelligence, camouflaged ignorance from true knowledge. A thought is dead when it is schematic and dogmatic and serves the interests of everyday policy and when it is uncritical. A policy is dead when it is unable to foresee, to establish truth and responsibility toward itself and toward others. Activities do not initiate anything but support inertia when they are not inspired, unified, moral and responsible.

3. It is only with changes of this kind that we can have fruitful dialogues. In science and in politics, in public life and in private life we must nurture this new style of speech and behavior. There is none of all that unless science constantly produces new ideas, and unless policy frees itself of bureaucratic overlays, personalization of power and specious omniscience.

At historic moments when we confront profound crises and accumulated difficulties and contradictions, a change is needed in the ethics of society and man. The elements of that activist and productive ethics must be based on the principle that battles are not lost before they are begun, and that the truth is not dangerous and unpleasant even when it injures individual interests and inclinations.

4. In all of this scientific thought must not only be truthful, but also concrete. It is only under those conditions that it is scientific, and a scientific debate on such complicated political and national complexes as present-day autonomies, the autonomous provinces in Yugoslavia in particular, necessitates such thought.

Scientific method necessitates that at the same time we overcome what is referred to as destructive or descriptive theory. When concrete and analytic thought is applied without critical analysis, there is no investigation of reality nor any way of revealing all the complicated relations within it, and thereby no way of achieving an objective and acceptable truth or understanding among men.

7045
CSO: 2800/176

WESTERN COMMENT ON SERBIAN LC CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Dec 81 p 6

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Voivodina's Successes -- Meeting of the Serbian Central Committee"]

[Text] Vienna 29 December -- In a 3-day meeting carried by radio and television and attracting great public attention, the Communist Central Committee of Yugoslavia's constituent Republic of Serbia discussed problems concerning the federalist constitutional system. The focus was on the relationship between the Republic of Serbia and the two autonomous regions -- Kosovo and Voivodina -- situated within its territory. Observers in Belgrade meanwhile feel that most of the speakers at the meeting were looking beyond the boundaries of their republic and generally taking aim at a regionalization of Yugoslavia that is allegedly too far-reaching. Many an observer thinks the strong republican centralism in Serbia that was expressed at the meeting might stir concern in other republics as well and intensify autonomist tendencies in these areas.

Nearly all of Serbia's well-known politicians -- Federal Parliament Chairman Dragoslav Markovic; Ivan Stambolic, head of the Serbian government; Presidium member Minic and Serbian party chief Vlaskalic -- propounded the thesis that autonomous regions could never enjoy the same rights as republics. Vlaskalic brought out this point in his keynote address. According to Markovic, the Yugoslav constitution defines autonomous regions simply as "political self-management units," while republics have the additional character of states. The regions are therefore supposed to fit themselves into the structures of the Republic of Serbia on the state as well as the party level. The attempts by Serbian politicians to put the regions back under their wings had begun following last spring's disturbances in Kosovo. Politicians from the regions, especially from Kosovo, had said earlier that their autonomous territories were, like the republics, also "constitutive factors" in present-day Yugoslavia and that they had autonomous rights, even outside the republican constitution.

Kosovo's demoralized politicians remained in the background at the Serbian Central Committee meeting; the debate consequently revolved all the more around the Voivodina region, which includes the territory north of the Danube [River] extending as far as the Hungarian border. The region has about 2 million inhabitants; nearly 450,000 of them are Hungarians. The majority are Serbs, who also wield the political power. It is thus a matter of a dispute between two Serbian groups. There is

an economic and historic explanation for the sense of independence felt by the Serbs in Voivodina: Until 1918 the area belonged to Austria-Hungary; it was better developed than the old kingdom of Serbia; it has a better infrastructure; and today, with its agricultural abundance, its petroleum and its industry, it ranks beside Slovenia as Yugoslavia's second relatively prosperous region. It pursues its own policies particularly in agriculture: large-scale field crop production while maintaining formal private ownership. Voivodina is obviously reluctant when it comes to sharing its economic successes with the rest of Serbia. Together with Croatia, the region recently demanded that the petroleum produced in its territory be carried on the books as a foreign exchange account and that it be subtracted from the foreign exchange quota which the republics and regions have to provide for Yugoslavia's total oil imports.

Voivodina's politicians and authorities reacted flexibly to the Serbian republican centralist attacks and firmly on the basic issues. According to the region's spokesmen, led by party chief Krunic, Voivodina definitely believes in the principle of "a community of interests" with the Republic of Serbia and is demonstrating this in practical ways; it has also approved the Serbian joint economic plan. However, it wishes to realize this community of interests not so much within the framework of government institutions as in practical economic activity and links between businesses. Other spokesmen from Voivodina were even more blunt, saying that the regions came into being not merely through the stroke of an administrative pen and that it was simply out of the question for them to be reduced now to mere "cultural autonomy."

Government chief Stambolic noted that some Serbian politicians were seeking to justify their republican centralism with the opinion that the events in Kosovo had managed to assume such proportions only because the secretary of that region had long been rejecting the republic's "offer" of militia reinforcements. This Kosovo secretary recently had to give up his official functions. Observers in Belgrade are under the impression that in Kosovo the republican centralism emanating from Belgrade is largely responsible for creating a mood of distrust of the Albanian nationality. This policy continues to meet with stiff and not ineffective resistance. Speakers also pointed out repeatedly that it has so far not been possible to pass the new Serbian law on universal public defense because of "obstruction" from the regions. It had been proposed not least of all because there had been serious weaknesses in the public defense system in Kosovo. The Serbian leaders pointed out at the Central Committee meeting that as early as 1977 they had brought up for discussion the problems of relations between the republic and autonomous regions and had wanted to solve them in a manner to their liking. It appears that this issue, like many other problems, had been shelved by Tito at that time.

7458
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BELGRADE WEEKLY DETAILS INCIDENTS IN KOSOVO PROVINCE

Affronts, Dormitory Inequities, Arson

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1202, 17 Nov 81 pp 22-23

[Article by Bogosav Marjanovic: "The Unseen Are Not Idle"]

[Text] Nothing, as they say, can surprise us except, as has just happened, the first snow. It was in that storm that we set out for Kosovo and barely made it. The planes are not flying, since the Pristina Airport is snowed under, and the roads are slippery. Things in Kosovo are once again less than perfect. That recent whistle from residents of the university dormitory in Pristina, and not just that, has caused the anguish of many in Kosovo and outside it.

In answering a question from a Zagreb TV reporter "Is there shooting in Kosovo?" Memet Malici, provincial secretary for internal affairs, recently answered with a smile on his face before millions of viewers:

"There is shooting, but at weddings!"

The answer was accurate. The rumors which the enemy is constantly circulating to the effect that the woods in Kosovo are full of guerrillas and that they are waging guerrilla warfare are indeed rumors. But it is true that certain things have been happening in Kosovo recently which, it seems to us, do not instill hope for the normalization of human relations and relations among the nationalities. People are withdrawing into themselves, into their own homes. There is, it is said, much talk, but little done to overcome the situation. The politicians are constantly reiterating in meetings that the "political-security situation in Kosovo is good, but that the enemy is still active." We have already become inured to those words, we were told by Kosovites....

Recently a traditional soccer game was played at the stadium in Pristina between the all-star teams of Kosovo and Montenegro. The atmosphere during the game was one of wholesome athletic rivalry and rooting, but afterwards little groups of fans returning from the stadium shouted: "Republic--Prekaz." At first people said: "Oh, they are abusing the name of the soccer player Prekazi to pass off a hostile slogan." Participants in this unwholesome incident merely laughed at those words. Why? That became known only after the commotion was over and when the "fans" themselves began to brag at having outwitted the "authorities."

Actually they were not shouting the name of the well-known soccer player, but that of the village Prekaz, which is where the well-known misfortune occurred last spring to those brave and honorable young policemen who belong to the special detachment of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, which the entire press wrote about at length and on which the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs issued a communique.

University Students Who Are Suitable and "Suitable"

Classes began on schedule at Pristina University, on 1 October. Many students, those who had obtained a "visa" from their opstinas and local communities, settled into the dormitories which for their comfort (especially in the new 1,000-bed dormitory) might be the envy of the best American colleges. And the subsidized dining hall in the city, the one where the counterrevolution began with the spilling of soup, has also been expanded and refurbished, and it can be ranked among the best city restaurants. Room and board in the student dormitory costs a total of 1,150 dinars a month. A trifle. That is why many people were amazed that the student dormitories with a capacity of 4,000 were not full. Can it be that in Kosovo there are not that many "morally and politically suitable students" who deserve to live in a dormitory? It seems that the declaration that this was a condition for acceptance in the dormitory was only a slogan. According to what Redzep Gasi, chairman of the action conference of the League of Communists at Pristina University, said at last week's meeting of the conference, "a very small number of members of the League of Communists" have been accepted in the student dormitories.

There is no reason, then, to be amazed at what has been happening in those dormitories and in the schools of Pristina University. Professor Hajredin Hodza complained to Lazar Mojsov, when the latter was recently visiting Kosovo and Pristina University:

"All of us here, both teachers and students, see hostile slogans spring up before our eyes, from one end of a wall to the other, in letters 2 meters high!"

Slogans are still being written daily on the walls of the university's schools and dormitories. The painters have their hands full painting them over. So do the people in the Student Center. No sooner do they accept students who have brought certificates concerning their moral and political fitness from their opstinas than they must expel from the dormitories those who were previously accepted with such certificates, since they have been caught writing slogans. Thus they are registering one group, while they are expelling another. They are not getting anywhere. They have been altogether unable to fill the dormitories, but many honorable students, Albanian, Serbs, and Montenegrins, have been left at the mercy of the gouging and chicanery of landlords, since they cannot obtain passes to the dormitory because of "unsuitability" or "nationality quotas."

Who Is That Whistling There

An honorable Montenegrin girl with pretty eyes who is in her second year of law school and who spends her free time as a cleaning woman in an establishment in Pristina in order to earn enough to live on, says:

"I pay 2,500 dinars for my tiny little room. Many of my fellow students do the same, but about 1,000 beds are left empty in the dormitories. And those who have settled in there 'out of turn' are now whistling without a care in the world. Have they no shame, if before no one else, at least before their fellows who are wandering about the city and who are being gouged by landlords?"

And indeed all honorable people in Kosovo speak with abhorrence about this recent whistling, shouting and noise from the residents of the dormitories. They ask themselves: "Who is that who is now whistling there again, at whom and why?"

They have been whistling at the soldiers and policemen, and this whistling has not been so brief and innocent as has been officially stated. A convoy of buses filled with Kosovo reservists was passing in front of the dormitories on its way back from the usual daily drills. Perhaps the fathers, brothers and relatives of those young men and women who were in the dormitory. So that the buses would move more quickly and easily, a police car went in front and cleared the way for them. When the convoy passed the Student Center, all of a sudden the residents of nearby dormitories gathered at the windows and on the balconies and began to whistle in unison, to shout and to beat rhythmically on the windows with their hands or one thing and another.

An eyewitness of the event who lives in the neighborhood (his name is known to the editors, but he has asked us not to publish it), a person who can be believed unreservedly, says:

"There were," he says, "more than 500 of them. All the windows and balconies were simply bristling with young men and women. They whistled and pounded and made a racket for almost half an hour. It is true that I did not hear a single hostile slogan."

Again They Are Using Children

A meeting of the action conference of the League of Communists of Kosovo University in Pristina was held last week to debate the security and political situation at the university. Newsmen, Pristina correspondents of newspapers, radio, television and TANJUG were not invited at all. Only editorial offices in Pristina were informed. Presumably they wanted to keep everything in the family. It is said that even that--the official announcement that students had whistled "several minutes" would not have been issued if EKSPRES POLITIKA, whose correspondent was an eyewitness of this unpleasant event, had not been the first to inform the public.

According to the story of the Pristina newspaper JEDINSTVO, Redzep Gasi, who is the chairman of the action committee of the League of Communists at the university in Pristina, has now said, certain of his statements before the academic year began not withstanding:

"The political situation at the university in Pristina is still burdened with difficulties, and this necessitates intensified activity by all of us to stabilize the situation, especially since recently the enemy has made itself felt by

writing slogans and committing provocations in the Student Center and in higher educational institutions...."

Gasi as a matter of fact admitted that vigilance has become slack at the university and, what is worst, the differentiation among students and even more among faculty members has by no means been completed.

It is not just university students that the enemy is egging on to commit real misdeeds. It is doing this with children as well. The walls and benches of many elementary schools in the city are scribbled over with hostile slogans. Children come home with the slogans "Kosovo a Republic" scribbled on their palms. Parents come to the schools, complain, weep, ask who it is who is playing around with their children in such a flagrant and uncivilized manner. But often they do not get a real answer.

The district public prosecutor in Prizren, Jakup Gurmani, admittedly in a conversation off the record, told us an almost incredible tale about "children's pranks." In the space of just a few days they burned down the Center for Deaf-Mute Children in Prizren and the new department store in the center of the city.

Unseen Arsonists

"In the case of the department store, the investigation is still under way, and we are looking for the causes," Gurmani said. "It is interesting that the watchman whose job it was to keep an eye out did not notice anything, nor did he smell smoke until the fire had gotten a good start on the building."

In the case of the center for deaf-mutes, prosecutor Gurmani has an unofficial explanation which admittedly sounds to us like a bedtime story. He says that a few young boys used a fork to pick the lock of the center and get inside. One of these mischievous boys was wearing a very dirty shirt. Inside he saw many clean shirts hanging to dry. He took one and put it on. He set fire to his own and left it. And that is how the entire building caught fire.

Two nights after the burning of the department store, which supposedly was locked and had no one inside, a policeman walking the main street of Prizren at midnight was astounded to see the door standing wide open to the large furniture showroom of the commercial enterprise Lirija. He thought there were thieves inside, and he made a thorough cautious inspection. But everything was in its place. When people went off and woke up the manager, he said quite calmly and without any excitement:

"I forgot to close the door."

It really has an eerie effect, the charred concrete skeleton of the modern department store. Until yesterday it was the pride of people in Prizren, since it fitted in exceptionally well with the old architecture of the famous Prizren fountain.

The people of Prizren, who are always cheerful and talkative, have been depressed and concerned because of all the unpleasant events taking place in Kosovo

and in their city. This city, a museum in itself, was well known for its concord even in the most difficult days of the war.

"We all lived like brothers. The enemy struck us a blow, but we also got him. We have shared our last bite with our neighbors. Now my neighbor even complains about my hens," says an old lady in Prizren.

An important ceremony was announced for last Tuesday in the Pec Patriarchate. On that day Patriarch German dedicated the abbey of the patriarchate, which went under construction in 1979, before the old one was set fire to. The enemy spread the story that this would not be an ordinary religious occasion, but a demonstration of Great Serb nationalism. Nothing of the kind. It was truly a modest and dignified assembly of religious people who had gathered to dedicate according to religious customs the new abbey where the nuns would live.

This ceremony was also attended by Golub Gojkovic, chairman of the Kosovo Commission for Religious Affairs, Rusten Bejtula, member of the Executive Council of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo, and Rade Zvicer, president of Pec Opstina.

Comrade Dzavid Nimani recently delivered a speech in the Metalik enterprise in Djakovica, his first since resigning his post as chairman of the Presidency of SAP Kosovo, in which he made a very fierce attack on the rapid spread of irredentism and Great Albanian nationalism in Kosovo. This speech was published in the press. With all their troubles, people in Kosovo had a bit of a laugh when they read it:

"Dzavid has arrived in Kosovo a bit late. His speech was at least one decade too late."

Unresolved Altercation, Professors' Fisticuffs

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1203, 24 Nov 81 pp 20-21

[Article by Bogosav Marjanovic: "Draginja Is Not Retreating Even Now"]

[Text] At a recent expanded meeting of the Urosevac Opstina LC [League of Communists] Committee which was debating the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, Staja Zdravkovic, president of the Urosevac Opstina Assembly, angry because the analysis of this very sensitive phenomenon in Kosovo was vague and did not cite examples of pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins to move out and lacked a political assessment of the entire case, stood up and said:

"No mention is made in this analysis of the case of Fahredin Gunga, former director of TV Pristina, which at one time aroused the public of our opstina, was not talked about for a long time, and even now is not talked about. In the presence of a delegation from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, whose host he was in a hotel on Brezovica, Gunga slapped Draginja Arsic, a woman from that area who fought in the Partizans in 1941, without provocation and said to her: 'You will all move away from here....'"

President Staja Zdravkovic also cited other examples, but we set off on the trail of the case of Comrade Arsic.

It Was a Sunny Day

Draginja Arsic was the first woman in Kosovo to take up a gun in 1941 and she remained among the Kosovo Partizans throughout the war. Her father, mother, sister and four other members of her family died in the National Liberation Struggle. At the end of the war she was a captain, had been wounded several times, her health was broken, she carried the 1941 Commemorative Emblem with nine wartime decorations, including the Order for Valor. Subsequently she was decorated for her sociopolitical work with the Order of Brotherhood and Unity First Class and the Order of the Republic with silver garland. She has been secretary of the Strpac Opstina Committee of the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia], a member of the Urosevac District CPY Committee, a member of the Kosovo Provincial Committee of the Federation of Veterans, a delegate to the Assembly of SAP Kosovo, and a member of the Federal Board of the Federation of Associations of Yugoslav Veterans.

Because of the further deterioration of her health, she retired early. From time to time she would come from Pristina, where she lives with her family, to Brezovica, where she has a vacation cottage. Unfortunately, she came on 16 June 1979, when a delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania had also come there, hosted by Fahredin Gunga, the well-known Kosovo poet and director of TV Pristina.

Draginja Arsic speaks reluctantly about this unpleasant event. "What is there for me to tell you?" she said with embarrassment. "Why should you write about that?... The comrades know about it, and no one has undertaken anything up to this point. At least if someone had called me in to talk with me, to console me at least. Now it is no longer of any importance to me. But at the time when it happened to me, I filed charges with the police in Strpac, I wrote to the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, to the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia and to the Central Committee of the LCY. I learned that 1.5 years ago some kind of commission was established in Pristina to study this case. What they did I don't know. They did not summon me, nor did anyone inform me about the outcome...."

Draginja Arsic recalled this event with a heavy heart:

"That day has been well preserved in my memory. It was sunny, but it has remained in my memory as the blackest of days. The 16th of June 1979.... I stopped by the Breza Hotel in Brezovica. At the desk I came upon an unpleasant scene. Some man was shouting at Voja the doorman. 'I am the director of TV Pristina.... I will move everyone out of Brezovica.... You will all disappear from here.... Why did the hotel director not line up all the personnel in front of the entrance to greet the delegation from Albania, as would be proper?'"

Draginja Arsic caught her breath for a moment, and then resumed:

"At first I really did not believe that this was the director of such a prestigious institution. I was not acquainted with him. I thought that he was some drunk. The doorman Voja was struck dumb as a stone, and then, probably to put an end to this painful situation, he addressed me: 'Auntie Draginja, what can I do for you?' At that moment Fahredin Gunga turned and slapped me. I naturally stepped back, but he continued and began to hit me with his hands, to curse me, ordering me to throw down the manicure kit I had been using at the time. When he struck me again with his hand in the chest, I pushed him away. Only then did he cease, but he continued to shout that they would move all of us out of here. This was a horrible humiliation for me, since all of this took place before the eyes of the members of the Albanian delegation, who were looking on with enjoyment from the dining room. Nevertheless, some people came up and took Gunga off to the dining room. That did not bring him to his senses. He came out again and stood behind my back with his hackles raised. He took me by my right arm and began to pull me outside, cursing and shouting: 'Let's fight it out!'

"I told him: 'Come to your senses, man, tell me first what we are to fight about, and then perhaps we will fight!' But he just pulled me so hard he scraped the skin on my arm. At that point a bus driver Bogi Cvetkovic and my brother-in-law Djura, manager of the hotel, came running up. They tore me away from him. They were outraged and wanted to settle accounts with him, but I did not allow it. I was thinking of our country's reputation, of the shame of its happening in front of a foreign delegation...."

Draginja Arsic finished her sad tale with a deep sigh:

"The whole event shook me greatly. And indeed all honest inhabitants of this region, both Serbs and Albanians. Nothing like it happened to me even during the war. When I calmed down and thought everything over a little better, I saw that this act on the part of Fahredin Gunga was neither accidental nor harmless. This was in fact confirmed by the unpleasant events which took place this year in Kosovo....

"As far as I know," Draginja Arsic continued, "no one has touched even a hair on Fahredin Gunga's head because of this. Last year he was even decorated, though I am not aware of exactly what decoration.... To be sure, after the counterrevolution in Kosovo, he moved from the post of director of TV Pristina to that of the director of the provincial bureau for publication of textbooks. What kind of sense that makes is clear enough," the subject of our interview concluded.

It is true that if this tale that is sad but true had been mentioned in the Urosevac analysis of the causes of the exodus of non-Albanians from Kosovo, everything would have been much clearer, especially with respect to altogether ordinary people. After all, what kind of justice could they expect when this kind of conspiracy of silence has prevailed concerning such a prestigious and meritorious individual as Draginja Arsic. Only hardened fighters like herself could take that without retreating. Many others did not....

Including the Bijelic family from Pristina.

The Bijelic family is preparing to leave Kosovo.

"We can no longer live here," Nikola Bijelic says. "My daughter, who is a physician, recently moved away to Sokobanja. She could no longer stand the mistreatment at work. She had complained, but no one had helped her.... Now, it turns out that my son Slobodan, a professor at the School of Technology in Pristina, is also leaving. We and our children will go, too."

A Stone in the Display Case

This is not the first time the Bijelic's, as they told us with bitterness, have left their home. In 1942 the Ballists drove them away from their farm in the village Vojinovac near Stimlje, where their ancestors had come in 1938 [sic] from Bihac in Bosnia. During that flight they were taken in by peasants in Knic, near Kragujevac. The father of the family, Nikola Bijelic, went off to join the Partizans. He was a lieutenant and company commander in the 6th Proletarian East Bosnian Brigade. After the Liberation, he held various posts in Kosovo: secretary of the local committee in Lipljan, director of the plywood factory, director of the magnesite mine, and adviser in the Executive Council of SAP Kosovo.

His wife Danica, who sobbed constantly as we talked, also comes from a prestigious and patriotic family, the Trkulja's from the village Staro Gradsko in Kosovo. During their war leaders of the uprising had a refuge in their house, among them the national hero Emin Duraku.

The sizable number of their decorations are kept in a glass case in the living room reserved for guests, but there is also a stone. With it the demonstrators broke the arm of their son Slobodan on 2 April of this year. When he saw his students, led by troublemakers, heading for the town, he ran out into the courtyard and began to advise them to return to the dormitory. They pelted him with rocks, and he was lucky to suffer no more than a broken arm.... When he extricated himself, he did not dare to go for treatment to the Pristina Hospital, but he went for help in Nis....

After the disturbances quieted down, in May, some boys attacked them and their grandchildren, the children of their other son Milorad, who were visiting and were playing in the yard.

A Boxer at the University

The Bijelic's themselves say that there was nothing very serious behind that. Simply a children's argument. They know that time heals everything, and in the months that followed they lived in the hope that all the errors would gradually be corrected. But then something happened which no one anticipated. Nikola's son Slobodan Bijelic, a professor, the same one whose broken arm had already healed, was slugged on 6 November in his office at the School of Technology, where he was chairman of the examinations commission.

He was slugged right in the face by his fellow faculty member Ruzdi Sefa, also a member of the examinations commission.

Vojislav Ristic, a student in that school of the university who was doing his military service, had received leave of absence from his offices to take his graduation examination. Before that, of course, he had submitted his paper. A commission had been set up at the school consisting of the following professors: Slobodan Bijelic, chairman, and members: Ruzdi Sefa, Nevzet Selimi and Dragan Savovic.

All members of the commission had each received a copy of Ristic's paper to read, and within 7 days, as stated in law and the regulations of the school, to submit written criticism to the head of the department. There was no criticism within the period specified, and the chairman of the commission, Slobodan Bijelic, scheduled the examination. All the members of the commission arrived on time except Professor Ruzdi Sefa, they waited for him nearly an hour.

"When he finally made his appearance," Bijelic relates, "I asked him whether he knew that we were holding an examination. He responded very sarcastically: 'Do you mean to tell me that that student is going to be defending this paper of his?' I answered him: 'Why not, when no one had any criticism to make!' Then Sefa said that he thought that this paper could not be accepted, since the student had made use of the literature. I explained to him that he was entitled to that and that that was no obstacle to a man's defending his work. Moreover, I told him, You can state your opinion separately. And Dobrivoje Stojanovic, head of the department, told him that he was wrong. Then he began to insult me. He told me 'not to be stupid' and other pejoratives which are not fit to print. We began to argue, and at one point he ran up and hit me with his fist in the temple. He wanted to continue, but my colleagues prevented him...."

"Enough Unhappiness..."

Professor Slobodan Bijelic, incidentally, is the secretary of the primary organization of the League of Communists in his section, but he is demoralized by everything he has experienced, and the only thing he has decided for certain at present is that he will get as far as he can from this place.

We sought out Professor Ruzdi Sefa both at the university and at home, but we did not manage to find him. It is said that he is evading all talk about this. Especially with newsmen. He made a statement to the dean of the school in which he admits that he hit Bijelic, but he says that he was provoked.

The testimony of eyewitnesses of this unpleasant event are in the dean's office of the School of Technology. It's secretary Isa Neziri did not dare to show these statements to us without permission of the dean, Vuk Savic. We in turn sought out Savic for 2 days at the university and by telephone through his secretary, but he was either busy or out.

Nevertheless, we did learn that Nevzet Selimi, an eyewitness to the event, had declared that "both were nervous and were arguing," while the others felt that Sefa had without good reason disputed the right of the student Vojislav Ristic to defend his paper and that he had struck Bijelic without cause.

The examination was nevertheless held even without Professor Ruzdi Sefa. He was replaced on the commission by Professor Dobrivoje Stojanovic, and the student Vojislav Ristic graduated with a grade of 7.

This is not the only case we know of when professors have gotten into a fist fight. There have been quite a few such settling of accounts in our other cities, in some places firearms were even drawn, and there have been tragedies.

We said this to Professor Bijelic and his parents.

"Yes, it has happened," they admitted. "But we have had enough unhappiness, better to move away."

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END

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5 February 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1972

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5 February 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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SLOVENIANS DISCUSS IMPACT OF CARCANI ON ALBANIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 19 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Joze Sircej: "Is Nothing New in Tirana?"]

[Excerpts] Enver Hoxha appeared in public at the ninth session of the Albanian People's Assembly, for 2 days in a row. The Albanian press agency, ATA, reported this. Although Albania has a television station, the television viewers did not see any pictures of Hoxha at the Assembly. Someone recognized his voice on the radio but that someone was the Albanian ambassador to Belgrade, in a statement which he gave to some Western correspondents. Enver Hoxha appeared in public on 24 December of last year when he visited an art exhibit in Tirana. This was also reported by ATA.

From the reports, although they are not impartial testimonies, given about the public appearances of the first secretary of the Albanian Workers Party, it follows that it is probably true that Enver Hoxha is alive.

Still more: there are signs that Hoxha has been victorious once again in some sort of political upheaval (which in the Albanian leadership, up to now, ended with the death of the main loser), just as he was victorious in November 1941 when the provisional Central Committee of the Albanian party was established.

On 18 December Hoxha's longtime right hand man, Mehmet Shehu, was the loser. Albanian diplomats said recently that there was no official funeral because suicide is condemned in Albania. Victorian puritanism, Albanian style, was one of the reasons for the icy silence in regard to Shehu's departure from this world. But the information about Shehu's death was so little and so devoid of positive elements, an obvious sign of disgrace beyond any apparent or real indignation toward those who take their own life.

This impression was further strengthened by the words of unreserved praise with which Enver Hoxha nominated the new premier Adil Carcani. Hoxha, who was greeted in the People's Assembly "with stormy applause and ovations," said that the new premier is a person "who is known and esteemed for his great experience in state and party affairs," who "has worked constantly and untiringly and struggled for the implementation of Marxist-Leninist directives and the ideology of our illustrious party." Carcani's official biography stresses that the new premier "everywhere and on every occasion has implemented and firmly defended Marxist-Leninist

ideology, the teachings of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha. He always has fought against domestic enemies and against foreign imperialists and revisionists of all types."

The list of ministers of the new government no longer includes the name of Fecor Shehu, the nephew of the late Shehu, and Albania has a new minister of internal affairs. With the death of Shehu, all his relatives fell into disgrace, if they were not dragged there by head and shoulders.

The emphasis of the appointment of the new chairman of the Council of Ministers seems to be in accordance with the official desires of Tirana; it stresses the incontestability of the Hoxha leadership and--as Carcani's maiden speech states--the perseverence in the direction of "the unceasing struggle against imperialism and revisionism."

Does the advent of the new chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers mean persistence, as before, in a hard line as well as some new elements? In regard to these elements, might the causes be distorted because of the fact that Shehu was obliged to leave? Are Carcani's words in regard to neighboring Yugoslavia as harsh as the statements of other leading Albanian functionaries? He warned about the common "Soviet-Bulgarian threat" which menaces both Albania and Yugoslavia and stressed, at the same time, that "we have wanted to and still want to have good neighborly relations" but it is the "Yugoslav revisionists who have impaired relations and diverted them to a blind alley."

In his first speech one cannot discern any softer tone toward Yugoslavia or any new proposals for a partial normalization of relations. The question arises as to how much significance can be ascribed to the statement of the new premier that the Albanian Government will "carry out a constructive effort to develop international relations." Does this mean at least a partial abandonment of many years of self-imposed isolation? Does this mean that in some areas they intend to reduce international isolation, in regard to this state or a group of states? So far there have been no definite signs of this from Tirana.

CSO: 2800/207

IMPORTANCE OF DEFENSE TASKS STRESSED

AU161812 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 4 Dec 81 p 2

[Article by Veli Llakaj, deputy defense minister and chief of the General Army Staff: "The Country's Increased Defense Capacity Depends on the Understanding and Application of the Directive that 'The Country's Defense Is a Task Above All Tasks'"]

[Text] The eighth AWP Congress stressed that the achievement of the country's economic and political independence, the achievement of the country's defense by the people themselves, and the arming of the masses with Marxist-Leninist ideology constitute those strong and firm foundations on which our socialist fortress stands.

The party has continuously steeled this unity between the construction and defense of socialism. Owing to the party's great work of clarification and education, our people have become increasingly more aware that they must be not only builders, but also defenders of what they are building. Consequently, as was stressed at the eighth AWP Congress, our people and their army are working and training at the same time and are always keeping their vigilance and readiness high to defend the victories of socialism.

The party has carried out an all-round effort with the masses concerning their understanding and application of the directive that "the country's defense is a task above all tasks." At the same time, organizational measures have been adopted to set up various training institutions attached to work and production centers, agricultural cooperatives and in the schools, where all the armed people carry out military training according to a specific program and with specific objectives. The problems pertaining to military training are now becoming increasingly more integrated and an inseparable part of all aspects of our people's activity. In his report to the eighth AWP Congress, Comrade Enver stressed that "the party's directive that 'the country's defense is a task above all tasks' is becoming a great reality in our country. The country's increased defense capacity depends to a considerable extent on a complete and correct understanding of this directive, and on the concrete effort made to apply it." This gives rise to a number of tasks confronting the army commands and staffs, as well as the state and economic organs and the mass organizations in the field. The first of these tasks is to constantly strengthen, modernize and revolutionize the People's Army as the major force for the country's defense. As was stressed at the congress, this will be achieved by increasing our efforts to achieve a high level of political-military training, to master and creatively implement the demands of our military art of people's

warfare, to master and perfect all types of weapons and equipment, and to constantly strengthen military order and discipline on the basis of military regulations. All this is to be achieved through intensive training at a high scientific and qualitative level and in constant struggle against formalism, monotony, stereotypism, concessions and simplification.

The attainment of these high quality indexes in political-military training requires that account-rendering and the sense of responsibility should be further strengthened, in the army and in the field, and that there should be greater understanding for order and discipline, the intensification of training and increased combat-readiness, making no distinctions and no concessions in any of the defense structures. Qualitative improvements in all matters pertaining to defense also require a strengthening of cooperation between military commands and staffs, on the one hand, and the state and economic organs on the other. That shallow understanding of cooperation limited solely to the participation of reservists and other defense structures in training has been overcome by now. What is currently required is to deepen daily knowledge and mutual information on the training standard and combat-readiness of these contingents, on the degree of mastery achieved in the political-military training program, on weaknesses and shortcomings observed, and on what joint measures are needed to overcome them and to strengthen positive aspects. Interest alone is not sufficient; mutual control is also required to ensure that the organization and substance of training is scientifically based and in accordance with the military art of people's warfare.

This also requires that every member of the defense structures should raise his consciousness and degree of responsibility in military training, in order to understand our military organization measures and the specific tasks arising from them as profoundly and possible. All this requires that the cadres in the army and in the field, the mass organizations, the state organs, commands and staffs should, under the party's leadership, carry out a great effort in education and clarification. The major aim in this is to make everyone conscious of the fact that the current stage of our economic and social development, as well as the country's imperialist-revisionist encirclement, requires workers, farmers, specialists and students, but also capable soldiers; in other words, it requires citizen-soldiers and soldier-citizens.

It is particularly important to deeply penetrate the substance of Comrade Enver's teaching at the eighth AWP Congress that: "The country's defense is strengthened and becomes invincible when the tasks in the political, ideological, economic and military fields are understood and implemented in close relationship and inseparably from each other." This means that the party's directive that "the country's defense is a task above all tasks," must guide the implementation of all tasks on a broad front, persistently struggling against unilateralism and the mechanical separation of defense from economic problems. Such an understanding and implementation of tasks, Comrade Enver teaches us, will further consolidate our internal front in all directions and make it even more capable to meet all situations successfully, to become an iron wall against any aggressor who would dare raise his hand against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. This dictates that we should rely even more strongly on advanced experience, that we should deepen and extend the good experience that we have accumulated during these years in several free military schools, as in the free military school of the "Llesh Pal Cupi" Cooperative and elsewhere, where the defense tasks are really considered

inseparably from economic and social tasks. As was stressed at the eighth AWP Congress, the consolidation of the free military schools, which serve to strengthen the links between the army and the people, makes military training an inseparable part of the life of all working people. Our duty is therefore to work even more to raise the standard of organization and training in these schools and to transform them all into model schools, that they may buzz with life at all times and that people of all ages and professions may go there enthusiastically to educate themselves militarily. This will further educate our people to be citizen-soldiers and soldier-citizens of a genuine socialist society, and will have considerable influence on raising the standard of military training.

The full implementation of the directive of the eighth AWP Congress that "the country's defense is a task above all tasks" therefore requires intelligent education in raising the consciousness and sense of responsibility in military training. It also requires intensive training in accordance with the demands of the military art of people's warfare and regulations in the free military schools. It requires constant organization and control to prevent all concessions or carelessness, in the field and in the army, against alien manifestations and liberal attitudes toward them.

Our party has always loyally and creatively implemented the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in the great question of defense, as in all other fields, even blazing new paths. Our entire soldier-people are building and defending socialism and are enjoying its magnificent fruits. With the party in the lead, they have determinedly set out to implement the magnificent program of the eighth AWP Congress to build socialism and strengthen the homeland, holding the pickaxe in one hand and the rifle in the other.

CSO: 2100/43

BRIEFS

SHEHU PRESS OBITUARIES--Tirana ZERI I RINISE of 19 December 1981, publishes on page one the announcement of the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania concerning the suicide of Mehmet Shehu, together with an obituary signed by these bodies. Both the announcement and the obituary are identical with referent items, except that the first graf of the obituary itself also contains the aforementioned announcement. The obituary is placed on the top right hand corner of the newspaper, spanning two columns, together with a 3 1/2 by 2 1/2 inch photograph of Mehmet Shehu. The newspaper contains no other reference to Shehu and is completely normal in its content and format. [Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT and BASHKIMI of 19 December publish on the top right hand corner both the announcement of Shehu's suicide and his obituary, together with a 3 1/2 by 2 1/2 inch photograph, exactly as in referent item in ZERI I RINISE of 19 December. The remainder of each newspaper is completely normal and contains no further reference to Shehu. Tirana PUNA 22 December and DRITA 20 December, which are the first issues of these newspapers to be published after 19 December, contain neither the announcement of Shehu's suicide nor any obituary or any other material whatsoever relating to Shehu or his suicide. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2100/43

DEPUTY COMMANDER REVIEWS 35-YEAR DEVELOPMENT OF BORDER TROOPS

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 48, 1981 (signed to press 23 Nov 81) p 7

[VA interview with Lt Gen Gerhard Lorenz, deputy commander, GDR Border Troops; chief, Political Administration; date and place not given: "Peace and Socialism Need Reliably Secured Borders: 35th Anniversary of GDR Border Troops--High Light in the Societal Life of Our Republic"]

> [Text] Lt Gen Gerhard Lorenz was born into a worker's family on 24 May 1930 in Freital. From 1944 to 1947 he prepared himself for the bricklayer's occupation. In 1948 he joined the working class party and then also began his military service, first as a sergeant with the Dresden Kreis Office of the People's Police. His subsequent assignment as deputy for political work in a border company was followed by troop and formation assignments in political work and as that of a commander of a border command post. Since 1973, Lt Gen Lorenz has been deputy commander of the border troops and chief of the Political Administration. He has graduated from the Karl Marx Party College and the Friedrich Engels Military Academy.

[Question] 35 years GDR border troops--that calls for sincere congratulations and for a review. What do you find to be the special importance of this anniversary?

[Answer] 1 December 1981, the 35th anniversary of the GDR border troops, is a holiday not only for us border soldiers. It also is a high light in the societal life of our republic. So we celebrate this day together with the working people in our country and the members of the GDR armed forces. The border troops, recruited out of the workers class and led by the SED, are a part of the working people and have always proven a reliable instrument of our workers and farmers power.

By way of review, the Deputy Minister for National Defense and Chief of the Border Troops, at the end of the 1980/81 training year, affirmed that good results were achieved by the units and troop components in the year of our 10th party congress and of our anniversary. Through close cooperation with the protective and

security organs and in confident cooperation with the population along the border, the inviolability of the national border and order and security in the border area have been ensured at all times. In 1980/81, in socialist competition, the best results thus far in the history of that competition were achieved among the border troops. One out of every two soldiers and NCO's earned optimum ratings and 50 percent of all our collectives, the best performance title.

[Question] What has now become part of the 35-year tradition of the GDR border troops?

[Answer] This can be answered by extending what I just said. The border soldiers have always stood up splendidly in socialist competition. All initiatives and mass movements in years past served our reliably fulfilling our class mission.

Let us take another look back at history: initially, mainly those communists were put in charge who had proven themselves in the International Brigade in Spain, during the status of illegality, in the fascist penitentiaries and concentration camps and by the side of our Soviet class comrades in the antifascist resistance. That included such former members of the border troops as Maj Gens Hermann Gartmann, Walter Breitfeld and Paul Ludwig, and Cols Albert Giebel and Kurt Hoefer. They had a big hand in writing the first chapter of the history of the border troops. Their lives and struggles for the cause of the socialist revolution also served our border soldiers as a constant spur for their exemplary fulfillment of our class mission today.

Another tradition is that from the outset our comrades were supported in their tough and responsible duty by citizens in the border region. This confident and friendly cooperation has done well in the decades behind us. Today we may say the entire people feels responsible for a secure national border and the border soldiers are forcefully being supported by thousands of citizens.

Their warding off all provocations and hostile assaults against our national border bears witness to the fortitude, steadfastness and clear political standpoint of our comrades. That also is part of the good tradition of the border troops. It includes the honorary duty to fulfill the legacy of our murdered comrades.

[Question] Initially you mentioned the SED leadership role. Where does that become apparent?

[Answer] Our GDR border troops having turned into a reliable and mighty power organ of our socialist state in their 35 years is mainly due to the SED's clear leadership. Threatened by the West, the party in good time organized the armed protection of the borders of our workers and farmers power as an element of the antifascist-democratic revolution in the GDR.

The party's leadership role has proven the most important source for the strength and power of the border troops throughout this historic development. It is reflected in the steady consolidation of individual command, the greater fighting strength of the SED basic organizations and the deepening of the basic organizations' influence on all aspects of military affairs. Extremely great is the constant personal care by the party executive and Comrade Erich Honecker,

general secretary of the SED Central Committee, for incessantly modernizing our border security and providing the members of our border troops with increasingly better service and living conditions.

The 10th party congress has charged the NVA and the protective and security organs with the compelling mission "to ensure the sovereignty of the GDR, its territorial integrity, the inviolability of its borders and its national security." This makes the border troops' requirement clear. To us that means ensuring the inviolability of our national border under any condition, proscribing any extension of provocations against GDR territory, firmly enforcing our state's sovereign rights and, through cooperation with the NVA, being always ready and able reliably to fulfill all tasks in safeguarding the GDR's national border and sovereignty. While doing so, we thank the party for its steady solicitude.

[Question] What is your view of the comradeship-in-arms relations between the GDR border troops and the USSR border troops?

[Answer] Border troop development is inseparable from the selfless aid of our Soviet class comrades and comrades-in-arms. From the very beginning our Soviet comrades helped us organize a reliable border security and provided, in particular, the leadership cadres of what was then the German Border Police with valuable experiences.

Because of the space between us it is unfortunately impossible to foster direct personal contacts between the border soldiers of the two countries. Practical experience has shown, however, that distances over thousands of kilometers all the way to Brest or to the Ussuri are no barrier to cultivating deep feelings of friendship for one another or to learning from one another.

Studying the valuable combat experiences of the Soviet border troops plays a great role. Our border soldiers are quite familiar with the legendary glorious deeds of the Soviet border soldiers and heroes of the Soviet Union such as Col N. F. Karatsupa and Col F. Kaimanov. Very much they like to read such accounts as "Die Waldfestung" [The Forest Fortress], "Der Spurensucher" [The Track Finder], "Die als erste den Schlag auf sich nehmen" [Those Who Brave the First Strike], or "In den Listen nicht erfasst" [Not Accounted For].

[Question] As to the confrontation policy of the United States and the other aggressive NATO cirlces, what does that do to the GDR's national border and to West Berlin?

[Answer] Per se one may say that provocations and assaults against our national border have increased in scope and severity. Every day our soldiers perceive the increasing toughness of the class conflict. The scale of criminal intrigues against our national border and the order and security in the border region is very broad. It ranges from insults and demands to commit treason to the use of weapons against our border soldiers. And then also, border security installations have been destroyed and our air space has been violated. That goes together with increasing slander of our border troops by Western media and a boundless agitation against our border security measures. FRG border security concentrates on reconnaissance against our border security. It also acts as "expert" spokesman when gangs form along the border and has repeatedly given fire support to provocateurs. NATO war exercises, furthermore, are being held increasingly closer

to the border. In connection with that, it is worth recalling that every war the capitalists contrived in this century started with the violation of existing borders and the contempt for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states.

Thus, the highest vigilance is called for. We will fulfill our class mission under any conditions.

[Concluding remark] We thank you for the interview, General Lorenz.

5885
CSO: 2300/100

AUTOMATION'S IMPACT ON MILITARY TRAINING, IDEOLOGICAL INDOCTRINATION

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 6, 1981 (signed to press 15 Sep 81) pp 281-283

[Article by Col Gen W. Fleissner, deputy minister for national defense: "Mastery of Modern Combat Equipment Requires Intensification of Political and Military Leadership, Education and Training"]

[Text] Seven months have passed since the 10th SED Congress. During this interval army personnel and border soldiers and civilian employees have been very busy in putting into effect the resolutions from our highest party forum, which are far-reaching and are oriented to comprehensive effects. Successes achieved thereby are deeply rooted in the awareness of the greater responsibility assumed by the socialist armed forces today in the struggle for safeguarding peace and socialism.

The 1980's asume a special place in the efforts by our army personnel and border soldiers, aimed at the continued reliable protection of our socialist construction for the good of our people.

The 10th SED Congress considered that the class conflict between socialism and imperialism entails all spheres and domains of society and that the decisive effects in this struggle come from the economic field. That also applies fully to military affairs.

Found confirmed today more than ever is the correctness of Friedrich Engels' remark in his "Anti-Duehring," that nothing more depends on economic preconditions than the army and the navy, and that weapons production depends on economic capacity, on the economic situation, on the material means available to those in power.

By being oriented to combining the achievements of scientific-technical progress with the advantages of socialism, our 10th party congress conformed with the social processes that are changing the world in the 20th century: the social revolution and the scientific-technical revolution. Out of that also grow enormous potentials for strengthening our socialist national defense as well as for continuing the revolution in military affairs, i.e., for fulfilling the military class mission decided on by the 10th SED Congress.

Whereas military affairs in the 1950's in terms of qualitative changes went by leaps and bounds from conventional arms to nuclear arms as the main means of warfare and for achieving the basic purposes of war, by the late 1970's we entered a new phase of the revolution in military affairs. This involves the most important changes since nuclear weapons were first introduced: the consistent application of electronics and automation in modern weapons, command and reconnaissance systems and the introduction of more effective types of ammunition.

The process going on in our army now makes for fundamental changes in the relations between man and equipment. This is analogous to the scientific-technical revolution in our economy. Karl Marx, anticipating the dawn of the era of automated production, correctly attributed it to communist society and defined the essence of these changes. The worker, as Marx said, places himself alongside the technological process itself instead of being the chief actor in it. Previously a participant in production, he now becomes its guardian and regulator. This fact has a revolutionizing importance to man and also to his reacting to such technology.

In all previous phases of human development and history, man and technology in production would function as a unified whole: while technology is dead without man, man is impotent without technology. Proceeding from this interaction, a redistribution of the functions of the human and technical components was brought about. The qualitative leap attained through automation frees the hands and the brain of man for producing in greater human dignity.

Also in the system development of man and his combat equipment inevitabilities can be discerned in the development of the components involved:

1. Gradually freed from the functions in the man-technology system that do not conform to his proper nature, man lives up to his proper creative, and that means determining, role.

2. Through improving quality and quantity of combat equipment, man improves the effectiveness of his military activity and enlarges his opportunities to solve the combat tasks assigned to him.

3. Man changes his character in the man-combat technology system. The structure of this relation becomes more complicated as it proceeds from a single soldier using his particular weapon toward the responsibility of the military collective for releasing the working principles of a whole combat technology system or complex.

It means that the version of a "push-button" war that has been spread by the ideologists of imperialist warfare does not stand up. In a future war the role of man would not diminish but rather assume greater weight. Friedrich Engels wrote of the "never ending revolution in weapons technology" which in its social function is so significant that "it allows no one to be ready for war." Under the conditions of the revolution in military affairs, a permanently high combat readiness therefore is an entity that knows of no upper limits.

We must always realize that the scientific-technical progress embodied in our modern technology does not automatically or on its own translate into combat readiness or fighting strength but only through conscious mastery by the soldiers, the military combat collectives.

For fulfilling the tasks assigned by the Minister for National Defense the socialist military collective is gaining increasing importance.

The operations unit, the crew, the squad are the typical structural forms in our NVA that ensure an effective handling of the combat tasks assigned.

The modern systems of combat equipment are marked by the most complicated ties and relations among their various elements and by how greatly the whole system of combat equipment, in order to function, depends on accurate steps by each and every army member.

Our minister, Gen Heinz Hoffmann, said recently: "The most modern weapons, however highly they may be automated, are centrally linked with their functional capacity--which is the man who decides whether a system works in time and reliably."

Thus, e.g., the time factor has become an essential criterion for military mastery. There are only fractions of seconds between sighting a target, measuring the distance by means of laser telemetry, feeding the data into the radio computer, and releasing the shot.

Precise coordination alone, e.g. among all the forces involved in the air guidance of a modern interceptor in our air defense, makes possible effective combat against an air-borne enemy today. A delay in the pilot's reaction of but one-third of a second could produce a course deviation of 300 meters and more.

Already there are 4,000 different military classifications for soldiers in our army while 20 years ago there were only 1,500. The coordination of this large collective of specialists, used in a differentiated manner and in a division of labor, demands of each individual rigid discipline, highest military mastery and reliable operations.

The readiness and abilities of our army personnel are directly reflected today by our degree of combat readiness. A high political awareness of how proper and just our struggle for socialism and peace is, attested to by being ready, translates into such an effort for high military mastery and, thus, into the ability to use modern weapons with full effect. This turns ideological clarity into fighting strength.

The fundamentally new relation of man which is forming in the current phase of the revolution in military affairs in the man-technology relationship gives a very strong boost to the importance of ideological work.

A soldier who can see what it is all about because he has a sound Marxist-Leninist knowledge, understanding the impulses that make social progress prevail, and precisely defining his own place within this revolutionary process, will most effectively use and master this modern equipment. In what he does he combines socialist patriotism--his love for his socialist fatherland, the GDR--with proletarian internationalism, the protection of socialism in the form of the community of socialist states.

But not only the requirements for a clear class-bound position and for military skill and military-technical knowledge are growing. The relation between man and modern combat equipment calls for increasingly concentrated mental activity.

A soldier must be able independently to compute, control, check, regulate, eliminate interference, and analyze and process data. All this takes place under the conditions of modern battle, under tense moral and physical stress. In a war imposed upon us by the imperialists it is the fighter with the faster reaction capacity, the stronger nerves and the greater physical condition who would win.

With the multiplicity of effective factors of modern combat equipment and arms there multiplies, analogously, a specialist's responsibility in commanding and handling such weapons. He furthermore often bears the responsibility for inestimable values. Therein is expressed, not last, the trust our state places in our youth today.

The foundations for it were laid by our workers and farmers state where our youth receives solid culture, education and training. That ranges from the care and comfort of the socialist family via the children's facilities, the education at the general education polytechnical secondary school, the pioneer, FDJ and sports organizations all the way to vocational training. These are essential prerequisites for our fulfilling our class mission.

Idiomatically we say: he who rests, rusts. That is also true for military personnel dealing with modern combat equipment. Only a member of the army who constantly improves his skills and develops his knowledge and facilities until he obtains a complete mastery over the equipment conforms to the requirements for the 1980's.

The mastery of the combat equipment entrusted to the army members today expresses itself also in its being effectively and economically used for providing an optimum increase in fighting strength and combat readiness. Thinking and acting in terms of military economy is objectively gaining greater importance under the current conditions in the NVA and in the GDR border troops. High combat readiness is no longer conceivable without regard for military economy.

Proper economic use and repair of the equipment is basic to permanently maintaining the combat equipment systems and complexes entrusted to us at maximum combat readiness. That makes a military-economic approach an indispensable element of military operations on all command levels. This demand addresses everyone, be he on official duty, on the battlefield, at sea, in the air or along the national border.

Karl Marx reduced all economy ultimately to time economy. To us today that means intensifying combat training and gaining an optimum increase in combat readiness by a minimum input of material and financial means and also of creative activity.

An example for it is the use of training devices, simulators and other modern training equipment, by which the demand for intensification and economizing can be met effectively.

To apply all that massively and thereby translate it into an essential economy factor is mainly a demand made on the leadership activity of our chiefs, commanders, heads and other superiors on all levels. Here we find the greatest opportunities for further improving our combat readiness.

Leadership activity for socialist officers always means working with people. Thus the "art of leadership," as Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, has said "always is the art of persuasion. A solitary designing of plans and administration always only move paper. Sound arguments move the thoughts and conduct of millions of people and turn good plans into reality."

Intensification of political and military leadership, education and training are needed to provide our army personnel and combat collectives with mastery of modern combat equipment systems and complexes. Without it, even the best weapons will not qualitatively enhance our combat readiness. That is why when a superior in self-criticism assesses what he has done, everything comes down to these questions: What have we accomplished? What is the result of all our efforts? Have we achieved a measurable increase in combat readiness by our way of preparing the individual soldiers and the entire combat collective?

A scientific manner of conduct is required to cope successfully with this demand placed on our leadership activity. While the highest party assembly of the SED emphasized the special role of science, we have found that confirmed a thousand times in practice, in our troops and naval forces. There is no longer any decision or command that could ignore scientific principles or inevitabilities. Science pervades our conduct more and more. That is why the report by the secretariat of the Political Main Administration of the NVA to the twelfth delegates conference of the SED party organizations in the NVA and the GDR border troops states: "We seek the kind of intellectual life in the whole officers corps that is determined by scientific debate and by pressing and looking for effective solutions in practical military affairs. It is a challenge to all cadres to turn consistently to the latest state of knowledge and deliberately turn science into their ally."

The current tasks in the military-technical and military-economic field are marked by the sound scientific course of the SED in implementation of its party program.

The deep meaning of the mission of the members of the NVA and of the GDR border troops in the new training year is to make a decisive contribution to it on behalf of safeguarding peace and socialism.

5885
CSO: 2300/101

FORMER AGENT GIVES INFORMATION ON INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

West German Report

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 2, 11 Jan 82 pp 56-57, 59

[Unattributed report: "GDR Espionage: Beer Cans for State Security—A Former Agent Reveals Internal Matters of East Berlin Ministry for State Security." A translation of the agent's own account about his stay in East Germany follows this report]

> [Text] One year after his successful escape to the GDR, former State Security agent Erich Ziegenhain surrendered to West German authorities revealing internal matters, operating procedures and embarassing slip-ups of the East Berlin Ministry for State Security. Now the returnee is being indicted for having engaged in intelligence activities.

Two Germans had gotten together at the "Lindencorso" on Unter den Linden in East Berlin; but the atmosphere was far from relaxed. The West German was standoffish, causing his host to say: "It's funny, all you people in the West seem to think that this side of the fence is just crawling with State Security men." He knew what he was saying because he was a State Security man himself.

As it happens, that came out soon enough in the course of the conversation. The State Security man did not beat around the bush, asking for information and threatening otherwise to make public compromising material about the West German who had attended the Free University in the sixties and had had many Eastern contacts at that time. That did the trick. By the end of the conversation, the guest had been signed up as a GDR agent.

That is how a relationship lasting for years began in the early seventies between Erich Ziegenhain, an official of the Hessian ministry for social affairs, and Gerhard Jauck, a major and department head in the GDR ministry for state security (MfS).

For 7 years, the Wiesbaden official delivered everything he could lay his hands on to intelligence headquarters in East Berlin's Normannenstrasse. None of the material was classified. Instead, "Hainfels"—which was the official's code name—was charged with collecting small pieces of the mosaic like most of East Berlin's Western operatives. He sent on conference reports, statistics, personnel rosters and telephone directories—all from his own ministry.

Investigations later found that "Hainfels'" material must have been of minimal intelligence value. But East Berlin did not drop its agent even after applications he made to two Bonn ministries were turned down.

In fact, when high-ranking MfS insider Werner Stiller changed sides in the summer of 1979 and revealed the names of dozens of his co-workers active in the West, Erich Ziegenhain was warned in time. He succeeded in escaping to the GDR along with dozens of others betrayed by Stiller.

Of course, Erich Ziegenhain has long since returned to the FRG. Although he was received with all honors in the GDR at first and even personally decorated by Colonel General Markus Wolf, the head of MfS' "main information department," he came to view the time he spent in the GDR as a disappointment in the end.

The encounter with real socialism was sobering and the tender loving care of his hosts lived up to expectations only at the outset. Instead of letting him work on social science issues as promised, they gave him a second-rate university post. He passed the time spinning his wheels on a dissertation topic he was given: "Voluntary social services as a means of intensified exploitation of the working class as exemplified by selected branches of the FRG economy."

Contacts with other MfS veterans from the West were frowned upon. "They are always afraid someone might start a union," Ziegenhain says. Thus, he felt boxed in and spied on to boot. After just 6 months, he started thinking about returning to the West with his family..

After trying for months to dissuade Ziegenhain by resorting to chicanery and shabby treatment, the GDR authorities finally gave in. On 12 May of last year, Ziegenhain surrendered to West German authorities and is now awaiting trial for engaging in intelligence activities.

What is new about this case is that a former agent gained his release to the West by continuing to insist upon it and it is unusual into what a difficult position the Ziegenhain affair finally brought the East German authorities.

The thing is that once the West German embassies in Budapest and Prague as well as the permanent FRG mission in East Berlin had been alerted by Ziegenhain to his efforts to leave the GDR, it was already too late for the preferred solution—a discreet trial and sentencing.

A trial that was public knowledge in the West would have given too much publicity to the rude treatment received by the ex-agent and would have done incalculable harm to the MfS image among presently active and future agents in the West.

And so, Ziegenhain's deportation to the West was probably the most acceptable solution despite the fact that he was bound to make revelations. But there was one other loss of prestige the ministry damaged by Werner Stiller's revelations would inevitably incur. In one way or another, the new case would "do more damage and be of lesser advantage" to the MfS all around, as Ziegenhain's defense counsel Detlev Suessmilch has put it.

Given the Lenten fare agent "Hainfels" was supplying, the trouble the MfS went to on his behalf was downright spectacular. Following a 2-month intelligence course in an East Berlin safe house, he was equipped with picture-book agent's paraphernalia: radio decoding materials, invisible writing accessories, the East Berlin telephone number 558 93 32 to be dialed in an emergency and a briefcase with a secret compartment.

For photographing documents, he was given a Canon super-8 camera set for single exposures. The data transmitted—which the state prosecutor's office says "could easily have been obtained through other means" for the most part—was nonetheless conveyed in a highly conspiratorial manner: the MfS informed him by radio of where to meet the courier "Heins."

The material was handed over through the exchange of cigarette packs between "Hainfels" and "Heins." Money was passed in the opposite direction, "Hainfels" being paid DM 500 per month. Starting in the fall of 1974, this was reduced by DM 140, the amount deducted for membership fees in the SED which "Hainfels" had joined in the meantime.

As of 1977, the transfer formalities became a great deal cruder. "Hainfels" was told to put his material in a sand-filled beer can and to drive to the GDR border near the Autobahn to Eisenach. Once there, he was to take a secondary road and throw the can out of the car window into a previously designated "landing area" situated between the out-of-the-way villages of Hoenebach and Kleinensee where the edge of the road constitutes the demarcation line for a few hundred meters.

From then on, meetings with couriers took place only for appearance's sake which was a new one for West German investigators. When "Hainfels" set out for international tourist spots like Vienna's Kaerntnerstrasse or Stockholm's Sergelstorg ostensibly to make a contact, then there among the amateur film enthusiasts taking pictures of the sights would invariably be some from East Berlin. They would pay their man no heed and would instead take pictures of the crowds—their only reason for going there at all. By comparing pictures, the MfS men could later tell whether their man was being shadowed.

Going over Ziegenhain's testimony, West German security agents could see that their East Berlin counterparts were not always as well organized—as for instance on 18 January 1979 when a veritable panic broke out at Normannenstrasse upon receipt of news that Stiller had switched sides. Since Stiller did not take original documents but merely copies with him, it was unclear at first just what Western authorities might have learned. As a result, the MfS sounded a frantic retreat for scores of its agents in the West.

As per instructions, many of them had already destroyed their radio equipment and could only be reached by telephone. But telephone calls could be faked and even the password could already have been divulged by Stiller. "This assumption gained weight among the agents," Ziegenhain said, "since the control officers at headquarters did not stick to agreed upon procedures, meaning that they did

not call themselves—because they could not due to the confusion reigning at headquarters. In fact, they were working around the clock, trying to ascertain, by going through the documents, exactly what damage had been done by Stiller."

In some cases, secretaries and telephone operators made the calls, many of which remained unanswered. Ziegenhain tells of agents who made good on their escape to East Berlin as much as 12 hours earlier whose control officers were still trying to reach them in the West by telephone.

"Hainfels" did not get the message ("beer can") to leave until 1½ weeks after Stiller's defection. The agent took a taxi to the border near Hoenebach and left the FRG the same way the beer cans had. At the "landing area" an MfS reception committee was already waiting for him, complete with ham sandwiches and vodka.

Former Agent's Own Account

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 2, 11 Jan 82 pp 59, 62, 64-66

/Excerpt from Ziegenhain's revelations: "'That's the Last Straw! You Have Insulted the GDR!'—How Ex-Agent Erich Ziegenhain Managed to Obtain from State Security the Exit Permit for FRG"/

/Text/ Only a few months after we arrived in the GDR our hopes, such as they were, had disappeared. We had to live a solitary life in Leipzig. Instead of satisfying work and recognition, we got nothing but medals.

Instead of being integrated as a former agent as promised, my control officer Gerhard Jauck from the MfS started criticising my work and calling the material I had been collecting for years "useless stuff." He told me in words of one syllable: "There is no one in the GDR who will go out of his way on your behalf."

Soon the relationship I had with my MfS associates was damaged beyond repair. The reserved attitude of some of our contacts toward us made it clear that our home was bugged. The MfS seemed to have gotten wind of what we had been secretly planning for some time: we wanted to get back to the West. And as we soon began to feel, these preparations of ours had not gone unnoticed.

One week before Easter 1980 we made our first start, via Hungary. We took all important documents and what clothing we needed along and went by car to the Czech border crossing point at Zinnwald.

But they seemed to be waiting for us there. They immediately closed off the lane we were in and started checking the cars. My wife and the children had to get out but I had to stay inside the car. The border police were looking for something specific, perhaps for my documents or perhaps most of all for the West German money I had held on to until then with which to pay for our escape.

Although I could plainly see that the search had been ordered by Berlin, my last resort was to act like a "V.I.P." I demanded to be connected with MfS headquarters in Berlin. That was an order, I said. The answer to that was that the commanding officer of the border post came out and told me that I had no right to give orders to anyone.

In the meantime, the border police had already found the photo album with our passport pictures and I had no choice but to brazen it out. I said to the commanding officer: "You will stop this search immediately! You don't seem to know whom you are dealing with! I happen to have been decorated with the Patriotic Order of Merit, the Battle Medal and a number of other high decorations. I will see to it that charges are brought against you!"

Now he, too, did not know what to do. He ordered the search stopped for the time being and then disappeared. A few minutes later, he returned and said with exquisite politeness that a high-ranking MfS officer from Berlin was already on his way and that there would be no further search until he arrived.

6 hours later, MfS major Hartmut Ritter arrived. He seemed peeved. The MfS had apparently wanted to have us taken into custody without showing its own face—by offering formal proof of our escape attempt at the border. But this plan would not work any longer. For this reason, Ritter dispensed with any further search and instead tried to talk us into returning to Dresden.

At that point, the commanding officer asked: "Comrade, what exactly did you intend to do with these passport pictures in Hungary ?" I said to him: "You probably don't know that I come from the FRG. I want to have an FRG passport issued to me in Hungary." Ritter blanched and asked for the passport photos but let us continue on our way.

The trip proved very disappointing. In Budapest, we managed to get to the embassy unobserved but the FRG officials were as helpless as we were. To be sure, the legation councillor was aware of my case but was unable to offer any concrete help for us to get out.

We had a halting conversation. For fear of a hidden microphone, the diplomat and we exchanged slips of paper instead of talking to each other. In the end, he asked me to come back a few days later.

But we could not risk staying in Budapest much longer. So we left and on the way back tried our luck again at the embassy in Prague. We got into the building unobserved early one morning because the local authorities did not start their surveillance of it until 9 am. But here, too, we got no further than to drop off a request for help.

It became clear to us by then that the key to our getting out lay in the GDR alone.

14 days after my return, I had a crucial conversation with colonel Jauck. I told him that the ministry was guilty of a breach of faith and asked that my family and I be permitted to travel to Yugoslavia unescorted. Janck said no; it was too late for that.

On 23 April 1980, I informed the colonel by telehpone that I just sent the chairman of the council of state a letter asking that I be granted permission to leave the country. There was no way back for me, I said, since I could no longer help support a policyof oppression and exploitation of the GDR population. This was not the socialism the working class had dreamt of but a sad parody of it.

Jauck interrupted me, saying that I should not "risk my neck" in this way. It must have been unpleasant for him no doubt because all outside calls of course are recorded on tape.

On that very day, he came to my Leipzig apartment, accompanied by major Ritter. They explained to me that such petitions to the chairman of the council of state were unlawful. Then, they tried to bluff me by saying that the ministry was quite prepared to let me leave. They would even give us "free conduct" to the border. What would happen after that, they said, I was aware of myself.

But when I put them to the test and said they should go to the border with us immediately and turn us over to the FRG authorities, Jauck reneged. This was not something he could decide on his own, he said. But a day later, a messenger arrived with an invitation for us to come to Berlin: if we did not go, we would never be able to leave the country.

In Berlin, I met with Willi Neumann, a high-ranking MfS official who was a colonel then; with colonel Gerhard Jauck, and two others whom I had not seen before who called themselves "Alfons" and "Otto." They tried in every way to get me to retract my request for permission to leave.

First, I was promised "a large house by the lake" in Berlin and a job with the GDR Academy of Sciences in Berlin. When I did not accept, colonel Neumann jumped up and shouted that I had insulted the ministry and that the statements I had made to Jauck constituted a criminal offense. He then asked me "to retract immediately."

I refused and instead asked to be given a typewriter in order to be able to concretize my supposed insults. Jauck and Neumann left the room; the typewriter was in fact brought in and I was given several hours to write it all down.

The first one to read what I had written was "Alfons" and he got quite angry. Then he said: "We have taken quite a few people out of circulation who said a great deal less than you have." That was the end of the line. We were taken back to Leipzig.

On the following weekend, we drove to Zinnwald once again on the way to Prague just to see whether they would let us go across at all. The same thing happened again: they closed off the lane we were in; the members of my family were taken to a room inside the border control post under guard.

I had to drive my car into a garage where it was searched. I myself was strip-searched; they even x-rayed some food we had along. Then, they forced me to help them take the car apart. They shone flashlights into all hollow spaces and when I asked: "What is it that you are looking for," I was told "don't worry, we will find it." The entire procedure took 5 hours.

At length, the commanding officer came once again and told me that I would henceforth not be permitted to cross the GDR border at all. On the way home, I could see two cars in my rear view mirror following us throughout. From then on, we were shadowed all the time.

2 days later, colonel Neumann and "Alfons" delivered the MfS directorate's decision to us: no permission to leave! We were advised instead to think all further moves over "very carefully" and to consult a GDR lawyer so as not to run afoul of the statute books.

Willi Neumann asked for the names of all those who knew of our intention to go back. "Don't bother, Willi," I said, "there is no way you can make us disappear on the sly. Aside from our relatives, we have informed the appropriate FRG authorities! And I will now start talking it up here all over the place." Neumann's reply was: "If you do that, you will lose your job at the university and then you will starve."

I wrote to Honecker once again and enclosed my party membership book, reiterating that SED policy in no way conformed to my idea of what a socialist party ought to be like. I never received an answer.

At the university, I was still tolerated but was ordered in no uncertain terms not to attend any further meetings or functions of the research faculty. The reason given was that there was a danger of "young party members being infected by the poison of counter-revolution." This meant that I was de facto no longer a member of the research faculty although I continued receiving my salary until the end of February 1981.

In the meantime, surveillance commenced right outside my door. Wherever I went MfS agents were sure to go: on the trolleycar, at the swimming pool, at the barber's, in the market, at the theater—everywhere. They were easily recognized by the almost identical cases they carried, with the walkie-talkie inside.

A few days after I sent back my party book, I packed all my decorations, diplomas, commemorative coins and the like in a shoebox and sent them to the GDR council of ministers. The Patriotic Order of Merit I sent to Honecker. In my accompanying letters, I proposed that the decorations be given to the MfS surveillance branch but that we should at long last be given permission to leave the country.

This made an impact at headquarters. Colonel Jauck said to me that this was the last straw—now I had also insulted the GDR, the chairman of the council of ministers and the council itself. Right away, I was picked up and brought to an MfS house in Berlin for a talk.

At first, they tried once more to persuade me to retract my request for permission to leave. I was asked to tell the FRG permanent mission in East Berlin in a letter that we had gone through a "personal depression" but had since gotten over it and now considered "our wish to leave a thing of the past."

I refused—whereupon Jauck said that his office would write the letter instead. As I knew, they knew how to copy my handwriting. This conversation—which was held once again in order to intimidate us—was broken off without getting anywhere.

I wrote to Erich Honecker once more but all I got was a return receipt. Then, we decided engage the services of East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel whose specialty is East-West exchanges.

On the way to Berlin, we were already being shadowed by three cars. For the first time, these coercive measures became a danger to life and limb. At an Autobahn parking area, a heavy Volga limousine came at us at high speed, trying to ram us. A risky swerve saved us from harm.

Although other drivers had witnessed the whole scene and gave vent to their feelings by gesticulating and blowing their horn, the Volga tried once more to force us onto the median strip. It was not until another car came up close, protesting by blowing its horn and flashing its lights, that the Volga finally drove off at high speed.

We parked our car in the center of East Berlin and took the subway and the elevated to Dr Vogel's office, escorted by five MfS agents. Our visit did not even last one minute. Right at the front door, we were told by a lady that nothing could be done for us—and we had not even had a chance to say why we had come. She shut the door and never opened it again.

Over the next few months, I sent our requests to leave to a wide variety of GDR officials—to the interior minister; to the president of the Volkskammer; to the national front; to the committee for human rights and the league for the United Nations. And once every 4 weeks, I sent a letter to Honecker again. In these letters, we cited the basic treaty, the Helsinki final act and the UN human rights declaration. In all, we submitted 23 such requests.

In the meantime, the pressure from MfS surveillance kept on growing. We got the impression that they knew perfectly well where we wanted to go—by bugging our apartment. Even on an outing by car, those assigned to watch us would often know our destination in advance because they would not start surveillance in such cases until shortly before we got there.

Some times there were two cars with two men each; sometimes there were three, four or even five cars with four men each. This type of psychological terror was applied particularly whenever we went to East Berlin because they assumed we would be visiting the FRG permanent mission. Colonel Jauck had made a point of warning me about this. "If you go in there," he said, "that will have serious consequences. Then even I will not be able to protect you from the state prosecutor."

Just the same, we went there often enough. On the way, we were followed by up to five cars and when we parked ours a few hundred meters from the mission, we were escorted right up to the door of the mission by a sizable contingent.

Jauck reiterated his threat and when we still went to East Berlin the MfS went into action, using the Volga once again. Anyone familiar with the GDR Autobahns knows that one sometimes runs into no traffic at all for miles. They took advantage of just such a situation.

When there was no car to be seen, a Volga suddenly came up behind me. Then it came alongside and tried to force me onto the median strip. I had a difficult time staying in my lane. The Volga finally gave up when two trucks passed each other behind us and more and more passenger cars started coming.

In some instances, surveillance took on ridiculous proportions. They followed me right into public toilets. On 17 January 1981, I quit my job at the Leipzig Karl-Marx-University on my own in order to force the GDR authorities' hand. Work is compulsory in the GDR. Refusing to work—and my action could be construed as such—is a punishable offense.

At the same time, I wrote a letter to Erich Mielke, the minister for state security, which said in part: "...I will meet you halfway and as a sort of final service on behalf of the GDR will perform spectacular acts so that you can have me arrested and will be justified at least to a certain extent in asking for a fair exchange price from the appropriate FRG authorities! If you are not interested in such acts, then arrange our release immediately!"

I handcarried this letter to the ministry in Normannenstrasse in East Berlin, escorted by five MfS agents from Leipzig right up to the door.

I suppose that this particular move finally led to the approval of our request. At any rate, this was the beginning of the last act. On Wednesday, 1 April 1981, at 7 am our doorbell rang. There were two men outside, presenting their MfS identification cards. "We are under orders to bring you to Berlin immediately!" they said. Escorted by four people, my wife and I were taken to an interrogation center in East Berlin.

We were interrogated separately. When I protested, my guards took away my belt, my shoelaces and personal belongings. They were members of a "special department," they said, under orders from the minister to "review our case from A to Z once more." If I admitted having worked for Western intelligence organizations and would reveal what I had turned over to them thus far, it would perhaps be possible to arrange for our release to the FRG.

Again and again, the interrogators would leave the room for some time and leave the monosyllabic guards behind. They only talked to me when I wanted to stand up. Then they told me to sit down again. If I wanted to go to the toilet, the corridor outside was first secured by several men. That is the way it went until after midnight when they ordered me to lie down on a couch. But there was no chance of getting any sleep. One of them had the radio on, listening to music and the other constantly played a flashlight on me.

On the next morning, they continued, but by noon they gave up. I did not hear from my interrogators again until that evening. One of them, whom they had addressed as "comrade colonel" came in by himself and said to my surprise: "I think everything has been cleared up now. The minister will probably permit you to leave this very evening."

Comrade colonel had some more information for me: the children were just then being brought to Berlin; our furniture could stay in Leipzig for a while. And as for the mode of transportation, he said: "We always have a few confiscated automobiles with Western license plates standing around. All you have to do is get in and drive off."

But unfortunately, things did not work out quite as smoothly as that. As I was about to leave, the colonel asked me: "Why do you really want to leave ?" When I told him that I was afraid I would be "lined up against the wall along with you for all you have done" one day, he mumbled something about "polemics" and left the room. 15 minutes later, he came back and said the minister had thought the matter over--I would not be permitted to leave for the time being after all.

We went back to Leipzig and did not hear from Mielke's ministry until 5 weeks later. Now they had really made their decision--our departure was set for 12 May.

We were forced to give our word to remain silent and were told not to make any of our experiences about the GDR and the time with MfS public. I was warned that the ministry would find ways of shutting me up, if I did not comply.

Once again it was the colonel who gave me some parting advice: "You will see how much good this will do you!" he said. "I can tell you right now that you will never get a decent job in the FRG again. But then there will be no way back!"

A few days later, we had our exit visas in hand.

9478
CSO: 2300/113

CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 11-13 Dec 81 p 4

[Interview with Prof Dr Habilitatus Jan Malinowski, sociologist and member of PZPR Central Committee, by Jacek Bukowski: "Game for a Large Stake"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] You are a sociologist, and that is why I am asking about our society. Were you surprised at how much change there was in the period following August?

[Answer] I was primarily surprised by the fact that such tremendous stores of public initiative were released after August. This is somewhat of a phenomenon. Why? Because it is something exceptional in Polish society which, although severely tested by fate throughout its history--here I am thinking of postwar history, so many times disappointed and losing faith in any chance of improvement, held in the grip of a melancholy stupor, especially evident toward the end of the 1970's--still managed to recover from all adversities and once again take up the fight for a life of dignity and for its own sense of values.

Let us call on history once again, although this has become an overused tactic. Several times, in 1956, 1970 and 1976, the working class, constituting a fundamental power in society, managed to play the role of a subject or of a feudal lord (or dramatically claiming this role), but the sociopolitical scenario in all of these years was identical. An increase in tension, the outbreak of social dissatisfaction, a change in the party (after 1976), a solemn declaration of improvement in the situation, short-term improvement, and again a period of growing tension. Every previous upsurge of the working class ended sooner or later with its defeat. Therefore it seems that the discouragement and lack of confidence was already so strong that another new upsurge would be the greatest act of despair and frustration, and would not entail so much initiative, enthusiasm and will to act over a prolonged period.

[Question] Maybe it was simply that conclusions were finally drawn from the previous defeats.

[Answer] So it seems. After August the working class for the first time assumed an institutional nature in its activity. The workers did not limit themselves to saying what oppressed them and what they considered bad, but brought into being a guarantor of their claims. "Solidarnosc" was created by them as a socio-occupational movement of the working class. And this is a great novelty in our social structure.

Never before in the history of outbreaks of social dissatisfaction did an entire society embrace it on such a broad scale and so thoroughly. Actually what happened in the working class also had its counterparts in other classes and levels of society (appearing later and sometimes in a different form). Let us look at the peasants, at what is happening in the countryside, a great popular movement which is also radically changing the appearance of the countryside. The same thing is going on in the townspeople, and the intelligentsia is living through its renaissance. If we recall the social tensions of recent years, we may say in a general way that one class or level protested, while the others were indifferent, and it happened that large social groups opposed one another. Then it can be stated that everything happening in our country and society since 1980 is not the activity of one social class. Now all of society is participating.

[Question] What is the most important initiative?

[Answer] It is the rebirth of the idea of self-government, which was squelched after 1956. I would like to say that it is not possible, that we cannot shake confidence in this idea because, if this great initiative which is, so to speak, the only hope, fails, I do not know what society will be faced with, what kind of bid....But on the other hand it is necessary to be cautious because self-government as a matter of fact has never been sufficiently tested, one could say, as a good prescription for improvement in social and economic life. So we are all running a risk here and "Solidarnosc", if this experiment does not succeed, is risking much, much more than the party and government.

However, I believe that the idea of self-government is the only way to preserve social initiative. It is the antidote for the fatigue of society resulting from the many continuous years of directives and orders.

[Question] Everything we are talking about is taking place in the major social structures. Let's go lower.

[Answer] Renewal, if I can use this already very overworked term, has reached into every field of social life. Often we simply do not recognize this in word or fancy, and there may even be many things which we do not

connect with the processes of renewal. Just take, for example, the wave of rebellion which has spread through our penal institutions. If we leave aside the socially unjustified extreme cases which arise in any situation, these revolts by prisoners are also a symptom of the fact that legislation and law and order in Poland require renewal. A great deal has already been done in this respect, but obviously not everything. The processes of convalescence, for the purpose of a return to normal, honest rules of social functioning, have embraced all fields of life. Let me refer to the higher school system, where I believe that a return to self-government in schools is a serious matter which will bear splendid fruit after a few years, unless it is squandered. There should be a new look at the teaching of our native language and the history of Poland. All of these matters must be examined synthetically. Tuwin wrote somewhere that the individual trees are seen, but that the forest is not seen. It is precisely this forest which must be examined. Poland today is a completely different country than before August, and society is completely different.

[Question] But at the same time take a look at the exhausted people in lines, striving with difficulty to remain on the level of civilized existence. Sitting here in armchairs, detached for a time from the concerns of life, we can be perfectly satisfied with, for example, an "intellectual" renewal. We can be happy that, thanks to the worker uprising last year, we can print Milosz, revive history and visit art premieres which could not have been posted before August, and we can be happy about the law on censorship. All of this is true, but, for example, to a hard-working textile worker, who cannot buy a bit of meat, is Milosz necessary, or the uncensored columns of Kisiel in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY....?

[Answer] Actually there are still areas of public life where we are not achieving success. Quite the opposite. Are they not concealing the positive effects? I believe, and I would like to emphasize this, that economic collapse would be waiting for us anyway, but that we would approach it at a faster rate, and that, if it were not for August, we would feel it much more painfully. I say painfully because, if the same economic collapse occurred without renewal in other fields of life, nobody would be able to arouse any spark of initiative from society, and not even any great social discipline, patience and above all sense of responsibility. I think that we shall unfortunately have the opportunity of seeing how the people of other socialist countries deal with economic crisis without "Solidarnosc" and without this, generally speaking, spiritual and intellectual renewal.

In addition I want to call attention to the fact that even those who demand a return to the previous status quo, and there are quite a few of them, do not advance arguments that things are bad because of "Solidarnosc" and so forth. We must ask the question of whether a situation is possible where the people brush all renewal aside because of the specter of an empty pot. I think that such a possibility would come into play only if there were an alternative program stating: an end to renewal, an end to

developed democracy, an end to self-government, and in exchange filled shelves. Then the people would really be facing a great dilemma. But, to speak frankly, we are not threatened by such a dilemma because there can be no such program.

[Question] Let us return again to a higher level of solutions, to alternative programs and to the problem of authority. Don't you think that the authority in our country finds itself in a peculiar situation based on the fact that it sees the need for change but, at the same time, sees that every change undermines its situation since its own cause needs improvement.

[Answer] The tragedy of authority is based on the fact that the canons of **ideology** reveal that a society can be governed only by one party and that this party must be self-critical at the same time. It is said that it is the guiding force of the nation, but this means that it accepts full responsibility for leading the country into an abyss. At the same time, precisely as the guiding force, it wants to extract the nation from this abyss. Thus we have a situation where we ourselves, who have broken the watch, now want to repair it and in addition say what time it is. Such a situation cannot continue in society, and so a need arises to create a new formula for cooperation with other social forces. Obviously there is still the question of the predominant role of the party within the framework of this cooperation, but this predominant role cannot be the result of regulation, but must result from what it offers society, from the quality of the program and from the degree of its public acceptance. We cannot present the matter in such a way that the party is the only social force which can see better, further and wiser. No one believes in this anymore.

[Question] The Front of National Accord can see better, further and wiser....

[Answer] Yes, but at present this is a slogan derived from considerations that it is only possible to solve the essential matters of Poland on the basis of the fundamental social forces, namely the party, the Church and "Solidarnosc". The idea of the Front of Accord has been broached, but has not yet taken on any substance. Hope has been aroused, but at the same time it is necessary to figure out what this slogan means. These are the forces which must come to an understanding. This leads to the question of an understanding in which matter? Obviously it can generally be said that the country should be saved. But this leads to the question of the method of saving it. The next question is the cost, the concessions to be made at whose expense for this understanding. Who loses and who gains in this understanding? These are questions which cannot be evaded and which must be asked in giving substance to the idea of a national understanding. Obviously, I repeat, this is a grave matter where the Homeland is in danger, but let us not have any illusions, it is also a great political matter. It is a game for great stakes for the party and for "Solidarnosc". I am omitting the Church from this, since it stands somewhat above the dispute, not as a political force but as a moral force.

[Question] Since at present we do not know anything concrete, we must act as futurologists....

[Answer] It is necessary to determine the "zones of influence" of each of the partners, the extent of their participation in decisions submitted to society, and to proceed to mutual concessions, because an approach to an understanding proceeds from a list of one's own affairs to settlement. At the same time life is rushing forward. It is not enough for understanding to be required in economic and self-government matters, but elections for people's councils are also approaching on the lower level and concomitantly such matters as the division of areas and electoral law. Elections to the Sejm are also coming up.

[Question] And at the same time we have a complex situation in each of the partners....

[Answer] The Church, which does not have any extremes nor any right or left wings, is in the best position. The party and "Solidarnosc" will have divisions toward the Front of National Accord. After all, these are not internally uniform organizations of unanimous opinion. At this time and for the situation in which we find ourselves, I think that there is a strong demand for the development of political thought which is defined by the term "center".

[Question] There are different concepts in the Front of National Accord. One of them favors a factual distribution of the base of authority, while another supports a formula for social consultation. What is your opinion in this matter?

[Answer] I do not acknowledge that the consultation formula would be accepted. This would not be said about experiences with consultation, and it must be stated that it is currently in its heyday. Social consultation is everything which is written in the newspapers, since we have a tremendous range of opinions from very catholic to very red. Leaflets are also a kind of form of consultation. All discussions between the government and "Solidarnosc" are also consultations. So I would tend more toward a concept of expanding the base of authority. Today social acceptance is found only by decisions or programs which are spearheaded by people or groups of people enjoying social trust. Today no single force can acquire trust.

[Question] I must ask you one last question. You are a member of the Central Committee of the party and at the same time a member of "Solidarnosc". Did you not share in the decisions of your comrades in the Central Committee who, at the Fourth Plenary Session, decided on limiting membership to only one organization?

[Answer] The party is passing through a process of self-identification, and thus levies a requirement of declaration for one of the sides. I treat "Solidarnosc" as a trade union, and when I was in the old unions no one ever required a declaration from me of the type which is sometimes made today. I understand that as a member of the party I must take either a critical or an approving attitude toward those activities of "Solidarnosc" which are interpreted as political activities. But in the case of party activity I face this same problem of identification. I cannot approve everything, but I still remain a member of it.

I also want to call attention to another matter. We are too eager to treat "Solidarnosc" and the people belonging to it as something absolutely new. Still the 9.5 million members of "Solidarnosc" were members of former unions. "Solidarnosc" somehow inherited them with all of their opinions and attitudes. Now "Solidarnosc" is reproached for political activity. Still, political thought was one of the canons of the Central Council of Trade Unions (CRZZ), and they said that trade unions are a school of government and so forth. Perhaps these principles were only on paper in the former unions, but they have come to life in the new union. This is a positive result of renewal.

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MILITARY ACTIVITIES UNDER MARTIAL LAW REPORTED

Actions of Various Units

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Dec 81 pp 1, 5

[Article: "Until There is Peace and an Atmosphere of Honest Work"]

> [Text] The third week of the state of martial law and also the final days of 1981, which was such a difficult year for us... These are important days, in which the dedication and commitment of the working people is a yardstick in the restoration of normality to life. And these are important days also for the soldiers of the Polish Army, to whom stabilization of living conditions will bring a return to the home garrison, the family, normal service life and work.

Today they still stand at their combat posts, supporting the actions of the forces of order in restoring law, order and safety, and giving assistance to city and local authorities. They will remain at these posts until peace returns to our towns and villages, until an atmosphere of hard, honest work prevails.

On Sentry Duty and in the Combat Vehicles Motor Pool

Many soldiers in the Silesian Military District, just as those in other military districts and branches of the armed forces, perform combat duty tours in various places, often far from their home garrisons. During a state of martial law, soldiers guard important state installations, patrol city streets, and protect regions where subunits are concentrated.

Recently I happened upon the region where the 29th tank regiment was stationed. In a valley surrounded by a dense forest, an air of military order and calm prevailed. It was afternoon. In several specially prepared field dayrooms most of the soldiers watched a television program. Some reads books and newspapers. A program of special greetings was being broacast on the field radio to those who had distinguished themselves during the past days of martial law.

I became interested in those soldiers who were serving at outlying posts or who were repairing equipment. At the post farthest away from the region of concentration,

combat assignments were being performed by two officer cadets of the SPR [Reserve Officer Cadet School], senior cadet corporal Boguslaw Lasota and senior cadet corporal Jan Lombara. Although I was accompanied by the unit's political officer, the password required of all soldiers in this region had to be given.

--Yesterday we did not even let the unit commander in without the password when he returned from an inspection of the mobile posts, officer cadet Lombara said. This is, of course, a state of martial law, and anyway, on sentry duty the same rules of conduct apply to everyone.

Not far from the post, in a region where repairmen are concentrated, soldiers are working on a "Star 66" standing on the road. Driver-sergeant Wieslaw Kusiak is screwing on an oil pan, and private Kazimierz Gaborek, a repairman from master sergeant Jan Ostach's subunit, is assembling a set of tools in the repair shop.

--What is wrong with the vehicle? -- I ask the driver. Yesterday, he explains, while driving, the wedge in the oil pump snapped. Under normal conditions I would have waited with the repairs. But this is a state of martial law and damaged equipment must be repaired immediately.

Master sergeant Edward Gardziejczyk's subordinates are also getting ready to work. They will change a wheel that tightens the tank caterpillar, a subassembly section of the heater pump and the speedometer cable.

A Day with the Aircraft Technicians

An air unit. The hour is 5:45. Reveille has sounded. Everywhere the usual morning bustle. The next group of sentries leaves for their posts. There are also many lights burning in the windows of the military housing settlement. The next air day has begun...

Despite the fact that the situation in the country is special, that this is already the third week of martial law, life in the unit goes on in an almost normal manner. But in the tasks performed daily there are also some characteristic signs which make the present days different from those even a month ago. The first and basic sign is without a doubt the increased involvement, the greater than usual generosity of the soldiers in the accomplishment of undertakings. This pertains both to those who perform special assignments outside the area of the unit and to those who are here everyday, on the staff, in the subunits, in the shops, on the airfield, on every other duty post. It is in this way that they show their support for the actions taken by the Military Council of National Salvation. Because they were always of the opinion, which they even now assert, that declarations alone, however beautifully worded, are not enough, and that most important of all is the everyday work of each and everyone. This is what Poland needs the most, always and now especially, if the overcoming of the present, very painful crisis, is to become a reality. And it must become that reality, they emphasize. Our soldierly duties, they add, are explicitly defined. We are making every effort to fulfill them as best we can, and all of us here are counting on the fact that everything that the slogan "good work" embodies will shortly become a reality in the entire country.

According to the December plan and training program, today and tomorrow was supposed to be an "Engineering Day" in the unit. Specific assignmer , were prepared for all personnel groups and for all services and sections. As usual, the largest groups are in the airfield region, for there the work of the technical engineering staff is concentrated. Some of the machines are fully combat-ready, ready to start at any moment. Groups of technicians and mechanics bustle around others. Despite the cold gusts of wind across the airfield, despite the severe cold which causes the hands to be numb, the individual tasks are being performed efficiently and in good time.

In the hangar a group of soldiers under the command of Lt Kazimierz Kiszka is changing an engine in one of the combat machines. Others, under the direction of Capt Piotr Lochowski are checking the efficiency of the anti-icing installation. Among those working in the hangar are senior staff sergeant Zygmunt Pekal, senior staff sergeant Edward Kucharski, cadet sergeant Andrzej Strozyk and corporal Jerzy Bankowski. The other also have plenty to do, including the representatives of the POL [petroleum, oil, lubricants] service, who are making an indispensable inspection of the aviation fuel from the standpoint of potential pollutants. Some pilots, including the following officers: Krzysztof Budzynowski, Zbigniew Nawrocki, Tadeusz Mroz, Zbigniew Dziubicki and Krzysztof Chrostek, are assisting their "ground" colleagues. They support the technicians and mechanics in the repair activities and clear the area of snow.

Intensive work is also going on in the motor pool. We posted the assignments yesterday, Capt Wieslaw Kuras informs us. Groups of soldiers are gathered around selected delivery vehicles, gasoline pumps, equipment vans and others. Included are those in the leading group, the platoon commander Sgt Miroslaw Grzelak, mechanic Sr Sgt Andrzej Furman and driver Sr Sgt Ireneusz Borkowski. They are checking the fuel and brake systems, the lights, and the dashboard indicators. The quality and amount of fluid in the individual systems must be checked in case it should be necessary to add brake fluid.

The weather and local conditions under which the drivers must perform their tasks are often very difficult, therefore the inspections that are now being made are extremely important and are directly related to traffic safety on the winter roads. No margin for error is permissible. Every technical check must be very thorough, everything must be done very accurately.

It is after two o'clock. In several minutes it will be time to eat. After intensive work, several hours spent in the frosty weather, a hot meal will taste good to everyone. Then some soldiers will return home to their families. But only some, because many of them have afternoon, evening and night duty. As usual.

They Assist, Control and Work

Soldiers assigned to railway and road units perform many important tasks every single day during a state of martial law. In controlling and patrolling the railway lines, roads, stations and engineers' communication buildings, by their energetic and effective actions they ensure the security of the tranport, restore order and assist in the efficient transloading and timely expediting of goods.

The military railwaymen and roadmen continuously and directly participate in the transloading of goods at the border stations, as, for example, in Malaszewicze, where every day they assist the railway men in this difficult task. Officer Wojciech Goralski's roadmen at the "Warszawa" airport, transloaded 20 tons of gifts sent by air from the USSR to Poland.

At the Lukow railroad station a patrol of soldiers from the Warsaw Military District railway unit assisted a Polish State Railroads (PKP) woman cashier, who was beaten up by Jan Celinski, who was intoxicated. When the soldiers intervened, he resisted and struck one of them in the face. After being subdued, he was taken to the police station. He will be dealt with by the courts.

Aside from such isolated incidents, there is no lack of friendliness and sincerity on the part of the people towards the soldiers in their difficult service on the tracks and roads. Railwaymen and roadmen in military uniforms obtained gifts from the PKP--sweets. They voluntarily decided to give these Christmas presents to the Children's Homes in Miedzyrzec and Biala Podlaska.

And still another example of the military roadmen's generosity. After martial law went into effect, it was necessary to provide heat for the soldiers patrolling the icy streets at night. There were not enough coke heaters. The men under Sr Sgt Andrzej Duda were given the assignment of making heaters. Several specialists, soldiers and civilian workers, worked for 48 hours without a break to produce the coke heaters. The following soldiers took part in this work: Sr Cpl Andrzej Kwiecien, PFC Antoni Zawisza, PFC Zbigniew Ziobro and PFC Michal Marek. Three civilian workers, Tadeusz Woloszyn, Bogdan Cieslak and Piotr Zych, also worked on this job. The hands of the soldiers at their posts in Warsaw are being warmed by the heaters made by these roadmen.

The Difficult Job of the Quartermaster Service

The quartermaster service is performing a very difficult task under field conditions, and this includes the food service. It works around-the-clock. It provides breakfasts, lunches and dinners, and has hot coffee available all the time. During the night it prepares a snack for the soldiers standing on guard.

Major Lucjan Cieslak from the Silesian Military District, instructed his subordinates to take from the winter stockroom everything necessary to feed the soldiers. There was a risk that the farm products would freeze. But thanks to the dedication of such people as cadet Wladyslaw Mrugala, Sr Sgt Julian Jakubowski, and platoon officer cadet Marian Olejniczuk, everything was done so that nothing would be wasted.

Services Performed

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 30 Dec 81 pp 1, 6

[Article: "So That Society May Live and Work in Peace"; On the Combat Posts]

> [Text] In these difficult and also critical days for our nation, a very great responsibility has rested on the shoulders of people in military uniforms. The present situation has given them much

greater duties than it has given the ordinary citizen. The 24-hour duties, the many hours of service under all, even the most difficult, conditions, and the time still necessary for them to complete their school lessons, makes up their daily schedules. There is no time left for a deserved rest, and for a meeting with loved ones.

We are all counting the days of martial law. We are waiting for the day when life and work will be normal again. That is why we listen with interest to every communique on the situation in the country, on how the workforces are working. We received the information that the action in the "Piast" mine had ended with great relief. This is still one more example of stabilization in the country--a time for more peaceful work and military duty.

Praise for Exemplary Service

Without interruption, day and night, soldiers from the Silesian Military District keep order in the cities, guard important buildings, and take part in local military operations. They also help the inhabitants of the cities and villages, mitigating the effects of winter.

Everyday on the streets of Wroclaw many mixed military-militia patrols are seen. Most of those patrolling are cadets of the Higher Mechanized Troop Officers School. During the past period the cadet patrols have frequently assisted in the apprehension of those who were violating public law and order and who were sought by the police. One night in December while patrolling in the area of Gliniana Street, Sr Sgt of the Citizens Militia Wiktor Bernatek, Pvt Officer Cadet Stanislaw Majcher, Pvt Officer Cadet Wojciech Padlo and Pvt Officer Cadet Bogdan Pawlowski noticed a door that had been forced in a liquor store. By following fresh tracks in the snow, they quickly found the burglars who were hauling the stolen loot on a sled. While they were being apprehended, one of them attacked a member of the patrol and attempted to grab his gun. The attacker was subdued, the burglars were taken to the police station and the loot from the burglary was secured. It turned out that the burglars stole alcoholic beverages from the store valued at a total sum of about 45,000 zlotys. The prosecutor's office in the Silesian Military District will very shortly deal with the matter of the burglary of the liquor store and the attempt to assault the soldier on patrol.

Aside from a few exceptions, the relationship of the people of Lower Silesia to the soldiers preserving order is friendly. This is shown by the fact that packages are sent to the soldiers. There are even those who allocate part of their pension to presents for the soldiers.

This is what a dentist from Zarow in the Walbrzych voivodship, Edmund Ulaszewski, did. He gave 5,000 zlotys for a soldier on duty during the past holidays. This distinction fell to Adam Chwastyk, a Sr Sgt Engr. He accepted this heartfelt gift of gratitude for difficult military service and gave it to a more needy person, a ward of the State Children's House in Lubninow, 12-year old Ania Wojtczak. The entire sum was deposited to a housing account in the General Savings Bank, which was presented to her during a Christmas party.

It should be added that Cpl Jan Migon, Cpl Robert Pasiak, Sr Sgt Piotr Sobon and other soldiers from Lt Zdzislaw Burawski's subunit purchased small gifts and sweets from their modest funds and gave them to the remaining wards of the Children's Home mentioned.

Flight Day

All day yesterday was designated for preparations. Today, in accordance with the December training program, there will be flights. The plan provided for perfecting of combat skills of the flight personnel over the firing range: bombing and shooting, singly and in group formation.

But the winter weather did not allow for this type of training, the limited visibility constituting a safety threat. It was therefore decided that another variant of training would be applied. The flights will take place elsewhere, under day-night, difficult conditions.

In the afternoon a "slit" [plane], with the unit commander and pilot, Capt Jerzy Malyszka, returned from the "weather fly-around". The preflight assembly has ended. The airplanes leave, one after another, in a thunderous roar of engines over the airfield. These are the most modern planes, faster than sound, the tilt-wing aircraft. Trailing fire, Lt Col Stanislaw Walczak's supersonic plane steeply ascends. Walczak is one of the first in the country who trained on this particular type of aircraft. His assignment, the same as for the others: dog fights and interception. Those in the air maintain constant radio contact with the command position. Somewhere from above the clouds, pilot Maj Stanislaw Adamiec and pilot Lt Andrzej Pawul report their positions. The dialogue with the ground is continuous.

A group of technicians and mechanics stands near the jet planes awaiting their turn. They also appear immediately at all planes as they return from the air. They must be refueled, rearmed and checked. Their combat readiness must be reconstituted. Today, just as every day, they were the first ones here. As usual also, they will be the last to return to their homes and to the warm military barracks. It cannot be otherwise, because everything has to be perfect. This is the aviation duty performed by Capt Stanislaw Maj. Lt Wojciech Szajnar, Sgt Jerzy Lauer, Cpl Leszek Sopula, Pvt Zbigniew Dziewonski, and many others.

From yesterday's radio and television reports and from today's newspapers, they learned that the dangerous situation in the "Piast" mine had passed. It is good that it ended as it did, they say, without unnecessary tragedy. We sighed with relief. Somehow it is easier to work today. They express the joint belief that there will be no tragedies in the future, that national agreement will become a fact. That is what the Military Council for National Salvation is working towards, so they support the Council and they support General Jaruzelski, a soldier, like themselves.

Winter dusk falls over the airfield. The flights continue. When they end, a silent night will fall. But for many it will not mean rest or meeting with wife or children. Today the men from pilot officers Stanislaw Adamiec and Bogdan Likus' unit will stay at the airfield. The next turn of combat duty will begin.

A combat watch is taking place on the Baltic. Far from their bases, naval units, assigned to this responsible duty, are measuring off the lines of ships' watches.

This year's winter voyages are difficult not only because of the gusty and icy weather, the constant struggle with the chunks of ice accumulating on the decks, on the frequently stormy seas, on the limited visibility due to dense blizzards and fog... The events occurring in our country have meant that there has been a large increase in the interest abroad in Polish affairs, including those that pertain to problems of defense. The NATO radio-electronic reconnaissance ships have become active in their spy operations, the frequency of flights by foreign planes over the Baltic Sea has increased, planes that are equipped for intelligence-gathering tasks.

The sea and air forces are working together in performing their duties, including those duties directly related with the defense of our sea lanes against the penetration of snoopy "visitors". The close coordination of actions by ships and by naval aircraft pertains also to those performed within territorial waters that relate to martial law. Rescue-combat duty is performed by both the ship's fleet as well as the air naval fleet.

Every day, special duties are performed with dedication by the subordinates of Lt Comdr pilot Wladyslaw Spodziej. In the last training year their unit was designated the top unit in the naval armed forces. The following are performing exemplary service in rescue, liaison and other tasks: Lt Comdr pilot Zdzislaw Trojanowicz, at present the best piston-engine plane pilot in the Naval Air Force; Lt Comdr pilot Jozef Kuczmarski; Lt Comdr pilot Lucjan Zawislak; Navy Lt pilot Wojciech Kurzynski; and Navy Lt pilot Adam Redlicki.

The engineering staff, including Comdr Ludwik Antosz and navy officer cadet Stanislaw Gwozdzik, have contributed greatly to maintaining high combat-readiness and ensuring regular and effective training. Co-responsibility for the unit's leading position in the competition belongs also to Lt Comdr Stanislaw Olejkowicz, Sr Bosun Marian Maj, and Sr Bosun Antoni Aleksiejczyk.

At the Stations, On The Roads and On the Tracks

The railroadmen and roadmen in soldier's uniforms fulfill their responsible duty on combat posts in guarding and protecting assigned roads, junctions and transport buildings. They watch over the order and disciple of railroad transport, the timely unloading of goods, the maintenance of traffic continuity and the adequate protection of property transported by rail and roads.

Soldiers from the Warsaw Military District transport unit, in fulfilling their assignment in the area of the Malaszewicze border station, on December 27 and 28, transloaded 5,000 tons of goods coming from the USSR, including cereals, meat and rice. Of course, the total amount of goods coming to Malaszewicze and transloaded at this time was much greater.

The increasing number of soldiers applying for party membership is an expression of support of the military groups of transport units for the Military Council for National Salvation's program. Recently, for example, cadet Sgt Marek Ucieja of the Reserve Officer Cadet School, was accepted in the railroad unit of the Pomeranian Military District. Several other candidates are being examined.

On the evening of December 27th in Minsk Mazowiecki, a group of several young troublemakers surrounded Cpl Andrzej Dziugiel, driver in a Warsaw Military District road unit, as he was standing beside his official vehicle. Threatening to use force, the hooligans tried to grab the noncommissioned officer's gun. The corporal was not frightened by the threats and aggressiveness: he cocked his pistol and prepared to repel the attackers. Because of his firm position, the attackers dispersed into the falling darkness.

For Safer Streets

Martial law, despite many hardships, has greatly improved safety on the streets and in the transport means, as city and town dwellers state. The presence of militia and military patrols has paralyzed the criminal activities of those who took advantage of the existing chaos and demoralization.

This does not mean that crime has been eliminated and that the fear against punishment has paralyzed the activity of persons who have become accustomed to run rife on the streets. Robberies are still occurring, but less frequently. Here are a few examples from the Warsaw area:

Recently at 2 am a patrol made up of Jr Cadet Zygmunt Jarczalski and Citizens Militia Cpl A. Pagorek stopped three men carrying loot. It developed that they were responsible for three burglaries in summer homes in the Konstancin-Jeziorna area, stealing properties valued at about 500,000 zlotys.

On December 25th at 4 pm soldiers from the Polish Army Ceremonial Company caught two men who tried to steal a sheepskin coat from citizen Wojciech R. The assailants were turned over to the police.

On December 26th at 3:40 am soldiers on patrol caught Zbigniew Baginski, who, along with a buddy, broke into a drugstore on 11 November Street.

Good work was also done by soldiers patrolling who foiled an attack on a man. Wieslaw Drcbina and Henryk Deski, unemployed, tried to steel a sheepskin jacket and money. Caught in flight they were turned over to the prosecutor who handles such matters according to emergency procedures.

9295
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POLISH SCOUT UNION COMMANDER INTERVIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA MAZOWIECKA in Polish 3 Dec 81 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Ornat, supreme commander of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP], by Barbara Pokorska]

[Text] [Question] Eight months have passed since the Seventh ZHP Congress, which was considered conservative by some and too radical by others. Judging from the fact of the emergence of other organizations--at least "scouting" in the name--the congress has probably not fulfilled the expectations of the rank and file. The Polish Scout Movement in Grozow is one such example...

[Answer] If only everybody knew the name of the person who had inspired this movement.... Its founders took their inspiration from Henryk Glass, the same one who during the Nazi occupation was a cofounder of the so-called "Polish Districts" which opposed the distinguished "Gray Ranks" [wartime code name for ZHP]. This organization is rather small at this point; it has just a few instructors...

[Question] ...Which cannot be said about the Independent Scout Movement [NRH], based on the Zawisza Circle of Scout Instructors in Lublin. It has been already joined by two Warsaw troops, and others are joining in from other Polish regions.

[Answer] To be exact, this movement came out of the ZHP, but it was based on negation of our authorities and of the processes taking place in our union. This movement is a fact, and facts must be respected, but not necessarily fought against. Although we differ in our views on many matters, such as the attitude of a scout organization toward the party and religion, there are many things that unite us; therefore, there is always hope for agreement and conciliation.

[Question] The documents of this movement show that it does not approve of the statute, approved by the Seventh ZHP Congress, that is, the statute which does not clearly state that the union is a fully apolitical and independent organization.

[Answer] We do not exist in a political vacuum, after all. Scouting has always responded to defined social and political needs. Our 70-year history contains literally coded service to the society, fatherland, and state, and our statute--so criticized by some--has tolerance spelled out as well. As a multigeneration

organization we have members of different views and ideology. We do not forbid anybody to go to a mass as our summer action this year clearly shows. Whatever we do is bad, so now we are accused of not organizing religious life for our members. Let me reiterate, we are an organization which does not put barriers before members who wish to practice. If we want to educate in the spirit of humanism and respect for a man and his beliefs, if we say that we are a union open to everybody, including nonbelievers--we must remain a secular organization. This does not mean an antireligious one as is claimed sometimes.

[Question] You mentioned tolerance. It probably means more than just a world view...

[Answer] But of course. That is why there is a place in our union for program-method-oriented movements. Among them are the Andrzej Malkowski Circles of Scout Instructurs [KIHAM], united in the KIHAM Agreement, as well as the "Future of Scouting" movement, focusing its activities on older scouts. New movements of specific characteristics and interests are being formed now and will be created in the future. The essence of these social movements lies in the fact that they are created by people who have something in common and who want to achieve something together. It is important that they operate within the ZHP, that they are the driving force behind the changes occurring in the union as well as the makers of good scouting education even though sometimes our views on the organization differ. Thus, as can be seen, the renewal of scouting can take place within the ZHP itself.

[Question] Andrzej Janowski is of a different opinion; he can see no reason to modify the ZHP. In KULTURA, No 24, he bluntly called for "dispersing" the union and restoration of scouting by creating it anew through taking away the elements from the ZHP...

[Answer] Is it really necessary to destroy the old to create something new? It is possible and necessary to reconstruct the best values on the laid foundations such as the 70-year history of scouting with its rich traditions. But this requires time and patience. The ZHP Congress did not resolve all of the problems, because it could not do it. Nor did it close the discussion among instructors which ought to be the start of long-term preparations for the next ZHP Congress. However, a creative discussion and activities cannot be replaced by the politics of accomplished facts. I consider the KIHAM Agreement as an example of such; it recommends to its members an oath which does not conform to the text adopted by the Seventh ZHP Congress and it encourages other instructors to do the same. Unity in diversity is fine, but we do not agree to lack of respect for laws governing a social entity. These laws are contained in the statute as well as the Code, Scout Oath, and Instructors' Obligation supplementing it. Disregard for jointly established laws and the violation of democracy under the guise of democracy are not identical with tolerance and program-methodological independence guaranteed by the statute.

[Question] Sometimes the program independence is associated in my mind with simply the lack of...program...

[Answer] Well-prepared instructors and reflexive educators accepted this independence with enthusiasm. They are satisfied with the Scout Code as well as the requirements for ranks and badges, because they are able to operate these instruments with such skill that the troop's work achieves the aims and fulfills the expectations, and thus becomes interesting. There is, however, a considerable number of instructors who have to be continuously inspired and sometimes prompted in forms and methods of work. Therefore, much depends on fast training of the cadre and on the proper work of scout districts, which ought to support weak and average troops. We must become again an organization of strong patrols, troops, and tribes.

[Question] The patrol, troop, and tribe commanders are all volunteers. What about the full-time cadre which is still being identified with the union apparatus and therefore considered as the worse one, and also the one which hampers the ZHP renewal.

[Answer] Unfortunately, the black and white picture of our instructors has been commonly accepted: full-time instructors are bad, but the volunteers are good. This is not how it happens in real life. Such a division is clearly artificial and tremendously unfair especially to those who in recognition of their volunteer work, full of passion and inventiveness, were selected as full-time scoutmasters. We do not divide the instructors into full-time and volunteers, but into very good, good, and poor. The idea is to select the full-time cadre from the best volunteer instructors, that is, those who understand their role and actively support the scout units operating in their regions as well as offer these units their advice, experience and assistance. In fact, we must have high expectations of all instructors, because they are the decisive link in the union. We would like to see more instructors from occupations other than teachers, because this would be beneficial to the entire ZHP. However, we cannot eliminate educators so long as they have a "feel" for scout work.

[Question] And so long as they make this choice on their own. Too often in the past teachers were forced to lead troops or tribes despite the fact that they had no idea about the organization.

[Answer] That is true. Many instructors have already left the union for various reasons. It is a pity, because the troops disintegrate, particularly in the villages, where it is difficult to find qualified people. Scouting in this environment is of particular concern to us. We hope that educators will help us with this task. Those who departed are being replaced by others. The newcomers are often experienced instructors who return after a long break. Among them are also the young: high school and college students, full of enthusiasm and desire to work. This brotherhood and partnership of the young and older cadre, the beginners and the experienced ones, is a chance which must not be wasted. The more experienced ones must help the beginners. This is how the social movement of instructors is being created.

[Question] The young were very vocal at the ZHP Congress. Even today they are the driving force of scouting in many environments...

[Answer] And this can only make us happy. After all, their place within the ZHP, their cadremaking role in the entire organization as well as the ability to undertake action of broad scope and considerable importance is of particular significance to the older scouts. We want to consider it not only as the oldest age group, but also as a movement of older scouts which creates a broader field for the social activity of youth and enables the growth of aspirations with age and thus directing them toward increasingly ambitious tasks of social service. We count on their involvement and self-government. The role and place of this group of our members will be discussed at the next meeting of the Supreme Council.

[Question] According to Stanislaw Broniewski, former supreme commander of the "Gray Ranks," the essence of scouting lies in the grass roots and spontaneity.

[Answer] And we want to strengthen it and not to fight what has emerged in our union. We must fulfill the expectations of children and youth and at the same time avoid any disappointment by their parents. Scouting is a way of life--a place of upbringing and self-education. In the course of play and games, acquiring ranks and badges as well as of service for the society, we shape features of character in our members, features which will always be in demand: civil courage, friendliness and cooperation in interpersonal relations, honesty in action, respect for good work, economy, tolerance...

[Question] So needed today and tomorrow. Animated activities can be seen in troops and tribes, although not in all of them. The reaction in the echelons differs, however. Despite the fact that the ZHP Congress approved a 4-year program of strengthening troops--the basic elements of scouting upbringing along with the patrols--the echelons were not everywhere put in the service of the troops. The headquarters and scouting authorities are also accused of too slow enforcement of the congress decisions and reaction to the events taking place in the union without taking into account the real needs of the organization and its membership...

[Answer] We cannot do everything at the same time. This is one truth. Second--there will be always the dissatisfied. For example, we are accused of being slow when we were--in my opinion--honestly compiling the requirements for scout ranks by using the opinions and experiences of various instructors and consulting many. It is understandable that in these circumstances our work was prolonged. But it is probably right that the scouting movement renews from the bottom and "presses" the top. It is important for the "top" (from the scout district to the headquarters) to understand that this is the way things are. The opposite movement means that the organization outgrows the social movement. The situation we are talking about is one of the chances for a scouting renewal in new conditions. It cannot be said that the "top" does not react to this pressure. Many scout districts and councils conduct their own publishing activities and the lack of textbooks and program and methodical publications is the ZHP's main nightmare. The headquarters, despite well-known paper difficulties, came out with the publication of "Motives" and "Young People's Patrol World Library" for three age groups. It also published the congress documents, the statute, and several other materials helpful in everyday work. We are reorganizing instructor schools, their profiles and programs. A lot is being done, although not enough to satisfy current needs.

8609
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MILITARY COMMISSIONERS ASSIST POPULATION WITH INDIVIDUAL PROBLEMS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Henryk Wierski: "Military Commissioners in Action: At Citizens' Posts"]

[Text] Inside the conference room of the Poznan-Stare Miasto city-district office is a row of small tables flanked by chairs on both sides. The chairs on the entrance-door side are for applicants and those on the window side, for the military. Although the hour hand on the clock still has not reached eight, the premises are crowded. Conversations criss-cross, questions are asked. Lt Col Marek Krzyzanowski, Lt Col Wieslaw Luczywek and Maj Alojzy Rottan patiently listen to the requests and provide the needed advice.

"Mr Colonel, please help. We have a house in the forest 100 kilometers from Poznan. We need to pick up a lot of things from it, but where are we to get the gasoline...." "Mr Major. Yesterday my entire dwelling was destroyed by fire. I need a place for my family...." "My daughter is about to get married during the holidays in another voivodship. Could I, despite the martial law, travel there for a few days?"

As soon as some leave, their places are taken by others. Outside the door there is a constantly growing queue. Women and men, the old and the young. Time must be found to see every one, even if only a few minutes. Because though their problems vary and some are more important than others, no one can be overlooked. This is a duty imposed by the confidence that has been gained among the people.

Major Rottan tells me: "We have been active here ever since 26 November. Each day we have lots of work, but especially beginning with 13 December this has been real bedlam. Considering that the introduction of martial law has greatly complicated the life of virtually all citizens, this crowd outside the door is routine. All who come here believe deeply that it is exactly the military--and often that it is only the military--who can help. We try, of course, to provide effective assistance--naturally, only whenever possible. Because there also arise problems that cannot be resolved in the present situation. Our applicants unfortunately cannot always understand that specific and sometimes rigorous

regulations must apply to everyone without exception and that for the sake of the common interest we must make certain unavoidable sacrifices."

And yet--as must be emphasized--often it is no fault of the citizens. Once again, in this present immeasurably difficult situation for the country, there is the obvious indolence of certain elements of the administration, their inability or even unwillingness to resolve certain problems, their indifference toward many worries of the people. Certainly, the number of applicants is greater than ever. Certainly, the problems are more difficult and the exhaustion is greater than ever. But does this justify the still numerous instances of referring people from Annas to Caiaphas, leaving increasingly difficult decisions to the military groups? The answer is doubtless no. But although the military are providing an unequivocal example, and actions must be taken, this does not mean and cannot mean that the military will attend to everything for others.

Bright Spots and Shadows

A message has just been received to the effect that there is a shortage of chlorine at the clinic for infectious diseases on Zawady St, and that untreated wastes are discharged directly into the Warta River. Immediate action is needed because, if this is true, the city could be threatened by an epidemic. The commander of the operational group, Lt Col Tadeusz Mierzwinski, plenipotentiary of the Committee for National Defense, issues a terse recommendation. A few minutes later, the driver of a green UAZ vehicle, Pvt Dariusz Ratajczak, turns on the engine. Medical Maj Cyryl Wesolowski and Reserve Maj Antoni Banaszak--representative of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy--are leaving to look into the matter.

The machine starts. We pass snow-covered streets, other vehicles, queues in front of stores, crowded sidewalks. The only difference is that the traffic is lighter owing to the prohibition on sales of gasoline to private car owners. The special nature of the situation is emphasized by the military patrols we encounter en route, along with reinforced militia posts. At the clinic there is consternation. Its head, Prof Witold Kiczka, denies that there is any shortage of chlorine. What is missing, and only temporarily, is bottled liquid chlorine. So chlorinated lime, which is equally effective, is used as a substitute. Besides, the situation is also safe owing to the daily monitoring by controllers from the sanitary-epidemiological department who collect samples of liquid wastes at the sites of their discharge into the river. So far, these samples have given no cause for alarm.

For the next 15 minutes or so the problems of the clinic were discussed. They are numerous and often difficult to solve in the immediate future.

The professor declared: "The building we occupy is a prewar structure, adapted to our needs. During the spring thaw the lowest floors are flooded and walls begin to rot. There are not enough elevators, so that patients, oxygen cylinders, etc., have to be carried manually. There is a keen shortage of toilets and hospital beds. The only radical solution of the situation would be a new clinic. Doubtless such an investment will be undertaken, but this is not a matter of a month or two. For the time being, patients will have to be treated

under the existing conditions. Some emergency steps should also be taken to speed up the opening of the infectious diseases ward in the new hospital in Srem. That ward could have been used by now had not it been for the delays in finishing operations by the contractors: after all, patients cannot be housed in cold unheated premises."

It is time to return. At the city-district office new problems doubtless have to be resolved, with more interventions needed. Inside the car there is time for a talk. The major speaks about the health problems in the city district because this exactly is his task within the operational group. He is already quite familiar with the situation and has no special reasons for feeling satisfied. There still exist too many contrasts. There are model institutions from which an example can be taken, but there also exist opposite extremes--enough to make one feel like crying to the heavens. Consider, for example, the two houses for the care of the mentally retarded. One stands on Grobla and is for elderly persons and the other is on Lakowa St and shelters boys up to 18 years old. In the first house there are 12 staff members (nuns), 92 inmates, and an exemplary warm and familylike atmosphere. In the house on Lakowa there are 16 staff members and only 28 inmates and the conditions are truly scandalous. [The military] of course looked into the matter immediately and informed the municipal authorities about their observations and suggestions. They will resolutely insist that their suggestions be carried out.

Mercury "on the Carpet"

At the office of the military commissioners the crowd persists; the queue outside the door has not diminished. Major Wesolowski will remain there, replacing Capt Andrzej Boczkowski who is just about to leave on his next tour of the city-district area. The problem is special: two ladies from Winogradzka Elementary School No 66 came and said they were supposed to pick up an amount of raw and cured meat for the semiboarding school but had no way of transporting it. "So, if you can, gentlemen of the military...." They had to be helped and to this end half an hour had to be taken out of an already crowded schedule.

We are on the way in the vehicle. The store is not crowded, but we enter through the back door. And unfortunately, there we find the same old story. Two gentlemen, caught in flagrante delicti, were just then picking up "meat presents" without having joined the queue. Here, too, the unexpected visit by the military caused consternation, which is all the greater considering that one of these gentlemen happens to be precisely the chief expert on meat affairs at the Retail Trade Department of the "Spolem" Voivodship Consumers Cooperative in Poznan, and the other is the chauffeur of the official vehicle. He introduces himself without any attempt at self-justification since he apparently believes he has a perfect right to do what he is doing. Is that so? If that is so, then why has not the same privilege been extended to the elderly woman who must patiently stand in the queue to buy meat with her ration coupons? The elderly woman has, besides, switched to another store because she said that in this one her strength had given out. The affair is recorded in the captain's notebook. We resume our journey.

By the time we are on the way back to the city-district office, Captain Boczkowski lists one after another examples of neglect, disregard of duties, and speculation. Food store at 72 Sarmacka St. There is an absolute mess in the backroom. The air is hard to breathe and goods are strewn over the concrete floor infested with mice nests. First a fine [had been imposed]. It did not work. So now it was necessary to punish the personnel by dismissal. Clothing store No 124, 7 Szkolna St. In the backroom there are jackets, shirts and pajamas carefully hidden from the buyers. No one can answer when asked for whom these stocks were being kept, considering that the shelves are empty. Food Store No 19. The store has no butter for sale, but in its backroom, of course, as many as 40 kg of butter are found.

Many other such instances could be cited. But Iwona is already waiting. She is 18 and, with tears in her eyes, she came to ask for help. Her parents got divorced and founded new families. At first she lived with her father, but now she does not know where to go. Her grandparents refuse to let her into their apartment although she is officially registered there. And yet they have four rooms in their apartment and rent them out to students. What is she to do? Where is she to go?

We drive to Lakowa St, where her grandparents live. Iwona comes along with us. This time, the grandparents open the door, and they invite us inside. The apartment is indeed large, nice, well-furnished. But even greater than the apartment is the resistance of the grandfather and grandmother; they have so many complaints about their tearful granddaughter. They will not take her in and that is that. "Let her live where she wants, for example, in a room at the Dominican Fathers, who rent rooms for 2,600 monthly. They, the grandparents, already are old, whereas she likes to listen to music and invite her friends. But those friends of their granddaughter might steal things from the apartment, and what then?"

No argument by Colonel Krzyzanowski helps, no suggestion by Major Wesolowski helps. One has to start speaking in a more decisive voice and refer to specific legal provisions in order to finally accomplish the goal. What rightfully belongs to Iwona has been restored to her. She will receive the smallest room and her own key. She will finally have a roof over her head.

But for how long? Will she not return again tomorrow or the day after, weeping to the military? Will she not again ask for help?

It is almost three in the afternoon. All officers and enlisted men--Pfc Stanislaw Hondo, Pvt Zbigniew Zielony, and Pvt Piotr Waliszewski leave the city-district office. It is time for lunch. But this is not the day's end. They will return here after a few dozen minutes, because so many problems still have to be settled. At what hour will they end their civic watch today? Hard to say. They shall remain on duty as long as needed, because no one here is a clockwatcher.

1386
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COMMENTARY ON KPN 'DECLARATION' TO POLISH PEASANTS NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Wladyslaw Bielski: "What Is KPN Striving For?: Ideology of Anarchy, Chaos and Lawlessness"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] On 12 December 1981 the Central Leadership for Current Action of the Confederation for Independent Poland [KPN] addressed a "Declaration" to Polish peasants.

It must be assumed that an average peasant, just like a worker is not oriented as to the origin and political ideas of the authors of the "Declaration." /Well, their credo and thus their reason for existence is the struggle for the overthrow of the socialist system, and an ostentatious hostility toward the Soviet Union. The KPN considers that the Polish state does not exist and that our country is only a part of the USSR. To change this state of affairs means liquidation of the authority of the PZPR./

That is for the beginning. /After that, according to the KPN plan, it is necessary to create a "Third Republic" which, in a political sense, is to constitute a continuation of the "Second Republic," that is, a pre-September bourgeois-property state/ with dictatorial presidential authority, and numerous restrictions on free speech, press, assemblies, banding together and so on.

"The struggle over imponderables, the highest moral values," wrote Moczulski, "is not a philosophical dispute, in which the only weapons are arguments, but a direct brutal conflict (...) We must create this force."

The trial of KPN founder and leader Leszek Moczulski and KPN leaders who are accused not for their views, but for specific action outside the country against the PRL system, and against the constitution and Polish reasons of state continues.

/The Leadership for Current Action of the KPN spoke up, as it were, for the leaders facing trial. It sent out its "Declaration" to Polish peasants just when the prospect of a gradual emergence from the crisis came into view, while at the same time the clarification of many difficult problems in agriculture and their solution was and is just getting under way./ The talks of peasant representatives with government commissions and local administrative authorities was accompanied

by great emotion, sometimes by purely legal errors, but overall, participants in the peasant-government dialogue displayed respect for Polish reasons of state.

That is why KPN offered them its program, calling on them to create an "independent Poland." Calling on God, Honor and Fatherland, it voices the "truth" about the crushing of Poland by the aggressor from the West and East. This is said to the peasants who themselves either lived through the gehenna of war and occupation, or retain their memory of it, recalling their fathers and brothers killed in partisan action in the forests of Kielce and Lublin, how frequently in common with Soviet soldiers. There precisely in southern Poland, as if in irony, KPN began to disseminate its "Declaration."

It recalls the traditions of Kosciuszko and Raclawice and at the same time Rzeszow and Ustrzyk as if nothing had changed with reference to the reality of Poland. There is also mention in the "Declaration" of driving peasants into the "herds of collectivization" and finally treating them "like wild tribes"--this in the context of self-governments, of taking away their right to God and faith, and also--the depopulation of the village through the "casting out of entire peasant generations to dehumanized cities."

"Communists made a beggar state of Poland, which had once been and could be a European granary, living on somebody else's bread and salt" we read in the "Declaration." Naturally, the authors of the "Declaration" are not interested in the fact that Poland never had been a European granary, and that although we had exported grain, many families in the city and country ate meat but once in a blue moon.

/What is involved today, today particularly, is that all potential recipients of the Declaration be aware of who it is addressing them, for what purpose and in whose name./ They also appeal, in the name of many KPN emissaries in Western countries who fled Poland, to Western governments to cease extending credits and other forms to help to Poland. This is who they perceive their self-styled mission of "representing" Poland, subordinating themselves--financially as well--to sources most hostile to us, as well as to West German revisionist organizations.

/And finally, a concluding fragment. "Political transformations, which in the nature of things strike at the cause of Polish misfortunes and woe--the PZPR--cannot be conducted either through labor unions because the area of their activities is not political enough, or the church, because the nature of the church lies beyond politics, nor through official forces such as the United Peasant Party [ZSL], Democratic Party [SD], PAX Publishing Institute [PAX], and so on, because they have compromised themselves, and continue to compromise while bowing to the PZPR." And that is why "because of its (the KPN's) initiative and participation, this driving out of the PZPR apparatus from factories continues."

/Such are the ideological harbingers of anarchy, chaos and lawlessness, despite the consciously directed camouflage, serving from the beginning to satisfy the unrestricted ambitions of a specific group of people./

10433
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BACKGROUND OF LUBLIN SCHOOL CONFLICT EXAMINED

Warsaw TYGODNIK DEMOKRATYCZNY in Polish 13 Dec 81 pp 7, 9

[Article by Ina Piekarska]

> [Text] The conflict in the Lublin schools has been in the public's eye for the last few weeks. Information and commentaries offered by the media did not give a clear picture either in terms of the causes or the forms of the strike action. Statements such as this: "involving children and youth in the resolution of conflicts taking place in the school system," or talk about the atmosphere of tension in schools, disruption in studies, and negative effects of the strike on the youth's consciousness brought about the public's concern. Most parents identified the protest of Lublin teachers with the strike of the students and the interruption of studies. Many questions were asked. Many doubts surfaced. I went to Lublin to see for myself what was happening there and clarify the situation for the readers.

My "knowledge" about the Lublin events was rather limited. I knew that on 17 November in response to the appeal of the Education and Upbringing Section of the Central-Eastern Regional Board of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union NSZZ Solidarity teachers in several Lublin high schools went on strike. Two days later an active strike was proclaimed and the action was joined by more than a dozen schools. A strike alert was also proclaimed in a number of elementary schools. Talks between the voivodship authorities and Solidarity did not produce concrete results. On 1 December the strike action covered 30 schools in the Lublin city and voivodship. New negotiations were scheduled for the next day.

These facts coupled with incomplete information from the radio and television on sources of the conflict, which was supposedly caused by the election of the superintendent without an advance consultation with Solidarity, were far too little to answer the questions: What is it all about and how is the strike affecting the atmosphere in schools, studies, and the youth?

My coming to Lublin almost coincided with...a suspension of the strike and signing of introductory agreements. These certainly changed my plans a little, but

they did not persuade me to abandon my intentions to conduct some interviews, particularly with the teachers.

At the Democratic Alliance [SD] Voivodship Committee [WK], Henryk Lusiewicz, chairman, and Janusz Madenski, secretary, suggested that I interview first the members of the Teachers Circle at the SD City Committee [MK], not only because they are members of the Polish Teachers Union [ZNP] and some also of the NSZZ Solidarity, but because they represent many schools of all types so they know best what the conflict was all about. The chairman added that on 27 November the circle issued a declaration in which it clearly presented its stand on the conflict in the Lublin schools. This stand was wholeheartedly approved by the WK and Kazimierz Czerwinski, MK secretary, sent a dispatch on that to KURIER POLSKI.

The meeting was attended by four teachers: Halina Radolowicz, deputy chairman of the Circle Board and General High School 9 teacher; Zbigniew Dolinski, deputy chairman of the Circle Board and Trade Improvement Center teacher; Jozef Juszczynski, General High School 7 teacher; and Emilia Choma, Elementary School 8 teacher. I asked if the selection of the superintendent was the only or the major reason of the conflict.

"Certainly not," explained Radolowicz. "The selection was--as they say--the straw that broke the camel's back, but the causes were much deeper and had their roots far in the past. Specifically they concerned the tragic state of Lublin education, overcrowded schools and kindergartens, content and level of teaching, the status of a teacher, who was pushed toward the social peripheries--not just in terms of social and living conditions and material poverty. Above all, it was difficult to accept the fact that teachers were denied the right to voice their opinions on the issues most important to them: education and upbringing of the youth. Falsehoods in textbooks, particularly in such subjects as history, geography, and Polish, which we had to feed the young generation as well as awkward, usually incompetent school administration, which treated the teacher as a submissive tool, and, finally, the spiritual 'killing' of youth organizations--all this evoked bitterness and produced internal tensions and objections. August brought hope for the renewal of education in the entire country, our region included. The teachers' Solidarity submitted 20 proposals regarding education to the governor. The strike began as an outgrowth of our struggle for the realization of these postulates. The incident with the superintendent additionally eroded our confidence in the reform of the educational system and strengthened our resolve."

"You did not approve of this appointment?"

"Certainly. But there was more to our bitterness. First, the decision violated the law, because according to the decision of the minister of education and upbringing of 29 December 1973 the selection of a superintendent ought to be made in consultation with the trade unions. The governor may not have known this decision, however, it should have been respected by the Education Division of the Voivodship Office as well as the ZNP Regional Board [ZO]; particularly in view of the fact that it was the ZNP which brought about the introduction of this law. Second, the whole affair had also a political aspect as well, because

according to the rules of the Commission for Political Party Cooperation (Point 3) the selection ought to be approved by the PZPR, ZSL [United Peasant Alliance] and SD. And yet the SD had not been consulted, although in this instance it was of particular importance, considering the fact that until 1978 the candidate, Kazimierz Jagowdzik, was an SD member, and that Lusiewicz immediately submitted his objections both to the governor, Eugeniusz Garbiec, and the first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW], Wladyslaw Kruk."

This is, in brief, the genesis of the protest of Lublin teachers. I am looking at the 20 demands. Most of all they focus on a broadly understood self-government of schools, implementation of changes in the teaching programs, and resolution of the most difficult problems in the teaching profession. For example, Point 1 says: "To approve the Founding Committee of the WSROiW [Voivodship Social Council on Education and Upbringing] in Lublin, which represents all interested in education, as well as to create conditions for democratic election of WSROiW and guarantee its power to control the realization of the signed agreements on education"; Point 2: "To print within 6 months textbooks in history and Polish free of falsehoods." Point 5 talks about creating conditions for the development of independent scouting and youth movements, and Point 8 about satisfying needs for kindergarten care by 31 December 1982. Other demands deal, among others, with personnel reorganization in foster homes, extending education to mentally retarded children, and organizational-personnel matters.

Points 2 and 8 raised my doubts in terms of deadlines demanded. Juszczynski explained that the SD Teachers Circle had the same doubts. He added, however, that it is possible, for example, to reprint a good textbook, "History of Poland, 1795-1914" by Groniowski and Skowronek, as well as a collection of documents on World War II, which had been already published, but only in 1,000 copies.

"This is shocking. So many other books are published, but not textbooks. But why be surprised if this year, for example, the history classes for high school juniors have been reduced by 1 hour...."

Juszczynski commented also on WSROiW as it related to the signed agreements. According to him, it was a considerable success since two most controversial matters were resolved. They involved the process of establishment of the council (it will be created by a 43-member initiating group) and the agreement that this group will be entrusted with defining the scopes of authority and activity of the council.

We returned to the discussion of the strike. I mentioned insufficient information fed to the public and that thousands of parents did not really know who was on strike: the youth, the teachers, or both. My interlocutors were surprised and shocked. They clearly pointed out that this was a teachers' protest and they were the only ones responsible. The youth attended regular classes accompanied by strengthened discipline. They did not lose anything--they gained, in fact. In the absence of such classes as physical education or defensive training [p.o.] they were taught history, psychology, and literature. Lectures were conducted by college instructors, scholars, and writers--people commanding a tremendous social authority.

"The youth was extremely interested, just to mention such lectures as on the Warsaw Uprising by Professor Kloczowski, or on the 'Catholic Character of Polish Patriotism' by the Rev Professor Brzozowski from the Lublin Catholic University [KUL]. This particular form of the active strike did not have a negative effect on the didactic-educational process, instead it enriched it with direct contacts with the academic community, workers, and the clergy. The schools were permeated with an atmosphere of seriousness and calm; there was discipline and order."

The opinion of Radolowicz was confirmed by others. Dolinski stated that the strike mobilized the youth to a greater self-discipline and responsibility. The media would have to take the credit for the fact that a part of the public did not know exactly what it was all about. This was mentioned in the SD Teachers Circle resolution: "...The Teachers Circle at the MK SD in Lublin expresses its objection to the tendentious presentation of events and situation in the Lublin schools by the media, particularly by the television and TRYBUNA LUDU in connection with the current protest action of teachers.... Distorted information creates fear among parents, disinforms the public, and creates negative educational results." Colleague Dolinski added that there is too much noise about these matters when the pupils have no shoes to wear and soon they will have to go barefoot to school....

And now Choma's turn: "There was no atmosphere of tension or nervousness. Initially, some parents came to me, asked questions, perhaps they were afraid a little. When I explained to them that nothing was happening, when they saw that the classes proceeded normally, and we, the teachers, concerned ourselves with teaching and discipline of our charges, they calmed down. The word 'strike' was not even mentioned in classes. Undoubtedly, more information could be helpful, although the Solidarity bulletins and information broadcasted at Krolewska St presented the true situation in schools."

Of a different opinion were my interlocutors at the ZNP-Education Region Board: Jerzy Krupinski, deputy chairman, and Sabina Wladzinska, secretary. They were not necessarily totally opposed to the Solidarity demands, some of which agreed with the ZNP demands submitted to the Lublin governor as early as 1980. They were referring to the strike.

Wladzinska noted: "Upon learning about the strike we immediately called a meeting of the presidium to which the delegates to the 23rd National ZNP Congress were also invited. We issued an appeal to the teachers, which read as follows: 'The last days in the Lublin schools and atmosphere permeating the teachers' community is of particular concern to us. We are aware of many difficult problems of education in Lublin and of the need for a rational solution. The ZNP has submitted a number of proposals in this respect to the local authorities. We diligently push for the total realization of our proposals. However, we maintain that any school strike is not a game, but an educational failure.... We support the teacher groups in their movement toward far-reaching self-government of schools and educational-upbringing centers. We agree with the demand for revision of teaching programs in many subjects and we have maintained for a long time that it is necessary to improve the working conditions in education-upbringing and foster centers as well as the living conditions of their staff members. Above all, let us remember, however, that it is the child,

the youth, who are the subjects of our activity.... We decisively reject strike activities in which the subject of our work is pushed aside, and in which the atmosphere of martial law, conflict, concern, and chaos is created.'"

Wladzinska added: "We know--we studied the situation--that not all pupils bothered to turn out for a roll call. And not all of the Solidarity teachers joined the strike. For example, General High School 3 did not participate in it at all, despite the fact that most teachers there are Solidarity members. Also, in one of the Lubartow schools at the parents' meeting only four parents voted in support of a strike. Often NSZZ Solidarity campaigned at parents' meetings. For example, at the General High School in Swidnik and the Pedagogical and Technical Schools Group in Lublin. I wonder if in a situation when the school principals are replaced by strike committees and when the youth become so very unsure of themselves--as teachers had a chance to observe after the roll calls--this energy and these youth's emotions will not turn against us. Will these events allow us to control discipline in schools?"

Similar doubts and fears were expressed by Krupinski: "I ask myself the same question: What if these emotions overpower reason and the youth, for example, take to the streets? We are against the slowness and indifference of the authorities in resolving educational problems and we expressed it in the ZNP ZO resolution of 25 November. We are for changes in teaching programs. But must we resort to strikes to achieve that? Is this the right method of patriotic upbringing? Perhaps, if the colleagues from Solidarity had informed us of their plans and suggested cooperation, maybe we could have jointly come up with another sensible and effective course of action."

I ask my interlocutors about the demands. Which of them bring out the most reservations and why? It appears that Points 17 and 19 are the ones. The former says: "to recall immediately from their positions all socially unacceptable management personnel (name roster available in the section file) and appoint in their place new people after conducting a wide public consultation by 31 December." The latter concerns immediate rescission of appointments to principals and vice principals of schools and other educational centers who were appointed last October without consultations with Solidarity.

"What does 'socially unacceptable management personnel' mean and where did this mysterious list of people convicted and rejected in advance come from?" asked Wladzinska. "Compiling of such lists reminds of the blackest period in our history. And as to Point 19, I can only say that is against the basic principles of democracy. At the same time, it is just striking that among so many different demands by Solidarity there is almost total lack of concern for education in the villages, where teaching conditions are simply tragic."

At the conclusion of the conversation, I asked about the attitude of ZNP toward the selection of the superintendent and the signed agreements. My interlocutors agreed that it was improper to ignore the trade unions in the nomination process, but the choice was absolutely correct. They knew Kazimierz Jagowdzik as a teacher and the social chairman of ZNP ZO, elected by a secret ballot last January, and they believe that he can do a lot of good for Lublin education as the new superintendent. Both, however, spontaneously expressed their protest against the agreement signed with Solidarity.

Wladzinska stated: "We are shocked that education is discussed without our participation. We believe that an agreement without our participation is not an agreement and, therefore, we do not intend to respect it."

Krupinski added that they hope that these were only introductory talks, which at least contributed to ending the strikes. The ZNP, however, cannot and will not remain on the sidelines, because it is important to resolve the educational problems in the city, and even more importantly in the entire voivodship.

As I have already mentioned, on 2 December the strike was suspended (the strike alert remained in force). An introductory agreement stipulating a resolution of all strike demands was signed by the Lublin governor and the Regional School Strike Committee. For now, the agreement stipulates, among others, the establishment of WSROiW with appropriate powers and areas of competence; additionally, the governor approved the existence of the Independent Scout Movement and of the Federation of School Youth, and permitted implementation of the early initiated changes in the texts and methods of teaching history, Polish, philosophy, socioeconomic sciences, and ethics.

I was also able to elicit a short comment on the strike from the chairman of the NSZZ Solidarity Regional Board, Jerzy Bartczak. He stated, among other things, "that the most important matter was to implement socialized education, a process which could not have started without a strike. Thus, the strike was necessary and it has brought no harm to the youth. Rather, it was an excellent educational experience, because of the exposure to many fields of science, many interesting people, and many important historical facts. The socialized education just started must continue."

My last interlocutors (not the least important, though) were the pupils: Dorota, a General High School junior, and Krzysztof, a Technical School of Electronics senior. They also noted that during the strike there was no mess in school or a "nervousness time," and most of all nobody forced anybody to do anything. Dorota recalled with appreciation the lectures on ethics and Polish national traditions. Krzysztof found the lecture on "The Truth About the Lie" (about the mechanisms of propaganda) the most interesting. He also made a rather very characteristic comment: "Since August, madame, a lot has changed in our interactions with teachers. Now we can honestly and bravely talk with them, ask them questions about various problems knowing that we will be given an answer. Before it was not that easy."

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CSO: 2600/152

BRIEFS

CENTRAL COMMITTEE LECTURERS MEETING--A meeting of PZPR Central Committee lecturers, organized by the Central Committee Ideological Department, took place in Warsaw on 13 January. On this occasion the theme of the meeting was the sociopolitical situation in education. Eugeniusz Duraczynski, director of the Central Committee Science and Education Department, and Boleslaw Faron, minister of science and education, presented an analysis of this situation. They provided information on the most important events which characterized the educational community during the past year, emphasizing i.a., the significance of the attempt on the part of the state authorities to improve the life of teachers, the negative effects on the work atmosphere in many schools of dividing teachers into two trade unions, and attempts by the political opposition to eliminate the influence of the state on education. The two men also described the situation in schools after the imposition of martial law, calling attention to the improvement in discipline and order, the necessity of conducting intense upbringing work with youth, the need to aid teachers in their daily work, and the importance of the influence of school party organizations on the normalization of life within the [school] community. [by PR] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Jan 82 p 2]

RURAL YOUTH UNION MEETING--The Presidium of the National Board of the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] held deliberations on 8 January in Warsaw. The deliberations were devoted i.a. to a discussion of the program of celebrations which are to mark the 25th anniversary of the ZMW this February. The Presidium members took cognizance of the proposal to create Youth Agricultural Chambers [Mlodziezowe Izby Rolnicze-MIR] as an organized composite structure for implementing the ZMW program of work with young farmers. The essential purpose of MIR is to call forth a self-governing movement serving to satisfy the social and educational-cultural needs of farming youth. The Presidium also took cognizance of the realization of statutory tasks by union circles and echelons in the martial law situation. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 Jan 82 p 7]

CONFERENCE OF SCHOOL OFFICIALS--The regular consultative conference of rectors from universities, economic academies and higher pedagogical schools took place on 8 January. The conference was devoted to preparations for the resumption of teaching activities at these schools, and was chaired by the head of the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, Mieczyslaw Kazimierczuk. The discussion concentrated on the draft guidelines presented by the ministry concerning

the activity of higher schools during martial law, and on the provisional regulation of daily studies. Particular attention was devoted to ways of making the organization of the course of studies more efficient, to the intensification of teaching, and to assuring the high level of the latter, allowing for the specific characteristics of individual schools and directions of study. The importance of direct contact with students by the teaching cadre in upbringing work was emphasized. Brig Gen (Prof) Edward Wlodarczyk, plenipotentiary of the National Defense Committee, participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 Jan 82 p 2]

'INTERPRESS' FACILITATES TELEX--Warsaw, 18 Dec (AFP)--The news agency INTERPRESS today put a telex at the disposal of foreign journalists to send dispatches submitted to Polish censors. It was the first time since Monday, a day after martial law was declared by Polish authorities, that Western journalists could use transmission lines to send their copy. The Polish agency INTERPRESS has been transformed by events into the Foreign Ministry's Press Center. [Text] [NC181656 Paris AFP in English 1648 GMT 18 Dec 81]

DEFECTION TO FRG--Wiesbaden, West Germany, 2 Jan (AFP)--The son of Polish Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski defected last June to West Germany, where he now lives as a political refugee, informed sources said here today. Artur Rakowski, 23, who said he left Poland "for political reasons that have nothing to do with my father," has refused to make any statement on current events in Poland. A journalism student, Mr Rakowski reached Germany from Sweden, where he and his wife had been authorized to work. He has applied for an emigration visa to Australia, where he hopes to settle with his wife and two-year-old child, also living in West Germany, the sources said. [Text] [NC021617 Paris AFP in English 1614 GMT 2 Jan 82]

CSO: 2022/22

'SCINTEIA' COMMENTS ON LATEST CSCE ROUND

AU201818 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1650 GMT 20 Dec 81

["Daily SCINTEIA Highlights Need for Converging Efforts in View of Successful All-European Forum"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Dec (AGERPRES)--A dispatch from Madrid, referring to the cessation of the All-European Conference, published by Bucharest newspaper SCINTEIA on 20 December, comments upon the results of the negotiations in the last stage, started on 29 October, and mentions that under the influence of the very complex and contradictory international situation the forum was unable to leave behind the difficulties existing in the process of working out the final document. What is more, the author writes, both within the drawing-up groups and during the meetings in the plenum the search for mutually acceptable solutions has been replaced by controversial disputes and confrontations, this being not of a nature to help convergence of stands. Practically speaking, the newspaper concludes, the negotiation process has come to a halt, no progress having been scored as compared to the situation existing before the previous cessation of proceedings.

Related to this state of affairs the author highlights the vivid preoccupation of the small and medium-sized countries, of the neutral and nonaligned states, whose efforts have been aimed in recent weeks at leaving behind the existing divergences, at finding unanimously acceptable solutions, in view of creating conditions for a conclusion of the All-European forum in positive results. There is mentioned the draft final act, presented several days ago, that is the result of the efforts made by these states, by the small and medium-sized countries, Romania among them, whose initiatives and proposals regarding the implementation and strict observance of the principles included in the Helsinki final act (renunciation of force and of the threat with force in the inter-state relations, the calling of a conference on measures for confidence building and disarmament in Europe, ensured continuity to the process opened in Helsinki, cooperation in the fields of agriculture, science and technology, development of relations in the field of the youth, etc) are extensively reflected in the draft document.

Yet, the Romanian newspaper strikes the conclusion that the debates within the latest plenary meetings can be viewed as a "barometer" of the way in which the draft document was received by the delegations of the participant countries. In spite of differences in point of nuances, of reserves as concerns one formulation

or another, the reception given to the draft final act was generally positive, the newspaper goes on, mentioning that representatives of many states have stressed it to be a solid foundation for leaving behind the present deadlock and for concluding the soonest the conference, planned for February.

All participant states' understanding this necessity and showing political will are the essential elements on which there depends the implementation of the joint commitment to conclude the conference the soonest possible, by endorsing a substantial and balanced fianl document--SCINTEIA reads in conclusion.

CSO: 2020/25

DISCUSSION ON REVOLUTIONARY HUMANISM, HUMAN RIGHTS

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Sep-Oct 81 pp 950-954

[Article by Dan Mircea Popescu of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy on the roundtable discussion on the subject "Revolutionary Humanism and the Rights of Man," organized by the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy's Institute of Political Sciences and the Study of the Nationality Problem, held in April 1981, with participation by Adrian Nastase, Dr N. Androne, Emil Gluvacov, professor Dr docent Edwin Glaser, Dr Ion Raduica, Dr docent Al. Bolintineanu, Dr Ioan Vida, Mihai Arsene, Dr Gh. Berescu, Dr Simon Radu, Dr Dumitra Popescu, Cristian Ionescu, Nicolae Ticea and Afilica Ganci]

[Text] The study of the problem of the rights of man is part of the continuing effort of Romanian doctrine to increase its contribution to understanding, furthering and carrying out the policy of our party and state in this area. The Romanian view on the rights of man begins, as emphasized by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, with the need to ensure fully equal rights between people and to achieve certain equitable economic and social relations that will allow each person to lead a dignified life, from the unrestricted access to education, science and culture to the opportunity to directly participate in the management of all of society. The Romanian view on the rights of man continues to attract numerous researchers that are dedicating their activities to reveal the new values of this especially generous view. In this regard, one example is the discussion organized by the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, with participation by faculty members, researchers and specialists in the field of political and juridical sciences. Here, we will present the principal ideas of the participants in this discussion:

Nastase: The problem of the rights of man cannot be dealt with in isolation, but rather in connection with other major problems of international affairs, such as peace, security, disarmament and development, with there being a close interdependence between the fundamental objectives of the contemporary world. Thus, some of these objectives (peace, international security) represent indispensable political premises for the achievement of human rights in the world, and other objectives (disarmament, development) represent premises for achieving the material conditions to implement human rights. In the last 15 years, a right of development has been created as an area of international rights positively centered on the development of countries. At the same time, one can also speak, however, about a right to development, a subjective right that can be associated with each individual taken separately or with a community taken overall. The right of nations to development, a component of human rights, responding to certain collective needs of individuals, would also give expression to

a new reality in contemporary society: that of increasing interpersonal, community and national relations, of accentuating processes for achieving solidarity and participation and of developing national awareness.

Androne: There is a close correlation between the rights of man and "the right to the development" of countries and peoples. The right to development is currently finding a broad expression and devotion.* Among the documents that express and show this right, one can especially quote "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights," "The Pacts of Human Rights," "The Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of Countries," "The Declaration Regarding Progress and Development in the Social Domain," "The Declaration Regarding the Establishment of a New International Economic Order" and numerous other United Nations resolutions. Since by its essence and finality the process of the development and progress of nations involves man it favors raising the standard of civilization and culture for human beings, the right to development can be correctly considered as a fundamental human right. The achievement of the right to development also clearly requires a series of obligations. It is without a doubt that the main obligation for promoting economic, social and cultural development belongs to each country, each nation. Underdevelopment cannot be eliminated, however, merely by the efforts of the poor countries themselves, but through an efficient international action and through a close cooperation between all countries by eliminating inequitable economic relations and replacing them with new standards that favor the rapid development of the developing nations.

Gluvacov: In order to truly provide the full freedom for man in contemporary society, a freedom necessary for his multilateral development and emancipation must, first of all, ensure economic rights, with the other rights being closely tied to them. Within this framework, international trade relations represent a field closely tied to the general aspect of the development of countries and, in particular, to the rights and duties of citizens and traders along the lines of needing to liberalize trade and the transfer of technology on equitable bases for developing nations and for the fulfillment of the global objective - a new economic order on fully equal legal bases.

Glaser: From a political and legal point of view, the most discussed problem regarding fundamental human rights is that of knowing whether these rights constitute an institution of internal law or international law. The right of people to self-determination, with this itself being the theoretical and practical basis for all human rights, also involves through the prerogative of each people to decide its own fate without any outside interference the right of this people to sovereignly establish the rights that man enjoys in that part of the world where this people lives. In this sense, human rights constitute the prototype for constitutional rights, while the constitution is the prototype for the source of "internal law." The respect of the right of people to self-determination constitutes the indispensable premise for achieving human rights on the territory of each country. Colonialism perhaps represents the most crass negation and violation of human rights, beginning with the right of man to life, food, health and so forth. The progressive world, with Romania in its

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*See for example the report of the United Nations secretary general regarding the international dimensions of the right to development as a human right; UN/CN/4/1334 of 11 December 1978.

front ranks, proposes the creation of a new international economic order, the elimination of the gaps between "those that have" and "those that do not" and the promotion of a system of relations that will give preferences - in other words, "inequalities" - to the underdeveloped countries, non-reciprocal preferences.

Raduica: The "internationalization" of human rights and the attempt to give a "human dimension" to world policy and to create a "diplomacy of human rights" constitute premises necessary for the capitalist countries' desired intervention in other countries via the "promotion and protection" of human rights. Despite the fact that human rights exist and can be expressed fully only within the national framework and the state collective entity in which the individual lives and works, we still understand that there is - and it should be introduced in the foreign policies of all countries - a human dimension in the sense that all states' actions of international policy should have as their sole purpose respect for the rights of peoples and satisfaction of their interests, with it first of all being necessary for international relations to be carried out in strict conformity with the principles that govern international law and with a policy of peace, detente and cooperation. It should be remembered, however, that no international document signed under the aegis of the United Nations grants to a state or a group of states the right to intervene in such cases (the violation of human rights), with this right belonging exclusively to the United Nations and its specialized institutions, the only ones competent to determine whether we have a real violation of human rights and to adopt the appropriate measures to put an end to such situations. Dealing with the problem of human rights, by those countries that pursue the promotion and protection of these rights in other countries, begins with false premises, avoids truly substantial aspects of this problem and channels discussions towards peripheral and non-essential aspects.

Bolintineanu: The adoption of certain international agreements and documents in the field of human rights represents a basic method of cooperation in promoting these rights. The purpose of these activities is to help states in drawing up and improving legislation referring to citizens' rights and freedoms. Furthermore, this is an obligation that a state assumes when it becomes party to an agreement - that of introducing their provisions into its domestic laws, certainly to the degree in which these laws do not contain them. In thus referring to the content of agreements, we find that frequently as a result of the fact that they are the result of a compromise between the concepts that are encountered in the field of human rights, the agreements do not sufficiently regulate the essential aspects, but rather the formal, procedural facets and have completely general and imprecise provisions. Another aspect having negative repercussions regarding the application of agreements lies in the attempts of certain Western circles to impose procedures to pursue the manner of implementing these agreements, attempts that are incompatible with the nature itself of agreements, with the sovereignty of states and with the principle of noninterference in domestic affairs. In essence, these attempts have as an objective the creation of certain supernational control mechanisms that will "judge" states upon the request of certain citizens who would complain that their rights were violated and "review" activities with regards to the "achievement of human rights." Such attempts are rejected by the vast majority of states and some provisions that were adopted, like those to examine petitions in subsidiary organisms of the United Nations General Assembly, were held to limits corresponding to agreements, respect for the sovereignty of states and noninterference in domestic affairs.

Vida: In the policies of the capitalist countries, human rights are no longer what they should be, that is, an aspiration of the members of a nation towards better things and towards a more dignified human condition that is officialized and ensured by political power through legal norms that will also have an organizational and material framework for implementation. We have here a movement of the area of interest with regards to the problem of human rights from the framework of a state-individual relationship to a new relationship interposed by the international environment, with its center of gravity being the political interests propagated at an international level. In such a context, a true mystification of political relations occurs: at the basis of this no longer lies the interests tied to resolving the economic, social and cultural problems between countries, but human rights that become a subject in themselves for political discussions or even influence interstatal problems, thus upsetting the real relationship between human conditions and their economic, social and political environment. The vast majority of Western political concepts that promote such a view involves the universalization of human rights in an international context incapable of achieving them as a result of the economic, social and cultural gaps of the contemporary world. In this manner, the problem of human rights acquires a significance totally different from its real one and it frequently becomes a political screen that hides interests having absolutely nothing to do with so-called "improvements" to human conditions, attempting to blur the serious contradictions of the contemporary bourgeois world, its structural crisis and the tensions and violence that have been raised to ever higher levels by economic recession.

Arsene: The great problems of the contemporary world - underdevelopment, the insane arms race, lack of security, inequalities in the current international order with all its consequences: the gaps, hunger, disease, illiterary and so forth - represent an attempt on a daily basis and in massive proportions upon respect for the fundamental rights of contemporary man. The process of building socialism in a series of states and, in addition to this, of eliminating the colonial system involves the need to replace individualist views upon human rights with a new, constructive view in accordance with the profound social and national changes that have occurred in the lives of the people. This need was addressed in the Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation Europe, held in 1975 in Helsinki, a document in which human rights are conceived of as a unified entity and respect for which must be achieved in its entirety.

Berescu: Analyzing the rights of man upon spiritual values means analyzing the degree of humanizing both moral principles and norms and relationships practiced between individuals, the degree in which the individual assimilates moral concepts and the manner in which this area of spirituality and moral action humanizes or dehumanizes him. The accentuation of the processes of moral-spiritual alienation in contemporary capitalist society represents a logical and natural consequence of the phenomena of the current economic and political crisis in the capitalism of the period. Alienation is brought about not only by working for the profit of someone else, but also by the lack of work for millions of people. Anger and fear have their source, therefore, in economic and social causes. The moral-spiritual alienation generated by an economic situation maintained by an atmosphere of uncertainty and by a lack of security in life because of violence and crime cannot be eliminated within the so-called consumer society. Humanism, therefore, and human rights also represent a scientific ideology

and theory, while preponderantly individualistic bourgeois ideology and morals are factors that stimulate alienation. Certain larger masses' access to the results of science and technology, to revolutionary organizations and to the authentic values of culture also brings about the introduction of a militant, dignified, revolutionary spirit that opposes morbidity and moral depravity, awaking the political and moral virtues capable of eliminating phenomena of alienation and their causes.

Radu: In analyzing the relationship between human rights and the means of mass communication we cannot omit the manipulative potential of these means. By simply placing them within a society, the press, movies, radio, television and so forth bring about important changes in the people's lives. If I only mentioned the continuing restructuring of the vast budget of this media and the expenditures connected with using the diverse mass media, the revelation of this manipulation would be sufficiently convincing. There also exists, however, a second type of manipulation structurally marked by the social order in which it is produced. It is primarily ideological and is achieved principally through the intermediary of mass media messages. And, the message of mass communication is simultaneously information and a model, awareness and norms. By disseminating and promoting the cultural models characteristic of a certain society, the mass media contribute to maintaining the considered social-cultural status quo. Mass communication actions involve the use of a message industry (non-existent or very little developed in numerous countries) and transnational mass media companies (especially North American), producing a veritable cultural invasion in our times. This situation does not allow us to remain indifferent, with Romanian constantly advocating the adoption of specific and efficient measures designed to lead to the elimination of the disparities that persist in the field of information and to the expression of national sovereignty and the cultural identity of all peoples.

Popescu: In the context of establishing certain adequate relationships between the development of society and the requirements for protecting the environment, the sphere of human rights was expanded through the appearance of a new right, that of a right to a healthy environment. The quality of the environment constitutes an essential aspect of the human condition itself since man's living conditions - health, work hygiene, the standard of living, the level of comfort, the level of recreation - are factors which in the final analysis determine the perspectives for the development of human society and the destiny itself of future generations. In the area of foreign policy, Romania promotes a series of actions and initiatives designed to ensure the right to a healthy environment for all peoples of the world, the carrying out of disarmament and, first of all, nuclear disarmament, the creation of a new international economic order, the elimination of colonialist practices, neocolonialism and racism and so forth.

Ionescu: In drawing up and carrying out a new strategy for the building and development of society through the full, authentic expression of man's personality and his creative abilities, socialism has announced and at the same time applied a new concept regarding the fundamental rights of man and has beyond a doubt connected the social needs and requirements of the workers for a real demoracy as a form of government in which, for the first time, the popular masses are at the helm of leadership and are freely creating their own destiny. In light of such a concept, one can say that one of the essential characteristics of the new civic statute and the relations

between the state and the citizen lies in the creation of a broadly democratic framework for attracting the masses to the leadership of society and in the guarantee of all civil rights and freedoms. It is a fact validated by practice that precisely these rights, which are vital for the human condition, represent the ideal fully achieved in our society. From this point of view, dealing with human rights from the perspective of the state's fundamental activities and its functions, especially the social functions, can offer specialized doctrine new ways to conduct investigations, to analyze civil rights and to theoretically outline new rights and expand the content of certain rights already outlined in our constitutional system.

Ticea: Our party's constant concern for ensuring the optimum ways in the area of human rights of going from the field of possibilities to the field of reality is not just an overall concern, but rather goes into nuances and differences depending upon the specific factors in different fields of economic-social activities or in territorial regions. The arguments supporting this idea is especially clearly shown by the realities of the current stage of development in our society. In speaking of the nuances of implementing the rights given in the Constitution, we cannot omit the measures to accentuate the local autonomy of administrative-territorial units, not only in the area of economic-social planning by introducing a territorially specific plan, but also by expanding the attributes of the local organs of state power and administration into many other areas. Organically integrated into the framework of the system of the state's organs and the entire political system of contemporary Romania, the state administration, by being fully into the process of democratically and scientifically furthering its characteristics, can make a remarkable contribution to transforming human rights into a specific and viable reality.

Ganci: When we speak of human rights we are obligated to admit that the fundamental right is that of affirming man as a human being. But, about which man are we speaking and what does his affirmation as a human being mean? We are thus sent to a concept about man, to a human ideal. It is true that we can speak with a certain easiness about several generally human, especially admissible factors. But, we do not resolve anything in this manner. This is true since from the perspective of our discussion we must keep in mind what Marx and Engels called "the flesh-and-blood man," in other words a real person. It is true that within these factors there also are those generally human ones. And, he is a real being not because of these factors, but because of his specific features. The affirmation of man as a human being is expressed through his affirmation as a type determined by man. In a certain social context, there are a number of human needs specific to this social context and the satisfaction of these needs appears as a sine qua non condition for the affirmation of man and, implicitly, as one of his fundamental rights. When we speak of the affirmation of man in Romania, we have in mind the specific Romanian nature of humanism. Since throughout our history a certain way of dealing with the great existential problems has been created and expressed in a objective concept about man and in the immediate behavior of people. The value system naturally bears the imprint of the personality of the Romanian people since our concept regarding man and our socialist humanism must be a natural continuation and a development of Romanian humanism. Any attempt to impose other concepts regarding man and other value systems which, because of their specific nature, contradict the specific essence of the axiological system created over the course of the history of the Romanian people will fail since man's adherence to them will appear as being against his nature.

Through the participants' statements, this discussion pointed out the complexity of a problem that cannot be isolated from the other major aspects of a country's domestic affairs and that is correlated with aspects of international affairs and with the right of states to development, independence and peace.

Keeping in mind the major problems of the contemporary world, these statements brought to light our country's constant concern and the party's constant concern for ensuring the movement from possibilities to realities in the problem of human rights.

8724
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BOOK ON EDUCATION OF MILITARY CADRES REVIEWED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Sep-Oct 81 pp 979-981

[Review by Dr Dumitru Curuz and Marin Dumitru of the book "Eseu despre educatia ostaseasca" [An Essay About Military Education] by Constantin Atanasiu, the Militara Publishing House, Bucharest, 1979]

[Text] One value of the writings by the author, Major General Constantin Atanasiu, retired, a work to which we will continue to refer, expresses a true scientific continuum in the field of social psychology. Having the experience of two world wars and using the advances in modern educational science, the author not only proves to be a scholar in this field, but also exhibits a "youthful" enthusiasm in his more than 8 decades. The book to which we are referring is the result of a broad scientific investigation having profound politological, sociological and psychological accents. For the first time in our psycho-sociological literature there is a work that innovates in the methodology of military education in a pedagogical manner. Although simply entitled "An Essay About Military Education," this book represents a true use of the theoretical knowledge and especially practical knowledge of the author in the very complex field of the theory of military education and a true guide for present and future generations regarding the application of entropy in the military domain.

Similarly, we note the originality of the author's concept regarding military education for shaping the soldier in our army as a multilaterally developed person.

The author gives a remarkable interpretation to contemporary military education, using the results obtained by modern science, such as: information science, computer science, biopsychology, the sociology of education and so forth. In this regard, we encounter in the pages of his book an ardent and convincing plea for the use of the results of science in activities for the political and military education of the soldiers in our army. Exhibiting an analytical ability and having scientific arguments at the same time, the author tells us of his "actionalist" concept, as expressed, in the final analysis, by the effects of activities for educating military personnel.

We again find the specific nature of his concept regarding political and military education activities as a conclusion in the statement: "A man of action must be instructed, educated and made fit. This means a complex, integrating power ready to be unleashed in order to express the personality" (p 205).

The first chapter of the book broadly presents the dialectical connection between education and all social activity and the interconditioning that results between the multitude of data acquired by human beings throughout the years and the results of daily activities. The conscious activity influenced by political and social-economic purposes and by the standards of societal behavior acquires both an applied nature and a prospective, predictive nature for seeing into the future and adopting the most appropriate measures. Such an approach requires evaluating and "re-evaluating" the concept itself of military education, with the creation of a soldier's personality expressing an educational direction and a means of expressing its full creative potential. In the army, educational activities create an internal cohesion in the soldiers and internal motivations having a profoundly collective nature for the defense of people under our flag. Educational activities are institutionalized in Law No 14/1972, which is based on the doctrinary principle that the "defense of the country is a cause and effort of all the people" and that the army is an integral part of the effort to build a multilaterally developed socialist society.

The chapter "Military Education in Contemporary Social Times" tells us of the educational process in the army in the context of the great changes that are taking place in our society and in a contemporary world ever more influenced by the technical-scientific revolution. In the author's view, the science and art of education must discover new psychopedagogical principles and methods to make people sensitive and dynamic. The author's plea for combining theory with practice and for new things is represented in the subject-environment relationship, the relationship of the teacher to educational aids and audio-visual equipment used in the work of creating generations of defenders, and the interdependency between all the specialized forms of education. At the same time, he presents the need to continue the training acquired in civilian life, the military experience and the educational content that is gained during the entire period of military service, an idea that must guide all those who are involved in the military education of the young generations.

The chapter "The Human in Military Development" analyzes human dynamism through the prism of psychosocial connections and the states that evolve in the making of military life and education. Beginning with the consideration that the dynamism of people is directly influenced by a psychosocial connection, certain tensional states are presented as phenomena and processes that take place and are developed in people. Internal perturbations are considered by the author to be functional deformations of the human being expressed by slow or sudden collapses of the psychic potential and military behavior in general, as well as during the conduct of certain missions. Beginning with the concept of our party regarding the defense of the country as the work of all the people, the author presents and demonstrates using viable, believable and at the same time scientific arguments that both courage and heroism are possible only under the conditions of a high psychic consumption that is directly influenced by the degree of training and awareness and, no less, by the level of technical equipment in the units and subunits and the number of aggressors.

In the chapter "Exact Estimations in Social Pedagogy," the author points out the contribution of mathematics, information systems, information science and computer science in education. Bringing mathematics into education is, in the author's view,

the means of covering the educational phenomena and processes through abstracts and symbols and of achieving a qualitative leap in educating people, involving not just an "archivist" inventory of people's knowledge, but a direct implementation of contemporary military education. Bringing mathematics into educational process ensures a quantifiable view that seems to be a necessity in the psycho-social field, with mass theory representing something new in the military field that contributes to making educational productivity more efficient.

In the chapter "Entropy and Educational Practices," a separate place was dedicated to the discussion of the problem of going beyond the difficulties that can spring up in the path of the formative educational process (the information explosion, the accelerated rate of contemporary technical development, the need to master an ever greater volume of knowledge and data and so forth).

Beginning with the basic concept of entropy, as a value of probability for the molecular state of thermal energy and a certain physical-chemical state applied and extended into the educational field, the author introduces elements into the formula for entropy: the specific initial ability of each person; disruptive tensions caused by events with which the person interacts; and the entropic effect upon the ability of the subject. In the author's view, educational work and the process of forming a person defeat the inherent obstacles of the great affairs of our times. In this regard, the author calls for a more complex understanding of man and his potential, using graphic presentations of entropic rings that serve to strengthen the meandering concept of psychic energy.

The chapter "Adaptation" is significant for the author's personality and scholarly nature where he presents, successively, the processes that lead to human adaptation and integration, the problems of readaptation, the speed of adaptation and the educational problems in directives and orders. In a new sense, he presents the correlation between education and modern science and the influence of computer and information sciences upon the creation of operational skills for thinking on the basis of a continually growing volume of information. At the same time, he presents the functional relationship between the young soldier and the educational factors: the commander-teacher; military life (the environment); weapons as a means of action and combat (the tactical world) where "the quantitative accumulations achieved throughout the forms and means that were presented are expressed in the spiraling development of the personality and behavioral integration of the individual" (p 131).

The chapter "Military Manhood" stands as a distinct part and presents the pedagogical activities of the military cadre with the young draftees subjected to becoming familiar with the military environment, discipline and adult vigor. Through several arguments, the author calls for the military cadre, in the relatively short time of military training, to demonstrate the closeness and rapid and accurate understanding of the young military personnel, promoting empathy for mutual understanding and the simultaneous living and working of the officer and his subordinates. As a school in which the young person continues his activities at a higher level of understanding for the phenomena and processes that take place during the period of fulfilling his military service, the barracks constitutes, at the same time, a place to consolidate his personality and to create convictions and habits as a defender of his socialist

country. We can note the warm plea of the author for the entire educational process to be aimed at the full affirmation of military manhood and for the fulfillment of the ordered mission to defend the country or to participate in the economic development of all the country's counties.

Illustrative of his entire cognitive-intuitive and (probably) practical comportment is the manner in which Major General C. Atanasiu, retired, combats the rigid forms and methods of disciplining the human potential and eliminates formal and momentary aspects of sever, unthinking discipline. Discipline is correctly regarded as the result of making the subjects aware during a continuous and dynamic transformation, to the degree of the changes that take place in the country's social structure, in all economic and social activities and in our country's entire democratic system. At the same time, he also presents aspects of military comradeship and the homogenization of the collectives of soldiers as a result of identifying their goals so they can work in full unity through increased efforts on a physical and intellectual level, as well as the scientifically and pedagogically programed training for the affirmation of military manhood.

The book "An Essay About Military Education" is a significant contribution to the development of military pedagogy in the formation and education of generations of soldiers in the spirit of and in accordance with the great social-economic, political and spiritual changes that are taking place in our country. Useful both for military educators and for those who are working to prepare the population to defend the country, we warmly recommend it to the readers, who will find in its pages daily ideas and interesting suggestions for increasing the effectiveness of the patriotic education for all our country's citizens.

8724
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PROBLEMS OF POSTAL SERVICE IN BUCHAREST EXAMINED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Sep-Oct 81 pp 954-955

[Article by F. P. Micsan: "Optimizing Social-Economic Activities in the Postal Sector;" covering the third edition of the scientific session of the Bucharest Municipal Postal Directorate, 26 May 1981, in Bucharest]

[Text] The annual session for scientific reporting of the Bucharest Municipal Postal Directorate [BMPD] was carried out within the framework of the "Song of Romania" National Festival and was organized by the Commission for the Scientific Organization of Production and Work, Development, Investments and Technical Progress belonging to the Workers Council in the BMPD. Participating in this session were leadership cadre, economists, lawyers, sociologists, other specialists, chiefs of postal offices in the capital, postmasters from the offices of the Post, Telephone, Telegraph and Radio [PTTR], chiefs from press shops, technicals and so forth, as well as diverse political and public figures from this field.

The opening speech was presented by the president of the Workers Council and the RCP secretary in the BMPD, Alexandra Roman, who pointed out that this session was part of the major concerns of the current stage of our country's economic-social development, which is now in the five year plan of economic quality and efficiency.

The presents that were presented dealt with a series of important social and economic problems specific to the postal sector: socioprofessional integration and the participation of the workers working within the services provided by the PTTR in Bucharest municipality, the efficient use of the labor force in the telegraph sector, the expansion of the mechanized system for processing data relating to records on expenditures and so forth.

The report "Socioprofessional Integration of New Workers in PTTR Postal and Postal Clerk Positions" kept in mind a research effort completed on the basis of questionnaire given to a sample of young workers and clerks (up to 30 years of age) in several post offices in the municipality of Bucharest. A broad range of problems were dealt with: professional direction and the motivation for previous changes in professions, potential fluctuations in and the attachment to the current profession, interpersonal relations in the working group, mutual help, help received from superiors, evaluation of the work and so forth. The research showed significant aspects of the activities of beginner workers and clerks, revealing a series of causes behind their failure to

become integrated. It was shown, among other things, that there was a need to give greater attention to the young people's problems of work and life and to their professional direction since the casual selection of a profession, without competent guidance, can many times lead to a failure to become integrated and to poor work results. In order to resolve the numerous problems that stem from the young people's socioprofessional integration, the author of the study (sociologist Florian Popa) formulated a series of proposals for practical, specific measures whose implementation will be pursued by the leadership of the BMPD.

Other reports referred to the implications of the means of using the work force upon the quality of the telegraphic service in the capital. Dealing with the consequences of establishing phased processing times upon activities for distributing and using the work force in the telegraphic sector, one of the reports, which created lively interest, analyzed in detail the manner in which the processing of telegraph traffic can be effectively achieved by the PTTR subunits. These new control timeframes, introduced just recently, constitute a control objective on the part of the Technical Quality Control organs, as well as an element upon which the payment of telegraph couriers depends. Of the three types of telegrams - flash, urgent and regular, all the possible combinations were created that could be received and a check was conducted into the manner in which they fell within the control timeframes (60 minutes, 90 minutes and 120 minutes) under conditions where the subunits had two to three telegram couriers per shift and the service regions of the offices varied between 26 and 196 kilometers. The study's conclusions showed that, keeping in mind the amount of the traffic flow - the level of peak-hour traffic - which varies from one post office to another depending upon the days of the week, the month of the year and certain holidays, as well as the available workforce and the means used to travel, it is impossible for the new control times to be respected, a fact that requires a structural review of these times. The author of this study, economist Traian Taloi, pointed out that in establishing the new control times it is necessary to keep in mind the various influencing elements and the need for economic efficiency in this field, really improving the quality of telegram distribution, whose beneficiary is the public.

Beginning with the powerful realities confronting the contemporary world, including our country, a series of studies initiated by the BMPD proposed the means to reduce transportation costs within the framework of postal services in the capital and to rationally use the motor pool in accordance with the increase in the volume of activities. In analyzing the existing situation and the bureaucratic-type disadvantages that it presents (numerous entries and calculations, the inability to effectively pursue the status of costs and so forth), the report "Optimizing Records and Pursuing Costs Related to Vehicle Transportation" (by Andrei Marinescu, an economist) proposed a series of measures to improve the manner of keeping records and pursuing the costs related to vehicles rented by the BMPD. Primarily, the proposed measures call for a working system that involves these operations being taken over by enterprise's computer office. This way, they will avoid a lack of discipline and abuses, ensuring a simplification and an opportunity for analyzing transportation costs. Through the new system of ensuring the correctness of the itineraries, the number of kilometers allocated to each transport vehicle and the time the vehicle stands idle, certain workers are freed from a series of bureaucratic operations and correct calculations and the exact situation of daily costs are computed for each post office and vehicle, increasing the computer load levels in the computer office.

The value of the studies presented during the discussions created lively and interesting comments, showing the courage and responsibility with which the young authors approached these problems, as well as the practical use of the proposals formulated to improve the quality of the postal services in the capital.

The modest, but traditional scientific event of the Bucharest Municipal Postal Directorate, already in its third edition, brings attention once again upon the potential represented by the young specialists who directly work in the enterprises and in production and who are enjoying the broad opportunities for professional expression and development and the optimum working conditions created by the RCP over the fruitful period of the last 16 years of building the new society.

8724
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BARBU ATTACKS EXPATRIATES LOVINESCU, CARAION

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 25 Dec 81 pp 1, 7

[Article by Eugen Barbu: "What Are You Doing Now "Mother" Lovinescu?"]

[Text] I do not know how long Monica Lovinescu has been living in Paris, but figuring overall on the basis of the amount of trash that she throws weekly at Romanian culture through the channels of Radio Free Europe, I believe that not even the Seine has carried as much filth during the same period of time. Awhile back, I wrote somewhere that I understood her up to a point, living out a personal drama that we, of the present, are not guilty of, but rather a group that was sent into the nothingness of history. And, the wounds are still healing; not the whole earth and not the millions of people living in Romania have to be cursed at for what was done in our names by certain hired persons. Monica Lovinescu, however, condemns everything from her place in Paris. Nothing has been done here in Romania. The country is exactly as she left it. You and your husband, Ion Caraion, who tells us that we are 22 million prisoners within our current borders, a group of coerced people, as they like to call those who fall within the category used by these ardent polemists. Romania, right now, is in ruins from all points of view. I want to credit these two gossips, whom I listen to from time to time, with creating a vast amount of disgust.

For approximately 40 years they have been keeping track of everything that is written in Romania. They have defamed Sadoveanu, they have defamed Arghezi; with regards to the writers of the Left, what can we say, because for this radiophonic two-some they were dead from the moment they were born! Among the contemporary writers, only those, who have just proved, by fleeing from the country, to be the clients of this suspect conjugal kitchen pair, have been given good marks, grades and probably some monies in secret accounts. It is more than certain that this sad list of those who have sold out their country will be supplemented with other names, and they will be just as low, just as untalented and just as greedy for the glory that they think awaits them on the banks of the Seine and in other places around the world. To like Goma and to curse the author of "Fratilor Jderi" [To the Brothers Jderi]! To make Ben Corlaciu a "European" writer and to call the author of "Cuvinte potrivite" [Fitting Words] a so-so author! This is something that right from the very start reveals an ill-faith, if not an opacity worse than anything else. Calinescu, Nichita Stanescu and Liviu Rusu are just some amateurs alongside Virgil Tanase, Tepeneag and Petru Popoescu! We could continue this confrontation of names, but it serves no purpose. The broadcasts from this couple are actually dedicated to people who are lesser informed with regards to literary affairs. They are aiming at the masses, but the masses are not interested in Virgil Untaru's trilled r's or Mother Lovinescu's pathos.

As far as I am concerned, I am enjoying increased attention from these two polemists, who I thank from the bottom of my heart for the commotion created. Probably sometime they will gather together all the compliments I have given them over the airwaves and in writing so as to understand that in this world all things are repaid. And, because we are bad and they are good children, I want to inform the Romanian readers who do not have the time to be interested in the bad things that I have done recently that, according to the two gangsters who use the airwaves instead of handguns, because of me all the educated people in Romania who have opted for this so-called "freedom" were driven out of Romania by my hate, by my pamphlets, by my slanderous remarks and, especially, by their desire to sit on Mother's lap when she, in her great kindness, would place a little "something" in who knows what safe. The author of this article, according to the latest news from Radio Free Europe, together with the group that I lead, the 20 or so persons, we managed to chloroform the editor responsible for the obituary column in the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA and put in an insidious announcement telling of the irremediable end of a poor priest named Popescu, from among the many millions of people named Popescu in Romania. Diabolical as I am, so says the poet Ion Caraion, a recent deserter, that he also was forced to flee to Switzerland because of me. Perhaps I am such a powerful man that I succeeded in giving housing to him and getting him employed as the gray-haired eminence of the Cartea Romaneasca Publishing House, where he slashed and sliced for years, creating his acolytes among the ranks of the Romanian literary prostitutes, and, more than certainly, that I am the very one who published the prefaces in which he slandered Iorga, Arghezi and Calinescu. Furthermore, I want to inform Monica Lovinescu and Mr Virgil Ierunca and even Ion Caraion, with whom I will be more carefully dealing in the coming weeks, that I can actually surprise them by telling the first two that they have received a sheep pen wolf of the Dumitrescu Zapada type! Probably the chiefs who pay the salaries of those who work at Radio Free Europe will also retire this couple after other spectacular disappearances from their places before the microphones, because their last client is the author of a pathetic poem dedicated to the Chief, published in PADUREA ROMANEASCA, as well as certain articles also written in the more interesting Legionnaire publication PORUNCA VREMII, is that not so, Ion Caraion?

It is true that there is a photograph of a young man by the same name dressed in a little green shirt in Buzau, however, we do not have it, but who knows where things will pop up! Mr Ion Caraion brags that he was locked up by the communists, but he forgets that he was locked up by the State Security [Siguranta Statului] for reasons that we will outline. During that time, Mrs Monica Lovinescu was probably nursing on baby dolls, but this is no excuse...

As far as I am concerned, I admit that I am to blame for: the 1940 earthquake; starting the Moreni fire; the Vintileanca train crash; the start of World War II and preparing for the third; the drought of 1947 and the floods of 1971 and 1975...

If Mrs Monica Lovinescu finds out that some type of cholera, bubonic plague or epidemic of Spanish flu is coming, I ask her to blame them on me with complete certainty!

8724
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WESTERN COMMENT ON CONTROLLED PRESS IN YUGOSLAVIA

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Jan 82 p 10

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Belgrade's Fear of Openness"]

[Text] Vienna, 4 Jan--Anton Rupnik, a Slovenian journalist who was working in Bonn for awhile as a correspondent for the DELO, a newspaper that comes out in Laibach, published a book about the FRG which he called "Sign D" or also "Under the Sign of D (U Znaku D). It was printed in a Serbo-Croatian (Globus Publishers, Zagreb) and also in a Slovenian edition and was published last fall at exactly the same time when the Goethe Institute put on a German culture week in Laibach. BORBA, the central newspaper in Belgrade, used the cultural week organized in Slovenia as an occasion to threaten German journalists with closed borders. The journalists had reported on the great interest in this event in Slovenia. But Rupnik's book and the attention it received all over Yugoslavia clearly shows that the Yugoslavian public--and in particular Slovenians--want to get information about the FRG. Rupnik's book goes a long way in meeting this desire since it supplies factual, comprehensive and well-documented information about Germany.

In his book, Rupnik praises the Federal Press and Information Office in Bonn, and he feels that it is contributing conclusively and effectively to the formation of the image of Germany abroad because of its open and active information policy. The author leaves no doubt about the fact that he received a lot of information from the Federal Press and Information Office earlier during his work as a correspondent and also when he was working on his book. Rupnik made no secret of his own ideology, which is based on socialistic positions. But because he apparently received all the information he wanted in Bonn, the work which he authored is remarkably objective, something which in turn benefits the FRG as well.

Last but not least, Rupnik may be praising the Bonn Federal Press and Information Office so highly because he, like many journalists and politicans in Yugoslavia, misses similar institutions in his country. Even the criticism voiced on Yugoslavia's side deals with the fact that the makeup and the personnel of the appropriate secretariat in Belgrade seems to hinder information rather than give it. A few weeks ago, when the appropriate agencies in Belgrade decided to suspend the import of Western press products into Yugoslavia, its current manager, an Albanian by the name of Bajra and a supporter of Bakali--the former party chief in Kosovo who has been overthrown in the meantime--gave as a reason the strained foreign-exchange situation. Bajra praised the press of the East bloc because its products were cheaper and they did not have to be paid in foreign exchange.

Now Bajra has to revise his decision; the revolt by the Yugoslavian public was too great. Since 1 January Western newspapers are again permitted to enter Yugoslavia. Within a few weeks Bajra will leave office.

The state and party agencies that are in charge of press affairs in Yugoslavia appear to be among the most dogmatic agencies. No wonder that they are increasingly coming into conflict with its own press. The periodical NIN quoted from the speech of a party functionary by the name of Kronja during a meeting of the "Socialist Alliance" in December. "A spirit of liberation and similar trends" could be felt in the Yugoslav press; the "constant downgrading of the economic situation is causing much damage at home and abroad"; it could even lead to the conclusion that Yugoslavia is experiencing "a crisis of the system." The main concern of the party seems to be that foreign countries might get information from the Yugoslav press. "The most reactionary newspapers abroad," Kronja declared, "are quoting from our press." Nevertheless, even this functionary had to admit that in view of the events in Kosovo "a few flaws" in Yugoslavia's information system had become apparent.

Yugoslavia's present information policy toward foreign countries follows the line of trying to prevent as much information as possible about the difficult economic and financial crisis from getting out of the country. The reason may be that right now it is of utmost importance for Yugoslavia to give to the OECD and even more to the International Monetary Fund only carefully selected materials about Yugoslavia's economy. Requests by foreign journalists for interviews with high Yugoslav economic functionaries are denied again and again or they are not answered. It is evident that this policy is raising serious doubts in the reliability of the officially published statistical material.

During the last year, the majority of Yugoslavia's newspapers and magazines tried to loosen the chains of official language rules. Apparently dogmatic functionaries do not like it. Nevertheless, since things are not only presented more openly in the press but also in Parliament, it happens that discussions in Parliament, like the one dealing with tariff policies proposed by Kostic, federal secretary for finance, are also censored. Another thing that doctrinaire functionaries do not like is the increasing differentiation between "liberal" and "party-line" press products. Party Functionary Kronja felt that it was not right to label some press products as being "true to the regime" or something similar only because their reporting is "responsible." This attribute, for instance, is frequently bestowed on the magazine SVIJET, which is published in Sarajevo. This magazine is considered the mouthpiece of dogmatists.

The demand by doctrinaire functionaries for a new muzzle for the press have not been without opposition. Strong opposition came expecially from people from Slovenia, led by Joze Smole, who is in charge of foreign relations in Ljubljana. In his opinion, politicians in Yugoslavia should get used to speaking in public. Above all Smole rejected the argument that the "enemies" in foreign countries or the foreign press were taking advantage of the openness of the Yugoslav press. Smole did not comment directly on the work of the Yugoslav information apparatus, which is considered inadequate even in high political circles. It is known, however, that personnel changes are planned in April when another "rotation" in the government will take place; later there may even be changes in the appropriate party apparatus.

8991
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SITUATION AT BELGRADE PHILOSOPHY FACULTY

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Jasna Kesic: "Organized Action Against Relics of the Past"]

[Text] Though nearly 7 years have passed since the eight professors were expelled from the School of Philosophy in Belgrade, traces of the events of that time are felt in this school even today. There has been quite a bit of debate and quite a bit written about the events themselves, there is talk about it even today, but little is known about the consequences, which were actually far more important. They are felt even by today's students in this school. They still wear the imprint of that time, and both within the university and outside it it is not uncommon for them to encounter an aversion and the now conventional sentence: "Ah, so you are from the School of Philosophy...."

After the events in 1975 the party and youth organizations fell into a crisis. Some of the professors and teaching assistants in the group for philosophy, sociology and the history of art withdrew from the League of Communists, so that today, for example, not one of the 15 or so instructors of the history of art is a member of the League of Communists.

A Step Forward

But it appears that an end has finally come to the sociopolitical lull at the School of Philosophy, a lull that was encouraged even from outside the school, since the belief was that it was a good thing for nothing at all to be happening there. That "nothing at all" implied even demobilization of the party and youth organizations. That unfortunately is exactly what happened. However, an important step has now been taken at that school to organize sociopolitical life, for which establishment of the permanent conference of the League of Communists is largely responsible. This higher educational institution has brought back the permanent form of operation of the League of Communists, and that immediately following the caucus in April last year of 3d-year and 4th-year sociology and philosophy students, who called for an open dialogue on the expulsion of the professors we mentioned. This, however, was only the pretext, and the reasons, as is usually the case, go much deeper.

Though the bylaws decision of the University Conference of the League of Communists in Belgrade does not provide for the existence of permanent conferences of

the LC [League of Communists], the University Committee of the LC decided after a conference in the headquarters of the Serbian LC Central Committee to recreate permanent conferences at all university schools and junior postsecondary schools in Belgrade in the upcoming party elections. Nikola Ristic, a member of the university committee, had this to say:

"When the permanent conferences of the LC were abolished and the action conferences introduced, the primary party organizations and individual party members of the university became still more passive and demobilized. The principal reason was the ad hoc nature of the action conferences and the nonexistence of permanent working bodies that would initiate campaigns and coordinate the work of the primary organizations of the LC. Experience has in and of itself imposed the existence of a joint body at the level of the university school, especially in view of the number of members of the LC."

Where Is the Youth Organization?

The decision to create the permanent conferences of the LC at the university has already justified itself in the constructive experiences of the School of Philosophy, which was the first to establish such a conference.

"The April caucus of students of the group for sociology and philosophy was yet another confirmation that we need a party unity that will synchronize the work of all primary party organizations. That is indeed why we established the permanent conference, which consists of three students and two instructors from each of the 11 primary organizations of the LC," explains Professor Vladeta Tesic, chairman of the LC Conference of the School of Philosophy. "One of the most important issues which the conference will constantly be concerned with is the overall security situation within the school. After all, after all that has happened in recent years, we want to involve as many students as possible in social self-protection."

One of the more important tasks which the party conference has set itself is to establish relations with the youth organization at the school, since the situation in that organization, in Professor Tesic's opinion, is rather bad. The organization of young people does not have a program around which it could rally students, and a huge number of young men and women at the School of Philosophy do not even belong to it.

For a long time there has been a vacuum in the work of the youth organization. Its activity was mainly confined to forums. Vesna Janjic, student and secretary of the party organization of the group for pedagogy, adds that organizations of the LC have been compelled to "put pressure" on the youth organization for 3 years to get them to elect a student delegation to the Council for Research and Instruction and the Council of the School of Philosophy.

In the short period of its existence the permanent conference of the LC has also raised the issue of establishing a forum in the school for debating relevant domestic and foreign political topics and ideological and other problems. A group of instructors has been created to draw up the program of topics that would be of interest to the students of this school.

In the opinion of Vladeta Tesic, many such things will also have to be changed in the party effort itself at that school, where there is still not sufficient organizational firmness or responsibility. It will not be easy to overcome the relics of the past. Meetings still pass mainly in silence, and the entire political and party effort over the last 6 or 7 years has been passed on to the students, since the instructors have mainly not wanted to become involved in it. Since 1975 the secretaries of all primary party organizations at the School of Philosophy have been students, and there have been very few professors and teaching assistants even among the members of the secretariat.

7045
CSO: 2800/185

UNIVERSITY PAPER'S REFERENCE TO PRISON CAMP DRAWS FIRE

Sarcastic 'Letter'

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 16 Dec 81 p 3

["Letter" by Momcilo Petrovic to LCY Central Committee Presidium]

[Text] I regard it as my communist duty to inform you that I recently learned, by reading issue No 20 of AUTO SVET, of the existence of a camp on Goli [Bare] Island for persons accused of "Cominformism" in 1948-1955.

Inasmuch as none of you has ever mentioned the existence of that camp, nor did I ever hear anything whatever in school on the subject, I assume that you were unaware of Goli Island, so that is why I am writing this.

Let me explain: I have heard quite a bit about Stalin's purges and about their being the consequence of the cult of personality. The hair stood on my head as I read excerpts in NIN from Karlo Stajner's stirring book "Povratak iz Gulag-a" (Return From the GULAG). At the same time, I was proud that such did not exist in Yugoslavia and that I am a party member, a member of a party that did not besmirch its history with anything similar. But then I read, in the aforementioned issue of AUTO SVET, an interview with Antonije Isakovic and excerpts from his still unpublished book "Tren II" (Moment II). And I found out that persons accused of "Cominformism" were sent circa 1950 to Goli Island, where they were subjected to the worst physical and mental mistreatment. Inasmuch as this has only now come to light (insofar as what is in the book is accurate), I suggest to you in the interest of the party that you investigate the "Goli Island case" and inform the public thereon.

I shall be so free as to mention some of my own reflections concerning Goli Island. Because, as I say, none of you has heretofore mentioned Goli Island, I draw the conclusion that you did not even know about that island. In the interview in AUTO SVET, furthermore, Antonije Isakovic says that Dobrica Cosic said that neither Edvard Kardelj nor Aleksandar Rankovic "knew about the sufferings on Goli Island." Hence, I draw the conclusion that not a single high-ranking official of party or state knew about the camp on Goli Island. I draw the further conclusion that this was all the doing of some demented Stalinist captain or perhaps major. Your task, accordingly, is to find that officer and bring him before a court. Not because he imprisoned Cominformists and persons that he thought to be such, but

because he exposed them to tortures (insofar as Antonije Isakovic's book is not the fruit of imagination) worthy of Nazi concentration camps and Stalin's GULAG. Bring him before a court in the name of those who gave their lives during the revolution for a society in which there was not going to be any torture. In the name of those who survived clashes with the enemy in wartime only to die at the hands of officials of new Yugoslavia.

I am sure that you will easily resolve this proposed task.

Belgrade, 12 December 1981.

[signed] Momcilo Petrovic, student, communist, of Belgrade.

Rebuttal of Criticism

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 23 Dec 81 p 4

[Unsigned commentary]

[Excerpts] Extremely serious accusations have been levelled concerning the "Letter to the LCY CC Presidium": the author of the text is allegedly demanding a reinvestigation of party decisions taken in 1948. A discussion has been requested that would lead to defining the ideological commitment of members of the board of editors.

The "Letter" needs no explanation. A reader unburdened with prejudices will grasp that the author, regarding the physical and mental tortures on Goli Island to be a blot on our history, was suggesting that more be said about the era during which these tortures took place. And nothing more than that. Accordingly, the tirades of some individuals on the significance of 1948 are superfluous. We know that. And we are proud of the "no" that was said to Stalin. There is no ideological confusion in us. We have been following, are following, and will keep on following Tito's path. To the question as to whence the cynicism and irony of the text, we answer: you have been keeping quiet for 30 years. We hold that we are entitled to make fun of you.

We do not live in the clouds: we know that we will find ourselves many more times in a situation where we have to write such texts. We shall write them, convinced that we shall be genuinely understood some day.

END

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8 February 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1973

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8 February 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1973

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DRAMATISTS URGED NOT TO NEGLECT SOCIOPOLITICAL ISSUES

East Berlin THEATER DER ZEIT in German Vol 36 No 12, Dec 81 (signed to press 13 Nov 81) pp 8-9

[Article by Christoph Funke, East Berlin DER MORGEN drama critic, editorial staff member; director, Working Group for New Plays, Association of GDR Theater Professionals: "Dealing With GDR Drama--In Preparation of the Third Workshop on Drama, Leipzig, May 1982"]

[Text] 1.

"Now that we have worked so many years/Our situation is much tougher than at first." That statement, in Bertold Brecht's Svedenborg poems, is put in the mouth of the "swaggerer," but does it not also apply to our manner of dealing with new dramas on our stages? Two workshops in 1978 and 1980 have not been able to resolve tough questions of development; at best they made us more aware of them and roused expectations that have only partly been met. Many successes, passionately fought for in particular, on one stage or another, with one author or another, cannot hide the fact that the new drama still has not become a substantially decisive artistic factor governing our theater in its political and aesthetic effect all-around. With a much greater determination, statements on the present condition are being infused into the interpretation of classical works, insistent, exciting, contradictory, challenging. The new drama at the same time finds itself pushed onto smaller stages, experimental programs and shows, presented to spectators who do care but with it, frequently, noticeably removed from any public confrontation with the audience in the bigger houses.

And yet there is at the same time a great and vivid interest in new drama. Unremittingly, the Henschel publishing house is publishing (Mueller, Knauth, Stolper, Strahl, in one compendium Gross, Wendt, Koerbl, Seidel) and THEATER DER ZEIT plays, and literary journals like NDL and TEMPERAMENTE are giving their hearts to drama texts. The number of those who write is getting increasingly larger, and theaters themselves are becoming new drama centers: actors write plays, playwrights stage their own works--there are attempts at producing a "cohesive control circuit," at letting drama originate and find its purpose in the theater itself, turning the playwright's dependency into independence or, at least, into an opportunity for him where he does not have to bring his work to the producer from the outside but can make sure he has producers and can in part himself take on their role

(examples: "Alles oder etwas [Everything or Something] by Joerg-Michael Koerbl in Frankfurt, "August Caesar" by Max K. Hoffmann in Potsdam).

But this makes the disturbed relationship between the ones who write and the theater people apparent. The playwrigts want a different theater (at times other spectators as well), and the theaters want different plays. With all this comes the apprehension of the theater folk, not so rarely confirmed in practice, that the plays they have on hand cannot reach a "broader" audience. This concern combines with a frequently unsettling difference in attitudes by those two partners with respect to basic cultural policy matters. Individual experiences, and that means also individual pain from manifestations of reality, individual convictions of the nature of current and historic processes, individual postulates on possibilities and risks of personality, which at times quite clearly deviate from our overall social experiences, meet a public institution that has to come to terms with its public partner, the audience, and cannot survive without that audience.

2.

Playwrights are difficult people. At times the view is expressed that there is a close connection between talent and difficulty, that is to say, the more talented someone is the more difficulties he makes. So we get, after the unsuitable distinction of our playwrights in terms of the older ones, who have made it, and the younger ones, who impetuously are trying to make it, that between the difficult ones and the less difficult ones--on the former we may burn our fingers, the latter are not worth performing. Whether it has something to do with such a position, which is indeed being practiced too, that "official" ways of disseminating, offering and making available new dramas meet with evident distrust, would have to be examined. The truth is that new relations between those who write and the people in the theater business who do something for their work are gaining a new importance. Here again, as in the drama that comes out of the theater itself, the attempt becomes perceptible that one wants to avoid, at least mitigate, the clash between the playwright as an individual and the theater as an institution, by an encounter among individuals striving to realize a joint artistic concept--the playwrights on the one side and the director or actor on the other--by means of the collective instrument of the theater available to them.

But back to the difficult ones. No kind of characterization of the playwrights, whatsoever, makes any sense. And at odds, no common task can be coped with. We need the art of listening to one another and talking with one another. As authors make discoveries that are not satisfied by way of quick agreement, patience and understanding are called for on both sides. Any distrust in the relation between the text and the performance jeopardizes the opportunities the theater has for an art uniquely qualified to challenge human encounter. Our playwrights' designs need a partner of trust, not to land in isolation or on an island of the only know-it-all or initiates, but to find their way to the stage. That is bound to lead to issue-taking, on cultural policy and politics as such. This is a point we often still evade. It must become what unites rather than divides the playwrights and the theater people.

3.

Only in recognition of the fact that for one side or the other there also always will be painful decisions, one need not accept the given but can jointly change it. A fact is that Heiner Mueller and Volker Braun still constitute rarities in repertoires. Working with their plays has still not lost what makes them extraordinary, even sensational. That is why the attempts in Halle and Karl-Marx-Stadt to perform "Bau" [Building] and "Der Auftrag" [The Mission] deserve full attention. The fact is that there is a perceptible resignation among the playwrights without whom the history of our socialist theater would be inconceivable. Rainer Kerndl has just presented a prose text, Armin Stolper is writing essays and stories, and Helmut Baierl is waiting for a performance of "Kirschenpfluecken" [Picking Cherries]. Rudi Strahl, widely performed, still advocates (because of it?) strictly separating the drama from its performance in terms of aesthetics. Helmut Bez, extremely and auspiciously successful with his "Jutta oder Die Kinder von Damutz" [Jutta or the Children of Damutz], has long been working on his Tieck adaptation of "Verkehrte Welt" [Mixed-up World]. There is no linear continuation for what was started with him and others. Gross should be mentioned here and Christoph Hein, and also authors already introduced to the first workshop such as Jochen Berg, Lothar Trolle, Gerhardt Groeschke, and Uwe Saeger, who have not yet gotten onto the stage or beyond modest beginnings. Solely unperturbed by all these efforts on the plane there remains Peter Hacks, a lofty summit in the rugged dramatic mountains.

But negative experiences are counterbalanced by positive ones. And listening to lamentations in static fascination would indeed mean entering a mixed-up world. Each theater season offers new dramatic talents, recently Heinz Drewniok, Georg Seidel and Reinhard Kuhnert, who was vividly supported at the start of the season by the Brandenburg theater. In Schwerin they keep promoting new dramas with tenacity. Halle started its New Theater with a program filled with GDR plays (Kerndl, Gratzik, Strahl, Wendt). Karl-Marx-Stadt tried a play by Wendt, "Die Dachdecker" [The Tilers] on the large stage. It altogether is worth contemplating why that playwright has become indispensable with his dramatic designs, at least in the workshops, challenges actors and fascinates the audience. Rostock staged Claus Hammel's "Die Preussen kommen" [The Prussians Are Coming], a work which, with its irreverent audacity and witty aggressiveness on matters of coming to grips with history, also had success when it toured Berlin as a cheerful Marxist mental provocation. (Granted, the play has weak spots, but should it because of that be confined solely to Rostock? Can we afford a territorial apportioning of GDR plays?) And, not last: for the fall and winter season 1981/82 premieres are scheduled for Drewniok, Gross, Groeschke, Gratzik, Kahlau, Plenzdorf, Wander and many others.

4.

The third workshop is urgently needed. Not only as an opportunity for confidence forming measures among partners who are more or less at odds. A few days of courtesy would hardly do the trick. Rather, the workshop should demonstrate the ability our theater and our plays have to comment on the revolutionary processes and great political struggles of our time. Not all issues can be resolved in Leipzig, but some of them ought to be treated as accurately and thoroughly as

possible. There is no way to dodge everyday issues, and playwriting should be asked how it relates to a time that confronts the alternatives between war and peace, death and life. That is why it properly belongs to the workshop to think about having the theater deal with epic materials because the attempt to produce on stage socialist and critical-realistic literature with rich problems that affect fundamentals in human decisions and attitudes is part of the intent of the producers to lend current issues passionate artistic impulses.

All pleading for the discovery of human abilities, every irate reminder of the crippling of our mind, and every passionate confrontation with history of course also becomes an important, irreplaceable contribution to a comprehension of our time.

The workshop is to be held under the topic, "revolutionary processes and their reflection in the current productions in GDR theaters," the topic being thought of, not as a constraint, but as a compelling mental framework. Casual conversations after the performance are to be replaced by a well prepared forum which will not choke off spontaneous comments, and this also is part of the planning for the third workshop. Getting beyond what is irrelevant and making use of science opportunities to find a common language and promote new plays through tested knowledge, that would be the task. This need not do away with the established forms of workshop work--readings, and talks between the actors and the audience and specialists. Important is the concentration, in the number of performances and their mental absorption, their effect on everyday theater.

"Must we be lucky?" Brecht asks in the above mentioned poem, "To the Swaggerer." And his answer is: "So you ask. Expect/No other answer but your own." That answer, pluralized, shows us the way.

5885
CSO: 2300/111

BORDER TROOP COMMANDER PLEDGES CONTINUED VIGILANCE

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 137, 26 No 81 p 2

[Article by Lt Gen Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten, deputy minister for national defense and chief, GDR Border Troop: "GDR State Border Always Reliably Protected"]

[Text] Looked at historically, the 35 years of development of the Broder Troops of the GDR are but a short span of time. But it would be fully justified to say that since the establishment of the Border Troops on Sept 1946 the decades that have followed have been rich in situations that have put them to the test. Over this whole period the European borders of the socialist community, especially the national border of the German Democratic Republic with the FRG and West Berlin, have been established the foremost line in the struggle for peace and security of the peoples of Europe.

The party, the working class and all the working people of the GDR, in the years that have passed, in the struggle for secure borders, have created all the political-moral and material bases that have enabled the Border Troops to fulfill their class mission reliably in close cooperation with other defense and security organizations and with the population of the border regions.

We Border Troops are aware that imperialistic politicians and NATO strategists are currently abandoning in an ever more open and brutal fashion the course of detente agreed upon at Helsinki and have shifted to a policy of confrontation that holds the greatest risks for peace. The nuclear arms escalation is once again being accelerated. The "practicability" of a nuclear war in Europe is being discussed more and more shamelessly and inhumanly. Production of neutron weapons, which will presumably make such an event possible, has been begun in the U.S. Statements by certain West German politicians, that neutron weapons will not, for the present, be stationedin the FRG, can reassure no one.

Added to this are the plans for stationing new American medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe and a multitude of military exercises of the aggressive NATO alliance. It is not defense that is being practiced in maneuvers of ever growing size only a few kilometers to the west of our borders. Nor is it for defense purposes that units of the NATO forces, particularly those of the U.S., are being shifted closer and closer to our state borders.

But history is not something that can be repeated. The enemies of socialism will never attain a military superiority over the socialist community of nations and we will never allow ourselves to be taken off guard. No one should interpret the untiring struggle of the community of socialist nations for the strengthening and maintenance of peace as weakness.

We regard peace as the first and most important of human rights, because only on its basis can the well being of the individual and of whole populations be assured. It is for precisely this reason that we are following with close attention the Reagan administration's efforts to make the FRG its chief military assembly point and depot for nuclear weaons in Europe.

There is a close connection between this fact and the demand of influential circles in the FRG for a restoration of the "German Empire in its borders of 1937." We do not regard as a "momentary lapse of judgement" on the part of Ministers of Culture that, only a few kilometers away from our barracks, children in West German schools are being taught to regard the German Empire in its borders of 1937 as their purported fatherland. And we do not regard it as a lapse that, in atlases and textbooks cities, that for more than 35 years have been part of Polish or Soviet territory, are regarded as part of "German national territory" and indicated by German names. And especially because this is happening in schools it is particularly dangerous. It is here that the feelings of young people are being manipulated in the spirit of revanchism. Revanchism is thereby elevated to the rank of a state doctrine.

Border duty is front-line duty in peace, aimed at making a contribution to the success of peaceful coexistence and the maintenance of peace as well enabling our people to realize the program of the unification of economic and social policy, resolved at the IX Congress of the SED and further developed at the X Party Congress. This service is then in the truest sense of the word aimed at the welfare of our people. It incorporates within itself a deep humanism of action, a humanism which also includes the readiness and the capacity to deal out to our enemies a thorough and decisive blow.

This attitude of our border soldiers, proven a thousand times over, has brought us the esteem of the working people of our country and their manifold support has assured the fulfillment of the tasks that we encounter each day. It fills us with pride that, for example the workers in Leuna, Schwarza, Rostock and the cooperative farmers in the border regions speak affectionately of "their borderers."

Yes, indeed, we are an inseparable part of the working class, of the farmers' cooperatives and the entire work force of our homeland. To serve them we regard as our highest obligation. Forever at the side of the heroic Soviet army, we will carry out every task for the protection of the GDR, with profound confidence in the policy of the party, for the attainment of the general line even in the most complex and trying situations.

9878
CSO: 2300/94

ROLE OF PROTESTANT CHURCH IN YOUTH-LED PEACE MOVEMENT ANALYZED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 24 Dec 81 pp 3-4

[Article by J. Seidel, Davos: "The Peace Commitment of the Protestant Church in the GDR." For translations of West German discussions of GDR church objections to the militarization of schoolchildren see the following JPRS issues of this series: 71992, 5 Oct 78, No 1593, pp 22-28; and 71640, 8 Aug 78, No 1575, pp 58-66 and 67-70. Also available are translations of West German commentaries on related subjects, published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "Textbooks Indicate Military Education for [GDR] Schoolchildren," 79705, 22 Dec 81, No 1951, pp 33-36; "Synods Discuss 'Social Peace Service,' Church Unification," 79715, 23 Dec 81, No 1952, pp 16-19; "'Peace Corps' in Lieu of Military Service" (part of a series of related items published under the heading: "West German Commentaries on GDR Protestant Church Developments"), 79143, 5 Oct 81, No 1924, pp 19-25. For various other references to discussions of the same and related subjects see translation of a Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV article, published under the heading "Christians' Accommodation in Socialist Society Discussed," in JPRS 78569, 22 Jul 81, No 1901 of this series, pp 17-28]

[Text] In recent weeks, several Protestant church synods met in the GDR. In addition to discussing questions of church law concerning the unification of the eight district churches, the synods talked about a topic of general interest in the GDR and abroad: education for peace.

Social Peace Service

On 9 May 1981, a group of young Christians in Dresden had already distributed an "appeal to the parishes" in which they started an initiative of "social peace service": "We are looking for roads to peace. 'Reverence for life' commands us to make peace without the use of armed force and to direct our efforts toward saving life that is being threatened." They requested that the GDR Volkskammer make legally possible a "social peace service (SoFd)" as an alternative with equal rights to military service and substitute military service (so-called construction soldiers). The appeal closed with the request that readers who are in agreement with the draft text should so inform their respective district synods before 1 September 1981 (World Peace Day).

Within a short time, church administrators received hundreds of requests with signatures of 4,000 GDR citizens, most of them young people, in which the

2

churches were requested to support the initiative. As a result, synod members discussed these requests in their meetings, most of which were not open to the public, and then supported the initiative by majority approval.

Meanwhile, church representatives have repeatedly submitted this problem to state authorities and have. at the same time, expressed their concern about the continued militarization of life in the GDR. In January 1980, the Protestant district churches had already expressed in a "statement on the political situation in the world" their attitude toward the worldwide escalation of the armament race, toward the creation of enemy images through propaganda and the growing feeling of being threatened. Efforts toward peace can no longer be considered an occasional duty but must be understood and practiced as "one of the most important challenges to witness and service" of the church.

Early Beginnings

When in 1945 the danger of another world war arose, the synods of the Protestant Church of Germany (EKD) urged the world powers to keep peace. In 1948 the EKD synod fell back on the old saying that "no blessing will come from force." In 1950 synod representatives replied to the question what the church could do in behalf of peace with the following appeal: "Don't let yourselves become tools of a propaganda which promotes enmity between people and prepares for war." A similar appeal was voiced from Elbingrode in 1952.

After compulsory military service was introduced in both German states in 1957 and 1961/62, church leaders pointed out that the church is committed with all the means at its disposal to peace between people and nations, and that this includes the East-West conflict. The GDR bishops repeatedly asked their government to recognize a civilian substitute service, such as is possible in the FRG. The District Church of Saxony raised this issue again in 1968 when constitutional questions were discussed.

In 1976 discussions on peace in the GDR received another impetus when the Protestant Church formed a study group with the purpose of preparing suggestions for holding parish meetings with the theme "education for peace." These meetings as well as another kind of church sponsored event, the "Parish Peace Day" held in 1979, were based on the assumption that politicians needed motivation and encouragement for disarmament discussions against the background of disarmament sentiments in their countries.

When mandatory military science instruction was implemented as part of the GDR school curriculum in 1978, the church synod meeting in the same month took this for an opportunity to point out that it is now all the more necessary to take decisive steps in behalf of the education for peace in all walks of life. Connected with this is probably also the "statement of peace" by the two leading clergymen of the Eastern and Western German church on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the beginning of World War II. Keeping their distance from the political polemics of their respective countries, the churches consider it their foremost task to establish and practice their joint commitment to peace on the basis of the gospel.

Reply of the State

The most recent peace initiative--like previous such attempts by the church--does not meet with understanding on the part of the state which must meet treaty obligations within the Warsaw Pact and (according to State Secretary Gysi) stands for the principle of military strength as the basis of peace. The fact that the socialist state has so far not followed its practice of previous decades and responded with numerous arrests and deportations can be explained only on the basis of the present political situation of church and society. Thus far, the arrest of only two members of the East Berlin Protestant Student Organization after their trip to Poland has been reported. Both students were involved in peace activities in their parishes.

If the peace initiatives by the church result in a confrontation with the state right now, then the recently attempted integration of the church into socialist society would become impossible and there would be a considerable increase in the questions and suggestions submitted to the government by the Christian community. After all, a surprisingly large potential of social-charitable action and a large segment of ecologically minded citizens has by now accumulated in the church. The fact that the churches offer young people the space for dialogue and contacts which are unforced and far removed from ideological prejudices has brought the church a certain approval even from critically minded young people and has at times awakened their interest in questions of faith. By making the peace commitment of young people their own concern, the Protestant synods have at the same time risked in exemplary manner their prestige for the protection of the critics of the armament race. Thus the social situation of the GDR seems to nourish in young people a renewed interest in the church and its organization. This means that the state would hardly be able to risk a confrontation at the present time.

Let it not be misunderstood: the socialist state and the SED have in no way assigned a relative role to their claim for social and ideological leadership. On the contrary, renewed efforts are being made to win over the Protestant church for socialist goals. Instead of getting involved in hard ideological controversies, the state is trying to win the "productive forces of Christian faith" for its own national political system, and to show a certain amount of readiness for compromise.

On 13 May 1981 State Secretary Gysi in an address before the Royal Institute for International Affairs in London explained his attitude toward the peace concept of the church even if his explanation lacked clarity. He said that the church has the right "to act--in word and deed--for peace and prosperity of mankind without any restrictions whatever. Socialism has liberated Christians and the church from abusing their faith for purposes that have nothing to do with Christian commandments." Translated into plain language this means: the churches must examine their peace commitment in the light of socialist morality and measure it by the standards of SED politics.

A clearer statement was made by the CDU propagandist Wolfgang Heyl who in Vienna in 1979 made the following remarks while speaking as self-appointed spokesman for the churches: "We are able to incorporate into this new (socialist) order

whatever forces are inherent in our faith that contribute to the formation of society. This does not mean, however, that we use the gospel as a handbook for political decisions." These decisions are claimed by party ideologists exclusively for themselves. This statement signifies that the government attempted to cut off from the very beginning, in the churches and everywhere else, any discussions on pacifism in regard to military preparations in its own country.

The GDR "Military Encyclopedia" defines pacifism as an enemy of progress. "Because pacifist movements and tendencies in socialist countries are harmful to strengthening defense forces and thereby to maintaining peace, imperialism uses [pacifist] slogans especially...against the socialist countries in order to undermine their defense postures. This means that pacifist intentions in socialist countries must be overcome by whatever logical means necessary." The apparent contradiction of this policy to the fact that the GDR supports pacifist movements in Western Europe is solved by the explanation that in 1922 Lenin replied to Chicherin's concerns in regard to the attitude of the Soviet delegation at the World Economic Conference in Genoa: "You have fought against pacifism, just as I did myself, as part of the program of the revolutionary proletarian party. That is clear. But where and when did this party ever refuse to make use of pacifism when there was a question of destroying the enemy, the bourgeoisie?"

The GDR leadership manages to affirm its peaceful intentions and, under the same breath, introduce premilitary training for 11th grade students in extended high schools, as it happened on 1 September of this year. It is the purpose of these 12-day vacation courses to "provide instruction in the theory, knowledge and skills necessary for a career as motorized rifleman in the NVA" (National People's Army) and "to strengthen the defense readiness male students."

Pacifists--"Men of Peace"

This is the translation given by Bishop Rathke, Schwerin, for this word [pacifists] which is so unpopular with many politicians. The attitude of the GDR bishop is an indication of his readiness to take the risk of questioning the ideological position of the SED. Protestant Christians in the GDR feel very clearly that the socialist government is trying to cover up the "dissatisfaction existing under the socialist regime and coming from a feeling that former ideals have been made meaningless" by, among other things, stimulating the friend-enemy concept in East-West relations and thereby underlining the duty of defense readiness. Without provoking unnecessary conflict situations, the church on the other hand is trying to send out feelers of understanding in both directions. This was pointed out by the Protestant Leadership Conference in 1980. The most important passage in the report on this conference, however, was erased by government censors: "To make and maintain peace is not only a question and task of world politics but a life-long process which applies equally to the global level, the respective social levels and the intra-human level... In order to support the continued development of this process steps should be taken, e.g., which promote further possibilities of meetings between citizens of the two German states. There is a direct relationship between peace between the states and peace within a society. The ability to live with and solve conflicts in our daily life and society contributes also to the peace between the states."

Christians in the GDR must still take into account personal disadvantages when they object to the militarization of civilian life and try to support the elimination of enemy images. But if the seemingly impossible is not even considered or attempted, no change for the better will take place. (Hans Tschiche, Magdeburg)

8889
CSO: 2300/89

WESTERN ATTITUDES AT EAST BERLIN 'PEACE MEETING' CRITICIZED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Dec 81 p 23

[Article by Sibylle Wirsing: "Between Unconsciousness and Awakening — Peace, Poland and Mushy Western Ingratiations: The Berlin East-West Dialogue of Writers." For a Swiss commentary and SED report on the same topic see translations published under the heading, "Controversial GDR, FRG Writers' Meeting in East Berlin Discussed," in JPRS 79841, 12 Jan 82, No 1959 of this series, pp 11-16. A translation of a Hamburg DER SPIEGEL report on this subject is published under the heading, "FRG Writers Invited To Attend East Berlin 'Peace Congress,'" in JPRS 79549, 30 Nov 81, No 1946 of this series, pp 3-4]

[Text] The younger generation was absent when writers, artists and scientists from East and West met to discuss peace at the City of Berlin Interhotel on Alexanderplatz. Missing was the young German poet who carries "Sturm und Drang" within himself and political energy in his style, whose name is familiar to us through the "Robbers," "Goetz," "Homburg" and "Danton," and whose songs had visualized war on the horizon. Perhaps he had not been invited — perhaps he no longer exists, or people do not know him. Thomas Brasch — who was born in 1945 in exile in England, grew up in the GDR and has been on the move in the West for some years — stood in for him. He had this to say on the occasion of his visit to East Berlin: "I have experienced peace, and it was terrible. I have experienced a condition of paralysis, and I don't regard paralysis as peace." The quote made the rounds; people twisted it this way and that, contradicted it, attempted to mitigate its harshness and, when all was said and done, had to let it stand as it had been said.

Later, when the day of the meeting was almost gone, a woman was also heard. She said this: "The very first descriptions in European literature were of battles" — the thread of war has run through poetry since Homer — "I can't relate to that at all. It isn't my tradition." That was Christa Wolf.

The men had it pretty much to themselves as they sat down in East Berlin to discuss peace — a group largely devoid of young people and women. Most of them were carrying heavy baggage from the past, from which they fueled the conversation. There was frequent mention of what the two German statesmen Honecker and Schmidt had just affirmed at their meeting: Never again an act of military aggression originating from German soil.

Meanwhile, the Polish government had been transformed into a military regime. The attitude of the interlocutors in the Interhotel's banquet hall remained low-key. Robert Jungk, who had brought up the current event right at the start of the meeting, was applauded when he voiced a fraternal solution and made this entreaty: No raw force, and no threat of force. Poland did not come up again — the news lay there as though beneath a sheet of ice — until Stefan Heym, the East Berlin provocateur, broke the silence: "I have the feeling that I'm dreaming. Here we are talking about keeping the peace, while totally ignoring the fact that the fuse is already burning just a few kilometers away. I pray to God that what is to be feared will not happen." He would not have needed to speak more plainly to make himself understood, but he added this remark: "A world war started once before over Poland."

Participants like Stefan Heym were not the spokesmen, however. Stephan Hermlin, the initiator of the gathering, had caused the group to reflect on the prerequisites for the discussion right at the outset: complete openness and a high degree of self-discipline. But he had also anticipated the difficulties and the self-consciousness: "We don't know each other, or we've gotten out of the habit of meeting with one another."

The official title of the encounter was the "Berlin Meeting for the Promotion of Peace"; in other words, not a congress, not a conference, but a colloquium and a getting together again. For of course they knew one another and had done battle earlier, when the GDR and FRG had still been unaccustomed to being states and had yet to establish their own identities. Now, because of the common threat worldwide, Stephan Hermlin was engineering this getting together again after the many years during which German-speaking writers and artists from East and West had failed to gather for a public exchange of ideas. The motto of the meeting could also have been a stanza of poetry by Gottfried Benn: "Come, let us speak one with the other; he who speaks is not dead. But the flames are already licking hungrily at our woe."

None of the participants — those from the two German states and the others from Switzerland, Austria, Scandinavia and the Soviet Union — wanted to utter even a single syllable that would minimize the danger which, going by the name of "World War III," signifies the destruction of mankind, and which has ceased to be an abstract policy vehicle since America acknowledged for a staggering moment the possibility of a limited use of nuclear weapons. But in the great adversity in which they had gathered, in this dreadful mutuality of the European consciousness, the ideological, attitudinal and individual compartmentalizations seemed once again as developed as they had been before. So they sat together separately: enveloped by the concern expressed in Hermlin's invitation, a concern to which so many had given way, but separated by those boundaries, fissures and faults which only the German partition would call natural. For they pass through all vital areas; they have become custom, experience, biography and career; they have found adherents and shaped citizens. They determine education and the education of oneself, and they show up in the German language, which has been developing so many nuances of separation peculiar to the GDR and characteristic of the FRG. The common thought mechanism has become fragile along with the repertoire used to transmit it.

Stephan Hermlin declared the political hope for the discussion to be that of reducing suspicion and establishing trust. But suspicion is deeply embedded in the

material used for communication, material that has disintegrated in the course of the decades since the war. For example, a suggestion like this one — to use the word genocide in the future instead of war, the old traditional word — was possibly acceptable to the entire group. However, the inference imputing the genocidal tendency or effect to the defense ethos as well — to the extent of denouncing the minister of defense as the minister of genocide — could only come from a Westerner in this group and had to evoke among his Eastern partners the dismay that the Western inclination to bare one's soul and defame one's state has certainly provoked in a sensitive audience.

The effect of crude attempts at ingratiation with hosts and strange surroundings was seen in both the wretched willingness to compromise that had West Berlin's Ingeborg Drewitz mentioning the exodus of writers from the GDR — certainly a tragic thing — and the abuse of writers by a Bavarian politician in the same breath and Bernt Engelmann's sorry inadequacy as the first to proclaim his willingness to renounce the German nation. Mushy Western ingratiations like these, which lacked any historical or contemporary value, can scarcely have helped to create opportunities for understanding or to eliminate distrust. For no matter what, our GDR colleagues have had for their own socialist state a respect that has made criticism — that was not suppressed — possible at all.

The Western group as a whole may have learned from the writers from the other Germany a lesson worthy of reflection, as Engelmann did when he obtained from Erik Neutsch — a solid rather than subtle representative of socialist German literature — the information that even in the GDR it is not taboo to mourn the loss of the German nation: Loyalty to the laws of the state behind which one has lined up can differ distinctly and substantially from slavish submission.

No one in East Berlin practiced in such an exemplary manner as the former Stammheim attorney Axel Azzola the Western method of chiding the state in order to appear progressive and open to discussion. Then, when the GDR writer Rolf Schneider attempted with the same intonation to challenge his own socialist state, the effect was only dispiriting. For this much could be understood: Complete openness and a high degree of self-discipline had to be mutually conditional if the discussion were not to turn into a total flop.

The issue was that of dealing with political reality in a critical rather than a denunciatory manner. No one demonstrated this balance of clarity and astuteness as flawlessly as a man of letters whom one had previously appreciated for his gentle and consistent, ironically elevated and finely honed language, and whom one was now getting to know as a master of political plaintext.

He spoke of the peace movement in Western Europe; of the fact that those in the GDR were applauding the youth uprising in the West but then did not intend to tolerate it at home. And he asked whether this would not perforce lead to the impression of a double standard of morality: "One damages one's own credibility this way." It was the GDR writer Guenter de Bruyn.

Without a hint of the Western intellectual arrogance that tries to show off by exaggerating, he quite simply gave cause to consider that it would be in the GDR's own interest to support the peace movement. A brief reference to the young

Christians who are calling for a social peace service in place of conscription was all de Bruyn needed to illustrate his argument. And he carried this thought through without pretension by examining the idea that the arms race would have to come to a standstill if one side would give in as the wiser party. This had the ring not of a dilettantish demand but a proposal which, presented thoughtfully and temperately, was not without effect throughout the conference.

The wiser one gives in — even nuclear scientist Klaus Fuchs had to defer to this idea. In his introductory speech earlier, Fuchs had described in such forceful terms how the Soviet Union was being forced to build up its defensive forces as a result of the U.S. doctrine of superiority. Then Fuchs later conceded at least that a nuclear-free Germany — the FRG no longer integrated in NATO, the GDR no longer integrated in the Warsaw Pact — was probably conceivable as a political possibility, although hardly imaginable as a political reality.

Robert Jungk sought to warn his discussion partners against entering an impracticable and unproductive area of discussion as vest-pocket strategists. But there was still a great deal of talk about which world power was forcing the arms race on which world power.

Guenter Grass's avowal that his fears of world annihilation were the same, whether through American or Soviet missiles, would not do. "Are you really afraid of the Russians?" asked Karl Wolf, president of the East Berlin Academy of the Arts and a member of the SED Central Committee. His tone of astonished incredulity made it seem as though Grass had claimed the sun was the moon. And in response to a remark by Hermann Kant — to the effect that the Soviet Union had convincingly demonstrated its readiness for peace with repeated disarmament proposals — Jurek Becker noted that it was ultimately not enough to repeat oneself over and over again: "This repetition is basically violent." But then what?

"We're talking like impotent people, and that's what we are," Thomas Brasch had said, and he had meant it angrily. But it was just this difficult and certainly imperfect confession of impotence that at the end of the discussion turned out to be a beginning: an unspoken farewell to all optimism at the City of Berlin Hotel on Alexanderplatz; a radical and total decision — by those who, under the protection of the real socialism, would so like to be certain of their fine causes — not to denigrate those others who are not sustained by any such conviction. Heiner Mueller's illusion-free definition — that peace in Europe has always been a peace at war — had to be considered just as valid here in this gathering as did Christa Wolf's passionate outburst against a civilization that has so systematically produced the material for its own destruction: "If it was capable of that, it is sick, perhaps mentally sick — mortally sick."

That Christa Wolf herself interrupted a bit later with an expression of hope was decidedly of benefit to the entire Berlin meeting, for the good example that occurred to the poet was the meeting itself. Had any among them thought it possible even a few weeks ago that they would be getting together here to talk? Did the gathering not prove that the desire for something better can be stronger than impotence?

7452
CSO: 2300/98

SED FEARS OF POLISH CRISIS' SPILLOVER ANALYZED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 2, 11 Jan 82 p 22

[Text] The Polish bacillus is apparently more virulent in the DDR than is known. There are mass resignations from the trade union, comrades in the SED are in rebellion. This emerges from the analysis by an SED member which describes party fears and strategy vis-a-vis the Jaruzelski regime.

It was clear to the SED leadership as early as November that something was going to happen in Poland. Erich Honecker said at the 3rd meeting of the Central Committee on November 19-20: "The confrontation is unavoidable, the counterrevolution is armed." This sentence is not included in the Honecker report to the Central Committee which was published subsequently.

The precise point in time, however, at which Jaruzelski established military rule was not known to the Secretary General. The SED leadership expected major disturbances and "decisive action" during the period of December 15-20, 1981 and, for this reason, wanted the Honecker-Schmidt meeting out of the way before then.

The GDR leadership have very mixed feelings about the Jaruzelski regime: Although the SED leadership assume that the general acted under Soviet pressure and felt pushed by the danger of the orthodox group around Olszowski and Grabski, they do not overlook the fact that the people who took action are not primarily those who consider a reestablishment of the old power relationships possible, or even desirable.

Thus SED leaders do not believe that Jaruzelski's statements on "renewal" are only tactical declarations. Rather, they are convinced that it is a more or less Polish nationalistic grouping which complied with the Moscow (and GDR) demand for establishment of peace and order to forestall probable internal or external actions by other groups. It is therefore the SED leadership line to infiltrate, through official support for the military government, Jaruzelski's policies by political and personnel means.

That is to say, the SED wants to support it [the military government] against internal opposition (Solidarnosc, KOR, etc.), but also works towards "liberating" it of "nationalistic elements" and to establish "international" minded people in Jaruzelski's apparatus. With this conception, the SED leadership see themselves in step with the Soviet position.

SED leaders are still greatly concerned about future developments in Poland. For one thing, they are not convinced that Jaruzelski's concept can actually succeed. Its own SED information shows that active and passive resistance in Poland is much greater than is surmised in the West.

Furthermore, it was Jaruzelski and Kania, his predecessor as party chief, who "held back" the army and security organs at a time when it was still possible to nip the opposition in the bud (an old SED leadership theory since 17 June 1953 is that such developments must be nipped in the bud).

The SED leadership also understand that a realization of Jaruzelski's concept, even with all the infiltration attempts, would result in a Poland that does not represent a simple or modified Soviet model but "something very different". And this would mean a constant stress especially for the GDR.

A member of the Politburo: "Here we are not dealing with the petty shopkeeping people of Hungary who—with the exception of industry concentrated on the Csepel island--sell salami to the West as their hottest export item and who, without great strategic importance on the perimeter of the Warsaw Pact, border on neutral Austria, Poland is a heartland of the Warsaw Pact, it lies between us and the USSR and is the second largest economy of COMECON. If the economic heartbeat beats differently here, it can lead to an infraction of the whole economic organism of at least those COMECON countries which are equally as dependent on export as the GDR."

At the same time the SED is plagued by many internal problems in connection with Poland, and the establishment of the military regime has not done away with that.

Even before December 13, Honecker sent a circular to all party organizations, managers of state institutions and trade union organizations in which he pointed to the continuing "dangerous" developments in Poland, a circular especially oriented towards "nipping in the bud" "with great firmness and severity" analogous developments such as the forming of independent trade unions.

Yet in many places there were mass resignations from the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation]. Among railroad workers of the Frankfurt/Oder district alone, 500 members in one fell swoop resigned from the FDGB.

There are similar phenomena within the SED. There exist letters from various rank and file organizations to the Central Committee with demands that certain matters (of a material, sociopolitical or political nature) be changed and functionaries removed because of their highhandedness; and the reasons for these demands end almost always identically with:"... so that it won't happen as in Poland". In every case the SED leadership took direct and quick action: almost always, all party leaders were immediately removed and greatest secrecy about the incident was imposed.

This explains why Honecker's letter to "nip in the bud" all attempts at forming independent trade unions met with widespread astonishment, since hardly any of the addressees had heard of such occurences.

At the same time the SED leadership must deal with a rapid decline in the population's morale. Major causes are the constant hidden price hikes and the continuing and increasing difficulties and inadequacies of supply in the widest sense of the word. The situation in Poland and developments in the world market and in the other COMECON countries no longer lets the population believe in tangible improvements.

Although SED leaders are certain that in GDR industries no strikes will occur like those in Poland, their concern is that a labor force which is resigned and also has no material prospects can be stimulated only with great difficulty to perform the work needed for economic development.

9917
CSO: 2300/115

CONTACTS WITH POLISH RADIO HAMS REPORTED ON 16 DECEMBER

PM221403 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 16 Dec 81 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Radio Ham in Contact With Poland: Reports of Clashes and Looting"]

[Text] Amsterdam, 16 Dec--An Amsterdam radio ham is picking up Polish colleagues who are reporting widespread uprisings in various parts of Poland against the Army.

In the most recent communication of this sort a Polish radio ham made an appeal for medications, antibiotics and bandages to be sent. Nearly all radio hams are saying that since the very beginning of the state of martial law Sunday morning there have been reports of fighting between civilians and Army and police units. Civilians are said to have made open attacks on military convoys, shops are said to have been looted, and there is also said to have been shooting and large numbers of arrests. Some radio hams in Poland have been arrested, or so they claim themselves, on the instructions of the Russian radio monitoring service [radiocontroledienst]. One Polish radio ham reported that civilians had lain down on the highway between Warsaw and the Russian obrder to obstruct the passage of military convoys.

None of these reports has been confirmed, and it is also unclear how the hams are able to gather information from different parts of Poland.

The name of the Amsterdam radio ham will not be given here, since he is forbidden by law to establish contact in this way with countries in a state of martial law. The Amsterdam ham refused to say where exactly his Polish contacts are, since this would put them in personal danger. The Amsterdam ham will pass his information on to Amnesty International. So far he has had contact with five different hams in different parts of Poland--one near the Russian border, one near the Czech border and one in the coastal region. All their call signs and locations are known to him.

The first contacts came early Sunday morning. Communication is on short wave frequencies, in Morse code, and outside the ham waveband, in order to make tracing difficult. The Polish hams broadcast SOS signals and reported comprehensive troop movements, martial law and demonstrations in named towns. Later in the morning they were reporting attacks on food transports and shops. Later there was talk of real uprisings against the Army in some cities.

The Polish hams fear for their lives. One described how he was sitting in the woods with two helpers each holding a 20-meter antenna wire. The small transmitter had a capacity of around 3 kilowatts. In the evening one of the Poles reported that another had been picked up. This information also seemed to be known to two other hams; later two further arrests were reported.

One of the Poles said: "I am running out of power. So I cannot live any more. We want peace. What should I do?" He was advised from Amsterdam to go to his family and hide the part of his transmitter with friends. The Pole asked to have letters and cards sent to him. Later he reported that a family council had been held, that he was not going home as long as it was possible for him to stay on the air.

Yesterday evening another ham gave a list of cities where civilians were said to be fighting with the police: Gdansk, Szczecin, Wroclaw, Krakow, Lublin, Krosno, Stalowa Wola, Ostrowiec, Walbrzych, Lodz, Radom, Torun, Nowa Huta, Elblag, Zabrze, Sosnowiec, Katowice and 10 other cities.

CSO: 3105/83

LULINSKI COMMENTARY ON DETENTE DIALOGUE NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 p 7

[Article by Daniel Lulinski: "Dialogue for Detente"]

[Text] The completed talks between Erich Honecker and Helmut Schmidt near Berlin have provided positive impulses for the continuation of detente and disarmament in Europe. The talks have confirmed that dialogue at the highest level between states with different systems is even more possible and necessary in a complicated international situation.

This is noteworthy, especially given the attempts of the Federal Republic of Germany to negate the existence of the GDR over two decades. Wider implications of the dialogue between the chairman of the Council of State and the federal chancellor become evident due to the role of these two states in European politics and in their alliances.

Erich Honecker and Helmut Schmidt could state in unison that the GDR and the FRG are guided in their mutual relations by the will to support actively the process of disarmament and contribute to the stabilization of international situation. The basis for their common assessment is found in the statement that the relations between both states should not be an additional burden on the relations between the East and the West. Besides, the common convicition has been expressed that a new war should never again originate in German lands.

This is not to say that there are no differences between the GDR and the FRG due to their political systems, in their views on the reasons for tensions and new nuclear missile armaments of the United States and NATO in Europe. Berlin views critically the role of the FRG government as a cosponsor of the famous armament decision of NATO in 1979.

Therefore, the joint communique merely states that E. Honecker and H. Schmidt presented their positions on the issue of nuclear arms limitations. They spoke in favor of continuing the process of strategic arms limitation and reduction, currently under negotiation in Geneva between the USSR and United States. After the talks of Leonid Brezhnev in Bonn, new impulses have appeared for activating disarmament dialogue in East-West relations.

The highest representatives of the GDR and the FRG have also drawn a balance of the process of normalizing mutual interstate relations initiated by the Basic Agreement

in December 1972. This balance is favorable for bilateral relations as well as for the normalization of the situation in this part of Europe. Nonetheless, the revisionist doctrines effective in the FRG on the would-be further existence of the German Reich within the 1937 boundaries hamper the solution of many basic problems on which normal cooperation between both states depends.

According to the coordinated foreign policy of the Warsaw Treaty members, the GDR makes the joint action of both German states for the sake of preserving peace in [this] sensitive area of Europe a centerpiece of its relations with the FRG, along with the issues of economic cooperation. This has been borne out by the present Honecker-Schmidt talks. The dialogue between the GDR and the FRG will continue; the invitation extended to Erich Honecker to visit the Federal Republic of Germany attests to this.

9761
CSO: 2600/176

MILITARY ACTIVITIES UNDER MARTIAL LAW DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17 Dec 81 pp 1, 6

[Article by K-cl: "In the Forefront of the Struggle for Order and Peace"]

> [Text] Four days have passed since martial law was declared in this country to put an end to lawlessness, anarchy, senseless strikes destroying our economy, ordinary brigandage, and political adventurism. The Polish public welcomed with obvious relief the actions of the armed forces which, in the new situation, took over the burden of responsibility for rescuing the country from menace.

The advance line of military action now runs across the front of struggle for political awareness, for maintenance of peace and order, for restoration of a secure atmosphere, for assurance of uninterrupted production and efficiently functioning offices and institutions.

Day and night, military sentinels guard facilities important to the normal functioning of the state. Army-militia patrols direct street traffic in cities. Special detachments of security forces assure efficient operation of labor establishments. Military plenipotentiaries--commissioners of the KOK [National Defense Committee] in various ministries provide substantial assistance to municipal and local elements of the administration in surmounting numerous urgent social and economic problems. Action against phenomena of speculation and dishonest self-enrichment at the cost of us all continues.

This is accompanied by intensified training of the armed forces on land, sea, and in air, in exercise areas and garrisons. The troops themselves, expressing their support for the decision of the Military Council of National Salvation, are pledging themselves to fulfill conscientiously their new responsible tasks in the defense of socialist Poland.

On the Seacoast

The protection of important facilities in the Tri-City area [Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot], the assurance of peace, order, and uninterrupted functioning of labor establishments, and the maintenance of order in the area of Gdansk Voivodship,

as well as the training of subunits, have become the principal activities of the members of the Coastal Defense Force during the last 4 days.

We have been informed by Lt Col Edward Kijek that soldiers in blue berets are, jointly with sailors and militiamen, performing patrol service, directing vehicular traffic on the voivodship's roads, and protecting the airfield in Rembiechow, the Gdansk TV relay station, the local radio station, and electric power distribution stations. Within the garrison, training and equipment maintenance are continued.

The professional cadre and draftees are expressing their amazement at the unawareness of the public, and especially of the younger generation, as regards the threat to the country and the consequences ensuing from the state's martial law. The servicemen unequivocally interpret the decisions of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] as the first step on the road toward the stabilization of the country's sociopolitical and economic life. The reigning conviction is that only resolute preventive action in all cases of violation of the mandatory martial law as well as the disciplining of all fields of society's life will help surmount the state's present situation.

Further consolidation of the military echelons has taken place. The servicemen display great mental and physical resistance and treat their new tasks very seriously. An expression of the support for the decisions of the WRON, of high civic consciousness, is the fact that recently nine soldiers in blue berets signed declarations of intent to join the ranks of the PZPR. The radical attitude of the servicemen, who believe that only shock therapy can put an end to adventurism, is mitigated by the professional cadre, the party activists, and ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth]. The credo which the members of the Coastal Defense Force follow in their actions is: apply persuasion but whenever martial law is not obeyed, apply other preventive measures, including force.

Among Antiaircraft Personnel

The members of the National Air Defense Forces are in a continuing state of combat alert. To them the state's martial law means primarily increasing their vigilance so as to prevent an uninvited "guest" from appearing over our territory. At the command post, mysterious markings are daily made on maps. Security almost seems ordinary except that the number of telephone conversations and messages on situation in the air is greater than usual.

The sunny weather on the fourth day of martial law allows introducing new elements into the training of observers, although the mist arising over the frozen soil does not permit long-distance reconnaissance. The sentry paces his route with measured steps. Around a nearby settlement, military patrols rather do more to improve the morale of the inhabitants than to protect against danger this remote unit lost among the snows.

In Zamosc Region

Yet another day of extraordinary combat alert among air force units, and yet another day of model fulfillment of their tasks by the servicemen. Every hour

of the service and work of pilots performing their varied duties throughout the country is valuable, the more so since the current tasks are more responsible than ever before, and more difficult as well.

This fully applies to the Technical School of Aviation Forces [TSWL] imienia Michal Wojtowicz in Zamosc. The military community there, too, like all others, has been charged with especially important duties ensuing from martial law. And, most commendably, it can be stated that every order, every instruction, is fulfilled immediately. The troops state that this is dictated by their civic concern for the country's fate, for assuring a permanently peaceful and successful future for the country rather than the future intended by the extremist leaders of Solidarity who had been leading Poland toward socioeconomic ruin, toward the brink of an abyss for the nation.

Beginning with the first hours of martial law, sensitive areas of Zamosc are under constant watch, and the assigned facilities are being protected. This is hard duty, also because it is being performed under the conditions of a harsh winter that is more rigorous in the eastern regions than elsewhere in Poland. Those assigned to round-the-clock, daily, and nightly patrol service in the city also get chilled to the bones by the time they complete their tour of duty. The fact that calm, peace and public order have not yet been disturbed by any major incident is due precisely to the members of these patrols as well as to other special services functioning in the present critical period. They all express the hope that calm will continue, that people will understand and appreciate in whose interest these actions are being taken and for whose sake these sleepless nights and daily intense work are being spent. This is the common view of both those who have been linked to the Zamosc TSWL and those who had barely a few days ago sworn their solemn soldierly oath of allegiance. Common belief in the rightness of their actions is cementing the soldier collectives, enhancing efficiency, and contributing to infallibility of actions.

As we have been informed by Lt Col Jozef Kupczyk, plenipotentiaries--commissioners of the National Defense Committee have also been delegated from among the personnel of the TSWL. Jointly with the assigned groups of soldiers, they operate both within the city and in other localities, facilitating and supervising the functioning of the local apparatus of the authorities and state administration, and actively taking part in the solution of the currently so numerous and complex problems of the local population. The attendant difficult and responsible duties in Zamosc are being fulfilled by, among others, the team under Lt Col Marcin Taroch: in Bilgoraj and Zwierzyniec, by the team under Col Leszek Wos; in Potok Gorny and Ksiezopole, by the team under Lt Col Emil Wlazlo; and on the area of the Zamosc and Skierbieszow gmina, by the team under Maj Jan Czajewski.

Despite the extraordinary situation and the resulting increased number of special tasks, the program for specialist, general-military, and political training on the school's exercise fields and in lecture rooms is continuing with the participation of the professional cadre and cadets. This is more difficult than normally, and some of the planned exercises have to be postponed. But everyone vouches that servicemen will receive adequate training to perform their duties in troop units.

It should be emphasized that civilian experts also distinguish themselves by their model performance of duties. There is not among them any unjustified absenteeism or tardiness, which is all the more commendable considering that many employees must travel daily to the school, sometimes over considerable distances. A characteristic fact--at least as regards the TSWL--is that the current special situation not only does not slow down the work rhythm but even intensifies it, which causes intensified activity and commitment to the performance of the duties posed.

Among the Personnel of the Kosciuszko Division

The introduction of martial law throughout the nation placed special obligations on the personnel of the First Warsaw Motorized Division imienia Tadeusz Kosciuszko. They attempt to fulfill these obligations as best as they can--and they succeed. They are additionally motivated in this endeavor by the fact that their commander, Brig Gen Jerzy Jarosz, is a member of the WRON that had been formed on the night between 12 and 13 December of last year.

In these difficult days, so important to the country's survival, an unusually essential role is played by the guard detachments. Special precautions have been taken. The guards under Master Sgt Ryszard Zawadzki were assigned specific tasks for the protection of facilities and strengthening of guard services.

A nearby settlement also has been taken under their wing: there, special patrols safeguard calm and order and watch over the safety of the inhabitants.

The repairmen of Lt Stanislaw Florek have their hands full in maintaining combat equipment in an efficient state. Similarly, the communications personnel are performing their duties on location. Among others, the servicemen under Lt Ryszard Bedek assure communication among the operating subunits.

Parallel to fulfilling these responsible tasks, the personnel of the Kosciuszko Division perform their normal duties associated with military service. Instruction in schools for reserve officer cadets and junior military specialists is continuing.

For the Safety of Labor Establishments

The martial law binding throughout the country has caused a change in the training program at military schools. Certain officer cadets have been assigned to protect important state facilities, while others safeguard order on the streets of cities and others still perform barracks service.

First-year officer cadets from the Higher School of Motorized Troop Officers assure the safety of several labor establishments in cooperation with the plant personnel. The men under Lt Zbigniew Miarowski and Lt Jerzy Panas cooperate with the workforce of the Organika-Rotika Odra Organic Industry Plant in Brzeg Dolny. The officer cadets from the detachment of Maj Bogdan Sambor engage in joint patrolling of the city with militiamen. In the last few days many long-sought recidivists with no known employment have been detained. The officer

cadets from the detachments of 1st Lt Wladyslaw Kalisz and Lt Bogdan Horbacz have recently been patrolling the streets of the Krzyki, Fabryczna, and Psie Pole districts in Wroclaw.

The personnel of the units of the Silesian Military District have been performing their duties in just as model a manner.

In the Coastal Region

On the ships and among the shore units of the navy, the training exercises ensuing from the program for general-naval and specialist education of the crews are continuing. In addition, tasks dictated by the martial law are being performed. The martial law imposes on naval personnel the duty of special vigilance in guarding the nation's sea borders. They are fulfilling these duties in awareness of the current situation and sparing no effort in performing guard service on Polish territorial waters and at the portals of the Baltic.

The naval community is expressing its complete support for the decisions of the WRON intended to halt the evolution of events in the direction of a confrontation that could have tragic consequences, to stabilize public moods, and to put the economy in order. This support is demonstrated by sacrificial service in standing watch on the sea under difficult hydrometeorological conditions, in the presence of stormy weather, frost and precipitation causing the ships to ice over and contributing to the difficulties of combat watch.

Representative of the attitude of the naval community regarding the most vital affairs of our society at present were the participants in the meeting with former activists of the PPR [Polish Workers Party--the embryo of PZPR], which took place in Gdynia on 16 December upon the initiative of the Navy Committee of the PZPR. Those present included the member of the WRON, Commander of the Navy of the Polish People's Republic, Adm Ludwik Janczysyn. The meeting, which was attended by, among others, PPR members comrades Gwidon Krolczak, Hieronim Klapka, Wladyslaw Maj, and Jerzy Koziarski, was linked to the 33d anniversary of the unification of the Polish worker movement, celebrated on 15 December, and it devoted considerable attention to the present situation.

A proof of the support of the naval personnel for the actions initiated by the WRON has been the numerous resolutions adopted at rallies of political and youth organizations in, among others, the Higher School of Navy imienia the Heroes of Westerplatte, the CSSMW [Training Center for Naval Specialists imeni Franciszek Zubrzycki], the Armed Forces Training Center for Divers and Frogmen, and among ship personnel. Many servicemen in navy blue uniforms expressed their support for these actions by submitting applications for admission to the ranks of PZPR. At the CSSMW this was done by, among others, Senior Petty Officer 3d Class Maciej Taranczewski, while among the personnel of coast-guard ships, PZPR candidate cards were received by three basic-service naval ratings.

Representatives of the navy take an active part in stabilizing the social and economic situation on the area of the coastal regions. Among others, Capt Jozef Jakobczyk, Capt Jerzy Przybylski, and Capt Franciszek Czerski are sacrificially and effectively participating in commissioner activities in the Tri-City area.

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MILITARY ACTIVITY UNDER MARTIAL LAW REPORTED FURTHER

After Eight Days

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 21 Dec 81 pp 1, 4

[Article by (k-ci): "Soldiers' Self-Sacrificing Service at Every Post"]

[Text] Our country has been under martial law for 8 days. The combat duty tour of soldiers of the Polish People's Army continues in airports and on ships and on ships of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Navy in units and garrisons.

Within an atmosphere of total involvement and self-sacrifice surrounding the activities they are undertaking in the name of the higher interests of the socialist fatherland, soldiers, in close cooperation with law and order forces, are maintaining order and safety in the streets of cities, villages and hamlets, they are offering considerable assistance to municipal and local elements of administrative authority and they are ensuring calm and conditions facilitating work in production enterprises.

Just as they did a week ago, everybody is following the development of the national situation with unflagging attention. Everyone is also expressing the belief that the decisions made by the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] under the leadership of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski will give a greater and greater sense of stability to sociopolitical and economic life, increasing law and order and safety. They greet the first symptoms of the intensified rhythm of work, improvement in supply and the reports of the successful implementation of tasks with joy and hope.

At the same time, they emphasize in their statements that every action which runs in the opposite direction must meet with firm, resolute resistance and the severe penalty appropriate for such transgressions. For it is only calm and productive everyday work which represent society's interests, most clearly understood, and offer the guarantee of its continued success in the future.

The Mazowsze Unit for Internal Defense named for Stefan Zbikowski. The decision concerning the appointment of the WRON under the leadership of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski is generally regarded in the unit to be ultimately necessary for protecting the country and the Polish people against catastrophe. Martial law, in the opinion of the professional cadre and soldiers in basic military

service, has become a dam stemming the tide of counterrevolution, anarchy and lawlessness. Fully aware of the fact that the effectiveness of this barrier rests with them, with their attitudes and with the dependable implementation of their service duties, from the first hours of martial law the soldiers embarked upon the implementation of new tasks with a sense of commitment.

They can still be seen at their posts in front of public service buildings, upholding law and order. Their colleagues back at the barracks are executing training tasks. Both groups talk about the events in Gdansk and in Gorny Slash, saying that it was high time that the provocateurs and madmen be stopped, at any price, from dreaming about civil war in Poland.

Work Rhythm

In spite of numerous limitations caused by nationwide martial law, the Military Armaments Plants [WZU] in Grudziadz are continuing the rhythmical implementation of repair-production plans. As we were informed by Col Tadeusz Jozwiak, the work backlog during the fourth quarter of this year has made it necessary to amend the yearly plan and to make changes in numerous organizational moves. At present it is highly probable that this year's plans will be implemented in full, the more so because the nationwide difficulties resulting from the shortage of raw materials and spare parts have bypassed the Grudziadz WZU.

Beginning with the first working day after the declaration of martial law, on which practically the entire work force reported for work, employees have been fulfilling their duties through Sunday, 20 December with much self-sacrifice. They know that the efficiency of military equipment and arms depends on their dependable work, and that coproducers are waiting for some of their products. Among the best workers are the production department foremen: Ryszard Grzonkowski, Ryszard Pawlowicz and Genowefa Klamczynska, Staff Master Sgt Zbigniew Jaszewski and Ryszard Gawinski, Roman Jedrzejewski, Franciszek Michalski and Stanislaw Rozek.

Employees in the departments serving production likewise are fulfilling their duties in an exemplary manner. These include: Hubert Podlecki, Franciszek Ostrowski and Stanislaw Uminski.

For the past 8 days, unbroken protection has been provided for the military plants. An employees' watch has been standing guard together with the soldiers.

Recognition for Tank Personnel

Approval of WRON decisions aimed at stabilizing life in our country and ensuring the safety of working people has been expressed in all units within the Silesian Military District. The soldiers give evidence of their support through their exemplary execution of tasks in all sectors of their difficult, responsible service.

The work and attitude of Maj Stanislaw Ptaszek and Capt Stanislaw Wysoki from the tank unit have been recognized. Tank crewmen from Lt Roch Sobieszczyk's

subunit demonstrate the proper attitude and sense of self-sacrifice in their execution of various tasks as they protect and defend state buildings. Law and order prevails around the buildings protected by them.

Wherever there are subunits of Silesian Military District units, often executing tasks far from their home garrisons, soldiers are warmly welcomed by the inhabitants, who even render them assistance. On Friday evening, e.g., Walenty Andrzejczak, director of "kamaz" was on his way to the transport base in the PGR [State Farm] plants and helped tow a military vehicle that was out of commission. Later it came out that 20 years before, Walenty Andrzejczak had fulfilled his military service obligation in the very unit from which the vehicle had come.

The youth are also offering their thanks to the soldiers for their sacrificial service under difficult winter conditions. On the initiative of the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] Voivodship Board in Zielona Gora, the young people set about preparing Christmas packages for soldiers fulfilling service in combat posts.

At the same time, the work of local and city operational groups is continuing. As we were informed by the leader of the city local operational group from the Wroclaw Factory city-district Waclaw Dyrda, many irregularities have been recorded recently in the operation of some trade enterprises, as have cases of speculation to the detriment of consumers. For example, 350 kg of fresh butter was found at warehouse supply No 478 on Szklarska St, while there was no butter to be found on store shelves. Moreover, 240 packages of sugar cubes, 10 kg of tripe of unknown origin and 2 cartons of bay leaves were hidden in the warehouse. Four kg of lemons, eggs, cured pork products and meat had been packaged to be taken out of the store. The articles under question were turned over to stores and an investigation was initiated against the salesgirl.

Aviation Training

The fighter aviation unit of the National Air Defense Forces [WOPK]. At first glance, nothing has changed here; life flows with its usual rhythm. But it is not very difficult for a more careful observer to perceive that the exigencies of martial law are in force here. The reinforced guard posts and the mobile patrols constantly walking their assigned beats are proof of this.

Not only have they been ordered to execute special services here, in the direct area of the barracks and airfield, many have also been delegated to other important locations in the garrison. Maj Eng Jan Osadczuk, Staff Sgt Stanislaw Rucilowski, Staff Sgt Krzysztof Rzemieniec, Staff Sgt Grzegorz Rosiejewski, Staff Sgt Ireneusz Wozniak, Staff Sgt Stanislaw Pazdziora and Sgt Jozef Gorny guard the nearby train station and river crossings, watch over the safety of an industrial plant and preserve law and order on the premises of a housing settlement.

None of these services were, or are, easy. The past several nights, on which the number of degrees of frost was in the teens and there were penetrating gusts of wind, created a special hardship. But no one complains; everyone is fully

aware that there can be no other way. For when the fatherland is in danger, outstanding service and devotion are expected of soldiers.

Despite the difficult conditions, they fulfill their obligations in an exemplary manner, their superiors say better than normally, with a greater sense of their individual and collective obligation, judgment and discipline. What mobilizes them to this is the consciousness that the special situation of the country and its people places such a duty before every soldier and every military group.

We may speak with equal recognition of those who are taking part in the usual training program. For although it is an unusual time for Poland, specialized, combined-arms and political training are continuing in the unit, as is the continual improvement of defense knowledge and skills. Due to the inclement weather, in the past few days primary emphasis has been placed on the technical servicing of equipment and on executing periodic checks on planes and mechanical vehicles to maintain them in constant and full combat readiness. The subordinates of such officers as Andrzej Michalski and Jan Bukalski have spent many hours of work together on this. Meanwhile, a program for the theoretical training of officers, warrant officers, regular noncommissioned officers and soldiers in basic service is being implemented.

The next flights are planned for tomorrow. Pilots will be expected to adapt both to a variant of normal atmospheric conditions and to difficult conditions. The pilots, who include Maj Marek Kot, Capt Andrzej Bak and Lt Ryszard Wilczek, have been preparing to conduct an air battle, to make interceptions and to make flights along routes. The planes have been made ready in the hangar and on the airfield pad; safety and security equipment have been made ready in other locations.

In Dolny Slask and Gorny Slask

It is the seventh day of martial law. Soldiers from the railway unit of the Silesian OW [Military District] are constantly fulfilling difficult service at designated posts in the area. The subordinates of officers Walerian Kabara, Stefan Grzesik and Janusz Kardasz guard railway stations, bridges, culverts and viaducts on this important rail line.

In the implementation of combat tasks directed toward maintaining the high efficiency and reliability of rail transport, soldiers work in close conjunction with the crew of Railroad Construction Enterprise No 5 and with the directorates of the Regional State Railroads in Opole and Gliwice. The subordinates of Lt Ryszard Kolodziej and Warrant Officers Jozef Wydrzycki and Stanislaw Polak execute the technical and protective tasks entrusted to them with dedication and determination. Their attitude, work and honest service help to ensure that the transport of raw materials and products from Silesia occurs without a hitch.

Railway employees in soldier's uniforms work particularly actively in the regions of Strzemieszyce, Pyskowice, Wroclaw and Brzeg. Everyone knows that

these are critical railroad junctions which are of vital significance to maintaining the continuity of train traffic. The uninterrupted work and production of many industrial plants depends on this. This is why there are very many tasks and duties connected with the efficient operation of the railroads on this line.

Fully understanding the stringent requirements and laws of martial law, soldiers in the railway unit of the Silesian OW take pains to serve at their posts as vigilantly as possible and to execute their work quickly and dependably.

There are also the practical effects of such an attitude. At the Wroclaw-Brochow station, the soldiers of 2d Lt Kazimierz Chudziak apprehended a group of thieves at night who had stolen goods from railroad cars. After apprehending the robbers, they safeguarded the seized goods and the location of the crime and turned the perpetrators over to officials of the Citizens' Militia [MO].

The example of the attitude of soldiers from 2d Lt Leszek Bak's group is another case of self-sacrifice and preparedness. Returning from their posts, the soldiers noticed a fire burning. They did not hesitate even for a minute, but hurried to the rescue. PGR buildings in Wilczkow were on fire. Six military railwaymen and their leader, despite the difficulties of working in the winter weather, set about with some other people to put out the fire. During this operation, the soldiers kept on working until the fire was completely under control, earning the recognition and the thanks of the farm crew.

Local operational groups assigned from the unit work energetically. Their tasks throughout the local area are directed by such officers as Jerzy Placzek, Stefan Lewartowski and Joachim Roszczyk. They, too, have completed a number of noteworthy law-and-order and economic tasks successfully in such places as Sosnowiec, the ghimas of Toszek and Twarog and Swierklaniec. For example, the director of the trade department of the MRN [Municipal People's Council] Presidium in Sosnowiec was dismissed from his position for incompetence.

The soldiers remaining in the garrison protect military grounds and installations and organize materiel and quartermaster supply for field groups. Effective work with the commission which supplies the families of the cadre with basic food articles is done by 2d Lt Tadeusz Jazwinski.

The Naval Watch

As at all combat posts, likewise wherever the navy serves--at the nation's seaside border, in the ports, on the roadsteads and in various regions of the coast--the soldiers in navy blue uniforms (today their drill uniforms) demonstrate unwavering fortitude and self-denial in the implementation of tasks resulting from martial law under the difficult hydrometeorological conditions which have arisen this winter on the Baltic.

Inasmuch as they counter the inclement weather with their resistance to the hardships of the sea watch and their skill in operating efficiently in every

situation--even though a fierce storm should rage or the frost should deposit great masses of ice on the ship, inasmuch as they hear the disturbing news of attempts made here and there to create obstacles to the restoration of public law and order, they react by resolutely continuing their tasks, the common goal of which is to rescue the country from danger.

In addition to tasks executed in conjunction with this situation, normal training is also carried out in naval task groups. For example, in the missile and torpedo boat task group led by Commander 2d Lt Commissioned Officer Ryszard Lukasik, the assignment of the programmatic task to prepare ships to go out to sea continues. This is the first comprehensive check of the general marine and specialized qualifications of crews; an evaluation of this check will be made during the new training year. The return to relatively simple tasks, to surpassing much higher threshholds of professional know-how and to broad cooperation on the marine testing ground stem from the regularity of the training cycle which takes into consideration periodic changes in the relay of sailors [on shifts].

The next shift quickly joined into the rhythm of work, including work on missile boat "428" which heretofore has done the best job of fulfilling the abovenoted program task. Those primarily responsible for success in training are Staff Petty Officer Jan Satorski and Chief Petty Officer Adam Krzaczek, holders of a first-class specialization in electromechanics and Petty Officer Andrzej Bogowicz, operator of instruments for aiming gunfire first class.

Current training tasks are being fulfilled in the missile and torpedo boat task group at a level which gives evidence that it continues to "fly high" as before. For 2 years it has led among navy combat task groups. It provides many examples of special expertise and very good seafaring form, as well as of deep involvement in sociopolitical activity, which at present is manifested in universal support, by word and deed, of actions aimed at stabilizing the national situation and strengthening the country's socialist system.

The party ranks are solidifying and growing within the task group. The number of people whose decision to join the PZPR was confirmed by current events has increased, offering irrefutable evidence of who it is that desires anarchy and disintegration, as well as the implementation of their goals even at the cost of the blood of working people, and who it is that is presenting a constructive program for getting out of this deep crisis, and is doing everything possible to avoid confrontation, tragic in its consequences. The sailors in basic service who are part of the crew currently fulfilling combat duty tours in one of our ports join in these, the only proper, tasks. The following young representatives of the cadre have also applied to become candidate members: naval 2d Lt Dariusz Adamczyk, naval Ensign Ireneusz Borucki and Petty Officer Edward Kociabinski.

They want to enter the circle of their comrades who adopted the following resolution at a recent party meeting: "The meeting of the primary party organization of the missile and torpedo boat task group expresses its support of the Military Council of National Salvation. We have long been disturbed as party members by the increasing anarchy in the country and by the counterrevolutionary threat to our fatherland of People's Poland. We have awaited decisive actions taken in the name of national salvation.

"We believe that it was the final moment for the avoidance of bloodshed, and to enable us all to live in peace.

"We guarantee that we shall execute all tasks laid before us in the state of martial law with determination. We shall execute them as befits soldiers and members of our party."

After Nine Days

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 22 Dec 81, pp 1, 6

[Articles by (Fi), (rad), (ms) and (rs)]

[Text] Nine days of martial law are behind us. They have been difficult days, unsettled days, but days of intensive work in most production plans throughout the country. Despite severe supply, coproduction and energy problems, work rhythm has been noticeably improved. These have also been days of sacrificial and totally self-abnegating service by soldiers of the Polish People's Army--soldiers in whose hands has been placed the fate of the sovereign, independent, socialist fatherland.

Society's acceptance of the priorities which mark out the direction of tasks undertaken on the basis of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] decisions is becoming more and more universal. Its resolutions are strict, drastically limiting citizens' freedoms, but they are indispensable for ensuring the country's safety and calm and for guaranteeing that all citizens respect the law. The strengthening of society's belief that the restrictions have been introduced out of greater necessity goes hand in hand with the increased support and recognition for the sacrifices of those who find themselves in the front line of the battle to enable our nation once again, with a sense of security and calm, to work for the good of the Polish People's Republic [PRL].

Soldiers of the Polish People's Army have been occupying important posts in this front line of struggles. Their sacrificial service meets with universal approval and the goodwill of the populace. This confirms the traditional ties linking the military and society. The nature of these ties is of the sort that cannot be shaken by unfriendly behavior toward soldiers by those who are not aware of the seriousness and the tragic aspect of the situation interpreted unimaginatively upon the instigation of counterrevolutionary troublemakers. They find fewer and fewer hearers.

Society's support for the soldier's service during these difficult days of national danger help the military implement not only special tasks but also numerous additional endeavors, e.g., help in snow removal from railroad structures, aid in acquiring fuel for educational institutions and help in the solving of many basic problems of society associated with living conditions.

In the Lublin Region

The entire staff of the Lublin Regiment of OT [Territorial Defense] named for A. Szymanski received the decision concerning the introduction of martial law

with seriousness and understanding. All civilian employees of the unit declared their support of the soldiers' actions in defense of socialist Poland. During open meetings, statements were made in the subunits concerning the rightness of the steps taken by the WRON. Soldier's groups clearly consolidated around fundamental tasks. The prevailing conviction among OT forces is that martial law is our nation's final opportunity for overcoming chaos, anarchy and lawlessness. No one in the Lublin OT regiment spares his energies in the fulfillment of his new duties with honor, for the good of the nation.

From the first hours of martial law, soldiers and MO functionaries together have embarked upon the execution of new, complex tasks. Separate groups fulfill the protective functions of guarding important city buildings, while the remaining soldiers implement the winter training-production program. Last Saturday and Sunday, OT forces gave considerable help to railway workers and to the municipal transportation services, devoting many hours to snow removal from railway stations and turnouts, voivodship roads and Lublin streets. They treat this work as relief, for the major law and order work is being done by all of those who have not yet received the news that abiding by the regulations of martial law is the duty of all Poles, and that violating these regulations will be punished very severely.

The Militarized Institute

For several days now, life has flowed with a different rhythm in the Warsaw Institute of Meteorology and the Marine Economy [IMGW]. An announcement of the institute with the militarized unit has meant that nearly one-third of the employees have been assigned new tasks and duties resulting from nationwide martial law.

As we were informed by the head of the IMGW military department, Capt Zdsizlaw Miazga, assigned to this position for the duration of martial law, many reserve officers have been called upon to implement new tasks. These officers fulfill internal duty tour services and take part in protecting buildings.

The meteorological service is operating efficiently. While communications with posts out in the field has been largely restricted due to the disconnection of telephones and teletypes, cooperation with the military enables the collection of data, the preparation of daily communiques and the formulation of forecasts. Much meteorological information is obtained from radio broadcasts from abroad. The possibilities of linking up the activities of the synoptic service of the central office with the corresponding service in the Home Air Defense Forces [WOPK] are being considered.

The institute's hydrological service is undergoing considerable difficulties, which are at present making its work impossible. While this is not terribly important right now, in a few months, when the ice floes begin to move along the rivers, the lack of information concerning the water situation can cause many problems. For this reason, contacts are already being made with MO units and commands for the purpose of ensuring communications with central office posts. (fi)

The Help of Tank Personnel

On the 9th day of martial law, at all posts, soldiers from the Silesian Military District continued to execute the tasks entrusted them conscientiously and with great involvement, demonstrating their full comprehension of the existing situation.

The attitude of the soldiers from the 10th Sudetic Tank Division is to be especially highly regarded. From the first hours of the declaration of martial law until today they have been executing many responsible, difficult tasks, guarding important buildings and securing law and order in cities. The initiative of the officers, their experience and skillful leadership have enabled the subunits of artillerymen led by Maj Jan Sobolewski, Capt Zbigniew Bykowski, Maj Janusz Czuba and Staff Sgt Edward Suprowicz to execute the tasks assigned them thus far to protect barracks and industrial sites with great involvement. Law and order prevail in the streets patrolled by artillerymen. During the period of heavy snowfall, artillerymen aided city residents to remove snow from streets and assisted railwaymen to restore efficiency to railroad turnouts. The attitude of Sgt Zygmunt Krolikowski, who is especially active in the repair of damaged equipment, is worthy of high praise.

Reports of the model execution of tasks by all subunits are likewise coming in from another garrison of Silesian tank personnel. Recognition is due the subordinates of Capt Jan Skrzypczak and 2d Lt Wieslaw Nowosad, who, in addition to their many combat tasks, also help city residents to secure housing for the winter and to work out supply problems.

In Wroclaw, the army has continued its broad informational-propaganda campaign with the help of mobile broadcasting stations. The purpose of this campaign has been to inform the people of their duties in conjunction with martial law. Fliers have also been disseminated calling for calm and for respect for the orders of law enforcement forces and for the decisions outlined in the Council of State decree of 12 December 1981, which apparently have not yet become generally known to residents. (rad)

Society's Recognition

Examples of society's support for the soldier's mission are not lacking at the coast. It is particularly those soldiers who execute their duties in city and gminas, exercising receivership functions and working within local operational groups to maintain law and order on roads and streets who have the opportunity to hear expressions of people's recognition of the work undertaken in the name of higher national interests.

Residents of Gdynia's Chylon district demonstrate much sympathy for the soldiers of the Pomorze Military District unit which is serving at the intersection of the Tri-city belt with the outgoing route leading to Reda and then branching out toward Puck and Lebork. From the windows of nearby buildings, occupants watch the soldiers who stand guard here with confidence and approbation, as they serve near their combat vehicles, from time to time rubbing together their benumbed hands over glowing coal stoves. The sight of their uniformed silhouettes

compels one to reflect that thanks to the efforts of these people the streets are safer, there is no provocation, there are no assaults, no robberies....

It is not always possible to recognize soldiers directly for their efforts expanded in society's interest. And so one sees a military vehicle riding through a street, a snow plow attached to its front end. It is not known whether it will hurry to clear the route for a military convoy that is in some region of the city as quickly as is necessary, or whether it has been assigned specially to assist municipal services working to remove snow from streets. In any event, the driver in soldier's uniform has lowered the plow from driving position to working position. It sweeps by quickly, leaving behind a cleared trail in the street. The passersby exchange remarks of approval on this subject, as they do on many other phenomena of military services rendered to society.

The above-mentioned driver remains the nameless recipient of soldierly recognition. It is the same with sailors serving combat watch on the Baltic and waiting in readiness near the wharfs. As it is for the others, it is also pleasant for them to be recognized for the work they have undertaken, but what gives them the greatest satisfaction is the awareness that they are working together to create conditions fostering the restoration of law, calm and normal work free of fear and uncertainty.

The belief that the road selected by the WRON is the right one accompanies the fulfillment of tasks dictated by martial law and the implementation of training programs in naval task groups. Such is the atmosphere, e.g., on missile boat "421," which bears the name "socialist service ship." During the reporter's visit, final preparations were being made for a specialized inspection, the first program task for the new training year. The intensive preparations lead one to expect the same excellent results as have been demonstrated in the past. During the past training year, the crew received only very good and good evaluations. Primarily helping to achieve such evaluations were: Naval Lt Eng Wlodzimierz Morawski, Naval Lt Master Eng Andrzej Markowski, Petty Officer 1st Class Pawel Kaluzny, Petty Officer 1st Class Tadeusz Pyrcioch, Petty Officer 3d Class Ryszard Kon and Petty Officer 3d Class Marcin Kreft.

Sacrificially executing tasks connected with martial law, often far away from population concentrations, the sailors do not have the opportunity to hear direct words of public approval of their actions. But situations do occur which enable them personally to be persuaded of the sympathy accorded soldiers by their fellow citizens. For example, Naval Ensign Wladyslaw Bryczko recently stood at a bus stop on the Chylon-Oksyw line, in a hurry to get to his unit. For a long time, the bus did not come. Then a red Fiat 125 approached the stop. The driver stopped before the ensign, who was wearing his navy drill uniform and offered him a ride. He did not turn on the taximeter. When they reached Oksyw, he refused payment, despite the ensign's insistence. "Your service now is especially important, I don't take money from soldiers," said the driver and rode away. (ms)

Officer Cadet Initiatives

The exigencies of martial law have placed new service tasks and obligations, formerly not executed, before the cadre and officer cadets of the Higher Officers'

Radiotechnical School [WOSR] in Jelenia Gora. In spite of the fact that the school is safeguarding selected state and public buildings in the city, the training process has not stopped. In line with a decision made by the school's commander, commissioner of the voivodship KOK [National Defense Commission], cert eng Col Tadeusz Jemiolo, training activities and the implemention of special tasks are rotated. WOSR officer cadets, the officer cadets of the SPR [Officer Cadet Reserve School] under the WOSR, the cadets from the Officer Cadets' School and service and security soldiers serve in these shifts.

Numerous structures which play a very important role in the life of the city and the region are entrusted to the care of the soldiers in the steel-gray uniforms. Since martial law was declared, the company of Capt Wlodzimierz Zbierski has guarded the Jelenia Gora Meat Plants. Meanwhile, Lt Zbigniew Ciazynski's subunit protects voivodship and municipal food warehouses. Moreover, operational groups work within the city, directed by Lt Dr Ryszard Szczesny and Lt Dr Adolf Stachula. The groups guard Jelenia Gora factories and public buildings, they detect irregularities in the system of directing and managing production, trade and services, and they work to eliminate these irregularities. The intervention of a group in the Piechowice Karelma-Dolmel plants was effective. Here several Solidarity operatives tried to organize a sitdown strike on 14 December. The soldiers' sober argumentation led to the calling off of this senseless plan.

As we have been informed by Maj Wieslaw Marczyk, the initiatives of the officer cadets who performed the social act of making several dozen benches and taking them to several stores so that the people who had to stand in lines in the snow and frost could be sheltered under the roof, are noteworthy.

On the evening of Saturday 19 December, a line of about 200 people formed in front of the store at the Fish Center as a delivery of carp was made. A patrol led by Staff Sgt Andrzej Idczak intervened, and the sale of fish continued until 2100 hours. The frozen customers applauded the soldiers for undertaking such a decision. (rs)

After Ten Days

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 23 Dec 81 pp 1, 6

[Articles by (sr), (wier) and (tp)]

[Text] The 10th day of martial law has elapsed. We are all counting the days of this state of emergency. We are waiting for a time of normal life and work to come. This is why we listen hopefully to every bulletin about the national situation, about the intensive labor of work crews and about the sacrifices made by soldiers of the Polish People's Army and by law and order forces in maintaining social order and public safety.

Day and night, under difficult weather conditions, the soldiers and militiamen, upon whom martial law has imposed new, responsible duties with which to cope, unceasingly fulfill their service. As we observe their determined, consistent actions, their readiness to come to the immediate assistance of all those needing their support, we think of these young men who serve for our common good with gratitude and sympathy. We are conscious of the fact that only daily, honest work in every position effectively supports military guarantees of calm, social order and a propitious future for us all.

Soldiers from the capital mine-clearing group are experiencing difficult days. Added to their daily duties of deactivating explosives and dangerous materials within the city are new ones--disarmament and the confiscation of ammunition, unexploded shells and unused explosives found by MO [Citizens' Militia] and SB [Security Service] officials in plants, residences and the basements of armed band members under the sign of Solidarity, KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] KPN [National Independence Committee], and sometimes collected by young punks dreaming of a "big adventure."

Several times during the day and the night, combat engineers under the command of 2d Lt Jaroslaw Potocki are called to perform various operations throughout Warsaw and Warsaw Voivodship. The commander of the mine-clearing group says: "Martial law in the country has brought us added duties, although we already had enough to do. Our close cooperation with the militia means that we now go out to intervene more often. Last week, as we have informed the mass media, we seized explosives and dangerous materials in the Zoliborz District which had been hidden by 4 youths: over 200 pieces of ammunition, defensive shells, anti-infantry mines and homemade chemicals; there was also about a half-kilogram of trotyl. MO officials are investigating the sources from which these materials were acquired.

"We seized hiterto undiscovered dangerous materials from the chemical laboratory of railroad plants as well as a small amount of explosives, including trotyl. A high-caliber artillery bullet was also found in a factory in the Praga-Polnoc district.

"These examples are only a part of our service and work. Sometimes we are notified and intervene, only to find a piece of rusty metal or a tin can. But we take every call seriously, for often a rusty piece of metal may turn out to be a dangerous bullet." (fi)

The Gubinski Tank Crew

Constant combat duty for a soldier's posts continues within the Silesian Military District. Signal troops, tank personnel, mechanics and artillerymen, as well as soldiers from other specializations serve in these posts. They maintain order on the city streets and in factories. Resolutely they counteract all manifestations of the violation of compulsory regulations under martial law. The primary goal of the soldierly watch is to create conditions ensuring the proper functioning of offices, plants and institutions.

From the time that military-militia foot patrols and motorized patrols have appeared in the streets of Wroclaw, law and order have prevailed within the city. Sometimes it happens that unruly youths make their way into the streets, but they come alone, and are subdued at the sight of the armed patrol. The effectively operating patrols have gained much recognition among many of the city's residents. Among those serving in the street patrol of Wroclaw, the patrol under the command of Warrant Officer Jan Jurczyk, which includes the SPR [Officer Cadet Reserve School] officer cadets Staff Sgt Officer Cadet Krystian Jalbas and Staff Sgt Officer Cadet Zbigniew Swit, has especially distinguished itself.

The signal troops have taken on important tasks. They have the duty of maintaining telephone and radio communications between the military. Thus far, radio communications between the subunits of the Gubinski tank crew have never been interrupted thanks to the sacrifices of the subordinates of 2d Lt Piotr Michalado. One of the many factors which have an effect on the success of their execution of tasks is the high efficiency of their combat equipment. The snow and the cold mean that drivers and technical services have to be especially careful with the equipment they are using. Soldiers, e.g., from repair and transport subunits, and especially the subordinates of Staff Warrant Officer Jan Stepien, work under difficult weather conditions with a sense of self-sacrifice. Likewise the leaders of repair squads, including Staff Sgt Karol Pawlowski, Sgt Marian Sokolowski and Jr Sgt Jan Malecki play a major role in seeing that equipment is functioning properly. (sr)

Special Pilots' Tasks

The air force security unit. Another day of martial law. Like soldiers from other units and subunits, pilots also fulfill special tasks, issuing both from the stringent requirements of the current situation and from the character of the unit they represent. From the first hours of martial law, efficiently executing the commands and orders they received, they embarked upon activities which have the purpose of resolutely counteracting anarchy and lawlessness, as well as the counterrevolutionary actions of groups which are openly inimical to our country's socialist system. All unequivocally have demonstrated support for the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] under the leadership of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski--support for the restoration of the collective feeling of safety, law and order.

Sacrificial service in every position is likewise being recorded today. Among others, the subordinates of Warrant Officer Henryk John, Staff Sgt Boleslaw Soltys and Staff Sgt Jan Zagaj, who watch over the safety of the civilian airport entrusted to their care, are executing responsible tasks. Sgt Dariusz Jakubiak, who resolutely made impossible a spy's attempt to photograph a special military installation, distinguished himself by exemplary behavior.

For the second time, the officers and soldiers in basic service delegated to city and local operational groups drove out beyond the unit. These included Lt Col Andrzej Trytt, Maj Stanislaw Plencner, Warrant Officer Piotr Gburek, Staff Sgt Stanislaw Hondo and Sgt Piotr Waliszewski. They work in such places as the area of nearby gminas, helping to solve various problems of the operation of the elements of the administration and to resolve problems of the local population, especially matters of a social-daily living character.

All soldiers not involved in endeavors of a special nature participate in the program of training activities and implement indispensable economic tasks associated with the functioning of the unit.

Interest in the national situation continues to be strong. All manifestations of the normalization of sociopolitical and economic life are met with universal relief. The soldiers stress: "The conviction among us is widespread that our country's lastingly auspicious future can be ensured only through productive work, social discipline and national accord." (wier)

At Transport Posts

The cold wave and the heavy snowfalls have created a perilous situation on roads and railroad tracks. Due to this situation, despite their serving at combat posts, soldiers from railroad and roads units hurried as always to the aid of transportation workers. Together with other military and civilian crews, they remove snow from railroad tracks, stations and hump yards and defrost turnouts throughout all regions, particularly in Slesia, Pomorze and central Poland.

The blizzard and freezing conditions make the soldierly service of military railroad and road workers especially difficult. They work in open spaces and are constantly stricken by the onslaught of winter weather which swept over our country so early this year. Despite these burdens, the soldiers of the steel-wheeled and rubber-tired roadways fulfill their duties sacrificially and vigilantly, with great discipline and self-sacrifice.

Some examples follow. While patrolling one of the coastal stations, Lt Henryk Aftyk together with his men, Stanislaw Sokolowski, Zbigniew Kuchno and Jan Paz identified a citizen after militia hours who, it turned out, was attempting to carry a substantial number of provocatory fliers and illegal publications in his baggage. The suspect was taken to the MO post. An investigation revealed two points at which these illegal materials had been printed on printing equipment.

The subordinates of Warrant Officer Tadeusz Suchowski distinguished themselves on 16 December by their worthy and decisive behavior. While guarding a railway station, they did not permit the group that was behaving aggressively to cause the intended disruption of order and public safety. The soldiers did not become frightened by the threats and attempted attacks by the rioters, they would not be provoked and did not leave their posts even when they were threatened directly. MO forces gained control of the situation, dispersing the aggressors.

The behavior of Warrant Officer Marian Witowski provides another example. While serving at a traffic-control post in Swarzadz, he tried to halt a passing Fiat. The driver did not react and increased his speed. The Warrant Officer successfully pursued the car. Then the driver tried to buy off officer Witkowski, offering him 18,000 zlotys if he dropped further action. The road pirate, who, as it turned out was intoxicated, was taken, of course, to the MO.

And so, day after day, military railroad workers and road workers fulfill their difficult and responsible service on the tracks, in the stations and on the roads. In guarding transportation routes, they work to stabilize order, the regular rhythm and the effectiveness of the transport of people and goods. (tp)

8536
CSO: 2600/173

BEREZOWSKI COMMENTARY ON BRUSSELS NATO SESSION NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 p 7

[Article by M. Berezowski: "Many Declarations, Much Uncertainty"]

[Text] Throughout the last week, various Atlantic [treaty] bodies took turns deliberating in Brussels in an annual session crowned by a meeting of the NATO Council with foreign affairs ministers.

Due to understandable reasons, the issue of medium-range nuclear armaments in Europe occupied the most prominent place. This issue is the focal point of both the military policy of NATO and the friction from the aim of many Western states to avoid the escalation of armaments, especially against the background of disquiet caused by this [factor] and revitalizing the antinuclear movment in Western Europe.

American diplomacy has secured the approval of its allies for the negotiation proposals presented on 18 November by President Reagan; with these the American delegation went to negotiate with the USSR to Geneva on 30 November. Along with it, a known two-year old formula has been included in the Brussels NATO communique stating that in 1983 the deployment of new American missiles in West Europe will begin, unless a prior agreement is achieved by the United States and the USSR on the limitation of armaments of this type.

Including a tough-sounding formula into the communique was justified in NATO circles by the need to ensure "negotiation credibility" for the U.S. delegation in Geneva. However, according to some reports, this formula was also used to dispel American apprehensions that West European governments will hesitate to accept new missiles on their territory; therefore, the idea was for them to renew their commitment. This uncertainty is also reflected in segments of the NATO communique where the existence of nuclear arsenals is justified (primarily addressed to public opinion in their own countries) by linking it with accusations of the USSR building up its military potential and increasing tensions.

Next to these notes of bias and accusation, declarations of sympathy for the disarmament talks with the USSR are found as well as statements on the necessity for constructive dialogue between the West and the East, which would create an environment of trust and moderation, leading to "genuine detente." The communique also asserts that Western states are not striving for military superiority

and are adhering to the philosophy of arms reductions. Unofficially, ministers of smaller countries talked about the benefits of bringing about a Brezhnev-Reagan conference as soon as possible.

A protocol of acceptance of Spain into NATO was signed in Brussels. This is the first extension of the sphere of activity and the military structure of the Atlantic Pact in many years. It introduces a certain change into the overall balance of power in Europe, especially in the Mediterranean zone. One less country in Europe does not belong to the blocs. This is not an element of the kind of "moderation" facilitating the search for military equilibrium at a lower level, which NATO elsewhere professes.

It follows from some dispatches that the ratification of the membership of Spain will encounter difficulties from Greece, which may use this as a lever to bolster its demands that NATO provide guarantees in Brussels, since they would amount to the recognition that both the potential agressor and potential victim belong to the same alliance.

The December NATO session assumed a position of ambivalence on issues fundamental to European security; armaments and negotiations. This reflects the state of temporariness in East-West relations, which have not yet emerged from a period of considerable deterioration but are not totally without chances of improvement.

9761
CSO: 2600/176

BRIEFS

SZCZECIN SHIPYARD STRIKERS' APPEAL--The Strike Committee at the Szczecin Shipyard, where 300 striking workers are surrounded by the Army, has sent a moving appeal to the free world. According to TIDNINGARNAS TELEGRAMBYRAA [Swedish wire service], the appeal was handed by a uniformed Polish officer to seamen on the ferry Pomerania, which sails between Szczecin and Ystad. From Ystad the sailors telephoned the appeal to a Pole in Copenhagen who has the status of a political refugee. The Pole passed the appeal on to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE. It has the following wording: "To the parliaments, governments, all nations and all people who cherish democracy, freedom and the rights of all workers: "In the face of danger to life and personal freedom, despite martial law and despite attempts to disarm us through fear, 100,000 Polish workers and patriots have risen to strike and to demand the repeal of the state of siege, the release of all those arrested and the restoration of all democratic and trade union rights which the nation has won since August 1980. We appeal to you: Support us in our struggle with a massive protest and with moral support. Do not just watch passively the attempts to choke the first shoots of budding democracy in the heart of Europe. Be with us in this time of trial. Solidarity with Solidarity. Poland is not yet lost. [Signed] Szczecin Shipyard and Port Strike Committee." [Text] [PM211131 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 16 Dec 81 p 1]

CSO: 3106/55

YOUTH PAPER PUBLISHES QUESTIONS ON ACTIVITY OF RELIGIOUS SECTS

[Editorial Report]--The following questions by Milena Mihaescu, follow an article by University Lecturer Arcadie Percek, from the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy in Bucharest, entitled: "The Ravages of Religious Awareness at the Present Time" in the 16 December 1981 issue of VIATA STUDENTEASCA, published in Bucharest by the Union of Communist Students Associations of Romania, page 7:

1. What is the explanation for the maintaining of the religious phenomenon under conditions of our socialist society?

2. What are the similarities and differences between "sects" and "cults" as types of religious communities? Since they consider themselves to be a form of "protest" against traditional religious precepts, can one say that the sects are, in effect, opposed to religious belief?

3. Give some of the main consequences of the practices of the sects, from a psychological and social standpoint.

4. What are the sources which nurture protest of the sects against civilization and culture--a protest whose extreme form is prophesying the end of the world?

5. How can one explain the belief of the youth in practices and ideas of the sects under the conditions of the scientific spirit which governs our age?

6. In what way can the intervention of the collective and of youth organizations for the elimination of the religious convictions of some young people become effective?

CSO: 2700/148

TERMS APPLICABLE TO TERRITORY OF SERBIA REVIEWED

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25, 26 Nov 81

[Article by Branislaw Brboric: "The Names for the Republic of Serbia"]

[25 Nov 81 pp 12-13]

[Text] On several occasions during the last few months--in forums of the League of Communists, in state agencies, in the press (and even in this newspaper), and in pamphlets--relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia have been discussed. (The expression "relations between the Republic and the provinces" is often used, although as the author of this article notes, either the relationships of the agencies and organizations of the Republic with those in the provinces, or the relationships among parts of the Republic should be discussed, i.e., the relationships of the narrower area with the provinces, or the relationships between the two provinces.) People rarely speak, however, about linguistic problems in connection with ambiguities and awkwardness in an "extra-linguistic" sphere or, conversely, about the effect of linguistic awkwardness on nonlinguistic relationships and circumstances.

The text which we are presenting in two installations deals in fact with some linguistic aspects of the above problems. Although we of course cannot agree with all of the opinions and formulations in this text, we believe that clearing up some of the linguistic aspects of this problem as well may be useful in the talks that are yet to be conducted on this topic.

It has been clear for some time that something is wrong with the names for our republic, or rather for the narrower part of it, and not just to linguists, since it is clear that the problem is not only of a linguistic nature.

Kosta Timtijevic wrote about this in BORBA 5 or 6 years ago, arguing for the most part with the term "Serbia without the provinces," in regard to which he said that it is only logical insofar as it would be logical to say "beans without meat." According to Timotijevic, the expressions "Bosnia without Hercegovina," "Croatia without Dalmatia," and so forth correspond to this construction, regardless of whether certain traditional provinces (Hercegovina and Dalmatia) are sociopolitical communities.

The Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly should be recognized for having included the issue of the name of the Republic in its agenda in mid-October, and this is the immediate occasion for us to attempt to examine the (dis)-similarity of certain terms from a (socio)linguistic standpoint.

First of all, however, it should be said that a term should be differentiated from a name. The only term that we use to designate the Republic is the Serbian SR, and everything else that is encountered in newspapers and elsewhere, and that was mentioned at the meeting of the Republican Executive Council on 14 October (the Serbian SR without the socialist autonomous provinces, the Serbian SR outside of the socialist autononomous provinces, the territory of the Serbian SR without the socialist autonomous republics, the territory of Serbia without the provinces, the Serbian SR without the provinces, Serbia proper, and others) is names, not terms, and furthermore names for the narrower area within the Republic. We could also recognize the truncated name "Serbia" as having the value of a term, as is done elsewhere: the "Soviet Union" instead of USSR, "Great Britain" instead of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, etc.

What Is Undisputed?

The reason why so many names for the Republic (that is for the largest part of it) have appeared is of a nonlinguistic nature: until 10-15 years ago one could sometimes encounter the name "Serbia proper" for the "territory 'outside' the socialist autonomous republics"; Timotijevic considers this one better than the others and believes that it has been denounced because it has frequently been reduced as a joke to an abstract noun which is obtained by combining the epithet "proper" with the first letter of the noun "Serbia." [i.e. resulting in "uzas"--"horror"] Timotijevic furthermore remarks that in addition to the denounced one, the name "the Serbian SR not counting the provinces" could sometimes be used; this was less commonly used. Regarding the name "Serbia without the provinces," he felt, and the author of these lines does not differ from him on this, that it is "senseless" and that it is linguistically and logically indefensible.

The Serbian SR, as is clear to everyone, is not a simple community; it contains two provinces, the only two Yugoslav provinces that are autonomous units with broad authority. Serbia has been like this since 1945 (to tell the truth, until the 1963 Yugoslav Constitution one of these provinces was a "region" and was called "Kosovo and Metohija," with rights and responsibilities identical in all essential respects with those of the autonomous province of Vojvodina), but nevertheless at first, and for a long time, we were not faced with a flood of indefensible names.

The Serbian SR and earlier the Serbian People's Republic has been a sociopolitical and state community only as a whole, and has been considered a "federal unit" only as a whole (both under AVNOJ [the Antifascist Council for the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia] and for a long time after the war there were six of them, and that is how many torches are on our seal). Recently, however, people have been talking about a larger number of "federal units," of which there are

eight, according to some Belgrade newspapers; this both is and is not correct. "It both is and is not correct"--this is a sentence which is quite correct grammatically, regardless of its "extragrammatical" logic, and it is also a reality to which we owe the abundance of names.

Where Has the Flood of Names Come From?

One thing, however, is both clear and inarguable: the narrower area of our republic is not constituted formally and legally, by any constitution of our socialist state, as a separate state and sociopolitical community; it thus does not exist as such. Only the "broader area" composed of it and the provinces, which it "contains," formally exists as a sociopolitical and state community. Even if we ignore the malicious gossip that "what actually does not exist, exists formally" and that "what formally does not exist, actually does exist" the insufficiently clarified duality is the objective cause for the flood of names (let us explain this: the provinces are a "component part" of the Serbian SR and a "constituent element" of the federation which includes the Serbian SR itself, as a whole, as a constituent element or component of the federation).

In spite of the above-mentioned duality, it is possible to raise the question: could this flood of parasitical names have been avoided?

It could have been and can be avoided, although in our everyday sociopolitical life almost none of the data and almost none of the information is given for the whole. Even some of the results of the recent census of the population have been reported to us only for the provinces, rather than for the republic as a whole, although the Kosovo census was a little late.

The expression "in our republic," which is so frequently heard throughout Yugoslavia, has almost not been heard at all in our provinces for at least 10 years, even though they are "part of" the Serbian SR. On the other hand, another expression, the one that uses "in our country" to refer to our federal state, is used almost everyday in our two provinces, as much as in the narrower area or in the other republics (which is all right in itself), although the provinces are at least equally "part of" our republican state as such as they are "constituent elements" of our federal state. According to the Constitution they are, and in linguistic and extralinguistic practice they are not, although the expressions "component" and "constituent element" mean the same thing and are synonymous (the first is an expression in the popular language, and the second is part of international terminology).

When the relationships are cleared up--and we believe that they can be cleared up without changing but rather by applying the constitution--it is worthwhile to hope for more of a balance in the use of the expressions "component" and "constituent element" and for even more of a balance in what we could designate as the harmony between word and deed, between language and reality.

Even when this harmony is established, however, the problem remains of how we will refer to the "territory of the Serbian SR without the territories of the socialist autonomous provinces," which is more or less an incidental constitutional name. "This is a question of territory," according to a recent article in POLITIKA. "The only way out of this confusion over the name of the Socialist

Republic of Serbia is to return to the provisions of the constitution"--one of the key sentences in POLITIKA's report of the Serbian Republican Executive Council meetings (15 October 1981).

According to the central part of this article, "The Serbian SR, as a self-managing state community, is a single whole. The territory of the Serbian SR, however, can be treated in two ways: by referring to the entire territory of the Serbian SR and by referring to the part of the territory of the Serbian SR without the territory of the socialist autonomous provinces. Not even then, however, does one speak of the Republic without the socialist autonomous provinces as a sociopolitical self-managing community. One always speaks of the territory. This is therefore, according to the explicit decision adopted yesterday by the Executive Council, the meaning of the constitutional text which refers to the 'territory of the Serbian SR without the territory of the socialist autonomous provinces.'"

Although this newspaper report cannot be considered too clear, the following can still be determined from it and from the discussion that it reports: "the territory of the Serbian SR without the territory of the socialist autonomous republics," which is the name used in the Constitution (not very defensible grammatically), is only a "territory," only a geographic concept and not a political one; this territory is not a "sociopolitical," "self-managing," or "state" community, but rather a primarily geographic concept which we supplement, like other such concepts (for example, Jadar, Stig, Branicevo, Sumadija) with other nongeographic contents.

[26 Nov 81 p 13]

[Text] For a Harmony of the Linguistic and "Natural"

As a geographic and political concept, and as a historical and political reality Serbia, both as a concept and as a name, in a historical retrospective covers various "territories."* This concept "moves," expands or contracts, sharing the fate of the people (never "ethnically pure") who inhabit or inhabited this territory. When and what happened in regard to this to Serbia and within Serbia

*Geographic and political concepts do not have to be identical in the minds of people who belong to different generations or even to the same ones. Some "districts" in the present narrower area of Serbia were only liberated from the Ottoman Empire and "annexed" to Serbia in 1878 (for example, the Toplica district which is today neither a "district" nor an "intercommunal regional community"); for a long time after that the inhabitants of Toplica would refer to the areas farther into Serbia, for example those near Kragujevac, as "over there in Serbia," even though they had been in Serbia themselves ever since 1878. Serbia has been within its present borders as a state and as one of the six federal units of Yugoslavia since 1945; there has already been plenty of time for the majority of its inhabitants under 50 years of age to straigten out and coordinate their concepts, names, and terms. Such an accord nevertheless does not exist, to some extent because the necessary new names and precise definitions of the accepted names do not exist.

should be clear to us. Recently, however, it was possible to read that some parts of the present Serbian SR such as, for example, Kosovo and Metohija, were annexed in 1945, although everyone ought to know that Kosovo and Metohija were liberated from the Ottoman Empire in 1912 and afterwards, according to internationally recognized treaties, were a constituent part of Serbia (and partially of Montenegro until 1918). Istria was liberated in 1945 and annexed to Croatia and Yugoslavia, but until then was a constituent part of Italy. Thus, Kosovo was not annexed to Serbia in 1945, but rather received a certain degree of autonomy in that year, without having ceased to be a constituent part of Serbia since 1912.

In accordance with this, the concept and name of Serbia, in any sense--geographic, political, economic, or any other--covers and can cover only the "broader" area, all three of the "territories" together. In the legal sense, Vojvodina and Kosovo are no less a constituent part of Serbia than Kragujevac, for example. The narrower area of the Serbian SR, regardless of the fact that it is only a geographic concept that we are in any case supplementing every day with other nongeographic contents, deserves its own name, a well thought-out name and usable term that will not have a state-political meaning.

(One could consider the names Raska or Sumadija, which was sometimes used before the war in a broader sense, or some others, although Raska--or Rascia, as Djamil Sijaric would say--would be more suitable, as a term with a historical tradition. This should by no means be considered a proposal, but simply a possibility that is worth discussing, because the term Serbia, as long as it includes all three "territories," can be considered only for the community of these three territories, and not at all for the central part, which is neither a sociopolitical nor a state community, but only a group of communes between Zemun, to the far north, and Presevo, to the far south.)

The Territory "Without the Territory"

The need to establish a name for the narrower area will remain even if some existing disputes are settled: even if the provinces are only what they should be in accordance with the meaning of the word autonomy (self-rule): autonomous units with more autonomous rights than the other parts of the republic as a state, without the "classical" state jurisdictions which would necessarily atrophy in time on both the federal and republic levels.

The name selected for the narrower area (whatever it is) would thus have the same meaning as, for example, the name Hercegovina, which is not a separate sociopolitical community (although its name is part of the compound name of the republic), but rather a territory on which a certain number of communes are located (it is precisely known which ones), the traditional name of a territory which has expanded and contracted, with a primarily geographic significance, although here and there one may encounter the expressions "Hercegovinian agriculture" or "Hercegovinian poetry," without any reference to broader political or national aggregates. If we are to find a name for the narrower area, we must resolve certain important problems in communication (reaching an agreement), and we must resolve at least some linguistic problems.

Until we find some suitable name (if possible consisting of one word), the names "Serbia proper" (which is not the best name, although it does suggest that a "broader Serbia" exists) or the "narrower area of Serbia" retain some logic and usefulness, which, unfortunately, the name "the territory of the Serbian SR without the territory of the socialist autonomous provinces" ("the territory without the territory") does not possess.

If we were to insist on the constitutionality of the expression "the territory without the territory," we would have to refrain from using the name "the narrower area of the city," which appears in many legal documents and introduce such names as "the territory of the city of Belgrade without the territory of the villages and suburban communes" (for the narrower area of the city), "the territory of the city of Belgrade without the territory of the Zemun and New Belgrade communes and without part of the territory of the Palilul commune"; some other absurd combinations of names are possible, such as "Belgrade without Zemun and New Belgrade"--it is amazing that this combination has not already appeared.

What Relationships Are Possible?

Finally, we should warn that it is not logical to speak about the "relationships of the Serbian SR and the autonomous provinces" (as has been done, as the 1 November 1981 NIN reports in the article "Scholars About the Provinces," by the participants in a discussion in the Serbian SR Association for Political Sciences); the whole cannot have relationships with parts that comprise it, unless the relationship of the narrower area to the provinces is in question.

If one speaks about the relationship of the whole and the parts in such a manner, at least two errors are made: the narrower area is identified with the whole, and the provinces are excluded from the whole. The parts, of course, can have "relationships" with each other, but the whole cannot have relationships with the parts that comprise it, unless, naturally, they happen to be outside of its composition.

The relationship of the Serbian SR authorities and the socialist autonomous province authorities is another matter, which can and must be discussed, just as it is possible to discuss the relationship of Yugoslav authorities and the authorities of the republics and provinces. Also unacceptable is the frequently encountered expression "all of our republics and provinces," because it fails to consider both the Serbian SR, which does not exist without the provinces, and the "narrower area of Serbia," which is neither a republic nor a province.

Something is wrong with these expressions. Although linguistic and "natural" logic clearly do not have to coincide, some sort of harmony must exist. If we agree that even according to the constitution(s) the three "territories" that make up the Serbian SR would in any case be somewhat closer to each other than the six or eight territories that make up Yugoslavia, how is it that we never come across the expression "the SFRY without the Slovenian SR" or something similar? Is it possible for the expression "component" to be left without

meaning, while the expression "constituent element" means everything, even what it cannot and should not mean?

I think it is undeniable that we need clarity and precision in relationships, both in language and outside of it; we need to resolve sociolinguistic problems that are both linguistic, social, and political.

9909
CSO: 2800/170

POPE'S STATEMENT TO YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Dec 81 p 5

[Report of Statement by Pope John Paul II upon Receiving the Yugoslav Ambassador on 10 December 1981: "Acting Presence of the Catholic Community in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Zvonimir Stenek, Yugoslavia's new extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador to the Holy See, delivered his credentials to Pope John Paul II on Thursday, 10 December 1981. On that occasion, Comrade Stenek greeted the Holy Father on behalf of the Presidency of the SFRY. He expressed the Yugoslav government's gratitude to the Pope for his intercession for peace in the world and for more just relations among peoples. Recalling the messages that were exchanged by President Josip Broz Tito and Pope Paul VI in their time, Stenek stated that the two of them thereby laid firm foundations for international cooperation between the SFRY and the Holy See. According to Ambassador Stenek's statement, relations between the SFRY and the Holy See are now stable and Yugoslavia is interested in strengthening this cooperation. In his salutation address, Stenek also mentioned the Belgrade Protocol, which is a good basis for enhancing these relations, as was also emphasized in last year's meeting between President Mijatovic and the Holy Father.

In response to the Yugoslav ambassador's greeting, Pope John Paul II made the following statement:

"Mr Ambassador!

"I welcome Your Excellency and thank you for the words that you have just expressed upon officially taking up your post as the extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the Holy See.

"You have expressed your country's devotion to certain principles which are truly necessary for establishing and maintaining world peace. These principles are after all in accordance with the UN Charter: full respect for the independence of peoples under conditions of equality and without the abuse of guardianship; understanding their problems, their cultural characteristics and their just demands in international relations; their right to organize their development freely under democratic conditions without discrimination; concern for settling disputes through negotiation and on a basis of mutual equality; sincere and mutual acceptance of a true limitation of the arms race, which is being increased

more and more dangerously and extravagantly, in the face of the extreme poverty of so much of the population of the world.

"As Your Excellency emphasized, the Holy See values these aims and encourages their realization, assisting this in its bilateral relations and in its intercessions with international organizations, as well as in all of its messages addressed to the conscience of people of good will. It is doing this in accordance with its spiritual mission and with the objectivity made possible by its universal openness, taking into account the dignity of every people and every individual. In the international area, the diplomatic relations between the Holy See and your government, which were resumed after the signing of the Belgrade Protocol, are of such a nature that they promote a devoted search for better conditions and peace and cooperation among peoples, and it is my desire that they may be more and more fruitful.

"These relations also obviously affect the active presence of the Catholic community in Yugoslavia, as I had the honor to emphasize to His Excellency Cvijetin Mijatovic, then the President of the Presidency of the Republic, during his much-appreciated visit last year. The Catholics of your country, in accordance with the fundamental right that everyone already recognizes, at the level of the United Nations as well, quite naturally want to see room for their spiritual freedom ensured on an individual and community level, for everything contained in the demands and characteristics of the evangelic message to which they cling, as I stressed in a document on religious freedom that I sent on 1 September 1980 to all of the heads of states that had signed the Helsinki document. These Catholics from the various Yugoslav peoples, devoted to their country and working for the general good, also want to offer their own contribution to the progress of civil society for the enhancement of human welfare, as they have amply demonstrated. In the spirit of the community that links them with the successor of the Apostle Peter, I can confirm here the great respect and profound confidence that I have in them, and especially in the Yugoslav bishops, who are so zealous in their pastoral activity.

"It is truly possible for differences over certain issues to arise between the state and the Church, each of which is responsible for human welfare in different ways and in a complementary manner. These difficulties, however, should not be exacerbated at the expense of legal rights or remain without a just solution. In order for them to be overcome, it is sufficient for these authorities to show mutual understanding and active good will while respecting each other. The Church is always willing in such cases to engage in a dialogue on all levels, and hopes that the various authorities in Yugoslavia will have an equally favorable attitude. It will do you credit, Mr Ambassador, to assist in paving the way for the benefit of everyone.

"I leave it to you to thank His Excellency Sergej Kraigher, the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, for the good will that you have expressed to me, and to inform him of my good wishes for the success of his high responsibility in the service of all. I extend my good wishes to all of the inhabitants of Yugoslavia, whose efforts I appreciate, also taking to my heart their afflictions, such as the airplane disaster that recently killed so many people, and likewise their longings for happiness, progress and peace. And you, Mr Ambassador, may be assured that you will always be received with pleasure here and that you have my best wishes for the noble mission that you are beginning today."

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BRIEFS

ALBANIAN NATIONALISTS IN PLAV AREA--In a statement by the secretary of the Plav [Montenegro] Opstina LC Conference at a 13 January 1982 meeting it was stated that the events of last spring in Kosovo had had a negative influence also in the Plav Opstina area. Several incidents by individuals were noted including the writing of hostile slogans, the erasing of inscriptions in Serbo-Croatian at schools, the singing of nationalist songs, and the sending of threatening letters to persons who had declared themselves against Albanian nationalism. The enemy still continues to be in evidence. A few days ago slogans again appeared, this time in the village of Vusanje, and after the arrival of the security organs, obstacles were placed on the road to Gusinje. These and similar "ruses" occur most frequently in the secondary school center and in the villages of Vusanje and Martinovic. The statement of most of the discussion participants who were of Albanian nationality and who have lived in harmony with Moslems and Montenegrins in this area for centuries was as follows: "We Albanians are called most of all to settle accounts with nationalists and irredentists because our nationality has been tainted. We do not need another homeland--Yugoslavia is our home in which we have all the rights of other Yugoslav peoples and no one can violate our community." [Excerpt] [Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jan 82 p 5]

NATIONALISM AT PLAV SCHOOL--A meeting of the basic LC organization at the Plav secondary school center on 14 January devoted special attention to negative occurrences arising from the increased activity of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. The writing of slogans and threatening letters, the singing of songs with nationalist content, and similar occurrences were sharply condemned in most of the discussion. [Excerpt] [Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 82 p 20]

CETINJE CRITICISM OF PRESS--The presidium of the SAWP Opstina Conference of Cetinje at a meeting on 14 January discussed problems related to the information media. The meeting was held following the publication of articles in NIN, POLITIKA, DUGA, AUTO-SVET, and VECERNJE NOVOSTI which have been judged here as untruthful and tendentious. In the last several months under bombastic headlines in these papers there have been reports on irresponsible youth, the misuse of credits, and unplanned construction on Lovcen. All this, it was said, is intended to diminish, in a sensationalist way, overall results which Cetinje has achieved in its political and economic life. It was also stressed that modern Cetinje is not immune from such cases but the interpretation of certain phenomena by some newspapers is unacceptable. Such phenomena are not characteristic for this city. [Excerpt] [Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 82 p 2]

CSO: 2800/205

END

JPRS 80076

10 February 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1974

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10 February 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1974

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BULGARIA

INSTRUCTIONS PERTAINING TO CONSTRUCTION OF BLAST-PROOF SHELTERS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 12,1981 pp 28-29

[Article by engineer Angel Stoyadinov and Bogdan Dimitrov: "Assembling Blast-Proof Systems"]

[Text] The air suction and expulsion vents of shelters are supplied with special blast-proof systems (PVU) which protect not only the filtering and ventilation equipment but also prevent any increase in shelter pressure. They automatically lock the ventilation ducts when the pressure exceeds the admissible level.

Various PVU systems may be used which are triggered by the effect of the shock wave. The most commonly used types in our country are the MZS-1500 and the UZS-8 models.

The drastic increase in the number of automotive vehicles has resulted in the expansion of not only the road and street network but the building of underground transport facilities which can be adapted to serve as shelters very successfully. It is precisely in such high capacity installations that more powerful blast-proof systsms of the UZS-25 model will be constructed.

The MZS blast-proof system (fig. 1) may be installed in a special reinforced concrete premise, in a reinforced concrete wall or in a metal box.

It consists of a base and a movable frame, several plates, regulating screw, sleeve and flange connector. The support frame is made of angular steel with a welded grid. Seven duralumin plates are fastened to the grid with hinges, at a 45° angle.

The sleeve is made of steel sheet and protects the installation from eventual mechanical damages.

The flange connection is bolted to the sleeve and the air duct.

The air duct is 200mm in diameter.

Under the effect of the shock wave the duralumin plates turn on their axis and close the openings of the support grid.

The effect of the shock wave before the locking is minimal as a result of the expansion in the air duct or the expansion chamber.

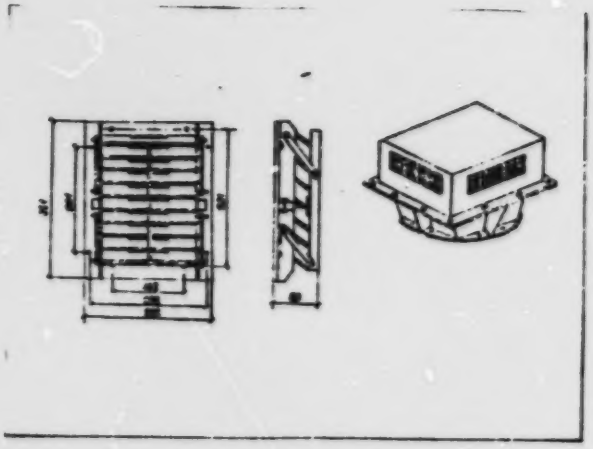

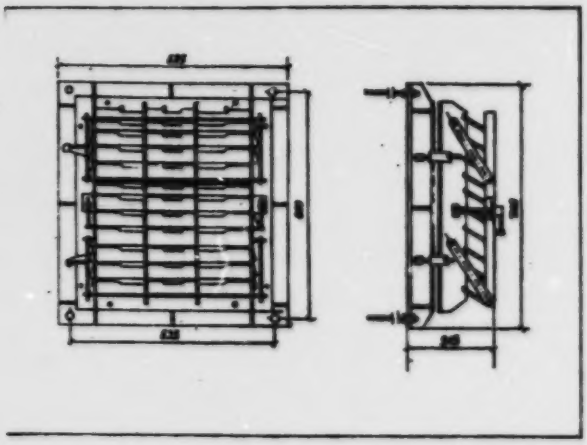

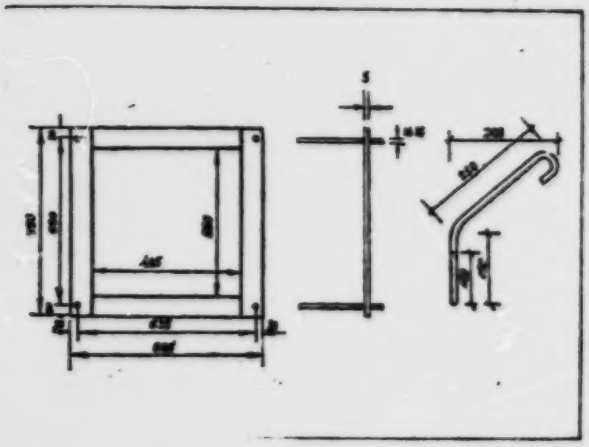

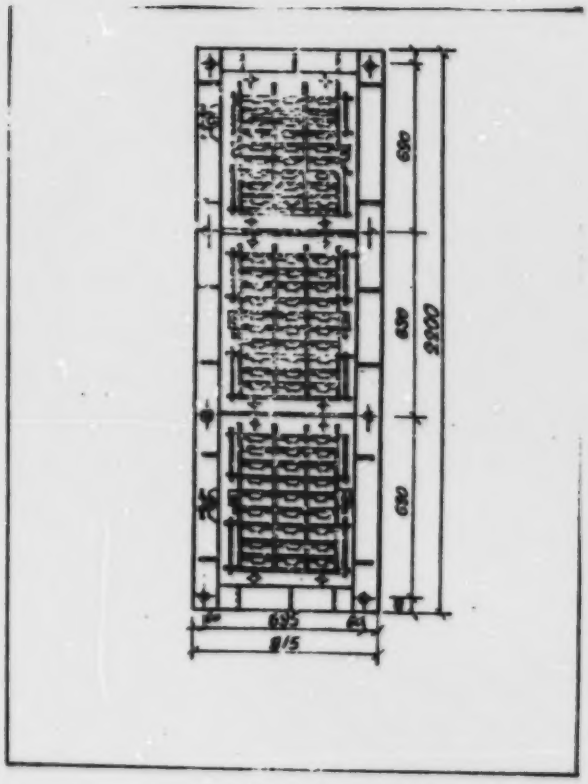

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

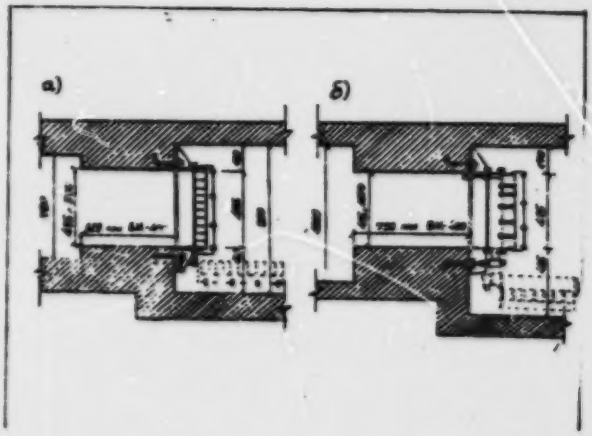

The UZS-8 and UZS-25 models have the same locking action.

A support frame (fig. 3) with four openings is used in the UZS-8 (fig. 3). They are kept in place with special anchor bolts 16mm in diameter.

The UZS-25 system (fig. 4) is assembled in the same way as the UZS-8 but uses eight instead of four anchoring bolts on the support frame.

In order to lower the pressure which comes with the shock wave to a safe level and protect the filtering and ventilation equipment, an expansion area must be installed behind the blast-proof system, with the following minimal dimensions: $0.5m^3$ for the MZS; 2.00 m^3 for the UZS-8 and 6 m^3 for the UZS-25.

No expansion area is necessary for MZS air ducts 200mm in diameter and a distance of more than 4m between the PVU and the ventilation equipment.

The MZS, UZS-8 and UZS-25 blast-proof systems are used with ventilation systems with a nominal air circulation of 1500, 8000 and $25,000m^3$ per hour respectively.

5003
CSO: 2200/52

WESTERN PEACE MOVEMENT'S CRITICISM OF SOVIET ARMAMENT COUNTERED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 6, 13 Jan 82 p1

[Report from Berlin: "East Berlin on Criticism from Western Peace Movement About Soviet Armament." A translation of the East Berlin DIE WELTBUEHNE article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] East Berlin's WELTBUEHNE (No 2, 1982) now admits that the scope of Soviet armaments poses "problems for some friends of the Western peace movement." The reason for it, the East Berlin weekly says, is that major segments of this peace movement are "not Marxists-Leninists." They ask questions about Eastern armaments, including Soviet medium-range missiles. They are perfectly justified in doing so but the question is whether this does the fight for peace any good or makes it more effective "if the questions continue to be asked even though they have been answered several times before." The answer to the question about the Soviet medium-range missiles is that they are an object of negotiation but that the Soviet Union cannot be asked to engage in unilateral disarmament.

Cultural-Political Journal's Discussion

East Berlin DIE WELTBUEHNE in German Vol 77 No 2, 12 Jan 82 pp 33-35

[Lead article by Albert Reiss: "About the Usefulness of a Moratorium"]

[Text] Since 30 November, the Soviet Union and the United States have been negotiating about problems of nuclear armaments in Europe in Geneva. This says nothing about the course of the negotiations or their chances for success. But if one thinks about the fact that American administrations have been carrying on a policy for the past 2 years which mainly consists in breaking off contact, in blocking dialogue and instead instituting embargos, sanctions, boycotts and issuing threats, then one can see the distance covered on the way to Geneva and one can clearly see the difficulties.

To bring the Geneva talks about, the Soviet statesmen have undertaken great efforts, have shown both a lot of patience and a good deal of diplomatic skill. They have countered arrogant intemperance, which was not always restricted to mere rhetoric, with forbearance and circumspection. This is attested to even by some adversaries of the Soviet Union; and it appears that the West is continuing to count on this factor so that things will not come to a head. Those opposed to

negotiations—and no one today will still ask for proof that they were and still are sitting in Washington—were brought to the conference table. It would be foolish to think they have changed completely since they got there.

Now this lack of illusions—does it run counter to the generally accepted principle that mutual trust is an indispensable condition for the success of negotiations and the maintenance of peace ? Certainly not. Trust is something that must be worked on—at the conference table as anywhere else.

The struggle to secure peace has become more complicated. It must be conducted in a concrete fashion in order to be effective. In the struggle for peace, the quest for effectiveness ought to be just as great as in the struggle for economic progress. There are several problems. In the first instance, there is the question of "unilaterality." Why—one sometimes hears—are the demands always directed against the United States and not against the Soviet Union as well although she also possesses nuclear weapons about the effectiveness of which no one is in doubt ? Recently, a writer even said that there are no just and unjust wars any more, since there is no such thing as a just or an unjust atomic bomb. He should tell that to a Vietnamese sometime(it is only a little more than 6 years ago that the American aggressors and their collaborators were driven out of Vietnam!) or to a Palestinian Arab or to an Angolan. It would be interesting to hear what they would say. But that is another story.

But what about the atomic bomb ? To be sure, it is neither just, nor unjust. Nor was the slingshot our ancestors used in prehistoric times; that, too, was an instrument without a consciousness or a will. Which is to say that it depends on man and his will, on the given social order and its political will.

Since 1945, the world and life on it has borne the imprint of the atomic bomb. It exists because the United States were the first to develop it. The United States also were the first and only nation to use the atomic bomb. Hiroshima and Nagasaki are the archetypal motive for today's peace movement. It was not "communist propaganda," but sober facts that have caused many to think of the United States—without themselves being communists—when the talk turns to atomic bombs. Is history unilateral ?

At the height of American aggression against Korea, the then British prime minister Clement Attlee, the head of the Labor Party, hurried to Washington because leading American circles were contemplating the use of nuclear weapons in Korea. Attlee was no friend of the peace movement. The Labor government he led was as guilty as anyone of the outbreak of the Cold War. Still, his confidence in the rationality of the American political leadership was not great enough as not to deem personal intervention unnecessary. In the face of deadly danger, Attlee became very unilaterally active.

To be sure, the power of the Soviet defense potential which preserves the peace causes problems for some adherents of the Western peace movement. Major segments of this movement—even most of them in Western and Northern Europe—are not Marxists-Leninists. They are asking us questions and are justified in doing so—including questions about the Soviet medium-range missiles. But one should consider the following: Does it do the struggle for peace any good and make it more

effective, if questions continue to be asked that have long since been answered several times ? The questions concerning the Soviet medium-range missiles /were/ answered. On the occasion of his Bonn visit, Leonid Brezhnev expanded on the answers and defined them even more clearly. If NATO is ready to accept the proposal for a moratorium, the Soviet Union will make an advance concession, reducing the medium-range missiles in place in the European part of the USSR by a certain number. The Soviet Union is in favor of a genuine zero option, namely that all nuclear weapons—both medium-range and "tactical"—are removed from the European continent.

Thus, it is not true to say that a moratorium would—as some would have it—perpetuate a, by the way, non-existent Soviet superiority. Taken altogether, the Soviet proposals—moratorium plus, if accepted, reduction of medium-range missiles by the Soviet side as an advance concession all the way to the zero option in the true sense of the word—would not cast anything in concrete except for: no nuclear weapons in Europe! The moratorium is a first step toward a nuclear-free Europe. The answer to the question concerning the Soviet medium-range missiles is: they are at the disposal of negotiations.

What one cannot expect are unilateral steps in the field of disarmament. Without painstaking acceptance of the principle of reciprocity and equal security for all, one will not get anywhere. At its winter meeting in December in Brussels, NATO was heard to complain that it is being asked to give up nuclear weapons unilaterally. The member states of the Warsaw Pact never asked NATO to do any such thing. The socialist countries do not conduct peace policy "out the window." They are looking for results and calls for unilateral disarmament do not advance the cause of peace by one single step. But the sober moratorium proposal is worth fighting for passionately. Now this proposal is concrete, matter-of-fact, fair and realizable—given good will on the other side. Or should it be a blemish for certain Western circles that this proposal, like others in this regard, is of Soviet origin ? The Soviet Union is not to blame that until today there have not been any American proposals which could be accepted by the other side because they were based on the principle of equal security.

This is an aspect of unilaterality we must deplore very much.

9478
CSO: 2300/119

PARTY INFLUENCE TO BE INCREASED IN STATE ORGANS

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 6, 13 Jan 82 p 1

/Report from Berlin: "SED Intends to Tighten Up State Organs Politically—Verner Demands That Every State Functionary Have a 'Clear Picture of the Enemy.'" A translation of the East Berlin NEUER WEG article cited below follows this commentary/

/Text/ SED Politburo member Paul Verner has made a series of concrete demands aiming at the "strengthening of socialist executive power" in the GDR. In the functionaries' periodical NEUER WEG (No 1, 1982) he stated that the party must above all increase its political influence on the activities of state organs. Increased responsibilities as well as "the aggravated conditions of the class struggle with imperialism" call for "the intensification of the political-ideological education" for all members of the state apparatus. Verner called for the creation of a "political atmosphere which guarantees that the tasks at hand could even be performed under the most complicated conditions." The "aggravated class struggle," he said, makes it incumbent upon each state functionary to maintain "a firm, class-oriented point of view, a clear picture of the enemy." The education of state functionaries must be augmented accordingly.

The SED, Verner says, also intends to exert more of an influence than heretofore on local functionaries. The party organizations should subject the deputies "to an atmosphere of intolerance which triggers energetic and prompt action against delay in the execution of party resolutions, against liberal attitudes or non-compliance with proposals made by the people."

SED Security Chief's Discussion

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 37 No 1, 1982 (signed to press 29 Dec 82) pp 1-6

/Lead article by Paul Verner, SED politburo member and Central Committee secretary for security: "Higher Demands on Local State Organs"/

/Text/ Our party is ready to meet the challenges of the eighties and resolutely to continue the good and proven policies in the interests of the people and the maintenance of peace. This is reflected both in the 5-year plan 1981-85 and in the 1982 economic plan. It also is the essence and the content of the resolutions adopted at the third meeting of our party's central committee.

Policy of Main Task to Be Continued

The documents of this meeting—particularly the Politburo report given by secretary-general of the central committee, comrade Erich Honecker—contain concrete guidelines for action based on real conditions which aim to continue strengthening our GDR as a socialist workers' and peasants' state in every way; to continue the policy of the main task, combining economic and social policy, in the eighties; to give reliable protection and security to socialism within the firm alliance with the Soviet Union and the other members of the Warsaw Pact, and to do everything for the maintenance of peace. This will also call for a marked increase in demand on the work of the state organs.

Strengthening Our State in Every Way

The Politburo report to the third meeting of the central committee said: "For our party, the all-round strengthening of the socialist state is and will remain a cardinal point of the revolution. The citizens of our republic know that there can be no socialism without a strong and well-functioning socialist state. Such a state alone can guarantee the realization of the basic interests of the working class and all working people and secure socialist democracy, freedom and humanity."

To be sure, all the successes we have achieved on behalf of the people were based on the fact that we created a stable, socialist state in which our party—working in close harmony with the parties and mass organizations united under the banner of the National Front—guarantees the unified political leadership of society. Socialist democracy makes sure that the working class and other working people have a role in the direction of production, of the state and of society. Our socialist state guarantees the rights and the freedom of its citizens.

Our socialist state acts as the instrument of planned development of the productive forces of socialist society; of the promotion of scientific-technological progress, and of the steady growth in labor productivity. In line with the purposeful realization of the economic strategy for the eighties outlined at the third meeting of the central committee, the role of the state in directing the economy and all other spheres of society on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism is bound to grow.

Vitality of Socialist Democracy

Stability and strength of our socialist state are based on the firm trust which exists between the people, the party and the state. Millions of working people in industrial plants and in agriculture, in scientific and other institutions, in schools and institutions of higher learning, in cities and villages are strengthening our socialist society by their deeds and initiatives. It is characteristic of socialist democracy that citizens belonging to the most diversified groups and occupations, adhering to different ideologies, both young people and old are busy working for the solution of social tasks in ever greater number; are actively supporting the state organs and the compliance of the laws of the workers' and peasants' state as well as the maintenance of law and order. Socialist democracy is all the more viable, the more firmly our policy is anchored in the people and is viewed as a matter of their own deep concern by our citizens.

True to the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, our party has always subscribed to the unity of politics, economics and ideology and will continue to do so. At the center of our economic strategy we place the task of decisively increasing the efficiency of our economy by hastening scientific-technological progress. The realization of this goal simultaneously lays the groundwork for the realization of the intellectual-cultural goals of development in the eighties and the broadening of socialist democracy.

Therefore, our party combines the struggle for fulfillment of the economic goals with the education of socialist consciousness; the propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideology in the ranks of the working class and all other working people, and the support of education, science and culture.

Realization of the Economic Strategy

As was emphasized at the third meeting of the central committee, we are particularly concerned with the qualitative factors of economic growth—above all the acceleration of scientific-technological progress—in order to step up the rise in productivity and labor efficiency through intensification and rationalization. Of necessity, these increased demands on the economy call for markedly higher demands on state direction. For this reason, the third meeting of the central committee stressed the fact that economic strategy is the priority goal of the state.

"The uniform execution of party and government decisions," comrade Honecker declared, "must guide us. To this end, the regional, district, city and town councils should intensify their control over compliance with them and see to it that local responsibility at all levels of the state apparatus is exercised to the full. This would include exemplary order, a high measure of discipline and security as well as the strict maintenance of socialist legality."

Those are important criteria for the guidance and control of the work of party organizations at all levels of the state apparatus. All of them bear a great responsibility for developing the efficiency of centrally guided, regionally guided and locally guided economies and for the people's well-being. The leading organs of the party are expected to increase the efficiency of the their political influence upon the workings of the state still further; to strengthen the fighting power of the party organisations and to enable the communists resolutely to realize the decisions of the party in every situation.

Responsibility for Territorial Rationalization

The local people's representatives and their councils, as organs of the unified state apparatus, have an important role to play in the fulfillment of the central task as it combines economic and social policy. In the first instance, they must concentrate all their efforts within their area of responsibility on the fulfillment of the economic plan. This calls for close cooperation among all elements of the council and for concentrated use of forces, capabilities and funds with a view to realizing priority goals.

The local state organs bear a great deal of responsibility for territorial rationalization. Their leadership and organizational direction should be based on the most advanced state of experience. It must be directed toward the realization of priority goals of the plan and its effects should serve both to increase production efficiency and the further improvement of the working and living conditions of our citizens. In the past, numerous initiatives originating with local party and state organs have helped tap additional reserves of economic efficiency—as for example the better utilization of highly productive properties; the construction of high-technology rationalization devices for use in more than one plant; assistance in rationalization for small and medium-sized industrial plants; district-based construction and the building industry.

Duties of All People's Representatives

The goals set by the third meeting of the central committee impose an obligation on each and every parliamentary body. The deputies must ask themselves over and over again: In what area can we together achieve higher gain at less cost ? In what fields can still more effective results be attained in the interest of increasing production efficiency and enhancing social life in the cities and villages ? Efforts and funds should be concentrated on these goals and these goals alone. There are valuable hints on how this is to be done in the letters the mayors and deputies of the Karl-Marx-Stadt, Suhl and Rostock regions sent to comrade Erich Honecker.

The development of production is affected in equal measure by intensification and the development of the territories. Intensification always is tied to intensive thinking, as an old worker's proverb has it. This also calls for seeing to it that such basic capital as housing, schools, commercial institutions, cultural institutions and those others that serve the people be maintained or be transformed in such a state as to be of value for all citizens. This is not by any means always a matter of building repair capability or of manpower. What is included among many other things is compliance with opening hours of shops; uniform closing hours; the staffing of all cash registers during primary shopping hours; home deliveries of furniture at the appointed time. This plays no small part in further building up of mutual trust between state organs and citizens. This is a large field in which party organizations can bring about the proper frame of mind and attitude through party educational work and party control.

Requirements of Political Guidance

As the responsibility of local parliaments and their councils grows for the further strengthening of the socialist state apparatus, the leadership role of the party in these organs is increased. Everyone will understand that this is even more important today than it ever was. In line with the preparation and execution of the party elections decided upon at the third meeting of the central committee, it must be made abundantly clear that all basis organizations are jointly responsible for the all-round strengthening of the workers' and peasants' might.

What are the most important tasks to be assumed by the political leadership of the district organizations with regard to activities of the state ?

First: In strengthening the socialist state apparatus, it is a basic requirement of the political leadership activity of the party to base state activity on the resolutions and documents of the 10th party congress and to guarantee their uniform implementation down to each party group and village level.

Second: The decisive combat arena for the work of all state organs under the leadership of the party is the resolute realization of the economic strategy of the 10th party congress as delineated by the third meeting of the central committee.

Third: The increasing tasks aimed at creating a fully developed socialist society and the aggravated conditions of the class struggle against imperialism call for an intensification of the political-ideological education of all party members and associates in the state organs. We must create a political atmosphere which guarantees that the tasks at hand can even be accomplished under the most complicated conditions. This includes the readiness to subordinate personal interest to the interests of society and to achieve conformity in words and deeds.

Close Ties Between Voters and Deputies

Fourth: State public information activity is of great political importance as part of political mass education by the party. It is a permanent part of the political leadership exercised by the leading party organs in the districts. It is an inalienable part of socialist state leadership. Goal-oriented public information work, rich in ideas which familiarize the individual with the policies of the party and the government and with community goals and projects, serves to establish a closer bond between voters and deputies and between state organs and citizens.

For this reason, the district leaderships should always see to it that the party members and, above all, the deputies be provided with the required information and arguments so as to be able to answer topical questions of domestic and foreign policy in the workers collective, the election district and the residential area on the basis of the resolutions of the 10th party congress and the third meeting of the central committee. Whatever shape it takes, public information work always constitutes a dialogue between the state organs and the citizens. This calls for openness, liveliness, a correct assessment of the situation and an awareness of the people's problems.

Fifth: The work of party groups in the parliamentary bodies is of great importance for the enhancement of the political effectiveness of elected state organs; nor should their role be minimized in smaller towns and villages. The party groups represent the forum in which the deputies can prepare for the task of becoming an exemplary, active member of the highest state organ in the territory. We consider it imperative that the party groups, under the direct guidance

of the district leadership, should concern themselves with political-ideological problems to a greater extent than heretofore. In their deliberations, an atmosphere of intolerance should be created which triggers energetic and prompt action to combat any delay in the execution of party resolutions, liberal attitudes or non-compliance with proposals made by the people. The party members in the party groups of the local parliamentary bodies should also discuss ways of making for a more effective relationship as deputies to their voters. This includes close cooperation with the committees of the National Front.

Party's Fighting Power to Be Further Enhanced

Sixth: In order that the party resolutions can be systematically implemented by all state organs, it is most important to heighten the fighting power of the basis organizations in the state organs. Everything else hinges on this. This very subject should serve as a major guideline for debate in election meetings among the state organs.

The party members in the state apparatus must be educated so as to carry out the party resolutions day in, day out under quite concrete and at times very complicated conditions requiring independent decisions. These decisions must be in accordance with the peculiarities of a given situation and must at the same time be in conformance with the essence of the party resolutions.

State Functionary Must Have Firm Class Position

The aggravated class struggle against imperialism requires that each state functionary have a firm class-oriented point of view and a clear picture of the enemy. It further requires that he concern himself with the multifarious manifestations of the international class struggle and arrive at the right conclusions. Every state functionary is called upon to be on his guard and to exercise voluntary revolutionary discipline.

In order to strengthen the fighting power of the communists in the state apparatus, it is imperative to perfect the Marxist-Leninist as well as the professional training of supervisors and subordinates. Otherwise, it will not be possible to implement the economic strategy of our party or the newest developments of science and technology or the tenets of our socialist development.

Our SED is the party of revolutionary action. It embodies the conformity between revolutionary theory and practice, between word and deed. Based on continuous consultation with the working population and its rich store of experience, our party goes forward, teaching the masses and learning from them at the same time. All these are important reasons for the great confidence the entire people has in it.

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NEW REGULATIONS ON DEFENSE DELIVERIES, MILITARY BUYERS PUBLISHED

Text of Deliveries Decree

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 31, 11 Nov 81 pp 357-368

/Official text of "Decree of 15 October 1981 on Deliveries and Services to the Armed Organs--Deliveries Decree (LVO)," signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers; and Army General Hoffmann, minister for national defense, East Berlin/

/Text/ On the basis of article 15 of the 13 October 1978 Defense Law (GBl I No 35 p 377), the following is decreed for the implementation of articles 7 and 8 paragraph 1 of that law:

Part I: General Regulations on Economic Relations Regarding the Economic Assurance of National Defense

Section 1: Principles and Area of Application

Article 1: Principles

(1) As an essential prerequisite for securing the combat and mobilization readiness as well as the combat strength of the armed organs, the economic assurance of national defense and the accomplishment of economic tasks to ensure internal security and order (hereinafter designated economic assurance of national defense) are an integral element of the socialist state's economic policy. State organs, economy managing organs, combines, enterprises, facilities and cooperatives must accomplish the task assigned them for the economic assurance of national defense, completely, appropriate with respect to quality and range, and at the time stipulated.

(2) The economic assurance of national defense proceeds on the basis of central state defense-economic planning. The special state targets and quotas assigned to the effect as well as other requirements based on indices of central state defense-economic planning are obligatory for balancing and the responsible organization and fulfillment of business contracts.

Article 2: The Responsibility of Managers

Ministers, heads of other central state organs, chairmen of bezirk and kreis councils, general directors of combines, managers of economy managing organs, enterprise

directors as well as managers of facilities and chairmen of cooperatives (hereinafter designated managers) are personally responsible in their sphere of responsibility for the management, planning, supervision and accomplishment of the tasks assigned them for the economic assurance of national defense. They must therefore provide the conditions required at the proper time. They must promptly cancel any decisions by subordinated managers, which infringe legal regulations on the economic assurance of national defense. The managers personal responsibility includes the duty to apply for and initiate the necessary management and planning decisions if that is required for the orderly preparation and execution of the tasks for the economic assurance of national defense.

Scope: Article 3

(1) This decree applies whenever the following act as buyers in business relations as per article 4 paragraph 1:

a) The Ministry for National Defense,

b) The Ministry of the Interior

c) The Ministry for State Security

as well as their subordinated agencies and enterprises (hereinafter designated armed organs).

(2) Other buyers in the meaning of this decree are:

a) The GDR State Customs Administration,

b) The State Administration of State Reserves,

c) Engineering-technical foreign trade

d) The State Planning Commission, department for government orders,

e) Potsdam Special Construction VEB,

f) The main directorate for special trade and its wholesale and supply enterprises,

g) The central executive of the Society for Sports and Technology

and other organs determined by the Council of Ministers.

(3) On the application of the competent minister or chairman of a bezirk council, the Minister for National Defense, in agreement with the chairman of the State Planning Commission, may decide to expand the scope of this decree for a limited time to other state organs, combines, enterprises and facilities as well as investment projects or other measures, should this be imperative in the interest of national defense. Within the scope and time determined, these state organs, combines, enterprises and facilities will be deemed buyers in the meaning of this decree. They must so advise their partners in the organization of cooperation relations.

(4) The use of this decree by buyers as per paragraphs 1-3 must be limited exclusively to the extent of the material or financial funds earmarked to meet the requirements.

(5) The provisions of this decree apply to component deliveries and other cooperation services required to meet delivery and service obligations to the buyers, provided that this is explicitly stated in this decree, the service required cannot be performed by the respective enterprise or combine and is incorporated in products or services for the buyers. If only part of the cooperation services is earmarked for deliveries and services to the buyers, it must be clearly defined.

(6) This decree applies to subsequent investments also, which may be required on the basis of an investment by the buyers as per paragraphs 1 and 2, provided that special state targets and quotas were assigned to that effect.

(7) The application of this decree as per paragraphs 3 and 5 presumes that the entitlement to such application was made known to the initial cooperation partner at the time of orders, purchases and balance notifications, and documented at his request or the request of the balancing organ.

(8) In the cases covered by paragraph 3 documentation is represented by quoting the reference number of the Minister for National Defense's directive on the expansion of the scope of the delivery regulation, and in the case of investment projects and scientific-technological tasks by quoting the index number.

(9) To be quoted in the cases covered by paragraph 5 is the reference number of the fund holder for whom the service is destined and the index number or the directive by the Minister for National Defense.

(10) Should no documentation be supplied for the authorized application of the LVO, managers must make an application for the investigation of the authorization to the head of the superior organs of the buyer or customer. The head of the superior organ is obligated within 3 weeks from receipt of the application to advise the applicant of the result of this investigation.

Article 4

(1) This decree applies to relations between buyers and economic units in the preparation, coordination and implementation of deliveries, scientific-technological services, the industrial repair of weapons and equipment, investments and building repairs, service and supply services, other services and the joint accomplishment of tasks (hereinafter designated business relations).

(2) The legal provisions issued in the fields of planning, balancing and cooperation apply unless this decree lists special regulations.

(3) Branch and product related legal provisions, especially general service conditions issued by ministers and heads of other central state organs, apply to buyers as per article 3 paragraphs 1 and 2 only if this is explicitly stated and has the approval of the Minister for National Defense.

(4) The provisions of this decree are not applicable if, as per international treaties, other regulations are obligatory for the organization and implementation of services to the buyers.

(5) The provisions of this decree do not apply to the supply of electric energy, gas, thermal energy and potable water to the buyers. Articles 35 through 39 are not applicable to the delivery of solid fuels to the buyers.

(6) The provisions of Part II, sections 1 and 2, also apply to other services, provided that no special regulations are set out in the further sections of Part II. The provisions of Part II, section 5 are applicable only to buyers as per article 3, paragraphs 1 and 2.

Section 2: Rights and Duties of Administrative Offices of Armed Organs with Regard to Business Relations

Powers for the Organization of Business Relations: Article 5

(1) On the basis of military and other service regulations administrative offices of military or other service regulations must:

a) Provide consumer-side data for planning, carry out coordination with balancing organs and accomplish other tasks of the competent fund holder in the balancing process,

b) Conclude business contracts on services to meet their needs and utilize secondary raw materials as well as on participation in the accomplishment of common tasks.

(2) Rights and duties from business contracts arise only for that administrative office which is the contractual partner, unless otherwise provided in the business contract. The superiors of the commander or manager of the administrative office may direct that another administrative office join the business contract. This latter then assumes all rights and duties arising from the business contract on the date determined by the superior but not before the seller has received advice in writing of such accession. In that case no approval by the remaining partner or his superior organ is needed.

(3) The competent ministry handles the rights and duties arising from the business contract if a subordinate administrative office is unable to do so, and the superior has not issued any directive as per paragraph 2.

Article 6

(1) In legal matters the administrative office is represented by the commander or manager (hereinafter designated commander). Within the scope of their administrative duties the deputies to the commander and departmental managers also are authorized to represent the administrative office. The commander may issue a written power of attorny to authorize other persons to undertake such representation. Unless another term is stipulated, the power of attorney lapses at the end of the calendar year.

(2) The commander's superiors may issue mandatory directives for the administrative office.

Article 7: Checks, Requests for Data and Reports

(1) Buyers as per article 3 paragraphs 1 and 2, letter d, may carry out checks at the economic units which supply them with services and at their cooperation partners, regarding the available potential for said services, their status and completion. Unless carried out by military buyers or within the scope of a coordinated plan, the manager of the economic unit's superior organ must be supplied with advance information about these checks. He may cooperate in the check and must be informed of the result.

(2) For the preparation and implementation of checks as well as other events which might affect the satisfaction of the buyers requirements, the economic units are obligated as per article 3 paragraph 1, upon request and within the stipulated time, to supply data on the potential available and the status of the services to be rendered.

(3) With regard to investment projects of buyers as per article 3 paragraph 1, the duties and powers provided in legal regulation as to checks, reports on and examination of investments by banking, financial and price organs, the Central State Inspection for Investments, the State Construction Supervision and other supervisory organs, these will be observed by the ministries on their own responsibility.

Section 3: Bases of Business Relations

Article 8: Bases of Buyers' Business Relations

(1) On behalf of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the chairman of the State Planning Commission assigns special state targets and quotas to the ministers, the managers of other central state organs and the chairmen of bezirk councils. These are to be completely broken down to the economic units or kreis councils.

(2) Buyers must, in coordination with the indices determined by central state defense-economic planning, report for balancing any supply requests for which no special state targets/state quotas are issued and hand over contract offers to the economic units proposed as suppliers.

(3) Special state targets and quotas as well as those supply requests by buyers, for which no special state targets/state quotas were issued, represent the mandatory basis for the planning, balancing, contract conclusion and fulfillment of the business contracts. It is not necessary for the buyers to justify their needs with respect to balancing organs, suppliers or economy managing and superior organs.

Artiel 9: Cooperation Services

(1) The need for cooperation services arising from special state targets/state quotas or business contracts on supplies for buyers must be planned, reported for balancing as per the legal regulations in effect, and balanced. At the same time care must be taken that the planned and contract-appropriate fulfillment of obligations to the buyer is safeguarded.

(2) Managers must ensure that services to the buyers and the cooperation services required to that effect are given priority within the framework of the funds and available capacities allocated to them together with the state targets and state plan quotas.

Section 4: Duties with Respect to Meeting the Demand

Article 10: The Responsibilities of Combines

(1) The general director of the combine must manage as planned, allround and completely develop and utilize the potential of the combine for the accomplishment of the tasks assigned for the economic assurance of national defense as an element in the operation of the combine. National defense requirements must be taken into account in the structuring and development of the combine.

(2) The general director of the combine must ensure that, within the framework of the planned economic division of labor, the potential of the combine with regard to satisfying the demand for components and services is fully used or priority given the organization of the necessary cooperation relations in the respective region.

Decisions on Meeting the Demand: Article 11

(1) If problems arise in the balancing of the buyers demand, the conclusion of contracts or the fulfillment of the contract, which the manager of the economic unit is unable to resolve despite the utilization of all opportunities offered by the socialist method of production, he must inform the manager of the super organ without delay, and in no case later than 4 weeks from receipt of the request notice or contract offer or the appearance of the circumstances hampering contract fulfillment, and he must also submit suggestions for the resolution of these problems.

(2) Within a further 4 weeks the manager of the superior organs must provide the conditions ensuring that the buyers requirements are met.

(3) If, in the case of paragraphs 1 and 2, problems arise in balancing, the competent managers must promptly so advise the manager of the balancing organ, at the same time submitting suggestions for settling the matter and asking him for a decision.

(4) In the case and within the time limits provided for paragraphs 1 and 2, managers are entitled to carry out coordinations with the buyer and suggest proposals by which it is possible to settle to settle the problems in order to safeguard the economic assurance of national defense. The buyer is obligated promptly to issue a comment with mandatory force. If the problems look like being settled in the foreseeable future, he is entitled to extend by a total of 2 weeks the time limits cited in paragraphs 1 and 2.

(5) If unable to issue a decision on meeting the requirement, the manager of the superior organ and the manager of the balancing organ must so inform the competent minister or chairman of the bezirk council within the time limits cited in paragraph 2 and submit coordinated proposals for a settlement. The competent minister

or chairman of the bezirk council must issue a decision or apply for a decision within 4 weeks from receipt of the information.

(6) All information and decisions described in paragraphs 1-3 and 5 must be reported in writing to the buyer or his superior organ.

(7) Decisions which result in failure to meet the buyer's requirements either completely or in the appropriate range, quality or time limits may be issued only by:

a) The Council of Ministers or its chairman,

b) In the case of services for which a special state target/state quota was assigned by the chairman of the State Planning Commission following consultation with the minister or manager superior to the buyer,

c) In the case of other services by the competent ministers or managers of the other central state organs or chairman of the bezirk council, following the written agreement of the minister or manager superior to the buyer.

Article 12

(1) The provisions of article 11 apply mutatis mutandi to managers at earlier cooperation stages, in whose competence cooperation services for eventual services to the buyer are to be planned, balanced or carried out.

(2) The final producer is authorized to involve the buyer in the resolution of the problems arising as per article 11 paragraph 4 only after he and his partners in the earlier stages of cooperation have exhausted all possibilities for coping with the difficulties.

Article 13: Changes in the Course of the Plan Period

(1) If, after the issue of special state quota and for reasons of compelling defense needs, changes arise in the requirements of the buyers or problems in the plan-appropriate accomplishment of the special state quota, and the managers are unable to deal with them unaided, a change in the special quota is to be applied for at the chairman of the State Planning Commission. The application must be submitted in accordance with the applicable special regulations by the minister or manager of the central state organ or chairman of the bezirk council, in the scope of which the relevant causes for the plan change have arisen.

(2) Necessary changes in meeting the demand for services not involving any special state quotas must be reported by the buyer or the supplier to the respective partner and the competent balancing organ. The conclusion or amendment of the business contract is to be carried out when agreement has been achieved between the partners and the competent balancing organ. The necessary funds must be made available promptly, unless legal regulations or other plan decisions provide otherwise.

(3) In the case of small quantities of products supplied by trade enterprises within the scope of the trade assortment and of services which are normally rendered at short notice, the requirement must be met without fail.

Article 14: Discontinuation and Shifts of Production

(1) If the production of goods or services is discontinued or shifted, the former manufacturer is responsible for meeting the need and concluding and fulfilling the necessary business contracts until such time as the smooth flowing satisfaction of the demand is assumed by another economic unit or in another manner.

(2) The production of goods and services destined exclusively for one buyer or developed, manufactured or carried out as per the special needs of a buyer (hereinafter designated special products and services) may be discontinued only with the agreement of the minister competent for the buyer.

(3) The production of special goods and services may be shifted only with the agreement of the buyer. The same applies to the replacement of special and customary products earlier supplied by technically changed products with the same or better use qualities, for which the buyer is one of the main customer. The same applies to services.

(4) The provisions of paragraphs 2 and 3 also apply to the discontinuation or shifting of the manufacture of type or product linked subassemblies, components, spare and replacement parts, other parts, semifinished goods or primary materials for special products as well as to the discontinuation and shifting of special services at all stages of cooperation.

(5) The implementation of measures as per paragraphs 2-4 may begin only when the necessary agreement has been given in writing. If an earlier cooperation partner intends to discontinue or shift the production of special goods or services, the approval of the manager competent for the final producer must first be obtained. The latter must be able to prove that the ongoing satisfaction of the buyer's demand is guaranteed.

(6) Paragraphs 1-5 also apply when a combine replaces its own production with imports or shifts manufacture within the combine.

Section 5: General Provisions on the Conclusion of Business Contracts

Article 15: Period Set for Acceptance

The period set for the acceptance of the offer of business contracts amounts to 4 weeks. Whenever, before the issue of the contract offer, contract negotiations were carried on by the partners, the period set for acceptance is 2 weeks. The partners may agree other time limits.

Article 16: Duty to Conclude Contracts

(1) The economic unit intended to be the supplier is not entitled to refuse contract offers in the scope of this decree unless explicitly provided. In particular it is not entitled to refuse the conclusion of contracts or the acceptance of individual conditions because the necessary cooperation relations have not yet been produced, decisions on plans or balances not yet issued or the necessary funds not yet allocated.

(2) The economic unit appointed supplier may temporarily refuse conclusion of the contract if it is unable, despite the utilization of all possibilities offered by the socialist method of production, to perform the service required as per the contract offer. Article 11 applies to the subsequent decisionmaking process. The right to the temporary refusal of the contract conclusion stops at the end of the time limits allowed for the decision about meeting the demand.

(3) Paragraphs 1 and 2 apply mutatis mutandi for economic units of earlier cooperation stages.

Article 17: Assurance of Complex Deliveries

Deliveries to buyers who require standardized coordination by an economic unit are subject to that economic unit's duty to conclude a contract for the full extent of the deliveries, even if parts of the deliveries are to be effected by other economic units as cooperation partners of the main supplier. The buyer is not obligated to carry out coordination tasks for the preparation and execution of deliveries.

Article 18: Form of Business Contracts

(1) To be used for business contracts are the forms and completion regulations of the buyer. That also applies to data holders of electronic data processing. The use of other forms and completion regulations requires the buyer's approval.

(2) Business contracts for minor services may be concluded by the acceptance of a written and officially stamped order from the buyer. If the contract order is filled immediately, the business contract takes effect by way of the informal acceptance of the order. If it is not filled immediately, the order form must include the main features of the contract and the seller's acceptance documented by a signature.

Section 6: Assurance of the Plan and Contract Appropriate Implementation of Deliveries and Services

Article 19: Responsibility for the Conditions Necessary for Contract Fulfillment

(1) The buyer is responsible for the concrete order or exact description of the subject matter of the contract required to ensure that the deliveries or services are usable.

(2) Insofar as the buyer is obligated as per legal regulations or contractual agreements to cooperate in contract fulfillment by making available documents or equipment, his responsibility also includes their correctness, freedom of legal errors and suita bility.

(3) The supplier is obligated at the proper time to provide all other conditions for defense-economic efficient contract fulfillment. The buyer's confirmation of the documents prepared or obtained by the seller does not free the latter from the responsibility for their suitability for accomplishing the tasks agreed in accordance with the latest scientific-technological knowledge.

(4) The seller must counsel the buyer in the choice of the most efficient solution and is obligated promptly to report defects in the documents and equipment handed him. The seller is not entitled without the buyer's approval to amend or alter the documents or equipment handed over or confirmed by the buyer.

(5) Should the buyer neglect the cooperation duties contractually assumed, or should the task be changed at his request, the seller is entitled within 4 weeks to request an alteration in the delivery date or other contract terms affected by the buyer's action. The partners may agree another time limit.

Article 20: Assurance for the Buyer of the Utilization and Fitness of the Delivery or Service

The economic unit is obligated

a) As the final producer or cooperation partner and in accordance with the extent of its involvement to guarantee the stable and smooth flowing supply of replacement and spare parts for the entire time of the utilization and fitness of the products delivered,

b) To ensure repairs, service and modernization of the items supplied either itself or, in agreement with the buyer, by the organization of contract workshops or other customer service facilities, or to assist the economic unit appointed to carry out industrial repairs in the preparation of these services,

c) To organize and assure the technical alteration service as per the legal regulations and the contractual agreements concluded with the buyer.

Article 21: Prices and Price Controls

(1) The economic unit or the price coordination organ must, at the buyer's request, submit a written quotation of the legal prices of deliveries or services, including their basis in law; for import products the foreign exchange prices are also to be reported. This may be done by the submission of price lists, price catalogues, and so on.

(2) The economic unit must invoice deliveries and services at the officially confirmed or determined prices unless legal regulations provide otherwise. In case the seller neglects his duties, the buyer is authorized to refuse payment for deliveries and services at provisional prices.

(3) The buyer and his competent financial and price control organs are authorized to carry out price checks at the seller and his cooperation partners. The seller and his cooperation partners are obligated to allow the scrutiny of all documents required or to hand over documents for scrutiny upon request.

Article 22: Invoicing

(1) The invoice must conform to the requirements stated in this decree and the implementing regulations issued. It must be completed in triplicate unless otherwise agreed with the buyer.

(2) The invoice must be accompanied by a copy of the delivery slip. At the request of the buyer, the business contract should stipulate that the seller's copy of the delivery slip must include the written confirmation by the seller's manager responsible for shipping as to the time of delivery to the transport enterprise or the recipient.

(3) If one of the provisions as per paragraphs 1 or 2 is neglected, the invoice is deemed to be incomplete and the claim for settlement not due.

Article 23: Terms of Payment and Settlement Procedures

(1) In effect for contractual relations with buyers are

a) A payment term of 14 days for

-- Deliveries of foods and farm products if the means of transportation or type of transportation agreed ensure the observance of an average transport period of up to 2 days,

-- Transportation and other services,

-- Deliveries examined and accepted upon receipt by the buyer as per legal regulations or contractual agreements;

b) A payment term of 28 days for all other deliveries, including the transport costs arising and to be paid by the buyer.

(2) The giro transfer system is applicable for the settlement of monetary claims and monetary liabilities for deliveries and services to buyers.

(3) With the agreement of the GDR State Bank, the central state organs competent for the buyer and the seller may agree that certain deliveries and services are to be settled in 14 rather than 28 days or another settlement procedure be used instead of the giro transfer system.

Article 24: Effects of Special Defense Measures

(1) The administrative offices and enterprises of the armed organs are not responsible for the nonfulfillment or incorrect fulfillment of their contractual duties if this arises from compelling defense requirements, especially measures for the fulfillment of obligations under the Warsaw Pact, the defense of the German Democratic Republic or exercises for the purpose of reviewing defense readiness. If the observance of time limits normally represents a condition for the development or realization of rights, or if their disregard normally results in legal difficulties for the administrative offices and enterprises of the armed organs, these time limits are suspended in the above circumstances. Where required, the partners must agree new time limits or dates. The repayment of the necessary expenses is not affected by these provisions.

(2) At the request of the seller, the existence of compelling defense requirements must be documented by the confirmation of the superior organ of the administrative office or enterprise.

Section 7: Assurance of State Discipline

Article 25: Responsibility for the Assurance of Plan and Contract Fulfillment

(1) The manager of the economic unit obligated to carry out the delivery or service must ensure that the status of the fulfillment of plan quotas as well as the sales and supply contracts for assuring satisfaction of the buyer's needs as per article 3 paragraphs 1 and 2 is regularly and separately recorded.

(2) Buyers as per article 3 paragraph 3, the purchasers of cooperation services as per article 3 paragraph 5, the balancing organs and economic units which have to supply cooperation services, are obligated to record proof of reported and issued balance shares, contract offers and deliveries or services subject to the provisions of this decree.

(3) The manager of the superior organ of the economic unit which must carry out deliveries or services, must--within the scope of reports required for statistical reporting and by other methods--check the observance of state discipline by the economic unit subordinated to him as well as prevent the unauthorized application of this decree. At the properly founded request of the buyer he provides a formal report or carries out other checks regarding the status of contract fulfillment and enables the buyer to cooperate in them.

Article 26: Security and Classification

(1) The preparation and execution of services for the economic assurance of national defense, documents and other objects as well as any information concerning them are classified and to be handled in accordance with security requirements. They are to be accessible only to authorized persons to the extent required for the accomplishment of their tasks. Managers must designate authorized personnel as per the regulations in effect and show proof that said personnel has clearance.

(2) In the case of special deliveries and services, the buyer must stipulate in the business contract the degree of classification and other mandatory secrecy and security requirements. The same applies to other deliveries and services which, for special reasons, require classification. The seller must deal with state and and service secrets as per the degree of classification stipulated by the buyer.

(3) Special products must be protected from any handling by unauthorized personnel. Special security measures must be adopted when the competent state organs so decide.

(4) In the case of special deliveries and services, products, documents, production prerequisites or parts thereof as well as scrap and material residues may be offered, supplied or made available in any other way to third parties or destroyed or scrapped only with the written consent of the buyer. Excepted from this provision are customarily traded parts and materials. The ban on unauthorized disclosure also applies to all scientific-technological results achieved in the course of contract fulfillment and related to the special deliveries and services, as well as to the assurance of patent rights, publication of any kind and other information provided to outsiders. Other provisions may be agreed in the business contract provided the regulations on classification are observed.

(5) The seller may supply to other organs, economic units and persons such information about the preparation and fulfillment of his tasks for the economic assurance of national defense, which he is obligated to supply or which are required for the organization of cooperation. Publication is permissible only with the consent of the buyer.

(6) The buyer may make the involvement of third parties in cooperation subject to his consent.

(7) The provisions on classification continue to apply after the end of the contractual relations which were the reason for the obligation in the first place.

(8) Paragraphs 1-7 also apply to economic units in the cooperation stages anterior to the seller.

Article 27: Disciplinary and Material Responsibility

(1) The competent disciplinary superior institutes disciplinary proceedings against managers or senior staffs of the economic units or economy managing organs, who are guilty of infringing the provisions of this decree in matters of the economic assurance of national defense. If damage has been caused, the material responsibility of the managers and senior staffs is to be examined as per the legal regulations in effect. The same applies to the buyers.

(2) Should the buyer or his superior organ note infringements of state discipline with regard to the economic assurance of national defense, they are entitled to request the competent disciplinary superior to initiate disciplinary proceedings against the person responsible for the offense. They must be informed about the result of the disciplinary proceedings.

Article 23: Economic Penalties

(1) Economic units and economy managing organs may be sentenced to economic penalties if they neglect legal duties arising on the basis of this decree.

(2) Neglect of legal duties in the meaning of paragraph 1 lies if

a) Economic units repeatedly fail either completely to accept or accept in part only the contract offer within the time limit, on contravention of the duties arising from this decree,

b) Economic units provisionally refuse conclusion of the contract though the conditions for the conclusion of the business contract and its orderly fulfillment exist provided the possibilities offered by the socialist method of production are utilized,

c) Economic units fail promptly to notify the manager of the economy managing organ and the buyer in case problems arise in balancing, the conclusion or fulfillment of the business contracts, and they are unable to cope with these problems themselves,

d) Combines or economy managing organs fail completely or at the proper time to meet their legal obligation to adopt or initiate decisions,

e) Economic units discontinue or shift the production of goods or services, or in anticipation of discontinuation or shifts alter the required production conditions, economy managing organs direct or approve the discontinuation or shift of the production of goods or services without the conditions as per article 14 being present,

f) Economic units or economy managing organs fail either completely or at the proper time to meet their duties with regard to information, or provide wrong information and thereby adversely affect or endanger the satisfaction of the buyer's needs,

g) Economic units or economy managing organs plead the applicability of the delivery degree toward cooperation partners or balancing organs, though not entitled to do so.

(3) The penalty must be paid to the state budget. It may be imposed in an amount of up to M100,000. The State Contract Court is competent to decide the payment of economic penalties.

Part II: Special Provisions

Section 1: Deliveries

Article 29: Text and Negotiation of Delivery Contracts

(1) All provisions required for the defense-economic effective organization and implementation of business relations, transportation, the utilization or warehousing of the products must be agreed in the delivery contracts concluded with the buyers.

(2) At the buyer's request the supplier must explicitly confirm acceptance of the contract offer by his signature and return copies of the contract even if such a declaration of acceptance is not a condition for a delivery contract as per other legal regulations. The same applies mutati mutandi to cooperation services.

(3) The legal regulations governing the preparation and execution of investments do not apply to deliveries of equipment and construction materials to buyers as per article 3 paragraphs 1 and 2.

Article 30: Conditions for the Use of Electronic Data Processing

(1) The data of the Central Item Catalogue are to be used in delivery contracts concluded with buyers. Should the buyer have included these data in the contract offer either not completely or incorrectly or not consonant with the latest standards, the supplier must provide the necessary supplementations or corrections in writing. The supplier is responsible for the up-to-dateness of the data of the Central Item Catalogue used in the delivery contract and other documents. This provision does not apply to business contracts as per article 18 paragraph 2.

(2) In the case of business relations regarding special deliveries and services to member countries of the Warsaw Pact, the supplier must, at the request of the buyers, use the standardized material code consonant with the appropriate special regulations for all orders and contract offers as well as delivery contracts and invoices.

(3) At the buyer's request economic units must agree the prerequisites for the exchange of computer legible data, provided these prerequisites are available.

(4) Should a partner to the contract use incorrect or obsolete data of the Central Item Catalogue or neglect the duties arising from paragraphs 1 and 2, article 18 paragraph 1 or paragraph 22 of this decree or the legal regulations issued for their implementation, he will have to pay a contract penalty in the amount of 0.5 percent of the value of the delivery or service described in the respective documents, but not exceeding M1,000 per document; he will also have to make good any damage in excess thereof.

Article 31: Special Provisions on the Duty to Conclude a Contract

(1) At the buyer's request enterprises of the general food industry, agriculture and the essential food industry, the respective trade enterprises and enterprises of the wholesale trade in consumer goods are obligated to conclude delivery contracts like those with enterprise facilities and points of sale for the workers supply in centrally designated key enterprises. That applies in particular to agreements on assortment, quality, packaging and deliveries as per time schedules.

(2) At the buyers request delivery contracts must also be concluded

a) If the minimum volume falls below that prescribed or customary for direct purchases. No agreement may be requested for quantities falling below a case load;

b) On products which are combined, packaged and canned as a group, by assortment and quantity in conformity with the buyer's requirements, even if part of these products is not turned out by the manufacturing enterprise or is part of the trade assortment;

c) On products for which the buyer supplies samples, design documents or other documents, although the same or similar items are in the supplier's production program.

(3) Insofar as the supplier of scientific-technological services is also the supplier of the products, he must at the request of the buyer of these products conclude with him a coordination contract on the preparation of future deliveries. This must provide in particular for:

a) The quantity of products to be accepted by the buyer upon the contract appropriate conclusion of the development,

b) Principles of cooperation with other organs or facilities which are appointed further buyers of the future mass produced items,

c) The conditions to be provided for the defense-economic effective organization of delivery and transportation relations,

d) The organization of an effective quality control system by the future supplier,

e) Procedures and time limits for the conclusion of delivery contracts.

(4) Contracts on deliveries and services for the construction or maintenance of special ships and boats must be concluded as per the special rules of the buyer, which were issued in agreement with the superior organ of the supplier. The special rules must also be used for cooperation services.

Article 32: Compass of Deliveries

(1) At the buyer's request the following are to be agreed as elements of the delivery:

a) The supply, simultaneous with the delivery, of works certificates, industry customary quality passports and other documents or the use of distinguishing marks showing the composition and quality of the products,

b) The handing over of instructions for the use, maintenance, repair, preservation and depreservation as well as storage directions for each of the products delivered or each delivery,

c) The handing over of component, spare and replacement part catalogues as well as of spare and replacement part standards,

d) The use of special distinguishing marks for products or their individual packaging and packaging units,

e) The use of special products or processes to ensure protection from corrosion, special preservation or long-term storage.

(2) Also included in the completeness of the delivery are:

a) Documents and services as per paragraph 1,

b) Two copies of the delivery slip listing the contract item, the buyer's contract number, the item number of the contract or contract specification and the number of the test report of the military customer if that latter carried out the quality check.

c) The marking of the various items in the delivery to enable the recipient to check off the delivery slip, packing slip or list of items. In the case of agreed partial deliveries to a recipient, the respective number of the partial delivery is to be quoted.

(3) Additional or short deliveries are permissible only within the framework of the tolerances provided in legal regulations or contractually agreed and, in the case of direct purchases, in accordance with the agreed or customary case loads.

Article 33: Technical Changes in Special Products

(1) Technical changes in special products, especially for the utilization of scientific-technological advances or as a result of innovator activities, require the prior written consent of the buyer in every case. Technical change services must be prepared and carried out as per the rules laid down by the buyer. The buyer's consent to applications for technical changes does not free the supplier from responsibility for product quality and the technical feasibility of the change.

(2) The supplier is obligated to review any buyer's demands for technical changes, obtain expert scientific-technological and economic opinions and inform the buyer about their feasibility. The same applies to products manufactured under license if the licensor carries out technical changes.

(3) Paragraphs 1 and 2 apply mutatis mutandi to cooperation services for special products.

Article 34: Quality

(1) In order to ensure the prescribed or contractually agreed quality, the manufacturers of special products and products of which the buyer is the main customer, must institute and carry out a standardized and thorough quality control system in all stages of manufacture.

(2) The technical performance specifications (GLB's) confirmed by the buyer and other quality and testing rules of the buyer form part of the contract even without explicit agreement. They must be reported to the supplier who, wherever necessary, must pass them on to his cooperation partner, and they are to be listed in the delivery contract.

(3) Insofar as this is required due to compelling national defense needs and to ensure the standardization of military equipment or the compatibility of their subassemblies and components, the quality and testing rules of the buyer or the delivery contract may set out provisions differing from the legal regulations governing the quality, technical safety or use of specific raw materials and other materials. In these cases the suplier must immediately apply to the competent state organ or economy managing organ for the necessary special permit or special regulation.

(4) The delivery of products of lower quality is permissible only if explicitly and contractually agreed with the buyer.

(5) Paragraphs 1-4 apply mutatis mutandi to cooperation services; however, paragraphs 3 and 4 only insofar as the supplier is unable by any other means to meet his obligation for appropriate contract fulfillment.

Article 35: Quality Testing

(1) Buyers are entitled to carry out quality testing by military customers with regard to all deliveries. Following the quality testing, the military customer decides whether to approve delivery. Quality testing has the legal effect of joint

quality testing or acceptance only insofar as this is explicitly stated in legal regulations or agreed in the delivery contract.

(2) Unless otherwise agreed, the supplier must advise the agency designated in the delivery contract in writing no later than 2 weeks before the delivery is ready for quality testing.

(3) The buyer is obligated to carry out quality testing within 2 weeks and, in the case of food, within 3 working days after the orderly readying of the delivery, or to approve delivery without quality testing. If the readiness statement is not supplied in time or the time limit for readiness for testing not observed, the time limit for the conduct of quality testing is 4 weeks, 10 working days for a military customer stationed at the supplier and 6 working days for food.

(4) The buyer may provide for approval of the delivery without quality testing either in the delivery contract or by written notification of the supplier. Such an agreement or notofication may be revoked by the buyer if this is required because complaints about the quality of earlier deliveries or the results of checks call for the conduct of quality testing.

(5) If, for reasons given by the supplier, the conduct of the announced quality testing is not possible, or if the tests must be repeated, he must pay the buyer compensation for expenses incurred in the process of quality testing by each staff member authorized to do so and in the amount of M300 for every test either not carried out or carried out without success. Claims for compensation in excess of this amount are not affected.

Warranty: Article 36

(1) Unless prescribed in other legal regulations or directives by the Standardization, Measurement and Commodity Testing Office or other authorized state organs, a warranty period of 12 months is in effect for products supplied to buyers. For certain types of products this warranty period may, upon agreement, be replaced by the period of operation or the frequency of use.

(2) If products are preserved or appropriately stored and serviced, a longer warranty period than specified in paragraph 1 but not exceeding 2 years may be agreed upon the request of the buyer.

(3) At the buyer's request a longer warranty period than specified in paragraphs 1 and 2 must be agreed if longer fitness for use is necessary for the buyer and is feasible considering the status of science and technology. The period exceeding paragraphs 1 and 2 is deemed to be an extended warranty.

(4) Instead of the warranty period in paragraph 1, a shorter term may be agreed but may not be less than 6 months, provided the supplier can prove that, consonant with the status of the development of science and technology, the full fitness for use of the product cannot be guaranteed for a longer term.

(5) Regarding products or parts of products intended for immediate use or subject to rapid depreciation when used as intended, the supplier must guarantee fitness for use for that period to be assumed appropriate for products or parts of products of the respective type if they are of first quality.

(6) The supplier must provide a warranty document with every product or case load, citing the contract workshops handling any repair of defects in the warranty period. The same applies to functionally independent parts of the final product. The supplier must insert the date of delivery on the warranty documents, the buyer the date of the start of utilization.

(7) Paragraphs 1-6 apply mutatis mutandi to cooperation services.

Article 37

(1) If the same defect arises in more than 5 percent of mass produced items, preventing or hindering appropriate use, all products of this type delivered are deemed to be faulty if the warranty period has not yet lapsed. This provision does not apply if the supplier is able to prove the flawless quality of deliveries.

(2) In cases involving paragraph 1, the supplier must remove and replace the defective parts of the products at his expense.

(3) Other or supplementary regulations may be issued as military quality and testing rules or as part of the delivery contract.

(4) Paragraphs 1-3 apply mutatis mutandi to cooperation services.

Article 38: Packaging

(1) At the buyer's request the packaging of products must be carried out so as to meet the use requirements with respect to both quality and distinguishing marks as well as dimensions of packs and permits the organization of an unbroken chain of transportation from supplier to user.

(2) Packing materials and other materials appropriately marked and accompanied by a packing slip showing the return address are deemed to be loaned packaging. Loaned packaging must be returned by the recipient within 90 days unless another time limit was agreed in the business contract. The buyer or the superior organ of the recipient are entitled to inform the supplier or manufacturer in writing that the loaned packaging will be kept against payment of its value at the time. No penalties or other legal consequences due to belated return lie from the time of this information.

(3) The recipient is obligated to forward any packaging no longer used for appropriate economic utilization. He may request the supplier or manufacturer to buy back reusable packaging materials.

(4) Penalties for exceeding the return dates of loaned packaging or the infringement of other regulations concerning the treatment of packaging materials may be imposed only on the recipient.

Article 39: Dispatch and Transportation

(1) The supplier must so organize the dispatch and transportation that all contractual obligations are met. Unless otherwise agreed, he must use the type of transport involving the lowest cost to the buyer. Dispatch in large containers requires the written consent of the buyer.

(2) At the request of the buyer provisions have to be agreed in the delivery contract on the shipping documents and the prepayment of freight costs insofar as this is required for implementing the rules imposed by the appropriate shipper.

(3) The shipment must be routed to the shipping address listed by the buyer in the delivery contract or that designated by his authorized representative. In those cases the recipient's domicile is the location of the service. If the shipment is routed to another administrative office, the latter is entitled to refuse acceptance and return the shipment at the supplier's expense.

(4) Transport enterprises must completely and at the proper dates meet the duly planned requirements for transport space, including shipping containers for shipment to the buyers.

(5) At the buyer's request the timely notification of the buyer or recipient regarding the time of arrival of the shipment as well as the details of the notification is to be contractually agreed.

(6) The armed organs are permitted to pick up shipments themselves only if this is necessitated by military requirements. Such pick ups must be agreed in the delivery contract. Unless otherwise provided, the buyer must be informed in writing that the shipment is ready to be picked up 2 weeks before the delivery date. Items will be handed over only against the submission of an authorization for pick up from the buyer or the recipient designated by the buyer.

Section 2: Scientific-Technological Services

Article 40: Planning, Balancing and Contract Conclusion

(1) Scientific-technological services as per the nomenclature of stages of work and services regarding the tasks of the plan science and technology are to be balanced, contractually agreed and carried out in accordance with special state targets and quotas or plan decisions by the competent managers, especially for

a) The conduct of research and the preparation of forecasts and studies

b) The development of products, processes and technologies,

c) The preparation of mass production for special products based on licenses acquired by economic units,

d) The operation of scientific-technological services by way of special modifications and solutions.

(2) At the request of the manager of the economic unit competent for the final service, scientific-technological cooperation services intended for the buyer and for which no special state targets and quotas were issued, are to be incorporated in planning and balancing by the manager of the economic unit competent for the cooperation service.

(3) Business contracts on scientific-technological services are to be concluded for all services necessary for the accomplishment of the assignment and must include

results directly usable by the buyer, especially the development of entire and fully operable products and systems. If details of cooperation in the conduct of scientific-technological services cannot be settled with sufficient precision in the case of long-term assignments, the business contract is to be appropriately amended at the proper time. The object and date of the necessary amendments are to be agreed in the business contract.

(4) If, at the time studies are prepared or the assignment drafted, it turns out that the tactical-technical requirements cannot be realized either technically or in terms of the economy, or cannot yield the desired results, the business contract must be amended or canceled following the issue of the necessary plan decisions. The supplier is entitled to ask the buyer to pay for any services rendered.

Record of Obligations and Defense: Article 41

(1) As the basis for the preparation of the record of obligations and for the definition of the assignment, the buyer must provide the supplier with tactical-technical or other requirements consonant with the kind and extent of the service including the need for orientation.

(2) As per the legal regulations and on the basis of the buyer's requirements, the supplier must prepare the record of obligations.

(3) The record of obligations must be defended and confirmed by the superior managers of the supplier and the buyer. Changes in the record of obligations require the consent of the buyer.

(4) The buyer's acts of cooperation extend to the agreed preparation, implementation and appraisal of tests and the agreed expert checks which cannot be carried out by the economic unit. The buyer must cooperate in the preparation of the TLB's and other provisions regarding quality and testing. and he must confirm them.

Article 42

(1) The defense of agreed interim results and the final result of scientific-technological services takes place before the superior manager of the supplier. With the consent of the buyer, subordinated managers may be assigned to carry out defenses. The results of the defense may be confirmed only when the buyer has given his consent in writing. The buyer may request repetition of the defense.

(2) The buyer is entitled to request the economic unit to supply data about scientific-technological work of possible importance for national defense.

Section 3: Industrial Repairs

Contracts on Industrial Repairs: Article 43

(1) The industrial repair of weapons and equipment is to be agreed to the extent required by the buyer and so carried out that the observance of tactical-technical parameters and qualities is guaranteed for subsequent military use within a fixed period of utilization. Industrial repairs are to be carried out as single or

serial repairs of complex systems, products and parts of weaponry and equipment, including the special equipment required for their utilization.

(2) At the buyer's request standardized services are to be agreed for similar repairs. The buyer may require the performance of partial services as part of the standardized services.

(3) To be agreed at the buyer's request and as a guarantee of the repair of all partial systems of weaponry and equipment (complex repairs) is the simultaneous conduct of repair services of all kinds.

(4) The following substitution procedures are to be used at the buyer's request:

a) The substitution of components, subassemblies and partial systems as a form of the organization of industrial repairs,

b) The substitution of complete weapons and equipment.

(5) The provisions on industrial repairs also apply to other repair services and the modernization of weapons and equipment. At the buyer's request modernizations and other technical changes are to be agreed and carried out in conjunction with the services listed in paragraphs 1 and 2.

Article 44

(1) Cooperation between buyer and supplier in the preparation and conduct of industrial repairs of weapons and equipment is to be regulated in particular by

a) Contracts on scientific-technological services for the preparation of industrial repairs,

b) Long-term and annual contracts on the execution of industrial repairs,

c) Service contracts.

(2) Contracts on scientific-technological services for the preparation of industrial repairs are to be concluded and fulfilled in accordance with the provisions defined by the buyer as

a) Contracts for the production of studies, and

b) Contracts for the development and introduction of technological processes for industrial repairs.

(3) For the industrial repair of modifications of weapons and special equipment as well as for customary products the supplier must carry out the preparations for industrial repairs at his own responsibility.

(4) Long-term and annual contracts are to include the following provisions, depending on the features of the weapons and equipment to be repaired and their operation:

a) Volume of products by kind, type and modification ,

b) The extent and method of the repair service on the basis of technical and technological documentation,

c) Production times and concurrences,

d) Arrival, delivery and return dates,

e) Safety, security and frequency rules,

f) Provisions on changes of the extent of services.

(5) In addition to the annual contracts concluded the supplier is obligated without delay to conclude contracts on the removal of breakdown and accident damage, provided the necessary plan decisions have been issued. At the request of the buyer the supplier is obligated to carry out an investigation of the facts of the matter, prepare a cost estimate and carry out an inspection on the site of the weapons and equipment. If, as a result of the investigation, the buyer requests cancellation of the contract, the supplier is to be repaid his expenses.

Article 45: Delivery to the Supplier

(1) The buyer is obligated to deliver or hand over to the supplier the weapons and equipment together with the respective technical documentation to the extent and in the condition agreed. In the case of the nonobservance of the delivery or handing over dates, the supplier must promptly notify the buyer. Early delivery requires the consent of the supplier.

(2) If delivery is to be effected by rail, the supplier is obligated to unload the shipment at the request of the buyer and against repayment of the costs incurred.

(3) At the time of the acceptance of the weapons and equipment to be repaired, the supplier must, at the request of the buyer, carry out an initial inspection regarding completeness and condition. The supplier must accept equipment which, while not covered by the services to be rendered, represents part of the weapons and equipment concerned; he must unload, secure and store it in an orderly fashion.

(4) The supplier may refuse to accept the weapons and equipment to be repaired if these diverge considerably from the contractual agreements with regard to type, volume or other circumstances, and if the supplier can prove he does not have the capacity to carry out these repairs. He must then promptly notify the buyer and submit suggestions for a solution as well as guarantee the unloading and safety of the weapons and equipment. Within 2 weeks from receipt of the notification the buyer must inform the supplier how to proceed.

Article 46: Carrying out Industrial Repairs

(1) The supplier is obligated to inspect the weapons and equipment delivered to him as to their fitness for repairs and to record his findings in a manner consonant with the agreed repair service as to type and extent. If, in the course of the

inspection or while carrying out the repair the supplier notes that additional services are required or the industrial repairs may be carried out at less cost, he must promptly so advise the buyer and document his advice. The business contract is to be amended as per the decision of the buyer.

(2) The supplier and his cooperation partners may operate the weapons and equipment or parts thereof only for the purpose of control, testing or acceptance, as per the defense regulations.

(3) The supplier is obligated by his own and cooperative measures to ensure the regeneration as well as the manufacture of spare and other parts for his own use and that of the buyer. This does not apply to parts and components with respect to which the manufacturer stipulates the use of original parts or provides for the use of such parts subject to wear and tear.

(4) The supplier is entitled to use equivalent parts and components if he is able to prove that the technical and design parameters and qualities of the parts as well as defense regulations are observed. The use of equivalents is no technical change as per article 33 paragraph 1.

Article 47: Return

(1) Unless otherwise agreed in the contract, the supplier must so make available and secure repaired weapons and equipment that those responsible for their return may carry out functional testing and test completion.

Article 48: Warranty

(1) Unless longer terms are prescribed in other legal regulations, the following warranty periods apply to repair services for weapons and equipment:

a) For products of electrical engineering/electronics, precision engineering/optics	12 months
b) For all other products	6 months.

To be used in the case of complex repairs are the warranty periods applicable to each partial system.

(2) In order to maintain combat readiness the user is entitled himself to subsequently repair defects in repaired weapons and equipment, which turn up during the warranty period. He must preserve the evidence required to document the defects, promptly inform the supplier in writing about the kind and extent of the subsequent repair and request compensation for the costs incurred.

Section 4: Services and Supplies in the Region

Article 49: Object

(1) The economic units are obligated to conclude business contracts with the armed organs on services and supplies in the region, especially with regard to:

a) The repair, servicing and maintenance of customary machinery and equipment,

b) The expert inspection and utilization of machinery and equipment discarded,

c) The laundering, cleaning, dying and repair of clothing and equipment, including pick-up and return,

d) Pest control in economic and storage facilities,

e) The storage of machinery, equipment and supplies,

f) The supply of food,

g) The supply of pharmaceuticals and other medical goods and their rollover,

g) City services.

(2) Articles 44-48 apply mutatis mutandi to repairs, servicing and maintenance. The repair contracts required to remove defects must be concluded promptly at the request of the buyer and within such time limits as will minimize the occurrence of subsequent damage.

Article 50: Need Coordination

The armed organs are obligated in good time and in writing to notify the competent local state organ as soon as the first need for services and supplies arises in the region as well as about changes in these needs. They must also carry out coordinations regarding military-economic effective need satisfaction.

Article 51: Duty to Satisfy Needs

(1) The chairmen of kreis councils must guaranteed that the armed organs needs for services and supplies are satisfied by efficient economic units in the region. They must issue decisions for meeting the needs of the armed organs.

(2) If the chairman of the competent kreis council is unable to ensure the satisfaction of the armed organs needs for services and supplies, he must apply for a decision to the chairman of the bezirk council, at the same time submitting suggestions for a solution.

(3) In agreement with the manager of the state organ or economy managing organ competent for the kind of service, the chairman of the bezirk council must issue a decision on satisfying the needs of the armed organs.

Section 5: Investment and Building Repairs

Article 52: Appointment of General and Main Contractors

(1) On the basis of plan decisions the buyer is entitled to request the competent minister or chairman of the bezirk council to appoint a suitable project-linked general contractor and/or suitable main contractor to cooperate in the preparation

of targets and the preparation and execution of investments and building repairs. The minister or chairman of the bezirk council must issue a decision within 6 weeks. Article 11 paragraph 7 applies mutatis mutandi.

(2) If, within the scope of the equalization of resources, a general or main contractor from a combine directly subordinated to the Ministry for Construction is available, the chairman of the bezirk council must agree this appointment with the general director of the respective combine. If no agreement is reached, the chairman of the bezirk council must apply to the Minister for Construction for his decision.

(3) The replacement of a general contractor, main contractor or other contracted appointed for a projects of the buyers by the decision of superior organs or contractual agreements is permissible only with the written consent of the buyer.

Duties of the Economic Units

Article 53

(1) At the request of the buyer and on the basis of the conditions issued in legal regulations, economic units must conclude business contracts with the buyer regarding cooperation in the preparation of the targets and the preparation and execution of investments and building repairs. The extent of the service must be organized consonant with the needs of the buyer.

(2) As the contractual partner of the buyers for cooperation in the preparation of the target and the preparation of the investment or building repairs, that economic unit is obligated to conclude a contract, which will subsequently have to carry out the work.

(3) The following is to be contractually agreed at the buyer's request:

a) Site clearing by the general or main contractor,

b) Securing and guarding the construction site by the general or main contractor,

c) The assumption by the general or main contractor of the services needed to create and maintain site facilities as well as look after the workers on the site,

d) The preliminary equipment of the investment project by the general contractor,

e) The tasks within the sphere of the supplier, which will be handled by the buyer himself or are to be assigned by the supplier to a subcontractor designated by the buyer.

If construction investments and building repairs are to be carried out on the same site and in technological dependence on one another, the general or main contractor appointed for the investment is obligated at the buyer's request to carry out tasks as per letters b and c on behalf of the main contractor or contractor appointed to prepare and carry out the building repairs.

(4) Paragraphs 2 and 3 apply mutatis mutandi to cooperation services.

Article 54

(1) If, when preparing the binding bid or service bid, the supplier notes that the material or financial indices or construction period provided in the assignment will be exceeded, he must promptly so advise the buyer, submit suggestions for a solution and request a decision.

(2) Binding bids and service bids must be defended at the request of the buyer.

(3) Decisions by the buyer as per paragraphs 1 and 2 must be issued promptly and the supplier informed in writing.

Part III: Transitional and Concluding Regulations

Article 55

This decree applies to all business contract to be fulfilled after it takes effect.

Article 56

(1) Implementing regulations will be issued by the Minister for National Defense in coordination with the ministers of the other armed organs and the chairman of the State Planning Commission.

(2) In coordination with the Minister for National Defense and the chairman of the State Planning Commission the Minister for Foreign Trade is entitled to issue regulations governing the importation of special products and services.

Article 57

(1) This decree takes effect on 1 December 1981.

(2) Losing effect at that time are the decree of 8 May 1972 on Deliveries and Services to Armed Organs--Delivery Decree (LVO)--(GBl II No 32 p 363) and the second decree of 23 October 1973 (GBl I No 42 p 689).

Text of Buyers Decree

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 31, 11 Nov 81 pp 368-372

/Official text of "Decree of 15 October 1981 on the Activity of Military Buyers--Military Buyers Decree (MAVO)," signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers; and Army General Hoffmann, minister for national defense, East Berlin/

/Text/ On the basis of article 15 of the Defense Law of 13 October 1978 (GBl I No 35 p 377) the following is decreed for the implementation of articles 7 and 8 paragraph 1 of that law:

Principles

Article 1

(1) To secure the appropriate supply of the National People's Army with weapons, machinery, equipment and supplies (hereinafter designated weapons and equipment) and to safeguard cooperation with combines, enterprises and cooperatives (hereinafter designated enterprises) as well as state supervisory and inspection organs, military buyers are appointed authorized agents for the Ministry for National Defense.

(2) On the basis of legal and military regulations military buyers carry out checks in enterprises on the preparation and implementation of supplies and services for the Ministry for National Defense (hereinafter designated supplies and services). Furthermore, military buyers may be employed on the preparation and implementation of other tasks arising in the enterprises from the defense law.

(3) The Ministry for National Defense is authorized permanently or temporarily to station military buyers at the final producers and in cooperation enterprises. The ministry decides the numbers, the date and the term of this deployment of military buyers as well as their working hours and so informs the enterprise in time for it to provide the necessary conditions.

(4) Military buyers are equipped with a special identity card issued by the Ministry for National Defense. The authorization for observing the rights of a military buyer may also be assigned in writing by the Ministry for National Defense.

Article 2

(1) The extent as well as the type of work of the military buyer are defined by this decree and the regulations issued by the Ministry for National Defense as per military requirements and subject to the special features of the supplies and services as well as the kind of weapons and equipment.

(2) To be carried out to the extent necessary for guaranteed inspection results are checks and tests especially with regard to

a) Scientific-technological services for the preparation of deliveries and for industrial repairs of weapons and equipment,

b) Supplies,

c) Industrial repairs.

(3) Military buyers are authorized and obligated in the accomplishment of their tasks directly to cooperate with the directors and technical directors of enterprises and the managers of the state supervisory and control organs and the technical control organizations (TKO's) of the enterprises. Findings and rules issued by military buyers within the scope of their inspections must be forwarded to the enterprises in writing. The directors must adopt and enforce the necessary measures.

(4) Military buyers are not entitled to conclude, cancel or amend contracts and agreements on behalf of the Ministry for National Defense, unless epcifically so authorized by the Ministry for National Defense.

Article 3

(1) If several military buyers operate in one enterprise, the manager of the military buyers is responsible for cooperation with the enterprise regarding all basic issues of the military buyers work.

(2) Where required, the competent managers at the Ministry for National Defense must conclude agreements with the general directors of combines or managers of economy managing organs regarding cooperation between military buyers and the enterprises of a combine or economy managing organ.

Article 4

(1) Ministers and managers of central state organs, general directors of combines and managers of economy managing organs are responsible for orderly cooperation between enterprises in their sphere of responsibility and the military buyers. They must supervise the accomplishment of the assignments arising from this decree and ensure the quick removal of defects and inadequacies noted.

(2) General directors of combines, managers of economy managing organs and directors of enterprises must provide and maintain all necessary material and social conditions in their scope for the accomplishment of the tasks of military buyers. Military buyers must be allowed to use the social, medical and cultural facilities of the enterprises.

(3) General directors of combines and directors of enterprises must fully assist military buyers in the exercise of their functions. They are not entitled to instruct or direct military buyers or to promise or grant them bonuses, other advantages or benefits for their cooperation in the improvement of the reproduction process.

(4) The work of military buyers does not restrict the enterprises responsibility for the orderly preparation and execution of supplies and services.

Article 5

(1) Inspections by military buyers include in particular quality tests, production checks, checks of scientific-technological services and checks of contract fulfillment.

(2) Quality testing is deemed to be the investigation of the observance of the required quality parameters and the appraisal of the quality of weapons and equipment in accordance with military and state quality, safety and testing regulations as well as with agreements between the partners.

(3) Production checks extend to the preparation and execution of the entire production process of the enterprise and include mainly the investigation of the organization and enforcement of the quality control system, especially technological discipline and order.

(4) Checks on scientific-technological services encompass the process of scientific-technological services, the satisfaction of the demands stipulated in the record of obligations, cooperation in tests and defenses as well as quality control of samples and prototypes.

(5) Checks on contract fulfillment include the investigation of the status of realization of components, other cooperation services and imports.

Article 6: Functions, Rights and Duties of Military Buyers

(1) Military buyers are entitled

a) To check the observance of technological discipline and order, the implementation of enterprise quality control in the entire production process, including inspection of goods arriving, as well as the enforcement of the quality control system and, when justified, request the enterprise checks to be repeated or themselves to carry out the reviews;

b) To check the observance of the plan for the testing of measuring devices and other enterprise equipment and, in the case of nonobservance or defects in measuring devices and other enterprise equipment to require testing and abstention from use until release by the competent supervisory organ;

c) To check the orderly handling over/acceptance of weapons and equipment arriving, their inspection. storage, servicing and maintenance as well as the use of available reserves of components or substitutes;

d) To require the prompt removal of defects, inadequacies and enterprise neglect, which have or may have an adverse effect on supplies or services, and to demand written notification of such removal;

e) To participate in all tests, investigations, discussions and other enterprise measures including measures of cooperation enterprises, which are related to the preparation, realization and evaluation of supplies or services as well as to check the satisfaction of warranty and customer service obligations, the implementation of the technical alteration service and the evaluation of utilization results;

f) To check the course of scientific-technological services, attend defenses, investigate the applicability of military quality, safety and testing regulations to the construction of samples and prototypes, and to check the start of mass production/mass repairs;

g) In the interest of the quality control of weapons and equipment to review the work of the TKO's and require the removal of any inadequacies noted;

h) To check the assurance of the provisions of the contract regarding the safety and classification of supplies or services;

i) To carry out cost and price checks in the enterprises, including cooperation enterprises.

(2) While observing the rights and duties described in paragraph 1, military buyers are entitled to request the necessary data from the enterprise as well as to consult the respective documents or request that they be handed over.

Tasks, Rights and Duties of Enterprises

(1) Enterprises must discharge the following duties with respect to military buyers:

a) Submission of the documents necessary for checking contract-appropriate fulfillment, upon request the daily handing over of dispatch/acceptance documents regarding the arrival and return of weapons and equipment as well as immediate information if shipments for repair are received, which do not comply with the contractual provisions, or in case the shipment is not received on the date agreed;

b) Information about test results and problems arising in scientific-technological services and the production process, intended changes in the weapons and equipment or the production process as well as published license changes, which do or may affect quality control or supplies and services;

c) The prompt availability of all required documents if checks and inspections of weapons and equipment or parts thereof are carried out at the request of the Ministry for National Defense on test sites or in laboratories outside the enterprise;

d) The prompt removal of all defects noted in the course of quality control unless rejection involves a date set by the report of the military buyer for the completion of the reworking and resubmission or the submission of a second readiness statement is required. Also required is the submission of a report on the causes of the defects and the manner of their removal as well as a report on the results of renewed tests by the TKO's before quality control is repeated;

e) Information about the intended interruption of production due to serious defects and about resumption of work, the sumission of applications for continued quality control together with the documents required, especially test results, for decision by the Ministry for National Defense.

   Before quality control is resumed after suspension or cessation as per article 13 paragraphs 3 or 4, the corresponding procedures are to be adopted;

f) Cost free repetition or extension of tests and investigations if the same or new defects are noted upon resumption of quality control;

g) Evidence of orderly storage, maintenance, servicing and security of weapons and equipment and the impossibility of their unauthorized use;

h) Upon request submission of invoices with the relevant documents for scrutiny and signature;

i) Assurance of the military buyers opportunity to attend instruction courses held in the enterprise on problems of quality control, accident prevention and technical safety.

(2) Enterprise directors are responsible for:

a) The prompt removal of defects and inadequacies noted by military buyers in the course of inspections as well as information of the military buyers about the measures initiated and the results;

b) The periodic evaluation of defects and inadequacies noted in the production process and in the weapons and equipment, including complaints, as well as information of the military buyers about the findings, measures initiated and results;

c) The assurance of the military buyers opportunities for participating in all enterprise discussions, including discussions in cooperation enterprises, which relate to the preparation and implementation of supplies and services, or information of the military buyers about results of discussions which they were prevented from attending;

d) Prompt written information of the military buyer about breakdowns, defects and inadequacies which may adversely affect the quality of weapons and equipment, safety and classification or delivery dates, prices or costs;

e) Early information of the military buyer about emerging problems and their effects if they do or may have a long-term adverse effect on the appropriate availability of weapons and equipment.

(3) Enterprise directors are entitled

a) To require and supervise the military buyers observance of safety and accident prevention provisions;

b) For technical or safety reasons temporarily, and citing the relevant reasons, ban military buyers from the use of special enterprise facilities such as laboratories, test beds or proving grounds;

c) Temporarily ban military buyers from the use of special enterprise facilities as well as inspections of these facilities or parts of them, and to notify the Ministry for National Defense if military buyers neglect the observance of safety and accident prevent rules;

d) To inspect the authorizations issued to military buyers by the competent organs or the Ministry for National Defense regarding the operation of weapons and equipment within the scope of quality control.

Article 8

(1) To be separately recorded and stored are all weapons and equipment shipped to the enterprises within the scope of warranties, customer services, technical alterations and the technical alteration service as well as the evaluation of utilization results in the National People's Army.

(2) Enterprises are obligated promptly and in writing to inform the military buyer in the case of complaints about weapons and equipment and to keep him informed of

progress. They must guarantee that the military buyer is able to cooperate in the handling of quality complaints, especially in inspections, tests, discussions and consultations designed to elucidate and remove the causes of the defects, to the extent required by the military buyer. The enterprises obligation to inform and ensure the cooperation of military buyers also applies to measures within the scope of warranties, customer services, technical alterations and the technical alteration service as well as the evaluation of utilization results in the National People's Army.

Article 9

(1) Enterprises must make every effort and use all their resources to assist the work of military buyers and help them especially by the following cost free services:

a) Making available offices and guarding them;

b) Making available inventory and equipment for the military buyers to the extent required, especially intercoms and telephones, steel cabinets, typewriters, office materials and the necessary clerical staff;

c) Making available space for equipment required for the work of the military buyers;

d) Making available telex facilities, facilities for handling classified material and express mail services;

e) Making available inspection rooms, the necessary test beds and proving grounds, laboratories, accident prevention and special clothing;

f) Making available measuring and inspection devices as well as control devices, equipment and tools as per the provisions of the mandatory test regulations;

g) Making available technical documentation, confirmed drawings and technological documents for weapons and equipment consonant with the latest standards of the technical alteration service as well as the documents on type series tests carried out;

h) Carrying out analyses for military buyers and the checks and other quality controls required by those buyers;

i) Transport the military buyers to enterprise departments and sections of the enterprise as well as to places where quality controls, checks, tests and discussions are carried on relating to the realization of supplies and services.

(2) The office and other space, measuring and test devices as well as other objects to be made available to military buyers as per paragraph 1 must be kept in proper condition by the enterprises.

Article 10

(1) The offices of military buyers may not be opened or entered in their absence unless a disaster so requires. In that case the enterprise must promptly notify the Ministry for National Defense and the military buyers.

(2) Enterprises must from time to time instruct the military buyers on enterprise specific safety and classification rules.

(3) Ministry for National Defense permission is required for the director of the enterprise or his authorized staff to a specified extent to check military buyers with regard to their observance of safety and classification rules. Should offenses against safety and classification rules be noted, the director of the enterprise must immediately so notify the Ministry for National Defense in writing.

Tasks of Military Buyers and Enterprises in Regard to Quality Confrol

Article 11

(1) The enterprise must use its own efforts and resources to present or introduce weapons and equipment to the military buyer for the purpose of quality control. Quality control begins when the following conditions are met:

a) Completeness and the proper condition of the weapons and equipment, availability of test results with TKO confirmation of the contract appropriate constitution and quality of the weapons and equipment; in the case of cooperation services only to the extent required by the military buyer or agreed with the Ministry for National Defense;

b) Written proof of testing by state supervisory and inspection organs insofar as this is prescribed for weapons and equipment;

c) Proof of the observance of quality determining elements in the manufacturing technology, which do or may affect the operability, reliability or other quality parameters, in particular by test protocols, analyses, quality passports and work certificates;

d) The constant assurance of the observance of safety and accident prevention regulations during quality control procedures;

e) The availability of the appliances, tools, instruction, measuring and test facilities and assurance of their proper condition;

f) The readiness for presentation by a responsible representative of the enterprise, if necessary with the involvement of the TKO, at the location provided, unless the military buyer agrees a presentation or the military acceptance and testing order provides for presentation.

(2) If the conditions as per paragraph 1 are n met, the military buyer is entitled and, in the case of letter d, obligated to require another presentation or introduction of the respective weapons and equipment.

Article 12

(1) Quality control is to be carried out on the basis of the military and state quality, safety and testing regulations, the directions governing the start of operations and utilization as well as the confirmed samples as well as agreements between the Ministry for National Defense and the enterprise. Insofar as military acceptance and testing orders for weapons and equipment are in effect, these are mandatory on the military buyer and in principle determine the subject matter and extent of the tests as well as the criteria for the appraisal of the quality of weapons and equipment within the scope of quality control.

(2) If inspections are carried out jointly by the military buyers, state or enterprise supervisory organs or inspectorates, or by these on behalf of the Ministry for National Defense, the military buyer or the Ministry for National Defense decides on the basis of the documents submitted, in particular test certificates, in how far the respective tests in the scope of quality control may be omitted.

(3) The military buyer is authorized himself to operate the weapons and equipment in the course of quality control and to carry out test runs, provided he has the necessary authorization. The Ministry of National Defense is responsible to the enterprise for any damage or loss arising should the military buyer infringe legal regulations.

Article 13

(1) The military buyer must release the weapons and equipment for shipment or pick-up if quality controls show that the weapons and equipment meet the agreed parameters and other specifications of military and state quality, safety and testing orders, the directions on the start of operations and utilization, and that the relevant documents are complete.

(2) The military buyer is obligated to reject the weapons and equipment presented or introduced for quality control if he notes in the course of the quality control process that

a) The conditions for quality control as per article 11 paragraph 1, letters c, e and f no longer prevail;

b) The conditions (such as the availability of drawings, samples and color) stipulated in military or state quality, safety and testing orders or in the contract are not observed or the purpose assumed in the contract is not achieved;

c) Defects or mistakes show up, which are not explicitly defined in military or state quality, safety and testing orders but adversely affect the purpose assumed in the contract, including military quality, safety and testing provisions;

d) The weapons and equipment were not tested by the prescribed or appropriate measuring and testing devices, or the prescribed testing procedure was not observed;

e) The enterprise made changes in the weapons and equipment without the consent of the Ministry for National Defense, or failed to carry out agreed changes.

(3) The military buyer is obligated to break off quality controls and reject all weapons and equipment made available for quality control if

a) Safety and accident prevention rules fail to be observed in the course of quality control procedures;

b) An exceptionally grave fault is noted.*

(4) The military buyer may suggest to the Ministry for National Defense the unlimited or limited suspension of the quality control procedure if the enterprise is unable to guarantee the observance of safety and accident prevention rules by the time of the next quality control, or the causes of mistakes cannot be quickly ascertained and removed. The Ministry for National Defense is authorized to suspend quality controls and must advise the director of the enterprise and the general director of the combine or manager of the economy managing organ of his decision in writing.

(5) The military buyer must produce a report about the completed quality control procedure. The responsible representative of the enterprise must, by his signature, confirm having noted the report.

Article 14: Tasks of the State Supervisory and Inspection Organs

(1) The managers of the state supervisory and inspection organs must make sure that the work of the military buyers in the matter of assuring the quality of weapons and equipment is effectively assisted. They must therefore orient cooperation between their staffs and the military buyers to the following key points:

a) The assurance and development of the quality of weapons and equipment, including important components and cooperation services, and the realization of the planned quality targets,

b) Implementation of the requirements of the quality control system,

c) Observance of technological discipline and order,

d) Utilization of realiability and measuring device laboratories,

e) Tests and inspections in the production process as well as of the receiption and dispatch of goods,

f) Final tests and inspections,

g) Cooperation in the ascertainment and removal of the causes of mistakes.

To be ensured in addition is the prompt information of military buyers in the case of quality defects and other inadequacies which do or may adversely affect supplies or services.

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* As per TGL /GDR norm/ 14 449: Faults which may endanger human life or does so endanger it or may result in major economic losses or does so result.

(2) For the assurance and improvement of the quality of weapons and equipment as well as the efficiency of the work of military buyers, the state supervisory and inspection organs must conclude agreements with the Ministry for National Defense concerning cooperation and assistance, especially by passing on quality control findings and by assuming some of the military buyers tasks.

(3) At the request of the Ministry for National Defense the managers of state supervisory and inspection organs must ensure that the state supervisory and inspection organs carry out tests for the assurance of the quality of weapons and equipment on behalf of the Ministry for National Defense, cooperate in inspections by military buyers and, in exceptional cases, carry out quality control procedures on behalf of the Ministry for National Defense.

(4) When noting defects and inadequacies in enterprises, which may affect supplies or services, state supervisory and inspection organs are obligated to offer the military buyers the opportunity to join in discussions about ascertaining the causes of the defects and cooperate in the determination of measures for removing inadequacies.

(5) State supervisory and inspection organs must allow military buyers to inspect all documents containing statements about the causes of defects and orders for their removal. Upon request they must hand over these documents.

Concluding Regulations

Article 15

(1) The Ministry for National Defense is authorized to assign tasks within the scope of this decree to subordinated administrative offices.

(2) The Ministry for National Defense may agree with other central state organs that military buyers from the Ministry for National Defense assume tasks as per this decree on their behalf.

Article 16

Ministers of other armed organs are authorized with the prior consent of the Ministry for National Defense to decide the application of this decree to their sphere of responsibility.

Article 17

The Minister for National Defense will issue implementing regulations to this decree.

Article 18

(1) This decree takes effect on 1 December 1981

(2) Losing effect on the same date is the decree of 13 December 1973 on the Work of Military Buyers in Enterprises of the National Economy--Military Buyers Decree (MAVO)--(GBl I 1974 No 3 p 21).

11698
CSO: 2300/102

FRENCHWOMAN DESCRIBES POST-COUP SCENES IN WARSAW

PM240849 Paris LE MATIN in French 18 Dec 81 p 12

[Interview with Anne Rabinovitch, French translator, just back from Warsaw: "Poles Still Wearing Solidarity Badge"]

[Text] Anne Rabinovitch, a translator for Stock Publishers, had been in Poland for several days when the military coup took place. She left Warsaw Tuesday evening. Here is what she had to say.

[Rabinovitch] Despite the tanks on all Warsaw's bridges and in some quarters of the city, many inhabitants of Warsaw go out into the streets because their one obsession is to hear news. All telephones have been cut off. There is very little gasoline and there are very few taxis. So people rush from one house to another to seek news. On foot or by bus. The Poles line up for hours for the buses, their feet in old shoes and covered with snow. Lists of detainees are feverishly exchanged. People rush for the newspapers that are still available, even though they are very official and even though the walls of Warsaw are covered with graffiti announcing that the papers lie. People are very anxious that people abroad be informed: "Make sure to tell them that the Academy of Sciences has been seized by the militia," one woman told me. Also, attempts are being made to get parcels to the prisoners. On Monday people took them to the Writers' Union without knowing whether they would reach their destination.

[Question] Did you find out how the arrests took place?

[Answer] On Sunday the young writer Andrzej Werber was at home in Warsaw with the wife. At midnight they both heard bells ringing. That seemed unusual to them. About 15 minutes later the militia knocked at their door and arrested him. Andrzej asked where he was being taken. He was told: To Bialoleka prison, near Warsaw. He wanted to take his eyeglasses with him but the militiamen refused. Of course, since then his wife has not known where he is. According to whispered rumors, Kuron was arrested at his home in Warsaw (which means that he managed to leave Gdansk Saturday evening following the National Commission meeting), his front door was smashed down and he was taken away handcuffed. Geremek, a historian and adviser to Walesa, was arrested as he was leaving Gdansk in a car with two journalists--one from ANSA and the other from AFP--who were held for several hours. They were accompanied by a Polish sociologist, who was also arrested.

[Question] Is there no news of the prisoners?

[Answer] No. It was announced by radio that the prisoners would be held as long as their way of thinking remained distorted. And more and more the mothers and wives, who have been left so lonely at home, are haunted by the idea that youngsters are going to be sent to Russia. I saw the mother of two youths, Piotr and Jan Skorzynski. One of them was due to be married over Christmas. She told me that she was very afraid that they might be sent to labor camps in the Soviet Union.

[Question] Did you observe any anti-Semitism on the part of the regime, such as has been mentioned?

[Answer] I saw graffiti on the walls of Warsaw which read: "Kuron, Jew." I also saw a poster depicting a caricature of the Solidarity emblem. The "S" was replaced by a U.S. dollar sign. And the little banner attached to the letter "D" carried a Star of David. And that was no graffiti: It was a printed poster. I also saw a poster that carried a caricature of Geremek telephoning Israel. However, these posters had been torn up.

[Question] Have the Poles become suspicious since Sunday?

[Answer] As far as I could tell, no. It is extraordinary. They still wear their Solidarity badges without shame. Moreover, Solidarity banners still hang in the streets. On Sunday, I saw in a Warsaw street a woman reading a typewritten document that looked to me like a leaflet or report about Solidarity, and everybody quickly gathered around her.

In an elevator a young woman explained to me--a little in Polish, a little in gestures, so that I could understand her better--that a neighbor had been arrested and that it was cold in the prisons. I shared a taxi with a woman whose husband and son had been arrested. Our conversation continued with the driver, who turned out to be a Solidarity member. They continued to talk throughout the journey, quite trustingly. But on another occasion, in a bus, a Polish friend translated for me observations that the passengers were making out loud. They said that what was happening was a very good thing, that order would at last be restored.

[Question] Were you able to discover what kind of contacts exist between the Army and the population?

[Answer] I was told about a teacher who was released. According to him, he was interrogated by an officer, who apparently told him: "Between ourselves, what do you think will happen to our country?"

[Question] What news do the Poles have from abroad?

[Answer] Not much. A few foreign reactions have been read out, but only a few. The French Government's reaction was reported as being that it was "a Polish domestic matter" and that there would be no intervention.

[Question] Have the problems of supplies changed since Sunday?

[Answer] I did not notice it. I saw crowds gathered around an empty butcher's. But there was a truck parked outside and people expected that it was loaded with meat. That was enough for a line to form, as usual.

[Question] Are you surprised that deaths have occurred?

[Answer] Definitely not. Before the coup d'etat a friend who is now in jail told me: "If necessary they will not hesitate to shoot."

CSO: 3100/267

SOLIDARITY SPOKESMAN IN STOCKHOLM EXPECTS RESISTANCE

PM231217 Paris LE MATIN in French 18 Dec 81 p 14

[Interview with Polish Solidarity representative Jakub Swiecicki by Jean Darriault on 17 December: "There Will Be a Conqueror in This War"]

[Excerpt] [Question] What are your sources of information in Poland?

[Answer] Passengers on the ferries and on trains from Warsaw and the few clandestine radio stations that are starting to broadcast from Poland.

[Question] What do they say?

[Answer] That there are strikes throughout the country and that the most violent incidents took place at the Nowa Huta Steelworks near Krakow on 15 and 16 December. The troops apparently caused four deaths and the industrial buildings were apparently damaged.

[Question] By tanks?

[Answer] I do not know. Be that as it may, medical faculty students have been summoned to help at the Krakow hospital, where there are many casualties. Prof Olov Tanberg of Stockholm's Academy of Science has received an appeal from a Warsaw hospital for plasma and medical supplies.

[Question] Is it possible to talk in terms of an internal resistance in Poland?

[Answer] We have several proofs of this resistance: slogans daubed on the trams in Szczecin; clashes with the Army; and demonstrations planned for yesterday.

[Question] Was Solidarity prepared for clandestineness?

[Answer] Of course, the trade union organization was taken by surprise by the suddenness of the attack and by its violence. The workers are not ready to resist the violence with violence.

They are not armed. On the other hand, they are prepared for passive resistance. Because, even if 45,000 members have been arrested, as has been claimed, there are 10 million Solidarity members. Together with their families they represent

80 percent of the population. The military cannot make them disappear overnight. In any case, several members of the former National Consultative Commission are still free and living underground.

[Question] Are there any clandestine meetings?

[Answer] Yes, in the occupied factories and shipyards.

[Question] What action will international Solidarity take?

[Answer] Inform people about the domestic situation and dissuade the governments of other countries from giving economic aid to the Polish military regime. We know that this means many more sacrifices for the Polish people, but on Sunday the Military Government declared war on the Polish people, and in this war there will be a conqueror and a loser. Of course, this must not prevent international organizations from continuing their aid. But they must obtain control over this aid.

[Question] Do you believe that the Army will remain loyal to the Military Government?

[Answer] There is a limit beyond which Jaruzelski cannot go: To order them to fire on the people. Let us not forget that two-thirds of this army consists of conscripts, and we know from various sources that things are moving within this army.

CSO: 3100/267

INITIAL DEVELOPMENTS UNDER MARTIAL LAW REPORTED

PM221711 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 19 Dec 81 p 8

[Jacques Dimet dispatch: "State of Shock"--first graf is L'HUMANITE introduction]

[Text] The first cable from our special permanent correspondent in Warsaw, Jacques Dimet, reached us yesterday evening. Since it was delayed and censored, the item concerns the events of Wednesday and Thursday.

Warsaw, 18 Dec--According to PAP and this morning's press reports, the clashes that took place at the Wujec Mine near Katowice began Wednesday when representatives of the Army and of the regional prosecutor came to inform a group of strikers that, bearing in mind the state of martial law, they had to evacuate the enterprise. When the workers refused, the Militia intervened. During the first clash 41 militiamen were injured. The press reports that the miners used stones and picks to defend themselves. The police had to open fire. The television has reported that violent street incidents (involving over 300 casualties) took place the same day in Gdansk. The Baltic regional newspaper states that the workers from all the shipyards have been given paid leave until 19 December.

According to an approximate calculation, at least 13 major strikes have taken place since the proclamation of the state of emergency. This total does not include work stoppages in the Rybnik Coal Basin.

In Warsaw, however, as far as one can tell, the situation is calm. Military patrols scour the streets. The Militia's barricades are still standing. Telephones have been cut off.

Repeating that the situation is only temporary, the authorities seem determined to introduce as soon as possible a number of principles of economic reform, and have begun a tough fight against corruption. In the factories of the Wola quarter and on the periphery of Warsaw no incidents have been recorded since Sunday, though according to PAP "arguments are occurring in places of work."

The press has published an initial list of detainees belonging to Solidarity and illegal organizations and another including the names of 32 former Polish United Workers' Party leaders. Legal proceedings will be instituted against the latter.

Contacts have taken place between the bishops and the authorities. The Church has obtained improved conditions for detainees in the Warsaw region.

From the viewpoint of food supplies, one can observe an appreciable improvement in bread and milk supplies. Inhabitants of Warsaw have even seen the reappearance of oil (a product which disappeared over a year ago). The number of private vehicles running has considerably diminished, since gasoline sales have been suspended. Instead, one notes an entirely new efficiency in public transport. Nevertheless, as TRYBUNA LUDU has pointed out, the population is "in a state of shock."

CSO: 3100/267

'LE MONDE' DISPATCH VIEWS MOOD IN POLAND

PM221627 Paris LE MONDE in French 22 Dec 81 pp 1, 3

[Unnamed correspondent dispatch: "Warsaw Regulated by Hatred and Anger"]

[Text] Warsaw--"Christ," the priest said, "is the hope we still have in the dark of the night which has come down upon us." On the pews of St Anne's Church, which was packed on Friday, 18 December, some people were weeping quietly; the faces of others were simply drawn with anger, hatred and fatigue--the common lot of Warsaw's inhabitants.

A writer who, two days after the coup d'etat, tried to seek asylum in an embassy, was now wearing a black ribbin in his buttonhole to show he was mourning--mourning for freedom. Another man, who was prepared to take the Central Committee by storm yesterday, was now expressing his fear--which only oblivion could make him forget--but which he was controlling like almost everybody else. Just before the weekend, it was only possible to publish around 10 declarations of allegiance to the new government by trade unionists.

Patrols, in combat dress, armed to the teeth, walk slowly up and down the sidewalks. Tanks are stationed on the bridges spanning the Vistula, ready to cut the city in two. At each intersection, soldiers and militiamen, blue with cold around their braziers (the temperature is minus 15 degrees as soon as night falls) make the automobiles slow down, stop them on the slightest suspicion, search, examine papers, and possibly detain the passengers. The soldiers, young men who still have the faces of adolescents, are usually polite; but that does not prevent them from obeying orders. The Militia, however, are much more aggressive, as if burning with the desire to take an even more resounding revenge than they are being offered.

Around 1000 hours each morning people begin to count the new arrests, or at least to try, because it is an impossible task. Curfew starts at 2200 hours; for 8 long hours there are no longer any witnesses. There is no chance of escape and the sinister task is carried out. People are still trying to draw up derisory lists of those who vanish--names are added, mistakes made, nobody knows. All that is known is that there is no end to it and that everybody is threatened.

It is being said that after they arrested Marek Edelmann, the second in command of the Warsaw ghetto insurrection, the military nonetheless realized whose lead

they were following. Marek Edelmann may be released but others are already taking and will in the future take his place--all the unknown students, workers, and teachers whose arrest for attempting to demonstrate or strike or for possessing pamphlets is announced by the uniformed newscasters on television.

It is strange how terror is a thousand times more banal than the joy of a people--it already seems to have been 100 years ago--discovering freedom. You walk among the patrols; you no longer see the rifles aimed at you and the tank turrets which slowly turn as if to adjust their aim more effectively; you grow accustomed to dropping everything at 2100 hours in order to get home before the curfew. How can anybody fail to be afraid?

How, too, can anybody fail to hold his head up high when that is all you can do? How can you fail, although you are trembling, to take the risk of showing that you are at least still free to take the risk? On Friday, St Anne's Church was full of writers, journalists, teachers, relations of imprisoned people, who had come to pray for the first victim of the coup d'etat, Jerzy Zielenski, a journalist on ZYCIE WARSZAWY who jumped out of a window Sunday, 13 December, when he learned that martial law had been proclaimed. As people left after Mass, they embraced, shook hands, made dates and vanished quickly (because of the curfew) into the "dark of the night."

Partly Underground

A large number of these women and men have already gone partly underground and have the determination of those who feel they have nothing to lose. The previous day, Thursday, 17 December, many of them had taken part in the demonstration staged for the 11th anniversary of the bloody repression of the 1970 strikes in Gdansk. They had come in response to the call of what remains of Solidarity's Warsaw organization. Neither the warnings published by the press on Wednesday nor the parade of some 200 Militia vehicles in downtown Warsaw the same day had intimidated them. There were few of them (several hundred) and they were terribly reminiscent of the Polish cavalrymen who charged the German Panzers on horseback on 1939.

They were beaten up, including a priest, on the steps of a church where they were singing the national anthem. They fled in panic but a few minutes later, together with others, they walked in small groups toward the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. At first nothing could be seen; they came from the four corners of the vast Victory Square on which the Pope had celebrated mass in the open air. Suddenly a group formed, very quickly, and immediately the police charged. They fled once again down the side streets. Despite the threats of the Militia, passersby stopped, refused to move, crowded in compact groups on the sidewalks. The demonstrators had nothing but their courage; the forces of order had tanks, machine guns, helmets, weapons, shields and clubs. Everything happened in the dark, in corners hidden from view by deterrent cordons. That evening the radio, and then the television, announced that 300 people had been injured in Gdansk and 7 people killed in the Wujek Mine: Gdansk and Silesia at the same time--bloody battles in the two leading regions of the August 1980 strikes, in Solidarity's two bastions. On hearing the news the Poles all said that the die was cast and

that civil war had begun. At that point it had in fact already been going on for 5 days, since the night of the arrests.

On Tuesday a secret but official figure revealed that 284 strikes were going on. Many, especially those in the big Warsaw factories, have already been crushed. But how many more have been declared since? Why are there police automobiles in front of so many tiny factories in the capital if the situation in them is not tense? As the days go by the rumors have become more specific and detailed and have been confirmed. Very few cities have not been affected by the revolt. On Thursday evening, after much cross-checking, it was virtually certain that martial law had killed a minimum of 19 people; 7 at the Wujek Mine, 1 in Plock, 2 in Wroclaw, 1 at Ursus, 8 in Bydgoszcz and very probably 2 in Warsaw itself.

This is what we have just learned. But is it conceivable that nobody was killed in the fighting in Gdansk in which 300 people were injured, half of them members of the forces of order? Is it possible to believe that nobody was killed at the Huta Lenina Steelworks in Krakow, whose gates, according to the television, were destroyed by assault tanks and armored vehicles? Is it possible to believe that nobody was killed at the Wujek Mine, where people defended themselves with axes, yes, axes? Moreover, is it possible to believe that people went to such lengths in one mine without other battles having taken place in other mines?

"Let's Not Be Afraid"

And even if the fighting was more extensive than might have been supposed, it is not the new government's sole or even its most serious concern. A strike breaks out. The Army and Militia arrive in force, surround the buildings, which clearly makes the occupants think. They are evicted by force or, most frequently, leave without putting up any resistance. The "counterrevolutionary ringleaders" are arrested. What then? And since it is impossible to permanently place a soldier behind each worker and since other workers are causing trouble, the soldiers go away. Then the strike really starts again, or starts again without being called a strike. The workers are at their posts but doing nothing, pretending to work.

Here and there, at least in Warsaw, small posters signed by Solidarity are appearing, and they call on people to resist by every possible means. In elevators or on staircases people hurriedly scribble, "Down with the Junta!" or simply "Let's Not Be Afraid!" Typewriters and duplicating machines have been saved and placed in what are at present safe places. Pamphlets are being passed around by hand, reporting the strike rumors which are circulating in the city. On Wednesday, 15 December, one of them reported an appeal launched by Mr Lech Walesa. The Solidarity chairman called on "society" to put up passive resistance; on big enterprises to stage strikes but not to resist if there was any threat of bloodshed; on small enterprises to use the power on intertia; and again on society to continue to show solidarity with the strikers and not to allow itself to be discouraged.

The pamphlet, signed by Solidarity's Mazowsze Warsaw [as published] organization and left on church pews, states that Mr Walesa announced that stance through the episcopate, whose representative, Monsignor Dabrowski, he had been allowed to

meet on Sunday. The document also confirms that the Solidarity chairman is indeed under house arrest near the capital, in the villa of former Planning Commission Chairman Wrzaszozyk, himself arrested by the military.

Shortly afterwards the episcopate announced that the pamphlet was a forgery. In any case, the fact remains that before they were even divulged these instructions were spontaneously followed and moreover had been laid down in general by the trade union in case of a Soviet invasion.

Central Committee organ TRYBUNA LUDU and Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI (all that remains of the press) are pouring torrents of insults and slinging mud at the imprisoned trade unionists and oppositionists. The radio and television simply hammer out the things banned under martial law and threaten those who stand up to it with prison and even death. However, this fear, which, with the help of shock, had first paralyzed the population, is already much less effective in preventing people from showing their feelings. The phenomenon is hardly perceptible and is probably reversible, but it is real.

On Thursday evening, in response to the Mazowsze appeal, candles burned in the windows of darkened houses. People are again meeting in private apartments without worrying too much about secrecy. Neighbors come to boost the morale of families of detainees and to offer their help. Men and women who were not really involved in Solidarity are now beginning to take up the torch with unexpected determination. In this city totally controlled by the military, strangers have no hesitation in striking up a conversation with you, in showing you how to avoid a roadblock or in laughing at the soldiers, who often seem apologetic when their officers are not there. These are seemingly insignificant things, but something is happening as if the "spirit of Solidarity," which the trade union pamphlets urge people not to lose, were starting to take shape.

Despite the arrests, the violence, the display of its tanks and the involvement of all the Polish Armed Forces, the Military Council for National Salvation has not succeeded in taking control of the situation in the space of a week. It may succeed in doing so in the next few days, a feeling of impotence may prevail among the population and this civil war may ultimately be limited to a few death throes. If that happens it would remain to be seen what the Government could offer the nation in order to secure at least the neutrality which would prevent it from leading the economy toward total collapse. It is difficult to see what could be done to achieve that, even with massive aid from the socialist bloc. Above all it is difficult to see how complete poverty could be imposed in addition to dictatorship without stepping up the terror, the mass repression and subjugation of everybody, especially the Church, many of whose bishops expect a head-on attack.

The second hypothesis is that the resistance will continue, that Poland will not give in and that the Army will no longer be able to hold back a tide which could ultimately undermine the troops' cohesion. If that happened it would herald the Soviet intervention, which would then be the only way of preventing the regime and its leaders from meeting an unenviable fate.

The Church's Refusal

Finally, there is a possibility that, just before the threatening chaos, there may be a change of course and a political solution may be found with the Church and Mr Walesa. Each passing hour makes that very hypothetical hope more remote, to say the least. It is true that Mr Walesa has been placed under house arrest and that Monsignor Dabrowski was allowed to pay him a second visit on Tuesday. It is also true that the Government has not raised its hand against those opposition intellectuals and Solidarity experts who are closest to the episcopate. But all the indications are that that is simply due to the fact that they did not want to attack on all fronts at the same time or, at best, not to completely rule out any possibility of the Church and the Solidarity chairman surrendering.

There is absolutely nothing in the Government's attitude which shows any desire to leave any place for politics. A moderate man like Professor Geremek, Mr Walesa's main political adviser, is being attacked in TRYBUNA LUDU with a hatred and baseness which discourage quotation. Suffice it to say that Mr Geremek's "main ties" were allegedly "Zionist-revisionist centers" and that he was the secret leader of the trade union's "extremists."

PAX, one of the Catholic groups represented in parliament and hence originally a pillar of the regime, has apparently "betrayed" it by advocating radical changes. It was only logical that its activities should be suspended. But the fact that all the other legal Catholic groups have experienced the same fate is apparently because the intention is to sweep away absolutely everything which has been part of Polish individuality--not since the Gdansk Agreements but since the regime was installed.

So far Mr Walesa, who apparently tried to escape between Wednesday night and Thursday morning, has resisted all pressures. He is refusing to have any discussions until the trade union leaders are released. Monsignor Glemp, for his part, is refusing any direct discussion with the Government until Mr Walesa is released. However, the fear of a Soviet invasion, a return to the persecution of the faithful, or both, is making the Church vacillate.

In his sermon Sunday, 13 December, the Primate had primarily preached calm. The communique which was subsequently written by the Episcopal Council Tuesday and which, in principle, was to have been read in the parishes on Sunday is an outright declaration of a break with the Government. In 3 days the Church moved from disapproval to condemnation, from astonishment to anger and called on the faithful to fight for the release of the internees, the improvement of the detention conditions and the resumption of Solidarity's activities.

At that point Monsignor Dabrowski announced that he was ill and all contact with the authorities was cut. On Friday evening there was another change. It was said that the Episcopal Conference's communique was not to be read in churches on Sunday after all, or that it was to be accompanied by a letter to the faithful from Monsignor Glemp considerably moderating the tone of the communique: "We kneel before God, imploring Him to prevent bloodshed, because our homeland has never waged civil war or fratricidal battles," that letter said. "I beg you in

the name of God, I entreat you: Do not lift a hand in hatred against one another, keep calm; do not cast our country into greater misfortunes. Only self-control, and keeping anger under control, can now save the nation and the Church, which is carrying out its mission among the nation."

The minimum number of detainees is now around 14,000 and the figures of 30,000 to 40,000 which are frequently cited are entirely plausible. The Government obstinately refuses to produce any official list of prisoners or to give any indication of where they are being detained. It is being said that the intellectuals are grouped in Bialoleka (40 km from Warsaw), students in Modlin (30 km from Warsaw) and trade unionists in Ketrzyn in Mazowsze. It is also known that many people have been transferred to unknown destinations and there is very serious concern about the real fate of those women and men.

Will there be a consolidation of the dictatorship or the development of civil war? The future looks gloomy.

CSO: 3100/267

FURTHER COMMENTS BY SOLIDARITY AIDE TRZCINSKI NOTED

PM181441 [Editorial Report] Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 14 December carries on page 5 an 800-word Weje Sanden report on the press conference given by Warsaw Solidarity deputy press secretary Stefan Trzcinski reported in the referent item. The two reports are substantially the same, but SVENSKA DAGBLADET attributes the following statements, not carried in DAGENS NYHETER, to Trzcinski.

"The strikes are not the cause of the worsening economic situation in Poland. According to official figures, the amount of working time lost per employee through strike action from September last year to September this year was 7 hours. In the same period working time lost through power cuts and lack of spare parts totaled 86 hours per employee."

Trzcinski alleges in the interview that the food supply situation in Poland will now ease because of the stockpiles the state has built up as a result of this year's good harvest and the nondistribution of aid supplies to Poland. He goes on: "In a few weeks the authorities will release the food and goods from the warehouses. And they will say that everything improves when Solidarity is no longer active. But awareness among the Poles is now so great that they will not believe in the propaganda this time either.

"What has happened in Poland since August last year cannot be retracted. This is a conviction shared by the whole people."

CSO: 3109/94

USSR LEADERS THANK POLES FOR GOSR GREETINGS

PM111545 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Dec 81 p 1

["Messages from Soviet Leaders"--TRYBUNA LUDU headline]

[Text] To PZPR Central Committee first secretary, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski

To Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic Comrade Henryk Jablonski, Warsaw

Dear Comrades: On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers and all the Soviet people we express our heartfelt thanks to you, the PZPR Central Committee, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic and the entire Polish nation for the greetings and kind wishes expressed in connection with the 64th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Soviet communists and the entire Soviet nation express complete support for Polish communists and the patriots of socialist Poland in the struggle for the durability of socialist principles and the PZPR's leading role in society, and for the development of the Polish People's Republic as an inseparable link in the socialist community. We are convinced that the friendship between our parties and nations tempered in joint struggle against Hitlerite fascism and the close and comprehensive cooperation in building communism and socialism in the USSR and the Polish People's Republic will continue to develop in the interest of our countries and of the cause of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

[Signed] L. Brezhnev
N. Tikhonov

CSO: 2600/270

LEADERS GREET LAO COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU071651 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Dec 81 p 1

[Greetings message from PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski and Council of State Chairman Henryk Jablonski to Lao counterparts on Lao national day]

[Text] To Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] and prime minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR], and Comrade Souphanouvong, president of the LPDR and chairman of the People's Supreme Assembly, in Vientiane.

Esteemed comrades, on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, the Council of State, the Government of the Polish People's Republic, the Polish people and on our own behalf we wish to extend to you and through you to the LPRP Central Committee, the People's Supreme Assembly, the Government of the LPDR and the fraternal Lao people our sincere congratulations and cordial greetings on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the proclamation of the LPDR.

Under the leadership of the LPRP, the Lao people are successfully implementing their program for building the foundations of socialism in Laos and for tightening the bonds of fraternal friendship and cooperation with the countries of the socialist community. The successful development and peaceful foreign policy of the LPDR and the Lao people's socioeconomic achievements form an important contribution to the cause of strengthening socialism in Indochina, and of establishing lasting peace, neighborly cooperation and coexistence among the peoples of Southeast Asia.

Conveying to the Lao people our best wishes for prosperity on the occasion of their national day, we express our deep conviction that the traditional ties of fraternal friendship and cooperation between our peoples will continue to develop and strengthen.

[Signed] Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic; Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic.

CSO: 2600/270

BRIEFS

ZSMP, SEJM SPEAKER MEETING--Sejm Speaker Stanislaw Guwca received Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], and members of the ZSMP leadership, on 19 January. Much attention was devoted to the forms in which the basic problems of the youth community might be introduced by the team of young deputies, created by the ZSMP Main Board, into the work of the Sejm and its organs, especially the Sejm commissions. A meeting with ZSMP activists was announced by the Sejm speaker [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20 Jan 82 p 2]

RURAL YOUTH COUNCIL MEETING--On 22 January the Presidium of the Rural Youth Council of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] held discussions on an important topic--the life of young people settled in the countryside. Participants in the deliberations included Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the ZSMP Main Board, and representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy and the Polish Academy of Sciences, as well as scholars, i.a. from the Olsztyn Agricultural and Technical Academy. At the meeting there was formed a problem group, which will i.a. undertake the elaboration of a comprehensive conception of aid for young people living in rural areas, and the designation of a catalogue of affairs which require urgent undertaking by union elements and echelons. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23-24 Jan 82 p 2]

CSO: 2600/272

END

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16 February 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1975

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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16 February 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1975

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NEED TO IMPROVE TELEVISION BROADCASTS STRESSED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Sep 81 pp 79-86

[Article by Ylli Pepo: "New Possibilities and Demands to Turn Television Into a Powerful Means of Communist Education"]

[Text] The Tenth Plenum of the party Central Committee which approved the draft-directives of the Eighth Party Congress for the Seventh 5-year plan, made it clear that in order to achieve the planned objectives, along with the further mobilization of all the internal resources and reserves which our economy possesses and will create, on the basis of the understanding and the fullest possible implementation of all the tasks which arise from the situations under which our country develops, there must be further improvement of the entire work of the party and its levers for the revolutionary education and molding of our new man, through the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Among the many means and forms which the party uses for the political, ideological, school, cultural, scientific, artistic and physical education of the workers, an ever more important role is being played by propaganda on television.

Our television, through its broadcasts and programs which have a sound ideological and artistic content, applies the party line and directives. Its educational power is growing more and more. The Marxist-Leninist ideology, the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, permeates every television broadcast. By means of the screen, there become present in our familiar surroundings, up to the remotest corners of the country, those great transformations which have been achieved in our socialist fatherland, our man, with new socialist characteristics, who works and struggles for the flourishing and further strengthening of Albania, the great beauties and the riches of Albanian nature, the riches of our people's culture and art, the distinguished personalities and great events of the past and of the present, the history and the culture of our nation with all its dimensions and depths, that which happens in our country, but also in the world which surrounds us.

Our television has now formed its own character. As a result of the instructions of the party and its constant concern and the constant concern of Comrade Enver Hoxha, Albanian television is progressing and improving its programs.

Its broadcasts have become a very essential nourishment for the life of the people. And this has happened as a result of the growth of its values for the communist education of the broad working masses. Its characteristics as a television with a profound socialist content and militant character, with a popular spirit and national character, are becoming ever more prominent.

Our television differs completely from any other television in the world, simply by the fact that the television programs of the capitalist, bourgeois-revisionist world are nothing but a faithful and expressive reflection of the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist order which is in decay, a reflection of its profound political, economic and spiritual crisis. The television programs of the bourgeois and revisionist countries are characterized by loss of character and corruption, murder and crime, fear and panic, which taken together try to suppress, squeeze and destroy spiritually the simple viewer, and in particular, to educate the youth in the spirit of oppression, of bourgeois and revisionist morality, in search of an aimless life. The bourgeois and revisionist television, as instruments in the hands of those who subvert them, try to separate the broad masses from the daily reality, from the class struggle and social revolutions. As such, they have been transformed into "pure opium," much more dangerous than any other opium, which aims at creating confusion in the minds of the people and to lull them. Through the great development which technology and electronics have assumed, the bourgeois television uses the most varied kinds of tricks and forms to mask the programs with a profoundly degenerate and corrupt content which fill its screens.

The objectives of our television are entirely different. By combining the functions of the radio and cinematography, press and art, information with the poetic word, educational story-telling for children with music, the day's events with the study of history, scientific lectures for post-graduate studies with reports from the large construction projects, it represents a daily visual newspaper, in the "pages" of which are reflected the party's Marxist-Leninist policy, the achievements of the socialist construction, the ever better life of our people, the great present-day and future problems.

Through these great and complex values, our television propaganda serves all the population stratas and categories. But through its special programs it also fulfills, ever better, the demands and interests of special stratas and categories, beginning with those of the children and up to those of the veterans, workers of the economy, culture and art. The constant improvement of the quality of these programs, constitutes one of the fundamental objectives of the collective of this institution.

First place in the programs of our television is occupied by the broadcasts of an informative nature, the main one being "the television review." Through the care of the party, our television information service is now able to present in a satisfactory manner and on time, the day's activities and events of interest. Through television reporters, our television viewer in all corners of our homeland, is acquainted with the opening of the tunnel for bypassing the Koman, and with the successes and progressive experience of the workers, the cooperativists, the people's intellectuals of our country. The television

journal introduces major reports whose themes are the great transformations in the cities and villages which show the dynamic developments of our socialist industry or the intensification and mechanization of agriculture.

The assessment of these achievements will, of course, create no euphoria, since the television collective is aware of the gaps which still exist in this very important field of television propaganda, gaps which are to be found in the direction of the better drafting of the texts of the television news and reports which are broadcast in the framework of information broadcasts, as well as in improving the quality of the picture and its ever better conformity with the text.

By evaluating the great expressive, educational and emotional power of the word in the television propaganda, it is becoming ever more clear that the improvement of the qulaity of the broadcasts cannot be understood without skilled journalistic work. A text full of slogans, general and dull phrases, written without inspiration, without a proper knowledge of the life and the problem about which the report or interview is being prepared, cannot contain great educational values, no matter how attractive the presentation in the film with which it is being illustrated. And it is a fact that despite the efforts made for the achievements in our reporting broadcasts, from time to time one encounters texts which are weak in regard to ideas, arguments, thoughts and ideopolitical conclusions. In order to overcome these shortcomings, various forms of training work with the journalists are being used. The nine-month on-the-job course, with those creators, especially editors, who are not properly trained in journalism will help in achieving this objective.

Of course, every form of skilled work has its own values, but the television creators like all the workers of our press face the task of learning and benefiting as much as possible from the writings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. When we study the writings and the works of Comrade Enver, from the period of the National Liberation War and up to the memoirs "When the Party Was Born," we realize how rich in information and facts these books are, the amount of information and daily life they contain, and on the basis of their conclusions of a philosophical nature are drawn, and ideas and scientific arguments concerning the events and impressions are made. Everything is expressed in a rich, pure and comprehensive language, marked by modesty and clarity, in accordance with the broad knowledge and culture of the party leader. In the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha are to be found lessons and recommendations which are studied and assimilated by the entire people. For the journalists and the other propaganda workers they are also an example of how the problems are treated and artistically implemented. In this direction, the television journalists have much to learn. We are talking here, among other things, about giving up the practice, although rare, where the editor pays little attention to the texts, or where he deals with the text once the film has been shot. In these cases, it is the text which is subservient to the film and to the presentation and not the other way around.

By maintaining that the text or the script is a basis for a good television program, it does not mean that the role of the presentation is being played down. For the character of television propaganda, the presentation assumes great values, especially then when the operator films on the basis of a script or of a sketch.

The text helps the cameraman to film that which is typical for our reality, the attractive, the pure, what is optimistic and inspiring.

It is a known fact that the presentation, by being an organic component of the programs, can raise or lower the value of the text. And the latter occurs in those cases when the shooting of the film has been done in a careless and sloppy manner, whereas the possibilities exist to prevent the showing of such films on our television, even in the case of short reports. The putting of these possibilities into practice depends on the level of the skill of the operator and the cameramen who do the filming, on the level of skill of the film mounters, on their careful work, and also on the demands of the editorial boards and the cadres who approve for broadcasting reports or more extensive programs.

Improvements have been made in our television broadcasts also in connection with the better harmony between the text and the presentation, as an important demand especially for television reports and reviews. Nevertheless, there is still room for further improvements. And it must be said that the synchronization of the text with the picture is done with a high sense of responsibility when it is evaluated not only simply as question of form, but, in the first place, as a content demand.

Our television creates its programs guided by the objective of presenting on the screen the vital life of the people. The thoughts, achievements and the pledges of the workers are presented to the television viewers through interviews with the cadres, specialists and ordinary people where they work and live. Through television, our workers talk with each other, exchange opinions, have their say about important problems of work and our varied life. This type of information increases in value when consideration is given not only to things which will be discussed, but also to the form of illustrating that which will be told. When this is not correctly conceived, the interview turns into a bland declaration, with some facts and figures which does not justify its presentation on television.

Through the many means of illustration, through the technology which the writer of information reports, as well as of other programs, much better and more attractive programs can be created for the masses, when the problems and the directives of the party about them will be executed attractively, clearly, comprehensively and scientifically. Therefore, our television workers face the task of better eliciting the opinions of the most skilled co-workers, of the most capable specialists, and further perfecting the visual in the function of the word. The correct combination of that which is said with that which is visually presented makes the word sound more convincing. On the other hand, the visual presentation of a concrete objective makes the word more concrete, more scientific and divests the sound track of generalities.

Our television has an opportunity to become a tribune of elevated and of mature scientific thought, and this is realized, among others, when the programs meet the demands of the ideological and political education and of the broadening of the cultural and scientific horizon of the working masses.

A large role is played in our television programs by the cultural, artistic and music shows. The formational and educational value of these shows grows parallel with the raising of their ideological and artistic level. Through these broadcasts, especially the programs "Events and Data," "From the Treasure of Our People's Art and Culture," "The Artistic Word on the Screen," "School Problems," and so forth, convey to the viewer feelings of love for the homeland and pride in the glorious past and the socialist beauty of today, feelings of socialist patriotism, the new esthetic and moral socialist tastes.

A number of these broadcasts have created their own character and have become popular for the viewer. Through them, the television viewer is acquainted with important events of our history, with its distinguished personalities who have worked and struggled for freedom, for the language, for national rights and for social progress. Moreover, recent events, especially those of the past four decades which are associated with the name and the work of the party, are occupying a larger place in these programs. Programs such as "During the Years of Socialist Construction," and others, which mirror the revolutionary transformations achieved during the years of the party, from those of the National Liberation War, of the post-war period and up to those of the socialist construction in our days have recently been devoted to these events.

The educational value of these broadcasts greatly depends on the realistic treatment of the events and their central personalities. The party has often recommended that we treat things realistically, without overstatement, without exaggerating events, their moving forces, the role of the masses and of special individuals. But it is fact that although care has been shown in this field, from time to time, there are also cases of subjectivism, overevaluation of the role of this or that person, of this or that event, and so forth. The attention which Comrade Enver Hoxha recently devoted to this in his book "When the Party Was Born," as well as the scientific evaluation which the book makes of the events, constitute a rich orientation and material for the creative forces of our television, not only in their work for the preparation of the future programs, but also in viewing with a critical eye those programs of the past which are kept as basic material for re-editing and re-runs. Along with their enrichment with facts, with documents and other valuable interviews, the need arises for the verification and accuracy of previous materials.

Artistic and music programs occupy 30-35 percent of the entire program schedule of our television. They provide education, relaxation, and entertainment for the masses. These programs are prepared by relying on the development of the various types of arts in our country, on the creativeness of our cultural and artistic institutions, of the theaters, cultural houses, of the amateur artistic groups and of music schools, on the production of the "New Albania" film studio and on the sector for artistic television films.

In this manner, television is becoming ever more a mirror of the best artistic production of the whole of Albania. There are many good programs which are created on the basis of this material. But, often, programs are produced which are poorly directed and televised. In the program "The People's Origin," for example, the music material is excellent, but the same thing cannot be said

about the television presentation. Practice shows that these broadcasts become more interesting when they are unified and harmonized into one single basic plot, and not as happens often by simply arranging songs, dances and sketches without a related literary text.

The people's national character of our literary-artistic creativity is not expressed in creativity alone, but also in its execution and interpretation. Possibilities have been created for this party recommendation to be better applied also in the production of televised artistic programs. A larger role can be played by the songs and the dances executed in our wonderful natural setting, in the new reality of socialist Albania, not locking ourselves within the four walls of the studio. A similar demand arises also for the television drama. Theaterlike broadcasts do not suit television. Efforts have been made to produce some television dramas under real conditions, namely in the place of origin, but still, many dramatic plays are produced with a theater decor.

Television can and must try to affect, even more, the raising of the ideological and artistic level of these programs. As a central institution which fulfills the demands of the entire people, it must not accept the production and broadcasting of weak programs, with a poor ideological and artistic level, as has happened at times when programs, especially variety shows with a low level have been accepted and have been broadcast.

The basic party organizations and their levers in television must continue working with the workers in order to put a stop to any poor creations. The party has charged television with the task of cultivating and encouraging all that is good, pretty, tasteful and of high ideological and artistic level. The excuses which are heard from time to time that this or that program has been shown here or there that it has been liked by this or that person or forum, cannot constitute the true criterion of its value. Without underevaluating the opinions and the evaluations of the others, the television workers, as party workers, value the creative work which is recommended to them for filming, always by taking into consideration how the program fulfills the demands of the television viewers, the objectives and directives of the party.

There have been good results in recent years in the field of televised artistic movies. But movies of poor value have also been prepared and broadcast. Many factors play a role in the production of television movies. In our country we are still not too familiar with the specifics of this type of film making, and the equipment placed in our hands is not used for high productivity film-making. It is time to make a number of improvements in this field too. Our television viewer is hungry for Albanian movies and we owe him something in this direction. A good basis in this field is, along with the filming of original plays, the filming of better works of our literature, and, in particular, that of socialist realism. The opinion which exist among some creators that television is in a position to improve the situation of some poor literary works must be taken with reservations and in a critical manner. It is true that human and material capacities have been increased to carry out a worthwhile creative work in the studios, but the use of special effects, of music and of some other element cannot and must not conceal the ideological and artistic weaknesses of the work. Comrade

Enver Hoxha teaches us that through a simple presentation the ideas are expressed more clearly and smoothly, like a clear river which flows from the mountain. A confused, exaggerated and complicated presentation often conceals obscure ideas. This lesson of Comrade Enver Hoxha is helping the television workers to use simplicity and clarity as a basis for their broadcasts, as well as our entire art and literature and to avoid foreign models, imitations and tricks.

The programs for children and young people are the most important ones for our television. Precisely because of the nature of the strata to which they are directed, all the categories of the broadcasts are organically combined, from the economic-scientific and historic-geographic ones and up to the cultural and artistic ones. The ever better living conditions in socialism, the extraordinary great care which the party shows for the young generation, are enabling the growth of children who are intellectually developed and anxious to learn. The conclusion arises by itself that the programs which are prepared for them require much work, in order to avoid traces of naivete and the presentation of the problems in a heavy-handed and boring manner. In order to eliminate these shortcomings, the shows for children and youth are examined and redone from time to time. Programs have been introduced in recent broadcasts like "The Little Postman," "Through Our Beloved Homeland," "Through the Pages of the History of Our People," "Let us Speak and Write Attractively," and so forth, which are becoming popular with the children.

By taking into consideration the care which the party devotes to the education of the children, the creative work of the journalists in this category of television has aimed at further broadening the themes, to introduce the active life of the children on the television screen, to treat more broadly their social problems, the educational questions in the school, streets and family, by trying to mold the builders and the future defenders of socialism with the ideas and recommendations of the party, with materialist concepts. Television does not substitute for the school through its programs, but it is a powerful means through which the children become familiar with the pulse of our socialist work and life, with its joys, plays and so forth. This theme demands livelier forms, more worthwhile television productions, in which, according to the age group, film-making in natural surroundings, televised fairy tales, puppet and cartoon shows should occupy a greater place.

By seeking communication forms which are as simple and as attractive as possible for the children, the editors of most of the programs have succeeded in presenting the story. Yet, they do not always have the desired results because often the proper editorial work is lacking. In general, children's programs should be filmed more often outside the studio, because the fairy-tale which is popular with the children, fails to attract the attention of the children when it is not accompanied by pictures and moving figures. It is, therefore, necessary that those programs which must be filmed in the studio be full of fantasy, attractive and as colorful as possible.

Our television can and must improve the general presentation of the program. The presentation of the speaker, his cultured way of speaking and the pauses must be such as to arouse feelings of socialist beauty, of optimism, of Albanianism. But at times, the opening and closing of programs are dry, superficial and dull.

The presentation of television programs in our country must be conceived within a broad framework. The level and quality of the presentation depends a lot on the skilled creative work, in the first place, of the editors and of directors, of the technicians and of engineers during the drafting of the text and of its filming, during the recording, cutting and broadcasting of the programs. Consequently, the presentation must be conceived as a component and expression of the content, and as such must always be evaluated with all seriousness. The insufficient effort of some editors and directors for the dignified presentation of the programs is also responsible for the low level of some of these programs. The sports show, for example, should be fresher and should be presented in a more lively and cultured manner, so that it can attract even more the youth and the broad masses of sports fans. The same is required in the case of a number of musical programs, such as "Music for All," "The Song of Our New Life," or the reports "Events and Data," "Youth Program," and so forth.

Our television does not have nor can it have important "second" hand programs. Everything that is broadcast through the channels of Albanian Television, serves the same aim and as such, must be prepared and realized by the creators and our technicians with the same passion and the same responsibility. And it is a fact that when every program is considered a premiere, then routine, mechanical and heavyhanded work is also avoided. In these cases, the programs differ from each other even within the same topic because they have their specialty, the new element, the element which makes it attractive and interesting for the viewer. And our television is capable of realizing this in all its shows.

The day is not too far off when we will broadcast color television. Along with the technical problems, this requires also a serious preparation on the part of the creators and of the executors to further raise the effectiveness and the values of television propaganda.

CSO: 2100/24

FAN NOLI CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATED

[Editorial Report] The Tirana dailies ZERI I POPULLIT and BASHKIMI of 6 January 1982 page 3, carry articles commemorating the 100th birthday of Fan S. Noli, illustrated by the same photo of Noli in clerical garb. There is no mention of his role as founder and primate of the Albanian Orthodox Church in the United States, as well as primate of all Illyria, the Western Sea and all Albania. Instead, emphasis is placed on his 6-month term as premier of Albania in 1924. According to BASHKIMI, he "sounded the alert for the defense of the Albanian lands in Kosovo, the plains of Dukagjini and other regions in Macedonia and Montenegro which the secret treaty of London of 1915 gave to the chauvinistic monarchists and he harshly attacked the denationalization plans of the Greater Serbia advocates and Montenegrins against Albanians in these lands". While praising Noli for his original literary works and translations, the author of the BASHKIMI article, Prof. Dhimiter S. Shuteriqi, admits that "in his activity, illusions and underestimation of the role of the masses are evident. During the years of the struggle of the Albanian people against facism, Noli suffered from political oscillations. This was a result of his political and ideological limitations and the fact that he was detached from the real situation in Albania." But, Shuteriqi adds, "although Noli lived in Albania only five years, he became one of the outstanding masters of the use of the Albanian written language." BASHKIMI laments the fact that "the ashes of this exile still lie suffering in exile. The government of the United States did not permit Noli to be returned to his fatherland."

According to BASHKIMI of 7 January a ceremony was held in the Palace of Culture in Tirana to commemorate Noli's birth. Thanas Gjika, from the Institute of Languages and Literature of the Academy of Sciences, spoke about Noli "as one of the outstanding personalities of Albanian history" and pupils from the Fan S. Noli School gave readings from his poetic and journalistic works.

CSO: 2100/44

ZHIVKOV SPEAKS TO STUDENTS ON EXISTING CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Jan 82 pp 1-3

[Verbatim record of a speech given by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the traditional meeting of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee with student youth at the People's Palace of Culture on 7 December 1981: "For Bold Work and the Struggle to Carry Out the Decisions of the 12th Party Congress"]

[Text] Dear Comrades.

The celebrating on 8 December of the Bulgarian Students' Day has become a major and fine tradition in socialist Bulgaria. We all are happy to participate in this holiday which with its inspiring ideological loyalty and unique emotional tone more and more is becoming a holiday of all our youth and all our people.

Allow me, dear comrades, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Bulgarian government to most cordially congratulate you on the occasion of the major holiday of Bulgarian students, 8 December.

Happy holiday, dear young friends!

I must frankly say that I am moved along with you. I am moved because during these holiday hours of the traditional meeting of the Politburo with the Bulgarian students I am again among you. I am moved because I am to speak from an extremely important rostrum, not one just anywhere, but in the People's Palace of Culture.

Our meeting, dear comrades, is being held at the end of an exceptional year as 1981 was for all of us. During this year we have most solemnly celebrated the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state, the 90th anniversary of the founding of the Marxist revolutionary party in Bulgaria and the 25th anniversary of the historic April Plenum of the party Central Committee. All of this is being turned into a vivid manifestation of our socialist patriotism and internationalism and inspires us with new incentives to work and struggle for building a mature socialism.

Our workers have celebrated these important events with pleasing successes in carrying out the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. And this is exceptionally important as we are justified in calling the 12th Congress a congress of historic significance. The congress thoroughly analyzed our development over the previous decade since the adoption of the Party Program and on this basis outlined for the working

class, the agricultural workers, the intelligentsia and all our people the strategic and tactical tasks in building a developed socialist society up to 1985 and over the long run to 1990.

For this reason now, at the end of this remarkable jubilee year, we with every justification reemphasize the historic significance of the 12th Party Congress. We rightly return to this question, that is, how we are fulfilling and how we will fulfill its decisions in the future as this will determine the further successful development of our society and the further raising of the material and spiritual levels of the people.

I have been informed that at your preholiday meetings with the Politburo members and the other party and state leaders the verbatim record was read of a report given at the National Conference in October 1981 on the occasion of the fulfillment of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. Obviously this allows me now to avoid taking up a second time the questions and problems which were touched upon at the conference. But this does not mean that we intend to give a detailed new report. We are even less intending to give a lecture as we are aware that there are professors and instructors here and the meeting is being attended by competent young persons while I am neither a professor nor an instructor for giving a lecture but rather one of the leaders of our party and our state. For this reason we will take up certain problems of our socioeconomic development which for explainable reasons which could not and need not have been raised and thoroughly analyzed at the meeting. As for the several questions which were already taken up there, we will examine them from a different aspect.

The first question which must be taken up is self-criticism.

Probably in reading the verbatim record you were well aware that the report to the National Conference was permeated with self-criticism. You will recall with what frankness we spoke about the vicious circles which we must break in order to successfully carry out the congress plans and to accelerate our advancement. This reaffirms that our party, regardless of the achieved advances, is not closing its eyes to the unsolved problems, to the difficulties and shortcomings and has always a sober and self-critical attitude toward the work and toward the examined questions. Self-criticism, self-criticism and again self-criticism!

Naturally the question arises of why, after the 12th Party Congress it was again necessary for criticism and self-criticism. It this not excessive since from the congress rostrum it was reported that in one decade, from the 10th Congress which confirmed the new Party Program up to the present, we have in fact made, to put it figuratively, another Bulgaria. This is undoubtedly a great and historic accomplishment of the party and the people. Or in other words, we have greeted the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state not with one but rather two Bulgarias. In spite of this, at the National Conference we were self-critical of our work in all or almost all the main spheres of social development.

...Criticism and self-criticism are the driving force of our advancement. The leadership, regardless of its level, if it does not possess this great tool, this great force, cannot achieve great and lasting results.

No, comrades, there has been no mistake here. We acted quite correctly. We consciously focused on the unsolved problems, on the shortcomings and weaknesses in order to concentrate the attention and efforts of the party and all the people on their resolution and overcoming. The nature of the BCP, as the directing and leading force in our nation, is such that it cannot develop without self-criticism. Lenin said that the seriousness of a revolutionary party is tested by its ability to show a self-critical attitude toward its work and that a party which is not self-critical dooms itself to death. A socialist state which is not self-critical or which glosses over the difficulties and shortcomings does not bring out and does not use all the reserves and cannot develop successfully; it also is doomed to defeat.

Our own experience, particularly after the Plenum of the party Central Committee in April 1956, has shown how essential criticism and self-criticism are for the development of both the party and the nation. The April Plenum itself was permeated with self-criticism and was an example of the self-critical attitude of a communist party toward its own activities. If we have achieved historic advances since this plenum there can be no doubt that one of the decisive conditions for attaining them has been self-criticism.

Consequently, it is a question not of shear fashion, not of whimsy and not of infatuation. It is a question of the profound essence of the party, of the socialist state, and of one of their most characteristic features. The question is an exceptionally serious one and it involves both the party as the leading and guiding force as well as our socialist system.

During the period from the 11th to the 12th Congress, we have held several sessions of the party Central Committee and these have been permeated by criticism and self-criticism. In this regard I would remind you of the July Central Committee Plenum in 1976 at which profound and serious criticism and self-criticism were directed at the shortcomings in the various spheres of our development. We proceeded in the same manner at the 1978 National Party Conference. At the November 1980 Central Committee Plenum, we again with great frankness disclosed the weaknesses and unresolved problems. The 12th Party Congress itself defined and discussed the problems and formulated our strategy and tactics for the following period also from the positions of criticism and self-criticism. This was completely natural and necessary. The National Conference which was held after the congress (we have in mind the October Conference) was also held with a dominant theme of self-criticism.

We would like to repeat again that criticism and self-criticism are an exceptionally important factor, a regular feature and driving force without which the great and difficult problems of the nation's development cannot be solved.

Certainly we are aware that our enemies have utilized our self-criticism in order to defame the socialist system. Enemies remain one's enemies and that can be expected. But, comrades, even if we said nothing about our weaknesses, they would still find a pretext to try and defame us. The truth of our successes and the truth of the advantages of socialism over capitalism are rather great and I would say blinding so there is no reason to fear the splatters of mud which our enemies endeavor to throw at us. We have never been guided nor will we be guided in the future by whether or not our enemies benefit from our self-criticism. We are led

by the necessity to ensure the correct carrying out and realization in all sectors of the political line, of the party's strategy and tactics to build a developed socialist society in our nation.

Again I would like to stress that criticism and self-criticism are the driving force of our advancement. Leadership, regardless of its level, if it does not master this great tool, this great force, cannot achieve major and lasting results. On the contrary, there can be stagnation, there can be disintegration and so forth. For this reason even from our earliest years we must instill a feeling for self-criticalness as an inner feeling and as an essential trait in our style of thinking and work.

Consequently, dear young friends, we must be ready for criticism and self-criticism in the future. The question is from what positions do we criticize and self-criticize. Our criticism and self-criticism are not from the standpoint of pessimism or from the position of stagnation and defeat. On the contrary, our criticism and self-criticism are based on the great successes which our nation has achieved. They are vivid proof that our system is a vital one and that it does not tolerate stagnation and routine. No one can accuse the party Central Committee that it carries out criticism and self-criticism from other positions. The Central Committee correctly considers the accomplishments which the people have won under party leadership. At the same time it is guided solely and chiefly by the consideration of how to better discuss and how to more successfully resolve the complex problems of building a developed socialist society and how to even more effectively create conditions for evermore fully and completely satisfying the material, social and spiritual needs of the people.

That is the first question.

The second question which our meeting should bring up relates to the contradictions in our society.

There are contradictions in the development of all societies. Consequently, there are also contradictions in our socialist society. As is known, Marx, Engels and Lenin proved that a society develops precisely along the path of disclosing and overcoming social contradictions. Certainly we are well aware that in a capitalist society the contradictions are antagonistic ones and that the contradiction between labor and capital cannot be resolved without the elimination of the capitalist system itself.

But, as I have said, there are also contradictions in our society. In it objective laws and patterns are also at work on the basis of which definite contradictions arise and cannot help but arise. Our society also develops along the path of discovering and overcoming these contradictions. Regardless of our desire or lack of desire, these contradictions appear objectively. But it is a different question that they have their own specific features and differ substantially from the contradictions which operate under capitalism.

When we speak of the contradictions in our society, we, for example, have in mind all the contradictions inherited from the past which socialism, as the first phase of communism, could not immediately surmount. In this regard we have already

achieved a good deal. Suffice it to recall how much we have done to overcome the opposition and then the essential differences between city and countryside, between mental and physical labor and so forth.

In addition to this, our society which is now in the stage of building mature socialism, is developing dynamically and at stable and high rates in all areas by utilizing the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. This development also gives rise to its own contradictions and involves their disclosure and resolution. On the other hand it must not be forgotten that socialism, since it has been victorious in just one part of the world, is also in contact with both internal and external contraductions and the contradictions between the socialist and capitalist systems.

I recall there was a time when certain philosophers even denied the presence of social contradictions in a socialist society. Even now there are scholars who mute the contradictions under socialism. We cannot agree with such opinions because life itself has confirmed that there are contradictions in our socialist society now. Certainly these contradictions are not antagonistic ones and their disclosure and surmounting lead not to the elimination of the socialist system but, on the contrary, to its strengthening. For this reason they are resolved on their own basis and they arise, operate and are resolved under conditions where the basic interests of society and its social groups coincide.

Our party's Central Committee has given and does give great importance to our contradictions, it constantly endeavors to disclose them, to promptly study them and find specific measures for consistently overcoming them. We are led by an awareness that this is an essential prerequisite for correctly defining and implementing the general line, the strategy and tactics of our party.

With good reason, the philosophers say that a contradiction and its resolution lead forward. And our task, as leaders, regardless of on what level we stand or in what sector we work, is to disclose the emerging contradictions, to take the necessary measures and create the appropriate prerequisites and conditions for surmounting them.

Consequently, for us, as party and state leadership, as a party and as a community, it is exceptionally important to have a good understanding of the current social contradictions, to promptly disclose them and to do everything within our power to overcome them.

In the report at the October Conference, the record of which you are familiar with, nothing was said about contradictions. However, in essence there approaches have been offered and measures outlined for various spheres and these are aimed at overcoming the contradictions in our development.

In terms of the social contradictions, two approaches are in principle possible.

With one the efforts are focused at overcoming the consequences from the action of the given contradiction or reducing its negative impact.

At the 12th Party Congress we did not proceed in this manner.

Why?

Because we were aware that it was not sufficient to struggle merely to limit the negative consequences from the given contradiction and that this struggle would not end merely by the elimination of one or another specific negative consequence.

Because, and this is the main thing, to struggle against negative consequences, without resolving the most real contradictions, means to eliminate only the consequences, in overlooking the most profound factors which gave rise to them.

...For us, as the party and state leadership, as a party and as a community, it is exceptionally important for us to be well aware of the existing social contradictions, to promptly disclose them and to do everything possible to surmount them.

For this reason, we have applied a different approach, that is, without underestimating for a single instant the work of restricting the negative effects of one or another contradiction, we have been concerned with the crucial thing, namely the overcoming of the contradictions themselves which have given rise to the negative consequences. In addition to this we have been aware that for resolving the contradictions not particular measures are needed but rather an integrated, comprehensive approach which would encompass all their aspects and actions.

This is the profound idea of the new theoretical elaborations and of the practical tasks outlined by the 12th Party Congress.

Let us take such problems as the problems of the material and technical base of developed socialism, of socialist ownership at the present stage, the relationship between centralism and decentralism in social administration, of the economic approach and its mechanism and so forth. Here, in the course of our socioeconomic development, new contradictions mature and become apparent, and a struggle arises between the new and the old. The necessity of disclosing and overcoming these contradictions was the initial tenet and the basis for outlining the strategic and tactical tasks by the 12th Congress. At the National Conference of October 1981, these tasks were spelled out more concretely for the purpose of mobilizing the party and the broad masses of people to consistently carry out the congress decisions.

Let us take several examples.

You are already familiar with the ideas of the 12th Congress concerning socialist ownership and more specifically the owner and master of socialist property. In Bulgaria the state is the owner of socialist property by its authority and as the representative of the people. The master of socialist property is the corresponding production collectives and the workers who are employed in the economic organizations and utilize and husband this property.

Are there contradictions between the owner of socialist property in the person of the state which carries out the authority of millions of people in our nation and acts on their behalf and the master of this property in the person of production collectives and those who participate in them, that is, the workers, specialists, leaders and so forth?

Yes, there are, and these contradictions arise on the basis of the patterns operating in the present stage of our development.

The reason is because the relations between the state and the worker collectives are not something fixed and something given once and for all. The fundamental interests of both the state and the working collectives coincide and they demand the strengthening and enrichment of socialist property. For this reason, there can be no antagonistic contradictions between them.

At the same time each of the parties in these relationships is developing and becoming richer, and this gives rise to one or another contradiction. In certain periods, some functions of the state out of necessity have been extended to a greater or lesser degree to direct control of property. Later, both from the viewpoint of the development of property (state and cooperative) and from the viewpoint of the social development of our society, a situation developed in which contradictions arose between these functions of the state and the necessity of the collectives to directly control property and themselves to manage it with maximum effectiveness. As is known, over time this became a major shortcoming which ran counter to the principle of democratic centralism.

But can successes in work be achieved regardless of these contradictions? No, they cannot! However, can these contradictions lead to distortions? They can! This question has been dealt with both at the 12th Congress and at the National Conference. Some may feel that these contradictions could be overcome, for example, by restricting the functions of the persons in control [the masters]. Others are inclined to reduce this task to particular measures, for example, to a mere increasing of the awareness of the workers, to the strengthening of indoctrination and so forth. It is clear that such an approach is not sufficient. It does not take into account the nature of the contradictions or of their entire action and manifestation.

The correct approach to these contradictions must bring out what are the rights, obligations and tasks of the state as the owner and of the worker collectives who manage or are in charge of the socialist property. The state has the duty to develop and multiply this property in order to guarantee the nation's basic balances and to ensure a constant rise in the material and cultural level of the workers. At present we are instituting a procedure whereby the functions of the state will not be extended to the direct management of property. Here we are outlining the appropriate measures in order to provide a complete opportunity for the labor collectives to manage socialist property, with maximum effectiveness to add to it and to develop it simultaneously both in the interest of the state, the people and their own interest. We are doing this on the basis of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

Consequently, at the 12th Congress and the National Conference of 1981, we did not restrict ourselves to just the consequences of these contradictions. We examined them completely in their movement and development, and we outlined a range of measures--economic, political, financial, organizational, indoctrinational and so forth --for their overcoming. In this way we, on the one hand, are clarifying and improving the functions, obligations and rights of the state as the owner of socialist property under the authority of the people. On the other hand, we are raising the

role of the labor collective, its self-initiative, we are broadening and strengthening economic democracy. Such solutions provide us with an opportunity to seek out the best combination of the interests of the state and the people with the interests of each labor collective and each worker in Bulgaria.

Or let us take, for example, the contradiction between the new high demands which the building of mature socialism makes on the productive forces and social labor productivity on the one hand, and the level of the material and technical base we have achieved, on the other. How is this manifested? In the fact that the material and technical base with today's development level does not provide an opportunity to fully build a mature socialist society, to fully bring out the advantages of mature socialism and particularly to achieve a social labor productivity that is higher than that under capitalism. It still does not provide all of the essential conditions for highly satisfying the material, social and spiritual needs of the people.

This contradiction can be overcome by building a material and technical base which will be adequate to a developed socialist society. For this reason the 12th Congress outlined the basic directions and tasks for building our own material and technical base for developed socialism by introducing the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and particularly full automation as well as by full mechanization and the broad use of Bulgarian and foreign advanced experience.

Or let us take, for example, the contradiction between centralism and decentralism in the management of our society. We are building developed socialism on the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. For this, this is an unswerving basis on which in the future we will direct and build the entire social system. But this principle is not a stagnant one, it is developing constantly and being enriched in accord with the specific conditions. An unjustified strengthening of centralism at the expense of decentralism or conversely of decentralism at the expense of centralism can cause great harm. For this reason the party is endeavoring at each stage to find the most correct balance between centralism and decentralism and to develop and enrich their unity.

...In the future we must steadfastly carry out the party line of conforming to the requirements of objective laws, of raising the level of work in the various elements of the subjective factor and improving their style and methods of activity.

What measures have been outlined by the 12th Congress for overcoming this contradiction? The congress has considered the changes which have occurred in our economy, in political life and in other spheres, and has set out significant measures to increase the self-initiative of the enterprises, of the labor collectives, the settlement [conurbation] systems and all the inferior levels. The improving of planning on a basis of the new economic approach and its mechanism, the increased role of the counterplan with the active involvement of the labor collectives, the introduction of the new type of the brigade organization of labor and so forth--all of this will help to improve social administration in Bulgaria and to further develop socialist democracy.

Naturally the question arises of whether the disclosure of the given contradictions and the implementation of comprehensive measures to overcome them mean that in the future no new contradictions will arise in our society? No, comrades, the elimination of the given contradiction does not mean the disappearance of contradictions under socialism. The reason is because contradictions are constantly reproduced whether in one or another sphere or whether in one or another form.

Let us take, as an example, the state and cooperative form of socialist ownership. Have there been contradictions between them? There have. Due to a number of historical factors, the level of socialization in the means of production in agriculture lagged far behind the level of socialization in state property. The material basis of cooperative ownership lagged behind in comparison with that of state property and so forth. These contradictions, on the one hand, are on the way of being overcome due to the development of state ownership and its higher degree of concentration and, on the other, due to the constantly increased level of the socialization of the means of production in agriculture by the development of agroindustrial complexes. But here, when the process of the merging and reciprocal penetration of the two forms of ownership has reached a very advanced degree, a new contradiction arises, the contradiction between the owner and the master of socialist property which we mentioned a bit before, and so forth, and so forth.

Let us take another question, that is, the brigade organization of labor which with today's conditions in the development of the material and technical base is exceptionally essential. Can we feel that in the future, when we have brought the entire economy to a situation of full automation, the present brigade organization will be maintained and that contradictions will not arise between it and the new production level. No, we cannot because this form of the organization of labor at a certain stage will enter into a contradiction with the existing level and with the new requirements of production and the economy as a whole. Consequently, in our work--both theoretical and practical--we have consistently proceeded and will proceed from the tenet that in life contradictions arise and cannot help but arise as these stem naturally from the nature of new social processes and phenomena and from the ascending development of our socialist society. These contradictions are of an objective nature and they must not be denied or neglected, they must not be fled from but rather promptly brought out, recognized and resolved.

As I have already emphasized, we are proceeding in this manner and this is obviously one of the "secrets" in the vitality and fruitfulness of the Leninist general April line of our party.

But, comrades, in addition to the contradictions of an objective nature, contradictions are also possible which do not derive naturally from the essence of the new processes and phenomena in the development of socialism and which are due predominantly to weaknesses or oversights in the activities of certain elements in carrying out party policy. These contradictions are of a subjective nature.

Let us take the question of public health services. This question was also examined by the 12th Congress and was brought up at the National Conference. Are there contradictions in the health sphere? There are, comrades. It is true that the successes of our socialist public health have been great. We have achieved one of the first places in the world in terms of the number of physicians and nurses per 1,000

of the population; we possess a developed health network, medical specialists are known abroad and so forth. However it is no secret that the level of health services lags far behind the needs of the public. This can be explained both by the lag in the physical plant and by other factors which depend upon the personnel working in this area. But we must say that there are serious subjective reasons for the occurrence of these contradictions in our health services. For this reason the National Conference sharply raised the question of utilizing every opportunity to overcome these contradictions over the long run and in the next and following years to begin to fully utilize the health facilities already created in Bulgaria and to make a fundamental change in the method of health services for the public.

...In Bulgaria everything is done for the sake of man, for the good of people, and for the ever-fuller satisfying of the increasing material and cultural needs of the people.

Or let us take legal services. In this area we have indisputable advances. Primarily as a result of subjective factors, contradictions have arisen which must be overcome at any price. Without any valid reason thousands of people run about and waste their time and the questions are not always resolved in full accord with the requirements of our laws. The courts and the entire legal system are far from carrying out their basic function which is to strengthen our socialist system. Instead of being centers for the indoctrination of people, the legal institutions in many instances cause them moral trauma. There is a similar situation with administrative services and so forth.

By these examples, young comrades, I would like to emphasize that we do have contradictions which arise not only from the action of objective laws of social development. There are also contradictions which are due to subjective factors, to errors and shortcomings, to an incorrect style of work and leadership brought about by the subjective factor, by the leading cadres and by individual institutions. This type of contradiction arising out of manifestations of subjectivism causes us enormous harm and it also must be decisively overcome. The reason is subjectivism inevitably exacerbates the existing contradictions, it leads to arbitrariness and distortions. The difficulties in our work arise not only from the fact that there are contradictions under socialism which arise on the basis of its objective patterns. Difficulties also come from the subjective factor if this factor does not take into account the real contradictions and if it is unable to promptly disclose and overcome them.

For precisely this reason a characteristic trait in the approach of our party in directing the socioeconomic and spiritual processes has been that it not only considers the existence of all these contradictions but also does not permit them to rot or to become a source of social distortion and shocks. This has been an historic accomplishment and a major achievement of April Bulgaria. For this reason in the future we must consistently carry out the party line of taking into account the requirements of objective laws, we must raise the level of work in the various areas of the subjective factor and we must improve the style and methods of activity. In the future we must increase the creative role of the subjective factor, we must strengthen its ability to correctly analyze real processes and phenomena, we must promptly disclose contradictions which have appeared and mobilize the workers to promptly resolve them.

The next question which I would like to take is that of appropriation.

We have in mind appropriation in the sense of the distribution of goods created in the production process. Is the appropriation of goods in a socialist society the same as it is in capitalism? It is, comrades. There is appropriation in Bulgaria and there is appropriation in a capitalist society. But the difference, as the people say, is one of black and white.

As you know, under the conditions of one plant, net product is created and on a nationwide scale, national income. As is known, national income is created where there is the production of material goods. National income is created also under capitalism. The entire question is how this income is distributed and who appropriates it. This is the problem of problems! Under capitalism, the lion's share of newly created income is appropriated by the capitalists, while under socialism this remains totally for the workers and for the people.

How is national income distributed in Bulgaria?

Around 25 percent of it goes to create new capacity and to increase the material and technical base of the reproduction process. It must be said that after the April Plenum there were periods when this portion exceeded 25 percent, sometimes reaching up to 30 percent. The remaining 75 percent of national income went to the wage fund which was distributed according to the quantity and quality of the invested labor and for the public funds which are used by all the nation's citizens.

This is the method of distributing national income in Bulgaria. The first source of income for the workers is the remuneration which is received according to the socialist principle of distribution, or, as is still said, wages. The second source is the public consumption funds. On this basis is formed the real income of each citizen.

When our party was in opposition and was struggling to overthrow the capitalist system, it clearly and categorically stated that we were fighting for communism, for a society in which each man would work according to his abilities and would receive according to his needs. But in order to achieve this, it is essential to eliminate the exploitation of man-by-man and to build a new communist society in which communist justice would reign.

As you are well aware, communists, the communist principle of distribution "from each according to his abilities and to each according to his needs" can be applied in the second, in the higher phase of a communist society, when the required material and spiritual prerequisites will be created. At present we are building the material and technical base for the first phase of communism. In addition to this, under socialism the law of value operates objectively and commodity-monetary relationships exist, although qualitatively different ones from those under capitalism. Consequently, in the first phase of a communist society there will not be the objective premises for the production of enough material and spiritual goods so that each member of society can completely and fully satisfy his needs.

One may then wonder whether we did not lie to the working class and the workers when we spoke about justice and social equality. No we did not. We did not lie to them. Because even now we are carrying out this cherished desire of mankind, the equality of all people in labor.

How is this equality expressed at the present stage? It is in the equal right of each member of society to work and to receive according to the quality and quantity of the invested labor. At this stage there is and cannot be a different equality or a different, juster principle of distribution. It is no accident that the 12th Congress which was concerned with the question of improving distribution relations in Bulgaria reemphasized that the main source of the workers' income must be the remuneration which they receive according to the quantity and quality of their labor.

There is no capitalist state in the world which distributes its national income so justly. Only a socialist nation, only the new socialist system, in eliminating the exploitation of man-by-man, creates an opportunity to realize the principle of equality, that is, everyone has a real right to work, everyone receives according to the same measure, according to the quantity and quality of the invested labor. And this is an enormous victory of ours!

But the question is not exhausted and cannot be exhausted merely by the labor of an individual man. The workers do not work in isolation from one another. For example, in a plant everyone works in a brigade and his wages inevitably will depend not only upon his personal labor but also upon the results achieved by the entire brigade. But the brigade also does not work in isolation. It is also a part of the labor collective at the entire plant. Thus, the good work of a brigade depends also upon the work of the entire plant while the work results of the plant depend, to a certain degree, upon the work of the entire combine or association. On the other hand, the work results of an association or combine depend upon how the work is carried out on a national scale and what are the results of a national economy. In this manner, under socialist conditions, each citizen inevitably and naturally becomes politicized, he is vitally interested and cannot help but be interested in how the situation is in the nation, in the development of the national economy and society as a whole. The socialist principle of distribution welds all the members of society into a single whole.

Certainly, among the millions of our people, there are also those who are only dissatisfied, only demand, without giving back or investing what they are capable of. But the enormous portion of our people is involved in the production and reproduction process, they take active part in the political and ideological life of the nation and make their contribution to building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria.

Todor Zhivkov or any other party and state leader can give a speech and call for labor, for production activeness and so forth. But if we do not correctly apply the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of the invested labor, if we do not consider how the basic provisions about a correct, social justice and equality of people conform to the current objective patterns and existing level of the material and technical base, such speeches will have no effect. As I have said, real wages depend upon the work both of the individual worker, the brigade, the plant, the combine, the state and the government. Certainly but not lastly it depends upon the work of the party Central Committee and upon its staff, the Politburo.

What is the conclusion, comrades? At this stage there is and cannot be any other equality as some might wish with the dividing of the pie into equal pieces. This

does not and cannot be. We will divide the pie not into equal pieces, not evenly, but rather according to the contributions of each person who participated in its preparation. There is no other way. If we divide it evenly, there will be no socialism and after this no communism. This is the problem. As you can see it is a clear and simple one. If we adopt the other, we will introduce wage leveling, we will fall into asceticism, into barracks communism and so forth. There are examples of this in certain countries.

Consequently, the task is for each young person to be well aware that he must work, that he cannot take as much of the pie as he would like but rather will receive an appropriate portion depending upon his personal contribution.

It is essential to point out that the better prepared you are as young specialists, the better you have mastered the profession you have chosen, the more fully and effectively you will be able to realize yourself in life and the greater will be your share in the creation and distribution of new goods. With good reason we are now reorganizing the entire educational system on the basis of acquiring a profession. But some will say isn't this educational system contrary to the view of Engels that in the future each person must be prepared to exercise a broad range of professions? No, it is not contradictory.

The educational system which we are presently building provides an opportunity for our youth to acquire a profession in a broad area in the aim of further specialization in the corresponding area of work. This is the purpose of the third degree in the secondary and higher school. Won't we create narrow specialists by this? No, comrades. The other two degrees of the educational system are designed to prepare our youth as highly educated, cultured and ideologically tempered.

Certainly, our educational system will undergo improvement. But even now its basic aim is to prepare well developed people, cultured, knowledgeable and able persons, with an acquired profession and capable of realizing themselves fully in labor and life. You can imagine that a young person has completed his education as an engineer, gone off to a factory and become a production commander. But what sort of a commander would he be if he had not acquired solid knowledge and if he was not professionally prepared for this? As you can see, the question of acquiring a profession and of obtaining practical knowledge and the ability to apply it scientifically in practice is exceptionally important.

Recently, I visited Gabrovo and Ruse and attended the higher technical institutes there. One can give the best assessment and praise the two institutes for their work, for their accomplishments in training the students, for carrying out scientific research and developing new technology and so forth. All of this is well and good. When I was there, I congratulated the comrades. But we must be realists. The physical plant at the Gabrovo institute and the Ruse institute is almost like a craft shop, and far from the present achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. The blame is not to be laid at the doors of the Ministry of Public Education or the corresponding higher institutions of learning. The blame is ours. Because it is impossible to train students for tomorrow if they are not instructed in facilities equipped with electronic computers, with modern scientific instruments and devices, with shops for experimenting and so forth. They must be trained not for today but rather for at least 4 or 5 years to come. Consequently, we must

raise the present physical plant of the higher technical institutes. I have not been to the V. I. Lenin Higher Machine and Electrical Engineering Institute in Sofia. It is said that good work has been done there in this area. I have been invited to visit it.

We are counting on our fine youth to wage an energetic and uncompromising struggle against the negative phenomena in our society and to enrich and add to the great truth of socialism.

We on the Politburo have reviewed these questions and have resolved that the higher technical institutes as well as Sofia University must be equipped with modern technology in order that they themselves create new production methods and become a support for the scientific groups which are working in the various sectors and production so that the students in them will gain solid training. The same thing applies to the equipment in the corresponding institutes under the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. At the present stage we do not have an opportunity to equip all the institutes and scientific groups in the nation. But these we can. These are only several technical institutes. At present we have only individual institutes which are up-to-date. One of them is the Varna Shipbuilding Institute. It is a good idea to go and see what it is. Perhaps not everything has been settled there, I am no specialist, but we are already capable of building shops which are competitive on all markets. We must have several institutes on such a level and turn them into modern centers for the development of new production methods and so that we can also sharply improve the training of the personnel.

But immediately another question comes up, that is, the question of those who teach. We highly regard and respect their labor, but obviously many of them need retraining in order to fully meet the new areas and requirements which confront the institutions of higher learning. They themselves must have a good knowledge and operate the new modern equipment and they must be fully prepared both for providing the students with a profession as well as for furthering scientific research, developing new production methods and so forth. With the present situation many of them cannot handle these tasks and must promptly undergo retraining. Let me be perfectly clear on this point. I do not feel that they are to blame. At present, the physical plant is different and the methods and demands on teaching are also different. If the facilities change then also instruction must change qualitatively.

Let me move on to the next question, that is, of the great and "minor truth." Some people might say: how long are we going to speak about this great and "minor truth." Incidentally, I introduced these concepts several years ago at a meeting of the Bulgarian Writer's Union. These expressions started then and have become accepted and widely used.

What did I have in mind when I used these expressions?

I had in mind the real, contradictory reality in a socialist society.

What does the great truth mean?

It means that we have eliminated the exploitation of man-by-man, we have eliminated unemployment, and we have created a new type of relations between people, relations

of friendship and mutual aid. This means that we are doing everything for the sake of man, for the good of people, for evermore fully satisfying the growing material and cultural needs of the people.

This, comrades, is the great truth of our system. It largely describes our society. This truth does not and cannot exist in any capitalist nation. Exploitation of man-by-man, inflation, unemployment and insecurity about tomorrow--this is the great truth of the capitalist system.

But when we speak about the great truth in Bulgaria, we do not close our eyes to the manifestations of the so-called "minor truth," that is the fevery, bureaucracy, sycophancy, intercession, embezzlement and so forth.

For this reason, comrades, we will never correctly indoctrinate the younger generation if from the school seat, from Pioneer age to the last grade in secondary school, we talk only of the great truth and do not say that along with it there also exists and cannot help but exist a "minor truth." Is it possible generally at the present stage of our society's development, when the law of value operates, when there are commodities, money, when there are commodity-monetary relations and so-forth, when everyone, from an ordinary citizen to the chairman of the State Council, in order to drink a lemonade, must pay for it, with the exception of official dinners and evenings which nobody knows who pays, that no "minor truth" exists? As long as there are goods, as long as there is money, as long as there are commodity-monetary relations, it is clear that there will be people who deviate from the socialist principles and morality, there will be people who will attempt to steal. Since 48 percent of the labor in material production is still manual, it is clear that there are people who will shirk and will try to fix themselves up in life, who will resort to intercession and will find those who will grant these intercessions.

Hence the "minor truth" does exist and it is also a reality. However we are not passive and we are waging a war against the manifestations of the "minor truth." This is no rash statement. Our constitution defends the socialist system, socialist property and socialist morality. All our legislation is based and will be based on this. The control bodies, state and people's control, the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the court and prosecutor's office are fighting and will fight against this "minor truth." The public organizations must also fight and are fighting against the "minor truth." Our ideological and indoctrinational work is also aimed at this and in the future will continue to fight against such manifestations, it will disclose their roots and seek ways to overcome them.

This is our position, it is a class, Marxist-Leninist position. This position was laid out also in the decisions of the 12th Congress. The reorganization which we are carrying out in our economy or the introduction of the so-called new economic approach and economic mechanism will strike with economic means against the "minor truths," and will reduce and cannot help but reduce its manifestations.

For example, take the introduction of the competitive principle. Our party has clear tenets on this question. Gradually everywhere leadership positions will be filled by competition. As is known, the elaboration and implementation of cadre policy in our nation are a concern and duty for our party. What will the situation be in the future with the competitive principle? For example, we have five

candidates for a given post. What is the party's role here? Its obligation is to check what is the political and moral background of these people. If one of them has been dishonest, then the party must caution that he must not be allowed to compete. Then the remaining four must compete. As you know, if you have competed, this is not easy work and you must show what qualities you possess and whether you are fit for the given position and the given job. This will be the practice in our society and there can be no other.

Or let us take, for example, the brigade organization of labor. If the brigade is put on cost accounting and self-support, clearly no one can demand that the brigade leader accept one or another worker in his brigade. If he is a loafer, if he is not skilled or does not try to become skilled, then someone else must work for him and as a result the brigade will receive less remuneration. What sort of brigade is this if it would agree to pay a loafer or people who do not want to become skilled?! What sort of shop is it which would agree to pay an engineer who is untrained and merely loiters around the equipment?! With the current new situation and under the conditions of the new economic approach someone would have to pay for him and it would be from the job of others.

I do not want to assert and I am not asserting that all the measures which we take and will take will eliminate these negative phenomena in a single swoop. This cannot be done. We are not doctrinaire and we are fully aware that there are conditions for the existence of the "minor truth." Time is needed to overcome these conditions. But this does not mean that we tolerate the manifestations of the "minor truth." No, we are waging and must wage a struggle against it.

And here precisely is the role to be played by the Komsomol, the role of our entire educational system. It is essential to indoctrinate the younger generation in the name of the great truth. This is correct and this is essential. But it must also be said that a "minor truth" exists along with it and we must point out what are its manifestations, what are its roots and what must be done to eliminate it. The younger generation must be immunized against the "minor truth" and have their own criteria in assessing its manifestations and be ready to fight against it. This is an exceptionally important task. We are convinced that our Komsomol and our educational system will carry it out well. We are counting on our fine youth to wage an energetic and uncompromising struggle against the negative phenomena in our society and to enrich and add to the great truth of socialism.

After this, Comrade Todor Zhivkov took up certain timely questions of the international situation.

At the end of his speech he again congratulated the student youth and wished them new successes in studies, in labor and in their personal life.

(The speech of Comrade Todor Zhivkov was listened to with great attention and was frequently interrupted and accompanied by extended applause and by the exclamations "BCP, BCP," "Forward with the BCP!," and "Where the Party Is There Are We!")

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TRADE UNION LEADER SPEAKS ON NEW ECONOMIC APPROACH, DISCIPLINE, MANAGEMENT

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 13 Jan 82 pp 1-2

[Speech by Petur Dyulgerov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chairman of the BPS [Bulgarian Trade Unions] Central Council chairman: "The Labor Collective is in the Frontline Position of the Trade Unions in the Struggle for the Implementation of the Decisions of the 12th BCP Congress"]

[Text] The 22nd plenum of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council was held in Sofia yesterday. In addition to the members and candidate members of the Central Council and the members of the BPS Central Auditing Commission, the plenum was attended by chairmen and secretaries of sectorial trade union central committees and BPS okrug councils, plenum nonmembers and senior trade union personnel. Also attending were Misho Mishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, Georgi Grigorov, head of the BCP Central Committee Organizational Department and Dimitur Dimitrov, head of the BCP Central Committee People's Councils and Mass Organizations Department.

The following agenda was adopted:

1. The labor collective is in the front position held by the trade unions in the struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress: report by Petur Dyulgerov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chairman of the BPS Central Council;

2. Setting down the time of the convocation of the ninth congress of Bulgarian Trade Unions, approval of representation norms and method for the election of delegates: reported by Georgi Evgeniev, BPS Central Council deputy chairman;

3. Approval of the BPS budget and table of organization for 1982: reported by Yanko Petrov, BPS Central Council secretary.

Our socialist society has entered a period of profound changes. They affect the foundations of the economy, social management and social relations. These changes are taking place under the influence of the historical decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. The socioeconomic strategy which the congress formulated enriched and concretized the party's program of building a mature socialist society, Comrade Petur Dyulgerov emphasized at the beginning of his report.

The congress's resolutions formulate qualitatively new tasks in all areas of our life and require a number of essential changes. How do they affect Bulgarian Trade Unions?

First. The congress's decisions raise to a new height the place and role of trade unions in the socialist political system. They place the trade unions in an even stronger position in production and social management.

This is based on the new historical responsibilities and increased role of the working class whose all-embracing organization the trade unions are.

This is based on the strengthened leading role of the party in society and the development and place of the trade unions as its irreplaceable mass support. The strength of the trade unions lies in the party's leadership and is the safest guarantee for the implementation of their historical mission.

Second. The congress's resolutions give all trade union activities a new richer content.

In the production-economic area, the new content is defined by intensification, the new economic approach and the brigade organization of labor. In the social area it is defined by the comprehensive satisfaction of material, spiritual and social needs in accordance with the purchasing power of the working people, the direct tie between social development and production effectiveness and the new role of the collective in meeting the direct needs of the working people.

In the ideological area it is defined by the task of turning the new developments, ideas and stipulations into convictions and actions of the working people.

Third. The congress's resolutions arm the trade unions with effective means for the development and enhancement of the social and labor activeness of the working people.

These means include mainly material incentive, cost effectiveness, self-sufficiency and the conditions which are being created for the blossoming of socialist democracy for the direct and growth participation of the working people in production management.

The time after the 12th congress was a period of interpretation and clarification of congress decisions and of taking the initial steps toward the practical implementation of most immediate assignments.

The one May meeting between the BCP Central Committee politburo and order-bearers and frontrankers, the mobilizing speech delivered by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the efforts to implement the appeal-pledge provided the first strong impetus for the implementation of the congress's resolutions.

Currently, active efforts are being made throughout the country for the practical implementation of the resolutions of the 12th party congress. It is being organized and conducted on the basis of the platform earmarked by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his speech at the October national conference. The tremendous importance of this speech is that it provides an answer to the overall problems of our development on the basis of a profound analysis of social processes. It is a major contribution to the theory and practice of building a developed socialist society.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov provided a new and original formulation of the basic theoretical problems of the nature and development of the material and technical base, concentration and specialization based on the multiplication approach, means of management of socialist property, the new attitude toward the problems of the living standard, etc.

These elaborations are used in resolving the most topical and complex problems of today. They are also of a long-term nature.

On the other hand, this speech arms us with approaches and means of action for the implementation of the congress's resolutions. It is thus that Comrade Todor Zhivkov converted to a tactical work plan the major problems of development and related them to the real needs of life.

At the same time, he urgently raised topical practical problems whose solution brooks no delay.

The problems which Comrade Todor Zhivkov discussed at the October national conference pertain to our entire public, to all political, state, economic and public organs and organizations and to all working people. However, they are mainly directed to problems of the economic organization and the labor collective, where the fate of the party's socioeconomic strategy is being cited.

That is precisely why today the labor collective is becoming the frontline position of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and that is precisely why it is in this area that we must concentrate all of our efforts and all of our activities for the implementation of the congress's resolutions, for it is in the collective that the decisive battle for production intensification will be fought and it is within the collective that the new economic management methods will prove their advantages. The basic social needs of the people will be satisfied within the collective and through the collective.

Guided by this understanding, the purpose of this plenum is to define our basic tasks in orienting and concentrating trade union activities on the implementation of the congress's resolutions within the labor collective, which under the new circumstances objectively becomes the main sector of the entire trade union front.

I. Trade Union Work in the Labor Collective for the Implementation of the Party's Economic Policy

1. The New Economic Approach and Our Tasks

The need to concentrate trade union work in the labor collective is based above all on the systematic application of the new economic approach in all areas of social life. The 12th congress pointed out that under the conditions of the new economic approach and mechanism and the use of cost effectiveness and self-support, the role of the labor collective immeasurably grows and changes qualitatively.

We already have an economic mechanism for national economic management in the Eighth Five-Year Plan, which encompasses the entire economic structure ranging from the brigade to the national economic complex. Actually, this is a system of essentially new methods of economic management, new forms of management and organization, new means and powerful levers for expanding the initiative and activeness of the working people. Cost effectiveness and self-support are the core of this system. The main objective of the new economic approach and mechanism, its main purpose, is for the labor collective to become deeply interested in the results of its labor, to act as the real owner of the socialist property put at its disposal, and to bear the responsibility for the economic results of its actions in the course of its management.

Today the labor collective has the power to define its main tasks, to support itself, to ensure its own well-being, to protect and multiply socialist property and to use it most effectively for the benefit of society and of itself.

This is the change which, based on interest, brings into action the tremendous creative forces for the utilization of the advantages of the socialist production method and socialist way of life. Let us immediately point out, however, that this change does not occur automatically. It is a difficult process. It is a struggle which must convert the new economic approach into mass awareness, a way of thinking, acting and living of the working person.

As an organization which is the closest to the production process and encompasses millions of people precisely in the area of their labor activities, the trade unions today have no greater or more responsible task than that of taking the economic mechanism to the brigades, to the people and, together with the economic organizations, contribute to its systematic application.

Failure to understand this means failure to understand anything. Our work will be sterile should we fail to accomplish this.

The new economic approach updates the meaning and content of Lenin's definition that the trade unions are a school of management, a school of administration.

The change which the new economic approach triggers is substantial. It applies above all to the attitude toward property. So far, the worker and the collective did not feel to a sufficient extent the consequences of the proper and improper use of productive capital. A certain alienation from public property and theft and encroachments on such property even developed.

Under the conditions of the new economic approach, the productive capital will be managed by the labor collectives and brigades themselves. This approach introduces direct material incentive and responsibility for its most effective utilization and coordinates the interests of society, the collective and the individual.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov drew a clear demarcation line between rights, obligations and tasks of the state, as the owner, on the one hand, and the collective, as the manager, on the other. The new economic mechanism provides a practical elaboration of this stipulation. Understanding it is the prime condition for the proper understanding and application of the new economic approach and mechanism. It is the starting point in defining the functions and tasks of the trade unions as a school for socialist management and administration under the new circumstances. To be such a school means the following:

First. To teach the workers and the collectives how to understand the specific manifestation of the new economic approach and mechanism in the course of their work.

The task is for the principles and stipulations to become simple values understood by anyone, values which the worker can handle easily and freely and draw his own conclusions. Hence, everyone must learn how to assess economic benefits, work more effectively, criticize and make suggestions.

The new economic approach and mechanism must come out of plant offices and move to the shops, brigades and workplaces.

Along with economic influence, educational means must be used in order to prove specifically and convincingly, with examples borrowed from personal practice, the losses suffered by a collective which fails to make effective use of the property assigned to it and when it allows its waste.

Second. For us to be a school of management and administration means above all to become the main motive force in counterplanning, to become actually coresponsible and coparticipants with the economic management in the formulation and implementation of counterplans. It is particularly important to direct the workers' collectives toward reaching high results through the use of intensive factors, a strict conservation system and the lowering of production costs.

Third. We must develop the labor and social activeness of collectives and working people on the basis of the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of the labor invested and the consequent results affecting wages. The new economic approach and mechanism introduce a qualitative change in distribution relations. Now nothing will be "god-given." The collective itself will work out its wage and distribute it according to contribution.

That is why the trade unions have the important obligation of assuring the participation of entire collectives in distribution, so that the contribution of the individual working person may be determined most accurately and his wages justly computed according to this contribution. We must intensify the social assessment of labor and protect the new distribution principles from all distortions.

The new economic approach and mechanism enrich the economic and social content of the prospective function of the trade unions. Under present-day conditions, the implementation of this function calls for a struggle for the systematic application of the distribution system based on the quantity and quality of labor: he who works better must receive more. We must struggle against equalization and the social and labor passiveness it creates. We must struggle against bureaucracy, inertia and inability of some managers to create conditions for highly organized and effective work. Protection means to struggle for discipline in production and management and to be merciless toward idlers, wasters, incompetents and tricksters who give little but demand much.

Fourth. In order to be a true school of management it must turn every working person into an active and direct participant in production management. The new legal and socioeconomic status of the labor collective makes its life democratic and increases its rights greatly. In order to exercise its rights, it will have at its disposal and entire system of collective management organs and other forms of direct democracy.

As Lenin said, the ability to manage does not come from the sky. In order to manage the workers must learn. They must be competent in the areas of the problems they resolve. They must express their views freely, critically and constructively. We must not tolerate any attempt whatever at restricting democracy. We must not neglect the opinions and suggestions of the working people and suppress criticism from below. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov says, finding out what the people think is not a matter of courtesy, for a person is active only when he can see that his words are being heard and his views are taken into consideration.

Democracy in production management can exist and develop and be effective only if it is based on strong socialist discipline and when the expanded rights and autonomy of the collective serve the interest of society. Democracy is a dialectical blend of one-man command, collectivism and discipline.

All this indicates that the new economic approach and stipulations formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov on the subject of the collective as manager meet Lenin's definition of trade unions as a school of management and administration, giving it a new content and effective power under contemporary conditions.

2. The Brigade Organization is the Basic Factor in the Systematic Application of the New Economic Approach

Under the conditions of the new economic approach and mechanism the brigade is the primary production, economic and social unit which directly combines the individual elements of the production process and in which incentives and responsibilities for the effective utilization of resources and the management of socialist property are directly manifested. The new quality of the brigade greatly increases the interest of the primary labor collective and upgrades its role in the entire social management system. The working staff accepts this great party initiative willingly and with understanding.

However, the creation of real brigades of a new type has proved to be a very complex matter. The difficulties and weaknesses are found above all in the application of cost effectiveness. The workers themselves are not being properly prepared for the system. The development of the new brigades is not based on properly formulated engineering plans. Production organization and management, based on the needs of the brigade, are being restructured very sluggishly. Major obstacles stand in the way of the development of essentially new relations between brigades and enterprise managements.

The brigade organization represents a merciless criticism of shortcomings in production organization and management. Such criticism does not stop at the level of the enterprise's management but runs along the entire chain from the economic organization and the ministry to the national economic complex. That is why the building of a brigade organization of a new type must not be considered in a limited way and the problem must not be limited to the enterprise alone. The entire management system, from top to bottom, must be adapted to its requirements.

The new brigade economic mechanism has been formulated and is being applied. The major problem now is to organize the entire structuring and work of the brigades of a new type on the basis of this mechanism.

Our obligations regarding the brigade organization follow several clear directions.

The trade union organs and organizations must focus their attention on the development of the brigades of a new type and, above all, on the application of internal cost effectiveness in them. This is both an economic and a political problem in the solution of which the trade unions must prove to the worker the new features and convince him to accept them through their organizational and educational activities. In close interaction with the economic management, they must make persistent efforts to develop the brigades while observing all elements and characteristics of this type of labor organization. this problem must be resolved by the end of 1982.

Another direction is for the trade unions to become the real direct organizers of the self-management of the brigade collective.

It is here, in the brigade, that production democracy finds its most direct manifestation. All workers participate in the management of brigade affairs. They are competent, for they deal with problems with which they are most familiar. They are active, for they have the real right and power to resolve problems. They are interested, for it is here that their interests and requirements are met. It is on this basis that the initiative and creativity in the implementation of the congress's resolutions must be developed.

This creates objective prerequisites for the trade union organs and organizations to make the general assembly, brigade council and production conference the full-bodied organs of production democracy and brigade self-management.

Another of our obligations is to act as an effective social force in promoting the change which must take place in relations between brigades and enterprise managements. If a brigade idles for reasons beyond its control and if it is not given the possibility of meeting its normed planned assignment, the damages and losses it suffers should be compensated by someone. When the brigade fails to fulfill its obligations, the stipulations of the economic mechanism must be applied most strictly. Any reciprocal forgiveness between brigades and economic managements means a distortion of the economic approach, depriving the brigade organization of its strength, and harming the interest of society and the collectives.

The new type brigade is a fertile field for trade union activities. When we say that today our work must be concentrated within the labor collective, we bear in mind above all the collective of the new type brigade. Here the functions of the trade unions become most realistic and specific and, something particularly important, here our ties with the workers become daily and direct. By using the levers of the economic approach and mechanism, we are given the opportunity to upgrade labor activeness within and through the brigade, to promote a new attitude toward socialist property, to create a strong labor discipline, and to shape relations of comradely cooperation, exigency and responsibility.

Obviously, the required changes in the statutes, structure, rights and functions of the trade unions in the brigades must be made quite rapidly. This must be done in such a way that, together with the new mechanism, trade union work in the brigades be organized on a new basis.

3. Intensification--A Matter of the Labor Collective

The 12th party congress made comprehensive intensification the main strategic direction in the development of the national economy and of all areas of social life. It is the only proper way for laying the material and technical foundations for a developed socialist society, for this foundation can be none other than the material and technical base on the level of the achievement of the scientific and technical revolution.

The intensification of the economy and the other areas and activities means mainly to apply comprehensive automation through the development of automated cybernetic systems, to decisively lower manual labor through comprehensive mechanization, and to turn into mass practice domestic and foreign leading experience.

Essentially, this is a tremendous project which cannot be accomplished without the general efforts of the working class, our scientific and technical intelligentsia and all working people.

That is why intensification today must assume a leading, a determining position in trade union activities.

The trade unions have great obligations in the area of the technical retooling of the production process and the use of mechanization and automation in order to ensure decisive improvements in working and living conditions and in resolving the social problems created by intensification.

First, we must undertake the training, organization and involvement of the broadest possible range of working people in the modernization and reconstruction of the production base. The idea that production retooling means no more than the choice, acquisition and installation of new equipment is narrow and wrong.

Intensification has its own aspect and specifics in each enterprise. That is why the ways and means for its implementation must be determined specifically and clearly. This 5-year plan, automation will affect a limited number of enterprises, mainly those whose importance to the national economy is decisive. The broadest possible comprehensive work on intensification today must be in the area of reducing manual labor through complex mechanization. In this case, the emphasis must be on intensification now, when annual, quarterly and even monthly programs for reducing manual labor and organizing a common front in the struggle against manual labor must be formulated for each enterprise and type of activity.

It is particularly important for the trade unions today, starting with the planning process, to make the introduction of technical progress a broad social assignment. Every collective must be clearly instructed both on the subject of the 5-year plan and its immediate tasks. The people will understand what they themselves must do in their own enterprise and their views and suggestions must be taken into consideration.

The movement of rationalizers and inventors, which is a tried means for the creative manifestation of the innovative technical thinking of the working people, could make a great contribution to production intensification. Its possibilities are confirmed by the fact that in the Seventh Five-Year Plan it saved the national economy more than 1.5 billion leva. The national program which we adopted stipulates that in the Eighth Five-Year Plan these results will be considerably greater. Realistically, there are even greater opportunities whose utilization will depend on the ability with which we will be able to link with and subordinate rationalization to the problems of intensification, mainly comprehensive mechanization and reduction of manual labor.

Second, the collectives must become active participants in the application process.

We have noted over a period of many years that application is the weakest link in the efforts to promote technical progress. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, a "no-man's land" exists between scientific development and practice. Recently, major steps were taken to surmount this weakness. A large number of engineering-application organizations were set up, the new economic mechanism was applied in science and new organizational methods are being used to link science with production. However, practical

experience indicates that this is insufficient. There is urgent need to involve the production collectives themselves in application work. To rely on specific units and specialists alone and wait for new developments miraculously to be implemented "from above" means failure to understand the scale and nature of the strategy of comprehensive intensification.

This offers broad scope for trade union initiative in expanding and strengthening the interaction, cooperation, mutual aid and reciprocal responsibility among scientific research, engineering-application units and production collectives.

Third, let us emphasize the decisive importance of cadre training and skill upgrading.

Today this problem assumes different dimensions. The existing disproportion between the technical level of output and the level of skills threatens the very implementation of the intensification strategy. Radical measures must be taken in this respect. In the very stage of designing and in the course of modernization and reconstruction the need for specialists and performing cadres for the individual enterprise must be defined. The training process must be organized in accordance with the requirements of the new equipment and technology. We must reach the type of training quality such that the people we are training can resolve intensification problems. Particular concern must be shown for training women and working youth.

Fourth. It is particularly important for the trade unions to consider comprehensive automation and mechanization and mass installation of new equipment a general means for resolving personal and production problems.

The modernization and reconstruction of the technical base is the best way leading to a decisive improvement in working conditions. It frequently happens in our practice that labor safety is considered after new and updated capacities have been set to work, as a result of which only halfway correcting measures can be taken with additional expenditures. Currently society is paying hundreds of millions of leva in compensation to disabled and victims of accidents and work-related illnesses and as compensation for harmful working conditions. This is indeed a very grave problem. A different approach is needed, such as to resolve problems of labor safety and conditions at the planning, updating and reconstruction stages.

Automation and mechanization are related to releasing, redirecting and retraining a considerable number of workers currently employed in traditional sectors, skills and specialties. This is a process which affects the fate of the people and their vital interests and which sometimes is rather painful. It demands of the trade unions great care and responsibility and concern for every individual, for technical progress under socialist conditions cannot be directed against man. It is precisely the opposite: we are striving toward it and working for its extensive utilization precisely for the good of the people.

Intensification opens a new area of action for the trade unions: to deal with the social aspects of scientific and technical progress. We must take our place and assume our responsibilities in this area.

4. Development of the Competition Under the New Circumstances

Under the conditions of intensification and the new economic approach, objective prerequisites are created for the further enrichment, intensification and expansion of the socialist competition.

The first main feature of the competition now is that it is an inseparable part of the comprehensive intensification and scientific and technical progress. Intensive development itself increases the creative nature and enhances the competition criteria. It intellectualizes the competition process. In turn, the competition offers tremendous opportunities for involving millions of working people in intensification. It accelerates its practical implementation and provides the best possible examples of new and progressive developments.

The task is for the lofty objectives formulated at the 12th congress to become the objectives and content of the competition. The problem today is not to compete for any lowering of outlays of energy, material or labor or any way of using production capacities but to formulate and resolve such problems from the viewpoint of global standards, of the best worldwide achievements. The only way to achieve this is through scientific and technical progress and new equipment and technology.

The competition must be directed toward the full utilization of intensive factors in the course of the formulation of engineering projects and counterplans and of individual and collective creative plans.

The second main feature of the competition is that it is developed on the basis of the economic approach, the new economic mechanism.

Today the collective and each one of its members is interested in working better, in reaching and outstripping leading achievements and making use of the best possible experience. The competition is now being given a more realistic economic foundation than ever before. It is only on this foundation, on the basis of the new principles of socialist management, that we can build, develop, organize and guide the competition today.

There is still a lack of understanding that the competition and the economic management mechanisms act like connected vessels, like an organic entity. Without their interpenetration the competition remains groundless or, as the saying goes, it is "great ado about nothing."

The third main feature of the competition is the decisive enhancement of its role in the mass application of leading experience.

The 12th party congress stipulated that together with science and technical progress, leading experience is a strategic task of our development, one of the main directions in intensification. This rests on solid ground. Leading experience is a typical intensifying factor which yields quick and high results with virtually no capital investments.

As we know, leading experience is born in the collectives and it is mainly in the course of the competitions that it turns into mass practice.

We must make a critical self-assessment of our work in this area. We must frankly admit that from the Central Council on down to the plant trade union committee and organization, work on leading experience has largely become prey to traditionalism. Is it not true that the central committees, okrug councils and trade union committees make greater efforts to create and publicize individual leading enterprises and frontranking workers

rather than organizing the mass dissemination of their experience through the competition? Is it not true that valuable accomplishments of individual collectives and people are left without a following for long periods of time?

We are not denying the unquestionably good results. The movement of labor frontrankers is expanding and its contribution to the acceleration of progress is increasing. However, the current state of this work cannot meet the new party requirements. The time has come for work on leading experience to become state and economic policy and for the trade unions to be the direct social organizers of the implementation of this policy.

The fourth main feature of the competition is that it must develop among technologically related units and on the basis of the multiplication approach.

This is an exceptionally promising form of competition. It converts relations among management and technologically related units into relations among collectives. It involves social forces in surmounting management weaknesses and contradictions in the complex chain of production relations. It is a means in the hands of the trade unions of linking production both to science and to the market. This form of competition multiplies the effect of the entire chain of technical progress. Our experience proves that great possibilities of the competition among interrelated collectives and the need to expand it.

The fifth main characteristic of the competition is that it is focused on resolving the collectives' social and educational problems.

Tremendous possibilities exist in this area. In practice, however, the competition has not seriously entered these areas. It is hard to point out how the competition has helped to resolve important problems such as, for example, the production of consumer goods, increased consumer services, improvements in cafeteria catering, the development of auxiliary farms, improvements in plant life and labor conditions and safety, etc. How many new initiatives and what leading experience in the social area and in education are being studied and disseminated with a view to becoming mass practice? Yet such experience does exist. It is both harmful and useless to include one or another indicator in this area in the conditions for engaging in and reporting a comprehensive competition and thus consider that we have met our obligations. We must develop mass competition for the solution of social problems and, above all, competition for the production of the best possible consumer goods and high-grade services.

II. On the Implementation of the New Approach in Party Social Policy

The 12th party congress developed an expanded social program. It stipulated that our entire development must be directly subordinated to the tasks of upgrading the living standard of the people.

The congress's resolutions are organically with the party's economic and social policy. The comprehensive satisfaction of social requirements are made directly dependent on production results.

Comrade T. Zhivkov emphasized at the October national conference that the core of the problem of upgrading the living standard is for material, spiritual and social requirements to be met comprehensively, on the level of the working people's purchasing power.

These party stipulations determine the features of the party's social policy and shape the new approach to its implementation.

According to this approach, the real possibilities of the economy must be taken into consideration in the forming and utilization of social consumption funds. This requires a proper coordination between the growth rate of social consumption funds and the growth of the national income and of social labor productivity. This will intensify the effect of the principle of material incentive through wages. The use of social gains which are not in the nature of social assistance must be based above all on labor activeness and individual contribution to the implementation of the counterplans. The new approach encourages social activeness and introduces greater equity in the distribution of goods. It calls for decisive improvements in the economic and social effectiveness in the utilization of social consumption funds.

The trade unions are in charge of implementing a large percentage of the party's social policy, for which purpose they have at their disposal about one half of the social consumption funds. We are also participating in the formation and distribution of social funds in enterprises, establishments and organizations. This determines our great responsibility for the reorganization of our work in accordance with the new approach.

A characteristic feature of the new approach is that the solution of basic social problems is concentrated mainly within the labor collective and is accomplished with its own forces. This is of tremendous practical and ideological significance, for it is thus that social activities are organized on the broadest possible social base. The collectives have unsuspected great opportunities and reserves in terms of skilled people, technology, raw materials and funds. Never before have the trade unions had such broad scope for initiative and direct organizational work among collectives for the solution of vitally important problems such as the production of consumer goods, expansion of services, improving commercial services, cafeteria catering, food self-sufficiency, etc.

The collectives have particularly great possibilities of engaging in the additional production of consumer goods and services. Today the party has placed this major national task in the center of attention of our entire public and, after the Ruse conference, has engaged in comprehensive work in this area. Every enterprise, regardless of its basic activity, must produce goods and services whose worth is at least equivalent to the size of its wage fund.

The new approach in social policy has convincingly proved its advantages. Last year, more than 500 million leva's worth of goods were delivered to the trade system by consumer goods shops and auxiliary production facilities. Within a short time, the number of enterprise stores nearly doubled and is already exceeding 2,000. More than 1,500 service enterprises and a widespread network of reception centers have been created. Cafeteria food has improved. A total of 4,250 auxiliary farms were organized, which are now providing 60 percent of the meat consumed in the cafeterias. The real possibility exists that in the next 1 or 2 years, the self-sufficiency of the cafeterias and of plant stores for basic food products will be met entirely. Last year, the assets of the Social and Cultural Measures Fund reached about 600 million leva, as against 208 million leva in 1975, i.e., they almost tripled.

In December a national conference sponsored by the BPS Central Council and the Ministry of Internal Trade and Public Services was held in Lovech. A review of accomplishments was made and directions for future joint work among state, economic and social organs

and organizations were earmarked. It was pointed out that wherever collectives and managements had seriously and efficiently participated in this project, good results had been achieved. The trade unions must promote the view that the better the economic results, the higher will be the income, the more social funds will increase and the more funds will be allocated for social requirements. The logic in this case is clear. However, we must radically change the current practice of seeking funds for social requirements without taking fully into consideration the economic effectiveness of the production process.

The role and significance of plans for the social development of labor collectives become more important under the new conditions. Unfortunately, however, in many cases, they continue to be formulated on a self-seeking basis, unrelated to economic results and without the extensive participation of the collective and the study of its actual needs and requirements. Very frequently the local leading organs arbitrarily use the social and cultural measures fund for all kinds of purposes without asking the collectives.

Other vitally important areas in which our work is unsatisfactory exist, such as the construction of housing by the collectives, workers' health care, expansion of recreation facilities and social services at the enterprises.

We must clearly state that unlike the production area, where conditions for the development of the activeness of the collectives are created on a normative basis, in the social area major obstructions remain limiting their initiative. This situation must be changed rapidly so that the building of housing and of resting, health care and sports facilities, cultural clubs and children's homes with the forces of the departments themselves may be developed extensively.

We are seriously concerned by the scale of overtime and the passive attitude adopted by the trade unions in the observation of labor legislation.

It has become clear that the new approach in social policy extensively broadens our activities in this area, faces the trade unions with far stricter requirements and demands a major re-evaluation.

Several conclusions may be drawn.

Let us emphasize above all that many unused opportunities exist for every labor collective to implement a broad social program. What was accomplished within a short period of time proves that the direct social assignments we undertook to implement are entirely realistic and can be implemented even more successfully and everywhere.

Let us also remember that concern for production begins with concern for the people. Wherever social problems are properly resolved, there is good production and the collective is united. It is socially and politically active and can resolve difficult and complex problems.

The specific concern for man and for the satisfaction of his needs within the collective has direct ideological and educational impact. It enhances the person's feeling of being the owner of the socialist property and turns the enterprise into the worker's second home.

The prestige and influence of the trade union organs and organizations will greatly depend on their efforts to satisfy the material and spiritual needs of the working people.

III. On the Development of the Counterplan and the Organization of Its Implementation

The results achieved so far in the implementation of the 1981 trade union plan and pledges indicates that the Eighth Five-Year Plan is off to a good start. The plan is being overfulfilled for all basic indicators. In the first 11 months of last year, the profit plan was overfulfilled by 8.7 percent or the equivalent of 655 million leva. Social labor productivity outstripped the planned figure by 6.2 percent. Considerable quantities of important industrial and agricultural commodities and consumer goods were produced above the plan. Material outlays were reduced by 1.5 percent compared with the state plan.

These successes confirm the realism and accuracy of the party's policy. They are the result of the work developed within the labor collectives for the implementation of the decisions of the 12th party congress. However, we also have difficulties and major shortcomings. The problem of the shortage of fuels and of some raw materials is becoming particularly grave.

All this was discussed profoundly and quite responsibly at the party's central committee plenum and debated by the National Assembly, as a result of which the plan for socioeconomic development in 1982 and the Eighth Five-Year Plan were adopted. They ensure the further enhancement of the living standard regardless of worsened conditions. Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out at the October national conference that our economy has real opportunities for meeting the indicators stipulated by the 12th congress. To this effect, through the counterplans we must achieve an average annual increase over and above the state plan as follows: 2-3 percent in the national income or net output; 3-4 percent increase in social labor productivity; a reduction in fuel, energy, raw material and material outlays by 2-3 percent; a profit increase of 1 billion leva; and additional production of consumer goods worth no less than 500 million leva.

This is the essence of the 5-year plan facing the government, the Bulgarian Trade Unions, the economic organizations and all labor collectives throughout the country. To this effect we must organize, promote and develop a nationwide socialist competition during the Eighth Five-Year Plan. Never before have we faced such a major and important task whose implementation must become our main objective, main ambition and main imperative.

The formulation of the counterplans for this year is already drawing to an end. Preliminary data indicate that thanks to the established organization and the new incentives, the main economic organizations and enterprises, okrugs and obshtinas are backing their counterplans with computations on the above-plan increase in the national income, social labor productivity and profits, reduction of fuel, raw material and material outlays and additional production of consumer goods. This is mainly the result of the far greater participation of workers and specialists in finding reserves, for which a certain credit can be taken by the trade union organs and organizations.

Naturally, this does not complete the work on counterplanning, for it is precisely this year that we must steadily expand and develop the counterplan, i.e., ensure the continuity of this process.

Labor collectives and economic and trade union managements are faced with the task of drafting their counterplans for the balance of the 5-year plan during the first 6 months of this year. What are the items to which we should pay particular attention?

First. We must ensure the far more active involvement of scientific research and engineering-application organizations in the formulation of engineering projects and counterplans. The current interaction between production and science is not consistent with intensification tasks. We must develop the practical and efficient coordination between scientific potential and workers initiative and economic management enterprise. The scientific research and engineering-application units must submit to the enterprises specific developments, suggestions and new solutions in the course of the formulation of the 5-year counterplans. They must be properly accepted and assessed by the enterprises so that obligations can be assumed and conditions for their fast implementation may be created.

Practical experience confirms that most of the expedient suggestions made by the workers remain unrealized as a result of the lack of technical solutions and economic substantiations. Under social control and with the help of the trade unions, any expedient suggestion formulated by the workers must be given an engineering solution and support.

The level of development reached by youth scientific and technical creativity must be strongly supported by the trade unions. The best possible conditions must be created for relating it to the work of scientific and application units and for developing it into a creative movement of all working people.

Second. The stipulation of the 12th congress according to which the counterplan must become the truly creative accomplishment of the labor collectives with the trade unions acting as the motive force in this process must be implemented even more fully. Bearing in mind these tremendous assignments and the new circumstances, there is no longer any place for the manifestation, although to a considerably lesser degree, of the practice according to which counterplans are drafted by a small circle of specialists with the formal participation of the workers. The new planning technology has already been in use for 4 years but we can still not say that the plan has become the creation of the collectives everywhere. This is due to a number of various reasons such as the instability of governmental assignments, the taking over of discovered reserves, unsteady and unreliable incentives, lack of coordination among indicators, insufficient availability of resources, etc.

Let us point out that we too are to be blamed, for we were unable to find the best approach for involving the people in counterplanning. We have not rejected the concept that the counterplan is no more than a moral obligation, a manifestation of goodwill; we have not discarded the inertia of appeals and formal pledges.

We are pointing out all of this to demonstrate that we are faced with a major and complex effort to surmount the adverse public opinion which has developed and the reservations shown by managements, specialists and working people concerning counterplanning.

The mechanism is now offering safe guarantees against the one-sided, arbitrary and groundless change of control figures and mandatory state assignments and the confiscation of reserves and enterprise income. The leading trade union organs must ensure effective public control over the observance of the accepted planning technology and the principles of the mechanism and struggle uncompromisingly against any attempt to

violate them. The trade unions must call for the strictest possible punishments of officials guilty of such violations. At the same time, we must draw proper conclusions regarding trade union officials who ignore and tolerate such violations.

We must develop effective interaction with the economic organs and assume equal responsibility with them in the development of the type of organization of the work in which every single worker and specialist can submit suggestions on the formulation of engineering projects and counterplans.

Third. In the course of counterplanning, we must direct the attention of the collectives to the particularly important and decisive problems facing our economy.

The most important problem today is that of fuel conservation. We must develop a radically new awareness and attitude toward the most thrifty utilization of each drop of fuel. The trade unions must become the organizers of a nationwide movement and develop a specific competition among collectives for maximum economy of fuel and energy and for the use of waste-free technology.

Decisive measures must be taken to ensure the full utilization of productive capital by converting to two- and three-shift work and 6- and 7-day use of equipment, maximum utilization of the effective working time and reaching planned capacity of new projects on time.

The production of consumer goods and services is a prime economic, social and political task. The trade unions must make a greater contribution to the conversion of this task into a national ambition. This offers infinite opportunities for specialists and workers to display their creativity and initiative.

Comrades:

We can see the tremendous tasks facing the Bulgarian Trade Unions in the struggle for the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th congress. Today all party, state, economic and social organs and organizations are engaged in practical work in the spirit of the stipulations formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the October national conference. This entire theoretical, practical, organizational and educational work is focused on the labor collectives, which are becoming the center of major changes and an important factor in the implementation of the congress's resolutions. However, the implementation of the tasks of managing, controlling and guiding in accordance with the principles of the new economic approach and mechanism, the development of democracy, ensuring production intensification, decisively changing the organization of the work through the brigades of a new type, and the close linking between social development and effectiveness call for profound changes and improvements in all trade union activities and in the style, methods and forms of our work. Our major main responsibility today is, under the party's guidance, and together with state and economic organs to raise the collective to the level of the new status in which it is effectively placed by the decisions of the 12th party congress.

When we ask ourselves a question of whether our work is effective, we must look for the answer in the changes which have been made and in the specific results of our work in the collectives. When we consider the qualities of a trade union official, we must assess them on the basis of his understanding of the policy, means and mechanisms formulated by the party and his ability to handle the new problems, work with the people,

teach them, convince them, lead them, and energize them. Such is now the criterion for cadre evaluation. This means to be a competent and efficient organizer and serve the vital interests of the working person.

On the basis of these criteria, we must take a different look at the selection and training of trade union cadres. The present means for training cannot supply us with cadres able to resolve the new problems.

To do our work well today means to make every working person aware of the party's policy, to encourage and develop his initiative, and to make him a politically convinced and active worker for this policy.

The proper circumstances for this have been created. They are the result of the tremendous political and organizational work done by the party and its central committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the party's general secretary. Our accountability and election campaign proved that the working people correctly understand the congress's resolutions and are expressing their emphatic willingness to ensure their practical implementation.

Three months separate us from the Ninth Trade Union Congress. This must be a period of change in the people's way of thinking and acting, a time of labor upsurge and efforts, of achievements and specific results. This will be the strongest manifestation of the universal approval and full support with which the working class, the farm workers, the socialist intelligentsia and the entire 4 million-strong trade union organization in our country welcomed the decisions of the congress.

The implementation of the tasks which we formulate at this plenum must give the shape of the overall preparations for the forthcoming trade union congress. This will also be the best answer to the party's slogan "action, action and only action."

Speakers on the report included Comrades Angel Luchkov, trade union committee chairman at the Kremikovtsi Economic Metallurgical Combine and Hero of Socialist Labor, Valentin Gurvanov, chairman of the Blagoevgrad Okrug BPS Council, Mariya Garibaldi, trade union committee chairman at the Khidravlika combine in Kazanluk, Petur Tsekov, chairman of the Trade Union of Trade and Services Workers Central Committee, and Hero of Socialist Labor Ivan Ivanov, brigade leader at the Balkan Machine-Building Combine in Lovech.

Following the debates, the plenum passed the following resolution on Item 1 of the agenda:

The BPS Central Council plenum accepts the report submitted by Comrade Petur Dyulgerov as a basis for the entire practical work of the Bulgarian Trade Unions on the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th BCP Congress and the preparations for the Ninth Congress of Bulgarian Trade Unions.

A separately published resolution was passed on the motion of the Central Council Bureau on the date for holding the Ninth BPS Congress.

The participants in the plenum approved the draft budget and table of organization of the Bulgarian Trade Unions for 1982.

In the afternoon, a plenum was held of the Central Auditing Commission of the Bulgarian Trade Unions. Geroy Budinov, deputy chairman of the Central Auditing Commission, spoke on the current activities and role of the Central Auditing Commission in the preparations for the Ninth BPS Congress, which was discussed at the plenum.

Date Set for the Ninth Congress of Bulgarian Trade Unions

Resolution of the 17th BPS Central Council Plenum

I. The Ninth Congress of Bulgarian Trade Unions will convene on 8 April 1982 with the following agenda:

1. Report of the BPS Central Council on the period between the eighth and ninth congresses and the forthcoming tasks of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

Reporter: Comrade Petur Dyulgerov.

2. Report of the BPS Central Auditing Commission.

Reporter: Comrade Penka Dodunekova, Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Auditing Commission chairman.

3. Elections of the Central Council and Central Auditing Commission of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

II. The representation norm and method of election of congress delegates shall be as follows:

1. One delegate per 1,410 trade union members.

2. One half of the delegates will be elected at congresses of sectorial trade unions; the other half will be elected at accountability and election conferences of okrug trade union organizations by secret vote.

5003
CSO: 2200/50

STATE, CHURCH APPROACHES TO LUTHER LEGACY CONTRASTED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 17-18 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by "R.M." datelined Wittenberg, January: "The GDR as the Trustee of Martin Luther's Legacy--From 'Princes' Servant' to 'Pioneer of the Revolution.'" Translation of an East Berlin EINHEIT article and a West German commentary on this subject are published under the heading: "Luther's Legacy Accepted for 'Socialist German National Culture,'" in JPRS 79591, 4 Dec 81, No 1948 of this series, pp 16-39]

[Excerpt] Anniversary Year 1983

Rather intensive renovation work is done in Wittenberg, and several venerable buildings there need this very much. At the great round tower of the Palace Church, e.g., a frieze consisting of hundreds of thousands of mosaic stones is being repaired so that soon Luther's hymn "A mighty fortress is our God, goor armor and good weapon" will again appear in its old splendor. The tourist guide does not fail to point out that the government pays for the renovation work. It is part of the preparations for the 500th anniversary of Luther's birthday in 1983 which is to be celebrated in the GDR with much pomp and for which considerably more than 100,000 visitors from abroad are expected. In addition to Wittenberg, festivities are also planned for that year at other sites of Luther's life, especially in Eisleben where he was born, at the Wartburg, in Erfurt, Weimar and Leipzig.

The GDR does not want to stand at the sidelines during the Luther year--on the contrary, it has already taken a very active and prominent part in the preparation phase. Nothing could have made this more obvious than the official establishment, already in June 1980, of a national Martin Luther Committee. This high-level committee is headed by none less than GDR State Council Chairman and SED Chief Erich Honecker and with him several leading members of the GDR cultural and scientific establishment. This broad government commitment to the anniversary of 1983 reflects a considerable change in the official Luther image of the GDR.

Changed Appraisal

For a long time, the church reformer was not valued too highly among GDR ideologists. Because of his negative attitude toward the rebels during the German Peasants' War Luther was described, especially in school books, as the "servant of princes." This negative and derogatory characterization outweighed by far certain positive

aspects of Luther's life such as the cultural importance of his Bible translation or his fight against feudal papacy. As the real hero of the reformation era was described Luther's contemporary and sometime rival Thomas Muentzer, who as a Protestant theologian had unequivocally taken the side of the peasant revolutionaries and had therefore been beheaded after cruel torture.

In 1967, during the 450th anniversary of the publication of the 95 Theses in Wittenberg, the official Luther image of the GDR changed slightly for the better, but his "betrayal of the revolutionary struggle of the peasants" remained as before a decisive characterization of his personality. No such harsh judgements were heard, however, in the official speeches on the occasion of the establishment of the national Luther Committee a year and a half ago. Instead, SED Chief Honecker praised the reformer as "one of the greatest sons of Germany" and "one of the most important humanists whose efforts were directed toward a more just world." "We may say," Honecker continued, "that our fatherland, the German Democratic Republic, has absorbed this precious heritage." In regard to Luther's position during the Peasants' War, the SED chairman now passed the exceedingly mild judgement that the reformer's tragedy consisted in the fact that "he failed to recognize the difference between his role as initiator of a large revolutionary movement and the social inevitability of this movement." The GDR historian Horst Barthel had on the same occasion no difficulties in describing the church reformer as a forerunner of socialism. "To Martin Luther belongs a prominent place in the progressive traditions of Germany history which, accepted by the working class and the entire population, were continued under new conditions and culminated in the victory of Socialism in the GDR."

Caution Among Church Representatives

In view of the strenuous efforts by the GDR leadership to adopt Luther and his spiritual heritage for official state ideology and identity, Protestant church representatives were polite but clearly kept their distance during the meeting establishing the national Luther Committee in which they have only a consulting function. In his speech, which followed immediately that of Honecker, Protestant Bishop Werner Leich, chairman of a church Luther Committee and speaking for the bishops of the GDR district churches, clearly opposed the new one-sided marxist-revolutionary characterization of the reformer. He emphasized that Luther would simply not exist without the church whose loyal son he always considered himself. It is important to recall, especially in view of the anniversary year 1983, that the reformer "wanted to confess nobody but the Lord Jesus Christ alone." Therefore, the Protestant bishop stated before the prominent government functionaries assembled, there can be no doubt that the church Luther Committee will "follow its own road," different from that of the national committee, which on the other hand would not exclude mutual respect "for each other's approach" as well as a certain factual cooperation.

The Protestant churches in the GDR especially in most recent times have continued with impressive determination along this difficult course between their readiness for limited cooperation with Communist state authorities on the one hand and their committee to different interests on the other.

The open advocacy by several Protestant synods of the official establishment of a "civilian peace service" as an alternative to compulsory military service in the GDR seems to have found widespread sympathy especially among the youth of the country. The East Berlin government, however, has sharply rejected this request by pointing out especially that the military strength of Socialism automatically constitutes active service to peace, and also that there exists in the GDR the possibility of a substitute military service without weapons in the ranks of the military construction units.

So far the GDR leadership has avoided a direct confrontation with the churches over this question--perhaps also in order to forestall negative reactions to its heterogeneous "peace movement" in the West which for obvious reasons is widely applauded and strongly supported in the Eastern Bloc. The fact that the East Berlin leaders have so far dealt rather mildly with the churches in spite of their surprisingly open criticism of the Socialist kind of militarism could also have a certain relation to the impending important Luther anniversary. A ruthless disagreement with the church successors of the reformer would have to cast serious doubts on the success of the expensive celebration of the 500th birthday of Wittenberg's Theses publisher from which the SED obviously hopes to gain important prestige advantages.

8889
CSO: 2300/103

VIOLATION OF GOVERNMENT-SOLIDARITY AGREEMENTS DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 5

[Article by Stanislaw Reperowics: "Who Broke the Understandings: In Defense of Poland's Chance"]

[Text] More than 15 months ago and after several 100 days of heated negotiations in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie, agreements were signed between government commissions and strike committees. The protocols contained a broad program of social and economic changes in which the authorities committed themselves to implement by a definite date. In order to elevate the importance of these documents, the Central Committee of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] accepted for confirmation, a day earlier than scheduled, the reports of government commissions from the talks that had been conducted. The world press assessed this event as the party's agreement with the reforms proposed by the workers.

But the other side, i.e., the new union movement, had taken upon itself definite responsibilities to the government. These concerned, first of all, the most important principles of our reality: respect for the Constitution of the PRL [Polish People's Republic], recognizing the leading role of the PZPR Polish United Workers Party in the State, and refrainment from impairing the existing system of international alliances. Furthermore, the agreement stated that new unions stood on the principle of social ownership of the means of production, as the basis for the existing socialist form of government in Poland, and did not intend to fulfill a political role in the party.

The signing of these agreements was accompanied by a great deal of enthusiasm and a belief in the possibility of improving the living conditions for most people in society. Red and white flags fluttered in the breeze, the national anthem was sung, union leaders rubbed elbows with government members and stressed that they were talking "as one Pole to another." Many journalists wrote at the time that we were witnesses of an event which history would record in golden letters in the annals of the Polish nation. They emphasized that we ought to take pride in the creation of our new models for resolving social conflicts, models that not only future generations of Poles should learn from but other peoples of the world as well.

Today, after almost 500 days, little remains of that atmosphere. We are comparatively worse off than we were before August 1980. And this is not only because it is more and more difficult to buy basic food items or other necessary commodities. Interpersonal relationships have been tragically eroded. Escalation of provocation of an anti-socialist nature has divided the inhabitants of our country into many antagonistic groups. Today, differences and divisions are fragmenting not only the workforce at plants but their families as well. Tired people waiting in lines regard the future with fear and ask themselves the question: When will there be a period of peace and when will we be able to live normally again?

The question arises: Why have the beautiful prospects of last August gone to hell so quickly? There is no doubt, even now a year and a half later, that our country has been immersed in a crisis. It could have been possible to stop this process, provided the signed agreements had been respected. What was needed would have been great joint efforts, productive work in an atmosphere of calm. And what happened?

With the greatest earnestness, the authorities began to incorporate into life the signed agreements. The Council of State came out with a resolution making it possible for new trade unions to register. A lot of personnel changes were made in party and state management organs in voivodships, towns and gminas. It dealt with utmost severity with those people who had misused their trust or position. The Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK) and other organs of prosecution started thousands of investigations and inquiries into the matter of private use of common property. This painful operation of self-purgation attested to the sincerity of the intentions of the party and the authorities.

At the same time a series of legal instruments were issued which broadened the principles of democracy and strengthened law and order. These legal instruments were directed at economic reform and prepartions for new laws to regulate many principal areas of public life, for example: education, health service, pensions and retirement benefits, censorship, trade union activity, the penitentiary system, and a complex of questions dealing with agriculture and the like. The authorities were also compelled to work out supply problems and initiate a system for the sale of rationed basic necessities.

Tasks of this magnitude could not be put in order by means of decrees worked out in the course of a single night. One may argue whether these tasks had not become too big to handle for the people who were supposed to resolve them. One may doubt whether these people had acted with enough speed and determination; and whether they had managed to work and think with any great precision in a highly emotional atmosphere filled with accusations and chaos. To be sure, not everyone was able to cope with his responsibilities, which is attested by the basic personnel changes in various state and party positions, including positions at the very top.

Being aware of the vast complexity of the tasks confronting the country, the party, having signed the agreement, turned to the whole society for help to pull the country out of the crisis. The workforce of numerous plants took up the plea and proceeded to make up for production delays. Parallel with this,

there appeared abroad various opposition activist publications from Poland that stated unequivocally that the agreements should be treated merely as a trampoline for launching further demands aimed at basically changing the political structure in Poland.

The authors of these papers travelled about the country calling mass public meetings during which they attacked authority and the party; then sharing their "experience," they helped to organize a series of strikes.

There were different reasons for these strikes. Sometimes, they were actually the results of errors made by local authorities. There were also cases where there was a strike over an issue that had already been settled.

New agreements are emerging under pressure. There are hundreds of them. No wonder that even some of the leaders of "Solidarity" would say later that it was necessary to reap all of these agreements and bring them into concrete existence. But this turned out be just words.

The strikes have had their impact on [our] sick economy which has been operating less and less efficiently; industrial production has been decreasing, the quality of the work of trade and services has been diminishing. The party has proposed maximum union cooperation, having as its goal the improvement of management efficiency. The offer has not been accepted. Every government proposal is criticized and discarded anyway. Every initiative that is aimed at getting out of the crisis is blocked. The union, which is committed to "defending the social and material interests of its employees," does not want to cooperate in the creation of the material bases for accomplishing this. The interests of the working man have been subordinated to the political ambitions of the union leaders. In an atmosphere of total criticism, social order has been disturbed. First, this has occurred in plants where industrial branch directors or leaders, who are in an awkward position, are victimized. With time disturbances spread to the streets. The militia which has to maintain law and order is attacked. The security service and state and party apparatus are attacked. Attacks on soldiers have been noted.

Gen W. Jaruzelsk is the head of government. His nomination has been very warmly received by society. The new premier has spoken in the Sejm on the will of the government to continue the policy of social understanding and he has stressed that the realization of the agreements of August, 1980 is possible only under conditions of calm and honest labor. He has returned with his appeal for 90 days without strikes and disturbances which is indispensable to work out a program to alleviate the crisis. Unfortunately, neither request has been met. Instead, there has been a marked increase in anti-socialist aggressiveness on the part of the leaders in some branches of "Solidarity." New hot spots have been created. At times factories stand idle without any reason in entire voivodships. One reaches for a strike as though he were reaching for a box of matches.

The 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR has proclaimed the continuation of the policy of renewal and calls for the creation of a National Conciliation Front (FPN). Gen W. Jaruzelski remains the first secretary of the PZPR meets with the Primate or the chairman of "Solidarity." For the first time in 500 days, Poland has begun to have hope for a way out of the crisis. A hope it almost lost several hours after the publication of the announcement of the talks as a result of a new sharp turn in the course taken by the leaders of "Solidarity."

Recently "TRUBUNA LUDU" published a comprehensive document prepared by the PAP containing a list of strikes and other disturbances which disrupted social order for over a month. This list came out with the meeting with the three sides, i.e., the Church, the Union and the government. It makes shocking reading. It is a pity that other means of mass media did not publish it too. Perhaps, information contained in it would have had a sobering effect on a lot of people.

The state of emergency, which is a departure from normal peace time conditions, has lasted for over a year in Poland. It is a state in which millions of people feel threatened; moreover, this threat is growing and encompasses broader and broader areas of society. One could put it this way: it was not the government, however, but the leaders of "Solidarity" who introduced this state of emergency in Poland with their resolutions, pronouncements and practical activity.

Numerous elements of psychological warfare have been introduced. First of all, by means of leaflets, tabloids, brochures, and slogans written on walls and sidewalks and the like. This is a war with socialism and the party, with everyone who is against the realization of a scenario that foresees the overthrow of the people's authority in Poland. Statements expressing the need for "Solidarity" to organize their own fighting squads have been intensifying, and so have been the attempts to dislodge the PZPR from plants. Industrial branch leaders have been carted out in wheelbarrows. Finally, people have been physically threatened for trying to write slogans of dubious content on walls.

Agression escalated. There were attempts made at inciting those areas where calm still prevailed. For example, several days ago, "Solidarity" emissaries from the Gdansk Shipyards paid a visit to the Silesian plants. At organized public mass meetings they called for the torpedoing of National Conciliation, for a more determined struggle with the party and government, and for taking over authority in plants and the like.

It is worth taking a closer look at the people who are sowing the seeds of discontent and who are supposedly acting in the behalf of the interests of the working class. How many of them actually have right to speak for them. Where have they worked up till now and for how long? Why do they speak so lightly of the sacrifices that will have to be endured in these fratricidal battles? Where is the boundary between psychopathological aberration, the loss of reason and crime. Who is the author of this scenario they have propagated that assumes Pole will not cooperate with Pole but he will fight with him.

Everyone must have his own answer to these and other questions. Likewise, these questions cannot be avoided by the government of the Polish People's Republic which has the duty to look after the national life of Poles and cannot allow this life to be threatened both by internal and external factors.

The party's main line of action during these 500 days was and will continue to remain the strategy of National Conciliation. This continues to be our main chance, Poland's main chance.

9866
CSO: 2600/159

NZS POLITICAL AMBITIONS ATTACKED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Zenon Skuza]

[Text] At the beginning of the academic year 1980-1982 there began to come into existence, first in Gdansk, Warsaw, Krakow, Lodz, Poznan and then in other academic centers, the first academic organizations of the Independent Association of Students (NZS).

The creation of the NZS was brought about by several causes: the events of August and the creation of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity (NSZZ); the erroneous decision of the authorities to merge the three organizations functioning in the academic environment--ZMS [Union of Socialist Youth], ZMW [Rural Youth Union] and ZSP [Polish Student Association]--into a single environmental ideological-political and trade union organization--SZSP; the weakness of the newly formed organization, consisting of the lack of an attractive program both in the ideological and political area and in trade unionism.

The social tensions that arose after June 1976 were conducive to the activation of the rightist forces in the sphere of influence of the KOR [Committee for the Defense of the Workers] and ROPCIO [the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights]. The activation of these forces and the increase of their actual importance had caused in many academic communities (for example, in Krakow) dissenting tendencies and even attempts at forming the new student organization (Academic Renewal Movement [ARO]).

Events After August

The situation in the higher educational institutions is undergoing a radical change. The SZSP conducts a persistent struggle for reform of the education system, a change in the course of studies and autonomy of schools. And even though the ministry takes a sympathetic attitude toward demands and applications submitted by the organization, the academic community must wait too long. Meanwhile the students increase their activity. They desire to make their mark in the processes of the struggle for a renewal of life in Poland. Thus, various ideas, conceptions and programs grow up like mushrooms in the academic community.

The enlivenment of the academic community is being sedulously exploited by the former leaders of SKS [Students' Solidarity Committee], KOR and the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] by securing and consolidating their influence in some

academic communities (Warsaw, Krakow, Lodz, Poznan and Gdansk). In many cases their groundwork is facilitated by the junior scientific workers who espouse the ideology of KOR or sympathize with the program of KSS "KOR" [Committee of Social Self-Defense "KOR"]. This part of academic youth who espouse the KOR ideology greatly approves the ultraradical programs of action of the extremists in the leadership of the NSZZ Solidarity, as well as the forms of pressure on the authorities and often of fights against authorities, used or favored by them.

Under these circumstances a highly favorable climate is being created for the creation and development of the NZS. The new students' organization, just as the NSZZ Solidarity, thought of as independent and self-governing, seems to be trustworthy. Its program of action and its aims seem to bear all the traits and stamp of being developed by the students themselves. Nevertheless, despite this favorable climate and beginning the NZS did not become a mass organization. The enrollment proceeds slowly and with resistance.

The NZS leadership makes great efforts to consolidate its influence in the academic community. It initiates many spectacular actions aimed at gaining new members and gaining confidence of the students. It duplicates experience verified in practice by the NSZZ Solidarity.

The first such action is the December strike of the Warsaw University and Adam Mickiewicz University (UAM) Poznan students, organized under the watchword of a fight for the registration of the union.

Did this strike, in the light of facts, have any rational justification? It did not by any means. The ministry consented to a registration of the union. It did not receive, however, the awaited official application and a draft of the organization's statute. On the other hand, the National Founding Committee was conducting a parallel action for registration of the union at the Voivodship Court in Warsaw as a professional union of students. The action of the committee was not stopped even when the framework of a new executive order of the minister determining the grounds for the union's registration was agreed.

Why then was a strike carried out? What was negotiated? They negotiated what was already being implemented; they gained what even without negotiation would have become fact. The strike was declared only for the purpose of convincing the students that as its result the ministerial order was issued thanks to the NZS, and in the case of the Lodz strike, that it was under its pressure that the union's registration was carried out.

In the course of December negotiations the NZS assumed the obligation to submit a list of demands to the ministry. And yet it was not submitted. Why was it not?

Was this dodge to serve as a pretext for the next strikes? The pretext for them was already there. One could assert that the ministry keeps silent and does not implement the union's demands. This was fully confirmed by the subsequent events, even though the next strike (in the spring in Lodz) had been organized apparently under different watchwords; namely, of the fight for autonomy and self-government of the school.

After 4 days of talks in Lodz the watchwords of autonomy and "self-government" were replaced by comprehensive political demands; the problems of autonomy and self-government have already been taken up by the ministry.

The emergence of the completely new demands of a comprehensive political character, concerning political prisoners, teaching of sociopolitical subjects, obligatory inclusion of the Russian language in the curriculum, the military training and military service of the students, and the permanent passports for the NZS leaders, was highly symptomatic, It uncovered unmistakably the character and the aims of the strike.

There is no room for doubt as to the genesis of the change in watchwords and demands for which the students' strike in Lodz was organized. The change took place when its course began to be steered behind the scenes by the "advisers" of Solidarity, enlisted chiefly from the KSS "KOR." This change proved that the NZS in a more and more obvious manner began to deviate from the tenor of its ideological declaration and statute proclaiming the association as a nonpolitical community organization.

The presence of advisers outside the academic community throughout the talks and during the strike action also shows unmistakably that an allegedly spontaneous protest action of the students, its chief watchwords and aims, and the line-of-conduct tactics, have been elaborated outside the academic community and then skillfully transmitted to that community. That was yet another attempt at exerting pressure on governmental authorities, an integral element of the strategy of the fight against legal authorities. The line of conduct adopted by the NZS was also intended to make it difficult for authorities (and did it remarkably well) the conduct of negotiations and to generate a wave of Solidarity strikes in other academic communities and also in work places, as well as among the teaching cadre.

Also at variance with the principles of democracy was the method to proclaim the strikes (as a rule the minority did decide on the access of the school to a strike). That is not the first, not an isolated and probably not the last departure of the defenders of democracy from its fundamental principles. But that is a separate question.

Undeniably these spectacular actions strengthened the position of the NZS in the academic community. Thanks to them the NZS has become, in the consciousness of groups of students, especially those less aware, a real representative of the interests of the academic community in Poland. This weakened the position of the SZSP, and contributed to a conviction that the authorities treat youth and its demands seriously only under pressure. These spectacular actions have further aggravated and destabilized the situation in the higher educational institutions. On the other hand they have won support of the regional cells of the Solidarity.

The NZS has decided to resort more and more frequently to a well-tried procedure. It has organized, among others, an action for the sake of persons imprisoned for their political convictions, calling for the creation of a National Committee for the Defense of Persons Persecuted for Their Convictions, and initiated the action for the defense of the KPN and support for the Rural Solidarity.

The progress of events has confirmed the thesis that where the influence of many former leaders of the SKS or KSS "KOR" was the greatest, we were faced with the greatest radicalism of programs and demands of the NZS. There too, the action program of the association decidedly deviated from the substance of activity stipulated in the statute and ideological declaration.

Character of Organization

This character, as well as the aims and program of activity of the NZS, could be, and were, the unknown quantity during the first months of this organization. The first congress held in Krakow 3-6 April 1981 dispelled any illusions as to its character. The content of the adopted resolutions and votes clearly shows that contrary to previous declarations of its nonpolitical character the NZS is a political student organization.

The problems connected with union affairs were given little consideration at the congress. The whole attention was concentrated on political problems. Aggressive words of malicious criticism were uttered against authorities and the PZPR. Voices were heard that NZS can put forward its own political program in opposition to programs of the [Communist] Party and [government-sponsored] political parties. Highly praised was, for example, activity of the Student Committee for the Defense of Persons Persecuted for Their Convictions. The congress has also adopted a resolution obligating all members to implement a nationwide protest action for the sake of imprisoned members of the KPN.

The delegates had also fully approved the actions and conceptions of the activities of a provocative character. Such is the objective meaning, contrary to what is being asserted by the NZS leaders, of the sessions devoted, for example, to the anniversary of Katyn, organized in Warsaw, Lodz and Poznan, and of the exhibition of independent publications, including the photos illustrating the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. Of an obvious provocative character was the involvement of NZS in the defense of the KPN, despite disapproval of the senates of universities, of the Episcopate and even of a part of the leadership of Solidarity.

The NZS is not a unified organization. There are different factions in it. Depending on what faction prevailed in this or other school, in that or other center, this and not other character had both the initiatives and the activity of organizations. This does not mean in any way that all the members of the organization share the attitude of the leadership of the association. On the contrary, more and more often we encounter criticism of the attitude and aspirations of those leaders who would like to see the NZS as a political organization, in opposition to the [Communist] Party and [government-sponsored political parties and who tend to confrontation with authorities. The thesis concerning activities in the NZS National Coordination Committee (KKK), of the so-called radicals, exhorting confrontation with the authorities, was once more confirmed by their calls for a nationwide general strike and for subordination of NZS members to decisions of the regional boards of the NSZZ Solidarity, which consider martial law as "the gravest crime of the authorities against the nation." "We do not recognize martial law," they say, "for society does not wage war against anyone." The action speaks for itself.

More and more often the NZS members are asking themselves whether the formula imposed by the KKK organization truly corresponds to the aspirations of the academic community and whether it is in agreement with the statute of that organization.

The most radical wing of the NZS situated in Warsaw is gambling on a confrontation with authorities. A more moderate faction of Krakow is in favor of the understanding with school authorities, the school committee of PZPR and the SZSP.

Experience proved that the number of the NZS members in favor of understanding and cooperation is increasing steadily. One may therefore assume that the influence of this majority will grow stronger in individual communities and that this line of conduct will prevail over bellicose endeavors of the members of the KKK leadership.

The Window-Dressing Activity

This is characteristic of the NZS and permits the organization an effective gain of the "mastery of souls" in the academic community. Here too reside motivation premises for the exposed thesis that the NZS must systematically battle for its existence in the higher schools.

Those spectacular actions are to fulfill the function, and actually fulfill it, of a magnet that attracts to the organization, as well as that of a factor that "inspires the espousal of such actions.

Problems of the didactic process, of the course of studies, are almost completely alien to the NZS. Also the social problems of the students, scientific and cultural activity, connected inseparably with the student movement, despite watchwords, recede into the background.

The NZS is also almost alien to employment problems of the graduates. This fact is of a special importance. In the era of implementation of self-government of the higher schools, in Poland the problems of the fate of graduates must be one of the important questions in the programs of activities of student organizations.

The international activity of the NZS has also confirmed political aspirations of the organization. It is aimed at the International Union of Students. The association looks for partners for a dialogue among organizations representing both leftist (Trotskyite) and extreme rightist programs with which the Polish youth movement maintained no contacts.

The NZS leaders were especially active at the so-called Paris Conference in June 1981. The NZS delegation, among other things, proposed a new International Student Organization (ISA), aimed against the International Union of Students (MZS). This idea was met with disapproval by all student organizations of importance in the world, even student organizations of the Western states, which do not belong to the International Union of Students.

Is the initiative of holding in Poland a founding congress of the new organization, which was proposed by the Wroclaw leaders, to be treated (can be treated) as an unimportant expression of juvenile swagger? Or is it to be (and should be) treated as a fully conscious choice, the choice of a political platform and partners?

A New Attempt

The NZS did announce the holding of a next congress. Work was in progress on a change of the statute of the organization. Many members of its leadership made efforts to transform it from a community organization into a political one, whose activity would exceed the framework of the school, so that the organization might carry out its disapproval of policy of the party and demand essential changes in the constitution, especially elimination of the entry on the party's leading role and the introduction of a free play of political forces. Not being able to justify oneself by achievements--for there are none--in a strictly union activity, the NZS has embarked on yet another spectacular action against the background of a conflict in the WSI [Higher School of Engineering] and the law on higher schools, desiring to present a brilliant figure in public opinion, as the only force fighting for a new higher school status, a new student status and a new scientific worker status in the Polish People's Republic (PRL).

1015
CSO: 2600/137

POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY HISTORY, ANNIVERSARY NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 pp 3, 4

[Article by Norbert Michta: "On the Anniversary of the Congress--From Division to Unity"]

[Text] The Polish worker's movement, which split into two trends in the beginning of the century, went through a period of more than half a century of controversy, gradual convergence and repeated divergence, in order to unite into one party in December 1948.

The historical process of the Polish worker's movement from division to unification was a reflection of phenomena within the working class of many European countries, processes of breaking into reformist and revolutionary trends. However, it also was powerfully colored by peculiarities of its activities in a territory that for many decades had been under foreign control. This has bolstered the importance of the national issue. The peasant issue also played a particular role due to the socio-professional structure of the population and the scarcity of land for the rural masses, with the domination of large landlord estates.

The Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL) made class and international workers' movement goals the cornerstone of its platform, whereas the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) considered the slogan of struggle for national liberation the first priority without determining and defining in a more precise fashion the political goals or gaining power by the working class. Certainly, describing the views of both parties in a static fashion would not be true. The attempts to reconsider the program and tactical line with an eye to combining the class goals with striving for independence and the goals of international workers' movement with the national interests, came about in the two parties at different moments and with unequal strength.

World War I and its consequences--primarily political, especially the toppling of tsarism and the October Revolution in Russia--made the issue of independence for Poland an international problem and made it the order of the day.

Simultaneously, it posed the problem of a power struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class in Polish lands, as well under the direct influence of social upheaval in Bulgaria, Austria and Hungary and the November 1918 revolution in Germany. The SDKPiL and the PPS-Left, fascinated by the very close, apparently inevitable proletarian revolution--at least, in Europe if not in the entire world--underestimated

the common striving for the creation of the independent sovereign Polish state. The PPS, obsessed with the rebirth of independent existence of Poland, was satisfied with partial achievements for the cause of the working people, while opposing the revolutionary slogan of the Councils of Workers' Delegates taking all power.

Sixty years ago, this divided, quarreling and disturbed workers' movement could not create the conditions and strong foundations for deeply democratic transformations in the emerging Polish state. These circumstances were used by the bourgeoisie to dislodge the workers' movement from the position of offense and win the struggle for power.

The Communist Workers' Party of Poland (KPRP) learned the lessons of the defeat of revolutionary and democratic forces in 1918-1919 and began to modify its program incorporating in it the struggle for democratic freedoms, the parcelling of large estate lands among hired agricultural workers and peasants, the emancipation of national minorities and secularization of education. In August 1923, the KPRP addressed the working people of urban and rural areas as well as the PPS and the Polish Peasants' Party "Liberation" (PSL "Wyzwolenie") with a proposal to establish a united front in the struggle for the worker-peasant government. The second Congress of the Communist Party was decisive in turning away from rigid views and in formulating political goals and working out tactics adequate to the internal and external environment. A principal contribution to the new party line on the nationality and peasant issues was made by A. Warski, M. Koszutska-Wera Kostrzewa, T. Dabal and others.

Unfortunately, in the next years, a retardation of views in the Communist Party of Poland manifested itself; prolonged faction controversy came about, considerably weakening the party. The PPS had its share of internal frictions and divisions as well. In June 1926, a segment of the party functionaries of the PPS constituted themselves as the PPS-Left. Two years later, the PPS-Former Revolutionary Faction with pro-Pilsudski sympathies was formed, with Jaworowski as its head.

In 1934, in the face of a growing threat to peace by increasing fascist forces, the Communist International began to promote the idea of unified workers' front, of a wide union of the working masses; in July 1935, at the seventh congress it called for unity in action of the working class in both national and international scope. The slogan of the united workers' front enjoyed the support of Polish Communists and a segment of the PPS functionaries, especially after the conclusion of the non-aggression treaty between Poland and Germany in 1934. The April constitution promulgated 1 year later and an antidemocratic election procedure that considerably limited the rights of the working people became the prerequisites for bringing the two parties closer together. As an expression of this, an agreement was signed to temporarily cease mutual attacks. Such functionaries of the PPS as N. Barlicki, S. Dubois and I. Hochfeld spoke in favor of the united front with communists at the time. Further efforts at establishing such a front were interrupted by the dissolution of the KPP in 1938.

In the absence of their own party, Polish Communists started forming revolutionary groups and antifascist organizations as early as the first years of [German] occupation, often with radical Peasant Party members and the PPS functionaries adhering to the idea of unified front. A segment of the latter found themselves in opposition to the pro-London [government in exile] WRN [expansion unknown].

The universal will to fight the German occupiers confronted with the wait-and-see policy of the government in exile urgently called for creating a party that would fuse the striving for independence with a progressive sociopolitical program. The Polish Workers' Party (PPR) took up this cause. Carrying the tradition of adhering to class and international goals of the working class, the program of the PPR at the same time ultimately overcame the mistakes of the SDKPiL and KPP on the national and peasant issues; it combined good patriotism and internationalism. Implementing the slogan of building an all-people anti-Hitler front, the PPR has consequently striven to deepen cooperation with socialists, Peasant Party members and democrats: the armed branch of the party, the People's Guard, strove to conduct a common battle against the occupiers shoulder to shoulder with combat units of the PPS and Peasants' Battalion (BCh).

The position of the PPR with regard to the past of the workers' movement was especially instrumental in seeking cooperation with the socialists. On 1 February 1943, TRYBUNA WOLNOSCI wrote: "The PPR proceeds from the tradition and history of the Polish workers' movement and borrows from them what is good and healthy, regardless of what party was responsible for creating it." In 1944, a segment of the functionaries of the Workers' Party of Polish Socialists (RPPS)--E. Osobka-Morawski, R. Baranowski, S. Szwalbe, S. Hudoba, H. Swiatkowski--came out in favor of cooperating with the PPR and took part in creating the National People's Council (KRN). The PPS was constituted after the liberation of Polish lands by the Unification Congress in June 1945; the PPS took a stand favoring cooperation with the PPR and supporting the authority of the people's Poland. The Main Council of the PPS made a statement to the same effect in March 1946; in November of that year an agreement was signed on the united action of the PPR and PPS. Without the united Action, establishing the people's power and carrying out peoples' democratic and socialist transformations would be out of the question.

Building the unity of both parties was neither simple nor easy. Inasmuch as in working class communities the creation of the united front of joint action enjoyed nearly total support, in other communities voices of reluctance and controversy instigated by the enemies of the people's power were heard. The election campaign for the 1947 Constituent Parliament was a new, important step ahead on the way to bringing organizational unity closer. The unity of the PPR and PPS members became a basic prerequisite for national unity in such fundamental matters as the consolidation of the people's state in its new favorable frontiers, overcoming reactionary forces conducting armed struggle against the people's power, carrying out agricultural reform and nationalizing industry and beginning of the reconstruction and construction of the country. The process of unification was slowed and hampered to a degree by rightist and separatist tendencies in the PPS and sectarian traits among the segment of PPR members but primarily by degeneration in some echelons of power strongly manifest after 1950.

After a joint session of the PPR Central Committee and the PPS Central Executive Committee on 10 December 1947 and after the 27th PPS Congress, held in Wroclaw 14-15 December on the 55th anniversary of the party and favoring cooperation with the PPR, the unification of both parties became still closer.

On 3 April, a joint plenary session of the Central Committee of the PPR and the PPS Central Executive Committee adopted a resolution on strengthening comprehensive cooperation, which would be crowned by the Unification Congress. On 14 December, the 28th PPS Congress decided on joining with the PPR, and the following day the Unification Congress chartered the Polish United Workers' Party.

The 30-year period separating us from this historical event has borne out the correctness and far-sightedness of the decision on uniting the two trends in the workers' movement, embodied by the PPR and PPS.

For about a year, divisions in the Polish working class and in its organizations have been growing. Under the slogans of "Democratic Socialism," "Socialism for Everybody" and lately "Self-governing Republic," anticommunists of all descriptions and especially the Trotskyites of the Kuron, Michnik and Modzelewski ilk try to pit the workers united in Solidarity trade union against the worker-members of the PZPR, up to the point of trying to remove party organizations from industrial enterprises.

The split in the worker's movement has always been a misfortune. Today, when the working class is the leading force not only due to its numerical strength but also in general due to its place and role in society, attempts to drive this class against the party and the government would lead to the greatest tragedy, including bloodshed. Those who were breaking the unity of the working class by starting to recreate the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), the Polish Socio-Democratic Party (PPSD), the PPNR (prov. Polish National Workers' Party) and so on in their attempts to turn back the wheel of history, were ready for that. The historians trying to contrast former PPS members with former PPR members and present the unification of the workers' movement in 1948 as "the elimination of PPS," almost as an act of coercion committed against that party--such historians deserve condemnation.

The party that united 33 years ago and has carried on the revolutionary tradition of all the trends of the Polish workers' movement, of its best people, today safeguards the vital interests of the motherland and the people.

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PRESS COVERAGE OF 'GASTARBEITER' ISSUE NOTED

'WALKA MLODYCH'on Causes, Possible Solutions

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish 15 Nov 81 pp 3, 6, 7

[Article by Zenon Kulej: "Turistarbeiters, Or Voyaging to the Land of PEWEX Stores"]

[Text] "Income-earning emigration" is not the most felicitous term with which to define the rush of trips abroad we have observed recently. After all, "emigration" means departure for good. A clear majority of the Poles who leave for western countries think, however, about returning after a while, having amasses some hard currency. Thus, these are simply trips to "make some money." Since it is better, however, not to reveal the actual reason for a trip abroad when applying for both passports and visas, our countrymen officially pass for tourists. In FRG, Austria and Sweden, there has appeared a mass of tourists of a new kind--"Turistarbeiter" is perhaps the term to apply to them, to coin a new one.

In the Tarnow province and in the neighboring provinces one may find villages in which there are none but newly built brick houses with at least a Zastava [car] parked in front. All that [money for the cars and houses] came from America--locals say. Farmers from the area go on a relative's invitation to the United States and stay there for a year or two, maybe even 5. Those who have no relatives abroad can arrange for an invitation in exchange for a specified sum of money, using a departing compatriot as a middleman.

American agencies see such people exclusively as tourists, and so do the Polish ones. The authorities in both countries seem to wink at those globetrotters who begin looking for any kind of job as soon as they disembark in Chicago. They do not know the language and have no labor permits, so they are content with the lowest hourly rates which, anyway, seem sky-high to them. They are ready to toil for $3.50 per hour taking two jobs and sleeping 4-5 hours daily. They work hard, so hard that some undermine their health, but that is of little importance because they will return to be medically treated and pay in zlotys in Poland. Disintegration of the traditional family is seen in Tarnow province more clearly than anywhere else in the Polish rural areas. A trip abroad for several years provides, after all, opportunities to become involved with another person, which a spouse left in Poland will not forgive afterwards.

Yet all these negative features are nothing in view of the prospective affluence that would never be achieved by a farmer from southeastern Poland on his meager acres.

It was difficult to raise this problem in our country, prior to August 1980. People were going abroad and returning, and the network of PEWEX stores and LOCUM housing cooperatives was being expanded with them in mind. Officially, however, the problem did not exist. At best, references were made in the newspapers to the contacts of soccer players and Wojciech Fibak. The subject was embarrassing because a belief in the political character of such trips weighed down on it. This was a view cultivated not only on this side of the Elbe. Whoever wanted to stay in the West for good, claimed to be doing this out of ideological motives. Claims of this kind were more to the liking of western governments than were economic motives because they were more easily readily exploited for propaganda purposes.

This, and no other, reason is guiding West Berlin authorities even now when they refuse to extradite the hijackers of Polish airplanes.

The Truth Must Be Faced

Perhaps in individual cases, those leaving permanently, that is, emigrating, are doing this for political reasons. Yet a preponderant majority, including persons who settle in the FRG under what is termed reunification of families are motivated by economic reasons. Some Poles go to the West in order to live permanently in countries where every store resembles a PEWEX and others want to make some money there to be able to go shopping in PEWEX stores in Poland.

As recently reported during a debate of the Sejm Commission For Foreign Affairs, last year nearly 60,000 Polish citizens remained abroad or extended their stay, taking up jobs or seeking them. This was a reference only to those persons whose stay in the West lasted longer than declared. Actually, the "turistarbeiters" are likely to have been more numerous. It follows from the data of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that 195,000 persons left for the West in the first half of 1980 alone, while 325,000 persons, or 67 percent more, have already left in the corresponding period of 1981. Of course, these figures include regular tourists, as well as trader-tourists who visit e.g., Turkey, to buy gold and sheep-skin coats there, rather than taking jobs. Accurate data on "turistarbeiters" cannot be provided because how are they to be counted? Edmund Osmanczyk claims that the number of young people who will resolve to remain in the West for good this year will exceed 100,000. This constitutes a third of our population growth.

Osmanczyk was the first to grasp the bull by the horns, demanding a passport reform on the Selm forum. An official position on "income-earning" trips abroad was taken by two labor unions: Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity and the Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions [KAZZ]. During its national convention, Solidarity posed a demand for instituting complete freedom of travel and choice of job location and residence, outside of Poland as well. Also, it ensues from various statements that in talks with delegations of foreign unionists Solidarity made attempts to win their approval for Polish citizens taking jobs in their countries. News received from the governmental circles, on the other hand, indicates that, even if the unionists from other countries appear

to be favorably disposed to the suggestions of their Polish partners, the authorities in Western countries do not want to hear anything about some quotas of "gastarbeiters" from Poland. They are already coping with their own unemployment, anyway...

Bad Arguments

In fact, the issue of unemployment is not unequivocal. It exists, that is a fact, but it does not obtain in all occupations. There are approximately 15 million unemployed in the West and, at the same time, 7 million foreigners are working there. Thus, the truth is that a number of the unemployed do not work because they cannot find jobs matching their qualifications and aspirations. Poles, putting aside their aspirations, ask about nothing but wages. In terms of western standards of living, an "undocumented" worker receives very low wages that would not enable a native to support his wife, child, automobile and buy a decent apartment. To a Pole, who multiplies his dollar wage by a black market rate of exchange in effect in Poland, his earnings seem to be sky-high. (Even prior to August 1980, dollar exchange rates were fairly detrimental to our economy, which created opportunities for incoming foreigners to make money readily at our expense. This, however, is a topic for another article.)

In consequence, all the propaganda claims about unemployment in the West, human dignity and capitalist exploitation are wide off the mark. This is not a method by which migrations can be restrained.

There are even less convicing arguments (which I repeatedly found in our press last summer) that run as follows: "POLSERVICE legally exported 600 physicians to other countries. Moreover, we send abroad nurses, electronics engineers and seamen. Could they not better utilize their skills and expertise for the benefit of our economy?" Doctors and nurses also know how to multiply a dollar by 400 zlotys and how much one pays on the black market for an apartment, virtually unobtainable via a housing-cooperative waiting list.

More and more is being written about "income-earning" trips, and it is increasingly difficult to encounter their resolute condemnation. In recent weeks, the strongest terms were used by the SLOWO POWSZECHNE which on October 16 commented:

"Is that what we educated them for, why we gave them scholarships and tightened our belts when this was necessary to ensure them jobs matching their future qualifications, to let them work now for someone else's benefit? Are there really no jobs for them in their homeland? Do we really not need their skills?"

I fully agree with the SLOWO POWSZECHNE, though I must regard the PAX daily's sincerity with some distrust. While shedding tears over the young people driven out for the ill-treatment in the West, the newspaper refers exclusively to a campaign of income-earning trips to the USSR, GDR and CSSR, planned by the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP]. Its lament appears somewhat strange in contrast with the total silence of the SLOWO POWSZECHNE concerning private trips to the West and the attempts of Solidarity and the "autonomists" to legalize gainful employment of Poles in FRG, Austria and Sweden.

While ignoring the reasons for expedience that guided the SLOWO POWSZECHNE columnist, it is impossible not to support his argument, extending it to all kinds of income-earning trips. If, until now, we contrasted exports of raw materials with exports of processed commodities, correctly regarding the former as less remunerative, then exports of manpower should, of course, be regarded as even poorer business for this nation and its state.

We Lose On These Exports

Of course, I am familiar with the claims about impending unemployment. I believe they are rather exaggerated in a country that suffers from acute insufficiency of all kinds of services, including trade, and personnel shortages in extractive industries. In addition, this country is planning to make all Saturdays free from work in the next few years. Work, in my opinion, could be found. The wages and conditions under which it is performed have a discouraging effect. In fact, we are still burdened with the austere concepts of the Gomulka years when it was believed that the customer-per-square-meter-of-floorspace ratios in stores and restaurants were too low anyway.

I also know the claims according to which those departing for abroad will return and bring us some hard currency. This is not the whole truth, however. First, not all of them will come back. Second, transfer of manpower is more profitable to the receiving country than to the exporter. Third, the crisis cannot last forever. Some time soon we have to get to work on eradicating the belief that honest work does not pay in Poland and that any kind of job in a foreign country is more profitable. There is, unfortunately, a lot of truth in this stereotype. Dreaming about "a second Japan," we will not achieve this goal exporting our manpower. Has anyone ever heard about Japanese "gasterbeiters?"

These reasons, therefore, impel us to think about how to do away with exportation of Polish labor. This applies both to the exports to the West and exports to the border-zone factories in GDR and CSRS, practiced throughout the Gierek era yet passed over in embarrassed official silence.

Speaking about eliminating such exports, I am by no means advocating the methods used up to now. Administrative impediments and prohibitions should no longer come into play. Such are the consequences of post-August democratization. It would be equally difficult to disavow the demands for freedom of travel and choice of job location and residence.

On the other hand, it would be wrong for us not to realize that an individual's interests in this respect may conflict with the interests of the community. To conclude, therefore, I am in favor of granting everyone the right to leave, provided that this does not damage the interests of those who stay in Poland. After all, it is no secret that the Western countries particularly need good specialists with technical and medical education, nor would they spurn miners, and would rather not accept specialists of whom we have a surplus as well: economists, lawyers, linguists or experts in Mediterranean archeology. Brain drain is the term that until now operated only within the context of the relationship between the Western countries and the Third World. Today, Poland, too, is threatened by this trend.

The danger of losing a portion of the young population was pointed out in the Sejm by Edmund Osmanczyk. Though he maintained that the main evil is in the impracticable passport regulations, it is not necessary to agree with this view. The weekly ITD carried in its issue No 36 an interesting letter of Andrzej Chmielewski, a young Pole who emigrated to the United States. He draws an unembellished picture of the new emigration. Some emigres "have made it," they have met their goals and their destiny. It does not follow from the letter that those are the people who are willing to return to Poland. Others would return, those who are not doing well. The author of the letter estimates their number to be at 20 to 60 percent. "If, however, they returned, he writes, they would probably wind up in a hospital for the mentally disturbed. No matter where they are, they are already wasted as human beings." Those failures perhaps would not get off the track even if they could return to Poland at any time. This argument alone suffices to support deputy Osmanczyk's motion to change our passport regulations. This, however, cannot be the only stipulated modification.

How to Counteract?

To combat the brain drain, we must reach for many other methods. The most important of these is economic reform which alone can provide the financing for such actions. A reform that will generate opportunities for professional advancement for young and capable persons. It will create opportunities to make money not only for truck-gardeners and commission agents running leased state establishments but also for engineers, doctors and teachers. Not all, but only the ablest and most hard-working.

It is necessary--over a brief period of time--to develop a realistic plan to overcome the housing shortage, since the prospect of acquiring a three-room apartment [in Polish, M-3] at age 40 encourages no one to stay in the country these days.

It is also necessary to implement another proposal of Osmanczyk's--bringing the zloty back to health. Once we have started to set realistic prices, we should do it consistently, as the Hungarians have done, to put an end, in the course of a few years, to the black market dollar rate, set by the PEWEX prices of automobiles, liquor and apartments. Obviously, first larger numbers of those cars and apartments have to be made available. (I will not mention liquor because recent shortages of this article are extraordinary in Poland's 37 years of postwar history.)

There must be an end to the paranoid division between export production and domestic-market production, which has caused profound demoralization in producers and had driven domestic buyers into a justified [inferiority] complex.

Let us reflect about introducing a wage structure resulting in a situation in which even a single earner would be able to ensure support for a whole family. The recently instituted allowances for mothers are the first sign that trends of this kind have finally found some understanding on the part of our politicians and economists.

Of course, we will not accomplish this overnight. If we want to earn as much as the French do, we must achieve their productivity. Many more cars are

manufactured per statistical worker are manufactured by the Renault company than there are at Zeran. In French offices, I have seen women who combined the functions of a secretary, receptionist, cashier and cleaning woman. Would any one in Poland accept so many functions? Yes--if his earnings were similarly multiplied, in my opinion. Are we going to accomplish this under the reform? Let us hope so...

The Polish mines are suffering from manpower shortages. Learning about our declining coal exports, Austrians find it difficult to understand why, if this is the case, so many Poles seek any kind of employment in their country. It is fairly difficult to explain to them the PEWEX and hard currency intricacies, and price and wage paradoxes. And, if we fail to solve these economic inconsistencies that we have accumulated over the years, the dream of emigration will continue to revolve in many an educated young Polish mind. Yet Poland is not rich enough for others, foreigners, to pocket the returns on what we invested into our young generation.

'SZTANDAR MLODYCH' on Motivation, Consequences

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 3 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Krystyna Grzybowska: "More Than One Bar of Soap"]

[Text] They have been leaving for abroad, beginning already in August 1980, or even earlier. This new emigration has gone on as if unnoticed for a long time. Recently, it became the subject of numerous publications and reports. Some of the engender concern because they trivialize this unusually complex problem, turning it into a subject for jeering and contemptuous epithets. Young people who leave this country for a short time or for good are being referred to as petty connivers, "turistarbeiters," and what not. Their life in transit camps is being depicted, but not the reasons for which they foresake what is dearest to them--their families, friends and homeland.

Emigration was invented neither in our day nor in the 1930's during the Great Depression. It is as old as the world itself. People have changed their abodes, country and continent since the dawn of history. In fact, they did so for various reasons, quite frequently economic, and quite frequently political ones. The populations of the United States of America and Australia were formed from European immigrants. Large numbers of Poles left their country after the collapse of successive national uprisings in search of jobs, or during the war.

Up to this point, we are all in agreement. Disagreements will come next: Not all of us can agree to apply the term emigration also to the current wave of departures for the West. Such agreement would demolish the established order of things. In keeping with it, one does not emigrate from a socialist country. One abandons, renounces or deserts a socialist country. All such terms have a disparaging coloring. Even in Gierek's time, all persons leaving for permanent residence in the capitalist countries were regarded as almost traitors. This posed no problem, however, once such people acquired foreign citizenship and showed they had some hard currency to spend. They were welcome then as representatives of generous communities of Polish extraction in foreign countries with

whom business deals were made, joint ventures were launched and for whom conferences, "scientific" symposia and tours were arranged at exorbitant cost.

A roof overhead is what each of us needs as much as we need bread. Millions of Poles have emigrated in search of bread and a roof. They went abroad as migrant labor for only a few years, just to make some money and bring it back to build a house or provide for the family. Many of them ended up staying, and bringing over their families and friends. They added to the tribe of lonesome people, constantly nostalgic for the country, its custom and culture.

Who can claim today, and on what basis, that those leaving now are different people with motives other than those of their predecessors. Economic motives, that is. In is pronouncement in WALKA MLODYCH ("Turistarbeiters, Or Voyaging to the Land of Pewex Stores"), Zenon Kulej would have us believe that they go abroad to enjoy stores that are all like a PEWEX. A rather unrefined joke. For columnist Kulej perhaps, a PEWEX store is luxurious, but in a European country, Hungary, for one, a store of this kind is a regular establishment with a good product mix. The truth, however, is that those young people have had it drummed into their heads for a decade that they would be living in luxury, having professional careers and well-equipped homes and that, in general, people would have a more affluent existence. Yet they were given not even a roof overhead. I will not mention other shortages, insulting to human dignity.

A young person or a young family with young children must have some prospect ahead in order to live normally and work and rest in peace. That prospect, however, cannot be projected over decades, for then it changes into hopelessness. The hopelessness of an elderly person can be imagined, but not of a young one! If the frontiers were sealed, perhaps only an insignificant number of desperadoes would try to escape. However, since leaving and taking advantage of the opportunities for rapid stabilization and decent living are permitted, there are many who resolve to do so.

Most of them do not want to leave for good. They are Polish, their home is here. They say, therefore, that they are leaving for a short time. Hence, supposedly, they do not deserve to be called emigrants. But only time will show how many will not return at all and how many will come back home after a year or two, or even several months.

Salt of the Earth

Moral categories were thoroughly confused with economic ones in the mass media. It is immoral to leave because the state has provided an expensive education. A boy or a girl should work to make up for it, while, look, they do not even intend to pay back for their college. They depart as tourists and then ask for political asylum. Yet they are not political emigres. Here is one vicious circle. What should be done, then? Perhaps it would be better for young people not to leave at all, there would be no problem, economic, moral or political.

Indeed. Let me just remind potential advocates of sealing the borders that on 3 May 1977 Poland ratified the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights approved by the UN General Assembly in 1966. Article 12, section 2, states:

"Everybody has the right to leave any country, including a country of his own." As a matter of fact, even attempts to restrict the issuing of passports will give us a bad name, while economic, moral and political problems will remain.

Of course, there are ways to put this elemental emigration into order, but, in order to do so, certain fossilized views must be done away with. For example, the view that Poles cannot become "gasterbeiters," i.e., earn income in the countries of the second [hard currency] payments area. It is better, then, for them to stay in transit camps, making fools of themselves, spilling nonsense about their political motivation to leave (when asking for asylum) and facing an uncertain future. Then, they can be assessed, classified and ridiculed, press and TV reporters being sent for that purpose. Reportedly, those emigrants are for the most part immoral individuals, they ask a Polish priest's housekeeper for help, they steal, and the girls cheat and become loose. They give us a bad name and put their homeland in disrepute.

I do not feel particularly disreputable. A few years back there was indignation in the Polish press about "Polish jokes" which in fact, to this day let other nationalities have a laugh over the Polish penchant for sausage and cabbage and a dislike for soap. Jokes of this kind and righteous indignation go side by side with all untypical social developments, and emigration ranks among these.

Still, I think that Magda, a doctor, and Jacek, an engineer, are fundamentally different from an unkept Jasiek who sailed below deck on an Atlantic liner to America in Konopnicka's time.

The Poles one can meet in Vienna streets fall into two categories. One includes people who want to work and want to receive decent wages for their work. Such people, whether swinging a shovel or washing dishes in a third-rate restaurant, are absolutely honest, and nobody needs to be ashamed of them. The second category is a classical product of the system that has been in force in our country for decades. They have been taught by experience that there are no reasonable relationships between work and earnings and work and the standard of living. They know, because they have had it drummed into their heads from childhood (they were born and raised in the People's Poland) that it is much easier to steal, cheat, connive, which does not have to be sinful or immoral. They also know that only idiots toil in the sweat of their brow for the wise ones "arrange" everything for themselves.

Their stay in Vienna or in Frankfurt centers on the quickest and least painful acquisition of money without hard work and self-denial. In fact, would they be able to work?

They are certainly marginal, but it is a margin that is most conspicuous. There is no point in becoming overly indignant about them, though. In particular, there should be no indignation on the part of those who have raised them, on the part of people from the older and middle-aged generation. After all, they have had their input in the young generation's being on occasion infantile, on occasion irresponsible and on occasion dishonest. Let's be frank about it--young people have not been taught to appreciate values of a higher order than material ones. They have not been taught an ability to sacrifice and persist in pursuing their goals. And those PEWEX stores mentioned by Mr Kulej are also a product of our system, so it is not surprising that some people regard them as the peak of their aspirations.

The Young Ones Have It Easier

Regarding the new emigration trend objectively and unemotionally, it is necessary to take into account all the components of this issue. The crisis is deepening, and prospects for stabilization of the country's economic situation are still remote. Everyone's life deteriorates from day to day. People of the middle-aged generation, who would gladly depart for an income-earning trip abroad are wavering. Their strength and health are not adequate for them to leave for an uncertain future. The young ones have an easier way of it. They still are able to start everything anew and they leave behind no accumulated property. Not even an apartment. If they do not succeed, tough luck. A trip of this kind is an adventure too, though not an easy one.

I understand the concern with the fate of those people. They are working "in the dark," with no insurance, no medical benefits, at the lowest rates. At the same time, however, those rates will enable them later on in Poland to arrange for themselves quite tolerable living or, if they decide to stay abroad, their wages will enable them to acquire apartments, automobiles, and even some savings in the course of a few years.

The new emigres are educated people. They do not resemble those bread-seeking immigrants of old, but it is not bread on the literal sense that is their concern. There is no shortage of bread for anyone on our continent, in our country as well. Still, the standard of living in other countries, socialist countries included, is incomparably higher than in Poland. And it is in this sense that this is an income-earning emigration. A man or a woman want to be able to buy for their work more than three packs of cigarettes per week and a bar of soap every two months. They cannot imagine raising and feeding a child and providng for its proper development under the conditions that now prevail in the country.

They are not used to living in poverty. They remember the times when things were better. They can see today that they have to pay an enormous price, through no fault of their own, for those better times.

I do not intend to moralize and dissuade young persons from leaving the country. That would not do. Guys who come from FRG after two months and bring a car appeal to imaginations more effectively than the most ardent appeals and drastic reports. Let me say just one thing. Having emigrated, one frequently pays for the dollars, marks, cars and affluent living with social degradation and isolation, at least for some time. This is a very old truth, at least when applied to Poles. It should be remembered by those who promise themselves too much.

In the 1980's, emigration reaches hundreds of thousands. Soon we will be told about a million...

What will their fate be like? Will they come back to Poland? Wherever they are, in the Australian outback or European urban complexes, they are Poles, our compatriots and they deserve something better than our contempt, and their fates deserve something other than our neglect.

Those who have caused this emigration do deserve contempt and punishment. We who are in Poland, the state authorities above all, should do everything so that persons who desire to work in the West do not have to work illegally, without protection and security.

PAP Report on Passport Policy

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Dec 81 pp 1, 6

[Article by?: "Income-Earning Emigration Versus Passport Policy"]

[Text] There was a lively response abroad and domestically to the statements of Edmund Osmanczyk, representative of the Opole province, concerning major social and national problems, including so-called income-earning emigration of residents of People's Polish Republic [PRL] , especially young persons, passport policy and problems involved in the Polish citizenship.

Particularly impressive was this statement in Osmanczyk's speech of last July: "Finally, we have an opportunity to become a normal nation, governing a normal state, a state in which all those desiring to leave know they can come back any time and leave again any time they wish."

With the approval of the Sejm, the commission for Foreign Affairs appointed an extraordinary subcommittee for status of Polish citizens which took shape a month ago. Participating in its activities are: representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Finance.

On December 3, the subcommittee held its second session. Opening the session, deputy Osmanczyk (non-party) emphasized the tremendous interest in the issues that had been raised, at the same time offering for reflection the question of the functioning of Polish passport regulations in light of international acts ratified by Poland and in light of citizens' needs. Specific fears and doubts are being engendered in this area, as indicated by incoming correspondence.

The subcommittee's deliberations in their entirety demonstrated that the problems raised in this forum extend beyond passport matters alone. Deputy R. Hajduk (PZPR) referred to the developments related with departures of indigenous population from Silesia. The comments of deputy Stanislaw Rostworowski (non-party, Christian Social Association [ChSS]) focused on our national tradition, according to which everyone has the right to return to the Polish homeland. Deputy Karol Malcuzynski (non-party) asserted the need for revision of existing laws, referring, among other things, to what he termed a "stretchable clause" that provides for non-issuance of passports because of "other significant reasons of the state." Deputy Adam Lopatka (PZPR) and deputy Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki (PZPR) also advocated modernization of existing regulations emphasizing that the overriding principle ought to be coherent respect for the interests of the citizens and the interests of the state as a whole. It is necessary to have a comprehensive view of society and vigilance, so that the interests of individuals do not come into conflict with the interests of the state.

Ministry representatives also took the floor and stated their positions on issues raised. Waclaw Szarszewski, a department director at the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW], received much attention when he advised that as of 2 December 1981 there were 75,113 persons staying abroad, including 23,582 persons who were outside Poland for up to three months, 50,162 persons who had overstayed that period, and 1,369 persons who were staying abroad for more than six months. All of these citizens of the Polish People's Republic are holders of passports valid for three years, so it is difficult to refer to an "escape trend" before the expiration of this term.

In connection with these and other cited data, a vigorous exchange of views was held about the popular opinion on what is termed income-earning emigration and on decisions to stay abroad permanently. References were also made to consular passports.

Later in the session, on the initiative of deputy Janusz Stefanowicz (non-party, PAX), the deputies decided to appoint four working commissions on modernization of the 1952 act on Polish citizenship, modernization of the (1059) act on passports, changes in the (1944) consular act and social and international problems involved in what is termed income-earning emigration.

Many deputies pointed out the need to adjust the act on citizenship to actual conditions under which Poles reside permanently abroad. Also, statements were made to the effect that it was impermissible to apply joint penal responsibility for offenses committed by relatives by blood or marriage, or to force renunciation of Polish citizenship in cases when acquisition of foreign citizenship is a necessity dictated by the regulations of the country of residence and in other cases. At the same time it was declared that some problems provoke particular emotions and that restraint should be exercised in order not to generate illusory hopes about unlimited travel abroad.

In its adopted resolution the subcommission declared that, having reviewed collected materials on the problem of income-earning emigration and status of Polish citizens, along with opinions on these two subjects, it found it correct to continue its legislative activities in order to amend currently effective laws on passports and Polish citizenship and on regulations resulting from these laws.

Student Club Discussion

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Dec 81 p 6

[Article by pt: "Half-Truths About Seasonal Work Abroad"]

[Text] (From our own sources) A desire to learn the "Truth About Seasonal Work Abroad" attracted more than 100 persons to the student "Hybrydy" club on 2 December. Even before the meeting started, the organizers proved their familiarity with the principles of advertising. Posters inviting former and future "gasterbeiters" cropped up in various locations in the city. Neither failed to show up.

They came to debate with a genuinely competent group that included the authors of a TV film about Polish refugees in Austria, Jerzy Ambroziewicz and Tadeusz Zakrzewski, Col Zygmunt Szczepanski from the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW], director Wojciech Kowalski from POLSERVICE and two journalists: Waldemar Karwat from the radio and Mariusz Dastych, free lance.

As is known, discussions in "Hybrydy" are vigorous and not always to the point. Concepts become blurred, facts are confused and, most important, emotions take the upper hand in polemical fervor.

In this case, the problem was expanded to cover the "truth about departures for abroad, permanent and temporary." The question of political asylum was given equal time with possibilities for legal employment of Poles abroad. In general, the climate in the hall could hardly be regarded as friendly toward the invited guests. Those hardest "hit" were, of course, the MSW and POLSERVICE representatives (their defense was not bad, either), but the journalists also did not leave unharmed.

The beginning, as always when leaving Poland, was up to the MSW. Col. Szczepanski himself referred to the 3-4 month long waiting period for passports as "scandalous," which was apparently the only instance when the audience fully agreed with him. Attempts were made to determine the extent of tourist trips and income-earning temporary emigration. It was possible to establish only that MSW issued 872,000 passports in 10 months of 1981, and there would be more than one million by the end of the year. Refusals to issue passports range about 5 percent. The number of persons who overstay their stay abroad beyond the periods declared while in Poland reached 26 percent in the last half-year. On the other hand, journalists estimated that 100,000 to 130,000 persons had decided to work for extended periods or to become permanent emigrants. Those who will follow them are waiting in lines at foreign embassies or go directly to Vienna, which is already saturated with its charitable action.

These statistics were followed by doubts. The audience registered objections as to the reasonableness and necessity of declaring the duration of planned trips, while Col. Szczepanski tried to prove that the state passport policy had been considerably liberalized during the past decade. [His claim] that refusals were affecting a constantly diminishing group of people did not convince the audience. The general trend was this: give us our passports in hand and stop picking on us. The main assault on this issue occurred in the second part of the meeting in reference to the most vehemently criticized refusals to grant a passport "for important social reasons" to relatives of persons who illegally remain abroad.

Once the problem of crossing the frontier was partially exhausted, the floor was given to the TV representatives. After several questions from the "Hybrydy" hosts and from the audience, J. Ambroziewicz began doubting whether it was supposed to be a problem debate or a consulting session for candidates for employment abroad. At least a dozen people were eagerly taking down information they believed to be crucial. I was astounded how numerous the "journalists" were servicing this event. It should be assumed, therefore, that the audience was dominated by future, rather than former, "gastarbeiters." There was also a group of persons who had been refused passports.

Finally, the TV representatives suppressed their doubts and presented us with a portrayal of the live Poles living in Austria. To some extent, this was a summary of the two-part report shown on television, so it is pointless to deal with it again. J. Ambroziewicz affirmed that recently the position of the Austrian government on emigrants has cooled down and the local press began having headlines like "Poles, go away."

Overall, the portrayal of the Traiskirchen camp was as gloomy at "Hybrydy" as it had been on television. Moreover, it was not too precise, since Mr. Ambroziewicz said on one occasion that courageous, ambitious and superior people were leaving Poland and soon after added that he had met a lot of semi-criminal elements in Austria, people who he would most willingly let out by opening the frontiers. In consequence, he had to add that no statement made about the "gastarbeiters" is completely true.

An unexpectedly feeble attack was directed against the POLSERVICE representative.

It is, therefore, even more surprising that the name of deputy Osmanczyk was brought up only at the end of the meeting, almost irrelevantly. Col. Szczepanski did not conceal his numerous reservations about the proposals advanced in the Sejm forum. He did not say, however, what those reservations were. He admitted that in the future (it is not known of what kind) passports will be kept in citizens' homes. He immediately added that no illusions should be held on this account because it may (though, of course, it does not have to) happen that a passport will be at a citizen's home and the citizen will still be in the country because there are ways to keep him there anyway.

This statement was supplemented by J. Ambroziewicz who pointedly observed that a universally satisfying passport law will never come to pass, even though we might begin to carry our passports in our pockets. He also said, however, just as Osmanczyk had stated in the Sejm, that the current regulations were no good and provided too many opportunities for arbitrary interpretation.

Fortunately, nothing is eternal, old laws included. The hosts of the Student Discussion Center [SOD] Hybrydy" have already announced their intention to organize a second meeting on "Truth" in January of 1982, this time starring deputy Osmanczyk, after his victorious, they say, battle for amendment of the Polish passport law.

Hostile Reaction in FRG

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Dec 81 p 7

[Article by Eugeniusz Guz: "Hard Times for Polish Newcomers, Too"]

[Text] A well-known Polish journalist who had crossed FRG borders many times was recently told for the first time at the Frankfurt am Main airport that he was not permitted to take gainful employment there.

This extraordinary incident (he had an official passport) reflects the new atmosphere awaiting those arriving from Poland. It is marked by increased distrust by the authorities, less readily turning a blind eye to Polish infractions.

Faced with the invasion of foreigners (4.6 million), record unemployment (1.5 million), simply astronomical debt (several hundred billion marks chiefly to domestic banks), declining economic activity and many other problems of unprecedented caliber, FRG authorities are primarily thinking about securing the interests of their own nation. This is the source of growing distaste for foreigners whose purposes are other than tourist.

The complications are reflected, among other things, in increasingly strict enforcement of regulations, observed also by Polish tourists. Leaving FRG, our citizens are interrogated by customs officials as to amounts of hard currency they had upon entry, manner of acquisition of such currency and the amount taken out of FRG. Anyone who admits to having worked without a permit must fill out a personal form and report the name of the company that provided employment. Accepting a job without a permit is punished by a DM 250 fine, an order to leave FRG territory in 48 hours and loss of the right to apply for an FRG visa for the next 5 years. The employer risks paying a fine of DM 30,000 to DM 60,000. As reported by travellers, appropriate FRG authorities are restricting the extension of three-month tourist visas for Polish visitors. There is also stricter enforcement of registration procedures. Overstaying an FRG visa involves a DM 250 fine, and expiration of insurance on a car with Polish registration involves a fine of DM 200. A centralized data storage system easily detects cheating by those citizens who apply for permanent residence in several locations at the same time to obtain several allowances simultaneously.

As reported by the returning tourists, the atmosphere in FRG is still favorable towards granting Poland charitable assistance, but displeasure with Poles who try to settle there for a while or for good is decidedly on the rise. Such Poles deprive Germans of jobs by accepting inferior wage and working conditions, which fuels that displeasure. They also compete with the locals for governmental assistance in obtaining reduced-rate housing. Devoting its central topic to "citizens' enmity towards foreigners," DER SPIEGEL refers to an abrupt change in the mood of FRG against foreigners and asserts that serious deliberations are under way to close the borders to all those who merely pretend to have tourists purposes. DER SPIEGEL writes about a Polish waiter beaten in Dusseldorf who was told to "get back to Poland fast and stop taking work away from the Germans." Of course, these are isolated cases still, though quite so, because the police are very discreet for obvious reasons. Further deterioration in the mood against Poles can be expected along with the worsening of FRG's economic situation. The measures taken by Austria and to some extent by Sweden can provoke a response in FRG which receives the heaviest flow of Polish tourists going West.

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SOLIDARITY 'STRUGGLE FOR POWER' VIEWED

AU111759 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Dec 81 pp 1, 2

[Article by Andrzej Leszczynski: "Two Lines"]

[Excerpts] Our readers have been able to read in our daily and to hear on the radio and television the statements made by some leading Solidarity activists. These statements form a clear scenario for an attack on our state's socialist political principle and for a power struggle, which is now quite open and in which--let us recall--there is a place for embarrassing the authorities, inciting peasants against civil servants, occupying public buildings, setting up groups armed with clubs and helmets, and for "beating up the jaws."

How is it possible to reconcile that terrifying scenario with the August slogans for democratic renewal and the abolition of all manifestations of intolerance and coercion: The people who have chosen just this strategy of confrontation are far removed from any thoughts about any lasting forms of national agreement of all social forces.

The recent TV discussion between the Government and Solidarity representatives on economic reform made very clear how removed some Solidarity activists were from the country's reality and needs.

The line outlined in the recent statements made by the extreme Solidarity leaders is a line leading to a clash and confrontation. This is not a conclusion dictated by prejudice. It is a conclusion resulting from an analysis of events and from the fact that Solidarity has ignored the various appeals to stop the strikes and unrest ruining the country.

Without withholding criticism of the various procrastinations and delays in the process of democratic renewal, we can recognize two evaluations as unshakable. First, that this process is developing gradually and consistently and that there is no return to the relations that existed before August in any sector of our social, economic and political life. Second, that this is taking place in a fully democratic manner, with the Government and the Party always searching for opportunities for dialogue, discussion and agreement with all groups of our society.

And this is no tactical dodge, as they say at Solidarity headquarters. The line of dialogue and agreement has become the strategic line of the renewed Party--an axis around which the views and attitudes of the Party masses crystallize and reach the broader sections of society. Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski's government is fully behind this line. Hence the consistency with which the authorities have proposed agreement on successive occasions and indicated the bases for dialogue and constructive discussions as well as opportunities to achieve compromises for the good of the people.

In the present tense situation, millions of people in Poland keep asking themselves: What next? How will all this end? It is obvious that authorities who feel genuinely responsible for the fate of the people and the state cannot neglect safeguards against catastrophe. Hence the idea to equip the Government--for a temporary period, that is, for the present winter--with special powers to bring under control the dramatically acute situation. Let us repeat--for a temporary period.

This does not cancel the line of agreement, the idea of a front [of national accord], social consultations, multilateral negotiations--in a word, a broadly conceived dialogue. The Solidarity activists' most recent statements, full of yearning for confrontation, do not infringe on that line.

According to the government press spokesman's statement issued the day before yesterday, the authorities will search for opportunities to reach agreement at all levels and will draw on the experience of joint activities in many enterprises, towns, villages and various social and professional communities because agreement stems from a superior strategic line of action.

And when these days we anxiously receive news about the worsening situation in the country, it is worth knowing that the Party, the Government and the allied political parties are determined to maintain the program for national agreement and to search for opportunities for dialogue wherever this is possible and wherever even a shadow of agreement can be discerned--agreement on the basis of socialism and its humanist values. All this is for social peace and for getting the country out of its deep crisis. It is for Poles.

CSO: 2600/275

PEOPLE'S MARTIAL LAW DUTIES OUTLINED

AU221726 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 4

[PAP headline: "Services for Defense"]

[Text] Concerning the terms of the law dated 21 November 1967 about the general duty to defend the Polish People's Republic and concerning the regulations issued on the basis of this law as to services to be rendered for the defense of the country during martial law, the regulations which are binding in times of mobilization and of war are to be applied.

These services involve the following duties: The giving over of means of transportation, tools, machines and equipment to the defense needs of the State; the carrying out of personal and material services.

Means of transportation, tools, machines and equipment together with the essential accessories which are in the possession of state institutions and enterprises, collective organizations, social organizations, trade organizations and private and legal persons may be--by the decision of the competent bodies--given over to the defense forces, civil defense formations and state organizational units for an indefinite period. These forces fulfill the demands necessary for the defense of the nation.

Persons between 16 and 60 years of age can be drafted by the basic local state administrative bodies at any time to do all kinds of emergency work for the armed forces or the state organizational units. The period of such work must not exceed 7 days at a time. The organizational unit for which personal services are being rendered for more than 8 hours is obliged to provide free food for the persons concerned. If such work exceeds 24 hours, the unit in question provides the necessary time and facilities for rest. If personal services are rendered during working hours, the person concerned does not lose any entitlements resulting from his normal work. Persons who have no regular employment are entitled to remuneration in line with the minimum wages paid for the kind of work done by them. State institutions, state enterprises and collective organizations as well as social and trade union organizations can be placed under an obligation by state administrative bodies to provide material services in the form of surrendering fixed and mobile facilities for an indefinite period to the armed forces, civil defense formations and other state organizationsl units implementing tasks to meet state defense needs. This duty can be imposed on individuals and corporate bodies.

The owner who refuses to surrender or prevents the surrender of means of transportation, tools, machines or equipment with the necessary accessories, and the organizational or corporate unit, or individual, who refuses to obey the duty of rendering personal or material services will be punished by deprivation of freedom for up to 3 years.

CSO: 2600/274

MILITARY ACTIVITIES UNDER MARTIAL LAW OUTLINED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Dec 81 pp 1, 6

[Article by K-ci: "The Military's Sacrifice at Every Post So that Society Can Live and Work in Peace"]

[Text] Martial law in the country has brought society drastic restrictions of democratic freedoms, deprivations and many inconveniences. For 5 days and nights the military in close cooperation with the forces of law and order have been guarding our homes with dedication and sacrifice, returning law and order and safety to the streets of our cities and settlements, and ensuring the smooth functioning of our offices and plants--for the sake of peaceful life and work in society, for the sake of a better future for socialist Poland.

The most people are aware of the necessity for peace, the need for concentrated work that can ensure normalizing life in the country. This is expressed by the inhabitants' initiatives to create local Committees of National Salvation that declare their readiness to undertake more tasks to serve and work for the country in this particularly difficult time.

A deep understanding of the seriousness of the situation and necessities accompanying it is also characteristic of the soldiers who have retired or are in the reserves. Many of them report to military units without being called up; some assume duties in local group operations; others form self-defense detachments.

Militarized workers, patrols made up of members of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) and activists of the KZMP [Communist Union of Polish Youth] have taken up duties in helping to guard some installations and offices. Workers patrols have been guarding plants in many regions of the country.

In Warmia and Mazuria

In Olsztyn since the first day of martial law, soldiers have been standing their posts, guarding installations important to the region: the radio station, the television relay station, food warehouses, the city water supply, power stations as well as roads and railway lines.

Col Henryk Swiecicki, Chief of the Voivodship Army Staff and at the same time the plenipotentiary-commisar of the Committee for the Defense of the Country, has

informed us that in Warmia and Mazuria 5 days ago, under the new conditions of martial law, several dozen local operational groups were reactivated. Out of this number, four are continuing the work they began in November in Olsztyn. The Olsztyn and local operational groups have been joined by members of the Union of Former Professional Soldiers who, according to their qualifications, proceeded to render assistance to the commanders of MGO [City Operational Groups]. Colonel Swiecicki underscored the involvement of these former professional soldiers and their excellent knowledge of the region's problems. After all, it is no wonder, since many of them come from Warmia and Mazuria and almost all of them done their military service here. Army MGO's, operating on the communal farm, in commerce, in power engineering, have done a lot to improve the difficult situation in the region and in the city.

In Olsztyn, a Local Committee of National Salvation has been spontaneously created and has been submitting a number of proposals dealing with society's share in maintaining order and safety. It has declared its readiness to undertake various kinds of service and production tasks. Civic concern over the future of their homeland and working people's heightened consciousness have resulted in having the few acts of protest in the region stopped, and now there have been appearing numberous signs of an improvement in labor productivity and indications of a return to law and order in cities and villages.

Artillery Training

Intensive training of gun crews has been going on in the Silesian Military District artillery unit. Specially assigned subunits and teams are combat ready under the decree of martial law. Barracks and housing areas are being guarded. Army patrols control private travel and social gatherings near the garrison.

During the course of meetings held in subunits of party and youth organizations, young artillerymen express their support for the decision of the Military Council of National Salvation under the leadership of General of the Army, Wojciech Jaruzelski. Analyzing the difficult situation presently threatening the country, soldiers have particularly harsh words of condemnation for their peers' adventurism--students and young people eager for adventure who do not consider the consequences of being subjected to the criminal influences of the anti-socialist and anti-national extremism of "Solidarity."

The commander of the artillery unit emphasized the civic attitude of the reservists, senior reserve cpl Andrzej Zalewski, bombardier Irene Tyrala and gunner Seweryn Staszewski, among others, who had already made themselves available in great numbers to the command on Monday, in order to contribute, by their determined action, to the full implementation of the new and responsible tasks outlined for our armed forces by the Military Council of National Salvation.

On Roads and Rail Lines

Across the whole country, from the Bug to the Oder river, railroad men and roadmen in army uniforms are doing their duty at fighting posts as they give technical protection to railroads, railroad lines, offices and communication installations. In field groups, the mood is one of seriousness, concern and determination. This determination is fully manifested in the scrupulous execution of their duties--not only to protect the communication lines and routes but in guarding thoroughfares used by trains and automobiles.

Soldiers are also giving ample support to railroad workers by making sure that trains run without interruption and are on time, as well as speeding aid to the scene of breakdowns and derailments. Specialists from highway units regulate traffic on main roads, control travel, and look after the efficiency and travelability of all the arteries for vehicular traffic.

Soldiers from military groups of railroadmen in Strzemieszyc, Jarocin, Malaszewicz, Poznan and Kostrzyn are duly fulfilling the tasks set by martial law. In watching over the efficiency of railroad lines and arrangements for traffic safety, they are also helping with snow removal and making travel run smoothly. In Malaszewicz soldiers from the Warsaw OW [Military District] railroad unit helped the people from PKP [Polish State Railroads] in the reloading of meat supplies and other consumer goods from the Soviet Union.

On the 5th day of martial law, soldiers under the command of officers, Roman Krasinski, Czeslaw Glod and Wojciech Lysak, among others, of the Pomeranian Military District railraod unit, have been actively and effectively carrying out their duties. In guarding railroad junctions, viaducts, bridges and engineering installations, soldiers are performing their duties in an exemplary fashion, with deep conviction that their military duty is needed by the people, that their soldierly labor on snow covered railroad lines and roads is successfully supporting the vast majority of inhabitants who desire social stability, law and order, and favorable conditions for normal everyday work for the good of Poland.

With Pilots-Communications Officers

When martial law was declared in the State, pilots-communications officers took up their battle posts. Like their colleagues--these representatives of the remaining services and specialities are fulfilling their duties in an exemplary fashion, conscious of the fact that the Polish soldier should be there wherever his services are needed for fulfilling the best interests of the people, wherever determination is needed to oppose the danger threatening our homeland.

Together with the militia, these pilot-communications officers have been assigned to constant patrolling of the city area. They stood around-the-clock guard posts at designated installations; they had to do internal communications work, and more than once radio communication lines went out to a very distant location. Walking a guard post at night is especially hard because the mercury falls lower and lower and many times there is no place to get warm. Sure they have warm enough clothing and get hot meals, but how hard these things are to come by is known only by those who stand the night guard. And there are many of them, but let us name a few: Senior Warrant Officer Jan Kata, Master Sgt Stanislaw Olejarczyk, Sgt Zenon Furian, Sgt Jerzy Waclas and Junior Sgt Jozef Doktor. They are distinguishing themselves in carrying out difficult and highly responsible duties and deserve recognition like all the others.

Despite the many difficulties, a lot is done in the unit to ensure an intense rhythm to the training. The daily round of programs takes place in lecture halls, drill fields and nearby firing ranges. Radio operators under the command of Capt Wladzimierz Kowalski, participated in exercies to improve communication skills. Others improved their practical skills in military tactics in the field. The youngest soldiers under the command of Lt Andrzej Kogneluk spent time at the firing range. In difficult winter conditions they gained indispensable firing skills. In several subdetachments field exercises were also held.

Newspapers are enjoying more popularity than usual. Senior Cadet Cpl Krzysztof Kowalczyk and Senior Cader Cpl Ryszard Kaczmarek are engaged in preparing additional information service daily. These men are graduates of the Officer Cadet Training Unit at the Political Officers Training Center. This special daily information service is broadcast morning and afternoon over the radio. The demand for current information is very great and unending; consequently, young agitators--among them Cpl Kzaimierz Wojdyla, Master Sgt Henryk Michalak and Sgt Jaroslaw Zbierski--are more active in their work then usual. Officers of the political apparatus and all party members are fulfilling a similar function by answering questions addressed to them and clarifying the many problems of today's realities.

And this is what Master Sgt Slawomir Kilak thinks about this reality: "I am convinced that the calling into existence of the Military Council of National Salvation was on all accounts warranted by the situation that had developed in the country. I think that this decision could have been carried out successfully much earlier against the professed designs of those forces hostile to socialism. I perform my duties with the conviction that the steps undertaken by the council under the leadership of General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski will be successful in bringing about a normalization of the situation, and subsequently settling accounts with those responsible for the present state of affairs. I also consider that the most sacred duty of every Pole and every soldier of LWP [Polish People's Army] is the defense of his country against anyone who threatens its safety and independence."

Master Sgt Andrzej Naskret says: "It was high time that genuine law and order was brought to the country and the adventuristic actions of groups leading the nation to annihilation positively suppressed. I think that the Military Council of National Council has successfully managed to do this and that soon all Poles will be able to return to a normal, peaceful life.

Naval Support

Tasks being implemented by the Navy as a result of martial law require a multitude of efforts both from ships' crews who continue their vigilant watch over our country's Baltic shores and from individual shore position units that are carrying out their responsibilities in coastal regions.

These signal men (among others) in their navy blue uniforms have been demonstrating special expertness, high discipline and steadfastness under the difficult operating conditions in ice and snow. These tasks are being performed unfailingly as befits the winners in this year's Navy competition for being named the best coastal shore unit.

Exemplary execution of duty and the maintenance of an intensive training effort over a long period of time have their roots in the profound support of an ideology in the patriotic attitudes of the officers and men of the Polish Navy. Signal men document their support for the decisions of the Military Council of National Salvation through their selfless performance of duty. They also express their support in discussions during meetings of party and youth organizations. For example, members of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] for the subdetachment commanded by Commander Boguslaw Rakowski took up the following resolution: "Our organization supports advancing the goal of ensuring law and order in the country--as members of the party in uniform--we assure you that we will perform our duties in an exemplary fashion and fight for the good of our socialist homeland."

While carrying out their tasks there is not always time for organizing meetings of the basal party organization. In connection with this situation, groups of young party members were called on to carry out uninterrupted political work in subdetachments operating in the area. These groups were directed by Warrant Officer Miroslaw Walczak and Petty Officer 2nd Class Roman Kreft, among others. They assure sailors thorough information on actual events and put forth an effort in selflessly discharging difficult duties in the area, and give their comrades in service personal examples of their good work.

The secretary of the party committee of the unit, Commander Kazimierz Janicki, notes with satisfaction a number of examples of further consolidation of collectives around the consistently implemented line of action by the PZP in the situation threatening the country. A further growth in party ranks has been observed. Lately, Cadet of the Reserve Officer Cadet School Ensign Petty Officer 2nd Class Tomasz Suchonski, who is training in one of the units, has joined the PZPR. His reasons for naming himself as a legitimate candidate for the party were that he represented the signal men of the Navy at large, who consider the Polish United Workers Party the single competent force for leading the country out of the crisis situation and ensuring a real renovation of the socialist Republic.

Army Patrols

Every task performed by soldiers under martial law has a number of dangers connected with them. Particularly dangerous is pulling patrol duty in an urban area with a lot of buildings.

Soldiers from the Silesian Military District Combat Engineer unit performed in peace time a number of difficult and responsible training tasks for the benefit of the national economy. They also took part in combatting natural disasters. Many among them engaged in work that benefited agriculture by helping with potato and corn harvests. Combat engineers from the subdetachment of Lt Miroslaw Pstrokonski have built more than one bridge that has cut down on the travel time to livestock for slaughter and agricultural yields, to gmina [parish] sale points of fodder, fertilizers and coal. With great commitment these combat engineers have hitherto performed training exercises on firing ranges and drill fields adjacent to the barracks, and they are now discharging their duties in an exemplary fashion by patrolling a designated part of the city. Around-the-clock duty in a time of martial law, with temperatures below 10 degrees C, is no easy task, but despite everything men under the command of 2nd Lt Miroslaw Lasuk and Warrant Officer Henryk Szponarski are performing this duty with great commitment.

9866
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MILITARY ACTIVITIES AFTER FIRST WEEK OF MARTIAL LAW DISCUSSED

Warsaw ŻOŁNIERZ WOLNOŚCI in Polish 19-20 Dec 81 pp 1, 8

[Article by correspondents: "Devotion in the Execution of Every Mission at the Combat Posts"]

[Text] In the Border Zone. Guarding Railway Installations. Naval Shipyard Workers. Soldierly Vigilance.

In a feeling of the highest responsibility of citizenship and for the destiny of the state, the 7th day of continuous service of all branches of the army is continuing. At every position, at every combat post, in all parts of the country, the soldiers of the Polish People's Army are fulfilling orders for the salvation of the fatherland and are preserving their allegiance to socialist Poland, to the nation, to the army flag.

The harsh reality of martial law in the country and the necessity for sacrifice and devotion have also become the lot of the soldiers of the Polish Army. The situation demands more of them than from any other citizen. It forces them to be on duty around the clock and to carry out hours upon hours of service under especially strenuous conditions--which require endurance and strength and do not permit them to rest at home with their families.

And even though the activity of each one of them entails the necessity to risk life and health, they will remain at their posts until law and order and security are restored, until an atmosphere of earnest labor prevails in all workshops, at every job, and until political provocativeness and economic incompetence end.

The support of numerous young military people for the decisions of the Military Council of National Salvation bears witness to their patriotic attitude and their understanding of the current emergency legal restrictions. The soldiers' regular declarations of joining the ranks of the Polish United Workers Party expresses this. Above everythingelse, however, their readiness to give themselves for their fatherland and nation bears witness to their decisive, uncompromising response wherever there is a threat to peace, order and security, where criminal provocations are pushing society toward its destruction.

Among the Border Guards

In the Baltic Brigade of the WOP [border guards], the soldiers in basic military service and the civilian workers received the news of the institution of military law with great seriousness and complete understanding. The border guards then began the tasks resulting from the danger to the state. Many interrupted their leaves and passes in order to report to their units. Sgt Wieslaw Turczak bade farewell to his young wife a few hours after his wedding: on Sunday, he was already at his post in the guard tower.

Special groups under the leadership of experienced personnel are guarding important installations to the maritime region and are carrying out various law and other functions. Military patrols in the border zone cooperate closely with the militia officials. In carrying out their missions at a special installation, Junior Warrant Officer Stanislaw Wypych and Sgt Edward Szkatulski distinguished themselves. The other officers and soldiers in the unit are carrying out missions necessitated by the situation. This need was met recently through the help of green-cap engineers, in the removal of ice jams, among other places on the Parsenta river in Kolobrzeg, where the city hospital was endangered, and also in Darlowo.

As mentioned by Lt Stanislaw Malkiewicz, the border guards demonstrate their readiness to act against counterrevolution and anarchy, against the traitors to the Polish nation who are pushing society toward disaster. Senior Sgt Jacek Czajka spoke about the correctness of the decision of the Military Council of National Salvation at a meeting of the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] in the guard tower, as did Senior Corp Nowacki, who assured the unit leadership, in the name of the 3-year class of soldiers, of the readiness of the border guards to carry out any and all combat missions.

At the Communications Center

The high level of citizenship of the civilian workers of the communications center, who carry out their missions for the country under the new martial law conditions in an exemplary way, with great devotion and sacrifice, was emphasized by Major Wladyslaw Brzycha. The majority reported to work immediately after the declaration of a state of danger to the state. Today, after 6 days of realizing their new tasks and changes, the work of Anna Biszczad, Maria Szopa, Stanislaw Burek and Edward Kamyski, among others, is being commended.

The squad commanded by Corp Witold Grokowski is carrying out its mission of protecting military installations in an examplary fashion. The soldiers have affirmed with conviction that the Military Council of National Salvation under the leadership of General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski acted at the last moment, when all other means of overcoming anarchy and the dissolution of the state had failed. They also believe that the action will help to return the life of the country to normality. The young military people declare their readiness for all-out struggle against those who are publicly attempting to pit the army against the people.

On the Railroads

The soldiers of the railroad battalion of the Warsaw Military District have been carrying out military assignments in their territory for 6 days, protecting the communications lines and the stations, bridges, viaducts and auxiliary engineering installations. The soldiers from the field group of officer Witold Mazur are concerned with the proper operation of railroad transportation on the Hutnico-Siarkowa line. The tasks connected with efficiency and security of traffic on this line, important for many industrial plants, are being carried out by the military railroad personnel with full devotion and in a highly disciplined and self-sacrificing way. Pursuant to martial law requirements, the soldiers are guarding railroad installations, including tracks, railroad switches and turnouts, and are aiding in snow-removal and deicing work of those elements of marshaling yard traffic especially affected by ice jamming during cold waves.

With their responsible and difficult service under harsh winter conditions, the soldiers of the steel roads are demonstrating their high preparedness for combat activities. Day and night, the military railroad personnel carry out their duty at posts on open ground, under particularly demanding conditions that require strength and endurance.

Several career soldiers from this unit, including Wieslaw Serwatka, Jaroslaw Neumann and Artur Wawrzyn, are exercising the functions of authorized representatives--commissioners of the KOK [National Defense Committee] in the gminas assigned to them. They act decisively and correctly, thanks to their earlier recognition of the problems of life in those localities. They are conscientiously and energetically eliminating irregularities from the operations of the administration, trade and other production and cooperative organizations in the countryside.

Checking the implementation of the recommendations and proposals from the first stage of local activities of the operational groups, the military commissioners from the railroad unit have found many cases of measures not undertaken locally in gminas or low effectiveness of measures taken. Therefore, guided by their concern for the well-being of the rural society, they began proposals on recalling several gmina chiefs and presidents and directors from their positions. There is no place, and there cannot be any place under martial law, for incompetence and unconcern. People who are irresponsible and insensitive must leave and suffer their deserved consequences.

The military subunits of the military railroad battalion remaining in the garrison are guarding warehouses and military installations. The women and children of career military personnel have remained, just as at all times during practical training. Since the majority of the wives and mothers work, the expansion of preschool care has been considered. A center has been organized for elementary school children in the soldiers' club. Much effort in the preparation and realization of a program of leisure activity during the time of the unplanned winter holidays, is being exerted by party activist Senior Warrant Officer Bernard Typiak and workers of the ORW [Military Dependents Organization] circle, including Jadwiga Pawlos and Ewa Krukiewicz.

Something has also been done about other forms of aid to the working wives and mothers of the military railroad personnel. Aid groups in the unit are concerned with facilitating the needed purchase of food and controlled health and higiene substances. An active part in the organization of this help is being taken, among other people, by Senior Warrant Officer Zdzislaw Kogut. The workers' canteen, which is headed by Zofia Lyczewska, is also operating properly.

In the Naval Shipyard

In spite of the extraordinary situation resulting from the institution of martial law, production in the Navy Shipyards imiona Dabrowszczakow has not deteriorated. Shipyard workers of the navy are coping fully with this emergency situation. The personnel have subordinated themselves to the obligatory orders, restrictions and limitations.

Although it is difficult to become accustomed to the new, extraordinary situation, the shipyard workers have shown a great spirit of citizenship from the first working day after the declaration of martial law and are working devotedly. They know that the country needs peace and devoted labor; in addition to that, they recognize that the high state of military readiness of the naval forces and the production of many plants with which coproduction contracts have been made, depend upon their work.

A significant portion of their production is earmarked for the national economy. For example, a brigade leader, Stanislaw Glinski, along with his colleagues, is working on the completion of two deep-digging excavators for the Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials. Henryk Papka is working in the metalworking department on rings for coal pulverizers for the Tri-city Thermal Electric Power Station. Another member of this department is finishing a consignment of ship screws for the Szczecin Ship Repair Yard and elements for ship power plants. In the hull department, the subforeman of the prefabrication section, Josef Sadowski, is preparing elements for new hulls. The following are working especially devotedly in this crew: Marek Szczepanski, plate shears operator, and Stanislaw Krol, brigade leader. Other shipyard workers are preparing for the acceptance tests of the tugboat AMON for the Czczecin Port Administration and are doing repair work on naval units along with sailors.

In addition, the shipyard is preparing complex castings resistant to high pressure for the national economy. This work is accompanied by a good atmosphere created, among other things, by the rapid and honest information on the current situation. The shipyard management, the party activists, and the youth group members have their own important part in this. This is also fostered by good work organization.

In spite of many difficulties from the lack of raw materials, they are trying not to interrupt production, although in many cases they can only rely on themselves. One example of this is the substitution of "butapren" adhesive with adhesive produced according to an in-house formula. As Waldemar Klimong, ME, head director of the Naval Shipyard asserted, this adhesive has good qualities as the factory one.

The Naval Shipyard imiona Dabrowszczakow is finishing its assignment for this year and is fulfilling its coproduction contracts on schedule.

Poznan Tank Personnel

The demands of martial law have postponed programmed training in the Higher Tank Troop Officers School for later, quieter times. The absolute necessity for defending the socialist state structure, the assurance of the possibility of a peaceful life and creative work to the whole of society, and the need for firm counteraction to the forces leading the homeland to the verge of disaster, made it absolutely necessary for the entire cadet community to carry out tasks of a special nature today. These tasks are more difficult than usual and are much more demanding than those placed before them a week earlier.

In the same way as their colleagues from the other military schools, they were selected to guard and protect the installation of primary importance for Poznan and environs. Many joined the intervention groups, and still others were assigned to carry out order-keeping duties within motorized and foot patrols. Officer candidates of all class years and all specialties are serving in them together with career and basic service soldiers. All deserve the highest recognition and respect for their work, willingness to sacrifice and overall discipline. Among those who have especially distinguished themselves, one should mention Lt Jerzy Golianek; Cadet Sgt Leszek Biela was pointed out by the school commander for vigilance displayed in guarding military installations from penetration.

This characteristic, always necessary but today especially desired, is typified not only by the tank personnel. For we regularly receive that same information from other units as well, from different branches of the armed forces. Most recently, for example, Air Force soldiers--Senior Sgt Edward Gola, and Senior Sgt Wangelys Czukamares--decisively and effectively frustrated an attempt to photograph and film an important military installation by West German citizens--the representatives of a firm that provides food aid to our country.

The cadets sent to local gmina operating groups fulfill their duties with equal conscientiousness and involvement. Cadet Sgt Tadeusz Wojcik--together with other soldiers--is operating, for example, in the Lublin area; Cadet Sgt Piotr Gosciński, in Wloclawek; Cadet Sgt Miroslaw Potrowski, in Gorzow Wielkopolski; Cadet Sgt Jerzy Wilk, in Rzeszow; Cadet Sgt Krzysztof Kosiel, in Elblag. The rest are in Lomza, Bialystok, Kierniewicy, Zamosc, Kradow, Leszno and other localities. During this exceptionally difficult time, they are supervising and helping the activity of local government and administrative branches, and are rushing all-around aid and military aid needed today to the citizens, together with the military commissioners--authorized representatives of the National Defense Committee.

For this help in thousands of matters, they are receiving the genuine gratitude and recognition of the people. Many manifestations of sincere sympathy are also encountered here in Poznan. The street patrol service, day and night in the biting frost, is difficult, demanding. City residents esteem their patriotic work as citizens. The soldiers return the favors to the extent possible. For example, yesterday, without waiting for other help, they transported a sick child to a hospital in an armored vehicle. The people know that they can count on the help of the army, any time and in any situation.

All are shocked by the tragic incidents in the "Wujek" Coal Mine. They know, however, that in the situation, law and order forces could not act differently. "So that similar tragedies cannot recur," they say, "it is necessary more resolutely than ever to counteract the ringleaders of disturbances, the true cause of the people's misfortune. The necessity for this is unequivocally dictated by our common national interest, by the concern that every Polish family can again feel completely secure. All those guilty of the current disastrous situation must absolutely and immediately suffer the appropriate punishment, as ordered by social justice. As soldiers of the Polish Peoples' Army," they emphasize, "we are executing the tasks placed before us and are doing all we can for the good of the fatherland."

5808
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ACTIVITIES OF TERRITORIAL OPERATIONAL GROUPS REPORTED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Maj Janusz Borkowski: "Holding the Gmina Accountable"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Authorities in Sochaczew operate from the same building. gmina [parish] authorities from the first floor and city authorities from the floor above. Crowded offices attest to how much the citizens need their attention. People come with various matters convinced that they can be successfully solved. In recent weeks, this conviction has begun turning into confidence when it has turned out that, due to the activity of military operational teams, the work of the local administration has gone into a higher gear.

In the gmina administration office, several persons are waiting for their problems to be solved. An officer steps out of one of the rooms. At once he is stopped by a young woman:

--Major, I am going to get married during the holidays. Can I have a reception after the wedding, will it violate currently effective regulations?

--Maybe, you officer can help me, sir--one of the men says to the major. I live with my wife at my in-laws' place. My mother-in-law would not agree to register my arrival in her house. Earlier, I lived in Konstancin, in a house that was designated to be dismantled. It has been dismantled, and here I am out in the cold. How am I to cut this Gordian knot?

On a Beaten Path

Major Tadeusz Ostrowski, the plenipotentiary-commissioner of the National Defense Committee assigned to the administrator of the Sochaczew parish, hears many such questions every day. The uniform seems to act like a magnet, it attracts persons who view the representatives of the army as people who can solve virtually everything.

--When I was in command of the operational team in the territory of this parish, I initially tried to explain to the customers that the army does not replace local authorities, that all matters are still considered by the proper officials. That was to no avail. I referred the citizens to respective sections of the

office. It is the same way now, while martial law is in effect. Of course, in some cases, when the powers of the parish administrator are not adequate, I have to make appropriate decisions myself.

The Major and his deputy, Maj Tadeusz Puchala, are intimately knowledgeable about the numerous problems pervading the village. A package of motions and recommendations to the parish authorities for implementation was the result of their fact-finding mission. Many of those have already been or are in the process of being implemented, the two officers stress. Undoubtedly, the attitude of the parish authorities who treated the officers' suggestions earnestly, accepting them as guidelines in the near future, have had a lot to do with this state of affairs.

Among the matters for immediate consideration, straightening out the activities of the mechanical services center of the local SKR [Agricultural Circles' Cooperative] and the Cooperative of Municipal Transportation were mentioned. The commissioner is just going out to inspect the fulfillment of recommendations that were made earlier. Manager of the service center Boguslaw Krakowiak welcomes Maj Ostrowski much like a good friend.

--Oh, major, you dropped by once again, sir. As you can see, we have done a lot. Well, not everything could be put in perfect order.

--Indeed! The improvement is obvious. Agricultural implements have been well taken care of and are in their proper places. However, I still have some remarks to make about fire security. These drums of gasoline cannot just sit here close to the building, without protection. They should be quickly removed from here to a proper place.

It turns out there have been many more remarks concerning the work of the center's labor force. They were made with regard to labor discipline and care for the machinery currently under repair.

At the same time, appreciable improvement in order of the rural transportation pool resulted in the commissioner's approval. In accordance with the decree on the introduction of martial law, the pool has been militarized. As manager Stanislaw Krzeminski stated, the work force took up discharging their responsibilities under new circumstances with understanding and solemnity. Everybody is working selflessly, despite known difficulties caused by the lack of spare parts and tires for delivery vans.

Labor discipline has also improved appreciably. The inspection of the [motor] pool by the major has shown a radical improvement in vehicle management, their maintenance, etc.

The major's subordinate will pay similar visits to other sections of the economic administration to check on how the tasks set by the territorial operational team have been put into practice. The soldiers will follow a beaten path which they have marked for themselves by pointing out negligence and shortcomings in the parish economy.

Food Supply--The Most Important Issue

The problem of streamlining the procurement of grain, milk, and slaughter cattle is among the many problems solved by the commissioner together with the parish administrator. This issue has been designated priority by the local party echelons. A voluntary action of pledging excess foodstuffs that can be delivered to procurement centers has been carried out in the last 4 days among the producers. Employees of agricultural service, village administrators, officials, and teachers have been drawn into the action.

I would like to point out--says the parish administrator Janusz Kolba--that a great majority of peasants showed full understanding for the appeal of the chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, General of Army Wojciech Jaruzelski on extending aid in foodstuffs to the urban population and on forming ties between the city and the countryside. A concrete manifestation of this attitude is the quantity of crops and meat supplies which will be delivered to procurement points within the next week. Results of additional deliveries are significant if compared with the opportunities of this parish which invariably exceeds plans [of deliveries]. Indeed, the farmers have voluntarily pledged deliveries of 83 tons of grain, 790 porkers, and 174 head of cattle. /This will allow the parish to ensure full coverage of ration-card needs of its inhabitants, especially with regard to meat./ The situation is similar with regard to milk. Deliveries of milk, according to the assurances given by producers, will provide enough to increase the milk supplies by about 8 to 10 percent of the amount supplied so far.

It also turns out that martial law and the rigorousness of this law make it possible to find a way around many strange, sometimes almost impractible regulations. That was the case when the commissioner and the parish administrator jointly made a decision on introducing current contract sign-on for agricultural products effective December 17. There have already been first results. Farmer Lucjan Wezowski said he had 20 porkers for procurement, however, he had no opportunity to deliver them to a procurement center. The decision in this case was to dispatch a truck immediately to pick up the porkers. They are already in the stockyard.

The Problems Solved

The first days and hours the major was active in the capacity of the plenipotentiary-commissioner of the National Defense Committee have also allowed him to evaluate the fulfillment of an array of measures by the parish authorities they were charged to implement. According to the estimate by Maj Ostrowski, several basic measures have either been implemented or are in advanced stages of implementation.

Improvement in the organization and management of activities of the parish office is considerable. The personnel have been thoroughly instructed on their responsibilities within their jurisdiction. In the estimation of customers, current visits to the parish office are shorter. Farmers, who constitute the majority of applicants, now have more opportunities to mind their own stores and do not waste time waiting at the doors of offices.

The issue of supplying residential coal and coal for agricultural production has also been solved. Distribution of fertilizers and other means of agricultural production will also not be a bother for producers. The farmers, however, stipulate that sales of certain types of fodder in exchange for grain be introduced immediately. This issue will be considered and appropriate decisions made within a few days.

Issues associated with the distribution of construction materials have aroused keen interest among the rural population. The commissioner has noticed a marked improvement in this area as well. As a result of intervention by the military operational teams, the farmers have received the necessary amount of these materials. For example, Janusz Wojnowski from the village of Nowe Mostki obtained asbestos-cement roofing material, bricks, lime, and cement needed to construct farm buildings and housing. The needs of Ryszard Strzelczyk from Rodozlow and Sabina Zielinska from Feliksow have also been met.

Preparations of the municipal economy for combatting the consequences of winter are also up to par. By a decision of the parish administrator, a necessary quantity of SKR tractors equipped with snow plows has been assigned to snow removal, an emergency crew has been selected from the personnel of the Area Civil Defense Unit commanded by Lieutenant (Reserves) Jan Szczepanski.

Currently, the plenipotentiary-commissioner of KOK [National Defense Committee] together with other soldiers are busy checking the system to provide rural shops with foodstuffs and popular consumer goods. The agricultural service has been ordered to draw up an inventory of machinery and equipment held by farmers. It has also been recommended that the production potential of agriculture in the parish be analyzed. This will enable spring work in agriculture to be started based on a complete knowledge of assets and means of production. This knowledge accumulated ahead of time will ensure the full use of agricultural lands.

9761
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ZBOWID ACTIVITIES, CHANGES DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZA WOLNOSCI LUD in Polish No 47, 21 Nov 81 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Wlodzimierz Sokorski, chairman of ZBoWiD /Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy/, by Bohdan Rostropowicz; date and place not specified/

[Text] [Question] Mr Chairman, for over a year, ZBoWiD has been working in a new situation in the country, and you have been chairman of the organization's Main Board. How would you characterize the new processes in the organization, which one could call socialist renewal? From time to time, one could meet with the view that nothing has changed in our organization nor would it change. The editorial office for that matter--on the basis of its own experience--has a different feeling; sometimes there are calls for renewal, but things do not always change for the better. How do you see this problem?

[Answer] The changes during the past year can be classified into two main issues: 1) structural issues and 2) verification issues. On the basis of various resolutions passed by the Main Board concerning the vertical structure (circles, neighborhood boards, urban boards, voivodship boards and the main board), a horizontal structure has developed (clubs, community-type commissions, voivodship community-type commissions and national community-type commissions). The first fulfills normal, statutory requirements (e.g., conducts elections, collects dues, presents awards and conducts the activities of such commissions as historical, youth, social and informational), while the second inspires comradeship, discusses community problems, cultivates the communities' historical traditions,protects the communities and announces the various conclusions made by voivodship boards and the Main Board. A similar arrangement results from our union's traditions: Polish soldiers fighting for Poland in various military formations and on various fronts, from the large number of former Nazi concentration camp prisoners living in Poland, fighters in the underground and participants in a wide array of uprisings beginning with those in Silesia and Great Poland, as well as in the Warsaw Uprisings, and ending with those Poles who participated in the Spanish Civil War, and also those who fought in the Soviet and Yugoslav Armies.

Thanks to the integration of ZBoWiD on the basis of the communities' existence and respect, it possesses lasting characteristics that strengthen our unity even in such a difficult period as now. On the other hand, all existing anticommunity phobias facilitate anti-integrational activities, weaken unity, give back in fact the field

to opponents of a common ZBoWiD organization and weaken arguments regarding unity, which is the condition required so that ZBoWiD can retain its character as an integral part of the Front for National Understanding, and so that it can arrange such a fantastic issue like the Combatant's Charter, which should be the principal resolution regarding the rights and privileges of those who fought for national and societal liberation.

Within this question are the problems of verification, expressed in a new interpretation, supported by recent regulations. The new interpretation, already manifested, considers our difficult historical problems, experiences from the Occupation and battles on various fronts, the post-occupational period when there was a civil war, rehabilitation processes that expiated guilt and punishment, participation of Poles who signed the volkslist in the Soviet and Allied Armies and active participation in maintaining the people's authority. New conclusions also ensue from the broadened list of concentration camps and adolescent participation in the underground (officially from age 14) or in individual cases (e.g., the Vistula Boys, Boy Scouts from the Fourth Uprising in Silesia, the Zamosc children from age 12). As regards the multitude of complex issues and numerous revocations that the team cannot consider, ZBoWiD's Main Board was called to order by the Main Board's Revocation Commission, whose decisions, after confirmation by the Main Board's Secretariat, have a final character. There were almost 1,500 such issues last year; further events confirm the need to maintain the existing structure. The Verification Commission's Mutual Presidium of the Main Board and Revocation Commission guarantee impartiality of decisions and eliminate quarrels regarding competence in continually very difficult issues.

[Question] During this past year, ZBoWiD's Main Board returned to the issue of the Combatant's Charter. It has provoked widespread interest in the fighters' community, which is evident from the number of letters not only to our editorial staff but also to the Main Board. Many diverse opinions and views are expressed in these letters. What are the charter's real chances? How is a more concrete aspect of the charter taking place? Supposedly there is even a draft for the charter. Will it be widely discussed with the voivodship boards and circles within ZBoWiD? if so, when? Questions like these also are coming from the field. People also have inquired at the last plenary meeting of the Main Board.

[Answer] The draft for the combatant's charter already exists. It encompasses all existing acts dealing with combatants; it is thus something like the Main Resolution that broadens considerably the privileges of people from the community. The Combatant's Charter is concerned with the area of political authorizations; e.g., the issue of our organization's participation in the Front for National Understanding, in elections to the Sejm and national councils, in the resolution of social, pension and retirement issues and in the establishment of their level of payments, with an annual supplement due to the higher cost of living. The combatant's Charter also deals with the problems of the war crippled, issues of rate reductions for trains and buses for all combatants, rate reductions for the urban communications network, no payments for use of radio and television, and social care checked by the field administrative organ. There are also apartment issues (changes), coal for winter, sanatoriums, rest homes for combatants and other organizations throughout the field. The final draft, already discussed in the Office of the Council of Ministers, will be discussed at a meeting of the Main Board's Presidium on 3 December 1981, sent into the field

for general discussion and then accepted at the next meeting of the Main Board's Presidium. From there, it will be sent to the government and transferred to the Sejm, which, according to our initial discussions, should ratify it during the spring session.

[Question] There are pervasive beliefs that the vast majority of the combatants' environment is in a bad state; e.g., the means for maintaining a large number of combatants are at a level much lower than the social minimum, not to mention average payments, retirement and pensions. What specifically is ZBoWiD doing to change this worsening state of affairs? After all, from social, moral and political viewpoints, such a situation is unacceptable.

[Answer] First, ZBoWiD has proposed the Combatant's Charter. Second, we have received a 200-million-zloty grant-in-aid from Premier Gen Jaruzelski for one-time assistance for those combatants most in need--the war crippled. Third, we are trying to establish a special combatant's medal, which would entitle the combatant to a supplement to his pension--let's say 1000 zlotys--with the exception, of course, of those already decorated. This assistance will entitle combatants needing assistance to obtain coal and supplements, issues that concern the premier.

[Question] Much controversy in our union concerns the issue of verification. Some even say--especially as regards the Combatant's Charter--that new verification should be introduced. Among these controversial issues are whether people in the reactionary underground should be admitted to ZBoWiD and whether the scope of combatants' rights should be broadened to include people who lived through all forms of Nazi suppression (e.g., police camps, temporary camps, prisons, arrests, etc.)--and not just concentration camps. Do you anticipate some form of new verification?

[Answer] We shall not introduce new verification; it is not needed and in effect is deceptive. On the other hand, in light of the new interpretation--as already discussed--we can, and shall, daily verify each new issue as the need arises.

[Question] The issue of decorations gives rise to a wide array of objections. These concern, among others, a rather protracted rate for awarding the decorations, nonacceptance of all ZBoWiD members to that right--decorated fighters--verification of military honors granted by AK, PSZ in the West and so on. Also at issue is the fact that at the current speed for giving out decorations (the medal "For Participation in the War of Defense--1939" and the Warsaw Uprising Cross), those combatants entitled to receive them last would get them after the year 2000--and most will have died. What are your views on this issue? What can be done and what is being done, to satisfy the community in this regard?

[Answer] This year we shall award twice as many decorations as last year. Likewise, the Main Board's Commission for Decorations and the Office for Combatants' Affairs are working very intensively on this matter, the same as the Council of State. Not everyone can nor should receive a decoration. We intend to solve this problem by issuing a special medal, as already mentioned. For the Warsaw Uprising Cross, we have a special commission with Gen Jan Radoslaw-Mazurkiewicz as chairman. A different commission is working to award the medal "For Participation in the War of Defense--1939."

Both matters should be completely finished within 2 to 3 years. We have treated the Warsaw Uprising Cross separately, as it is a special issue. The Cross should be given posthumously or to Poles living abroad, but only to those who took an active part in the Uprising, even if they are not members of ZBoWiD. But they all must have the combatant's qualifications. This is a specification of the community. Let us add that in accordance with the statute creating the cross, ZBoWiD has the exclusive right to introduce petitions to the Council of State; the commission must have special people fully representative of the Uprising community, whether or not they belong to ZBoWiD. In 1946, a special resolution was passed to strip Polish citizenship from officers and generals living abroad. Both the act annulling the previous decision and the recent decision by the Main Board's Presidium to call for a Commission on Matters concerning the Warsaw Uprising Cross are moves to intregrate the combatant community into the structure of the Polish People's Republic, constitution and other laws.

[Question] An issue agitating the community of former Nazi political prisoners is that of reparations from the German Federal Republic. Above all, this concerns the disbursement of 100 million deutsche marks earmarked for those who suffered through pseudomedical experiments. As stated, either a good share of the money went to people who had no right to it, or much of it never was disbursed. Can you elaborate on these points?

[Answer] As regards the issue of reparations for those who suffered through pseudomedical experiments, the Council of Ministers requires that as of 1 November 1981, a new commission will be called, in which representatives from the former Nazi prison community will take part. Work on initial findings is scheduled for completion 1 June 1982. The Ministry of Health and Social Welfare has issued a communique published in the press on 7-8 November (1981).

[Question] It seems that the union's current social and organizational problems have somewhat shaded its ideal-behavioral function, especially concerning the younger generation. This has provoked justifiable unrest among numerous union activists. What do you think?

[Answer] The life of meritorious commissions in the face of strong action on the part of the community has weakened somewhat. It is not a healthy phenomenon, especially regarding widespread ideological confusion concerning our history. The calling of a small, ideological commission by the Main Board, and also of a commission for science and culture, would be in order. We have very active members in the universities and in the Polish Academy of Sciences, most never utilized. This problem also can be found in our writings.

[Question] How do you view the role of ZBoWiD as regards cooperation with combatants' organizations abroad? Is it developing or has it stagnated?

[Answer] We maintain very active combatants' contacts both with the Soviet Committee of War Veterans and the Yugoslav SUBNOR (we have recently signed a new cooperative agreement) and with combatants' groups from other socialist countries. We have recently renewed contacts with Polish emigres; an example is our participation at a combatants' congress in Belgium.

[Question] What is your view on the actual state of integrating the numerous ZBoWiD members? Inherent here is the question of controversial views. There are many tendencies toward disintegration; other combatants' groups like "Solidarity" arise next to ZBoWiD. Therefore, must you deepen the union's integration process?

[Answer] Disintegrating phenomena exist not within our organization but rather on the outside, among so-called combatants in "Solidarity." This is a political phenomenon, not a combatant's one. This does not threaten our organization with a breakdown, but it is harmful by disseminating misinformation, confusion and illusions as to the implementation of demands, which only ZBoWiD has the legal right to do, as in the issue of the combatant's Charter. Solidarity contains people who have no combatants rights, but rather have been in conflict with the combatants' community for many years. One cannot but judge their harmfulness and disintegrating role. After the last changes in our organization, each honest Polish combatant can find his place in it and recognition for his activity.

[Question] One final question is: How do you see the actual position of ZBoWiD in society? Is it an ally of PZPR? How do you see its role in the Front for National Understanding, which is supposed to develop?

[Answer] During the last year on the basis of widespread renewal, ZBoWiD's position has grown considerably and become stronger. Its activities have acquired concrete results. ZBoWiD is like one of one hundred thousand convinced that its role will continue to grow.

[Question] Thank you for the discussion.

9807
CSO: 2600/94

MILITARY MEN APPOINTED VOIVODSHIP GOVERNORS

Katowice, Elblag, Koszalin, Radom

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 16 Dec 81 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Maj Gen R. Paszkowski Appointed Governor of Katowice Voivodship"]

[Text] Effective December 15, 1981, the chairman of the Council of Ministers removed the following persons from their positions as governors of their respective voivodships for improper performance of their duties: Zdzislaw Olszewski, Elblag; Henryk Lichos, Katowice; Jan Urbanowicz, Koszalin; and Feliks Wojtkun, Radom.

Effective December 16, 1981, the chairman of the Council of Ministers made the following appointments:

--Maj Gen Roman Paszkowski to the position of governor of the Katowice voivodship;

--Col Ryszard Urlinski to governor of the Elblad voivodship;

--Col Zdzislaw Mazurkiewicz to governor of the Koszalin voivodship; and

--Col Alojzy Wojciechowski to governor of the Radom voivodship.

The new Katowice governor, Maj Gen (pilot) Roman Paszkowski was born in 1914 in Bulow (Siedlce voivodship) to a peasant family. In 1939 he fought against the Nazis and was a prisoner of war during the occupation. After liberation, he graduated from the Main School for the Foreign Service and the Polish Army General Staff Academy. From 1945 to 1951 and since 1951 he has served in the Polish People's Army. While in service he held command positions in the National Air Defense Force, including the position of commander of this force. He was the Polish People's Republic's ambassador in England from 1976 to 1980.

He is a member of the PZPR.

The Governor of the Elblag Voivodship

Col Ryszard Urlinski, the newly appointed governor of Elblag was born in 1924 in Prostyn (Siedlce voivodship) to a white-collar family. He began his professional career in 1941 in the Bridge Construction Plant in Malkina. In 1944 he enlisted

in the Polish People's Army where he graduated from the Artillery Officers School and then the Polish Army General Staff Academy. He held many command posts in the Army, including that of commander of the Higher Missile and Artillery Officers School.

He is a member of the PZPR.

The Governor of the Koszalin Voivodship

The governor of Koszalin, Col Zdzislaw Mazurkiewicz, was born in 1924 in Chelm. His father was a craftsman. He has served in the Polish People's Army since 1944. He graduated from the Artillery Officers School, the Artillery Command School and the General Staff Academy in the Soviet Union. His military assignments include the position of division commander and chief of the Anti-aircraft Defense Forces of the Warsaw Military District. Since 1968 he has been the deputy chief of those Forces.

He is a member of the PZPR.

The Governor of the Radom Voivodship

Col Alojzy Wojciechowski, appointed to his new position yesterday, was born in 1927 in Zbaszyn. His father was a railroad worker. He has been in the Polish People's Army since 1948. He graduated from the Military Technical Academy in Warsaw with a degree in mechanical engineering. His military assignments have included various positions in the technical services. Since 1976 he has been deputy chief of the tank-vehicle service.

He is a member of the PZPR.

Katowice Governor Meets Miners

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 19 Dec 81, pp 1, 2

[Article by Jerzy Bieronski and Jozef Janik: "A Soldier's Frank Talk With the Miners"; pasages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

> [Text] The meeting of Maj Gen (pilot) Roman Paszkowski, Katowice Governor, with miners of the "Gen Zawadzki" Mine.
>
> The first meeting between the governor-general and the "Gen Zawadzki" miners was succinct and military. It took place without any official formalities, artificial barriers, or any kind of division. From the first words spoken by Maj Gen (pilot) Paszkowski, an atmosphere of frankness and direct dialogue prevailed. The governor said:

/"I came so that we could look each other frankly in the eyes. As soldiers and as miners. As people who fought for the independence of People's Poland, for its freedom and sovereignty, and as those who, in the rebuilding of Poland after the terrible destruction of war, made and continue to make, the greatest contribution. The soldiers' and miners' intentions always were, and are, pure.

Calm in our family home, in our People's Fatherland, has always been of the utmost importance to us and to you.

Our meeting, taking place in a state of martial law, when a general is talking with a miner, is extremely important, actually symbolic. A meeting at a time when we are both worried, concerned about how to protect the Fatherland from the most terrible tragedy. What we should do, so that there would be the least number of victims, so that calm and order would prevail in our country as quickly as possible.

I say to you sincerely, as a Pole and as a general in the Polish Army, that the decisions of the Military Council for National Salvation are the choice of the lesser evil, in the danger that threatens the nation and the Fatherland. If General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski had not decided as he did, it would have been much worse. The situation was exceptional and we had to immediately do what history will certainly judge to have been fair. There was no other way out. The strict discipline of martial law is a necessity of life.

I do not conceal the fact that the situation in Katowice at this time is difficult. Not all of the fires of conflict have been extinguished. In this struggle for power, which for the counterrevolutionists, the enemies of Poland, is lost, and had to be lost, the Katowice voivodship still has some trouble spots. The tragedy in the "Wujek" Mine, which we soldiers and miners both are living through, was not necessary. Truly, it did not have to happen.

I want to assure you as a soldier and an officer, as a governor at the order of our prime minister, that we are doing and will continue to do everything necessary so that there will be no more victims, so that the use of force will not be necessary, so that we can jointly solve even the most difficult problems by means of persuasion, mutual understanding and agreement. In this spirit and on those matters, on December 17th I talked with the bishop of the Katowice diocese, the Most Reverend Bishop Dr Herbert Bednorz.

I came to you because I am familiar with the intelligence and good work of the workforce of your mine, which bears the name of the first general-governor of our voivodship, Aleksander Zawadzki. I do not say that I know it well because I have been here only for the "Barborka" [miners' holiday]. It was during the time that I commanded a unit in the Katowice voivodship. From those meetings I developed a feeling and a respect for you and your work. And so I come to you as an old soldier, whose subordinates and comrades also defend the Silesian Coal Basin, who work here. Who today, like very soldier, hasten with help. Fate, a general's order, sent me to the Katowice voivodship at a time of high significance for Poland. I want very much to do as much as possible here. The first and most important duty that I have set and will continue to set, is that there will be no shooting. Second, no billy clubs will be used. Third, to improve supplies. After these three duties are performed, the time will come to resolutely put our political, social and economic life in order, to determine how, in a measurable and significant way, to look after the protection of the community, the local living conditions of the hardworking people. I am already making decisions, along with staff decisions, to clear the path for the stabilization and development of the Silesia Coal Basin.

In this complex, fraught-with-danger situation, I talk to you frankly, in a soldier-like way. Sitting with you is a Polish general who grew up in this nation, who knows its faults and virtues and who just as fervently as you desires that the Fatherland, so bitterly taught by history, protect itself against mortal dangers, bloodshed, that it regain calm and security, its rightful dignity in Europe and in the world, and the confidence of its friends and allies."/

After the Katowice governor's statement, the meeting, in which the underground miners, the members of the mine management and inspection, and representatives of all departments, sections and services, took part, took on the character of a miners' gripe session. The statements of the participants are brief, talking about the work in the mine but also about all the complaints not only of the "General Zawadzki" workforce, but of all of mining, about everything which in normal life is most disturbing to both the miners as well as their mothers and wives.

During All of the Days of Martial Law We are Extracting Normally

Miroslaw Januszek--foreman of the hauling department says:

-- Our mine is working well. During all of the days of martial law we have mined normally. In accordance with the plan. Sometimes we throw in a few additional tons of coal, but with us that has been normal for a long time. We would like very much to have these shortages of various kinds of spare parts, particularly those little ones, all these different kinds of terminals and screws, end and never return. These cheap but indispensable pieces, that are easy to produce but which we never get in sufficient quantity but nobody wants to produce because they find them unprofitable. Yet these shortages have plagued the miners for years.

Kazimierz Motloch--said: We believe that every ton of coal is important, but we believe also that the miners' shower-rooms should be painted also, so that the rooms will be clean. Yet for a year and a half our building department has not obtained a drop of solvent. The constant lack of materials makes it difficult to repair the social building and miners' family quarters of which there are still so many in Dabrowa Gornicza and in the entire voivodship.

--We would like once and for all to see an end to the cursed evasion and bending of the law, so that everyone, from miner to minister and premier, be subject to the same criteria of evaluation of work and conduct, that good work be honored and rewarded equally for everyone. We would like to see an end to the humiliating begging for all kinds of spare parts for combines or timbering. This bribery and corruption, this barter and exchange of goods--added Krzysztof Majda, manager of the hydraulic power department, as if in continuation of the preceding comments. The supply services should do a good job of what they are supposed to do, and not conduct all kinds of gymnastics and acrobatics in order to get something done somewhere.

--Our wives are tired of standing in queues and their hands are reaching the ground from carrying, sometimes for entire kilometers, often even bread which is not available near the home. The streetcar or bus, instead of every few minutes, comes once an hour or not at all. I am not saying this to complain, but I would like the comrade-governor to know what is so keenly disturbing the miners and their wives. A miner, in order to work well, must eat, said Eugeniusz Wilczek, an underground wireman.

Bronislaw Mirowski, carpenter, and Henryk Chalczynski, manager of the self-defense unit, brought up the problem of the functioning of the streetcars and buses in the city and in the voivodship, which is bad. They proposed that the Voivodship Transportation Enterprise (WPK) drivers be paid not by the hour but by the number of trips and their punctuality. Then, for sure, it would change for the better. And perhaps some military men should be put in charge of the WPK and the individual car barns.

We Will Get Rid of the Incompetents

Here the general-governor interrupts:

/--Today you read in the press the first and not-at-all short list of dismissals, I want to assure you that we will get rid of the incompetents, those who are not doing their job. We will rigorously and resolutely put the cadre situation in the voivodship in order, for we know very well that a great deal depends on this.

Others who take the floor: Marian Augustyn, manager of the Miner's Home, Henryk Wojcik, ironworker in the mechanical department, and engineer Stefan Noszczyk. The meeting lasts an hour and a half. Seventeen miners speak out, some two or three times. They give the governor a comprehensive picture of the situation in this well-operating mine. They point out the problems that are most important for all of mining, including the lack of protective clothing, the lack of insulated shoes for winters, the lack of spare parts. They talk also about the problems that arose as a result of martial law. For example, the inability of the mines to make quick contact with the power plants. And this cannot be allowed to go on because proper ventilation and functioning of the shafts is involved, the dewatering of the mines, and everything that goes into what is most important in mining--work safety. There are also the questions that are of vital interest to all of us: How long will the state of martial law last, when, finally, will the country's indebtedness end, as well as this begging. And also such questions as will the miners living in hotels be able to go their families for the holidays, and even whether there will be something with which to raise a toast on Christmas Eve.

The General Replied Frankly

He did not ignore any matter. /"Everything depends on us. Everything depends on whether there will be calm and safety in the Fatherland, on how and when we are able to extinguish both the flames of conflict and their embers. The upheaval will end only when we are all working, when the military return to their barracks, when conditions exist for the democratization of life in our country, which was begun so decisively, for the application of reform, including economic reform. The army does not wish and has no intent to rule. It is here in the cities simply and only to avert the mortal peril threatening the Fatherland. Simply and only so that our nation can live, work and develop normally.

And still some more brief decisions: Tomorrow a military operational group will come here to jointly with the miners consider what should be changed in trade, how to make transportation more efficient, how to improve supplies--how these difficulties that are so very troubling for the workforce and the dwellers of Dabrowa Gornicza can be alleviated.

I will make a study of the matters pertaining to the mine and mining in general, and will send it to the Minister of Mining. What I accomplish you will see for yourself, you will see it in practice. What I cannot accomplish I will come to you and explain why certain problems have not yet been completely solved, problems we talked about today. I am not promising you anything beyond this, for that would not be in keeping with my character. I repeat: I accepted with a sense of enormous responsibility but also with great satisfaction the nomination for governor of the Katowice Region, which certainly has meant and continues to mean so much to the country, and on whom so much depends./

During his visit at the "Gen Zawadzki" Mine, the Katowice Governor, Maj Gen Roman Paszkowski sincerely thanked the workforce for their timely accomplishment of tasks, for their understanding, expressed in solid work, of the complex situation of the country, which always, and today especially, needs coal so badly, the main wealth of the Silesian Basin.

Katowice Governor Discusses Supplies

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 22 Dec 81 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Trade Consists of More than Just Deliveries"; conversations between the governor of Katowice and shop customers in Bytom-Szombierk; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The people stand in queues. Food supplies during the pre-holiday period are somewhat better than during the previous weeks but still not enough to eliminate the annoyance of the queues. What can be done to minimize the difficulties that this causes? The answer to this question was sought yesterday in Bytom and in Katowice./

The Katowice Governor, Maj Gen (pilot) Roman Paszkowski, after talks in the Town Administration in Bytom with Mayor Pawel Spyra and first secretary of the PZPR Town Committee, Boleslaw Skotnicki, concerning living conditions for the town dwellers, visited shops in the working city district of Szombierk. The customers spoke of the most serious shortages: eggs, potato flour, sausages, alcohol, sweets, and lard. Some of these articles are still due to reach the shops today.

/The supply situation in Bytom is really not different than in the rest of the voivodship. This was indicated at the meeting, organized in the voivodship office, of the Katowice governor with the directors of all the centers responsible for supplying the people with everything from bread to coal./

From the information given here, it appears that basically deliveries of food to the voivodship actually conform to the distribution lists, however they deviate greatly from the needs, particularly as concerns cheese, eggs, partially milk and fats, for which the demand is tremendous. It was indicated that some producers, e.g., from the Czestochowa voivodship, were not supplying the agreed-upon amounts of milk, and others were not supplying cheese.

/But the coverage of meat ration cards for December looks optimistic./ The larger supplies, as can be seen in the shops, can be attributed to such factors as imports, more efficient transfers from other regions and domestic procurement. Although it is true that there is not a full selection, especially of top-quality meats and sausages, still basic needs can be met.

/The sale of carp is going well./ Seventy percent of the holiday deliveries are made through the work plants. And it is they who should as quickly as possible pick up their allotments so that there should be no concern or disruption in sales. Because the fish is here. The fresh fish will go the retail trade and for the unrationed sales, while the frozen imported fish will go to the restaurants.

/Actually, the deliveries of animal fats are the most difficult problem/ and there is no certainty that ration-card sales this month will be fully implemented. The Katowice governor will intervene at the top level in this matter.

/There should be no shortage of poultry/, for a decision was made to increase supplies.

The efficient functioning of trade does not consist of deliveries alone. /When conditions are difficult, efficient organization also brings relief to the purchasers./ That is why the management and staff of shops, mainly meat and dairy-products, have been required to open their shops in accordance with the shop-opening hours, regardless whether the goods have arrived or are yet to be delivered. /What is important here is that the queues not stand outside in the cold weather but indoors./ Trade also has an obligation to conduct sales in so-called "repeatable" departments, which in practice means that butter, for example, is sold not just in one place but in several departments. Of course, this pertains also to every product for which one has to stand in line. The application of organizational improvements such as those will be, as announced, absolutely enforced, and trade will be treated just like everything else that is first and foremost.

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BRIEFS

SCHOOL REOPENINGS--The head of the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology has decided that instruction for students at all levels will resume on 25 January at the following schools: Bydgoszcz Technical-Agricultural Academy, Krakow Agricultural Academy, Lublin Agricultural Academy, Olsztyn Agricultural-Technical Academy, Siedlce Higher Agricultural-Pedagogical School, the Main School of Farming at the Warsaw Agricultural Academy, Wroclaw Agricultural Academy; at the following technical universities: Czestochowa, Lublin, Slaska [Silesian], Swietokrzyz, Poznan; at the Koszalin Higher School of Engineering, and at the Warsaw Christian Theological Academy. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jan 82 p 5] The Szczecin Agricultural Academy and Szczecin Higher Pedagogical School will resume regular studies on 27 January. [by Macz] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 82 p 2] On 27 January studies were resumed at the Main School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw. The following schools have also resumed studies: Lublin Catholic University, the Olsztyn Higher Pedagogical School, and the Rzeszow Higher Pedagogical School. High attendance on the part of students and teachers is reported. [by bc] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Jan 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/278

ROLE OF WORKING CLASS IN SOCIAL HOMOGENIZATION

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 21, 5 Nov 81 pp 11-13

[Article by Elisabeta Traistaru]

[Text] One of the characteristic features of the revolutionary changes that occurred in Romania in the years of building the new social system is affirmation of the working class as the leading social force, against the backdrop of the growing closer between the social classes and categories and deepening process of social homogenization. The concept of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, on the increase in the role of the working class and the revolutionary party in building socialism and communism incorporates ideas of basic importance with regard to the close cooperation between the communist party and the social classes and categories which comprise our society, to blending the activity of the party and state organs with that of the mass and public organizations and leadership organs in the social-economic units and to improving the organizational framework for the effective and direct participation of all workers in the leadership of social-economic life.

Reflecting the profound changes taking place in all areas of our socialist society, homogenization represents a complex and objective process originating in the very dialectical process itself of the formation and development of the new social system. In turn, homogenization acts upon the components of the social system, speeding up the processes in the direction of formation of the united society of workers.

In specialized literature the homogenization of society frequently is limited to the changes taking place in the social structure, with the implications at the level of political and cultural structures being understood. We feel that a careful analysis of the real processes taking place in our socialist society brings out a much more complex content of homogenization of Romanian society. In this framework, a particularly important place is held by the country's economic homogenization, which actually represents the objective basis for the process of social homogenization.

The powerful increase in production forces by incorporating the newest achievements of the modern scientific-technical revolution, their rational territorial distribution, development and improvement of the material-technical base are the stimulating factor for the growing homogenization of our socialist society. The correlation between territorial distribution of the production forces and economic homogenization creates better and better conditions for improving production and social relations, of the organizational framework for the masses' participation in the leadership of the economy, social life and governing of the country. These processes and their dialectical interconditioning have as their main direction of evolution for the future the formation of the united communist society of all workers.

Rational territorial placement of the production forces takes place by taking into consideration in a unified whole the criteria of economic efficiency, complex social problems and problems of raising the level of civilization of all workers. In accordance with these principles, the new industrial projects have been placed near the sources of raw materials or centers of consumption, insuring superior utilization of material and human resources. At the same time, new jobs have been sought to be created for women in the units of light industry, food and services in the counties and locations where men predominantly work due to the type and structure of production.

Year after year large amounts of investments, with priority being given to the less industrially developed counties, have been allocated to implement the policy for rational distribution of production forces on the territory. As an example, in the 1976-1980 five-year plan, while the volume of investments for the national economy as a whole rose 1.8 times compared with the 1971-1975 period, increases of 2-3 times occurred in Bistrita-Nasaud, Botosani, Covasna, Gorj, Ialomita, Salaj, Vaslui and Vilcea Counties.

High economic growth rates, characteristic of Romania's development in all years of socialist construction until now, have been maintained and accompanied by broader and broader assertion of the qualitative aspects expressed in general by growth in labor productivity and degree of utilization of raw materials, materials, fuels and electric energy. The new quality of the Romanian economy, which insures it its ability to be efficient, is illustrated by the higher growth rate of the national income compared with that of social product, with the structure of the national income coming closer and closer to that of the economically developed countries.

In the current stage, in conformity with the forecasts of the new five-year plan, powerful affirmation of the scientific-technical revolution in all areas of socialist construction and accelerated transition to a new quality of social-economic activity as a result of the quantitative accumulations from prior five-year plans will take place. The harmonious development of all society, growth of the national economy at a sustained rate and of social product and the national income, accomplishment of an appropriate balance between the various rates and sectors of activity, powerful flourishing of science, education and culture, improvement in social relations and deepening of socialist democracy--basic aspects of the rising homogenization of Romanian society--will be insured.

In the 1981-1985 five-year plan the development of industrial production at an average annual rate of 7.6 percent, together with increasing the share of industry in total per capita production, will insure an increase in the ranks of the working class and its role in all social-economic life. It is forecast that by 1990 Romania should have a population of 25 million, while the population working in social-economic activity will be 11.8-12 million, of whom 52 percent will be in industry and construction, 15 percent in agriculture and 33 percent in other sectors. The result of these changes in the structure of the working population will be an even more emphatic increase in the share and role of the working class in all social-economic life and gradual generalization of working conditions specific to workers over other social categories.

In this five-year plan, on the basis of development of all sectors of activity, fulfillment of the strategic goal of moving Romania from the stage of a developing country to that of an average developed country will be achieved. Fulfillment of this

goal requires improvement in all planning activity, an increase in the role of the working class and all workers in leadership of social-economic life.

The basic goals and guidelines for the 1981-1985 five-year plan bring out the need for a new, revolutionary vision of the economic growth process and, in this framework, of the place and role of industry in the model for economic growth as well as of its relations with other branches of the national economy. There is special theoretical and practical value in the explanation given by the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, according to which the country's industrialization should not be carried out to the detriment of the development and modernization of agriculture. Proceeding from the conditions and requirements of the current stage, the decisions of the 12th party congress established the task for the powerful and accompanying development of industry, particularly the production of raw materials and energy and of agriculture, with these sectors being the decisive factor for the country's social-economic development and for raising all the people's material and spiritual standard of living.

The main criterion for evaluating the level of social-economic development of all the countries in this five-year plan will be total per capita production and its component elements, per capita industrial production, per capita agricultural production and that obtained in other branches (construction, transportation, services). This criterion expresses the level of social-economic developmentin a general way, taking into account both the volume of production obtained in all the economic branches as well as the number of each county's population. Taking into consideration per capita total production in evaluating the counties' level of social-economic development is a qualitatively new element in the gradual equalization of the working and living conditions of all workers in all counties. This corresponds to our party's scientific and humanist policy of the harmonious development of all counties, of insuring equal working and living conditions for all workers, regardless of nationality.

In this regard, we feel that the process of territorial economic homogenization could be emphasized more strikingly if the criterion of per capita net production also were taken into consideration. This indicator needs attention, especially since in some counties the share of material expenses in total production is relatively high while in others it is lower, meaning that the real level of economic development would be different for the same per capita total production. In our opinion, a better agreement could be achieved between the criterion of measuring the economic level for the national economy as a whole, that is, per capita national income and the criterion proposed at the county level--per capita net production.

Formation of a complex economic structure in each county comprised of the basic sectors--industry, construction, transportation, agriculture, services--and achieving a degree of employment of the population of a minimum 400 per 1,000 residents will have as a result the gradual homogenization of the territorial social structure and having the counties get closer together with regard to utilization of existing material and human resources.

The Working Class--The Basic Class of Romanian Society

Modernization of the structure of the national economy and formation of complex structures at the county level cause intense social and professional mobility and produce big shifts of the employed population from agriculture to industry, construction, transportation and other sectors of activity. The main meaning of the changes in the

structure of the working population is the increase in the ranks of the working class and reduction in percentage of peasants in total working population. What is significant is the fact that in the 1950-1979 period the working population increased nearly 1,943,000, that is, around 23 percent; worker personnel increased 5,060,000 persons (3.38 times), while the number of workers rose 4,530,400, that is, 4.7 times. The changes are even more obvious if we bear in mind that in the more than three decades of socialist construction the number of workers rose five times. We mention that since 1970 nearly the entire increase in worker personnel has been in the category of workers, which has positive results for having the working class carry out its role as the leading social force in all areas of activity.

The increase in the ranks of the working class has changed the share of it in total working population--from 14.6 percent in 1950 to 54.28 percent in 1979, and in the structure of worker personnel--from 57.6 percent in 1950 to 80.29 percent in 1979. Currently, the majority of the working class--more than 50 percent--is carrying out its activity in industry, which has gained the leading role in the national economy by contributing more than 60 percent of creation of the national income. The promotion of technical progress and the formation of a new structure for industry and the economy as a whole are indissolubly linked with the rise in number of workers in the modern branches of industry. In 1980, more than 45 percent of industrial workers were working in the machine construction industry, chemical industry, ferrous metallurgy and energy industry, compared with only 27 percent working in these branches in 1950.

In exchange, the population working in agriculture fell from 74.1 in 1950 to 29.5 percent in 1980 and it is estimated that it will reach 22 percent in 1985 and 15 percent in 1990.

The profound changes which have occurred in the structure of the working population in Romania in the directions mentioned are not produced in a linear fashion. They have an extremely complex nature, being accompanied by phenomena and processes with positive effects but also with some negative effects on certain sectors or areas of activity. Of course, among the positive effects, of course, is the growth in social labor productivity in agriculture as well as for the national economy as a whole. Thus, raising the technical level in correlation with reducing the number of persons working in agriculture have insured a rise in the level of labor productivity and reduction in the difference compared with that of industry--from around 1:10 in 1950 to around 1:4.5 in 1980.

The absolute and relative reduction in population working in agriculture, along with the positive effects mentioned, however, results in the appearance of a lack of labor force in agriculture in certain counties. This is particularly when it is necessary to carry out agricultural jobs which require a large volume of work in a short time, because agriculture, differing from industry and most of the other nonagricultural branches, requires labor resources which are unequally distributed during various periods of the year. For example, we know that the need for a labor force in the fall campaign reaches the highest level, since harvesting work during this period overlaps with the work of preparing the sowing the seasonal crops. As a result, the need for a labor force in agriculture during the peak periods cannot be insured exclusively from the cooperative member peasants, a class whose size evolves according to the general level of development of the technical base of agriculture and entire national economy.

Under conditions of fulfilling the goals of the new agrarian revolution in Romania, when the technical base for agriculture will continue to develop, basic changes will be produced in the structure of the population working in agriculture in the direction of increasing the share of those categories connected with extending the mechanization of agriculture, using irrigation systems and modern technologies, bringing a deep trend of professionalization of the working force working in this branch and its qualification in relatively stable trades connected with doing agricultural jobs.

Under these conditions, now and in the next stage, the need for a labor force in agriculture will continue to be higher in proportion to the population working in this branch as a result of the additional needs brought on by doing a large volume of work in a relatively short period of time. However, what is important is not so much the fact that a lack of agreement is demonstrated between the requirement for a labor force and the population permanently working in agriculture, but rather the solutions planned to solve this problem.

Proceeding from the complexity of the problem of insuring the necessary labor force in agriculture, our party and state leadership has adopted measures for stabilizing the population in agriculture, making it younger, creating new sectors of activity which are complementary to agriculture and, accordingly, insuring categories of the population which would work both in agriculture as well as in other sectors of work. The result of this is the more intense development of small industry in the rural localities and the agroindustrial cities, leading to a diminished shift of the population working in the rural environment toward the urban centers and reorienting the labor force reserves in a priority basis toward the nonagricultural branches in the agroindustrial cities and smaller urban centers. Thus, better conditions will be created to provide the necessary additional labor force in the peak periods not only from among the agricultural population but also from the ranks of the nonagricultural population of the same zone.

Providing the stability of the population in the rural environment and in the agroindustrial cities and limiting the shifts toward the big urban centers will have a positive effect on raising labor productivity in agriculture in the coming period, as well as in the other nonagricultural sectors.

The increase in the degree of technicalness of the national economy, modernization of its structure, extending of mechanization,automation and cybernetization of production bring the multilateral training of all workers and their obtaining solid scientific and technical knowledge and a solid general culture. Application of the provisions of the program for providing the labor force, developing education and continually improving cadre training in the 1981-1990 period, adopted by the first congress for education and instruction, has special significance with respect to homogenization of the training level of all workers. The 12th party congress documents show that a basic goal of the current five-year plan is continued development of education on the basis of the newest achievements of science and technology, polytechnization and close integration with production and research, solid organization of the qualifying of the labor force, generalization of the retraining process for cadres, improvement in the vocational training of all workers, including peasants. It is forecast to include more than 2 million people annually in the training programs, so that each worker should participate at least once during a five-year plan in an organized form for advanced training professionally and technically.

Adopting these measures was brought on by the rapid changes which occurred in the area of techniques and technologies and by the intense mobility of the trades. The modern scientific-technical revolution causes moral usage of knowledge, bringing the requirement to refresh it every 3-5 years. The information explosion and the achievements of modern science and technology do not permit an exact calculation of the content and volume of knowledge needed for professional activity for a longer period of between 30-40 years. For that reason, the main goal in training workers is to provide mobile training for qualification which would permit them to do varied activities under continually changing conditions.

The need for permanent training is caused not only by the technical and technological changes of production but also by the demands for the multilateral develoipment of the human personality and by man's position in our social-political life.

New Dimensions for The Working Class To Exercise Its Leading Role

The role of the working class as the leading social force in society is a basic social-political relation, in which all classes and social categories are involved: the peasantry, intellectuals, personnel in administration and services, tradesmen, cooperative members and those not members, peasants with individual plots and free professionals. This relationship is expressed by the community of basic interests of all society members. It takes the form of an alliance between the working class, peasants, intellectuals and other categories of workers and the indestructible unity of all the people in the Front for Socialist Democracy and Unity.

The exercising of the leading role of the working class in all areas of activity takes place under conditions of the increase in the responsibility of all classes and social categories, thus not being a question of placing the working class' interests against those of the other classes and social categories.

The Romanian Communist Party insures that the working class exercise its leading role in society by the creation of organizational structures which correspond to the level of development of the production forces and the material-technical base of society. At the same time, the Romanian Communist Party gives these organizational structures a dynamic content and their manifestation in flexible forms intended to provide the best framework for the participation of the working class and all workers in the leadership of social-economic life. There is no contradiction between the leading political role of the communist party and the role of workers as the leading class, but rather a complete dialectical unity, with one being a condition of the other. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "One cannot speak of the leading political role of the party without insuring that the working class leads all areas. At the same time, one cannot insure the working class' leading role without the recognition and exercising of the political role of the revolutionary party, the communist party."

Exercising of the leading role of the working class and the leading political role of the communist party can only be accomplished on the basis of a broad worker, socialist democracy. The workers' councils, which join together around 114,000 people from more than 6,000 social-economic units, play an important role in this regard.

The county workers' councils have been created for a better coordinating of the activity of these democratic leadership organs of the enterprises and institutions and they represent all the industrial, transport, finance and trade units on the territory of

the particular county. The duties of the general meetings--as supreme leadership organs of the economic, social and cultural units--have been broadened.

Our socialist society at all levels has available a well-articulated, broad and dynamic organizational framework capable of coping with the demands of the current stage, of insuring the participation of all classes and social cateogires in the leadership of social life and of all society. What is important now is that the good operation of this democratic framework be insured.

Operation of the system of worker self-leadership and of the democratic leadership organs and the increasingly broader participation of workers in the leadership of social-economic life demand as an objective need raising the political and cultural level of all the people. The 12th party congress documents have shown that a lag has been demonstrated in ideological and political-educational activity before the general development of society. For that reason, the main task lies in raising political-educational activity to the level of the great achievements obtained in the job of socialist construction, transformation of the ideology of the working class into a powerful mobilizing, vitalizing force for the creative energies of all the people to an even greater extent. Educating all the people in the spirit of the working class concept of the world and life and the principles of socialist ethics and equity is the spiritual condition which strengthens its unity, while generalization of the progressive awareness is an important factor in homogenization of the social behavior of all workers.

With a view to achieving this prospect, the communist party is carrying out its leading role not from outside, but from within the social, state and public organs. This is the lawful process of the continued growth of the leading role of the communist party, of strengthening the unity of all the people around it, of raising the workers' general awareness and of the more and more active participation of all society members in the leadership of social-economic life.

8071
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UNITY OF SOCIALIST AWARENESS, LABOR DISCIPLINE

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 15 Jan 82 p 3

[Interview with Dumitru Necsoiu, a secretary of the Bucharest Municipal Party Committee, by Platon Pardau: "An Indestructible Unity: Socialist Awareness and Labor Discipline"; place and date not specified]

[Text] Pardau: I would like to ask you to allow me, esteemed comrade secretary Dumitru Necsoiu, to describe the political and cultural affairs of the capital as complex, multiple and multifaceted and to compare it with an instrument having a rich range capable of diverse tones with which those who handle this instrument are trying to achieve an ideal harmony...

Necsoiu: With this ideal harmony being man; a dialectical harmony that is being continually improved which is a certain man of a certain time, the man of our times and of Romania in 1982, a year that begins under the sign of continuing at a superior level the carrying out of the Program approved by the 12th Party Congress, the practical objectives established by the joint plenary session of the RCP Central Committee and the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity of last November, and the rich ideas, the inspiring, generous ideas formulated by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, in his Message addressed to all the people on the occasion of the new year.

Pardau: In other words, you place man in a precise, nearly scheduled context. But, should man not be evaluated, perhaps, according to his ability to encounter the future?

Necsoiu: Not before creating the present. Any preparations for the future cannot take place other than by working and creating for the construction of the present. In speaking about today's man, about today's new man, we should not consider him to be an abstract thing, but our very real working comrade, a person with a precise identification involved in a precise social activity which is taking place during a precise period of time. This work is called the building of a multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania and, similarly, is measured in the deeds and precise contribution of each of us to the sum of these contributions. It is especially important for us to stress and to give thought to, in our efforts to build today's Romania, the objective laws, as shown by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's valuable contribution to our theoretical thought, laws according to which during the current stage far from remaining behind the development of the means of production, awareness is acquiring a role as a motive force, and it can and must bring about an acceleration of the process of social progress.

Pardau: Awareness... Profitting from the fact that you state that you want to place these phenomena within a precise framework, I would ask you whether it would seem to you that with regards to awareness and to social awareness, for example, we are sometimes speaking in general? And, along this line of thought, culture and its role in a collective group are seen as somewhat parallel with work and productive activities. That is, within a work collective one can speak of a cultural activity that is rich, where awareness has continually grown, and, despite all this....

Necsoiu: Despite all this, the results in production are poor, there are violations of technological disciplines and work discipline in general, and there continues to be product rejects from month to month. Exactly. This is the main negative phenomenon that we must eliminate from the manner in which overall political, education and cultural activities are viewed. These activities must be measured in their effects and in the results obtained by the individual and the collective in their work. For example, the "Song of Romania" National Festival stimulated the thirst for culture and creative activities in the masses, but in some enterprises, institutes, schools, faculties and so forth cultural activities are regarded as something in themselves and an occasion for competition and receiving awards.

Pardau: What are the first prizes for the participants who are truly outstanding in cultural activities?

Necsoiu: Without a doubt, the results of labor in production, which means products of good quality produced by each person, as well as order, discipline, firmness and exigency towards arrearages and backwards mentalities regarding the means of production and labor itself. As the chiefs in the factories and plants where they work, these collectives are responsible for and handle and manage facilities of great value that belong to them and all the people. The prize that we must aim for in educational, cultural and political activities is, as a result, the fulfillment of the duty of acquiring the highest level of performance in our work with a high level of responsibility. Here we truly see the level of awareness, here socialist awareness is relected, how much it has grown and how much it must still grow. No matter how numerous the educational activities, the artistic groups in an enterprise or an institute, as long as there is a lack of discipline and antisocial phenomena this means that they are not truly revolutionarily fulfilling their essential mission - of forming and improving mankind.

Pardau: With the meaning of educational, cultural and political activities being, in essence, profoundly revolutionary...

Necsoiu: Categorically, yes. A revolutionary role that should not be waited upon to be fulfilled spontaneously. For example, I believe that there is no authentic culture that is of value that has a passive nature. Culture and the culturization process, when exercised meaningfully and thoroughly, have active effects upon the people in the sense that through models of thought and behavior that they offer the people come face to face with themselves and they ask themselves about the meaning of their existence and the justification for their existence as individuals on the scale of history. At the historical moment in which we are living when we are facing the clear

desires to accelerate progress in Romania, our job is to consciously involve this awakening of sensitivities achieved by cultural activities as a force of production and to use it as an instrument for the affirmation of man by raising his labors to a new qualitative level.

Pardau: As a party activist in the field of propaganda, you are a combination of the theorist and pragmatist. In practice, therefore, how can this be done, how is the sensitivity achieved by the culturization process productively, creatively employed?

Necsoiu: Everywhere, in the economic units, in the research and design institutes, in schools, in faculties, in any place of work in Bucharest, the people with the best results are also those who are involved in their multiple, professional-cultural training, those who are not merely satisfied to see a phenomenon, but who also think about it. At the level of the collective we can speak of the same thing. Performance achievements basically appear in a climate where cultural and educational affairs are substantial and continuing. Naturally, this observation is an opportunity and work for us, for the party organizations, for the mass and public organizations and for the cultural institutions since it indicates a clear reality: the process of bring culture to, forming and improving the people must be continually guided, planned and improved. The cultural basis and the positive data from awareness are those that require us to take uninterrupted and qualitatively rich actions towards amplifying these data.

Pardau: Otherwise one can, nonetheless, arrive at a strange sort of culture... a passive one...

Necsoiu: Awareness and culture are like a spring. If they are not fed by new waters, they dry up. Our concern is that through the entire process of forming and developing awarness man will understand social phenomena in Romania and in the world. As a starting point, participation mandatorily involves understanding. Without understanding, the next stage is not possible: assuming one's own responsibilities and knowing the dimensions of social responsibilities. Party documents and the rich directives of especially precious theoretical and practical value given to the workers in the capital during comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's visits and from the conferences in which the party secretary general directly participated with daring and wise thoughts, serve us a marvelous examples for the manner in which we must each assume our duties and sharply place the problem on the shoulders of responsibility. For example, we encounter phenomena of the following type: at the same place of work, only several meters from one person to the next, we find two people with different results - one very good and the other mediocre. A lack of care for the quality and the quantity of work is most frequently expressed as a lack of care for the quality of that person as a person, for culture itself and for improvement in the skill. And, it often happens that the person next to him, the person with the good results, when asked how it is possible for his neighbor to constantly be behind, he shakes his head. It is not his problem... It is not his responsibility. By using the complex educational means available to us, it is our job to work in such a way, by stimulating an understanding of our goals today in each person where we live and work, that we will have an awareness that we should not be indifferent to anything.

Pardau: The recent decree of the Council of State clearly stipulates as law the responsibilities in this area, which is decisive for a modern, efficient economy. Basically, lack of discipline, rejected products, waste and violations of technological standards and behavioral norms during working hours - I am also referring to the consumption of alcoholic beverages in some enterprises, institutes and construction sites - are also problems related to the level of culture and civilization of the people.

Necsoiu: Even more, we must link the culturization process to the precise goals of educating the people! The rigors of scientifically carrying out the production processes, of self-administration and self-management absolutely require the combination of civilization and work and the improvement of the worker, but not just the worker. One of the traits of this socialist awareness in modern man, who we are trying to cultivate by combatting indifference, waste and disorganization, is thinking through the prism of the economic efficiency of his own work. That is, a person should have a picture of the path the product follows in this mind and through his hands, as well as the product's value, and should understand it as it is linked to his own being. It is a great achievement that, today, we can speak about the position of the person who makes things in socialist Romania as the owner, producer and user. But, this position obligatorily calls for an awareness of the value of his creations, a vision of its future and a high degree of responsibility for the activities of each individual and each collective. We encounter situations when an enterprise experiences delays in providing products to a domestic or foreign partner or consumer and the producer remains indifferent regarding this situation and the fact that this creates a chain reaction of shortcomings in the entire economy. On the other hand, the enterprise vehemently complains about other enterprises' failures to adhere to their obligations. That is, the immediate producer does not assume the attitude and does not ask why these shortcomings are not eliminated.

Pardau: What relationship do you see between cultural improvement and the improvement of the process of democratization in our society?

Necsoiu: Socialist democracy is a democracy of intelligence, an active democracy of employing awareness in the better things. Socialist democracy, so delicately improved in the last 15 years at the initiative of the secretary general of the party, is not just favorable to the development of culture, but calls for culture. The fertile, democratic framework created by the party does not work by itself, but must be filled with human intelligence, with self-sacrifice for the cause of the country's progress and with the feeling of participation, and must be applied as a complex, sensitive instrument by informed people capable of understanding it and using it in the way it was created, that is, for the progress and prosperity of the country. Thus, you have the increased requirements for this new year, a complex group of tasks in all areas, with the anticipation of a qualitative step forward for our society.

8724
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DECREE ON LEVYING, COLLECTING LOCAL FEES, TAXES

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 118, 31 Dec 81 pp 1-7

[Decree of the Council of State Regarding the Establishment and Collection of Local Fees and Taxes]

[Text] In the application of the provisions of Article 6 of Law No 25/1981 regarding local fees and taxes, the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I

The Fees on Buildings

Article 1. Buildings that are the property of natural persons are subject to annual fees through the application of the following fee rates to the value for obtaining these buildings by imposing the law:

a) one percent for those buildings located in municipalities and cities, as well as in the component localities of these municipalities and cities. For privately owned buildings belonging to small handicraftsmen, independent professional persons and other persons who carry out their activities on their own account, the rate is 1.5 percent;

b) .75 percent for those buildings located in villages belonging to the municipalities and cities, as well as in towns, including suburban towns.

Article 2. - The increased fee rates, listed in Article 11 in Law No 25/1981 regarding local fees and taxes, for rooms that exceed the number of persons in a family are the following:

a) 1.30 percent for workers, persons similar to this status and retired persons;

b) two percent for small handicraftsmen, independent professional persons and other persons who make their incomes through activities carried out on their own account.

Article 3. - In the case of changes in the number of family members or the number of rooms, the fee is appropriately recalculated, beginning with the quarter that follows the one in which the changes took place.

Article 4. - For those buildings belonging to legal entities other than socialist units, the fee rate is 1.5 percent of the inventory value. In cases where the inventory value is smaller than the value resulting from the application of the standards regarding obtaining the buildings by imposing the law, the fee is calculated on the basis of the procurement value.

Article 5. - For those buildings that are state property, belong to cooperatist organizations and other public organizations that are subject to amortization, in accordance with the law, the fee rate is calculated by applying a rate of .75 percent to the inventory value, regardless of the place where they are located.

For those buildings that are used as housing units, the fee rate is .50 percent.

Within the inventory value of the buildings is also included the value of the construction elements and the installations that serve the buildings, such as: stairways, elevators, hallways, terraces, interior installations for lighting, water, sewage, gas, heating, telephones and other similar ones.

Article 6. - For those buildings that are state property that are given over for use by cooperatist organizations or other public organizations, the fee must be paid by these organizations.

Article 7. - The buildings listed in Annex No 1 are not subjected to building fees. For houses purchased from the state housing fund or built with the help of the state and that were transferred to other persons, fee exemptions outlined by the regulations in effect will continue to be applied until the time limits established by the law are reached.

Privately-owned houses of military draftees, their spouses and their children, that are inhabited by them, are not subject to the payment of building fees during the period of their military service, if there are no rented rooms in these houses.

Article 8. - In the case of legal entities, the fee declaration required by law will contain the data necessary to identify the building, the inventory value, the fee rate and the fee payment required, while in the case of natural persons the data referring to the building's surface area, the number of rooms and the number of persons in the family. The declaration will be accompanied by a copy of the ownership document and the building plan.

The financial organs have the obligation to verify the data in the fee declaration and the computation of the amount of fee owed and to conduct field-investigations regarding changes that have taken place in the status of the buildings subject to paying the fees.

Article 9. - The executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils in the areas where the privately-owned buildings belonging to natural persons who have their place of residence in other localities are required to forward the data regarding the owner and the building to the executive committee or bureau of the people's council in the area where the building's owner resides.

Article 10. - Buildings that have just been put into use and those that were turned over for use or acquired during the course of the year are levied beginning with the first day of the month following the month in which these situations occurred.

Article 11. - Buildings that have been demolished under legal conditions, buildings that have been destroyed and those transferred into the administration or, as the case may be, into the ownership of other units or other persons during the course of the year are exempted from the fee beginning with the first day of the month following the month in which one of these situations occurred, on the basis of a declaration submitted under the conditions listed in Article 8.

Exemptions from the fee are accorded only for the portion of the building that was demolished, destroyed or transferred into the ownership or administration of other unit or person.

Article 12. - The fee levied on buildings owned by natural persons or legal entities other than socialist units is established by the financial organs on the basis of the owner's fee declaration and through the fee report which constitutes executory title. Through the fee report, which also takes the place of the payment notification, the owner is also informed of the insurance premium covering the value of the building by imposing the law.

Article 13. - The annual building fee is paid biannually, in equal amounts, by 31 March and 30 September.

Chapter II

The Fees on Land

Article 14. - The fees on land in municipalities and cities, as well as in the component localities of these municipalities and cities, listed in Article 13 of the Law Regarding Local Fees and Taxes, are annually established as follows:

a) cities .40 lei/m^3

b) municipalities .50 lei/m^3

Article 15. - The fees on land are established, modified and collected according to the provisions of Chapter I in this decree.

Chapter III

Taxes on Transport Vehicles

Article 16. - Taxes on transport vehicles that are mechanically powered belonging to natural persons and legal entities other than socialist units are established on the basis of engine displacement for each 500 cm^3 or fraction of displacement under 500 cm^3, in the following manner:

- automobiles	200 lei
- buses and microbuses	600 lei
- trucks	500 lei
- wheeled tractors	400 lei
- motorcycles	150 lei
- tricycles	150 lei
- powered bicycles or mopeds	100 lei

For tractors, light tractors, semi-tractors and carriers, 50 percent of the taxes owed on the trailers that are pulled are owed, and for vehicles that are attached 50 percent of the taxes owed on the vehicles to which they are attached.

For motorcycles with sidecars and tricycles that belong to handicapped persons and are adapted to the handicaps of these people, 50 percent of the taxes are owed.

Article 17. - The engine displacement is proved by the vehicles purchase invoice, and in the absence of this by a voucher issued by a specialized state or cooperatist unit.

Article 18. - The tax on water transport vehicles that belong to natural persons or legal entities other than socialist units is annually established for each separate type of vehicle, in the following manner:

- boats	20 lei
- boats for personal use	20 lei
- boats used to transport persons	35 lei
- boats used for other purposes	125 lei
- powered boats	500 lei
- floating bridges	350 lei
- motorboats	700 lei

Article 19. - The tax on transport vehicles is established by the financial organs through a fee report on the basis of the fee declaration submitted by natural persons and legal entities other than socialist units, in accordance with Article 30 of the Law Regarding Local Fees and Taxes. The report, which constitutes executory title, is forwarded to the party involved and takes the place of the payment notification for the entire period the vehicle is owned.

Article 20. - The tax on transport vehicles that are acquired, transferred or removed from the records of the militia organs or, as the case may be, of the port's harbormaster during the year is owed, or is given an exemption, beginning with the first day of the month in which one of these situations occurred.

For vehicles that are inoperative from a technical point of view, the tax on it is exempted beginning with the first day of the month following the month in which the owner presents proof issued by a specialized state or cooperatist unit which attests to this situation.

Article 21. - The annual tax owed on transport vehicles found in the records of financial organs at the beginning of the year is paid biannually in equal amounts by 31 March and 30 September. For transport vehicles acquired during the course of the

year, it is paid within a timeframe of 30 days from the date of procurement, if this took place after the first payment timeframe.

Foreign natural persons and legal entities which, according to the law, are required to pay the tax on transport vehicles will present to the militia organs, at the time of registering the vehicles or, as the case may be, the annual visa, proof of the advance payment of the tax on the transport vehicle. Upon the departure from the country of the vehicles belonging to foreign persons, the customs organs will verify whether the taxes owed were paid on the vehicles for the entire period of time they were in the country.

Chapter IV

Taxes on the Use of Public Sales Places

Article 22. - Taxes on the use of public sales place by natural persons, socialist state units, cooperatist organizations, public organizations, as well as other legal entities, are the following:

Type of Use of the Public Place	- lei/day -
1. For the sale of products:	
a) from beasts of burden or from vehicles that are drawn by one animal	5
b) from animal-powered vehicles pulled by two animals	8
c) from powered-vehicles	15
2. For the use:	
a) of trays, for each m^2	2
b) tables and stalls, for each m^2	4
c) of covered tables, for each m^2	4
3. For animals and fowl brought to be sold, for each animal or bird:	
a) cattle, mules, horses and pigs over 6 months	10
b) pigs up to 6 months old, sheep and goats	3
c) small animals and birds, except day-old chicks	2
4. For occupying places needed to sell products resulting from crafts and other authorized pursuits, for each m^2	6
5. For occupying places needed to sell occasional objects and for occupying spaces with empty transport vehicles, for each m^2	8
6. Entering marketplaces where occasional objects are sold	2

For other products, goods or services, other than those listed in this article, the executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils can set daily taxes within the limits of the taxes listed in the preceding paragraph.

For products and goods that are sold in front of stores by socialist state units, cooperatist and public organizations and other legal entities, as well as by natural persons, taxes are not computed for the use of these public places.

Article 23. - For the use of public places other than those listed in Article 22, the following taxes are levied per day:

	- lei/m^2 -
a) for the storage of diverse materials	1-3
b) for the sale of diverse products or services	3-5
c) for the making of products	1-3

The taxes listed in the preceding paragraph for occupying sidewalks, streets and other public places are established by the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils, as the case may be. Occupying public places is done with the approval of the executive committee or bureau of the people's council, as the case may be, with the advance payment of the taxes due. Taxes are not owed in the case of occupying the sidewalk in front of a house or building, for up to 5 hours, for the purpose of repairing the buildings or supplying it with fuel or other materials needed for its operation.

Article 24. - The taxes for the use of public sales places listed in Article 22 can be increased up to 30 percent by the executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils depending upon the provision of running water for washing products, lighting, covered spaces, enclosures and asphalt surfaces, as well as the level of management and equipment in the marketplaces.

Article 25. - The taxes listed in Article 22 and Article 23 are not owed in cases where rents are paid for the use of public sales places.

Article 26. - The collection of the taxes for the use of public sales places is done by the administrative organs of the marketplaces, fairs and markets, or other organs empowered for this purpose by the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils, as the case may be.

Chapter V

Taxes on the Issuance of Permits in the Construction Field

Article 27. - For the issuance of permits in the construction field, listed in Article 22 of the Law Regarding Local Fees and Taxes, the following taxes are owed:

1. Permits for construction, transformations, changes and repairs to buildings and installations or for projects, as well as for the partitioning or transfer of buildings:

Value of the Project or Construction - lei -	Tax - lei -
a) up to 50,000	200
b) from 50,001 to 100,000	300
c) from 100,001 to 150,000	400
d) from 150,001 to 200,000	500
e) over 200,000	600

2. Permits for the partial or total demolition-disassembly of constructions, installations or projects:

Value of the Construction, Installation or Project - lei -	Tax - lei -
a) up to 50,000	100
b) from 50,001 to 200,000	130
c) from 200,001 to 250,000	160
d) over 250,000	200

3. Survey certificates and construction procedures certificates:

Surface Area of the Land for Which the Certificate is Requested - square meters -	Tax - lei -
a) up to 250	150
b) from 251 to 500	250
c) from 501 to 750	350
d) from 751 to 1,000	450
e) over 1,000	600

4. Permits for heirs to take over inherited lands or to divide lands, 50 lei for each permit that is issued.

5. Permits for work to install plumbing, gas, sewers, for each installation: 50 lei.

6. Heliographic copies from survey plans or other such plans held by the people's councils, for each square meter of plans:

- at a scale of 1:500 -- 1,000 lei
- at a scale of 1:1000 -- 1,250 lei
- at a scale of 1:2000 -- 1,500 lei

7. Technical approval notices needed to obtain loans for housing, depending upon the value of the loan:

- up to 5,000 lei	30 lei
- up to 10,000 lei	50 lei
- for each 10,000 lei or fraction of 10,000 in addition, for each	50 lei

8. Other activities:

a) topographic mapping, for each point	15 lei
b) parcelling out lands - calculations and designs - excluding mapping on land surveying, for each parcel	30 lei
c) fencing in land in order to mark boundaries, for each point	10 lei

The taxes listed in points 1 and 2 are calculated for existing buildings according to their insurance value and the value of the estimate for the buildings, installations and projects that are to be built.

Article 28. - The taxes listed in Article 27 are owed by natural persons and legal entities other than socialist units and are paid prior to the issuance of the permits or certificates. Proof of tax payment is maintained by the organ that issued the authorization permit or the certificate.

Chapter VI

Taxes on the Use of Publicity, Notices and Advertising

Article 29. - Natural persons and legal entities other than socialist units that use means of publicity through the press, notices and advertising owe the following taxes:

1. For notices and publicity bulletins or typed advertising, as well as for manufactured signs, displays and advertising panels made from any type of material, taxes are owed, for each copy, depending upon size according to the following:

a) under one-half m^2 between	10 - 100 lei
b) between one-half and one m^2	50 - 200 lei
c) between one and three m^2	100 - 400 lei
d) over three m^2 between	150 - 1,200 lei

The amount of taxes is established by the executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils.

2. For publicity in the press, the tax is five percent of the amount paid to the press organ for the publicity.

3. Untyped publicity notices and bulletins, 10 lei for each copy. The payment of the tax is made by applying fiscal stamps - on the top and bottom - so that the stamps cannot be removed and reused.

Article 30. - The taxes on publicity, notices and advertising is paid in advance to the budget of the people's council in the area where the unit carried out its printing operations. In situations where the publicity or advertising goes on for more than 1 year, the taxes owed are paid during the month of January of each year.

The taxes on the publicity carried in the press are transferred from the publishing agency to the people's council budget in the area where the agency has its location, by the tenth day of the following month.

The manufacture of publicity notices and bulletins or advertising by socialist units can be done only after showing proof of having paid the taxes for the entire run. In the contents of the published materials mention will be made regarding the amount of taxes on the materials and the payment document for them.

Chapter VII

Taxes on Staying at Balneary and Climatic Spas

Article 31. - The tax for staying at balneary and climatic spas is 10 lei per person, while for students the tax is 5 lei.

Article 32. - The tax for staying at balneary and climatic spas is collected through the use of tickets having the fixed value imprinted on it for this purpose.

In the case of persons housed by tourism units and other socialist units for balneary treatments and rest, as well as persons who are receiving only the balneary treatments, the tax is collected, as the case may be, by those units that provided the housing or those where the treatment was given, at the time the person checks-in.

For persons who go to the balneary and climatic spas on their own account, the tax is collected by the executive committee or bureau of the people's council, as the case may be.

Chapter VIII

Taxes on Visits to Museums, Memorial Homes, Historical Monuments and Monuments of Architecture and Archeology

Article 33. - For visits to museums, memorial homes, historical monuments, and monuments of architecture and archeology, a visiting tax of two to five lei per person is established.

Article 34. - The Council of Socialist Culture and Education will establish visiting taxes within the limits listed in Article 33 depending upon the artistic, historical and architectural value of these places.

Chatper IX

Taxes on Having a Dog

Article 35. - Natural persons who have more than one guard dog on their property, as well as those persons who have pet dogs and hunting dogs, annually pay the following taxes:

a) for guard dogs	
- for the second dog	75 lei
- for the third or more dogs, for each one	600 lei
b) for hunting dogs	
- for the first dog	225 lei
- for the second or more dogs, for each dog	450 lei
c) for pet dogs	
- for the first dog	300 lei
- for the second and more dogs, for each dog	600 lei

In the meaning of this decree, by pet dog it is understood to mean dogs kept in houses.

For dogs needed to guard herds of animals and for dogs of any type up to 6 months old, as well as for guide dogs for sightless persons and those used by rescue teams, no taxes are owed.

Article 36. - Natural persons who keep dogs are required to declare them for the purpose of establishing the amount of taxes to the local financial organs within 6 months from their birth or 15 days from the time they are acquired.

The taxes are paid by 30 April of each year or within 30 days from the date of registration.

In cases where the dogs are no longer kept, regardless of the reason, the annual tax is not recalculated.

Article 37. - The health-veterinarian organs will check, when dogs are brought in for vaccinations, the records for the payment of the taxes listed in this decree.

Article 38. - It is a violation and is punished by a fine of from 500 to 1,000 lei if the provisions of Article 29, paragraph 2 in Law No 25/1981 Regarding Local Fees and Taxes are violated.

Article 39. - The finding of violations listed in Article 38 and the application of punishments are done by those persons empowered for this purpose by the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils, as the case may be.

Article 40. - Counter-claims against the violation report can be made within 15 days from the date of notification of a violation.

The counter-claim is submitted to the organ to which the investigating agent belongs and will be accompanied by a copy of the violation report.

Article 41. - The provisions regarding the violations listed in this decree supplement the provisions of Law No 32/1968 Regarding the Finding and Punishing of Violations.

Chapter X

Other Provisions

Article 42. - Local fees and taxes up to an including 50 lei are paid in full up to the first payment deadline.

For the advance payment of fees on buildings and land by natural persons, there is a five percent reduction if the payment of the fee owed for the entire year is paid before 1 March of that year.

Article 43. - Disabled war veterans are exempted from the payment of local fees and taxes regulated by this decree.

Article 44. - The increases calculated according to the Law Regarding Local Fees and Taxes will not be smaller than 10 lei or larger than the sum owed.

Article 45. - Objections outlined by the law are submitted within 30 days of the date of notification of the established fees and taxes or, as the case may be, from the date on the payment document for those made directly, and are resolved within 30 days from the date they are recorded.

Within 30 days from the date the resolution is forwarded to the person who made the objection, an appeal can be made to the financial administration of the executive committee of the county or Bucharest municipal people's council. The appeal will be resolved within 30 days from the date it is recorded.

The submission of objections and appeals does not suspend the payment of the fees or taxes that are owed.

Article 46. - In cases where the objections and appeals were upheld, the incorrectly paid sums are returned or, as the case may be, are officially compensated for in other fees and taxes that are owed, at the latest by 31 December of the year in which the objection or appeal was upheld.

Article 47. - The differences in fees and taxes that are owed as a result of investigations made by the financial organs are paid, for sums up to and including 500 lei, within 30 days and, for sums over 500 lei, in two equal amounts, with the first due within 30 days and the second within 60 days from the date of notification of the amounts owed.

Article 48. - The executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils can grant, on a case-to-case basis for thorough justified reasons, graduated payments spread over at the most 12 monthly payments and delayed payments until the end of the calendar year, as well as reductions in local fees and taxes and increases in them.

The executive committees and bureaus of the municipal, Bucharest municipal sectors and city people's councils, as the case may be, can grant the assistance listed in the preceding paragraph up to a limit of 5,000 lei in the case of socialist state units, cooperatist units and other public organizations and up to 500 lei in the case of natural persons and legal entities other than socialist units.

Article 49. - The Ministry of Finance, together with the Committee for the Problems of the People's Councils and the executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils. will taken measures to simplify the setting of formulas and the means of establishing and collecting fees and taxes.

The Ministry of Finance will draw up, within 30 days from the date this decree goes into effect, methodological norms regarding the calculation techniques for local fees and taxes.

Article 50. - Control of the administration of printed materials used in the collection of taxes for using public places and tickets having a fixed value for collecting taxes for staying at balneary and climatic spas, as well as control of the administration of the funds collected from these sources and from visits to museums, memorial homes, historical monuments and monuments of architecture and archeology, is carried out by the internal financial control organs of the executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils.

Article 51. - This decree goes into effect on 1 January 1982.

Article 52. - Annexes 1 and 2 are an integral part of this decree.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 31 December 1981
No 425

Annex No 1

List of Buildings Not Subject to Fees

I. Buildings administered by or, as the case may be, owned by the following units:

a) budgetary units, with the exception of those used as housing;

b) units of the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of the Interior and units within the framework of these ministries, with the exception of those used by economic units;

c) units of enterprises specializing in the administration and renting of state housing space subordinate to the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils;

d) state agricultural units, including units for raising and fattening animals and fowl;

e) agricultural mechanization stations,

f) units for the management of water and land improvement units that contain water pumping installations or that serve hydrotechnical facilities designed to prevent floods and service flooded land areas;

g) rail, ship and air transport units that directly serve the needs for using transportation, with the exception of buildings used as capital repairs shops and for the production of spare parts or other production shops or used as housing, as well as those spaces used for commercial or service activities;

h) units of enterprises for the extraction and preparation of non-ferrous ores, with the exception of those used as housing;

i) units of political and mass organizations, with the exception of housing and buildings occupied by units organized on the principle of economic-financial self-administration;

j) agricultural cooperative units.

II. Other Buildings

a) any type of temporary building within a construction site financed from the organization fund of the construction site, until the project is turned over to the user;

b) buildings containing operating child care centers, kindergartens, cantines, cantine-restaurants, workers' centers or medical centers, for the entire period during which they are used for these purposes;

c) buildings of socialist units, as well as buildings belonging to cooperatist organzations, that are newly built and used as housing, for a period of 5 years from the date they are first used;

d) buildings which, according to the law, are considered historical monuments, monuments of architecture and archeology, museums and memorial homes.

Annex No 2

List of Normative Acts That Are Abrogated

- Decree No 18/1952 for the establishment of local fees and taxes, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 4 of 18 January 1952.

- Decree No 495/1956 for the modification of certain provisions in Decree No 18/1952 for the establishment of local fees and taxes, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 27 of 26 October 1956.

- Decree No 453/1957 regarding changes to Decree No 18/1952 for the establishment of local fees and taxes, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 24 of 14 September 1957.

- Decree No 79/1958 regarding changes to Decree No 18/1952 for the establishment of local fees and taxes, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 12 of 10 March 1958.

- Articles 16-20 in Decree No 51/1951 for the prevention and combatting of dog disturbances, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 60 of 31 May 1951.

- Decree No 22/1953 for reporting for 1953 taxes on buildings and land in the private sector and completing Articles 8 and 9 in Decree No 18/1952, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 2 of 22 January 1953.

- Decree No 484/1953 regarding fee exemptions for buildings and mandatory insurance on buildings used by the Central Council of Trade Unions and the Central Committee of Trade Unions for worker vacations, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 49 of 26 November 1953.

- Decree No 440/1959 regarding the abrogation of provisions referring to the registration and traffic authorization, as well as the payment of taxes, of non-powered bicycles and tricylces, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 28 of 19 November 1959.

- Decree No 171/1960 regarding certain measures to simplify the establishment of certain taxes and insurance premiums, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 18 of 7 July 1961.

- Article I in Decree No 564/1968 regarding changes to certain provisions referring to fees and taxes, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 87 of 5 July 1968.

- Article III in Decree No 27/1970 referring to changes in certain legal provisions referring to fees and taxes, as well as insurance premiums, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 3 of 31 January 1970.

- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 144/1952 for placing cities in the categories listed in Decree No 18/1952 for the establishment of local fees and taxes, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 6 of 25 January 1952.

- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 3712/1953 regarding exempting those persons covered by the Law on Agricultural Taxes who are involved in the carriage business from paying local taxes on animal-powered vehicles, published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRI, No 74 of 3 December 1953.

- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 3986/1953 regarding certain exemptions from building tax reductions, published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRI, No 74 of 3 December 1953.

- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 1985/1956 regarding exemption of taxes on buildings belonging to district offices, water pumping buildings and others administered by the State Enterprise for the Management of Water in Agriculture.

- Paragraph one of Article 19 and the provisions regarding exemptions from building fees in the Decision of the Council of Ministers No 405/1965 regarding the assignment, use and establishment of charges for vacation places and balneary treatment spas, as well as certain measures to improve the activities of the balneary and climatic economic enterprises of the people's councils, published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRI No 13 of 17 May 1965.

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MARXIST ATHEISM, SOCIALIST AWARENESS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 21, 5 Nov 81 pp 22-24, 37

[Article by Petru Berar]

> [Text] Today the theoretical models of humanism are less and less abstract, speculative systems or simple generous prophecies; they are tending to become broad social ca tegories and to demonstrate their effectiveness at the level of a determined social practice, preferably contemporary. In the modern dialogue of humanisms, the socialist model ,which has dialectical and historical materialism at its base, primarily is asserting itself and affirming this theoretical type. This also explains the fact that it is presented in varied hypostases: as philosophical humanism, but also economic or political, to dwell on merely the main ones. Precisely for that reason, the current stage in the historical evolution of humanism requires that we judge and rejudge the theoretical status and practical social value of the concepts which express the ideals of socialist humanism in one way or another. Of course, among these are also included the ones of atheism and socialist awareness as well as, in particular, the relations between them.

Undoubtedly, this subject by nature is not pure theoretical, since it has social-political ends. As an educational ideal, atheism is part of what we call scientific materialist education. But the question is raised: can we really determine the atheist educational strategies without being concerned with the specific theoretical content of Marxist atheism? Of course not, although even among propagandists the mentality is broadly dissemminated according to which the existence of Marxist atheism no longer arouses discussions and polemics, but as a form of spirituality its existence is necessary in itself as a spontaneous reflection of proliferation of scientific knowledge. However, a vulnerable mentality since, as stated in the 12th party congress report, there are people, even party members, who still believe in supernatural forces. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasizes, "Political educational activity must lead to the formation of the new man with a broad horizon of knowledge of the laws of world development and achievements of modern culture and science, an active militant for the revolutionary change of the world and for the noble ideals of communism." Atheist education does not have value in itself independently in the sense that it could be isolated from general social, material and spiritual life. Materialist education, which includes atheism, must be seen as an action of scientific information, but also as a process of man's political and moral improvement.

Generally the idea is admitted that Marxist atheism in the history of thought represents the most complex atheistic philosophy, while its theoretical basis is represented not only by denial of divinities--an obsession of traditional atheisms--but in particular by the concept of religion as a social phenomenon. Undoubtedly, religion primarily is a specific mental phenomenon, but with a fate closely connected with and caused by the evolution of society. The historic or ahistoric nature of religion--here is the hottest point of modern polemics between the materialists and fideists. The social determination of the evolution of religion in the Marxist sense of the explanation, however, does not mean "sociological or economic reductionism," as often is ascribed to dialectical and historical materialism. On the contrary, this philosophical vision, without denying the relative independence of religion as a form of spirituality, still brings down to earth its illusory heaven of existence and gives immense stimulus to the religiologic progress of particular sciences, especially of sociology and social-cultural anthropology.

Just as true--however, it is understood or known less--is the fact that Marxist atheism has its limits when it is accepted as a means of explaining a specifically determined social reality. It is a philosophy and as such cannot be substituted for specific social research. The diagram of religiousness and lack of religiousness in a certain society or certain more general aspects but with a nature which is less or not at all philosophical (the psychology of the believer in general or of certain categories, comparative inter-religious aspects and so forth) are the subject of particular disciplines, primarily of sociology, the psychology of religion and the history of religions.

An interpretive reading of classic Marx texts on religion and atheism has theoretically constructed a dogmatic atheism which has devoured scientific research and denied the contribution of particular sciences. Thus, the simplifying conclusion was reached that Marxists know everything about religion, at least with regard to the basic thing and that what is left to do is to spread atheistic mentalities, an activity conceived in turn in a spirit of superoptimism, naive at that, considering itself the single alternative to the disappearance of certain forms of religiousness, generally traditional, multisecular, would be atheistic mentality. Some of these opinions still continue today. There still are Marxists who feel that the crisis of religion today and that of religiousness, real all over the world to some extent or other, would establish atheism everywhere, without seeing that there also are many other "superstitions" or social "heresies" which also are competing for the place abandoned by the faiths and the traditional, historic religious behaviors.

The main conclusion which should be retained is that we should never identify theory with reality, atheist doctrine with atheist reality, and psychological reality even when we have in mind Marxist atheism, whose theoretical and methodological value is and remains inestimable. Also, a similar finding, merely in a banal appearance, must also be made with regard to the concept of socialist awareness in relationship to atheism. And in this case we often formulate many rationales, wished to be precisely conclusions of an analysis of certain social realities but without sufficiently clearly discerning between socialist awareness as a theoretical model and the socially real one. And in this case it is a matter of a relationship of unity, but not of an absolute superposing between the importance of the concept of socialist awareness and the importance of socialist awareness really existing.

As a theoretical model, socialist awareness, at the same time, has a logical, axiological and imperative value. It is not a quantitatively complete picture, a simple total of the importance of social reality (a reality which it reflects but tends also to guide) but merely the theoretical synthesis of it. From here we have the fact that

atheism, a living philosophical concept, a mentality and a behavior, cannot merely be clear within and through the means of the classic Marxist theoretical text, that is, by a purely deductive means, but rather through direct research into the realities which form socialist awareness and which, in one form or another, always contain something novel in relationship to existing theory. Then it is not without interest to recall yet another aspect ,often neglected by the exegetists of Marxist atheism: as a supreme end of its humanism, Marx was not noting so much the mastery of atheist theory, which through itself is still a concern with religion, but a critical one, but rather a forgetting of religion, the disappearance of any inexistential interest in religion.

However, no matter how we view things, from the angle of Marxist theory of social realities, it is certain that socialism conceives of the liberation of human awareness from the "opium of religion" not through an independent educational process with a value in itself, but rather as the result of the progress of the entire society and its move toward communism. A fact for which the problems of having the masses form and master certain new mentalities, a scientific concept of the world and an ethical attitude toward life and the universe are not reduced to learning a philosophy or to spreading scientific knowledge, regardless of whether it is very successful. It is a question of a much more complex process, the study of which (philosophical, sociological, psychological and so forth) means taking many social-psychological indicators into consideration.

Sometimes it still happens that however narrow the themes of atheist education remain for research, the area of real or merely supposed virtues of what is called "atheist man" broadens just as much , just as unjustifiably. For example, the author of a book asks, "What does it actually mean to be an atheist," and among "several of the more important features" (actually,13!) he also formulates the following: "To be an atheist means to master the domestic and foreign policy of our communist party and socialist state on a solid basis, to struggle selflessly and with self-denial to achieve it in life. To be an atheist means to fully master the profession, the trade you practice, to continually improve your knowledge and professional experience."*

Leaving aside the opinion according to which merely by becoming an atheist you can fully master the profession or trade you practice, it must be stated that the immense majority of believers in Romania are fully devoted to the domestic and foreign policy of the Romanian socialist state and that building of the multilaterally developed socialist society is the joint work both of atheists and nonatheists. Our party and state p licy provides for assertion and practical demonstration of the justness and superiority of dialectical and historical materialism but, at the same time, also preservation and strengthening of the people's unity beyond the religious or atheist convictions of the country's citizens.

It is correctly felt that, particularly in the social sciences, the concerns with methodology "to no avail," with "excessive" epistemology not organically linked with a certain specifically determined research may lead to speculative theorizing.

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* Vasile Asanachescu, "Current Problems of Atheist-Scientific Education," 1977, pp 46-47.

However, it is no less true that "grams per square inch" of epistemological concerns cannot be established arbitrarily and, in the end, the history of social sciences demonstrates that there always remains something foolhardy in qualifying something that is or is not excessive epistemology. With regard to modern Marxist study of religion, I dare to believe that currently it is precisely the problems of methodology which have precedence as a condition of the impulse for this type of scientific research. Whereas the opinion according to which "scientific atheism" represents the alpha and omega of the understanding of the religious phenomenon is on the way to disappear, which represents real scientific progress in this area, the custom still exists among Marxist researchers nearly everywhere of substantiating a more or less general concept of religion from the angle merely of a single scientific discipline, generally philosophy, and this, it seems, is from concern for a mistakenly understood faith in classic Marxist text. Without exaggerating, one can state that this phenomenon is somewhat bizarre. Neither Marx, Engels nor Lenin were professional researchers of the religious phenomenon, a fact which should be kept in mind all the time, but through their philosophical, sociological and political concepts they always kept in mind the integrality of the religious phenomenon even when they made particular observations about this subject. Otherwise, how could they have substantiated a "nonindependent" atheism subordinate to the ideals of the socialist revolution and building of communism?

A certain exclusively philosophical view of the Marxist understanding of religion tends to distort the very essence of this Marxist concept and--what particularly interests us in this article--to hinder scientific research into the religious phenomenon on Marxist bases. Nearly exclusively, all the manuals of Marxist philosophy which have appeared until today in Romania, be they originals or translations, define religion merely as a form of social awareness, as graphically the very title of the chapter on religion is entitled in a past university course: "Religion, a Distorted and Fantastic Reflection of Reality."* Religion truly is a distorted and fantastic reflection of reality, but it should be observed that in these cases each time we encounter the expression, also mutilated, of a definition given to religion by Engels, unfortunately requested too much to the detriment of understanding what is basic to the Marxist concept of religion. Should we really recall that neither Marx, Engels nor Lenin tried to formulate an actual definition of religion in the meaning of classic logic? It is fully justified to make a profound study of the philosophical significance of religion by the Marxist thinkers. But the interpretation of religion as a social phenomenon, which is specific to Marxism, surely exceeds these philosophical frameworks. In addition, a true scientific research on Marxist bases categorically also requires the contribution of other disciplines alone with philosophy.

Also, it is hard to believe that we shall be able to open new fields for scientific knowledge by asserting endlessly merely that religion is a distorted and fantastic reflection of reality. Religion is a complex phenomenon, in which we can distinguish at least four basic aspects or elements: psychological, emotional, connected with faith in the supernatural; theoretical-ideological, which includes religious myths, dogma, theologies and so forth; the practices which structure actual religious life; finally, the institutional aspect referring to the organizational aspect of religious communities and their relations with secular society.

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* "Course of Dialectical and Historical Materialism," Didactic and Pedagogical Publishers, Volume II, 1961, p 349.

In this view, a comparative study of religion and the synthesis of their history research into the evolution of religious practices, the study of psychology of religious behaviors, historical analysis of religious institutions and so forth are not only promising original scientific contribution but they can offer vast material for philosophical generalization itself. Also, it should be noted that the acceptance of religion as a complex phenomenon today represents a characteristic of the most important religiologic measures, regardless of their ideological orientation. For example, although a Marxist cannot agree with the idealist theoretical orientation of Mircea Eliade's philosophy, it still approves the concept by which he rejects on principle the temptation for unilateral and speculative interpretation, asserting that "actually a 'purely' religious act does not exist; a religious act always is also an historic, sociological, cultural and psychological act, mentioning just the most important ones from its aspects."[1]

Precisely in this direction of an integral view of religion some Marxist thinkers are turning today. Thus, in a valuable treatise of "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" it is asserted that "religion is not only a concept of the world but a complex social phenomenon."[2] However, here, too, it is a question of an isolated and undemonstrated assertion, although just two pages further on he speaks of a committed dialogue between Marxists and Christian circles in certain capitalist countries. Confining ourselves to such assertions according to which religion "is nothing more than a coarse form of idealism,"it is hard to believe that the reader understands the reasons for this dialogue and that he will be able to deduce the social-political problems of the religious phenomenon in the modern world.

A particularly important theoretical aspect is the philosophical-ideological orientation in the disciplines which are concerned with the study of religion, either exclusively or merely tangentially. Just as many neophytes ofMarxist atheist philosophy feel that this study should be as simple as possible since religion is a distorted reflection of reality gnoseologically (and, so, what difficulties in knowldge could be aroused any longer?), there also is a related means of judgment: the temptation to believe that ideological imperative is exterior--at least by its origin--to the process of the actual scientific knowledge and that it should be the concern only of the philosopher and politician who, in the end, come to evaluate the value of the results obtained through scientific research. Precisely in such a context, the philosophical and ideological orientation of scientific research into the problems of religion tend to be reduced in the activity of certain Marxist researchers to repeating some generalprinciples which are basically correct but repeated like a ritual. The continual evocation of certain philosophical principles, even with various formulations, remains an ineffective theoretical activity, since it does not "fuse" with the sciengific research to which it is related.

Among the newest disciplines contributing to the knowledge of the religious phenomenon are sociology and the psychology religion and they are contributing decisively to an understanding of the social-human context of the phenomenon and are protecting the

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1. Mircea Eliade, "La Nostalgie Des Origines," Gallimard, Paris, 1971, p 50.

2. "Dialectical and Historical Materialism, Volume I," Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, 1978, p 41.

research of religion from the temptation for speculative interpretations. However, we know that the appearance and development of sociology all along the nearly one and one-half centuries have created complex situations. As the French sociologist Henri Desroche notes, it would be more correct for us to speak of the existence of the sociology of religion in the plural, that is, the "sociologies" of religion. At least two basic and divergent theoretical orientations operate in the field of this discipline: the secular one with a secular content and the "pastoral," that is, the religious one promoted in the western countries, particularly by the Catholic and Protestant specialists. Not even within nonreligious sociology does there exist a unity of ideological and methodological orientation, however, taking into account if only the fact that the sociology of religion of the Marxist orientation has a theoretical profile substantially different from the other sociological orientations and in many regard basically opposite to them.

The need for and current nature of the sociology of religion are brought by modern scientific progress, but this discipline, although evolved from a predominantly philosophical content toward an empiric one, continues to have a pronouncedly ideological nature, perhaps also due to the particularly complex and engaging nature of the social realities it aims at. However, not even the evolution of the sociology of religion of the Marxist orientation did develop smoothly. If we can speak of Marx as of one of the founders of the modern social study of religion, there also was a period of several decades when the Marxists felt that the sociology of religion was a bourgeois science, as well as sociology in general.

The scientific importance of the sociology of religion in the socialist society today is unanimously admitted. Socialism has launched and produced important changes in the panormana of the social phenomena connected with religion or which enter into its componence within the relations between believers and other social institutions, in the social and individual awareness of the people. Through their excellence, these changes become the subject of sociological study and philosophical steps without losing their importance, being insufficient at this time to the extent to which they do not risk becoming speculative.

The development of the sociology of religion of the Marxist orientation in Romania today poses two problems causally connected with each other. First, sociological research into the religious phenomenon is still not developed enough, while the causes for the fact are evaluated in a contradictory way. At the same time,to a certain extent, with the same justification, it is maintained that this scientific research is not being stimulated enough but also that it still has not proven its usefulness enough. Second, in particular the subjects and methods used in sociological research of religion of an empiric nature far from meet expectations. The idea, basically correct, that what we are achieving in this direction should not be isolated from sociological progress everywhere has led to the tacit conclusion that the critical takeover of certain methodologies from somewhere else represents one of the best solutions. But in the sociology of religion, even more than in another place, there is an "osmosis" between the theoretical interpretation of phenomena (so basically different among themselves) and the arsenal of the research methods and techniques that any methodological transfer can distort one's own research.

Under these conditions of breaking new ground, the difficulties of sociological research into the religious phenomena in Romania are connected in particular with a certain oscillation, on one hand, between a research that tends toward demonstrating certain philosophical theses with a sociological apparatus, without confessing this

fact, and, on the other, flat empirism, irrelevant, with minor themes. There are too many examples to mention here, but even in passing we may ask with regard to the first "excess," how could empiric sociological research demonstrate the Marxist thesis according to which religion is the "opium" of the people? And,yet, attempts are made--and there are many--although floundering in sociological speculations becomes inherent. In addition, it is not a matter merely of the subjects researched but also of the sociological use of certain concepts not merely of philosophical origin and also with a load of much more philosophical importance than sociological . For example, what determinations does the concept of "atheist" have at the level of empiric sociological research? Even if the answer to this question is not impossible, let us still admit that it is very difficult.

However, what are more important through their weight are the difficulties connected with the themes and content of empiric research. I believe that an extremely important problem occurs here for the profile and fate of the sociology of religion of the Marxist orientation, for fixing its place in the field of "sociologies of religion." We shall not dwell on the "questionnaire-mania" of sociology, intended to survey the believer's consciousness and which most often gives us merely the knowledge of the subjects in problems of religion or those connected with it. What we want to relate exceeds these disturbances in the sociological discussion which brings out amateurism. For example, we dwell on one example, which differs too little from others with regard to what concerns us here. We read in one work: "From the viewpoint of field research, the three basic dimensions by which individual religiousness is expressed are religious behavior (that is, carrying out cult acts), religious representations and religious living (attitudes,emotions).[1]

It is certain that as sociologists we may define religiousness in this way and very many sociologists define it like this or in a similar way. Yet we believe that such definitions are not enough for a sociology of religion of the Marxist orientation for the simple reason that it interprets and evaluates religious behavior merely on the basis of what is included in the sphere of religious life. But from the Marxist viewpoint (and not only Marxist, if we think of Weber, for example), the deepest significance of religiousness, which also is historical, is determined and--or perhaps in particular--in the believer's behavior toward the secular world. Neither religiousness nor the lack of religiousness are unchanging entities, while the differences between the religiousness specific to the believers belonging to one cult or another are explained by the specific nature both of the religious dogma as well as of the societies in which they live. In the end, even the behiavor of a "fanatic" believer differs much not merely from one religion to another but from one society to another. In order to understand religiousness sociologically we must study not merely the believer's strictly religious behavior, restricted to actual religious life, but also his overall social behavior, in what it is determined by various degrees of the intensity of his faith as well as the specific nature of his religious life. By viewing things this way, the very goals of atheist-scientific education become clearer, more determined. According to the abovementioned author, one of these goals is the "determination of everyday attitudes and behaviors in life comparable with these convictions and foreign to the sphere of religious, mystical and obscurantist life. "[2]

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1. Haralamb Culea, "Religion Under the Sign of Philosophical-Sociological Research," Political publishers, 1975, p 53.

2. Ibidem, p 77.

However, there is no doubt that, in order to determine the atheist's attitudes and behavior in everyday life, we must know in what way they differ from those of the believer, we must know something of this believer's behavior, the behavior which exists and is demonstrated outside the religious life but influenced or even determined by it.

Such problems of sociology also lead us to the general and basic conclusion of these lines: the development of any religiologic discipline must take into account the overall characteristic of religion, revealed and brought out by general scientific knowledge. The idea of a "science of religion" which belonged to some scholars in the last century, proved to be a utopia, but the need for a theoretical generalization of all knowledge about religion remains a permanent reality with a view to eliminating religious concepts from the people's awareness.

8071
CSO: 2700/123

EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO COMBAT RELIGIOUS SECTS DISCUSSED

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 26 Dec 81 p 2

[Interview with Valeria Cadareanu, secretary of the Timis County Union of Communist Youth Committee, by SCINTEIA TINERETULUI: "As Close as Possible to Young People and Their Lives and Concerns"; place and date not specified]

[Text] The materialist-scientific education of the younger generation is not and cannot be a linear process, and even less a graduated one, as they say, over an even or odd number of five years plans. The dialectics of this strategy which is an integral part of the broad, encompassing action for the moral-political formationa and education of the younger generation and the new man naturally and necessarily includes and requires the contributions of all education authorities, with significant tasks and responsibilities belonging, in this context, to the Union of Communist Youth [UCY] organs and organizations. That is why we are listing in this article some of the ideas resulting from the conversations we had with comrade Valeria Cadareanu, a secretary of the Timis County UYC Committee, in connection with the forms and means of political-educational actions proven to be efficient in the work to form materialist-scientific convictions in young people.

[Answer] I would like to stress right from the beginning the fact that in Timis County the materialist-scientific education activities for the younger generation are carried out in the context of intensifying all political-ideological and educational work. This work takes place under the direct guidance of the party organs and organizations for the purpose of a unity of action with the younger generation and all the workers in our county and for the purpose of successfully fulfilling the guidelines and directives issued by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at the recent joint plenary session of the RCP Central Committee and the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development. That is why, during this period, the Timis County UCY Committee has been concerned with intensifying materialist-scientific education activities for the younger generation, taking into consideration those trends and phenomena specific to our region which might serve as certain distractions for some categories of young people from the collective efforts of the Romanian, Hungarian, German, Serb and other nationality workers dedicated to carrying out the decisions of the 12th Party Congress.

[Question] We would ask you to succinctly define what these trends and phenomena are and to what degree are they capable of distracting some of the young people from their civic tasks and responsibilities.

[Answer] First of all, we must remember the fact that, even if there is an attempt to revive, proselytize and intensify the influence of religious groups existing outside the law, all this is taking place against a background of an increase in the collective opinion and the stimulating and formative educational influence of the UCY organizations. Under the specific conditions of our county, we are seeing, which is correct, an intensification of proselytizing actions carried out by a self-defined group called "Jehova's Witnesses". I do not want to go into details right now with regards to this group's doctrine and their means of influence, but it is clear that through their purposes and motives this group is openly carrying out proselytizing actions, especially among children and young people. At the same time, keeping in mind the anti-progessive and anti-humanist nature of other groups that are also operating outside the law, such as the "Dissident Pentacoastalists," the "Reformed Adventists," the "Nazarenes," the "Stylists," the "Universalists" or the "Brahmans," we are involved right now in explaining to the young people what this retrograde and reactionary content is so that they intuit and are able to judge the essence of these doctrines that violate the letter and the spirit of the laws of our country and the principles of revolutionary democracy. Some of these actions are: speeches and discussions on themes such as "Religion - A Distorted Reflection of Reality," "The Negative Consequences of Religious Fanaticism," "Science and Religion - An Irreconcilable Antithesis," "The True Face of the Religious Sects." These actions systematically take place right in the large economic units, in single persons' housing areas, in schools and so forth, beginning with the idea that under the conditions of diversity in the psycho-social and cultural environment and a broad spread in the level of cultural training it is necessary to have specific permanent actions to prevent any attempts to conduct retrograde mystical indoctrination in the area of forming certain powerful progressive moral-political beliefs.

[Question] And, therefore, what do you think should be in the more sustained efforts of our organs and organizations in the direction of the materialist-scientific education of the young people?

[Answer] Without pretending to give a definition to efficiency, I must say that there is need to double the actions that I have mentioned by increasing the educational capacities of each UCY organization, in the sense that person-to-person work must become a permanent practice of each UCY organization. Not merely by words, but also especially through deeds, we must test our ability to be comrades and friends in our work, teaching and lives. For that reason, we are firmly decided to provide all the assistance necessary to each UCY organization in order to present a specific life in the richness and scope of its activities. Only in this manner can we also achieve, by using the rich potential in the personnel that we have, the necessary and possible qualitative leap about which we are talking.

8724
CSO: 2700

EFFORTS TO 'MODERNIZE' RELIGION DERIDED

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 26 Dec 81 p 2

[Unsigned article: "'Modernizing Religion' - Or From an Anathema to a Dialogue"]

[Text] A term that during the last 10 to 15 year has acquired broad usage, although its content is still (as would be natural) under the sign of controversy and clarification, is "aggioramento." Taken literally, it means "brough up to date" or more accurately "made current." Actually, however, the picture that it expresses is much richer and broader in form and content than that which is curerently understood by this word. It is revealing that, as an exegetist justifiably supports a phenomena, the Roman Catholic Church, especially, while seeking certain new forms of universality that are adequate in a world divided and subjected to continuing change, is restricted - as is also stated in the pastoral constitution of the Vatican II Council under the title of "Gaudium et Spes" - to studying the "signs of the times," that is, it is changing its point of view in accordance with a series of essential problems of the contemporary world.

Thus, the problems of social philosophy (such as those of independence, dignity of the personality and the paths for the development of the personality, which are found again in "the theology of earthly realities"), those of the philosophy of history (the main thing here being the evaluation of the new situations of "technical civilization" in the context of contemporary culture) and, then, those of social-political and economic doctrines (which discuss themes such as war and peace, the struggle against poverty, inequality, underdevelopment, family life, access to culture and so forth). All, certainly, dealt with and resolved from a strictly specific angle.

In order to just understand this phenomenon in all its data and factors, it is necessary to conduct research into the deaconry of this contortionist process through which the church, and we repeat especially the Roman Catholic Church, proposes to bring itself "up to date." For example, Pope Leon XII in 1891, and Pius XI in 1931, pointed out in their encyclicals "Rerum Novarum" and "Quadragesimo Ano," respectively, the same aversion to the workers movement and the same passion for maintaining "the Christian social order."

By relying on an anti-worker and, in fact, anti-communist ideology without a real basis, the church woke up isolated, especially after the 1960's. This is also the source of the new trend that is noticeably taking place in this era, under the title of "aggiornament," and that signifies the movement, as one author of this era says, "from an anathema to a dialogue."

In this context, the documents of the Vatican II Council (1962-1965) and, later, the encyclical "Pacem in terris" of Pope John XXIII expressly stipulated the duty of each Christian to participate in the collective efforts of humanity directed towards defending the cause of peace and life on earth. Especially since, as one of the theologists directly linked to the "renewal" conciliatory movement, Karl Rahner, noted, the position of the church in a dialogue with the "de-sacralized world" and, especially, with Marxists is today presented in another manner: "Christianity does not at all state that only its followers, dedicating themselves completely to the cause of mankind, can make a contribution of a truly positive nature in those problems linked to the present and future of mankind." He adds: "Further, we do not feel that Christianity is the only force capable of ensuring the attainment of these goals."

Pope Paul VI's encyclical then followed with an immense echo during that era - "Populorum Progressio" in whose framework of 87 paragraphs it explicitly stated the thesis that "under the conditions of the world of these times, injustice appeals to heaven (which is not just a metaphor - ed.) for revenge when the fundamental necessities of an entire people are not satisfied."

In essence, however, with all its critical comments upon certain real aspects of liberal-capitalism, this encyclical and, furthermore, the entire pontifical view of today are not at all different from the traditional ideology of capitalism, but merely make certain "adjustments" to the traditional Roman Catholic ideology. Certainly, the consistency of certain positions, such as the recent papal encyclical "Labor excersens" ("Through Work") formulated by Pope John II along with the celebration of 9 decades since the promulgation of the encyclical "Rerum novatorum," also present multiple data that attest to this trend of taking into consideration (within certain limits, naturally) the ideology of the "de-sacralized world." As was mentioned in this encyclical, to speak "of man in the vast context of the social reality that is called work" and to admit that man has precedence over other things and that "the basic foundation of the value of work is man himself," these do not represent merely a simple concession made to certain broadly accepted theses or to merely Marxist thinking, but an effective act to turn towards the truths which the revolutionary, democratic and progressive movement has definitively and irrevocably imposed upon contemporary political and social awareness. Furthermore, beyond the changes in stress, the entire ideology of "aggiornamento" is still far from accepting the ability of socialism to revolutionarily and radically change the world and man.

Beyond all these stresses and openings having innovative intentions, such a doctrine cannot have real access to social renewal. Now more than ever, it is clear that it can no longer constitute a loyal and firm guide in action and that through its data religion cannot offer this alternative.

8724
CSO: 2700

RESULTS OF STUDY ON FERTILITY OF FEMALE POPULATION

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Sep-Oct 81 pp 888-896

[Article by Dr Petru Muresan of the Health Statistics and Computer Center of the Ministry of Health]

[Text] 1. A knowledge of demographic behavior with regard to the size of the family--being a condition of liveborn and deaths occurring--currently is in the attention of all countries, being a basic dimension of planning. From this viewpoint, the prognoses on future population, which is the departure point for long-range plans, are worked out on the basis of fertility and mortality indicators. The variants of these prognoses actually are built on variants of the fertility regime, with an uncertain future evolution, a regime which depends on the family's behavior and the desire to have a certain number of children.

Generally, a falling trend for natality is being registered in the European countries, with a deficit of population or nearly zero growth already existing in some of them. Under these conditions, the theories which supported the advantages of "zero population growth" have lost their current nature, with the governments of most European countries aiming at working out programs of action with a view to achieving an appropriate natural growth. This aspect of primary importance also was taken into consideration by the United Nations through its specialized organs, when it worked out the methods for a world fertility survey applied to the countries with low natality, an international survey in which most of the countries which have these kinds of indicators are participating and in which Romania also is participating.

2. In 1978 a fertility survey of great proportions was made in Romania* in the same locations where this investigation took place before in 1967/1968 and 1974/1975.

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*. The commission for guidance of the fertility survey and for processing of the data: Dr Petru Muresan, Sabina Ceanovici, Doina Dumitrache, Elena Malceolu, Raluca Paraschivescu, Cecilia Popescu, Constanta Prisacaru, Lucia Roznatovschi, Dan Schwartz, Stela Voiculescu . Collaborators: Arad County: Dr Oprea Lazarescu, Dr Galina Anghel, Dr Ana Pribac, Dr Aurel Ungur, Rujenca Bodrogean, Veronica Uncu, Susana Covaci, Elena Stana, Leonida Cionca, Melania Andreica, Eugenia Lamos, Lucia Gherman, Raisa Cristea, Eva Friedmann, Maria Munteanu, Ana Motziu, Elena Madas, Doina Brisc; Arges County: Dr Nicolae Pislaru, Dr Ion Druta, Carmen Diaconu, Cristina Vintila, Florica Serbanel, Cornelia Naftanaila; Bihor County: Dr Viorica Rozemberg, Dr Ionel Fines, Dr Mariana Molnar, Cristina Baliban, Craita Hana, Floare Dobrescu, Magdalena Krenter; Brasov County: Dr Ioan Boboc, Dr Ilarie Letca, Maria Pivoda,

The sampling of women surveyed included 10,141 persons chosen on the basis of typical stratified selection, in the counties with high, average and low natality, from 450 rural locations and 10 urban locations.*

3. The following may be mentioned among the most important results of the survey.

3.1. The average number of liveborn per person investigated was 2.06, higher (2.42) in the rural areas than in the urban (1.72). In zone III, with the highest natality, the average number of liveborn for a woman was 2.67, compared with 2.07 in zone II and 1.68 in zone I, with the lowest natality. An average of 1.48 children per woman exists in Bucharest Municipality.

Until the age of 40 for the women investigated, the age at which the great majority of children in a family are born, the average number of children was 2.53 (for the 35-39-year-old age group), in the rural areas -- 3 children and in the urban--2 children. This average number of children per woman is higher than that recorded in previous surveys as a result of higher fertility in this period.

3.2. Of the women investigated, 9.54 had no children, 29.22 percent had one, 33.44 had two, 13.43 had three, 8.51 had four, while 5.86 had five or more.

For the 45-49-year-old age group, the proportions do not vary too much from the abovementioned average; the end result is that 6.57 percent of married women had no children by the end of their fertile period.

According to the length of the marriage, barely after a marriage of 15-20 years was the total number of children achieved (2.58 average for this subgroup of women), which is too long a period, with the optimum period being 10 years. In exchange, in the first 10 years of marriage, the average number of children per woman investigated was only 1.99, with nearly one-third of these women not having children or having just one, a proportion nearly identical with the women whose marriages had lasted more than 20 years.

Georgeta Serban, Gabriela Popa, Maria Pop, Letitia Marcu, Maria Mistrea, Maria Puscariu, Lucia Puchi; Iasi County: Dr Gheorghe Baciu, Dr Ioan Roman, Dr Elena Mitrea, Dr Petru Renghea, Aurora Dehelean, Agnezia Opris, Angelica Bocinca, Margareta Ticu, Eugenia Ivanov, Otilia Tudose, Maria Ivasciuc, Ana Filip, Ecaterina Filoti, Maria Nemesniciu; Sibiu County: Dr Nicole Galani, Elena Stanescu, Maria Izdraila, Eugenia Rocneanu, Marcela Radu; Timis County: Dr Henric Paulovits, Dr Georgeta Negru, Dr Simina Silvocan, Dr Eva Lang, Dr Emeric Schnur, Hartwig Bakk, Maria Halacescu, Livia Popiceanu, Didina Giura, Eleonora Drinda, Margareta Bugarin, Ileana Doorki, Sofia Abel, Heli Mohaupt, Ildiko Kreppel; Vaslui County: Dr Stefan Bucevschi, Dr Ana Mocranschi, Dr Aurora Iliescu, Dr Ion Ardeleanu; Georgeta Virna, Paraschiva Bantas, Niculina Constantinescu, Aurelia Sava, Ecaterina Lucian; Bucharest Municipality: Dr Traian Ionescu, Dr Lucian Balanescu, Dr Octavian Flesariu, Virginia Perjoc, Sanda Busegescu, Hermina Hau, Vali Buican, Andrei Alecu, Maria Stancium, Sofia Covaci, Floarea Cojocaru.

*. Investigating personnel, formed of obstetrics-gynecology medical assistants, were instructed centrally so the investigation could be made homogenously. Guidance, checking, coding and computer processing done by Health Statistics and Computer Center of Ministry of Health, also data analysis obtained from 2,320 tables.

3.3. Female agricultural workers on the average have the most liveborn (2.90 per woman), with housewives (2.40) following and then unqualified workers (2.21). For the remainder, for the other groups of employees, the average number of children is much lower: 1.71 for qualified workers and 1.39-1.32 for personnel with secondary and higher studies (Graph 1).

Graph 1. Average number of liveborn for a woman by environments and degree of schooling

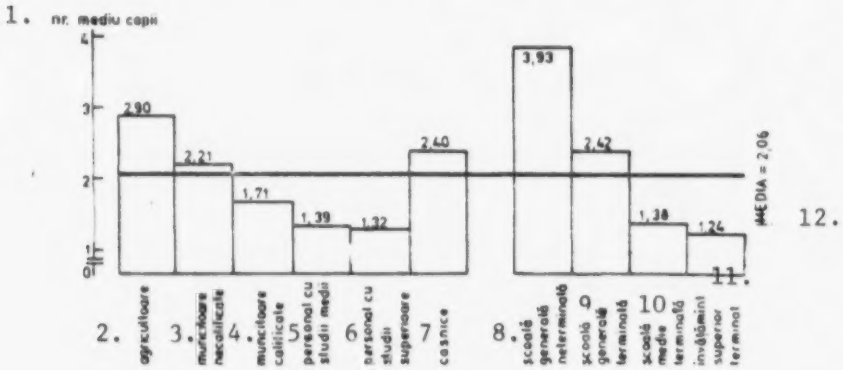

Key:

1. Average number of children
2. Agricultural workers
3. Unqualified workers
4. Qualified workers
5. Personnel with secondary studies
6. Personnel with higher studies
7. Housewives
8. Unfinished general school
9. Finished general school
10. Finished secondary school
11. Finished higher education
12. Average = 2.06

For the coming period, by reducing the proportion of women working in agriculture, unqualified workers and housewives and increasing the proportion of qualified workers and personnel with secondary and higher studies, fertility and, thus, the number of liveborn per woman (called "sum of reduced births" in demographv) could be reduced very much.

Women with unfinished general school had 3.93 children, while their number was small (just 183 women surveyed). Women with finished general school had an average of 2.42 children, those with secondary school finished had just 1.38, while the women who graduated from higher education had 1.24. These data also show that fertility is inversely proportional to the degree of schooling--as is the case in most countries--and, thus, by increasing the proportion of women with secondary school, fertility could be reduced very much if appropriate measures are not taken, measures which would influence the women's demographic behavior.

3.4. Average age at the date of the first birth (liveborn) was 22 years old with this number being 1 year less for recently married women compared with women married in 1950. This average age is much lower for rural women and, as employees, for housewives, agricultural workers and workers (Graph 2).

Graph 2: Average age of women at first liveborn birth, by environments, occupations and degree of schooling

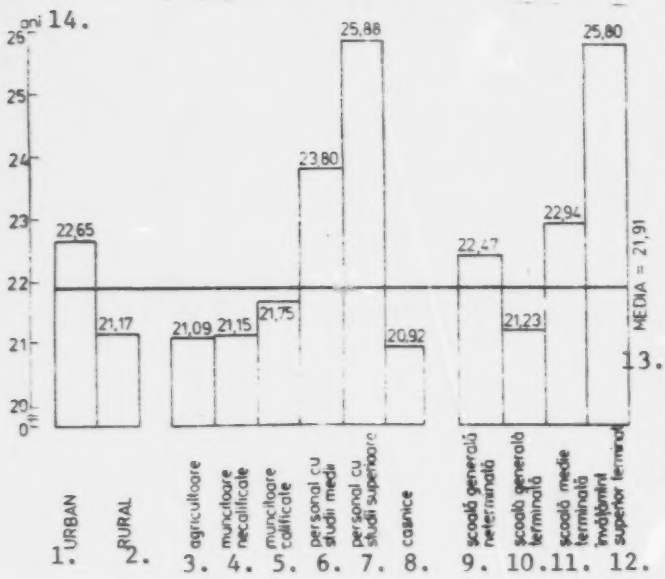

Key:

1. Urban
2. Rural
3. Agricultural workers
4. Unqualified workers
5. Qualified workers
6. Personnel with secondary studies
7. Personnel with higher studies
8. Housewives
9. Unfinished general school
10. Finished general school
11. Finished secondary school
12. Finished higher education
13. Average = 21.91
14. Years

3.5. The protogenezic period, that is, the number of months between the marriage date and date of the first birth (liveborn) was 21 months, with great variations according to age at the date of marriage, urban or rural environment, zones, occupations and degree of schooling. These variations are between 14 and 30 months, with the protogenezic period being less in the rural areas, for workers, for housewives, agricultural workers, women with unfinished general school and much higher for the women investigated in Bucharest Municipality and for personnel with higher studies (Graph 3).

Graph 3: Protogenezic period (months)by environment,occupations, degree of schooling

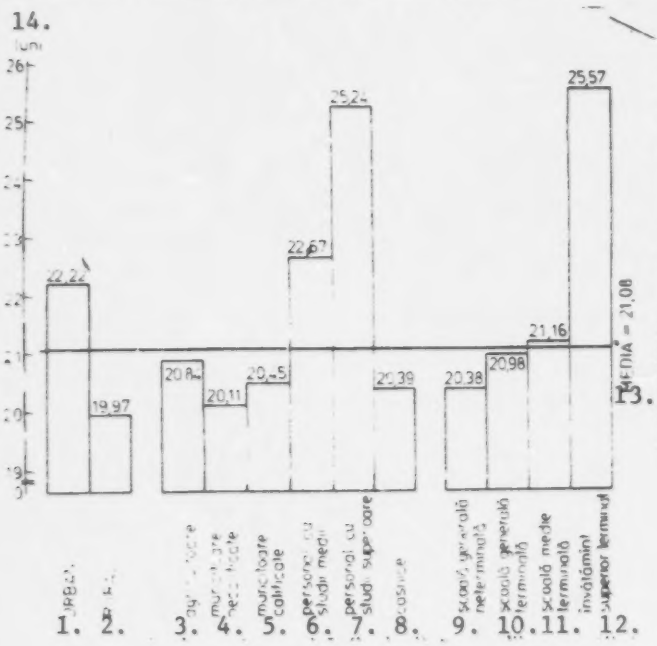

Key:

1. Urban
2. Rural
3. Agricultural workers
4. Unqualified workers
5. Qualified workers
6. Personnel with secondary studies
7. Personnel with higher studies
8. Housewives
9. Unfinished general school
10. Finished general school
11. Finished secondary school
12. Finished higher education
13. Average = 21.08
14. Months

3.6. The intergenezic period, between the first and second birth(liveborn) , however, was greater, around 35 months, thus, around 3 years, with very large variations between 22 and 45 months. The greatest differences are between women from the marriage group of 1958-1962 with the maximum integenezic iperiod and the recently married ones, after 1973, with the minimum intergenezic period (Graph 4).

Graph 4: Intergenezic period (months) between first and second live birth, by environments, occupations and degree of schooling

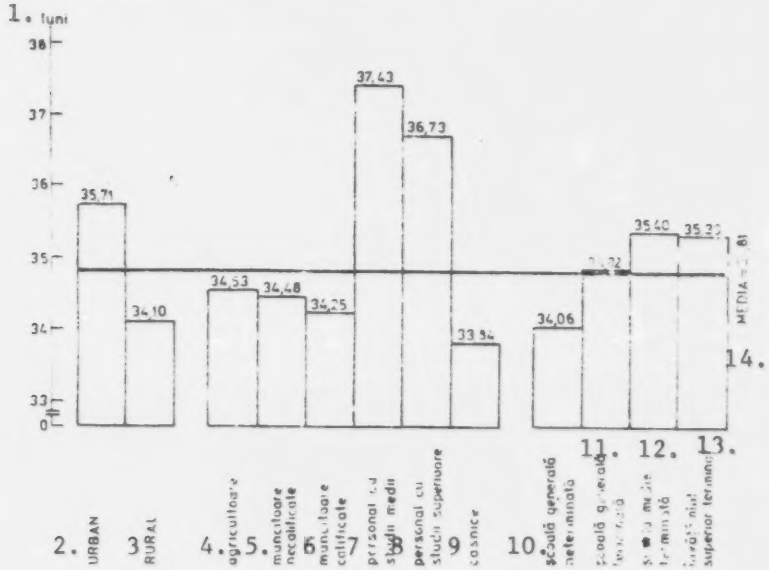

Key:

1. Months
2. Urban
3. Rural
4. Agricultural workers
5. Unqualified workers
6. Qualified workers
7. Personnel with secondary studies
8. Personnel with higher studies
9. Housewives
10. Unfinished general school
11. Finished general school
12. Finished secondary school
13. Finished higher education
14. Average = 34.81

And, in this case, the intergenezic periods by various zones, occupations and degrees of schooling are similar to the protogenezic period, however with less emphatic variations.

3.7. The intergenezic period, between the second and third birth (liveborn) was 40.38 months, that is, nearly 3-1/2 years, greater in the urban areas and in Bucharest Municipality in particular. The differences by occupations and degree of schooling, with some exceptions, are similar to those of the protogenezic and intergenezic period between the first and second birth. The result is that the women from the marriage group after 1973, thus, young married, give birth sooner, both for the first

and second and third child, compared with women married prior to 1973. The continued fall and an emphatic one is found beginning with the women married after 1958 (Graph 5).

Graph 5: Intergenezic period (months) between second and third live birth, by environments, occupations and degree of schooling

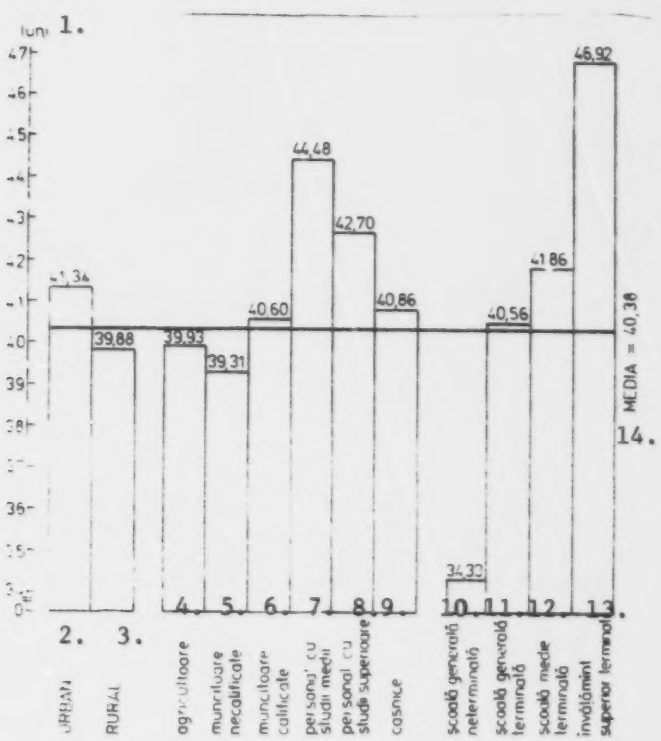

Key:

1. Months
2. Urban
3. Rural
4. Agricultural workers
5. Unqualified workers
6. Qualified workers
7. Personnel, secondary studies
8. Personnel,higher studies
9. Housewives
10. Unfinished general school
11. Finished general school
12. Finished secondary school
13. Finished higher education
14. Average = 40.38

3.8. The number of pregnancies of the women investigated was an average 3.44, greater in the urban and in primarily Bucharest Municipality. Among these pregnancies, 1.37, thus, around 40 percent,were not desired (at all or merely not spaced properly, thus, not desired at the point of the appearance of the pregnancy). In Bucharest Municipality half of the pregnancies were not desired.

The average number of abortions was 1.35, thus, nearly identical with that of undesired pregnancies, with greater indicators in urban and maximum in Bucharest Municipality (2.95 abortions average per woman investigated).

If just the women aged 40-49 were taken into consideration, the average number of pregnancies was 4.50, that of undesired pregnancies--2.08, and that of abortions--2.25 (4.37 pregnancies in Bucharest Municipality, of which 2.16 were undesired and 2.95 abortions average per woman investigated).

And we see from these data a less appropriate demographic behiavor in the urban environment compared with the rural and thus the possibility that in the future,

parallel with urbanization, the women's demographic behavior in urban areas is generalized if appropriate measures are not taken to improve this behavior.

3.9. The average number of children considered optimum (ideal) for a family was 2.51, while the one desired at the time of the marriage was just 2.01, while the one achieved was 2.06. We see here that in general, women have just the children they want, with the exception of agricultural workers and housewives who have an average number of children somewhat beyond the number desired at the time of marriage, particularly the women with unfinished or finished general school.

If we take into consideration the women with long marriages, who have had the great majority of their childrenin the family (with a length of time of 15-19 years from the date of the wedding), the indicators are as follows: a. Average number of children considered optimum for a family--2.64; b. Average number of children desired at the time of marriage--2.03; c. Average number of children produced--2.58.

These indicators compared among themselves seem to be satisfactory, but this is due merely to the rural environment and in particular zone III with the greatest natality, with there being an inappropriate situation in the other zones, particularly in the urban areas and Bucharest Municipality.

	a	b	c
Total sampling	2.64	2.03	2.58
Urban	2.37	1.93	1.99
Bucharest Municipality	2.31	1.85	1.59

Generally, surpassing the number of children produced compared with the number desired at the time of the marriage or compared with what is considered the optimum is found only in agricultural workers and housewives, and, according to degree of schooling, only in women with general school, particularly unfinished general school. (Graph 6).

Graph 6: Average number of children considered optimum for a family, number of children desired at time of marriage and number produced for women married 15-19 years by occupations and degree of schooling

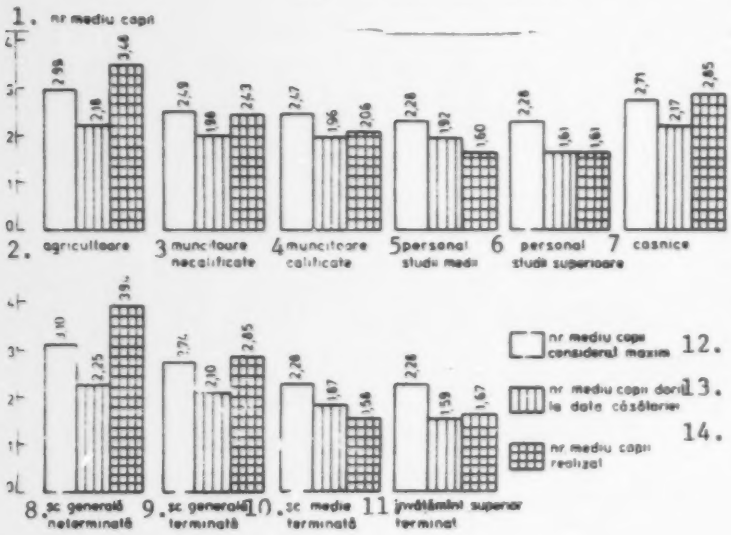

Key:

1. Average number of children
2. Agricultural workers
3. Unqualified workers
4. Qualified workers
5. Personnel, secondary studies
6. Personnel, higher studies
7. Housewives
8. Unfinished general school
9. Finished general school
10. Finished secondary school
11. Finished higher education
12. Average number of children considered maximum
13. Average number of children desired at time of wedding
14. Average number of children produced

3.10. The main reasons for which the women investigated had no children or just one or two were given in this way (in decreasing order of the proportion of answers): number of children they wanted--21.50 percent; young age, recent marriage--19.86 percent; health of spouse or wife, fear of birth, fear of not having healthy child, Rh negative--13.39 percent; sterile wife or husband, repeated spontaneous abortions, unable to get pregnant--11.60 percent; occupation, commuting, taking courses, lack of supervision, insufficient budget, lack of supervision for children--10.63 percent; insufficient or unbalanced budget, inappropriate housing + insufficient budget, children hard to raise--8.48 percent; inappropriate housing + lack of supervision for children, inappropriate housing--3.51 percent; misunderstandings between spouses, spouses living apart--1.39 percent; other reasons--9.64 percent.

These reasons vary according to urban or rural, by zones, occupations or degree of schooling as mentioned during the analysis (Graph 7).

Graph 7: Reasons for which women have no children or 1-2 children

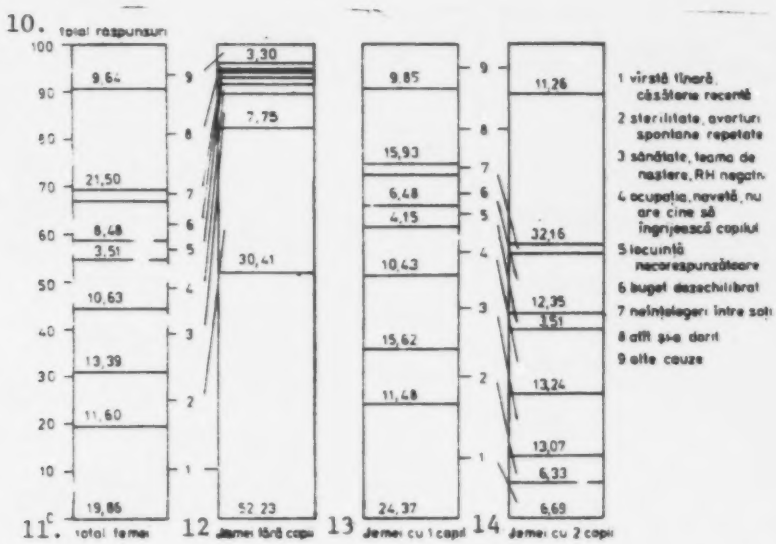

Key:

1. Young age, recent marriage
2. Sterility, repeated spontaneous abortions
3. Health, fear of birth, Rh negative
4. Occupation, commuting, nobody to take care of child
5. Inappropriate housing
6. Unbalanced budget
7. Misunderstandings between spouses
8. Had as many as wanted
9. Other reasons
10. Total answers
11. Total women
12. Childless women
13. One-child women
14. Two-child women

3.11. The budget of time for the women investigated brings out a particularly large number of hours spent for housekeeping activities, shopping, transportation to and from the job and not enough free time for social-cultural, sports activities. (Graph 8).

Graph 8: Budget of time for women investigated by coccupations (without public and education activities)

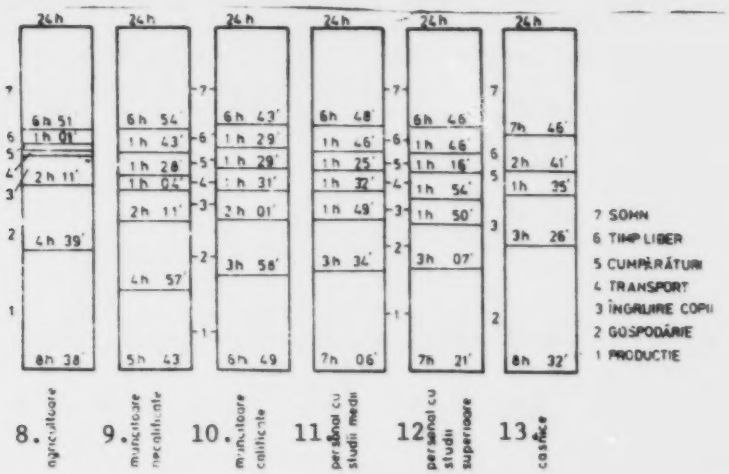

Key:

1. Production
2. Housework
3. Child care
4. Transportation
5. Shopping
6. Free time
7. Sleep
8. Agriculture workers
9. Unqualified workers
10. Qualified workers
11. Personnel with secondary studies
12. Personnel with higher studies
13. Housewives

4. The data resulting from the survey of fertility of the female population of Romania show a number of similar conclusions with those recorded in the majority of European countries; they are:

a. General fertility and specific fertility by age groups are continually falling;

b. Fertility level--more exactly, the number of live births on the average for a family--is lower in the urban environment and counties with lower natality;

c. Fertility level also is in inverse correlation to the degree of schooling, being much lower for women who graduate from secondary school or higher education;

d. Fertility level is much higher for agriculture workers and housewives, somewhat lower for workers and much lower for personnel working in jobs requiring secondary or higher studies;

e. For the reasons mentioned, the result is that possibilities exist to influence women's demographic behavior, with regard to having a large number of children in a family, if complex economic-social, medical measures are taken.

These complex measures are especially necessary and urgent since urbanization and culturalization of the broad masses and women's entry into the work field in an increasing percentage in coming years may continue to bring a fall in fertility indicators similar to what is also occurring in other European countries.

8071
CSO: 2700/130

DECREE ON EVALUATION OF DAMAGE TO PUBLIC PROPERTY

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 108, 21 Dec 81 pp 1-3

[Decree of the Council of State Regarding Damage Done to Public Property as a Result of Missing or Damaged Goods; a republication of Council of State Decree No 208/1976, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I, No 63 of 5 July 1976; republication done on the basis of Article III of Council of State Decree No 339 of 26 November 1981, No 339 being published in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I, No 92 of 27 November 1981; the republication renumbers the articles of No 208/1976]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

General Provisions

Article 1. - The evaluation of the damage done to public property as a result of missing or damaged goods, for which the responsibility or obligations for restitution are established according to the Labor Code or which are caused by deeds that constitute civil or criminal offenses, is accomplished according to this decree.

The provisions of this decree are not applied in the case of damages where the evaluation is accomplished according to certain special legal provisions.

Article 2. - The evaluation of damages is done by taking into consideration the prices in effect on the date the damages occur. In cases where the date of the damages cannot be determined, the prices in effect on the date the damage was discovered will be taken into consideration.

Chapter I

Evaluation of Damages for Which the Responsibility or Obligations for Restitution are Established According to the Labor Code

A. Missing Goods

Article 3. - For goods that are found to be missing that have legally established retail prices, the evaluation of the damages is done by using these prices as a basis. When different retail prices are established for the one and the same product, the basis for the calculation will be the retail price applicable to the socialist unit

that was damaged. If within an administration different retail prices are charged, the highest price will be used as a basis for calculation.

As an exception to the provisions in the preceding paragraph, for missing goods that are sold through public food stores, the evaluation of the damage will be done on the basis of the price at which these goods were recorded in the store where the shortage was discovered, but no less than the retail price for which they were sold in the food sector.

Article 4. - For those goods that do not have retail prices established in accordance with legal provisions, but have prices established as prices-at-delivery, the evaluation of the damages will be accomplished using these prices as a basis, to which a factor of 1.05 will be applied.

This same factor is also applied to the negative value difference resulting from the replacement, under conditions of the law, of the missing goods with surplus goods, if the missing goods, the surplus goods or one of these does not have retail prices.

In cases where the price-at-delivery is equal to the production price, the factor that is applied according to paragraph one and paragraph two is 1.25; for tablewear, knives and forks and packaging used in trade, a factor of 1.05 is applied.

For those goods found to be missing that have only production prices or prices-at-delivery established and that constitute a type of product within a group of products for which retail prices have been established for some, the value to be recovered will be determined by the unit that was damaged by correlating the retail price of the product with one of the closest quality, keeping in mind the value of these goods when in use, as well as the level of taxes on the goods and the commercial rebate included in the price.

The value determined in accordance with the provisions of the preceding paragraph cannot be lower than that resulting from the application of the factors in paragraphs one, two and three.

Article 5. - The provisions of Article 3 and Article 4 are not applied in the case of those goods listed in the Annex of this decree, for which the evaluation of damages will be accomplised by the application of the factors in the annex to the goods found to be missing.

Article 6. - For goods that have neither a retail price nor a price-at-delivery established, the evaluation of the damages will be done for each particular case by the unit that was damaged on the basis of a thorough and documented analysis so that the damages will be covered.

For the situations outlined in the preceding paragraph, in cases where for the purpose of evaluating the damages it is necessary to have expertise, this will be accomplished by persons specializing in this area, with the appropriate legal provisions regarding expertise being applied.

Article 7. - For those goods that are part of unfinished production, the evaluation of damages is done on the basis of all the expenditures made according to the records, with the value of the raw materials and materials being calculated in accordance with the provisions of Article 3 or Article 4 as the case may be.

B. Damage to Goods

Article 8. - In the case of damage to goods, the evaluation of damages is done in the following manner:

a) if the goods can be repaired or reconditioned in order to be returned to the previous condition, the expenditures made to this end are taken into consideration;

b) if the damaged goods can be used as such, in accordance with legal provisions, but with reduced prices, the difference between the original price and the price obtained is taken into consideration;

c) if, as a result of repair or reconditioning work on the product, a product of inferior quality is obtained, the difference in the price between the original price and the price of the repaired or reconditioned product is added to the expenditures listed in letter a);

d) if the damaged product is used as a raw material for the production of other goods, the difference in the price between the original price of the product and the price of the raw materials that it replaced is taken into consideration;

e) if the goods cannot be repaired, reconditioned or used, in cases where the goods were produced in the unit that was damaged, the costs are taken into consideration, and in cases where they were purchased, all the expenditures made to procure the goods are taken into consideration.

In applying the provisions of letters b), c) and d), the price established according to the provisions of Articles 3 or 4, as the case may be, is taken into calculations.

Chapter II

Evaluation of Damages Caused by Deeds That Constitute Civil or Criminal Offenses

Article 9. - In cases where the damage was caused by deeds which, according to the law, constitute civil or criminal offenses, the evaluation of the damages will be done by adding to the sum resulting from the application of the provisions in Articles 3 through 8 the sum representing the amount of use lost by the unit that was damaged.

If the resulting sum from the application of the provisions of the preceding paragraph does not cover the cost of these goods, the cost of the goods is taken into consideration, when these goods were produced in the unit that was damaged, while in the case of goods that were procured all the expenditures made to this end are taken into consideration.

Chapter III

Provisional and Final Provisions

Article 10. - In the evaluation of damages, the degree of wear and tear on the goods will also be considered, as established on the basis of legal tests. In cases where the degree of wear and tear cannot be established, the damage is equal to the full value of the goods, based on the results of the application of the provisions of the preceding articles.

Article 11. - The provisions of this decree are also applied in cases of damages done to cooperatist units and other public organizations, regardless of the type of person who committed the act causing the damage.

Article 12. - This decree takes effect 30 days after its publication in BULETINUL OFICIAL, On the same date the following are abrogated:

- Decree No 220/1960 Regarding Establishing the Value of Damage Done to Public Property, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I, No 22 of 20 October 1960;

- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 532/1963 Regarding the Means of Establishing the Value of Damages Done to Public Property, for Goods That do not Have Retail Prices That are Legally Established, published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRII No 24 of 26 July 1963;

- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 368/1975 for Completing the Annex Listings in Council of Ministers Decision No 532/1963 Regarding the Means of Establishing the Value of Damages Done to Public Property, for Goods That do not Have Retail Prices That are Legally Established, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I, No 42 of 6 May 1975.

Annex

List of Products Where the Evaluation of Damages is Done According to Article 5 Provisions

Product	Factor	Price Category to Which Factor is Added
Liquified gas bottles	8	Retail price
Wheat	5	Retail price
Corn	5	Retail price
Rye	5	Retail price
Oats	5	Retail price
Fodder Barley	5	Retail price
Barley for beer	5.5	Price-at-delivery

Note: According to Article II of Decree No 339/1981, the provisions of this decree are also applied for damages caused up until its effect date (27 November 1981), if until this date a definitive pronouncement had not been made regarding recovery of damages.

8724
CSO: 2700

WESTERN COMMENT ON CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 22 Jan 82 p 5

[Article: "Church-State Dialogue in Yugoslavia--Religious Freedom Emphasized"]

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jan--Yugoslavia is apparently making an attempt to correct the negative impression about relations between the state and the church which have been circulating outside the country. There was a clear indication of this in the remarks by Alexander Fira, chairman of the Federal Commission for Relations with Religious Groups, during a press conference last Tuesday morning at Belgrade's international press center. Among other things, Fira stated that during the past year a total of 10 clergymen had been tried by the courts. Three Catholic, three Moslem and two Orthodox clergymen had been convicted of "treason," he said, while the rest were charged with minor infraccions. He indicated that the impression given in the foreign press that there had been a general change in the official attitude toward the church in Yugoslavia was a basic misapprehension. Today, as it had from the very beginning, constitutionally guaranteed religious freedom and equality of all citizens has remained an immovable basis for relationships with the religious communities, he said.

"Local" Difficulties

In replying to specific questions he did not deny that there were problems for priests and the faithful in some areas, e.g., religious care in hospitals and religious practices by military personnel. He did however refer to them as "local" difficulties which had to be dealt with at their place of occurrence and denied any responsibility by societal institutions in this context. Responsibility for daily contact with religious communities and their members in the Yugoslav self-government system belongs to the so-called "Socialist Alliance," officially known as "Popular Front," which for practical purposes is an extension of the party. At the press conference which--no doubt intentionally--dealt with this subject at a more general and abstract level, the status of this mass organization in relation to frequently reported discrimination against religious persons, especially in small communities, did not come up for discussion.

Fira claimed that in recent days there had been an officially sanctioned expansion of the public image of the religious communities. Indeed, Belgrade television recently broadcast for the first time interviews with representatives of the Catholic,

Serbian-Orthodox, Macedonian and Moslem religious communites, during which they "could say whatever they wished." It is obvious that on this occasion they said nothing controversial. Additionally, at the press conference there was an announcement of a forthcoming public debate on religion and Marxism, in which representatives of the religions are to participate.

Talks With the Archbishop

No less interesting than the event of the press conference itself is the fact that at the end of last November Fira made a visit to Zagreb's Archbishop Franjo Kuharic. Officially this was described as a return visit; but 5 years had elapsed since the previous encounter. According to a very laconic report by the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG, the talks were "open and frank." Such encounters were described as useful and are to be continued in the future for the purpose of overcoming difficulties which occur "in everyday life", "in the spirit of the Yugoslav constitution, the applicable laws and the protocols jointly signed with the Vatican." Beyond that, Fira refused to provide any other information about the meeting at the press conference. The archbishop appears to be equally discreet, as can be seen from a report about the meeting in Zagreb's Catholic weekly GLAS KONCILA.

Different From Poland

This visit and its explanation indicate that the state has decided to reestablish a dialogue with the church. The fact that this simultaneously imposes an obligation upon the Catholic church in Croatia became evident from Fira's words when he was asked about the possibility of the canonization of Cardinal Aloysius Stepinac, who had been convicted as a war criminal after the war. That, he said, is a matter for the church, and the church knows that such a step would not contribute to a positive development of the relationship. At the end of the press conference Fira was asked whether Yugoslavia feared the influence of "events in Poland" with respect to the church. He denied this with a smile; as the reason, he stated that Yugoslavia is in every respect "entirely different" from Poland.

9273
CSO: 2300/123

DJILAS BOOK ON COMMUNISM PUBLISHED IN FRG

[Editorial Report] The 20 January 1982 issue of DIE WELTWOCHE (Zurich) publishes (page 11) an excerpt from Milovan Djilas's forthcoming book "Idea and System" to be published in mid February by the Fritz Molden Verlag in Munich. The Zurich paper notes that the book is "a collection of political essays... [in which is it pointed out that] communism as it is practiced today is becoming more and more separated and alienated from the class which it was supposed to represent. ...As a result the working class is turning more and more away from communism. These essays...were written before the dramatic events in Poland which, however, only confirm the statements and analyses in them." The paper reprints from the book one chapter entitled, "The Working Class and Communist Rule."

CSO: 2800/129

BRIEFS

KALANJ-SUVAR POLEMICS--At the 13 January meeting of the Croatian LC Central Committee the view of the Presidium of the Croatian LC CC was given regarding the statement by Rade Kalanj and the reply by Stipe Suvar at the 16th meeting of the Croatian LC Central Committee. As is known, the Central Committee authorized the Presidium to take a position on this because it is not only a question of confrontation between two personal opinions on ideological deviations, but questions which have started to have also broader dimensions. In this connection the Presidium, in the structure of broad discussion about ideological trends, took the view that a special Central Committee meeting on the situation on the ideological front should be prepared to discuss specific differences in approach and judgment of the ideological situation and tendencies. Both Rade Kalanj and Stipe Suvar were selected, in addition to others, for the working group which will prepare the meeting. In examining especially Kalanj's statements and Suvar's reply, the Presidium stressed that approaches which aim toward moral-political discrediting and ideological-political labeling do not contribute toward clearing up controversial questions and building ideological unity. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jan 82 p 3]

KOSOVO LC MEMBERSHIP--Elections in Kosovo have recently started. Preelection and election activity in basic LC organizations will take place up to mid-January, while election activity is opstina conferences will take place in February and March. The 13th provincial conference of the Kosovo LC is scheduled for April 1982. The LC of Kosovo has entered these elections with 90,808 members organized in 3,124 basic LC organizations. Since the last elections 18,495 new members have joined, or 20.36 percent more. The Kosovo LC has the following percentage of members indicated: 25.8 workers in direct production, 13.25 private farmers, 4.38 engineers and technicians, 2.17 economists and lawyers, 11.96 cultural, educational and scientific workers, 2.06 health workers, 0.59 other specialized workers, 9.64 administrative workers, 2.53 managerial persons, 15.10 students, 2.28 persons in protective services, and 10.15 others. Also, 41.6 percent are below 27 years of age, and only 13.29 percent are women. The nationality structure is as follows (in percentage): 65.63 Albanians, 23.62 Serbs, 6.07 Montenegrins, 2.56 Moslems, 0.86 Turkish, 0.47 Romany, and 0.78 others. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jan 82 p 6]

HOSTILE ACTION IN LIPLJAN OPSTINA--Thus far 21 persons have been penalized in the opstina for hostile action involving Albanian nationalism and irredentism, (criminal charges were brought against 16, while 5 persons are in investigative custody); 13 persons have been charged with writing slogans. Measures have also been taken against verbal action by individuals and against one instance of Serbian nationalist slogan writing. It was said that the town of Lipljan continues to be the center of hostile activity in the opstina. Evidence of hostility has been known ever since 1979. During November 1981 six persons who created unrest and wrote hostile slogans in the past few months were discovered. Slogans were also in evidence during December, mostly in the villages of Rasinovac, Sedlare, Banjica, Cuculjaga, and at the "Goles" magnesite mine and industry in Magura. Social self-protection has not worked in certain areas; this is best proved by the recent fire in the "Goles" mine which exceeded 1.5 billion old dinars in damage and destroyed machinery for which one had waited over 3 years to import from abroad. There are also other negative occurrences in OURs (organizations of associated labor) in this opstina such as carelessness, stubbornness, opportunism and unjustified absences. Firefighting units in all enterprises in this opstina are very poorly equipped and have poor working conditions; this was evident during the recent fire in the "Stanoje Aksic" paper and carton factory. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jan 82 p 3]

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1977

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1977

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East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Dec 81 p 4

[Volkmar Bachmann review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 12, December 1981, signed to press 11 November 1981, pp 1185-1287 plus 9-page annual index: "Making Use of Socialism's Advantages." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] The ten keypoints of economic strategy adopted by the 10th SED Congress are the yardstick for our actions to develop the GDR's national economy in the 1980's. They virtually run through nearly all the contributions of the December issue of EINHEIT. In the first contribution, Otto Reinhold discusses in 'The Topic' feature section the question of how to link even more strongly and convincingly the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution. In five points he proves that these advantages objectively exist. He emphasizes, however, that they do not become effective all by themselves, so-to-speak automatically, but that it takes the appropriate ways and means, the endeavors of the whole of society, to bring them fully to bear.

In the next contribution, Hans Modrow discusses the task of making the working people aware of socialism's great potential and the need to develop this potential fully, as a task of party work in the struggle for scientific-technical progress.

Other EINHEIT articles deal with such subjects as "Effective Combination of Science and Technology [sic; title reads 'Science and Production'] in the Combine" (by Fritz Haberland) and "Demands Posed by Microelectronics" (by Egon Heusing), or analyze "Scientific-Technical Progress Viewed Through the Distorting Mirror of Bourgeois Futurologists" (by Eberhard Fromm).

Issue No 12 also carries Kurt Hager's speech at Humboldt University in Berlin on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the death of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. In his speech, Hager substantiates that Hegel's legacy is in good hands in the GDR and that the German philosopher's greatest achievement has been the resumption and development of dialectics.

In addition to contributions about the peace struggle and information on the Labor Code, replies to questions concerning the UN Law of the Sea Conference, and reviews of new books, EINHEIT No 12 carries the traditional annual index.

CSO: 2300/120

SED POLITBURO'S KURT HAGER INTERPRETS HEGEL

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 12, Dec 81 (signed to press 11 Nov 81) pp 1225-1237

[Text of speech by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for culture and science; presented at the academic festival on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Hegel's death, sponsored by Humboldt University, East Berlin, and the GDR Academy of Sciences: "Hegel's Legacy Lies in Our Hands"]

[Text] Kurt Hager pays tribute to Hegel's epoch-making work, especially to his greatest achievement: the resumption and development of dialectics. Positively preserved by Marx and Engels, Hegel's dialectics became one of the theoretical sources of Marxism-Leninism and thereby attained its world historic effect. While taking issue with the bourgeois Hegel critique it is being shown why none but Marxism-Leninism could carry on the progressive legacy of classical German philosophy and what it means to make that legacy fruitful in our era in safeguarding peace, further shaping the developed socialist society, and struggling for social progress.

This academic festival pays homage to the great German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of his death. His epoch-making work has decisively affected and enriched our intellectual culture, especially our philosophic thought.

Hegel, who after finishing his study of theology at the Tuebingen Stift worked as a tutor in a patrician family in Bern and a merchant's family in Frankfurt (Main), as a Privatdozent and professor extraordinarius at Jena University, as the editor of BAMBERGER ZEITUNG, as the rector of the Aegidien-gymnasium in Nuremberg and professor in Heidelberg, in 1818 accepted the chair of philosphy at Berlin University, vacant since the death of Fichte. From 1829 to 1830 he was the rector of the Berlin Alma Mater, whose glory he enhanced as did many other scholars. He died of cholera on 14 November 1831.

In Hegel we honor an outstanding representative of classical bourgeois German philosophy. Along with Kant and Fichte it mainly was Hegel's work that became a theoretical source of our Marxist-Leninist world-outlook. By paying tribute to Hegel we contribute to our fostering the cultural humanistic legacy which belongs among the principles of our socialist society, as asserted in the SED Party Program: "Everything great and noble, humanistic and revolutionary, is being preserved in honor and extended in the GDR in being vividly related to the tasks of the present."[1] The more we advance in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, the more deeply we mine the historic legacy to which we are committed; and the more strongly do we perceive the responsibility for solving the tasks before us.

In the preface to his "Elements of the Philosophy of Right" Hegel writes: "As to the individual, each is in any case a child of his times; and so philosophy likewise is its time, conceived in thought."[2] As an individual cannot detach himself from the historic era in which he lives, and from society, even though he may fancy he can, a philosophy, as a world-outlook, cannot at all be completely comprehended without their origin in and impact on their time.

Hegel was contemporary to fundamental social changes that mark in their totality the definitive transition from the feudal to the bourgeois-capitalist society. The industrial revolution in England led to the breakthrough of the new productive forces of that society. The French Revolution and Napoleon's rule ensured the political power of the haute bourgeoisie. The national liberation movements, the restoration after the Congress of Vienna, the revival of oppositional democratic aspirations and, finally, the July revolution of 1830 in France were the outstanding events of social and political development that mark the time in which Hegel lived.

Like the friends of his youth, Hoelderlin and Schelling, like Goethe, Schiller and most representatives of German intellectual life, Hegel welcomed the French Revolution with enthusiasm. Already during his studies he had made himself thoroughly familiar with the ideas of the English, French and German Enlightenment about the progress of history. To him the French Revolution was the materialization of those ideas because there the demand was raised for the first time that social relations be organized according to the principles of reason.

The enthusiasm about the French Revolution was tempered on account of the plebeian, revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the Jacobins 1793/94, and except for a few, like Georg Foster, German intellectuals reacted to that event with misunderstanding and, partly, with horror. But even thereafter Hegel never turned against the French Revolution, being deeply convinced of its being historically necessary, as he conceived of it, after all, as the foundation for bourgeois society and culture. Still in 1822 and subsequently, in his "Lectures on the Philosophy of World History," he celebrated the French Revolution in exuberant words as a magnificent sunrise. "A lofty emotion ruled at that time," he said, "awe-inspiring the world with an enthusiasm of spirit as if only now the world had been reconciled with the divine."[3] As a world historic event the French Revolution caused Hegel to celebrate the bourgeois revolution not only as a triumph of reason but to uncover that triumph in its inevitability.

After the disappointment with the Jacobin dictatorship, Hegel placed his hope on Napoleon, whom he saw as the instrument of the "world spirit" or the "world soul," appointed to bring the ideas of the revolution to realization, and to illuminate the German darkness, to eliminate the feudal abuses and national fragmentation of Germany. Hegel lived in a country that was broken up into many independent large and small states and was extremely backward in economic, social and political respects. The preconditions for a bourgeois-democratic revolution had not yet become ripe in Germany. All one could do was apply the ideologies and illusions of the French Revolution to German circumstances. A genuine social revolution was replaced by a revolution in thought. That one, to be sure, was carried out thoroughly by Hegel.

The genesis of the new bourgeois society, in addition to the French Revolution, expressed itself mainly in the industrial revolution in England, which Friedrich Engels described as follows: "While in France a tempest of revolution swept the country, a more quiet transformation took place in England, no less important, by that token. Steam power and new machine tools transformed manufacture into modern large-scale industry, revolutionizing the whole foundation of bourgeois society. The sleepy pace of the maufacturing era turned into a genuine storm-and-stress period of production."[4]

The natural sciences also paved a way for great changes at the time. Back in 1755, in his "General Natural History and Theory of the Heavens," Kant had set down the idea of the development of nature, without finding any acceptance. When in the early 19th century the science spectrum broadened, the view of the world based on classical mechanics increasingly blocked any understanding of the inherent connections and interactions among the natural sciences.

Hegel not only most deeply understood the character of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic rule, he also was the only German philosopher of the time who, under the impact of the industrial revolution, thoroughly came to deal with the economic conditions in England and with the doctrines of English political economy, mainly with the doctrines of James D. Steuart and Adam Smith. Like them, he conceives of bourgeois society as the ultimate and definitive form of social historical development.

The study of English political economy brought him deep insights into the essence of labor. In his "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts," Marx assessed that as follows: "Hegel shares the standpoint of the modern political economists. He conceives of labor as the essence, the relevant essence of man; he only sees the positive, not the negative, side of labor."[5]

Hegel was aware man changes things through his labor, his activity, to satisfy his needs and, doing so, changes himself, unfolds the capacities of his species. But he did not see that in bourgeois society labor has a negative side, which lies in the laborer's exploitation by the capitalist entrepreneur. He regarded the master-and-servitude relationship existing in this society, as revealed in the famous part in "Phenomenology of Spirit," as a spiritual relationship expressed in the two opposing forms of consciousness: "one with its own independent identity, against one identified by living or being for something else; the master on one side, the serf on the other."[6] Nonetheless, in understanding human

labor, human activity, as the force that moves history, Hegel actually comprehended the objective dialectic of social development more deeply than any other representatives of classical German philosophy.

The time in which Hegel lived was thus a time of revolutionary transformations, fierce class conflicts, bloody wars, profound technical and scientific changes, and critical contradictions in life. All these events and experiences exercised an important influence on the birth and growth of Hegel's philosophy, mainly on his dialectic. At the same time, Hegel's epoch-making work matured in coming to grips with Kant, Fichte and Schelling, with Romanticism and all other important intellectual currents of the age and, not last, through the critical absorption and preservation of the whole intellectual legacy of philosophy, history and art.

During the upheavals of the battle of Jena, Hegel, 36 years old, completed his "Phenomenology of Spirit," which Marx called the true birthplace of Hegel's philosophy. Then came, between 1812 and 1816, the "Science of Logic," in 1817, the "Encyclopaedia of Philosophical Sciences," and in 1821, the "Philosophy of Right." After his death, Hegel's disciples published his lectures on the history of philosophy, on the philosophy of world history, on aesthetics and many other works.

The versatility and wealth of ideas of this truly ingenious scholar, his encyclopedic knowledge, and his exceptionally scientific thoroughness created the first comprehensive philosophical system, with which in the history of pre-Marxist philosophy one may compare, at best, only Aristotle's endeavors to create a total world-view. It is a system that reflects, through the highest abstraction, the contradictions, experiences and ideas of that historic era when the transition toward the bourgeois-capitalist society took place.

Hegel established insights into the nature of philosophy, its position in public life and its role in the social cognitive process that, in terms of their rational content, have lost none of their relevance. He assigned philosophy with the ambitious task to determine "the knowledge of the substantial in its time"[7] and to bring that to bear on social consciousness. He kept emphasizing that philosophy should have to be developed as a science, because, so he said in the preface to the "Phenomenology of Spirit": "The true form in which truth exists can only be the scientific system of it. To take part in having philosophy come closer to the form of science--the goal of being able to shed its name as love for knowledge and become real knowledge--is what I have assigned to myself."[8]

Yet to get up onto that plateau, consciousness must surmount many steps, all provinces of mind and reality must be explored and seen in their vital interconnection. The objective contemplation of things is necessary, entering into the core itself and its change and development. "For the cause is not exhausted in its purpose but in being implemented, nor is the result truly the real whole, but it together with its emergence,"[9] as the "Phenomenology of Spirit" puts it.

By rising from the abstract to the concrete, from simple determinants to ever richer ones, to combining many determinants, in which, as Hegel says, nothing remains behind but everything acquired remains extant, cognition rolls on from content to content. Marx, who called the method of rising from the abstract to

the concrete the mode in which thinking typically appropriates the concrete, criticized in Hegel that he thereby had fallen prey to the illusion he could "conceive the real as the outcome of thought, self-contained, self-engrossed, and moving from out of itself."[10]

Hegel is deeply convinced man has the capacity to arrive at truth through knowledge. He turns against Kant's view that if one wants to gain cognition one first should have to explore the nature and possibilities of cognition. One must start with cognition, without reservations, without first erecting barriers. The courage for the cognition of truth is to him the prime condition of philosophy. All his philosophic thought is marked by this optimism about cognition.

Hegel's greatest achievement is his resumption and elaboration of dialectics. The great distinction of Hegel's philosophy is, as Engels wrote, that in it for the first time "the whole natural, historical and intellectual world is presented as a process, conceived in constant motion, change, transformation and development, and the attempt is made to prove the inherent connection in this movement and development."[11] Lenin called Hegel's dialectic something enormous, called it the most comprehensive, substantive and profound doctrine on development, and always emphasized that for reasons of his dialectic Hegel had to be given high tribute.

Kant, Fichte and Schelling had introduced this significant advance in the philosophic thought of mankind. But only Hegel designed the universal dialectical development doctrine, turned the dialectic into the centerpiece of philosophy, by studying its laws and systematically and deliberately applying it as a method. This method, to be sure--as he wrote in his "Science of Logic"--was still apt to be perfected and to be much refined in particulars, but it was the only true method. "This becomes clear as such by that it does not differ in terms of subject matter or content;--because it is the content ad se, the dialectic which it has in it, that moves it on. It is clear that no presentation can rate as scientific that does not pursue the course of this method and conforms to its simple rhythm, because that is the course of the cause itself."[12]

The core of the dialectic, its proper nature, is the doctrine on contradiction. For the essence of reality is that inherent contradictions attach to the things and to the determinants of reason, the concepts, that determine their automotion and development. If one then, as Hegel explains, arrives at a reconciliation of the contradictions, the explanation of it is that to him the laws of the dialectic are mere laws of thought, determinants of reason, which determine the essence of nature and history, of the things and of the finite. His dialectic is idealistic, its content therefore is the automotion of the categories that have spread apart owing to their inherent contradiction, by canceling out and converting into an opposite determinant. Hegel's logic stresses the dissolution of all rigid unequivocal meanings of separate concepts, the conversion of one concept into another.

Hegel's distinction doubtless was that he made the first attempt at a systematic and deliberate application of the dialectic and a study of its laws. Yet this dialectic of his, as Marx emphasized, had a mystifying aspect in relying on turning upside down all real connections, where the real world is derived from

the concept, from the idea. The dialectic of the real world, in Hegel, becomes a poor imitation of the dialectic of ideas. Objective reality is transformed into a world created and pervaded by the absolute idea. What we cognize in this world, he thinks, is its ideational content, the gradual realization of the absolute idea. The original, the truly living soul of the world is the absolute idea, which he accepts as a given without further explaining its origin but, time and time again, identifying it with God.

The absolute idea "externalizes" itself; it goes on a pilgrimage, as it were, through nature, history and human consciousness in order finally--thus enriched--to return again to itself. In nature it acts as a blind natural necessity, there--as Hegel thinks--is no development in time, no successiveness, but only juxtaposition. In history and human consciousness, it prevails in a process of advancing from the lower to the higher, which is propelled by internal contradictions, zigzag movements, temporary reversals, and marked by the transformation of quantitative into qualitative changes and many other diverse phenomena.

This objective idealism and this idealistic dialectic or, to put it differently, the system and the method cannot be separated from each other; they in their totality make up Hegel's philosophy. At the same time they stand in contradiction to each other. It is implied by this dialectic that everything must be understood as a contradictory process of constant change and development where there is nothing ever definitive. There is nothing rigid in this method, as Hegel shows through the example of the development of consciousness. "Here there are forms of consciousness each of which, by being realized, dissolves itself, has the negation of itself for its result--whereby it has entered into a higher form."[13] As this process, however, has its beginning and its end in the acts of the absolute idea, the cognition of which is the terminal of Hegel's philosophy, development itself thus is terminated by this philosophy.

This contradiction between the system and the method by no means rules out a penetrating understanding of social and historic processes, however. No longer did Hegel view history as a wild web of senseless acts of violence, but as a developmental process of mankind in step progression which brings the absolute idea, here appearing as the world spirit, to its realization.

The decisive thought that marked Hegel's thinking about history was that things had been reasonable in world history. Though his concept of reason has a mystical aura, Hegel means to express by it that an inevitable and necessary process of development is taking place in history. Reality, such as it has become, is not contingent but a stage in historic development. If in the name of reason a whole obsolete historic era is toppled in a revolution, reason cannot reside outside the historic actions by human individuals and peoples. With the profound historic interest that distinguished him, Hegel sought to show the working of reason in history and explain the necessity and inevitability of the human struggle for social progress philosophically.

From that standpoint Hegel remarked "that in world history by what men do something very different altogether results from what they intend and achieve, rather than what they know and want directly. Their interest is what they achieve. But something extra is being accomplished with it too, which withal lies in that it was not in their awareness and intention."[14]

Men's history issues forth from human actions, to be sure. But actions, passions, drives, to Hegel, are manifestations of reason inherent in social existence and its historic development. The "cunning of reason" has human interests and passions do its own bidding, and so the objective inevitability of social development comes to prevail through human activity, unconsciously to be sure, behind the back of the actors.

Hegel's philosophy had a lot to do with achieving the breakthrough of the awareness for the need of progress. That amounted to a bold ideological pleading for bourgeois transformations also in Germany, and that was the way many of his contemporary conceived of it as well.

But two reservations are needed here. For one thing, in Hegel's philosophy of history it is always a matter of the working of the "world spirit." That forms the internal connection among historic events. Historic progress lies in the progress of the idea of freedom and not in the material and political prerequisites for it, even if Hegel always also stressed the connection between freedom and necessity.

And then, Hegel, to be sure, had assigned philosophy with the task to "demonstrate a rational development in world history,"[15] but his political conclusions often were rather timid. The deep resignation by the aging Hegel about the tortuous and lengthy process of bourgeois transformations in Germany, however, by no means amounts to a refutation of the inevitable progress of the human species. His inclination to prefer reforms to the bourgeois transformation in Germany after Napoleon's overthrow is to be rated no less than the work of Stein and Hardenberg, Gneisenau and Scharnhorst. And if even the attempt is being made to declare Hegel's philosophy a Prussian state philosophy, i.e., the philosophy of a feudal-absolutistic regime, that, as Franz Mehring cogently remarked, was "of all the many ironies of world history probably one of the funniest ones,"[16] because, after all, Hegel's philosophy constitutes the optimum that could be said at his time philosophically to explain the necessity for the bourgeois society, for the rule of the bourgeoisie.

In the 1820's and 1830's Hegel's philosophy was the preeminent philosophy in Germany. Hegel's system, as Engels remarked, had a tremendous effect on the philosophically tinged atmosphere in Germany. To many it appeared as a justification of existing conditions, others, like Heinrich Heine, recognized or surmised its revolutionary core. When the conflict between the requirements of bourgeois society and the feudal-absolutistic circumstances that blocked that development. which were facilitated by the fragmentation of the country, intensified more and more and the bourgeois revolution was placed on the agenda, the Hegel school dissolved and split into a conservative and a radical democratic wing.

While the Young Hegelians retained their idealistic positions and, merely through their critique, especially in their conception of history, championed the contempt for the masses, the role of the individual and the change of circumstances, Ludwig Feuerbach opposed Hegel's philosophy by philosophical materialism. Feuerbach's philosophy had a great influence on intellectual life, on the formation of revolutionary-democratic ideas on the eve of the 1848/49 Revolution, but it was in the last analysis unsuitable for getting set for and carrying out the revolution because of its abstract image of man and insufficient understanding

of the dialectic. The real consequences for continued struggle for historic progress inherent in classical German philosophy could be raised only from the standpoint of a revolution and of a class that would cast doubt on bourgeois society itself.

So it is not by chance that Hegel's legacy was freed from its idealistic veil and fetter when the workers class began to assert itself on its own in the struggles of history and the social need matured to draw all consequences from Hegel's dialectic. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were the ones to solve this enormous task.

In its idealistic, mystifying form that reconciled the contradictions of the spirit Hegel's dialectic was unsuitable for the revolutionary struggle by the workers class, for that struggle aims at changing the world, at creating a new, socialist order of society, not only at changing ideas. The idealistic veil had to come down to disclose the rational core of Hegel's dialectic. "Hegel's dialectic is the basic form of all dialectics, but only after shedding its mystical form," Karx wrote to Kugelmann, and then added: "and this it is precisely that distinguishes a, method."[17]

The scientific decoding of the rational core of Hegel's philosophy was no easy task Marx and Engels could have solved in passing, as it were. Feuerbach's return to materialism already had made apparent that Hegel's philosophy is not surmounted by simply casting aside its idealistic system and its dialectic. What mattered, rather, was to become really serious about the materialistic world-outlook and the dialectic based on materialism and carry it all consistently into all domains of human knowledge.

After quitting the editorial board od RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG in March 1843, Marx came to deal more critically with Hegel's philosophy. In the preface to the "Critique of Political Economy" he later wrote: "The first project undertaken to resolve the doubts that crowded in on me was a critical revision of Hegel's philosophy of right, a work of which the introduction appeared in the 'German-French Yearbooks' published in Paris in 1844. My studies arrived at the result that legal relations, as forms of government, are neither to be comprehended out of themselves nor from the so-called general development of the human mind, but they are, rather, rooted in the material conditions of life, the totality of which Hegel, following the English and the French of the 18th century, had designated by the collective term of 'bourgeois society,' that the anatomy of the bourgeois society, however, should have to be found in the political economy."[18]

Dialectic and historical materialism as established by Marx and Engels is the opposite of objective idealism and idealistic dialectic a la Hegel. It is the "suspension" of Hegelianism in Hegel's sense: it overcomes it, contains its rational content and lifts it onto a higher level.

The more deeply Marx and Engels, proceeding from the class interests of the workers class and its historic mission, placed natural and social development under a materialistic analysis, the more clearly they succeeded in disclosing the objective character of dialectical development and explaining it philosophically in a scientific manner. They recognized that Hegel had conceived of history as

a developmental process of human society from lower to higher forms but they criticized that he, to explain the causation in this process, brought in an arbitrary construct, an idea working from without and carried into it. Actually--and this Marx and Engels pointed out already in their first opus, "The German Ideology"--one can only start with man as he really is, with that men work, produce materially, are active under given material conditions and, with it, enter into social and political relations. Step by step Marx and Engels worked out the conception of history in historical materialism, which culminates in the realization that a given mode of production determines the social, political and intellectual life process all-around. They thereby also found the key for understanding the role of classes and of the class struggle, and for the social roots and effects of political, legal, philosophic, aesthetic and other modes of perception.

Th[illegible]dy of the dialectic in bourgeois society brought Marx and Engels to the realization that this stage in human development also was historically perishable and to the insight that the socialist revolution and the communist society were historic necessities. The materialist dialectic, further developed and enriched by Lenin, opened the world historic perspective of "human history in its proper right."

The rational legacy of Hegelianism not only received its critical suspension and scientific elaboration in the process that gave rise to dialectical and historic materialism. From various aspects Hegel's dialectic time and time again became the focal point in the interest of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism. That was mainly the case when it became a matter of profoundly and ideologically generalizing complicated processes in social development. That is reflected by Marx' work on "Das Kapital" in as model a fashion as by Lenin's materialistic Hegel studies in connection with his analysis of World War I and of imperialism and in his determining the tasks for socialist construction. The classic authors of Marxism-Leninism always again resorted to Hegel's dialectic when deeming it especially urgent to do justice to the dialectical character of reality through an appropriate conceptual orchestration.

The whole history of philosophy after Hegel proves that only Marxist-Leninist philosophy could assume the legacy of classical German philosophy in terms of its progressive intentions.

Of such an achievement the bourgeois philosophy after Hegel was no longer capable. To the extent that the rational in Hegelianism found its spot in Marxism-Leninism, Hegel would become an annoyance to the bourgeoisie. And more than that: his dialectic, the resolute developmental idea, the magnificent historic sense turned into a nightmare for the bourgeoisie because it, theoretically, dealt a death-blow to the apologetic eternity claim of the capitalist order. That was given eloquent expression already around the 1848 Revolution and its consequences.

The German bourgeoisie purchased its inconsistency and lukewarmness in the 1848 Revolution literally by renouncing the revolutionary consequences of classical German philosophy. While the ideal of progress in classical German philosophy was replaced by the bourgeoisie with a "reconciliation theory" pervaded with class compromise, the NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG led by Marx and Engels brought

the "relentless theoretical spirit" of Kant, Fichte and Hegel to bear in that it advocated a resolutely revolutionary program on bourgeois-democratic transformations.

Merely the advocacy of democratic demands by the workers class was enough for the bourgeoisie to defy any progressive bourgeois thought as such. So it is not astonishing that it now regarded Hegel's dialectic as a danger. Arthur Schopenhauer had the dubious honor to attack Hegel with the most vicious expletives and boundless tirades, defaming him as a "disgusting, mindless charlatan and incomporable scribbler of nonsense, emitting a pestilential influence."[19]

That Rudolf Haym in the same decade accused Hegel's philosophy of conservatism also aimed, even if in a different fashion, at rejecting the progressive content of Hegel's, and that means of all classical German, philosophy. What was left initially was the attempt to ridicule Hegel's dialectic as a doctrine of tricks and subterfuge. They would treat Hegel, as Marx put it, like a "dead dog" deserving no more than some mention in the history of philosophy textbooks.

Only when his distinctions, long recognized by Marxism, were lifted up onto the level of scientific philosophic thought, bourgeois philosophy began to come out seriously against the Hegel phenomenon.

In the 1920's, going back to Hegel made vitalism "revaluate" Hegel into Neo-hegelianism, in which a subjectivistic dialectic was supposed to help solve the new conflicts in the imperialist stage of capitalism. Therein, especially in the relationship of the bourgeois philosophy to Hegel, one finds how much the bourgeoisie had severed its relationship with our progressive legacy. As the apologetic glorification of capitalist class rule and the insane monopoly interest prevail, one renounces that legacy, places it at a distance or corrupts it. But where this progressive legacy receives a firm place in the scientific world-outlook of the workers class, it becomes a target of fierce assaults.

This becomes at present all too clear in the open attacks on Hegel's dialectic in history, as presented by conservatives. Quite in the tradition of militant hostility as established by Schopenhauer, rather than arguments, they are using slander and abuse. They are accusing Hegel not only of opportunism and of having been of a bad character, mainly they seek to defame Hegel as an intellectual precursor of fascism, turning him into a progenitor of "totalitarianism" and, as Topitsch does it, placing him in the ancestral rank not only of "rightist" but even--via Marx--of "leftist" totalitarianism.[20]

From there it is then only half a step to the calumny of the purported identity between fascism and socialism. And that is the step, as we know, the reactionary politicians and ideologues of anticommunism are taking today.

Hegel critique as engaged in by Popper, Topitsch and others also always means to strike at Marxism in particular. The source itself they try to muddy from which Marxism has taken so as to place in doubt from the outset the results of the theoretical work of Marx and Engels. Here it becomes apparent that the defense of the great historic achievements of Hegel against the assaults from his declared enemies always goes together with an aggressive refutation of the anticommunist and

revisionist attacks against Marxism-Leninism. The declared enemies of Hegel always also turn out to be militant opponents of socialism, enemies of social progress.

Now it surely would be a mistake to identify all contemporary bourgeois philosophers as Hegel adversaries. What we rather find is that there is a broad interest in Hegel and his philosophy and, not last, in his effect as a source of Marxism-Leninism.

Only a few months ago a Hegel Congress was held on the occasion of his 150th death anniversary in his hometown Stuttgart, attended by many bourgeois but also by Marxist philosophers. In the discussions of the topic "Kant or Hegel" an attempt was made to opt more for Kant, and thus against Hegel, partly through the interesting argument that Kant was more in line with modern skepticism, but there was also a return to the position "neither Kant nor Hegel," because they had wanted too much, one could no longer follow them.

This "dismissal of the master thinkers," as one FRG paper called the results of the congress,[21] is likely to have been not so much the fault of the Hegel scholars as that of contemporary bourgeois society which, in view of its real lack of any prospect, can no longer afford anything but the most shallow positivism and absurd irrationalism.

By honoring Hegel and understanding his personality and philosophy we appropriate also his conception of our philosophic heritage. Hegel regarded his all-inclusive philosophic system as the culmination and conclusion of all previous philosophic development. His dialectical conception of the course of philosophic thought pointed out ways, however, through which philosophic cognition could be led to new shores. See his "Lectures on the History of Philosophy": "It is as much our position and activity as that of every age to understand the science that exists and to cultivate it and thereby extend it and elevate it onto a higher standpoint. By appropriating it we turn it into something of our own compared to what it was before." Inheritance, to Hegel thus was "receiving and assuming the legacy at once."[22] And that is the way we Marxists use Hegel's legacy.

Making the results of Hegel's philosophy fruitful as a vital legacy for theoretically coping with the present can only mean facing the demands of our era on the ground of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and illuminating them by means of the developed instruments of dialectical materialism, so as to pave the way for social progress.

As a component of the world-outlook of the workers class the materialistic dialectic is an instrument to carry through the socialist revolution and establish socialist and communist society. With it, it is the intellectual outcome of the era of transition from capitalism to socialism. The inevitabilities and results of this world historic process are theoretically taken care of through the use of the materialistic dialectic and made a solid element of social consciousness. On that depends its great theoretical and practical effect.

Fundamental transformations are at work today in many areas of public life, in the productive forces and production relations, in government and law, in science and technology, in culture and education, in the mode of living and in international relations. It is not easy to find the crucial process within this overall picture that shapes the whole era and determines its character. Here the capacity of dialectical reason is called upon to assert itself. In contrast to the many endeavors in bourgeois thought to disguise the nature of our era, Marxist-Leninist philosophy and social science have brought out what has been "substantive," i.e., that this is the era in which the whole course of world history tends toward the transition of mankind to socialism, where the revolutionary workers class occupies the center of historic events and social progress is propelled by three great revolutionary currents--the socialist world system, the international workers movement and the national liberation movement.

The struggle between socialism and capitalism has become the pivot of world history. All essential events in world history are connected with it and prove instances in this struggle. Dialectical thought is demanded more than ever to comprehend within the variety of political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural, religious and ideological events, processes and controversies the governing line of social progress and to bring it to bear, as in the struggle against imperialism it leads to socialism.

An extremely perilous situation for humanity has arisen today: the most aggressive imperialist U.S. and NATO circles seek to recapture lost power positions, push socialism back, and split and strike down the national liberation movement and the peace movement by starting an insane arms escalation, and a policy of strength, blackmail and threats. In view of the already extant potential of arms of all kinds, especially of the nuclear annihilation potential, that imperialist policy increases exceedingly the danger of thermonuclear world war. The struggle for safeguarding peace has thus become the crucial question on the solution of which all further advances depend.

The dialectical analysis of the issue of war and peace raises the question what the criteria are today against which a progressive stance, humanistic sentiment, readiness for detente and disarmament, and the advocacy of progress are to be gaged. The criteria are reason, as the capacity to comprehend the interconnections and dangers resulting from the arms buildup and confrontation policy in which imperialism is engaged, and rationality, as the capacity actively to engage, in line with that comprehension, in the safeguarding of peace. On behalf of reason and rationality we are ready to work together with all social forces that strive for peace as the highest good of humanity and want to avert a nuclear catastrophe.

The decisive contribution we are making in the GDR to preserve peace, advance social progress and help solve the problems of our age lies in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in line with the authoritative 10th SED Congress resolutions. In this the materialistic dialectic serves us as a scientific tool for comprehending and consciously shaping our practical social affairs.

In his "Anti-Duehring," Friedrich Engels placed in opposition to Hegel's "cunning of reason," which in pre-socialist societies paves the way to a higher stage of social development without people knowing it, the thesis that in socialism at an ever increasing extent human acts achieve intended effects because they are based on the knowledge of and consideration for social laws. That that prediction was correct has been proven by the historic experiences since the Great Socialist October Revolution and our own experiences. The conscious efforts by the working people led by the working class party, relying on the knowledge and application of the objective laws of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction, have always made it possible for socialism to grow and become stronger. But wherever these inevitabilities were despised there came difficulties and temporary reversals in the development of socialist society.

When Western propaganda and revisionist forces as well, in connection with such difficulties and temporary reversals, talk about a "crisis of socialism," all we can say is that real socialism, where the workers class in alliance with all other classes and strata exercises political power, is a rising society in dynamic development. It prevails while struggling against the old and obsolete in a lengthy historic process of economic, political and social changes. That this process does not run in a straight line and without difficulties is not so hard to understand. Even so, socialism has long proven its historic superiority as a society of peace, real humanism, social security, justice and human dignity over the putrefying capitalist society which can offer men no sure prospects but strikes more and more terror into them. Socialism needs no "renewal" but needs to be constantly strengthened by a clearly targeted policy and leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party closely tied to the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the intellectuals and all other working people.

While Hegel was of the opinion that social progress prevailed behind the back of men acting in history, we today have every good reason to affirm that in socialism the interests and passions and actions of the working people are consciously aimed at reaching an ever higher level of social development. So we have assigned the task to us in the SED Program, and in fact, to continue the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR and thereby create fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. This ultimate purpose is served by all our aspirations, our strategic orientation being agreed to by the citizens in our country and being implemented step by step.

Here we rely on the vitality of Marxism-Leninism, which considers knowledge inexhaustible, calls for an ever deeper penetration into the essence of social phenomena and is directly tied to our revolutionary practice, our acting on behalf of the people, being tested, in fact, through our practice. How ludicrous are the bourgeois wishful dreams of a "deideologization," a surrender, of Marxism in the socialist countries, how remote from what things actually are. For Marxism-Leninism promotes, not last due to its dialectical method, the self-awareness of the builders of the new society, which is enriched by new insights every day by what the working people do. It penetrates more and more deeply our social awareness, the intellectual culture of the socialist countries, and is a reliable guide for action. If world history, as Hegel said, is progress in the awareness of freedom and this progress must be comprehended as necessary, so we may state that this awareness strikes ever deeper roots among the citizens in our

country because they themselves have worked out their freedom through the construction of socialism, the constant improvement of their material and cultural living standards, and their socialist democracy. That this realization is spreading ever more broadly we owe, not last, to the persuasiveness of our scientific world-outlook. This, at the same time, also makes great demands on our philosophers and all social scientists.

To explore the dialectic of socialist society is a great challenge to Marxist-Leninist philosophy. This, after all, is not only a matter of comprehending the dialectical developmental process of socialist society out of its historic conditions, its inevitabilities, contradictions, impulses and qualitative stages, but the theoretical knowledge thus gained has to be consciously channeled into our social practice. An understanding of the dialectical character of social development in socialism is expressed above all through the conscious management and planning of the social processes and the constantly increasing purposeful creativity of the masses, which is being fostered in every way by party and government policy.

To cope with the ambitious tasks assigned to us as children of our time, as Hegel would say, to achieve the great aims in the struggle for peace and the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, which we assigned to ourselves at the 10th party congress, and to strengthen still further our socialist GDR politically, economically, culturally and militarily, in the interest and on behalf of the people, we also need our Marxist-Leninist philosophy, which conceives of our time in thought. Indeed, we must tap and make still more useable the great wealth of dialectic and historical materialism, the materialistic dialectic as a theory and method. This also includes a productive use of the legacy Hegel left to us. It lies in our hands.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 52.

2. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts," Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1956, p 16.

3. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Vorlesungen ueber die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte," Vols III/IV, Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1970, p 926.

4. Friedrich Engels, "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 197.

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6. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Phaenomenologie des Geistes," Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 146.

7. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Vorlesungen ueber die Geschichte der Philosophie" (Lectures on the History of Philosophy), Vol I, Philipp Reclam jun. publishing house, Leipzig, 1971, p 150.

8. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Phaenomenologie des Geistes," loc. cit., p 12.

9. Ibid. p 11.

10. Karl Marx, "Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 13, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 632.

11. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, pp 22-23.

12. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Wissenschaft der Logik," Part I, Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1971, p 36.

13. Ibid., p 35.

14. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Vorlesungen ueber die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte," Vols I/II, Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1970, p 88.

15. Friedrich Engels, "Bruno Bauer and Primitive Christianity," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 19, p 297.

16. Franz Mehring, "The History of German Social Democracy--First Part," "Gesammelte Schriften" (Collected Writings), Vol I, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 72.

17. "Marx' Letter to Ludwig Kugelmann, 6 March 1868," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 32, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1965, p 538.

18. Karl Marx, "Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 13, p 8.

19. Arthur Schopenhauer, "The World as Will and Idea," "Saemtliche Werke" (Complete Works), Insel publishing house, Leipzig, 1979, Vol II, p 95 and Vol III, p 495.

20. E. Topitsch, "Die Sozialphilosophie Hegels als Heilslehre und Herrschaftsideologie" (Hegel's Social Philosophy as Gospel and Power Ideology), Munich, 1981, pp 59, 69, 76.

21. SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Munich, 4/5 July 1981, p 16.

22. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Vorlesungen ueber die Geschichte der Philosophie," Vol I, p 88.

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COLLECTION OF HAGER'S 1972-1981 SPEECHES, ESSAYS PUBLISHED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 12, Dec 81 (signed to press 11 Nov 81) pp 1284-1286

["Culture in Our Lives"--Review by Hans Dieter Maede, member, SED Central Committee; general director, VEB DEFA Film Studio; of "Beitraege zur Kulturpolitik" (Discussions on Cultural Policy), a collection of 1972-81 speeches and essays by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for culture and science; published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1981]

[Text] "Why is it important to consider and rate cultural policy as part of the party's overall policy and as a whole? Because a successful and steady development of culture and art in our republic depends on its always proceeding as a part, an aspect of the overall social process." (p 175) The speeches and essays of Comrade Prof Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, recently published in the study series of the Marxist-Leninist cultural and art sciences, bear witness to this historically significant subject matter with great strength of conviction. The publication is a cultural policy event of high rank. The book is an important guidance and working tool in our struggle for fulfilling the 10th party congress resolutions.

The collection starts with the keynote speech Comrade Kurt Hager gave at the sixth Central Committee session in 1972 and concludes with a speech about the "wealth of our traditions" at the initiation of our permanent exhibitions in the German History Museum in 1981. This then is a compilation of papers of the last 9 years. These were years of strenuous efforts toward shaping the developed socialist society. Culture and art have their share in the successful course of these struggles, in the outcome of this great effort by the party and the people. They could bear fruit because our party--especially since the eighth party congress--has always worked out its cultural policy orientations as an organic element of overall policy. This cultural policy is aimed at a "quality of relationship with reality not exhausted in individual and casual experiences--important as they may be--but embracing the whole treasure of historic experience, social insight and political strategy, as it finds its supreme expression in our Party Program." (p 141) That is why our cultural policy is no "'temporary' variant" but a long-range perspective, whereby it creates important conditions "for further advances in the arts based on assured socialist positions." (p 35)

The publication of these papers of Comrade Hager is exceedingly timely because they make intelligible the revolution in the field of ideology and culture as a universal inevitability in the light of our struggles and perspectives. The speeches and essays reflect the high level of the collective thought and historical experiences in our Marxist-Leninist party, and they are eloquent testimony to the author's personal commitment to the complicated processes in our socialist cultural revolution.

A special place is reserved for presentations of the comprehensive character of our conception of culture, as worked out in the report to the eighth party congress and at various Central Committee sessions. This conception has stood up well in practice since then. It "significantly helped in considering culture not as a self-contained department but as a complex social process by the development of which the shaping of socialist society as a whole is greatly affected." (p 80)

In detail explained are the central importance of the leadership role of the workers class, the indissoluble connection and reciprocal penetration of processes in the working culture in enterprises and in the countryside, environmental culture, human relations, world-outlook and education, and aesthetic-artistic culture in the narrower sense. Many people in the GDR have meanwhile understood this great overall connection.

"The socialist cultural revolution is by no means yet complete, however, but it rather must be extended with purpose," Comrade Hager demands while pointing to the penetrating changes that have to be carried out through a lengthy historical process. (p 150) Here the shaping of the socialist way of life is of increasing weight, also with respect to the issue between socialism and imperialism. Comrade Hager makes clear that our Marxist-Leninist conception of the socialist way of life--with conscientious, honest, socially useful work as its centerpiece-- is incompatible "with bourgeois notions of separating the work process from the way of life, labor from life," and he probes the deep meaning in "that the Eighth SED Congress designated elevating the people's material and cultural standard of living as the main party policy task." (p 81).

A central point of reference in all papers in this book is the effect of our broadly designed ideological and cultural influence on the development of socialist personality. This "is no ideal of the remote future to us, its features, rather, form here and now, in the everyday struggle by the workers class and the other working people for fulfilling the manifold tasks in the shaping of the developed socialist society." (p 12) The altered conditions for our struggle since, the intensification of the international class struggle, the higher demands made on all working people's dedication, all this makes it all the more necessary to act in the full awareness "that creative initiative at work and in public life and the working people's productive capabilities depend not only on their technical skills and vocational experiences, but largely also on their political attitude, their commitment to our world-outlook, their ideological value concepts and their cultural needs." (p 17) The Marxist-Leninist conception of personality, as the present treatments make clear through many references and explanations, is taken from life and oriented to the tasks and perspectives of the socialist revolution.

It is reality and objective at once. It rules out all bourgeois mystifications of the personality concept and excludes any one-sidedness and narrowness. "Our cultural work deliberately addresses all valuable intellectual capabilities and characteristics of men in socialist society: their political convictions and ethical value ideas, their intellect and sentiment, their objective discernment capability and their imagination, their ability for enjoyment and their sense of beauty." (p 15) People who construct consciously and energetically the new world of socialism and communism, it is stated elsewhere, "are personalities with broad intellectual horizons and rich sensitivity." (p 142).

The wealth of socialist-realist art development, its achievements and tasks, and its problems and contradictions are analyzed and rated in these contributions from the viewpoint of a comprehensive conception. The breadth and variety of socialist literature and art simply are no "concession" but they determine their nature and function as an objective requirement. Party-mindedness and solidarity with the people--irrevocable basic principles of socialist ralism--are not simply "stipulations" set forth but are developed out of the wealth of national and international art experience and of the historically novel social function of the arts. The "indispensable and irreplaceable nature" of socialist art, as endorsed by the 10th party congress, is demonstrated in its peculiarity and effective function and in its dialectical connection with ever new demands made on the intellectual absorption of social development. Current problems and tasks are always closely compared with the work and experience of important masters of socialist art--like Gorki and Becher, Brecht and Anna Seghers. The author devotes much attention to problems in presenting conflict, in coping artistically with contradictions in social development, and to the relation between design and critical elements, and to the importance of ideals and models in our art. With discrimination there are being presented the opportunities and the greater responsibilities the artists have in our republic to take part in the further shaping of socialist value ideas. All these problems are worth considering time and time again. They constitute valuable "fuel" for our dynamic development throughout the 1980's.

A special point must be made of the prominence given to the efforts on behalf of the intellectual and cultural heritage of mankind and especially of the struggling workers class in the studies at hand. Kurt Hager recalls the words of Lenin that one could only be a communist "if he has enriched his memory with all the treasures mined by mankind." He stresses the deep intellectual-cultural rooting our party and our state have taken "in all the international and internationalistic traditions of the revolutionary workers movement." (pp 56-57) The continuity of our party's cultural policy shows up especially also in our attitude toward our legacy, which has always been determined by "that a creative relationship with all valuable and progressive cultural achievements of the past shows deep conformity with the meaning of socialism as the real humanism of our age." (p 201) And this is certain: "The further maturation of socialism in the GDR, the rapid growth in intellectual demands by millions of citizens in our state due to it, but also the intensification of the ideological class struggle call for new and more extensive efforts in tapping and disseminating our traditions." (p 232).

The papers included in this collection impressively attest to the militant character and practical relevance of our cultural policy. In view of the exacerbation of the international situation and the increasing imperialist war threats, the idea of the responsibility and employment of socialist art in the struggle for preserving peace occupies an utterly important place in these papers. Without making light of the seriousness of the situation, the author yet stresses particularly the historically justified optimism in our world-outlook precisely under the current conditions of our struggle. An active stance in life is more than ever called for by the tasks of our time. "Contradictions, problems, difficulties and obstacles arising naturally in the shaping of the dynamically developing socialist society make a claim upon our personal militant dedication, on creativity and, not last, on strength of character." (p 169).

Comrade Hager confirms that the alliance between the workers class and the intellectuals and the relationship of trust between the Marxist-Leninist party and the creators of art have been, are and remain a fundamental principle of our cultural policy. This alliance has stood many tests in its long history. It will prove its solidity when faced with future challenges as well.

As a critical criterion the papers work out the indissoluble unity between proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism in the intellectual-cultural life of our republic. Especially the encounter with the history and current achievements of Soviet art, a source of intellectual and moral strength, has become more and more of an unquestioned element of our intellectual life.

With all their high theoretical generalizations, the practical relevance in all papers is striking, without exception. General remarks and demands are always illustrated by real live processes in the large-scale enterprises, the cultural and art institutions, the libraries, museums, concert halls, movies and theaters. This unity of theory and practice, characteristic of our overall policy, makes possible and necessary that the party organizations in all vital areas of our society derive clear tasks for the implementation of our cultural policy strategy. Not last, this also becomes evident by the rigor and tenacity with which Comrade Hager keeps pointing to our special responsibility toward youth and a new artists generation. This responsibility--just as our cultural policy as a whole--is indivisible. With every good reason Comrade Hager points out that our cultural policy is not just the business of a few specialists but that "it is being implemented by many today, being the joint effort of tens of thousands of authors and artists, art historians and creators of culture." (p 211).

The results of this policy can no longer be erased from the life of our republic. Also for the field of culture new far-flung goals were formulated at the 10th party congress. Comrade Hager called a "fundamental prerequisite for the creative work of each an understanding of the connection of all objectives in political, economic, scientific and cultural respects, which only in their totality express the nature and meaning of our struggle for developed socialism." (p 211) The publication of the "Discussions on Cultural Policy" is eminently suited to developing and deepening such an understanding.

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DEVELOPMENT, PROSPECTS OF MEDICAL, SOCIAL SERVICES ASSESSED

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[Article by Prof Ludwig Mecklinger, MD, candidate member, SED Central Committee; minister for health; and Prof Dr Horst Spaar, head, faculty for Scientific Communism, GDR Academy of Continuing Medical Education: "Higher Demands on Health and Social Services"]

> [Text] As an important area of our policy, which serves the good of the people, a high political, economic, cultural-educational and peace preserving responsibility attaches to health and social services. How have health and social services developed on the basis of the political main task course? How can the achievements of modern medicine be used still more succinctly and the quality of social welfare be further improved for the population, and what demands derive from that for effective ideological work?

In the process of the socialist revolution, the health and social services of the GDR, on the basis of the policy of the working class party and in implementation of its resolutions, have received an all-round boost and development. Their systematic organization and performance improvements, oriented to the needs of the people, our social requirements, the achievements of modern medicine and an optimum use of economic opportunities, have greatly helped in bringing to realization the right to qualified health protection for everyone as guaranteed by our country's Constitution.

Today the GDR citizens regard our society's extensive care for mother and child, the health protection for industrial workers, and the care for the sick, disabled and senior citizens as a basic achievement of the socialist order which ensures a high degree of social security and comfort. At the 10th party congress, Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, asserted: "In the 1980's, health protection for our citizens and the care for their well-being will continue to be a priority concern of the whole society and an important element of our party's social policy."[1] This sets binding criteria which make the highest demands on the political attitude, the moral conduct and the technical

knowledge and skill of each associate in health and social services. At the same time it is necessary that all economic areas directly responsible for shoring up the work in health and social services in a material-technical sense resolutely meet their relevant plan tasks.

Becoming aware of the humanistic character of our social relations and conditions, which in a comprehensive sense ensure health protection and social welfare, is a historic process affected by many factors, especially by a political-ideological work that leads from personal experiences to the realization of more profound interrelations. Although our workers and farmers power did away, from the outset, with the barriers which under capitalism complicate working class access, especially, to health care, a lengthy transition period was needed to overcome the old and create the new and make apparent and perceptible for everyone the humanistic nature of socialism and its values and advantages, as its possibilities allowed, in health and social welfare.

With the shaping of the developed socialist society, for which the Eighth SED Congress drew up the strategic concept, and especially with the orientation to the main task, the party initiated, as an inseparable component of its total strategy, a new chapter of its social policy as well. Through greater attention to the inevitable connection between production, social requirements and individual needs, which is taken care of by our economic and social welfare policy in their unity, social security, supported by high-level and extensive medical care, attained a new quality which fosters the socialist way of life and fashions personality development.

The sociopolitical program, the basic orientation of which the ninth party congress turned into a standard party program component, proceeds from that social dimension and pursues the goal "to assure all members of society, through social production, of an existence which not only is wholly adequate materially and becomes richer day after day, but which also guarantees to them a complete and free cultivation and activation of their physical and mental capabilities."[2] This suggests another aspect in our understanding of it: genuine social security is the outcome of a complex implementation of basic human rights that none but socialism can guarantee. Neither is it divisible nor can it be brought about by way of reformist compromises. Millions of working people in the capitalist countries whose jobs are sacrificed to capitalist rationalization, and thus to profits, and who have to pay for the military buildup by having their hard-won social rights slashed, are finding out right now how correct, and how bitter, that realization is.

The Responsibility of Health and Social Services

Being the most important area through which socialist social policy is implemented, health and social services in the GDR bear a high political, economic, cultural-educational and peace preserving responsibility to the continued shaping of the essential features of developed socialism, with the development and the efficacy of the subjective factor becoming more and more of a crucial faculty. That applies principally to the quality and effectiveness of medical and social care which is further to be improved by making medical and nursing care conform with a mode of human encounter and mutual respect that is adequate to socialism. Millions

of contacts the citizens have with health and social services, in out-patient medical care, in the hospitals, pharmacies, leisure-time centers and nursing homes, day-care centers and other areas not only are objectively contacts with real socialism, but they are also prominently reflected, subjectively, as such. The better our accomplishments in medical and social care, the more they radiate human welfare, the more they express the humanistic essence of socialism and help shape the image of socialism among our people.

This places a high moral obligation on physicians, nurses and all other associates that must always be borne by the realization that in the citizens' contacts with health and social services socialism is embodied by those personalities who know them by name and by sight. As such contacts arise and take place mostly under extraordinary life situations, special importance attaches to the relations between physicians and patients and between nurses and patients. That involves a relationship of trust, which through the skill and motivation of the physician at once expresses the desire of society to protect, improve or recover a person's health in accordance with optimum criteria. That corresponds to our party program pronouncement: "The citizens shall be able to choose a physician they trust."[3] This civic right of principle demands of all who work in medical care an attitude of respect, confidence, empathy and helpfulness.

Health and social services bear a high responsibility toward the economy, thanks to the stable and dynamic development of which our state and its working people, in resolutely carrying on the main task in its unity of economic and social policy since the Eighth SED Congress, have made available considerable material and financial means to ensure medical and social care. Furthermore, health and social services also have repercussions that directly boost our economic development. Their work being committed to humanism, they exercise a direct influence on the reproduction of labor and the augmentation of the social labor capacity. In close cooperation with economic management organs, the enterprises and the trade unions, the public health associates are making greater efforts to reduce excessive sick-leave. And this by no means exhausts the repercussions of health and social services. They are manifold in nature and range all the way to moral aspects. If, e.g., a mother knows her child is well taken care of in the day-nursery or a man knows his wife is well taken care of in the hospital, that is likely to be a factor that benefits their work.

As all other work, medical work too has its applications and its result. There is no contradiction there because in socialism, for the first time, humanity and rationality are inseparably united. Nothing could contradict the purpose of socialism as much as turning "thrift at any cost" in human health care into a principle or, worse, putting an economic squeeze on it, as is done by the cost depression laws in the FRG. Equally wrong, however, would be the assumption we could draw on unlimited resources in our medical work. While in diagnostics and therapy proper scientific methods mark the measure of what is required, with its inherent significant economic effect, for the rest one should always consider that the principle of thrift in socialist public health serves the make society richer still faster, and more effficient through health and social welfare.

The socialist state guarantees all citizens their political freedoms and social rights, which includes the right to health protection, material safety in cases of sickness and accidents, for old-age and disability. Resorting to these rights deliberately also places high demands, however, on each citizen's own personal responsibility in this area. Health and social services are making an important contribution to it, the effectiveness has to be further improved. This contribution, to be made through the everyday work of the physicians, nurses, welfare workers, physical therapists and other associates in their contacts with the citizens, ranges from health education in the more narrow sense of the word, the setting of models, via providing a scientifically sound world-view on health and efficiency, all the way to releasing initiatives for deliberate, purposeful conduct on behalf of one's own health and that of one's fellow-men. This is a component of the cultural-educational function of the socialist state and can only be understood that way as a characteristic feature of socialist public health.

Reliably to ensure at all times the protection of peace and of the socialist accomplishments, we must also improve our medical services for our national defense, particularly in view of NATO's arms buildup resolutions. That applies to providing our mobile military forces with medical services as well as to ensuring the population's medical protection within the scope of civil defense. Here we let ourselves be guided by that socialism and peace determine each other and that a strong socialism is the best guarantee for secure peace.

Main Task Policy--Stimulating Health and Social Services

The 10th party congress came up with a fine balance-sheet on the development of medical and social services for the citizens. Except for the Soviet Union, no other state in the world has in the last decade done as much for its citizens' health and social security as the GDR. Thanks to the steadily growing efficiency of our eocnomy, the thus far most copious material means and personnel resources since the eighth party congress were allocated for health and social services.

At this time the number of people working in health and social services rose by more than 100,000, so that today more than 480,000 associates take care of the citizens' health and social welfare. That comes to circa 6 percent of all people working in the GDR. The number of physicians rose from 27,200 in 1970 to 34,000 at this time, of dentists, from 7,350 to 9,700. Having one physician for every 494 inhabitants and one dentist for 1,724, the GDR reached a high level in 1980. By the expansion, reconstruction and new construction of health and social welfare institutions, for which merely since 1976 a sum of some M 5 billion was spent, the medical and social welfare network for citizens in town and countryside was made much finer and more efficient. New hospitals were put into operation in Halle-Kroellwitz, Jena-Lobeda, Neubrandenburg, Nordhausen and Suhl. The first construction sector of Charite, the largest investment in our public health, and the construction of the hospital in Karl-Marx-Stadt are about finished. Other large efficient hospitals or university clinics are being built in Berlin-Koepenick, Cottbus, Frankfurt/Oder, Gera, Greifswald, Halle, Leipzig, Potsdam and Schwerin. This decisively improves medical care for the population, especially in industrial centers. The basis for out-patient medical care has been broadened since 1976 by 3,137 new jobs for physicians and dentists. By setting up 54,829 places in day-nurseries, further account was taken of the great need for them in the last

five-year plan, whereby the GDR has considerably extended its peak position in the world in taking care of children up to 3 years of age. The veterans of labor received in the same period 24,600 places in leisure-time centers and nursing homes. Remarkable advances also were made in social benefits for the heavily disabled. The capacity in foster-home vacancies for children and adolescents unable to learn in school, responsive to and in need of special care was enlarged by 5,140 of them.

By expanding the network of health institutions and their staffing with qualified personnel, favorable preconditions were created to implement our health policy orientation, make accessible the accomplishments of modern medicine to all citizens in town and countryside, improve the quality of diagnosing, preventing and treating diseases, and further deepen the confident relations between citizens, physicians and health institutions. Especially those areas in medical care were developed and further expanded on a priority basis which are most frequently resorted to. This enabled us to expand out-patient medical care into an efficient area, even if today there still exist differences in terms of territories and specialties, and perceptibly to improve the level of general medicine and pediatrics. By strengthening the personnel in fields of surgery in the hospitals, we broadened the introduction of effective, if expensive, diagnostic and therapeutical techniques, especially to control life-threatening diseases. Also the possibilities for resorting to specialized and highly specialized medical care were noticeably improved through a better utilization and specialty employment of available and the introduction of new capacities. In the special departments of intensive care, orthopedics and urology, over 60,000 more patients received qualified medical care, often saving their lives, in 1980 than in 1970.

Our internationally exemplary status of health protection for industrial workers was further improved. More than 70 percent of GDR workers get medical and labor safety protection right in the enterprise in which they work. Through close cooperation among physicians, economic functionaries and the trade unions, we succeeded in further reducing health hazards on the jobs and the number of job-related illnesses.

Further advances were also made in the health protection of mother and child. The fatality of newborn was reduced from 18.5 per 1,000 live births in 1970 to 12.1 in 1980. In the same period, maternity fatality was reduced from 4.3 per 10,000 live births to 1.8. Our country's citizens have an average life expectancy of 60 years for men and 75 for women. This gives men an extra 5 years and women an extra 7 since our republic was founded.

An important prerequisite for the fine results in medical care came from the systematic promotion of the scientific potential of medicine in implementation of the pertinent party and government resolutions. Favorable effects come from the measures taken on improving the training and advanced training of medical college and technical school personnel, which has led to more scientific procedures and practical relevance. The decision on the development of medical research likewise shows its first positive effects favoring more of a concentration of the medical research potential on scientific priority tasks, the quality and scope of interdisciplinary cooperation and the research cooperation with the

socialist states, in particular with the USSR. The GDR's medical science associations have an important influence on the scientific activities in public health and thus, on the quality of medical care.

In his report to the 10th party congress, Comrade Erich Honecker remarked: "The positive results of medical care, as the successful implementation of our social policy all-around, have a favorable effect on our population's state of health."[4] In that the physicians and nurses have a decisive share. Through their sacrificial work, often done through a high personal dedication, they have creatively contributed to the development of our health and social services.

The achievements of the GDR's public health system meet with great international interest and recognition, especially within the framework of the World Health Organization. A visible expression of it was the 31st European Regional WHO Conference held in the GDR capital in September 1981. Such conferences offer the experts from the capitalist world the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the socialist public health system "in situ." Among the impression worthy to be generalized are, among other things, the general accessibility of all health institutions to all citizens; the organization of the health system in terms of basic, specialized and highly specialized care and its proportionate development according to needs, with attention given at the same time to an optimal ratio between specialization and integration; the systematic development of the material-technical base of public health; the physicians' and nurses' high degree of technical qualifications and their basic ethical attitude; the understanding of democracy in the health institutions; and the self-assured posture of the associates and the position of the nurse as the partner of the physician with her own independent responsibility. The representatives of capitalist countries also showed themselves impressed by the great sociopolitical expertise of the local state and economic functionaries and the representatives of social organizations, from which they logically deduced the overall social context in which our health and social services are embedded.

Capitalist Countries Slashing Social and Health Services

While our party policy creates increasingly more favorable preconditions for the citizens' health and social services, the Reagan Administration has started the most massive large-scale attack on the standard of living of people working in the United States. To finance NATO's inane arms buildup course, many fields in social policy were attacked which even under Carter were still held to be taboo, especially the medical and social welfare programs. Similar processes are at work in the FRG and other NATO states that are yielding to the pressure from U.S. armaments politicians.

Releasing funds from the social sphere by means of state monopoly regulations comes in two ways. For one thing, health and social programs or publicly financed institutions are reduced or disbanded. And then, the social insurance benefits are reduced and the premiums are raised for the insured to ease that way the social obligations of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the state.

Public health in the United States, which despite all reform measures taken by U.S. presidents in the past remained a field of increasing social polarization, is hit especially hard by this red-pencil policy for the benefit of the Pentagon. The deletions put into force by President Reagan on 1 October 1981 considerably reduce health benefits for circa 50 million Americans, mainly members of the lowest social strata and of the national minorities. Among the 270 social program positions cut also are the 25 large government medical care programs and the two federal health insurance programs for poor and senior U.S. citizens.

Medicaid, essentially a benefit program for the poor, is slashed by $ 1 billion annually, with the result that the health care centers (Medicaid Mills) which have handled out-patient medical care for 29 million claimants must reduce benefits and some facilities must even be closed down. For Americans beyond the age of 65 the savings under Medicare, their health insurance, mean that they must themselves pay for a larger share of their medical and hospital costs than before. Eight hospitals and 27 public health clinics lose their federal funding as of 1 October. While in some cases communal administrations seek to take them over, the others are closed down. Their patients must in the future resort to the expensive private clinics they can ill afford.

The FRG likewise, for the benefit of armaments and corporate profits, more and more infringes the working people's social claims the workers class had won for them. Within the scope of overall cuts by cost depressing measures, circa DM 2 billion are to be cut in 1982 in public health. Hidden behind that are the reduced entitlements and higher premiums to be paid by the insured as well as cut-backs in medical prescriptions and services affecting the scope and quality of medical care. Almost all measures contained in the new cost depressing program aim at making it harder for the FRG citizen to gain access to medical care through legal insurance. Especially hard hit are the poor, mainly the growing number of unemployed, many pensioners and the foreign workers and their families.

In the United States, the FRG and other capitalist countries the social cuts in health again lead to a rapid intensification of class and strata-specific distinctions in medical care and access to it. The saying, "because you are poor you must die earlier," which has never lost its appropriateness in capitalism, is more topical than ever and reinforces the value judgment on the much extolled "social" and "humanitarian" attribute of that society.

Tasks of Health and Social Services After the 10th Party Congress

That in socialism the humanistic mission of medicine and the professional ethics of physicians and nurses fully conform with the interests of society and the policy of its leading force is corroborated by the guideline of principle issued by the 10th SED Congress for health and social services in the next 5 years.[5] As an important element of social policy, on which the social comfort and personal well-being of the citizens and the contentment and happiness of the families greatly depend, the public health protection is to be perfected through the unity of preventing, diagnosing and treating diseases and subsequent care. It means applying the accomplishments of modern medicine still more specifically to the well-being of the citizens and further improving the quality and efficacy of public medical and social welfare.

The 10th party congress has confirmed that it will still be necessary in years to come to aim our efforts, above all, at fulfilling those tasks that are of importance to the majority of our citizens and have a great effect on their state of health. That includes improving basic medical care in the now deliberately emphasized combination between in-house and out-patient medical care, especially in the large cities and industrial sprawls. It is also a matter of strengthening surgical and rehabilitation areas in hospitals and the theoretical-experimental disciplines in terms of personnel and making further noticeable improvements in out-patient medical care, especially in general medicine, dentistry and neurology-psychiatry. Among the tasks the solution of which facilitates the citizens' access to qualified medical care also is the expansion of first-aid to more kreises in the GDR.

In accordance with the orientation of principle in socialist health policy we generally have to expand in years ahead the proportion of prophylactic services in medical care. That is an important requirement for out-patient medical care. Dispensary care must also become more efficient and skillful. Among its positive effects will be better health protection for mother and child and for the working people in the enterprises. And then there are such tasks as more effectively fighting against cardiac infarction, high blood pressure, cancer, metabolic diseases, psycho-nerval disturbances, chronic respiratory diseases, rheumatic diseases or selected contagious diseases, which are going to be subject to long-range programs. That also means that the organs and facilities of hygiene and labor hygiene must through their activity support still more effectively the complicated process of making working and living conditions more hygienic.

To make more rapid progress in specialized and highly specialized medical care we must still more adapt the hospitals' performance profiles to the requirements resulting from the morbidity structure and concentrate specific diagnostic and therapeutic techniques in selected facilities. In specialized medical care we are systematically increasing the scope and quality of the specialized fields of orthopedics, first-aid surgery, urology, pediatric surgery, vascular surgery and chronical dialysis. In highly specialized medical care we mainly have to improve the services of cardiac, neurological and transplant surgery.

In years ahead the hospital will gain increasing importance as a diagnostic-therapeutic center within the system of public medical care. The new hospital framework order also has positive effects on it. A commensurate system for setting up out-patient medical care facilities is under preparation. The hospitals referred to, which are still under construction or being outfitted, will become operational during the current five-year plan Investment and maintenance means available above and beyond that will be used primarily for the reconstruction, modernization and, wherever necessary, the expansion of hospitals housed in old structures.

In the field of social services we continue to take account of the great need for places in day-nurseries and in leisure-time centers and nursing homes and for age-specific dwelling units. According to the party congress directive, this five-year plan has to provide for between 50,000 and 60,000 places in day-nurseries, between 18,000 and 19,000 spots in leisure-time centers and nursing homes, and between 18,000 and 21,000 dwelling unit vacancies for senior citizens. Still

more perceptible will be in years to come the social welfare for physically and mentally disabled. That is why the 10th party congress called the attention of the state organs, enterprises and social organization to drawing those citizens into the life of our society by expanding the opportunities for medical and vocational rehabilitation, handicap considerations on the job, and more favorable living and recreational opportunities.

Research is of extraordinary importance for solving the tasks in health and social welfare. Along with results in exploring work-related illnesses, the scientific principles for the health protection of pregnant women, mothers and children, and the causes of chronic and other diseases, we also expect of the years ahead advances in the diagnosis and treatment of diseases and in dealing with life-threatening conditions. Also for lending greater skill to the management and planning processes in health and social services research must create important bases.

As there has formed a close cooperation between the biosciences and medical research, so also social science research (Marxist-Leninist philosophy, ethics, economics, sociology and others) is gaining ever more importance for the medical and social care process and for medical research.

As the decisive connecting link for further performance improvements in health and social services the 10th party congress has stressed the increasing importance of the qualitative factors. That combines with growing demands made on the knowledge and skill and ethical-moral conduct of the physicians, nurses and the other associates. To meet these demands and achieve a better quality and effectiveness everywhere, it is necessary to pay the greatest attention to education and training, especially of the university and technical school personnel, and do a great deal to boost the life in the sciences.

Coping With the Tasks Serving Life and Health With High Awareness and Expertise

With the ambitious tasks the 10th party congress has assigned to the health and social services there also grows the political responsibility of the associates to helping in the further improvement of public health protection through their great personal dedication and employing more effectively the extensive possibilities created by society on behalf of the citizens. It is especially important and indispensable to bring the qualitative growth factors to bear fully on medical work and social care. Medical research and education, the deepening of confident relations between the public health associates and the citizens, the development of cooperative work in the health institutions, the most suitable use of material funds and personnel resources, and good labor organization more and more determine the quality and efficacy of medical work on the whole.

In every health and social welfare facility and in every work collective a kind of atmosphere must be created in which the associates' dedication and creativity develop still more effectively and a conscious attitude toward the profession and close ties with socialist society are formed. Such an atmosphere at once makes qualitatively new and higher demands on the management, planning and organization of health and social services and presupposes a close combination between high technical requirements and stronger political-ideological work with the physicians and all other associates.

Through an aggressive and persuasive presentation of the basic issues in domestic and foreign policy, especially of the interconnections and requirements of the struggle for peace and the consequences resulting from the intensified international class conflict for the all-round strengthening and defense of socialism, we must deepen the socialist national consciousness of the associates in health and social services and further consolidate their ties with the workers and farmers state and the awareness of their responsibility to the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. That implies developing still more strongly our friendship with the Soviet Union and our proletarian internationalism, disclosing the increasing aggressiveness of imperialism, its anti-human cynicism, its course toward an aggressive war of extinction, and its general attack against the social situation of the working people, and vastly improving the ideological education of the associates based on Marxism-Leninism.

We have all the prerequisites for it, due to the impressive balance-sheet for the 1970's, which can in every collective turn the justified pride in what has been achieved into an important performance motive for implementing the goals of our social policy and thus also our health policy in the 1980's. And this will become all the more successful, the resolutely we rule out everywhere any manifestations of hostile ideology.

Our policy, tested by life and aimed at the well-being of the people, is the strongest argument against any enemy designs at upsetting our confident relations with our citizens by slander and targeted attacks against the health services of the GDR. We surely need not fear any comparison with the capitalist countries, where the working masses have to bear the armaments madness by continuing cuts in social benefits. Even under the more difficult conditions we are holding to the course that moved us ahead so mightily in the 1970's--which shows itself precisely also in the sociopolitical concern for the associates in public health.

Clarity about the basic political issues of our socialist state, a reinforced class standpoint and a position consciously taken by the medical intelligentsia alongside the workers class are a great source of strength for strengthening the subjective factor in health and social services, which forms the greatest reserve for our performance improvements. The effect must be further boosted through socialist competition and must be reflected in the ethical-moral conduct of all physicians and nurses and in their accomplishments. Experience exchange and performance comparisons among the health and social welfare institutions, learning from best results and vivid scientific activities, quality analysis, control and self-control are tested methods for surmounting level differences in medical work, of which more use must still be made. The further development of socialist democracy and involving all associates in the responsibility for solving our tasks and surmounting the partly still surviving administrative working style will be of benefit to it.

Cadre work is a crucial connecting link for further improving the work in the health and social services. In the development of management cadres we are concerned with experienced and politically steadfast cadres with comprehensive and solid specialized medical knowledge, high ethical-moral traits and the ability to lead collectives. Cadre work is a task that aims at the future. That calls for giving more thought to forming cadre reserves and promoting and educating a

new generation of scientists. In the work with people we always have to see to it in health and social services that among the associates in the work collectives the kind of relations develop and shape themselves that encourage the relationship of trust between public health and our population and help us in coping with our ambitious tasks in the service to life and health.

All the greater is the party organizations' responsibility for effective political-ideological work. Boosting its strength of political radiation means to them always to care again for a truly mass-related working style, relying thereby on the proven principles of the party's alliance policy, and to promote every day diversified political conversations with the medical intelligentsia, the nurses, the adolescents and all other associates. That is of necessity a constant task that must be exercised under party organization leadership by the state managers in close cooperation with the enterprise trade union managements and the FDJ managements.

The 10th SED Congress has charged the associates in health and social services with great and beautiful tasks which are aimed in every way at human welfare and deserve and require a conscious commitment from all of us.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 198o, p 110.

2. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, pp 263-264.

3. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 26.

4. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 111.

5. Cf. "Direktive des X. Parteitages der SED zum Fuenfjahrplan fuer die Entwicklung der Volkswirtschaft der DDR in den Jahren 1981 bis 1985" (10th SED Congress Directive for the Five-Year Plan for Economic Development of the GDR, 1981-1985), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 71 ff.

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EFFECTIVENESS OF LABOR CODE REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 12, Dec 81 (signed to press 11 Nov 81) pp 1270-1274

['Information' feature article by Heinz Siewert, sector chief, SED Central Committee: "How Successful Has Our Labor Code Been?"]

[Text] Relevant Publications

"Arbeitsgesetzbuch der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik mit Einfuehrungsgesetz" (GDR Labor Code With Introductory Law); published by Verlag Tribuene, Staatsverlag der DDR, [East] Berlin, 1977

"Unser Arbeitsgesetzbuch. Eine Einfuehrung" (Our Labor Code. An Introduction); published by Verlag Tribuene, Staatsverlag der DDR, [East] Berlin, 1977

"Arbeitsgesetzbuch und weitere arbeitsrechtliche Vorschriften" (Labor Code and Other Labor Law Regulations); published by Staatsverlag der DDR, [East] Berlin, 1975

"Schriftenreihe zum Arbeitsgesetzbuch der DDR" (Series of Articles on the GDR Labor Code); published by Verlag Tribuene, [East] Berlin

"Among the 74 laws the People's Chamber has ratified since the ninth party congress," Comrade Erich Honecker remarked at the 10th SED Congress, "the Labor Code stands out which, as proposed by the Ninth FDGB Congress, was passed following a broad debate. As a Magna Charta for labor it has extended the right to work as a basic human right and expanded trade union rights."[1] When it came into force 4 years ago, another significant step was taken in making socialist law still more effective as a power instrument of the workers class, so that it helps, in particular, in successfully implementing the course of the main task with its economic and social welfare policy in unity.

"The Labor Code is the basic and cohesive codification of socialist labor law."[2] It sets down all legal prerequisites for the workers class to be able, mainly through its class organization, the FDGB, to assume its growing responsibility

and shape all relations in the labor process in such a way that labor productivity and efficiency as well as personality development, fashioning the socialist way of life, are enhanced.

Resolutely applying the provisions of the Labor Code helps encourage the creative mass initiative of the workers class and all working people and still better apply to the further strengthening of economic efficiency the great impulse of our socialist society found in the conformity in principle between social requirements and personal interests. Also under the changed internal and external conditions, it is found, the concrete norms of conduct are an important practical guideline for the actions of the working people in the sense of the economic strategy for the 1980's as developed by the 10th party congress.

After having been in effect for 4 years, we have every good reason to state: the working people accept the Labor Code as their law because it constitutes the legal basis for their social security and well-being in our socialist society and for their developing their capabilities and talents and it gives them much room for meeting their social responsibility. And so, with an ever greater sense of responsibility, they exercise their comprehensive rights to taking a creative part in the shaping of socialist society. That is most clearly reflected in the visible upsurge of socialist competition before and after the 10th SED Congress and the results achieved thereby.

The evidence is that by means of the Labor Code the working people's basic political and social rights are still more rigorously ensured and that abiding by its regulations helps further develop and use more rationally our social labor capacity. Another plus is that the Labor Code regulations help make the socialist performance principle prevail and facilitate the implementation of scientific labor organization and the respect for socialist labor discipline. The unity of rights and duties is consolidated, and the protection of socialist property from damage and risks is ensured more extensively.

How well have some important Labor Code regulations been implemented?

Securing the right to work: A special focal point of the Labor Code concerns the extension of legal guarantees for ensuring the right to work.[3] While the host of unemployed is rapidly growing in the developed capitalist countries, for the GDR citizens the right to work has become an accepted fact, a secure achievement. This unequivocally demonstrates the superiority of our socialist order over the imperialist world, ridden by crises, unemployment and existential dread. While millions of workers in the capitalist countries connect the term "rationalization" with an apprehension about losing their jobs, among us the inviolable principle rules that rationalization measures are never carried out at the expense of the working people but serve their well-being and that with their help labor becomes more substantial and productive, yielding better results that are of advantage to the society as well as to the individual.

The regulations on establishing, amending and terminating labor law relations have found to be appropriate for making, in the assignment of labor, economic requirements conform ever better with the working people's personal interests. The extended trade union rights have been found most appropriate to it.

Regulations on concluding labor contracts foster responsibility in the work of the enterprises in selecting and assigning personnel and enhance the working people's guarantees for steadily assuming their right to labor. To a larger degree still they ensure the working people's uninterrupted participation in the labor process and thus benefit the further development of their capabilities. The regulations on amendment and delegation contracts take into account more than they used to do any needed adjustment to permanent or temporary changes in work conditions, increase the disposition of manpower and, with it, take the working people's personal circumstances into consideration. As concluding such contracts presupposes conformity of intent between the enterprise and the working people, collective and individual interests can be made to harmonize still more.

The transitional contracts make it possible that--mainly in necessary operations procedural changes in connection with rationalization measures--labor continues without interruption and the planned management of manpower which is possible in our socialist society can become still more effective. Especially through implementing the Schwedt Initiative, which is gaining a foothold in more and more enterprises, the idea is, as one knows, to conclude at a good time alteration, training and transitional contracts with working people whose jobs can be cut down in consequence of a more rational organization of labor, so that they can adjust to and prepare themselves for new jobs early in the game.

Behind every cutback in jobs and slots there are human beings "with their specific and individual characteristics, desires and problems."[4] To take this into account in socialist rationalization and draw up labor law contracts in such a way that the optimum use of our labor capacity will harmonize with the working people's legal guarantees is an important task in socialist management which must be vigorously supported by the party's basic organizations and their managements. The implementation of the Labor Code objective in legal policy has also for some time been given much support by the labor offices in existence. Through close cooperation between local state organs and enterprises, e.g., manpower reserves were tapped and increasing economic tasks were handled primarily through territorially available manpower. With the consultation and referral services becoming more effective in those offices, some of the working people who wanted to change jobs could be persuaded to hold on to their jobs, which dminished the fluctuation rate.

Making the socialist performance principle prevail: In conformity with the SED Program the Labor Code has determined that the performance principle is rigorously enforced as the basic distribution principle in socialism[5] so that we get a still more effective incentive for further economic and social progress, increased labor productivity, a socialist attitude toward labor and public property, and fine labor discipline and labor ethics. This orientation--reconfirmed by the 10th SED Congress--also determines the direct application of the wage and bonus policy principles contained in the Labor Code, especially in our extending our performance-oriented wage policy further.

The implementation of our performance-oriented wage policy, mainly the gradual introduction of production wages in connection with scientific labor organization, has proven a way, apt to be generalized, that conforms with our economic requirements. It boosts performance and makes sure that labor wages are geared to performance. That is why it has found the full approval of the working people.

Efficiency improved most in enterprises where

--the working people were from the very outset drawn into the preparation and implementation of all measures for further perfecting production and labor conditions, for introducing new technologies and procedures for reducing working hours and cutting back jobs, and into the preparation of new performance parameters and the application of performance-oriented wages;

--the working people were helped in acquiring the needed new labor experiences and in their developing their knowledge, abilities and skills in the labor process, and where the experiences of the best workers, notably their progressive working methods, were rapidly and effectively generalized, which means that all the conditions were established for enabling the working people to accomplish their tasks, including the performance parameters connected with them; and

--all such measures were prepared and implemented under the managers' personal responsibility and in close cooperation with the trade unions while strictly abiding by socialist legality.

Improved labor organization and labor discipline: The cooperation among all economic areas needed for a high rate of economic growth presupposes fine labor organization and labor discipline. "Improving the rhythm of labor and reinforcing labor discipline are priority concerns for economic management and for political education and economic incentive in terms of the performance principle."[6] As practical surveys keep showing, the Labor Code regulations on labor organization and socialist labor discipline are doing the job.[7] Results achieved essentially depend on how smoothly the labor process is organized in the enterprises in accordance with scientific labor data, and with the working people taking part in it, standstill and downtime is ruled out, and all the premises are set for fine labor discipline and order and safety in the labor process. In view of increasing production criteria, the rational organization of labor processes and the full capacity use of working hours are becoming ever more important for our improving our economic efficiency. While in 1976 we achieved an industrial output of M 850 million per calendar day, the figure had risen to M 1,480 million as early as in 1980.

This is only one more reason why we have to see to it everywhere that no time is wasted. The many work collective initiatives aimed at that merit the full support from party and trade union organizations.

Surveys show that notably those collectives show a fine labor discipline which consider exemplary order, discipline and safety a regular element of the struggle for the title of "socialist labor collective." Permanent successes have been achieved where exercising a resolute and purposeful influence is taken for granted in the work collectives and the managers know everything about how to bring their political-ideological and labor law influence to bear, make use of it, and rely thereby firmly on the social forces (trade union groups, lay judge collectives, safety activists and so forth).

Industrial labor regulations and precise stipulations for labor projects in functional plans and other industrial documents also have turned out to be indispensable. Most enterprises have reviewed and made substantive improvements of their labor regulations with reference to the Labor Code. That also has improved order and discipline.

Protection of socialist property: The Labor Code regulations effectively enhance the working people's responsible conduct in the labor process and various initiatives for the protection of socialist property. Analysing the experiences of those enterprises that are setting examples in securely protection basic assets, material supplies and financial values from harm, one finds they

--firmly embed in their political-ideological work the formation of a responsible attitude toward the protection of socialist property;

--accurately delineate the areas of responsibility and thoroughly work with functional plans;

--make a resolute use of the opportunities the managers have to issue instructions;

--use a well considered system to account for and examine the causes of damages and to establish responsibilities and eliminate the causes for damage;

--effectively foster socialist competition to consolidate legality, order, discipline and safety; and

--make the fullest use of the possibilities for material accountability.

Ensuring health and hazard protection: Through socialist rationalization and enforcing scientific labor organization, good results were achieved in ensuring labor safety and improving hygnienic conditions in the enterprises. That has been largely due to including labor safety protection in socialist competition. In recent years increasingly more work collectives in all economic areas have assumed commitments for meeting the plan without accidents or breakdown in line with the Basov Initiative and for ensuring order, safety and discipline. The labor accident rate was reduced by nearly 30 percent between 1970 and 1980. Whereas in 1970 we still had 40.8 labor accidents under reporting obligation for every 1,000 workers in our republic, the rate dropped to 29.0 in 1980. The number of fatal work accidents dropped in the same period by nearly 40 percent. Nonetheless, as Comrade Erich Honecker said at the Ninth FDGB Congress, "we think the number of labor accidents is still too high. Attention and vigilance must still be heightened. It mainly is a matter of greatly eliminating their causes, which often will amount to lack of order, cleanliness and discipline on the job."[6] At the 10th party congress he also called for resolutely doing away with hazardous, heavy physical and monotonous activities.[9]

In view of that, the improvement of health protection and labor safety and the use of all other potentials for reducing accidents and illnesses deserve a solid place of concern in the political-ideological work with the managers and all other working people. Particularly, it is a matter that our society's concern for human welfare, as expressed in the resolute effort to prevent accidents and

illness, be placed in the center of attention. And at the same time it is necessary to make people constantly aware of the effect accidents and illnesses have on the rational use of our social labor capacity, and thus on the fulfillment of industrial tasks, and make them aware of preventive measures.

If one takes into account the tasks indirectly connected with labor safety, the prevention of fire, breakdown and other disturbances, it becomes clear that still greater efforts can prevent rather large-scale economic losses. All the more welcome is the initiative of many work collectives "which in the movement for exemplary order, discipline and safety are making successful efforts to preserve and protect all that which has been produced."[10] With today's degree of production concentration and the increase in the size, complexity and value of installations, it is necessary to enforce safety and order through the higest sense of responsibility. There are concrete handles here for our political-ideological work. No party organization must allow the destruction, through disorder and the slighting of legal regulations, of what progress in social development has brought us through production intensification. Basic party organizations that instill great party, labor and state discipline in their members, and the readiness always to exploit all reserves for the sake of greater economic efficiency, are acting in accordance with our 10th party congress.

Instructing in labor law: Our positive balance-sheet on the efficacy of the Labor Code also is largely due to the publicity and training activity of recent years. The enterprises conduct circa 50,000 training exercises annually. Conveying basic knowledge about our labor law also has been more strongly drawn into the total training and advanced training process. One may mention here the initiation of the mandatory course on socialist law in training, the systematic labor law training in the master's program, and the training of future technical and economic management personnel in the field of labor law at the universities and technical schools. It is also worth mentioning the vast number of publications.

Conflicts commissions have gained great distinction for having the Labor Code take effect by stubbornly opposing deficiencies and paving the way for an increasingly better application of labor law. Furthermore, the appearance of members of the conflicts commissions is of great importance for disseminating legal knowledge and further enforcing legality, order, discipline and safety. Judges, prosecuting attorneys, lay judges and members of the trade union law commissions also perform valuable work in law education. The judges alone are called upon approximately 90,000 times a year for opinions on labor law.

Inferences for political-ideological and law propaganda work: Political work with the Labor Code and labor law as such should keep its pace. That also means: its objectives and results should be geared to the tasks of the 1980's. The Labor Code warrants great attention everywhere in view of its political significance to the socialist labor law and the socialist legal order in our ideological work. The matters that are tied up with it play a prominent role in management activity and in our everyday dealings with the people. It also means that the managers must inform the working people on all important matters and see to it that their recommendations and suggestions are conscientiously processed and the working people's legally guaranteed rights are resolutely realized. A

sense of responsibility and care are exceedingly important withal, to ensure that the political value of the Labor Code is not curtailed through any negligence in management activity, inadequate legal knowledge and unresolved contradictions within enterprises.

On behalf of a still more resolute implementation of socialist labor law, the law propaganda activity in the further analysis of the 10th party congress ought to be closely combined with offering interpretations of the basic political issues of the party, government and trade unions, and all working people are to be given the idea that rights and duties exist in unity. Where the enforcement of labor obligations comes staunchly combined with granting the legally vested rights and with the everyday care for the working people's well-being, managers will succeed in managing their enterprise collective with the goal of "fulfilling and exceeding the plan tasks of the enterprise" as well as of "fostering the development of the working people into socialist personalities and improving their working and living conditions."[11] Working in that sense, on the basis of the Labor Code, and taking account of the realization that order and discipline are prerequisite to the active exercise of power by the workers class, and that respect for legality is an essential part of party and state discipline, will greatly help strengthen further our socialist fatherland.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 115-116.

2. GDR Labor Code, p 7.

3. Ibid., chapters 1, 3, 16 and 17.

4. Werner Frohn, "Hoeher veredeln ist vorrangiges volkswirtschaftliches Gebot. 13. Tagung des ZK der SED" (Enhanced Refinement Is an Economic Priority Precept--13th SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 137.

5. Labor Code, chapter 5.

6. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 52.

7. Labor Code, chapter 4.

8. Erich Honecker, "We Have a Program for Growth, Prosperity and Stability," "Reden und Aufsaetze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol 5, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 392.

9. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," loc. cit., p 56

10. Ibid., p 119.

11. Labor Code, Article 18, p 13.

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SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German vol 36 No 12, Dec 81 (signed to press 11 Nov 81) 'Resumes' addendum

Advantages of Our Society--Driving Forces of Scientific-Technical Progress

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, economist, member, SED Central Committee; rector, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 1190-1198]

> [Text] Socialism's historic superiority over capitalism with respect to making the scientific-technical revolution prevail is due to the ability it has in effectively combining scientific-technical with social progress. What advantages does socialism have in speeding up the development of science and technology? How do we use them in bringing them to full effect as driving forces of creative action? Which requirements arise from that for purposefully managing and coping with the tasks pertaining to the implementation of our party's economic strategy?

Party Work in the Struggle for Scientific-Technical Progress

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Dr Hans Modrow, economist, member, SED Central Committee; first secretary, SED Dresden Bezirk Management; pp 1199-1205. A translation of this article is published under the subheading, "Material Rewards, Penalties Recommended," as part of a series of related items under the heading, "Measures to Improve S&T Progress in Combines Discussed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] The implementation of the party's economic strategy calls for a science policy resolutely oriented to the requirements of long-term economic efficiency and quality development. Bezirk management, thus, in its leadership activity, aims at having each combine purposefully work out its scientific-technical strategy and translate it, step by step, into concrete tasks. It induces the party organizations to provide for a creative climate in the R&D collectives and uniformly conduct the political struggle for high achievement.

Effective Combination of Science and Production in the Combine

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Fritz Haberland, economist, department head, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED Central Committee; pp 1206-1213. A translation of this article is published under the subheading, "Incentives to Promote Creativity," as part of a series of related items under the heading, "Measures to Improve S&T Progress in Combines Discussed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] Because the opportunities of our scientific-technical revolution have become the main reserve for performance and efficiency growth, the article probes the focal points arising from it for management aiming at more efficient scientific-technical work. Aspects of a target-directed motivation for the research drive and of its rigorous economic orientation and of the formation of a scientific-technical potential in the combines provide interesting suggestions.

Demands Posed by Microelectronics

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Dr Egon Heusing, engineer, operations director, VEB Robotron Accounting Machines Plant, Karl-Marx-Stadt; pp 1214-1217. A translation of this article is published under the subheading, "Problem of Worker Displacement," as part of a series of related items under the heading, "Measures to Improve S&T Progress in Combines Discussed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] How do advanced combine enterprises solve the demanding tasks resulting from the introduction of microelectronics in the production process? How is the creative potential of the entire enterprise collective put into effect? How can the advantages of socialism in the process of the scientific-technical revolution be translated into increasing efficiency in everyday work? These questions are answered with reference to the VEB Robotron Accounting Machines Plant, Karl-Marx-Stadt.

Scientific-Technical Progress Viewed Through the Distorting Mirror of Bourgeois Futurologists

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Eberhard Fromm, lecturer, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 1218-1224]

> [Text] What has become of the earlier science and technology euphoria of bourgeois ideologues? What caused them to depart from their faith in progress of the 1960's and early 1970's and their inability to understand the dialectics of social progress in our era? On the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism, the idea of social progress and the struggle for making it prevail in our time are borne by the revolutionary workers class.

In the Service of Peace and Communist Construction

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Guenter Heyden, member, SED Central Auditing Commission; director, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 1238-1244]

[Text] As all previous volumes, the eighth volume of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's speeches and essays, just published, dealing with the period between April 1979 and March 1981, the time when the 26th CPSU Congress was being prepared and held, is a mirror image of the party's work committed to social progress, and of Lenin's land. With it, the speeches and essays bear witness to the crucial personal share of one of the most important politicians in our era in the creative Leninist policy of the CPSU and the Soviet land.

Effective Action of All Peace Forces--Urgent Call of the Hour

[Summary of article by Dr Erich Huettner, staff employee, SED Central Committee; pp 1245-1252]

[Text] The peoples' increasing resistance against the imperialist confrontation and arms buildup policy--seeking a reactionary way out of the deep crisis of capitalism--against the war danger conjured up by the course of the U.S. Government. Causes for the mass movement that is spreading and gaining increasing influence in the NATO countries themselves. The socialist countries' peace policy, marked by realism and circumspection and expressing the vital interests of humanity.

Monopolist Offensive Against Workers' Interests

[Summary of article by Dr Joachim Nitsche, economist, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 1263-1269]

[Text] With the exacerbation of the foreign policy confrontation course the most aggressive and reactionary forces in the capitalist world are also launching their offensive against the interests of the workers class and all working people. They are eager to load the burdens of the crisis in their system onto the shoulders of the exploited, make maximum monopoly profits and shore up their high mobilization programs financially. Massive unemployment, inflation and cuts in real wages and social welfare are the consequences.

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WORKER MILITIA TRAINING RESULTS FOR 1981 REVIEWED

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German Vol 25 No 11, Nov 81 pp 1-2

[Front page editorial: "On Reviewing the Political and Combat Training for 1981--A Few Initial Findings, Experiences, Indications and Conclusions"]

[Text] The review of the political and combat training represents the first intermediate stage of the socialist competition in connection with the evaluation of the documents of the 10th SED Congress and on the basis of the competition appeal of the Rostock "Ernst Thaelmann" KGB [workers militia battalion]. The commanders had thoroughly prepared the measures and they responsibly implemented them in all units under the direction of the leading party organs and of the administrations of the enterprise party organizations and with the support of the state leaders and of the People's Police comrades. They provided an objective picture in regard to the quality of the training and on the level of fighting strength and combat readiness of the combat groups of the working class. At the same time, they created important preconditions for the further training in 1982, especially in regard to the tactical exercises.

On the basis of the results of the review, the commanders are able concretely to determine the training level attained and to take the measures necessary for further improving the quality and effectiveness of both the political training and the combat training.

The political direction of the units by the leading party organs and party organizations again turned out to be a factor of crucial importance. The party organs insured systematically organized, goal-oriented and disciplined political-ideological and organizational work on the part of the commanders of all ranks and of the secretaries of the party groups in the units.

Findings and Experience

The political-ideological work was focused on making clear to every member of the combat groups the political and military significance of the review and on insuring successful operation of the units in the course of the review. In this connection, it became apparent that the problems related to and resulting from the political and combat training are important not only in regard to the time of the review. In taking their training measures in the course of the year, the commanders are to take them into consideration to a greater extent. In regard to the preparation and implementation of the review, the following forms and methods of political work have proved expedient:

1. Early deliberations of the leading party organs and of the leaders of the enterprise party organizations and continuous control of the measures taken by these organs.

2. Timely consultations of the commanders with their deputies, with the platoon leaders and NCOs and with the party group secretaries in the platoons.

3. The individual and differentiated discussions conducted with the combatants by the leaders of the enterprise party organizations and by the commanders with the object of familiarizing the combatants with the tasks and objectives of the review and with the requirements and hardships to be expected and of urging them to meet these requirements and thus to fulfill their obligations in the socialist competition.

4. The practice-oriented military-political training and the practice-oriented extracurricular advanced training of the commanders, deputies and NCOs. The pertinent subjects specified in the programs have proved to be very suitable for making all of the combatants aware of the magnitude of the tasks and requirements.

5. Imposition of concrete party assignments by the appropriate party organizations so as to insure that the Communists produce the desired model effect.

6. Inclusion and preparation of the platoon leaders and NCOs for tasks pertaining to the political work.

7. The brief meetings at the beginning of the reviews, at which leading party functionaries or commanders asked all the members of the units to demonstrate through good and excellent results that they are willing and able honorably to meet the requirements and competition obligations; at these meetings, the functionaries and commanders also urged all Communists and superiors to set an example.

8. The information provided in the breaks and evening hours on current political events and on the state of the review; the individual talks in the groups, the continuous work of the party group secretary and of the platoon and group agitators in the platoons; the work in connection with the news sheet. The methods--inform, mobilize, observe, analyze, evaluate and generalize--have been improved.

9. The strict organization and direction and the objective evaluation of the socialist competition.

10. The continuous work of the political deputies, platoon secretaries and platoon and group agitators, as a result of which the combatants attained a high level of performance readiness, participation and initiative.

Instructions

In the endeavor to develop the combatants' performance readiness so as to insure success in the field, it became apparent that this readiness is largely determined by the quality and effectiveness of the political and combat training. Whenever the training was combat oriented, complex and interesting, it had a mobilizing effect on the knowledge and convictions acquired in the military-political training. But when it was conducted in a routine fashion, when only little initiative was

required and when it contained hardly any elements of risk and surprise, the combatants frequently were reluctant to undergo hardship and privation.

This clearly shows that the preparation of the military-political training and the preparation of the combatants must be well coordinated and carried out with maximum educational effect. The coordination of these two essential aspects of the training of socialist combatants is an important precondition for insuring that the combatants, NCOs and commanders meet the complex requirements of combat missions. Thus participation of the trainers in the political work is not only expedient, but indispensable. However, during the methodological training or during the training preparations, it is necessary more effectively to demonstrate the most effective forms of political work, to point out at what stages these forms should be employed, to show how to politically motivate the combatants, how to meet the socialist competition obligations in regard to the individual training stages and training problems, and how to utilize and deepen in the course of the training the knowledge acquired in the military-political training and in the extracurricular advanced training.

Some Initial Conclusions

The well-prepared and rigorous reviews conducted in the units have shown that under the direction of the leading party organs and of the enterprise party organizations good results have been achieved--on the basis of the increased requirements specified in the training documents--in regard to the training level of the combatants and commanders. The level of fulfillment--ranging from good to very good--of the measurable criteria and norms impressively underscored the improvements in the fighting strength and combat preparedness of the combat groups of the working class.

The increasingly exacerbated situation in regard to the international class struggle and the further increases in the fighting strength and combat preparedness of the combat groups of the working class make it imperative further to consolidate the leading role of the Party in the combat groups and to pay due attention to the political-ideological work. At this stage of the training, efforts should be made to facilitate attendance of leading party and economic functionaries at combatant meetings and their participation in training seminars, reviews and tactical exercises.

Although there is no doubt that progress has been made, it is necessary to direct undiminished attention to upholding the quality of the extracurricular advanced training, of the methodological training and of the combat-oriented complex training. This goes also for the strict enforcement of discipline, order and revolutionary vigilance.

Again it became apparent that precise organization and direction of the socialist competition as an integral part of the training process make it necessary to determine the appropriate elements of competition and the planning and organizational stages of the training at which these elements should be employed. This applies to the participation of the majority of the combatants in the preparations for training measures and to the organization of the training as a competition or performance comparison, the organization of mutual support, the fruitful exchange of experience during the training breaks, the furnishing of moral and material performance incentives and the systematic work with the most advanced individuals.

In this way, the socialist competition made it possible in the reviews and in the training programs to launch and utilize goal-oriented initiatives for the attainment of the training objectives. In this regard, conscientious direction of the socialist competition and objective evaluation of the individual and collective commitments are of great importance for the development of initiative and performance readiness in the combatants and NCOs. It still happens quite frequently, however, that valuable capacities of the combatants are not utilized. Pledges are accepted that are too general and insufficiently concrete; the evaluation in the platoons and companies is treated as a mere formality; the combatants do not see how the results come about and thus they doubt their accuracy. So if one wants to attain genuine commitment, performance readiness, initiative and full participation in the socialist competition, one must strictly observe and enforce in the unit the party guidelines and standards--formulated in the resolutions and training documents--in regard to the entire organization and direction of the socialist competition.

To encourage and even organize enterprise and initiative is an integral part of the work of all instructors and commanders. And they are obligated to submit--in true party spirit--to the critical judgment of the combatants. Any disregard for their pointers, critical remarks or suggestions impedes the willingness to participate in the decision-making process, to show enterprise and initiative, and it also detracts from the authority of the commander.

In the endeavor to attain a high level of fighting strength and combat preparedness in the units, it became apparent that the socialist competition has increasingly become a crucial factor in the intensification of the training. Intensive training--i.e. full utilization of the time and material means available, but also full utilization of the combatants' intellectual and physical capacities--were the object of attaining a high level of performance. And this is not only a question of accurate planning, preparation, implementation and objective evaluation of the training by the instructors and commanders; rather, the primary objective is to make the combatants, NCOs and commanders participate--consciously, concretely and systematically--in the organization of the training.

The review also showed that the role of the instructors is assuming greater importance. In order to motivate and enable the combatants and collectives to show initiative and enterprise in the training, the instructors should always set well-planned, concrete tasks they can account for. To accomplish this, the instructors must inform the combatants and collectives about the content and the significance of the training so that they can see the objective and purpose and--through their active participation--the value of their creative involvement.

During the training, the goal-oriented guidance and assistance, control and objective evaluation of the results and the instructor's party-oriented objectivity and exemplary work promote initiative-producing participation and involvement. In this regard, the comrades of the People's Police should support the commanders still more effectively.

Another task is to place more emphasis on the initiative of the group leaders--or individuals of equal rank. As a rule, they have received formal training, but they do not yet have the experience and methodological skills required. In combat, they must fight and at the same time lead and make decisions determining the success or

failure of their group. So their initiative and responsible actions are at a premium. These qualities must be systematically consolidated by the commanders and instructors.

The importance of well-trained, disciplined, goal-oriented, enterprising and courageous group leaders is pointed out all the time. Nevertheless, it still happens that platoon and company leaders dispense with the participation of their group leaders and themselves lead the combatants. Thus it is not surprising that some combatant comrades consider the platoon or company leader--rather than their group leader--to be their superior. However, no commander can or may dispense with the initiative of the group leaders.

The combatants' and collectives' initiative and readiness conscientiously and thoroughly to learn the training subjects and consciously to participate in the discharge of their military class mandate is to them an integral part of the struggle for a high level of fighting strength and combat preparedness in the combat groups of the working class. To support them in this is an important task of the 1982 training year.

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SOCIALIST REALISM TO BE APPLIED 'MORE PRECISELY' TO MUSIC

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 181, 10 Dec 81 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Composers Argue About Socialist Realism." A translation of the East Berlin SONNTAG article cited below follows the commentary.]

[Text] The East Berlin SONNTAG has confirmed that, as a result of the fourth theoretical conference of the composers association in Magdeburg, a "debate on new realism" is in store for GDR composers. A more rigorous and more exact application of the concept of socialist realism is called for. It is no longer possible as in the past indiscriminately and quietly to subsume under socialist realism everything which is now being produced by way of music in the GDR. According to the East Berlin cultural publication there are, however, considerable differences of opinion among composers and musicologists in the GDR as to what kind of music conforms to socialist realism.

Cultural Policy Paper's Article

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 35 No 49, 6 Dec 81 p 6

['Art and Literature' feature article by Gerhard Mueller: "Remarks on a Realism Debate: More Curiousity About New Developments"]

> [Text] With the following article we would like to call on our readers for a discussion of problems of contemporary music and for insight on opinions, hopes and aspirations.

The Fourth Theoretical Conference of the Association of Composers and Musicologists of the GDR took place in Magdeburg in November. Its theme was "Socialist Music Culture of Today" and the main presentation was made by Heinz Alfred Brockhaus, member of the presidium of the composers association and chairman of the commission on musicology. Nineteen speakers participated in the discussion including scientists such as Guenter Mayer, Frank Schneider or Siegfried Bimberg as well as composers such as Friedrich Schenker, Wilhelm Neef, Reiner Bredemeyer, Siegfried Kowhler and--a first at such a conference--the popular musician Bernd Aust of the "Elektra" group and the songwriter Stefan Koerbel of the song theater "Karls Enkel" [Charlie's Grandson]. The purpose of the meeting was to draw up a

definitive balance of the music cultural process in the 1970's before the conference of the central delegates of the Association of Composers and Musicologists (VKM). It succeeded in having a variety of aesthetic standpoints presented in all candor. This candor was the most positive result. It did not formulate a definitive aesthetic position. In view of the complicated and radical changes in the way music is produced and in view of the new musical awareness opening up in our society, theory was able to formulate questions but hardly able to give aesthetically grounded, inherently musical answers. It is clear that a new debate on realism is in store for us in the 1980's. It would be the first one that would start out on the basis of its own specifications rather than on the basis of a predominance of literature as has been the case up to now. This alone would be a considerable step forward. The discussion evolved into an evaluation of the 1970's in which--as the Berlin musicologist Klaus Mehner put it--a change in "the musical model" was completed. The new generation of composers which appeared at the beginning of the 1970's skipped over the formerly predominant classical schematic and found their articulation in a modern tonal language whose bold harshness was felt by many to be anti-traditional and which drew controversial reactions. For some this is merely a refurbishing of modern composition techniques of mostly bourgeois origin which have been accompanied by a simultaneous loss of substance in their content. They criticize the excessive complexity and the resultant lack of resonance of these works and contrast it with light music with its popular idiom, with the down-to-earth resoluteness of the political song, and with classical models. Others see just the opposite in this music, a gain for realism, a growth in artistic capacity critically to overcome the contradictions of reality and to take a position with regard to the great questions of our time. For them political songs, folk song culture, and pop music do not produce models for symphonies but complementary sides of a unified music cultural process even though filled with contradictions. Both standpoints met, however, not as irreconcilable opposites but as different ways of illuminating one and the same set of problems. Although the polemics which preceded the conference, especially as they appeared in the press, may have produced the impression that the supposedly "elitist" concepts of the 1970's were destined to be paralyzed outright by a "new simplicity", things proved to be otherwise at thss conference which searched for an integrative, dialectical understanding embracing new possibilities for music production and the satisfaction of music's cultural needs.

In his presentation Heinz Alfred Brockhaus called for a more rigorous and more precise application of the concept of socialist realism. One could no longer, as in the past, indiscriminately and quietly subsume under socialist realism everything that was being produced by way of music in the GDR. That is no doubt correct but he failed to illustrate with a practical example. The attempt to base the concept of realism on a broader understanding of music than has been the case up to now seemed more important to me. This was hinted at by him and more precisely expressed by Guenter Mayer. Despite occasional protestations to the contrary, in our musical aesthetics up to now, the question of realism has been directed exclusively at the traditional genres. Mayers concept of music includes light music, beat, political songs, film and theater music as well as concert and operatic music, all on an equal basis. It is tendentiously appropriate to lead aesthetic theory directly to the foundation of the music cultural porcesses in our society and to determine the possible uses of music with regard to the masses of real listeners. The abstract listener with abstract uniformity in his demands on all kinds of music should

thereby be dismissed from our discussion. In order to arrive at a more precise determination of the music theater achievements of the 1970's, Gerd Rienaecker broadened the concept of music theater to include instrumental theater like that of Friedrich Schenker's "Missa nigra" and the song theater which emerged from the song movement. Peter Wicke, who examined mass music processed, called for a progressive conception which is not measured only against symphonies, and explained his understanding of this with the somewhat too handy formulation that it is not the masses who should be led to artistic progress but artistic progress which has to be brought to the masses. Peter Spahn's call for a higher rank for light music in the totality of music culture rather than considering it as light music only, had a similar goal. However, the refreshing directness of such theses hides the danger of new confusion, for entertainment is something different in symphonies than in a disco, and mass effect is not an abstract quality of compositions which can be technically produced but also and above all the capacity of the masses to take possession of developed artistic works and put them to use. A musical conception which considers immediate acceptance as a criterium for all genres on an equal basis would inevitably tend to view with pessimism works such as the orchestral music of Paul Dessau or Ernst Hermann Meyer, or the compositions of Reiner Bredemeyer, Friedrich Goldmann, Friedrich Schenker, Udo Zimmermann, Siegfried Koehler or Siegfried Matthus and to doubt whether they could make a lasting imprint of their own beyond changing fashions. If you want to jump far you have to take a long run and--to cite Frank Schneider--there is no point in mutual accusations of neglecting content or form instead of examining the real chances for music of varying usage under the conditions for development offered by socialist culture which is fortunately not market oriented.

Curiosity for new things, which Reiner Bredemeyer missed in his statements during the discussions, also has its place to be sure. It is a problem, for theory development and new theoretical formulations will not be found without this curiosity. Many talked about new music with an air of conspiracy, so to speak, without naming works or names. How should anything come out of that? The aesthetics of music cannot take form out of the turmoil like Wotan the Wanderer and be a disinterested observer. Whoever wants to make his mark cannot shy away from the noise of battle.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1978

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23 February 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1978

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ORIGIN OF MOLDAVIAN HUNGARIANS DISCUSSED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 7 Jan 82 p 10

/Article by Dr Radu-Stefan Ciobanu: "Views on the Origin of the Csangos"/

/Text/ Having read with great interest the series of articles in FLACARA on the origin of the population known as "Csangos," I should like to express my opinion on the subject too. I decided to do so because of some previous efforts to explain the origin of the Csangos that caused me to make investigations in archives in 1974-1975, followed by a field research visit to the rural communities in Moldavia inhabited by the population known by that name. Not having finalised the findings of this first stage of the studies, and considering that the treatment, discussion and explanation of a historical point calls for a particularly high sense of responsibility on the part of the one who undertakes this delicate mission, I continued the work in the summer of 1978, when I was in Budapest for a short time and consulted a number of technical publications about the subject that interested me. And now that the investigation has reached a point where the accumulation of documentary material is rich and varied, I can formulate the first conclusions.

I wish to point out that in writing these lines I am not a native of any of the villages with a so-called Csango population, as are those who preceded me in the articles on this subject in FLACARA. My only motive is the desire to set forth sine ira et studio what the documents indicate.

I learned from the bibliography on the Csangos' origin that the population of that name inhabits some areas in Tara Birsei and the Ciuc Mountains and the area of the "bend in the Olt." Moreover I was surprised to note that a number of more or less recent writers call all Catholics in Moldavia Csangos. The terms "Csango" and "Catholic" do not seem identical or similar in any way. "Csangos" means a portion of the inhabitants of Moldavia with certain characteristics acquired in the course of their historical evolution, while "Catholics" means all those professing the Catholic faith, who may be of Romanian, German, Ukrainian or other ethnic origin. The Csangos happen to be of the Catholic faith, but they do not include the entire population of Moldavia that belongs to it. Synonymous use of the two terms probably goes back to the period of predominance of religious faiths and was perpetuated by its acceptance without due analysis of the situation.

The Csango population has been studied by a number of historians, philologists, ethnographers and folklorists because of a series of distinctive features based on its

Catholic faith in the midst of the Orthodox Romanian population, its dialect, and its proper names, dress and household structure. In almost all of these works, written over more than a century and a half, the Csangos were declared en bloc to be of either Hungarian or Romanian origin with no detailed, in-depth investigation. Among those who considered them exclusively Hungarian were Elek Gego, Moses Rubini, Istvan Gyorffy, Balint Csuri, Pal and Peter Domocos, Geza Bako, Koss Laszlo and Filep Antal. They were answered by Iosif Petru M. Pal, Dr Petre Rimneantu, the late Academician C. C. Giurescu et al., who said the Csangos are of Romanian origin. The main factors used in the dispute caused by the discussion of the Csangos' origin were the etymology of the name Csango, the time of their settlement in Moldavia, their dialect and their traditional costume.

The etymology of the word csango has been variously explained. Nicoae Iorga, who was studying the privileges of the salgai [?] of Tirgu Trotus, assumed that it came from Sovago (salt miner), A. Horger derived it from csamog (staff), much used by the Csangos during their pastoral occupations, and the expert on Transylvanian documents, Andrei Veress, seconded by Janos Tatrossi, tried to establish a Cumanian derivation of the word. Perhaps the most likely hypothesis is that of the scholar Aladar Ballagy, which was accepted by L. Mikes and later by Geza Bako, who maintained that the name could come from csango (wanderer, vagrant). Ballagy thought it was a nickname given to the Catholicized Romanians of East Transylvania and perhaps to the Szeklers, who practiced transhumance and were always on the move. Since the philologists cannot come to any unanimously accepted conclusion about the etymology of the name Csango and the door is open to endless hypotheses, the problem has not been definitively resolved and therefore the term cannot be used as an argument in discussing the origin of the Csangos.

The date the term Csango appeared was and perhaps still is considered to be 1805, when it appears in Domocos Teleki's writings. But we can say that the name Ciungabi-Csango occurs in documents at least two decades earlier. It is mentioned in two of the Catholic priest Peter Zold's accounts, dated 1780 and 1781 respectively, which are the first certain evidence of the Csangos in the Moldavian states in the areas known to be inhabited by them.

The documentary studies do not enable us to speak of Csangos before those dates. If they had existed before the 18th century they would have at least been mentioned in two monumental writings of the time, namely the Codex left by the Catholic bishop Marc Bandini and the Descriptio Moldaviae by the learned Prince Dimitrie Cantemir. Both of them were familiar with the situation in Moldavia, benefiting by a veritable staff of "informants," and they could obtain information that interested them. No doubt Brother Beke, Bishop Bandini's secretary, would have mentioned and praised the Csangos if he had encountered them because he was interested in presenting the effects of Catholic propaganda in a favorable light. But we find mentioned in his writings, in some of the villages later settled by Csangos, only Catholic inhabitants of Moldavia among others and the comment that they were Hungarians. The latter term has led some who are less familiar with the language of the medieval documents to assert that it was a population of Hungarian origin, whereas actually the name Hungarians designated the Transylvanians who came and settled in Moldavia throughout the Middle Ages, during the constant shifting on both slopes of the Carpathians, just as Moldavians left to settle in Transylvania. In his turn the learned Prince Dimitrie Cantemir did not mention them in his work written in 1716 especially to make his country known to the Academy in Berlin, although he would have if they existed then just as he mentioned other picturesque elements of the Moldavian population.

What catastrophic event took place in the eastern parts of Transylvania that forced part of the population to abandon their birthplaces and make for the villages in Moldavia? It is known that in 1761 Empress Maria Theresa accepted Gen A. von Buccov's proposal and ordered regiments of border guards to be formed in the border areas. In Transylvania, a Romanian regiment was to be formed in the Bistrita Nasaud area, a Szekler one in the Sfintu Gheorghe region, and another Romanian one in the Orlat Fagaras region. The Romanians proved willing to enlist because, in order to attract them, the Aulic Court had promised to free them from serfdom and invest them with land. The Szeklers opposed enlistment because they were considered free men by virtue of the Leopoldine Diploma (4 December 1691) with the power of a constitution of Transylvania and the prolonged military service was only a loss to them. At the insistence of the nobles, who saw themselves deprived of the peasants' labor, the Austrian authorities decided in 1763 to disband the second Romanian regiment in Bistrita Nasaud, but they did not keep their promise to free the Romanian from serfdom. Their dissatisfaction flared up immediately, in addition to that of the Szeklers, who requested disbandment of the first regiment of border guards in the Sfintu Gheorghe region. When they saw that the Romanians and Szeklers enlisted in the border guard regiments in the Bistrita Nasaud and Sfintu Gheorghe areas had revolted, the imperial Habsburg authorities sent strong repressive units against them and even resorted to a massacre like that in Sicileni Commune (7 January 1764).

To save their lives the former border guards, some accompanied by their families, took refuge in the forests in the Ciuc Mountains. There they made contact with the Moldavian outlaws Grigorie, Onu and the famous Nica Paun and with their aid they came to Moldavia by paths unknown to their pursuers and settled in villages they knew thanks to the Hungarians or in communities new to them.

The number of newcomers in a census taken by the Austrians in 1778, right after they annexed Bucovina, may be of interest. They found 1,200 Transylvanian families in southern Bucovina, 410 of which were those of the border guards, and 308 of the latter came from the second Romanian regiment and 102 from the second Szekler regiment, in connection with which note that the Romanian officers who helped to compile the Supplex Libellus Valachorum said there were many Romanians in the first border guard regiment, and Gheorghe Barit maintained the same thing in his study on the second border guard regiment. In this case it is probable that some of the 102 families of the former border guards in the first regiment were entirely of Romanian origin.

In the present stage of the investigation it is difficult to specify the number of those who fled from Transylvania to Moldavia. It appears to have been quite large because the chronicler Istvan Halmagy complained in May 1766 and in September and October 1767 that the country (Transylvania -- author's note) had been abandoned by many taxpayers, while the diplomatic documents and reports show that Vienna asked the Sublime Porte to return 80,000 refugees in Moldavia and 16,000 in Wallachia.

After this first great wave of Csangos arrived in Moldavia in 1764, still more came. One of them was after the repression of the uprising led by Horia, Closca and Crisan (1784-1785) and after the repressions following the defeat of the 1848-1849 Revolution in Transylvania. They came to the same areas and villages wherein the first Transylvanians had settled, reinforced the group there, and maintained contact between both slopes of the Carpathians.

Probably the newcomers from Transylvania wished and tried to settle constantly in the same settlements also because of the Catholic religion. Romanians who had been in

the second border guard regiment probably came from the former inhabitants of the Romanian "countries" of Vlahita and Bretcu, which were partially catholicized in the 15th-16th centuries. Having some advantages and being near the Szeklers, who were also Catholics, the not very numerous Romanians in the area gave up orthodoxy, which is still the faith of the majority of the Romanian population in Transylvania. Perhaps the isolation due to the quite rigid practices of the Catholic priests, also attested by Iosif Petru M. Pal, the former superior of the Franciscans in Moldavia in the period between the wars and a Csango in origin, can to a great extent explain why the name Csango has persisted so long.

Careful observation of the Csango folk costume bears out the documentary facts. Bela Agh Biro, who is no ethnographer, formed the hasty opinion that beautiful, purely Hungarian costumes had been found in the area. On the other hand, Nicolae Iorga and after him Tancred Banateanu, the famous ethnographer and specialist in Romanian folk art, concluded that the Csangos in the northern and southern areas wear typical Romanian dress. Only those in the western area (the Ghimes valley) have ornamental designs of Hungarian origin.

The problem of the Csango dialect has been and still is a delicate one that has been heatedly discussed and disputed. It is known from some partial studies of philologists and folklorists like those of Dumitru Martinas, Gyula Marton, Janos Farago et al. that the rural Moldavian group called Csangos is bilingual. Some of them speak a dialect of Transylvanian origin, reminiscent of their places of origin, while others speak a Szekler dialect, which to anyone who knows the Hungarian language is obviously a distorted and perhaps archaic form of the latter. Probably that is why Peter Zold, the expert on the Csangos, writes that they "distort" Hungarian words. The preservation in some villages of folk ballads in a Hungarian dialect that speak of the arrival from the Ciuc Mountains, collected by Janos Farago, cannot serve as an argument that all Csangos speak that language. The analysis of the situation in the largest Csango commune, Sabaoani, shows that in August 1975 about 1,800 out of 2,300 families were biligual, and the remainder of about 500 families knew Romanian only. The bilingualism showsin this case that the Csangos come from former Romanian and Szekler border guards united in the struggle against the imperial Habsburg authorities' oppression and in the effort to build the beautiful and rich villages in which they live today. While the Austrian census of 1778 shows a high percentage of Romanians in the Csango total, the same situation obtains today. We can judge by the incomplete statistics that we have that out of the total of about 200,000 Moldavian Csangos, about 40,000, or 20 percent, are of Szekler origin. I have accepted the latter figure as hypothetical and debatable, for lack of another, because of the indication in the most recent academic work, that of K. Laszlo and F. Antal (A magyar nep taji-torteneti tagolodasa, Akademiai Kiado, Budapesta 1975, pp 147-148).

In concluding the account of my findings, which I do not regard as definitive conclusions but only as working hypotheses indicating the stage I have reached in the studies, I feel obligated to say the most important fact is not the scientists' dispute but the way the much discussed Moldavian villagers think and feel. We can quote a number of documents to this effect, convincing testimony alongside the collection of Csango poems made by Janos Farago. In the Bucharest State Archives, in the Constant Grecescu reserve under No 1,431, there is a manuscript memorandum of the Csangos protesting against the discourse of the leader of Hungary at the time, Horthy, who declared them Hungarians. In the memorandum it was expressly requested to be read over the radio and clearly stated that they, the Csangos, are Romanians.

Iosif Petre M. Pal, in a well-known book of his published in two editions (1941 and 1942) and as a man raised among the Csangos with opportunities to study the situation in the whole region, also maintained that the great majority of the Csangos are Romanians. The historian and philologist of Csango origin P. Cancel, in a still unpublished documented study, brings new and additional evidence in support of Iosif Petre M. Pal's point.

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1982 ECONOMIC PROGRAM GOALS DISCUSSED

Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian No 1, 2 Jan 82 pp 4-5

[Interview with Akos Balassa, department chief of the National Planning Office by Mihaly Muranyi: "Hungarian Economy 1982, a Look at the Plan"]

[Text] To what extent is the production structure of the Hungarian economy adjusting to world market requirements? Why do energy management and material savings still stand at the center of attention in the management of the economy? We asked Akos Balassa, department chief of the National Planning Office, to provide answers to these questions.

[Question] There are as many prognoses as there are prophecies. But they all agree on one thing: the year 1982 is not very encouraging. What are the Hungarian economic planners counting on?

[Answer] Above all on the fact that for the Hungarian economy, unfortunately, foreign economic conditions will continue to change in an unfavorable direction. In our relations with CEMA countries we must reckon with the fact that energy sources which may be purchased for transferable rubles will decline; and total trade in this relation will not increase. As a result of the further factoring in of the effects of the second oil price explosion, according to price principles in effect for intra-CEMA trade, the terms of trade will continue to worsen; this must be countered by increasing exports.

In preparing the 5-year plan the stagnation, and in some places the regression, of the capitalist world economy is more unfavorable than assumed. Therefore, in 1982 as well, the marketing conditions for a whole series of our industrial branches, particularly metallurgy, chemical industry, machine industry and certain subbranches of the light industry will be difficult for us. The world money market will also be a disturbed one, for it is now being influenced not only by economic but also by political factors, including among other things the present world political situation. We must also reckon with the fact that the payments difficulties of several socialist countries will make it more difficult also for other socialist countries to receive credits.

As for domestic economic conditions, the 1982 economic development is unfavorably affected by the fact that in 1981 our national income did not meet the goal, and this included a lag in both industrial and agricultural production. For all these reasons we are proceeding now from a lower base than the 5-year plan had counted on.

In a certain sense, it can be regarded as unfavorable that the signs in 1981 pointed to an upswing in domestic consumption, including consumption by the population as well as investment. In observing these signs, the state undertook certain measures, but it cannot be stated with full certainty that it will be possible completely to prevent an economically unjustified upswing in some elements of domestic consumption. But there are also encouraging and favorable factors. One is that the results of the economic policy guidelines adopted in 1978 and followed continuously since then seem better and better. These must also bring 1982 results in the state and enterprise programs directed at promoting intensive economic development and improving efficiency and balance. In any event, it must be regarded as a positive factor that the favorable internal political atmosphere which has developed in response to the economic and political results already achieved have a stimulating effect on enterprises and their workers. And this is a very important factor in our further progress.

[Question] What are the main programs that face the economy in 1982?

[Answer] We have a comprehensive program, namely, the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Moreover, in the practice of our economic management we have given an increasingly greater role to various business organization actions, the more important one of which we used to call programs.

Among the characteristic conditions for 1982, the energy management program must be accelerated. This is related to the fact that our energy imports are moderating as compared to earlier imports. In order to meet the energy needs of the economy even under such circumstances, we had to take measures, on the one hand, to expand domestic energy production, and on the other hand to speed up energy savings programs. In the current 5-year plan we are devoting greater sums to the development of coal production from central funds than to the development of natural gas production. The effect of this will be felt in 1982 since the annual plan calls for more coal and natural gas production than had been conceived earlier. As for the energy savings program, we shall increase, through investment credits or state supports, the money that is available for enterprises, cooperatives and budgetary institutions to induce energy savings, or to replace difficult to buy energy with other kinds, for example, by using coal or natural gas instead of heating oil. Investments for energy savings and production will be about 20 percent greater in 1982 than in 1981, while according to plan total investments will decline. Organizational measures for energy savings will receive a greater role, for example, in transportation. In response to the energy saving measures, we want to achieve a savings of five petacaloris [quadrillion calories] in 1982, which amounts to almost 2 percent of our total energy consumption. This may also be one of the factors in keeping total energy consumption at a level not exceeding that of 1981.

The government has passed a resolution that by the middle of 1982 the material savings program will also have to be worked out and its implementation begun this year. In the case of various particularly important basic materials, this will call for such central measures and initiate such enterprise work as will make savings possible by way of product and production development, by modernization of the production structure, and not least of all by the improvement of incentive conditions.

We are planning in this 5-year plan period the implementation of two central development programs in the processing industry. One is the central development program for pharmaceutical, herbicide and intermedier manufacture. The goal is a significant expansion of profitable export in areas appropriate to Hungarian characteristics. This program is unusual because it is not the state that decides on the individual investments. The state helps in technical development and carries out certain coordination activities. The selection of the products and product groups to be developed and the making of specific investment decisions is primarily the task of the enterprises. Therefore, in addition to the fact that this program contributes to the improvement of the structure of industry, and primarily of the chemical industry, it basically transforms the internal structure of the pharmaceutical enterprises.

[Question] Was this program established because the Hungarian pharmaceutical industry finds it difficult at present to hold its favorable position among the ranking world producers?

[Answer] We are in fact in a favorable position on the world list for exports. But the greater share of our exports goes to socialist countries, and we do not enjoy a good position on the capitalist markets. Thus the program is directed at helping us maintain, even strengthen, our position on the socialist markets and gain a favorable position also on capitalist markets.

The implementation of the central development program for the electronics industry will begin in 1982 in the machine industry. The goal is to permit us to participate more than now in the manufacture of spare parts and component parts. In 1981 we began certain developments for the manufacture of passive spare parts, while in 1982 we shall start development also for the manufacture of the more valuable, active microelectronic spare parts.

[Question] In this area how far are we from the world level?

[Answer] At present we are well behind. The implementation of this program is an attempt to help us keep pace with the world. In no way can we count on moving to the vanguard of world production from one moment to the next. But without implementing the electronics program our lag would be of such extent as to threaten the international competibility of the industrial branches using electronic spare parts, while the execution of the program will bring us nearer to the vanguard level.

I might mention several more areas where even though programs are not being worked out the state is conducting very important economic organizational work. One is the profitable increase in nonruble account trade, and the other is the organization of profitable domestic production to replace nonruble account imports.

[Question] Two main goals face economic policy: one is to maintain the equilibrium of our foreign economic activity in approximate balance, and the other is to stabilize living conditions. Can we emphasize one over the other in 1982?

[Answer] Our 5-year plan sets these two tasks as goals of equal rank. One goal is the main direction of economic activity: enterprise and management work must

first of all promote the effective improvement of the foreign economic equilibrium. The other is an economic and sociopolitical goal, the realization of which, among other things, is the precondition that we shall be able to develop the Hungarian economy under circumstances that will make it possible to attain the above goal. In 1982, a slight shift of emphasis between these two goals will be necessary. In fact, the deterioration in world economic conditions is so serious that it would be possible to improve the foreign economic equilibrium under these deteriorating conditions only at the cost of living standards. Therefore, in drafting the 1982 plan, the position was developed that we must regard the guarding of 1980 living standards as a particularly important priority, and other goals must be subordinated for their preservation.

However, we first subordinated investment concepts and not the creation of a foreign economic equilibrium. In 1982 we will implement fewer investments than we had estimated both in the producer sphere and in the infrastructure. Under such circumstances we could establish the bases for protecting the living standards by taking fewer steps than we had intended under the deteriorating world economic conditions in 1982, and even at the cost of greater efforts and sacrifices, to improve the foreign economic balance.

[Question] To what extent is the production structure of the Hungarian economy adjusting to the requirements of foreign markets?

[Answer] In recent years, we carried out the alteration of the production structure in industry and agriculture, and we achieved good results in a number of areas. However, under the well-known world economic conditions we cannot be satisfied with the development attained in this area. A revival of the necessary intensity cannot be sensed in the modernization and improvement of the production structure.

Finally, what is the basic goal for the development of the production structure? It is to help us improve our external equilibrium, that is, to increase the ratio in production of goods that can be profitably exported. This requires a multifacted basis. One is progress in technical development. And it is precisely in the basic industrial branches--in the machine industry, the processing branches of the chemical industry, and the light industry--that we have not done everything we should. The other is a significant improvement in our market activity. There are shortcomings here, too. And subjective and objective factors are involved. Economic regulation stimulates more than it did before, but still not strongly enough, the producer and foreign trade enterprises to intensify their efforts and to achieve better results even under the conditions that are growing more difficult. In some places, the personnel, leadership and organizational conditions must be improved to gain this end. In a number of areas the organizational situation or the inter-enterprise relations do not adequately support the promotion of technical development or production and commercial work oriented to the market at a more unified and higher level.

Experiences in the development of the world economy also show that in technical development and the manufacture of modern products a small country can achieve significant results only if these are based on broad-scale international work distribution. It is impossible particularly in the processing industrial branches to achieve good results by relying fully or mainly on domestic resources.

In recent years, the economic relations among CEMA countries have not adequately promoted significant advances in the field of improvements in the technical level of production and in the production structure. Our economic relations with the capitalist countries have not established a good basis for this. If we want to make faster progress in the future, and this is necessary and unavoidable, we must create the conditions for this also from the aspect of international work distribution.

We must also see that a large-scale improvement in the production structure can be achieved if development means are more amply available than they are at present. Despite the economic development of energy production, our present possibilities make possible primarily smaller changes within enterprises: modernization of producer equipment, the improvement and rounding out of technology, and the development of the product structure. Basically, in the near future, we shall have possibilities for the development of new technologies or for the carrying out of reconstruction jobs with a great carrying power--which are needed for large structural changes--only in a few areas, and in fact where the investment of means can be recovered rapidly and will effectively help development and the improvement of the equilibrium.

As for the more distant future, we are now drafting the long-term economic plan. Moreover, as we already decided when we were drafting the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the planning organs are already in 1982 looking forward to 1983-1985 as they prepare the 1983 plan. We shall analyze how the Sixth Five-Year Plan will be realized, how the conditions have changed, and what we can count on in the coming years. On the basis of the studies, we can arrive at making specific those ideas on basis of which future decisions can be made for the intensive development of the Hungarian economy.

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SOCIAL BENEFIT PRIORITIES POSE PROBLEMS

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[Article by Julia Szalai: "Shortages and Social Selection--Sociopolitical Problems"]

[Text] In recent years we have heard and read more and more about the lack of nursery spaces; about overcrowded kindergartens, classrooms and hospitals; about the shortage of teachers, doctors and nurses; about the threat of closing hospital pavilions that, as a result of lagging reconstruction, verge on collapse; about child-care institutions not being completed on time; about supply-increasing investments that are falling behind; about the long time one must wait for hospital placements and nursery accommodations; about neglected classrooms, shortages of proper hypodermic needles and occasional need to "fill the gaps" in our hospital treatment with more expensive medication purchased from foreign pharmacies. Gradually, these are becoming everyday facts of our lives; before we know it, talking about them will be considered commonplace. One day it is education, the next it is public health where the situation seems intolerable. Officials are acting with haste; people are losing their temper and their patience; accusations are being made against doctors, teachers, parents and students. We are faced with several distorted manifestations of shortage.

The regretful response that we hear day after day from our well-intentioned leaders and experts in responsible positions is: "Yes, we are also aware of these problems, but we must be patient. At the moment we do not have enough money to do anything more." We often hear that our demands exceed our possibilities; articles are written about how our "indolent" population has come to expect everything from the state; accusations are being voiced against the allegedly amoral behavior of various groups. Together, these phenomena indicate the existence of a certain degree of social tension.

In this article--taking my examples primarily from kindergarten services and from the area of public health--I will try to present a general picture of how this situation has evolved, of its self-perpetuating mechanisms and of some of its social consequences. In addition, I will attempt to show that society's answers to the various manifestations of shortage, which always appear temporary, are selective in nature, and that the problem is not only that they are petpetuating and reproducing the shortage, but also that by doing so they are covering up its deeper, structural character.

In this paper I will also discuss the various forms of solution and the attitudes, decisions and steps that have come to life in the crossfire of highly diverse requirements that could be considered typical answers to the shortage situation. Why do the arguments, measures, procedures and decisions adopted by people to eliminate instantly and quickly the shortages in their respective spheres seem so rational and, at the same time, so tension-causing and inconsistent? It is important for us to recognize that these rising social tensions are not the results of individual negligence or violations. Moral considerations, therefore, play no role in evaluating them. Both the pressure to make decisions and to take steps and the removal of that pressure fall outside individual competence.

In this paper I will attempt to present a few of the more deeply rooted social mechanisms that lie behind and day after day help to create these pressures. On the surface it seems that some of the tensions appearing as dilemmas that stem from shortages and scarcities could be significantly eased by eliminating those shortages and by procuring more money and greater capacities. At the end of the article I will also talk about the existence of shortages as not merely a question of economic resources. Due to a lack of space, however, I cannot attempt to do more than merely point out and call attention to these far-reaching social operating functions that concern the basic questions of our socioeconomic system.

A Few Words about How the Present Situation Evolved

The roots of the present situation reach to the end of the 1940's. The new social system established then rested on essentially two basic premises: on the nationalization of the means of production and of the institutions of public consumption and on a centralized and plan-controlled system organized on the basis of state ownership. According to these two basic premises, all socioeconomic phenomena were subject to control from above, and this system was supposed to serve both our political ideological and our socioeconomic goals. One of the great illusions of that era was that these two basic premises would guarantee the creation of a society and an economy more harmonious than anything this world has ever seen and that these two premises would produce a twofold benefit: They would help create an unprecedentedly fair, based on uniform, universal and (often) equal principles of distribution.

It appeared, therefore, that the two, earlier irreconcilably contradictory social desires and requirements--rapid growth and expansion, and social equality--would get along well under socialism. The dynamics would be guaranteed by a planned control of the processes of production. It seemed that this way we would be able to eliminate the loss of time and the "unnecessary waste" that accompany market adjustments. The basic conditions of equality, on the other hand, also seemed to be ensured by a number of radically new rights. The fact that these rights were announced and declared in the form of decrees and laws seemed to ensure their realization automatically.

In most cases, the entitlements provided by these extended rights were tied to employment and social-insurance membership, which automatically accompanied it. Thus, for example, employment provided the legal basis for the use of childcare institutions, and providing free health care to every insured person became our most important insurance service. These radically new, basic legal principles reflected the

plebeian-democratic commitment of this new form of government, as well as the honored social value that it attached to work. In addition to their ideological-political meaning, they also had several economic-social functions significant from the point of view of the newly established economic structure.

The assumption of legal guarantees simultaneously meant that certain needs would be met in the form of social benefits in kind by the state, provided centrally to those entitled. In other words, these services and goods were taken out of the market, and the natural bases, conditions and means were placed under state control. By guaranteeing that from then on these needs would be met in the form of bonuses and benefits, the new government wanted to take the concept of equality, which it had been advocating, and put it into practice. These benefits were to ensure that the ability to satisfy certain basic needs does not depend any more on the financial situation of the given individual or family. This helped to redress some long-standing, centuries-old grievances and meant a radical elimination of some distressing social injustices. In a country where in the first half of the century one-third of the adult population was still illiterate, where thousands of babies and children had died, where illnesses resulting from poverty and destitution had been rampant and where, due to lack of money, tens of thousands of people did not even have the slightest hope of recovering, making the conditions of education and health care independent of one's income was indeed an economic achievement.

At the same time, the work-stimulating role of benefits in kind could not be neglected, since--as already mentioned--the individual had to become employed in order to be entitled to most of them. For a manpower-hungry economic system requiring hugh masses of labor, which advocated full employment both as a sociopolitical and an economic-political goal, this was not without importance either.

Looking at the economic foundations of advocating benefits in kind, it is most important to point out that basically this assumption of guarantees by the central state organs legitimated (and to this day continue to legitimate) keeping wages at a low level; it was able to do so precisely because the purchasing power necessary to fulfill these needs did not have to be built into the wages.

The relatively low wages and the continuation of strict central controls over wage outflows once again had--and still continues to have--several economic, social and political functions, first of all, in our employment policy. Contrary to the earlier model--in which the single earnings of the man had to be essentially sufficient for the entire family--low wages provided the main incentive for women to look for employment, for the two-earner family model to become universal within a short period of time and, in the final analysis, for full employment to become a reality. The employment of women was also connected with emancipatory-democratic values, but at the same time it also helped fulfill the economic need of extensive economic development for large volumes of cheap and unskilled labor.

This cheap work force was not only a source of manpower but also a source of money, a source of divertable funds. The surplus income produced by workers turning out production values in excess of the wages paid to them was one of the most important reserves and resources of central withdrawal and redistribution and of the state budget aiming to promote the expansion of production.

Strict control over wages and their relatively low level was one of the main pillars of the state's anti-inflation policy and at the same time it was also one of the chief obstacles in the way of public ownership, of large private-property accumulations.

All things considered, preconditioning and reinforcing one another, low wages on the one hand and the relatively high proportion of social benefits on the other served political, ideological, economic and social values and interests that were pursued and advocated for many decades. The multiple direct and indirect resource-role of these two sides is unquestionable.

At their inception, however, these new regulatory methods carried with them the possibility of a dichatomy and of rippling inner tensions between legal equality and practical inequality, although until about the mid-1960's they remained hidden. One of the manifestations of these basic tensions is the existence of shortages, which have become omnipresent and universal. In the final analysis, the explanation for these shortages lies in the increasingly wider gap between the advocated rights and the possibility of their realization. In order to understand this better, however, we also need to say a few words about the peculiarities of our investment policy and about the factors that will help explain why investments in the nonproductive sphere have been so consistently lagging.

This investment policy (for different reasons, but always negatively) can be broken down to roughly three periods.

In the first period, during the years of postwar reconstruction, the main investment task was clear-cut: almost 40 percent of the nation had been damaged or destroyed and had to be rebuilt; ruined buildings had to be restored and industrial parks that had been almost completely wrecked had to be replaced. Moreover, the task facing the nonproductive sphere was also clear: Welfare measures were needed to meet the basic needs of hundreds of thousands of people in extremely poor physical health, who during the war became even more impoverished than before. For many years, there were rapid increases in these services, using essentially "moneyless" solutions. It was done, on the one hand, by democratic utilization and "distribution" of the infrastructure that had been so very rapidly built up during the 1920's and 1930's and, on the other, by dynamic organization. The rapid and spectacular results--primarily in the area of public health and especially in the successful struggle against the Hungarian disease, tuberculosis--promised continued successes along this course.

The second period, from the beginning of the 1950's to the mid-1960's, coincided with the era of extensive economic development. At the beginning of the 1950's, it seemed to be unquestionably in the interest of the total economy and to be the priority of society as a whole, to take the scarce financial means and capacities available at the time and use them to transform radically and quickly the existing economic system, by investing them primarily in industry. Presenting themselves as "golden egg-laying chickens," forced-paced industrialization and later the organization of producer cooperatives gave clear-cut priority--in the distribution of resources, manpower, financial means and ideologies--to the productive branches of the economy; hoping to bring about quick increases in the national income, they diverted means from the nonproductive sphere, and even from private consumption and the living standard of the population.

By the second half of the 1960's the possibilities of extensive economic development ended. It is less known, however, that the reserves of extensive growth ran out not only in the productive spheres but also in the infrastructure and in the area of public consumption. While, however, in the first case the 1968 mechanism-reform brought truly significant changes and, even if at the cost of creating some tensions, has helped the productive sectors to get over their impasse, it brought new and unique disadvantages for the nonproductive branches.

Relatively speaking, during this third reform-initiated period, to the present, the possibilities of increasing investments in the nonproductive sphere have even deteriorated somewhat. They have done so as a result of transformations in the budgetary structure--placing an emphasis on individual living-standard policies--that have used rapid increases in monetary benefits and annual expansions in social-insurance expenditures unheard of in earlier decades, to preserve the "legitimacy-principle" of social benefits. The past 15 years of development in the budgetary branches have been characterized by a relative drop in the proportion of investments and by a rapid increase in monetary and income-type expenditures. In utilizing the financial assets obtainable for sociopolitical purposes, therefore, increasing personal income has become the predominant way of promoting the expansion of services and proving the state's commitment to its citizens.

Strangely, however, instead of helping to offset the deterioration of quality, overuse and inadequacy of public consumption funds, the accelerated growth of the population's monetary income has only worsened them. The reason for this is that personal consumption and public consumption are only seemingly--or, more precisely, only from the state budget's point of view--alternatives of one another, but not from the standpoint of private consumption (for no matter how high personal incomes are, theoretically they will buy neither education nor drinking water nor hospital care). The nonproductive sphere itself has had to pay for the living-standard policy decisions made at the end of the 1960's. The development rate and the investment and financial possibilities of public consumption have failed to keep pace with the broadening of individual and family opportunities. The resulting tensions have perhaps been the most intensely felt in the public education system and health care.

For 30 years, therefore, due to a series of economic and social decisions, nothing was done to expand the bases of benefits in-kind within the nonproductive sphere or to help them attain an appropriate level. This 30-year period, however, is a long time. It has been long enough to allow certain attitudes to evolve, that have adapted and adjusted themselves to the role of always having to play "second fiddle," to being forced to accept the producing spheres' ever-prevailing priority and to being unable to compete with production. It has been sufficiently long to bring about innovations in our reasoning and in our interest representation that have produced some spectacular results, despite constant shortages of funds and assets and to develop defensive, self-perpetuating and--from the point of view of the economic and social structure--organically appropriate processes of satisfying rising demands for benefits in-kind characteristic of this sphere.

Allow Claimants to Assert Themselves

When money and capacities for supply-increasing investments are lacking, yet the assumed state obligations still have to be met and the rapidly expanding circle of entitled claimants still has to be satisfied, the most expedient solutions, at the

same time yield the quickest and most spectacular results. Among the most important of these is accommodation-organization. Indeed, accommodations can be created virtually from nothing. They do not require much money; all they take is an empty store, warehouse, a vacant apartment and of course a little bit of good will and ingenuity. This kind of investment-free accommodation-organization to this day has characterized the building of child-care institutions, as well as the expansion of health care services, and has put our unquestioned achievements into such attractive statistical light. While the average age of our operating hospitals is 75 years and the bulk of our hospital-building stock still consists of relatively well-preserved buildings built in the mid-1920's (not a single hospital was built until the mid-1960's) and while 65 percent of our kindergartens have been operating in houses built before 1944, half originally not meant to serve as kindergartens, our capacities expressed in terms of numbers of accommodations have spectacularly increased.

This increase in accommodations (in the absence of new buildings) was realized with a relative decrease in room and space, which is clearly indicated by the following ratios: While--as we have just seen--the number of kindergarten accommodations in 1978 and 267 percent greater than in 1955, the increase in the number of kindergartens was considerably more moderate--175 percent (at the same time, the average size of our kindergartens does not exceed the old ones).

Behind the 230 percent indicator, representing the increase in the accommodation possibilities of nursery placement compared to the 1955 levels, the 172 percent index number of nursery growth is also an indication of a more modest development.

Development of a Few Accommodation-Related Data

Year	Kindergarten accommodations		Nursery accommodations		The factual daily figure of polyclinical and specialist work-hours		Number of hospital beds	
	Number	1955=100	Number	1955=100	Number of hours	1955=100	Number of beds	1955=100
1955	129,344	100	25,243	100	15,852	100	61,765	100
1960	162,282	125	29,436	117	18,995	120	69,718	113
1965	185,768	144	35,184	139	25,618	162	76,961	125
1968	194,438	150	39,140	155	28,675	181	81,004	131
1970	208,647	161	40,010	159	30,713	194	83,754	136
1975	295,722	229	49,986	198	34,984	221	89,063	144
1978	345,374	267	58,073	230	36,391	230	92,972	151

It has not been any different in our hospitals. Every square inch of ground has been covered with beds, filling--as if organized by way of multiplication--hallways, former doctor's offices and examining rooms. Even if in some of our mental wards the beds are straw mattresses and old folding beds, they are nevertheless suitable for accommodating patients and thus can give the impression that there has been a significant increase in capacities. All of this happens while, even according to a truly conservative building survey by technical experts, the available basic area in 1979 was 25 percent (a nearly 500,000 m^2 area) less than needed to ensure average operating conditions.

Similar organizational methods have been used also to set up district doctor's offices. In the given situation, our local public health officials, who despite their financial restraints and reduced flexibility of movement have worked with great ingenuity, feel great pride, and justly so, in explaining to us how to get information --through good relations--about vacant collective premises in various residential buildings and what has to be done and how many ingenious methods can be used to put a doctor's office in them. (Of course, in other areas the same stories can be heard from some ingenious "education-people."

Accommodation-organization, however, is not the only form of extensive service expansion. Overcrowding and "rotating" the existing accommodations are still newer ways of exploring and utilizing available resources. All this takes, also, is a little goodwill, some understanding of our "temporary difficulties" and some patience.

"I would like to make an announcement. At the school-year opening conference of department heads (in August 1979), the head of the City Council's Main Department for Culture made the following statements: Let there not be a single district in the city with capacity-utilization levels under 130 percent. You already know how it once was...we have the---kindergarten with its temporary accommodations, then we have the kindergarten on P. square, plus our apartment-kindergartens. As representatives of the city, you must understand, therefore, that I am aware of how very few accommodations we have, of the existence of 33 vacant kindergarten-teacher positions --I could go on. But this is not the first time that something like this has happened. Comrades, these problems must be solved. Please do not try to convince me how difficult this will be, because I also come from a group, and I have not forgotten what it is like to be with 40 kids instead of 25. These problems must be solved, my colleagues. So, our new kindergartens should be filled to 140 percent, and our old ones should be looked at on a case-by-case basis. I know kindergartens, I know how much and what they are able to endure. After all, we cannot allow 250 children to be left without accommodations. That would mean 250 mothers, 250 workers," pointed out one of our district level education-department heads in his instructions to his employees and colleagues, the head kindergarten teachers, at the conference on coordinating admissions.

Similar rationale has been used to justify filling nurseries to 120 to 130 percent capacity, claiming that this has become necessary in view of our national economic interests and the temporary difficulties resulting from demographic fluctuations.

In our hospitals, rotation even has a name. They call it bed-turning. The fact that for decades there has been a constant reduction in the length of patient care is a clear indication: It has worked effectively. The annually dropping minute-average of examination time in outpatient services clearly shows that excessively "good" utilization of the possibilities of access within the "organized reception hours" may threaten medical activities themselves and may jeopardize efforts to provide minimum health services.

Of course, the augmentation--and, even beyond that, the overcrowding of accommodations--does have its own consequences. Today the repercussions of "lacking funds," or more precisely of expanding supplies without building investments, are already beginning to make themselves felt from many directions, first of all, in the unavoidable deterioration of the physical state and condition of these institutions. Statistics, which continue to mirror one-sided achievements before the services and

benefits provided by the non-productive sphere, tell us little; reports in the daily press and on the TV news about dilapitated nursery fences, about schools vacated in panic when even forests of scaffolding cannot prop them up, about hospital wards with dripping ceilings and about collapsed buildings, do give us some idea about the dramatic character of the situation, even if they do not present a combined order of magnitude.

Occasional data indicate that during the 15 years, for example, the annual rate of increase in the number of permanently discontinued hospital beds has exceeded expansion by 2.5 times.

According to official assessments, one-fifth of our existing hospital buildings need complete rehabilitation, another one-third require reconstruction and renovation; only the smaller half are in good enough condition to require only regular maintenance work. The money requirement of rehabilitation and reconstruction of buildings and beds would be 41 billion forints (at 1979 prices), nearly 20 times the annual development fund earmarked for public health.

A long list of additional signs could be mentioned to illustrate this drop in quality; even though they are hard to grasp in terms of technical parameters, they are undoubtedly interrelated and can be felt from many directions. Among these, we could mention our worsening mortality statistics; our increasing patient turnover statistics, which in part are attributable to our increasingly frequent child neurosis and malnourishment cases; our schools, which in certain areas must operate in three shifts and where nobody dares to expect educational-pedagogical activities any more; and also occasional--in the absence of other possibilities--"support allowances" to pedagogues by the council, just to try to get them to do at least something under those difficult circumstances.

If There Is No Money, Measures Must Be Taken

Our problems, functional disorders and alarm signals, therefore, continue to multiply, while our available funds remain the same. Our only available course of action, therefore, is to take certain measures. Measures, however--no matter how justified in the given situation--always carry an official connotation and at the same time they always imply a certain dependence on power. In other words, they imply using the influence of power to secure the acceptance of a given official solution to a given situation.

The measures implemented amid shortages of money and capacities have been diverse and have had various, not so insignificant, functions. Let us examine these one by one.

1) Hidden entitlement-cutting measures. Inasmuch as the sphere's main activity is to uphold the legitimate principle of benefits and state-assumed obligations, statutory provisions and comprehensive decrees are passed from time to time to strengthen eligibility rights to child-care institution services, which today are virtually unlimited, and civic entitlements to health-care services. As temporary measures, however, forced by the urgency of a given situation and with the appearance of retraction at any time, orders could be issued that could, nevertheless, curtail the circle of people eligible for entitlements and could help ease "momentary"

shortages by--at least in part--temporarily suppressing and limiting "demands." In the past few years, orders of this kind have been issued both in education and in public health.

A good example of this is the limitation of eligible applicants for admission to kindergarten. A 1969 order was still only trying to lay down a guiding principle when it declared that children of parents receiving child-care assistance may only be admitted if there are sufficient accommodations or if strong reasons justify their admission (for example, adverse social conditions or if the child in question is 5 years old; that is, if he is in the upper-level kindergarten age-group, requiring preparatory-school training). In 1979, referring to this order, the Capital City Council issued a circular letter, which contained some amendments, and the guiding principle turned into a prohibition. In kindergarten admissions, where the primary concern is how to turn a few accommodations into more and how to place more children, it seemed obvious for the district councils to use child-care benefits as an "alternative solution" to disqualify people from admission. After all, there are so many children for whom daytime supervision is completely inextricable from kindergarten. From their own point of view, therefore, the arguments presented at a conference discussing petitions of appeal for kindergarten admission seemed logical.

"Children of parents receiving child-care benefits--in view of our difficult economic situation and the shortage of accommodations--may not be admitted. The guiding principle, according to which all upper-level kindergarten-age children should attend kindergarten, is very nice. The effectiveness of the time spent in kindergarten cannot be compared with the results of even the most magnificent and most beautiful home. The reasons behind our inability to implement these great plans have been purely economic. Today our goal is clear-cut: to try, as much as possible, to fill every kindergarten, so that more and more parents can work. It follows, unfortunately, that all children whose mothers are at home must be eliminated from consideration. What is more, in so far as an upper-level child is receiving child-care benefits, he must be expelled, because he can be replaced by a parent who can work; this would provide our national economy with an additional worker.

"I am sorry, but this is what we have to do. Obviously, last year when the shoe was not quite this tight in every district, some were expelling, others were not. There were instances where this was done mid-year. Clearly, this was the reason why the order was issued well after admissions had been concluded, after it had been tested and after the first wave had already been driven back."

During the child-care-benefit eligibility period, the recipient's employment (and, therefore, entitlement to kindergarten benefits) is not broken off; also, the reason a mother receiving child-care benefits stays at home, is to care for her children under 3 years of age, and here her children older than 3 are being discussed--but necessity knows no law.

Restrictions on childcare benefits, however, are not the only measures that can be used to help create kindergarten accommodations. Let us take regular child-rearing subsidies, for example, which can also be effectively "utilized" for this purpose. One way of doing this would be for the council to require mothers to stay home in order to receive payment ("since because of their low wages--compensated for by the promised child-rearing subsidies--they would not be losing much, anyway"). Thus,

while passing out subsidies with its left hand, with its right the council would immediately "create" 2 to 3 kindergarten spaces. It is possible, and also customary, to see to it that children of caretaker parents stay home--of course, not by force and only for those transitional years--and also to keep at home those children who are living with grandma (and in all probability doing so under tight conditions), seeing that somebody is already at home.

In some areas, therefore, the pressure exerted on the councils, resulting from the manpower needs of our national economy, and the difficult conditions under which decisions must be made, may be threatening even those entitlements already enacted into law. At the time these fire-fighting type emergency measures are taken, it is not customary (nor is it possible) to start pondering over the fact that these decisions may suddenly make a virtue of different necessities; i.e., if, as a result, people must live under crowded living conditions, if they are poor (and because of their below-minimum pension-level wages are "eligible to receive" assistance) and if, because of their low wages, it is "worth it" for them to stay on child-care-benefit assistance for a longer period. To put it plainly, it will keep precisely and not just accidentally, out of kindergarten those children who come from less well-off families, because those families have somebody to take care of them during the day. They become "weeded out" of kindergartens, which incidentally perform a program-like preschool preparatory training for primary school that is mandatory and can only admit school-matured (properly prepared) children into its regular (i.e., not correctional or auxiliary) classes.

In public health, even more comprehensive orders have been passed to limit the mass of demands considered excessively inflated. In general, these measures are not truly well-meaning, either toward the patient or toward the doctor. Let us take disability, pay measures, for example. There is an order in effect even today that requires the enterprises to bear the burden of disability payments for illnesses lasting less than 3 days. It seems to suggest that nobody can be sick for that short a period of time. If they are, then they are not entitled to this particular service of our social insurance program. (The money-saving considerations and economic effectiveness of this measure are hard to justify, for only 1.7 percent of the aggregate number of disability-payment days is carried to the "enterprises' debit." What is more important in this measure is the directive that it contains. Namely, it makes it the enterprise's job to treat disability payments as matters of work discipline. It must see to it that it is not dealing with "malingerers" or disability-benefit defrauders; if necessary, it must bring action against them, using the labor code if it comes to that, by promising to suspend their employment and even by threatening to fire them.)

Even though disability-benefit regulations, such as the ones adopted by some of our megyes, forbidding district doctors to accept disability payments in the case of two such widespread diseases as rheumatism and neurosis, are meant to impose restrictions, they probably only add to the duplication of efforts and to our administrative burdens.

Yet, distinguishing them from other illnesses does "make sense." They attract attention: They suggest that there are legitimate and not-so-legitimate health complaints, that there are justified and unjustified reasons behind applying for disability pay and, when we come right down to it, that there are people who are really sick and those who are not. (We often hear the following view: "Anybody can say that he has an aching lower back or a sore back, you know. That should not prevent him from going to work.") This kind of sick person, therefore,--if he is truly sick--should

make extra efforts. He should see his district doctor and request a transfer order; after that, he should go to a specialist's office. If there his complaint is determined to be truly "just," then he will be eligible for disability pay. In the meantime, sporadic morbidity studies have shown that rheumatism and neurosis are indeed endemic diseases. They simply have not been recognized as such.

Administrative measures ordering direct prohibition are not as humane as those guiding principles that hope to lay down centrally specified priority principles to establish a more equitable way of dividing up accessibility.

In public health, these kinds of priority principles are heard mostly at the drafting of development goals. Although the recently much-talked-about, but in practice not yet perfected (and probably hard-to-perfect), idea of progressive patient-care also proposes similar ideas to make patient-turnover distribution more efficient. According to these, sick people should be classified according to the seriousness of their illnesses and "placed" at the appropriate hierarchial step of our public health institution system; everybody should be treated at the appropriate level. Due to a lack of objective standards, the degree of a disease's verity is a question of interpretation; setting up a hierarchy of diseases would hardly be possible, unless it is based on their "social verity." This argument, however, could be of service to our various institutions competing for scarce investment goods; the special profile may confirm their position of indispensability, which also means power.

Every year, before kindergarten admissions begin, primary preferences for admittance are announced. Priority must be given to children of single parents, children whose fathers are serving as military conscripts, those children previously enrolled in nurseries, children of gypsy families, children of families living under adverse social conditions, children of manual laborers, children of teacher-parents and children of public-health workers.

It is not hard to see that distribution cannot be regulated by these principles and that the extent of the sphere they encompass puts the principle itself in doubt. Making them public, however, does have a function--even beyond giving expression to ongoing official efforts; they help preserve and stress the grant-like character of benefits. When somebody gets a kindergarten accommodation, he gets it not because it is his right but because an official decision favors him. Furthermore, priority principles can both emphasize and exclude. Those who because of this and given this as an explanation for being excluded from actual admission and who, therefore, are unable to get in, may come to feel that precisely the preferred groups have caused this. Instead of turning against the council that has failed to build enough kindergartens, various groups of the population are turning against one another. It does not even occur to them that if more kindergartens and more accommodations were built, then nobody would have to be emphasized or excluded. Since "money is in short supply," this investment-delaying, confrontation-causing popular sentiment also has a "functional" place.

2) We must have more rational organization to overcome this difficult situation..." Another category of official steps taken in response to the shortages includes various measures of nationalization. They usually promise greater lucidity, better organization and better utilization of resources, means and manpower. Orders issued recently concerning the regionalization of schools, the merging of nurseries and the integration of public-health service institutions have cited professional, administrative and economic reasons to rationalize themselves.

Behind the diverse designations, we find similar contents. Merged institutions are larger, and in the competition for distribution theoretically stronger than they would be individually. All this, however, comes at the cost of increased differences within the merged institution, to the advantage of the leading institution and to the detriment of the "regionalized" and "integrated" others. The special preferential treatment given to the leading institution also strengthens its basic principle and power; this institutionally revived hierarchy brings spontaneous social movements. People living in villages without a school of their own move away (often precisely to find proper education for their children) when given a chance. Similar processes can be observed among kindergartens placed under a single leader, that have been merged into administrative-economic blocks. Within these block-kindergartens, children of parents who are better off and who have better connections have a greater chance to get into a better kindergarten. Behind this unity created by the institutional merger, social selection becomes harder to detect and remains virtually unnoticed.

In public health, integration has not done much to ease the turnover in out-patient services or to help reduce "unnecessary duplications." Our experiences have shown that they have allowed the leading institution, the hospital, to use "in-house" standards for redistributing scarce funds, manpower and wages, thus hiding differentiation once again behind the slogan "we are a unified institution." At the same time, in-house movement has again helped to increase the opportunities of those who are better off, while narrowing the alternatives facing those who are in a less favorable situation. Although we do not have any comprehensive data concerning the social composition of patient turnover, we can easily see that the growing differentiation among our institutions is closely interrelated, and is gaining strength, with the spontaneous movement of social groups. It is easier to get a hospital transfer before one's turn if the institution (person) making out and approving the transfer application is one and the same, providing that the applicant also has good connections. But this will not increase the number of hospital beds and will only worsen the possibilities of access for those who have neither money nor connections.

Mergers and rationalizations, therefore, are measures that, in order to overcome shortages, increase and rigidify hierarchial differences. While, using unification, they have been able to hide the fact of these shortages, instead of eliminating them, they have helped to perpetuate and probably even worsen them.

"We Need Society's Help"

So far, the solutions and measures we have talked about have been responses from the "inside" to scarcities of budgetary funds and capacities, and they all have used forced steps to alleviate shortages of funds and means. Money, assistance and means --even if not in sufficient amounts--are available, if not in the "inside," then from external sources, with the help of a ready-to-help attitude and social cooperation on the part of our enterprises and the population.

The megye councils have prepared the social work-balance of the Fifth Five-Year Plan --NEPSZABADSAG announced on 22 February 1981. With unconcealed pride, it pointed out that every year there has been an increase in the total value of volunteer work; in 1980 the value of "collaboration" reached 4.7 billion forints. The most important news of all, the total volunteer-work output of the past five years amounted

to 20 billion forints, thus exceeding the planned 8.5-billion forint level. "This is how our population has contributed to the expansion of factory collectives and settlements--by creating a 10 percent growth in the total investments of the councils." What was built? "Instead of giving a list, let us demonstrate with a few examples": a health care center; an old people's home; using materials of demolished buildings; a go-cart track; also suitable for international competitions; a school; a gymnasium; playgrounds; settlement parks and parking lots; child-care institutions; etc. The article also tells us that society's readiness to help will be just as needed during the Sixth Five-Year Plan just underway; it also makes it the duty of local party committees and Patriotic People's Front basic organizations to organize these vitally important volunteer activities.

During the past 10 to 12 years, we have also seen the development of several other forms of joint sociopolitical activities. The enterprises have been using a part of their welfare and cultural fund to transfer money to the councils, which are using that money to build kindergartens and nurseries; in exchange for the money and the assistance they provide, they enjoy permanent accommodations. In other cases, they enter into socialist contracts under which the factories offer labor, money, building capacities and maintenance work; in exchange, the factory workers' children receive "child-placement" in the local kindergarten for the years of the agreement. Not only the councils, however, are involved in negotiating agreements. Under the program, "one factory--one kindergarten," permanent relations have been established between sponsoring enterprises and child-care institutions, which have been fruitful for both sides. The socialist brigades of the enterprises take care of the painting and the repair of buildings and maintaining the furnace and the water-pipe network: this is also how furniture and modern visual aids are provided. These are all necessary things. The councils' fixed budget cannot cover them all. It is understandable that the parent who provides this kind of essential help is given special consideration at admission-time, if the promise and expectation of enterprise support are a stronger reason for giving preference than the official priority principles in the competition for kindergarten accommodations. Given the existing shortage of funds, this is a necessary development.

The problem, however, is that not every parent can find a sponsoring enterprise, socialist brigade, a promise of socialist collaboration, or bring from his firm a 5,000 forint ticket of purchase. There are people whose only argument is that they are employed and that they are residents of the district. If they do not have good connections, which could somehow strengthen their position in the competition, they must accept the fact that, according to written conditions of entitlement, need and scarcity by themselves carry increasingly less weight under conditions characterized by shortages.

The equality principle of sociopolitical services, which at one time had been promised to be uniform, is falling victim to shortages and to the selective mechanisms (both institutional and spontaneous) built on them. Equal entitlements are coupled not only with the growing inequalities of actual utilization but also--as a natural development--with constantly stronger differentiations within the institutional system. The few kindergartens, schools and nurseries that enjoy enterprise support and "social collaboration" would inevitably be impoverished and fall behind in an institutional system that, both theoretically and openly, is maintained not from enterprise support but from state and local budgets.

Various forms of cooperation with the enterprises--with a few years of delay--have also been established in public health services. The maintenance and repair of doctor's offices and hospitals are provided through socialist contracts. Agreements with enterprises enable our public health institutions to procure otherwise unobtainable machines and instruments. In exchange, separate reception sectors, reception hours and doctors are made available to these workers. The "outside" assistance requirement of public health services--uniform according to their principles, hoping to adjust to the needs for medical treatment, and accessible and free to everyone--and the necessary measures taken in response to shortages have led to even sharper differentiations; the 16-fold regional differences in the per-capita budget sums of unified basic services (district-doctor services) represent only one aspect of this problem. The fact of eventually closed district-doctor's offices in district left unfilled for an extended period of time; the complaints and unmet needs of elderly village residents, who under the emergency measures adopted in the place of continuous consultation-hours have no access to a doctor, and sporadic data concerning the social-regional turnover of specialist's offices, provide some additional insight.

As a result of the differentiation among our various institutions, made even more pronounced by the spontaneous movement of social groups, the shortages will also become more differentiated. Shifting the burdens of state responsibility back to the enterprises and the population, therefore, will not help to overcome the shortages but instead will worsen them. As a consequence, less essential employees, social groups who do not enjoy the background support of a firm and do not have good connections, who have only their "plain" rights, are pushed to the bottom of the hierarchy and can expect no, or only lesser-quality, service. All of this, however, is obscured or made less visible by the fact that in the eyes of the people affected and of the institutions these shortages seem localized and only temporary.

The problems of child-care institutions and schools appear as temporary problems, resulting from demographic fluctuations and from the population concentrations caused by the attraction of new urban districts and residential sections, which can be resolved within a few years. To this seemingly temporary state of affairs, the councils and the responsible organs of expert guidance have responded by offering fire-fighting measures to alleviate the momentary situation, by looking and searching for bridging possibilities, coupling them with various arguments asking people to be patient and understanding.

In this respect, the structural deficiencies of public health are of a different nature. Here, arguments of temporariness do not come into play. In most cases, helpless emotions produce not pity but accusations. Blaming the situation on deteriorating morale and on the gratuity problem, they are calling to life some pseudo explanations and pseudo measures. These prohibiting measures, administrative procedures and directives, however, do not, and indeed cannot, reestablish social equality in access to medical care as promised, nor can they restore proper quality services and operating abilities, not even if we are told by signs displayed, in accordance with one of the most recent orders of the Minister of Health, in the hallways of all public health institutions--public health services are uniform and free and, by virtue of their citizenship, every Hungarian citizen is entitled to them.

In conclusion, I must devote a few words to the frequent question: Would shortages and the selective mechanisms built on them disappear, if suddenly we had much more money and capacities at our disposal? This is really two questions in one and,

therefore, the answer also should be twofold. The first is the question of absolute shorgages. Putting an end to rapid deterioration, operational inability and elementary shortages that immediately catch the eye--regardless whether we talk about schools, kindergartens, district-doctor's offices or hospitals--demands money, wherever it may come from. Every hypodermic needle purchased is a hypodermic needle, every instrument put in operation is an instrument and every tool bought is a tool; in this sense, in the final analysis, they do help to alleviate service deficiencies. They help, wherever the money and the capacities may come from, or go (within the institutional system). Of the various forms of outside assistance, therefore, everything returned into services (even though at the cost of growing inequalities) will help to reduce absolute shortages. (From this point of view, money, finding its way from one pocket into another, as the competition for scarce opportunities intensifies --although their existence is a direct and natural consequence of the shortage, and as such is not a moral question--is different in nature from enterprise-institutional assistance and volunteer work.)

The situation is different when we look at differential shortages or, to put it simply, the growing differences among institutions serving theoretically identical purposes: the hierarchy of institutions, the discrepancies in the quality of services at the various levels of the hierarchy and the growing social inequalities connected with them. In public health and education, this division--the separation of high- and low-quality institutions--is obviously not a question of money, although the more and more institutionalized divisions and the increasingly more manifest differentiations do have--due to the inequalities connected with them--direct repercussions on the distribution of money (too).

The existence of specialized kindergartens and special hospitals not only strengthens their monopoly position, it not only makes social inequalities more pronounced but it also increases the scarcities and shortages in special-quality services. The problem of these differential shortages, however, takes us to the basic questions of the self-preserving mechanism of our social structure. We are not talking simply about filling some gaps and meeting some shortages and deficiencies but about the methods of protecting some of the advantages that we have gained despite the shortages; about power, interests; and about the possibilities of representing and asserting those interests. These possibilities are quite different for social groups, institutions and organizations of different situations.

9379
CSO: 2500/83

MILITARY COMMISSIONER EVALUATES POZNAN SITUATION

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 20 Dec 81 p 1

[Interview with Brig Gen (pilot) Michal Polech, commissioner-plenipotentiary of the Military Council of National Salvation to the Governor of Poznan, by Kazimierz Marcinkowski]

[Text] [Question] At such a moment as the present one, every Pole shares some part of joint responsibility for the fate of our Fatherland. However, a particular responsibility rests on the Polish Army, which received an order of highest importance: to save the Fatherland.

[Answer] This is true, our task is extremely important, particularly because it concerns the Army which operates within the territory of the country. This is why General Jaruzelski and the Military Council of National Salvation attach such a great importance to a peaceful solution of our problems. I emphasize--there is no other way. This is our land. Hence, there are various advantages, but also difficulties. Personally, I can state with satisfaction, that I found myself in a voivodship, where the people accepted the present situation with a sense of responsibility and dignity.

[Question] Does this find an expression in everyday working relationships between the military and the community?

[Answer] Except for sporadic incidents, we have experienced various and numerous expressions of help. We have encountered real community discipline, earnest compliance with rules, interdictions and orders resulting from the decree on martial law. Precisely, such an attitude has made it possible for us to step forward with the initiative to reduce the time of obligatory curfew hours, considerable moderation in the severity of private automobile transportation, relaxation of contacts between the inhabitants of certain parishes and the seat of the voivodship.

[Question] Comrade General, do you obtain the information about the situation and the population feelings from reports, or do you also find time for direct contacts with people and the local authorities.

[Answer] Yesterday, I was in the area of Szamotuly, Duszniki and Opalenica parishes. I noticed that people feel better at work, they seem eager to work.

Often they express gratitude to the military, who through the action of operational groups have contributed to an improvement of the commercial apparatus, to a better distribution of goods, and also to breaking of local cliques, quite often made up of relatives, which rendered work and life difficult for hundreds of people. These people not only thank us for military help, but volunteer suggestions and help. They know where evil is to be found--and we take advantage of this. Every signal is treated seriously. Initiatives from factories are also welcome. For example, the "Centra" enterprise in Poznan is increasing the production of goods in great demand.

[Question] It is not a secret that the appearance of military uniforms considerably "stimulated" the activity of state administrative organs on all levels.

[Answer] True, before papers were sometimes passed from hand to hand for weeks. Now, many matters are settled on the spot. A definite increase in vitality in administrative work and greater efficiency can be observed. The activity of the district party organization, which whole-heartedly took care of workers' problems is to be praised highly. And it is precisely to such operation of political echelons and administration organs that we are indebted for the present state and public atmosphere in the Poznan voivodship. On this occasion, I wish to add that thanks are also due to the church action in our territory. I had a meeting with Archbishop Jerzy Stroba, who assured me that the church will work toward social peace. His words were kept, which makes us happy.

As we are talking toward the end of the year, I would like to thank wholeheartedly all the inhabitants of the Poznan voivodship for the so-far friendly attitude and understanding for the present situation, and to wish them a gradual, systematic improvement in the new year of 1982.

[Question] Thank you for this conversation and our best wishes to you.

9841
CSO: 2600/216

ROLE, ACTIVITIES OF MILITARY COMMISSIONERS DESCRIBED

Activities in Zoliborz

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 16 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Maj Janusz Borkowski]

[Text] It is Tuesday afternoon, the 3rd day of martial law. More petitioners come to the headquarters of the Warsaw-Zolibroz city-district office. They come to settle matters resulting from the restrictions, the orders and the prohibitions ushered in by the Council of State decree. The majority of the citizens desire information and permission to change their locations during the approaching holidays. Family matters predominate. Nor is there a lack of newlyweds who, despite hard times, have decided to marry.

The work of the office is carried out in a serious atmosphere. Undoubtedly, this is due to the country's situation, of which all are bearing the brunt. The presence of uniformed staff--evidence that the military has assumed control over the city-district work of the authorities--evokes this mood among administrative workers and petitioners alike.

Concern over Law and Order

One of the rooms houses the headquarters of the plenipotentiaries--the military commissioners appointed by the National Defense Committee [KOK]. These functions, under the manager of the Zoliborz city-district, are fulfilled by Maj (engineer) Zygmunt Mazur and Maj Andrzej Boczkowski. They have at their disposal a group of officer-specialists from the various services and soldiers whose basic military service has been extended. For the sake of more efficient operation, the city-district has been divided into two operational zones subject to the commissioners. This enables them to grasp the basic problems troubling Zoliborz residents relatively quickly.

"As it happens, we are well aware of the problems encountered by the manager in solving citizens' living problems," says Maj Mazur. "We managed to become familiar with them during our previous work within the Local City Operational Groups. Thanks to this, we are prepared under the new circumstances to direct the tasks of the city-district authorities toward those problems, the solution of which is particularly essential to return life to normal."

One such problem, of which residents have frequently informed us, is settling matters associated with the employment of certain citizens. As known, a certain number of persons capable of work and living within the city-district are avoiding finding work. These issue from the so-called social fringe. They direct all their energies toward ensuring a comfortable, carefree life at the expense of others. In accordance with a decision made by the military commissioner, the city-district manager has been ordered to compile a list of these persons without delay and to develop a plan for employing them in the department of communal services. Those who continue to shirk working will be subject to stiff penalties.

At the same time, military representatives have advised city-district authorities to wage decisive battle against all manifestations and forms of speculation. The first decision in this regard is the closing of the Persian Market on Wolumen street, until its removal. This order likewise states that all sales of goods outside the trade network may occur only at prices conforming with obligatory prices. All excesses will be handled by the applicable legal sanctions.

Satisfying Basic Needs

The next sphere of interest of the military commissioners is to supply city-district residents with basic food and consumer goods. Maj Janusz Pietkiewicz is directly concerned with these matters. He works in close cooperation with the department of trade and oversees its work.

"On Monday we noted an excessive repurchase of bread and flour products. But today there is already some improvement in this regard. The bakeries are working at full strength. We have not discovered any transgressions in the operation of delivery transport. The attitude of bakers is worthy of merit. With full understanding they are meeting society's needs," he said.

The commissioners accord special recognition to Tadeusz Fijalkowski, who runs his own bakery at 12 Rudzka Street. During the early morning hours, one can buy 14 different kinds of bread at his store. While other stores have a temporary shortage of bread, there is always bread on this tradesman's shelves.

There is also an appreciable improvement in supplying residents with milk. While slight delays in deliveries do occur, these will be eliminated within the next few days. The commissioners are aiming to see that those employees who come into the stores early do not have to wait for goods, but that the goods wait for sales personnel.

Military representatives have been closely controlling the operation of the city-district trade network. They have discovered no irregularities in the operation of stores. Personnel are fulfilling their duties with a full understanding of the situation. Undoubtedly, the attitude of the clientele, who make their indispensable purchases peaceably, also affects their good work.

The declaration of martial law has produced an increase in activity, above all in stores handling food trade. In order to maintain the continuity of the sale of these articles, city-district authorities have decided to introduce certain restrictions on the purchase of some goods. Accordingly, a customer may buy in a single purchase only 2 kg of bread, 2 kg of potatoes, 1 kg of groats, 1 kg of salt and 5 boxes of matches.

At the same time, a representative of the WSS [Voivodship Consumer Cooperative] "Spolem" directorate has been delegated to supervise the efficient distribution of goods within the rationing system. Eleven stores have been selected to receive additional deliveries of bread during the afternoon hours, depending upon demand. The purchase of basic food articles by persons caring for the sick or the handicapped has been made possible in all trade establishments. However, such persons must give prior evidence of the relevant need to the store manager.

An Increase in Social Discipline

In the estimation of the military commissioners and the city-district authorities, life in Zoliborz is becoming stabilized. Conditions have already been created for normal production by the work forces of factories in this city-district. Municipal emergency services are operating more and more efficiently. However, in the opinion of manager Jozef Lewandowski, minor deficiencies in residential matters present a number of problems. These can be eliminated to the extent that the energies and means allow.

In the opinion of the military, the residents of Zoliborz have submitted to all compulsory requirements of martial law. This directly affects the normalization of life and the restoration of the proper operational rhythm of administrative and economic elements.

Likewise, among the numerous matters with which citizens approach the manager or the military commissioners directly, are those that must be settled on the basis of separate decisions. These include such matters as facilitating the purchase of gasoline for car owners who must leave Warsaw. In justifiable cases, the city-district manager will determine the amount of fuel and will grant permission for its purchase at stations of the CPN [Petroleum Products Center].

The military commissioners, with the local authorities, concentrated their primary efforts during the first days of activity on solving the most pressing problems troubling Zoliborz residents. Such action will be maintained. The symptoms of positive change in the operation of the administration, its efficient investigation of all matters and the normalization of communal trade and economic activity augur for the systematic improvement of the living conditions of this city-district.

Activities in Sochaczew

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 12-20 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Maj Janusz Borkowski]

[Text] "Officer, look, it's unbelievable," a corpulent gentlemen blusters. "I don't recognize these clerks. Just 2 weeks ago they were sending me from one office to another. Today I finished my business in 20 minutes. And it's the same people. But you are not from our commissioner, are you, because he wears a gray sort of uniform. It's a good thing that the army finally has taken hold of our administration. There is a different order in the office. And the petitioner saves time."

This opinion is likewise shared by other citizens who have come to the city office in Sochaczew. The dominant conviction in their statements is that things are getting better. Since when is that? Since the time that the local city operational group began to function, that is.

The Rigors Binding All

Into the makeup of the military crew came officers and specialists from the various services. Their task was to assist the administrative authorities in the solution of the problems troubling the people of Sochaczew. When martial law was declared in our country, Lt Col Adam Kaminski, who led the group, was appointed commissioner-plenipotentiary of the National Defense Committee [KOK] under the Sochaczew manager.

The military began implementing the new tasks by adjusting the life of the city and its inhabitants to the unusual circumstances and the numerous rigors resulting from the decisions of the Council of State decree and from the binding orders of state authorities.

The most important matter was to maintain public law and order and to prevent disruptions in the operation of local factories. The commissioner, the party aktiv and the administrative authorities were somewhat apprehensive of the acceptance of the news of martial law by the work force of the "Chemitex" Chemical Textile Plants. As it developed, their fears were unfounded. During talks with employees from this enterprise--the majority of whom are women--the directorate, military representatives and the party aktiv explained all the circumstances that led to this dramatic decision, changing the routine of the life of Polish society. The work force treated the requirements of the new situation with full comprehension and seriousness. Since the first day they have been implementing production tasks. The situation is similar in the other factories and enterprises in Sochaczew.

During this difficult period of martial law, however, not all city residents have become fully aware of the need to subordinate themselves to its strictures. Hence, law and order officials have held several persons who had been going about the city with no justification whatsoever after curfew. The commissioner ruled that they should be immediately investigated by the body of citizens having jurisdiction over minor offenses.

This body ruled that citizen Leszek Flisiak be fined for violating the provisions of article 50, law 3 of the Council of State decree dated December 1981. Likewise citizens Czczesniak, Trafalski and Sitarek await a severe penalty for their thoughtlessness. They were apprehended by the MO [Citizens' Militia] after the 22nd hour.

Except for those cases that, in the opinion of Cyprian Kasprzycki, city manager, are exceptional, the people of Sochaczew have submitted to the compulsory law. The exceptions relate to the activity of the military specialists who supervise the particular administrative and economic elements with understanding and sympathy.

Meeting the Market's Needs

The subordinates of Lt Col Kaminski have their hands full. The guiding principle of their work is the primary goal of the citizens' welfare. During their rare free moments, their thoughts return to their service comrades at the unit. They would

like to be together with them again. But they realize that they have been entrusted with equally responsible duties, to streamline the operation of the local administrative elements and to direct their attention to those matters which are part of the citizen's everyday existence. At the same time they have special duties to clear the foreground for the introduction of national economic reform so greatly awaited by society, under new conditions.

But this is a problem to be solved. For the time being, the lieutenant colonel together with the city authorities is directing his attention toward meeting the market's needs.

"On Monday, the shock of the martial law declaration created considerable pressure on the municipal market on the part of residents," explains manager Kasprzycki. "We noted the phenomenon of the excessive repurchase of basic food articles, especially bread. In order to resolve this problem, the commissioner and I together decided to restrict the amount of goods that a single individual could purchase. Thanks to this, there will be no shortage of bread, milk and potatoes for Sochaczew residents."

These restrictions guarantee that the basic needs of all citizens of Sochaczew will be met. An analysis of local potential conducted by the authorities has enabled the sale of an amount of goods to each customer exceeding the national norm. This is true for bread, the allottment of which per customer is 2 kg. Despite these steps, 2 "Spolem" bakeries and 10 private bakeries are producing approximately 8 to 10 tons of bread more during a 24-hour period. In order to meet the increased demand, the commissioner ruled that bakeries drop the production of small baked goods and direct all of their efforts toward bread production.

Milk has also been restricted. A customer may purchase 2 liters of milk at one time. He mav also purchase 5 kg of potatoes. Salt and flour products are also subject to restricted sale.

City authorities are likewise carrying out a successful policy of distributing liquid fuels, of course, within a limited scope. Those persons and factories involved in food production receive the indispensable amount. On the first day of martial law there was confusion in the operation of units of socialized transport that received their fuel supply from CPN [Petroleum Products Center] stations. Through a ruling of the commissioner, vehicles of the municipal economy were directed on the very next day to fill up at the Economic Plant of the Voivodship Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, which has its own station for fuel distribution.

As a result of these and other tasks undertaken by the city manager and inspired by Lt Col Kaminski, since Wednesday, 16 December, the domestic market in Sochaczew has been stabilized. Vis-a-vis the demands of working inhabitants of the city, an order was also introduced providing for the sale of industrial articles of everyday use after 5 o'clock.

In the opinion of the KOK [National Defense Committee] plenipotentiary and the aktiv of the municipal authorities, the food situation in Sochzczew is improving. Of course, there may be shortages of meat and meat products. The concern of the authorities is to furnish enough goods, particularly during the preholiday purchasing period. Undoubtedly, the planned deliveries of fish will be a great shot in the arm. Over 28 tons of fresh fish and 12 tons of fish products will reach the holiday tables of inhabitants.

Concern for Residents

Another subject, just as important to residents as food, is the heating of their homes. Winter is already here, and it is not a mild one. Each day of the cold and snow confirms the fact that the authorities have succeeded in suitably preparing the city for the winter weather. Citizens have enough fuel, nor is there a shortage of boilers. The efficiency of municipal transportation likewise gets a good evaluation. In this field, however, the economic apparatus must do a good deal more work to collect the indispensable amounts of spare parts for buses.

According to military appraisals, since the first day of martial law there has been a marked increase in social discipline and in discipline among employees of the administration and the socialized economy. Explanatory discussions are conducted with those finding it difficult to adapt to the new and very strict living conditions. If this is not effective, service sanctions are applied. Andrzej Flisikowksi, head of the Office of Telecommunications, is one person who became convinced of this. For a lack of employee discipline and non-performance of his duties, the city manager recommended that this citizen be dismissed from his position.

"I was somewhat fearful of working during this special period," says the manager of Sochaczew. "It is known that the army is governed by specific laws. But cooperation with Lt Col Kaminski has taught me much and has helped me to look more realistically at the possibilities for resolving the citizens' various problems. The soldiers are directly steeped in the problems of the city and they react to every irregularity. Their presence consoles everyone. Not only do they supervise and control, but where a need exists, they help. The city population will come to value this help. It makes it easier to adapt to the new circumstances and to the really difficult conditions of everyday existence."

This opinion is shared likewise by the inhabitants of Sochaczew, especially the old living alone. Aleksandra Raczkowska, Barbara Chojnacka, Zofia Zagajewska and many others who are not fully able, direct words of warm thanks toward those in uniform. The soldiers' help, expressed in such ways as supplying and splitting firewood, means that these people will survive the coming months without fear for their health, without dread of the onslaught of cold.

8536
CSO: 2600/190

ACTIVITIES OF MILITARY INSTITUTE OF CHEMISTRY, RADIOMETRY REPORTED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish 15 Nov 81 pp 5, 6

[Article by Jaroslaw Malyszko: "The Army and Society"]

[Text] The Military Institute of Chemistry and Radiometry [WIChiR]--that is the name that one of the scientific-research centers of the military technology section has had for 8 years, was established in 1954. Its basic task is to improve methods of safeguarding the military and the civilian population against the effects of the use of nuclear weapons and highly toxic agents.

How the institute is fulfilling this task is best shown by the research methods and technology developed here and the equipment that is put into production. It is difficult to name all of the past achievements, but the most important certainly include: a small-size gas mask; individual protective clothing; filtering devices for shelters and mechanical vehicles; decontamination kits; devices for decontaminating heavy equipment; devices for detecting gamma radiation and chemical contamination; a chemical-radiometric automotive laboratory; and personal dosimeter kits.

In most cases, obtaining equipment of the desired parameters (e.g., protective clothing) does not mean that the research has ended. The rate of world technical progress in the field of means of mass destruction is, unfortunately, tremendous. This means constant adaptation of available equipment, on the one hand, to the needs resulting from the development of nuclear and chemical energy itself and from the anticipated forms of its use, and, on the other hand, to the obtainment of qualitatively new results and the increase in reliability of equipment due to replacement of materials with constantly better materials.

WIChiR has the suitable technical facilities to conduct this work and makes a considerable part of its own modern laboratory equipment. One of the most important of the Institute's facilities is a laboratory containing powerful radioactive sources. It is, of course, in a bunker which complies with all world safety standards. This is a source of very high yield gamma radiation and also a source of so-called Cf-252, which imitates radiation emitted in a classic nuclear explosion. The controls, located in an outside room, permit remote operation of radiation sources, observation, by television cameras, of measurement apparatus which is located outside the laboratory, and permits samples of materials to be fed through a pneumatic system close to the radiation sources. Thus it is possible to examine the effects of radiation

of a hypothetical explosion and nuclear radiation on different kinds of substances and to select those that best fulfill their assignment as materials for construction of equipment, protective clothing, air and water filters, etc. The laboratory also makes it possible to inspect and calibrate different types of measuring devices.

But modern research equipment and professional literature (the Institute has a rich scientific library) is not everything. Results of work in this field are determined by people--their reserve of knowledge, qualifications, skills in solving complex, qualitatively new theoretical and practical problems. And it is precisely such a cadre that WIChiR has. The highly qualified workers of the Institute are also valued members of scientific councils of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN), branch institutes, NOT [Chief Technical Organization] specialists, and experts and consultants of design offices.

Because it is inconceivable that such a specialist center would operate in isolation from other scientific-research centers, military and civilian. This cooperation is very broad, not only with WAT [Military Technical Academy] and IBJ [Institute of Nuclear Research] in Swierk, but also such specialist centers as, e.g. PAN Center for Molecular and Macromolecular Research, the Institute of Polymers at Lodz Polytechnic, the Institute of Chemistry at UCMS (Marie Curie-Sklodowska University) in Lublin, and PAN Institute of Physical Chemistry in Warsaw. What is important here is the flow to WIChiR of research results from other centers and the transmittal of the Institute's achievements for use in the national economy.

The universal results of this cooperation, thanks to the high professional level of the Institute's workers, are seen and appreciated not only in the military community. WIChiR owns several patents and utility models, abroad also. In 1978, a group composed of: Col (docent, doctor, engineer) Zdzislaw Filipowicz, Col (doctor, engineer) Mieczyslaw Saciuk, Lt Col (master's degree) Adam Saratowicz, and engineer Jan Sehen, received the State Prize (second grade), for participating in the preparation of new means of protection of respiratory tracts. Again and again Institute workers have received prizes and awards from the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Minister of National Defense, the Minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology, and many others. Their subject matter attests to the fact that the Institute effectively serves not just defense but the national economy also.

This started shortly after the war. Although none of the combatants decided in favor of the use of chemical weapons, they were produced in large quantities. Hitler's armies left considerable amounts of them on our soil. They had to be neutralizes, and very often neither the chemical composition or the method of neutralization were known. It was already then that in the work of the Institute a convergence of problems of defense against the mass contamination and problems of environmental protection became more and more clear. WIChiR "owes" the first of these specialties that are useful to the national economy to the occupiers. Large amounts of toxic substances formed during a galvanic treatment process and left by the Germans in Starachowice had to be neutralized. Because these types of compounds form rather commonly in industry, the Institute specialized in this field. A special installation for neutralizing post-galvanic substances was established on the experimental range. Several hundred tons of these substances have already been disposed of.

Col (doctor habilitatus) Zbigniew Makles, working at WICHiR since it was established, uses a rough draft in describing his work in behalf of the national economy, for it is difficult from memory to recite the scores of operations conducted. Frequently cylinders containing toxic gases and outdated chemical were destroyed. Pesticides used to test dusting equipment were disposed of. The Institute also produced pesticide absorption filters for agricultural aircraft. Filtering materials were used in many fields, in the construction of miners' masks and in other sectors of industry and agriculture, in motorization (including for the Fiat 125p automobile), and in the pharmaceutical industry (a filter for cleaning the air of bacteria and viruses).

Cooperation in the elimination of the eruption of hydrogen sulfide from geological bore-holes and in the elimination of the effects of a railroad train catastrophe, where chemical substances were present, are examples how the workforces' experience and construction equipment were used in identifying and evaluating the degree of contamination.

WIChiR's contribution to the development of the national economy can be measured by the value of the work put into conducting rescue operations and destroying toxic substances (each of them cost at least several million zlotys). But it is difficult to determine and measure in zlotys the value of a person's surroundings that are protected against contamination and the health of thousands of industrial workers and farmers that was preserved due to the skill and commitment of the scientists in this center. It should also be remembered that this does not take place at the expense of the basic tasks of the Institute--the best possible preparation of our army and society for the worst--protection against weapons of mass destruction.

9295
CSO: 2600/220

UTILIZATION OF SOLDIERS ON EXTENDED DUTY DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 48, 29 Nov 81 p 10

[Interview with Col (academy graduate) Marian Roznowski on the work of soldiers in the third year of basic military service, by Bogdan Bartnikowski of [ZOLNIERZ POLSKI] (ZP): "Indispensable Assistance"]

[Text] "ZP": The news about extending the military service of part of the land force soldiers who were to go into the reserve in October has aroused great societal interest. As is well known, this is in connection to get through the hard winter ahead of us. Can we find out in what way these soldiers are and will be engaged?

MR: The Army's assistance in many sectors of our economy is a commonly known matter, among others in coping with natural disasters. But now there exists the need of further increasing it, since our situation, as Gen Jaruzelski defined it, can in a certain sense be compared to a state of natural disaster. But as for the details, 40 percent of the number of soldiers deferred for a third year remain centrally administered, in accordance with the proposals of various economic type ministries. The rest can be utilized for various help tasks in the State and socialized economy on the basis of decision of the military district commanders.

"ZP": As I was on my way to this interview, I saw a group of workers on the tram--their age and standard workclothes indicated that they were soldiers.

MR: Our Territorial Defense as well as the railroad-road units are doing a great deal for the benefit of communications and construction. The construction of roads, tracks, and bridges are specialties in which soldiers have repeatedly shown high professional and organizational qualifications.

"ZP": Autumn is the time of potato digging.

MR: Yes, and in connection with this soldiers could be seen in the fields helping the farmers. Toward the end of October more than 2,500 of them were working. Military assistance to farmers lasted until the middle of November. Obviously, we will not refuse our assistance later for justifiable events either, so as not to allow the ruin of even a small part of this year's crops.

"ZP": In what sectors of industry are the soldiers on extended duty working?

MR: For example: We have detailed altogether 400 soldiers to the brown coal mines in Belchatow, Turow, and Konin.

"ZP": Is it only a question of physical effort? Has technical materiel also been supplied?

MR: At the beginning the army supplied only manpower in accordance with the needs of the ministry. Beginning 15 December our technical materiel will also be added to work. Cooperative agreement between the army and the Ministry of Mining Industry is anticipated. I would like to add that soldiers in the third year of service are also already working in powerplants, including in Adamow, Patnow, and Turow. Each of them has to spend 36 working days there.

"ZP": The mining of coal and the production of energy are very important sectors of the economy and even more depends on them this year than in previous years. But the military assistance to industrial plants is not limited to only them.

MR: Of course not. The military is helping personnel at chemical plants producing fertilizer, for which farmers have a great demand. Specifically: the Torun "Polchem" has 20 soldiers, the chemical plants "Police" has 150 soldiers, the plants in Lubon near Poznan has 60 soldiers and the plant in Rudniki near Czestochowa has 85 soldiers. And there are still Tarnowskie Gory, Cracow, Wroclaw....

One can also mention several communications enterprises where many soldiers of extended service were engaged in the construction of buildings: Zgierz with 15 soldiers, Bytom with 20 soldiers, Sulecin with 15, Wroclaw with 40 and Katowice with 50.

The ministries, thanks to our assistance, have broadened the scope of the work, increased plans, and accelerated the commissioning of new buildings.

"ZP": One more question. The service of second-year soldiers has been extended to the end of the year. This is a short period. Will all of them find employment during this time?

MR: As to that there are no doubts at all. The needs are enormous. Industry has submitted very many bids to us. In addition we are considering the matter of the wide participation of soldiers in building snow barriers along communication routes. We are managing the military forces very carefully, allocating them only where their presence can be put to good use.

9541
CSO: 2600/242

DRAFT DOCUMENT ON EMPLOYMENT OF GRADUATES DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by I. Solinska: "Work for School Graduates. Principal Criterion--Usefulness"]

> [Text] Work after the completion of one's studies is as important for young people as being admitted to an school studies. It crowns the student's several years of work; it begins a period when the assets he acquired during the time he spent at a school, along with some interest, can be returned to society. Proper and rational employment, therefore, is not only a particular matter of an individual.

Until now the flow of young employees with a higher education to industry and other areas of public life has been regulated by the specific law of 1964. A draft document is ready, however, that contains changes in the system of employment of academic graduates. It would ensure better utilization of our common capital--the highest possible qualifications--in compliance with the projected aims of economic reform, among other things, through the integration of policy in matters of employment with the actual needs of the country.

Cost Effectiveness

In order to grasp the essence of the new proposals let us recall the principal regulations which are in force now. So, at present graduates of some university departments are not covered by the provisions of the existing law. They are, therefore, excluded from the obligation to take up employment, but a substantial majority has an obligation of a three years employment in a socialized work place, or repays partial cost of studies. At the same time work places are required to submit offers of employment, the number of which is regulated by the central plan of graduates assignments, regardless of their actual requirements.

The law has served its purpose in the period of time when the graduates of higher schools were employed by enterprises and institutions on the spot. In the meantime the number of graduates of university departments covered by the law rose since 1964 three-fold, and Poland has joined a list of countries with high ratio of employment of individuals with higher education. Lately, though, restrictive tendencies arose concerning the need for employees with higher education, since state enterprises will be guided by the principle of internal cost effectiveness in defining the level and structure of their employment.

Possible introduction of changes does not mean "letting loose" of the policy of employment of young, highly qualified people. Those who complete their studies should work according to their specialized education, and their appointments should correspond to their qualifications, with a provision that in case of shortage of such positions they would be offered production or service jobs of the kind which require more sophisticated work. This would make it possible for the graduates to forego an initial training period.

Individuals with master's degrees will not be divided between those covered and not covered by the planned employment law. More rational utilization of the assets of higher education should be ensured by a differently built yearly graduates assignment plan composed of two parts: part one would entail employment problems in the budget units, such as public health, administration, education and other public services; part two would cover production plants which regulate their employment according to their needs.

Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs would keep its influence on the employment of graduates in both above-mentioned areas--explains (master's degree holder) Stanislaw Bernat, chief ministry expert. The volume and structure of employment in the budget units will be formed by appropriate defining of the number of positions (it would be an annex to the National Socio-Economic Plan). Production plants would use, e.g., economic incentives: an additional position could be created for a graduate, the salary for which would bepaid from the Professional Activation Fund. But it would not last longer than a year....

Diplomas for the Provincial Areas

Having gained positive experience during this period of trial a young man would become a member of the work force. It would not be a kind of "graduate storage"--in any case usefulness and profitability should be the decisive factors in the considerations of employment.

Personnel analyses made a couple of years ago have revealed considerable disproportions between specific regions in the degree of their saturation by the employees with higher education. Particularly large differences, which could not be evened out, are noticeable between big cities and "old" voivodships, on one side, and areas which are remote from the centers of culture, on the other side. According to the above mentioned proposal also here economic incentives can be utilized: with the participation of the governors every year a list of places suffering from an inadequate number of employees with higher education would be prepared. Those graduates who would choose to move to such places would find many privileges. Unredeemable loan for setting up one's residence, assistance in building a home, periodic allowances for a rented apartment--such are some of the incentives.

Substantial assistance can be expected by graduates who intend to work on a farm, those who inherit farms, as well as those who purchase or lease farms for a longer period of time--they are eligible for credits with favorable payment terms. Similar benefits in setting up an independent shop would be awaiting those young people who would start with their own crafts or service businesses.

The proposal anticipates retaining among the regulations of the future document governing the employment of academic graduates such tested forms of contacts between the student and his future employer, such as institution-funded scholarships or preliminary agreements. It appears that also when the reforming of the economy begins, it would be probably expedient to retain such ties.

The Law Applies

In the current year 52,000 graduates of institutions of higher education were to be employed. Of this number, up to the first 10 days of December 38,000 were actually employed. Another 14,000 are those who did not fulfill their diploma requirements and those who left the country. A total of 8,000 openings were waiting for the remaining graduates.

In spite of the changed conditions of life during the period of martial law the employment of graduates has not stopped. The principles of the law of 1964 still apply, and they will be consistently implemented. The school plenipotentiaries will contact those graduates who did not take up employment, and they will direct them to appropriate work places. The proposed resolution, which was discussed above, can be submitted to the Council of Ministers after the condition of the country is stabilized. Rational utilization of the knowledge of young people in the effort of pulling the country out of the crisis is at present an order of the day.

9644
CSO: 2600/191

POLICE OFFICIAL DISCUSSES ECONOMIC CRIMES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Nov 81 p 3

[Interview with Col (engineer) Tadeusz Stasiak, deputy director, Bureau for Combating Economic Crime KG MO [Main Headquarters of Citizens' Militia] by Capt Roman Lercher; "In the Interest of All Citizens"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Col Stasiak: In the difficult socioeconomic situation that our country has found itself for a long time, it would be surprising if the bureau that you, comrade colonel, represent, complained of having nothing to do.

[Answer] Indeed. I can immediately assure you that we have a great deal of work, which, in the context of the fatal state of the economy, cannot be a cause for satisfaction. The department for combating economic crime has taken active measures, on many planes, to reduce or eliminate the phenomena which disrupt the functioning of the national economy, and in particular, the domestic market. We are concerned mainly with ensuring public safety and order and with improving social discipline in the economic sphere.

[Question] I daresay that economic crime cannot be regarded as a phenomenon that is structurally uniform.

[Answer] No. Crimes resulting in relatively small losses, not exceeding 20,000 zlotys, definitely predominate. They constitute over 80 percent of all economic crimes and are dangerous only because there are so many of them. Although during the last 2 years we observed a declining trend--from over 75,500 in 1979 to slightly over 70,000 last year. More dangerous, despite the fact that there are fewer of them in the total number, are the crimes which cause considerable economic losses.

Speaking of the current year we should emphasize that three basic tendencies have appeared in the structure of economic crimes: a sharp increase in speculation, which took on particularly disrupting dimensions in August and September; an increase in the scale of uneconomical management and waste of public property; and a large--over 50 percent--drop in the number of foreign-exchange-smuggling crimes.

[Question] This last information is astounding.

[Answer] Perhaps only initially. In giving this type of crime more thought, it is easier to understand this basically normal tendency. It is caused by, among other

things, the unprofitability in the present situation of bringing in gold and in the reduction of sources of illegal flow of foreign currences into Poland. The interest in foreign currences of socialist countries is scant in view of the insignificant tourist exchange and the exceptionally strict customs controls in leaving the GDR, CSSR and USSR. Despite this, we continue to expose many notorious dealers in foreign currency, one of the recent examples being the case of a private manufacturer of shoes, who bought up, on the black market, hard currency equivalent in value to 10 million zlotys. Our activities are directed also at the scalpers who disrupt order in front of the PEWEX shops, dealing in hard currency.

[Question] In that case, let us talk about the much broader phenomena, those that disrupt the functioning of the market to a greater degree.

[Answer] Included in those, as I mentioned, is mainly speculation, and the struggle against it, which is the fundamental task of not just the police but all kinds of social forces, in the interest of the State and every citizen. In the struggle against speculation we have already obtained--and expect to obtain more--concrete assistance and support from the local military operational groups. Joint action has already greatly reduced the simple manifestations of this phenomenon, and has to a large degree eliminated speculation in the marketplaces and bazaars.

But the speculative market is the result of well-organized gangs. Here are some of the latest examples: a criminal group of workers in the Voivodship Rural Construction Cooperative in Siedlce indulged in speculative turnovers with construction materials-- they illegally "sold" about 26 million bricks. The KW MO [Voivodship Committee of Citizens' Militia] in Katowice is conducting preliminary procedures in a case of illegal turnover of alcohol, valued at about 2 million zlotys, purchased in PEWEX. The manager of the Intervoivodship Department of the Disabled Persons Trade Cooperative in Dynow, in the Przemysl voivodship, in September and October, sold, outside the rationing system, alcohol valued at over 700,000 zlotys. Workers at WPHW [voivodship domestic trade enterprise] in Zamosc, brought in 58 carpets worth 458,000 zlotys from the Carpet Factory in Tomaszow Mazowiecki which they then distributed outside the trade centers and sent the cash to a WPHW radio-television shop in Bilgoraj.

[Question] That list can surely go on much further. The more so since, of course, connected with pure speculation are crimes of bribery, crimes in the State administration.

[Answer] An analysis of penal cases shows that the number of procedures initiated on the venality of a public functionary--because professionally that is what crimes in the State administration based on bribery are called--last year amounted to 26.5 percent of all crimes of this type in the economy. Bribes in the State administration are accepted principally for: allocation of premises; issuance of permits for production, trade and service activities; allocation of building and recreation lots; allocation of farm machinery and construction materials; falsification of control figures in the nonsocialized sector; and assistance in getting back a previously suspended drivers license. The majority of these types of crimes are committed in the organs of administration at the basic level, particularly in gmina [rural parish] and town-gmina offices.

[Question] And the large majority of these are difficult to discover?

[Answer] Naturally, because both sides participating in the crime are interested in hushing it up as thoroughly as possible. Nevertheless, we are exposing more and more facts of bribery and corruption, and this is due, among other things, to the social climate of censuring and condemning these acts. During a 9-months' period this year the number of preliminary procedures initiated against public functionaries increased over 50 percent.

[Question] The accumulating economic difficulties create ever-new crime-breeding situations, they form the preconditions for an increasingly greater growth in economic crimes. Because of course today one can speculate literally in everything.

[Answer] True. But some goods are especially salable. Let us take, for example--ignoring, for the moment, food articles--gasoline, oils and automobile accessories. The demand for these goods is enormous, which increases the number of get-rich-quick artists. Here is only one of many examples: a department manager in the Petroleum Products Management Plant in Nowa Wioska Wielka in the Bydgoszcz voivodship, in conjunction with other persons, stole 10,000 liters of ethylene 94--the entire tank car--valued at 210,000 zlotys. The purpose of this criminal operation is clear.

[Question] An exceedingly important social task, which undoubtedly you are accomplishing, is combating uneconomical management and waste. In a crisis situation, destruction or waste of our common assets cannot go unpunished.

[Answer] Our activities in preventing and fighting crimes of uneconomical management are concentrated primarily on the following problems: protection of the food economy, counteracting the destruction of construction materials and equipment--in the investment projects on which work has been delayed for lack of means, prevention of waste of fuels and energy raw materials by controlling means of transport, and counteracting "deadhead" trips.

Examples speak best to the imagination, so here are some of the latest, drawn from the period of October 26th to November 1st of this year. In the Regional Reclamation Enterprise in Biala Podlaska, the proper agro-engineering dates and sowing conditions were not observed in sowing grass. The result was losses amounting to 1.2 million zlotys. At the fruits and vegetables procurement point in Lomazy, which is under WSO [voivodship fruit cooperative?] in Biala Podlaska, a ton of carrots spoiled. During construction of a fire-station in Dubow, in this same region, 21 tons of cement was allowed to spoil. During an inspection in the WSS [Voivodship Consumers Cooperative] "Spolem" in Nowy Sacz, 45 tons of wheat flour, imported at a cost of 190,000 zlotys, was found to be contaminated with wheat moths due to prolonged storage. In this same city, which suffers severely from a shortage of meat and sausages, 1,940 kilograms of Lithuanian and hussars' sausage was found spoiled in the Meat Plant because the proper type of fat was not used.

Figures on combating crime in the food economy compiled for a 9-months' period show that the highly dangerous state is continuing. During this period over 4,000 preliminary procedures were completed and it was shown that losses due to uneconomical management amounted to over 62 million zlotys. In comparison with the past year, this was an increase of 35.5 percent.

[Question] These are shocking and upsetting examples, especially where food items are concerned. The discovery of crimes and severe punishment of those guilty of negligence and indifference to their obligations bears no further discussion, but...

[Answer] ...precisely, but. In this difficult economic situation the order of the day is to improve the protection of public property against crime. And this is the task not only of the police and control organs but above all of the economic administration, party and union organizations, and all the honest citizens of our country.

9295
CSO: 2600/218

PLAN FOR 1982 APPROVED BY PEOPLE'S COUNCILS LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 99, 2 Dec 81 pp 1-3

/Decision No 4 of 24 November 1981 of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils on the Approval of the Draft of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Draft of the Plan for Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry, in Territorial Form, for 1982/

/Text/ Socialist Republic of Romania

On the basis of Article 13 of Law No 5/1975 on the Congress, Legislative Chamber and Conferences of the People's Councils, we approve and order to be published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA Decision No 4 of 24 November 1981 of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils on the Approval of the Draft of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Draft of the Plan for Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry, in Territorial Form, for 1982.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
chairman
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 2 December 1981.

Decision of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils on the Approval of the Draft of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Draft of the Plan for Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry, in Territorial Form, for 1982

The Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils, discussing the draft of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the draft of the Plan for Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry, for 1982, finds that they are based on the program of the Romanian Communist Party, the objectives and tasks established by the 12th party congress, the decisions of the Second Congress of the People's Councils and the Second Congress of the Management Councils of the Socialist Agricultural Units, the Whole Peasantry and the Councils of the Working People in the Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management, and the provisions of the plan for the 1981-1985 period.

During the discussions, the improvements made in the draft plans, as a result of the instructions given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the

Romanian Communist Party and the chairman of the Socialist Republic of Romania, for using better the production capacities and modernizing the structure of production, sensibly managing all material and energy resources, raising the technical and qualitative level of the products, increasing the economic efficiency in all sectors, strengthening self-administration and worker self-management, providing for the territorial self-supplying of the population, steadily applying the new economic and financial mechanism and continually raising the population's standard of living, were noted in particular.

The Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils judges that the provisions of the two draft plans for 1982 reflect the economic policy of the party and the state with regard to the continual development of the production forces in the country as a whole and in territorial form within a dynamic and balanced framework, being in keeping with the decisions of the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party with regard to economic and social development in 1981-1985.

On the basis of Article 6 of Law No 5/1975 on the Congress, Legislative Chamber and Conferences of the People's Councils, the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils decides:

Article 1. It approves the draft of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in territorial form, for 1982.

Article 2. It approves the draft of the Plan for Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry, in territorial form, for 1982.

Article 3. The proposals made in the session of the Legislative Chamber on the occasion of discussing the draft plans will be forwarded to the Council of Ministers.

Article 4. With a view to the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development and the Plan for Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry, in territorial form, for 1982, the people's councils will take steps regarding:

a) The maximally efficient performance of all economic and social activity in each county, municipality, city and commune for the complete fulfillment of the plan targets by all units, regardless of their subordination, especially the targets regarding the physical output and the value of the net output, the reduction of material expenditures, the strict application of the provisions of the new economic and financial mechanism for the continual consolidation of self-administration and worker self-management in all economic, sociocultural and territorial-administrative units;

b) The intensive use of the production capacities, the scientific organization of the manufacturing processes, the intensification of the actions of automation and mechanization, the raising of the quality of the work of maintenance, inspection and repair of the equipment; the improvement of the activity of cooperation in production between enterprises and counties; the providing and training of the work force;

c) The raising of the technical and qualitative level of the products, the intensification of the activity of typification and standardization of them in accordance with the approved programs; the matter of assimilating into production new materials and equipment with better characteristics and low energy consumptions;

d) The better utilization of the resources of energy and raw materials through the improvement of the manufacturing technologies, the continual reduction of the specific consumtpions, the achievement of a strict policy of economy;

e) The intensification of the actions for the recovery and reuse of the materials resulting from the processes of production and consumption; the better organization of the activity of recovering these resources from the socialist units and the population; the expansion of the activity of reconditioning used subassemblies and spare parts;

f) The development of small-scale industry, especially the production of consumer goods, construction materials, services for the population, the reconditioning of parts and subassemblies, the exportation of handicrafts, and cooperation with large-scale industry; the expansion of the utilization of local resources of raw materials and of byproducts and recoverable materials in industry and agriculture;

g) The sensible management of land resources through the complete utilization of the agricultural areas in the socialist units and of those possessed by the population, the full use of the areas equipped for irrigation at the planned yields; the application of rational crop rotations in the range of each agroindustrial council;

h) The raising of the agricultural output through the performance of all work at the proper time and under conditions of high quality, the application of agronomic practices varying according to production zones in relation to each crop, the providing of high-quality seeds and planting stock; the better utilization of the fleet of tractors and agricultural machines, the efficient administration of chemical and natural fertilizers, the rational use of chemical means of pest control;

i) The intensification of the action of modernizing the fruitgrowing and vinegrowing plantations, the creation of new plantations in an intensive system, the matter of increasing to a greater extent the production of vegetables, potatoes and fruit for meeting in a better way the consumption needs of the population and the requirements of industry;

j) The increasing of the stock populations and the raising of the average outputs of animal products through the improvement of the selection and reproduction of the breeds, the full use of the capacity of the stockraising complexes, the providing of fodder resources through the raising of the average yields per hectare, the performance of the work of improvement of natural meadows and grasslands, the development of double forage crops, the use of roughage and byproducts and the raising of their food value;

k) The intensification of the research and the matter of promptly applying to production the results of the research for the achievement of high-yield seeds and planting stock adapted to the soil and climatic conditions in each zone;

l) The complete implementation of the programs regarding self-management and the territorial supplying of agricultural and food products to the population, with a view to meeting the consumption needs of the population in each locality and county; the matter of achieving at the level stipulated in the plan the deliveries of agricultural products to the central supply; the increasing of the contribution of the population's farms to fulfilling these tasks;

m) The raising of the efficiency of the economic activity in all agricultural units through the reduction of material expenditures, the raising of labor productivity, the reduction of the consumptions of raw materials, supplies, fuel and energy;

n) The mobilization of the working people in the villages for the performance of the agricultural and land-improvement work at the proper time and with good quality, the shortening of the harvest periods; the storage and preservation of agricultural products without losses, the strengthening of the discipline and responsibility in each agricultural unit for fulfilling the plan targets;

o) The performance of hydrotechnical work under the conditions of rationally utilizing the water in the hydrographic basins, in correlation with territorial systematization; the application of the measures regarding environmental protection, the matter of operating at the approved parameters the installations for purification of used water;

p) The utilization of the fleet of motor vehicles and trailers at fully capacity, the mechanization of the loading and unloading operations, the economization of liquid fuel and energy;

r) The putting of the investment facilities into operation on the planned dates, for which purpose action will be taken regarding the delivery of the technological equipment in accordance with the timetables, the steady performance of the activity on the building sites, the expansion of the mechanization and industrialization of building-assembly work, the efficient use of technical equipment, the adoption of technological and construction solutions that would ensure the matter of staying within the quotas of allocated materials and the reduction of the consumptions of metal, cement, energy and fuel; the use of local materials to a greater extent;

s) The intensification of the activity of scientific research and of introduction of technical progress, pursuing the development of the base of raw materials and fuels, the utilization of new sources of energy, the expansion of advanced technologies, the achievement of new products with low consumptions of fuel and raw materials, the expansion of the mechanization and automation of production, the speedup of the application of the research to production and the closer connection of it with education and production;

t) The achievement of the commodity supply earmarked for exportation in the assortment structure and the quality requested by foreign customers, the continual raising of the valuta contribution of the products that are furnished for exportation, the maximally efficient utilization of the valuta funds allocated by means of the plan;

ţ) The implementation of the provisions of the programs for growth in labor productivity through the improvement of the organization of production and labor, the expansion of mechanization and automation, the improvement of the work rates, the reduction of the auxiliary and nonproductive personnel, the generalization of the overall contract system in all fields of activity, the strengthening of order and discipline at the workplace, the raising of the degree of qualification and polyqualification of the worker personnel.

Article 5. With a view to the fulfillment of the tasks that devolve upon the directly subordinate units, the people's councils will provide for:

a) The maximally efficient use of the investment funds allocated by means of the plan for the construction of housing, the expansion of the water-distribution and sewer system, the development of the technical-material base of the building-assembly organizations and of small-scale industry, the improvement of the road network for education, culture and health care;

b) The exercise of strict control over the application of the systematization plans in approving and carrying out the investments with a view to sensibly using the land, the avoidance of the demolition of existing structures and of the removal of land from the agricultural or forest circuit;

c) The use of a wider range of model designs, the application of new construction solutions in the design of dwellings and sociocultural buildings, the improvement of the thermal insulation on the outer walls of the buildings; the expansion of the matter of using in construction the new typified materials, the thermoinsulating materials achieved through the utilization of local resources, and building stone, volcanic tuff and other local materials;

d) The better maintenance and the modernization of the existing state housing supply;

e) The improvement of the activity of contracting for privately owned dwellings with the state's help in loans and execution and the stimulation of the construction of dwellings in the population's own charge with help in loans and materials;

f) The development, diversification and improvement in the quality of the services for the population, especially in repairs and maintenance of dwellings, sanitary-engineering installations, chemical laundries and cleaners, various household services; the improvement of the distribution of the service-performing units over the territory;

g) The development of their own sources of power from biogas, wind and solar energy, the putting of new micro hydroelectric power stations into operation with a view to expanding the utilization of these new sources on a local level;

h) The matter of mobilizing to a greater extent the population and the worker personnel in enterprises and institutions to carry out housing and sociocultural construction, municipal management work and the improvement of the road network.

Article 6. With a view to continually improving the supplying of the population, the people's councils will provide for the sensible distribution of the commodity supply according to localities, giving priority to the worker centers and cities, the pursuit of the fulfillment of the tasks for steadily furnishing the commodity supply in the assortments and qualities requested by the population, the promotion of modern forms of serving the population.

Article 7. The people's councils will act steadily to fulfill the tasks that devolve upon them with regard to economic and social development in territorial form, good management and beautification of the cities and communes, the performance of work of public interest, the raising of the well-being of the population in all localities of the country to a higher level.

Legislative Chamber
of the People's Councils

Chairman,
Aron Pavel

Council of Ministers
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Prime Minister,
Ilie Verdet

Bucharest, 24 November 1981.
No 4.

12105
CSO: 2700/139

LOCAL BUDGETS FOR 1982 APPROVED BY LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 99, 2 Dec 81 pp 4-5

/Decision No 5 of 24 November 1981 of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils on the Approval of the Drafts of the Local Budgets for 1982/

/Text/ Socialist Republic of Romania

On the basis of Article 13 of Law No 5/1975 on the Congress, Legislative Chamber and Conferences of the People's Councils, we approve and order to be published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA Decision No 5 of 24 November 1981 of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils on the Approval of the Drafts of the Local Budgets for 1982.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
chairman
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 2 December 1981.

Decision of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils
on the Approval of the Drafts of the Local Budgets for 1982

The Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils, meeting in the session of 24 November 1981 and discussing the drafts of the local budgets for 1982, finds that they are based on the program of the Romanian Communist Party and the tasks established by the 12th party congress, the decisions of the National Council of Working People, the National Council for Agriculture, the Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management and the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization, and the provisions of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of Romania and the Plan for Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry for 1982.

The drafts of the local budgets reflect the decisive contribution of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and the chairman of the Socialist Republic of Romania, with regard to more markedly increasing the economic efficiency, strengthening worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration, increasing the degree of self-financing of the territorial-administrative units, strengthening the order and discipline in the utilization of assets, and steadily applying the new economic and financial mechanism.

The drafts of the local budgets were drawn up on the basis of the drafts of the income and expense budgets prepared by the people's councils, the economic units and the local state institutions and in direct correlation with the indicators furnished for each county by means of the draft of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of Romania, in territorial form, for 1982, providing the resources for financing the objectives and tasks in the economic and sociocultural fields and other fields that enter into the jurisdiction of the people's councils.

On the basis of the provisions of articles 6 and 9 of Law No 5/1975 on the Congress, Legislative Chamber and Conferences of the People's Councils and of Article 199 of Law No 9/1972 on Finances, the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils decides:

Article 1. It approves the drafts of the budgets of the counties and that of the municipality of Bucharest for 1982, in the amount of 49,823.0 million lei.

The proposals made in the session of the Legislative Chamber on the occasion of discussing the drafts of the local budgets for 1982 will be forwarded to the Council of Ministers.

Article 2. The executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest will allot the indicators approved by means of the local budgets, after their adoption in the sessions of the respective people's councils, according to component budgets, state institutions and enterprises.

Article 3. The executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils will take steps so that the financial bodies, the other specialized local bodies and their own apparatus, the working people's councils and the other collective leadership bodies in the economic units and the state institutions provide for the complete fulfillment of the provisions in the local budgets and in the income and expense budgets for 1982 of the units through:

a) The complete fulfillment of the tasks of production, sales and services and the matter of staying within the planned level of material and total expenditures, with the aim being to reduce the consumptions of raw materials, supplies, fuel and energy, the indirect expenses and the administrative and management expenses and to make all units, products and economic activities profitable;

b) The achievement of the planned profits and the other approved resources in each unit, the matter of making at the level of the provisions and on the legal dates the payments to the budget from profits and other payments, for the restoration of the funds received from society, the formation and utilization of their own funds under the conditions of the law;

c) The matter of staying within the approved stock quotas and circulating-fund quotas, the elimination and prevention of tieups of funds, the speedup of the rate of turnover of the circulating funds;

d) The achievement of the planned investment facilities and the putting of them into operation on schedule, the intensification of the action of contracting with the population for the construction of privately owned dwellings and of selling the dwellings in the state housing supply at the level of the plan provisions, the reduction of the cost of the investment work, the utilization of the funds for financing the investments under the conditions provided by law;

e) the matter of utilizing with a thrifty spirit the material and financial resources provided for the economic, sociocultural and administrative actions financed from the local budgets;

f) The strict exercise of financial control, especially preventive financial control, with a view to the ensuring of the sensible management of the material and monetary assets and the respecting of the financial discipline and of the laws in the utilization of the assets.

Article 4. The executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils will act to fulfill the plan indicators regarding the incomes from which sums are allotted for the local budgets on the territory of the respective territorial-administrative units. The allocation of the sums allotted for balancing the local budgets will be done within the approved limits and in relation to the financing needs, in accordance with the fulfillment of the plan for their own incomes and for making the expenditures for each component budget.

Article 5. To gradually reduce the subsidies and allocations from the incomes of the national budget and to achieve the self-financing of all territorial-administrative units, the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils will act to develop and expand the activity of the units in the local economy, especially small-scale industry and services, to correctly establish and completely collect from the population and the cooperative units the sums owed to the budget, to continually reduce expenditures, to involve the population to a greater extent in the performance of work of public interest and of management of the localities.

The executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest will take steps so that, gradually, all territorial-administrative units may be self-financed. To this end, they will draw up timetables according to years, whose fulfillment will be followed by the Ministry of Finance and the Committee for Problems of the People's Councils, together with the State Planning Committee.

Legislative Chamber
of the People's Councils

Chairman,
Aron Pavel

Council of Ministers
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Prime Minister,
Ilie Verdet

Bucharest, 24 November 1981.
No 5.

12105
CSO: 2700/139

'DISTORTION OF REALITIES' BY HEADS OF ECONOMIC UNITS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Dec 81 pp 34-36

[Unsigned article: "A Correct, Responsible Attitude and Not a Distortion of Reality"]

[Text] In their charter, those cadre charged with leadership functions in the economic hierarchy are called upon to offer under all circumstances models of political and professional awareness, of behavior and of self-sacrifce and passion in their work. Any deviation from these commandments has grave repercussions upon the atmosphere at work and the collective, and, for precisely this reason, it must receive a serious rebuff. Honesty, correctness and high responsibility in the fulfillment of their duties in production and in political and social affairs are obligations of the first order for all communists. This is even more so for a party or state activist who has increased responsibilities at work and in society with regards to all the tasks that are entrusted to him and an exemplary behavior in any situation, with the failure to consider these requirements having much more serious consequences because of the broad area in which the effects of his acts are felt. As a result, it is understood that egotistic interests, abuses and dishonest acts not only alter the moral image of the cadre and damage their prestige and authority, but also introduce into the heart of the collective an unhealthy atmosphere that is improper for a fruitful, mobilizing activity.

Firmness Against Disinformation

By attempting to hide reality, as well as their inappropriate activities, some leaders of economic units and other state activists resort to practices that have nothing in common with the principles of socialist ethics, such as falsifying statistical data and reports and providing disinformation to higher organs regarding the exact status of achieving the plan. Instead of concentrating their full attention on ensuring the solution of problems raised in production and of mobilizing all forces to firmly eliminate the shortcomings that appear and to overcome certain difficulties, these people have selected the path of falsehoods, distortions and hiding the truth.

Sometimes, even party activists who, through the positions that they hold, are called upon to ensure party control and permanent guidance and to introduce outstanding order and discipline patronize and even directly take part in such machinations.

At the Bucharest Sugar Products Enterprise, for example, Ana Sfichi, a technologist at the "Fraga" unit, put together false documents to cover up for certain missing quantities of butter and citric acid worth 120,000 lei.

The review that was carried out after the discovery of this fact arrived at the conclusion that, because of a climate of technological indiscipline and incorrectness, other reprovable acts were also committed. Thus, 45 tons of sugar worth 411,000 lei purely and simply disappeared from the raw materials warehouse at the "Corso" unit, and two workers removed goods totalling 50,000 lei from the finished products warehouse, goods which they sold through certain pastry shops in the capital and in the counties. Additionally, the review uncovered 240 kg of nuts and 11 kg of coffee, as well as significant amounts of butter, coffee and chocolate that were "prepared" for removal and sale.

Dominated by a tendency to seek her fortunes, Floarea Grigore, the former secretary of the party committee, did not have the time to organize and carry out a review of the manner in which the enterprise's goods were administered and handled. In fact, Ana Sfichi, the former deputy secretary of the party committee, carried out all the falsifications with an understanding from the former party committee secretary.

On the merry-go-round of disinformation and dishonesty, sometimes not just certain cadre are involved, but nearly the entire leadership collective, which is even more serious since it denotes the fact that the leadership of a unit deliberately set off on a totally incorrect path.

Thus, the director, chief engineer and certain service or compartment chiefs at the Bucharest Enterprise of Threads and Fabrics Made From Glass Fibers, seeing that production would not be fully achieved, decided together to report an overfulfillment of 18 tons of glass fibers, clearly with the purpose that the higher authorities would not find out the true situation.

Certainly, the measures that were adopted were in agreement with the seriousness of the crimes committed: removal of the director from his job, punishment of the chief engineer and some service chiefs. What is intriguing, however, is the clarity with which the party committee saw these illegalities.

At other times, although such extremely damaging practices are known, practices that are condemned most vehemently by the party leadership, firm and energetic measures are not taken and there is no intervention in order to radically eliminate the causes that generate these practices and to prevent the reappearance of such tendencies. To tolerate such phenomena, which have nothing in common with socialist ethics, actually means directly encouraging them. For example, there is the case that occurred at the Craiova Agricultural Tractor and Machinery Enterprise. Several years ago, the leadership cadre resorted to the mystification of reality, and were severely punished. But, instead of drawing the maximum conclusions from this situation, by creating a common front to bring about a general mobilization for the purpose of ensuring the complete fulfillment of the plan, the current director, the chief engineer and several service chiefs preferred to once again resort to fictitious reports, misleading higher authorities.

In referring to the manner in which the party organs and organizations fulfill their role in the organization of the management of economic-social activities, in his speech at the Joint Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee and the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu criticized some party and state activists who, either because of not understanding or out of a

desire to distort the state of affairs, present fictitious reports, either diminishing their achievements or exaggerating them. "Clearly, such a practice is inadmissible and incompatible with the job of a party activist and even the position as a party member," the party secretary general stressed.

In the spirit of this high exigency, the party organs and organizations that have been confronted with such phenomena or those that have had members who resorted to these reprovable methods have the duty of reexamining these acts and reviewing the measures taken, exhibiting the intransigence imposed by the evaluation formulated by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Short Circuits in Combatting Violations of Any Type Attest to the Deficiencies in Political Work

Without a doubt, the role of the party organs and organizations is to carry out such a political-organizational and education activity so that any violations will be prevented. When, however, errors occur and shortcomings appear, the position of the communists must be firm and categorical, without any wavering. Unfortunately, the party organizations do not always adopt such an attitude. For example, the chief at production sector I at the Livezeni Mining Enterprise in Hunedoara County, V. Lupulescu, came to work under the influence of alcohol; I. Stelescu, an electromechanical specialists in sector II, got into the habit of punching in to work and then going home. If along administrative lines some measures were taken against these two, for a long time the party organizations did not find it appropriate to discuss them and punish them.

At the Brasov Enterprise for Technical Articles Made of Rubber, 22 section and group chiefs and specialists were punished for a failure to adhere to certain provisions of the regulation on interior order. Although many of them are party members, the organizations to which they belong did not learn of the fact that they had been punished administratively.

With regards to the inappropriate work style, as well as behaviors contrary to the norms of socialist ethics and equity, of engineer Constantin Seica, the former director of the Bacau Enterprise for the Industrialization of Milk, sufficiently disquieting information had existed. There were examples of the failure to achieve the plan for years on end, significant withdrawals of items from public property, gross negligence in carrying for products, abusive and discriminatory measures, unprincipled relations within the collective, violations of the requirements of collective work and many other shortcomings and violations that demonstrated that this person placed at the head of the enterprise lacked the qualities indispensible for such a job.

In going from example to example, without showing the necessary firmness right from the beginning that was required by the seriousness of the known acts, the correct measure - his removal from office - came sufficiently late, just in the middle of this year, that is, after this unit and the collective suffered a great deal. What also cannot be understood is the fact that the party committee did not attempt to establish responsibility for the appearance of these grave shortcomings, especially since this committee was no stranger to the director's arbitrary decisions.

We have referred to several deficiencies that place a shadow over the professional and ethical profile of certain leadership cadre and put a crack, as they say, in the foundation upon which a correct and exigent attitude is built, an attitude that they are called upon to adopt under all circumstances. Reinserting correctness into their rights, by expressing a combativeness and firmness with regards to any tendencies of deviation, and stimulating the creation of a militant and revolutionary manner of thinking and acting constitute one of the basic tasks of the party organs and organizations.

8724
CSO: 2700

CORRUPT BEHAVIOR OF PARTY OFFICIALS DEPLORED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Dec 81 pp 84-87

[Unsigned article: "The General Assembly of Cooperatists Degenerated Into a Party Supported by Public Funds"]

[Text] It was nearly unbelievable, but that was the situation. The leadership council of the Valea Macrisului Agricultural Production Cooperative in Ialomita County decided that the general assembly for reports from cooperatists - an assembly whose permission was requested - should be concluded with a... buffet provided by the unit for free. And, they consumed 1,540 bottles of beer, 3,356 servings of broiled lamb, bread and other things. For this food and drink, the agricultural production cooperative paid invoices 47812 and 47813 totalling 14,783 lei.

Naturally, in the middle of all this there was talk of an abusive decision that violated the laws in effect and that was incompatible with the tasks and obligations of the collective leadership organ, the president and the chief account of any unit to ensure, in every way possible, the development and protection of public property and in no way to diminish this property. This is so because it is not hard to understand the fact that the funds that were spent for the food and drink were the results of the labors contributed by all the cooperative members and that, normally, they should be managed for the purpose of economically consolidating the unit.

It is a fact that the president of the cooperative, Dumitru Neagu, was punished by the plenary session of the town party committee with a "vote of censure" and the chief account with a "vote of censure with a warning," at the same time recommending his removal from his job, but this constitutes a correct, but insufficient measure. And, this measure, especially, should not merely involve just these two party members having responsible positions. We say this because we have in mind the fact that at this plenary session of the cooperative's members there was also participation by the members of the party committee in the agricultural production cooperative, the secretary and deputy secretaries of this committee and the members from the town party committee, as well as the party organizer and member of the bureau of the former Ilfov County Party Committee, the chief economist, the chief engineer of the unified agro-industrial council and other cadre from specialized organs. It was logical for these persons to take correct actions on the spot for such an act having negative implications for public property and through their firm intervention to return things to their normal state. They had the duty to do this not only as party members, but

also on the basis of the responsibilities inherent in the positions that they held. For that reason, it was equally logical and correct that in the party meetings of the base organizations to which these people belong, before the workers' collectives, to be held responsible for their indifferent attitude in their actions. It falls within the responsibility of the bureau of the Ialomita County Party Committee for this case to be brought to a conclusion, exhibiting a maximum of exigency towards all those who are guilty of this act. Just as it is necessary necessary for the events that took place at the Valea Macrisului Agricultural Production Cooperative to be handled by the entire party aktiv, by the secretaries of the town party committee and in the cooperative, and, first of all, by the leadership cadre in the agricultural unit. Only in this manner can it be stated that the lessons were shown to their maximum and that it will be possible to create an atmosphere of correctness appropriate to the early prevention of any forms of damage to public property.

Minimizing Abuses - An Act That Violates the Need for Exigency

At a general assembly meeting of the base organization of shift C in sector two at the Ghelar Mining Unit, held in February 1981, after presentation of the economic report by the shift specialist, Dumitru Buicu, the miner Petru Rotaru also took the floor, pointing out his disagreement regarding certain aspects of the report. Dumitru Buicu's rebuff - he is also the secretary of the bureau of the base organization - was quick in coming. He directed insults at the miner, as well as some of the most severe statements, with this attack culminating in Petru Rotaru's ejection from the meeting when he continued to support his point of view by criticizing the distorted manner in which the realities in the work collective had been presented. As a result, Rotaru called upon the Hunedoara County Party Committee and other organs, employing the right of each communist to request adequate measures when there are violations of ethical norms, of democracy, and of the principles of internal party affairs.

"After an investigation into the charges made, comrade Dumitru Buicu was discussed in the bureau of the Ghelar Mining Unit Party Committee and was severely called to task for his lack of tact in his discussions with other communists," we read in the response addressed on 10 October 1981 to MUNCA DE PARTID by the Hunedoara County Party Committee, letter No 251. In the same letter, however, signed by comrade Brincovean Pogea, the first secretary of the municipal committee, there is an attempt to divert the basic problem towards a warmer area of tolerance and the minimalization of certain practices, finding for this flagrant abuse attenuating circumstances. "The investigations show that the issues raised by Petru Rotaru cannot be completely confirmed since these discussions took place prior to getting into the general assembly's agenda," this letter states, as well as that in order to be judged in the light of doubtless communist intransigency and combativeness, the secretary's deeds would have had to have been included ahead of time in the proceedings themselves of the meeting.

In this situation, normally there would have been no difference between the time it was said that the abuse took place and the time it really took place. The secretary's guilt is equally serious in both cases, especially if we take into consideration that his attitude stopped Rotaru from exercising his right to speech and his opinion, setting himself up before the organization that placed trust in him as an element incapable of being criticized and intransigent not in the defense of the principles of socialist ethics and party democracy, but to his own more or less despotic tendencies. Unfortunately, precisely this fact was not understood by the party municipal organ. It was

expected that the situation that Dumitru Buicu created would be subjected to discussion not only in the bureau of the party committee in the unit, but also in the general assembly of the base organization where it occurred, right there in front of the communists so that, first of all, they could take the correct position and brand this practice totally inadmissible. At the same time, the measures of the party committee in the unit should not have been limited to a simple step of calling this to his attention. There should have been a decision calling for an adequate punishment in accordance with the level of violating the statutory provisions and the damage done to the rights - similarly statutory - of comrade Rotaru.

The case reported by comrade Petru Rotaru occurred on 5 February 1981. Between this date and the notification of the measures that were taken better than 8 months passed by. During this interval, there were sufficient occasions for the deeds committed by the secretary of the base organization of shift C in sector II of the Ghelar Mining Unit to be handled in a broader framework - for example, during training sessions of the party apparatus and the elected organs - so that never again, at any level of organizational work and regardless of the reason, will there be a repeat of such violations of statutory provisions.

Half-way Measures Against Someone Who Has Been A Cheat...

As secretary of the executive bureau of the Slava Cercheza Town People's Council in Tulcea County, Gheorghe Puisor had as one of his responsibilities overseeing work so that the provisions of the law would be completely respected with regards to granting permits to build new houses or to add to or repair existing houses. He was the one who should have held discussions with each applicant wanting such a permit and helped him to correctly fill out the documents that would have been then been subjected to discussion and approval in the executive bureau of the people's council.

Nothing could be clearer, one could say, and not without basis. Just that, by intuiting an important source of personal advantages in the exercise of these responsibilities, by fully profiting from the superficiality exhibited by the president of the executive bureau of the people's council in pursuing the manner in which the workers' requests were resolved and legalities were respected in completing these documents, and by not controlling himself in all his activities, Gheorghe Puisor put together an entire system for methods that were to help him to achieve a scenario having just one purpose: business - to be achieved by just one method: abuse. Merely in the first half of this year he issued construction permits for 17 houses without first having these requests discussed and approved, in accordance with the law, in the executive bureau of the town people's council, in three cases these documents being signed in the name of the president by Natalia Petrov (?!), an agricultural technician. For four permits, they could not find the receipts for the payment of the established fees, even though the people stated that they gave the money to the secretary of the executive bureau of the people's council. For two other permits, the receipt numbers are recorded in documents in the names of other persons and represent fees paid for other reasons. And, the home owners state that they gave the secretary of the executive bureau of the people's council everything that he asked for... (?!).

In this same manner, he issued permits so that 14 citizens could practice their crafts, although the law specifies and requires that these documents will be approved only by

the executive committee of the people's council. Similarly, four copies from the permit register managed to disappear. These copies were later found by the review collective in the possession of two citizens in the town and two others in Calarasi municipality (?!), permitting them to carry out pedlar trade activities. All four of these permits carried the signature of the secretary of the executive bureau of the people's council, Gheorghe Puisor.

As should happen, the person who committed such acts was removed from his job as the secretary of the executive bureau of the people's council, and in the plenary session of the town party committee he was punished with a "vote of censure." But, these measures do not correspond to the gravity of the acts committed by Gheorghe Puisor. What which he did is not only an abuse, but also the falsification of public documents, the substitution of positions and the premeditated violation of legal regulations, that is, acts that should be judged by the organs of justice. Just as his deeds are in total contradiction with the norms of ethics and equity and with the defining traits of a communist.

8724
CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAV SECRET SERVICE ACTION IN FRG ALLEGED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 25 Jan 82 pp 50, 52, 54-55

[Article: "The Whole Thing Looks Like an Execution--Massacre of Albanians--How the Yugoslav Secret Service Organizes Hits in the FRG"]

> [Text] Persons unknown shot and killed three Yugoslavs near Heilbronn. As far as German security authorities are concerned, the massacre is a new climax in the underground war waged by Yugoslav secret service people and opponents of the regime of the multination state in the FRG. After having done so with Croats in exile, the Belgrade government now apparently has also declared bloody war on Albanians in exile from the Kosovo Republic [sic].

The green BMW 316 backed out of the garage. Not wanting to turn around in the snow, the driver steered the car a further 40 meters in reverse, to a crossing.

As the vehicle stopped briefly under a street lamp, a man approached its right from a construction site and fired into the interior of the car from a distance of about 3 meters.

Another man fired as well and then remained standing next to the car and looked through the shattered windows to make sure of the effect of the fire. Neighbors aroused by the noise of the shots saw the two men escape.

Then, in the night from Sunday to Monday last week, inhabitants of "Habichtshoehe" in the Untergruppenbach municipality near Heilbronn witnessed something ghostlike. A four-cylinder car continued at high speed, with the driver's foot still on the gas pedal; then he apparently released the clutch and died, with the car rolling on out of control in a semicircle to the left and smashing against the closed door of a garage. The drive wheels got stuck in the snow, the engine died, and all was quiet.

In the interior of the car, police found:

--The driver, a 31-year-old Yugoslav named Bardhosh Gervalla, back of the wheel, hit by six shots;

--Zeka Kadri, 28, in the seat next to him, killed by two shots into the upper part of his body, and

--the brother of the driver, 36-year-old Jusuf Gervalla, critically wounded by another two shots.

It did not take long to identify the three victims and to classify them politically. They were Yugoslav citizens in exile of Albanian origin from the Province of Kosovo in the south of the Balkan state, and all three had agitated against the government in Belgrade. There were also immediate clues about the culprits. Still at the place of the crime, Jusuf Gervalla, who died later, whispered to police: "It was the SDB"--the Yugoslav secret service Sluzba Drzavne Bezbednosti.

There had been 12 shots from 2 guns--of 7.65 caliber--against the 3 men, 10 of them hitting the heart, lungs and back of the neck. A police officer on the spot said, "The whole thing looks like an execution."

It was secret service routine, according to Stuttgart sharpshooter and police trainer Siegried Huebner. Four shots have to hit the target--three to nail down the victim or, if he is standing up, to fell yim and put him out of action, and then the indispensable lethal follow-up shot." That too pointed to the SDB.

Yugoslav secret service people and opponents of the regime have been engaging in bloody confrontations abroad for many years. In a lot of cases militant Yugoslavs in exile have violently attacked embassies, consulates and representatives of their country. Belgrade has consistently repaid the murder and terrorism in kind.

The theater for the Balkan shootout, time and again, has been the FRG, with the police having been unable so far to put an end to the machinations.

This despite the fact that it is obvious who is responsible. Belgrade is afraid of the committed exiles groups as a focal point of unrest in the multination state--and fights them. It is above all the Croat expatriates who have been the target of the secret service people's guns. In several cases of murders of Croats in exile Belgrade's participation has been proved beyond any doubt.

For example, when the Croat Franjo Goreta, himself a former secret service man with a mission to kill in the FRG, defected and killed a control officer, Belgrade dispatched a commando, and shortly after Goreta had served his prison sentence, the SDB staged an assassination attempt which Goreta only barely escaped.

In the ensuing trial of the three culprits, the judge included in his sentence an appeal to Bonn, which so far as been in vain, saying: "It cannot be tolerated that hit contracts instigated by foreign countries to solve their domestic problems are executed on our soil."

In addition to the Croats, Albanians in exile have meanwhile become the target of the Yugoslav state offices. Ever since the resistance in Yugoslavia'a Albanian Province of Kosovo climaxed in bloody unrest, Belgrade has been detecting foreign wirepullers. According to Belgrade politicians, the conflict is being directed by neighboring Albania and communist services loyal to Moscow, but also in a decisive manner from the FRG.

Actually in Baden-Wuerttemberg alone, there are something like 2,000 Albanians in exile from Yugoslavia, most of them in political asylum. Quite often their activities form the subject of complaint by the Consulate General in Stuttgart.

In spring 1981, for instance, there took place a demonstration, which otherwise received hardly any attention, of Albanians demanding the separation of Kosovo from Yugoslavia. When the demonstrators noticed that they were being photographed from a building housing a Yugoslav school, some went inside and encountered there, in addition to the photographer, Yugoslav Consul General Branco Dimitrijevic. They seized the film but later had to surrender it to the police.

This may have turned into a link in a lethal chain, for one of the intruders who were probably shown on the film was Bardhosh Gervalla, the driver shot and killed near Heilbronn.

The Gervallas were well known on the exile scene. Brother Jusuf who had only just advocated "armed struggle" against the Yugoslav state in a TAGESZEITUNG interview, was also, according to police information, the editor of an expatriates' paper calling itself ZERI I KOSOVES (Voice of Kosovo).

Bardhosh had arrived in the FRG as early as 1974. After attending a training course at the North Wuerttemberg Workers Welfare, he had worked for a long time at an office of social care and consultation for Yugoslav workers at Solitudestrasse 44 in Ludwigsburg. Married, with two children, Hardhosh was active primarily in trade union and labor law questions in behalf of his compatriots.

The one with the political mind of the two brothers who had moved into the rowhouse in Untergruppenbach apparently was Jusuf Gervalla. It was he above all whom the Yugoslav Consulate General in Stuttgart accused officially of membership in the "Red Front" fighting the Yugoslav government. Heretofor the organization had been active only in Yugoslavia and had not turned up in the annual reports of the Land Office for the Protection of the Constitution [VfS] or the Federal VfS.

Married, with three children, Jusuf is said to have been copublisher of the VOICE OF KOSOVO, banned in Yugoslavia, for which he worked from his place of residence. Kadri, also a journalist, was a key member of the staff of that paper.

On the outside wall of the single-family rowhouse at Auf der Habichtshoehe 40, last week a red flag with a double eagle and a five-cornered star was defiantly lowered to half-mast--the colors of Kosovo and at the same time the national flag of Albania.

What importance Belgrade attaches to the activities of the Albanians in exile was evident well before the Heilbronn massacre. Already early last year, a major action in which the Yugoslav security service had its sights set on compatriot Rasim Zenelaj proceeded in typical fashion. Zenelaj was a leading member and treasurer of the National Democratic Albanian Loyalty League.

The gunshots directed at the regime opponent Zenelaj on 14 May last year (he was heavily wounded but survived) for the first time clearly revealed the new orientation of attacks by the Yugoslav secret service.

In order to eliminate Zenelaj, the people in Belgrade forged expensive plots, recruited several agents and even ran the risk of implicating official consular officials in the murder plot and of exposing tacit leading assistants. The plan failed, however, and the participants were found out. In the proceedings against those responsible for the attempted assassination of Zenelaj currently pending in Frankfurt, the involvement of Yugoslav official bodies in the murderous pursuit of emigres becomes once more drastically apparent.

In the late 1970's a leading secret service man in the small town of Urosevac in Kosovo had been promoted to consular rank. Under the name of Salih Salihi, he showed up soon thereafter in his country's foreign service in the FRG, first at the Consulate General in Hamburg and then at the Consulate General in Frankfurt. There he settled down as a guard, with a gray consular ID, No 6750. Another secret service man had already been operating in Frankfurt--a high consular official going by the name of Svetozar Mirjacic and the nickname of Tozo, with ID No 6322. A high-ranking confidant of the two was Rade Surla, a former partisan who had last established himself as a builder in Frankfurt.

Surla visited his friends in the consulate and informed them about the activities of people in exile. Once, his chauffeur recalls, Surla himself received a visit. The somber guest (whom Surla told the chauffeur "one has to beware of" was secret service leader Milan Sasic.

As early as March 1981, immediately after the outbreak of the unrest in Kosovo, the Frankfurt trio went into action. Salihi listened for information about Albanian activist Rasim Zenelaj's daily habits among Yugoslav expatriates and had informants contact Tozo. Surla too became active when the time came for organizing the assassination attempt. Various clues and witnesses of the plot that have come to the fore in the meantime demonstrate the aplomb and scope of the secret service men's operation.

The first agent they set on Zenelaj, a Croat expatriate, exposed his official clients in evidence he presented in court. The second agent, Ante Kujundzic, did not keep his mouth shut either. He had already been recruited as an assassin by Tozo when he opened up before his Croat expatriate friends. Soon the German police had detailed information about the preparations for the assassination.

The organizers had not proceeded in a very circumspect manner. In April 1981 an unknown compatriot approached Croat expatriate Ante Kujundzic in the proximity of the Frankfurt railway station telling him to telephone urgently an "important person," identifying himself as "the music student." The stranger then handed Kujundzic a telephone number--21 77 01--telling him to add 2 to each digit when dialing.

The party at the other end--at 43 99 23--identified itself as the Yugoslav Consulate General, and contact had thus been established with Tozo. Kujundzic was asked for a start to spy on the Albanian Zenelaj. In turn Tozo offered money, a new ID and support in acquiring political asylum in the FRG.

At a later meeting Tozo offered him a false passport in the event that he should have to leave the country in a hurry on some important business. Kujundzic: "I realized that I probably was to bump off someone." Opting out, he informed the German authorities, and the police placed the threatened Zenelaj under protection.

To demonstrate this to the conspirators, German officers once even pointedly took the threatened Albanian for a walk in front of the Yugoslav Consulate General. Another time Yugoslav spies observed the Albanian in official company during a walk through the zoo--and in the process themselves drew the attention of the Germans.

Zenelaj did not get into any danger until he made his own contribution by telling friends of another protective measure--namely, that the police had fitted him with a bulletproof vest. One of the persons who was told this was working for builder Surla. So the Yugos hatched a plan to maneuver their bulletproof adversary into a situation in which he would doff the vest. This was to be accomplished by a woman, who was then supposed to fire the deadly shots.

Within a short time, the blond Serb Zorica Aleksic was dished up as an aide. Living without means or work near Darmstadt, she was soon won over for the project by threats and the promise of DM 2,000 in hit wages. A meeting was arranged between the woman and her victim, and Rasim Zenelaj took the agent to his apartment. When the woman emerged from the bathroom ready to fire her gun, he no longer was wearing his vest. Zenelaj collapsed hit by five shots near his heart.

The woman fled, and down at the entrance Surla and his chauffeur were waiting for her. She returned the gun and in turn received her money and a ticket to Belgrade. The three immediately started for the Frankfurt airport in a gray Volvo.

Zorica Aleksic did not manage to leave the country, however. Aroused by the shots, neighbors had found the victim and called for medical aid and police. By chance one of the officers assigned to protect the Albanian was listening to the police radio traffic, and a lightning search among the victim's friends led to Zorica. She was arrested shortly thereafter at the border check at the airport.

Consular employees Tozo and Salihi have long since been ordered to return to Yugoslavia. Contact man Surla managed to escape the very evening of the assassination. When he received a warning by telephone, Surla merely said, "Okay," and then had his chauffeur, who had witnessed the phone call, rush him across the border, to the Holiday Inn in Strasbourg. There his tracks disappeared.

The failure apparently did not discourage the SDB, for on 10 October 1981 in Brussels an Albanian named Vehbi Ibrahimi was shot and killed by several persons, with a 7.65-caliber gun, in the street leading to his apartment.

His wife, who was with him, was seriously wounded by the gunshots. Ibrahim was vice president of the Albanian Loyalty League.

German VfS personnel now thought the time had come, after the attacks on Zenelaj and Ibrahimi, also to see to the protection of the first chairman of the league, Emir Fazlija. Living near Goeppingen, he was known among his neighbors as a "dignified elderly man." Responsible police voiced the fear "that they might bump him off as well." Since that time Fazlija has been under protection and can no longer be reached by telephone.

The police are receiving hardly any political support in their fight against the Yugoslav underground war. True, there exists an agreement between Bonn and Belgrade to lend mutual support in case of assassination attempts, and occasionally there is an exchange of data about the origin of explosives and the caliber of weapons.

But the attacks show how little concern there is in reality in cooperation, at least one one side. For instance, the Federal Criminal Police Bureau has long since noted that in attempts of assassination against expatriate Croats, in most cases when SDB personnel were apparently involved, four-barrel guns were used whose projectiles have a right spin, whereas most handguns of this kind have a left spin. The organizers of the assassination attempts did not even consider it necessary to camouflage this striking feature.

In 1978, when Yugoslav police caught four West German RAF [Red Army Faction] members, the Yugoslavs presented a list of wanted Croat expatriates with a view to an exchange. The FRG authorities demurred, and Belgrade let the RAF people go.

What little German-Yugoslav cooperation there is between the police, according to the Germans, finds the Yugoslav side lacking, with the Yugoslavs often being content to render advice in the search for a motive, offering the opinion that the real points of dispute probably were "cases of honor," "matters involving women," an "accounting in railroad station surroundings" or an "arms deal."

Yugoslav politicians are wont to categorically deny to Bonn any involvement of the Belgrade secret service, and this is the way the talks have proceeded all along which high-ranking members of the FRG Ministry of the Interior have been holding with their Belgrade counterparts. Minister of the Interior Franjo Herljevic, a veteral partisan general and companion of Tito's, keeps on issuing denials, claiming that the Yugoslav secret service is not operating in the FRG.

In fall 1981, when CSU Bundestag Deputy Fritz Wittmann raised the question of Bonn reactions to Belgrade's behavior, he also received only an evasive answer by the Foreign Office. Bonn, said Minister of State Hildegard Hamm-Bruecher, comments on such things only "when there is a reason and it serves a purpose."

In fact, in addition to the various court proceedings, there already exist admissions of SDB activity. For example, at the Yugoslav Embassy in Bonn, a diplomat in touch with German police, Police Attache Tomo Renac, kept passing inquiries to Belgrade without ever answering them himself, and generally merely shrugged his shoulders.

The Germans suspected what the reasons for this delaying attitude was when a Renac document addressed to Belgrade fell into the wrong hands.

In it Renac complained like an offended secret service man that "attempts are being made to prevent Yugoslav state security activities in the FRG with penal law and propaganda measures. At a reception the Bonn police president went so far as to point to espionage activity by Yugoslav diplomats, saying that there was evidence of this, and added that there was massive action by Yugoslav diplomats in the FRG. This forces us to draw the conclusion that the work of our contacts in the FRG is becoming more and more complicated."

German investigators thus do not want to rely on serious cooperation of Yugoslav offices. When a Frankfurt prosecutor recently announced that he would soon begin "interrogations in Yugoslavia," insiders were unable to offer any sort of encouragement.

Said a VfS man in Bonn: "All we could do was laugh."

8790
CSO: 2300/134

CONFUSION IN LEGISLATIVE DOCUMENTS SCORED AT GATHERING

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1204, 1 Dec 81 pp 18-19

[Article by Slobodan Reljic: "We Confuse Even Ourselves"]

[Text] Nothing has helped! Neither well-intentioned appeals, nor social criticism. Specialized staff services are still writing overlong and incomprehensible reports. The delegates are still not reading them.

The Workers' University in Maribor has dealt with the trouble in its own way. "It is easier to teach the delegates to read faster than to teach the bureaucrats to write more briefly," the well-intentioned have concluded, and they are now organizing 30 6-hour training sessions. After the training the delegates will read at least three times faster. This is guaranteed by the Workers' University in Maribor if you pay 2,500 dinars for the course. The training has not yet begun. The results are awaited with great interest.

This is yet another in a succession of attempts. It is reason "for both tears and laughter." And it is uncertain which is the lesser of the evils--organizing such a course or doing nothing.

Recently linguists and lawyers debated the language of legislation in the Petar Kocic Library in Belgrade.

Regardless of how much people once swore by the law as the epitomy of clarity and it was said of someone's true words that they were "as sound as a law"--that can no longer be said today. One speaker even tried to launch a new saying, which soon might have been so readily adopted as to become an adage: "As unclear as a law."

The "Workers' Constitution" Needs To Be Translated

Nevertheless, it turns out that our laws are not only unclear to the ordinary man, but that even gray professors' heads are unable to understand them fully or easily. Which is why certain analyses were prepared for that occasion.

Professor Drago Cupic of the Institute for the Serbo-Croatian Language analyzed certain articles of our law which unquestionably is mentioned most often.

The ABC of self-management. The little constitution. The workers' law, and, by whatever name it is known, our Law on Associated Labor.

Article 1 Was Analyzed

This article contains 145 words. But according to Professor Cupic, at least 130 are altogether unnecessary. This statement was not made lightly--and the assertion was proven. To the satisfaction of all those present. See for yourself.

The basic idea of the article is this: the workers shall manage their labor.

The legislator has stated this in three sentences. As follows:

"In performing their dominant role in associated labor and in society, the workers shall freely, directly and on an equal footing, in the relations of linkage through democratic self-management, mutual interdependence, mutual responsibility and mutual solidarity, and in the relations of equality among the nationalities and ethnic minorities, manage their own labor and the entire labor of society in the basic and other organizations of associated labor, in other self-managing organizations and communities, and in society as a whole.

"The socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management in associated labor ensures that the workers, on the basis of their right to work with the assets of society and their equal rights, obligations and responsibilities with respect to the means of production and other means of social reproduction owned by society, shall manage their own labor and the conditions and results of their labor in their own interest, in their common interest, and in the general interest of society.

"The workers shall also participate in the regulation of general conditions of labor and in coordination, guidance and social planning in associated labor through their delegations and delegates in assemblies of sociopolitical communities, within the limits of their rights and duties as set forth in the constitution and law and the bylaws."

Even the Computer Choked

A "translation" of the article we have quoted would look like this:

"The workers shall freely, directly and on an equal footing manage their labor on the basis of their right to employ the assets of society."

That took 14 words.

The professor then went on to analyze Article 2 of the same law. The results were still more astounding.

No one can even count anymore how many times the same principles have been reiterated in our documents. The Law on Associated Labor has taken them over from the SFRY Constitution and the LCY Program. The republic laws have taken them over from the Law on Associated Labor. Self-management accords in work organizations take them over from the republic laws.

Incidentally, we seem to have a need to legislate absolutely everything. This goes to absurd lengths.

The former director of the Sarajevo Festival of Little and Experimental Theaters--though he was the only member of the permanent staff--had to have 29 different regulations. He even had, for example, a regulation on allotment of housing units.

Someone fed 7,202 words from the Law on Associated Labor into a computer. They took 69 of the entire 671 articles.

What did our unemotional machine find?

In such a sea of words there were only 609 different words used. The average word is repeated five times.

The average sentence in the law consists of 36 words. An ordinary prose text in our language can stand a sentence of 10 words, but one of 20 is much more difficult.

One consequence of such laws was, of course, the recent advertisement that appeared in the newspapers. A work organization was seeking a worker with special responsibilities and authorities, a solitary professional management organ, that is--if people at length really find out what that is--a director.

Thus our schools have become educational and training work organizations or work organizations in the domain of education, and teachers have become instructors of classroom instruction, and tenants have become holders of the right of tenancy.

An interesting thing occurred when the courts of associated labor made their appearance. It seems that it was no longer all right for complaints to be filed with these good courts of ours, and it was decided that that particular document would be given a bit nicer name--proposal. So if a worker, say, is suing (that is, proposing) his enterprise--he is a proponent. The other party, that is, the enterprise, is referred to as the proponent's adversary. Then someone got the idea that this wasn't right. It didn't conform to self-management, if we might put it that way. After all, how can our worker and our enterprise be adversaries? (Are they supposed to be friends when here they are before the courts?) So a nicer name was introduced for this other party: the second participant.

It has been said that our "revolution of words" is extremely progressive. This has indeed become a notable fad. It often seems to us that in putting by the old forms, we are also putting by the old content. One of our old ambassadors had this comment to make when he arrived from London: "The English are very conservative, and when they replace the content, they leave the old words, while we on the other hand are very progressive--since we use new words to adorn even the old content."

We interviewed Professor Drago Cupic at the Institute for the Serbo-Croatian Language in the Serbian Academy of Sciences in Belgrade.

"Why is unclarity above all a feature of laws regulating the relations of self-management? It is true, for example, that laws on crimes, debentures, and civil rights are nevertheless both more specific and clearer."

"It is a question of laws which regulate relations which are evolving. Indeed the Law on Associated Labor is not a true law. It is a code. A collection of instructions of a kind. The Law on Associated Labor is a kind of projection of our future. And it is not easy to assess what sort of future we will have. Nevertheless, it is beyond dispute that it is possible to do something toward making these laws simpler."

"What?"

"Some Things Are Clouded Over"

"Very brief laws would not be a solution, since life is very complicated. But laws can be freed of unnecessary repetition, stereotypes and phraseology. Just imagine, even those enforcing the laws cannot enforce them properly since they are not sufficiently clear."

"Do the unclear passages in the law on self-management leave room for irresponsibility in the reality of self-management?"

"People actually can hide behind the vagueness in legislation. Many errors can be justified in that way. This probably has quite a bit of importance in organizations where things are not going as well as they might be."

"How much is there of the bureaucratic political vocabulary in laws?"

"I think that there are such cases. There are things which are clouded over by the politicians. But I think that is not the predominant tendency. Nevertheless, I must emphasize, we are a country which enacts a great deal of legislation. Often in haste. I have just read the draft of the Law on Expanded Reproduction. It has covered that field so broadly that its principal purport has been lost. Many concepts are not sufficiently clear at all...."

"Even to those drafting the law?"

"Probably. Many questions have been put to them in the assembly. Many they did not answer, though here they are writing the law. So, it is not just a linguistic trouble, but a much broader problem."

"It seems that social relations are difficult for our legislators to seize hold of."

"When social relations are clear, then legislation is clear as well. In such a case the lawyers have no difficulties with language. Yet certain social phenomena are not so easy to make clear."

"And now that legislation has to be interpreted?"

"This necessitates many interpretations. And it is not easy to interpret a piece of legislation which is not clear."

"An interesting thesis was presented at a recent gathering--to the effect that Marx himself is 'at fault' for our language difficulties. Marx is 'blamed' for not having been born a Yugoslav. And since he was born a German, our translators have not done a good job of translating his works."

"That is true to some extent. When the works of Marxism were translated, the terms were translated literally. To be sure, some we were not able even to translate, since we did not have them at all in our language. Then it all took such a turn that our language was adapted to the German way of thought. You understand. Today we have an example of this in the adaptation to the American way of thought. Take, for example, the word 'marketing.' We have taken that word over, and now we are striving to realize the relations which it signifies. Or, another word which has come to us recently--'image.' And no one knows how to explain what it means. It does mean something in America; in our context that meaning is just emerging."

"How are we to get out of that situation?"

"The linguist's influence must be considerably greater. A linguistic culture has to be developed. We have linguists associated with all the bodies which write legislation. I am afraid that their influence is negligible. But only a long-term effort can arrive at true solutions. The only time we give consideration to language is in elementary school. Very little in secondary school. The situation has improved somewhat with the new system of education. But still students are graduating from our law schools without writing a word. And later they draft the legal enactments. Perhaps I exaggerate, perhaps I have a professional bias, but there ought to be some subject in law school in which the language of a legal document would be learned."

Something really ought to be done. Just so we do not enact a Law on Brevity and Clarity of Legislation, which again would require a speed-reading course in Maribor and a "translator."

7045
CSO: 2800/204

STATUS OF AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES WITHIN SERBIA REVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1618, 3 Jan 82 pp 24-27

[Article by Stevan Niksic: "A Look Into History"]

[Text] "Just give them two Mercedes, and the problem will be solved," was the cynical barb launched back in the early sixties which was recalled by one of the participants in last week's meeting of the Serbian LC [League of Communists] Central Committee in a desire to illustrate, as he put it, the lack of understanding and topsy-turvy conception of the nature of the problem of the status of the provinces.

It makes good sense to suppose that the real problems caused by differing views of what is usually referred to as the official structure of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia as a complex social and governmental community within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation could never have been solved by such simple and ultimately such inexpensive means as Mercedes automobiles or other perquisites of high position. Though, as could easily be seen in the debate, even that factor was not altogether without influence in certain of the earlier arguments which are now being frequently mentioned. The earlier problems, however, were far more serious. But since they were not seriously tackled or resolved in good time, they accumulated and grew and gave rise to new problems....

"In public we have endeavored to preserve unity, covering over the objective existence of disunity," was the judgment expressed by Dragoslav Markovic. Branka Lazic (Vojvodina LC) remembered that back in the autumn of 1979, during Comrade Tito's visit to Kosovo, "the comrades from Serbia spoke very favorably about relations in SR Serbia and especially about the important results in the legislative activity of the SR Serbia Assembly." One member of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee who was following her speech over a monitor before which a group of newsmen were sitting commented out loud: "That's right, we deceived ourselves...."

What Is Not in Dispute

There have been no disputes as to how and why the provinces came into being and why they fall within the framework of SR Serbia. Nor has anyone made an issue of this. Indeed several participants in the meeting harshly and temperamentally

opposed the reference to certain prewar documents and resolutions of the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia], mentioned in a meeting of the Provincial Committee of the Vojvodina LC in Novi Sad, judging this to be unsuitable for this occasion to put it mildly. Above all because references to such documents could have some meaning only if someone were to really dispute the historical and other undisputed facts, which is not the case.

Nevertheless, the character and importance of the discussion conducted at this meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee, which in many respects was exceptional, makes it necessary to recall certain crucial moments which led to the present form of the autonomy, status, and breadth of rights and responsibilities of the autonomous provinces within the framework of SR Serbia and Yugoslavia. Especially since certain of the earlier debates contributed greatly to differences in interpretation of the constitutional solutions and to everything else which led to this meeting.

Significant debates concerning the character and status of the autonomous provinces were conducted back in the early sixties, before the 1963 constitutional reform. Describing that period in his book "Historija SFRJ" [History of the SFRY], Dr Dusan Bilandzic says: "Disagreements in the leadership of the LCY and SFRY in 1962 and 1963 concerning the strategies of further social development slowed down the pace of social change, and indeed the decisions and documents dating from that period represented compromises. This is one of the reasons why the most important document of that period, the 1963 Constitution, contained compromise solutions." It cannot be confidently asserted today that the definition of the provinces in that constitution was the result of a compromise, but it is a fact that it was revived just a few years after the constitution was adopted. The amendments concerning the provinces were first to be amended (in 1967 and 1968). In such manner as to grant them the status of a "constituent element of the Federation." Everything seems to indicate that the debates conducted following the Fourth Plenum of the LCY Central Committee and the observations that the forces condemned on that occasion had exerted an adverse influence on the policy of ethnic equality had a bearing on that decision.

The Constitution and Its Implementation

The debates concerning the character of the Yugoslav Federation and--in that context--concerning the provinces were renewed in the late sixties and early seventies, at the time of the preparation of the new package of constitutional amendments which were adopted in 1971. It is well known that not even then, in the electrified and crisis atmosphere burdened with nationalistic and liberalistic euphoria, the conditions were not perfect for the constructive and sober debates which are taken for granted when major constitutional reforms are contemplated. Nevertheless, the solutions which were adopted at that time were indeed later incorporated into the final version of the new 1974 SFRY Constitution. That is how the present scheme of the Federation and the republics and provinces took its final form. The constitution was adopted by plebiscite.

It very quickly turned out that adoption of the constitution had not brought an end to the important debates about the provinces. It was just that the character of those debates was now different: whereas previously the provisions of the

constitution had by and large been criticized, it was now the reverse, and an issue was being made of their enforcement. The SR Serbia Presidency adopted a decision on 16 January 1975 that it would take up in a meeting the "'issues' of the constitutional structure of the republic, with specific reference to performance of functions of interest to the republic as a whole." On that occasion a working group was also created to do a "comprehensive study and treatment" of these problems. A year and a half later (24 June 1976), in a meeting of the SR Serbia Presidency (whose membership includes, as is well known, representatives of both provinces), the Presidency was informed that the working group was engaged in preparing and drafting a document which would serve as the basis for discussion of the "problems of the constitutional structure of the republic with reference to the existence of the socialist autonomous provinces within it."

The Debates in 1977

Later this topic was mentioned once again in the year-end review of the current situation by the chairman of the SR Serbia Presidency at that time, which was delivered in a joint session of all the chambers of the Assembly on 30 December of that same year, 1976. "It was normal and to be expected that in the initial phase of overcoming certain statist and centralistic relations which had been retained, emphasis was put in the process of the constitutional structuring of the republic on the autonomous organization and official status of the province. However, we have entered a phase of development when conditions have imposed the need to examine and evaluate more fully the constitutional structure of SR Serbia as a governmental and sociopolitical community," it was said in that address [analogous to our "State of the Union" message--translator's note]. By and large the public was not aware of what happened after that. After all, the report which that working group was supposed to write was never again mentioned publicly, and thus all trace is lost of this topic. Only this year, in early May, after the counterrevolutionary demonstrations in Kosovo, was it said in a meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee, and then, to be sure, only in passing, that the report had been completed and had been the occasion for tumultuous debates in the top political leadership of the republic. There were several versions of that report, which was referred to as the Blue Book, versions that were drafted in succession. The last one, which was somewhat shorter than its predecessors, bore the date 11 March 1977.

It is not difficult to conclude from the discussion at the last meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee, just like the one in May, from discussions--in which the 1977 debates were often mentioned--that the Blue Book was for many a matter of dispute from the outset. Actually, the word "dispute" is not strong enough. Someone has mentioned that a demand was made for that analysis to be "burned so that it could not be used in any possible later debate."

It was evident, however, that not all the judgments of those 1977 debates were the same in all respects. Since May and all the way up until a few days ago a kind of argument has actually been going on concerning this matter. At the May meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee Ivan Stambolic for the first time issued in public an assessment of those discussions and presented a few characteristic details from which it was not difficult to suspect what was involved. "Why is it that it did not suit someone to clear up the heart of the matter at that

time? First of all," Stambolic said at that time, "because the initiatives for an essential and integral examination of the constitutional structure of Serbia were interpreted and perceived as an endeavor to restrict the rights of the provinces from the standpoint of the statehood of SR Serbia. That is why the discussions at that time were unable to offer even a clear answer whose importance we see only now--the socialist autonomous provinces are not and cannot be communities with statehood such as the republic has. We did not state clearly and resolutely at that time that SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Vojvodina and SAP Kosovo had their republic, their community with statehood, SR Serbia."

That alone, then, was enough for one to conclude what was involved. After the stormy debates initiated by the Blue Book final statements for the public were adopted. They contained an assessment of the political situation of the moment and of the major topic which had been the reason for putting the entire matter on the agenda. The main emphasis was on the danger of Serbian nationalism, while due attention was not paid to the other nationalities; the danger of centralism was emphasized, while the problem of separatism and "autonomania" was neglected. The euphoria which had brought about an explosion in Kosovo unquestionably shed a new light on the diagnosis that had been stated in that way.

The discussions behind closed doors in 1977 were confined to a small group. Those are said to have been day-and-night meetings (there were at least some 20 of them) of the "coordinating body," in which the participants included not only the highest officials of the republic, but also members of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee from SR Serbia and from the provinces, as well as the highest political officials of the interopstina conferences of the LC in the republic.

Disputes Concerning the Blue Book

Radoman Perkovic (Vojvodina LC) says that at the last meeting of the Central Committee he was surprised that Ivan Stambolic is now criticizing those discussions in 1977 "when at that time he was secretary of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee and signed all three summaries of those conversations, which I have even today, and I believed that those talks had been faithfully reflected in those summaries.

"... If that is his thinking, and he was a participant in those talks, why did he not oppose that approach, why did he accept the text of the conclusions?" Perkovic wonders.

And Bosko Krunic, chairman of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, has spoken among other things about the "essential disagreements in approach" over the question of the talks in 1977 and the summaries of them that were issued at the end. "I assume that those documents represent our views, that we adopted this, submitted it to the Central Committee, and that the Central Committee adopted them," Krunic says.

"Any serious analysis of those documents and of what happened in that period would show that we built them up on an assessment that had been erroneously arrived at at that time, which is why the attempt at counterrevolution was a surprise to all of us. In that fact lies our greatest responsibility, and we should bravely admit it in a communist spirit," Ivan Stambolic replies.

"Basically, I think that not a single view they contain could be called into question today. I even think that those documents have lasting value. However, they were not enough to meet the demands and problems of the times in which we created them, and they did not orient us in our action toward the principal and immediate dangers," Stambolic said in a recent meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee.

Dragoslav Markovic has also been among those who have referred to what happened in 1977. He says: "At no time did anyone reject that book (the Blue Book), at no time did anyone debate that book: not a single forum, not a single leadership body, nor the Central Committee, nor the Presidium of the Central Committee, nor the republic's Presidency. And what really happened? Because of that unfavorable balance of power and also the 'sensitiveness' of the issue, all the forums to which we passed on that level of responsibility, in a disciplined and responsible way, said--we accept the summary as though there were no book, we move on to the conclusion.... Probably, as in every document which is in draft form and is being offered for debate, it perhaps did include some unacceptable things. However, the book was condemned, it was denounced, as were those who wrote it. I therefore propose that we broaden Comrade Minic's motion and make available to all members of the Central Committee and to the public at large the Blue Book, the transcripts and extracts from the transcripts of the discussions conducted at that time and the conclusions of the Presidium (I do not know whether they were also adopted by the Central Committee), which are not bad. I support them even now. They do not contradict the Blue Book which was denounced. Let us be clear--I am not asking for any sort of rehabilitation of the Blue Book. It can be rejected, it need not be rejected, but whatever we do cannot get rid of the problems. So, Kosovo has demonstrated 5 years later that we made a mistake, that we rejected a real debate, that we closed our eyes to the problems," runs Markovic's assessment.

With reference to 1977, then, there are three things which need to be distinguished: the Blue Book, the transcripts of the discussions which were then conducted in the "coordinating body" of the republic, and the final summaries concerning those talks, which were later distributed to members of the Central Committee and to opstina committees of the League of Communists.

Facing Forward

Last week's meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee also had its prehistory. It might perhaps be said that this was only a continuation of the 14th Meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee, which took place on 6 May of this year and in which the lessons of the counterrevolutionary demonstrations in Kosovo were analyzed. However, the immediate occasion for the present debate was the obligation to analyze this topic which had been set down in the conclusion of the 20th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee.

Stole Jankovic, a member of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, spoke at length about what happened in Vojvodina after the May meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee. "Several members of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee declared that they entirely accepted the report presented by Comrade Vlaskalic at that meeting, but they presented the opinion that the statements of

certain comrades at that same meeting were not in accord with that report. What does that mean? It is clear that the aim here is to instill disunity and discord in the Serbian LC. To make a division in the Serbian LC. An attempt to bring about differentiation and confrontation within the leaders in Serbia that comes down to creating factions in the Serbian LC, a shattering of SR Serbia and accordingly of the SFRY as a whole. In that respect the meeting of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee last July, the public statements made by certain comrades, and also the action which followed therefrom, constitute an unprecedented example in the history of the CPY and LCY since Comrade Tito came to the head of our party. In the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee last June an assessment was offered of that meeting along with the proposals whose purpose was to indicate to the comrades from the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee the harmfulness of such a brutal attack on the leadership of SR Serbia and also the need to withdraw from circulation documents which were based on erroneous assertions harmful to unity in the Serbian LC," Jankovic observed.

In his closing statement, which was accompanied by the applause of all participants in last week's meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee, Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic called for a "facing forward" and a "drawing of many lessons, both collective and personal, but especially personal."

One of those lessons he especially singled out states that "it is not always advisable to return to the past and to things which have been superseded. This is sometimes necessary, even indispensable. It is not necessary and it is not indispensable when this hinders the discussion, if it confuses the issue, if it makes a resolution more difficult. And that is why I do not support the proposal for the 1977 materials to be distributed to members of the Central Committee or among the opstina committees."

7045
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MACEDONIAN OPINION SURVEY ON SOCIAL DIFFERENCES ANALYZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croation No 1613, 29 Nov 81 pp 22-23

[Article by Dragan Jovanovic]

[Text] At the end of October, the Ninth Scientific Conference of Yugoslav Sociologists was held in Belgrade. The topic was the position of the science in Yugoslav society. Along with the assertion of the barrenness of sociological thought and discussion of its future directions, it was stated that the subjects of investigations should include social differences in the population.

For some reason, at this same time NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE (NIN) received the results of a study by the Institute for Sociological and Political-Juridical Research in Skopje. The major research project carried the title "Public Opinion in Macedonia," but the chapter on social differences drew special interest.

Kimov, who worked directly on this chapter, stated in his introduction that: "the opinions of citizens and working people on existing social differences can be one of the factors that determine motivation and involvement in the implementation of a series of crucial socioeconomic changes and in self-management relationships in general."

The numbers and percentages in the research are even more direct than Kimov. To the question "Are social differences here increasing, staying the same or decreasing?" 48.3 percent of the total population asked, and 51 percent of the working people asked, responded that social differences were increasing. Only one-fifth responded that they were staying the same, and another fifth could not say. Essentially the same question had appeared in a questionnaire administered in Macedonia in 1978 to test public opinion. The same tendency was observed in those responses, but the number who consider that social differences are increasing has grown.

On this basis, researcher Kimov concludes, "The increase in the number of citizens and workers who consider that social differences are increasing and the relative decline in the number of those who 'could not decide,' lead to the conclusion that the public has a growing interest in this problem. The most critical segment of the population was the group from 21 to 55 years of age; i.e., those most active in society. This is probably because these people are most directly involved in the self-management system."

Finally, LCY members receiving and answering questionnaires showed a clear attitude of greater criticism on the question of social differences. Among party members, 52 percent believe that social differences are increasing, compared to 46 percent of noncommunists who do not [sic] think so. Naturally, it would be interesting to know the social structure of the party members, but the researcher did not specify their social composition or place in the social distribution of labor. Nevertheless, something can be said about the optimism of some communists that this research reveals, particularly if we keep in mind that, in this investigation, the smallest percentage of questioned communists was workers or farmers. A small group (5.1 percent) of communists believes that the workers are the best protected social class in our society; this opinion is shared by only 1.2 percent of the noncommunists questioned.

These factors result in the thesis of Dr Svetomir Skaric, the director of the institute and the reviewer of this research. He feels that this time the party members were less critical. Another reviewer, political scientist Vlado Popovski, a professor at the Skopje Philosophical Faculty, adds that besides "objective" reasons for the optimism of these communists (such as quick receipt of apartments and jobs, higher pay and better schooling for their children) there are also subjective reasons, in the "mechanism of self-defense."

The researchers asked the question: "In what aspect of living do you feel the most obvious differences between poor and rich families appear in our society?" Respondents singled out three things, in this order: employment, housing and schooling for their children. At the same time, these responses reveal the degree to which these are the urgent needs of the average Macedonian. Villas, yachts and luxurious automobiles were in fourth place, under the category of "other," while "travel and entertainment" was in fifth place.

Vlado Popovski puts it this way. Social differences have long been legitimized in our society; nobody disputes this fact. However, it is primarily a matter of the negative and unjustified consequences of social differences. If every fourth Macedonian speaks of employment as a social difference, and every fifth one about housing in that way, then the mechanism of social correction of social injustice has in large part melted away. If workers, villagers and their children have the hardest time finding jobs, apartments and education, the danger exists that there will be conflicts between segments of the class structure. In other words, we already have the rudiments of a class conflict, we have the sources for reproducing social levels and human consciousness with a critical, conflict-oriented bent.

In a way, that trend is further illustrated by the responses to a third question about social differences: "In your opinion, to what extent do measures of current economic policy protect the interests of the direct producers?" "To a small degree" was the response of 30.7 percent of all citizens, and of 37.8 percent of those employed. Fully a third answered that they could not judge.

The Managers Are the Best Protected

The next question asked, "In your opinion, whose interests are best protected in our society?" No other question brought the unanimity of responses registered by the population on this question. A high 57.7 percent answered that the management personnel had the best protection. In second place came those with technical training

followed by villagers, craftsmen and innkeepers, then those with humanistic training and, in last place, the workers. Only 2.5 percent of the population declared that the workers were the best-protected segment of society. In his concluding remarks, Kimov noted; "Comparing these data with data from previous investigations shows that these problems appear in sharper relief than before." Director Skaric was even more specific: "The research shows that the genesis of these problems can be a very interesting topic. The data indicate that the functioning of our sociopolitical system has been blocked and thereby the delegate system has been handicapped."

Finally comes a word about the importance of sociological research on the Yugoslav working class as mentioned at the start of this article. How does the Skopje institute see itself in that role?

Vlado Popovski worked in the institute for a long time. He considers himself a close collaborator, with a full right to respond to this question. He said, "We have tried to communicate with the political structure and with the public, but there was no interest from that side. Thus the institute was largely left to respond to its own scholarly conscience."

Director Skaric also said that the institute does not simply do projects on order "but rather ones that it regards as important and for which it provides the finances."

NIN asked what he would like to see the young institute become.

Skaric answered, "A scholarly institution that would quickly and constantly test public opinion and immediately report fresh results."

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1979

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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INITIAL FRENCH REACTIONS TO POLISH EVENTS REPORTED

PM171429 Paris LE MONDE in French 15 Dec 81 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Government Stresses That the Crisis Must Be Solved by Poles Themselves"]

[Excerpts] Mr Mitterrand is following the situation in Poland "very closely," the Elysee stated Sunday, 13 December. For his part Mr Mauroy thinks that "if the renewal movement were to be smashed it would have serious repercussions." External Relations Minister Cheysson received Polish Ambassador Kulaga Sunday afternoon. In the morning Polish Foreign Minister Czyrek had received French Ambassador Dupuy. The various statements point out that "at present" there is no foreign intervention and that the crisis should be solved by the Poles themselves.

The Quai d'Orsay issued the following communique Sunday afternoon: "The French Government is closely following the serious events which are taking place in Poland. It deplores the series of events which led to the arrest of leaders of the Solidarity trade union movement, which is arousing strong feelings in France and in the world.

"It hopes that Polish leaders of all different leanings will be able to avoid any confrontation and through dialogue find a solution of national reconciliation which will make it possible to rapidly restore public and trade unions freedoms."

Mr Jobert: Double Or Quits

Foreign Trade Minister Jobert, who arrived in the USSR Saturday to take part in the Franco-Soviet Grand Commission meeting in Moscow this Monday and Tuesday, said in Leningrad Sunday that his program would not be altered by events in Poland but that he would discuss them in the political part of his mission. On Tuesday he is to have talks with Soviet Government chief Tikhonov and Foreign Minister Gromyko.

The Warsaw Government's decision is "a matter which primarily concerns the Polish people and their institutions," Mr Jobert said, expressing the view that "in many respects it is a matter of double or quits." The minister hinted that he would not hand over the message which Mr Mitterrand had given him for Mr Brezhnev should he be received by the Soviet head of state. "Messages are documents adapted to circumstances," he pointed out, stressing that Mr Mitterrand's message had been written before the latest events.

CSO: 3100/299

ROMANIANS REVIEW ALBANIAN BOOK ON LEAGUE OF PRIZREN

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Nov 81 pp 2161-2162

[Review of Gazmend Shpulza's book "Gjurmime ne epoken e Rilindjes Kombetare (Research in the Era of the National Renaissance), "8 Nentori" Publishers, Tirana, 1980, 300 p, by Gelcu Maksutovici and Dumitru Polena]

[Text] Many works, studies and articles on the Albanian national renaissance movement (Rilindja Kombetare Shqiptare) were published in Albania and even abroad for the 1978 anniversary of the Albanian League of Prizren so that the subject seemed to be nearly exhausted. Just two years following this avalanche of materials, documents and first-hand museum exhibits, a new and interesting monograph has appeared; it is a type of general synthesis of the conclusions included in all the works on this subject, but presenting some original aspects of the social-economic and political-cultural problems of the period and with new archive information which completes everything that has been published in this regard like an apotheosis. The work of researcher Gazmend Shpuza, a doctor in history, based on a rich bibliography of the problem, has the merit of making a meticulous analysis of the most important and complex situations created by the rule of the Ottoman Empire over the Albanian territories following the reforms of the tanzimate, covering nearly the entire 19th century and first two decades of the 20th, with regard to the influence of Turkish domination over the entire social-economic and political life of the Albanian population. The Albanian national renaissance movement bore this powerful imprint up to the achievement of state independence in November 1912, with the national emancipation being the result of laborious work carried out by the Albanian patriots not only within the country but also in the cultural societies which were operating in Constantinopole, Cairo, Sofia or Bucharest, but all according to the model imprinted by the Albanians who were taking action in Constantinopole. Heading them were the prestigious intellectuals such as the Abdyl brothers, Naim and Sami Frasheri or, later, Ismail Qemali, who closely linked the problems of culture and the school in the Albanian language with obtaining Albania's independence. All these problems specific to the liberation struggle of the Albanians are included brilliantly in the new work of the historian Gazmend Shpuza.

Although we are faced with some of the author's older selections from studies and concerns, some even exceeding the framework referred to, through the fact that they were brought up to date with new Albanian and foreign documentary materials not utilized up until now and, in particular, due to their unified line, forming a well-knit whole, this work has taken on a clearly monographic nature over the entire period. Starting with the study entitled "On the Nature of the Albanian National Renaissance,"

which analyzes the national and anti-feudal aspects of the struggle against the Ottoman occupation, the motor forces of the national revolution, the emphasis is placed on Albania's economic and social status. A special study is done in "The Situation of Ownership of the Land at the End of the 19th Century and Start of the 20th Century" in order to define the role of various classes and social strata in the country's economic life on the basis of detailed statistical data, with a general view of the exploitation of the peasantry.

The study entitled "The Frasheri Brothers About the Albanian League of Prizren," compiled on the basis of letters between them, although substantial with regard to interpretation, has many omissions in the information referring to the ties of Naim Fresheri with Romania. As is well known, a portion of the writings of this great patriot was first published in Romania. A recent book by historian Kristo Frasheri* published in Tirana for the anniversary celebration of the League of Prizren, besides a rich bibliography of Albanian works which appeared under the sponsorship of the Drita and Dituria cultural societies which were active in Bucharest as well as news of Sami Frasheri, among which is the one referring to the play entitled "Besa" (The Oath) played on the stage of the Lyric Theater in 1901. It is surprising how an informed author, as the one of this book, forgets Romania's ties with the Albanian national renaissance movement, particularly its masterminds, as is the case of the brothers Naim and Sami Frasheri.

Of major importance for clarifying certain positions on the role of the popular masses in determining the success of revolutionary actions is the chapter entitled "The movement of the Popular Masses in 1875-1881, the Base and Main Force of the League of Prizren," which ends with the conclusion that although the League of Prizren was defeated, the Albanians drew the necessary lessons for the future decisive battles against the occupiers and to bring the task of national liberation to a conclusion." (p 195). In connection with reading Kristo Dako's book, "The League of Prizren, the First National Movement for Defense of the Territorial Integrity and Gaining of Independence by Albania," Bucharest, 1922, we must emphasize that for the time at which it was written it represented a progressive viewpoint, while a cut down version of a single paragraph on page 25 is not able to offer a plausible argument regarding the author's concept of the role of personality in history. On the other hand, despite the fact that the author lived and wrote the book in Romania, he used a vast documentary base while the conclusions to a large extent also are worthwhile even today.

What is interesting to us is the information on the "first Albanian school of Prizren" and the "Albanian League of Peja," but, in particular, the information contained in the essay entitled "The Uprising Which Led to the Proclamation of Independence," for the fact that it completes the picture of the Albanian renaissance movement with collateral data, but significant data for the popular masses' state of spirit on the eve of events which concerned the entire southeastern European area in the first decade of the 20th century. The author concludes: "The independent Albania was not the product of political combinations or the gift of one or another foreign factor, but it was the result of the people's heroic sturggle, the direct crowning of the great Albanian uprisings in 1910-1912 led by special patriots, the best sons of the people." (p 297).

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* See Kristo Frasheri, "Tre Vellezer Pizhtare" (Three Brothers of the Enlightenment), "8 Nentori" Publishers, Tirana, 1978.

Despite all the shortcomings pointed out, especially the ones referring to the Romanian aid given to the struggle of the Albanian patriots to free their country from under Ottoman rule and the proclamation of Albania's state independence, the new book by the historian Gazmend Shpuza, as stated in the introduction of this presentation, is an important achievement by the modern Albanian author and historiographer, a materialization of the fact that no matter how many times a problem is researched, various angles still are to be found in interpreting and presenting the facts and in discovering new interesting information.

8071
CSO: 2700/159

SLOVENIANS REPORT SENTENCING OF AUSTRIAN WHO SPIED FOR ROMANIA

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 30 Jan 82 p 14

[Article by Slavko Fras: "The Chief of Police Was 'Baby'"]

[Text] Vienna--29 January--From our correspondent--Today the former chief of the Vienna foreign police, 57-year-old Edgar Berger, a high official, was sentenced to only 2 years in prison--they regarded as extenuating circumstances the naivete with which Berger began the espionage affair during which he supplied the Romanian intelligence service, the "Securitate," with information about Romanian refugees, Austrian police employees and functionaries in the Austrian Government's security services.

Berger was exposed soon after the chief code clerk defected from the Romanian Embassy in Vienna and took with him a sack with 60 kg of strictly confidential documents. American experts processed this material and, "in a fraternal spirit," they presented the documents referring to the retired high-level Austrian police officer to their Viennese colleagues.

During the 2-day trial, Berger burst into tears repeatedly and asserted that he wandered into espionage by mistake and that he was not aware of it. "The Romanians were friendly to me, we sat in inns and talked. That was all," he stated. They discussed matters which they should not have been talking about. "Mr Judge, I confess that what you accuse me of is true. But, believe me, I did not know that state secrets were involved." Then why did he accept the money? "Once the Romanian gave me 500 [schillings?] wrapped in a newspaper.

I looked at it and thought: 'What is this?'

Afterwards, it was too late."

The police chief received almost 6,000 schillings a month and also he did not pay for the drinks at various drinking sprees.

"I gave the money to my child for pocket money," he pleaded. But the cross-examiners established the fact that he spent a lot for a luxuriously furnished, large country home on the Austrian-Czech border.

The Austrian police, which closely collaborated with the Romanians in the investigation, established that the "Securitate" indicated that Berger was given a much larger "remuneration" than he actually received.

The Austrians and the Romanians now presume that the "intermediaries," the agents who had direct contact with the high official, pocketed the difference. Some of them "took off" immediately after the code clerk fled to America and others have not been seen recently.

Dr Edgar Berger tried to prove to the court that he was not so naive as it might appear to the jury. So he said that, at first, he prohibited the Romanian from telephoning him at his office.

When he told the Romanian this, the Romanian left for Prinz Eugen-strasse, where the Romanian Embassy is located, and on a big bulletin board in front of the entrance to the Belvedere Gallery, he drew the picture of an apple--this was a signal that there would be a meeting that night in the inn.

In the spy lists of the Romanian intelligence service, Berger is called by the code name "Baby."

CSO: 2800/227

STANKO TODOROV STRESSES IMPORTANT ROLE OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 22 Jan 82 pp 1-2

[Interview with Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the National Assembly, conducted by Mikhail Gorinov, OTECHESTVEN FRONT correspondent: "The 12th Party Congress and the Activities of the National Assembly"]

[Text] The three main directions of the supreme state power organ. Increased activity of people's representatives. Special discussion of the implementation of instructions. The people's councilors must live with the thoughts, concerns and actions of their electorate. The tasks of the Fatherland Front are becoming ever more responsible. Eighteen draft laws will be considered this year.

The further development and strengthening of socialist democracy and the improvement of the society's political system call for the solution of some specific problems related to the work of the supreme state power organ. This topic was discussed by Mikhail Gorinov, representative of OTECHESTVEN FRONT with Comrade Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and National Assembly chairman.

[Question] Which are the basic features in the work of the National Assembly which show most clearly its active attitude toward the resolutions of the 12th BCP Congress?

[Answer] The 12th congress was a major event in the life of the party and the people. In the spirit of the proven April line, the congress defined the main socioeconomic task of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. It substantiated the need for and indicated the ways leading to a return to all-round intensification and the enhancement of the people's living standard. Improving state construction and social management and the further development of socialist democracy play an important role in its resolutions.

The resolutions of the 12th BCP Congress are the concentrated expression of the interests and aspirations of the people and the party's orientation to the nation.

That is why these decisions are the focal point of the work of the supreme state power organ--the National Assembly.

The National Assembly will contribute to the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th party congress along three main directions.

First. To the overall exercise of its constitutional function of supreme organizer of the planned management of the development of society. At its fourth session, the National Assembly passed the Law on the Unified Plan for the Socio-economic Development of the Bulgarian People's Republic in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. Within the framework of the 5-year plan it will stipulate the annual assignments and, through all its activities--legislative, controlling, etc.--will contribute to the implementation of the plan and to the growth of the homeland's economic power.

Second. Through its activities for improving the political system and developing socialist democracy. The National Assembly will take measures to maintain constitutional relations between the representative and the executive organs of state power. Parliamentary control over ministries, departments and executive committees of people's councils, the courts and the prosecution will be strengthened. It will thus implement the instruction of the 12th party congress on improving the political system of our society.

Third. Through its legislative activities. Changes in social relations and in the people, which take place in the process of building a developed socialist society, call for the updating of legislation and increasing the effectiveness of the laws. The National Assembly will engage in intensive efforts in this direction.

The adoption of an active attitude toward the resolutions of the 12th party congress calls for improving and raising the level of the work of the National Assembly as well. The starting ideas in this respect are found in the report which Comrade Todor Zhivkov submitted to the congress.

[Question] What will be the specific manifestation of the activities of the people's representatives in the Eighth National Assembly at the present stage of the development of socialist democracy?

[Answer] The people's representatives are responsible political and state personalities. The constitution, the Law on People's Representatives and People's Councilors and the Regulation on the Work of the National Assembly grant the necessary rights for the implementation of their functions.

The free and businesslike discussion of draft laws and other parliamentary acts is an expression of socialist democracy. We expect of the people's representatives, through their statements, suggestions and motions at National Assembly sessions to contribute to the enhancement of its work standard. The past four sessions of the National Assembly have been characterized precisely by the increased activeness of the people's representatives.

The permanent commissions, which are justifiably described as "small parliaments," are an effective democratic institution. Here all important problems on which the

National Assembly must pass resolutions are discussed. The commissions perform important control functions as well. The National Assembly leadership tries to create conditions leading to improving the work of the permanent commissions and to enhance the role of the individual people's representatives in their work.

The democratic nature of our society is manifested not only in the fact that the people's representatives are elected on the basis of universal, direct and equal balloting. Throughout the duration of his mandate, the people's representative must maintain permanent contacts with his electorate, defend its legitimate requests, inform them of the work of the parliament and seek their advice on decisions to be made. The 12th party congress ascribed great importance to this function of the people's representative. Our aim is to organize and assist the development of ties between people's representatives and the population.

[Question] The active attitude of the voters concerning the most vital problems of our development was particularly impressive in the preelectoral activities. This is confirmed by the number and the scale of the instructions which were issued. What is your view of the nature of the people's instructions for the current term of the supreme power organ? In this respect, to what extent could we look for connections between direct and representative democracy?

[Answer] The instructions of the voters are being asserted as an effective form of socialist democracy ever more extensively and firmly. It is through them that the citizens directly participate in management. They are the yardstick of social activeness, civic conscience, responsibility and concern for the national interests on the part of the working people. During the preelection period, 1,350 instructions were addressed to the government and the ministries alone, pertaining to economic, social, cultural and other problems. Most of them are related to resolving daily problems facing the citizens.

The classification of the instructions was completed after the elections and they were directed to the respective ministries and people's councils. Programs for their implementation were adopted at the sessions of the okrug people's councils. The plan for socioeconomic development in the Eighth 5-Year Plan secured the necessary resources for the implementation of the instructions included in the program. We have decided to demand the strict, timely and accurate implementation of instructions by the respective organs and to keep the citizens steadily informed of the work accomplished. Toward the end of the year the National Assembly will hold a special discussion on the implementation of the voters' instructions.

Let me state frankly that the implementation of a high percentage of the instructions related to public works depends on the initiative of obshtina people's councils, the municipalities and the Fatherland Front committees, which must organize the voluntary work of the citizens and make use of local resources.

The instructions formulated by the citizens are the live tie which links voters with people's representatives and councilors. They are the link between direct and representative democracy. This is the source of their strength and of the role they play in the life and strengthening of the country.

[Question] It is likely that the new features in the work of the National Assembly will be reflected in the activities of people's councils in okrugs and conurbation systems. Do you consider this expectation justified and how will it be manifested?

[Answer] The National Assembly provides supreme leadership and control over the activities of the people's councils. A Permanent Commission on People's Councils was created by the first session of the Eighth National Assembly to help the parliament.

The new features in the activities of the National Assembly are of a basic nature and will have a favorable impact on the work of the people's councils as well. As the local representatives of the state power and of the people's self-administration, they provide the comprehensive leadership in the development of the conurbation systems and the okrugs. The most important part of their activities is to meet the population's requirements and to ensure the effective development of production forces and the protection of the environment.

Enhancing the role of the councilors and strengthening their ties with the population are essential features in improving the activities of the people's councils. They must live with the thoughts, concerns, actions and deeds of their electorate.

The obshtina people's councils must be granted extensive rights. They must have strong material and organizational possibilities in order to resolve the problems of individuals and settlements.

The normative organization of this enhanced role of the local organs of state power and social self-administration will be provided by the new law on the people's councils, which will be passed by the National Assembly this year.

[Question] The great positive changes in our socioeconomic life broaden the activities of the Fatherland Front in the areas of its work and of the National Assembly. How do you assess this new feature and to what extent, in your view, could it help you in your work?

[Answer] The Fatherland Front was and remains the most popular support of the people's regime. The ties linking the Fatherland Front with the representative organs are close and unbreakable. It would be virtually impossible to enhance the role of the National Assembly and the people's representatives without the active efforts of the Fatherland Front. In this respect, priority is given to a number of tasks facing it: the organization of systematic relations between people's representatives and citizens; the submission of periodical reports by the people's representatives to the voters; help in the study of and control over the solution of problems which the working people submit to the people's representatives; reporting on the implementation of instructions, etc. The Fatherland Front organizations can contribute a great deal to increasing the exigency toward state and economic organs and organizations.

[Question] What are the main features of the work plan of the National Assembly in 1982?

[Answer] The 1982 National Assembly work plan, adopted at its fourth session, calls for extensive and varied activities on the part of the supreme state power organ. The range of problems to be discussed by the parliament has been broadened and parliamentary control over the activities of the government, the ministries and the executive committees of the people's councils is being strengthened. A total of 18 draft bills will be discussed. They include bills on young people, the people's councils, cooperatives, social information, etc. The National Assembly will also discuss the report submitted by the government. The minister of construction and architecture and the chairman of the Sofia People's Council Executive Committee will report to the parliament on housing construction; the minister of public health will report on the condition of the health care system and the measures taken to ensure its improvement.

Active efforts will be made by the permanent commissions as well. They will discuss draft bills and implement a number of control measures. The respective permanent commissions will discuss the reports submitted by the minister of transportation on the condition of transportation services; the minister of justice, on the organization of legal services; and the ministers of light industry and of machine building and electronics and the chairman of the National Agroindustrial Union on the production of consumer goods.

The National Assembly will pursue its active international efforts. Our parliamentary delegations will visit India, Iraq, Yugoslavia, Syria, Nigeria, the GDR and other countries. We will host delegations from a number of friendly countries, including the USSR, Sweden, The Netherlands, Kampuchea, etc. The Bulgarian Interparliamentary Group will develop its work as well.

The implementation of the plans for parliamentary work in 1982 will be a major step toward enhancing the role of the National Assembly and a contribution to the further development of the developed socialist society.

5003
CSO: 2200/57

ARMY PARTY MEETINGS REFLECT WEAKNESSES IN TRAINING, DISCIPLINE, PREPAREDNESS

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 26 Dec 81 p 2

[Article: "Report and Election Party Meetings in Complete Conformity with Demands of Twelfth BCP Congress"]

[Text] The report and election meetings of primary party organizations are in full swing. The GlPUNA [Glavnoto Politichesko Upravlenie na Narodnata Armiya; Main Political Administration of the People's Army] has discussed their preparation and conduct.

The general estimate is that the political organizers and party leaders are meeting the demands of the BCP Central Committee and the GlPUNA. Meetings proceed in organized fashion in the spirit of the tasks assigned by the Twelfth BCP Congress and in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech to the October National Conference. They rightly concentrate attention on making a thorough and comprehensive evaluation of the work of party organizations and communists to bring the combat readiness of the troops into conformity with the demands of the Twelfth BCP Congress, the Fourteenth All-Army Party Conference, and the complex and tense international situation. They show more successfully the contribution of party work to improvement of the organization and quality of training activity among the troops. They discuss more thoroughly the primary organization's inner-party and ideological-and-educational work.

Meetings proceed with heightened interest and active participation of party members in discussion of the questions that are raised. What is favorable is that the communists show a critical and self-critical attitude and a sense of dissatisfaction with the state of combat readiness and with military and political training. Practical suggestions are made for the improvement of military and party work.

It has been noted that, side by side with what is favorable, there are some weaknesses, too. Not all the meetings proceed in the spirit of the tasks set by the Twelfth Party Congress and the October National Conference. The depth of the evaluations made and conclusions drawn at them about party work does not meet these high demands to the fullest extent or give a comprehensive idea of the multifaceted activity of primary organizations for fulfillment of the decisions of the Twelfth BCP Congress.

Some of the report and election meetings cannot fully demonstrate the contribution of party work to improvement of the organization and quality of training activity, to implementation of congress demands for a general intensification in soldierly labor, and to the most fruitful utilization of very good practice-combat, social and living conditions in the army and the experience of front-rankers for a sharp rise in the progress of combat and political training. They do not have a most thorough appreciation of the communist approach to competition among the troops in the light of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech to the October National Conference and of the New BNA directive on socialist competition. Nor do they put in a new light the questions relating to the campaign for economical use of materials, funds, fuels and energy. They do not give enough attention to the role and influence of party organizations in solidifying military personnel and strengthening discipline, or to the resolute halting of attempts to violate disciplinary requirements. Nor do they raise or appreciate problems involving national, production, planning and financial discipline with sufficient pointedness.

A number of report meetings take a very general and simplified approach in disclosing the inner-party life of the organizations. They have not got the fullest appreciation, the thoroughest comprehension or the minutest understanding of the tasks resulting from the Twelfth BCP Congress, viz.: further elevation of the role and combat capability of primary organizations; continuous expansion and development of their amateur art activities; concern over the growth of inner-party democracy; conversion of their inner life into a model for military personnel; ways and means of improving the quality of party personnel and the eduction of young communists; conversion of every party organization into a mainstay of its members. They appreciate incompletely and with a certain misunderstanding the primary party organization's role as key political nucleus of the military collective, in consequence of which its position as representative of the party in the collective does not emerge.

In isolated cases questions involving party leadership of the Komsomol are discussed in a biased manner. Conclusions about party activity in this area are based more on the communists sent to work in the Komsomol than upon comprehensive fulfillment of the tasks set in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's letter to the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union and in the Long-Term Program of the MNO [Ministry of National Defense] and the GlPUNA.

Some of the reports and speeches do not treat the questions of ideologicla and educational work carried on by the primary organizations completely in conformity with the demands of the Twelfth Congress and with the tasks assigned in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech to the October National Conference. They have a tendency to pay greater attention to the decreed educational activities rather than analyze the fulfillment of the tasks in prospect for the party organizations' ideological activity. They do not disclose the educational work done to study, clarify and implement the decisions of the Twelfth Party Congress and convert their ideological content into understanding, conviction and motive for an active campaign by the soldiers to raise combat capability and combat readiness of troops. They raise--in the most general form, completely inappropriate to the conditions under which the respective primary party organization and military personnel operate--questions regarding the further study and use of the great educational influence of the socialist social environment in the army, as well as questions regarding

intensification of the offensiveness and combat-mindedness of ideological work, and strengthening them as the main means of constant spiritual contact between party and personnel. They do not reveal thoroughly enough the inner ideological life of some of the party organizations and their work to heighten the ideological tempering and conviction of the communists and the campaign against negative behavior etc.

There are party leaders who underestimate the effective role of report meetings in successfully solving the tasks now assigned to the troops. They are unwarrantedly complacent with what has been achieved and do not direct attention to the still unsolved questions and weaknesses in troop training. They point out the heightened party demands and the increasingly involved international situation more in order to inform the communists than to intensify their personal responsibility for solving the problems directly. Some of the report and election meetings give greater attention to past activity rather than expose, with sufficient alarm, the present status of military and party personnel. This may explain why some of the meetings, on the one hand, proceed "normally" and, on the other, in units where the same party organizations are operating, there are serious weaknesses in combat readiness, training, keeping on the alert, and strengthening the discipline of personnel.

There are significant weaknesses in some places in formulating the impending tasks for the employment of party organizations and communists that follow from the decisions of the Twelfth BCP Congress and the October National Conference. Tasks are assigned very generally, without the necessary specificity to match the local conditions and situation, nor are they sufficiently in conformity with the requirements incorporated in the Minister of National Defense's order regarding the new training year or with the directives of the chief of GlPUNA regarding party-political work. The necessary attention is not given in full measure in drawing up and adopting draft decisions.

This prevents or fails to assure the necessary conditions for report and election meetings to contribute most actively to a further elevation of the primary party organization's reform role in the military collective.

The reasons for these weaknesses trace back to political organizers and party committees and to their unbusinesslike and uncreative direction of the training and conduct of the report and election meetings of primary organizations. Some political organizers have not managed to direct the attention of party leaders to what is the main and vital thing, namely, that the meetings should proceed entirely in the spirit of the demands of the Twelfth Party Congress and Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech to the October National Conference. They have not made good and clear to the political sections and party committees how and which party leaders are to be helped in meeting the requirements for the successful organization of report meetings. There are political sections which apply a low standard in evaluating report meetings and too little stringency in eliminating weaknesses. The selection and renewal of party leaders and especially of party secretaries is not supervised everywhere at first hand.

The reasons for the weaknesses that occur trace back to the party leaders themselves, their responsibility, their inadequate training and ability to enforce

the party's high demands in practice. Some of the party bureaus do not make clear beforehand the favorable and the weak aspects of their work in the spirit of the party's high demands, on the basis of which reports are thereafter to be drawn up. Some of these leaders begin the preparation of materials for the meetings very late, thus failing to create the necessary conditions for thorough discussion of the assigned questions.

For political organizers and party leaders of the army there is now no more important or paramount task than this--that report and election party meetings should be prepared and held in full conformity with the demands of the Twelfth BCP Congress and the October National Conference.

6474
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AVAILABILITY OF CZECHOSLOVAK PUBLICATIONS DISCUSSED

'KATOLICKE NOVINY's' Editorial Notice

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Apr 81 p 6

[A notice signed "Editorial Office:" "Communication"]

[Text] Of late the editors of KATOLICKE NOVINY have been receiving letters and telephone calls in which customers complain about delays or occasional unavailability of our weekly. We wish to tell our readers that this state of affairs has not been caused by our editorial office, nor by Mir 4 Printing Shop in Prague I where the paper is printed. Insofar as editing and producing the paper is concerned, every issue is prepared in time for distribution which, however, then depends on the Postal Newspaper Delivery Service, as does the handling of permanent subscriptions, as stated on the back page of every issue.

Reader Preferences Revealed

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 3, 20 Jan 82 p 12

[Editorial signed "ej": "One Way To Clear Up a Spell"]

[Text] Some time ago, when minister of communications issued a directive forbidding the owners of Postal Newspaper Delivery Service and tobacco kiosks to keep for their regular customers newspapers and magazines under the counter, it created quite a stir. The subject of discussion, which was even participated in by the press, was the fear that this regulation might do disservice to the most discerning and devoted newspaper readers.

I must admit that I had never thought of this problem before but afterwards I began to pay attention. Accordingly, I discovered some interesting things. For example, the very popular and very hard-to-get magazine MLADY SVET which one formerly had no chance of finding on display after 8 a.m. of the day of its publication, now will stay on display till at least half past 8, by which time it will have been bought up by students from neighboring schools. Copies of the magazine VLASTA, so popular among our women, which news vendors always used to pull out with a conspiratorial wink from under the counter--where it often lay unused from the day of its publication until Saturday--now sometimes remains

on display in the kiosk as late as 1 day after publication. There has been a drastic change in the very appearance of newsstands and counters at which newspapers are sold. On counters where after 8 a.m. you used to find nothing but MLADA FRONTA, ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY and PRACE, you may now find LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE and SVODODNE SLOVO, occasionally--given inclement weather--even on Saturday mornings at half past 10, while other dailies are unavailable.

Blast that regulation! Just a year ago, publications such as LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, VLASTA and DORKA were looked upon as treasured rarities and one cannot really blame some of the salespeople for not having the fortitude to refuse gratuities amounting to double the price of each publication, urged on them by grateful customers for having obligingly kept those papers for them under the counter. And now the magic has been dispelled. I leave it to the common sense of the reader to figure out what other spells could be similarly cleared up if similar directives were issued and consistently enforced in other areas of our retail trade. It boggles the mind just to think of it!

CSO: 2400/141

REFORMS OF LEGISLATION ON HIGHER EDUCATION PROPOSED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 154, 12 Oct 81 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "Reform of GDR Higher Education Legislation Demanded." A translation of the East Berlin STAAT UND RECHT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The East Berlin journal STAAT UND RECHT has called for a sweeping reform of the legislation in effect for GDR universities and advanced schools. It notes that it is especially necessary to standardize higher education law -- in the admissions sector, for example -- in order to gain increased comprehensibility through self-contained legislation. At present, there are still many partially contradictory individual regulations for sectors whose circumstances are the same. Moreover, higher education legislation must place greater emphasis on the shared responsibility of the enterprises in the areas of research, training and basic and advanced education. In areas where the processes of supplementing, revising and clarifying the law allow, individual regulations should also be improved upon and policy and objectives precisely defined.

GDR Law Professor's Analysis

East Berlin STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 30 No 10, Oct 81 (signed to press 26 Aug 81) pp 905-913

[Article by Prof Dr Willi Buechner-Uhder, Department of Political Science and Jurisprudence, Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg: "Problems of Further Development of Higher Education Legislation"]

[Text] 1. The methodical organization of the law into branches of law is an essential factor in jurisdiction, practical application of the law, research and legal education. This systematization cannot be carried out arbitrarily. Rather, it results from the organization of social relationships which constitute the subject matter of legislation -- or the method, the special procedure, employed by the law to influence the social relationships which it regulates.[1] The system of socialist law, its organization into branches of law, is conditioned by objective and subjective factors, the decisive one being the objectivity of the character of the socialist legal system. The result is that the structure of socialist law is

basically the same in the individual socialist states; there can of course be individual differences in systems -- depending above all upon subjective factors.

In addition to the methodical organization of law into branches of law, other systematization criteria also have to be observed, however. Hence, incorporation and codification are major types of legislative systematization.[2] From these standpoints it is also possible to categorize and classify law systematically according to management sectors (cultural legislation, health legislation and social legislation, for example). This is done chiefly when publishing statute books. But this type of systematization is necessary and beneficial not only to legislation; in my view it also promotes interdisciplinary research by bringing together legal experts from different branches of law to carry out joint studies.

The systematization of socialist law into branches of law does not preclude the development of other groupings for specific reasons. But in that event, the assumption should be made that such groupings are not branches of law but are other systematization systems,[3] for which the term legal or scientific domain should be used. If research work is to be effective, a determination ought to be made as to which branches of law and legal institutions belong to a particular legal domain.

This also applies to higher education law, which incorporates within it the norms of various branches of law and is determined by the parameters of its management sector. In this context a prerequisite for a study of the development of this legal domain is an analysis of its content, in which case it is necessary to determine the social relationships, branches of law, legal institutions and legal norms that come under the heading of higher education law.

2. Assuming the validity of the thesis that higher education law is the legal domain that encompasses the management sector for higher education affairs, it follows that it includes all social relationships that are established, altered or nullified within the framework of managerial activity on the part of organs and institutions of higher education and/or its managers and staff employees. The main ones are public law relationships (e.g., pertaining to the establishment and guarantee of the constitutional right to education in accordance with Art 26 of the GDR Constitution), administrative law relationships (e.g., relationships between the ministry and the institution of higher education or the institution and the student), labor law relationships (e.g., labor contracts for staff employees of the higher education institution), economic law relationships (e.g., contractual ties between higher education institutions and the combines and enterprises) and civil law relationships (e.g., rental or lease agreements concluded by higher education institutions).

Additional legal relationships exist as well, those that are concerned with patent law, innovator law or with other branches of law.[4] In other words, higher education law encompasses a number of branches of law whose norms and legal institutions -- as in other social sectors -- also apply to the higher education sector. Although the heterogeneity of a complex arrangement such as this may make it of little use in the systematic education of students, it is nonetheless eminently appropriate for the practical work of managers and staff employees who deal with higher education, because they use the law in its complexity, not separately according to branches of law.[5]

It is also characteristic of higher education law that this sector has specific regulations that apply solely or mainly to higher education. These regulations chiefly concern the responsibilities and powers of universities and advanced schools, the responsibilities, rights and obligations of students as well as the responsibilities, rights and obligations of university-level teachers and scientific staff employees. The main ones are as follows:

The Decree on the Responsibilities of Universities, Scientific Colleges and University-Level Scientific Institutions, dated 25 February 1970; the decree has been supplemented with additional regulations concerned especially with the work of their councils;

Regulations on examinations, diplomas and graduates, the scholarship decree and numerous other rules of law and normative directives from the minister for university and technical school affairs and other organs involved in the education process;

Decrees on the appointment of university-level teachers and on staff employees; regulations on academic degrees and other individual regulations that are also important to the status of university-level teachers and other persons as well (in the acquisition of academic degrees, for instance).[6]

These rules in particular and the social relationships that underlie them make up the real core of higher education law. But it must not be overlooked in this regard that they also come under different branches of law -- mainly administrative law and labor law -- and corresponding scientific disciplines.

3. Administrative law is viewed as the branch of uniform socialist law whose rules regulate those social relationships that are formed in the process of executive/administrative activity by the organs of government in the regular, operational management of social development.[7] Consequently, administrative law as it pertains to higher education law encompasses the following main areas:

The legal status, the responsibilities and powers of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs as they pertain to administrative law. Also included are other organs that have authority over universities, colleges or other university-level scientific institutions;

The legal status, the responsibilities and powers of universities, colleges and other university-level scientific institutions (e.g., medical academies);

The educational status of regular students and other types of students (correspondence- and night-school students, research students, prospective students, auditors, par ticipants in forms of long-term continuing education and day students);

The responsibilities and powers of university-level teachers and scientific staff employees as they pertain to administrative law.

It must be added by way of explanation that the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs (MHF), acting on behalf of the Council of Ministers and as its organ, is primarily responsible for the uniform execution of university and technical school policy in the management sector for university and technical school

affairs. Not all institutions of higher learning are directly subordinate to this ministry, however. The only ones are the universities and medical academies, the technical colleges and engineering colleges, the Freiberg Mining Academy, the Bruno Leuschner College of Economics and the Leipzig Commercial College. The remaining 35 advanced schools come under other central organs. For instance, the teachers' colleges come under the Ministry for Public Education, and the conservatories of music are subordinate to the Ministry for Culture. The Karl Marx Party College is under the SED Central Committee, and the FDGB Federal Executive Board is in charge of the Fritz Heckert Trade Union College. The 240 technical schools are presently administered by central organs of the government (e.g., the agricultural engineering schools are under the Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs), by the bezirk councils (e.g., the institutes for teacher training) or by social organizations (e.g., the Friedrich Wehmer Agricultural Engineering School of the VdgB [Farmers Mutual Aid Association] reports to the VdgB Central Executive Board.

Higher education law is consequently charged with regulating the administrative legal relations between these organs and the advanced schools under them as well as cooperation by the MHF with these organs. In practice there are also numerous pieces of higher education legislation and other normative documents that have been issued by these organs for their own sectors,[8] as well as regulations that provide for participation by these organs in certain decisions of the minister for university and technical school affairs and, conversely, for his approval of decisions made by the managements of these organs.[9] Regardless of all the various jurisdictions, the MHF continues to be responsible for the uniform execution of university and technical school policy, for which the minister possesses the corresponding authority.[10] It should be equally beyond dispute that the legal delineation of these higher education legal relationships is governed by administrative law; this applies to the legal status of universities and colleges as well as the other university-level scientific institutions.[11] Their organizational form is that of state institutions which are subordinate to organs of the state apparatus, and whose legal status -- especially in terms of responsibilities and powers -- lies within the purview of administrative law.[12] Chief among the administrative legal responsibilities and powers of the universities and technical schools -- thus coming under the category of executive/administrative activity -- are admission to institutions of higher education, the establishment and further delineation of student educational relationships, the awarding of academic degrees and professional titles as well as delineation of the responsibilities and powers of their advisory bodies (e.g., scientific councils) and structural units (e.g., departments).

The student educational relationship is essentially regulated by administrative law. This applies not only to the regular student but also to the other types of students, whereby still other legal relationships may exist outside the educational one (e.g., the labor law relationship in the case of correspondence students). In some cases the students' educational relationship under administrative law touches upon other legislation, mainly labor laws. This applies to practical vocational training or student employment during vacations, for example.[13] Although in this case the educational relationship under administrative law remains in effect, together with its rights and obligations, other labor law provisions supervene; some may become part of the educational relationship or lead to further contracts under labor law. The student educational relationship is essentially a relationship in administrative law.[14]

By contrast, the legal relationships of university-level teachers and scientific staff employees are primarily determined by labor law.[15] Labor law is that branch of uniform socialist law which deals with the rules of law set by the state with input from the trade unions; it is the branch that regulates employment relationships for workers and salaried employees as well as some closely related social circumstances in which they do their work and in which their capacity for work is further developed at the same time.[16] Consequently, also included here are the employment relationships for university-level teachers and scientific staff employees; the Labor Code is the principal basis on which these relationships are established, structured and terminated. A number of rules of administrative law are applied in addition, however; e.g., with reference to the appointment and retirement of professors. To my mind, these are decisions that come under the heading of administrative law in the performance of executive/administrative duties. Also in the nature of administrative law are the special disciplinary regulations for teachers at the university level[17] -- involving the establishment of specific administrative commissions in the form of disciplinary committees. The same is true of those regulations that deal with responsibilities and powers under administrative law; e.g., with respect to the student whose educational status comes under the heading of administrative law. Just as the status of managers and staff employees of state organs bears the imprint of both labor law and administrative law, this also holds true for university-level teachers and scientific staff employees -- taking into consideration the specific conditions peculiar to higher education institutions.

4. The effort made here to determine the social relationships within the legal domain of higher education law indicates that its specific regulations have to be classified mainly under administrative law. This means that the results of research and discussion on administrative law have to be evaluated in order to advance the development of higher education legislation; conversely, the effectiveness and experiences in applying these regulations have to be worked up by the administrative law branch. An example would be the discussion of administrative/procedural law problems that this journal has carried.[18] Without going into these questions in detail, it can be noted that higher education law contains a number of procedural provisions. They express in a more detailed fashion than a general procedural law could do the composition and the rights of the protest commissions as well as the participation of citizens -- represented mainly here by the responsible FDJ managements -- so an assessment of the procedural provisions of higher education law argues for the retention of specific procedural regulations. In higher education affairs as well, however, not all areas have exactly the same legal structure; additional legislation must be undertaken.

The development of higher education law primarily bears the imprint of resolutions by the party of the working class. The new decree on scholarships,[19] which awards all students a basic grant of 200 marks regardless of parental income, and which is aimed at increasing productivity, is a convincing example of attaining the unity of economic and social policy. The demands made of college graduates at the Fifth Higher Education Conference and the 10th SED Party Congress have to be a determining factor in the further development of higher education legislation. Only in this way can graduates acquire the latest scientific information, readily usable knowledge and appropriate skills and a rich intellectual and cultural education; only in this way can they acquire an independent scientific orientation, convert

their scientific knowledge into practice in a responsible manner and involve themselves personally and politically in the effort to strengthen socialism.[20]

These demands must above all determine the goals and objectives of the curriculum manuals for the various basic courses of study; the Scientific Advisory Councils of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs have started revising and redefining these goals and objectives. The minister for university and technical school affairs will approve the curriculum manuals, which are to be developed jointly by academics, practioners and students. Thus, in conjunction with the class schedule and the provisions covering student work at youth project sites, in rationalization and design engineering offices and in student competitions, as well as the provisions that promote gifted and talented young scientists and artists, the curriculum manual constitutes the obligatory education and training document for the individual departments of higher education institutions. The conversion of curriculum manuals into practice and the realization of the demands placed upon university-level teachers, scientific staff employees and students at the Fifth Higher Education Conference and the 10th Party Congress will be determinant factors for the years ahead, years in which to train college graduates who will measure up to the great demands of the 1990's.[21]

The revision and redefinition of the curriculum manuals also entails the examination of programs of instruction and the preparation of new ones. These cannot and should not replace the individual instructor's own initiative but should provide opportunities to present and develop new and specific research findings, a situation that encourages the students' own initiative.

These examples show that the future development of higher education legislation lies in a substantive realization of the resolutions of the working class party, with a decisive role for the revision and redefinition of education and training documents, which will be rendered even more concrete by means of general training plans and rules at the educational institutions themselves.

But equal attention shouldalso be paid to modifying specific technical regulations under higher education law. It must be kept in mind in this regard that the basic legislation covering the organization of universities and technical schools and their management structure, as well as the basic legislation for education, training and research has stood the test.[22] It will nevertheless be necessary to revise and simplify appropriate sets of norms in order to increase the effectiveness of the formative and organizing function of the law. Considering the demands for higher quality and greater effectiveness of scientific work and of the education and communist training of students, a thorough analysis and evaluation of the law as practiced is demanded.

It is not the concern of this article to map out a program for the development of higher education legislation, but some research findings can already be passed on:

a) A further standardization of higher education law must be examined (e.g., for the admissions sector) in order to gain increased comprehensibility through self-contained legislation. At present, there are still many partially contradictory individual regulations for sectors whose circumstances are the same. In this regard, the new decree on scholarships shows that basic legislation can also contain precise rights and obligations at the same time.

b) Higher education legislation must place greater emphasis on the shared responsibility of the combines and enterprises in the areas of research, training and basic and advanced education. This would mean examining the decree on practical vocational training and graduates, for example, chiefly in order to increase the responsibility of combines and enterprises during the practical training period and for the assignment of graduates. Also in this connection, there has to be an evaluation of experiences with obtaining graduates as well as with attending to the rights and obligations of graduates and enterprises when concluding the subsequent labor contracts; changes that have taken place in recent years in the social position, life experience and age structure of students must be taken into account here.[23]

c) There must also be increased joint responsibility by university-level institutions as well as by other organs, combines, enterprises and institutions for the normative regulations covering such forms of education as correspondence courses, postgraduate study, supplementary study and other longer-range continuing education programs. The system encompassing the various kinds of study programs must be standardized.

d) In areas where the processes of supplementing, revising and clarifying the law allow, individual regulations should also be improved upon and policy and objectives precisely defined. Then it would also be possible in disputed cases to assure a uniform application of the law through official pronouncements and comments.

As was concluded at the 10th SED Party Congress, the Fifth Higher Education Conference effectively demonstrated the desire of all members of our country's highest educational institutions to produce outstanding achievements designed to make a reality of the exclusive long-range conception for science and the development of higher education as contained in the SED Central Committee Politburo resolution on the "Tasks of the Universities and Colleges in the Developed Socialist Society," dated 18 March 1980. Socialist law -- and higher education law in particular -- must also help translate this conception into practice.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf "Marxist-Leninist Theory of Government and Law," textbook, Berlin, 1980, p 550 f.

2. Cf "General Marxist-Leninist Theory of the State and the Law," Berlin, 1976, Vol 4, p 280.

3. This is not being observed at present. For example, H. Spittel ("Questions of Labor Law and Education Law in the Public Education Sector," Berlin, 1980, p 98 f) regards education law as a branch of law.

4. Cf B. Klemann, dissertation entitled "On Stimulating Creative Achievements by Regular Students Through Socialist Law at the Universities and Advanced Schools of the GDR," Halle, 1980.

5. Cf G. Bernhard, "The Ninth SED Party Congress and the Continued Increase in the Effectiveness of Socialist Law at the Universities and Advanced Schools of the GDR," DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN, 1974, Vol 1, p 2 f.

6. All the regulations listed here are contained in the loose-leaf digest entitled "University and Technical School Legislation."

7. Cf "Administrative Law," textbook, Berlin, 1979, p 42.

8. Cf, for example, the minister of culture's order concerning the assignment of graduates of fine arts colleges (painting/graphics, sculpture) and the continued broad support of young artists; order dated 28 April 1978, GESETZBLATT DER DDR, Part I, pp 174, 290.

9. Cf Art 49 of the "Order on the Conduct of Examinations at Universities and Technical Schools and on University and Technical School Final Examinations" -- Examinations Order -- 3 January 1975, GESETZBLATT DER DDR, Part I, p 183.

10. Cf "Decree on the Statute of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs," 15 October 1969, GESETZBLATT DER DDR, Part II, p 547.

11. Cf "Decree on the Responsibilities of Universities, Scientific Colleges and University-Level Scientific Institutions," 25 February 1970, GESETZBLATT DER DDR, p 189.

12. Cf W. Kemnitzer/G. Lueder, "On the Legal Character of Universities and Colleges," HALLESCHE STUDIEN ZUM HOCHSCHULRECHT, 1980, Vol 1, p 34 f.

13. Cf. H. Thieme, "Student Vacation Employment as a Special Labor Law Relationship," HALLESCHE STUDIEN ZUM HOCHSCHULRECHT, 1980, Vol 2, p 62 f.

14. Cf W. Buechner-Uhder, "The Student Educational Relationship -- An Administrative Law Relationship," HASSESCHE STUDIEN ZUM HOCHSCHULRECHT, 1980, Vol 1, p 43 f.

15. Cf B. Schad, dissertation entitled "The Legal Relationship of the University-Level Teacher in the GDR," Leipzig, 1979.

16. Cf "Labor Law," a compendium, Berlin, 1979, p 17.

17. Cf "Order on the Disciplinary Responsibility of Teachers at the University Level," 3 February 1957, GESETZBLATT DER DDR, Part I, p 177.

18. Cf K. Bonninger, "On Theoretical Problems of an Administrative Proceeding and Its Importance in Guaranteeing the Subjective Rights of Citizens," STAAT UND RECHT, 1980, p 934; W. Bernet, "Attainment of Socialist Legality in State Management Through Legal Redress," STAAT UND RECHT, 1980, p 13; H. Pohl/G. Schulze "Increasing Role of Administrative Law in Protecting the Rights of Citizens," STAAT UND RECHT, 1981, p 397.

19. "Decree on the Granting of Scholarships to Regular Students at GDR Universities, Colleges and Technical Schools" -- Scholarship Decree -- 11 June 1981, GESETZBLATT DER DDR, Part I, p 229.

20. Cf "SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Party Congress," Comrade Erich Honecker, Berlin, 1981, p 94.

21. Ibid.

22. Cf W. Buechner-Uhder, "On the Role of Administrative Law in the Further Accomplishment of Tasks in Education and Training at the Universities and Colleges," STAAT UND RECHT, 1980, p 699 f.

23. Cf "SED Central Committee Politburo Resolution, 18 March 1980, on the Responsibilities of Universities and Colleges in the Developed Socialist Society," "Directives and Announcements of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs," 1980, p 13.

7458
CSO: 2300/127

STATE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION PERSONNEL POLICY DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 3 Feb 82 pp 1, 2

[Report by Piotr Moczar (PAP): "Review and Evaluation of the State Central Administration Cadres"]

[Text] On 2 February a conference of directors of cadre [personnel] departments of ministries and central offices as well as secretaries of party organizations in these institutions took place in Warsaw. It was devoted to the discussion of the concept of the functioning of the cadre system in the state central administration. Problems connected with the planned review and evaluation of the employees who are employed there was also discussed.

The conference was an item on the changes in cadre policy announced during the last meeting of the Sejm by the chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation (WRON), General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski. The deliberations were opened by Prof Dr Antoni Rajkiewicz, minister of labor, wages and social services. Next, Gen Div Dr Zygmunt Zielinski, secretary of WRON, presented to the participants in the conference the concepts for the functioning of a cadre system in the context of experiences and solutions applied in the armed forces.

The greatest attention was devoted to the problems of the gradual building and the comprehensive system of cadre operations in the state administration and to the basic, yet urgent temporary measures undertaken simultaneously. During the conference the advanced views on these topics were presented by Gen Bde Tadeusz Dziekan, director of the Cadres Department of the PZPR Central Committee, and also Gen Bde Michal Janiszewski, chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers and member of WRON.

During the deliberations, the fundamental determinations concerning the organization and procedure for the annual cadre reviews, which will begin this month in all the ministries and central offices, were explicitly stated. At the same time, the reviews will launch the creation of information banks on the future cadre which is a necessary base.

Within the framework of these reviews, an assessment of the work of all employees of the state central administration will be carried out in a collegial [team] manner. These reviews will also encompass the managerial cadre of the organizational units which are directly subordinate to the ministers and heads of central offices.

The criteria and requirements placed on candidates for managerial positions were firmly stressed. Particular emphasis was placed on the need to also entrust managerial positions to young people, who are full of enthusiasm and dynamism, yet, at the same time, prudent and professionally mature. The great importance of the openness of the cadre policy, so that it would be understandable and readable for everyone, was also stressed. The condition for its proper implementation is the objective and just evaluation of people and the creation of equal opportunities for professional development for everyone.

Among other current directions of cadre operations, the need to considerably broaden the institution of competition when selecting people for various managerial and specialist positions, in as democratic and objective a form of selection as possible, was pointed out. The necessity for urgently coordinating and integrating a system for improving the managerial cadres in the state was also highlighted.

Great emphasis was placed on the growing importance and role of a full-time cadre apparatus in the face of modern, orderly work with the cadres.

The reform in cadre policy, which had been undertaken many times during the last 35 years, was never consistently and fully brought into practice. This truth was clearly reflected in the statement by Gen Bde Tadeusz Dziekan, who stated during the conference that in taking over the function of director of the PZPR Central Committee's Cadre Department, he found that the resolution of the PZPR Central Committee Political Bureau on cadre policy, which was made in 1972, was excellent from a formal and meritorious point of view. Today, we must answer the questions why such fatal consequences resulted despite good and proper documents. This was, among other things, the result of a discrepancy between words and deeds and also everyday practice, the General stated.

The modernization of the administrative structures demands--in the opinion of the representatives from the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs--the introduction of a strictly defined number of positions in the state administration. Up to now, new positions, departments, and sections were being created without restriction. At present, at the initiative of Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and also certain [Sejm] deputies, it is intended to include a concrete number of positions for each ministry in the budget law. The retention or creation of each position will require meaningful justification, confirmed by concrete needs.

Regular reviews and evaluations of the cadre will permit, it seems, a precise description of who should be employed in each particular element of the state administration and in what position. This will also permit a better evaluation of the work of individual people. In the end, work in the state administration must be treated as a public service. Another matter is the necessity for clearly defining promotion prospects in each individual case. Clarity in this area has a precise impact on the output as well as on the quality of work. During the discussions on preparing the review of cadres in the state administration, the need to precisely describe the criteria for promotion and also for conducting cadre policy "in the open" was also emphasized.

In the planning to improve the operation of the state administration today, we reach for examples and experience of the army in the way it selects its leadership cadres. However, not all principles can be applied to other spheres of social life without modifications. Nonetheless, the fact that in the army, for years, information about a person's work efficiency, skills and achievements are entered in the first place in his personal file, deserves special attention. If we do not make this practice universal, all present programs will be limited only to words, questionnaires, standard acts, etc.

At present, one of the most important matters is to make a solid accounting with the past and to draw conclusions from it. Not without reason are the sources of the present crisis seen generally, i.a., in the fact that errors made, and in cadre policy as well, were not taken into account fully. Whoever does not understand this is not in a position to evaluate the complexity of the present crisis. The most serious errors in cadre policy are the loosening of discipline, ignoring the principles of cadre selection, tolerating incompetent people, and also restricting the managerial and inspirational role of party organizations.

It seems that there is now no longer any return to this past. As was stated during the conference, just since 13 December of last year [1981], as a result of impromptu verifications, more than 760 people were relieved from their positions, among them were 6 governors, 17 vice governors, 160 mayors and heads of gmina's, etc. The entire society is carefully following these decisions, for they determine the growing credibility and authority.

CSO: 2600/326

POLISH ENVOY TO BRITAIN SPEAKS ON WALESA, SITUATION

LD181944 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1910 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] The new Polish ambassador to Britain said today that Solidarity leader Lech Walesa was receiving "special treatment" but was not under arrest.

Mr Stefan Staniszewski, who arrived in London on Thursday night, was speaking outside the Foreign Office where he met Lord Trefgarne, the junior minister responsible for Eastern European affairs.

He said on BBC television that when he left Poland the situation was "under control."

Asked about Walesa, he said: "I don't know exactly what has happened to him, but he has contacts with the government and other people.

"He is in Warsaw or near Warsaw, but he is not under arrest."

The Solidarity leader was not being detained, but was receiving "special treatment."

The ambassador has still formally to present his credentials to the queen, but because of the crisis formalities were largely waived and by mutual agreement he called on Lord Trefgarne.

After a 30-minute meeting with him, he had detailed discussions with senior officials from the East European Department lasting more than 90 minutes.

Officials recognised that Mr Staniszewski, coming straight from Warsaw, was in an excellent position to bring the government up to date on the crisis in Poland.

British diplomats in Warsaw are restricted to the boundaries of the city.

The Foreign Office confirmed today that the British Embassy has been told diplomats are not free to travel to major centres outside Warsaw where much of the trouble has been taking place.

So far, the Foreign Office has not taken any reciprocal action in London. This is in line with the government's general approach to the crisis which has not so far offered any condemnation of what is happening in Poland.

The Polish Embassy in London showed no surprise at the ambassador's early visit to the Foreign Office.

A spokesman said: "We would expect an early meeting to take place because of the situation in Poland."

CSO: 2020/29

'LE MONDE' COMMENTARY ON DISINTEGRATION OF PZPR NOTED

PM181157 Paris LE MONDE in French 16 Dec 81 pp 1, 5

[Article by Michel Tatu: "What About the Party?"]

[Text] "The roots of the crisis in Poland did not lie in the cyclical changes in the situation but in the country's socioeconomic structure. The bourgeoisie, fearing the rise of the working class, leaned toward a limitation of parliamentary democracy and its replacement by an authoritarian government.

"Pilsudski, who had retired from official political life in 1923, took advantage of that situation to stage a coup d'etat (12-24 May 1926) with the army's backing.... The coup, which was carried out with the avowed aim of cleaning up political life, was originally also supported by the disoriented leftwing parties...."

If "bourgeoisie" is replaced by party "nomenklatura" and the name Pilsudski is replaced by that of General Jaruzelski, Poland's present strong man, this quote from an official work published in Poland in 1966 (Note--"Poland. Realities and Problems" published by Scientific Editions of Poland in Warsaw in 1966), is now rather pertinent. It reminds us that Poland, much more than the other East European countries, has a military tradition, and that a government in uniform is not necessarily viewed unfavorably there. For the Poles 11 November is not only, as in France, the anniversary of the armistice signed at Rethondes at the end of World War I but also the anniversary of the triumphal return to Warsaw of General--shortly to become Marshal--Pilsudski, hero of the resistance against the Germans before being the hero of the victory against the Bolsheviks and also--as people tend to forget--one of the founders of the Polish Socialist Party at the beginning of the century.

As early as 1978 partiotic dissidents in Poland attached great importance to celebrating that anniversary as a reaction against the celebrations imposed by the party. As for the Polish military, they were to maintain power until the disaster of 1939. The only development worth noting, which is, moreover, in keeping with the scenario observed in military regimes in other parts of the world, is that power tended to pass from very senior officers to lower-ranking officers: After the marshal's death in 1935 the country's strong man was a certain Colonel Beck....

However, there is no need to refer to this precedent to put forward a hypothesis likely to have great consequences for the communist regime in Poland and also elsewhere. As we pointed out when General Jaruzelski became party leader, the military temptation is bound to emerge increasingly every time that a serious crisis shakes

a communist country. But it is also known that any army which seizes power anywhere finds it very difficult to abandon it. It is difficult to see why this should be different in Poland, especially if it is a question of handing back power to the totally discredited, impotent and divided party which the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] has become after the failure of the Gomulkas, Giereks and Kanias.

The Party "Forgotten"

Moreover, General Jaruzelski does not seem particularly concerned, at least at this stage, with the "apparatchiks" who placed him at their head: He did not mention the party once during his 13 December speech except to appeal for cooperation from "workers who are not party members." This is a negative reference which is very indicative of his probable state of mind: "Liberals" and "dogmatists" are both being dismissed and pushed into the same obscurity.

As expected, that does not preclude praise for the benefits of "socialism"--a concept to be preserved as the legacy, if not a useful at least an inevitable one, of the former state of affairs. It is just that this "socialism" no longer needs its appointed protectors--the idle and hidebound ideologues of the previous teams. The army will assume that role along with the others.

That is certainly why the Moscow leaders, deep down inside, might be rather embarrassed. In the short term they are bound to be pleased to see--or hope to see--order finally restored in the neighboring country after the eruption of "counterrevolutionary anarchy." In the long term, however, it is the whole system laboriously established by decades of Stalinism in Russia and a third of a century of satellization in Eastern Europe which is teetering on its foundations. The idea that the party--and hence any party--has no clothes, like the emperor in the fable, that it is possible and even necessary to do without it in a catastrophe, that the armed forces are prepared to take over after living in the government's shadow for so many years, had never been so clearly illustrated.

"Cowardly Relief"

Of course, General Jaruzelski will be obliged to respect the forms. If he succeeds, he will have to maintain at least an appearance of party and Marxist ideology, without anybody being mistaken about the Marxist ideology, without anybody being mistaken about the real source of authority. If he fails, a new sphere of action will be opened up to the former PZPR officials, who will be tempted to win back power, but this time with the Red Army's help; the militia and police will not stand up to the Polish Army. To change course, therefore, the Kremlin would have to resort to an intervention which would be even more costly at all levels than the one it has refrained from carrying out for more than 18 months. Is it prepared to do this? In any case, the USSR will have to pay the price of its long period of inaction: either by an intervention which will be much tougher in the field and carried out with even less justification than before, or by an accommodation with a different kind of regime, probably anxious to keep order but impermeable to the imperatives of the traditional apparatuses, both rather too liberal on the domestic scene and rather too nationalistic abroad.

That is certainly why embarrassment is also evident in the Western reactions, especially that of the Americans. Let's not dwell on the "cowardly relief" felt by all those frightened by the effects of the Polish unrest on Western peace and quiet, on the secret satisfaction of those who automatically distrusted the Polish "anarcho-syndicalism" and its venture into direct democracy and "self-governing socialism." Aside from official ideologies, the solidarity among ruling governments and reasons of state create conditional reflexes which do not deceive anybody.

Furthermore, whatever the preferences, it is difficult to condemn a "military coup" whereby one de facto government replaces another de facto government. Not only would that give apparent legitimacy to the previous regime which was imposed on the population in just as undemocratic a way as the present one, but it would create an embarrassing precedent inasmuch as the Turkish and Greek putsches, not to mention similar cases in Latin America, were and still are largely tolerated by most capitals.

In these conditions the only option is not to "do nothing," as Mr Cheysson imprudently said, but to urge the Polish Government to resume the "democratic dialogue" which it claims still to be one of its intentions and to restore as many as possible of the freedoms won by Solidarity over the past 18 months.

The Western governments are not short of "levers" with which to demonstrate their concern. Although food aid cannot be used as a tool, since it goes directly (but it would be appropriate to check that) to a population which has been exhausted by months of shortages, economic and financial aid mainly benefits the government, especially by enabling it to escape repayment of its debt. It would, to say the least, be unjust to give the same treatment to a government which tolerated a broad area of democracy and one which has just launched into widespread repression of its population and their representatives. The fact that the two governments are led by the same man alters nothing.

CSO: 3100/307

NZS POLITICAL ACTS ANALYZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by (r)]

[Text] One cannot conceive a good school without an independently functioning student self-governing body and youth organizations. This kind of self-governing body, elected democratically, began to come into existence in September 1981. Even earlier, in some secondary schools, at the suggestion of the Independent Association of Students (NZS) and Solidarity, there came into being all kind of the Student Renewal Councils (URO), renewal committees, etc. They were meant to become an ideological "bridgehead" for the NZS, a center for the training of the youngest cadres of this organization and the center of contest in the school.

In September 1981 organizers decided to centralize all these URO's and give them a uniform character, in order to control them better. In Gdansk a "Federation of School Youth" was organized. In a draft of its statute, that "federation" has included such tasks as "defense of fundamental values--of patriotism, tolerance and freedom of individuals," "creation of the network of independent publications and independent student libraries," "action to promote socialization of education," "suppression of mark as a motivation of learning," "control of entrance exams to secondary schools by members of federation."

In one of the appeals of that "federation," issued by it regional cells, one can read that "we are all anxious about the change in a situation in which the school administration is everything, whereas the youth is but a rag, which can be downtrodden." "The Interschool Committee" from Warsaw wrote that the membership of "federation" is open to any student who "is not an informer or member of a political or paramilitary organization; the organizations mentioned were the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] and the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth].

Thus, from official documents, signed with full names, we learn what is being proposed to students and to schools by members of the "federation."

The fight against teachers--for after all one should "defend patriotism" against someone, and the one who shapes it is not the minister but the one who is closest to the student, that is precisely his teacher--for the "abolition of marks" makes impossible not only the formal valuation of the student's work. We have learned that 16- to 18-year-olds are to "socialize school," which is indeed a mission of students,

who will relieve from this duty the teachers, parents and other adults. We have also learned that members of the "federation" will fight for tolerance, but that it does not include students who belong to scouting or to the ZSMP. We have learned likewise that students themselves, naturally from the "federation," will check up on who has the right to study in a secondary school.

Is it a dreadful stupidity of the greenhorns? One could treat these ideas with half-closed eyes, as the expression of a certain immaturity of youth. But behind it was political inspiration from the NZS and Solidairty--the attempt to set students against teachers, to disrupt the student community, the attempt to spread through one's own activists a whole gamut of anti-State pamphlets, the attempt at organizing protest or even strike movements and thus generating all kinds of conflicts and unrest.

Only a few students were taken in by the "federation" idea. Fortunately, that has minimized educational losses that otherwise would be caused about by this artificially generated movement. However, we should not underestimate the attempts at exerting an alien, ideologically and politically, influence on school youth, always exposed to catchy slogans that conceal false intentions and aims. That is why it is so important that responsible educators daily talk about all the arduous questions that interest students. That is why it is also so important that the youth could give real expression to its social passions and activities in the student self-governing bodies and youth organizations.

1015
CSO: 2600/199

LACK OF REALISM SEEN IN POLISH TAKEOVER

PM171425 Paris LE MONDE in French 15 Dec 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Socialist Lack of Realism"]

[Text] Before martial law was ever decreed in Poland, the director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism asked the party to abandon its monopoly of power. He was heeded, probably more than he would have wished. The party no longer has a monopoly and there is even reason to wonder, in the present situation, whether it really has any share of the power. Whatever linguistic precautions might be taken in Warsaw to justify the event, it is a real coup d'etat which has taken place in Warsaw and the new body which the military describes as a "council for national salvation" is simply known as a "junta" in other parts of the world.

General Jaruzelski is certainly not wrong in saying that "the country is on the edge of the abyss," that "chaos and demoralization have reached the level of collapse." The prime minister is less convincing when he attributes responsibility for this "national catastrophe" to the Solidarity members, or at least to those he describes as "extremists."

But who is really to blame for this state of affairs if not those who imposed a regime to which the vast majority of the population is still clearly allergic and which has recently experienced complete bankruptcy? Once again it is being said that the structure is sound but that the successive teams in the building have made unforgivable mistakes. This time it is Mr Gierek and his closest aides who are the target. The leaders of the country in the 1970's have therefore been thrown into prison and are to face trial soon. What remains of the successive party leaders in the official version of history? A gallery of incompetents or scoundrels. It is a strange system which so constantly chooses the wrong senior officials.

Poland is suffering from the fact that it is forced to live a lie. It aspires to a complete sovereignty which reasons of state prevent it from demanding. Everybody in Warsaw asserts that no foreign power is interfering in the country's affairs but nobody believes a word of it. Until the grand shakeup in August 1980, official departments constantly said that the state belonged to the workers. Who still dared to claim that after Solidarity's emergence? Doctrine requires that the army be the tool of the party, but now the servant is having to take over from the faltering master.

GENERAL STAFF OFFICER DISCUSSES MILITARY SERVICE UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 19 Jan 82 p 5

[Interview with the deputy chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army, Maj Gen (doctor) Antoni Jasinski, by Col Janusz Falkowicz: "Special Privileges of Persons Performing Active Military Service During Martial Law"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in bold face]

[Text] The flow of mail to this newspaper is greater than usual. Each day we receive many letters from our readers. These letters pertain to the present situation of the country and are dictated by a deep concern and desire to restore peaceful life and work. They also contain words of recognition for people in army uniforms for their sacrificial labor and devotion. There also are letters mentioning hardships experienced owing to the introduction of martial law, containing proposals for constructive action, for changes, for doing something new. Still other letters, chiefly from the families of persons doing active military service, pertain to various privileges relating to the performance of military service during martial law. /This is the topic we are discussing today with Maj Gen Antoni Jasinski, deputy chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army./

[Jasinski] During the period of the martial law, pursuant to the laws, all forms of military service binding prior to its introduction have been reassessed. /The basic military service done by conscripts, the military training of the graduates of civilian higher schools, and military exercises and periodic military service by reservists, all have been transformed into active military service being performed for an indefinite period and on the same principles as in the event of the declaration of a mobilization or in wartime./ Hence also, while the martial law is in force, persons doing active military service and their family members are entitled to special privileges.

On 12 December 1981 the Council of Ministers issued a special ordinance /concerning allowances due the family members of persons doing active military service while the martial law is in force./ Although at present we all perform such military service, the provisions of the ordinance of the Council of Ministers affect various categories of servicemen differently.

Pursuant to that ordinance, reservists who, prior to their summons to military service, were employed by state or cooperative labor establishments, /are entitled to receive from these establishments remuneration in an amount depending on the number of family members whose sole support these reservists are. Such servicemen

also are considered as being the sole support of persons receiving a child-rearing allowance./ If a serviceman supports, for example, two family members (wife and child), he is entitled to the aforementioned remuneration in full.

On the other hand, somewhat different privileges are extended to conscripts who, prior to their summons to active military service, were workers in socialized labor establishments and are the sole support of a wife and one or more children. The family members of such conscripts /are entitled to receive daily allowances to be granted and paid by basic-level local organs of state administration./ Applications for such allowances may be made by the servicemen personally or by authorized members of their families.

[Question] And what about the state's assistance to the family members of conscripts and reservists who are not employed in socialized labor establishments?

[Answer] Daily allowances are also granted on the same principles to the family members of conscripts and reservists who are the sole support of their families. They may be family members of servicemen who, prior to their summons to active military service, managed artisan, service, trading, or other establishments. They may also be family members of servicemen who, prior to their summons to that service, were temporarily not working for various reasons.

[Question] Active military service continues to be performed by a certain category of servicemen who, even prior to the introduction of martial law, were classified by the local agencies of state administration as the sole supports of their families...

[Answer] The families of these servicemen are entitled to monthly allowances just as prior to the introduction of martial law. These allowances are also granted and paid by local organs of state administration at the basic level. /The right to a monthly allowance also belongs to the family members of those servicemen who were classified as sole supports of their families after the martial law was declared./ The right to receive monthly allowances is also extended to cover the family members supported by the graduates of civilian higher schools who now perform active military service, regardless of the date of commencement of that service and classification as sole support of the family.

[Question] The ordinance of 12 December 1981 of the Council of Ministers concerning allowances payable to the family members of persons performing active military service during martial law also mentions compensation for housing rents and suspension of periods of repayment of loans, credit, etc...

[Answer] That is so, indeed, if active military service is performed over a period of at least 30 days. Pursuant to the provisions of the decree on universal military training in the Polish People's Republic, servicemen acknowledged as sole supports of their families receive compensation for paying rent for dwellings allotted by administrative decisions and cooperative-owned dwellings as well as for fees payable for privately owned cooperative dwellings.

During that period such servicemen are also entitled to a suspension of installment payments on loans received for making downpayments to housing-construction cooperatives or for the purchase of cooperative dwellings. It should also be emphasized

that /the loans and credits contracted for this purpose are interest-free during the period of suspension of their repayment./ During that period, the housing rents and maintenance fees of such servicemen are paid by the local organs of state administration. Moreover, /the family members of servicemen who cohabited with them prior to summons to active military service may not be evicted from dwellings occupied pursuant to administrative decisions./

Among other privileges granted to the family members of servicemen in active military service mention should be made of the legal protection of the working wives of servicemen. Labor establishments may discharge such wives when, and only when the fault is entirely that of the woman worker, or when the labor establishment has to be shut down.

[Question] Comrade General, at the time the martial law was introduced, persons performing military service included, among others, servicemen for whom the period of basic military service was extended in October 1981 pursuant to a separate resolution of the Council of Ministers. These servicemen are still in service. What additional privileges are they entitled to?

[Answer] They are particularly valuable servicemen, distinguished by their ideological maturity and highly civic-spirited attitude. Their rich experience, model discipline, and devotion shown in performing responsible tasks, make them a model and an example worthy of emulation. Many such servicemen actively participate in the local activities of operational groups active in cities, city-districts and gminas [parishes]. We can encounter them wherever things are at their most difficult and resolute and rapid action is needed. Generally speaking, they are performing [creditably] their special and specific service whose conditions resemble those specified for term-exceeding service in the decree on universal military training in the Polish People's Republic. Hence, too, they have been granted an increase in base pay and shorter required terms of service prior to eligibility for promotion to the next higher military ranks.

This special form of honoring and distinction also applies and will apply to all those servicemen whose term of basic military service expires during the period of the martial law. This category also includes members of OT [Territorial Defense] units as well as of engineer, railroad, and road troops.

[Question] The personnel currently performing indefinite active military service includes graduates of civilian higher schools who by the end of 1981 had already completed their 12-month period of military training...

[Answer] These servicemen who also remain in active military service deserve recognition and gratitude for their devoted labor and effort in performing responsible command and specialist functions in the basic organizational elements of the army. Even now many of them have availed themselves of additional privileges and special rights. To put it most simply, they are eligible for promotion to successive higher military rank--up to the rank of master sergeant inclusively. This, however, is contingent on their current service rank or function performed.

In addition, /reserve officer cadets who especially distinguish themselves while in practical training within military units as well as while performing active military service by achieving extremely good results in training or in performance

of command or specialist duties and who moreover represent in their persons a model moral-political attitude and strict discipline, are eligible for promotion to their first officer rank--that of 2d lieutenant./ Other graduates of reserve officer cadet schools who currently are in practical training within units will be eligible through a special act of distcintion for appointment to the rank of 2d lieutenant also while performing active military service or upon the day of discharge from service and transfer to reserve status. It is worth nothing here that promotion to a higher military rank also entails a corresponding increase in pay.

It is also worth noting that all other military personnel, including reservists performing active military service, who distinguish themselves in performing their duties, are likewise eligible for promotion to the next higher military rank. Aside from the personal satisfaction this provides, such promotion is linked with an increase in base pay. It should also be mentioned--which will certainly be of interest to all graduates of SPR [reserve officer cadet schools] and persons performing basic military service whose legal term of military service has expired during the period of the martial law, that they stand to receive appropriate exemptions from the performance of military exercises while on reserve status. This also applies to reservists who are currently performing active military service.

[Question] During the period of the martial law the possibility of receiving and using furloughs has been severely curtailed. But what about the human element, the emergence of the most unexpected situations? How are such problems resolved within the units?

[Answer] The heads of the Ministry of National Defense have attended to a proper solution of problems of this kind, which after all are extremely important in individual instances or when fate strikes. It has been generally determined that /emergency leaves will be granted in exceptional instances of this kind./ I wish to state at the same time that, insofar as possible, commanders and superior officers have the right to take under consideration not only accidents of fate and family situations but also other justified circumstances, especially as regards married servicemen.

[Question] Martial law will continue until the reasons for its introduction wither and disappear, until order, peace, and security reign in the country, and until the conditions for a normal functioning of life and work arise. In this connection, are appropriate measures being taken even now with respect to granting assistance to those who will be transferred to reserve status?

[Answer] The provisions of the decree on universal military training in the Polish People's Republic guarantee for all discharged servicemen reemployment at their previous places of work and in the positions they occupied prior to entering military service. We are aware of the fact that active military service is a rigorous testing and trial of soldierly values. Hence also all permanent values, enriched by the experience of hard military service performed under difficult and complicated conditions, must be appropriately credited in civilian work.

At present, however, something more than this is involved. It is the desire of the heads of the Ministry of National Defense that all servicemen for whom the term of military service has been extended and who have proved their worth during

this difficult period of restoring order to the fatherland and demonstrated ability to direct groups of people efficiently, and who have the proper organizing abilities, should be provided with the right conditions for utilizing their abilities in appropriate positions at labor establishments and in state and economic administration.

[Question] Some of the servicemen who will be transferred to reserve status after the ending of the martial law will undoubtedly want to enroll in military and civilian institutions of higher education. Will they receive any special preferences in this respect?

[Answer] All servicemen who intend to devote themselves to professional military service will be /assured of admission to the military school they choose without having to take an admission examination./ Of course, provided that they satisfy the admission requirements, e.g., are graduates of secondary schools, are in good health, etc. As regards servicemen who will apply to civilian higher schools, on the other hand, the Ministry of National Defense is attempting to secure special admission privileges for them.

[Question] What else of interest is under consideration for helping servicemen who perform extended military service?

[Answer] The Ministry of National Defense wishes to be acquainted with the personal situation of every soldier performing extended military service. We wish in this manner to provide far-reaching assistance to every such serviceman when the time comes for him to settle down in civilian life. Servicemen who perform extended military service will fill out appropriate personal quanestionnaires. A special point here is that thus the /voivodship military headquarters would be provided with full orientation as regards not only the employment possibilities but also the provision of assistance to discharged servicemen in obtaining jobs corresponding to the occupational or professional skills which they have or in which they received advanced training while in the military. Servicemen transferred to reserve status will be given certificates of appreciation, which represent suitable references for future employment./ I also wish to state that the Ministry of National Defense is negotiating with the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Services about the proper utilization of released servicemen in various civilian jobs.

Another quite important item of information for persons performing extended military service: /In connection with the existing supply problems on the market, attempts are under way to enable them to purchase civilian clothing on convenient terms./

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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ACTIVITIES OF VARIOUS MILITARY UNITS UNDER MARTIAL LAW DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 5

[Article by (K-ci)]

[Text] An atmosphere of great seriousness and universal discipline prevails in all units and garrisons of the people's Polish Army. Everywhere, literally at every step, one senses deep understanding of the special responsibility of the armed forces in the current situation--an understanding in evidence in the discipline exhibited and in the efficient fulfillment of every task imposed by superiors.

In numerous statements, discussions and commentaries, the common conviction is unequivocally expressed that the introduction of martial law was absolutely necessary in the national situation, that it was the only possibility left for saving socialist Poland in the face of the real danger of its socioeconomic ruin and the annihilation of the joint achievements attained by the entire nation over the postwar decades.

With great concentration, soldiers listened to the morning address of Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, who assumed the leadership of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON]. The WRON, say the officers, warrant officers, regular army noncommissioned officers, officer cadets and other cadets and soldiers in basic service, can count on our full support. The people's armed forces exist to serve the nation, to serve it at all times and in every situation, to protect it against every external and internal danger. We have long expressed our anxiety over the fortunes of our country. Now the time has come for us to stand in defense of socialism, in this necessary way.

The universal hope is that society will once again give evidence of its collective wisdom, that it will comprehend the reason for the WRON and the introduction of martial law in the proper way and will support every action by the authorities and the state administration, as well as by all of the specially appointed services whose duty is to bring public law and order to the country and to check and liquidate all manifestations of anarchy and lawlessness feeding the fires of social unrest. Every person who holds dear the fate of his fatherland and who desires the good and the safety of Polish families should totally submit to the requirements that are temporarily binding, understanding that this is what must be done.

Universal support for the WRON under the chairmanship of Army General Jaruzelski is likewise expressed by the members and candidates of all PZPR organizations in the air force. The resolutions adopted by participants in open party meetings, which took place in all air force units and institutions, offer telling proof of this. We have always been and continue to be spokesmen for the solution of all social

conflicts through dialogue and understanding. However, forces inimical to our system, which long ago ceased to preserve even the appearances of intending a dialogue, openly contradict even the concept of political struggle. This is also why the current, very radical measures undertaken by the people's authority were essential.

The identical opinion was expressed by the parents, relatives and friends of the youngest and most junior in the Air Force unit, who made their solemn military oath last Sunday. 13 December 1981. All those awaiting the solemn ceremony heard Army General Jaruzelski's address, receiving the subsequent announcements concerning martial law with great attention. "We are the inhabitants of many cities and villages," emphasized the fathers and the mothers of the soldiers, "the employees of many plants. For a long time we have been waiting for decisive action to be taken by the authorities, because things could not go on as they were. It is high time that real law and order prevailed in Poland, that there set in the sense of individual and collective security and an atmosphere of quiet, productive work. Every true patriot every true Pole, must want this. As has been stated, our sons are embarking on the fulfillment of soldierly obligations in an extremely difficult period, in an especially tense situation. But we are convinced that they will execute all their duties in an exemplary manner, that their service and work will serve the fatherland well."

In the Higher Quartermaster's Services Officers School [WSOSK], on the day of the declaration of martial law, the officer cadets were given a series of important, responsible tasks. Many groups of officer cadets were directed to protect communications junctions and to patrol city-districts. A separate group made its way to the local radio broadcasting station in order to secure order and safety at this building.

Those subunits of officer cadets remaining at the school are fully prepared to act. The officer cadets and the cadets of the SPR [Reserve Officer Cadet School] listened to the radio and television address made by Army General Jaruzelski and to other information with concentration. Among the officer cadets were political officers and party activists, who clarified the difficult decisions that had been undertaken. As we are told by Col Boleslaw Bielan, the introduction of martial law was received by the soldiers of the WSOSK with full comprehension and approval, in an atmosphere of concern and seriousness, together with the full awareness of the lofty, historical responsibility that falls upon the armed forces in conjunction with the situation.

Plenipotentiaries--commissioners of the National Defense Committee [KOK]--were assigned from the officers' cadre. After receiving their full powers, these men immediately embarked upon their activities in the city and the gminas of the Poznan Voivodship. They include Col Wladyslaw Suplat and Lt Col Roman Mysliewiec. They are being assisted by several other experienced professional soliders, including Maj Miroslaw Stawski and Master Sgt Wojciech Bombala.

In the early morning hours, the soliders of the railroad unit of the Warsaw OW [Military District] listened to the radio address of Army General Jaruzelski in an orderly fashion. They received their orders and immediately began to execute their tasks. They drove the area to assume their posts on the railroad lines, at the stations, in traffic control and transport security and at viaducts and bridges. They worked efficiently, dependably and with discipline, just as they always had during practice training which prepared them to fulfill combat tasks.

The leaders of subunits, in the course of preparations, conducted discussions with the soldiers to explain the details of the tasks before them. The body of soldiers made its way into the designated regions of operation with calm, seriousness and a full sense of responsibility.

A group of officers from the unit assumed the functions of KOK commissioners. After receiving the indispensable documents, the officers, including Maj Witold Balut, Maj Boleslaw Kowal and Capt Stanislaw Nowak, went to the designated locations to undertake their duties. These locations were already familiar to them from their activities in local operational groups. Consequently, the solution of area problems will be easier in small towns and gminas.

At the Center for the Training of Political Officers, named for Ludwik Warynski in Lodz, the leadership-training cadre and the students, according to commanding officer Col Marian Anysz, received the news of martial law with total comprehension and approval. Everyone is convinced that this should have been done sooner in order to halt the action of extremist forces inimical to socialism.

Life in the school flows with its normal rhythm, although the sense of vigilance and preparedness is increased, of course. Personnel are taking part in securing important state and military buildings in the Lodz area and in patrolling the town. A part of the cadre has assumed the functions of commissioners of the KOK.

In the communications unit of the Silesian Military District, life and training are taking their normal course, despite martial law. The only signs of Poland's having entered a new stage are the external ones of the intensified patrols on the streets of the city and the soldiers' posts in front of state buildlings.

As we were informed by Lt Col Zbigniew Andrzejewski, many families, friends and acquaintances of the young signallers came to the unit for the ceremonial taking of the military oath. In an atmosphere of seriousness, they listened to Army General Jaruzeiski's address, which was rebroadcast within the unit following the ceremony. Among the professional cadre and the soldiers in basic military service there reigns the conviction that the decision to take decisive steps in order to restore law, order and public safety to the country was the right one. Some said that, in the face of broadening anarchy in the country and the epidemic proportions of the breakdown of principles of law and order, martial law should have been declared sooner.

Beginning Monday, the unit will implement the normal training program. The soldiers will continue their work on behalf of the national economy. Military operational groups will begin their next tasks of intervention, assisting city authorities and residents to overcome the difficulties of winter.

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HIGH IDEOLOGICAL, MORAL STANDARDS SET FOR MILITARY PERSONNEL

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 9, 10 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Marian Nowinski]

[Text] As a consequence of the stepped-up activity of counterrevolutionary forces which has both deepened the crisis and thrust the country over the brink; in the face of the threat to the state which has arisen, and in conjunction with the introduction of martial law on 13 December 1981, those soldierly duties which are stated in the second point of the form of the military oath have come to the fore, namely: "I promise to serve the fatherland as best I can, to steadfastly defend the rights of working people guaranteed in the constitution, to unyieldingly uphold the people's authority and to be loyal to the Government of the Polish People's Republic [PRL]."

Nearly a month has passed since the introduction of martial law in the country. In accordance with a proclamation of the Military Council of National Salvation and an order issued by the minister of national defense, we see soldiers standing guard day and night at important state buildings and industrial and transportation facilities. When people turn out the light and go to sleep, the military patrols safeguard public order during the freezing nights. In the early morning, as we make our way to work or to the stores for purchases, we see these same soldiers--chilled to the bone and weary from lack of sleep, but conscientiously fulfilling their civic duties.

As they execute these especially responsible tasks, they give evidence of their total understanding of the dangerous situation that exists in our country. This is confirmed by their sense of proper discipline and their efficient and consistent action. They demonstrate extreme tact in their service contacts with the civilian population. Such are the soldiers of the PRL now, at the beginning of 1982, who give their all to save the fatherland. And they do this out of very noble, patriotic motives, the foundations of which are systematically and persistently laid during the course of their entire military service.

The young people who come into the military often prefer diversion and amusement to work and study, because these things are more pleasant for them. But after a time, a life squandered only in pleasures grows languid, creating conditions for the growth of demoralization. However, those newly incorporated into the military, from the first days of their service live under conditions which encourage and even force them to cast off their own infirmities, foster the inculcation of a

love for learning and work and promote the resolute overcoming of everything which stands in the way of the attainment of the conscious goals of military service. On the other hand, soldiers make use of diversions and amusements only for the sake of rest and so that, having refreshed themselves mentally and having regained their energy, they can enter into the reliable fulfillment of their tasks, their difficult tasks. For the service does not exist for the soldier to be relieved of his normal, so to speak, routine duties. It is the art of rising to the occasion of tasks within a complex situation, in the face of sudden, unexpected circumstances, under dangerous conditions, such as those which have arisen following 13 December 1981.

Soldiers of the PRL do outstandingly well under such unusual conditions. The question arises--how is this effected?

The intensive training conducted within the barracks and under field conditions, which is very tightly organized, is very important. Soldiers come to master combat equipment effectively, they were and are always ready to act under any conditions and they are able to make the proper use of the accomplishments of military technology. The intensive rhythm of their lives and the exertion demanded by military service are immeasurably important factors forming the attitudes of the soldiers in our people's armed forces. Such is the answer to the above question.

But we should add immediately that this answer does not exhaust the essence of the matter. Under the situation which has occurred during the past 16 months, and particularly after 13 December 1981, such soldierly skills as physical adroitness and mastery of the use of technical combat equipment have been and continue to be important, but most important are ideological and moral values, direction and consistency. This issues from a lofty civic-patriotic sense and from the conviction that exemplary service is necessary and essential for another prime reason--for the good of the nation. It issues from steadfast loyalty to the military oath and obedience to one's superiors.

Military instructors are vitally significant in the process of developing these civic soldierly virtues. These personnel include officers, political officers and party and youth functionaries of the military. Each of these possesses a rich store of professional and sociopolitical knowledge and skill, often including instructing capability, in his military specialization, and relevant to the position he holds. This ensures the good results of the training of subordinates. But more than this, soldiers of the people's army offer evidence that they possess the priceless values of high commitment to ideology and moral purity, as the current situation confirms.

The matter of developing ideological and moral models has been and is, unchangingly, a primary task in the armed forces. Consequently, ideological-political activity is conducted systematically during the course of service, but such tasks are primarily carried out by party and youth organizations. For many years, the program of ideological training has been persistently implemented under the slogan: every professional soldier a trained Marxist.

Broadly conducted activity in the area of moral training has been closely linked wiht the above. The foundations of this have been and continue to be military

regulations and the entire system of issuing orders which establish the correct, precise organization of service, training, the operation of technical and combat equipment and work--they lay the foundation for the proper flow of military life. The process of the implementation of programs and tasks has always been accompanied by an exact, pedantic evaluation of the execution of duties by particular persons and groups of people and a thoroughgoing analysis of their efforts and the results they have achieved in their work, as well as by a careful review by group superiors to determine whether they are satisfied with their efforts.

This is a tremendously important aspect of pedagogical and moral activity, thanks to which soldiers are inculcated with a sense of duty and responsibility, fellowship and discipline--values which are essential for the achievement of what we define as "good work." And, as everyone knows, dependable work is the basis of our material existence and likewise becomes a source of pleasure.

The organizational aspect, which derives from regulations, is an important factor in human activity. Much depends upon the quality of organization, although it is not the ultimate determining factor of the results of an action. Moral motivation in the behavior of people and in their work is tremendously important. Not only are the armed forces aware of this, but every effort is made to ensure that the principles of socialist morality are rigorously observed in the life of the soldier.

For this reason, in addition to military regulations, the military has a compulsory moral code known as the "Principles of Professional Ethics for Soldier of People's Poland." The codified "Morals of Professional Soldiers of the People's Polish Army" also plays an essential role. The origin of both of these documents dates back many years when their preparation was initiated by Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski. Their contents have been expanded and enriched but, most importantly, they have become an important means for developing the high morale of the professional cadre, and indirectly of all soldiers.

Thus there arose an atmosphere of the social intolerance of any kind of morally reprehensible happenings and moral degeneration, which has always been and still is being maintained among military groups. Service representatives, echelons and party organizations, and entire military groups as well consequently have judged severely those who have committed excesses in the use of authority and other misdeeds which are harmful to the good of society or sully the military uniform. Such detrimental habits as alcoholism, which is most often linked with various excesses and leads to the development of improper interpersonal relations, i.e., cliques, have been and are being battled with determination.

Out of the consciousness of the fact that the moral purity of soldiers is invaluably important to the attitude and the strength of the military, this question has been analyzed continually. And so, e.g., upon the 35th anniversary of the People's Polish Army, it is worthwhile to call to mind, the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense directed a letter "To All Soldiers in Active Service and in the Reserves, Civilian Employees of the Military and Members of Military Families." This letter presented the achievements of the armed forces, but at the same time it pointed out that this should not lead to complacency. Creative unrest should constantly be aroused so that one is moved to

give better service to the fatherland. High morale among soldiers helps foster this. For this reason, the RW MON by this 1978 letter initiated a great discussion in the military on the "Principles of Professional Ethics for a Soldier of People's Poland" and on the "Morals of Professional Soldiers of the People's Polish Army."

Both of these documents, which were emphasized in the letter, completely passed the test, having rendered good service to the cause of the armed forces. The experience and considerations accumulated during the course of their implementation have made possible the taking of another step forward, to deepen and strengthen their operation. The RW MON stated in its letter: "This fulfills the armed forces' need completely and satisfies their present-day maturity and their ideological, moral and cultural aspirations. Hence also our duty, as soldiers of the people's armed forces, is to do everything in our power to be equal to new, loftier tasks, so that a deep, patriotic socialist ideology and the ethical-moral values arising therefrom would characterize all soldiers without exception, and above all the military professional cadre."

The several months of discussion which have ensued over the RW MON letter have led to the further development of ideological-moral training instruction and to the enrichment of ties between the people in military uniform, ties which are best expressed in the saying known universally in the armed forces: "A soldier is a comrade-in-arms to a soldier." This means that superiors and subordinates alike have a good understanding of the sense and purpose of military service and consciously pool their efforts in its realization.

The many years of multilateral activity in the ideological and moral sphere have meant that, on that day of historic decisionmaking, 13 December 1981, the chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski could say: "Our soldier's hands are clean, he does not know private gain, but hard work...he has served and serves the fatherland faithfully. He is always in the front line in every social need. Likewise today will he do his duty with honor."

For more than a month the Polish soldier has defended "steadfastly the rights of working people guaranteed in the constitution." Undoubtedly this surprises the political and troublemakers, the enemies of socialism.

With great ideological maturity, moral purity and civicmindedness, the soldier of the PRL offers new evidence of his sacrifical and loyal service to the nation and the fatherland and gains still greater social recognition.

8536
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ATTITUDES, ACTIVITIES OF RESERVISTS REPORTED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 12 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Mjr Adam Glowacki: "The Soldier Does Not Choose the Hour -- Reservists Active Again"]

[Text] One can talk about them with words full of pathos, about soldier citizens who considered it their constitutional duty, and first, most holy duty to defend the country, or, taking the idea from the ethical principles of professional soldiers one could say that at the moment of national need, they placed the good of the country above their own good, as among those in the front lines standing up to save the country.

Their attitude can also be defined more concisely, in military terms, that as soldiers they simply followed their military pledge which years ago they made to be faithful to the fatherland and to the nation, or in party terms, assessing that attitude according to the PZPR statute: "It is the basic duty of a party member to translate socialist ideals and principles into reality, to take an active part in the political life of the country, to perform honest work for the fatherland, to be faithful in the matter of patriotism and proletariate internationalism, and to fight everything which weakens socialist Poland or harms its interests."

Let us not become confused about the appeal made by the chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, Gen of the Armies Wojciech Jaruzelski, an appeal which had an important impact on their decision. He said: "I am coming to you, my comrades in arms, soldiers of the Polish Army in active service and in the reserves. Be faithful to the pledge you made for better or for worse. The fate of the country depends on your attitude today..."

But let us get away from theoretical constructions, including suppositions in particular, and get down to the practical aspects as seen in the eyes of the people involved themselves.

The Structure of This Decision

to put on once more the soldier's uniform, Col (academy graduate) Leszek Janicki says in explaining the motives of reserve officers, was influenced by all the above-mentioned factors. For more than a year we had been following with special attention the development of the sociopolitical events in the country. We observed with increasing uneasiness the more and more impudent actions of the "Solidarity" pseudounionists trying to dismantle the socialist state and to assume power. The numerous resolutions of our Union of Former Professional Soldiers was an expression of the negative attitude toward the phenomena taking place around us. In those resolutions we decidedly opposed all attempts to disrupt the country's security, domestic peace, and social law and order. We protested as citizens, as soldiers, and as members of the party. Hence, the accidental sum of values contained in this special sort of triangle became a standard of measurement of our attitude.

This is what I heard later while talking with a group of reserve officers just going off into the field: "We are back in uniform, because that is what the country needs. The importance of the moment requires it of us. Our minds and hearts call us to do it. This is why we ask you, if you still want to write about us, write the ordinary way, in human terms, because that is what our intentions are like, and that is what our everyday action is like. We took difficult work upon ourselves for the people and among the people, and therefore you should write not about us but about the meaning of soldierly effort and its social benefits, because the time has come that requires of people not words, even the most eloquent ones, but normal work, concrete action."

This little group of men no longer young is surprising by its vitality, commitment, and desire to support the country in its need in the most effective possible way. Despite their age and sometimes impaired health, to the extent of their strength and abilities they want to make a worthy contribution to the cause of improving the republic, of its socialist renewal.

The Thirteenth Day of December

found them on merited retirement. Some of them, the youngest ones, were at their jobs. They were called from the reserves to active service at their own request. That very day they left home and family and put on their soldiers' uniform and went off to meet the reality of martial law. Yes, it is an old saying but true: The soldier does not pick the hour.

Nobody made them do it. They could agree to do it or not. It was their free will. The overwhelming majority of them accepted the proposal. There was no romanticism in them. It was just an ordinary soldierly thing.

Did they realize what they were getting into? And if such a question can be generally asked of a soldier -- they rejoin the journalist's doubt, and right away add: "We spent 30 years and then some in uniform as soldiers. Many of us were in combat and fought the Nazi invasion forces. We carried away the Berlin victory, the most marvelous in the history of Polish arms, and then we rebuilt the country with dedication and solidified the new socialist reality. Life experience has stated infallibly what such a group of soldiers means."

"Both I and my officer colleagues showed up for service in full approval for the extraordinary means which the Council of National Salvation undertook," says Col Julian Czternastkiewicz, recalling the memorable December morning. "We knew that the hour of the difficult trial had come and that we had to meet that test. None of us doubted for a single moment that his proper place was in close order."

Military Time Determines the Service

of reserve officers. It has no room for special rates, deals, or privileges. The only privilege is a day's work filled not with 8 hours but a dozen and more when needed, service which demands a high level of psychological and physical condition.

Temporary billeting region. Typical soldiers' halls. Small dayroom with a television set. Everything according to a strict agenda. Leave for home, to family, only with a pass. The officer-soldier reality of the everyday life of reservists is difficult.

The group consists of people who left the army some years ago, or a dozen and some years ago. In the recent past they had responsible leadership and staff positions, performed various sorts of training and upbringing functions. A certain percentage are disabled veterans and war invalids who gave their youthful years for their country. They are still available, still ready to contribute their knowledge, their rich experience in the service of the people's defense.

"Our basic task," says Col Dr Wladyslaw Siemaszkiewicz, "is the straightforward, in-depth monitoring of Warsaw commerce. Each day our control groups operate in the shops, warehouses, and storage facilities of the capital We are especially vigilant in overseeing the transfer of goods from the storage facilities to the customer. The observations we have made do not put us in a very optimistic mood."

The Shock of the Capital's Trade "Shortfalls"

is of great social significance. It is enough to look at the service notes of Col Stanislaw Bialas, Col Mgr Engineer Feliks Smulko, or Capt Zygmunt Maruszewa in order to become convinced of this. The notes show that soldier control groups have their hands full. They take a hard look at the improprieties which have accumulated over the years. They reveal the evils of trade.

Facts, names, numbers.j In the warehouses, hundreds of units of sought-after goods. In the wholesale centers, excessive stock. Empty shelves in the shops, and sometimes behind, the shelves in the staging areas bend under the weight of accumulated products. Pervasive among the employees is an air of commercial nonchalance, sometimes professional demoralization, lack of faith in the possibility of ending effectively all sorts of swindles, finagling, and ordinary theft.

At his desk, each day Lt Col (academy graduate) Bernard Sikorski, runs across dozens of audit notes and records revealing the details and particulars of these improprieties. Here they are sorted by subject and the seriousness of the individual event, and a detailed analysis is made of the phenomenon. Once the documentation is put in order and backed by concrete conclusions, it is sent via the Committee on the Defense of the Capital City of Warsaw to the capital's economic-administration authorities, so that the evil may be immediately eliminated.

The employees are kind to the officers doing the audits, but there are instances where their jurisdiction and authority are denied and they are prevented from learning the exact details of the problem. In such situations the reservists act very decisively and with great determination. More than one warehouse manager and shop manager became convinced of this in practice.

The Audits Represent an Opportunity for Dialogue

and frank talks between the officers and the employees of Warsaw trade. The range of discussion is very broad, from purely professional problems to general social issues right up to the most difficult ideological and political matters. In them there is room for heated discussion and controversial opinions. It is also time for civil reflection and for a sober, reasoned view of the future.

An obvious conclusion comes out of these talks: people want to break this tragic circle, because they cannot stand another repetition of history. They want a great Poland, great in its contribution, culture, forms of social life, and position among the nations of Europe. Despite everything they believe that the only way to this goal is socialism, accepted by the society, continually enriched by life experience. This is just the kind of Poland they want to build, to which they want to devote their efforts and abilities, and it is just such a Poland that they will defend.

Each successive day of martial law presents those who are again serving as reserve officers new, very complicated tasks and problems to solve. It shows their commitment to the cause, their civil concern for a better tomorrow for the country, their theory that they have not lost any of their old soldierly, party commitment, because where people talk about Poland and about our being worthy of it, it cannot be otherwise.

10790
CSO: 2600/238

NEW AIRCRAFT REFERENCE BOOK CRITICIZED FOR INACCURACIES

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish No 11, Nov 81 pp 79-80

[Review by Col Kazimierz Stec of book "Polskie Samoloty Wojskowe 1945-1980" ["Polish Military Aircraft 1945-1980"] by Andrzej Morgala, published by the Ministry of National Defense, Warsaw, 1981, 486 pages, 135 zlotys]

[Text] This is the author's third book in the "Polskie Samoloty Wojskowe" ["Polish Military Aircraft"] series. The previous books discussed the construction of military aircraft of the 1918-1939 and 1939-1945 periods. This book closes the cycle by describing "all types of aircraft used in the Polish People's Republic aviation during 1945-1980".

These three books are a monumental work, whose value it is difficult to overestimate. By the broadest assessment, this is an excellent reference manual, indispensable for every airman and aviation-history buff. Although the book titles refer to Polish aircraft, actually their texts provide a tremendous amount of information also about aircraft of other countries, and also about the history of the development of aviation thought in Poland and the world. The author's decision to include this information is fully understandable if we consider the fate of Polish airmen during the periods discussed.

The last book is particularly valuable since in it the author discusses in a very specific way the most recent history of the Polish wings. This history, skillfully compiled, is contained in the descriptions of about 70 types (500 versions) of aircraft with which our military aviation had some connection in the postwar period.

The preparation of this work required tremendous work and comprehensive knowledge. It also required the cooperation, goodwill and assistance of many people and institutions, without which it most likely would not have been written. The author deserves a great deal of credit and thanks for undertaking and accomplishing this historical work.

I could conclude my introduction to this book with just those words, but I will not do so because I am convinced that a printing of 20,000 copies is simply too small and sooner or later it will have to be reprinted; therefore, a repetition of the observed transgressions, inaccuracies and errors, of which there were quite a few, cannot be permitted.

It is too bad that such a fundamental aviation work has been treated by the Ministry of Defense publishers so lightly, to put it mildly. Several rather unfortunate errors were not noticed until the book was printed. Hence the long errata. But many more were not corrected, and these are not simply editing or typographical errors, but what is worse, they are errors of substance.

Presumably this happened because the book had not been given to specialists of military avaiation for their assessment. This may surprise the reader, but that is the truth, reflected on the fourth page of the text. Most likely the decisionmakers at the Ministry of Defense continue to believe that the best specialists in modern military aviation exist outside of aviation.

I have nothing against the consultant on this book. I have a great deal of respect for him and his knowledge. He is fully competent and deserves complete confidence. But I am aware that one person absolutely is not in a position to verify the text of such vast and diverse material. This book, of course, contains information from several scientific disciplines. It encompasses several thousand foreign names, abbreviations and types, which in many cases, even in the source materials, are described incorrectly. Hence my complaint against the Ministry of Defense publishers that they did not expand the group of advisors on this work.

Here are the most important errors and inaccuracies that I noticed in becoming familiar with this book:

--lack of consistency in describing the standing of avaiation: once it is a combat arm, another time it is a type of armed force (page 7);

--incorrect breakdown of aircraft into groups. To say that in postwar Poland there were only two types of fighter aircraft (JAK-17 and JAK-23) is an obvious misapprehension. Classifying MiG-15, MiG-21, Su-7B and Su-20 into one group (multipurpose aircraft) does not appear to be correct;

-- I cannot understand why the author completely failed to describe the Il-2 attack aircraft and the JAK-7 and JAK-9p helicopters, although on page 4 the following appears: "The book gives the history of the development of Polish military aircraft used in the aviation of the People's Army in the postwar years. All kinds and types of airplanes and helicopters, as well as other aircraft built here and imported from abroad, are described."

I know that these aircraft were described in the preceding book covering 1939-1945. But why title the book "Polish Military Aircraft 1945-1980" when it really covers the period 1950-1978. Not everyone who bought the last book in this series has the preceding books.

--it has to be an exaggeration to write that the "MiG-17F was a light dive bomber,,, a fighter aircraft... a fighter-interceptor and a fighter-escort " (page 52). The same applies to the statement that the MiG-19 is "one of the best fighter aircraft in the world". Especially since on the following page appears: "The multipurpose combat aircraft MiG-19 is designed for fire-support operations and for intercepting enemy aircraft in the air."

--not all the facts cited are true. For example, on page 137 it is said that on July 22, 1966 military aviation opened the review: "The first to fly past was a group of 35 Il-28's, forming an impressive silhouette of a stylized eagle", but the drawing on page 96 shows an "eagle" of 33 planes, explaining that this was a training flight. In reality, it was just the opposite. At the 1,000th Anniversary of our country, an "eagle" of 33 Il-28's flew past.

--on some Il-10's there was an identification apparatus--not SzCz-3M, as was written, but SCz-3M (friend-or-foe);

--officially no distinction is made in the tactics of initial and subsequent operations in a tactical zone. And that is why a military reader is irritated by the statement that the Su-20 is "designed to give fire support to the land forces on the battlefield, to destroy enemy installations in subsequent operations, for reconnaissance, and to intercept and destroy aircraft" (page 113).

Another group of unfortunate errors pertains to the names of the pilots who made a name for themselves in the history of our wings. The name of Col (pilot, academy graduate) Stanislaw Wiacek was confused with Wiecek (page 21 and others), Maj (pilot) Stanislaw Lozowski with Lozowicki (page 33). Not all of the deserving pilots had the distinction of having their first names given, only their last names, despite the fact that they are still serving this country and fly modern equipment. This refers, among others, to Col (pilot, academy graduate) Stanislaw Blaszka, who led the vee-formation flight of Su-7B planes during the 1,000th Anniversary fly-past.

This small fact clearly contrasts with the author's conscientiousness in giving the full names of all those who somewhere took a photo of someone or something. I believe that always more distinction belongs to those who make history than to those who record it. This observation pertains not only to this book, but also to other publications and the daily press, in which the name of the photographer dominates and not that of the person photographed.

In addition to the errors for which the author alone bears responsibility, I noticed a number of editorial inaccuracies:

--in many cases Aviation Forces was written in lower case, while Border Guard was always written in upper case. This occurred even when it was obvious that a proper noun was involved, as for example on page 21, where "...commander of the aviation forces" appears;

--on page 82 appears: "thrust of a single engine lifts without afterburner...". This should read "without afterburning" since an afterburner in the aircraft discussed is an integral part of it:

--the abbreviations: "Gmr", "Umr" for guided and unguided missile rockets cannot be called anything but absurdities;

--the common error committed by parachutists: "landing on a parachute" and "falling on a parachute", was repeated (page 103);

--a lack of consistency was shown in the captions of many drawings. For example, on page 113 four silhouettes of Su-20's are shown, but the caption reads: "A silhouette of a plane..." The same applies to Il-14, Mi-4 and many other aircraft, particularly in the final part of the book.

Undoubtedly these are minor publishing errors, but in my opinion this is too large and too important a work to despoil it with such errors.

The very decidedly weak side of the book are the illustrations. Their quality, for the most part, is embarrassing. It appears that the printers, too, did not do a good job.

While writing the book, the author used many original sources. They include many technical descriptions and instructions for piloting specific types of aircraft. He drew also on "PRZEGLAD WL i WOPK" [AVIATION FORCES AND NATIONAL AIR DEFENSE FORCES REVIEW] from 1961-1980. This is an honor for this monthly, but let me remind that the "REVIEW" did not get this name until January 1, 1974. Before that the monthly was called "WOJSKOWY PRZEGLAD LOTNICZY" [MILITARY AVIATION REVIEW]. I would not make a point of mentioning this were it not for the fact that several items further in the cited bibliography the author listed "WPL", adding also that during 1947-1950 this was a bimonthly.

Despite the large number of comments I would like to say that this is a very valuable work, urgently needed and satisfying the public demand for such a publication. This book contains an honest compilation of the most important part of the postwar history of the people's Polish Aviation.

9295
CSO: 2600/226

TEACHER CHARTER PROVISIONS ADOPTED, INTRODUCED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Jan 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by J Krasniewski]

[Text] As already said, the Council of Ministers adopted on 30 December 1981 Resolution No 276 concerning the introduction of provisions contained in the draft government bill on the "Teacher's Status Charter." This decision was taken in order to improve the state of education and upbringing and to better the work conditions of the teachers and class masters during the transition till the Sejm adopts the full text of the pertinent law.

The government authorized the minister of education and bringing to put into effect--in concert with other concerned ministers--certain provisions contained in the draft of the charter adopted by the Commissions for Education and Upbringing and for Legislative Work.

Using this authorization, the ministers of education and upbringing sent letters to superintendents of education, enjoining them to acquaint the schools and educational establishments both with the government's resolution and with the draft of the charter appended to the letters. The minister stressed the importance and urgency of the matter.

The ministry announced likewise that beginning 1 September 1983 the wages of the teachers and educators cannot be lower than the average wages of the engineering-technical workers employed in socialized industry.

Beginning with the 4th year of work persons employed in the educational system will receive fringe benefits for the years of service in the amount of 1 percent of the basic pay for each year of service. These fringe benefits cannot exceed 20 percent of basic pay. The periods of promotion to a higher pay grade are also shortened from 4 to 2 years.

The draft charter creates significant preferences for teachers employed in rural schools. Among others, beginning September 1983, they will receive a special monthly allowance of 10 percent of the basic month's pay. Teachers undertaking work in the countryside and in towns with population up to 5,000 will receive credit with the bank to start a household. Its amount and conditions will be established by the government.

The adopted solutions fulfill teachers demands and will counteract the lowering of the teachers' wages in relation to other occupational groups with similar education.

Some entitlements contained in the draft charter will be put into effect as 1 September of the past year. This concerns, for example, the renumeration for overtime work. As of 1 January 1982, educators with a minimum of 20 years of service will receive a 20 percent allowance for a full term of service. From the beginning of the current year, the jubilee rewards will also be paid in these amounts: for 20 years of work--75 percent of a month's pay; for 25 years of work--100 percent; for 30 years--150 percent; and for 35 years--200 percent. As of January 1982, the teachers are likewise entitled to the institutional award fund in the amount of 3 percent for 1981 and 8.5 percent for the subsequent years.

At the same time the minister of education announced that the provisions of the draft charter in collision with the "state of war," as well as the solutions that should be correlated with general principles of socialized economy will not be put into effect. This concerns, among others, the principles of cooperation of the government administration with trade unions, introduction of a 5-day-work week in the school, of retirement regulations and of social and housing funds.

In connection with this, in practice, alongside decisions contained in the draft charter, there will be in force only a part of regulations from the teachers' law adopted in 1972; viz. regarding retirement provisions; procedures for the appointment of superintendents, deputy superintendents, inspectors and deputy inspectors of education; and the social funds.

1015
CSO: 2600/196

ARRIVALS FROM WARSAW QUESTIONED AT ORLY AIRPORT

PM231031 Paris LE MONDE in French 19 Dec 81 p 6

[Report by Pierre Georges: "At Orly, a Charter Named 'Rumors'"]

[Text] The man, one of the passengers on the Polish LOT airline flight 122 from Warsaw to Paris which arrived in Orly at 2230 on 17 December, recounted: "I was staying with some friends in Warsaw near the airport. I did not sleep between Tuesday night and Wednesday morning. Aircraft were coming over constantly. The next evening I remarked on that to a neighbor, a magistrate who is an attorney in the capital. He simply replied: 'They were Soviet military aircraft, not commercial flights, and they took hundreds of Polish passengers on board, taken there by bus during the hours of curfew. Their destination was the USSR'."

The man swore that it was all true, that his attorney, a "responsible man," was not lying. Nor was he lying when he said that at least 4,000 to 5,000 people have been arrested in Warsaw itself since last Sunday. Is it true or false? It is apparently true as regards Warsaw and possible as regards the airlift between Moscow and Warsaw that night. As far as the rest is concerned....

It was clearly a charter named "Rumors" which landed in Paris on Thursday evening from a country where true information is no longer available. Amid formidable pushing and shoving, the 15 or so passengers who had agreed to face the journalists told what they knew, or thought or imagined they knew, while more than 100 others fled through the emergency exits. In other words, what they said did not amount to much; it was a constant mixture of experience and hearsay, impression and rumor, the desire to talk and the concern not to disappoint people.

That does not necessarily make for reliable information, but it made it clear that the Polish Government has been totally successful in one sphere since Sunday--that of fragmenting the truth. "What do you expect?" one Swiss journalist returning from Warsaw said: "What have people been doing there for the past 4 days? They have been exchanging the rumors which everybody has collected. People can no longer travel, there are no telephone links, no newspapers aside from the uniformed press; letters are banned. How can people know exactly what is happening? And then, any attempt to obtain information endangers the people from whom you are requesting information."

This is what was said, although in a different way, by a young man, a student at Warsaw's French High School, who was being pursued by a group of "agents" looking for shock photographs: "Photographs, sure, but it was announced over there that anybody caught taking photographs would immediately be sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment. So...."

Nonetheless, through the eyewitness reports various constants emerged which can be described as information. First, the surprise effect of the coup between Saturday night and Sunday morning. Witness an Algerian traveler: "I caught the train at 0530 Sunday morning in Warsaw to go to Krakow. After a while the train stopped in the middle of the countryside for 90 minutes. Militiamen boarded. We set off again for Krakow. And there the militia took off the passengers in handcuffs. I was then told that martial law had been imposed and that in fact became obvious. The streets were full of soldiers and armored vehicles. In Krakow on Monday and Tuesday pamphlets were distributed. The stores all stayed closed but I saw no other arrests. I suppose they were carried out during the curfew."

A Frenchman gave the following evidence about a region which he refused to identify: "On Saturday I was out at the home of some friends until 0200. I saw nothing in the streets. It was only at 0800 Sunday morning that I learned of martial law, that telephone links had been cut and so forth. People very quickly wanted to know what was happening and started visiting each other. That was how people learned of the very numerous arrests. Some were warned in time by women or children and went into hiding. It was the militia who carried out the arrests, not the army."

Finally there is the evidence given by a young boy, son of a technician at the French Embassy: "On Sunday morning I was at the house of some friends when the embassy radio put out an urgent call. Shortly afterwards Polish soldiers appeared outside the buildings to carry out checks and prevent anybody from taking refuge there. I also saw militiamen at the Solidarity headquarters and then large numbers of soldiers in the streets and armored vehicles, but no tanks."

The second main theme was the scale of the arrests. All the people questioned at Orly were unanimous. The militia and police arrested thousands of people between Saturday night and Sunday morning: workers, students, trade unionists, university teachers, enterprise cadres, writers, artists, journalists, scientists, former party leadership members; they took away everybody. That is what is so unbelievable: to have been able to plan such an operation without anything leaking out. "In Warsaw everybody feared it but nobody believed it would happen," a Polish-born Frenchman said. And according to another witness: "They have really decapitated Solidarity." None of the travelers questioned was able to give figures, but all spoke of a "real roundup" on the basis of secondhand or personal information. As for where the people arrested are "interned...."

Finally, the third point if fear. Fear, or at least apprehension, has obviously become common in Poland, according to reports, at least in human reports. "Warsaw is now a sad city in a false state of calm," according to somebody who knows the city. "People no longer talk to you in the street, especially if you are a foreigner. That does not mean that they are resigned, quite the reverse. There are many signs which show that things are seething. There are the Solidarity pamphlets distributed

by hand or posted on walls and which specialized militiamen systematically tear down. There are calls for a general strike. When we left, a general strike had been called for Saturday 19 December and is likely to be very severe. There is also passive resistance; for instance, people are going sick and producing convenient medical certificates. Finally, there is social action, strikes and occupations."

On that point the statements gathered at Orly are essentially limited to rumors. Everybody said what they had heard rather than what they had seen. Gdansk, Wroclaw and Silesia are so far from Warsaw. Only one witness gave some detail: "In the region where I was staying four factories were occupied on Sunday, one of them by several thousand workers. They were all 'pacified' in turn, to use the official terminology, each time the sirens blew to signal the abandonment of the occupation. But that happened without any visible clashes. It now remains to be seen whether the workers will go back to work. However, it seems to me that another factor is at work aside from fear. Solidarity is no longer followed to the extent that it was 1 year ago. That may come as a surprise, but among a section of the population there was a kind of appeal to the army, a demand for order to be restored--a desire mainly based on food shortages. Solidarity has lost a considerable amount of prestige over that. That is why I think that it would be hasty to say that there is massive resistance from the population."

Of course, that is provided that events do not take an irreversible turn, because although the suggestion that people had been killed in Poland was still mere rumor on the Warsaw to Paris flight, it was no longer just rumor when it arrived.

CSO: 3100/298

BRIEFS

RZESZOW SCHOOL REOPENINGS--From Rzeszow we are informed that on 1 February studies were resumed at the Ignacy Lukasiewicz Technical University and at the Rzeszow branch of Lublin's Maria Curie-Sklodowska University. The new rector of the technical university is Prof Stanislaw Koncewicz, former head of the Department of Chipless Technology. [Zaklad Technologii Bezwiorowych] in the Faculty of Mechanics. [Excerpts] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 Feb 82 p 6]

ZSMP VOIVODSHIP MEETING--The 2d plenum of the Kielce Voivodship Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] took place with the participation of the ZSMP Main Board chairman, Jerzy Jaskiernia. The first secretary of the PZPR Kielce Voivodship Committee, Maciej Lubczynski, also took part in the deliberations. The meeting inaugurated a nationwide campaign in all ZSMP elements under the slogan "What kind of Poland, what kind of union..." Discussion is to include not only all of the organization's communities, but also wide masses of young people from outside the union. The goal of this discussion is the formulation of an answer to the question of what kind of role the ZSMP should play in the country's extrication from its crisis, in the overcoming of daily difficulties, and in the formation of the future of People's Poland. [Tadeusz Wiacek] [Excerpt] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Feb 82 p 2]

CSO: 2600/320

PARTY'S VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 23, 5 Dec 81 pp 29-32

/Article by Constantin Florea/

/Text/ Unity and solidarity have always been basic requirements for the victorious struggle for freedom, democracy, peace and social progress, but their role and importance were never greater than they are today. This situation is due to a number of factors, including the extensive and radical changes that have been made in the last few decades on the national level and also in the world balance of power, the increasingly powerful advance of the forces of socialism and other democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces, the greater role of the national as well as international factors in contemporary social development, and the extreme, unprecedented complexity and gravity of the problems facing all mankind.

The masses are the basic motive force of material and cultural progress and the decisive factor for the socioeconomic and political evolution of every country and of humanity as a whole. They have the necessary capacity to renovate society and to establish a climate of peace and security wherein every nation will be free to develope according to its will and vital interests. But the realization of this possibility directly depends upon the concerted and united efforts of the peoples and all the progressive forces.

The idea of strengthening solidarity and cooperation in the struggle against the anachronisms of our time, against the policy of armament, force and domination, and on behalf of a peaceful and happy future runs like a red thread through President Nicolae Ceausescu's new and brilliant initiative for peace in Europe and the whole world. This initiative is manifested in the Appeal for Disarmament and Peace of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, a resounding call to the Romanian nation and all peoples of the world to combine their efforts and act in close unison on behalf of the calm and peaceful work and the life and liberty of all mankind. As the RCP secretary general pointed out in his speech at the Joint Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Supreme Council for Socioeconomic Development of 25-26 November 1981, "Now more than ever it is necessary to strengthen solidarity and collaboration among all progressive, anti-imperialist forces and among all peoples favoring disarmament and peace. Experience is demonstrating more and more emphatically that the power of the peoples to stop the armaments race and the policy of tension and to achieve collaboration and peace is invincible."

The RCP's policy of strengthening collaboration and unity with the revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces everywhere and with all peoples is based upon an advanced, revolutionary and radically innovating conception, and the party secretary general and president of the republic, Nicolae Ceausescu, is making a decisive and vital contribution to its development and promotion. The course of historical events and experience bear witness to the validity and correctness of this policy and its guiding conception and demonstrate its agreement with the requirements of our time, with the aspirations of the Romanian and other peoples, and with the interests of the general cause of socialism, progress and peace.

The RCP bases its whole conception of international solidarity upon the Marxist principle of complete unity between patriotism and internationalism and between national and international obligations. The main demand upon a revolutionary party is to organize and lead the struggle of the masses in its own country for social and national liberation, for democracy and progress, and for socialist and communist construction. Every party is responsible to its members, the working class and its own people for attainment of those goals and for its entire activity. As it succeeds in this task it also fulfills its main obligation to the international revolutionary movement and to the general cause of socialism, progress and peace. Historical experience tells us that defense of one's own people's interests and complete fulfillment of the national aspirations, independence and sovereignty of every nation not only do not conflict in any way with international solidarity but on the contrary are primary factors for its consolidation and essential requirements for internationalism and development of relations of close collaboration and cooperation among all peoples of the world and among revolutionary and progressive forces everywhere.

International solidarity has a definite content in every given historical stage, while its objectives, criteria and the forms it takes depend upon the stage of social development, the balances of power established in the world, and the trends and directions of social and political evolution. Therefore the RCP begins with in-depth analysis of the major processes and innovating trends characteristic of the contemporary period in its examination of the present features of international solidarity as well as in its practical effort to strengthen collaboration and unity with all revolutionary and progressive forces and with all peoples of the world.

Socialism has become a vast world force in the last few decades. By virtue of the progress made in economic, scientific and cultural development, in building and consolidating the new order, and in promoting a foreign policy of collaboration and peace, the socialist countries are emerging as a major force for historical progress, detente and peace. Meanwhile new social and political forces as well as more and more peoples are asserting their will to abolish exploitation and oppression of any kind and are declaring themselves for a socialist development.

One highly significant characteristic of our era is the downfall of the colonial system of imperialism and the emergence of dozens of new nations and peoples who have established independent states and are rising more and more resolutely against the imperialist, colonial and neocolonial policy in defense of their sacred right to independent development and to consolidation of their economic and political independence. The new sovereign states and the developing and unaligned countries are exerting a growing influence upon international affairs and present-day social development in general.

As the most advanced social force, the working class is playing an ever greater role in the renovation of society and in the struggle for a policy of peace and progress. A process is going on of constant growth and maturity of the communist parties and their assertion in more and more countries as national political forces enjoying the sympathy and support of the broad masses and playing an important part in the respective countries' affairs as well as in the international arena. Meanwhile the socialist and social-democratic parties are performing an important role in many western countries and in current political affairs in general, and they are functioning as government parties in some of those countries.

Alongside the working class, the peasant masses, the intelligentsia, women, the young generation and the middle strata of society, who are participating more and more in the social and political struggles, are also among the forces for progressive social development, against wars, and for detente, peace and disarmament. The national liberation movements and fronts as well as the progressive government parties in the developing countries are playing an increasing role in the world today. There are also democratic parties in various countries that advocate progressive development of their peoples and play an important part in national affairs, especially as government parties. We must also mention the increasing influence upon the modern world of the general-democratic movements and forces, who are taking an active part in defense of national independence and sovereignty, against the policy of force and aggression, for stopping the armaments race and accomplishing disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, and for peace and international collaboration. In our times increasingly wide circles and strata of the most varied political, philosophical and religious convictions and persuasions, important representatives of public life, some of the most outstanding personalities of science and culture, and more and more political leaders and statesmen with realistic views are advocating a new international policy and preservation of peace. The unprecedented extent of the movements for peace and disarmament in Europe and other areas of the world shows that the great problems of maintaining and defending peace are becoming more and more a major concern and a cause of many hundred millions of people and of increasingly broad social and political forces.

The concept of international solidarity, as well as the corresponding political activity, must be adjusted to the new social and national realities and the great structural changes that have taken place in the world and freed of any dogmatic, sectarian or exclusivist trends. The existence of great social-political forces, very different in their class composition but all objectively interested in renovating society and solving the great international problems, is a basic objective reality of our era. Under these circumstances international solidarity takes on a far richer content than in the past, and it is constantly enlarging its field of activity, which can no longer be limited to some of these forces however great and unquestionable their importance and contribution to the struggle for peace and social progress may be.

The RCP feels international solidarity must be all-inclusive, broad, and widely open to all social and political forces advocating freedom, peace and the progress of the peoples. It accordingly involves strengthened unity and collaboration with the socialist countries, the communist and labor parties, the socialist and social-democratic parties, the progressive government parties in the developing countries, the national liberation movements, other progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist parties and organizations, with all forces for peace and progress, and the peoples everywhere. Of course it is necessary to secure a unity in diversity by respecting the political independence and characteristic identity of each of the forces, movements and organizations participating in the common struggle and by consistently placing the relations among them on a new basis of mutual respect and full equality of rights.

None of this means that the working class has ceased to be the most advanced and revolutionary social force of our time or that the slogan "Proletarians in All Countries Unite!" launched in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" is outmoded. On the contrary, the appeal of Marx and Engels is more current than ever, but the new historical situation and the demands of our times make it necessary to supplement the appeal of the founders of scientific socialism, as Nicolae Ceausescu said, with the following appeals: "Peoples in the socialist countries, unite in the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism, for full assertion of the principles of socialism, and for its greater prestige in the world!" "Oppressed peoples and progressive forces everywhere, unite in the struggle for abolition of imperialism and colonialism, for national freedom and social progress, and for every nation's free and independent development!" "Workers, peasants, intellectuals, women, youths, progressives and democrats, unite for social progress and a better and more just life!" "Socialist countries and peoples throughout the world, act in the closest unity for detente, collaboration and world peace!" Such a broad and comprehensive interpretation of international solidarity can strengthen the assertion of its power and influence and further its role in the implementation of the aspirations of the working class, all progressive forces, and all mankind to a more equitable and rational society and to progress and peace.

Development of friendship and collaboration with and among all socialist countries and formation of the new kind of relations among all countries commited to building the new social order are essentials of the policy of international solidarity. Strengthening the socialist countries' unity and solidarity is vital to socialist and communist construction in each of these countries, to the further advance of socialist ideas in the world, and to the triumph of the policy of independence, detente and peace.

It is a fully demonstrated fact of life that relations among the socialist countries can develop successfully only on the basis of full equality of rights, mutual respect for national sovereignty and independence, exclusion of any interference in the internal affairs of other states, mutual benefit, and all-around solidarity and friendly mutual aid. Consistent application in practice of all those principles, which form a single whole, guarantees further consolidation of friendship and collaboration among the socialist countries and constitutes one of the main ways the new order can demonstrate its superiority and enhance the prestige and authority of socialist ideas in the world.

The principles of the new kind of socialist relations include, to be sure, qualitatively new elements in the practice of international relations (mutual aid, militant solidarity and friendly collaboration), but they are not and cannot be in conflict with the general principles and standards of international law, which are universally valid. On the contrary, so far from "replacing" or "contradicting" those principles, they are intended to secure the complete and consistent application of the long-standing principles of international law and legality (which principles had only a curtailed, partial and limited application under the old world order), to serve as a model of relations among states, and to set an encouraging example to all peoples in forming new and truly democratic international relations based on equality, mutual respect, and friendly collaboration in the framework of a new world economic and political order.

Like any extremely complex social process, formation of new relations of the socialist type is not without difficulties, errors and contradictions. In view of the very

diverse economic, social and political conditions under which the new society is being constructed and the highly contradictory developments in the world arena, some differences of opinion among various socialist countries on one problem or another of socialist construction or international affairs are to be expected. But as the RCP has repeatedly pointed out, the interests of socialism and peace require all the socialist countries to make every effort to eliminate the existing contradictions and disagreements by means of direct discussions and meetings among the countries concerned. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, we feel the socialist countries' solidarity and unity should be strengthened "by overcoming the existing differences in the interest of successful socialist construction in each country and of the general cause of socialism, peace and collaboration in the world."

Meanwhile it is a major aim of application of international solidarity in the present stage to establish a new kind of unity of the communist movement, a unity that must always be based upon full equality of rights, mutual respect, the right of every party to develop and promote its domestic and foreign policies independently as well as its revolutionary strategy and tactics with no outside interference, and friendly collaboration and solidarity.

The RCP's conception of the new kind of unity of the communist movement is based upon consideration of the vast and increasingly pronounced diversity of conditions under which the communist parties operate. This makes it necessary for the revolutionary parties to develop their strategy and tactics in the light of the particular realities and to apply the general truths and fundamental principles of scientific socialism creatively according to each country's situation. In view of the extent, complexity and diversity of the problems confronting the communist movement today, it is neither necessary nor possible to organize any administrative or coordinating center to determine "general policies" or "uniform strategies" binding upon the communist parties. Determination of political policy and choice of ways and means of action are each party's sole problems and inalienable rights. These rights do not in the least conflict with solidarity among parties or development of broader and closer collaboration among them in the struggle for democracy, socialism and peace. On the contrary, there is a complete unity between promotion of each party's independent policy and permanent development of the revolutionary parties' unity and solidarity on a new basis.

International solidarity calls for an active approach to the peoples' struggle for social progress and national liberation and a firm stand against the imperialist export of counterrevolution and the colonial and neocolonial policies. It is equally clear that the principle of noninterference cannot mean passive indifference to the revolutionary struggle of the masses in various countries. But all this cannot and must not lead, under any pretext or in any form, to replacement of the internal forces or the masses' struggle in any country by action of the revolutionary forces in the other countries or by the intervention of any outside elements. Solidarity can and must take various forms (economic, political, ideological etc.), but it cannot and must not mean, in any case or circumstance, export of revolution or interference in the internal affairs of other parties or other peoples. International solidarity must be firmly based upon observance of national sovereignty and independence and every people's guaranteed right to determine its own fate and course of development. Complete confidence in the ability of every people and every revolutionary party to overcome any obstacles to the revolutionary struggle by their own forces, to renovate society, and to construct socialist and communist society is a basic requirement of international solidarity. It is necessary to avoid all that can impair unity and

always to emphasize what unites the communist parties, namely the basic common interests of the struggle for the cause of socialism and peace and the common ideology of Marxism.

Another important aim of strengthening international solidarity and collaboration in our times is to develop new relations of unity and collaboration among communists, socialists and social-democrats and among all labor parties and organizations and to build the unity of action of the working class on that foundation. Accomplishment of that major aim and ultimately that of the historical reconciliation between communists and socialists must be based upon what unites the labor parties and organizations (communist, socialist, social-democratic, Catholic etc.), and efforts must be made on both sides to reach unity and collaboration in the struggle for democracy, peace and progress.

Increasingly favorable objective and subjective conditions for unity are combined today, namely the growing influence of socialist ideas, the new balances of power in the world, the aggravated crisis of capitalism, and the presence of many objectives of common struggle on the basis of which programs and platforms for united actions can be devised. Of course the dialogue and unity of action cannot be successfully achieved without observance of every party's autonomy and individuality, on the basis of full equality of rights and mutual understanding and respect. The experience of the RCP and other parties indicates that it is only by acting in this spirit that the obstacles that still obstruct unity can be overcome and successful progress can be made toward restoring the unity of the international labor movement, which restoration is required by the entire development of the world of today and by the interests of socialism,peace and progress.

International solidarity cannot ignore the great problems now facing the peoples of the world, global problems of general, universal concern with implications that directly affect the struggle for revolutionary and progressive social reform. In our times the internationalist spirit calls for a high sense of responsibility for the destinies of all mankind and all peoples of the world as well as active participation in the democratic solution of those problems in keeping with the interests of every people and their right to peaceful and independent development. This is especially true at present, when international affairs remain in a state of great tension and the armaments race, and especially that of nuclear armaments, are assuming new and unprecedented proportions in Europe and in the world and gravely threatening world peace and the freedom and independence of the peoples. Under these circumstances the closely united efforts of all European peoples are becoming vitally important, as well as their strengthened solidarity and collaboration to succeed in the struggle to eliminate nuclear weapons of any kind from Europe, to achieve disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament, and to establish a lasting peace on the continent and throughout the world.

Solidarity and close collaboration with the social and national liberation movements and with all peoples' struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and the policy of force and armaments and on behalf of independent development, elimination of underdevelopment, construction of a new international economic order, cessation of the armaments race, general and especially nuclear disarmament, true democratization of relations among states, observance of every people's right to freedom and self-determination, elimination of the threat of new wars, and consolidation of peace, detente and security throughout the world -- those are the basic objectives that can and must be actively supported in close unity by the socialist countries,

the communist, socialist and democratic movement, the working class, all progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces, and the peoples and nations everywhere. That is one of the most important requirements of international solidarity under the present circumstances. As the party secretary general said, "That is why internationalism cannot be limited to only one aspect, however important it may be, but must be understood and applied in the whole complexity and extent of its significance. Therefore it can be said without fear of error that the concept of internationalism calls for active participation in the democratic solution of all the complex problems of the world of today in keeping with every people's interests, as well as the strengthening of militant solidarity with all progressive and anti-imperialist forces."

Acting in full accord with the basic policies expressed in the RCP Program, in the documents of the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th party congresses, and in Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches, the RCP is resolutely promoting a policy of extensive collaboration and close international solidarity with the communist and labor parties, with the socialist and social-democratic parties, with the national liberation movements and the progressive government parties in the developing countries, with other revolutionary, progressive and democratic parties and organizations, and with the anti-imperialist forces everywhere, and it is taking consistent action to strengthen the unity and collaboration of all those forces as well as their active solidarity on behalf of the increasingly strong assertion of the progressive ideals and aspirations of all peoples.

The policy of wide receptiveness to the progressive and advanced forces everywhere, of collaboration and unity with all those forces, and of cooperation with all peoples is specifically expressed, via the state, in Romania's widespread international relations. Romania is developing relations of collaboration and solidarity with all the socialist countries and especially the neighboring ones and expanding its ties of friendship and collaboration with the developing and unaligned countries as well as its connections with the developed capitalist countries and with all states regardless of social order. All of Romania's foreign relations are based firmly upon the principles of full equality of rights, observance of national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, abstention from the use or threat of force, and every people's right to self-determination.

In the spirit of high responsibility for the destinies of the Romanian people and for the general cause of peace and progress, Romania is promoting a policy of active participation in discussion and solution of the problems facing mankind. Taking consistent action to establish a climate of true security in Europe and the whole world, to achieve disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament, to consolidate detente and peace, to eliminate underdevelopment, to build the new international economic order, and to democratize international affairs, the RCP and the state are fulfilling a major national obligation as well as an international obligation vital to the destinies of all peoples.

From the high rostrum of the 12th RCP Congress Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the RCP will perform its role quite resolutely in the future too as a revolutionary detachment in the struggle for a new policy of progress, peace and detente and of security, disarmament and extensive collaboration and unity with all progressive and democratic forces and with all peoples and nations.

The RCP has expressed its conviction that in closely united action the peoples have the necessary strength and capacity to bring about revolutionary, progressive social

reform and to give the evolution of international affairs a new and democratic course toward detente, disarmament and peace. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "As for the Romanian people, they have quite resolutely pledged themselves to strengthen collaboration and solidarity with all peoples in the noble struggle to secure the peoples' right to existence, to peace, to freedom and progress, and to life. And we are convinced that the victory will be on the side of the masses and the peoples."

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CSO: 2700/158

UNITED STRUGGLE WITH SOVIETS AGAINST NAZIS RECALLED

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Oct 81 pp 1797-1812

/Article by Gheorghe Zaharia: "Reprovable Acts Paid for Dearly by the Peoples"/

/Text/ Four decades ago, early in the morning of 22 June 1941, Hitler's Germany attacked the USSR by surprise, thus violating the political treaties concluded in 1939 by the Soviet government with the Berlin government--the nonaggression treaty, on 23 August, and the friendship and border treaty, on 28 September--which had regulated Soviet-German relations up to then.

Through this new aggression, the Nazi leaders put into practice the initial and essential idea of their aggressive policy, presented in "Mein Kampf": southeastern Europe, the Ukraine and Russia to the Ural. The conquest of this rich zone and the control of vital European centers, of great strategic importance, gave Nazi Germany's leadership the prospect of absolutely dominating Europe and of moving the war to other continents.

As a result of the Soviet-German talks in November 1940 in Berlin and of new specifications and proposals made later by the Soviet government regarding the relations between the two states in the future,[1] Germany's leaders came to the conclusion that "the USSR represented the main obstacle in the way of carrying out the fascist plans of gaining world domination."[2] In consequence, they expedited the finalization of the Barbarossa plan of attacking the Soviet Union, whose execution was to begin on the morning of 22 June 1941, on the basis of "Directive No 21," signed by Hitler on 18 December 1940, which specified, in essence, the annihilation of the Soviet forces in "western Russia" and a rapid advance to the Volga-Arkhangelsk line. The industrial base in the vicinity of the Ural Mountains was to be destroyed by aircraft. The important strategic objectives that were to be captured were Leningrad, Moscow and the Donets Basin. The main forces were aimed toward the USSR's capital. The plan also specified that the offensive was to be carried out in three main directions: from East Prussia, in the general direction of Leningrad; from the east of Warsaw, in the general direction of Moscow; and from the Lublin zone, in the general direction of Kiev.[3]

Italy, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania and Finland were alongside Nazi Germany.

The total forces deployed by the German command at the start of Hitler's anti-Soviet war amounted to 190 divisions (including 153 German ones), with approximately 5 million men, 3,140 tanks, over 50,000 cannons and mortars and over 4,900 airplanes. At

that time, the Soviet Union had armed forces totaling 4,207,000 men, spread to the borders along wide fronts and inland.[4]

Through strong attacks made by surprise, the German aircraft and armor caused big losses to the Soviet troops in the border zone. The attacking forces, numerically superior, forced the units above regiment size and the advanced units of the Soviet border military regions to withdraw. Pressing along the whole front between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, Hitler's troops penetrated deep into Soviet territory: 750 km in the direction of Leningrad, 700-800 km in the direction of Moscow and between 600-850 km to the south.

Overestimating the results obtained, Hitler's command felt that the Soviet troops in the country's western regions had been crushed and that the way to the main strategic objectives was open.

Soon, however, the illusions were to be shattered by the tenacious resistance of the Soviet peoples.

From the first days of the war, the CPSU manifested itself as the guiding force in the struggle against the fascist invaders. Pursuant to the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government, the State Defense Committee was set up, in whose hands the political, economic and military leadership of the country was concentrated. J. V. Stalin was named as chairman of this committee.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union united the efforts of the whole populace and directed them toward a single goal: stopping and then crushing the invading enemy. The Communist Party mobilized the Soviet working class, collective peasantry and intelligentsia to face with abnegation the difficulties of the war, organized a strong upsurge in labor and subordinated the national economy to meeting the needs of the front, with the Soviet people overcoming immense difficulties through heroic efforts.[5] Steps were taken for a new distribution of the country's resources in accordance with the needs of the front and of the war industry and the adaptation of the industrial installations for the production of arms, ammunition and other technical materials needed by the army. A redistribution of the human reserves and a new allocation of the financial resources were made.

The putting of the economy on a war footing was hindered by the fact that much of the industry in the threatened regions had to be evacuated to the eastern parts of the USSR. In the first 3 months of the war, there were evacuated to the Ural area, central Asia and Siberia 1,360 big enterprises, which, until being put into operation in the new regions, ceased their production.

The measures adopted and the efforts made gave the anticipated results. As early as December 1941, the industrial output began to rise. In March 1942, the enterprises for materiel in the eastern parts of the USSR attained the level of the prewar output in its entirety.

On the temporarily occupied territory, the partisan movement began to grow. The party organizations, working clandestinely, mobilized the people for the struggle against the occupiers.

With a view to stopping the enemy's offensive, the Soviet High Command sent to the forces coming from the central regions of the country. Most of them were meant for

the Western Front, to strengthen the defense in the direction of the capital. At the same time, steps were taken to strengthen the defense in the direction of Leningrad and in the eastern Ukraine.

The troops of the Nazi armies suffered very big losses, which amounted to 50 percent in men and hardware in the armored divisions. The tenacious resistance of the Soviet forces shattered Hitler's optimistic appraisal. The prospect of a winter campaign, for which the German army was not prepared, was looming.

The "blitzkrieg" theory had failed at the gates of Leningrad and Moscow, in the forests of Byelorussia and on the plains of the Ukraine, in the face of the heroic resistance of the peoples of the Soviet Union, whose efforts were followed with admiration and new hopes by the invaded and dominated peoples of Europe.

The Nazi aggression against the USSR made possible the achievement of the Soviet-Anglo-American alliance, the expansion of the anti-Hitler coalition. Despite the many disagreements appearing in the meantime, resulting from the differences in social orders, the governments of Great Britain and the United States, whose interests were threatened by that of the Third Reich. nevertheless understood that the Soviet Union's presence within the anti-Hitler coalition would hasten the defeat of the German armies, would considerably shorten the duration of the war, and that the keeping of the majority of the Nazi coalition's forces on the eastern front would be a true salvation for Great Britain, which had been alone until then in the war against Hitler's Germany. In the speech made on the day of the attack against the USSR, Winston Churchill, the British prime minister, declared that "every Russian soldier who is fighting for his homeland's hearth is also fighting for the freedom of all men and peoples in all countries of the world. Let us draw the lesson from the so cruel experience that we have had. Let us have the life and power to do it."[6] He promised to extend to the Soviet Union all possible aid on an economic and technical plane and to intensify the bombing over Germany. On 24 June 1941, the president of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, also made a declaration of sympathy for the struggle of the Soviet people, who were fighting a hard war against the strongest war machine known up to then.[7]

Realizing that the "lightning war" against the USSR had failed and that the prospect of a long war was looming, the Nazi command limited its offensive operations in the summer of 1942 to two big actions: the conquest of the oil region in the Caucasus, along with the interruption of the Soviet traffic on the Volga and the conquest of Leningrad. By the middle of September 1942, the German offensive operation in the southwestern and southern direction managed to reach Stalingrad--where, on 13 September, the battles within the city began--and Novorossiysk and Mozdok, where it was stopped after capturing the two localities. The intended goal of gaining control of the Groznyy-Baku oil region could not be attained, due to the stubbornness of the Soviet defenders, who caused very big losses to the Nazi forces.

In the direction of Leningrad, the attempts were in vain. The heroic defenders of the great city on the Neva--cradle of the Great October Socialist Revolution--continued to hold out, despite inconceivable shortages and suffering.

On the occupied territory, Hitler's aggressors set up a regime of terror, of cruel economic exploitation and of systematic extermination of the population, which increased even more its hatred, expressed by many actions of fighting against the

occupiers, in the wide and strong partisan movement inspired by the deep sense of Soviet patriotism, organized and led with abnegation and a high spirit of sacrifice by the CPSU organizations and Komsomol [the Leninist Communist Youth League], which operated clandestinely.

The pushing of Romania into Hitler's anti-Soviet war on 22 June 1941 and the putting of it in a state of war with Great Britain (6 December 1941) and the United States (6 June 1942) were possible under the conditions of the upsetting of the balance of power on an international level toward the outbreak of World War II; of the isolation of Romania on an external plane; of the defeat of France and the British troops; of the Third Reich's unhindered domination over the majority of Europe; and of the country's tragic situation in the summer of 1940, when, as a result of concentric pressures from outside and the Nazi diktat, its territory was broken up. A situation that the Romanian people had not desired had been imposed on them. On 25 August 1939, in a letter sent to Mussolini, Hitler had stated, "Romania is no longer in the position of being able to take part in any conflict against the Axis."[8]

In this context, which had favored the rising of the most reactionary circles of the pro-German, pro-Nazi and fascist, deeply anticommunist and anti-Soviet bourgeoisie to the surface of Romanian political life, the regime of the military-fascist dictatorship with Gen Ion Antonescu at the head was established. The country was subordinated to Nazi Germany, whose troops were on its territory in October 1940 and whose advisers had crammed various economic sectors and departments. These circles tried to mislead the public, asserting that, in the new international situation, only Germany could still ensure the Romanian state's existence and the restoration of its interwar borders.

All of the above things explain why Romania--well known in the world as a country strongly dominated by feelings hostile to German imperialism and militarism--could be alongside Hitler's Germany for 4 years, although these feelings continued to persist intensely.

Directive No 21, on "Operation Barbarossa," included Romania among "the Reich's probable allies," specifying that "the active participation of Romania and Finland in the war against Soviet Russia is to be expected on the flanks of our operation. At the proper time, the High Command will have to arrange and determine in what ways the armed forces of the two countries will be placed under German command, during their intervention."

The directive specified that Romania's task would be "to support with the selected forces the attack of the German southern flank, at least at its beginnings, to pin down the enemy where the German forces are not engaged, to also perform noncombatant duties in the area behind the front."[9]

The decision regarding the launching of "Operation Barbarossa" was officially brought to Antonescu's notice by Hitler personally on 12 June 1941, when the Romanian dictator was invited to Munich.

Taking cognizance of Hitler's decision, Antonescu declared himself willing to side with the Reich. At the same time, he accepted the German dictator's proposal of taking command of the German and Romanian troops who were to attack from Romania's territory, being assisted by the General Headquarters of the German 11th Army "as a kind

of active general staff" of the General Headquarters of Antonescu. He was to transform Hitler's "desires" regarding the Romanian armed forces "into military orders and whenever they require essential decisions it will present them to you for signing."[10]

There could be no clearer expression of Hitler's view on Romanian-German command relations. In fact, it reflects the state of domination of the country by Nazi Germany, the fact that Gen Antonescu's government was regarded by the Nazi leaders as a follower of their orders. Through this, Berlin carried out its rapacious policy regarding the country's economic resources, which contributed to the catastrophic situation in which Romania existed at the end of the war, when its industrial output and national income represented only about 50 percent of those before the war, with the country being on the brink of a national catastrophe in 1944.

A wide resistance that took various forms developed against the Third Reich's domination, its war and Antonescu's dictatorship. In the industrial centers, the actions of the workers against the war were combined with economic demands.[11] Along with the organization of strike actions, there were acts of sabotage that struck directly at the Nazi war machine through the damaging of equipment, the interruption of communications, the defective manufacture of ammunition and parts of weapons, and so on. The sabotage in the oil region, which had as a result a significant drop in oil extraction, and the sabotage in railroad transportation, organized by the railroadmen in Bucharest, Ploiesti, Iasi, Brasov, Timisoara, Simeria and Arad, resulting in the temporary paralysis of the transportation needed for the military operations, assumed great proportions. In the fall of 1943, referring to the increase in the acts of sabotage, the governmental information organs stated that "the fires at the military dumps and the militarized establishments have assumed proportions that can no longer be attributed to chance. These fires undoubtedly have another cause, which, in most cases, must be sought in acts of sabotage."[12]

The Romanian people's hostility toward Nazi Germany, the awareness of the fact that the country's independence and future were in danger, the desire to regain their national sovereignty and their historical rights regarding the northwestern part of the country annexed by Horthy's Hungary through the fascist Vienna Diktat on 30 August 1940, and the extremely difficult material and moral situation of the families of those who were under arms--in their overwhelming majority, peasants--caused the continual growth of the discontent, of the anti-Hitler frame of mind within the army. In this regard, it is characteristic that, in the summer of 1942, the Romanian troops who were marching to the front in the Stalingrad area sang songs that evoked the greatest battle fought by their parents in the summer of 1917 against the kaiser's armies that had invaded Romania, as well as a specially created song--"We Want Our Ancestral Transylvania"--in which the desire to fight for its liberation was expressed.

The hostility of the Romanian soldiers toward continuing the participation in the war alongside Nazi Germany and the worry about the consequences of this war were also felt within the command staff. In 1942, the chief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen Iosif Iacobici, was dismissed as a result of a report sent to I. Antonescu, in which he expressed his disagreement with continuing the military operations, stating that the war fought far beyond the country's borders was unpopular.[13] His successor, Gen Ilie Steflea, managed, by various means, to reduce by about one-third the number of Romanian enlisted men and officers in the units sent to the front in the summer of 1942.[14]

The above things explain the many armed clashes and conflicts between the Romanian and German military personnel, from mere enlisted men to commanders of high echelons. The proportions of these conflicts caused much worry to the Nazi leaders, as follows from a letter sent by Hitler to I. Antonescu at the start of 1943, in which he pointed out that "symptoms of disintegration have begun to arise /again/"[15] /in italics/ (G. Z.'s italics) in the Romanian units on the front. Some of the immediate effects of this frame of mind within the units on the front were the defection of many Romanian soldiers to the Soviet partisans[16] and the wide antifascist movement that arose among the Romanian prisoners in the camps in the USSR.

The Romanian patriots and those of other nationalities in the part of the country under Horthy's temporary occupation performed a fruitful activity in the resistance. Communists, social democrats, national peasants, workers, peasants and intellectuals acted together against the atrocities committed by the occupiers.

Another form of manifestation of the Romanian people's anti-Hitler opinions was the sympathy shown for the peoples mobilized for the struggle against the invaders, the solidarity with them. The clandestine communist press popularized the examples of militancy of the European Resistance, the efforts and sacrifices of the peoples for the defeat of Hitlerism. The other antifascist journalists in the legal press did the same thing, in suitable forms, often managing to get around the vigilance of the German authorities and Antonescu's censorship.

The struggle for liberation in the neighboring countries received special attention--it is easy to understand. In its platform of 6 September 1941, after pointing out that "behind the front, the entire Soviet populace is working, with greatly increased forces, to defend its homeland" and that "in the occupied territories, the people are organized into thousands and thousands of partisan groups against the invaders," the Romanian Communist Party asked its members and sympathizers "to connect the popularization of the platform with the campaign for popularizing the Soviet Union, the Soviet peoples and the heroic Red Army, which, through enormous sacrifices, are fighting the war against the fascist hordes...." In January 1942, the RCP Central Committee stressed, in a resolution, the victory at Moscow, which dispelled the myth of the German army's invincibility and of the "lightning war," stating that "the defeated fascist hordes are withdrawing in disorder, under the deadly attacks of the glorious Red Army."

The communists, all Romanian patriots, felt rightly that the struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia had the character of an organized war, waged on a well-built front that had engaged important forces of the occupiers. "The Serbian patriots, who number over 100,000 people and who are constantly increasing," the newspaper PRESA LIBERA wrote on 24 November 1941, "are putting up a fierce fight.... Ever since /this front/ /in italics/ (G. Z.'s italics) has existed in Yugoslavia, the Germans have lost over 50,000 men."

In its turn, ROMANIA LIBERA in Banat noted, on 1 January 1942, the intensification of the struggle of the peoples against the fascist aggressors and encouraged its readers, stating that "the resistance of the nations subjugated by Hitler is taking the form of a true patriotic war, from Yugoslavia to France, from Norway to Greece."

In the fierce battles and skirmishes fought in 1941 and 1942, the Soviet army wore out the enemy's forces and then gained like successes that led to a radical turn in

the course of the war. Through the gigantic efforts of the Soviet Union's peoples and the Soviet army, due to the firm and clear-sighted leadership exercised by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the temporary advantages that the Hitlerian aggressor possessed initially were negated.

The repeated attacks of the German troops for conquering Volgograd could not break the resistance of the Soviet troops and of the city's inhabitants. As a result of the continual growth of the Soviet combat forces and the reduction of the enemy forces, the premises had been created for a strong counteroffensive that would lead to the encirclement and destruction of the German grouping in the Stalingrad area, which was launched with irresistible force early in the morning of 19 November 1942.

The battle on the Don and the Volga, whose victorious outcome occurred at the start of February 1943, constitutes one of the most glorious pages in the history of World War II. Surpassing in scope and consequences all the battles known up to then in world military history, it marked a turning point in the general course of the war, exercising a favorable influence on the other theaters of war, on the anti-Nazi resistance, on the struggle for liberation of the peoples invaded and dominated by the fascist Axis.

The victory obtained by the Soviet troops in the winter of 1942-1943 gave the strategic initiative to the Soviet command, crushed the strategic reserves of the Wehrmacht and helped to strengthen the anti-Hitler coalition. After the defeat on the Volga, Germany went into a deep depression.[17]

The last German offensive strategic operation carried out between 5 and 11 July 1943, in the area of Kursk, Orel and Belgorod, through which the Nazi command sought to regain the initiative and to change the course of the war in its favor, was crushed by the Soviet forces. To achieve the defeat and completely annihilate the German grouping in this sector of the front, the Soviet High Command launched, on 12 July, a counteroffensive with the forces of 3 armies, resulting in the annihilation of 30 German divisions and the destruction or capture of 1,500 tanks, 3,000 cannons and 3,500 airplanes by the Soviet troops.

The victory at Kursk, a result of the heroic efforts of the Soviet people and the Soviet army, consolidated the strategic initiative of the Soviet High Command, created possibilities for organizing later a general offensive along a 2,000-km front, and confronted the Nazi command and its troops with disaster.

The partisan movement, carried on with much vigor behind the German front by the over 1 million patriots who participated in fighting, had an important role in achieving the brilliant Soviet victories in the summer and fall of 1943.

Toward the end of 1943, all the premises had been created for the transition to a new stage of the war, a stage in which the complete liberation of the temporarily occupied territory of the Soviet Union, the shifting of the military operations outside Soviet territory, and the final assault on the Nazi Third Reich were pursued.

The attacks made by the Soviet army in various directions during 1944 brought decisive victories over the armies of fascist Germany and its satellites. Through the selection of the directions of the main attacks, which ensured the rapid destruction of the important enemy groupings, great operational and strategic successes were

obtained in the shortest possible time. The strong offensive actions carried out on the immense front from the Barents Sea to the Danube made it impossible for Hitler's command to use its reserves efficiently. The enemy was compelled to spread out its reserves, without managing to intervene in time where the deadly attacks of the Soviet army were launched.

As a result of the victorious operations in 1944, the Soviet army destroyed the enemy's basic strategic groupings, which led to the collapse of the whole German front. Along with the victories of the Soviet Union, the successes gained by the western Allied forces on the fronts in Africa and the Mediterranean, the landing in Sicily, the removal of Mussolini and the landing in Italy, were of great importance. On 6 June 1941, through the landing of the American, British and French troops in France, a new front was opened up in Europe, which gave the possibility of achieving coordinated attacks from the east and the west. The Germans were compelled to cope with a more and more complicated situation for them in Yugoslavia--where the partisan struggle had been transformed into a national war, constituting, in fact, a new front in Europe--in France, Poland, Albania, Greece and the other occupied and dominated countries. The struggle for liberation in all the countries of Europe exercised a strong influence on the course of World War II.

The offensive operations carried out in 1944-1945 helped the peoples of Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria to liberate themselves and isolated Hitler's germany, whose inevitable collapse had become evident. The Soviet army had penetrated over a wide front into Germany's territory, to within 60 km of Berlin, where the German command had concentrated a strong group of armies, which, together with the reserves withdrawn from the western front and with the battalions of Volkssturm, totaled 800,000 men and had many technical resources.

The attack that marked the beginning of the battle for Berlin, on 16 April 1945, was strong and unexpected by the Hitlerians and it marked the start of the immediate end of Nazi imperialism, an end that mankind hailed on 9 May 1945.

Appearing on the political scene of the world as the most violent reaction of the most retrograde circles of imperialism against the popular, revolutionary movements, fascism--this bloody scourge of the 20th century--collapsed under the strong attacks of the armies of the United Nations, the antifascist resistance and the national liberation movements. Its defeat saved the gravely outraged human civilization and opened up for mankind new prospects in the struggle for peace, security and social progress. "Mankind will never forget," said the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and the chairman of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the victory over fascism, "the immense sacrifices of the peoples of the Soviet Union, who bore the brunt of the war, the sacrifices of the other countries in the anti-Hitler coalition, and the actions of the national liberation forces in scores of states, which helped to obtain the victory over fascism.

"The Romanian people have the great satisfaction of having been alongside the Soviet armies and the other antifascist forces in the last months of the war, of having made their active contribution to the defeat of Hitler's Germany, to the great victory over fascism--which created for them the possibility of forging themselves a new, independent life."[15]

Romania's participation in the anti-Hitler war began with the antifascist armed national insurrection in August 1944 and represented the corollary of the struggles and efforts of all the national patriotic and democratic forces, united on the common platform of eliminating the military-fascist dictatorship and liberating the country from the domination of Nazi Germany.

The insurrection in August 1944--which represented the start of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social liberation--was possible due to the achievement of the policy of wide alliances, initiated and pursued tenaciously by the Communist Party, which involved the widest strata of the population in a decisive struggle for the basic national interests. In all of the agreements concluded, the Communist Party was present and acted as a galvanizing nucleus and bond, a fact that did not go unnoticed by the German information organs, which related, on 5 August 1944, that "the evolution of the internal politics in recent weeks clearly shows a shifting of all the opposition toward the Left, with the takeover of the leadership of this opposition by the Communist Party."[19]

Through the ties achieved with officers in the senior commands of the army and through the influence of the staunch allies and the temporary ones, counting on the state of dissatisfaction within the military concerning the gloomy prospect of the country and the army, the Communist Party managed to secure the collaboration of a significant number of field and general officers.

Begun on 23 August 1944, through the arrest of Antonescu's government, the insurrection overthrew the regime of the military-fascist dictatorship, got the country out of the anti-Soviet war and got it into the anti-Hitler coalition, making an important contribution to the collapse of the positions of the Nazi forces in the Balkans.

Noting the important occasion of the turning of the arms against Germany, the armistice agreement with the United Nations, signed in Moscow on 12 September 1944, presents the historic act as follows in the first article of the preamble: "On 24 August 1944, at 4:00 am, Romania ceased entirely the military operations against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in all theaters of war, got out of the war against the United Nations, severed relations with Germany and its satellites, joined the war and will carry on the war on the side of the Allied powers against Germany and Hungary with the view to restoring Romania's independence and sovereignty...."

The Romanian people's memorable act was hailed by the anti-Hitler coalition, by the forces of the European antifascist resistance and by world democratic public opinion and received realistic appraisals on the part of the press and of official representatives, which noted, as early as in the first days, the internal and international significance of the Romanian insurrection in August.

Engaged in the antifascist war, the Romanian army fought--shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet army--hard battles for the complete liberation of Romania. The driving of the occupiers from the northwestern part of the country, the reestablishment and consolidation of national independence and sovereignty, and the development of the democratic freedoms gained by the Romanian people through the insurrection in August 1944 were closely connected with the defeat of Nazi Germany, which had been the international center of fascism and reaction. Consequently, Romania's participation within the anti-Hitler coalition in the war against the Third Reich was a chief task, whose achievement required the mobilization of all the energies of the country.

Patriotic fighting formations and units of the army totaling nearly 466,000 men participated in the insurrectional actions. In the battles for the liberation of the northwestern part of Romania, carried out between 1 September and 25 October 1944, the Romanian army participated with 18 infantry divisions, 5 mountain infantry divisions, 5 cavalry divisions, 1 mechanized corps and another 28 separate corps units, as well as the I Air Corps and units of the navy. The total forces participating in the battles carried out between 23 August-25 October 1944 amounted to nearly 526,000 men. During these battles, the Romanian forces lost about 58,330 privates, noncommissioned officers and officers (dead, wounded and missing).[20]

Moving onto Hungary's territory in October 1944, the Romanian army continued the fight, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet armies of the Second Ukrainian Front. Totaling about 210,000 men, the Romanian troops lost about 43,000 men (dead, wounded and missing) in the operations for liberating Hungary. They liberated and made their contribution to liberating about 1,240 localities and other settlements, including Budapest, Debrecen, Miskole, Gyor and 10 other important cities.[21]

In the period of 18 December 1944-12 May 1945, the Romanian forces, totaling over 248,000 men, fought in Czechoslovakia, under difficult terrain and weather conditions, against a fierce opponent. At the price of losing about 66,500 privates, noncommissioned officers and officers (dead, wounded and missing), the Romanian troops advanced through battles to within about 80 km southeast of Prague and liberated or helped to liberate 1,722 localities and other settlements, including 31 cities, such as Roznava, Kremnica Banovce, Kromeriz, Lucenec, Zvolen, Banska Bystrica and Bratislava.

From the beginning of April, the Romanian tank regiment, as well as railroad subunits, operated within Soviet units above regiment size and other units during the operations in Czechoslovakia and on the territory of Austria, in the area of the localities of Hohenruppersdorf (30 km northeast of Vienna), Schrick, Wilfersdorf, Mistelbach, Eibenthal, Poysdorf, Laa, Stockerau, Ziersdorf, Zellendorf, Leopoldau, Absdorf and so on.[22]

During the actions in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria, as in the battles for liberating the homeland, the Romanian enlisted men and officers performed many feats of heroism, exhibiting energy and a spirit of sacrifice. Speaking about the behavior of the Romanian soldiers in the anti-Hitler war, when they exhibited "high fighting qualities and great courage," Marshal of the Soviet Union R. I. Malinovsky, the commander of the Second Ukrainian Front, within which the Romanian troops operated, stated in an article published in the periodical VOENNO ISTORICESKII JURNAL, No 2, 1959, "Some Romanian divisions aroused our admiration through their fighting spirit and through their spirit of sacrifice. They held out in the hardest battles. These valuable qualities, characteristic of the troops of the Romanian people's army, proved that it can fight very well and will be a worthy ally of ours."

During the 260 days of fighting, the Romanian army covered far more than 1,000 km, from the Romanian shore of the Black Sea to Bohemia. It scaled about 20 mountain ranges, forded 12 big watercourses, liberated 3,831 localities and other settlements, including 53 cities, and caused the enemy losses figured at over 118,000 prisoners and about 20,000 dead left on the field, which totals the approximate strength of 14 divisions.

At the end of the war on the front, there were 16 Romanian divisions, 1 air corps, 1 tank regiment and other military units and formations, with a total strength of nearly 196,000 men. The Romanian army's losses in the anti-Hitler war, starting with the insurrection in August 1944, were around 167,500 men (dead, wounded and missing). About 140,000 men were sent to the front--between 1 November 1944 and 10 May 1945 alone--to replace these losses. Romania's total contribution in fighting forces and in personnel employed in performing services directly connected with the new operations, from 23 August 1944 to 12 May 1945, when the Romanian troops, pursuing the remnants of the defeated German army, fired the last gunshots, totaled nearly 540,000 men,[23] a figure that does not include the patriotic fighting formations and many other citizens who took part in fighting in the country or in the ranks of the partisans in the USSR, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, France and Belgium. Regarding the economic contribution, it is evaluated--according to incomplete data--at far more than $1 billion in 1938 currency.

Reflecting the frame of mind of all the working people in the midst of the revolutionary struggle, the Romanian soldiers were inspired by the just cause of liberating their own people and other peoples subjugated by Naziism. The struggle of the democratic forces under the slogan "Land of the Peasants!," for dispossessing the landed gentry and granting land to, first of all, those who were fighting on the front and the war widows and orphans, had a strong influence on the army, formed mostly of working peasants.

The significance of the Romanian people's act in August 1944 and of their contribution to the anti-Hitler war received a high valuation from the anti-Hitler coalition. The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, J. V. Stalin, stated in a message sent to British Prime Minister W. Churchill, on 27 May 1945, that "more than 8 months have passed since /Romania/ [in italics] (the author's italics) and Bulgaria severed the alliance with Hitler's Germany, concluded an armistice with the Allied states and joined the war on the side of the Allies against Germany, using their armed forces for this purpose. Through this, they made their contribution to the cause of the defeat of Hitlerism and contributed to the victorious outcome of the war in Europe." J. V. Stalin's appraisal of the political and military importance of the Romanian people's contribution to the defeat of fascism, through the insurrection in August 1944 and the human and economic contribution to the effort of the United Nations, was brought up again in the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR by means of which the highest Soviet war decoration, which was awarded "for successfully carrying out those military operations (on the scale of one front or many fronts), whose result is leading to the changing of the situation in the favor of the Soviet army," was conferred on the chief of the Romanian state in July 1945. In this decree it said, "For the courageous act of decisively turning Romania's policy toward the break with Hitler's Germany and the alignment with the United Nations at the time when Germany's defeat had not yet become clear, His Majesty Michael I, the king of Romania, is decorated with the Victoria Order." As is known, Marshal Josip Broz Tito, Polish Marshal Michal Zymerski-Rola, North American Gen Dwight Eisenhower and British Field Marshal Bernard Law Montgomery were also honored, abroad, with this high decoration.

At the Paris Peace Conference, in 1946, the delegations of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic and the Republic of France argued for the according of a better status to Romania. The chief of the Czechoslovak delegation brought up in support of his

statements Romania's positive attitude toward Czechoslovakia during the crisis in 1938 and pointed out that "Romania helped to cross into the USSR many Czech soldiers who wanted to fight against the fascists." He also stated that Romania was not inured to the fate that Antonescu's dictatorship and Nazi Germany had ordained for it, that "the Romanian people turned their arms against the German invaders" and that "the Romanian troops fought voluntarily against the Germans on Czechoslovakia's territory, helping to liberate it."

Unfortunately, these viewpoints, fully justified and legitimate, were not accepted. The denial of cobelligerent status increased the difficulties in the postwar economic restoration of Romania.

The Romanian army's return to the country, in the summer of 1945, offered to international public opinion a new occasion to give praise in connection with its behavior on the anti-Hitler front, with the exemplary way in which it fulfilled its liberating mission.

Evoking with deep respect its heroes who sacrificed themselves for the forging of the crucial act in the history of the country in the summer of 1944 and for the victory on 9 May 1945, the Romanian people are keeping alive the memory of the great support received in these efforts from the Soviet people, of the legendary heroism that the Soviet people exhibited in the struggle against fascism. To glorify the Soviet army, the memory of its soldiers who fought and sacrificed themselves on the land of Romania for its liberation from the domination of Nazi Germany, many monuments and obelisks have been erected and memorial plaques have been put up. The cemeteries in which the bones of the fallen rest are tended with respect by our people and their young. The blood spilled by the Romanian and Soviet soldiers in the battles fought shoulder to shoulder for the liberation of the country and beyond the borders of Romania, up to the victorious outcome of the war, was added to that spilled in 1918-1920 to defend Soviet power, laying the foundations for Romanian-Soviet friendship.

Over the years that have passed since the victory of the peoples over fascism, the Romanian people have gone through an entire historical era. Strong revolutionary transformations have occurred in all fields of economic and social activity. The bourgeois order and the exploitation of man by man have been eliminated. Socialism has triumphed both in the cities and in the villages, with socialist production relations being generalized. From a country with a poorly developed, predominantly agrarian economy, Romania has been transformed into an industrial-agrarian country. Education, science and culture--prime factors in the progress of human society--have been developed.

As a result of the victory of socialism, our nation, which is acquiring new essential characteristics, has been strengthened and homogenized. The full equality in rights of all the working people, regardless of nationality, has been provided. All citizens of the homeland have equal rights and obligations. They participate actively in all economic and social activity, in the management of society. Socialist democracy, an important factor in building the new order, is being developed strongly.

Starting from the fact that as long as imperialism and reactionary and conservative forces exist in the world, the danger of a new war also exists, all steps are being taken to prepare the country for defense against any aggression, for the safeguarding of independence and the revolutionary gains. Unwavering attention is being devoted

to the strengthening of the homeland's defensive capacity, to the equipping and political and combat training of our armed forces.

All the remarkable successes obtained by the Romanian people in forging the new social order demonstrate strongly the correctness of the policy of the Romanian Communist Party, which is steadily guiding itself, in its entire activity, according to the dialectical- and historical-materialistic revolutionary outlook. Connecting the acts of the contemporaries with those of the predecessors, the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, concludes that the best honoring of those who sacrificed themselves for the liberation of the homeland and the victory over fascism consists of "doing everything to ensure the steady implementation of the party's program--the basic political and ideological charter that orients the party and the whole populace and illuminates the way for forging the multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania toward communism."[24]

The development of Romania by means of socialism has created the premises for its sovereign affirmation in the political arena, for its ever more active participation in solving--in the interest of peace and social progress--the major problems of the present.

On the plane of foreign policy, in complete agreement with the goals of the domestic policy, Romania starts from the necessity--felt acutely by the peoples--of developing without hindrance, in a free and sovereign manner, under conditions of peace and collaboration, on the basis of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, full equality in rights, mutual advantage and noninterference in internal affairs.

With the establishment of the people's power in Romania, friendship with the USSR and alliance and collaboration between the two countries, between the Romanian people and the peoples of the Soviet Union, for which our party has always spoken out steadily, became a state policy, occupying an essential place within our country's foreign relations. Over the years, Romanian-Soviet relations of collaboration and alliance have been developed on many planes, on the strong foundation of the common ideology, of the community of social order and final goals.

The Romanian Communist Party and the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania feel that there is every possibility for an ever ascending evolution of multilateral Romanian-Soviet ties, with a view to strengthening the friendship, collaboration and alliance between the two parties and countries.

Expressing its conviction that the socialist system can fully manifest its superiority and influence through the contribution of each socialist country, Romania is developing relations of friendship, assistance and collaboration with all the socialist states, without exception. At the same time, it is manifesting itself as a supporter of cooperation with all the states of the world, regardless of their social order, on the basis of the same principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, equality in rights and mutual advantage, seeing in the establishment of normal and fruitful interstate relations the way to relax the international climate, to defend the peace and to facilitate the progress of the peoples.

Militating consistently for the development of cooperation between states, for the stopping of the arms race, for the unconditional banning of the use of nuclear

weapons and for the destruction of the existing stocks, Romania, together with the other anti-imperialist forces of social progress and peace, is carrying on a steady struggle against the aggressive policy of the imperialist circles and for the extinguishing of the hotbeds of war. The Romanian people strongly oppose imperialist interference in the internal affairs of other peoples and firmly support the respecting of the right of the nations to determine their fate themselves, in accordance with their own aspirations.

The lessons of the international politics that preceded the second great world conflagration and of the relations between the states in the anti-Hitler coalition necessitate the respecting of the interests and dignity of all the peoples, of their territory's integrity and their national unity. They demonstrate that one people's independence and sovereignty, its well-being and happiness cannot be achieved at the expense of another people, of another nation, that only by fully respecting the unity, independence and sovereignty of the other peoples is it possible to ensure the independence and happiness of each nation.

This is why Romania feels that in solving all the complex problems of the contemporary international situation--still dominated, unfortunately, by anachronistic and explosive states of affairs--it is necessary to start from the active participation of all states in world political life. No problem of the world of today can be solved any longer just by a few states, regardless of their size and economic and military potential. It is necessary to take into account the will of the developing countries, the small and middle-sized countries and the nonaligned countries, which are vitally interested in a policy of equality in rights, of resolution of the complex problems in the interest of all nations of the world.

As a European country, socialist Romania is vitally interested in the achievement of relations of collaboration, trust and friendship between all states on the continent, relations indispensable to peace and security, to the exclusion of the use of force and the threat of force in any form in interstate relations.

A constant concern of the Romanian Communist Party is the providing and strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers movement, starting from the fact, demonstrated by experience, that in achieving this historical desire of the communist and workers movement it is necessary to start from the realities of our era, from the diversity of conditions in which the revolutionary parties of the working class are operating, which confers on each party the sovereign right to work out its own political line. It feels that comradely collaboration, freely consented between equals, in a spirit of mutual trust and esteem, constitutes the basic premise for the international solidarity and unity of the communist and workers movement.

The activity of the Socialist Republic of Romania and Chairman Nicolae Ceausescu on an international plane has as an essential objective the providing of the external conditions for the unhindered performance of the peaceful work of socialist construction in our homeland, the development and strengthening of the political and economic relations with all the socialist countries, the raising of the contribution to the strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers movement, the solidarity with all progressive, anti-imperialist forces, with all peace-loving countries, in the struggle for the creation of an international climate of security, cooperation and trust between peoples. Only such a climate can make impossible the repetition of those reprovable acts that generated World War II, acts for which the

peoples paid the such high price of 60 million human lives and the destruction of immense material and spiritual values.

FOOTNOTES

1. See in more detail: "File din Istoria Militara a Poporului Roman--Studii" /Pages from the Military History of the Romanian People--Studies/, Vols 5 and 6, Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1979, the article signed by Lt Gen (ret) Gheorghe Zaharia, pp 37-39.

2. "Istoriia Vtoroi Mirovoi Voini 1939-1945" (hereinafter: "IVMV"), Vol III, Military Publishing House, Moscow, 1974, pp 346-347.

3. A. Hitler, "Directives de Guerre," Arthaud Publishing House, Paris, 1965, pp 76-77.

4. "Velikaia Otecestvennaia Voina Sovetskogo Soiuza. Kratkaia Istoriia," Voenizdat, 1967, pp 33, 52.

5. See in detail: "Marea Conflagratie a Secolului XX--al Doilea Razboi Mondial" /The Great Conflagration of the 20th Century--World War II/ (hereinafter: "Marea Conflagratie"), revised and expanded second edition, Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1974, pp 163-164, 226-231.

6. Winston Churchill, "War Speeches," London, 1944, pp 137, 139.

7. See in detail: "Marea Conflagratie," pp 180-187, 224-226, 207-216.

8. "Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945" (hereinafter: "DGFP"), Series D, Vol VII, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, document No 266.

9. A. Hitler, op. cit., p 78.

10. "DGFP," Series D, Vol XII, document No 1,644, Adolf Hitler to Gen Ion Antonescu, 18 June 1941.

11. See in detail: Mihai Fatu, "The Working Class--the Decisive Social Force in the Resistance Movement," in "Insurectia din August 1944 si Semnificatia ei Istorica" /The Insurrection in August 1944 and its Historical Significance/, Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1974, pp 54-63.

12. "Arhiva Ministerului Apararii Nationale" /The Archives of the Ministry of National Defense/ (hereinafter: "AMApN"), file 300/56, sheet 136.

13. "Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe" /The Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs/ (hereinafter: "AMAE"), Sec 71/1941-Germany, Vol 129.

14. "AMApN," file 309, sheet 221.

15. Ibidem, file 605/1941, sheet 118.

16. See: NOVAIA I NOVEISAIA ISTORIIA, No 5, 1961, p 148, and ANALELE INSTITUTULUI DE ISTORIE A PARTIDULUI, No 4, 1961, p 100.

17. See in detail: "Marea Conflagratie," pp 199-206.

18. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate" [Romania on the Way to Constructing the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society], Vol 11, Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1975, p 562.

19. "Arhiva Istorica Centrala" [The Central Historical Archives], "German Documents" Section, roll No 883/5,631, frame 433-434.

20. See in detail: "Romania in Razboiul Antihitlerist" [Romania in the Anti-Hitler War], Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1966, pp 595-634, 699-700.

21. Ibidem, pp 648-663.

22. Ibidem, pp 664-694, 695.

23. Ibidem, pp 703-704.

24. Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., p 580.

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LAW ON WORKERS COUNCILS AMENDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian No 113 Part I, 29 Dec 81 pp 1-5

[Law No 23 of the Grand National Assembly on Amending and Completion of Law No 30/1977 on the Congress of Workers Councils and the National Council of Workers From Industry, Construction and Transportation]

/Text/ The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania adopts this law.

Single article. Law No 30/1977 on the Congress of Workers Councils and National Council of Workers From Industry, Construction and Transportation, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA Part I, No 112, 28 October 1977, is amended and completed, with the following content:

Law on the Congress of Workers Councils, National Council for Workers, Conferences of the Workers Councils and County Workers Councils From Industry, Construction, Transportation, Goods Circulation and Finance:

The development of socialist democracy, broadening of the framework for participation of the working class and all the people in the conscious creation of their own destiny and in the leadership of society, continual improvement in the activity of the workers councils and general workers meetings are a permanent concern of the party and state.

In order to insure implementation of the party's program for more and more emphatic development of the forms of direct democracy and for assertion of the working class' leading role throughout the job of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and directing Romania toward communism, it is necessary to have corresponding improvement in the legislative framework.

CHAPTER I:

The Congress of Workers Councils and National Council of Workers From Industry, Construction, Transportation, Goods Circulation and Finance

Article 1. The congress of workers councils from industry, construction, transportation, goods circulation and finance, the most representative democratic forum of the working class as the owner of the means of production, producer and beneficiary of material goods, is established.

The congress of workers councils discusses the basic problems of economic development and the ways and means for fulfilling the tasks included in the party's program and the single national plan for social-economic development, of improvement in worker self-leadership as well as of the continued development of socialist worker democracy, and collective work and leadership.

The congress of workers councils insures the direct participation of the popular masses in leadership of the various sectors of activity, in working out, adopting and implementing decisions and laws and in strengthening the control of the working class and all workers over all the activity of the state organs.

Article 2. Participating in the work of the workers council congress are representatives of the workers councils from the industrial construction and transportation units, research-design institutes and centers, units from goods circulation, craftsmen's cooperatives and consumer cooperatives, the financial-banking system, members of the National Council of Workers, party activists and representaitves of ministries and other central state and public organs.

The congress of workers councils meets once every five years and is convened by the National Council of Workers.

The norms for representation at the congress are set by the National Council of Workers. Delegates to the congress are elected in the general workers meetings in the enterprises and are confirmed by the county and Bucharest municipal conferences of the workers councils.

Article 3. In fulfilling its tasks, the congress of workers councils adopts obligatory decisions for all collective leadership organs of the ministries and other central and local state and public organs, industrial centrals, enterprises and other units in industry, construction, transportation, goods circulation and finances.

Article 4. The National Council of Workers, as an organ of broad representation with permanent activity, is organized for the leadership, guidance and control of workers council a tivity in the period between two congresses.

Article 5. The president of the National Council of Workers is elected by the congress of workers councils.

The National Council of Workers is elected by the congress. Candidates for the National Council of Workers are discussed and elected in the general workers meetings in the enterprises and are confirmed by the county and Bucharest municipal conferences of the workers councils.

Article 6. The National Council of Workers has legislative initiative for improving the leadership and planning of the national economy, for continually broadening socialist democracy, developing worker self-leadership and strengthening economic-financial self-management, for improving the organization and operation of ministries, other central state and public organs, centrals and enterprises as well as other sectors of economic and social life.

The drafts of normative acts of general interest for the country's social-economic development initiatied by other organs are subject to discussion by the National

Council of Workers before being presented for adoption by the Grand National Assembly or Council of State.

Article 7. The National Council of Workers takes action for the continued improvement of activity for planning and leadership of all sectors of activity as well as for application and precise respect for party and state decisions in the activity of the Council of Ministers, ministries, other central and local state and public organs, for which purpose it has the following main duties:

a) It organizes the application and controls the fulfillment of the decisions of the congress of workers councils; it checks on application of and respect for the decisions of the party, laws and decrees as well as other normative acts by all ministries, other central organs and units in industry, construction, transportation, goods circulation and finances;

b) It analyzes annual and future plans for the development of industry, construction, transportation, small industry and providing of services and goods circulation. It establishes the measures needed to have the workers councils in the economic units and the leadership councilsof the ministries and other central state and public organs implement under the best conditions the single national plan for social-economic development and the tasks they have from party decisions and the country's laws, seeking to increase economic efficiency of all activity, manage fixed assets and financial resources entrusted to them with maximum efficiency, to continually improve working conditions in the enterprises, to increase the national wealth and, on this basis, to continually raise the material and spiritual standard of living of working people;

c) It discusses and analyzes the way in which the program is carried out to raise the standard of living and to increase the quality of life for all people as well as the way in which the provisions of the programs for supplying the population, developing the services being provided and for carrying out social-cultural actions are fulfilled;

d) It insures the orientation and unified leadership of the activity of the workers councils in centrals, enterprises and other economic units and of the ministries' leadership councils for the continued development of collective work and leadership, for improvement in working style and methods, for promoting criticism and self-criticism, for increasing the responsibility of all members of the council in fulfilling their tasks;

e) It guides the activity of the general workers meetings with a view to the organized participation of the broad masses of working people in the leadership of social-economic activity in the units and for having them carry out efficient control over the leadership organs, seeking to stimulate the creative initiative of the working collectives and to draw them into solving the major problems of the enterprise, as well as continually raise the workers' socialist awareness;

f) It discusses the reports of the Council of Ministers on a yearly basis with regard to the activity of fulfilling the single national plan for social-economic development.

Article 8. The National Council of Workers is comprised of:

a) The executive bureaus of the leadership councils from the following ministries and other central organs:

Ministry of Mines;

Ministry of Petroleum;

Ministry of Geology;

Ministry of Electric Power;

Ministry of Metallurgical Industry;

Ministry of Machine Building Industry;

Ministry of the Machine Tool Building and Electrical Engineering Industry

Ministry of the Chemical Industry;

Ministry of Light Industry;

Ministry of the Forestry Economy and Construction Materials;

Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications;

Ministry of Industrial Construction

Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation;

Ministry of Domestic Trade;

Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets;

The Department for Construction Abroad;

b) The Executive Bureau of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania;

c) The Executive Bureau of the Council for Social-Economic Organization;

d) The Executive Bureau of the Central Council of Worker Control of Socioeconomic Activities;

e) Its representatives:

The Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth;

The National Council of Women;

The Organization of Socialist Democracy and Unity;

f) The 934 workers and foremen who work directly in production;

g) The cadres from the central party and state organs and apparatus and from mass and public organizations;

Members of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Executive Bureau of the Council of Ministers;

Cadres from sections of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party;

h) Leadership cadres from the following ministries and other central organs:

State Planning Committee;

National Council for Science and Technology;

Ministry of Finance;

Ministry of Labor;

Ministry of Tourism;

Department of Civil Aviation;

UCECOM [Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives];

CENTROCOOP [Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives];

National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania;

Investment Bank;

The Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade;

i) Activists from the county and municipal and Bucharest municipal sector party committees;

j) Secretaries from party organizations, from the Union for Communist Youth and trade union presidents from the big enterprises;

k) General directors and directors of the industrial centrals and big enterprises;

l) Chief engineers, head accountants, h ads of sections and workshops and cadres from research and design.

The National Council of Workers has in its leadership one president, one first vice president, 14 vice presidents, of which 7 are workers, foremen and heads of sections from the main branches of production, and 3 secretaries.

Article 9. The National Council of Workers carries out its activity in a plenum and by commissions.

The National Council of Workers has the following commissions:

The National Council of Workers has the following commissions:

a) Commission for problems of collective work and leadership;

b) Commission for problems of political-educational activity;

c) Commission for standard of living, work conditions and social problems.

During the work in the plenum, the National Council may also carry out its activity by sections.

Article 10. The componence of the commissions is approved by the National Council of Workers.

Article 11. The National Council of Workers has an executive bureau comprised of 59 members, of whom 31 are workers, foremen and heads of sections who work directly in production, as follows:

The president, who also is the first vice president of the National Council of Workers;

The 14 vice presidents, of whom 7 are workers, foremen and heads of sections from the main branches of production;

The 3 secretaries;

The 41 members.

The componence of the executive bureau is approved by the National Council of Workers.

Article 12. The executive bureau conducts all the activity in the period between plenary meetings of the National Council of Workers, having the following main duties:

a) It follows up on the way in which the leadership councils of the ministries and of workers councils from the centrals and enterprises are taking action to implement the single national plan for social-economic development and the program approved by the party to raise the standard of living and to increase the quality of life for all the people;

b) It insures implementation of the decisions adopted by the congress and the National Council of Workers, of the measures adopted by the party for raising all social and economic activity to a qualitatively higher level;

c) It hears and analyzes the reports of the ministries on the way in which they have taken action to fulfill the decisions adopted by the congress or the tasks established by the National Council;

d) It adopts operational measures for the guidance and unified leadership of the activity of the workers councils and other collective leadership organs to improve the style and methods of their work, to increase the responsibility of all the members to fulfill their tasks;

e) It discusses and approves the proposals of appointing to jobs the members of the Councils of Ministers, other cadres from the ministries' leadership and other central organs, following consultation of the general workers meetings in the units where they carry out their activity.

Article 13. The National Council of Workers meets two times a year and as many times as is necessary and it works validly in the presence of at least two-thirds of its members.

The executive bureau meets once each half and as many times as necessary.

The decisions of the National Council of Workers and the executive bureau are adopted by open vote with the majority of their members.

Article 14. The decisions of the National Council of Workers are obligatory for all collective leadership organs in the ministries, other central and local state and public organs, industrial centrals, enterprises and other socialist units in industry, construction, transportation, goods circulation and finance.

CHAPTER II:

Conferences of Workers Councils and County Workers Councils in Industry, Construction, Transportation, Goods Circulation and Finance

Article 15. The conference of workers councils, a broadly democratic organ of the working class in the industrial, construction, transportation, goods circulation and financial-banking units within the territorial-administrative range of the county and Bucharest municipality is established in each county and in Bucharest municipality.

The conference of workers councils discusses the basic problems of territorial economic and social development, the ways and means for fulfilling the tasks belonging to the county from the party program and from the single national plan for social-economic development as well as the problems of improving worker self-leadership, broadening economic-financial self-management and the continued development of collective work and leadership.

The conference of workers councils is comprised of:

a) Members of workers councils from enterprises, centrals and other socialist units in the county, as established by the workers' general meetings in the enterprises;

b) Members of the county workers council;

c) Party and state activists, representatives of ministries, other central and local state and public organs.

The conference of workers councils meets once each two and one-half years and is convened by the county workers council.

Delegates to the conference of workers councils are elected in the general workers' meetings in the enterprises on the basis of the norm of representation established by the county workers council.

Article 16. The county workers coucil, the representative organ with continuous activity, is organized for the leadership, guidance and control of the activity of the workers councils in the period between two conferences; the municipal workers council is organized in Bucharest municipality.

Article 17. The county workers council has the following main duties:

a) It organizes, insures and checks on fulfillment of the decisions of the congress and the National Council and county conference of workers councils on activity of the social-economic units on their territory;

b) It analyzes the annual and long-range territorial plans for the development of industry, construction, transportation, small industry and providing of services and goods circulation; it establishes necessary measures for having the workers councils in the county's economic units fulfill the single national plan for social-economic development territorially under the best conditions, the tasks belonging to them from the party's decisions and the country's laws, seeking to increase the economic efficiency of all activity;

c) It analyzes and checks on the way in which the collective leadership organs in the units insure application of party and state decisions, have firm respect for the new economic-financial mechanism, use and manage raw materials, materials, fuels,energy, fixed assets and financial resources entrusted to them with high efficiency and it establishes the necessary measures;

d) It discusses the reports presented annually by the executive committee of the county people's council on fulfillment of the single national plan for social-economic development territorially and it adopts necessary decisions;

e) It insures the orientation and united leadership of the activity of the workers councils in the socialist units on the territory for the continued development of collective work and leadership, worker self-leadership and self-management, improvement in working style and methods, promotion of criticism and self-criticism, increase in the contribution and responsibility of all council members in fulfilling the tasks belonging to these organs;

f) It guides the activity of the general meetings of workers with a view to participation of the broad masses of working people in the leadership of the social-economic activity of the territory's units.

Article 18. The county workers council is composed of 201-351 members, while that of Bucharest municipality is composed of 501 members and they are comprised of:

a) Presidents, first vice presidents and vice presidents of the workers councils in enterprises, centrals and other similar units in the county and other members of the executive bureaus of the workers councils;

b) Activists of the county office for social-economic organization;

c) Activities of the county council for worker control of economic and social activity;

d) The bureau of the county trade union council;

e) Head engineers, heads of sections and shops, research and design personnel, economists and other cadres with rich experience in the enterprises;

f) Representatives of the Union of Communist Youth, county council of women, the Organization of Socialist Democracy and Unity and local organs of the state administration;

g) The 105-180 workers, foremen and heads of sections who work directly in production and 265 in Bucharest municipality.

Candidates for the county workers council are discussed and elected in the general workers meetings in the enterprises.

The county workers council has in its leadership one president, five-seven vice presidents and one secretary.

The president of the county workers council is elected by the conference of workers councils. The county workers council is elected by the conference from among the candidates for the councils elected in the general workers meetings.

The county workers council meets twice a year and as many times as is necessary and it works validly in the presence of at least two-thirds of its members.

Article 19. The county workers council has an executive bureau composed of 21-33 members, of whom 11-17 are workers, foremen and heads of sections who work directly in production. In Bucharest municipality the executive bureau is composed of 37 members, of whom 19 are workers, foremen and heads of sections who work directly in production.

The executive bureau has in its leadership one president, five-seven vice presidents, of whom two-four are workers and foremen from the main branches of production, and one secretary.

The executive bureau is approved by the council of workers and meets once each half and as many times as necessary.

Article 20. The executive bureau heads the entire activity in the period between the plenum meetings of the workers council and insures fulfillment of the decisions adopted by the conference and the county workers council.

Article 21. The provisions of Articles 17-20 are provided accordingly to the Bucharest municipal workers council and its executive bureau.

Article 22. The decisions of the county and Bucharestmunicipal workers councils and of their exeuctive bureaus are obligatory for the collective leadership organs in the industrial centrals, enterprises and other similar units within the administrative-territorial range of the particular county. The decisions are adopted by open vote, with the majority of its members.

This law was adopted by the Grand National Assembly at its 23 December 1981 meeting.

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SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL, VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Nov-Dec 81 pp 1059-1066

[Article by C. Pintilie, Fl. Virgil and Nica Sabin: "Scientific, Technical and Vocational Training of Agricultural Workers Under the Conditions of the Agrarian Revolution"]

[Text] The 12 RCP Congress and the Second Congress of the Leadership Councils of the Socialist Agricultural Units gave all those persons working in agriculture tasks of great responsibility to carry out a profound revolution in the technical-material base and the organization of agricultural production during the coming years. Carrying out this objective requires a complex and multilateral effort, in whose framework an especially important role is played by activities to provide technical, scientific and vocational training to the future cadre of specialists and all agricultural workers.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said that the agrarian revolution that we propose to carry out is not possible without a high professional level in all those who work in agriculture, from the cooperatist peasant and agricultural worker to the agronomist engineer and highly trained researcher. At the same time, it is necessary to have a substantial improvement in the entire system for training personnel and the workforce in agriculture.

The current organization of education in our country allows for providing training for the agricultural workforce on three levels: a) the training of certain highly qualified personnel, engineers and veterinarian doctors within the framework of higher agricultural education; b) the training of certain middle-level personnel (technicians, equipment operators and so forth) within the framework of middle-level specialized education and vocational schools; c) the mass training of agricultural workers through the mandatory 10 year general education program and through other forms of mass agricultural education.

Special responsibility belongs to higher agricultural education designed to ensure the training of cuture agronomist engineers, horticulturalists and zootechny specialists, land improvement engineers and veterinarian doctors. These are the people who will have to implement the great objectives outlined by the party in the field of agriculture, to carry out the agrarian revolution and to raise our agriculture to the level of the greatest advances and requirements of modern science and technology.

Numerous times, during his visits to the "Nicolae Balcescu" Agronomic Institute and other agronomic institutes, as well as in his speech at the Second Congress of the Entire Peasantry, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "Higher agricultural education organically combing studies with practical activities and research must provide a cadre of agricultural specialists capable of applying agricultural science with a maximum of efficiency, of efficiently using the experience of our peasantry and of ensuring the largest possible agricultural harvests and production in all sectors of activity."

In our country, there are five agronomic institutes which annually turn out approximately 2,000 specialists in different fields. Following the urgings of the party and its secretary general, these institutes are trying hard to become powerful centers of education, research and production that will train new generations of highly qualified personnel for agriculture capable, from their first day on the job, of becoming active factors in raising agriculture to a higher level and in the vast process of revolutionizing our socialist agriculture.

The organic integration of higher agronomic education with production, planning and scientific research, a process that is in the midst of being carried out and improved, represents the solid footing for the thorough, theoretical and practical training of future specialists and for the fulfillment of the tasks of great responsibility belonging to higher agricultural education. This revolutionary concept regarding the organization of higher education ensures the full use of all the work and creative capacities that our faculties possess and creates the best conditions for the students' and teaching faculties' active participation in the achievement of the special tasks given to agriculture by the party.

In analyzing the tasks and perspectives of higher agricultural education in the light of the objectives of the agrarian revolution which we will be called upon to carry out in the coming years, we feel it is necessary to stress several aspects which we should especially give our attention so as to allow higher agricultural education to honestly fulfill its purpose and the tasks entrusted to it.

1. A basic objective is the continuing improvement of the content of higher agricultural education and the practical courses and projects, in accordance with the newest advances of agricultural science and technology and the technical-scientific revolution. The carrying out of the new agricultural revolution is influenced by the large-scale implementation of advanced technologies and the most advanced aspects of modern genetics and biology and of science and technology in general in agricultural practices. It is known that science and technology are currently experiencing an extremely rapid development and that new ideas and modern technologies are constantly appearing. Only that person who will know how to rapidly introduce them into production and fully use them will be able to obtain superior results, placing himself at a competitive level domestically and internationally.

The future specialists must be, therefore, thoroughly prepared, right from the classroom, with a knowledge of everything that is new in his specialized field, as well as the trends and directions of development of the diverse sectors of agriculture. As is noted in party documents, we have the job of eliminating everything that is outdated,

obsolete and without a future from the educational programs and of updating and improving from year-to-year the practical courses and projects by introducing new elements stemming from the advances of contemporary science and technology. It is sometimes necessary to introduce new course chapters (or even new disciplines if it is necessary) in order to equip the students with the newest problems in agricultural science and technology, such as genetic engineering, ecology, biochemistry and so forth.

At the same time, it is necessary to prepare specialists with a broad background capable of resolving specialized problems with scientific competency and of adopting relatively easily to the inevitable changes that will constantly take place in the structure of production and in crop technologies. The future agricultural specialist must also have a thorough knowledge in the areas of biology and genetics, mechanization and chemicals application, and in land improvement and other areas of agricultural activities. He must know how to work not only ideal conditions, which are only rarely encountered in practice, but also under specific diverse conditions determined by the nature of the soil, by the climatic conditions of a given year and by the technologies that we have available and which he must adapt to the specific conditions of the place where he works.

For that reason, it is necessary to have a continuing improvement of the programs of practical courses and projects in accordance with the evolution of contemporary science and technology and with the requirements imposed by contemporary social development and by the priorities stemming from the strategy of our social-economic development. Along this line, for example, it is necessary for us to give special attention to the students' mastery of certain new technologies that have reduced levels of energy and fuel consumption used in combatting pollution and eliminating the poisonous effects of inadequately using certain chemical substances.

2. The agrarian revolution also raises new problems with regards to the practical training of students under production conditions. Through the efforts of the party and state, favorable conditions have currently been created for a better practical training of students within our own experimental teaching stations where agricultural projects and other production activities are carried out directly by students, with the participation and under the permanent guidance of the teaching staff.

During these years, a certain positive experience has already been obtained in this area, with encouraging results. But, this is merely a beginning. It is known that the agrarian revolution requires a revolution in the technical-material base of agriculture, a complex mechanization, a rational chemicals application, a maximum use of the land and irrigated areas, an extension of intensive crops, a judicious rotation of crops and so forth. For that reason, the future agricultural specialist must master, right from the classroom, a large volume of practical knowledge, must know how to handle all types of agricultural tractors and machinery used in the country, must be able to carry out agricultural work at any time under the best possible conditions and must know how to apply advanced agro-techniques in a differentiated manner, depending upon the specific conditions in the unit where he works.

In order to be able to lead with competence, he must, first of all, know how to carry out the diverse agricultural projects and to gradually master over the years of his training the full variety of agricultural work, from the simple agricultural worker or person who cares for animals to the mechanized equipment operator, technician and, later, highly qualified specialist. When he finishes his schooling, he will have at the unit where he is assigned a powerful technical-material base that he must know how to use wisely for the purpose of obtaining greater production.

3. The theoretical and practical training is indissoluble linked to scientific research activities. The agrarian revolution requires a powerful development of agricultural science and technology, the permanent introduction of certain new technologies, the cultivation of certain new high efficiency varieties and the selection and raising of new breeds of animals having a higher biological potential. The future specialist must be not only a good practitioner, but at the same time a researcher, a seeker of new things and an untiring fighter against routine and everything that is old. He must never be satisfied with what he has achieved, but constantly seek new paths of progress and decisively promote everything that is more advanced in science and technology. In this regard, right out of the classroom the future specialist must exhibit a passion for scientific research. For this reason, we must develop activities for student scientific clubs, involving the students to a greater degree in the faculties' research groups and in resolving priority scientific subjects. The experience of recent years proves that there is a great potential for scientific research among the ranks of the students that must be fully used. It therefore appears necessary to cultivate a lively desire among the ranks of the students to go beyond themselves, beyond their professors to permanently work to achieve new hybrid varieties having great production potential, having a higher useful substance content, having a short growth period and having a resistance to diseases and pests, and to improve animal breeds that have higher birth rates and higher efficiency.

4. Closely related to the above is the problem of follow-on training for personnel. Agriculture needs specialists who will work the technology of the year 2000 and even the technology of the beginning of the third millenia. This is even more so since the current technical-scientific revolution has taken especially broad steps in the field of biological sciences, a field where we expect to see fundamental discoveries in the coming years that will radically transform the technologies of agricultural processes. Under these conditions, no matter who well prepared a specialist might be when he graduates from school, if he does not put out a permanent scientific effort, if he does not study specialized literature to constantly keep up with new events, he will inevitably fall behind, become a victim of routine and become a hindrance to the progress of agriculture.

For that reason, it is necessary to have a permanent effort in the periodical follow-on training of all personnel in agriculture and an improvement in the yearly courses for training and follow-on training, which will be conducted with the participation of the best specialists and will be organized in the most appropriate regions and units for this purpose.

5. An essential aspect of the agricultural revolution is the revolution in the organization and management of agriculture. This requires the continuing strengthening of

the role of the unified state and cooperatist agroindustrial councils, the spread of the experiences of the outstanding agricultural units, the firm introduction of the new economic-financial mechanism into agriculture, the increase of the efficiency of agricultural production, the reduction of costs, and especially material costs, the growth in the profitability of agricultural units and so forth. All this requires that the future agricultural specialists, out of necessity, will have to possess a thorough economic understanding of their specialties, to know how to wisely handle economic factors, to acquire the skills of being good managers, to be capable of competently leading agricultural units and to efficiently administer the goods that society has entrusted to them.

During the years in school, it is necessary for the students to get a solid economic training, both theoretical and practical in nature, and to acquire the skills to see the problems of agricultural production not only from a specialized technical point of view, but also from an economic one. At the same time, it is necessary to acquire right from the classroom the skills to lead an agricultural unit, with an important role being played in this regard by the practical exercises in organization and management that are conducted in the last year of school and that must be carried out in outstanding agricultural units so that the future specialist will be able, from his first day, to implement the positive experiences acquired in the practice units.

Keeping in mind the special significance of economic problems and problems of efficiency at the current moment and in the future, we believe it would be opportune to analyze the possibility of having training for economists in agriculture to be conducted in the agronomic institutes. In support of this proposal, we can mention that the best results in training agrarian economists were obtained during the period of 1970 to 1975 when the agrarian economy departments (sections) operated within the framework of the agronomic institutes. The graduates from this period are also currently working in the agricultural units, while the graduates from later years, although they were trained for agriculture, left agriculture, employing themselves in other sectors of the national economy.

In the same context, we can mention that it would be useful to analyze the possibility of training mechanized equipment engineers within the framework of the agronomic institutes, as well as engineers in the field of the food industry. In this manner, we would have a unified system for training all the specialists slated for agriculture and the food industry, in full agreement with the current requirements of integrating agriculture.

6. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, the agricultural revolution also involves a revolution in the awareness of those who work in this field and the formation of an advanced, revolutionary awareness. Carrying out the agrarian revolution requires of the future specialists and all those who work in this field not only a high level of scientific and vocational training, but also a high revolutionary awareness, the broadening of their political and ideological horizons and the understanding and application of the laws of social development. A person who will work in agriculture must, first of all, understand agriculture, love agriculture, love its activities, understand village life and become part of it. For that reason, only those persons who have worked in agriculture should have access to the institutes of higher agricultural education, those persons who know both the difficulties and the satisfaction

that are encountered in agricultural work and who have decided to dedicate their entire ability and work to raise agriculture and village life to the level of the requirements of our socialist society. We can no longer allow graduates of certain higher agricultural education institutes to seek work in offices or in other sectors of activity. They must go into agriculture and carry out their profession as they were trained.

Right from their years in school, the students' social awareness must be developed so that they can be educated in a revolutionary spirit and because the future specialists must always be politicians, leaders and party activists who are firmly and responsibly involved in resolving complex problems of a political, social and cultural nature in the rural communities.

7. In light of what has been pointed out above, it is necessary to have a substantial improvement in the didactic-scientific and political-educational activities of the teaching staffs in the agronomic institutes. It is especially necessary to have a permanent concern for the improvement of their own training, an indispensible condition for improving the content of the practical courses and projects and the entire instructional-educational process to the level of the newest advances of science and technology. We must have a more direct and more efficient involvement of the teaching staffs in scientific research activities, especially with regards to the full and efficient use of the land, the improvement of the production potential of the land, the creation of biological materials having a high production capacity, the elaboration of new production technologies having increased economic efficiency and reduced levels of energy consumption, the improvement of the system of agricultural machinery and the elaboration of certain improved methods for organizing and managing socialist agricultural units.

The level of training of future agricultural specialists is influenced in a decisive manner by the quality of the teaching staff, as well as by the technical-material base that the units of higher agricultural education have available.

Our proposals tend to support the idea of the leadership of the Ministry of Education and Training, which points out that we must move towards the consolidation of educational institutes having great traditions and personnel with higher training.

Carrying out the agrarian revolution raises important problems with regards to the training of personnel, not only at a higher level, but also at a medium-level. In this regard, there are tasks of great responsiblity for the specialized agro-industrial high schools. Each county currently has a broad network of such educational units where 86,634 students are studying. In addition to this, there are over 5,000 students in vocational schools and 1,000 in agricultural masters schools. Thus, agriculture receives approximately 2,000 medium-level specialized personnel each year.

With regards to the medium-level specialized education, we feel that several problems clearly stand out:

a. The improvement of the content of the educational process. The agricultural high schools must provide a better theoretical and practical training for the students. The graduates of these schools must be capable of directly going into production and of making their appropriate contribution to the carrying out of activities and to the obtaining of certain better results. For this, they must have a proper technical and thorough practical knowledge and be immediately integrated into production and they must participate in the modernization of agriculture and the growth of production.

To this end, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry's proposal is fully justified that in the structure of the educational plan of the agro-industrial high schools the percentage of the specialized disciplines should represent 30 percent of the total number of hours of instruction compared to the 17 percent that is scheduled. Similarly, it is especially important for the agro-industrial high schools to be integrated with a state agricultural unit where the student can effectively participate in agricultural projects.

b. Among the ranks of the young people in the rural areas, it is necessary to cultivate to a greater degree the desire to stay and work in agriculture, the love and passion for this work and the awareness that agriculture represents a vast field for the affirmation of young people, that here they can fully use their energy, their desire to learn and work and their creative abilities, that they can obtain the greatest professional, material and moral satisfaction and that they can fully realize themselves as advanced people in our society.

c. At the same time, we feel that the relationship must be improved between the specialized personnel having higher studies and those with middle-level studies, in favor of the latter. Currently, of the total of approximately 45,000 agricultural specialists who are working directly in agricultural, 56 percent have higher training and 44 percent middle-level training. This relationship is currently inappropriate.

In other countries having advanced agriculture, the number of personnel with middle-level training exceeds that of the personnel having higher training. We feel it is natural for each person with higher training there should be two to three persons with middle-level training. This is the source of the need to considerably increase the number of middle-level persons in agriculture.

The agrarian revolution also raises significant problems with regards to the general training of all workers in agriculture. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the agrarian revolution is not possible without a high vocational level in all agricultural workers and without the continuing improvement of their qualifications.

"Every agricultural worker, every cooperatist, every peasant must master the richest possible amount of technical and biological knowledge that is in step with the newest advances of modern agricultural science and know how to handle every type of agricultural tractor and machinery used in the country." At the same time, we must keep in mind that the number of people employed in agriculture will continue to decline, with its percentage being 29 percent at the current time and approximately 12-15 percent

in 1990. Under these conditions, it is necessary to raise the level of vocational training for agricultural workers as an essential condition for increasing labor productivity and obtaining certain superior harvests under conditions where the number of workers in agriculture is declining.

The agricultural worker who is called upon to participate in carrying out the agrarian revolution must have a solid knowledge of agrotechny, biology, chemistry and mechanics and understand the biological processes that take place in agriculture and be able to competently carry out diverse agricultural work. For this, it is necessary that during the 10 years of mandatory general education the student will be equipped, first of all, with the basic knowledge needed to carry out agricultural work and will learn theoretically and practically how agricultural work must be carried out, how animals must be cared for and what are the newest agricultural work methods.

At the same time, it is necessary to have a better organization of mass agricultural education. The largest part of those who are currently working in agriculture long ago left the classroom and do not have the knowledge necessary to carry out a modern agriculture. For that reason it is necessary, through mass agricultural education that involves all agricultural workers, to offer the broadest possible agrotechnical knowledge to the peasantry and to help them to master and apply the results of scientific research and advanced experiences in agriculture. In this regard, an important role can be played by the activities of the Agronomist Centers.

Finally, it is necessary to have a sustained activity for the creation and development of socialist awareness in agricultural workers, for the elimination of old mentalities inherited from the past with regards to the methods of cultivating the land, for the improvement of the quality of agricultural work, for the stimulation of the farm spirit, for the cultivation of every corner of land, for the continuation of advanced traditions at a high level regarding the raising of poultry and animals, and so forth.

Certainly, there are numerous other problems that arise in connection with the scientific, technical and vocational training of agricultural workers. We are talking about a complex, multilateral and long-term task, but one that can be resolved fully responsibly by those who are working in this field.

8724
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YOUNG FACTORY WORKERS POLLED ON ATTITUDES TOWARD LIFE, WORK

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[Article by Matei Simandan, a graduate of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy's post-graduate correspondence course on sociology: "The Process of Social Learning in Young People's Participation in Self-Management"]

[Text] During the current stage of development of our socialist society, the scientific knowledge of social realities and the understanding of the laws of social phenomena and processes represent an indispensible condition for elaborating certain efficient strategies of social action for the purpose of having practical solutions to the problems raised by continuing to build socialism in Romania and raising it to a qualitatively new level.

The improvement of the democratic framework for the masses' participation in the carrying out of the objectives of the party's policies, the involvement of all categories of workers in resolving the tasks required by the economic-social development of the country, the full affirmation of the young people as an important social force in contemporary progress and the growth in their participation in the management of social affairs constitute, without a doubt, an area of problems where scientific research has not delayed its interest and where it has been conducted.

In the last 15 years, the stress of social research into different aspects linked to the integration of young people into our country's economic-social and political affairs also resulted in the diversification of the centers of interest regarding the real problems of the young generation's work and life, under conditions of concentrating the efforts of all the authorities and institutes that currently contribute to carrying out the educational process in our country.

Purpose and Objectives of the Research. Methodology Used

The sociological research that I undertook in several economic units in Arad County (the Arad Railcar Enterprise [ARE], the Arad Textile Enterprise [ATE] and the Arad Chemical Fertilizer Combine [ACFC], totalling a group of 450 subjects selected on the basis of the volume and structure of their Union of Communist Youth [UCY] organizations), within the framework of certain workers groups made up primarily of young people, sought to show the relationship between the actions of the educational factors (family, schools, work group and youth organization) directed towards the formation of the young person for his active participation in the management of social

affairs, the degree of intensity and the system of motivation and aspirations, under the conditions of affirming the principles and practices of worker self-management.

Also taking into account the results of certain previous sociological investigations, we proposed to especially identify the psychological and moral areas that bring about the activation of participative values in the manifestations of young people in formal settings, as well as in informal work group settings, and in youth organizations and in the structures fo worker democracy.

The information collected on the basis of a standardized questionnaire calling for the opinions of the subjects being questioned was subjected to a series of statistical processes (for example, frequency analysis, correlational analysis), with these being corroborated with other statistical data that was gathered from the records of the production units.

Research Indicators

The indicators tracked were divided into the following groups:

a) the sociodemographic characteristics of the statistical groups that were studied (sex, age, occupation, education, father's occupation, political affiliation, activities within the UCY, RCP, trade union and other public organizations, period of time at the enterprise, period of time in that field of work);

b) the young people's work and life ideals, corresponding to their different social, political and moral values and important for their future options (broadening the horizons of their professional, technical-scientific, cultural-educational, political-ideological knowledge; professional success, promotions in the political realm, success in life; their evaluation in the eyes of the people around them, their affiliation with a group on the basis of interpersonal, collegial, correct and friendly relations, security and personal comfort; achievement on an affective level, founding their own family; relaxation - free time; individualism; religiousity; social non-involvement; and so forth);

c) the influenced exercised by the family, school, the work group and the youth organization upon attitudes related to: the selection and mastery of a skill; the mastery of the norms for getting along with others; the setting of future goals; preparations to meet anything that might come up in life; the affirmation of the young person as a representative of the interests of the group to which he belongs; the understanding of and the struggle for personal interests;

d) the participation of the young person in the process of worker self-management in the enterprise (evaluating one's own possibilities for contributing to the organization of work, to the improvement of the young people's working and living conditions and to the approval of certain decisions in the Workers Council; opinions regarding taking into consideration the proposals made by young people to improve work and living conditions; proposals made in the group and within the UCY organizations that are sent to the leadership of the enterprise or other authorities; the manner of resolving these proposals; knowing the status of plan fulfillment, the problems discussed in the

Workers Councils and the measures taken by the enterprise's collective leadership; the young people's representation in the Workers Councils; the revealing of certain dysfunctionalities and proposals for improvements).

The volume and structure of the statistical groups that were established in the three units that were investigated had at their bases the volume and structure of the youth organizations within these units, at the same time tracking how they were represented by sex, education and length of time in the enterprise.

The Principal Findings and Results of the Research

1. The process of social learning in participation in the management of public affairs is a continuing process that begins to take place right in the family environment and in general school. It continues and is amplified upon their entry into the ranks of pioneer and youth organizations, but especially during the process of being integrated into production.

The level of professional training, general culture, the horizons of general knowledge and the profession selected are in close correlation with the level of participative competency. Efficient participation cannot be achieved except under conditions where the knowledge and experiences of the young person are harmoniously blended, translating into involved, responsible attitudes and behaviors. To an equal degree, participation represents an act of will and an act of understanding. If the school, by inculcating and consolidating the system of general knowledge, prepares the ground for future participation, then the work environment and the UCY organization, by soliciting the availability of the young people for participation, constitutes even the grounds of this participation and a new framework of reference where the knowledge and skills acquired are activated and become deeds and conscious actions. The influences of these factors of an educational nature are superimposed upon each other and mutually reinforce one another.

With regards to the orientation towards the selection and mastery of a future skill, the family environment and school exercise an even more powerful influence than the other educational factors, including among the young people's motivations both the desire for professional expression and fulfillment in life through work and the attraction presented by certain jobs and the prestige conferred and the advantages offered by these jobs. The work group and the UCY organizations at the place of work even more significantly to the consolidation and clarification of pictures about the profession selected and to making the young people aware of the social significance of the options they have selected.

Thus, at the ARE 50.3 percent of the subjects stated that the family had had a great and very great influence upon the selection of their jobs, with 62.7 percent of them also recognizing the decisive role of the school in the selection made. At the ATE and the chemical combine the contribution made by the school was recognized by 58.9 percent and 56.5 percent, respectively, among the young people questioned in each of these enterprises.

The role of the work group is more accentuated with regards to mastery of the skill selected (54.4 percent of the young people at the ARE and 56.5 percent of those at

the Chemical Combine recognized this fact), adding to this fact that 33.8 percent of the young people at the ARE, 34.8 percent of those at the ATE and 38.5 percent of the young people at the Chemical Combine evaluated the influence of the UYC organization in their selection and mastery of a profession as being poor and very poor. These findings of a statistical nature become significant when they are viewed in relationship to the real and desired degree of stability of the young workers at the enterprises. The clarity of the picture that the young people have regarding their current profession and the work group coincides with the beginning of a process of accepting their participation, to the degree of their adaptation to and integration into the general activities of the enterprise. There are degrees of participation and different intensities in exercising certain formal or informal prerogatives and attributes with regards to participating in the resolution of professional and public problems within the enterprise. Our research showed the existence of a strongly significant correlation between the growth in the degree of participation in the activities of the collective leadership organs and the period of time (longer) spent in the enterprise.

This process, however, is not achieved in and of itself nor in the absence of an appropriate social-human context. A progressive attitude at work, sensitivity to the collective problems and the interests of the group as one's own problems, a growth of responsibility towards the activities and achievements of the enterprise require a real awareness of each worker's status as owner-producer-consumer, as well as the requirements that stem from this status. Clearly, participation in management and the carrying out of self-management is one of the workers' rights, but this means competency, a creative effort, a full committment, decisive involvement in the problems of the present, daring and clear foresight in relationship to the tasks and objectives of the future.

The young person thus constitutes the material from which the multilateral person of tomorrow is built, a material that is moulded and moulded by itself under the influence of the multiple links through which the socialist living and working principles and standards are converted into behaviors and, effectively, into the results that are obtained.

With regards to the young people's mastery of the norms of social behavior, 61 percent of the young people at the ARE, 71 percent at the ATE and 70.9 percent at the Chemical Combine felt that they owed this to their families most of all. The noticeably close percentages are also found in the case of showing the schools' contribution to the internalization of the living norms and principles in our society: 49.5 percent of the young people at the ARE, 54.1 percent of those at the ATE and 48.1 percent of those at the Chemical Combine recognized the important role of the work group, with the percentages in this case being lower for the UCY organizations in these organizations, 35.1 percent, 37.2 percent and 43.2 percent, respectively. Therefore, it was found that the opinion of the young people leans toward giving the family and the school a more important role and contribution, in comparison to that of the work group and the youth organization, which points out the need to more strongly stress these latter groups as reference groups in the area of defining the values, purposes and ideals in life.

The affirmation of young people as representatives of the group to which they belong and the making of these people aware of the interests of the group to a greater degree than their strictly personal interests are categorically the result of the influence of the educational environment in which they live and work. Thus, the young people at the ARE first of all place the contribution of the UCY organization at 46.2 percent, followed by the contribution of the family (for 38.7 percent of them), of the school (36.3 percent) and the work group (33.8 percent). At the ATE, the situation is somewhat different, with the order being the following: school - 50.5 percent, the work group - 45.7 percent, the UCY organization - 44.5 percent, and the family - 29.6 percent. At the Chemical Combine, the situation is similar to that at the ATE, with the percentages showing very little difference: 45.7 percent, 40.8 percent, 39.7 percent and 32.4 percent. There is an interdependency between the parameters of the social-human and relational climate and the young people's participation which becomes more active as the socio-affective climate improves and as the centrifugal tendencies, conflictual states and reasons for dissension decrease.

The affirmation of young people as representatives of the group to which they belong is far from being achieved automatically or without the creation of certain decisive changes in their awareness, in their manner of dealing with the problems facing the group and in their attitudes referring to the interests, goals and mission of the group to which they belong. For 41.2 percent of the young people at the ARE, the UCY organization makes an important and very important contribution to carrying out these changes. For 54.1 percent of those at the ARE, the family has an important role, with the school having a similar role that is no less important, a fact pointed out by 49.3 percent. Taking into account the structure of the workforce of young people in this unit and the overwhelming presence of young people in relation to the other categories of persons, this situation is not lacking in significance. For 48.1 percent of the subjects investigated at the Chemical Combine, the work group was the most appropriate ally for the young people for understanding and identifying with collective interests and mobilizing the young people to carry them out.

A fact that should also be pointed out is tied to the manner in which the young people understand and work for the expression of their personal interests, as well as the influence exercised by each environment that has been mentioned upon the attitudes of the young people with regards to the relationship between collective interests and individual interests. The family proves to be the principal educational context in which these personal interests are expressed and are valued from a moral and operational point of view: 53 percent among the young people at the ATE, 47 percent of those at the ARE and 44.5 percent of those at the Chemical Combine felt that the family environment contributes to a great and very great degree to making the young people aware of their personal interests. The relatively low percentages of the young people who identified the role of the UCY organization and the work group in the structure and expression of their personal interests especially indicate the stress that these educational environments place upon the priority expression of collective interests. This suggests a necessity to take into consideration to a greater degree than up to now, within the UCY organization, the understanding and satisfaction of the young people's personal interests, whose resolution constitutes a guarantee for their identification with group to which they belong.

2. The participation of young people in management, both through the institutionalized forms of collective management and through their implications along the formal channels for the movement of information, proposals and reports by the workers and through the organisms of public control, essentially shows two main problems:

a) the form of the young people's representation in the collective management organisms (the Workers Councils);

b) the content of the activities of participating in management and, therefore, the effective contribution of the young people to the solution of certain problems of a collective interest, the proposals made for the purpose of improving work, living conditions and the organizational framework of the participation, concomitantly with the reporting of the deficiencies that are still expressed in this area.

These problems are closely tied to the manner in which the forms and methods of work and collective management are applied at each level of collective work and to the existing concern for the continued improvement of the style of collective management.

The young people who were asked to respond in our investigation showed that they were confident in their opportunities to contribute to a better organization of work in the collectives to which they belonged. In this regard, 57.8 percent of the young people are the ATE, 49.3 percent of those at the Chemical Combine and 39.6 percent of those at the ARE felt that they could contribute to a greater degree through their effective actions for a better organization of work in the group where they worked. We have in mind the organization of production, technical-material supply, the assignment of tasks, cooperation in production and so forth.

With regards to the opinions of the young people questioned regarding their opportunities to intervene along the lines of improving working conditions, signigicant differences appeared between the units investigated: 46.8 percent of the total number of young people at the ATE and 46.9 percent of the total at the Chemical Combine stated that they could have a significant contribution (great and very great) to improving working conditions, while only 26.4 percent of the total at the ARE said they could. With regards to the opportunities for actions directed towards improving the young people's living conditions as the factory, we note that approximately one-third of the total number checked at the Chemical Combine and nearly 40 percent of those at the ATE felt that they were capable of making a contribution to the solution of this type of problem, compared to only 23 percent of the young people at the ARE, an enterprise where 47 percent of the subjects questioned felt that their opportunities to intervene in this area were fewer.

Table 1

Enterprise	Degree in which proposals to improve work are considered	Total	Usually Yes	Some-times	Usually No	Never	No Answer
ARE		19.9	17.3	42.4	14.0	6.6	.2
ATE		18.8	25.3	31.7	16.2	4.0	6.0
Chemical Combine		13.3	19.2	42.1	17.2	3.0	5.2

The subjects contained in the research provide an edifying picture as well as the status of the proposals made by the young people with regards to improving work and their problems in life.

Table 2

Enterprise	Degree in which young people's proposals to improve work are considered	Total	Usually Yes	Some-times	Usually No	Never	No Answer
ARE		9.9	14.8	47.8	10.7	9.0	7.8
ATE		15.6	19.2	40.9	13.2	6.3	4.8
Chemical Combine		13.2	25.3	37.3	7.2	6.0	1.0

Thus, at the ARE 37.1 percent of the young people stated that they made a number of proposals within the work group, and 47.1 percent that they made a number of proposals within the youth organization. At the ATE, of the total number of young people questioned, 44.5 percent and 39.7 percent, respectively, made proposals in the work group and in the meetings of the UCY organization. At the Chemical Combine, the percentage of those who made a number of proposals in the work group is somewhat higher (50.6 percent).

The young people, however, are careful not only with regards to the manner in which their requests and proposals are transmitted, but they also prove to be extremely sensitive to the manner in which they are answered and their problems resolved.

Although over 40 percent of the young people questioned during our investigation mentioned the fact that they received an answer, and the percentage of those that stated they were satisfied with the manner in which their proposals were resolved varied. Only 8.2 percent of the young people at the ARE, 13.2 percent of those at the ATE and 6 percent of those at the Chemical Combine specified the fact that all the proposals made were resolved, while 27.2 percent of the young people at the ARE, 22.4 percent of those at the ATE and 25.3 percent of those at the Chemical Combine pointed out that none of their proposals were resolved. The young people questioned showed a pronounced interest in getting effective and expansive information regarding the problems of fulfilling the production plan, the agenda of the discussions in the Workers Councils and the programs of measures approved by the collective management organs. Thus, if with regards to the status of fulfilling the plan the young people stated that they are more or less kept informed and appropriately kept current, with regards to the problems discussed in the Workers Councils only 13.5 percent of the young people in the ARE felt informed to a considerable degree about these problems, with 52.8 percent reporting that they were little or very little satisfied with their level of information. At the ATE, 25.2 percent of the young people felt that they were informed to a great or very great degree, differing from the 45.6 percent who felt that they were poorly informed. At the Chemical Combine, 19.2 percent of the young people stated that they were informed to a considerable degree regarding the problems discussed in the Workers Councils, while 40.5 percent said the level was unsatisfactory.

In reference to the aspects of the young people's participation in management and self-management at the level of the enterprises, it is appropriate to also note other findings tied to the correlations established concerning length of time in the enterprises and the activities carried out in the UCY organizations.

We should note the fact that the longer the young people's length of employment in the enterprises the more they felt that they had something to say regarding the proper organization of the work in the group, the improvement of the working and living conditions and the adoption of certain decisions by the Workers Council.

With regards to the manner in which their proposals are taken into consideration, we did not find a significant relation to the length of time in the enterprises. This indicates, on one hand, that upon entering these work groups the young people feel directed towards working without delay, advancing proposals and calling for the improvement of activities, while, on the other hand, the response that they receive most of the time constitutes a guarantee that they will receive a hearing the next time.

The number of proposals made by the young people in the work groups and in the meetings of the UCY increases directly proportionally with the length of time in the enterprise, as well as their level of knowledge of the status of the plan fulfillment and the problems discussed in the Workers Council. Notable differences can also be noted at the level of the relationships between the degree of involvement in UCY organization activities and some aspects of the young people's participation in management.

The young people who belong to the elected organs of the UCY exhibited a more pronounced ability to deal with public problems and those related to participation in management and self-management in relationship to those UCY members who only occasionally fulfill certain tasks or who do not have tasks in the organization. There were no differences noted between UCY members elected to UCY organs and other young people with regards to evaluating the manner in which the proposals they make are taken into consideration for improving work and resolving their problems in life. It was found, however, that the number of proposals made increased directly proportionately with the level of involvement in organization activities.

The UCY members in the elected organs of the UCY are more up to date than other young people regarding the resolution of proposals made within the work groups or the UCY organizations: 23.8 percent of the young people at the ARE elected to UCY organs, 40 percent of those at the ATE and 13.6 percent of those at the Chemical Combine stated that all the proposals were resolved; 93.5 percent of the young people at the ARE who do not have UCY tasks, 63.1 percent of those are the ATE and 76 percent of those at the Chemical Combine stated that all their proposals were resolved.

These situations point to a phenomenon which, because of its consequences, puts its imprint on the participation of the young people in management: the close tie that exists between the degree of involvement in youth organization activities and the degree of participation in management and self-management. The youth organization

constitutes not only a framework for the political expression of the young people in relation to specific problems, but also the framework for outlining a participative behavior characterized by increased interest, committment and responsibility with regards to the imperative of the young people's participation in worker management and self-management.

The process of social learning by participating in management and self-management is neither linear nor sequential, it does not refer to one period or another in the lives of young people and it does not deal merely with certain institutes or educational contexts. This complex and long-term process are a continuous nature: achieving it involves the family, the school, the work group, the UCY organization and the entire group of educational factors and environments.

As the party documents indicate, the improvement of the framework for participation in management and self-management is currently a categoric imperative for moving to a new quality, pointing out the requirement for all workers, and especially young people, to understand and to be actively involved in the problems of collective work and management. This constitutes an important component of the strategy of implementing the new economic-fiancial mechanism and of affirming worker self-administration and self-management. In this regard, the organization of educational actions and discussions with young people for the purpose of understanding and spreading positive experiences and clarifying the different problems that they encounter in the process of participating in management and self-management are capable of contributing to a further understanding of their attributes and authority in the collective management organs and of the aspects that must come to the attention of the UCY organs and organizations in such a way so as to constitute authentic motive forces for new things in all our economic-social activities.

The changes that are taking place in the young people's participative awareness involve the young people's values and ideals in life, the manner of relating to individual problems, and especially collective problems, and the internalization of certain ethical-political norms and principles specific to our society. All this calls for a new view and an operational committment marked by a sense of social responsibility giving the young people's participation in management a truly new value and a new superior quality.

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BRIEFS

'SLANDERING PATRIOTIC WRITERS' CRITICISM--The regrettable publication in the review FAMILIA of an interview with Norman Manea, in which he makes remarks about our review [sentence as published]. We would like to remind the publication and the author of this interview that in regard to the matter brought up by Norman Manea after such a long time, SAPTAMINA was limited to two lines of exaggerations contained in the article under discussion. This interview would not have attracted attention if, in the phrases published so generously by the review FAMILIA, assertions had not been made wich cast doubt upon the principles of our cultural policy, with a consistency worthy of a better cause. Poets and prose writers with a patriotic, party-minded program are slandered and it seems to us that it is not by chance that Alex. Stefanescu and Gh. Grigurcu (the author of the interview with Norman Manea), writing in the Iasi review CONVORBIRILE LITERARE, denigrate the same authors whom Norman Manea attacks. The review SAPTAMINA states, once again, its solemn pledge to promote literature with a profoundly patriotic and party-minded character, which contradicts regrettable attitudes such as those mentioned above which deliberately ignore the values of our present-day literature and concern with giving expression to the policy of our communist party, in the spirit and forms favorable to artistic creation. [Text] [Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 15 Jan 82 p 3]

GALATI APPOINTMENT--Inasmuch as one of the positions of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the People's Council of Galati County has become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Nicolae Gavrilescu is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the People's Council of Galati County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 2, 7 Jan 82 p 3]

CSO: 2700/165

KRUNIC DISCUSSES AUTONOMY OF VOJVODINA

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Dec 81 SEDAM DANA pp 1, 4

[Interview with Bosko Krunic, chairman of the Vojvodina LC [League of Communists] Provincial Committee, by Jovo Paripovic, VJESNIK editor for Vojvodina, and Pero Pletikosa, VJESNIK editor in chief, on 17 December 1981: "Autonomy Is No One's Decree, But a Revolutionary Achievement"; place not specified]

[Text] "At the 12th LCY Congress, at the republic congresses and the provincial conferences of the LC we must clearly indicate, critically and self-critically, our own errors, shortcomings and difficulties. We must also say where there have been departures from that basic course in the development of our revolution, and give that course further affirmation.

"Perhaps we will not have time enough to go into all the causes, for example, of the alienation of income, of the stumbling in production relations; we dare not be satisfied with blanket criticism of usurpers of power, of technocratic centers of power, of the banks and of executive agencies.... That would be an indication that we are going around in circles, and we would not guarantee development of self-management thought and practice. That is why it will be extremely important for us to overcome cases of opportunistic resignation to the flow of things and to guarantee a thoroughly critical attitude toward our own practice." With these words Bosko Krunic, chairman of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee indicated the main lines of activity of the LCY in preparations for the 12th LCY Congress and the LC republic congresses and provincial conferences, in an interview which he gave on Thursday to Pero Pletikosa, VJESNIK's editor in chief.

"It is very important now," Bosko Krunic said, "for us to orient all activity toward implementing the policy and tasks of socioeconomic stabilization, toward strengthening and bolstering our democratic political system and especially the delegate system, and toward equipping the LC to fill its role, discharge its responsibility and perform its tasks through efforts within the system. I am referring here above all to primary organizations of the LC. They are not yet at the heart and the center of social events.

"All of this is favorable to a strengthening of the power of executive bodies from basic organizations of associated labor all the way up to the Federation. There are strong tendencies toward a strengthening of hierarchical relations and a thrust of technocratic views and solutions, manifestations of caviling, of

passivity, of opportunism, and of negative attitudes in carrying out the delegate system. So that our executive councils have been too little 'oriented' toward the delegate assemblies and the delegate system as a whole. All of this encourages the delegates in assemblies of sociopolitical communities to behave more like deputies and not as delegates. Of course, there are also other reasons for this. But my point is that there would be considerably less of all that if we had succeeded to a more substantial degree in building the LC into the delegate system in such a way that it becomes the basic driving force of that system, and in the SAWP as the front of the organized socialist forces. These things are slow to change, and I think that we are confronted by a serious opportunism affecting our ranks.

"It turns out that we in the League of Communists have been rather slow to react to certain adverse phenomena that have accompanied our development, and we have thus been facilitating penetrations of various negative attitudes and tendencies, such as the reviving manifestations of statist tendencies, for example.

"You know, in the kind of complicated economic and political conditions that we have not only within the country, but in the world as well, various tendencies which are opposed to socialist self-management are becoming stronger, and statist tendencies are also becoming stronger accordingly. There is nothing new about this pattern. Whenever we have had or been in difficulties, those forces have emerged and offered us their own solutions, which we are now quite familiar with, and they have offered us the old methods. Not infrequently these tendencies are packaged in what I might call a 'self-management wrapper,' are stated in self-management terminology, and so on, so that they might have greater popularity with the public at large. Often they use cheap demagogic slogans, they advocate leveling and they launch the bureaucratic thesis of 'unity at any price,' and so on. Bureaucratic and technocratic cases of usurpation of the self-management rights of the working people and of a strengthening of the role of the administration and staff services on that basis are really very strong today, and I think that we have not been sufficiently committed as the League of Communists in the ideological exposure of those tendencies and in the concrete struggle against those who embody them. This is extremely important today, since through their activity they are carrying out a direct attack on our system, elements of instability and spontaneity of being drawn into the system, and the functioning of our system is the most sensitive area. The League of Communists has a constitutional responsibility and obligation in this area, and it must wage a more resolute fight against such tendencies."

Impermissible Logic

[Question] Recently, bureaucratic and liberalistic forces have "been offering" certain different solutions and have been interpreting in their own way the basic principle governing the organization and relations in the LCY--democratic centralism.

[Answer] I want to say at the outset that we have always paid a great deal of consideration to the principle of democratic centralism. We have spoken about it quite a bit in our documents at the 10th and 11th congresses as well. Comrade Tito spoke about that specifically, and it would seem that all this should be

clear. It is a good thing that discussions are beginning concerning democratic centralism. This should be made to serve the development of democratic relations in the LC and a strengthening of responsibility under present conditions. But it will not be good if those bureaucratic conceptions become stronger. That is, at present one notices even this kind of logic: things in society are not going as they should, or are not going fast enough, and the reason is that we have watered down the way in which the party operates and have thereby prevented it from performing its own role and tasks, and so on, so that now it is necessary for decisions to be made somewhere in some body, in some organ, which everyone will have to carry out. It is a question of advocating the bureaucratic thesis of more work, established, of course, from above. That kind of logic is familiar to us. It takes us back to certain memories and parallels.

To return relations today to that form of democratic centralism which was dominant in the period of revolutionary statism would signify a narrowing and indeed frustration of the further development of socialist self-management and a return of the relations among the nationalities based on the socioeconomic foundations of self-management to relations based on the force of the centralistic state.

[Question] When unity of the LCY is mentioned, it has not been uncommon recently to mention as well invigoration of the theses of a federalization of relations in the LCY. Where in your opinion are these theses drawn from?

[Answer] I might say in brief: the LCY has always been and will remain a unified political-ideological organization of the working class and of the other working people of Yugoslavia. This does not signify a striving for bureaucratic monolithism. On the contrary, it is a question of a unified organization, above all in its political ideology and action, in its organization and its programmatic orientation, and so on. That is why it needs to be said that we are talking about the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, as it stands in the bylaws, as a unified organization of all the members and their organizations within the SFRY, which is developing and acting on the basis of their unified ideological orientation and political commitment in the fight for the historic interests of the working class and the common interests, national equality, brotherhood and unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of our country, and on the basis of the equal status, independence and responsibility of the LC's of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces. It is probably from this fact that they would like to derive the thesis of federalization of relations in the LCY. Or perhaps from certain examples, cases.... But I do not see the phenomenon as such. I therefore think that it is a bit forced and strained. In any case, the 12th LCY Congress will certainly render its judgment on that matter.

However, for all these reasons it needs to be said that the unity of the LCY can be strengthened only in an effort to achieve the goals and tasks set forth in the program, through a strengthening of responsibility, through a strengthening of working-class criteria and the content of political action, through a strengthening of the linkage between the League of Communists and the working class, the nationalities and the ethnic minorities, and above all through a strengthening of the role and responsibility of every party member and of every primary organization of the LC. This is the principal direction of our activity. But this is not a matter of letting things take their course and of simple logic. This must be built through conscious political-ideological action by party members.

Autonomy Is a Part of the Whole

[Question] Comrade Krunic, discussions of autonomy and relations within SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia have become topical once again of late. How are the questions of autonomy looked upon in Vojvodina?

[Answer] This Yugoslavia was created in the revolution. The achievements of that revolution are an essential part of its being, of its stability and of its perspective. Those achievements include government by the people, brotherhood and unity, and the federal system. Postwar development has confirmed the importance of these achievements and has given them a new expressive power in democratic social development. It was Comrade Tito who watched over those achievements and saw in them Yugoslavia's strength and future. Even at a time when the mass movement and technocratic liberalism were striking us "from the flank" Comrade Tito was insisting on reform of the Federation and on strengthening socialist self-management as an integral social relation. This instilled new strength in our unity and consensus in Yugoslavia, that democratic social development and federalism which suits our social being, as an achievement, not a negotiated settlement, since a settlement may also involve one or more parties who have not fared well.

The question of Vojvodina's autonomy can be examined in this light. It did not come about by decree, by virtue of someone's right or a negotiated settlement; it was a revolutionary achievement created in an armed struggle in which the nationalities and ethnic minorities made a worthy contribution to creation of the new federal Yugoslavia.

So, autonomy is a part of the whole, a part of relations in Yugoslavia, and it cannot be negated without harm being done to that whole. Without it the birth and foundations of federalism cannot be altogether explained; that is, the system of the Federation cannot be closed off, and such problems would strike at the "very heart" of that federalism itself. After all, if a departure from the revolutionary historic course is made on one side, then it may also be made on the other, and a demand may even be put forth to that effect.

The fact that autonomous Vojvodina is a member of federal Serbia, that it is a part of SR Serbia, is likewise an integral part of this question. No one has forced this upon the nationalities and ethnic minorities; they have made a voluntary choice, this was their historic interest, and with the development of democratic socialist self-management that interest has been constantly confirmed and enriched. The nationalities and ethnic minorities of Serbia have also opted for this specific spirit of community in Yugoslavia, since that is their historic interest which has been constantly confirmed. Accordingly, this principle of community represents a mutual interest, and these two communities, SR Serbia and Autonomous Vojvodina, are not a burden to one another. It is SR Serbia as so conceived that is a member of the federal system of Yugoslavia, and that is the framework of its equality with the other republics, that constitutes its specific nature.

[Question] There has been more talk about the relationship between SR Serbia and the socialist autonomous provinces since the events in Kosovo, but there is discussion of this even before.

[Answer] The public is aware, though not sufficiently, that in SR Serbia we had discussions back in 1977, above all in organs of the LC. Unity was achieved in those discussions in that year, and the broad public within the party was so informed.

The tasks set forth and commitments made in those discussions were incorporated into documents and verified at the Eighth Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia. I think that the resolutions adopted in 1977 are good ones. However, the problem is that we did not do enough to carry them out, and that above all within the League of Communists. In addition, many questions were exclusively related to the activity of executive bodies, and there was not sufficient broad involvement of the delegate base. That is why the agreements for resolving certain issues did not sufficiently take into account the need to resolve existing issues and problems in the way that we in the League of Communists had set forth. That is why the first question that arises here is the question of the responsibility of the League of Communists and of its organs for implementing or failure to implement the stands and resolutions it has adopted itself. It is a question of how we performed our own role and tasks in the system of socialist self-management as this was arranged by the 11th LCY Congress. I also think that we should not have allowed certain problems to pile up, but should have dealt with them one by one as they arose in the way that we had resolved.

I would like to say about the discussions in 1977 that the leadership of the LCY was informed about the results and resolutions, that the leadership bodies of the LC in the republic were informed, and that Comrade Tito was also informed about all this. Comrade Tito felt that it was a good thing that we had discussed those issues in that way, he was satisfied with the results and resolutions, and he pointed out that they were the foundations of our future effort. On that occasion Comrade Tito also cautioned that we should not wait, but should immediately settle the issues in succession.

What Is in Dispute?

[Question] How do you look upon the further development and improvement of community consensus in SR Serbia and Vojvodina?

[Answer] The constitution laid the foundation for elaborate instruments of consensus, and the "material" foundation of that community lies in the production relations of socialist self-management and in the complementarity of the economic and cultural space of those communities. If one makes a careful analysis, then the conclusion can be drawn that the picture of that community consensus is not really so bad. We have pronounced tendencies toward a growth of consensus rather than a moving apart in relations between SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Vojvodina and Serbia proper.

You will put the question, of course--So what is then in dispute? First of all, the problems and disagreements arise over the foundations on which that consensus is to be achieved, over whether it is developing above all on the foundations of concluding agreements and through interests and linkups of associated labor, through respect for independence and self-management equality in relations among the entities and institutions of the political system from the autonomous province

and from Serbia proper, or should it be guaranteed by the functions of the republic, proceeding from the point of departure that under the constitution SR Serbia is a state and a self-managing community and that the province is thereby a part of the entire tissue of the integral tissue of the republic, with all the consequences of that integrity. I think that there are features here of a political-ideological conflict and that the League of Communists must have its word to say on it. The present status of the autonomous province within SR Serbia as a complex community is not only a "reminder" of the historic fact of entering into association to form a community and a criticism of bureaucratic centralism in the conception and accomplishment of community in the past, but it also has meaning in the sense of a strengthening of democracy and socialist self-management in Yugoslavia as a whole. So, we must fight to "set in motion" those self-management and socialist foundations of that community, and it is in that regard that I see the role and responsibility of the socialist autonomous provinces.

In the relations which we have built in Yugoslavia the question of the autonomous province and indeed the question of the republic has economic, social and cultural significance; these are the basic communities of social reproduction as a whole. And I think that that is not only a good thing, but in fact historically inevitable. Kardelj long ago warned that sociopolitical communities cannot be treated separately, aside from associated labor, and that such an approach would have a statist ring.

[Question] Is there any room, in your opinion, for assertions about SAP Vojvodina "closing itself off"?

[Answer] The phenomenon of exclusiveness is present at all levels of the organization of society, and therefore in the Province of Vojvodina as well. Precisely because the causes of this phenomenon are far deeper and grow up out of certain contradictions in our development. All I am saying here is that the problem of exclusiveness is actually a joint problem of the entire country and that it is unquestionably an expression of something which must be overcome above all through the effort to develop our socioeconomic relations of self-management, and not by strengthening statism and a technobureaucratic monopoly in decisionmaking.

There are cases where OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor] "jump out" of certain systems in the republic; however, the examples of mutual linkage of organizations of associated labor are far more convincing, though it is true that the quality of that linkage varies. The figures indicate that the establishment of linkage has been growing steadily precisely with organizations within the republic, but not within the provinces. Then again on the other side we have examples which might be listed in the support of the "thesis" of a "separation of the republic from the province." There are, of course, also other and different examples. But those are still topics from the "endless belt" of debates on causes and consequences, on blame, on particularism, on cases of group-ownership behavior, and so on. Those topics will be with us for a long time yet, all the longer insofar as sociopolitical communities are the "guardians" of associated labor.

We must fight so that the socioeconomic system functions and so that we develop it further, and that means that integration in the republic, as indeed throughout the country, is to be based on linkage among organizations of associated labor on

the basis of income sharing, that integration be built on the foundations of the Law on Associated Labor, and that those are the true strategies for integration of the working class and for construction of community consensus as a whole.

There Is No Coalition With the Nationalists

[Question] You yourself have mentioned the thesis of a "separation" of the province from SR Serbia. How real is that thesis?

[Answer] The question has a point, since it follows from the statements which have been made in public to the effect that there has been a separation of the province from the republic. Yet basically that thesis of separation still contains a very important failure to grasp the essence of our system which we are developing and building on the basis of the 1974 Constitution and the 10th and 11th LCY Congresses.

In that context there is no question of a merger or a separation of the Province of Vojvodina, since it is a part of the Republic of Serbia and a constituent element of the Federation.

[Question] Recent assessments of the political and security situation in Vojvodina also mention a revival of hostile activity, and of nationalism among other things. It is true that those assessments say that the nationalistic expressions have not gone beyond the limits of verbal and isolated expression, but regardless of that I believe that you will agree with the observation that constant concern should be paid to these manifestations and a constant effort maintained so that they do not shake the spirit of community in such a multinational community as SAP Vojvodina.

[Answer] As it always has, nationalism today--under the new circumstances--lives off our shortcomings and objective difficulties on the domestic scene, it alertly looks in every direction in the search for external allies, it is in cahoots, sometimes openly, but always objectively, with those anti-Yugoslav forces in the world which would be very happy if Yugoslavia ceased to be what it is today, some of them bothered by its self-management character, others by its socialist character, and all by the prestige which Tito's Yugoslavia has won in the world and the role which it has therefore been playing. Not only nationalism, but indeed all our old "isms" are trying now to take advantage of the "favorable condition" of our problematical economic situation and the generally deteriorated international relations so that they might succeed in that dirty work with help from outside.

The counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo and the ferocity of Great Albanian nationalism and irredentism displayed have left the most serious traces, above all on the unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Kosovo, but then also quite serious consequences for relations among the nationalities in general. To be sure, the LCY as a whole and all the nationalities and ethnic minorities have condemned those events and irredentism, but they will be an important topic for us for a long time, indeed even in their international implications.

[Question] To what extent, in your opinion, have the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo fired up the nationalistic forces in our country, including SAP Vojvodina?

[Answer] It is already clear from experience that this always takes place simultaneously, but also that it is especially disturbing when it breaks out at the heart of that nationality which is the majority.

Great Serbian nationalism has been fueled by what happened in Kosovo, and it is therefore a task of all of us, party members in SR Serbia and everywhere, not only to wage the most resolute fight against the Great Albanian irredentists with all available forces and means, but also to oppose the escalation of Great Serbian nationalism and at the same time every other nationalism. At present there are a great many mistaken ideas of all sorts about this, which has been resolutely pointed out within the League of Communists--last May, for example, in the address which Comrade Vlaskalic delivered at the 14th Meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee.

Those members of the LC who--for one reason or another--are themselves objectively on pronationalistic positions are particularly responsible for causing that confusion. There is no coalition with nationalists, nor is there any substance to the theory of "bridges" to them, whatever may have been their merits in previous periods, whatever their influence and reputation in culture and other fields of experience, without that redounding to the harm of the prestige and unity of the LC and of its platform. Anyone who "on ethnic grounds" abandons even temporarily the class position and begins to play the coquette with nationalism runs the risk of causing a serious division into factions. That was confirmed in the period of the seventies so convincingly, not only in Croatia, but all over Yugoslavia, that this truly must not be repeated. In any case, we have the lessons before us, we need to use them wisely and in good time (concluded Bosko Krunic, chairman of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee).

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KOSOVO OFFICIALS INTERVIEWED IN ZAGREB STUDENT PAPER

Socialist Alliance Head

Zagreb STUDENTSKI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 81 p 5

[Interview with Azem Vllasi, president of the Presidency of the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Kosovo, conducted by Sanja Vrhovec and Stipe Oreskovic; date and place not given]

[Text] STUDENSKI LIST: What are the basic causes of and the contradictions in economic and social development in Kosovo during the last 10 years?

Azem Vllasi: It is common knowledge that during the postwar era, and especially in the last 10 years, there has begun a process of rather dynamic economic development, as well as development in all areas of the province. The results of this development are apparent. At one time, industrial projects were concentrated only in the larger population areas of the province, but today there is no opstina in Kosovo without important industrial projects. Compared to the earlier period, the number of people employed has grown considerably. The development of which I speak has been carried out with significant help of the broader social community as well as with the efforts of the working people and the working class of Kosov. However, during this same period, Kosovo had to create a cadre potential, to enter on a large scale into the development of social activities and that which we call the superstructure, because this is closely connected with and helps to bring about greater overall progress and opportunities for economic development in Kosovo.

For these reasons we were compelled to set aside enormous resources for the education of cadres, for the expansion of the network of health facilities and other social services. Therefore, this is one of the factors, I should say, which to some extent limited the amount of money which could be put into greater, more important investments, in business projects, where, it is understood, there is a real possibility for solving the problem of unemployment much faster. The second problem is that these investments were directed to a smaller number of projects requiring a large amount of capital, such as investments in the electrical industry or in coal-powered production of electricity, which we have in Kosovo; Trepca is here with its capacities, as well as other, more significant ones, such as the Ibar-Lepenac system, which will create possibilities for much greater utilization of the agricultural potential of Kosovo. These systems are important

not only for Kosovo's development, but also for that of our entire country. Consequently, a large amount of money is being invested, but the number of jobs being created is relatively small. It is exactly this problem which is so pressing in Kosovo, the need for providing new jobs, the need to solve quickly the problem of unemployment, which is greater here than anywhere else in Yugoslavia.

One additional phenomenon has accompanied the development in this period. Because of the strong and dynamic development of industry and the economy above all in city centers, because of the development and expansion of the network of educational institutes and the creation of opportunities for the education of the young, the migration from the village to the city has been very pronounced. The number of young people who sought their prospects over a period of many years primarily in the city, in education, and in the social sector has been enormous. This process has not been followed in an adequate manner with the imposition of tertiary activities, the small business sector and a number of other possibilities which would have certainly provided a greater level of employment. The problem of unemployment is pronounced in the whole country, but here there are some slight differences. You know, in Kosovo the average number of people in a family is over six, so that this aspect makes the problem of unemployment much greater.

The Funds Give, the Laws Take Away

It is fortunate that now we are near the end of the great capital investment, such as the investments in Hrnjik, as in the second phase of the Kosovo power stations, etc. In addition, we also have an agreement at the federation level that no more will be invested in this type of project from the resources of the Fund For Developing Underdeveloped Areas. Anyone who needs electric energy must associate their resources for its production. We must utilize the possibilities which we have in agriculture and in the development of tertiary activities, the small business sector, and in accordance with what we can do to change gradually the consciousness of young people who express themselves with attacks on the faculty and employment in the social sector. The possibilities we have, as well as those of the country, are not those which can be used to satisfy the desires of everyone.

SL: The Fund For Underdeveloped Areas is often mentioned as being a great help in construction in areas which lag in economic development. However, the opinion also exists which maintains that some laws, such as the Law Concerning the Stimulation of the Export of Technology, Concerning Price Controls, etc., help the developed areas and hinder the underdeveloped. What do you think about this?

Azem Vllasi: You see, this problem of the relations of the developed and the undeveloped is a problem of the whole world, a problem of our country, a problem, if you will, of individual regions and areas, republics and provinces, it is a universal problem. We do not claim that we have solved it better than anyone else in the world. However, if the basic system solutions are examined--I refer primarily here to the Law Concerning Associated Labor--the basic relations have been well established. The Law Concerning Associated Labor makes it possible, by means of associating labor and resources, for developed and undeveloped areas to realize their economic interests in a reciprocal manner. Consequently, if one proceeds from these system solutions, then one can no longer speak about the extraction of revenue from the undeveloped for the sake of the developed in our country.

I remember in 1979 when Comrade Tito said that no one has become rich from raw materials. The problem is how to find the best solution and the best opportunities for all of Yugoslavia to utilize the raw materials from those areas where they have them, because no one has the right to put his hand on these materials and say: "These are ours, they will stay here!" Now the fact is that associated labor goes primarily into those investments which mean the utilization of raw materials, but which also provide for greater employment in Kosovo, with the establishment of the type of associated resources and revenue relations which are based on the Law Concerning Associated Labor--the basic relations have been well established. The Law Concerning Associated Labor makes it possible, by means of associating labor and resources, for developed and undeveloped areas to realize their economic interests in a reciprocal manner. Consequently, if one proceeds from these system solutions, then one can no longer speak about the extraction of revenue from the undeveloped for the sake of the developed in our country.

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In spite of this, there is the possibility that some laws and system solutions have not set things up in the proper way. Problems then appear here, as, for example, in the foreign currency market. Thus, we have come to the point where Organizations of Associated Labor in republics and provinces manage foreign currencies among themselves.

SL: How has it come to the point that the origin of these economic problems is interpreted, by one group of people, as the unequal relation between province and republic, or why have some people adopted the slogan "Make Kosovo a republic," thinking that republic status will solve everything?

Azem Vllasi: Whenever we have come to a difficult situation, have been confronted with some unresolved problems, certain reactionary forces have used this to develop various slogans calculated to catch the ear of a certain number of people, mainly those uninformed about what is actually going on. During demonstrations around here they were throwing out the slogan "Trepca works, Belgrade shirks!" The basic line and platform of this hostile action in Kosovo was nationalistic, chauvinistic, and most of all, anti-Serb. And that is why they did not succeed with "Trepca works, Belgrade shirks." Everybody knows that we no longer have the type of centralistic system in the area of economic relations in which revenue pours into Belgrade just because it is a metropolis. There is, indeed, in Kosovo as in all of Yugoslavia, an abundance of revenue, but not through this system. In this instance there are only slogans. When, at the beginning of the demonstration we attempted to explain some things, I said to them, "Good, tell me with at least three sentences how it is that revenue flows from Trepca to Belgrade." No one knew anything to say to this, except for those who were the

loudest, who stubbornly repeated: "We know that it flows and no one has anything to explain to us." They did not have arguments, but they created psychological pressure.

There Is no Great Purse

Another question comes up in this current of nationalistic force: Why is this republic or province more developed than this one or that one? etc. Why is Slovenia more developed than Kosovo? When they pose this type of question, they have before themselves the idea that somewhere above this country, in some place up in the air, hangs a great purse, and now you determine where, direct to whom, say that here is the place to build. They neglect and disregard those factors and elements which are connected to every environment. These are problems from the past--it is where they started, it is how they started, it is where certain mistakes and failures took place at an earlier time, etc. In principle, we have legally oriented policy for the rapid development of undeveloped areas. We say definitely that the sooner these areas are developed, the better it will be for those areas already developed.

In addition to all this, two things must be realized. First, we have system solutions, mutually agreed upon, which have as a goal the stimulation of the rapid development of undeveloped areas, such as Kosovo, and this is to be done through a solidarity of effort with the help of different types of stimulating measures. Second, we must rely on the utilization of internal potentials and possibilities in each environment, in this case, in Kosovo. We must better utilize those capacities which exist here, better organize labor, increase productivity. No one can justify their lack of development by a lack of desire of others to help when existing capacities are being used from 60 to 70 percent. Today, the situation in the market is such that it is difficult for a certain product to exist which cannot be disposed of by sale, especially not those which are in a structure of the Kosovo economy.

SL: You have said that informing the working people has been on the agenda, but usually it is said that where we do not act is where the enemy acts. What do you think about the responsibility of the subjective forces, the LCY, the SSO [Socialist Youth League] and the SAWPY for the situation which has arisen?

Azem Vllasi: When all of this happened, it was evident to what extent the subjective forces were caught napping, were incautious, unorganized, to what extent we lived under the illusion that nothing could happen to us. Now it is obvious how, over an extended period of time, in various ways, nationalism took root. This was stated also in the platform which was adopted at the 22d Plenum of the Central Committee of the LCY. It was known to us as well that the enemy of this system had not ceased working against our country from wartime to the present day. Now we see that there are also other factors in question here which must not be neglected: political emigration to the West, the governing structure in Albania which supports very intensively and stubbornly the nationalistic and irredentist forces. But nevertheless, the basic problem was, and remains, our internal one, and the guarantee of lasting stabilization in Kosovo depends on the degree of our organization, the speed with which we extract ourselves from the state of ideological, political, organizational and working incapability that we

find ourselves in. In the last 10 years, the number of members of the LCY in Kosovo has more than doubled. And this tells of the liberalized line, the political line which has evaluated all results through quantity. Now we see who we all have in the LCY. In the struggle for consolidation of the situation, in the process of political differentiation, we have problems with a certain number of members of the LCY; it is rather apparent that they have gone astray in the party, or that we have allowed them to be where there is no place for them.

Every Line is Read

And, you know, there are those among them who have entered the party in order to work against it. This was a political line with many failures. In the first part of the plan, their policies were high, polished; favorable, positive evaluations were always given, there was always pride with how the number of members of the LCY had grown. And responsible comrades closed their eyes to the fact that along with all these positive trends, one which was negative was also growing--that of nationalism. And the political workings were burdened with different negative phenomena. Connections, acquaintances create discontent with people, because, you know, business is clearly necessary to everyone. People would patiently wait for something to be decided if a certain order existed. And in this way an atmosphere of uncertainty was created because no one is hired overnight, no one waits for years.

SL: Many charges exist as to the objectivity of the means of public information. Meetings have been written about in great detail in which differentiation was discussed, meetings which the writer did not even attend. And the emigration of the Serbian and Montenegrin population has been written about in a one-sided manner. Positive examples of returns to Kosovo are not cited.

Azem Vllasi: First, let me tell you something you know better than I do, since you are engaged in this profession. The power of the news media in creating wide-spread opinion is unbelievably great. In these sensitive situations, when the masses are politicized, the function of the information media is twofold, threefold greater and more important. Hardly ever in the postwar period have we had the type of situation in Kosovo that we have now. Every line which is written about this matter is read with attention, it is commented on, interpreted.

SL: Perhaps this is because it has not been written about before.

Azem Vllasi: Quite possibly. Our public has been insufficiently informed about Kosovo. It is good that after the March events the information and explanation process concerning the events in Kosovo began in a detailed and broad manner. Because any shortage of information from Kosovo in this situation would have created confusion and made the situation even more serious for the public. I would like to say that for the most part, objective and correct articles were prevalent from Macedonia to Slovenia, but there was also disappointing and pretentious writing and informing, a false stating of the theme and the problem. You have mentioned here a problem in connection with emigration which really exists. Economic migrations, migrations motivated by social problems, they exist now and always will. However, in Kosovo, we are confronted with a situation which is created by the activity of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, which

objectively exerts pressure on other peoples and nationalities, because the nature of any nationalistic movement is in exerting this pressure on others, not wanting to see others near you, demonstrating intolerance to others, etc. The result of this situation is the present tendency and the problem of Serb and Montenegrin emigration. I am certain that it would help a great deal if something different were written about this problem, something more politically oriented. Sometimes you read certain articles in the press, but you cannot confine Albanian nationalism, the Albanian people. This creates a serious impression, above all with Serbs and Montenegrins.

Because, if you want it from the psychological and political point of view, Serbs and Montenegrins cannot reconcile the fact that only a certain newspaper, a certain editorial staff, or a certain functionary from the ranks of the Serbian people places them under protection. It inspires much greater confidence for them when we Albanians talk about this, when we stress that we are interested in preventing these tendencies because they are not in the interests of the Albanian people. That is why it is not accurate to create the impression in the public that the whole Albanian population is culpable. Because then it is remembered in history that this people exerted pressure on the other, and not that the pressure was exerted by reactionary forces from the numbers of that people. Other examples also exist in the press which irritate honest people and create nervousness. You see, in some papers and editorials, practically everything which is connected to the Albanian people is brought to question. Books, history, culture, and everything else are the heritage of this party and of this society, whereupon the fourth plenum gave their statement with the bureaucratic and dogmatic ideas of Rankovic. You know how it is, how this irritates honest people; I am not talking about nationalism, because this is part of his theses which read: "We are not equal, the Serbs and others oppress us." And this was at the fourth plenum, which the Albanian people acknowledge as the confirmation of the correct orientation of this party, as the line which provides real equality, freedom, prosperity, freedom from pressure, dogmatism, unitarianism, etc.

Penalties: There Might Have Been Mistakes

We are confronted with Albanian nationalism and irredentism which was demonstrated in this most brutal form, the form of counterrevolution. We must defeat this nationalism with all of our resources. But no one can say, now it is on the agenda, how we will conduct a battle against it, and when we win this struggle, we will look around us to see if there are other nationalisms. Other nationalisms do exist. They are present and they are supported, but, of course, they do not appear in the same form. However, no nationalism has as its furthest goal the halfway point. Every one proceeds to the end, and this end is counterrevolution. We had this type of situation in 1971, we will always have it if we begin to relate to it as if one is more dangerous and the other is more benevolent. There is no more effective struggle against nationalism than the one in which everyone fights in his own environment, in his own way, which does not exclude the struggle of communism in other nations. This, then, is our mutual struggle, the struggle of all communists in Yugoslavia.

SL: Much is being said and written about the level of punishment, especially for young people who took part in the demonstrations. How much does such strict punishment do in an instructive manner, or does it even create opponents to the

system and 'heroes'? Do you not think that these punishments in any case were excessive?

Azem Vllasi: In your question is expressed a common opinion which is prevalent now. You can quite often encounter the question of whether these were excessive penalties, are these the real criminals, why were easier penalties passed for those who were in leading positions? When we proceed from such concrete facts, it is necessary to emphasize the following: first, at no level in the Province did there exist a political position which said to proceed in a harsher or in a lighter manner. Our courts are independent. I think that on the whole they judged honestly, they tried to establish the actual guilt of everyone, that is, by all the facts, and they did not judge on the basis of negotiation. People were tried who were caught directly in the act, those who were proved over a longer or shorter period of time to be involved in illegal, organized activities. Confusion was created in the public by the fact that very meager explanations were provided from the trial. In the reports, you saw that someone was sentenced to 4 years because he wrote out a slogan. This is notorious nensense and everyone with any sense must be disgusted by it. As you know, these penalties range from 1 year to 15 years. But there could have been mistakes.

Now there is on the agenda the following instance, the right of complaint, and for everyone about whom mistakes were made it will be necessary to correct them and to rectify the situation. Secondly, the investigating officers are still working on uncovering the main centers from which the whole matter was organized, and after this we can precisely establish who has what degree of criminal responsibility. Political responsibility is something else; it is, for now, measured the way it is. Recently a platform was adopted in the Central Committee of the LCY which will be the basis for carrying out further political and social actions to stabilize the situation in Kosovo, and in this regard if we see that we have not completely finished with determining political responsibility in some places, then this will be supplemented and corrected.

Party Functionary at University

Zagreb STUDENTSKI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 81 p 11

[Conversation with Prof Rexher Gashi, president of the Action Conference of the Pristina University; at his office, date not given]

[Text] We talked with Prof Rexher Gashi, president of the Action Conference of the Pristina University, about the "state of things" between students and young people, and the professors and scientific workers. We met in the president's office and were informed about matters. Here is what he said...

R. Gashi: I'm very glad that you have come here to talk with us, because it is actually rare that journalists come here to be informed at the source. We have had a number of cases where, on the basis of "heresay," texts have been published in the newspapers, and this hinders us rather than helps us.

We cannot by chance compare the sort of situation we have today with the situation which existed in the third month. From the beginning of November we began to conduct open dialogues with the students. These were inadequate for us, because

because now, in the fall, we found ourselves and the students in the same positions that we had when we took leave after the university closed. We, indeed, worked through the summer on some things, organized discussions in local communities and student clubs, but because we were busy with summer work, we did not have any unusual response. Now we have organized these discussions in order to provide so-called political differentiation in action. Students can pose questions and right then and there can clear up unresolved concepts.

I can tell you that we have already achieved a great deal in this because the interest among the students is great, and there are some provocative questions. It must be said that the students have not been adequately informed about certain problems, as, for example, payment for visits to their homes, or, how much the students should pay and how much society should pay; and in addition, the question of Trepca, Obilic."

SL: Do you have, after these events, enough professors at the university, in view of the fact that recently it has been frequently mentioned that professors from Tirana have taken part in some work at the University?

R. Gashi: Sometimes the information media present data which are not based on fact. And the example of the professors that you mentioned is one of these. At a recent meeting in the Provincial Committee, people were faced with the dilema as to whether I was presenting the correct data when I spoke about how many professors from Albania were taking part in work, or whether the data published in the BORBA articles was accurate. It was even said that 20 percent of all instruction was being conducted by teachers from Tiranai, which, however, is absolutely not true. We did an analysis of how many teachers came from Tirana from 1971 to 1981 and taught at Pristina. The most was 32, and the least, which was last year, was 16. We have about 1,300 subjects, which means that about 2 percent of the subjects were covered by instructors from Tirana.

SL: Recently the claim was made that the process of differentiation is proceeding most slowly in the information media in the province and in the university. Can you say something about this?

R. Gashi: I have already spoken with reporters about that, and this time I will repeat that we cannot run after newspaper articles, and that we put people on trial. The LCY must be, and is, the most advanced and unified organization, and for all members the same status is defined by statute: no one is put up for discussion or on trial without proof. On the basis of the fact that articles appear in the newspapers in the style of "hearsay," we cannot pursue people in order to satisfy someone's ideas. There was, for example, the question of the academician Ali Hardi which permeated the newspapers: Was he a falsifier of history? I said then and I say now that a judgment will be made about his works, but this will be done by historians, from a scientific point of view, and not by me, for example, a nuclear physicist. But Ali Hadri has recently responded to questions which were put to him, in connection with work on the encyclopedia and his other works, in about 60 pages. Because his works are here, we can read them through and then on the basis of analysis form a judgment as to what is and what is not worthwhile, what has been falsified and what is the truth. Concerning all these questions, the duty of the Presidency also exists to form an expert

commission composed of historians and to analyze how much of this work indoctrinated the younger generation, how much of it there was which diverted our youth from the path of the LCY and our self-management socialistic society. But it cannot be a crude evaluation or a witchhunt.

I must say as well, that in all the meetings held up to now in the faculty, there has not been any sort of resistance to the positions of the LCY. After this, every instructor, not only verbally, but in deed, will have to prove by his own examples that he is for this cooperation, and this before the students, because there have been many cases where the instructors did not come out for it. And we must not be deceived that this does not happen nowadays. There will be, however, opportunities for them to proclaim themselves. Not a single case will remain in question.

SL: Have you met with the problem of the remaining nationalistic tendencies as a reaction to the existing situation?

R. Gashi: There was in the very beginning, after these events, a cooling of relations, which was especially pronounced among instructors. The LCY engaged all of its forces to solve the problem and to halt these negative processes. In the beginning, there was a lot of false information, unfortunately, even at the Central Committee level in Serbia. Thus, for example, a professor from our university, Comrade Sveta Stozinic, stated that as many as 120 textbooks in the area of medicine came from Albania, and that they were reviewed by only one instructor; this is technically unfeasible, because think about how much time this would require. The statement about this number of textbooks helped create a negative climate, as well as the suspicion which prevailed at that time. On the other hand, the newspapers sometimes hinder us. I will cite you an example of the College of Chemistry, where the reporter was not even present when a meeting of the local branch of the LCY discussed differentiation. Later an article was published consisting of almost half of a page in the EKSPRES POLITIKA. How could he write about this meeting when he was not present?

SL: What is the objective situation, and what sort of mood prevails among the students after the summer break?

R. Gashi: I can say the following about this. In some study groups we have had, before the beginning of the school year, a lack of clarity, and we have this now, During the next discussions we will influence these people, talk with them to explain certain things to them. If, after this, they remain firm in their viewpoints, and if they become a danger for the surroundings, then we will take other measures. We will not use any sort of force to convince them to change their positions. This, of course, doesn't mean that we will not carry out a struggle for every young person, because we do not have a surplus of young people to hand over to the enemy, as Veli Deva said on one occasion. From that aspect we must do much more, and here a great responsibility falls on the university instructors, since it is here that these counterrevolutionary actions begin.

SL: How much do you agree with the statement that the intelligentsia of Kosovo failed the exam during the spring events?

R. Gashi: The fact is that the Albanian intelligentsia did not oppose Albanian propaganda with their full efforts and responsibility. Now we have signs of organizational opposition. But we must bear in mind one more fact, and that is that the university, after these events, was, in a certain way, removed from the list of the desirable.

First, my predecessor, the president of the Action Conference, was not invited to a single meeting, either at the province level, or the opstinal level. This was prejudice toward the university. Now it is a completely different situation, and we work closely together with all structures in the opstina and the province. We are actively engaged in the stabilization of the situation in the colleges. In every school, we work together with the students through 14 different problem areas, for example, those concerning cadre policy, cooperation with other universities, especially with the University in Tirana, etc.

SL: In what manner, in your opinion, is the indoctrination of young people predominantly carried out?

R. Gashi: The greatest influence is through television and radio, and up to a month ago, this influence was very intensive. Disregarding the poverty of the Albanian people for propaganda, enormous resources are expended. In this way, they act in a very negative way on the students and stimulate counterrevolutionary acts. After the demonstrations they expanded even more the misinformation and propaganda; for example, they said that we have a thousand casualties--people killed, mistreated, etc. This cannot influence intelligent people, but the uneducated it can. Because of this, it was necessary to counter the expansion of this misinformation and these lies."

9548
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SERBO-CROATIAN PAPER IN KOSOVO REPORTS ON SITUATION

[Editorial Report] In discussing the student structure at Pristina University, the 15 January 1982 issue of JEDINSTVO (Pristina, page 8) reports [illegible] last year for the first time in the history of the university student enrollm[illegible] in courses given in Serbo-Croatian declined; namely, from the planned 1,708 full-time students to 1,573, of whom 117 were of Albanian nationality; it said a large number of new first-year students had gone to other universities and a number of students had moved from Kosovo. First-year enrollment for courses given in Albanian was planned at 6,872 but 7,326 had actually enrolled for full-time study. Fewer students than planned had enrolled for part-time study in both languages. Total enrollment for the first year of study was 13,624, although 13,775 students were planned. This is a 21-percent reduction compared to the previous year. There were fewer students enrolling from outside the province, also; "thus, Pristina University has become quite enclosed within the borders of Kosovo which is not good for an advanced school." Last year 62 percent of all first-year full-time students were enrolled in the natural science-mathematics, bio-medical, technical and agricultural science departments.

The 18 January 1982 issue of the same paper (page 3) reported a party shake-up in Kosovska Kamenica Opstina where Radomir Trajkovic, president of the opstina LC conference was ousted and a recommendation made to the opstina assembly to expel the assembly president, Sejdi Berisa, and president of the opstina executive council, Tomislav Jovanovic. A final warning was given to Hasan Kovanij with the recommendation that he be removed from the Kosovo Provincial Council. They were accused of bureaucratic conduct and tendencies toward personal influence and dominance.

The same issue (on page 8) reported that the "targets of attacks by bullies are often women and helpless persons." Desanka Manjevic (50 years old) from Pec was beaten, and Vojin Mijovic (70 years old) from the village of Kalavaja in Decani Opstina is recovering from serious injuries in the Pec hospital, as is the 1941 Partisan veteran Ramo Tahiraj whose attackers, Adem Skender and Musakija Kurtaj, were sentenced to 60 days according to the 26 January issue of JEDINSTVO (page 8).

Milutin Folic, secretary of the Kosovo provincial council of SUBNOR, the veterans association, said at a meeting reported in the 27 January issue (pages 1, 2) that enemy actions are merely described but the wrongdoers are

not identified; "ineffective identification and the failure to punish those who are producing insecurity among the non-Albanian population have shaken [the people's] trust in certain organs of government."

The 28 January issue (page 9) reports that stories are circulating in Titovo Mitrovica that groups of gypsies are kidnapping children and selling them in Italy. "SUP organs are on the trail of groups carrying on such actions which are causing unrest among the citizens of Titova Mitrovica."

An item in the 30 January issue (page 5) notes that in Orahovac Opstina physical attacks by Albanian nationalists have been directed not only against Serbs but also against other Albanians.

According to the 20 January 1982 issue (page 2), 221 Serbian and Montenegrin families with about 880 members, as well as 700 Croatian families (in Janjevo), moved out of Lipljan Opstina between 1971 and 1981. In the last 5 years a total of 1,085 persons had moved from this opstina, and it was said that the number of Croatian families was far larger than 700. Compared to 10 years ago, 29 percent more Albanians live in the opstina (namely, 33,105), but only half as many Serbs (who now number 10,297), Montenegrins (355), and others (largely, Croatian, 5,480). It was also officially reported that 18 families of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality left because of direct pressure, including damage to farms, woods, provocations, and physical assaults on individuals and families. Since April 1981, 109 families have moved, an additional 43 families have recently been granted permission to move, while the cases of another 10 families who want to move are being examined. At the "Goles" mine in Magura 102 million dinars were granted for rehabilitating and building housing last year. "But it is very strange that only Albanian miners, namely, 38, received such credits, although miners of other nationalities were also on the list.... A particular problem is still the slow economic growth and minimal employment opportunities."

The 25 January 1982 issue of this paper (page 8) reported that last year there were 49 large fires and 150 small fires in Prizren Opstina which caused over 25 million dinars in damage. The fire in the Prizren city department store destroyed 20 million dinars worth of goods, while that at the Prizren railroad station, destroyed over 5 million dinars worth of goods imported for the "Balkan" enterprise in Suva Reka.

CSO: 2800/231

FRANC SETINC DISCUSSES PROBLEMS OF SYSTEM

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 28 Dec 81 pp 10-11

[Article by Franc Setinc: "Unity Through Differentiation"]

[Text] During the preparations for the 12th LCY Congress, many issues were brought up that are of vital significance for further development and construction of the system of socialist self-management. They were brought up now because during the period between the two congresses not enough work was done on straightening out and transforming society. Let us start at the beginning, however. When Kardelj wrote in "Directions of Development"...that further practical and ideological-political development of our system is necessary and that further development and working out of the system is a vital issue if we want to avoid stagnation in the development of self-management and a gradual suspension of it," he certainly meant by this, first of all, that the LCY has created the general concept of the development of socialist-self-management, but that it is still responsible, with all of its personnel, for affirming this project.

There Have Been too many Repetitions but Little Development and True Struggle

The LCY cannot shift this responsibility to the worker, who is declared in this project to be responsible for his own welfare, although in fact this is not yet the case, not because the worker would not want this, but rather because of many limiting factors, not only objective ones but subjective ones as well, even those within the LCY itself.

I feel that the LCY has reason to pose itself the question of whether it has drawn up a project for its renewal and adaptation to essential changes in society, and how it is carrying out this project. It has to work out its role, position, and method of work in an ideological-political and practical manner. Has this been done? In my opinion, there have been too many repetitions of what was already written at the 11th and other LCY congresses, but there has not been any real ideological-theoretical and practical development, or at least there has not been enough of it!

In such a situation, the LCY should draw certain conclusions. I do not mean by this that it should liquidate itself, as our enemies would wish, but it must take steps to make it a true internal force for the cohesion of society. People acknowledge it has historically the highest authority, but it can be the highest authority only if it moves things forward and if it fights to have this project

come alive in practice. The way in which the LCY acts within the political system so as to accelerate the development of socioeconomic relations on the basis of the social ownership of property and socialist self-management is of crucial importance, as well as what the LCY does to get the entire delegate system to begin to act as a factor linking the individual parts of associated labor.

Within society there are strong technocratic and bureaucratic tendencies, which naturally act as a factor for the disintegration of society, or in combination with this, as a strong factor for etatist centralization. These are not any sort of imagined tendencies, but rather those tendencies are strongly protected by a group-property or state monopoly rooted in the past. These forces become even stronger if socialist self-management relations are poorly developed and thus poorly protected by the social ownership of property, which still does not have sufficiently deep roots either in the broader social consciousness or in practical relations.

This is why the way in which these institutions work is of crucial importance, especially the way in which the LCY works within these institutions in order to support positive processes and strengthen social property relations, so that the worker can more easily protect his position and disrupt technocratic and bureaucratic tendencies, especially the property monopoly through which these forces protect themselves.

The LCY and Partial Interests

One frequently hears the question of whether partial interests are predominant in some parts of the LCY. I would even say that in some party circles a pluralism of partial interests and dictation by narrow party groups of activists are predominant.

We say in regard to our society that the freedom to express partial interests is not enough by itself, but that we must struggle to harmonize these partial interests and extract the common general interest from them.

One should take into account and analyze partial interests, but also struggle against their distortion or misinterpretation, and have the ability to rise above them in order for us to be able to democratically establish our common interests and see the prospects for further progress. A necessary condition for this is that the LCY should be capable of such a creative synthesis, and really possess a critical awareness of the working class and the working people, because partial interests must not be dominant in the party, in its practice and its documents.

For a long time in Yugoslavia, however, some leaderships have often represented egotistical partial interests, in which there is not enough differentiation, and there is not enough of an ideological struggle to raise this critical awareness to a higher level, in order to increase the party's ability to conduct a battle within the pluralism of self-management relations. Unity in views and action, in fact, can be attained only through creativity and in a democratic manner, and not at all through monologues or even directives that are not part of the process of the creative struggle of views and searches for new and better solutions, not part of a relationship of mutual trust and respect for the force of arguments, perceptions, and evidence derived from practice.

An Ideological Battle Is Necessary for the Realization of Positions

I refer again to Comrade Kardelj, who said that congressional resolutions and other documents do not represent anything if they "hang in the air" and if there is no productive communication within the LCY and society. But what is this productive communication, and what kind of communication and working methods will make it possible to fulfill the LCY's guiding role under the conditions of socialist self-management? Which are the obsolete (one-way) communications and working methods (commands) that mean a negation of socialist self-managing democracy?

It seems to me that our resolutions may be well written and there may be no criticisms of them, but they may again not have any practical value. Some positions of the 11th LCY Congress for the most part remained only on paper, because they were not followed by an ideological battle, because there was not any productive communication within the LCY and society, and so that they could not be realized. An ideological battle is necessary for the realization of positions; differentiation is necessary, not in the sense of dividing our ranks but rather in the sense of creating unity on the basis of conscious awareness and confidence. We do not need any sort of ideal unity, but rather the unity that is created through the struggle of opinions, with a great creative effort, criticism, self-criticism, resignations, trust or distrust, etc. If we organize ourselves this way in the LCY, then we will get rid of the taboos and of everything negative that we have today in the LCY and that sometimes makes us more a party than a league.

Also appropriate is the question of whether we have created a true atmosphere for such a struggle of opinions and whether we have organized a real discussion, for example, of the true causes of the events in Kosovo. I think that this is limited to attempts or to isolated cases. In my opinion, the real cause of the events in Kosovo--which Comrade Suvar has also written about--consists of the deep gulf between the bureaucratic-technocratic forces and the masses. We who believe this, however, are accused of underestimating the enemy and emphasizing inconsequential matters. I would say that it is precisely those who speak like this who are underestimating the hostile forces, because it is just under the conditions of the existence of such a gulf that the enemy can rely on the masses who are not allowed by the bureaucratic-technocratic forces to strengthen their presence and their role in society through socialist self-managing democracy. And everyone knows how the bureaucratic forces chase after the enemy, in a situation when they should be in the prisoner's dock themselves.

The Main Problem Is not the Enemy, but Our Ability or Inability

Comrade Kardelj writes that the enemy is not our main problem. The main thing is our ability or inability to organize ourselves, to settle things, to surmount and resolve the contradictions that have been mentioned, and, above all, to defeat the enemy this way. But we did not analyze the problems and contradictions in Kosovo in time; we did not do this because there were also such problems and contradictions in other areas. The problems in other areas did not have the same consequences as in Kosovo, but they may have, and we are still analyzing and resolving these problems very slowly.

The question arises of why there has not been a real discussion of this in the LCY.

First of all I should say something about the issue of quantity and quality in the LCY. I think that we have had an inflationary increase in the number of LCY members, and that the quality of these has not been adequately increased along with the quantity. The opposite has occurred, and we have opened the door to a multitude of partial interests, but we have not sufficiently developed ideological differentiation; there has not been enough of a struggle of opinions, and our conclusions and documents have frequently emerged without productive communication, differentiation, ideological analysis, and the maturation of ideas in the struggle of opinions, and even personnel selection. It is known, however, that only through such serious creative work in the LCY can real personnel selection and better personnel be achieved.

When Mahmut Bakali was in Slovenia once, in analyzing his impressions, he said that he was afraid that in the areas he visited the percentage of LCY members was too low and that he did not know how this critical conscience of the working class would cope with problems if it remained like that. I told Bakali that I was surprised that he had emphasized the percentage question--although I do not think that this was the ideal solution for the area he visited--but had not asked how the political activity of the working people was going, what the political activity within the Socialist Alliance was like, and within the trade union, etc., and in general, what political work in these areas was like.

It was apparently like this in Kosovo; the question of what people's consciousness was like was not always considered, and instead the question of how large the percentage of LCY members was seemed more important. We also encounter similar views in certain other areas. It seems that it is not yet clear to some comrades that a socialist self-managing society cannot be built and people's socioeconomic position cannot be strengthened if we reduce revolutionary attitude and social consciousness to the percentage of LCY members. It can be done only if we equip the Socialist Alliance well and if we also involve nonparty members, that is the majority of working people, in the construction of our socialist relations.

The Workers Majority Is not a Statistical Issue

There is likewise enough of the workers' majority in our papers. The workers' majority is discussed, but it is frequently linked with certain bureaucratic-structural criteria. Naturally I am in favor of having as many workers as possible in the LCY but I wonder whether the workers themselves contribute a critical consciousness and whether the workers' majority in the LCY means that just as a result of this they will have a more favorable socioeconomic position in society. It is well known that certain countries have made very serious distortions in socialism in the name of the workers' majority. Is it necessary to view the workers' majority in terms of the mobilization and restoration of the workers' majority in order for them--mutually linked in associated labor and in society--to be responsible themselves for their fate and the creators of their own future?

Also present in the preparations for the elections are arbitrary bureaucratic-structural criteria: very often both the age and sex of the candidate or delegate are determined in advance. And then we complain that the young people are keeping silent. But when, let us say, the young people discuss the burning social problems and present a problem a little "too narrowly," then we immediately say, "How is it that they are discussing this, since they do not understand certain postulates of

socialist society?" And thus a barrier is immediately put in front of them, while at the same time we want--or at least we say so in all of our publications--to stimulate young people to have a revolutionary attitude.

I also think that there are more socially involved women than we are able to include in our structures in accordance with these mechanical criteria. But we do not find them because we are looking for them in the forums, and in the forums, in these narrow frameworks, we often do not find the kind of people we are looking for.

The LCY Is a Single Whole

In many publications, it is concluded that the basic LCY organization should be a sociopolitical subject in its surroundings. I will call attention again to one of Comrade Kardelj's views when we were speaking about how to overcome the particularism of GORENJE and ISKRA, which had joint business but could not overcome this particularism. Kardelj said: "Don't have any illusions that within a single organization the LCY can rise above these ordinary partial interests in all situations." The LCY organization within a single SOUR [complex organization of associated labor] is not absolutely independent; it is a component of the whole of the LCY. If an LCY organization somewhere is not sufficiently strong as a cohesive and integrating force, than a critical conscience coming from the municipal organization or even from the LCY Central Committee must intervene. It cannot be said, however, that this is outside interference, because the LCY is a single whole.

The fragmented economy does not now have sufficiently strong integration processes, and the organizations of associated labor are shutting themselves off within their boundaries, but we are scolding the communists in these firms for not having the strength to rise above this, and we are waiting. I think that in such a situation there must be an intervention by other forces within the LCY, and even by the central committees and other social forces, especially science. Naturally, I mean intervention in the sense of initiatives and penetrations by new creative ideas and actions.

We must discuss all of these issues openly, because otherwise we will not find a solution. We must create a sound foundation for this struggle, in order for us to grapple with the technobureaucratic structures and tendencies that are penetrating our leaderships, even at the highest levels.

The battle for the constitutional concept of society can and must be won first of all in the LCY in order for it to be won then in society as a whole. We no longer need slogans and oaths just for principles; we need everyday efforts and results in all aspects of our lives, in our relations and our work, especially in associated labor, its mutual linkage and integration. It is only through such continual work that the LCY can authenticate and fulfill its leading role, and it is only in this way that an answer can be given to the question of how far the rule of the working class has come.

9909
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ZAGREB PUBLISHING FIGURE INTERVIEWED ON PRESS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1617, 27 Dec 81 pp 24-26

[Interview with Marinko Gruic, chairman of the Business Board of Vjesnik and a member of the Croatian LC Central Committee, by Aleksandar Novacic: "Better the Bitter Truth Than a Sweet-Tasting Lie"; date and place not specified]

[Text] "Is it more difficult in journalism or in politics? Journalism is a more concrete and direct job, and the responsibility is more direct. But believe me that that other is not easy either, especially if a man wants to work conscientiously. Being a professional in politics, by God, gives a man headaches."

Marinko Gruic, chairman of the Business Board of the Vjesnik SOUR [Complex Organization of Associated Labor] and member of the Croatian LC Central Committee, has shifted back and forth between journalism and professional political work several times in his life. For a long time he was a youth leader, and then he practiced journalism from 1953 to 1966, and then again from 1974 until the present. In the intervals he was secretary of the Zagreb City Committee, he was elected four times to the Central Committee, he was a deputy in the Assembly, and so on.

The firm which he heads today employs 4,700 people and in recent years has experienced considerable progress, and this has been manifested even in a very rapid growth of circulation. The circulation of just three dailies published by this firm (VJESNIK, VECERNJI LIST and SPORTSKE NOVOSTI) have a total circulation of 546,000 copies, while in 1968, say, their circulation was 270,000. Though Vjesnik's stands also have 26 other publications of this firm every day, nearly 72 percent of the total circulation consists of daily newspapers, which is indicative of reader interest.

[Question] The immediate occasion for this interview was the discussion of the press which has been taking place in Yugoslavia in recent months.

Against Dumping Problems Onto the Press

[Answer] It is my impression that recently--even sometimes in interviews much like this one--we tend to separate the problems of information and of newspapers

too much from the overall context of social transformations. Somehow they are beginning to be regarded as a sphere in themselves, and then there is discussion about democracy or the lack of it, public scrutiny or the lack of it, assessments are made, liberalism, dogmatism, and so on. The range of discussions concerning information and newspapers like it or not is thereby treated to some extent separately and is unjustifiably detached from the broader social context (Marinko Gruic says).

[Question] And how in your opinion should the discussion of the press be conducted?

[Answer] In my opinion, the debate about newspapers ought to be put back on its natural track, we ought to see to what extent information and newspapers operate as an integral part of our self-managing and political system, to what extent they are a factor toward social transformation, are they stimulating processes, or are they holding them back. Otherwise we cannot arrive at the right assessment, since every meditation about the newspapers that is detached from the social context leads us to certain extremes. Incidentally, these blanket black-and-white judgments, these labels of various kinds, have often been a consequence of our lifting information out of the overall context of the fight for social transformations.

[Question] When you referred to the difficulty of work in journalism you also said that today marks a delicate moment in domestic and foreign politics. Some conclude from that observation that a more restrictive approach should be taken to information, information should be dosed out, while others feel that it is precisely in such a situation that the public should be informed to the utmost.

[Answer] I say that the more complicated and difficult the situation, the more completely, truthfully, authentically and rapidly the workingman ought to be informed. There is a saying to the effect that whoever controls the information also controls society, and it is our aspiration that the workingman controls society and its development. Consequently, he must control information. I would recall that in the most delicate and complicated situations, when the destiny of the revolution and of our common homeland was at stake (in 1948 or in Croatia in 1971 and so on) our public has been the most fully informed about the true state of affairs.

I am convinced that the most complete possible information is necessary for true revolutionary action and that except for the most elementary government secrets and certain ethical principles nothing must be concealed from the public. All else leads us to a position of secretiveness.

[Question] Which is precisely where the problems begin.

[Answer] I am resolutely opposed to having the problems and headaches that exist dumped onto the press, so that a substitution is made of the principals, and the press is regarded as a kind of whipping boy on whom responsibility and blame can always be dumped at the suitable moment.

[Question] You in fact spoke about that at a recent meeting of the Croatian LC Central Committee?

[Answer] I spoke about that, because I think that if we are communists, we must tell the truth, but not over someone else's back. I have the impression that it is easier to give the press and newspapers a slap in the face, to portray it as a perpetual culprit and to burden it with what has to be said to someone else. We avoid the latter for various tactical, opportunistic or other reasons. I think that this is not proper.

By which I do not mean to defend the newspapers or Vjesnik's publications. Not by any means. I feel that in the press, including, of course, the publications of Vjesnik SOUR, one can find superficiality, serious oversights, inroads of petty bourgeois attitudes and reflections of liberalism, and sometimes even outright stupidities. And we who work on newspapers and other factors in society must be specific and precise in analyzing the situation and decisive--without pardon or amnesty for anyone--in dealing with errors and possible deviations. But at the same time I am a resolute opponent of generalization and of blanket judgments which find everything to be black in the newspapers, and I am especially fierce in opposing the breaking of rods over the backs of newsmen and the press when actually others are principally to blame. We should take the consequences when we have erred and where we are at fault. Incidentally, is it not true that we from the newspapers often call out the names of others and call them to account. We therefore must be equally prepared to assume our own responsibility.

Who Is Upsetting the Public?

[Question] It is sometimes said that so-called "negative" pieces of news upset the public.

[Answer] Better a bitter truth, than a sweet-tasting lie. The truth is our strongest weapon. Concealment of information is socially and politically harmful and makes the workingman distrustful. Journalism and information represent an essential part of the system, but not outside of or above the system. Journalism is not some seventh force, nor is it a partner of sociopolitical organizations and self-management bodies; that is, neither is it an arbiter nor a conscience. But it is not a transmission belt either, nor a whipping boy, a perpetual culprit and so on. Certainly, it is rather difficult and problematical today to work on a newspaper. We are going deeper with the process of democratization of life, and we consider it altogether natural that this pluralism of interests in self-management is articulated in democratic terms. However, this is not always easy, nor is it a simple matter to find the right measure.

[Question] Is that differing nature of interests in self-management sufficiently present in our press?

[Answer] I do not get to see all the press, but I must say that it seems to me that we are not yet open enough.

[Question] What is the reason for that?

[Answer] Well, I would say that there are several of them. On the one hand there is the fear that additional problems and headaches might be created over those differences, that the public might be upset. I think that it is always better for the public not only to be informed, but also to be involved in resolving those differences. After all, problems always arise when someone tries to resolve something in the public's absence. Sometimes we reserve these differences, if I can so put it, for some sort of coordinating bodies, committees and the like. All this does is create new problems. To go further, I think that some people, however strongly they have declared themselves in favor of a pluralism of interests in self-management, have a habit of acknowledging that pluralism only so long as it coincides with their views.

Do not forget that aside from interests in self-management, we also have interests that do not conform to self-management. In other words, there are certain class forces operating from the opposite position, that is, there is also a class struggle.

[Question] Sometimes what you refer to as interests opposed to self-management also find expression in the press. Insofar as those ideas are embodied by hostile or oppositionist forces, it is relatively easy for the newsman to engage in a public confrontation. The case becomes more difficult when such ideas come from some official forum.

[Answer] I have no illusions about a portion of interests of that kind being able to penetrate even our structures. But at the same time I think that none of us can be amnestied and that a certain remnant of the past is still squatting somewhere in everyone of us. However, that is not how I would put the question: It seems to imply that an interest opposed to self-management is coming from government or political structures, and the press is put in the position of defender.

[Question] Let me be more specific. The most recent example of Kosovo confirms that the political leadership in the province was operating from positions which may be called even antiworker positions.

[Answer] I would counter with another question: Were there any newspapers operating in that way? Is it not true that they were furthering that kind of behavior? What I mean is that I would not make a mechanical division between politics and the government on the one hand and the newspapers on the other. The basic point of departure in differentiation ought to be who is fighting for social transformation and who is holding it back. A more thorough analysis would certainly show that there are militant fighters and also those who are holding us back in politics, in the government administration, among professional managers, and also among newsmen.

Critical in Attitude, Even to the Point of Receiving Scars

[Question] Sometimes that vigorous attitude elicits resistance and a failure to comprehend.

[Answer] I agree. The press must take a critical position, but it must state its views in depth and back them up with evidence. Certain problems may still arise in spite of that, since no one likes to be criticized. It is the revolutionary duty of newsmen to take a critical attitude, but to back it up with evidence, even at the price of receiving a few scars. I can say this from my own experience.

Journalism and the newspapers are a vigorous and independent factor within the framework of the system, and we must be aware that we share in the responsibility for the state and development of society, rather than thinking that we are "someone outside." We have made our contribution to that state, and I think it is impermissible for someone at this point to set himself up as an arbiter from the peak of Olympus.

[Question] An analysis which has been made in VJESNIK showed that the newspaper is more concerned with forums than with the real problems of the working people. This might be stated as a general criticism of Yugoslav journalism.

[Answer] Our analyses have confirmed what we had taken notice of even previously. Take, say, the way the newspapers follow the trade unions. One finds something almost like a pyramid turned upside down. Approximately 15 to 20 percent of the articles have to do with the basic organizations, and 80 percent with forums....

[Question] Are the newsmen responsible for this, or perhaps some "upside down pyramid" exists in real life? What I mean to say is that perhaps this and certain other organizations are too top-heavy in the way they operate.

[Answer] There is a fair amount of truth in that, but it is not altogether true. We on the newspapers must also reassess our own orientation self-critically and make a change of direction in a certain sense. It cannot be denied that interesting discussions have been conducted and important decisions made in worker caucuses and in workers' councils. But please look at our newspapers; how much is being written about that.

[Question] Can you be more specific?

[Answer] I believe that I am not restrictive toward the publishing of certain articles which might arouse various comments and views, provided, of course, that they are not hostile in character. But recently it seems to me that we have been publishing a great of subject matter in the newspapers, perhaps even too much, which takes us back to topics of the past, sometimes even with certain unacceptable overtones and tendencies.

Some people, economists for example, offer certain concepts in their articles which society has gone beyond. Or certain positions taken in an article by Comrade Tempo, whom it is easier for me to mention, since I esteem Comrade Vukmanovic as a distinguished revolutionary, which I think are not socially acceptable, and individuals are attempting to "take further" certain of his positions and use them, if not abuse them, for their own problematical purposes.

All of us who participate in the process of information must nevertheless ask ourselves whether what is being published promotes progress or exerts a backward pull, whether we are broadening, intensifying and deepening certain possible vacillations in society, or are we becoming part of the effort to find ways out and solutions. I emphasize, I am not in favor of any sort of embellishment or false monolithism; I am really in favor of maximum openness, public scrutiny and above all full truthfulness of the news.

[Question] Is it not true that sometimes unrealistic demands are put on newspapermen?

[Answer] Sometimes, yes. In listening to some people it seems to me that newsmen and editors are supposed to have answers even for those questions which society and the League of Communists are not yet able to respond to. I have said on one occasion that it is unrealistic and unnatural to expect of editorial staffs, which include members of the LCY and those who are not, to attain a higher degree of ideological and political unity than is achieved in certain party leadership groups at the top level. After all, if we expect that, then the editorial staffs will be "omniscient teams," and there will be a real danger of their emerging as some sort of arbiters and of rising above the League of Communists and other sociopolitical and self-management structures. On pressures, telephoning and taboo topics....

[Question] Recently, quite a bit has been said about the press in political forums at the federal level. It has been said that there are both dogmatic and liberalistic manifestations here.

[Answer] I repeat that the press and newspapers should be evaluated and treated in the context of the total transformation of society. As for these extremes, I think that they do exist in society as well, so it is normal in a way for them to penetrate even the newspapers. The basic problem for me is not whether that exists or not, but the attitude we take toward such manifestations, if they do exist. Do we comment on them, do we confront them, or do we remain passive.

[Question] A judgment has also been rendered concerning pressures on the newspapers. Do you personally feel this?

[Answer] I think that the public has a distorted conception to the effect that there are some sort of strong pressures, a lot of telephoning and the like. There are certain real pressures. But I think that there is less and less of that conventional pressure over the telephone, requests and the like, at least as far as I feel it myself.

[Question] And finally a question about your firm's new weekly political newspaper which has been announced several times.

[Answer] The pains and headache involved are beyond anything I expected. At one point we closed down VUS [VJESNIK U SRIJEDU]. Actually, it died of itself. Both in terms of circulation and economically and in terms of influence. And at that point we had already made the decision to go ahead with a new weekly. At the beginning we fell short over the question of staff. Not so much over the question

of whether we have the staff or not; I say that we do have, but not many people wanted to take responsibility for a paper like that. Later, we did shape the team, we established the nucleus. Then difficulties arose over space, since we have filled up Vjesnik's skyscraper, and things have become cramped. Then we also solved that. We also foresaw 2 billion old dinars of funds as an intervention, which would have been a grant for this newspaper as a new product. In the first round 15 organizations of associated labor voted "for" in a referendum, and 4 were against. In the second round all were "for." Now there is a difficult situation with paper, but we have nevertheless decided to start at the beginning of next February. Our political weekly will probably be called DANAS.

[Question] We wish you success!

[Answer] Thank you very much. It will certainly bring new headaches as well....

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END

JPRS 80192

25 February 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1980

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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25 February 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1980

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DETAILS PROVIDED ON PINPOINTING ENEMY ARTILLERY POSITIONS

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 49, 1981 (signed to press 30 Nov 81) p 8

[Article by Lt Hans-Joachim Plaul: "The Ears of the Artillery: The Enemy Detected Through Sound Ranging"]

[Text] Artillery has at its disposal reconnaissance and surveying units so that artillery fire can also be accurately guided to far distant and often invisible targets. In close cooperation with each other, they fulfill a complex mission with their reconnaissance helicopters and radar or sound ranging equipment. This little known area within the artillery is to be illustrated briefly by showing the combat possibilities of a sound ranging platoon.

The sound ranging reconnaissance method has already been used successfully by the Soviet army in the Great Patriotic War. It was responsible for more than 70 percent of the reconnoitered enemy artillery pieces. Based on these good experiences, such batteries and platoons were therefore established when the National People's Army was founded in 1956.

Battle Order

What role does sound play in reconnaissance? Certainly everyone has at one time or another measured the time between lightening and the following thunder in order to measure how far the thunderstorm was away. This is based on the fact that in the atmosphere, sound travels approximately 333 meters per second. This means that it needs about three seconds for one kilometer. But sound ranging reconnaissance does not attempt to find approximate distances, but rather precise coordinates of enemy artillery positions. This means that the technical task is far more complex than in the example mentioned. The "ears" of the sound ranging platoon are sound indicators which have as their cire small microphone capsules which pick up the infrasound (frequency up to 16 HZ) and transform it into electrical impulses.

In accordance with the requirements of the battle, four to six microphones are placed in a large semicircle 2 to 2.5 km from the front line of their own troops. They are facing the area in which enemy artillery positions are suspected to be. The distance between them is 1 to 1.5 km, which means that a sound ranging platoon can cover the considerable span of 4 to 7 km. This makes it possible to reconnoiter all enemy artillery having a caliber of more than 100 mm in an area 5 to 8 km wide and up to 25 km deep

As opposed to other reconnaissance means, sound ranging has the advantage that it is almost totally independent from visibility and weather conditions. Only extremely stormy weather with wind velocities of more than 100 m/s would hinder reconnaissance considerably.

The Principle

Let's take another look at the technical principle in order to show additional important characteristics. The electrical impulses of microphones must be transmitted to an analyzing vehicle which may be positioned in the center of the battlefield. Until now there was only a cable connection for this. The long time required to connect it and to change positions no longer meets the requirement for the greater speed of modern battle. The additionally created radio transmittal of impulses in the modern sound ranging complex eliminates this disadvantage, but it offers the enemy--as opposed to the wire connection--the possibility of discovering the source of the transmittal. For this reason, a practical combination of both variations, depending on the mission, is used in these modern complexes. No matter whether wire or radio connections are used: All "threads" come together in the analyzer. The sound waves which have been converted to electrical impulses are amplified and then appear on a moving paper roll in the recorder as clearly visible waves.

With electronic pocket calculators, target coordinates are arrived at 3 minutes after the sound is picked up. For greater accuracy, (there is a 1-percent deviation in distance and 0-04 or 0.24° laterally), the site of the sound ranging unit must be measured. The most modern measuring vehicles of the complex make that possible. During the drive, a marker enters the distance covered on a card which has been inserted in the navigation device. The coordinates can be read at any random point. When the angle of deflection is required, gyrocompasses which have a maximum error of 0-00.13 (0.0083°) are available.

Will Power is a Requirement

What would all this special technology be worth without its skillful mastery by well trained soldiers? Members of the sound rangers must possess a high degree of discipline, will power, consciousness and responsibility, when they, for example, must hold their position for hours, sometimes for days, in icy cold weather or scorching heat. The advance warning guard holds a special position. His position is so far advanced from that of the platoon that he can switch on the recording device as soon as he sees or hears the enemy fire, even before the sound waves reach the sound indicator. Constant alertness is most vital, because if he misses a shot, the enemy may not be engaged in time.

In summary: Modern sound ranging complexes make it possible to reconnoiter enemy artillery quickly and reliably. They can also direct the fire of their own artillery. Instead of recording the fire, detonations of grenades are recorded and from that their deviations from the target are found. This makes it possible to engage targers located on rear slopes or behind forests, which can not be observed or mreasured directly with optical devices.

9328
CSO: 2300/105

ORDER ON CIVIL DEFENSE INSTRUCTION PUBLISHED

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 26, 2 Sep 81 p 325

[Official text of "Order of 3 August 1981 on Training and Advanced Training of Citizens in Basic Knowledge of Civil Defense," signed by Lt Gen Peter, Chief, GDR Civil Defense, East Berlin]

[Text] On the basisi of Article 15 of the 13 October 1978 Defense Law (GBI. I No 35 p 377), the following is ordered to carry out Article 6 of this law in agreement with the appropriate ministers and heads of other central state agencies. the Free German Federation of Trade Unions, as well as other social organizations.

Article I

Applicability

This regulation applies to the central and local state agencies for combines, leading economic organizations, enterprises, installations and cooperatives (hereinafter called concerns), as well as citizens' social organizations.

Article 2

Principles, Goals and Tasks

1. GDR citizens must be given a basic knowledge of civil defense in order to prepare the population for the protection against the consequences of possible acts of military aggression, of catastrophies, and of their rights and duties as set forth in the Defense Law to participate in the preparation and execution of civil defense measures.

2. Training in basic knowledge of civil defense is based on the program established by the head of civil defense in the GDR.

3. The ministers and heads of other central state agencies are entitled to expand, i.e., to specifically outline details regarding special themes, should a particularity in their sphere of responsibility require it.

4. Training of students in general education classes and of apprentices in vocational schools is carried out in accordance with regulations by the minister of education and the national secretary for vocational training, respectively.

Article 3

Responsibility

1. The ministers (with the exception of military authorities) and the heads of other central agencies, the chairmen of local councils and the heads of concerns are responsible for the preparation and execution of training measures within their area of responsibility.

2. The heads of social organizations assure the training of employees they are in charge of.

Article 4

Carrying out of Training

1. As a rule, training of workers in the basic knowledge of civil defense takes place outside of regular working hours, i.e., within the schedule of adult education. Exceptions are set forth in Article 5.

2. In order to strengthen knowledge and skills gained, (a) training of workers is to be repeated in five-year training cycles. This will take three to four hours annually; (b) citizens are to take part in civil defense exercises.

3. As a rule, training is to be conducted by immediate superiors of collectives (master craftsmen, department heads, homeroom teachers) or other suited trainers. The number of people trained in each collective is not to exceed 30.

4. The trainers must be taught how to teach basic knowledge of civil defense within the context of their professional training and advanced training.

5. The trainers must teach the knowledge and skills necessary to carry out civil defense measures. Training must be clear and related to practice.

6. Trainers must assure the active participation of the trainees and must evaluate their qupstions, suggestions and the training results.

7. The German Red Cross of the GDR, in conjunction with the Workers Health Service, supports the workers' training in the basic knowledge of civil defense by giving instructions in self-help and first aid.

8. The population is residential areas must be prepared to carry out the most important protective measures through education, primarily in the context of political community work.

Article 5

Instructions About Siren Signals

1. Workers, students, apprentices and college students must receive instructions annually about siren warning and alarm signals.

2. Instructions must be carried out in the first quarter of each year, and may not exceed 30 minutes.

3. Instructions must be aimed at (2) the quick, disciplined and correct conduct in dangerous situations, (b) the mastery of the concrete rules of conduct for trainees at their place of work following sirens.

4. Proof of instruction and participation is mandatory. The work protection control book, i.e., the class journal, can be used for this.

Article 6

Final Rule

This regulation becomes effective 1 December 1981.

9328
CSO: 2300/106

GOALS OF TRADE UNION PROPAGANDA SPELLED OUT

Budapest SZAKSZERVEZETI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 6, 1981 pp 3-12

[Article by Gyula Virizlay: "Convincingly, Effectively"]

[Text] According to Lenin's interpretation agitation and propaganda are nothing more than getting people to understand and accept, encouraging thought and action, thus to have an effect on the formulation and execution of tasks. The trade unions also try to influence the course of events in a good direction. With their membership of several millions they help to get understood and accepted the policy which incorporates the goal and tasks of socialist building work and the principles, resolutions and laws which aid the realization of this policy. And they try to do all this in a way which the workers can understand, feel and "see." In this way trade union propaganda and agitation aid socialist construction work and the everyday tasks deriving from this, help one to see how work done by an individual fits into the realization of the goals of the enterprise and of society.

The trade unions undertake as their own the policy and goals of socialist society and are committed to the cause of the worker class and socialist building work. In addition and in a close interdependency with this they are committed to represent and defend the interests of their members. This commitment is interpreted to mean that he who feels the power to be his own has an obligation to care for strengthening it. Practical life, work, prove again and again that in the activity of the trade unions strengthening the power appears in helping their several millions of members to know and understand the policy of building a socialist society, encouraging and organizing action on behalf thereof.

In the basic questions of socialist building work the task of the trade unions is to strengthen the power and fully support it. But in the details of making and carrying out decisions they have freedom of action and opinion. This means that they participate in developing decisions serving the development of society on the basis of their own experiences and opinions, they initiate and prepare decisions and they have independent opinions, proposals and working methods in the execution of measures--in how and by what means they must be carried out locally. Great attention must be turned to this, especially in primary organization work. In the local execution of tasks an independent opinion is an especially powerful propaganda and agitation opportunity--if it is based on constant and systematic consultation with the workers to know about everything and have a way to express an opinion in questions affecting them. So that they can influence the development of their own fate. It is hard to overestimate the agitational force of this.

So it is important that a style of work should develop in the trade union movement, especially at the place of work, the realization of which is at the same time the most effective, large scale verbal agitation and propaganda work. Attention must be concentrated on this now in the activity of the trade unions; in this way we can increase our influence and affect the course of events.

What Happens Before Decisions Are Made?

Agitation and propaganda work must be appropriate, must have an effect in decision making and must become something which the workers can feel in the life of the trade union primary organizations especially in two areas--in everyday life and in the functioning of the most important forums of the factory.

It is extraordinarily important that there be a prior discussion with the members of the trade union steward's group as to what questions they want to make a decision in, take a stand on or give an opinion about. This must be discussed not merely because without this they will not know what is to be done. In the majority of cases they know because frequently--unfortunately--what is involved is the solution of well known problems. There must be a prior consultation with the members of the group because, on the one hand, the opinions and recommendations of the majority enrich knowledge, provide new proposals and bring to the surface other solutions but, on the other hand, there must be consultation because only in this way does a feeling develop and strengthen among the workers that everything is being discussed with them, that they are asked about everything before a decision is made. This feeling (especially the practical benefits of it) is closely interdependent with the realization of our socialist principles, with having a say in the formation of our own fate.

But more is involved. In our society the greatest strength is the agreement of the workers with our goals and methods. This provides a political background, a tranquil, understanding background ready to help, whether individual or group affairs are involved. If the stewards work everywhere with such methods then the millions living from salary and wages will feel the sense of our policy better in the course of everyday and in questions of detail. When the workers argue and debate in their groups under the leadership of the trade union steward about wage or social questions or about work organization and the allocation of work and evaluate things on the basis of work done this forms the strength and morale of the community.

The best propaganda and agitation is a sequence of events of everyday life which stands as close as possible to socialist principles and socialist human values. We know no more convincing agitation and propaganda than this today.

Realizing such a style of work makes it possible for the activity of the trade union steward to be truly the foundation of trade union work, makes it possible for us to carry out activity at the place of work of such quality that millions of workers constantly feel the presence of the trade union, feel that the trade union is really indispensable to them. Such a style of work makes it possible also for the trade union steward to forward to the appropriate forums the information and experiences acquired in the course of his many-sided work. The trade union committee collects this information from every steward and that which can be taken care of within the factory or requires action is included in the work plan, presented at the meeting of the steward's body or presented to the economic leaders.

Making use of the experiences of the stewards also represents a great agitation and propaganda strength, because it proves to the workers that the trade union steward is handing on the opinion and experiences of the membership and that the trade union committees are giving answers and taking action.

Of similar effect and significance are the meetings of the stewards' bodies, where they discuss, debate and decide problems and tasks of "enterprise scale." A meeting of the stewards' body is worth while only if a steward can attend in order to become acquainted in a many-sided way with the opinion, proposals and problems of the workers belonging thereto. If the steward does his work in the way noted above then he is capable of speaking to measures of enterprise scale. Then the stewards' body can weigh matters responsibly and know what sort of position to take.

It is not of secondary importance whether interdependencies are made known at the meeting of the steward's body, whether the economic leaders and the trade union give their opinion about what is to be done, about various possible solutions. The members of the stewards' body must be given the means to weigh and select, to see the possibilities together with the tasks, and, comparing this with the experiences of their own places of work and groups, to take a stand. Political activity must take place at the meeting of the stewards' body too. The leader of the enterprise, and the leader of the trade union committee too, must argue, debate and convince. A feeling of responsibility is better realized in this way, and this radiates through the work of the stewards into the life of the place of work groups.

The great bulk of the tasks and problems at the place of work are things to which a simple yes or no answer cannot be given. If this is so then the more complicated the problem the more necessary it is to make debate possible and the more the number of solution possibilities to be considered. The socialist society must be built in awareness also. Going beyond theoretical knowledge one must be convinced by the facts of everyday life that this transformation of awareness rests on very solid foundations.

For this reason propaganda and agitation cannot be separated from the activity of the trade unions, from the carrying out of tasks. If they are separated then errors are common and one can frequently say: How can one agitate badly for a good policy, for a correct measure? Agitation and propaganda have an internal logic; one must understand what is involved. If the style of work at the place of work followed this logic everywhere then there would be a strengthening of the force and skill of the political work done among the masses by the trade union movement. Thus agitation and propaganda are nothing more than an explanation of tasks, a mobilization for their realization and a collective search for and propagation of the way, the how and the content of this realization.

The democratic forums and everyday life are the two greatest fields for agitation and propaganda. At these two points our activity cannot be gray and boring, superficial chatter, but rather it must be worthy, arousing trust, resulting in conviction. Behind this are ranged a feeling for the profundity and sincerity of our policy and principles, the place of work achievements of socialist democracy, the participation of the masses, and possibilities for supervision by them.

Agitation and propaganda work must be done not only by individual officials and activists but rather by the entire movement. Everyone active in some special area,

in addition to what is to be done in his own area, must work with logical, clear, many-sided arguments. It should never be forgotten that routine repetition of basic truths does not and cannot give an appropriate answer to or orientation in each question that arises. The workers at their place of work must feel that their opinions are needed, that they can take action there, can 'fight," for their individual interests, for the interests of their group and enterprise, that they are being encouraged to do so. If they want to take an initiative they should be encouraged and helped to do better work.

Unfortunately in many primary organizations and places of work today such a democratic style of work finds rejection on the part of the trade union and economic leaders. This happens most frequently where the economic leaders or trade union officials, lacking theoretical and practical training, are incapable of working with such methods. In general they do not encourage debate, do not tolerate it or feel it is superfluous, because they hold their own opinion to be infallible. They do not realize that socialist democracy has great significance in the progress of socialist building work, meaning the degree to which the individual can have a say in decisions affecting his life, at work and outside of work.

The Economic Situation is an Important Starting Point for Trade Union Activity

When we talk about the tasks of the trade unions the economic situation, aiding or carrying out economic tasks are always central questions. The economic situation is the starting point for possibilities in the area of social policy and culture and the foundation for our entire socialist development. This is a truth which more and more understand today and they adjust their work and demands to it. The activity of the trade unions also always starts from work which helps the economy. There are many methods for this active aid. The question here is whether the workers know and unders and the tasks, whether they are willing to act and what sort of behavior do they exhibit in the course of execution. The question is what can the skilled worker, engineer or director do in their own area, do they do what they can, do they really give the maximum of their capabilities. To expect appropriate behavior and work, to encourage, aid and cause the unfolding of such work, this is the chief content of that activity of the trade unions which aids the economy. In the course of this work the following must be taken into consideration:

1. Problems appearing in work organization, material supply and material incentive, in the realization of levelling, in the increasing grayness of moral recognition, in inadequate respect for physical work and for those who work well and in forcing similar values into the background; agitation and propaganda could help much in bringing about a change in this.

2. The trade union could help especially much in places of work and in small communities in seeing whom the workers themselves regard as an example, what acts they regard as a guide, seeing to it that on the job it is always possible to sense, not in slogans but in acts, that the socialist society is a society of work. If these questions develop in a correct direction then there will be respect, and increasing respect, for good work, honest work, understanding and a feeling of responsibility. Those who work in this way should be respected, paid and regarded as examples; they should be talked about at conferences, in the press, etc. We do

not desire a return to the piling up of statistics or the forests of placards of the 1950's, but that grayness and inferior propaganda which are unfortunately common in this area are not satisfactory and do not serve as an incentive. Agitation and propaganda activity must always meet the interest and feeling for justice of the working masses, and this is possible only if we base in on work, on work done.

3. The time spent at work is less and less in the lives of people. The time spent in study grows longer, the work week has become shorter, there is no child labor, the retirement age has been reduced and barely half of the year now consists of work days. For all these reasons it has become more important to "go out into the lives of the workers." It has become more important because beginning the working life later has brought with it social, family, housing and other problems the solution of which is justly urged by young people, with increasing impatience. The significance of choosing a career has become of no less importance. It has become important for one's entire life because perhaps the most important starting point for one's relationship to work is what sort of work one chooses in accordance with his abilities and goals. Trade union agitation and propaganda have a task in this area also, primarily to give advice, to help, to point out the beauty of the career chosen. In itself, naturally, this is not enough. Knowing the beauty of a trade is worth little if the atmosphere at the place of work, the organization of work and the behavior of colleagues and leaders distorts all this beauty. The beauty of work, of a trade, appears not "in itself" but rather amidst concrete circumstances. Every job can be loved in a good environment; the meaning of creativity and work can be found in every job.

4. Improving the economic situation of the country requires today more responsibility and understanding from the workers. And in this distribution, atmosphere and love of the job are a significant mobilizing force. In agitation and propaganda work we cannot ignore the fact that work stands high in the theoretical hierachy of socialist values, but in recent years this rank has decreased. There are those who say that since there are ample job opportunities for everyone this over-insurance has relaxed work morality and reduced efficiency. Since we have problems in realizing distribution according to work the link between work, prosperity and promotion has loosened somewhat in social awareness. This results in apathy in some. Agitation and propaganda either have not dealt adequately with these questions or they have been satisfied with phrases and slogans which have no effect on awareness.

5. Unfortunately the workers frequently experience in daily practice the opposite of what we say about our goals and means at trade union meetings, production conferences and elsewhere. Naturally all this has an effect in one's relationship to work too. This is all the more a fault because the relationship to work is a very important measure of value. Many say that there is nothing which can lift a man so high or bring him so low, and thus destroy his life, as a correct or bad relationship to work. But if this is so--and practice proves that it is--then agitation and propaganda also must reckon with it. How can the workers, the working people, realize in life that which we used to sing about in the labor movement, "Work was once coercion, now it is a heroic deed"? It has always been easy for agitation to explain that work was once coercion but that it is now a heroic deed--unfortunately, it has often been difficult for us for at that because in places practice contradicts it. Attila Jozsef wrote in one of his poems:

"Give me the joy of work, because wages are not enough for this." And how right the poet was. If one is to feel joy in work there is need for a good place of work atmosphere, beyond the correct policy of the country. One must constantly feel the "great politics" locally, in little things as well. There must be respect for work and the man who works well, there must be appropriate incentive and much besides, as a result of which a man will feel good about himself, and have joy in work.

The Man Forming Strength of Socialist Labor Competition

Agitation and propaganda work can have a great role in seeing that the struggle for the better, the more efficient, for work done with honor is constant in the socialist labor competition and in every area of life generally. This should be visible and tangible in the results of the given place of wrrk. Empty phrases, goals and explanations which cannot be understood and which do not attract or move anyone cannot be permitted anywhere, but especially not in the labor competition, in the struggle for better work.

With the aid of agitation and propaganda it must be possible to personalize achievements and deficiencies in work. We expect from everyone individually more and better, more disciplined and more understanding work, in the labor competition and everywhere in the execution of tasks. We expect more from everyone to the extent their abilities permit. But we should help in the constant development of abilities so that in time everyone can do more for himself and for society than he did yesterday. There can be no doubt that there are real foundations for this at the places of work and within the small communities. People should know one another so that it can be said on the basis of a realistic order of values what can be expected from whom, what can be demanded from whom, how a person can be evaluated and why. The achievements and deficiencies must be personalized precisely in the small work communities, at the place of work, and it must be said immediately what we expect from whom individually, with appropriate incentive, criticism and help, and then the result will not be in doubt. But neither can there be any doubt that in such a community there can develop an atmosphere in which everyone tries to meet his obligations, and even exceed them. On such a foundation there can develop within the communities at the places of work an atmosphere in which work done well is recognized and respected.

Agitation and propaganda work must get close to individual people and help them to understand what they can do and what is expected of them. But this work is not done by a special person; it is not the task of special activists assigned for this purpose. It is done by the steward's group with every member of it. Standards and tasks are set jointly for every member of the community and execution is aided and evaluated together. There is mo more effective agitation and propaganda work than this, because it is based on reality, on a real order of values.

Even the slightest progress in the work of individual people must be respected. That which can be put before the community as an example or a demand must be noticed and recognized. We should help people to understand, adopt and value all that which advances those human values which we respect in our society, help them to be implemented and propagated. In the labor competition and in the struggle for better work, whatever forms we select, the work of the individual is the basis

of the competition, of the evaluation. The contribution of the individual to the realization of common tasks should be more and more valuable today than it was yesterday. In this case the competition will not be bureaucratic; only in this case will form not take precesence over content.

Using Local Arguments

Many say that it is not possible to agitate without measures being taken and frequently agitation is forced into impotence because they are waiting for measures. There can be no doubt that help is needed in this situation and there has been some improvement already. Still, the primary organizations must see that whatever measure is involved--social, wages, recreation or of a general character--it is not necessary in every case to wait for central measures. The local peculiarities, aspects and arguments of the given question can be made use of and the collection of them must begin immediately. In the greater part of cases the central directives hardly contain arguments which can be used locally. The national arguments, the average percentages, which indicate development or what is to be done are often inappropriate for the concrete persuasion of the individual. Workers always relate to their own situation and work, try to "place" events themselves and so, in order to persuade them, only very concrete local arguments can be used effectively in agitation. Only the primary organization and officials are able to collect and use these.

In connection with this question we must call attention to a very serious difficulty of our agitation and propaganda activity, namely that our agitation and our propagands activity is not of better quality today becsuse, among other things, it presumes that a profound, substantive and consistent style of work backs it up. This is a style of work which, up to now, we have only tried to talk about. We are not yet used to agitations and explaining independently and colorfully on the basis of local arguments and interests. We are not used to pointing out interdependencies and presenting variations. This can be felt especially in work aiding the economy. It is not enough to help management "drily", with the same arguments gathered together by the economic leaders from the technical, economic and other viewpoints. We must help people to "feel" and "see" these tasks from another side. This is the soul of mass work and agitation. It is difficult or impossible to influence people "drily," to encourage them to follow an example. Dry, soulless explanations and agitation only "get the job off your hands." Only grayness and formalism can come from this; an internal need is not born in the workers.

There are relatively few officials in the trade union movement who are good speakers. There are few who know how to speak so that they can present the essence to the workers briefly, in a way they can understand. The trade union committees must seek out those activists with whom it is worth dealing from this viewpoint. A number of people's tribunes were educated in the trade union movement before the liberation. Today their number is very small and this is not good; in the years ahead this situation must and will be changed because to the extent that the activity of the trade unions among the masses becomes more lively and colorful there must be an increasing number of more active officials who know how to do this work, having the vocabulary, capable of arguing and speaking.

But this also requires that there be greater scope in the work of trade union officials for struggle, for political action for the realization of our goals.

This struggle presumes independence, an ability to think and debate, to argue, the ability to persuade. Such work can offer profound, influential activity; such work can bring to the trade unions that "tranquil political background" which is offered by the understanding of the membership, their many-sided awareness of trade union work and their participation in it. It is easier to hide behind the concepts of "social interest" and the "difficult economic situation", constantly repeating them, than to struggle with the broader and more numerous economic and movement possibilities deriving from the independence of the enterprises.

With the independence of the enterprises the trade unions got into their hands an opportunity with the aid of which a good bit more can be done for effective economic work at the place of work, making it easier to explain the tasks and the material interdepenencies in the execution of tasks and offering a greater opportunity to mobilize the entire collective to uncover local reserves.

The tasks and methods of the trade union in the interest of the same goal are different from those of the economic leaders. This "different" task and method, the different opinion and point of view, involve the possibility of debate. This offers a means for thinking and acting with the membership in the interest of carrying out enterprise tasks. Socialist society has created for the first time on a mass scale the possibility for real political participation. This is a great thing, but its realization is a long process. Conviction is an inexhaustible source of energy, and it can be created only with participation, mass work and quality agitation and propaganda.

With the increasing independence of the enterprises agitation and propaganda have new opportunities. There are more local arguments, increasingly tangible to the workers, regarding the interdependence of results and distribution, the fate of the individual and work well done by the community. Now these arguments are not realized indirectly. They show directly the tasks and interdependencies of real life, that there is a direct relationship between production and distribution. So in agitation and propaganda work the arguments--what one should talk about, how one should persuade--are in the hands of the trade union stewards, in the tasks of the enterprise, institution or place of work, and in the tasks of the small collectives and individuals. Advantage must be taken of these arguments, to argue and work. There is no aid coming from above which is more effective than this because they cannot give better aid from above. Life itself, the life and tasks of the small and large community, provide, indeed deluge one with arguments. Adpating to the people involved in the work one must find therein the arguments which speak to persons. Not isolated from work or outside of it, but in the midst of everyday work.

The workers justly expect from the trade unions more sprightliness, more ideas, a more colorful life. More initiatives must be taken from them at the place of work, not only in connection with work but in connection with every motif of the life of the workers.

To See and Make One See

The trade union is a mass organization, a movement. It has always had the important task of aiding, representing and defending the policy of the worker class, aiding

it, understanding it and transforming it into deeds. So is it now also. But now this requires more understanding, more and more responsille work. It must help to realize the good policy; and the tools and strength for this are there. We have the rights needed for this and we have the respect. But more effective exploitation of the possibilities is lacking.

In our homeland the responsibility of the trade union movement consists of seeing and understanding and making other see and understand, that the current economic goals are correct and necessary, supporting their realization with all strength, while standing guard over the achievements affecting the living and working conditions of the workers, especially at the places of work. This requires positive public thinking on a social scale, at the place of work and nationally. This does not come into being automatically because it arises and appears in the daily life and work of individual people, in the support of socialist values. It is the obligation of agitation and propaganda to help create such an atmosphere, help "to see and make one see" the present and the future. The trade union should help people to act against neglect, carelessness, irresponsibility and lack of understanding, help to develop public thinking on a social scale which rejects these things. This is a realistic requirement, because our every act will meet with the social feeling of justice of the workers.

Such public thinking appears in the daily life and daily work of people, in the support of socialist human values. So that "great politics" should be felt in every motif at the placesoof work also. Taking this into consideration the trade unions must deal with every task deriving from their mission. Agitation work and the mass work of the trade unions must make these things felt, this is the soul of their actiiity. If this activity is simply "worked off" anywhere it will lead to grayness and formalism and create apathy.

The question is, Can we carry out such activity and create such an atmosphere? There is no doubt that we can. But it must be understood that the "struggle" for man has sharpened under present conditions. We must win them, influence them, encourage them and strengthen their faith and trust in our policy in practice. We must have an effect on individuals, amidst the differences, values and qualities of men. This forcessthe entire trade union movement to come closer to individual people. The stewards especially must be able to get closer to incividual people. They must be made to feel--virtually every day--that what we want is what the workers want.

One of the chief weaknesses of trade union work today is that it does not support itself adequately--but only in a campaign fashion--on the hundreds of thousands of activists, and the activity of the membership too is rather sporadic. This must be changed by increasing the movement character and influencing power of trade unions activity. In trade union work today we are making great efforts to face the fact that some of the workers are not yet entirely communal men, especially not men of the socialist type. The liberation in 1945 did not mean automatic liberation from traditions and habits. This means an ideological struggle in the activity of the trade union, many-sided daily activity and mass work for the realization of socialist principles and socialist values. The trade unions could do especially much to strengthen the socialist power if they did this in a quality way.

One must also take into consideration in agitation and propaganda work that a new offensive phase of imperialism is commencing. From this viewpoint agitation and propaganda work cannot be done as if nothing had changed. We can do much for peace, for the struggle against war, if our ideology and the domestic practice are realized more consistently. But it is not only we who explain our policy and deeds. So agitation and propaganda are forced to battle virtually every day, and in this battle the authenticity of our practice is one of our chief strengths.

8984
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RESULTS OF CIVIL DEFENSE EXERCISES EVALUATED

Budapest POLGARI VEDELEM in Hungarian No 12, Dec 81 pp 4-5

/Article by Colonel Ivan Pataky: "Experiences With Plant Exercises"/

/Text/ One of the central tasks of training in the coming years will be complex civil defense exercises in our plants. This exercise form, new in substance and methods, received nationwide recognition after the 1979-1980 procedural demonstrations, among others, for example, the GANZ-MAVAG Motor exercises under the cover name "Turbina" and the HODIKOT exercises. Some of my readers may be surprised at my statement and in the 3-year-old past of civil defense they will point to dozens of places where plant exercises have been conducted. These doubters are right, but still mistaken. It is a fact that our plant civil defense organs conducted exercises already in 1951. At the same time, it is a fact that the entire civil defense organization of the plants and the workers who were not given assignments in the organizations--and in fact, their family members--embracing the total anticipated war-time task of the plant and working it out with a complex method, was evident for the first time in the exercises conducted at GANZ-MAVAG.

Since this procedural demonstration, nearly 2 years have passed. In the second half of last year, several procedural or training type exercises were held. Complex civil defense exercises were carried out this year in 1981 in the country as a whole on the basis of a long-term plan with the guidance of all the ministries, the capital city, megye, capital-city district and megye and city councils, and the district (jaras) offices in a whole series of enterprises, state farms and agricultural cooperatives under their supervision and management.

We were able to observe and supervise a significant part of these exercises. The processing and analysis of these experiences is now underway. Without trying to be complete, I believe I can outline and generalize about a number of positive and negative experiences. These will afford help, to a certain extent, in organizing and planning future exercises.

Issues of our newspaper which have appeared in the past 2 years have discussed as a recurring problem the misunderstanding or lack of understanding of the world "complex" in every article dealing with this subject. At that time the most difficult problem was the inertia deriving from custom and routine. The overcoming and understanding of the limits was a problem in that--although the locale was still the plant--we were discussing an exercise that was qualitatively new in form and substance. The year 1981 showed that as a result of powerful and tenacious refresher training and enlightenment work the civil defense commanders and subcommanders in our plants and cooperatives not only understood but accepted the complexity essence of the plant exercises. They recognized its importance in the system of civil defense training and its usefulness in executing the war-time preparatory tasks of the cooperative.

The exercises that were organized and executed in the autumn of this year also met, without exception, the complexity requirement. I regard this as an extremely important development because we were able to concentrate our resources not on convincing the leaders but on improving the quality of the exercises.

And on the other hand, all the organs of civil defense were able to devote their liberated time and energies to the preparation, organization and executive of the exercises.

A significant degree of development is evident in the planning, organizational and guidance work of the plant civil defense commanders. As a result of the systematically executed training tasks, staff drills, staff leadership exercises, the plant units worked in a much more organized way than formerly. They rapidly selected, evaluated and fixed on operational maps or in other documents the incoming information, which they received in the form of prior directions, evaluation communications or reports. After analyzing and evaluating the information, most of them judged correctly the situation, as it developed, and made well-founded recommendations to the plant civil defense commanders. The decisions and orders of the commanders were for the most part concise, correct, and to the point. Obviously, their work was facilitated by the fact that as economic managers they had significant leadership experience and practice. They could decisively and rapidly select the most essential tasks which had developed in the exercises, and they attended primarily to these. This very important experience in complex plant exercises verified and affirmed the correctness of another basic principle of our preparatory system: in building on knowledge and experiences acquired in civilian life we should train leaders and subordinates alike only for those tasks which are specifically civil defense in nature. Accordingly, we needed to instruct a commander--a plant, state or economic manager a tsz /producer cooperative/ chairman--not in how to lead as this is what he does everyday, but how to execute tasks under the special circumstances of war in a catastrophic situation. I believe, and it is shown by this year's exercises, that in the course of the preparatory work and exercises of future years we will be able to build more purposefully and decisively on the civilian training and experiences of our special services and self-defense organization personnel.

The cooperation, organizational and guidance ability of our commanders and staffs has increased significantly. While formerly a large part of the plant command was satisfied with working out a task or time graph, which it applied on the basis of the time plans that were prepared, the large majority of specialists in the rescue work coordinated their activities in detail on the site and locale. They followed the work attentively and concerned themselves with the continuity of the cooperation.

As a result of this activity, the work of the subunits became smoother and more continuous, and the individual work phases were organically linked to one another, and the various specialized units worked as they observed and helped one another.

The results, as sketched above, are clear proof of development. But we cannot ignore the fact that there are still considerable errors in planning, organization and execution. Among other things, we should mention that excessive planning still exists, or "working by the kilo." For example, at one state farm in the area between the Danube and the Tisza, where otherwise exercises have been well carried out, they gave a word-for-word description in the plan for the activities, measures and instructions of leaders at every level. We have often written about the damaging effect of such an approach on the creativeness of the commanders, and thus without

being repetitive we shall merely state that fotunately the leaders built on their own preparedness and not on the plans. This is how practice became truly alive. To return to our beginning thought, there are still a rather considerable number of errors that can be ascribed in part to adherence to old custom, in part to superficiality, and in part to a poor evaluation of the situation and to training weaknesses. Their elimination, "liquidation" would increase by a great deal the quality of future exercises. That is why I have gathered a "bouquet" of such errors so that it will be possible to learn from them.

The first stems in the "bouquet" consist of bad planning errors. Without placing them in the order of their importance, here are several examples:

In some places they measured the real dimensions of the exercise erroneously and did not bring it in harmony with the possiblities of the civil defense subunits to be used. For example, they allotted a relatively small extent of damage area in one of our beer factories. The applied forces "ate up" in reality the damage area. Extinguishing the fires required 12 minutes, finding the wounded, rescuing them and carrying out the rescue work required 35 minutes, and thus the entire operation lasted 47 minutes. If we add to this the relief work and services for the wounded, it lasted one hour and a half. Although it was a spectacular and well-conducted exercise, the weakness is obvious: the performed work did not compel the rescue forces to serious efforts. Unfortunately, we also encountered elsewhere exercises which require relatively little effort. Above all, this has a bad moral effect. Since both in exercises, in preparatory work, and in evaluation it is constantly heard that the situation presented is close as possible to reality, the idea may develop among civil defense personnel that they can work relatively easily, with little effort, and successfully in a catastrophic situation. But when they face the real thing, the task may prove unsolvable, and they will collapse.

I frankly admit that neither I nor any of my colleagues saw this year an exercise where they had to work at least 8 hours without rest and with full effort to the end of the rescue work. It would be worthwhile to compare the actual time for the exercises with the rescue norms prescribed in the technical norm manuals, for example, the time requirement for trenches, rescue tunnels, breaking through a wall, and so forth. If the planners make actual calculations, they will find that they have eased the requirements everywhere. The motives for this turn of mind can be sought for in the desire to spare the workers, for the exercises are held on Saturdays, and therefore why should they be "made to suffer." Let us compare the truth of this thinking with a war-time or flood situation, and let us decide between the two: which is the realistic requirement, where they ease the requirements and this becomes the habitual way, or where they require maximum effort?

The misunderstanding of the concept of "economically useful" tasks signifies planning, organization or execution errors. In a number of plants they have interpreted this requirement to mean that under the pretext of a complex civil defense exercise they would carry out a large housecleaning operation in the plant.

"Yesterday they held a complex civil defense exercise at the plant..." writes the ZALAI HIRLAP on 17 October 1981. "In the framework of the exercise the enterprise workers also performed economically useful work, they gathered together a large quantity of scrap iron and delivered it to MEH /Trash and Garbage Collection Trust/." Since I did not witness the exercise and only read the negative report in the megye newspaper, I immediately conceived of a number of questions! What does this have do to with civil defense tasks? Are we a civil defense or cleanup enterprise? Who received the money from MEH? And did they spend it on civil defense? And so on.

This is not a lone instance! In the case of such exercises, the civil defense commander of the enterprise forgets that he is a commander, not only an economic manager. And as a commander in the given case he is also legally responsible for the lives of the workers. Authority as a commander means first of all responsibility and with it right of authority! Commanders with an outlook like this--fortunately they are negligible in number--do not take seriously the defense policy or our party and government, the laws and decrees which represent it and are binding on him also.

We can also give many examples of the opposite kind. Exercises where economically useful work has been built in a planned way into civil defense tasks. Light restoration, demolition, strengthening, disinfecting of animals, and so forth--I could add to the list--are all examples where the civil defense task is the same as the economic task, where it is possible to work profitably without causing harm to the civil defense work. Of course, if I write of demolition, I am thinking of the technical rescue subunits and not of the sanitary affairs people.

In summary, it is a correct and useful effort to link the exercises with economically useful work, but this cannot for a moment be done at the expense of civil defense tasks.

Under all circumstances, civil defense is the primary goal and not concern over whether the producer cooperative or the state farm, for example, has lagged behind in corn snapping or in sugar beet harvesting, and therefore on some Saturday or Sunday the workers are ordered out to do this work on the pretext of civil defense.

I wanted to draw attention to these several matters. They do not spoil the overall successful nature of the exercises, but they do have a disturbing effect. We must therefore keep a watch on them. Most are of the kind that with a little bit of upper level--ministerial, capital city, megye, district (jaras)--attention they can be eliminated in the planning period. This is what I wanted to achieve with this article. A greater attentiveness.

6691
CSO: 2500/127

ALLOWANCE PAYMENTS TO MILITARY PERSONNEL DESCRIBED

Budapest MAGYAR KOZLONY in Hungarian No 77, 12 Dec 81 pp 1237-1238

/Joint Decree No 4/1981 of 12 December of the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Health and Ministry of Finance on Certain Allowance Payments to Military Personnel and Their Dependents/

/Text/ On the basis of authorization granted in Article 151 paragraph (1) of the Council of Ministers Decree No 6, 1976 of 31 March (hereinafter R) for the execution of Law No 1 of 1976 on military defense, we decree as follows in agreement with the interested ministries and the National Council of Trade Unions:

(re Article 86 of R)

Article 1

An individual small farmer, an artisan, a private tradesman, a work team, the member of an industrial, service or agricultural trade group, or some other who earns his livelihood from incidental work wages should receive 100 forints daily--calculated by work days--for participating in civil defense exercises, or if the exercise lasts under 8 hours he should be paid an amount proportional to the time put in.

(re Article 94 of R)

Article 2

(1) The basic sum for establishing the basis of family assistance on behalf of a dependent living together with an enlisted man is 1,560 forints monthly. For each additional person the sum is increased by 70 percent over the sum established for the first person.

(2) The sum for establishing the basis of family assistance on behalf of a dependent living separately from an enlisted many is 1,250 forints monthly, and for each additional person the sum is increased by 60 percent over the sum established for the first person.

(re Article 96 of R)

Article 3

Total family assistance amounts to the earnings of those requiring maintenance, or the income from any source whatsoever, and the differnce between the defined sum in Article 2 paragraph (1) or (2), with regard to Article 8.

(re Article 100 of R)

Article 4

(1) For the reserve conscript mentioned in paragraphs (3) and (4) of Article 100 in R, a daily income supplement of 100 forints per day, calculated in working days, must be paid as assistance for a period of military service not exceeding 10 days.

(2) In the case of reserve military service exceeding 10 days the combined sum of the pay granted by the armed forces (the organ where the service is performed) and of the payment in kind must be supplemented to 3,000 forints monthly by income supplement assistance.

(re Articles 109-110 in R)

Article 5

(1) Sick benefit assistance defined in paragraph (1) is also extended to the conscript who is not in the work relation (cooperative membership relation) mentioned in Article 110 in R.

(re Article 121 in R)

Article 6

For the widow, parent, or parentless child of one who dies a hero, no pension can be established which amounts individually to less than 2,050 forints monthly, or to a parentless child to less than 1,450 forints monthly.

(re Article 126 in R)

Article 7

(1) The smallest accident provision and pension provision--with the exception of the accident allowance--cannot be less than the smallest sum for accident disability pension in a Group I disability.*

(2) The accident allowance must be established on a basis of at least 2,100 forints monthly.

Article 8

(1) In the first instance on 1 January 1983 and thereafter on 1 January of every year, the basic sum for family assistance (Article 2), the basic sum for income supplement (article 4 paragraph (2), the accident pension provision for the widow, parent and parentless child of one who dies a hero (Article 7, paragraph (1)), and the basic sum for accident allowance (Article 7, paragraph (2)) will increase according to rules for the regular annual rise in pension and other provisions.

(2) The sums that are raised according to paragraph (1) above are paid by the SZOT /National Council of Trade Unions/ Social Security Inspectorate Pension Administration, without further determination, on the date due.

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*Beginning on 1 January 1982, a total monthly sum of 1,900 forints.

Article 9

This decree is valid on 1 January 1982. Its orders must be applied for stated provisions before the decree comes into effect. Simultaneously, Joint Decree No 1/1976 of 31 March by the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Finance loses its validity. Wherever a statutory provision refers to Joint Decree No 1/1976 of 31 March by the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Finance, the corresponding provision of the present decree must be understood.

Lajos Czinege
Minister of Defense

Dr Emil Schultheisz
Minister of Health

Dr Istvan Hetenyi
Minister of Finance

6691
CSO: 2500/110

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI COMMENTARY ON GROMYKO VISIT NOTED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by Stefan Zielicz: "A Natural and Unfailing Ally"]

[Text] 'It was a working visit in a candid, unreserved and friendly atmosphere in the course of which we discussed all problems of interest to our two countries, including the problems of our continued relations of friendship and cooperation.'

This was a nutshell description of a trip to Moscow by Polish People's Republic Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek , Politburo member and PZPR central committee secretary. His trip certainly did not take would public opinion by surprise because mutual Polish-Soviet contacts on various levels see one manifestation of those relations of close and comprehensive cooperation and mutual assistance, linking our two states and nations for nearly forty years and dating back to WW II and our joint armed struggle against our mutual Nazi enemy. As decades pass, international situation changes together with the conditions under which we are bound to live and forge a common future, yet the merit of our alliance with the Soviet nations is reconfirmed under any conditions and in all political patterns.

The tradition of friendship and many-sided close cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the Soviet Union is referred to in a joint communique on Minister Czyrek's visit and his talks in Moscow with Politburo Central Committee member and KPZR Central Committee secretary Mikhail Suslov and Central Committee Politburo member Andrey Gromyko, Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"The parties expressed their unfailing belief, the communique says, that these relations based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism will be further strengthened and developed under the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Polish People's Republic and the Soviet Union through active participation of both countries in the multilateral defensive-political alliance of socialist countries--Warsaw Pact--and in the Council for Mutual Economic Cooperation."

These statments on several decades of cooperation of our two countries receive especial significance from Minister Czyrek's visit having taken place in a particular political setting. Forces inimical to the entire socialist community, quite intensely engaged in attempts to oppose Poland to the Soviet Union after the

the imposition of martial law in Polish People's Rppublic, have launched against both countries a propaganda campaign accompanied by pressure measures identifiable as interference in external matters of the Polish People's Republic. In this setting, the proverbial hour of truth had come for our international relations. On the one hand, masks have dropped from the faces of those who until recently have declared their disinterested propensity for our country and now are trying to penalize it with economic sanctions for the developments in Poland's internal matters taking a course contrary to the plans and desires of reactionary imperialist forces.

On the other hand, this situation lets us even more readily to appreciate the invaluable advantage of collaboration with the Soviet ally who, as usual, did not fail. Accordingly, the Foreign Affairs Minister of the Polish People's Republic thanked both the leadership of the Soviet state and all working people of the Soviet Union for "extending brotherly support and assistance and supplying goods and raw materials of exceptional importance for the Polish national economy in a difficult period for the Polish People's Republic." On his part, Minister Gromyko assured that socialist Poland can, as until now, be certain of her Soviet ally's support for her efforts designed to overcome the difficulties with which our country is coping. The joint communique gave expression to the belief that "the Polish People's Republic, an important segment in the socialist community occupying a highly important place in the European system of equilibrium and peace, will successfully deal with these difficulties, aided by her allies and friends.

During his visit Minister Czyrek discussed with his Soviet hosts key problems in Europe's political situation. It is easy to identify complete convergence of national and state interests of the two allied countries and their governments' common stand based on that convergence.

This convergence stems from the geopolitical situation of the Polish nation for whom the Eastern neighbor is a natural mainstay and ally and from systemic common political system of our two socialist countries, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

Our alliance, collaboration and friendship fully agree with vital interests of both states and nations. This alliance, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union are a fundamental precondition for ensuring security for the Polish People's Republic, for our country's prevailing in the crisis, and for continued prosperous development.

This conclusion is drawn from both the severe trials history did not spare us in the years of World War II and from affirmative experience of the most recent decades of fruitful cooperation with the Soviet neighbor and ally, one who is simply natural and, precisely because of that, unfailing.

8795
CSO: 2600/291

MILITARY STAFF CHIEF DEFENDS IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 23 Dec 81 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Col (master degree) Mieczyslaw Cieslik, chief of the Voivodship Military Headquarters, by Henryk Zawira: "In Accordance with the Spirit and Letter of the Law"; date and place not given]

[Question] For several days now we have been living under martial law. But here and there one hears the question: Was the declaration of martial law necessary?

[Answer] If we recall the situation in our country just prior to 13 December, then it is easy to see that the government was almost completely paralyzed. This came about because of the extensively conducted activity administered directly in state organs, the lack of respect for elementary principles of binding laws and finally the policies carried out by antisocialistic forces hostile to the state.

One also should not forget such detrimental practices as the paralysis of all government initiatives to set the economy in order, incessant strikes that disorganized our economic life, destroyed coproduction links, devastated the market and improverished our economy. Solidarity, in taking under its protection various types of representatives of illegal groups and parties and guaranteeing their safety, introduced into its arsenal of activities many elements of terror, physical as well as mental, which represented a threat to the health, life and property of the citizen.

[Question] Were these latter activities put into practice?

[Answer] Of course they were. The so-called wheelbarrow method was notorious in Poland. Party activists were threatened; party organizations were terrorized, isolating them, and attempts were made to eliminate them in the workplaces; the families of state functionaries, including their children, were mentally persecuted. State buildings were occupied, making it impossible to conduct administrative activities; deputies and members of the Sejm were threatened. Preparations were under way to take over people' councils, television and radio stations. Finally assault squads were organized to take over the government by armed force.

[Question] Certainly that is quite a lot, but did this justify the declaration of martial law?

[Answer] Article 32, paragraph 2 of the Constitution of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] clearly states that "the Council of State can implement martial law in all or part of the PRL if so required for the defense or security of the State." Does not what we discussed earlier represent a threat to the security of the state?

Of course--as Gen Jaruzelski said--it was not a matter of days but of hours that separated us from a national catastrophe, from a fratricidal civil war. Is this not enough?

[Question] Of course it is. But martial law carries with it enormous difficulties for the entire society, for each one of us. Must we bear the burdens of martial law because of the antisocial activities of a group of agitators hiding behind Solidarity's sheid?

[Answer] There is no way that we can shield people who have committed no offense from those hardships of martial law. Unfortunately they must reconcile themselves to the fact that civil rights have been restricted, that the special actions of martial law are subject to strict enforcement. But today, of course, the vast majority of people are not threatened. Every day we have much proof that the people support our actions and they are with us.

The hardships of martial law concern above all those who z ojczyzny uczynili sobie folwark [translation unknown], those who, in advocating a no-work policy, attempted to make strikes and protests a way of life and finally all those driven by hate for socialism who would like to destroy the country with the hands of the workers and bring down the government.

These hardships also affect those who in taking advantage of the chaos, anarchy and lawlessness were willing to prey upon the people to amass a fortune. They also affect the entire social structure.

Our goals are superior goals: the return of law and order, the just division of manufactured goods, respect for law, stabilization and worker self-government. In other words, we wish to return to a proper, normal functioning of the state, to a sense of security and justice.

[Question] But do the special laws that were introduced and their related practice have the imprint of legality?

[Answer] Not only do they have the imprint of legality, they are legal. Article 32 of PRL's Constitution empowers the Council of State to declare martial law, and all enforcements of this state of martial law are a consequence of it.

[Question] We have martial law, but there is not war. Some people do not understand this.

[Answer] The basic difference between a state of martial law and state of war is important.

A state of war as described in paragraph 1 of article 32 of the Constitution is declared only in two cases: if the state is attacked or if Poland goes to war because of international obligations from treaties of alliances and thus has external legal consequences.

A state of martial law, however, is declared when the security of the state is being directly threatened internally and the legal consequences are internal affairs.

[Question] Nonetheless they are constitutional regulations that lack detailed rules.

[Answer] This matter is regulated by two basic legal acts: the act of the Council of State of 12 December 1981 (GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS AND LAWS GAZETTE, No 29, 14 Dec 1981) and Resolution No 9/81 of the Committee for the Defense of the Country of 12 December 1981 regarding militarization, that was issued on the basis of the regulations of the law of 21 November 1967 concerning the universal obligation to defend the PRL.

By no means should we forget other legal acts such as the decree of the Council of State expanding the authority of military courts over a number of the most serious offences and subjectively over people employed in militarized enterprises; the decree on the specific provision for martial law, implementing summary procedures in the legal proceeding of the public and military courts for offenses that pose the most serious social threat and for expanding the scope of simplified and accelerated proceedings and the discontinuance of criminal proceedings relative to certain categories of offences committed before 13 December 1981.

[Question] The people are unaware of all these legal acts, and perhaps that is why there is so much uncertainty.

[Answer] On the contrary, all existing regulations have been made public. Not only were the basic resolutions of these regulations publicized daily on TV and radio and in the press, but also they were fully discussed many times. It is not necessary here to name all the laws and rules.

[Question] Are not these rules the laws of a state of emergency?

[Answer] No, our legal system does not provide for a state of emergency. According to the formula of the bourgeois states, a state of emergency is the dissolution of representative organs from the parliament inclusive, the dissolution of the government, political parties and social organizations. It also means the dissolution of trade unions.

[Question] What happens in Poland?

[Answer] We have not dissolved even one of these institutions. We have only suspended for the duration of martial law the activities of some social organizations and trade unions--we have suspended and not dissolved them. If we had a state of emergency, then the legal consequences would be, among other things, the delegalization of trade unions, which would mean that membership in these unions would be a prosecutable offence severely punishable under the law.

[Question] Nevertheless a number of individuals were interned and some were arrested; are these not elements of a state of emergency?

[Answer] They are the consequences of martial law. The internment of some individuals from the executive and leadership ranks of Solidarity, who represented in

this union the interests of illegal political groups under the banner of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee], KPN [Committee for an Independent Poland] and others, was necessary for the internal security of the country. These individuals relinquished their rights the moment proper conditions for this arose. But only those people were arrested whose activities are contrary to the regulations of martial law. People who commit these offences will be subject to severe regulation concerning penal liabilities in summary proceedings. Unfortunately all of us must understand that when the state is threatened internally there are no other solutions.

[Question] Will these martial law enforcements last long?

[Answer] It is difficult to answer that question. We all believe that it should be as short as possible. We should all see to that. The martial law decree clearly states the possibility of temporizing this state and even cenceling it. In accordance with the decree, the government, ministers of the ministries, governors and mayors have the right to repeal or temper many hardships resulting from martial law.

However, in order to do this, specific conditions must exist. There must be social peace, the threat to public law and order must disappear and, finally, normal work and living conditions must return.

[Question] Daily practice indicates that all these elements are beginning to return slowly.

[Answer] That is correct. More and more workers are showing signs of understanding the difficult situation. We see increasing numbers of examples of social support for our energetic disciplinary actions. Evidence of the peoples' cooperation is increasing. This is a great help in our justified efforts to assure law and order and security. It assures us in our belief that the goal to introduce all the achievements of democracy, to realize all the postulates of August resulting from the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzeb agreements will be achieved faster; we can never back away from these goals. They are the guarantee for breaking away from the old, bad habits of governing to which there is no return.

[Question] In the name of the readers of GLOS ROBOTNICZY, thank you for the discussion.

[Answer] Thank you very much.

11899
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ROLE, ATTITUDES OF RESERVISTS DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 30 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Lt Col Dr Bronislaw Getka: "Reserve Soldiers Fulfill Their Tasks in an Exemplary Fashion"]

[Text] After martial law was declared, it became clear to every citizen that an endeavor must be made to restore law and order and to guarantee the safety of our people as quickly as possible. In this area the armed forces, including soldiers called from the reserves to active duty, take on special tasks.

W. Przybyl, J. Kepski and H. Rosenberg are subunit reserve officers who evince deep concern over the fate of the country and their loved ones. Through the exemplary execution of their military obligations, they demonstrate their patriotism and responsible attitude toward the decisions of the Military Council of National Salvation. In their discussions they accept the need to take radical measures against the enemies of socialism who under the pretext of workers' demands wanted to lead them into a confrontation against the authorities.

Reserve Sgt Gregorz Kozak believes that the severest punishment obligatory under martial law should be meted out to the troublemakers and instigators, and the judgments passed out by the military courts should be publicized on radio and TV and in the press. It would serve as a warning to those who are still waiting for the opportune moment, who have not gotten over their hatred for the party and the government and who still want at any cost to take advantage of the working peoples' sentiments in order to accomplish their own extremist goals and thus lead to bloodshed.

In the subunit where Reserve Sgt Zbigniew Karwacki, an on-duty noncommissioned officer, is performing his service despite very difficult housing conditions, exemplary order reigns. Hot coffee is always available. The soldiers eagerly gather about the officers for discussions. All replies are unequivocal, filled with concern about the fate of the country. They are proud that they can help the fatherland, which finds itself in an extreme situation. They have families, wives and children who stayed at home, but their sworn duty takes first place. This is how the reservists are.

Some of them are very familiar with the unit. Among them, some have served in it several times during military exercises. Now, however, they serve in a different role, under martial law. Most of these people--dressed in soldiers' uniforms--are peasants and workers. They came to the unit directly from the factories and surrounding farms to fulfill their civic and military duties for the fatherland.

They are simple people, sincere; they are devoid of hypocrisy. Thus the bitter words are understandable and so are the often asked question: How did the country get into this state of affairs? Who is inciting Polish workers against the government? During the discussions and at times during the heated disputes, the answer to the questions is becoming increasingly crystal clear. They conclude that Messrs. Jurczyk, Bujak, Michnik, Kuron and others, all of them giving comfort to the enemy, under the cover of Solidarity and through KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and KPN [Committee for an Independent Poland], appeared in the role as champions of the working class but in reality wanted to seize power in Poland by pushing the nation into the abyss of a fratricidal civil war. Convinced of this, the soldiers are realizing their program of service and training with greater commitment.

Propagandists play an important role, Withoug a moment's hesitation they explain the political problems that are perplexing the reservists, informing them of what is actually happening in Poland and abroad. They see to it that news reaches the subunits on time; they deliver the material to the propaganda truck, where the news in turn is broadcast on the air in its final form by Sgt Romuald Stasinski. Among the reserve soldiers doing an outstanding job as propagandists are Cpl M. Prazmo, Cpl Z. Cyran, Master Sgt P. Ostrowski and Sgt T. Przesniak. From the very moment the reserve units were organized, the party committees--POP [Primary Party Organization] and OOP [District Party Organization]--as well as the party youth groups in the platoons, have been functioning well. The secretary of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Committee, Reserve 2nd Lt Ryszard Kuziola, knows and implements the statutory tasks. As a worker of the PZPR KM [City Committee], he has much experience in party work. Other reserve political officers--for example, Lt Henryk Kot, 2nd Lt Jerzy Tys, 2nd Lt Jan Wojcik, 2nd Lt Czeslaw Wilczopolski and line officers 2nd Lt J. Maciejewski, 2nd Lt R. Witkowski and 2nd Lt B. Ochnik--are working very actively. Thanks to their efforts, the job is proceeding in accordance with military rules and regulations.

Undoubtedly the meals have a positive effect on the soldiers' frame of mind. The delicious and calorific breakfests, lunches and dinners are praised by the consumers in uniform. The soldiers are pleased with the chief of the kitchen, Staff Sgt S. Kucharczyk, and the cooks, Master Sgt J. Dudek and Sgt A. Baczynski. Not only the food service is good. All quartermaster services are provided unconditionally to the satisfaction of the soldiers and cadres. Tents, day-rooms and field canteens are equipped with necessary furnishing and cultural-educational material as well as, with stoves to heat the rooms. Despite their difficult housing conditions and worries over family affairs, the mood of the reserve soldiers is good. They understand quite well that the declaration of martial law was necessary in order to foil the anarchy that reigned among us not too long ago.

Comrade A. Dudek, a political officer and long-time member of the party, ascertains, "I was fully convinced that the criminal plans regarding the nation will be thwarted. The Party's authority among the public will increase gradually. If our enemies believe that we--members of the PZPR--will remain on the sidelines, then they are sadly mistaken." Reserve Cpl M. Zareba says, "Onyszkiewicz, Bujak, Kuron and others who are using the trade unions as a shield admittedly planned to overthrow the socialist system in Poland. Throughout the centuries whole generation shed their blood, especially during the last war when the flow of blood was great, so that such a system of social justice would arise."

Party and nonparty reservists state that they will not permit foreign forces to assume rule over our country. As soldiers they are most interested in the return of democratic norms of life in the country and that peace, law and order should reign. They stand on guard so that no spark ignited by enemy motives or common stupidity will become a treacherous flame threatening our national reasons of state.

11899
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DISCUSSION OF LAW ON HIGHER SCHOOLS REOPENED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by R. Moszczenska: "Discussion of the Law on Higher Schools"]

[Text] The deputies have begun to work on the law on higher schools. At a meeting of the subcommission on the law, drafts were presented for changes and views of the deputies' teams, which in the first half of December 1981 had conducted an analysis of individual sections and clauses in the government's draft of the law.

It is necessary to remember that this is the draft worked out by the codification commission under the direction of Professor Zbigniew Resich.

In the work completed by the teams, observations stated earlier by all interested bureaus, institutions, trade unions and organizations (including students') were considered. From the reports generated by the deputies chairing the teams, it appears that attempts were made to reconcile differences of opinions; to oppose economizing suggestions put forward by the minister of finance, especially as regards regulations concerning employees' issues; to make changes of a formal and organizational nature in the texts of some of the proposed law's clauses and chapters; and to bring order to the arrangement. In summary, however, the deputies' teams did not propose any changes that would in essence disturb the draft's idea; i.e., to grant to the students self-government and autonomy.

On the other hand, issues of a fundamental nature were brought up in the initial problematical discussions, in which invited representatives from bureaus and institutions, as well as the draft's authors, participated along with the deputies. These are not new issues; they were discussed again during work on the draft and provoked controversy after the sessions. In the opinion of this writer, an important and formal arrangement of school functions should take place: Should scientific activity be placed before didactic, or should it be the other way around? Also evident was too little recognition of the teaching function.

A fundamental question was the relation between the Main Council of Science and Higher Schools and the minister. The majority of the participants called for a strengthening of his position and a broadening of his authority as the institution responsible for the entirety of activity among the higher schools. Everyone agreed with the proposal put forward by the deputies' team that the Council of State have jurisdiction over the Main Council. (The draft assumes that this will solve disputed issues between the council and the minister.) The team's proposal to give

the deciding vote in revocatory matters to the collective organ with the highest degree did not provoke any opposition.

Another issue came up in the discussions. The principle of eligibility of school and faculty authorities was not negated; there was only a question as to whether to grant to the minister the right of contesting the election results. A concrete argument can be the events at the Radom Higher School of Engineering [WSI]. Also the rector--as presented in the discussions--should cooperate with the deans and with people whom he approved. Familiar and understood was the frequently stated observation that the role of self-governing science employees should be strengthened in every collective body, and that they take part in the administration of the school.

On the other hand, there was no discussion on the article giving students the right to strike. The deputies stated that the recent, shocking events in the schools force one to decide whether persons who do not produce goods can have the legal guarantee to strike. (We were the second state after Sri Lanka to recognize this right in law.) There were proposals to give students other forms to demonstrate their opinions and opposition, with the exception of stopping teaching.

In issues concerning the students, there was support for the proposal of the deputies' team to resign from any preferential treatment in admitting students for study but for the time being to maintain the current system. On the other hand, there was no discussion, beyond the statement by the representative from the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, of a more controversial problem--who decides on the creation of directions and specialties, as well as on the limits for admission to higher school studies?

There was much discussion on employee matters; e.g., the rotation of adjuncts. A proposal was made whereby for the good of school personnel policy, the principle of temporary employment of all academic teachers be adopted. It is worth emphasizing that the deputies' team, which had worked on the law, not only maintained employee privileges but also adopted many new formulations resulting from the new Teacher's Chapter prepared for teachers in lower schools.

As a result of these discussions, the deputies' teams obtained material for further work on the law. Among others, in the name of unity, they must integrate regulations dealing with, for example, the status of scientific employees with respect to the prepared drafts of laws on the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] and scientific institutions. At the conclusion, the director of the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, Mieczyslaw Kazimierczuk, also proposed a broader recognition of the opinion of the Council of Ministers on the draft law, especially because many of the elements supported by the council were discussed at Thursday's meeting with the deputies.

9807
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DISCUSSION ON INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian 20 Nov, 5 Dec 81

[Article by I. Iuga and I. Stanescu covering discussions organized by the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, the Academy of Social and Political Sciences and ERA SOCIALISTA on the topic: "The Operation of the Institutional System of Socialist Democracy in Romania']

[No 22, 20 Nov 81 pp 28-33]

[Text] The Romanian Communist Party gives priority attention to the development of democracy as an essential facet of the process of socialist construction. Beginning with the conditions provided by the new institutionalized framework, the essential requirement of the current stage is to ensure its proper operation and the full use of the opportunities that it offers. In this regard, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out: "The organs of our socialist democracy - the workers councils, the general meetings, the people's councils and the organs of democratic leadership at the national level - must acquire a more profound content and effectively serve as fora for responsible discussions and the just and effective resolution of all problems." In the spirit of these exigencies, the problems of the operation of the institutional system of workers democracy and the masses' participation in leadership, as well as the role of the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity [FSDU] and the mass and public organizations, became the subject of discussions organized by the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, the Academy of Social and Political Science and ERA SOCIALISTA. In this issue, we are publishing in abbreviated form the first part of the discussions.

University professor Gheorghe Badrus, prorector of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: This discussion dedicated to socialist democracy, the masses' participation in leadership and the operation of the institutional system of our socialist democracy, the role of the FSDU and the other mass and public organizations is taking place only a short time after a series of evaluations of great principled and practical importance conducted by the leadership of our party regarding the political system and socialist democracy. I would especially stress the remarkable speech made by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the Second Congress of the Workers Councils, where numerous new problems related to this subject were discussed, essential problems of workers democracy.

In referring to several aspects of the subject of our discussion, I would like to point out the relationship between the political and the economic in the process of developing socialist democracy. Similarly, I would like to point out the relationships

between the organisms of worker self-management and the state organs and, as a practical result, the means capable of bringing about the efficient operation of the democratic framework and the use and development of the masses' initiatives and experiences. A problem closely related to the operation of socialist democracy is that of resolving certain social contradictions within this democratic framework, relying upon this same democratic framework. Similarly, the relationship between the affirmation of the leading role of the party and the furthering of democracy deserves attention - a problem that is of a current nature in the confrontation of ideas with the adversaries of the theory of scientific socialism. I felt that it is necessary, in this content, for us to deal with the place and role of the FSDU and the manner in which this democratic, original organism is affirmed in our country and the experience that we have.

Tamara Dobrin, executive president of the National Council of the FSDU: Our party's view regarding the intensification of the masses' participation in leadership, both in the forms of direct democracy and in those of representative democracy, implies for research activities in the social sciences the requirement to more thoroughly study the place in our state held by the new broadly representative political organisms. Allow me, in arguing this point, to note some of the principles and realities represented by the FSDU, as well as its main functions in the political system of our society.

The creation of the FSDU took place in light of the decisions of historical importance of the Ninth RCP Congress which inaugurated a process of broad democratic openings in the affairs of our society, openings summarized in the principle, as stressed numerous times by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that "socialism is created with the people and for the people."

For the first time, in 1968, by creating the FSDU a permanent, institutionalized framework was given to the unified system for all the people to adhere to and express their political unity under the leadership of the party and within a broadly representative and revolutionary political organism. This point of reference is a moment organically integrated into the process of developing socialist democracy.

Through the group of measures that followed, the FSDU acquired a role of the greatest significance in the democratic system of our society. As is known, this broad political organism participates in the discussions on the draft programs for the country's economic and social development, for each county and for each town, making it possible to express the points of view, the interests and the options of the mass and public organizations that make up the FSDU, in a practical sense involving the broadest popular masses. The FSDU ensures worker review, a broadly democratic means for citizen participation in the resolution of problems of public interest. Within its framework, the "Platform of Democracy" is carried out in the form of monthly public meetings in all localities, an opportunity for the people to meet with representatives of the party and state organs and to decide together upon solutions regarding the improvement of living and working conditions. The FSDU has the broad responsibility in reference to providing political information to the masses of workers, spreading our party's views about the world and popularizing science, technology and culture. It organizes electoral campaigns, presents political platforms upon which the voters are asked to vote and it proposes candidates for representatives to the Grand National Assembly.

At comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative, the Organization of Socialist Democracy and Unity was created, thus achieving a new organizational form designed to ensure the direct participation of millions of workers in cities and villages who are not communists in the country's political affairs and in the management of public affairs. In the midst of a full development and maturing process, this organization contains over three million members.

With a broad area of concerns extending into the economic and social affairs of each unit, village and housing project, with important specific attributes and with an immense and diversified educational function corresponding to the political, scientific, cultural and artistic development of its members, the Organization of Socialist Democracy and Unity [OSDU] has before it a vast area of action. Following the 1981 elections, over 19,100 members of this organization are representatives in the people's councils at all levels, as well as in the Grand National Assembly. At the same time, this organization has its own forms of activities, is directly involved in its members' participation in getting information, understanding and applying the party's and state's domestic and foreign policies, and it initiates actions regarding public property.

Within the framework of the attributes outlined by the new FSDU statute, the relationships between the OSDU and the other mass and public organizations are ones of unified collaboration and cooperation.

All this points out that we are facing a development of the concept regarding the promotion of a new, revolutionary system for the participation of the masses in the approval of decisions and for the leadership of the country by the people. The furthering of this concept requires, among other things, that the research in the area of the social sciences will be centered upon new theoretical problems. In my opinion, an important subject is represented by the relationship between the citizens' organizations and those of the state.

We must say that in the operation of the new institutional framework some prerogatives and obligations are not being achieved in their efficient forms. I am speaking about, for example, the obligation of the representatives - an obligation outlined both in the electoral laws and in the attributes of the FSDU - to permanently appear before the meetings and plenums of the front in order to present the results that have been obtained and the manner in which the proposals made by the voters during the electoral campaign period are being carried out. This obligation is being carried out sporadically and frequently formally.

The relationship between the state organisms and the mass ones actually constitutes the problem of participation in self-management and self-administration. When the masses are convinced that their suggestions, proposals and observations have been evaluated and well-used, certainly they will be fully committed to solving the problems that appear in practical activities. I feel that this new problem will have to be the subject of certain complex interdisciplinary studies, outlining the ways to optimize it. Besides the aspects related to the role of reports and the means of discussion within the front and the activities of the representatives, we are also talking about at this time discussions in a broad framework about abuses, violations of the law and so forth, in the sense of bringing the masses into this activity of reviewing and supervising socialist legalities.

I think another problem facing social-political research is in optimizing the work methods of the mass and public organizations within the framework of the FSDU.

It happens, however, that in committing themselves through their own means to achieving our party's and state's policies and programs, while preserving their own functions and attributes, the mass and public organizations sometimes initiate - as practice has shown - actions that run parallel to each other. Or, repetitive requests from the same citizen to the different organizations to which he belongs, instead of mobilizing and favoring the full expression of the initiative, can frequently lead to a dispersal of forces.

The OSDU ought to carry out activities characterized primarily by actions and permanent initiatives.

Any tendency to transform the activities of the organizations of socialist democracy and unity into already-existing forms, with some of them containing a good dose of formalism, cannot lead to positive results. That is why, beyond the careful research into the manner in which the activities of the new structures are carried out and how they are shaped in the diverse sectors, in housing projects, in villages or in the large enterprises and factories, the training program for party cadre and the cadre in the mass and public organizations should more systematically cover the new problems raised by the existence of the FSDU and especially the OSDU. This is so since it was found that some leadership cadre throughout the country not only do not have experience with the relations of our new organization, especially at the level of the economic units, and with the masses, but also inappropriately handle the system of meeting with the masses of citizens which has been required ever more in recent years, including meetings within the framework of the "Platform of Democracy," always failing to achieve an appropriate openness and a climate for authentic dialogue between the organs of local administration of the state and the resident, workers and citizens.

I must also say that much of the participation of non-party members and members of the OSDU in the management organs in the enterprises, in cultural institutes, in the media and so forth without a doubt calls for a special attention and a democratic spirit in the discussion of problems, in keeping them permanently informed and in understanding the mandate that they have from their own organization and from the group that they represent. We feel that the numerical level and the social structure of the organizations of socialist democracy and unity thus constitute a guarantee for the effective expression of a participative, effective democracy in social-political affairs.

University professor Mihai Chioreanu of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: In the introductory statement, comrade Badrus suggested, among other things, as a subject for our discussions the relationship between the leading role of the party and the development of democracy. In connection with this, in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches we find valuable ideas which we have not put to sufficient use in our activities. I am thinking about, for example, the profoundly current thesis that our party leads not in the name of the working class, but together with the working class, not in the name of the people, but together with the people. This fundamental principle of social-political affairs in socialism as taken on profound significance regarding the direct and immediate participation of the working class and all the people in the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society. It seems to me that with regards to this thesis those who teach party education, and not just we, should reflect more upon and

bring forth arguments in explaining and sustaining it. At the same time, I am thinking about the fact that party's exercise of its role as the leading political force does not mean and should not lead, in practice, to the monopolization of the management of social processes. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has stressed, there should be a rethinking of the concept regarding the party's vanguard role under conditions where the party has over three million members and where a broadly representative framework and an organizational and institutional framework were created for democracy and the people's direct participation in leadership.

The decisive role that our party has in the achievement of socialist democracy and in the full expression of the human personality in the act of guiding social processes constitutes a thesis of special theoretical significance that calls for a thorough analysis. Therefore, these are all themes which we have the duty to analyze and to better argue them in the process of training cadre and in all political -ideological activities.

There is a dialectical relationship between the affirmation of our socialist democracy and internal party democracy. In the final analysis, the carrying out of the new principles of the new order and the spread of a democratic style of work and leadership in our entire society depend upon expressly the manner in which the values of democracy in general and of party democracy in particular are achieved in the party. The elements newly introduced into the party's statute by the 12th Congress point towards the effective achievement of the requirements of internal party democracy, which, naturally, will create for communists and the leadership cadre a democratic way of thinking and style of work and forms and methods for the democratic leadership of society. Naturally, at the basis of the great achievements made to date there are still things to be improved. In the spirit of what comrade Tamara Dobrin said, I am thinking, for example, about the aspects of formalism that we still frequently encounter. I also agree with the critical observations regarding the manner in which we include the current problems of FSDU activities in the educational process.

Dr Marin Nedelea: Recently, in the discussions about democracy, with this discussion being most edifying, as well as in the studies devoted to this subject, the definition of our socialist democracy as a participative democracy has gained circulation. Naturally, an essential factor for our socialist democracy and for ensuring its social efficiency, both in a political sense and in the sense of the influence exercised over economic progress and the development of the other spheres of activity, is ensuring the masses' participation in the management of society, in the discussion of problems, in the adoption of decisions and in their implementation. But, is this notion sufficient, this concept for expressing not just one, but all the essential facets of socialist democracy?

It is known that democracy represents a type of state and, as such, it has a class nature that constitutes the most encompassing denominator, in all aspects, of its essential characteristics. In this regard, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out the requirement for replacing the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat" with the concept of "workers democracy" or "a state of workers democracy."

In the literal and lexical meaning of the word, any democracy is without a doubt participative and only the nature and amount of the participation of the diverse

social and political components differ according to the nature of the democracy and its social-historical nature. It is clear that it would be nonsensical, at least in definitions, for us to attempt to define the degree of participation through the participative nature. In current terms, to speak of the people's participation in the leadership when we are defining the overall essence of socialist democracy also has the drawback of presuming that this actionhas a number of participants or even that the participant would be a type of second-class person who is attracted to the participation. Also, in the Constitution it is written that "all power in the Socialist Republic of Romania belongs to the people, that "the holders of power" are the people and no one else and that the people, therefore, "exercise this power" and do not merely "participate" in the exercise of it.

Beyond the difficulties in terminology stemming from the use of the word "participation," we believe there also exist circumstances of another order that have contributed to the special accentuation of the participative aspect up to the point of the unfounded attempt to present it as the overall, encompassing aspect of the essence of socialist democracy. First of all, the requirements for political actions to educate and involve the masses represent a permanent current tasks, even if, naturally, the level and scope of these actions continually increase. Second, the relatively new problem of combining the forms of representative democracy with those of direct democracy brings to the forefront aspects in which one cannot speak of the complete exercise of leadership, but actually the direct participation in the exercise of leadership in adequate organizational forms, alongside the organisms of state power and administration. Participation in the sense invoked here is clearly a facet, an aspect of democracy that cannot be substituted for the whole.

Another problem is that of the specific carrying out under Romania's conditions of confrontations and dialogues with other lines of thought, either hostile or merely different, from our fundamental concepts. The need to use a vocabulary that would be understood by the previous speakers sometimes led to the acceptance and very broad use in our publications and in theoretical discussions of the term "participation," initially stemming from psychology but insistently used by Western political science. To those in Western political science, the term "participative democracy" means a political system characterized by the adherence of the citizens to the respective system of political and social values. As a trait of social psychology, the political adherence of the masses represents without a doubt, under the conditions of socialism, a basic political objective and a premise and sine qua non condition for the appropriate operation of the political organism and the development of the social order and the state. For that reason, the use of the term participation, even with the mentioned significance, to define socialist democracy is, certainly, fully justified. The attempt, however, to singularize it in the explanation of the essence of socialist democracy has proven to be unjustified, in my opinion. The political concept of the masses' participation in leadership consitutes without a doubt an important instrument for defining the specific nature and superiority of socialist democracy, but not the only one and not the most general one for the overall, encompassing definition of its essence, which is one of worker democracy (a natural antonym for bourgeois democracy) and the power of all the people.

University professor Ion Florea of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: Socialist democracy is a complex process having qualitative determining factors which express the essence

itself of the new order and the organic unity between socialism and the democratic nature of social relations. Within this framework, I emphasize that true democracy is indissolubly tied to the establishment of social equality and equity in all areas of the social, economic and political system, in the relationships between the members of society and in the relationships between the different social classes and categories. The democratic process itself constitutes a fundamental dimension of socialism, while social equity refers to the essence of socialist democracy. Any deviation from the achievement of this principle profoundly affects the democratic operation of the new order and leads to the appearance of certain dysfunctions and contradictions that slow the progress of socialism at all levels. Some Western authors, in distorting the essence of socialist democracy, reduce it merely to the facet of mass participation. In their view, this - I am referring especially to the concepts of the representatives of "new rights" - would have a mystifying, leveling effect. The reality is that socialist democracy has nothing in common with such a view and with the substitution and confusion of values. It constitutes the most favorable framework for the realization of a spiritually, multilaterally affirmed rich human personality.

In a qualitative sense, socialist democracy also has an ideological-philosophical dimension in the sense that its consistent promotion involves an openness towards and a receptivity to everything that represents truth and scientific and cultural values on the level of thought and practice. It is incompatible with a dogmatic and reductionist spirit in theory and in practice and with any type of fetish or cannonization both of reality and especially of points of view elaborated at a given time and of theoretical concepts and approaches to reality.

A dialectical relationship to reality is an imperative both for social leadership and for a scientific theoretical approach that will take into account the pre-eminence of data that is continually changing in social-political affairs compared to our representations and concepts.

A consistent democratic spirit is incompatible with stagnation in thinking and with making absolute certain theories and concepts, certain forms and methods of social organziation and leadership and certain types and models of socialist revolution and construction and social organization, considered to have universal value and to be valid everywhere and everytime. On the contrary, true democracy and revolutionary spirit require the consistent promotion of new things in all the areas of socialist construction and in all social practices, and, if it is necessary, the rethinking of our representations and ideas in the light of revolutionary experiences and practices and the new trends and economic-social realities that are occurring on the domestic and international levels.

A consistently dialectic point of view involves the promotion of new things and a militant spirit in thought and in action and the admission of a diversity of methods and ways for the construction and evolution of socialism, including democratic organization and leadership. From this point of view, on the basis of a continuing development of socialist democracy noticeable progress had been achieved on the level of theoretical thinking and creating a climate appropriate to the scientific, creative dealing with our social and political realities.

In going beyond the narrow limits of a period of dogmatism, our party has promoted, along with the struggle against reactionary theories, a dialogue having progressive, democratic and innovative concepts in the areas of social philosophy and science. This dialogue of ideas constitutes the common note of dialectics as a theoretical means of approach and of democracy as a political system and style of social leadership. Dialogue and the free exchange of ideas and opinions form the substance itself of democracy and an ideological climate that is itself profoundly democratic. Thus, dialogue is also a means of stimulating thought about and understanding of realities on the part of political factors, of mutually enriching the political experience and thought of the masses and the leadership cadre, of making people aware and accepting political objectives and responsibilities of each work group and each citizen.

University lecturer Stana Buzatu of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: In continuing the ideas that have already been presented, I want to stress the requirement of using the theoretical aspects of the experiences of socialist democracy as an expression of the process itself of improving the methods of leadership and organization and of the operation of the social system. We frequently encounter in theoretical works and studies descriptions of facts that dominate to the disadvantage of analyses, and we sometimes ourselves prefer in our studies or discussions that type of generalization that is "much too general" to be useful to social practice and that is to the disadvantage itself of the problemsolving so necessary to any progress in understanding. Today, it becomes necessary to consider the overall problem of social research in the context of the multidimensionality of the human situation. Regardless of the parameters and the indicators that we might use, the analysis of the development of our democracy, for example, comes up against the group of problems that deal with the affirmation of the human situation.

The meaning of the evolution of our democratic affairs is represented by the humanist and humanizing finality of all economic and social activities. The question that could be asked is the following: What is the impact exercised by the system of democracy upon human relationships and upon the individual's openings towards society and, conversely, what is the degree of society's receptivity to what we call the human situation experienced at the level of each individual? Our party's documents stress that socialist democracy is a system open to creativity and social innovation and that the historical experience in this field is currently being put together. I believe that the expression of an experiment draws attention to the need to more closely look at phenomena as they are in reality, not obstructing a critical perspective, with a combative spirit being required to spring from what we call the nature of being and to aspire to the human situation and the natural expression of each individual's abilities in the institutional system that has been created. We have shown here the insufficiently analyzed, to date, virtues of a system of broad coverage, such as the FSDU. I beleive that such virtues, which bring to the forefront the need to have a complementary relationship between the different facets of economic, political, social and moral phenomena, can be put to use on the level of affirming democracy as each worker's quality of being, living and working.

Similarly, I would like to show the manner in which we evaluate the place and weight of the political in the overall process of developing democracy and in the overall system of improving social relations. I believe that this must be seen in the dynamics

themselves of society and, from this point of view, I believe that it is worth more thoroughly analyzing the aspects of the interdependency of the moral and the political in the sphere of democracy. I stress the moral burdens without which the ideas that crystalize the tendencies and meanings of democratic development, such as those of liberty, responsibility and human dignity, would not have sufficient influential power or the power to internalize norms in behavior and comportment in social affairs.

The antidote for certain dysfunctionalities and certain undesired phenomena is, without a doubt, the achievement of an optimum correlation between collective organs' exercise of prerogatives and the raising of the level of competency at all levels, first of all, at the professional-scientific level. As has been shown in our discussion, here we also see the intervention of the ability to promote such a style and method capable of using the masses' experience. The socialization and democratization of the act of leadership must pass through this analysis of the capability to train that we have today, not only in a strict, professional-scientific acceptance, but also in the acceptance of experience. A problem arises that seems to me open to research, as well as, first of all, social practice: the manner in which we ourselves relate to a certain experience that we have passed through and to a certain discovery of our system. We know that in social affairs there are no leaps ahead without investments. I say this with the intention of emphasizing the need for continuity and the perenniality of certain things that have been acquired, while I do not believe that this need is of a nature that violates the critical relationship to and the combatting of everything that is "resistant" to new things, conservatism and routine. On the other hand, I believe that the question that is being asked is that of being more generous towards certain experiences validated by the history of these years, a generosity that should not be merely stated, but one systematically supported by research activities in the social sciences, as well as by the mass media. We feel the need to go beyond the segmented concerns of the different public organisms, as well as the parallelism that can appear and that have been referred to in discussions.

University professor Constantin Statescu, dean of the law department at the University of Bucharest: Allow me to point out several aspects of the very interesting problem on the agenda of our discussion, aspects included in the party's policy for the continuing development of socialist democracy: How are the problems of worker self-management and economic-financial self-administration reflected in the activities of the enterprises in its legal aspects and the development and amplification of the content of the legal categories? It is known that each enterprise participates in a series of economic relationships expressed in relationships of a legal nature. In these relationships, there is a close reflection of the relationship between the development and furthering of democracy, on one hand, and the growth of social and individual responsibility on the other. Worker self-management and economic-financial self-administration are reflected in what we call the legal personality of each enterprise, which means a certain autonomy for it, a certain patrimonial independence that is clearly relative, with it being closely linked to the existence of socialist property.

We frequently stress, and certainly this stress has its deep foundations in our social realities, the triple or multiple quality of the workers as they participate in the production process - as producers, owners and consumers of all social items. This expression of a triple function does not violate the unified and indivisible nature

of the state's socialist property. It reflects the steadfastness of the responsibility of those who manage the production processes and those who, in the positions as owners, must also bear the responsibility for the results of their work. In the process of developing socialist democracy and in the evolution of the forms of organization and management, there is, at the same time, a reflection of the legal responsibility of those who are members of the work group in each socialist unit. I am speaking of the sharing of profits as a result of the development of efficiency in each enterprise and, at the same time, of the responsibility for the lack of efficiency in the activities of certain enterprises, as reflected in the diverse forms of salary payment. In profit sharing and in the principle of material responsibility, from an economic point of view there is a reflection of the close unity that exists between the development of democracy and the growth of political and economic responsibility on the part of the workers collectives for the proper administration of that portion of the national wealth that was entrusted to them.

Another distinct aspect of the development of socialist democracy is that of participating in the carrying out of justice. In the course of carrying out our socialist revolution, the popular masses participate in diverse ways in the carrying out of the justice process, a process sufficiently delicate by its implications, with regards to tje people's individual rights and freedoms. Over the years, we have taken part in different forms of introducing the popular element into justice - in the form of the people's assessors in the past and currently the judgement commissions in the socialist units and in the people's councils. The party's program drew attention to the need to accentuate the participation of the popular masses in the carrying out of justice and, as a result, the 1977 National RCP Conference outlined several very precise guidelines.

I would emphasize, among other things, the significant growth obtained by the judgement commissions in the enterprises. What do these commissions represent? They are organisms that make a large contribution to the democratization of legal activities in our country and to the resolution of misunderstandings that exist between citizens, some of which are not small because of their consequences and because of the deterioration of citizenly relations. The judgement commissions resolve a very important number of cases which otherwise would have to pass through the courts. The question could be asked whether these commissions, which are nonetheless commissions of a public nature, not a statal nature like the courts, at the point where they carry out a statal function, a function of punishment, coercion and sanctions, could perhaps give out sentences, for example, of prison terms? Would such a participation by these commissions be compatible with the issuing of these type of punishments? The answer was that they must find the adequate means having a public nature to their punishments and of applying punishments that do not deprive people of their freedom - such as fines or the exercise of a certain type of productive activity within certain worker collectives.

Gheorghe Badrus: As a lawyer and from what you know from practice, what opinion do you have: To what degree is a series of legal provisions used precisely by those persons who are involved in the democratic framework of management? There are legal provisions that give the right to representatives to place initiatives at various levels. From what you know, to what degree are these democratic premises used in legislative activities?

Constantin Statescu: In order to answer your question, it would be necessary to have a study that we would have to do overall. However, I will respond beginning with the particular cases that I know. There are legal provisions that give important rights to those who are elected to different categories of fora of workers democracy. In my opinion, everything depends upon the proper election of those who are called upon to use these rights. There are some people with a very high degree of diligence in carrying out their mandate and who, by virtue of these legal provisions, go to all the institutes and all the organizations in order to defend the interests of the citizens in a certain community, which could be a street community, a town or a city community, depending upon the district that they represent. Just as there are some people who ignore these legal provisions. I could not say whether they ignore them in their own way or, while knowing them, ignore them with regards to implementing them. In other words, people who probably are not sufficiently well-elected or not sufficiently well-attracted to public activities and, as a result, do not carry out their mandate.

Our laws create an organizational framework and a very good institutional framework for the full expression of all people, and we all participate in social affairs, regardless of whether we are carrying out a mandate or not. It is just that this framework should be better used. Here it seems to me that there is room for better things in the future, for a more efficient education, for a more thorough understanding of these rights and for an education of those who must apply the democratic rights guaranteed by our society.

Tamara Dobrin: In this regard, an example of the expression of legislative initiative by the representatives in recent sessions can be seen in the manner in which the law on the people's councils has evolved, which has been improved and restructured as a result of it discussion in the Legislative Chamber and in the Congress of the People's Councils.

In connection with the discussion of the plan, we can also note the action that the representatives initiated for modifying the agricultural investment program as a result of discussing the documents of the 12th RCP Congress.

Comrade Stanescu, you approached in a theoretical and principled manner the problems of self-administration and especially of economically strengthening the socialist units. I want to say that the state of affairs should be thus, but, unfortunately, there still are sectors where one of the elements of legal personality - patrimonial independence and responsibility - has fallen, which in fact affects the responsibility and real implementation of the legal personality. The housing fund, for example, is socialist property. We have tenant committees that have specific attributes, but we must unite their functions with those of the people's councils because these collective organs of tenants do not have efficient means at hand for action, while those state enterprises specializing in the administration of the housing fund, which have the means to repair, control and maintain these properties, operate outside of the control of the tenant committees. The housing fund is one of the areas of the national wealth that is not everywhere well-administered and it is a known fact that in most cases they deteriorate more rapidly than normal. The tenant committees can work in self-administration, in fixing up and in cleaning up, but the proper administration of the housing and the problem of its maintenance require the exercise of control by the citizens and tenants committees over the manner in which the important means available to the specialized enterprises are used.

Ion Mitran, deputy chief editor of ERA SOCIALISTA: It is clear that such a controversial and especially keen contemporary discussion in connection with the values and functions of democracy draws to the attention of the scientific researchers and the public the problems of the social efficiency of the structures and institutions of one political system or another.

Actually, the subject of our discussion brings to the center of attention the organic relationship between socialism and democracy, a relationship so clear that, paraphrasing a statement that ends a recent interesting novel, we could say that if real democracy is not true socialism, then it does not exist. In other words, both democracy and socialism and vice versa.

Not by chance out discussion came upon the problems of efficiency and the social effectiveness of democracy.Certainly, certain difficulties must be and should be overcome: to a greater or lesser degree, trends of subjectivism and voluntarism could not but be generated in one part of another in the process of creating a new order, as well as a certain amount of formalism, with democratic norms sometimes becoming inoperative. This is so because it is clear that when consultations with the masses remains merely a thesis or a routinely repeated slogan above the level of social practice, subjectivism and voluntarism remain in action. In connection with this, not only the adversaries of scientific socialism, but also the comrades with ideas, those who are sincerely working along the lines of social progress, have made observations that the deviations from the natural organic relationship between socialism and democracy more than once provided arguments "at will" for the detractors of the new order. For that reason, efforts to overcome these anomalies are especially important.

In Romania, the party, after the Ninth RCP Congress, not only criticized such deviations, but also took measures for the construction and affirmation of a broad and encompassing system of socialist democracy. The expression of the superiority of any political system cannot be appreciated except by beginning with the objective and subjective conditions of the expression of the diverse social categories in the sphere of leadership. This is the source of the problems which, if they do not cross over the threshold of meditations themselves or the simple descriptions of the system, do not find their desired results in practice, that is, in the sphere of applying the eventual new theoretical gains of the discussions or confrontations of opinions.

Our socialist society currently has an organizational framework unique in its type. As the party leadership and comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stress, the question is one of the optimum operation of this system. As it is written in the Party's Program, this represents one of the fundamental objectives of the current stage. In connection with this, there should be a discussion from various angles of the relationship between centralism and democracy and the place of democratic centralism in political leadership. The functionality of socialist democracy is in a close relationship with the consistent application of the principle of democratic centralism, an application that becomes more fertile as it gains the flexibility imposed by the diversity and dynamics of social life and by the requirements of a living society not lacking in contradictions and difficulties, including on a level of bringing into harmony the different categories of interests, from the general and particular up to those of certain larger or smaller social categories. In this regard, the efforts of the researchers in the

social sciences and those of the practitioners stem from the fact that the problem of making good use of the dual functions of socialist democracy is permanently on the agenda: of effectively discussing the line to follow and of achieving the decisions made with united forces. Thus, the forms of participating in social affairs and the entire organizational system determine a permanent contact with the masses and maintain a lively dialogue in the different leadership organisms with the workers. The question we must ask ourselves is that referring to the efficiency of this dialogue both for the decisionmaking factors at the diverse levels and for the broad mass of workers.

In this discussion, it has been shown that the efficient operation of our democratic system depends upon a number of factors, with subjective ones having an important place. With regards to this, I would like to point out, with the clear outline of the attributes of different institutions depending upon these subjective factors, the complementary nature of these, but also the requirement of avoiding parallelisms, paying attention to the content of the democratic structures and their efficiency. For that reason, the problems of the professional and moral behavior of cadre in diverse fields and the strengthening of the spirit of responsibility and discipline also hinge upon making people aware of their duties, bringing about a full agreement between that which is established and that which is achieved and more decisively eliminating certain tendencies of subjectivism, expressions of indiscipline and the insufficient systematic pursuit of the fulfillment of certain measures adopted by diverse collective leadership organs, especially in the case of certain mass and public organizations, as has been stressed in this discussion.

Another problem is that of the formalism of certain meetings and sessions, be they institutionalized or ad-hoc meetings. Such aspects must certainly also be examined by the social sciences.

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[Text] We are publishing in an abbreviated form part two of the discussion organized by the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, the Academy of Social and Political Sciences and ERA SOCIALISTA. Part one appeared in No 22/1981.

The comments grouped together in this part deal with other aspects, both practical and theoretical, of the operation of the institutional system of workers democracy and the participation of the masses in leadership. The discussion of these subjects remains open, beginning with the priority requirement, as recently stressed by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that "in the spirit of the principles of socialist democracy it is necessary for us to work fully decisively for the proper operation of the collective organisms that we have created in all areas of activity."

Vasile Inoan of the Committee for the Problems of the People's Councils: Resuming with some ideas presented earlier in the discussions, I would also stress the fact that, in discussing the functionality of the institutional system of our socialist democracy, we should note certain tendencies towards parallelism and overlap. In other words and more precisely, there are certain types of meetings where, generally, the same people participate, but within the framework of certain different organisms. For example,

the nationwide plan is submitted for discussion, certainly in somewhat different ways, but in essence the subject for discussion is the same in the general meetings of the workers, in the sessions of the people's councils, in citizens meetings and in meetings of youth and trade union organizaions and other mass organizations, and more recently at the meetings of the organizations of socialist democracy and unity. Since all mass organizations belong to the FSDU, we should find an efficient formula to analyze common problems in a single forum.

As is known, a year ago new modifications were made to the law for organizing and operating the people's councils and semi-annual meetings were instituted within which the mayors of localities and the presidents of the executive committees of the county people's councils must appear before the citizens and report on activities regarding the manner in which decisions were implemented, how the localities are being administered and how they are working to satisfy the people's demands. I have compiled some statistics on the manner in which these meetings were carried out at the end of the first half of this year. Under the pretext of economic priorities, many of these meetings were postponed. If at the town, city and municipal levels these meetings were held, at the county level in 11 counties the first-half meetings had not been organized even 2 months after the end of the first-half. This shortcoming must be quickly eliminated if we keep in mind that we are talking about a report on activities to the voters and about a means of review for the voters regarding the activities of the local organ of state power.

In very many places, these citizens meetings were transformed into a type of meeting with the aktiv, with nearly only local leadership cadre sitting on the presidium and being among the ranks of the speakers. And, the citizens meetings ought to convene the workers, the representatives of the enterprises and the representatives of the citizens in the housing areas. In some counties, two to three mayors, a vice president and several county-level leadership cadre participated in making speeches. In one county, merely three citizens took the floor in this citizens meeting. It seems that this is a problem that must reflect upon those who organized these meetings.

Other problem that I would like to refer to is the blending of state activities with those of the new public organisms. Working in the system of the people's councils, I feel that in the future there will be ever greater movement in the direction of public and mass activities assuming some of the attributes of the state organs. Citizens already administer a large part of the national wealth through their own organisms. Communal forests, totalling over 450,000 hectares, are administered by citizen committees. The buildings in which we live, which are socialist property, are for their part administered by tenant associations and represent 1.5 million apartments. Within the framework of self-management and self-administration, projects worth over four billion lei were built during the five year plan that just ended from the monetary contributions of the citizens, decided upon in citizens meetings.

Similarly, public organs are assuming certain attributes in the care of certain categories of minors. A large number of citizens participate in the activities of the commissions that operate alongside the people's council and which take care of these actions and support the state's organs in the care of different categories of minors. Last year, 47,000 cases were reported in these commissions. In 31,200 cases measures were taken to provide care.

There are possibilities to also broaden democracy with regards to ensuring the citizens' review of the manner in which units providing services to the people and units serving the people operate. In my opinion. the chief of the stores in certain housing areas, the doctor in the health district or the head of a store could be confirmed in this position by the citizens' meetings in the housing area.

Dr Mircea Preda of the Committee for the Problems of the People's Councils: The replacement of economic administration with economic-fiancial self-administration at the enterprise level, as well as at the local level, is not a simple change in terminology, but a reconsideration of the method of managing and administering enterprises and administrative-territorial units.

In order to understand the content of the actions in economic-financial self-administration, it is necessary to begin, as comrade Constantin Stanescu stressed here, with the analysis through the prism of ownership relations of the relationships between the state as the owner of all property and the enterprise as the administrator and manager of a portion of this property, with the full responsibility for its administration belonging to the workers, the workers councils and the collective leadership organs.

Certainly, in the activities of the people's councils and their subordinate units the forms of economic-financial self-administration embrace a series of specific situations determined by the nature of the local organ of state power and by the principles of organization and operation of these units. An important role in improving the activities at the administrative-territorial level is played by the recent measures taken along party and state lines for strengthening self-management and self-supply, for increasing agricultural production and for ensuring a regular and equitable supply to the people. Either directly or through the intermediary of certain subordinate economic units, the people's councils ensure the administration of certain important material resources that were given to them for use, from year to year increasing their value and overall achieving the economic-financial consolidation of these units. The people's councils' creation of certain economic units of their own constitutes a form of expression of self-management and self-administration.

By implementing the decisions adopted by the National Conference of the Presidents of People's Councils in March 1978 and the guidelines and directives to switch to the self-financing of all administrative-territorial units, eliminating subsidies from the budget, the number of people's councils that balanced their budgets using their own incomes increased from 312 in 1979 to 573 in 1980. In fact, in several years all administrative-territorial units will have to achieve economic-financial self-administration. Far from being an action with a limited administrative nature, self-financing constitutes the economic-financial instrument of self-management. In this, the people's councils and the citizens themselves assume, through the entire democratic system of exercising and carrying out state power on the local level, responsibilities for the activities that are carried out in their area: industry, agriculture, supplying the people, services, trade, education, health care, culture and social actions

University professor Eugen Godeanu of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: One of the meanings of the measures that our party has adopted over the past decade is the ever more

powerful affirmation of mass and public organizations in the democratic leadership of our society. In this context, the definition of the role and functions of the trade unions and their involvement in the leadership mechanism has special theoretical and practical significance. Being a significant component of the system of political organization and leadership in society and in the system of our socialist democracy the trade unions have experienced a permanent development.

The growth of the role of the trade unions and their responsibilities during the current stage is also marked by the growth in the role and attributes of the workers councils and the general meetings. Thus, the production plan in the economic units, as well as the naming of new leadership caare, are currently discussed in the workers councils and are submitted for approval in the general meetings. Likewise, the acceptance of new members in the work group is done with the approval of the leadership council and the general meeting in the section or sector in which this person wants to work, while proposals regarding sanctions or dismissals are also discussed within these groups. At the same time, a strengthening is taking place in the role of the commissions in the various fields and the judgement councils. Commissions for the protection and development of public property have been organized and worker review has been strengthened.

In preserving their autonomy as mass organizations, the trade unions are making their contribution, within the collective leadership organisms to which they belong, to the elaboration and carrying out of decisions regarding economic, social and political-educational activities, and are working for the harmonious blending of the general interests of society with the interests of the workers groups. The achievement of the workers councils' attributes under optimum conditions and conditions of efficiency requires competency and a spirit of responsibility on the part of the representatives of the trade unions, calling for, in this sense, the rigorous planning of work, the attraction of all members to the study and discussion of problems and the approval of decisions, and the increase in the contributions of the workers' representatives to the activities of the councils. Including the councils for the workers' review of economic-social activities in the enterprises in the sphere of attributes of the trade unions represents, in this regard, a new element which expresses the right and duty of the trade union to organize a workers' review of the manner in which the party's decisions are carried out and how the laws of the state are implemented, and of the manner in which the decisions of the workers' general meetings are achieved. The efficiency of the work of the trade unions is, without a doubt, in a close dependency with the continuing improvement of the style of work, a problem that requires our concern in both its theoretical and practical aspects.

University professor Ladislau Lorincz of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: We are discussing the ways of improving the process of the democratic leadership of society beginning with the existing institutional framework, without losing sight of the requirement to continue to improve it. Certainly, it is necessary, among other things, for us to concentrate upon the forms of exercising the attributes conferred by this institutional framework, as well as upon the requirement to fully use it. Here, a more general problem is raised. In the literature devoted to democracy, there is less talk about the economic efficiency of democracy. From my point of view, I believe

that there has been too little movement in this direction in the specialized research. In the final analysis, the broadly democratic organisms that have been created must prove their viability as well in the economic field and their economic efficiency in general. And, I believe that if we view it from this aspect then it is necessary for us to broaden the view on democracy.

Certainly, the democratic organs must have an appropriate composition and include all the social categories. We have the problem, however, of the quality of the people and their training, since these organs are called upon to resolve the fundamental problems of economic-social activities and problems of great complexity that fall under the attributes of the people's councils, the general meetings and the workers councils.

The participation of the workers in the management of an enterprise and an administrative unit also depends, among other things, upon the style of work adopted in the management of these and upon the degree in which the elected representatives of the workers have assimilated the knowledge and training necessary for their participation. We are also speaking, naturally, of education and a change in mentality, an especially complex process. In our specialized literature, studies and articles appear that raise the problem of improving the system and democratic institutions exclusively on the basis of developing a new awareness and educational work. I believe, however, that to a great degree we must keep in mind the problem of interests. All too little do we speak of the full achievement of a unity of interests without which it would be difficult for us to reach the level of will and awareness. General interests are objectively integrated in group interests and personal interests, and we must try to ensure that the fundamental interests of the person and the group will be appropriately represented, in the studies on this subject, in the formulation and unified integration of these interests.

The second problem that I wish to raise here refers to worker self-management in the system of socialist democracy. I begin with a certain existing formula right here in the subject matter of this discussion and in the research program in the social sciences of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences. I want to say that self-management and its place in the political system are not always understood in a unified manner. When the classical forms of the leadership of society are studied - the political, statal and societal forms - in some places self-management is considered a social form. The problem arises: How do we consider self-management? Does it have a statal nuance? There is a broader, more general acceptance of self-management and if we begin with this general acceptance then the state itself is the form of self-management of the nation. The people's councils are organs of the self-management of the people. I do not believe that this is the accepted version that we give to self-management at the present.

In my opinion, self-management can also be considered in the acceptance of state power and it basically has a political nature, since the forms of self-management at a national level carry out a very important political role. At the level of the enterprise and the economic unit, an important political role is played by the general meetings and workers councils, since the management itself of the economy has a political nature.

Matei Simandan, first secretary of the Arad County Committee of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY]: The development of our workers democracy and the developmental nature of participation show the existence of a profound dialectics in the objective and subjective factors in the improvement of this process. Moreover, this is also the meaning of the creative contribution of the RCP in the theoretical approach to the problem of increasing the role of the awareness factor in building the new society. At this level, it also has in mind the need for education in order to participate and for creating a culture of participation, a complex and contradictory process. During the current stage of societal development, other elements also intervene that we must take into account, such as: the requirement for scientific leadership and the permanent broadening of the sphere of those participating in leadership, the unequal levels of awareness about people's functions as producers, owners and consumers, the cultural non-homogeneity, the unequal levels of education and awareness, and so forth.

Certainly, for young people participation in leadership has specific aspects. We know of the measures established in connection with the participation of young people and the UCY representatives in the collective leadership organisms in economic units, schools and institutes. The young person is no longer regarded as a simple object of economic-social affairs and educational activities, but especially as a subject of social actions. Even more, society affirms its future through the young people. Beginning with these considerations, we will stress that in the preparation of young people for participation an essential contribution is made by the processes of social learning which achieve the teaching of social values and statutes, norms, attitudes and behaviors that ensure the use of social experience and the integration of the individual.

The school puts important educational-formative values into the process of preparing young people for work and life. There is special importance in the orientation of all of educational towards participative learning and towards its integration with life and social requirements and the entire group of school activities and extra-school activities that involve social participation.

Experience shows that the ever more powerful expression of the democratic forms of leadership also has a formative influence. In a democratic framework and climate, each worker better understands social and individual duties and responsibilities, working with more energy for the fulfillment of professional and public tasks. The specific social research conducted in Arad County on this subject shows that the process to which we are referring is not carried out in a linear manner or in an of itself. The degree of professional integration, the place in the work group, the system of moral stimulants, the quality of the human relations at the place of work, the system of interests and the motivations for participation or non-participation influence the formation of the young person's personality. In this regard, we are working for each UCY organization to become a true school of democratic political leadership in which the young person will decide and work to carry out his tasks and will himself ensure the resolution, in adequate forms, of the many problems raised by life and work, and the preparation and organization of free time.

Fred Mahler of the Center for Research for the Problems of Young People: In addition to what has been said here, I would like to add something, referring myself to certain

current studies in political sociology. In this field of research, a nucleus has recently been created that is investigating the problem of democracy from different angles. These nucleuses in themselves and the diversified research into the democratic phenomenon are welcomed, but, in my opinion, the disparities and lack of coordination that is sometimes felt affect the carrying out of activities in this field. I feel that here the institute of political sciences could play an even more active role for a mutual understanding and coordination of the different research groups that are involved in these problems.

In some studies regarding the behavior of young people in organizational affairs or in social affairs in general, we found, contrary to our expectations, that there is no sufficiently strong correlation between a variable independence, like the function within the framework of the UCY organization or a certain task in the organization, on one hand, and the attitude at work and the attitude in social affairs, on the other hand. The hypothesis with which we began was that there absolutely had to be a positive correlation between the fact that a young person is a member of a UCY organization or that he has a certain permanent task and his practical behavior in work or his attitude in one area or another.

Another example is that regarding participation of the representatives of the UCY organization in the workers councils. We began with the hypothesis that the forms of direct participation in activities in an economic unit are correlated with a series of active behaviors, with the initiatives in the organization's affairs, with initiatives at the place of work and with a certain performance in work by this young person. The investigations conducted showed that there was no determining relationship that would operate automatically among the attributes conferred within the framework of the workers councils and the active behaviors of the young people who carry out these functions.

The problem is what must be done so that in all cases the participative behaviors will be equal to the participative system made available. An important role is played by the degree of understanding by the subjects of their role and their means of participation. Furthermore, a number of speakers here have referred to the phenomenon of participation. Actually, an entire range of problems have been shown tied to education for participation and to the formation of practical experience for participation and not just a theoretical understanding of the means of participation. Comrade Stana Buzatu correctly stressed the role of the mechanisms for identifying with certain values that motivate participation in the system of democracy at an individual level. To a much less degree, there has been an analysis of another group of causes, to which a number of comrades have referred. These are the ones that hinge not upon the manner in which they work, well or badly as a certain factor, not upon a level of education and not upon a degree of social-political involvement of the person, citizen or young person, but upon the functionality of the forms that have been instituted, upon the relationships between the institutions that have been created, upon their unity and upon the manner in which this unit is achieved in life and in practice.

University professor Ovidiu Trasnea of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: There has been a discussion here, I believe a very useful one, about numerous aspects of the development, furthering and affirmation of workers democracy in our society, especially

placing the stress on practical aspects, without neglecting, certainly, those dealing with principles in which the different characteristics and tendencies of the overall political system are reflected, as well as the fundamental traits of this evolution and the improvement of democracy. Similarly, it has been pointed out, and I believe that it is again an achievement of this discussion, a series of phenomena that are still slowing the development from the rates and qualitative levels that we all want. This is so because, actually, we see in democracy not an end unto itself, but an essential means that incorporates and must incorporate even more and more fuller the system of values of socialism, as well as a means for improving the order overall.

As has been discussed here, participation has very many values. First of all, it is a means of expressing the principle of the people's self-management, in other words, it has a decisive political significance. At the same time, what is especially important, it is a significant factor for social mobilization. Naturally, it is also a means for the adequate representation of interests in the political process, as well as the school for preparing the citizen in order to be affirmed as an active subject in the different sectors of activity. Comrade Tamara Dobrin noted that some cadre who work in the local organs of the state have serious deficiencies in their attitudes towards the citizens and that these relationships suffer in certain regards. Naturally in this sense, participation is also a school, a civic school. In the course of our discussion, we have talked about this role, especially with regards to young people. It should be said that for everyone, for the leaders, for the citizens democracy is a civic school. The idea that I want stress is the need to consistently pursue the transformation of the values of democratic socialist participation into an active reserve for multilateral improvement.

The problem raised by comrade Ladislau Lorincz, that of interests, is directly reflected in the process of participating in leadership. In our society, we have achieved a homogenization of interests in what they have fundamentally. Without a doubt, however, there is a differentiation of individual interests and group interests on the basis of the people's structural-occupational differences, which must be kept in mind. I have underscored all this in order to arrive at a problem that I feel is very important. What I have discussed shows the major significance of the institutional-organizational system that has been created, but we also have the fact that it is necessary to effectively implement the social-human values promoted in this system so that it can operate at the desired levels.

In the context of the political-ideological offensive of bourgeois conservatism, it is ever more frequently maintained in Western literature that at a historical level democracy should be inevitably linked to capitalism and that socialism should be, by its nature, incapable of achieving authentic democracy. These theses are being maintained with even more strength in the current campaign to resurrect bourgeois liberalism, which today states that outside of classical capitalism there are no authentic political values. In confronting such ideological positions, Marxist theory argues that just as socialism is a historical necessity to the same degree socialist democracy becomes a historical necessity for the achievement of political progress. And, I believe that here we can see in full historical action the law of the denial of negations that was also used in explaining political progress and which, on one

hand, helps us to show very well the inevitable historical limits of the types of previous democracies and, on the other hand, shows those traits that must characterize socialist democracy in the contemporary context.

Fred Mahler: In continuing what comrade Ovidiu Trasnea said regarding the powerful offensive of conservatism and of "rights" in the West which involve not only socialist democracy, but also the principles, concept and practice of democracy in general, I would like to point out in another area the parallel accentuation of certain radical orientations, including anarchy, which in the end also come to devalue and delegitimatize democracy, using, certainly, other arguments and other starting points in their analysis than contemporary thinking.

For the active presence of contemporary Marxism thought in the ideological front, in the defense of the ideas of democracy in general and especially in the promotion of the ideas of socialist democracy, I believe that it is very important to combat both the offensive of conservatism and "rights" and some of the aspects of Nihilist radicalism.

There has been talk here, and I am fully in agreement, that in the analysis of the problems of participative democracy we must focus more on effectiveness and the efficiency of this participative democracy. If we were to analyze the operation of the institutions only through the prism, let us say, of the legal aspect and not take into consideration aspects such as interests and individual and group needs, as has been noted here, or aspects of a moral and social order, it is clear that we would merely arrive at partial conclusions regarding the efficiency of participative democracy. If we were to put together, however, a complete set of indicators that were scientifically established regarding participation and participative behaviors, I believe that we would effectively have a more precise diagnosis of the phenomenon and, therefore, arrive at practical efficient conclusions.

University professor Valter Roman, president of the political science and sociology section of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences: I want to refer to the correlation between democracy and technical-scientific progress. It would seem that between these terms there is a linear correlation. We must, however, quickly denounce this impression because there is no linear correlation between these two ideas, concepts or realities. In my opinion, one can state that a democratic form of social affairs is a guarantee or that it creates much greater possibilities for the development of science and technology and technology, and to this we must add that other factors also influence such a process.

Even without the forms of a higher democracy, nonetheless in the developed Western countries there are many achievements, scientific discoveries and contemporary techniques and technologies. And, we must give a response to this. It is clear that there are numerous other factors that determine this technical and scientific development, including: profit and the militarization of science and technology which, without a doubt, contribute to achievements in the field of military technology and, later, to the field of civilian technology. We must also keep in mind that progress in science and technology and their development take place by virtue of certain internal laws that do not always have a direct tie to social-political conditions.

Returning to our country and the socialist countries, we must say that the thesis is absolutely valid concerning the democratic forms of society which create infinitely greater opportunities for science and technology than undemocratic or quasidemocratic forms. The problem of democratic forms and participation in decisionmaking is, with regards to determining certain directions for research in field of science and technology, decisive for providing a framework appropriate to the unrestricted expression of new things.

Gheorghe Badrus: As our discussion has also shown, the problems of socialist democracy involve both aspects of practical activities and theoretical activities and problems of connections between the political and the social. Even our practices are an experiment in this field and we should regard it as a living activity that brings along elements that improve the concept itself of self-management, implementing direct democracy and so forth. This also shows the utility of certain such discussions and the need to continue research in this field.

We attempted to show here theoretical and practical problems that are closely tied to the subject of socialist democracy and to generalize from the specific experience of the different democratic political organism in our country and from the experiences of the different mass and public organizations that participate in the entire system of socialist democracy. Proposals both in the direction of studying certain theoretical aspects and in the direction of improving the system of our democracy and increasing its efficiency certainly present an interest, and they will have to be further studied in-depth through interdisciplinary studies on the aspects that were outlined here, as well as in general through the development of activities in the field of the social sciences.

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LEADERS INTERVIEWED ON NONALIGNED MOVEMENT

Sam Nuyoma, Leader of SWAPO

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 82 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Sam Nuyoma, leader of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO), by Andjelko Otovic of OSLOBODJENJE and Jasna Huskic of Radio Sarajevo: "It Is Our Obligation To Liberate Namibia"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Commemorating the 20th anniversary of nonalignment and following the course of preparations for the Seventh Summit Meeting of Nonaligned Countries, the editors of OSLOBODJENJE called upon a certain number of statesmen from the nonaligned countries to speak about current world events for the readers of OSLOBODJENJE. We are today publishing an interview with Sam Nuyoma, leader of SWAPO, with the journalists Andjelko Otovic of OSLOBODJENJE and Jasna Huskic of Radio Sarajevo.

OSLOBODJENJE: It has been 20 years since the First Conference of Nonaligned Countries was held in Belgrade. How do you assess this period from the standpoint of the movement's development? What actions of the nonaligned and which of their successes would you single out as the most important?

Sam Nuyoma: The nonalignment movement, which has been in existence for 20 years now as an anti-imperialist movement, has contributed greatly to the liberation of a large number of countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, with the full-fledged support of the movement's member countries.

Yugoslavia, under the revolutionary leadership of Marshal Tito, has in particular given political and material aid to peoples fighting against colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination.

For that reason SWAPO, as a full-fledged member of the nonaligned movement, has striven to represent the movement as an inspiration for the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism and as a contribution to world peace, detente and the social progress of humanity.

We Are Fighting for an Honorable Independence

OSLOBODJENJE: Relations in the world today are characterized by a further aggravation of relations between the blocs, intensification of the arms race, and the hotbeds of crisis show no signs of quieting down. Where in your opinion is the place of the nonaligned movement in resolving these acute problems?

Sam Nuyoma: The nonaligned movement remains an important element in the fight against imperialism and is continuing to contribute to world peace and to the relaxation of tension in international relations. We therefore appeal to those countries which are not members of the nonaligned movement to join the movement and strengthen it so that a stronger peace is maintained among all nations.

OSLOBODJENJE: How in that situation do you view Namibia and SWAPO as its sole legitimate representative?

Sam Nuyoma: The peoples of Namibia are fighting today with guns in their hands under the leadership of SWAPO against the most brutal regime of South Africa, which during World War II supported the Nazis and Hitler and sent its members to fight on their side.

The World Is Condemning the Crimes of the Racists

SWAPO, as a liberation movement, has its program of armed struggle to liberate Namibia. It is quite certain that we will liberate Namibia with the support of the people itself. Our forces will ultimately win freedom from colonialism, racism and fascism and will obtain the honorable independence for which our peoples have made so many sacrifices.

OSLOBODJENJE: What in your opinion is the role of the world community and especially of the nonaligned movement in a just conclusion of the liberation struggle of the people in southern Africa?

Sam Nuyoma: The world has condemned the torture, the destruction of families and the massacre of women and children in Namibia and the aggression which South Africa is now waging, the aggression against the people of Angola.

The question is why South Africa is waging aggression against Angola.

The reason is obvious:

"The government and people of Angola, led by President Santos, are fighting for the national liberation of Africa and that of Namibia in particular. The central committee of the party MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos have declared themselves in favor of the brothers and sisters in Namibia and are continuing to support them, as well as those in South Africa. That is why Angola deserves the political, material and diplomatic assistance of the world, and especially of the nonaligned movement. The peoples of South Africa are confronting the most reactionary regime, a regime without equal in Africa, in which their only right is to stay alive. We thus received with horror the news about eradication of families in the vicinity of

Capetown and other cities of South Africa. Three thousand of Africans were thrown into trucks and carried away to concentration camps.

This barbarism has been condemned.

We have appealed to the international community to continue to give tactical and material aid to the people of South Africa which is fighting against the fascist regime of Pretoria, fighting for its own freedom and independence. This kind of situation ought to upset international order. And that is why we think that precisely this moment in the struggle for the freedom of South Africa, and of Namibia in particular, ought to bring the world community and the nonaligned movement to condemn the aggression of the racist troops in South Africa and to support Angola in defense of its own integrity.

Our Relations With Yugoslavia Are Very Good

OSLOBODJENJE: We have been witnesses, in the recent past particularly, of conflicts in which certain nonaligned countries have been on opposing sides. What is your comment on that phenomenon?

Sam Nuyoma: There are problems among the member countries of the nonaligned movement, such as, for example, border conflicts, but this does not mean that the movement is getting weak. We have noticed that over these 20 years of the movement's existence the number of members has been increasing, and their role has become still more important.

OSLOBODJENJE: The nonaligned movement is making tremendous efforts to build a new and more just international economic order. How do you look on that part of the activity of the nonaligned from the standpoint of Namibia's economic difficulties?

Sam Nuyoma: At this moment it is our obligation to liberate Namibia. And after the liberation we will be fighting for the economic status and rise of the standard of living of the masses. Certainly we will be cooperating with the member countries of the nonaligned movement, since we cannot speak about political independence if we are economically dependent on other countries.

We will continue to encourage a policy of mutual trust within the nonaligned movement so that every member country of the movement gains economic security and guarantees a certain standard of living for its people and a decent life for every man.

OSLOBODJENJE: You have said that there is no political emancipation without economic emancipation. What place do the national culture and education have in the future development of Namibia?

Sam Nuyoma: Aside from economic development, a country should support development of the national culture and educate the future generations. So that the country develops in an economic and political direction and does not depend on outside influences, the influence of the imperialist forces particularly.

OSLOBODJENJE: How do you evaluate the cooperation between Yugoslavia and Namibia?

Sam Nuyoma: Yugoslavia and Namibia will certainly continue to maintain good relations. The peoples of Namibia, led by SWAPO, have received significant material aid and political and diplomatic support from Yugoslavia. We already have excellent cooperation with the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia.

Kusumaatmadja Mochtar of Indonesia

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jan 82 p 10

[Interview with Kusumaatmadja Mochtar, Indonesian minister of foreign affairs, by Andjelko Otovic, OSLOBODJENJE reporter, in Djakarta: "A Political Factor in Achieving World Peace"; date not specified]

[Text] Question: Your country has from the very beginning been an active adherent of the policy of nonalignment. What in your opinion is the present situation within the movement itself, and what is its role in relaxation of tension in international relations?

Answer: It can be said of the nonaligned movement that even now it is fairly vigorous. In a phase in which the members of the movement are aware that they have done something constructive and that they have created a feeling of satisfaction, the external forces are trying to weaken the movement and its influence.

Given this situation, the question is whether nonalignment is still essential in the kind of world situation we have today, since even within the movement of the nonaligned itself there is factionalism and conflict of interest which could destroy it.

We must reexamine ourselves when we discuss the movement's goal. So that we confront contemporary reality, we must not forget the purpose of our mission in creating new approaches. It is not an unknown fact that many are attempting to impose their influence on the nonaligned movement or on individual members so that they would serve other forces.

We Need To Avoid Crises and Conflicts

If the nonaligned countries grasp the situation and at the same time the very reason for the movement's establishment, nonalignment would continue to be a dynamic factor and would not become a weapon for some particular interest, whatever it might be.

If the nonaligned movement passes through phases of insecurity, that is just one part of the process. All the members are obliged to make decisions on their own policy and to provide their own answers to the question of whether the mission and goal which the founders of the movement set down 20 years ago and passed on to the present generation can continue in the right way. If it is to have a constructive role in easing the current situation in international relations, the

nonaligned movement must first rally its own forces and overcome its own weaknesses so as to oppose attacks from outside. The role of nonalignment would be all the more significant if crises and conflicts between member countries, armed intervention and also the traps and wiles of the superpowers can be avoided.

In the situation in which we find ourselves at the moment, the nonaligned movement perhaps seems weak. Nevertheless, we will not bow down, but, on the contrary, we feel a still stronger urge to do more in spite of the augmented problems around us.

If we are to relieve the international situation of the moment, we must develop the moral force which the movement possesses by virtue of activities in other international fields in the search for true solutions and exert pressure on the superpowers to demonstrate their goodwill in the effort toward creation of a peaceful and stable world.

The Struggle for the New Economic Order

Question: In your opinion what is holding back and what is stimulating the strengthened importance and influence of nonalignment in the modern world?

Answer: We do not doubt the importance of the nonaligned movement and its usefulness in the future. As we know, the struggle of the nonaligned movement has been intensifying by phases. Beginning from the point when that struggle calmed down the Cold War between the Eastern and Western blocs, the movement then aided the liberation struggles of the country's of the colonies and contributed to their views and approaches in creating a new and more just world.

At the moment the attacks on the nonaligned movement within its own circle or as a result of the escalated tension in the world are not a bit easier, on the contrary.

Nonalignment has a great common goal which calls for changes which are necessary both to the advanced countries and to the developing countries. We can cite as an example the intensified effort to create a new world economic order. But the nonaligned movement has truly been confronted with problems in view of the disagreements that exist among its member countries.

Question: Even though differences in views and interests have been accepted as an historic inevitability, conflicts are occurring with increasing frequency, even conflicts between certain nonaligned countries, and there have even been armed interventions. How is it possible to eliminate these conflicts most effectively?

Answer: Effective means have not yet been found of resolving the various conflicts among members of the nonaligned movement. The best formula for the countries involved is to show extreme restraint and to translate the principles of nonalignment into deeds and behavior.

We Must Always Be Looking To the Future

Question: In its activity to date the nonaligned movement has also made an important contribution to the progress of the developing countries. As one of the founders of the nonaligned movement, but also the movement of developing countries, how do you evaluate the movement's achievements in this economic domain, and what do you expect of it in the future?

Answer: The plans which have been adopted at the recent meetings were very important. Indonesia will continue in the future to strive vigorously to make a contribution to carrying out the programs in effect. The specific activity in the field of development and cooperation among the members is an important element in confirming the movement itself. This does not mean that the nonaligned movement has rejected its function as a political factor in achieving world peace. With respect to that function, all forces should be vigilant so that the nonaligned movement does not change its course. But if in the past the nonaligned movement managed to help countries which were colonies in the process of attaining their independence, that independence and sovereignty should now be further affirmed so as to maintain the dignity of their people and should be developed through mutual cooperation.

The awareness of the ever greater potential of the nonaligned movement, a potential that is both qualitative and quantitative, makes its role more active and dynamic and maintains the movement's solidarity and unity.

Question: The great powers have exerted an evident pressure on the movement, and there have been actions aimed at diminishing the influence of the policy of nonalignment in international relations. In what way can the nonaligned countries most effectively resist the great powers?

Answer: Certain great powers, especially the colonially oriented Western countries, look upon the nonaligned countries as a group which threatens their interest. The anticolonial attitude displayed back in 1955 at the Bandung Conference and officially adopted later at the Belgrade Conference augmented the contradictions between the nonaligned countries and the West. It appears that the situation has changed. We see signs of that change in the final communique issued at the summit of the advanced countries in Ottawa. We should accept that position regardless of whether it is only pro forma or sincere in its nature.

What is important for the nonaligned movement is that we continue to look to the future and pursue the direction of the common goals, avoiding the narrow view, especially if we see that it is serving interests foreign to us, interests which are striving to distort the fundamental principles of the movement. It is our obligation to rid the West of doubt concerning the noble aims of the nonaligned movement.

The Importance of Regional Cooperation Is Great

Question: Relations between the advanced North and underdeveloped South are presenting some of the most important problems of the modern world. How can these problems be solved?

Answer: The unbalanced relations between the advanced and the developing countries must not be allowed to go on forever. An effort must be made to correct those relations, and the course of history also demands that. The forces which are opposing that course are causing chaos and danger harmful for everyone. We hope that the northern countries also fully understand this. The nonaligned movement will continue in the future to advocate talks along those lines, since it believes that the problems can be peacefully resolved.

Question: In what way can regional, that is, partial, cooperation speed up resolution of these global problems?

Answer: Our country believes in regional cooperation. Indonesia is thus cooperating with its neighboring countries: Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, within the ASEAN grouping. ASEAN has aided progress in the economic and social and cultural areas in its member countries. In the context of the larger problems, which also include North-South relations, the situation is more complex. Regional cooperation can help in resolving certain of these problems. But it is the political will of the northern countries themselves that is necessary for a final solution.

Interview With North Korean President

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 82 p 3

[Interview with Kim Il-song, president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, by OSLOBODJENJE: "The Military Blocs Are a Real Threat to Peace and Security in the World"; date and place not specified]

[Text] OSLOBODJENJE: Twenty years have passed since the First Conference of Nonaligned Countries was held in Belgrade. How do you evaluate that period from the standpoint of the movement's development?

Kim Il-song: The nonaligned movement is a progressive movement which opposes all forms of domination and subjugation, a movement which strives toward independence; it is a powerful revolutionary force of our time which is opposed to imperialism. In the time since the nonaligned movement emerged on the historical scene as an independent political force and developed into a broad international movement, the independent anti-imperialist forces have become considerably stronger, while the reactionary imperialist forces have become remarkably weaker.

Today the nonaligned movement is playing a large role in development of the situation in the world and in resolving international problems. Thanks to the common struggle of the nonaligned countries, various international issues have been resolved fully in accord with the demands and interests of the peoples of the new forces, and the old order, in which the great powers arbitrarily organize and control everything that happens in the world, is gradually breaking down. The nonaligned movement has made a great contribution to defending the sovereignty of peoples, to their liberation from all forms of domination and interference, subjugation and inequality, and it has contributed to protecting peace in the world and security against imperialist policy, aggression and war.

The Importance of Unity and Solidarity

OSLOBODJENJE: The nonaligned movement today represents an important factor in international relations. What actions of the nonaligned do you regard as most important at this moment?

Kim Il-song: Now that the nonaligned movement has become broader and has developed into a world movement and now that its influence is growing with every passing day, the imperialists are continuing to organize their maneuvers, which are aimed at dividing and destroying the movement and bringing its members under its own protection and domination. The imperialist steps are aimed at driving a wedge, at driving the newly liberated countries apart, and at winning them over, and this has been causing many complicated problems in the movement, so that it is passing through certain trials which are not easy. Now the nonaligned movement confronts the difficult task of frustrating the attempts of the imperialists who are trying to drive wedges, separate the members and prevent the movement from gaining strength.

The unity and solidarity of the member countries are indispensable to the nonaligned movement's greater strength and development. Unity is the heart of the nonaligned movement, and it is the source of its strength. It is inseparable from the nonaligned movement, and without unity it cannot become stronger and develop. Only through the unity of its member countries can the nonaligned movement become a powerful force that is energetically advancing the history of humanity and embodying its noble goal and ideal.

What is most important in achieving the unity of the nonaligned movement is that all its member countries confidently preserve their independence. This is the basic ideal and foundation of the movement's unity. Only when all its members have a firm grasp on their independence can this movement achieve unity, and only a unity based on independence can be a firm and true unity.

The nonaligned countries must adhere firmly to an independent position and must resolutely oppose all types of outside interference. They dare not blindly follow other countries, nor act as their agents. They should respect the independence of other countries and they must not interfere in the internal affairs of others.

It is indispensable that the nonaligned countries strictly respect the movement's original principles and preserve their distinguishing features in the right way. They must not follow any bloc, nor allow themselves to be drawn into it. They must refrain from drawing outside forces into the nonaligned movement or from steering the movement toward one or the other bloc.

The Great Powers Are Increasingly Aggressive

OSLOBODJENJE: Relations in the world today are still characterized by exacerbation of relations between the blocs and by an intensification of the arms race, the hotbeds of crisis show no signs of cooling off. Where in your opinion is the place of the nonaligned movement in resolving these acute problems?

Kim Il-song: The international situation, taken as a whole, is very complicated and tense today. A fierce struggle is now being waged between the anti-imperialist forces of independence and the forces of domination on the international scene. The revolutionary people's struggle for independence and against imperialism is becoming stronger every day, while the steps which the great powers are taking toward aggression and plunder and to broaden their domination are becoming increasingly overt.

Frightened by the intensification of the revolutionary struggle of the progressive peoples of the world, the imperialists are making desperate efforts to maintain and expand their domination. They are resorting to constant armed interventions, subversive actions and destructive steps so as to halt the people's struggle for national independence and a new society. They are intensifying their unclean actions to put the newly liberated countries under their domination. First of all, they are strengthening their aggressive armed forces on a large scale and are unceasingly increasing the number of aggressive military bases in regions which have the largest resources and which have particular strategic importance and are conducting perfidious maneuvers so as to establish political, economic and political control over countries in those regions.

Because of the imperialist policy of aggression and war the international situation is extremely tense, and the danger of a new world war is growing with every passing day. Now the danger of a new world war has been aimed in the direction of Korea, the Near East, as well as Europe. All the peaceful peoples of the world should start a vigorous struggle so as to prevent the ever stronger imperialist policy of aggression and war and to defend peace and security in the world. Today no task is more important to the peaceful progressive peoples of the world than preventing a new world war. That is why it is necessary to defending peace and security in the world that all the anti-imperialist and independent forces, in firm unity, organize a vigorous movement for peace.

The progressive peaceful peoples of the world should resolutely protest the imperialist machinations of aggression and war, should brand them and deal a serious blow to imperialism wherever it extends its aggressive tentacles. In addition, the progressive countries of the world must not follow the imperialist policy of aggression and war, but must firmly maintain their independence. And that will decisively weaken the imperialist forces of aggression and isolate them to a still greater degree on the international scene, which will make them helpless and prevent them from waging a new world war.

To the end of preserving peace and protecting security in the world, an end must also be put to military growth and the arms race, and complete disarmament must be undertaken. The imperialist military growth and expansion in the arms field, which are becoming increasingly overt with every day, are still causing tension in the international situation to a great degree and are the cause of profound fears of peaceful people all over the world. All progressive people should strive to halt and prevent the growth of imperialist military strength and expansion of armament and should bring about complete disarmament.

Dissolution of all military blocs is very important to the defense of peace and security in the world. The military blocs are a constant factor threatening

peace and security in the world. It is most important that the peaceful peoples of the world strive to disband all the military blocs, including the aggressive blocs of the imperialists. When the military blocs are dissolved, aggressive military bases in other countries should be destroyed, and foreign troops withdrawn. We energetically demand that all foreign military bases be removed from South Korea and from many other parts of the world and that all aggressive troops be unconditionally withdrawn.

To the end of defending peace and security in the world, it is indispensable to commence a vigorous struggle to create atom-free zones, zones of peace in various regions of the world.

Nuclear weapons, which could inflict a catastrophe on humanity, have now been stockpiled in many parts of the world and are gradually taking over ever broader regions. If a new world war is to be averted and humanity saved from the horror of a nuclear war, nuclear tests, production, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons must be banned throughout the world, and all those weapons should be destroyed. In many European countries and many other parts of the world a vigorous struggle is being waged to halt the production of neutron weapons and for the creation of atom-free zones, peace zones. This is very gratifying to us.

OSLOBODJENJE: We have been witnesses, recently especially, of conflicts in which even certain nonaligned countries have found themselves on opposing sides. What comment do you have to make on that phenomenon, and in your opinion is it possible to set up mechanisms which would prevent future conflicts between the member countries of the nonaligned movement?

Kim Il-song: All the nonaligned countries must put unity above all else and make vigorous efforts to consolidate the movement's unity. Under no circumstances dare they do anything that would be fateful to the unity of this movement, but, on the contrary, they must do everything that is of benefit to that unity.

The nonaligned countries must resolve disputes and differences between individual countries on the basis of the principle of unity. They dare not be in conflict with one another. Differences in opinions and disputes between the individual countries ought to be resolved by negotiations between the interested parties in their mutual national interest and to the benefit of nonalignment as a whole. This is the way of inflicting a blow on the imperialists, who are attempting to cause bad blood between the newly liberated countries and to fish in muddy waters; this is the way to successfully overcome the various obstacles which lie in front of nonalignment and the strength and unity and solidarity of this movement.

Joint Efforts To Emerge From Backwardness

OSLOBODJENJE: The nonaligned movement is making tremendous efforts to build a new and more just international economic order [original reads "movement"]. As a distinguished statesman of a country which also has pressing economic problems, how do you look on this part of the activity of the nonaligned?

Kim Il-song: The nonaligned countries must not only be firmly united in the political sense, but also must collaborate closely together in the economic and technical fields.

Among the nonaligned countries there are developing countries which have valuable experience and progressive technology realized through the construction of a new life, and they possess wealth and resources. If they strengthen their economic and technical cooperation on the principle of mutual benefit, the newly liberated countries will be able to successfully solve the problem of food and other difficult and complicated issues they confront in building a new society, without seeking aid from the great powers. Consistently adhering to the principles of relying on their own resources, the nonaligned countries ought to become actively involved in mutual trade and cooperate closely with one another; in so doing those who possess the technology will make a contribution in that field, those which possess resources will contribute in that way, and those who possess financial resources will make their contribution.

Today the nonaligned countries and developing countries have established numerous organizations for economic and technical cooperation and are realizing their goals. They are holding international meetings which are useful to the development of science, education, culture and technology, and practical measures are adopted at those meetings. We believe that this is a wonderful thing.

If joint steps are taken against imperialism in firm political unity and close economic and technical cooperation under the banner of nonalignment, the nonaligned countries will be able to consolidate and quickly improve nonalignment and confidently perform their noble mission which has been conferred on them by the history of humanity and by the newly liberated peoples.

Three Principles in Development of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea

OSLOBODJENJE: Reliance on one'e own resources is one of the facts which has put the People's Democratic Republic of Korea among the countries with the fastest development in recent decades. The results achieved are truly impressive. How do you look upon that "reliance on one's own resources" in the context of the nonaligned movement, in the context of the developing countries which belong to the "Group of 77," can the Korean experience be applied on the international scene as well, what in this respect would be most worthwhile and what would be most effective?

Kim Il-song: DPR Korea has in the past year won a brilliant victory in socialist construction. We have thereby fully prepared ourselves for carrying out the tasks of a program which encompasses the magnificent goals of socialist construction affirmed at the party's sixth congress.

In 1981 our people achieved great success in all areas of politics, the economy and culture, resolutely carrying out three revolutions: ideological, technical and cultural--raising high the banner of the idea of /DYUCHE/ (full national independence and reliance on our own resources). In line with the party's policy, which gives priority to the ideological revolution, this revolution has been energetically carried out, and the result is that the intellectual and moral virtues of our working people have become still better. Today our entire working people, strongly armed with the revolutionary idea of our people, the idea of DYUCHE, is working industriously with a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm and creative initiative to carry out the guidelines and policy affirmed by the

party. The entire people has close ties to the party; they represent one idea and one will, and the entire society is firmly united in the political and ideological sense. There is not a single force in the world which could break down the political and ideological unity of our society, which is based on the idea of DYUCHE.

In 1981 great progress was also achieved in building a socialist economy. Thanks to intensified revolutionary enthusiasm and energetic labor efforts of our working people, a large number of giant and monumental projects were built, and great progress was made in production in all sectors of the national economy, which has strengthened even more the country's economic foundations and markedly augmented industrial and agricultural output.

In development of socialist culture in the past year public education has developed still more, the overall cultural and technical level of our working people has risen considerably, and many exceptional literary and artistic works have been published. Above all our scientists and technicians have been energetically conducting scientific research based on the firm viewpoint of the idea of DYUCHE, and that has resulted in numerous scientific and technical innovations which have treat importance to development of the national economy.

All of the success which our people has achieved in the past year in socialist construction represents a confident guarantee for still faster progress and still greater victories.

Long-Term Goals in the Transformation of Society

OSLOBODJENJE: What are the principal characteristics of the present development of DPR Korea, and what are the principal tasks and plans for the future?

Kim Il-song: The historic task was set forth at the sixth party congress of developing the entire society on the basis of the idea of DYUCHE. This means that all its members become party members of the DYUCHE type and that all aspects of social life are transformed in the way demanded by the idea of DYUCHE, through which the independence of the working masses can be fully achieved.

This means revolutionization, the working class approach and intellectual edification of all members of society, and in this way we will ensure conquest of the ideological fortress of communism. This presupposes that the national economy become DYUCHE-oriented, modernized and based on science. Only when we have firmly guaranteed the independent character of the national economy and have consistently improved its technical equipment and production and management on a new scientific footing by introducing the DYUCHE orientation, modernization and scientific soundness of the national economy can we lay firm material and technical foundations of socialism and communism and adequately guarantee the working people an independent material and cultural life.

The sixth congress of our party set 10 long-range goals for socialist economic construction during the eighties in order to speed up the patterning of the entire society according to the idea of DYUCHE. The goals are for an annual output (in the near future) of 100 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power, 120 million

tons of coal, 15 million tons of steel, 1.5 million tons of nonferrous metals, 20 million tons of cement, 7 million tons of chemical fertilizer, 1.5 billion meters of fabrics, 5 million tons of products from the sea, and 15 million tons of grain, as well as transforming 300,000 hectares of fallow land into cropland over the next 10 years. When these goals are achieved, our country will be among the world leaders with respect to economic progress and it will lay firm material and technical foundations which will reliably guarantee the complete victory of socialism, and the material and cultural level of our people will rise considerably. Now all our working people, with great hopes for the future and firm belief in triumph, are striving to achieve these magnificent long-range targets. On the basis of the great revolutionary enthusiasm and fighting spirit of our people I believe that these tasks will be performed even before the date which has been set.

Creation of a Korean Confederation Has Been Proposed

OSLOBODJENJE: Following World War II several countries were divided. Except for Korea, all the others have found a way to come closer in some degree. What are the prospects for this happening in Korea as well?

Kim Il-song: At the Sixth Congress of the Korean Workers Party in 1980 a new proposal was adopted for reunification of the country on the basis of three principles: independence, peaceful union and national unity.

This new proposal presupposes that the country would be reunified by establishing a confederative republic, by forming a unified national government under the condition the North and South recognize and tolerate the ideas and social systems which each of them has, and in the government there would be complete equality in the representation of the two sides, and both North and South would have regional autonomy, along with equal rights and obligations.

The democratic confederative republic of Korea should be a coalition of the North and South, whereby it would become a unified state representing the entire Korean people and as such would conduct an independent, democratic, neutral, nonaligned and peaceful policy.

The program for reunification of the country through formation of a democratic confederative republic of Korea is winning the full support and widespread approval of all people in the north and south of our country and of all Koreans living abroad and is eliciting a great deal of support among the peoples of the entire world. If the country is to be reunited in that way, the first thing is to liquidate the fascist military system that is ruling in South Korea, and democratize society.

In South Korea today there is an extremely brutal and shameless fascist government without precedent in history. The present South Korean military fascist clique, which came to power through the conspiracy and manipulation of the American imperialists, is trampling on the elementary democratic freedoms and rights of the people and is openly terrorizing the people by enacting various fascist laws and mobilizing an immense repressive machine.

So long as the military fascist regime which is brutally oppressing and killing patriotic people who demand democracy and reunification in South Korea remains in power, it is impossible to achieve national peace and unity and carry out any proposal for peaceful reunification of the country. All the fascist laws and repressive measures should be abrogated in South Korea, all parties should guarantee free political action to all public organizations and individuals, and the military fascist clique should be removed from power and a democratic government established.

One of the important tasks in order to achieve national reunification through formation of a democratic confederative republic of Korea has to do with relieving tension and eliminating the danger of war in our country.

Great Danger That War Will Break Out

In Korea at present large armed forces are confronting one another in the North and South, and between them there is the military demarcation line. On the pretext of fabricated "threats of an invasion from the North," the South Korean military fascist government purchased from the United States of America large quantities of the most up-to-date lethal weapons and modern military equipment and almost every day is organizing unrestrained military maneuvers in which American soldiers participate. Because of maneuvers which American imperialism and the South Korean military fascist government are conducting with a view to a new war, the situation in our country is now extremely tense and there is a danger that war will break out any moment. Under the circumstances of extreme tension and the intensified danger of war, the country cannot be peacefully reunited.

In order to relieve tension and remove the danger of war in our country, the Korean military agreement on the cease fire must be replaced by a peace treaty. We have long since been making ceaseless proposals to the United States, a signatory of the Korean military agreement on the cease fire, for its replacement by a peace treaty. However, the American authorities still have not accepted our reasonable proposal. Keeping South Korea under their occupation, they are constantly reinforcing their military support to the South Korean military fascists.

If the American authorities are the least bit interested in peace in Korea and in a peaceful solution of the Korean question, they should accept our fair proposal for conclusion of a peace treaty and withdraw their soldiers from South Korea as soon as possible.

To the end of independent and peaceful reunification of our country, it is indispensable to do away with the conspiracy of the American imperialists concerning "two Koreas" and put an end to their machinations whereby they interfere in our internal affairs.

The American imperialists have adopted creation of "two Koreas" as the overriding strategy of their policy toward Korea and are using every means at their disposal to achieve that. They are urging on the South Korean puppet clique toward national discord and confrontation between North and South, and are vigorously furthering that confrontation.

That is the principal obstacle to independent and peaceful reunification of our country.

The United States of America ought not to continue to conduct its policy of "two Koreas" any longer, a policy which opposes the aspirations of the entire Korean people and is contrary to the trend of our time; it ought to stop supporting the South Korean military fascist clique which is stifling democracy and is brutally oppressing the people and should refrain from its interference in the internal affairs of Korea. Were the United States to withdraw from South Korea and to stop standing in the way of reunification of Korea, our people would establish a democratic confederative republic of Korea and would reunite the country by peaceful means and through joint efforts.

Preconditions for the Country's Reunification

For the country to be reunified to form a democratic confederative republic of Korea, it is essentially important that a high degree of unity of the entire nation be achieved.

The proposal for establishing a democratic confederative republic of Korea is aimed at achieving national reunification. It therefore presupposes a high degree of unity in the entire nation. National reunification is unthinkable without cooperation and unity of the entire nation and the democratic confederative republic of Korea cannot be formed without a high level of national unity. All Koreans in the north, in the south and abroad need to be firmly united under the banner of national reunification, overcoming differences in ideology and social system, party allegiance and political views, and they should participate actively in forming a large national united front.

For the proposal to establish a democratic confederative republic of Korea to be realized as soon as possible, political parties and public organizations in the northern half of the republic jointly proposed in August 1981 that a conference be called on national reunification in which the participants would be representatives of the various parties and groupings and individuals from all social strata in the north, south and abroad who are striving for reunification of the country.

This proposal has been warmly supported by many groupings of our patriots within the country and abroad. The conference on reunification, when it is called, will seriously examine and resolve various problems related to national reunification, including the question of forming the democratic confederative republic of Korea.

There are still various obstacles on the road toward national reunification because of the opportunistic activity of the American imperialists and their puppets. However, our country will certainly be reunited thanks to the vigorous struggle of the entire Korean people and the favorable support and influences of the progressive peoples all over the world.

Tito Is the Founder of the Nonaligned Movement

OSLOBODJENJE: The peoples of Yugoslavia will never forget the cordiality with which Pyongyang and the people of DPR Korea greeted our President Tito during visit to your country. Among other things (for example, agreement on many questions in international relations, and indeed similarities in historic development) this memory is a guarantee of the further development of friendly relations between Korea and Yugoslavia. Please tell us how you look upon the present level of their development and the contribution to development of nonalignment?

Kim Il-song: We will strive to turn the Korean peninsula into an atom-free zone of peace and we will actively support the struggle of the peaceful peoples of the world to create such zones in Asia, in the Near East, in Africa, in Latin America and Europe. The Korean people loves peace devotedly. The struggle for a lasting peace and security in the world is a consistent policy of our party and our republic's government. As in the past, so in the future our party and the government of our republic will collaborate closely with the peoples of all progressive countries in the world, including the socialist and nonaligned countries, and will strive to halt and frustrate the imperialist policy of aggression and war and to preserve peace and security in the world.

I would use this occasion to express profound gratitude to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and to the government and people of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for their active support and encouragement in achieving the goal of reunification of our people.

Yugoslavia has long been a member of the nonaligned movement. Twenty years ago, when the world was divided into blocs and spheres of influence, and when the danger of a new world war was increasing all the time, the heads of state of many countries, including Yugoslavia, met in Belgrade, inspired by the noble idea of freedom and equality, peace and progress, and they raised the banner of nonalignment.

I would like to express high praise of the great contribution of Comrade Tito, the distinguished leader of the Yugoslav people, to the establishment, consolidation and development of nonalignment.

It is not such a long time since our country became a member of the nonaligned movement. However, since we have joined the ranks of that movement we have made all possible efforts to strengthen and develop it. Just as it has done in the past, so in the future DPR Korea will adhere to the principles and ideas of nonalignment and strive to strengthen and develop that movement.

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INCIDENTS OF ALBANIAN CHAUVINISM IN ULCINJ ASSAILED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1616, 20 Dec 81 pp 20-21

[Article by Svetislav Spasojevic and Slobodan Vukovic: "Seminar on Nationalism"]

[Text] The proposal by the Opstina Conference of the Ulcinj LCY to expel 10 educational workers from the LCY and to remove 9 from the schools, should be understood solely as the first step in straightening out relations with everyone "who was working for enemy causes" in this small city along the southern coast and who was "disturbing the traditional good relations between Albanians and Montenegrins." That this appraisal of the determination of the communists to do away with everything and everyone that has been damaging the relations between the two peoples is correct, can be proven by reports from meetings of the basic organizations in which, during the week just passed, communists put into effect the recommendation of the Opstina Conference of the LCY and even went a step further.

It is essential that Ulcinj communists, as well as the Albanians, have finally realized that solving the problem of those who work for Albanian nationalism and irredentism is something they themselves must do and that they alone should carry out this task. Previously for a long time everyone was silent and satisfied that Albanian nationalism would not get out of hand."

Dressed like the Flag

The announcement of the first proposal and other punishments thus is an official interruption of the long silence and a definitive severance with all those who have attacked the heritage of the revolution. A completely different question is whether the voice is being raised in time and whether the actions should have been taken somehwat earlier, thus perhaps avoiding certain difficulties.

The dimensions of the nationalistic and irredentist, counterrevolutionary activity in Kosovo have been reflected, of course, in the policiatl situation in Ulcinj. Even when the events first started in the province, the manifest intentions of the enemy to transmit and expand its activities in an organized manner to all regions where Albanians live had emerged. "Emissaries" from Kosovo appeared, who on different occasions and in different situations worked to spread Albanian nationalism and irredentism. In addition, it should not for a moment be forgotten that the area in which Ulcinj is located has been subjected to the powerful influence of propaganda from neighboring Albania. This has mainly been through radio and television programs.

Before long, one could encounter in Ulcinj people dressed in red trousers, black shirts and white caps. This manner of dress symbolized the Albanian flag. In the schools, slogans of the enemy appeared, and songs of the Albanian Workers Party and Enver Hodza were heard. Incidents were also recorded in which citizens were not waited on in the markets who did not address the seller in the Albanian language. Students from the border town of Sukobin, who go to school in Kosovo, demanded that the conductor of the bus operating on that line speak Albanian.

A certain number of nationalists did not work publicly and it was not easy to uncover them. They avoided speaking in public but carried out their preferred activity of indoctrinating children in the schools where they worked. As a result of this type of education, for 10 years in schools in the village of Vladimir, Yugoslav hymns have not been heard!

As time passed, people began to show their disposition. As early as last fall they came out with clear political goals and determinations in the struggle against the LCY, its policies and socialistic self-management. Activities representing these positions appeared for the most part in the Brotherhood and Unity School Center in Ulcinj, the Bedri Elezara Elementary School in Vladimir and in the local community of the border town Sukobin, where records of Albanian songs were played at high volume, as if to enable the "brothers" on the far side of the border to hear them.

No One against Nationalism

The culmination was the September seminar for educational workers who conduct classes in the schools in the Albanian language. The seminar, in the interests of the professional, pedagogic, ideological and political betterment of elementary and secondary school teachers, was organized by the Institute for the Advancement of Education in the Socialist Republic of Crna Gora.

The group of educationsl workers attempted to turn the Ulcinj seminar into a political demonstration of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. Under the guise of professional discussions, Mehmet Barli, Tahir Perezaj, Bajram Redza, Mejrema Maraj, Mehdi Alaj and Redzep Kokaj stated theses that differed not at all from the claims of the counterrevolutionaries in Kosovo and from the anti-Yugoslav campaign from Albania. It disturbed them that Yugoslav writers are in the literary textbooks; they opposed the collaboration of the educational and pedagogic institutes of the Socialist Republic of Crna Gora with the corresponding institutes in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. They are feverishly struggling with the use in school programs of subject matter, textbooks and literature that facilitates the nationalistic indoctrination of school-age youths and children. It was obvious that the declarations made at the Ulcinj seminar were prepared and organized painstakingly. This is also confirmed by the fact that some people utilized certain weaknesses in the use of language and the bilingual administration as part of the argument of professed danger to the Albanian nationality in the Socialist Republic of Crna Gora.

The seminar, however, as planned, was upposed to be occupied with a program of work in the schools. Instead, questions began to fly fast and furiously: Did the Montenegrins really free Ulcinj from the Turks? Why the Albanian language, as a required subject, is not studied in all departments where classes are held in

Serbo-Croatian? Why did they not remove the two letters "ic" from the last names of all Albanians forever, with one decision at the Yugoslav level, but instead everyone must change their last names themselves? Will the Albanian flag also fly in the Bar region?

However, as emphasized at the meeting of the Opstina Committee of the Ulcinj LCY, remarkably almost no one of the 150 participants in the seminar reacted to, or opposed, the nationalistic discussions and attacks. In stead of decisive opposition, nationalists were allowed to be presented as defenders and saviors of the Albanian nationality in the Ulcinj Opstina. Undoubtedly, the political situation in some schools and local communities has been disturbed. Part of the organization and membership of the LCY demonstrated opportunism, indecisiveness and unsatisfactory militancy. Now some members of the LCY have "humbled themselves" with the excuse that they allegedly did not recognize the nationalists. They now condemn these persons, "if it was them"

The True Face of Nationalism

In order that these questions, which, it must be freely admitted, have the ring of a certain belated echo of nationalism and irredentism, not remain only a matter of "verbal output," many people, above all certain members of the LCY from the Bedri Elezara Elementary School in Vladimir and the Sukobin local community, have taken some actions just a few days after the seminar. In the Vladimir school, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary celebration of the Mirke Srzentic Library, a number in Serbo-Croatian was deleted from the cultural and artistic program and the celebration was not begun with Yugoslav hymns. In the local community in Sukobin, during the meeting of the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Worker's Party, records were played with songs glorifiying the Albanian party and Enver Hodza.

In all these dishonorable efforts, the main discussions have been led by the educational workers. The majority of them are members of the LCY, and some are members of the Opstina Conference and the Opstina Committee of the LCY. Looking back at the conduct of these educational workers, the old communist, Redzep Spahic, said that the young educational workers had not, in truth, participated in our revolution, when brotherhood and unity had been tarnished but they had nevertheless sufficient opportunity to study its history. Then speaking about the recent seminar, he said that it is good that the nationalists showed their true face in it. What would happen, asked Redzep Spahic, if we experienced agression? How would those who so loudly sing to Enver Hodza of Albania behave then?

Marke Kaludjerovic, president of the Parliament of the Ulcinj Opstina, metioned that in the city in which he is the leader, there has been a long silence about the weaknesses. Then he stressed that more than 150 educational workers participated in the seminar, of which over 100 were LCY members. He was stunned that no one reacted or responded to the questions posed but only a few people left the auditorium of the Brotherhood and Unity School Center.

Response of the Communists

Delegates of the Opstina Conference of the LCY, at a meeting held at the end of last week, made some decisions and many more proposals, which were sent to the basic organizations of the LCY and other organizations in order to take measures against the advocates of nationalism and irredentism.

It was decided that the LCY basic organization in the Local Community of Sukobin be dismissed and that the responsibility of each member be established. In addition, the conference expelled from membership a teacher from the Bosko Strugar Elementary School in Ulcinj, Petar Mirdita, and proposed to the LCY basic organization of the school that he be expelled from the LCY. A teacher from the Bedri Elezara Elementary School in Vladimir, Kasem Ceka, was expelled from membership in the Opstina Conference and the Opstina Committee of the LCY. It was proposed to the basic organization in the school that a reprimand be given to Ceka; the self-management organs of the local community, of which he is president, were asked to begin proceedings to replace him. The reason for these measures against Mirdita and Ceka is their extreme opportunism in reaction to the outpouring of nationalism at the seminar of educational workers, held at the end of September, in which a group of educational workers attempted to turn the meeting into a demonstration of Albanian nationalism. For the same reasons, it was proposed to the Opstina Conference of the SAWPY to make a decision concerning the cessation of the mandate of Sumi Kokaj in the Republic Conference of the SAWPY, the Opstina Conference of SAWPY and the presidency of the Opstina Conference of SAWPY.

Because of open nationalistic behavior at the seminar of educational workers, the Opstina Conference of the LCY proposed to the LCY basic organization of the Brotherhood and Unity School Center that Tahir Perezaj, Bajram Redza and Mejrema Maraj be expelled from their ranks, as well as Cazim Redza for his behavior at the secretariat of the LCY basic organization. The conference also proposed to the self-management organs of the school center that these four be removed from the staff, as well as Mehmed Barli, who is not an LCY member.

Because of passive behavior, the director, Bahrija Mila, and his assistant, Rajko Pavicsvic, are to assume the responsibility for the situation at the school center. It was proposed to the basic organization of the center that these two be reprimanded, and to the self-management organs that proceedings be instituted to dismiss them from their duties.

An echo of irredentism at the seminar also characterized the reports of some educational workers at the Bedri Elezara Elementary School in Vladimir. Because of this, it was proposed to the LCY basic organization in this school that Mehdi Alaj and Redzep Kokaj be expelled from their ranks. The same proposal was also sent for the secretary of the school, Avni Kurti, as well as for the acting director, Idriz Kalaba. It was proposed to the self-management organs of the school in Vladimir that Alaj, Kokaj and Kalaba be removed from the staff. The proposal for removal from the staff was also sent for the teacher Kadri Dodaj. Also, it was proposed that confidence in the secretariat of the LCY basic organization of the Bedri Elezara School has been withdrawn and reprimands given to all members of the secretariat. It was proposed to the LCY basic oragnization that, in addition to Petar Mirdita, Deda Zadrima be expelled from the Bosko Strugar Elementary School and that Arslana Bisaja be reprimanded.

It was proposed to the LCY basic organization of the Marko Napulovic Elementary School in Stoj that Zefi Mirditi, Vati Elezovic, Rozi Pejovic, Dodi Ali and Sabana Cekaja be reprimanded because of opportunistic conduct during September.

Criticism was directed to the secretariat of the LCY basic organization at the Marshall Tito Elementary School by the conference because of indecisiveness in dealing with the nationalistic occurrences.

In Ulcinj, it was determined, therefore, that the clash with the nationalists is a most important problem. The LCY epstina organization demonstrated decisiveness and unity in exposing the nationlistic phenomena and their advocates. This is only part of the task before them. As Comrade Mijat Sukovic, a member of the Central Committee of the LCY who took part in the work of the meeting of the Opstina Conference of the Ulcinj LCY, emphasized, the actions still to come will not be easy. To fulfill them will require knowledge, skill and revolutionary acuity. SAWPY, the League of Socialist Youth, the trade union--all must be included in this effort. It is necessary to organize and develop the still broader and more decisive activity of the LCY among working people, citizens and youth, in order to discuss, expose and incapacitate enemy activity.

It is, therefore, not too late. It might be said, in truth, that we should waste no time.

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CRITIQUES OF DEDIJER'S LATEST BOOK REVIEWED

Arguments Over History

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1620, 17 Jan 82 pp 19-22

[Article by Zvonko Simic: "'Novi prilozi ...' Under Fire"]

[Text] If a book is measured by its commercial success or by the number of copies sold, and probably also by the number of readers, Dedijer's "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita" [New Contributions to a Biography of Josip Broz Tito], Vol 2, would be the book of the year.

On the eve of the New Year the book had "dried up" in certain Belgrade bookstores, and certain customers had the impression that it had been withdrawn, which is not the case.

Milan Polovina, chief of the Belgrade branch office of Mladost, the Zagreb publishing house which is the book's copublisher and distributor, told NIN that the shortage around New Year's was caused by the unexpected demand--about 2,000 copies were sold in a day or two--and that now the book is being sold normally. I do not recall, he said, when any book of this kind has sold like this.

Of the total printing of 70,000 copies Belgrade has so far consumed 8,000 on subscription and as many again in bookstores.

About the Facts

But aside from the yardstick of the number of copies sold, the book is also subject to other standards of measurement. On several occasions Dedijer has publicly called for suggestions and unsparing criticism. Well, it can be said that he has got what he asked for. In some 50 notices, reviews, statements, clarifications, articles, interviews and letters to the editor gathered as documentation for this article and published in some 15 daily newspapers, weeklies, other periodicals and TV programs, the unfavorable judgments far exceeded the favorable or "mixed" reviews.

It is best to begin with Dedijer's attitude toward the facts. Professor Julijana Vrcinac criticized Dedijer (in POLITIKA) for not respecting one of the main principles of historical science: checking every fact.

It follows from Dedijer's interpretation of one conversation with Tito that Tito--pursuant to a directive of Manuil'skiy (who headed the Comintern in the late thirties): attack fascism regardless of the Soviet-German pact--issued (wrote) a proclamation against the Anschluss (Germany's annexation of Austria). However, Manuil'skiy's directive dates from September 1939, and the proclamation against the Anschluss is known to have been published in March 1938!

"Tito made history," Professor Vrcinac says. "His life was so rich that he could not be expected to remember all the dates. Yet it is the duty of the man who regards himself as Tito's biographer or as a historian to check when things really happened."

According to Dedijer, in August 1938 Tito was waiting to be admitted to the building of the Comintern in Moscow. While he was waiting, they received Petko Miletic. In August 1938 Miletic was still in prison in Sremska Mitrovica!

According to ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, Tempo reproached Dedijer for trying to leave the impression that he attended the historic meeting at the Ribnikar villa on 4 July 1941. It is a matter of precise record who attended, Tempo says. "Vladimir Dedijer was standing watch in front of the villa and nothing more."

In a New Year's interview which Vladimir Bakaric gave to Marinko Gruic for START, VJESNIK AND VECERNJI LIST, he answered one question about Dedijer's book. Focusing on Chapter 11, entitled "The Great Powers and the Partition of Yugoslavia," Bakaric said that it is based on prejudice. The bias consists of the judgment that the Soviet Union wanted to partition Yugoslavia--which is not so, at least not at that time, and in the assessment of the "roots of nationalism in the party, among Croatian communists."

"The real basis of both prejudices is a deep-seated unitarianism," Bakaric said.

He goes on to explain (in paraphrase) that the Comintern and Soviet Union were interested in defending the first country of socialism, and the question of Yugoslavia's territorial integrity was completely secondary for them. What Kopinic did in 1941 in Croatia (accusations against certain of the most prestigious party leaders, the attempt to remove the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia and the like--Z. S.) was obviously his personal initiative, and not an initiative of the Comintern and the Soviets. Dedijer attempts to take Hebrang as an example in demonstrating those alleged roots of separatism. The base of the party in Croatia was Yugoslavia's federal system. "So: never separatism and never nationalism."

"Nationalism did at times have some effect on the party in Croatia, and that on several occasions," Bakaric said, "but the 'root' of this did not lie in the Croatian communist, but outside it. And what need did they have for Hebrang? Well, Hebrang was necessary in order to show that this was a constant problem."

Bakaric went on to say: "I have been aware of this prejudice of Dedijer's both about the Croats and about the Soviet Union from way back, and I know that there is no point in trying to explain anything to him in this case, since this cannot be explained to him. He did something contemptible to me, something outright

contemptible, when he put in my mouth the supposition that Rankovic was eavesdropping on Tito in collusion with Comrade Jovanka Broz. And NIN turned that supposition into a hypothesis. So it more or less linked me to some kind of investigation, though in the first sentence of our interview I said at once that I know nothing about that matter.... I never even had such a thought, nor such a supposition, nor was I concerned about it at all, and now he has attempted to get me into a mess."

Political Pornography

In another interview (with the newspaper INTERVJU) Gojko Nikolis, member of the academy, said in part: "It seems to me that Dedijer's book is the most sensational of all which have appeared in our time and on our soil. It is sensational for the chaotic nature of its structure and methodology, for its pseudoscholarship because of the elements of political pornography, but also because of certain challenges which historians will have to answer at some point.... Dedijer's book really offers quite a few tidbits for coffeehouse gossipers, but in my belief this can only be a momentary situation, one which can be successfully overcome only with the truth. Nothing worse could be imagined at this moment than for the archives to be sealed and historians to be silenced. As we know, shops can also be therapeutic."

The writer Miodrag Bulatovic issued one of the rare judgments of Dedijer's book which have been unreservedly favorable: "Dedijer has made the stage broader, has torn down many of the wings: history is taking place not in a little theater, but in an amphitheater, in the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] Stadium!"

In the Zagreb paper OKO Vlado Ostric says of Dedijer that "he very often enters into the most frank and delicate questions without distinguishing the essential and inessential, heedless of the lack of sound sources, he takes up anything as a source, even to the level of personal retaliation and revenge after the fact, of storytelling and stories at secondhand, he is guided by his personal inclinations and aversions concerning both the dead and the living, he does not stop before the domain of intimate and private life, he does not allow himself to be hindered by the usual human considerations toward anyone, he does not even spare Tito or his family or his relatives, but, it must be admitted, he is consistent, he does not spare himself nor his own family...."

With respect to Dedijer's statements from the rostrum of the workers' university in Subotica, when he sharply criticized "various history institutes which write so-called contemporary history," and referred to historians as toadies, Pero Damjanovic, editor in chief of the "Sabrana djela" [Collected Works] of Josip Broz Tito, reacted, summing up his reproaches of Dedijer's book in a series of questions, of which these are some:

"What is the author's attitude toward his sources and what range of things are credited as historical sources?

"Are the content and thrust of testimony by participants in and witnesses of historic events always maintained undistorted in the book?

"Is it allowed to include insinuations, half-truths, and even street gossip in a book said to be a 'contribution to history'?

"How authentic is the picture given of Tito, of his collaborators, of his fellow fighters and of our revolution?

"Did the author, as he often says, receive a mandate to write a book with this content, with this conception and at this level?"

Even for a reader who is not a historian it is not difficult to find in this book, which in the physical sense is a monster weighing 2 kilograms and 100 grams without the jacket (I measured it myself), elements of what Damjanovic and the other critics are talking about. "A person in whom I have confidence ... told me...," Dedijer writes, that "an impression of the lock" was made "for a key" to open Tito's personal safe containing the most confidential documents.

There is hardly place for such "sources" in a book which makes claim to being history. Dedijer gives the remark "about notes from the Brioni Plenum being found in Jovanka Budisavljevic's washing machine," without even the "someone told me" with which such things are supported in conversation.

The more attentive reader may suspect--from the level of scrupulousness in use of sources--what sentiments Dedijer feels toward the person whom those sources describe.

"Mikica, You Pig!"

Many passages--Dedijer's own text, or passages taken from other people--scattered in this book sometimes make interesting material as journalism, essay or history, but they have nothing to do with Tito's biography.

No small part of the public reactions to "Novi prilozi ..." are concerned with what might be called the "garnishing": Is Dedijer Tito's official biographer, what are his personal ethics, did he put documents obtained for one purpose to some other purpose, and so on? The lowest point of this context is in the emphasis which some people put on Dedijer's stay abroad, after 1954, when he was expelled from the League of Communists, as though that stay disqualifies him as a historian and biographer!

Blazo Jankovic, a member of the party since 1932, accuses Dedijer in KOMUNIST of having committed the greatest slander of the revolution because of the episode with the Partisan delegation which was negotiating with the Germans about exchange of prisoners and tried to get a certain tactical respite for the Partisans on the eve of the most difficult trials of our entire war. But this episode had already been brought to light in our country by J. Tomasevic in his book "Cetnici u drugom svetskom ratu" [The Chetniks in World War II] several years ahead of Dedijer.

However, Ivica Racan, chairman of the Committee for Commemorating Tito's Life Work and Name in Croatia, articulates his view quite differently: "My generation and I have an extremely high opinion of Dedijer, and many of us gained knowledge

about our revolution from his early books. No one is overjoyed with what Dedijer has gotten into and what is now happening to him. Whether he was aware of it or not, all of this has its deeper background, since there are those who want to win as many cheap points as possible in an ideological and political sense, taking advantage of Dedijer's situation." (Taken from POLITIKA)

The historian Milovan Dzelebdzic has been firing heavy guns at Dedijer in several installments in VECERNJE NOVOSTI: "Dedijer has patiently waited for his 5 minutes in order to show his true faith and confirm that he never renounced certain positions of Milovan Djilas, who until yesterday was his close friend and is a renegade of the communist movement. Dedijer has been waiting for his chance to take revenge for 1954, when he was expelled from the LCY and from the School of Philosophy and after which, at his own wish, he spent several years abroad."

After this kind of personal moral and political discrediting, the argument is developed that Dedijer appropriated someone else's work (that of Dzelebdzic and his colleagues; the matter concerns mainly documents which Dedijer published in the concluding section of the book, where they take up more than 200 pages). Dzelebdzic says that Dedijer offered him 20 million old dinars in damages; "he attempted to buy my silence and thus to exclude my property right as an author," while he, Dzelebdzic, categorically refused.

And now who is taking revenge on whom?!

To be sure, it is not easy to understand how one can claim the right of authorship of historical documents. This question has in fact been put in an interview which Milovan Bosic, chief of the archives of the LCY Central Committee, gave to VECERNJE NOVOSTI:

"I understand the chagrin of the comrades who have been preparing the 'Sabrana djela' of Comrade Tito, since their long years of work to complete the collection of documents, to interpret new concepts, and to comment has been taken over, without that being mentioned in the book--what is more, these people, whose behavior has been quite correct, are pelted with insults. But they also go to an emotional extreme and often say 'he took my documents,' 'he took my material,' and thus come close to the behavior of a huckster in the style of 'my archives,' 'my newly discovered material,' ... when all of this has long been in the archives, registered, sorted and accessible to anyone."

An approach which might be referred to as "hit the man, ignore the book" probably reached its climax in "kernels" in the periodical SVIJET, published in Sarajevo. One "kernel" which was a pearl was served as the first course of an article about the billions which Dedijer is getting for his books; it went like this: "Belgrade 1951. Stadium of the Yugoslav Army, soccer match between Yugoslavia and Sweden. Score tied at halftime 1:1. Vladimir Dedijer, director of BORBA and president of the Yugoslav Soccer Federation, strode with giant steps toward the press box and shouted to Ljubisa Vukadinovic:

"'Ljubisa, I have an idea!'

"'Let's hear it, Comrade Vlado!'

"'For tomorrow's headline in POLITIKA to be "Mikica, You Pig."'"

Unacceptable Alibi

"Vukadinovic managed a timid smile. Mikica Arsenijevic was at that time the captain of the national all-star team."

SVIJET does not say who it was that recalled the incident in the stadium in 1951 unless it is Dzavid Husic, whose name appears under "Kernels." This kind of unattributed recollection puts no obligation on anyone. And without going through the old files, relying on common sense, you can bet 10 to 1 that no title like that saw the light of day in POLITIKA in 1951. What is more, neither before that nor afterward. Just as Dedijer has here and there used unattributed recollections, it seems now that the author of "Kernels" has done the same, just a bit more crudely.

The author of the present article had occasion to meet Dedijer at approximately that time (Dubrovnik Chess Tournament in 1950), and he can state that Dedijer was neither soft nor sweet in his dealings with the small fry of the newspaper world at that place and time. His style was probably taken from the "Bolshevik model": hard, quick tempered, peremptory, urgent, that of a man with a mission of the party and the power to carry it out. Perhaps Dedijer was even harsher than that style. However, neither Vladimir Dedijer's personality, nor his private manners, nor various actions of his and his life, nor his political and party past are the occasion or topic of the current public debate. Incidentally, those things were presumably cleared up before the archives of confidential documents were opened to Dedijer by an order issued from the highest places. In any case the discussion is about "Novi prilozi...," and not about turns of destiny in the author's life.

How is one to account for this need to discredit the book by slinging mud at the author, when in and of itself it abounds in material for devastating criticism? Is it possible that this substitution of the target will fail to discourage potential authors of critical, but better books about the recent past?

The title of the book, in which the emphasis is on the word "contributions" was probably chosen so as to answer in advance criticism about the incompleteness, indefinitiveness and unpolished state of a huge work. Not, then, a biography, but "contributions for a biography," which would mean that more contributions are yet to be made, and supposedly later, out of that mass of contributions, the true biography would be synthesized, along with many interpretations, condensations and culling.

The critics have not accepted this alibi of Dedijer's. "Tito Cannot Be Written About in This Way," is the title of an article in a Rijeka newspaper written by Petar Strcic, director of the Croatian Archives.

Dedijer used a similar method--mixing history and journalism--three decades ago in preparing his first "Prilozi za Titovu biografiju" [Contributions to Tito's Biography], and they were highly praised both then and recently, when they were reprinted.

Dedijer has in the meantime enriched his experience as a historian, has acquired new knowledge, has had access afforded very few others to documents and to people who had some testimony to present. Nevertheless, "Novi prilozi...," with some exceptions, has been given bad marks.

What happened? Did Dedijer run out of strength, assistance, determination and time to check many things out, to compare, to investigate, to reject, to do a great deal more work on this before presenting it to the public; has he become too impatient with the years?

Slavko Goldstayn, director of Libera, once told this reporter that it was easy for a publisher to take a certain risk, even a political risk, if the book was good. Then it would defend itself. In that context Dedijer's book is not defending itself well, i.e., it is defending itself primarily with the size of the printing, the number of readers. But that brings up the objection that (some of) its content is "at the street gossip level," of interest only to a blase and snobbish public, pathologically desirous of sensation at all costs (P. Strpic).

Sensitive Points

What might be defended on this occasion is the right to make a mistake, to write a bad book, and also the right to study even the most sensitive points of very recent history. Kopinic and Kerestinec. "Retortion" (an expression of the time for "leftward deviation") and so many other things.

There remains the most delicate question of this story. When thousands of people in a month or two, in the midst of this rise in the cost of living and decline in the standard of living, have reached deep into their pockets to buy a book that costs 1,400 dinars, that fact cannot be explained away merely by the book's gabfests, nor merely by the clamorous advertising campaign. Nor can the phenomenon be described and written off merely as unwholesome petty bourgeois relishing of gossip and someone else's private affairs, though all of that has also come to be part of this book seller's event which is out of the ordinary.

In one of the first reviews of "Novi prilozi...," carried over Belgrade television, Branislav Milosevic tries to figure out the reason for the success of Dedijer's books with the public, and he says that, first, these are "topics of fateful importance to the people of this country (the revolution, the break with the Cominform, Tito's career)," and then the acute journalist's sense "of what is interesting in every topic, regardless of its seriousness and its specific historical weight."

"In Dedijer's interpretation history can never be boring: whenever the danger of boredom arises, Dedijer will bring in some detail or some turn which will open up to the reader a broad field of associations and bold suppositions; if that is not enough, he will enter into an interesting digression about the participants in the various events which if nothing else will show that history has always and everywhere been made by people of flesh and blood and not by spokesmen of great idea in human form."

The Other Side of the Rose-Colored Selection

There is also something else to be added. Works about our quite recent past and its protagonists, especially those popular genres--literature, the film and memoirs--have been rose colored, some less some more. Least of all that professional book which is of interest to a quite narrow group of specialists, and most of all that book which is for mass consumption.

On the other side of the facts which have been chosen through rose-colored glasses, the mature consumer of such works may feel an information gap which, like every vacuum, seeks to be filled rapidly. Is it not the case, then, of Dedijer's book, that it has been simply sucked up by that vacuum? And is not one of the reasons why it is so understated, so imprecise, so indelicate and in places so untruthful precisely that Dedijer was led on more by his journalist's nose than by the calling and temperament of a historian--to fill the vacuum as soon as the occasion presented itself? It would have been worthwhile to work several more years on this material.

It seems that a book in which it is easier to count the faults than to prove the virtues has reached the public at large before possible better books and more complete books. We should expect that those future books will gradually displace or replace it.

Reader's Response

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1621, 24 Jan 82 pp 3, 6

[Letter to the editor by Milorad Vucelic in response to the article "[illegible] prilozi ...' Under Fire," NIN, No 1620: "Criticism of the Criticism"]

[Text] It is certain that the second volume of Vladimir Dedijer's book "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita" abounds in oversights, certain inaccuracies and faults, and that diverse critical reproaches can be addressed to it. In any case it is invaluable to have well-documented public critical discussion of any public matter. But it seems that there is less and less of that.

Many of our prestigious newspapers carried parts of Dedijer's book with a great deal of advertising and ceremony just before it came out and afterward. And now, supposedly in order to salve their guilty consciences, some of them have been racing each other in an offensive which almost resembles a manhunt against this book and other of Dedijer's books.

What reproaches are not leveled against Dedijer: that he was a dissident, that he lies about when and why he visited Tito, that he has published existing historical documents which are treated as though they were not for publication (!), and in addition certain specialists had appropriated them and looked upon them as their own work (!), and that the foreign press is carrying it.... The culmination of these attacks was undoubtedly achieved with Dusan Biber's statement (over television) on BORBA's Round Table. With unambiguous hatred Biber spoke lightly about Dedijer's voice, which might well have been sobbing concerning the

death of his wife Olga, or, more accurately, her being wounded and dying. This scene at the same time is one of the most embarrassing which has ever been seen on our television.

In all of this there is complete neglect of the fact that Dedijer's book, for all its faults, has brought to light much of what was kept silent or not spoken about for years, what was skipped over, what was evaded. Judging by Dedijer's critics, they all knew all these things, they simply did not want to say them. It appears that many of them have been altogether neglecting the question: why didn't they say all this which they knew so well (and better, they say, than Dedijer)? Is it the historian's duty to track down the facts and to present them to the public, or to see to preserving the people's innocence? The writing of history does not seem to us a particularly suitable means of artificially preserving a people's innocence, but rather, much rather, a suitable instrument for building up its self-awareness.

Perhaps the enmity of Dedijer's critics also comes from the fact that he has been among the first to write and publish what they already knew, but did not dare or were unable to write down and to say? Why, then, do they not tell us what it was that prevented them from making their knowledge public?

What, just to take an example, did our historians do so that the coming generations would know something more about Kerestinec and the tragedy which took place in and around it? Only with Dedijer's book do Tito's words of reproach spoken in 1971 become clearer:

"... And where is the flower of your Croatian intelligentsia, those who died in Kerestinec and elsewhere? What have you done so that something more is known about them? Nothing."

It is quite certain that Dedijer's concept of the writing of history is not without many things which are arbitrary, unfair, unacceptable, inclusion of private details of limited historical range, but which have a piquant flavor, and so on. For that reason, and for many other reasons, he deserves a sound and documented criticism.

But if Dedijer's views should and must be subjected to criticism, then the points of departure of certain of his critics cannot be exempted from critical inquiry either. Those which are aimed at glossing over and embellishing the past, which smack of envy and enmity. This approach to history can perhaps serve the pragmatic moment and utilitarian needs for criticism, but there is no way in which it can contribute in the long run to the writing of history and to increased interest in it. Not only is it incapable of a contribution; it is simply no longer possible to look on the function of history in that way.

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CSO: 2800/216

JOURNALIST RESPONDS SATIRICALLY TO CRITICISM OF MEDIA

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1621, 24 Jan 82 pp 6-7

[Letter to the editor by Vasko Ivanovic: "A Newsman's Self-Criticism"]

[Text] Last year there was quite a bit of criticism of newsmen and journalism. It is time that we newsmen also think things over well, with our own heads, of course, and admit: some of the criticism of our work by certain of the comrades has been quite justified.

One such piece of criticism states that we have often portrayed trends and events last year one-sidedly. However much this might offend the newsman's well-known amour-propre, we have to honor the criticism concerning one-sidedness. Take, for example, the way we portrayed those meetings of the ABCD Committee at which critical remarks were made about our work.

Following the meeting the comrades told us: the meeting was held at the right moment, the discussion was constructive, the conclusions will have far-reaching importance.

And what do we do?

We write that the meeting was held at the right moment, that the discussion was constructive and that the conclusions.... We write it and we sign it. In the meantime, wonder of wonders, it retracts some of those conclusions, or, no one even attempts to carry them out. New meetings are held. We asked the comrades: What do you want us to write about your meeting? Now that we have asked them, they tell us. In such-and-such a way. And we write it in such-and-such a way. About the meeting and about them. Always on such occasions we ask one and always the same side, and we feel the criticism concerning our one-sidedness to be proven.

At another, but also important, meeting, some comrade, also important, says: "The papers are writing unanalytically about personnel policy." How true that criticism is! We will demonstrate this with an example. The newspapers carry the news "a secretary of the primary organization of the League of Communists has been elected in...." We do not write about how he was elected. And this is how he was elected: the party members in the primary organizations "note down the

candidates," that is, they make a list of those they want to see in their secretariat. But they cannot elect them. Not until the opstina committee of the League of Communists confirms their candidacy. Which means that that news item ought to run like this: "The primary organization of the League of Communists was permitted to elect a secretariat."

Or, a third piece of criticism: "There are cases of treatment according to protocol on the pages devoted to foreign policy."

That criticism is just as sound as the previous ones, and we will prove it with examples.

"Comrade so-and-so," the newspapers report, "has departed by special airplane with his coworkers on a friendly visit to a country (countries)...." In the next item the newspaperman reports that the comrade has landed at the airport of that friendly country. For a time thereafter there is no news. This is the time which the newsmen spend sitting on the landscaped grounds of the official residence, and then finally they report that the talks have reached a successful conclusion. The next items states that the comrade has landed back at Surcin Airport. We newsmen ask that comrade: "How do you evaluate the visit?"

"Our visit was very successful not only for the relations of our two countries, but even much more broadly. We are convinced that the results of the talks have contributed to cooperation of our two countries in both the political and economic spheres...." And that is what we write. Some time passes, and then the news arrives that we have a deficit in trade with that country....

"The newspapers often write in an old-fashioned way about party life," runs the next criticism. The man has spoken the real truth. We can also illustrate this with an example.

The central committee writes a letter from time to time about events in our country or about certain important international events to us members of the League of Communists in the primary organizations. Such-and-such has happened, our assessment is such-and-such, inform members of the League of Communists about this.

All of that is just as it should be, except for certain details: Everyone in the country has been informed about those events in the letter long before our letter has arrived. And then none of those letters ends with the conventional desire of the sender that the recipients of the letter, the primary organization of the League of Communists, return the letter to the sender, that is, to its own central committee, and tell him: our thoughts concerning these events are such-and-such, just exactly like yours, or, our thinking differs in some detail, so let us have a little talk in the general interest.... Party members in primary organizations still have not had such an occasion, and there are times when these letters are read out in party meetings where there is no quorum. Who knows what is the cause or the effect of this?

I think that this critical remark is also proven.

It remains for us to publish our self-criticism. In conclusion, we have had enough of this journalistic conceit and amour-propre. No one can be a force above society. No, above a self-managing society. And if someone wants to be that, let us tell him that he cannot. Who stands in our way?

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END

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3 March 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1982

Excerpts From Enver Hoxha's

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN THREAT TO ALBANIA

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3 March 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1982

EXCERPTS FROM ENVER HOXHA'S THE ANGLO-AMERICAN THREAT TO ALBANIA

Tirana ATA in English 21 Jan 82 - 19 Feb 82

[21 Jan 82 0700 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 21 Jan (ATA)--Today, we are beginning to release extracts from the new book by Comrade Enver Hoxha "The Anglo-American Threat to Albania" (Memoirs from the national-liberation war), which became available recently.

As has already been reported, this new work, written in 1975, reflects events the author lived through, his personal impressions on the hostile activity carried out openly and behind the scenes against our party, people and country by the Anglo-American imperialists, the blow for blow struggle of the Communist Party of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha to discover, unmask, defeat and destroy their plans, and gives conclusions, which provide lessons for all periods.

In the first chapter, Comrade Enver Hoxha acquaints you with many facts from history about the hostile stands of different British governments towards the Albanian people at any key moment of their history, in particular with the plans being drafted in London against the national liberation struggle of the Albanian people through the organisation of special espionage sections and offices against Albania, the gathering of degenerated, feudal elements,

tested agents and other sworn enemies of the Albanian people round these sections and offices and their sending to Albania for the realisation of the anti-Albanian imperialist and colonialist aims.

In regard to this Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

1

A Little History

> Albania--a token for barter for the "British Lion." Disraeli and Bismarck: "We are not interested in a few Albanian cottages." Zog--the "open-door" policy. Chamberlain and the fascist occupation of Albania. The anti-fascist coalition. Vigilance of the CPA. [Communist Party of Albania] intelligence service prepares its contingents for Albania. Section D and the SOE. [Special Operations Executive] alarm in London. New plans, old aims.

Both the imperial governments of Great Britain of past centuries and its royal governments in recent years, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, have always been hostile to the Albanian people. The Tories and the different political currents that kept the empire going, and the two parties, the Tory Party and the Labour Party, which have taken turns in running the country more recently, have always regarded Albania as a token for barter in their countless deals with the other great powers to maintain the world hegemony of the "British Lion."

The Albanian people have always been indomitable

Like many other countries, Albania has not been recognized by any of those different British governments which have safeguarded the domination of British capital over the peoples and the world, as a state and a country which, through innumerable efforts and sacrifices through the centuries, have fought against various invaders, to be free and sovereign, but on the contrary, the inhabitants of this "land of the eagles" have been considered a savage, barbarous people, without culture, at a time when, despite their small numbers, these people have been indomitable and no less cultured than the people of Scotland or Cornwall.

It took a long time before a few publicists, some occasional amateur scholar or great poet of the romantic era, such as Byron, spread a little light among the British people about Albania and the Albanians, about their culture, their strong and generous character, their hospitality and kindness towards friends, as well as about the stern, unyielding fighting spirit in the face of many savage enemies which has always characterized them.

Speaking of the enslaving imperialist colonial policy of Britain that prevailed over many countries and peoples, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses that, Britain engaged in a thousand and one manoeuvres to get the riches of the world into its clutches, in order to fatten the lords and the barons and build up the

"glory" and power of the empire. British encroached on other countries, extending its influence like a noxious weed. Under the cloak of science, teams were sent to discover Africa, and wherever they went, the British "scientists" planted the flag of John Bull, and after them came the lords with their soldiers, who put down the mutiny of the Sepoys and occupied India, people like Kitchener, who exterminated the Boers with fire and steel. Indeed Lord Beaconsfield (Disraeli) and Gladstone added the title of empress of India to the other titles of Queen Victoria. This was colonialism, which plundered the fabulous riches of India, the rubies and emeralds of Burma and the diamonds of South Africa, looted the gold of those countries and enslaved their peoples spiritually, economically and physically. The inhabitants of the countries which came under its yoke, British used as cannon fodder for its own aims.

> Lloyd George with his henchmen acting like his predecessors partitioned Albania, our parents were obliged to fight against the invaders

At every crucial moment of our history, and especially when the Albanian people were fighting heroically, arms in hand, against the Ottoman empire, Comrade Enver Hoxha continues, Britain always took the side of Turkey. At the congress of Berlin, the prime minister of Britain, Queen Victoria's favourite, Lord Beaconsfield, who, when he returned to London from Berlin, made the pompous declaration that he had brought "peace with honour," and the chancellor of Germany, Prince Bismarck, the founder of the Second Reich, did not even deign to listen to the Albanian delegation which the Albanian League of Prizren has sent to Berlin to demand and defend the rights of our people. (On the eve of the Congress of Berlin, which was to revise the decisions of the Treaty of San Stefano, delegates from all the Albanian regions gathered in the town of Prizren on June 10, 1878, and decided to form a political and military union which took the name "The Albanian League of Prizren" and fought for self-government, national unity and for the defence of the territorial integrity of Albania which was threatened by the chauvinist ambitions of the neighbouring states.) At those difficult moments, when our long-suffering people had taken up arms in the insurrection against the Turks and the Serbian chauvinist running-dogs in the service of imperialists, to oppose the partitioning of our homeland amongst the Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks and others, to win their autonomy, Bismarck and Disraeli disdainfully told our glorious forebear: "We are not interested in a few Albanian cottages."

Later the delegates of our people, Ismail Gemali and Isa Boletini, went to London and demanded of the foreign secretary, Edward Grey, that Albania should be defended. "We shall not allow you to partition Albania," our great diplomat Ismail Gemali told him. "We shall take up arms and fight, as we have always done." The British minister turned a deaf ear.

Later at Versailles, Lloyd George with his henchmen, acting like his predecessors in London, partitioned Albania and so, our parents were, as always, obliged to take up arms to fight the invaders of our country. After the World War I, too, the British took the lead in intriguing against our country, meddling in our

affairs and infiltrating the spies of their intelligence service into Albania. They were unable to change the direction of the Vlora uprising in 1920 which drove the Italian occupation troops into the sea.

The British intelligence service, together with Eyres, the minister of Great Britain in Albania, did everything in its power to weaken the democratic government of Fan Noli in 1924 and to secure from it the concession over the oil at Patos, Ardenica and elsewhere.

Great Britain, U.S.A. and Zog

The self-proclaimed king of the Albanians, Ahmet Zog, who came to power with the aid of imperialists, pursued an "open-door" policy with Great Britain and the United States of America, as with many other countries, and signed treaties and agreements with them. The aims of these two imperialist states were to get possession of our coastline which dominates the straights of Otranto, to transform Albania into a bridgehead for penetration into the Balkans, to exploit our natural riches, etc. Zog granted these states "most favoured nation" status, and this greatly facilitated the penetration of their capital into Albania. We went even further in this direction by granting the Anglo-Persial oil company almost a complete monopoly for the exploitation of oil in Albania and concluding a provisional trade agreement with Britain, which in 1931 was replaced with a navigation and commercial treaty on the basis of "reciprocity" and the "most favoured nation" clause. As to what reciprocity this implied, it is sufficient to mention that in 1932, Albania imported from Britain goods to a value of 1,586,200 gold francs and exported goods worth a sum of only 6,665 gold francs to Britain. The British minister in Albania, Sir Robert Hodgson, who became Zog's intimate adviser in the 30's, faithfully carried out the anti-Albanian policy of his government. Through its officers, Percy, Stirling, Hill, Cripps and others seconded to Zog, British imperialism, together with Zog, kept the club, the prison and the hangman's noose ready to suppress any movement of the Albanian people. With the aid of its friends, as well as through the intervention of the British, when they reached agreement with the Italians over the division of their spheres of influence, Mussolini's Italy secured the concession over the Albanian oil which was in the hands of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

A similar situation existed in Zog's relations with the United States of America also. He gave legislative endorsement to the letter sent by the Albanian Government in June 1922 to the government of the USA through which the USA was granted "most favoured nation" status, hence in practice was given the keys to Albania. This was one of the most disgraceful documents, one of the most dangerous to the independence of our country. For its part, the USA never granted Albania "most favoured nation" rights. Six months after coming to power, Zog leased 51,000 hectares of land to the Standard Oil Company of New York for two years for 30,000 dollars and reduced customs tariffs on American imports.

Apart from this, Zog also opened the doors to agents of the American espionage service who came as missionaries, like Kennedy, as philantropists and educators,

like Erikson and Harry Fultz. The latter became director of the technical school in Tirana and was an important cadre in the American intelligence service. All these people and others not only gathered information, but as was proved later with the sabotage in Maliq and Kucova (today Stalin city), and the trial of the traitor deputies, etc., they had prepared their agents who would work in the future, openly or under cover, against the Albanian people and the people's state power which they would set up.

The Anglo-American imperialists have always used Albania as a means of exchange in their international transactions

The Anglo-American imperialists, those savage and determined enemies of the Albanian people, have always used our country as a means of exchange in their international transactions. When the despotic brigand, Zog, was in power, they tried to make Albania directly dependent on them, politically, economically and militarily, but ran up against the competition of other capitalist countries, especially fascist Italy. In the 30's, because of the general crisis in the capitalist world and the division of the spheres of influence amongst the great imperialist powers, and especially as a result of the massive penetration of Italian capital in Albania, the economic links of Albania with Great Britain and the United States were weakened. Zog became a direct tool of Italian fascism and threw the doors wide open for its colonization of Albania which led later to its occupation. However, time was to prove that the Anglo-Americans never relinquished their own ambitions towards our country, although they allowed Italy to operate freely in Albania, naturally for definite aims.

Britain wanted Italy to occupy Albania

Nevertheless, the British Government was pleased to see that Zog was becoming a lackey and agent of Mussolini. Britain wanted Italy to occupy Albania, because it planned to set Italian fascism and German Nazism, which it was financing, like dogs to attack the Soviet Union.

Proof that this plan existed can be seen in the indifferent attitude of Chamberlain when Mussolini's Italy attacked our country on April 7, 1939. Chamberlain, who knew in advance what was going to occur, went fishing that day. This was the same Chamberlain who had approved the "Anschluss," who had signed the Munich agreement selling out Czechoslovakia, and finally handed over the keys of the defence of the empire to Churchill.

The statement which the British prime minister made in the House of Commons on April 6, that Great Britain had "no direct interests" in Albania, gave Mussolini a free hand to carry out his plans towards our country. This stand by Britain was greatly in favour of Italy because it gave legel sanction to its special interests in Albania.

On thb day of the invasion of Albania by the Italian blackshirts, Mussolini sent a telegram to his colleague in Britain, Chamberlain, in which he wrote that the events in connection with Albania would not affect relations between

their two countries and would have no repercussions on the status quo in Europe and the world. This occurred one year after the time when, in the context of their imperialist rivalry, with war imminent, an agreement had been signed between Great Britain and Italy on the maintenance of the status quo in the Mediterranean. But what was the worth of such an agreement between imperialist wolves. History provides many examples which show that agreements and treaties between imperialist powers are expedients, compromises to reconcile them for a certain time, but which are violated as soon as the situation changes and other interests dictate.

Immediately after the aggression against Albania, the British Government made a deal with Italy to the detriment of the Albanian people. In return for the withdrawal of Italian troops from Spain and a guarantee of the independence of Greece, Great Britain recognized the fascist occupation of Albania.

After pointing out that Hitler's war took a direction different from what the British and French imperialists intended Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on: Under the conditions in which Hitlerite Germany was getting all the capitalist countries of Europe into its clutches and the British Isles themselves were under imminent threat, when the British colonies and the American possessions in the Pacific were falling one after another into the hands of militarist Japan, for fear of the dangerous proportions which the Hitlerite "Blitzkrieg" has assumed, for fear that if the Soviet Union were defeated, too, Germany would emerge more powerful and it would become even more difficult to withstand its attacks, the imperialists chiefs considered that the need had arisen to balance forces, therefore, British and later the United States of America, were obliged to turn to the Soviet Union for a common fight against fascism, but seriously this time. In this way, the anti-fascist Anglo-Soviet-American coalition was created against the Nazi plague, which attacked and occupied Yugoslavia and Greece as well. Meanwhile the Albanian people had risen to fight fascist Italy which had already attacked and occupied our country.

[22 Jan 82 0900 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 22 Jan (ATA)

Albania and the anti-fascist coalition

In their anti-fascist national liberation war, Comrade Enver Hoxha continues, the Albanian people were not alone. Lined up beside them now were the Soviet Union, headed by Stalin, in the first place, and all the peoples of the world who were fighting fascism, including the British and American peoples. We were participants in the great anti-fascist coalition, in the alliance between the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain. We had to consider this alliance useful and necessary, and support it for the destruction of the Nazi beast, and therefore we explained its importance to the party and the people.

In our assessment of this alliance we had to be neither sectarian nor liberal, but while considering it fruitful in the context of the fight against Nazism,

it was necessary that we should never forget what the governments of the United States of America and Great Britain represented for our people, that we should never forget their savage nature as capitalist and colonialist oppressors, that we should never forget the countless wounds they had inflicted on the body of our homeland. We had to put our trust in our party, our people, our rifles, in the Soviet Union and Stalin. We had to fight to win our freedom with sacrifice and bloodshed, and we must never allow foreign enemies to gamble with the fate of our country and our people as in the past.

The British military missions were aimed at fighting the communist parties and the national-liberation fronts which were led by these parties

In one of his speeches Churchill launched the slogan: "Set Europe ablaze." In launching this slogan, he had two aims: first, German fascism was to be fought by the peoples, "assisted" with arms and military missions, and second, these missions, wherever they were sent, were to organize pro-British reaction and fight the communist parties and the national liberation fronts which were led by these parties. In other words, while he declared "set Europe ablaze," his real aim was to extinguish the fire that had been kindled and ensure that the missions sent everywhere achieve those objectives which the war office, the foreign office and the intelligence service dictated to them. He wanted the peoples and the communists to be weakened by the war and reaction to emerge from it strong, hence, the fig was to ripen and fall into the mouth of the British.

London's plans against our national-liberation war before the British missions came to Albania

The readers will allow me to present a very short history of the plans which were concocted in London against our national liberation war before the British missions came to Albania.

In October 1939, with the aim of securing first-hand information about the situation in our country, the British Government appointed a consul-general based in Durres. However, London was not content with this act alone which, in fact, was recognition of the new status of Albania. In the spring of 1940, it asked the people of its secret information service in Belgrade to prepare a report about the development of events in Albania and ordered the creation of an office for Albania under Section D. Julian Amery, who up till that time had been press and propaganda secretary in the British legation in Yugoslavia, was charged with this task. He prepared this report with the help of Gani and Seit Kryeziu, degenerate elements of the feudal Kryeziu family of Kosovo, inveterate spies who had frequently changed their bosses and now placed themselves in the service of the British.

Similar sections for Albania were established in Athens with the long-term British agent, Mrs. Hasluck as adviser, and in Cairo, attached to the allied headquarters, with Major Cripps, a former instructor of Zog's gendarmerie,

as its chief. Thus, the British intelligence service created its network all around Albania and was preparing to send its agents here. The office for Albania, Section D, made direct contact with various elements, Albanian emigrants, old "friends" of Britain, "monarchists," "republicans," "liberal intellectuals," etc., who lived in Yugoslavia, gathered them around itself and created a kind of organization, the so-called "united front" with all these elements who dreamed of a repetition of 1924, when external and internal reaction organized Zog's return to Albania.

Zog, servile lackey of Great Britain

At this time, after having slunk from one capital of Europe to another, like a thief with his stolen gold, Zog arrived in London with all his suite. The British Government regarded him as a valueless card, because he had been discredited, did not enjoy the sympathy of the Albanian people and had no party in support of him in the country. Its consul-general in Durres had informed it of this fact. Therefore, it wanted to expel Zog from Britain, but sensing the danger, Zog informed the British Government that it was his intention to place himself at the head of the Albanians abroad in the service of the allied military plans. After this, the foreign office changed its mind. It allowed him to stay in England on condition that he did not engage in political activity without its permission. Possibly the chests of gold which Zog had with him may have played their part in this change of mind in the foreign office. In any case, the British Government reserved the right to use Zog as a card to be played if some favourable opportunity presented itself. It considered that Zog might serve as a figure round whom to gather various elements to be used for its own interests if German Nazism were defeated and favourable conditions created as in the past.

For the time being, however, the British could not use him. They had to work under cover with someone else to reach the point where he could be used. Apart from the Kryezius, the British had their eyes on Abaz Kupi, who was "against" the Italians and pro-Zog, as a suitable person with whom to manoeuvre. To this end, London ordered Section D in Belgrade, which was now called the Special Operations Executive (SOE) to make contact with him. Amery went to Istanbul and together with Stirling, another former instructor of Zog's gendarmerie, who was now operating in Turkey, met Abaz Kupi. After a little bargaining, Amery left with him for Yugoslavia whence, with many other "patriots" and "politicians," Abaz Kupi was to be smuggled into Albania in order to organize Zog's former officers, Bajraktars (clan chiefs) and others, in the "war against the occupiers."

Meanwhile Zog, afraid that he might be expelled, and not being informed of the plans which were being hatched up, proposed to London, as a proof of his loyalty to the allies, that he should open a fighting front from Salonica, at the head of the Albanians who were in Istanbul. Afraid of a political confrontation with Greece, the British Government sought the approval of the Greek Government. The Greek Prime Minister Metaxas refused and torpedoed Zog's plan. Thus, Zog, that servile lackey of Great Britain, remained "in cold storage."

Attempts to introduce Albania in the sphere of British influence

In the SOE of Belgrade matters were proceeding more rapidly than before. Many elements had been gathered around it, including, apart from the Kryeziu Brothers and Abaz Kupi, Muharrem Bajraktari, Xhemal Herri and others. Most of them were supporters of Zog. One fine day even the "communist" Mustafa Gjinishi turned up at the SOE and his presence was a matter of great rejoicing for the British. Oakley-Hill, who for eight years on end had been in Albania as organizer of Zog's gendarmerie, was now running the office for Albania under the SOE in Belgrade.

Considering the situation suitable for operations in Albania, Hill entered Albania in April 1941, at the head of a small force comprised of elements which he had gathered together and financed. All this was done allegedly to save Albania from the Italian fascists, but, in fact, was aimed to create the conditions in which our country would enter the sphere of British influence in the future and to avoid the creation of any other resistance centre outside British control, which might fight the occupiers and eliminate the influence of Great Britain. However, in the difficult situation which was created, especially with German invasion of Yugoslavia, the army of which resisted no more than a week, the plan of Lt-Col. Hill was foiled. This compelled him to gather together the heads of the small force with which he had entered Albania for the last time in Tropoje and charge each of them with a special task: Gani Kryeziu was to operate in Kosovo, Abaz Kupi was to go to Kruje, close to the government in Tirana, while Mustafa Gjinishi was to enter the ranks of the Albanian communist leaders. For the time being, their task was to fight under the disguise of "ardent patriotism," and as soon as the conditions were ripe, they were to come out in the open like snails after a shower.

While these "patriots," each with a bag of gold sovereigns, dispersed within Albania, the British officer returned to Belgrade where he surrendered "with honour" to the Germans and, through the mediation of the American legation in Yugoslavia, a little while later returned safe and sound to London.

The armed struggle of the Albanian people and the formation of the Communist Party of Albania aroused concern in the bourgeois world

The resistance and armed struggle of our people against the fascist occupiers, which began on April 7, 1939, continued uninterruptedly and was further extended and strengthened, especially after the formation of the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941. After this historic date, the fight of the Albanian people entered a new phase, in which it was fiercer, well organized and becoming devastating for the occupiers, quislings and traitors. This aroused concern in the bourgeois world.

During 1942 the foreign office displayed greater interest in the Albanian question. It had heard that the Communist Party of Albania had been formed. At the end of 1942, its interest turned to alarm, especially when it received the news that the Communist Party of Albania had organized the conference of Peza, was leading the national liberation front and that the national-liberation movement was assuming wide proportions. And all these things had occurred after

Churchill's statement that "His Majesty's government has the cause of Albania very much at heart." The alarm was sounded. The SOE in Istanbul proposed that an Albanian Government should be created with the aid of the British, the SOE insisted that Gani Bey Kryeziu and Mehmet Konica should be included in this government. A letter was sent to Muharrem Bajraktari through Mihajlovic, with whom he collaborated, in which he was told, "It is up to you to lead the war," and he was assured that Zog was not going to return to Albania.

Events were moving rapidly. In November 1942 the allies landed in North Africa. On December 17, the British foreign secretary made a statement in the House of Commons, which had been approved by the war cabinet at the beginning of December, in which he spoke of the "desire" of the British Government that Albania should be liberated, its independence re-established and the question of its borders examined at the peace conference. The Soviet Government also made a statement in which it expressed its sincere desire for the liberation of Albania and the re-establishment of its independence and spoke in terms of admiration about our fight against the occupiers. The government of the USA also made a statement on this question. Undoubtedly these statements were moral-political support for our national liberation war, promised the independence of the country when the war was over and helped to strengthen the international position of Albania at a time when all the peoples had risen to their feet to fight fascism and Nazism.

The revolutionary situation in Albania aroused debates among the circles in London which were involved with Albania. However, their hearts were warmed and their hopes raised by the fact that their friends, Abaz Kupi and Mustafa Gjinishi, had managed, in the meantime, to enter the national liberation front, while outside this front, and as a counter-weight to it, an organization had been created which called itself the Balli Kombetar, at the head of which were people known to the British intelligence service, feudal lords, big landowners and merchants, Bajraktars, bourgeois intellectuals, senior clergy and other sworn enemies of the communists.

The main aims of the British military missions sent to Albania

In these circumstances, Britain decided to dispatch its military missions to Albania. Their purpose would be to sound out the situation on the spot, to give their centre accurate information about which way the wind was blowing, to learn what the national-liberation movement really was, to establish links with the Balli Kombetar, to assist the "friends" sent in by the SOE, and most important, to do their utmost to ensure, under the disguise of "aid," that the people's revolution would fail, both in Albania and everywhere else.

These were the main aims with which the British missions were sent to Albania, some of them through Greece and others by air.

In these reminiscences of mine I am revealing precisely the underhand struggle which these missions waged, although they had no success, because our party and people foiled their every action and plan. We could not allow the bitter history of the past to be repeated, and it was not repeated.

Our party and people defeated the Italian fascists and the German Nazis with the rifle, while defeating Anglo-American imperialism with heroic resistance and resolute and intelligent diplomacy, which was inspired by Marxism-Leninism and based on the great experience of the people and their great leaders through the ages.

[23 Jan 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 23 Jan (ATA)--In the second chapter of his book, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes about the concern aroused in London by the broad proportions the national-liberation struggle of the Albanian people had assumed and the fact that this struggle was led by the Communist Party of Albania. Under these circumstances, British imperialism acted urgently and dispatched to Albania one mission after another under the guise of "aid" and "anti-fascist alliance," but in fact all of them acted openly and behind the scenes for the organisation of their agencies in the ranks of the national-liberation front, the organisation of legaliteti and all the other Albanian reaction.

While reading the book you clearly see how correct have been the farsighted directives and instructions given by Comrade Enver Hoxha in regard to the stand that had to be adopted towards these missions.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among others in this chapter:

2

An Uninvited Military Mission

> Extension of our national liberation movement. Manoeuvres of reaction. The first British military mission in Albania. McLean. The partisan zones are not inns with open doors. Empty promises. The "trips" of British officers--seeking "friends." Reaction enlivened. McLean's urgent request for a meeting--"a general will come to head the mission." "Where is your centre, Major?" Measures to paralyze the diabolical plans of the British war office.

The party and the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, were waging not only a fierce war against the Italian occupiers and the quislings, but also a sharp political struggle against the Balli Kombetar.

The Italian enemy made great efforts to suppress the national liberation movement in our country, especially by splitting it. To this end the Italian fascists began to collaborate more intensively with the Balli Kombetar. In February 1943, Musa Kranja, one of the heads of the Balli Kombetar in the Korce region, on the instructions of Faslli Frasheri and Stavri Skendi, accompanied the Italian officer Angelo de Mateis, in making contact with Safet Butka to ensure that he collaborated with the occupiers against the national liberation movement. One month later, the commander-in-chief of the Italian troops in Albania, Dalmazzo, together with Ali Kelcyra signed the notorious "Dalmazzo-Kelcyra" protocol in which the Balli Kombetar promised

the occupiers that it would exert all its influence to prevent acts of sabotage and attacks upon them. They of the Balli Kombetar acted in the same way with the Germans, too. It was Mithat Frasheri who "on behalf of the Central Committee of the Balli Kombetar signed the circular which said among other things: "Since the most urgent need of our country today is for order and discipline, all the committees, commands and cetas of the Balli Kombetar are ordered to cancel any operation against the German forces." There are many such documents which speak of the "patriotism" of the chiefs of the Balli Kombetar, but this is not the place to dwell on them at length.

The meeting with the British Major Bill McLean

At the end of April 1943, the party committee of Gjirokaster region informed me that a group of British military men headed by a certain major Bill McLean, equipped with arms and radio, had entered our liberated zones from across the Greek border, claiming that they were an official military mission sent to the Albanian partisans from the headquarters of the allied Mediterranean forces, based in Cairo.

I instructed the comrades of the party committee of Gjirokaster region to hold the British, who had come from Greece, in Zagoria and to find out in detail who they were, what they called themselves (proving their identity with official documents), where they came from, who led them, what was their real task, etc.

I instructed the comrades: "You must interrogate them properly, so that they thoroughly understand that it is not so easy to enter the partisan zones, because they are not inns with open doors, therefore, in order to move within them, they must have special permits from the partisan general command."

The members of McLean's mission remained there until they were provided by their headquarters with documents as official representatives. On our orders, in June the comrades in Gjirokaster sent them to us in Labinot with strict security measures so that nothing could occur on the way. They arrived exhausted from the trip. I received them the next day. McLean, who presented himself as the chief of the mission, seemed quite young, no more than 30 years of age, slim, not short, rather tall, with very regular features, and a cold, intelligent, clean-shaven face. He was fair-haired, with intelligent blue eyes, with the look of a savage cat about them. As we learned later, McLean was of the Scots Greys Regiment and was a trained agent who had served in the colonial wars in Palestine and elsewhere.

I asked: "What is your mission?"

In essence Major McLean (later he was promoted to colonel and after the war he became a conservative MP) said:

"We are the first British military mission sent to the Albanian partisans. The purpose of the British Government which has sent us to you is that we should inform it about the situation in the country and the war of your people against the Italian occupiers, and after we have done this, to transmit to our headquarters your views about the war and your needs and requirements for the purpose of waging the war, which you will present to me."

"What do you know about the Albanian people's war against the occupiers and quislings in our country?" I asked.

"We know nothing at all," he said smiling.

"Then, since you know nothing at all, in regard to Albania, you are still in the time of Chamberlain," I said.

McLean's eyes narrowed.

"From 7 April, 1939, when Chamberlain spent the weekend fishing, to this day," I told him, "the Albanian people have been waging a ceaseless war against the Italian fascists, the quislings and the traitors."

I told him in detail about the titanic war of our small but valiant people. I told him of the heroic deeds of the people and the partisans, as well as of the atrocities, murders, the burning of villages committed by the Italians and their collaborators. I spoke of the methods of the fascist propaganda to split us and demoralize us, but which had no success in our country, because the anti-fascist national liberation front and the partisan forces had consistently exposed and foiled the plans of the enemies.

"But where do you find the weapons, Mr. Hoxha?" asked McLean. "Russia is a long way off and cannot supply you. Do you have factories here in the mountains?"

"No, we have no arms factories in the mountains, but we find arms amongst the people. It is true that in the days after he came to power in 1924, the brigand Zog proclaimed the law on general disarmament of the population, but in fact the Albanians hid away their weapons, as they have always done, because no one has ever been able to disarm them. This is a tradition amongst the Albanians which has been handed down from generation to generation. In connection with this," I continued, "they say that something interesting occurred between your former foreign minister Edward Grey, and our patriot and fighter Isa Boletini. It was a time when black clouds had gathered again in the Albanian sky. When Albania had been caught up in the maelstrom of the predatory ambitions of its chauvinist neighbours, and when the ambassadors' conference of 1913 was unjustly leaving half of Albania outside its state borders. And which half? Kosovo and other regions, every inch of which the Albanians have drenched with their blood, fighting for liberation from Turkey. The patriots Ismail Gëmali and Isa Boletini went to London to meet Grey, who at that time was chairman of the ambassadors' conference, to express to him their protest over the injustice that was being done to our country and to transmit to him the unbreakable vow of the Albanians that they would fight to the end for the unity of all the territories handed down to them by their forefathers. Before he entered Sir Edward Grey's office, at the request of the guards, Isa Boletini left his pistol in the ante-room. After the talks, Grey in a half-jovial fashion said to Isa: 'Mr. Boletini, we have done here in London what the Turkish Pashas were never able to do.' Understanding that Grey was referring to his being disarmed, Isa looked your minister right in the eye and answered with a laugh: 'No, never on my honour, not even in London.' And he drew a loaded revolver from inside his vest.

"So, you see, this tradition is one of the 'factories' where we get our weapons, Major. Other 'factories' supplying our weapons are the Italians' depots in their posts and in the cities, our actions on the national roads and on the battlefields. When we started the war we did not have sufficient weapons, but our people sing a song: 'If you have no weapons, find them, from the hands of the enemy seize them.' And this is what we have done all along. We seize the weapons from the hands of the Italians in action, we attack and capture them.

"You mentioned Russia. I tell you that if Russia were close, we are convinced that it would have supplied us with weapons, because it is our ally, just as you are. And you ought to give us weapons, because we need them. One cannot eat weapons, but can only fight with them. And we want them to fight with."

"I am authorized to tell you, Mr. Hoxha, that within our possibilities we shall supply arms to all those who fight," replied McLean.

"This is good news you bring me," I told him. "Here in Albania only the partisans and the people organized in the anti-fascist national liberation front are fighting."

"But, Mr. Hoxha, it seems to me there is another organization that is fighting here in Albania, called the Balli Kombetar," said the British major.

"You see, Major," I said, "you do know something about Albania. Apparently you have been informed about the Ballists, (members of the Balli Kombetar), and since you ask me, I shall tell you: It is true that the Balli Kombetar exists, but its leaders are linked with the Italians. They do not fight the Italians, but are organizing for war against us. The only 'war' they wage is against the roast chickens and lambs, which they steal from the suffering peasants."

I explained the situation thoroughly to the British officer who, without doubt, knew what the Balli Kombetar was.

"In case you do not know," I said in an ironical tone, "I must inform you that there are also Zogites, whose chief is Abaz Kupi, alias Bazi I Canes, who even takes part in our national liberation front."

Of course he knew about this, but I persisted:

"Do you know this, Major?" This time he was obliged to admit it.

That closed this chapter.

McLean continued:

"Mr. Hoxha, we are not going to involve ourselves in politics here, because we are simply soldiers, and everything military is of interest to us."

"In what sense do you use the expression 'everything,'" I asked him.

His eyes looked savage again.

"We are interested in everything of a military nature connected with the Italian and German armies. We are interested in the forces deployed against you here in Albania. The names of the detachments, their armament, the tactics which they use in mountain warfare, etc.," he replied.

"Now I understand," I said, "and we are ready to inform you about all these things."

"Mr. Hoxha," continued McLean, "you understand that Albania is small on the map, but it is big when you have to travel it on foot, therefore it is difficult for us to fulfil the task charged to us properly, without having comrades to help us."

"We are allies against the same enemy," I said, "hence we are your comrades-in-arms."

I knew what he was getting at, therefore I took the opportunity to speak about the situation on the fighting fronts and asked him to explain to me how the war was going in other countries, how the Greek and Yugoslav partisans were fighting (I was acquainted with the situation, but wanted to know his opinion of their struggle).

However, the wily officer gave me a very short summary of his opinions and finally said:

"I have been out of touch for some time while travelling through the mountains on foot and I'm not in a position to explain things to you. And he came to his main purpose. "It is difficult to do this job properly alone. It is true that without your aid we can do nothing, but we have been charged to ask you to study the possibility of dropping in several other missions so that we can assist your partisan forces better."

"This is a problem which we shall study and we shall talk about it again. However," I told the British major, "while endorsing what you said about your not being involved in politics, I want to make it clear to you, in the first place, that in our ranks we do not permit any politics pro the occupiers and their tools. We do not permit any propaganda in favour of the enemies, under whatever mask it may be disguised. On the other hand, we allow any amount of political and ideological struggle against the fascist occupiers and their tools.

"The second question which I must make clear to you is that your mission must not meddle in our internal affairs. You must request anything you need through our command or through our delegates in the regions where you are located.

"The other main question is in connection with the aim for which you have come: you must supply us with arms, munitions and clothing. We shall present our requirements to you without delay," and I concluded by saying:

"I'm convinced that everything will go well between us, Major. As you see, the conditions for good understanding are not complicated, they are acceptable and applicable, provided the good will exists."

Major McLean replied:

"We agree. Let us get down to work. Allow us to drop in some other missions and you allocate the places and regions in which to drop them."

"All right," I said, "we shall study this and decide the places for the parachute drops, but, first of all, trials should be carried out in these places by air-drops of military material and after that the British officers can be dropped, because human life is more valuable than weapons, is it not?"

What could McLean say? We ended our discussion and agreed to meet again later.

[24 Jan 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 24 Jan (ATA) A correct and vigilant stand towards the British

I immediately informed the regional committees of the party and the partisan commands and units about the arrival of the British military mission to our partisan headquarters. I explained under what disguise they had come, describing them as allies against the same enemy, but pointed out that their class nature, their aims opposed to our war, the Soviet Union, communism, must never be forgotten. I informed them that right from the first meeting with the British I had put a tight rein on their desires which were simply to gather information and carry out espionage against our national liberation war, our party and the partisan national liberation army. They wanted to gather information about everything, to learn our strength, tactics and strategy. They claimed the right to this information in "a friendly way," as our great "allies" in the struggle against the same enemy-Nazi-fascism, boasted that they had come to assist us with weapons and clothing, and since it was impossible to supply us with food, to put at our disposal from time to time small contingents of "St. George's Cavalry" (i.e. gold sovereigns) to enable us to buy food locally. On the other hand, they promised that they would publicize our national liberation war.

"However, we accepted all these fine words with considerable reserve," I told the comrades. "We did not readily swallow these 'promises'." The chief of the mission, Bill McLean, was indignant when we set strict limits to what he could do and surrounded him with loyal and vigilant partisans, so that he could not move wherever it pleased him and would have to gather only the "crumbs" that our comrades allowed him, and not what he wanted himself. Therefore, I advised them to be correct and very vigilant towards the British.

"Possibly," I told them, "several such British missions will come with our permission to our different zones. A correct and vigilant stand must be maintained everywhere. In no instance," I instructed, "must the British be permitted to poke their noses into our internal affairs. Tight security must

be maintained on all matters relating to the party. Military matters such as the organization of the partisan army, the number and composition of its units, its orders for actions, supplies, quantity and types of armament, all these and other data of an internal character must be kept secret. If they wish to be present at a battle take them along, but inform them at the last moment and never disclose to them in advance your operational plan for the fighting. Provide them without hesitation with any information that you have about the enemy occupier."

In this way, I prepared the comrades to take care and be forearmed against any manoeuvres of the agents of the intelligence service who, without doubt, would eventually try to corrupt weak and wavering individuals.

A new British mission arrives in Albania

At a meeting I introduced Babe (dad--a title implying respect and affection) Myslim to McLean. The first words that Babe said to the British officer were: "If you are good friends, you must drop us arms," and added diplomatically, "and I believe you are good friends." Mustafa Gjinishi played the role of interpreter.

In the end, we presented McLean with our list of requests for arms and told him, "You should begin to drop arms in Peza before anywhere else, because this is where the first partisan rifle was fired against the fascist occupiers."

McLean promised. After some time they dropped us about a fifth of the weapons we asked for, all of them light weapons with little ammunition, as well as a few jackets and socks. Along with them they also dropped a new British mission for which we had given permission.

"With your permission, we shall send this mission to Dibra, to Baba Faja and Haxhi Lleshi," said McLean.

I discussed this matter with Babe Myslim and we decided to give our permission.

"We ought to have another mission attached to Mr. Myslim [in] Peza," said McLean, "because this is the most important centre of the partisans."

"If Myslim wants it, let him decide," I said.

"I agree, Comrade Enver," said Myslim and, turning to Mustafa Gjinishi, said: "Translate to the gentleman that I agree to a mission's coming, but not more than three people and on condition that it doesn't meddle in our internal affairs, it is to have contact only with me and the commissar, must have no contact with the reactionaries or with our enemies, and they must drop us arms.

"If the gentleman accepts these conditions," said Myslim turning to me, "I agree, Comrade Enver, that a mission should come."

In translating Babe Myslim's words into English, Mustafa Gjinishi swallowed, blushed, gripped the point of his nose between his two fingers and cleared his throat from time to time.

"Of course, we accept these conditions," declared the British major, who was inwardly seething with indignation.

A cunning proposal by McLean

When I went to the Korca region to make contact with the party comrades there and the partisan forces that were commanded by Teki Kolaneci, Riza Kodheli, Josif Pashko, Agush Gjergjevica, Asllan Gurra and other commanders and commissars of cetas [units] and battalions, I heard McLean had appeared in those zones.

We had decided to attack the Italians on the Janina-Korca-Manastir road with our forces. We carried this action out with success. Many enemies were killed, trucks were burned and rifles captured.

Those were the times when we were trying to get the cetas, the Balli Kombetar [national front] engaged in the fight against the occupiers. Some of our representatives went to talk about this with Safet Butka. However, Safet refused. The British officer heard of his stand and begged me to let him go, together with Commander Teki, to persuade him.

"You're wasting your time," I said. "They won't fight, but nevertheless, we shall comply with your wishes."

McLean went, talked with Safet Butka, but he still didn't want to fight.

"Well, are you convinced now about what I told you?" I asked the major, who was sitting disconsolately before me after he returned from meeting Safet, "They are not going to fight."

By this time there were four or five groups of the British mission in our country. McLean was their leader and Mustafa Gjinishi his friend.

One fine day, McLean came out with an "interesting" proposal.

"I have been thinking, Mr. Hoxha," he said to me, "that to eliminate bureaucracy, the requests for arms and munitions should not be made directly from your general staff, but from the military zones where our missions are located. As well as that," he added in a tone of pride as if he had discovered America, "the supplies should be delivered directly, without going through the general staff. This will speed up..."

"No," I interrupted, "I shall never allow such a thing." This took him by surprise and he stared at me in astonishment. Then, recognizing the utter failure of the scheme he had hatched up in his "fertile mind," he dropped his head and, after a pause, changed the conversation. His cunning aim was foiled even before the words were out of his mouth. With this subtle tactic he wanted me to give him "official leave" to take over the reins of leadership of our people's war in a round-about way and to eliminate it. Moreover, by

this means he wanted to corrupt our ranks from below, to compromise immature people with gold and, however things turned out, he would have them under his control. However, Albion suffered defeat on this road, too.

Attempts by the British missions to make contacts with reaction

The comrades sent me a great deal of information showing that wherever the British missions were, they did their utmost to link up with reaction, tried to poke their noses into our affairs and quarrelled with our comrades.

Many times I had fierce arguments with McLean, not only over their failure to send us arms, but also over the many efforts of the British here to link up at all costs with the Balli Kombetar, with reaction in northern Albania and with the chiefs of reaction in Dibra and Macedonia. News reached me from Mat that the British mission was making the law there and that ample weapons were being dropped to the Zogites.

Immediately after the 2d national liberation conference of Labinot, some comrades and I went to Peza. Only a few days had gone by since the capitulation of fascist Italy, and we had to follow the events in the capital closely--what would be done with the Italian Army there, what turn would the situation in the Balkans take after this event, what would the allies do, would they land in these parts, as reports suggested.

The pressure and interference of the British officers became intense this time. However, the party fought and was vigilant. Many comrades from the regional committees and our military units sent us indignant reports about the activities of our "allies." From Vlora they wrote that the British officer there insisted that his orders must be obeyed, because he received them from the "British Government." "Don't attack and disarm the Italians," he told them, "ambush only German columns. If you attack the Italians I shall not give you my aid anymore." The report continued with the British officer's threats, "don't attack Vlora, because the British forces will come," or "if you're going to act, a delegate should come from the front and one from the Balli Kombetar, and we shall talk about combining, so that Vlora is attacked by the front and the Balli Kombetar simultaneously." These were orders which ran counter to the line of our party and to the instructions of the national liberation general council. However, the comrades of Vlora paid no heed to the British officer. They applied our instructions without hesitation.

From Pogradec, likewise, they reported that the British officer, Captain Smiley, had ordered the partisan command there not to open fire on the Italians and to withdraw the partisans from the vicinity of the barracks.

For these reasons, and to remind the British officers once again that there was a strict limit to what they were allowed to do, at the beginning of October 1943 I sent the regional committees of the CPA [Communist Party of Albania] a letter in which, among other things, I wrote that the British missions were simply representatives of the British Army and as such they ought to support those who were fighting the occupiers. They had no right to meddle in any way in our internal affairs.

Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha mentions many cases which speak of the attempts made by the British to split and deceive our people.

The British "actions"

Wherever they went, especially when they carried out "actions," when they blew up bridges or roads, they carelessly left behind them such things as cigarette packets, meat tins and so on, branded made in England, so that the occupiers would understand that the authors were British and pursue them, quite unconcerned that villages were burnt and reprisals carried out against the population in the zones where they operated. The culmination of their "actions" came in the middle of October 1943 when British and American aircraft bombed the "Tirana airfield." As our comrades from Tirana reported, they had bombed a whole section of the city, killing and wounding hundreds of residents and causing incalculable material damage. Immediately we learned of this. We sent a protest to the British military mission, which we concluded as follows: "Report this matter to Cairo so that our complaint is made known in the proper quarter, so that these unacceptable acts against the civilian population are not repeated but attacks are made with even greater severity against enemy military objectives." In reply to this the British mission sent their friend, Mustafa Gjinishi, a leaflet written in England to translate, for duplication and distribution in Tirana. Among other things, it read, "Our airmen will take all possible care not to [words indistinct] assist them by not remaining near military objectives." What logic.

This is the sort of contribution the British made with their "actions" in Albania.

[25 Jan 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 25 Jan (ATA)--The British made only promises

In the first week of October 1943 Bill McLean had sought a meeting with me, giving as his reason "a very urgent matter" which he had to communicate to me from his centre in London.

I deliberately kept him waiting two days to let him know that I was in no hurry to deal with this "very urgent matter" from London, just as London was in no hurry to fulfil our very urgent requests for arms and ammunition. The British and the chief of the British mission attached to us, Bill McLean, told us a whole string of lies. They made lots of promises, but their aircraft did not come "because of bad weather," because "Britain was supplying weapons to the whole of Europe," because "the people who were supposed to fulfill the requests of the national liberation front were none too careful," and other such tales, which had become very stale. Up to that time the British had dropped us nothing, apart from a few hundred rifles, a very small quantity of ammunition, and some used clothing, just enough to be able to say, "You are not left without being sent something." However, those few rifles that we received from them quickly turned into scrap-iron, because the ammunition for them ran out. As I said previously, the depots of the occupiers which we attacked, the battlefields and the disarming of prisoners were the sources of our arms.

We had frequent quarrels and confrontations with the British. We demanded arms from them, they told us lies, and on rare occasions, after fights and squabbles, they gave us a few simple used automatics and sent one or two aircraft to drop us a little clothing.

We also quarrelled over the question of the BBC, which very rarely spoke about the war which was being waged against the occupier in our country, or when it did mention it, attributed it to the Balli Kombetar. Through great efforts they made contact with people sent in disguise by the heads of the Balli Kombetar, in the districts of Korce, Tirana and Dibra. Of course they had special contact with Abaz Kupi (later Bill McLean was attached to him), and through him made contact, in secret from us, with the quislings in Tirana, with the chiefs of reaction in the north, especially in Dibra, and with Muharrem Bajraktari. The policy of the British was clear to us. They were organizing reaction against us, trying to get reaction to declare war on us and to strike a mortal blow at us, in collaboration with the Italians and, later, with the Germans, so that the British forces would intervene as liberators in the liberation of Albania and the new Ballist quislings would take power. However, things did not work out that way. The party was stronger than the Germans, the Italians, the Ballists, the Zogites and the British.

For these reasons, the meetings which I had with the British from time to time began and ended with quarrels, began with our demands and ended with their false promises.

I was convinced that Bill McLean, who was seeking a meeting with me, had nothing to tell me apart from some other false promise.

I asked Bill McLean to sit down and offered him my tin of tobacco to roll a cigarette, although I knew that he did not smoke, and never touched our raki. He was continually munching chocolate, which the aircraft dropped him along with his personal supplies. Perfidious Albion had aircraft for such things, but when it came to dropping weapons to us who were fighting fascism, aircraft were not available.

"You have asked to meet me, because you have a very urgent matter from London to communicate to me, Mr. McLean. Please tell me what you have to say, I am listening," I said.

"Two days ago, Mr. Hoxha, I received an urgent telegram from London, but it was impossible for you to receive me quickly, because you are very busy and I understand this. I have some news, very pleasant both for you and for us," he told me.

"Are the aircraft coming with the arms which we need so badly?" I asked him.

"No, Mr. Hoxha, even better news than that. A general is coming, together with his personal staff. When he has come," said Bill McLean smiling, "undoubtedly all your requests will be fulfilled."

I waited for him to continue.

"The general's name is Davies. He is an outstanding and capable soldier, who knows Albania well and loves it sincerely."

And he went on and on in the same tone, boosting the general in order to convince me.

"His chief of staff is a colonel called Nicholls," and he began to boost him, too.

When McLean finished, I had my say:

"Can you tell me to whom this general and his staff are being sent?"

"To you, Mr. Hoxha."

"I understand that. But I want to know whether he is being sent to the general staff of the national liberation army or to the national liberation general council?"

The wily McLean understood what I was driving at, thought for a moment and replied:

"To the general staff of the Albanian partisans. That's why a general is being sent. He is a military personality, not a political one."

"How difficult it is to separate military questions from political questions," I said. "We do not separate them, but you have your own principles and regulations. I have a question for you."

"Please ask it, Mr. Hoxha."

"From whom is he sent to us?"

"From our centre."

"Which is your centre?"

He was in a tight spot and had to think whether to say London or Cairo. After some moments he said:

"London."

"That means to say from the war office of the British Empire?" I asked again.

"Yes," he admitted in a reluctant mumble.

"Now I have the matter clear and I am glad that you explained this to me," I said, "because our links and collaboration with Britain, as an ally in the common fight against the same enemies, are important to us."

Bill McLean's face set in a frown at these words of mine. He had been obliged to admit things which he did not want to say. We were clear that the British did not want these links to be taken as official recognition by the government in London, but simply as military collaboration with the allied Mediterranean headquarters established in Cairo. That is precisely why I pressed him on this matter from the outset.

"Mr McLean," I said, "I have a complaint. Friendship and correctness between allies require that, before we decide the place where the general and his staff are to land and notify the partisan command in the zone to take the proper measures, your war office should have sought the permission of the general staff of our national liberation army for the coming of this mission, you should first have sought our approval to see whether we agree that the group of the British officers with General Davies should come to our country and be attached to us. This, you will understand, is not a formal requirement, but an important matter of principle."

The agent of the intelligence service thought for a moment, but, losing no time and smiling under his auburn moustache, he replied:

"Of course, you are quite right, Mr. Hoxha. This is precisely what our war office had in mind, but I was so overjoyed and excited that I made the mistake of not presenting the content of the message from London until the end," and, unfolding a letter he was holding, he began to read what was allegedly a request for my approval.

"In that case everything is in order," I told McLean. "As to the competences, rights and duties of General Davies and his staff, I assume I am to discuss these with him when he comes."

"You can assure your war office that everything will go well."

Whenever I mentioned the war office I noticed that he was embarrassed and wrinkled his brow. It was obvious that he had made a mistake in admitting to me that their centre was the British war office, and I continued to mention it to annoy him, just as he had annoyed us by deceiving us hour after hour about the supplies of weapons and ammunition.

This was the last meeting that I had with Major McLean as chief of the British mission.

When the general came to replace him, he went to London, and after being thoroughly briefed there, in April 1944 he was dropped into Albania again, where he linked up with Bazi I Canes. Through Bazi I Canes and reaction he became a secret friend of the Germans with whom he came to terms. McLean, the leader of this pack of wolves, came out in his true colours as our sworn enemy. I shall speak about his activity among this pack of wolves and about its leaders, headed by Abaz Kupi, in a separate chapter.

[26 Jan 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 26 Jan (ATA)--The British general's group was not going to sneak into Albania like a gang of thieves, as McLean's group had done. At least, the British were now obliged to inform us, to go more than half-way towards seeking our permission to enter Albania, but they still made every effort to avoid giving the slightest sign that they might officially recognize our national liberation war. Of course, they had their predetermined plans and came to us to learn our plans, to hinder the realization of them and to create the impression that they were the main factors in our national liberation war and that our war and victory depended on them. Guided by such aims, they tried to prepare a terrain favourable to their intrigues.

Naturally, we hindered them in these diabolical aims.

Diabolical plans of the British missions

Mentioning the preparatory measures taken for the coming of the British general's group, Comrade Enver Hoxha says among others he appointed Comrade Frederik Nosi as a liaison officer who would remain with the general continuously and act as the link between him and his staff and the national liberation general council and the general staff of the national liberation army.

Right from the start, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on, I was convinced that the coming of this British mission, headed by a general, to Albania would not bring any notable benefit to our national liberation war. The general would certainly follow the same strategy and tactics towards us as his predecessors, that is, he would assist us with a few weapons, a little ammunition and clothing, the minimum to justify his coming and staying here would give us a few hundred sovereigns, in order to say, "try to buy weapons from the occupation soldiers on the black market," etc. As we had understood from what they attempted to do secretly, the real task of the British military missions was to gather information about the situation, organization, size and changes in the enemy forces, as well as about the situation, organization, activities and numbers of our partisan forces, and about the strategy and tactics of our leadership in the war. Their task was to acquaint themselves with the situation, strength, and influence of the Balli Kombetar and other reactionary groups which were operating in our country, and on the basis of this information, to build up their strategy and tactics for intervention in Albania.

What conclusions had I reached in regard to the activity of the British? Regardless of the fact that they were fighting against fascist Italy and Hitlerite Germany, regardless of the fact that they were allied with us who were fighting the same enemy, they wanted to weaken our national liberation war, to weaken and, if possible, eliminate the influence of our party, to recruit agents and spies in the ranks of the front, and especially in the ranks of the communists, in order to weaken and destroy us, to create groups and factions, and thus prepare a terrain in which the British officers would make

the law in the ranks of our detachments and turn them into "commandos" to carry out sabotage actions and gather information in the interests of the British Empire and to the detriment of the independence of our country.

Their plan was to get to know, to meet and link up with the supporters of Zog, the heads of the Balli Kombetar, with the Bajraktars and quislings, and together with them, to create a military-political force in Albania opposed to the communist party and the national liberation front. They wanted to have this force, which they would lead politically and militarily, ready to engage in direct fighting against us during the national liberation war and especially on the eve of liberation, in order to seize power from our hands, or at least, to force us to share power with them.

It was the sacred duty of the party and of me personally, as its general secretary and responsible for the partisan armed forces, to block, paralyze and destroy these diabolical plans of the British. We were to carry out this sacred duty with complete success. With its heroic struggle and revolutionary vigilance, the party saved the people and the homeland from falling into many dangerous traps which the British pseudo-allies were secretly preparing. The British imperialists were unable to achieve any of their objectives.

Precisely for these reasons, the coming of General Davies and his group put us on the alert. He was not being sent here for nothing. Without doubt his centre considered that the "conditions were ripe" for further actions. What were these actions? It was our duty to discover them.

His centre was certainly sending this general to coordinate the activity of the British missions here better, or to try to extend and increase their number for new tasks in new situations. Hence, it was our duty to discover these aims, too.

Our national liberation war had assumed major proportions and was gathering strength. Our partisan cetas, detachments, and battalions were dealing heavy blows to the Italian fascists in our country. The national liberation front had become a reality, a broad, powerful, political organization which was extending day by day and getting the people into the fight against the occupiers. The quislings were being exposed and replaced one after the other. The Balli Kombetar was coming out in its true colours, because it did not fight the enemy, but collaborated with it and the quislings, and in fact, it fought us with arms and with propaganda. All the Bajraktars of the north were with the occupiers and in open armed struggle against the communist party and the people. For fascist Italy the end had come, while Hitlerite Germany was receiving heavy blows and suffering one defeat after another.

Precisely in this situation this British general landed in Albania. Without doubt he came to fish in troubled waters.

Before General Davies landed in our country, I received two pieces of information, one from Mat and one from Shengjergj. The information from Mat was that at a feast the Bajraktar Bilal Kola had said: "His Majesty King Zog the first is working for Albania, he is thinking about us, and is going to send somebody important here soon."

The information from Shengjergj related that some chiefs of the Balli Kombetar in Shemri village had said: "The Englishman is going to help us because he is with us and not with the communists."

It was possible that the British secret service had informed its people here. This was to be verified later.

Thus, the phase of preparing for the arrival of Albania of the group led by the British General Davies, during the national liberation war, came to an end.

[27 Jan 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 27 Jan (ATA)--In the third chapter of his book, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes about the arrival of General Davies in Albania, about the real reasons of his arrival, about the meetings with him, the aims and the meetings General Davies had with the Ballist and Zogite chiefs, about the defeatism, capitulation and the shameful end of this major British officer who preferred better German imprisonment to freedom with the partisans in the mountains of Albania.

In regard to this Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

3

The Coming and the Inglorious End of General Davies

> Biza--the residence of the British general. Why? The old refrain-promises. Two hours of fruitless talk... "Not Zog but the Zogites." "They have deceived you about the 'battles' of the Balli Kombetar, general." "I want to show the Balli Kombetar the way." The smog-the games of the BBC. The five true reasons for his coming. Dinner with the Englishman. His meetings with the heads of the Balli Kombetar and the Zogites. Attempts to cross to the south. The crest-fallen general... "Who has lost the war? Who should surrender, we? Never. You, General, are a defeatist, a capitulationist."
>
> The end: the general surrenders.

One moonlight night, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, General Davies and his team landed without incident on the Biza plateau. As was reported to me, as soon as he landed, he had boasted to our comrades: "I am the first British general to land in Albania by parachute." On the following day, together with his chief of staff Colonel Nicholls he had gone hunting but was disappointed because he had killed nothing... "So, general," I said to myself, "while our people are being killed, you go hunting." Those days he ordered them to find him a dog and very quickly a bulldog, which he named "Biza," was brought from Tirana, or somewhere. Later an aircraft from Cairo dropped him a beautiful collar for the dog and it used to please and amuse the general to see the dog

catch the peasants by their baggy trousers, when he took it for a walk. It couldn't be helped--this was how the general had been brought up and he was incapable of breaking away from his bourgeois world. They informed me from Elbasan also that the Englishman had preferred to establish himself on the Biza plateau and not at Orenja, as our comrades proposed. He had asked whether this matter could possibly be examined later.

As instructed our comrades had given him every assistance to erect huts and tents and to fulfil his other needs for people to help him, transport animals and food. All the expenditure was charged to the Englishman's account.

The general's desire to remain at the Biza plateau, which is exposed to the wind and the snow, I thought, was inspired neither by love of nature and the forest, nor by romantic feelings, because certainly this general was no Byron or Shelly. Other aims must have impelled him to stay at Biza. Without doubt McLean had been lying when he pretended not to know where the Biza plateau was.

Assuredly he preferred the Biza plateau for his residence because of its strategic position. There the British aircraft could drop materials for the team at any time. On the other hand, this place, which was in our liberated zone, was suitable for the general's purposes, because it was close to Tirana, close to Shengjergj and Shemri, where the Ballists had their lairs, and because, regardless of the fact that the Englishman pretended to be attached to us, he could communicate more easily with the zones of the north, and especially with Mat and Dibra.

From this it could be deduced that the general had the task to link up with the British missions already in our country, or those whose coming he might request later, and through them to make contact and collaborate with the traitors, the quislings, with the Zogite reaction and the Bajraktars of the north, who had sold themselves to the occupiers. Therefore, I warned the comrades to keep a vigilant watch around Biza, to identify those whom the British met and to make the general understand clearly that, since he was to stay with the general staff of the national liberation army and in the zones liberated by the partisans, he must not move from Biza without having made official contact with the delegates of the staff.

Later the comrades informed me that he had agreed to receive the delegates of our staff and had also asked to meet me, and that for the time being he was concerned with organizing the work to establish his quarters and his stables, and supplies of meat and vegetables.

"He's a glutton," our commander of the zone informed me, "while as for dropping arms to us, he's continuing the old refrain of the other British officers' promises."

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on: I had planned to meet General Davies in Labinot, too. I thought I should hold this meeting with him not only as the leader of the national liberation war, but also on behalf of the antifascist

national liberation front, therefore I took with me Dr. Nishani, Sejfulla Maleshova, Spiro Moisiu, Kostandin Boshnjaku, Nako Spiru, Spiro Koleka, and Mustafa Gjinishi. The latter was also to serve as interpreter. He was happy that I took him with me and showed this, but even if he had tried to hide it, I had sensed that he was a keen supporter of the British. On this occasion I would have the possibility to observe Mustafa's reaction towards the British more carefully.

First meeting with General Davies

General Davies came to the meeting in the afternoon of October 31, right on time. He was accompanied by his chief of staff, Colonel Nicholls. I shook hands with him and asked:

"How are you? How do you feel in Albania?" I said this in English.

The general smiled and said to me:

"I didn't know you spoke English, you speak it..."

"Your information is correct, I don't speak English," I interrupted him," but these are a few words I remember from my secondary school days. I speak French. We can speak in the language of Voltaire if you know it."

He replied with a laugh:

"I have read Voltaire but I don't know the language."

Davies was a middle-aged man, a bit portly, with a round face and a bulbous red nose (apparently he liked his whisky). His eyes were not as hard and cunning as McLean's. He laughed frequently and knew how to conceal his thoughts and feelings. The most hard-worked word of his vocabulary was "I."

"Brigadier Davies," I said, "you are the honoured representative of one of our allies, Britain, in the war against the Italian fascists and the German Nazis, and I am eager to hear what you have to say to us."

"First of all," began the general, "I want to pay homage to the fight of the Albanian patriots who have voluntarily sacrificed their comfort, their property and their lives for their cause. The allied powers consider the Albanian movement, along with the movements of other peoples, of great importance, especially in the Balkans."

Then, assuming a grave pose, as if to say..."Look whom you have to do," he continued in a pompous tone:

"I am happy that I was chosen to head the allied mission...I was chosen on the basis of my past as a soldier (what irony. He might as well have said for merits in suppressing the liberation movement against the British colonial yoke in Mesopotamia and Palestine). In London and in Cairo I have

had discussions with senior officers and leading statesmen. Churchill himself would have met me when I was preparing to leave for here, had he not been at the Quebec conference in Canada. In Cairo, Mr. Casey, minister of state for the Middle East, and commander-in-chief, Wilson, had meetings with me. At this time, Mr Eden, Mr. Hull and Mr. Molotov are meeting in Moscow just like you and I here..."

In order to cut short this arrogant prattle, I interrupted:

"We are eager and willing to hear what your concrete tasks are and what your purpose in coming to our country is. We would like to hear from you, as an authorized senior officer, about the war situation in other countries, about the ratio of forces between our common enemies and our great allies. Everything that you may tell us will interest us, because it will inform us about the situation of the anti-fascist war and international policy. We are waging a common war against the same enemy. Therefore, I assure you that we shall speak sincerely and openly just as we wish you to do. We must assist one another in this great war to defeat fascism, both in the military field and in the political field."

"I'm a soldier and not a politician," said Davies, "indeed, I must say that I'm not involved in politics at all, because as you know, Mr. Hoxha, our army is apolitical."

"I've heard this from your colleague also," I said, "but it would be better to say that you try" to keep the soldier outside politics, or more correctly, to ensure that he unquestionably carries out the policy of his officers, who are not apolitical, but loyally follow the policy of their government. Excuse me, I don't mean to offend you," I said to Davies, "but what you said cannot be true anyway, because military questions cannot be separated from political questions. As a soldier, you must know the famous statement of Clausevitz of Prussia on this problem, because he was a soldier, too: 'War is the continuation of politics with other means.' In any case, during our talks and our collaboration together you will see for yourself that politics are linked very closely with the war. Willy-nilly, you yourself will be involved in politics. It cannot be otherwise."

General Davies smiled as he continued:

"You communists mix these two questions together. Of course, that is your business, but we British do not do this, because otherwise we would be accused of interfering in the internal affairs of others, while we do not want to interfere."

"This statement pleases me," I said. "Apparently the British Empire has changed its policy and this is as it should be, because now the peoples are awakening and the era of interference in the internal affairs of others is almost over. "Nevertheless," I continued without entering into academic discussion, "I'm pleased to note that General Davies and all the other British officers subordinate to him will not interfere in our internal affairs."

Then the general got on to the main theme:

"I have been sent to you so that, within our possibilities, I can assist the war of the Albanian people who are our allies, and for whom we have always had feelings of good will. I shall lead all the groups of officers of the British missions in your country and they will take orders from me. I'm sure that I will have the support of the partisan command which you lead, and will be assisted to acquaint myself with the situation in the country, so that I can inform my superiors who want more complete knowledge of the situation here in order to be able to organize and coordinate aid for the Albanian fighters.

"I want to make it clear to you and I tell you frankly, Mr. Hoxha," continued the general, "that both in Cairo and London there's confusion about the question of Albania. There they are not really certain whether the war is being fought, how it is being fought and who is fighting in Albania. In London they say that the Zogites are fighting the war, some say that there is an organization of nationalist patriots called the Balli Kombetar, while others say that those who are fighting are communists, the partisans that you lead. I believe that one of the causes for this confusion is that our missions here are few, and thus, for one reason or another, they have not had the possibility to acquaint themselves properly with the situation.

"The reason that they have sent me here to the partisan command, Mr. Hoxha," continued this agent of the British intelligence service, General Davies with the RAF badge on his beret, "is to clear away the smog in London and send a ray of sunshine there from Albania."

"You're speaking like Shelley, Brigadier," I said. "It seems to me that your inspiration and the poetic phrases that you use have their source in the heavens, since you are an RAF officer."

"Oh, no, Mr. Hoxha," he said, "this is just an honorary RAF badge which they gave me because I am a paratrooper."

"Carry on," I thought to myself, "I know none of what you're telling me is true."

Brigadier Davies continued:

"While looking at matters from the angle of the partisan war, since I have been sent to you for this purpose, I would like, with your permission, to make contact also with the other anti-fascist currents which are fighting against the occupiers, for example, with the Balli Kombetar, the Zogites or any other current, if such exists. You must understand that I shall do this," continued the general, "in the interests of our common fight, but also in the interest of Albania itself. In this undertaking, I am guided by no interests other than those of the war against Nazi Germany. That is all I have to say, Mr Hoxha," concluded General Davies with a smile.

[28 Jan 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 28 Jan (ATA)--The Albanian people have an ancient history

"I have listened to you with attention, general," I said. "Now please listen to me. I shall speak at somewhat greater length, regardless of the fact that I am the representative of a small people. Our people, small in numbers, have fought during their whole existence. Your people have fought, too, but the wars of our two peoples have been of different characters. Our country has been invaded many times, but we have always fought the enemies, we have driven them out and we have never mixed our blood with them.

"The Albanian people have an ancient history. They are among the most ancient peoples of the Balkans and, although small in numbers, at every period they have displayed their vitality by resisting attempts to wipe them out, at all costs, and have matched their strength in war with many savage enemies who have been unable to overcome their sentiments for freedom. The Ottoman feudal-military regime prevailed for 500 years on end. The invaders brought death and destruction, tried to drown the Albanians in blood, but they never yielded. The Albanian people preserved their language, their culture and their brilliant ancient traditions. Their whole history has been written in blood and they are shedding their blood today to win their freedom. Thanks to bloody wars, thanks to the rifle and the pen, in 1912 independence was proclaimed in Vlore, where the patriot Ismail Qemali raised the national flag, the flag of our national hero--Skanderbeg, who in the 15th century fought for 25 years on end against the Ottoman invaders.

"But even after this, little Albania became a battlefield and an object of the predatory aims of the great powers and their satellites. Nevertheless, our people withstood these aims and intrigues. In the war of Vlore of 1920 they drove the Italian occupiers into the sea."

I went on to speak about the regime of Zog and how the external and internal enemies of the Albanian people brought him to power.

"Under his regime the country was utterly ruined," I continued. "Its independence existed only on paper and the people suffered every sort of hardship. Albania was completely dependent politically and economically on the great powers, which used it as a token for barter. There were very few schools, 85 per cent of the population was illiterate. The internal policy of the despot Zog was a policy of suppression of human rights, a policy of corruption, of the club and the noose, against any ordinary patriotic person, against anything new and progressive. Agriculture was completely neglected, and the peasants were exploited to the bone by most ferocious medieval methods. Hunger, disease and ignorance prevailed everywhere. Such industry as there was, was quite negligible--only a few workshops, where the workers toiled to exhaustion for very little pay. Our country was left without one metre of railway.

"There was great unemployment and the Albanians were compelled to take the road of emigration to Egypt, the USA, Argentina and Australia, and in spite of that, they had 'only an empty purse,' as Cajup, the poet of our national renaissance, wrote. Under the regime of Zog the Italian fascists became masters of the country. Our underground wealth was exploited by them, too.

"Fascist Italy, with the support of the local gentry, brought in Italian settlers and drove the peasants from their land. Through a policy of dumping, it swamped the Albanian market and absorbed all our raw materials. This regime opened the doors to the occupation. Zog did not allow the people to fight, sabotaged the army, stole the gold, the blood and sweat of the Albanian people, abandoned the country and today is living in luxury with his wife, his son and his servants in London. The sufferings of this war were added to those the people were already experiencing.

"However, as you have heard and will see with your own eyes now that you are here, the Albanian people rose against the invaders, as has always been their custom, and are fighting self-sacrificingly beside the great allies. They are determined and confident that, just as they defeated Italian fascism, they will strike a mortal blow at the Hitlerite army and win their freedom. They are convinced that, together with this, they will do away with internal exploitation and oppression. A happy future awaits them. All the wealth above and below the ground will be in the hands of the people. Do you see these forests? There will come a day when they will be exploited to build factories, blocks of flats, schools and hospitals and will provide sleepers for our railways, there will come a time when resorts, where the working people will pass their holidays, will be established here and in other places with crystal springs....

"Foreigners have occupied your country, too. Wars have been waged there, too. Who hasn't invaded your island: the Celts, the Romans, the Vikings, the so-called 'Northmen,' and others but the kings and queens of England, the upper strate of the country, have accepted the occupiers and made peace with them, have coexisted and intermarried with them, have adopted the foreigners' way of life and even taken over the expansionist policy of Roman emperors and others.

"Dialectically, however, the old dies out and the new triumphs, hence, with the passage of time, old, anti-popular ideas are rejected and in place of them new ideas are born and their correctness is confirmed by time and science.

"The history of the existence and work of my people is not like that of the Phoenix, because, although after each occupation it seemed from the outside that everything had been lost and any hope of freedom had been extinguished, they were never turned to ashes. The Albanian was an eagle and remained an eagle through the centuries.

Britain considered Albania a token for barter

"You said, General, that Britain has always wished Albania well. Friends speak frankly and I regret to tell you that I cannot agree with you on this question. I don't want to go into a long history, but everyone knows that during

World War I and at the Treaty of Versailles Britain considered Albania a savage country and a token for barter, alloting a piece to Italy, a piece to Greece and a piece to Yugoslavia. Albania and the Albanian people, who fought for existence on their own land, were sold off through open and secret treaties. But why go so far back? When fascist Italy attacked us, your prime minister, Chamberlain, did not lift a finger to help us, he was too busy with his fishing rod. But could it be imagined that Chamberlain, who sold out Czechoslovakia and Austria, who signed the Munich agreement and endangered the British Isles themselves, would not sell out Albania? This is what happened. Of course, our opinion of the British people is different from that of their rulers.

"We have respect for the British people who are fighting courageously beside the glorious peoples of the Soviet Union, and making an outstanding contribution to the defeat of Hitlerite Germany. The British people are our allies. We have a high opinion of the war they are waging. Of all the major states of Western Europe, Britain is the only one which resisted Hitler valiantly and with great sacrifice. Britain did not yield. It knew how to retreat and also how to attack. This fact we have never denied.

The British officers and the "smog" about the Albanian question

"I must stress, General, that it is good that you are going to clear away the smog about the Albanian question which has apparently shrouded London. This will depend on the reports you make. Regardless of this, however, I can assure you that events in our country will develop according to the will of the Albanian people, who this time are going to decide their own future by means of the rifle. I cannot agree with what you said, General, I continued, that Major McLean and the other British officers, who have been in our country, have been unable to learn the true situation, have not understood how the anti-fascist war is developing here, who is fighting and who is not fighting, who fought against us in collaboration with the Italian fascists, who are attacking us side by side with the German Nazis and who are those others who are preparing to attack us together with the Germans. On many occasions we have made these matters clear to Major McLean and other British officers and moreover, at his request, we allowed Major McLean to go to urge some Ballist cetas in Korce to unite with us in fighting against the enemy, and they not only did not want to do this, but even went so far as to attack our forces. This is my answer to your statement that the British missions here 'may not have been properly informed.' The truth is that they have not reported the real situation accurately, because this has been their predisposition. Now we are happy that you deal with this question properly...'

General Davies bowed and said, "Thank you."

"General," I continued, "you spoke of the Zogites and said that they are fighting. Such a thing has never been true, either now or in the past. As I said earlier, the Zogites headed by Zog have oppressed the Albanian people for years on end, have murdered and sucked the blood of our people. Zog was a murderer, a hangman, a thief, an adventurer and traitor who linked up with Italy against our

people, who sold the country to Italy and prepared the occupation of Albania. I repeat: At the tragic moment the traitor king stole the people's gold and ran for shelter to your country. This cruel feudal lord, agent of Austria-Hungary, agent of the Serbs and Wrangel's white Russians, agent of Mussolini, and executioner of the Albanian people, pretends to be king of the Albanians. Zog and his obedient hound, Abaz Kupi, constitute a filthy dynasty. How ludicrous is the position of those abroad who support Zog and think that they will use him as a trump card in the game they want to play to the detriment of the Albanian people. Ahmet Zog is a card that will never again have any value, General. In our country the very stones of the road see Zog as an enemy let alone the Albanians who will tear him to bits if they catch him. I find it regrettable, General, that you even mentioned the name of this bandit."

"Excuse me, Mr. Hoxha," interrupted the general, "I did not speak about Zog, but about the Zogites."

"General," I replied, "if you speak of the Zogites, you are speaking of Zog, too. It is a mistake to think that the Zogites are fighting. They have never fought the occupiers and do not want to fight them. The national liberation front has appealed to them to rise in the war, and moreover their chief, to whom one of your missions is attached, and who took part in the conference of Peza and was elected to the general staff, not only did not fire a single shot against the occupiers even 'by accident,' but withdrew from the front and is organizing the reactionary forces to fight us.

> Anyone who knows the history of the Albanian people is convinced that our forebears have never bowed in submission

"Brigadier Davies," I continued, "the time has come for the representatives of the big capitalist states to change their opinion and stand towards other peoples, especially towards the small peoples. They must accept that the peoples can no longer tolerate oppression and exploitation by the capitalist colonial forces and do their bidding, in a word, obey the orders and desires of those forces and wait for a Lord Beaconsfield, a Bismarck, a Lloyd George, a Clemenceau, a Sonnino, a Chamberlain or a Daladier to determine their fate. No, this will never occur again. Any illusion should be dispelled that the great powers will ever again appoint a Prince Wied or an Ahmet Zog as ruler of Albania and that the Albanian people will fall on their knees and say: 'So be it.' Anyone who knows the history of the wars of the Albanian people through the centuries is convinced that our forebears have never bowed in submission. And we, their descendants, will not bow, either. Excuse me for referring to the past, but I am obliged to do so. I do this not because you do not know history, but, since you have come to our country for the first time, it is my duty to speak frankly to you, as the representative of an allied country, in order to dispel the illusions which you might have formed from reading the books or reports of British authors of earlier or more recent times. One of these 'authors' is Mrs. Hasluck, the mistress of a leading spokesman for the Balli Kombetar, Lef Nosi, a woman who travelled all over Albania in the time of Zog 'in order to acquaint herself' with the country

and gathered 'flowers and butterflies' for the collections, while now she delivers 'lectures' to officers of the British missions before they come to Albania. You, General, are free to think what you like, to have and stick to your own views, but we have the right to have ours, too, we are in our own country. You are our friends and our allies in the war against the German Nazis and it is our joint antifascist war which brings us together."

"It is precisely this war that unites us, therefore, we must collaborate," said General Davies.

"In that case," I said, "allow me, General, to give you a brief summary of our national liberation war and its aims." I went on to give him a vivid description of the war which our cetas, battalions and brigades were waging all over the country against the army of the German occupiers. I told him the history of the fierce battles against the Italians and the quisling governments in the service of the enemy, about the innumerable intrigues, the open and secret agreements of the nationalist heads of both the Balli Kombetar and the Zogites with the viceroy, with General Dalmazzo, and their collaboration with the occupiers in armed struggle against us. I told the British general, who looked as if this was making some impression on him and as if he were hearing these things for the first time, about the correct policy of our anti-fascist national liberation front and its appeal to all honest Albanians to unite and fight in this common front, without distinction as to class, religion, political convictions and ideas.

[29 Jan 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 29 Jan (ATA)--

The collaboration of the quisling, Ballist, Zogite and other Albanian reaction with the occupiers

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on:

"In regard to the Balli Kombetar as an organization of nationalists, you have been misinformed, General," I told him. "They did not have an organization, but created it later as reaction against the national liberation front. From the program which it proclaimed, as well as the name Balli Kombetar which it assumed, it is implied that this 'organization' is a union of many political shades, but there was no reason for this to be created, at a time when our people had their own leadership and were fighting to liberate themselves. Both its name and its 'decalogue' came from the offices of the viceroy and the quisling traitors. Neither the program nor the name of this 'organization' frighten the occupiers. Moreover, the name Balli Kombetar means nothing, because the quislings, the executioners and the spies can take part in that 'organization' whenever they like."

"Mr. Hoxha," said the general, "the Balli Kombetar might be reaction against the communist party which you lead, but not against the national liberation front."

"It is reaction against both, General," I replied, "against both the Communist Party of Albania and the national liberation front, which are fighting together against the occupiers. The Balli Kombetar is against those who fight the enemy and for those who do not fight it. What I say is proved in practice with concrete facts. The Balli Kombetar has not fired a shot against the occupiers, but has fired on us. The national liberation front called on the Balli Kombetar to fight against the occupiers even as a separate body, because the war would unite us regardless of the fact that the Balli Kombetar was not in agreement with us. However, the Ballists still did not agree to fight, because they were linked with the enemy hand and foot. To make this more clear to you, General, it is as though you British were to say that you do not agree to take part in the anti-fascist front and fight Nazi Germany because the Soviet Union, which is communist, is in this anti-fascist front. Hence, it is just as if you were to reason this way: 'Since the Soviet Union is a communist state, we shall fight shoulder to shoulder with Hitler.' Our people have an expression which sums up this hostile, pro-occupier stand of the Balli Kombetar. It goes like this: 'To spite my mother-in-law I'm going to sleep with the miller.' And to spite the communists and the national liberation front, the Balli Kombetar has united with German Nazism against its own Albanian people. That is how matters stand with the Balli Kombetar, General. For these good reasons that I have outlined, we are at war with this traitor organization and its traitor chiefs. They are fighting against us, shoulder to shoulder, with the Germans, hence, they are on the other side of the barricade. We admit the elements that break away from this organization into the front on condition that they fight. If they do not fight the Germans and we capture them arms in hand, we consider them their mercenaries and treat them as such.

"Although they see that their cause is lost, the traitor heads of the Balli Kombetar and their quisling friends, acting on the instructions of their masters, think that by operating in this way they are working for the future. They are the blackest reaction, representatives of the beys, aghas and merchants who have oppressed the people and dream of oppressing them again tomorrow, but under the 'national' label, as 'nationalists' and 'democrats,' and what is most important for them, under the 'anti-communist' label. However, the Albanian people cannot be led by the nose. They see clearly that the Albanian communists have put their lives in the service of the interests of the people. The Albanian people are linked like flesh to bone with the Communist Party that leads them. The quisling, Ballist and Zogite reaction are quite unable to conceive this close unity, they do not and never could think of it properly and realistically, because they cannot imagine where its roots lie. Internal reaction has always relied on foreign reaction and the occupiers of our country. This traditional reliance has become second nature to those who have managed to rule in this way and cannot imagine any other way in which they can rule the people.

"On the one hand, the reactionaries think the people are ignorant, stupid and destined to remain oppressed forever, and this, according to them, is beyond dispute. On the other hand, they imagine that they have influence among the people, that the people will say to the traitors, feudal lords, beys and blood-sucking usurers: 'Come on, we can hardly wait for you to climb on our backs again, to steal the crust of bread from our mouths, to suck our blood and kill us,' these are the illusions that guide Albanian reaction. Do you understand me, General?"

"Not very well," he replied.

"Then I shall make it even clearer," I said. "Albanian reaction, made up of quislings, Ballists and Zogites, etc., is exploiting its collaboration with the German Nazis, their offensives against us, in order to destroy our links with the people, to liquidate us and tomorrow, when Nazism is finally smashed, to have an organized fascist army and seize power. It is hoping for two things: that German arms will liquidate the people's war, and that with the support of world reaction it will hold power after the defeat of Germany. Unfortunately for reaction, however, 'it is reckoning its account without the innkeeper,' as our people say. It is not capable of liquidating our people's war, the people will never allow it to take power, because they are going to smash it to smithereens. The external reaction, on which it is pinning its hopes, when it changes its coat, will not be able to come to its aid, because our armed people will have put it in its place."

When we took a break to drink a cup of tea, Dr. Nishani and the others joined in the conversation, adding their views in the spirit of the matters I raised.

> Our general staff and the Albanian partisans are indignant at the acts of the British officers

After the break we continued the talk.

"General," I resumed, "we believe that with your coming the relations between us will be strengthened. As you can imagine, the war has been and is fierce from every viewpoint for us Albanian partisans. Our principle is: relentless fierce, uncompromising war against the occupiers. We are a people who in the past have been flayed, impoverished, burned and robbed of everything. What we have we defend tooth and nail. We had no weapons to fight with, but these we have we captured from the enemy and we'll continue to do so, and we are sparing nothing in the fight against it. For food we have the maize bread and onions of the poor who share them with us willingly. Despite these conditions our partisans are indomitable. As you know war requires arms and ammunition to wipe out the maximum number of enemies. We are allies and as such we have sought and are seeking from you arms and some clothing and nothing else. Unfortunately your officers, who claim they have come to assist us--excuse me, General, but I must tell you frankly--have given us more promises than assistance. This is not a serious attitude. At the most, the occasional aircraft has dropped us a few weapons and a ridicuously small quantity of ammunition. This aid in armaments is so small that it doesn't count at all. There is a wise saying, General, which goes: 'You know your friends in troubled times.' We are a people who never ask for charity. We do not ask for chocolate or biscuits, but only for weapons to liberate our homeland from our common enemy. You came to our country and promised us arms, then keep your word and give them to us.

"Allow me to tell you the opinion of our partisans. They say: 'The British officers who have come, say that they will help us with weapons, but where are the weapons? Why don't they give them to us? Then, why have they come here, or is it just to blow up the internal bridges linking the partisan zones'

and in fact, this is just what the British officer Smiley did. On his own initiative he blew up the Haxhi Beqari bridge which had no strategic value for the enemy, while blowing it up caused great difficulties for the people of the two regions which this bridge linked and for the partisans. The partisans have every right to ask such questions. Therefore, General, we believe that with your coming here this state of affairs will come to an end and from now on you will send us arms and ammunition."

"At the same time, we think you ought to stop dropping weapons to the Albanian reactionaries, collaborators with the Germans, who use these weapons to fight us. I tell you that our general staff and our partisans, who are sacrificing their lives for the liberation of our homeland, are indignant at these irresponsible acts of the British officers here."

BBC makes propaganda in favour of Albania reaction

"The last matter that I want to raise with you is that of the BBC. When it had no information about how events were developing in our country, we had no grounds for complaint in regard to the BBC, but now that the British missions have come here we cannot accept its equivocal stand. Not only does this radio speak very rarely about the heroic war which the Albanian partisans are waging, but when it does mention it, it implies that the Ballists and the Zogites are fighting Nazism. This is scandalous, General. This is deceit and a great insult to us who are doing the fighting. Instead of telling the truth about us, your radio talks about those who are united with the Germans. Therefore, we protest energetically about these lies of the BBC, which, by spreading propaganda in favour of reaction, is simply trying to confuse the Albanian people. That is all I have to say, General, and I thank you for the attention with which you have listened to me."

During the whole time that Mustafa Gjinishi was translating, the British officer Nichols, who accompanied Davies, took notes.

The general spoke again in reply. He said:

"You must excuse me, Mr. Hoxha, for being unable to reply to your complaint about the BBC, because, in the first place, I have not heard its broadcasts in the Albanian language and, as you know, neither I nor my officers know your language and, in the second place, as I told you, I am a militaryman and the BBC is a civil institution in which military men cannot meddle. In our country, Mr. Hoxha, there is democracy and division of labour."

"Of course, there is division of labour," I said, "but can you tell me who informed the BBC about the fighting in Vlora, which was waged by the partisans and which, astonishingly, was broadcast as fighting by the Ballists? It is your officers, with their powerful radio transmitters, that supply this information."

"Mr. Hoxha," the general hastened to explain, "our officers send their information to the war office." (This was out of the frying-pan and into the fire.)

"And that the war office hands it on to the BBC, I understand. But I understand also that the war office receives distorted reports from your officers," I said, cutting him short.

"Oh, no, Mr. Hoxha," said the general, "possibly they are distorted by the Albanians who work in the BBC.

"Then throw them out," I retorted.

"However, I shall report what you told me," he said and continued: "In regard to sending arms, we want to help all those who are fighting, but you understand there are many of them. We are dropping arms everywhere: in France, Yugoslavia, Greece, Holland, etc., as well as in Albania. I understand that you may not have been dropped many weapons and the reason for this is not because we don't want to, but because we do not have all we need, and the main obstacles are the lack of aircraft, bad weather and the enemies' anti-aircraft defences. I understand your urgent need, because weapons are the main things in order to fight and I assure you that we shall drop weapons only to those who are fighting the German Nazis and not to others. "Nevertheless, said the general cutting short this question so very important to us, "I shall examine your requirements carefully, in detail, and inform the war office in London about this."

[30 Jan 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 30 Jan (ATA)--

The British general Davies wants to meet the enemies of the Albanian people

"However, Mr. Hoxha, I had one final question I wanted to discuss with you."

"Go ahead," I said, "I am listening."

I knew that what he was going to say constituted the whole purpose for which he had come to Albania.

"Mr. Hoxha," began the British general, "I listened carefully to all your arguments in connection with the war against Italian and German fascism. We in London have been convinced that the Albanian people are fighting against the occupiers of their country and that this fight has extended and grown stronger. Both we and you are interested in bringing the war to an end as quickly as possible, but this cannot be achieved without smashing Hitlerite Germany, without shedding blood and making sacrifices. I agree with you that the whole people should be united in this antifascist war and, in order to achieve this, it is necessary to convince everybody of the need to fight this war. I understand very well what tremendous efforts the national liberation front has made in this direction and the successes which it has achieved, but in London it is thought that even greater efforts must be made. London believes that in Albania there is a large number of nationalists, non-communists, who for one reason or another have still not joined in the war. Perhaps these people are not yet thoroughly convinced about what is the honourable course, which is to fight the occupiers. Should we not show them this course, Mr. Hoxha?"

"We have been doing this ever since Italy invaded us on April 7, 1939," I replied to this general-cum-diplomat, who was nothing but an old fox. "We have made a thousand and one efforts, have talked to these people individually, have invited them to come to meetings and rallies, indeed even to important meetings, where they could speak and express their views without being obliged to undertake any commitment, and we have also decided to carry out joint actions, as your predecessor, Mr. McLean, is well aware of, but none of those things which we have proposed has been accepted by those in whom you are interested. Why is this so? Because those who you describe as having Albanian blood in their veins, or as democrats, are but collaborators with the enemy, branded fascists and anti-Albanian." And I listed the filthy acts of the Balli Kombetar one by one.

"It was they who turned their weapons against us," I told him, "who concluded the Dalmazzo-Kelcyra agreement to suppress the national-liberation movement and be in friendship with the Italians, who in February 1943 went with a senior officer of the Italian Military Intelligence (SIM) to the Ballist Safet Butka to persuade him to unite with them against us, and who, together with the fascists, put whole regions to the torch and murdered children and old folk.

"When the Germans came, General, their hopes, which were dashed by the capitulation of Italy, revived, and thus they became tools of the Nazis, too. We have documents in our possession which prove their collaboration with the Nazis. We can give them to you if you like. To us all this is quite clear. Therefore, we have written off this appendage of the Gestapo and the German Wehrmacht. We have a duty only towards misled Albanians in their ranks to whom we address continual appeals to abandon their leaders' course of betrayal."

"Precisely, Mr. Hoxha. We should make one final effort so that it will be possible for me to convince London properly that these elements are not for war against the German Nazis," interrupted the general, "you will understand that I ought to hear their reasons and try to convince them to fight. Therefore, I would like your opinion and your permission to hold a meeting with the nationalist chiefs to convince them to abandon the wrong course they have taken. I assure you that I shall come to give you an accurate account of the results of the talks."

"As you yourself declared, General," I said, "you have been attached to us, therefore, I did not expect such a proposal from a senior allied officer. (In fact, I not only expected it, but I knew that this was the main purpose of his coming here), since you have been attached to us, you are not permitted to go outside our liberated territories to hold talks with the enemies of the Albanian people. Such a thing is neither right nor principled. The allied governments have declared that they will make no compromise with Hitlerite Germany. We consider your coming to the general staff of the partisan army as an aid in order to drop us weapons, munitions and clothing in the service of our common war, as you yourself have stated."

"But Mr. Hoxha," objected the general, "I consider what I proposed to you as an aid to our common war."

"No, general," I cut him short, "you are mistaken. We have not sought and do not accept such an 'aid,' because we have no need for it. I want to emphasize that you are taking upon yourself the role of mediator, of conciliator between us and traitors to our homeland. We cannot accept such a thing, from you or from anyone else. I told you and I repeat that there is not and will never be any compromise with the Ballists, the Zogites and the other collaborators with the Germans. Whoever attempts to make a compromise with them will be the sworn enemy of the Albanian people. At the beginning, General, you told me that you are not involved in politics, that you are simply a soldier, but now, contrary to what you said, you want to carry out political activities with collaborators of the Germans. You asked for my opinion and permission and our answer is this: Your proposal is regarded as unacceptable for the reasons which I gave you above, that is, because we have no need to make peace with those who are our enemies to the end and we do not accept mediation."

"Your viewpoint is quite clear to me, Mr. Hoxha," the Englishman hastened to say, "but I ask you to allow me to have just one meeting with them, sufficient to tell them that they must fight the Germans, and I assure you that I will say nothing about any 'agreement for conciliation.' That is not my affair."

"In principle, General, I do not agree, either, that you should go from our liberated zones to them," I added. "You could have gone directly to them, but that would be another question. However, I am not going to keep you prisoner. Since you insist, you may hold just one meeting with them, but we shall not allow a second meeting. You must choose whether you will stay with us or with them. If you are going to stay with us you will remain in our territories, if you want to stay with them, go to the territories controlled by the Germans, but we shall not allow you to come back here. I tell you once again, and I am a hundred per cent certain of this. That reaction will never join in the war against the Germans. You said that you would inform me about your talk with the Ballist chiefs. I thank you for this, but it does not interest me in the least, because I know already what you will talk about."

This brought the first talk with the British general to a close. He stayed to dinner with us and next day Mustafa Gjinishi and several partisans escorted him to his "lair" in Biza.

The aims of General Davies

Now the manoeuvres and aims of the British Government, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, with its allegedly military missions, which it was sending to Albania under the pretext of helping the national liberation war, were becoming even clearer.

Everything which we heard from General Davies fully confirmed our beliefs. We should not have the slightest illusion that Britain was going to assist our war. No. This mission, in particular, like all the other missions, had only the aims I mentioned above. Its aim was purely political.

The reason Brigadier General Davies and his group came to us was, first, that we were the biggest and indeed the only organized political and ideological fighting force in Albania, they could not send him either to the Balli Kombetar or to the Zogites, because they knew that they represented nothing much. Second, they sent the general and his staff to us, as I said previously, to learn about our political and military organization, to discover our strong and weak points so that they could fight us more effectively, in order to put our national liberation war under their political and military leadership and, if this proved impossible, to compromise and corrupt cadres and staffs with a few weapons, a few clothes or a few hundred sovereigns, in order to destroy us from within.

However, our party was vigilant towards them, even after the victory over the occupiers and this was one of its greatest merits. The party fought against the occupier of that time, as well as against the camouflaged enemies of the future.

Naturally, the plans of the British in Albania were failing. London was alarmed, radiograms were sent back and forth, undoubtedly things were not in order at either end. Therefore it sent General Davies as head of the mission. London sent him to tell us that they valued our war highly and put us to sleep, that allegedly "the general had authority to settle the disagreement which might have emerged between us and the British mission," and finally, that "with his coming they would send us more weapons." We did not believe any of this.

After General Davies left, the comrades and I sat talking till late into the night. Finally I drew the following conclusions about the aims for which he had been sent here:

First, to make contact with the heads of the Balli Kombetar and the Zogites and, through them, with the quislings, to advise them on behalf of London on how they should organize themselves to be ready when Germany capitulated in the near future, to assure them that they would always have the full support of Britain and America.

Second, to instruct them that on no account must they allow the communists to take power in the future.

Third, to instruct them how they should organize their forces "illegally" and carry out some sham actions. To this end, he would attach some British missions to them and might also send others to organize and direct these activities. The general would promise them weapons and money. We know that all the traitors have always been ready to sell their souls and their homeland for lire and pounds, and the British know and exploit this weakness of theirs.

Fourth, to study the situation and strength of different chiefs of reaction, to sound out the terrain to gain first-hand knowledge of the tendencies of the various groups, the possibility of alliances between them and of gathering them around some particular individual or some new, less compromised group, as the British put it. However, I think that the British are trying to rally

reaction around Zog as a "constitutional" monarch, a "reformer" and "democrat," and undoubtedly, the general has come to see what the traitor chiefs think of this "brilliant" idea (on November 19, 1943, General Davies sent Cairo a radiogram to be passed on to London in which amongst other things he said: "D...They /LNC--the National Liberation Movement/ are dead against Zog. The Balli Kombetar approves of such a committee /government in exile/ and Zog's association with it." (FO 371/37145-3741. pro.taken from the photocopy of the original in the archives of the Institute of History, (AIH), Tirana) [quotemark, passage as received] of the British. The special concern which they are displaying for the Zogites unwittingly betrays this plan. We saw that Bazi I Canes, the Zogite who came to the conference of Peze and was elected to the general staff, did not fire a single shot, or carry out any of the joint decisions. Nevertheless, it was on him that McLean's eyes were fixed. We must continue to make this clear to the party, the army and the national liberation front so that no cadre makes a false step out of naive trust.

Fifth, General Davies has certainly come also to give new instructions to all the missions in our country, to check up on their work, to learn about the situation and the possibilities for action as they see them and to reach the necessary conclusions about the meeting with the heads of the Balli Kombetar, and after all these things are done, he will set his missions further tasks for the "new situations" which will be created.

However, in order to achieve all these things, they are obliged to do something, even if only formally, to give the impression that they are fighting the enemy and helping us, for otherwise, it will not be easy for them to put their plans into operation tomorrow.

"Therefore, we must keep their aims clearly in mind and time will prove that we are right," I told the comrades. "We must take all measures to ensure that we crush the enemy occupiers and foil the secret military and political plans of the British and their lackeys, the Ballists, the Zogites and the Bajraktars. Only through a fierce armed struggle and ideological struggle, guided by our party, will all the enemy intrigues be exposed and defeated. We are going to smash them, going to liberate the country, and the people, under the leadership of the party, will take power into their own hands," I wound up my remarks to the comrades who fully endorsed the political and organizational conclusions I put before them.

On the same day I summoned comrades in charge of our partisan units to inform them about the talks with General Davies and instruct them to step up the struggle against the occupiers and the traitors and increase their vigilance towards any action of the British.

The quantity of weapons, ammunition and clothing the British sent us was ridiculously small

Our partisan war against the Germans and their tools continued fiercely and without interruption. The BBC still remained silent about this war and churned out reports about the "war" that the Ballists and the Zogites were waging.

The weeks and months went by and the British dropped us some automatic rifles, but without sufficient ammunition, occasionally dropped some clothing or a few boots, although these were often only for one foot, a thing which made the partisans laugh and say: "Apparently the British want us to march and fight on one foot ... but we'll get by with our opinga (opinga--homemade greenhide sandals) with which our ancestors have fought." The quantity of weapons, ammunition and clothing which they sent us was ridiculously small. Under the pretext of supplying us with weapons, the British officers tried to get into our detachments to learn what forces we had, how they were organized, where they were stationed and where they operated and so on. But they ran up against a brick wall everywhere. All that the partisans would say to the British officers was: "Why don't you drop us weapons?" As usual, the British made all sorts of lying excuses.

[31 Jan 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 31 Jan (ATA)--

The British officers were linked up with the forces of the reaction and even attacked our forces in Peshkopia together with them

The British officers asked for information on the German forces, wanted us to give them the emblems and numbers of the detachments to which the Germans killed in battle belonged, and we gave them any amount of these. They wanted to go all over the place, to check up on things, to make contact with our units and we, of course, did not keep them on a chain. We allowed them to travel through the mountains and gorges, but they were unable to learn what they wanted.

However, sometimes the vigilance slackened and there were instances when the British officers sent to the partisan forces in Diber escaped from their supervision and managed to link up with the chiefs of reaction in Diber, for instance, Fiqri Dine and Xhem Gostivari, and even attacked our forces in Peshkopia together with them. I wrote a letter to Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, instructing him to give the British a final warning and tell them that our bullets should make no distinction between the enemy and those who united with the enemy to attack us. Once again it was clear that the British missions were operating to assist the gentry against us, putting into practice the directives that they received from London.

Our prediction that they chose to reside in Biza, because it was a more suitable place from which the general could make intensive contacts with the British missions in the north and would have frequent contacts with Mat, Diber and central Albania, was proved correct. Naturally, we kept all their movements under observation--why should we hide this?--but what they talked about and what they decided we did not know. We watched and discovered their decisions during their practical application.

This is how General Davies worked against us, but we were not asleep.

General Davies makes contacts with the heads of the Balli Kombetar

Some time had passed since I had met the general, when Frederik Nosi came one day and informed me that the general had told him that he had finally managed to contact the heads of the Balli Kombetar and they had agreed to come to a meeting with him in Shengjergj. "I believe that Lumo Skendo, (Mithat Frasheri, chairman of the CC of the Balli Kombetar) Begeja and some others will be at this meeting," the general had told him. Therefore, he had instructed Frederik to inform our general staff about this matter.

I told Frederik to transmit to the general that our staff would put ten partisans at his disposal to protect him from any German attack, but the general himself must bear responsibility for this meeting with the Ballists, because he had wanted and prepared it contrary to the desire of the political commissar of the general staff of the national liberation army.

General Davies held the meeting with Lumo Skendo and returned to Biza immediately. He told Frederik, "It was a fiery meeting and Mr. Hoxha was absolutely right about certain things, but in the end I managed to convince them that they must fight." And, as far as I remember, he had even received a document with this promise in writing. Frederik had listened to him with indifference and told him: "The Balli Kombetar won't fight, it is up to its neck in treachery, they are deceiving you." Brigadier Davies did not ask Frederik to report to me, because I had told him that the talks which he would hold with the Ballists did not interest me. However, he knew Frederik would inform me.

During a talk with General Davies

A little later Frederik came and told me that the general had invited me and the comrades with me to go to dinner at his quarters in Biza. I accepted the invitation and in the afternoon of November 11, accompanied by partisans and taking Mustafa Gjinishi as interpreter and member of the staff, I set out from Orenja. I arrived at Biza in the evening.

First we talked about literature. I talked about ours and he talked about his. He knew nothing at all about our literature.

"We're well acquainted with Shakespeare," I said, "not only from school, but especially from the brilliant translations which our poet, historian and revolutionary democrat Fan Noli has made of his works. Just as Fitzgeralds made Omar Khayyam 'speak' English, our Noli made the great Shakespeare 'speak' Albanian."

That night in Biza, with the north wind blowing, I talked to the general about the winter nights of David Copperfield, about the humour of Jerom K. Jerome, about Swift and Byron, Shelley and Kipling.

"You regard Kipling as a great writer, General," I said, "but I hate him because he is one of your writers who sings hymns in praise of the colonial conquests of the British Empire in his works. I prefer your great Byron, whom the

new generation of English people has neglected, preferring poets and writers of little value. I like Byron, not because I am a romantic, but because he sincerely loved my people, has sung their praises with pure feelings and has, as I have read somewhere, even named his daughter Alba, thus expressing his admiration for the Albanian people. As you know, in his famous Childe Harold he sings to the valour, manliness and maturity of the Albanians.

"We like Byron and we want the British people to love the Albanian people as he did."

"When we win the war, Mr. Hoxha, I hope you will invite me to come to visit your country," said the general, trying to give the conversation a pleasant and intimate tone.

"Of course, you must come and get to know it sell, because both our country and our people are marvellous. You must not be left with the outdated impression you have formed from the tendentious reports of British consuls who wrote things to your foreign office, which were not true and which had ulterior motives, or from the reports of 'collectors' of flowers and butterflies, who in reality were doing other work. Of course, I'm not referring to scholars such as Miss Durham who travelled Albania, especially the north, to study the life in the northern highlands and did not write badly about it.

"Mr. Hoxha," said the general, "I had a talk with Mr. Lumo Skendo and others and I spoke to them straight from the shoulder. I reproached them and said to them, 'as far as I can see, only the national liberation front is fighting against the Germans, while you are not fighting.' But they denied this, and all but accused me of being a communist. However, I persisted in my argument and, in the end, I believe I convinced them and they gave me their word that they would fight."

"They'll fight against us," I told him.

"Oh, no, Mr. Hoxha," said the general, "against the Germans."

"In that case, let me assure you that they have deceived you. They have not fought and never will fight the Germans. Remember these words I'm saying to you. They will continue their betrayal of the people to the end, with weapons and every other means, in close collaboration with the Germans."

Up till the time he fell in the hands of the Germans as a prisoner, General Davies saw for himself the fact that the Ballists and the Zogites did not fire one shot against the enemy occupier. (He wrote to his centre on December 17, 1943 as follows:

"1. Now recommend a change. Situation developed recently so much imperative now denounce regency council collectively and by name. Also Balkom [Balli Kombetar] and Zogists.

2. All are cooperating with Germans, who are exploiting them with arms in large quantities, setting them to guard main roads, police towns and lead patrols thus freeing German troops.

3. All recent actions fought by LNC [Liberation National Council] have met mixed German Balkom bodies well armed German-trained. Battles Peza and Diber areas, especially latter, have ample proof closest collaboration.

4. Balkom and Abaz Kupi both promised me [they would] fight Germans actively, but not one action have they fought this past month, although there have been many chances for them to resist the Germans....

5. Both the Balkom and Zogists now publish expensive ambitious newspapers obviously German set-up. In eight editions there has not been one anti-German reference. Both parties boasting allies will cooperate with them after Germans go quoting as evidence Britain's failure to name the regency council or any political party (in Albania) example:--BBC director's speech to Albania on 28 November.

6. I would have preferred to explain personally when I come out, but I may be delayed, and am unlikely to reach you before mid-January at the earliest.

7. I consider the allies' attitude should be made public forthwith, showing quislings, traitors and non-resisters to Germans will receive appropriate punitive treatment from the allies in due course... Therefore, I recommend an open declaration for the LNC" telegram No 3 to SOE in Cairo to be passed on to London, FO 371 / 37145-3741. pro.taken from the photocopy of the original in the AIH, Tirana.)

The traitor organization of Lumo Skendo and Ali Kelcyra, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, continued their treachery at a savage level and that is why the British pinned greater hopes on the gang of Abaz Kupi, attached to whom were the wily officer McLean and Amery, of whom the latter, if I'm not mistaken, has been a minister in several conservative governments since the war.

With such conversation we passed the dinner with the Englishman Davies.

A warning to the British general

On November 28, 1943, I went to Shengjergj of Tirana district to take part in the ceremony of the formation of the 2nd shock brigade. General Davies had come there, too, on the invitation of our general staff. With his own eyes he saw how poorly the partisans were clothed and armed, and also saw their enthusiasm, drive and determination on the course on which the party was leading them. But with his miserable bourgeois spirit he was completely unmoved. My patience ran out and I said to him:

"You see, minister representative of the allied mission very few of them have great-coats, and nearly all of them are without boots, have only sandals made

of old tyres or greenhide. Winter is coming and great battles await them. As you see, they are poorly armed, too. You are dropping us nothing. What are you doing about all those promises?"

"I've told you before," he replied. "We are not going to supply you with clothing and armaments as long as you are fighting amongst yourselves."

Boiling with indignation I no longer cared what I said to him. I went so far as to warn him: "Either keep your promises or clear out." In the face of my protest, which was an expression of the anger of all the comrades, of all the partisans, the general felt himself in a very tight spot.

Insidious questions of the British general

We would have to cross the Shkumbin River before the heavy rain and snow began, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on in his book and while attacking the German forces on the Librazhd road, make a route march through Polis, Shpat, the district south of Librazhd, to come out at Opar, and from there go on to Voskopoja, etc. I also informed the British general and his staff that they could come with our staff to the region of Korce if they wished. The general jumped at this proposal and replied that he would be ready the moment I informed him.

Since we had time at our disposal, I had a talk with the British general. I spoke about our war, while he asked some questions.

"Is the national liberation movement a communist movement, Mr. Hoxha?" In the end the British fox fired his blank cartridge. I knew that this was what was inwardly burning him up, therefore I replied very tersely:

"Its aim is to defeat the occupiers and the traitors who have united with them. This is also the objective of the allies, General, is it not?"

Not content with this, he asked another, more insidious question:

"If you take power after liberation, do you intend to establish a regime like that of Moscow in Albania?"

This was a question which could be inferred in every action and thought of the British, therefore it made no great impression on me.

"The free people will decide that," I told him, and repeated: "Free from the occupiers and their lackeys, the Ballists, the Zogites and others, the people themselves will establish the regime they want, and this we have stated publicly. I am astonished, General, that you did not know this. What is more, the time to make this a reality is approaching. Then our people will live happy days. The worker will work without exploiters and the peasant will enjoy his own land. Life will be pleasant for them. Their sons and daughters will go to school."

To fill the silence which ensued following my reply, the general mumbled:

"With the appointment of political commissars in the army, the national liberation movement is following the example of the Russians."

"This form of organization has given splendid results in the Soviet Union and is yielding good results here in Albania, too," I replied. "Why should we not benefit from the experience of the Soviet Union? It is one of our great allies, is it not?"

Davies had no more to say. Thus, in silence, we joined the comrades who were waiting for us. Reports had arrived. It was impossible to cross by the Murrash bridge because the enemy were guarding it.

Meanwhile, the German Nazis had massed large forces round the regions of Cermenika, Shengjergj and Martanesh, and were preparing to begin their operation against them. Before long the enemy launched their operation. Serious danger threatened us. In these conditions it was impossible to cross the Librazhd-Elbasan road or to stay where we were any longer. So we thought we should cross to the south through Golloborda, Cermenika E Vogel, Hotolisht and come out in Mokra or Berzeshta, and from there go over to the Korce region. This is what we decided.

The British general was with us, together with his colonel. He was cheerful and impatient to get to Korce. I remember that during a conversation he asked me:

"Is it easy to get to Greece from Korce?"

"Yes," I said, "but you'd best ask McLean about that. He came in that way himself with two companions without our knowing anything about it."

No doubt the general was overjoyed that he was getting closer to Greece.

[1 Feb 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 1 Feb (ATA)--You general are a defeatist, a capitulationist

The enemy offensive of December 19 found us at Orenja, Comrade Enver Hoxha continues. That evening we left Orenja and headed northwards through the beech forest.

We travelled all night in the forest in Orenja through the darkness and the snow. On the following day we continued the march and came out at Kaptina of Martanesh. Nightfall caught us there but we did not stop until we entered the forest of Okshtun. There, after great efforts, we managed to light a fire and spent the whole night huddled around it. At daybreak we set out again and reached Okshtun where we stayed one night.

We set off again amidst the snow and the cold towards Studa Flat.

We crossed the Librazhd-Diber road at Studa Flat and began the climb up Letem Mountain. Night fell when we were in the forest on Letem Mountain where we slept huddled together. The following day we moved in the direction of Qarrishta. Another long march through the snow and the biting north wind.

When we reached the forest of Qarrishta, the vanguard informed us that we could go no further towards Cermenika E Vogel in the direction of Mokra or towards Berzeshta, because reaction was extremely strong there. We had no option but to turn back towards Okshtun.

I informed the general, who had lagged behind, that we could not go on because of the Ballist-German armed reaction and that we had to change course. Apparently the British general had run out of patience, lost his temper and begun to be frightened. He sent his orderly to me to say that the general wanted me to wait so that he could talk to me.

"I'm losing my patience, Mr. Hoxha," said the general, red-faced and angry.

"It seems you have forgotten the advice that Kipling gives his son in one of his poems: 'If you can keep your head when all about you are losing theirs... you will be a man, my son.' Why have you lost your patience?" I asked.

"We have been all these days and nights in the darkness and the snow which remind me of nights in the mountains of Scotland, roaming through mountains and forests and making no headway."

"This is war, general," I continued, "our road is not strewn with rose petals."

"But I want to break through, to get out of this," he persisted.

"Where will you go?" I asked, "will you go alone? What impels you to go?"

The general replied angrily:

"I do not account for what I do to anyone except my superiors."

I said to him calmly:

"I do not want you to render account to me, but you must understand that we are allies. You have been sent to our staff and we're responsible for your safety. Whatever occurs must occur to us together, but I assure you that nothing will occur."

"No," said the general haughtily, "I shall go to Korce without you."

"You may want to do so, but I shall not allow it," I said.

"Why, am I your prisoner?" exclaimed the general raising his voice.

"No, you are not our prisoner, but you are our ally and friend and I cannot allow the Germans to kill you."

"Since I am not your prisoner and am a representative of Great Britain, I shall go even without your permission," the general replied.

"Keep your temper, General," I said, "if you put the question in this way, I shall not stop you from going, but only on certain conditions: you must give me a signed document which says that you yourself took the responsibility and left the general staff of the national liberation army without the approval and against the desire of me and our staff. I am certain that you are going to your death or captivity, therefore, I cannot allow you to take Frederik or any other partisan, because I am responsible to the people for the safety of their sons."

The general was taken aback and, seeing no way out, snorted furiously:

"I shall issue no such document, Mr Hoxha. As anyone can see, it is all up with you. You are lost. The Germans have staged a big, co-ordinated offensive and your forces have been routed. Now there is nothing for it except for us to leave and you to surrender. But your eyes are blinded and you can see nothing. You have no hope, you have lost the war, you are encircled and are left with only two courses: either to kill yourselves or to surrender."

This was too much for my self-control. I jumped to my feet (Frederik stood up, too) and I said:

"Listen, General, what you have dared to say is the culmination of your treachery and villainy. However, you should know that we shall not surrender and don't think that we have lost the war. We have treated you as allies, but apparently you do not want those who fight fascism as allies. We shall continue our war to total victory. You will have to answer for the betrayal you are committing against our people's war. You are deserting under fire and you know what awaits deserters in the army. Apart from anything else they are called traitors. What you're about to do is deserting under fire, betrayal.

"Who has lost the war? Who should surrender, we? Never. You General are a defeatist, a capitulationist. The Albanian partisans have not lost any war and will not do so. And you advise us to surrender because we have allegedly lost the war? Surrender is an act unworthy of an army which has never surrendered to the Germans. This is an insult to us, General. The Albanians will never tolerate insults. Excuse me, but it seems to me that you have lost your sense of logic."

The general looked crest-fallen. He stood up, told Frederik to tell me that he begged my pardon and had not intended to insult us and went off to rejoin his group with a nod of his head to me. I returned his nod equally coldly.

I gathered up the comrades and related to them what had happened. "He got what he deserved," they all said unanimously.

We set out again. The general and his suite followed a little behind us.

During our stay at a house in Okshtun

The snow was falling so thickly that we could not find the path to Studa Flat. We wandered for hours in the forest and suddenly found ourselves back in the place where we had stopped to eat, because we saw the onion skins. In the end we struck the right road, but the snow continued relentlessly. It was hard going. We stopped.

All the food that remained was one loaf of maize bread and two tins of nestle milk. With great difficulty the partisans lit a fire which was the saving of us, put on the dish, melted snow in it and tipped in the milk. While they were mixing it the orderly of the general, who was used to eating chocolate and biscuits, but now had nothing left, came and said:

"Please, could you give me a ration for the general?"

"Of course," one of the comrades told him and filled a flask with milk and gave him two good slices of maize bread to take to the general.

We spent that night on the mountain. When day dawned we could see Okshtun ahead of us. Only then did we realize that we were on Okshtun Mountain.

In the morning the general came. We shook hands and I smiled at him as if I had forgotten the quarrel of the day before. We set out for Okshtun.

Night had fallen by the time we reached the base where we were to stay.

After such a wearying journey through the forest, sometimes on and sometimes off the track, through snow and blizzard, we entered a room of a peasant's home which made the Englishman exclaim: "What a miracle. Can I be dreaming?"

At the head of the room there was a big fireplace, with a blazing fire which spread warmth and light from end to end.

"This is marvellous. This is paradise," murmured the general. "Even in dreams I could not have imagined such a Christmas night."

"You see what the homes and hearts of the ordinary Albanians are like, General," I said. "They truly are paradise without mammon or God, as in your Milton's Paradise Lost. Perhaps you remember Lord Byron's beautiful verses full of feeling. In his Childe Harold he pointed out the fine virtues of the Albanian and wrote: The Suliotes stretched the welcome hand, and piled the hearth, and wrung their garments damp, /and filled the bowl, and trimmed the cheerful lamp /and spread their fare, though homely all they had/, such conduct bears philantropy's rare stamp."

"Yes, Mr. Hoxha," said the general, "What Byron wrote about you Albanians I am seeing in reality and in difficult times which the world is going through."

Thus, on that cold winter's night in that house in Diber, for a few moments we forgot the great difficulties of the war, talking about literature, poetry and poets, and the lessons of history.

Our stay in Okshtun was really pleasant.

The shameful end of General Davies

But according to the reports which I received, the German offensive, supported by the mercenaries of Fiqri Dine and other Bajraktars, was continuing. To stay longer there was dangerous.

Thus, we returned to the sheepfolds of Kostenja. We settled the general and his staff in a separate house, while we stayed in the home of Qazim Peshku, a company commander in the ceta of Martanesh. There we stayed some days, rested and regained our strength. The general now had no cause for complaint about the food. Our base area supplied him well with walnuts, potatoes, quinces, grape conserve, meat and raki.

I decided we should go from Kostenja to Shmil and from there find some corridor in the direction of the zone of Korce.

I informed the general about this project and asked him whether he wanted to continue the journey with us, because if not, we would find some secure place for him from which he could move in the direction of the region of Korce when he wanted to. He replied that he would think about this and inform me later.

After we had completed all our preparations for the march, through the snow and winter blizzard, I went to the house where the general was staying. I sat down. He offered me a cigarette and I talked to him about the plan. He was worried, kept looking at the colonel and seemed as if he wanted his permission.

"Let the colonel decide," he said. The colonel was sitting on a stool.

I said with a laugh, "whether or not the colonel likes the idea..." and I reached over to where he was sitting and slapped him on the knee. I could not finish my sentence, because he gave a loud cry followed by a deep groan.

"Excuse me," I said. "Did I hurt you? What's the matter?"

"I am very ill, Mr Hoxha," he said. "I can't move. I am afraid my leg is becoming gangrenous."

"What? How is it possible, Colonel?" I said in surprise. "Why didn't you inform me earlier, so that we could take urgent measures? General, we must save the colonel's life. Have we your permission to act."

"Do you have any possibilities?" he asked me.

"We can get him to Tirana within a few days and the operation can be done immediately," I said.

After consulting with Nicholls, the general told me they would be grateful if we could get this underway quickly and expressed the desire that Nicholls should be sheltered in the home of one of their men a bey of Jella, if I am not mistaken.

"Wherever you like," I replied, and without delay sent couriers urgently to instruct the comrades of Mat and Tirana to organize a refuge for the colonel and the operation on him as quickly as possible. The general thanked me for our concern and the speed with which we were acting to save the colonel and said that in these conditions he could not leave the vicinity of Tirana until the colonel was better.

"That is understandable," I said. "Then you shall stay with Baba Faja. He is on the way here if he hasn't come already, and you will stay with him and his forces here, or perhaps in some other nearby zone."

Baba Faja came and met the general. We said goodbye. I shook the general by the hand saying: "I'll see you again in the zone of Korce," but we never met again.

During those days a British lieutenant called Trayhorn had surrendered to the Germans. It seems he had told them everything about the general, where he was staying and his plans. On the day after we left, January 8, the Ballists of Azis Bicaku and a platoon of German soldiers moved in on the sheepfolds of Kostenja, where the partisans with the British general and four other people were located. The partisans, led by Baba Faja, began to fight off the attacks from the four sides. Baba Faja led the fighting, directing the attacks on the enemy in order to break through the encirclement and enter a nearby forest and at the same time protected and opened the way for the general, shouting, "take care of the general." Baba Faja continued to fight in the vanguard to cover their withdrawal. Nicholls and another British officer also fought together with the partisans to break through the encirclement. In the heat of the battle the partisans saw that the general was not moving. Some of them went back to get him, but to their astonishment saw that he was leaning against the trunk of a tree with a red silk sash draped across his chest and shouting and gesturing to them to go away. Meanwhile Frederik, while fighting alongside Nicholls, heard the general say to the colonel:

"Go on, I am hit. You take charge."

"Very good, Sir, goodbye," replied the colonel.

A number of Ballists and Germans were killed and the firing stopped. The enemy withdrew. After the battle, the partisans discovered that the British general was missing. Exhausted, completely discouraged, he had thrown away his weapons and surrendered without firing a shot.

The report about the event reached me at Shmil, when we had made all the preparations for our journey and were almost ready to start for the Korce zone. The general who had advised us to surrender had long been planning to surrender himself. Thus, he found the moment and made his plan a reality.

Despite his injured leg, the colonel did not surrender, but broke through the encirclement and entered the forest, because he knew what awaited a senior officer of the SOE at the hands of the Gestapo. The general himself had expressed this to Frederik in the course of conversation. There was also another reason why he did not surrender. According to a tradition in the British Army, if a senior officer is captured, his immediate subordinate takes his position. Hence, Nicholls would automatically become a general and head of the British mission in Albania, and, in fact, did so. However, this was only for a few days. With his leg gangrenous, he broke off all contact with the representative of the staff of our national liberation army and, through the intervention of the Balli Kombetar and Legaliteti, he found shelter in the vicinity of Tirana in the home of one of the Toptani family, a Ballist and Anglophile. As we learned later, he died there and was buried incognito.

The Ballists displayed all this care for the colonel in atonement for the sin they had committed against the British, by handing over General Davies to the Germans. Nevertheless, the British did not publicly condemn the Ballists, because they did not want to totally discredit them and they continued their contacts with them. However, the Germans brought this whole filthy business to light. In order to show that the Ballists were with them, they publicized the capture of the general by the Ballists, and for this they awarded Aziz Bicaku the Iron Cross.

Later, when I was in the south, I was informed that the comrades of Tirana had made an attempt to release the British general from the clutches of the Gestapo, but had failed, although four people had sacrificed their lives in the attempt.

In September 1944, the command of the 1st Army Corps of the National Liberation Army informed me that the partisans had captured three German women, dangerous spies, on the Kukes-Prizren road. I sent an urgent radiogram, ordering the comrades to try to exchange them for General Davies. However, the German command replied that when they asked General Davies whether he wanted to be exchanged he had not accepted the proposal.

We did our duty towards him, but the British General Davies preferred German imprisonment to freedom with the partisans in the mountains of Albania, where he would have had to share the countless sacrifices they endured. (In his book Illyrian Venture Davies admits that in the German prisoner of war camp, "It was a better Christmas than the last, when we were struggling against a blizzard on top of a mountain, with no food and no prospects." (Brigadier "Trotsky" Davies, Illyrian Venture. The Bodley Head, London 1952, p 219)

This was the shameful end of a senior British officer, the agent of the intelligence service, General Davies.

Without doubt, the British general, prisoner of the Germans, who refused to be released on exchange as we proposed, had been ordered by London to enter into discussions with the Germans about the future of Albania over which London was so concerned. I have presented facts about this concern throughout my description of the events.

[2 Feb 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 2 Feb (ATA)--In the fourth chapter of his book Comrade Enver Hoxha deals with the camouflaged activity of the agent of intelligence service Mustafa Gjinishi and discovers and exposes his treacherous activity.

In regard to this Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

4

Mustafa Gjinishi--Agent of the British

> The two Mustafas. Kacaci--loyal son of the party. Gjinishi's links and contacts with the "nationalists." Babe Myslim's reply. The "plan" for the Peqin-Darsia military domain. A "valuable" proposal: "Let us send representatives to London." The BBC-Ras Tafari. Tafari's confession: "Cungu put me in contact with the Turkish consulate." Caught red-handed.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: I had not known Mustafa Gjinishi, nor even heard his name. I knew nothing at all about who he was, what work he did, where he lived and what he had been doing before the occupation of Albania by Italy.

After the occupation of our country by the Italians, Mustafa entered Albania from Yugoslavia together with Mustafa Kacaci and Abaz Kupi.

I had never met Mustafa Kacaci, either, but I knew his name and something of his struggle against the regime of Zog. Kacaci had been one of the leaders of the Fier Uprising in 1935.

After some time we met the two Mustafas. The party had not been formed at this time and I made contact with these two on behalf of the Korce group. I was still legal at that time.

At the first meeting I had with these two comrades, we talked about the situation in the country and the war which we had to organize against the occupiers.

Kacaci was very good as a person and as a communist. He was sincere, joined the Korce group and, when the party was founded, became a member of it. Later he

was appointed political commissar of the partisan battalion of Mat and fought and gave leadership as a resolute communist until the moment he was killed, fighting heroically for the liberation of Kruja. After liberation the party awarded him the lofty title Hero of the People.

Matters were totally different with Mustafa Gjinishi.

Our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, reported that he went and met Irfan Ohri, Lumo Skendo, Sheh Karbunara, Kamber Qafmolla, Abaz Kupi and others. He had meetings with a great mixture of people, including beys, some of whom had declared their links with the occupiers, others who had not done so at that time, and some other "candidates," "sympathizers" with the movement, some of them inveterate and resolute anti-communists. Mustafa told us very little about what he discussed, and what intrigues he hatched up with them, even later when the party was formed, and indeed, even after we admitted him as a member of the party.

Events and acts that arouse doubt about the stand of Mustafa Gjinishi

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes in his book about some events and acts of Mustafa Gjinishi that arouse doubts about his stand, acts which were hit at the first conference of the activists of the party (April 12-14, 1942).

Among others he relates also to an event, when Shyqri Peza says to his brother Myslim Peza that two traitors, Qazim Mulleti and Irfan Ohri want to meet him. Then Shyqri Peza said:

"Mustafa Gjinishi and I think that it would not hurt if you met them."

At this Myslim rose angrily to his knees and said bluntly:

"You, Shyqri Peza, and you, Mustafa Gjinishi go and meet the traitors and talk with them if you wish, but never again set foot back here in the base of Myslim Peza. And tell them they can bring an army if they wish, but I shall fight them."

I jumped up and embraced Myslim and afterwards Qemal Stafa did likewise.

We made Myslim sit down. Shyqri was sitting flabbergasted, while Mustafa hung his head.

"You must not do such a thing, Mr. Shyqri," I said. "Babe Myslim and our party will never accept it. We fully agree with Babe, but believe that you have not given this idea proper consideration. It is wrong, and we are convinced that you will abandon it. As for Mustafa, he ought to have advised you to refuse this proposal of traitors, without coming to Babe about it."

To calm the situation I said to Babe Myslim:

"We must trust Shyqri Peza, who is our brother, that he will not make such mistakes again from now on and will never be split away from Babe."

We summoned Mustafa separately later and criticized him severely. He made some sort of self-criticism and we thought that from now on he would come to his senses.

On the manoeuvres of the British to create an Albanian government in exile

The spring of 1943 arrived and, together with it, the first British military missions began to come to Albania, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha.

With the arrival of the British missions, Mustafa Gjinishi was strutting like a fighting cock, although both he and the British kept up appearances. Mustafa, that "cheerful, interesting and frank person," as the British described him, had the advantage that he knew English. Even when some of us who knew French but not English, were present, Mustafa was able to speak freely with them, or to translate as he wished. I did not like this, but there was nothing we could do about it. We tried to see if there was any connection between some meetings of the British with "nationalist" personalities and the meetings which Mustafa had had previously with these individuals, who were now openly with the Balli Kombetar, but we were still unable to find the connecting thread in this tangle.

Dwelling on the attempts the British were making to create a government in exile, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes that despite their efforts they were unable to create a government in exile headed by Zog. The fierce, far-sighted, resolute and uncompromising fight of our party inflicted this defeat on them. This was the main factor.

Besides this there was the Greek question. The Greek Government in exile claimed southern Albania and did not recognize the status quo of Albania before the occupation. It would consider the creation of a royal Albanian government in exile an attack of the British Government against this claim. (In connection with the recognition of a government in exile headed by Zog, a foreign office document, No E 48 says that "it would certainly do considerable harm to our relations with the Greek Government.") (FO 371/37138-3690.pro.taken from the photocopy of the original found in the AIH, Tirana.)

At that time Britain had relatively greater interest in Greece than in Albania. This did not mean it had finally given up hope of using Zog. On August 9, 1944, a [word indistinct] of the foreign office wrote to the secretary of the Anglo-Albanian Association among other things: "The suggestion that an Albanian Government in exile should be recognised has been kept constantly under review, but it is not felt that the appropriate moment for this step has yet arrived." (FO 371/43555-3278.pro.taken from the photocopy of the original found in the AIH, Tirana) for its plans.

Such manoeuvres of the British to create a government in exile and to re-establish the regime of Zog against the will of the people were very dangerous. Such a people, who had a history full of sufferings, a people hardened to want and difficulties, under the leadership of the Communist Party, would know how to

defend their rights against whoever might dare to engage in trickery at their expense, would be capable of establishing their own form of government, which would ensure all the freedoms and democratic rights for them.

Had we made one small mistake in this direction, we would have jeopardized everything just as the Yugoslav Communist Party, the French Communist Party, the Greek Communist Party and many other communist parties jeopardized and lost everything. The British had Ahmet Zog, Abaz Kupi or the Kryezius ready. But our party showed exemplary determination, vigilance and Marxist-Leninist political maturity, loyalty to the people and to its ideology, Marxism-Leninism. No concession was made to them and their plans were smashed to smithereens.

BBC and its messages for the agents of the British intelligence service

Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha mentions also other cases on the acts of Mustafa Gjinishi that arouse doubts, such as his proposal to send a delegation to London, his proposal to form two brigades on Peqin-Darsia region, etc.

But other even more dangerous actions of his were to come and these would fill the cup, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes.

Every evening London broadcasts messages over the BBC for the whole network of agents of the British intelligence service, stationed in Europe and other continents where fighting was going on. One night it began to broadcast messages for Albania, too. These incomprehensible messages were given periodically. Naturally, they were understandable only by those who expected them. They spoke about "the fruits which are ripening" and other things which I hardly remember now. For us the important thing was to discover to whom these messages were addressed and then to try to find out the content. It was difficult. When the members of the British mission were asked directly or indirectly, of course, they maintained a graveyard silence. We had grave supsicions that the messages might be addressed to the Ballists.

One night, when several comrades and I were listening to the BBC, it gave another message for Albania. This time, if I am not mistaken, the message spoke about the figs or wild cherries which were ripening." The message was addressed to Tafari. I sprang to my feet.

"What's wrong?" said the comrades.

"Tafari is Mustafa Gjinishi," I said.

"Is that a guess?" they asked me.

"No," I replied and went on to tell them about something that had happened in the past.

Comrade Enver Hoxha shows that during a break when we were holding the extraordinary party conference on the question of the factionalists Anastas Lula and Saduk Premte, Mustafa Gjinishi says to Anastas Lulo:

"Qorri, tell us what you have to tell, because you are making us tired."

Anastas raised his head, looked Gjinishi in the eye, slapped his thigh and said:

"Listen, Mustafa, listen you, 'Tafari.' Don't try to come the big man over me, because I've done nothing. Better confess your own sins which even a river could not wash away."

That is where I heard for the first time that Anastas Lula called Mustafa Gjinishi "Tafari." I gave it no importance, because the name Ras Tafari or Haile Selassie had become familiar to us at the time of the war in Abyssinia.

However, when the BBC mentioned the name "Tafari" in its message, my memory clicked at once and I made the connection.

"I'm sure of this," I told the comrades. "We must call Mustafa and persuade him to admit it."

"Don't be hasty," said someone, "we shall certainly ask him, but we must act so that we get the bird into the cage, because there's danger he may give us the slip. Now he has heard the messages, he may suspect that we are on his trail."

During those days Mustafa Gjinishi was in Tirana. For some time he had been nagging me for permission to go there, in order to meet Cungu who had control of the trucks of a ministry in order to arrange with him the transport of the grain which we were to buy to store as a reserve, as well as to "do certain other jobs," as he put it himself. We had given him two days leave, but four days had gone by and he had not returned. I was convinced that he would achieve nothing, because the question of the transport of grain was simply a pretext for him to go to Tirana. I sent Nako (Spiru), who was in Tirana, a letter in which, amongst other things, I wrote: "We are not happy about the business of Mustafa. The 'Mukje question,' (on August 1-2, 1943, the 2nd meeting of representatives of the Balli Kombetar and the national liberation general council was held in the village of Mukje. There Ymer Dishnica and Mustafa Gjinishi, failing to adhere to the instructions which they had been given, fell into the positions of reaction. They capitulated to the Balli Kombetar, treating it as an anti-fascist organization, and agreed to share the leadership of the national liberation war and the political power with the representatives of this traitor organization and accepted the proposal of the Ballists to create a so-called 'committee for the salvation of Albania' with equal numbers of representatives, which would have meant the liquidation of the national liberation general council and violation of the interests of the people and the homeland. On the initiative of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the CC of the CPA [Communist Party of Albania], and the national liberation general council rejected the Mukje agreement as a dangerous and unprincipled compromise) and the leaflet which was issued, have made us think a great deal about the message from London for Tafari and the Albanian Government which the BBC mentions, and which it regrets that we do not have," etc. I told him

also that these things ought to make them reflect a little, too, because the attitude of Mustafa seemed to me precisely the attitude of someone with a worry on his mind, who is constantly haunted by the fear he might be exposed. "We must check up on his connections and movements without fail," I advised Nako, "Hence, we must play our hand very carefully until we discover the dirty linen he is trying to hide."

[3 Feb 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 3 Feb (ATA)--Mustafa Gjinishi admits that he was a man of the British

That is how we acted. We waited for Mustafa to return to Labinot. I summoned him to the room where I worked. It was a dramatic night.

"Mustafa Gjinishi," I said, "what was that message the BBC broadcast a few days ago? What connection has this broadcast with you?"

"I know nothing about it, Comrade Enver," he replied very red-faced. And to give me the impression that he was indignant at this question. Although he was unable to hide his alarm, he continued: "Why do you ask me? What do you suspect? I am a patriot, a communist. What sort of question is this that you're asking me?"

He was ill at ease and, like the wily devil he was, he tried to wriggle like an eel.

"Gjinishi," I said, "tonight you are going to tell the party everything, or otherwise I shall tell it," and I reeled off one by one the things he had observed: the very cordial talks with Colonel Nicholls in Biza, the proposal to send representatives to London, the bag of gold that he had given Kacaci, and so on.

"Come on, speak, what have you to tell the party?" I said in a stern tone.

Instead of replying he lit a cigarette.

I lit one, too, as if I wanted to take the conversation more calmly.

"Tell me how matters stand?" I said. "What connection have you with the British? What mischief have you been up to? Because the level of the punishment, which the party will mete out to you, depends on your explanation of this matter. This has great importance for our party. Therefore, explain everything to us."

For hours on end Mustafa turned and twisted like a snake caught by the head and tried to deny everything. Finally, hard-pressed in the face of many facts, willy-nilly he was obliged to confess and, briefly, this is what he admitted: He said he was not a spy of the British, but had "collaborated" with them "for the good of Albania"--he had first made contact with the British in Yugoslavia, where he had met Lt-Col Oakley-Hill. He had sent him to Albania together with Abaz Kupi.

"My crime," said Mustafa, "is that I did not inform the party about this, and about what occurred later. The party did its utmost to help me, but I thought and acted on my own responsibility and according to the decisions we took with Hill."

"What were these decisions?"

"These decisions" he continued, "were that I should organize the war in Albania with the patriots, and possibly also with the communists. You know something of my activity here, but you do not know that a certain Cungu, sent from London, entered and left the country secretly in order to make contact with me. I reported to him on the situation, my activity and what I intended to do."

"What instructions did Cungu give you?"

"He encouraged me. He told me to continue on this course and open the prospect that later we would have greater possibilities for work. In confidence, he told me that I should work with great care and persistence to make contact with Mehdi Frasheri and convince him to go abroad. 'Naturally,' continued Cungu, 'later we shall organize his departure and yours for London and there Mehdi will form an Albanian government in exile. With or without Zog at the head, this we shall study because it will depend on the circumstances existing at that time."

"And what else?" I put in.

"He, Cungu, put me in contact with the Turkish consulate," continued Mustafa, "because it had still not been withdrawn and he gave me a contact with a person from Tirana. We decided that we would send the news from the country, information and reports through this channel. He also gave me the passwords which you have heard from the BBC, which, Cungu told me, 'you will hear only when we have reached conclusions in connection with several major problems about which we have talked. Don't worry,' he told me, 'because we shall find the way to inform you when you should listen.'"

This was the essence of the matter.

There and then I summoned several comrades who were in Labinot at that time and related to them all that Mustafa Gjinishi had told me.

After several hours of thrashing the matter out amongst ourselves, weighing up everything: the circumstances of the war, Gjinishi's social circle and acquaintenances, the danger he represented, his treacherous activity, his arrogant, big-shot character, his complete confession of his activity, we decided not to condemn him to death.

Thus we parted with Mustafa Gjinishi on this occasion. However, even in the future he never became a good man, but continued his course of betrayal and remained an agent of the British.

This was a dangerous and diabolical activity which would have brought colossal damage to the people, the homeland and our national liberation war, if we had not cut all the threads of it. Nothing had escaped or would escape the vigilant eye of the party. The British and their agents were not going to have their way in Albania as they hoped. Of course, we also uncovered the details of this matter which Mustafa was compelled to admit, including the detail that Qorri knew his pseudonym. All this helped us greatly because it made us even more vigilant.

Another British officer tries to make contact with the enemies of the Albanian people

Then Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: May 1944. We were in Helmes of Skrapar, engaged in preparations for the congress of Permet.

Precisely on the eve of this historic event, the British officer Lt-Col Leake (chief of the section for Albania at headquarters) was dropped in at Staravecka. Dwelling on the talk Comrade Enver Hoxha had with him, he points out:

After I had asked him some questions about the development of the war on the fronts against Germany in Europe, about which he told me nothing concrete (the British officers who were sent to us were all experts in talking about everything and saying nothing concrete), he asked me about the war in Albania. I replied in a similar fashion and took the opportunity, as usual, to tell him that our "great British allies" were not assisting us with weapons. He replied that he was not au fait with this question and that he had come here to assist the war against the common enemy. Like the others, he made us some false promises, but the fact was, and this we learned later, that he had come for purposes completely the opposite of those he expressed to us, that is, not to assist us, but to sabotage the national liberation war.

I gathered that he had been informed that we were going to hold a congress. "This is another sign," I thought, "which shows that the British must have an informer in our ranks." And this informer was Mustafa Gjinishi. For some time this had become more than clear to me.

When the day for our departure for Permet was approaching, I sent this British officer an invitation from the national liberation front to attend the congress of Permet as a representative of "our great ally, Britain." In the reply which he sent me, in which he also sought another meeting with me, he said that he would not come to the congress, because he had no authorization from his government.

At the meeting, after the usual exchange of greetings, amongst other things I expressed my regret that he was not going to attend the congress.

"In my opinion, Lt-Colonel, the reasons you give us are unfounded. You have plenty of time to seek the authorization of your government."

After the question of the non-attendance of the British Lt-Colonel at the coming congress was closed in this way, he launched into an old theme, the refrain on which the British military missions all harped, although they must have long been clear on the answer they would get from us on this. Those arrogant people of old England still had not come to their senses.

"Mr. Hoxha, I have a request to put to you, or you might say, to let you know that I want to meet Mr. Tefik Cfiri and his fighters in Mallakastra and I want you to help me in this, because I want to hear what he thinks and what he is doing in order to report to my government the truth about the Balli Kombetar."

I felt the blood begin to mount in my head. I strove to keep my temper but in the end I could not control myself:

"This refrain of yours is an old one, Lt-Colonel," I said. "I've heard it so frequently from you British that it has become sickening to me. In short, you want to hold meetings with the enemies of the Albanian people, with the sworn enemies of the national liberation front, you ask to meet the collaborators with the Nazi-fascist occupiers. This is a disgrace for you and unacceptable to us."

"Mr. Hoxha," he snapped back, red-faced, "you cannot dictate to my government what it should do."

"At present, Mr Representative of the Government of England, you are in the partisan zones. The anti-fascist national liberation front and its partisan army rule here and not your government. You may go to the Ballist and criminal Tefik Cfiri, a collaborator of the occupiers, you may also go with him to Tirana, if you wish, but understand clearly, if you go outside our liberated territory, you can never come back here to us. The people's national liberation front, which we represent, is the master here. I put the matter clearly: either with us or with our enemies, take your choice." And I immediately rose to my feet giving the impression that the talk was over. The Lt-Colonel was dumbfounded by this reply which he had not expected. He put on his cap, tucked his baton under his arm and took his leave red-faced.

A British soldier secretly hands Gjinishi a letter

During these days, Mustafa Gjinishi had come to Helmes.

The day came for us to leave for Permet. Early in the morning we made ready and the caravan of partisans and horses left Helmes and took the road down towards Staravecka. Another comrade and I delayed a little in the house of Nevruz and Nurihan where we were staying. Mustafa Gjinishi was the last to leave old Mehmet's house after the whole caravan had gone, and he thought that we, too, had gone with it. Hence, he was sure there was no one behind him. We came out when he had gone round the bend from which Helmes could no longer be seen, and as we were going down the hill, we saw a British

soldier hurrying towards the bend. We stepped up our pace and arrived in time to see what they would do. The British soldier quickly handed Gjinishi a letter and left immediately. Mustafa turned his head, realized that we had seen everything, put the letter in his pocket and continued on his way.

When we caught up with him and demanded that he hand over the letter, he told us "I shall not surrender the letter alive." And he did not surrender it.

In Permet Mustafa Gjinishi tried to sabotage the decisions which were to be taken about our government, about Zog, etc., and to make people discontented. But we did not allow him to do so and followed close on his heels at every step. Finally, when the cup was filled I summoned him and told him bluntly: "This is the last time that I shall warn you. Watch out. Don't sabotage our work, because I shall give the order to arrest you and put you on trial," I saw that he was really frightened, because he went pale, his eyes shifted from here to there, he tried to mutter some sort of protest, but could not do so. He went with his head down and shoulders drooping.

On the aims of the British officer Leake

On the last day of the congress, when we were eating a meal with a number of delegates, I was informed that a British Lt-Colonel had come and was asking to see me. "Bring him here," I said. It was the "famous" Lt-Colonel with whom I had quarrelled at Helmes, because he wanted to meet Tefik Cfiri. Following the custom I invited him to join us in the meal.

"You have come late, Lt-Colonel," I said, "now everything is over."

The proceedings of the congress had been brought to a successful conclusion.

"I thought you said you were not going to join us," I said to the British officer.

"I've not come for the congress," he said, "I came only to say goodbye to you."

"Where do you intend to go?" I asked him.

"I'm leaving for England," he answered.

"Ah, goodbye then," I said. "Do you need any assistance?"

"I want to go to the coast. A ship will come there to take me to Italy. Therefore, please give me one or two partisans as an escort."

"Of course," I said and issued the order for two partisans to escort him to Polican of Gjirokastra. "Do you want anything else?" I asked him.

"No," he replied and left.

Apparently Leake had thought he should pass this way in order to discover something about the proceedings of the congress, perhaps to make contact with Gjinishi and if this proved impossible, to find out what had happened about the orders which he must have given in the letter which he sent by the English soldier and about Gjinishi himself after the event on the way. The British Lt-Colonel did not reach the coast, because he was killed at Sheper of Zagoria during a German bombing raid. He was killed in his sleep by a direct hit on a white tent which his colleague, Major Tillman, had erected against the advice of the partisan staff of the Vlora-Gjirokastra 1st operational zone. Thus, the delegate of Great Britain was unable to report to his centre about what was occurring in Albania where all the plans of the British were failing one after the other.

The end of the agent of the British

After the congress of Permet we sent Mustafa Gjinishi to the north to the partisan detachments. Once again we treated that person with indulgence. However, "the wolf may change his skin but does not forget his habits." Regardless of the heavy blow he had received, even there he did not give up his manoeuvres and evildoing to attack the party.

In August 1944, a British officer sent me a message transmitted from his headquarters (the headquarters of the SOE in Bari, Italy, transmitted to mission consensus 2):

"Smith reported August 28 as follows: Mustafa and self separated from escort, ambushed by Hun patrol at range 10 yards. First fire wounded Gjinishi but while assisting him to cover, second burst killed him. Self unhurt." (Signals from SOE headquarters in Bari, Italy, to mission consensus 2, May-Oct, 1944, No.202,p.) Then the message said: "For General Hoxha. I regret to inform you that Mustafa Gjinishi was killed on the front of the 1st division. He and Smith fell into an ambush by a German patrol. Smith escaped unscathed. Great loss for the allied cause." Finally the officer added on his own behalf: "Mustafa Gjinishi was always a great friend of ours."

It emerged more than clearly from this document what a loss the death of Mustafa Gjinishi was to the British. But for us it emerged just as clearly that up to the moment he died beside Mr. Smith, he remained an agent and lackey of the British.

[4 Feb 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 4 Feb (ATA)--In the fifth chapter of his book "The Anglo-American Threat to Albania" Comrade Enver Hoxha shows who was Abaz Kupi (Bazi I Canes), the latter's deals with the British, the Germans, the Ballists and the quislings. He describes the event in which there was turned down with determination the brutal interference of General Wilson to save the reaction in the north of Albania, the routing of Abaz Kupi's gangs by the forces of the

National Liberation Army, the disarray of the flock of Legaliteti and Balli Kombetar, the fleeing abroad of the treacherous chiefs and, at the same time, the shameful end of the second attempt of McLean, chief of the British mission attached to Abaz Kupi and other traitors.

This chapter reads among others:

The British and Abaz Kupi

> McLean: "What is Mr. Kupi saying?" Bazi I Canes--his games. The leaflet and Legaliteti. The Kupi-Davies meeting: the apprentice renders account to his master. The underhand deals of the "minor Zog" with the British, the Germans, the Ballists and the quislings. McLean in Albania again. General Wilson's note. Ultimatum to the ultimatum. Order: "Abaz Kupi and his gangs must be routed." The end?--the "shepherds" board ships, the "flock" left in disarray.

In the first days of July 1943 we gathered at Labinot and formed the general staff of the National Liberation Army.

After we had finished the meeting, McLean came there, too, to congratulate us on the success achieved. He knew some of those who took part in the conference, but did not know others. He pretended to be meeting Bazi I Canes for the first time, but I noticed that the eyes of the two of them were gleaming with joy when they met. Without doubt they had found the way to communicate with each other previously.

Bazi I Canes, with that cunning crooked face of his, was all smiles and spoke sweetly to the major.

I explained to McLean that the general staff of the National Liberation Army would greatly extend the war against the occupiers, would create brigades and later, divisions.

"Therefore," I added, "we present to you our request for arms and ammunition, because the quantity you have dropped us so far is so small as to be hardly worth mentioning. Is that not so, comrades?" I asked those around me.

"That is so." They all replied at once, apart from Bazi I Canes who addressed the following words to me:

"They should also drop arms in Mat and a British mission should come there, too, just as they have gone to Mr. Myslim and Mr. Haxhi."

"What is Mr. Kupi saying?" asked the British major, who could not conceal his particular interest.

"Explain," I said to Mustafa Gjinishi. After Mustafa had translated, the British major said:

"We shall be very happy to fulfil his desire if the general staff permits us."

"Do we permit it?" asked Comrade Spiro Moisiu.

"I say yes," replied Spiro, and added:

"Now, Mr. Bazi, you have no further grounds for delay, because you will have weapons and will be able to fight."

"That's what I'm here for," Bazi, giving him a sour look.

"What is Mr. Kupi saying?" asked British major again.

"Explain the solemn promise Mr. Abaz has made," I told Mustafa Gjinishi again.

What was Abaz Kupi

But what was "Mr Kupi?"

We knew him well, but the unfortunate people of Kruja and Ishem, Durres and Kavaja knew him even better. Under the regime of Zog this illiterate rose to the rank of gendarmerie commander. He was the strong arm of the despot Zog. Through crimes, underhand deals and robbery of the common people, Bazi I Canes enriched himself and was promoted to the rank of major. He killed and tortured the poor peasants and exterminated all his opponents, made himself omnipotent and the executor of the "deeds" of his patron. For these merits, in the first days of April 1939, after the failure of efforts to come to terms with the duce, Ahmet Zog entrusted Bazi with protecting his retreat to Greece. The sons of the people fought the blackshirts in Durres. Mujo Ulqinaku and other sons of the people whose hearts bled for Albania were killed, while Bazi I Canes fired a few shots, but for purposes quite the opposite of those of the ordinary fighters who shed their blood for the homeland. Bazi I Canes "fought" to protect the departure of his patron and, as soon as he heard that "his majesty" had crossed the border safe and sound, took to his heels himself.

He ran away to Turkey and there, like his master, lived very comfortably on the wealth he had squeezed from the enslaved people. From Turkey Abaz Kupi was enticed to Yugoslavia by the agents of section of the intelligence service precisely when the resistance of our people was on the upsurge. There they prepared him to return to Albania in order to fish in troubled waters.

Finally Bazi I Canes entered Albania with his pockets full of gold sovereigns and lay low in the villages of Kruja like a hunter awaiting the moment when the prey comes his way.

Shevqet Verlaci, who was quisling prime minister at that time, learned of his arrival and, on the urging of the Italians, sent Tahsim Hishqemi as his agent to make approaches to him. However, Bazi I Canës was a cunning fox and not to be snared easily. He was well acquainted with the character of Zog's former father-in-law, his rival and family enemy, whom, on Zog's orders, he had attempted to murder. The bey of Elbasan never forgot this. Nevertheless, Bishqemi carried to his bosses the reply that Bazi would not annoy the Italians provided they left him in peace. This pleased the Italian fascists, because for the time being it was not to their advantage to make trouble with Abaz Kupi, and thus the question of his presence there was passed over in silence to be taken up again when the conditions were ripe.

The moment came. Verlaci fell and was replaced by Mustafa Kruja (Merlika), an even more savage executioner of our people, long-time agent of the SIM [Italian Military Intelligence Service] and an old friend of Abaz. This was a good chance for Bazi to emerge from his lair. Through the mediation of their hirelings, these two scoundrels held a meeting in a remote corner of Kruja, like thieves in the darkness of the night, far from the eyes of the world. Each knew the other well. Bazi I Canes tried to convince Mustafa Kruja about the need for Zog to return, but Mustafa Kruja, who had sold his soul to the foreigners to achieve his dreams, would not surrender the throne so easily. He reckoned his own accounts, which were different from those of Abaz Kupi and Zog, who was living in the luxury hotels of London. So they were unable to reach an agreement, as they did in 1920, when through their trickery they prevented the region of Kruja from being represented at the congress of Lushnja. Merlika attacked Bazi I Canes and forced him to leave the lair where he was lying in wait for his prey. The chameleon thought the moment had come to change his colour temporarily. Bazi and his henchmen exploited this attack to present themselves as opponents of the occupiers and the quislings. They began to publicize loudly that the "patriot" Abaz Kupi was fighting fascism. In this way he deceived and rallied around himself many people who truly wanted to fight the occupier.

Abaz Kupi wanted to erode and undermine the national liberation movement from within

In these circumstances the national liberation movement invited Abaz Kupi to the conference of Peza. He postponed his reply for a short time until he received the approval of the British special operations executive, which instructed him to join this movement and erode and undermine it from within.

Bazi I Canes would have liked the conference of Peza to be a meeting of swindling Bajraktars to swing the people, as in the past. There he would have liked to have had his own friends.

However, for him and his bosses these things remained only desires. Those who had gathered at Peza were valiant and resolute men, the cream of the people, the communists together with genuine unwavering democrats, stern opponents of unprincipled compromise and of fascism, who represented a whole people who had risen to their feet for freedom. Bazi did not suspect that the sound political and organizational foundations of a great movement which would unite the people in the struggle, were being laid there, the foundations of a progressive democratic state, of a powerful army which would withstand any storm and tempest and would defeat the savagest enemies which mankind had seen and drive them from the homeland.

Although Abaz Kupi was faced with something unexpected at Peza, he joined in the dance and, as the cunning rogue he was, in order to fulfil the task closest to his heart and the desire of his patrons, he decided to keep in step until the opportune moment arrived.

This ignorant and ruthless Bajraktar was not a man of his word, nor a fighting man, he was always a creature of treachery hatched up in dark holes and corners, and a slave to foreign money. In the national liberation front he could see no ray of hope for the sinister plans he was hatching up and indeed, in it he saw the doom of his ambitions and those of his patrons behind the scenes.

Abaz Kupi also looked askance at the Balli Kombetar. He could not regard it as any basis for his purposes. He knew that this basket of crabs contained a motley of characters: there were all kinds of reactionary "politicians" and hardened criminals both political and common. Above all, Bazi knew that great anarchy prevailed in that organization, hence he put no stock on it. He had expressed this lack of faith to General Davies.

Bazi I Canes had displayed his disdain for the Balli Kombetar at Shengjergj, too, at the meeting which he and Davies held with the chiefs of the Balli Kombetar, who had made the general's head ring with their talk about "ethnic Albania" and the juridical arguments they reeled off to let him know what great thinkers they were. The general himself had told Frederik Nosi this.

During the discussions between the general and the chiefs of the Balli Kombetar, the "soldier" Abaz Kupi could not keep still: he went in and out of the room where the meeting was being held. He was impatient with their stand and frequently winked at Colonel Nicholls to deride them.

This was the person on whom Great Britain pinned its hopes to get control of little Albania. In London they thought, "Italy will be a defeated country, we can be sure we shall get control of Yugoslavia through the government of Subasic, which will manoeuvre with Tito and the partisans, in Greece we hope to establish a government under our influence, which will restore the monarchy."

But what were they [to] do about Albania?

The British diplomacy found in Zog a modus vivendi for its plan

Over a long period the British ministers and consuls had continually served up to their government the idea that Albania was a country with a backward, illiterate population, without culture, incapable of governing itself and that it could not exist as a free and independent state, therefore it had to be taken under the wing of a great power, which, according to the taste of the British politicians, ought to be none other than Britain itself. In the opinion of British diplomacy Albania was now a prey which had no way of escape, however much it tried, could not live alone and, therefore, in one way or another would fall into the mouth of the "British Lion." Although British diplomacy was fed up with the tale of the regime of Zog, in this regime it found a modus vivendi for its plans. In the past Zog had been brought to power by Wrangel's forces, but in London they thought, "this time we shall take him to Albania. It was General Percy and Lt-Col Hill who organized the gendarmerie for Zog."

The first attempt of the British to undermine the national liberation front from within

The so-called opposition to Zog had melted away like snowflakes in the water. This former "opposition" had now become the quisling government, the Balli Kombetar, etc. "The real opposition today" thought London "is comprised of the communists and the national liberation front, but we shall sweep them away." How could they sweep them away? British diplomacy thought that communism was something imported into Albania from abroad and as such it had no basis within the country. In its opinion, the Albanian people might accept almost anything, but communism never. London was convinced of this, also, because it proceeded from what it was hatching up in Greece and Yugoslavia. The British believed that it would be no great problem to get Albania into the bag, although they could see with their own eyes the heroic resistance of the Albanian people. Their first attempt was the infiltration of their agents, Mustafa Gjinishi, Abaz Kupi and other two-faced individuals into the national liberation front in order to undermine it from within.

The plans of the British to split Albania into two parts

When they saw that this plan was failing, the British started on another plan. They thought that the national liberation front and the partisan war were simply a phenomenon of the "Tosks," [general name for southern Albanians] of southern Albania, therefore in the existing conditions they believed Albania must be split into two parts divided by a wide gulf: into Toskeria [south] and Gegeria [north]. According to them, the north was the cradle of the monarchy, that was the place of "valour" and "bravery," hence the north would become a barricade against the communists. Their tools would build this barricade, the "strong man," Kupi, who would win over the other chiefs, would fight together with them, would seize power and eventually establish the monarchy and Zog the "king of the Albanians," would be restored to his legitimate throne. The whole people would rally round the "reformer"king who would have Britain and America as his great backers. In a report on the situation in Albania written on August 25, 1944, an American wrote:

"If the idea of dividing the country into spheres of influence on a Tosk-Gheg basis (as shown above) seems sensible, the allies should give it moral and even military support. They should forbid LNC to occupy by force northern towns held by nationalists and they should have means available to drive them out if LNC should seize those towns. At the very earliest moment American troops to the number of 5,000 should be sent to Tirana and Durazzo [Durres] in order:
A. To reassure Albanians that America is interested in her /Albania's/ fate.

B. To forestall possible occupation by a Russian task force...

C. To forestall the possibility that LNC might (if it conquered the opponents) deny the right of the allies to occupy Albania. This is not an unlikely contingency.

D. To prevent fighting between the nationalists and partisans on the border of those territories assigned to each.

E. To have a force ready to invade Kosovo if things get out of hand there.
"The Albanian situation-comments of August 25, 1944," FO 371/43554-3370.pro:
(from the photocopy of the original in the AIH, Tirana.)

Proceeding from these aims and plans London set to work with all its energy, on the one hand, to threaten and intimidate us and, on the other hand, to strengthen the positions of Abaz Kupi in central and northern Albania. To assist the realization of these aims, Churchill would send Julian Amery, the son of a member of his cabinet, as tutor to the "minor Zog" in "the mountains of Albania," just as he had sent his own son, Randolph, to Tito.

[5 Feb 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 5 Feb (ATA)--

The role of the pimps in getting Bazi "into bed" with the Balli Kombetar was played by the British officers

The first attempt of Bazi I Canes and company to bury the national liberation movement was made at the meeting in Mukje. There he tried to make the national liberation front fall prey to the Balli Kombetar. The role of the pimps in getting Bazi "into bed" with the Balli Kombetar was played by the British officers with McLean at the head and his friend Mehdi Frasheri, who was to make his debute later on the stage of the German "theatre." The political adventurers of the Balli Kombetar such as Ali Bey Kelcyra, Mithat Bey Frasheri, Nuredin Bey Vlora and others forgot their hostility to Zog. Faced with the danger of the national liberation movement, they were ready to sell their own mothers, let alone to collaborate with Abaz Kupi or anyone else, just so long as they were against the movement. For the time being their aim was to struggle this movement and afterwards they would come to terms amongst themselves at the expense of their permanent victim, suffering Albania.

Bazi I Canes aimed to paralyze our war through this union on rotten foundations.

The British officers' order that the Italians should be disarmed in Mat, in Abaz Kupi's stronghold

With the capitulation of fascist Italy, Abaz Kupi and his henchmen fell upon the dead horse like hyenas. They stripped and robbed the Italian soldiers and armed their mercenaries with the weapons they took. Not without purpose, the British officers, hands and riddle, in Diber did not want to disarm the Italian division there, but sent it to Mat. Wherever it suited him, Bazi I Canes, who still had not formally broken his connections with the national liberation movement, used its name and gave orders in the name of the general staff. He had done this several times and did it again in Diber when he came out in support of the British officers' order that the Italians should be disarmed in his stronghold, Mat.

The Nazi occupation and the plans of the traitor chiefs

By this time the Germans had entered Albania. Among the traitor chiefs, the Nazi occupation gave rise to another plan: to draw the chestnuts out of the fire with the bayonets of the Hitlerite army. Bazi I Canes also wanted to do this for his own aims, but he did not want to be associated with the Balli Kombetar, because he wanted to be in the forefront himself and personally linked with the Germans, but, according to the advice of the British, without appearing as their tool, as the Balli Kombetar was doing.

Abaz Kupi thought that the time had come for the card of Zog, that was in the hands of reaction and the British, to be played openly. To this end on September 18, 1943, a leaflet was issued, which announced the formation of the "national Zogite party," which a little later would be christened Legaliteti.

The British brought Abaz Kupi photographs showing "his majesty" and the royal family walking in Hyde Park in London and these were published in the wretched newspaper ATDHEU, which wrote nostalgically about the time of the "legal" regime of Zog but said not one word against the occupiers. After he created Legaliteti, Bazi would have to deal with the Germans, not to fight them, but to collaborate with them. According to him, the Germans were in Albania temporarily. They merely wanted a secure passage through the country, while the danger came from the reds who were linked with foreigners. This was also the thesis of the quisling Mehdi Frasheri, that blind tool of the Gestapo, whom the German occupiers placed at the head of the "regency" (which would "govern" the country in the name of the king till his return), and who became the sponsor of Bazi I Canes at the German command.

Who was Mehdi Frasheri?

Who was this person with the surname Frasheri?

He had been a Pasha of Turkey in Egypt and Lebanon. Under the regime of Zog he became prime minister. With the occupation of Albania by Italy the fascists took him to Rome and established him in the luxurious "Victoria" Hotel where they kept him, thinking that one day he would be needed. The day came for him to be used, but not by Mussolini who had broken his neck, but by the Nazi command in our country. Through the influence of Neubacher, Hitler's special representative for south-east Europe, Mehdi Frasheri was brought back to Albania in September 1943. From the tribune of the "assembly" this "patriot," who had put himself completely in the service of German policy, sent Abaz Kupi congratulations on the "war" which he was waging.

Now Bazi I Canes had to play two roles: as a collaborator with the Germans and the quisling government and as a collaborator with the British. (On March 14, 1944 Boxshall sent Michael Rose at foreign office the copy of a telegram from Istanbul, informing that Rakip Frasheri, son of Mehdi, had brought a "letter from Mehdi Frasheri to Turkish president declaring Albania though occupied by German troops now independent and requesting Turkish patronage enable her participate post war international conferences on Balkans especially concerning federation. Letter thought also to request Turkish recognition of present Albanian Government....

Stated government opposed to Germans but unable to expel them and unwilling involve country in further sacrifices until allied landing. Mehdi constant with Abaz Kupi and entire country would support allied forces....

Rakip said Mehdi wished to assist allies secretly and expressed readiness to convey any special messages...he alleges Germans totally ignorant of letter to president and requests greatest secrecy."

And Boxshall adds:

"Cairo authorized Istanbul to pass a message back to Mehdi Frasheri to the effect that a British liaison officer conversant with Albanian matters would shortly be sent to Albania. Mehdi Frasheri would be at liberty to communicate with this officer through Kupi." (FO 371/43550-3372, pro. taken from the photocopy of the original in the AIH, Tirana)

Through these roles he aimed to make a reality of his dreams of re-establishing the monarchic regime of Zog after liberation. To this end he held several secret meetings with German military representatives and representatives of the quisling prime minister, Mehdi Bey Frasheri. He established close accord with them on condition that they did not expose him. But it was in vain for Bazi to try to avoid being seen as a collaborator with the Germans.

The British officer McLean became Abaz Kupi's direct link with London and Zog

In principle the Germans and Mehdi Bey and company had agreed that Zog should be returned to Albania. Britain, too, supported this aim, indeed it was its idea. As became apparent later, Britain had certainly been negotiating with Zog for

some time. Major McLean's departure from the general staff of our national liberation army and his subsequent attachment incognito to Bazi I Canes confirmed this. McLean became Bazi's direct link with London and Zog. He guided Bazi and operated with him and the other Bajraktars against our movement and army. McLean supplied the Zogite reaction with "St. Goerge's Cavalry" (gold sovereigns), with weapons, munitions, clothing and food. Our general staff had information that a British military mission headed by McLean and Amery was attached to the band of Abaz Kupi and the Bajraktars round him.

> The British General Davies had come to arrange compromise and conciliation between us, on the one hand, and the Balli Kombetar and the Zogites, on the other

My forebodings about the British missions were being proved correct, one after the other.

The British General Davies had come to arrange compromise and conciliation between us, on the one hand, and the Balli Kombetar and the Zogites, on the other. I rejected and denounced this plan. And I was not mistaken in my judgment. Although the general encountered the resolute stand of our party and the national liberation front, he did not lay down his arms, but did everything possible to realize his plans. It was absolutely essential for him to meet the agent of the British, "Mr. Kupi." I received reports that a scion of the Memaj family had come to General Davies allegedly to bring him eggs and in the basket of eggs he also had a letter from Abaz Kupi for the general. At this time Frederik had gone with Nicholls to Orenja to arrange their winter quarters and, since our liaison officer was not there to hinder him, the general went stealthily to meet Abaz Kupi in Shengjergj.

Their meeting had not lasted long. The apprentice rendered account to his master and reported to him on his "valiant deeds" and his plans for the future. After tossing him a bag of gold coins, the general gave the "minor Zog" fresh instructions. One of the main demands of Bazi I Canes was that Zog should send a message of congratulations from London on the work which was being done in his name and for him. Bazi I Canes and all the reaction in Albania needed this badly to encourage their followers and intimidate us. Apparently they also agreed there that they should go together to talk with the chiefs of the Balli Kombetar, although Bazi I Canes placed no hopes in them.

In the talks which the British general had with the chiefs of the Balli Kombetar and Bazi, undoubtedly he reached some conclusions of interest to him. One of them was that these two groups must be reconciled, organized and strengthened for the sake of the future.

> The British General Davies considered us enemies, while he considered the quislings, the Zogites and the Balli Kombetar allies of Britain

The way in which the general worked did not surprise us. He considered us enemies, while he considered the quislings, the Zogites and the Balli Kombetar allies of Britain, and it was on them that Britain hoped to rely in the future to establish its influence in our country.

The situation created in Albania compelled General Davies to decide to go to London to report on the work he had done, and that is why he was so insistent on going to Korce. I have spoken earlier in these memoirs about this and about the fierce quarrel we had. Without doubt the general wanted to go from Korce to Greece and then to London. This was my initial deduction. Seeing how events developed later, I arrived at the conclusion that the German offensive to encircle our general staff and wipe out the leadership of the party and our army and the surrender of the British general without firing a shot, although the partisans led by Baba Faja did everything possible to get him out of the encirclement, might have been a plan hatched up by the British, the Germans and internal reaction. There is no other explanation for the general's words: "You are finished, you have lost the war, surrender." However, we foiled their plan and acted in such a way that we broke through the encirclement without great losses.

The meeting with Abaz Kupi was a stern trial, which exposed him

Abaz Kupi had had enough of operating against us under cover and was now coming out openly. Three times we called him to meetings and he did not come. It was time to settle matters with him because the cup was filled to overflowing. We sent him a final warning to come to a meeting in Shengjergj of Tirana district in the first week of December. Finally he agreed. We decided that I should go to the meeting with two or three comrades. Regardless of the danger we went and met him. In order to show that we were friends and had no reason to be afraid of him, we took along only five or six people. This was risky because we knew what a criminal he was, but it was necessary to do this for the sake of his rank-and-file followers. If Bazi was not going to change his course, we had to expose him. In fact, the way in which we acted was bold, because all around the house where we held the meeting, the old wolf had placed many hardened criminals and killers who were members of his bands. But after all we had our two hands to defend ourselves.

Comrade Enver Hoxha reproduces the talks stressing that these talks began and ended in a tense atmosphere. At this meeting Comrade Enver Hoxha exposed Abaz Kupi for his treacherous activity. He writes that this meeting was a stern trial, which exposed him.

Thus, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, we ended the meeting with Abaz Kupi and took our departure. Since that time I never again set eyes on him.

We immediately held a special meeting of the Presidium, expelled him from its ranks and the same day drafted the resolution in which we reported on the meeting with Abaz Kupi, about the efforts we made to convince him to change his course, and finally the need to unmask him before the people.

The plan of the British General Davies was that Abaz Kupi should remain within the national liberation front

Immediately after the meeting with Kupi, General Davies appeared on the scene. I guessed that he wanted to find out something about the meeting and I was not mistaken. For the first time he did not beat about the bush but immediately got down to business:

"You have had a talk with Mr. Kupi," said the general. "Could you tell me how it went, Mr. Hoxha?"

I explained to the general: "For a long time we had been asking him to define his attitude towards the Balli Kombetar, the quisling government and the German occupiers. However, he always refused to condemn them. On the contrary, we have accurate information that he is collaborating with them to the detriment of our war and moreover in the meeting with us he spoke well of them."

"Mr. Kupi had promised me that he would clear up these problems, indeed he told me he would fight," interjected the British general.

"Yes," I said. "Just as the heads of the Balli Kombetar promised you. Indeed, as you told us, they even made you a declaration in writing, did they not? What are their promises worth? Do you see what they are doing? Abaz Kupi is just like them. Therefore, the national liberation general council has removed him from its midst and warned him that if he continues on the course he has begun, we shall attack him."

"Mr. Hoxha," said the general, "I must beg you to use your influence in the council so that it gives Kupi a little longer to clear up his stand, because I shall talk with him again."

"We have waited long enough," I cut him short. "For a long time he has been putting forward as the immediate issue not the liberation but the regime. This matter is now closed. The decision has been taken. We are left with no alternative but to watch his activity closely and to attack him at the first opportunity. He'll get his deserts."

Seeing out determination, the general took his leave and departed. The plan that their agent should remain amongst us to trip us up had failed.

[6 Feb 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 6 Feb (ATA)--The British were thinking at getting Tito to use his influence with the LNC

The great German-Ballist offensive in the severe winter of 1943-1944 was launched against our forces who were ill-clad and hungry. This helped Abaz Kupi to gain ground. For him this was an "Indian summer" amidst the icy winter. He deceived himself that this was everything and that victory was smiling on him. Through the British officers, Bazi once again repeated his requests that "His Majesty" should send a message from London in which he would declare that he was ready to return to Albania. (A letter from Talbot Rice sent to Howard on February 24, 1944, says):

"Pursuant to the decision taken at our meeting on Thursday, 17 February, we approached Zog with a request for a letter to Abaz Kupi. In the course of the conversation which Major McLean had with him, he showed himself most willing to help..." (FO 371/43550-3372. pro. taken from the photocopy of the original in the AIH, Tirana). Meanwhile a report from Sargent sent to the

secretary of state on February 29, 1944, says: "...McLean went off, saw King Zog and obtained the desired letter.... Its text is not, however, entirely satisfactory and if it is to be used we shall have to get it changed. We discussed the text with SOE at another meeting on 28 February and agreed on a revised draft which is attached. If you agree I should like to tell McLean that he may now go back to Zog and ask him to amend the letter on the lines agreed....

If after his return to Albania, McLean considers that Zog's letter would be of use, and we authorise him to give it to Abaz Kupi, we will consider Tito to use his influence with the LNC at the same time. (FO 371/43550-3372.pro. taken from the photocopy of the original in the AIH Tirana). Bazi propagated far and wide that Zog the first had met Churchill, who had allegedly promised that the most powerful monarchy in the world would do everything in its power to restore him to the throne.

Abaz Kupi linked up with the Nazi-General Schmoll

While reaction abroad was preparing the bridal party to bring Zog to Albania, reaction within the country was making a come-back. Great publicity was built up around the figure of Zog. After a secret meeting with Zhafer Deva in a village of Kruje Abaz Kupi linked up with the Nazi General Schmoll in order to wipe out the national liberation army.

McLean attached again to Abaz Kupi

It was the end of April 1944. Mustafa Kacaci, commissar of the battalion of Mat, informed me by letter that the agent of the British intelligence service, McLean had appeared again in those parts. "He is heading a British mission attached to Abaz Kupi, who is being supplied by air with so much material," he wrote.

As soon as I read the letter, I remembered the words of Davies at our first meeting in Labinot when he told us that by the end of November McLean was to go to Cairo, from there to London and possibly would personally inform Churchill about the situation in Albania. And now, having completed the "course," McLean had been dropped back into Albania, this time with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He had gone to the close friend of the British with new instructions in order to give a further impulse to the plans of London.

The allied Mediterranean headquarters demanded from us to stop our attacks against Abaz Kupi

After the congress of Permet I gave orders for the brigades of the 1st division to cross to the zones beyond the Shkumbin, to attack the Germans and together with the partisan forces fighting in these zones, to clear central and northern Albania, to strike mortal blows at reaction, to set up the people's power of the national liberation councils and increase the ranks of the national liberation army with new detachments. With this action we were striking right at the heart of the British plans against us. Zogite reaction was at its

last gasp. The shadow of death was spreading over it. Our forces were marching towards Mat and Mirdita where the Zogites and other reactionaries were cowering. The whole population of the north rose in support of the national liberation army.

At the beginning of July 1944, the British liaison officer sought an urgent meeting with me. (In the book Sons of the Eagle, writing about a meeting with the reactionary chiefs, J. Amery says):

"The news of the partisan attack had taken the life out of our meeting, but we sat down for a formal discussion beneath a tall and spreading oak: Abaz Kupi, Muharrem Bajraktari, Seait Kryeziu, McLean, Smiley and I. Meanwhile the lesser chiefs and their retainers stood around us in a ring. There could be no question now of calling for a general revolt of the Ghegs, but each of the leaders spoke in turn...appealing to us to intervene and bring about a truce. ("Sons of the Eagle, London MacMillan and Co. Ltd, 1948, p 2(2.) I received him.

"I have received a message from the allied Mediterranean headquarters in which it demands that you stop your attacks against Abaz Kupi and others in the north, who are patriots and our friends, or otherwise aid to you will be cut off," he said.

"Our division has received orders to clear the north of the Germans, mercenaries and traitors, to establish the state power of the national liberation councils there and to engage the people in the war against the occupiers," I replied.

"But it is approaching Mat which is the territory in which Mr. Kupi operates," he said.

"Mat is part of Albania, why should we not go through it?" I replied curtly. "No one has the right to prevent our division from performing its duty. There is no reason why this should be linked with the question of material aid from the allies. Abaz Kupi was a member of the Presidium of the national liberation general council and our staff, but he turned against the national liberation movement, therefore, he has been expelled from those bodies and has been branded a traitor. This you know very well."

"Mr. Kupi complains that the division has given him an ultimatum that he must surrender to them or otherwise they will attack him. He has been given no period of grace."

"We gave him a year to declare himself for or against us. You, too, have been waiting a long time, but now we can wait no longer. He is collaborating with the Germans and is sabotaging the war, our strategic plan and that of the allies."

Note from General Wilson and the deserved reply to it

Two days later the British liaison officer came to me again and said:

"Mr. Hoxha, allied headquarters has transmitted to me a note from General Wilson to you."

"What does the note say?" I asked without the slightest sign of concern because I could guess what that note was likely to contain. The offensive of our division in the north was treading on their corns.

"The note raises three questions," said the British officer. "First, General Wilson does not allow your partisans to be involved in his strategic plans and he will not tolerate civil war in his theatre of operations."

"This is impermissible interference. What makes General Wilson think there is civil war going on here? The only war being waged in our country is against the occupiers and their collaborators such as the Balli Kombetar, the reactionary chiefs of Dibra and Abaz Kupi with his brigands. Next point, please," I said.

"The second point has to do with aid. The note says that if you attack Mr Kupi, aid will be cut off and without allied aid you cannot withstand the Germans."

"Let the general and everybody else understand thoroughly," I replied there and then, "that we did not begin the war because the allies were engaged in it. We began it before they entered the war, moreover, without aid from them or anyone else. We should be given their aid because this is in the interest of the allies. If their aid is made conditional on our attitude towards the traitors we shall continue the war just as we started it. But carry on, tell me the rest," I said without glancing at him.

"Third, the note says also that unless assurances are given that Mr. Kupi will not be attacked, the national liberation movement cannot send delegates to allied headquarters in Italy," concluded the British liaison officer.

"The sending of our delegation to meet the representatives of the allied Mediterranean headquarters can never be linked with the question of Abaz Kupi. For us the question of Abaz Kupi no longer exists. This matter was decided once and for all in December last year when we settled accounts with him. The congress of Permet also sealed his doom. Our delegation will go there to establish a more complete agreement with the allies and regardless of your threat, Mr. Officer of our British ally, our division will continue about its business," I concluded.

"At least wait five days," pleaded the British officer.

"No," I replied, "we've waited long enough. Like you, we have waited long enough," I repeated." No one has the right to stop us carrying on the war to clear Mat of collaborators of the Germans. Not even General Wilson can stop us. This is improper interference," I stressed. "Let us suppose that Bazi I Canes is not a traitor, as you claim. Then why does he sit doing nothing, and does not fight the occupiers, but instead, together with them, has turned his rifle against our national liberation army? Do we not have the right and the duty to engage the district of Mat, too, in the war against the Germans? We are in our own land and we shall act according to the interests of this land. Why is General Wilson interfering in this way? We shall continue to carry out our strategic plan to the letter and this is also in favour of the

allied strategy. These are not just my personal opinions but also the opinions of our general staff, and this you understand very well," I pointed out to the British officer. "However, since this note, which I want in writing, comes from General Wilson, I shall refer it to the Presidium of the national liberation general council."

The officer handed me the written note. In his presence I glanced over it quickly and noticed that in the third question there was some difference from what he told me orally. This annoyed me but I controlled myself and said to him:

"Please, will you come to receive the reply when I notify you."

"Whenever you say," he replied and left.

I immediately called the Presidium together.

"We are holding this meeting because of the intervention of the allied headquarters to stop the operations of our division in the north," I told the comrades. "As you know, after the German June operation, our forces received orders to launch an offensive in central and northern Albania and today they are engaged in fierce fighting in those regions against the Germans, mercenaries and gendarmes who are beginning to panic. Our forces are driving towards Diber and Mat to settle accounts finally with the enemy. Apparently, however, this is very painful to the British. General Wilson express this in a note which he has sent me."

I read the note and told them everything the British officer had said and what I had said in reply.

"The British have made efforts to get Bazi I Canes into our ranks again," I continued, "but have run into the resistance of reaction, so their 'sit-on-the-fence' attitude continues to this day (1. The foreign office radiogram No 174 sent to steel in Cairo on February 6, 1944 said:

"We have recently seen McLean's report on Albania and discussed it with him.

His main recommendation is that the LNC movement should be broadened to include as many nationalists as possible. His idea is that Abaz Kupi, Zog's representative...should return to the LNC....

2. As practical steps to this end, McLean proposes: (1) that we should sound Zog to see if he would agree; (2) that we should get liaison officer to put proposal to Abaz Kupi, and (3) that we should get Tito (through Brigadier McLean) to influence LNC to agree to return of Abaz Kupi." (Outward telegram No 174 FO 371/43549-3336.pro.taken from the photocopy of the original in the AIH, Tirana.) Now Bazi can no longer be included amongst us, cannot be united with us, because he is up to his elbows in filth. All this reaction from the British arises from the fact that their plans are failing. They

urged Abaz Kupi to enter into discussions with our staff, setting the condition that they should be held with Mustafa Gjinishi, Dr. Dishnica and Sejfulla and eventually even with me, if they could not avoid me. However, we did not agree, because those talks would have been a game they wanted to play to the detriment of our war.

We discussed the problem at length in the meeting of the presidium. In their contributions, the comrades indignantly rejected General Wilson's claim and fully supported what I had said.

The Presidium decided unanimously that a clear-fut reply should be drafted and sent to General Wilson. The document which we compiled in essence had this content: "There are no quarrels, let alone civil war, in Albania. There is only one war in Albania, the war against the occupier and its tools, the local traitors such as the Balli Kombetar, Legaliteti, Abaz Kupi, the bands of Shevqet Verlaci and the 'chiefs' of Diber who collaborate directly with the German command here. We do not accept orders from anybody about liberating our homeland from the occupiers and traitors. Albania is our homeland and the people are the masters of it. If Britain has friends, these must be from our side. Those who are with the Germans are our enemies and enemies of our allies, therefore we shall fight them to the end. We regret to tell you that we cannot accept your request." This is how we concluded our reply.

I summoned Palmer, acquainted him with the content of our letter of reply and handed it to him. "That's another slap in the face of the British," I said to myself. Their ideas and aims were clear to us and this flagrant interference in our affairs, in particular, proved that we were right.

Meanwhile I wrote to the comrades of the 1st Division that General Wilson was continuing his pressure to stop the fighting against Abaz Kupi and to bring about reconciliation with him and that we had resolutely rejected his pressure. I also informed them that Bazi had been invited to go to Italy. He had agreed and was preparing to go by sea, while we agreed in principle to go to talks in Bari about collaborating with the allies, but in no way would we go there together with Abaz Kupi. "Continue your attacks on the forces of Legaliteti," I ordered them. "Mat and Diber must be traversed several times and the forsts thoroughly searched, while the reactionary chiefs of Diber must be attacked just as fiercely."

We were receiving a great deal of information about the movements of British officers. McLean was travelling all over the north of Albania and likewise Smith, who was attached to the staff of the 1st Division of our army. They gathered information and organized meetings with the reactionary chiefs.

[7 Feb 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 7 Feb (ATA)--

Message in a diplomatic tone by the Air Vice-Marshal Elliot

A few days after our reply to the note, Air Vice-Marshal Elliot, commander of the Balkan Air Force, on behalf of the Supreme Allied Mediterranean Command,

General Wilson, sent me a message, no longer in the form of an order and a threat like the note, but in a diplomatic tone, in which the question of cutting off aid was passed over in silence, while the sending of our representatives to Bari to discuss the situation in Albania with his staff was made the central issue. He no longer made Abaz Kupi's participation a condition for the talks, either. Finally, still in diplomatic language, he asked that I should head the delegation. Apparently our categorical reply had obliged them to reflect and they had made a tactical retreat which must not put us to sleep. The fox never forgets its craft.

On the question of the British mission attached to Abaz Kupi

We decided to send a delegation to Bari. We also discussed the questions which should be raised. We appointed three people.

After speaking of the sending of this delegation to Bari, the pressure exerted on it by the members of the delegation of the allied staff to accept their conditions, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out among others that as to our request that the British should withdraw their mission from Abaz Kupi and other traitors, they had demanded further proofs allegedly to convince themselves whether or not it should be withdrawn.

Since they did not want to withdraw their mission attached to Abaz Kupi, now it was our turn to act, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes.

I immediately summoned the British liaison officer, attached to the general staff of our army, Captain Lyon, and communicated to him officially:

"The bandit Abaz Kupi and his associates, in collaboration with the Germans, are attacking us with arms. They are sworn enemies of the people and we shall fight them as such. With Abaz Kupi there is a British political-military mission headed by Lt-Col McLean and Captain Amery. They have become collaborators with Abaz Kupi and other reactionaries in the organization and leadership of reactionary forces against the national liberation front and the national liberation army. Their hostile work is so open that McLean and his colleagues were present, arms in hand, in the fighting which the bands of Abaz Kupi waged against the partisan forces.

"This we have pointed out to you many times and have demanded that you put an end to such a situation, you do not want to take any measures in regard to this cynical and villainous act, therefore I am officially communicating to you the decision of the general command of the Albanian National Liberation Army: 'If the British officers who stay with Abaz Kupi are killed in the fighting to wipe out him and his band, we accept no responsibility for this. We shall make no distinction between the British officers and bandits like Abaz Kupi. If we capture your officers, we shall not hand them over to you, but will hold them as prisoners of war and hand them over to the partisan court for trial as war criminals who have collaborated with the enemy.'" I stood up and said to the British captain: "That is all I have to communicate to you."

The captain's face was deathly pale.

"General Hoxha," he said, "this is a harsh and very dangerous decision. I think you ought to withdraw it."

"I shall not withdraw one comma from it," I said. "It is up to you to withdraw your missions from the traitor collaborators."

"Mr. Hoxha, I think you have been misinformed, because McLean's mission could never work against you. Let us try to clear up the matter."

"What we say is absolutely true. There is no question of misinformation," I told the British officer. "Transmit this to your command and let it think what it likes, but make clear to it that I shall not budge from my decision. Why do we not make such an accusation against Mr. Palmer, you, or any other British officer? Your command has not thoroughly studied the true reasons for this decision and the real facts which we have presented about these persons on several occasions, therefore our decision will not be altered and cannot be hindered. We shall continue the war against our common enemies. You do not like what I have said to you, because you are not used to having such things said to you about your officers who are acting in this way. But you should not forget that neither do we Albanians allow anybody to climb on our backs. I agree with you that we should maintain sincere relations, because this is in the interests of both sides, but I do not accept in any way that you should give moral and material support and assistance to our enemies, the tools of the occupiers."

"I shall transmit your decision to my general headquarters immediately," said Lyon, and he took his leave and left.

This was the "McLean Incident," if we can call it that.

As our delegation at Bari reported to me, Captain Lyon had transmitted this ultimatum that very night to his general headquarters, which was greatly alarmed and immediately made it the subject of a discussion in the commission for political questions. The day after this news arrived, Air Vice-Marshal Elliot had summoned our delegation and in the presence of representatives of McMillan, the resident minister, the representative of Murphy in Bari, Lord Harcourt, Palmer and several others, had read the radiogram received from Captain Lyon. He told our delegation that this announcement had stunned them and they still did not understand why all this fuss was being made at a time when in the agreement concluded, the question of Abaz Kupi had been left for further discussion. Then he informed them of his answer, with the instruction that they should transmit it to me. Amongst other things he said that he could not permit such demands for the withdrawal of allied officers, and even less, that they should be captured by force and brought to trial by the partisan military court, that I must withdraw the accusations and threats and give a full guarantee that no measures would be taken against the allied officers in Albania, that if they did not get this guarantee they

would not carry out the conditions of the agreement and that in operating with Kupi, Lt-Colonel McLean was simply carrying out the orders he had received, and finally, with a diplomatic twist, Elliot said that in these circumstances he had no alternative but to keep the Albanian delegation in Bari, without restricting its freedom of movement, until this question was solved satisfactorily.

Air Vice-Marshal Elliot told our delegation that Captain Lyon would be informed about these matters in order to make them known to General Hoxha, without entering into discussion with him, in order to avoid giving rise to further misunderstanding.

I issued a clear-cut order for the delegation to leave immediately for the homeland. The allied Mediterranean command did not dare take any further action. Faced with our determination, it was obliged to find a modus vivendi: the delegation would be permitted to leave, but Palmer would come, too, to discuss the questions directly with me. (Bari sent a very urgent radiogram to Caserta and foreign office on August 29, 1944, which among other things said: "...It was agreed it would be expedient not to insist on our decision while LNC delegates here, firstly because Hoxha might use this step on our part as an excuse for action against own personnel in Albania...(FO 371/43552-3277, pro. taken from the photocopy of the original in the AIH, Tirana). They sent the delegation by sea, while the British officer dropped in by parachute the same day that the delegation reached our staff.

Palmer came and talked with us. His opinions were more moderate than those Elliot expressed to our delegation in Bari. He told me that McLean and Amery would be summoned to Bari to report on the question that had been raised. However, the British did not withdraw McLean's mission from Bazi I Canes. McLean and Amery, who played the role of the eminence Grise, remained with Bazi I Canes until they were nearly captured by our partisans.

New plans by the British to prepare the terrain for a landing

At the beginning of the autumn of 1944, the partisan forces in the north were scoring one success after another. We were preparing to attack Tirana. The Red Army was driving into the Balkans, closing the Germans' roads back to their lair. Now they were in their final decline, and having lost all hope, were trying only to save their necks. In these conditions reaction, urged by the British, thought that it should play the old game which it had tried one year earlier, when fascist Italy capitulated, that is, the farce of going out to the mountains, and it had been advised to do this by the British officers attached to Abaz Kupi. Even the heads of the Balli Kombetar, the quisling regents and other reactionaries could see that the German horse was at its last gasp and they were doing everything possible to place themselves under the wing of the Anglo-Americans.

According to the information that reached us, at the meeting which they had with McLean at the Mazha village of the Kruja district, he had laid down certain conditions. First of all, they must put aside their quarrels with one another

and create a common bloc against the national liberation front, they must "go out to the mountains" in order to gain credit among the people so that the British could justify the aid they would give them. According to them, this would open the prospect of the creation of a "national government," which would fight against the Germans.

The British understood that the "bold spirits" who made up this pack of rabbits would not achieve anything, but nevertheless decided to make use of them, because even they might serve their plans. It was not without a purpose that they chose the Kruja-Durres-Ishem zone in which to concentrate the "army" of the joint bloc. It was not without purpose that they ordered Abaz Kupi and his horde to liberate Durres and Cape Rodon. By "liberating" this zone from the Germans, who were withdrawing, the British wanted to prepare the terrain for a landing from the sea.

In the north, the British officer Simcox was preparing an alternate move with Gani Kryeziu, the feudal lord of Kosovo. As the feudal lord of Kosovo had been disarmed and handed over to the Yugoslavs, their only remaining hopes were pinned on Abaz Kupi. It must not be left unmentioned, either, that the proposal of the allied Mediterranean headquarters to drop "specialized troops" by parachute on the outskirts of Tirana, in Peza and Darsia, was part of this co-ordinated plan.

However, neither the British, nor the reactionaries whom they had taken under their protection, were able to outwit our party. It watched all these actions closely and took energetic measures. I issued a special order to the staff of the army corps to attack reaction without mercy.

> The British officers entered into direct contact with the Germans so that the latter should not withdraw until the British forces had landed, that a joint staff of the two armies should be created and thus they should fight together against the partisans

The furious attack by our army on the Germans and reactionaries also caused confusion among the political circles in London that were interested in Albania. Now the British had no alternative but to enter into direct contact with the German command so that its troops would surrender to them. The intelligence service charged the British Major Neel, based on Shkoder, with this task. We had suspected that they were up to something of this sort, but it was the testimony of the German officer Helmuth Mauth, whom we captured, that made the whole game clear to us. According to him, through an agent of the Gestapo, Neel had made contact with the command of the German 21st Army Corps and had proposed on behalf of the British Government that the German Troti should not withdraw until the British forces had landed, that a joint staff of the two armies should be created, and thus they should fight together against the partisans. He had proposed to the German command in Albania that after the national liberation army was defeated, all the possibilities would be provided for the German troops to return to their country. The German General Fitztum, who considered these promises were based on doomed hopes and moreover put no trust in the "management" of the "British Lion," had sent the British officer the stiff-necked reply that he took orders only from his command and carried out only its orders.

The British officers made such demands several times, but the Anglo-German link-up and collaboration was stopped in its tracks by the partisan rifle, which did not allow the Anglo-Americans time to land at Cape Rodon or the Germans to continue their resistance. Thus, the national liberation army blew up these plans of the British, too.

Our party smashed to smithereens the plans of the imperialists

Our party, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, smashed to smithereens the plans of the imperialists who aimed to enslave Albania. The plans of the "fathers of the nation" also ended up in the rubbish bin. Albion put these people in a few boats and took them abroad to save their necks from the anger of the people, who emerged triumphant over the Italian and German occupiers, over the Zogites, Ballists, and quislings, and over the agents of the British intelligence service and the American OSS, in order to use them later as spies, saboteurs and assassins against Albania.

In his second venture in Albania, as chief of the British mission attached to Abaz Kupi and other traitors, whom the British could not allow to fall in the hands of our forces, McLean suffered another ignominious defeat. A radiogram from Bari on October 28, 1944 sent to the secretary of state at Caserta says:

"Abaz Kupi has asked to be evacuated from Albania with his two sons and three personal followers.

2. I submit the strongest recommendation that his request be granted.

3. He has been of considerable service to the allied cause since June 1940, has had a British mission with him from August 1943, and his name has come to be closely associated with England...that I do not believe that he could be abandoned to his fate without considerable loss to British prestige" (telegram No 372, FO 371/43566-3517. pro.taken from the photocopy of the original in the AIH, Tirana). One dark October night, a torpedo boat picked him up somewhere on the coast and took him to Italy, never to return. His departure and the flight of the chiefs of reaction left the flock of Legaliteti and the Balli Kombetar in complete disarray. Some surrendered, others fled, while still others lay low in the forests and mountains, as instructed by their "shepherds," to await further orders. This last group was to comprise the contingent of bands which committed crimes against the new people's power after liberation until they were crushed by the iron fist of the people and the defence division.

[8 Feb 82 1700 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 8 Feb (ATA)--In the 6th chapter Comrade Enver Hoxha speaks of the attempts of the British at landing in Albania and the failure of their plans.

6

Three Attempts at Landing--Three Failures

A new head of the British mission with a "more sympathetic" appearance. Aid: "Much ado about nothing." Palmer's first "success." Ultimatum: either supplies of weapons or clear out. Radiogram from the fighting front: the Kryeziu Brothers, the British officer Simcox and Fundo--prisoners of the partisans. An Anglo-Titoite "coincidence." Proposal for concrete aid: "Let us drop commandos at Peza, Ishem and Darsia to liberate Tirana." "No, Mr Palmer, never." Second attempt: at Spile. The third failure: at Saranda.

Our war against the German occupiers and the local reactionaries who collaborated with them was raging fiercely and had assumed wide proportions. At this time, the spring of 1944, generally speaking, the operational initiative had passed in the hands of our national liberation army. (In the weekly report dated March 8, 1944, on the situation in Albania it was reported to the foreign office: "9. The partisan revival is a tribute to the flexibility and resilience of the L.N.C. brigades, the majority of which were reported a month ago to be either dispersed by German drives or faced with immediate starvation. The strength of the partisans seems to lie in their discipline, energy and clarity of aim, qualities singularly lacking in their nationalist opponents NFO 371/43550-3372.pro.taken from the photograph copy of the original in the AIH, Tirana.) It had emerged from the fierce fighting and countless privations of the winter 1943-1944 toughened and better prepared for stern battles against the occupiers and their tools in Albania. On the order of the general staff it had launched the general offensive which is known as the "spring offensive."

The British had suffered defeats in their intrigues. I advised the commissars and the commanders: "You must cherish no illusion, no hopes, and no belief that the British are going to drop us weapons. They do not want to arm us, because they know that by doing so they are digging the grave for their real friends. They want us to fold our arms, to stop fighting and be weak, so that they can thoroughly enslave us tomorrow." Therefore, I issued the call for fighting, relentless fighting, correct policy revolutionary diplomacy and vigilance.

In April 1944 British sent another representative

Two or three months after General Davies was taken prisoner, Britain sought permission to send another representative to our general staff, a Major Palmer, who was promoted a little later to Lt-Colonel. I authorized this and in April 1944 he was dropped by parachute.

As we saw later from the attitude Palmer adopted, he had been instructed to present a "more sympathetic" appearance, that is, to avoid appearing as cunning and arrogant as McLean, or allegedly the plain soldier like the general, who proved to be not at all the soldier he claimed to be up till the moment he surrendered to the Germans.

Palmer was all smiles when he met me. He was a man about 40, fit-looking, with clear-cut features, and intelligent smiling eyes. After we exchanged greetings, he told me that he had come to replace General Davies at the supreme staff of the partisan army and to contribute his maximum to the strengthening of the friendship between our two countries and armies which were allies against the same enemy, Hitlerite Germany, and other such high-flown but worthless words. I replied in general terms, too. I also asked him if the British intended to assist us with weapons and clothing, which was a very important issue for us, but which, I told Palmer, "You forgot to mention." I also gave him a short account of the small amount of aid which they had given us.

"Your Shakespeare," I told him, "wrote a comedy called "Much Ado About Nothing." However, this performance that is going on today to the detriment of a people thirsting for freedom goes beyond the bounds of comedy or drama and is a terrible tragedy. A small people, like ours, are fighting and sacrificing everything for victory in this war. The only aid we ask from you is in weapons, nothing else, while all you do is talk about it and in fact we see very, very little, almost nothing of this aid."

Palmer laughed, although he had been smiling the whole time. It seemed they had deliberately selected this cheerful type in order to avoid any further worsening of relations with us.

"With our landing in Italy, I believe we'll adjust this matter better. You must understand our difficulties," Palmer tried to explain.

In his attitude, conduct and way of speaking, he was much more mature, cautious, serious, and sympathetic than all the other British officers I met during the war. He posed as if he sympathized with our war, although certainly he approved neither of our war, nor of our political stand. However, there was nothing he could do about them and he did not display this openly like McLean, nor tell flagrant lies like General Davies.

On many occasions I had arguments with Palmer, and even spoke angrily to him about the stand of other British missions, the allied Mediterranean headquarters and General Wilson.

The contradictions that we had with the British over the inadequate supply of arms became very acute. At long last Palmer came to me with a proposal of the Mediterranean headquarters on this problem. As he put it, in order to solve the problem of arms supplies from the allies properly and quickly, the

Mediterranean headquarters proposed that we should send a military delegation to Bari and present our requirements there. The comrades and I examined and discussed this proposal at length.

I sent for Palmer and told him of our decision. He rejoiced at having achieved this "success" and said with satisfaction, "Now I believe that everything will be settled." I was convinced that nothing would be done. And in fact, it turned out just as we had foreseen. As I wrote in the previous chapter, our delegation came back with nothing but promises and empty hands.

> The British stepped up their pressure on us, while we struck back at them harder

Making a thorough analysis of the general war situation, and foreseeing the situations that would be created, our general staff set the national-liberation army the important task of stepping up its military attacks on the German-Ballist forces.

At the same time, the party foresaw that the day of victory was not far off, therefore preliminary preparations had to be made for the liberation of the homeland which was costing us so much blood, tears and sacrifice. The national liberation councils had to be strengthened everywhere. It had also become imperative to hold a major congress at which important political, organizational and military decisions, in connection with the internal situation and foreign policy, would be taken.

After speaking of the holding of this congress at Permet, Comrade Enver Hoxha underlines further on:

The more the Nazis suffered defeat and the stronger the national liberation war grew in our country and other countries, the more dangerous Anglo-American imperialism became. The British stepped up their pressure on us, while we struck back at them harder.

They had heard of the preparations which the party was making to organize the congress of Permet and were striving feverishly to hinder it, therefore they sent their senior officer, Lt-Col. Leake, as their emissary, to meet their agent, Mustafa Gjinishi, and give him directives to sabotage the congress.

The pressure, blackmail and brutal interference of the Anglo-Americans against our national liberation movement became more intense in the summer and especially the autumn of 1944. There were reasons for this. The decisions of the congress of Permet, especially those prohibiting Zog's return to Albania, on the non-recognition of any other government within the country or in exile, the cancelling of all agreements concluded with them by Zog to the detriment of the interests of our people, etc., hurt them badly. But what made the Anglo-Americans most furious was, on the one hand, the graticude the delegates expressed to the Soviet Union and the Red Army of Stalin, which has torn the Hitlerite army to pieces and was advancing triumphantly towards Germany, and on the other hand, the public condemnation of the efforts of the Anglo-American allies to poke their noses into the internal affairs of our country.

Mr Palmer, you are not keeping your word

The great momentum of our war, the general offensive of our national liberation army and the successful development of this offensive in the north alarmed the leading circles in London and Washington. While things were going the way they wanted with Tito's Yugoslavia and with Greece, through Santos and other agents of theirs in the Greek Communist Party, nothing was going right for them with little Albania, which they had considered a push-over. It was slipping from their grip. With this fact, they were obliged to sit down and work out even more sophisticated plans.

Meanwhile in the north, the partisan forces were launching furious attacks on the occupiers and reactionaries. Our brigades had clashed with the German and Ballist troops in the regions of Diber and Kukes. The command of the 1st Shock Division informed us that their ammunition was running out. More than ten days had passed since the date when Palmer had promised me that armaments would be delivered.

I summoned the head of the British mission to come to the centre of our staff at night. Quietly, but in cold and clear terms I told him:

"Mr Palmer, two weeks or so ago I presented to you a request for weapons, ammunition and mortar shells. You are well aware why we need these materials urgently, because I also told you the purpose of them. I also told you where we intended to operate so that, as we agreed, the weapons would be dropped at the place and on the date we set together. You welcomed my request with a smile and told me that you would immediately inform the allied Mediterranean headquarters and General Wilson about this. Four days later you came and told me that the request had been accepted and that the weapons would be dropped by parachute at the time and the place set. On the basis of your promise we took immediate measures, gave orders for our forces to go into action and they are involved in fighting at present. You are not keeping your word and you are causing our national-liberation army great damage. If you do not take immediate measures to drop us the promised arms, we shall consider this a hostile gesture which is damaging and causing losses to an allied army. If the weapons are not sent immediately, not only shall we make you responsible for this before world anti-fascist opinion, but we shall take severe measures against all the British missions on our side."

Palmer frowned, which was something rare for him, but with his English imperturbability, quickly assumed a smile and said in self-defence, as if to calm me:

"Mr Hoxha, you are displaying hot temper..."

I could tolerate no more and cut him short:

"What do you expect, should I laugh, should I not be indignant, not be hot-tempered when my comrades are being killed in the fighting?"

"I understand the difficult situation, both for your forces and for us, but I believe, and I am sure of this, that our Mediterranean headquarters does not lack the will to assist you, but it must be the weather conditions which are hindering us. Nevertheless, Mr. Hoxha, it is my duty to report once against what you have told me, and for my part I shall insist that the munitions are sent," said Palmer.

This was an ultimatum which I gave the head of the British mission. I would avoid meeting him until he came to inform me whether or not the arms had been sent and that is what I did. We had decided that if they did not drop us the weapons, we would expel the British mission from our staff. Such a thing was not in their interest and they were afraid we might do this, because they had begun to understand the way we thought. No more than three or four days went by when I was informed that Palmer had sought a meeting. From the comrades I had received the news that the arms had been dropped (after we had smashed the German and Ballist forces). The Lt-Colonel came and, smiling as usual, told me:

"Mr Hoxha, the desire of both of us has been fulfilled, the arms have been dropped."

"The comrades told me," I said, "thank you, in particular, for your efforts. You who are here know the situation better than those who are in Italy," I added. This pleased Palmer greatly and after he had drunk the tea and eaten the fruit which I offered him, he went off rejoicing.

[9 Feb 82 0900 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 9 Feb (ATA)--

The reckoning of reaction and the British was astray. Our party foiled their plans

The Anglo-American imperialists were still holding two or three cards to be used at the appropriate moment. At this time the card which seemed to them to have the most chance was that of Gani Kryeziu, the feudal lord of Kosovo, who, it was whispered, was preparing to form a "government," at least for northern Albania. We very quickly made this card worthless.

We were in Odrican of Permet. The main forces of our army were engaged in successful actions in central and northern Albania. On 20 September 1944, I received an urgent radiogram in which Comrade Manush Myftiu reported that the forces of the 5th Brigade had surrounded Gani Kryeziu's ceta [guerrilla unit], had captured Seit Kryeziu, Llazar Fundo, alias Zai Fundo, and the British officer attached to them, Simcox, and were holding them under arrest, awaiting our instructions as to what to do with them. One day later, Gani Kryeziu was also captured.

Of course this was good news for us. At last these enemies of the anti-fascist national liberation war, the Communist Party of Albania and of Albania and international communism, would render account. As I read the radiogram I could see in my minds eye, as on a cinema screen, all the evil deeds and hostile activity of these individuals during their lives, and I recalled everything that I had seen and heard about them.

Zai Fundo was "underground" in Kosovo where he had linked up with the chiefs of reaction in Kosovo, the brothers of Ceno Bey Kryeziu from Gjakova, Gani and Seit Kryeziu. They had formed a ceta and, according to our information, there was a British mission with them. This mission was not subordinate to the British missions located in other zones of Albania, or if it was subordinate to them, this they kept very secret.

As is known, during the Italian occupation the territories of Kosovo came under the domination of the Italians and, for purposes of demagogy, "greater Albania," or "ethnic Albania" was created in this way. It was clear to us that fascism was not thinking of the benefit of Albania and the Albanians, but of its own interests. This was an incitement to Albanian reaction to serve their Italian fascist patrons better and to draw greater economic gains, and in fact, the Albanian quislings, in collaboration with the fascist reaction in Kosovo, organized the systematic plunder of Kosovo under the direction of the Italians. However, through the slogan, "In the end Kosovo has been united with Albania," the Italian fascists, like the German Nazis later, reckoned to deceive the Albanian people and the Albanians of Kosovo by telling them that their dreams had been realized and that only Italian fascism had brought this about, therefore "They should not fight against Italy, but against the communists." We and the people of Kosovo with the exception of some chiefs whose hearts were not bleeding for Albania, fought this demagogy of fascism. The Albanian people were never taken in by this vile and very dangerous demagogy. Our party and the national liberation front adopted clear and correct stands on this problem. The people understood us and followed us, while reaction and its chiefs fought us to the end.

The Kryeziu family of Kosovo came within this latter category, that is, among the chiefs of reaction. The Kryezius were notorious in Kosovo as reactionary feudal lords, oppressors and exploiters of the peasants and opponents of the powerful liberation movements of the people of Kosovo against the Turks and the great-Serbs. The Kryezius, Dragas and others were also not just in opposition, not just in secret struggle, but in open struggle against the revolutionary efforts and struggles of Isa Boletini, Bajram Curri, Hasan Prishtina, Azem and Shote Galica, and others for the liberation of Albania.

Ceno Bey Kryeziu, the oldest of the brothers and chief of the clan, was a friend and agent of the great-Serbs, of the king of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes who ruled in Kosovo, too, a friend and agent of Pasic, at that time the Yugoslav prime minister. He served his Serbian patrons well to the detriment of Albania. He was one of the main assistants and intermediaries of Ahmet Zog, who was another agent of the Serbs at that time. Zog, driven from Albania by

the revolution of June 1924, did not waste his time in Yugoslavia. With the approval and direct assistance of Pasic and King Alexander, he returned to Albania together with Ceno Bey. In return for this, Zog gave the Serbs the Albanian territories of Vermosh and Shen Naum, as I said earlier, while he gave Ceno Bey Kryeziu one of his sisters as his wife.

In the time of the German occupation, one fine day Gani Bey Kryeziu, posing as a patriot, "took to the mountains with his ceta against the occupiers," who were only imaginary occupiers, "in principle," to him, because in fact his "ceta" never fired a shot against them. However, what astonished us was that the BBC and the newspaper MUNDIMI (published by the Anglo-Americans in the Albanian language. It engaged in propaganda by distorting the facts in their interest. It was dropped into Albania from the air) of Bari had a great deal to say about the imaginary "fighting" of this "ceta" and its commander. He had two "commissars" with him: the British officer Simcox, an agent of the intelligence service, and the Trotskyite of the 4th International, Zai Fundo. Thus, Gani, Zai and Simcox comprised a trio of the intelligence service. There was also Gani's brother, Seit, who posed as a social-democrat and was bound hand and foot to the British agency. When things seemed to be going badly for them in Kosovo, Gani Kryeziu's ceta crossed into the discricts of Tropoja and Kukes.

The task of Gani, Zai and the British was to fight against the partisans, to sabotage our anti-fascist national liberation war and establish and strengthen connections with Muharrem Bajraktari, Cen Elezi, Fiqri Dine and other reactionary chiefs in northern Albania. Together with them they prepared the terrain for the future, so that, with the defeat of Germany, they would take power. Of course, they pinned their hopes on Britain, because they nurtured the belief that it would intervene in the Balkans with its army and, since the partisan forces would be "exhausted" from fighting the Germans, they "would be easily liquidated." According to them, history would repeat iself. They would also create a "government" and, in the end, the feudal lords would rule our country and people again. "Therefore," they thought, "we must hold back, conserve our strength, must not involve ourselves in fighting and be fresh and vigorous when the day comes to take power." This was the idea and plan of reaction and the British. However, their reckoning was astray. Our party foiled their plans.

Gani Kryeziu's ceta could not operate freely, undetected by our forces, which were continually pursuing and attacking the Germans and the chiefs of internal reaction.

We discovered that Gani and Zai with a small ceta and with the British officer attached to them, equipped with a radio transmitter, were trying to create a movement against our party and the anti-fascist national liberation war, by means of the reactionaries of Kosovo and the Bajraktars of northern Albania. We gave our forces orders to track them down, pursue them, capture them and defeat their activity before it had really got going. Gani Kryeziu operated underground, hidden from us and, when he was hard-pressed by our partisans, crossed over to Kosovo where he had his bases. We were unable to move freely

in Kosovo on account of the intrigues of the Yugoslavs and of Vakmanovic-Tempo, in particular, and were obliged to watch for when the Kryeziu's ceta returned within our borders. Therefore, we had issued special top secret orders to our forces to follow their movements carefully and to capture them as soon as they entered Albanian territory.

The order had been carried out and the traitors were captured. Zai Fundo, Seit Kryeziu and the British Major Simcox were captured in the Dobrej Mountain, while Gani Bey at the Bytyci Flat, where the tents brought from England for the "war headquarters" had been put up. I learned the history of his capture later, but this is not the place to describe it.

> The delegates of Tito were collaborating with the British behind the scenes to our detriment

Meanwhile, Colonel Velimir Stojnic, accompanied by a major called Nijaz Dizdarevic, and one or two others of lower rank, had come to our country. They came to the CC of our party and the general staff as delegates of Tito, the CC of CPY and the Yugoslav general staff, as a "liaison group" in order to "give us their experience and exchange experience with us" on the war and the party.

At that time we considered them friends, because they posed as communists and had still not been exposed and come out as renegades from Marxism-Leninism. Nevertheless, in their activities, we noticed certain indications that they were not in order. Indeed, we had had contradictions with them over matters of principle, but it had never crossed our minds that they had gone so far and fall n so low as to collaborate with the British behind the scenes to our detriment.

We had our first meeting with them in Helmes. They informed us about the situation in Yugoslavia and we likewise spoke about the situation in our country. The impressions, which I and Miladin Popovic, whom we called Ali, formed at the first meeting and after a series of talks with them, were not particularly favourable.

"It seems to me that they did not tell us much," I said to Ali, "everything they told us we know and have put into practice."

"Not only that," replied Miladin, "but the authoritative air, arrogance and conceit of Velo (Stojnic) did not please me one bit. He pretends to know everything and seems as if he wants to say that he has to feed us on the bottle. But we don't swallow that, therefore they have to treat us as comrades."

"It seems to me that the other one (meaning Nijaz Dizdarevic) is cleverer and more cunning," I told Ali.

"You are not mistaken," he said, "but we shall see."

"Keep your head," I advised Miladin, "because you will have the opportunity to talk with them all the time, therefore, when you feel that you are hard-pressed, break off the conversation and say that 'Enver must decide and not we.'"

This was the agreement we reached with Miladin Popovic, that genuine communist and beloved Yugoslav comrade, who nurtured an ardent and pure love for our party and people. However, there is a long history to our relations with Velimir Stojnic. For the moment I shall deal only with what occurred between us in connection with the question of Gani and Seit Kryeziu, Zai Fundo and the British officer.

As soon as we received the radiogram which the comrades sent us about their capture, we met, discussed the question and took our decision. The facts were flagrant for all to see. We sent a radiogram to the comrades in the north in which we instructed them to try Zai and the Kryezius before a military court which they should set up. They were to disarm their ceta and, after doing political work with the members of it, they were to send them home, while Major Simcox they were to hand over to some British mission in our territory. Ali went to the house where Velimir Stojnic was staying to inform him about what had occurred and our decision.

I waited for hours on end for Ali to come back for lunch and when he finally arrived, he was fuming with anger.

"What's wrong with you?" I asked him.

"What's wrong with me," he said. "They are rotters. They don't agree with the decision and said if it is not rescinded, they will break off relations with us, pack their bags and return to Yugoslavia."

"How is it possible for them to do such a thing over a renegade and these traitor feudal lords?" I asked him.

"It's possible all right," said Miladin, "I couldn't come to agreement with them in any way and left telling them: 'This is a problem that is up to the Albanians, come and talk with Enver and convince him.' So they are going to come and talk with you."

"All right," I said.

Velimir Stojnic and Nijaz Dizdarevic came at the appointed time. Miladin and I were there. We greeted them, shook hands and offered them cigarettes. Velo smoked but Dizdarevic did not. We were calm and they tried to appear calm.

I opened the conversation by saying that Ali had informed me about their views in connection with the prisoners captured in the north.

"This astonished me," I told them, "because the interests of our two parties and our common war require that these enemies should get the severe punishment they deserve."

I remember as if it were today that Velimir Stojnic, who had a pale face and looked even paler from the powder he used, flushed with anger and rose to his feet with his eyes looking savage and said to me:

"We Yugoslavs, the representatives of Tito and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, do not permit them to be shot."

"You astonish me greatly," I said, "that you defend these enemies. Excuse me, but perhaps you do not really know who they are. We shall hand them over to the military court and leave it to the court to decide. Such people deserve a bullet," and I began to speak about their biography. Velimir Stojnic interrupted me saying:

"There is no need for you to tell us about them, because we know who they are, and if you give the order for them to be put on trial and shot, we shall break off relations with you and leave for Yugoslavia."

"You are making a big mistake in putting our fraternal and communist relations in the balance against our stand towards these enemies, who are feudal lords who have sucked the blood of the people of Kosovo, and a renegade from the communist international, a Trotskyite, an enemy of the Soviet Union and Stalin, an enemy of our people and our party," I told Velimir Stojnic.

"I'm not discussing who they are," said Velimir Stojnic, "but hand them over to us because they are Kosovars, hence this is an issue of principle. We have our party, our front, our laws and our courts. They must be handed over to us and we shall do what we think fit with them. Otherwise, we shall leave."

"We are not breaking off relations with the peoples of Yugoslavia who are fighting against the Nazis," I said, "but you are wrong when you say that they are Kosovars. Only Gani and Seit Kryeziu are from Kosovo and since you are apparently so fond of these notorious beys of Kosovo, take them, let them be yours, while Zai Fundo, who is not a Yugoslav citizen, nor resident in Yugoslavia, nor of Yugoslav origin, but is from Korce, does not belong to you, according to your own thesis,"I told Velimir Stojnic.

"They are together," said Velimir Stojnic, "and have their centre in Kosovo."

"But you see, we captured them operating against our party and our front in Albanian territory. According to your thesis," I replied, "if we capture the quisling Xhafer Deva, since he is a Kosovar, we should hand him over to you to be tried for the crimes he has committed in Albania. Such reasoning won't hold water. However," I continued speaking to Velimir Stojnic, "I do not think that the CP of Yugoslavia and Tito (at that time we had no suspicions about him, on the contrary) will think as you do, but since you weigh our fraternal relations against the stand which should be adopted towards traitors and feudal lords, we shall hand them over to you and I shall give the order for this immediately. Zai Fundo, the enemy of the Communist Party of Albania and Communist Party of Yugoslavia will be tried and if the partisan court sentences him to death, he will be shot immediately."

Velimir Stojnic left the house of old Mehmet, where I had [him] put up, having saved the feudal lords Gani and Seit Kryeziu, agents of the Serbian chauvinists and the British and enemies of our war, from death.

[10 Feb 82 0900 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 10 Feb (ATA)--

> Apparently, the delegates of Tito and the British Empire had come to agreement with each other. We did not know that Tito had long been linked with Churchill

After him Palmer (the headquarters of the SOE [special operations executive] in Bari, Italy, on October 8, 1944, sent its mission consensus 2 in Albania the following message:

"...Lazar Fundo was captured with Simcox and said...he may therefore be in grave danger and strongly recommend you should do utmost to secure his liberation and evaluation to Italy. Convinced Fundo sincerely pro-British and believe that his intimate knowledge of Balkans and Central Europe and communist party organization might make him most valuable to I.S.L.D. (signals from SOE headquarters in Bari, Italy, to mission consensus 2, May-Oct. 1944, (No. 60,pp.122-123) came to me. Apparently, the delegates of Tito and the British Empire had come to agreement with each other. Palmer, too, although in more moderate terms, asked me to release the Kryezius, Fundo and Simcox. In order to persuade me he added:

"Release them, General, and we shall assist you with arms."

"As for your 'aid'," I replied, "we have long been aware that it is nothing but words. You personally have informed me several times on end that the British aircraft are to drop war materials at Staravecka and elsewhere. In fact, the aircraft have flown over our country, not to bring us aid, however, but for other purposes. We see them cross our borders from Korce en route to Greece."

"Yes, but they have run into resistance and have been forced to change course," he said in justification.

"I understand clearly why they have changed course," I said, "but nevertheless, we are fed up with such tales. You were speaking about those that we have captured in the north. On the question of the two prisoners from Kosovo, I have given the Yugoslav representative my reply. As for Zai Fundo, what we shall do with him is our business, while as to your officer, I have issued the order to hand him over to you. I believe the matter is now clear to you. That is all I have to say," I said and stood up to let him know I had no further time to waste with him.

I was astonished over this "coincidence." We did not know that Tito had long been linked with Churchill. We knew that Churchill's son had been attached to Tito and also knew about Tito's links with Subasic, as well as about his visit to Italy and that he had held talks with British personalities, but we did not know what he had cooked up and was cooking up with the British.

Thus, this question ended in disgrace for the Yugoslavs and the British. I issued the order for the comrades to hand over Gani and Seit to the Yugoslav partisan forces, and this was done, while they were to put Zai Fundo on trial and punish him severely and this was done.

This was only one aspect of all that hostile work which the Yugoslavs were to carry on against our party, against the People's Republic of Albania and against socialism in Albania, both on the eve of the liberation of our country and later. This same Velimir Stojnic and his associate, Nijaz Dizdarevic, who had been entrusted by Tito with carrying out their hostile activity, were to carry it further at Berat, but that is another long story which will be dealt with in a separate book.

Tito helps Kryezius, feudal lords, blood suckers of the people of Kosovo

However, let us return briefly to the question of the Kryezius, because there was a sequel to it.

When we went to Berat to hold the important meeting of the 2d Plenum of the CC of the party, at a time when Velimir Stojnic and Nijaz Dizdarevic, together with Nako Spiru, Koci Xoxe, Sejfulla Maleshova, Pandi Kristo and others, in a conspiracy behind the scenes, were preparing the attack on the correct line of the party, Velimir Stojnic came to me in my office, together with Seit Kryeziu.

Velimir introduced him to me.

"I knew Seit Kryeziu when I was a student in Paris," I said. "I don't know whether he remembers me."

"Yes," replied Seit, "I remember you."

Then Velimir Stojnic told me:

"Seit has come here on the recommendation of Tito who asks you to assist him to get to Bari in Italy, because he has been entrusted with the task of securing weapons for Kosovo from the allies (obviously from the British)." The thing was clear. Gani Kryeziu and the British were wasting no time. They left one Kryeziu with Tito and were taking the other abroad, perhaps to London.

"How is he going to travel, what help do you want from us?" I asked. "We have no connection with Bari."

"Everything has been arranged by the general staff of the Yugoslav Army and the allied Mediterranean headquarters," Stojnic replied.

"Very well," I told Tito's representative, "since this busjness has apparently been arranged, there is nothing for it but we must help him reach the coast."

This whole business became clearer later, when it came out what a dangerous enemy and active agency of imperialism Yugoslav Titoism was. However, we had sensed and detected their savage hostility towards us long before this through their actions, which went from bad to worse.

Under the disguise of the second front, the British wanted to land in Albania, too

There were many who were not aware of the fierce struggle which we were waging against the British, against their secret war and underhand plans against us, therefore great determination and keen vigilance were required and there must be no hesitation on the part of our party in its actions. Our party carried out its difficult but glorious mission with honour and success and overcame the numerous dangers with which it was confronted. Following the "ultimatum" which General Wilson sent me and the reply that I gave him, we were awaiting their reaction, therefore we were wide awake, ready to take counter-measures.

It was not long before the British made a move. They began to exert other pressures, even more dangerous, to the independence of our country. As everyone knows, the Western allies had promised that they would open the second front in Europe in 1942. However, they did not do this in 1942 nor in 1943, but only in July 1944, when Hitlerite Germany was on its last legs. Under the pretext of opening this front, they wanted to land in Albania, too. To this end they began their attempts to land an army.

Our party understood that their attempts to land an army were not for the purpose of fighting the Germans in Albania, because this was being done successfully by the Albanian National Liberation Army, which was completely capable of liberating its own country without the aid of the armed forces of the "friends," but for the purpose of getting Albania into their clutches. Our party did not permit this, and as I shall describe below, refused and rejected their repeated proposals to land "allied" troops in our country where, when and in the numbers and with the means they wanted. This was a terrible danger which threatened our country.

Our clear decision was that we must resist this danger resolutely, even if this meant becoming involved in armed clashes with our "sincere" allies. Our party could not permit a repetition of April 2, 1939, or the massacre of martyred Borova. "No foreign army, whether allied or not, will be permitted to do what it likes in our country," was our decision. Now the people, with their party at the head and their own national liberation army, were the masters of the country. The situation was changing day by day. The German Nazis were living their last moments. Our armed forces were attacking them everywhere. Reaction did not know where to go for shelter. Every night Tirana was under attack by our forces and the only escape route for the Germans was through Shkoder. It was also the escape route for the reactionaries, but a very dangerous route for them.

The first attempt of the British was to drop tommies, incorporated in commando forces in the regions in the vicinity of Tirana

The first attempt. As I have pointed out, the British suffered a defeat with the reply of our general staff to the pressures they exerted and in the ultimatum which they sent us about not attacking their friends in Albania. Next they thought they would bring troops to the vicinity of Tirana on the eve of its liberation. By this means the British, together with the reactionaries, aimed to impose themselves on us in order to realize their major purpose. If this proved impossible, at least they might be able to take the traitor chiefs Lumo Skendo, Abaz Kupi and others, together with their forces, to some of our ports from which they could be withdrawn to Italy and elsewhere.

To this end, Palmer came to me at our base in Odrican and, with his usual smile, began to tell me that the "huns" (the British frequently called the Germans this) were on their last legs, that the allied front was extending and so on and so forth. I waited for him to get round to the main point, because I realized that all this was leading up to something, therefore I simply listened and said nothing. At last he got around to his theme:

"Mr Hoxha," he said, "up till now there has been good collaboration between us. Of course, we've had some disagreements, but such things occur even between friends. Nevertheless, we are allies for a great cause and our two sides have been fighting for years on the same front against the same enemy. Both we and you have fought hard and have assisted each other in this war. We have tried to assist you with our weapons and ammunition, although of course this aid has been insufficient. Our headquarters thinks," he continued, "that from now on it should give you greater assistance and proposes, apart from aid with weapons, to send you aid with tommies, whom, with your permission, we could drop as commandos forces in the region of Peza, Ishem and Darsia. In this way, our two allied armies will join together like brothers to attack this plague and put an end to it more quickly. With this aid which we propose, what we have in mind is to assist you and your friends and ours, the Yugoslavs, because in this way fewer Germans will pass through their territory."

Palmer had come to the end of his speech. His face was set in that perpetual smile of which I was heartily sick and which seemed to imply to say: "Look what wonderful tidings I'm bringing you."

I lit a cigarette as I thought: acceptance of his proposal would lead to the initial form of a British invasion. Nevertheless, I had to reply to him in the same coin: smile for smile.

"Thank you very much," I said smiling at him, "I thank your headquarters and you for bringing me this proposal of concrete aid, even with tommies whom you want to drop by parachute around Tirana. It is true that we have been and are allies in a great common cause. It is likewise true that Britain is fighting, and I agree with you on this, but the Albanian people are fighting, too, and they began the war against the axis powers before Great Britain,

indeed they began it and are continuing it alone. When Italy invaded us Britain turned a deaf ear. We fought on barefooted, ragged and hungry, but unyielding. The enemy has destroyed villages, towns and whole regions, has killed many people, but we, too, have wreaked havoc on the enemy. We fought the Italians tooth and nail and brought them to their knees. We are doing the same thing with the Nazis, too. You and our other allies have fought on other fronts, too. We know this. But here," and I raised my voice, "on our soil, only the Albanian people have fought and only they will fight till the end. You did not believe us when we told you that the people were with the national liberation front, that they were and are with us because we are their true sons. But you see what is occurring now? The whole people have risen to their feet. In the course of battles, we built up a powerful, invincible army, and now that we are beginning to call the tune, you propose to bring an army into our territory. It is a bit late in the day for this. No, Mr Palmer, we do not accept your proposal, because there is no reason for you to drop troops here. You can see with your own eyes what proportions our war has assumed, that we have long since gone beyond the phase of isolated actions and are now on the offensive against the Nazis and their collaborators on all fronts. Is this not so?"

"It is so but..."

He wanted to say something, but I continued and did not let him speak.

"We have ample forces in Peza, Darsia, Ishem and everywhere else and we have no need for aid in men, in commandos, therefore we do not allow you to drop them. The missions you have here are sufficient. We have never concealed from you any information about our fighting or anything in connection with the enemy. Therefore, please transmit my thanks to your headquarters and our categorical refusal of the proposal you made to us."

Palmer left without another word.

I immediately notified Peza that if they discovered paratroops being dropped, they should open fire on them and wipe them out. This diabolical plan of the British was linked with the proposal which Mustafa Gjinishi had made to me earlier, that he should be allowed to form brigades in Peqin, Darsia and elsewhere outside the orders and command of Myslim Peza. I rejected this proposal. The pieces of the puzzle were falling into place. These forces of Gjinishi would have collaborated with the British paratroops.

[11 Feb 82 0900 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 11 Feb (ATA)--

> The second attempt of the British was to make a landing on the coast, at Spile of Himara

The second attempt. Some time later, Palmer came back again with the proposal to make a small symbolic landing with a commando force, this time on the coast, at Spile of Himara.

"Why do you want to make this landing?" I asked him.

"For two reasons," he said. "To show our collaboration with you and to wipe out the German garrison at Spile of Himara, which has no military importance but observes the movements of our ships."

"I know that the garrison is unimportant," I told Palmer, "however, I shall give you my reply in two or three days time, when I have more detailed information on the situation."

I discussed the matter with the comrades and we decided that this time we would give the British a satisfaction which entailed no danger for us. I ordered our forces on the coast to take up positions at Pilur, Nivica-Bubar, Llogara and to go to the aid of the British troops if they ran into any danger during their attack on the German garrison.

I sent for Palmer and informed him that we accepted his proposal. I also warned him that the German garrison must be the only objective of the operation and, after it was wiped out, the British forces must re-embark in their boats and go away. They would not be permitted to linger and settle in here. This was a categorical order.

"Let us carry out this action jointly," I proposed to Palmer.

"Thank you," he said, "but we shall do it ourselves."

"Nevertheless," I told him, "our men will take up surrounding positions and will guard the roads to ensure that none of the Nazis escapes from the trap and we wipe them out like rats. We shall be there to protect your landing and your withdrawal after the action," I added to let him know that he must take our orders very seriously, because we were not joking.

The action was carried out. The Germans captured 9 British prisoners and were on the point of completely liquidating the British commando. However, our 12th Brigade intervened, routed the German garrison, liberated Himara and freed the prisoners. What remained of the British commando climbed back into their boats and withdrew to the place they started from.

It was only later, with their next attempt, with the operation to land British commandos at Kakome, Saranda, that we were to understand why the British undertook this action, which was of no interest to them and without any strategic importance.

The third attempt of the British

The third attempt. The same old refrain this time, too. Palmer came, launched into his introduction and then made the proposal. I asked him:

"What is the interest that impels you to propose such a thing? The small German force in Saranda is doomed to be wiped out, its only escape route is by sea, and we plan to throw them into the sea very soon, thus liberating the whole of the south."

"Precisely," said Palmer, "therefore, you should agree to carry out this action jointly, because in this way we block the road for the defeated German forces which might enter from Greece."

This attempt, too, was to end like that in Spile.

As soon as we took the decision in the general staff, we informed comrades Kahreman Ylli and Gafur Cuci, giving them clear orders on how to enter into discussion with the British, what to say to them and how to act. We instructed them that in the talks, they must present our army as it was, a regular army. "Do not allow the British to maky any advance outside these orders," was the instruction we gave them.

After this, I sent for Palmer.

"We agree that we should attack the German garrison in Saranda together," I told him, "but we shall attack from the land and you from the sea, and once the action is over, your forces must withdraw immediately."

He nodded his head. He seemed dissatisfied, but nevertheless considered it a "success" that we had agreed that this action should be carried out jointly.

And that is what was done. Partisan forces of the 14th, 12th and 19th brigades of our army launched a furious assault on the enemy. After three days of fierce fighting, they wiped out the Germans and Saranda was liberated. More than 150 Germans were taken prisoner, including the colonel who commanded them. The British commandos, whose "fighting" amounted merely to firing some salvos of artillery at the Lekures fortress and the Butrint monastery, also entered the liberated town as "victors." Nevertheless, since most of the British landed from the sea, they had many casualties, while we had few.

However, after the operation was completed, our command in Saranda reported to me that the command of the British troops had asked for the German colonel to be handed over to them to be sent to Italy, alleging that in this way "more publicity would be given to the fight for the liberation of Saranda." Our command also reported that the British soldiers were behaving badly. Breaking shop windows, stealing the goods and taking them to their ships and that there was a danger of armed clashes between the British and the partisans. The British command had wanted to continue the "attack" inland to Delvina and Gjirokastra so that the British soldiers could parade as "liberators" before the people there. However, our comrades had told them that these towns had been liberated and now the British must leave. After this the British command had proposed to the partisan command that they should make a joint attack on Corfu.

These were very serious and dangerous matters. We noticed our command to order the partisans to keep their tempers and protect the town, to consolidate their positions at Qafa e Gjashtes, Butrint and Bogaza, to keep the artillery on the hills above Saranda and at the Butrint monastery in readiness, to be

vigilant and keep movement on the sea under close observation and to inform us immediately if other British ships appeared and, if they moved towards the shore, to await orders from us and to fire artillery shots to warn them off. I ordered them to send the German colonel under escort to Berat.

On the other hand, I summoned Palmer urgently and made an energetic protest about the requests of the British command, as well as about the unpleasant behaviour of the British soldiers. I told him that the joint task had been carried out, Saranda had been liberated and, in the terms of the decision, the British forces must be withdrawn as quickly as possible.

Palmer pretended to be indignant about the bad behaviour of the British soldiers and told me he would report that the forces must be withdrawn immediately.

We waited for the British to withdraw, but nothing was being done. They postponed their departure from day to day. Apparently, their aim was to remain there and have Saranda as their base on the coast and in the territory of Albania. (Immediately after the landing of the British commandos in the Saranda zone, on September 29, 1944, Bari reported to the foreign office amongst other things:

"Subsequent development of the operation depends upon a number of factors which cannot at present be assessed. But it is possible that if everything goes well we may be able to maintain a permanent footing on Albanian soil as well as in Corfu." Telegram No.722.fo 371/43572-3584.pro: from the photocopy of the original in the AIH [Archives of the Institute of History] Tirana.) Mussolini also had liked this pearl of our country so much that he had named it "Porto Edda," after his own daughter. But the times had changed. The pearl had an owner.

Several times I sent for Palmer to protest to him and he assured me that he would notify his centre to order the withdrawal. In the end, the cup was full. Our patience was at an end. I issued him an ultimatum, instructing him to transmit it immediately to the allied Mediterranean headquarters. "If the British commandos are not withdrawn from Saranda by the given date, then war will break out between the partisans and the British," I informed him.

I instructed our forces there to be in readiness, awaiting an order to attack the British with arms and to let them know that we had taken all measures and were determined to throw them into the sea. At this they began to panic.

Palmer arrived and proposed to me:

"Our forces are ready to withdraw, but we ask your permission to withdraw, not by sea, but through Muzina, Delvina, Dropull and Pogon."

"In no way will we permit your brigade to go by this route," I told him. "It must go back where it came from, immediately, by sea..." Eventually the British climbed into their boats and...we were rid of them. Just at this

time, in October, they landed in Greece, where the situation was similar to that in our country--the eve of liberation. They entered that country freely, under the agreement signed at Caserta, which was the death warrant for the victory of the Greek CP, the EAM [Greece National Liberation Front] and the freedom of the Greek people.

Because of the vigilance and determination of our glorious party, all the plans to land troops in our country failed one after the other.

The British did not give up their efforts to intervene in our country

Although they failed in these attempts, the British did not give up their efforts to intervene in our country. After the formation of the Democratic Government of Albania on October 22, 1944, we stayed in Berat for a brief period. The allied missions were there, too. The houses where the Anglo-American missions were quartered had been turned into hornets' nests. All sorts of people went in and out their doors. Secret information was given and received. New plans were concocted.

"The British officer came to see me," Comrade Spiro Moisiu informed me.

"What did he say? Did he have any news about the recognition of our government?" I asked. It was several days since we had handed the foreign missions our request to their governments for recognition of our democratic government. But this had fallen on deaf ears. (The letter which the British ambassador to Moscow Archibald Clark Kerr sent to Molotov on October 30, 1944, says:

"Dear Mr Molotov,

1. I have been instructed by my government to inform the Soviet Government that in the present confused situation in Albania they do not propose to recognise the "provisional government" set up there by the F.N.C. [National Liberation Front] Party.

2. My government hope that the Soviet Government will concur in this course.

2. A similar communication is being addressed to the government of the United States."(fo 371/43564-3530, No. 2179. pro.taken from photocopy of the original in the AIH, Tirana.)

"No," replied General Moisiu, "did not touch on that problem, but told me that we should repair the airfield at Kucova, because they are going to order aircraft to bring aid for the people." [sentence as printed]

"What did you say to him?" I asked.

"We can't repair it at the moment," I told him, "because we have other more urgent problems. 'We shall help you,' the Englishmen said, and the matter was left for me to discuss with you."

"I agree," I said, "but we must take a good look at what their aim is. As for what he told you about bringing us 'aid,' we know very well how much they worry about the interests of our people. It's more likely they're worried about our oil. Apparently they think they will give us a few pounds and consider that they have bought the oil-field."

This danger existed. At one time Kucova had been held as a concession by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which had sold it to the Italian company AIPA, with rights to exploit it for 99 years. Now that Italy had been reduced to such a feeble condition, they might think that the time had come to take it back, this time for nothing.

Comrade Spiro came back again, very angry, and told me:

"It turned out just as you said, Comrade Enver. The British officer met me and said without a blush: 'Here is our aid, 40 pounds. Inform us when you finish repairing the field so that the aircraft can come.'"

"Don't distress yourself, Comrade Spiro," I said, "we know exactly what they are and we are sick and tired of their 'aid.'"

"I told the Englishman: 'This isn't enough to feed the people who will work there for two days, so put it back in your pocket,'" continued Spiro. "We shall repair the airfield when we need it and when it suits us."

With this parting shot, he bid the British "philanthropist" goodbye.

We still did not know that Lt.-Col. Palmer, through Tarasconi, the manager of AIPA in Kucova, had gotten control of the oil. This act, too, would be discovered and dealt with later.

An American military mission

The British also sought the assistance of the United States of America as an ally to achieve their predatory aims.

We had information that an American military mission was staying with Skender Muco, a leader of the Balli Kombetar, in Dukat of Vlora. Skender Muco posed as a "patriot" and it was rumoured that he was going to create a "social-democratic party" which never came to anything. He was a two-faced individual. He had placed himself in the service of both the Anglo-Americans and the Germans. The latter became aware of this and killed him.

About the end of April or the beginning of May 1944, I don't remember clearly, Thomas Stefani, with two others, presented himself to our staff at Helmes. He was about 30 years of age, a short, thick-set man. Sometimes he spoke English, sometimes Albanian. But he spoke neither of them well and with an accent as though he had a mouthful of porridge. He had plenty to say but not with much sense.

"I've been sent to the Albanian partisans by air force headquarters as liaison officer," this American lieutenant told us at the first meeting we had with him.

"When were you sent?" we asked him.

"It's wartime, gentlemen," he said. "We set out some time ago, but we were obliged to spend several months, first at Karaburun of Dukat and later as guests of Mr Muco, but he..."

"We knew he was bound to come to a bad end," we told him. "Several times we appealed to him to join the national liberation movement but he didn't want to and...he was shot like a stray dog..."

"We three are of Albanian origin," Thomas Stefani hastened to say, to get off the subject of Skender Muco, "We are from Korce."

"That is good to hear. As Albanians we shall get on well," I said.

"First, I am an American, then an Albanian, gentlemen. Such is my duty."

"But what is your duty?" I asked

"As liaison officer, I shall ensure communications between you and my headquarters and will report from time to time as the need arises. I have special instructions from General Stawell to gather intelligence information on the enemy, especially number-plates and other information which will help support the actions of your military forces against the occupier."

This was the "duty" of this degenerate Albanian, who so foolishly boasted to us that he was "first an American." However, we knew that he had been sent to throw dust in the eyes of the Albanian families of economic emigrants in America in order to say to them: "You see, we too, have come to help the Albanian people." He had come to prepare the ground and the premises for the notorious Mr Fultz, who was to organize plots and blackmail against our people's state power from the first months of the liberation of Albania.

He was an ex-policeman whom the Americans later promoted to captain and became the guide of the "pupils" and "boys" of Fultz, who had opened an office of the American OSS for Albania in Bari in Italy.

The British and Americans thought that everything would go smoothly for them and they acted. However, the party countered their plans, fought them blow for blow and foiled them one after another. The party worked to ensure that everything would go completely in favour of the Albanian people and of the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our beloved homeland.

With the liberation of Albania, the missions of Palmer and Thomas Stefani disappeared, along with the heads of reaction. Their place was taken by

the missions of the British General Hodgson and the Americans Jacobs and Fultz, Anglo-American missions which had as their objective to organize the political opposition, economic interference through UNRRA and sabotage of the reconstruction of our country.

[12 Feb 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 12 Feb (ATA)--In the last chapter of his book Comrade Enver Hoxha once more brings to the fore with great clarity and incontestable veracity the aggressiveness with which the Anglo-American missions and their governments rushed against the new people's power right after the triumph of the people's revolution in Albania.

In this chapter Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among others:

7

Unsuccessful Manoeuvres

> 29 November, 1944. Victory--the whole country celebrates. Revolutionary measures. Missions for the "recognition" of our democratic government. Fultz: the "pupils" and the "boys," "philanthropic" instruments--"ML" and UNRRA. "We accept no conditions. We allow not even one officer to set foot on the wharf." The "opposition"--unfortunate actors in a drama that was a flop. Nobody can impose conditions on Albania. Paris: "Let the whole world know that the Albanian people do not permit any discussion of their borders..." The saboteurs on trial. "Why did Mr Fultz leave?" The Corfu channel incident. At the Hague--the innocent guilty. Why was the gold frozen?--plunder. The "crabs" in action. Life is struggle--vigilance.

On 28 November, 1944, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, the democratic government of Albania entered liberated Tirana which had been turned into a heap of ruins. The smell of powder smoke still lingered. The government was welcomed with indescribable enthusiasm, with songs, dances and flowers, by the masses of the capital city. It was the first government to emerge from the bosom of the people, from the barrel of the partisan rifle.

The greatest victory in the history of the Albanian people

Shkoder, the main centre of Teuta of the Illyrians in ancient times, was liberated on the following day, November 29. This day marked the complete liberation of Albania. The flag of Skanderbeg and Ismail Qemali waved proudly over the whole of Albania. This was the greatest victory in the history of the Albanian people. It was dedicated to their unrivalled heroism, to the resolute and far-sighted leadership of the Communist Party of Albania, to the sons of this people who pressed forward through storms and tempests and were

never conquered, but remained indomitable, facing the gallows and bullets on the battlefield, facing the intrigues, underhand plots and diabolical plans of the imperialists, and would always remain indomitable in the future, too.

The Albanian people's war inflicted great material and human damage on the Nazi-fascist occupiers. On our territory 26,594 enemies were killed, 20,800 were captured, and tens of thousands of others were wounded. The victory cost Albania very dear. For this day 28,000 of its sons and daughters sacrificed their lives in the flower of their youth, that is, one martyr for every square kilometre, 12,600 people were wounded, while 10,000 others were interned in concentration camps.

Whole regions, towns and villages were devastated. The serious damage caused by the war added to the difficulties of the economy, which had been left completely backward and at the mercy of fate under the feudal regime of King Zog. Agriculture was almost totally ruined. Whole tracts of land had been left unplanted. Enormous damage had been done to livestock farming. All the bridges had been blown up. The roads, the few existing schools, the power stations, and water supply systems, the ports, and especially the mines, had been made unusable. The country was threatened with famine. Trade had been paralyzed, the treasury was empty.

This was the situation the Albanian people and the democratic government which emerged from five years of unequal war, inherited from the past reactionary regimes and the Nazi-fascist occupation.

The party, the people and the government faced major tasks. After speaking at length about these tasks and the revolutionary measures taken, Comrade Enver Hoxha continues:

In the course of the struggle and work to march ahead the party and the Albanian people were bound to and did run up against internal reaction which, in the new conditions, had placed all its hopes on the support of the Anglo-Americans, who had long been waging an undercover struggle against us through their agents and the elements whom they recruited. The Anglo-Americans themselves had not given up their plans, either. What they had been unable to achieve during the national-liberation war they tried to achieve after the liberation by fighting us in the most varied ways and with different means in the international arena and within the country, in order to deny our new state of people's democracy any support and to overthrow it.

> The British and the Americans did not cease concocting other plans to realize their old aims. Talk with the British general, Hodgson

With the liberation of Albania by the people themselves and their army, we thought that the British and American officers, who had been deployed during the period of the war in different regions of our country, had come to the end of their "mission." During the war their aim had been quite apparent:

they had come not to assist our war but for espionage against it, to sabotage it, to organize and strengthen internal Albanian reaction and to help it seize power after the Nazis left. But the war buried their dreams. Nevertheless, they did not cease concocting other plans to realize their old aims. Our victories were to make them even more furious and their struggle against us was becoming more open and fierce.

In February-March 1945, the British mission was enlarged and General Hodgson came to head it. A little later the Americans, for their part, sent a civilian mission, headed by Jacobs, with the old American agent in Albania, Harry Fultz, as his assistant.

General Hodgson had his eye on the house in which Zog's uncle had lived, a building near the present-day Qemal Stafa Stadium. We gave it to him. He came to pay us a visit at Hotel Dajti because we still had no offices. I went with Dr. Omer Nishani to pay him a return visit at his "residence."

"I trust that the day will not be far off when the embassy of Great Britain will be established in this house, General," I said to him.

"It is the custom of our government not to be hasty in these matters, Mr. Hoxha," said Hodgson. "Let us wait until a constituent assembly, elected in the most democratic manner, determines the form of the regime of the new Albanian state."

"This will be done very soon," I said. "The congress of Permet decided this: 'A new people's democratic Albania will be built according to the will of the people.' As you know," I continued, "the foundations of the new political power were laid there in favour of the insurgent people, the people themselves decided their own future. The democratic government which emerged from the meeting of Berat and which is the authentic expression of the aspirations of the people, has the question of the elections to the constituent assembly as a fundamental task of its publicly proclaimed program and I assure you that our elections will be most democratic. The voting will be free, direct and by secret ballot, on the basis of the electoral law. The constituent assembly, expressing the will and aspirations of the people, will decide the form of the state."

"But in your country, General Hoxha, there is only one party--only your Communist Party," said Hodgson.

"It is true that there is only one party in our country, the Communist Party of Albania. It is very strong and its program expresses the desires and aspirations of our people who are a people thirsting for freedom," I replied, "it was created in the heat of the most ferocious war which mankind, and our people, in particular, have ever seen. The Communist Party of Albania heroically defended the interests of its own people, who are with it and have great love for this party. They followed it on the most difficult road and the main thing is that they saw with their own eyes that this party was in the

forefront of the great national liberation war and gave fearless leadership, and that is why they formed their unshakeable faith in it. Why did the people not follow the Ballists, Zogites and other reactionaries, but recognized the Communist Party as their sole leadership?" I asked him.

"Because you did not allow them, Mr Hoxha," said the general, speaking in a tone of disapproval and fixing me with a baleful gaze as he awaited my reply.

"That is your opinion, General, but it is without foundation," I told him, "assume for a minute that we accept your idea, then I ask you: Why did the Italians, the Germans, the Ballists, the Zogites and others, who committed all those crimes against our people, not stop them from coming with us? The answer is very simple: the people hated them for the vile deeds they perpetrated against them and fought them heroically and with self-sacrifice. They united all their physical and spiritual forces around the Communist Party of Albania, told it to lead them and it did lead them, led them to victory, and now, General, the people are in power and the communist party--the defender of their interests with unwavering loyalty--is in the leadership."

"The people have their own opinions which they want to express, Mr Hoxha," continued the general.

"No one knows better than the communists that the people have their own opinions," I replied, "indeed, you are quite unable to conceive the strength of our people's opinions. If we had not listened to their opinions and their voice they would not have loved us and would not love us now, they would not have followed us and would not be following us step by step, as they are doing. Communists are always guided by a great principle which they apply: it is not enough simply to listen to the opinions and the desires of the people, but you must realize them in practice. We communists have done this and are continuing to do it."

"But, Mr Hoxha, you do not permit other political parties to be formed," objected the general. "The people can express their will freely only if they have other parties."

"It seems, Mr Kodgson," I told him with a smile, "that you cannot sleep at night because the 'unfortunate' Albanian people cannot speak because they do not have a number of parties. But have the officers of your missions reported to you how the rifle of our people sang and against whom it sang? Are you concerned that there should be other political parties for the people, or for the beys, the feudal lords, the Zogites, the traitors and the speculators?"

"Oh, no, parties for the people and the democrats," replied the general.

"The people themselves are in power, they have their great organization, the democratic front, in which they freely express their opinions. Through this organization they are realizing everything their hearts desire, including the

confiscation of the capital of wealthy merchants who have sucked their blood throughout their existence, the carrying out of the land reform and other major reforms as quickly as possible, as well as the punishment of traitors. The trade union organization has been set up. The youth and women have their own organizations," I told the general.

"But all these are run by the Communist Party," said the general.

"Who do you think they ought to be run by, General, by Zog and Bazi i Canes?"

"No," said the general frowning, because I was treading on his corns, "I think, by some democratic party that might even be in opposition."

"Oh," I said, "you are very concerned about a 'democratic' party. Your concern is unnecessary. Don't worry yourself so much, leave us Albanians to settle this matter ourselves. I tell you, General, we have no need for anyone from outside to help us.

"There are 'friends' in the world who make the accusation against us that 'there is no democracy' in our country. If these 'friends,' General, understand the term democracy as freedom for the collaborators with the occupiers, as freedom for the criminals, speculators and usurers, who fattened on the blood of the people in their darkest days, as freedom for the suppressors of the rights and freedoms of the common masses, let these gentlemen understand clearly that there is not and never will be such freedom in the new democratic Albania. Perhaps through the press you have followed the trials which the people's courts in our country have conducted against the remnants of fascism, the quislings and traitors recently. The people heard from the mouths of these criminals what vile deeds they had committed at the expense of the suffering people. The people's courts cleared away the brambles and torn bushes so that the tree could flourish and grow up healthy. The iron fist of the people's democracy will always fall mercilessly on such elements.

"From the time of the war the people and their government have appealed to misled individuals to change their course," I continued, "reasonable clemency has been shown towards them, but they must not abuse this clemency and they will be gravely mistaken if they take it for weakness. These individuals must honestly adopt the course of the people. This will save them."

This was the essence of our talk with the British general on political questions.

He could not have expressed his opinions, which were not unknown to us, more openly. The important thing was that we must always be vigilant, because the British and the Americans would try to organize the remnants of reaction as a force to fight us, step by step, in our work of construction. We saw clearly that what the imperialists had been unable to achieve during the war, they would try to achieve now, after the war, with the remnants of the Balli Kombetar and Legaliteti which would represent internal reaction. Hence the strengthening of the internal position of the country was closely linked with the strengthening of the front, the state and the economy, which would ensure the failure of all the enemies' efforts.

[13 Feb 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 13 Feb (ATA)--

The British did not give up their aim to make landings in Albania even after liberation. The aims of the organization called "Military Liaison" (ML)

Immediately after liberation, internal and external reaction began a very wide range of manoeuvres.

Although the attempts of the British, in particular, to make landings in Albania under the cloak of aid had failed repeatedly during the war, they did not give up this aim even after liberation. This time they tried to achieve it through an organization called "Military Liaison" (ML), which they had created some years earlier allegedly to assist the Balkan countries.

As was revealed later, they had provided ML with two possible variants for action in regard to Albania. The first envisaged that, totally disregarding our government and without asking its permission, it would disembark its military personnel in all our ports. Behind them, ready to give support, would be the navy. If the officers of ML encountered armed resistance from the Albanian forces they would fight and this would be a casus belli, a good excuse for intervention by the troops of the navy. In this way the occupation would be made a fait accompli.

However, seeing that the democratic government and the Albanian people were on the alert, the Anglo-Americans realized that this was impossible and were obliged to try the other variant, that of talks about "aid." They set two conditions for giving us this "aid": 1,500-1,700 officers and specialists were to be brought in "to distribute it" and ML centres would be set up in all our ports, from which their men would be allowed to "travel" everywhere. We could never accept such a thing. It would have been very dangerous. To accept 1,500-1,700 officers would mean to accept the "trojan horse," "a small army," inside the country and the big army would follow it. Therefore, our reply was a categorical "no."

The other side of the same medal--UNRRA - the talk with Colonel Oakley-Hill

When they failed with the plan of ML they offered Albania the other side of the same medal--UNRRA.

To this end, Colonel Oakley-Hill arrived in Albania. This was the third time that this senior officer, whose heart "ached" for Albania, had come to our country. The first time, he came to organize King Zog's gendarmerie, the second time with a group of Albanian "patriots," via Yugoslavia, and attempted

to organize the people "against fascism," while here he was now for the third time in the role of the representative of UNRRA "to assist Albania in its rehabilitation." As soon as he arrived in Tirana he sought a meeting with me to discuss the agreement with UNRRA. I left him waiting for a week or two because I had no time to see him. In the end I received him. He spoke at length about UNRRA, its purpose and its role.

"You ask that the agreement should be signed by me as general commander of the national liberation army, or prime minister of the national liberation government," I said. "Apparently your chiefs are still using the wartime terms. I cannot imagine that they do not know that Albania has had a democratic government for almost one year now. Why is the request formulated in these terms?" I asked.

"That will be just a lapsus linguae General. The main thing is acceptance of the personnel that we want to bring to Albania to distribute the material among the people," he replied.

"We shall distribute the material ourselves, Mr. Hill," I told him. "You may send people just to hand over the goods and that is all. It is our task to distribute it to the people according to their needs. This cannot be done otherwise."

"Very well, I shall refer this to the centre," said Hill.

"Finally there's the question of the personnel of the ML. They must be withdrawn immediately," I added.

"I beg you to permit some of the ML to stay to assist UNRRA," said Hill.

"In no way. All the ML personnel must be withdrawn," I replied categorically.

"Very well, I shall refer this to the centre," replied Hill.

During the talk with the head of the American mission Jacobs.
Mr. Jacobs, you are in Albania and Albania has its own laws

It was not long before Jacobs came to me to talk "sweetly," with the intention of getting as much as he could out of us.

He started by telling me the "reasons" for the coming of the mission and the delay in the recognition of the Democratic Government of Albania, which for me were simply lieux communs, (trite phrases) a repetition of what I had heard from his colleague, Hodgson.

"The explanations which you have given me about your mission and the postponement of the recognition of our government seem to us unconvincing, Mr Jacobs. Your formula that 'recognition must come after the situation in Albania becomes clear,' is absurd. Recognition should result from the war we have waged against

the Nazi-fascists. However, that is your affair. The Albanian people are profoundly indignant and furious also about the injustice which was done them in denying their legitimate right to send their representatives to the San Francisco conference."

"Other countries, too, did not take part in that conference, Mr Hoxha," he said.

"But Albania has occupied an important place in the bloc of anti-fascist nations. This has been admitted even by the personalities of your country. Amongst those who attended there were some who not only did not contribute to this war but, on the contrary, collaborated with the Hitlerites directly or indirectly, while Albania remains outside the UNO to this day. It does not ask this from anybody as a favour. It is a right it has earned with bloodshed and superhuman sacrifices, by hurling itself unreservedly into the fight for its own freedom and the freedom of other peoples, for the rights of mankind. Nevertheless, the Albanian people, loyal to the end to the anti-fascist alliance, will continue to make their contribution to the just solution of problems which have to do with the future of the peoples."

"I am of the same opinion as you, General," said Jacobs diplomatically, "and I am convinced that this matter will be re-examined. But I also want to talk to you about the question of UNRRA. As you know, it has been created to assist the peoples who have fought."

"I know this," I said, "I have heard it from others, too."

"Aha, 'ally'," I thought to myself, "I know what you have in mind." However, he was right. As a servant of imperialism, he was bound to try to get this instrument of the Anglo-Americans established in Albania because they hoped by this means to put pressure on our government and to erode our people's power from within.

"However, I want to tell you that you cannot make yourself an exception from the other countries, Mr Hoxha. UNRRA has its own regulations and they must be applied," he continued. "Wherever UNRRA has sent aid, it has distributed the goods itself in each centre, town and village. This is how it operates in Yugoslavia and elsewhere. However, I hear that you do not agree with this."

Without doubt Hill had informed him about the talk he had had with me. The general view was that the influence of the Americans was becoming predominant over that of the British in UNRRA and already the contours of the tentacles of American imperialism were becoming more obvious. Uncle Sam was taking over the reins from John Bull, if he had not already done so, and the whip would crack even more heavily on the backs of the peoples.

"Mr. Jacobs, you are in Albania and Albania has its own laws. For your benefit, I shall repeat what you have apparently been informed about: if you truly want to bring us the aid of UNRRA, we are here. Send it to the port of Durres and

hand it over to the port authorities. Don't concern yourselves about where we shall distribute it. We are the government of the people and we strive on the people's behalf. We shall take the aid to its destination wherever the needs are greatest."

"UNRRA is neither a British nor American organization, and this you know very well. It is an international organization," he said with a beguiling smile. "Neither you nor I, nor any other party has the right to violate its rules."

"Stuff and nonsense," I said angrily. "Let us not beat about the bush: we do not permit all those officers to enter Albania. We agree that the goods should come and be handed over to our authorities in the presence of one or two officers of your mission in Tirana, and the representative of UNRRA will be given receipts for the goods which are delivered. That will be the end of its work and yours on this question.

"Oh, no. That is not acceptable," said Jacobs.

"Very well. In that case we do not want the aid of UNRRA," I said. "We do not accept the conditions. We do not permit even one officer to set foot on the wharf."

On previous occasions, during the war, "allies" and "friends" of this kind had come, smiled at us and snarled, brought us ultimatums and "good tidings" and left us only with talk about their so-called aid. McLean, Davies, Palmer, Thomas Stefani and now Hodgson and Hill, Jacobs and Fultz were all birds of a feather, had the same plans and were pursuing the same course.

With the few rags they were going to send us as "aid" America and Britain wanted to tell the Albanians: "It is we who are keeping you alive. Your government is going bankrupt, it cannot get along without us, therefore prepare to oppose it, if not with revolts at least with your votes in the elections to the constituent assembly." And this propaganda, of course, would be spread by their officers who were allegedly to distribute the UNRRA "aid," the second-hand clothing and weevily beans, and would attempt to engage in espionage and extend their network of spies and saboteurs. Proceeding from their imperialist logic, they believed that our people would sell their freedom and independence for some material aid they might send us. The manoeuvre was clear. However, they did not fool us, their aims were very obvious to us.

We reached agreement that the "aid" would come, not under their conditions but under ours. Nevertheless, we kept our eyes open and we foiled any attempt to do us harm.

Finally, almost as if by accident, Jacobs asked me:

"In the documents you have published you say that all the political, economic and military agreements which King Zog had with other states are to be re-examined and annulled. Does this also apply to those with the American Government?"

"Yes," I replied. "These agreements are like Nasredin's nail, (a popular expression to show how someone, by trickery, ensures his ownership of some minor unimportant thing within the property of someone else in order to use it as a pretext to gradually seize the whole property) Mr. Jacobs, but our people pulled out this nail at the congress of Permet. Without doubt you have been informed about this congress and the historic decisions taken there by the representatives of the people. The head of your military mission was present there as an observer and heard with his own ears what was said, what was decided, and who decided on this question. Speaking of this, we also invited an observer from the British mission to Permet 9 instructing him not to publish the date and place at which it would be held. He described the congress as 'unlawful' and did not come. But the Germans and traitors would have come if our partisan brigades had not organized an heroic defence. That is a separate issue, but let us return to your question. The decision on the matter you mentioned was taken at this congress. At Berat the democratic government pledged to carry through to the end the tasks with which it was charged, among which is the examination and cancelling of the agreements which the 'clown of progress,' Ahmet Zog, concluded. This is the decision and desire of the people and will certainly be carried out, irrespective of whether those affected are great or small. However, in mentioning it, Mr. Jacobs, you 'forgot' the final phrase of this decision: '...those which are to the detriment of the Albanian people and state.' This means that some of them, especially the bilateral ones, can be re-examined with the American Government after the establishment of diplomatic relations with it, making the necessary changes in the spirit of equality and reciprocity and stripping them of any content which violates the political and economic independence of Albania. Give the green lights of recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations, Mr. Jacobs, and then we shall look into these matters in detail."

"Let us wait and hope," he replied.

These were allegedly peaceful, allied missions, which were "to inform" their governments "about the development of the situation in Albania," "about the level of democracy" which would be established in this country, and about the character of the reforms which the new Albanian government would carry out, in order to "prepare" its recognition by the British and American governments.

This was the appearance they assumed.

In essence they had other aims. But we were not going to swallow the tales of General Hodgson, or of Jacobs or Fultz. Their aims had become clear to us during the time of the war when they told us that, "first we must acquaint ourselves with the situation and then we shall supply you weapons." The old aims were hidden behind new phrases, still presented under the disguise of allies, but now with new people and other methods. Both sides smiled at

each other, but both kept their eyes open, because they were making plans to attack us and we to defend ourselves, they were plotting while we were vigilant, we had to discover their secret agents and defeat their subversive activity.

[14 Feb 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 14 Feb (ATA)--

The Anglo-American missions set about their work of sabotage

The Anglo-American missions quickly understood the vitality of our people's state power and the unwavering, unyielding stand of our government towards their trickery. They were terrified when they saw with their own eyes that the links of the people with the government were becoming ever stronger, that the people's state power was being consolidated and the first significant victories were being achieved in the work of reconstruction in our country. They set about their work of sabotage in every possible field of the new life that was emerging in Albania, in order to lower the prestige of the democratic government and overthrow the people's state power.

Their first task was to establish contact with and organize all the enemies of the people: the war criminals, the beys, the merchants hit by our reforms, the reactionary intellectuals, the spies and immoral women, in brief, all the scum. They collected up their agents and began to finance them, to encourage them and [word indistinct] them on to attack the people's state power. The headquarters of the missions quickly became centres of espionage, sabotage and armed plots.

The main direction in which they started their work was that of creating political confusion, but here they ran up against the strength of the party and our people. They aimed to create among the masses the opinion that Albania could not exist on its own, without the political and material aid of Britain and America. These two big states could not tolerate the existence of a communist state like Albania in which the people, led by the Communist Party, were in power. They spread their propaganda openly and in disguised forms.

Without doubt, the British and American missions had created their agency among the reactionary elements of the Balli Kombetar and Legaliteti during the national liberation war and after liberation these elements remained camouflaged and continued their hostile work under the lap.

In order to fight us, the British mission, headed by General Hodgson, used this agency to spread such rumours as, "these boys from the mountains have no experience in governing the country or running the economy," "they will go bankrupt," "it won't be long before they need us," "this wave will pass and then we shall be back in power," "Britain and American cannot permit this situatin," etc.

For his part, Fultz hoped that all the former pupils of the technical school in Tirana, of which he had been director for a long time during the regime of Zog, would be with him. It never occurred to him that the overwhelming majority of those former pupils, like all the Albanian youth, had been in the front line of the fight against the occupiers. However, in the ranks of these former students there were some whom he had tried to recruit as agents years before, by running a special course for them at night in the home of the vice-principal of the technical school, Hollingstand. He was sure that these "pupils" would not have forgotten their "teacher." Indeed, Fultz had information that they were engaged in hostile activity. This then was to be Mr. Fultz' main contingent in his efforts to carry out the tasks entrusted to him by his chiefs in Washington.

The American mission also believed that the families of Albanian economic emigrants in the USA would become a support and a source of information and agents. However, Fultz was wrong in this.

He also had expectations of another source. During the time of the war, Fultz had trained his "boys" in the special espionage course where the SBS (secret Balkan service, a branch of the OSS) had set up in Italy with former Albanian internees after they were released. Some of these elements managed to penetrate into the ranks of the partisan army and some even became members of our party.

A further source of information for the American mission would be some former students who had begun their instruction in espionage in various schools abroad, such as Robert College in Istanbul, under the direction of a certain Fisher, etc.

With these contingents he set to work to ensure that Albania turned its eyes to the "democratic" West, to America.

He had new tasks to give his "boys and students." They had to get into positions in the new state power and work secretly for a coup d'etat, or if nothing came of this, internal disturbances or border provocations would be created in order to bring about an armed intervention. They were to carry out sabotage everywhere and spread rumours against the people's state power, whispering that the Atlantic charter was not respected in Albania, that here there was no other party besides the Communist Party and no newspapers to represent different political tendencies.

The Anglo-American agency was ordered into action

Another plan for the landing failed again

The Anglo-American agency was ordered into action.

The British major, Neel, continued his "mission" begun during the war for the organization of the reactionary clergy in Shkoder. He incited them to cause serious disturbances which were meant to lead to "civil war" and this was to

be the excuse for the "big democracies" to undertake military intervention to quell this war. Following the instructions of the officer of the British mission, the reactionary clergy had linked up with the fugitives in the mountains and discontented elements and had begun to work on their believers to create discontent among them and spread hostile, confusing rumours. The armed actions burst out. Carrying out the orders of the Vatican, too, the residence of the archbishop in Shkoder was made the "headquarters" of the reactionary insurgents. However, the detachments of our army defeated the "uprising" [in] two days. The plan for the landing failed again, just as it had done during the war.

In Kucova, the British mission, working through its agents Tarasconi, an Italian fascist left in Albania, attempted to destroy the oil-wells and the refinery. The agent was discovered. At his trial he spilled the beans about our "friends."

The agents of the British and Americans encouraged the black market in order to create poverty and discontent among the masses. The overthrown classes were reactivized and infuriated because they could not reconcile themselves to major transformations being carried out by the people's state power. They could not stomach the land reform, the nationalizations, the special taxes on wartime profits, the development of education and culture, hence they fought them, sometimes arrogantly, sometimes by trickery. They sent appeals and complaints to their "umbrellas," the Anglo-American missions, to intervene against these "injustices" which the people were imposing on them. Despite their desires and efforts, however, the "umbrellas" saw that it was impossible to come to their rescue directly. They had to continue the struggle against us under cover.

The plan of Anglo-Americans on the creation of the "opposition"

While not relinquishing the above forms, the British and Americans concentrated their attention on the creation of the "opposition." This was essential for them because the time of the election campaign was approaching. They established connections with reactionary elements and disguised traitors in the democratic front, such as Shefqet Beja, Riza Dani, Gjergj Kokoshi, Selaudin Toto, Sami Qeribashi, Suat Asllani and others. Some of these were instructed to come out openly at suitable moments, while others were to remain like the men concealed in the "trojan horse," so that at the opportune moment they could be released to undermine the front from within and suddenly stab us in the back.

This was a wide-ranging plan, drawn up and co-ordinated by London and its transAtlantic ally.

We heard rumours that reaction was making frantic efforts to create a party which would come out against the program of the front and as the people say, "there is no smoke without fire."

The questions which General Hodgson asked in a talk we had when he came to Albania were not without significance.

"Will any group take part in the elections as an opposition outside the front?" the general wanted to know, after I had replied to his question about political parties.

"The indications up to the present, General, are that there is no such group and there is no reason for one," I replied. "Do you know why? The war of the Albanian people solved this problem. The war, the people's revolution, got rid of the 'opposition,' because it fell into the lap of the occupiers and compromised itself."

"Nevertheless, Mr. Hoxha, are there not at least, independent candidates who will compete in the election campaign?" the general asked me.

"There may be individuals who do not like the policy of the new people's state power, General, and this is logical. In our country the front includes the overwhelming majority of the Albanian people. This is a great victory for democracy. It has not been ordained that without an opposition there is no democracy. Indeed, this is the broadest democracy, the democracy of the majority," I continued.

"I was speaking of independent candidates," interrupted the general.

"The electoral law guarantees everyone the right to put forward his own candidature. In our country, the right to elect and be elected exists for all those who have reached the age required by the law, apart from the former quisling ministers and those who have been sentenced to deprivation of civil rights. For example, if independent candidates are to emerge in the election campaign, in an electoral district of 10 to 12 thousand voters, they must find at least 20 people to endorse their independent candidature. It will be no fault of ours, or of the electoral law, if such individuals are unable to find even so few people to support them in the election. The fault will be their own, because they have aroused the people's hatred and cannot get their support."

"Is there no press apart from the official one?" asked the general, as if he did not know.

"It is true that there are no press organs apart from the official ones, but everyone, with the exception of enemies, general, has the right to write in the official press," I told him.

It was not long before we were hearing these things that this representative of foreign reaction said to me diplomatically, in other, more aggressive forms, from internal reaction.

General Hodgson and Mr. Fultz were expecting the chicken to emerge from the egg which they and their colleagues had been hatching with such care

The signal for reaction to operate out in the open

We marched forward

Other parties could not be created in Albania, not only because the bourgeoisie was weak economically and had still not formed its tradition in this field, but because the communist party consolidated itself quickly during the war, and the people accepted it as their sole leadership. After liberation the social base of the bourgeoisie was eliminated by the reforms of the new state power, thus the basis for its parties was liquidated, too. Injection from abroad remained the only course open, and the British and Americans tried to give it this.

To this end the representatives of reaction organized meetings in the presence of foreigners and these foreigners were none other than members "allied" missions and journalists. Hence, the mini-parties, and these of course on crutches, could be created only on the initiative and urging of the imperialists, and this is what occurred. Groups to which their authors attached such labels as the "monarchist group," the "resistance group," "the social-democratic group," sprang up like mushrooms after the rain and emerged on the stage to play their role as unfortunate actors in a drama that was a flop.

On instructions from Hodgson and Fultz, the chiefs of the "opposition" were to openly oppose the electoral law which was to be discussed by the anti-fascist national liberation council (ANLC). This act would close the ranks of reaction, confuse the waverers and would also give the "friends" the opportunity to have their say in one form or another.

The day when the meeting of the anti-fascist national liberation council was held in the "Kosovo" cinema, General Hodgson and Mr. Fultz followed its proceedings attentively, expecting the chicken to emerge from the egg which they and their colleagues had been hatching with such care, reaction began to raise its head precisely when the draft of the electoral law was presented and the debate commenced. Gjergj Kokoshi, primed by the British, openly expressed the view of reaction opposed to the draft. The other members of the anti-fascist national liberation council rejected the thesis of the enemy and Gjergj Kokoshi demonstratively walked out of the front in order to become the leader of the "opposition" outside the front, according to the plans of the British and Americans.

This was a signal for reaction to operate out in the open. We knew about its movements, kept our eyes open, had no illusions that all the nationalists in the front without exception were honest, because some of them had been put into it to undermine it from within. Nevertheless, our aim was to uncover the enemy and win all the wavering elements to our side.

We marched forward.

The anti-fascist national liberation council decided that the elections would be held on December 2, 1945. The democratic front issued the proclamation on the elections. The great political action--the election campaign--commenced. Internal reaction made strenuous efforts to take part in the elections with its own lists. However, it found no support among the people and failed. The lists of candidates of the front were proclaimed. The people held big rallies everywhere and amongst great enthusiasm and rejoicing, approved the lists presented. The election campaign was turning into a great popular plebiscite.

This was maddening to the enemies. They tried to have the elections postponed. And when they failed, too, they set to work to try to organize a boycott of the elections by spreading rumours like, "there is no democracy," "the electoral law is anti-democratic," "there is a one-party dictatorship," and so on, which we had heard directly or indirectly from Hodgson, Jacobs and Co.

[15 Feb 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 15 Feb (ATA)--

> Political manoeuvre of the British and American governments to escape their further exposure
>
> Conditions were placed on the recognition of the government and the establishment of diplomatic relations

Two audiences within one day. Two diametrically opposed stands.

On November 10, 1945, the head of the Soviet military mission, came to me and handed me the note of the Soviet Government informing us that it had taken a decision to recognize the Albanian Government and establish diplomatic relations with it.

Two or three hours later, Hodgson and Fultz came.

In this healthy revolutionary situation, the British and American governments understood that they were being exposed through this delay in granting recognition. To escape further exposure, they were obliged to try a political manoeuvre.

General Hodgson spoke first:

"His Majesty's government," he said, "has taken the decision to accord recognition to your government and is ready to send its diplomatic representatives..."

"We are very pleased that at last the British Government has been convinced of the great truth which exists in my country..."

The British general interrupted me, "This is on condition that your government will guarantee that the elections are conducted in a free and secret manner."

Fultz nodded his head in approval and immediately looked at me awaiting my reply.

"The democratic government of Albania, gentlemen, is very concerned about the observation of these principles. It has defended them and will defend them with all its strength, because they are consecrated in law by the meetings of representatives of the Albanian people who have shed their blood to establish and protect them. This is the most reliable guarantee that these freedoms and rights will be applied in practice. The electoral law ensures the rights of all individuals and groups, apart from fascists, to take part in this important event in the history of our people. We shall respect the secrecy and freedom of voting with the greatest seriousness," I stressed.

"His Majesty's government also demands that the press must be free," added the general.

"I assure you, General, that the freedom of the press has been and will always remain one of the basic principles of our democracy," I replied.

"The final request, General Hoxha," said Hodgson, "is that foreign correspondents should be permitted to observe the procedure of the elections in Albania."

Fultz nodded again.

"Foreign correspondents are not prohibited from entering Albania, General, and the government has provided all facilities for them. Let them come and see de visu how broad and genuine our democracy is."

"The American Government has also decided to recognize your government," said Fultz at last. "I am expecting the arrival of the note from moment to moment. But according to my instructions, besides the conditions which Mr. Hodgson has presented, the American Government also demands the implementation of the treaties or agreements that were concluded between the two countries before April 7, 1939."

"Mr. Fultz, I have already made this matter clear in a meeting which I had earlier with Mr. Jacobs. I do not withdraw one comma from what I said then."

After replying to Fultz, I continued:

"Gentlemen, I shall transmit what you have communicated to me to our government, but I want to say to you in advance that the question of the recognition of the Democratic Government of Albania should not be dragged on so long and, moreover, conditions should not be attached to it. The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Poland have recognized our government which emerged from the war and the bosom of this

long-suffering people. This is a great satisfaction for the Albanian people which they fully deserve. The other countries, and in the first place, the great allies, Britain and America, which are the closest witnesses of their war, should have done this too. The fact that conditions are placed on the recognition and establishment of diplomatic relations astonishes us. How can conditions be placed on the recognition of the government of a heroic people who poured out all their energies for freedom, for the great common cause of the allies? How can doubts be cast on the freedom and democracy of this country when the character of the regime is democratic, when the decisions and laws are made and put into practice in the most democratic way?

"It seems to me that these things are completely unreasonable. Both yesterday in the war and today in peace, everything in our country is decided by the people. I do not wish to dwell on this. The people say: 'You don't need a guide to the village in sight.' The people themselves have solved and are solving their internal problems as masters of their own fate and categorically do not permit anyone else, great or small, to interfere in their internal affairs.

"The Albanian people will not welcome this kind of recognition of their government by the allies, gentlemen," I continued, "and at other times, too, they have expressed their dissatisfaction over certain stands of the allies towards their representation in international forums. They have regretted and still regret that their right to membership in the UNO continues to be denied them. The Albanians see this as a denial of the principles for which the anti-fascist war was fought and for which the UNO was created.

"The Albanian people are hearing rumours about preparations for a conference at which the peace treaties with Germany and Italy will be considered. Our country, like all the other victorious nations, ought to be an active participant in this conference. Regrettably, however, it seems that this right, too, is being denied it. Up till now we have received no information and no invitation. I want to ask you, gentlemen: who more than our people ought to demand a reckoning from fascist Italy? Was it not the Albanian people who fought and pinned down more than 15 Italian and German divisions? Was this not a very heavy burden on their back? Did they not make an outstanding contribution, in proportion to the size of the territory and population of the country, to the historic victory over fascism? Every honest person in the world now recognizes these merits of the Albanian people. Therefore Italy and Germany owe them a great deal. They must pay for all the countless hideous atrocities which they committed. The Albanian people will persistently demand reparations. This is their legitimate right and they regret that absurd obstacles are being raised, the more so when they hear that these obstacles come from certain allies.

"So, gentlemen, as I told you at the beginning, I shall present what you have told me to the government and we shall give you our reply."

I informed the government about the communication which the representatives of the Anglo-American missions made to me and the talk I had with them. The comrades discussed these things, distinguished between the recognition by the

Soviet Government and the "recognition" by the governments of Britain and America and we sent them notes in reply. (The Democratic Government of Albania sent notes in reply to the British and American governments on November 11 and 17, 1945, in the spirit on the replies which Comrade Enver Hoxha gave them there and then, and the discussions in this meeting. /See: Enver Hoxha, Works, Vol 3, pp 174, 177, Alb ed./)

> The Western "allies" did not establish diplomatic relations with the Albanian Government. They abandoned the disguise of "allies"

Regardless of the manoeuvres, efforts and plans of external enemies, the election campaign took place according to the program proclaimed by the democratic front. The party carried out intensive propaganda to expose and defeat these plans, dealt them a moral blow and further strengthened the political unity of the masses around itself. The elections to the constituent assembly ended with success. Of the eligible electors, 90 per cent took part in the elections and 93 per cent of them voted for the candidates of the democratic front. The first elections on a democratic basis, which our country had never known before, were a colossal triumph for the unwavering Marxist-Leninist policy of the party and the correct political line of the front and a crushing blow to internal and external reaction.

At the first meeting of the assembly, Comrade Hysni Kapo, on behalf of the deputies of Vlore, moved the motion that Albania should be proclaimed a people's republic. The members of the assembly unanimously approved this and elected the new government, the people's democratic government. The government was charged with preparing the draft of the constitution, which was put before the masses for discussion. This discussion went on for two months. The suggestions and proposals made strengthened the revolutionary content of the draft. Taking into consideration the opinion of the masses, the assembly turned this into the constitution. The new democratic constitution based the structure and activity of the new state power on the principle: power stems from the people and belongs to them.

Even after these events, which were so important in the life of our people, even after the election of the new government, which was a constitutional government, the Western "allies" still did not establish diplomatic relations. On the contrary, they abandoned the disguise of "allies" and fought us openly with the gloves off on the international plane, too.

When the application for the admission of our country was presented in the United Nations Organization, many delegates supported it. However, the American delegate Stettinius, and the foreign secretary of Great Britain Bevin, the betrayer of the miners in 1926, spoke in favour of "postponement of discussion of this application till later." According to them, this was "a serious question" which must be examined with great care, as though it were not the same Bevin who, in the past, had made the hypocritical declaration: "The small states must be defended," and this same Stettinius who, in May 1945, sent me a message in which he wrote: "I am very conscious of the ceaseless

fight which the Albanian people have waged," "I fully appreciate the sacrifices they have made," and "I know that in the future Albania will make the same contribution to the cause of peace." "I know...," "I know..." In the past they knew everything but now, apparently, our wartime "allies" were afflicted with amnesia.

At the meeting of the security council in London in February 1946, which discussed the admission of Albania to the UNO for the first time, Cadogan spoke in support of the false claims of Greek reaction against our country. "Greece has interests in Albania," he said, while Bevin declared: "If I am forced to have my say in this meeting tonight, I shall have to vote against the admission of Albania." Twice in succession, in August 1946 and August 1947, Cadogan used the veto against the admission of Albania to the UNO. In August 1946, Johnson, the delegate of Wall Street, demanded that the security council should not take any decision about Albania. "Albania," they said, "does not have diplomatic relations with Great Britain and the United States of America, does not recognize the old treaties, Greece is in a state of war with it and has territorial claims against it, it is damaging peace in the Balkans," etc.

These were the so-called arguments of the imperialist gentlemen to deny Albanian membership in the UNO.

[16 Feb 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 16 Feb (ATA)--

> At the peace conference in Paris: let the whole world know that the Albanian people do not permit any discussion of their borders or their territory

The peace conference in Paris was approaching. The participation of Albania in it was a legitimate right. But what happened? "It is impossible for us to invite Albania," said the American delegate Byrnes. The British delegate Lord Alexander also fully supported this view. As though this were not bad enough, in the debates, the representatives of Britain and America spoke of Albania as "a collaborator with Italy," a "defeated country," "not an ally," and so on.

Twice in succession we protested against these injustices. Our people's assembly published a resolution which rejected with disgust the monstrous accusations raised against Albania and demanded the right of representation in the conference as a full member, with the same rights as other victorious nations. The struggle between the representatives of the imperialist countries and the Soviet delegate Vishinsky, over the Albanian question flared up even more fiercely. Nevertheless, through the voting mechanism, the Anglo-Americans achieved their aim. Albania was not invited as a member of the conference, but was called only to present its views on the peace treaty with Italy.

We sent a delegation there, headed provisionally by Comrade Hysni Kapo. A little later, in view of the importance of the matter, it was considered necessary that I should go personally to head the delegation. The people of France welcomed us with their traditional hospitality. On August 21, 1946, I spoke in the plenary session of the conference. Not without purpose, in my speech, I presented a short account, supported with figures and facts, of our people's war and after this, in a tone of protest, pointed out the injustice which was being done to our people by denying the blood they had shed and the countless sacrifices they had made against fascism. From the tribune of the conference I presented documents and statements of the British and Americans, which expressed recognition of our war and our efforts, in refutation of what they had declared recently. The confrontation of their contradictory statements exposed them badly.

Then I dwelt on the pretensions of the delegate of the Greek monarcho-fascists, the Greek prime minister of that time, Tsaldaris, who, while accusing Albania as an aggressor against Greece (simply because fascist Italy attacked Greece from Albanian territory), stressed that Greece was in a state of war with Albania and claimed southern Albania, on the pretext that this was Greek territory. (A telegram sent to the foreign office on November 10, 1944, showed clearly what aims the Greek monarcho-fascists pursued towards our country since the time of the war:

"The state department have informed member of my staff that they received a memorandum of August 15th from the Greek Embassy asking whether they would be prepared to agree that Albania should be considered and dealt with as an enemy state, and the Greek troops should participate in occupying Albania up to the Skumbi River." (War cabinet distribution, from Washington to foreign office. Earl of Halifax, Nr. 6064, November 10, 1944 fo 371/43554-3370. pro. taken from the photocopy of the original in the AIH, Tirana.) To reject his theses, from the tribune of the conference I asked Tsaldaris two questions:

"In regard to the various peoples of Europe whose quislings not only sent battalions, but organized whole expeditions against the heroic Red Army, does he consider them aggressors, as he has done in the case of Albania...?

"Would Mr. Tsaldaris consider France, from which Hitler intended to undertake his offensive against Britain, an aggressor?"

The representative of Greek reaction was unable to answer these question. These pinned down his patrons, too.

At the end of my speech I spoke of the grievous hardships which our people had suffered during the Nazi-fascist occupation, the human and material losses which the war had caused our people and presented our demands for reparations from Italy. With utter shamelessness the British delegate hood declared: "Albania should receive zero dollars."

At each international forum our cause was defended resolutely by Molotov, Vishinsky and Manuilsky, the representatives of the Soviet Union and the great Stalin, who sympathized so greatly with our people on account of their lofty virtues, valour and loyalty, the great sacrifices they had made and the just and peaceful course they followed. They gave us powerful support in this matter, too. However, the Anglo-Americans and their lackeys continued their struggle against our country, by means of the voting mechanism and other trickery. Nevertheless, we were not discouraged. On the contrary, we fought harder. At a press conference in Paris, I declared:

"Neither the Paris conference, the big four conference, nor any other conference can discuss the borders of our country, within which there is not an inch of foreign territory. Our borders cannot be discussed and let no one dare touch them. To try to take an inch of the territory of our country, the Greeks will have to set in motion other mechanisms apart from the vote of the Paris conference. Let the whole world know that the Albanian people do not permit any discussions of their borders or their territory.

"On the other hand, I protest against the decision taken at the plenary session of the Paris conference. The Albanian people have not sent their delegation to Paris to render account, but to demand a reckoning from those who have caused them severe damage and whom they have fought fiercely to the end. We have done our duty, just as the great powers have done theirs. Our martyrs and our sacrifices are just as sacred to us as the martyrs and the sacrifices of the great powers, our rights are just as sacred as theirs." (See: Enver Hoxha, Works, Vol 3, pp 448-449, Alb.ed)

In fact, the Paris conference was a tribune for us from which international opinion learned of the struggle and heroic deeds of a small people who were unflinching, regardless of the fact that the imperialist powers wanted to trample them underfoot. This was a political and moral success which raised the courage and determination of the Albanian people to pursue the just course on which they had set out, to an even higher level.

Contrary to what they had declared on the occasion of the preparation of the peace treaty with Germany, the American delegate Murphy said without a blush, "Albania did not take part in the war against Germany. Perhaps a few individual Albanians took part in this war, but apart from them, there were other Albanians who fought alongside the Germans." Of course, there were Albanians who fought shoulder to shoulder with the occupiers, but these were their friends, the Ballists and the Zogites.

> Although the conference on reparations from Germany recognized our country's right to receive reparations for the losses which we suffered during the second world war, these have still not been paid to us, at a time when reparations have been paid to others

When the governments of the USA, Great Britain and France signed the agreement on reparations from Germany, the American and British representatives tried to deny Albania on this occasion, too, the right to receive reparations as a member of the anti-fascist coalition, a thing which nobody could deny. Although the conference on reparations from Germany recognized our country's right to receive reparations for the losses which we suffered during the Second World War, these have still not been paid to us, at a time when reparations have been paid to others.

The British Government raised one pretext after another to avoid sending its minister to Tirana

According to an official announcement, the British Government had completed the formality of recognition and, moreover, had appointed Thomas Cecil Rapp as its minister in Tirana, but he never arrived. It raised one pretext after another to avoid sending its minister to Tirana. One of these was that we had allegedly ordered a British officer, who was engaged in identifying the graves of British airmen shot down over our territory during the war, to leave Albania. This was absurd. We granted him permission, but he never appeared to carry out the task he claimed to have.

Another pretext for the failure of the minister to come was the alleged lack of conditions for the normal work of the mission. We behaved correctly towards the American and British missions, while they proved to be hypocrites and always tried secretly to undermine us. General Hodgson, Mr. Jacobs and Mr. Fultz, as well as other members of these missions moved freely all over Albania and made contact with all those they wanted to meet. General Hodgson several times told me of the good impression which our people made on him during the visits he made. Contrary to what they said to us, our government was accused of hindering the members of the British military mission "in their work," by not permitting them to circulate freely and of confining them "to the offices of their mission in Tirana," etc.

The British Government involved itself in a ridiculous act on May 18, when its representative in Belgrade handed our legation there a note announcing that the British Government would send its minister to Albania immediately. Less than 20 minutes later the British representative showed up again at our legation in Belgrade and announced the withdrawal of the note, because on May 15 the British warships "Superb" and "Orion" had been "unjustly and deliberately" fired on by the Albanian coastal batteries near Saranda. This was the fate of the "minister" who was to come to Tirana.

The trial of Gjergj Kokoshi, Sami Qeribashi and company stripped the "peaceful" missions of the "allies" naked

After these events the class struggle within the country became even more severe. Reaction was involved in wide-spread activities, especially after the coming of Fultz. However, the sons of mother Albania were not asleep. The

enemy groups, urged and organized by the American and British missions, were uncovered one after the other. The illegal activity intended to destroy the people's power and the independence and sovereignty of the country was unmasked.

The trial of Gjergj Kokoshi, Sami Qeribashi and company stripped the "peaceful" missions of the "allies" naked.

The hostile activity of the so-called "group of deputies" headed by Shefqet Beja was uncovered right to its roots. They had tried to use their positions as deputies to destroy the people's state power from within.

Just before the liberation of Albania, a certain Lazar Papapostoli, with the Americanized name of Larry Post, had arrived in Albania. He was to serve as political adviser to the American mission and, at the same time, link up with the old agents in order to lay the initial bases for the groups of spies and saboteurs. However, these groups assumed their organized form especially after the arrival in May 1945 of Mr. Fultz who personally took over the leadership of them. As soon as he arrived, Larry Post had organized a meeting for him with the main agents. They reported to him on their activity and plans, although he was fully informed about them. They also informed him about their first meeting: "After the first meeting which was held in March 1945, at which the Central Committee of our organisation, consisting of me, Selaudin Toto, Shefqet Beja, Gjergj Kokoshi and others, was formed," testified one of the accused (K.K.) at the trial, "I went to the American mission where I reported on all the work of our organisation and sought their aid. They promised me unsparing aid and that after the conditions had been created, they would land troops in Albania. They instructed me to tell my associates this so that they would work even harder to increase the bases of the organisation and fight the state in an organized way until its forceable overthrow was achieved." (From the newspaper BASKHIMI, September 18, 1947.) and the memorandum they had sent to the Anglo-American missions in April, in which they said, among other things: "We nationalists (read--traitors) have met and decided to fight the communist party and its dictatorship (read--the people's state power), and for this we want your help." Fultz also knew about the request sent to the British by Sami Qeribashi in the name of the so-called "resistance group": "We are very strong and one spark is enough to set things ablaze and finish the business. If the British troops were landed in Durres the whole thing would be over within 24 hours." In his meetings with them, Fultz had instructed the groups to collaborate and intensify not only the political struggle but also the economic struggle, because "in this way the government will be obliged to seek aid from America, and this will be provided with heavy conditions attached."

The program of the enemy groups also included terrorism. They did everything in their power to kill leaders and cadres of the party and the state, Sami Qeribashi had instructed his group, "We must kill Myslim Peza and spread word among the people that the communists have killed him, in order to arouse a wave of anger and split the front." According to information which reached us,

they had similar designs on me and other leaders, also. However, they could do nothing to Babe Myslim and the others, because the party and an entire people protected them.

At their trial these enemies admitted those aims from their own mouths, admitted publicly that the premises of the Anglo-American missions had been turned into workshops where plots for assassinations and sabotage were hatched up, where plans were drafted for armed attacks and landing of troops from abroad. Their trial brought to light the whole subversive policy of Anglo-American imperialism, including the plans, the tactics and the methods employed against our democracy.

[17 Feb 82 0900 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 17 Feb (ATA)--

The uncovering of the saboteurs in the draining of the Maliq Swamp. Jacobs and Fultz leave Albania

The uncovering of the saboteurs in the draining of the Maliq Swamp was important. The evil weeds planted by Fultz never succeeded in establishing themselves. Their activity was defeated. The mask was torn from Fultz, that "authority" on Albania, who was defeated along with them. Several of his former "pupils," who, on his instructions, had long been carrying out sabotage in the work of draining the swamp, were uncovered. The trial would completely expose them. This was a great blow to the American mission and especially to Fultz. Jacobs and Fultz were terrified and they left Albania before the trial of the saboteurs at the Maliq Swamp began. Some members of the American mission remained to follow the events. The British mission had left previously.

On the eve of its departure, the American mission demanded that we permit a cruiser and a destroyer to enter the port of Durres to embark them. The request was made at a time when the British warships were continuing their provocative activities off our southern coast. We protested to the UNO because we knew that monstrous aims were hidden behind this proposal at those moments of provocations against us. The mission departed in the middle of November 1946, after being transported by our ships to the two American ships which waited outside our territorial waters. This closed the chapter of this allegedly peaceful mission which was, in fact, subversive and came to Albania to cause us damage rather than to help us.

Members of the UNRRA mission also had a hand in the activity to sabotage the work of draining the Maliq Swamp

It emerged from the testimony of the accused that, apart from Fultz and the members of his mission, two responsible members of the UNRRA mission, Woodard and Jones, also had a hand in the activity to sabotage the work of draining the Maliq Swamp. We sent the mission a note in which we declared these two members of the mission personae non gratae. The head of the mission, Floud, was very

indignant about this. He sent me a letter seeking a meeting to protest about this and to inform me of a decision of his. I understood that they, too, were packing to leave. "The sooner the better," I said to myself. We had had more than enough of them.

I sent for Floud.

As far as I remember the meeting was held in the first half of November 1946. Floud seemed ill at ease. After thanking me for fulfilling his request, he went straight into his theme:

"I sought a meeting with you, Mr, Prime Minister, to clear up a matter which is very serious and worrying for us. Your government has demanded that Mr. Woodard should leave Albania and Mr. Jones who is on service outside Albania at present, should not return to his duties here. I have informed Mr. La Guardia (about that time director general of UNRRA) about this. I also informed him that the mission should be withdrawn from Albania next week. I have ordered the delivery of supplies to be suspended. What worries me most is the fact that the Albanian Government has based its decision on certain things said by the engineers and technicians accused of acts of sabotage at the trial which is being held here in Tirana. If these two members of my mission had really wanted to sabotage the economic development of Albania, it would have been very easy for them to recommend the cutting off of supplies. UNRRA is also giving assistance to carrying out the land reclamation projects and this is due to the recommendations made by Mr. Jones and Mr. Woodard.

"The only condition on which the mission can carry out its work in these circumstances of distrust toward UNRRA," he continued, "is the publication of a declaration by your government which states categorically that UNRRA and its members have nothing at all to do with the slanderous accusations made at the trial. Otherwise, as I said a little earlier, I have no alternative but to withdraw the mission and to this end I have asked them to send a ship to embark it next week."

It was self-evident what Mr. Floud was driving at with his introduction in the form of an ultimatum. He and his bosses thought that in the fact of their pressure and the difficulties which we were encountering in the reconstruction of the country, we would be forced to submit to them. On the basis of information which we had and the testimony of the accused at the trial which was published in the newspaper BASHKIMI and which I followed carefully every day, the aim of the imperialists and their agents, foreign or Albanian, within Albania, was to slow down the work on the reclamation and other projects, to lower the morale of the workers by creating difficulties which could be avoided, so that they would walk off the job and people would think that without aid from abroad through UNRRA we would fail in the great task we had undertaken. Under the direction of Harry Fultz, members of the UNRRA mission, too, had worked towards this objective of sabotaging our work.

"I am surprised at what you are telling me, Mr. Floud," I said. "It seems to me your decision has not been carefully weighed. However, do as you wish. Our note refers to two persons who hold responsible positions in your mission, who have engaged in activity harmful to our people's state power, which damages its policy and violates our democracy. You claim that you have come to assist us, but the facts testify to the opposite. Similar things have occurred with your personnel at other times, too. Was it not a journalist, Mrs. Cullen, who with evil aims gathered information from degenerate individuals? Was it not Mrs. Pennington who expressed great hostility towards us when she told our people that 'the government is killing good Albanians..'? To what 'good' Albanians was she referring--the war criminals and the quislings?

"You are well aware of these facts, Mr. Floud," I continued, "we have informed you of each such occurrence, but you have not adopted the stand necessary to prevent such actions from becoming a continuous pattern. These officials of your mission have openly joined in the choir of Hodgson, who went so far as to say, 'out with Hoxha' you, personally, have declared that UNRRA is a non-political organisation. Mr. Jacobs has expressed his regret to me that sometimes the USA looks at UNRRA only from the political angle. Indeed, during his visit here, Mr. Rooks expressed the same opinion to me."

"Nevertheless, Mr. Hoxha, the demand for the withdrawal of Mr. Woodard," said Floud, "means that the government of Albania agrees with what the accused have said and this forces me to the conclusion that this stand on its part creates a situation in which it is impossible for our mission to stay here any longer. Am I right, Mr. Hoxha?"

"Not at all," I replied. "This matter is known worldwide and we have no alternative but to advise you to act as our note says. With the publication of the statements of the accused in the Albanian press, a thing for which no blame falls on us, you ought to take measures to avoid the further discrediting of your mission. In my opinion, the matter is urgent, it needs a solution now."

"I'm afraid the Albanians make no distinction between the members of UNRRA and the members of the American mission. Is it not the case that the relations between the government of the USA and your government, which have not been good recently, have had an influence on this?" he replied.

"The state of relations between our government and the American Government could not influence our stand towards your mission. On the contrary, I suspect that our relations with the American and British governments may have influenced the stand of your mission towards us. As far as we are concerned, the state of these relations in no way affects the good feelings of the Albanian Government and people for the American people. Regardless of the activities of Mr. Fultz, the Albanian people and their government still nurture sympathy for the American people," I told him.

"Nevertheless," began Floud, "after the engineers' statements, no Albanian will associate with the members of our mission and indeed the Albanian officials do not speak to our observers or give them any information. Therefore, it must be made clear to the Albanians that the relations between the American Government and the Albanian Government do not in any way affect the stand of the latter towards the UNRRA mission, and that this mission is exonerated from the accusations made in court. This can be done only by means of a public declaration by your government," said Floud repeating his earlier demand.

"That is impossible," I told him bluntly. "I explained to you why we took this step. Our people's state power is so strong that it will cut off the hands of anyone who dares lay a finger on the interests of the country and is not afraid of the presence here of two exposed agents. You have no right at all to state a priori that the accusation made at the trial is not true. Slanders and false accusations are not fabricated there, Mr. Floud. It is the agents in the service of foreigners, caught red-handed, who willynilly are spilling the beans about those who incited, inspired and financed them. Why did Mr. Fultz leave at this time, when the trial was proceeding? His name figures at the head of the list of those who are accused of activity against our new state."

Mr. Floud did not know what to say.

So ended my final meeting with the head of the mission of this "philanthropic" organization which tried to "assist" us.

Even later, "aid" was offered to us from across the Atlantic, this time by President Eisenhower, personally. "The Albanian people are not suffering for lack of the American president's beans," we replied. "He would do better to feed the millions and millions of unemployed in the United States of America." Since they failed with this form, too, the imperialists began to drop "aid for the people" from aircraft: small cellophane bags with two lumps of sugar, a reel of cotton and a couple of needles.

"What a come-down for them," said our people, deriding the manoeuvres of the Americans and the British.

[18 Feb 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 18 Feb (ATA)--

On the so-called "Corfu Channel incident"

An unprecedented provocation towards our country was that of Great Britain with the so-called "Corfu Channel incident."

After the Second World War, the Mediterranean zone mine clearance board was formed. Such an undertaking was correct and necessary. Regrettably, Albania,

whose shores are washed by two seas, was deprived of representation in this international forum, even as an observer. The Anglo-Americans who made the law in the board, justified this on the grounds that we had no mine-sweepers. It is true that we had no mine-sweepers but we had extensive territorial waters mined by the Germans, and the decisions on clearing this area should have been taken with our participation. On the urging of the British and the Americans, the board had decided that the Greek Navy should clear the mines from our territorial waters. However, in the situation when the Greek monarcho-fascist government had publicly declared that it was in a state of war with Albania, when the ships of its fleet, with and without flags, committed repeated brutal provocations, penetrated into our ports and seized Albanian citizens and boats, when it was claiming our Korce and Gjirokastra, to send the Greek Navy to "clear the mine fields" was tantamount to throwing benzine on the fire. This would have meant that we were to open the door of our sheepfold to the wolf. Such a thing we would never do. Therefore we kept vigilant watch day and night.

In this very complicated situation, in May 1946 two foreign ships, flying no flags, without warning entered Albanian territorial waters in the vicinity of Saranda. Our coastal batteries, which were on full alert for the reasons I mentioned, signalled to them to withdraw, but the ships continued on their course. Then, thinking that this was a provocation by Greek ships, our batteries fired a warning salvo. Only after this the ships raised the British flag and withdrew.

It was not long before the British Government tried to blame us for this incident and insisted that we apologize publicly. In a very correct manner we expressed our regret to the British Government over what had occurred. At the same time, we pointed out to it that the fault was in no way ours, because in such circumstances the coastal batteries of any other country would have done what ours did, without in any way violating the international norms of navigation. Finally we advised the British Government that its ships must not enter Albanian territorial waters without the knowledge and permission of our government, not only because this was a violation of our sovereignty, but also because our demands were within the international norms of navigation, which must be applied rigorously in any situation, and especially in the existing circumstances of our country.

Dissatisfied with this reply, the British Government persisted with its demand and "retorted" with the allegation that we had no right to make a unilateral declaration of a state of emergency. This was greatly to the liking of the Greek Prime Minister Tsaldaris. Meanwhile, we heard that Lord Alexander had demanded that his government should bombard Albania in retaliation. It did not accept this proposal, but Mr. Attlee recommended to the British admiralty that "if they open fire, you should return the fire." Britain was deceiving itself that it was still queen of the seas and could apply its gun-boat policy as easily as in the past. However, times had changed. The territorial waters of Albania were under the control of a whole people on the alert.

Some months passed and British ships did not appear again in our territorial waters. We thought that the British Government had learned its lesson, but as the people say, "the fox never forgets its craft." On October 22, 1946, four British warships emerged from the Corfu Channel, sailing towards the north. They left the international waters on the portside and again, without informing us, entered our waters. It was clear that Britain was seeking a pretext for an international conflict. I gave orders to keep calm and open fire only if they tried to make a landing.

Another report reached me from Saranda: When the warships were approaching the coast, there was a sudden explosion and two of them went on fire. An Albanian motor-boat had gone to give aid and to clear up the reason for the violation of our territorial waters. The British had not deigned to give any explanation for this flagrant violation of our territorial integrity and had driven off our people with abuse.

The Anglo-Americans wanted to exploit this incident as a pretext for a landing. As we learned later, the four ships, two cruisers to create a provocation, and two destroyers were sailing to the Bay of Argostoli in the south of Corfu.

Why did they pass to the north when their destination was in the south? It is quite absurd to go from the north to that bay, travelling right round Corfu. This is like trying to reach behind your head to grasp your right ear with your left hand. Why did they come so close to our coast and so far from international waters? A representative of the British admiralty declared that with this "cruise" the British Government wanted to test "whether the Albanian Government had learned to behave itself yet." Possibly the mines had been laid by the Germans during the war, but the probability cannot be excluded that they had been put there by the British themselves to create a conflict. The bosses of the British admiralty could have sent the ships there knowing full well that they were coffin ships. Of course the sailors on board them could not have known that they were sailing to their death.

Several days later the British Government "informed" us in very harsh and threatening language that soon they would clear the mines from the Corfu Channel. "Agreed," we replied, "but in international waters, and not in ours." Again in a brutal threatening tone they informed us that they would enter Albanian territorial waters, too. We publicly denounced this decision as a violation of international norms, an impermissible violation of the territorial integrity and independence of our country. We asked the UNO to intervene immediately and to stop this piratical act of Great Britain. The UNO did nothing.

On November 12, thirty British warships, accompanied by aircraft, appeared, entered Albanian waters and sailed in battle formation towards the Saranda coast. The situation was extremely critical. We were all eyes and ears and anxiously followed the reports which came in. We repeated the decision to open fire on them only if they attempted to land.

The warships "cruised" back and forth in our waters.

"They are clearing mines," the comrades reported from Saranda.

The same activities were repeated on November 13.

"Open fire on them," one of Tito's generals told us. But we, being genuine Marxists, took no notice of the "order" of the Yugoslav general. Instead we carried out the advice of the people: "Measure seven times before you cut."

On the one hand, we followed all the actions of the thirty British warships vigilantly, and on the other hand, we made stern protests to the British Government and the United Nations Organization over this open provocation, this further flagrant violation of our territorial integrity. Regrettably, as on the other occasions, the United Nations Organization turned a deaf ear and a blind eye to these dangerous events. It not only took no measure against Britain, but on the contrary, came out in its support.

Completely without foundation, Britain accused Albania in the international forums of responsibility for the "Corfu Channel incident," alleging that either it had mined this region itself, or it knew who had laid the mines and for this demanded compensation. We protested energetically against this accusation. It was a repetition of the story of the wolf and the lamb, as in La Fontaine's fable.

At the beginning of 1947, the British Government raised the question in the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation. The Security Council asked for an Albanian delegation to clear up the matter. A delegation, headed by Comrade Hysni Kapo, went there and defended the truth with dignity. Regardless of the protests of our delegation, however, the Security Council, by majority of votes laid the blame on Albania. The representative of the Soviet Union used the veto and then the Security Council, under the pressure and influence of Britain, was compelled to draft a resolution, which recommended that the question should be placed before the International Court at The Hague.

Once again the innocent party was placed in the dock.

At The Hague we publicly declared once again that the Albanian Government knew nothing about the laying of mines, that it had at its disposal neither mines, nor means, nor experts to lay them. Our delegation presented facts to prove this there. The outstanding French jurist and politician, Mr. Pierre Cot, who rose in defence of our rights, found the roots of this event in the formula of the British reactionary circles "to teach others how they should behave." Therefore, before the court, he stated that not only the small and the weak, but the big and the powerful, too, must "learn to behave themselves."

From the facts which the Albanian delegation presented, and the defence of our right by well-disposed friends of our country, the court at The Hague was obliged to reject the possibility that the mines had been laid by us, but under the pressure and through the machinations of Great Britain, in April 1949. it decided to consider Albania to blame, "because it knew about them and had not reported them."

This was a flagrant injustice by an institution of "justice." The court came out with the conclusion, unsupported by facts, that "on November 12-13 Britain had violated the sovereignty of Albania, but had not done so on October 22." It was quite obvious that Albania had to be described as the guilty party, because this was the order and the desire of the "greater power." Moreover, in December 1949, the court at The Hague decided "in the name of justice," that Albania should pay Britain 843,947 pounds sterling in compensation. We refused to accept this decision, not only because we were not to blame, but also because the decision on the sum of compensation was not within the competence of that court. We did not pay it and never will pay it. It is not we who should pay.

> The decision on the return of the gold stolen by the Nazis has been carried out for all the respective countries with the exception of Albania. This is an unpardonable injustice

But what occurred over this "compensation?" As I wrote above, we did not accept the decision and refused to pay. Then, in an arbitrary manner, Britain found another way to secure it. And here begins the history of our quarrel with Britain over the question of the stolen gold.

With the capitulation of fascist Italy in September 1943, the Nazi army stole the Albanian gold deposited in the Banca d'Italia in Rome. The Albanian state's ownership of this quantity of gold was recognized in the protocol signed in the spring of 1944 between representatives of the Foreign Ministry of Germany and representatives of the Albanian quisling government. As if this were not sufficient, the commander of the Hitlerite troops in Tirana, in October 1944 also seized the gold which had remained in the National Bank in Albania, claiming that he would deposit it in the Bank of Shkoder.

After the end of the Second World War, a considerable quantity of gold hidden by the German Nazis, who had looted it from other peoples, including the Albanian people, was discovered in the Merkers salt-pans of Germany. A tripartite commission was set up to return this wealth to the countries it belonged to. The Albanian Government presented to this commission its claim supported by documents for the return of 2,454 kg 874,5 g of pure gold. [as printed] Our claim was considered just. Nevertheless, the commission informed us that it would return only about half the gold claimed to Albania, as an initial share. However, not one gram was given us. Great Britain, which had both the walnut and the hammer in its hand, held this gold which had been deposited in the Bank of England, as "compensation" for what had occurred in the Corfu Channel. We protested energetically, and as a result, an arbitration commission was set up to study the question again. The arbitration commission examined it, and although it came to the conclusion that the gold belonged to Albania, decided not to hand it over, on the pretext that it was subject to a claim by a third party.

Our persistent struggle for justice continued. Later, too, the tripartite commission declared that our claim for 2,454 kg 874,5 g of pure gold was just

and that 1,121 kg 451,7 g should be returned to us. But as this same commission informed us again, this quantity "was subject to a claim by a third party and the dispute over this matter was in the process of settlement."

We have waited a long time for this lawful property of the Albanian people to be delivered to us, but to this day it remains in the claws of the lion.

The reparations due to them were paid to all the countries of the anti-fascist coalition, while we were given an extremely small sum from Italy and not a penny from Germany in compensation for all the colossal human and material damage the Hitlerite reich caused us. The decision on the return of the gold stolen by the Nazis has been carried out for all the respective countries with the exception of Albania. This is an unpardonable injustice, a monstrous robbery, and a flagrant violation of international rights and decisions. All the gold must be returned to the Albanian people unconditionally, together with the interest accrued in the intervening years and demurrage, because this gold represents their sweat and blood. This matter cannot be linked with the so-called compensation over the "Corfu Channel incident" either. This is a pretext which Albania has never recognized and never will recognize. The attempts of the British Government to link these two questions are out of order. They are simply trickery and piratical actions.

> We have publicly declared that we will not enter into discussion about the establishment of diplomatic relations with Britain if it does not return the gold it is holding to the Albanian people

We have publicly declared more than once that we will not enter into discussion about the establishment of diplomatic relations with Britain if that state does not return this wealth to the Albanian people. If the British Government really desires the establishment of relations with socialist Albania, in the first place, it must honour the obligations it has towards Albania and return the gold it is holding. Only after it has put an end to this arrogant, hostile, piratical stand towards us, can it expect to sit down at the round table with Albania. Otherwise we shall never agree to sit down and talk with any British Government, and all the progressive forces and the British people must understand thoroughly that the blame for this does not lie with us. Right is on our side and however long it may be delayed, it will triumph.

[19 Feb 82 0730 GMT]

[Text] Tirana, 19 Feb (ATA)--

> The British and the Americans continued their struggle with other forms

The Anglo-American military, civilian and "philanthropic" missions broke their necks. However, the struggle of the imperialists against our country has never ceased.

When they were leaving Albania, the British officer Neel and the American Henderson declared: "We shall come back in another way." And truly they continued the struggle in other ways.

The organization of all the remnants of the Balli Kombetar and Legaliteti in exile began under the patronage of officers of the CIA and SIS. The American Colonel Herbert and the British officers Amery, McLean and others, who were charged with this task, found it very difficult. They understood that they had to deal with a pack of jackals and a herd of rabbits, but...it had to be done. Each of the heads of reaction in exile defended the interests of the employer who fed him. Right from the start they began to quarrel, abuse one another and come to blows. Nevertheless, a certain unity was achieved in a so-called "free Albania committee," attached to which a "military staff" was set up, headed by the "strategist" Abaz Kupi. However, the quarrels continued and the contradictions became more acute. In exhile, the "crabs" were tearing one another to pieces. Quarrels (these quarrels had their origin during the war. In his book, Amery says:

"The common danger had united republicans with monarchists, but their feud was revived by their common catastrophe. Abaz Kupi accused the Ballists of discrediting the nationalist cause in the eyes of the British by their association with the Germans: Midhat Frasheri maintained that the communists might still have been suppressed if the Zogists had joined forces with him at the beginning of the civil war. Such recriminations might appear academic, but they disguised a natural and urgent conflict of interests. The two parties could no longer help each other in Albania, they might soon rend each other in exile, and, now that resistance had ceased, Zogists and Ballists appeared as rivals for British favour, rather than as allies against the partisans" (Sons of the Eagle, London, MacMillan and Co. Ltd, 1948, pp 320-321) existed not only between the chief, but also between the chiefs and the misled individuals, who got caught up in the current of betrayal and who had been promised "paradise" by the "fathers of the nation." They were beginning to understand what they had been reduced to and were beating their heads with their own fists. There were some who repented and wanted to return and a few did so, while the majority, poisoned by bourgeois demagogy, went even further on their course and ended up in the training camps to be used as cannon fodder in the interests of the ambitions of the imperialists and the heads of Albanian reaction. It was logical that this would occur. The history of the war had taught us this. Nevertheless, we made official requests to the British and American governments for the extradition of war criminals, not only Albanians, but also Italians and Germans, who had stained their hands with blood in Albania and were now under their jurisdiction. Contrary to the declarations and the joint commitments of the allies during the war and the decisions which were taken later on this question, they turned a deaf ear and did not hand them over to us. On the contrary, they kept the chiefs in luxury hotels, while they trained their "fighting men" in special camps and courses in Rome, Munich, London, Athens and elsewhere.

At first, they used aircraft to drop leaflets against us, which the people gathered up, handed over, or burnt. The imperialists did this to prepare the terrain for dropping in Albanian criminals by parachute or infiltrating them into our country through Italy or some other neighbouring country, to carry out sabotage, assassinations, etc. The imperialists had pinned all their hopes on these degenerate elements who, with a dagger in one hand and gold in the other, tried to intimidate our people or bribe them into becoming their followers.

> Everything the American and British imperialists have attempted against us has run into a granite rock and been smashed to smithereens. History has the same fate in store for them in the future, too

Deceiving themselves that Albania at that time was the weakest link of the countries of people's democracy, the British and American imperialists tried to undermine our people's state power. They had not reckoned on its strength, which was based on the people on the cleverness, determination, vigilance and swiftness in action of our organs of security and people's defence.

Blinded by their hostility towards our country, and having no accurate knowledge of the Albanian reality, the imperialists soon found themselves in great difficulties. As the criminals themselves testified in court, Oakley-Hill, Stirling and others reappeared on the scene at these moments when things were hotting up. We forced the captured agents to make radio contact with their espionage centres in Italy and elsewhere, hence to play our game, totally deceiving these centres, which showed themselves to be completely incompetent and short-sighted. Things went so far that they dropped us whatever we dictated to their agents who had fallen into the trap. The bands of the criminals who were dropped in by parachute or infiltrated across the border at our request, came like lambs to the slaughter, while the armaments and other materials which they dropped or brought with them went to our account. In a word, they came and we were waiting for them. We put them on trial and after all their filthy deeds had been exposed, we gave them the punishment they deserved. The espionage centres which sent these bands became alarmed and tried to alter their methods of action against the new Albania and its glorious leadership--the party of labour. But up till now, events have proved that everything they have attempted against us has run into a granite rock and been smashed to smithereens. History has the same fate in store for them in the future, too.

> Those who tried to bite Albania left not only their teeth, but also their bones in this sacred land

Our famous radio game, the wisdom, justice and the revolutionary vigilance of the Albanian people brought about the ignominious failure of the plans of the foreign enemy, and not the merits of a certain Kim Philby (he worked in SIS,

but was in the service of Soviet intelligence), as some have claimed. Those who tried to bite Albania left not only their teeth, but also their bones in this sacred land. The security organs and our people's defence forces were always in readiness and, assisted by the people, crushed the criminals and assassins. A few escaped by crossing the border to carry the sad tidings to their mentors, while the others were crushed in the vice of the people.

Although the Albanian reactionaries in exile were reduced to a dreadful state, whenever the class struggle inside or outside our country became more acute, they raised their heads. Imperialism gave them the necessary injection and they reactivized themselves. This is what occurred after the betrayal of Titoite revisionism emerged openly in 1948 and it was repeated again in 1961 and later. Precisely when our country was fighting tooth and nail against Khrushchev in 1961, Abaz Kupi was invited to London and welcomed with honours by Amery, the British minister of aviation, by the M.P. McLean, the retired Colonel Smiley and the journalist Kemp, while Amery's wife, the daughter of Prime Minister McMillan, was present at every activity which was organized by Bazi I Canes by his old friends during his three-day visit. That same year, reaction prepared yet another farce: It "approved" the initiative of Zog's son to proclaim himself "king," and the Americans appointed General Blomberg and the British appointed Kemp as his aides-de-camp.

All this interference and pressure, the unscrupulous provocations, like that in the Corfu channel, the use of the veto against the rights of our republic in the international arena, the holding of the gold, and many other hostile acts, are the continuation of the savage struggle which the American, British and other imperialists and world reaction have never ceased for one day or even one minute against our country.

> The consistently correct revolutionary stand the CPA played its vital role in the achievement and consolidation of the complete independence of our country

The story of how we dealt with this long, continuous chain of hostile activities, which were carried out by external enemies in collaboration with Albanian reaction, and which I have done my best to outline briefly here, constitutes only a fragment of the militant history of our heroic party, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on. The struggle against and triumph over this activity retain their value as great lessons, both about the period in which the events which I mention took place, and about the subsequent course of the party to defend our freedom and independence, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and socialism in Albania.

The bitter lessons of history have always added to our vigilance, and that is why we have been able to detect, to unmask and to defeat the diabolical plans of false friends.

The consistently correct revolutionary stand of the CPA during the war and in the first post-liberation years, towards the hostile anti-Albanian policy

and interference of the Anglo-Americans and towards every other problem played its vital role in the achievement and consolidation of the complete independence of our country. Later, the experience of this stand was to serve us in determining and pursuing a correct principled, open and consistent policy towards friends and enemies of every type. When it placed itself at the head of the anti-fascist national liberation war our party was young, newly formed. It grew bigger and stronger, tempered itself in battle, gained a wealth of experience and assimilated the science of Marxism-Leninism. This made it invincible, able to discover and cope successfully with the dangers which threatened it in all stages of the revolution, if it had gone to sleep, if it had rested on its laurels, neither the party nor socialist Albania would be in existence today.

The national liberation war is one of the most glorious chapters in the history of our people, but it is also one of the greatest proofs of the political and ideological maturity of our party and of the correctness of its Marxist-Leninist line. The party inspired the working masses of town and countryside and made them conscious that they must unite, take up arms against the Nazi-fascist occupiers and the local traitors and triumph over them. After countless sacrifices our people, under the leadership of the party, drove out the foreign occupiers, discovered and unmasked the behind-the-scenes maneouvres and raised insurmountable barriers to the secret plans of "allies" and their friends, overthrew the reactionary classes and established their own power for the first time in history. That which is won through blood, sweat and sacrifice is cherished dearly, and so we have beautified and strengthened the poverty-stricken and battered Albania of the past, have made it honoured throughout the world, an unconquerable fortress of socialism and communism on the shores of the Adriatic. Its invincible strength has been and is based on the just cause it champions. Our party took up this cause and has proved to have the ability and foresight to defend it. This is a cause of a people who are living and building their own life and freedom.

> Our country does not interfere with any other country. But it has never permitted and never will permit anyone to interfere in our internal affairs

Our country does not interfere with any other country, but it has never permitted and never will permit anyone to interfere and meddle in our internal affairs and to damage the free and happy life which we are building and enjoy. There are hundreds of millions of people who admire, respect and support socialist Albania, because it defends and adheres to such a policy. However, there are some, the imperialists and their lackeys, who say that we have isolated ourselves from the "civilized world." These gentlemen are mistaken. Both the bitter history of our own country in the past and the reality of the "world" which they advertise, have convinced us that it is by no means a "civilized world," but a world in which the bigger and the stronger oppresses and skins the smaller and the weaker, in which money and corruption make the law, and injustice, perfidy and backstabbing triumph.

We have confidence in the hundreds of thousands of friends and well-wishers of socialist Albania

The transformations in socialist Albania are very profound, the victories are magnificent, our strength is invincible, but we must never forget the lessons of history. Our party and people must always bear in mind the hostile activity from abroad or from within--this they must never forget. They must never nurture the slightest illusion that the imperialists and the capitalists change their nature, become reasonable, peaceful and relinquish their aims. There must never be any idea that the class struggle between us and the external and internal enemies can be toned down in the least.

We have suffered at the hands of invaders, we have suffered at the hands of false friends, but this has not made and does not make us isolate ourselves, as they accuse us. We are vigilant and take strong defence measures against external and internal enemies. We have been disillusioned by false friends, too, but we have confidence in the hundreds of thousands of friends and well-wishers of socialist Albania. We have always had many friends and well-wishers all over the world. The long and irreconcilable struggle with perfidious friends their savage activity and subversive aims, have never caused us to lose our trust in true friends. At all times our friends have experienced the strength of the Albanians' given word, while the enemies have experienced their boundless anger and merciless fight.

Right is on our side, the future belongs to us

We are fully convinced that with a courageous revolutionary stand, in unity of thought and deed with the genuine Marxist-Leninists, in friendship with the oppressed and exploited peoples and with the honest and progressive folk throughout the world, we shall be able to cope with blockades and storms wherever they may come from. Right is on our side, the future belongs to us. This gives us courage and strength to speak the truth openly and sincerely, to reply resolutely to whoever smiles at us hypocritically, to whoever conceals the dagger and has venom in his heart. Our policy is consistent. It does not swing to the changing breezes of international events. Its basis is not the secret diplomacy of faceless men, not bargains struck behind the scenes not the ruble or the dollar. It it not a policy of opening the doors to friends and and enemies indiscriminately. We have not allowed and will not allow the wolf to get into our sheepfold. We have disposed of the wolf with the bullet and we shall continue to do so, although they accuse us of isolating ourselves from the "civilized world." A people and a party who are building socialism, who are defending a cause which is the cause of all the peoples of the world, cannot be isolated simply because they do not allow anyone to damage the freedom and independence won at the cost of their own blood.

The people, with the party of the working class at the head, are and must be vigilant at every moment, must never be deceived by some "sweet" word from reaction, must never think that the enemies "are toning down the struggle" against us, must never be deceived by the temporary changes in international

circumstances, but must take and judge them for nothing other than what they are, we must take advantage of them and will continue to do so without making any concession to enemies, to reactionary bourgeois-revisionist circles, so that our correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist stand is never "liberalized."

While putting enemies of every kind in their place, at the same time, we must always love, honour and assist the friends of socialist Albania and we should do this with unerring Marxist-Leninist judgment, with iron logic, and never simply because "they are our friends." In life there are friends and friends, therefore we must know how to distinguish between them. Albania is a small state, like a ship sailing in an ocean with mighty waves, therefore we must have it tight and trim, must steer it well, must not lose our bearings, otherwise we shall founder in the savage waves of this furious ocean.

The working class and its party must rely on their own strength first of all, must never forget the interests of the people, must always rely on the people's abilities and judgment, must always consult the people's opinion, but never as a mere formality.

> Our strength is based on the correct revolutionary line of the party, on the unbreakable party--people unity

The guarantees for our present and future, to make socialist Albania unconquerable and impassable to our enemies, are the continuous strengthening of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the extension and consolidation of our socialist democracy, and all-round and unceasing economic and social development. The creation of a strong independent economy, capable of solving all the complicated problems of socialist and communist construction with its own forces, capable of successfully withstanding the imperialist and revisionist pressures and blockades and keeping itself undamaged by the death-dealing crisis which has seized the capitalist and revisionist world, is indispensable in order to have a free and independent socialist Albania.

Our strength is based on the correct revolutionary line of the party, on the unbreakable party-people unity, which is based on our revolutionary doctine, Marxism-Leninism. Against this strength all the plots and attacks of enemies will be defeated and all the disguises will be torn from false friends of Albania. Our people must always be realistic in everything, in policy, in the economy, in investments and in expenditure. They must always keep in mind that in order to cope with this danger measures must be taken in advance so that we are not taken by surprise. And one is not taken by surprise when he fights against euphoria, self-satisfaction and unfounded optimism.

Let the enemies "bewail" the fact that our people are always in struggle. Life itself is struggle, and when this struggle is won life becomes beautiful and prosperous, when it is defended with struggle, it never becomes gloomy and it is worthwhile living. This is a great lesson from our history. This is also my unshakeable belief which the party with its ideology, Marxism-Leninism,

has embued in me and which has been implanted in me by my people, whom I have served and will continue to serve, sparing nothing, during my whole life, by fighting as their loyal soldier, arms in hand, with revolutionary fire in my heart, with the Marxist-Leninist ideology in my head, against every type of external and internal enemy of the party, the working class, the people, socialism and communism,

I am fully confident that the party, the working class and the people, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes in conclusion, will always be on the alert, always vigilant, always on the revolutionary offensive to overcome the difficulties of growth and to avert and overcome the possible dangers.

In this way their present and future will be unshakeable and brilliant.

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1983

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3 March 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1983

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CPCZ WEEKLY EVALUATES WEST'S REACTION TO POLAND

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 2, 13 Jan 82 p 6

[Article by Bohumil Brejzek: "The West and the Polish Events"]

[Text] The declaration of martial law in the Polish Peoples Republic [PLR] naturally aroused extraordinary attention and response around the world. The fraternal socialist countries view the development in Poland as a purely internal affair of this country, they support the efforts of the Military Council of national salvation to consolidate the situation and to strengthen socialism. The socialist countries are also organizing effective aid. In addition to deliveries of raw materials and oil, the Soviet Union is also assisting in the problems of food supply. Our republic too is helping in delivering consumer goods and foodstuffs to the PLR. At the same time, a campaign is being organized in individual krajs and okreses aimed at aid to Polish children. A positive attitude to the events in Poland has also been adopted by most of the communist and workers parties around the world, even though some of them--as, for example, the Italian and Spanish--assess the events without consideration of their class aspect or the counterrevolutionary peril.

The Polish counterrevolutionary forces have received full support of the anticommunist and reactionary circles in the West, headed by American imperialism. As soon as the decisive struggle in the defense of socialism began in Poland, the United States halted the promised assistance in foodstuffs and unleashed a provocative campaign against people's Poland and its government.

On the other hand, the imperialist circles have tried and still try to exploit the very crisis which, to a considerable measure, came about and grew under the influence of their subversive operations against the PLR. For this purpose, they mobilized every means--the propaganda apparatus, economic, political, diplomatic and other levers and various types of support of the antisocialist elements in that country. They were led to this by the sole desire to blacken and discredit socialism, both in theory and practice, as a world system, dismantle the socialist system in Poland and later in the other fraternal countries, negate the successes of people's power, subvert the Polish alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and alter the balance of forces in Europe and around the globe in favor of imperialism.

The activity of external counterrevolutionary forces striving for destabilization of the situation and disruption of the socialist system in Poland, has its own early history. This subversive activity is part of a long-term policy of the imperialist

powers aimed against the socialist states. First it was the Truman Doctrine, followed by a most varied string of concepts proclaimed to "contain," "repel," "erode," communism, to defend "human rights," and the current policy of the Reagan government which, through the concept of multifaceted, steadily sharpening confrontation with the Soviet Union and the whole socialist world, strives to achieve global military superiority of the United States, and proclaims that "limited nuclear conflicts" are permissible. The strategy of the anticommunist and anti-Soviet forces has been in effect ever since the birth of the first socialist country in the world. While the concepts, tactics, forms and methods of subversive activity have been varied, the ultimate objective remains the same. It is to subvert the unity and solidarity of the fraternal countries by a so-called differentiated approach to them, which culminated ideologically and politically in the 1960s and 1970s by the incitement of nationalist and petty bourgeois moods, with the help of which the West aimed to erode the social and state structure in the socialist countries. The imperialist circles engaged in unceasing economic intervention against them and plotted diversionary schemes against socialism, its ideals and the socialist way of life. From this vantage point, it is easier to explain the rising hysteria and hostile policy of the West, proclaimed and enforced by the United States.

The response of the Western states to the December events in Poland, developed under severe pressures on these states by the United States. The first reaction of the West German Government was prompted by a policy of noninterference. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt felt it important that the crisis remain under control and that Poland settle its problems on its own. The position of the French Government, despite the initial statement by Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson, to the effect that the Polish events were an internal matter, underwent a change when President Francois Mitterrand issued a directive that the government "must express its displeasure," in order to go along with Washington's desire to create a situation conducive to an escalation of interference in the affairs of the PLR. Continuation of this approach was marked by a special session of the Socialist International, convoked on 29 December in Paris by the French Socialist Party which, for all practical purposes, had only one point on its agenda, namely, taking a position on the events in Poland. In the proclamation issued at the close of the meeting, without the participation of Chairman Willy Brandt, who is a proponent of noninterference in Polish affairs, there is criticism of the lawful Polish Government, a demand for the continuation of dialogue with the so-called Solidarity and other steps attesting to interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

The climax of the anti-Polish and anticommunist Western campaign which is emerging in spite of the relatively realistic approach of a number of West European politicians, is the course of the United States which clearly demonstrates what the self-proclaimed defenders of human rights were really after in Poland. The immediate scrapping of food assistance to Poland and the recall of fishing rights to Polish ships in American waters were only the beginning of the hysteria which followed the fiasco suffered in Poland by imperialist interventionists. A further escalation of this campaign were the "sanctions" against the USSR imposed on 29 December of last year. Aeroflot flights to the United States were suspended indefinitely, the Soviet purchasing office was closed, issuance and renewal of export permits to the Soviet Union for electrotechnical and other technological equipment were stopped, and several of other discriminatory measures were announced, and their recall was conditioned by the American president on a change in the current course in Poland.

Ronald Reagan was seconded by U. S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who declared that the U.S. Government expected that the other states would also participate in the sanctions against the Soviet Union.

An emergency session of foreign ministers of the 10 EEC countries was marked by heavy U.S. pressure, and dealt exclusively with the intervention in the internal affairs of the PLR. While the 10 West European leaders declared, on the one hand, that they did not intend to participate in economic "sanctions" initiatied by the United States against the Soviet Union and Poland, they nevertheless voiced so many objections to the policy of the Polish Government and so many conditions for the continuance of the present economic cooperation with the PLR and USSR that they left the door open for possible submission to a Washington dictate.

Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki, in a personal letter to the American president, wrote that he is convinced that the Poles would handle the situation on their own. Moreover, he stated that Japan would grant Poland the promised aid in foodstuffs and a financial loan. A reserved stance on the sanctions was also assumed by West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

Thus, the discriminatory measures instituted by the American president and other steps undertaken by his administration, have not resulted in the kind of response from America's allies that Washington hoped for. As stated in a TASS dispatch, the recent American measures represent "another White House attempt to use the long-discredited method of threats and extortion, which must therefore be regarded as a determined effort of the U.S. ruling circles to exacerbate the international atmosphere, return to the dark days of the cold war, and give U.S. imperialism a free hand to conduct a militarist policy aimed at attaining supremacy over the whole world."

On the first day of this year, the Soviet paper PRAVDA published an article by Academician Georgy Arbatov, entitled "Washington Strives for Crisis." The article notes especially the attempts to "internationalize" the crisis and to exploit events concerned with internal PLR affairs toward even greater deterioration in the international situation including, among other things, relations with the Soviet Union. Ronald Reagan in his speech brazenly ascribes "responsibility" for martial law in Poland to the Soviet Union, an argument meant to justify the "sanctions." The aim of the effort to "internationalize" the Polish problem is quite clear, namely, to draw the allies together and to make enough noise around Poland to cover up serious disagreements among them, emanating from very serious problems of security, foreign policy and economics. At the same time, this effort is designed to put a brake on the growth of the powerful antinuclear and antiwar movement in Europe. As noted by Academician Arbatov, official America is again ignoring the realities of our era.

9496
CSO: 2400/130

PRESS CONFERENCE ON CIA SUBVERSION HELD

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Jan 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by Ludwik Arendt and Piotr Moczar: "CIA Subversion in Poland"]

[Text] The latest conference held on January 28 at the ministry of Foreign Affairs press center began in an unusual fashion. Those attending were shown several films assembled from material in the Ministry of Internal Affairs files illustrating espionage activities conducted on Poland's territory by U.S. special services. One of the films, shown on Polish television last Wednesday, presented the profile of Leslie Sternberg, 30, third secretary of the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw, exposed as a CIA agent.

In recent years, this was not the only instance of revealing the double role performed by American diplomats accredited to Poland. This fact was referred to in another film on Peter Berg [Burke], second secretary in the political section of U.S. Embassy in Warsaw who had been operating in Poland since May 1979. He specialized in collecting information on communications in the National Air Defense Forces, organization of the chain of command and its improvement on different levels and the structure of OTK [Domestic Territorial Defense Forces].

Another film presented the contacts of another American diplomat Michael G. Anderson with KSS KOR [Special-Self-Defense Committee] activists, including Zbigniew Romaszewski. The American whose name is on the list of diplomats accredited in Warsaw, pledged, among other things, to communicate an analysis of the current situation and development prospects in Poland, authored by KOR, to the participants of the Madrid conference. As can be concluded from the film, plans had also been made to arrange, with the backing of U.S. Embassy, a demonstration of solidarity for American diplomats imprisoned in Tehran.

U.S. intelligence service has also recruited Polish citizens, chiefly those temporarily employed abroad, as seen in the films presenting the activities of Zenon Celegrat, a Polish radio operator for the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam in 1974-76, and the profile and CIA links of Alicja Wesolowska formerly an administrative worker at the United Nations.

These and other facts were additionally illustrated by a conference hall exhibit of authentic communications devices currently used by CIA agencies, photographic documentation, albums featuring arrested agents and materials seized at Leslie Sternberg's.

Information on diverse aspects of intelligence and subversive activities conducted by U.S. special services was provided to the newsmen by Col Zbigniew Wislocki, representing Polish counterintelligence, Col Hipolit Staszak, director of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Investigation Bureau and Col Boleslaw Klis, department head in the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office.

The exhibited films and documents, Col Wislocki said, exemplified cases of espionage, quite common in recent years, exposed by Polish counterintelligence. Those examples were typical. He added that the range of activities of American special services was very extensive. Evidence for the implementation of far reaching plans concerning Poland included contacts of high-ranking U.S. Embassy officials in Warsaw with Leszek Moczulski, leader and founder of KPN [Confederacy of Independent Poland].

The importance of KPN activities within Poland for American intelligence is evidenced by the arrival of an expert on political destabilization specializing in Polish affairs to Warsaw to take part in a meeting with Moczulski.

Exploiting Poland's difficult and complex sociopolitical situation, U.S. special forces played an essential role in the establishment of structures for oppositionary and antistate organizations by providing assistance in the form of equipment, funds and political and moral support. In the main, printing and audio-video equipment was supplied. Aid was also provided in establishing permanent contact and collaboration with hostile centers abroad. Such collaboration did not always assume the form of an agent network. In all, cases, however, special forces were involved in it. As contacts with oppositionary activists were becoming closer, attempts were made to acquire information of purely espionage nature.

Col Wislocki also gave information on a system for financing espionage activities in Poland. Special funds, scholarly or cultural, enterprises and similar ventures are created for that purpose. Their goals, in many cases highly respectable, in essence are a screen for financing subversive activities. An example of that is the Polish Cultural Foundation, established in Australia, last year, that awards stipends to persons who declare their willingness for anti-Polish activity.

In the recent period, some legally operating organizations in Poland received many gifts, from abroad, in many cases valuable. Their nature as well as the profiles of the 'donors' could not fail to alarm the Polish counterintelligence. Intense interest of U.S. intelligence services in the situation in Poland, along with their actions to the detriment of our country's interests, Col Wislocki asserted, date back to 1945. The level of intensity has always been proportionate to internal situation in Poland and international outlook. In the last 2 to 3 years, however, we have to deal with unprecedented intensity in classic espionage, relying among other things on stepped-up recruitment of Polish citizens both for the CIA and the Defense Intelligence Agency.

Most often, attempts are made to recruit Polish diplomats, journalists, scholars, businessmen and tourists. In the recent period, much attention is being focussed on enlisting administration workers, particularly those in the economic administration.

In an overwhelming majority of cases, Polish citizens report attempts of inducement for collaboration to their superiors or to counterintelligence officers. American intelligence recruitment is practically global, conducted in nearly every country and continent of the world. Polish citizens are persuaded to collaborate by American intelligence officers employed at U.S. diplomatic posts.

While providing information about them, the Polish officer presented the profiles of several staff CIA employees of many years standing. It turns out that CIA officers interested chiefly in Polish affairs are secretaries of American embassies in Stockholm, Cologne, Mexico, Tokyo and Katmandu, as well as others.

A Polish diplomat in Mexico was offered $50,000 as a one-time payment for starting to collaborate with American intelligence. Another was promised to be retained in diplomatic service after the seizure of power in Poland by "Solidarity." The CIA resident in Stockholm concentrates on establishing contact with Polish tourists arriving to Ystad by ferry.

Subsequently, the guests of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs press centers responded to newsmen's questions.

A representative of the American television NBC was curious why a conference on this topic was organized precisely at the time. Until now--the response ran--we have been charged with talking a lot about subversion and espionage without revealing specific facts, evidence and mechanisms of operation of foreign intelligence services. In our opinion, therefore, there was a need for arranging a conference of this kind.

A representative of the "Los Angeles Times" was informed that more than a dozen persons, chiefly Polish citizens, are currently serving sentences for spying.

According to you, a Swedish reported asked, how many intelligence officers are there among the Western diplomats accredited in Poland? The Polish counterintelligence is of the opinion that quite a few Western diplomats are working for intelligence services, she was told in response.

Answering a question by a GDR journalist, Col Wislocki said that the imposition of martial law largely paralyzed the activities of U.S. special services on Polish territory. It will undoubtedly be continued; certain attempts are even now being made. We are prepared for that and we will resolutely counter them, however.

One of the questions referred to the case of Bogdan Walewski, formerly an employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, arrested under charges of espionage for the CIA, as recently reported in the Polish press. A representative of the Military Prosecutor's Office reported that the matter had been transmitted to a military court to be examined in a few days.

Walewski's activity was comprehensive. Conducted for many years, it encompassed all areas of our country's life. A reporter from the "Washington Post" also asked to what extent "Solidarity's" 'recent' success [garbled; "success?"] resulted from that organization's benefitting from the aid of U.S. special services.

"Solidarity" has had mixed success, Col Wislocki said, but its most recent achievements are regarded by us as success of the extremists, due for the most part to the activities of U.S. special services. I am referring here to those 'achievements' which had brought Poland to the brink of self-destruction and anarchy.

In response to another question posed by a correspondent of the LE FIGARO, the representative of Polish counterintelligence stated that Western diplomats accredited in Poland enjoy complete freedom of communication with Polish citizens. In Poland

he said, contact between our citizens and representatives of foreign countries has for many years now been totally unrestricted. You should know it best, having worked for many years in our country. All diplomatic posts have always been open for anyone to enter and leave without being questioned by the authorities. It is not our desire to create an espionage paranoia in Poland because it is the greatest enemy to thoroughly conducted counterintelligence operations. According to our information, however, some forms of contact are transformed into attempts at recruitment.

Responding to a Tass journalist, Col Wislocki said that no positions for contacts with "Solidarity" had been formally established in the Western embassies in Warsaw. At the U.S. Embassy, however, several employees were tasked with maintaining relations with "Solidarity" leadership groups both on the regional and central levels.

One of the last questions, posed by a Polish television reporter, concerned the motives that guide citizens of our country who engage in collaboration with foreign intelligence services.

The answer was that in the last decade or so this was no longer determined by motives of political or ideological nature. In most cases, people agree to collaborate because they count on making easy money and living comfortably. Some of those who start working for foreign intelligence services are persons experiencing difficult moments in their lives, periods of weakness and are in fear of blackmail. All are convinced about the impunity of their actions and this belief is reinforced by foreign intelligence officers who claim that "high technology" insures them from a "mishap."

In the course of the press conference, references were made to the approaching Madrid meeting of representatives of the states-signatories of the CSCE Final Act. It was pointed out that for some time now in the West, including the United States, an anti-Polish campaign is observed along with attempts at what is termed internationization of the matter of our country in order to exploit the meeting against Poland. Intelligence services were collecting material on Poland thanks to KOR, among others, and activities of that organization were planned so as to permit their potential use in the course of the Madrid conference.

8795
CSO: 2600/306

NZS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES CRITICIZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Dec 81-1 Jan 82 p 5

[Article by Zenon Skusa: "A Denial of One's Own Statute--Because of Course Student Problems Were Not Involved"]

[Text] This is the second example in practice in recent months when the program goals in a statute meant nothing--or practically nothing. That is how it was with Solidarity and that is how it was with the Independent Association of Students (NZS).

Let us recall:

"The goal of the association [we read in the NZS statute] is 1) action for the purpose of strengthening democracy in the academic community as well as the defense of democratic freedoms and citizen rights; 2) protection of the material, social and cultural interests of students and student families; 3) action on behalf of the subjectivity of a human being, tolerance and high moral level; 4) development of self-government and the autonomy of higher schools."

We read further in the statute that the association realizes its goals, among others, by helping and intervening in case of a violation, when a student's or group of students' rights are threatened; initiating, supporting and conducting educational and cultural activity, as well as help in organizing independent study groups and seminars; conducting studies of an economic and social nature on the material level of student life; organizing student self-help; undertaking action to develop sports, tourism and recreation among students.

The goals defined in the statute, as well as the methods for their realization do not arouse any basic doubts. However, problems do arise when the organization's everyday practice is confronted with the statute's provisions. The NZS's practice swerved from the statute more and more frequently and in many cases was in glaring conflict with it.

From the moment of its birth, the NZS was not a union organization representing its group. Despite initial declarations, its leadership imposed the profile of a political organization on the NZS, with activity extending beyond the academic community.

Almost from the moment of its registration, the NZS initiated and conducted political activity, frequently of a clearly provocative nature. NZS-organized seminars on selected facts from recent history, poster exhibits, photographs, and illegal publications had a clearly provocative character. So did wide-scale distribution of illegally published materials, emblems and brochures whose contents were aimed at the principles of government, lawful, constitutional order and even our international alliances. The leadership role of the party is questioned in many of these publications.

This kind of direction and character of activity was pressed on the association, and done so very effectively, by members of leading groups, both central and community, under the overpowering ideological influence of the Committee for Social Self-Defense [KSS] KOR, and the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), which hoped to convert the NZS into an antiparty organization.

Acceptance in practice of such an organizational character was far-reaching in consequences. It signified the shunting aside of student groups' basic problems around which the NZS's activity should have concentrated; that is, the course of studies, the instruction system, the problem of student socio-material conditions, the future of an alumnus of a higher school, the student cultural movement--in brief, everything that ought to constitute the sphere of a union organization's activity.

With few exceptions, almost all forms and methods of action were subordinated to the political program and the needs of immediate political warfare. The NZS management worked to have the association become a large and vocal organization as quickly as possible. To that end, it initiated many spectacular actions to turn the academic community's attention to itself and particularly to create a mythology for the NZS that it was the sole spokesman for the academic community's dialog with the authorities and the chief promoter of the struggle for the right of the school to autonomy and self-government. It recognized that the infallible method leading to this goal is the strike and protest marches. Thus, for any reason whatever, and frequently without any reason, it stirred up NZS students, particularly younger students', to strike action.

That happened in December 1980 and April 1981, when a wave of strikes overwhelmed many Polish schools. The pretext in December 1980 was the alleged unwillingness of the ministry to register the association, while in April 1981, it was the unwilling--according to NZS management--attitude of the authorities to the problem of school autonomy and self-government. In November and December 1981, there was the local incident in the Higher School of Engineering in Radom, whose significance essentially was not understood by many striking students. Many schools were converted into a place of "experiencing an adolescent adventure."

As a rule, each strike action was accompanied by a great wave of propaganda and given wide publicity in order to gain the support of other vocational groups, particularly the academic community. The negative effects on the progress of studies were of no consequence.

Basically, all strike actions organized by the NZS violated the principles of democracy, principles that allegedly were ardently endorsed and advocated by the

leadership and entire organization. In organizing its activity, the NZS even ruled out its own principles to the effect that "the proclamation of a strike of occupation will be approved by a majority of students...in agreement with school authorities...." In practice, a militant minority imposed its will on the majority. Pressure on the undecided was by no means confined to the psychological type.

After a year of such activity, it must be asked: What are NZS's contributions to the organization of life in higher schools? The NZS was an independent organization in the full sense of that word, because it was even independent of its own statute and the principles and operating standards set by it. It did not resolve problems for whose solution it was created. It wished to attribute to itself, and made claims for, contributions in which it did not participate, including those of school autonomy and self-government allegedly won by it.

A real and unquestioned contribution of the NZS is primarily the organization of local and all-Polish strikes, various types of protest marches, right rallies, the organization of provocative seminars and exhibits, disorganization of life in higher schools, strengthening tensions, evoking conflicts among students, disintegration of the academic community and destruction of the academic work atmoshpere on behalf of politicizing activity of a clearly oppositional character.

In consequence of the imposition of a martial law, NZS's activity was suspended. However, the most aggressive activists indicated that they cannot accept this. Hence, successive efforts of various types have been undertaken at some school locations, violating existing law. Some activists endeavor to play at the role of conspirators. They call for "passive resistance" to authority. They state presumptuously that "the time for deeds is yet to come. What time do they have in mind? What and who are they counting on?

Let us raise one more question: Should precisely such an organization assemble even a part of youth in a socialist state?

10433
CSO: 2600/205

FUNCTIONS OF VOIVODSHIP DEFENSE COMMITTEES DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2, 3 Jan 82 p 4

[Interview with Col Zdzislaw Malina, deputy chief of the National Defense Committee Secretariat, by Andrzej Dzierzanowski; date and place not given]

[Text] The essential factor in stabilizing the situation in the country under the prevailing circumstances--during martial law--is, above all, the honest effort of working people. Daily work by the authorities and the state administration likewise facilitates stabilization. All of these activities, in order to bring about the desired effects, must be coordinated. In the voivodships this role of coordinator is played by the Voivodship Defense Committees. We are speaking about their tasks and activities with the deputy chief of the National Defense Committee Secretariat, Col (academy graduate) Zdzislaw Malina.

[Col Malina] Voivodship Defense Committees are, on the whole, little known by the broad circle of society, even though everyone must have heard of the decisions made by them. These committees were formed in accordance with the November 1967 law of universal obligation for the defense of the PRL [Polish People's Republic]. The National Defense Committee defines their structure, function and composition. Speaking in general, the WKO [Voivodship Defense Committees] control broadly understood matters of defense in the voivodships. In peacetime they accomplish tasks in regard to defensive preparations. The specific nature of the present period--of martial law--is also included in this.

At the moment, the committees discharge the managerial duties as regards to regional organs of state administration and coordinate simultaneously the work of industrial plants, enterprises, state institutions, cooperatives and civic organizations in the way of defense matters in the voivodships. The point of the matter is the harmonious linking of the defense needs of the state with all socio-economic operations and national tasks.

[Question] With what did the Voivodship Defense Committees immediately concern themselves after the introduction of martial law by Council of State?

[Answer] Above all, they fulfilled the role of organizer. Responsibility for mobilization of regional operations by organs of the state administration as well as ministerial and regional organizational units was placed upon them,

including responsibility for the organization of the citizens' life under the specific circumstances of martial law.

For example, on the morning of December 13, the chairmen of the committees at the time of the working sessions made the decisions and the indispensable determinations related to the implementation of provisions of the decree as well as the pertinent directives enacted in virtue of it. Matters related to this were discussed during participation of all interested representatives of organs and administrations of voivodship institutions.

Martial law resulted in the fact that the life of rural and urban residents and the work in manufacturing plants and institutions were subjected to the sharp rigors of the law that were unexpected and, as a rule, insufficiently understood. This required some time to "familiarize oneself" with the arising situation. One had to expect, and life confirmed this, a lack of acquaintance with many matters, and sometimes outright incompetence in behavior and action under the circumstances of martial law. The Voivodship Defense Committees took these facts into consideration, although not all to a sufficient degree. A good example is the voivodship of Bialystok, in which appropriate training for the leading cadres was quickly organized.

The first activities of the committees boiled down to this: to do everything that is possible and indispensable for the assurance of law and order, the supplying of essential human needs, the functioning of the administration and the maintenance of continuity of production. They simultaneously endeavor to make society aware that the point of martial law is aimed at the forces destroying the country. On the other hand, the inconveniences and disciplinary rigors linked to this state and imposed upon upright citizens are, unfortunately, indispensable in the name of the higher necessity of the defending national and state interests, as well as the constant aspiration for the restoration of socioeconomic life by way of socialist renewal in Poland.

In the voivodships, in which decisions were made in due course and in an efficient manner, their execution was controlled and ensured by competent information--the introduction of provisions related to martial law proceeded without any social and economic conflicts. Inefficiency and incompetence in the performance of leadership functions, under the difficult circumstances of martial law by some voivodship organs were very quickly made known.

Taking into consideration the recommendations of higher authorities, the voivodship defense committees made the requirements regarding the rules of individual management and responsibility of governors, mayors, directors and managers of places of employment more stringent. As a result, it was necessary to dismiss some individuals from their posts. Among them were also found those who, under normal circumstances worked ably but, unfortunately, did not cope with the new task arising from the specific nature of martial law. In the course of the first week, 90 persons, among others, in 34 voivodships--5 governors, 2 vice-governors, 2 mayors of towns and 81 directors of towns and gmina [parishes]--were dismissed.

[Question] Who belongs to the Voivodship Defense Committees?

[Answer] These are organs that act collectively and are made up of persons who occupy leadership positions in the voivodships. They are made up of the governor, vice-governors, secretaries of the committees of voivodship parties, commander of the voivodship MO [Citizens' Militia] as well as the chief of the Voivodship Military Headquarters. The latter persons serve the function of one of the deputies for the chairman of the Voivodship Defense Committees. Under the circumstances of martial law this is of critical importance for the normal assurance of the needs of the armed forces, as well as the defense aspects existing in the infrastructure of the voivodships. The central matter is the continuity of transportation operations, communications and power systems, as well as the defense industry. Plenipotentiaries of the National Defense Committee in the voivodships take part in the meetings of the committees, as well as representatives of the central and voivodship authorities, if such a need occurs.

[Question] What kind of role, in relation to the voivodship national defense committees, do the military plenipotentiaries-commissioners of the KOK [National Defense Committee] who are operating in the voivodships, play?

[Answer] Under the conditions of martial law, the military commissioners are empowered to control directly the operations of the committees as well as the regional organs of the state administration in matters related to a situation threatening the security and defenses of the state. They may also, as the needs arise, determine in this regard additional tasks for the committees and regional organs of the administration. They should see to it that the decisions undertaken by the committees are in harmony with the determinations of the chief organs of the authorities, the Military Council of National Salvation and the National Defense Committee.

The Voivodship Defense Committees pass resolutions, give instructions and recommendations. They are authorized to settle matters promptly and to issue decisions relating to activities of the regional organs of the state administration, national units, cooperatives and social organizations during martial law. They should evlauate their operations and the work of the chiefs, demand the required information, determine the lengthy tasks as well as systematically control the implementation of all measures linked to the institution of martial law regulations and the functioning of socio-economic life.

The chairmen of the committees have the right to issue orders and, when necessary, to act at once--to make appropriate decisions. In regard to defense matters, they coordinate joint action and cooperation of regional organs of the state administration with the appropriate territorial military organs.

At present, the committees concentrate their attention on assuring security in the voivodships and the maintenance of work discipline. They also coordinate the safeguarding of state buildings and quarters as well as important facilities and installations of the national economy. The essential task is maintenance of the continuity of work in industrial plants, transportation and municipal services, and also the supplying of the population with essential articles of food and primary needs as well as the efficient operation of public health services. The activities of the committees also include assurance of the operation of mass media as well as the prevention of their exploitation of objectives inconsistent with the public interest. The committees examine and determine various measures resulting from the emergency needs in the voivodships.

This shows that the main effort of the voivodship defense committees is the stabilizing, under martial law conditions, of the socio-political and economic situations in regions included in the radius of their operations. One must realize that a gradual lifting of the state of martial law and its repeal on the level of the voivodship, the region, or the entire country depends entirely on the stabilization of socio-economic life.

It is difficult at this moment to resist the statement that much depends here not only on the energetic and effective operations of the state authorities, including obviously the Voivodship National Defense Committees, but also on all citizens. Everyone, through their own attitude--in daily life, at home, at work, on duty, in every position--should have their own part in a quick normalization of the situation in the country and in the repeal of those restrictions and statements which are related to martial law.

9891
CSO: 2600/225

PRZEMYSL VOIVODSHIP PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Deliberations of Executive Committee

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 10 Nov 81 pp 1, 2

[Text] At its session yesterday, the KW [voivodship committee] Executive Boards in Przemysl acquainted themselves with how the preparations for introducing economic reform in enterprises and units in the voivodship have been proceeding. The basis for their assessments and conclusions was provided by information on this subject from the vice-voivodes of Przemysl in a report produced by the Economic and Agriculture Sections and the Voivodship Committee's Food Administration based on inspection of 16 selected enterprises and economic units. Moreover, information and opinions were directly transmitted to the executive boards by representatives of management collectives from several plants.

As stated, commissions dealing with economic reform have been operating in almost all units. They have already completed a number of analytical organizational operations for the transition to the new management system, expressed in the formula "3S" [self-dependence, self-government, self-financing].

In the majority of the plants, preparatory operations for the introduction of reform are only in the initial stage. In this same stage, preparations are under way for electing self-governing work forces in enterprises.

The cause for concern may be in part represented in the faint interest in future reform shown by work forces in general and by those people directly involved in production in particular. There is need for developing effective training-informational activities to make all the work forces aware of the intentions, goals, and principles of economic reform. An information center will play an important role in seeing that this is done. Such an information center will be called for at the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party].

In the course of discussions during yesterday's deliberations of the KW Executive Boards in Przemysl, a general demand was evidenced for speeding legislative work for initiating reform. This partially concerns regulating new tax rates, prices, margins of profits, tariffs, lists of obligated associations and the like. An absence of decisions regarding prices to take effect next year and an absence of executory rules in financial management are acknowledged as the essential factors in delaying preparatory operations in general for introducing

new principles of economic reform in the coming year. A lot of doubts, obscure points, and fears pervade the working collectives and also bear on the mechanisms of supplying raw material and foreign exchange funds.

In stressing the importance of the present stage of preparations for getting the reform really under way at the beginning of 1982, the Executive Boards of the KW stated, in part, that the problem with preparation for introducing economic reform and creating workers' self-government must occupy, beginning now, more prominent places in all of the operations and activities of party echelons and organizations. The KW Executive Boards will concern themselves on a regular basis with analyzing the degree to which economic reform is being instituted, particularly in its social aspects. It has been recommended that a system for exchanging information between plant echelons and party organizations be created for the express purpose of addressing the problems of economic reform and workers' self-government. From among the particular motions at yesterday's executive boards session, one can also mention the motion on speeding the work on calling forth an association of state agricultural enterprises that, along with small manufacturers, have already begun economic reform.

During yesterday's deliberations, KW Executive Boards of the KW PZPR in Przemysl also reviewed the current social-political and economic situation in the voivodship. Moreover, preparation for the next session of the plenary voivodship party echelons was discussed.

Przemysl PZPR Plenum Deliberations

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 13, 14, 15 Nov 81 pp 1, 2

[Article by M. Nyczek and W. Burzminski: "KW PZPR Voivodship Committee of the Polish United Workers Party Plenum: More Determination and Consistency in Activities--The Acceptance of the Voivodship Party Organization to 1983"]

[Text] During deliberations in June 1981, the Fourth Voivodship Election Conference of the PZPR in Przemysl put the newly elected committee under the obligation of working out a program of action for the voivodship party organization covering the current term (to 1983). After wide-ranging consultation in the KW problems commission, during the regional meetings with delegates at the conference, as well as with participating party organizations of the majority of plants, the draft of this program was discussed and ratified on 12 November 1981, at the plenary session of the KW PZPR in Prezemysl. A significant part of the deliberations was devoted to discussing current problems in party work after the fourth and fifth plenums of the KC Communist Party PZPR. The plenum's agenda also included an examination of internal party matters.

In addition to members and deputy members of voivodship party echelons, members of the presidium of WKR [District Military Headquarters] and the WKKP [Voivodship Party Control Committee], first secretaries of KM [City Committee], KM/G [City/Gmina Committee] and KG [Gmina Committee] and KZ [Plant Committee] of the PZPR and the directors of most of the enterprises, plants and institutions, the deputy member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the KC PZPR, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, also took part in the deliberations.

First secretary of the KW PZPR, Zenon Czech, who had led the deliberations of the fourth plenum in Przemysl, presented the executive boards' report on the current tasks in party work resulting from the last plenary sessions. As stated in the report, the position of the central committee on questions presently most important to the party, expressed in a resolution passed at the fourth plenum, came alive among the ranks of the voivodship party organization. On the basis of this resolution, a detailed plan of action was worked out, addressed to all echelons and organizations. An extensive plan for action was fully developed at both voivodship and local levels. In the majority of POPs [Primary Party Organization] and OOPs [District Party Organization], meetings were held in which tasks from these enactments were accepted. Conferences of the aktiv and meetings of members of the KW directorate and its permanent apparatus with work forces of factories and enterprises were also devoted to the set of problems contained in the resolution. An important element in this dialogue is the collective analysis of the possibilities for solving the most pressing problems by joint action--in the spirit of socialistic renewal--of the party, trade unions, and administration.

A striving for understanding and cooperation--emphasized in the report--must take hold in factories and farms as soon as possible, and the inspirer of these actions must be, without exception, all elements of the party. To achieve understanding, it is necessary to unite the most divergent spheres of society, all the working people in the city and in the village. It is high time that new conflicts are not allowed to arise and that controversial problems are not exacerbated but solved through work and action.

Determination and consistency in the action of all party elements are essential. Internal party discipline and at the same time party attitudes of all its membership are the requirements for strength in party ranks. Meanwhile--the report states--some party echelons in the voivodship still do not attend their own plenary meeting, do not maintain constant contact with party organizations and, thus, do not inspire their membership to work. Precisely in these environments are found the most complaints of tardiness in actions by the authorities; the party aktiv is not working and a feeling of helplessness seizes some comrades. In some organizations there is observed a condition that expects inspiration exclusively from without, directives from the top and some kind of ready-made recipe for solving problems with the spheres of their own competencies. Initiative and independence in undertaking decisions have a special value now.

The KW Executive Boards in their report also pointed out serious defects in state and economic administrative function at all levels in the Przemysl Voivodship. This is manifested in tardiness, bungling and general incompetence among some people in responsible positions. Examples of tardiness have been cited; these concern, among other things, the procedure for solving a problem at the local base for the ambulance service in Przemysl, the running of the rationing system and the distribution of goods, the lack of proper coordination of actions for solving the impasse in housing construction. On the other hand, the present activity of Local Operational Groups (TGO) has been positively appraised; and society has greatly approved of it.

Moreover, the report expresses the unrest and fear aroused by a clear breakdown in discipline in many plants. This unrest validates the current condition in the voivodship's economy. Marian Domaradzki, secretary of the KW PZPR, presented a picture of that economy in his speech at the plenum. In a 10-month period this year, the value of sales from collectivized industry fell by 12.7 percent in relation to a similar period last year (while, at the same time, people's incomes are 33 percent higher); the purchase of agricultural products (especially livestock) was 37 percent lower (in October up to 60 percent lower); in housing construction, only 457 units were commissioned, or 329 fewer units than in a 10-month period last year.

The main part of the KW secretary's speech detailed the motives, intentions and directions of the draft of the voivodship's party organization plan to 1983. The conviction was expressed that implementation of the tasks for improving the life and working conditions of the voivodship's inhabitants would find support from ZSL [United Peasant Party] and SD [Democratic Party] members. The conciliation front of all party, trade, youth, social, and scientific-technical organizations will be created around the implementation of these tasks.

Then a discussion began. Antoni Organ, member of the KW Executive Boards and first secretary of KG PZPR in Pruchnik, spoke first. He concentrated on the difficult market situation and the troubles of villagers in obtaining, among other things, coal, building materials, fodder and fertilizers. If farmers do not get more of the essential goods they need, then shop shelves will continue to be empty, he said.

In developing his view of the draft of the program for the voivodship's party organization to 1983 in the area of housing construction, Stanislaw Pilek, deputy member of the Building Cooperative in Przeworsk, turned his attention to the need for consistent implementation of this program and the need for the inspiring role of party members in this process in which the entire society should participate. Otherwise, the program--even the best program--will exist only on paper.

Przemyslaw Przymuszynski, KW member and director of the Voivodship Joint Hospital in Przemysl, in reference to the draft of the program for the voivodship party organization in the area of health service, presented, in part, specific measures undertaken in the last period for improving the local base through repairs and modernization.

Anna Kowalska, member of the KW Executive Boards and first secretary of KMG PZPR in Dynow, said, in part, "We need more determination and more concrete measures. We must battle indifference and topor. No one will strengthen the voivodship party organization for us, no one will bring the party's program closer to the needs and expectations of society."

Stanislaw Sobczuk, first secretary of the KM PZPR in Przemysl, concentrated on the problem of keeping law and order, which, in his opinion, is one of the conditions for overcoming the present crisis. There exists the need for intensifying efforts and actions with the purpose of returning law and order to society. In referring to the meeting of the first secretary of the KZ PZPR, Gen Wojciech

Jaruzelski, with Cardinal Jozef Glemp and the leader of KK NSZZ [Solidarity Independent Self-Governing Trade Union National Committee] Solidarity, Lech Walesa, Sobczuk emphasized that it gave rise to a great deal of optimism and hope. But there is no want of those who find the building of the Front of National Conciliation based on the principle contained in the constitution of PRL not to their liking.

The speaker also tabled the motion on the final decision on the soundness of the objections directed against some members of the voivodship authorities in May 1981.

Adam Witek, member of the KW and president of Gmina Cooperative "Sch" in Orla, spoke of the difficult problems of supplying farmers with coal, building materials and means for production. At the conclusion of his speech, he proposed that the next plenary session of the KW--considering the importance of the problem--take up the agriculture question.

Julian Maternowski, KW member and a farmer from Lezachow (Sieniawa Gmina), supported this motion. He also focused on the need for strengthening agricultural circles with an important share in the development of agriculture and in the program for feeding the nation.

Stanislaw Jucha, KW member and a master at the Metal Works in Jaroslaw, pointed (in part) to the necessity for more aggressiveness and inventiveness in activities of PZPR members. The party must identify itself with consistency in its conduct and dealings. We are making small steps but sure ones, he said. Then even our program accepted at the ningh congress will inspire the confidence of the entire society.

We must consistently fight against everything wrong with our party, Tadeusz Mrzyglod, first secretary of the KM PZPR in Lubaczow, said in part. He also remarked on the draft of the program for action of the voivodship party organization to 1983. Jozef Rżany, member of the KW and master at the Mechanical Works of the WSK Transport Equipment Plant in Przeworsk, made an observation on this program in regard to economic reform.

Teodor Kuropatwa, first secretary of the KZ party in DRKP Regional Directorate of State Railroads in Przemysl, touched, in part, upon the problems rankling railroadmen with particular regard to the living conditions of work forces.

Comrade Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak also spoke out at the KW plenum in Przemysl. In part, he brought into prominence the key role palyed by POP and OOP in realizing the program of the ninth congress of the party and decisions of the KC and, above all, of the resolution of the fourth plenum of the KC, which--as he emphasized--needs to be implemented on a broad basis. The party apparatus, both the eligible and permanent, must serve the good, effective work of the basic elements of the PZPR. Mutual goodwill plays an important role in party ranks, as do the awareness of the possibility of relying on comrades and the overcoming of a passive attitude toward facts and phenomena harming the party and society.

The secretary of the KC stressed the importance of implementing the idea of national conciliation. He said that the conciliation front should have leading the country out of crisis as its main goal because it is the most important goal of all Poles. Getting out of the crisis depends on society's starting to do solid work as quickly as possible, precisely in the name of this conciliation.

In the unanimously ratified resolution, the Voivodship committee confirmed and accepted for implementation the tasks in the program for action of the voivodship party organization to 1983. It has been resolved that one should turn to the people of the voivodship of Przemysl with a call for support and active participation in implementing this program.

In the final part of the deliberation, internal party matters were examined. Accepted for approval was the information on the work of the KW Executive Boards from July to November 1981; the plan and subject matter of the plenary sessions of the KW for the first half of 1982 were accepted; and it confirmed the set of problems of the KW Executive Boards session. In continuing its examination of organizational matters, the plenum unanimously approved the proposal presented by the KW Executive Boards for changes in the structure and functioning of the KW PZPR; KW Executive Boards' proposals submitted by Ryszard Turko were approved by the plenum. These proposals deal with the filling of managers' positions in the following sections: organizational (Zbigniew Walow), administrative (Stanislaw Kornak), ideological (Boleslaw Zoellner), and socio-economic (Andrzej Patocki). Personal proposals for manager positions in the remaining sections--social-agricultural and general or office sections of the KW PZPR--the Executive Boards will present at a later fixed date.

The KW plenum released Andrzej Kolachinski, at his request, from his duties as a KW member, in connection with his transfer to another voivodship.

9866
CSO: 2600/149

NEW RADOM GOVERNOR, COL ALOJZY WOJCIECHOWSKI, DISCUSSES DUTIES

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 24-27 Dec 81 p 2

[Interview with Col Alojzy Wojciechowski, the newly appointed governor of Radom, by Jerzy Figas of SLOWO LUDU: "I Do Not Believe in the Impossible"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] You began to fulfill your duties as governor by visiting working establishments. Does this also signify--besides a so-called eye for economics--the confirmation of the military principle: The more difficult the situation, the more often a commander should be among his soldiers?

[Answer] This is definitely so. We all know how critical an issue transportation is. Therefore, I directed my first steps toward the employees of WPKM [Voivodship Municipal Transportation Enterprise]. Then it was the "Kozienice" Power Plant and the local hospital, still under construction. Afterward, I visited the Radom dairy plants and today (Tuesday--postscript J.F. [expansion unknown])--I will see the heating plant engineers. The holidays are approaching and we will be staying in our homes more: therefore, our homes should be warm. But will they be? I would also like to exchange a few words with the young people--representatives of the organization ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth]. Next week, I must find time for a meeting with representatives of education and culture. In any case, I will avow one thing: I will not allow myself to become "interbred with an easy chair."

[Question] What are your first observations?

[Answer] I came to Radom to assume the new post with mixed feelings. This city received much publicity lately and not in the best light. After not quite 7 days--actually seven 24-hour periods in practice--I find that the image of Radom and its region has become more clear to me. Countless numbers of people here have a respect for work, are very orderly and prudent and recognize the causes of the general public. Let us try constantly to expand this sphere together and settle what needs to be settled.

[Question] What have you already managed to learn about the most important problems in the province?

[Answer] Despite all appearances I have learned quite a lot. For example, I was looking over the recent report on the state of the province. The picture in large part was unfortunately frightening. In health services, housing, the

municipal economy and other basic areas, we are either in 48th or 49th place in national statistics. Although the situation is very difficult, certain economic, governmental decisions are indispensable. However, this does not change yet another truth: Certain irregularities and organizational incompetence--the latter in, for example, governmental offices and in commerce, which simply causes outrage--may be eliminated and in this way the trust of society, which is so greatly needed today may be gained. For me, this is the primary task.

[Question] I had the opportunity to become better acquainted with you during Monday's session of the KW [voivodship committee] executive board, when you very emphatically demonstrated the need for the immediate elimination of certain regulatory absurdities in commerce in Radom. This time, energetic action is not only the result of the officer's uniform.

[Answer] Certain traits are undoubtedly not acquired; they simply are innate. I understand organization well--and this is how my superiors see it.

[Question] To a certain extent, this is the very way you also let yourself be known to the residents of Radom who were standing in line during Monday's inspection of certain stores.

[Answer] Indeed I did visit several establishments in Radom that day. I cannot agree with the practice of the manager or the employees not knowing when bread on cream will be delivered. There is no telephone but buses are in service. It is possible to get to the bakery or dairy. Clients must have accurate information. This is not only a question of information. If carp is to be sold at 1 pm, then it must be delivered at that time.

[Question] What are your findings from the commercial inspection?

[Answer] The network in Radom is particularly meager and badly situated. The field of action is limited--but it does exist. All available store space should be utilized. It has become the custom that bread can be sold only "where it has always been sold," even though it is a 2 km space. It does not matter that close by are stores that can easily distribute baked goods. Similar nonsense abounds and we will begin eliminating it.

[Question] What were your first decisions?

[Answer] In Kozienice is a splendid hospital building that is almost completed. This establishment has excellent, modern equipment. It is still not fully functioning because, among other things, the staff lacks about 90 people. There are not enough people because there are no living quarters for them. I have taken preliminary steps so that the administrative building being built in Kozienice may be set aside as lodging for employees of the hospital. Next year, there should be no problem.

It was customary in Radom that WPKM transportation did not operate on the first day of the holidays [Christmas]. This year, buses will be in service during the 3 days of Christmas on a Sunday schedule.

[Question] The most important particulars from the biography of the new governor of Radom were contained in a PAP communique. May we ask to have them supplemented?

[Answer] Of course you may. My wife is a secondary school principal. Because of this, I also know quite a lot about young people. My daughter is a zoologist and works in production at PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] on the outskirts of Warsaw. As a result, I am acquainted with agricultural problems. I have a great fondness for technology. As a military man, I was, among other things, the chief of the so-called elements of repair and of development and the chief of provisions. This experience will be of great benefit now. Up to now--although life after 50 begins to "jam up"--I do not know what it means to be sick and I cannot imagine not coming to work. More specifically, I do not like it when someone pretends to be working or sick.

I hail from Poznan. My father was a railwayman. I remember how he used to say that his first purchase was a watch; he instilled in me that I should always live in harmony with time and that is, in fact, how I act.

[Question] On the KW executive board, you announced that you would evaluate the administrative cadre by the end of January.

[Answer] That is correct. I have a principle: I must know with whom I am working. I must know my subordinates--their morale, their professional preparation and their competence. I will help those who cannot manage in today's conditions; I will force out those who do not want to work well and I will deal severely with those who are spiteful.

[Question] We are talking on the eve of the traditional holidays [Christmas].

[Answer] In accordance with tradition, we must not forget our holiday wishes for those near and dear. This year's holidays will be and should be different. Let the moments pass by peacefully in the midst of family at the holiday table, on which basic articles of food should not be lacking. Let our shared thoughts enable us to strengthen this peace. This is the most important thing for all of us.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

9853
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MODERNIZATION, DEVELOPMENT OF MILITARY EDUCATION DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Col (docent, doctor habilitatus) Jerzy Cytowski: "Attainments and Development of Military Academy Education"]

[Text] In accordance with long-range modernization and development plans for military academies, their organizational structures, education programs, instruction-training, and instruction-research activity have been improved in recent years. In addition, the qualifications of academy instructors have been raised; the technical and educational base and patronage activity with respect to higher officer schools (military colleges) were expanded.

Fundamental intraorganizational changes were made in all military academies and in the Heroes of the Westerplatte Higher Naval School in the 1970's. Many faculties and departments were created or modernized; permanent as well as nonpermanent institutes were established in them. The Military Technical Academy organized its branch in Olsztyn, in which it trains specialists in armaments and electronics, while the Military Medical Academy established the Institute of Postgraduate Training, which was subsequently changed to the Center for Postgraduate Training. Postgraduate studies in various specialties were carried on in all the academies. This program of improving officer qualifications in continuing to be perfected from an organizational as well as program standpoint.

Program--A Starting Point

Instruction programs in all military academic schools are constantly being modernized. A substantial amount of time is earmarked in the Polish Army General Staff Academy for overall military studies and tactical-operational troop exercises in which academy students participate. An instruction-training specialization was introduced to qualify students for such work. All graduates receive titles as qualified officers.

Instruction programs in the Military Political Academy have been adapted to the level of higher officer school student-graduates who begin studies at the academy after a appropriate training in military units. These studies are concluded by earning a master's degree in education, history or economics.

The Military Technical Academy introduced a program of uniform technical studies in the mid-1970's. Graduates receive master's degrees in specified fields of engineering. Under a separate program intramural studies are conducted for especially capable higher officer school graduates who, after 1 year in such schools, participate in 1-year of preparatory training and then immediately begin at the academy. Some students pursue a special program that prepares them for instruction and science-research work in higher officer schools and military technical institutes.

Instructional programs are also being improved in the Military Medical Academy and the Higher Naval School. Advanced professional studies in the area of sociopolitical sciences have also been initiated in the latter school. Thus, integrated programs of sociopolitical, tactical-technical and specialized studies have been introduced at all military academies. These are adapted to the practical needs of particular kinds of troops and services.

Role of the Teaching-Training Staff

Much attention was devoted in the total military program to the selection and development of the teaching-training staff. In 1974, the General Staff Academy developed a "Model of a Military Instructor," while the Military Political Academy prepared a "Model Outline of an Instructor-Trainer in the Field of Social Sciences and the Criteria for His Evaluation." The principles of recruitment and the requirements relative to military instruction-training workers, their personality, education, development and evaluation criteria were included in both studies. Post-graduate studies, specialized and doctoral, were intensified; greater weight was attached to degrees and educational titles. Special emphasis was placed on the education and development of a young academic teaching staff. Military academy workers organized doctoral study branches in some garrisons. Wider utilization was begun in military academies and higher officer schools of nonfaculty officers with appropriate specialized knowledge, as well as of the employment of retired officers and civilian academy instructors for instruction-training work.

This principle continues to be utilized. In 1980, a "List of a Military Academy Instructor's Rights and Obligations" was introduced. Among others, the following items appear in it: the role and tasks of military academy instructors, the principles of appointment to their positions, their educational background, professional capability, advancement and rights. In the defense minister's directive implementing the list of rights and obligations, mention is made, among others, of the special position of military academy instructors, of the fact that "the staff potential of higher military education simultaneously determines the level of the entire professional staff, the development and progress of science and of military technology.

Improvement of the Education Process

In recent years, just as in earlier periods, the instruction-training process in military academic schools has constantly been improved. Among the most essential directions of this process are:

--the elimination of traditional lectures in favor of independent acquisition of knowledge by students and officer cadets, making it possible for the most capable of them to study at an individual tempo;

--the standardization of continuing education whose basic element was the education of a younger instruction-training staff;

--the identification and education of exceptionally qualified students and officer cadets;

--the modernization of student, and especially officer, cadet training practices by extending their stay in military units;

--utilization of electronic computer technology and informational systems during the instruction process;

--broader utilization of experience gained from excercises with troops conducted at various levels of command.

These general directions for the improvement of the instruction-training process were adapted by each military academic school to its own specialized tasks. Experience acquired in this area was, among others, presented at various symposium and conference levels. The results, enriched by research, formed the basis of standard instructions pertaining to the educational system, innovative teaching methods, utilization of technical means of instruction and the like.

Instruction-Research Activity

Military academic schools have also conducted instruction-research activity, which produces even better results. The conduct of this work was governed by the desire to relax instruction-research, with a systematic, overall and interdisciplinary approach to such research and to improve cooperation between the Ministry of National Defense's central offices and institutions and individual schools and between the organizational elements of a given school and its workers. A great deal of attention was paid to making the school's organizational structure more flexible, thus allowing it to appropriately utilize its resources and staff for the creation of summary research groups solving individual problems and research subjects.

The proper priority of instruction-research work, as well as the evaluation of workers, teams and schools in relation to the results of such work, is a basic problem. It is accomplished in the closest linkage of the school's instruction-research work with units and institutions of the Polish Republic's army and brother armies of Warsaw Pact states. Relieving workers who undertake instruction-research activity from administrative, economic and other activities that do not require educational qualifications was also not forgotten.

These directives were adapted in practice to the nature of individual schools. Research work in the General Staff Academy was dominated by subjects pertaining to the art of war, the general theory of war, or the national defense system. The Political Military Academy concentrated its research efforts on such problems as the individuality of the modern political officer; military discipline, leadership and competition in the military; sociopolitical and psychological aspects of modern armed warfare; the influence of historic knowledge on shaping the socialist awareness of the people of Poland; and the sociopolitical consequences of the science-technology revolution. The Military Technical Academy undertook research work connected with the development of military technology, improvement in the building of military

equipment, the technology of its production and principles of its utilization in peace or war. The Military Medical Academy as well as its Center for Postgraduate Training also carried on broad science-research activity. Among the most fundamental attainments of military medical research are the grafting of a synthetic heart valve, development of uniform principles of procedure in the event of massive thermal injuries and research on the effect of ionizing radiation on the human organism. The Higher Naval School also intensified its science-research activity in the 1970's, among others in the area of crew navigation-hydrographic safety, use of ship equipment, technology of its construction and repair, operational reliability of ship technology and armament and improvement of ship propulsion systems.

Many of the science-research results of military academic school efforts served the needs not only of national defense but also society and the national economy.

The Necessity for Constant Modernization

Technical means of instruction in military academy training and administration continue to be improved. Computer centers were established and incorporated in the school instruction-training system. Lecture and assembly rooms, laboratories, special classrooms and workshops, leadership positions and (experimental) ranges were expanded and improved. They were equipped with essential scientific aids, audiovisual centers and equipment for automating the instruction process. Automated and computerized equipment was introduced in school administration and computational work. The system of planning and reporting was improved. The work of scientific libraries and activity connected with scientific information was made more efficient and statistical libraries were expanded. Automation and computer science are being introduced ever more widely in the instruction and administration process, as is educational television.

Beginning with 1974, military academies took over the patronage of specified higher military colleges. This cooperation covers party-political, instruction-training and science-research activity. Initially, it was organized on the spot, but gradually it took on a planned character.

The experience gained in this area makes improvements possible. The idea of basing patronage activities on partnership principles is beginning to take shape. It is necessary to proceed from an exchange of information between academic and higher military colleges on a general scale to an exchange between cells, problem (solving) groups and individual workers. Academies ought to provide still more aid to higher military colleges in improving teaching programs and improving the qualifications of instruction staffs of such schools.

10433
CSO: 2600/244

BRIEFS

NEW ART SCHOOL RECTOR--The Ministry of Culture and Art has announced that studies will be resumed at the State Higher School of Fine Arts in Wroclaw on 15 February. Due to the resignation of Docent Jan Jaromir Aleksium from the post of rector of the school, the minister of culture and art has named Docent Rufin Kominek to this position. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Feb 82 p 5]

ZMW YOUTH COOPERATIVES--In view of the huge shortage of various social-living and production services existing in rural areas, the youth service cooperatives which are starting to be formed on the initiative of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] may prove to be of great significance. There are already examples in this area of specific actions undertaken directly by ZMW members and circles based on a recognition of local needs and specific contingencies. The nuclei of the first rural youth service-production cooperatives appeared i.a. in the Przemysl, Krakow, Rzeszow, Lodz, Bialystok and Ciechanow voivodships. By spring several of the first cooperatives are to begin specific activity in the production of construction materials, repair materials, etc. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Jan 82 p 3]

CSO: 2600/346

TRADITION OF RESPECT FOR RIGHTS OF JEWS, OTHER MINORITIES STRESSED

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Dec 81 pp 2177-2197

[Article by Ion M. Oprea: "The Defense of the National Sovereignty of Romania at the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920)]

[Excerpts] The special efforts made by the Paris peace conference to protect ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities were only the continuation and the application, in different conditions and in a much larger geographic area, of an older practice and principle of international law. The special attention given to the protection of the national minorities had its source in the general conviction that the ensuring of optimum conditions which would give the minorities an opportunity to live together in harmony with the majority nationalities could contribute to the maintenance of a lasting peace in the entire world. This consideration was fully valid since the idea of the protection of minorities had a universal character or, more precisely, its application was obligatory, in various forms and by various methods, in all the states which had national minorities. The Supreme Council of the peace conference organized special commissions to examine the problem of the protection of the national minorities and to formulate solutions. Although the representatives of the small counties did not participate in the proceedings of these commissions, since they were not invited, they sent the commissions reports on the attitudes of their governments regarding the protection of the national minorities. The Romanian delegation gave the president of the commission, Philippe Berthelot, information on the way in which the Romanian Government would act to respect the rights of the national minorities. In a letter addressed to the special commission, on 27 May 1919, the members of the Romanian delegation informed the peace conference that a number of laws and provisions had been adopted in Romania which assured equality of rights, under the law, "of all citizens regardless of race or religion." The delegation stated in this letter that in Romania "any individual born in Romania who does not have foreign citizenship and any resident of the territories recently united with Romania, with the exception of those people who have expressed a desire to choose another citizenship, is considered to be a Romanian citizen."

Inspired by the principle of equality of all citizens before the law, the Romanian Government had already taken the appropriate juridical measures to guarantee to the national minorities and religious groups the opportunity to exercise their fundamental rights. The most eloquent expression of the implementation of this

principle was the decree and law on the naturalization of the Jews, adopted by the Romanian Government on 22 May 1919. According to the decree, "Adult Jewish residents, from the old kingdom, born in the country or born abroad to parents who had their residence in the country, who have not been subjects of any foreign state, are Romanian citizens and will enjoy all the rights of citizens if they manifest this intention by stating that they were born in Romania and that they have not benefitted from foreign protection."

The entering into effect of this decree solved the problem of the naturalization of the Jews and put an end to "a number of misunderstandings and troubles" in the domestic and foreign area, which had lasted for a long time. It also gave satisfaction to a natural characteristic of the Romanian people who were always "noted for their great tolerance" and profound understanding of the interests of the national minorities. In accordance with the juridical measures taken within the country, the Romanian delegation to the peace conference voted "in favor of the proposals referring to the protection of minorities by the League of Nations."

The fact that the situation of the Jews, which was rather precarious in the 19th Century, worsened after World War I in a number of European countries as a result of the revival of a strong movement against the Jews, who were considered to be Germanophiles of Bolsheviks, attracted the attention of some representatives of the allied powers in the Supreme Council. President Wilson considered that the persecution of the Jews was "one of the elements which disturbed the peace of the world."

Invoking a number of facts which confirmed that the Romanian authorities had given harsh treatment to Jews both before and during World War I, the president of the United States expressed his lack of confidence in the pledges made by the Romanian Government through the law on the naturalization of the Jews in May 1919. In support of his position, President Wilson reminded the Supreme Council that King Carol and his government did not respect the provisions of Article 44 of the Berlin Treaty concluded in 1978 which provided for the equitable solution of the Jewish problem.

It is certain that neither by the law on the naturlaization of the Jews or by other measures and provisions which actually signified progress in the Romanian legislation intended to protect the national minorities under the law did the bourgeois-landlord governing circles intend to abandon the general orientation of their policy of national feuding. However, since this orientation was common to the international bourgeoisie, the pretension of the governing circles of the allied Great Powers to intervene with their own measures to protect the national minorities in Romania revealed its complete groundlessness.

Viewed in the light of these realities, the evocation of reprehensible political acts from the past on the part of the Romanian Government were intended, first of all, to justify the arbitrary measures which were to be taken against Romania and to mask the legalization of the interference of the allied Great Powers in Romanian internal affairs.

The decision of the victorious Great Powers to interfere in the internal affairs of Romania and of the other small allied states in Central and Southeastern Europe,

under the pretext of protecting the national minorities, written in the draft treaty with Austria, could not be kept secret although the discussions of the Supreme Council took place in the strictest secrecy.

Informed unofficially about the content and meaning of this resolution, the allied small states planned, at the peace conference, common action for the purpose of preventing the violation of their national sovereignty.

The objections of the Romanian delegation were directed, in particular, against Article 60 of the draft of the peace treaty with Austria. The Romanian delegation made a clear distinction between the matter of the protection of the national minorities and the religious tolerance already resolved, in a juridical manner, on the territory of Romania and the matter of the monitoring of this protection by the allied Great Powers. It expressed its support for the protection of the national minorities through measures with a national character, proposing that the peace treaty with Austria mention that: "Romania accords to all linguistic, racial or religious minorities who live within its borders, rights which are equal to those of other Romanian citizens."

At the same time, the Romanian delegation declared that it was ready to accept any international measures which the Society of Nations would adopt and apply for the purpose of protecting ethnic minorities and religious groups. This proposal was not accepted by the allied Great Powers. They considered that the issue of protection, from outside, of national minorities should affect only the allied small states in Central and Eastern Europe, thus violating the principle of the equality of states before international law. This discrimination appeared all the more flagrant since the Great European Allies had conceded, in the secret treaty of August 1916, Romania's right to participate in the peace conference on an equal basis with all the other large and small countries. The Romanian delegation condemned the discriminatory measures taken by the Supreme Council. The delegation denounced the fact that although the measures concerning the monitoring of the protection of national minorities were imposed exclusively on the states which were the so-called heirs of the Austrian-Hungarian empire, Italy, a great power, was not obliged to respect them. The privilege which Italy enjoyed was extended to the other allied large states. For different reasons, no international obligation was formally provided for the protection of national and religious minorities in England, France, the United States, Belgium, etc.

Parallel with the diplomatic struggle carried on to counteract the intervention of the Supreme Council of the peace conference, the block of allied small states consisting of Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia had to reject an avalanche of tendentious arguments and information supplied by the propaganda offices of the Horthyist government and to surmount the difficulties arising during discussions dealing with the conclusion of the peace treaty with Hungary, the draft of which was given to the Hungarian delegation on 16 January 1920.

For almost a month, the clauses of this treaty were examined by the members of the Hungarian delegation headed by Count Appony who embodied the reactionary and intolerant concept of diplomacy prompted by the nobility in Hungary before the war. In the spirit of this concept, the Hungarian delegation formulated its comments on the clauses of the draft treaty and sent them to the peace conference on 10 February 1920.

Appony tried to demonstrate that the draft treaty did not take into consideration the political, economic and geographic unity which the pre-war Hungarian state had inherited, supposedly. from nature. These comments and similar ones provoked the vehement opposition of the Romanian, Czechoslovak and Yugoslav delegations.

Demonstrating the inconsistency of the arguments of the Hungarian delegation, the representatives of the three allied small states took the first step in rejecting the point of view of Count Appony, who, with no basis, criticized the treaty because its provisions regarding the liberation of people from national subjugation exercised by the Hungarian ruling classes violated the principle of national minorities and destroyed the political unity which "nature itself had predestined for Hungary." In addition, the Hungarian delegation was not able to deny that the unity of pre-war Hungary was the expression of certain political aspirations and not of national unity.

Thus by attempting to identify the artificial political unity of pre-war Hungary, based on constriction, with its so-called national unity, the head of the Hungarian delegation could not convince the peace conference that the treaty violated the principle of nations. The same groundlessness characterizes other arguments by which the Hungarian delegation tried to demonstrate that the so-called political unity of pre-war Hungary was the result of its economic unity and of natural geographic conditions.

As an interpreter of the tendencies manifested by the dominant circles in Hungary, the Hungarian delegation, inspired by Count Appony, responded at the last moment, to the proposal that the will of the minority population in the former Hapsburg Empire be consulted through the organization of a plebiscite. Examining the significance of the Appony proposal, the members of the Romanian, Czechoslovak and Yugoslav delegations called the attention of the Supreme Council to the fact that the will of the Romanian population and of the national minorities was expressed in impressive peoples assemblies which decided upon the union of Transylvania with Romania. They stressed in the joint memo addressed to the peace conference that, in these public meetings, the option of the Romanian and minority population was consecrated in a solemn and definitive manner and that the attempt to deny the validity of such national assemblies by replacing them with a plebiscite or, more precisely, with an electoral system which served only to impose a systematic silence on the political will of the non-Hungarian peoples has no validity.

Convinced that the manifestations of the Romanian, Yugoslav and Czechoslovak population for liberation from the Austro-Hungarian yoke had an incomparably greater value than any plebiscite, the representatives of the bloc formed of the three allied countries rejected the claims of the Hungarian delegation, stating that they considered the boundaries set in the Supreme Council Session of 11 June 1919 as final and beyond discussion.

After the conclusion of the discussions on the territorial clauses in the peace treaty with Hungary, the representative of Romania at the peace conference asked the Supreme Council to maintain unchanged the military, naval and air clauses written in the draft treaty because they were identical with those imposed on the other conquered countries. In addition, the efforts of the Hungarian delegation were useless because in March 1920, the conference of ambassadors and foreign

ministers presided over by Lord Curzon, taking into consideration the joint memorandum of the delegations of Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia, decided that the draft treaty with Hungary would remain final. The international recognition of the union of Transylvania and of the other Romanian provinces with the motherland was, on the one hand, the result of the diplomatic activity of the Romanian delegation at the peace conference and, on the other hand, the expression of the full recognition of the justness of the inviolable national rights of the Romanian people.

CSO: 2700/174

SITUATION OF JEWS UNDER COMPULSORY LABOR SYSTEM OF WW II

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Dec 81 pp 2199-2212

[Article by Dumitru Tutu: "The Organization of the Labor Force in Romania during the Years of the Hitlerite War 1941-1944"]

[Excerpts] During the years 1941-1944, the labor force in Romania was subjected to compulsory work. Decree--law of 15 May 1941 instituted compulsory work for all inhabitants of the country and the authorities were authorized to monitor the presence of each person during working hours. For this purpose, obligatory work cards were introduced. Persons fit for work who did not have any productive activity could be made to perform obligatory work. In 1941, some of the industrial enterprises were mobilized and placed under the control of the armed forces. In these enterprises, workers were subject to the provisions of military regulations.

By decree--law No 3983 of 5 December 1940, Jews were excluded from the obligation of military service and, as a result, they were not subject to being sent to the front when Romania entered the war. Instead, all male Jews between 18 and 50 years of age were obliged to pay military taxes and to execute public service work, regardless of the social category to which they belonged. The regulation referring to the military statutes appeared in June 1941. In regard to the military statutes for Jews, the decree and law mentioned above states that "public service work is executed by Jews between 18 and 50 years of age, either individually or in groups or detachments. The utilization of Jews in public service jobs is executed only by the General Staff."

During their public service work, the Jews wore civilian dress and lived in their own homes if they worked in the localities in which they lived. If they were assigned to external detachments, that is, outside the cities or communes in which they lived, they were obliged to have with them equipment as well as a mattress, blanket, pillow and individual dishes. The poorest of them were paid a ridiculous sum of 15 lei a day for the wear and tear on the equipment. The food and wages benefits were the same as those of the troops. The work day was 9 hours, regardless of the place of work, and legal holidays were observed.

Obligatory work for Jews was decided on 2 August 1941 and on 3 August 1941, the Ministry of Internal Affairs gave orders to execute the decision. On the basis of this measure, in August 1941, some 11,124 Jews (males between 21 and 40 years of age) were sent to work in the provinces and 5,876 Jews (males between 18 and 20 and 41 and 50 years of age) worked in Bucharest. On 6 August 1941, the issue of

the obligatory work of Jewish males between 18 and 50 years of age was taken over by the General Staff and the Ministry of Internal Affairs continued to handle the issue in regard to other Jewish males, up to 18 years of age and over 50 years of age, and in regard to Jewish women.

As of 1 October 1941, there were 84,042 Jews between the ages of 18 and 50 who were fit for work. During 1941, only 47,345 of these participated in obligatory work. The rest were exempt for various reasons. Thus, 9,365 worked in industry, trade and offices; 11,933 were intellectuals and were not used for manual labor; 15,399 had unclear situations.

In accordance with Law--decree of June 1941 Jews 18 and 19 years of age and those from 41 to 50 years of age were assigned to work in units and institutions in the cities in which they lived and those from 21 to 40 years of age were assigned to external work detachments. By order No 10,009 of 13 October 1941, the Ministry of Internal Affairs informed the county prefects' offices that "Jews should be employed in work of public interest in the production of various articles for the armed forces: gloves, stockings, knitwear, etc."

Decree--law No 2650 of 8 August 1940 classified Jews in 3 categories from a political, juridical and economic point of view. Jews who had settled in Romania before 1918, were in Category I; those who obtained naturalization under certain conditions were in Category II and the rest of the Jews were in Category III. But this classification did not play any role in regard to the obligations to perform public service work. However, there were a number of factors which contributed to the failure to use a large number of Jews for obligatory work assignments.

A note from the General Staff in 1941 reveals that they suffered great material sacrifices to avoid doing this work. During 1942, only 15,015 Jews, 53 percent of the 28,650 [eligible] presented themselves for work in external work detachments. The same year, for the entire country, the Central Reviewing Commission excused 16,922 Jews--a larger number than anticipated, who were working in industry and various institutions. In addition, the enterprises "bombarded" the General Staff with hundreds and thousands of requests for the dispensation from obligatory work of Jews who were specialists in various branches of industry.

In 1943, the number of Jews who were assigned to take part in obligatory work was 101,641 males between the ages of 18 and 50. In 1944 (up to 23 August) 10,024 Jews, in 19 detachments, were mobilized for obligatory work and were used in fortifications and roads projects, in building dams, etc.

On 30 August 1944, the detachments of Jews were disbanded and the obligatory work system ended. During the years of the military dictatorship of Antonescu, a large number of Jews were deported. The great majority (42,000) were from Northern Bucovina and Bessarabia. About 800 Jews, anti-fascist fighters, members of the Romanian Communist Party, were deported from Transylvania, Moldavia, Oltenia, the Banat, Crisana, and Muntenia. Some 700 of these were interned in the Ribnita and Grosulovo concentration camps. On 16 March 1944, the Romanian General Staff ordered that all Jews deported to the area on the other side of the Nistru River should be transported into the country. The Jews in Grosulovo and Ribnita were transported to the Tirgu Jiu camp and those who came from Bessarabia and Northern

Bucovina remained in their home cities and communes. During the war the Jews were also used for clearing away snow.

Jewish women were used on the front as doctors or auxiliary medical personnel and for the repairing of military equipment and similar work. In May 1944, all able-bodied workers, including old men, children, and women were used to building fortifications in Moldavia.

Poor Jews, in particular, were used for manual labor. The rich Jews were excused for various reasons; either they were required to serve as specialists in industry, trade or various institutions or they paid large sums of money to avoid obligatory work. The above data show that sometimes less than half of the total number of Jews obliged to execute compulsory work actually showed up. The Jewish labor detachments worked under the direction and leadership of the Romanian authorities. The Antonescu government rejected the requests of the German Command to place the Jewish detachments under its orders, claiming that the Germans exterminated them.

CSO: 2700/178

BRIEFS

APPOINTMENT IN IALOMITA--In as much as the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Ialomita County has become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe Tanase is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Ialomita County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 10, 26 Jan 82 p 1]

CSO: 2700/178

STRUCTURE OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION DISCUSSED

How To Be More Effective

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by D. Vucinic]

[Text] The organization of Yugoslav trade unions is discussed, along with the differences at various levels and between republics and provinces, and the justifications for these differences.

Are the trade unions true workers' organizations, and to what extent? How much do they help workers to be better self-management operators, to influence crucial decisions at every level?

These questions have been asked since the first days of the pre-congress debates, beginning in October 1981, and they form the topic of today's investigation.

Yugoslavia is the only country in the world in which self-management has been developing for more than 30 years. We alone in the world have involved the entire people in "state business," and our trade union organization is the only working class organization institutionalized in the political system of its country. Thus by the nature of things, the trade union organization no longer concerns itself merely with workers' rights; rather, its primary goal is to build new social relationships. The question is: How can the trade union organization realize its historical role, which as we said, is built into our fundamental laws, the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor.

A Broad Fan of Indebtedness

In a republic of labor such as we are building, the workers, the creators of all values, have a basic right to dispose of their creation. For that reason, they are given the dominant place in the Yugoslav Constitution, and naturally, in the "small constitution," as the Law on Associated Labor has been called. In the latter, the position of organized workers--that is, of the trade union organization--is elaborated in more or less detail in over 80 articles.

It is a question of the obligations of this organization of millions in creating conditions for earning and distributing income; its participation in approving agreements and contracts concerning all essential social matters, plans and programs for the country's development, decisionmaking in associated labor, informing the

workers, selecting and calling delegates and self-management workers control staff, management agencies, the protection of workers' rights, social property, grievance resolution, training of wor§ers for self-management involvement, delegate responsibilities and naturally, the special preparation of the trade union organization for such complex responsibilities. The Law on Associated Labor is especially precise in detailing the obligations of the trade union organization in the fundamental unit, the basic organization of associated labor.

Adequate decisions are being sought for the implementation of these responsibilities of the 6 million-member organization, particularly in the basic and the opstina organizations. Since the constitutional amendments of 1971, the debate has continued on a new form of organization. In the discussion, basically two varying approaches to trade union organization emerged. In Croatia and Slovenia, where the trade union traditions are long-standing, they believed that the specialized trade unions were the right form of worker organization. A similar view is held in Serbia and Vojvodina, but it differs a bit in Macedonia, Montenegro, Kosovo and Bosnia and Hercegovina. These differences continue to exist.

The Trade Union and the Delegate Basis

The constitution and the Law on Associated Labor perceive that in our political system the workers' interests will be manifestedin the delegate procedure in sociopolitical communities, opstinas, provinces and republics. Thus it seemed completely logical and natural that those communities should also be the basis of trade union organization; i.e., that the opstina, province and republic trade union councils should have the dominant role. That is the so-called "territorial" or "horizontal" principle of trade union organization.

Yet besides that, the notions of a specialized trade union organization have not died away. On the contrary, they have become stronger. Some believe that if the trade union is not organized according to craft, it will not be able to represent every worker's interest completely. Any other trade union organizing principle would bring a loss of purpose, of a reason for existing, and it would become a general, unsubstantial organization of no use to the workers. In opposition to this, there are views that this sort of trade union could be class-oriented, that it could confront the working class, that it would not fit the spirit of our times.

The debate on these two viewpoints has flared up particularly at times such as the eve of the last trade union congress in 1978. These disagreements, however, were rsolved by a Solomon's decision: Let those who think it is better hold to the general "horizontal" principle of trade union organization, while in others the specialized, so-called "vertical" organization can be used. Then after 4 years, at the next congress, we can see which is better.

Hence, in the trade union organization there are today 520 trade union councils of opstinas, 6 republic and 2 province-level organizations and 16 trade union organizations that are usually called "specialized."

(Non)functional Differences

In Croatia, however, these specialized trade union organizations are the basic organizations. The delegates for all trade union councils are elected within them, whether for the opstina, the city, the region, the republic or the federation. In other

republics, these specialized trade unions are only a form of operation, which means that they are concerned with such questions as income distribution, self-management and the organization of labor competitions. As a rule, they do not make decisions Therefore, some regard them as a "lower" organization, whose narrowness is becoming an increasing obstruction.

Thus today the trade unions are organized according to the craft principle in Croatia, Slovenia and to some extent in Serbia and Bosnia and Hercegovina. In the latter, there are no specialized trade unions at the level of the opstina or the city, while at the republic level there are just a few specialized trade union councils that cover several craft branches each. For example, the energy trade union includes workers from mining, the electric industry, thermoelectric power stations and other related trades.

Since the liberation, there have been several reorganizations of the trade unions. Right after the liberation, they were "unified." With the introduction of self-management in 1950, the specialized form prevailed.

There were 26 trade unions at one time, with 18 in some places. Gradually these forms weakened. Ten years ago, 6 specialized trade union organizations were formed; these existed until 1978. They included organizations for industrial and mining workers, for communications and transportation, agriculture, construction, services and social activities. Thereafter, the industry and mining trade union was divided into 6, social activities into 4, service into 3; the trade unions for construction, agriculture and transportation were untouched. To them were joined workers of specialized commerce and some collectives from the raw material base; that was regarded as the beginning of the organization of trade unions according to complete production cycles, in the spirit of income relationships.

The most complete reorganization was made in Croatia, where the followingtrade unions are found: Metal production and processing, in chemistry and nonmetals, in wood processing and lumbering, textiles, leather goods and footwear, graphic, publishing and information activities, transportation and communications, maritime and river shipping, ports and docks, agriculture, food processing and tobacco, construction, drafts, communal activities, innkeeping and tourism, commerce, training and education, invalid pension insurance and administration and legal professions.

All of these trade unions also exist at the federation level, but they do not always extend to the base. For example, in Bosnia and Hercegovina they are not found in opstinas and cities.

The workers perceive that inadequate organization hampers trade union action, primarily its affiliation at various levels. This in turn burdens the pooling of labor and resources and even makes possible closings. Today an essential factor is found in the extent to which the trade union organization utilizes the Law on Associated Labor in its actions, and what has been done previously to implement the concept of the trade union organization given in the workers' "small constitution."

Difficulties at the Trade Union 'Top'

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by St. Rajkovic]

[Text] The various forms of trade union organization by republics and provinces cannot fail to affect the League of Yugoslav Trade Unions and the federal councils. Numerous shortcomings result, that these forums cannot eliminate by themselves.

Differences in the form of trade union organization by republics and provinces cannot fail to have consequences at the federal level, the level of federal councils of specialized trade unions or the level of the Council of the League of Yugoslav Trade Unions. Thus criticism of these variations is not unusual: It could be said that they become more vocal and stronger along with growing criticism of parcelization of the economy and introversion into opstina, regional, provincial and republic borders. In discussions with workers, who condemn these divisions and the introversion most sharply, one hears the question as to whether the trade unions contribute to this division. Why do class interests, which should manifest themselves in a "vertical" specialized form from the basic organization to the federation, instead break down at the levels of opstina, province and republic particularism? Most trade union actions are completed at the republic level, so what then is happening with Yugoslavia? What about common actions at a Yugoslav level?

We have 16 specialized trade unions, which in some republics extend to the basic unit. They are the foundation of the entire trade union organization, while in others they do not reach below the republic level. Hence some carry out comprehensive trade union affairs, while others perform only some duties. Thus it is difficult at the federation level to carry out unified actions: Delegates from various republics present different positions, some of which are comprehensive, while others are not. Their conversations sometimes remind one of the conversations of the deaf, as if one "was talking about pears and the other about apples," since various viewpoints are found in the republics.

Therefore, people say openly today that it is unsupportable for specialized trade unions to have one status in one republic and another status ina second one, as if in different countries. These great differences, which are worsening, would not even exist if the trade union organizations would cooperate better among themselves on various levels, if they would do more to perceive and to face positions and experiences and would correct their practices. If things continue, the specialized trade unions will lose their purpose, at least as far as their general function is concerned.

Insufficient Unity of Action

The contributions of the highest Yugoslav trade union body, the Council of the League of Yugoslav Trade Unions, are indisputable; they begin with the preparations for all self-management congresses, include the approval of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, and extend to preparing the working class to participate in self-management. In the past 4 years, they have also helped to develop system laws, to pursue actions related to income, rewards for labor, organizing associated labor, protecting workers' rights, maintaining the living standard and other actions.

Recently, however, increasingly sharp criticism has been directed at this forum, including statements that it is not sufficiently operational, especially in implementing the Law on Associated Labor, and that it does not react quickly enough and energetically against the introversion of the economy, the investment mania. Further criticism notes that the trade unions do not exert sufficient effort to overcome inherited disproportions in the development of individual branches and industrial groups.

Those who know the trade unions also know that all these problems have been discussed at sessions of the Council of the League of Yugoslav Trade Unions. The effects, however, have been insufficient. Thus, there has not been enough final trade union action at the level of all Yugoslavia. For example, the Trade Union League Council participates in the task forces of the federation more than anywhere, but it has no delegation in the Yugoslav Assembly. This is not the case in the republics and provinces. Hence the voice of the trade unions does not reach the highest self-management level in our country.

Objections also claim that the Yugoslav Trade Union League Council has separated from its base of the workers, that it is moe involved in matters of the "system" than those of the working class and that it associated more with the authorities than with the workers. Its officials, who participate in hundreds of bodies of the Yugoslav Assembly, the LCY Central Committee, the SAWPY, the Economic Chamber and elsewhere, have made their opinions known in some 1,300 system and other regulations of the federation. Perhaps for that reason, many positions from the base and from federal councils never even reached sessions of the council and its presidium. It is said that both of these agencies are overburdened, they they have long sessions, with many items on their agendas, and apparently for that reason only the most responsible people from the republics enter the discussion. This usually takes place before the session. Thus there are more monologues than dialogues.

The Unquestionable Responsibility of Republics and Provinces

After the Yugoslav Presidium, the Trade Union Organization was the first body to implement Comrade Tito's initiative on collective leadership and the 1-year term of office. Two presidents of the Yugoslav Trade Union Council have already served out their terms, while the third took over this function last summer.

The Yugoslav Trade Union Council consists of three councils: One for the political system, one for the economy and one for foreign policy. Thus the council functions more as a front for subjective forces. Nevertheless, the question is being posed as to whether the changes have been beneficial. For example, should all seven commissions of the presidium have been abolished? Each of them contained 20 to 30 experts from each republic and some, 10 from the collectives. In this way 180 interesting opinions on various matters were lost.

Did this not mean, it was asked at the recent session of the Yugoslav Trade Union Council, that decisions of the highest trade union forum have become more generalized, thus insufficiently interesting for the organizations, so that they do not go any farther than republic or province agencies?

It is also asserted that there are difficulties in coordinating the work of trade unions in the republics and that the coordinating council does not always function well. There are further difficulties in bringing positions into harmony with each other. This happens when the right people do not come to sessions or when the spokesmen who do come do not have the opinions of the worker base. Often as well, the differences are too great between the viewpoints of republic and province representatives.

I heard all these criticisms of the work of our highest trade union forums at various sessions of the Yugoslav Trade Union Council, of the council's presidium and of federal councils. Recently, I spoke of these comments with various republic and province officials. The response was very interesting and it went something like the following:

"In the republics and provinces, we are the most responsible for the work of the Yugoslav Trade Union Council, its presidium and commissions and also federal specialized councils. We send people to all those bodies and we are responsible for their character and for the positions they advocate. The quality of personnel was not always considered everywhere, so that the best people from the republics were not necessarily sent to the federation and the positions advocated were not always developed carefully. In the interest of better work by federal trade union agencies, these shortcomings must be corrected by mutual effort."

Since the trade union elections are about to occur (in some places they are already under way or even completed), we are talking about people for the highest trade union forums and, in some republics, about concrete individuals. Let us hope that the proper lessons will be drawn from previous experience.

12131
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TRAINING OF ELITE SABOTAGE UNITS DESCRIBED

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 335, 21 Nov 81 pp 33, 35

[Article by Mladen Paver: "Sabotage According to Training Program"]

[Text] Sabotage units are a well-guarded secret of every army, and ours is no exception. Far from unwelcome, prying eyes, our sabotage units, composed of the most experienced people, practice how to deliver a fatal blow at an occupier in the most vulnerable places and with minimum material resources. This photo report must strictly obey the rules: inform the public about their activities and at the same time not reveal any military secret.

At our military parades, at the Permanent Exhibit of Armaments and Military Equipment in Nikinci, on our television screens, an observer can find out all sorts of things about the new, military technology of our armed forces. Our armed forces possess the most modern armament in accordance with our adopted defense concept, and the needs of nationwide defensive warfare by which this country would react against any aggression.

We mention only the semi-automatic pursuit rockets used against armor and air targets, the multi-barrel rocket launcher (which "in components" is the ideal guerrilla weapon), the armored amphibious troop carrier, the submarine and rocket gun-boat made for conditions of naval warfare, the jet-fighter bombers "Hawk" and "Eagle."

In order to increase the strike and fire power of our defense, there have been developed, among other things, the Jugo tank, cassette ammunition, various, complex radar-electronic and optical- and other systems which provide the greatest possible precision and deadliness of fire. These arms show how our defense strategy relies upon our own forces; they incorporate the results of scientific research provided by domestic institutes and new technology which has been adopted by our industry.

One might also suggest that our armed forces already have, and are developing, military equipment which is not on display at reviews, in commercial catalogs, or to the public at large.

It is no secret--they learn about it in the secondary schools--that we conceive nationwide defensive warfare to be the merciless armed struggle against a powerful aggressor over every foot of soil in our country. The aggressor must reckon

with the most violent actions of the whole country on the front lines during such a war, as well as with a system of "hedgehogs" behind our lines, with unextinguishable resistance from the territory which might be temporarily occupied.

As our own recent past has taught us that one of the most effective elements in this type of warfare, in which the aggressor is usually superior in numbers and in technology, is the experience of the legendary partisan saboteurs throughout Yugoslavia.

"The broadly based and continually intensive sabotage activity was a significant component of the strategy of the People's Liberation War, the experience of which are especially interesting for the theory and practice of nationwide defense," concludes our MILITARY ENCYCLOPEDIA, citing that, according to incomplete data, partisan saboteurs destroyed about 150 factories, 114 warehouses, 100 mines, 740 bridges and waterways, 1,800 kilometers of railroad tracks, about 1,100 locomotives, and 14,000 railroad cars. What fleet of bombers has achieved this efficiency?

Are the successors to the partisan saboteurs being prepared today?

We have no doubt about this. More of a problem was how to get the green light to report from their surroundings. Assembled in the headquarters of the territorial defense, the subjects of our report agreed to talk about themselves on one condition--we do not mention the place where we met or the names of any of the people.

"You call us engineers of territorial defense. We are in every opstina. We prepare ourselves to be a reception committee for a landing by an enemy, and we would fight when the aggressor had temporarily occupied our territory. We would turn our territory into an occupied fortress for the enemy. For that very reason we count on the fact that when he first enters the country he will give chase to us. And what should we do now for him, offer a list of our names on a silver platter? Let them make a fuss over this, maybe we'll leave a fingerprint...."

The officer of the unit admits that his people passed through an additional recruitment process. They were chosen according to moral fitness, condition, and psychological stability; in addition people from diverse professions are taken.

I had a good friend who had a great desire to do this work, and trained to carry a load of explosives on his back day and night over hills and through ravines....But when we placed a mine, his palms would perspire. He could not control his trembling. We had to take leave of him in a friendly manner. It was difficult for me to have to say to him "You know why this work is not for you!"

The officer with whom we are conversing is an experienced reserve officer of the engineers, and he has passed advanced supplemental courses as well.

During the first course in his field of specialization--which had already been 10 years--it was not his lot to have the instructor demonstrate the equipment only on his table: "For the sapper, the most important thing, besides his mind, is to have sensitive fingers. It is most important to feel how a device mechanism turns, whether the spring should be tighter or looser. And you must feel this yourself." After his remarks, the barriers between the instructor's table and the lecture hall were eliminated.

At the end of this type of training, the organizer would usually give a questionnaire to the students. Those less practiced would be reprimanded for "lack of proficiency with equipment" in the instructional laboratory. Only then would they realize that here training was carried out according to the principle: do it yourself! The essence is to develop the ability for improvisation. That is best which is constructed of almost nothing and can still function as a combative device. They are taught according to the experimental rule: "Your main warehouse will be the enemy. You will take from him and then give it back."

The technical literature tells of new explosives with terrible destructive power. The classic trotyl makes a modest impression in comparison with them, as once gunpowder did in comparison with it. The high destructive power of the new explosives means that with even very small quantities of such substances, one can achieve as much as with a greater quantity of trotyl in the old days.

Not to mention the new types of detonators: mines can be activated today by a laser beam or radio signal from a great distance, almost anytime after installation. All this increases the prospects of the sapper as destruction, losses, and chaos because at the most susceptible points of the enemy, and, what is even worse, that cursed feeling can be provoked that death is concealed and lies in wait at every step.

At one time, saboteurs could only count on mechanical detonators, and later electrical. Today they have at their disposal chemical, magnetic, laser, inertial, and even those which react only to a certain sound, to warmth, light, or odors. To go into a description of these technical devices is to risk being taken for a writer of some SF text.

However, our hosts also train persistently at the other end of the spectrum of professional skill: how to create a weapon from practically nothing, from something which can be found in every household, in the village market, or, what would be almost a luxury, in the drugstore. One of the subjects of this report zealously assured us of this:

"What do you think a mine is? A metal case which is buried in a road to blow up a tank? Or a sharp, metal, pear-shaped object which flies up from behind a bush and cuts up everything around it with fragments? Do you think that mines are only readymade traps which come from a weapons factory? Then you are mistaken. Anything can become a mine: place a small load of explosives in a pot, a bed, in a fascicle with the sign 'Strictly confidential!--there you have a mine. Remove the cement pipe from a gutter alongside a road, stuff in a chunk of explosive, and then see how that little devil blows up everything around it.

If we do it right, we don't even need an explosive. You've seen what sort of trouble is made by an explosion of a normal bottle of gas. We figured out that you can have a destructive force of up to 3 kilograms of trotyl. A typical flashlight, a can of oil, an agitator, some fish netting--all of this in the hands of an experienced sapper can be turned into a mine."

Had it not been for Lazo Zlonoga, the self-taught master in the first partisan workshop of Banija, who made gunpowder for the church cannon which the rebel bases used, our men today could not learn this skill, which requires only saltpeter, charcoal, and sulphur. It is similar to mixing up a "Molotov cocktail," an inflammable liquid which can set a tank on fire. Many such simple skills, suitable for "home construction" in the event of war, will guarantee that our sapper will never be without a weapon.

"I never try to convince my men by power and authority," says our collocutor, trying to describe the internal relations in the unit. "I try to interest them to use their heads to solve a problem. Our job is not easy: we spend the night in the bushes and in the cold. When the sun burns you up you lie near water, but your lips do not dare touch it so as not to reveal yourself. But I feel that the harder the task, the greater the will of those who do it."

One of the men says that he had grown fond of this unit because the officer in it did not know the command "Advance!" but only "Follow me!"

In their work, we were assured, it is important to understand the enemy, to figure out where he expects attack and to prepare a trap. "You must find out all you can, and not strike for naught." Without this knowledge there can be no tricks nor a completed assignment. One must guess the intentions of the enemy, deceive him, and lead him out onto the thin ice. This unit learns how to do these things in exercises also.

"It is essential not only to complete an assignment, but also to guarantee the safety of our people after it is finished. If our unit were to disappear after several combat assignments, that would be very bad. We do not move in large groups, whose movement is too difficult to disguise. But when the group is small, we can disappear in a hurry. The trails on which we disappear "like a swallow's tail" the pursuer can expect rigged mines for a surprise, bullets from muffled weapons with little visible fire, and their tracking dogs can expect odors which will incapacitate their sense of smell for hours....."

The members of this territorial defense unit, as they themselves will say are for the most part mostly men of the field who know every path and spring, every forest and cabin for 10 kilometers around. They don't need detailed military maps to figure out how far they need to go to a certain target area, nor do they need any more conditioning to arrive at the goal from their bases. There are drivers, locksmiths, engineers, electricians, tradesmen, passionate hunters, and trained fighters (their trainer has a black belt) among them.

The group we visited during preparations did not present a textbook image of a combat unit, if by this we mean the sharp commands and clicking heels. I am

not entirely sure whether all buttons and straps were always fastened and pulled in in proper military fashion. I was impressed by something else: not one of these soldiers, who were, after all, no longer in their youth, displayed any trace of fatigue after a field reconnaissance mission performed shortly before. For this assignment they ran 20 km cross country over difficult terrain in 2 hours to collect data on the most likely objects of attack, and to choose a trail by which, under the cover of darkness, they would sneak up on their target. Their behavior revealed self-confidence and skill usually seen in experienced hunters, scouts, or mountaineers.

The day before, we had talked about the concealment and transfer of sapper's weaponry in temporarily occupied territory. Into the rules (if this is, in general, the right word) of this type of skill have been interwoven the rich experiences of our underground fighters, as well as those of other wars of liberation and revolutions throughout the world. The aggressor continually develops new technology--radar and infra-red systems of alarm against guerrillas, a network of sensors, detectors, stethoscopes, x-ray equipment, and other instruments for discovering their secret shelters, their movements and technology.

Our hosts assure us that only the brave and resourceful, and above all, the motivated man will come out the victor from such a fight. In a well, in a hair-do, a glass of yogurt, a crypt, a child's carriage, in garbage, a basket of cabbage, one can conceal a warehouse of sapper equipment. The list of such hiding places is not meant to be a recipe but only a stimulus in the creative discovery of better and more secure solutions to the problem.

With the necessary tools and weaponry in their hands and dressed in camouflage clothes, the sappers skillfully sneak through the night to the object of attack. For a moment it seems there might be a problem in their mission; before them unexpectedly lies a deep channel. About a minute later, a sufficiently strong tree trunk is felled over the water and the movement continues. Crawling, they cross a country road as quietly as a mouse, and a rather steep wall of a bridge support, they climb together, silently, with one jump.

However, a meeting with the enemy would in reality, be somewhat different. In the exercise, of course, they do not demonstrate the traditional skill of knife throwing. Finally, the sound of a firecracker on the structure of the bridge signals the end of the exercise for these exceptionally able and resourceful young men, who, on paper, quite undeservingly, remain "people without faces."

9548
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JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTE TOUCHES SERBIA'S YOUTH FEDERATION

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1616, 20 Dec 81 p 32

[Article by Teodor Andjelic: "When the Leadership Gets Divided Up"]

[Text] Since the delegates of the Vojvodina Opstinas became the Vojvodina Province delegation to the Republic Conference a year ago, it became a point of dispute whether the Association of Socialist Youth of Serbia is a federation of two province youth associations and one Serbia-proper youth association and whet whether the Vojvodina action is causing unity to be shattered.

The quick comeback of the Vojvodina delegate, Milan Zlatar, at the meeting of the Republic Conference of the Association of Socialist Youth of Serbia "touched down" because of a short paragraph in an otherwise ordinary lengthy report on the work of this organization for 1981.

These seven stylistically and politically slapdash lines from the report literally look like this: "The most extreme expression of nationalism was experienced in the irrenditist attacks and counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo. Recognizing the state of relations in the Association of Socialist Youth of Serbia and the problems that have arisen from the socioeconomic condition and the counterrevolutionay activities of the enemy in Kosovo, the PK [Province Committee(?)] of the Association of Socialist Youth of Serbia has also pointed out several times the problems in the creation of cooperation and unity with the Association of Socialist Youth of Kosovo and the Association of Socialist Youth of the Vojvodina."

The Vojvodina: 'An Acceptable Equating'

The gist of Milan Zlatar's polemical comeback reads "the equating of the Youth Association of Vojvodina and the Youth Association of Kosovo in this infamous paragraph is unacceptable."

GLAS OMLADINE, the newspaper of the Youth Association of Vojvodina, also put "unacceptable equating" in the headline of its text about this dispute.

As for the dialogue that resulted from these infamous seven lines, apparently the most significant rejoinder to the annual report will be what Radislav Plamenic, the delegate from Barajevo, said: "We're just plain scared to tell the real

truth, to keep things from going too far....I am unable to understand the fact that our leaders, who have proven themselves in youth work, are going wrong here too. After election to leadership positions, instead of teaching with activeness and creativity, they are drowning in the tedium of politicalization and are losing the progressive ideas, which they had had; i.e., they are enacting them inconsistently, afraid that they might go deeper into the gist of the problem. This inconsistency is reflected by the frequently inaccurate presentation of the true situation and the action capability in the basic organizations."

Radislav Plamenic, however, did not speak about the "republicanization" of parts of the Association of Socialist Youth of Serbia or about its actual work. However, the polemic that follows can be regarded as "sub rosa" for the greater part of the membership of the youth organization. It also has its own history, which can be summed up into one apparently small statutory change, which Vojvodina made: Instead of sending delegates from all the opstinas (56) to the Republic Conference, it has formed its own special united delegation of 50 members.

This happened last year. A Vojvodina delegate states that the Republic Conference was informed about this ahead of time in writing.

However, the Vojvodina action is in conflict with the statute of the Association of Socialist Youth of Serbia. The Republic Conference to a certain extent has been organized "illegally."

"It is a one-sided decision," retorted Aleksandar Denda, member of the Presidium of the Republic Conference, to Milan Zlatar.

"The method of new organization in the Association of Socialist Youth of Vojvodina, with respect to the constitution of its delegation to the Republic Conference, brings unity into question in the Association of Socialist Youth of Serbia," stated Aleksandar Denda. "If the youth organization of Kosovo were to form its own delegation, then we would arrive at a position where the Republic Conference of the Association of Socialist Youth turns out to be a federation of province organizations of youth and an association of socialist youth from Serbia proper, which is unthinkable."

The Superiors and the Subordinates

The Vojvodina GLAS MLADIH did not publish the statement of Aleksandar Denda. But it carried more than that controversial paragraph; the entire controversial part of the annual report, which Milan Zlatar challenged line by line, was published. His key idea looked like this: "The relations between the Association of Socialist Youth of Vojvodina and the Association of Socialist Youth of Serbia must be in line with our democratic system, based on mutual interests along with respect for the interest of the center, and must never contain any kinds of superior and subordinate forms and uncrystallized, vague biases."

Aleksandar Denda made the following rejoinder to this: "The question of superior and subordinate forms is a question that we have to solve in our heads. The question of mutual work in the Association of Socialist Youth can only be expressed in joint agreement and in work of forms and bodies. We must not make

decisions on one side for mutual work of forms and bodies and, when meetings of such and such bodies take place, then have only the presence of delegates from the territory of Serbia, without the territory of the provinces."

Since the foundation of the Vojvodina delegation, the delegates from the province do not appear at meetings of the commissions of the Republic Conference. Likewise, the youth organization of Vojvodina no longer participates in the financing of joint activities of the Republic Conference; the Vojvodina people only pay for the personal income of their representative.

The youth organization of Kosovo has not touched the subject of changing the method of organizing the Republic Conference of Serbia or the subject of organizing its delegation in it. It has been decided that it is necessary to "open discussion" about it, just before the Congress of Socialist Youth of Serbia. Then this congress will come up with clear views on the entire dispute. The annual report on work has been "accepted fundamentally," but it has been decided that all the remarks have to be included in its text later.

The new president of the Association of Youth of Serbia, Milan Obucina, a teacher from Svetozarevo who was elected at this same conference, came out with what might be a true statement: "There is no dispute within the Association of Socialist Youth of Serbia. These are clashes among the leaders."

9625
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ALBANIAN STUDENTS GIVEN MILD SENTENCES IN ZADAR

Complaints Against Accused

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 28 Jan 82 p 4

[Text] In the Yugoslav city of Zadar on the Adriatic the trial of three young Albanians from the southern Serbian province of Kosovo opened on Monday morning. They are accused of belonging to an "illegal" organization which has its headquarters in Albania. This organization, the "Red Popular Front," is allegedly planning to separate the province--the majority of whose inhabitants are Albanian --from the Yugoslav state and annex it to Albania. The charge is based on sections 116 and 136, which deal with the most serious political crimes, such as "conspiracy" and "counterrevolution." The trial is being held in Zadar because all three were performing their military service in Dalmatia and are alleged to have committed the crime during this period. It is the first trial of Albanian "nationalists" to take place in public.

Adem Cekaj, Muhamet Bitic and Fadil Bufaj are students between 21 and 22 years of age. The first is accused of having been the organizer of the illegal group and of having recruited the other two. According to the prosecution charge, participation in the organization was pledged with "Bessa," a traditional Albanian oath. Adem Cekaj was brought from detention in Zadar, while the other two were at liberty and came from Kosovo.

The three accused plead not guilty before the court to the charge. After the charge is read, which is not based on any acts by the group but on conversations and letters between the accused, Gekaj is allowed to speak. Of the three, he makes by far the most intelligent and confident impression. Point by point he emphatically rejects the charge as untrue. He said that he had not entered the army with the intention of forming the group, he entertained no dreams of annexing Kosovo to Albania and the statements of the others, which implicated him so seriously, were lies. He stated that he knew nothing of a "Red Popular Front" and had heard of it for the first time during interrogation before the military court. The court had attempted to force a confession from him using threats and mistreatment. He speaks about it intensely, without any hint of the outbursts of aggression or hatred that are customary in Western terrorist trials.

At the end of this extremely long day in court, there is a confrontation with the second accused, in which Cekaj is brilliantly successful in exposing the frequently contradictory statements of his former friend and making them appear extraordinarily unbelievable. He and his defense lawyer, Dr Milan Vladovic, are able to create the impression that a confession, the details of which do not seem to be easily recollected, was also extorted from Bitic, without this suspicion ever being expressed in words.

It is interesting that Cekaj comes from an Albanian "partisan family." His father was with Tito's partisans in 1941, two of his brothers and an uncle are respected party members, while he himself as a schoolboy was permitted four times to carry the "Youth Baton" in his home village, as was customary during Tito's life. High ranking party functionaries visited his parents' home from Belgrade just a few years ago. The trial is expected to last 3 days.

Weak Case for Prosecution

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 3 Feb 82 p 4

[Text] Mercy for the Kosovo Albanians

The trial of three young Albanians from Kosovo in the Croatian city of Zadar on the Adriatic, the opening of which was reported in these columns recently, was instructive for the observer in many respects. This was the first opportunity to follow the trial of Kosovos Albanians, following the barring of journalists from the proceedings in connection with the bloody riots in the spring of 1981 in the autonomous southern Serbian province, when the public was informed only of the main points of the charges and of the generally severe sentences.

The Prosecution on Shaky Ground

As was reported, the prosecution accused Adem Cefaj, a 21-year old medical student, of having formed an "illegal" group during his military service, which was alleged to have maintained contact with a so-called red Popular Front in Albania. There was no proof of such contact. The two others accused, 22-year old Muhat Biticij and 21-year old Fadil Bufaj, were the other alleged "members" of the group. Since they "confessed" at the very beginning, they were also acting as witnesses for the prosecution. Unlike Cefaj, they had not been kept in detention. But their statements were so confused that they contributed little to supporting the prosecution's arguments, but rather to the image of innocuousness that characterized the entire case. This impression was strengthened by the statements of four other witnesses--friends of Adem Cefaj--which were supposed to confirm that Cefaj committed seditious statements to paper in allegorical formulations in letters to them in the previous year. Even this incriminating evidence was unconvincing. The texts read out reflected the image of an idealistic-romantic young man.

The accused and the witnesses had first been examined by an army court of inquiry, since they were draftees. With the exception of the principal accused they made similar statements that confessions or incriminating statements had been forced from them ("the major held the pistol against my throat with the safety

off") or that confessions had been dictated or suggested to them. Adem Cefaj also reported massive physical pressure applied during his 16-day detention by the army.

The state prosecutor placed great importance on receiving confirmation that Cefaj had expressed his love of Albania, "Albania is better than Yugoslavia." Neither those accused with him nor witnesses were able to confirm anything more damaging than that he stated there was no unemployment in Albania, no social inequity and no vendetta. To what extent the fact that in Kosovo young people, particularly university graduates, experience great difficulty in finding a job, unemployment is extremely high there, the vendetta still cannot be suppressed completely, although it is naturally illegal, and the discrepancy with the rest of Yugoslavia in the standard of living is undeniable, to what extent all this nourishes romantic ideas of the neighboring "motherland" is hard to judge as a whole, but it is highly likely.

Such feelings could also be fed by the doubts that constantly surfaced during the trial whether the Albanians in Yugoslavia really enjoy all the rights granted to them in the constitution. The experience of military service seems to reinforce such doubts for young people from Kosovo. In spite of all the theories and official assurances, they are, as all the accused stated to the court, particularly exposed to deceit and discrimination in this "melting pot" of nations and peoples.

The Economic Environment

It is part of the most interesting elements of the trial in Zadar that the defense attorneys, through their questions, helped to clarify the economic conditions of life of the accused. The occasionally precarious economic situation of the families of the accused was taken into account by the court in determining punishment. The sentence, 1 year and 8 months imprisonment for Cefaj, 8 months with 3 years probation for the other two, is "mild" compared with the sentences passed on demonstrators last year by courts in Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro. In these instances, university and high school students were given sentences of up to 15 years in prison for offenses which were roughly on a level with those with which the accused in Zadar were charged.

The inhabitants of Zadar showed very little interest in this public trial. In contrast to political trials in the Croatian capital of Zagreb, where massive security measures had been taken inside and outside the court building, there was nothing like this to be seen in Zadar. The atmosphere of this trial, which was conducted with particular fairness to the accused, was normal, even humane.

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5 March 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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No. 1984

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BRIEFS

POLISH STUDENTS ABROAD--A total of 3,040 Poles engage in daily studies abroad in six socialist states. Each of these countries has its own specific teaching specialty. In the GDR, Hungary and the USSR, where most of the students are (up to 2,000), the fields of technology, the humanities and agriculture have attracted the greatest numbers. In Bulgaria Poles are being acquainted with the economics of tourism, in Romania with the processing of crude oil and gas, and in Czechoslovakia with the ins and outs of communications and transportation. Our students abroad are regarded as able and industrious people. Their combined grade point average is 4.21, and three-fourths of them receive awards abroad for favorable results in their studies. In 1981 there was for the first time enrollment for study abroad on the basis of successfully passed entrance examinations, the same ones which are taken by candidates for the same areas of study in Polish schools. The generally low level of knowledge on the part of those taking the examinations caused the enrollment to be repeated three times. [by J.D.] [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Jan 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/329

KOZIK ON GOALS OF 10TH WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 4, 27 Jan 82 pp 3, 5

[Article by Viliam Kozik, secretary, Central Council of Trade Unions [URO]: "Looking Ahead to the 10th World Trade Union Congress"]

[Text] Only a short time remains till the moment when the anniversary 10th World Trade Union Congress starts attending to its agenda. For the first time in history this congress will take place on the Latin American subcontinent, on the territory of socialist Cuba. Every world trade union congress represents a significant event in the international workers trade union movement. It analyzesthe situation in the worldwide trade union movement and its individual regions, determines priority problems and points out the path ahead. It orients the trade union movement on key problems that must be systematically solved in the interest of the working public and with the latter's participation.

The 10th World Trade Union Congress will take place under complex international political conditions that are reflected also in the international trade union movement. Together with a review of the past period, the congress will have to provide in its course an answer to the causes and consequences of multiple negative phenomena which are alarming the workers, because they are aimed against their vital interests and pose a threat to their life. The congress will meet at a time of a deepening political, social and economic crisis of capitalism. In spite of various prognoses and proclamations of bourgeois theorists and politicians, capitalism is in no position to find a way out of its chronic afflictions. This fact is reflected in continued increases in defense budgets, continued militarization of the economy of capitalist countries, feverish stockpiling of armaments, creation of dangerous foci of international tension, in imperialism's efforts to tilt the world balance in its favor.

This situation puts extraordinary demands on the international trade union movement, on trade unions as the most widely based organization of the working public. The preceding statement does not mean that trade unions developed inadequate efforts during the past period or that they did not accomplish much. Only, the new situation calls for further increasing of activity in this direction, not remaining satisfied with what had been attained and looking for new approaches.

Trade unions did and still do play an important role in all mass actions undertaken to date by the working people of Western Europe, be it West Germany, France,

Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and also Great Britain. However, as was pointed out by the Fourth European Trade Union Conference, which took place in Geneva in November 1981, the voice of the working people and their trade unions must sound off ever more strongly on behalf of removal of nuclear weapons from the European continent, on behalf of a ban on production of weapons of mass destruction, on behalf of utilizing the thus-acquired resources to improve the living conditions of the working people. In its concluding document, the conference rejected the imperialist thesis about a limited nuclear war. The use of any type of nuclear weapons--tactical, medium, or strategic, says the mentioned document would lead to total destruction of our planet. It is therefore indispensable that trade unions on their part develop a coordinated effort on behalf of disarmament which could rid the world of the threat of a destructive war. To promote deeper understanding and cooperation, it was decided to convene in 1983 another European trade union conference to deal with problems relevant to increased participation of trade unions in economic cooperation in Europe. Also the world trade union conference on socioeconomic aspects of disarmament, which was held in December 1981 in Paris, dealt with the problem of how trade unions could effectively contribute to easing of international tensions. In its final declaration, it emphasized the need for an active approach--on national as well as international scale--to the struggle for peace and disarmament, for conversion of the armament industry into a peace-oriented industry. That is fully consistent with our efforts, it is in the interest of the working people. The WFTU and its member organizations devote to these problems constant attention and continuously keep it on their agenda.

Some of the positive phenomena in the approaches of the West European trade union movement, which I discuss in my article are not a matter of mere accident. The mentioned facts will come into focus with particular clarity if we take into consideration some recent approaches of a number of West European trade union organizations to the basic problem of the present--war and peace. This problem to many of them seemed to be too political, too ideological, they dodged proposals to include the mentioned problems in joint communiques or other documents. Not even in dealing with problems of an increased share of economic cooperation did we always encounter understanding. Nevertheless, matters are gradually changing today. The most substantial cause of this fact is constituted primarily by the systematic Leninist peace-oriented foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of other countries of the socialist community. Increasingly more people in the West confront the comprehensive peace initiatives of the USSR with the absurd, adventurous policy of the Reagan administration, they gain a realistic view of international developments and are coming to realize that the only solution is creation of conditions for peaceful, mutually advantageous cooperation between two differing social systems for easing of international tensions. The causes of the mentioned positive changes have their roots also in the constantly worsening social standing of the working people in capitalist countries.

Militarization of the economy of capitalist countries does not lead to elimination of unemployment and underemployment, its consequences are reflected in fierce growth of inflation, in further pauperization of the working people. In the framework of the EEC alone there are today more than 9 million unemployed. In many capitalist countries unemployment amounts to--without including the

underemployed--10-11 percent of the populace of productive age. Of particular significance is the fact that youths account for more than 60 percent of the mentioned number of unemployed. Widespread unemployment and its consequential accompanying phenomena are more and more shouldered by the working people; they become reflected in polarized class struggle, in mass actions by the working people that are becoming ever more conspicuous as to their duration, militancy and mass appeal. Such actions reaffirm the artificial nature of the various "theories" regarding the so-called social partnership. They confirm that there cannot be harmony between labor and capital, that the rich in reality are getting richer and the poor poorer. Mass actions of the working people in capitalist countries are characterized by the fact that in their course the focus has long since ceased to be just some partial wage or other social demands--more and more there appear demands oriented toward bringing about deep structural changes in the entire capitalist society, demands calling for nationalization of industry, natural resources, elimination of the power of international monopolies. These facts create the prerequisites for establishing and functioning of a widely based antimonopoly front participated in--in spite of differing approaches to other important problems--by proponents of various political, religious and other movements and trends.

There is a constantly growing realization that effective struggle can be waged against internationalization of monopolistic capitalism and its antiworker policies--on a national as well as international scale--only by consolidated action of all working people. For that reason also the proposal for the key document being prepared for the 10th World Trade Union Congress under the title "Trade Unions and Problems of the Eighties," devotes great attention to the above-mentioned problems. The focus of interest is formed by the problems of war and peace; it is emphasized that preservation of peace represents the most basic vital interest of the working people the world over. The document analzyes the position of the working people during the period of deepening crisis of the capitalist world. It shows that negative effects the growth of power and influence of supranational monopolies--among them particularly armament monopolies--has not only on the working people in capitalist countries, but also on life in many developing countries where there is exploitation of their natural resources by supranational monopolies and continued dangerous growth of proletarization and backwardness.

The current progress of preparations leads us to the conviction that the 10th WFTU Congress in Havana will come to represent in the international trade union movement another significant stage in consolidating the unity of action of the working people and of trade unions. We can expect many suggestions and calls for action in this direction. The WFTU has on many occasions come up with specific proposals and initiatives. Alas, to many of them the ICFTU has turned a deaf ear. In the precongress period the WFTU also turned to the working people of the whole world with an appeal to use, without regard to differences in viewpoints, citizenship affiliation and varying ideological orientation, all available means toward promoting mutual understanding, awareness and cooperation for continued consolidation of the unity of action of all working people in the name of the most precious and most valuable goal--peaceful life in happiness.

The policy of the WFTU always was and still is based on the widest possible exchange of opinions, on a constructive dialogue, on emphasizing all problems uniting the working people all over the world. Thus also the 10th World Trade Union Congress will be an open, deeply democratic congress; it will represent the platform of constructive dialogue in regard to all the pressing problems that are the subject of interest of all working people. The congress will be participated in by more than 800 delegates who will come to Havana from approximately 120 countries of the world; they will represent some 250 million working people--approximately 200 million of them from the member organizations of the WFTU and 50 million more from other nonmember organizations. Almost 200 delegates will come from Latin America, the United States and Canada.

The congress will become a forum offering the possibility for a vivid confrontation of the position of the working people and their trade unions in socialist countries with the position of the working people under conditions of capitalism.

While uncertain existence became the characteristic feature of the lifestyle of working people in capitalist countries, the countries of the socialist community are characterized by the all-round growth of the social security of the working people and of the entire populace, based on development of production and creation of ever-increasing room for scientific and technical development. The advantages of the socialist social system, in which the role, rights and responsibilities of trade unions throughout the socialist social system are not only anchored in the rule of law but became a factual part of our daily life, are increasingly coming to the fore. In spring of 1980, which the WFTU proclaimed to be the year of intensified struggle for trade union rights, the Federal Assembly of the CSSR could justifiably state in its promulgation of the General Declaration of Trade Union Rights that Czechoslovakia guarantees an important human right--the right to work for every human corresponding to his or her state of health and abilities. It emphasized that unemployment--whether in its open or disguised form--has become an unknown concept in our country. Working people are guaranteed remuneration for the work they perform according to its extent and quality; also provided is the right to ensure safety of protection of health at work, right to rest and recreation after work, free medical and hospital care. At the same time we are not saying, and we never did, that we have attained the maximum, that there is nothing for us to improve upon, to perfect. On the contrary--we openly discuss our problems, where we are still not succeeding and what our weak points are. However, our problems--in comparison with the problems of working people and trade unions in capitalist society--are qualitatively of a different order.

The forum of the 10th World Trade Union congress will be the forum of proletarian internationalism, of the solidarity of workers. We know that in many parts of the world the working people wage a hard struggle for elementary rights, that they are persecuted, subjected to brutal discrimination, that there are various attempts to curtail the rights and freedom of trade unions. American imperialism is once again fomenting war tensions in the Caribbean area, revolutionary Cuba is a thorn in its eye. Progressive forces of Nicaragua are exposed to hatred, attacks and provocation. Brutalities committed by mercenaries of imperialism against progressive forces in Salvador are equal to genocide. At the congress we shall once again pass judgment on American imperialism, its adventurous, dangerous military policy. We shall express our support for and solidarity with the heroic Cuban people, the revolutionary and progressive forces, the working people of the whole world.

The revolutionary trade union movement has always based its activities on the positions of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity of workers. Thus, positions are class inspired and of an international orientation. We know that this constitutes the important condition for carrying out all functions of our trade unions. In preparations for the 10th World Trade Union Congress in the above context we develop maximum participation in the solutions to politically oriented, but also to material and organizational problems. That is one of many specific forms of our class solidarity, aid and support for the working class of the world.

Preparations of the Czechoslovak Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] for the 10th World Trade Union Congress coincide also from the chronological viewpoint with preparations for the 10th All-Trade Union ROH Congress which will take place in April of the current year. For both of these significant events, what has been said at the 12th Plenary Session of the URO applies: their preparation became an occasion for general mobilization of the resources of our entire trade union movement which always demonstrates its class, revolutionary, democratic and international character primarily by new and useful deeds. Preparations for the 10th World Trade Union Congress were dealt with in detail by the 13th Plenary Session of URO. It emphasized that the struggle for peace and disarmament, for social progress in the entire world cannot be waged only in the sphere of education, campaigning and propaganda--our contribution to consolidating the positions of peace and socialism must be based primarily on honest work in the economy and all other spheres of life of our country. Czechoslovak trade unionists are aware of these facts; by their efforts designed to implement the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress they also solemnly welcome the upcoming 10th World Trade Union Congress in Havana.

8204
CSO: 2400/132

POLITICAL INDOCTRINATION OF SCHOOLCHILDREN TO BE INTENSIFIED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 11, 22 Jan 82 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Leadership Obviously Worried About 'Ideological Steadfastness' of Young People." Translation of the two East Berlin PAEDAGOGIK and DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG articles cited below and a translation of a PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN article follow this commentary]

[Text] The GDR leadership is apparently concerned about the "political-ideological steadfastness" of its youth. In this connection, PAEDAGOGIK (No 12, 1981), an East Berlin journal, demanded that particularly at the present time, since there is no shortage of attempts by bourgeois ideologists to propagate pluralistic concepts under the pretext of a "renewal" or an "improvement" of socialism, efforts are to be increased to instill in students "ideological steadfastness" and to enable them to come to terms with false and hostile concepts about the party.

The East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG (No 3, 1982) also demanded that students should be taught the kind of basic attitudes which guarantee a "class position as represented by the party." The intensification of the ideological confrontation between East and West and also the rapid succession of political events demand "unshakable attitudes." They are also necessary to enable young people to cope more confidently with the contradictions which they encounter in their lives. In this connection the paper criticized the inadequate willingness of many teachers to enter into political discussions with the students, although they could be used to correct idealistic concepts among those students "who are unable to cope with contradictions, conflicts and also absurdities in the ordinary life."

GDR Education Journal's Editorial

East Berlin PAEDAGOGIK in German Vol 36 No 12, Dec 81 (signed to press 13 Nov 81) pp 945-948

[Editorial signed 'm-n': "Pedagogical Guidance and Independent Activity of Pupils"]

[Text] Pedagogical collectives are currently concentrating on discussions dealing with the question of achieving better results while putting into action high quality, long-term educational concepts that were decreed on the basis of the SED program of the Eighth Pedagogical Congress and the Tenth SED Party Congress. In this respect, questions dealing with students' solidity of knowledge and ability,

the development of their consciousness and conduct are of special importance. These are questions that are directly related to the quality of work of each individual teacher and educator, his attitudes and his performance. Therefore a special point on which the pedagogical collectives are concentrating their discussions is the question: How does a pedagogue master the relationship between pedagogical guidance and the independent activities of students?

Certainly--this question is not a new one. It has occupied pedagogues for a long time; and in theory and in practice much attention has always been devoted to this problem. Among other things, an interesting discussion in our journal is proof of it.[1] Although these problems are decidedly a "handle" for pedagogical activities, comprising all aspects of the pedagogical process, it follows that one must again and again think about new and the most effective applications according to the prevailing concrete-historical conditions. As is the case with solutions to all pedagogical tasks, it is also important in this instance to refer to proven approaches, to use and expand them under present conditions and simultaneously look for new ways and possibilities to increase the quality of education and training.

The tasks promulgated by the Tenth SED Party Congress call for "a more effective use of the powers of the people's educational system to provide a good, practical education for young people, which will prove useful during their lives, developing creative thinking and actions, students' consciousness and activities and class-conscious attitudes and deeds, reflecting their political awareness."[2] These tasks are pointing the directions for mastering the relationship between pedagogical guidance and independent activities of students. Although there are many problems in these areas, we can only select a few for our discussion:

--It is well-known that pedagogical guidance in our society is always aimed at producing well-rounded, harmonically developed socialist personalities. Since the development of the personality is tied to active, revolutionary activities, seeking reform, primary importance must be given to man's search to understand his natural and social environment. Whether in school or while working outside of school--to a large extent the success of pedagogical activities will always depend on the pedagogue and his guidance, opening up a broad field of activities for the students and advancing their development. Practice confirms: Wherever children and juveniles are enabled and motivated to manage more and more difficult tasks by themselves, wherever they face problems, overcome difficulties, wherever they have to take sides, we create favorable conditions for the development of revolutionary attitudes among young people and aspirations to perform well.

In some pedagogical circles the question has arisen whether at times the emphasis may not be too much on the activities of the teacher, his activities in the classroom, and whether the natural desire felt by young people to be involved and independent, to assume responsibilities--particularly in the upper classes--is being utilized sufficiently. It is certainly a key for opening up additional reserves for solving difficult problems in the communist education of the youth. With respect to uncovering reserves, the debate in pedagogical collectives frequently turns to questions dealing with the causes for the variation in educational results for different teachers in the same class. Why is it that students of one class follow one teacher attentively, participate actively, are well-disciplined and class periods go very fast, while another colleague complains about the lack of

cooperation and has discipline problems? Every pedagogue knows that the causes can be manifold. In one way or another, however, most of the time they are related to the planning and guidance of student activities. It is an old pedagogical piece of wisdom: Unrest and lack of interest occur wherever the demands are too low or too high, wherever students do not have enough to do, wherever they are not praised enough and wherever they cannot laugh occasionally. To find the right measure, to recognize and consider the exact level of development of the students is part of what is called pedagogical mastery.

--Pedagogical guidance is political leadership when it comes to developing the ideological principles and the morality of the working class. It is well-known that the development of stable convictions, opinions and attitudes is not spontaneous. It is the result of extensive, scientifically based general education, the unity of science and ideology. It is a fundamental principle that students must be introduced to discussions of the political, ideological and moral questions of our time in such a manner that their answers follow the classical perspective "What benefits whom?".

Particularly at the present time, when imperialism in conjunction with its policy of heavy arms buildup--threatening human existence--is increasing the ideological diversion against socialism enormously, when bourgeois ideologues do not spare any attempts to propagate pluralistic concepts also for schools under the pretext of "renewal" or "improvement" of socialism, Lenin's statement takes on a principal meaning: "...bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no compromise....Therefore every diminishment of socialist ideology, every deviation from it is at the same time a strengthening factor for the bourgeois ideology."[3] From this point of view it becomes important for pedagogical collectives to exchange experiences and findings that deal with the success of instilling in students political-ideological steadfastness, impressing upon them the importance of the basic truths of our epoch contained in the "open letter" and enabling them to counter false and hostile opinions, representing the party's point of view.

--Pedagogical guidance and independent activities of students form a dialetic union; they are inseparably joined sides of the pedagogical process. Our educational concept is opposed to any kind of indecisiveness and administration, and it is certainly different from the bourgeois educational theories and practices of the "drill" as well as the "antiauthoritarian, free" education. The development of independent activities of students is a task which pedagogues have to solve continuously to get all students actively involved, to reach every one of them, to promote abilities and talents toward goals and to leave no one behind. Altogether, it is without doubt one of the most difficult everyday problems in pedagogy. A higher level of independent student activities demands and provides a steady increase in the quality of political-pedagogical guidance. Contrasting opinions contradict the findings and experiences of the Marxist-Leninist pedagogy.

Looking at our students, it becomes evident that the teachers who are best equipped to do justice to their leadership role in the pedagogical process are those who represent a clear political standpoint, who have exceptional knowledge in their fields and pedagogical-psychological know-how and abilities and who are filled with love for their students and their profession.

--Pedagogical guidance is based on an optimistic attitude toward the student, firm confidence in his developmental abilities; it includes firm principles, consistence and sensitivity. Of special importance are requirements that promote development, because there can be no education without requirements. Requirements and promotion, however, must form one unit at all times. Discussions by the pedagogical collectives provide evidence that particularly in this respect there are still many reserves. It applies to problems in connection with relevance--are the requirements realistic--motivation and the forms of control, but also to questions that pertain to the uniformity of actions in the pedagogical collective. At any rate, the creative, political-pedagogical atmosphere in the pedagogical collective is of special significance for the mastery of the dialectic of pedagogical guidance and independent activity of students, because the tasks that must be solved in the process are spread far apart. They concern the subject-object dialectic in the pedagogical process, they are inseparably connected with the development of socialist teacher-student relationships and they extend to the pedagogical ABC, the firm command of which is indispensable for a successful communist education.

The high priority of pedagogical guidance is expressed in all the contributions to the discussion which is presently taking place in our journal and which deals with current questions concerning a higher quality of communist education for our schoolchildren. The following is very evident from the discussion: The effectiveness of political-pedagogical guidance is inseparably connected with the knowledge of student interests, likes and standards of value and with the development of their total personalities. It includes knowledge of the differences in the living conditions of the students as well as knowledge of how they spend their free time. No teacher and educator will doubt that this is so, because he knows that paying attention to all these conditions is very important for the success of his pedagogical activities. The problem, however, is: How does he acquire such thorough knowledge, since, most of the time, he has to deal with students of several classes? Since many pedagogues are troubled by this problem, it is an important question during the continuation of the discussion.

We are asking our readers to express their opinions.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. discussions of the problems "Paedagogische Fuehrung und Selbsttaetigkeit der Schueler" [Pedagogical Guidance and Independent Activities of Students] in PAEDAGOGIK, Nos 8, 1977 to 6, 1978.

2. Report of the SED Central Committee to the Tenth SED Party Congress. Reporter: Erich Honecker, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1981, p 98.

3. W.I. Lenin, "What Is to Be Done?", Works, Vol 5, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1955, p 396.

GDR Teacher Journal's Discussion

East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG in German Vol 29 No 3, 22 Jan 82 p 4

[Commentary by Prof Guenter Dallmer, associate editor, on the topic 'Social Science Study' in 'Pedagogical Forum' feature]

[Excerpts] Again and again one hears of the experience that class-conscious positions and ideological convictions are primarily promoted and established through well-founded knowledge based on facts. That is absolutely correct and corresponds to the scientific character of our ideology.

Simultaneously, however, it is pointed out that the teacher increases the knowledge of positions and convictions among students not only through the material which he presents but also through his own personality. Here we want to lend special emphasis to this experience. By using engaging arguments, personal standpoints, political assessments, a pointed sense of humor and a vivid classroom presentation of party ideology, the teacher can often be more convincing than any textbook.

Consequently there are two things we should keep in mind at all times: The logically mandatory realization and the personal political example. Or to put it differently, the contents and the manner in which it is transmitted and made palatable to the students. We want to call attention to a few problems that are connected with it:

First: The more a teacher is responsive to the questions and problems of the student and the more he incorporates their experiences, impressions, ideas and thoughts, the more permanent the effect will be of his knowledgeableness and power of conviction. We must divorce ourselves from the idea that the students have had our own political experiences. Rather, are students not searchers too? Should we not attempt to make finders out of them? Or: Are we ourselves not also searchers at times? Do we always have the most suitable answer at our fingertips? Consequently it is not always right when we sometimes avoid political discussions with our students and particularly honor those students who agree with us. The discussion is an excellent means to measure and interpret everyday experiences of the students in light of their theoretical knowledge. In the process we would also be able to adjust to the situation that there are a few students who have idealistic notions and who are not able to cope with contradictions, conflicts and absurdities in the everyday social life, who demonstrate little perseverance and capitulate over the smallest incident.

Second: The contents and its interpretation should be coordinated in such a manner that with respect to the political education of the students it should be concentrated on basic knowledge and basic attitudes. They must form a firm foundation for the position of the party and for class consciousness. The sharp increase in ideological controversies and also the rapid succession of political events, above all, require unshakable attitudes. Who--whom? Who will benefit? These are questions that must be firmly implanted in students. In spite of differences in views concerning our reality, our enemies, the political world situation--our social-science instruction must be oriented toward the fundamental positions of

the basic truths contained in the open letter. Then our students will be able to cope more easily with the contradictions they encounter in life, they will be able to adjust, assess situations and act accordingly.

GDR Education Ministry's Commentary

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 8, 21 Jan 82 p 6

[Commentary by Guenther Kaehler, member, Ministry for Public Education: "Social Science Study Enables Pupils to Confront Aggressive Politics of Imperialism"]

[Text] Even our children want and have to be involved daily in the struggle concerning the problems of life--through their attitudes and deeds--defending peace and progress and opposing the forces of war. It is the awesome responsibility of our socialist school to provide the tools through education and training, enabling them to recognize more and more easily the dangers and the aggressive manner of imperialism as well as the hopelessness of its reactionary goals.

Instruction in social studies plays a particularly important role, because students are systematically acquiring fundamental scientific-ideological, historical and timely political knowledge through their courses in civics, history and geography.

From the eighth to the tenth grade, girls and boys are given more comprehensive and fundamental insights into the nature of socialism and imperialism, they learn historical and current events and the legitimacy of our epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. They gain insights into the causes of the intensification of the class struggle between the two antagonistic social systems and about the role of the GDR as a country bordering the two systems. This knowledge provides an opportunity for the students to recognize the misanthropic, aggressive, antipeace policy of imperialism and its accomplices in connection with its social and, above all, economic roots and to condemn it convincingly.

Connections Are Made Clear

An important task of social science instruction is to acquaint students, above all, with those historic experiences that have taken on general significance and are based on Marxist-Leninist analyses and which have been gathered by the German and international revolutionary labor movement, for instance, during their struggle against fascism and war. Among these experiences is also the failure of the U.S. aggression against Vietnam and other countries and the sudden growth of national and social liberation movements.

The students learn about the continuity of the peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist states and the antihumanistic goals of the policy of heavy arms buildup by NATO, especially the United States, aimed at destroying mankind. On the basis of concrete historical and current facts and data, the boys and the girls become aware of the imperialist desire for maximal profits and the nature of capitalist power and property relationships. Gradually they develop the ability to prove clearly and convincingly that these are the causes for the imperialist danger of war. In this manner the students acquire the important Leninist realization about the legitimate connection between imperialism, monopoly, aggressiveness,

reaction and war. The conviction, based on scientific and ideological evidence, that the peace of economic stability and dynamics of socialism requires strengthening on all sides--including military protection--and that the concrete contribution by students to strengthen the GDR consists of diligent learning and solid work.

Forming and Representing Standpoints

Lively classroom discussions, the process of acquiring knowledge in the social studies and its application to daily political discussions and argumentation are becoming more and more successful in getting the students to use their knowledge creatively and with increasing independence. They are also identifying more with party positions and acting accordingly. They are forming their own standpoints and preparing argumentations for questions that are of concern to them, for instance: What is the purpose of the imperialist lie about the alleged threat from the East? What about the military balance between socialism and imperialism? What efforts are required to ban the imperialist danger of war? What can and must the students contribute in this respect? Why are imperialist states delaying talks about disarmament and detente? What are the social, political and ideological forces that unite the world peace movement?

Particularly teachers in the social sciences feel a daily and growing responsibility to assist schoolchildren in answering these and many other questions, to increase their abilities to deal with complicated problems of world events and to equip them with better and better tools representing our ideology to prepare them for the growing confrontation.

8991
CSO: 2300/132

ORDER ON ALLOWANCES FOR SOLDIERS' FAMILIES UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 29, 14 Dec 81 pp 328-329

[Item 161. Order of the Council of Ministers of 12 December 1981 on allowances entitled to family members of soldiers on active military duty in time of martial law (stan wojenny)]

[Text] On the basis of article 133, law 3 and in conjunction with article 237 of the law of 21 November 1967 on the public duty of defending the Polish People's Republic (Dz. U. [Government Regulations and Laws Gazette] of 1979, No 18, item 111) the following is to be enacted.

§1.1 In time of martial law (stan wojenny) family members supported by soldiers performing on active military duty, referred to in articles 110 and 111 of the law of 21 November 1967 on the public duty of defending the Polish People's Republic (Government Regulations and Laws Gazette of 1979, No 18, item 111), henceforth referred to as the law, are entitled--with the stipulation of the regulations of laws 2 and 3 as well as §2--to allowances stipulated in article 125 of the law.

2. Allowances, referred to in law 1, are paid in the amount and according to the principles governing the disbursing of daily allowances due soldiers when they are on military exercises, as well as family members of these soldiers.

3. Regulations of laws 1 and 2 do not apply to family members:

1) of soldiers who before the introduction of martial law (stan wojenny) had been called up for:

a) temporary military service;
b) basic military training;

2) of graduates of higher schools called up for active military service within the framework of long-term military training of these graduates.

4. Family members of soldiers cited in law 3, point 1 b) and point 2 who are sole providers of families are entitled to allowances in the amount and according to the principles governing the disbursing of monthly allowances stipulated in article 126 of the law.

§2. Soldiers with employee status when called up to participate in military exercises before martial law (stan wojenny) was introduced and those called up for military service after matial law (stan wojenny) was introduced are entitled to remunerations from their work place in the amount and according to the principles defined in article 123, regulations 2-4 of the law for the payment of remunerations in a period of military exercises. Family members of these soldiers are not entitled to allowances referred to in §1.

§3. Authorization for covering housing dues and suspending payments on loans and housing investment credits stipulated in article 129, regulation 1 of the law is entitled if active military service is performed during a period of at least 30 days.

§4. This order is effective as of the day martial law (stan wojenny) was declared.
Chairman of the Council of Ministers: General of the Army W. Jaruzelski

9866
CSO: 2600/233

ORDER ON ACCUMULATION, FINANCIAL SERVICES, CREDITS UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 29, 14 Dec 81 pp 329-330

[Item 162. Order of the Council of Ministers of 13 December 1981 on executing the decree on martial law (stan wojenny) in the accumulation of money resources, money turnover and financial services as well as granting credits]

[Text] On the basis of article 23, point 2 of the decree of 12 December 1981 on martial law (stan wojenny) (Government Regulations and Laws Gazette No 29, item 154) the following is to be enacted:

§1. Checking and saving accounts payments and withdrawal of the populace are to proceed according to the following principles:

1) all payments resulting from money obligations to the state treasury and other socialized units of the economy are to be made without restrictions according to the regulations presently in effect;

2) payments to the populace's savings accounts are accepted according to existing principles without restrictions;

3) payments referred to in point 1 can be made from the populace's savings accounts without restrictions;

4) payments made from savings accounts cannot exceed the monthly quota of 10,000 zlotys; payments from checking-savings accounts can exceed this quota by up to the amount of revenues in the form of remittances of pension and retirement remunerations;

5) the negotiation of the payment of money quotas in the form of savings bonds to the bearer is suspended until further notice unless the bonds become personalized; payments of money quotas in the form of personal bonds are negotiated in compliance with the principle established for savings accounts in point 4;

6) payments from savings accounts for burial costs are made according to existing principles; in other special documented natural disaster cases the head of the bank branch determines the amount of a single payment.

§2.1 Servicing accounts of nonsocialized units of the economy takes place according to the following principles:

1) noncash turnover in bank accounts is done according to the following existing principles without restrictions;

2) cash payments can be made from bank accounts for covering remunerations for work done by people in the employ of the possessor of these accounts up to the amount of 15,000 zlotys; indispensable cash for purchasing raw materials, materials, semifinished articles and tools up to the amount for ensuring continuity in production and services can be paid with the approval of the head of the bank branch on the basis of the owner's statement justifying the need for the purchase;

3) the principle referred to in point 2 also applies to all savings accounts of persons running private farms.

2. Regulations of law 1, points 1 and 2, duly apply to legal entities that are not socialized units of the economy.

§3. Servicing the populace's currency accounts and nonsocialized units of the economy (foreign exchange natives) takes place according to the following principles:

1) all payments in foreign currency are accepted in currency accounts according to existing principles without restrictions;

2) cash payments, the execution of drafts, and other bank orders abroad in foreign currencies are suspended until further notice;

3) the existing principles of payments in commodity bonds of the Polish Savings Bank [Bank Polska Kasa Opieki, S. S. (PKO)] and the resale of foreign currency for Polish zlotys are maintained.

4) servicing domestic export accounts is done according to existing principles;

5) in the case of travel abroad where permission is required, the owner of a currency account can assume a quota of equivalence up to $300 per person and also cover indispensable travel costs.

§4. Servicing foreigners' foreign exchange currency accounts is done according to existing principles.

§5.1 The granting and negotiating of credits for the populace and economic units that are not socialized are suspended until further notice. For young couples, check credits issued before 13 December retain their validity and are negotiated according to existing principles.

2. Payments for workers and friends of workers from loan-relief banks are limited to 10,000 zlotys per borrower. This limitation does not affect natural disaster relief paid by these banks.

3. The minister of finances and the president of the Polish National Bank can introduce deviations from regulations in law 1.

§6. The existing principles of foreign clearances of accounts for trade and services turnovers, as well as banking operations with foreign countries, remain unchanged.

§7. In the area not regulated by the order of the minister of finances and the president of the Polish National Bank, matters pertaining to monetary account settlements, the populace's financial services, legal persons who are nonsocialized units of the economy and nonsocialized units of the economy and savings turnover and credits can be regulated.

§8. As of 14 and 15 December 1981, banking service is suspended as well as servicing of savings accounts and general offices of savings banks and post offices, with the exception of taking in receipts from stores and making payments for procurement of agricultural products and payment of remunerations for work places.

§9. The increased interest of savings deposits from 1 January 1982 remains in effect. The state guarantees the inviolability of both zloty and foreign exchange deposits and their full solvency with interest for securing a stabilized situation in the country.

§10. This order is effective as of the day martial law (stan wojenny) was declared.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers: General of the Army W. Jaruzelski

9866
CSO: 2600/233

ORDER ON GUNS, AMMUNITION, EXPLOSIVES, ETC, THREATENING PUBLIC ORDER UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 29, 14 Dec 81 pp 330-331

[Item 163. Order of the minister of internal affairs of 12 December 1981 in the matter of depositing guns, ammunition and explosive materials and prohibiting the carrying of objects and implements whose use may threaten public order]

[Text] On the basis of article 21 of the decree of 12 December 1981 on martial law (stan wojenny)(Government Regulations and Laws Gazette, No 6, item 43), the following is to be enacted:

§1.1 Persons possessing all types of guns (hand, hunting, sports and signal pistols) and ammunition for these guns as well as explosive materials are obligated to deposit these guns, ammunition and materials at their own cost at the nearest command post--Citizens' Militia--within 24 hours from the issuance of the order.

2. The obligation of depositing guns, ammunition and explosive materials also applies to offices, institutions, plants, enterprises, schools and organizational units of socialized organizations having at their disposal guns, ammunition or explosive materials.

3. Heads of units, referred to in law 2, are to establish, in the time defined in law 1 with the commanders of their own local regional units of the Citizens' Militia, the means and place for depositing these said guns and ammunition.

§2. Regulations of §1 of laws 1 and 2 do not apply to:

1) soldiers in active military service,

2) officials of the Citizens' Militia,

3) persons and members (officials, employees) of units and organizations called up for the defense of public order or common property--to whom permission to have guns was issued on the basis of a separate decision of the minister of internal affairs or organs of the Citizens' Militia authorized by him.

4) socialized units of the economy, in the part referring to their possession of explosive materials for industrial purposes and forest and farm exploitation.

§3. In receiving guns, ammunition or explosive materials for deposit, the commander of the regional unit of the Citizens' Militia issues a receipt describing the type of gun, ammunition explosive materials, quantity, number of guns and data certifying the identity of the person making the deposit and, in regard to units, which are referred to in §1 of law 2, the name of the unit and its address.

§4. It is forbidden to carry any kind of sidearms, as well as air-guns, cap pistols, gas pistols and other similar objects and implements whose use can threaten public order.

§5. In the case of guns, ammunition or explosive materials not being deposited at the designated time and place, officials of the Citizens' Militia deposit these guns, ammunition or explosive materials in accordance with the appropriate regulation of the law of 17 June 1966 on seizure procedures in administration (Government Regulations and Laws Gazette, No 24, item 151, with the latest changes.)

2. Illegal possession of guns, ammunition or explosive materials 24 hours after the order is in effect is defined as a crime in the penal regulations.

§6. Regulations of the order are applied under martial law (stan wojenny) in the entire territory of the Polish People's Republic or within the boundaries of units of the state administrative division in which martial law (stan wojenny) has been introduced, under the items of the resolution of the Council of State introducing martial law (stan wojenny).

§7. This order is effective as of the day martial law (stan wojenny) was declared.

Minister of Internal Affairs: C. Kiszczak

9866
CSO: 2600/233

ORDER ON PRINCIPLES, PROCEDURES ON CHANGE OF RESIDENCE UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 29, 14 Dec 81 pp 331-332

[Item 164. Order of the minister of internal affairs regarding permission to change place of residence during martial law and the relevant principles and procedures]

[Text] On the basis of article 10, laws 1 and 3; article 11, law 3 of the decree of 12 December 1981 on martial law (stan wojenny) (Government Regulations and Laws Gazette, No 29, item 154); and in connection with article 52, law 1 of 10 April 1974 on population census and identity cards (Government Regulations and Laws Gazette No 4, item 85), the following is to be enacted:

§1.1 In time of martial law with regard to state security under the items of the resolution of the Council of State introducing martial law (stan wojenny) in the entire territory of the Polish People's Republic or within the boundaries of units of the state administrative division in which martial law has been introduced, there is imposed the obligation of:

1) obtaining prior permission in changing permanent or temporary place of residence when moving to another locality;

2) registering within 12 hours after arrival at the designated locality.

2. Obligations referred to in law 1 apply to Polish inhabitants and foreigners staying in an area or arriving at an area under martial law (stan wojenny).

§2.1. The local organ of the state administration at the basic level, within whose jurisdiction falls the present permanent or temporary place of residence of the person intending to change residence, issues permission for change of place of residence referred to in §1 law 1, point 1, henceforth referred to as "permission," in the form of a decision whose standard is defined by the enclosure to the order.

2. Persons on their way to a border zone are obligated, moreover, to obtain permission before leaving their present place of residence or immediately upon arrival at the border zone:

1) for permanent residency--permission is issued by the local organ of the state administration at the basic level;

2) for temporary residence--permission is issued by the head of the regional unit of the Citizens' Militia

--appurtenant to the intended residence.

3) the decision referred to in laws 1 and 2 is issued without justification; appealing the decision is not in order.

§3.1. Permission is issued on the written application with reasons given for moving by the interested person.

2. Persons employed in socialized work places intending to change place of residence are obligated to obtain approval from the head of the plant as expressed in the application referred to in law 1.

§4. The following persons are exempt from the obligation of obtaining permission for change of place of residence, referred to in §1 law 1, point 1, as well as for residence in a border zone:

1) deputies to the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Sejm and People's Council councilors at the voivodship level,

2) leading members and voivodship authorities of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD],

3) members of the Council of Ministers and undersecretaries of state,

4) employees of the Supreme Chamber of Control performing or in charge of supervisory control,

5) heads of central office and state institutions and their deputies,

6) governors and vice governors (or their equivalents),

7) judges and attorneys,

8) soldiers on active military duty,

9) functionaries of the ministry of internal affairs,

10) functionaries of penal institutions,

11) persons traveling to their place of work who have valid work authorization or attestation by the head of the work place,

12) employees making an official journey on the basis of a recommendation for an official trip at the behest of the head of a socialized work place,

13) persons returning to their permanent or temporary place of residence in the 24-hour period after the issuance of the order.

§5. The obligation of registering, referred to in §1 of law 1, point 2, is carried out in the local office of the state administration organ at the basic level in the work place hotel or in the space adjoining the work place used for work, study, medical treatment or social welfare, appurtenant to the place of residence.

§6.1. In registration for a permanent or temporary sojourn one must present:

1) a document certifying identity,

2) permission for change of permament or temporary place of residence,

3) a document certifying occupying a position of performing a function, fulfilling duties or being recommended for an official trip in regard to persons referred to in §4,

4) certification of registration from a previous permanent place of residence in case of registration for a permanent sojourn.

2. In particularly well-founded cases, one may register for a permanent sojourn without presenting a certification of registration from a previous place of permanent residence.

3. Application of the required data for registering and for recording departure ensues when the current forms are completed and signed.

§7.1. The local organ of the state administration at the basic level completing the registering or recording departure from a permanent place of residence confirms this fact in a document certifying identity.

2. Confirmation of registration in the current form is issued to persons registering for temporary sojourn.

§8.1. The order does not violate the regulation of the order of the ministers of national defense and internal affairs of 11 February 1980 in the matter of military obligation of registering and permissions for temporary sojourn abroad and permission for change of place of sojourn by persons liable to military service (Government Regulations and Laws Gazette, No 6, item 14).

2. In matters not regulated by the order, regulations of the law of 10 April 1974 on population census and identity cards (Government Regulations and Laws Gazette, No 14, item 85) and the order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of 20 September 1974 in the matter of performing the duty of registration and conducting population census (Government Regulations and Laws Gazette, No 33, item 196) are duly observed; in matters of a sojourn in a border zone, regulations of the decree of 23 March 1956 on the protection of state borders (Government Regulations and Laws Gazette, No 9, item 9, with the latest changes) and Resolution No 544 of the Council of Ministers of 28 August 1959 in the matter of boundary lines, maintaining border crossings and residence and sojourn in border zones (Polish Monitor [Journal of Laws], No 71, item 861, with the latest changes) are duly observed.

§9. The order is effective as of the day martial law (stan wojenny) was declared.

Minister of Internal Affairs: C. Kiszczak

Enclosure to the order of the
minister of internal affairs
of 12 December 1981 (item 164)

_____date_____19___

_____
Name and address of organ

DECISION

On the basis of the Order No 2 of the Minister of Internal Affairs of 12 December 1981 in the matter of permission to change place of residence in time of martial law and the principle and procedures regarding these matters (Government Regulations and Laws Gazetter, No 29, item 164)

_____I permit_____I refuse to grant permission

_____
name

to change of place of residence from the town of_____

to town_____during the period of_____

_____to_____

The present decision is final.

_____
(signature with first name, surname
and official position)

9866
CSO: 2600/233

ORDER ON SOJOURN OF INTERNEES IN ISOLATION CENTERS

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 29, 14 Dec 81 p 332

[Item 165. Order of the minister of justice of December 1981 regarding statutes of sojourn of internee(s) (internowani) in isolation centers (osrodki odosobnienia)]

[Text] On the basis of article 45, law 1 of the decree of 12 December 1981 on martial law (stan wojenny) (Government Regulations and Laws Gazette, No 29, item 154) the following is to be enacted:

§1. Until the issuance of the order in the matter of statutes of sojourn of internee(s) (internowani) in isolation centers (osrodki odosobnienia) for carrying out internment (internowanie) in isolation centers (osrodki odosobnienia), the regulations of interim statutes of performing interim arrest (areszt) implemented in Order No 12 of the minister of justice of 25 January 1974 in the matter of interim statutes of performing interim arrest (areszt) (Official Gazette of the Ministry of Justice, No 2, item 7, with the latest changes) and other statutory regulations pertaining to the performance of interim arrest (areszt) are duly observed.

§2. The organ, under whose command internee(s) (internowani) placed in isolation centers (osrodki odosobnienia) find themselves, is the commander of the Citizens' Militia who made the decision of internment (internowanie).

§3. The order is effective as of the day martial law (stan wojenny) was declared.

Minister of Justice: S. Zawadzki

9866
CSO: 2600/233

SITUATION IN CULTURAL, ART FIELD NOTED

Reform in Cultural Field Underway

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 5

[Article by (Byr.): "Reforming Culture, Subsidies for Theaters and Philharmonics, Independence for Book Publishers"]

[Text] Work on a new structure for the Ministry of Culture and Art is going on under the economic reform. It is assumed that the principles of the reform will be fully implemented in printing, recording and music industry, in mass entertainment enterprises and in book publishing and sales.

Even earlier, the "Book House" and wholesale book trade enterprises had announced their intention to form an association to be charged with coordination, generation of joint development funds and investment.

On the other hand, arts institutions, that is, theaters, operas, philharmonics and orchestras are to continue to receive state subsidies. It has been proposed to grant preferential treatment to national institutions, e.g., the National Philharmonic and the Grand Theater in Warsaw.

Work is underway on drafts of long-term solutions for cultural activity of enterprises. Proposals in this area amount to the application of tax deductions for those plants allocating resources to cultural activity and running their own cultural establishments. This condition should be sanctioned in the law on enterprise financing principles.

Yes, although it is not able to do so in its present for of televising information and entertainment. It is thus necessary to alter the television model of culture as well.

Understandably, the standard of cultural life also includes daily routines in the immediate environment and objects we handle. Current difficulties have made us realize that we can no longer create and manufacture things for sham effect. Every object can be functional, durable and beautiful. We have a trained cadre of creative designers of industrial shapes. That resource must be sensibly utilized.

These are realities for today--and for tomorrow as well.

Assistance for the Creative

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by wm: "Aid for Creators"]

[Text] In connection with the temporary suspension of certain artistic unions and associations, the Ministry of Culture and Art has taken over the protection of a majority of their members. Task forces to assist artists and their families have been working since 16 December 1981. An emergency relief fund of 4 million zlotys was set up for this purpose. Also wider possibilities for union funds to support creativity in the fine arts have been created.

Because publishing houses were granted autonomy, it was decided to eliminate the association of publishing enterprises "Chief Publishing House Board" and in its place to create an organizational subunit for books and literature within the Ministry of Culture and Arts. The Film Dissemination Association (ZRF) will likewise be eliminated, and an enterprise with the sole function of distributing films will be established. Motion picture reproduction and movie theater construction and equipping will be separated and transferred to separate organizational units.

These changes in the Ministry of Culture and Arts organizational structure are conditional upon the new law regarding the ministry's scope of operation which is in final stages of draft preparation.

Realities of the 1975-1990 Cultural Development Program

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 5

[Article by Jerzy Wojcik: "Realities and Hopes. Understanding for Cultural Matters"]

[Text] Inside its glistening varnished cover, on immaculate chalk-white paper, the "1975-1990 Cultural Development Program" of the Ministry of Culture and Arts (hereinafter referred to as the "Program") contains our hopes concerning the present status and the future of Polish culture.

During the 1970's--those hopes seemed to have been implementable at the time. With an optimism well matching the times, the "Program" dealt with all areas of culture, "developing" film creativity and possibilities of exposure to that creativity. It multiplied the figures for would-be philharmonic and rural cultural centers, workers' cultural centers, libraries and movie theaters, and millions of books planned for publication.

Those figures and indicators were perhaps scaled to match future needs, but were they in keeping with realistic possibilities?

..."Books are and will continue to be the fundamental carrier of cultural development and national education..." notes the "Program" published in December 1974. "The Ministry will retain responsibility for organizing production and for making books accessible to the nation as well as coordinate the development of the printing industry and utilize its productive capacities."

The projected growth in publishing was supposed to ensure steady increases in book production so that by 1990 readership ratios approximating world averages could be reached: 11 books per person in 1990 and 8 books in 1980.

Books were supposed to be the most accessible component of universal participation in culture, to be placed within easy reach. Reforms in the national administrative system were to have brought about development in bookstores and libraries included in an integrated system under which one library branch for every 8,000 to 10,000 persons would be available in larger more densely populated urban centers, one library branch for every 5,000 residents in cities with scattered development, extension libraries in villages with more than 1,000 residents and book lending units in smaller villages.

The entire last decade, a period of diverse programs and forecasts, brought disappointment and a marked regression particularly in the dissemination of culture, despite optimistic predictions about "the country's vigorous development" made in the early 1970's. Books were published in decreasing numbers and the network of libraries movie theaters and cultural centers suffered impoverishment, whereas only the number of radio and television subscribers continued to increase. Given top preference, the cultural medium of television kept expanding. For example, the number of television sets rose from 4.21 million in 1970 to nearly 7.5 million in 1978.

In 1970, there were 52,437 libraries in the network, in 1978, there were 10,000 fewer. Attrition affected mainly small, frail, mostly rural libraries half of which were located in one-room premises, operating under exceptionally difficult conditions and poorly supplied with newly published books.

Statistically, an average Pole received 4 newly published books in 1980, and barely 3 books in 1981.

Deterioration continued throughout the past year, side by side with unquestionable achievements in music, theater and film that were perhaps more visible in the international arena of success than they were as a daily presence in the country's cultural life (garbled). The number of libraries, cultural centers and clubs, movie theaters and amateur performing groups were further reduced. Crisis-related difficulties most acutely affected those communities possessing the most limited cultural facilities: villages, little towns far from so-called cultural centers and, in some cases, large industrial communities. In the latter, the tension of strike readiness frequently narrowed the field of vision, excluding problems of workforce participation in cultural life and problems of factory cultural-educational units, occasionally abandoned to their own fate.

Why did it end in unfulfilled hopes? After all, earlier forecasts and the above-quoted "Program" itself were developed with the participation of creative people, scientists, practitioners in the dissemination of culture and what is termed decision makers in the area of culture. Were illusions taken for facts and proverbial "wishful thinking" for reality? Or else, were programs developed only for the sake of programs, cynically, with an awareness of their incompatibility with reality and potential? These questions can be answered only by those who co-authored those programs at the time and now are brandishing chiefly verbal weapons in defense of culture.

Great hopes and embarrassing actualities form a sad statistical portrayal of the current setting. Fortunately, the stock of cultural wealth of past centuries and modern day creative reality were not created by statistics.

The history of Polish culture proves that even under most adverse conditions this culture succeeded in appreciating our national identity and enriching the age old cultural heritage. That history is evidence that even at difficult times outstanding works were created and reached the nation. The shortcomings of a system for administering culture have repeatedly become less acute when the role of cultural disseminator was taken over by a social movement with the genuine dedication of artists and cultural activists.

Can we demand understanding for cultural matters under the present exceptionally difficult living conditions and urgent economic and social problems? Yes, we can; moreover, we must.

The needs of this sphere of our lives can hardly be erased, opportunities for social participation cultural can hardly be neglected. It is, after all, an inalienable value of a humanistic system. It is necessary to defend culture in the face of the threat inherent in the next few years of our breaking out of the economic impasse. It is necessary to preserve its possessions and take maximum advantage of every possibility of disseminating our enormous cultural wealth.

We are not living in a cultural void, even the neglected system of cultural-educational factory units can be utilized more reasonably. Poland today has more educated people than ever before, not only in the large cities but also in towns and rural areas. Teachers are more enlightened. Poland now has a more numerous corps of physicians; more agrotechnical service workers and a regenerated ZMW [Association of Rural Youth] movement; more radio and television sets than ever before and, finally, has the highest creative potential ever.

Can the last decade's preferred model of televised dissemination of culture meet current cultural needs of society? Can it engender such needs and formulate them? Can it activate the most neglected little town, rural and large industrial communities?

Authorized representatives of such task forces perform their official duties in Warsaw in the headquarters of the Ministry of Culture and Art and throughout the country at the cultural departments of Voivodship (Provincial) Offices. Assistance varies, ranging from one time allowances (5,000 zlotys and, in exceptional cases, 10,000 zlotys) to taking care of ration card purchases if a background interview indicates this is necessary.

Recommendations earlier submitted for creativity allowances are being implemented.

The Council of Ministers decree of 7 September 1981 introduced certain changes in existing regulations for identity documents. These changes provide for entries on the holder's being engaged in the graphical and profession of fine arts. On a motion by the Ministry of Culture and Art, attempts have been initiated to extend these benefits to other groups of artists (and writers).

Those identifying themselves as members of so-called free professions are treated in outpatient medical clinics under unchanged principles. It is worth noting that the Ministry of Culture and Art has obligated itself to include folk artists under its protection.

8795
CSO: 2600/298

BRIEFS

PZPR WARSAW EXECUTIVE MEETING--At a meeting on 4 February, the executive body of the PZPR Warsaw Committee assessed the sociopolitical situation in Warsaw higher schools. The second item of deliberation entailed an assessment of the state of sociopolitical studies in higher schools and proposals concerning the latter. The executive body recommended that concrete action, immediate as well as long-term, be undertaken to improve the teaching of so-called "ideological bloc" subjects and the shaping of their proper role. The executive body agreed upon the organization of Warsaw Committee plenary meetings on youth affairs and on housing construction, recommending that a wide circle of party members and organizations be attracted to the preparation of these meetings. The executive body approved plans to implement the resolutions of the 7th Warsaw Committee Plenum and the motions submitted during the discussion. The deliberations were chaired by Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the PZPR Warsaw Committee. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Feb 82 p 8]

CSO: 2600/327

BRIEFS

NEWSPAPER PRICE INCREASES--Bucharest, 18 February (Tanjug)--The prices of Romanian dailies, weeklies and reviews increased today from 60 to 150 percent. The smallest price increase was that of the political-informational organs whose price was increased from 30 to 50 bani, when they contain 4 to 6 pages. Issues which contain 8 to 10 pages cost twice as much, that is, one leu. The prices of all the other reviews and periodicals have been increased on an average of two to three times. The previous prices for the dailies were exceptionally low; for example, they were one-quarter the cost of the average city bus ride. In general, they have from 4 to 6 pages and the number of copies is rather high. For example, the central party organ SCINTEIA is published in two million copies. [Text] [Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 19 Feb 82 p 7]

PRICE INCREASES FOR 'SCINTEIA'--We inform you that beginning today, 18 February 1982, the retail sales price of SCINTEIA is 0.50 lei [50 bani] for copies with 4-6 pages and 1 leu for copies with 8-10 pages. Subscriptions which expire on 28 February will be valid only until 26 February and subscriptions which expire on 31 March will be valid until 21 March. The price for a subscription to SCINTEIA is 15 lei a month, 45 lei for 3 months, 90 lei for 6 months and 180 lei a year. [Excerpts] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Feb 82 p 5]

CSO: 2700/186

SECRET BALLOTING FOR LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ARGUED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1619, 10 Jan 82 pp 14-15

[Article by Stevan Niksic: "Open Discussions on Secret Balloting"]

[Text] In preparation for statutory changes to be made at the Twelfth Congress of the LCY, an open discussion will soon be held dealing with the problems of one or more candidates for each office, whether balloting is to be secret or open, the election procedures for members of the Central Committee [CC] of the LCY, the organization of the Party summit, etc.

Several different controversies involving alternative proposals for changes to be made in the Statutes of the LCY have still not been settled, even after the last meeting of the CC of the LCY. Among these controversies are the following: whether to require more candidates on the ballots for party elections, whether the elections for these party offices are to be by open or secret ballot, and how to organize the party summit at the federation level. By all indications, as soon as the entire membership of the CC of the LCY has had a chance to voice their opinions about these and other questions of statutory changes which have been announced in an open discussion before the 12th Congress of the LCY, the delegates of the Congress will finally decide within a few months the changes to be made. However, it appears that even then it will not be easy, because all of the proposals have supporters as well as, of course, some validity.

Just before the end of last year, a report prepared by the Commission for Organizational and Statutory Questions was examined at a meeting of the CC of the LCY; for more than a month the Commission has essentially been involved with preparing the proposals for changes in the Statutes and with soliciting suggestions, opinions, and proposals in connection with this matter. The primary reason for the decision to change the Statutes is familiar to everyone, the need to decide who will have the statutory powers and functions which once belonged to the President of the LCY. In the preamble of the new Statutes, the historic role of Comrade Tito will be discussed, and the fact that he was president for life, with an unlimited mandate, will also be pointed out; immediately after this there will be a section dealing with the basic principles of collective labor and responsibility which are a part of the well-known Tito initiative that he proclaimed and struggled for with such vigor during the last years of his life.

The month-long preparations for the other statutory changes which have been proposed have indicated that there are many who support the addition of another group of democratic principles dealing with party life and work, as well as those who feel that the standards in the former Statutes need not be changed in this regard.

Discussions which have taken place in the Commission and at the last meeting of the CC of the LCY indicate that the most controversial issue deals with how LCY elections are to be carried out, especially those for political and executive offices. To put it more precisely, the issue deals with who is to select the candidates for the offices, and with the manner in which this is to be done, whether there will be more than one candidate on the ballot for each office, whether the balloting will be open or secret, and finally, to whom the chosen candidates will be responsible in the individual party positions.

The Secret Ballot is More Democratic

Interestingly, the old LCY Statutes only required the LCY Opstina Conferences to choose their political and executive organs by secret ballot. Central and Provincial Committees, even the CC of the LCY, could only decide how the members of their presidencies were to be chosen. As a rule, this was done by open ballot. Various proposals have been presented in the Commission, but it has not favored any of them decisively. In fact, the only decision made was that the election procedures should be uniform so that the opstina and other, higher, forums will use the same method, whether it be open or secret, but "that each organ should be given the opportunity to decide in the matter." The Presidency of the CC of the LCY, which considered the matter before the report had been delivered by the members of the Commission, reached a similar conclusion. The discussions which took place in the CC meeting concerning these proposals were quite lively.

After Branko Mikulic had explained the problems facing the commission and why it had made the decision it did, several speakers stood up one by one and to support it. The first one who definitely opposed it was Joze Smole. He said that the problem of either an open or a secret ballot was one of principle, and not just a procedural problem which could be freely determined by every leadership group. He therefore vigorously supported the requirement of a secret ballot in the election of officials of the political and executive bodies of the LCY, stating that this method of balloting is more democratic. In addition to coming out for the secret ballot, some also voiced the opinion that there should be more public access to the activities of the higher party bodies and organs, especially at the federation level. He proposed that in the future, either by statutory or some other regulation, provision be made for public access to party work, especially to give opportunities for journalists to attend meetings of the presidency of the CC of the LCY. This has not been possible up to now.

A "Filter" For the Central Committee

Milos Minic offered his opinion, which differed somewhat from that of the Commission, concerning the election procedure not only for the political and executive bodies, but also for all other offices in the LCY, and especially the procedure involved in the election and the election confirmation of future members of the CC of the LCY. Citing the well-known position of Comrade Tito concerning cadre policy

(he read to the members of the CC several lengthy excerpts from Tito's report to the 11th LCY Congress), Minic favored, above all, more candidates on the ballot for each office. Refuting the assertion that we do not have enough cadres, which is sometimes used as an argument against this proposal, he noted that these "opinions are quite absurd."

"Are conditions in our society now such that we must deviate from Tito's opinions and principles?" asked Minic, "On the contrary," he said, "Now that he is gone there is all the more reason to democratize our relationships and to observe these principles more strictly." Minic also came out for the secret ballot for all organs of the LCY, including political and executive organs, stating that the secret ballot is a democratic institution, and that it should be consistently used in the LCY as well. He said that this viewpoint also found support in the Presidency of the CC of the LCY, and he explained how those who oppose this proposal usually give the warning that the candidate structure, as well as other aspects of the process, are apt to be disturbed by the introduction of secret balloting. In his opinion, however, this is not a matter of principle, but merely a technical question, and therefore, he is of the opinion that demands for respecting the established candidate structure can be met without difficulty.

"Secret balloting guarantees that a member of the LCY has complete freedom to express his opinion in all of his choices. It is a defense against the everyday pressures that a member of the LCY feels, pressures that are not such an unusual occurrence where secret balloting does not exist," said Minic.

The next proposal he presented at the meeting of the CC of the LCY concerned election procedures, or the confirmation of members of the CC of the LCY. Members of the CC of the LCY are chosen in the republics and provinces (in their respective congresses), and their election is confirmed only in the Yugoslav Congress. This is how it has been up to now, and the Commission has proposed that, for the most part, this system of election and confirmation be preserved in the future. This proposal also includes a rather complex mechanism to deal with the possible challenging of the confirmation of any of the candidates who were chosen in republic or provincial congresses; a delegate who has something to say regarding an election confirmation, or the election of an individual, should appeal to the election commission in writing. The commission will then get the consensus opinion of all the delegates in the corresponding republic or provincial organization in the Yogoslav Congress. All the delegates of the congress will then be informed of this opinion. Finally, to force a vote on this matter, the proposal contesting a confirmation should be supported by the delegates from at least three republics. And for the proposal to be adopted, at least two-thirds of the delegates present must vote for it!

The Problems Involved in the Organization of the Summit

Minic, however, proposes that confirmation be accomplished in a simple manner, by secret ballot, and that all delegates of the LCY Congress should have this right, "with complete freedom, with no constraints," and furthermore, that those candidates who received over half of the votes in their election would be considered to be confirmed. The present election of members of the CC of the LCY by confirming the proceding elections in the LCY Congress is, in Minic's opinion, a "mere formality."

"I think that a member of the CC of the LCY should have the confidence of the majority of the delegates of the LCY Congress, of the entire LCY, and not just that of his own republic. Ultimately, every election takes place either in order to choose someone or not to choose someone. We are not accustomed to this, this mentality does not exist in our political structure, but we must develop these habits, this democratic mentality. It would be the most common sort of opportunism if someone considered himself humiliated and offended because of this, and if they sacrificed an extraordinarily important democratic principle because of this type of viewpoint," said Minic.

Before the discussion was over, when it was time to make some conclusions, some new arguments were brought up which differed from those supported by Minic. For example, Milutin Baltic opposed Minic's proposal for changing the proposed election procedure, or method of confirmation, for members of the CC of the LCY. He thought that the Commission's proposals should be accepted, that is, keeping the present mechanism in force. Several members of the CC, including the presiding officer at the meeting, Dobrosav Culafic, thought that for the time being it was not necessary to vote on each individual proposal. So the discussion was ended by a suggestion to the Statutory Commission that it take another good look at all the ideas which have been presented, and to keep them in mind when the final proposals are worked out; the CC of the LCY will discuss them again before bringing them up for open discussion.

One additional problem, often brought up during the preceding discussions, still remained after this open meeting: should a president be chosen for the Presidency of the CC of the LCY (as is the case now), or for the CC of the LCY?

In the course of the Commission's work, the opinion was often expressed that having a president for the CC of the LCY would help to strengthen the role of the CC. Everyone supports this opinion, all the more so since after the death of Comrade Tito many of the functions and powers which were performed by the Presidency of the LCY before were transferred to the CC, so it is logical for it to have its own president, as well as for central and provincial committees in republics and provinces to each have one.

On the other hand, those who have not been inclined to accept this proposal stress that having a president for the Presidency of the CC of the LCY is more in keeping with the spirit of collective labor and responsibility of the Presidency, making this solution the preferred one. According to this plan the CC of the LCY would not have its own permanent president. The Presidency of the CC of the LCY itself has come out for this proposal.

However, the discussions concerning these proposals have still not been concluded. It is apparent that they will be in progress until the forthcoming 12th Congress of the LCY, which has been solely authorized to make the final decisions, to adopt the definitive version of the new Statutes of the LCY.

9548
CSO: 2800/214

INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT OF BANGLADESH

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 8 Feb 82 p 3

[Interview with Justice Abdus Sattar, president of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, by Mugdim Karabeg, editor of OSLOBODJENJE, in Dacca: "A Majority of Humanity Has Opted for the Principles of Nonalignment"; date not specified]

> [Text] As part of commemoration of the 20th anniversary of nonalignment and of preparations for the Seventh Summit Meeting of Nonaligned Countries, the board of editors of the newspaper OSLOBODJENJE called upon a certain number of statesmen of the nonaligned countries to speak about this for our readers. Responding to a request of OSLOBODJENJE, Justice Abdus Sattar, president of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, received Mugdim Karabeg, editor of OSLOBODJENJE, in Dacca and gave our newspaper an exclusive interview.

OSLOBODJENJE: Twenty years have passed since the First Conference of Nonaligned Countries in Belgrade. What do you think about the actions of the nonaligned movement over the past 20 years?

President Sattar: The nonaligned movement symbolizes mankind's continued aspiration for peace. This is an expression of the determination and resolution of a majority of world public opinion to establish a new and equitable international economic order and a social and political order which will be free of ideological conflicts and the dangerous tension inherent in the bloc system. After the first summit of the nonaligned countries in 1961, which was held in Belgrade, the nonaligned movement grew steadily, increasing the number of its members and its political influence and moral force. The overall growth of the nonaligned movement is obviously confirmed by its steadily growing strength and progress.

The common determination and common vision which inspired the leaders of the nonaligned countries who were the initiators of nonalignment retain their full force even today. The need to preserve the hard-won freedoms and the obligation to translate the benefit of political freedoms into the language of economic and social progress are more pronounced today than ever. Our beloved president Ziaur Rahman said at the summit meeting in Havana that "the need to search for an independent road free of the influences of the blocs, rivalry and polarization of forces and for advancing people and equitable cooperation and relations among

nations, regardless of their size, strength and ideology," necessitates continuation of an uncompromising "struggle" against the remnants of colonialism and imperialism. The nonaligned movement believes in the peaceful fulfillment of those ideas and interests. The unique success of the nonaligned movement lies in constantly maintaining humanity's belief in people's ability to live in peace and cooperation in a world that is dangerously divided between blocs.

President Tito said at the First Summit Meeting that the nonaligned countries "represent humanity's conscience." This is a still greater truth today than previously. Ninety-five countries representing more than half of the world's population today belong to the nonaligned movement. This is still another important proof of the movement's success. It is truly heartwarming that more and more countries are seeking ways of withdrawing from the orbit of bloc-oriented policy and of joining humanity's conscience.

The nonaligned movement represents the greatest hopes and aspirations of the countries of the Third World. This movement derives its vitality and value from the solidarity of the member countries and from their firm commitment to peace, coexistence, respect of sovereignty and independence, consistent adherence to the principles of peaceful resolution of all problems, nonintervention in internal affairs of other countries and renunciation of the use of force in resolving international relations.

The nonaligned movement, independently of the United Nations, still offers the best occasion and platform for promotion of global peace and constructive cooperation among nations and guarantees solidarity and consistent commitment to the principles of nonalignment and to their preservation and strengthening.

The Three Principal Fields of Activity of the Nonaligned

OSLOBODJENJE: In the past the nonaligned movement has been concerned with the most vital issues of international relations. Which actions and which achievements of the nonaligned countries can you single out as the most important?

President Sattar: The activities and achievements of the nonaligned movement cannot be reduced solely to a few achievements; we must broaden the scope of our examination. They should be judged and understood in the context of contemporary international life as a whole. We can speak in very broad terms about three large areas of concentrated efforts with a differing degree of success:

i. detente,

ii. decolonialization and

iii. development.

A majority of countries in the world today do not believe in the strength of the blocs as an indispensable precondition for a lasting and just peace. Those are the goals and achievements of the nonaligned countries. Ninety-five countries of the world today want to remain outside the orbit of the multilateral military alliances that confront one another, since they have committed themselves to the

principles of the nonaligned movement. As a result of their endeavors tension has relaxed, while the atmosphere of detente has been considerably improved. We should specifically state that in that period the nonaligned countries have not been merely passive observers, but have been active exponents of peace through the policy of detente and the relaxation of tension.

Decolonialization is a very important field in which the nonaligned movement has achieved success. The moral and political pressure inspired and supported by the nonaligned movement and the struggle for freedom and self-determination, intensified by solidrity within the nonaligned, has powerfully speeded up the process of breaking down the structure of colonialism.

Global peace is inseparably bound up with the question of equitable division of world physical resources and the pace of economic development. The system of international economic exploitation developed during the black years of colonialism cannot meet the needs of the world of the postcolonial period. The nonaligned movement has persistently examined and emphasized the urgent need to establish a new economic order in the world. As a matter of fact the nonaligned movement was a pioneer in expressing the aspirations and needs of the newly liberated independent countries for a fair share in division of humanity's global resources. The success of the nonaligned movement in this field can hardly be emphasized, however. The nonaligned have promoted the course of social and economic development by strengthening the concept of self-help and greater cooperation among the member countries.

Nonalignment--The Cornerstone of Our Policy

OSLOBODJENJE: Present relations in the world are characterized by a further aggravation of tension between the blocs and a stepping up of the arms race, while in critical parts of the world there are no signs of conflicts being resolved. What in your opinion is the role of the nonaligned in connection with these acute problems?

President Sattar: Bangladesh looks with great concern on the growing tension, on the insane arms race and on conflicts in the world. We sincerely believe that the nonaligned movement should play a positive and constructive role in this regard.

First, the nonaligned countries should return to the concept of authentic neutrality with respect to bloc-oriented policy. Second, they must seek ways of strengthening still greater solidarity within the movement.

For its part Bangladesh has accepted the policy of the nonaligned as the cornerstone of its foreign policy. Our former President Ziaur Rahman said in Havana: "It logically follows from this that we want to be the witnesses of a strengthening of the movement. We believe that this will be possible only if we support and remain faithful to the fundamental principles of nonalignment." Following its allegiance and belief in the nonaligned movement, Bangladesh has furnished the initiative for strengthening solidarity among the nonaligned countries in southern Asia, proposing creation of a framework for cooperation in the region. We are gratified that our proposal has been well received, and there have already

been encouraging steps and success in this area. If we could achieve a similar spirit of understanding and cooperation within the nonaligned movement, we the members of the movement would certainly be able to play a more significant role concerning many problems. We are convinced that the movement will be able to overcome various handicaps and disunity and go forward in attaining its real goals, above all peace.

Nonuse of Force--One of the Basic Principles of Nonalignment

OSLOBODJENJE: The nonaligned movement is making great efforts toward construction of a new and more just economic order in the world. As the esteemed statesman of a country which faces economic problems, what do you think about this area of the activity of the nonaligned nations?

President Sattar: The need for collective efforts of the nonaligned countries along those lines was articulated in the broadest terms at the summit meeting in Algiers. This brought about a wider awareness of the depth and dimensions of this problem. Since that time the nonaligned have constantly insisted on the creation of a new economic order in the world. We believe that the efforts of the nonaligned in that direction can continue with great success under the following conditions:

i. if the nonaligned countries achieve greater solidarity in negotiations with the advanced countries;

ii. if the relatively advanced among the developing countries of the nonaligned world acknowledge and support the need to pay priority attention to the urgent need for raw materials indispensable to the less developed countries among the developing countries;

iii. if the fund of solidarity of the nonaligned countries is activated without further delays and sufficient funds are earmarked for the comprehensive economic development of the less developed countries;

iv. if economic cooperation among the developing countries is further strengthened by stimulating activity within the ECDC and TCDC (Economic Cooperation of the Developing Countries and Technical Cooperation of the Developing Countries);

v. if a system for guaranteed food supply is established within the framework of the nonaligned immediately, without delay.

The recent summit meeting in Cancun, which brought together many nonaligned countries, among them Bangladesh and Yugoslavia, made an important contribution in this respect in its unanimous decision on commencement of a round of global negotiations.

OSLOBODJENJE: We have been witnesses, recently especially, of conflicts between nonaligned countries. Would you be so kind as to comment on this phenomenon? Is it possible to build a mechanism which would prevent such conflicts?

President Sattar: Renunciation of the use of force in behavior on the international scene and peaceful resolution of problems between nations are among the fundamental principles of the nonaligned movement. The fact that there are conflicts between the nonaligned demonstrates that we are not following the principles of nonalignment. This is truly a very great pity.

Our movement is made up of countries with differing political, economic and social systems and ideologies. Our unity is forged through common faith in the movement's principles and goals. The firm allegiance of the members of the nonaligned movement, reinforced with sufficient political will so that that allegiance takes the form of practical political action, offers the greatest hopes of preventing conflicts between the nonaligned countries.

A Spirit of Friendship Overcomes All Geographic Obstacles

OSLOBODJENJE: Your country is among the group of so-called "least developed countries." Along with an excessively high population growth rate, natural disasters which cause additional misfortunes are frequent. The nonaligned countries have committed themselves to solidarity across the board and in each individual case. What in your opinion are the most effective ways of achieving those goals?

President Sattar: The nonaligned movement is affirming itself in many ways as the vanguard of international efforts to establish the new economic order in the world. There are countries within the nonaligned movement which are more highly developed than other nonaligned countries. It is the generally accepted view today that the "least developed countries" deserve special attention. The nonaligned movement has not only accepted that concept, but is constantly developing and improving it.

As I emphasized earlier, the weakest members of the movement become subject to great pressures when they follow the road of nonalignment, and, that being the case, the movement can be strengthened further if collective efforts are undertaken, both within it and outside it, to remove the causes of weakness and underdevelopment. This means that it is in the greatest interest of the entire movement to devote urgent attention to the special needs of the least developed countries from the standpoint of reducing the material disparity among the developing countries. There is no doubt that this will further promote joint prospects and bring into better focus the idea that the members of the movement have common interests.

I am happy to be able to tell you that the nonaligned movement has consistently shown deep concern and awareness of the special nature of the problems confronted by the least developed countries and the imperative need for paying priority attention precisely to those countries. As a matter of fact, the movement has given a strong impetus for speeding up the development of those countries through action at the international level. The decisions of the summit meeting of the nonaligned in Havana provide evidence of this. The summit meeting in Havana completely shaped and adopted an extensive action program on behalf of the least developed countries in 1980. Recently the members of the movement have played an indispensable role in adoption of the new action program worked out to benefit

these countries at the United Conference on the Least Developed Countries, which was held in Paris last September; it was afterward adopted at the 36th Session of the UN General Assembly with a view to the undertaking of definitive steps and actions.

OSLOBODJENJE: Geographic remoteness often is an obstacle to better economic cooperation among countries, especially if they do not have sufficient technical and financial resources so as to take advantage of opportunities to realize mutual beneficial desires in this area. That is the case with the geographic remoteness of Bangladesh and Yugoslavia. What should be done to overcome that remoteness so that long-term good political relations can be realized and supplemented with fruitful economic, cultural and other cooperation?

President Sattar: Modern achievements in the field of transportation and communications have effectively reduced the barriers of geographic remoteness and have minimized them if we look at things in the context of action among peoples and countries. In spite of the geographic distance that divides our two peoples, the people of Yugoslavia and of Bangladesh have common ideals of freedom, independence, self-reliance and nonalignment. We have common interests in preserving global peace in the world and in promoting economic cooperation. These common ideals and interests provide a strong basis for development of mutual relations between Yugoslavia and Bangladesh. The present extremely good relations between the two countries unambiguously confirm that fact.

We are happy that during the past decade cooperation between the two nonaligned countries has increased many times over. We remember President Tito's visit to Bangladesh after our independence was proclaimed. President Ziaur Rahman also visited Yugoslavia. We exchange delegations, experts and business people. We are promoting mutually beneficial business collaboration. Geographic remoteness is not such a great barrier to that cooperation. The human spirit of friendliness and cooperation overcomes all such geographic obstacles. We are happy that friendship and cooperation between our two peoples have successfully overcome all the hurdles of geographic distance.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1985

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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POLITBURO'S HAGER HITS LITERATURE IGNORING COMMITMENT TO SOCIALISM

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 22, Nov 81 pp 14-16

['Background' report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Policy Speech by SED Central Committee Secretary Kurt Hager on SED Cultural Policy." For an East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND article on a related issue see translation published under the heading, "Sharp Criticism of Film Industry, Television Voiced," in JPRS 79885, 19 Jan 82, No 1962 of this series, pp 10-13. A translation of an East Berlin THEATER DER ZEIT critique is available under the heading "Dramatists Urged Not To Neglect Sociopolitical Issues," in JPRS 80054, 8 Feb 82, No 1973 of this series, pp 1-4]

> [Text] The "need to do everything for the preservation of peace" and "the determination to continue the proven course of industrial growth" were--according to SED Politburo member Kurt Hager--the determinative themes of the 10th SED Party Congress, themes which "have immediate relevance to culture and art in the GDR." This thesis is the point of departure of a fundamental review by the responsible central committee secretary for culture and science released in the most recent issue of the journal SINN UND FORM [MEANING AND FORM] published by the GDR Academy of Arts. In his article Hager was also critical of the creators of art and culture who labor to "propagate antisocialist ideologies."

According to Hager's view there can be "no cultural progress without an assured and permanent peace" and "realization of the economic strategy approved by the 10th party congress would create the prerequisites for further improvement in the material and cultural living conditions of the people of the GDR."

On these premises "socialist culture and art are not (for the SED) subordinate or secondary matters," but "weapons in the fight for the continued evolution of socialism" which must be offensively deployed because "enemy propaganda" has in the past been primarily directed against the cultural policy of the SED.

With regard to the task of helping to preserve peace, Hager emphasized that "in the movement for peace, against the Brussels missile resolution, men of varying philosophies and from all social strata, including cultural workers, have been participants." He declared that it was to be wished "that the voice of writers and artists shall sound even more loudly in the struggle for peace." Hager:

"A poem or a song, a picture or a play, a caricature or a placard--no matter what the particular form may be--every artistic contribution is in this present time of importance which supports the fight for the preservation of peace in opposition to the dangerous plans of NATO. Important, too, is solidarity with the creators of culture and other adherents of the peace movement who speak out in the FRG and in the other NATO countries against stationing American medium-range missiles and speak out in favor of negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union."

In addition to activities "toward the strengthening of peace," artists and creators of culture are called upon to work "for a rich intellectual life, for raising the level of cultural life, for the satisfaction of cultural needs and for a meaningful and beautiful existence for the citizens of our republic."

Practical Examples

Art, the writer declares, can have "great effects upon many men," especially "because it poses its questions from the human point of view, because the center of its interest is man, his inner world, his moral condition, his capacity to reflect upon himself."

Following these observations, Hager mentioned some examples taken from the actual practice of cultural work which had contributed "to the full unfolding of the intellectual needs of the workers." In the same way an analysis of the effectiveness of the DEFA cinema plays have shown "why a number of the more recent films have received a great response." Hager:

"In addition to the 'intrinsic' interest of the piece there was special effectiveness in the possibility of identification with and emotional participation with the film protagonists in their conflicts and not least of all the full satisfaction of needs for entertainment."

In "numerous works of literature and art in recent years" the "drive of the individual toward self-realization is united with the desire to be useful to society and to be used by society." The "question of coresponsibility in evolving the developed socialist society" has become in many works of art according to Hager "a central moral-ethical category."

Hager declares that the SED considers this "sharper turn in the direction of moral-ethical questions in our society to be not a return to privateness and also not as provincialism." Rather, he says, "questioning of the meaning of life, of the individual's possibilities for development and of the creation of social conditions worthy of men represents a central field of the contemporary intellectual conflict between socialism and imperialism."

For "Party Participation on the Part of the Socialist Artist"

Hager pleaded for "party participation on the part of the socialist writer and artist"; he considered this to be "not a matter of the will" but rather a matter "also of acquiring insights, of carefully studying the theoretical foundations and of sharpening them and carrying them further in the process of socialist rebuilding."

"Socialist art," he declared, cannot and ought not "to dispense with the representation of contradictions and conflicts. It cannot pass by deficiencies, inadequacies, difficulties, residues of the past, the effects of capitalist conventions and ways of thinking."

"Just as it would be wrong to engage in whitewashing so, too, it would also be wrong to consider criticism to be the exclusive, single and decisive element in socialist literature and art."

According to Hager there are "two sorts of critical activity": a "constructive criticism which directs itself against every hindrance to our further progress and which helps to establish the New"; the other sort of criticism is "a negativistic criticism which exercises destructive effects." This sort of criticism, he declares, is "directed against the foundations of socialism and the political power of the working class. In every situation it is to some degree finding a hair in the soup, stops at nothing and contributes to discrediting socialism's magnificent work of construction, to discrediting the party which is the motor of this construction and to discrediting the socialist state of workers and peasants." Hager:

"Some writers and artists have in the past interpreted the breadth and multifariousness of art in socialism in this negative sense. That had to lead to conflicts. Attacks upon the party of the working class, upon the socialist state, upon real socialism in the last analysis put into question everything which has been achieved in decades of hard constructive work since liberation from Hitler fascism. Whenever an artist abandons the position of partisanship with socialism and of solidarity with working people and turns against real socialism then this becomes a political question which we must dispute politically."

"Migrants Between the Two Worlds"

Freedom "for the propagation of antisocialist ideologies would in the end be a threat to the existence" of the state and therefore, according to Hager, there could be "no platform for such ideologies in art and culture either." In the "sharpening political and ideological contest between socialism and imperialism, everyone is put to a test which determines whether he has understood the character of our epoch."

In this connection Hager criticized those artists who have left the GDR. The fact that "some have moved over into the camp of the enemy, whether from hostility to socialism or from personal ambition or from other motives," is according to Hager "nothing new in the history of the class struggle." Besides these, he observes that there are "migrants between the two worlds of socialism and imperialism who usually justify their behavior by saying that they are apolitical and are concerned only with their artistic interests." Of these artists Hager says:

"With rare exceptions we have never heard that they have taken steps to prevent the political misuse of their behavior by the western mass media or that they had opposed propaganda attacks against the GDR."

8008
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CIVIL DEFENSE CHIEF ON PAST DEVELOPMENTS, FUTURE TASKS

East Berlin SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN in German No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 13 Nov 81) pp 2-3

[Lead article by Lt Gen F. Peter, commander, GDR Civil Defense: "With New Initiatives to Implement the Resolutions of the 10th Party Congress for the 25th Anniversary of Civil Defense"]

[Text] As the working people in all domains of our socialist society, so also the associates and volunteer helpers of our Civil Defense undertook great efforts in making their specific contribution to strengthening our republic in the year of the 10th party congress.

Through a mass initiative in socialist competition, unprecedented in the history of civil defense, results were achieved that conform worthily with our people's efforts toward implementing our party resolutions.

The Citizens' Active Civil Defense Involvement Has Increased

The results achieved are expressed in the greater readiness of the citizens in our country to get actively involved in civil defense, in the dedication of hundreds of thousands to taking part in training measures and exercises.

As an example one may refer to the formation of Comrade Gabriele Teichert of Leipzig, which in an exemplary fashion met its competition initiative commitment for the 1980/81 training year, achieved excellent training results, and is providing other operational units with its valuable experiences. One reason for giving special recognition to these achievements is that 75 percent of this collective is made up of women.

In bezirks hard hit by strong rains, these formations for disaster control and other emergencies have met their tests well while closely collaborating with units in public health, the German Red Cross, fire protection, energy supply and other units, in providing protection from floods and dealing with the consequences of floods.

Medical aid units successfully showed what they could do during a central performance comparison in our capital Berlin.

Vast advances have been made in public training, the training and advanced training of members of the operations units, and the further qualifications acquired by competent functionaries of government, society and the economy for meeting their civil defense tasks--especially in critical situations.

In enterprises and facilities, at the polytechnical secondary schools, vocational schools, colleges and technical schools, at the Civil Defense Institute and all its schools--there are praiseworthy initiatives for improving the quality of training and advanced training everywhere.

The parties and mass organizations affiliated with the SED and the National Front of the GDR, especially the FDGB, the DFD and the FDJ, deserve a high appreciation for their successful political efforts in support of civil defense.

Also the Ninth German Red Cross Congress came up with a positive balance-sheet on the quality of medical training and the operational readiness of medical units.

From all these results and many other initiatives toward perfecting the protection of the population and of the economy we can conclude with every good reason: We have made good headway in the year of the 10th party congress.

Reliable Protection of Socialism--Indispensable Prerequisite for the Preservation of Peace

Under working class party leadership, civil defense was further consolidated as an inseparable element of socialist national defense, and the protection of life and property was further improved.

The associates of the civil defense staffs, facilities and formations combine their analyses of the 10th party congress documents with placing higher demands and objectives on themselves.

They properly consider that in view of the dangerous exacerbation of the international situation due to the most aggressive imperialist circles the protection of socialism must become still more reliable and certain. We note with apprehension the imperiling of peace stemming from the confrontation course of the U.S. Government and NATO. The civil defense associates and volunteer helpers endorse without reservation the words of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the 10th party congress: "We must manage to curb NATO's confrontation policy and frustrate its designs."* They know well enough that the reliable protection of socialism and its achievements, this humanistic concern of socialist society, is crucially prerequisite to safeguarding peace. That is why they passionately commit themselves to the protection of life and of the material and cultural values in our socialist state and strengthen the operational readiness of our civil defense.

The demands placed on all our socialist national defense, and thus also on our civil defense, have no doubt considerably risen in view of NATO's military buildup, the Brussels missile resolution and the production of the neutron weapon decided on by the Reagan Administration.

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*"Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Berlin, 1981, p 26.

That is why it was perfectly correct for us to focus on improving our operational readiness when we prepared the platform for the 1981/82 training year.

The commitments assumed bear witness to the firm resolve of the civil defense collectives to increase their capacity purposefully and thereby make a contribution to strengthening our national defense.

The Class Mission Assigned Us by the 10th SED Congress Places Us in Position

The year ahead is devoted directly to the preparations for the 25th civil defense anniversary. In it we must purposefully generalize the many fine experiences in protecting the population and the economy and warding off disasters, so as to accomplish another measurable boost in our operational readiness.

It calls for illuminating persuasively, in conformity with the social development in the GDR, the political-ideological issues behind civil defense, in order to recruit more citizens, above all women and girls, for active participation in leadership organs and operational units or as health orderlies. Women function as well in staff, communications, reconnaissance, security and supply units as in recovery and medical aid units. That is clearly demonstrated by the experiences in the most advanced kreises in our republic in this field. For solving family problems, however, support must be provided by the state managers.

Many enterprises and facilities use basic training in civil defense to provide applicable knowledge in self-help and mutual aid and develop the proper behavior patterns for critical situations. Residential area commissions of the National Front also offer valuable initiatives for protecting people in residential areas. Efforts in many educational facilities in the economy and in colleges and technical schools at integrating occupation-specific protection problems within training are remarkable.

What can be seen ever more prominently in civil defense exercises is the endeavor to exercise total control over the managerial processes in preventive protection and aid.

Operational units are competing for the distinction of the best civil defense collective. The associates are emulating those units that received recognition in recent years by civil defense awards and banners and honorific titles of antifascist resistance fighters.

Among the models also is the Berlin unit of Comrade Schloesser, which made a name for itself by its solid skill in a recent operational exercise and got the civil defense medal of merit in gold for it.

To cope with the many tasks in the new training year, we must continue with our anticipatory organizational inclusion of protective tasks in the state management activities of the mayors, enterprise managers and cooperative chairmen. Their management organs, in their new composition, ought to meet the analytical and plan tasks required for it at high qualities. This they will still be better able to handle by means of the scheduled training measures at civil defense school facilities.

Fulfilling the criteria issued by the 10th SED Congress in civil defense calls for vision, circumspection, creativity and firm resolve by all civil defense associates and volunteer affiliates.

Starting the New Training Year with a Splash Will Determined the Pace of the 1980's

Starting the new training year full of dash will largely determine the outcome of our work for a long period because this essentially determines the pace of civil defense in the 1980's.

Executive organs and operational units are striving for model accomplishments in worthily getting set for the 25th civil defense anniversary. It should be a high obligation on the occasion of this our day of honor for every civil defense collective, state organ, enterprise and school facility to account for special initiatives and activities toward improving the protection of the population and of the economy.

We therefore fully and completely support those who, emulating the competition initiator, a medical aid unit in Frankfurt/Oder, aim at achieving maximum operational readiness, ensuring high-grade training, further consolidating discipline and order, carefully using, maintaining and servicing the equipment and devices entrusted to them and thus acquiring, or successfully defending, the title of "best civil defense collective." Under proven working class party leadership such an atmosphere offers the certainty that we shall be able to cope with the extensive and ambitious tasks of the 1980's.

The concerted efforts between the competent state and economic functionaries and the civil defense staffs, the activities of the social forces and organizations, the commitments by hundreds of thousands of citizens in our country within the operational units, and the constantly growing number of women, men and youths who actively support our civil defense measures provide us with the optimism and strength for solving these tasks which are as great as they are beautiful.

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ROLE, QUALITY, ATTITUDES OF CURRENT OFFICER CADETS DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 48, 29 Nov 81 pp 2, 3, 6, 7

[Text] "I am in a school which is called 'higher,' but I am not a student," bitterly complains a young man in a military uniform. "To be more precise, I am not studying, only learning--from morning till night. I am learning everything because here every course is equally important. Every teacher thinks his subject is most important, and consequently requirements are high. There is no comparison between us and civilian students. They have freedom."

Had I heard this only once, there would have been no problem. But over the past several years, I have heard such statements in various military academies often enough to be able to deal with them calmly and reasonably.

What is the difference between "studying" and "learning?" A student in a civilian college reportedly can pick and skip: he goes to one lecture and skips another. But he must complete all his coursework. In other words, he must learn. When? In a civilian college, no one cares when.

This sums up the academic freedom of civilian students. What about other aspects of this freedom?

A civilian student may spend a night away from his dormitory, but no one will ask him where he was. If he lives at home, his family will. Besides, his family pays for his college education no matter whether he lives at home or in a dorm. Pants, shoes, a winter coat--these are rather trivial things, but it is hard to finish college without them. If one's family is not very well-off, a student must wash windows or sandpaper parquet floors on assignments from the Manius or some other student work co-op. Everybody knows that one cannot live on a scholarship alone.

Outside this everyday routine there is la dolce vita of student discos: Hybrydy, Stodola, and Riwiera-Remont. Girls, fun, and play, while in a military academy there are reveilles, night calls, and daily discipline.

And here were are: a clash of exaggerated stories of the la dolce vita and the everyday routine, resulting in the bruised ego of a 20-year-old.

There is one more thing. No one calls young men in military academies students. There is an old and beautiful name for them: officer cadets.

"Officer Cadets" Means an Obligation

Someone may say: "This is a lot of hot air. People go to military academies simply to learn a trade--like everywhere else."

To be sure. After prolonged discussions whether the military profession is a vocation or an occupation, the latter, reasonable approach has won. But it is a peculiar occupation. The national defense is the most important duty of every citizen, yet one has to know how to go about it when a need arises. It takes specialists to coordinate people and actions. These specialists must be trained so they can act in a prudent, sensible, and informed way under the most difficult conditions--often meaning life or death, although let us hope that this will not occur.

It is obvious that these specialists must first go through training. There is no other alternative. There are no easy ways in their profession. An ignoramus and dilettante will not only quickly perish himself, but also cause incalculable losses. So far, I have been cool and matter-of-fact.

There is also another aspect of the problem. The soldier and the military uniform have been valued and respected throughout Polish history. Besides, soldiers have always come from among our loved ones: grandfather, father, or brother. We know from our history that a generation which did not take up arms was rare, and it was the young who were the first to go out and fight. Lt Piotr Wysocki was 33 years old when, on 29 November 1830, he led a handful of his younger colleagues from the School for Infantry Officer Cadets out into the streets of Warsaw, to the Arsenal, and against the whole czarist regime. He did that against the will of many people in high and comfortable government positions.

Wysocki's officer cadets became a symbol of youthful faith in struggle for independence, and their followers have always been worthy of them. Should I list them? What battles, campaigns, and wars did they fight? It is not necessary. Unfortunately, the Poles have had more than their share of fighting.

Here is another clash. Wysocki's heroism has earned him a high place on the pedestal of national symbols, but in 1981 an officer cadet is concerned that he has neither a student status nor any liberties. These are extremes, of course, but it would be worthwhile to find out.

What Are Officer Cadets Really Like Now?

"It is true that we are now at a demographic ebb," says assistant commander of the Naval Academy, Commodore Stanislaw Krzysztofek, Ph.D. "But it is also true that the military profession has become somewhat less appealing in relation to other professions. Young people think the military career is more burdensome because an officer is always at someone's disposal, and his personal freedom is somewhat limited, which is not compensated by higher wages. Our academy has not been affected much, but in 1981 the number of applicants for one opening was slightly lower than in 1980: 2.8 applicants for one opening."

The decimal fraction is merely an indication how thoroughly the problem is viewed here. The problem is real: are young people no longer attracted to the sea?

"It is not exactly so," explains Commodore Krzysztofek. "We have enough applicants to fill our annual quotas. But the problem is buried elsewhere: in the poor high-school education of our applicants. We have noticed a very considerable decline in their proficiency in the sciences: mathematics and physics which are crucial in our academy's program. The situation is slightly better among high-school graduates, but graduates of vocational schools--who are very useful in our academy--have considerable loop-holes in their knowledge of mathematics and physics since they took them only for three years in school. Foreign language proficiency is very poor. An applicant may have an A on his high-school diploma, but he cannot say a sentence or two in English or Russian. Finally, there are health problems. Why is it that our grade and high schools graduate so many young people with eyesight, hearing, and back problems?"

These statements are a severe criticism of our educational system. During entrance exams to the Naval Academy, those numerous weaknesses become exposed as the applicants and, in a sense, their former teachers are being tested. However, the teachers are more lucky for it is not they who will be refused admission to the academy.

A rather blunt question arises: is it that the academy simply gets poorer students, or that perhaps the academy's requirements are set too high?

"We will never lower our requirements," replies Commodore Krzysztofek. "There is no doubt that. They are indeed high but they cannot be any different, and we are frank about them. During the applicants' first day at the academy, at an orientation meeting before the entrance exams, we lay it straight to them. There is a meeting with the school's commanding officers, and we talk about the strain of military service and about the courses which, we agree, are more difficult than in some engineering programs; we simply have more subjects to cover because of the nature of the service in the Navy. We then visit battleships. After such a dose of bare facts, about 10 percent of the applicants withdraw from the competition."

I remembered a second-year officer cadet in a military academy who took out a colorful catalog of the school and said to me: "See, this is how I was lured and cheated." I agreed with him that the discrepancy between the catalog promises and the school reality was considerable.

"We never do anything like that," says Commodore Krzysztofek and hands me a fact-packed information sheet about entrance exams and course requirements. "Why should we lie? Why should we go through the trouble of discharging an officer cadet during his first or second year? Why should he waste his time and ours?"

I agree. This leads me to a simple conclusion:

Only the Best Get Into the Naval Academy

Meaning the best of all applicants. But how can one determine whether an applicant's enthusiasm is not a passing fancy? How can one predict if a smart and healthy applicant, who did well on the entrance exams and was not intimidated by the dose of bare facts, is not going to collapse, suddenly when he finds reality incongruous with his expectations nourished, for example, by Jack London's books or other South Seas stories?

"We have our ways," says Commodore Krzysztofek. "We can determine one's motivation. We have a special research team, headed by Commodore Zdzislaw Frankowicz, Ph.D., which works on improving a system that allows to develop certain personality traits in contemporary naval officers. Proper motivation and selection are the key, and we can determine them during the entrance exams owing to their special methodology."

Knowledge is power. But how is it possible that, despite such a careful scrutiny of motivation, some people drop off while in school?

"There are several reasons," explains Commodore Krzysztofek. "Most frequently academic failure is caused by loop-holes in high-school education. Next come health reasons, for example, hidden problems of the cardiovascular system which now become pronounced or aggravated. There are also disciplinary discharges, but those are very rare. Overall, approximately 70 percent of accepted applicants reach graduation, which is quite impressive."

Very good. But we still do not know who the average contemporary naval officer cadet really is.

"Social background of the applicants who were admitted in 1981 is as follows," explains Commodore Krzysztofek. "51 percent are sons of workers and farmers (farmers' sons make up 8 percent), while 23 percent are from the intelligentsia (sons of career officers make up approximately 5 percent)."

This is not what I want. But the idea of measuring social background in percentages dies hard, which is rather odd in a country where socialism has been in existence for 37 years. What is the significance of the fact that the father of an officer cadet named X is an engineer? After all, the father was probably a son of a worker or farmer.

Let us leave aside such considerations and put together a composite picture of an officer cadet in the Naval Academy in 1981: healthy; his mental and physical qualities fit the Navy standards; at least a B student in high school; and strongly motivated (I want to be a Navy officer!), which has been determined by scientific methods. This is an initial investment followed by basic training, including a training voyage; increasingly difficult ship training twice a year in the four-year-program; the final exam and a defense of a Master's thesis. It is only then, with two bars embroidered on his sleeves and the title of Sub-Lieutenant Engineer before his name, that he will be sent to a specific ship.

As Commodore Stanislaw Krzysztofek, Ph.D., said, 70 out of 100 officer cadets will graduate. It is time...

To Confront the Composite Picture with Reality

I have met future naval officers after they passed their entrance exams and were admitted to basic training. I must confess that I was tendentious when I selected the most typical and the least typical officer cadets in the Naval Academy.

Officer Cadet Marek Sikorski was born in 1961 in Podzamcze Checinskie near Kielce. He graduated from a vocational school for agricultural mechanics. He wants to be a political officer in the Navy. Why?

"In school I was active in the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] and I found a great deal of satisfaction in that work. I like to work with people, to organize, to do volunteer work."

What is his idea of the responsibilities of a naval political officer? What does he know about that aspect of the service in the Navy?

It turns out that he knows very little. Perhaps he cannot simply express himself for he uses such phrases as "to mold people." I understand he means to influence people in the proper way and push them in the right direction, but his statement carries a hint of the familiar brainwashing. Why, as a mechanic, does he not major, for example, in electromechanical engineering at the Naval Academy?

Let us leave it at that. This is truly a difficult problem for a twenty-year-old to decide right now what he wants to do in the future. Let us hope that he will not be disappointed.

Officer Cadet Romak Jakimiak is a big, square-shouldered and muscular man. He was born in 1958, so he is three years older than Sikorski. He surely must know what he wants. He does indeed. "I have decided to be a ship engineer."

His biography is quite colorful. He graduated from a mining machine building and repair school in Piotrkow Trybunalski where he then worked in a mining machine building factory in Pioma. As an electrical technician he earned 9,000 zlotys a month. For 3 years he was also on soccer team in a first-league GKS [Miners Athletic Club] Piotrkow.

His association with the club helps explain his high earnings, but it also obscures the problem at hand. We know what people say about athletes: la dolce vita! Training, travels, and games on the one hand, and a paid job somewhere else on the other, but all you have to do is to pick up your paycheck on the first of each month. So why did he give up all that?

"I simply want to be somebody. Sport is all right for a while, but then you end up being too old to play and without skills to have a job. Why the Navy? My brother is an officer in the Navy, but it is not because of him. I have decided for myself. The funny thing is that in a family photo album I have recently found a picture of my grandfather who was a seaman--either a boatswain or a boatswain's mate--in the 1920s."

Cadet Officer Waldemar Tomaszewski was born in 1958 in Lublin. Since 1957, his father has been in the reserves. In 1978, Tomaszewski graduated from a Lublin high school and was admitted to the Naval Academy. But something does not fit here.

"Everything fits," laughs Tomaszewski. He is slender, calm, and composed. "Everything fits. I started here 3 years ago, but I flunked math in the first year. I had to quit. To cheer me up, I was sent to a communications school in Zgierz. I spent 5 months there, but it was not my cup of tea. Then I was drafted to a communications unit. When I was discharged in 1980, I once again applied to the Naval Academy, but just before the entrance exams I had an appendectomy. So it was only in the spring 1981 that I was finally admitted. I passed the entrance exams without a problem, and I am now in the officers program."

His friends are already completing their third year, and today they are coming back from the Mediterranean on the ship Gryf.

I went to see their return. Their families and girlfriends were on the wharf with flowers, while the officer cadets lined up along the ship's sides, sun-burnt after 25 days of rigorous sea training. They sailed through the Baltic, the Sunds, the English Channel, Bay of Biscay, Gibraltar, and, finally, the blue Mediterranean. I talked with the ship commander, Commodore Sub-Lieutenant Engineer Zdzislaw Zmuda. He told me about nine degree winds (on the Beaufort scale) in the Bay of Biscay. He also told me how well the officer cadets did and what grades they have earned.

During our conversation, I was thinking of Waldemar Tomaszewski. He could have participated in that voyage, but he could have also dumped everything. And yet he came back and started from scratch, while his friends are only a year away from graduation. What for? I leave this up to the readers to decide.

There will be no conclusion, for it would make no sense here, just as it makes no sense to search for the typical officer cadet. It is an absolutely individual decision whether one becomes an officer cadet or not. I have selected the Naval Academy rather than another military school for two reasons. First, I feel attracted to the sea. Second, over the decades, many outstanding people have graduated from this school or its direct antecedent, the Naval Officer Cadets Academy in Torun before World War II. Those people are easy to find in a history textbook. After the war, the academy's achievements may be measured by the fact that the present commander of the Navy is an academy alumnus, while another graduate, a rear-admiral, returned to the academy as its commander.

Once they also were officer cadets.

9852
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NEW KATOWICE GOVERNOR, MAJ GEN ROMAN PASZKOWSKI, DISCUSSES ROLE, DUTIES

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 8-10 Jan 82 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Maj Gen (Pilot) Roman Paszkowski, Katowice governor, by TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA correspondent Maria Kujawa-Szymonowicz: "Our Military As the Guarantor in Filling Up the Trenches Dividing Poles and Consolidating the Nation--The Most Important Tasks for Today: To Do Everything to Assure Polish Society of the Most Convenient Living and Working Conditions and to Create an Atmosphere of Uninterrupted Production"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] Comrade General, you have been governor of Katowice for almost a month now. Surely that is too short a time for you to have analyzed all the problems of the voivodship and its residents very thoroughly.

[Answer] It is enough time for me to have looked over the economy.

[Question] What, then, are your initial impressions and observations?

[Answer] In accepting the office of governor of Katowice, I realized fully the importance and significance of the Slansk-Zaglebie region for Poland's economy, and I also was and am aware of the scale of problems requiring solutions here. I took office here following the tragic events in the "Wujek" mine. The tense situation in the "Ziemowit" and "Piast" mines continued to prevail, and disturbances continued in the "Katowice" foundry. From the first days, we in the leadership tried to do everything to restore calm as quickly as possible, without the use of force. We were counting on people's judgment; on time, which calms overly hot heads; and on the collaboration and support of the community. Well, that strategy turned out to be correct.

[Question] At the same time, many decisions concerning the daily life of the residents had to be made....

[Answer] My duty was and is to do everything to assure the community of the most favorable living and working conditions possible in the present situation and to create an atmosphere favorable to the smooth production of industrial establishments, undisturbed by anything. The voivodship authorities are making great efforts in this direction.

[Question] What, then, are the actions being undertaken to normalize further the socioeconomic life of the voivodship?

[Answer] Before I answer that question, let me say a few words about the role of the military in the situation in which Poland found itself.

[Question] That was precisely my next question also. For I have the feeling that not everyone fully understands the existing situation yet.

[Answer] Well, I would like to say that the military is not at all very delighted by the fact that it had to leave the barracks and go out on the streets. It was compelled to do so by the situation, the tragic situation in which our country found itself. Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski talked about this in in his speech on 13 December. Thus, I will not repeat the justification of the need to impose martial law which was contained in that speech. I am convinced that all reasonable, thinking people already today are fully aware that this was not only a necessity but the final salvation of a country hovering on the brink of ruin. I would only like to emphasize that, despite what some people say, the military did not seize power and does not want to seize it. After all, the government, the Sejm, and other legislative authorities continue to fulfill their constitutional functions. In any case, what happened in Poland on 13 December cannot be defined as a military revolution. The creation of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] and its assumption of control over the events in Poland were and are aimed exclusively at aiding the state authorities in carrying out the tasks for which they were established. After all, in the final period, many links of this power were paralyzed, forbidden outright. Under these circumstances, it was difficult to talk about directing economic or social processes. WRON is the guarantor--and the military came out of the barracks only after WRON was given this responsibility--of the socialist renewal of socioeconomic life in Poland, it stands guard duty to prevent a return to what existed before August, so that it will be possible to realize everything that was appropriate, wise, good, and necessary in the post-August postulates, to make it possible to implement social and economic reforms which will provide the right conditions for overcoming the crisis. The military left the barracks to consolidate the nation around the implementation of common goals, to fill up the trenches separating Pole from Pole, to stop up the dangerous cracks in order--this also seems to me to be very important--not to permit a fratricidal war. In its actions in implementing these goals, it seeks support in the community and counts on the aid of all reasonably thinking people, everyone who holds the good Fatherland dear.

[Question] How long will this last?

[Answer] Everyone is asking himself that question. I will answer briefly--the military will remain outside the barracks as long as Poland's interests require it, as long as all troublesome matters are not set right. The practical realization of the ideas of the Front of National Understanding should hasten this process. It also will be fostered by the growth of discipline, work productivity, responsibility, harmony, and public order.

[Question] Does the presence of the military help in these ways?

[Answer] I think that the military is the sole force capable of disciplining society, of eliminating do-nothings, drunkards, speculation, parasitism, and other unfavorable phenomena in a relatively short time. I also think that the presence of the military creates opportunities for settling cadre affairs in many establishments, enterprises, and institutions. Under martial law conditions, people are checked more quickly, the possibility exists of verifying attitudes, capabilities, and professional predispositions, and there is an opportunity to break all agreements, cliques, and coteries. In my opinion, that is an important and probably still not fully appreciated aspect of the benefits to our social and economic life which can result from the continuation of martial law. Someone called it a sweeping clean of the foreground. It is the foreground not only for the implementation of all system reforms of our economy, the implementation of which will depend after all on people, especially those in managerial positions, but also the foreground for the youngest generation of Poles, just entering adulthood, for whom martial law will create new, improved possibilities for a professional start and for advancement.

[Question] Returning to the problems of the Katowice voivodship, which issues do you think are the most urgent to dispose of at this time, Comrade General?

[Answer] For now, I think that the most important things are to reduce the burden of citizens' daily lives, primarily by improving the supply of basic consumer and industrial commodities and, equally essential, to streamline the work of trade, which should lead altogether to a reduction of lines. An enormous amount of attention is being focused on the proper functioning of communication and on the work of communal services. I have in mind here the heating of residences, ongoing repairs, etc.

[Question] Much depends here on the quality of work of the administration. One still hears many complaints on this subject; and, after all, people very often evaluate the efficiency of power--which an official of a state institution represents, of course--on the basis of how they were served at a cashier's window.

[Answer] I think that martial law also furthers the streamlining of the work of the administration. An accurate definition of duties, one-man responsibility, the possibility of and even the need to make independent decisions cause state administration employees to feel more responsible for their actions. Of course, in this important field of life, too, the verification of cadres and the elimination of clumsy workers, incompetents, and dishonest workers are indispensible, and these things are being done, as attested to by the interchange of many chiefs, managers, and directors. The press writes about this almost daily.

[Question] Let us return to socioeconomic matters in the voivodship.

[Answer] Apart from emergency actions, we are currently working out a plan for the socioeconomic development of the voivodship in 1982. But it is still too early to speak of its final form. Generally speaking, particular emphasis will be placed on this first component and, thus, on the social development of the voivodship, because there are especially many omissions in this field. The most important issues which I would like to see resolved in the first sequence are: residential construction (and here I can say that there is a chance that

significantly more residences will be built this year than in recent years) and the equipping of existing residential developments with a basic infrastructure. Very urgent issues include the improvement of the water supply and the development of district heating; providing the conditions for the further development of cities and settlements; and, finally, an entire huge complex of issues connected with environmental protection--a particular plan of undertakings in this direction will be established this very month.

[Question] Comrade Mayor, if you will permit me a personal question: how do you feel behind your official desk, Major General pilot? What aspects of your experiences, of your long military service are especially useful in your work now?

[Answer] Although it is more than 50 years now since I work a military uniform, I have also held positions outside the military. I am also a graduate of a civilian educational institution, the Main School for Foreign Service. Recently, I was the ambassador of the Polish People's Republic in Angola and on the islands of St. Thomas and Far Away and Exotic.

Yes, that was interesting service. But considering the fact that the country where I was the ambassador had 80,000 inhabitants, and the Katowice voivodship has nearly 4 million, I cna say that I have advanced.

What were the traits which I brought with me from military service which I consider useful in my present work? Primarily the habit of discipline, of clearly defining recommendations, of eforcing responsibilities, and probably the capacity to manage people, which every officer, every commander must have. And that is important not only in the military.

[Question] One more question in conclusion which I happen to have heard from several people: are you the mayor of Katowice only under martial law?

[Answer] I am a soldier. I was named to the position of mayor of Katowice as a state official. And that is my response.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

8729
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PREVENTION OF EPIDEMICS IN WAR SITUATION DISCUSSED

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 81 pp 399-404

[Article by Colonel Dr Valdimir Vintonic, Lieutenant Colonel Dr Mircea Saptefrati and Colonel Dr Mircea Ghimis: "Health-Hygiene and Anti-epidemic Care in the Defense of the Country During an All People's War"]

[Text] Health-hygiene and anti-epidemic care during a defensive war will be provided by, in addition to the specialized formations of the army, those groups in the Ministry of Health, as well as the medical personnel in the patriotic guards, the Red Cross groups, women's organizations, civil defense medical groups and the rest of the population which, because of age or illness, is not directly taking part in the war. These activities will have a complex nature determined by the health-hygiene conditions inherent in the campaign, as well as by the extension of measures to the entire populace.

Right from peacetime, it is necessary for the people and the country to be prepared in order to be able to work efficiently in stopping the appearance of limiting the development of certain outbreaks of infectious-contagious diseases, in close cooperation with the specialized formations of the Ministry of Health and under the direction of the chief doctor of the group of forces in the region.

The level of activities will depend upon the aggressor's use of bacteriological weapons, the topo-climatic conditions and the level of health education of the combatants and populace in the region.

Military Hygiene - Medicine During the Campaign

Involvement in an all people's defensive war requires preparing the people to be capable of giving the appropriate rebuff to the aggressor, as well as the timely organization of the measures necessary to protect the people's health. Medical care during the campaign will be provided by, in addition to the medical forces and resources of the army, those in the health network of the Ministry of Health, the medical personnel of the patriotic guards, the Red Cross groups, the women's organizations and the civil defense medical formations, as well as the populace which, because of age or certain illnesses, is not directly involved in combat.

Keeping in mind that in an eventual aggression against our territory situations can appear that are among the most difficult for maintaining a standard of appropriate

sanitation, and it is very possible to develop outbreaks of transmittable diseases among the ranks of the combat troops and the populace, working negatively upon combat capacities.

Under these conditions, it is a clear fact that health-hygiene and anti-epidemic care for the armed forces and the populace acquires a special importance. It will have a more complex nature determined both by the sanitary-hygiene conditions that are created and by the extension of measures to the entire populace as an absolute requirement for preserving the people's health.

Sanitary-health and anti-epidemic care will, therefore, have to be prepared in detail right from peacetime, recognizing the unusual difficulties of these activities during the carrying out of combat operations.

An important advantage of organizing medical care is the fact that the activities will be carried out on a known and prepared territory in order to meet the requirement under the best possible conditions.

In cooperation with the Ministry of Health, the army's medical service has the task of organizing all the aspects of medical care for the troops.

In this regard, the detailed knowledge of the territory, with its local characteristics and the opportunities that it can offer for carrying out an efficient activity to prevent illnesses, as well as its potential for epidemics, is a priority duty for the medical service.

The permanent pursuit of the evolution of the epidemiological situation in the civilian population and the understanding of its basic immunities can direct us in forecasting the fatality rate of transmittable diseases. The result is a task of special importance for the medical organs at all levels to carry out a thorough study of the existing local possibilities of a medical-health nature in the regions where it is expected that combat operations will be carried out and in the areas that could become "free zones, an to draw up an number of operational variants.

Of great utility is the research into the monographs on the different localities and regions of the country, as well as the exchange of studies and evaluations between the chief doctors in the tactical and operational headquarters units located in different regions of the country during peacetime.

As we have pointed out, since in the achievement and application of health-hygiene and anti-epidemic measures, in the activities to prevent sickness and care for the ill and in the actions to carry out disinfection, delousing and deratization the women's organizations, youth organizations and aged or unfit for combat portion of the populace will directly be involved, it is necessary to give full attention to the health training of the populace in general, and the above-mentioned groups in particular, in order to have the correct application of measures.

In this context, we can also include the measures taken by our party and state regarding the health education of the populace. The law referring to the health care of the populace calls for "the continuing improvement in the entire population's

health education so that each citizen will become a protector of his own health, his family's and the collective group's," as well as the fact that "all citizens, beginning with their school years, are required to master the knowledge regarding giving first aid."

In addition to a thorough knowledge of the territory, it is necessary for the territory to be prepared on a timely basis in order to provide the requirements, from a material point of view, for the sanitary-hygiene and anti-epidemic activities during the campaign.

The initial superiority of the aggressor can cause great damage to the carrying out of the activities in the army's and Ministry of Health's hygiene and epidemiology network by taking out of action certain formations and by hitting certain institutes and enterprises in the national economy that supply biological (serums, vaccines, culture mediums) and sanitary and pharmaceutical materials (disinfecting and delousing materials). This requires the timely production of certain reserves of these types of materials conveniently dispersed (on the basis of studies) in possible free zones or in regions with a higher potential for epidemics.

Keeping in mind the possibility of a surprise attack, the hygiene and epidemiological formations must be prepared right from the period of increasing the troops' combat capacities by having the necessary amounts of materials, equipment and instruments and by checking the operation of the equipment on-hand so that these formations can effectively intervene right from the outset of the war.

It is necessary to have an active and permanent cooperation with the medical organs of the local defense councils and a detailed organization of anti-epidemic care by assigning the hygiene and epidemiological formations of the army and those in the Ministry of Health network to the areas of operations with precise missions and responsibilities with regards to epidemiological supervision, carrying out preventative innoculations, intervening to eliminate outbreaks of contagious diseases and so forth.

In the event of the existence of hygiene and epidemiological formations of the army and the Ministry of Health in the same region, in accordance with the principle of unified subordination and command, all these units will be responsible for the organization and implementation of the measures established by the chief doctor of the group of forces in that region and in the area assigned to them for epidemiological supervision.

Similarly, it is also necessary prior to the outbreak of war to reanalyze sanitary-hygiene care during mobilization, an operation that could be carried out under the conditions of aggressive actions unleashed by the enemy.

The volume of activities of providing sanitary-hygiene and anti-epidemic care for combat operations differs according to the time and place of the combat, the enemy's use of weapons of mass destruction, the meteorological conditions, the type of combat (encirclement, in population centers, in isolated regions, in forests, in swamps, in the delta region, along the seacoast, in the hills and so forth) and the number of work capacity of the Ministry of Health's anti-epidemic health groups in the area.

Certainly, the enemy's use of bacteriological weapons considerable increases the volume of activities for the anti-epidemic formations, presenting special problems for maintaining the health of the combat troops and the populace in the effected areas.

On the other hand, the volume of activities in zones that have been encircled and in points of long-term resistance is greatly diminished, involving only the measures needed to maintain the troops' ability to fight, with a reduced use of materials and substances.

The content of the activities to provide sanitary-hygiene care during the campaign includes checking the troops' facilities, checking their food and water supply, checking their working conditions, their physical state and health and checking the individual's equipment and means of protection.

With regards to checking housing, the hygiene and epidemiology formations, together with the staffs, will conduct a climatic-geographic and health-topographic evaluation of the place where the troops are deployed and an evaluation of technical-engineering works and the epidemiological and radition situation in the region.

To do this, the doctors will participate in establishing the places and locations for deploying administrative and medical personnel and formations and will review fortified constructions and other objectives used for combat and locating troops. Similarly, the medical services must carry out a review of the sanitation of the battlefield and participate in the selection of the place to bury the dead, ensuring adherence to the norms for burial.

The check on food will pursue both the adherence to the quantitative and variety standards for food and the physiological value of the food and the quality and means protecting it (from radioactive and toxic sources) during transportation and storage. We also have in mind maintaining the quality of the food given to the troops and the means of protecting it, the means of setting up and operating field kitchens and the check on the state of health of the personnel. We will check those foods that come into the rear services depots or that are acquired from the region, as well as those foods captured from the enemy.

Another inportant aspect of the sanitary-hygiene check of the troops' food is the supervision of the activities carried out by the kitchen butchers during the campaign and the animal slaughtering points.

The sanitary-epidemiological activities will also pay attention to checking the food supply points along the supply routes and evacuation routes, the railroad lines and the river routes, as well as the the state of health of the personnel involved there.

In the event of the outbreak of diseases caused by food toxins or other digestive system diseases that can be transmitted, the specialists in the anti-epidemic formations will conduct epidemiological investigations and supervise the outbreak until it is eliminated. They also have the task of checking the health education activities of the personnel in the food sector and to bolster it if necessary.

The sanitary-hygiene care for supplying potable water involves the participation of the hygiene and epidemiological formations in recognizing water sources, demonstrating chemical and bacteriological expertise in this matter. Special attention will be given to supervising the quality of water through laboratory methods and periodically disinfecting it, both at its source and in the water transportation vehicles used to get it to the consumers. It is necessary to ensure the supply of disinfecting substances both to the medical formations and to each soldier, who must know how to use them and how to use water from unidentified sources without risking their health.

In the area of supplying potable water, it is necessary for the medical service to cooperate with the engineering units (and subunits), both in identifying water sources and in managing them.

An important aspect is equipping the troops with the means to improve the quality of the water in their individual canteens and instructing them regarding the consequences of using water that is not potable from a chemical or bacteriological point of view.

Since reconnaissance-diversionary groups can infect water sources, it is necessary to guard these sources as well as food storage areas.

In reference to the check on working conditions, the medical service has the obligation to check the means of handling toxic substances, fuels, technical liquids and rocket fuels both in the storage areas and during transport and loading operations. Similarly, the doctors must pay attention to carrying out a periodical and laboratory check of those who work in radioactive or toxic environments and the handling of radioactive substances.

In equipment problems and protection for the troops, we will pursue appropriate supplies, as well as the washing and changing of clothing. The medical service is required to permanently supervise in-the-field bathing activities, bathing and washing trains and the disinfecting points at railroad stations. During peacetime local washing facilities will be identified; town and municipal baths must be maintained in operating status and, where necessary, places will be appropriated that have installations or conditions corresponding to the conduct of these activities.

Another aspect of health-hygiene care deals with the transportation of troops. The anti-epidemic formations must participate in the reconnaissance of travel routes, in establishing and organizing stops for rest during the day and night and in checking the operation of heating, water and food supplies, transport vehicles and so forth.

With regards to checking the physical state and health of the troops, evaluations will be made regarding fatalities and the troops' ability to fight, especially for those who will carry out long-term missions and missions under unusual conditions.

Regarding the deployment and operation of hospitalization bases, the medical service will identify during peacetime those places and buildings to be use for this purpose. Similarly, they will select those dispensaries capable of being used to isolate infectious diseases and other buildings functionally meeting the requirements of hospitalization.

We must keep in mind the use of civilian medical personnel in the region in the actions undertaken by the military medical service, as well as retired persons, Red Cross groups, teaching staffs and local categories of people from the local populace after prior training.

The hygiene and epidemiological formations have an important task in implementing anti-epidemic measures after the liberation of areas (large localities) temporarily occupied by the enemy.

The proper organization of the activities of the hygiene and epidemiological formations and the close cooperation with the health formations of the Ministry of Health can constitute favorable premises for limiting or blocking the outbreak of transmittable diseases during campaign conditions.

8724
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METHODS OF ANESTHESIA, THERAPY FOR USE IN WAR SITUATIONS

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 81 pp 395-398

[Article by Colonel Dr Traian Bandila, Captain Serban Marinescu, Lieutenant Major Dr Mihai Davidescu and Lieutenant Major Dr Dan Manastireanu: "Characteristics of Anesthesia and Intensive Therapy Under the Conditions of the All People's War"]

[Text] Under the conditions of a defense war brought about by an attack on a number of fronts and with the possibilities for massive losses, the use of anesthesia and life support must be adapted to the needs imposed by military operations.

Life support will begin at the place where the wound occurs and will continue during the period the injured person is being transported, pursuing a battle against pain and the prevention of the appearance of shock through the use of intravenous catheters and crystaloid and Dextran solutions.

The methods of anesthesia and support, the drugs and the anesthesia devices need to be standardized, using substances and devices manufactured in-country as much as possible.

The timely training of medical personnel for the administration of general anesthesia and for carrying out urgent life support care represents a preparatory measure for the situations where the number of anesthesia specialists could become insufficient.

Anesthesia-Life Support - Medicine in the Field

Anesthesia, life support and intensive therapy form one of the medical specialties which, in addition to surgery, epidemiology, traumatology and so forth, that is called upon to contribute to the solution of the most difficult problems facing the medical corp during wartime.

The improvements to the means of waging war and the appearance of certain new types of weapons of great destructive power bring along the production of certain groups of injuries involving multiple wounds, wounds combined with burns or wounds infected with toxic combat substances, as well as a growth in the percentage of wounds seriously susceptible to the development of shock.

Under the conditions of the all people's war, it can be estimated that the number of medical losses will be great when the area of armed intervention can cover the entire national territory following a surprise attack from a number of directions with various types of combat firepower.

Medical care for the injuries resulting from combat actions, as well as those among the ranks of the populace, can be accomplished only through the mobilization of all medical-health forces and resources in the national system of health care.

Anesthesiology and life support care must be subordinated to the established general medical-military tactics, working within the framework of certain medical units in such a way so that medical advances in these specialties can be used on the wounded right from the place where they are injured, during the period of transportation and during the different stages of medical evacuation. Thus, the therapeutic measures must be graduated according to the combat situation, the opportunities for sorting out the injured and evacuation and the material and equipment resources, as well as the number and level of training of the existing medical-health personnel.

Under the conditions of the all people's war, health tactics must be broad and must be adapted to given situations, with the level of medical help being varied in relationship to these situations and the different medical stages. Thus, the sorting of the injured and evacuation can give priority to the granting of more complete medical assistance to a group, during a certain situation and in a certain place, just as the concept of an "interior zone" acquires other meanings and dimensions.

The practice of anesthesia and life support must be adapted to the difficulties imposed by the carrying out of military operations. The difficult working conditions, without comforts, frequently in improvised shelters and under conditions where the lighting is many times provided by candles, require simple, strong and small equipment that can also be handled by less qualified personnel.

The main goal pursued is that of getting the wounded, in the shortest time possible and with the fastest transportation possible, to a shelter where a most judiciously applied antishock treatment can be administered under the given situation and to a medical group where treatment can be given to them.

The most recent armed conflicts have showed the advantage of applying life support treatments beginning at the place where the person is wounded and during the period of transport and evacuation. The method of "continuing" treatment is without a doubt superior to the "cascade-type" treatment, especially for seriously wounded persons.

Two major objectives will be pursued: the fight against pain and the fight against the appearance and evolution of shock.

The sooner the fight against pain and shock begins, right from their earliest stages, the better the results will be.

The methods of anesthesia and life support must be standardized in accordance with the given situation, the stage of evacuation and the drugs and equipment in supply, as well as the level of training of the medical-health personnel. Similarly, there is need for all medical-health personnel to have a certain amount of knowledge about anesthesia and life support since it is difficult to believe that we will have the necessary number of doctors with this type of training in such situations.

In seeking and applying the simplest anesthesia techniques, we will take into account the status of the wounded, the nature of their wounds and the location of the wounds and the principal elements of a particular type of anesthesia, as well as the evolutionary stages of these techniques.

At the pre-hospital stages, among the principal elements of modern anesthesia, analgesics and antishock protection must be administered on a priority basis.

The analgesic, sedative and tranquilizing drugs needed to be complete are morphine and its derivatives, petidine, benzodiapine, phenotiazine and so forth. Right at the place where the person is wounded we should administer an analgesic dosage. The introduction of the plastic syringe and its use in self-assistance or mutal assistance are necessities under these conditions. The analgesic medicines administered at this level will be recorded in the injury report and will constitute, in many cases, the pre-anesthesia medication in those cases where surgery is urgently required after the wounded arrive at the hospital.

Local and regional anesthesia (lumbar, caudal and spinal) will be used to a greater extent than in classical wars. General anesthesia will be administered in those cases where the equipment, the clinic and the personnel who know how to handle accomplish this are present. Because oxygen and CO_2 absorbers cannot be sufficiently supplied, the general anesthesia technique of "air-anesthesia" in a semi-open circuit will predominate. Among the inhale-type anesthesia substabces, we must count upon those produced in-country (ether).

Respiratory life support during the pre-hospital evacuation stages will pursue the maintenance of open airways and the provision of assistance or control of breathing using simple devices based on the principle of air inflation.

Circulatory life support must be applied right at the place of injury on the battlefield. Intravenous catheters gain special importance, with the reestablishment of the circulatory volume levels being started even at the earliest stages for those who are seriously injured and who can develop shock. Macromolecular (dextrans) solutions will be used in greater proportions since stored blood will be hard to obtain. The injured person who has a catheter put in place for the administration of a dextran (or other solution) dosage can be thus evacuated to a hospital.

Anesthesia and life support in the territorial hospitals will have characteristics similar to the emergency surgical activities like those in the front line mobile hospitals and in the hospitals in the hospitalization bases.

Anesthesia equipment manufactured in-county will correspond to the requirements. The anesthesia techniques in the hospitals can be diversified within the limits of the standardizations for military hospitals (in relationship to the substances in supply).

Life support and intensive therapy activities in the front line hospital will be especially directed towards the prevention and treatment of shock, as well as the prevention of complications stemming from shock. Here, circulatory volumes can be

reestablished, according to the indications, using blood, macromolecular solutions, polyionic crystalline solutions, vaso-active medications can be administered, metabolic balance can be reestablished and so forth.

At the hospitalization bases, intensive therapy activities must include all the major problems such as the reestablishment of insufficiencies in circulation, respiration, metabolical balance, renal balance, the treatment of comas and so forth.

In order to make ends meet under the conditions of a defensive all people's war and such complex activities, a good organization is needed. It will be necessary to have large quantities of materials dispersed in stable and mobile territorial hospital units and depots. Among the especially useful materials will be those with a single dose of volume solutions, anesthesia substances, simple and strong devices, and so forth. It is desirable for measures to be taken so that the necessary materials will be produced in-country.

Similarly, it is necessary to have a multidisciplinary medical-military training for medical-health personnel, as well as a health education program for all citizens regarding first aid problems, including the elementary problems of life support.

Conclusions

1. Under the conditions of a defensive all people's war, the practice of medical care, including anesthesia, life support and intensive therapy, is made difficult by the damage that this type of combat generates in addition to that characteristic of classical warfare.

2. Within the framework of the volume of medical assistance for the seriously wounded, the fight against pain and the prevention of the onset of shock are first priority.

3. The standardization of anesthesia and life support methods is necessary as a requirement of the first order.

4. The methods of anesthesia and life support must be primarily based upon equipment and substances manufactured in-country.

5. The standardization of anesthesia and life support equipment, as well as single-use materials, are equally recommended.

6. The introduction of the discipline of anesthesia-intensive therapy in university education for all graduates of medical departments must teach them to administer, when needed, general anesthesia and emergency life supprt.

7. The continuation of the process of training doctors at a sustained rate in the network of the Ministry of Health (specializations and follow-on training) in order to be able to meet the needs under the conditions of an all people's defensive war.

8724
CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

RECOGNITION OF CHURCH OFFICIAL--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Bishop Leonid Plamadeala is recognized in the position of Archbishop of Sibiu and Metropolitan of Transylvania, a position to which he was elected by the Electoral College of the Romanian Orthodox Church on 10 January 1982. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 8, 23 Jan 82 p 4]

APPOINTMENT OF DEPUTY MINISTER--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe Constantinescu is appointed deputy minister of forestry economy and construction materials. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 13, 29 Jan 82 p 2]

CSO: 2700/190

ORIGINS OF CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIETY EXPLORED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1617, 27 Dec 81 pp 26-27

[Article by Professor Najdan Pasic: "The Origin of Partitions and Barriers"]

[Text] Can a party initiate and guide the processes of the democratization of the overall political relations that lead to the withering away of the state, and remain outside of these processes itself? Can a party based on the principle of democratic centralism find its true place in a system of municipal self-management and really act as an integral part of that system, and not as a branch of the central authorities carried over into the party itself? What changes are needed in the organization and method of action of the party, in order for it to be really included in the processes of a direct union of political authority and self-management--in processes whose primary framework and starting point are the self-managing municipality?

Not much progress has been made in searching for theoretical and concrete answers to these and similar questions. Particularly little has been done in the direction of a consistent critical analysis of the significant and contradictory practical experiences of the October, Yugoslav, and other socialist revolutions in the modern era.

When the revolutionary act of destroying the old authority and establishing a new one has already been carried out, a latent contradiction, concealed until that time, inevitably rises to the surface of sociopolitical reality. This is a contradiction between a rigidly centralized, comprehensive party organization with a relatively narrow personnel composition, and the broad autonomy of new authorities of the commune type that appear as the very antithesis of the previous state centralism. A concrete aspect of this contradiction is the collision between the leading (command) role of the party, which is implemented from a single center, and the spontaneity and independence of directly democratic decision-making "from below" at hundreds and thousands of points in which the new authorities are constituted. The direction in which this contradiction is resolved leaves the main imprint on the entire further development of the sociopolitical system.

According to its intentions, the formation of social councils under administrative agencies, which is being planned and undertaken today, should entail a large

step forward in the socialization of this part of the mechanism of the state's authority, which is the one most exposed to the bureaucratic erection of barriers and "alienation." In regard to this, certain positive results can justly be expected.

From both the theoretical and practical political points of view, however, one may justifiably raise the question of how much this method of democratizing the executive and administrative functions is appropriate to the delegate system, especially in the current phase of its development. The constitution of delegate assemblies has already significantly expanded the room for the free expression of individual interests and a directly democratic form and content in the process of coordinating them. A corresponding degree of effectiveness and consistency has not been achieved, however, in implementing and expressing the agreed-upon policy resulting from the process of coordinating interests. If the creation of social councils under administrative agencies has to mean introducing the elements of the coordination of partial interests into the sphere of implementing and carrying out a policy, will this not disrupt even further the equilibrium between the establishment and the implementation of a policy, to the detriment of the latter (i.e. to the detriment of the achievement of goals in which general and joint interest has been expressed)?

This danger is especially evident in regard to the executive and administrative agencies in a municipality. These agencies carry out not only the policy of the municipal assembly, but also the policy of the broader sociopolitical communities. As a result of this, there is an implicit danger that pressure from local interests will interfere with the consistent and impartial implementation of general regulations when they affect the local interests of "one's own" enterprises or certain categories of citizens. As is well known from practical experience, this is one of the potential sources for violations of constitutionality and legality. Will not the creation of social councils under administrative agencies, if it means the institutionalization of a channel for the direct influence of various interests on policy implementation, intensify localistic tendencies, which are very marked in any case?

The free expression of the pluralism of self-managing interests is the social basis and democratic prerequisite for the delegate system. The very process of the necessary coordination and political synthesis of different interests has its natural center and focus in the delegate assemblies. If this focus is essentially changed, if the process of coordinating different partial interests is shattered and diffused into all parts of the political -ystem, including even the sociopolitical organizations (which should be a factor for coordinating interests not outside, but within the delegate assembly mechanism) and the executive and administrative agencies of the assemblies themselves (which should carry out a coordinated policy and not create it themselves like autonomous and parallel centers for the coordination of interests), then this will cause serious disruptions in the delegate system of managing and exercising authority, and endanger certain essential prerequisites for the normal and effective operation of that system.

Control over the social product and appropriation of it in accordance with the state property principle have been abolished, but state agencies have retained

the right to use their measures to establish and regulate the "conditions for economic activity" for every branch of the economy and every area of activity. This right, in exaggerated concrete aspects of its realization, grows into a sort of para-property, which may "successfully" replace the formally abolished state property monopoly.

This is the material basis for the great although partially concealed power of the state and para-state centers of decision-making, and for the appearance of the elements of a state-hireling attitude and psychology, also in a disguised form. In both cases tendencies arise toward strengthening or protecting one's own position and immediate interests by establishing quasi-property rights (and often a very real property monopoly) to parts of the social property, either on a territorial and political basis or on a production and group property basis. Behind the veil of social property and self-managing norms and institutions, a relationship of forces and constellation of interests are established that exert great pressure on social property in order to disintegrate and paralyze it, and to parcel it out among numerous and increasingly more numerous state and quasi-self-managing entities.

But what is thus parcelled out and disintegrated is not just the material means of social production, but also the working class, which has not yet managed to take control of these means as a whole through self-management. From this ideological and class standpoint (and not just from the standpoint of economic efficiency), the very widespread occurrences of group-property barriers within individual enterprises, economic areas, and especially individual narrower and broader sociopolitical (territorial) communities, should be considered and evaluated. These occurrences essentially have a profoundly non-self-managing nature and meaning, and are a direct threat to the vital long-term interests of the working class.

Interests opposed to the free self-managing association of labor and equipment also have a stronghold both in the political-administrative structure and in associated labor.

This is the case in the political-administrative structure because of the fact that the still autonomous social power and influence of those responsible for political-administrative functions in each sociopolitical community, from the municipality to the federation, are based on rights and authorities in regard to the organizations of associated labor on "its" territory. By determining the conditions for economic activity, as part of their considerable legal authority, exercising direct and indirect control over the enormous funds for joint and general social expenditure, and interpreting and representing the interests of the organizations of associated labor on their territory with respect to other organizations of associated labor and their political representatives, the executive and other agencies of a sociopolitical community establish a political patronage over the economy in their area, and thus also certain quasi-property rights over the corresponding territorially defined parts of the social property. Behavior tending toward territorial autarchy and group property privatization is a natural consequence of such a state of affairs.

A little known but significant source for the above-mentioned distortions exists in the area of personnel policy. The formal "alleviation" or even abolition of a hierarchical structure in the agencies for social administration, the basic social services, and large firms has not led automatically to inclusion of all of the elements of the centralized personnel policy. The vertical mobility of personnel (advancement along invisible and still existing political-state ladders) has been decided upon in the centers for personnel policy outside of the communes, which have been separated and removed from this policy. There has been influence from the rank-and-file, but it has rarely been crucial. This has had (and to some extent still has even today) great significance for the position and conduct of the leading personnel in a municipality. The system of political patrons and clients--which is characteristic of all systems in which the professional political-administrative layer has a strong position and considerable social privileges--has proven to be tenacious and hardy under the new conditions, in spite of the far-reaching decentralization and democratization measures directed toward strengthening independence and the self-managing municipality. It has not been easy to eradicate the claims to individual "high" leaders (in the provinces, republics, and federation) to have a personal and direct influence on personnel policy in their area, in spite of public condemnations of such behavior and certain measures (not always consistent) for the democratization of the candidacy and election procedure. Undeveloped self-management relations and political professionalism have made it possible for these phenomena and tendencies, characteristic of bureaucratic political representation systems, to be reproduced.

Strengthening the process of self-managing transformations of the Yugoslav political system will be accomplished primarily through the political and ideological action of conscientious organized socialist forces, and not through any radical changes in the existing institutional solutions. For this action to be conducted successfully, however, it is of crucial significance that those conducting it not suffer from a fetish for normative solutions and projections, but rather constantly analyze practice in a critical manner, taking into account both subjective weaknesses and the objective contradictions through which the development of revolutionarily new institutions and relations in our society is being disrupted.

9909
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DESCRIPTION OF COUNTRY'S CLASS STRUCTURE ESSAYED

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 205, 2 Jan 82 pp 20-23

[Article by Slaven Letica: "What Class Do You Belong To?"]

> [Text] Our collaborator in Zagreb, the sociologist Slaven Letica, revives the topic of the social map of Yugoslavia, which was announced with quite a bit of fanfare by the trade unions at the beginning of the year and then quietly and ever more quietly simply dropped from public notice.

When at the beginning of this year galloping inflation (for the first time over the last 30 some years) seriously shook the very foundations of our everyday life, trade union activists offered the public a drive to prepare a so-called "social map" of the work force (more precisely, of each worker individually). They call for data to be gathered on every worker concerning the conditions of his life (his own and those of his family): housing conditions, pay--income, property, health, and so on. The "social maps" of the work force, ran the thinking of the authors of this interesting idea, could be used for conducting a more vigorous policy of protecting (the standard of living) of the poorest workers and families. The idea of preparing "social maps" has today been slowly pushed into oblivion (at least as far as publicity is concerned). Perhaps because the technical problems of carrying it out were greater than the authors supposed; or the reason was of a more prosaic nature: what was at that time the shock of inflation has long since grown to become a habit in life and politics. However that may be, the author of this piece, using the idea of the "social map" as an intellectual stimulus, will attempt to prepare--instead of a multitude of individual maps--a sketch of an overall "social map" (of the population) of Yugoslavia. More precisely, an attempt will be made to answer (in quantitative terms) the question: What sort of social population groups--families (classes, strata, brackets and the like) are living and working in self-managing Yugoslavia at the present time? Just one more necessary remark by way of introduction: since the rhetorical question we have stated is still "loaded" with politics, I must offer an apology in advance to all those whose theoretical-political-class-demagogic "feelings" I will (altogether (un)intentionally) offend.

Social Structure as a Taboo Topic

Over the last 10 or 15 years (it can be proven that Tito's famous 1962 speech in Split initiated all the subsequent theoretical and political reflections concerning social differences and the social structure of our society) about 500 "bibliographic units" and some 10,000 pages of manuscript have been written in our country in answer to the question What or who is the working class and what is the social structure of our society (in writing this article I have been compelled to reread a goodly portion of what has been written)? At the same time, the number of titles on the "new working class" under capitalism and on the "friendly classes" and social structure of "Eastern" socialism runs into the many thousands.

I place Tito's speech in Split at the origin of the development of present-day theories of the social structure of Yugoslav society for quite obvious reasons.

Namely, the discussions of the social structure of our society (and of socialist society in general) were conducted even before 1962. Those discussions were particularly intensive and bitter after 1948 (criticism of the Cominform Resolution and criticism of Stalinism) and 1950 (introduction of self-management).

However, the intensive debate concerning the social structure (in the period 1950-1953) was abruptly broken off by a political intervention in 1954. As is well known, the reason for the political intervention was the emergence of Djilas' shocking positions in the realm of political theory concerning the social structure. His theses concerning the bureaucracy (the "Red bourgeoisie") and certain other things acted like a political-theoretical shock on the public. The response of the LC [League of Communists] was quite logical and the only possible one: a personal, political and theoretical showdown with Milovan Djilas. Though no one explicitly called for it (not even the LC), discussion of the social structure therefore became a taboo topic after that (right up until 1962).

Only the authority of Tito's 1962 speech in Split brought a change of direction in the way this topic was looked upon. I quote three sentences from his speech which unquestionably comprise a call for discussion of wealth and poverty, social stratification, social ranks and classes:

"We have seen the ceiling on salaries stretched to absolutely impossible proportions. There are cases when the highest salary is as much as 20-fold greater than the lowest salary in one and the same collective. It is simply incomprehensible, comrades, how this has come about of itself. But now we will have to do something so it goes no further....

"There have been cases where a worker, say, receives only 2,000 of that surplus which has been created, while someone else receives 80,000 dinars."

After 1962 there was a true revolution in theoretical and political conceptions of the social structure of our self-managing society. Nevertheless, 20 years of theoretical discussion and study of the social structure have obviously not been sufficient for attainment of any sort of consensus in theory and politics concerning the essential dilemmas in the realm of theory or concerning the reality

of class and social relations. In this, of course, everyone brings to bear the testimony of authoritative theoreticians (Marx, Engels and Lenin) and the vital interests of the working class.

Schools of Thought

I will divide the multitude of views concerning Yugoslavia's social structure into three dominant groups or schools of thought (with a small risk that some of the theorists will remain outside this classification).

The first group is made up of representatives of the so-called working people theory: theoreticians (and politicians) who think and assert that in our country one cannot speak of classes in the conventional (?) sense of the word, since the entire population lives and appropriates under the same conditions--on the basis of work and according to the principle of distribution according to work. Classes, then, do not exist as interest-based and politically antagonistic coalitions (much as the formula "friendly classes" is used in so-called real Eastern socialism). Moreover, according to this theory distribution according to work is bringing about certain social differences, but not differences which could constitute class stratification.

The common denominator of the second group of theorists is the view that our society is a class society and is based on the existence of two or more classes (representing more or less opposed interests and outlook). This group is not homogeneous in its theory nor with respect to its estimates of the number or naming of the classes. I will illustrate how heterogeneous are the views within this group with a quote from Professor Doctor Stipe Suvar:

"In the literature of political sociology and political philosophy, and still more in journalism, we encounter emphasis on dichotomies: proletariat--bureaucracy, working class--the elite class, the working class--the stratum of managers, professional politicians and officials in the economic administration, the working class--the counterclass, the working class--groups outside it, the working class--the middle class, and the working class--the politocracy. We have had occasion to encounter assertions about a new class and about a new bourgeoisie. The elite, the technocracy, the ruling stratum, and the financial oligarchy have also been denoted as a segment of society which are privileged under socialism and are the ruling segment vis-a-vis the working class itself." (S. Suvar, "Samoupravljanje i alternative" [Self-Management and the Alternatives])

Finally, the third large group of theorists is made up of scientists who as they undertake analysis of the social structure take into account what is referred to in Lenin's "definition" of classes as the "mode of acquisition and size of the wealth of society which they possess." Taking into account empirical data on occupation, education, social origin, property, income, living conditions and way of life, "life style" and "value orientations," and the like of the population, these theorists use statistics to define so-called social strata, that is, the layers of the social structure. Sometimes they mention four "layers," and sometimes 8, 10, 12, or even more.

Although if the truth be told all the theorists and their theories can be fitted more or less comfortably into the classic Marxist quotations concerning classes, the class struggle and the social structure, they wear themselves out in attempts to chase each other out of those quotations. But let the reader draw his own conclusion about whether or not they can be fitted into the "quotations" from the following quote from the most famous definition of classes, that of Lenin: "'Classes' is a term given to large groups of people who differ with respect to their place in a historically determined system of social production, with respect to their relation ... to the means of production, with respect to their role in the social organization of labor, and, accordingly, with respect to the mode of acquisition and size of the social wealth which they possess...." To round out this definition it is useful to add the element of class identification and consciousness on which Marx insists more strongly.

The devil knows (!) why in political circles representatives of the third, the so-called stratification, theory have always had the poorest standing on the scales of political confidence. Their theoretical craft has usually been labeled "unMarxist" and "Western (bourgeois)." Obviously more because similar or the same theories and methods of studying the social structure have been favorites in the West than because there is no place for them in Marx' or Lenin's "definitions."

At the same time the political and theoretical underestimation, and indeed even complete rejection, of "stratification" approaches (in our context), motivated by grounds alleged to lie in authentic Marxism, usually results in a concealment of relations and the size of property, appropriation and possession, that is, a clouding over of the conditions and mode of life of millions; a veil of silence over everything Tito spoke about back in 1962 (at which point no one denounced him for concerning himself with "stratification" topics). Beneath the academic peace between the "class" and "Marxist" approaches, then, lies hidden the desire to conceal social differences--the enrichment of some and the pauperization of others.

Everything we have said so far leads to the thesis on which I particularly insist (incidentally, it is nothing new, nor is this article, since all of our own and foreign Marxists have reached this conclusion long ago); the alternative between studying the existence of our society's class structure or studying the existence of the interest-stratum structure is simply a false alternative.

Under normal conditions (that is, stable conditions, and such in Yugoslavia are predominant), the stratum-interest structure controls politics and life; in revolutionary--that is, exceptional--situations the class-interest structure becomes decisive. It is in those (revolutionary) situations that class identification and class consciousness and class struggle emerge. Moreover, if one is to understand a society's social structure, one needs to study the real relations in ownership and appropriation, and not perform merely an analysis of the formal, normative and prescribed relations.

Many people in our country, unfortunately, build up their notions of the social structure on the premise of an identity between what is prescribed and real life.

And since it is set down in black and white in all our great documents that our socialism abolishes every (!) form of monopoly over the ownership of the means of production (according to Marx, this is the basic and even exclusive source of the class division of labor), the conclusion is "coolly" framed that differences between social groups and individuals can be reduced merely to differences that arise out of their work abilities (so that some are factory managers and others are trashmen). All according to the maxim: Before the state (as indeed before God) all men are equal.

The indecision of theories and theorists are only part and parcel of the general indecision of the public--of public opinion. To give an example, an extensive survey conducted by an institute in Serbia proper in late 1974 put the question: "We would like to know if in your opinion there are separate social classes in our society?"; out of 1,000 respondents an equal number (371)--strange coincidence--replied that our society is a "class society" and that it is a "classless society" (the other 258 decided on the response "Don't know").

The Worker Aristocracy and the Intellectual Proletariat

The reason is by all appearances a simple one. Present-day society, including even a self-managing society, makes the social and class structure and social identification extremely "dense" and complex.

In Marx' time, and indeed even in the first half of the 20th century, concepts of the working class (and of other classes), of class identification, of class consciousness and class struggle, were logically derived by empirical and theoretical analysis from real social (economic, political and cultural) life. The working class was clearly separate from the classes set in opposition to it with respect to its interests, its consciousness, its way of life, its culture, and so on. The organization of work life, of public life, of education, culture and other aspects of life was adapted to the fundamental class structure of society.

The development of industrial society (accompanied by the processes of the development and democratization of social welfare and cultural policy) radically separates the spheres of "private life" and "work life." Money, that great symbol of the nonexistent social justice of the bourgeois world, is the only (artificial, to be sure) connection between the two halves of life.

The working class of the Western bourgeois world, once a "class for itself" (a working class conscious of its own historic influences and interests), often loses its own class essence; it becomes a "class against itself," a class incapable of refusing "the blessings of the here and now" (which belongs to the bourgeoisie) instead of the travails of building future freedom.

In assenting to the rotten compromises of everyday life in consumer civilization, the wisest leaders and representatives of the class (it is a fact that Lenin even detected this in his own time) often rise up into a "worker aristocracy"--a kind of Fifth Column in the historic march of the proletariat.

Democratization of politics, of culture, of consumption, of sexuality--democratization of life in general--has destroyed the dominant "status symbols" in our structure of daily social and cultural existence.

The Red quarters have long since disappeared from the cities (in Zagreb Trnje, once a symbol of working class and revolutionary Zagreb, is today overflowing with all kinds of bureaucratic interlopers: scribblers, SIZ [self-managing community of interest] officials, politicians; to be sure, it would as yet still be pretentious to say of Tuskanac that it has become a working class quarter); the son of the bank manager, the daughter of the committee secretary and--very rarely, to be sure--the son of the skilled worker go together to "'elite' educational centers." University professors, chiefs of surgery, SIZ officials and textile workers share ski lodges and seaside cabins.

Merchants, opera singers and their former housemaids are today weekend neighbors (I know in fact of a case where the housemaid of one of our important scientists managed to build a weekend cottage, which he hasn't managed). "Boutique boys" and "goulash students" dance together to rock and roll in small discotheques and clubs. Certainly there is a shade of difference in it all: the poorer ones are considerably less frequently represented in enjoyment of the good life.

Yet the differences--many conclude from this--are exclusively quantitative in nature. Thus in our context classes are usually conceived as aggregates with differing purchasing power. The social structure of society is being analyzed more and more (even in our country) in terms of consumption, the purchasing power of the individual and family, and their life style.

For altogether journalistic reasons, what the sociologists usually call a stratum (that is, a term that has been castrated in the sense of values and conveniently borrowed from geology) I will refer to here as a caste (this term needs to be rehabilitated from any possible feudalistic connotation it might have).

I have used the data of population statistics, labor statistics and data of various surveys for the quantifications of the social structure. Unfortunately, I was unable to use the data of the 1981 Population Census, since they will be published only in the coming months and years.

Sketch of the Social Map

A brief note. The numbers given to illustrate caste statistics will cover only the work force; anyone can multiply them by two to get the composition of the total population. I classify and divide Yugoslavia's work force, then, into the following classes and strata-castes!

1. The Self-Managing Working Class

I provisionally define our most numerous social group as follows: all workers in the economy, regardless of position in the occupational division of labor belong to this class if they participate directly in the creation of products or services, if they do not possess any form of monopoly which would make it possible for them to appropriate by other means than their work; so, all workers/self-managers who share the fate of the performance of the results of their own work in terms of income, and those workers in the noneconomic sphere who are not administrative personnel (regardless of whether they stoke the furnace, drive a vehicle, do the cleaning or sit at a typewriter).

Within itself the self-managing working class is not at all homogeneous with respect to interests. Though the differentiation of this class with respect to interests occurs with respect to a whole number of socioeconomic criteria (sector or industry, region, that is, the relationship of the center to the provinces, position in the system of the organization of work, working conditions and the manner and level of remuneration, living conditions and the way of life, and so on, and so on), the dominant criteria in the differentiation with respect to interest distinguish three groups which are relatively homogenized with respect to interest:

i. The stratum-caste of worker-peasants (hybrids) consists of 550,000 industrial and service workers, mainly semiskilled. They make up for large deficiencies with respect to the possibility of exercising their self-management rights--because of their modest education--by a radical and possessive value orientation determined by necessity. Living off their work and from farming, this stratum, with its double work load, relates the larger share of its social identification to the farm and the land than to its "paid" employment.

ii. The stratum-caste of moonlighting workers exceeds the number 400,000 (according to a survey of the Croatian Republic SIZ for Employment Security in Zagreb, the estimate of this number could have been set even higher). Moonlighting workers are more and more comprising a separate social "agglomerate" which is homogeneous in its values. Cheating the social sector either directly or indirectly (through "sick leave," doing private work during working hours, or "conserving their energy" on the job), and offering disloyal competition to the private sector (private craftsmen and tradesmen), the members of this caste make up a separate coalition based on social and economic interest.

iii. The stratum-caste of the self-managing working class in the strict sense numbers 3 million or so semiskilled workers, skilled workers, highly skilled workers, technicians, engineers and other workers who base their own existence on the business success of the results of their labor. For this category of producers income-sharing relations, the relations of self-management, market relations and many other relations within the production relation are not mere words, but an existential matter. Within itself this stratum is "cut up" with respect to interest by position in the social and occupational division of labor, by industry, region or other characteristics, and especially by the conditions of appropriating income and the level of income appropriated, as well as by living conditions.

Within the stratum-caste of the self-managing working class in the strict sense we therefore find substrata of the extremely poor and substrata of the relatively well-off. The range between poverty and wealth is today approximately 1:10, that is, whereas 3 percent of the workers have salaries under 400 dinars, there are also workers with salaries higher than 30,000 and 40,000 dinars.

2. The Classic (Not Exactly Altogether) Working Class

All those workers who work and earn income under the conditions of the classic relationship between the employer (boss) and the hired worker belong to this class. This class, then, is made up of the following:

i. 100,000 hired workers legally employed in the private sector;

ii. some 40,000 "hired men" of well-off peasants;

iii. about 150,000 "traditional" day laborers in construction, agriculture, and so on;

iv. about 700,000 of our workers employed abroad;

v. 80,000-100,000 live-in maids, housemaids, cleaningwomen and other hired workers,

vi. about 800,000 registered (!) unemployed (and 400,000-500,000 unregistered), regardless of social and occupational status.

We must immediately point out that many of the six subcategories of the "classic" working class which have been enumerated hardly deserve that attribute. The large demand for "hired" labor has raised "wages," for example, in construction and agriculture to high levels--1,000 or more new dinars (with full board and drinks, of course). Aside from that, the sole classic representatives of the working class--those employed abroad--are also attempting to offset their social and political disenfranchisement with economic prosperity (unsuccessfully no doubt).

3. Administrative and Bureaucratic Castes

The large differences in socioeconomic position and power and the heterogeneity of Yugoslavia's bureaucracy do not allow for the various bureaucratic strata to be identified and defined in terms of class interest and political interest. That is why the bureaucracy is not a class, but an assemblage of a number of more or less socially related groups. It is made up of the following:

i. The economic bureaucracy in the strict sense consists of 580,000 outright officeworkers (accountants, cashiers, personnel officers, and staff specialists), as well as a goodly portion of the 110,000 so-called "miscellaneous specialists" (the majority of these are economists and lawyers with high-sounding titles, but with bureaucratic jobs and mentality).

ii. The business-enterprise bureaucracy consists of 110,000 enterprise managers, high-level professional management personnel, and "organizers of work and production."

This stratum-caste is socially very heterogeneous and broken up in terms of interest according to the criterion of sector interest and regional interest. Its essential feature is its great microeconomic and low macroeconomic and political power and the "petty" privileges of the classic "manager of a government enterprise" (a car with a chauffeur to go to and from work, the right to select a secretary, etc.).

iii. The noneconomic bureaucracy is very difficult to quantify. Yet there is little risk of error if we estimate here 30-40 percent of the total work force in

the noneconomic sphere, that is, 200,000-250,000 people. The power of this group is relatively large, since it often decides on various individual rights: employment, housing, education--enrollment and the like.

Possibly because of its economic position this bureaucracy can be further divided into the following:

a. the administrative stratum in the privileged noneconomic sphere--the SIZ's, the economic chambers, the government administration, etc.;

b. the administrative stratum in the "skimpy" noneconomic sphere--education, science, culture, the health service, and so on.

iv. The government bureaucracy, the so-called government administration, numbers about 180,000 white-collar workers and consists of 27,000 employed in the "legislative branch" (assemblies and agencies); 103,000 in the "executive branch" (committees, institutes, councils, etc.); 25,000 in the judicial branch, and 23,000 in the social accounting service.

v. The political and ideological bureaucracy: 27,310 semiprofessionals and professionals, politicians and "politicals," political specialists and related personnel in the organs of the party, trade unions, the youth organization and the socialist alliance comprise our political and ideological "administration."

Strong and effective in all situations of political crisis--in situations when the external or internal enemy of our territorial or political or ideological integrity makes its appearance--that bureaucracy is less effective on "peacetime" ideological issues. Lacking large professional and scientific power, that bureaucracy is mainly concerned in peacetime with its own organizational and personnel matters and with writing endless abstract conclusions, resolutions and recommendations. Even a superficial analysis reveals in this mass of schematized texts of paper "politics" a multitude of plagerized passages, vulgar copying and repetition.

vi. The SIZ bureaucracy numbers 43,500 officeworkers of "work communities" and "staff services" of SIZ's; this bureaucracy decides on important individual rights and instead of being the "civil servant" of associated labor self-managed on the basis of interest, it usually acts as the agent of the interests of the government and political bureaucracy and as its operational and financial extension.

vii. The financial and banking bureaucracy consists of 68,500 members of the administrative personnel of banks and 15,000 in insurance institutions.

viii. The bureaucracy of the trade associations is certainly a specific strain of the bureaucracy; the 8,371 "workingmen" employed in associations of OUR's [organization of associated labor] represent that type of bureaucracy which regardless of whether it represents maritime shipping or agriculture or mining lives in the centers of the largest cities, concerning itself with "planning," "development," "establishment of linkage" and similar "productive" tasks.

By way of conclusion of this brief survey of the bureaucratic castes (I have written more extensively on this topic some 6 months back in the magazine FOKUS) we certainly should say that within the power structure and government structure there is a separate stratum of 9,000 political officeholders (in the strict sense of the word) and 6,500 persons elected in executive and delegate entities.

That is, in view of the fact that more than 70 percent of the decisions on expanded reproduction are made outside the immediate reach of the self-managing workers, the great economic, social and political (monopoly) power of this social group is pronounced. The institutionalized system of privileges (housing for officeholders, so-called official-private automobiles, elite residential areas, easier access to public institutions, and so on) gives this social group something like a separate style of life and behavior.

3. The peasant class (in the hilly Balkans) is put here in the "high third place" because of its size and not because of its wealth, prestige or power. This class is also the one most frequently beyond doubt in theory. Everyone recognizes it. Three and a half million peasants, the so-called private farmers, make up a class familiar to us all and consisting of us ourselves, our fathers and grandfathers. A class which is dying out. Because of the economic laws of development of the (composition) of the population, but also because of necessity: in 1978, for example, the level of the liquid assets of the peasant household was still 70 percent below that of the nonpeasant and nonfarm household.

4. The Middle Castes (Middle Class)

I am using the term "middle castes" here to bring together strata-castes which are socially very heterogeneous. This term is not intended, then, to express anything they have in common, but a linkage that is merely technical and formal. Here are those strata-castes.

i. The intelligentsia in the strict sense of the word (that is, that portion of the workers who have graduated from junior and senior postsecondary institutions, but do not belong to the working class, the peasant class or the bureaucratic caste) is an extremely numerous social group. We should be aware, that is, that between 1945 and 1981 more than 300,000 people graduated from junior postsecondary institutions and more than 400,000 people from senior postsecondary institutions in Yugoslavia. Of course, they do not all belong to the caste of the intelligentsia. Many belong to the working class and other classes and to the bureaucratic castes. Nevertheless, if we include in the intelligentsia only the following categories of workers: teachers, physicians, scientists, artists and staff and free-lance writers (of all kinds), its number exceeds 400,000. Our intelligentsia is not homogeneous by any means; it differs within itself in its social origin, its value (and political-ideological) commitment, and particularly in its living conditions and life style.

The exponential growth of the Yugoslav intelligentsia, made possible by the conception of supermass education, on the one hand is increasing the social power of this stratum, while on the other hand it is creating the danger of the phenomenon of an intellectual proletariat, that is, the danger of mass unemployment and the threatened existence of this caste.

ii. The stratum-caste of commercial rentiers and middlemen are made up of those who buy and sell (on a large scale), those who deal in housing space, moneylenders, those who wheel and deal with foreign currencies.... Even a fortune-teller would not be able to judge the size of this suite which makes its living in semi-criminal ways.

iii. The stratum-caste of intellectual rentiers and middlemen (whom we do not regard as intelligentsia in the previous sense) emerged only in the last few years since the flowering of tourism based on conferences and congresses and the phenomenon of the provincial university. It is made up of various political lecturers, university wheelers and dealers (those who have chairs in as many as five universities, but prepare their lectures mostly in airplanes), producers of "instant" scientific papers, producers of general enactments, and so on. There are more than 2,000 of them.

iv. The stratum-caste of cultural, scientific and "show business" creators covers some 50,000 (or slightly less) sons and daughters of the various muses. This is a most variegated company: it includes those who sing newly composed music and the primitive painters and the industrialists of the entertainment industry and all others. I cram them into the same basket, since I really do not know where to put them. Show business is increasingly numerous and increasingly prosperous and powerful. Let us say at present 5,000.

v. The caste of "servants of God" consists of 12,000 religious workers, priests, monks, head priests, and others. (Allow me the freedom of not knowing how they live.)

vi. The stratum-caste of the large private entrepreneurs. The number of members of this social group--the group of private businessmen who hire more than five workers and a turnover of capital larger than 1 billion old dinars a year, is not large: perhaps about 200 or 300 people. The social power of this caste is based on money and the shortcomings, "loopholes," of the legal system and shortcomings in organization of the work of the socialized sector. This group conducts its "large transactions" either by operating on the margins of the law--and that is to "put it mildly"--or by performing tasks directly for the socialized sector. In political terms this is a very "loyal" social group: standing aloof from politics and declaring itself in favor of "self-management," this group builds its ideology and value orientation on devotion to the Almighty Dinar.

vii. The stratum-caste of (small-scale) private entrepreneurs who hire manpower comprises 160,000 owners of production and craft and trade shops and 35,000 owners of hostelry, commercial and service establishments. On the average this stratum has not "swelled to bursting" with wealth.

Conclusion

The figures and incidental observations accompanying the "caste statistics" should (so the author intended) create a documented impression that the bases of social stratification in Yugoslavia are the criteria of work and the work contribution, as the dominant criterion, but also by the criteria of position, social origin and other similar criteria which are not based on work.

Nevertheless, the social tensions between the members of the various strata-castes are still not such as to take on any serious and manifest political expression. That is, there is relatively large room for mobility in the castes. Up to now the educational system has had the function of a "channel for advancement," and access to education has by and large been democratic--since in principal it was unlimited. Today, when restricted enrollment is being introduced in education, there is a danger of so-called "negative selection" based on caste. The wakeful eyes of the public and the extreme sensitiveness of the enrollment procedures have at present left that "negative selection" at the level of atypical cases of irresponsibility. Enough said. The "social map" is an important topic and science ought to say more than is said about it without censorship or self-censorship. On another occasion we will speak about how the process of "work measurement" and distribution according to work affects it.

The author's social map: social origin worker-peasant, master's degree in economics, 35 years old, married, one child, one wife, one place to live (60 square meters), salary 14,000, belongs to the castes: intelligentsia.

7045
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MISTREATMENT OF SERBIAN ORTHODOX NUNS IN KOSOVO ALLEGED

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 205, 2 Jan 82 pp 18-19

[Article by Dragoljub Golubovic: "The Princes Are Not Eager For the Quarrel..."]

[Text] In addition to the good news, bad news is also coming from Kosovo. Albanian irredentism is not being idle.

The enormous book written by time is being expanded with some pages that are disturbing.

There is no more mistake. The traces can be seen better now. Unfortunately, they lead right up to the churches and monasteries, to the frescos, iconostases, church books and libraries, to the places where the spiritual life of a people developed.

Something has already changed, and something is changing, but something has to be cured, and something prevented.

Here is one story.

From Suva Reka, near Prizren, the road leads to the village of Musitiste. Four kilometers further up the hill, by foot or by tractor, one comes to the base of Sara, where at one time, during the fourteenth century in the reign of King Milutin, a monastery was built with a church devoted to the Holy Trinity. It is now a women's monastery. In it the prioress and four sisters preserve the "spirit of Orthodoxy," and take care of the monastery and its property. They work the monastery ground themselves and raise livestock. The income is small. Although the monastery is under the protection of the state, there is no assistance of any kind. It is even hard for them to buy corn, either from the Albanian peasants or the Serbian ones, because this is felt to be assisting the church, and they say that "the state would not allow it."

The livestock are frenquently hungry, and the nuns themselves have a hard time coming by food. They are separated from the village, and they are too old to go down to the village shops every hour.

They have lived that way and been patient, and the Prizren bishop himself taught them that their place is to be patient and preserve the monastery. But recently, when the wave of irredentism began to swell, the villages began to attack them,

beat them, cut down their trees, and torment their livestock, just in order to drive them off this land.

Forbearance means less, they say, when we say it and when they hear it. But someone who puts up with an injustice, as is well known, through his forbearance itself, does a greater injustice to the community than the one who inflicts it.

It is probably for this reason that they agreed to speak, just in order to save the monastery.

"We Don't Have Any Rest From the Bullying"

They know what happened a year ago, when the monastery of St. Mark was burned down in the Prizren eparchy, and then before Easter this year [the same thing happened to] the Pec Patriarchate residence and library.

Bishop Pavle Rasko of Prizren was beaten before the demonstrations, and then beaten again a month ago. His arm was injured and now it is difficult for him to move it.

A professor at the seminary in Prizren, Archpriest Milutin Timotijevic, was also attacked, both before the demonstrations and again, recently.

People are letting their livestock out to graze on the monastery property, and when [the nuns] warn them, then they get a stick across the shoulders.

Thus, while the nuns were piling up a haystack, one of their neighbors from the village of Musitiste drove his sheep there. "He deliberately drove his livestock up the hill just in order to start a fight." When Sister Vera warned him, he came up and beat her around the head and shoulders with a stick. All bruised, she went to the clinic to be bandaged. Instead of helping her, they told her, "This isn't anything, it's a light injury."

Last year they blinded one of the nuns' bulls when they hit it in the eyes with a stick.

They put a piece of wood into a pregnant cow up to the uterus and killed the calf inside her. She lost the calf, and was left nearly dead herself.

A group of people simply came and began to beat the cattle in the middle of the monastery property.

The prioress says that they pierced their utters with nails.

Prioress Ilarija Sretenovic wrote to the militia commander at the Suva Reka station about how they were being mistreated by the "young toughs" from Grevovac:

"Last year we were injured, and you told us not to complain and that it would not happen again. But there is always something happening, today the sisters went out to see who was hitting our cattle. Every day something painful happens. Only one ox has survived, and now the calf is in a critical state. The sisters caught

them driving the cattle in a circle around the monastery meadow with sticks and stones. They are killing our cattle, and I hope they kill themselves. We do not have any rest from their bullying. I have been forced to inform the Bishop that they are driving us out of this monastery. It is impossible to endure the bullying. Please come to the monastery and find the criminals.

Respectfully yours, the monastery administration, Prioress Ilarija."

This was in the middle of July last year. Everything has remained as it was.

They are not allowing them to take water to water their fields.

Is There Any Law For These People?

They are cutting down their trees and taking away the wood.

The prioress protested again. In September 1981 she wrote to the militia station section in Musitiste:

"Please come right away to the Monastery of the Holy Trinity to establish the damage from the cut trees, which were cut down by Albanians from the village of Grazdel; I do not know what their names are...

On 14 September I heard an ax up at the top of the monastery woods; I went out and I did not believe that they were cutting down trees in the monastery woods, but when I sent two sisters they found two young men and asked them what their names were, but they said that they were born in Djermanija and did not know Serbian...

They came at night and took away the wood that we had brought down from the woods.

Do people have any law for this violence? What am I to do? Who should I turn to? This has gone too far. I request protection. The whole summer they chased our cattle, and now they have gone after the monastery's wood. This is already the thirteenth theft. Please take measures; I know that you can if you only want to. I have gotten tired of submitting requests.

Respectfully yours, the prioress Ilarija, the head of the Holy Trinity Monastery."

Again nothing happened. The authorities seemed to be unable to find the people born in "Djermanija." They are continuing to do what they want, unpunished.

This year some young men tried to rape Sister Heruvima. Sister Heruvima is fifty years old.

But the prioress says that recently a guest of theirs from Zagreb was raped.

She came to tour the monastery, to see the old iconostasis and the old monastery books. One day she went down to the village to visit two Catholic sisters, former acquaintances of hers, who visited here once after returning from Italy and France.

When she was returning to the monastery, one of the sisters went to accompany the guest for a while. Just then three young men, Albanians, appeared and offered to go with her. She refused. But as soon as sister Marija left and the unfortunate woman started off by herself up to the monastery, one of them came out of the woods. It was terrible, needless to say. She was raped, robbed, and beaten.

An Epilogue To Be Remembered

A certain doctor, a black, who was practicing at the health station, examined this tormented fifty-year-old woman, and it was not difficult for him to give a certificate making a serious accusation. This was a practicing doctor from Uganda, Sirijaza, as the prioress remembers his name. And the young man who did this was from the neighboring village of Rekovac.

The epilogue is worthy of being remembered.

As soon as the unfortunate woman recovered, she returned to Zagreb, never to come here again; the doctor was quickly transferred; and the young man from Rekovac is going to school.

"I went to the militia," the prioress says, "and asked Asan how long this would go on. And he answered that this was not rape!"

Nevertheless her cross on a chain, torn from her neck, was returned...

And so story follows story.

Last year the previously closed church of Holy Salvation, down in the village of Musitiste, was assigned to the monastery's care. The Prizren bishop approved the construction of a pantry next to it so that the nuns would have a place to take shelter when coming from the road, and where they could leave food to take to the monastery.

They brought three tractors of sand and prepared to begin work. When they came in the morning, there was no more sand.

In place of the sand, someone had brought two truckloads of mud and poured it into the area fenced off for construction.

It was clear that no spike could be driven there any longer.

And So It Is Going On

The nuns brought charges and even paid a fee.

The mud remained in the place where a church chamber was supposed to be. And Sister Angelina, in August of this year, was beaten by some "big stick" because she had mentioned God and truth.

Sister Stanka was beaten when she warned some young men from the village that they had driven their livestock onto the monastery property. She lodged a complaint against them. Again nothing happened.

One day, when it had all become unbearable to them, the nuns drove their cattle down to Suva Reka to the veterinary station. On almost all of the cattle there were scars, healed or fresh ones.

The monastery brought court charges and finally received an order, to pay the court fee. This was all. And the villagers across whose pastures the cattle had passed complained that the monastery's cattle had grazed on their grass, and demanded damages.

And so it is going on...

Down to the village, children throw stones at them when they go by. The road between the houses is narrow, and the walls are high, "so that you do not know who is throwing them down."

Bishop Pavle tells them to be silent and endure. He wants them to remain here and not abandon the monastery.

Two of the nuns who were beaten have already left the monastery. Sister Vera went to the Holy Virgin monastery in Djunis, and Angelina went to the Vavedenje monastery in Ovcar Banji.

Now that they are there they are praying for the health of those left at the foot of the Sar mountain to preserve the monastery built back in the fourteenth century, a great cultural treasure of a people.

But during this time the Serbian Orthodox Church is keeping silent; in spite of everything, it is preaching patience.

Many people have attacked these areas in the course of time, but the monasteries were spared. Are they really going to perish today?

One More Story

The goal of every trip is the return.

From the monastery we were supposed to go down to the village of Musitiste, and then to the Holy Salvation church, on the way out of the village. The rain and the fog seemed to cover the woods, the houses, and the road. And there are several roads, and it is difficult to distinguish them.

We knocked on the door of the first house we came across.

When the door opened, an Albanian, thirty years old, appeared. We asked him to show us the road to the church. He was wearing pants and a shirt. He threw on a coat right away and went to show us the road. He got soaked and wet to the skin. He did not even ask who or what we were. We suggested that he return, but he continued on with us a good part of the way, until the church came into view.

Afterwards, when we were returning to Belgrade, there were no road signs anywhere. We spoke Serbian, and we went with a monk in a priest's mantle, but nevertheless all of the people we met were courteous and showed us the road--and they were Albanians.

This was fortunate for all of us--unfortunate for irredentism.

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END

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10 March 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1986

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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NEED TO STRENGTHEN PARTY ROLE IN ARMED FORCES STRESSED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Dec 81 pp 2,3

[Article by Gafur Cuci: "The Strengthening of the Role of the Party Leadership in the Army is Decisive"]

[Text] In his report to the Eighth Party Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha said, among other things, that: "Our party has been and will always remain in the forefront of the struggle and of the work of the masses; it leads everywhere in politics and ideology, in the government and the economy, in education, culture and science, in the army and in all the other sectors of the country. No problem, simple of complicated, current or long-range can be solved without the leadership of the party. This has been and remains a law for us." In the army, too, the party is its brain and its soul, the directing force which makes it unbreakable.

It is the great historic merit of the party that it has established the theoretical bases and principles of building, educating and preparing our People's Army, and perfected and creatively analyzed Marxist-Leninist military science, our Military Art or the People's Struggle. The experience of our country shows clearly that the army can always be revolutionary, an admired and trusted weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, able to carry out its mission in time of peace and war, when it is inspired and led by a Marxist-Leninist party. Only such a party can educate the army with the ideology of the working class, with the principles of proletarian morality, with the laws of revolution, with the feelings of proletarian internationalism and, to equip it with a people's military art in which the training and the tactics of this art are based on Marxist-Leninist theory, on the political, ideological and military principles and norms of the proletariat, on the geographical, economic and social conditions of the country.

The uninterrupted leadership of the party in every unit and detachment is a sure guarantee of the successful fulfillment of the great tasks which have been set for the revolutionizing of the army, the correct development of the class struggle, the furtherimprovement of the education of the communists and of the cadres in the struggle against liberal-bureaucratic manifestations. The least weakening of the party leadership in the armed forces is wrought with very dangerous consequences, it leads them on the road of degeneration and transforms them from forces in the service of revolution into forces in the service

of counterrevolution, as has been the case with the former socialist countries. For this reason, the constant strengthening of the leading role of the party in every link of the army has been and remains one of our fundamental tasks, on which we must strongly rely in order to put into practice the historic decisions of the Eighth Party Congress. In this fundamental task it is important to concentrate on those main links and directions which ensure the raising to a higher qualitative level of the leadership work of the party, starting from the forums of the units and up to the basic organizations in the detachments and sub-detachments, as well as in those problems which have to do with the creation of a clearer concept for the realization of the leading role of the party and for a fuller expression of the work of the party.

The party has two fundamental tasks for the army: the ideological and political education and the education in military science of the communists, the cadres and the troops. Both of these tasks must proceed parallel to and in unity with each other.

The work carried out for the implementation of these fundamental tasks has further raised the leadership role and the sense of responsibility of the organs and of the basic organizations. The range of problems with which they deal has been expanded, by understanding more thoroughly the military line of the party. The mistaken and hostile concept, according to which the most important problems of training and of military readiness were established outside the basic organizations and their forums, has been successfully overcome. As a result, quite a few issues such as the work to understand the political, ideological and military content of the demands of the People's Military Art, for the drafting of the training programs, the problems which have to do with the reflection of a modern war, the issues which are closely related to the maintenance of high readiness, the training of cadres and of other staffs, have been better dealt with and carried out in compliance with the increasing demands of the party. As a result, the party organizations have always stood at the forefront of the life of the units and of the detachments, have better understood the problems and have put into motion the commands, the staffs and the youth organizations, so as to solve the outstanding issues.

In this direction, as previous experience has shown, the work must be further strengthened to create everywhere a clearer expression of the implementation of the leading role of the party, in order to understand and to carry out in practice the fact that the party manages in an organized and centralized manner and through the levers, commands and staffs, with functions, rights and tasks specified in the laws and rules in which the party line is reflected. The correct understanding of these issues protects the organs and the basic organizations from manifestations of parallelism and of duplication by the commands and staffs, and from cases when some cadres, because of the alleged ensuring of party leadership, find it easier to leave everything to the party organizations, thus discharging themselves of their responsibility.

In his report to the Eighth Party Congress, Comrade Enver stressed: "The party has set forth tasks, rights and responsibilities for everyone. The party guides and controls them all, it demands accounts from all. But everyone must be responsible for carrying out his own work, everyone must work with determination and with initiative and, in accordance with the rights and duties assigned

to everyone within the party's line, he must bear full responsibility for the tasks entrusted to him in the sector which he manages."

Two fundamental tasks arise from the implementation of these instructions: first, we must further expand the work of further involving the party basic organizations and organs on the broad path of understanding and carrying out the military line of the party, the directives which have to do with the revolutionizing of political-military readiness, to better involve them in the concrete and scientific leadership of these problems. Practice shows that the improvement of the quality of the studies, of the analyses and of the discussions which are carried out regarding the problems of the implementation of the party military line, the deepening of the ideological and political aspect of the problems of training and of readiness, are prerequisites for protecting the party organizations, the communists and the cadres from amateurism, technocratism and other manifestations of bureaucracy. Secondly, we must raise the level of the work of forums and of basic party organizations with the levers, in order for them to open vistas and to constantly monitor their work and to put into motion more effectively the full implementation of their tasks and rights, without replacing them and without hindering their initiative.

The uninterrupted strengthening of the party leadership in every cell of the life in the army, is closely related to the struggle which must be carried out for the strengthening and stimulating of the internal life of the basic party organizations and organs, in order for them to always remain real cells of revolutionaries, fiery hearths of communist education. By carrying out the party instructions, the internal life of the party organizations has become livelier and more dynamic. Many lively debates, healthy and principled criticisms and self-criticisms are carried out, and the collective and individual responsibility of the communists has been strengthened in solving the problems and in implementing the tasks,

Especially extensive work has been carried out for knowing, understanding, implementing and defending the party principles and norms, for strengthening the unity of thought and action, of control and accountability, and to implement the party line in the entire life of the party organizations, of the commands and of staffs.

The struggle to know, understand, implement and defend the party principles and norms is not an aim in itself, but is closely related to the struggle carried out to put into practice the laws, orders, directives and rules in the army, because they reflect the party line. The communists and the cadres, therefore, must broaden the horizon in viewing and treating the issues, not only in the basic organization, but outside it too; they must always maintain a principled attitude and in action too, they must lead through their own example and must carry out the class struggle with determination. The level and the effectiveness of the work of the party organs and basic organizations increases when the independent activity and the initiative of the organs and of basic-organizations, of the communists and of the members of forums increase constantly, as important party norms, especially for the execution and implementation of the party directives and decisions in compliance with the concrete

conditions of the unit and of the detachment, by eradicating the lack of initiative which is noted in some cases. In this manner, the creative initiative of the commands, staffs and of cadres which is so necessary in the army, especially in the time of war, will increase further. The same thing must be said also about the need for the uninterrupted strengthening of the control, accountability, criticism and self-criticism as important party norms which raise to a higher degree the leading role and the qualitative level of the work of the party organs and basic-organizations. Here, despite the improvements which have been made, a special care must be shown because there still are manifestations of slowness, formalism and bureaucracy, work in campaigns and one-sidedness.

It is a great victory of the correct line and policy of our party that today in our country, the army and the people work and struggle in unison for the continued strengthening of the defense of the homeland and broad and correct concepts of these issues are being formed better and better. In connection with this, Comrade Enver teaches us: "The stronger the people, the stronger the army; the more ideologically and politically mature the people are, the more mature the army; the stronger the foundations, ideologically, politically and economically, the stronger the army too." The party has raised this inspiration both in the field and in the army today to a higher level. There is evident everywhere the revolutionary joint work of the workers, cooperativists and soldiers, who are educated, trained and work together. Today, the communists, the cadres and the working masses as a whole have a clearer impression of and a greater interest in the problems of defense in the field, and acquaint the units and detachments with the economic, social and cultural problems which concern the district the economic, social and cultural problems which concern the district or the zone. The consolidation of the SHLU [Free Military Schools] as Comrade Enver stated at the Eighth Party Congress: "is turning military training into an inseparable part of the life and activity of every worker." They have all had an influence on the further increase of the leading role of the party organs and basic-organizations in the units and detachments, have enriched the content of the party work in the army for the successful solving of the problems which have to do with the strengthening of the military training and readiness.

The ties and the army-field cooperation must be strengthened further on the correct and revolutionary road which the party shows us. Interest in the problems of defense must be constant both during the tactical-complex training and during training in the SHLU [Free Military Schools]; the ties and the army-field cooperation must be realized not only between the forums and the cadres in the district and in the military units, but especially between the basic party organization in the enterprise, agricultural cooperative and those in the detachments and sub-detachments, so that the questions of defense become organic parts of the activity of every communist, cadre and worker.

On the other hand, we must further deepen the work to better put into practice the party's recommendations that the army live constantly with the problems of socialist construction, with the fulfillment of economic tasks, and with the moral-political situation of the districts and of the zones, so that the army will know the territory from the military point of view, and be familiar

with the history of every village, city and district where it is located or where it is carrying out military actions. This is an essential demand which emanates from the popular character of our army and defense. The stronger and the more steel-like these ties and this cooperation, the stronger will the single field-army front become, which is a guarantee for the perfection of the combat readiness, the revolutionizing of training and the strengthening of the discipline and military order. And this will strengthen and raise to a higher level the leading role of the organs and basic-organizations in the units and detachments of the army to successfully face the great tasks of the perfecting of the defense capability of the country.

Armed with the decisions of the Eighth Party Congress, the communists, the cadres and all the forces of the army are fighting in a revolutionary spirit, bravely and with maturity to constantly strengthen the leading role of the party organs and basic-organizations in every cell of army life, as a decisive condition to further advance the previous achievements in the field of military training and preparedness, for the defense of the victories attained, the freedom and independence of our socialist homeland.

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LILOV SPEECH DELIVERED AT PLENUM

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Feb 82 p 2

[Speech by Aleksandur Lilov delivered at the ninth plenum of the Committee on Culture: "The Party Will Continue to Follow and Implement Unswervingly Its Marxist-Leninist, Socialist and April Cultural Policy"]

[Text] Dear comrades:

We lost Lyudmila Zhivkova, the chairman of the Committee on Culture, our unforgettable Mila, six months ago.

This was a severe loss.

First, because this was an outstanding and strong personality in the sociopolitical and cultural life of contemporary Bulgaria, who could influence the solution of basic problems in our development.

Second, because she was closely related to many valuable and important processes in the current development of our socialist society, our socialist culture in particular.

Third, because under her leadership our cultural front had reached in recent years considerable gains and outlined several quite promising trends of futher development; she was a prestigious, purposeful and capable leader of the Committee on Culture and of cultural activities in the country.

Fourth, because she enjoyed international prestige and had extensive international connections. She was known and respected in countries close to and far from us. She had actively participated and had initiated important international undertakings and had done a great deal to relate even more closely contemporary Bulgarian culture with contemporary progressive world culture.

In general, Lyudmila Zhivkova was a key personality in the leadership of the spiritual area of our contemporary development, particularly in guiding artistic culture, and her absence today is being felt clearly and tangibly.

However, life goes on. The best way for expressing our gratitude and our feelings toward her is not to make noises but to show our readiness and ability to

continue skillfully and consistently to develop our socialist culture--the cause to which she dedicated her young life, bright efforts, creativity and zeal.

The question which the Committee on Culture plenum must resolve today is that of the new leadership of the committee which, despite the entire difficulty of the loss of Lyudmila Zhivkova, will continue the process of successful cultural development of the Bulgarian People's Republic on the path we have been following--the path of building the culture and civilization of the mature socialist society.

Allow me, before suggesting a candidate to the Politburo for a new chairman of the Committee on Culture, to consider from this viewpoint some central features of the work of the Committee on Culture and its leadership.

The most important among them is the question of the nature of the party's cultural policy we have been following and which we must continue to follow.

This is a basic and determining problem which restricts all other problems and activities on the cultural front and its management.

This question is topical. It has been asked by some people both at home and abroad, although differently, from different positions and for different purposes. Essentially, however, it may be reduced to the following: in the absence of Lyudmila Zhivkova, what will our cultural policy be, and will there be any changes or turns in it?

The party's answer is clear and unequivocal: no, no substantial changes are necessary or will take place in Bulgarian cultural policy. We shall continue to pursue steadfastly our currant April cultural policy, tested by life and proved by life.

First, because this is the correct policy.

Second, because the pursuit of this policy has yielded major and substantial results.

Third, because it is a long-term policy which looks forward, not only to the present but to the future of our culture and cultural development.

Our cultural policy pursued so far, and which we shall continue to pursue, is a Marxist-Leninist policy. It is based, it is structured, it is guided by precisely the ideas, principles and criteria of Marxism-Leninism. It is their creative application under the specific and concrete conditions of our country.

Our cultural policy is a socialist cultural policy in terms of objectives, content, attitude toward our own cultural heritage and the culture of the other nations. We are guided by the tremendous role played by our culture and cultural activities in building the new socialist society and the new socialist individual.

Our cultural policy is a principle-minded and scientific cultural policy. It rejects subjectivism and voluntarism. It rejects and surmounts pressures from the right and the left. It does not reflect the interests, tastes, criteria and objectives of individuals or individual circles but the needs and interests of the people, of the entire society.

In a word, our policy is the Leninist April cultural policy of the BCP, which the party's Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, has been successfully implementing over more than 25 years. The nature of this policy is found in the party's program, the documents of party congresses and Central Committee plenums, Comrade T. Zhivkov's works, and the proceedings of cultural and creative associations' congresses.

This policy has been pursued in our country and has yielded significant results, particularly in the decade of the 1970s, results which were widely recognized domestically and far beyond the country's borders. The 1970s were a period of lasting and very promising achievements in our socialist cultural development. A number of events may occur but there could be no turning away from such lasting achievements in social practice or even less so in the development of what is talented and honest in our artistic and creative intelligentsia;

The creative intelligentsia rallied even more closely around the party's general line. Reciprocal trust and respect between the party and the intelligentsia developed and deepened. Today Bulgaria has a united intelligentsia, deeply convinced of and loyal to socialism, believing in the Bulgarian Communist Party. This is our very great accomplishment which we must preserve like the apple of our eye;

In the spiritual area a pride and creative atmosphere exists, distinguished by Marxist-Leninist clarity and principle-mindedness, with a full and broad approach to creativity in the interpretation and social implementation of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of art and culture. This is not only one of our most valuable gains but one of the basic factors governing the upsurge and unity of the cultural front and the increased international prestige of the Bulgarian People's Republic among the cultural public in the world;

It was no accident that in his report to the 12th BCP Congress, Comrade T. Zhivkov characterized the decade after the historic 10th congress as "particularly fruitful in the development of Bulgarian culture," and that the resolution passed at the 12th congress speaks of an upsurge in literature, art and culture. These are accurate assessments. Only people with short or prejudiced memories can forget the difficult conditions in which motion pictures, the union of Bulgarian film workers, the Union of Bulgarian Painters, the VITIZ and some other institutions had found themselves, and the profound qualitative changes which took place in their development, their considerable accomplishments and works created during that period in literature, painting, sculpture, graphic arts, music, the theater, the motion pictures, architecture and amateur performances in all areas of our culture. This also applies to both great individual accomplishments and the overall growth of our art. It would be a mistake to lose the feeling of realism and to exaggerate our accomplishments by considering that we have reached the peak of Olympus and have dazzled the world. However, it would be an even greater error to underestimate or belittle the great contemporary accomplishments of Bulgarian socialist culture;

Substantial progress has been achieved and valuable experience has been created in the organization, development and improvement of the social and governmental system of managing culture and cultural activities in our country;

The project of developing a nationwide esthetic education in the country as an essential, indivisible and irreplaceable part of the communist upbringing of the new socialist individual was organized and taken up along a wide front;

Energetic and broad international cultural activities were developed, which made a broader presentation of our culture on the international cultural scene possible and which increased its international fame and prestige noticeably.

All of this is the result of our proper cultural policy, its successful practical implementation and the talent and creativity of our people's intelligentsia in the area of culture.

Naturally, our cultural development and activities are not without problems, difficulties or weaknesses. Nothing of the sort. To claim this would have been not only erroneous but not serious.

We must eliminate some major weaknesses and difficulties.

We must resolve some ripe problems or complete some very important tasks and assignments in order to ensure the further accelerated cultural development of the Bulgarian People's Republic and ensure the increasingly fuller satisfaction of the cultural needs of the people.

Only naive or unconscientious people can ignore existing weaknesses, difficulties and unresolved problems or replace the April style of dissatisfaction, exigency and criticism with a semi-intellectual petit bourgeois complacency and self-admiration. This is not in the nature of our party. We do and must have a feeling of accomplishment but we cannot allow complacency and lack of criticism which means stagnation and decay in art more than anywhere else.

That is not what we are discussing today. What we are saying is that the policy which we are following in the field of culture is a Marxist-Leninist socialist cultural policy the consistent implementation of which has yielded valuable results and that consequently we must follow this tried road inflexibly and undeviatingly.

The other problem I shall discuss briefly applies to the need for an authentic interpretation and consistent practical implementation of our Marxist-Leninist April cultural policy.

We must heavily emphasize that this is not a question of failures or gross deviations. No such assessment has been made. On the contrary, the assessment of the Politburo is that:

The Committee on Culture and the cultural councils have a proper understanding of and are practically implementing the party's cultural policy;

The creative associations and cultural institutions have a correct understanding of and are properly implementing the party's cultural policy;

The tremendous and unquestionable majority of our intelligentsia and the most talented elements in it are convincingly accepting, actively defending and participating with satisfaction in the implementation of the party's cultural policy.

Such facts can be seen everywhere in our country and society. They are of priceless importance and it is precisely they that guarantee our further successful cultural development.

It is no secret, however, that some individuals who will proclaim their agreement with party policy loudly do not essentially follow it. Such things must be made entirely clear, for in the area of policy, including cultural policy, it is not rhetorical statements, regardless of how loudly they may be made, but reality that matters. Such comrades must be clearly made to understand that declarations concerning the April line cannot take the place of the implementation of this line.

We cannot remain indifferent or passive in the face of the conceptual or esthetic sluggishness and insufficient ideological combat capability of individual actions or works. We note a certain ideological carelessness and even an occasional irresponsibility on the part of some comrades and in some cases expressed in the underestimating of the ideological aspects of cultural activities or works of art, a certain tolerance of ideological vagueness or the danger of the penetration of alien ideological and esthetic influences and the dulling of ideological criteria and ideological exigency.

Although infrequently, works come out which clash with the esthetic foundations and principles of our socialist art, in terms of some rather tardy imported modernistic enthusiasms or dejected obsolete and already surmounted one-sided features of the past.

There have been isolated cases of the publication of scientific or journalistic works which represent a major deviation from the methodology and principles of dialectical and historical materialism.

There is also another group, although small, of literary and nonliterary publications characterized not by theoretical or political-ideological errors but by a meaningless pseudoscientific content. They not only lower the standards of theoretical and social thinking but fail to meet all social, scientific or cultural requirements, if we exclude the circumstantial and egocentrical and financial interest of their authors.

The organization of control of printing and book publishing activities needs serious organizational-structural improvements.

The need for ideological purity, ideological combat capability and specific and overall sociohistorical purposefulness in our culture and art has not declined nor will it decline in the future. All problems related to the class-social and ideological struggle at the present time have been drastically aggravated. All of them remain and will remain in the center of contemporary mankind and, therefore, of contemporary art and culture. That is why we have no right to lower our

attention and concern for the ideological standard, potential and role of cultural activities or of our entire socialist culture and art.

Another equally serious danger is that of the resurrection of dogmatism and schematism, sectarian limitations and primitivism, which are manifested in proclaiming anything which cannot be included in the concepts or plans of their supporters as "alien" or, at best, "doubtful," and the attempts to revive old charges and trigger new polarizations and to discredit some of the most important personalities of our art and cultural development. Thid danger must not be underestimated, not only because it was only a short time ago that it caused severe damages and traumas to our culture and not only because dogmatism never appears as such but is always presented in an official uniform under banners and principles we consider sacred. It is mainly because the path of dogmatic ossification, sectarianism and schematism is the path of stagnation, suspicion, mistrust and unprincipled fighting, of the impoverishment and lagging of our culture.

We rejected this path categorically and once and for all. It is not the path which can lead us to our objectives of developing a socialist culture. We cannot wage a successful struggle against deviations from Marxist-Leninist principles and criteria in cultural activities on the basis of dogmatic positions. Attempts to lead us in that direction are doomed to failure, whatever their origin. We have put an irreversible end to dogmatism and distortions in cultural management in our country.

The dogmatists fail to understand and essentially attack the most important change which the April cultural policy contributed to us: the democratization of cultural life and its management. What is our answer to this? Naturally, attractions and weaknesses exist. We shall be criticizing and eliminating them. However, we shall not go back to a restricted, impoverished and bureaucratized concept of the cultural process and its management. This would not meet the interests and needs of the people or of society, not to mention the interests and needs of culture itself. Real socialist culture does not lack esthetic and artistic variety. Although uniform in its nature, it is rich in its historically specific aspect as a social phenomenon which has inherited everything progressive created before it and which encompasses within it the rich artistic and esthetic variety of contemporary works and values created by original authors, searchings, discoveries and styles whose ideological and social foundations lie in socialism.

We shall not yield to the ideological-esthetic amorphousness and omnivorence, nor shall we yield to ideological-esthetic sectarianism, exclusiveness and vulgarizing. This applies both to our domestic cultural life and to the country's international cultural policy.

Today the need for comprehensive and constant interaction and rapprochement with the great Soviet culture and art and the expansion of relations and intensive cooperation with the cultures of the socialist countries assume exceptional importance. We are an inseparable part and one of the builders of global socialist culture. This defines the main orientation and main concern of our foreign cultural policy and activity.

We must also strengthen and continue our active contacts, reciprocal exchange and cooperation with the cultures of other countries throughout the world in the

spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. In this area as well we do not intend to go back. Here as well we shall be expanding our gains and marching forward.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is not a closed cultural society. We value and are not hostile to the progressive cultural legacy and progressive contemporary culture of any country in the world. Our objective is actively to participate in the global cultural process, maintain active contacts with the best works and creators of global art and culture, rather than engage in national cultural isolation. We are proud of the achievements of our national culture. They represent our worthy contribution to the cultural treasury of the world. However, we want more people and nations throughout the world to become familiar with them and are aspiring to the peaks of global progressive culture, rather than find ourselves in the position of that countryman of ours who, according to the ironical saying, believes that "no mountain is higher than Vitosha and no river is deeper than the Iskur."

Our cultural policy represents the extension and enrichment of our foreign policy through other means. It is a basic instrument and factor in the overall policy and activities of the Bulgarian People's Republic in the international arena.

Finally, let us discuss the people's appreciation of art and cultural activities.

The appreciation of the people is the highest appreciation of a given work, creator, creativity and cultural activity. It neither replaces nor lowers the role of the professional assessment but is higher than anything else, for art is created for the people. It lives in the people and in its time, and must undergo the test of the people and time.

This is axiomatic in the case of our socialist society and socialist culture.

The Committee on Culture and the creative associations cannot successfully guide our culture unless they know, value and take into consideration the opinion and appreciation of the working people.

However, the people's appreciation is a complex phenomenon and concept. It cannot be handled arbitrarily and irresponsibly.

We must severely criticize those who underestimate or show an arrogant attitude toward the people's appreciation of art, as well as those who assume the monopoly of being the only legitimate spokesman for the people, for the working people, although they frequently are not working people themselves.

We must ensure the necessary conditions and means for the people to express themselves and their evaluation of cultural events and creations.

The Committee on Culture must develop its own methods and channels which will provide it authentic, complete and representative information of the people's appreciation and the public opinion of the working class, the agriculture workers and the various age groups of specific artistic and cultural manifestations or works.

The study of public opinion and the manifestation and study of the people's appreciation must be organized on a scientific and high-level basis. Today we can no longer manage without organizing this work on a steady, proper basis with a feeling of incomparably greater responsibility.

Comrades:

On the basis of these considerations, the BCP Central Committee Politburo calls upon the plenum of the Committee on Culture to staff the committee with the type of management which will be able to continue our Leninist April policy in the field of art and culture.

The Politburo suggests that the candidacy of Comrade Georgi Yordanov, Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, for the chairmanship of the Committee on Culture be discussed.

You know Comrade Georgi Yordanov well. You are familiar with his biography, his development, his very close and successful joint work with Comrade Lyudmila Zhivkova, the past chairman of the Committee on Culture, his valuable practical and human qualities and his active involvement with and participation in the country's cultural life. I think that it would be unnecessary to describe them to you. The Politburo is convinced that he will be able to carry out this newly assigned mission successfully and properly. Naturally, he will remain in his position as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, which would not be detrimental to the Committee on Culture.

The Politburo is confident that our cultural front will continue to make new great progress in its development, in building the culture of mature socialism and in the implementation of the party's program and the resolutions of its 12th congress.

This is guaranteed by our proper cultural policy, our talented and united creative intelligentsia and by you, the leaders of our cultural front.

I thank you for your attention.

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REPORT ON PLENUM ON COMMITTEE ON CULTURE

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgalgarian 2 Feb 82 pp 1-2

[BTA Report: "Always Loyal to the April Cultural Policy; Committee on Culture Plenum"]

[Text] The ninth plenum of the Committee on Culture was held at the Sofia People's Palace of Culture yesterday. It was attended by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Geogi Yordanov, Stoyan Mikhaylov and Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council.

Also attending were heads of the creative unions, members of the coordination councils of the Committee on Culture, heads of creative institutions and independent units, chairmen of okrug culture councils and representatives of public organizations.

The plenum was opened by Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Writers, who asked for a one-minute silence in honor of the memory of Lyudmila Zhivkova.

A speech was made by Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and BCP Central Committee secretary.

(The full text of Comrade Aleksandur Lilov's dictated speech is published separately.)

Then, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, Comrade Aleksandur Lilov made the motion that the candidacy of Georgi Yordanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, for chairman of the Committee on Culture be discussed.

Georgi Yordanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Council of Ministers deputy chairman, was elected chairman of the Committee on Culture by unanimous vote.

Georgi Yordanov, chairman of the Committee on Culture, warmly thanked those present for their trust. It fills me with an awareness of duty and responsibility, he said.

Comrade Georgi Yordanov stressed that the party's Leninist April general line and its cultural policy, which has passed the test of time, is the only accurate one.

It is consistent with the objective requirements of the stage of building a developed socialist society and is the living echo of the basic interests of the people and their age-old aspiration for freedom and justice, construction and beauty. Democracy in cultural management is our great accomplishment, he said. The spiritual upsurge leaves its mark on all manifestations of society and on the education of the new man. The values created through the centuries, nurtured and enriched by the people during hard times, merge today with the major creative gains of socialism. Our cultural cooperation with the great culture of the land of the soviets, the cultures of the fraternal countries and the progressive cultures of fraternal peoples is becoming richer. The great 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state was only one of the occasions or the convincing manifestations of the international prestige and good reputation of our homeland.

One of the major gains of the April line in Bulgaria, Comrade Georgi Yordanov went on to say, is the ideological unity of our intelligentsia rallied around the party's Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Today every worker in literature and the arts has broad opportunities for creative work.

The chairman of the Committee on Culture assured the BCP Central Committee and Comrade Todor Zhivkov that the workers in Bulgarian culture will continue to fulfill their duties and will respond to the trust and support of the party and the people with worthy creative accomlishments.

The plenum was addressed by Academician Dezhko Uzunov, hero of socialist labor and people's painter, Deserving Actor Svetozar Donev, chief artistic manager and director of the National Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet, Academician Panteley Zarev, hero of socialist labor and deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Prof Nadezhda Seykova, rector of the Krustyu Sarafov VITIZ [Higher Institute of Theatrical Art], Atanas Stoykov, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences corresponding member and director of the Scientific Association for Art Studies, Nedyalko Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Burgas Okrug Culture Council, Nayde Ferkhadova, Kurdzhali Okrug BCP Committee secretary, People's Actor Khristo Khristov, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Film Workers, and Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Writers.

All the speakers emphasized that the past 25 years, during which the April party line was systematically applied, developed and enriched, had yielded abundant results in all fields of our rich spiritual life. A bright and creative atmosphere developed, which released the strength for new and inspired actions in the name of the people and the party. Socialist Bulgaria and Bulgarian culture have earned high recognition throughout the world. The great achievements in artistic creativity, particularly in the last decades, are a guarantee that in the future as well our cultural front will march forward with even greater and more confident steps. This is guaranteed by the ideological unity of our intelligentsia rallied around the BCP Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

The Committee on Culture plenum relieved from his position Milcho Germanov, first deputy chairman and member of the Committee on Culture bureau, Aleksandur Raychev, deputy chairman of the committee, and Krum Vasilev, member of the committee's presidency, who had been transferred to other positions; Emil Aleksandrov was relieved from membership in the committee's bureau for reasons of expediency.

People's Painter Prof Svetlin Rusev was appointed first deputy chairman of the Committee on Culture with the rank of minister; People's Actor Prof Dimitur Tupkov was appointed deputy chairman; Milen Marinov was appointed deputy chairman and general director of the International Cultural Activities Main Directorate.

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CULTURAL POLICY OF ZHIVKOVA TO CONTINUE

Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian 8 Feb 82 p 3

[Editorial by Grigor Chernev]

[Text] The Ninth Plenum of the Committee for Culture was held last week. As is known, it took up and decided organizational questions involved in filling the positions in the committee's new leadership. But the purport and sense of its proceedings went far beyond what is indicated in the agenda.

To what do we refer?

Once more the unshakeable unity of our artistically creative intellectuals and of our cultural workers around the April party line, around the party's Central Committee and the original founder of the April line, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, has been clearly and categorically expressed. It is expressed at a time when the assessments and plans of the Twelfth Congress are making their stamp on our entire sociopolitical, economic and spiritual lives, when cultural figures, together with all the working people, are toiling selflessly for their transformation and for the development and enrichment of our socialist fatherland in every aspect. It is expressed not only through the new vote of confidence, not only through emotional and confident words, but above all through real artistic and cultural values.

Today we can clearly see the part that Lyudmila Zhivkova played in bringing this about--the significance of her ideas and the things she started, her initiative and scope, her proverbial energy and tenacity. This readily explains both the sorrow over her untimely death and the desire to work her example and her deeds into the texture of our socialist culture's today and tomorrow.

There is only one answer to the question of the nature and content of our cultural policy in the absence of Lyudmila Zhivkova. It is contained in Comrade Aleksandur Lilov's address to the plenum: "The party's answer is clear and unequivocal: No! No substantial changes are necessitated and there shall be none in the cultural policy of the Bulgarian People's Republic. We will continue to pursue unswervingly our present April cultural policy that has been tried in practice and proved in practice."

In the new frank dialogue that took place between party and cultural figures at the plenum, once again the high praise of the Twelfth Party Congress for the upsurge

in literature, art and culture was emphasized; once again the serene creative atmosphere that prevails among our artistic intellectuals was pointed out. But these universally recognized and significant results must not turn our heads or sow complacency in our ranks. We must soberly and realistically look at the problems of our cultural development and discern the shortcomings and weaknesses such as "underestimation of the ideological aspects of cultural events or artistic works," such as the "danger of a revival of dogmatism and oversimplification, of sectarian narrow-mindedness and primitivism." The party position on these and other basic questions of our cultural policy has been clearly set forth, without beating about the bush or covering up discrepancies, but with a sense of perspective and with confidence in the energies and abilities of our creative cadres and workers on the cultural front to overcome the shortcomings and dangers.

Writers, artists, moviemakers and public figures spoke at the plenum. Apparent in their words--sincere and honest--was the sense of stringency awakened in them. "Today more than ever," said poet Nedyalko Yordanov, "cultural workers and artists have great political powers and unrestricted creative rights. And this demands of us that we be on the crest of the great wave of the age, that we be responsible to our nation both as creative artists and as citizens as well as ordinary people."

There is no doubt that this awareness of inseparability from and involvement in the times, combined with constant and persistent work, will yield new fruits in the field of Bulgarian socialist culture.

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'DER SPIEGEL' REPORTS GDR ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES AGAINST WESTERNERS

Security Ministry Document Revealed

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 9, 1 Mar 82 pp 36, 37, 40, 43, 45, 47, 48

/Unattributed article: "'Mielke's Signature Hurts Them'—'Order No 21/74' Discloses How the State Security Service Watches and Shadows Diplomats and Western Journalists"/

> /Text/ Bugs in the official car of the Bonn representative, bugged telephones, breakins gangster-movie style: an order by the minister for state security makes it plain how the GDR deals with Western diplomats and journalists—the purpose being "to safeguard the GDR" from the class enemy.

The German ambassador in Prague was in the mood for a little joke on New Year's Eve. One day before, Gerhard Ritzel told his wife he wondered whether the Czech state security service would be debonair enough to wish him a Happy New Year.

Next day at midnight, the Ritzels went to their window, champagne glass in hand. Suddenly, at twelve on the dot, the lights across the street from the Yalta hotel on St Wenceslas Square where the Bonn temporary mission's offices are went on. The curtains were drawn and more than a dozen men appeared, raising their glasses and shouting "na zdravi" (to your good health).

Bugged apartments, bugged telephones, obvious or less obvious surveillance are all part of everyday life for Western diplomats and journalists residing in the East bloc. Such New Year's Eve jokes like the one in Prague in 1975 are the exception.

The FRG has incontrovertible evidence of just how seriously and meticulously the guardians of real socialism go at it. It has obtained "Order No 21/74" issued by Erich Mielke, the GDR minister for state security.

The 19-page typewritten document issues the same pedantic guidelines for the GDR that are applied in the other communist countries as well. An army of agents is on the job around the clock shadowing Westerners—be they diplomats or correspondents—listening in on their conversations, throwing their apartments open to view, spying on their love life—all of it based on Lenin's premise that international law and treaties are well and good but that control is even better.

The West German authorities obtained the secret document from the former SSD First Lieutenant Werner Stiller who switched sides to West Berlin via the S-Bahn in January 1979. In an artificial leather suitcase the BND double agent brought over 20,000 MfS documents—some of them originals, some photocopies and microfilms. One of the intelligence men still cannot get over it: "That man is really something special; what a terrific job he did."

Among the Stiller documents the BND officers found a grey, slightly faded piece of paper which aroused their particular interest. The first page had a red diagonal bar across it and was stamped "top secret." The last page bore the signature of Mielke, colonel general.

Some of the security service abbreviations and the bureaucratese contained in "Order No 21/74" had to be explained by Stiller; but some of it even he could not decipher.

But when it was all done, the BND analysts had obtained a fairly complete picture of what is done in the GDR with respect to pursuing and documenting, to bugging and taking photographs, to breaking in, stealing and opening mail—all of it designed to afford "the GDR full-scale protection" from the workings of the Western class enemy. What the document calls "political-operative security" in actual fact amounts to total surveillance of diplomats and journalists.

"Everyone knows that this is the way it is," an official in the chancellor's office says. "But now we have a document with Mielke's signature on it—and that hurts them."

The Mielke order was issued in 1974 after worldwide recognition of the GDR opened the country up to a large number of foreign diplomatic missions and Western journalists—which must have been a nightmare for Mielke. "Order No 21/74" starts out with the following flat statement:

> As a result of the establishment of missions by other governments, the activities of international organizations and privileged persons, of accredited media as well as their permanent and traveling representatives (hereinafter referred to as missions, privileged persons and correspondents) the ministry for state security is faced with new and complicated political-operative tasks designed to assure full-scale protection to the German Democratic Republic.

The tasks in question included the prevention, discovery and "processing" of "subversive acts and criminal offenses committed by these persons" as well as "enemy activities" in general. As far as the SSD is concerned, this covers just about everything a diplomat or Western journalist in the GDR does or does not do—even if it is not prohibited under the existing tight laws. To detect such "activities," it is necessary to control all movement, all conversations and other contacts "throughout the GDR and in the operational area."

Just how far the "operation area" reaches it made quite clear. The order calls for:

> the realization of operative observations, investigations and inquiries as well as other operative measures, particuarly in West Berlin and the FRG on the basis of verified requests for assignment.

The allies in West Berlin are placed under surveillance as well. In this regard the order calls for:

> the general utilization of the operative capabilities of official and unofficial forces including their operative-technical resources which are assigned to securing, controlling and placing under surveillance the transit routes (roads) and to gathering intelligence on the activities of the three Western military liaison missions and military inspections.

Even before he took on his new job as permanent representative in East Berlin, Klaus Boelling knew what awaited him. To make it more difficult to record what was being said in his offices, he should play music—preferably Mantovani cassettes—was the advice he was given by interior minister Gerhart Baum at his farewell party in Bonn.

At first, those who work for Boelling say, one tries to outsmart the bugs by whispering and staying as close as possible to the person one is talking to. But after a while, press spokesman Christian Schmittlein says, the feeling of being constantly watched and overheard becomes unbearable. "You simply repress it so as not to go out of your mind," he adds.

Mielke's surveillance system is a model of perfection. In the house across from the Bonn mission on Hannoversche Strasse, his men take up an entire floor with their sophisticated technical equipment. And the Vopos in front of the building serve less to protect the West Germans than to exercise control.

One of them regularly picks up the telephone whenever Boelling leaves his office. Wherever he goes, Boelling knows that his route is reported onward step by step —in compliance with "Order No 21/74" which calls for "the surveillance of travel" by diplomats and journalists and for "the continued expansion of telephone communication points and message centers."

But all this is merely a part of what amounts to total surveillance. To make sure it is effective, Mielke also asks for:

> total utilization of existing observation posts and establishment of new ones in the missions, residences, living and recreation centers of non-socialist and other countries of political-operative interest as well as at territorial nerve centers of surveillance in the capital city of Berlin and throughout the GDR;

extensive work with naturally enclosed spaces; creation of additional artificially enclosed multi-purpose spaces—designed particularly to enhance conspiratorial activity for the solution of surveillance assignments;

continued augmentation of procedures concentrating on specific offenses by resorting to

routine surveillance of persons for a limited period of time,

priority and round-the-clock surveillance to follow the movements of the persons concerned on the basis of political-operative information or observation,

on-the-spot observation, primarily in order to verify and document known meeting spots and points of contact.

Particuarly during his first few months on the job—while Mielke was still unfamiliar with the life style and the daily routine of the new man from Bonn—Boelling was shadowed very closely indeed. Recently, they have been spying on him a bit more once again so as to keep an eye on his contacts with the evangelical church, Boelling thinks—because the SSD is downright alarmed by the budding church-supported peace movement.

Diplomats and correspondents have seen often enough just how effective the surveillance really is. As soon as they drive off into the country a car begins to tail them discreetly or not-so-discreetly or, for that matter, waits for them as their destination—as the tortoise does for the hare in the old fairy tale. And even during the trip they are overheard: in 1979, West German security agents removed a bug from inside Guenter Gaus official Mercedes.

West German correpsondents are often bugged quite openly. Whenever ARD or ZDF reporters conduct interviews with GDR citizens with official permission, there are any number of SSD men around taking notes and photographs—another example of "priority and round-the-clock surveillance."

For weeks, ARD correspondents Fritz Pleitgen and Lutz Lehmann were shadowed every inch of the way as they tried to set up a program on GDR writers. The SSD placed the houses of authors to be interviewed under surveillance, as for example that of Stefan Heym and Guenter Kunert—a case of "on-the-spot observation."

There were at least ten agents following the then SPIEGEL correspondent Ulrich Schwarz when he went on assignment to Eisenhuettenstadt to find the foster parents of two forcibly adopted children. They were always by his side—as he strolled, as he ate, as he looked at what the supermarket shelves had to offer.

There was a whole crew waiting for Schwarz as he came out of Rudolf Bahro's house in the early summer of 1977. At the time, Bahro was about to publish his book, "The Alternative," thinking he was still unobserved.

The big fuss had a dual purpose: it was to impress upon the journalists that Erich Mielke always kept an eye on them and that there was nothing that escaped the SSD.

But above all it was addressed to the citizens of the GDR itself: they are meant to be cowed—which hardly ever succeeds, as Pleitgen reported to ARD headquarters on more than one occasion. East German vacationers, for example, warned the reporter and his team on location at the Panorama hotel in Oberhof in Thuringia whenever agents with microphones and tape recorders set up at an adjoining table.

The SSD specialists assigned to "privileged persons and correspondents" are divided into separate units most of which are merely identified by a capital letter. For investigations, unofficial agents—so-called IME's—are sometimes used. So-called U-agents are those not to be seen—to be hidden, for example, inside a van equipped with eye slits. They are also earmarked for "perspective development," which is to say for assignments in the West.

Just how well organized the "company" (as it is popularly called in the GDR) is organized is shown by the IM/GMS's. These "industrial agents security" are drawn from all sorts of plants in order to corroborate "fairy tales." If the MfS sends someone from that plant to the West, for example, the agent will respond to questions by saying that his colleague is working on preparations for a display at the Leipzig Fair or some such thing.

In the "Order No 21/74," Erich Mielke called for special support to another category of "observer units:

> Care must be taken to make even more use than heretofore of agents with foreign language capabilities, of women, of married couples and of entire families for the purpose of specific operative surveillance.

The "main department cadres and training" is instructed to provide for a "continuing supply of young cadres with development potential for operative surveillance from the districts and kreises, taking care to select a proportionate number of women and foreign language specialists."

Until now, the BND did not know that the SSD hires on entire families. As for women, they have long been part of the complement when it came to espionage or informer activity. Sexual relationships are used to compromise and blackmail foreign diplomats.

The Soviet KGB is particularly well known for working with decoys. There was an attractive female agent who played up to the then French ambassador in Moscow, Maurice Dejean, in the early sixties. And the Conservative British MP and businessman, Anthony Courtney, was photographed by the KGB in a Moscow hotel in 1961 in a compromising situation.

His relationship to a Russian woman turned Keng Su, the code clerk at the embassy of Singapore, into a spy. Last year, the KGB tried to rope in the U.S. assistant military attache, James R. Holbrook, with the help of a girl. While on an inspection tour, the American was photographed in bed with a woman after a party.

Foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has learned "from studying the documents" that his diplomats should beware of ladies who smoke in bed. This gives the intelligence services enough time—"one cigarette length's" time—to take pictures with invisible infrared light. It is best, so goes Genscher's advice, to take up with women who do not smoke.

Klaus Boelling takes an even dimmer view of things. At regular intervals, he instructs all those working at the Bonn mission in East Berlin

> to divulge all contacts of a private nature to counterintelligence officials;
>
> to report immediately on any attempt by the MfS to hire anyone on as an agent;
>
> not to take on any GDR employees, if possible.

But it is not quite so easy to blow the cover of Mielke's agents. They have undergone through training before starting to work on Westerners.

At the "legal institute and technical school," operated by the MfS, they are taught the "basic concepts of operative surveillance and the procurement of safe houses." The one-year course of study is equivalent to an academic program. The curriculum not only includes courses on Marxism-Leninism but also on crafts and skills such as radio operation, coding and the establishment of letter drops.

In addition, they are taught to "understand the regime," which includes lectures on daily life in the West—such as how to obtain a driver's license or how to get married, all of which an agent needs to know if he wants to discharge his assignment in the West successfully.

The minister's order contains additional details on how Mielke's army works which, by Western estimates, consists of 17,000 regular employees and another 100,000 secret informers.

GDR citizens working for diplomats or journalists are to be used to obtain information. Janitors, for example, often have extra keys. The cleaning crews, supplied by the state "service exchange" are charged with spying in the offices and apartments, to make reports or, as Mielke would say, "collect information."

There is also a need for the "collection of information" on GDR citizens, stateless persons and foreign nationals "who establish or maintain contact to diplomatic missions, privileged persons and correspondents." They are taken to task, questioned and, at any rate, thoroughly intimidated.

In Dresden, a young man who had spoken to Boelling was immediately interrogated. Just recently, the SSD questioned a pastor's wife after she talked to Boelling.

Intimidation is part of the standard repertory with the state security people worrying very little about the rights of their own citizens. When Robert Havemann's daughter Sibylle, who has since moved to the West, met with a SPIEGEL reporter soon after Wolf Biermann's expatriation in a courtyard on Chausseestrasse in East Berlin, three men appeared in the semi-darkness and interrupted their conversation. They paid no heed to their protests that their actions were against the law, since private conversations between citizens of the GDR and West Germans are not prohibited.

Protests by correspondents about such incidents are answered with no more than a shrug by officials of the East Berlin foreign ministry.

"Collecting information on privileged persons and correspondents," as outlined in the Mielke order, includes spying on their surroundings, even on such intimate details as "their friends and relatives, their love life and operatively significant relationships, contacts and meeting points."

Even contacts to the Allies in West Berlin are carefully controlled, particularly in order to "combat subversive slave trade" (the GDR term for helping people escape). For this reason, "political-operative counterintelligence activities" must concentrate on

> the determination, exposure and documentation of contacts and relationships between members of the three Western military missions, military inspections, privileged persons and correspondents as well as their division of responsibilities and their coordinated subversive activities.

The program further calls for

> the continued expansion of the operative basis both in the capital city of Berlin and throughout the GDR as well as in West Berlin and the headquarters of the three military liaison missions in Potsdam.

"Unofficial personnel working in the operational area, particularly in West Berlin and in the FRG" are to participate in surveillance and intelligence-gathering activities. This calls for hiring on new talent in the FRG or as the order puts it:

> continual expansion of the operative basis by adding on capable, unofficial personnel from the operational area and from the GDR.

So as to assure smooth cooperation between East and West, the Mielke document calls for "uninterrupted surveillance of privileged persons and correspondents as they cross the frontier into West Berlin or the FRG."

SPIEGEL correspondent Schwarz is witness to the "company's" extending its surveillance to West Berlin. On the day expatriated Wolf Biermann's visa ran out, SSD men started hanging around in front of the SPIEGEL office on Kurfuerstenstrasse and sat down at the adjoining table when Schwarz went out for lunch. The apparent reason was that they thought Biermann might want to return to the GDR as he had said—inside the trunk of Schwarz's car; correspondents' cars not being checked upon entering East Berlin.

Diplomats and journalists who work in East Berlin are always faced with the possibility that they will be shadowed on trips to the FRG or West Berlin in order to gather information on contacts with "imperialist intelligence services, subversive organizations and institutions, groups and individuals"—whatever this may mean in the MfS terminology.

It is not only important to "identify the offices visited" but other "meeting places as well as supply and procurement facilities" and to gather information on "relatives, friends and acquaintances of the privileged persons and correspondents" as well as "to ascertain and check out their transient quarters."

The primary purpose of this total surveillance is to provide as complete a personality profile as possible. Defector Stiller brought along several such reports. There is particular interest in details of a delicate nature. Human frailties, such as homosexual tendencies are used for possible blackmail purposes.

In order to "achieve maximum results" and "tighten secrecy," the "Order No 21/74" contains explicit operating procedures on camouflage tactics, listening devices and break-in techniques. "Manifold possibilities for altering" exterior and interior settings are to be used in order to "camouflage all sorts of vehicles" for purposes of secret surveillance.

Normally, Erich Mielke's men are easily recognized by their plastic coats and imitation leather jackets; but on particularly difficult jobs they are asked to use "disguises including a variety of devices" as well as wigs and "facial cosmetic aids."

"One should be in a position to use the same man for surveillance for a relatively long period of time," an intelligence professional says. "He must not let the suspicion arise that he is the same man that was there the day before."

In order that everything comes out right, "more use is to be made of personnel trained as makeup artists and hairdressers to instruct operative personnel in the application of disguises."

Everything else that is required in the espionage trade comes in for detailed description. First of all, "commercially available technical equipment" is to be obtained— not only in the GDR but throughout the "operational area."

Beyond that, Mielke appeals to the inventiveness of his men. They are asked to develop further or come up with new versions of all sorts of "operative-technical devices and disguises including those of a mechanical, electronic, photo-technical, optical, acoustic or TV-technical nature."

Western diplomats have gotten used to these practices.

Like other FRG embassies in the East bloc, the West German mission in East Berlin has a secure conference room, the so-called "bower." Before Boelling came on the job, security experts with vacuum cleaner-like devices gave the place a going-over. When they found nothing, they took this as proof that the MfS had done its job well.

To conduct private or, for that matter, political conversations outside the bower, diplomats prefer to go on walks. Helmut Schmidt, too, felt like being out in the open air while visiting the GDR. So as to be undisturbed, he went strolling along the Werbellinsee with his Bonn entourage. Boelling's people can often be seen walking among the gravestones of Dorotheenstadt cemetery close by the mission.

There is more than ample proof for the existence of socialist bugs in the walls. Experienced diplomats have learned how to use them for their own ends—for instance for the purpose of registering complaints without wasting time by going through official channels.

Angered by the fact that two Russian limousines were blocking the entrance of his residence, West German ambassador to Prague, Ritzel, threatened in his office to surround the Soviet embassy with all his official cars. That very night, a tow truck came by and removed the offenders. At the foreign ministry, Ritzel was told to address his complaints directly to them in the future.

During interrogation following his arrest, GDR dissident Bahro was told the SSD had recorded all conversations in his apartment in Streustrasse and in that of his girl friend in Rheinsberger Strasse—including conversations with West German journalists about his book, "The Alternative," and about plans for a pre-publication serialization in DER SPIEGEL." Erich Mielke knew exactly when and where "The Alternative" was going to be published. Why he still decided not to intervene, remains a secret until this day.

TV correspondent Lutz Lehmann was amazed when he was summoned to the foreign ministry and told he would not get permission to do a program on GDR authors, which at that time was barely in the planning stage. He had not even mentioned the project to any official agency of the GDR as yet.

Mielke's order explains how the SSD succeeds time and again in installing listening devices without being noticed. A careful study is first made of all the pertinent plans and then the operation proceeds in gangster-movie style.

"To do an expert job," the document states, "one must obtain the floor plans, construction diagrams and data on wiring and plumbing for both the properties themselves and the buildings on them."

West German counterintelligence specialists are impressed. "To install wiring for listening devices, is a difficult business," they say. "It is much easier to conduct the impulses via existing conduits through the sewage system."

But in the end, MfS department 26 which is responsible for these things is not all that perfect, either. They, too, make mistakes.

Witness the case of a correspondent who lifted the receiver again shortly after finishing a telephone conversation and hearing the last few sentences the man at the other end had just spoken once more. In the midst of a conversation with Gaus' press spokesman Johannes Rieger, another correspondent heard another voice saying "Rieger is calling..." all of a sudden—obviously an indication that those listening in were telling each other that Rieger had a journalist on the line.

In Schwarz's case, the SSD even acted as an answering service. When Sibylle Havemann called the SPIEGEL office in East Berlin to cancel an appointment her father had made, a woman told her Schwarz had gone out to eat but that she would see he got the message. The correspondent spent the rest of the day waiting for Havemann in vain. It had not been his secretary who took Sibylle Havemann's call.

Such trifling incidents probably do not embarass the MfS as much as the fact that "Order No 21/74" discloses an East German intelligence activity which runs counter to the laws of all civilized states: Mielke's specialists are notorious burglars, acting on orders from headquarters.

Correspondents and diplomats in East Berlin had often suspected that someone had gone through their office or home during their absence. "There are reliable indications for the fact that the mission's offices were searched," one of Boelling's people says.

When ARD correspondent Pleitgen and his family returned from a trip, they not only discovered footprints in their apartment on Leipziger Strasse but also a GDR-manufactured long-handled comb in the bathroom. Pleitgen reported the incident to the janitor. His complaint was in good hands: the janitor, say those who live in the building, is an MfS sub-lieutenant.

From now on, diplomats and journalists can quote a first-rate source when registering their complaints. According to the Mielke order, burglaries are among the authorized assignments given to "specialists who conduct secret searches of houses, apartments, rooms, automobiles and containers."

What the MfS specialists should look for is spelled out in detail. They are to

> find and confiscate evidence such as documents, espionage data, listening devices and any other subversive materials.

The burglars are also charged with finding and rendering useless any alarms "the enemy" may have installed. The exact purpose is to

> find and render useless mechanical, electronic, photographic, optical, acoustic, television and other security appliances and devices of the enemy as may have been installed in houses, apartments, rooms, containers and objects.

But first the MfS specialists must obtain permission—if not from the courts or a parliamentary committee at least from their own boss. He is personally responsible for each such assignment:

> Arrests, temporary detentions, admissions, official and secret searches in connection with missions, privileged persons and correspondents must first be cleared by me or my first deputy.

There is still one more slight difference between them and their West German intelligence counterparts: While the BND and the Office for the Protection of the Constitution may have an only limited exchange of information with other agencies, it is the MfS' duty to give "all-round support" to the entire government apparatus.

Many tasks which are handled overtly in the FRG are part of the MfS area of competence in the GDR. Travel, for example, is controlled by MfS' department VI. It is responsible for "rapid and secret transfer at border crossings, Interhotels and international camping sites" and for supplying "analytical findings on frequency of travel across borders" as well as "photographic documentations and other comparative data."

The protection of "installations" is the responsibility of department VII which, according to the Mielke order, is charged with making available "regular slots for the establishment of an operative unit to be included in the detachment guarding foreign missions."

Traffic police, municipal police and customs officials are drawn upon by the MfS. "Experienced personnel" are given "partial" intelligence assignments.

A "rear echelon services administration" is responsible for logistics. It is charged with providing appropriate sites and buildings needed "to house surveillance units and to establish observation bases and observation posts."

Given the otherwise perfect system, there was one small point with which the BND is familiar that made them wonder: Is Erich Mielke above opening other people's mail ?

Well hidden on page 16 of Mielke's order there was an indication of it after all. In that passage, the minister asks to have

> data transmitted which are obtained as a result of political-operative work conducted by departments M and 26.

Defector Stiller managed to break the code: In department 26, the tapes containing the recorded conversations are stored. Department M, on the other hand, is where the postal censors are located. Central post office boxes assigned to the Western correspondents make their work easier. Only special messengers are permitted to deliver the mail.

The journalists have known all along that their mail is being censored: the mucilage made in the GDR the censors use is of miserable quality. Anyone wanting to avoid being spied on gets himself a postal address in West Berlin.

Even diplomats from the fraternal socialist nations are making use of this trick. East bloc embassies do not trust the GDR much, either and would rather have their mail sent to West Berlin.

Speculations on Spy Chief's Replacement

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 5, 1 Feb 82 pp 58-59

/Unattributed article: "GDR Clandestine Service: The Ace—Will Markus Wolf, the GDR's Legendary Espionage Chief, Soon Be Relieved of His Duties ?"/

/Text/ In his private surroundings—Elsastrasse 38 c in the East Berlin district of Weissensee—the stately 50 year-old man has not attracted much attention up to now. He is heavy-set, just under six feet tall, blond and balding and speaks the Halle dialect "a bit like Genscher."

His family—his wife and three grown children between the ages of 17 and 23—seems well off. They appear to have everything they need. Their second car, a Trabant, is parked in front of the door. Father himself drives a dark-blue Fiat Mirafiori, license number IB 07-08. As of Friday, the apartment often stands empty; the family then leaves for its dacha.

Their weekend retreat is in Teupitz, southeast of Berlin, where an entire colony of well-known pillars of the system dwells. Officers of the MfS are among themselves there. The unobtrusive man from Elsastrasse fits into this community very well—he sees most of his weekend neighbors on weekdays as well.

His name is Horst Vogel. He is a general and the head of the science and technology section of the MfS main intelligence department (HVA) which is the ministry's espionage apparatus.

Under him, Horst Vogel has the espionage departments 13, 14 and 15 (procurement) and 5 (analysis) whose agents are systematically spying on Western research and industry. They help the East bloc overcome the technology gap. Above all in physics, chemistry, electronics, material technology and nuclear energy, Vogel's men pick up "just about everything they can lay their hands on," according to officials of the West German Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

As head of this vital section, Horst Vogel, 50, has no doubt moved very close to the top by now.

Western intelligence experts look upon him as the "man of the future." There is only one man ahead of him and that is Markus Wolf, the spy chief whom even his Western counterparts respect.

Expectations that Vogel "may very well be next in line," as a high-ranking FRG intelligence official put it, have been fueled by events which have served to detract somewhat from Markus Wolf's legendary reputation.

Western agencies reported on some escapades involving the HVA chief over the past few years. On one occasion, Wolf went to Stockholm to conduct a personal interrogation of Friedrich Cremer, an SPD deputy to the Bavarian Landtag who has since been convicted of espionage. Wolf was accompanied on this trip by his third wife

among others. While there, they bought furniture for their personal use and took in some sex movies. By adopting the phony name of "Dr Kurt Werner," the spy chief aroused more than usual attention among the intelligence community and was finally even photographed.

It also became known that Markus Wolf was intervening on behalf of his brother Konrad, the film director and president of the GDR academy of fine arts who got into trouble with the system by maintaining contact with GDR dissidents. The spy chief managed to forestall his brother Konrad's threatened removal "from public functions in our society."

Aside from private circumstances which give proof of Wolf's vanity, nepotism and consumer mentality—he not only has a Volvo 244 GLS but also a Russian jeep with which he races through the countryside—the spy chief made an official blunder, too. For years, HVA First Lieutenant Werner Stiller managed to work as a BND agent right under his nose. When Stiller finally defected, the data he provided were particularly harmful to the science and technology section..

Recent visitors to the MfS found Wolf to be unexpectedly expansive at times. On the outside, he still conveys the appearance of functional bustle, dressed in his worn, dark suit. But those who have talked to him have noticed that he likes to talk about old times, about way back when in the Soviet Union and that he gets off on a sidetrack talking about a school that was recently named for his father, the dramatist Friedrich Wolf, or about the peculiarities of his Lada Niva jeep.

Defectors say that there are signs already in everyday HVA practices that point to the possibility that Vogel may soon be replacing Wolf. Western counterintelligence sources know something about this thanks to the pertinent MfS documents copied by Werner Stiller. They classify Vogel as "very ambitious, egotistic, image conscious; great intellect, good judge of people, excellent speaker, very good memory." Among the officials at the ministry Vogel is known as "the ace."

Using at least a half dozen false identity papers and diplomatic passports, Vogel spends time traveling abroad but avoiding countries like France and Great Britain that secretly photograph such documents, as the HVA has found.

There are no personal reports of meetings with Vogel except for that of former agent Reiner Fuelle, who later returned to the FRG. The MfS general once invited Fuelle to a drinking party at a guest house in the Thuringian Forest at the conclusion of which a number of his hosts had "passed out."

There are only peripheral indications for a mixing of private concerns with business: one of Vogel's sons works for the MfS. On one occasion, so the HVA grapevine has it, an agent was asked to buy a color television set ("for official use") for Vogel in Vienna.

Based on what is known of his education and his party and functionary career, Vogel is the prime example of an achiever. He was graduated from the second track and studied "engineering economics" at the Leuna-Merseburg technical college.

Vogel had already joined the party at age 17 and the MfS at age 24. By 1973, he had already advanced to the top position in the "department party organization" to which the subsequent defector Stiller also belonged. Western intelligence experts say that Vogel, too, "made some mistakes with regard to Stiller and can be blamed for some of what happened." But this does not mean that his career has suffered badly as a result of the defector fiasco.

Even in Stiller's day, Vogel, who was a colonel at the time, was already earning DM 3,875 which is a great deal more than officers of the NVA of equal rank receive. As far as that goes, Vogel's connection with the military—highly decorated as he is—merely exists in the sense of rank and as a matter of form. Among his decorations are the "NVA medal of merit" in bronze, silver and gold; four medals "for faithful service in the NVA;" the "patriotic order" in bronze; the "GDR medal of merit," and the order "banner of labor."

Western observers are not yet clear as to when the "man of the future" might actually take over the HVA officially. Allusions to the fact that Markus Wolf has gotten old and will soon be celebrating his 60th birthday do not really amount to much. Wolf's chief, the minister for state security, Erich Mielke, will soon turn 75.

9478
CSO: 2300/159

FRG COMMENTARIES ON MAINTENANCE, NEW ARMAMENT IN GDR ARMED FORCES

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in German No 1, Jan 82 p 65

[Unattributed 'National People's Army' (NVA) feature article]

[Text] Maintenance and Repair, Undercutting Standards

Now and then journals of the National People's Army will address topics--apart from all loud routine propaganda--which show that the GDR Armed Forces, too, are faced with the very same problems that exist in Western armed forces, including the Bundeswehr. Reading the article by retired Lt Col R. Kunzmann, engineer, entitled "Constant Readiness of Armament Must Be Guaranteed," for instance, one finds that in a rather frank way he takes the competitive row about the "reduction of standard times" severely to task which was jubilantly celebrated and lauded as decisive improvement of "combat readiness" in other journals of the National People's Army. Among other things Kunzmann writes, "The hope that the introduction of new and most sophisticated weaponry would result in a reduction of time and work expended on maintenance and repair has proven deceptive. On the contrary: the expenditure has continued to grow requiring entirely new qualities in planning and organization if servicing and especially maintenance are to be carried out in a timely manner and to the extent required. This applies to the unit combat training and maintenance as well as to the technological and organizational sequence of maintenance." "Combat training means training troops in behavior standards and practicing skills. The level reached to date does take this fact into account, yet it is not satisfactory. It is a fallacy to believe that increased combat value can be attained by an increase in combat training and reduced maintenance times by cancelling specified activities."

"All efforts in technical maintenance must be concentrated on attaining constant and operational readiness instead of temporary readiness!"

With regard to the undercutting of standards Kunzmann comments as follows:

"Good grades in combat training and in tactical training or the reduction of standard times, the consequences of which are borne by the weaponry and cause the soldier to use the weapon contrary to regulations, are useless and jeopardize the operational readiness of the weaponry. Possible results can be shown by means of the following practical examples:

The utilization regulation, for instance, requires that guns must be covered with canvas during marches. In order to attain good times when changing positions the soldiers frequently do not bother to cover the guns. This way the new position is

reached a bit faster, but due to the high level of soiling firing cannot be commenced until after a lengthy cleaning procedure.

A similar situation exists with regard to keeping to the specified driving speeds in the field (in competition). High-power traction gear or basic vehicles induce drivers to drive at faster speeds than permitted by the weaponry specifications. Thus the weaponry may be damaged during the march or may totally fail upon reaching the firing position.

Reasons such as saving fuel or sparing the weaponry are erroneous and false because failure to comply with the requirement of operating the equipment results in this equipment's having to be conditioned for some time during a necessary operation, or in failure of components, thus making the weaponry inoperable."

Anti-Tank Weapons of the National People's Army--The 100-mm-Pak T-12

Since about 1965 the Soviet 100-mm anti-tank gun T-12 has replaced older and less powerful models in the GDR's National People's Army, the Soviet Army and other Warsaw Pact armies. Among T-12's predecessors is the 100-mm Pak M-1944, which was introduced by the Soviet Army after a brief development period in the next to the last year of the war as an answer to the heavy Tiger and Panther tanks of the German Wehrmacht, and its successor, the 100-mm Pak M-1955. In contrast to its predecessors which had a similar appearance and a rifled barrel, the T-12 is a gun with a smooth bore as initially developed by the Soviet Army for the T-62 combat tank.

Characteristics of this heavy anti-tank gun are the 6.48-m narrow barrel with a cylindrical, perforated muzzle brake ("pepper shaker" muzzle brake) and the recoil and advance mechanism located above the barrel behind the gun shield which is squared off laterally, and the extrordinarily large, half-automatic falling breech block.

The box-beam gun carriage with simple tires and one axis, trail spades and a collapsible metal tail wheel for easier swiveling of the unlimbered gun largely corresponds with the carriage of its predecessors. For anti-tank combat in direct laying Pak T-12 has an effective range of 1,000 to 1,200 m. It fires fin-stabilized ammunition similar to the one used by the 115-mm smooth bore gun of the T-62 combat tank. HEAT-FS (High Explosive Anti-Tank--Fin-Stabilized) shells featuring a V_o of 900 m/sec and APDS-FS (Armor Piercing Discharging Sabot--Fin-Stabilized) shells featuring a V_o of 1,500 m/sec are used. The latter have a tank penetrating power of approximately 400 mm from a 1,000-m distance.

The anti-tank gun can also be used as a field gun firing fragmentation H.E. shells during indirect laying. Its elevation is limited to -10° to +20° and limits the maximum range to about 8,500 m, however.

For close combat the T-12 is equipped with an infrared aiming device with which it can fight tanks during night time up to a distance of 1,000 m. A modernized design of the T-12 called T-12 A or T-12 M is to be equipped with a longer-range residual-light amplifier night-sight device and to feature a greater elevation capacity. By means of the passive residual-light amplifier, tanks can be spotted up to a distance of about 1,500 m without being able to locate the firing site of the gun by infrared detectors. Due to the increased elevation capacity the maximum firing range during indirect laying is to be almost doubled.

The National People's Army has started to use the MT-LB transport tank as a traction vehicle for the 100-m Pak T-12 which weighs approximately 3 metric tons. It further accommodates the six-gun operators and the initial ammunition.

The anti-tank gunner battalions of the Motorized Gunners Divisions of the National People's Army are equipped with T-12s. They are composed of three batteries of six guns each.

9544
CSO: 2300/138

CITIZENS' COMPLAINTS AGAINST OFFICIAL 'HATE' ATTITUDES REBUFFED

West German Commentary

Bonn IEW-TAGESDIENST in German No 18, 4 Feb 82 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "Growing Criticism of Hate Propagated in Education in the GDR." A translation of the Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] In the GDR there appears to be a gradual increase of voices criticizing the hate indoctrination practiced in conjunction with military service. Church representatives and young Christians have repeatedly criticized the recently reinforced "indoctrination of hatred." The media are also receiving letters in which GDR citizens express displeasure with this type of education--signed, with name and address. Thus for instance some readers of the LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG (LVZ) reacted to one article of that newspaper (LVZ 9-10 Jan 82) which preached hate for the "class enemy" by questioning the principle of hate indoctrination. Wrote one reader to the party newspaper: "Has not hate always been the mainspring for inhumanity, cruelty and murder, and was it not hate for an enemy, incited by those in power, which led to chaos for millions of innocent people?" (LVZ 28 Jan 82). He answered his own question: "Hate is the end of all humanity and of all human coexistence." Wrote another reader about the subject of hate: "Today's world situation is too serious for us to indulge in [hate]."

In reply, the editor replied that there are different kinds of hate. One must realize, he said, "against what, for what, why hate determines man's thinking and actions." As far as the SED paper is concerned, "hating the enemy means that alertness and defense readiness must not be neglected." Particularly in view of the serious and critical situation, he continued, "we must 'indulge' in it." The world does not contain love alone. "To ignore this," the LVZ continues, "would not only be a dangerous delusion; it would mean the end of any love at all."

SED Paper's Response

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 29 Jan 82 p 3

['Internal Politics' feature article by Dr Hans-Werner Stadie, deputy chief editor, LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG (LVZ): "Reflections on Readers' Letters to LVZ--What Is the Meaning of Love and Hate in Our Times?" A translation of the 9-10 Jan 82 LVZ item cited below follows this article]

[Text] "Has not hate always been the mainspring for inhumanity, cruelty and murder, and was it not hate for an enemy, incited by those in power, which led to chaos for millions of innocent people?" writes Herr Bernd Meinhold from Wiederitzsch. The reader is referring to an article in our newspaper on 9-10 January 1982, dealing with the swearing in of young soldiers in our NVA and which mentions hate; hate for those who are endangering peace and against whom we must protect our state and our accomplishments.

Herr Meinhold's letter speaks of worry about peace being endangered and contains a denunciation of inhumanity and cruelty. He is particularly concerned with the concept of hate. "Hate is the end of all humanity and of all human coexistence," his letter continues. I cannot agree with the statements in the way they are expressed here. Can we not have understanding for the hate which millions of Soviet people harbored against German fascism and which they still have today? Must they not experience hatred, apart from sorrow and desperation, who suffered from the United States' atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and who will continue to suffer until the end of their lives? What feelings are experienced by those Vietnamese whose relatives became the victims of a cruel American war of aggression? Is not hate a part of the struggle of those African, Latin American and Asian people who are seeking liberation from brutal oppression? And should love be shown to a societal system which brings human and social ruin to more than 3 million unemployed in Great Britain and almost 10 million unemployed in the United States?

Many questions of this sort could be asked. The question which of necessity derives from all this goes as follows: Is for all those who feel hatred because their lives, their health, their human dignity is threatened, is hate for them the "mainspring" for inhumanity, chaos, cruelty, as Herr Meinhold maintains? I believe that the response to this question makes it clear that one must always determine against what, for what, and why hate determines man's thinking and actions. Hate is somewhat similar to war. Not everybody engaged in a war wants war or is eager for it.

War was imposed upon the Vietnamese people just as it has been imposed upon the patriots in the wars of liberation in El Salvador or Namibia. And if we speak of hate, we do not mean that fomented, blind hatred which creates destruction and chaos, but that hate which is directed against their perpetrators and which is intended to prevent inhumanity, cruelty and wars. To hate the enemy means that alertness and defense readiness must not be neglected. Because the enemies of humanity do not speak of hate openly; they convert it mercilessly into inhumanity and death. Unfortunately, history has often enough proven in a cruel manner that imperialist powers will not be deterred by anything in order to reach their goals. It would be most dangerous to deny this and, for the sake of love of life and humanity, to forget about hate for the enemies of peace and humanity. There is a saying to the effect that "charity toward wolves equals cruelty toward sheep." And another: "Guard your sheep, even if you cannot see the wolf."

The latter saying reminds us of the necessity for always being alert, even if the enemy cannot be seen every day. Certainly, our situation is somewhat different from that of those people on earth whose lives and liberty are daily and hourly threatened by an enemy within their own countries. But that must not impair our defense readiness and our alertness.

Another reader, Herr Sebastian Fleischhack of Leipzig, had this to say on the subject: "Today's world situation is too serious for us to indulge in [hate]." In my opinion, exactly because the situation is so serious and critical, it is particularly necessary for us to "indulge" in it. Whether we want to or not. This does not keep us from doing all we can for the sake of detente and that we engage in negotiations, to prevent the enemy's hate from resulting in war-like actions and destruction.

We are not yet living in a world where love is paramount. To ignore this fact would not only be a dangerous delusion--it would be the end of love altogether.

Need To Hate Enemies

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 9-10 Jan 82 p 11

['We and Our Times' feature article by Marlis Heinz: "Taking the Oath"]

[Excerpts] How close to us is the enemy really? In what guise does he confront us? And--do we hate him, passionately, not only because of our insight? In studying Marx, we realize that for the sake of profit, capitalism shrinks from nothing. For the price of its existence. Lenin proves it: "...from the political standpoint, imperialism consists of violence and the urge for reaction." Objectively. We can close the book and go back to our daily agenda. Certainly, our agenda includes solidarity with those who are directly confronted with imperialism's aggression; it also includes the task of making this state into a bastion of peace, with the use of our classic teachings. But is it enough to love everything that is good and peaceful?

Many a young wife thinks: what good is hate? The main thing for her is to love her husband, and then they would together get through his period of military service. But there is more involved than merely to live through it. She must stand by his side; and that would not amount to very much unless they both experience the hate for those who threaten us and who make it necessary for us always to be ready to defend ourselves. This hate must always be present just as much as love; it must never be confused with resentment against the officer who refused to sign a furlough slip. The issue is to be standing side by side; and standing next to him at the swearing in ceremony is only the beginning, certainly not the truly difficult task--only the beginning of responsibility.

9273
CSO: 2300/148

INTENSIFICATION OF MARXIST-LENINIST STUDY IN SCHOOLS URGED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 173, 26 Nov 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Criticizes Some Students' Lack of Willingness to Perform." A translation of the East Berlin NEUER WEG article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] It appears that the SED is not willing to accept the insufficient willingness to perform on the part of some GDR students, nor will it condone the widespread disregard for political studies. In NEUER WEG (No 22, 1981), a paper addressed to party functionaries, Hannes Hoernig, the director of the Science Department of the SED Central Committee, urged that in all seminar groups a critical-creative atmosphere be developed, that the policy pursued by the Party be thoroughly discussed and that "conclusions be drawn for the student's own practical study efforts." According to Hoernig, only in this way would it be possible to prevent "students unwilling to perform from exerting a negative influence on the political and intellectual atmosphere—a situation still prevailing in spite of the increase in performance-oriented students."

The Central Committee functionary stated that it was necessary to establish the "ideological preconditions" for improved study performance. In this connection, he said it was imperative that "every single student participate in the study of Marxism-Leninism and that the independent study course not be curtailed."

According to Hoernig, the curriculum of the obligatory course in Marxist-Leninist fundamentals has been revised. Among other subjects, "the problems concerning political power, the leading role of the working class and its party" are to be studied in greater detail. In every lecture, the Communist world view "must be transmitted in critical discussions of unscientific theses and bourgeois strategies."

SED Organ's Discussion

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 36 No 22, 1981 (signed to press 12 Nov 81) pp 865-870

[Lead article by Hannes Hoernig, chief, Department of Sciences, SED Central Committee: "Training and Education Remain the Most Important Task"]

[Text] Now as in the past few months, the tasks set by the 10th SED Congress determine the work of the party organizations at the universities and technical colleges of our country.

The necessity and the possibilities of an even better utilization of all material and personnel-oriented funds toward implementation of the requirements established by the 10th Party Congress in regard to scientific work, Communist education and advanced specialized training are being discussed creatively and in a true party spirit.

In substantiating the 10 focal points of the economic strategy for the 1980's, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker, emphasized that science and technology increasingly determine the everyday life of the people in our country and also the standing of our socialist state in the world. Considered as a whole, these key areas represent a great challenge to the creativity and activity of all working people, but above all they are an all-encompassing challenge to science. If the possibilities offered by the scientific-technical revolution are to become the principal reserve for economic growth and efficiency, it will be necessary to utilize all of the scientific capacities available. And this goes for both of the crucial aspects of science: For research, the rapid transmission of its results to social practice, and for the development of a highly qualified, young scientific intelligentsia, which consciously and actively employs its knowledge toward the consolidation and development of socialism in the GDR.

Include Everyone in the Discussion

Thus it is of great significance that aside from the discussion concerning improvement of the effectiveness and quality of research at the universities and technical colleges a broad and constructive discussion has developed in regard to the problems concerning training and education--a discussion in which both the teachers and the students are participating. The party organizations are well advised if together with the Youth League they create the conditions necessary for making this discussion include everyone and raise the quality and effectiveness of the training process.

So far, the discussion has emphasized the significance of the Politburo Resolution--passed in March 1980--on the "Tasks of the Universities in the Developed Socialist Society" and of the resolution adopted by the Fifth University Conference, and it has underscored the demands formulated by the 10th Party Congress in regard to improvement of the students' training and Communist education.

Graduates the Future Leaders

In the report of the SED Central Committee to the 10th Party Congress, Comrade Erich Honecker formulated the demands made by the developed socialist society on the graduates of our universities and technical colleges. "Socialism needs graduates who have at their command up-to-date scientific knowledge, practical skills and abilities and a rich, intellectual-cultural education. These must be graduates capable of independent scientific work and of responsibly applying scientific findings to practical work. Such graduates must be imbued with the true party spirit and they must show personal commitment in their struggle for innovation, for the consolidation of socialism."

What do these demands imply for the party organizations at the universities and technical colleges? They orient the comrades toward the high requirements imposed on the present-day students as the scientists of the 1990's, as the future leaders of social processes and allies of the working class. After all, it is the students who must meet the objectively heavier demands of the mature socialist society.

This means that one must make clear in the political work one thing in particular: To acquire the latest scientific knowledge and to employ this knowledge and these skills toward the further development and consolidation of the GDR is a crucial challenge to both the student and the teacher.

Most of the students show a great sense of responsibility in meeting the tasks and the hardships involved in the acquisition of scientific knowledge. This endeavor, this urge for knowledge and more and more knowledge is the basic precondition for a creative atmosphere appropriate to the objective of the course of study--an atmosphere in which the individual student's struggle for new insight, the dissatisfaction with the level of knowledge attained, and the desire to apply the knowledge become a guideline for all students. Along with the Youth League, the party organizations can do a great deal to increase the number of those students who in their studies show industriousness, thoroughness, discipline and honesty toward themselves and the collective. The significance of grades in tests and for reports notwithstanding, for the atmosphere in the collectives in which young scientists are developing, clear political-ideological attitudes and consistent actions are the best values for a successful course of study. In this way, the students develop a sense of individual responsibility for their studies and they become ready and able to do independent scientific work.

The Key Area of Political Work

Most of the students regard their studies as the main field of political work and already at this stage they make an ever-increasing contribution to the consolidation of socialism in the GDR. The increased sense of individual responsibility is revealed in various ways, e.g. in the more efficient organization of independent study, in the study performance, in the solution of scientific problems, in the formation of a critical-creative atmosphere in the FDJ [Free German Youth] collectives or in the propaganda activity in the FDJ student brigades.

In order further to increase the students' willingness to perform, it is necessary to develop this creative atmosphere in all seminar groups, thoroughly to discuss the policy pursued by the Party and to draw conclusions from this for the concrete

study effort. Only in this way would it be possible to prevent students unwilling to perform from exerting a negative influence on the political and intellectual atmosphere--a situation still prevailing in spite of the increase in performance-oriented students.

Responsibility of the University and Technical College Instructors

The party organizations are aware of the fact that in these efforts the academic instructors are the best allies of the students. In contrast to other fields, in matters pertaining to education the personality of the instructor is of crucial importance. Textbooks, demonstration models and visual aids cannot and must not replace the personality of the teacher. It is precisely the academic instructor's role as a model that manifests the significance of the subjective factor in science and in the transmission of scientific knowledge. There are many facets to the effect of this model in the academic training and education process.

A factor of special importance in regard to the instructor's influence as expert, teacher and conscious, creative contributor to our socialist development is the lecture. Here the university and technical college instructor "radiates" the most lasting effect. In the lecture, the academic instructor should to all intents and purposes embody science, its essence, its role and responsibility for the socialist development. The lecture should not only deal with the theoretical foundations of the subject area, its fields of application and links with other fields; above all, it should supply seminal ideas, teach scientific methodology and provide impulses and stimuli for an independent approach to science. Students again and again emphasize that demanding lectures, the introduction to scientific work and the integration of the problems to be solved by them in larger economic and social contexts have an extraordinary educational effect.

High Degree of Quality in the Study of Fundamentals

Thus the socialist relations between university instructors and students are increasingly determined by the shared responsibility for the level of the training results, by the shared political convictions, by mutual respect and by the heavy demands both partners make on themselves. This socialist interrelationship largely determines the success of the entire training and education process. Of great importance in this regard are the transmission and the study of the foundations of Marxism-Leninism.

In scientific terms, i.e. in the terms employed by Marx, Engels and Lenin, to study the fundamentals means to link theory with life so as firmly to anchor both knowledge and convictions. The party groups and teacher collectives should discuss these problems and they should improve the organization of mutual assistance.

The objective formulated by the 11th FDJ Parliament--namely to make every single student engage in the study of Marxism-Leninism and to prevent any curtailment of independent study--concerns not only the FDJ, but also--and specifically--all the comrades engaged in the study of the Marxist-Leninist fundamentals. They and the party leaders attach great importance to the quality and effectiveness of the study of fundamentals.

New Curricula in Accordance with the 10th Party Congress

The curriculum for the study course on Marxist-Leninist fundamentals has been revised in accordance with the directives issued by the 10th Party Congress. Its objectives are the following:

--Place greater emphasis in the lectures on the historic mission of the working class;

--deal more extensively with the problems concerning the political power and leading role of the working class and its party, the development of socialist democracy and the economic strategy pursued by the Party;

--place greater emphasis on the study of the classics and on the seminars dealing with the classics;

--in every lecture, transmit our world view in critical discussions of unscientific theses and bourgeois strategies.

The special courses for advanced students are being continued. In this regard, special attention is directed to the history of the SED. The special courses should be conducted by the best university instructors in the respective field, no matter whether they come from the Department of Marxism-Leninism or from other departments.

The requirement that the students do independent scientific work and responsibly apply the insight obtained to practical work is met above all by the students' participation in the scientific activity of both the department and the field and in the research work.

The Study Course Is Creative and Productive

To recognize and better and better to perceive this responsibility calls for establishing the ideological preconditions for improved performance and for generating in all students an aggressive attitude toward their tasks. In this regard, the party organizations have always proved--and will prove anew--an important factor. Their experience shows that success can be achieved only through consistent and convincing action. Such action helps to find reserves, to demonstrate the close link between creativity and consciousness and to understand that creativity always presupposes knowledge, industriousness, thoroughness and discipline.

This realization affects all aspects of scientific work, since a higher degree of efficiency and quality is called for everywhere. This goes for the discovery or invention of new, hitherto unknown elements and it also applies to the laws and patterns in nature and society, to their effects and applications, to the practical application of research results and to the theoretically grounded and practice-oriented transmission and assimilation of science.

The development of a creative atmosphere presupposes lively scientific activity characterized by divergent opinions. In at least two respects, difference of opinions is an important foundation for scientific work.

Firstly, it is the prime mover and inspiring force underlying the creation of a truly creative atmosphere, the surest foundation for solid ideas, insights and research results, and an essential precondition for the responsible assumption of a justifiable risk in the research work.

Secondly, it is the best school for the budding scientists. It is only in truly scientific disputes that they can develop their abilities, talents and requisite personality attributes; only in such disputes can one implement the proven principle--"develop through challenge."

The world of social practice expects highly qualified cadres for the direction and planning of the social reproduction process and for accomplishing the research tasks in the combines, academies and other scientific institutions and--naturally--for the universities and technical colleges.

It has proved expedient to let the students participate at an early stage in scientific work via student circles, youth projects and lectures. In this regard, it is necessary to find out their abilities and talents and in the subsequent study years to organize their individual development so that demanding scientific tasks appropriate to their capacities may be assigned to them.

Improve the Complexity of Political Work

In regard to the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the 10th Party Congress, the party organizations at the universities and technical colleges are confronted with manifold tasks. Above all, it is necessary further to improve the political leadership of the scientific processes. This will be all the more fruitful, the more we succeed in familiarizing all members of the leading educational institutions with the resolutions of the Party, in further developing their political consciousness and increasing their activity and willingness to perform.

The main objective is to develop a militant atmosphere in the party collectives and to organize the party forces so as to insure accomplishment of the tasks. Differentiated sessions of the active party membership or leadership, at which the participants--proceeding from the resolutions adopted by the Party--realistically and soberly determine their own position and discuss the resultant tasks, have proved an effective method.

Increasing Assistance Lent to the Young Functionaries

Special attention and assistance is directed toward those functionaries who must formulate and implement resolutions pertaining to practical work: The party group organizers and APO [department party organization] secretaries. In this regard, the assistance lent to the student party group organizers is of special importance, for they are our youngest comrades and they are about to acquire in their practical political work the skills needed by a functionary and at the same time to develop as active members of the socialist intelligentsia.

Under the direction of the Party, a process has developed at the universities and technical colleges, which is oriented toward increasing the effectiveness of scientific work beyond the hitherto customary extent and toward fully accomplishing the most important task of our country's leading educational institutions, namely to give the students the best possible training and Communist education.

8760
CSO: 2300/125

RECRUITMENT FOR WARRANT-OFFICER, NONCOMMISSIONED-OFFICER SCHOOLS ANNOUNCED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 1 Feb 82 pp 1, 5

[Text] The Ministry of National Defense announces the voluntary recruitment of candidates for the following noncommissioned officer schools:

Warrant Officer Schools:

- Warrant Officer Mechanized Forces School in Elblag: 1-year school (for candidates who have completed or after admission to the school will complete, at least, 12 months of basic military service) as well as a 3-year school;

- Warrant Officer Radio Engineering Forces School in Jelenia Gora (2 and 3-year school);

- Warrant Officer Air Force Technical Personnel School in Olesnica and in Zamosc (2 and 3-year school);

- Political Warrant Officer School in Lodz (2-year);

- Warrant Officer Engineering and Military Transport Forces School in Wroclaw (2 and 3-year school);

- Warrant Officer Tank-Automobile Service School in Pila (2 and 3-year);

- Warrant Officers School of Internal Military Service in Minsk Mazowiecki (2-year);

- Warrant Officers School of Armaments and Electronics Services in Olsztyn (2 and 3-year);

- Warrant Officer Quartermaster Services School in Poznan (2-year);

- Warrant Officer School of Quartering and Construction Service in Gizyck (2-year);

- Warrant Officer Communications Forces School in Legnica (2 and 3-year);

- Warrant Officer Border Guard School in Ketrzyn (2-year);

- Warrant Officer School of Topographical Service in Torun (2-year);

- Warrant Officer School of Military Administration in Lodz (1.5-year).

Warrant officers schools prepare candidates for professional military service in the warrant officers corps.

Studies in warrant officers schools last from 1 year to 3 years. Applicants who are graduates of vocational secondary schools or liberal arts [college preparatory] secondary schools are admitted to the 1 and 2-year training periods. Those applicants who are graduates of basic vocational schools are admitted for a 3-year period of training.

The following conditions must be met by applicants to warrant officers schools:

- Polish citizenship,
- suitable moral values,
- ability to perform military service, in the capacity of a candidate for a professional serviceman [soldier], as certified by the military medical board,
- single status,
- up to 24 years of age.

Applicants competing for admission to the warrant officers schools submit applications-questionnaires to the commandant of the chosen school through the offices of the Military Recruiting Main Station appropriate for the place of residence while applicants from the military submit their applications through official channels. Application-questionnaire forms may be obtained at Military Recruiting Main Stations or in military units. The following should be attached to the application-questionnaire:

- an extract [short form] of the birth certificate and proof of Polish citizenship in the event that an applicant does not yet have an identity card,
- school record attesting to the possession of the required education (those attending the final grade of secondary school or of basic vocational school may present an appropriate certificate which attests to the applicant's attendance of the given grade);
- opinion [reference] from the school management, from a socio-political organization or from the place of employment.

Graduates of secondary schools are admitted to warrant officer schools without an entrance examination and on the basis of qualifying performance. However, they are required to take a physical fitness test and psychological tests. The remaining candidates are, in addition, required to take an entrance examination in the Polish language (written), in math (written and oral) as well as in a subject which would correspond to the field of learning in the given warrant officers school and taken within the range of required courses, in the basic vocational school which they have completed.

After passing final exams, graduates of 1 and 2-year warrant officer schools receive a diploma of completion from the school while graduates of 3-year schools receive, in addition, a diploma of secondary school completion. At the same time, they are appointed to the rank of junior warrant officer and called to professional military service which they perform in military units while holding official posts which correspond to the qualifications held.

The physical fitness test, psychological testing as well as entrance examinations to the warrant officers schools will be held from 9-15 July 1982.

AT THE SAME TIME, RECRUITMENT OF CANDIDATES FOR CAREER NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICERS IS BEING CONDUCTED TO THE FOLLOWING KINDS OF COMBAT ARMS AND SERVICES:

1) Mechanized Armored Forces, Rocket Forces and Artillery, Air Forces, Rocket National Air Defense Forces, Antiaircraft Defense Forces, Chemical Forces, Engineering Forces, Communications Forces, Radio-Technical Forces, Military Transport Service, Military Health Service, the Navy, Quartermaster Services, Armaments Service, Quartering and Construction Service, Internal Military [Domestic] Service, Border Guard Forces.

The following conditions must be met by the volunteers:

- 17 years of age completed;
- completed basic vocational school or at least two grades of secondary school;
- ability to perform military service;
- proper moral-political values and an unassailable past.

Applicants who meet the above mentioned conditions submit applications to Military Recruiting Main Stations and at the same time declare their desire to voluntarily fulfill basic military service.

Volunteers are called to basic service in the spring or fall of every year. Upon their completion of noncommissioned officer schools of basic service and appropriate practice in military units, they can be called to professional service already in the 18th month of service (after 24 months if in the Navy). They are then sent for 6-month courses to the appropriate noncommissioned officers vocational schools.

Applications to the naval Noncommissioned Officers Naval Career School and for professional noncommissioned officer training in other combat arms and services are being accepted all year.

Candidates who are applying directly to the Noncommissioned Officer Naval School in Ustka are obligated to take a physical fitness test as well as psychological tests and must pass a physical examination by the military Naval-Medical Board.

2) Recruitment is also being conducted to the Military School of Music of the Second Level in Gdansk. Applicants to this school must be 15-17 years of age and must have completed a school of music of the first level (in exceptional cases elementary school and musical talent). Applications for admission to the Military School of Music of the Second Level will be accepted from 1 June 1982.

3) Registration is also being taken to the Aviation Secondary School which is attached to the Officer Higher Aviation School named for Jan Krasicki in Deblin and its branch in Zielona Gora.

This is a military secondary school which implements the secondary school program and prepares candidates for service in the air force but, above all, for further studies in the Officer Higher Aviation School in Deblin.

Application for admission to the school may be made by candidates who possess Polish citizenship; who have completed eight grades of elementary school; have not yet reached their 16th birthday; who possess certain physical and mental abilities which are prerequisites for their future qualification for service in the air force and which have been determined by air force-medical examinations; who obtain written permission from their parents (legal guardians) to take up studies at the Aviation Secondary School; who submit a commitment certified by a legal representative (parents or guardians) to enter the Officers Higher Aviation School as a candidate for a career soldier or to another military career school.

Further information is given out to interested candidates to warrant officer schools and candidates for career noncommissioned officers by Military Recruiting Main Stations as well as by military unit headquarters.

9853
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CAUSES OF INEFFICIENCY IN POLISH SCIENCE EXAMINED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 5

[Article by Krystyna Jaworska: "Efficiency in Science--Criteria and Evaluations"]

[Text] One hears more and more often that we have trained too many scientific cadre in Poland, that neither higher schools, scientific institutes nor the economy are in any position to absorb them. In view of the economic reform and the new political situation, scientific employee anxiety with respect to their professional future has grown substantially greater.

Studies on solutions to the socio-economic crisis also require giving thought to measures which regulate questions of Polish science. A reverse linkage occurs here: actually science has to be an effective tool for overcoming the country's difficulties. Thus, special attention needs to be given to the utilization of scientific cadres.

Against The Background Of Employment Forecasts

Up to now, plans for the development of scientific cadres were a resultant of the country's economic possibilities, the subjective theses of experts and pressure of informal groups having influence on the allocation of financial resources. A. Butler and J. Kornacki (authors of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] report issued in 1979, entitled "Directions, Methods and Scope of Training and Improving Scientific Cadres in Poland") have accurately observed that "evaluation of the degree of agreement between the current supply of scientific cadres and the country's needs is a very complex task. This results not only from the fact that there not only is a lack of directly verified relationships between the dimension of scientific potential and its constituent and selected dimensions which characterize socioeconomic development, but also because every kind of scientific activity (basic research, applied, developmental, et cetera) requires a different time horizon socioeconomic forecast".

A faulty development trend can be illustrated by statistical data drawn from the cited report by A. Butler and J. Kornacki: in 1966 we had 221,700 workers employed in science: 14.6 percent of this number were scientific workers. 16.1 percent were engineering-technical and equivalent workers with higher education, while those without higher education amounted to 30.3 percent. Ten years later the scientific cadre rose to 395,200 persons. It is an interesting fact that the number of workers without higher education fell by 5 percent.

The efficiency of scientific cadre work is dependent to a large degree precisely on the number of cooperating personnel. Meanwhile there is an average of one worker-helper of varying level of education per scholarly worker in PAN units, while in higher schools two scholarly workers must share one worker-helper.

Efficiency Above All

The divergences noted can give rise to the suspicion that the policy of qualified cadre development had been an extensive one up to now. Staying in the area of the production sector, it is worthwhile looking at the results of the engineering cadre studies described by J. Tymowski in the 1978 PAN report ("Utilization of Highly Qualified Cadres"). The research conclusions clearly illustrate the inadequate utilization of cadres with the highest qualifications.

The author of the report states, among others, that: "the basic causes of the loss of engineer work time, without regard to the subsector in which they work are: faulty work organization, limitation on the right to make decisions, being burdened with low grade work, insufficient information, execution of needless tasks, inadequate fitting-out of engineering work posts, useless consultations and conferences, poor work discipline and inadequate motivation".

It turns out that the total losses of work time amount to 30 to 40 percent. This ratio is still higher for agricultural engineers -- up to 50 percent; 82.8 percent of specialist chiefs and 68.3 percent of specialists estimated that work which requires use of their qualifications occupies less than one-third of their time.

A highly qualified work cadre must be relieved of administrative and subsidiary duties.

What is necessary here is increasing the number of auxiliary personnel workers and treating obsolete qualification rate schedules in a solely general outline manner.

Unrelated To The Economy

Economic units must be interested in conducting research, creating new products, processes and work methods -- this follows from the realities of the economic situation. A highly qualified work cadre must have motivations, including material ones, for intensive conceptional work. In exploring the causes of the low efficiency of Polish science we arrive at the most general observations.

Up to now, the area of scientific inquiries was evaluated by economic criteria in an inadequate manner. Hidden behind the low efficiency of Polish science is the lack of relating research-development programs to activity resulting from production programs, failure to link the work of the scientific base with the modernization activity of economic units to an adequate enough degree. I want to emphasize that economic reform is taking these deficiencies into account and placing emphasis on the development of Polish scientific-technical thought.

Among the many factors bearing on science's low efficiency it is necessary first of all to list the divergencies of views with respect to the utilization of scientific cadres which exist between planning centers and centers responsible for implementation.

A study by the Academic Cadres Development Group ("A synthesized evaluation of the hitherto existing state of satisfying as well as defining future needs with respect to scientific cadres in light of the implementations by the Second Congress of Polish Science") indicates that, for example, all Planning Commission assumptions relative to developmental units in the years 1972-1978 were not achieved.

Despite scientific community opinions, the Ministry of Higher Schools and Technology worked up scientific cadre development plans which assumed that the employment of all workers in scientific-research units would increase more slowly than would the employment of scientific workers. This led to a drop in the work efficiency of the scientific worker group and forced it to perform administrative duties.

These are only a few observations on the subject of low Polish science efficiency. The hitherto existing policy of utilizing highly qualified scientific cadres requires thorough analysis. This concerns not only practical proposals. Most important in my opinion is overcoming the distrust of scientific people who have been sufficiently discouraged by many declarations in recent years about appreciating the role of their group.

10433
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POLICY CHANGES AT WARSAW UNIVERSITY REPORTED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Feb 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] Warsaw University re-opened on 8 February. Although it is difficult to come to any conclusions after 1 day, it seems that right now good grades and scrupulous adherence to the study code are of the greatest concern to the students. The idea is to retain their student status.

This is understandable considering the fact that Warsaw University - like all other schools - operates under the regulations in law on schools of higher learning of 1958, the minister of science' guidelines on the activities of schools of higher learning during the martial law period, and temporary study code.

The most important change in the instructional process is the introduction of obligatory attendance of all classes as opposed to the usual practice requiring attendance of only labs with the penalty of failure to do so including an expulsion from the school. Until now the class schedules have not included this requirement and even now sometimes labs coincide with lecture periods causing considerable complications and problems.

Students violating martial law can be now expelled from the school by the rector without a disciplinary proceeding - who currently has independent authority in the school. The rector also can order a student to perform a socially useful activity for the school or national economy.

Many changes have been introduced to the regulations governing final exams. Thus, presently students have the right to repeat an exam only once (before they could do it twice), and it is more difficult to get permission for a commission exam. A year of study can be repeated only once for the entire period of studies, therefore, students who have used this opportunity once cannot do it again. The same concerns leaves of absence approved by the dean, excluding of course cases of prolonged illness.

Dr Stefan Makowski, Administrator of the Teaching Section of the Rector's Office at Warsaw University, told us that so far no student has been expelled from the University (including students interned during the martial law). There have been no personnel changes as well.

According to the science ministry the above restrictive measures will enable making up for lost time experienced during the fall-winter semester (it is surprising in this context that throughout the study break students registered for day classes were not allowed to use the main and faculty libraries; this certainly will not accelerate the attempts to overcome educational losses suffered).

The general principle of not extending studies and of continuation of programs prepared and approved at the beginning of the academic year, is still in effect. The deans of faculties have prepared make-up plans depending on the losses. Some of the make-up plans (with the exception of socio-political subjects) are extended over two or three consecutive semesters. It is also the deans who have been entrusted with the preparation of the winter examination session scheduled for the end of March - otherwise, both semesters will jointly continue through 25 June. The examination session will last until 15 July. Entrance exams are rescheduled for September.

As we know, all student organizations and the self-governing body were suspended during the martial law. Only those organs, whose activities are envisaged by the 1958 law, such as the senate and the faculty councils, continue their activities. The functions of suspended organizations are performed by specially appointed by the rector faculty representatives for social affairs for students and faculty, for sports, for culture, for dormitories, for instruction, for foreign students, and for enrollment for 1982/83.

Warsaw University reopened with a series of meetings with the faculty authorities during which the students were acquainted with the new regulations governing the operation of the school. For the first few days after their return to school, students from all classes, fields, and specializations in addition to attending regular classes will be required to participate in special study groups devoted to the current political situation in Poland.

8609
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SECONDARY SCHOOL ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS ANNOUNCED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by T.K.: 'Return to Entrance Examinations'-- New Regulations for Admissions to secondary schools will differ from the system of qualifying candidates on the basis of elementary school certificates which was in effect for the last 8 years]

[Text] Considering the suggestions of not only teachers but also public opinion, the ministry of Education and Upbringing developed new admission regulations which bring back entrance examination.

The draft of the regulations was prepared long ago. It was preceded by months of public discussions. Currently, it is being reviewed with teachers, school principals, superintendents and departments managing certain vocational schools. The ministry had intended to conclude this phase of work by 20 January 1981. Unfortunately, martial law, or more precisely, communication restrictions, are significantly delaying the consultation tempo, as well as preparation of the final regulations and their effective date.

In accordance with the new regulations, qualifications for secondary school candidates (general high schools, technical high schools and professional high schools) will be based on the grades attained by the student on examinations on selected subjects for a type of school and grades received at that "lower" school for Polish language, mathematics and a subject determined by the secondary school pedagogical council as a requirement of professional training. Consideration will also be given to the total grade average on the school transcript which forms the basic courses of that secondary school program. Then the total of all of those grades determine a candidate's qualification for secondary school.

Entrance examinations cover: a written examination on the Polish language and mathematics for all types of secondary schools, an oral examination on a subject appropriate to a given school, for example, history for (admission to) humanities and classics study high schools, physics for math-physics high schools. In the foregoing examples, the subject for high schools will be specified by regulations, while for professional (high) schools this will be done by the Educational Council. The Council will also specify two examination subjects for police schools.

Admissions to basic vocational schools will take place without many changes. The basis of admissions here will continue to be an elementary school certificate, except if the educational councils of such schools deem necessary, they will be able to conduct examinations, make verifications, or give qualifying oral examinations. This is to guarantee the proper selection of young people for specified occupations.

Working young people continue to have a guaranteed contract to work, the right to professional improvement in schools attached to work places, or others. However, the ministry leaves work establishments and the schools attached to them, a certain amount of freedom to make decisions relative to the possible conduct of training common to the school as well as the work.

According to calculations by the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, during the current 1982/1983 school year there will be about 95,000 persons studying in general high schools, 84,000 in technical schools, and almost 40,000 in vocational high schools. More than 350,000 persons will begin study in vocational schools of all types.

Inasmuch as the education ministry regarded the number (of persons) admitted to general high schools last year as minimal, it was decided to increase the number of places in high schools this year at the same time increasing the proportion of students in such schools by 0.4 percent to a figure of 19 percent of elementary school graduates. This comes about as the result of a trend toward making secondary school education compulsory. Lengthening study in basic vocational schools to 3 years will also serve that goal. The new regulations also change the deadlines for the submission of applications and examinations. Even so, applications can be submitted up to 15 May. However, it is not yet known when they will begin to be accepted; that decision has not yet been made but, according to ministry assurances, that period should not be less than 2 months. Entrance examinations are to begin within 3 days after the end of instruction in the highest elementary grades and basic vocational schools.

As can be seen in this schedule, something new is the substantial time interval between the submission of applications and examinations. It was lengthened to give students, parents and schools time to orient themselves on the location of candidate surpluses and shortages and to permit a change in decision.

As the result of a certain amount of school work disorganization as the result of martial law and the planned conclusion of the school year on 18 June instead of the normal 10 June, entrance examinations will most likely begin on 21 June: however, as yet nothing is certain. We will notify readers as soon as the final decisions are made.

One more piece of information. The above changes do not pertain to the admission of pupils to first grade in primary schools. The responsibility for keeping a record of children subject to basic education rests, as always, on the principals of elementary schools, and as always, the parents of 6-year olds will receive notification to report to such schools. Some of the children will begin normal study a year earlier while the rest will undergo nursery school training or training in so-called zero classes.

10433
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PAST ACTIVITY OF TEACHERS' SOLIDARITY CRITICIZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by Piotr Rzadca: "What to Reject and What to Preserve in the Educational Community"]

[Text] The setbacks in educational activity in recent years have for the most part resulted from underinvestment, increasingly bureaucratized school management and a tendency to formalize teachers' educational activities, burden them with unjustified duties and restrict their personal responsibility and inventiveness while their social, professional and financial standing deteriorated.

Compounding these adverse developments were all the problems related with forced creation of gmina collective schools coupled with shortage of financial outlays add the implementation of an educational reform that encountered resistance among teachers themselves and raised concern about the fate of post-primary schools.

This generated a broad base of discontent among the teachers, including party members, who began to exert increasingly powerful pressure on their Union [Polish Teachers' Union, ZNP] to demand a radical change of this situation from the authoities. Such voices had been clearly audible even before the Eighth Party Congress but they were not taken into account. Not until the fall of 1982 was the ZNP able to extract a whole package of modifications from the authorities, which restored the teachers' trust in their union to retain their gains largely unchanged. A group of teachers, however, mainly those from secondary schools in larger urban centers, distrustful of the authorities and doubting the ZNP's ability to succeed, transferred to "Solidarity." Those teachers were the ones to yield to the ideological influence, organizational discipline and ordinary manipulation of persons whose intentions ran counter to genuine interests of this profession.

Those dishonest intentions can be retraced using major demands advanced by the leadership of teachers' "Solidarity" as an example.

One of them concerned the Teachers' Charter, blocked for a number of months by formal stratagems, e.g., on its name, applied by "Solidarity." That was not the real point. There was a desire to develop a law on education that would limit the state's influence on education, substitute "world outlook neutrality" for the principle of secularity in schools, permit reprivatization of a number of schools and facilitate implementation of an ideologically pluralistic educational program.

This maneuver failed because it was difficult to defeat the ZNP's no-nonsense position that agreed with the sentiment among a majority of teachers, including "Solidarity" members.

The demands for changes in curricula took a similar course. Doubtless, such changes were and still are desirable to bring the programs closer to reality, eliminate what is termed blank spots and weed out many simplifications. In history, for example, the point would be to restore the Marxist criterion of truth, meaning non-concealment of uncomfortable facts but rather analyzing them in accord with the state of scientific research in their total dialectical complexity and without politically opportunistic ad hoc evaluations. The demand of "Solidarity" negotiators, however, followed a different path, that of weakening all progressive trends in the programs, restoring myths that have long been abolished by science "debunking" that was intended to bring in new falsit and introduction of clearly anti-Soviet content. When this attempt failed, the "Solidarity" activists violated the law, trying to implant in some schools their own programs, their own publications and their interpretations, generating a climate of psychological pressure on those who opposed them.

Another example is connected with the socializing of schools. This slogan had been advanced earlier because of the realization of necessary closer connections of schools and society, the needs for increased influence of different communities on education and their rights to monitor it. Also, [there was a realization that it was necessary] to grant teachers, and pedagogical councils the right to administer schools. The Ninth Congress summed up these proposals and indicated in its resolution the need to establish a Council on Education. "Solidarity" on the other hand demanded that the state be totally excluded from all influence over schools except funding and that the school system be subject to supervision by bodies appointed by that organization. Again, violating the rules of law, "Solidarity" was striving to have the authorities confront accomplished facts, which was most clearly evidenced in the active strike in some Lublin province schools. Their management and pedagogical councils were deprived of authority and was transferred to strike committees and forces external to the schools. Additional classes of a distinctly anti-socialist nature were introduced. By forced appointment, a "council" was established, designed to take over the mandate of education superintendents offices in the future. It was thus another attempt to institute a new order which "Solidarity" intended to extend to other communities once some experience had been accumulated.

With all of these developments in the background, it was inevitable for divisions and dissension to come up in groups of educators at all sites where "Solidarity" had started its aggressive activity. Its impact was possible only because many teachers experienced profound waverings, failing to distinguish justified demands for change in the educational system from patently detrimental demands. Many were unaware of actual intentions of the leadership of teachers' "Solidarity," hidden behind endorsable slogans. Many teachers were constantly fearful of the fate of their charter, at the same time harbored numerous grievances against school administration.

Add that there was a serious weakening in the influence and activity of teachers' party subdivisions, blamed by their co-workers--undeservedly--for all errors in

the educational policy. For the most part, they were helpless when faced with demagougery and, at the same time, they were deprived of their everyday assistance from higher echelons. In fact, only the struggle for the Teacher's Charter helped them to start consolidating in a joint effort with ZNP membership. Today the time has come for a substantive analysis of that period, most importantly, for a thorough appraisal of what is hidden behind the diversified positions taken by teachers. It would be inordinately determental if such evaluations were dominated by hasty and superficial conclusions, likewise, if clear presentation of the problems were avoided out of complacency.

Schools must be both socialist and democratic. These two principles are inseparable, although their implementation in the past was not uniform. If schools are socialist, this means they are preparing young people for the role of constructors, builders of this political system, and not its demolishers. If schools are democratic, they ought to be subject to society's impact and inspection, while being internally directed by teams of educators and preserving for the state those entitlements that guarantee implementation of national objectives of education. This is, of course, an encapsulation of a train of thought that is sufficiently lucid, perhaps, to permit determination of who opts for what.

It is impossible to monitor a teacher in every respect--he is alone in his contacts with his students. He must be granted a maximum amount of trust on the part of the authorities and society. That trust is based on the belief that the teacher is a government worker loyal to the policy of his state, that he is ideologically motivated for only then he can transmit the ideas of socialism to his students, and that he is responsible, therefore he will never consciously do them any harm in regard to morality or upbringing.

Expectably, most teachers, "Solidarity" members included, are able to meet these criteria. Only a very small group with distinctly antisocialist attitudes--exhibited in their practices--do not meet these conditions. Neither do those who ended up in schools by chance and are actually alienated from the young people and unwilling to accept the particular nature of a teaching job.

To put it simply, superimposed over the attitudes and views of a fair number of teachers are certain matters that need to be substantively clarified or resolved. Much aggravation against the authorities has accumulated over many years for their failure to settle financial issues--yet this is already changing. There are claims of excessive bureaucratization, curbing schools' independence and trends to autocratic school administration. Add to these the problems with curricula--disregard for schools' performance capacities, lack of assistance in instructional work and shortages of textbooks and classroom aids. Let us include here teachers' critical comments on distortions in ideological and upbringing work, formalized or pretended, which placed educators in a conflict of conscience counterposing the need to carry out instructions and the belief that the instructions are incorrect, misguided or educationally wrong. Mention can also be made of those shortcomings that result from a lack of consistent politico-ideological training of teachers to give a better grounding to their knowledge of society.

Eliminating these shortcomings from the schools and consistent activity by the authorities to bring about well-founded modifications in the educational system

will provide for the rectification of views among that group of teachers who wavered in their loyalty toward the state or expressed their embitterment through extremist criticizing of everything and everybody, while pinning their hopes on "Solidarity" even at the time when its leadership's moves had begun to raise increasingly grave doubts.

The educational community has begun a process of self-purification to remove the adverse phenomena of the past prior to August 1980 as well as the trends born in the last several months that were leading to a negation of the entire educational achievement of the postwar era. I am using the term self-purification because I believe that this must be done, before all, by the educational community itself since it is likely to be the best informed on what will benefit and what will harm education. It marshals sufficiently numerous social and political forces to accomplish this task in a substantive, equitable and objective manner--for the sake of its internal integration rather than for another breakup.

8795
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WESTERN COMMENT ON REGIONAL VERSUS CENTRAL INFLUENCES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 10 Feb 82 p 10

[Article by Viktor Meier: "From Bosnia to Slovenia"]

[Text] Belgrade, February—Metallurgical plants in Bosnia are now asking their customers even inside Yugoslavia to pay one-third to one-half in hard currencies for the products they buy from them. They say that they could equally well be exporting these goods. This is not an isolated situation. Now that those in charge of the Yugoslav economy are keeping an eye on the foreign trade deficit as such exclusively—in part under the influence of the IMF—and are instituting tight import curbs on the premise of "less foreign trade—less deficit", many Yugoslav firms can obtain raw materials only by paying their domestic trading partners for them in hard currency. Some time ago, when the guest worker wave crested, the peasants in Herzegovina were getting paid for their cows in DM, too.

But there appear to be other reasons for the Bosnian firms acting this way. Quite clearly, the purpose is to shore up the hard currency reserves of the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. As a result of the Croatian events in the early seventies, every one of the Yugoslav republics and autonomous regions has been allowed to hold its own hard currency reserves. About 70 percent of the reserves—depending on the republics and the particular branches of industry—may be retained by the firms which can either sell them or use them to pay for imports in conformance with existing regulations. 15 percent go to the federal government and most of the rest is at the disposal of the republics themselves. This system causes problems continuously. The lion's share of Croatia's hard currency earnings, for example, comes from the tourist trade along its coast. Serbia and Vojvodina, however, say that they are supplying the hotels in Dalmatia with foodstuffs. The Vojvodina complains that Croatian buyers from "across the border" or nearby Serbian buyers come in to buy up agricultural products that could be exported at higher dinar rates than the "domestic" dealers and then export them in order to enhance their own foreign currency earnings. In foreign trade, barter transactions which by now are almost the rule must be handled within the individual republics. More and more, the member republics and the regions are being asked to provide hard currency to pay for specific imports such as oil, coffee and more recently even Western newspapers.

In view of this situation, many Yugoslavs are already saying that their country is split up into eight separate markets. The independent powers vested in the member republics, it is said, now exceed those granted to semi-autonomous Croatia after a lengthy struggle under the Cvetkovik-Macek agreement of 1939 which

was then felt to signal the end of national unity. The counter-argument offered is that national institutions do exist—such as the party, the police and the army—which place a tolerable limit on the "cult of statehood" prevailing in the member republics. Still, there are indications that these institutions can no longer be termed "centralist" in the true sense. To a degree, this applies to the police and to the party and events in Kosovo have now shown that even the army can be subject to local conditions, at least as far as territorial defense is concerned. Federal authority in Yugoslavia—this much can safely be said—is being reduced more and more to the sum of eight authorities wielded by the republics and regions.

But this increase in diversity also is a source of positive developments. Slovenia, whose foreign trade is balanced—albeit with the help of federal subsidies—stands out among the member republics as one boasting a moderate political climate and a consistently healthy economy. Leaving the special Kosovo situation aside, there now is a remarkably liberal atmosphere in Serbia thanks to the new era of "republicanism" which is reflected in the newspapers and in greater tolerance vis-a-vis intellectuals and the church. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the other hand, there are dogmatic-reactionary tendencies based on relative economic strength due to the availability of raw materials. In that republic, both the Catholic and the Orthodox church are being persecuted; intellectuals are being sentenced and publications are being printed that are referred to as the "central organs of the Yugoslav dogmatists." The results of the latest census in Bosnia—like those in Croatia and the country as a whole—on the relative strength of the various nationalities still have not been given out. It is conceivable that Bosnia will show a Muslim majority which would not be without political consequences once the result is made public.

Macedonia, too, is ruled by a dogmatic closed circle of functionaries which—not unlike in Kosovo—is opposed by a large number of young intellectuals who frequently give vent to their discontent through outbursts of nationalist aggressiveness. In Macedonia, the Albanians living there are persecuted. Croatia, for its part, shows two faces to the world, reflecting a kind of inner split. Modern economics coupled with a strong drive to promote their own economic interests exist alongside a sometimes archaic superstructure both with reference to communism and nationalism. Men like Bakaric and Perisin have long since ceased to be reformers and turned into backward looking Marxist economic ideologues. In these circles, such ideas as "private" issuing of money as existed in the era of the brothers Fugger or during the American gold rush are being propounded as part of "self-administration" of the plants concerned. Then there are young, quite personable albeit ideologically rigid "Croato-Marxists" such a s minister of culture Stipe Suvar. On the other hand, one cannot by rights call everything proposed by the nationally oriented intellectuals or the church as being in tune with the times. The whole business is made even more difficult because of the fact that 15 percent of the population and 30 percent of the party membership belong to the Serbian minority and that they constitute a particularly centralist and reactionary element among the Serbians themselves and, still worse, that the political police in Zagreb is preponderantly run by them. Sentences like the 11-year prison term given to Croatian "nationalist" professor Veselica to punish him for a handful of beer hall speeches are out of all proportion to the offense committed.

Conditions in Yugoslavia would be better, if the central government—either through the party or the government apparatus—would constitute the progressive element in all this diversity, pointing the member republics toward solutions along pragmatic lines. This, however, is not the case. The government—both the bureaucracy and the party central committee apparatus—is characterized these days by reactionary and even dogmatic factors. There is a party commission on cadre questions at the federal level but it is led by Mikulic, a Bosnian, given to dogmatic opinions and acting accordingly. Many people believe that this is the reason why leadership positions in Yugoslavia always rotate among the same group of functionaries and why new men are only considered, if they commit themselves to the traditional line. Of course, decisions in Yugoslavia today are arrived at in several different places. Nonetheless, one could see that recent impulses viewed as negative—such as all the economic restrictions and curbs or the campaign against an allegedly too liberal press—in many cases originated with the central government or party apparatus.

The question is often asked whether the locus of power in today's Yugoslavia resides in the party, in the state presidium or in the government apparatus. There is no simple answer; but it seems fairly certain that none of the three will let itself be used for the purposes of unilaterally establishing a new centralism. The constitution is important because it guarantees the role of the member republics as well as the consensus principle. From time to time, hopes are voiced that able leaders from this or that republic might be delegated to fill the appropriate positions at the federal level—such as Slovenians to run the economic ministries. For all that, such personages cannot always make a real impact and are instead "taken over" by the Belgrade bureaucracy. When that happens, they are referred to as "Belgrade Slovenes" or "federal Slovenes." More recently, a new epithet has come up—that of "federal Serbians."

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END

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10 March 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1987

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10 March 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1987

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BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU GREETED ON BIRTHDAY--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania: Esteemed Comrade Ceauses cu, on your birthday I want to convey, on behalf of SFRY presidium and myslef, cordial congratulations and wishes for good health and new successes in your highly responsible work to the benefit and prosperity of the friendly Romanian people from neighboring Romania. [Signed] Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY presidium. [Text] [AU011034 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Jan 82 p 5]

DRAGOSAVAC GREETS CEAUSESCU ON BIRTHDAY--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Sociality Republic of Romania: Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, on your birthday I want to convey most cordial congratulations and best wishes for good health and new successes in your highly responsible work. I want to take this opportunity to express my satisfaction at the development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the LCY and the RCP and between our two neighboring socialist countries. I greatly appreciate the contribution you personally have made and are making to developing Yugoslav-Romanian cooperation. We are convinced that the further development of our cooperation is in the lasting interests of the Yugoslav peoples and the Romanian people and of international cooperation on the basis of equality, peace and socialism in the world. [Signed] Dr Dusan Dragosavac, chairman of the LCY Central Committee presidium. [Text] [AU011033 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Jan 82 p 5]

CSO: 2700/192

CPSL DAILY DEFINES FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN CSSR

Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 28 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by SU]

[Text] The socialist state is a state of all the people, regardless of their religion. Both believers and atheists are engaged in building a developed socialist society. There are no differences in the rights of individual citizens because of their religion.

Equality of churches and religious freedom are also proclaimed in many capitalist countries. However, in practice freedom of religion is understood there only as freedom to choose and to practice a religious cult. The constitutions of all socialist countries guarantee their citizens full freedom to believe in any religion or not to believe, i.e., to be an atheist. The constitutions of the socialist countries strictly prohibit any discrimination against citizens as far as their rights concerning religious beliefs are concerned. In these countries nobody classifies citizens according to their religion.

The socialist state, as already noted, guarantees religious freedom to all its citizens. According to the Czechoslovak constitution of 11 July 1960, Chapter 2, Article 32, "Freedom of religion is guaranteed. Everyone can practice any religion or be without religion, or exercise religious functions insofar they do not conflict with the law." The state does not interfere in the internal affairs of the churches, in religious instruction, liturgy and other such matters.

Funding of Churches

There are in Czechoslovakia 18 organized churches and religious societies which have their own organizations and rules. To pursue their activities, they have 10 publishing houses. In all, 27 religious periodicals are being published. In accordance with Government Directive No 112/1950 of the Collection of Laws and No 123/1950 of the Collection of Laws, theologians have been trained at six divinity schools since 1950. The state financially assists in the operation of church facilities. In addition, it allocates money for the habilitation and renovation of church buildings. The state also recognizes as paid holidays 3 days each year related to religious traditions.

Everybody who is familiar with the principles of our policies regarding religious must admit that this policy makes it possible for orderly relations with churches and believers. The basic principles of this policy is full respect for the right of citizens to have religious beliefs as well as our right to ideologically influence those who approach problems of life from religious positions.

Freedom of religion does not mean neutrality by the socialist state nor indifference to the existence of religion. This is the result of the fact that no society, non-socialist or socialist is ideologically neutral. The socialist state legally expresses ideology, i.e., a scientific world of view. The CSSR constitution in Article 16 states: "All cultural policy in the CSSR, education, training and teaching are conducted in the spirit of the scientific world view, i.e., Marxism-Leninism, and in close relationship with the life and work of the people."

Decisive Results of Work

As far as its relation with the state is concerned, religion is the private business of citizens. At the same time, the state cannot remain indifferent about citizens' convictions. Nobody in our country can be persecuted or prosecuted for his religious beliefs. The state does not require from anybody a written or oral declaration concerning his religious belief. Our citizens are not judged on the basis of their religion but on the basis of their work for our society, on the basis of their attitudes toward the tasks of building a socialist society. At the same time, the state encourages in all spheres a revolutionary transformation of our society, starting with economic relations and ending with thinking and acting by each and every citizen in the spirit of scientific world opinion. Among the tasks performed by the state is also forming the people's consciousness, a systematic struggle against all forces, customs and traditions of an outdated exploiting society.

Thus when we talk about our citizen, i.e., an individual whose rights and duties are regulated in statutes which spell out mutual relations between this citizen and the state, it is obvious that every citizen has a guaranteed right to any religion. In this sense, then, religion is a private affair of the citizen. However, if we change the premise, if we take into consideration not a citizen perse but someone who is an integral part of the socialist society and who needs to be freed from the shackles placed on him by a previous society, then our approach as far as the relation of man to religion changes.

Religion Is not Private Affair of Communists

The fact that the workers parties accepted the idea of insisting on freedom of conscience leads some people to believe that this slogan is universally valid always and under all circumstances. They do not differentiate between the relation of the state and the relation of the revolutionary workers party toward religion. They think that the party member's world view, and thus his possible religious belief, is only his "private" affair. V.I. Lenin dealt with this problem in the following words: "Our party is an association of conscious progressive fighters for the liberation of the working class. Such an organization cannot and must not be indifferent to ignorance, obscurantism or reaction in the form of religion." Religion for us is not the private affair of a party member. It is an affair for the entire party, its organs and organizations, which check on the world view of members.

Nor is religion a private affair for those workers who have educational jobs in our country. This applies to a large group of teachers, educators and cultural workers. They are obligated by Article 16 of the constitution which says: "The entire cultural policy in Czechoslovakia, the development of education, training and teaching are conducted in the spirit of the scientific world view, i.e., Marxism-Leninism, and in close relationship with the life and work of the people."

A similiar demand is put on leading workers. According to the resolution concerning cadre and personnel work, approved by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee on 6 November 1970, and according to the subsequent directives given to various state organs, only fully qualified workers can be appointed to leading positions. Qualification here is understood as a sum of technical knowledge, moral qualities, political maturity and class consciousness. Political maturity and class consciousness are directly related to the scientific world view, i.e., to the materialistic and thus also atheistic understanding of all social phenomena and processes as well as active everyday atheistic work.

Struggle against Prejudices

The policy of the Communist Party and the socialist state toward religion is consistent and well-considered. "As far as our relation toward religion is concerned, our attitude is well known. The socialist state respects the religious feelings of believers and appreciates that the overwhelming majority of them are sincerely participating in our constructive efforts. However, this does not mean that we should relax our obligation to carry on the dissemination of our scientific world view." These words, expressed from the podium at the 16th CPCZ Congress, clearly indicate one of our main tasks, namely, a struggle against the religious world view and other forms of bourgeois ideology and our struggle on behalf of the scientific world view. The Communist Party never had and never will have as its goal prohibition of religion. However, it will fight it politically.

A state expressing the will of the working class and other working people safeguards the civil rights of believers. At the same time, it also secures the fulfillment of civic duties and maintainance of the social order. We do not permit activity of religious organizations which is hostile to the socialist system or is of a fanatical nature. This is done in the interest of the entire society, including believers.

Under socialism, there have been created political and legal conditions for freedom of opinion which openly denies belief in the supernatural and which, in its fight with religious prejudices, asserts the only real scientific, materialistic world view, while it simultaneously permits all possibilities to belong to any of the 18 churches and religious societies in our country.

1277
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BRIEFS

CHILEAN TRADE UNIONISTS' VISIT--Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions (URO) V. Kozik received a delegation from the Chilean Central Workers's Union (CUT) led by CUT representative in Czechoslovakia Raul Caro. The delegates presented the URO with an honorary diploma for long-term solidarity and support of the heroic Chilean people by Czechoslovak workers. Kozik assured the Chilean trade unionists that Czechoslovak workers are "determined to contribute with all their abilities to the final victory of the just cause of the Chilean people." /Prague PRACE in Czech 25 Feb 82 p 3/

CSO: 2400/158

INDIVIDUAL COMBAT SOLDIER'S VALUE NOT UNDERCUT BY TECHNOLOGY

East Berlin AR ARMEE-RUNDSCHAU in German No 12, Dec 81 (signed to press 1 Oct 81) pp 36-41

[Article by Lt Col Ernst Gebauer: "What Is the Man in the Field Still Worth?"]

> [Text] Is man in combat pushed into the margin of events by modern technology? In view of such weapons systems as combat helicopters, tanks, tube and rocket artillery, while the motorized rifleman is sometimes dug in up to his neck, shouldn't one ask in the words of the song from Schiller's "Wallenstein": "What is the man in the field still worth?"

Is it enough to point out that each of these and other weapon systems will have to be programmed, guided and operated by men?

Hardly, since we were asking about the value of the individual man.

Recently, the Soviet Army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA [RED STAR] published the thoughts of the deputy defense minister of the USSR, Marshall Moskalenko. Formerly, if someone did not understand how to handle the sabre or rifle, wrote the marshall, then this was not decisive for the outcome of the battle. Others filled the gaps. But look at modern rocket systems: They are operated by groups of soldiers, whereby each is responsible for a part of the whole. If only one person fails, the combat mission cannot be performed. Sabre and rocket--the marshall concludes that military superiority in our days is essentially the superiority of a combat collective composed of the coordinated actions of many people. Thus, the role of the individual in combat increases.

Well and good, one might say. This seems pertinent for rockets. But what is the situation for the motorized infantryman? Aren't they closer to the sabre? Couldn't a daredevil or bold fellow do the fighting for two or three men?

For Lt Col Schneeberg, commander of the "Thomas Müntzer" motorized infantry regiment, "sometimes, anything is possible". Then, he continues: "But military developments are changing the combat operations of the motorized infantry. For example, the number of tanks and armored vehicles has increased enormously--even in the NATO armed forces where they understand how to fully utilize their protective properties. The motorized infantry have to adjust to this. Consequently, it is expected that the motorized infantry squads will, as a rule,

encounter enemy fire-nests, containing automatic weapons and cannon-equipped tanks and APCs. And a squad of armored infantry with their vehicle usually forms such a fire-nest which likewise cannot be held down with infantry weapons alone. Then the gunner in the turret of the APC must open fire at great range. Then the submachine-gunner and light machine-gunner have to fight the armored infantry covered by the approaching vehicle. The tank-busting gunner has to hit the enemy tank or APC with the first shot, if possible. When storming the enemy object by a part of the infantry, fire has to be continued while the others throw hand grenades. And, finally, the armored close-combat unit has to be given appropriate fire support until final destruction of the tank. And furthermore: Where is it a rule that the motorized infantry squad will face only one armored target? There can be several of them. On the battlefield, there are no specified guidelines as on the paradeground, which the tanks and other vehicles have to follow. In the terrain, each one seeks the best route for his intentions and the most advantageous position."

Let us discuss the lieutenant colonel's statements. Reinforced armored infantry battalions of the West German Army attack with 77 tanks and armored vehicles, conduct delaying action with 64 and use 39 of them in defense. In addition, other weapons are used, like guided AT rockets, howitzers and antiaircraft on SP carriages, bazookas and tank-busters and--especially in attack--combat helicopters. Thus, in defending against an attack, a motorized infantry squad may face two armored targets, one guided AT rocket system, several bazookas and one machinegun.

Junior officer Korber demonstrated such a situation with his squad for ARMEE RUNDSCHAU (AR). His suggested attack outline, shown in the photo on page 38, illustrates his combat deployment. There is no one left to help elsewhere. The result: If one soldier fails, even for a moment, or if only one weapon is destroyed, then both the execution of combat tasks and even the existence of the squad is placed in question. Let us not forget: The enemy tank can fire its 105 mm cannon and turret MG at the squad until the tank-busting gunner hits and destroys it. Our own APC is only safe when the MG gunner has neutralized the enemy-guided AT rocket crew. Other combinations are possible, but we will leave off with these two.

Naturally the growing role of the individual in combat is based on the continuing modernization in the armament of our armed forces. Work in this area of our socialist society is not performed for someone's profit, but rather because this is a regional necessity for preserving the peace and to secure a reliable, military protection of our socialist achievements at any time. And thus, the motorized infantry of the National People's Army have modern military equipment adapted to its organization and tactics. A motorized infantry squad is composed of specialists who are equal in their type of specialization to the imperialist enemy. Thus, a submachine gunner is able to operate the light machinegun (1MG), but a first-shot hit by the tank buster or a hit from the first burst of the turret armament, or throwing the AT hand grenade accurately onto the enemy tank, requires specially trained fighters. The tactical-technical differences are too great for anyone to be an all-round fighter. But the sabre, which was discussed initially, makes everyone more or less equal.

It remains to be asked: Is an insight into the tempo and scope of continuing modernization and qualitative refinement of armaments and tactics sufficient to enable every soldier to act synchronously and in coordination in combat? Views of this type expand one's grasp of the whole. A combat training tuned toward modern combat will provide the individual with certain experiences which will cause appropriate actions in case of war. But at the same time, we know that real combat will not be a planned sequence where everyone has a learned role to perform, without encountering resistance. And one cannot be taught to think and act in the interest of the group when one's own life is in danger.

The prerequisites for all this must be experienced. This was stressed in a report to the 12th SED delegate's conference of the National People's Army: "The soldier takes action in full consciousness of his responsibility for the combat effectiveness and combat readiness if he has the trust of his class comrades and if he is viewed as a fellow fighter."

After a tactical exercise, five young party members from the "Thomas Müntzer" unit confirmed this from their own experiences.

Corporal Lehmann, squad leader: "We participated in a tactical air landing. Some comrades were unrecognizable to me because they suppressed their little weaknesses. It wasn't the unusual flight in the helicopter, but the direct experience of being entrusted with an extremely important mission for the regiment--namely, to form a bridgehead and thus to help other units cross the river."

NCO Braun, platoon leader: "Everything does not always go right. Our company has not been the best for a while. Then, we had to prepare for a combat fire exercise. Would we mess that up too? Where was the force which would pull us upward? Then our company commander did the only correct thing: He spoke confidentially with the soldiers about our problems. In the combat firing, we received a grade 1. The feeling of success and usefullness of each individual was uplifting and is continuing in every task we undertake."

Private Viertel, submachine gunner: "Jointly achieved success always stimulates collective action. When we were underway between the deployment area and the line of attack, a bolt in the transmission of our APC sheared off. The driver couldn't shift and we stopped. Immediately, some soldiers took off the base plate, others loosened the 50 screws. Somebody went looking for the spare bolt. The driver only had to hold out his hand to get what he needed. Thus, our APC was repaired in a short time. We succeeded in getting into the battle order of the company when they reached the line of attack. And even though the attack began right away, we already felt like victors. Can you imagine how that encouraged us!"

NCO Haeger, squad leader: "I would like to say that we instructors repeatedly have to point out that the enemy will come at us with the same fury. And he won't let anyone hide behind the man in front."

Finally, all were of the opinion expressed by Private Rokosch, an AA missile gunner: "What brings us together? Our common efforts to make the peace more secure through high levels of military performance. The help we give each other.

That no one is left in the lurch if he can't quite get something. Military service is not easy and simple for any of us. Where does anyone undergo such physical rigors as here? Who would have wanted to be so restricted? Finally, almost everyone has a girl, many even have families. From my childhood, I was an athlete. So I organized the members of my group and train with them. I help them so they will be successful in training. They respect me for it. And they also listen to me, follow my advice which I, as a party member, seek to give in the interest of us all. For some though, there is so much personal life, even mundane things, in the daily soldier's life, that they do not take it so well...."

Common understanding and comradly aid in combat training: they serve for developing conscious co-responsibility in the individual which is indespensible in mastering complex combat situations in war.

What is the man in the field still worth?

We posed this question on the basis of the massive supply of modern weapon systems on the battlefield. The answer is sought in the smallest tactical unit of the motorized infantry, the squad, where changes in armament are often not so prominent; finally, the motorized infantry still fight on foot. A situation like that demonstrated by NCO Korber need not occur, but must always be expected. And not only then will the NCO need each of his men: As knowledgeable fighters, as specialists, as soliders feeling responsible for a "part of the whole."

9280
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CDU-PROTESTANT CHURCH DISCUSSIONS PUBLISHED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 1, Jan 82 pp 87-88

[Christian Charity Service and Political Action As Exemplified by Aid to the Disabled in the GDR"--Review by Prof Dr Klemens Richter, chief counselor, Catholic Theology Faculty, Muenster University; of "Tradition und Verpflichtung. Dienst am Naechsten --humanistische Tradition und schoepferische Verwirklichung in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (Tradition and Duty. Serving Your Fellowman--Humanist Tradition and Creative Work in Socialist Society), a collection of the discussions at the 20 Feb 81 CDU-Protestant Church Symposium, published by the executive committee secretariat of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, 1981, 77 pp, 1.00 mark]

[Text] On the occasion of the 98th birthday of Otto Nuschke, from 1948 until 1957 chairman of the CDU in the Soviet Zone of Occupation and the GDR, as well as deputy minister president and director of the office for ecclesiastical affairs from 1949 until his death in 1957, the presidium of the executive council of the CDU met with dignitaries of the Protestant church and university theologians on 20 February 1982 to "discuss in the light of historical experience the present and future responsibilities of Christian citizens in our country"--as stated by Gerald Goetting, CDU chairman and deputy to the chairman of the council of state and to the president of People's Chamber. The conference sought to summarize "what substantively has long been the midpoint of our efforts: responsible service to mankind, and in so doing to take up the rich humanistic tradition of Christian efforts for the welfare of mankind and bringing it creatively to realization in cooperation for the development and expansion of socialism."

The focus was to have been work in the area of health as well as efforts on behalf of the aged and the handicapped. Nonetheless, not a great deal new was to be learned from the papers and discussions of this conference (1). It is amazing to read again and again how leading CDU functionaries in the GDR try to bring the Gospel, Christian tradition and socialist society into harmony with each other. This time Goetting sought to enlist Saint Elizabeth of Thuringia, whose 750th anniversary will be celebrated in November, Martin Luther, Mother Theresa and Albert Schweitzer--a nice balance of Catholic and Protestant images--to bind together both churches with the theme of the conference. Goetting was full of praise for the efforts undertaken on behalf of the handicapped in the GDR, stressing particularly the work of the Catholic Caritas organization as well as the Protestant Deaconate. The director of Diaconical Organization of the Domestic Mission and the Protestant Relief Organization in the GDR, Senior Church Councilor Ernst Petzold, was the only one to pour any water in the wine of praise expressed by the other speakers. He gave recognition to what had been

accomplished by ecclesiastical organizations, but also stated, "We have no reason to close our eyes to problems which have not yet been resolved ...Let us do something in the sign of hope, to which our Christian faith will give us strength."

It is really a remarkable process that can be inferred from the conference papers --the representatives of the state and the party trying to paint an attractive picture of state and church in harmony. The representatives of the church--the Catholic church was not represented--and the theological faculties trying, without disavowing this official line too strongly, to bring its concerns into play and to make distinctions. Nuschke's successor in the office of secretary of state for ecclesiastical affairs, Klaus Gysi, though thanking the CDU members "who, in the state and church institutions for health and social service, are serving the handicapped and the disabled" produced a masterpiece of official policy with respect to the churches in his speech. He thanked primarily those "who are active in in clerical positions, in the management of church affairs, in synods and parish councils and who are thereby giving witness to and living out by their example the freedom and normality of Christian life in our socialist society." Yet what occupied him most particularly was the formula of "the Church, not against and not parallel to, but within socialism." In doing so he referred to the conference of 6 March 1978 between the leaders of the Protestant church and Erich Honecker, at which it became clear "that we have accommodated ourselves to a long period of cooperation between Christians and socialists and to a long period of constructive coexistence of both state and church . . . Our ecclesiatical policy is not something to be worked out from day to day, it points far into the future, it is conceived for the period of history which lies before us."

The individual conference reports evidence a number of interesting aspects which cannot be dealt with fully here, such as a new Saint Elizabeth image elaborated by church council or Herbert von Hintzenstern which could have positive results in ecumenical efforts. Lothar Nitter of the church of Saint John reported on "Work with the Disabled--Responsibility and Opportunity for the Churches." Pastor Werner Lucas outlined how, apart from organized society, the lack of understanding of the handicapped consists of helplessness. Guenter Wirth, editor-in-chief of the Protestant monthly journal STANDPUNKT and member of the CDU presidium, sought, at the end of the conference, to link the churches' contributions to the line of the state. Thus "the Diaconate, service to mankind, would have to be viewed from the perspective of the political diaconate," as "the uniting of purposeful social commitment and altruistic individual service." There was also the hint of gentle criticism, that state institutions looked favorably upon the diaconical services of the churches in the areas of health care and social service and recognized it as such while allowing Christians little scope beyond that. Wirth remarked on this point, "I believe that this is really jumping to conclusions, because the recognition of the diaconical work of Christians--and this is the recognition of Christian action in general--in such respect for concrete service is, in the end, to be found the respect for the substance of our witness."

The reports submitted to this conference are a good example of the significance of the CDU in the GDR. They have been successful in initiating discourse between the representatives of the state and the party and ecclesiastical institutions on such themes as this, which otherwise would hardly come to the attention of the public, not to speak of being discussed with the churches themselves. This refers almost without exception to the Protestant churches alone. The Catholic church has from the very beginning stuck with its avowed position: why talk to the CDU when, in the end it is the SED that lays down the rules.

(1) A more systematic and thoroughly documented treatment is that by G. Helwig, "Am Rande der Gesellschaft. Alte und Behinderte in beiden deutschen Staaten" [On the Fringes of Society. The Aged and the Handicapped in Both German States], Cologne 1980. See also M. E. Ruban, "Gesundheitswesen in der DDR" [Health Care in the GDR], Berlin 1981.

9878
CSO: 2300/144

CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY REVIEWED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 6, Jun 81 pp 117-133

[Article by Janusz Skodlarski: "Poland's Contribution to International Development Strategy: International Strategy for the Second Decade of Development"]

[Text] From the standpoint of the developing countries, properly speaking, the First Decade of Development (1961-1970) ended in a fiasco. During that period no changes were made in the structure of international economic relations, and their principles and mechanisms have not been altered either. The premises of the international development strategy for the Second Decade of Development (1971-1980) were more concrete and basically they comprised all the fields of activity of the UN system, while at the same time linking them to political conditions (international security, complete decolonization). The international development strategy for the Second Decade represented the first such broad-scale attempt at a comprehensive integration of the program of the UN system in the field of global economic relations.[1]

The adopted strategy presupposed, among other things, that in developing countries the mean annual gross increase in national income would be 6 percent; in industrial output, 8 percent; in agricultural output, 4 percent; in imports, at least 7 percent and in exports, more than 7 percent. The international development strategy included recommendations for international action in such fields as: international trade, economic cooperation and regional integration of the developing countries, the financing of their development with 1 percent of the gross national income of the industrialized countries), science and technology, human resources, development of production, planning in the developing countries. Compared with the First Decade a new and noteworthy element in the program was the emphasis on the need for structural and institutional reforms and the necessity of a more uniform division of national income in the underdeveloped countries. The program for the Second Decade of Development also stressed the simultaneous development of agriculture and industry as complementary and interacting fields of economy. By the same token, proper conclusions have been drawn from the underestimation of these fields in the program for the First Decade. In addition, special attention was paid to assistance relating to the formation of the socioeconomic infrastructure, the training of technical personnel, the role of science and technology in accelerating economic development and the implementation of appropriate measures to mobilize and properly exploit native resources. The developing countries pledged to increase by 1980 the funds they themselves allot for their own economic development to a level reaching 20 percent of their gross national incomes.[2]

The socialist countries withdrew from the Preparatory Committee working on the premises for the Second Decade of Development. The principal cause of the resignation of the socialist countries from participation in preparatory work was the informal inclusion of the FRG in the Preparatory Committee at a time (1968) when that country was not a member of the United Nations. In justifying Poland's withdrawal from the Preparatory Committee, the Polish representative also named another reason: he declare that in 1968 at 23rd Session of the UN General Assembly, the Polish delegation made "every possible effort" to revise certain guidelines for drafting more effective (internal and external) means of accelerating the socioeconomic development of individual underdeveloped countries but the proposed corrections were not adopted in the final text of the resolution.[3]

These reservations were elaborated in the joint declaration of 21 September 1970 of the socialist countries.[4] According to the postulates of the socialist countries, the assumptions for the international development strategy for the 1971-1980 period should define more consistently qualitative ways and means of improving the situation of the developing countries instead of being based on fixed guidepost indicators. These indicators, which on the whole were determined on the global scale, did not allow for the situation of particular countries. In international development strategy, the socialist countries wanted greater stress to be placed on the interdependence existing between peace, international security and disarmament, on the one hand, and international economic cooperation and the possibilities for the implementation of the postulates of the developing countries, on the other. The declaration pointed to the need to remove the principal impediments to the development of Third World countries in the form of all forms of neocolonial exploitation, as well as to the need to assure the full sovereign right of countries to develop their own natural resources and create a strong national industry. The socialist countries expressed their conviction that no plans or programs for development could assure real progress unless radical socioeconomic reforms were carried out. The implementation of these tasks presupposes the formation of a strong state and cooperative sector in the developing countries. The socialist countries put forward the thesis that the mobilization of the material and human resources of Third World countries will be of fundamental importance to their socioeconomic development.

Poland and other socialist countries declared their readiness for further development of all forms of cooperation with the underdeveloped countries. They made a proviso, however, that the postulate concerning the allotment of 1 percent of gross national income for the implementation of the tasks of the Second Decade of Development could not apply to the socialist countries, inasmuch as they did not bear the historic responsibility for the backwardness of the developing countries. The responsibility for this situation should be shouldered only by the former colonial powers. Moreover, the socialist countries pointed out that the strategy for the Second Decade cannot be focused solely on the developing countries and ignore the economic problems of the industrialized states, the more so as they have been affecting progress in the underdeveloped countries.

Although they did not directly take part in the drafting of the adopted document for the international development strategy (25th Session of the UN General Assembly, October 1970), the socialist countries did influence some of its provisions--among others, those relating to the need for structural reforms, a fuller utilization of native material, financial and human resources, and the training of specialist

personnel. This was a result of a drive conducted for many years by the representatives of the socialist countries. Polish diplomats distinguished themselves by their initiative in this respect.

The adoption of the document on international development strategy did not end the work on the new strategy. This work was continued in the 1970s. Poland contributed to the development of the strategy by: 1) presenting postulates of political, economic, and social nature (chiefly at the forum of the UN General Assembly, the Second Economic and Financial Committee, and the UN Economic and Social Council); 2) submitting concrete projects and motions to these bodies.

Poland, like the other socialist countries, has attached special importance to political and other factors influencing the development of international economic cooperation.[5] A particularly urgent question has been the liquidation of all forms of neocolonial exploitation in international relations. The Polish raison d'etat has consistently been in favor of the development of an international economic cooperation based on equitable principles and equal rights of all states. Poland's representatives at the United Nations have been demanding the abolition of all forms of economic discrimination and barriers to the development of international economic cooperation.[6] At 27th Session of the UN General Assembly (25 November 1972) the socialist countries submitted a draft of a declaration in support of economic, commercial and scientific-technical cooperation of all states on the basis of equal rights.[7] This cooperation--as stated in the declaration--should meet the strivings and interests of all nations and consequently result in improvements of social welfare and a more rapid development of the underdeveloped countries.

Poland's representatives at the United Nations have repeatedly drawn attention to the interdependence of peace and international security, on the one hand, and economic cooperation, on the other. The PRL [Polish People's Republic] minister of foreign affairs, Stefan Olszowski stressed in his speech during the general debate at the 28th Session of the UN General Assembly (27 September 1973) that a permanent world peace is impossible without the development of broad economic cooperation among the countries of the entire world and, conversely, global economic cooperation requires the assurance of peace and political cooperation. The historic decisions of the CSCE, which added a new dimension to East-West relations, while at the same time influencing the development of cooperation among other continents and their security, were mentioned in this connection. Poland was interested in the development of cooperation with all regions of the world. The Polish delegate W. Jurasz declared on 5 October 1971 at the Economic and Financial Committee that Poland supports initiatives intended to remove political and ideological barriers in international relations.

A condition for accelerating the development of the underdeveloped countries is--as emphasized by Poland's representative, Antoni Czarkowski at 30th Session of the UN General Assembly--peace and international security as well as progress in disarmament. He stated that the implementation of Resolution 3254 of the 29th [Session of the] UN General Assembly, which called upon the permanent members of Security Council to reduce military budgets by 10 percent and allot part of the thus-saved funds to development aid, would enable the United Nations to provide more effective assistance in this respect.[9]

Why have the Polish representatives to the economic bodies of the UN system been placing such strong emphasis on political factors? The belief is that this did not concern solely the pursuit of propaganda aims ensuing from ideology and foreign policy, contrary to what was thought in the West. Poland in the 1970s expanded its international economic activities, whose success hinged at some extent on the political atmosphere and international agreements. Poland attached importance to advantageous cooperation with the West and to gaining economic influence in the developing countries. Moreover, a reduction in international tension and armaments would result in increasing the budget for [Poland's] own economic purposes.

Poland's representatives to the economic bodies of the United Nations have been devoting most of their attention to strictly economic problems. They pointed to the need to work out new mechanisms of international cooperation, especially as regards international trade, technical-scientific cooperation, industrial coproduction, and currency relations. The view of the Polish side has been that cooperation between industrialized states and developing countries should be based on long-range agreements and coordination of development plants. An important function has also been ascribed to regional cooperation on particular continents. Foreign aid was to play a complementary role, and its principal form should be international division of labor that allows for the interests of all states and regions.[10]

The Polish side has often drawn attention to the role of science and technology in international cooperation. During 26th Session of the UN General Assembly on 5 October 1971 the PRL Foreign Affairs Minister Stefan Jedrychowski declared that:

"...activities of the United Nations in the field of science and technology should be oriented not only toward direct and emergency assistance in this respect to the developing countries, important as this may be, but also toward providing and improving the conditions for universal technological progress. To this end, the proper agencies of the United Nations should organize an exchange of [information about scientific and technological] accomplishments among the developed countries. Scientific and technological cooperation as it is understood now should comprise the full cycle of development, that is, research, development, and application."[11]

Polish representatives have been expressing the conviction that the UN Development Fund [UNDP] implements the most effective scientific and technological cooperation. Poland takes part in the work of the UNDP and has postulated a broader utilization of voluntary contributions of the socialist countries by the administration.[12] In addition, Polish experts have been taking part in preparatory work on the reform of the currency system, chiefly at the GATT bodies.[13]

Some of the postulates presented were of a verbal nature. Even those concerning trade and scientific-technical cooperation were translated into reality only to a degree. Some (political reservations, socioeconomic effects of disarmament) were purely declarative. Taken together, they provided the broader context and necessary justification for concrete Polish proposals made at the United Nations. They also have made a fundamental contribution to the program of the international development strategy for the 1970s.

Of the greatest importance in this respect is a resolution, adopted on Poland's initiative at the 53rd Session of the Economic and Social Council (1972), which

links agricultural reform to the whole of both internal and external means in the field of socioeconomic development. This assured the attainment of social progress and justice, constituting a fundamental element of development strategy of particular countries in the context of their development plans or priorities. The resolution encouraged the interested governments to consider agrarian reform as an important and integral part of national strategies for achieving the goals of the Second Decade of Development.[14]

It was to Poland's credit that it introduced [into consideration] problems of the cooperative movement at UNIDO, FAO, the Economic and Social Council, and the UN General Assembly, where these problems were linked to large-scale programs for cooperation and technical assistance, placing it in the general economic context with respect to the international development strategy. As a result, the new strategy for the 1970s was complemented with the recommendation that, depending on the socioeconomic structure and specific features of the individual countries, attention be paid to the role that the public and cooperative sectors can play in increasing production.

Poland took part at the United Nations in shaping the new principles and mechanisms for the regulation of international economic relations. Of major importance in this respect were the Polish initiatives regarding studies of long-range development trends in the world economy. These studies conditioned changes in the functioning of international cooperation. For the first time in the history of the United Nations, on Poland's initiative, the General Assembly adopted at its 30th Session on 15 December 1975 a resolution for investigating long-range trends of regional economic development.[15] Such studies were to be undertaken by regional economic commissions of the United Nations. On their basis the UN Secretariat was obligated to draft a report on long-range trends and programs of the economic development and interdependence of regions, as well as methodological directions for analysis of these trends in individual regions. In its preamble, the Polish resolution contained important formulations of the interdependence of peace and security with economic development. These questions were again raised by the Polish delegation at 32d Session of the UN General Assembly. The resolution adopted (8 December 1977) on the basis of a consensus recommends the drafting and presentation at the next session of the General Assembly of an interim report concerning an integral socioeconomic analysis for the periods until 1990 and 2000.[16] Research into long-range trends was again considered in 1979 at 34th Session of the UN General Assembly. The main role in drafting and negotiating the draft of the resolution was played by the Polish delegation.[17] The resolution stresses that knowledge of long-range trends of economic and social development represents a solid scientific basis that is useful to the process of policymaking and decisionmaking with respect to development strategy and economic cooperation, both on the national and regional scale and on the global scale. This document provides a specific plan of action regarding long-range and global economic forecasting. During the discussion at Economic and Financial Committee II concerning economic trends the Polish delegation was greatly commended for tis initiative. It was emphasized that work in this field serves the interests of both the developing and the developed countries.[18]

Poland made a major contribution to the determination of the principles of cooperation with respect to technical assistance, utilization of material resources, and protection of natural environment.

On Polish initiative, in 1973 additional criteria for the division of UNDP funds were introduced. These criteria give priority to the weaker countries and those existing in a particularly difficult situation, and they allow for internal efforts to overcome backwardness as well as for the effectiveness of the implementation of the assistance program. The socialist countries opposed the striving of many developing countries to transform the UNDP into an instrument for the transfer of means from the more developed countries to countries existing at a lower level of development. As the socialist countries see it, the UNDP is not limited to unilateral services but assures for all participants a share in the benefits and advantages ensuing from such cooperation.[19] On Poland's initiative, too, a compromise solution has been reached regarding the scope of the division into assisting countries and countries benefiting from UNDP assistance. For high-income countries, a requirement for benefiting from the services of the UNDP will be such an annual growth rate of their outlays as would enable them to transform themselves in 1981 into net sharers--their contributions to the UNDP would exceed the amount of the benefits they receive from the UNDP for their domestic programs. Owing to this decision, the universal nature of the UNDP was maintained.[20]

As regards benefiting from material resources, Poland has continued to support the striving of the developing countries to assure their permanent sovereignty over their own natural wealth, without, however, undertaking explicit initiatives in this respect. It should be borne in mind that this important endeavor was undertaken by the Polish delegation as early as at Sixth Session of the UN General Assembly in 1952, and continued during the 1960s and 1970s.[21] In addition, in the early 1970s, Poland committed itself to the cause of a peaceful utilization of the seas and the seabed. In 1971, at 25th Session of hte UN General Assembly, the delegations of Poland and other socialist countries abstained from voting on a resolution concerning the peaceful utilization of the sea and the seabed. That resolution was unacceptable to the socialist countries, because it presupposed revisions of virtually all the existing maritime conventions. The socialist countries held to the position that these conventions, which practice has confirmed, should remain binding.[22] On 17 August 1972, Poland's representative, Wlodzimierz Natorf, speaking in behalf of the delegations of Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the USSR, presented the declaration of the socialist countries at the session of the UN Committee for the Peaceful Utilization of the Seabed. The declaration opposed the establishment of wide coastal zones and the reservation of exclusive rights for littoral countries. The socialist countries supported a reasonable compromise allowing for the interests of both the littoral states and the countries engaging in deep-sea fishing.[23] They failed, however, to influence the decision on this issue. The adopted solutions do not satisfy the states traditionally exploiting these zones, including Polish deep sea fishing which thus is sustaining considerable losses relating to the implementation of costly bilateral agreements with littoral states in Africa and America. On Poland's initiative, the states of the Baltic Littoral signed in 1973 a convention for fishery and the protection of live resources of the Baltic Sea and the Baltic states (the Gdansk Convention), and in 1974, a convention for protecting the marine environment of the Baltic (the Helsinki Convention).[24]

In the 1970s, considerable importance was attached to promoting the protection of the natural environment. Early in the last decade there appeared the report, MAN AND HIS ENVIRONMENT, by the then UN secretary general, U Thant. Poland joined in

the related activities by, among other things, taking part in the preparations for the world conference in Stockholm, which was convened in 1972. However, Poland did not participate in that conference owing to the exclusion of the GDR from it.[25] By virtue of the decision of the Stockholm Conference, the UN Environmental Protection Program commenced activities as of 1 January 1973. Poland took part in the work under that program, declaring its willingness to contribute 5 million zlotys annually.[26] Poland was the first of the socialist countries to undertake--in cooperation with the UNDP and the WHO--a program for scientific research work relating to the field of the natural environment of man.[27]

New International Economic Order

The work on the international strategy for the Second Decade of Development resulted in the crystallization of the premises of a new international economic order. The program for that new order was formulated at Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly (9 April-2 May 1974), convened at the initiative of the president of Algeria, Houari Boumedienne. This important international action was dictated by the times, since the world's previous economic difficulties became compounded by the outbreak of the fuel crisis, causing an exacerbation of the contradictions of interests within the group of the industrialized capitalist countries, as well as further economic difficulties among the developing countries. In such a situation the previous mechanisms for regulating international economic cooperation had ceased to function.

The UN member countries decided to undertake urgent efforts to establish a new international economic order based on justice, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interests and cooperation among all states regardless of their socioeconomic system, which would make it possible to eliminate the gap in development between the developed and developing countries.[28] These principles, mentioned in the declaration of the international economic order, were not new elements. They had been put forward for years by the socialist countries, and especially by the representatives of Poland. They were contained, like other points of the program for the new order, in the international development strategy for the 1970s. Under the new international economic order, however, their importance increased and they were linked to concrete measures and specific undertakings and directions of action.

This concerned the following problems:

1) international trade (determination of just price ratios between raw materials and industrial and investment goods, acceleration of exports by the developing countries);

2) international currency system and financing of the development of the developing countries (the ways and means of adapting the world financing and aid system were determined: transfer of 0.7 percent of gross national income by the developed countries for the developmental needs of the developing countries, an increase in assistance by the United Nations, amortization of part of indebtedness);

3) industrialization (the discussion concerned means of accelerating the share of the developing countries in world production--among other things, through relocation of industry to the developing countries);

4) technology transfer (it was decided to assure the selection of newest technologies, assure assistance in the formation of domestic technologies, and start preparations to draft a code [of provisions governing] technology transfer);

5) nutrition and agriculture (the recommendations made pertained to supply of means of production at moderate prices, food assistance, voluntary contributions to the International Fund for the Development of Agriculture);

6) development of cooperation among Third World countries;

7) assistance to states in maintaining sovereignty over their material resources;

8) regulation and monitoring of multinational corporations;

9) a special program for the developing countries most affected by the economic crisis;

10) drafting of a charter of economic rights and duties of the states;

11) strengthening of the role of the UN system in international economic cooperation.

The program for the new international economic order thus is chiefly focused on external sources for the development of Third World countries. True enough, the developing countries acknowledge in theory the fundamental role of internal factors in the process of their own development, but in practice this does not prevent them from making a broad variety of claims concerning the transfer of assistance and means from outside. As a result, the assurance of priority for the share of internal factors on the socioeconomic development of the developing countries, which has been so insistently pursued by Poland and other socialist countries, has not been reflected in these documents. The pressure by the Third World countries has been so strong that the most important solutions adopted were in accord with their interests. The initiatives by the developing countries ensued from the idea of the compensation they demanded from the industrialized states--the rich North, i.e., the capitalist and socialist states--compensation for the losses they were sustaining as a result of the fuel and raw-materials crisis. The socialist countries found it unacceptable to be placed on the same plane with the Western states. This was pointed out by the Polish and USSR ministers of foreign affairs. Minister S. Olszowski stated:

"Also unacceptable is the view that the socialist countries should together with the developed countries shoulder the the burden ensuing from the energy and raw-materials crisis, considering that the current wealth of the developed countries is traceable to colonial exploitation. In their history, neither Poland nor any other socialist countries has chosen the path of colonial expropriation of the wealth of other nations."[29]

Pursuant to the above position, the socialist countries declared themselves opposed to the transfer of part of their national income to the development of the underdeveloped countries.

Under the pressure of the developing countries, the new international economic order was basically reduced to a program of assistance for the Third World countries.

Poland supported the development of global international cooperation, with special consideration of the interests of the developing countries. The Polish deputy minister of foreign affairs, Stanislaw Trepczynski, speaking at Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly (4 September 1975), formulated three assumptions of global development strategy: 1) development and cooperation on the world scale should allow for the interests of all states; 2) development and cooperation on the regional scale and within the framework of integration groupings may not discriminate against states not belonging to these groupings or belonging to other groupings; 3) development on the national scale should proceed on the basis of a country's sovereign right to choose its own development strategy and dispose as it wishes of its own natural resources.[30] In view of the needs of global economic cooperation, Poland supported strengthening the role of the Economic and Social Council.

Poland's position was that strengthening the cooperation among all states regardless of their system of society and economic level would serve to create a solid foundation stimulating the development of the underdeveloped countries. Poland, on its part, proposed in lieu of financial aid an economic cooperation based on the following principles: equality of opportunity and partnership, mutual advantages, preferred status for the state sector of the developing country, favorable credit terms, linkage of economic assistance to terms of trade and industrial cooperation, and basing of the economic relations between the socialist states and the developing countries on planned and long-range ties.[31] It should be emphasized that these were program declarations which have not always been in accord with international practice.

Thus, Poland did not consent to the desire of the developing countries to subordinate the other states to their interests, but it expressed its assent to a certain preferential treatment of these countries, for example, as regards special customs preferences within the framework of the UNCTAD.[32]

While expressing the above reservations, the socialist countries at the same time approved of the new economic order and commenced its implementation. On the other part, the largest capitalist states did not support at the Sixth Special Session the program for the international roder, since the concepts it formulated were intended to restrict and eliminate colonial and neocolonial forms of domination and exploitation of the developing countries. The most determined opposition to the new order was voiced by the United States. On the other hand, the greatest understanding for these claims was demonstrated by the Scandinavian states and the Netherlands.[33]

After 1974, the system of economic organizations of the United Nations (the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the UNCTAD, the UNIDO) commenced the implementation and concretization of the postulates of the new international economic order. Poland, too, took part in this work.

W. Jurasz, in his speech at the 63rd Session of the Economic and Social Council (8 July 1977), pointed out that the growing interdependence of the economic growth of individual countries required more active cooperation on the world scale and the assurance of peace and international security.[34] The Polish delegate was convinced that an effective implementation of the order required the fulfillment of certain prerequisites, i.e., the elimination of all forms of colonial and neocolonial exploitation, the introduction of social and economic reforms, development planning and maximal mobilization of internal resources. These postulates have long ago

been put forward by the socialist countries.[35] An important place in the work to establish the international economic order has been occupied by studies of long-range trends of world economic development, commenced on Poland's initiative. These studies produced interesting results, but certain governments with other viewpoints as to the future of the world economy made their implementation impossible.[36]

A step forward in implementing the new international economic order was the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States, voted at 24th Session of the UN General Assembly (12 December 1974). That document was drafted on the initiative of the president of Mexico, L. Echeverria, with substantial active participation by the Polish delegation. Polish experts took part in the activities of the working group which drafted the Charter of Rights and Duties. The charter proclaimed principles of international economic relations based on the concept of broad economic sovereignty. Among other things, the charter established that every state has the right of free exercise of complete sovereignty over its wealth and material resources, as well as the right of controlling foreign investments on its territory, inclusive of the freedom of nationalization, expropriation, or transfer of foreign-owned property. These decisions met with sharp opposition from the principal capitalist countries (the United States, the FRG, Great Britain). The charter also recommends preferential treatment of the economic interests of the developing countries. Article 20 specifically concerns the socialist countries and establishes that the developing countries should pay adequate attention to the possibility of broadening their trade with the socialist countries. Moreover, the charter mentions among the fundamental principles of international economic realtions the principle of peaceful coexistence and proclaims the principle of nondiscrimination in economic relations. This document expresses support for disarmament efforts, viewing them as a chance for accelerating the development of the Third World. Six capitalist countries voted agasint this charter: Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, the FRG, the United States, and Great Britain.[38]

The issue of restricting the exploitation of the developing countries made further progress owing to the formation of the Commission for Multinational Corporations. For may years, Poland has been supporting controls on the progits of multinational corporations.

Some progress as regards the implementation of the economic order has also occurred in the field of international trade. Highly important work on an integrated raw materials system has been undertaken at the UNCTAD. The industrialized capitalist countries granted certain preferences to imports from the developing countries. Poland took an active part in this work, demanding the liberalization of world trade, multilateral trade negotiations, and the search for new means and mechanisms that could accelerate the development of international trade. In practice, Poland energized its trade relations (it signed an agreement with 42 developing countries and consented to grant them preferential discounts on imports), endeavoring to conclude long-term agreements.[39]

Work has also been started as regards technology transfers and attempts to initiate cooperation in the field of energy. Poland's representatives have put forward at the United Nations many proposals concerning energy cooperation. At the 30th Session of the UN General Assembly on 27 October 1975, the Polish delegation presented a postulate for the drafting of a global project regarding coal processing.[40]

In 1977, at the 63rd Session of the Economic and Social Council much attention was devoted to the directions of further work of the United Nations with respect to natural resources and fuels. The discussion proceeded chiefly on the basis of a resolution--initiated by Poland and adopted by the UN Committee for Natural Resources--specifying further directions of work to utilize coal as a chemical raw material, for the production of gases and liquid fuels of high calorific value.[41] In 1978, at the 65th Session of the Economic and Social Council Poland submitted a proposal for undertaking, within the framework of the United Nations, technical-economic studies of the extraction and utilization of coal, as well as a proposal for establishing an international coordination center for the gasification and liquefaction of coal. That initiative was unanimously accepted by the session participants.[42]

The developing countries have been exploiting the fuel-energy crisis as a means of exerting pressure on the developed capitalist countries. They have made the prices and guarantees of future supply of crude oil at a level satisfying the needs of the capitalist countries contingent on obtaining economic-financial concessions from the developed countries. This aspect was pointed out by, among others, the representatives of Iran and Bangladesh during the debate at the 64th Session of the Economic and Social Council (6 July-4 August 1977).

An important place in the new international economic order was to be occupied by a system for economic cooperation among the developing countries. Polish experts have pointed to the need to consider in that cooperation system the correlations between regional and interregional plans, studies of long-range trends, and activization of the United Nations, and especially of the regional commissions, in initiating cooperation among the developing countries as well as interregional cooperation. The fruitful regional cooperation in Europe and the role of the UN ECE in stimulating it were cited as an example.[43] The developing countries at the United Nations forum supported the development of cooperation and regional and interregional integration (Iran, Mexico, Brazil). The first instances of this type of cooperation were pointed out, namely, the Amazon River Treaty,[44] the Argentine government's proposal concerning negotiations about a hydroelectric power plant project, and the assistance of OPEC countries (2 percent of their national income) to the nonpetroleum less developed countries.[45]

Despite concrete accomplishments, the implementation of the program for the new order is progressing rather slowly. In 1976 30th Session the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution expressing anxiety about the slow rate of introduction of the new order. A year later, at 32d Session, the General Assembly expressed the view that negotiations on the economic order have produced limited results. A committee was appointed for the purpose of monitoring the implementation of the decisions and agreements reached in the negotiations to establish the new order, and the initiation of such negotiations.[46] It was the developing countries that were the most alarmed by the sluggish pace of introduction of the new order, and at successive sessions of the UN General Assembly they have been voicing growing disappointment and impatience.

The developed capitalist countries, on whom rests the onus of the implementation of the new order, are opposed to safeguarding the long-range interests of the developing countries under that order. They apply more often a policy of emergency

rebates, for example, reductions in the indebtedness of the developing countries or certain priorities for imports from the raw materials countries. The mightiest capitalist countries affirm the thesis put forward by the socialist countries, namely, that the economic system should evolve in the interest of all states instead of considering the needs of the developing countries alone.[47]

There also still exist divergencies between the position of the socialist countries and that of the developing countries. In 1978 at the 32d Session of the UN General Assembly the attitude of the Group of 77 toward the socialist countries had worsened. The developing countries exert pressure on the socialist countries in the expectation that their financial demands would be met.[48] Representatives of Third World countries (Mexico, Iran, Sudan) in their speeches at the United Nations voiced distrust in their own domestic possibilities and demanded foreign aid as the most effective means of economic development.[49] Such an attitude is not approved by the socialist countries. To be sure, they do not accept financial obligations but, insofar as they can, they provide aid to the developing countries. The socialist countries consistently adhere to the view that the most effective factor in a rapid development of productive forces is the mobilization of internal resources and the training of native personnel. Moreover, as is known, foreign aid, even when quite substantial, is not always fully utilized for developmental purposes.

In the face of new tasks confronting the United Nations in the 1970s, work to introduce revisions in the organization and functioning of the UN socioeconomic sector has been undertaken. Poland joined in this work, on supporting changes of a moderate nature. In 1977 at the 32d Session of the UN General Assembly, following several years of preparation, important organizational decisions were adopted. The principal issue was the establishment of the Office of the General Director for the Development of International Economic Cooperation, which would coordinate all socioeconomic activities of the United Nations. This was a weighted compromise between the extremist demands of certain developing countries, which clamored for far-reaching changes in the traditional structure of the United Nations, and the majority of the states, including the socialist countries, which believed that the structure of the United Nations should not be entirely subordinated to the developmental problems of the Third World.[50] Poland supported retaining the central role of the Economic and Social Council. On the other hand, the developing countries are interested in the formation of new economic agencies. Ever since the formation of the UNCTAD they have been trying to reduce the importance of the council. The formation of agencies independent of the Economic and Social Council results in the scatter of economic activities and consequently also in lower effectiveness. Of major importance to the functioning of economic cooperation was the resolution to enhance the role of programming and coordination within the UN system, which was adopted in 1977 at the 63rd Session of the council. The authors of that resolution were Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and the Ukraine.[51]

International Development Strategy for the Third Decade. Global Negotiations

In 1973, the first review of international strategy was carried out and it revealed that its assumptions were not being implemented or, in many cases, were being implemented too slowly. Major reservations were elicited by the postulate regarding the transfer of 0.7 percent of national income to development aid. The index of fulfillment of that postulate during the 1970s ranged from 0.34 to 0.36 percent.

Only a few states provided aid exceeding 0.7 percent. During the second half of the 1970s they were Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. The United States and Japan provided aid in the amount of about 0.25 percent.[52] The work on the Integrated Raw Materials Program was halted, and no success had as yet been achieved in the negotiations concerning the technology transfer code. The sole accomplishment of the last stage of the dialogue was the agreement on a code regulating restrictive trade practices. Moreover, during that period the indebtedness of the developing countries further increased (in 1980 it exceeded $400 billion), their economies were not liberated from exploitation by multinational corporations, and their structure in international trade was not improved.

During the 1970-1980 period, despite increased foreign aid, there occurred a decline in the basic indicators (in per capita terms) in most of the less developed countries compared with the preceding decade. To be sure, the growth rate of gross national product reached 6.2 percent annually (compared with the 6 percent envisaged for the Third Decade), but in the nonpetroleum countries that growth rate was 5.4 percent, and in the least developed countries it was only 3.1 percent. The position of the nonpetroleum countries in international trade visibly deteriorated.[53] The divergencies within the bloc of the developing countries intensified. There is visibly increasing dissonance between the OPEC countries and the remaining Third World countries. The industrialized capitalist countries are beginning to concentrate on the solution of their own economic problems in face of the protracted decline in their economic growth rates. The situation is aggravated by the progressive rise in crude oil prices.

In such a situation there has occurred, on the one hand, an escalation of categorical demands by the developing countries and, on the other, growing rigidity of the position of the developed capitalist countries. An impasse has taken place in the dialogue between the North and the South. Thus, the developing countries proposed undertaking so-called global negotiations which created the hope that the impasse in the North-South dialogue would be broken. The idea of global negotiations originates from the decidedly negative assessment of the progress made in implementing the new international order by the developing countries. In 1979, at the 34th Session of the UN General Assembly, the problem of global negotiations was the chief topic of speeches during the economic debate. Two resolutions on this issue were adopted.[54] It was decided that global negotiations should be intended to undertake concrete actions of a comprehensive nature, and that they should pertain to the principal problems in the following fields: raw materials, energy, trade, currency-financial issues and development. It was agreed that global negotiations should proceed within the framework of the UN system, with the decisive role to be played by the General Assembly.

The round of global negotiations commenced during the 11th Special Session of the UN General Assembly (25 August-15 September 1980). Despite intense diplomatic efforts and repeated postponements of the closing day of the session, no agreement on this issue was reached. The initiation of such work was decisively opposed by the delegations of the United States, the FRG, and Great Britain.[55]

On the other hand, agreement was reached on recommendations for international development strategy for the next decade (1981-1990). The need for structural changes in the field of aid, trade, agriculture, industry, finance and energy, with the

obect of achieving more balanced relations on the world scale, was formulated. The need for an analysis of the causes and sources of the world's actual economic situation with the object of working out effective means for its improvement was postulated.[56] Many recommendations and indicators were adopted in the document on the international development strategy for the Third Decade. Individual developing countries determined their own growth indicators, with the proviso that the average annual growth rate of gross national product should be about 7 percent. It was postulated that the real annual growth rate of exports would be 7.5 percent and that of imports, at least 8 percent. Another recommendation was that aid to the Third World should be increased so as to reach the indicator of 0.7 percent of the gross national product of the developed countries. The states which already achieved that indicator, should increase it during the Third Decade. It appears that the adopted indicators are too optimistic. Moreover, the adopted strategy for the coming decade provides for action to improve the situation in the countries that have been most greatly affected by the economic crisis.[57]

Under the new development strategy, the developing countries place still greater emphasis on the decisive role of the external factor in stimulating or curtailing their development potential. Great hopes are placed, in particular, in the transfer of resources. [The developing countries] wish to imbue with a revolutionary content the changes in the structure and regulatory mechanism of international economic relations, and to assure their implementation on the bais of agreements between particular governments which would result in the formation of a centralized international monitoring and regulation system subordinated to the interests of the Third World.[58]

The industrialized capitalist countries favor an evolutionary course of changes and the primacy of the market mechanism in the restructuring of international economic relations. They prefer the structural changes to occur via the marketplace, since then the operating principles of the capitalist economy would not be violated. The West places emphasis on the priority of development efforts of the Third World countries, demanding that more consideration be given to social goals, and especially to meeting basic needs and assuring a socially just distribution of the benefits of development, while at the same time emphasizing the need for realism in the tasks for the comity of nations adopted in the strategy. It is worth noting that the first two of these desiderata were borrowed from the arsenal of arguments of the socialist countries.

The socialist countries supported the new strategy, although they have reservations about some of its assumptions. These reservations concern the issues named previously, namely, the nature of the international strategy (essentially, this was a program of aid to the Third World) and the financing of development aid by socialist countries on the same principles as by capitalist countries. Poland, while it appreciates the importance of external aid, has been consistently supporting the thesis of the full mobilization of internal resources and the necessity of socio-economic reforms with the object of creating solid foundations for economic growth in the developing countries. Poland's position is strengthened by the recent findings of studies by the Independent Commission for International Development under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt, whose final conclusion is that the South is responsible for its own development.[59]

The new development strategy postulates making allowance for the interrelationship of population, raw materials, man's environment, and development. The importance of these problems was stressed in 1979 at the forum of the UN General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. In 1979 at 34th Session, the General Assembly adopted the next Polish resolution to continue research into economic trends.[60] The same session also approved unanimously the resolution, initiated by Poland and voted by the UN Commission for Social Development, for the further implementation of the aims of the Declaration of Social Progress and Development.

An important place in the international strategy for the 1980s is played by science and technology transfer. The expansion of UN programs, especially those of the UNDP, stressed the need to adhere to two basic principles of action of that program: universality and voluntariness in the implementation of the programs drafted.[61] Polish experts pointed out that the transfer of technology should be accompanied by the formation of an appropriate educational and economic infrastructure.

Problems of energy and raw materials need to be urgently solved. Poland presented before the Economic and Social Council (in 1979) a postulate concerning the expansion of international energy cooperation.[62] The Polish delegation takes part in the work of the committee preparing the UN Conference on New and Renewable Energy Sources, as well as in the Committee for Natural Wealth.[63]

The countries most interested in the solution of the energy problem are the issue. The developing countries, on the other hand, demand that other issues, too, be considered at the same time. They make concessions on the fuel question contingent on the progress of negotiations in particular fields. The scale of the demands of the developing countries is large. The industrialized capitalist countries are unwilling to pay such a high price for certain preferences in crude-oil supply. The global negotiations have reached a deep impasse. Crude oil, which in the 1907s led to the commencement of serious dialogue with the Third World, has now become a "political weapon" in international relations. Such a policy is not, however, producing the expected results. Moreover, crude oil has, among other things, revealed the existence of contradictions within the bloc of the developing countries. The absence of unity of action makes questionable the implementation of the goals outlined.

The development strategy for the 1980s was adopted under the considerable impact of the developing countries. The huge volume of Third World issues has dominated the activities of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. This is an alarming phenomenon. It is doubtful, moreover, whether centralized direction of the development processes of the world economy would be fully effective. The world needs global solutions, but individual or group contributions are decisive. It is difficult to find solutions that would satisfy all. In this connection, individual questions are chiefly being studied rather than resolved. Until quite recently it was still believed that the fault is entirely that of the richer countries which show bad faith in the resolution of many issues. Currently, however, this view too does not wholly correspond to truth.[64] The principal barriers to the development of the world economy are barriers of a social rather than natural kind. Their removal should make it possible to multiply human effort and release considerable development potential.[65]

There is no doubt that further "duplication" of economic development on the basis of traditional models is becoming impossible. The principal criteria for the world's further development strategy should be long-range interests of all mankind. There exists an urgent need to undertake more consistent and resolute action in order to reach an agreement on attitudes concerning global negotiations. This is because the documents adopted so far with regard to international development strategy and the new international economic order lack binding power, since they were adopted as resolutions rather than as conventions. Hence, the question is that of drafting conventions. The global negotiations initiated within the UN system have a chance to become the executive organ of the new strategy. Poalnd and other socialist countries supported this initiative, because they recognize that such an undertaking would contribute to eliminating the old economic order. It should be made clear, however, that the socialist countries are not so much in favor of global solutions--which lead to the concept of the United Nations "as a world government," which the socialist countries do not support, and which besides is unrealistic--as in favor of providing conditions for a true cooperation of all countries based on the principle of equality, nondiscrimination and mutual advantages. They demand that a leading role in the negotiations be assured for the UN General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. In the present sitaution, however, the acceptance of concrete solutions regarding the implementation of the new strategy will not be easy. The system of international organizations and conferences becomes a powerless tool in face of the scale of the problems which they are asked to solve. Moreover, as is widely known, much depends on the international political situation.

FOOTNOTES

1. A. Czarkowski, "Genesis and Role of the New International Economic Order," WIES WSPOLCZESNA, No 10, 1997, p 100.

2. K. Piotrowska-Hochfeld, "ONZ a Trzeci Swiat. Zagadnienia Gospodarcze" [The United Nations and the Third World. Economic Problems], Warsaw, 1975, pp 34-42 and 139; "Dokumentacja Prasowa" [Press Documentation], 1970, p 941 A.

3. "Zbior Dokumentow" [Collection of Documents], No 2, 1969, Item 17, and No 12, 1968, Item 242.

4. Doc. A/8074 of 21 September 1970.

5. See TRYBUNA LUDU of 6 October 1971; "Zbior Dokumentow," No 10, 1973, Item 161, pp1503-1515; "Documents Officiels de l'Assemblee generale, deuxieme Commission" [hereinafter referred to as "DAdC"], 29th Session, p 75; "DAdC," 28th Session, p 90.

6. "Dokumentacja Prasowa," 1976, p 1222 B.

7. Doc. A/C.2/L.ł253 and A/8963, p 38.

8. "DAdC," 30th Session, p 29

9. "DAdC," 30th Session, pp 229-230.

10. Doc. A/C.2/SR1459 and A/C2./L.1253; "DAdC," 29th Session, p 71; "Zbior Dokumentow," No 10, 1974, Item 139, pp 1941-1942; "Dokumentacja Prasowa," 1975, p 725 D; K. Piotrowska-Hochfeld, op. cit., p 258.

11. TRYBUNA LUDU of 6 October 1971.

12. Doc. A/C.2/SR.1459; "DAdC," 30th Session, p 230.

13. "DAdC," 26th Session, pp 28-29, and 28th Session, p 99; TRYBUNA LUDU of 29 September 1973.

14. A. Czarkowski, op. cit., p 99.

15. Res. 3503/XXX/ of 15 December 1975.

16. Res. 32/57/XXXII/ of 8 December 1977; see also Rez. 2090/LXIII of the Economic and Social council and doc. E/L 1780.

17. Resz. 3457/XXXIV/ of 29 November 1979.

18. A. Abraszewski, "30th Session of the UN General Assembly," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 3, 1980, p 125.

19. K. Piotrowska-Hochfeld, op. cit., pp 322-323.

20. Poland is a country that contributes to and benefits from UNDP funds. During the years 1967-1971 Poland's contributions to this program were about $2.25 million, while the UNDP's benefits for Poland exceeded $7 million (Ibid., p 324).

21. The UN General Assembly adopted important resolutions on this matter in 1962, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1972, and 1973.

22. Doc. 2749/XXV/ and 2750/XXV/.

23. "Zbior Dokumentow," No 8, 1972, Item 197, pp 1473-1475.

24. A. Czarkowski, J. Woronicki, "Development of International Cooperation for the Protection of Natural Environment," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 12, 1979, p 57.

25. TRYBUNA LUDU of 6 October 1971 and 30 May 1972.

26. "Dokumentacja Prasowa," 1974, p 404 A; see also report on environmental protection drafted with Poland's participation--Rez. 2112/LXIII/, approved at the 63rd Session of the Economic and Social Council (6 July--4 August 1977).

27. "DOkumentacja Prasowa," 1972, p 120 B; TRYBUNA LUDU of 17 October 1972.

28. "Zbior Dokumentow," No 8/9, 1975, Item 72; Resolution 3362 of the UN Special Session of 16 September 1975.

29. "Zbior Dokumentow," No 4, 1974, Item 36, p 308.

30. "Zbior Dokumentow," No 8/9, 1975, Item 71, pp 504-505; W. Jurasz, "The Fourth Special Session of the UN General Assembly," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 12, 1975, pp 160-168.

31. B. Jasinski, "The New International Economic Order: Assumptions and Reality," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 1, 1980, pp 39-40; S. Borowy, "The Fourth Special Session of the UN General Assembly," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 8/9, 1974, p 149; TRYBUNA LUDU of 30 September 1977.

32. See R. Kudlinski, "Qualities of Contemporary World Economy," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 12, 1979, p 119.

33. "Dokumentacja Prasowa," 1974, p 486 A.

34. Proces-verbaux officiels du Conseil Economique et Social (hereinafter referred to as PCES), 63rd Session (6 July--4August 1977), pp 17 and 19.

35. Documents officiels de l'Assemblee generale. Vingt-cinquieme session--Doc. A/3074; Vingt-huitieme session--Doc. A/9389; Trente-deuxieme session. Supplement No 15 /A/32/15, Vol 1.

36. PCES, p 13.

37. Res. 3261 (XXIX) of 12 December 1974.

38. "DAdC," 28th Session, p 90; A. Abraszewski, "The 29th Session of the UN General Assembly," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 3, 1975, pp 138-139; "Encyklopedia swiat w przekroju" [Encyclopedia--A Cross Section of the World], Warsaw, 1975, pp 404-405.

39. "PCES," pp 18-19; "DAdC," 28th Session, p 91.

40. "DAdC," 30th Session, p 320.

41. "Dokumentacja Prasowa," 1977, p 737 C.

42. "Dokumentacja Prasowa," 1978, p 792 C.

43. "PCES," pp 132-133 and 158.

44. The Amazon River Treaty is a pact signed in 1978 by eight countries located in the basin of that river: Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, Guiana, Colombia, Peru, Surinam, and Venezuela. The treaty provides for cooperation in the use and protection of the resources of the Amazon (POLITYKA, No 45, 1908, p 2).

45. "PCES," pp 27, 32, and 76.

46. A. Abraszewski, "The 31st Session of the UN General Assembly," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 3, 1976, p 130; "Dokumentacja Prasowa," 1977, p 1162.

47. "PCES," pp 15 and 17.

48. M. Paszynski, "The Socialist Countries in the Mulitlateral Debate on World Economic Relations," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 5, 1979, p 94.

49. "PCES," p 198.

50. A. Abraszewski, "The 32d Session of the UN General Assembly," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 4, 1978, p 178; Doc A/3473/.

51. "PCES," p 198.

52. J. Kleer, "On the Threshold of the Third Decade," POLITYKA, No 42, 1980.

53. M. Paszynski, "International Strategy for Third Decade of Development," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 7/8, 1980, pp 58-67.

54. Res. 34/138/XXXIV/ and 34/139/XXXIV/ of 14 December 1979.

55. POLITYKA, No 40, 1980, p 12.

56. TRYBUNA LUDU of 16 and 17 September 1980.

57. TRYBUNA LUDU of 10 December 1980.

58. M. Paszynski, op. cit., pp 63-65.

59. For broader treatment, see Z. Zimny, "Report of the Brandt Commission on International Development Problems," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 7/8, 1980, pp 173-182.

60. Rapport du Conseil Economique et Social pour l'annee 1979, New York, 1980, p 21; Res. of the Economic and Social Council, Doc. E/1979/, p 52; TRYBUNA LUDU of 7 October 1980 and 26-27 July 1980.

61. Rapport du Conseil (...), p 25; Res. of the Economic and Social Council, Doc. A/34/44/1979; TRYBUNA LUDU of 11 June 1980.

62. The proposal concerned chiefly expanding the cooperation with respect to management of coal (new methods for the utilization and processing of coal) as an energy source alternative to crude oil and natural gas (TRYBUNA LUDU of 26-27 July 1980).

63. Doc. E/1979/SR.40 and E/1979/39.

64. Z. Rurarz, "Protracted Paralysis," POLITYKA, No 12, 1979.

65. Z. Rurarz, "Dylematy rozwoju" [Dilemmas of Development], Warsaw, 1977, pp 31-33.

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INSTITUTIONS SHAPING FOREIGN POLICY NOTED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 6, Jun 81 pp 103-116

[Article by Prof Dr Hab Longin Pastusiak, deputy director of the Institute for Research of Contemporary Problems of Capitalism]

[Text] Studies on the institutional aspects of the development of Polish foreign policy present a rather modest appearance among us. Meanwhile, they have important significance--not only scholarly, but practical as well. They can contribute to increasing the effectiveness of the operation of the foreign policy of our country, to streamlining the decisionmaking process in this sphere of state operation and to raising the level of the general political culture of society.

A whole series of organs and institutions, in various way and with varied scope, has an effect on the shape of Polish foreign policy. The constitution of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] defines the range and the tasks of the most important of these.

Foreign Affairs in the PRL Constitution

The PRL constitution, passed in 1952 and amended in 1976, devotes much attention to problems of Poland's relations with foreign countries. Above all, it defines the powers of state organs in this area, including the Sejm, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers.

A new article was added as an amendment to the constitution. This amendment, dated 10 February 1976, became Article 6, defining the basic contents of PRL foreign policy in the contemporary world. It states the following:

"The Polish People's Republic in its policy":

1. "Is directed by the interests of the Polish nation, its sovereignty, independence and security, by the will to preserve peace and cooperation among nations."
2. "Refers to the lofty traditions of solidarity with the forces of freedom and progress, strengthens friendship and cooperation with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other socialist states.
3. "Bases its relations with states having different social systems on principles of peaceful cooperation and collaboration."[1]

The above article of the constitution marks out the goals of Polish policy (the strengthening of sovereignty, independence and national security, the desire for peace and international cooperation) and defines the paths or methods of their implementation (friendship with socialist countries and peaceful cooperation with other states). These paths or methods "are to serve this designated goal faithfully and it is for this reason, in the name of better safeguarding the sovereignty of the national and the state, that the constitutional principle of friendship and collaboration with socialist states and peaceful cooperation with other states is proclaimed."[2]

On this same subject Andrzej Gwizdz writes:

"Without entering into an analysis of the political motives for adding to the constitution in this way, one cannot help noting that from a strictly legal viewpoint it was not toally indispensable, especially since the first and the second of the above-noted principles were, at that, removed from the already binding statements in the introductory chapter of the constitution before the chapter was amended."

This writer states that as a result of amendments, the basic constitutional principles of the foreign policy of the PRL have become stated in a clearer, more unequivocal way and are now able to a greater degree to fulfill "the role of being a criterion in the Sejm's evaluation of the consistency of the policy being conducted by state organs with regard to the legal principles of the system."[3]

The constitution also defines in part the process of the inclusion and ratification of international agreements. The lack of a constitutional definition of the relationship between international law and domestic law is a definite shortcoming.

"A heated discussion has developed in Poland around this topic. Various positions have been defined in this discussion concerning the effects of PRL international agreements on domestic relations. In principle, most writers have been in agreement that in the Polish constitutional system there does not occur the automatic incorporation of international law, and particularly of PRL international agreements, into domestic legal order. At the same time, none of the authors questioned the binding force of PRL international agreements for state organs. Hence, the problem which emerges in practice is that of ensuring the effectiveness of international law or, more broadly, the state's discharging of its international obligations--and not whether the state has a duty to discharge its international obligations."[4]

Moreover, Article 11, Item 4 of the constitution states that "the state has a monopoly on foreign trade."[5] The state monopoly on foreign trade is considered to be an important feature of the socialist economy. It should be emphasized, however, that in the case of Poland this is not understood as aiming toward the absolute concentration of foreign trade within the hands of the state. Cooperative organizations, for example, play an important role in Polish foreign trade.

Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]

The role of the PZPR in shaping Polish foreign policy emanates, above all, from the fact that it is the ruling party, which, in accordance with Article 3 of the PRL constitution is the "leading political force of society in the building of socialism."[6] In the exercise of its authority, the PZPR cooperates with the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD].

Examinations of the role of the PZPR sometimes speak of its "leadership" role, of its role as a "leading force." The difference between these concepts are not entirely clear and to date have not been properly elaborated in Polish legal or politilogical literature.

"It is a fact that the PZPR fills a managerial role in our society. At the same time, this fact is generally recognized in our political life. The principle of the managerial role in the PZPR is fully recognized by allied parties, and the party of the working class, having drawn conclusions from the irregularities which have occurred in this field, has recognized the independence of allied parties and their role as factors in the development of People's Poland. The principle of the managerial role of the PZPR, therefore, was and is fully recognized in our social and political practice and is applied in daily living."[7]

The concept of the party as a leading political force in society is explicitly defined by Marian Rybicki. In his opinion, the leading role of the party should be expressed in the concentration of its efforts and in the execution of the following functions:

--developing programs and guidelines for the directions of the socioeconomic development of the country;
--the training, selection and advancement of managerial cadres;
--political control over the implementation of established tasks and goals.[8]

The role of the PZPR in shaping Polish foreign policy is enormous. It is, above all, a programing role. In the resolutions adopted at PZPR congresses, much attention is given to foreign policy. Moreover, at some congresses, special resolutions are passed concerning international affairs. At the Eighth PZPR Congress, e.g., a resolution entitled "Concerning the Preservation of Peace, the End of the Arms Race and the Continuation of the Detente Policy."[9] During several recent congresses, the practice of appointing issues commissions to work in detail on selected international problems has been introduced.

Resolutions and documents from party congresses offer guidelines for the basic directions of operation, they mention the main principles of Polish foreign policy and they evaluate the basic characteristics of the international situation, which are then implemented by other party organs and--above all--by state organs. Dut to their general character, subsequent congressional resolutions on the question of foreign policy do not comprise basic changes. On the contrary, they are characterized by 3 certain continuity, which likewise reflects the stability of the principles of Polish foreign policy.

The Central Committee, Political Bureau, PZPR Central Committee Secretariat and other, lower party echelons play an important role in the shaping and implementation of foreign policy.

Problems connected with foreign policy are rarely the subject of deliberations at a Central Committee plenum. Meanwhile, they are more often part of the daily order of Political Bureau and Secretariat business. Higher ranking problems are the subject of Political Bureau deliberations. These include: More important party-governmental and state visits and multilateral and bilateral consultations with representatives and communist and workers parties. In such cases, the Political Bureau passes resolutions endorsing the results of a particular consultation, conference or meeting. At least one Political Bureau member and one Central Committee secretary are responsible for foreign affairs.

The PZPR Central Committee Foreign Department handles matters of daily work in the sphere of foreign policy and the foreign contacts of the PZPR. This department is part of the executive apparatus of the Central Committee, appointed to implement the resolutions of higher party echelons. The PZPR Central Committee Foreign Department cooperates closely with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although sometimes problems emerge which issue from a lack of total clarity concerning the distribution of tasks. Of course, it should be remembered that the minister of foreign affairs is both a member of the Political Bureau and a member of the Central Committee.

The PZPR as a communist party and a workers party is programmatically and ideologically an internationalist party. This internationalism manifests itself through such activities as the maintaining of lively active contacts with other party. These contacts include: The exchange of party visits, meetings during and between congresses, participation in regional conferences and in regular consultations of secretaries for ideological and foreign affairs, participation of first secretaries in consultations of the Political Consultative Committee of the States-Parties of the Warsaw Pact and meetings of the first secretaries of ruling parties in socialist countries held in the Crimes. The fruits of these meetings are protocols, declarations, pronouncements and understandings which play an important role in the shaping and implementation of the foreign policy of the state in various spheres.

Thus, the party has become an important subject of international relations. At the same time, the PZPR exhibits extraordinary activism in the sphere of foreign activity. The PZPR Central Committee first secretaries have sent out many crucial diplomatic initiatives. The name of W. Gomulka is associated with the idea from 1963 of freezing arms in Central Europe (the so-called Gomulka Plan) as well as with the proposal for normalizing relations between Poland and the FRG. E. Gierek presented the draft of a resolution for educating societies in the spirit of peace before the United Nations. During the period of the detente crisis in East-West relations in 1980, upon the invitation of E. Gierek, Leonis Brezhnev and Valery Giscard d'Estaing held a meeting in Warsaw. The direct participation of the PZPR Central Committee first secretary in bilateral and multilateral conferences has likewise been accepted in the West and has been treated as participation at the level of head of state.

The party implements its program in foreign policy via state organs headed by party members: The premier, ministers, the chairman of the Council of State and the like. The close cooperation of the party and the government has enabled the practice of sending party-state delegations or party-governmental delegations abroad to continue. While this primarily affects relations with socialist states, it does not do so exclusively: In contacts with capitalist countries during the 1970's, it was a generally accepted practice that the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee led the state delegation (the visits of E. Gierek to the United States, France, Sweden, Italy, Belgium and other countries).

In addition to its programing functions in the sphere of foreign policy, the PZPR likewise sets for itself ideological-upbringing and propaganda tasks. It organizes research bases in the field of foreign policy, conducts propaganda activities within society and, in this way, influences public opinion, which legitimizes a given foreign policy program of the party and the state.

As is evident from these brief remarks, the Polish United Workers party not only formulates the general principles and program goals of Polish foreign policy, but it participates in transforming these principles into concrete actions, it takes part in the implementation of this program, it exercises control over it and it participates actively in actions, whose goal is to win over Polish society and the international community to these principles. Thus, its role is multileveled and multifunctional. The cooperation of the party and the state is so close that it is sometimes difficult to separate the two.

Sejm

The place of the Sejm in the shaping of Poland's foreign policy emanates from its role as the highest organ of state authority as well as the highest representative organ. The Sejm passes the constitution and laws. Since the constitution contains articles which define the principles of Polish foreign policy, it may be proposed that this gives the Sejm an additional possibility for influencing the foreign policy of the country.

The Sejm has not reserved for itself any special powers in the field of foreign policy other than constitutional-legislative powers. "The role of the Sejm on this subject amounts to controlling the implementation of foreign policy from the viewpoint of researching its regularity, i.e., the conformity of concrete decisions and moves of government organs with the goals and principles defined in the PRL constitution and with the statements contained in Sejm laws and resolutions marking out the basic directions of state activity in the area of foreign relations."[11]

Certain questions connected with internationa relations are regulated by Sejm laws, e.g., state borders, the principles of trespassing borders both for Polish citizens and foreigners, certain aspects of the sojourn of foreigners and the diplomats of other states in Poland, customs inspection, and the principles of air, sea and postal communication with foreign countries. The Sejm, upon the recommendation of the premier, fills the position of minister of foreign affairs and approves the major reorganization of this ministry, e.g., the combining or the separation of the ministries of foreign affairs and foreign trade. The Sejm likewise dismisses the minister of foreign affairs on the basis of a law dated 29 May 1974, concerning the scope of operation of the minister of foreign affairs.

In the majority of cases, the legislative initiative in matters of foreign policy comes from the government. In recent years, deputies have likewise undertaken such initiatives. For example, they have submitted drafts of laws concerning the territorial sea, the Polish zone for deep-sea fishing and the continental shelf of Poland. The Sejm likewise plays a definite role in the ratification of some treaties.

The Sejm passes resolutions expressing its position on a given issue. Some of these resolutions are of a ceremonial or an occasional nature and others mark out the direction of state activity. For example, this takes place when the minister of foreign affairs periodically assembles information concerning the current international situation and the major directions of Poland's foreign policy. On 23 October 1975, the Sejm passed a resolution concerning the results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE]. One purpose of this resolution was to oblige State organs to put into effect the provisions of the CSCE Final Act.

The Sejm exercises control over the activity of state organs, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other institutions operative within the sphere of foreign policy. The Sejm executes control functions over foreign policy primarily through the Foreign Affairs Commission and the Foreign Trade Commission. These commissions have the right to require the submission of specific information and the presence of specific personages at a meeting, as well as the right to hear out their opinions. As a rule, the minister of foreign affairs or his deputy, as well as the minister of foreign trade and the marine economy present oral or written reports at commission meetings. If the commission so desires, the minister is obliged to be present.

As a rule, having listened to the opinions of the minister of foreign affairs, and having discussed the specific problem, the commission comes forth with desiderata and an opinion. While these do not have binding force for the addressee, they do oblige him to analyze them carefully, to take a position regarding them and to give an answer within 30 days.

During the 1976-1980 Sejm term, the Foreign Affairs Commission numbered 40 deputies. It included members from all party clubs and Catholic deputies' circles. During that term, 39 meetings of the commission were held. However, only four desiderata and six opinions were agreed upon. Hence, it may be asserted that the commission did not take advantage of all of its potential.

The scope of the commission's work has been broad. Questions which have been discussed include foreign tourist traffic, governmental policy concerning family ties, questions of disarmament and military detente, cultural and scientific-technical cooperation with foreign countries, problems of fishing on the Baltic, the CSCE in Belgrade, relations with the FRG, Poland's implementation of the International Convention on Human and Political Rights, relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, CEMA cooperation with the Common Market, the implementation of the UN General Assembly Declaration on educating societies in the spirit of peace and the international aspects of environmental protection.[12]

The Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission has dealt with many issues of key significance to Polish foreign policy.

"The commission system makes possible a more searching, in-depth look, free of generalities and redundancies; it enables the penetration of the essence of issues because of the more private atmosphere of deliberations which fosters free discussion and the rapid exchange of simple questions and answers. The smaller body of members of Sejm commissions, which are composed of 30 to 40 deputies as a rule, likewise enables the more efficient calling of meetings and deputies as a rule, likewise enables the more efficient calling of meetings and gathering of positions on issues demanding immediate opinions."[13]

It should be kept in mind, however, that commissions fulfill an auxiliary role.

We should also mention the work of the Foreign Trade Commission, which e.g., in the course of 42 meetings from 1976 through 1980, engaged in detailed discussion of the state of Poland's economic relations with various countries, issues connected with economic integration, giving Poland's products access to foreign markets, financial relations with foreign countries and the like. During this time, the commission adopted 20 opinions, but did not resolve even one desideratum.

International topics are relatively rarely discussed at plenary deliberations of the Sejm. From the time that the constitution was put into effect in 1952 until the end of 1966, foreign policy issues were the subject of plenary deliberations of the Sejm only eight times. On one occasion, the issue was the ratification of an international agreement; on two other occasions, it was the policy statement of a government member; four instances concerned reports from conferences and foreign visits, and in one case instance it was a question of resolving an answer to the proclamation of another parliament.[14] During the 1976-1980 term, the Sejm voted on 31 March 1977 to change a law concerning aliens; on 17 December 1977, it passed a law concerning the territorial sea, and twice the chairmen of the Council of Ministers made pronouncements likewise concerning PRL foreign policy. In 1976, the minister of foreign affairs presented information concerning the results of the visit of the PXPR Central Committee first secretary to the FRG and concerning the problems of Polish foreign policy. During the 1976-1980 term, the Sejm likewise adopted several resolutions concerning the results of state visits, multilateral consultations and other events in PRL foreign policy.

Control over foreign policy is exerted in the Sejm through the examination and approval of the government program contained in the policy statement of the chairman of the Council of Ministers at the opening of each new term and through the examination of the making of the budget and the various governmental reports and communications concerning international affairs. Deputies' interpellations, which are rather rare in the case of foreign policy matters, represent another form of parliamentary control. During the Seventh Sejm term from 1976-1980, such a situation did not occur even once.

An example of the Sejm's involvement in foreign affairs is the creation of parliamentary bilateral groups. During the current Sejm term, on 19 December 1980, the following bilateral groups were set up (the chairman of each group is in parentheses): Polish-Austrian (Wilhelm Szewczyk), Polish-Belgian (Franciszek Sadurski), Polish-British (Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski), Polish-French (Adam Lopatka), Polish-Greek (Mieczyslaw Serwinski), Polish-Japanese (Zbigniew Zielinski) and Polish-Italian (Marceli Faska).[15] The task of these groups is to maintain contacts with the parliaments of other states and to promote the development of bilateral relations in all fields.

The Polish Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union operates out of the Sejm. Formally, the union is a nongovernment organization, but through participation in its work, deputies take part i the implementation of Polish foreign policy. They present Poland's position in the international forum, express their attitudes toward the issues which are found on the agenda of this organization and they inform Polish public opinion about the results of deliberations.

The Sejm maintains extensive relations with the parliaments of various countries.[16] Moreover, deputies are included in the makeup of the various state delegations and they participate in talks, negotiations and meetings, in this way entering into the process of foreign policy implementation.

From a formal viewpoint, the Sejm has enormous potential for shaping foreign policy and controlling its implementation. In practice, however, the Sejm has not fully utilized this potential. Some international subjects should make their way into the plenary deliberations of the Sejm. Plenary appearances should be debate and discussions, and not merely declarative pronouncements. It is not a question here of changing the legislation of rules or regulations, but primarily of changing

practices and prevailing customs. The Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission has particularly great potential to have a marked effect on the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. The commission should make use of its own research and information apparatus as a basis for the expression of more recommendations and opinions for political-diplomatic practice.

Interest in international affairs, in Poland is tremendous. Rarely, however, do these problems reach the agenda of deputies' meetings with the constituency. Meanwhile, such meetings not only create an opportunity for deputies to influence society, but likewise enable deputies to better understand the views and feelings prevailing among constituents and facilitate the transmission of these feelings to the state channels shaping foreign policy.

Prof Marian Rybicki writes: "We can expect that under circumstances of an improved socialist democracy, there will occur both the intensification and the improved utilization in practice of the hitherto existing institutions and forms of parliamentary activity, as well as their further development to the end of ensuring the total conformity of all endeavors in the area of foreign policy with the needs and will of the nation, as represented and expressed by its representatives in the Sejm."[17]

We may assume that the currently observed enlivened activity in the Sejm likewise touches the sphere of foreign policy.

Council of State

The Council of State and the Sejm are the supreme organs of state authority, but the Council of State is subject to the Sejm. In a period when the Sejm is not in session, it operates on its behalf, in a certain sense (it is able to issue decrees, among other things). The Council of State is a sort of collective head of state. From this emanates its specific role in the field of Poland's relations with foreign countries.

The Council of State is not the primary organ shaping or implementing foreign policy. Nonetheless, it exerts fundamental influence on the whole picture of Poland's relations with foreign countries. The Council of State is entrusted with functions briefly defined as its ratifying, accrediting, nominating and defense functions.[18] This refers in particular to the person chairing the Council of State and to his contacts with the heads of other states. Moreover, "the Council of State likewise exerts its influence on the shaping of relations with foreign countries within the framework of its functions primarily directed toward the domestic sphere, such as its regulative functions and those functions which concern distinctions and the Polish citizenry."[19]

According to the constitution, the Council of State ratifies and declares international agreements. This function has been entrusted to it according to the principle of exclusivity, but exceptions to this do occur.[20] During the postwar period, the Council of State turned twice to the Sejm to ratify or to cooperate in the ratification process. In both cases it was a question of documents which were of particular significance for Polish foreign policy.

In 1965, the Council of State turned to the Sejm to ratify the Warsaw Pact. The proposal was first examined by the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission, and then presented to the Sejm. The Sejm ratified the Warsaw Pact, but the ratifying document itself was prepared by the Council of State. In this document, the Council of State ascertained that the Sejm had ratified the Warsaw Pact. It should be stressed, however, that according to the constitution, the Council of State is the proper ratifying organ.

Another exception took place in 1972 and concerned a pact on the bases for normalizing relations between Poland and the FRG, dated 7 December 1970. In this case, still another procedure was used. The Council of State turned to two Sejm commissions--the Foreign Affairs Commission and the Commission for Legislative Work--to hand down opinions on the subject of the pact. At a plenary meeting on 27 April 1972, the Sejm heard out the minister of foreign affairs on the subject of ratification and adopted a proposal of the Senior Assembly which ordered both commissions to express an opinion on ratification at a joint meeting. Then the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission submitted a resolution to both commisions at a meeting of the Council of State, after which the Council ratified the pact. "In this case, the inclusion of the Sejm in the ratifying procedure occurred in a form which did not restrict the constitutional power of the Council of State in the area of ratifying international agreements. The two examples cited attest to the fact that in matters of international agreements of particularly vital importance, the Council of State, on its own initiative, turns to the highest organ of state authority, i.e., the parliament, for its position. This type of procedure is based on the aforementioned constitutional principles of the total subordination of the Council of State in all of its activity to the Sejm."[21]

Regulations adopted by the Council of State at the beginning of each term determine the ratifying procedure. After a proposal for ratification is submitted by the minister of foreign affairs, this proposal is given over to examination by the appropriate commission. The commission studies the proposal in great detail, including the conformity of the given agreement with state interests, the financial and legal consequences and the like. The Council of State resolution is signed by the chairman of the Council of State. The exchange and the composition of the ratifying documents lies within the power of the minister of foreign affairs. At his recommendation, the chairman of the Council of State orders the publication of the given ratifying agreement in the DZIENNIK USTAW. At this point, the agreement becomes a binding document of international law for Poland. During the period 1952-1956, the Council of State ratified approximately 160 international agreements.[22]

In Polish legal and political literature, frequent mention is made of the need to specify the ratifying procedure more precisely. The issue of making an entry into the constitution granting the Sejm the power to ratify international agreements is raised. "In particular, there is indicated the advisability of introducing a regulation concerning the Sejm's expression of its approval of the ratification of those treaties, the subjects of which lie in fields already regulated by law or for which a legal avenue is required."[23] In the opinion of A. Gwizdz, "the passage of laws creating legal circumstances for the implementation of the legal principles of the system, constitutionally established, belongs to the constitutional duties of the Sejm. From this viewpoint, the prolonged lack in our legal system of the statutory regulation of the principles of the concluding and ratifying of international agreements should be considered a negative phenomenon; the partial settlement of this

matter by joint resolution of the Council of State and Council of Ministers, adopted, by the way, without a clear legal basis, cannot be considered a lasting solution."[24] Nor does the constitution offer any more precise instructions concerning the legal significance to be attached to the ratification of international agreements executed by the Council of State. This problem is especially significant with regard to those agreements which include regulations which direclty affect or even directly bind citizens.'[25]

In speaking of the powers of the Council of State in the area of ratification, we should emphasize that, although international agreements are negotiated and concluded by the government, those agreements which require ratification are sent in draft form to the Chancellery of the Council of State. Theoretically, this creates the possibility for the chairman of the Council of State to submit possible corrections. The chairman of the Council of State likewise draws up the power of attorney for signing the international agreement. Such powers of attorney are also countersigned by the minister of foreign affairs. If, on the other hand, the chairman of the Council of State signs an agreement, such powers of attorney are not required.

The accrediting function of the Council of State resides in its receptio of letters of accreditation and letters of dismissal of representatives of other accrediting states in Poland. The Council of State likewise grants exequatur [acceptance of accreditation] to the consuls of other states. If, at the same time, we consider the fact that the chairman of the Council of State grants his approval to the accreditation of a representative of another state, establishes the procedure for accreditation and, having submitted letters of accreditation, carries on talks with the given ambassador on the merits of the case in a private audience, the accrediting act cannot be considered a mere act of official protocol. The chairman of the Council of State, moreover, meets with the diplomatic corps from time to time and he receives the ambassadors of foreign states and also Poland's foreign ambassadors. This makes it possible for him to influence Poland's bilateral relations with other states.

The nominating function of the Council of State lies in the Council of State's constitutional power to appoint and dismiss the chiefs of Polish diplomatic missions abroad and in part the chiefs of consular posts as well. In practice, however, the appointment or dismissal of the consular head is executed upon the recommendation of the minister of foreign affairs and submitted to the Council of State with the approval of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. The Council of State, however, passes the nominating resolution and its chairman sigsn the letters of accreditation.

The functions of the Council of State connected with foreign affairs likewise include making decisions concerning the state of war if the Sejm is not in session, and signing and ratifying peace treaties.

Re representative function of the Council of State has important significance for the shaping and implementation of Polish foreign policy. The chairman of the Council of State makes state visits abroad, and receives heads of foreign states, politicians at various levels, parliament members and ambassadors visiting Poland. The Council of State patronizes various international political, cultural and scientific undertakings and issues various types and pronouncements and letters. The contacts of the Council of State with the Polish community abroad are especially lively. In all of these undertakings, the Council of State, in the person of its chairman, represents the position of Poland regarding problems of international policy.

During visits of the chairman of the Council of State abroad and visits of foreign heads of state in Poland, important documents developing Poland's relations with foreign countries are signed. Some of these visits are of tremendous significance for international relations. Such was the case, for example, with the visit of French President Charles de Gaulle to Poland in September 1967, made at the invitation of then chairman of the Council of State, Edward Ochab.

Other powers of the Council of State linked with Polish foreign relations include such functions as the granting of distinctions and honorary titles to the citizens of other states, the Council of State's confirmation of the selection of foreign members of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the granting and withdrawal of Polish citizenship.

In accordance with Article 30 Item 3, the Council of State "oversees the conformity of the law with the constitution."[26] This role also concerns foreign policy and may manifest itself in a situation involving the violation of the conformity of the standards of Poland's foreign policy with the constitution. Thus far, such a situation has not occurred.[27]

Council of Ministers

In accordance with Article 41 Item 9 of the constitution, the Council of Ministers "exercises general management in the field of relations with other states."[28] The constitution does not contain any other provisions concerning the role of the Council of Ministers in foreign affairs.

Based on an analysis of the regulations of the constitution and other legal documents, it may be acknowledged that the activity of the Council of Ministers in the field of foreign policy may manifest itself as:

a) The management in its entirety of the implemented foreign policy of Poland and the coordination of its implementation by other organs;
b) the concluding and removl of the binding force of international agreements with reference to Poland;
c) the activity of organs other than ministers subordinated to the Council of Ministers.[29]

The exercise of "general management" in the field of Poland's relations with other states by the Council of Ministers lies in the management of all affairs from the sphere of foreign policy and of organs of the state administration operating in the sphere of foreign affairs. The Council of Ministers establishes the directions of operation and the tasks of foreign policy, and it designates funds for the major ministries of foreign service, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Maritime Economy. It should be kept in mind, of course, that the Council of Ministers is subject to the supreme organs of state authority, from which emanate certain limitations to the interpretation of principles concerning the general management of foreign affairs of the state.

As a supreme organ of the state administration, the Council of Ministers is an executive organ and, like every government, has vast powers in the field of foreign policy. The Council of Ministers thus provides ministries with the direction their work is to take and it coordinates their work. "The managerial-coordination functions of the Council of Ministers in the field of foreign policy emanate from the fact that

as a collegial organ which is relatively large it does not substantially execute tasks itself from the area of the administration of relations entering into the scope of foreign policy. This is primarily done by specialized organs--ministers who, under the terms of the appropriate regulations, have been entrusted with the particular essential aspects of administration and of foreign policy relations. It is with reference to these ministries that the government executes managerial-coordination functions in the area of foreign policy."[30] On 30 June 1969, the Council of Ministers passed Resolution No 113, concerning its operating procedure and the operating procedure of the Government Presidium. By providing ministries with the direction of their work is understood the preparation of a program, including a foreign-policy program. The government likewise implements this program. To this end it has specialized organs, material and human resouces and suitable information.

The powers of the Council of Ministers to establish the directions and the program of operation, which are then implemented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, are contained in a law dated 29 May 1974, concerning the office of the minister of foreign affairs. Of course, this does not reduce the role of the minister of foreign affairs exclusively to the implementation of policy. He likewise has the right to "prepare assumptions" of foreign policy, which he participates in shaping in this way.

By concluding and denouncing some international agreements, the Council of Ministers participates in the process of shaping Poland's relations with foreign countries. The Council of Ministers can denounce only those government resolutions which have not been ratified. In every country, and in Poland as well, the executive authority is authorized to conclude international agreements. The constitution makes no real pronouncement on this subject, but it is treated in a joint resolution of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers dated 28 December 1968. The Council of Ministers cannot conclude pacts of friendship, cooperation or mutual assistance or agreements of vital significance, in other words, state agreements.

"Thus it may be generally stated that the Council of Ministers is authorized to conclude international agreements which, in terms of contents, primarily concern goods exchange, economic cooperation, scientific-technical cooperation and the like, with the reservation that the provisions of these agreements not touch upon fields which are constitutionally stipulated by law or which are statutorily regulated (if they did touch upon these areas, then they would lose their effectiveness in domestic relations in this regard). The provisions of agreements concluded by the Council of Ministers, on the other hand, are fully effective in fields not stipulated by law and not regulated statutorily, and their effectiveness is not contingent upon the publication of the agreement in the DZIENNIK USTAW."[31]

Of course, the right to conclude international agreements is associated with the participation of the Council of Ministers in the preparation of these agreements, the preparation of instructions for negotiations and participation in negotiations, the drawing up for powers of attorney, the signing and initialing of documents and the like. While an international agreement binds the state, it does not have the character of an interstate agreement. Such agreements are not ratified by the Council of State, but they are confirmed by the Council of Ministers--although not all of them. The confirmation takes place in the form of a resolution of the Council of Ministers or by giving notice to the other signer of the confirming document.

Some writers demand that the PRL Constitution more clearly grant the government the right to conclude a definite category of international agreements and to withdraw their binding force with regard to Poland. It is postulated that the Sejm be informed regularly of the government's and the chairman of the Council of Minister's confirmation of international agreements and that the obligation be introduced of the premier's submission at subsequent Sejm sessions of information concerning international agreements confirmed by the Council of Ministers and the withdrawal of the binding force of such agreements with regard to Poland. Information concerning the confirmation of international agreements by the Council of Ministers or by its chairman should be published in the MONITOR POLSKI.[32]

The Council of Ministers participates in the shaping and implementation of foreign policy likewise through the participation of the premier, the deputy premiers and the members of the Council of Ministers in various types of activities connected with Poland's relations with foreign countries. The chairman of the Council of Ministers makes foreign visits, receives the chiefs of the governments of other States as well as representatives at various levels, conducts talks, confirms ministry agreements with other states and draws up the power of attorney for the signing of government agreements. The powers of the chairman of the Council of Ministers also include the appointment of delegates to participate in conferences of international organizations. The deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers represents Poland on the CEMA Executive Committee.

"The powers of the PRL Council of Ministers to act in the field of state foreign policy, although they have not been described exhaustively in the constitution or in any other pertinent legal document, are relatively broad. The effect of these powers is that, among state organs implementing foreign policy, the Council of Ministers fulfills the functions of manager and organizer of activities in the field of relations with other states. It is likewise due to these considerations that the highest responsibility for the proper implementation of Polish foreign policy rests with the Council of Ministers. Thereby increases the importance of the Sejm's control over its activity in the area of this policy, although it should not be forgotten that the activity of the Council of Ministers in the field of foreign policy is likewise subject to control by the party (recently by the Political Bureau in particular), that, above all, the party marks out the guidelines of Polish foreign policy and that for years not only the chairman of the Council of State and the chairman of the Council of Ministers, but also the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee have entered the international forum in Poland's name. The above statements in no way disparage the need for the existence of the Sejm's control over the Government's foreign policy in PRL."[33]

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs plays a major role both in the shaping and implementation of Polish foreign policy, as well as in its coordination.

The tasks of the MSZ [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] are outlined in a law dated 29 May 1974, concerning the office of the minister of foreign affairs. The law grants the chief of Polish diplomacy the right to "prepare assumptions" of foreign policy. The minister of foreign affairs issues legal documents, makes personal recommendations and confirms instructions for the directors of diplomatic posts and for those chairing Polish delegations at more important international conferences.

One of the more important tasks of the ministry is to coordinate contacts of Poland with foreign countries. Many other ministries, offices and organizations in Poland maintain and develop contacts with foreign countries. Some of these, for example the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Maritime Economy, even have their own foreign apparatus. In most Polish posts abroad, a trade department operates in addition to a diplomatic-consular department. The latter handles operations in the field of political, informational, cultural-scientific and consular relations, as well as matters of protocol. The trade department, on the other hand, includes the entire makeup of economic, financial-monetary and trade matters; this department is subject in principle to the ambassador.

The MSZ fulfills the role of coordinator likewise in the foreign relations of such ministries as the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology, the Ministry of Culture and Art, and the Ministry of Health. For example, cooperation between the MSZ and the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology includes:

--The preparation of perspective drafts of scientific and technical cooperation with particular states and within the frameowrk of international organizations;
--the preparation and implementation of international agreements and executory programs within its scope with foreign countries;
--the execution of joint analyses and evaluations of the state of implementation of particular agreements;
--the establishment of tasks for diplomatic representatives and consular offices in the area of this cooperation and control over the execution of these tasks.

Beyond its permanent tasks, the state authorities may order the MSZ to execute extraordinary tasks, such as, for example, the coordination in 1975 of all activities in Poland connected with the putting into effect of the CSCE Final Act, as well as the preparation of a program for the implementation of this document in Poland. The Council of Ministers, when implementing Sejm resolutions or the programs of PZPR congresses, may order the MSZ, for example, to implement priority directions of the development of the relations of Poland with selected countries. In executing this task, the MSZ makes use of the specialized apparatus of the diplomatic-consular service and the appropriate territorial, functional and problem organizational structures as well as the scientific base in the form of the Polish Institute for Foreign Affairs [PISM] and the body of scientific consultants.

It should be stressed that many initiatives taken by Poland in the international forum were born during discussions at the MSZ, including those which were taken by persons or institutions outside the ministry (by the first secretary of the PSPR Central Committee, the chairman of the Council of Ministers and documents of the PZPR, the Sejm and the Council of State).

It is clear that other organizations and political factors as well participate, in different ways, in the shaping and implementation of the foreign policy of our country. For example, the entire important sphere of international operation of social organizations (trade unions, youth organizations, and women's, professional and scientific organizations and the like) as well as their influence on the shape of state foreign policy lies outside of the scope of the current present study. The number and the variety of the factors shaping Polish foreign policy are an added point speaking in behalf of the urgency of need for complete, comprehensive research into their role and mechanism of operation.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Konstytucja i podstawowe akty ustawodawcze Polskiej Rzeczypospolitey Ludowej" [The Constitution and Fundamental Legislative Documents of the Polish People's Republic], Warsaw, 1978, p 33.

2. W. Sokolewicz, "Konstytucja PRL po zmianach z 1976 roku" [The PRL Constitution Following 1976 Changes], Warsaw, 1978, p. 83.

3. A. Gwizdz, "The Role of the Sejm in Shaping Relations of the Polish People's Republic with Foreign Countries," a paper presented at a conference organized by the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] Institute on the State and the Law on 2-3 October 1980.

4. W. Morawiecki, "The Constitutional Bases of International Relations of the Polish People's Republic," PANSTWO I PRAWO, 1975, No 4, pp 25-26.

5. "Konstytucja i podstawowe akty ustrojowe Polskiej Rzeczpospolitej Ludowej" The Constitution and Basic System of Documents of the Polish People's Republic (...), p 34.

6. The Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. For text, see Sokolewicz, op. cit.

7. W. Skrzydlo, "The Leading Role of the PZPR and Its Expression in the PRL Constitution," PANSTWO I PRAWO, 1976, No 4, p 14.

8. M. Rybicki, "The Party and State Organs," KULTURA, 14 December 1980.

9. "VIII Zjazd Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej, 11-15 lutego 1980. Podstawowe dokumenty and i materialy" [Eighth Congress of the Polish United Workers Party, 11-15 February 1980. Basic Documents and Materials], Warsaw 1980, pp 219-226.

10. In the Polish literature, the subject of the role of the PSPR as an institution shaping Polish foreign policy has thus far not received scholarly treatment. This subject was undertaken by W. Lamentowicz, "The Role of the PZPR in the Management of PRL Relations with Foreign Countries" (a paper presented at a conference organized by the PAN Institute on the State and the Law in Warsaw on 2-3 October 1980.

11. M. Rybicki, "The Role of the Sejm in Shaping Polish Foreign Policy," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, 1979, No 7-8, p 23.

12. A. Gwizdz, op. cit.

13. Rybicki, "The Role of the Sejm...," p. 31.

14. A. Gwizdz, "Parliamentary Control over Foreign Policy," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, 1967, No 7-8, p. 131.

15. See TRYBUNA LUDU, 20-21 December 1980.

16. A. Burda, "Parliament of the Polish People's Republic," Warsaw, 1978, p. 170-175.

17. M. Rybicki, "The Role of the Sejm...," p. 36.

18. S. Gebert, "Functions of the Council of State Regarding Relations of the Polish People's Republic with Foreign Countries," a paper presented at a conference organized by the PAN Institute on the State and the Law in Warsaw on 2-3 October 1980.

19. Ibid.

20. See R. Bierzanek, "With What Should the Sejm Engage Itself in the New Term," PRAWO I ZYCIE, 1957, No 3; S. Rozmaryn, "What Changes Should Be Introduced Into the RPL Constitution," TRYBUNA LUDU, 23 March 1957.

21. M. Rybicki, "The Role of the Sejm...," p. 28.

22. A. Gwizdz, "Parliamentary Control...," p. 124.

23. M. Rybicki, "The Role of the Sejm...," p. 28.

24. A. Gwizdz, "The Role of the Sejm...," p. 6.

25. A. Gwizdz, "Parliamentary Control...," p. 124.

26. "Konstytucja i podstawowe akty ustorjowe...," p. 39.

27. S. Gebert, "The Council of State's Overseeing of the Conformity of the Law With the Constitution," PRAWO I ZYCIE, 1980, No 1, pp. 26-41.

28. Ibid., p. 42.

29. J. Kucinski, "The PRL Council of Ministers As An Organ Exercising General Management in the Field of Relations with Other States," PRAWO I ZYCIE, 1974, No 11, p. 68.

30. Ibid., p. (69 ?).

31. Ibid., p. (73 ?).

32. Ibid., p. 75.

33. Ibid., p. 78.

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RECRUITMENT FOR MILITARY ACADEMIES, OFFICERS' SCHOOLS ANNOUNCED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 25 Jan 82 pp 1,7

[Communique from the Ministry of National Defense on the recruitment of candidates for military acadmeies and officers' schools]

[Text] The Ministry of National Defense announces the volunteer recruitment of candidates for the following military academies and officers' schools:

- the Jaroslaw Dabrowski Technical Military Academy in Warsaw;
- the Maj. Gen. Boleslaw Szarecki Medical Military Academy in Lodz;
- the Westerplatte Heroes Higher Naval School in Gdynia;
- the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Higher Officers' School of the Mechanized Troops in Wroclaw;
- the Stefan Czarniecki Higher Officers' School of the Tank Troops in Poznan;
- the Gen. Jozef Bem Higher Officers' School of the Rocket and Artillery Troops in Torun;
- the Jan Krasicki Higher Air Force Officers' School in Deblin;
- the Lt. Mieczyslaw Kalinowski Higher Officers' School of the Antiaircraft Troops in Koszalin;
- the Gen. Jakub Jasinski Higher Officers' School of the Engineering Troops in Wroclaw;
- the Col. Boleslaw Kowalski "Ryszard" Higher Officers' School of the Signal Troops in Zegrz near Warsaw;
- the Capt. Sylwestr Bartosik Higher Radiotechnical Officers' School in Jelena Gora;
- the Stanislaw Ziaja Higher Officers' School of the Chemical Troops in Krakow;
- the Gen. Aleksandr Waszkiewicz Higher Motor Transport Officers' School in Pila;
- the Marian Buczek Higher Officers' School of the Quartermaster Services in Poznan.

The studies last 5 years in the Technical Military Academy, 6 years in the Medical Military Academy in the medical program and 5 years in the dental and pharmaceutical programs, 4.5 years in the Naval School, and 4 years in the officers' schools.

Graduates of the military academies and officers' schools are promoted to the rank of 2nd Lt. in the Polish Army and receive a diploma for completing higher studies and a master's degree in engineering, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, [and the rank of] engineer officer in the corresponding military speciality.

Furthermore, in eight military schools (WSMW [Higher Naval School], WSOWZ [Higher Mechanized Troop Officers School], WSOWP [Higher Tank Troop Officers School], WOSL [Higher Air Force Officers School], WSOWRiA [Higher Rocket Troop and Artillery School], WSOWOPl [Higher Antiaircraft Defense Officers School], WSOWI [Higher Engineer Officers School], and WSOWL [Higher Signal Officers School]), studies in a military-political program are being conducted. Graduates of this program of studies will receive a diploma for the completion of higher studies in the area of socio-political sciences.

Candidates for military academies and higher officers' schools are required to meet the following conditions:

- Polish citizenship;
- appropriate moral and political values;
- fitness for military service in the capacity of a candidate professional soldier, confirmed by a statement from the proper military medical commission;
- single status;
- under 24 years of age, with the exception of WAM [Military Medical Academy], which requires that candidates be under 22 years of age.

An additional condition for acceptance into the Higher Naval School and the Higher Air Force Officers School is possession by the candidates of a suitable degree of physical fitness, confirmed by the specialist military medical commissions (of the navy and the air force).

Candidates applying for acceptance into one of the above-mentioned schools are to submit application forms to the commanders of the schools selected, through the Military Recruiting Station corresponding to their place of residence, while candidates from the military are to apply through official channels. Blank application forms can be obtained at the Military Recruiting Stations or the headquarters of military units.

The following should be attached to the application form:

- an extract from the birth certificate and certification of Polish citizenship, in the event that the candidate does not yet have an identity card;
- a school certificate (in the original) confirming possession of the required level of education. Students in the last class of secondary school can present the appropriate certificate confirming attendance of this class, in this case immediately after receiving it;
- recommendations or evaluations from the school administration, a social or political organization, or an employer;
- two 3.5 by 4.5 centimeter photographs.

The deadline for submitting the application forms together with the documents expires on 5 May for WSMW, 20 May for WAT and WAM, 10 May for WOSL, and 20 May 1982 for the remaining higher officers schools.

The candidates are obliged to pass a competitive entrance examination in the secondary school area.

The entrance examinations and physical fitness test, and the evaluation interviews, will take place at WSMW from 17 to 28 June, at WAT and WAM from 1 to 8 August, at WOSL from 21 to 30 June, and at the remaining higher officers schools from 1 to 8 July 1982.

Psychological examinations of the candidates will be conducted at the Military Psychology Institutions of the military districts and the Psychological Laboratories of the Educational-Professional Clinics of the Superintendents of Education and Training, at the established times.

More precise information will be provided to interested candidates by the Military Recruitment Stations, unit headquarters, and the military school commands. This information may also be found in directories for candidates for military professional schools and candidates for higher civilian schools.

9909
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EDUCATION AND UPBRINGING MILITARY COMMISSIONER INTERVIEWED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish 10 Jan 82 pp 2, 7

[Interview with Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza, military commissioner and under secretary of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, by Jacek Lutomski: "Fulfill Your Obligations Toward Your Homeland and the Young Generation..."; date and place not specified]

[Text] The introduction of martial law contributed in a substantial way to the transformation of several areas of our life, to different paths, to other rules of conduct. These events have not spared the school system or--expressing it more broadly--the realization of the whole instructive and educational process among the young people. The external manifestation of this was an earlier start of winter school vacations. Wishing to obtain more detailed information on the functioning of education and upbringing, we asked Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza, military commissioner of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing [MOiW] and the under secretary of this ministry, to grant us an interview.

"ZOLNIERZ POLSKI": We intend to talk about the situation under the martial law conditions, but by necessity, it is indispensable--even in an abridged form--to present the situation in the Ministry of Education and Upbringing before 13 December 1981.

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: The situation in our schools was getting so much more dangerous since illegal political organizations have developed a wide activity among the instructive school cadres. Under the pretext of official activity of the Solidarity trade union, they drew a number of disoriented young people into hostile activity as well.

School strikes and particularly the strikes in Lublin and in the whole middle-eastern region were a clear example of attempts to take advantage of young people for antistate action through teachers' organizations of Solidarity. We must emphasize with sorrow that parents were not admitted into the striking schools but activists from all kinds of illegal organizations were admitted and there they carried on agitator's activities.

"ZP": How did this situation change after the introduction of martial law?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: Immediately after the proclamation of martial law we pondered the conditions in schools and in educational institutions. After a short analysis of the situation we decided to interrupt instruction in all types of schools by an earlier start of winter school vacations. At the same time we decided to continue the protective and educational activity in kindergartens, nurseries and orphanages, special centers and institutions, emergency protective and educational institutions and elementary school day-rooms. Also we decided to continue such activity for young people whose parents are professionally engaged and gave consent for their children to remain at school.

"ZP": What were the motives of this decision?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: There were a number of reasons, but the most important one was concern over the safety of young people in case of possible disturbances provoked by hostile elements. Take into consideration that these are young people, curiosity is their natural trait: Here is a military transporter, there is a tank. Such circumstances could easily end in tragedies. Other reasons resulted from the fact that certain school superintendents' offices reported already on 13 December some difficulties with the proper organization of children's and young people's transportation. This fact together with intensification of the winter weather could create further problems. We also received signals about troubles with school heating. We were anxious to protect the youth from the influence of extreme Solidarity groups, which were active in some schools, and also to prevent the dissemination of objectionable elements of instruction.

"ZP": This explains why the winter vacations for children and young people have been advanced. What was the further action of the ministry in this exceptional situation?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: A proper explanatory action was undertaken with active participation of military commissioners from all the elements, from the ministry to the offices of school superintendents. This action spelled out, among others, the specific duties and authorities of school directors and those of other educational institutions for the duration of martial law, work discipline of all MOiW employees, the specific function of teachers in informing and explaining to the children and young people the necessity of introducing martial law as well as the necessity of concentrating all efforts on the creation of proper conditions to carry out the instructive and educational tasks under a changed situation.

"ZP": As well known, on 4 January of the current year, schools started again their educational and upbringing tasks. On what principles did they start?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: The Ministry of Education and Upbringing worked out the "Guiding Principles on Organization of Work in Schools and Other Educational Institutions Under Martial Law." Not even waiting until this document had reached all interested parties, the ministry organized a TV conference with the participation of all MOiW school superintendents, before the holidays started. Officers from the military operational group, which is active at MOiW, participated in the elaboration of this important document and also in the realization of other activities undertaken by the ministry.

"ZP": How far-reaching are the changes in the educational and upbringing process introduced by the "Guiding Principles"?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: In the area of subject contents, these changes will be small. The school director will have the right to introduce appropriate program corrections in cases deserving special consideration, for example, those resulting from the necessity to reduce the elements of a given subject.

On the other hand, these changes will enrich the educational process by elements serving the formation of socially useful, civic and national defense attitudes, particularly in the final period.

Particularly, the broadened disciplinary authority of directors, enabling them to expect from instructors, educational personnel and all students a strict performance of tasks and duties imposed by the martial law, will have a bearing on the level of tasks accomplished by all schools and centers.

All this action, undertaken by the ministry, will assure the proper preparation of schools and institutions for the realization of basic instructive upbringing and protective tasks in this complicated situation. It will depend, first of all, on the attitude of our dedicated teachers.

"ZP": Undoubtedly, the very basic problem is the matter of teachers.

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: I am convinced that our teachers will understand in depth the words of Army Gen W. Jaruzelski--"I appeal to you, teachers...on this grave turning point in our history let the reason prevail over excited emotions, the intellectual interpretation over deceptive myths"--and will do all in order to continue socialistic revival of our homeland.

"ZP": Citizen General, what specific tasks are facing the teachers under martial law?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: While it might not exhaust the subject entirely, I will try my best to formulate the subject in a few points of action, to which the teachers are bound:

First, repeatedly explaining to all students the martial law substance and the necessity of its introduction; the social and economic changes taking place as result of martial law, and the proper interpretation of these changes in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the Council of State decree; molding young peoples' loyalty toward the decisions and actions of the Military Council for National Salvation.

Second, building patriotic feelings in children and young people and particularly love for the homeland, the People's Poland and the Polish nation, as well as readiness to sacrifice all their might for it. This should find its expression in studious learning, attaining best possible results and discipline, as well as conscious execution of student's duties, plus volunteering for socially useful work.

Third, developing proper civic attitudes, honest relation to work, awareness of evil in all its forms and also nonstop readiness to carry out duties toward the state as well as helping the weak.

Fourth, intensifying the Polish-Soviet friendship and brotherhood-in-arms, which has been recently attacked with particular strength and implacability by enemy forces, aiming at the overthrow of the socialist system.

Fifth, enlisting all teachers and young people in active work, based on the decisions of the Military Council for National Salvation and in continuation of socialist renewal of our country.

"ZP": These are not easy tasks, the more so if we add to them today's difficult conditions. In what way does the ministry intend to help the teachers?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: This aim will be served by the whole system of teachers' betterment achieved so far, but a special role will be fulfilled by objective teachers' conferences, particularly in the humanities and in defense training.

The employees of the Institute for Teachers' Education and its regional departments will assure methodical help to teachers, to enable them to explain to children and young people our country's difficult situation, which nonetheless holds a certain basis for optimism.

We must carry out the teaching programs. Recently these have been enriched by new contents, which so far have not been sufficiently expounded in obligatory programs. Among them are, for example, such subjects and slogans as economic relations with socialistic countries, paths to Poland's independence, the role of Polish military forces in the history of the nation, etc.

We will help teachers, as well as students, by supplying them with proper studies and publications.

"ZP": In their educational work with the young generation, schools have already tested many forms well. Will these forms be preserved?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: Of course, and here I would like to mention especially the continuity of the previously applied actions in forming proper patriotic attitudes of the young generation. A particular role falls here on the young peoples' organizations, the activities of which ought to be directed and supervised by the most experienced and ideologically committed teachers. Patronages of military units over schools ought to be developed; help in the ideological training and upbringing by professional military cadres should be given. It is necessary to maintain and to continue existing contacts between schools and armed forces circles. It is necessary to utilize these already tested forms, which under martial law acquire particular importance. These are schoolrooms with national memorabilia and also young peoples' care of places of national significance.

"ZP": Are there any changes in the very school structure foreseen?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: We take under consideration also such conditions. We are considering the advisability and possibility of helping school directors in organizing educational work with the young people by appointing directors' deputies for matters of patriotic and defense education. Teachers of the Defense Training Corps could be appointed to take care of these functions and, in particular, specially selected professional and reserve officers. The preparation for this responsible task could be carried on in short-term courses at military schools.

"ZP": Citizen General, in conclusion of our interview, could you tell us a few words about your own role as military commissioner at the Ministry of Education and Upbringing.

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: Together with the operational group we are engaged in three essential tasks. The first is proper discipline and sense of duty. The second is inspiration to undertake our own solutions according to the time in which we live. The last task is the proper disposition of means and materials.

"ZP": Thank you for the interview.

9841
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MINISTER DISCUSSES HEALTH CARE, MEDICAL RESEARCH PRIORITIES

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 24, 20 Dec 81 pp 24-27

/Article by Eugen Proca, minister of health: "Health Protection Measures and Medical Research Priorities"/

/Text/ In connection with current socioeconomic development, the priority efforts of Romanian medicine are on maintaining and strengthening all citizens' physical and mental health and on extending the active period and vigorous development of the individual and the entire people. These aims are basic to medicine's emphasis upon in depth knowledge of the functional processes of the human organism and upon wide scale application of the most important advances of biology, and they determine the basic task of medical activity, namely study of the individual's physiological requirements in order to establish the most rational principles of life and work in accordance with Romania's particular environmental and social conditions. The RCP considers health protection a matter of state policy. The Directive-Program for Scientific Research approved by the 12th RCP Congress stipulates that the main objectives of health protection shall be preventing diseases, strengthening health, better use of Romania's material and manpower potential, and further improvement of the workers' general welfare. In speaking of the development of health protection under socialism, it must be borne in mind that it began with the quite precarious state of health in Romania in the prewar period and it is well-known that in that period Romania was one of the European countries with the poorest material resources for the medical-health sector and the worst main indicators of the state of health and the rates of illness and death. Accordingly an intensive effort was made under party leadership to keep increasing and improving the material resources and personnel of health protection in keeping with the general rate of Romania's socioeconomic development. The great efforts made in that direction are evidenced by the whole network of health units that has been extended and diversified throughout the entire nation, giving all citizens increasingly wide access to medical care. Development of the material resources for health protection and professional improvement of the workers in the health sector, as well as the high technical level of the medical services, permit transition to a new quality in this activity and have made it possible to implement general programs concerning the main health problems, while organizational measures are being adopted to make medical care more accessible to the public, to develop preventive activity, and to enhance the effectiveness of the facilities for treatment and recovery of health. The evolution of the main indicators of the state of the public's health shows a steadily rising curve. The decline of the general death rate to one-half that of 1938 is particularly striking, and the decrease in deaths of children in

the first year of life, which are 6 times less frequent today than in the prewar period, is also very impressive. Contagious diseases, which once were in a large proportion of the incidences of disease, have been largely eliminated (malaria, typhus, recurrent fever, poliomyelitis, diphtheria, tetanus, typhoid fever etc.) or are about to be. Thanks to the public's higher material and cultural living standard, tuberculosis has ceased to be widespread among the masses. It is also significant that the average lifetime in Romania has been lengthened from 42 years, as it was before World War II, to about 70 years at the present time. In general chronic, degenerative diseases (cardiovascular, nutritional et al.) predominate in the disease structure today as they do in all developed countries.

Improvement of Medical Care

The strategy of Romania's social development in the present and following decades is highly receptive to the advances of the scientific-technical revolution, so that in medicine as well, scientific research and its practical application are to be emphasized in connection with improvement of health protection as a whole and with in-depth treatment of the problems in that field that are peculiar to Romania.

Preventive medicine, reinforced by better clinical care in dispensaries and polyclinics, most effective use of hospital facilities, and improvement of specialized personnel, is of primary importance in medical care as a whole, and accordingly an increasingly large volume of preventive efforts are included in general medical care in addition to the so-called primary measures. To this end methods are being developed to detect and prevent illnesses, to protect mothers and infants, to determine the harmful factors in the living or working environment, and to promote proper hygienic conditions in the family and community.

The dispensaries at enterprises, industrial districts and big worksites will also maintain medical surveillance of the working conditions in the communities and make recommendations to eliminate the risk factors, to prevent occupational diseases, and to enhance the working capacity of personnel employed in production. And in some cities and communes general medical care is now concentrated in combined dispensaries employing more physicians for adults and children and open to the public throughout the whole day, resulting in better use of the medical work force and the existing facilities. In this way general medical care will make a greater contribution to improvement of the demographic and disease indicators.

Specialized clinical medical care has an important part to play in the health protection system. It is given in the consulting rooms in the dispensary-polyclinics intended for medical attention when the nature and development of certain diseases require a treatment beyond the technical possibilities of the general medical dispensary. Organization of consultations among specialists and use of combined therapeutic methods have made it possible to coordinate these specialized consulting rooms with the respective hospital sections functionally and also to integrate clinical care with hospital care. It is accordingly the function of the dispensary-polyclinics to treat more serious diseases that nevertheless do not absolutely require hospitalization.

As for hospital care, construction of a large number of hospital complexes, their technical-material equipment and staffing with specialized personnel have made some highly technical treatments possible in the county seats, industrial centers and a great many cities and municipalities. In the last few years every county has

developed new facilities for hospitalization wherein a wide range of ailments are investigated and treated, in order to secure a regionally balanced development of the reserve of beds.

Further reinforcement of some hospitals in the university centers and other big urban centers is an objective of major importance, so that they can solve all problems of hospital care in the intercounty areas assigned to them. To this end clinical sections or health units with specialized functions alone have been organized to treat ailments which by their nature and seriousness require special equipment and highly trained personnel.

Many specialized clinics and units in Romania are now using a modern method based on highly technical and effective therapeutic methods and investigations, and cases are being treated more and more frequently that had to be sent abroad for treatment not long ago. The range of surgical operations has been extended every year, and many specialized services are on a par with those in developed western countries in their complexity.

Medicine for the Healthy

The effect of living and working conditions upon health and adjustment of the organism to the demands of contemporary civilization is a highly important problem in medical research work as a whole. The investigations made on this subject concern the implications of the risk factors in the environment, and perfected techniques and uniform working methods are used to study them. The results of these studies made it possible to determine the maximum permissible concentration of pollutants or groups of pollutants in the air, water, soil and foods, and they were made primarily in the more exposed centers and areas like Valea Jiului and Isalnita, in the Danube, Mures and Siret basins, on the Black Sea coast, and in some rivers and reservoir lakes. Studies were also made of noise pollution in industrial environments and densely populated areas, of biological pollution of the soil and foods, and of radioactive and pesticide pollution. The purport of studies of this kind led to determination of the general characteristics of the environment and the extent of their effect upon the relationship of the environment to the organism and the community.

And so alongside the traditional efforts of medicine on behalf of the sick, a new emphasis is increasingly evident today upon determining the relationship of man to his environment under the conditions of present and future social development. We refer in particular to medicine for the healthy and to promotion of a wide range of practical applications in order to secure the best possible state of public health.

The need of a greater contribution on the part of medical research to development of health protection before any morphofunctional or psychosomatic disturbance sets in is therefore just as urgent and necessary today as greater resources for combatting any external factors that may have bad effects upon the psychophysiological balance of the organism.

Medical research to protect the healthy and widely promote medicine for metabolically unimpaired organisms helps considerably to supplement the series of measures to protect and strengthen public health. But this important aspect of medical care requires extensive cooperation with other sectors, since its results depend particularly upon the interdisciplinary and integrated contribution of several fields, primarily sociology, psychology and demography as well as economics, mathematics and chemistry. That is the only way to secure highly effective application of the concept

Intensified health education of the public and promotion among the working masses of a proper conception of the regime of living and working, of activity and rest, and of hygiene and diet are also emerging as primary objectives in close connection with the development of medicine for the healthy. These are all basic constituent elements of maintenance of every human organism within the bounds of morphofunctional normality. Many experimental, epidemiological and clinical studies will demonstrate not only the action of harmful environmental factors but also the fact that measures can be determined to prevent and check the organism's pathological reactions to them. And so the new working methods of medicine for the healthy are beginning to be applied in an increasingly precise way and with scientific substantiation of the proposals for sanitizing the environment in order to eliminate or diminish the disease risks.

The current five-year plan places a medical research priority on evaluating the risk factors in the rural centers through regular hygienic investigation of agricultural work. The particular conditions in these centers, depending on the distinctive features of the area, climate, relief, local traditions and customs, way of life and culture and all intensified by agricultural mechanization, generally bring about a certain structure of the agricultural workers' state of health, with various implications for labor safety and ergonomic activity and with new criteria for vocational guidance in agroindustrial activity.

A number of applied studies in normal and pathological physiology bring out the effect of the dietary factor upon the state of health. The studies of large population groups have established the incidence and prevalence of metabolic and nutritional diseases (among which diabetes, obesity and dyslipidemias assume proportions that are beginning to be alarming) among the risk factors for the health and functional capacity of the organism in many cases.

In the large cities especially the proportion of these diseases in the chronic disease structure is becoming particularly significant largely because of failure to correlate the caloric intake with the other elements of active existence in the urbanized environment, with the many facilities that greatly detract from the good effect of regular daily exercise, and with the formation of eating habits unsuited to the characteristics of present-day life.

The medical studies made throughout Romania confirm the increased frequency of metabolic disturbances, with some tendency to affect even the younger age groups. Sugar diabetes is also on the increase, as the specialists at the Bucharest Center for Nutrition and Metabolic Diseases maintain that the incidence of that disease practically doubles every 12-15 years. Such a trend can have quite unfavorable effects upon the state of public health in view of the particularly high susceptibility of diabetics and, in general, of sufferers from obesity or dyslipidemias to the onset of diseases of other systems, especially those of the heart and blood vessels. That is why the findings of the researchers on this subject culminated in the preparation of two long-term health programs, namely the "National Long-Term Program to Prevent and Control Sugar Diabetes" and the "National Program for Rational Nutrition of the Population. Based on objective necessities, both programs are to set courses of action to detect and treat chronic metabolic diseases, accompained by extensive and effective measures to prevent them.

Preparation of scientific standards of nutrition according to categories of the population, arrangements for proper nutrition of children and of pregnant women or those of child-bearing age, production of foodstuffs with a scientifically dosed nutritive

value, and corresponding regular education of the public via all media can make it possible to solve this great problem confronting medical and social care as well as basic biologic and medical research, namely that of rational and effective nutrition.

Long-Range Strategy of Health Protection

The intensive and massive flow of information we have been receiving for several years on the subject of health protection enables us not only to determine in depth (by the standards of both horizontal and vertical investigation) the prevalence and evolution of the infectious-contagious diseases as well as the noncontagious ones but also to determine trends and make forecasts as accurately as necessary to evaluate the criteria of technical-professional development in Romanian medicine and especially to set the main guidelines for future activity. Based upon comprehensive studies and operational investigations, the health protection strategy proceeds from Romania's own conditions and also takes account of the particular characteristics of the general state of health, being organically integrated in the general program for socioeconomic development.

Considering the main factors involved in the demographic analysis and the studies of the disease structure as well as the causes of deaths, it can be said that the picture of the state of public health in Romania and the evolution of some of the indicators show many resemblances to the neighboring and other European countries. And naturally some differences and distinctive features appear because of the nature and conditions of each state. The present situation is characterized by a regular progressive reduction of the infectious diseases and, in general, of the acute ailments (true of most countries) and an increasing proportion of the chronic and degenerative diseases especially characteristic of the adult groups, so that the Romanian health protection strategy is comparable to that of the developed countries. It has become objectively necessary to shift the emphasis from strictly curative medicine, induced by acute pathology, to prevention of the chronic diseases and limiting the risks of their onset.

This made it clear that long-term programs must be devised to prevent and check the ailments in high proportion in the state of public health, such as the cardiovascular diseases, neoplasias, and metabolic and nutritional diseases. Note that in the developed countries too the disease and death rates are strongly characterized by the same groups of diseases.

We have stressed the declining incidence of infectious diseases that has been evident in the last decade because Romanian medical research has been an important link in the chain of measures that have reduced those ailments. The rapid change in living and working conditions, accompanied by the growing number of antibiotics and development of new vaccines to prevent and check the bacterial maladies, has led to the quite favorable evolution of those diseases. Study of some particular aspects of the pathogenesis of bacteria under the present conditions of the microbic ecological systems and expansion of infectious chemotherapy have been the main weapons in the fight against epidemics in Romania.

Medical research has also revealed to us the ramifications of the situation in other fields of infectious pathology, especially viral pathology. Circulation of certain viruses is still causing some incidences of viroses in Romania, and their prevention and control are on the agenda of the health protection organs. We also wish to point out that all necessary measures have been taken on the national level to eliminate

the risk of epidemics of some forms of tropical pathology, possible because of the many contacts with African and Asian countries, and we are pleased to note that thanks to these measures no such diseases have been recorded in Romania.

Priority Aims of Medical Research.

Under the new structures of the state of health the trends and aims of medical research are toward development of efforts to protect the human organism and communities, and they emphasize intensified knowledge of the biological aspects of adjustment to modern life. The founding of the Academy of Medical Sciences in 1969, as a new organizational form for planning and coordinating medical research work, essentially contributed to elimination of the old concepts in research because its content has been consistently aimed at solving the current and most important problems of health protection.

Moreover medical research today is a basic component of the process of strengtgening public health and consequently socioeconomic progress itself. If medicine is to be adjusted to the requirements and needs of prevention, diagnosis and treatment imposed by the new advances of science and technology, the internal forces of medical research must make a greater contribution to the diversification and effectiveness of drugs and medical equipment, to development of new therapeutic agents through use of domestic resources especially, and to encouragement and intensive study of some therapeutic methods of traditional medicine. Meanwhile the means have been provided and a successful start has been made for application of some highly technical and productive modern methods such as use of high power, ultrasonics and lasers and transplants of human organs and tissues, which is after all an old and yet always current aim of medicine.

Diversified production of drugs based on domestic raw materials, especially medicinal plants, ranks high among the priorities of medical research. To this end it is planned to generalize the very valuable results of the 17 galenic laboratories under the county pharmaceutical offices, which have successfully processed and manufactured a varied range of products based on local resources.

But we must say that medical research has not kept up with the urgent demand for cultivation, development and better use of national resources, including the natural curative elements as well as therapeutic flora. The valuable traditions in the field of balneophysical therapy must be developed. Moreover in most countries the vast richness of international balneology is attracting large collectives of specialists to scientific research on the natural curative elements. In Romania the research methods in this field are comprehensive, being based on hydrogeologic study of various areas and physical-chemical, biologic and microbiologic analyses of the natural curative elements and culminating in research on their effects upon the human organism. In this way the active and effective mechanisms of the climate and mineral waters in external and internal cures were successfully revealed, as well as those of the therapeutic muds and gases. But we have extensive possibilities that are still inadequately exploited. Romania's health resorts, traditionally regarded by many citizens as places of rest and recreation, must acquire a new validity and become elements of great medical-social significance in maintaining, restoring and consolidating the state of health by virtue of their therapeutic qualities.

As for Romanian drugs of vegetal origin, despite the progress made in obtaining some synthetic preparations Romania's abundant resources are still little used for medicine. Note that this source of drugs is increasingly used throughout the world and

constitutes an important therapeutic element with a pronounced modern character, since the active principles in medicinal plants are easily tolerated by the organism and cause infinitely less negative reactions than the chemical-pharmaceutical substances. It was this biological axiom that led us to outline the principles that will be basic to the "Improved Research Program To Exploit Medicinal and Aromatic Plants in 1981-1985." By completing the classification of the medicinal plants in the domestic flora and by exploiting the regions rich in medicinal species, we shall obtain new pharmacologically active substances and more fully meet the domestic requirement for drugs of vegetal origin.

The October 1981 session of the Academy of Medical Sciences scientifically treated the problems of development of naturistic medicine and of intensive use of domestic resources and natural curative elements employed by the people from ancient times. By way of developing traditional therapeutic methods, which were developed over the years in many countries with old traditions in the field of medicine, we shall expand the resources for treatment by acupuncture, homeopathy, medical gymnastics, Yoga methods etc., which will have highly effective curative or preventive effects when applied with medical discrimination and on a correctly substantiated physiological basis.

Protection and care of mothers and children are among the important priorities of Romanian science and medicine. Improvement of the product of conception requires studies of the couples' biologic potential and of the series of preventive measures to limit the hazards of pregnancy. Methodologies are being studied on the basis of which premarital counseling and prenatal consultations are to be generalized throughout Romania. The particular reactions of pregnant womes are also being studied, with active supervision of the future mothers in communities organized in rural areas as well. In the field of protection and development of children's health, the rate of their somatopsychic development is checked and evaluated through the medical-health network while somatically and neuropsychically stilumating programs are devised for each age group in order to prevent developmental handicaps.

Active surveillance and medical-health care of working personnel are also planned as regular efforts, with analysis of the evolution of incidences of disease, temporary incapacities for work, occupational diseases, and functional deficiencies requiring complex means of medical recovery. On the basis of the evolution of the general indices of disease, we are convinced that we have a good network of health institutions at the work places and a proper orientation of medical personnel in the performance of their functions and in application of the scientific facilities for medical control and surveillance of the various categories of workers. Moreover the curve of the disease indicators in industry places Romania among the countries with good results, even in comparison with countries with a wealth of tradition and experience in labor medicine.

Rationalization of medical care as a whole, scientific planning of health-protection programs, and development of the efficiency and effectiveness of health institutions are important fields of contemporary medicine. In connection with those efforts, persevering action must be taken to apply computers and data processing to research and also to medical care, management of health units, and evaluation of their activity, in order to provide more efficient medical services at lower and lower cost.

The effort to humanize medical-health care to the greatest extent and in all respects is a consideration of growing importance in medical research and practice. To this

end it is necessary to minimize "technicization" of the medical act, while individualizing and differentiating medical behavior according to individual reactions, the particular clinical picture, the psychological and psychosocial whole and the biological profile of each individual patient. Therefore not only professional competence and discipline are required of everyone dedicated to the medical profession, but also great understanding, warmth, respect for the sufferer, and a worthy attitude of high morality, high standards for oneself and others, and promotion of the principles of Hippocratic ethics under all circumstances.

5186
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PRESENT-DAY EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 24, 20 Dec 81 pp 28-30

/Article by Univ Reader Dr Stana Buzatu: "Evolution of Romania's Social Structure In the Present Stage"/

/Text/ The problems of the social and class structure are central to the scientific theory of society, to substantiation of social-historical action by the criteria of knowledge and purposeful use of the laws governing social development, and to the RCP policy of building the new order.

Revolutionary Changes in Romania's Social Structure

Romania's social and class structure underwent radical changes in the years of revolution and socialist construction. Thanks to the victory of socialism, generalization of socialist production relations based on state and cooperative ownership, and construction of the uniform socialist economy, the oppressing classes and exploitation of man by man were eliminated and relations were established of collaboration and friendly mutual aid between the classes and categories composing Romanian society. Acquisition of political power, transfer of the national wealth to the people's control, and the broad processes of social reorganization on a socialist basis are the main elements of the revolutionary reforms in the status and roles of the social classes and categories.

The working class was transformed into a new classed freed from exploitation, holding economic and political power together with the other workers and becoming the main social force of society. Numerical gains were accompanied by radical qualitative changes, since its professional, techical-scientific, cultural and political levels were more and more intensively enhanced.

The rapid development of the productive forces in the process of industrialization, steady modernization of the economy through promotion of technical-scientific progress, changes in the internal structures of the economic sectors, and intensified mechanization, automation and cyberneticization of the production processes stepped up the rate and extent of the working class' occupational and general cultural training. This intensified the qualitative aspects of the performance of its role in society and the changes in its social-occupational structure and in its level of training and qualification. Now over four-fifths of all workers are skilled, and the number is increasing of those who have graduated from at least 10 grades or have finished high school as well as those who have highly skilled trades.

The qualitative changes made by socialist construction in the social-professional, political-ideological and moral-spiritual make-up of the working class and the vast experience acquired in social management call for its increasing and direct participation in all of Romania's political and social activities. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "It is not enough that we merely assert this basic principle of socialism in a program and decisions. We must also create the right organizational framework wherein the working class as a leading class of socialist Romania can have its say directly on all problems of Romania's domestic and foreign policies. That is the only way the leadership of the working class will be emphatically asserted in practice and experience and the RCP will better perform its historic mission as organizer and leader of the people's struggle for construction of the fully developed socialist society and for Romania's advance toward communism." The party's measures to improve workers' democracy and for the working class' effective and increasingly efficient participation in the management of all fields are levers for the better performance of its role as a leading class in society. Through the content and purpose of the system of working class participation in preparation and implementation of decisions and in control of all activity, workers' democracy is asserting its educational and formative powers in shaping the new, socialist traits of the working class and in enhancing the results whereby the decisions invested with the force of law are vindicated in practice.

The organization of agriculture on a new, socialist basis as well as the stages that followed it made radical changes in the class nature and social structure of the peasantry. From a heterogeneous mass of small individual producers, divided by private interests and subject to a constant process of differentiation, the peasantry became a new class with traits peculiar to socialism. The cooperative peasantry is characterized by its homogeneity and the fact that it bases its existence and work upon public ownership of the production means and that it organizes its work, distribution and changes of activity on socialist principles.

In the overall strategy of building the new order, the party and state attach particular importance to agriculture as a basic sector of the national economy, feeling that any neglect of agricultural development and modernization gives rise to discrepancies in the general socioeconomic development with bad effects upon construction of the new order. In accordance with this main guideline, pointed out in the documents discussed and approved by the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Grand National Assembly, the new agrarian revolution is taking place, as well as promotion of the intensive aspect and massive growth of investments out of state funds and of the agricultural production cooperatives, concentration of production in the cooperative units is being intensified, and their public property is being increased. Application of the party and state measures is improving uniform management and planning of agriculture, consolidating the state and cooperative uniform agroindustrial councils, and increasing agricultural production. Intensified cooperative democracy is particularly influencing the crystallization and further promotion of the new traits and socialist nature of the peasantry. Intensifed mechanization of agriculture and modernization of its activity have intensified specialization and professionalization of agricultural work and enriched the occupational and general cultural disciplines.

Considerable changes are taking place in the social-political make-up of the peasantry under the influence of its participation in management and organization of production and labor and of state and public affairs. The experience gained by the cooperative peasantry in agricultural management and in exercise of the prerogatives with which

the bodies of cooperative democracy are invested is helping to shape its political consciousness and its progressive social behavior. A particular part in this is played by the vast political-ideological and cultural-educational work being done in the villages and the fact that agriculture now has a large number of specialists and tens of thousands of physicians, teachers and cultural activists doing their work in communes and villages.

Of course the measures to develop and modernize agriculture and to provide it with the necessary technical-material resources are in full course, and their implementation requires regular efforts and mastery of the various difficulties. Some of the important problems are provision for an optimal ratio in the structure of the agricultural labor force according to ages and sexes, reduction of the trend toward aging and feminization of the labor force, maximum use of the existing material and human potential and of the organizational and administrative personnel in this sector of the national economy, and the need of greater efforts to keep more youths in agricultural work as mechanization specialist and technicians as well as agricultural workers.

As an active social force for the progress of Romanian society, the intelligentsia have an important place in the shape and evolution of Romania's social structure. Construction of the new order and the qualitative changes made in Romania's socioeconomic and cultural activities have transformed the intelligentsia into a new social category. Coming largely from the ranks of the working class and the cooperative peasantry, they are collective owners of the national wealth jointly with the workers and cooperative peasants and active participants in management of socioeconomic and political affairs, asserting their creative potential in all sectors, in material production, in scientific research and education, and in improving the entire people's cultural standard. The new demands of the current scientific-technical revolution amplify the intelligentsia's social role and functions and intensify both their numerical growth rate and the processes of social-professional diversification of the groups that compose them. The present evolution of the social-professional structure of the intelligentsia reflect the party's basic policies of securing the nation's all-around progress and of raising the people's material and cultural standards.

Construction of a modern economy, widespread application of scientific and technical advances to all social activities, achievement of a new quality of life and work, and transition from extensive to intensive development enhance the role of the intelligentsia and especially the technical and economic intelligentsia. Meanwhile the ranks of the other categories of intellectuals are increasing with development of education, expansion and improvement of the system of social aid and protection, modernization of agriculture, and intensification of cultural activity and cultural-educational work. Socialism provides favorable conditions for full expression of the aptitudes, talents and creative power of all intellectuals.

The entirety of the components of the social structure reflects its socialist nature and the stage reached in improving social relations and molding the awareness of them according to the requirements of Romanian society's socioeconomic and moral-cultural progress. In the historical perspective defined by the RCP Program and the decisions of the 12th RCP Congress, new and important changes will be made in the evolution of the social and class structure in keeping with the maturity of social relations and the qualitative changes taking place in the characteristics of the social division of labor, in the way of life, and in the moral-cultural make-up of all workers. Regional systematization of cities and villages and their socioeconomic development will contribute to the balanced distribution of the productive forces throughout the whole

nation and to harmonious development of all areas and communities, making it possible to bring about full social equality of all citizens and to bring the village up to the level of the city. In keeping with the requirements of this development and with the actual state of the economy, the structure according to sectors, and the structure of personnel in the economic units, the party is orienting society toward a marked increase in the number and proportion of directly productive personnel and of workers in material production along with a relative and absolute reduction in administrative-official presonnel. This is a far-reaching policy that will contribute to the faster growth of labor productivity. Implementation of the policies set in the national urbanization program, rationalization of the proportion of women in socioeconomic activities, and employment of the new generations of youth in useful social work according to the requirements of social development and their aspirations and training are heavily influencing the evolution of Romania's social structure.

Social Leveling and the People's Strengthened Socialist Unity

The main direction of the evolution of social and class relations in Romanian society is the gradual reduction and leveling of the essential class distinctions and homogenization of the socialist nation. In this perspective the essential differences between physical and intellectual work and between city and village will gradually disappear, changes in the working conditions and way of life of rural and urban dwellers will be made in the direction of their leveling, and society's general standard of civilization will be increasingly improved.

A particularly important part will be played by the factors for cultural-scientific leveling of the members of society, further development of education on all levels and improvement of its content and structure, ever closer coordination of education of education with research and production, and promotion of technical-scientific progress in all fields.

The party's policy of raising the workers' living standard and further improving the principles of socialist distribution will also make for social leveling. This is illustrated by the considerable increase in the public's total incomes and in the real wages of urban and rural workers above the upper limit of the original provisions, the improvement of state social insurance pensions, and the considerable increase in cooperative farmers' pensions, while a system for pensioning farmers in the uncooperativized areas is being implemented for the first time in Romania. At the same time there is a pronounced increase in the state's social outlays on allowances and grants for children and grants for mothers with many children.

Intensification and further improvement of socialist democracy and active, direct participation of the people in management are ways of political leveling of society that are peculiar to the Romanian order. Involvement of workers in decision-making by effective use of the institutionalized framework is a school of great formative and educational power for developing the masses' capacity for the task of self-government.

The leveling process is inseparable from improvement of political awareness, acquisition of culture and their crystallization in working and living attitudes and behavior that will be in keeping with the standards and principles of Romanian socialist ethics and justice.

Social leveling as a process and an objective, regular historical trend of the Romanian order requires consideration of all aspects of the social existence and moral-cultural life of the members of society in a close dialectical interdependence. The changes taking place in the way of life and and the moral-cultural nature of all workers and the constant rise of their levels of political awareness and occupational training serve to accelerate the process of formation of the single working people. This view presents the social contours of Romania's transition to communism, a stage that calls for a qualitative leap in the configuration of the social classes and categories. This leap is reflected in the disappearance of class distinctions, in the full manifestation of the personality and of all members of society in all fields of activity, and in the complete assertion of the principles and standards of communist organization and management of society corresponding to the radical changes that will be made in the productive forces and the perfection of all social relations, the state, and the entire superstructure of society.

The great revolutionary changes that have taken place in Romania's social structure and in the evolution of its social and class relations are summed up in the formation and continuing consolidation of the entire people's socialist unity and of the Romanian nation's cohesion. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "The unity of all workers, all social categories regardless of nationality, and the entire people within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and under the political leadership of the RCP was and is the guarantee of Romania's steadfast advance on the path of socialism and communism and of the security of Romania's independence and sovereignty."

Of course the assertion of the people's socialist unity as one of the chief motive forces of the progress of Romanian society is no chance phenomenon but the outcome of the historic importance of the RCP's policy and of the implementation of the strategic options for construction and development of the new order. Therefore the consolidation and improvement of the working class' alliance with the peasantry and with the other categories of workers as well as the reinforcement of their unity objectively necessitate development and improvement of the party's role in all fields, on the basis of the qualitative changes in the status and role of the social classes and categories as well as the objective trends of their evolution.

Since the people's socialist unity requires assurance of the most permanent material and objective prerequisites, it is particularly important to concentrate the party organizations' efforts upon attainment of the objectives of the RCP Program and the Five-year Plan for Romania's Socioeconomic Development and Improvement of the People's Civilization and Welfare. Achievement of a new quality of life and work, widespread application of the advances of the technical-scientific revolution, and enhancement of all people's technical, scientific and cultural levels must be the field of a definite, sustained and regular activity on the part of every party organization, for the action of the objective factors in the direction of harmonizing the general and group interests, as an important aspect of the processes of strengthening the people's unity, critically depends upon it. The party organizations must assert themselves as promotors of improvement and consolidation of socialist democracy and secure the increasingly extensive and effective participation of the workers regardless of nationality in the management of all sectors of socioeconomic activity and of society as a whole. Making full use of the institutionalized framework of workers' democracy and combatting red tape and bureaucracy, which still exist, are urgent requirements for strengthening the people's political unity and unity of will and action. An important part is played here by improvement of organizational activity to implement decisions, competent guidance and on-the-spot control, knowledge of the existing

realities in all sectors of activity, intensified political-educational work, expansion of the political and ideological horizon of all categories of workers, and development of their socialist awareness. The ideological dimension of the people's socialist unity conferred by the RCP's revolutionary conception of the world and life (dialectical and historical materialism) must be amplified through the whole effort to form the new man in the spirit of the principles of scientific socialism and revolutionary humanism. Moreover the party organizations are expected to take action to develop the spirit of friendship and brotherhood among all workers regardless of nationality as well as the spirit of work and responsibility to the collective in which they perform their activity and to the general interests of the nation.

The socialist unity of the social classes and categories that make up Romanian society is no absolute, metaphysical entity without any internal contradictions. Like any organism in full development, socialist society knows various contradictions based on particular interests of the different social classes and categories. This makes it necessary for the party organs and organizations to promote a realistic and militant attitude and to emphasize knowledge of the actual situations and provide the most suitable conditions for resolving them. As the party secretary general said, "Performance of the party's role in the new stage of development requires constant improvement of its activity and its working methods and approach as well as extensive discussion of all problems in the party with the working class and all workers. It requires consolidation of the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, which will lead to discovery of the defects and errors and the contradictions and to determination of the measures to eliminate them and to actively promote what is favorable and the new in all fields."

The processes that contribute to the strengthened unity of all categories of workers must be understood and purposefully directed, and this requires greater efforts to prospect the objective trends, a close combination of the specific activity of the party organizations with that of scientific investigation of the socioeconomic realities, and promotion of the principles of scientific management of all aspects involved in relations of collaboration, alliance and unity among the social classes and categories of workers.

5186
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IMPORTANCE OF PREVENTING FIRES IN INDUSTRIAL UNITS STRESSED

Bucharest PAZA CONTRA INCENDIILOR in Romanian Dec 81 pp 4, 10

[Unattributed article]

[Excerpt] The end of November 1981 inscribed in the political life of our party and state events with broad reverberations in the nation's consciousness, with decisive significance for the country's entire social-economic activity and for Romania's firm forward move along the road of socialism and communism. The agenda of events was dense and revealing, specific to the vitality of political life of the new time for the country, which involves all categories of workers and practically all our people in the leadership of the country's affairs through broad democratic forums.

The corollary of these events, impressive demonstrations of the people's full unity around the party, was the joint plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development. The plenum's work was crowned with the exceptional speech by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on increasing the role of the party organs and organizations and of the communists in carrying out the decisions of the 12th party congress, in firmly applying the new economic-financial mechanism, in strengthening worker self-leadership and sefl-management and the territorial self-supply by the population, in improving the planning and leadership of economic activity and in continually developing worker and socialist democracy.

However, difficulties also appeared in fulfillment of the 1981 plan and shortcomings were demonstrated, ones which led to some failures of fulfillment, particularly in the area of coal and oil extraction, in providing the energy base, in material-technical supply, which caused disturbances in the steady flow of the production process. The party's secretary general, with clearsightedness and a high spirit of revolutionary responsibility characteristic of the Romanian Communist Party, analyzed all these lacks of fulfillment, showing that they are due particularly to some subjective reasons, to shortcomings "demonstrated in the activity of leadership and planning of the economy, in the work carried out by the party and state organs and organizations to solve the complex problems raised by the country's social-economic development." In the spirit of that same revolutionary responsibility for the truth, the party's secretary general criticized relentlessly the phenomena of mistaken informing of the higher party and state leadership which was demonstrated, requiring the party organs and organizations and all communists to do their duty honorably, to militate selflessly and with devotion for complete fulfillment of their tasks at the highest level of quality and to decisively eliminate similar phenomena in Romania's social-economic life.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's masterful speech is an inexhaustible source of lessons in improving all the activity of preventing and putting out fires and raising it to a new, qualitatively higher level for firemen as well as for all responsible factors in industry and agriculture, transportation and construction and other areas of social and economic life. Analyzing the prevention activity in the spirit of the high demands formulated by the Party's secretary general, we can say that good results were obtained overall in 1981. The situation shows that the number of fires and the value of losses produced this year were lower than prior years. Yet we cannot overlook that many fires still occurred in the national economy, ones which could have been avoided through better organization of prevention activity, through complete respect for the standards for preventing and putting out fires at all the projects. The most fires were produced in Alba, Bacau, Braila, Botosani, Calarasi, Harghita, Hunedoara, Iasi, Neamt, Satu-Mare, Salaj and Timis Counties. In some counties, like Bistrita-Nasaud, Sibiu, Suceava and Teleorman, the losses caused by the fires even exceeded the value of losses recorded in 1980. This shows that in the counties mentioned, as well as in others, there still are serious gaps in prevention activity and there still is a lot of room for improvement. What are the main directions for future effort, what are the concerns which should be in the center of attention of the heads of the projects, technical commissions and civilian firemen's formations to eliminate any potential causes of fire in the incipient phase?

One of the main directions of effort is improvement in the activity of preventing fires in industry, particularly in the chemical and petrochemical, iron and steel, wood processing combines, in the energy units, in the big machine-construction enterprises, in the special production enterprises, in ports and at airports, on projects with crowds of people and material goods. The leaders of these projects are obligated to give prevention activity a multilateral and permanent nature, to watch for precise respect for the standards and measures for prevention and extinguishing of fires, together with members of the technical commissions and civilian foremen's formations and other specialists, as established for each installation, section, shop and for each place of work, with a view to the decisive elimination of any cause of fire or danger of explosion. On these projects there is special importance in continually maintaining the prevention and extinguishing installations in a permanent state of operation and their maintenance and checks never should be overlooked. Also needed are decisive steps in the area of investments in order to establish, even in the first design phase, all the systems and measures needed for fire protection and to systematically seek to carry them out at the highest quality level, even before the new projects are put into operation.

Some fires occurred in agriculture in 1981, particularly on the fodder bases, which through the losses produced affected the animals' food on the particular farms. So decisive actions are needed to improve the activity of preventing and putting out fires in all agricultural sectors, particularly silos and delivery bases, on the zootechnical farms and fodder warehouses as well as during the grain harvesting campaign.

The heads of p ojects and other responsible factors also are required to take specific measures to strengthen the civilian foremen's formation's ability to intervene. For this purpose a first measure is the appropriate supply of each formation with the equipment and machinery needed and employing it with effective personnel in conformity with the standards in effect. Another very important measure is the solid, multilateral instruction of the formations through complex exercises and applications, as near as possible to real cases of intervention.

A problem of immediate urgency which must concern the responsible factors is finalizing the plans for defense,as provided by the standards of preventing and putting out fires, by 20 January. The project leaders are obligated to show the necessary demandingness so that the defense plans are a precise reflection of all the changes occurring in the particular economic units (new buildings, expansions, new vulnerable vital points for fires and so forth), so that they include specific measures for prevention and intervention, so that they provide nominal tasks for each member of the technical commissions as well as for other specialists. Special attention, of course, should be given to drawing up the defense plans for the 400 new production capacities which went into operation in 1981. It is recommended that the defense plans mainly be drawn up according to the model framework worked out by the firemen's headquarters, clearly, with respect for the particular features of each project.

In all prevention activity it is necessary to give greater attention to the projects and vital points which are vulnerable to fires, where prevention checking should record a leap from the stage of periodic activity to permanent activity.

Supplying each place of work with initial extinguishing means, instructing all personnel, efficient instructive-educational activity which includes all categories of citizens--these also are directions of priority effort, coordinates of the permanent concern of the responsible factors in projects and locations. All these actions should give prevention activity a mass nature. This is the basic condition for prevention activity at all projects to record a true leap in quality. Let us not forget that, as owners, producers and beneficiaries of production, any loss produced by fire to the national wealth affects us all in one way or another. Let us imprint in the consciousness of all citizens a high degree of civic responsibility to defend the public wealth against fires through all our prevention activity.

In his masterful speech at the RCP Central Committee and Supreme Council for Social and Economic Development joint plenum, the party's secretary general asks that we all "take action so that each one at his place of work fulfills the tasks entrusted to him by the party under the best conditions," that each fully does his duty with a high sense of communist and revolutionary responsibility. In the area of each communist's and each worker's duty we also have the natural and legal obligation to watch carefully the defense of the national wealth against fires, the patriotic duty of all citizens.

8071
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CAUSES OF EXPLOSIONS, FIRES IN PETROCHEMICAL UNITS ANALYZED

Bucharest PAZA CONTRA INCENDIILOR in Romanian Dec 81 pp 14-15

[Article by Lt Col Ion Stanciu, commander of the Prahova County Firemen's Group]

[Text] Preventing the production of these events and eliminating the consequences they have for equipment and installations—and for the personnel in many cases--and increasing the degree of safe operation of technological equipment and installations are one of the main concerns of the heads of enterprises, technical commissions for preventing and putting out fires and of all specialists. Diversification of technologies in the petrochemical industry, rise in the number of substances used or manufactured, the fact that such events are more numerous and widespread than in other branches of the national economy, on one hand, and the difficulty in treating this subject exhaustively on the other causes us to limit ourselves merely to some some considerations on the need to increase the concern of the leadership factors and specialists in the chemical and petrochemical industry with reducing both the number of damages, explosions and fires in the technological installations as well as their proportions.

Whereas in general the danger of damage or explosions of component elements exists in the installations which produce or circulate fluids at greater than atmospheric pressure, in the petrochemical industry this danger is accentuated by the fact that nearly all the products are inflammable, while their vapors, in contact with the air, form explosive mixtures. As a result, the design standards and those for preventing and putting out fires, the checking and maintenance system for installations as well as the interior regulations are adequate for the purpose of achieving higher safety in the operation of technological installations, while the service personnel is trained in this regard, both while being trained as well as while they are employed, on the basis of programs of specific training. Concerns exist in the leadership organs, the design and research institutes as well as specialists from various depart ments for this activity to be improved continually, for safety in the operation of installations to increase with a view to fulfilling the main goal: achieving the plan indicators at the quantitative and qualitative levels forecast.

Despite the measures which have been undertaken, the events produced in the petrochemical industry (damages, explosions or fires) have shown that shortcomings still are being demonstrated in the activity of design, building, operation, maintenance and repair of equipment and installations and that action is not being taken firmly everywhere to eliminate these dangerous situations.

The study of accidents, fires or explosions produced in the petrochemical industry permits us to classify the causes for them, as follows:

Accidents

Such events in the technological installations were followed in nearly 60 percent of the cases by fires or explosions and were caused by the following:

Shortcomings in design, demonstrated in the existence of concentrators of efforts in the construction of the equipment (sharp variations in section, sharp changes in direction, connections and so forth); making the construction too small; large stress not included in the calculation (with vibrations being the most frequent and most dangerous); defects in the design of welded joints; materials chosen by mistake; elements of construction which cannot distend at variations in temperature.

Shortcomings in building, caused by failure to respect the building draft; defects in materials (peeling,cracks,hardening, seams, mechanical characteristics inferior to those in the calculation and so forth); the material's becoming brittle; inappropriate heat treatments; superficial welding.

Shortcomings in operation, as a result of corrosion, due both to atmospheric factors as well as products circulated or stocked; erosion, due to the rubbing of the fluid circulated of the container walls, walls of pipes, fittings, pumps and so forth; structural or chemical changes due to high or lower temperatures; fatigue of the material following vibrations or cyclical changes in temperature; excessive rise in pressure and temperature caused by defecting of the measurement and control apparatus or carrying out wrong maneuvers; production of fires or explosions; excessive usage as a result of inappropriate lubrication of the moving surfaces; other causes, such as natural calamities (earthquakes, floods), dangerous weather phenomena (storms and so forth).

Explosions

Generally these phenomena have been preceded by accidents or fires or have caused accidents(in some very serious situations) to the installations and fire in their fluid content. In many cases, besides the large material losses, the explosions also have ended with casualties.

As we see from the situations analyzed, the main causes of explosions in the petrochemical installations have the following, among other things, at their base:

The energy freed as a result of rapid oxidation, which has caused the most explosions in the chemical and petrochemical industry, with their more powerful destructive force being demonstrated in the case where certain mixtures or gases or vapors with the air take place in closed spaces, close to the superior limit of the explosion;

Rapid decomposition of certain chemical compounds;

Uncontrolled polymerization (decomposition), with rapid release of energy and so forth ;

The energy accumulated in fluids from closed systems as a result of exceeding of the technological parameters, failure of the cooling systems to operate or change of conditions for circulation of the fluid in the system;

The energy accumulated by the vapors formed as a result of water penetration in the petroleum products heated to temperatures greater than 100° C.

Fires

In the petrochemical industry, fires are the category with the most events. Due to the fact that in some situations the fires have been followed by explosions or serious accidents on the installations and casualties, an analysis of the causes for them and, implicitly, the measures to prevent them is no less important than an analysis of the causes for the accidents or explosions. In some situations the mistake is made of not analyzing "the starts of fires," the causes producing them, for the reason that they were smaller and did not produce large material losses.

We see from the practice of work and from statistical data that the main causes of fires in this industrial branch can be:

of an electrical nature: sparks and electric arc, short circuit, static electricity, electrical atmospheric discharge (lightning);

of a thermal nature: the open flame (match or lighter spark, fires built in certain situations, such as the worksite, repair jobs on the technological platforms and so forth; blowtorch flame, oxygas flame for welding and so forth); lit cigarettes, warmed, overheated or incandescent bodies (smoke stacks or for evacuation of gases, installations for central heating or improvized ones, radiators and electric lamps, electric heaters and incandescent lamps, overheated electrical pipes, other powerfully heated areas or bodies); sparks from exhaust gases, sparks of combustible materials or those resulting from doing certain jobs (welding, torching, cutting and so forth) with a flame, luminous and solar radiation, self-ignition (chemical, physical-chemical or biological) and so forth);

of a mechanical nature: mechanical actions causing sparks, any type of explosion, yeild through creeping or fatigue, destruction through vibrations or resonance, yield through loss of stability (buckling, collapse, fogging), cracking, becoming brittle and so forth;

of a chemical or electrochemical nature: exothermic chemical reactions, corrosion and electrocorrosion, coking, and burning of metals, carburation and decarburation of ferrous metals, deposit or precipitation of certain substances, chemical compounds and so forth;

Other causes, such as self-ignition of iron sulphide or copper acetylide as a result of doing certain jobs in technological enclosures for maintenance or repair (by welding, loading with welding and so forth).

If a number of measures were to be taken for new installations even in their design, measures which would give them higher operating safety, for the ones already in operation there is special importance in having the specialists in the control groups give diagonoses of the installation and having the operating personnel diagnose the defects which can be produced, in having solid preparation of reviews and repairs, in having quality job performance as well as having demanding delivery of them.

In this regard, it should be understood that shortening the length of time it takes for reviews and repairs by rejecting certain things is a harmful practice. "Shortening" reviews and repairs, even if this has not always led to fires or explosions, has been the reason for many accidents which have led to halts balanced with large production losses.

Practice has proven that the measures taken for operating safety (the safety coefficient taken into calculation, doubling some measurement and control apparatuses, protections against destructive factors, ensuring the continuity of energy, water supply and other utilities, safety devices in case the technological parameters are exceeded, installations for preventing and putting out fires and so forth) correspond to the current standards and requirements, even if the tendency--as a matter of fact, justifiable--exists to review and improve the design standards and operating instructions for the technological installations. But, at the same time, it also has shown that nearly all the events produced in the petrochemical industry have man at their base--man who, through his actions or inactions, has caused technical accidents, damage, explosions or fires.

It also should be emphasized that a good portion of the damages, explosions or fires also have been due to the fact that the personnel of the installations, from failure to know or from negligence, have carried out some mistaken maneuvers, have not totally fulfilled the duties for the supervision and control while they are in operation or have not intervened in a timely fashion to solve certain defects and disruptions. Another aspect is the lack of training, indecisiveness with which action is taken in case certain damages or fires are produced; plans for intervention drawn up for this purpose in certain situations are formal, while in other they are not known by all the personnel.

The ease with which some heads of installations and other people give the notice for working with fire is a particularly important problem, since it has been found that in some cases permission is given without taking all the necessary protective measures, while many times it has been found that permission is given for a job for a certain operation and in a certain place, but the jobs also were done in other places (nearly in all these types of situations the starts of fires, fires or even explosions have been produced).

We dwell on the need to instruct and educate personnel, for control over the way in which they perform their job duties, not only because it is one of the important duties of the higher heads (from the head of the working formation to the head of the enterprise), but also because it is the main way to influence the factor who insures that the coefficient of safety in operation is reached for any installation.

8071
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DECREE ON EXECUTION OF CENSUS OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Jan 82 p 5

[Council of State Decree on Execution of Census of Domestic Animals]

[Text] Increasing agricultural production, particularly animal production, is an important factor within the measures intended to insure the continued rise in the workers' standard of living.

Substantiation of the technical-organizational measures for developing zootechnics and increasing animal production, in conformity with the directing lines of Romania's social-economic development for the 1981-1990 period and establishing a real base for working out the five-year and annual plans and programs for territorial self-leadership and self-supply require that detailed information be obtained on the structure, characteristics and production potentialof livestock. So, data are needed to characterize the animal numbers by breeds, numbers, quality and by age groups.

For this purpose, the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I General Provisions

Article 1. The census of domestic animals is carried out in communes, cities and municipalities, throughout the country, at the start of February each year.

The census establishes the number of cattle, hogs, sheep, goats, horses, domestic rabbits, animals for fur from the stockfarms, poultry and families of bees existing at the start of the year in the socialist units and other units having animals as well as on the population's plots.

Article 2. Physical persons as well as state and cooperative socialist units which own or keep animals from the category of those provided in Article 1 are required to declare them to be counted in the census under the conditions of this decree.

In the case where a physical person violates the obligation provided in paragraph 1, the animals he has failed to declare are considered as not belonging to him and are taken from him, without payment, for state ownership.

If a socialist unit, state or cooperative, declares a smaller number of animals than really exists, then the animals which have failed to be declared are taken over, without payment, for the centralized state fund. The person guilty of violating the requirement to declare is to bear the countervalue of the loss to the unit.

Declaration of a larger number of animals than held in reality is an infraction and is penalized according to criminal law.

Article 3. The animal census is made under the leadership and control of the central commission and territorial commissions for census of domestic animals, organized in accordance with the provisions of this decree.

The organs which insure that the census is carried out are required to check on the existence of the animals on the spot and the exactness of the data declared by the owners, that is, those holding the animals, and they are directly responsible for registering the entire number of animals existing on the date of the census.

Those holding animals are required to permit and make it easy for the personnel doing the census and the control organs to verify the reality of the data declared on the spot.

Article 4. The executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils are responsible for the entire activity of the census of animals in the administrative-territorial unit in which they operate and they are required to insure precise application of the measures established for this purpose and to check on strict respect for the legal provisions on carrying out the census.

Chapter II Organization and Operation of the Central Commission and Territorial Commissions for Census of Domestic Animals

Article 5. The central commission for census of domestic animals, comprised as provided in Appendix 1, is established for preparing, heading and coordinating the work of the animal census.

The technical secretariat of the central commission for census of domestic animals is insured by the Central Statistical Directorate with participation of specialists from the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, designated by the Council of Ministers.

Article 6. The central commission for census of domestic animals has the following duties:

a) It works out the plan for organization of the census, methods and program for data processing; it establishes the data to be obtained in the census and the forms and it is responsible for the work of the census of domestic animals;

b) It organizes the action to recruit and instruct the personnel doing the census;

c) It organizes the action to publicize the census;

d) It informs the Council of State of the status of the preparatory work and the registration operations in the field and it presents the census results to it.

Article 7. In order to prepare, head and coordinate the census work in the administrative-territorial units, the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils establish county, Bucharest municipal, municipal, city and commune commissions as well as commissions from the Bucharest municipal sectors for the census of domestic animals in accordance with Appendix 2.

The tasks and operating method for these commissions are set by the central commission for the census of domestic animals.

The componence of the county, Bucharest municipal, municipal, city and commune commissions and commissions of the Bucharest municipal sectors for the census of domestic animals is approved by decision of the executive committee or bureau of the people's council.

The technical secretariat of the county and Bucharest municipal commissions is provided by the county statistical directorate and Bucharest municipal statistical directorate, respectively, with the participation of specialists from the general directorate for agriculture and food industry named by the executive committee of the county or Bucharest municipal people's council.

Article 8. Members of the commissions for census of domestic animals enjoy the protection of the law as well as persons doing the jobs involving the exercising of state authority in fulfilling their tasks while doing the census.

Article 9. The personnel doing the census are required to register the animals from the population's plots on the basis of the owner's declaration and verification of the existing number of animals by visiting each plot.

In case the animal is not with the owner, he is required to declare it, while the registration is made following on-the-spot verification of the particular animals' existence with the person possessing it.

The state and cooperative socialist units which possess animals from the category of the ones provided in Article 1 are required to list the exact data regarding the entire number of animals on the census forms.

Article 10. Checking of the registration operations, as these operations are carried out, is made by the verification teams set up for each unit, commune, city and municipality by the county and Bucharest municipal commissions on the basis of the methods standards approved by the central commissions.

Chapter III Duties of State Organs in the Census of Domestic Animals

Article 11. The executive bureaus and committees of the people's councils provide the needed personnel for the census and they are to be recruited from the agricultural technical cadres, personnel of the people's councils and other specialized cadres.

Personnel recruited to prepare for and carry out the operations for the census are freed from the tasks in the units where they are employed during the period of these operations and they keep all the rights they enjoy in these units.

The census commissions provided in Article 7 take measures to instruct all the personnel recruited for the animal census and provide means of transportation and housing for those participating in carrying out, guiding and checking on the census work.

The agricultural units are required to place at the disposal of the commissions for the census of domestic animals the means of transportation needed to carry out and organize the census work for a three-day period, within the schedules provided in

the timetables drawn up by the census commissions together with the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils.

Article 12. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, other ministries and central organs, and the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils take measures to register all the animals in the units they have under them, in accordance with the instructions issued by the central commission for the census of domestic animals.

Article 13. The Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications insures the registration of the animals being transported in the period that the census is being done, in accordance with the specific methods standards approved by the central commission.

The commissions for the census of domestic animals take measures for the correct registration of the animals travelling or being wintered in locations other than the ones where they are headquartered or the residence of the persons possessing them.

Article 14. Carrying out of the census of animals possessed by units of the Ministry of National Defense and the Minister of Interior is insured by these ministries, which send the results of the registrations to the central commission for the animal census.

Article 15. The capital required to prepare and organize the census of domestic animals is included annually in the financial indicators of the Central Statistical Directorate.

Article 16. The Council for Socialist Culture and Education and the National Council of Romanian Radio-Television, the central and local press insure that the actions for the census of the domestic animals are publicized.

Chapter IV **Penalties**

Article 17. Violation of the provisions of this decree, according to the case, brings disciplinary, material, civil, contraventional or criminal responsibility of the guilty parties.

Article 18. The following acts are contraventions if they are not committed under conditions whereby, according to criminal law, they would be considered infractions and they are penalized with a fine of from 1,000-3,000 lei:

a) Failure of the personnel entrusted with carrying out the census to respect the legal provisions for registering the data which are the subject of the census;

b) Preventing the persons doing the census or members of the verification team from checking the number of animals in the categories provided in Article 1 on the spot.

Establishment of the contravention and application of the fine are done by the mayor as well as persons especially empowered by the central commission or the county and Bucharest municipal commissions for the census of domestic animals.

The provisions of Law No 32/1968 on Establishment and Penalization of Contraventions apply to the contraventions provided in this article.

Chapter V Final Provisions

Article 19. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, the Committee for Problems of the People's Councils and the Central Statistical Directorate, together with the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils, are required to insure that all residents possessing animals know the provisions of this decree, that publicity is given to these provisions in the citizens' meeting in the labor collectives of the agricultural production cooperatives and state agricultural units, through the local press, signs and others means of information.

The presidents of the exeuctive committees and bureaus of the people's councils and other worker personnel in the people's councils, the county and Bucharest municipal statistical directorates, the heads of socialist agricultural units as well as all personnel participating in carrying out the census are required to sign that they know the provisions of this decree and to insure the strict application of them.

Article 20. Appendices 1 and 2 are an integral part of this decree.

Article 21. Decree No 516/1978 on Executive of the Census of Domestic Animals, as published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA No 111 of 21 December 1978, is cancelled.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Appendix 1: Componence of the Central Commission for Census of Domestic Animals

President: vice premier of the government.

First vice president: the minister of agriculture and the food industry; president of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives

Vice presidents: deputy head of a section at the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party; vice president of the Committee for Problems of the People's Councils; deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry; vice president of the State Planning Committee; director general of the Central Statistical Directorate

Members: head of the Department of State Agriculture; deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry; vice president of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives; president of the Bank for Agriculture and the Food Industry; deputy minister of finance; vice president of the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives; rector of the Nicolae Balcescu Agronomic Institute in Bucharest; director of the Zooveterinary General Economic Directorate in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry.

Secretary: deputy director general of the Central Statistical Directorate.

Deputy ministers and vice presidents and the deputy director general are to be named by the head of the central organ they are part of.

Appendix 2: Componence of the County, Bucharest Municipal, Municipal, City, Bucharest Municipal Sector and Commune Commissions for Census of Domestic Animals

A. County and Bucharest Municipal Commission

President: first vice president of the people's council executive committee

Vice presidents: director general of the General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry; director of the statistical directorate.

Members: The veterinary director from the General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry; director of the trust of state agricultural enterprises; vice president of the union of agricultural production cooperatives; directors of the meat and milk industrialization enterprises; director of the financial administration; director of the enterprise for recovery and utilization of reusable materials; the president of the union of consumer cooperatives; director of the branch of the Bank for Agriculture and the Food Industry; deputy inspector general of the school inspectorate; head of the section for planning, development and organization of the people's council executive committee; head inspector of the forestry inspectorate; three-four deputies from the people's council.

B. Municipal (City) Commission

President: first vice president and vice president of the executive committee or bureau, respectively, of the people's council.

Vice president: secretary of the executive bureau or committee of the people's council.

Members: veterinary doctor or technician from the veterinary district in the municipality (city); insemination technician from the artificial insemination point; head census taker and two-three deputies from the municipal (city) people's council; delegate from the county school inspectorate or director of a secondary school in the locality; delegate from the department for planning, salaries, personnel and education from the department for local state administration and secretariat ; two-three peasants in case the municipality or city has villages under it.

C. Commission of the Ilfov Agricultural Sector Under Bucharest Municipality

President: First vice president of the people's council executive committee.

Vice president: secretary of the executive committee of the people's council

Members: deputy director of the trust of agricultural enterprises of the state and Bucharest Municipality; head of the reproduction and selection office; head inspector of the veterinary health inspectorate of Bucharest Municipality; deputy director of the branch of the Bank for Agriculture and Food Industry; zootechnical engineer from the General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry of Bucharest Municipality; school inspector; head of the financial district; delegate from the department for planning, salaries and personnel; two-three deputies from the people's council; two-three peasants.

D. Commission of the Sector of Bucharest Municipality

President: first vice president of the people's council executive committee.

Vice president: secretary of the people's council executive committee.

Members: veterinary doctors or technicians from the veterinary districts of the municipal sectors; director of a secondary school in the sector; head census taker; two-three deputies from the people's council.

E. Commune Commission

President: president of the commune people's councils exeuctive bureau (Mayor).

Vice president: secretary of the commune people's council executive bureau.

Members: a zootechnical engineer (technician) or agronomist (from the agricultural production cooperative or state agricultural enterprise) or an agronomic engineer or agricultural technician from the commune; the president of an agricultural production cooperative in the commune; presidents of the cattle- and sheep-raising associations in the noncooperativized locations; head census taker; two-three deputies from the commune people's council.

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CONSUMER COOPERATIVES CONGRESS

[Editorial Report] AU251903 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 22 and 23 January both carry on page 5 reports on the proceedings of the seventh congress of Consumer Cooperatives [CENTROCOOP] that took place in Bucharest 21-22 January. SCINTEIA of 23 January reports that "as the last point on the agenda, the congress elected, by secret ballot, the CENTROCOOP council composed of 145 members and 36 candidate members and the auditing commission." "Comrade Paul Niculescu, member of the political executive committee of the RCP Central Committee, was elected chairman of the CENTROCOOP council and comrades Constantin Ioan, Ion Radulescu, Domokos Szasz, Ion Tarachiu and Ortansa Vilceanu were elected vice chairman. "Comrade Nicolae F. Ionescu was elected chairman of the auditing commission." SCINTEIA of 22 January also carries on page 5 the abridged text of the report presented by Paul Niculescu at the opening of the congress reviewing achievements, touching briefly on shortcomings and outlining future tasks, while SCINTEIA of 23 January on page 5 carries the abridged text of the resolution adopted by the congress of consumer cooperatives. The resolution goals are to intensify the contracting and purchasing of agricultural products, develop the animal breeding sector and vegetable growing, improve and diversify services to the people, the small-scale industry, make better use of local raw materials, develop exports, deepen cooperative democracy and firmly apply the new mechanism of workers self-management and self-administration and to develop international relations. SCINTEIA of 23 January on page 5 also carries the text of a cable sent by the participants of the congress of consumer cooperatives to the RCP Central Committee and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Pledging to improve their activity. Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian of 22 January carries on page 1 the message addressed by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to the seventh congress of consumer cooperatives held in Bucharest 21-22 January. The message reveiws economic achievements attained by the Romanian people, sets forth the consumer cooperatives, tasks to substantially increase their agricultural products and foodstuffs, to radically improve work and give an impetus to trade between villages and towns. No further processing planned.

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ARTISAN COOPERATIVES CONGRESS

[Editorial Report] AU211012 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian of 19 and 20 January both carry on page 2 a report on the proceedings of the sixth congress of Artisan Cooperatives [UCECOM] that took place in Bucharest 18-19 January. SCINTEIA of 20 January reports that "as the last point on the agenda, the congress elected, by secret ballot, the UCECOM Council composed of 133 members and 18 candidate members and the auditing commission." "Comrade Gheorghe Blaj was elected chairman of UCECOM and Comrades Ion Chirilescu, Paul Nagy, Adriana Moraru, Constantin Cotoi and Olga Horsia were elected vice chairmen." "Comrade Ilie Alexe was elected chairman of the auditing commission." SCINTEIA of 20 January also carries on page 2 the abridged text of the resolution adopted by the congress of artisan cooperatives. The resolution targets are to smoothly develop all fields of the small-scale industry, to increase the range of products and productivity, to conclude long-term cooperation contracts, improve services and product quality, increase the volume of exports and seek new local material resources and to urge all artisan cooperatives to focus on constantly increasing economic efficiency and on consistently applying the new economic mechanism of workers' self-management and self-administration. The resolution also stresses the importance of properly training cadres for all trades and improving work styles and methods. Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 19 January carries on page 1 the 2,000-word message addressed by Nicolae Ceausescu to the sixth congress of artisans' cooperatives held in Bucharest on 18 and 19 January. The message reviews Romania's economic situation and the tasks incumbent in that framework on the artisans' cooperatives, which are required to provide more and better consumer goods and services.

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BRIEFS

PRESS ON PRICE CORRELATION--AU261000 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 19 January carries an article by the director of the state committee for prices on the need to correlate production and retail prices. Subsequent issues of SCINTEIA--20, 21 and 22 January--and Romania Libera on 20 and 22 January carry similar articles dealing with the same topic and designed to explain to the people that, in view of the increases recorded in recent years in the prices of raw materials and fuels, production costs in industry and agriculture have been going up and hence, to avoid deficits, retail prices will have to follow the same course. The articles also stress that working people's incomes have been increased in Romania while retail prices have remained unchanged for years, thus making adjustments necessary. Bucharest SCINTEIA of 28, 29, 30 and 31, as well as Romania Libera of 28 and 30 January carry articles dealing with the judicious correlation of production and retail prices in the field of agriculture to place it on a more profitable basis and to achieve a more judicious relationship between price and income increases. [Editorial Report]

CEAUSESCU GREETED ON BIRTHDAY--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. On your 64th birthday I want to convey, dear friend, warmest congratulations on behalf of the Korean Workers' Party [KWP] Central Committee, the DPRK Government, the Korean people and on my own behalf. The Korean people highly appreciate the great achievements attained by the fraternal Romanian people, under your leadership, in their struggle for firmly defending the country's sovereignty, for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and for the contribution you are actively making to the cause of peace. Convinced that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples will continue to strengthen and develop even more, I want to take this opportunity to extend best wishes for good health and happiness and sincere wishes to you and the Romanian people for increasingly greater successes in implementing the 12th RCP Congress decisions. [Signed] Kim Il-song, general secretary of the KWP Central Committee and DPRK president. [Text] [AU011048 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Jan 82 p 5]

ELENA CEAUSESCU'S--AU111004 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 7 January carries on pages 1 and 3 A 1,500-word article by Ana Muresan, chairman of the National Council of Women, entitled: "Woman--An Active Presence in Our Fatherland's Socioeconomic Life" devoted to the role of Romanian women in general and to Comrade Elena Ceausescu's birthday and the 450-word text of a letter sent by the political

executive committee of the RCP Central Committee to Elena Ceausescu congratulating her on her birthday and wishing her new successes "in her activity devoted to the party and people." Bucharest Lumea in Romanian No 2 of 7 January carries on pages 4 and 5 a 2,400-word unattributed article entitled: "To Comrade Elena Ceausescu--Homage to A Life Devoted To Science and Socialist Romania's Progress" which outlines Elena Ceausescu's activity, her scientific works, which reflect "her commendably fulfilled duties as politician, revolutionary militant and, at the same time, as scientist and scholar of world fame," and her aim "to achieve the happiness and well-being of our people and to raise the country onto the level of socialist and communist civilization." [Editorial Report]

INTERIOR MINISTRY SESSION--AU190856 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 14 January carries on page 5 a 700-word report on a session held by the "Party and Command AKTIV of the Ministry of the Interior," to review 1981 activities. In a message sent to Nicolae Ceausescu at the end of the session, the participants state that they "obtained positive results in 1981 in combating and preventing crime and other anti-social acts, and strengthening law, order and discipline," and pledged to further increase "the combat preparedness of all [militia] troops," and to "defend the Romanian people's revolutionary achievements." [Editorial Report]

CREDENTIALS PRESENTES--Gen Antonio Ramalho Eanes, president of the Republic of Portugal, on 15 January received Larisa Munteanu who presented her credentials as ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania. A message was extended to the head of the Portuguese state on behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as best wishes and the desire to develop bilateral relations in the interests of the two peoples and the cause of peace and security in Europe. Expressing thanks, President Antonio Ramalho Eanes asked the Romanian ambassador to convey cordial greetings to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Stressing the positive relations between the two countries, he pointed out that conditions exist for them to continue to further develop. [Text] [AU181156 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Jan 82 p 6]

'ARAFAT THANKS CEAUSESCU FOR CABLE--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, with revolutionary greetings. It gives me pleasure to convey, on behalf of our Arab Palestinian people and my brother members of the PLO executive committee, deeprooted thanks and particular appreciation for the telegram of solidarity you sent us on the 17th anniversary of the Palestinian revolution. Your cable reasserts the firm and sure support granted by the party, government and people in the Socialist Republic of Romania, under your wise leadership, to the struggle waged by the Arab Palestinian people to achieve their inalienable and secure national rights and primarily their right to return to their homes, to self-determination in freedom and their right to create their Palestinian state on their national Palestinian soil and territory. Brother president, you are undoubtedly of the same opinion when we state that there will be no peace, stability and security in our area as long as our Arab Palestinian people's rights--recognized by the United Nations and other international organizations--are not fulfilled. We are fully convinced that the relations of sincere cooperation and militant solidarity linking our people to the friendly Romanian people, to the RCP and the Romanian Government, under your wise leadership, will develop in their mutual interests on the road to achieving a bright and dear future dominated by freedom, independence, sovereignty and equality. I want to

take this opportunity to wish you complete good health and personal happiness and new progress and well-being to your people. Revolution until the final victory! [Signed] Yasir 'Arafat, PLO executive committee chairman and general commander of the Palestinian revolutionary forces. [Text] [AU111155 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Jan 82 p 5]

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PROBLEMS IN CHECKING QUALITY OF DRUGS IN NATIONWIDE DEFENSE

Belgrade ARHIV ZA FARMACIJU in Serbo-Croatian No 5-6, 1981 pp 333-336

[Article by Radomir Popovic and Aleksandar Hranilovic, Pharmacy, Military Medical Academy in Belgrade, and Medical Department of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense]

[Text] The article examines the conditions, organization and professional work of the pharmacist in checking the quality of drugs in nationwide defense. Certain factors are presented which are important and have an influence on levels of professional analytical work, the characteristics of those levels are stated, and a contribution is thereby made to carrying out preparations for this aspect of pharmaceutical activities in nationwide defense.

One of the pharmacist's principal tasks in nationwide defense (ONO) is the timely supply to the medical institutions of drugs and other medical supplies, for whose quality he bears direct responsibility. Aside from preparing, storing and issuing drugs, under wartime conditions the pharmacist also assumes responsibility for their quality regardless of the conditions in which he does his professional work [1].

In ONO and emergency situations the pharmacist may verify drugs either in a permanent institution or in the field. However, wartime conditions are also characterized by a number of difficulties such as the shortage of highly trained personnel, laboratory equipment, instruments and reagents, the more difficult working conditions, etc., while on the other hand it should be borne in mind that the conditions for storing drugs will have deteriorated, that drugs will be in use which have been captured from the enemy or obtained in the form of aid from allies or other sources, that radiological, chemical or biological contamination is possible, there may be damage to the packaging or pharmaceutical forms in transport, and so on.

Certainly the criteria required by the various pharmacopoeias, official standards or other recognized regulations in the analysis of drugs cannot be fully applied under such working conditions. In assessing the quality of some drugs it will often be necessary to overlook certain strict peacetime requirements which do not essentially affect the pharmacological properties of a drug, especially with

respect to the level of purity. To what limit it is possible to depart from the values set in the pharmacopoeia depends above all on the physicochemical properties and pharmacological activities of the drug, the galenical form, the manner of administration and a number of other factors. For example, saline infusion is used as a blood substitute and as the base solution for administering a sizable number of drugs by infusion. Kitchen salt, a widely used consumer product, can replace sodium chloride and be used from local sources. However, the quality of kitchen salt is not identical to pharmacopoeia quality, since aside from chemical impurities, it also contains mechanical impurities which must first be removed by a procedure of pharmaceutical technology. The manner of a drug's administration has an important role in rendering an opinion on quality; for example, the same criteria cannot be applied to a substance used perorally and the preparation of medicines for external use that apply to a substance used for making a solution for injection or infusion. The guarantees of drug quality offered under peacetime conditions by the pharmaceutical industry or other manufacturer, including preparation by the pharmacist, cannot be altogether implemented under wartime conditions, since the level of professional work is lower in view of the general difficulties which war imposes on industry, such as the poor quality of the basic raw materials, the stepped up pace of production, the lower level of professional skill of employed personnel, poor containers, more difficult working conditions, etc.

The purpose of monitoring drugs is to establish their identity, the content of active ingredients and the level of purity, and to perform all three tests whenever and wherever it is possible. The line must be clearly drawn between a drug in proper condition and one that is not, so that the pharmacist, adhering precisely to the regulations that have been issued, will not be led into doubt as to whether some drug is in proper condition or not.

Sometimes it will be sufficient for quality testing to perform only the group reaction for rough identification (for example, identifying an alkaloid with some group reagent for alkaloids, salicylate with ferric (III) chloride or purine bases with the murexide test). However, the regulations governing the testing for each drug must state the specific reactions with which identity can unquestionably be proven with sufficient reliability.

In addition to the identification of drugs, it is an important task of the pharmacist in wartime to test the degree of purity, since without such tests it will not be possible to use even the least suspicious material. Impurities can roughly be divided into active and indifferent, and on the basis of the testing method into admixtures which recur frequently and are envisaged by the pharmacopoeia and those impurities which are not covered by the pharmacopoeia (chemical weapons) and impurities that come about as a result of radiation. Under wartime conditions it will not always be possible to run tests on all impurities, but will be run primarily for those impurities which could make the drug harmful or poisonous to the human organism, and those of the active impurities. Testing for contamination with radioactive agents should also be an integral part of these tests.

Quantitative analysis, which would cover the content of the active ingredient in the drug, would be conducted in cases when the working conditions allow. These

tests are mainly represented by various physicochemical procedures, but volumetric methods are used most frequently; they are also the most common in quantitative analysis in accordance with the regulations of the pharmacopoeia, they are simple to perform, they do not require special equipment, and they give accurate results. In certain cases modern analytical methods of checking drugs with up-to-date laboratory instruments will also be used. Which of these methods of quantitative analysis will be applied under field conditions depends on the place where the tests are conducted, the working conditions, the available chemicals, instruments and equipment, as well as the background of specialized personnel.

Biological and microbiological tests of drugs under wartime conditions are difficult and hardly feasible. Nevertheless, in case of need microbiological tests do come under consideration in order to test and establish the activity of antibiotics. The most suitable methods for work under wartime conditions should be adopted for these tests. The testing of sterility shall be done less frequently, and that in collaboration with the bacteriology laboratory of the public health service. Particular attention must therefore be paid to the preparation of solutions for infusion and injection by developing the appropriate technology and equipment. Then occasional checking and testing of sterility, mainly in order to check the procedure and apparatus, that is, the work process, would be sufficient.

Because of the general conditions and also in order to achieve conformity with the organization of health care in wartime, the monitoring of drugs should in principle be done at three basic levels which differ from one another in their size, the makeup of their personnel and the way in which they are equipped [2].

Level I comprises organoleptic tests conducted by the person handling drugs, most often the pharmaceutical technician, in order to determine the need for professional laboratory verification on the basis of familiarity with the harmful factors in storage and transport.

Level II embraces the laboratory methods of qualitative and possibly quantitative chemical analysis in order to arrive at rapid and sufficiently reliable assessments of a drug's quality. The testing procedures of the pharmacopoeia or other analytical regulations concerning the monitoring of drugs have been adapted to work under field conditions. The laboratory equipment is often represented by modifications of peacetime equipment; the reagents if possible should be in ampules, measured out in advance, or so prepared that they can be quickly prepared. The verification of drugs at this level is done by a general pharmacist.

Level III is aimed at making a final evaluation of the drug being tested. Present-day analytical methods adjusted to the possibility that the work would be done under field conditions or hospital conditions, including the relevant laboratory apparatus and equipment, are used in this work. A pharmacist who is a specialist in the testing of drugs does the work in a laboratory.

On the basis of their method of operation or the type of transport used for laboratories used under field conditions, laboratories can be divided into the following types:

i. stationary, when the laboratory operates under conditions that approximate those of peacetime, i.e., inside a permanent structure, and frequent moving is not anticipated;

ii. mobile, where the laboratory equipment is partly mounted and partly accommodated in the body of a special vehicle--the mobile laboratory; and

iii. portable, in the form of a medical kit packed in one or more chests which are carried or transported (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Medical kit designated "Drug Monitoring and Testing Laboratory, Portable" (portion of the interior of the laboratory).

The advantages and drawbacks of these types of laboratories are obvious. Professional work is at the highest level in stationary laboratories, assuming complete staffing and supply, but such laboratories are often confined to a particular territory. The mobile laboratory can for all practical purposes operate in any season and in the daytime and at night, carrying out a full work program, since it does not depend on being accommodated, it moves about over the territory it serves, and it is made operational very quickly. Diverse equipment can be built into the body of this mobile laboratory to expand the possibilities for professional work, the working conditions of personnel are quite favorable, and the capacity is relatively large.

The basic convenience of the portable and mobile laboratories for monitoring drugs is that one laboratory can be successfully used at several medical institutions in the region, which is done by scheduling their movement from institution to institution.

Appropriate laboratories for monitoring drugs of the portable and mobile types have been developed in our country; they can comprise the basis for equipping the respective wartime institutions where pharmaceutical activity is conducted.

Professional organizations of pharmacists and the relevant agencies of sociopolitical communities have adopted positions concerning the basic issues of monitoring drugs in ONO, and the curricula for the training of personnel furnish pharmacists the necessary professional knowledge, which is built on in postgraduate study and through continuing advanced training. However, this indicates the need for further scientific research in the field of monitoring drugs so as to adapt the up-to-date scientific advances of professional work to the conditions of ONO.

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WESTERN COMMENT ON PROPOSED FEDERAL APPOINTMENTS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Jan 82 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Changes in Yugoslav Government -- Power Shifts/More Influence for Serbia"]

[Text] Belgrade, 24 January -- There has been mixed reaction in Belgrade political circles to the official announcement of the changes in the Yugoslav federal government scheduled for April, most of which changes have already been leaked unofficially. It is acknowledged that a competent political leader -- the Slovene Stane Dolanc -- will be taking over the thorny Internal Affairs Ministry; it is similarly undisputed that the proposed new foreign minister -- Mojsov, of Macedonia -- is both experienced and internationally known as a result of his m any years as Yugoslavia's representative to the United Nations. The move by the present defense minister, General Ljubicic, to the position of head of the State Presidency of the Republic of Serbia appears to be politically significant. His successor as leader of the armed forces and the military ministry -- Admiral Mamula, a Serb from Croatia and a Tito protege -- might place somewhat less emphasis on the authority of the armed forces. There appears to be no consensus yet on a nominee as the important vice president for economics. Milenko Bojanic of Serbia has been mentioned; he has worked with economic and financial policy in the past and is now director of the large automobile plant in Kragujevac. The incumbent -- Zvone Dragan, a Slovene -- has earned universal respect but wants to be relieved, presumably for health reasons.

Coming as something of a surprise was the nomination of Croatian Central Committee President Milka Planic to succeed Djuranovic as president of the Federal Executive Council -- head of the government, in other words. Tito installed Milka Planic as party president in Croatia in 1971 following his intervention against the "nationalists"; since that time she has been more of a symbol of the great vacuum in Croatian politics than anything else. Since Bakaric is getting along in years, and since a Croatian functionary -- Dragosavac, a Serb -- already occupies the highest post in the federal party, there was apparently no one else available in Croatia, whose turn it is to provide the prime minister. Considering that the next chairman of the Yugoslav State Presidency is Petar Stambolic, a Serbian functionary of very advanced age, relations with foreign heads of state and government could become somewhat ponderous in his upcoming term of office.

Concealed in the planned personnel changes are certain shifts, but also problems in the power structures. It will probably be even more difficult to determine which

institutions in Yugoslavia wield true political power and leadership authority. It it rumored that Dolanc, as internal affairs minister, is to retain his position in the party presidium in order not to reveal the dilemma over just what the party's role is to be.

It is apparent that the Republic of Serbia's political leadership is gaining greater and greater influence, also within the federation. In two lively Central Committee sessions, the republic's leadership — in the persons of Parliament President Draza Markovic, Dobrivoje Vidic and government head Stambolic — emphatically exerted the republic's influence with reference to Voivodina and Kosovo, the autonomous regions situated within its territory, and also took the opportunity to call attention to Serbia's interests within Yugoslavia as a whole. The move by General Ljubicic to the Presidency of the Serbian Republic will increase the republic's influence even more.

At the same time Minic, the former foreign minister, Serbian federal politician and Tito protege, is losing much of his influence. The Serbian Republic's leadership is tolerating a certain amount of liberalism in its newspapers and returning to economically progressive conceptions of the "large systems" advocated around 1970 by the Serbian leader Nikezic, who was deposed by Tito, but it favors a certain amount of centralism within its own republic and probably for all of Yugoslavia as well. Moreover, it favors the present policy of repression in Kosovo. The nomination of the Slovene Dolanc as internal affairs minister is also being well received in Serbia. Many people are reminded of the prewar period when, also under the aegis of Serbia, a strong Slovenian politician — Korosec, the clerical leader — had run the Internal Affairs Ministry very effectively for a long time.

7458
CSO: 2300/150

ELECTION OF CLERGY TO SAWP BODIES DISCUSSED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13 Feb 82 SEDAM DANA supplement p 16

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic: "Priests in the 'Pool of Candidates'"]

[Text] During this period in advance of the election there is more and more talk about how worthwhile it would be to elect a certain number of priests to the bodies of the Socialist Alliance. This is not, of course, a new demand, since that has been the direction taken even before now, as indicated by the following figures: in the last election in various bodies of the Socialist Alliance (from the local community to the republic conference) 116 religious officers were elected in Croatia, 165 in Serbia, 245 in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and so on.

This unquestionably substantial number of religious officers in the bodies of our organization with the largest membership, it is held, should contribute to "guiding political activity toward creation of still more favorable conditions for achievement of religious freedoms" in certain places.

Others, however, who on various grounds dispute the right of priests to be involved in public affairs in this way, say: "... it simply means that someone is becoming a member of a government body or sociopolitical forum because he is a member of the clergy. Is this the time, when we are so vigilant against possible occurrences of cleronationalism or clerofascism, for us to introduce new forms of clerosocialism or clerocommunism? Wouldn't this mean affirming the position of the clergy as an intermediary in politics and at the political level?" (GLAS KONCILA, No 3, 1982)

Aside from the fact that we are not talking about any sort of "bodies of government" (as injected by the Catholic organ just mentioned) and regardless of its possible intention, it must be admitted that in some respects it is to the point.

That is, if religious officers are elected to the Socialist Alliance out of a tendency to have them represent there the interests either of the church (in the strict sense) or of the body of believers generally, then this actually would amount to a certain installation of "intermediation by the clergy." And that kind of intermediation by the clergy would actually smack of clericalism, even in such a "benign" form as "Red clericalism" or "Red neo-Constantinism."

That is, by definition clericalism is not only an attempt to insist on domination of the church and the clergy in a country's political and cultural life, nor just an attempt to assign the clergy a special role in all domains of life, but also the intention for them in some way to take the place of social intermediaries where religious interests are concerned.

Elect the Citizen, Not the Cassock

This kind of mediation by the clergy is, of course, neither on the line of our policy, nor could it be fitted into the system of self-management socialism, which specifically insists on abolishing all form of mediation in society. Which means that religious people themselves should be those who directly, in line with the other interests in self-management, realize their own special religious rights and interests.

By no means, of course, does this signify that priests should remain in sacristies so that no one might say that any kind of "clerosocialism" or "clerocommunism" is being established here. Nor should they remain there out of a fear that someone will accuse them of betraying their mission since they have allegedly stepped over into politics (and voices to that effect are coming from the church) and have thereby "confused their jurisdictions."

That is, the mere fact that someone is a priest is not incompatible with the fact that he is also a citizen of the country in question. (The cassock has not swallowed the man though it cover him to the ankle.) And one of the fundamental human rights is that of making decisions on all public affairs, since they concern him in every way. And a priest, as a citizen, not only possesses that right, but it is indeed his duty.

Incidentally, was it an accident that the Second Vatican Council, which resolutely condemned any form of clericalism or neoclericalism, made this distinction: "It is very important, especially in a pluralistic society, to have a correct notion of relations between the political community and the church and to make a clear distinction between what religious people--either as individuals or in association--do in their own name as citizens, guided by their Christian conscience, from what they do in the name of the church along with their spiritual shepherds" ("Gaudium et spes," Point 76)?

There Is No "Quota" for Electing Theists

Priests, then should be elected to the bodies of the Socialist Alliance, but not with the intention of their representing religious interests there (as some kind of delegates) as spiritual shepherds or as representatives of the church. They should above all be elected because they are full-fledged citizens of this country and because it is their right and duty as it is of all other citizens, to decide on the fundamental issues of our social life.

We emphasize this because in certain quarters (though perhaps with the best intentions) there really have emerged "clerosocialist" tendencies, which usually come down to including a "priest" on the list of candidates so that the religious people would also have their "delegate" in the "political structures."

And in other places it is felt that clergymen should be elected because they are believers. The logic is probably this: It should be fully evident that religious people are not by any means second-class citizens (as some maliciously assert), and the election should also make their contribution to that. If a priest (whose piety is indicated even by his external appearance, which is certainly not the case with the usual believer) is elected to some more or less important body, then this will be visible "proof" that religious belief is not any sort of socially "verified" diferentia specifica.

But that very fact that the priest is elected exclusively because he is religious signifies in a way (in reverse) establishment of a socially and politically unacceptable division of citizens into theists and atheists, whereby there would be a "quota" for electing theists as some sort of separate social group of people.

So, when it comes to electing priests, then care must really be taken that they not be elected merely because they are religious, but solely because they deserve this by their behavior and their civic activity as citizens. If there is no such priest in some community, then it is better not to elect one (according to the criterion of religious allegiance), since this invalidates basic social principles and commitments.

Line of Demarcation

There is no reason in this connection to fear that a point will be lost (possibly) for "equality" between theists and atheists, since it certainly does not depend on whether a priest is (or is not) elected in some place.

But much more important is that an atmosphere and conditions be created in which citizens truly are able to elect the best people, and in that atmosphere religious commitment certainly ought not to be the line of demarcation (in either the positive or the negative sense).

That is, if it is true, for example, that there are about 380,000 members of the League of Communists in Croatia (of whom it can be said with some likelihood that they are not religious) and that there are about 1.5 million people in the most diverse bodies, SIZ's [self-managing community of interest] and delegations, then it is probably true that many of these people are religious. And that in turn means that we do not need any sort of other "proof" of the representation of religious people in various social structures, since in the final analysis they lead to the counting of heads, which certainly cannot be consistent with our policy.

If, then, some proof is sought, then it should be recognized that the proof lies in the nature of our sociopolitical system, which specifically demands that the working people and citizens participate in large numbers in the government of society. When all is said and done, that is in fact the meaning of the word "self-management."

So consideration should be given above all to nominating the best people to particular positions, and the criterion here, which we should also mention, may not be whether or not someone happens to be a member of the Socialist Alliance.

After all, if the Socialist Alliance is the organizer of elections, it has not thereby obtained a right to exclusiveness. The line of demarcation in this case, then, may not be any sort of membership or allegiance except that which is measured by the attitude toward the fundamental achievements of this sociopolitical community.

7045
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CHAUVINIST INCIDENTS IN KOSOVO DETAILED

Eviction of Pristina Invalid

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1205, 8 Dec, pp 22-23

[Article by Slobodan Reljic]

[Text] Bosanski Samac, December--Murat Barlov is a pensioner and an invalid. He resides in Bosanski Samac, in a tumbledown house at the edge of town, near the Prucki bridge. Everything in the house is dilapidated. This is Murat's residence by necessity.

According to all important documents, Murat Barlow lives in Pristina, in his own two-room apartment at No 9 Lenin St.

But papers do not always reflect the true situation. That is the case when the word written on a socially valid paper is not respected, when someone creates such conditions that the word of law is invalid, when someone's completely private will is more powerful than fully valid court decisions. Murat Barlov cannot live in his own apartment.

He Got an Apartment

[Barlov] My story is sad, very sad. Sorrowful, brothers. God only knows if this will ever be returned to me. I am ruined, brother. People say to me: "You are good, Murat, and what has happened to you will be remembered. Under socialism, in freedom, for someone to drive you out of your house. We could ever expect that." By God, people are right, I will be remembered.

Murat has lived in Kosovo for 17 years. His daughters had married in Kosovo, so he came here too. Before that he had worked in the Sutjeska brick factory, in Foca. He worked at the telephone switchboard. He could do nothing else, for both his legs were crippled. He received his pension 17 years ago.

Murat did not stay in Foca, for he had nothing to stay there for. He says, "I have been a proletarian since childhood." But his daughters lived in Kosovo, they were family and would help him.

Murat lived with his wife Mejra, his son Dzemat and a son born later, Idriz. They were subletters with the address of Nis Signal (no number), 38210 Kosovo Polje. And they were waiting for an apartment.

In the middle of 1979 at the election conference for pensioners at Kosovo Polje, for which Murat still keeps the invitation, it was decided to provide him with an apartment from the "Solidarity Fund." The apartment was located in the Pristina suburb of Dardanija. Murat was second on the list. But....

[Barlov] My children said to me, "Father, everyone is moving in. Why don't you?' I wnet to Veselin Imer, at the Pristina social services office. I asked, "What is happening?" He responded, "We gave your apartment to someone else!" "How can that be?" "What can I do for you? If you don't like it, complain to the court." And I complained. The case has never been resolved, it is at the Pristina Opstina Court, top floor, Room 203.

Nevertheless, Murat Barlov was given another apartment, by the following decree: The Secretariat for Urbanism, Communcal and Housing Affairs of the Pristina Opstina Assembly approves the following decision: Point 1. A two-room apartment with conveniences is given for the use [of Murat Barlow]. It is located at No 9 Lenin St. in the basement. Previous resident was Milica Stojsavljevic. The apartment is provided from the "Solidarity Fund" of Pristina. The decision is entered as No 119/79-2/1, and dated 4 January 1980.

And Murat moved in.

"This is not Your Place"

[Barlov] And we lived there until July of this year. I even had a student as a subletter. At the end of July we went for a short vacation to Foca and returned in August. When we arrived in front of the apartment, I saw that something was unusual, something strange, brothers. The key didn't work. The light was on, but our subletter wasn't there. But there were three brothers sitting there in the middle of my apartment, drinking tea. And they had placed three pistols in front of them. When I saw that, the house began to spin around me..

"What are you people doing in my apartment?" "This is our apartment," they said. "How can it be yours, people?" "The opstina gave it to us." And immediately they brought in that Redzep from the opstina, the one who had gave away my apartment.

He was apparently some relative of theirs. That Redzep said, "Please, leave, go." "How can I, this is my apartment." "How can that be so, Murat, how can this be your apartment when Albanian people are living here. So get out of here, get lost as quick as you can. This isn't your place now." I said, "Could I like down a while in this little room where my things are? I can't stand on these canes any longer, people." He said, "Nowhere, Get our immediately!" My wife said something, and replied, "March out of here, you whore! March out!" And then he pulled out a pistol and pushed it at her throat. I have two children, so I said "Let's go," so that nothing would happen to them. And by God's justice, they had taken my apartment away.

I went to the Secretariat of Internal Affairs, on 31 August, at 9 in the evening. The man on duty said, "I can't help you in any way, man. Got to Kosovo Polje where you used to reside and sleep." We went right to the train. And I have brought my family to Bosnia.

No sort of complaints helped Murat.

In The Name of the People, Immediately!

[Barlov continues] The first time I entered the court, I asked them to expedite this for me, because of my situation. In fairness I will say that the Albanian woman there immediately expedited the case.

After considering the incident, the court announced the following decision:

"In the Name of the People"

"The Opstina Court in Pristina, as the court of first instance, with Judge Virjina Dumica sitting in the legal matter of the plaintiff, Murat Barlov of Pristina, on 29 September 1981, in the presence of all parties, reaches the following decision:

"The plaintiff's complaint, by Murat Barlov, of Pristina, is upheld. It has been confirmed that the defendent, the Opstina of Pristina, has prevented the plaintiff in actual fact from possessing his apartment, which is located in Pristina, at No 9 Lenin St. To wit, workers of the accused opstina forcibly entered the apartment on 11 August 1981 and permitted another person to take up resident in it. The accused opstina is instructed to restore the former occupant to his residence, to remove those who have been illegally given the apartment and their effects, and to refrain from this or other personal hindrance to the possession of the apartment by Murat Barlov. All of this is to be implemented immediately, along with the obligation to compensate the plaintiff for court costs in the amount of 1,650,000 dinars, under threat of forced execution of these provisions by the court."

The decision was entered as No 815/81.

Nevertheless, the "former status of residency" has not been restored. "Immediately" can be an eternity, when that concept is interpreted by people from Pristina Opstina.

For that reason, on 6 October 1981 the Opstina Court in Pristina sent down the following: "Considering the housing and family situation of the plaintiff, the order for execution below is issued. Implementation is ordered of the decision of the Opstina Court in Pristina, numbered 81581, of 29 September 1981." This paper was recorded at the Opstina Court as No 3774/81--if that is of any importance. The court tax was duly paid.

That did not prove to be effective enough either. Murat Barlov got no benefit from the court's judgment, the official seals, the register numbers, the suggestions, decisions or orders for implementation on paper.

Nothing Has Helped

Tomo Nijemcevic of Bosanski Samac brought his newly arrived neighbor some wood. Mejra, Murat's wife, offered coffee.

[Barlov] If it were not for these people, I would be totally lost. My pension is 320,000 dinars. For this apartment, I pay 250,000. I would die on the street if it were not for these people. Here, my neighbor Tomo has given me a stove. I have nothing. I could not bring even a needle from my apartment. My things are rotting

there. That man has made himself comfortable in my apartment. And you can see how I am living. I borrow money from a man when I have to go to Pristina. I don't have it. I am in debt. I don't know how this will come out. Neighbor, I don't know when I will be able to pay you for this wood.

Tomo waved his hand. "Well, don't worry, neighbor Murat, when you get your rightful due. As they say, may God help you to get that soon. I'll scrape up some money for you. While we have some, we'll spend it."

And Murat Barlov is pursuing his rights. On his crutches, pressed by his worries and the unheard of opstina unconcern.

[Barlov] I just cannot understand how someone can break into my apartment that way. That Redzep is simply an official in the opstina office, you see. That means, if you are an opstinal official, you can break into any apartment you like, and then you can give it to whomever you want. Well, folks, that Dzafer Vecira, the assistant opstina legal defender, represented the opstina at court and declared: 'Brother, I have nothing to say against Murat. It is true that I am defending the opstina, because my bread comes from it, but they are not right. As it is, I have not found enough to say on their behalf to press under my little finger."

As they say, Murat "knocked on all the doors" around Pristina, and also on many in Belgrade. Everyone said "We'll see."

[Barlov] In Pristina, I went to the committee, and nothing happened. I went to the Provincial Assembly, to that fellow Kostic. He intervened there for me, and told them "Don't do things like that, return [his home] to the man." But that didn't help at all. I went to the Republic Secretariat of Internal Affairs in Belgrade, right to that Mirosavljevic. They ordered some fellow named Jusuf to protect me. Nothing came of that.

Murat Barlov wrote his woes on paper and sent them to the Yugoslav Assembly. He quickly received a telegram: "We hereby inform you that we have sent your petition to the Yugoslav Assembly to the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, to its Commission for Petitions and Complaints, in Pristina, under the number and date above."

After some 15 days, a new letter of hope came for Murat Barlov. The number above was now the second. "Regarding the petition that you sent to the Yugoslav Assembly, we hereby inform you that this commission received it. The secretary of the commission discussed the subject with the president of theopstina and district courts in Pristina, in order to expedite its resolution."

Those were the words on the formal, official paper, with the memorandum in the upper left-hand corner, and the raised seal in the lower right. But Murat Barlov went to see Bajram Atifi, secretary of the Commission of the Kosovo Assembly, to find out the situation.

[Barlov] Bajram told me, "I can't do anything for you on this, Murat. Let's say I call them on this telephone, the people at the opstina will say, 'Fine, we will take it into consideration.' And again they will let the matter lie. Who knows till when." Who knows whether I will ever get my apartment back? Who knows?

Shooting in Pec

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1207, 22 Dec 81 pp 22-23

[Article by Milos Misovic]

[Text] One cannot see much in Kosovo in 3 days, but on the very first day you can sense that there are two parallel currents in the province's life. On the one side are progressive forces and the greater part of the sociopolitical organizations which are striving to eliminate the consequences of false policies and return life to normal. On the other side, the forces of Albanian nationalism and irredentism by various actions and nearly daily sallies openly demonstrate not only their existence, but also their clear intention to retard, or if possible even halt, the process of consolidation that has begun.

In that situation, where nearly every action is answered by a counteraction, a quite widely held conviction is that things cannot be different when the struggle for ideological differentiation and political stabilization is being conducted more with words than with deeds. Yet the worst thing is that, in this atmosphere, a large segment of the Serbian and Montenegrin population has lost confidence in the objectivity of certain institutions, and in their readiness to resist the Albanian nationalism that has been tolerated internally for years and richly nurtured from abroad.

There are sufficient reasons for that, perhaps even too many. Some examples from the distant and recent past show vividly how this abyss of distrust, which for now is unbridgeable, came to develop.

The events that happened to Zika Stanjevic, a "first fighter" veteran from Pec, illustrate in their way the present situation and relationships in Kosovo. This well-known Kosovo warrior, who was secretary of the District Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communist Youth in Pec, lives in Belgrade now, but as a pensioner he frequently goes to his old home region to spend the summer months with his wartime friends and comrades, who include Serbs, Montenegrins and Albanians.

Recently, POLITIKA published a touching story about how one of Zika Stanjevic's wartime friends, an Albanian, had told Zika his last wish. Saljko Meterizi, a "first fighter" from Pec, had been confined to his bed in recent years because of serious illness.

When Stanjevic came to visit his sick friend, Meterizi confided to him what he expected to die soon, and he asked Zika to try to have the news of his death published not only in the RILINDJA (Albanian) and JEDINSTVO (Montenegrin) newspapers, but also in POLITIKA. This old, fearless warrior wanted his friends and comrades from other parts of the country to be informed as well, for they had fought together during the war and had forged the brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities.

Saljko Meterizi died on July 14, and his friends and comrades saw him off as he deserved. Several days after his death, POLITIKA published a warm story about this deserving Albanian, in which it also mentioned Saljko's last wish. A little later, Zika Stanjevic experienced the last thing he might have expected, in his miniature weekend cabin.

Midnight Shots

Just as he was preparing to set out for Belgrade after a 2-month stay in Pec, during the night of 5-6 September, at precisely 2 am, someone shot at the window of his cabin from the street. The cabin is at No 17 Boris Kidric St. As Zika Stanjevic recalls, "Everything happened in a moment. My wife and I had been packing for the trip for a long time. We planned to leave at 6 am, which is better for driving. It was after midnight when we went to bed. Just after we had gone to sleep, the shots rang out loudly from the street. We were surprised and frightened, of course. We could not believe that anyone had a reason to attack us. By chance we had not slept in the room where the shots came that night. Nevertheless, we did not feel very comfortable.

"My wife kept me from going out of the house right away. After that, I saw myself that it would be better to stay inside, because someone who had decided to do something like this would probably not hesitate to do something even more. We listened for several minutes, but we heard nothing else from the street. Silence again reigned in that part of town. I turned on the light and looked at my watch. It was 2:15 am. We went back to bed, but there was no more sleep for us that night."

Zika Stanjevic and his wife Marija, who was also a fighter in the war, thought about many things in those sleepless hours after midnight. They asked themselves why precisely their house had been chosen to be the target of the attackers. Once more, they went over their entire wartime and postwar lives to check to see if they had made some enemy.

[Stanjevic] The only logical conclusion was that some Pec counterrevolutionaires had taken aim at us for some reasons of their own. Probably that way they wanted to announce and make us aware that we were no longer welcome in that place.

From Malesija to Drvar

Zika Stanjevic was born and grew up in Pec in an old Serbian family. He became a member of the Yugoslav Communist Youth League in 1941, and a member of the Yugoslav Communist Party a year later. He rapidly became a member of the district party committee in Pec, and the secretary of the district communist youth league committee. The war feats of this young revolutionary live on in the memories of many of his fellow fighters from Pec and the surrounding area.

In 1943, Zika Stanjevic was sent by the party to Malesija in Albania, where under an Albanian name he joined the Bajram Curi detachment. There he quickly became the commander of a company.

At the beginning of January 1944, the Yugoslav Communist Party leadership for Kosovo and Metohija, then located in Malesija, chose Zika Stanjevic and four other youth organization fighters, three Albanians and one Montenegrin, to go as the delegates of Kosovo and Metohija to the Second Congress of the United Federation of Anti-Fascist Youth of Yugoslavia, to be held in Drvar on 2 May. He was told that two fighters from Albania, who were to be guests of the congress, would be traveling with them.

The group set out immediately for Andrijevica, where it joined the delegates from Montenegro, Boka and the Sandzhak. There they formed a Youth Battalion, which with the Third Sandzhak Brigade set out on a long and difficult journey. After several unsuccessful attempts, the Youth Battalion returned to Andrijevica, then later

set off for Drvar taking a different route. Due to illness and exhaustion, all the members of the Kosovo-Metohija delegation remainedin Andrijevica, except for Stanjevic. Two of the delegates from Albania stayed with them.

Bravely enduring great efforts and many skirmishes, the youth expedition made its way via Niksic, Konjice and Kupres, and broke through to Drvar on 1 May, on the very eve of the congress.

Greeting the congress in the name of the Albanian, Serbian, Montenegrin and Kosovo batallions, Zika Stanjevic said that the youth, conscious of the goals of the national liberation war, was giving everything of themselves, even their very lives.

When the congress ended, Stanjevic stayed in Drvar for a time, and found himself in the fire of the famous German attack. He fought with the Escort Battalion, with which after Tito's departure from Pecina he retreated in the direction of Kupres.

Somewhat later, via Bari, he returned with a new radio transmitter, the congress materials, and the Russian automatic weapon with which he had defended Tito in Drvar. After his arrival he gave it to his comrade, Fadilj Hodza, the commandant of the Operations Headquarters for Kosovo and Metohija, as the first automatic weapon to arrive from the south. After returning from Drvar, Stanjevic was assigned to the first Macedonian-Kosovo brigade, in which he became the commissar of the First Battalion.

Before final liberation, Zika Stanjevic, that child of the revolution, began yet another long journey: He was sent for schooling to the Lenin Marxist Academy in Moscow. He returned from there at the end of 1947, and became an instructor in the 50th Division of the Yugoslav National Army.

After retiring, Zika Stanjevic moved to Belgrade. Some Albanians from Pec asked him several times if he would want to sell them his old family house and land; the house in any case was on the verge of collapse. Stanjevic explained, "I rejected all those offers, because I believed that that which remained from my ancestors should not be given to strangers, even if I did not have breat to eat."

Some time later, on the foundation of the old "poorman's house," Zika Stanjevic built a modest weekend cabin, with a total of 26 square meters, where he and his wife frequently spent the summer by the banks of the Bistrica River. They say that they also come there during the year, for they have quite a few comrades, friends and relatives in Pec.

That is how it has been up until now. But what will happen in the future? Will the quiet Stanjevic family continue to spend the summer quietly in their cabin, or will they, like many others, decide to let that intimate corner go to one of the prospective purchasers, for a certain compensation?

For the moment, the Stanjevices are not thinking of selling. They say that they are not frightened, but they are obviously disillusioned, more by what followed the shots than by the shots themselves.

On the morning after those shots at midnight, Zika Stanjevic set out early for the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Pec, and reported what had happened the night before. He spoke with the secretary for internal affairs, Janko Jankovic, who promised

that he would send experts to inspect the site and take pictures of the situation. And the experts did come, and they performed their part of the task. Inside, in the room, they found the slugs from the two shots that penetrated the window and stopped in the opposite wall. On the street they found two pistol cartridges, which permitted them to establish the spot from which the shots were fired. They asked Zita Stanjevic and his wife if they suspected anyone.

Stanjevic answered them: "We have not quarreled with anyone, nor does anyone bear us a grudge. No one had any personal reason to shoot at us. If anyone should be suspected, it would have to be counterrevolutionaries and venomous nationalists. They have their own reasons."

Stanjevic was promised that the investigation would continue, and that he would be informed of the results. He stayed another 12 days in Pec, but since there was no report, he left for Belgrade.

Why Is There Silence?

When after 3 months nothing was reported about the incident, the writer of this article visited the Pec Secretariat for Internal Affairs, on 9 December, and asked what had been done regarding the attack on Zika Stanjevic's cabin. The chief for public security, Abdurahman (Avdus) Mile, was surprised by the question. He explained that an investigation had been initiated and that the case was being pursued, but the guilty parties had not been found.

The concern that 3 months had passed since the attack and that it would be increasingly difficult to find the culprit was acknowledged, but with the explanation that in complicated cases, the investigation cannot be completed overnight.

Chief Avdus and the inspector who is conducting the investigation explained that their work is hampered by the fact that Zika Stanjevic is in Belgrade. They would like to question him first, and to use his statement as the point of departure for their investigation. I reminded them that Stanjevic had given such a statement when the Secretariat's inspectors had come for the initial investigation, and that he had answered the question as to whom he suspected by saying that he had no reason to suspect anyone except the counterrevolution. I told them that Zika Stanjevic remained in Pec for 12 more days after the attack and that first investigation. Thus if further information was needed from him, it would not have been hard to get it. Besides that, could they not call Zika Stanjevic to come, if his presence was essential?

Chief Avdus justified all that by saying that it was awkward for him to bother the man. He was, however, more interested in knowing how the newspaper had learned of the incident.

I explained that we had received a letter in connection with this and certain other attacks. Since the author was anonymous, we had turned to Zika Stanjevic, who had confirmed the accuracy of the data in the letter about the attack on his cabin.

The chief and the inspector expressed the desire to see that letter, in order to determine who the author was by the handwriting. They thought that that could help them in the investigation. We are unable to fulfill their wish, for it is not the newspaper's practice to deliver such letters to agencies of internal affairs.

Starting from the position stated in the recently adopted POLITIKA platform about Kosovo that "verbal battle against nationalism can accomplish little," and that "Nationalism is easily recognized, but frequently ignored," I wanted to discuss the attack on Zika Stanjevic's cabin with the province secretary for internal affairs, Comrade Mehmed Malici.

It would be normal to expect that the most responsible man for such matters in the province would be able to tell why nothing had been said publicly about such an attack by nationalists, even though all Pec knew about what happened on the night of September 5-6 within a few hours. Nearly all the Serbs and Montenegrins in Pec came to visit Stanjevic on that day, to find out how this had happened.

Many said, "When they have assaulted you, what remains for us?"

A number of Albanians also visited the Stanjevices, and expressed their unhappiness with the nationalist attack on the Stanjevic house.

It could reasonably be expected that the province secretary for internal affairs would give a believable explanation as to why the investigation of this delicate but clear incident has been marking time for more than 3 months. This is even more true since that same official had delcared, in a television conversation after the attack on the Stanjevic house, that there was still shooting in Kosovo, but only at weddings.

The expectations were not, however, fulfilled. I was informed by the office of the secretary of internal affairs for Kosovo Province that Comrade Malici was busy and that he would not be able to receive me during that day (Friday, 11 December).

We believe that Comrade Malici was busy, for he and other people in that office have their hands full these days. But that cannot in any way explain the stalling of the investigation in this case.

12131
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END

JPRS 80330

16 March 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1988

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16 March 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1988

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BRIEFS

ZSMP-FDJ MEETING--The special role of culture in the development of cooperation between the Free German Youth [FDJ] and the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] in bringing the people of both countries closer together was emphasized by Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, during a meeting with a ZSMP delegation at the 12th Political Song Festival in Berlin. He asserted that the forces of counterrevolution and imperialist propaganda did not succeed in setting the two unions against one another in the period before 13 December 1981. Despite the curtailment of contacts between Poland and the GDR, both unions have maintained and developed the bonds of friendship of the young people of both countries. The talks and meetings of the ZSMP delegation, chaired by ZSMP Main Board Presidium member Andrzej Kozlowski, are a continuation of the reciprocal contacts recently made by the leadership of both unions. [By Jerzy Weber] [Excerpt] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 22 Feb 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/352

MILITARY SCHOOLS PROVIDE PRESTIGIOUS CAREERS FOR YOUTH

Prague LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA in Czech 1981 V0057 N0025 pp 976-977

[Article by J.J.: "Service in the Czechoslovak People's Army Is the Most Honorable Responsibility"]

[Text] In the Military School Gallery series, we have acquainted the reader with the broad range of possibilities for applying the interests and hobbies of young people in choosing a profession through studies at military schools.

It would be misleading not to point out that a course of study at military high schools and colleges is demanding, just as it is at all schools of this type, but that it is masterable. The system of discipline and order, as well as the schedule at military schools is often understood as a certain difficulty and limitation on the freedom of youth. This interpretation is,however, simply erroneous. All students at military schools have enough time not only for difficult studies, but also have time set aside for socially useful work, for sports and cultural activities, as well as for a social life and for personal free time. The military school pedagogical committee is assisted in this educational work and in the educational-culturation process by the personal qualities of the students, their political and moral positions, their committed attitude, their frankness and directness in interpersonal dealings, their decisiveness and consistency, their just evaluation of circumstances, and a likewise very important consideration, "the congruence between interpersonal relationships and proclaimed principles."

The military school system is based on the reality that the performance of the functions within the Czechoslovak People's Army requires a corresponding general, professional, military and political education. Individual levels and types of military schools are linked organically together, and military schools offer a secondary education, a full secondary education and a college education in the ways required by specific functional categories. In addition to this, military colleges intensify and expand the education of those professional soldiers who have a college education by offering postgraduate studies. Military schools are an inseparable component of the Czechoslovak educational and culturation system and are regulated in their activities by the laws of the CSSR, by CSSR Government ordinances, by orders of the president of the CSSR, by CPCZ Central Committee resolutions and CSSR government resolutions and by Ministry of National Defense implementation regulations. From the above realities, it logically follows that study records and diplomas from all military schools, academic degrees and academic-pedagogical titles have the same nationwide validity as the same documents issued by civilian schools and institutions.

At all military schools, conditions are being gradually created for housing, for the educational study and culturation process and training which will also be one of the assurances of the good preparation and training of pupils and students. Medical care provided in health service facilities is characterized by its high professional level, quality of organization and excellent assurance of medicines and health-care materials. It includes a system of measures for the avoidance of the possible outbreak of health disruptions, for their timely diagnosis and for the regular monitoring of the development of one's physical condition and the results of treatment.

Concern for the health of pupils and students at military schools comprises a unified system which includes not only the regular monitoring of their health and the abovementioned high quality of medical care, but also all comprehensive measures necessary to maintain their good physical condition, a systematic and rigorous concern for their working and living conditions, concern that they receive good food, equipment and other amenities. It also includes measures to provide for increased concern for the positive effects of education, drills and other types of battle and political preparation of the health condition of the pupils and students and on the development of their psychological and physical abilities. An important factor in the creation and preservation of healthy living conditions is education in a disciplined approach to health matters, in living a healthy life and in the importance of active personal participation in a concern for health.

Providing for the material, financial and health care needs of students and pupils at military schools assists in achieving results in the educational-culturation process and contributes to an increase in an interest in studying at military schools.

We all know that the current international political situation continues to be deeply divisive. This is an expression of sharp class conflicts between the interests of peaceful coexistence and the interests of reaction and the military-industrial complex of the imperialist countries. Recently, there is no doubt that much of a positive nature has been achieved in terms of peaceful efforts. The efforts of the countries of the socialist community and of other forces of progress and democracy, however, continue to run up against the stubborn opposition of the ruling circles of imperialism, and especially groups of military circles in NATO and elsewhere. That these forces still have a great influence is attested to by their further increases in military preparations. Ever greater resources are expended on armaments, military research and ideological diversions. More than 22 million people serve in the armies of our planet. More than 60 million people are directly or indirectly connected with military activity. In the United States alone, for every three soldiers there is an additional four people, civilians, who participate in one way or another in the arming process.

The program of feverish arming is also being assisted by those efforts which are reviving cold war tendencies, dealing in international relations from a position of strength and the utilization of many additional resources for political blackmail and the support of reactionary regimes, as demonstrated by events in Chile, Peru, in the Middle East and elsewhere.

We cannot take a carefree attitude to these and other phenomena. It is necessary to increase efforts for the strengthening of peace, for the assurance of security, the development of the policy of detente and the expansion of international

cooperation. The armies of the socialist countries have an irreplaceable position in this peaceful process, and this is also why, under the direct influence of the CPCZ Central Committee, our army also obtains all it needs for the fulfillment of its mission. Particular attention is being devoted especially to improving the quality of the political and professional preparation of the officer corps, the strengthening of its morale and the material evaluation of military service.

Certain citizens of our homeland do not realize or do not want to realize that the danger of a new war has not been eliminated. The policy of imperialism itself in the recent past has provided more than one piece of evidence concerning its no less aggressive base. A number of world events and concrete facts prove that certain imperialist circles, led by the new president of the United States, Reagan, have not yet rejected the use of military force in international politics, that numerous opponents of a reduction in tensions, advocates of a cold war and a feverish arms race, those who would gladly turn the wheel of history backward, still continue to exist and have placed themselves in the path of fulfillment even of these most noble objectives. For this reason, the process of detente in international political relations continues to be complicated by the ongoing militarization of the United States and the NATO countries.

It is no accident that the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, Gustav Husak, declared from the podium of the 16th CPCZ Congress: "The Central Committee, the socialist state, has devoted great attention to the Czechoslovak People's Army. We can assure the congress, the entire party and all of our people that our army is a reliable defender of our borders and a staunch member of the Warsaw Pact Countries... Among our most important tasks is the strengthening and increasing of the defense capabilities of our country. We will continue to build up the Czechoslovak People's Army as an inseparable part of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact countries. We will spare no efforts and resources so that our army may become a completely modern army, completely devoted to the party and the people, capable of defending, along with the Soviet army and the armies of the other Warsaw Pact countries, peace and the achievements of socialism...In the interests of the preservation of peace and of favorable conditions for the building of a socialist society, we are doing everything within our power, in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, to strengthen the security of the socialist community, and so that the aggressive forces of imperialism not be able to reverse the current military strategic balance. We will strive to realize all peaceful initiatives worked out jointly and put forth by the socialist countries, which demonstrate before the entire world that socialism is the decisive force in the struggle of peoples for peace and international security."

These words were spoken because imperialism is still an exceptionally dangerous enemy, even though it has lost the historical initiative and can no longer determine the course of world events. A fundamental precondition for the defense of the achievements of the working people of our and the other socialist countries and for a continuation in the policy of a reduction in international tensions is the assurance of the defense capabilities of the socialist community, resting firmly on the Soviet Union. It follows from this that a defense capability is a categorical, objective requirement and historical necessity, and that the defense of our socialist homeland is the responsibility of all citizens.

9276
CSO: 8112/0718

MI-8 HELICOPTERS PLAY LARGE ROLE IN CONSTRUCTION

Prague LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA in Czech 1981 V0057, N0025, pp 974-975

[Article by A. Dytrych: "Mi-8 Helicopters in Slovair Colors"]

[Text] The use of helicopters to an ever greater extent in different branches of our national economy is demonstrating how well this technology may be applied even in areas which in the past have been accessible only to classical land modes of transport and communications. The first use of helicopters for rescue and evacuation assignments, as is well known, dates from World War II. The extensive experience of wartime pilots, expanded to include the transporting of cargo either in the helicopter cabin or in a sling, later found full application in the civilian sector. For us, later means from 1961, when the then branch factory of Czechoslovak Airlines--Agrolet--borrowed two Mi-1 helicopters from the Ministry of National Defense, as well as two Mi-4s. Until that time, helicopters had been used exclusively by the air force; from that time these military users had a follower, even if it was an enterprise which, at the beginning, had no great plans for itself; it decided to test the possibilities for the application of helicopters to areas as yet "uncharted aeronautically." Nor was this easy. It was necessary to acquaint themselves thoroughly with a new technology and to find appropriate work for it. During operational testing, the use of Mi-1 helicopters mainly for the inspection of high-tension electrical wires, geophysical research and for the needs of film makers was shown to be feasible. Helicopters of this type also passed several test flights with cargoes in slings, however with less success; the use of helicopters for these purposes, given the carrying capacity and operational costs, was shown to be uneconomical. Therefore, in the subsequent period Mi-2 helicopters were oriented to the above-mentioned activities, to which were gradually added medical flights and of television antennas. During the final testing period, the Mi-1 helicopters were also put to good use for the inspection of the transit gas pipeline on the entire territory of our republic.

Operational testing of Mi-4 helicopters likewise began in 1961. In terms of its carrying capacity this model was clearly more adaptable for the implementation of the intention of the enterprise management--assistance in construction assembly assignments. At the beginning, the Mi-4 helicopters were entrusted with the transportation of materials to inaccessible mountain areas. Even at this early stage a problem arose, as with the Mi-1s, caused by limited useful cargo capacity. The Mi-4 helicopter, to be sure, was capable of transporting cargo weighing 1,200 kilograms in a sling, but only under optimal conditions, and, taking into account that it was outfitted with only a single power unit, also without the required

performance reserves. For this reason, it was decided to use Mi-4 helicopters in the future mainly for the transportation of materials and only on exceptional occasions for construction assembly work.

The work described above was performed by Mi-1 and Mi-4 helicopters until 1967. At this time, our army took delivery into its arsenal of a much more modern and powerful helicopter, the Mi-8, outfitted with two turbo-shaft engines, and capable of transporting, by sling, cargoes weighing up to 3,000 kilograms. The introduction of this new type of helicopter within the air force of course also inspired other advocates of this multipurpose aircraft, such as Agrolet. On the basis of a year of operational testing, which the air force gladly shared with its imitator, negotiations began concerning the possibility of beginning operational testing of Mi-8 helicopters in the civilian sector. These negotiations came to an end at a time which corresponded to the founding date of the Slovair enterprise. Thus, this new firm began, in the first year of its existence, operational testing of the Mi-8 helicopter in the area of construction assembly work, in addition to its other endeavors. Until this time, these functions had been the entire responsibility of the ground technology, assemblers and management of the Chrudim Tramontaz enterprise. An enterprise which, however, was able very quickly to free itself from prejudices and to decide in favor of the more progressive method offered by this new technology. In this way, test flights of the Mi-8 helicopter took place with the cooperation of Slovair and Tramontaz, and under the "patronage" of the Military Research Center, whose pilots tested the helicopter thoroughly in all its flight and work-related maneuvers. After the tests, which were completed to the satisfaction of both of the future inseparable partners, the Slovair and Tramontaz enterprises, the Mi-8 helicopter began work as a "flying crane." There was no doubt that over time it would make a good name for itself and win over even the many conservative customers, but that this could not be counted on immediately...From the beginning, the Mi-8 helicopter worked on the basis of a contract concluded between Slovair and the Ministry of National Defense. One of the first projects entrusted to it was the construction and assembly of the chair lift running from Zelezna Ruda to Spicak and Pancer. The crew at this work site in the course of 5 days (for most of which time the weather was poor), put in place with the aid of a helicopter a total of 35 chair-lift supports. The preparation and all of the work connected with the construction of the chair lift would have taken 37 working days using traditional techniques; thanks to the Mi-8 helicopter they took 10 working days. And the costs? To the full satisfaction of the client, they were Kcs 300,000 lower than the costs calculated and set aside for the utilization of traditional techniques.

To be sure, this was undoubtedly an example worthy of emulation, but this was not the case; at least not in 1968, the first year of activity for the "flying crane" and its work for the national economy. For a number of reasons, it covered only the most essential demands and flew only a few less-than-fully-productive hours.

In subsequent years, the situation in this regard changed significantly. The Slovair enterprise rented on a long-term basis one of the two Mi-8 helicopters of the Interflug airline. This was a wise and timely solution. The Chrudim enterprise, Tramontaz, had, you see, at this time begun to undertake construction assembly work with a helicopter on a systematic basis, and welcomed this initiative-taking solution of its coworker Slovair. The previous year, when the Mi-8 helicopter had only "worked off" 60 productive hours, had not been decisive in terms of deciding all of

the areas in which the helicopter could be applied in the future. It had been a matter of a helicopter which had been rented from the Ministry of National Defense on a case-by-case basis, so that it had not been possible to plan its utilization. Difficulties in the coordination of stages, in terms of client time demands, had also occurred during the time when Slovair had at its disposal a helicopter rented from the GDR.

All of the difficulties in scheduling the work which Tramontaz wanted to perform with the aid of helicopters ended in 1973 when Slovair took delivery of two new Mi-8 helicopters from the production factory, thus ceasing to be dependent on leasing arrangements. Before making them available through Tramontaz to customers, Slovair employees gained the requisite knowledge and experience so as to be able to assure maintenance and safe operation. And since it was a matter of a new model, after careful consideration a "designated" team of pilots and technicians received 2 months of advanced training right at the production factory in the USSR. This was the absolute minimum which preceded the introduction of the Mi-8 helicopters. In addition, and even though both the flight and ground personnel were fully trained to run operations with these helicopters independently, Soviet experts assisted in maintenance and servicing operations for an additional 2 years.

Operation of the two Mi-8 helicopters in the Slovair colors began to speed up in 1974. At first the two helicopters were used, in a planned fashion to be sure, only in situations where less demanding work was required; for the most part they transported various building materials and components to locations difficult to reach by conventional forms of transportation. One of these projects was, for instance, the transport of building materials for the renovation of the huts in the Slovak National Park, after which the helicopters also brought in the internal equipment and amenities. There were several such assignments over a short time period, and the Mi-8 helicopters handled them all to the full satisfaction of its mother enterprise, the coordinator and the client. These were, however, only minor, insignificant orders in terms of the current scale of the projects which the Mi-8 helicopters in the colors of Slovair so easily perform. Today, the Slovair enterprise assists with its "flying cranes" in many various branches of our national economy and has behind itself a huge amount of work which it has performed. Mi-8 helicopters have transported building materials of all kinds to outlying construction and work sites, prefabricated concrete components for various projects including the footings for chair-lift supports, and have installed heating and cooling units on many high buildings, as well as sharing in the assembly and disassembly of equipment, steel smokestacks, framed structures and television antennas. For Mi-8 helicopter pilots, it is no problem (nor is it an exceptional or special task which would surprise them) to spend a Saturday and a Sunday changing the cupola or the scrubbing equipment (the so-called trap) at a foundry. To the full satisfaction of the Tesla national enterprise, Tramontaz assemblers, in conjunction with an Mi-8 helicopter crew, assembled the framed structure, installed the bearing members of the roof frame and installed the piping for a hot-water heating system. Mi-8 helicopters have transported by sling probably all existing cargoes; among the "traditional" ones are the logs of forest trees which were cut down in inaccessible zones high in the mountains.

It is possible to say concisely and accurately that Mi-8 helicopters move, transport and install whatever is necessary and wherever necessary, that they simply assist

the national economy to the extent and degree to which they are able and in ways dictated by the projects undertaken by the Slovair enterprise. The implementation of the projects which our enterprise takes on and which require aeronautical activity is today aided by an inseparable partner, the Chrudim Tramontaz enterprise. These two partners, who have on countless occasions in the past demonstrated it is possible to achieve even the impossible with good coordination, cooperation and initiative, are on the surface represented by assemblers, pilots, helicopters and, for the lay viewer, attractive work. In reality, far from the work sites, which are temporary and which have been, are, and will be at various locations throughout our republic, every working flight of an Mi-8 helicopter has behind it a lot of work by the nonflight personnel of Slovair and the Tramontaz enterprise. And in view of the fact that the orders are piling up, this is work that is unending and far from simple. It is not exceptional that several clients are seeking to engage the helicopters at the same time, and it is a completely common occurence that both helicopters are in action at once. A concrete example from the recent past: one Mi-8 was assisting in the assembly of laminated adapters at the newly constructed television transmitter at Krasov (work that had been extended in excess of the plan due to inclement weather), while the other Mi-8 was in action at Harrachova, where it transported to the designated location and assisted in the assembly of cabins on Obri mustek.

The preparation for each project which is counting on the assistance of the Mi-8 helicopters of Slovair is the responsibility of the Tramontaz enterprise, and specifically of its technologist. And what precedes the moment when the Mi-8 helicopter leaves its base in Bratislava and begins to fulfill the wish of the customer? The customer requests, whether directed to the Bratislava Slovair enterprise or to Chrudim Tramontaz, are collected and registered at the Tramontaz enterprise. After research has been conducted at the client's premises, the technologist formulates the so-called "stage." Before one or both Mi-8 helicopters set off on their sometimes month long pilgrimmage around the republic, the technologist must establish and design the technical approaches for the assurance of individual projects. These formulations are based on data which must be accepted by both enterprises (Slovair and Tramontaz) and the crews of one or another helicopter: the location of work for the helicopter, the place where it will land and be parked, the type of work, data concerning the number and weight of cargoes, the way they will be fastened and, primarily, the assurance of all safety measures. These include locations for fire and medical apparatus and, in certain instances when it is a matter of work in the center of a city, the closing off of the area of activity to the public and to transport. The putting together of "stages" follows the formulation of individual technological procedures. This consists basically of putting the customers in sequence so that unproductive helicopter flights are eliminated, since these would have a negative impact on the final bill for the customer. In compiling this, ranking consideration is also taken of the importance of a given project from the national economic viewpoint.

The successful implementation of an entire "stage," and the timely and safe conduct of an assignment depends no less on the preparation of the Mi-8 helicopter and its crew. Nor is this work particularly evident during the work of an Mi-8 helicopter. However, its importance may be guessed by any slightly discriminating viewer when he finds out that the two Mi-8 helicopters in Slovair colors "work off," on an annual basis, more than 300 productive hours on construction assembly work.

9276
CSO: 8112/0718

CHRISTIAN-MARXIST DIALOGUE NECESSARY THOUGH THORNY

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 24 Jan 82 p 1

[Text] To many, the dialogue between Marxists and Christians may appear to be running smoothly ever since enunciation of the basic principle namely that seeking paths of cooperation in most areas of human and social life is possible despite differences in world view. However, some are of the opinion that perhaps it is not possible to arrive at the same conclusion from world views of differing approaches. Such persons rephrase the question: if the Christian wishes to be humane, using God as his reference point, will he not nevertheless be a less useful member of a society which considers man, and man alone, the supreme value?

The dialogue is made more difficult because one party knows that it has political power to back it up and that it represents the official viewpoint while the same can hardly be claimed by the other party. Even if both sides ignore actual differences and possibilities, and the best members of each concern themselves with the opportunities for understanding one another, there are always some who overstep the standards of equality set for the ongoing dialogue and want to arrive at a "joint view" by using the superiority conferred by authority. This possible or at least tempting behavior can lead to loss of assurance insofar as the other party is concerned.

In other cases, dialogue can bring to the fore superficial persons who agree to everything with an air of conviction which confuses even their "opponents." This leads to the impression that all is well and that we are witnessing uninterrupted progress.

If this were actually so, dialogue would be superfluous: it would suffice to wait patiently for matters to run their natural course. Those aware of the nature and goal of the dialogue always expect fundamental contradiction. Only those who dare bravely to point out shortcomings which arise in the course of cooperation, who do not confuse the ability of the power structure to function with the impetus generated by argument, only such persons favor the joint action program sincerely. Agreement is not born of bloody battles between irreconcilable competitors one of whom must inevitably be defeated; it results from mutual striving. "Power policy" cannot depend on permanent victory here, either.

In our pursuit of the common welfare, we cannot renounce each other. We cannot reject solidarity with those who, because of world views espoused through conviction, hopefully oppose turning the world into a peaceful home through the forces of inhumanity.

CSO: 2500/149

COUNCIL OF STATE RESOLUTION ON MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 29, 14 Dec 81 p 317

[Resolution of the Council of State dated 12 December 1981 on the Declaration of Martial Law for Reasons of National Security]

[Text] In consideration of the threat to the vital interests of the state and nation, with a view to countering the further slackening of social discipline and establishing conditions conductive to the effective defense of public tranquillity and law and order as well as with a view to insuring strict observance of the law and respect for the principles of social harmony, pursuant to article 33, section 2 of the Constitution of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1976, No 7, item 36 together with subsequent amendments thereto), and also with refernece to article 1, section 2 of the Decree of 12 December 1981 on Martial Law (DZIENNIK USTAW), No 29, item 154) and article 237 of the Law of 21 November 1967 on the General Duty of Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111) the Council of State resolves as follows:

Section 1. For reasons of the national security and effective 13 December 1981 a state of martial law is declared to be in force throughout the territory of the Polish Peoples Republic.

Section 2. For as long as martial law shall remain in force the provisions of the Law of 21 November 1967 on the General Duty of Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111) that apply in time of war are to be enforced, to wit:

1) as regards military service--the provisions of articles 110-117;

2) as regards civil defense service--the provisions of article 148, item 2 with reference to units and services belonging to civil defense formations specified by the Chief of National Civil Defense and the provisions of article 157;

3) as regards service in militarized units--the provisions of article 183 and articles 186-198;

4) as regards servives rendered in support of the national defense--the provisions of articles 203-213;

5) as regards criminal liability--the appropriate provisions of part IX, chapter 1.

Section 3. This resolution enters into force on the date of its adoption.

Chairman of the Council of State, H. Jablonski.

11813
CSO: 2600/224

SOME ASPECTS OF MARTIAL LAW CLARIFIED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 1, 3 Jan 82 p 20

[Article edited by Gabriel Trojanowski: "From the Military Postman's Mailbag"]

[Text] As a result of the recent introduction of martial law throughout our country, letters from readers are pouring in to the editors of ZOLNIERZ Polski asking for clarification of many of the most varied problems. Most questions pertain to the legal regulations that the law governs.

We will of course answer those letters to the extent possible, beginning now.

Military Service Responsibility Under Circumstances of Martial Law

In light of the provisions of article 237 of the statute dated 21 November 1967 on the universal obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic, the introduction of martial law to protect the nation's security results in the application of regulations pertaining to the obligation of military service in the event of mobilization or declaration of war. Under the law, this means the replacement of basic military service, military training, military (exercises) and periodic military service by active military service. Active military service is based on the fact that it has not time limit. From that standpoint therefore, soldier discharges from hitherto existing basic military service, military training, military exercises and periodic military service are suspended until martial law is suspended.

During martial law, specified numbers of conscripts and military reserves may be called up for active duty at any time consistent with the needs of the armed forces. Other persons who have volunteered for such service in the course of voluntary recruitment can also be called up.

Military service deferments granted because of immediate care of a family member, recognition as sole breadwinner of a family, going to school, practice of a profession and farming, lose their validity under the law when martial law is imposed.

Release from active military service takes place if a military medical commission finds a soldier unfit permanently for military service, as well as upon the issuance of a directive by the Minister of National Defense that abolishes martial law. Release from military service can also take place if a military medical commission finds a soldier temporarily incapable of military service or in the case of an appeal.

Reserve soldiers and conscripts on active military duty when martial law is effective have special rights defined in a Council of Ministers directive, primarily allowances for the support of members of their families.

Persons who do not report for military service by the date and in the place specified, including failure to report in order to defer or evade completely this service responsibility are subject to punitive action and in danger of imprisonment for not less than 2 years or the death penalty.

Service in Civil Defense

Because of the state of the nation's security, coincident with the introduction of martial law, the nation's civil defense chief issued a directive on the subject of performing active service in civil defense during martial law. The obligation to perform active duty in civil defense pertains to persons who have organizational-mobilizational allotments in the following civil defense formations and services that enter into such formations: civil defense detachments in which conscripts perform essential service in civil defense; specialized first-aid detachments; specialized technical detachments; those segments of institutions and local civil defense units involving the command and services of such units; fire-fighting, medical-health, maintenance of law and order and technical rescue.

With the exception of conscripts performing basic civil defense work, persons with organizational-mobilizational allotments in the civil defense units mentioned should immediately report for service as indicated in the civil defense unit's commandant, and perform the functions assigned by his superior from the standpoint of service.

Members of young men's labor brigades and persons taking part in civil defense exercises in the units named continue serving consistent with instructions received.

Members of the civil defense units named and young men's labor brigades hitherto serving in a system without barracks may, when so ordered by the appropriate minister or governor, be housed in barracks. In that event they are entitled to cost-free food.

Active service in civil defense with respect to time and period is dependent on the duties assigned, while in specified formations there is no fixed time frame.

Persons performing active duty in civil defense are responsible for the full and complete performance of duties assigned by superiors as the result of such service in matters connected with the performance of civil defense tasks.

Persons called into active civil defense service who do not report for such service by the time and at the place specified, fail to perform their duties for an overly long period or altogether fail or refuse to perform or refuse to obey an order to their superior related to service matters, are subject to a penalty ranging from 2 years of imprisonment to the death penalty inclusive.

Service in Militarized Units

To assure the nation's safety coincident to the declaration of martial law, the National Defense Committee issued a resolution pertaining to the militarization of specified organizational units of national administration and national economy. See TRYBUNA LUDU and ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI of 14 December 1981 for a full and detailed statement.

Consistent with the resolution's regulations on the universal obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic, individuals employed in organizational units covered by militarization are considered called to service in the militarized unit by force of law. The hitherto existing relationship of such persons to their work was suspended during martial law.

The performance of service in a militarized unit means that a person performing such service is obliged to execute the instructions of his superiors in service matters, which are tantamount to an order under military service conditions in time of war; a person performing service cannot unilaterally dissolve a service relationship with the unit in which he serves; release from service in a militarized unit takes place only in the event of lack of capability to perform work or attainment of age 65 by a man and age 60 by a woman.

Persons performing service in militarized units or called to serve in them are subject to penal liability for violations associated with such service in accordance with the regulations applicable to soldiers in accordance with the regulations applicable to soldiers on active duty in the event of the declaration of mobilization or during a time of war. A person who does not report for duty by the time and place specified or in the event of a prolonged or total avoidance of the obligation to perform service or failure to perform or refusal to execute a superior's instructions, is subject to a penalty ranging from imprisonment for 2 years to the death penalty inclusive.

Tightened Penal Procedures

In order to assure increased protection of fundamental national interests and citizens, penal procedures have been tightened. This is regulated by a separate Council of State decree on special procedures in the case of violations and offenses during a period when martial law is in effect. It provides for three types of procedures: court martial, simplified and summary.

Voivodship or military (district or armed service) courts make decisions in cases subject to the court martial procedure. The verdict handed down under this procedure is legally valid; consequently an appeal is not vested. The penalties are very high, from imprisonment for a period of not less than 3 years to the death penalty inclusive. Court martial justice pertains to the most serious and particularly dangerous violations.

The simplified procedure pertains to less serious violations for which the penalty is up to 3 years of imprisonment. It is based on the elimination of certain procedural activities. The indictment, for example, does not require full and broad justification.

The summary procedure pertains to actions for which the penalty is up to 2 years of imprisonment and a fine of up to 100,000 zlotys.

Provisional Arrest and Internment

The basic differences between provisional arrest and internment boil down to the formal legal principles of utilizing both of these forms of deprivation of freedom.

A provisional arrest constitutes a procedural preventive measure anticipated in the rules of the Code of Penal Procedure and is used against persons suspected or accused of committing violations. The purpose of a provisional arrest is to safeguard the proper progress of the penal procedure.

On the other hand, internment is an administrative means of constraint anticipated in special regulations pertaining to martial law. Internment is utilized solely with persons who in the light of their past conduct rouse the justified suspicion that remaining free they will not abide by the laws or will carry on activity that threatens the security of the state or of national defense (article 42 of the decree of 13 December 1981 on martial law).

Procedures and decisions in cases involving internment are administered by the voivodship commandant of the Citizens' Militia (MO) as an organ of national administration. A decision on internment can be set aside at any time, including during martial law, after termination of the reasons for its issuance.

By way of supplementation, let us add that the internment procedure can be utilized with reference to a person 17 years old.

Who Will Benefit From an Act of Grace?

The decree issued by the Council of State on pardon and consignment to oblivion of certain violations and offenses (also called a decree on abolition) is an act whose purpose is to make it possible for all citizens who had previously come into conflict with the law to join in active participation in the country's life. It covers violations and offenses committed for political reasons, among others, in connection with a strike or protest action before 13 December 1981.

Criminal procedures will not be initiated in cases that are pardonable. Criminal proceedings will also be discontinued where the accused has discontinued his lawbreaking activity and has voluntarily pledged to observe the law and respect the principles of social coexistence. The regulations do not cover a legally valid verdict already in effect.

Previously, discontinued criminal procedures against persons who took advantage of the act of grace and again commit similar violations during the course of a year will be renewed.

Activities of a hooligan nature are not covered by the above decree's act of kindness.

Attention

All of the basic norm prescribing acts regulating martial law were published in DZIENNIK USTAW No 29, 14 December 1981.

10433
CSO: 2600/262

BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS UNDER MARTIAL LAW DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Maj Adam Glowacki: "When the Wind of History Blows"]

> [Text] The introduction of martial law on 13 December of last year was met with a feeling of relief among comrades from the unit of Anti-Aircraft Defense Corps, with full approval for a resolute soldier's "enough!" that had been sounded many times. The decision of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] reinforced their conviction of being right in passing a resolution on a party meeting before that decision was made--a resolution stating: according the government extraordinary constitutional powers in order to arrest decisively the anarchy in life, which is progressing daily, is the order of the moment. Delaying the decision further would threaten immeasurable consequences and would compromise the security of the country.

This is evident. It is as if people have become calmer, more active, aggressive, optimistic. When the wind of history blows--Capt Jan Majcher, secretary of the party organization, quotes the words of a poet--people grow wings like birds, while greenhorns are in a blue funk....

Today many of them are asking themselves only one question: Why so late, couldn't it have been done earlier? They are asking this because they are aware of how much this peculiar time of delusion and political demagogy of pseudotrade unionists of Solidarity has cost us and of who will have to cover this cost now.

Within the unit, in its subunits, these costs are not felt all that strongly so far, because the army has an efficient quartermaster's service doing everything it can to keep the economic crisis of the country from making any impact here. The situation is worse in blocks populated by professional military personnel "on state support."

Despite a sad situation, people here are not distracted from matters of great importance that make the heart beat faster by the down-to-earth matters confined in the triangle service-store-house--Service: will the watch go smoothly? Store: will they ever supply these boondocks with anything? House: when will they start heating properly? They do not stoop to such matters because they are conscientious, responsible people for whom the quality of soldiering is the foremost criterion of value for each person of each specialized unit.

Common Denominator for All Actions

Combat readiness is the common denominator for all actions, whether it is service, private, party or social activities. In an anti-aircraft defense unit, it assumes a special significance; it is compressed to mere minutes. Combat readiness pervades the life of everybody from private to colonel throughout the day.

They are said to be soldiers of the first 5 minutes. They have become accustomed to this description, because they know it involves little exaggeration. They think and act quickly, very quickly. Everybody must adopt this mode of action. This is the requirement of their service.

Favorable service characteristics spill over into party activity. The forms of this activity influence significantly the thinking and actions of [party] comrades. It should be said with due objectivity that their task is not an easy one. Conditions for organizational activities are harder than anywhere else. In a "regular" regiment, it is enough to look out the window in order to get people together, to draw something up jointly, to make a decision. In an anti-aircraft defense unit, this would not work, since subunits, party organizations and people are far apart.

Comrade Majcher has run into this problem more than anyone else. Several months ago, he came from the field to assume the secretaryship in accordance with the will of his comrades. He still remembers what his life in service was like in the field, often in godforsaken boondocks. If the style of his activities is any indication, he will not forget it soon. It is difficult to reach him at his desk; he feels at his best in the field, under the fire of questions, among people and their tough problems.

Basic Party Organizations [POP] Live at a Quickened Pace

This pace is set by the state of martial law, combat missions of small units, requirements of the PZPR statute and postcongress documents. Peculiarities of service and party work cause these comrades to form tightly knit, ideologically involved collectives, which can communicate without high-minded pronouncements. These collectives are dominated by work at the roots and individual work with party members. Exemplary attitudes of particular comrades influencing the rest to constantly dressing organizational ranks are characteristic of the collectives.

Their work is based on the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR and the content of the proclamation of the Military Council of National Salvation. The ideas contained in these documents have become the basis for broadly defined party work.

It has been accepted with full approval and satisfaction. Until recently, they were overpowered and overwhelmed by the excess of contradictory PZPR congresses [sic] and the content of counter-pronouncements and denunciations. Now they have finally understood that the time of deception is gone for good and that everything should be done in order to rally around this line the largest possible number of supporters.

December 13 has started a new stage in the life and activities of PZPR, of its lower echelons. In the Basic Party Organization (POP), the comrades could find little fault with themselves. Nonetheless, they decided that they must live at a quicker pace than they were used to, they should be more resolute and persistent in action, they must reinforce by everyday actions the ideas and convictions that they propagate.

Examples illustrating the growth of activity of party members are many--in service and outside the service, in party and social work.

In the Mirror of the Secretary's Notebook

The secretary's notebook reflects like a mirror the manifestations of party activity of WOPK [Anti-Aircraft Defense Corps] members. Among organizational instructions, agitation and propaganda tasks dominate, which, among other things, are aimed at finding candidates and new members for POP.

The secretary says that after a certain cadre slump, there is finally some movement. He is not overly surprised by this slump, though he counteracted it with everything in his power. Waves of people turning in party membership cards in civilian organizations were still vivid in the minds of conscripts, who are the main objects of interest for particular POPs. The first wave came in the fall of 1980, which can be called the post-August shock; the second, in the summer of last year due to the hopes attached to the congress, which were not met. These sights cannot be easily erased from one's memory.

The search for candidates was started among the ZSMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth] aktiv, exemplary soldiers and soldiers with working-class backgrounds, who have worked in industrial enterprises prior to service. The most experienced comrades, who can come eye to eye with reality and establish rapport with the youth, have been assigned to this important party activity--comrades Wieslaw Podbielski, Zbigniew Dydak, Jan Dydzinski and others. Twenty-four-hour shifts of combat duty, frequent stays of party members with persons in their charge and finally the credibility of their ideas and the skill of argument have all brought the intended effect.

However, this growth did not come as easily as we used to say in the not-so-distant past. Everything depended on how high the standards were set. It is clear that they could not be set too low--we are breaking with the make-believe--but neither could they be set too high.

Let us say it sincerely: If we set the standards proceeding from 100 percent confidence and trust, who would fit? What would be the share of enthusiasts and, conversely, of those who are given credit and are said to be able to become real people in the near future?

24 Have Been Selected

Of a group including at least two times that number, 24 persons have been selected. The rest must wait but not passively. Preparatory activities will go on as before; however, their format and content will be changed. There will

be a switch from individual training to programmed group training in the Knowledge about the Party Circles (Kola Wiedzy o Partii).

For several days, they have been addressing as "comrade" Lts Ryszard Skibinski and Adam Krawiec, Privates 1st Class Tadeusz Peckiewicz, Jerzy Krawczynski, Tadeus Kejrys, Zbigniew Antczak and Zbigniew Bilinski. The title "comrade" does not confer any privileges but rather entails increased duties and additional tasks.

They joined the ranks of PZPR during an especially troubled time. The state of martial law brought out in them a determination that might surprise some but also testifies that there is no lack of upright, modest and courageous people, people who aspire for a great Poland--a Poland great in its achievements, culture, forms of political life and position in Europe. Socialism accepted by the society and permanently enriched by the experience of life is the only way to this goal. It is this Poland that they want to build. It is this Poland that they will protect.

9761
CSO: 2600/295

EXILE VIEWS MARTIAL LAW IN HISTORICAL LIGHT

PM171515 Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 9 Feb 82 p 14

[Slawomir Mrozek "Open Letter": "Letter From a Pole"; passages in slantlines printed in italics; first paragraph is unattributed introduction]

[Text] The letter below was written by Slawomir Mrozek, who is perhaps Poland's best known dramatist and who now lives in exile in Paris. It has the title "Letter to Foreigners." For reasons which will be clear, the translator wishes to remain anonymous.

Everyone knows what happened in Poland during the night of 12-13 December and what is still going on there. But in order to be able to understand what one knows it is also necessary to know that:

Events in Poland are not a "state of emergency proclaimed in the spirit of the Polish Constitution"--the government's official version of what has happened. They are neither a "coup d'etat" nor a "military coup"—a description used by those who do not agree with the official version. To put it another way: What is happening in Poland is neither an exception nor anything new in Poland.

The "emergency" concept presupposes that everything before 13 December was normal. In Poland nothing was normal. Nothing has been legitimate there since 1939--first through the German occupation, and then immediately after by the Soviet Union's forcing the communist system on the country. All this with the blessing—or at least a lack of opposition--from the Western powers. Nothing in Poland has been normal for 36 years, right up to the present day. What is taking place in Poland is merely a continuation, not a state of emergency. However, it is not completely new or completely normal. The only new thing in the present situation is that all that has happened hitherto under the cloak of lies--for example, the lie of a parliamentary form of government in Poland--is continuing now as the naked truth, that is, as the exercise of bald power. Instead of saying that "it is continuing to happen" one should say: "Things have returned to their point of departure after turning full circle in the last 36 years."

It is not true that the army is the third--neutral--power factor between the party and Solidarity, or between the party and society. Without using the army, the party is quite simply no longer in a position to exercise dictatorship over the nation. The party is /too weak/. By imprisoning former party leaders, who

were stripped of their power long ago--or at least by issuing an official communique about their imprisonment--and at the same time by imprisoning Solidarity's leaders, the same party has attempted a propaganda trick.

It is also an example of how one can make use of one's /own garbage/.

In the event of General Jaruzelski's arresting the present first secretary of the party--that is, himself--his claims that he has taken up a neutral position might be credible.

It is not true that what is happening in Poland--what has been going on since 1945--is merely an internal Polish affair. This is not a conflict within the Polish family. If you make this assertion, it means that you are assuming that Poland is an independent country, a sovereign state which rules itself. However, everyone knows that, without superior Soviet power and Soviet interference in Polish internal affairs, postwar Polish history would be very different--to say nothing of the present catastrophes. If the Communist Party continues to rule in Poland, it is only with the /support of the Soviet Union/. When the West's statesmen repeat phrases about Polish problems which the Poles must resolve themselves, these statesmen are using the language which suits their diplomatic purposes, but they are indirectly subscribing to a lie. They are subscribing to /the lie of Poland's independence/ and Soviet noninterference.

It is not true that Poland was threatened by a civil war. An armed clash between two sections of the same nation supporting different ideologies--that is what a civil war is.

However, if there are any communists at all in Poland--apart from a few pathological cases--they are no longer motivated by a deep and honest faith in the communist dogma. They are motivated by opportunism and self-deception. For the most part these are people who have staked everything on the system, who would be nothing without the system and who have gone so far in the service of the system that they no longer have--or believe that they no longer have--any way back.

The overwhelming and, therefore, dominant section of the population is not communist, if it is not directly anticommunist. Poland's life is threatened not by civil war but by a superior armed power, reprisals born outside but spreading inside the country's borders, under the false flag of civil war. It is not true that Solidarity carries the blame for the Polish crisis. What has been given the name "Solidarity" is a general social, national and popular reaction to the causes of the crisis, and it is being combated by what goes under the name of "the party," that is, the communist system.

The use of the army is no way to combat the crisis; just the opposite. It is an attempt to preserve the causes of the crisis, or an attempt to defend and maintain the communist monopoly of power in Poland. This monopoly, this power has never been legitimate in Poland, that is, it was never chosen through the free will of the people. Therefore, the present regime cannot be defended and maintained through legal and democratic means. When the present regime attempts to retain its position by openly resorting to arms, it gives proof of its illegitimacy. The injustice this regime is committing is its original sin.

CSO: 3108/70

SERIES ON FINAL MEETING OF SOLIDARITY LEADERS CONTINUED

LD131508 Warsaw PAP in English 1408 GMT 13 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Jan (PAP)--In the ninth instalment of a series of articles on the evolution of Solidarity's policies in the last weeks before the imposition of martial law in Poland, TRYBUNA LUDU daily today gave an account of the 12 December debates of the union's National Commission in Gdansk. Excerpts:

"Confrontation--This word occurred most frequently in speeches delivered by Solidarity activists on 12 December 1981. The issue was finally sealed, and what remained were the questions about the methods of carrying it into effect. Disputes concerned the choice of items to be included in an all-national referendum, e.g. dates for setting up a provisional government, new electoral law and principles for making electoral lists.

"Actually, for those who debated in the Gdansk shipyard the legal state authorities ceased to exist. After long and laborious preparations the time had come for the last move--self-appointment as new rulers of 'self-governed republic.'

"'The successors of People's Poland' in the heat of zealous discussions outdid one another in challenging the authorities and improving the confrontation scenario.

"There was no time to waste. Solidarity was a long (?way) from the popularity it enjoyed in August 1980. It was becoming evident that people were getting tired of the crisis, tensions, strikes and demonstrations which were assuming increasingly extremist forms including anti-state public meetings."

"As time was passing, increasing terror transpired from the conference room. Nothing, literally nothing was holding down those who claimed power and high posts, who pushed towards confrontation disregarding everyone and everything. The stake was high and the society was to pay the price.

"It was not worth while to trouble one's head about the results of surveys obtained by the socio-professional center which proved that 51 percent of members do not approve of the confrontation announcement and about one-third of all members 'clearly parts with the Solidarity tendencies and in principle approves of the authorities' views.'

"Neither did anyone pay attention any longer to Lech Walesa who spent hours in the lobby.

"The resolution prepared by Rulewski was passed by majority vote with five votes against and four abstentions. ...During the voting Walesa stayed alone in another room.

"The National Commission's meeting ended at 0.50 [as received] on 13 December. Its participants and observers left the Gdansk shipyard. They were to go to their regional branches and carry confrontational resolutions into effect...."

CSO: 2020/32

PROSPECTS FOR FORMER NZS MEMBERS DISCUSSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 12-14 Feb 82 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Godula: "Questions Which Should be Answered by Oneself"; (for cross-reference, see "NZS POLITICAL ACTIVITY CRITICIZED", published in JPRS 79988, 1 February 1982, No 1970, pp 39-42); passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

> [Text] /The last issue of our newspaper, published before the proclamation of martial law, contained my article, "Where Are the Students", pertaining to the activities of the Independent Association of Students (NZS). In it I cited many examples, from my own journalistic experience, of the organization's manipulative activities which were not in the best interest of the students./

In the article I asked whether, indeed, tens of thousands of students belonging to the NZS were conducting anti-socialist and anti-Soviet activity. The answer was: definitely not. A small group of activitists from the headquarters of the organization and from individual schools were doing this in their name. The activists themselves said that they oppose the political system under which they are living. And being an opponent of the political system is something entirely different than being an opponent of specific bad occurrences in public life.

I then said that the NZS, although it had its Congress a long time ago, does not have a program of its own. It is high time, I appealed, that such a program, reflecting the genuine aspirations of all NZS members, was prepared. Otherwise the organization's activities will continue to be directed by a small group of activists whose own personal ambitions and considerations are more important than the interests of the academic community and society as a whole.

1.

/When martial law was proclaimed, the activities of the NZS, just as those of other student organizations, were suspended on the strength of the order of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Unfortunately, the NZS activists did not cease their "activities". In some schools they attempted to organize strikes, published appeals that were in conflict with the law, and distributed leaflets containing false information. Many NZS activists participated in strikes in their workplaces.

In consequence, on January 5th, the head of the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, made the decision to dissolve the NZS./ The press announcement stated that the leaders of NZS, from the time it was formed, and contrary to the interests of the majority of the organization's members, violated the principles embodied in the statute and the obligations that they had voluntarily assumed. The statute, let us recall, declared that the NZS will be an apolitical organization, whose main goals will be the defense of the material, social and cultural interests of the students and their families, the enhancement of democracy in the academic community, and the development of self-government and autonomy in the higher schools.

The announcement emphasizes that the NZS, during its brief history, regularly violated the constitution of the Polish People's Republic and other legal regulations. This was done by conducting activity striking at the foundations of the political system of our country and its alliances; slandering the leadership of the socialist state; aspiring to form a new international, anti-socialist student organization; and printing, duplicating and distributing illegal publications, pamphlets and periodicals containing anti-socialist and anti-Soviet material. Another evidence of the rejection of the existing legal order was the constant undermining of the justness of student military training and calling for boycotts of lessons in military studies.

/It is unequivocally clear from the announcement that the NZS was dissolved not because its previous activities were directed against the regime and the state, but mainly because its activists did not cease their activities after martial law was proclaimed, despite the fact that the organization had been suspended. In other words, it can be assumed that had it not been for this "activity" by NZS activists, during a state of martial law, the organization, though suspended, could have continued to exist, and would have had an opportunity to conduct a "self-examination"./

2.

Was the diagnosis contained in my December article accurate? I believe that it was, even though I have met with the opinion that I am merely repeating the time-worn argument that "the leadership has lost touch with the membership". But it is hard not to use a time-worn argument when it fits the circumstances so perfectly.

In any case, the division into aktiv and members was clearly pointed out in the announcement on the dissolution of the NZS. "The NZS leaders", the document reads, "strived to disturb the peace and the normal operation of the schools, creating and adding to tensions, thereby attacking the fundamental rights and interests of the entire academic community, including those of the members of its own organization."

/Does all of this mean that the rank-and-file members of the organization were blameless? No, not at all./ They were to blame because they agreed to be active in, and sometimes only to belong to, an organization which had no program, no clear planned tasks, no precisely defined principles of operation, aside from the general formulations of the statute. Because there was no program, there was no way in which the effectiveness of the organization's work could be analyzed, for there was nothing with which to compare what was done. Such a situation promotes confusion among the members and enhances the absolute power of the leaders. And that was exactly what mattered in the NZS.

/The rank-and-file members of the NZS are to blame because they did not check on their leaders. They handed over to them the power in the organization, bestowed their confidence on them, but did not follow up to see how they were discharging the mandates entrusted to them. Were they conducting, as the statute proclaims, apolitical activity, in conformance with the interests of the community, and promoting the development of the schools? These questions never even entered the minds of many of the organization's members. Others, to be sure, had their doubts, but they never discussed them in public in their concern for the misconceived authority of the NZS, which was also, in their opinion, so constantly violated by the "regimist propaganda"./

I am sorry to say that the NZS did not invent any of these phenomena. In many organizations, more important than this one, the membership, as we well know, was enveloped by a deep apathy after an unprecedented liveliness before the election of the leadership. It was said then, that the members simply trusted their elected leaders. In actuality, this was not confidence but passiveness, leading to isolation of the leadership, which, as time went on, stopped understanding the interests of the members. Or they did not understand them from the beginning, and thanks to the apathy of the rank-and-filers, could calmly further their own private goals. And then, sooner or later, the tragedy began to unfold. It is precisely such a tragedy today that has befallen the members of the late NZS.

3.

/An extremely important question: what next? The NZS was dissolved but its members remain. Regardless of the degree of their identification with the organization, they had some definite expectations of the NZS and joined it with the idea that their needs and aspirations would be fulfilled./ They now cannot count on another Congress convening. They cannot demand explanations from the headquarters and from the school leaders, so as to be able, based on these explanations, to undertake the job of completely transforming the face of the organization.

In the announcement already quoted, the management of the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, "expresses the belief that the members of the former NZS will correctly evaluate the leaders and extremists of this organization, who abused their trust in implementing their own political goals. By quietly resuming their studies and respecting the law, they can be sure of their student status. Like other students, they will be able to acquire knowledge and take part in the social life of the academic community".

I urge them to reflect upon this. The NZS members must evaluate the activities of their organization, think through their part in its functioning, reexamine the conformity of their own desires and intentions with the desires and intentions of the NZS leaders. Such "mental work" must take place as soon as possible. This "self-searching" cannot go on for years, because after a certain time it becomes merely a sterile "reopening of the wounds", interfering with normal life.

The organizational model of student life is not predetermined. The students themselves will decide it. /I do not believe that anyone who wants to participate constructively in the life of the school and the country will be at a loss for

something to do. At the same time, I am certain that there will be no place for those whose purpose is simply to disorganize and who want to call for, or who are already calling for, passive resistance. Resistance against what? Against learning, the acquisition of knowledge, the study of scientific works? Such "passive resistance" can only lead to failing grades in examinations and dismissal from school. And then again someone will speak out in the interests of the academic youth.../

Am I reviving the old slogan, "students, back to your studies"? Yes, for it continues to be topical, but I understand it like this: student learning is based on acquiring professional and specialist skills on the one hand, and general knowledge on the other hand, making it possible to understand the mechanisms of social life. More than that--an indispensable component of this learning is action, proving oneself in the accomplishment of specific tasks. That is, activity in student organizations. All of this so that later, after completion of studies, one does the right thing at the right moment on the job and is not helpless in the face of life's problems. And these problems are not as simple as they may appear from the student's perspective.

/Did the leaders of the NZS take such elements of learning in school into account? I am afraid that they did not. A detailed answer to this question, however, should be the starting point in the private reflections of every member of the former Independent Association of Students. In asking, what did the NZS do for me, one should also ask, what did it not do for me. And is this good, or bad. These questions should be answered by oneself. Truly by oneself./

9295
CSO: 2600/334

'TRYBUNA LUDU' COMMENTARY ON ARMY-PARTY RELATIONS NOTED

LD231328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 23 Jan 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Let us start with a commentary which appeared on the front page of TRYBUNA LUDU. Stanislaw Reperowicz writes about the party members in army uniforms. In the unusually difficult struggle of the patriotic forces to get the country out of the crisis the soldiers of our army occupy a special place. There are many PZPR members among them, proportionally more than in other milieus.

However, it is not the index of quantity, important though it is, that describes the respect for the party organizations in the Polish People's Army. It emerges from the experiences of the Polish and international workers' movement that the credibility of the party, its ability to undertake action and to lead, are directly dependent on the attitudes of its members, on their ideology and devotion, on their honesty and reliability, on their high moral standards in the broad sense of the word, their sense of justice, and on the practical application of the noble aims of socialism in everyday life, at one's place of work and in one's family. The author stresses that people of that description have shaped the profile of the party organizations in the armed forces. They are also influencing their actions now.

Stanislaw Reperowicz points out that the experiences of the party in the army have received high assessment throughout the country. He recalls that during the conference preparing the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress a large group of communists in army uniforms was elected for the posts of secretary of PZPR committees in parishes [gmina], in cities and in voivodships. This trust was confirmed by the delegates to the 9th congress, who, during the fourth plenary session, entrusted the function of the first secretary of the party Central Committee to the front line soldier, the highest army commander, the party activist in army uniform, to Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

CSO: 2600/354

PAST DECADE OF POLISH-FRG RELATIONS ASSESSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Dec 81 p 7

[Article by Marian Podkowinski: "Polish People's Republic (PRL) and the FRG--Reality and Prospects"]

> [Text] As of 7 December 1981, we entered the second 10-year period of diplomatic relations with the FRG. Thus, we have 10 years of theory and practice connected with the normalization of mutual relations, indicating both progress and hindrances in our effort to attain normalization in full measure.

Such then was the foundation of the agreement on basic normalization, which European opinion during the detente period also regarded as a milestone on the road to strengthening peace on the continent. Without the conclusion of this agreement, it would have been useless to talk about realizing the final act of the Helsinki Agreement. Also, the acceptance of both German states into membership in the UN would have presented more than ordinary problems.

An Uphill Process

Poland, recognizing the importance of eliminating the last sources of dangerous tensions in the international arena, adopted the actual state of affairs of Europe as the basis of the December 1970 negotiations. A quarter century after the defeat of the Third Reich, Poland also wanted the FRG to recognize the European status quo. We were concerned with the elimination of the existing tensions, the remnants of the cold war of the era of Dulles and Adenauer, that had presaged nothing good for Europe. What was involved here was the interest of all of Europe, which also concerned the FRG.

It appears that the Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel government, in effecting a so-called new Eastern policy (in contrast to Adenauer's Ostpolitik), was well aware of how much political benefit would result from the normalization of relations with Poland. It made possible a departure from the political and diplomatic impassee of the Erhard and Kissinger era. The policy of the Brandt government, continued by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, was based on the new European reality, which is searching for a way out of the cold war constraints. This reality was reinforced during the past 10 years, even though the road to full normalization continues to be rocky and full of pitfalls

But from the very beginning, Poland had not expected the normalization process to be easy. Too many reasons had accumulated for the individual stages of normalization to progress without collisions, even something like the fact that they stem from the revisionist thesis constitutionally sanctioned by the FRG concerning the existence of "Germany within the 1937 borders." The FRG Government and the Bundestag bring this up every time the need arises to engage in dialog with Poland on the so-called final point. These conditions lead to difficulties raised by the FRG, for example, when the revision of schoolbooks and atlases comes up, which is attested to by the February 1981 resolution of the permanent conference of ministers of culture and education. It is possible also to cite a number of other reasons for the sluggish pace of matters composing the range of obligations, which, if not fulfilled, will make it difficult to talk about any full normalization of relations.

Our relationship to the process of normalization within the framework of the policy of peaceful coexistance has been and will remain clearly the same as the formulations adopted by both parties in the December 1970 agreement. We have judged and will continue to judge the position of the individual political forces in the FRG according to their attitude toward detente and peace. Only in such a climate will it be possible to say anything about concrete progress in the normalization process. We want this truth to reach into all of those political levels and forces that shoulder the responsibility for the fate of their country.

Unfortunately, reality is frequently different and even blocks the road to complete normalization. We were witness to this in part at the recent symposia and seminars, both in Bergneustadt (Friedrich Ebert Foundation) and at the Evangelical Academy in Loccum, where again voices attempting to push us back to when the normalization~~ of relations~~ as completely out of the question, made themselves known. But the fact that protests arose against the "voices of yesterday," including protests from the younger generation interested in dialog with Poland, attests to progressive publicizing of positive attitudes toward Poland, to the benefit of the whole matter of understanding and rapproachment of the two nations.

The Policy of Latent Negation

Although the benefits resulting from the normalization of relations are obvious, not only for the parties concerned (it was once stated that Europe breathed a sigh of relief after the signing of the agreement in Warsaw), we must not, however, sit back with folded arms and overlook the attempt to shoot the agreement between the Polish People's Republic and the FRG full of holes. Therefore, it is worthwhile to remind the political circles in the FRG, who have been implementing a tactic of latent negation toward the agreement with the hope of its gradual erosion, what prominent politician Carlo Schmid, one of the "fathers" of the FRG, wrote to Chancellor Schmidt before his death:

"Without agreements with the East, the FRG would also be isolated from the West, because it is only by virtue of these agreements that it gained the possibility of action in foregn policy. Without these agreements, it would always be subject to foreign pressure. By virtue of these agreements, the Federal Republic advanced from the status of protectorate to that of honored member in the government of nations (UN) and its voice cannot be ignored by the world powers."

If, however, the treaty with Poland is to be filled with a vivifying content, full coverage must be found on the part of the FRG of the words spoken on the occasion of the signing of this historical document by Willy Brandt. The agreement signed in Wilanowski Palace, in Warsaw he told his countrymen in the FRG in the ends the evil past, including the topic of the western border of Poland. No one forced us to do this. We have become mature human beings. What is concerned here, therefore, is proving our maturity and having courage to recognize realities."

Marking Time

Has that reality reached the entire FRG public during the past 10 years? What prospects are in store for it? Well, without moral support, every diplomatic act can remain an archival document. In spite of striking successes, especially in the economic sector and partly in cultural exchanges, political and legal problems that have remained without final resolution continue to exist. The old prejudices and stereotypes continue to linger in the mass media, where the picture of present-day Poland is quite frequently distorted.

At the conference in Loccum already mentioned the participants were briefed on what policies should be taken for bilateral rapprochment, if the agreement signed in Warsaw is to bring visible signs of detente and understanding not only to its signatories but also to all of Europe. No one expected this process to progress rapidly and without problems. Given the past, it would have either impossible or totally artificial. However, marking time in hopes that "things will take care of themselves if you wait long enough" is typical of the current phase of the agreement is implementation by Bonn. This does not portend good prospects. The image of Poland in the eyes of the FRG youth is left to their own resources or their imagination, whereas the regulations revising schoolbooks are covered by many layers of dust.

If this agreement is to continue as a turning point in our relations and European relations, it cannot be only an exercise for lawyers but a living evidence of lasting progress on the road to full implementation, pursuant to its provisions, which nothing can violate. All manipulation of the foundations of this agreement will only impair the credibility of those who emphasize on any occasion that "pacta sunt servanda," however, in order to exploit this formula for their own purposes. We judge that during the second 10-year period of implementation of the agreement, this truth will penetrate, even in places where thus far there was refusal to recognize it. However, such is the logic, both of the Potsdam Agreement and of the current period of European history, on which the political-territorial status quo of our continent is based.

5808
CSO: 2600/304

ALLEGEDLY UNANSWERED LETTERS FROM SOLIDARITY'S FILES CITED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 82 p 8

[Article by Teresa Grabczynska: "Forced Unity--Apparent Homogeneity; Letters Without Replies...."]

[Text] Various documents, confidential instructions, and antistate printed matter have filled Solidarity's archives. After these archives were opened, to everyone's astonishment there also turned up letters from rank-and-file members of the union, resolutions and declarations of plant commissions, petitions and resignations, and letters containing requests for assistance or intervention. All of them without replies--someone had written "put aside."

It is not difficult to answer the question why such closed circulation was designated "embarrassing" correspondence--embarrassing for active workers with political aspirations. Not only have they not concerned themselves with union matters, but, as befits a democracy--about which they have talked so much--they have not allowed critical evaluations either of themselves or their actions.... And they have no granted this right to the rank-and-file members of Solidarity, from whom they demanded acceptance, allegiance, and the fulfillment of their recommendations, exclusively.

The signals coming from below--which today turn out to be quite numerous--were hushed up, and their authors frequently met with troubles and petty harrassments. Those who did not want to submit to various pressures and who did not agree with the role of passive witness of events which had been assigned to them became useless. Most often a convenient pretext was found, and they were ousted from the union.

For example, by resolution of the Solidarity Plant Commission (KZ), the 16-member group at the Kunice Sheet Glass Foundry in Zary was removed from the union in December 1981. The formal reason was the taking up of collections during the Solidarity strike. But similar restrictions were not placed on other workers who also took money. KZ Secretary Tadeusz Stadler, an active participant on the strike committee, even received a reward for a special, supplementary list.

"The application of such differences is not ethical, not to mention the observances of principles of coexistence such as union regulations," wrote former members of Solidarity at the Kunice Sheet Glass Foundry in their appeal to the regional board in Zielona Gora.

Indignation and bitter disappointment, and the impossibility of accepting the applied practices dictated these words to them?

"...Without any explanation, without discussions and thorough consideration of the material situation of our families, we are being expelled from the union.... They have treated us like subversives, posting the list of those expelled in a glass case."

Methods of mental pressure, pointing fingers at "unreliable" and weak members, and taking the right to vote away from them served one goal. Under the slogan of unity and homogeneity of the ranks, they removed those members who had reservations and doubts as to the legitimacy of the direction of action which the "Solidarity" leaders had designated.

"We represent not ourselves, but the opinion of the workforce; we have consulted with the people, and they want this."

This formula was heard at the deliberations of the National Commission, at general meetings, and during negotiations with government representatives. What the consultations, the new and democratic way of making decisions really were like is described by the members of Solidarity from the Kunice foundry in their letter:

"The chairman of the KZ organized the meeting with the aim of making a decision on joining the 1-hour-old warning strike. One hundred of the 600 members took part in the meeting. They put forward three proposals: join the strike, express solidarity in a form other than a strike, and do not join the strike. Those who presented the second and third proposals were not allowed to express their feelings (catcalls, footstamping). They were not considered during the voting."

Add nothing, detract nothing. The mechanism for bringing about riots and protest actions operated ever more efficiently.

Those who did not find help at the KZ level could not expect justice higher in the regional boards. Did they have any chance--through their own remarks, protests, and hints of existing irregularities and cardinal errors--of having a bearing on correcting Solidarity's program and method of action?

Other unearthed documents contain the answer. For example, an open letter from a former employee of the press agency of the Poznan Interfactory Founding Committee (MKZ) is some illustration. He wrote:

"Some active workers in our MKZ are simply dishonest people. They manage the money turned over by the Factory Founding Committee (ZKZ) freely and even carelessly, and these are not small sums.... The apparent lack of discipline of a number of people, including some in the leadership itself, is disturbing. A climate of feigned work prevails, and the only initiatives are measures concerned with adequately satisfying one's own position...."

There has been no concealing personal contests and auctions for influence within the presidium and regional board from the union rank-and-file. Displacement of union issues by political and confrontational activities and the attitude of constant negation toward everything and everyone identified with the state authorities raised protests, but also threats of withdrawing mandates and the payment of membership dues. Many Solidarity members, urged by their own leadership to take the route of confrontation, warned against a disastrous choice. Their voices were painstakingly suppressed.

Correspondence flowed in the greatest profusion to the Mazowsze Regional Board, where an internal conflict between a group of active workers of KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense] and so-called young active workers who sought to exert an effective impact on the regional authorities came out into the open.

Representing various environments, those workers who were lowest in the organizational structure of the union cautioned and protested against political showdowns and neglect of human issues, union issues, and the failure to inform Solidarity members about work and the plans of the board.

The KZ at the Industrial Construction Machinery Institute threatened to stop turning over membership dues. The KZ at the BETON-STAL enterprise made a similar threat. The KZ at the Walter Sugar Industry Disabled Veteran' Cooperative expressed"...deep disapproval of the existing situation, which can cause complete lack of confidence among union members."

The KZ at the Municipal Sanitation Enterprise [MPO] demanded among other things, that group and personal contests cease and that the scope and volume of union information increase.

The staged course of the Mazowsze general meeting, which took place at the beginning of December 1981, neglected union issues.

For those who did not agree, there remained another possibility of appealing to the highest Solidarity authorities--to the National Commission.

Scientific workers at the Institute of the Basic Problems of Technology sent an open letter to the National Consultative Commission (KKP), in which we read, among other things, that:

"The KKP of the Solidarity National Trade Union (NSZZ), on behalf of its own well conceived interests, and on behalf of a good nation, should purge itself of all fortuitous excessive outgrowths, eliminating in the first place KSS-KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense] advisors, violent and extremist elements who are striving to plunge our nation into a sea of fraternal blood..."

The issue was settled quickly by relegating the letter to the...anonymous letter file.

There was no lack of letters addressed directly to Lech Walesa. The workers at the Fala Knitwear Goods Plant in Gdansk, women members of Solidiarity, stated:

"In connection with your last appearance in Radom, we wish to express our feelings. We ask you to hear our voice, the voice of Poles, mothers and wives. We cannot hide the fact that we are filled with anxiety. We are afraid of a confrontation.... We appeal to you strongly, very earnestly--do not let it come to the shedding of blood. Make one more attempt to sit down at a negotiating table with the government. The path of negotiation must be the only way of achieving understanding."

Those were words of truth. They laid bare the lie of the extremist politicians of Solidarity, voicing their slogan about the radicalization of the masses, who cannot be opposed and who long for confrontation.

The strike actions were supposed to channel these moods--to soothe and to calm. The Solidarity strategists found more "useful" occupations for the member throngs than controlling the "top."

"...I see that we are not getting bread and flour out of it, after a year and a half the issue is getting worse..... This is not a union, it is hostility toward our community."

Thus wrote Tarnow resident Andrzej S. frankly but awkwardly to Lech Walesa.

In this way, the circulation of correspondence which, by convention, I have called embarrassing was closed. In Solidarity itself, as it turn out, there were a sufficient number of signals and protests which would allow the union leadership to draw practical conclusions and to program actions consistent with the expectations of those for whom the Solidarity National Trade Union was formed--under the condition that the Solidarity leadership set itself this goal. But this leadership implemented an entirely different program--a program of taking over leadership based on the tactics of a struggle designated by active workers from the antisocialist opposition.

The cited examples demonstrate sufficiently that the leaders of Solidarity well knew the real opinion of the mass membership--it was only that they did not want to know, for it was not useful for them.

8729
CSO: 2600/310

COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION LEADER INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17 Feb 82 p2

[Interview with Pawel Darczewski, first secretary of the National Committee, Communist Union of Polish Youth (KZMP), by Adolf Reut: "We Are a Union of Struggle -- In a Month the KZMP Constitutional Congress"]

> [Text] In a month, on 17 March, the constitutional congress of the Communist Union of Polish Youth will begin in Warsaw. A PAP reporter talked to the First Secretary of the KZMP National Committee, Pawel Darczewski, about the preparations for the congress and about what the union is and wants to be.

[Question] Perhaps a few words on the preparations for the KZMP congress.

[Answer] It is no accident that we want to start the sessions right on 17 March. In this way once again we will be emphasizing our connection to the traditions of the Communist Youth Union of Poland, the revolutionary youth organization which operated from 1922 to 1938 under the leadership of the KPP [Communist Party of Poland (prewar)]. Allow me to mention that it was right on 17 March 1922, 60 years ago, that groups of communist youth convened their first congress.

Actually the preparations for our congress have been going on for several months; since the registration of the statute of our union last June a congress commission has been operating, and drafts of organizational and program documents have been created. We are paying special attention to the program resolution, and to improvements in the statute and declaration of ideology. Our first constitutional congress will elect the organization's leadership and, in particular, will give concrete direction to operations and forms of implementation of the program goals.

[Question] But even the most recent information about KZMP does not give us a full picture of how the KZMP came about and what it is today.

[Answer] The idea of creating in a consistent fashion a communist youth organization matured a long time ago. This was particularly evident at the end of the 1970's in a situation of growing, deep crisis in the ideological sphere as well as in the mechanisms of operation of the youth organizations. KZMP started with independent spontaneous Marxist study groups initiated by groups of left-wing worker youth as well as student groups. In June 1980 a Communist Union of Students came into being in Krakow. A few weeks later an organization of the same name was created in Katowice. I have already talked about the fact that last June our union came to be registered, and in July the KZMP National Committee came into being, and there was a fusion with the Union of Communist Youth, which formed as a parallel group in Katowice. The National Committee met at four plenary meetings already to discuss organizational and program issues. In our declaration we are accenting the fact that it is the basic duty of KZMP members to protect the sovereignty of socialist Poland and the freedom of the people, and this is inseparably tied in with the struggle to bring social justice to reality, and the fight for moral rebirth, the economic renewal of the country, and scientific, working, and cultural conditions which are just for all young people.

KZMP presently has about 5,000 members, and their representatives will attend the constitutional congress. We are not a mass organization, and we have absolutely no inclination in this direction. There is no division among us into members and activists. Everyone belonging to KZMP is obliged to take active part in the life of other mass youth organizations.

[Question] Exactly, what sort of relationship does KZMP have to the socialist youth unions.

[Answer] We have come out many times and still do so for the creation of a joint action front of left-wing Polish youth. The events and changes which are taking place in our country make this principle still more fitting. Unfortunately, if we omit worker and colleague contacts, it is difficult to talk today about effective cooperation. On the contrary, we are hearing accusations without foundation that it was our purpose to break down this unity — I think there is still a long way to go to unity — and to weaken other organizations. This is an insinuation which may perhaps stem from the reluctance people have observed on the part of the leaders of some other youth organization or perhaps from differences in our forms of action. We are simply undertaking a political struggle and are operating entirely according to social principles...

[Question] Has martial law created any sort of basic changes in the directions and forms of your activity?

[Answer] The establishment of martial law, as we expressed in the position taken by the KZMP National Committee, was necessary and justified by the exceptional situation in the country, the growing wave of confrontation, and the threat of counterrevolution. Of course this does not mean apologetics for martial law which, after all, has numerous restrictions and limitations, but we realize that it is essential finally to put the

political and economic situation in our country in order. The way out of the crisis, especially the economic one, as we see it, is to be found in action which takes into consideration certain elements of wartime economy and administration.

The whole membership gives numerous examples daily proving that it understands the demands of the current situation. We are trying, in our groups, to take an active part in resolving the various sorts of problems. We are most committed to everything related to consolidation of the party ranks, and to building up the party's moral authority and the society's confidence in the party.

10790
CSO: 2600/347

WSNS PARTY SCHOOL CONFERENCE ON CRISES NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by Zenon Skuza: "The Sources of the Sociopolitical Crises"]

[Text] On 26 and 26 January 1982 at the PZPR Central Committee's Higher School of Social Sciences (WSNS), there was academic session devoted to analyzing the sources and nature of the sociopolitical and economic crises in People's Poland. Representatives of many academic sectors in the country from various fields of learning participated in the deliberations.

In opening the deliberations, Doc Dr Hab Nobert Michta, WSNS rector, pointed out that the session was an attempt by the higher school to fulfill the duty imposed upon it both by the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress and the work forces of many work places (especially PAFAWAG) to provide society and the party with answers to the fundamental question of the day: Why did these crises take place, what caused them, and how can the country and the party guard against similar upheavals in the future? How many of the answers to these questions will be honest depends today, in no small degree, on the party. Can it restore the confidence of the workers class and the entire society? What are its real possibilities for having a leadership role in the life of the people?

The following reports formed the basis of the discussion: Doc Dr Hab Wladyslaw Wazniewski's "General and Specific Characteristics of the Manifestation of the Crisis Situations in People's Poland;" Doc Dr Hab Adam Koseski's "Controversies Surrounding the Essence of Socialist Renewal"; Doc Dr Hab Zdzislaw Bombera's "Economic Premises and Conditions of the Socioeconomic Crises in the PRL [Polish People's Republic]."

At the plenary discussion, over 60 participants among them, many specialists, political leaders, organizers of production life, and farmers, spoke at the sociopolitical, economic and ideological sections.

Mistakes in the Leadership and Management System

At the discussion, which was often controversial, an attempt was made to answer these questions: How is one to understand the essence of the sociopolitical crisis? Do the social and political aspects of this crisis have a cyclical

nature? Do objective or subjective factors determine them, and, if so, which of them should be assigned a decisive role? To what degree do external conditions determine the appearance of these social and political aspects of this crisis? Is it possible to understand their nature and dimensions as well as their appearance without defining the degree of responsibility of persons having leadership functions in the life of the state? Participants often brought up the fact that establishing the degree of people's culpability and responsibility is a necessary condition in the analysis of this phenomenon. Many discussants mentioned the fact that mistakes in cadre policy were of no small consequence.

The question has been raised as to the source of these crises. Are they to be attributed to a lack of government reform? Are they an imminent feature of socialism? Or are they the result of errors committed in the leadership and management system of the national economy, errors in Poland's economic policy?

Many discussants, among them education representatives, stated that higher learning was not without blame, especially the social and economic sciences, in maintaining a servile attitude toward economic policy. Due in part to such an attitude among intellectuals, deformations in social life which were transformed into crisis situations could occur. It has been pointed out that in the entire postwar period, particularly in the 1970's, there was virtually no proper correlation between theory and practice. False assumptions were made and wrong goals undertaken. Among these goals was the future goal of having socialism compete with capitalism, which signifies a departure from the primary goal of socialism: man and his needs.

Economists particularly stressed the many errors made in import and export policy in Poland's policy toward the RWPG, and they expressed the need for reestablishing a balance among particular sectors of the national economy that in past years have become seriously unbalanced. Other points raised by these economists were the priority status of social policy and the need for a new look at the problem of agriculture and the entire food complex in our country.

Too Little Realism

Many discussants referred to the fact that there was too little realism in our practical and ideological practice, too much wishful thinking, and too many programs for future development without any real possibilities of their being realized under actual conditions. Moreover, they pointed out that too often social phenomena were analyzed without viewing them through a "class" lens and there was underdevelopment of social construction theory, creating the chance for all kinds of voluntarism to develop, starting with economic voluntarism.

Many discussants declared themselves in favor of the necessity for elucidating the 1948 crisis, viewing it as the taproot of succeeding crises.

Everyone stressed, in substance, that the indispensable condition for the socialist process of renewal is the democratization of the party, its faithfulness to Marxist-Leninist precepts and principles in performing its leadership role. They made it known that martial law does not cancel out the process of democratization but creates real premises for fulfilling profound, inispensable social reforms.

9866
CSO: 2600/309

DECREE ON PROCEDURES IN CRIMINAL, MISDEMEANOR CASES

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 29, 14 Dec 81 pp 317-320

[Decree of 12 December 1981 on Special Proceedings in Criminal and Misdemeanor Cases During a State of Martial Law]

[Text] In order to provide for the stronger defense of the fundamental interests of the state and citizenry and with a view to the more efficient disposition of criminal and misdemeanor cases during a state of martial law--the Council of State resolves as follows:

Chapter 1

Summary Proceedings

Article 1. 1. For as long as martial law shall remain in force summary proceedings are to be instituted before general and military courts in cases involving criminal offenses as defined in the provisions of:

1) article 122 and 123, article 124, sections 1 and 2, article 126 and 127, article 128, section 1, articles 130-134, article 135, sections 1 and 2, article 136, section 1, article 137, section 1, article 138, section 1, article 139, section 1, article 140, section 1, articles 142-144, article 148, section 1, article 155, section 1, article 157, article 158, sections 2 and 3, article 159, article 165, section 2, article 200, section 1, articles 201 and 202, articles 208-211, article 212, section 2, article 215, section 2, article 217, section 2, article 218, section 1, article 220, article 221, section 4, article 223, section 3, article 227, articles 233-235, articles 239 and 240, article 241, sections 1, 3 and 4, article 244, article 246, sections 1 and 2, article 252, section 1, article 253, article 254, section 1, article 256, section 2, article 257, section 1, article 260, sections 1 and 2, article 261, article 262, section 2, article 264, section 2, articles 270-272, article 273, sections 1 and 2, article 274, section 2, article 275, article 276, article 278, sections 1-3, articles 279-283, articles 286 and 287, article 288, section 1, article 303, sections 2-4, articles 304-307, article 309, section 1, articles 310-314 and articles 329 and 330 of the Penal Code;

2) articles 1 and 2 of the Law of 29 December 1950 on the Defense of the Peace (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 58, item 521);

3) article 22 of the Law of 15 February 1962 on the Organization of National Statistical Records (DZIENNIK USTAW No 10, item 47 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

4) article 47, section 1, article 51, section 1, and article 54, section 1 and also crimes committed under circumstances as set forth in article 83, section 2, and as defined in article 74, section 2, article 75, section 2, and article 76, section 2 of the Law of 26 October 1971--the Law on Fiscal Crimes (DZIENNIK USTAW No 28, item 260 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

5) article 46, sections 1-6, article 47, section 1, and article 48, sections 1-4 of the Decree of 12 December 1981 on Martial Law (DZIENNIK USTAW No 29, item 154) insofar as for reasons having to do with the nature and scope of a violation of or of an act which jeopardizes national security and defense interests or because of other unusual circumstances attending the commission of a crime the degree of public danger resulting from such an action is deemed to be especially severe.

2. Summary proceedings are to be instituted solely in relation to crimes committed during a state of martial law and in a place located within a jurisdiction where martial law has been declared in conformity with the provisions of the resolution of the Council State on the declaration of martial law.

3. Summary proceedings are to be instituted solely in relation to crimes which are subject to such proceedings to the exclusion of all other crimes with which the accused is charged and which are prosecuted in accordance with other rules of proceeding.

Article 2. A public prosecutor or court shall refrain from prosecuting a case in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding insofar as, for reasons having to do with the nature and extent of a violation of or of an act which jeopardizes national security interests during a state of martial law or because of other unusual circumstances attending the commission of a crime, the degree of public danger resulting from such an action is not deemed to be especially severe.

Article 3. Summary proceedings may not be instituted against persons who at the time a crime was committed are under 17 years of age, pregnant women, and persons who because of mental retardation, mental illness, or some other mental dysfunction were not able to comprehend the significance of an act at the time it was committed or who either were not able to control their actions or were able to do so only to a very limited extent.

Article 4. 1. For crimes which are subject to the rules of summary proceeding and regardless of the nature and limits of statutory liability for a given criminal offense a court may impose the following basic penalties: the death penalty or a 25-year prison sentence or the penalty of imprisonment for a term of not less than 3 years, except insofar as special laws provide for a higher minimum statutory penalty.

2. A court may impose the death penalty and 25-year prison sentences only in cases where the maximum statutory penalty for a given offense is not less than imprisonment for a term of 8 years.

3. In summary proceedings a court may in unusual and especially warranted cases recognized by law grant special commutations of sentences. The provisions of article 57, sections 2 and 4 of the Penal Code do not apply in such cases.

4. For a crime which is subject to the rules of summary proceeding a court may impose the additional penalty of forfeiture of civil rights, and a court may also order that special procedures should be followed in informing the public of the sentence handed down for such a criminal conviction, just as it may also order the partial or total confiscation of property.

Article 5. The provisions of the Penal Code and other laws on criminal proceeding are to be enforced in summary proceedings insofar as the provisions of this decree do not stipulate otherwise.

Article 6. 1. Public prosecutors shall issue writs on the prosecution of a case in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding concurrently with the issuance of writs on the institution of preliminary proceedings.

2. The writ of a public prosecutor on the prosecution of a case in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding may be appealed.

3. A public prosecutor may rescind a previously issued writ on the prosecution of a case in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding before an act of indictment is presented to a court of law.

4. Before a case is sent up for a main trial hearing a court will convene for the purpose of making an official ruling on the grounds for trying a case in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding as set forth in an act of indictment. The provisions of article 299, section 1, item 3 of the Code of Criminal Procedure are to be enforced accordingly.

5. In the event that a writ on the prosecution of a case in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding is rescinded by a public prosecutor or in the event that the rules of summary proceeding as set forth in an act of indictment are modified by a court of law, criminal proceedings in the disposition of a case are to be conducted thereafter in accordance with the rules of ordinary proceeding.

Article 7. 1. Preliminary proceedings in cases involving crimes subject to summary proceedings should be completed by no later than 15 days after the date on which they were instituted, whereas in complex cases--with the consent of a public prosecutor of superior jurisdiction--they should be completed within 30 days.

2. The time limit specified in article 259 of the Code of Criminal Procedure is to be reduced to 10 days, the time limits specified in article 269, section 3, article 277, section 1, article 284, section 2, and article 410 are to be re-

duced to 3 days, and the time limit specified in article 277, section 2 is to be reduced to 1 day.

Article 8. 1. Temporary detention is sanctioned in cases involving crimes subject to summary proceedings.

2. Appeals against the writ of a public prosecutor on the enforcement of temporary detention should be reviewed within 48 hours of the date on which such appeals are filed.

3. In the event that a writ on the prosecution of a case in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding is rescinded or in the event that the rules of summary proceeding as set forth in an act of indictment are modified, a new writ will be issued after a hearing has been held to examine the grounds for upholding a temporary detention order.

Article 9. 1. The president of a court will send a case to trial within 5 days of the receipt of an act of indictment or within 5 days of having corrected any deficiencies in such an indictment.

2. In the event that the accused is suffering from a severe illness a case may be sent to trial after the accused has recovered to the point where they are able to appear in court.

3. The time limit specified in article 302, section 1 of the Code of Criminal Procedure is to be reduced to 3 days, whereas the time limit specified in article 305, section 1 is to be reduced to 1 day.

4. If there are reasonable grounds to suspect that a material or expert witness will avoid making a court appearance, the president of a court may direct that a material or expert witness should be subpoenaed to give testimony in court.

Article 10. In criminal cases subject to summary proceedings verdicts will be handed down by a provincial courts (military district courts or a court of a branch of the armed forces) at a trial presided over by three judges.

Article 11. 1. The filing of civil suits is prohibited.

2. The provisions of article 363 of the Code of Criminal Procedure are not to be enforced.

3. Auxiliary plaintiffs and attorneys representing social organizations may not take part in summary proceedings.

4. The provisions of article 348, section 2, clause 2, article 350, article 358, section 2 of the Code of Criminal Procedure are not to be enforced. The time limit specified in article 347, section of 2 of the Code of Criminal Procedure is to be reduced to 7 days.

Article 12. 1. A court will impose the death penalty for a crime subject to summary proceedings only in cases where a unanimous verdict is handed down with respect to both guilt and the imposition of the death penalty.

2. A court may issue a ruling to discontinue the enforcement of rules of summary proceeding.

3. In the event that summary proceedings are discontinued, cases are to be prosecuted thereafter in accordance with the rules of ordinary proceeding.

Article 13. 1. Verdicts are to be announced to the public immediately after they have been signed by a court president.

2. The legal grounds of a verdict are to be drawn up in writing within 7 days after its promulgation.

3. Opinions handed down by a court of law may not be appealed.

Article 14. In the event that a verdict is handed down in favor of imposing the death penalty a court is to submit all documents relating to a given case to the First President of the Supreme Court within 3 days of the date on which the legal grounds for such a verdict are drawn up in writing. The provisions of article 500 of the Code Criminal Procedure are to be enforced accordingly. All documents relating to a given case are to be submitted to the Council of State within 14 days of the date on which such documents were submitted to the First President of the Supreme Court.

Article 15. 1. The Supreme Court, presided over by a panel of five judges, will hear special appeals for retrial filed against a verdict terminating judicial proceedings that were conducted in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding.

2. The Supreme Court, presided over by a panel of five judges, will rule on questions related to the retrial of a case that was closed with the issuance of a lawful verdict in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding.

3. In the event that retrial is ordered or a sentence is revoked in accordance with the rules of special judicial review proceedings a court of law will hear cases in question in accordance with the rules of ordinary proceeding.

Chapter II

Simplified Proceedings in Criminal Cases

Article 16. Cases involving the following criminal offenses shall also be tried under the rules of simplified proceeding to which reference is made in chapter 43 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, to wit:

1) crimes punishable by imprisonment for a term of up to 3 years or for a term of up to 3 years plus the assessment of a fine;

2) crimes specified in the provisions of article 156, section 1, article 199, section 1, article 203, section 1, article 204, section 2, article 215 section 1, article 221, sections 1 and 3, and articles 224 and 225 of the Penal Code even insofar as the value of the object of a crime or the damage caused or intended exceeds 5,000 zlotys.

Article 17. 1. In a complex case the agency in charge of conducting preliminary proceedings may decline to prosecute a case in accordance with the rules of simplified proceeding.

2. Before a case is sent to trial for a main hearing a court of law in session may decline to review a case in accordance with the rules of simplified proceeding as set forth in an act of indictment. The provisions of article 299, section 1, item 3 of the Code of Criminal Procedure are to be enforced accordingly.

Chapter III

Accelerated Proceedings in Criminal Cases

Article 18. Accelerated proceedings referred to in chapter 45 of the Code of Criminal Procedure are to be instituted in cases involving crimes specified in the provisions of:

1) article 158, section 1, article 165, section 1, article 167, section 1, article 171, section 1, article 195, article 197, section 1, article 198, article 212, section 1, article 214, sections 1 and 2, article 236, article 237, article 256, section 1, article 274, section 1, article 284, and article 285 of the Penal Code;

2) articles 3-5, article 6, article 1, and article 8 of the Law of 22 April 1959 on Combating the Unlicensed Production of Alcoholic Beverages (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 27, item 169);

3) article 25, sections 1 and 2 of the Law of 10 December 1959 on the Fight Against Alcoholism (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 69, item 434 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

4) article 28, section 1 of the Law of 31 January 1961 on Weapons, Ammunition, and Explosives (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 6, item 43);

5) article 91, section 1, item 3 of the Law of 31 May 1962--The Aviation Act (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 32, item 153);

6) article 222 and 223, article 224, section 1, articles 227 and 230, and article 232 of the Law of 21 November 1967 on the General Duty of Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111);

7) article 118, section 1 of the law of 26 October 1971--the Law on Fiscal Crimes (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 28, entry 260 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

8) articles 54 and 55 of the Law of 10 April 1974 on the Census and Personal Identity Cards (DZIENNIK USTAW No 14, item 85);

9) article 123 of the Law of 24 October 1974--the Water Act (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 38, item 230 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

10) articles 41 and 42, section 2 of the Law of 12 June 1975 on Firefighting Services (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 106)

--even if such crimes are not classified as hooligan-type offenses.

Article 19. Under the rules of accelerated proceeding a court may impose a prison sentence of up to 2 years, and it may assess a fine in addition to a prison sentence in an amount of up to 100,000 zlotys.

Article 20. 1. If in the course of a trial it should become necessary to conduct preliminary proceedings with respect to a given criminal charge or if a court foresees the possibility of imposing a prison sentence for a term of more than 2 years or assessing a fine in addition to a prison sentence in an amount exceeding 100,000 zlotys, the court will remand the case in question to a public prosecutor; the court shall review the grounds for the enforcement of a temporary detention order or other preventive measures.

2. In the event that case is remanded to a public prosecutor, criminal proceedings in a given case are to be conducted thereafter in accordance with the rules of simplified proceeding except in cases mentioned in article 420 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The provisions of article 17 of this decree are to be enforced accordingly.

Chapter IV

Accelerated Proceedings in Misdemeanor Cases

Article 21. Accelerated proceedings referred to in part 6 of the Code of Procedure in Misdemeanor Cases are to be instituted before misdemeanor collegia under the jurisdiction of local government agencies and maritime offices in cases involving misdemeanors as specified in the provisions of:

1) articles 49 and 50, article 52, section 1, article 56, section 1, article 57, section 1, article 61, section 2, article 63, section 1, articles 64 and 65, article 66, section 1, article 67, section 1, article 69, article 76, articles 90 and 103, article 127, section 1, article 143, section 1, article 146, section 1, and article 147 of the Misdemeanors Code;

2) article 57 of the executive order of the President of the Republic dated 27 October 1932--the Law on Associations (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 94, item 808 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

3) article 80 item 1 and 2 of the Law of 7 March 1932 on Fisheries (DZIENNIK USTAW No 35 item 357 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

4) article 9 of the Law of 28 March 1933 on Military Graves and Cemetaries (DZIENNIK USTAW No 39, item 311 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

5) article 12, section 1 of the Decree of 2 August 1951 on Fairs and Marketplaces (DZIENNIK USTAW No 41, item 312);

6) article 8, section 1 of the Decree of 6 September 1951 on Areas of Special Importance to the National Defense (DZIENNIK USTAW No 46, item 341);

7) article 15, section 1, items 1 and 3-5 of the Law of 7 March 1950 on Shipping and Raft Traffic Along Inland Waterways (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1952, No 26, item 182 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

8) article 7, section 1 and article 8 of the Decree of 23 April 1953 on Natural Disaster Relief Services (DZIENNIK USTAW No 23, item 93 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

9) article 31, section 1 of the Decree of 23 March 1956 on the Security of National Borders (DZIENNIK USTAW No 9, item 51 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

10) article 6, section 2 of the Law of 22 April 1959 on Combating the Unlicensed Distilling of Alcoholic Beverages (DZIENNIK USTAW No 27, item 169);

11) article 27, sections 1 and 2 of the Law of 31 January 1961 on Weapons, Ammunition, and Explosives (DZIENNIK USTAW No 6, item 43);

12) article 30-32 and article 34 of the Law of 27 November 1961 on Highway Transport and Domestic Freight Forwarding (DZIENNIK USTAW No 53, item 297);

13) article 52, items 1 and 3 and article 54 of the Law of 1 December 1961--The Maritime Code (DZIENNIK USTAW No 58, item 318 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

14) article 92, sections 1 and 2 of the Law of 31 May 1962--The Aviation Code (DZIENNIK USTAW No 32, item 153);

15) article 22, section 1 of the Law of 29 March 1963 on Foreign Nationals (DZIENNIK USTAW No 15, item 77);

16) article 42, item 2 of the Law of 21 May 1963 on Maritime Fisheries (DZIENNIK USTAW No 22, item 115 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

17) article 25, section 1 of the Law of 17 June 1959 on Passports (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1967, No 17, item 81 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

18) article 24, section 1, items 1 and 2 of the Law of 9 April 1968 on Permits for Public Artistic, Entertainment, and Sports Events (DZIENNIK USTAW No 12, item 64);

19) article 56 of the Law of 10 April 1974 on the Census and Personal Identity Cards (DZIENNIK USTAW No 14, item 85);

20) article XII, section 2 of the Law of 26 June 1974--Introductory Provisions of the Labor Code (DZIENNIK USTAW No 24, item 142 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

21) article 48 and article 50 of the Law of 20 May 1975 on the Quartering of the Armed Forces (DZIENNIK USTAW No 19, item 121);

22) article 217, section 1, article 218, section 1, and article 220 of the Law of 21 November 1967 on the General Duty of Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111);

23) article 50 of the Decree of 12 December 1981 on Martial Law (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 29, item 154).

Article 22. In cases involving misdemeanors punishable by detention searches may be conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Code of Procedure in Misdemeanor Cases.

Chapter V

Concluding Provisions

Article 23. 1. Effective the date on which martial law is revoked outstanding cases being prosecuted in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding are to be remanded for prosecution under the rules of ordinary proceeding and the exeuction of a lawful death sentence is to be stayed and at the same time the case in question is to be submitted to an appellate court for review.

2. Cases involving crimes mentioned in article 18 that are outstanding on the date martial law is revoked and being prosecuted under the rules of accelerated proceeding are to be remanded on that date for trail under the rules of ordinary proceeding.

3. Cases involving crimes mentioned in article 16 that are outstanding on the date martial law is revoked and being prosecuted under the rules of simplified proceeding are to be remanded on that date for trial under the rules of ordinary proceeding.

Article 24. Cases involving misdemeanors mention in article 21 that are outstanding on the date martial law is revoked and being prosecuted under the rules of accelerated proceeding are to be remanded on that date for trial under the rules of ordinary proceeding.

Article 25. This decree enters into force on the date of its promulgation and is retroactive to the date on which martial law is declared.

Chairman of the Council of State, H. Jablonski

Secretary of the Council of State, E. Duda

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CSO: 2600/224

'RZECZPOSPOLITA' BEGINS SERIES ON 'WHAT KIND OF POLAND ?'

Announcement of Series

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 1

[Unattributed article: "What Kind of Poland?"]

[Text] Today we are all seeking an answer to that question. We are asking, how can lasting social peace be assured? But also: How did this situation come about? What will Poland be like after the period of martial law? What kind of Poland should it be?

We are opening our columns to all who choose to share their own reflections and proposals with our readers. Today we are printing the views of Prof Jan Baszkiewicz and Halina Auderska (p 3).

Whatever Is Possible

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by historian Prof Jan Baszkiewicz: "What Kind of Poland? Whatever Is Possible"]

[Text] We need honest reflection on the state of Polish issues, the premise for which must be the clear understanding that politics always was an art of possible things. History can give people only an opportunity for, and not a guarantee of, success.

1. We complain that the Polish fate afflicts us painfully. That is true. But let us remember that various painful experiences were--and are--the lot of many other nations. And let us remember also that the wisdom of nations is precisely a function of their experiences: it results from cool headed reflection on what happened to them and to their close or distant neighbors.

2. In October 1956 there arose many chinks in the bureaucratized system of ruling and management of the economy; but they were not filled in by the pressure of living social forces on so many powerful and mature people to assure the democratic evolution of our socialist institutions. During the course of the following

quarter century, consequently, there accumulated disappointments, setbacks, and bitterness, which gave social protest after August 1980 the force of an element.

3. The leadership of the "post-August social movement" willingly referred to the fact that it was expressing only the radical mood of that social element. Even if this was the whole truth (and I think that it is not), an element can be both a consuming force and a source of useful energy, after all. The wise leadership of elemental social movements, as the experience of history has shown, knows how to control elements retionally, and not only how to be carried off by a wave that has swelled. If it does not know how to do so, it simply is not wise leadership.

4. Today we need in Poland--as much as air or bread--wise, powerful, I do not hesitate to write, truly great authority. The majority of politicans are measured by their capacity to combine two fundamental traits: a firm tendency to preserve the valuable principles of the social structure, and also a firm innovative ability, and thus, the ability to reform equipment which has already outlived its usefulness. Today more than ever we need a wise balance of these two political virtues. The first one has prevailed for too long.

5. In socialism, those ruling do not have the right to be waited on by the state, they are obliged to serve the state. The team ruling in the 1970's fell and left in disrepute, for they believed in the presumptuous formula: The state is I. Authority strong in social recognition is not authority confident of its own bureaucratic superiority, authority which endeavors to shove everyone before it, but rather, democratic authority which living forces of the socialist society--workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, and youth--will want and will know how to follow of their own accord.

6. Certainly, the constant expansion of fields of social self-government is the best safeguard against bureaucratization, which brings crises. But in the last 12 months or so the problem of self-government has become overgrown with regrettable misunderstandings. Many times people in self-government looked for a club which could manage to break or paralyze the authority of the socialist state; in these evaluations, calculations hostile to the structure and dogmatic fears bursting with distrust thwarted each other. On the other hand, it is true that in societies with a long democratic tradition, self-government is not something external to state authority, inimical, or oppositional: it is simply its component and its important support. Precisely the development of social self-government allows people to talk about authority: That is my [in boldface] authority. Some sort of they [in boldface] do not rule us, in our house we [in boldface] rule ourselves.

7. I was never a careerist; those who know me will attest to how I think. All the more boldly I have decided to write that for a year I have observed very carefully the actions of the soldier and politician who on 13 December assumed the particular burden of responsibility for the fate of Poland. I believe that he is serving the country with purity of intentions, patriotism, and an understanding of justified social aspirations. Among other things, it is precisely these characteristics that allow me to believe that we have an opportunity for the present crisis to go down in history as the final crisis of this depth and scale.

8. But we should remember by all means that history can give people only an opportunity for, and not a guarantee of, success. We need time and effort to change an opportunity into success. Two things can help us in this long march. Thus, we need honest reflection on the state of Polish issues, the premise for which must be the clear understanding that politics always was and is an art of possible things. And to recognize what is and what is not possible, we have to repudiate pusillanimity and intellectual laziness. Let us look to the future not only with hope itself but also with wise restlessness of imagination.

Governable. Just Poland

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by writer Halina Auderska: "Man Is Not Born for Himself..."]

[Text] I believe that many thinking people are exposed to at least three dangers. First: to an error in scientific research, and in personal, political, and social life to a badly constructed plan based on misguided assumptions; second: to bad behavior in moral life, that is, the transgression of principles of ethics; and third: to bad taste in artistic creation, to insensitivity to beauty.

In our life--the life of a thinking nation which managed after the war, in a devastated country, to muster extraordinary actions for the reconstruction of cities, villages, and factories with its inhabitants' own strength--it was later, in the epoch of "minimal stabliziation," that cracks began to appear and that precisely these mistakes began to be revealed. And this occurred not in science, which has brought international successes, and not in art--for we can boast achievements in the fields of music, art, scenography, theater, and film--but precisely in the planning of the life of the state and society.

This happened very early, for in 1960 I attempted as a writer to focus attention on the first danger: "Path through the Field" and later "Normally, a Human Being" talked about the harmful depopulation of the villages, with the weakest and oldest elements remaining there, and about the ruination of agricutlure. In these works, an elderly peasant utters words which came true only today, but which were the result of misguided planning assumption, a portent of disaster: "If all the young people leave the villages for the cities, these cities will not have anything to eat. They have left the earth, but they have not reached the sky. And you will be sitting comfortably in your arm chair, gazing at your television sets and watching ships carry grain to Gdynia for us. Foreign grain, although our land is waiting and wants to yield crops." ("Path through the Field," 1960).

Today people talk about the fact that we can extract ourselves from the crisis if we fulfill a couple of conditions: self-sufficiency of agriculture, extraction of coal for export as well, and finally, honest, exerting work on everyone's part. This has been clear for many years to sensibly thinking citizens. Why, then, was this time wasted? Now let it not be writers who reply to this question, but specialists, advisors, and those economists who did not object to the propaganda of success.

I would be interested in a reply to the following questions: Why were great state economies deficient for so long? Why, when the land was seized from peasants

working on a fixed income, was it left overgrown with weeds, reddened, or frequently designated for plots for dachas [villas] built for lovers? Why wasn't the danger arising from the uprising of the peasant-worker stratum, which turned out to be an unproductive stratum for agriculture, perceived in time? Having destroyed not only the peasant-worker stratum's structure but also its customs and even people's creativity, having broken the links between the peasant class and worker class--why was there no concern with keeping the miners, the social group so necessary for Poland, completely healthy and active?

Let the specialists also choose to answer why they agreed to the cultural impoverishment of the villages, to the collapse of the plan for the dissemination of culture by depriving the smallest village centers of teachers and instructors, and to the closing of 12,000 or so schools that each taught a couple of classes?

But interrupting the experiment with the 10-year program in the school system does not automatically solve the problem of school instruction or the upbringing of children and youth. We raised the previous generation badly--let us not be afraid to admit our mistake--so let us take care to raise today's young generation in a healthy atmosphere and to make them aware of their political-historical roots and postwar conditions--and to make them remember the maxim of Frycz Modrzewski, who dreamed of an improvement of the Republic whereby each citizen knew that "he is not born for himself, but for the Homeland."

We have splendid, receptive youth who in many cases have made up for deficiencies in their school history instruction through self-education or by asking their parents "How was it really?" But this youth--an inflammable substance--also does not always manage to reason soberly or to appreciate reality. They dream of a heroic gust, of repeating the grandiose actions of those who in former times were thrown to the ramparts like stones.

During the Warsaw uprising, when I was walking on Swietokrzyska Street to the PKO [Polish Savings Bank], an 8-year-old boy confronted me, presenting himself to carry my newspapers or messages. When I tried to see him home, he beseeched me not to do so, for it was terribly dull at home, and in the square the "pigeon keeper" was shooting, so it was more interesting here than in his own backyard. And he added: "Oh, I wish this uprising could last forever." I took him to the canteen, but he ran off to the square and the next day, close to Wedel's [chocolates] store on Szpitalna Street, he died from a bullet fired by the "pigeon keeper." It came back to me now, when a certain girl who was accompanying me recently suddenly threw her arms around the neck of an older woman who was passing by. When I asked what this enthusiastic greeting meant, she responded with pride: "I was always envious that she was in the resistance movement, but now that I have taken part in several demonstrations, when I have taken risks together with the older students, I feel that I am her equal. And I am happy that I do not have to be envious anymore..."

I leave this answer without commentary, but, understanding noble motives and the rush for heroism, I fear for this girl and her companions just as I did for that 8-year-old boy.

We have already made a mess of a generation of young farmers--let us try to protect the children and grandchildren of the "Columbuses" from self-extermination. In

In large measure this is a task for their families, but in no lesser measure it is a task for school as well as the place of study. And not by instruction, bans, and commands, but only by explaining how very much Poland of the 1980's needs their wise reflection, moderation, honest work, and their life's plan based on accurate assumptions. "Would that there were reason during youth," sighed Kochanowski while writing "Separation."

What kind of Poland should it be? A republic? He--Kochanowski, as well as Modrzewski and Skarga asked about that. Thus, I can only repeat after those men to whom our Homeland owes so much: it should be orderly, just, deeply connected with the culture of its forefathers, and it should disseminate this culture widely even under difficult circumstances. And it must strive for understanding, for social and national harmony. We are speaking about understanding when people's judgments and attitudes are different, so let us not avoid the statement that not all people think and reason alike. But, after all, some common denominator has to be found if we want to bounce back from the bottom. Today let it be the desire to convince the world once more that Poland will find enough obstinacy in itself to outlast the hard times and enough energy and industriousness to rise to the surface.

We rebuild Warsaw at an unbelievable rate during the course of barely 12 years or so, and rubble was the timber for the first houses. I want to believe that after the storm which passed through our country we can rebuild a better, truly just republic--even from wind-fallen wood, and the cement for the various splinters will be love for the Homeland, which is indestructible and will continue in us, Poles, as long as we live.

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CSO: 2600/297

COMMENTARY ON KOR ORGANIZER'S 'DER SPIEGEL' INTERVIEW NOTED

AU131322 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 Jan 82 p 7

[Commentary by "DAL": "Blumensztajn's Cynicism and DER SPIEGEL Rejoinder"]

[Text] This year's first issue of the weekly DER SPIEGEL, the largest in the FRG (with a circulation of about a million copies), published an interview with Seweryn Blumensztajn, one of the extremist "advisers" to the Solidarity leadership, which is shocking in its contents. Blumensztajn is now in the West and is taking part in the anti-Polish propaganda launched by centers hostile to our country.

That was also the purpose of his pronouncements in DER SPIEGEL. However, as a result of Blumensztajn's undisguised cynicism and adventurous infatuation, even the editors of the bourgeois DER SPIEGEL, who have repeatedly published materials against socialist Poland, found it necessary to rebuff the most absurd statements made by that "oppositionist from the very beginning" and joint organizer of the KOR [Committee for the Defense of Workers]. Here are samples of Blumensztajn's pronouncements.

At the very outset he went so far as to use the shocking comparison, but characteristic of the circle of his friends, placing the Polish state authorities and... German aggressors on the same plane! In this connection the following dialogue developed:

Blumensztajn: Orders issued by the authorities "remind one of the Hitlerite occupation in World War II. No one in Poland suspected that that would occur again."

DER SPIEGEL: "But those things are incomparable. At that time the Germans dragged thousands of Polish citizens from their homes and shot them to death in the open streets."

But Blumensztajn, 35 years old, born after the war, who received from Poland a chance for a scientific career, continued to slander our country.

Then a polemic developed on the Solidarity leadership's extremist and irresponsible activities noted by DER SPIEGEL editors. The latter noted that the National Commission Presidium at its 3 December session in Radom openly

discussed the "seizure of political power." Blumensztajn only regretted that no steps were taken then to prevent the leakage of those antistate pronouncements to the general public, because they should have been "of a conspiratory nature."

DER SPIEGEL drove Blumensztajn into a corner: "Why did not the union, for 16 months, try to prove that trade unionists should have taken pains to increase production and to improve the economic situation?" Blumensztajn unwarrantedly alleged that that was done, but the authorities opposed it. As a result, he lied in his teeth, the "masses of the population" came to press Solidarity extremists "also to raise political demands, in short, to seize political power."

DER SPIEGEL added to that: "Solidarity figure Z. Bujak threatened strikes in the armament industry. Was that a statesman-like attitude in a critical situation?" Blumensztajn pleaded: "It was a kind of internal provocation. That means that Bujak did not take that proposal seriously, but rather wanted to animate the discussion."

DER SPIEGEL: "Exactly, as of December 1980 at the latest, political demands had been presented, which, in view of the political situation, had to be regarded as unreasonable. Was it not a fact that within the trade union movement there were forces whose radical demands contradicted the true goals of a trade union, the cause of the present situation...?"

Obviously, the radicals-moderates division in Solidarity never existed for Blumensztajn, because it was the "masses" that allegedly were radical and who pushed extremists toward a confrontation with the authorities. DER SPIEGEL retorted: "Was the Solidarity appeal to East Europe's peoples to form their own independent trade unions also adopted under pressure on the part of the population?" Blumensztajn found that that was an important "appeal," and namely "in a moral sense." DER SPIEGEL fended that off: "Must moral renewal result in the suspension of political common sense?"

DER SPIEGEL representatives then argued against Blumensztajn and other Solidarity extremists' theses which they assess as "disregarding Poland's geopolitical situation." They asked him if in the pursuit of the goal defined by his fellow extremists as allegedly freedom and independence, he would "also take the risk of a European war," and then: "Was the possibility of a war between the Soviet Union and the Polish people taken into account (in the circle of Blumensztajn's friends--editor's note)?"

Blumensztajn's answer was short: "Ja" (yes)!

After that shocking statement, the question to the adventurous "adviser" was: "What then will happen next in Poland?"

Blumensztajn: "At present, no one is actually working in Poland. Such a situation may still continue for a long time."

DER SPIEGEL: "In this way, the Polish people will starve at some point."

Blumensztajn said cynically: "I do not know any other form of passive resistance."

Thus a Poland engulfed in internal fighting, economically exhausted, starving and condemned to the stake of confrontation between the two blocs in Europe even at the price of causing an armed conflict--those are the theses advocated by extremists and "advisers" to various imperialist special services, now living abroad. These admissions are filled with political, and at the same time anti-peace, adventurism, to such an extent that the editors of the bourgeois DER SPIEGEL found it necessary to make a point of their own reservations about the views of Seweryn Blumensztajn, protege of certain anarchist, leftwing and cosmopolitan circles in the West.

The 13 December decisions have deprived him of the chance to express such confrontation slogans in Poland.

CSO: 2600/353

HOSPITAL EVACUATION REPORTED BY FINNISH PAPER

PM311057 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 22 Dec 81 p 7

[FINSKA NOTISBYRAAN unnamed "own correspondent" report: "Patients Sent Home From Hospitals"]

[Text] Poznan--A decision by the Polish leaders that as many hospital beds in the country as possible are to be vacated indicates that the military leadership fears new violent clashes.

Patients, young and old alike, were sent home at night a couple of days ago after the curfew had come into force. Doctors were saying that patients were being "smuggled" home.

A consultant at the teaching hospital in Poznan--the central hospital for large areas of western Poland--told FINSKA NOTISBYRAN's correspondent on Saturday [19 December] that between 35 and 50 percent of all patients had been sent home in this way since the preceding Tuesday.

"They are driven off in military ambulances and other military vehicles," he said.

A woman doctor at the Poznan Children's Hospital confirmed that patients there had also begun to be sent home. This had also been taking place at night.

A start has been made on setting up several temporary hospitals in smaller cities and communities. West of Poznan in the city of Kazimierz--which has a population of around 10,000--the army has equipped a school building with around 200 beds, doctors in Poznan said.

The shortage of health care equipment and drugs is still acute in Poznan. Swedish workers who had been in Poznan delivering aid returned on Sunday night with long lists of the most important medicines the hospitals need.

These are primarily antibiotics, cytotoxins and general and local anesthetic preparations.

"But there are shortages of almost everything the hospitals need," Gun Lindqvist, deaconess of Burloev Parish in Skaane, told us. She returned to Ystad on the rail ferry Jan Heweliusz on Monday morning. "Everything from cotton and bandages to hypodermic needles, spare parts and dialysis machines" is needed.

CSO: 3109/110

SWISS PAPER REPORTS ON OPPOSITION TO CEAUSESCU

Geneva JOURNAL DE GENEVE in French 1 Feb 82 p 1; 2 Feb 82 p 1

[Article by Nicolas Henry: "A Cold Wind Over Romania"]

[Excerpts] A cold wind is blowing over Bucharest which illustrates perfectly the state of mind of the population. The Romanian authorities had followed developments in Poland with increasing anxiety. They were very much afraid that the Polish workers' protest might be contagious. The economic situation in Romania is deplorable; supply problems became much worse in 1981 and Romania, after Poland, is the second socialist country to ask for the rescheduling of the payment of loans from the West. Energy problems have been aggravated during the past year. There have been frequent power outages. The Soviets have not increased their oil deliveries as the Romanians requested. The confiscation of power by the Ceausescu family is an object of criticism. Corruption is at a new level in the hierarchy. The anger of the workers has been manifested several times in recent months: demonstrations in the Jiu Valley, strikes in the area of Motru, with hostile demonstrations directed against Ceausescu who was visiting there.

There is confirmation that violent demonstrations occurred at Giurgiu (on the Danube) as a result of lack of food, and attacks on public buildings occurred in Cluj, Pitesti and Ploiesti. There were even attacks on Securitate functionaries in November in Cluj (two such attacks were confirmed by a most reliable source in Bucharest). The food restrictions are much harder to bear when one knows about the luxury in which the people close to Ceausescu live.

The big problem in Romania is the absence of any structured opposition. As a militant trade union leader from Cluj, a member of an opposition group attempting to re-establish an independent trade union of the SLOMR [Free Trade Union of Romanian Workers] told us: "We have a terrible handicap in our struggle against the Ceausescu regime; we are not organized on the national level.

"As long as we are not in a position to organize simultaneous protest meetings throughout the country," he continued, "as long as the intellectuals and the students do not join the workers in their struggle, we will not be any threat to the regime in power. I fear, most of all, violent reactions because in Romania there is no force which can play the role of a moderator, such as the Church in Poland.

The ever-increasing difficulties in the area of supply, the very severe working conditions, the absence of any sort of trade union to look out for the interests of the workers can promote outbreaks of violence; at the present time, the government has the means to nip every movement in the bud. We are working on the organization of a national trade union opposition movement, a movement which will have ties with the intellectuals and the groups of students who are also fighting against the regime. But time is needed to achieve this union. In the meantime, the forces in power can profit from our isolation to strike at and decapitate the opposition. The events in Poland (I saw this trade union leader in Cluj before 13 December) show us that the organization of a trade union movement is our first task. We are going to join forces with hope of achieving, in 1982, national coordination of trade union members. The regime fears, more than anything else, the organization of a worker opposition movement. The intellectuals and the students are not very dangerous, some cells here and there demand respect for the Helsinki agreements but there is no real organized group."

A young Bucharest student expressed his sadness and discouragement after the events in Poland: "What has just taken place in Poland is a new blow for all those who hoped, outside Poland, too, that a renewal by peaceful means was possible. But this was an illusion. In Romania, there is no political opposition. We cannot look for any organized form which would overthrow this corrupt and discredited regime. Only violence can change things; but we are not yet ready for a decisive confrontation with the regime. The collapse of our illusions in regard to the change of institutions of a socialist country by peaceful means is a terrible thing. We will not give up the struggle but it is necessary to know before beginning the battle that any peaceful outcome is impossible. It is also necessary to work on closer ties with the workers. Only a worker-student union can overthrow the bureaucracy which governs us."

This student, close to a Trotskyite group in Bucharest, represents a minority; most of the students are not organized to fight against the regime. Ultimately, it is perhaps within the Communist Party that the opposition will be seriously organized. It is known that last fall some militants of the Communist Party met in Cluj and decided to strengthen their action within the party. Certainly, it is difficult to estimate the size of the internal protest movement. But it is known that the Ceausescu regime is running up against "more open" elements within the Communist Party who criticze Ceausescu for his total immobility in regard to reforms which should have been carried out years ago. But there are other discontented people in the party: those who have been removed from positions of responsibility by the assumption of important posts by the Ceausescu family.

The discontent is concealed but many party members believe that the confiscation of power by the Ceausescu clan could produce disastrous effects in the future. However, the adversaries within the Communist Party are not yet sufficiently organized to begin to disturb Ceausescu, at the present time anyway. As a colleague of Maurer, the ex-prime minister who fell into disgrace, said: "The tragedy in our case is that there is not one opposition but some opposing forces. There are many discontented people but they are still poorly organized. As long as the opposition is not structured, Ceausescu will do what he wants. He has the best repressive apparatus of the socialist countries. But perhaps 1981 will mark a turning point; the discontented people are realizing that they must unite to be effective. The example of Poland has opened their eyes. But still more time will elapse before the regime will be really threatened."

CSO: 3100/380

NEW BOOKS ON MILITARY THEORY REVIEWED

RCP Views on National Defense

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Feb 82 p 4

[Article by Gheorghe Zaharia: "A Valuable Contribution in Military Theory"]

[Excerpts] The work "Apararea nationala in conceptia Partidului Comunist Roman" [National Defense as Conceived by the Romanian Communist Party], published by the Military Publishing House and written by some esteemed authors, presents the military doctrine of our party, at the foundation of which are the thought and actions of the secretary general of the party, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the supreme commander of its armed forces, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

By presenting the policy of national defense as a particularly important part of the policy of the Romanian Communist Party of creating and affirming the multilaterally developed socialist state in Romania and of the policy of peaceful collaboration and cooperation on the international level, the authors (Ion Coman, Lt Gen Dr Constanin Olteanu, Maj Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu, Col Emil Burbulea, and Col Mihai Arsintescu), have proposed to present the subject of the work from its origins, since the present defense policy is a continuation, on a higher level, of long and esteemed traditions.

The volume demonstrates the original contribution of the supreme commander of the armed forces in the establishment of the national military doctrine, the essence of which is the fact that the defense of the country is a work and cause of all the people. In this framework, the significance of theses in regard to the following is relevant: the historic roots of Romanian military doctrine; the dialectical unity of the work of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and the strengthening of the defense capability of the country; the basic principles of the policy of our party and state in the military sphere; the factors on which the defense capability of the country is based; the exercise of the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party over the armed forces and the entire defense system of Romania; the principles of the collaboration of the Romanian armed forces with the armed forces of the socialist countries, the developing countries and other states.

In the first chapter, entitled "The armed struggle of all our people to defend the country in its bimillenial history," the historic evolution of Romanian

military thought is discussed. The current doctrine is considered to be an organic result of an historic formation, the perfection of the guidelines which have guided the indigenous Romanian people, from time immemorial, in their armed battles over the centuries to ensure the maintenance of their identity, their freedom and their survival in their ancestral Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area.

The chapter entitled "Current Romanian military doctrine--a creation of the Romanian Communist Party and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu" represents the essence of the work. The military doctrine is portrayed as the sum total of the basic principles of the policy of the party and the socialist state in the military sphere, a reflection of the defense requirements of the multilaterally developed socialist society, an integral part of this historic work.

A central place is given to the economic factor--and, especially, to the industrial potential--of the country's national defense capability, the scientific-technical-cultural potential for strengthening the defense capability, demographic contributing factors, geographic conditions, the political and moral resources of the nation, and the national military potential in general as a result of the specific utilization of the sources of strength of the country. It is stated, justifiably, that in light of the need to ensure that the armed forces be equipped with modern combat weapons and technology through their own resources, on the basis of the decisions of the April 1968 plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, for the first time in the history of Romania, the recipient of a precarious legacy from the old socio-political system, the transition was made to the creation of a real defense industry.

Devoted to the national defense system, the last chapter presents the role of the Romanian Communist Party as the exclusive leader of the forces trained for the defense of the country; it presents the army as the pivot of armed power; it analyzes the place and role of the other components of the national defense system and the foreign military relations of the Romanian state. The authors devote extensive space to the justification of the leading role of the party, pointing out that this comes from "the imprescriptibility and indivisibility of the sovereignty of the country; since defense is, by definition, national, then it can be directed only in a national framework."

A particularly important conclusion refers to the forms and procedures of cooperation of all categories of combatant forces with a view to the development of the most effective convergent actions. In regard to the matter of the scope and diversity of defense actions which require the participation of all the people, the authors feel that "in addition to the existing entities, if necessary, other organisms can be created by law which would contribute, in specific ways, to the amplification of the capacities of the people to fight to conquer an aggressor."

Extensive and original, executed in a broadly accessible style, the work goes beyond the framework of discussions of military specialists. It is recommended for political scientists and historians and for all citizens concerned with the fate of the country's defense.

Harassment of Enemy as Defense Measure

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Feb 82 p 4

[Article by Constantin Cazanisteanu: "Combat Traditions for the Defense of the Ancestral Homeland"]

[Excerpts] The work "Hartuirea in actiunile de lupta duse in razboiul intregului popor pentru apararea patriei" [Harassment in Combat Actions Carried on in the War of All the People for the Defense of the Country"] by Maj Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu--published by the Military Publishing House--despite the title which might give the impression of book intended exclusively for specialists, is a valuable compilation of military history and doctrine which can be profitably studied by anyone who wants to learn about an effective means of combat in defense of the country. Harassment has always represented--in the war of all the people which characterizes our military past--the most effective and most popular method used by our ancestors to defend their ancient abode. It is still appropriate today when the danger of the unleashing of a nuclear conflict necessitates a suitable military training for the entire population of the country in order to give a determined reply to any aggressor.

In connection with this reality, the author has presented: a wide-ranging view of the millenial combat history of the people, illustrated by the most illustrative actions and lessons; a great amount of documentary material, with examples from the class and national conflicts which have marked the history of mankind; and finally, a broad and penetrating analysis of harassment tactics under today's conditions, both from the conceptual and practical points of view. This is the first time that it has been stated in specialized literature--after minute examination of all factors--that harassment in the war of all the people for the defense of the country is necessary in order to conquer an aggressor who is superior militarily. From this, the conclusion can be drawn that harassment, which up to now has been considered to be an armed manifestation specific to the tactical field actually represents a component of strategic, operational and tactical importance and scope.

The book of Maj Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu illustrates the resources of the Romanian school of military thought; this volume combines the two great directions of this school--military history and military theory--illustrated by the author with extensive information and thorough analysis.

CSO: 2700/198

NEED FOR IMPROVING QUALITY OF LABOR STRESSED

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 8 Jan 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by engineer Artur Ioan]

[Text] For more than four years we gradually have assimilated the concept of a new quality--at the start like a desirable and an expression which had become current and then, more and more dominantly, like a way of thinking and taking action. In itself, it is not something unknown, because we learned at the courses of dialectical materialism and historical materialism that, as if by law, one reached the leap in quality from quantitative accumulations. But even if some of us learned the law very well theoretically, the truth is that we did not really know what it would be like, we rather limited it to the historical process or we "carried it out," breaking it up into peripheral areas. The brilliant intervention of our party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the brilliant personification of the exceptional revolutionary, was needed; on 7 December 1977, from the high tribune of the national conference, he showed all of us--communists, working class and all the people--that the time had come for the change of quantitative accumulations into a new quality in all activity. But this transition had to be accomplished by us, the conscientious builders of the socialist society, it itself basically revolutionary throughout its existence. All the later accomplishment of party and state activity confirms the consistency with which action was taken to provide the conditions needed for the transition to a new and higher quality in all areas of economic-social life. The new economic-financial mechanism, self-leadership and self-management, continued improvement in the structures of industrial production and of the entire national economy, broadening of the democratic framework for the masses' participation in decision making, the transition to a new revolution in agriculture, the measures for self-leadership and self-supply territorially, establishment of scientifically substantiated programs for supplying the population with consumer goods, big jobs for the infrastructure, improvement in investment policy, broadening and improving of the legal standards which govern social relations--these are just several of the qualitative aspects of the gigantic effort made in this short interval of time at the level of the party and state leadership for the purpose of consolidating the broad front we have progressed on in all aspects, through the steadfast and heroic work of all the people, particularly in the last three five-year plans.

At any time it is good for us to recall all this, because it is part of our great truths. Because, in one way or another, each of us is a participant in carrying them out. Because the party and its secretary general, in a permanent and direct dialogue with the working class and all workers--another great truth of Romanian society--

openly express their intentions and explain and argue for them and appeal faithfully to the intelligence of the masses and ability for mobilizing them with a view to carrying out all the measures and programs proposed. Because all steps in favor of quality work, of establishing a new mentality regarding economic and social problems and generalization of a civilized type of behavior toward the rules and standards in effect are nothing more than aspects of the Romanian people's sovereign right to have at their disposal, exclusively, both the country's resources as well as all resources and to utilize them at the maximum for their benefit.

Everything occurring within the borders--more than 3,190 kilometers which form Romania on the world map--concerns us. Only us! Headed by the party and together with the party, we--and nobody for us--are establishing what we have to do by stages, by years, by seasons or by quarters. So the time has come for us to concentrate on the problems of order and discipline in production and in all social activity. Not because acts of indiscipline would come one after another, but rather because strengthening of each person's responsibility, improvement in the working atmosphere, establishing of precise technical and legal standards (or more precise ones) proper for the current stage of development and the tasks to be fulfilled are precisely a part of the process of consolidating our great achievements, a process clearly explained by the party's secretary general even in the fall of 1980.

Approaching problems through the prism of recent measures on order, discipline and responsibility in work, we can state that they have a precise unit of measurement: the quality of work (according to which, mutually, we could state: the quality of work is a result of the degree of discipline, of order and a spirit of responsibility which characterize a collective). Any way the concept of quality in this case is more profound than the one we were accustomed to up until not long ago. The quality of work, at its current value, no longer sends us first to the results ("The car is nice, it goes well and does not cost a lot," which actually means the quality of the products, determined by the designer's ability, by his fantasy, by the worker's wisdom) but rather to the conditions. That is: what is done for each man in an enterprise or institute to know both the unit's plan as well as his tasks; with what expenses the product unit must be built and what the structure of these expenses is; what the tasks for export are; what is being done to cover the plan with contracts; what measures are being taken to insure material-technical supply; how the program of reviews and repairs is being carried out for machinery and equipment; how the organization is for having workers learn the technologies for new products and how the rise in people's qualifications is being organized; with what effectiveness the workers' proposals are being reapplied and the results of research, innovations, inventions and initiatives which bring savings or give the products superior performance; how quality control effectiveness is insured as a preventer of unpleasant situations and not only as the determining factor; how control and technical assistance is being carried out to provide respect for technologies, for the standards of work safety and protection and standards for fire prevention; how the record keeping is operating for production, for consumption, for recovery, for reconditioning of reusable materials or utilization of them by other means; what measures are being taken to solve the worker personnel's social problems and so forth. In the gigantic organism of the enterprise, in which each employee, in accordance with the regulations for operation and work contract, has precise duties, starting with members of the workers council and ending with the newest employees in this family of workers, there should not exist any crack which could harm the flow of production and the activity of any economic organization. Just strict fulfillment by each worker, regardless of his job, of the principles, the truths, the standards, the demands,

which are normal and necessary,succinctly formulated above and included broadly in laws, decrees, decisions, orders and regulations, can provide the pace of production, its quality and the improvements imposed by world technical progress. That is why such a great emphasis is being placed on behavior, on freely agreed upon discipline, on knowledge and a spirit of responsibility. Liberty is an understood need. But intelligence, I have said it before, means the ability to understand and to innovate. We all are sons of an intelligent and creative people and for that reason the need for understanding current requirements and the duty facing us and our duty to the collective and to the country do not create problems for us. Those who do not understand see in demands and discipline and in the elementary obligation to do one's duty a kind of restraint. It is not too far from here to violation of interior order, to acts of indiscipline (lack of respect for technology, failure to care for the machinery , losing time elsewhere, the tendency to draw back from effort while others "do their share," as the miners say, immediate failure to fulfill certain tasks or measures requested by higher forums). But, really, if technical standards of work and law are not fulfilled of one's own free will, then coercive measures intervene and the state's restraining force. There is nothing abnormal in this!

Predominantly we refer to the enterprise, because here it is that the variety of the natures and behavior and degree of instruction are greater, but there also is a greater power for mobilization and unity of will! Convinced that the reader will make the necessary reference to any of the country's economic organizations and institutions. And for all categories of personnel. We also predominantly refer to the enterprise because it is here that the quality of work is reflected more than anywhere else in concrete results. Of the numerous articles and reports we have published from leading units, that same atmosphere exists of seriousness and commitment, with each person taking action responsibly to honor his obligations on time and under the best conditions: both the leadership, the workers, and those in supply; both those in sales and export and quality control and functionaries. However, we still are writing (and will continue to write) about those collectives in plants, factories and so forth which are struggling to fulfill their tasks, whose products are of poor quality, who do not always have what they need, who request approvals for supplementary hours--tens of thousands of hours--to find that here too many "problem people" exist, that the machinery does not go, that unmotivated absences and permissions total just about as much as the request for supplementary hours, that materials and even finished products are being removed from right under the guards' noses, that some technicians or office workers "forget" to apply the indications received and so forth. Can one say that there is order and discipline in this kind of unit? No! Can one speak here of "the quality of work?" Well, if you have nothing to measure, then it is no longer a question of having something to measure it with!

We still have similar problems and for that reason we should seriously be concerned with them and with solving them if we want to insure our forward progress in all areas. It is our right and obligation in our country and before our country's citizens.

8071
CSO: 2700/181

REASONS FOR INCREASING PRICES OF NEWSPAPERS GIVEN

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Feb 82 pp 1, 5

[Unsigned article: "The Correlation of Prices -- An Objective Requirement for the Development of an Efficient Economic Activity in the Area of the Press"]

[Excerpts] The requirement of profitable, efficient activity is obligatory for all economic units, producers of material and intellectual goods. From this perspective and out of a need to place on incentive-creating economic bases the activity of publishing and printing the press, newspapers and reviews, on the basis of the principle of economic self-administration, so that no unit will work with losses and each unit must make its own contribution to the overall development of the economy, the possibilities of correlating the selling prices and the production prices of newspapers and reviews must be analyzed.

What is the economic situation in this area? The selling prices of the newspapers and reviews were set 15 to 25 years ago. What has happened in the meantime in the economy, in the dynamics of the various component costs of producing a newspaper, is well known. If we take, for example, the financial and economic situation of SCINTEIA, we might note:

In 1965, the expenses involved in producing and selling a 6-page newspaper, which sold for .30 lei were covered by the selling price and there was a profit of almost 30 percent per issue.

In 1981, as a result of increases in the cost of paper, printing, and distribution, as well as successive increases in the wages of the editorial staff and the printers, the current selling price no longer covered the production costs of the paper. A loss of about 15 percent has been incurred. Of course, these changes did not come about by their own doing. The production costs of printing did not increase overnight as a result of less efficient activity. On the contrary, printing workers have acted and continue to act with care and responsibility to establish a strict spirit of economizing, be it ink, paper, or energy; numerous measures have been taken to modernize the printing process and increase the effectiveness of labor.

Here are a few changes which have affected production costs: In the past 8 years alone, the average price of newsprint has increased 2.2 times. The cost of manpower for SCINTEIA increased by 95 percent in 1981 alone, as a result of the application of measures to reassess production costs and printing rates, prices which had remained unchanged for a great number of years. In the past 15 years,

the costs of printing equipment increased five times and printing inks 3 times and, in the past 10 years, the price of imported photosensitive materials quadrupled. To all these must be added the substantial increases in the costs of energy and fuel, as well as the increased remuneration of printers and editorial personnel. So far, we have not referred to another chapter of expenses, namely, expenses for the transporting and distribution of the press. The fastest means of transportation are used--taxis, airplanes, trains. As it is well-known, travel expenses for these means have increased considerably in recent years due to an increase in the prices of electric energy and fuels.

These are a few of the objective economic factors which have resulted in an increase in the production and distribution costs of newspapers and reviews. At present, practically all the central newspapers--SCINTEIA, ROMANIA LIBERA, SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, ELORE and NEUER WEG--as well as the majority of reviews, are carrying on an economically unprofitable activity and are not able to cover production costs with the revenues realized through sales.

It is obviously necessary that the selling prices of newspapers and reviews be set on the basis of real economic criteria, especially since, in comparison with other items of everyday life, these prices have remained almost symbolic. Let us think, for example, about the simple fact that a newspaper costs about one-sixth as much as a bus ticket--1.75 lei. That is, six issues of a newspaper can be bought for the price of a single bus ticket.

In the spirit of the same principles and the same scientific economic criteria, it is natural and it is necessary that the situation of selling prices be analyzed and their natural correlation with production costs be ensured. Of course, an analysis of these things and the adopting of measures presupposes that new ways will be found to improve the content and the appearance of the press, to respond as quickly as possible to the demands of the readers, helping them to learn about and explain events and social phenomena. Along with the analysis and the resetting of the prices of newspapers and reviews on a natural, economic basis, it is necessary that all those who take part in the composition, publication and distribution of the newspaper analyze their own work from an economic point of view and take the most appropriate measures so that criteria of effectiveness, productivity and quality will be resolutely expressed, and it is necessary that they cooperate to ensure the economic effectiveness of this activity, the unceasing perfecting of work in this domain, which is of great importance in informing public opinion, mobilizing workers in the implementation of the tasks for the socio-economic development of the country, set by the party, and in the exemplary implementation of the patriotic exhortations addressed by the secretary general of our party to all the people.

CSO: 2700/193

ACTIONS FOR REHABILITATION, EMPLOYMENT OF HANDICAPPED

Bucharest REVISTA DE PEDAGOGIE in Romanian Dec 81 pp 53-54

[Article by E. Popercu, V. D. Cristescu, E. Bratescu]

[Text] Actions Carried Out by the Ministry of Education and Instruction:

Through the plan of measures for Romania's marking the inte national year of handicapped, the Ministry of Education and Instruction, together with the local organs of state power, with the aid of educational factors, has undertaken a number of actions which show the concern being given preschool children and deficient school schildren in order to participate in instruction and education along with Romania's other children. Directions in which the Ministry of Education and Instruction is taking action continually for a new quality in special education, also, are an increase in the inclusion capacity for special education units, improvement in the content of the educational-instructive process, the vocational training of teaching cadres, supplying of the educational institutions with the necessary apparatuses for teaching-learning and the recovery,and improvement in the living conditions of the pupils.

So, for the 1981-1982 school year the inclusion capacity in special schools has risen by 6,700 places compared with the last school year. Bearing in mind that the process for recovery of handicapped children is being carried out better and with better resulas at an early age, the Ministry of Education and Instruction also has created the possibility for including 2,000 deficient preschool children in special kindergartens, with more than 800 children more than last year.

Instructive-educational activities and recovery activities organized and carried out in the special schools are included in the area of efforts being made--in education in general--for better linking it with life and practical activity to form and promote the usefulness of this category of pupil in the labor process and his adaptation to the conditions offered by the sociocultural environment and his self-regulation.

In conformity with the general goals of special education, the children with defects are insured an adequate content on the basis of educational plans and school curricula, which give them the opportunity for a better socio-vocational integration alongside normal persons in work and activities appropriate for their abilities and level of development. In this regard, new educational plans and school curricula have been worked out which are being applied frontally in all classes and types of schools starting in this 1981-1982 school year. The percentage of practical activities and specific activities to correct certain deficiencies and to stimulate and compensate for the functions of certain analyzers are well defined in the educational plans and

school curricula and they are to be utilized in their totality by the working team in each education unit.

Advanced training courses to improve the work of teaching cadres in the special schools were organized this summer by the universities in Bucharest, Cluj-Napo and Iasi with the aid of the Institute for Pedagogical and Psychological Research of the school inspectorates, in which more than 500 instructors and approximately 1,800 professors participated.

Also among the many manifestations which confirm the concern with improving work with handicapped pupils are the exchanges of interschool experience, thematic meetings, sessions of reports and reports, roundtables and meetings with specialists in education, health and research.

For example, in July an exchange of experience with the directors of auxiliary schools from all counties took place in Bucharest. A symposium was organized at the auxiliary school to the children's home in Turnu Rosu, Sibiu County, on the subject of "Teaching Techniques Used in the Auxiliary School," in which representatives from 17 counties participated, while a working meeting at the school for the deaf in Satu Mare took place on the subject of "Current problems in the education and social integration of handicapped children and young people," in which specialists took part from all the country's schools for the deaf. Report meetings were successfully held in Bucharest, organized by Auxiliary School No 8 on the subject "Improvement in Teaching Methods for the Recovery Process of Mentally Deficient" and, in Timisoara, organized by the school inspectorate and the teaching personnel home on the subject "Optimization of the recovery of the preschool handicapped and handicapped pupils."

Similar demonstrations also took place at the school for the hearing impaired in Craiova, the Balsa auxiliary school, Auxiliary School No 12 in Bucharest, and they are to continue in other educational units.

Discussions on the subject "Methods and Procedures used in special education for the instruction, education and recovery of children with deficiencies with a view to their socio-vocational integration" were organized in all counties this fall at the meetings of teaching cadres for special education.

Special concern also was given to supply with specific teaching materials and apparatuses needed to carry out the instructive-educational and recuperative process. Three new devices were built on subjects for mastering of linguistic structures, development of speech and correction of physical defects.

With the aid of the Medical Center for Phono-Audiology and Functional Surgery in Bucharest, all children in the special kindergarten for the hearing impaired in Bucharest were given prostheses, with this action also to take place in the other kindergartens and schools in Romania for the hearing impaired children. Of the 14 schools for the deaf and the hearing impaired pupils , 6 were supplied with polycompensators built by the University of Cluj-Napoca in collaboration with the Sadu Industrial Secondary School, with other schools for the hearing impaired also to receive them.

The assimilation plan of the central office for learning tools, also provided for other means of instruction for the special schools, amon which we mention an apparatus for training visual perception, a verbal stimulator, a tachistoscope for exercising the optic function, kits for learning phonetic structures and for sensory education and games for the blind. Prof Elna Popescu, chief inspector, Ministry of Education and Instruction.

Ministry of Labor:

Both during the 1970-1980 International Decade of Recuperation as well as for the International Year of the Handicapped in 1981, the measures undertaken for the benefit of deficiencies were intensified and, in particular, conditions were improved for the protection, functional readaptation, schooling and qualification in special education units, with a view to insuring they are fitting into active life.

In order to improve the structure and content of training the recoverable deficients, optimum length of time for special and obligatory education were established this year for qualification in special vocational schools and the listing of trades was worked out as well as new education plans and school curricula adapted to the possibilities for instructing the deficient students and for the national economy's requirements for a labor force. So, starting in the 1981-1982 school year, depending on the vocational orientation on the basis of medical expertise and ability to work, deficient students can be qualified in more than 60 trades in 14 different areas of training: mechanical, electrotechnical, light and food industry, construction and construction materials, in the health area, craftsmen's cooperative and in agriculture.

The new education plans have given a large number of hours to the discipline specific to recuperators, thus creating the functional conditions for the deficient student throughout his special schooling. At the same time, we should note that 75 percent of the technological-theoretical and, in particular, practical training in the vocational schools is in instruction in shops and in production, occupying better than two-thirds of the total number of hours in the new plans.

The schooling capacity rose by more than 1,000 places in order to include a larger number of deficient students in special education units organized by the Ministry of Labor and through better use of space.

In the summer of 1981 more than 5,000 deficient children were sent to camps and colonies. Among the demonstrations dedicated to the international year we note the symposiums and colloquiums, report sessions such as the ones which were held in Iasi, Jucu--Cluj County--and Ineu--Arad County--on problems of the complex recovery -- medical, psychopedagogical, vocational and social--of the motor and mentally deficient. More than 130 specialists from higher education, research institutes, special schools, health units and so forth participated in these demonstrations. The most diverse aspects of the methods for the recovery of the deficient were discussed on these occasions, through special education, and the main directions for increasing their social effectiveness were presented.

Short films which won awards in national and international competitions were made through the Red Cross, Association for the Deaf and county trade union organs along the line of publicizing certain aspects from the school activity and lives of the deficient.

Both within the international year as well as to fulfill the recommended long-term goals of the United Nations, efforts are being made with a view to the integration of the deficient, as much as possible, through their own forces into society, along with the healthy, stimulating their direct participation in providing appropriate working and living conditions. Prof V.D. Cristescu, head of the Service for Recovery of the Deficient.

Ministry of Health:

In collaboration with the World Health Organization, the UN program for development, two pilot stations for the recovery of children with average mental deficiencies have been organized and are in operation in Bucharest and Iasi.

At the Gura Ocnitei Sanatorium in Dimbovita County, a unit with a tradition in the recovery of motor-deficient children, the capacity has been extended to board small children (under 3 years of age), given the known results which can be obtained in recovery at an early age.

A symposium was organized (this May) at the Hospital for Neuropsychic Children in Siret on the subject of "The recovery, medical and socio-vocational readaptation of the Neuropsychomotor-deficient child."

Exhibits at the following health units--Siret Hospital, Gura Ocnitei Sanatorium, the Lugoj Neuropsychiatric Hospital in Timis County and Piclisa-Hateg in Hunedoara County--were organized with things made by the children and young people who are patients and the capacity of the Covasna Hospital for Cardiovascular Diseases for recovery of the cardiovascular patients has expanded.

The program has been worked out for the promotion and protection of mental health for adults and children for the 1981-1990 period.

A symposium was organized at the Herculane resort, while a colloquium was held in Eforie Nord on the indications for balneary treatment in the recovery of rheumatism deficiencies.

A symposium took place in Iasi on the use of natural factors and the organization of recuperative treatment in this zone.

Methods have been worked out to prevent delays in psycho-motor development and in the structure for a pathologic development in children through the introduction and application of differentiated programs for providing incentives in the group: cities, children's homes, kindergartens.

Together with the Ministry of Education and Instruction, a broader knowledge of special teaching (through advanced training courses) by the teaching cadres is being sought; they are being employed in neuropsychiatric hospitals, sanatoriums for neuroses as well as special kindergartens and schools.

The action is continuing to establish special kindergartens in each county as well as differentiated classes depending on the intellectual level of the children of the same age and handicap. Dr Elisabeta Bratescu, inspector general.

8071
CSO: 2700/173

REVIEW OF 1970-1980 LITERARY SCENE BY IASI PAPER ATTACKED

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 15 Jan 82 p 7

/Article by Dan Zamfirescu: "The Meanings of Tradition and Protochronism"/

/Text/ A Critic's Reply

The journal CONVORBIRI LITERARE No 11, 1981 started a discussion of the literary decade of 1970-1980 in Romanian culture. Liviu Leonte and Alex. Stefanescu were the first to express themselves. It is not my intention here to analyse the spirit and purport of of both the introductory comments (The first one is not without interest in this respect either), but I find that in violation of the chronology proposed by the journal (See the outline on page 3 signed "Rep") Alex. Stefanescu chooses 1971-1981 as his limits, and not by chance: There is a well-known theory (well known because it has a disseminating center that never ceases to repeat it through the mouths of team that is also quite notorious) to the effect that (We use Alex. Stefanescu's words this time because they come to the same thing) "From 1971 on the literary scene lost much of the festive ebullience that characterised it in the previous decade. The Renaissance spirit was gradually replaced by a strained atmosphere, in the sense of both the persistence of the dilletant and the concentration of the sophisticated writer striving for virtuosity." Despite this "strained" atmosphere, we also learn from Alex. Stefanescu that "The changes, some of them spectacular, that took place in the writings of some authors with already defined personalities gave proof that the heart of literature was still beating." Accordingly Alex. Stefanescu is a partisan of the theory that a knife was thrust into the heart of Romanian literature in 1971, and it is clear to anyone that he is alluding to the "July Theses" and the Plenum of the Central Committee of 3-5 November. And to remove all doubt, Al. Dobrescu supplements that in the next issue of the same journal. For both of them the heart of Romanian literature nevertheless "... continued to beat thanks to the heroism of some fellow militants who made a cause and a more or less express program of their reservations and opposition to the course then lent to the development of Romanian culture, while the 'conformists' took the other side."

Accordingly in 1971 "The journals became more serious in the formal sense of the word. Analysis of obscure mental states, fantasy, humor and all that pertained to the cult of individuality characteristic of the European spirit came to be regarded as evidence of friviolity, so that those who professed it had, or pretended to have, a kind of sense of guilt." It was a kind of emptying of Romanian literature, therefore, "of all that pertained to the cult of individuality characteristic of the European spirit"!

When confronted with such statements you can but wonder whether CONVORBIRI LITERARE has an editor, an editor-in-chief or even a "clear head."

Who are guilty of creating the atmosphere described above? Alex. Stefanescu tells us immediately, and he is not original here either. "Actually the old conflict was repeated between traditionalists and modernists, between ruralists and city dwellers, between the supporters of the 'message' and those of expressiveness. Just as Titu Maiorescu was surrounded by hostility in the second half of the last century when he criticised the 'sincere,' impetuous and disorganised literary output before him, and as Eugen Lovinescu was accused of cosmopolitanism between the two wars because he attached more importance to the criterion of aesthetic value, in the decade we are considering interpretation of literature as literature caused a kind of irritation. Even if there are other traditionalists and modernists now (We use those terms conventionally, and the actual situation is much more complex), the main characteristics of their attitude have not changed."

Who is irritated by the "interpretation of literature as literature" and who, on the other hand, are the new Maiorescus and new Lovinescus who are their victims? We let Alex. Stefanescu tell us that too: "The first category, represented by writers like Eugen Barbu, Mihai Ungheanu, Ion Lancranjan, Ion Gheorghe, Paul Anghel, Gheorghe Pitut, Adrian Paunescu and Dan Zamfirescu, is characterized by transformation of literature into a "mission," by an ostensible seriousness, and by complete and strenuous solidarization of the militants. The second category, including for example Marin Preda, Nichita Stanescu, Nicolae Breban, Ov. S. Crohmalniceanu, Paul Georgescu, Nicolae Manolescu, Gabriel Dimisianu, Lucian Raicu, Valeriu Cristea and Mircea Dinescu, is mainly distinguished by its sense of relativity of opinions, playful spirit, and acceptance of the possibility of entertaining different views and yet maintaining cordial relations. The traditionalists disdain style as a form of bureaucracy of writing that prevents them from expressing an agitated ideological or moral content. On the other hand the modernists master the art of composing a text so well that it is expressed effortlessly, as if in jest. The traditionalists are involved and always want to prove that they have culture. The modernists are at ease and only want to display an unsophisticated frankness.

"In the 1970's the writers I have called traditionalists launched a powerful offensive, waving like a flag the term "protochronism" with which they tried to accredit the idea that Romanian literature had anticipated almost all the literary trends in the world. The writers I have called modernists tried in vain to explain that true dedication to Romanian literature is shown by judging it as clearly as possible and that any overbidding runs the risk of demonetisation. Through incorrect but effective use of noise, insinuation, unfounded accusations, and persistence carried to extremes as polemic weapons, the traditionalists dominated the period in the sense that their human presence obscured the literary presence of the others and even their own literary presence.

And so, although we all agree in principle and in statements with the necessity of a climate of sollaboration and solidarity in the literary guild, although a unity of constructive cultural effort implying neither standardization nor leveling but requiring a minimal capacity to rise to the demands of the occasion has been clearly promoted by the party, and though we have been emphatically told that Romanian culture needs all creators without discrimination and arbitrary divisions, here the Iasi journal is doing exactly the opposite. A neo-Manichaeism of literary life is proposed to us (and in what a manner!), with actually worthless criteria. For it is immediately apparent how false and arbitrary the division proposed by Alex. Stefanescu is.

Even by the critic's descriptions, Marin Preda has nothing to do with "modernists." To place him at the head of the list is an abuse and an almost indecent affront to the readers, who know very well that neither "The Morometi Family" nor "The Impossible Return" are "modernist" works but, like the work of Ion Lancranjan, who was a traditionalist, the supreme embodiment (in the cycle of Romanian literature open to revolutionary reforms since August 23) of the most authentic traditionalism, that promoted by Maiorescu, Eminescu, Slavici, Cosbuc, Goga, Sadoveanu, Iorga, and Blaga, for whom the peasant class was the foundation and inexhaustible source of the highest values of the Romanian spirit, the altar that must be frequented and protected from harm by all those who love this people and believe in their present and future. Preda never played with his art, nothing was more foreign to him than the "playful spirit," and even if we refer to the traditionalists' "negative" features pointed out by the critic, who had the "culture complex" to a greater degree than this admirable peasant who graduated from normal school, wanted to express his opinion of Cervantes, Nietzsche and everybody, and was happy only when he was compared with the most bookish authors in world literature? But we will not claim that Preda belongs to the "group" that Alex. Stefanescu tries to define, for while he was one of the great "traditionalists" in "the life of literature" who transcended the schools and trends by synthesizing tradition and modernity from the height of his genius (which was also done by Maiorescu, Eminescu, Arghezi, Sadoveanu, Blaga and even Goga), in the sum of the petty prejudices, hatreds, rivalries and competitions between individuals that unfortunately became the "literary life" Marin Preda was a "neutral," with one serious exception that will darken his memory as a man because he became a party to an attempt at moral assassination of a colleague. But his dismal end leads us to overlook that episode, although we suppose that he has it to thank for the posthumous honor of figuring as "chief of the tribe" in Alex. Stefanescu's classifications.

But we do claim that Ioan Alexandru belongs on the list, and not to remove a major weight from the scales, we shall in turn add the names of Dan Haulica, Eugen Simion and Mircea Zaciu to the opposite scale (in all fairness!), while remembering that while Nichita Stanescu belongs among the modernists in "the life of literature," in "literary life" he opted for the group much abused by the inspirer of Alex. Stefanescu's theories, with the well-known consequences from "modernist" criticism.

Actually Alex. Stefanescu's lists compel us to note the voluntary or involuntary confusion in his head between the meanings of a "literary group" and a literary policy group, which confusion led to the attempt to falsify, under our eyes, some facts known to everyone! How else to explain the silence about some of the most prominent names of present-day Romanian culture like Marin Sorescu and Edgar Papu when you claim to be describing for readers the nature of a literary decade and to be determining the elements of a literary evolution that led to the formation of that nature? Because he cannot enter them abusively on the "modernist" list like Marin Preda and neither does he wish to risk seeing them entered on the opposite list by the reader, in which case the scales would nearly turn a somersault with such weights and with Ioan Alexandru in addition? Obviously neither Edgar Papu nor Marin Sorescu conforms to the descriptions of the "modernist" group formed by Alex. Stefanescu nor to the "traditionalist" one either, for the simple reason that the author of the respective classifications and "descriptions" has no notion of the meanings of the terms he uses or of their dialectics in the evolution of Romanian culture.

But if we relate the two to the great tradition of Romanian culture we understand why the author of "The Lilies" as well as the author of "Romanian Protochronism" belong among those whose works combine "traditionalism" and "modernism" in an organic

synthesis. Since Alex. Stefanescu could not enter the "ruralist" Sorescu or the "protochronist" Papu on the list of modernists (What a scandal it would have been for the others on the list, all militant antiprotochronists!), he preferred to pass over them in silence. To be sure he will reply that we find them cited in the next paragraph, "Books That Remain," but the strategem does not succeed, for when you make the "offensive" under the banner of protochronism a determining factor for a "domination" by a literary school and group, which domination you present in terms of a whole decade (although the "offensive" did not begin until 1977!), you cannot ignore the very one who conceived the idea that became the banner! If a humanistic cultural figure was a determining element of literary-ideological dialectics in the decade of 1970-1980, if one man "dominated" that decade by his ability to stir up the waters by refreshing and oxidizing them, and if a seed was cast on the soil of Romanian culture essential to its future development, then that humanistic cultural figure, that man and that sower was Prof Edgar Papu. And it is not a question solely of the book (excluded from the list of those "that remain"!) that started the great debate and confrontation about "Romanian protochronism," nor solely of the essay of international stature on the baroque, both gloriously illustrating the decade in which "the heart of literature continued to beat, but especially of the direct involvement and staunch militantism, unequivocal and without reservations, not intimidated by threats, not to be bought with "special prizes" and inflexible before "friendly advice," of which this exceptional mind, this great personality of our time gave proof. Must we remind Alex. Stefanescu of the "round tables" of LUCEAFARUL or the discussions at the Museum of Romanian Literature? Must we remind him of Prof Papu's critical articles in support of the books of his fellow militants, among which the one about Paul Anghel's novel "The Rivers" aroused free Europe? How can the decade of 1970-1980 be explained without Edgar Papu, and how can his name be missing from the head of the list that owes its categorical structuring to his major contribution?

But let us leave the lists and and discuss in greater detail the "descriptions" and the "scenario" of the decade as imagined (and in the terms in which it was expressed!) by Alex. Stefanescu and accepted by the editors of CONVORBIRI LITERARE.

While the "modernists," as Alex. Stefanescu says, like to "affect an unsophisticated frankness," their adherents in the gallery seem given not to affectation but to the very reality of "unsophistication," associated however not with frankness but with a stubborn irresponsibility that grows apace. Let us cite some examples.

The first category is characterized by "complete and strenuous solidarization of the militants," while the modernists cultivate the pleasant quality of "acceptance of the possibility of entertaining different views and yet maintaining cordial relations." Does Alex. Stefanescu not know what happened to Nichita Stanescu as soon as he refused to join a joint action of the "modernists"? Has he not even heard of the oath of the group of critics who pledged themselves at the National Colloquium on Literary Criticism never to mention Paul Anghel's name or the titles of his books? Incredible!. Here I read his list of "Books That Last" from the decade under discussion and I do not even find one of Paul Anghel's books, although "Cultural Conversations," "The New Sentimental Archive," "A Moment in China" and the great cycle dedicated to Romania's independence entitled "The Snows of a Century Ago" were published in that period. Perhaps he does not consider them good enough to "remain" either as essays or as literature because his standard is much higher! How high, according to him, is the standard of Ileana Vrancea's "Confrontations in the Criticism of the Fourth and Fifth Decades," Eugen Negrici's "Involuntary Expressiveness," and Mircea Cartarescu's "Shopwindows, Beacons and Photographs," if they are going to remain?

Neither will the books of the undersigned remain, namely "History and Culture" (1975), "Independence and Culture" (1977), "Via Magna" (1979), and "Contributions to the History of Old Romanian Literature" as well as "N. Iorga. Steps Toward a Monograph" (1981). Agreed! But when it is a matter of the "profile" of a group and its style, and especially of a whole literary battle, that over protochronism, I maintain that I should at least be read beforehand when I am involved in a scenario applied to an entire decade. Neither Paul Anghel nor the undersigned is knowingly "disdaining style" or regarding it as "a kind of bureaucracy of writing," nor is it my impression that Eugen Barbu or Adrian Paunescu sweat copiously to squeeze a sentence out of a pen. As for Ioan Alexandru, how many writers of today can compare with him in the ability to stir by words spiritual depths and thoughts that are quite inaccessible and incomprehensible to the "playful spirit"?

Now we come to the passage where the irresponsibility of the critical statement is almost criminal. It is the "scenario" imagined by Alex. Stefanescu, to the effect that the eighth decade was dominated by "traditionalists"! Dominated in what way? Not in any case in the experience of the Writers Union! Anyone who reads the list of literary prizes in that period will find that they were distributed on a seasonal basis, one year yes and one year no (no in the year when the respective persons were on the jury), to nearly the same people, on the list or in the orbit of the list of modernists. Personally I never received any prize from the Writers Union or the Bucharest Association, which bothered me, I attest, in only one instance, when I was a candidate along with G. Mihaila and Florica Moisil for the literary history prize for the publication of "Neagoe Basarab's Teachings"! Then an academician poet rose who was on the jury and said that Matei (sic!) Basarab had nothing to do with the Writers Union and that he was a voievod and not a writer. It troubled me that there was no one on the jury to explain to him the difference between Neagoe and Matei Basarab. But the jury was composed exclusively of modernists, and they were silent, affecting unsophistication frankly.

It could be that the "traditionalists" actually "dominated" that decade, but in any case, not in the "literary life" but in the "life of literature." I think this is indicated by the use of that "very powerful offensive" under the banner of "protochronism" as an argument, which offensive did not begin until the summer of 1977, when Nicolae Manolescu ridiculed Prof Edgar Papu's book "From Our Classics. Contributions to the Idea of a Romanian Protochronism," and when Paul Anghel delivered the resounding reply that threw the match on dynamite. But the way Alex. Stefanescu presents this phenomenon, which he (and not we) presents as a sign of the traditionalists' domination, indicates more than the critic's "unsophistication" in the history of the last literary decade, with which he was a contemporary too old to have the excuse of mental immaturity. It indicates his total lack of professional honesty and unveiled slavery to a "pattern" and to a pack of assertions absolutely all of which were collected "by ear."

It is the last paragraph we quoted, the paragraph generously received by the editors of a journal that bears the illustrious name of the one on which Maiorescu, Eminescu, Creanga and Caragiale worked in exalting and promoting Romanian culture, that series of unwarranted assertions that demonstrates how precarious is the claim that the "modernists" can respect others' opinions and discuss them cordially and solely in the realm of ideas. To write in black and white that the attempt is made through protochronism "to accredit the idea that Romanian literature anticipated almost all the literary trends in the world" is to lie brazenly in reliance on the idea that the same feeling of repugnance and contempt that deters us from replying to similar attacks "on short waves" will also ensure the Bucharest critic's immunity. Well, it

does not ensure it! Let Alex. Stefanescu produce the proof of his statement, if he actually knows the problem from sources other than free Europe, where the quoted sentence serves as a leitmotif!

It is also stated that "Noise, insinuation, unwarranted accusations and persistence carried to extremes were incorrectly but effectively used as polemic weapons." Does Alex. Stefanescu think that no one will venture to read the "file" of this literary discussion that actually opened up new horizons to Romanian culture of the postwar period? As far as I am concerned, all the respective texts are now assembled in "Via Magna" and I defy Alex. Stefanescu to find therein a single argument for the foregoing statements. Nor will he find Eugen Simion's memorable "ceara ma-sii" [?] used against protochronism in quoting Stanica Ratiu from the rostrum of the National Colloquium on Literary Criticism and History, nor Dan Haulica's insinuation that to try to demonstrate that the Romanian creative genius can not only receive and "synchronize" itself with what others have initiated but also open up new paths at certain times (and by no means at all times and on all levels!) is to imitate Mussolini's "fascist 20 years"! And who, 4 years ago, could not open his mouth without casting a slur on protochronism, like a thorn in the side or a splinter under the nail of I do not know whose sensibilities, inclinations or interests? As a matter of fact the most unremitting complaints about protochronism are still coming from its adversaries, down to the last recruit, who even impute to it a "domination" over the decade of which the protochronists are entirely unaware! We who participated then in the "battle over protochronism" tried to argue the idea not by the presence of the person but by the effort of the personal work. But Alex. Stefanescu pretends that he has not heard about that and then thinks he is justified in saying what he says.

The critical aggression in CONVORBIRI LITERARE presents a problem, however, that must be given consideration: Should such a difficult task as analyzing a literary decade essential to the entire future of Romanian culture not only because of what it bestowed, such as works, ferment of ideas and intellectual ebullience, but also because it placed that culture in a new and truly universal orbit, which it is following with more and more resolute steps in a climate of creative freedom, respect for opinions and even a more than eloquent tolerance of some (See the very texts we are discussing and others in other journals!), should such a task not have been entrusted to writers other than those "very young youths" who are talented to be sure but still unformed and unfortunately uninformed, so that they fall victims to extraliterary motivations that particularly vitiate their ability to perceive reality and analyze it correctly? Unless we are confronted (And we shall see next time) with a quite different intention than that of discussing a "literary decade" and then, as it sometimes happens, employing children who do not yet know the meanings of the words and do not consider their consequences either.

5186
CSO: 2700/170

NEAMT STUDENTS POLLED ON RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, ACTIVITIES

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 3 Feb 82 p 2

[Article by Serban Cionof: "From Findings to Concrete, Effective Action"]

[Excerpts] It is significant that in the context of increasing the concern of the Union of Communist Youth organizations for the materialist-scientific and revolutionary-humanist education of the youth, their concern with learning the objective and subjective causes and motivations for the presence of mystical-religious phenomena in the consciousness of some young people has also been diversified. Of interest in this regard are the results of an investigation made by two students in industrial secondary school No 2 in Roman Municipality in Neamt County, Gianina Ciupitu and Florentina Enea.

The investigation used as a point of departure the empirical finding that some students still have attitudes derived from unscientific beliefs, superstitions, belief in supernatural forces which are apart from objective existence. But their number is small. One of the explanations for the persistence of such phenomena lies in the fact that there are in Neamt County a number of religious sects and faiths which exert a harmful influence over the minds of the youth.

The incompatibility between membership in the Union of Communist Youth and mystical-religious beliefs, which annihilate the will of man, especially in the youth, depersonalize him and paralyze his creative, free thought was kept in mind. The questionnaire had questions on the personal data of the subjects, their participation in socio-cultural and scientific activities, their involvement in political and community activities, aspects of the personality of the subject in relation to his socio-political milieu and his level of professional and cultural-scientific training, a positive or negative attitude toward religious activities, including cases of an objective and subjective nature which generate the acceptance or rejection of religious concepts, views on the formation of materialistic-scientific ideas and convictions. The data obtained made it possible to draw some conclusions which will be useful in intensifying the work of the materialistic-scientific education of the youth in the secondary school.

It is interesting to note that the analysis undertaken was structured into four categories: a) attitudes toward superstitions, belief in astrology, miracles, fortunetelling. Here, belief in the supernatural is vague; b) acceptance without reservation of the existence of supernatural forces on which the fate of the

universe depends, without actually participating in religious rites; c) religious convictions expressed by regular attendance at religious rites; d) lack of belief in a supernatural power.

The question: "Why do you think that some people go to church or other places connected with religious sects?" received responses from believers such as: "out of conviction," "they find a refuge," or "to save their souls," etc. and a firm reply, expressed by those who do not have any religious belief, such as "because they do not have anything else to do," "lack of knowledge," "poor ideological and scientific training," as well as "lack of education."

The investigation attempted to discover to what extent manifestations of religious belief took concrete form in active participation of young people in religious activities. This was the purpose of the question: "Do you go to church or other places connected with religious sects?" The responses revealed that only a very small percentage of those surveyed were involved in religious activities. But, one should not disregard the fact that some of the young people, without participating regularly in religious rites, attend churches or other places connected with religion "on certain occasions" and "now and then," especially under the influence of the family. Nevertheless, it is very hard to demonstrate that young people who sometimes participate in religious services have religious convictions.

What conclusions can be drawn, for the purpose of improving the political and educational work of the Union of Communist Youth organizations?

The category of young people which requires special attention is the category with definite religious convictions, manifested by active participation in religious rites, having as specific characteristics the depersonalization of options, alienated awareness, and ideals of life which are overwhelmingly religious. The laicization of these young people, interesting them in a concrete, active, humanistic ideal, based on the truth, transforming their awareness from a misguided awareness into one which is secular and revolutionary, is the only possibility for their affirmation and development within the collective of students and the Union of Communist Youth organizations.

The authors of the investigation believe that the same attention should be given to young people who show signs of religious feelings. There should be a special scientific-materialistic and revolutionary humanistic activity geared toward youths from 14 to 25 years of age who show mystic-obscurantistic tendencies, while not ignoring other categories of young people.

CSO: 2700/199

CONTROVERSY OVER PUBLICATION OF POEM ATTRIBUTED TO NICOLAE LABIS

[Editorial Report] On 18 December, SAPTAMINA, the weekly review of the Committee for Socialist Culture and Education of Bucharest Municipality, whose chief editor is Eugen Barbu, devoted pages 4 and 5 to an article about the popular poet, Nicolae Labis, who died in 1955, at the age of 21, in a trolleycar accident. The review also publishes a photo of Labis and the first 18 cantos of "Cintec de Lebada" [Swan Song], purported to be an unpublished work of the poet.

However, in the 1 January issue of SAPTAMINA one member of the Labis family and the "real" author of the poem, take issue with the review as follows:

"Dear chief editor,

The family of the poet Nicolae Labis express their bewilderment in connection with an article which appeared in SAPTAMINA No 576 of 18 December 1981 under the title 'The Poetics of the Essentials of Life,' signed by Ion Lotreanu, to which was added, under the heading 'UNPUBLISHED LABIS' a poem, 'Swan Song,' falsely attributed to Nicolae Labis.

As Aurel Covaci, the real author of the text published, acknowledges, it is a matter of personal writings, written by Covaci in 1957, without any intention of having them published.

The family of the poet Nicolae Labis express their astonishment and indignation because of this serious error as well as other inaccuracies in the commentary on the text published.

We consider the entire attitude of Ion Loteanu to be an act of irreverence toward the memory of the poet Nicolae Labis and we are responding by this means to all readers of SAPTAMINA who have called the matter to our attention.

Prof Margareta Labis

I share the bitterness of the poet's family and demand, on my part, that explanations be given to the readers. The verses belong to me; they constitute personal writings and I never intended to publish them.

Aurel Covaci"

But, in an article entitled "Without Wrath," published in the 8 January issue of SAPTAMINA, page 7, Ion Lotreanu emphasizes that, as he wrote in the introductory article to "Swan Song," he had his doubts about the authorship of the poem "In the orange notebook containing the poem 'Swan Song,' only the signature placed under the introductory motto was written by the hand of Labis. The rest, that is, the entire poem, was written by Aurel Covaci."

"Without Wrath" is followed by a letter from Virginia Labis which reads as follows:

"Comrade chief editor,

In connection with the verses which appeared in No 576 of SAPTAMINA under the signature of Niculaie [sic] Labis, I am communicating the following: The respective notebook was entrusted to me by my sister Carmen who was present in the hospital when my nephew dictated and Aurel Covaci wrote. The signature of N. Labis is on the first page of the notebook, which was why I have kept the manuscript with care. I do not know exactly how much belongs to Labis who dictated and how much belongs to Aurel Covaci who wrote. There are some lines dictated in the hospital and published in books which are very similar to the poem 'Swan Song' which no one would doubt belong to Labis."

An article by Pacurariu, "The Art of Translation," published in Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA 11 February 1982, page 20, also refers to the "erroneous attribution" of the excerpts from "Swan Song":

"Today, at 50 years of age, Aurel Covaci can say that he has translated more than 150,000 lines of poetry into the Romanian language from other languages, if we consider only what has been published in volumes. The devotion of Aurel Covaci to his art as a translator has even reached the point of exaggeration, causing him to refrain from publishing cycles of original poetry he has written over the years. The recent publication--with the erroneous attribution of the text to Nicolae Labis--of some fragments from a long poem written in his youth has revealed, unexpectedly, a hidden side of the translator, that of an original poet whose talent has been brought forth by a few comments, even if the enthusiasm of the commentators was, to a certain extent, increased by the great name of the person to whom this text was erroneously attributed and by a naturally festive moment. Now, when Aurel Covaci is crossing the threshold toward the sixth decade of his life, we consider that the adding of the dimension of his original creation to the broad horizon of his indefatigable activity as a translator is not only a necessity but, also, an obligation."

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SAD LIFE OF EMIGRES IN ISRAEL, WEST GERMANY DESCRIBED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Feb 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ilie Tanasache: "Far From Home, Living the Drama of Being Uprooted--Comments on Letters Addressed to the Authorities by Citizens Who Regret That They Have Left the Country and Who Ask To Be Readmitted"]

[Excerpts] "I am a victim of lies professed by self-seeking people"--is how the author of these pathetic lines, who left the country a few years ago, introduces himself. After describing the life of "Calvary and the Apocalypse" in an Austrian camp, after telling how all his dreams and hopes had been shattered in America--"the land of opportunity"--and how he returned to Austria to be "nearer home," the author concludes: "I am sending this letter as a lesson to those who might allow themselves to be taken in by lies. And I am also sending it because such words are never read over the microphones of [Radio] 'Free Europe.'"

It is obvious why such truths do not reach these microphones. The functionaries there are paid for this. And the outrageous demogoguery about human rights? That too. And the incitement to emigration? That is included in the deal. And is the falsifier of the truth to blame because the imaginary Eldorado promised resembles reality as much as a minnow resembles a giraffe. Unemployment? The statistics on the 10 Common Market countries are eloquent: more than 10 million unemployed at the beginning of 1982. That is, more than 9 percent of the entire population fit for work.

Under these circumstances, restrictive measures which limit the obtaining of the emigres' right to establish residence, to work and to get political asylum, measures initiated by a number of states, should be no surprise. For these reasons, for example, in the Federal Republic of Germany, schools for teaching the German language to emigres have been closed. And, also, in order to discourage emigres, they are not allowed to work until they have been in the country for a year. Also, the newcomer arrives in a world which is not at all disposed to welcome him with...bread and salt. The open hostility is expressed by a current of xenophobic opinion, by rejection, scorn and repudiation of foreigners.

We learn this from a letter by Mircea Adrian Pop, a physician, who went to West Germany in 1976, because of marriage. Here is what he writes to the

Romanian authorities in his letter requesting approval for returning to the country after 6 years of residence on foreign soil: "My main reason for returning is a very serious one although it may seem 'sentimental': Homesickness. I feel completely foreign and isolated. I cannot integrate myself intellectually in a way of life which is completely 'new' for me. I regret that I have left my country and I regret that I have left my elderly parents, whose only son I am and who need my support."

The strategy of such conduct--in fact, the policy--in regard to emigres, a strategy characterized by discrimination, scorn and isolation, often open, is also common in other countries. In France, for example, during the past year, the right to political refugee status for persons coming from some countries, including Romania, has been greatly restricted. In March 1981, the French authorities gave orders to the "Office for Refugees and Expatriates" of the Foreign Ministry not to grant political asylum except in very special cases.

How do these emigres live and integrate into the customs, places and life of the country? For the majority of them there can be no talk of integration. For example, Eng. Gh. Antoniu Dobre, specialist in aeronautics, former assistant in the Bucharest Polytechnical Institute, emigrated to France legally. For years, his efforts to work in his specialty received categorical refusals. He had to settle for a lesser job. Anghel Grigore, a former actor in the Bucharest National Theater, plays "the role" of an unskilled worker in a medicine factory and the former music professor Eugen Fodor makes his living by working in an automobile garage.

Does the emigre find the much desired "paradise," the land with "rivers of milk and honey" in Austria, the United States, Canada or anywhere else? Dreams. The table of the rich is protected by severe and restrictive administrative measures. In these countries, the formalities for admittance--if the emigre has this chance--last about a year. During this time, the applicants live in camps, in indescribable promiscuity and poverty. Many families break up. The reason? The husband cannot find work and the wife has no other choice than to engage in degrading work, including prostitution. Such situations are frequent in Austria and Italy where the local papers write about them.

"My name is Aurelian Hafner," we read in a letter to the Romanian authorities. "After being influenced by persons from the West, who filled my head with lies and by [Radio] 'Free Europe,' I decided to file a request to emigrate to West Germany, with my wife Elena. I left Romania on 10 August 1980. Now I am in West Germany. I am living with my family in a camp; I do not have the right to work or to go to school; I live off social assistance. From time to time I work nights unloading trucks, for the 'black market.' I regret the mistake which I have made. We do not have what we need here. We want to work and to live in the country in which we were born and be buried alongside our parents and ancestors."

Here is what Rica Ricovici, a resident of Lod, Israel, wrote: "I am an engineer, a graduate of the faculty of light industry, specializing in the technology of knits and clothing. Here, many factories are closing because of a

lack of raw materials and lack of markets for sales and the ones which are still in operation are small enterprises which do not need cadres with advanced technical training. This means that my 5 years of university studies have been wasted. In order to support myself, I have to work in a lower position, in other specialties or receive social assistance. The policy of the integration and assimilation of intellectuals is one of the big lies in this country where discrimination is practiced."

The feelings of insecurity of these seduced, deceived people must be terrible; they are faced with a crude reality which is completely different from the pictures on the advertising brochures. The brutal impact of an existence which they did not want causes the greatest damage: the destruction of their self-confidence. It decimates the belief that one can resist in the bitter competition for survival in a world in which "man is fighting against man." A world which promotes--especially for the emigre--the discrimination, humiliation, and poverty of the camp, which violates human dignity, and civil, political, and socioeconomic rights. The newcomer in such a climate of insecurity and of adherence to a completely different and hostile way of life can, in the best of situations, be tolerated. But, he will always remain a foreigner to the strangers among whom he has gone to live, a leaf battling all the winds. Thus, homesickness increases to an extraordinary extent and the only way out of the daily nightmare is the hope of returning to the homeland.

We learn from another letter just how consuming this homesickness for the native land is and what it means to Romanians. The author is Marian Dogaru, born in 1939 in Bucharest, one of those people who, unwillingly, entered into the ranks of "the disinherited by fate," who has been living on foreign soil for almost 3 years: "I can no longer bear my homesickness for the country, the Romanian language and my family. I have met doctors, athletes, architects, and lawyers who suffer from homesickness even though some of them have a good material situation. Everything is difficult away from your country. A few resist, many go mad and others commit suicide. My heart aches when I think of the fact that I have a 13-year old child at home whom I have raised and educated beautifully. Seeing life here, I would never want my son to come to this world. I would have been able to bring my family here but not my country. I met a Romanian language teacher who cleans the stairs of doctors' residences. I am sorry and I ask the forgiveness of the country and of my family for the shame I have caused."

And here is a letter from Austria addressed to SCINTEIA:

"Dear Sirs,

"My name is Johann Weiskopf. I was born in Romania and I have been living in Austria since 1979. Before that, I spent 3 years in West Germany where I emigrated like other Saxons believing what was said about happy life abroad.

"I am writing to you in connection with an article about emigre workers in West Germany which I read in SCINTEIA on 17 January and then in DER SPIEGEL and I would like to say from the very beginning that everything which was

written in the article is absolutely true even if there are some who do not recognize or deny that this is the real situation.

"You acted well in publishing the article but it would have been much better if you had written about the situation of thousands of Saxons and Swabians who emigrated from Romania to West Germany and who, despite the fact that they do not lead such a wretched life as Turks or other foreigners who are working there, are not any happier. The truth is that in West Germany it is less important whether you are a Turk as Asian, an African or a Saxon than whether you put up with the arrogance with which you are treated and all the insults which you hear under the most varied circumstances because all are considered to be 'Auslander' who have come to profit from the labor and prosperity of the German who was born and raised there. For Saxons and Swabians, the situation is more painful because we feel that we have emigrated there as Germans and we believed that we would be accepted as such, but we, too, have been discriminated against and we cannot become integrated in society there or in any other German-speaking country.

"Therefore, allow me to suggest that you treat in your newspaper similar aspects referring to the real situation of Saxons and Swabians emigrating to West Germany and that you give food for thought to those who will be emigrating and prevent them from taking a step which they will regret all their lives.

"In the hope that the suggestion will be received with the understanding desired, I remain, yours truly,

Johann Weisskopf"

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CONFERENCE DISCUSSES INTERETHNIC,REGIONAL PROBLEMS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Stane Pucko comprising an account of a conference on the socioeconomic aspects of relations among the nationalities in Yugoslavia held 26-27 January 1982 in Maribor: "Party Members Must Advocate the Interests of the Community"]

[Text] On Thursday a round-table discussion continued and concluded the 2-day scholarly conference in Maribor on the socioeconomic aspects of interethnic relations in Yugoslavia. It was confirmed that debating relations among the republics and provinces means talking about all the vital issues of self-managing associated labor, about the long-range lines of development of Yugoslavia as a whole and of its separate parts, about the urgencies of current economic policy, and so on, without in so doing bypassing the achievements and experiences of our community's experiences to date, nor a dialogue with critics of the self-management system as a whole.

The inseparability of the nationality question and of relations among the nationalities from the other dimensions of the socioeconomic development of our self-managing society implies that the contradictions which arise within economic, social and cultural development, as the fruit of objective historic circumstances, also have their direct reflection within relations among the nationalities, Hakija Pozderac said in his statement. Our socialist self-managing community is characterized by an uneven internal economic development of the nationalities, the republics and provinces, which is above all a consequence of the historic legacy and of the uneven formation of bourgeois society, but is also a consequence of conditions in building socialist relations within the Yugoslav community of equal nationalities and ethnic minorities.

If a man is free in production relations, then the basic prerequisite has also been met for him to be free in other social relations, and accordingly in the sphere of interethnic relations as well. But if social reproduction is statist-bureaucratically and technocratically based and guided, if, that is, it is separate from those who actually carry it on, interethnic relations undergo deformation and fall into crisis. Cases are not rare when particular interests take on forms of interethnic confrontation and pseudoethnic interest.

If the individual enjoys full freedom and his human self-confirmation, then that is enjoyed by all others and by the nationality as a whole. We must work all this out, Pozderac said, in associated labor, that is, through unceasing development of the relations of socialist self-management in society. Only a self-managing worker can create and manage within the framework of our entire society as well, regardless of republic, provincial and ethnic boundaries. The market is not being closed off by the working class, but by the political technocracy and bureaucracy. The fight against nationalism should be waged in the economic sphere by strengthening self-management.

Miroslav Rebernik observed that the processes of integration need to be intensified and the principles of pooling labor and capital within republics and provinces and still more between them needs to be affirmed in general. At present there is so to speak no pooling over republic boundaries, and where it does exist, where interrepublic investments have occurred, they are usually based on purchase-sale and credit relations, which offers an outline picture of the fragmentation of the Yugoslav economy and of its autarkic nature. According to Rebernik, there is no single cause of this. The causes lie in the low capacity for capital formation and reproduction of organizations of associated labor, the administrative approach in the price area, so that organizations which have a privileged position shut themselves off or confine themselves to the local framework, and they also lie in current economic policy, which does not sufficiently acknowledge the mutual income-sharing dependence that does exist, in the vulgarization of income and of income-sharing relations, and in legal regulation, which still gives greater protection to the purchase-sale contract than to the self-management accord, and so on.

Dangerous Regionalisms

In an analysis of regionalism and autarky as a specific form of economic nationalism Josip Dezeljin cautioned that unwholesome regionalism is usually manifested in autarkic attitudes, that is, in confinement within OUR [organization of associated labor], opstina, regional, provincial and republic boundaries, as well as in the national economy's insufficient inclusion in the international division of labor. The principle of optimum internal division of labor, specialization and appropriate linkage between production and sales was not instituted even at the time when a large number of OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor] were set up. The relations between OOUR's within many work organizations are rather loose. Relations between them are usually based on conventional purchase-sale relations, and to a lesser extent on the relations of joint revenues based on the pooling of labor and capital. The principle of solidarity and reciprocity is poorly developed as yet. Basic organizations as a rule shut themselves off when things are going well and open up and appeal to solidarity and reciprocity when business is not going well. Or confinement results in expansion of differing models of equipment for the same purpose. For instance, it is difficult to find a country with so many different types and models of computers, telecommunication equipment and other pieces of electronic equipment as ours.

Dezeljin feels that joint goals and interests will have to become part of the consciousness and will of the workers and the working people if this situation

is to be overcome. Social consciousness includes the ability, at least of the organized political forces, to recognize in theory and practice everything that is opposed to the Yugoslav socialist community.

A Real Social Community

According to Dr Dusan Bilandzic, Yugoslav society has been testing various systems for over 60 years, and within them relations between the nationalities have inevitably emerged as Yugoslavia's lasting characteristic as a multinational community. The basic goal of interethnic relations is to create a real social community of Yugoslavia on the basis of the identity and capability for prosperity of all its components through which community comes about. However, Bilandzic also cautioned that after adopting the Law on Associated Labor, by virtue of a number of circumstances that came about, we have made it possible for centers of political administration to continue functioning as though the new concept did not exist, or we have been unable to prevent this. This means that the bodies of leadership of the sociopolitical communities, the commune, the region, and the republic have inclined toward a model in which centers of political administration acted as a kind of general directorate of their economy. Nor have we succeeded in obtaining the prerequisite responsibility of government administration for everything that occurs within its jurisdiction, and we have likewise failed to create space for a force that would neutralize irregularities.

Government Elites of the Nationalities

In spite of proclamations to the effect that the state is withering away, Veljko Cvijeticanin said, we note that government interventionism is very strong. The strengthening of paragovernmental bodies and agencies is especially disturbing. The government elites of the nationalities are more and more making a fetish of territory as an element of their own statehood. The closing off and establishment of their geographic jurisdiction is also bringing about the first conflicts between elites. The withering away of the state does not depend solely on changes in the overall class structure, but on the economic conditions of class existence and especially on changes in the social division of labor.

The role of the League of Communists is becoming increasingly decisive to the development of self-management. The League of Communists is a component of the respective nationality, but it dare not give way to federalization, that is, fragmentation. Perhaps the idea that party members should advocate the interests of the community in their various ethnic communities is more acute today than ever before. Nor can the League of Communists stand aloof from the government, but it should have a critical, Marxist attitude toward its own ethnic statehood as a necessary element of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Cvijeticanin feels that this ought to be the principal topic area of upcoming congresses.

How the Market Should Be Organized

According to Dr Stipe Suvar, present-day Yugoslav experience indisputably demonstrates that the basis of the nationality in the development of our society can no longer be either the government or the market, especially not the kind of market that we have historically inherited and found in place and the kind that still exists. Our social atmosphere is heavily overloaded with the alarms of those who appeal for a return to the market as a remedy for certain problems in interethnic relations, while others are appealing once again for centralization of the surplus value of labor in the hands of a central state and at the same time cry out against the republic governments, as though there really were a great deal of difference here. The central state is only a bit larger, but that does not mean that it is also more efficient in its guidance of the development of the productive forces.

Suvar said about the problems of our market that it is not a question of the existence or nonexistence of the market, of its being operative or inoperative, but of how to organize it so that it would lead toward creation of associated labor of free producers. It is not a question of the rehabilitation or liquidation of the market, but of organizing both the market and production and of linking them together. We now have certain solutions as a beginning toward regulating the disordered market, which are the programs work organizations are adopting and the transactions they are concluding, involving an exchange of labor which is no longer a mere division of surplus labor.

Suvar also pointed up difficulties with prices, since they are not being set according to the logic of the capitalist market, since it does not exist. Nor is it possible to have government setting of prices, since that presupposes a state-ownership monopoly, which also does not exist. If we had one element of capitalist society, for example, fierce competition, then our organizations would not be able to raise prices the way they do. The trouble is that the work organization, which still by and large behaves like an enterprise, though the name has changed, is not allowed to go under. What we need, then, is a pricing pattern and a pattern or agreement in distribution of the overall surplus value of society's labor that will guarantee expanded reproduction and yet not be based on the capital relation or state-ownership monopoly.

A Single Yugoslav Strategy

Cveta Mlakar and Dusan Pirec participated in the discussion on Wednesday, the first day of the conference.

Cveta Mlakar spoke about the approach to shaping the development strategies of the republics and provinces and emphasized that respect must be paid in this to the integral and unified space of Yugoslavia as a whole. The dominant factor in our development must be larger investments in heavy industry, which necessitate a large amount of resources. Not all the republics have a sufficient raw materials base for development of such an industry. Yet that does not relieve such a republic of concern for development of that industry.

The various development scenarios which have up to now been prepared in the various republics do not honor that fact, and they are therefore unacceptable. Mlakar emphasized that the various development strategies should be organically knitted together to form a single Yugoslav strategy, that optimum division of labor should be built up and fair economic relations shaped between the various parts of the country. The independence of the nationalities does not entitle it to indifference and isolation. There is the necessity to build up a system for concluding agreements, and every republic and province must have real opportunities [to monitor] the movement of the resources which it appropriates for general development, to verify how they are being spent, since otherwise the resources will quickly be alienated from the workers and will be bureaucratized. Associated labor must be the principle in interethnic economic relations.

Conceptions of the Economy of the Nationality

Dusan Pirec ascertained by comparing certain aspects that if it is meant by the economy of the nationality that the republics and provinces have the sovereign right (which does not imply absolute right) to make decisions on their own surplus labor, concerning their own development and the overall development of the Yugoslav economy, then the economy of the nationality so conceived is the foundation of ethnic equality and of Yugoslav community. Nor can this run counter to the "unified Yugoslav market" as defined in the constitution. However, if the economy of the nationality implies exclusiveness, autarky, absolutization of the particular interest and the like (which we encounter in practice), then it is more than clear that that kind of conception not only runs contrary to the unified Yugoslav market, but also the authentic interest of the nationality. Every demand to curb the optimum role of the market and of economic laws is actually a demand for revival of statism. Under our present conditions that demand is essentially reactionary, since the state or certain other governmental institutions necessarily emerge as intermediaries between the producers and the consumers.

The point of origin of the centrifugal tendencies in our economy should not be sought in the divided nature of our country into economies of the nationalities, but mostly in the lack of comprehension of economic sovereignty. Which is not to call into question that sovereignty as such, but at the same time emphasis is not put on any absolute sovereignty of the nationality, which is occurring more and more frequently in practice. This has caused and is now causing a further exacerbation of mutual economic relations, a closing off of the economies of the nationalities, and regionalization of the country not on the basis of any economic logic, but a political logic, a strengthening of efforts to formulate those polarizations in certain rounded-out ideologies decked out in the language of socialist self-management.

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YUGOSLAV PRESS INTERVIEWS ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT KAUNDA

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 12 Feb 82 p 3

[Interview with Kenneth Kaunda, president of Zambia, by Mirko Sagolj, OSLOBODJENJE deputy editor in chief, and Efraim Kurtagic, OSLOBODJENJE foreign policy editor, in Lusaka on 6 February 1982: "We Are Fighting for a New Economic Order Which Would Be Fair for All Human Beings"]

[Text] "The idea of the nonaligned movement was born in the thoughts of the greatest minds which the world has ever had. Unfortunately, they are no longer with us, not one of them, but what they founded is growing steadily and becoming stronger not only in the sense of the number of countries and of governments representing them, but also with respect to the moral impact on international affairs," Kenneth Kaunda, president of Zambia, said in part during an interview in his residence in Lusaka with Mirko Sagolj, deputy editor in chief, and Efraim Kurtagic, foreign policy editor, both of OSLOBODJENJE, responding to our newspaper's request for him to speak in connection with commemoration of the 20th anniversary of nonalignment and the preparations for the Seventh Summit Meeting of the Nonaligned Countries about the current issues of the present-day world, the role of nonalignment, the new international economic order, movements and hotbeds of crisis in Africa, relations between Zambia and Yugoslavia, and to express once again his memories of President Tito and his assessment of his personality and career.

OSLOBODJENJE: Twenty years have passed since the holding of the First Conference of Nonaligned Countries in Belgrade. Over that period the movement has always been concerned with the most vital issues of international relations. What actions of the nonaligned and which of their successes would you single out as the most important question?

President Kaunda: When we speak about what has happened in the nonaligned movement over the past 20 years we should first of all put to ourselves the question: Why was the nonaligned movement established?

First of all, the idea of the nonaligned movement was born in the thoughts of the greatest minds which the world has ever had. Unfortunately, they are no longer with us, not a one of them, but what they founded has been growing steadily and becoming stronger not only in the sense of the number of countries and of governments representing them, but also with regard to moral impact on world affairs. Nonalignment was created so as to respond to particular international conditions. It did not arise as a bloc, but was created in order to moderate the tension of that time. East and West laid a burden on the very delicate balance in international relations by virtue of their rivalry. In that situation the sponsors of nonalignment met in Belgrade and thereafter became a powerful and influential force in world affairs. Since that time, and I note this with satisfaction, there has been no turning back.

The nonaligned movement has confronted many problems, as indeed has every other world organization. It was in fact created in order to respond to the challenges of its time.

The Rivalry of the Blocs

OSLOBODJENJE: Today's relations in the world are characterized by a further tightening of tension between the blocs, the arms race is being stepped up, and hotbeds of crisis are not showing signs of cooling off. Where in your opinion is the place of the nonaligned movement in resolving these acute problems?

President Kaunda: We see that the principal areas of conflict are between the United States and its allies on the one hand and the USSR and its allies on the other. But thanks to the moral impact of the nonaligned movement these problems have not exploded into something that might destroy humanity. So, though we cannot see obvious results which we might touch in a literal sense, every thinking man will agree that the world would have been destroyed by nuclear weapons on several occasions if it had not been for this powerful force--nonalignment.

Nonalignment has achieved success by virtue of its moral influence, but also in other ways. Nonalignment has strengthened the independence of many countries, especially those which belong to the Third World. That is why I say that in the future nonalignment must as in the past continue to build its own force step by step and use that power to influence events in the direction we desire. And the countries of the Third World, at least the great majority of them, want peace.

OSLOBODJENJE: The nonaligned movement is making great efforts to build a new and more fair international economic order. As the distinguished statesman of a country which is also affected by economic problems, how do you look upon this portion of the activity of the nonaligned?

President Kaunda: In our philosophy of humanism--as perhaps you know, we say that we are building a socialism which leads toward humanism--we divided human aspirations or activities into five principal areas. They are political, economic, social and cultural, scientific and technological, and defense and security. I will begin with the last, defense and security. Someone might ask:

If the nonaligned countries want peace, why, then, are they building their own defenses and security forces? That is easy to answer. The world in which we live has not yet attained the ideal situation in which we might be able to disband our defensive forces. And so long as the world is as imperfect as it is, there will be a need for us to develop our defense and security, but not so that we might destroy other countries, but so that we can defend ourselves and maintain law and order within our own borders.

The Nonaligned and the New Economic Order

The nonaligned countries have been taking a joint position even on economic affairs in various international forums. We are seeking a new economic order which would be fair for all human beings. Whether we are religious or not, we all understand the fact that we live in one world. And we also desire to have at the international level the kind of order which we want to establish within our countries, an order that is based on equal and fair conditions. Regardless of whether we are speaking about the international or the national level, in the final analysis it is man, the individual, that we have in mind.

Consequently, the nonaligned countries have the right to exert pressure on the rich countries toward establishing a fairer economic order in this world. Incidentally, let us ask ourselves how many of those countries, those in the West, for example, which were colonial powers, amassed such wealth? By exploiting certain other peoples. That is a historical fact. We in Zambia are indeed an example of that. We were a British colony up until 17 years ago. Everything that we had here, copper, for example, everything that was raised in agriculture and so on, all of that was taken away to build the British economy at the expense of our economy. The same is the case with West Germany concerning Namibia and Tanganyika as well as with the other colonial forces. America has not had colonies, but it still has enriched itself at the expense of weaker peoples.

Thus the great powers of the West today have a moral if not a political responsibility to see that they have taken what they had no right to from our countries and in view of that to help create the economic conditions in the world which are advocated by the nonaligned countries. Much can be done by simple liberalization of the conditions of trade. That is what the nonaligned countries are seeking. We do not demand compensation for everything of ours that was exploited in the past.

I feel that the nonaligned countries should continue to exert the pressure. Perhaps we will not see the results today or tomorrow, but certainly the more we emphasize this issue, the sooner our message will reach those who are making the decisions in the most advanced countries.

An Appeal to Iran and Iraq

OSLOBODJENJE: We have been witnesses, especially in the recent past, of conflicts in which certain nonaligned countries have found themselves on opposing sides. What is your comment on this phenomenon, and is it possible in your opinion to build mechanisms which would prevent future conflicts between countries which are members of the nonaligned movement?

President Kaunda: Here again we must accept the truth that the nonaligned countries are guided by certain principles which have brought them together. But they are guided at the same time by ordinary human beings. That is, they are compelled to live in conflicts like any other group of states on the earth today. And so long as we have what we call in humanism "the animal in man," we will be confronted by conflicts, even between nonaligned countries.

In opening the session of the Zambian Parliament I said that we appeal to Iran and Iraq, two fraternal countries within the nonaligned movement, to accept various attempts by intermediaries, including an appeal of the nonaligned, to sit down at the negotiating table and to settle the war not on the battlefield, but at the conference table. It is a sad thing for nonaligned countries to make war with one another, but we must accept this as a fact.

As for creating a mechanism to prevent conflicts, I am optimistic in believing that we can achieve this though I have no specific proposal. I hope that we can create conditions which will make it less likely for countries within our movement to engage in a war.

The founders of the nonaligned movement could not have foreseen problems of this kind. But now that they have arisen, it is our task to find ways and means of preventing the occurrence of a similar situation in the future.

The West and South Africa

OSLOBODJENJE: The last bastion of colonialism, the Republic of South Africa, where racism is set down in law, is an immediate neighbor of your country. How in your opinion can this problem be resolved most effectively and speedily in the interest of obtaining the rights of the peoples there and of achieving peace in the south of the African continent?

President Kaunda: South Africa, like many other countries, can also be viewed through the prism of the five areas of human activity I spoke about earlier. If we want South Africa to change from an apartheid regime into the one you are speaking of, then there are only two ways: one is change by peaceful means, and the other a change by means of a war for liberation.

If we desire a peaceful change or a change that is as peaceful as possible, we need to examine those who have an impact on South Africa in the areas of those five human activities. We do not have influence, you do not have influence in any of those areas. The only ones who can have influence on South Africa in this respect are the western countries. We know that only Sweden has passed a law against investment in South Africa and against any sort of political operations in that country. But Swedish influence is very small. Those who represent something in this respect are the United States, Great Britain, West Germany, France and to a lesser extent Italy. Japan has recently also begun to play a significant role.

If these countries decided to act against South Africa, as they are now acting against Poland, we might expect certain changes. But unfortunately they will not do anything like that, and that is what is disturbing. What sort of

standards prevail in this world? The Polish issue arose during the last year or two. But the problem of South Africa has been with us for a long time. The West reacted very quickly over the issue of Poland. I am not saying whether that is right or wrong, but I only mention that this has happened, while nothing has been done on the question of South Africa.

Investments are continuing to flow into South Africa. Political support is still present, since when resolutions emerge against Pretoria in the United Nations, one of the superpowers in the Security Council uses its right of veto. And what can we do in this situation? All we can do is to give support, as I said in the parliament, we must continue to extend support to SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] in Namibia and ANC [African National Congress] in South Africa toward the goal of achieving independence of Namibia and bringing about a change in the social and political order in South Africa.

I must say that the West has fallen to a low moral and political level over the issue of South Africa. They have nothing to say except to support the oppressive regime of Pretoria. In the end the people of South Africa, the people of Namibia, have no other choice but to rise up and fight for its independence. Just as you fought under the leadership of my dear friend Tito, just as we did under the leadership of the UNIP [expansion unknown], just as SWAPO in Namibia and the ANC in South Africa are doing now.

OSLOBODJENJE: What might be the consequences of that kind of development of the situation in South Africa?

President Kaunda: That is a disturbing factor. You see, the West is passing judgment on itself. Why such a different attitude toward Poland and South Africa? Is it because white people live in Poland? And South Africa is black? Where are those Christian principles to which the West frequently appeals? Finally, I am afraid that the explosion which will occur in South Africa will have no equals in history. This will be a race war in which every white person will be seen as an enemy. There will not be time to pick out the good ones from the one who is bad, to make a selection of victims. It will be a war between the whites and the blacks. Thus many honest people will suffer. I am emphasizing the essence of the issue. This is a very tragic and sad situation. And we can "thank" the West for that.

Emancipation of Africa

OSLOBODJENJE: It is well known that the present borders in Africa were in many cases created by the former colonial powers. The Organization of African Unity has proclaimed as one of its basic principles, in the interest of peace, that those borders cannot be changed without consent of all interested factors. Will the OAU [Organization of African Unity] have enough influence and strength to have that principle honored?

President Kaunda: In my opinion the Organization of African Unity has achieved significant results in certain key areas, while in others it has not. Politically the OAU has continued to oppose those who would like to colonize others. In that respect a great deal has been done. We have not been as quick as we

hoped in creating a joint "umbrella"--a federal government.... A fact that must also be understood is that for centuries Africa was colonized by the western countries, and in that time we were disunited. They taught us to believe that we could not achieve anything ourselves. Proclamation of national states has become too powerful a force for us to think about renouncing sovereignty in the interest of larger political units.

We are having difficulties in the economic sense. After all, for example, if I want to travel from Lusaka to the Cameroons, I must go to London or Paris (before I arrive in the Cameroons), or vice versa. We are still too much tied to the colonial mother countries. But we will overcome that, though we should have done it before now. Recently we have set up several African organizations in various economic sectors. Economic communities are being set up in several regions.

As for social and cultural affairs, we have begun to discover ourselves. We are now creating institutions which will help us in that. But in the sense of unity it is still true that not enough has been done to integrate the various cultures of the continent. And this is guided by political determination and the desire for us to come together. We have not done much in the way of cooperation in the field of science and technology.

The questions of defense and security are crucial to protection of the continent against aggression from outside. This also involves the support to liberation movements. Here again we are individualistic as nations and we have not done all that we might have. But allow me to say that here again I look on history over a period of 20 years. And what are two decades in the life of a people? Very little--a drop in the ocean. It is important that we take a positive view of Africa and that the threads of constructive trends be taken up and then developed. I think that African leaders are now doing this.

The Situation in Chad

OSLOBODJENJE: How do you look upon the joint action of the Organization of African Unity in Chad, which is the first concrete step toward a concerted resolution of a complicated situation?

President Kaunda: I am not certain that we can hope that we will halt the war between two countries using the machinery of the OAU. We can prevent war in Africa between Africans only with the help of moral pressure. We must continue to appeal to the conscience and morality of individual nations while at the same time setting up mechanisms.

Let us take the question of Chad, which you just mentioned. Personally I must publicly acknowledge that I do not see, just as President Goukouni Weddeye has said, how the OAU mission will stop that war. I did not understand the point of our decision on that issue. As we now hear, the rebel leaders are taking city after city, settlement after settlement. And our forces stand with crossed arms. Consequently, I can understand why the president of Chad says that unless African forces fight against the enemy, they should leave the country. The way it is there now, it seems to me, our forces have blockaded him.

He cannot get help from outside. In my opinion what is needed now is to allow President Goukouni Weddeye to receive aid from wherever he wishes. When the rebels have been crushed and accept the terms of a cease fire, it is then time to think about peacekeeping forces. I think that this is a sad development of the situation. But these again are Africa's birth pains.

Zambian-Yugoslav Cooperation

OSLOBODJENJE: Zambian-Yugoslav relations are characterized by sincerity, a high degree of agreement in assessments of the most important world events. This does not mean, however, that they might not be still better. What do you consider most important in relations to date and in what areas might they be improved, which would be in the mutual interest and in the interest of nonalignment as a whole?

President Kaunda: I can continue an analysis of our relations by examining cooperation between our two countries through the prism of the five areas of human activity. What are our political relations, how is economic cooperation developing, what kind of cooperation is there in the field of social and cultural affairs, what are we doing in the field of science and technology, and how are we cooperating on matters of defense and security? Fortunately, our cooperation has been complete in all these areas. What is needed now, we are in fact doing: we have set up commissions which examine cooperation in the various sectors from time to time. Perhaps here and there there are certain postponements and slowness. But that is not because of a lack of goodwill, but because of pressures, of other obligations we have here in Zambia. The wars for the liberation of Africa are not yet over. As I have said, we are supporting SWAPO, and it has had bases in our country since the very beginning of the war. Now their main headquarters is in Angola, but they still have bases here. We are supporting the ANC, which is fighting in South Africa. Then we are striving to build relations once again between the members of the SADC [expansion unknown], the PTA [expansion unknown] and others. We also have many problems concerning the country's security because of the pressure of South Africa and its allies. All of this takes time which we would devote to the important matters of cooperation with our partners and comrades in Yugoslavia.

But we have a good framework for cooperation, and that is the most important thing. We will in fact continue to build in the future. I agree that much of that could be improved, but we are handicapped both by a lack of specialized manpower and by other things. The goodwill exists. And the political disposition is there as well. We must make our relations more effective insofar as we are able.

Concerning Tito

[OSLOBODJENJE]: You had several occasions to meet with President Tito. Would you please give us some of your personal impressions from those meetings, conversations and joint efforts? Yugoslavs will always remember the way in which you expressed your feelings when you came to Belgrade to the funeral and the last farewell to President Tito. It was very touching, something unforgettable.

[President Kaunda]: It is difficult, almost impossible, to speak about that in an interview like this. Tito was a man whose life and career will be written about in the centuries to come. Consequently, I am perhaps doing an injustice in responding to that question. Tito is a man toward whom I feel great love, a man whom I respect and revere, a man whom I hold in awe. We accorded him the highest honors when he visited our country. We awarded him our highest honors and decorations. We did this because that is the way we think about him.

Tito is not a man about whom I could speak in the past tense. I speak about him in the present continuous tense, since he and his deeds live on. It is difficult to define that. Tito's greatest virtue was something that might be described as his love for people, and only a man who has loved humanity like that could achieve what he achieved in his life, which is living on in his deeds and will live a long time, even after we are gone. Thanks to that love toward humanity which was expressed in his deeds, he was able to liberate Yugoslavia from oppression and exploitation. His great idea of nonalignment was also born out of his love for humanity. Such conceptions are not born by accident, they come only from the head of a great mind. The idea of opposing a superpower like the Soviet Union and of going his own way could also have come only from a great mind. The idea of making peace with the Soviet Union could also have come only from a great mind. His determination to work until his death for his people and humanity could come from the strength of his intellectual greatness.

We cannot forget him. I wrote to him when I was to submit in Havana the resolution of gratitude for his contribution to the nonaligned movement. Unfortunately, I had to leave earlier. The conference in Havana took longer than expected, and I had matters of state business scheduled. And we agreed that President Ahmed Sekou Toure would submit the resolution on everyone's behalf. I apologized to President Tito. As head of state I wrote to him that I am his pupil and admirer. That shows the depth of my feelings.

I repeat, one can rarely see such a person, once in a thousand years. Tito was a man of the people in more ways than one. We speak of a popular figure. He was beyond that. He was a leader of leaders. He was something exceptional for humanity. In my modest opinion his life was as successful as it was because of his love for people, for Zambians, for Yugoslavs, for Russians, for Americans, for Indians, for Chinese....

That is my conception of him.

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YUGOSLAV PAPER INTERVIEWS CYPRIOT PARLIAMENTARIAN

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Feb 82 p 8

[Interview with Alexis Talanos, chairman of the foreign policy committee of the Cypriot Parliament, by Vitomir Krstanovic, in Yugoslavia: "The Question of Cyprus Is an Obstacle to Lasting Peace in the Mediterranean"; date not specified]

[Text] "Very soon the government of Cyprus intends to raise once again in the United Nations the question of the territorial division of Cyprus and the problem of occupation of a portion of Cyprus by Turkish military forces. We intend to ascertain not only whether the existing resolutions of the world organization will be confirmed, but also whether steps will be taken this time to convince the Turkish side to undertake negotiations which would have prospects of resulting in a fair solution to the problem of Cyprus."

This statement was made in an interview with BORBA by Alexis Talanos, chairman of the foreign policy committee of the Cypriot Parliament, who paid a recent visit to this country on invitation of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia with a delegation of the Democratic Party of Cyprus (DIKO). Talanos is at the same time the chairman of the commission for international relations of his party.

A Single Policy

"We are raising this issue once again because the problem of Cyprus, together with the other hotbeds in this part of the world, is a volcano threatening new conflicts and an obstacle to lasting peace in this area. We want the whole world to understand the danger that is threatened by failure to resolve this issue."

As is well known, Turkish military forces occupied a part of the territory of Cyprus in July 1974. These forces hold about 40 percent of the area of the Republic of Cyprus, they have about 35,000 men and have made it possible for about 50,000 Turkish settlers to take up residence. The invasion created many problems on Cyprus: about 6,000 dead and 2,000 missing and nearly 200,000 refugees from the area captured by the invader's forces. This act was qualified by the United Nations as a violation of basic international rights, a violation of territorial integrity, human rights and intervention in the internal affairs of the sovereign state of Cyprus.

"We are afraid that the Turks did not act alone when they invaded Cyprus and that the intention was not only to destroy the sovereignty of the republic, but also to do away with our country's nonaligned status. This did not occur, since Cyprus is recognized by all countries of the world; it is an active member of the world community, and in spite of the Turkish occupation all countries recognize the sovereignty of the legitimate Cypriot Government over the entire territory of the island," Alexis Talanos said.

The chairman of the foreign policy committee of the Cypriot Parliament said that Cyprus has been severely affected by these events, but that the policy of nonalignment is regarded in Cyprus as the only policy that is suitable to small proud countries and that therefore they will never abandon the basic principles of nonalignment.

Speaking about the current international political situation, Talanos specifically mentioned the present Cold War atmosphere which the world has entered once again, a war in which the two superpowers are competing.

"In that context there has been an obvious growth of pressure on the nonaligned countries, especially those which have an important geostrategic position. That is why belonging to the nonaligned movement is becoming increasingly difficult for certain countries. Nevertheless, in spite of those pressures, I believe that the principles of nonalignment will remain inviolate in our movement," Talanos emphasized. "We, of course, need more cooperation, more active participation and more agreement, since nonalignment is today the only alternative to war. If the movement weakens, there would be a greater danger of conflict. It is our duty, then, not only to preserve the movement, but at the seventh summit meeting in Bagdad to do everything to strengthen its basic principles, our initiatives, our cooperation and everything that contributes to the unity of all members of the movement."

Advancement of Cooperation

Talanos spoke specifically about weak points in the nonaligned movement, some of which are very topical, such as conflicts and even open outbreaks of war between countries which accept the principles of nonalignment.

"In spite of all that," he said, "it is our judgment that the movement is becoming stronger every year. There are many evidences of this, especially the numerous resolutions in the United Nations, like the recent one about the Golan Heights. Whenever the principles of nonalignment are at issue, the nonaligned rally closer together in spite of all the differences. It should not be forgotten that the movement is larger today than ever, that more than two-thirds of humanity have joined it and that within it there must be and there must develop more differences in views concerning the national position and conditions for future development. But there is reason for optimism in the fact that the basic principles of nonalignment are in essence becoming firmer and firmer and adopted ever more widely."

The high-level official of the Democratic Party of Cyprus had words of praise for the cooperation between Yugoslavia and his country during recent years, to which his current visit is expected to contribute as well.

the same time we have been neglecting the strengthening of our economic and cultural contacts. We must increase trade, advance tourist exchange, achieve the participation of Yugoslav firms in the building of Cyprus--in competition with others, of course. Aside from the need to strengthen relations between the Democratic Party of Cyprus and the SAWPY, our visit also had the purpose of specific agreements concerning future cooperation not only bilaterally, but also on the international political scene--such as in the Interparliamentary Union, the North-South negotiations, the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and elsewhere. In that sense cooperation between our two governments and political organizations can contribute not only to one segment of international relations, but indeed to improvement of the general political climate in this part of the world," Alexis Talanos said in conclusion.

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JOZE SMOLE URGES MORE OPEN, INFORMATIVE PRESS

Belgrade NASA STAMPA in Serbo-Croatian Dec 81 p 4

[Speech by Joze Smole: "Restricting News Reporting an Attack on Self-Managing Society"]

> [Text] As we announced in our last issue, we are publishing, with some slight condensations, the introductory speech by Joze Smole at the Study Days, which have been organized for four years now by the Slovenian Society of Journalists and the Socialist Alliance of this republic, as a form of sociopolitical education and in memory of Mitja Gorjup. We note that the speech was not [officially] authorized.

I regret that Comrade Culafic, the secretary of the LCY Central Committee Politburo, was unable to keep his promise to speak here about the current problems in public news reporting in Yugoslavia. Why do I regret this? Most of all because I think that someone from the federal leadership should have been here to hear the views of the journalists on the most acute problems in news reporting, because such a dialogue would certainly be very significant in eliminating various barriers, obstacles, and difficulties that exist in the area of public news reporting. This does not mean that there are not numerous problems that affect news reporting in Slovenia, but likewise the fact is that there are still certain problems outside the Slovenia in the area of reporting events in the whole of Yugoslavia, as has been demonstrated in the case of Kosovo, and for this reason we urgently need some sort of dialogue through which an attempt could be made to clear up certain matters. I received the additional task of delivering the introductory speech here. I tried not to accept it, because I think that there are probably no differences of opinion among us in regard to the principle of news reporting itself, and it seems stupid to me for us to bicker about this. After I finally accepted this obligation, however, I had very little time and I really was not able to prepare any sort of profound analysis or introduction. Allow me, then, to throw out just a few thoughts to encourage a critical discussion among us.

As a Nonaligned Country, We Should Show Superiority in the Breadth of Our Reporting

In our self-managing socialist society, there should probably not be any ambiguity over our right and duty to keep our citizens thoroughly informed about overall events in Yugoslavia and abroad. Precisely because we are a nonaligned country,

we should, in my opinion, be able to inform our public even more comprehensively, thoroughly, and objectively than is possible for the press, radio, and television in nations belonging to military-political alliances or blocs. I am not thinking just about the Eastern bloc here, but about the Western bloc, the NATO alliance, as well. As a nonaligned country, we nevertheless have an independent position and the power to make an independent assessment, and from this standpoint we should show superiority in the breadth of our reporting on world events, in comparison with other systems. At the same time, of course, we must immediately acknowledge that we have not yet reached that point.

We Do Not Need Selection of the News

Precisely because we are a self-managing socialist society in which the citizen is a decision-maker, it is quite clear that there should be exceptional breadth in the freedom of reporting on all events in Yugoslavia, because if a citizen is not informed about everything that happens in Yugoslavia, he will naturally be unable to make a decision. From these introductory comments, I would like to draw the conclusion that any restriction on news reporting in Yugoslavia is directly opposed to the socialist self-managing system, and opposed to the policy of nonalignment. In my opinion, every restriction on news reporting is an attack on socialist self-managing society, an attack on what was written in the Constitution, and naturally an attack on socialist self-managing society, an attack on what was written in the Constitution, and naturally an attack on the policy and positions of the LCY. I am thoroughly aware when I say this that many people in our country do not think so, but although they accept it theoretically, when it comes to the concrete treatment of individual events, they introduce some other elements, and thus actually arrive at a concept of restricting news reporting. In my opinion, the thesis that we need a sort of news selection, a sort of selective approach in reporting events, is unacceptable from the standpoint of our socialist self-managing system. In my opinion, we need objective, true, and accurate information about everything that happens, and at the same time we naturally also need an active and critical commentary on events, a commentary that consistently defends the interests of socialist self-managing society, that defends our system, that defends nonalignment, that defends fraternity and unity, and our Yugoslav community; in short, one that defends the basic postulates of our society. In my opinion, we should not make a selection of whether it is good or not for the news about some event or some fact to be published, even from the standpoint of some sort of self-censorship. In every society and in life in general, there are both positive and negative events. If we make a selection and ask ourselves in advance whether the publication of this or that event will have positive or negative consequences, then we of course come to the destruction of the principle of objective and true news reporting. It was precisely because of the so-called selective approach that we experienced a complete debacle in the Yugoslav news system at the time of the events in Kosovo. Then, in certain organizations--I should add at once that these were not just the leading organizations in Kosovo--there was a conviction that reporting the events in Kosovo would damage Yugoslavia's national interests, that it would be harmful both within Yugoslavia and in regard to Yugoslavia's reputation abroad. This was an exceptionally significant experience for us, and I think that we journalists, as well as the LCY, must resolutely oppose any attempt to impose some sort of theories about the need to select the news and decide a priori whether some event should be reported or not, because I feel that such an approach leads to the destruction of a normal news system.

To return to the events in Kosovo--if we had been sensible then, as we were not, if we had broadcast a filmed television record of the events in Pristina and elsewhere, not only to our own public but also to the world public, we would have achieved a great deal in this way, because we would have shown our public the strength of our system, we would have shown the strength of our system and of Yugoslavia to the world, and in addition such an approach would have made it possible for us to influence interpretations of the Kosovo events in foreign news systems. Since we were not sensible and since we missed the train, it happened that the world press in any case finally reported everything that took place in Kosovo, and that the starting points in commentaries on these events were sometimes, or I could say in most cases, very damaging and bad for Yugoslavia.

Liberalism Is Not Free, Objective Reporting

In any case, I am not returning to the past now for the sake of the past, but rather for the sake of the future; in my opinion, what is liberalism and what is not liberalism should be cleared up. The expression "liberalism" is again being used fairly often in some forums in Yugoslavia in reference to news reporting and the press, radio, and television. In my opinion, liberalism cannot apply to the objective reporting of events and facts. I also think that when we publish news about events that are unpleasant or negative for us, we cannot condemn the person who wrote the report for falling into some sort of liberalism. A journalist has to report what happens. We have a complete right to discuss liberalism in the area of commentary, in the area of the assessment of events, and we also have an obligation to fight against liberalism in editorial policy for that purpose, as we still have to ensure the defense of the interests of our socialist self-managing society through the editorial policy in commentaries, in assessments, and we therefore cannot allow, let us say, direct or indirect attacks on our system or on the fraternity and unity of our peoples to remain unanswered. We thus can speak of certain occurrences of liberalism in the sense of an editorial policy that allows all possible articles to be published, and does not respond to those articles and similar ones that, let us say, attack Kardelj or Tito; but, I repeat, we cannot accept the thesis regarding liberalism when it is only a case of having the right to report freely and objecitvely everything that takes place.

We Do Not Have a Yugoslav Concept of Reporting

For me the problem today, as far as news is concerned, is primarily whether we report what happends in Yugoslavia and what happens in the world, especially what happens in Yugoslavia, in a thorough, capable, and well reasoned manner. I think that here we have to be critical and acknowledge that we are lagging behind in capable news reporting. Many of our reports are superficial, not thorough enough, and often one-sided, and I think that superficiality in news reporting is naturally a great weakness that we should face up to. In my opinion, even in Slovenia we have shut ourselves off in our news media into a Slovenian framework inside Slovenia's borders, and we are following Yugoslavia only through the events in forums or in the delegate assembly, the executive agencies in Belgrade, on the federation level. We do not have comprehensive and continual information about events in Yugoslavia. We do not have a real Yugoslav concept of reporting. If I may be very crude, here every Slovenian LC Central Committee meeting will receive incomparably greater weight than a meeting of the Serbian or Croatian LC Central

Committee, regardless of the subjects discussed at the meeting. This also applies to other republics. We are proceeding on the basis of a sort of narrow republican concept, not on the basis of a concept of Yugoslavia, and we are thus dividing Yugoslavia into six or eight units, as we have already established several times; this division is also reflected in the public news media, in radio, television, and the press. In my opinion, we should ensure a Yugoslav concept of news reporting in all of our news media. This applies to both the republican press and the regional press, because this press should proceed on the basis of the unity of Yugoslavia and the events in Yugoslavia, and not shut itself off into some republican, regional, or municipal framework. We have already discussed this several times, but matters have essentially not changed, and it is urgently necessary for us to establish through our common forces what the real reasons are for such an erection of barriers.

When the Forums Are Not Meeting There Is No News

Another serious problem in reporting is that the main reporting is still associated with the forums. When the forums meet there are many reports, and when they do not, there are no reports at all. Look at the TV Journal--if the forums are not meeting, reports are lacking altogether, as if nothing at all were happening in Yugoslavia. I think that this is our great weakness as journalists; we have not known how to cover life in Yugoslavia, the life that takes place outside of the forums and which still gives the main tone to any social event, because life after all does not take place only in the forums. We are faced with the serious task of penetrating for once into more serious reporting about life in Yugoslavia, and not trying ourselves exclusively to reporting in the forums, or even reporting about the forums.

Instead of Criticizing the Press Through Internal Channels, Public Explanation

There have been serious errors in the press, radio, and television. I think that what is still happening in practice in Yugoslavia is ridiculous, however; a certain political forum, such as a municipal committee, one association or another or some organization, complains through internal channels about a certain newspaper or some editorial board, and complains afterwards, let us say to the Central Committee, that the radio and television did something or other, that someone has done something or other. I think that this course is not acceptable. A forum or politician who thinks that something has been done wrong on the radio, in the press, on television, in my opinion ought to go to that editorial board or write an article, or even ask to appear on TV or radio and state his opinion there, and put matters in their place, from his point of view, if he wants to. I think that today we are such a democratic and highly developed society that we should seek to resolve disagreements that occur in such a way. I repeat that for me it is unacceptable to work through some internal channels and then tell stories or criticize that or that journal, instead of having a given political worker or forum make use of the media available to it, i.e., the public news media, as would be normal from the standpoint of ensuring publicity and the public treatment of a problem. If a given editorial board shuts itself off and does not allow others to speak, then it deserves the greatest condemnation and the Association of Journalists should speak out. It is clear, however, that we cannot allow monopolization of the public news media, or allow workers in those media to have the last word on all matters and let what the journalist wrote stand without any other opinion

being heard. As far as I can see such tendencies exist among some journalists; the journalist gets very upset when a view differing from his is published, so that sensitivity and a tendency to hold onto a monopoly are also encountered among some journalists. I think that this is harmful to the journalist profession and to a resolution of the problem.

Officials Are Not Yet Aware of the Significance of the Press, Radio, and Television

A large number of the sociopolitical workers who are not journalists--all journalists are sociopolitical workers--do not yet perceive the entire significance of the press, radio, and television; I am thinking here of sociopolitical workers in the leading agencies, sociopolitical organizations, etc. I should say, in fact, that in Yugoslavia we have an absurd situation in which certain editorial boards have to ask certain officials to give an interview or to appear in the press, on radio, or on TV. If the officials were aware of the significance of the public news media, then the opposite situation would be the case; there would be a great rush of all the officials to appear on TV, radio, and in the press in order to present their positions. Let us hope that a normal climate for democratic development will continue to develop in this regard, that the attitude of the communications media will change, and that officials will become aware that one can still have a crucial effect on the attitude of the public through these media. There are still some comrades in Yugoslavia who feel that it is more important to speak in closed meetings or in meetings in a municipal area, than for these things to be said to the broader public. In any case there is a great obligation for the public news media to be really open to everyone and for us not to allow any sort of monopolistic position for the workers in public news media.

The problem of reporting in crisis situations, among other things, has been emphasized in the theses for this introduction. I think that in crisis situations we should not reduce the volume of reportings; rather, in a certain sense we should even increase it.

As far as responsibility is concerned, I think that we should allow the various errors to be resolved in passing, that we have to give the news media the right to make mistakes; because when one is working in public, it is reasonable that there may be mistakes and errors. At the same time, one must ensure that every editorial board will correct a mistake or error in an appropriate manner, naturally. It is likewise very important to clear things up from the very beginning when making comments and assessments; when unacceptable positions appear we should clear them up, and not drag them out until the problems accumulate, and only then resolve them later on.

We Have Not Ensured a Politically Informative Strategy Against Psychologicl Warfare

The theses mention preventing an intrusion by hostile reports and so-called psychological warfare. I can assert that we are not keeping track of this at all seriously, and that we are not, on any level, ensuring a politically informative strategy to respond to the various hostile psychological pressures that are being used against us. We likewise do not have any definite position, and we instead fall into extremes; we do not respond at all to many hostile theses that part of the foreign propaganda is spreading against Yugoslavia, and then afterwards we become unnerved to such an extent that we generalize and attack the entire

Western or Eastern press, and so forth. We do not have a subtle policy worked out for responding to various types of disinformation originating abroad, or to so-called psychological warfare. I think that this matter is very significant, and that we should prepare ourselves in a more substantive manner in regard to this and secure our positions. In all of this, direct hostile commentaries directed against us or direct psychological pressures exerted against us are the least dangerous; the concealed pressures, to which we should respond in a subtle manner, are much more dangerous.

News Should Be Separated From Commentaries

Finally, I would like to mention in addition just the fact that from time to time a bad practice occurs among us of mixing news reporting with commentaries; by doing this, of course, we neither inform nor provide a commentary. The classic example of this was the TANJUG agency's announcement about the congress of the Albanian Labor Party. Probably TANJUG was not the only one responsible for this; probably certain others influenced TANJUG.

I must say that in doing this we are showing a certain nervousness and immaturity. We know how to report normally about everything else, so that we say what happened first of all and then afterwards we make comments. We are not able to report normally about neighboring Albania. I must say that again this is not an accidental mistake, because we, or at least we in Slovenia, warned the TANJUG editorial board several times that this was not being done correctly, because we had the same kind of reporting from Kosovo, where later on everything was mixed up so that you did not know what happend at all, or what was in fact a commentary and assessment. This is, of course, the crudest example, which I feel deserves every condemnation, because this method of reporting is counterproductive in our society. Our people have a right to know exactly what Enver Hoxha said. Therefore we must first of all give a report on what Enver Hoxha said, and only afterwards provide a commentary--our commentary, our position. We naturally should have a position. I have to say that at least recently there has not been a case of our reporting in that way about any [other] event taking place abroad. Usually we first report what happened, and then commented afterwards.

This means that the Yugoslav public still does not know, even today, what really happened at that congress, because the whole business was a mixture of commentary and a sort of quasi-reporting. I am deliberately stressing this example because I think that in our journalism and in our news media we have to separate clearly, once and for all, what is news from what is commentary. Only in this way can we ensure thorough, true, and objective reporting, and on the basis of such thorough reporting be able to comment actively on these events, and on the basis of these active positions, the positions of socialist self-management, defend our system and resolutely resist the attempts of those who are trying to diminish or attack our system.

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MEETING OF NONALIGNED ON COOPERATION IN RADIO, TV

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 82 p 11

[Text] The nonaligned countries have expressed determination to intensify their mutual cooperation in the field of information exchange. The committee for cooperation of radiobroadcasting organizations of the nonaligned countries, which began meeting in Belgrade yesterday, has called for further linkage of information and communications systems to the processes of development of the developing countries and for establishment of a new international information order, to which the nonaligned countries are contributing both by virtue of the pool of news agencies and through cooperation of radio and television organizations. Cooperation in the field of radiobroadcasting took on organized forms after the first assembly held in 1977 in Sarajevo, and has progressed since the second meeting of the assembly of the conference, which was held in 1979 in Freetown.

The committee's chairman, Joseph Findley, who was elected at the assembly in Sierra Leone, spoke about the road which the radiobroadcasting organizations of the nonaligned countries traveled from Sarajevo to Freetown. That road was marked by an upward line of mutual cooperation and activity, but at the same time it reflected weaknesses and difficulties encountered by the nonaligned movement.

Findley mentioned political problems which have sorely affected certain members of the movement, nor, he said, were problems of a social nature any the less important.

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PARTY MEMBERSHIP COMPOSITION, STRENGTH DISCUSSED

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 82 p 12

[Article by Milivoje Tomasevic]

[Text] The largest influx into the League of Communists was in 1948, 216,000, and then 1980, 199,446, and then in 1977, when it was 193,759 members.

The largest falloff in membership was in 1970, when 91,851 members were expelled, dropped from the rolls or resigned. There was a large drop in membership between 1953 and 1958, when the LCY lost 148,114 members, and the largest number of expulsions in the recent past was in 1972, when it was 12,941 members.

In the "taking of the inventory" of the League of Communists in advance of the congress, particular attention is being paid to analyzing the situation and relations within the organization itself. Discussions concerning enrollment, membership composition and differentiation in the LC [League of Communists] show that ideological issues are extremely important. That the vanguard role of the LC depends in large measure on them. The large membership (if enrollment continues at the present rate, the LC would increase from its present 2.2 million to nearly 4 million members toward the end of the decade), the insufficient participation of workers (29.4 percent of the total number), along with frequently unsuitable enrollment and insufficient differentiation, might, unless something changes, bring the League of Communists to the point of a mixed bag of ideologies.

The strength of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the first stage of its development was far out of proportion to its membership. On the eve of the Second (Vukovar) Congress the CPY, for example, had 65,000 members, but in the elections for the Constitutional Assembly it had third place in the number of votes and deputies (after the Serbian Radical Party and the Croatian Peasant Party). Speaking about the influence and strength of the Zagreb party organization Tito said in lectures delivered in Kumrovec: "At the time when the Eighth Zagreb Conference was held we (in Zagreb) had 134 members of the party ... at that time we were able to bring out tens of thousands of people in Zagreb to protests and demonstrations." The situation was similar at the beginning of the revolution. The Communist Party entered the war with 12,000 members (and 30,000 members of SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia]), yet

it motivated, led and created hundreds of thousands of fighters for socialism and a new Yugoslavia.

The LC Is "Going White Collar" Faster Than Society

This ratio (between the size of the membership and the LC's power as a driving force) has, however, changed today. There are 2.2 members, but the League of Communists is by no means satisfied with its effectiveness and capability for action. Accomplishment of what has been resolved and agreed on is actually--as has been stated at many meetings and conferences--the weakest point of party work.

The problem does not, of course, lie in the large membership. There are several reasons why the LC is not effective enough. One of the main ones is that a large number of members motivated by personal interests have found their way into its ranks. This "registering" and subsequent "passive existence" or indeed resistance to the policy of the LC goes back, then, to unsuitable enrollment at the outset.

Actually there are two important shortcomings here: enrollment is often ceremonial and wholesale (for people in nonproduction occupations and secondary and university students), while on the other hand a large number of primary organizations of the League of Communists take a sectarian attitude toward workers and farmers, especially toward those with low qualifications, toward working women and toward peasants.

There are cases, for example, when several dozen students in their last year at the university or all the members of a class in secondary school are enrolled in a single meeting of a primary organization. At the same time, there are villages where not a single person has been enrolled in the LC for years and there are workplaces where almost all the members of the office force are members of the LC, but the proportion of semiskilled and unskilled workers is negligible. That is why the League of Communists is going "white collar" far faster than society. For a number of years blue-collar workers made up the bulk of the membership and of the leadership of the CPY, but today there is only one worker in all the presidiums of the central and provincial committees of the LC.

Age-Specific Composition of the Membership of the LC

	1970	1980
Total	1,049,184	2,026,520
Under age 27	218,967	673,800
28-40	433,956	723,410
41-55	331,080	485,910
56 or older	65,181	143,390

Differentiation Only in Crisis Situations

But while the doors for entry into the LC are wide open for some, a sectarian attitude is sometimes taken toward others, and often exit (expulsion) from the LC does not occur even when it is absolutely called for. Differentiation in the LC actually takes place only when crises and conflict situations break out, as, for example, in 1948, 1953, 1968, 1972, and 1981, but even then not throughout the entire League of Communists. And we find members of the LCY even in illegal hostile organizations, not to mention those who openly advocate either a centralistic system or on the other hand who do everything to separate as much as possible one OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] from another, one opstina from another, one republic or province from another. They do this quite openly and so successfully that one might get the impression that this is actually the policy of the LCY.

It is not difficult to draw the lessons from the facts we have enumerated concerning enrollment and differentiation. Along with the well-known requirement--that it is not enough for enrollment in the LC for someone to write down that he favors socialism, self-management, the policy of nonalignment and so on, but through his work in the bodies of self-management, the delegate system and the SAWP he must prove himself as a fighter for the program and policy of the LC, and that differentiation in the League of Communists must be conducted constantly and systematically--certain new proposals also deserve attention.

How To Activate the "Lulled" Potential

It has been proposed in the LCY Commission for the Bylaws and Organizational Affairs that enrollment in the LC should be based on a nomination by a member of the LC and that these proceedings should be conducted in open meetings of the primary organization so that others (those who are not members of the LC) might also present their opinions concerning the candidates. There are those who think that the doors should also be opened wide to egress from the League of Communists, so that those who have "wandered" into this organization or who have found their way here for careerist or similar reasons might turn in their party cards without any sort of "proceedings" under the bylaws.

It makes no difference what approach is taken to differentiation in the LC; it is clear that the first thing that must be done is to overcome opportunism toward members who are in their behavior sullying the image of the member of the League of Communists. It is clear that one of the principal conditions for the LC to remain the vanguard of the working class and the leading ideological force in society is for it to "abolish" false democracy and for authentic democracy to make further inroads in the ranks of the LC.

Until a firm stand is taken to the effect that its foundations (unity, democratic centralism, discipline, etc.) are untouchable, until respect for the criteria governing enrollment and continued membership in the LCY is achieved, that is, until those criteria are related to work and proven commitment, the League of Communists cannot expect to increase its effectiveness and capacity for action. This is the condition for the huge potential of the League of Communists--which cannot be manifested because various irregularities are tolerated and there is a certain ideological motleyness--to become that driving force which will clear the way to progress still more successfully.

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NUMBER OF WORKERS, OTHERS IN LCY, 1970-1980

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 82 p 13

[Article by Slavko Filipi: "Workers in Largest Numbers, But Not Enough"]

[Text] The working class is the vehicle of socialist revolution and therefore it is indispensable, as Comrade Tito frequently emphasized, for there to be a majority of workers--direct producers--in the ranks of its vanguard, in the League of Communists. This strategic ideological-political commitment has a certain significance and weight for still more resolute class orientation of the ideological-political action of the League of Communists toward the goal of the workers themselves deciding on the conditions and results of their work, toward the workers having that role and influence which helps them to master the total surplus value of labor, and thereby the flows in social reproduction, as rapidly and completely as possible.

In mid-1981 there were more than 620,000 workers in the League of Communists, which is 29.4 percent of the total membership. They are today the most numerous social group in the League of Communists. Their enrollment and the steady growth of the number of workers in the League of Communists have been more pronounced since the 10th LCY Congress, since adoption of the constutition and the Law on Associated Labor, in the years of the lively and more inspired ideological and political action of the League of Communists and the other organized socialist forces, in the years when long-range prospects have been opened up for the development of our society on the foundations of socialist self-management. The largest enrollment since 1948 was recorded in 1980, that extremely difficult year of President Tito's illness and death. By their numerous enrollment in the ranks of the League of Communists workers, and also young people and others, declared their loyalty and devotion to the person and deeds of Comrade Tito and to the LCY Program and policy, their readiness and determination to fight and to endure on Tito's revolutionary road. That policy is also an expression of their personal aspirations and ideological-political commitments.

Sectarian Attitude Concerning Enrollment

Nevertheless, workers have maintained that same proportion in the composition of the League of Communists for 10 years now with slight fluctuations. In large part this is a consequence of the wholesale enrollment of people of other

occupations, especially secondary and university students, as well as the large-scale movement of workers into other occupations. But the principal reason certainly does not lie there, nor in the disposition nor desire of workers to become members of the League of Communists. It is still probably a case of a sectarian attitude on the part of individual primary organizations and indeed broader than that, toward workers, especially those with quite low qualifications, women workers in particular. Thus--and this is the case in quite a few opstinas, even in the advanced industrial centers with a strong and numerous working class--workers do not constitute a majority in the League of Communists.

Workers in the Organs of the LC

In presidiums of central committees and the provincial committees of the League of Communists	1 worker
In the LCY Central Committee	9.8 percent
In the central and provincial committees of the LC (average)	26.8 percent
In opstina conferences of the LC (average)	30.9 percent
In opstina committees of the LC (average)	30.5 percent
Among presidents of opstina conferences (average)	10.3 percent
Among secretaries of opstina committees (average)	16.8 percent

Change of the Membership of the LC, 1970/1980

	Total	Enrolled	Expelled	Removed From Rolls	Resigned From LC
		1970			
Total	1,049,184	31,885	10,178	20,680	15,224
Workers	310,555	9,210	5,502	8,584	7,410
Other employed persons	411,663	6,304	2,282	5,867	3,917
Private farmers	68,425	2,800	1,207	1,636	1,292
Secondary and university students	54,428	10,563	185	1,838	173
Yugoslav People's Army and others	204,113	3,008	1,002	3,755	2,432
Women	201,946	7,540	1,123	4,172	3,066
		1980			
Total	2,026,521	199,185	3,686	8,995	2,574
Workers	600,722	58,918	1,752	3,262	1,111
Other employed persons	840,582	48,827	1,145	1,651	654
Private farmers	87,109	8,319	310	575	102
Secondary and university students	201,034	62,084	73	1,924	138
Yugoslav People's Army and others	297,074	21,037	406	1,583	569
Women	521,823	65,928	401	2,518	712

There are even figures to persuade us of the accuracy of these observations. Almost one-fourth of all the persons employed in the socialized sector are in the League of Communists (24.7 percent). Workers make up more than 62 percent of all persons employed in associated labor, but less than 17 percent of them are members of the League of Communists. Or again, only 8.5 percent of all women workers are members of the League of Communists. The unfavorable composition of the membership of the League of Communists in certain large work organizations is also manifested in the fact that a majority of the membership is concentrated in the office force, and in some places not even 5 percent of all the workers in production OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor] are members of the League of Communists.

Stricter criteria are often applied in the enrollment of workers, stricter requirements are imposed which cannot be met by the worker with low qualifications and income, the worker who has not solved the basic problems of his life. It is also these workers who are expelled more easily from membership in the League of Communists.

Outdated Method of Classification

In some places the level of education is taken as an important condition for enrollment in the League of Communists. Workers with low skills (semiskilled and unskilled) make up only about 8.5 percent of the members of the League of Communists, while highly skilled and skilled workers comprise 29 percent. Certainly the social status of workers also has a certain influence on their inclusion in the League of Communists. The manner in which the national income has been distributed up to now has objectively made it possible for professional management structures to exert a stronger social influence, and indeed they are in relative terms considerably more numerous in the League of Communists.... In some places it is even emphasized that the level of the dues has an adverse effect on enrollment of workers, especially those with low skills and personal incomes.

It is also worth mentioning that the method of classifying members of the LC in the keeping of records and statistics in the LCY is outdated, inappropriate and narrow and does not reflect the real state of the social and class composition of the membership of the League of Communists. With the development of the productive forces and the necessary broader connotation of the term "workers--direct producers" in the present-day technological process of production, which certainly also includes engineers and technicians and other specialists who participate directly in production and whose personal income depends on the results of work in the OOUR, the number of workers--direct producers who are members of the League of Communists will increase considerably. This issue is being thoroughly discussed in advance of the conferences and congresses of the League of Communists in all the republics and provinces and in the organization of the LCY in the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army]. However, this does not detract from the seriousness and weight of the observations, since the share of workers in membership of the LCY over the last 10 years has not been changing in the unchanged classification that exists.

Without closing the door of the League of Communists to all those who are involved in the struggle for socialist self-management and who fulfill the criteria that have been set forth, the emphasis in the ideological-political activity in advance of the congresses and conferences ought to be put primarily on enrollment of a larger number of workers--direct producers, and that especially in those industrial centers. Appropriate preparations should also be made for the enrollment and it should be related to specific socioeconomic and political activity in each community. In short, greater selectivity and consistency in the application of criteria are necessary in the policy concerning enrollment of new members. There is good reason to pay more attention in this activity to enrollment of workers with low skills, young people who are training for production occupations, that is, those--as Comrade Kardelj said on one occasion--who expect the most from the future.

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ESSAY ON MONTENEGRIN PREHISTORY STIRS CONTENTION

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1620, 17 Jan 82 pp 22-26

[Article by Teodor Andjelic]

[Text] Dr Spiro Kulisic's little book "On the Ethnogenesis of the Montenegrins" has provoked a major debate. While some praise the book without ceasing, others deny that it has any scientific foundation.

A small article by ethnologist Spiro Kulisic, published as a nicely, even luxuriously turned out book, has caused a serious scholarly and also political debate.

In various reviews, all published in Montenegro, the book "On the Ethnogenesis of the Montenegrins" has most often been praised lavishly. At the same time, other reviews, which were also written by Montenegrins, were so critical that one could come to think not even the first sentence was worthwhile.

In the first sentence the author asserts: "Our old bourgeois scholarship generally held the view that the Montenegrins were Serbs; this view was particularly typical for Serbian historiography, ethnology and anthropogeography."

Six Months Later

Using scholarly rigor, the book seeks to prove that, as a nation and people, the Montenegrins stem from the Dukljans, and "the Dukljans have been shown to be a separate ethnic entity, clearly distinct from the Croats and the Serbs."

Citing Byzantine and other sources (which historians of other persuasions would generally reject), Kulisic asserts that most Montenegrins represent "a mixture of Dinaric and prehistoric representatives of the Borreby type, with a powerful body, large head and broad face."

Next, the author asserts that the "ethnic ties with the prehistoric Balkan inhabitants of the land that is now Montenegro directly point to complex similarities in the life and culture of the Montenegrins and of some peoples of the Caucasus."

Dr Branislav Durdev, writing in PRAKSA, the journal of the Marxist Center of the Montenegro LCY Central Committee, said the following:

"It is awkward for me to talk about Spiro Kulisic's book since he is not present, but I must say that he came to the conclusion that the Montengrins are Morlaks, but Morlaks are not found only in Montenegro. By this he did not prove the uniqueness of the Montenegrins."

The debate was organized on 19 June 1981, and reporters were among the participants, but they were asked to write about the discussions only after receiving authorized texts. They are now in front of us, 6 months after the debate at the Center and more than a year after the book was published.

Nearly all the discussions of the debate were published in the latest issue of PRAKSA.

In the introduction, Nenad Bucin, director of the Center, said, "The Marxist Center does not in the least want to subordinate our conversation on this topic to any practical political need. To be more precise, this is no more an official promotion of the book than it is a condemnation of it."

This position is immediately obvious, considering the delicacy of the theme. Nevertheless, as soon as it was published, contradictory positions clearly crystallized concerning the book.

One of those positions was presented at the Marxist Center debate by Dr Dragoje Zivkovic. He said that Kulisic's analysis was in good part based on well-known scientific facts, "but from his new, modern point of view, he spoke persuasively about the unique Montenegrin ethnicity that had emerged on the basis of symbiosis and assimilation of the Dukljan Slavs and the ancient Illyrian Romans, and certain other possible ethnic groups, which were found in the territory of the Dukljans."

Kulisic did not execute any sort of scholarly revolution. Rather, although he is not a historian, he put the facts together in a logical fashion. That is the opinion of Dr Radoslav Rotkovic, who refers about other things to Muzafer Korkuti and the miscellany ILIRIA IV (Tirana, 1976).

The Reviewer's Word

Dr Rotkovic, a literary critic, believes that the downfall of the bourgeois order in Yugoslavia did not also mean the downfall of bourgeois scholarship here. Thus, he says, the old thesis of that type of scholarship has been answered with a formula of compromise. He cites the example of the MALA ENCIKLOPEDIJA PROSVETA (The Small Encyclopedia of the Prosveta Publishing House):

The Montenegrins are one of the Yugoslav peoples; they are of Serbian origin and speak the Serbo-Croatian language. In the course of their modern history, the Montenegrins have had a special historical, political, and socioeconomic development and have developed characteristics of a special national individuality and a unique people.

Dr Rotkovic adds that this is from the second edition of the encyclopedia of "1969, and he almost wrote 1869, on p 893." He concluded his presentation with the following words: "If all of this had followed its natural course, the present discussion would be unnecessary, for it would be clear that the Montenegrins did not develop from the Serbs. Rather, they came from a group of Slavic tribes who migrated to Prevalis from the territory that is today East Germany. Since those tribes formed a state early in history, they also began to create a particular Dukljan tradition, which not only inspired but also shaped the Dukljan-Zeta-Raska clashes over power. Why this is so, and whether it would be better if it were not so,--these are funny questions, if all nations are regarded as equal and equally worthy, which they are. If, however, we are disappointed with the Montenegrin origins of the Montenegrins, that means that the Montenegrins are a mass of lower worthiness. On the other hand, the euphoria about higher worthiness leads to racism. To a Dinaric race, to an Aryan race. "Dixi et salvi animam meam."

Together with Dr Branko Pavicevic, Dr Slobodan Tomovic reviewed Kulisic's book, which was published by the Pobjeda Publishing House of Titograd, in 1980.

In the debate, Dr Tomovic offered a paper based completely on principle. He called first of all for "positions based on Marxist classics on national questions, including Tito and Kardelj. He said:

"Personally, I think that ethnogenesis is not really essential for proving national identity. We know that the Montenegrins have their sociohistorical, culturohistorical and political identity, independent of ethnogenesis. It is not, however, proper to limit scholarly research to that which appeals to us, or does not please us, naturally, to the extent that it does not serve anti-constitutional excesses."

The subject of scholarship can be everything that is of interest for the consciousness and cultural level of a people, and that can include ethnogenesis. The clear polarization of viewpoints that was heard at this meeting was, in Dr Tomovic's opinion, a proof of its inspiration: "As one of the reviewers of this study, I recommended it for publication for the reason above."

The opposite, critical position regarding Kulisic's book was held by a number of historians who participated in the debate at the Marxist Center. Academician Branislav Durdev said, word for word:

"In our Yugoslav community, the Montenegrins are a separate people, a separate Yugoslav nation. In the Yugoslav community, Montenegro has its own special interests that coincide with those of the Yugoslav community, its peoples and nationalities. No one involved in serious scholarship would deny that. It is also clear that that Montenegrin uniqueness did not originate yesterday, it has its deeper historical root, and was not created forcibly by the communists, as some socially limited people here assert. Yet it is not necessary to reshape history in order to explain Montenegrin uniqueness scientifically. It is particularly tasteless and poor to refer to Marxism in doing such a task."

Dr Dimo Vujovic feels that the work of comrade Kulisic does not deserve the attention it is receiving, but the reactions to his work are worth attention.

Dr Vujovic asserts: "The Montenegrins have always felt like and expressed themselves to be part of the Serbian ethnic group.

Dr Ratislav Petrovic centered his presentation, entitled "Voluntarism and Arbitrariness," on the thesis: "The book 'On the Ethnogensis of the Montenegrins' is an arbitrary walk through history. It is a good example of historiography that wants things that are impossible, that wants to prove ethnogenesis at any cost." To demonstrate his thesis, he cites article 92 of Prince Danilo's ZAKONIK (Law Code):

"And if in this country there is no other nationality but Serbian and no other faith than eastern Orthodoxy, yet every man of another nationality and another faith can live freely and enjoy our domestic liberty like every Montengrin and "Brdjanin" (highlander), who lives here and enjoys it."

Censored Njegos

In fact, Dr Petrovic was one of those who showed the manner in which Spiro Kulisic made use of historical documents. In their opinion, that manner is not just unscholarly; it amounts to falsification.

On the same topic, several other participants in the debate at the Marxist Center spoke in a similar manner. Dr Mirko Barjaktarovic said:

"By language (and particularly on the basis of diction), which is often taken as one of the leading and indicative ethnic features and determinants, and on the basis of popular beliefs and general views on life and the world, as well as their self-image and self-expression, the Montenegrins are fundamentally Serbs. It is inaccurate, unscholarly, and even ridiculous to avoid saying this. But they are Serbs who, because of certain exaggerated historical and particularly geographic, economic and other circumstances and conditions, assimilated from without and also created themselves a certain regional quality and distinction. In most recent times, those circumstances have developed in such a way that today the Montenegrins not only can, but want to demonstrate their particular identity. It is their right, earned in struggle, and our Yugoslav democratic and human resolution to enable and permit everyone to affirm his identity as he wishes and feels he should. Thus as an ethnologist, I can assert that the inhabitants of Montenegro are ethnically and historically Serbs, but that now in a legal, political and national sense, they are Montenegrin. The facts can be studied, but they cannot be passed over in silence, and even less can they be changed, for we cannot after all change the past."

Dr Dragoljub Petrovic considers that Montenegro must pay attention to its own cultural heritage. Yet in fixing their boundaries, the Montenegrins dare not lose sight of many sensitive details of cultural and political history. Dr Petrovic said: "In the opposite case, every other scholarly discipline will risk finding itself in the same position as we recently saw blossoming in Kosovo. That 'scholarship,' which its creators declare to be Marxist, includes for example assertions that the ancient relics of Byzantine culture are Alban-

ian, that the entire onomastic material of the Decani monastery is again Albanian, that there never was a Serbian migration, and that there was never any other people living in Kosovo but the Albanians. Following that analogy, can we say that there never was a Serbian people living in the boundaries of today's Montenegro, and are the onomastic remains found around Montenegro, which are identical to those at Decani, Albanian, Montenegrin or Serbian? Should we add to that the farce of judging Njegos, Ljubisa and Marko Miljanov before the constitutional court, or the assertion that the lexeme kokot places the Miroslav Gospel among monuments of Montenegrin cultural history, or the assertion that the beginnings of that culture can be traced to some bishop's bones from the ninth century, or the assertion that the fabulous treasures of Mount Athos belong exclusively to the Greek cultural heritage, or the assertion that Porfirogenet and Njegos 'were not thinking historically' when they mentioned Serbs. All of these things would prove beyond a doubt only one thing, that no discipline, regardless of its nature, could survive the amount of shame that linguistic and historical investigations in Montenegro have endured in the last 10-15 years. Kulisic's book, which brought us together for this discussion, has also foundered on that reef."

The present writer has already expressed his opinion on the book, but at this time I can add that it is a much greater failure than a bad book can deserve. It has not provided a single serious fact that would illuminate the problem of Montenegrin ethnogenesis. This assertion has been demonstrated by all the reviews that have appeared of the book, both the positive and the negative ones.

The debate on the history of Montenegro is taking place on Montenegrin soil.

Dr Milija Stanisic makes the comment above, and continues that the cultural climate in Montenegro is not good if Montenegrin scholars cannot publish their viewpoints in Montenegrin publications, but rather must publish them in Belgrade, Novi Sad or elsewhere.

The appearance o Kulisic's book surprised Dr Branko Kovacevic:

"I am simply amazed as to where individuals get the boldness, even if they have learned titles, to write openly in praise of that edition, without any qualifications for a scholarly analysis of its assertions. What is more, for some this book offers an occasion to proffer some other notions about much later events, which can also be criticized with no less justification. I am surprised how they can do this, and how it can be here in Yugoslavia that such obviously idealistic viewpoints (not only in the case of presentations on moral categories of Montenegrins) can cover their statements numerous times with references to the dialectic and historical materialism, and Marxist teaching about the world and life in general.

Dr Novak Raznatovic also spoke of conscious silence or distortion of historical fact. He entitled his presentation "Tendentious Manipulation of the Sources." It concluded with the following words:

"It is well known that, beginning with the end of the 18th century, the liberation struggle of the Montenegrins and the Brdjanins (highlanders) intensified.

That battle was waged under the banner of their own, Serbian national idea, concerning which there are numerous written documents. When today that evidence is consciously ignored, with obvious intentions to exclude the Serbian component from Montenegrin history, that in our opinion directly hampers work on a scientific Marxist estimation of the origins of the modern Montenegrin nation."

Probably the saddest fact coming out of this debate relates to Njgos. The author of "The Mountain Wreath" considered himself to be a Serb. Yet where he explicitly says that in his poetry, he has now been censored in some of the latest editions of his works. Those places have simply been erased!

Strategic Definitions

There are several instances in Europe where two nations have been made from one. Consider the Austrians and the Germans. Dr Milija Stanisic says that Kulisic's book subscribes to the idea that "naturally ethnic uniqueness is decisive for the formation of the Montenegrin nation. However, the modern theory of the nation does not absolutize the role of the ethnic determinant in the formation of national individuality. It points to many examples of European lands (such as the Scandinavians and Germans) and of African lands today where certain peoples, subsequent to special historical and cultural development, have formed seaprate nations. (There is nothing unusual in that. Dr Mirko Barjaktarovic presented the following example: "The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina are ethnically and by origin Serbs and Craots, yet today they are a separate people.")

Dr Stanisic concluded his presentation with the following words:

"From the beginning, the Montenegrin communists have been conscious that the borders between national affirmation and nationalism are contiguous. Therefore, in strategic definitions and in daily battle, they held firmly to the principle that, first, national ideas always form an alliance with class goals, and second, one must struggle with equal vigilance against Montenegrin separatism and against Great Serbian centralism. Dedicated to internationalism, they resolutely supported the strengthening of Yugoslav community cohesion. These definitions and positions have successfully been put into practice. That needs to be our permanent guide."

The president of the Montenegrin republic presidium, Veljko Milatovic, thinks that at least part of this discussion has at least a part of "that traditional Montenegrin mentality (perhaps that is why we are Montenegrins) on a tribal basis, not to say pig-headedness. By that I do not want by any means to bring doubt about the need for the most critical examination of the theses and assertions made by Kulisic and others. Rather, we must do so on a scholarly level and with scholarly argumentation. The discussion must be conducted in scholarly institutions and publications, and the themes of discussion should not be politicized, forced into discussion through the daily press, so that every scholarly or semischolarly theme becomes a matter of ideology."

Next to speak was Vukasin Micunovic. Flattered by the invitation to join the debate with such a group of scholars, he had read Kulisic's book and drawn his opinion. He said:

"If it had not been for the invitation, honestly, I would not have read the book. I hope this will not be interpreted as my attitude toward the authors, but rather, as an indication of how limited my interest for the ancient origin of the Montenegrins is."

"Perhaps as a practical politician I have neglected the importance of ethnogenesis. I must say that I am an adherent of the thesis of comrade Bakario, which he stated once when speaking of the brotherhood of the Yugoslav peoples. In my free interpretation, he said that we were not united by our Slavic heritage, but by our revolution's goals."

The current division among historians and other scholars concerning ethnogenesis calls for debates, public addresses, and dialogue, in the view of Vukasin Micunovic.

At least at the ends of their presentations, most participants in this debate reminded their audience that it is "politically wise to stress those common features, things that are worthwhile, that unite us, and not to emphasize those things in which we differ in details, which separate us from one another. In general, the basic outlines of ethnogenesis of not only the Yugoslav peoples, but of the Balkan peoples as well, offer more to connect and join us than to separate us.

That was the conclusion of Dr Mirko Barjaktarovic.

Factors of Closeness

Milija Komatina looks upon this entire story from a similar perspective. He asks: "Why was it necessary to make such a commotion about a single book? Certainly, neither the book nor its author are in question. If it were a matter of giving a work the attention it deserves, then we would all be obliged to make our contribution. Here, however, the desire is to defend something that is more important than anyone and than any book, to defend a nation! And since that is the topic, then all means seem justified,—including the idea of preventing a dialogue about this book.

The conviction of Montenegrins that they are of the same or of common origins with the Serbs is a fact that we all know, with the help of scholarship and without its help. Now the question is how we should react to that fact.

"First, I would say that it seems to me that neither good nor evil can be seen in that fact by itself. The Montenegrin nation neither gains nor loses because of it.

"Yet if we talk about international relations and about factors that bring our people together, then the conviction that our two peoples are close and related, along with their common origin, can be taken only as another desirable circumstance."

Milija Komatina's presentation was the last authorized text in the journal PRAKSA. Among its last words were these:

"We are not building national socialism, but a society based on socialist self-management. The measure of development for that society is found in the measure of its opportunities for overall, free development of each individual and each nation, and of the community as a whole. But if we are Marxists, and if our own experience teaches us anything, we must realize that social freedoms do not come from national freedom as such. Rather, the exact opposite is true: the real process of freeing labor, the working class and the worker brings about the freedom of nations. Considering our society's historical determinants and its contemporary reality, that process can take place here only in the unity of republic and province, national, and total Yugoslav values. In a community so perceived, no one should be expected or asked to consider general, common interests above his own national ones, nor should he see his national interests as less than the progress of the country as a whole, rather than as the progress of his narrow republic or province national group."

12131
CSO: 2800/228

NOVEL ON PRISON CAMP FOR 1948 PRO-STALINISTS PUBLISHED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1620, 17 Jan 82 pp 35-36

[Article by Milo Gligorijevic: "Time for TREN II"]

[Text] They had to use the largest lecture hall in the Economics Department at Nis to fit in everyone who wanted to hear a reading of new prose by Antonije Isakovic and Sveta Lukic last Thursday.

And there was little doubt that the people who came to the first public reading of excerpts from Isakovic's novel TREN II (the novel will be published in February) already knew something about its history. They knew that it had been first turned down by Belgrade's Prosveti, that it could have been published by the Paris publishing house Galimar or any number of other large publishers, but that the author chose to wait to have it published here. They also knew that the novel, which deals with Goli Island, had to have more than 20 revisions. And finally they knew that in spite of a few objections, the new version of the novel was accepted by Prosveti.

Everyone did not know that nothing essential had been changed, that the descriptions of tortue remained, so it was inevitable that the author would be questioned as to how much material had actually been modified or deleted for publication.

Professor Vukasin Kostic, a poet who heads the Little Literary Club, remarked that Isakovic and Lukic must be described as being somewhat unconventional. He went on to say that they have already produced some important work, so there would appear to be little need to describe them in great detail to an audience who must already know all they need to know for the occasion.

A Conversation Which Does Not Lead to Reconciliation

The reading began with Isakovic. The author read a passage which was a conversation between a father and his son, who is named Vrsic. The father is an old man, the patriarch of the family, and a priest. The son is a scholar, an intellectual, but now a broken man. He has returned from Goli Island.

The father asks his son to tell him whether or not he was guilty. "How?" asks the son. "You tell me." And when the father learns that his son spent time in prison as an innocent man, he pronounces the verdict. "You got what you deserved. First

of all, you betrayed me, your father." And he tells the son that he feels no pity for him even though he came home a sick and disgusting man, who had been beaten like a stray dog, who had lost his teeth and become old and unfit for a woman. He asks, "What can you do now? You might as well have stayed there, at least we would have the memory of what you were."

The audience is silent. Isakovic reads the son's defense, and the father's reply.

"We wanted to change..." The reply: "To change. They changed you from an innocent man. None of you knew what was right for your class in society. You were a part of this country. Mother Russia. Go to hell with your new 'mother'."

The son assures his father that he did not talk like that. The father then asks him why else would they have put him on the island? The son's terse response, "A mistake." And the father's sad comment to this, "I am aware of the mistakes you all made."

Meanwhile, we write down every word of the conversation. Now the father speaks: "You think that people are good. It's much easier, simpler, for a man to be evil. Just as you worked to destroy your own homeland when you should have been working to build it. Evil does not require much time or effort, any little crack will let it in. I am a priest, I have heard my share of screaming, when someone is dying, getting married, giving birth. The priest is the confidant to life. How many people have I confessed in my life, I've heard them right before they died--the things they have told me. There are good people in this world, ready to sacrifice. But not many. There are many more evil people, with their false causes. And they are the ones who win out, who say how things are to be done."

"We wanted to stop all that," the son replies. "You wanted to," says the father. "You put an end to something. You caused some blood to flow. I'm warning you, you're no example for anybody. By all indications you're just an unfortunate schoolboy. That's what you've always been, in another world, it's no different here. Nothing will ever become of you. You might as well become a beggar. But you can't even do that, you have suffered for nothing. Who pulled you out of the toilet? You know, you smell like human waste."

There can be no reconciliation between father and son. And the hero of the novel walks out of his family's house, penniless, but he later finds a wad of bills in his pocket that his mother secretly put there. This is the end of the reading.

People and Mirrors

After the reading, the audience is free to ask questions or make comments. A professor from the University of Nis says, "What you are doing is not easy, because you chose a contemporary theme. Ivo Andric would never have won the Nobel Prize if he had used contemporary themes." The professor asked whether a certain amount of time had to pass before the events which occurred on Goli Island could be described. Isakovic said that this was true for two reasons, the importance of the subject and the sensitivity of society.

"You know, one can much more readily talk about people who have no power. Tonight we have here many students and professors. Much more can be said, with much less hassle, about the former, because they have no power. It's like this in many cases,

everywhere, with power. Everyone who has power in order to serve some entity, to serve God, the working class, socialism, is very suseptible. Even the troublemaker. Both the individual and society stand before a mirror, they need to stand before a mirror to find out about themselves. What sort of mirrors are there? Different ones. Certainly literature is one..."

Someone asks anohter question. The person wants to know if Isakovic thinks that books which deal with taboo themes are of greater importance than those which deal with eternal themes. Love is an eternal theme, he says, also betrayal, fear.

"Fear, for example, has always been inherent in man. Only a madman has no fear. When a man loses his fear he has lost his ability to live. That's why people will still read books which deal with fear written 500, 1,000 years ago. Taboos which are put on some of today's themes must be abolished. The veneer must be stripped off and the inaccessible made accessible. This is the way to become free."

But, says Isakovic, there will never be enough freedom. It is never completely won. Man will never be able to finish the job while he is on earth.

Isakovic is asked another question - why did he edit the first version of the book? Why did he add parts to it, and what did he add?

"Recently, I told a newspaper that my book originally had 230 pages and that it now had 280. Nothing has been toned down. Nobody tried to make me tone anything down. I was told that TREN II was lacking in historical context, that the break which took place between communist ideologies in 1948 and other events which led to Goli Island should be given more attention. I added a diary, the diary of an investigator, or I should say, a large part of the diary. And it is now much easier to see the story from the other side. This was done out of my literary and aesthetic convictions and not out of compromise.

A Discussion Concerning the Value of Temporal Distance

Isakovic then began to explain that a writer approaching the process of writing is powerful, and the work impotent. Then, as the work progresses, the work becomes more powerful, and the writer, in comparison, becomes weaker and less important. The book must be gone over and altered until all the writer's power has been transferred to it.

Sveta Lukic, one of the 20 or so readers of Isakovic's manuscript, said: "It's apparent that a book which has gone through the censors has a very good chance of losing its acuity in the new version. But I can assure you that this has not happened. TREN II did not lose its accuracy, nor its sharp edge."

Lukic turned his thoughts to himself. "When I was young I did not think that any sort of time interval was necessary in order to deal with certain themes. I took them on head-on without hesitation, but I soon became aware of a major problem: in the absence of historical studies, overall evaluations, and the like, literature is taken as the primary source of information about an event."

One member of the audience did not agree with Lukic. He said, "Your friend Andzej Vajda did not need this time interval to write COVEK OD GVOZDJA!"

Apparently, this curious listener would have gladly asked a question or two to Andzej Vajda through Sveta Lukic, but Lukic said that he had called the Vajda home recently with no response. It would appear that Vajda has been out of town.

For his reading, Lukic took an excerpt from a book he wrote some time ago entitled SVE ISPOCETKA. It also deals with a returnee from Goli Island, an engineer, who converses in a seemingly calm and direct manner with the supervisor of the factory from which he was taken out 5 years ago. The engineer will come to realize that younger research workers have taken his invention and improved it, made it more acceptable and much more profitable. He sees that the time lost is gone forever, and without malice he decides to go off into the country to help the young men.

Failure of Reactionary Forces

After the reading, the conversation continued with Isakovic taking on an optimistic tone. "I knew that there would be some problems with my book. It says much more about the Stalinistic behavior which took place in our country than about our conflict with the Soviet Union. But I was convinced that it would first appear in our country. I believed that it would really take place faster now than would have been the case in the past.

But this delay is understandable. Our society is not without blame, there are conservative and reactionary forces, disagreements and conflicts. Conservatives, reactionaries try to suppress the truth, to obliterate it. Fortunately, this cannot be done. At first the public didn't even know I had written TREN II, then they began to learn something of it, and now, 4 years later, they know everything...One day when we have all passed on, someone will explain this and instances like it, all the hesitation, all the barriers which have been put up, and those who created them."

We in the audience took this to be a message to the young that were present that they might not become the ones who put up barriers in the future.

Isakovic was asked how he wrote the book. How could he write about Goli Island when he had never been there?

"I had a few talks with some people who had been there. They were, every one of them, quite reserved; it was difficult to find out anything from them. I learned the most in a couple of conversations, each lasting 2 hours, with one man. After this I was able to capture the atmosphere of the place and come up with the situations, the characters, and the plot. I gave the completed manuscript to readers and former inmates and investigators. They told me that I wrote as if I had been there. They indicated to me some things I had come up with and talked about; this actually happened, and that happened, even what I had thought up myself."

The conversation now started to wander. One member of the audience had not forgotten that Sveta Lukic himself had been named a member of the isolated generation. This generation was young during the war, and occupied important jobs, for which they were considered young, for quite some time after the war. Now they are becoming old for these same jobs. Their fate was discussed for a time by those present. Antonije Isakovic stated that his generation had also felt set apart. Lukic was a boy during the war. Isakovic became an adult during the war, but had served and was stationed at Ruda.

9548
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BRIEFS

CHILD MORTALITY IN KOSOVO--In 1980 about 4,200 children under 15 years of age died in the Province of Kosovo, or almost one-half of all deaths in the province; most of these, 36 percent, were under one year of age and death was linked to the prenatal health of the mother. The second largest cause of child mortality, 33.8 percent, is respiratory illness, followed by infectious disease, 18 percent, and premature birth, 11 percent. [Excerpt] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 11 Feb 82 p 10]

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17 March 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1989

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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BASIC TRAINING SECTION AT AIR FORCES COLLEGE DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 1, 1982 (signed to press 12 Nov 81) pp 5-7

[MT Introduces' feature article by 'author collective': "Franz Mehring Officer College of the Air Forces/Air Defense Command (LSK/LV), Basic Training Section"; Col G. Schimmelpfennig, CO]

[Text] As part of the overall schooling system for LSK/LV officers, the basic training section has been assigned the job of instructing the officer candidates of all the training divisions of the 'Franz Mehring' officers college in fundamental mathematic-scientific and engineering principles and foreign languages as well as to provide training in military sports and general military subjects.

In 14 different subjects, the officer candidates are given instruction by experienced military and college teaching personnel providing them with a wide range of knowledge and capabilities. Attitudes and conduct are worked on and communist ways of doing things are taught.

Their well-balanced and coordinated sociological, military, military-technical and general basic training helps the officer candidates attain the type of personal qualities necessary to act as commanders of combat teams and to be familiar with and successful in modern combat equipment, command and maintenance techniques.

The dynamic development of the socialist military establishment—and in particular the effect of scientific-technical progress on arms and military equipment is of far-reaching significance for the training of officer candidates. New trends in science and technology are calling for the introduction of more modern or totally new combat equipment at ever shorter intervals. In many instances, this also calls for the introduction of new organizational structures as well as the adoption of new tactical concepts by the service branches and m w combat equipment.

The officer of the eighties and nineties must therefore be highly adaptable in meeting constantly changing requirements. As in other areas of our society, it is no longer possible today to obtain anything like a finished education by completing a course of study at an officers' college.

The requirements of military practice make it incumbent upon every officer to continue his learning process. That is why it is becoming increasingly important for officer candidates at the officers schools to familiarize themselves with the scientific working methods they will need in order to acquire the know-how that will enable them independently to find optimum solutions to the military problems they will encounter in their further career.

This continuing college education is characterized as follows in the resolution of the Politburo of the SED central committee dated 18 March 1980:

"Based on the specific requirements of the different courses of studies, there is a need to review and systematize the relationship between theoretical basic training, theoretical methodology and instruction in special disciplines."*

The instructors of the basic training section concentrate their efforts on providing the officer candidates from the very start with a universally valid, generally applicable, interdisciplinary basic education that will hold up for a certain length of time. At the same time, the officer candidates are familiarized with methods of acquiring information on their own and with doing scientific research. In addition to providing the officer candidates with wide-ranging know-how in a variety of scientific fields, it is imperative to instruct as to how to view everything they learn—even their life as a whole—from a military standpoint and to think and act along military lines.

With great care and a high level of personal commitment, the instructors of our section try to help every officer candidate make the transition from civilian life and his prior pearning experience to intensive study as practiced under the unaccustomed conditions of military life.

Experience has shown that the commencement of studies at the officers college constitutes a rather complicated stage in the personality development of the officer candidates, since military life requires and in some instances forces them to adopt different habits and different ways of acting and thinking. At this early stage, the officer candidate has the beautiful experience of growing into a military collective. He learns how to take charge of himself and to exercise discipline over himself physically and psychologically; he acquires the necessary toughness; he helps others and accepts help himself and shares in the pride of the collective of having achieved something that was first thought impossible.

The diversified social work done in the party, the FDJ and ASV organizations thus—in the truest sense of the word—turns into the school out of which young communists emerge. The most important requirement for meeting these

* NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, B edition, 20 Mar 1980, p 3

many tests successfully is enthusiasm for an officer's career which is primarily based on political motives. In addition to providing the officer candidates with factual information, the instructors of the basic training section are particularly called upon to develop and/or strengthen the political motivations for choosing a military career; to teach military habits and military ways of acting and thinking from the first day on, and to provide study methods and instruction in logical thinking. The successful completion of this program has a major bearing on how the officer candidate will do from then on and on what the basic attitude of the future officer will be. This particular problem is resolved in close cooperation with the training divisions.

The officer candidates of the basic training section receive instruction in the following military and military-technical fields which prepare them for the execution of military assignments:

Mathematical and Engineering Basic Training

Scientific-technical progress in the military has led to constantly increasing use of electronics, electrical engineering and automation technology in guidance and weapons systems as well as in LSK/LV maintenance techniques. To assure optimum use of equipment and to service and maintain it, the officer must have extensive theoretical experience—which he obtains in his basic mathematical and engineering training—so as to acquire the solid practical capabilities he needs.

All subsequent training in engineering and military-technical subjects is based on the sound mathematical grounding the officer candidates receive. Beyond this, mathematics are being employed in military practice increasingly as for example in gathering and processing military data; in the decision-making process of military commanders, and in computer-supported, automated combat systems. This circumstances is taken into account by providing instruction in mathematics.

In addition to a generalized basic program, special subjects are taught based on the needs of particular branches of service. The basic program calls for a solid command of mathematics corresponding to that needed to obtain a secondary school diploma. In mathematics, the officer candidates encounter new types of instruction for the first time such as lectures, study and exercise programs. Under the guidance of experienced instructors, they are also provided with an understanding of the basic principles of scientific research and efficient, independent study.

Automatic control relates basic training to military-technical instruction. In analog and digital automatic control, officer candidates are introduced to the basic principles of technical cybernetics and of automation and information theory. Analog and digital functional units, automated control systems, circuits of basic logical wiring, the building and use of microprocessors and

process control computers are studied, using the equipment itself. Laboratory instruction also includes work on military-technical circuitry. In this way, the officer candidates obtain the knowledge and skills necessary for an understanding of the structure, effectiveness and operational performance of the automatic control mechanisms of the weapons systems concerned.

In electrical engineering, the officer candidates are introduced to the important basic principles they need for their subsequent training as well as for their actual assignments lateron. A basic course teaches them about direct and alternating current, about electric and magnetic fields and about the behavior of electric circuits in switching operations. Concepts, laws and calculating methods are taught and reinforced in wide-ranging exercises. These skills are then applied in subject areas relating to the different tracks: the transmission properties of selected basic circuits, transformers, electric machines, rotary switches and power supply. In their laboratory courses, the officer candidates expand on their theoretical knowledge and acquire skills particularly by working with measuring instruments.

The subject of intelligence systems also functions as a link between basic training and equipment training as it deals with the fundamentals of electronics up to and including their practical application in the LSK/LV. The subject matter includes sine wave and pulse generators ranging from the fundamentals all the way to basic circuits. In high-frequency metrology, the officer candidates acquire skills they must have in order to service and maintain their equipment. Uniform teaching aids facilitate the learning process. The officer candidates gain practical experience in laboratory work and metrological exercises on the equipment itself.

General Military Training

In general military training, the officer candidates are instructed in the laws of armed combat and general modern combat as well as in the aptitudes of a commander. What they have learned in theory and what they have acquired in the way of practical experience enable them to lead their combat team in battle as troop commanders and both to organize and supervise the general military training of their subordinates. Instruction includes training in tactics, firing of infantry weapons, in driving cars, trucks and tanks, in engineer and first aid work and in military topography.

In tactics, the officer candidates receive training in the fundamentals of armed combat, particularly in defensive combat. They are trained to command small units in the battle formation of the LSK/LV forces as well as to organize and conduct ground defense operations. In the firing with infantry weapons course, the fundamentals of ballistics are taught and the officer candidates are familiarized with tactical-technical specifications as well as the operational principles and the employment of modern infantry weapons.

Practical training includes instruction on how infantry weapons are used properly, how they are serviced and how to direct accurate fire.

The automotive training course includes fundamentals of legal and military regulations in operational situations as well as service and maintenance of automotive equipment in use in the LSK/LV.

Officers of the LSK/LV must also have a solid background in the armored vehicle, the engineer and the first aid field. Every officer candidate must be able to organize and execute protective measures against enemy weapons of mass destruction; the construction of emplacements and trenches as well as obstacles; the detection and removal of enemy mines; self-help and mutual help in case of various injuries, and the recovery and removal of the injured.

In military topography, the students acquire the skills enabling them to make a topographical analysis of terrain, to execute combat assignments and to work with military-topographical maps.

To ensure successful joint operations with the socialist armies united under the Warsaw Pact, the Russian command language is of major importance. A sure command of the language as well as its efficient and accurate use have a distinct bearing on the successful progress and completion of joint operations. The term command language, however, does not simply reflect the sum total of commands, orders, messages, etc necessary to organize and conduct operations. It goes beyond that to include all verbal communications that are of significance for the preparation, organization, execution and maintenance of combat operations,for rear echelon services and for relationships within the alliance.

The Russian language course takes this fact into account and is directed toward three ends: After completing the course, the officer candidates have a broad, ready-to-use, general foundation in the language which enables them to organize and maintain alliance relationships and personal contacts with members of the Red Army and those of other fraternal armies.

The officer candidates have a command of the military foreign language that is sufficient to enable them to make use of the findings of Soviet military science both in their subsequent training and once they have reached the first or second officer's rank.

They have a sound understanding of the Russian command language in the narrower sense which enables them to handle combat assignments in direct cooperation situations.

Upon completion of the course, the officer candidates are given an examination qualifying them as linguists in the NVA at grade 1 a.

Military Physical Education

The officer candidates' military physical education has the aim of developing physical and psychological fitness and the readiness to fulfill all demands placed upon them by modern combat. The primary thrust of the program is to develop socialist commander personalities distinguished by high moral, mental and physical standards.

In training, such qualities as strength, stamina and speed are developed, as well as military sports skills such as going through the assault course, engaging in close combat, throwing hand grenades, swimming and flight training. Upon completion of the cycle, the officer candidates possess the methodological basis they need to organise and operate physical training programs for their future subordinates and receive a certificate qualifying them as mass sports trainers belonging to the army sports organization, "Vorwaerts."

To maintain and operate this wide range of training programs, our section has extensive, modern training facilities at its disposal. The praxis-oriented mathematical and engineering basic training is given in special facilities, laboratories and classrooms.

For general military training purposes, we have a firing range, a training area and a test area for incendiary devices available. Several audio-visual language labs afford the officer candidates an opportunity to practice listening to and understanding messages, combat commands and other military information and to act as speakers themselves. There are many inside and open-air facilities for physical education purposes, including an intensive training room and an indoor swimming pool.

The high level of efficiency and the scientific-pedagogical qualifications of the teaching staff as well as the basic training section's syllabus developed on the basis of the most recent findings offer a guarantee for the fact that we will discharge the duties asked of us by the party and army leadership. It will always be our aim to provide to the future LSK/LV officers with the kind of communist and general education they need in order to protect our socialist fatherland in the eighties and nineties.

9478
CSO: 2300/168

MILITARY ACTIVITIES DURING CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 28 Dec 81 p 6

[Text] At Their Posts as Usual. In Air Force Units. In Naval Patrols and Ports. Thieves of Packages for Children Apprehended. Recognition for Best Soldiers.

At every workplace and military post nationwide, soldiers of the Polish People's Army are carrying out the order to save the country, protecting the highest national values.

This duty is especially hard and difficult, for the soldiers are away from their own garrisons and homes. It is mainly owing to them and the militia, working together, that the Christmas season was calm and peaceful and that order and safety prevail in our towns and villages.

In Air Force Units

Like soldiers of other branches of the armed forces, many air force soldiers spent the Christmas holidays away from their own garrisons and families. They performed round-the-clock duties at appointed posts, carrying out the military order with a sense of patriotic responsibility. Together with soldiers from the other branches of the armed forces and from different military districts, joined by the militia and the citizens' guard, they protected public peace and order, allowing for a safe and efficient operation of all state enterprises open at the time.

Air force soldiers patrolled city streets and housing complexes, bridges and viaducts, factories, train stations and many other places. When Christmas tree lights went on, pilots, engineers and mechanics were on duty at the airports. Emergency services operated as usual, guards worked their shifts and radio engineers were standing by.

On Christmas Eve, no military unit forgot its soldiers. Every post, no matter how remote, was reached by representatives of commanding staffs, party committees and youth organizations, who wished the soldiers Merry Christmas and thanked them cordially for their outstanding performance of difficult and responsible tasks and for their devoted, soldierly vigilance. Everyone on

duty during the holidays received a symbolic gift from his colleagues, the ORW [Association of Military Families] and other organizations and associations. There were also numerous invitations to the traditional Christmas Eve dinner at private homes. The soldiers expressed their heartfelt thanks but had to decline the invitations, for army regulations do not permit such visits.

Holiday addresses by commanding officers recognized the soldiers' efforts to stabilize the situation in the country. On the basis of those addresses, many career and conscripted soldiers, officer cadets and students in military academies were promoted to a higher military rank or received awards, honorary titles and badges. In an air communications unit, special recognition went to Maj Stanislaw Slawek, Capt Andrzej Lapinski, 2nd Lt Andrzej Milasszewski, Cpl Henryk Chmielewski, Cpl Ryszard Okoniewski, Private 1st Class Miroslaw Tomczyk and Master Sgt Roman Matusiak.

In Olesnica, special recognition went to 2nd Lt Pawel Perla, 2nd Lt Marian Kruszona, Cadet Sgt Grzegorz Dziurzynski, Cadet Sgt Edward Kaminski, Cadet Sr Cpl Krzysztof Kosicki, Private Andrzej Lisisek and others. In an air combat unit, the bronze badge of oustanding commander was earned, for example, by Cpl Marek Krakowiak; promotions were granted to Cpl Marek Kruzel and Private 1st Class Henryk Podkowiak; Maj Ryszard Niedzwiecki, Warrant Officer Zbigeiew Dobry, Staff Master Sgt Mieczyslaw Bebenek and others received awards. According to an old and beautiful tradition, commanding officers and fellow soldiers visited those soldiers who have been hospitalized. Those soldiers also received holiday gifts and best wishes for a quick recovery.

Special events were scheduled everywhere for those soldiers off duty during the holidays. Air force garrisons had numerous entertainment and cultural events planned for the soldiers, including Christmas Eve celebrations with squad commanders and representatives of party committees. In a communications unit of the WL [People's Army], the events were organized by various squads together with a SEP [Association of Polish Electrical Engineers] unit and the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] board. In an air combat and reconnaissance unit of the air force, soldiers, their families and civilian personnel were treated to a selection of feature films. The same unit also had meetings with representatives of the Union of Former Commissioned Officers, who reminisced about past Christmas Eves, while the ORW board organized a holiday meeting with soldiers serving as security guards in housing complexes.

In the Baltic Region

Throughout the holidays, all naval and coastal units of the navy were on constant duty. During martial law, crews of surveillance ships assigned to port duty, naval pilots and technical services of the air force, and the coast guard carried out their tasks with increased vigilance and a sense of full responsibility.

During the holidays, the difficult and responsible duties were carried out night and day by the crew of a hydrographic ship Baltyk and many other ships guarding the Baltic coastline. On duty tour were such combat and rescue ships as KTR-426, KTR-432, H-19 and R-36. On Christmas Eve, the crew of a modern rescue ship Lech was performing its tasks until late at night.

While navy crews performed their surveillance duty on the Baltic under difficult winter weather conditions or remained combat-ready on the coast, patrol ships under the Polish flag spared no effort to protect Poland's coastline.

Among units on combat duty was patrol ship 321. Last year this unit won the first prize in a training competition for navy patrol ships. Under martial law, the success of the 321 was engineered by Capt Jan Hazubski, Staff Petty Officer 2nd Class Ryszard Malinowski, Senior Petty Officer 3rd Class Andrzej Krokwa and others.

The most difficult and demanding tasks were assigned during the holidays to the representatives of a narrow group of finalists in a competition for the best navy patrol ship. On duty were the winner of the competition and the first runner-up, patrol ship 316. Naval Ensign (engineer) Miroslaw Kursa, Naval Ensign (engineer) Ignacy Wajs, Chief Petty Officer Jerzy Rutkiewicz, Petty Officer 3rd Class Jozef Roslon and Sr Seaman Tomasz Ratajski were among those who carried out their tasks, well aware of their tremendous responsibility and importance in protecting the country's coastline.

Among those who made our holiday celebrations safe and peaceful was also the crew of patrol ship 314: Naval Chief Warrant Officer Tadeusz Wojcik, Petty Officer 3rd Class Andrzej Dutkiewicz, Sr Seaman Jan Zielinski and many others.

Those on combat duty and on duty tours along the coastline and those on other navy assignment did not feel lonely although they did not join their families for the traditional Christmas Eve dinner. With them were thoughts of their families, friends and Polish society at large, which appreciates their difficult and responsible service to protect our frontiers as well as order and peace.

In a nice gesture, women members of the ORW visited many sailors on Christmas Eve, presenting them with small gifts. Approximately 120 women from the ORW sat down to traditional Christmas Eve dinner with sailors and thus created for them a family atmosphere. For example, Zofia Dutkowska visited the meritorious hydrographic ship Kopernik. Brygida Mucha was a guest of the crew of the destroyer Blyskawica and chairwoman of the ORW Navy Board, Krystyna Gniadecka, spent Christmas Eve with sailors at the garrison command in Gdynia.

There were many nice initiatives by civilians to show their appreciation for sailors assigned during the holidays to patrol duty in city streets in the Baltic region. For example, Mr and Mrs Troszynski approached Petty Officer 2nd Class Andrzej Waclawek, Seaman Roman Musial and Seaman Marek Sznajd, who were patrolling the streets of Swinoujscie, and presented them with a gift accompanied by a card with season's greetings and heartfelt thanks for their devoted service.

On 26 December, the navy assistant commander in charge of political affairs, Rear Adm Ludwik Dutkowski visited a communications unit and sailors undergoing treatment in a navy hospital.

True Soldiers and Citizens

During the entire holidays, soldiers of transportation units were constantly patrolling and checking roads and railroads throughout the country. They protected train stations, bridges, viaducts, engineering structures, and marshaling yards. On Christmas Eve officers from unit headquarters joined soldiers at their field outposts in a communal supper.

In Malaszewicze, during the three days of the holiday, Officer Tadeusz Bojczewski's soldiers were helping in unloading Soviet freight. They were spontaneously joined by other soldiers from nearby army camps for road and railroad troops, including Officer Henryk Buterlewicz's squad. During the holidays, soldiers helped in unloading meat, many thousands of tons of cereals and rice as well as other food stuffs.

During the holidays, people in many regions of the country were very warm and cordial toward the road and railroad troops. The soldiers were invited to homes and presented with gifts. They also received season's greetings at their posts. Such expressions of appreciation for soldiers were especially numerous in Gdansk, Kolo and Konin.

Following Private Grzegorz Kucinski's initiative, his colleagues donated their army-sent holiday packages to a state foster home in Tczew. At Sr Private Stanislaw Cwiklinski's appeal, his camp colleagues donated their packages to a shelter for small children in Gdynia, while railroad troops from the Silesian Military District donated their Christmas packages to a foster home in Opole.

In Bydgoszcz, while on duty at a local train station, an army railroad patrol headed by Cadet Sgr Janusz Ustaszewski of the SPR [Reserve Officer Cadet School] apprehended seven thieves. The thieves were caught while stealing packages, sent for Polish children by the people of the GDR, from side-tracked train cars. Soldiers instrumental in apprehending the perpetrators of that particularly repulsive crime included Sr Private Tadeusz Olczak, Sr Private Wieslaw Umerle, Private Krzysztof Szyrytonowicz and Private Marek Fudala. The stolen goods were recovered and secured; the thieves were turned over to the militia.

Cadet Officers

Cadet officers and their instructors from the Marian Buczek Higher Officer School for Staff Personnel spent the Christmas holidays at many important posts. Cadet officers from Capt Stanislaw Szypica's squad were on patrol duty during one of the Christmas days. For their outstanding service, the patrol leader, Warrant Officer Bogulsaw Chwala, and the leader of one of the guard sections, Capt Jaroslaw Wilkos, deserve special mention.

Many cultural events were organized for those who remained in the school. The events were supervised by Maj Wladyslaw Deptula; Capt Wlodzimierz Malicki; the assistant squad commander, 2nd Lt Waldemar Goldyn; and others.

As scheduled, 4th-year officer cadets have continued their training outside the school. The officer cadets gain necessary experience under difficult conditions during martial law.

Recognition for Best Soldiers

To the soldiers of the Silesian Military District, the past holidays were essentially no different from the latter part of December 1981. But martial law imposed several new tasks and responsibilities on the army. While Polish families enjoyed a holiday atmosphere, soldiers were carrying out difficult and important tasks during the holidays, patrolling city streets and housing complexes, guarding important state structures and performing their duties at various posts.

Among those on duty on Christmas Eve were Cpl Ryszard Zdzieblik (in his 3rd year of service) and his colleague, Sr Private Wieslaw Kuznicki from an anti-aircraft unit.

"When I was patrolling the streets," says Cpl Ryszard Zdzieblik, "I was not cold although the temperatures were around minus 5 degrees Celsius. The streets were perfectly calm. Christmas tree lights were on in people's homes. Through half-open drapes I could see families sitting down to the traditional supper. My thoughts were with my family."

On the morning of 25 December, there was a holiday call in Cpl Zdzieblik's unit. The commanding officer presented outstanding soldiers with bronze medals of merit "For Poland's Defense," issued by the minister of defense. Sr Private Stanislaw Szczypek, a driver, was among the recipients of the medal. Badges for "Meritorious Service for the Silesian Military District" were granted to Cpl Ryszard Zdzieblik, Sr Private Teodor Kaminski, Sr Private Miroslaw Burchard, Sr Private Marek Golaczynski and others.

The same day a soldiers' delegation from an anti-aircraft unit visited children in a foster home sponsored by the unit. Maj Tadeusz Gasior, Master Sgt Marek Kizmy and Private Andrzej Nowak presented the children, including Dorota Strzelec, with a package of gifts and sweets.

9852
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DOBROCZYNSKI-STEFANOWICZ BOOK ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS REVIEWED

Warsaw SPAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 6, Jun 1981 pp 134-137

[Review by Franciszek Golembski of book "Stosunki Wschod-Zachod. Struktura, tresc, mechanizmy" [East-West Relations. Structure, Substance, Mechanisms] by Michael Dobroczynski and Janusz Stefanowicz, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw, 1980, 276 pages]

[Text] With respect to the changes that have taken place on a global scale since the end of World War II, particular attention should be paid to the East-West dividing line in the construction of an international relations model. It has become the primary category for attempts to explain the essence of international relations and to define the directions of their development. Numerous works whose principal area of research is East-West relations have appeared in the political literature. Even specialized academic institutions have appeared, which concentrate their activity on the subject of international relations. They have begun to utilize the special method of explaining and interpreting particular processes existing within the political, economic, military, cultural and ideological spheres from the point of view of East-West relations. This expression has found a permanent place in the language of journalism, in the daily press, periodicals and in radio and television commentaries.

A situation has developed which has led to excessive absolutizing of the meaning of East-West relations with respect to the whole international problem. Moreover, many meanings have begun to be given to this category by which it is supplemented with discretionary content yielding attitudes and authors' views (frequently diametrically opposed), which thus obscures proper proportions in the evaluation of international relations and creates the danger of trivializing the latter. There has also emerged the unfortunate phenomenon of further simplification and banalization of the concept of East-West relations.

The authors of this work have carried out an appropriate option by deciding to take on the more ambitious task of a comprehensive look at the problem of East-West relations. In doing this, they had to realize that the overall formulation of the East-West problem stands as a natural barrier that impedes furnishing in full an adequate response to a wide range of questions, connected with it especially since there can be no fully satisfactory responses to many

of those questions, because they concern events in statu nascendi. Despite these natural limits, it should be recognized that the authors were successful in finding their own modus vivendi, which is confirmed by the composition of the work and the contentions contained therein.

The point of departure for the authors' considerations is the structure of East-West relations, and thus the overall formulation has as a goal the definition of what they are and what are their determining factors, both internally and externally. The authors' endeavor to show that East-West relations are a complex aggregate and not a simple sum of actions by states finding themselves on either side of the line dividing them. A general formulation of this type allows one to avoid the fundamental danger, i.e., the above-mentioned tendency to simplify intersystemic relations. The concepts of East and West encompass, in the authors' understanding, complex structures whose functioning depends on various conditions, and which differentiate the socialist states comprising the concept of the East from the second element, the capitalist states encompassed by the West. Within the dynamic dormulation dealing with the actions of these two groups of states in the international arena, the division's structural character becomes evident. This is why the problem of mutual relations has such an essential meaning in this case. M. Dobroczynski and J. Stefanowicz write the following: "The policy of mutual relations of states comprising the aggregates of East and West is an imminent part of their general and foreign policy--an unusually important part which since the beginning of the two systems' existence has been at the center of attention of both sides and the entire contemporary world." (page 7)

This is why with respect to understanding the essence of these relations, the right of existence has here only an integral approach. The authors justifiably observe the following: "The characteristic trait of East-West relations is that policy--independent of the concrete nature of its actions in particular spheres and independent of specific actions or advancements, be they in the spheres of trade cooperation, cultural cooperation or scientific cooperation--can ultimately function only when the far-reaching inter-dependence among all goals, directions, spheres and ways of action is taken into consideration." (page 26)

Paying attention to the particular components of East-West relations, the attempt to respond to the question about the functioning of the mechanisms of interdependence serves as an explanation of the general principles governing these relations. A reading of the work's first chapter ("The Shape of East-West Relations") gives the reader an idea of the scale of complexity and difficulty of a univocal interpretation of all the elements comprising the aggregate known as East-West relations, and of comprehending it as a whole.

The authors' further course of reasoning proceeds in the direction of a more detailed development of the theses contained in the introductory chapter. The authors' concentrate on four particular problems which constitute an integral part of East-West relations.

A certain surprise can come from the fact that the authors begin by analyzing the connections between policy and ideology in East-West relations. Further reading dispels these doubts. The authors write: "The aggregate formulation of both sides of East-West relations within the area of ideology is no less justified than in the political or economic sphere. The capitalist world and the socialist world create a distinctively defined and rather highly uniform ideological space, and participants from each of the communities conduct--both collectively and individually--a policy based upon ideological expansion (offensive) and strengthening their own 'ideological security' (offensive)." (page 56) In both a convincing and in depth manner, the authors' analyze every condition and ethical area existing in East-West relations, where ideological elements are manifest. They are understood as one of the fundamental determinants of separateness in the axiological sphere in connection with particular areas of social life. The work shows clearly that from an entire reading through of the ideological sphere's complexity and subtlety, it is possible to understand the mechanisms guiding intersystemic relations. This is why the authors took up this subject at the beginning.

The next two chapters of the work are a logical development of general theses with regard to two particularly important areas of East-West relations. The first of these is the policy of security, while the second is the policy of cooperation. The authors justifiably accept the capacious concept of security, going beyond the military issue sensu stricto (although this aspect also is broadly represented), and showing the entire group of factors comprising the security structure. Security itself is dealt with in a dynamic manner. "Security is not only made relative by its subjects, but is is also a relative state in itself. Moreover, it is not useful to define the optimal conditions of security as constant, because they change in the internal and external structure. This is why there is no day in a state's existence when it can stop being actively concerned about its security, be it present or future." (page 106)

With regard to the structure of East-West relations in political and other categories, security signifies the only possible positive variant. Withdrawal from it must lead to catastrophe. On the other hand, the policy of cooperation is a logical consequence of the declaration, by states with different political systems, in favor of the principle of security in intersystemic relations; it is its natural substance. Cooperation, as the authors emphasize, is set in this case in the structure of intersystemic relations, and as such it remains their function. This means that it is not possible to express it in mechanical categories, but rather in dialectical ones. The authors indicate the variety of its forms, scope and plane. Economic cooperation is discussed in even greater detail and treated as an area having specific characteristics and meaning for partners participating therein. The authors write the following: "Within the economic sphere, the difference in the level of development of individual states' economic organisms, creative structures, export profiles or import needs versus the difference in current consumption structures or tendencies leading to responsible consumtion models in the future is so distinct that the economic policy of individual European countries or non-European countries in their relations with states of a different system takes on characteristics of a highly idiosyneratic nature." (page 171)

The work closes with a chapter dedicated to a particularly essential and interesting problem that is rarely discussed in the literature on the subject. Generally stated, it deals with an attempt to define the possible limits--of conflict on the one hand, and of cooperation on the other--in intersystemic relations. It also deals with showing the instrumentation used by both sides in planning and realizing policy. The authors' attempt to present, in a dialectical formulation, the entire panorama of intersystemic relations. This is a formulation that focuses on the dynamic aspect of these relations and shows them in development. The authors point out all the elements that, in their conception, interact in the process of development of intersystemic relations and which compose in effect their structure.

The reader receives in essence an interesting, well written effort that forces reflection on revising current ideas. The authors' attempt to shake many stereotypes that burden the environment of journalists and scholars. An additional value of the work is its language, free of the mannerism of creating neologisms based on foreign language concepts, primarily Anglo-Saxon ones, which is offen used in our publications. The authors have avoided citations, referring readers instead to the appropriate items (here there is an emphasis on Polish literature, which is also a positive element). This has allowed the authors to present their own theses, opinions and analyses. Some of these views provoke critical or polemical reflection, but this raises the work's value as an authentically authored one, not still another item typically authored by contributors, of which, unfortunately, there is no lack in our political literature. An additional positive attribute of the work is that it has appeared during a period in which analysis of East-West takes on an increasingly greater timeliness.

9807
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TEACHERS CHARTER EXAMINED IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Feb 82 p 2

[Article by Jerzy Krasniewski: "The Contemporary School--Teachers Charter Becomes Effective"]

[Text] I do not know of another statute on the subject of education that would have absorbed as much deputy [Sejm] time and effort, as many interested institutions, ministries and not to say deep emotions expressed by broad groups of teachers. Perhaps no other professional group argued with such passion over practically every detail of the document defining its status and place in society.

The preceding statute on education passed in 1972 satisfied no one and consequently was never fully effective. In short, the government and ministries never issued all the (necessary) executory acts; in the meantime, there were growing disproportions between the educational community's working conditions and life. Hence there were reasons the Ninth Party Congress resolution could state that teachers living conditions had deteriorated in the 1970's, and that in connection with that the social problems involved should be resolved on an overall basis and reflected in a new form of Teachers Charter.

In the atmosphere of reform proposals advanced by the Polish Teachers Union (ZNP), it demanded the making of pay and social services decisions which would serve as a strong starting point for raising the prestige of the teaching profession. Participants of the Ninth PZPR Congress recognized the proposals as just, something that was expressed in the program resolution and gave satisfaction to those who are aware of the great significance of education for society and national prospects, as well as the role of teachers in education.

As some people rightly consider, the charter is the crowning point, as it were, of months of effort by all of the country's interested political and social forces to provide better status for teachers. First of all, it is necessary to be aware that the resolution approved by the Sejm in January is the first link on the road to the further development of education whose rate had been clearly restricted in the 1970's. The preamble and one of the concluding articles states that the charter clears the way for further legal efforts to shape the national system of education.

It is a fact unprecedented in Polish legislation that the prospective general resolution betokens the definition of a system of social education organizations at all levels of management, as well as the system and activity scope of the self-governing body in education.

Undoubtedly the charter is a most important element because no matter what the future educational system might be, its effective functioning is in large measure dependent on the teacher: his individuality, teaching competence, feeling of responsibility for and toward the student, for his fate and future, dedication to his profession and pride in his accomplishment.

Actually, concern for the full development of one's own and the student's individuality led to the specification of educator responsibilities in Chapter 2 of the new statute. Teachers became responsible for training and bringing up of children and youth to cherish their country, to respect the socialist state's constitution, in a spirit of humanism, tolerance and freedom of conscience, social justice and respect for work. Teachers are also to have concern for the shaping of the student's moral and citizenship attitudes consistent with the concept of democracy, peace and friendship among nations.

Autonomy in practical teaching was as definitely guaranteed as it was for the first time in the form of official subordination only to charter regulations, and the right to the free utilization of such methods of teaching and upbringing as the teacher selects from among those recognized by modern educational sciences.

Let us add that the new regulations also cover persons employed in schools not administered by the state. The Sejm expressed its attitude here toward the differentiation of our society.

These legacies are accompanied by a legal definition of the working conditions of teachers' unions and their participation in the implementation of the statute's regulations.

However, teacher obligations take on full expression only against the background of stabilization prospects in the profession outlined in the charter and incentives for the most talented young people to choose this profession upon completion of higher studies. First of all we note the dam erected by the statute against the generations-long "forking off" of salaries in Poland unfavorable to teachers. By September 1983, the average salary will be increased to the average paid engineering-technical workers in industry. At the same time, the rules for comparing salaries will be specified. Also anticipated is an annual revaluation of earnings based on general principles. Pensions and annuities will be similarly recalculated together with salary increases for working teachers.

The statute also confirms that teachers will finally be given similar social and living condition rights (though many years later than other professional groups). Among them are allowances for full terms of service, service under difficult and harmful conditions, as well as for additional jobs which frequently result in having the school workweek exceed more than 50 hours.

Retirement awards and an institution award fund will be introduced, as will social (also for retirees) and building funds.

Along with pension benefits, an allowance has been included for clandestine teaching, and for those who prior to September 1939 taught in Polish in the former Third German Reich area or the former Free City of Gdansk.

The years-long efforts of the ZNP to establish material incentives for teachers in villages and towns of up to 5,000 residents were crowned with success. The outflow of teachers from those communities brought about our now having 25,000 school graduates (working as teachers) who have had no teacher training. In addition to other benefits, since September, teachers working in villages and small towns were granted a separate supplement of 10 percent of their basic salary. Those who undertake this work for the first time receive additional help in the form of a bank credit. The amount will be specified by the government.

In order to fulfill its expected role, the charter must be supplemented with executory orders, resolutions and directives in whose preparation interested ministries as well as the government will participate. The legislative process will take place with the participation of Sejm committees, and after martial law is lifted, teacher labor unions will also participate. The Sejm now guarantees that all of the statute's regulations which are not in conflict with martial law decrees will be implemented without the sluggishness observed in the 1970's.

Against the background of the previous 10-year-old charter, the new Teachers Charter brings distinct progress. One should be aware that with time it will result in the improvement of this profession's social position, its attractiveness and the personal satisfaction associated with its pursuit by educators.

Experience teaches that in modern education the teacher can be a source of crisis but that progress also depends on him. The attitude and activities of educators are linked directly to social changes and exert a real influence on the fates of individuals and through them, entire groups and society. A good teacher will always have allies and manage to cooperate with them. That is why investment in a socialist school cadre is an essential and best long-range investment. The charter is an inseparable part of that investment.

10433
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AMENDED LAW ON ORGANIZATION, OPERATION OF STATE SOCIALIST UNITS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I Nos 11-12, 27 Jan 82 pp 1-35

[Republication of Law No 5/1978 Regarding the Organization and Management of State Socialist Units and Their Operation on the Basis of Worker Self-Management and Economic-Financial Self-Administration; republished on the basis on Article III in Law No 24 of 23 December 1981, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I, No 114 of 29 December 1981, renumbering the chapters and articles. Law No 5/1978 was published in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I, No 56 of 12 July 1978]

[Text] Carrying out the Program to create a multilaterally developed socialist society and advance Romania towards communism requires the continuing improvement of the forms and methods of organizing and managing society and of having the participation of the broad masses of workers in the adoption of decisions at all levels of the state and social affairs.

Corresponding to the multilateral development of the national economy and to all economic and social affairs, the Romanian Communist Party has consistently worked to create an encompassing system of collective leadership organs, to use certain forms of participation involving all the workers in the management and administration of units, to apply the latest advances of science to organization and management and to raise the management of socialist units to a qualitatively higher level.

On the basis of the broad program of measures established by the Romanian Communist Party, the participation of the working class and all the categories of workers, regardless of their nationality, is ensured in the leadership activities in the economic, political and social fields and in the unending improvement of the activities of the collective leadership organs and all the central and local state organs.

The measures approved to raise worker self-management to a higher level and to strengthen economic-financial self-administration ensure the growth of the role of workers collectives in the management of all economic and social affairs and bring the economic-financial mechanism into agreement with the democratic organizational framework created to give the economic units and collective leadership organs the economic-financial levers and means for effectively exercising the rights and responsibilities conferred upon them by law and for administering, with maximum efficiency, that portion of the national wealth entrusted to them by society to be administered.

All these measures contribute to the acceleration of the development of production on the basis of modern technology, the continuing improvement of product quality, the achievement of a high level of efficiency and increased profitability and the qualitative improvement of all economic affairs. Thus, conditions are created for increasing the contribution of each enterprise to the general development of our socialist society and, at the same time, for the more direct involvement of the workers' collectives in the fulfillment of plan provisions and in the economic development of each enterprise, which will be reflected in increases in the workers' incomes according to the program established by the party and state for raising the standard of living.

There is especially an increase in the role of planning and financial activities in fulfilling development programs for the production forces at a high rate, as well as the enterprises' and centrals' initiatives and responsibilities in planning and managing their own activities.

The harmonious blending of the autonomy of each enterprise, through a broadening of their authority and attributes, with the unified management of all economic and social affairs on the basis of democratic centralism ensures the full use of the advantages of the socialist system, the acceleration of our country's progress and the development of socialist democracy.

The improvement of the system of organizing and managing the economy is achieved under conditions of concentrating production in large economic units, of categorizing and specializing production units and of using as much as possible and introducing into production the results of scientific research.

As the basic unit of the national economy, the enterprise carries out its activities on the basis of its plan and has the role of administering material and monetary resources with a maximum of efficiency, ensuring the regular and complete fulfillment of tasks established in the plan and the achievement of certain high quality products under conditions of increased economic efficiency.

Planning activities begin with the basic economic and territorial-administrative units. Plans are drawn up on the basis of economic contracts that will provides assurances of supplies and sales. The management of financial activities is carried out on the basis of the budget of incomes and expenditures in the enterprise. The strengthening of economic-financial self-administration requires all enterprises to cover their own production and transportation costs, to obtain profits from which they can ensure their own development, to contribute to the general development of society and to create resources to have worker profit-sharing and to cover the costs needed to satisfy certain social-cultural needs of the workers within the framework of the program to raise the standard of living.

As a large autonomous economic unit, the industrial central is constituted by grouping together certain enterprises and other units according to the criterion of the homogeneity of products or production technologies, of production cooperation, of integrating the production of certain finished products or of territorially locating component units. Through measures to improve economic-social management and planning, increased

opportunities are given to the centrals, as the party responsible for the plan, to develop scientific research and introduce technical progress, to categorize and specialize production, to develop international economic cooperation and foreign trade activities, to efficiently use fixed assets and material and economic resources, to reduce production costs and to increase profitability for overall production and in each subordinate enterprise.

Within the framework of the vast program to improve the qualitative facets of economic activities, the enterprises, industrial centrals and other economic units must concentrate their efforts to raise the technical and qualitative levels of their products, to more rapidly develop the base of domestic raw materials, to rationally administer fuels and energy, to increase labor productivity in a more accentuated manner, to rapidly increase the efficiency of fixed assets, to increase the level of use of raw materials and materials and to reduce production costs in a more accentuated manner.

Beginning with the need to continue to improve socialist production relations and with the workers' position as the owners of the means of production and the producers and consumers of all the material and spiritual goods in society, corresponding to the broadening and raising of socialist democracy to a higher level, the workers have full responsibility for the direct and effective management of each economic unit and for the efficient administration of the goods entrusted to them to be administered, having the duty of continually being concerned for the proper operation of the unit to which they belong. By its very nature, socialist property requires the organic integration of the masses in organizing and managing production, the strengthening of social discipline and responsibility in each citizen in order to fulfill the tasks that are entrusted to him, the direct participation of the workers in making decisions and the workers' exercise of a careful control over the manner in which the adopted decisions are implemented.

The institutionalization of the workers' meetings, the organization of workers' councils in all enterprises and other state socialist units, the granting of increased attributes to all these collective leadership organs, the broadening of their authority and the growth in the percentage of workers and specialists who work directly in production within the workers' councils have created the organizational framework for the effective participation of the working class and all workers in the process of elaborating and adopting decisions and of directly managing the units and all of society, and for the full expression of socialist democracy and the exercise of worker self-management.

The naming of the secretary of the party organization as the president of the workers' council, and the director as the president of the executive bureau, ensure upgrading the role of the workers' councils and increasing the responsibility of the party organization in the proper operation of enterprise activities, as well as more clearly specifiying the attributes and tasks of the executive bureau and the director in implementing the decisions of the general meetings and workers' councils.

By regulating the forms of collective management, an expression of the consistent democracy of our system, in all state socialist units - ministries, other central

state organs, local organs of state administration, economic units and institutions - collective management represents a general principle of the entire institutional framework of our socialist state.

In order to continue to improve production relations, to improve the organization of the workers' councils and the other collective management organs and to broaden the framework for the participation of the working class and all workers in the management of units and in the development of worker self-management, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania adopts this law.

Chapter I

The Organization and Operation of Enterprises

Article 1. - The state enterprise is the basic unit in which economic and social activities are carried out and in which the workers directly exercise, on the basis of the principle of worker self-management, their prerogatives stemming from their position as the owners of the means of production - property of all the people - and the producers and consumers of material goods.

According to the principles of worker democracy, each worker, working within the collective group of a state socialist enterprise, directly participates in the management of the enterprise and the administration of the property entrusted to it. He also has the right and obligation to actively contribute to the improvement of the enterprise's activities and to have a say on all the problems referring to the proper carrying out of all economic and social activities in the unit, and he is committed always to all of society to make every effort to ensure the efficient use and continuing development of public property, to put forth his full abilities and work and creative efforts in the service of general interests and to raise all activities to a qualitatively higher level, a basic condition for the continuing improvement of all the workers' material and spiritual standard of living.

Depending upon its specific nature, the function of the enterprise is the production of goods, the carrying out of projects or servies and the supply and sales of products.

Article 2. - Enterprises are organized and operate on the basis of the principle of worker self-management and economic-financial self-administration. Raising worker self-management to a higher level and strengthening economic-fiancial self-administration ensure the growth in the role of the workers collective in the management of economic and social affairs and increase the responsibility of each person for the exemplary fulfillment of tasks, the administration of those goods entrusted to them for administration with a maximum of efficiency, the development of creative initiatives and the promotion of a combative, revolutionary and intransigent spirit in all activities.

At the same time, the organization of economic activities is based upon the principle of democratic centralism, which organically blends the unified management of the economy with the functional autonomy of each unit. The enterprise carries out its activities according to the laws in effect and on the basis of the plan, which is an integral part of the unified national economic-social development plan, having,

at the same time, broad attributes in the fields of planning, scientific research and technological engineering, design, investments and the supply and sale of products, in the training of personnel, in the organization of production and work, and autonomy in the administration of funds. The enterprise is the party responsible for the plan and answers to the organ to which it is subordinate for the fulfillment of the plan and all technical, economic and financial indicators.

Article 3. - The financial activities of the enterprise are carried out on the basis of the budget of incomes and expenditures. The strengthening of economic-financial self-administration requires the enterprises to cover their production and transportation costs, to obtain profits from which they can repay those funds received from society, to provide for their own development, to contribute to the general development of society and to create the resources for worker profit-sharing, as well as to meet the expenditures necessary to satisfy certain social-cultural needs within the general program of raising the workers standard of living established by the party and state.

The enterprises are required to carry out a profitable activity with increased efficiency and to ensure the workers' participation in the achievement of production and profits and in the distribution of profits.

Enterprises are legal entities, a status which they acquire upon their registry with the Ministry of Finance or, in the case of those with local subordination, with the county or Bucharest municipal financial organs.

The enterprises have their own plans corresponding to the activities that they carry out and as an integral part of the unified national economic-social development plan, they have accounts at banks, benefit from bank credits, have economic, financial and legal relations with other units, use forms of material incentives outlined by law and exercise control over all the activities that they carry out.

Factories, plants, quarries, mines, groups of worksites and other similar units that are not legal entities have economic-financial autonomy within the framework of the enterprises to which they belong, to which end they have their own plans and budgets of incomes and expenditures. Relations with the state budget are conducted through the enterprise to which they belong.

Article 4. - Enterprises of a national interest are established by decree of the Council of State, while enterprises of a local interest are established by decisions of the people's councils. In the decree or decisions creating the enterprise, its name, location and function are established.

The enterprises are directly subordinate to the industrial centrals or units similar to these, the ministries, the other central state organs or the people's councils depending upon the document that established them.

The dissolution of enterprises, their reorganization and the modification of their names, location or function are done by the organs with the authority to create them.

The organization of enterprises is done on the basis of unified structural norms established by law. The organizational structure of the enterprise contains the production and design departments, as well as the operational departments.

Large combines and enterprises can have scientific research and technological engineering sections or centers in their structure that carry out projects to introduce technical progress for the combine or enterprise.

Sections or workshops can be established alongside enterprises for the production of consumer goods and thus completely using raw materials and reuseable materials stemming from the production process.

Similarly, units of a social-cultural nature can also operate alongside enterprises.

Article 5. - Fixed assets and material and financial resources necessary for carrying out the enterprise's activities are created on the basis of the principle of self-financing, under the conditions of the law.

Fixed assets cannot be transferred, mortgaged or used as security and cannot be pursued on the basis of a title or by any other means.

Fixed assets that have become available, are in operation or are being used are transferred, used or taken out of operation, as the case may be, in accordance with the law.

Raw materials, materials, fuels and other such goods that are to be used in the production process can be forwarded upon payment to the degree in which they exceed the needs of the unit that possesses them, under the conditions of law.

Finished products are used on the basis of economic contracts or under other conditions outlined by law.

In order to clear debts, only the monetary resources of the enterprises can be pursued.

Article 6. - Enterprises have direct budgetary relations. They make payments representing allocations for society from the value of net production, taxes on the movement of goods, a portion of profits under the conditions established by law and other incomes owed to the state budget.

For the enterprises in the electrical and thermal energy branch of the economy, payments to the state budget are made through the industrial centrals, and for the postal and telecommunications units they are made through the hierarchically superior organ, in accordance with the law.

Article 7. - Enterprises create for themselves and use, in accordance with the law, the following funds:

a) the economic development fund;

b) the material and financial resources fund;

c) the fund for housing construction and other investments of a social nature;

d) the social actions fund;

e) the workers' profit-sharing fund;

f) the fund for scientific research, technological development and the introduction of technical progress;

g) the worker safety fund;

h) other funds outlined by legal provisions.

Article 8. - The profits made within the framework of the plan are distributed, under the conditions, for the repayment of funds received from society, for the creation of its own funds and for payments to the state budget.

Those profits that are made over and above planned levels are distributed, according to the law, to the enterprise's own fund for economic development, the fund for housing construction and other investments of a social nature, to supplement the workers' profit-sharing fund and for payments to the state budget.

Article 9. - Under the conditions of the law, the enterprises also receive funds assigned to them by their superordinate organ.

Article 10. - In the fields of planning, executing and reviewing the fulfillment of plan tasks, the enteprise has the following main attributes:

A. In the Drawing up and Substantiating of Plan Tasks

a) draws up five year plans and annual plans for all activities, trying to stay within orientational levels and the plan standards received from the central or from the superordinate organ. In drawing up plans, the enterprise ensures:

- the thorough study and understanding of the domestic and foreign markets and the timely contracting of all production so that economic activities will serve the specific needs of the economy;

- the maximum use of the production potential by fully using production facilities; the application of the results of scientific research for the purpose of modernizing production and promoting technical progress; the better use of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy; the improvement of the use of fixed assets and other production assets;

- the rational use of manpower;

- the broadening of the range of production in order to permanently adapt to the requirements of domestic demands and exports;

- the creation of necessary financial resources;

b) draws up, directly or together with the specialized institutes, studies and forecasts regarding the future development of the enterprise;

c) draws up special programs for the better use of resources, the rational use of production facilities, the growth of labor productivity, the reduction of production and transportation costs and the growth of the efficiency of production assets;

d) cooperates with supplier and user units and with local organs, permanently ensuring the correlation of provisions with the tasks of the central or organs to which it is subordinate and with the requirements of the plan throughout the country;

e) establishes tasks for its subunits, sections and workshops and defines the measures necessary to achieve these tasks.

B. In the Execution of the Plan

a) ensures the regular and complete fulfillment of plan indicators and periodically reports to its superordinate organ regarding the manner of achieving these indicators;

b) organizes the documentation on production facilities and takes measures for the optimum use of this documentation;

c) pursues the achievement of special programs for the purpose of efficiently using the resources it has available;

d) takes measures so the plan will be overfulfilled for those products having assured sales domestically and for export;

e) also fulfills other attributes outlined by law in this field.

Article 11. - In the field of research and development, the enterprise has the following main attributes:

A. Scientific Research, Technological Engineering and the Introduction of Technical Progress

a) draws up, together with the specialized research and design institutes, its own five year and annual plans for scientific research, technological engineering and the introduction of technical progress and provides the headstart necessary to achieve these projects; makes proposals for projects in scientific research, design and technological engineering to be included in the unified national economic-social development plan;

b) draws up studies, documentation and designs and conducts research for the achievement of new products, the modernization of existing ones, the development and modernization of equipment and installations, re-equipment and extension of production

facilities, the improvement of production processes, the introduction of new technological methods and procedures, the increase in the degree of using raw materials and materials, the more rapid development of the base of domestic raw materials, the introduction of certain new materials into production and the replacement of scarce materials;

c) applies to production and pursues the results of using scientific studies and research efforts that have been completed and those received from its hierarchically superior organ, as well as those of its specialty and that were achieved in other units;

d) organizes plant research activities and the introduction of technical progress and cooperates with scientific research and technological engineering units, as well as with institutes of higher education, for the achievement of scientific research projects that are contained in the plan; concludes contracts for projects in scientific research, technological development and the introduction of technical progress for the entire period of effort, from the initiation of the project to the introduction of its results into production;

e) draws up preparatory documentation for production and draws up standards for the consumption of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy, as well as norms for the consumption of manpower per product;

f) organizes and ensures the carrying out of activities for inventions and innovations; ensures the registration and protection of technical solutions that can be patented that are achieved within the units and takes measures to experiment with and apply these; elaborates draft standards, technical norms, prospectuses and use instructions for those products that fall within its field of activity;

g) provides technical-scientific information, documentation and propaganda.

h) also fulfills other attributes established by law regarding scientific research, technological engineering, design and the introduction of technical progress.

B. Investments and Construction

a) draws up investment plans and plans for financing and procuring credit for these investment plans;

b) provides on a timely basis, according to law, the technical-economic documentation needed for the planning and achievement of investments;

c) approves, according to law, the technical-economic documentation for investments;

d) concludes contracts for the execution of investment projects, ensures the placement and financing of projects and the achievement of them in accordance with the schedules; organizes the carrying out of projects under its own direction;

e) concludes contracts and completes schedules, in cooperation with suppliers, for the delivery of equipment that is coordinated with the graduated schedules for investments and with the timeframes for the start-up of the facilities; pursues adherence to delivery schedules;

f) ensures the acquisition of its own resources to be used to finance investments;

g) pursues the achievement of investment projects and is responsible for the on-time start-up of new production facilities; approves the acceptance of investments where the technical-economic documentation falls within its approval authority;

h) lists the equipment that was not specified by the hierarchically superior organ and that is to be acquired within the framework of the investment funds listed in the plan;

i) also fulfills other attributes established by law in this field of activity.

C. The Organization of Management, Production and Labor

a) ensures the organization of management and production activities on scientific bases; carries out studies regarding the improvement of the organizational structure, the rationalization of the informational system and the introduction of modern computer methods, the elaboration and improvement of organization and operation regulations, and the establishment of precise attributes and responsibilities for all fields of activity;

b) takes measures for the application of the most modern and efficient methods for organizing, programming, following-up and optimizing production processes and improving work processes, for maintenance, repairs and factory transportation and ensures the extension and spread of these measures;

c) ensures the continuing improvement of the organization and standardization of labor and draws up standards and norms for labor specific to its field of activity; draws up the labor standardization plan and takes measures to implement it; ensures the application of labor standards using scientific substantiations for all categories of personnel;

d) ensures the rational organization of all places of work, as well as the judicious organization of shift work;

e) ensures the application of studies and projects into its own organization and those forwarded by the central or ministry for their extension and generalization;

f) ensures that draft organizational plans will be included in the plans for new investment projects.

Article 12. - In the field of production, the enterprise has the following main attributes:

a) organizes and ensures the fulfillment of the production plan under conditions of increased efficiency;

b) ensures staying within the standardized consumption levels for raw materials, materials, fuels and energy; takes measures for the higher use of raw materials and materials;

c) ensures the regular achievement of production and the scheduling of deliveries in correlation with the contractual timeframes; provides spare parts for the equipment that is produced in the necessary amounts and types;

d) ensures the achievement of cooperative production tasks with other enterprises;

e) establishes measures for the production of superior quality products, organizes technical quality control during the phases of the production process and is responsible for the production and delivery of products at the qualitative parameters listed in state standards, technical norms or other technical documents and concluded contracts;

f) establishes small-scale mechanization projects and ensures their documentation and production;

g) ensures the reduction of specific levels of consumption, the optimization of stocks of material goods, the elimination of uneconomical expenditures in its own activities and the increase of the profitability of its products;

h) ensures the operation, rational use, maintenance, repair and modernization of fixed assets;

i) ensures the optimum loading of production facilities and the intensive use of machinery, equipment and installations; ensures the attainment of projected parameters for new production facilities that are put into operation; takes measures to achieve a superior level of production per 1,000 lei of fixed assets;

j) ensures supplies of fuels, electrical energy, thermal energy, water and other utilities needed by the enterprise; takes measures for the rational use of thermoenergy installations and the modernization of technological processes in large fuel and energy consuming installations; ensures the application of measures to continue to reduce energy consumption and to conserve fuels and energy; completes energy reviews and takes measures for the rational use of energy resources;

k) ensures the application of standards for worker safety and hygiene for the purpose of preventing work accidents and professional illnesses and the application of the norms for preventing and extinguishing fires and the norms for guarding property, as well as other additional measures needed in relation to the specific conditions of the unit; completes the program of projects for worker safety and ensures its fulfillment; ensures the implementation of measures to prevent and combat the pollution of the environment;

l) proposes standards worker safety technology and standards for safety equipment and its use specific to its own activities when these standards are not outlined in national or departmental standards;

m) also fulfills other attributes established by law in this field.

Article 13. - In the commercial field, the enterprise has the following main attributes:

A. Technical-Material Supply

a) draws up and substantiates, in accordance with contracted production and plan tasks, the program for technical-material supply which contains the necesssary amounts from domestic sources and from import and the delivery schedules, with adherence to norms and standards of consumption and stock levels approved for raw materials and materials, fuels and energy, as well as the use of all material resources with a maximum of efficiency;

b) is responsible for providing a material base necessary for the achievement of plan tasks under good conditions; concludes economic contracts for the long-term, on an annual basis and for shorter periods and is responsible for the complete fulfillment of these plans, ensuring the technical-material supply at the time-frames necessary for the regular achievement of production;

c) draws up proposals for stock level standards for raw materials, materials, fuels and spare parts; takes measures to prevent the overstocking of materials and the effective use of available stocks;

d) carries out the acceptance of raw materials, materials, parts, semi-finished goods and sub-assemblies; ensures the storage and conservation of these items under appropriate conditions.

B. Sales

a) concludes economic contracts for the entire 5 year period for the production outlined in the five year plan regarding domestic consumption, in accordance with the destinations in the material balances by product, so that when the plan is approved there will be firm contracts for all of the domestic consumption; similarly, it concludes long-term contracts for its products or production, for periods of time longer than 5 years, on the basis of future guidelines and developmental forecasts and cooperative agreements with other countries, especially for deliveries that are made within the framework of international cooperation actions for machinery, installations and equipment having long production cycles;

b) adapts and details, when necessary, by way of annual plans, the provisions in the contracts concluded for periods of up to 5 years; is responsible for the delivery of products according to the schedules and under the conditions outlined in economic contracts;

c) participates in surveying the domestic market for the purpose of understanding consumer needs; ensures the advertising and presentation of products; participates in expositions, practical demonstrations and fairs in-country and abroad; draws up and disseminates commercial catelogues;

d) exercises its attributes, according to law, as a coordinator of balances;

e) takes measures to introduce into production only those products that have assured sales through contracts or firm orders; at the same time, the production enterprises are required to contract all those products ordered by the consumer units, in accordance with its production capacities and types of products;

f) organizes the follow-up on installations and equipment that it deliveries after they are in use, as well as "service" activities, according to contractual clauses, both in-country and abroad;

g) ensures the solution of complaints referring to the quality and quantity of production, packaging, delivery schedules or other conditions listed in economic contracts;

h) approves the transport plan using its own resources; pursues and is responsible for the appropriate use of its transport resources and takes measures to optimize transportation.

C. Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation

a) draws up and is responsible for the fulfillment of the foreign trade and international economic cooperation plan and the commercial trade in its own activities;

b) takes measures so that at the moment the plan is approved export production and the necessary amounts of imports will be substantiated on the basis os firm contracts, contract-outlines, orders or agreements, which will provide assurances for supplies and sales;

c) works to ensure the necessary amounts of orders and contracts over the longest possible period of time and to enter into relations to cooperate with enterprises and companies in other countries and ensures the effective adaption of production to the demands of foreign markets;

d) is responsible for the appropriate organization of production slated for export and for the achievement and delivery of the goods slated for export, in accordance with the timeframes and contractual clauses; takes measures to introduce those products in production for export that will ensure a higher use of raw materials and to continually update those products slated for export, ensuring, at the same time, a competitive technical and qualitative level and the lowest possible production costs;

e) participates, together with the specialized foreign trade enterprises, in surveying foreign markets and in negociating and concluding firm contracts, contract-outlines, orders or agreements for export production;

f) participates in production cooperation with foreign companies and organizations, directly, if it is authorized to do so, or through the specialized foreign trade enterprises; it can initiate, negotiate and conclude, within the limits of its authority, cooperative actions, including participation in the creation of joint companies;

g) permanently pursues an increase in the financial-hard currency efficiency of foreign trade operations;

h) resolves complaints referring to the quality and quantity of production, packaging, delivery schedules or other conditions outlined in foreign economic contracts;

i) also fulfills other attributes established in laws regarding economic contracts, foreign trade activities, economic cooperation and technical-scientific activities and other legal regulations in this field.

Article 14. - Drawing up and Executing the Budget of Incomes and Expenditures

a) draws up the budget of incomes and expenditures, a basic instrument of financial management and planning and of ensuring a financial balance. In the drawing up and execution of the budget of incomes and expenditures, the enterprises are required to cover their own production and trade expenditures, to make profits from which they can repay the funds received from society, to ensure their own development, to contribute to the general development of society and to create the resources for workers' profit-sharing and for covering the expenditures needed to satisfy certain social-cultural needs;

b) includes in the budget of incomes and expenditures, depending upon the specific nature of the activities:

- incomes, expenditures, financial results regarding production, services, trade and other basic or auxiliary activities; receipts from foreign trade activities;

- the enterprise's own funds listed in Article 7;

- bank loans;

- payments to the state budget;

- other incomes, resources and expenditures;

c) draws up proposals for the credit plan and the financial resources flow plan;

d) carries out studies and analyses for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of fixed assets, to increase monetary accumulation and to accelerate the turnover speed of material and financial resources;

e) establishes the maximum levels for stocks of raw materials, materials, products, goods and other elements of material and financial resources, while adhering to the suggested levels approved by the central or by the ministries and other central or local state organ;

f) takes measures to completely execute the budget of incomes and expenditures, as well as to carry out payments owed to the state budget or the hierarchically superior organ, as the case may be, on-time and in the established amounts;

g) ensures the creation of financial resources to cover production and trade costs, the normal operation of economic activities, the creation of its own funds and the repayment of bank loans, as well as the maintenance of a balance between incomes and expenditures.

B. Other Attributes

a) organizes and exercises the preventative financial review and the basic administrative review of the management of material and monetary resources;

b) organizes and manages accounting, draws up the accounting balance sheets and the report on the main economic-finanical indicators;

c) establishes, with the approval of the consumer, the prices and charges on products and services that fall within its authority, as well as increases and reductions, under the conditions of the law;

d) pursues the status of stocks of material items and takes measures to stay within the maximum levels that have been established;

e) takes inventory of those goods in the unit and takes appropriate measures, in accordance with the law;

f) establishes or proposes, as the case may be, the inclusion, as part of production or trade costs, those shortages of material goods in excess of the legal norms that have been discovered during inventory, in cases where the shortages are not the fault of a natural person, as well as removal of other damages from its administration, under the conditions outlined in legal provisions;

g) also fulfills other attributes established by law in the field of finances, prices, charges, financial review and accounting documentation.

Article 15. - In the field of personnel activities, the enterprise has the following main attributes:

a) organizes professional guidance and the selection, employment in work and promotion of personnel, in accordance with the requirements established for each place of work; provides personnel records; takes measures to apply certain objective criteria for the annual evaluation of workers and for their judicious assignment and use;

b) establishes the necessary number of personnel for the future by skill and specialty;

c) draws up its own plan for obtaining, training and improving the workforce by skill and specialty and takes measures to achieve this; organizes personnel training through qualification courses, professional schools, on-the-job training, masters schools and others on the basis of the training plan and within the limits of the funds allocated by the plan; in cooperation with the institutes of education, it organizes and pursues on-the-job training for students and apprentice training for high school graduates; ensures the timely training of personnel needed for new investment projects;

d) organizes the upgrade training for personnel through on-the-job training, courses organizes in the unit, individual study, practice sessions and other forms of training that are carried out within or outside of the unit;

e) provides the material base for school units, equipment for laboratories, workshops and places of work so students can practice their skills, as well as the necessary specialized cadre;

f) ensures the application of the legal provisions regarding the payment of salary based on the quantity and quality of work performed and applies the forms of material incentives for the workers as established by law that will ensure the best possible correlation between salary and the results obtained;

g) takes measures to organize activities to protect state secrets;

h) takes measures to improve work conditions and to prevent work accidents and vocational illnesses, as well as to rationally use the workforce; ensures adherence to work discipline and the full use of time at work;

i) ensures the carrying out of its tasks, in accordance with the law, to establish canteens, child care centers, kindergartens and social groups, to create housing and to resolve problems of medical care, housing space and the material base for cultural-sport actions;

j) ensures the filling out of a retirement folder for workers in the enterprise, as well as the correct documentation of all the data needed to establish a pension;

k) ensures taking all the measures necessary to re-educate through work those persons who have committed deviations and violations from the norms of social behavior and the country's laws;

l) also fulfills other attributes established by law regarding the employment and promotion of personnel, training, payment of salaries, upgrade training of personnel and other regulations in this area.

Article 16. - Enterprises subordinate to centrals exercise fully the attributes in the area of production, as well as the attributes corresponding to the other fields that are not justified from an economic point of view to be achieved in a centralized manner. Attributes regarding scientific research and technological engineering, investments and training and upgrade training for personnel are normally exercised in a centralized manner for the enterprises by the central to which they are subordinate.

Enterprises in the sectors of trade and services exercise the attributes contained in Chapter I of this law, as adapted to the specific nature of their activity.

Chapter II

The Organization and Operation of Centrals

Article 17. - The central is an autonomous economic unit for production, construction, trade, transportation and other services. The central contains subordinate enterprises and component units such as: factories, plants, forestry units, groups of construction-assembly worksites and construction-assembly worksites, motor pools, sections, workshops, sectors and other such groupings; it can also have in its make-up units for scientific research and technological engineering, design, foreign trade, supply, sales, automated data processing, training and upgrade training for personnel, services or other units needed to carry out their tasks.

The central provides the leadership, guidance and control over the activities of its subordinate enterprises and component units.

The central is normally created on the structure of a large and representative enterprise. The grouping of subordinate enterprises and component units within the framework of the central is primarily done on the basis of the criterion of the homogeneity of products or production technology, cooperation in production, integration of the production of certain finished products or the territorial location of the units that fall within the composition of the central.

Article 18. - Industrial centrals, regional railroad offices, groups of enterprises or other units similar to these and called "centrals" in this law are organized and operate on the principle of economic-financial self-administration.

Article 19. - Centrals are legal entities, a status which they acquire on the date they register with the Ministry of Finance or, in the case of local subordination, with the county and Bucharest municipality financial organs.

The centrals are responsible for the plan - an integral part of the unified national economic-social development plan. They conduct reviews, have bank accounts, benefit from bank loans and have economic, financial and legal relations with other units, as well as with foreign consumers and suppliers.

Article 20. - Centrals are created, reorganized - by merger, absorption, total or partial division - or dissolved by decree of the Council of State.

Centrals are subordinate, as the case may be, to ministries, other central organs of state administration or the county and Bucharest municipality people's councils.

In the document that creates a central, its name, location and function are established.

Article 21. - The fixed assets and material and financial resources needed to carry out a central's activities are created on the basis of the principle of self-financing, under the conditions of the law.

Article 22. - Centrals have direct budgetary relations for their own activities and for investments regarding new economic units and more significant developments to operating units, as well as for other activities outlined by law.

Article 23. - The central has at its disposal and uses, according to law, the following funds:

a) the fund for financing investments at new enterprises, including those for the construction of housing and other investments of a social nature for these enterprises, as well as for the financing of significant developments to subordinate enterprises that are in operation, as distinctly established in the unified national plan. This fund is created from that portion of the amortization of fixed assets taken from the enterprises and other resources outlined by law, as well as from allocations from the state budget;

b) the fund for scientific research, technological development and the introduction of technical progress;

c) the reserve fund for material and financial resources created by taking .5 percent from the material and financial resources fund that is created each year by the subordinate enterprises;

d) the reserve fund, within the framework of the allocated hard currency funds, to satisfy certain urgent requirements for imports;

e) other funds in accordance with legal provisions.

Article 24. - The provisions in Article 7 and Article 8 referring to their own funds, as well as the planned profits and those made above and beyond planned levels, are also appropriately applied to the industrial centrals and units similar to them, both for their own activities and for those of their subordinate enterprises.

Article 25. - The central can give bonuses and other incentives to the workers, under the conditions outlined by law.

Article 26. - Factories, plants, forestry and mining units and other similar units having complex activities and specific production conditions that are located in places and localities other than that of the central or enterprise to which they belong can be organized, in thoroughly justified situations, as units with status of a legal entity, in accordance with the legal norms regarding the organization and operation of enterprises.

The units listed in the previous paragraph are organized by decree of the Council of State, have a director, chief engineer and chief accountant in the management and maintain the departments in their operational structure that were in existence on the date of their organization.

The director, chief engineer and chief accountant will receive salary rates and allowances for management personnel as established by law for the appropriate units that do not have status of legal entity.

Article 27. - In the fields of planning and review of the fulfillment of plan tasks, the central, in its position as the party responsible for the plan, bears the full responsibility for drawing up the plan in its field of activity and for fulfilling the plan tasks for the entire central and for each subordinate unit, and it has the following main attributes:

A. In Drawing Up and Substantiating Plan Tasks

a) draws up its own five year and annual plans on the basis of the proposals from its subordinate enterprises and component units, trying to stay within the suggested levels and plan standards received from the State Planning Committee. In establishing tasks and the means of achieving them, the central will especially pursue:

- the timely conclusion of supply and sales contracts so that, at the time the plan is approved, the plans will be practically completely covered by contracts with domestic consumers and suppliers, while for export and import activities the plans will be based to the greatest degree possible upon firm contracts, contract-outlines, orders or agreements that will provide assurances for supplies and sales;

- the intensive use of the full production potential of the subordinate enterprises and component units;

- the optimum development of production facilities and modernization and development of existing units;

- the specialization and categorizing of production and the establishment of cooperation programs between the units of the central, as well as with other centrals;

- the production of new and redesigned products, the introduction of advanced technologies and the use and spread of the results of its own scientific research and those of other scientific research and technological engineering units;

- the administration of material and monetary funds with a maximum of efficiency, the instillment of a strict system of conservation and the strengthening of plan discipline in all units;

- the efficient use of the workforce in accordance with the standards for improving physical and value labor productivity, trying to stay within the personel standards;

b) draws up, together with the ministries or appropriate central organs, the suggested levels and plan standards and establishes them for each subordinate enterprise; after approval of the unified national economic-social development plan it carries out the plan tasks by subordinate units and establishes measures to fulfill these tasks;

c) draws up special programs by product, group of products, sub-branches, activities or reporting problems and by counties or localities; in these programs, specific ways and means are outlined to ensure the material base and the better use of resources, the rational use of production facilities, the introduction of technical progress, the formation and training of worker personnel, the increase of labor productivity, the reduction of production costs, the growth of the efficiency of production assets and other elements that define the qualitative and quantitative facets of all economic activities;

d) draws up studies and forecasts regarding the future development of the central's activities and for its main products;

e) creates a plan reserve in the salary fund of up to 1.5 percent from the total salary fund approved by the central; for seasonal activities and construction-assembly activities, the reserve can be of up to two percent from the salary fund approved each quarter. Where appropriate, a plan reserve can also be created for the number of personnel;

f) cooperates with the subordinate enterprises, with other centrals, with the coordinating ministries and with local organs in the drawing up and substantiating of plan tasks.

B. In Executing the Plan

a) pursues the regular and full achievement of the plan for the entire central and for each subordinate enterprise; takes measures to improve plan discipline and to effectively resolve problems that appear during the course of carrying out the plan;

b) pursues the implementation and achievement of special programs; takes measures to update these programs in accordance with the additional requirements to increase production and economic efficiency;

c) uses the plan reserve in the salary fund and the number of personnel to resolve certain problems that appear in the subordinate enterprises during the process of carrying out the plan;

d) organizes the documentation on production facilities by central, subordinate enterprises and component units; takes measures to increase the degree of use of these facilities for the purpose of achieving the physical production tasks approved in the plan and of adapting production to the additional requirements of the market for exports and domestic consumption;

e) also fulfills other attributes established by law regarding the planned economic and social development of the country.

Article 28. - In the field of research and development, the central has the following main attributes:

A. Scientific Research, Technological Engineering and the Introduction of Technical Progress

a) draws up, together with the central research institutes, its own five year and annual plans for scientific research, technological development and the introduction of technical progress, providing the necessary headstart for the achievement of these projects that must serve as the basis for the orientation of the central and the enterprises towards the production of new products having a high level of technology and quality that are competitive, from a technical and economic point of view, with similar products on the foreign markets; it makes proposals for projects for scientific research, technological development and the introduction of technical progress so they can be included in the unified national economic-social development plan and it ensures the achievement of the approved plan;

b) draws up, together with the central research institutes, studies and forecasts for the development of the overall central, its subordinate enterprises and component units for the purpose of categorizing and specializing them, of concentrating production and standardizing products and subassemblies; it approves studies regarding the directions of development and the profile of the subordinate enterprises and component units that are drawn up by these institutes;

c) ensures technical-scientific cooperation with units abroad and concludes agreements with them, within the limits of established authority;

d) organizes and directs design activities and takes measures for the use of standard designs, directive and reusable designs;

e) organizes and ensures scientific research and technological engineering activities both for its own needs and for other units and for new products and technological procedures; concludes contracts with specialized units for projects for scientific research, technological development and the introduction of technical progress for the entire period of work, from the time of the start of the projects until the introduction of the results into production; provides, together with the appropriate institutes, technical assistance at new investment projects;

f) draws up comparative studies on offers for complex imports and proposes its options;

g) draws up, or as the case may be, organizes the drawing up of studies for the production of new products within the profile of the central, as well as for the modernization and improvement of the technical-qualitative level of products; takes measures to put new products into production;

h) organizes the drawing up of studies regarding the improvement of technologies, concomitantly with the improvement of working conditions, in order to introduce into production certain new materials that are of higher quality and increased efficiency and to replace scarce or imported materials; ensures the introduction and spread of new technological procedures and procedures of high productivity; takes measures to extend the mechanization and automation of production, the modernization of equipment and installations and the introduction of mechanized and automated computing methods;

i) present proposals to the ministry to acquire licenses;

j) establishes the thematic plan for inventions and innovations; ensures the measures necessary to identify and protect patentable technical solutions that have been achieved in subordinate enterprises and component units; takes measures and ensures experimentation with, implementation of and generalization of inventions and innovations; makes proposals for the patenting and use of inventions abroad;

k) provides technical-scientific data, documentation and propaganda;

l) establishes, together with the central research institutes, measures to develop the material base of its own units for design, scientific research and technological engineering; ensures the experimentation with, approval of and rapid application of the results of scientific research in production;

m) draws up consumption norms and standards that are approved in the unified national plan and the departmental plan for raw materials, materials, fuels and energy; establishes such norms and standards for other raw materials and materials for the purpose of having a technical-economic substantiation for production consumption;

n) also fulfills other attributes established by law in the field of scientific research and technological engineering, design and the introduction of technical progress.

B. Investments and Construction

a) draws up investment plans for the central on the basis of its own studies and the proposals of its subordinate enteprises and component units and institutes; draws up the investment financing and credit plan on the basis of their proposals;

b) ensures, together with the central research institutes, the drawing up of the necessary technical-economic documentation through its own or third-party design organizations for the planning and achievement of investments; tries to ensure that the production of new investment projects will be primarily achieved using in-country raw materials, materials and equipment; makes proposals for the placement of production units keeping in mind the existence of the labor force, the reduction of transportation and the use of the utilities in the region; draws up comparative studies on offers regarding complex imports and makes proposals of its options;

c) approves, in accordance with the law, technical-economic documentation for investments;

d) concludes contracts with construction units to carry out investment projects or can empower its component units to conclude these contracts; organizes, where it is economically justified, the execution of projects using its own resources;

e) establishes, in cooperation with suppliers, schedules for the delivery of equipment and installations, correlating the delivery schedules with the graduated plans for the investment project and the start-up of production facilities;

f) pursues the achievement of the resources needed to finance the investments, to which end it takes measures to create, in accordance with the plan, the funds that are obtain from the profits that it makes and other sources;

g) it distributes the investment funds it has available, while adhering to the directives outlined by law;

h) organizes the acceptance of investment projects; approves the acceptance of investment projects where the technical-economic documentation falls within the area of its approval authority;

i) also fulfills other attributes established by law in the field of investments.

C. The Organization of Management, Production and Labor

a) ensures the organization and carrying out of management activities on scientific bases in the central and the subordinate units; takes measures to apply modern management methods, to develop collective management and to substantiate decisions using electronic computer techniques; ensures the application of the unified norms for structure and the continuing improvement of the informational system in accordance with the attributes and responsibilities of each organizational level, pursuing bringing closer together the decisionmaking authorities and the production process;

b) takes measures to organize production on scientific bases for the purpose of rationally using production facilities, of applying modern forms and methods of production organization and programming in order to optimize production processes and of using rational systems for moving raw materials, materials and products; ensures the application of modern methods for organizing maintenance, repairs, factory transportation, loading and unloading and other indirect production activities;

c) ensures the continuing improvement of the organization and standardization of work, the use of certain adequate forms of a division and cooperation of labor, the rationalization of office work, the rational organization of the work place and the organization of shift work; draws up unified labor norms and standards that are specific to its field of activities, with the approval of the union of trade unions in that branch;

d) draws up, on the basis of the proposals of its subordinate enterprises and component units and its own analyses, the plan for the technical standardization of labor and takes measures to implement it; ensures the implementation of scientifically substantiated labor standards in all activities and for all personnel; reviews the manner of implementing labor standards;

e) follows up on the use of its own studies and those drawn up by its subordinate enterprises and component units by applying, extending and generalizing them; on the basis of these studies, it draws up synthetic calculations regarding the opportunities to increase production, increase labor productivity and achieve profits above planned levels;

f) gives specialized assistance to its subordinate enterprises and component units in problems specific to the organization of management, production and labor;

g) ensures that draft documents on organization will also be included in the drafts for new investments.

Article 29. - In the field of production, the central has the following main attributes:

a) ensures the regular achievement of the production plan by its component units under conditions of improved economic efficiency;

b) draws up documentation for the technological preparation of production for standardized technological processes, as well as production programs for its subordinate enterprises and component units where these activities are carried out in a centralized manner;

c) ensures the continuing reduction of the specific levels of consumption for raw materials, materials, fuels and energy; checks the energy reviews and pursues the application of measures to conserve fuels and energy resulting from these reviews;

d) organizes and pursues the application of modern preparation-programming-start up methods and follow up methods on production for the purpose of rationally using production facilities and manpower;

e) establishes the production cooperation plan for its subordinate enterprises and component units; pursues and takes measures to completely fulfill this plan; ensures cooperation in production with other centrals;

f) organizes and reviews the use, maintenance and repair of equipment and installations and measurement and control devices, and the production of tools, devices and control devices, as well as spare parts for its own equipment; organizes and reviews metrology activities, as well as other auxiliary production or service activities by which it ensures serving its subordinate enterprises and component units; plans capital repairs of fixed assets and ensures maintaining them in an operational status for the entire period of operations;

g) organizes and guides the carrying out of technical quality control activities;

h) establishes measures necessary to prevent work accidents and vocational illnesses, keeping in mind the specific conditions in the units; ensures the application of measures to prevent and extinguish fires, to combat the pollution of the environment and to clean and protect the quality of the water;

i) ensures the full and maximum efficiency use of production facilities and the attainment of projected parameters for new production facilities within the planned timeframes; takes measures to achieve a superior level of production per 1,000 lei of fixed assets;

j) also fulfills other attributes established by law in the field of production, use of fixed assets, product quality and other similar activities.

Article 30. - In the commercial field, the central has the following main attributes:

A. Technical-Material Supply

a) ensures the drawing up of technical-material supply programs that contain the necessary amounts from in-country and imported sources, the suppliers and delivery schedules, with adherence to consumption standards and norms and approved stock levels, and the use of all material resources with a maximum of efficiency; draws up the technical-material supply programs for the enterprises that are not in operation during the period in which the plan is drawn up;

b) ensures the material base needed for the regular carrying out of the production processes in its subordinate units, according to the destinations in the balance

report; helps and pursues its subordinate enterprises' conclusion of technical-material supply contracts for the entire 5 year period, as well as for other timeframes outlined by law; pursues the establishment, normally, of contractual relations with traditional suppliers, while adhering to the indicators for optimizing transportation and the calculations for zoning supplies;

c) contracts with enterprises supplying raw materials, materials, fuels and energy needed to carry out activities at units newly put into operation during the period the plan was being drawn up, as well as for those products whose supplies are provided by the central;

d) ensures the appropriate sizing of stocks, taking measures to establish norms for stock levels of raw materials, materials and fuels; takes measures to prevent the formation of levels of stocks that are above the norms and to eliminate existing overages; approves the norms for stock levels that are within its authority; ensures redistribution between its subordinate enterprises and component units, as well as to other units, for those levels of stocks that are over the norms and those available to be reintroduced into the economic circuit;

e) follows up on the manner in which its subordinate enterprises and component units conclude contracts and achieves technical-material supply for those products left to its authority; resolves pre-contractual litigations between its subordinate enterprises;

f) organizes, as the case may be, its own supply storage areas.

B. Sales

a) ensures contracting for the production established in the five year plan for the entire period of 5 years, in accordance with the destinations in the material balance report, pursuing the conclusion of firm contracts for domestic consumption, as well as firm contracts, contract-outlines or other agreements for those products slated to be exported; concludes sales contracts for production from new units not in operation during the period when the plan was being drawn up;

b) adapts and details, if necessary, the provisions in the contracts concluded for the period of up to 5 years by using annual plans;

c) concludes long-term, periods greater than 5 years, contracts on the basis of guidelines and forecasts for future development in the branches and sub-branches that it coordinates and it concludes cooperative agreements with other countries, especially for deliveries that are made within the framework of international cooperation actions for machinery, installations and equipment that have long production cycles;

d) draws up balance reports for five year and annual plans for products where it is the balance coordinator, with the requirement of ensuring covering the justified amount for the economy, using its own resources, and for the other suppliers, as well as those stemming from imports; cooperates with other centrals and supplier and consumer units and with their hierarchically superior organs in establishing the most

efficient solutions for balancing the material balance report; ensures the judicious sizing of stocks, the keeping of consumption levels within the established norms and standards and the extension of the use of replacement materials and raw materials and materials from in-country sources, taking or proposing measures to intensify the production of these materials; records in the balance report the appropriate plan reserves for the purpose of regularly carrying out the production processes and of achieving plan tasks and uses them in accordance with its authority; ensures the optimum use of transportation for those products for which it is the balance coordinator;

e) establishes the list of products that are contracted and sold by the central and those by its subordinate enterprises; establishes direct relations with consumers to create a portfolio of orders and to determine other elements useful to concluding economic contracts; takes measures to carry out all contracts and orders that correspond to the needs of the national economy, and works to strengthen discipline in contracts, to fully adhere to the obligations assumed by its subordinate units and to accelerate the rate of turnover for material and financial resources, as well as to use material and monetary resources with a maximum of efficiency;

f) draws up, together with the other producers, and disseminates commercial catalogues containing the products produced by its subordinate enterprises and component units, indicating all the elements necessary to establish contractual relations, including those where it has the task of being the balance coordinator; annual revises and improves these catalogues;

g) organizes surveys of the domestic market for the purpose of understanding consumer needs; ensures the advertising of and presentation of products; organizes and, as the case may be, participates in fairs, expositions and practical demonstrations for those products for which it is the coordinator or are produced in its subordinate enterprises and component units; makes albums and prospectii containing the qualitative characteristics and areas of use of its products and takes measures to broadly disseminate them;

h) fills, according to law, the role as the general supplier for deliveries of complex installations;

i) organizes, as the case may be, its own sales storage areas or stores for presenting and selling products in-country and "services," as well as consignment sales;

j) ensures the resolution of complaints referring to quality, quantity, packaging, delivery schedules or other clauses listed in domestic contracts.

C. Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation

a) draws up export, import and international economic cooperation plans on the basis of its own studies and proposals received from its subordinate enterprises; distributes approved plan indicators to its subordinate units;

b) draws up and is responsible for fulfilling the commercial balance report; the foreign trade enterprises are required to ensure, under the conditions of the law, contracting for goods to be exported;

c) ensures contracting for the entire amount of goods slated to be exported;

d) organizes and pursues the production of goods slated to be exported in the production units, in accordance with the timeframes and clauses in the contracts that have been concluded; is responsible for completely fulfilling the central's delivery plan for export goods in the monthly and quarterly levels established and for increasing the financial-hard currency efficiency of foreign trade operations;

e) makes proposals to the hierarchically superior organ for the hard currency funds needed for imports and, after approval, takes measures to use them in strict conformity with the objective needs of its subordinate enterprises and component units; draws up technical records for imports of production and investments and ensures the timely contracting and on-time delivery of imported products coming through the specialized foreign trade enterprises; ensures supplying its subordinate enterprises and component units with imported products;

f) participates, alongside the specialized foreign trade enterprises, in surveying the foreign markets and in negotiating and contracting products;

g) organizes and pursues the improvement of the variety and quality of the products delivered for export;

h) concludes contracts with the Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade in order to obtain loans in hard currency;

i) ensures the resolution of complaints referring to quality, quantity, packaging, delivery schedules and other conditions listed in foreign contracts;

j) the central participates in production cooperation with foreign companies and organizations directly - if it is so authorized - or through foreign trade enterprises; it can initiate, negotiate and conclude, within its authority, cooperative actions, including participation in the creation of joint companies for: the supply of raw materials and other products of great economic importance; the expansion of exports of installations, machinery, equipment and other products having a high degree of processing and competitiveness on the world market; the granting of technical or specialized assistance; the extension, modernization or reuse of certain existing projects; the most rational use of hard currency resources slated for imports; the acceleration of the introduction of certain modern technologies into production, the raising of the technical quality level of production and services and the ensuring of a high level of labor productivity;

k) fills, according to law, the role of the general foreign supplier;

l) also fulfills other attributes established by law in the field of economic contracts and foreign trade and international economic cooperation activities, as well as other regulations in this field.

Article 31. - In the finance and accounting field, the central has the following main attributes:

A. Completing the Budget of Incomes and Expenditures

a) draws up the budget of incomes and expenditures that contains the incomes and expenditures regarding all the activities of the central, as well as the funds that are at its disposal according to Article 23;

b) ensures the mobilization of all the reserves that its subordinate units have, keeping within the suggested levels received from the hierarchically superior organs;

c) establishes suggested levels regarding financial indicators for its subordinate enterprises and component units;

d) draws up proposals for the credit and finance plans and assigns the approved ceilings to its subordinate enterprises and component units;

e) carries out studies and analyses regarding the efficiency of production assets, the evolution of monetary accumulations and the structure of material expenditures, stocks of material goods and other financial indicators;

f) analyzes hard currency plan proposals for services and non-commercial operations received from its subordinate enterprises and component units and draws up a draft hard currency plan for the central;

g) draws up directives for applying financial planning methodologies and formulas in its subordinate enterprises and component units.

B. Executing the Budget of Incomes and Expenditures

a) ensures the fulfillment of the budget of incomes and expenditures for the entire central, its subordinate enterprise and its component units, pursuing the achievement of monetary accumulations and financial obligations to the state, the growth of profitability and the efficient use of material and financial resources, as well as adherence to financial discipline;

b) takes measures to accelerate the turnover speed of material and financial resources by improving technical-material supply, production programs and sales activities; follows the status of stocks of material goods and takes measures to keep its subordinate enterprises and component units within the total level of material and financial resources and to eliminate stock overages and liquidate available stocks, as well as to prevent the creation of such stocks;

c) analyzes the causes that led to exceeding the planned levels of funds and the failure to make on-time repayments of bank loans within its subordinate enterprises and component units and takes measures that will ensure keeping them within the planned amount of funds;

d) checks and centralizes accounting audits and the reports on the monthly main economic-financial indicators in the subordinate enterprises and other component units; completes accounting reports for all the central's activities and forwards them to the appropriate authorities;

e) establishes or proposes, as the case may be, the inclusion in production or trade costs those shortages of material goods above legal norms found during inventories, in cases where the shortages are not the fault of certain natural persons, as well as removal of other damages from its administration, under the conditions of legal provisions;

f) establishes the timeframes for carrying out annual property inventories in its subordinate enterprises; examines and resolves litigations for values below 1,000 lei in cases where the subordinate enterprises are short;

g) organizes the preventative financial review under the conditions of the law, and organizes and carries out the basic administrative review of material and monetary resources in the subordinate enterprises and component units;

h) establishes prices and charges according to legal provisions and authority; reviews and is responsible for the manner of establishing prices and charges, as well as the agreement between the quality of the products and their prices;

i) redistributes available fixed assets to its subordinate enterprises and component units, withint the framework of its granted authority;

j) also fulfills other attributes established by law in the field of finances, prices, charges, financial review and accounting records.

Article 32. - In the field of personnel activities, the central has the following main attributes:

a) organizes the application of certain scientific criteria regarding the selection, training, employment in work and promotion of personnel; is concerned with the timely training of personnel, together with the educational institutes;

b) establishes and ensures the necessary number of personnel for the future by skill and specialty, keeping in mind the specific nature, requirements and development in the sector that is being coordinated;

c) draws up the plan to acquire and train the workforce through qualification courses, either with or without being taken out of work, on-the-job training, high schools, vocational schools, apprenticeships, masters schools and others, on the basis of its own proposals and those received from its subordinate enterprises;

d) draws up the upgrade training plan for personnel according to the rapid development of technical progress and the requirements of the scientific management of production and labor;

e) organizes worker training through qualification courses, on-the-job training, high schools, vocational schools, as well as through masters schools and others, on the basis of a training plan and within the limits of the funds allocated in the plan; organizes and pursues having students practice their skills in production and in apprenticeships for high school graduates, in cooperation with the training institutes; organizes, according to law, upgrade training for personnel in the central and in the problems of management and organization;

f) provides the material base to school units, equipment for laboratories, workshops and places of work so students can practice, as well as the necessary specialized teaching staff;

g) ensures the application of legal provisions regarding the payment of salaries according to the quantiy and quantity of work performed and applies the forms of worker incentives established by law that will ensure the best possible correlation between salaries and the results obtained;

h) takes measures to organize activities to protect state secrets carried out by the workers in the central, its subordinate enterprises and its component units;

i) establishes measures and pursues adherence to work discipline and the full use of work time in all the units of the central;

j) takes measures to improve working conditions and the rational use of the workforce; organizes and pursues the achievement of social actions in the entire central referring to the creation of canteensm child care centers, kindergartens, housing space and the resolution of medical care problems, as well as providing the material base necessary for cultural-sport activities;

k) ensures the filling out of the retirement file for the central's personnel and those in all the component units;

l) ensures taking all the necessary measures to re-educate through work those persons who have committed deviations from and violations of the norms of social behavior and the laws of the country;

m) also fulfills other attributes established by the law regarding the employment and promotion of workers, training, salaries, upgrade training for personnel and other regulations in this field.

Chapter III

The Management of Economic Units

Article 33. - The workers in each socialist state unit bear the responsibility for the administration of the property entrusted to them and for the economic results obtained in the unit. On the basis of the principle of worker self-management and socialist democracy, each worker, in his position as a participant in the administration of national wealth, is responsible to the collective to which he belongs for the fulfillment of his own work tasks and, together with the entire collective, for the proper operation of the general activities in the unit. Similarly, each worker has the right to speak out on all the problems that influence the proper carrying out of activities, to give his opinion on the manner in which the unit's management organs carry out their activities and to make proposals to improve the work in the entire unit.

The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania gives the role of the leading political force in all of society to the Romanian Communist Party. The party organizations in each socialist unit exercise the political leadership of economic and social affairs and pursue and review the fulfillment under good conditions of the tasks that stem from the economic and social development programs.

Article 34. - The management of state socialist units is achieved on the basis of the principle of collective work and management through the direct participation of the workers in the discussion and solution of problems in the unit's economic and social affairs and in the elaboration and carrying out of the measures necessary for the fulfillment of plan tasks and for the improvement of the entire collective's working and living conditions.

The organs through which the collective management of the enterprises, centrals and other socialist units is exercised are: the workers general meetings, the workers' council and the executive bureau of the workers' council.

Section I

The Organization and Operation of the Workers' Council in Enterprises

Article 35. - The workers' council is composed of personnel having responsible jobs in the party and state, specialists with considerable experience and the elected representatives of the workers. In units where workers from the ranks of the co-inhabitating nationalities work, there are also workers belonging to these nationalities in the council. Depending upon the size and complexity of the enterprise, the workers' council is composed of 15 to 35 persons has the following composition:

a) a president, a position to which the secretary of the party organization in the enterprise is named;

b) a first vice president, a position filled by the director of the enterprise;

c) a vice president, a position filled by the president of the trade union committee;

d) a vice president, a position filled by the elected representative of the workers, a worker who works directly in production;

e) a vice president, a position filled by the secretary of the Union of Communist Youth organization;

f) members:

- deputy directors or, as the case may be, the chief engineer and chief accountant;

- the chief of the department of technical quality control;

- the president [female] of the women's commission in the enterprise;

- the chiefs of certain work departments, foremen of the most important shops, sections, worksites and factories, as well as highly qualified specialists and scientists.

The members of the workers' council from the ranks of these personnel are named by the organ to which to enterprise is subordinate on the basis of proposals made by the workers' general meeting; the members of the workers' council from outside the enterprise are named with the approval of the unit leadership to which they belong:

- 7 up to 17 workers' representatives elected every 2 years in the workers' general meetings, from the ranks of workers, masters, technical personnel, economic personnel and other specialties; at least 75 percent of the number of workers' representatives will be workers and masters who work directly in production.

In those enterprises with a large number of women, the president of the women's commission will also be designated in the position of vice president of the workers' council.

The total number of persons in the workers' council, as well as the number of workers' representatives, is established by the workers' general meetings, according to Annex 1 of this law and keeping in mind the volume and complexity of production and territorial spread, as well as other specific factors.

Article 36. - In those enterprises that carry out their activities in a number of counties, the workers' councils have the following composition:

a) a president, a position filled by the director of the enterprise;

b) a vice president, a position filled by the secretary of the party organization in the most representative unit;

c) a vice president, a position filled by one of the deputy directors or the chief engineer of the enterprise when there is no deputy director;

d) members:

- the members of the workers' council listed in Article 35, letter f);

- the president of the trade union committee in the enterprise or the delegate of the trade union committee for those units without their own trade union committee;

- the secretary of the Union of Communist Youth organization in the unit.

In those enterprises that carry out their activities in territorially dispersed units, but within a single county, the composition of the workers' council is that listed in Article 35.

In unusual cases, for some enterprises or institutes that coordinate socialist units having the status of legal entities located in the same county, the ministries, together with the county party organs and with the approval of the Council of Economic-Social Organization, can decide upon the organization of the workers' councils at these units, according to the provisions of paragraph one of this article.

Article 37. - The workers' council in the enterprise has the following attributes:

a) draws up five year and annual plans while adhering to the suggested levels and standards for the plans established by the central; approves the assignment of plan indicators to the component units;

b) carries out, in justified cases and depending upon the requirements for and opportunities for sales, changes in the annual production tasks in quantitative units for the varieties that make up the groups of products that are approved in the unified national plan, with the approval of the consumer and with the condition of adhering to the total annual tasks for these groups of products, as well as the value indicators established in the plan and budget;

c) periodically analyzes and is responsible for the manner of using, maintaining and repairing fixed assets and takes measures for the purpose of ensuring the most rational use of these assets;

d) draws up the budget of incomes and expenditures and approves the accounting audit; analyzes the evolution of monetary accumulations and profitability and the structure of expenditures and stocks of material goods, and takes measures for the use of production assets with a maximum of efficiency;

e) approves the organizational structure on the basis of the unified norms for structure and the standardized structure; approves the regulation on the organization and operation of the workers' council; decides upon the creation and organizational grading of sections, production shops, worksites, groups and other similar units, on the basis of the grading methodology approved by Council of State decree; approves measures for the improvement of the informational system and for the mechanized and automated processing of data;

f) establishes the program to draw up and re-examine the local labor norms and standards, as well as the program of measures to increase labor productivity and submits them for approval to the workers' general meeting;

g) organizes the training, upgrade training, employment and promotion of workers;

h) discusses and speaks out on proposals to nominate new management cadre: the director, deputy technical director and deputy director for production or chief engineer, deputy commercial director, chief accountant and other cadre that hold similar management positions;

i) decides upon the hiring and firing of management personnel in the factories, plants, operations, worksites and other similar units, as well as section and service chiefs;

j) ensures taking all measures to understand and implement laws and party and state decisions; ensures the material conditions and supports activities to raise the level of socialist awareness for the purpose of developing an advanced attitude towards work, protecting and administering public property and giving the workers a civic education;

k) analyzes the fulfillment of the unit's tasks with regards to the sanctioning and re-education through work of those persons who have committed deviations from and violations of the norms of social behavior and the country's laws;

l) draws up, together with the trade union committee, the collective labor contract and submits it for approval to the general meeting; periodically analyzes the fulfillment of the provisions of this contract and the achievement of measures for worker safety and to combat environmental pollution; assigns housing space;

m) analyzes the manner of achieving the measures regarding ensuring working and living conditions for the workers and the improvement of these conditions;

n) ensures the creation and use of the fund for housing construction and other investments of a social nature, to which end:

- it permanently reviews the status of building new housing construction projects;

- it organizes the building of housing at its own direction or contracts such work with specialized enterprises;

- it assigns, together with the trade union organs, housing from its own housing fund and establishes the persons who will receive loans to build their own private houses;

- it organizes the administration of the enterprise's housing fund;

o) approves the creation and use of the fund for social actions; approves the granting of tickets for treatments and rest at reduced prices for those persons who are distinguished with the title of outstanding in socialist competition;

p) approves, together with the trade union committee, the regulations on internal order;

r) designates the members of the executive bureau of the workers' council;

s) periodically analyzes the manner in which the executive bureau of the workers' council carries out its attributes as conferred upon it by law, as well as the decisions approved by the workers' council;

ş) analyzes and presents to the general meeting of the workers the manner in which the economic-financial indicators for the enterprise were fulfilled and establishes measures for the complete achievement of these indicators;

t) fulfills any other attributes outlined by law, as well as the tasks established by the workers' general meeting or by the collective management organs of the unit to which the enterprise is subordinate.

Article 38. - The executive bureau of the workers' council is composed of from 5 to 11 members. The number of members in the executive bureau is approved by the workers' general assembly and the people who serve by the workers' council.

The executive bureau is made up of the director of the enterprise who fills the position of president, the deputy directors or, as the case may be, the chief engineer and chief accountant, as well as other management personnel and specialists within the enterprise named by the workers' council from the ranks of its members.

The secretary of the party organization normally participates in the sessions of the executive bureau.

The president of the trade union committee, the secretary of the Union of Communist Youth organization and the president of the women's commission participate in the discussions on the principal problems regarding the achievement of economic tasks, as well as in those regarding the rights and obligations of the workers.

Article 39. - The executive bureau of the workers' council has the following main attributes:

a) organizes and pursues the fulfillment of plan tasks in the enterprises, sections, shops and other sectors of activity; approves the monthly distribution of the quarterly plan indicators and establishes measures for the full use of production facilities and the rational use of the workforce and time at work;

b) establishes technical and organizational measures and ensures the implementation of them for the purpose of achieving plan tasks, mobilizing all reserves and making better use of the enterprise's economic and technical potential;

c) establishes measures for the timely conclusion of economic contracts and ensures the delivery of products according to the schedules listed in contracts;

d) establishes measures for getting supplies of necessary raw materials and materials prior to the start up of the production process;

e) analyzes and takes measures for the regular fulfillment of the export-import plan, the adherence to the delivery schedules and other obligations listed in contracts and the improvement of the efficiency of foreign trade activities;

f) periodically analyzes the activities carried out to ensure product quality; takes measures to maintain production only of those products having superior technical and qualitative parameters, to modernize existing products, to produce new products and use new technologies and to rapidly introduce completed research into production; pursues the complete use of materials and reusable materials stemming from the production process by those sections and shops created to produce consumer goods;

g) approves the material balance report where it has the position of coordinator; approves the consumption norms for raw materials, materials and fuels for those activities where departmental or national norms are not completed;

h) modifies, in justified cases, the annual and quarterly plan tasks for sections, shops and other production units, with adherence to the levels of the approved indicators for the entire enterprise for the year and the quarters, as well as the obligations stemming from concluded economic contracts;

i) approves, within the limits established by law, the technical-economic documentation and the acquisition of equipment for the investments listed in the plan; approves the acquisition of equipment that are contained overall in the investment plan and do not figure in the framework of a general estimate;

j) names, according to law, the acceptance commission for investment projects, in accordance with the authority to approve investments; approves the start up of projects and the measures to achieve the technical-economic indicators at the investments within its approval authority;

k) establishes measures for the scientific organization of production and labor and gives this activity a continuing and systematic nature; approves the program of studies to improve organization and management and ensures the fulfillment of this program;

l) in commercial units and in those providing services to the people, it analyzes and adopts measures to improve supplies to the populace, to achieve the sales plan and the plan for services to the people and the monetary receipts plan, to reduce trade costs, to more efficiently use the technical-material base of trade and services, to introduce and extend modern forms of service, to diversify the network, to organize commercial advertising and publicity activities and to efficiently and managerially use the the fund of goods and raw materials;

m) analyzes how the administration of material goods is carried out and takes measures to ensure the integrity of the unit's property; establishes measures, within the limits of its authority, to recover damages to public property;

n) approves the total volume of expenditures that can be made on production costs for publicity and advertising activities; approves the removal from administration of those shortages of material items that are above the legal norms for materials found to be missing during inventory and the transfer of these to production costs when the shortages are not the fault of a natural person, as well as other damages, under the conditions outlined by legal provisions;

o) establishes, with the approval of the user, prices and charges for products and services within the authority of the enterprise, as well as increases or reductions, according to legal regulations;

p) approves, in accordance with the law, the salary schedule for employment and other salary rights for the workers in the enterprise; names the people who can benefit

from increases for special conditions and placement in labor groups I and II for the purpose of retirement and worksite raises, within the limits of the criteria approved by the hierarchically superior organ; approves in-step promotions and the grades of workers in the unit and reductions in the minimum time required for promotion, according to legal regulations;

r) approves the hiring and firing of management personnel who were not listed in Article 37 letter i), with the approval of the interested organs; approves transfers in the interest of the job without the approval of the hierarchically superior organ for production personnel in the enterprise; for specialized personnel having higher training in education, health or other branches of the economy where the laws in that field call for the approval of the coordinating ministry, this transfer in the interest of the job will be done with approval;

s) applies disciplinary sanctions, under the conditions and in the cases outlined by law, to management personnel in the factories, plants, operations, groups of worksites and other similar units, as well as section and service chiefs;

ş) approves, with confirmation from the hierarchically superior organ, the plan indicators for granting salaries to personnel where such indicators have not been established;

t) approves, with the approval of the trade union organ in the enterprise, the local labor norms and standards;

ţ) takes measures for the appropriate application of labor safety standards, to combat environmental pollution and to prevent and extinguish fires; establishes measures for the continuing improvement of work conditions, the elimination of dangers so that difficult labors and hazardous conditions will be avoided to the maximum level possible;

u) ensures, according to legal provisions, conditions for the appropriate functions of canteens and the achievement of actions of a social-cultural nature for the workers in the unit;

v) analyzes and takes measures for the socio-professional integration of young graduates from the different forms of vocational training and the graduates of higher education during their probation periods;

x) presents reports before the workers' council regarding the manner in which decisions that were made were implemented;

y) fulfills any other attributes outlined by law and tasks established by the workers' council in the enterprise.

Article 40. - The members of the executive bureau of the workers' council are responsible for the proper administration and use of all material and financial resources of the unit and the adherence to legal provisions in adopting decisions of any type.

The members of the executive bureau of the workers' council, according to the Labor Code, have responsibility for material damages done to the unit because of their mistakes; the responsibility of the members of the executive bureau for the decisions that are adopted does not exclude the responsibility of the director and the chief accountant;

The committment of the unit's material and monetary expenditures is done, according to law, only by the director and his chief accountant.

The director and the chief accountant are responsible for adhering to plan, contractual and financial discipline and for taking measures to ensure the integrity of public property and the development and efficient administration of the goods entrusted to them, having the obligation to refuse, under the conditions of the law, ant property operation that violates legal provisions.

Article 41. - The director of the enterprise provides the current management of the enterprise and implements the decisions of the workers' council and its executive bureau, as well as the tasks established by the organ to which the enterprise is subordinate, to which end:

a) he takes measures to achieve all the enterprise's indicators in the unified national economic and social development plan and in the state budget, to increase the qualitative facets of production activities, to have a good organization of production and labor, to continue to raise th economic efficiency of the enterprise's activities and to create appropriate work conditions for all personnel;

b) he establishes measures to improve the quality of products, approves enterprise technical norms, organizes technical quality control during the phases of production, and provides the technical documentation for the production of new products and the modernization of existing ones, as well as the appropriate measurement and control resources;

c) he establishes measures for a regular rate of supply, corresponding to the requirements of the production process, of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy; he ensures the application of measures approved to reduce the consumption of raw materials, materials, to eliminate non-productive expenditures and to optimize stocks of material items;

d) he establishes, in cooperation with the suppliers, schedules for the delivery of equipment and installations for investments within the enterprise's authority for approval;

e) he approves the transport plan that uses the enterprise's own resources, and pursues and is responsible for the appropriate use of these resources and takes measures for the purpose of avoiding uneconomical transportation;

f) he ensures and is responsible for the organization of the preventative financial review, the internal financial review, the current hierarchical operations review and the inventory of the unit's property;

g) he ensures the application of approved measures regarding the integrity of the enterprise's property and the recovery of damages done to public property;

h) he approves quantitative compensation for shortages uncovered during inventories, according to the legal norms; he establishes the schedules for carrying out the annual property inventories;

i) he establishes, on the basis of the organizational structure and the regulation on organization and operation, the manner of work and cooperation between work departments in the functional and production structure; he organizes a review of the fulfillment of tasks and pursues the implementation of approved measures;

j) he hires and fires production personnel and other personnel who are not covered by the authority of the collective management organs;

k) he ensures the review of the fulfillment of tasks and pursues the implementation of approved measures; he takes measures so that all personnel will understand party decisions and normative acts that involve the unit's activities, and he ensures the precise adherence to them;

l) he ensures the application of the principle of collective work in the activities carried out by the executive bureau; he tries to get each member of the executive bureau to actively participate in the resolution of problems and to fulfill the tasks entrusted to him;

m) he ensures the effective informing of the members of the workers' council and the executive bureau about the unit's activities, the main problems resolved and the measures adopted.

Article 42. - The director of the enterprise represents the unit in relationships with legal entities and natural persons, as well as before jurisdictional organs. Similarly, he can empower other personnel in the enterprise as representatives to this end.

Article 43. - Under the leadership of the workers' councils, in the production enterprises and, as the case may be, in other units the following special commissions are organized and operate: the Commission for Increasing Labor Productivity and the Scientific Organization of Production and Labor; the Commission for Production Quality and Economic Efficiency; the Commission for Development, Investments and Technical Progress; the Commission for Supply, Sales and Exports-Imports; the Commission for the Proper Administration and Protection of Public Property; the Commission for Social Problems; and the Commission for Training, Upgrade Training, Employment and Promotion at Work.

Likewise, the technical-economic council of the enterprise operates with the framework of the enterprise, according to the law.

Within the framework of the enterprise, alongside the workers' council, the workers trial council carries out its activities. The attributes and means of organization and operation of the workers trial council are established by law.

Article 44. - The specialized commissions have the role of supporting the collective management organs of the enterprise in adopting and implementing the measures needed to achieve plan tasks, to increase the qualitative facets of production activities and to improve the economic efficiency of all activities. In the achievement of their tasks, the commissions closely cooperate with the work departments in the enterprise and initiate actions to mobilize all the workers in the exemplary fulfillment of plan tasks. The main attributes of the specialized commissions are listed in Annex No 2 of this law.

Article 45. - The specialized commissions carry out their activities as public organisms and are composed of from 3 to 11 members and are headed by a member of the workers' council. In these commissions are workers with high qualifications and long experience in production, masters, section or shop chiefs, technicians, engineers, economists and other specialized personnel designated by the workers' general assembly.

The specialized commissions work on the basis of certain specific programs of actions in accordance with their attributes and the tasks established by the workers' council.

Section II

The Organization and Operation of the Workers' Council in the Centrals

Article 46. - The workers' council in the central, depending upon its size and complexity, contains 35 to 53 members and is composed of:

a) a president, a position filled by the director general of the central;

b) a vice president, a position filled by the secretary of the party committee in the enterprise upon which the central is created; for centrals with a separate apparatus, this position will be filled by the secretary of the party organization of the most representative enterprise;

c) a vice president, a position filled by one of the deputy directors general of the central; for centrals with a separate apparatus, this position will be filled by one of the directors of the central;

d) members:

- the directors in the central, the chief engineer and the chief accountant;

- presidents of the workers' councils, presidents of the executive bureaus and other management personnel in the subordinate enterprises and component units named by the leadership of the hierarchically superior organ at the proposal of the director general of the central;

- from 3 to 10 members, specialists from within the central or from outside it, teaching faculty, scientists, representatives of the finance-banking organs and other personnel with long experience and high qualifications; on the proposal of the director general, the hierarchically superior organ establishes the number of these members and

names them; the members of the workers' council from outside the central are named with the approval of the leadership of the units to which they belong;

- from 5 to 15 representatives of the workers workers and masters from the main subordinate enterprises or component units of the central, elected every 2 years in the workers' general assemblies in these units;

- the president of the commission of the trade union organization in the central's units.

The number of workers' representatives is established by the workers' general assembly for the central. The enterprises from which the workers' representatives will be elected are established by the central together with the branch union of trade unions, with the approval of the county party committee in the county where the enterprise operates.

Article 47. - The secretaries of the party organizations, the directors and presidents of the trade union committees of the enterprises and the other units of the central will also participate in the sessions of the central's workers' council where certain problems of special importance are discussed regarding the central's overall activities, such as the plan, the balance report, studies regarding future development and the profiling and specialization of production in the central's units.

The secretary of the party organization, the director, the president of the trade union committee and the secretary of the Union of Communist Youth organization in the enterprise will also be invited to the discussions in the central's workers' council on certain problems that deal with the activities of enterprises subordinate to the central.

Article 48. - The central's workers' council has the following attributes:

a) approves the five year and annual plans for the central, with respect for the suggested levels and standards for the plan received from the State Planning Committee and the ministries; approves the distribution of plan indicators to the subordinate enterprises and component units and establishes the measures needed to achieve them;

b) approves changes for the subordinate enterprises and component units in the structure of the types of products that make up the products or groups of products that are approved in the plan, as determined by the justified requirements of domestic consumption and the fulfillment of export tasks, with respect for all the tasks listed for these groups of products and the hard currency balance established in the plan for the year and each quarter and without modifying the basic indicators established in the central's plan and budget;

c) approves the plan for scientific research, technological development and the rapid introduction of technical progress into production, as well as plans to improve the organization of management, production and labor;

d) approves measures to categorize and specialize component units

e) approves the central's acceptance of certain attributes in the fields of scientific research, design, investments, supply and sales of products and the training and upgrade training of personnel that can be economically justified to be carried out in a centralized manner, as well as the limits within which the subordinate enterprises exercise the attributes listed in Chapter I;

f) approves the budget of incomes and expenditures for the central; periodically discusses economic-financial activities and establishes measures to improve these activities; approves the economic-financial report of the subordinate enterprises; approves the subordinate enterprises' percentage of participation in covering the central's expenditures; approves the total volume of expenditures that are made on the basis of production costs for publicity and advertising actions; establishes the component units that are to have discount sub-accounts at banks, depending upon the specific conditions under which they carry out their activities;

g) approves the central's organizational structure, as drawn up on the basis of the unified structural norms; approves the regulation for organizing and operating the central, the regulation on internal order and the regulation on the operation of the workers' council;

h) proposes the creation and organizational grading of units not having the status of a legal entity - factories, plants, operations and other similar units; decides upon the creation and organizational grading of sections, shops, worksites, groups and other similar production units within the framework of the component units;

i) periodically analyzes and is responsible for the manner in which activities are carried out to understand, employ, promote and improve personnel training; ensures the training of personnel needed for new projects that are to go into operation;

j) establishes the number of technical, economic, other specialty and administration personnel for the subordinate enterprises and component units within the limits of the approved labor and salary plan, with respect for the unified structural norms and the maximum percentages established for personnel; between activities, it adapts the number of personnel and salary fund, while adhering to the percentages of approved personnel;

k) discusses and speaks out on the proposals to name new management personnel: the director general, the deputy director general, the technical director, the economic director, the administrative director, the chief engineer, the chief accountant and other personnel who hold similar management positions;

l) decides upon, under the conditions of the law, the hiring and firing of the director or manager in a subordinate enterprise or other component unit. For the large and complex subordinate enterprises established by ministries, other central state organs or the executive committees of the people's councils, the naming and release of the director is done with the approval of the minister or the chief of these organizations and with the notification of the interested organs;

m) analyzes the means of achieving the measures regarding ensuring the workers' working and living conditions and the improvement of these conditions;

n) ensures the creation and use of the fund for housing construction and other investments of a social nature;

o) establishes the means of creating and using the fund for social actions; approves the granting of tickets for treatment and rest at reduced rates for those personnel given the title of outstanding in socialist competition;

p) analyzes the central's units' fulfillment of their tasks in party decisions and in the normative acts in effect regarding the sanctioning and re-educating through work of those persons who commit deviations from and violations of the norms of social behavior and the country's laws;

r) designates the members of the executive bureau of the workers' council;

s) fulfills any other attributes outlined by law and tasks established by the organ to which the central is subordinate.

Article 49. - The executive bureau of the workers' council is composed of 7 to 13 members and is made up of the director general, who fills the position of president, the central's directors, other management personnel and specialists within its framework, as well as the president of the commission of the trade union organizations in the central's units. The number of members of the executive bureau is established by the workers' general assembly, while the names of these members is established by the central's workers' council.

Article 50. - The executive bureau of the workers' council has the following attributes:

a) organizes and pursues the fulfillment of plan tasks for the entire central and each subordinate enterprise and component unit; takes measures for the full use of production facilities in its units, the rational use of the workforce and the most complete possible use of the technical and economic potential that the central has;

b) pursues the complete achievement of subordinate enterprises' tasks in the unified program of production cooperation approved for the overall central;

c) takes measures to provide within a useful period of time construction and technological documentation for standardized products and technological processes or those for which this activity is carried out by the central;

d) provides the technical-material base necessary to all the subordinate enterprises and component units in order to completely achieve plan tasks;

e) takes measures to provide within a useful period of time the portfolio of orders necessary for the uninterrupted carrying out of production in the subordinate enterprises and component units;

f) approves the material balance report for which the central fulfills the position as coordinator, as well as the balance report for types of products that make up the

products or groups of products where the balance report is approved by the management of the organ to which the central is subordinate;

g) analyzes and takes measures for the regular fulfillment of the export-import plan, the adherence to the delivery schedules, the achievement of the other requirements outlined in contracts and the improvement of the efficiency of foreign trade activities; approves additions to the export plan during the course of the year for those products whose balance report is not submitted for approval to the Council of Ministers;

h) effectively pursues the achievement of investments, the start up of facilities and the attainment of projected parameters within the timeframes outlined in the plan;

i) approves, within the limits established by law, the technical-economic documentation for investments listed in the plan and the acquisition of equipment for investment projects; names, in accordance with the law, the commission for the acceptance of investment projects; approves the start up and takes measures to achieve the technical-economic indicators of investment projects within its approval authority;

j) in the case of proposals on inventions and innovations, it approves, in accordance with the law, the committment of funds for design work, the construction of prototypes and experimentation; approves projects to improve the organization of production and labor;

k) approves the transport plans that use its own resources for its units; approves the positions that have the right to discount transportation costs in headquarters locations;

l) approves the transfer fixed assets to other centrals or enterprises within the framework of the same central organ to which the central is subordinate, within the limits of the authority established by this organ;

m) approves the removal from administration those shortages of material items that exceed the legal norms uncovered during inventories and the transfer of them to production costs in cases where the shortages are not the fault of persons, as well as other damages, under the conditions outlined by legal provisions;

n) approves the prices and charges for products or services left to the authority of the central, as well as the increases or reductions, with the approval of the consumer; takes measures to ensure legally approved prices for new products prior to the start of their production run, with the exception of those outlined by law;

o) approves consumption norms and stock levels for all materials and products within its authority; approves the unified labor norms and standards for groups of units within its authority, with the approval of the appropriate trade union organs;

p) approves, according to the law, the salary schedule for employment and other rights of the personnel within the central's apparatus, as well as for those personnel whose

whose appointment is within the central's authority; approves the in-grade promotion and levels for personnel in the central's apparatus and those within the management of its subordinate units and the reduction of the minimum time needed to be promoted, in accordance with legal regulations;

r) approves, according to the law, the decrease or cancellation of quotas to reduce salaries in those cases where there is a non-fulfillment of tasks for the management personnel in the subordinate units; approves bonuses for the personnel in the central's apparatus, as well as for the personnel in the management of its subordinate units; approves bonuses for personnel in its subordinate units from its own funds;

s) approves the working of overtime hours with the approval of the branch union of trade unions, within the limits of legal provisions;

ş) approves, under the conditions of law, the reduction of the probation period for personnel with exceptional training who fill management positions, with the exception of personnel in the central's management;

t) approves the number of specialists for its subordinate enterprises and other component units;

ţ) approves the use of the reserve plan for the salary funds and the number of personnel, created at the level of the central;

u) approves to program to provide, train and give upgrade training to the workforce, within the limits of the training plan and the funds outlined in the unified national economic and social development plan;

v) decides upon the hiring and firing of service chiefs, section chiefs and other managers in other work departments within the structure of the central; approves the hiring and firing of the deputy directors or chief engineers, the chief accountants and other managers in positions in its subordinate enterprises; approves transfers in the interest of the job for production personnel in the central without notification to the hierarchically superior organs; for those specialized personnel with higher training in education, health or other branches of the economy, transfers in the interest of the job will be done with notification to the coordinating ministry, according to the law;

x) approves measures regarding providing working and living conditions for the workers and for improving them; guides, coordinates and reviews the fulfillment of worker safety measures;

y) presents reports before the workers' council regarding the manner in which decisions that were made were implemented;

z) fulfills any other attributes outlined by law and tasks established by the workers' council in the central.

Article 51. - The provisions of Article 40 are also appropriately applied to the members of the executive bureau of the workers' council within the framework of the central.

Article 52. - The director general provides the current management and implements the decisions of the workers' council, its executive bureau and the workers' general assembly, and the tasks established by the organ to which the central is subordinate. To this end:

a) he takes measures needed to achieve all of the central's indicators in the unified national economic and social development plan, as well as to resolve the problems that influence the fulfillment of the plan by each subordinate enterprise; he is responsible for adopting the measures needed to completely fulfill plan tasks on-time;

b) he pursues the continuing growth of economic efficiency in the central's activities, the improvement of the technical level of products, the growth of the percentage of production slated for export, the more accentuated growth of labor productivity, the efficient use of fixed assets, the reduction of material costs and the increase of the profitability of products, as well as other qualitative facets of the central's activities;

c) he organizes activities for the forecasting, surveying and future development of the central and its enterprises; he ensures the elaboration of product forecasts and activity or sub-branch forecasts in its field of activity;

d) he establishes effective measures that will ensure the improvement of activities in scientific research, design work, investments, supply, sales and other activities that are carried out by the central for its subordinate enterprises;

e) he ensures the application of measures to improve the management and organization of production and labor and the elaboration and application of studies and projects on organization;

f) he ensures the review of economic-financial activities and basic administration in the units; he is responsible for taking measures needed to ensure the integrity of public property, having the proper administration of material and monetary funds, respecting the norms of socialist discipline and giving orders within his legal authority to recover damages to public property; he approves the transfer of fixed assets between the enterprises of the central;

g) he approves the list of products, goods, packaging and materials that meet the conditions for compensation for its subordinate units, according to legal norms;

h) he approves the delegation of attributes to hierarchical levels and work departments on the basis of the organizational structure and the regulation for the organization and operation of the central;

i) he hires and fires production personnel in the central and other personnel who are not listed under the authority of the collective management organs;

j) he ensures the application of the principle of collective work in the activities carried out by the workers' council and its executive bureau; he tries to get each member of the workers' council and its executive bureau to actively participate in the solution of problems and to fulfill the tasks entrusted to each member;

k) he ensures the effective informing of the members of the workers' council and its executive bureau regarding the carrying out of the central's activities;

l) he organizes the review of the fulfillment of the tasks within the framework of the central and its subordinate units and pursues the implementation of approved measures, and he informs the workers' council and the executive bureau regarding the measures taken along the way;

m) he takes measures so all personnel will understand party decisions and those normative acts that involve the central's activities; he takes measures for the complete implementation of these decisions and acts.

Article 53. - The director general can commit the central to relationships with legal entities and natural persons, as well as to jurisdictional organs. Similarly, he can empower representatives and other persons in the unit to this end.

Article 54. - Within the framework of the central, the technical-economic council operates, as a consultative organ of the workers' council. The composition of the technical-economic council, as well as the regulation for organizing and operating it, are approved by the workers' council.

Section III

Common Provisions for the Workers' Councils and Their Executive Bureaus

Article 55. - Collective management of operational activities in socialist units is achieved by the executive bureau of the workers' council.

Article 56. - The collective management organs have a deliberative nature, carrying out their activities in the presence of at least two-thirds of the number of its members and adopting decisions with a vote of at least one-half plus one vote of the number of members that make them up.

In those cases where the president or the first vice president of the workers' council in the enterprise or, as the case may be, the president or vice president of the workers' council in the central have opinions different from the majority of the members of the council, the problem for which agreement was not reached is submitted to the hierarchically superior organ for a decision.

In the case of disagreements between the president and the majority of the members in the executive bureau of the workers' council, the problem for which agreement was not reached is submitted to the workers' council for a decision. The decisions

of the workers' council and the executive bureau are recorded in writing, specifying the tasks established, as well as the persons responsible for seeing that they are fulfilled.

The minutes of the secretariat of the collective management organs are kept by the chief of the planning or finance department or by another person in these departments, as designated by the executive bureau.

Article 57. - The working sessions of the workers' council take place one each quarter at the central and once each month at the enterprises; the working sessions of the executive bureau of the workers' council take place every]0 days both at the central and at the enterprises.

The working sessions of the workers' council and the executive bureau can take place whenever there is need at the initiative of the president, first vice president or at the request of at least one-third of the number of members.

Article 58. - For the analysis of certain problems of great complexity or that interest the entire central and its enterprises, as well as for the elaboration of certain proposals to resolve these problems, the collective management organs can create working groups containing specialists from within its units or from outside them; for specialists coming from outside units, the approval of their management will be requested.

Article 59. - Delegates from central organs, banks, economic organizations and institutes interested in examining the problems put forward for discussion can be invited to the sessions of the workers' councils and the executive bureaus; Similarly, depending upon the specific nature of the problems that are to be analyzed, specialists both from within the units and from outside them can be invited to the sessions.

A representative of the workers' council in the central or of the organ to which to the enterprise is subordinate will participate in the sessions of the workers' councils in the enterprises.

Article 60. - The workers' councils are required to present to the workers' general assembly the review of the unit's activities, the economic and financial report of the unit, the tasks for the coming period and the organizationa and technical measures for the purpose of achieving these tasks.

The workers' councils are responsible to the workers' general assembly for the manner in which they achieved the plan tasks and the measures regarding ensuring the workers' working conditions, as well as for the fulfillment of all the council's attributes.

The executive bureau is responsible to the workers' council for all its activities and the manner in which it fulfilled its attributes, in accordance with the law.

Article 61. - The workers' council and its executive bureau are responsible for the unit's activities to the collective management of the hierarchically superior organ; at the same time, each member is responsible to the collective management organ to which he belongs, as well as to the workers that elected him, both for the fulfillment of the tasks assigned to him and for all the unit's activities.

The members of the workers' council, after their election or appointment to the collective management organ, take the oath of trust and devotion to the Socialist Republic of Romania. The oath is taken before the workers' general assembly.

Section IV

The Workers' General Assembly

Article 62. - The workers' general assembly constitutes the superior form of achieving worker self-management, the forum through which the working class ensures the management of all economic-social activities and the broad democratic framework for the organized participation of all workers in the discussion and resolution of problems linked to the elaboration and fulfillment of the unified national economic and social development plan, to the strengthening of economic and financial self-administration and to the satisfaction of social-cultural needs within the framework of the program for the continuing growth of the standard of living established by the party and state.

As an expression of the democracy of the socialist system, the general assembly exercises a review of the management organs of the unit and represents, at the same time, a means of developing the socialist awareness of the workers, of strengthening their social discipline and responsibility and of stimulating the creative initiatives of the masses for the proper administration of public property.

The workers' general assembly ensures the promotion of the most valuable personnel into the collective management organs and exercises a permanent review of their activities.

Article 63. - The workers' general assemblies are organized at all enterprises and centrals, as well as at other socialist units that are organized and operate in accordance with the legal regulations regarding enterprises and centrals.

General assemblies of workers' representatives are organized at large enterprises or those spread over broad territorial areas; for these enterprises, workers' assemblies will be organized by sections, shops, sectors, worksites, factories, operations and other similar units where workers' representatives will be elected by an open vote for the general assembly of the enterprise.

Article 64. - The workers' general assembly has the following main attributes:

a) discusses and approves the five year and annual plans and the budget of incomes and expenditures, as well as the programs of measures needed to fulfill and exceed

the unit's tasks in the unified national economic and social development plan for the mobilization of the entire technical and economic potential that will lead to the improvement of the technical and qualitative level of production, the more accentuated growth of labor productivity, the use of production facilities and all fixed assets with increased efficiency, the growth of the degree of use of material and energy resources, the reduction of material costs, the growth of the percentage of production slated for export and the improvement of working and social-cultural conditions for all personnel;

b) approves the pledges of the work collective regarding exceeding plan indicators, as well as the technical and organizational measures that will ensure the fulfillment of plan tasks and the pledges made;

c) approves the collective work contract that is signed by the president of the executive bureau on behalf of the collective management organ and by the president of the trade union committee on behalf of the workers;

d) discusses and approves the plan of incomes and expenditures for the fund slated for social actions;

e) establishes the projects of a social nature - clubs, canteens and other similar places - that are to be built with the savings that are made on investment projects, as well as the funds that are to be allocated to this end;

f) analyzes the progress in fulfilling plan tasks, pledges and the provisions in the collective work contract on the basis of reports presented by the workers' council and adopts measures for the purpose of improving activities in the coming period;

g) approves the program for elaborating and re-examining labor norms and standards; analyzes the manner in which measures that were established in previous sessions were implemented;

h) analyzes the activities carried out to raise the technical and qualitative level of products, the production of new products and assimilation of new technologies, the promotion of technical progress in all sectors of activity and the rapid use of completed scientific research in production;

i) distributes the profit-sharing fund to its legal destinations in relationship to the contribution made to the development of society and the seniority in the unit;

j) analyzes and establishes measures for the continuing improvement of activities to raise the workers' socialist awareness and for the improvement of the political and cultural-sport education of the masses;

k) approves the annual report, on the basis of a review, of the unit's activities and the collective management organ's activities and the means of using profits under the conditions and according to the criteria outlined in legal provisions;

l) approves the number of members in the unit's workers' council and the number of members in its executive bureau, as well as the number of workers' representatives in the council;

m) elects the workers' representatives who belong to the collective management organs and decides upon the recall of those who did not carry out an appropriate activity;

n) designates the people who will fill the positions of president, vice president and first vice president in the workers' council, according to the provisions in Article 35 and Article 46;

o) elects a workers' representative, a worker who works directly in production, to the position of vice president of the workers' council of the enterprise;

p) annually confirms the personnel in the unit's management in their positions: the director, the deputy technical director, the deputy production director or chief engineer, the deputy commercial director and the chief accountant, as well as other personnel who fill similar management positions;

r) annual confirms in their positions the president, first vice president and vice presidents of the workers' council, outlined in Article 35 and Article 46;

s) makes rulings on proposals to promote certain personnel in the unit to management positions, keeping in mind their political training, professional training and behavior in the proper carrying out of activities; between plenary sessions, consultations with the workers are done in meetings organized by sections, shops or other similar production units in which this person carries out his activities;

t) decides upon the firing of unit management personnel who have committed serious violations of labor discipline, the norms of socialist norms of ethics and equity or who give proof of lacking responsibility in the achievement of the plan; between plenary sessions of the general assembly, the decision is made by the workers' meetings in sections, shops or other similar production units, with this to be submitted for confirmation to the first workers' general assembly for the entire unit.

For the other workers in the units who have committed such violations, the workers' general assembly or the workers' meetings by sections, shops or other similar production units where this person carries out his activities can decide upon the termination of his work contract.

Decisions are made by a majority of the votes of the members that make up the meeting and are final;

u) approves changes to the enterprise's production profile, as well as its organizational stucture;

v) approves, under conditions of the law, proposals to remove fixed assets from operations and to declassify material goods, and establishes measures regarding the recovery and use of reuseable material resources;

x) decides upon the number of personnel who are employed in the enterprise in close correlation with the plan indicators and the production programs stemming from economic contracts, as well as the possibilities for obtaining salary funds; decides upon the assignment of personnel to sections, factories and design and operational departments; employment or termination of the work contract for personnel in the sections, shops or work groups is decided by the workers' meetings in these units.

In the case where the general assembly does not confirm the personnel listed in letter p) and letter r), the corresponding organs that named them or, as the case may be, elected them are required to take measures to replace them, within 30 days at the most.

Article 65. - The workers' general assemblies and the general assemblies of the workers' representatives - hereafter called general assemblies - are constituted in a valid manner if at least two-thirds of the number of personnel participate and two-thirds of the representatives or the members of which the general assembly is composed.

The members of the workers' council and the representatives of organs hierarchically superior to the unit, as well as those from the party organs and mass organizations will participate in the general assemblies in the enterprises.

The general assembly carries out its activities through plenary discussions, through the organization of workers' meetings in sections, shops or other production units and through the activities of the specialized commissions and other forms of worker participation in the management of the unit.

Article 66. - The number of workers' representatives elected for the general assemblies in the enterprise is established by the committee of the trade union together with the workers' council, depending upon the number of personnel and the specific possibilities for carrying out these meetings.

The workers' representatives for the general assemblies will be elected for a period of 1 year.

In the case of the failure to fulfill the plan tasks, as a result their own inappropriate activities or in the case of certain disciplinary violations committed by the workers' representatives during the period for which they were elected, the guilty parties will be recalled and replaced by the workers' meetings in the sections, shops, sectors, worksites and operations where they were elected.

Article 67. - The general assemblies in the enterprises are convened semi-annually in ordinary sessions by the trade union committee, with the joint approval of the workers' council. General assemblies can also be convened at the request of at least one-third of the number of workers or their representatives, as the case may be.

A general assembly is organized during the third quarter of the year prior to the plan year in order to discuss and adopt the unit's tasks in the unified national economic and social development plan.

General assemblies can be convened during the year to examine certain drafts of normative acts of general interest submitted for public discussion or certain normative act that deals with improving the activities of the socialist units.

In those units having seasonal activities, the general assemblies will be organized at the beginning and end of the season.

Article 68. - The workers' general assembly at the central is composed of members of the central's workers' council and from the workers' councils in the subordinate enterprises and component units or their executive bureaus, as well as workers' representatives from the central's units, whose numbers are established by the central's management together with the commission of the trade union organizations in the central's units.

On behalf of the ministries and other central and local organs, the minister or, as the case may be, the chief of the central or local organ, his deputies or other members of the management council will participate in the general assemblies in the central; similarly, the representative of the trade unions, a delegate from the branch union of the trade unions, will also participate in the general assembly.

Article 69. - The general assembly in the central is convened once each year by the commission of the trade union organizations in the central's units and with the approval of the workers' council and takes place after the completion of the annual review and the carrying out of the workers' general assemblies in the subordinate units.

The provisions of paragraphs 2 and 3 in Article 67 are also applied to the general assemblies in the centrals.

Article 70. - The commission of the trade union organizations in the central's units and the workers' council in the central or, as the case may be, the committee of the trade union and the workers' council in the enterprise, are responsible for organizing the general assemblies and ensure preparing the materials that are to be submitted for discussions, make the workers aware of the agenda, organize the election of workers' representatives to the general assemblies and ensure conditions for the proper carrying out of these assemblies.

Article 71. - In order to carry out the proceedings of the general assembly, a presidium is elected, by open vote, from among the ranks of the participants.

The general assembly in the enterprise is chaired by the president of the trade union committee, and the assembly in the central by a member of the presidium designated by the presidium.

Article 72. - The workers' councils are required to analyze the proposals made in the general assemblies and to take measures to implement those that are proven to be efficient.

The proposals made in the general assemblies that exceed the ability of the collective management organs to resolve them will be forwarded to the organ to which this unit is subordinate, which will respond within 30 days regarding the means of resolving them; the workers council in the central will inform the collective management organs in the enterprise and the enterprise will notify all personnel, within 30 days, regarding the manner in which they were resolved.

Article 73. - The general assemblies in the central and the enterprises exercise control over the activities of the workers' council in these units.

In cases where the general assembly feels the activities of the workers' council or some of its members are unsatisfactory, the management of the organ to which this unit is subordinate is required to analyze the causes and, within 15 days, take measures, up to and including the replacement of those members who carried out an inappropriate activity, informing the councils in the subordinate units and the members regarding the measures taken.

Chapter IV

The Duties and Responsibilities of Personnel

Article 74. - The workers, in their positions as owners of the means of production and the producers and consumers of material and spiritual values, bear the direct responsibility for the management and proper flow of all activities in the unit to which they belong, for the judicious and efficient administration of the goods entrusted to them to be administered and for the growth of the contribution of each unit to the general development of society, to the improvement of the people's standard of living and to the prosperity and defense of the country.

In accordance with the principles of workers democracy, the workers have the right and duty to speak out in all problems that deal with the organization and management of production and the provision of working and living conditions, to directly participate in the elaboration and adoption of decisions and are responsible for their firm implementation in the unit to which they belong.

Article 75. - Each worker, being part of a collective in the socialist unit, is responsible for the exemplary fulfillment of his tasks in the plan, for the strict adherence to technological discipline and for the full use of work time, and has the duty to work for the continuing improvement of the technical and qualitative levels of products, the introduction and spread of technical progress, the growth of labor productivity and the growth of economic efficiency of all activities.

Article 76. - For the complete use of production facilities, the workers are required to ensure the high efficiency use, under conditions of complete safety, of machinerym equipment and installations, the on-time achievement of all maintenance and repair work on fixed assets and the continuing growth in the use indices for these equipment.

Article 77. - In order to ensure the judicious administration of material resources and other allocated resources, workers are required to ensure the efficient use of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy, the increase in the degree of using these items and the recovery of all reuseable material and energy resources.

Each worker is responsible, at his place in production, for respecting the standardized consumption levels for raw materials, materials, fuels and energy, and has, at the same time, the obligation to work to achieve savings and to ensure taking those measures necessary to avoid waste of any type and to eliminate any type of negligence in the care and administration of goods.

Article 78. - Each person's contribution, through the work done to achieve the unit's tasks, constitutes the fundamental criterion for determining salary, participating in profit-sharing and establishing the other rights related to his activities.

Article 79. - Within the collective in which he is employed, the worker is responsible for respecting order and discipline at work and the norms of socialist ethics and equity, for developing comradely relations of cooperation and mutual assistance and for ensuring an atmosphere of worker discipline in the fulfillment of his tasks.

At the same time, workers have the duty to improve their vocational and specialized training, to broaden continually their horizons of knowledge and to exhibit a high professional awareness and a creative, self-sacrificing and competent spirit in work.

In all their activities, the workers must show combativeness and intransigence towards those who violate order and discipline or who have an attitude of superficiality and a lack of responsibility at work, and they must create a mass opinion that will ensure the education of these people or, as the case may be, holding them responsible for their actions.

Article 80. - As a member of the work collective, each person is responsible for protecting public property and for the continuing development of this property, and is required to fight fully decisively against any removal of these goods from the national wealth and to take all the measures necessary to avoid the deterioration of goods.

Article 81. - Workers that leave one unit to work, under the conditions of the law, at another unit are required to request an evaluation of their activities from the collective management organ and the trade union organ in the unit which they are leaving.

Employment at a new unit can be accomplished only by taking into account the evaluations obtained under the conditions in paragraph one.

Chapter V

The Organization and Operation of Economic Units Not Having Status of a Legal Entity

Article 82. - The centrals and enterprises can have in their production structure, depending upon their type of activities, component units - factories, plants, operations, groups of worksites, sections, worksites, shops, groups, sectors, motor pools, warehouses and other similar units - that have economic administration without the status of a legal entity.

Non-legal entity economic units listed in paragraph one are organized according to the unified structure approved for the branches and fields of activities of these units.

Article 83. - The component units listed in the preceding article are created in the following manner:

a) factories, plants, operations, groups of worksites and other similar organizations - by the order of the minister on the basis of a decision of the leadership council in the ministry and by the decision of the executive committee of the county or Bucharest municipal people's council; the creation of factories and plants within enterprises is done with the approval of the Council of Economic and Social Organization;

b) sections, worksites, shops, groups, warehouses and other similar units - by the decision of the director or director general on the basis of a decision of the workers' council in the enterprise of central within which this unit will operate.

The name, location and type of activities of these units are established in the act that creates them.

The dissolution, modification of the name, location or type of activities and the reorganization of the component units of the central and enterprise are accomplished by the organ that created them.

The organizational grading of the component units of the centrals and enterprises is accomplished on the basis of the grading methodology approved by decree of the Council of State and by the organs that are authorized to create these units.

Article 84. - The centrals and enterprises, remaining the parties responsible for the right of direct administration, can supply the non-legal entity economic units, at the time of their creation, with fixed assets and can give them the material and financial resources needed to carry out their activities, also establishing the ways to use these resources.

Article 85. - The component units of the centrals and enterprises can have operational independence, sub-accounts at banks, can obtain bank loans and

can have economic and financial relations within the limits of the authority established by the management of the central or the enterprise to which they belong. The chiefs of the component units can conclude contracts with natural persons and legal entities on the basis of the representational authority granted by the central or enterprise.

Factories, plants, groups of worksites and other similar units that do not have status as a legal entity have their own plan and budget of incomes and expenditures, as an integral part of the plan and budget of the enterprise or central to which they belong. These units can also employ the position of chief account, if it is permitted in the specific structural norms.

Article 86. - Depending upon their territorial spread, size, complexity and specific production conditions, the management in the central or enterprises can establish that a part of the attributes listed in Chapter I for enterprises can be exercised, within certain limits, by the component units. Those attributes that are not delegated to these units will continue to be exercised in a centralized manner, thus creating conditions for the component units to concentrate on qualitative and quantitative achievements and to do this under conditions of increased efficiency in production.

Article 87. - Units with economic administration that do not have status as a legal entity can also be organized in exceptional cases, according to the law, subordinate to certain state institutions.

The creation of such units is approved, depending upon their subordination, by ministries, other central organs of the state administration or by the executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils.

Article 88. - The workers' councils and their executive bureaus can also be organized at non-legal entity economic units - factories, plants, operations, groups of worksites, transportation equipment stations, motor pools, large production sections and other units with a similar organization - as established by the workers' council in the central or enterprise to which they belong, with the approval of the executive bureau of the leadership council of the ministry or, as the case may be, the executive committee of the county people's council.

The provisions regarding the organization and operation of the workers' councils and their executive bureaus, as established for enterprises, are also appropriately applied to the non-legal entity economic units listed in the preceding paragraph.

In cases where at the level of these units there is no party organization, the secretary of one of the party organizations in the unit, as established by the hierarchically superior party organ, fills the position of president of the workers' council.

The workers' councils in the centrals and enterprises will appropriately adapt the attributes of the collective management organs of the component units depending upon the tasks and limits of authority granted to each unit.

Article 89. - Workers' meetings are organized in factories, plants, operations, groups of worksites, sections, worksites, shops, groups, motor pools and other component units.

Workers' meetings in the component units apply, according to the attributes established for these units, the provisions of this law regarding the workers' general assemblies in enterprises. They are carried out prior to the carrying out of the general assemblies in the enterprises.

Members of the workers' councils or the executive bureau in the central or enterprise, the representatives of the sections with which they cooperate in production and other personnel involved in the proper operation of the unit participate in the workers' meetings in the non-legal entity economic units.

Article 90. - The attributes and tasks of the chiefs of shops, groups, worksites, factories, plants and other non-legal entity economic units are contained in the organization and operation regulation of the central or enterprise to which these units belong.

Chapter VI

Regulations Regarding the Operation, Use and Maintenance of Installations, Equipment and Machinery and the Strengthening of Work Order and Discipline in Those Units With Continuously Burning Fires or Which Have Installtions Involving a High Degree of Danger in Operation

Article 91. - The organization of activities in those units that have installations, equipment and machinery that are in continuous operation or have a high degree of danger when in operation in the chemical industry, mining, petroleum industry, metallurgy, machine buidling, electrical and thermal energy, construction materials industry, pulp, paper and wood industry and in other sectors must ensure the uninterrupted carrying out of production processes in accordance with the approved work program, the strict adherence to technological discipline and all regulations on labor order and discipline and the prevention of any damage, explosions, fires or other technical accidents.

In carrying out their work obligations, the personnel in the units listed in paragraph one, regardless of the position they fill, are directly responsible for the strict adherence to the norms referring to the carrying out of production processes, for the maintenance of order at the place of work and for the prevention and elimination of any situation that would endanger the people's lives or health or the uninterrupted operation, under conditions of complete safety, of installations, equipment and machinery in the unit.

Article 92. - Workers who work with installations, equipment and machinery that are continuously operating or have a high degree of danger when in operation are required to know their construction and operation characteristics and to strictly adhere to their technical norms for use and maintenance, as well as the norms for

worker safety and for preventing fires, and to ensure the permanent supervision of the equipment, as well as the avoidance of any type of damage or accidental interruptions.

It is forbidden for the personnel listed in paragraph one to leave their place of work, to leave unsupervised the installations, equipment or machinery with which they work and to bring into the unit certain materials or products that could cause fires or explosions.

During the work program, the personnel listed in paragraph one can leave their place of work only if needs require it, with the approval of the foreman or another leader of the work group and only after he has named another person to supervise the machinery, equipment or installation.

At the end of the work program, the worker's activities are completed only after he has turned over the machinery, equipment and installations he is responsible for to a worker on the next shift, in the presence of the shift engineer, the installation chief, the foreman or another leader of the work group on the on-coming shift.

Persons who show up for work under the influence of alcohol are prohibited from having access to the unit and are punished according to the law.

It is forebidden for workers to bring in or consume alcoholic beverages in the unit or to facilitate the commission of these deeds.

The failure to adhere to the requirements in this article results in criminal punishment and, as the case may be, legal and disciplinary punishments, as well as material or civil punishments, according to the law.

Article 93. - Chiefs of sections and other production departments, foremen and other leaders of work groups are responsible for the achievement of the conditions needed for the uninterrupted operation, and in complete safety, of installations, equipment and machinery and the prevention of accidents or fires, for the provision of technical regulations for using the equipment, for the timely carrying out of technical revisions and planned repairs and for the taking of all measures to avoid any type of damage or accidental interruptions.

Section chiefs, foremen and other leaders of the production processes are required to ensure the strengthening of order and discipline at each place of work, the permanent supervision of personnel and the rigorous respect by the worker of production technologies and use instructions, and to check at the beginning of the shift if his personnel are capable of carrying out their duty tasks.

Article 94. - In those units with continuously burning fires or that have installations with a high degree of danger, the persons who provide technical assistance on the shift, as well as those authorized to start or stop the installations, are established through a decision of the head of the unit.

Article 95. - The leaders of the units that have continuously operating machinery, equipment and installations or those with a high degree of danger are responsible for taking all the measures necessary for the proper operation and organization of the production processes, under conditions of complete safety, for the permanent supervision of equipment, for the checking of control and command posts, for the adherence to technologies and all norms for operations, use, maintenance, repairs, worker safety and preventing fires, for the thorough training of personnel, for the strengthening of order and discipline, for the organization of a systematic review of each worker's fulfillment of his duties, for the elimination of any accidental interruptions of production and for the punishment of those who violate their work obligations.

The regulations for the use of installations and equipment, on the basis of which the organization and technical management of the production process at each place of work are ensured, are drawn up in accordance with technical documentation and are approved by the unit's hierarchically superior organ, after their mastery by its collective management organ.

Article 96. - The economic ministries are responsible, together with their subordinate centrals and enterprises, for making all the measures necessary for the operation, under conditions of complete safety, of installations, equipment and machinery, for the elimination of damages, fires, explosions or other technical accidents, for the adherence to the approved work program, for the strengthening of order and discipline at work and for the punishment of any deviations from the established norms.

Article 97. - The disciplinary regulations specific to the workers in the units having continuously burning fires or that have installations, equipment and machinery with a high degree of danger when in operation and these workers' obligations and responsibilities are established by decree of the Council of State.

Chapter VII

The Organization and Operation of the Scientific Councils of the Centrals and the Institutes for Scientific Research and Technological Engineering, as Well as the Central Research Institutes

Article 98. - The scientific council is the collective management organ of the institutes and centers for scientific research and technological engineering, as well as the central research institutes.

Article 99. - The scientific council of the institutes and centers for scientific research and technological engineering are organized similar to the workers' councils in the enterprises and are composed of 15 to 35 persons, as follows:

	Number of members in the scientific council	Of which: the number of workers' representatives
- centers	15-19	7-9
- small institutes	19-23	9-11
- medium institutes	23-29	11-14
- large institutes	29-35	14-17

The scientific council has the following composition:

a) a president, a position filled by the secretary of the party organization in the institute or center;

b) a first vice president, a position filled by the director of the institute or center;

c) a vice president, a position filled by the president of the trade union committee;

d) a vice president, a position filled by a workers' representative elected by the general assembly, a researcher or design engineer who works directly in research and design activities;

e) a vice president, a position filled by the secretary of the Union of Communist Youth organization;

f) members:

- the deputy directors and the chief account;

- the president of the women's commission in the institute or center; for those institutes and centers with a large number of women, the president of the women's commission will be named to fill the position of a vice president of the scientific council;

- the chiefs of certain laboratories, shops, sections or other work departments and specialists of high qualifications, as well as scientists within the unit or from outside it. The members of the scientific council from the ranks of these cadre are named by the hierarchically superior organ on the basis of the proposals of the workers' general assembly; the members of the scientific council from outside the institute or center are named with the approval of the management of the unit to which they belong;

- from 7 to 17 workers' representatives, elected every 2 years in the workers' general assemblies from the ranks of researchers, engineers, economists, designers, technicians, workers, foremen or other personnel in the unit; at least 75 percent of the number of workers' representatives will be researchers, engineers, technicians, workers, foremen and other specialized personnel who work directly in the scientific research, design and production activities of the institute or center.

The number of persons in the scientific councils, as well as the number of workers' representatives, are established by the workers' general assembly within the limits outlined in paragraph one and keeping in mind the number of persons in the unit and the volume and complexity of its activities.

Article 100. - The scientific council of the central institute is organized similar to the workers' council in the central and is composed of from 35 to 53 persons, having the following composition:

a) a president, a position filled by the director general of the central institute;

b) a vice president, a position filled by the secretary of the party committee of one of the institutes that belongs to the central institute;

c) a vice president, a position filled by one of the deputy directors general of the central institute;

d) members:

- the directors of the institutes, centers and other units belonging to the central institute;

- the president of the trade union committee in the institute upon which the central institute is created;

- the secretary of the Union of Communist Youth organization in the institute upon which the central institute is created;

- representatives from the appropriate ministry and other interested central organs and other personnel with responsible positions in the units that directly cooperate in the activities of the central institute;

- from 5 to 15 workers' representatives - workers, foremen, researchers, engineers, designers and other specialists in the component units or specialized units - elected in the general assemblies of these units.

The number of persons in the scientific council, as well as the number of workers' representatives, are established by the workers' general assembly.

The units from which the workers' representatives will be elected are established by the central institute together with the branch union of the trade unions, with the approval of the county party committee in whose territory the institute operates.

Article 101. - The secretaries of the party organizations, the directors and the presidents of the trade union committees in the component units of the central institute will also participate in the sessions of the scientific council of the central institute in which problems of special importance for its overall activities are discussed.

The secretary of the party organization, the director, the president of the trade union committee and the secretary of the Union of Communist Youth organization in the institute will also be invited to the discussions in the scientific council of the central institute about certain problems that deal with the activities of an institute belonging to the central institute.

Article 102. - The provisions in Articles 55-61 in this law regarding the workers' councils and their executive bureaus in enterprises and centrals are also appropriately applied to the scientific councils of the institutes and centers and the central institutes for scientific research.

The provisions in Article 36 of this law are also applied to the units for scientific research and technological engineering, if they carry out a significant percentage of activities in other counties.

Chapter VIII

The Organization and Operation of Ministries, Other Central State Organs and Local Organs of State Administration, as well as State Institutes Subordinate to Them

Article 103. - The ministries and other central state organs, as well as the committees and executive bureaus of the people's council are organized and operate according to law.

The ministries and the other central state organs provide the leadership for all activities in the branch or field for which they were created and bear the responsibility for the activities of the centrals, enterprises and other directly subordinate units.

The committees and executive bureaus of the people's councils lead and guide the activities of their subordinate economic units and institutes and review, according to law, the economic activities of the units of national interest within the administrative-territorial units where they operate.

Article 104. - The leadership of the ministries and other central state organs of state administration is achieved, according to law, on the basis of the principle of collective work and leadership, as well as the legal provisions that regulate the organization and operation of the ministry or the central organ.

Article 105. - Subordinate to the ministries and the other central state organs, as well as the people's councils, socialist units can be created with or without status of a legal entity in the fields of education, health, science, culture, art, social assistance, state administration and in other sectors of activity whose costs, as established in the plan, are covered by their own incomes and, as the case may be, those from the state budget; in the context of this law, they are called state institutes.

The creation of state institutes of a national interest is accomplished by a decree of the Council of State, while for those of a local interest, by decisions of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils.

In the document that creates a state institute, its name, location and purpose of activity are established, as well as any other provisions necessary for its organization and operation.

The disestablishment of state institutes, as well as changes to the purpose of its activity, name or location, are established by the organs that are authorized to establish them.

Under the conditions outlined by law, state institutes can create units or subunits not having status as a legal entity or organize activities that produce incomes, while adhering to the unified structural norms.

State institutes that carry out their own activities and actions or organize annex units and subunits that produce incomes are organized and operate on the principle of economic-financial self-administration, with their own budget of incomes and expenditures, under the conditions outlined by law.

Article 106. - State institutes are equipped, upon their creation, with fixed assets corresponding to the activities they will carry out, draw up the budget of incomes and expenditures, complete accounting records, have accounts at banks, have their own monetary resources and have economic and legal relations with other units in accordance with the regulations established by specific normative acts.

The provisions of Article 5 of this law referring to fixed assets are also appropriately applied to state institutes.

Article 107. - State institutes subordinate to the ministries, other central organs of state administration and the people's councils are responsible for the plan for those indicators that are assigned to them and are responsible for fulfilling them.

Article 108. - State institutes which, according to law, are organized and operate on the principle of economic and financial self-administration are required to cover their expenses using their own incomes, completely or to the greatest possible degree. State institutes are required to permanently work to carry out activities in their fields that will ensure satisfying the workers' requirements under the best possible conditions and at a high qualitative level, as well as to organize incoming producing activities for the purpose of eliminating or reducing allocations from and increasing their own contributions to the state budget.

Incomes which, according to the law, are not attributed to the state institutes to cover their own expenditures are paid into the state budget.

Article 109. - The state institutes' expenditures are covered from their own incomes, under the conditions outlined by law, or from the state budget, within the limits of the approved sums and in relationship to the achievement of tasks established in the plan.

In order to carry out and broaden their activities, state institutes can also use material and monetary resources received from legal entities and natural persons, as the case may be, through transfers or any type of donation, while adhering to the legal provisions referring to these categories of property transfer.

The chiefs of state institutes with status of a legal entity are the chief accountants for loans, having the attributes and responsibilities established by law.

Article 110. - The attributes of state institutes are established in the document that created them, depending upon the activities that they carry out, and are detailed in their organization and operation regulation, completed in accordance with the law.

Article 111. - The provisions of Articles 106-109 in this law are also appropriately applied to the ministries and other central state organs.

Article 112. - The provisions of Chapter III of this law are also applied to state institutes, according to their specific nature.

The collective management organs can have different names, according to the structural norms or the regulations established in the document creating the institute of the central organ or this institute: the leadership council, the administration council, the collegium, leadership collective or other names. Similarly, by law or decree of the Council of State, a composition for the collective management organ can be established for the units in a certain field of activity that is different from the one listed in Chapter III of this law.

The workers' representatives will be elected from the ranks of the workers who work directly in the achievement of the basic activities specific to these institutes, according to the purpose of their activities. Similarly, workers' representatives - workers, foremen and other specialists or workers - from the socialist units in the administrative-territorial area where these institutes carry out their activities will also be part of the workers' councils in institutes in the fields of health, theater, publishing and other social institutes, and culture and art.

Article 113. - In state institutes with a small number of workers, the collective management organs contain between five and nine members, as follows:

Number of Personnel in the State Insitute	Number of Members in the Collective Management Organ	Of Which: the Number of Workers' Representatives
Up to 30	5	2
From 31 - 60	5-7	2-3
From 61 - 100	7-9	3-4

The workers' council will have a president, a first vice president, a vice president who is the president of the trade union organization and members.

In these state institutes with a small number of workers, the executive bureaus of the collective management organs will be composed of three to five members.

Chapter IX

Final Provisions

Article 114. - The provisions regarding the state socialist enterprises are also applied to other economic units, having names specific to the field or branch to

which they belong, which are organized and operate according to the legal regulations regarding the state socialist enterprises.

For enterprises with a small number of workers, the collective management organs are created in accordance with the provisions of Article 113.

Depending upon the specific nature of activity, in these economic units only some of the commissions listed in Article 43 of this law can be organized, with the approval of the hierarchically superior organ.

Article 115. - The provisions in effect regarding the management of socialist units that have their own regulations will be modified according to the provisions of this law and keeping in mind the specific nature of their activities.

For design institutes and centers, workers' councils and their executive bureaus will be organized.

The number of members in the workers' councils in the design institutes and centers is established according to the provisions in Article 99 of this law.

Article 116. - Law No 11 of October 1971 regarding the organization and management of state socialist units, Decree No 435 of 6 August 1973 for the modification of Decree No 162/1973 regarding the establishment of unified structural norms for economic units, which became Law No 68/1973, Decree of the Council of State No 154 of 7 June 1976 regarding the changing of the names of certain collective management organs of state socialist units, chapter II in the Central Committee Decision of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Council of Ministers No 2097 of 24 September 1968 regarding scientific councils of the research institutes, as well as any other provision contrary to this law, are abrogated.

Annex No 1

The Composition and the Number of Members in the Workers' Councils of Enterprises

Number of Permanent Personnel in the Unit	Number of Members in the Council	Of Which: the Number of Workers' Representatives
1. Up to 500	15-17	7-8
2. From 501 to 1,000	17-19	8-9
3. From 1,001 to 2,000	19-21	9-10
4. From 2,001 to 3,000	21-23	10-11
5. From 3,001 to 4,000	23-25	11-12
6. From 4,001 to 5,000	25-27	12-13
7. From 5,001 to 10,000	27-29	13-14
8. From 10,001 to 15,000	29-31	14-15
9. From 15,001 to 20,000	31-33	15-16
10. Over 20,000	33-35	16-17

Annex No 2

The Commission for the Increase of Labor Productivity and the Scientific Organization of Production and Labor

The Commission for the Increase of Labor Productivity and the Scientific Organization of Production and Labor carries out its activities on the basis of work programs approved by the workers' council and has the following main attributes:

a) draws up studies for the use of reserves to increase labor productivity in sections, shops and places of work; discusses the program of measures for the fulfillment of planned tasks to increase labor productivity and submits them for approval to the workers' council;

b)organizes, together with the chiefs of sections and shops, foremen and other leaders of work groups, actions so that all workers will understand their specific tasks in the program of measures to ensure the growth of labor productivity, and permanently pursues the means of achieving the measures recorded in this program;

c) initiates actions for the mobilization of specialists and all workers in the achievement of tasks, within the timeframes and with the efficiency outlined, contained in the program of measures to increase labor productivity;

d) organizes discussions, meetings and exchanges of experience on subjects regarding the appropriate use of machinery, equipment and installations, the full use of the operating time for them and the introduction and extension of new and high productivity technological procedures;

e) organizes the study and drawing up of drafts or proposals for the continuing improvement of the organization of production and labor that will ensure: the growth of the degree of use of the enterprise's area; the rational placement of sections, shops, equipment and places of work; the optimum use of the production processes; the introduction of modern programming, start-up and follow-up methods for production; the judicious use of production facilities; the rational organization of shift work; the optimum use of production groups; the use of computer technology in the management of production processes; and the rational organization of maintenance, repair and internal transport activities;

f) analyzes and makes proposals for the improvement of the enterprise's organizational structure on the basis of unified structural norms, pursuing bringing together management and production, reducing the number of hierarchical levels, setting precise attributes and responsibilities for each work department, rationalizing the information system and the framework of relations within the unit and introducing modern methods in the management activities at all levels;

g) verifies the manner in which the unified structural norms are respected nad applied, as well as the standards approved for all categories of personnel and notifies the workers' council of deficiencies that are found;

h) initiates actions for the organization of certain model places of work, sections or shops; pursues and supports the achievement of approved measures;

i) participates in the elaboration and application of scientifically substantiated labor norms in all fields of activity, pursuing the provision of agreement between them, the level of technical equipment and the level of the organization of production and labor in the enterprise;

j) discusses the subject plans for annual studies and future studies regarding the problems of organization, as well as the program for drawing up and re-examining labor norms and standards and submits them to the workers' council for approval;

k) pursues and initiates actions for the mobilization of work collectives in the implementation of measures established for the rational organization of the work place, including office work, and the complete and productive use of work hours by all categories of personnel;

l) supports and guides the work collectives in drawing up studies on the organization of production and labor; analyzes and submits for approval to the collective management organ those studies that have been drawn up, as well as the measures needed to implement and generalize them;

m) pursues the achievement of economic efficiency as a result of implementing studies on organization and measures in the program for increasing labor productivity and for elaborating and re-examining labor standards;

n) periodically analyzes the means of carrying out activities regarding labor productivity and the scientific organization of production and labor, and informs the workers' councils of the results obtained;

o) fulfills any other attributes outlined by law or established by the enterprise's workers' council.

The Commission for Production Quality and Economic Efficiency

The Commission for Production Quality and Economic Efficiency carries out its activities on the basis of the work program approved by the workers' council and has the following main attributes:

a) pursues and periodically analyzes the qualitative level of production; proposes measures to improve further the quality of products and services and to better use raw materials, materials, fuels and energy;

b) participates in the drawing up of programs regarding the continuing improvement of the quality of raw materials, semi-finished goods and finished products

and submits them for approval to the collective management organ; it pursues the achievement of these programs;

c) analyzes and pursues how the chiefs of sections and shops, foremen and other leaders of work groups fulfill their obligations in order to ensure the technical-material conditions needed to achieve product quality and to carry out the production process in accordance with production and control technologies; informs effectively the management of the unit regarding deficiencies that are found;

d) puts into discussion before the workers' groups in the sections, shops and places of work the causes of violations of the norms for quality and technological discipline, and takes measures, together with the foremen and shop and section chiefs, to eliminate them;

e) works so that the quality control of products and services will be mandatorily carried out by the workers who execute them and by the foremen and other leaders in the production process; organizes discussions regarding the achievement and continuing improvement of the qualitative parameters of products and services;

f) proposes measures for the improvement of technological control programs in accordance with technical progress and the requirements for quality and increasing economic efficiency; organizes exchanges of experience, roundtables and symposia for the purpose of pointing out the existing reserves for increasing economic efficiency and product quality;

g) analyzes and informs the unit management regarding how the personnel in the technical control of product quality carry out their attributes during all phases of production; verifies adherence to the technological control programs for product quality, the existence of test standards and the supply of necessary measurement and control devices; proposes measures to provide technical assistance needed in the production process for each shift;

h) organizes actions so that all production and control personnel will thoroughly understand the provisions in standards, technical norms and task books for the purpose of producing products at a high qualitative level and increasing economic efficiency;

i) analyzes consumption norms are established and the causes why some specific consumption levels are exceeded and works to systematically reduce the consumption of raw materials and materials, as well as to extend the recovery and use of reuseable material resources stemming from processing;

j) analyzes and makes proposals for the better use of the base of raw materials, the increase in the level of processing of these materials and the expansion of the variety of products, under conditions of using raw materials with greater efficiency;

k) proposes efficient measures for the rational administration of fuels and energy; analyzes the enterprise's energy balance report and the specific energy consumption per unit of product, compared to that in the economically advanced countries; pursues the achievement of adopted measures;

l) initiates actions to mobilize the work collectives to raise the qualitative level of production, to improve production technologies and to increase the economic efficiency of all activities;

m) periodically analyzes all activities carried out in the enterprise to ensure product quality and raise economic efficiency in the sections, shops and places of work; informs the collective management organ of the results and proposes measures for improvement;

n) fulfills any other attributes outlined by law and those established by the workers' council.

The Commission for Development, Investments and Technical Progress

The Commission for Development, Investments and Technical Progress carries out its activities on the basis of the work program approved by the workers' council and has the following main attributes:

a) draws up studies regarding the growth of the efficiency of investments and analyzes the possibilities for completely using existing production facilities, the reduction of built-up areas to a minimum, the achievement of technological processes corresponding to the requirements for efficiency in the operation of the projects listed in the plan;

b) analyzes and pursues the manner in which there is adherence to the start up schedules and the attainment of projected parameters at new investment projects;

c) from a technical and technological point of view, it supports the achievement of the technical-economic indicators of new production facilities;

d) participates in the elaboration of programs regarding the introduction of technical progress, the rational use of fuels and energy and the assimilation of new products; discusses the programs that are drawn up and submits them to the workers' council; organizes actions for the mobilization of the work collectives to achieve the measures contained in the approved programs;

e) participates in the analysis and approval of technical-economic documentation, ensuring that they will contain technical solutions that will permit the greatest possible efficiency;

f) periodically analyzes and informs the collective management organ about the fulfillment of the tasks for assimilating new products and equipment, the introduction of new technological processes and the improvement of existing ones and the mechanization and automation of production, as well as about reducing specific technological consumption levels;

g) proposes measures for the growth of the competitiveness of products and pursues the achievement of measures established by the collective management organ;

h) analyzes and proposes measures to provide facilities to produce tools, devices and controllers, prototypes and pilot installations, as well as to create the conditions necessary to achieve these projects in the sections and on the technological production lines;

i) supports activities to design products, prototypes, technologies and powered equipment, and proposes measures that will ensure the application of the results of scientific research and technological development to production;

j) analyzes and makes proposals for the improvement of technical documentation and the improvement of standards and other technical norms, in accordance with technical progress;

k) fulfills any other attributes outlined by law, as well as those given to it by the workers' council.

The Commission for Supply, Sales and Export-Import

The Commission for Supply, Sales and Export-Import carries out its activities on the basis of the work program approved by the workers' council and has the following main attributes:

a) organizes actions to mobilize the work collectives in the judicious administration of raw materials from in-county and import sources, the reduction of imports through the maximum use of domestic resources, the extension of the use of replacements for raw materials and materials, the use of reuseable material resources and the use and cycling of packaging;

b) analyzes and proposes measures for the optimum use of supply-sales activities, the operational review of transportation and deliveries and the improvement of relations with suppliers and customers;

c) supports the activities to redistribute stocks of raw materials, materials and available fuels, as well as those items that move slowly, and to prevent the build up of stocks of finished products that are not moving, are moving slowly or are over regular stock levels;

d) discusses in the work collective those problems related to the improvement of supply activities involving raw materials, materials, fuels and energy, tools, devices and controllers necessary to the production in the sections, shops and places of work, at prescribed quality levels;

e) analyzes and proposes measures to improve and rationalize internal transportation, handling, packaging, storage and loading-unloading that will ensure the rational use of trade and storage space and the extension of packing, palletizing and containerizing;

f) participates in the future establishment of production in the varieties corresponding to the market's demands;

g) verifies the manner of balancing the balance reports and, as the case may be, makes proposals for the loading of production facilities in order to provide the resources approved in the balance report;

h) analyzes special problems involving technical-material supply from domestic production and from imports and proposes the appropriate measures to ensure timely production, with the necessary technical base;

i) participates in the drawing up of proposals regarding cooperative actions and the forms of foreign sales;

j) mobilizes the work collectives to regularly achieve the approved export plan, under the required conditions of quality and with a maximum of efficiency;

k) verifies the manner in which export production is adapted to the demands of the foreign markets;

l) verifies the manner in which the unit adheres to the contractual obligations regarding exports and the preparation of lots for export, and informs management regarding deficiencies that are found in the workers' activities;

m) fulfills any other attributes outlined by law and those given to it by the workers' council.

The Commission for the Proper Administration and Protection of Public Property

The Commission for the Proper Administration and Protection of Public Property carries out its activities on the basis of the work program approved by the workers' council and has the following main attributes:

a) reviews how machinery, equipment, installations and other fixed assets are maintained and repaired and if their use was accomplished in accordance with the provisions of the technical norms and specific working instructions, and proposes measures to eliminate deviations that are found;

b) verifies whether measures to protect unused fixed assets ensure the maintenance of production facilities;

c) pursues adherence to the shutdown schedule for revisions and repairs to machinery, equipment and technological installations, which cause interruptions to production, and proposes measures to shorten the time needed to make repairs;

d) pursues the elaboration of technical instructions for the use, maintenance, periodic revision and repair of machinery, equipment and installations, and reviews how they were applied and informs effectively the unit's management about deficiencies that are found;

e) participates in the analysis of certain technical accidents that appear in machinery, equipment and installations in order to establish the causes, effects

and responsibilities; proposes measures to adhere to the work format outlined by the production technology and the technical instructions for work and use;

f) analyzes and gives opinions on proposals to remove fixed assets from production and to recover parts and subassemblies stemming from disassembly;

g) pursues the recovery of damages made to public property through shortages of or deterioration of goods;

h) pursues and informs the workers' council about the manner in which section chiefs, installation chiefs and foremen provide technical guidance for carrying out production and give the places of work specific instructions in order to carry out a regular rate of production and prevent damage, accidents and fires; proposes measures to provide technical assistence on each work shift;

i) participates in drawing up the program for the technical commission for the prevention and extinguishing of fires, analyzes this commission's activities and informs the workers' council of the results; proposes measures to improve this commission's activities;

j) initiates, in the work collectives, actions for the development of a sense of high responsibility towards the goods entrusted to them and the continuing growth of national wealth; places in discussion in the work collectives deviations from technological discipline and in the use, maintenance and repair of fixed assets, and takes measures, together with the foremen and section and shop chiefs, to eliminate them;

k) analyzes the manner in which socialist property is protected through the organization and carrying out of the preventative review and internal financial review and proposes measures for the improvement of these activities;

l) pursues the manner in which operations are carried out for the periodic inventory of raw materials, materials, products and other goods; analyzes the results of inventories and proposes measures designed to ensure the complete adherence to legal provisions for the purpose of protecting the integrity of public property;

m) analyzes the manner in which material and public resources are guarded and proposes measures to prevent any type of damage to public property;

n) fulfills any other attributes outlined by law or established by the enterprise's workers' council.

The Commission for Social Problems

The Commission for Social Problems carries out its activities on the basis of the work program approved by the workers' council and has the following main attributes:

a) pursues the provision of certain appropriate working and living conditions for the personnel in the unit;

b) analyzes how the social funds created according to the law are used in the enterprise;

c) supports activities for work safety and hygiene and for the prevention of work accidents and illnesses; organizes, together with the appropriate organs, periodic analyses of the status of injuries and temporary work disabilities among the ranks of the personnel in the unit and reviews the means of implementing established measures;

d) pursues the achievement of the unit's tasks, according to the law, for the creation of canteens, child care centers, kindergartens and social groups and for the creation of conditions for housing and the resolution of problems of medical care and housing space;

e) pursues the application of special measures for the care of women's health and for the creation of conditions necessary for the care and education of children;

f) is concerned with the best possible use of the workers' free time through the organization of cultural-artistic events, excursions, sports events and other similar actions;

g) establishes, together with the trade union organs, the distribution to unit personnel of tickets for rest and treatment in balneary and climatic spas;

h) pursues adherence to legal provisions in granting rights for social security and state allocations for children, as well as the other material rights of a social nature;

i) analyzes and makes proposals for the placement of unit personnel in disability grade levels;

j) pursues and helps in the timely completion of the retirement file for age limits, disability or heirs; verifies the files that are completed and notifies management of any irregularities that are found;

k) helps personnel who, because of certain accidents of illnesses, can no longer work like before to be reassigned to new places of work corresponding to their ability to work or to half-day work schedules;

l) pursues the strict adherence to the law regarding the correct and up-to-date completion of the work card, as well as other documents needed to complete the retirement file;

m) pursues the drawing up of the budget of incomes and expenditures and the achievement of the physical and value indicators regarding social security and pensions and the recovery of the ability to work;

n) is concerned for the manner in which persons are employed who are serving out punishments at the place of work;

o) fulfills any other attributes outlined by legal provisions.

The Commission for Social Problems also fulfills the function of a commission for pensions and social security as outlined by law, in which case the conclusions, proposals and decisions of the commission are valid if at least two-thirds of its members are in agreement. The general working procedures are those outlined in the Regulation for the Organization and Operation of the Commissions for Pensions and Social Security and the Commissions for Medical Expertise and the Recovery of the Ability to Work.

The Commission for Training and Upgrade Training, Employment and Promotion at Work

The Commission for Training and Upgrade Training, Employment and Promotion at Work carries out its activities on the basis of the work program approved by the workers' council and has the following main attributes:

a) participates in the elaboration of the annual and five year and future draft plan for the vocational training and upgrade training of personnel;

b) proposes the forms, subjects and methodology for carrying out the programs for vocational training and upgrade training;

c) pursues the manner of carrying out the vocational training and upgrade training activities that are carried out in the enterprises and takes measures to improve and increase the efficiency of these activities;

d) pursues the manner in which personnel who have gone through training aboard and in-country apply the knowledge acquired in practice and makes proposals for the most efficient use of this training;

e) studies and proposes the forms of training necessary for the retraining of personnel in accordance with the structure and demands of production; pursues the requalification of personnel for the purpose of directing them towards the production sectors;

f) analyzes the means of using personnel and proposes measures for the more judicious assignment of them to places of work corresponding to plan tasks;

g) pursues and supports the employment and integration into work of the graduates of vocational, technical and higher education schools for the purpose of more completely using their abilities to work;

h) draws up and proposes criteria for the selection and promotion of personnel in relation to their aptitudes and work experience and the needs of production;

i) pursues the strict adherence to the law in activities to understand, evaluate, employ and promote personnel at work;

j) organizes, together with the trade union organs, consultations with the work collective in the case of promoting a person into a management position;

k) is responsible for the proper carrying out of examinations or competitions for employment and promotion at work and ensures the complete adherence to the legal provisions regarding the employment and promotion of personnel in socialist units;

l) presents the results of examinations and competitions to the collective management organs;

m) is responsible for, together with the chiefs of the work departments, giving out annual qualification ratings; analyzes and submits for approval to the collective management organ and means of resolving appeals made in connection with the ratings given out;

n) proposes measures necessary for ensuring the stability of the workforce and the strengthening of order and discipline at work, and pursues the application of approved measures;

o) supports activities to raise the level of socialist awareness and to develop a progressive attitude towards work, judiciously protecting and administering public property and the civic education of workers; pursues and proposes measures necessary for the achievement of the enterprise's tasks along the lines of sanctioning and re-educating through work those persons who have committed deviations from and violations of the norms of social behavior and the country's laws;

p) fulfills any other attributes outlined by law, as well as those tasked to it by the collective management organs.

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NEW HAND-HELD ROCKET LAUNCHER DESCRIBED

History of Design

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 81 pp 8-9

[Article by M. Danilovic]

[Text] In tactical technology, the newest anti-armor device, which is lighter than a rifle, gives the infantry a weapon that is among the most modern light, hand-held anti-armor weapons that are intended for mass use.

After the Arab-Israeli War of 1973, in which tanks were destroyed in large numbers, it was believed that if they had not been completely negated as weapons, they had at least lost the importance they had formerly held. Anti-tank rockets were so superior that it was believed that the tank had seen its last battles. Yet after that conflict, like a phoenix, a new generation of tanks has appeared that has overshadowed the triumph of the anti-armor rockets and other anti-tank weapons. Besides having thicker and more resistant armor, the new tanks are almost unbelievably low, and are capable of great off-the-road speeds (of about 40 km/h). Modern fire control and observation systems, together with high quality turret stabilization, have made accurate fire possible from tank armament without stopping and from distances of up to 4 km.

To reduce the effectiveness of anti-armor rockets, the tank armor is set at about 20° from the horizontal, causing rockets to simply ricochet. In addition, there are supplementary protective plates in front and on the sides, with the same purpose. They activate the warhead of a rocket at a distance of up to 1 meter from the side of the tank. The effectiveness of anti-armor rockets against a target is also reduced by the use of special "sandwich armor" (a combination of layers of armor steel and ceramic material), or by protective plates of that material.

Five Against One

This is just one side of the medal that must be understood to make anti-tank battle effective. Certainly, there is another side, on which tank killers also count in evaluating their battle against tanks.

Besides anti-armor launched rockets, tanks can also be countered with other tanks, artillery, helicopters, hand-held and propelled anti-armor means (so that the ratio of might is five to one).

Military tank killers that fire at tanks from short distances should not insist on trying to destroy the tank only by firing at the front, where it is the toughest. A tank can be disabled even if the steel armor is not penetrated. It can be hit from the sides or the rear. In the worst instance, knocking off the caterpillar tread transforms a tank into a immobile mass of iron. Besides that, modern observation and control systems demand the placement of sensitive optical and electronic gear on the turret. Damaging them will also incapacitate the tank for combat. Finally, another important detail is that the armament of all armies still contain, and have for many years, the tanks of preceding generations and other armored vehicles, against which the effectiveness of anti-armor weapons has been proven in previous wars.

All of these facts should be kept in mind to give an accurate estimate of the properties, possibilities and effectiveness of current and future anti-armor weapons.

For Brave Soldiers

Hand-held anti-armor means hold an important place in the family of anti-armor weaponry. Since they make it impossible for tanks to operate in close quarters, they are effective only in the hands of well trained, brave soldiers. Yet they are made to be very precise, reliable and lethal. The marksman who has been trained to fire accurately with this simple device will stop or incapacitate an armored vehicle for further action with a single rocket. We say rocket on purpose, for this weapon does not use the classic mine-type of missile, but a rocket projectile with a cumulative warhead. Both the barrel (launcher) and the rocket are very light, and they constitute an entity, for the rocket is packed in the launcher at the factory, ready for action. Thus the new launcher is lighter than a rifle!

[Picture captions, p 9] The new weapon of the Yugoslav Army, a hand-held rocket launcher, is lighter than a rifle. Since it is light, simple and effective, it is intended for mass use, on the principle of fire and throw away.

The soldier need not fear that at the crucial moment, while he is waiting for the tank, the firing mechanism will misfire. The new trigger and rocket have a corresponding firing mechanism with hot gas for launching.

The project team sought to simplify operation of the rocket launcher. The marksman has only three simple operations to perform before he aims and fires. The rocket is packed in the barrel (launcher) at the factory, ready for action.

[Main text] Since the soldier fires at a tank that is approaching him at great speed (almost like a sprinter at 100 m), there is little time to prepare for firing, aim and fire the rocket. For example, on level terrain, a tank will

move from 500 m to within 250 m in only 25-30 seconds. An excellent marksman needs about 7 seconds to aim and fire the projectile. In that time, the tank will be nearly 70 m closer!

The designers have helped the soldier to avoid worry while the tank is approaching him. They have invented a simple hand launcher that the soldier can prepare for action and fire in less than several seconds.

This hand launcher was designed in a record short time by specialists of the Military Technical Institute of the Yugoslav National Army Ground Forces. It is an original approach that by its features joins the ranks of the most modern weapons among similar light, hand-held anti-armor devices with a weight of less than 3.5 kg. In some features it surpasses certain well-known weapons included in the armament of foreign armies. It has greater range and precision, and the same or greater penetrating power against steel armor plate.

The Use Principle Is Fire and Dispose

One well-known Yugoslav ballistics expert has evaluated this hand-held rocket launcher as "excellently conceived, which is the basic condition for resolving other design problems."

The launcher is shaped like a tube, with both ends closed by covers. It has a carrying strap. The rocket projectile is located in the barrel, which at the same time serves as the launcher. The front and back sights are raised when the covers are opened and the launcher is prepared for firing. It does not have the typical trigger of previous launchers; rather, there is an ordinary button covered with rubber. The only other visible part on the outside is the lock. There are no shoulder supports or handles, and the firing mechanism is built into the barrel.

That is precisely what makes the launcher extraordinary. Since it is made of special substances and alloys, it is light. It is lighter than a rifle! Therefore, it is intended for mass use, on the principle of fire and dispose. That idea is very suitable for the modern soldier, who is overloaded with equipment and weapons.

He can fire his round from the launcher when tanks appear, and afterwards he will not have to be burdened with additional equipment. The principle of one time use is being applied by certain other armies today, precisely for military mobility and independence of action. This principle can be practiced because, compared with earlier hand-held rocket launchers, this new type is much cheaper and simpler to produce, despite the fact that new materials and technology for its production are being used for the first time.

Because of its exceptional penetrating power, the hand-held rocket launcher joins the ranks of the most lethal, which is to say the best weapons of its type in the world. That has been attained thanks to a specially developed and produced cumulative warhead. Along with the barrel and rocket solutions, a

modern and reliable electric pressure trigger with a self-liquidator has been furnished. The soldier need not worry that, at the crucial moment, while he is waiting for the tank, the firing mechanism will fail him, for along with this firing mechanism and rocket, the mechanism also has a corresponding new device for firing and launching, utilizing hot gas.

The design team sought to simplify operation and help soldiers and territorial defense forces in firing at armored vehicles. Thus the marksman has only three simple operations to perform before he aims and fires. He opens the cover, pulls out a part of the launcher (the telescoping barrel is made up of two pieces), and raises the rear sight. In military terms, he switches the weapon from march to battle position. Before firing, he has to unlock the mechanical safety device to activate the rocket, and plug his ears with the earplugs that are in the strap.

Safety Device Prevents Accidental Activation

The team of specialists, directed by Slobodan Lazarevic, sought in designing the launcher to invent a device that would be completely safe during transportation, training and aiming. They succeeded. So far experience has shown that the rocket cannot be activated when the launcher is in march (transport) position, whether it is being carried, thrown, hit or dropped by parachute. Even when the launcher is being prepared for firing, the rocket cannot be activated until the trigger safety is released. If the operator decides not to fire, he can return the launcher to the initial position.

This rocket launcher is not the only anti-armor weapon for destroying tanks. There are anti-armor rockets and artillery pieces, and helicopters that in a future war would wage the main battle against enemy armor. The hand-held rocket launcher is intended for the soldier who can resist a smaller group of tanks with it, if they should suddenly appear near him. Yet it is so lethal that it can stop or incapacitate any tank for further action! That is sufficient. These rocket launchers will be produced in numbers that will total several times the total number of enemy tanks that could eventually attack our country.

Biography of Designer

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 81 p 14

[Article by Mileta Danilovic]

[Text] It was not without reason that the class leader, Momcilo Radosavljevic, told Slobodan Lazarevic from Kosjerici, who had just finished elementary school, to continue his education. That was in 1958. The Federal Secretariat for National Defense made a good choice when it decided to grant a stipend for studies at the military machine school in Belgrade to the excellent technician of the Valjevo technical machinery school, Slobodan Lazarevic.

From being an excellent pupil and a valued student "with promise," in 1968 Lazarevic finished reserve officers school and became a technical lieutenant, now with the epaulets of a junior officer with good future prospects. And no one among those three generations of teachers and pedagogues was in error. Slobodan Lazarevic from Kosjerici, today at 38 a major and specialist for weapons design at the Yugoslav National Army's Ground Forces Technical School, has not disappointed all these expectations. Though young, he is an educated, competent specialist who leads a design team at the institute. In 13 years of scientific research work at that institution, he has participated in the work of a "team" or successfully directed designing and development of seven new projects. That means, less than 2 years on the average per design project. Very few designers can claim to work at that pace! By this he has in the best manner paid back his professors at the machine faculty, and his superiors and older colleagues at the institute today, professors Jaukovic, Stamatovic, Sekulic, Jankovic and others.

Lazarevic attained his proven success in designing weapons, more precisely in designing rocket motors, thanks to the fact that he completed the higher technical military technical school that has gained an international reputation. Besides the ballistics section of the machine faculty, 8 years ago he also finished postgraduate studies abroad, where he specialized in weapons design. The young specialist has spent nearly half of his lviing and working years in schooling and in improving his knowledge about the job that he performs today. Thus it is not unusual that his difficult and responsible design work has been fruitful.

He Has Designed a Rocket Launcher That Is Lighter Than a Rifle

But let's look at Lazarevic's design opus in more detail. With a group of colleagues he has worked on air-to-air missiles, on rocket motors for anti-aircraft missiles, and on various types of warheads, aircraft rockets, and anti-armor weapons. In each of those projects there is, to some extent, an original, modern solution to problems, which has affected their acceptance and adoption for Yugoslav armaments, and thus increased the battle readiness of the armed forces and decreased the dependence of domestic manufacturers on foreign suppliers.

The most recent invention of the design team led by Major Lazarevic is regarded to be very successful and significant for our armed forces. In just a little more than 2 years, the team designed and developed, with the cooperation of the potential producing industry, a new anti-armor infantry weapon with a cumulative rocket, a hand-held rocket launcher. This unusually precise and highly lethal weapon weighs less than modern rifles, and according to military specialists, its original design places it among the most modern versions of light, hand-held anti-armor weapons in the world. Compared to some well-known versions of this weapon, the Yugoslav hand-held rocket launcher has a greater effective range, several times greater accuracy, and armor-penetrating power that is also at the level of the most modern light hand-held rocket launchers of this caliber. The hand-held rocket launcher is intended for mass use. It differs from classic hand-held launchers (of the previous generation)

in that it is to be used only once, for one firing. That is, however, a feature of all modern rocket launchers of this type. The launcher is of original construction, with the barrel also serving as the rocket launcher and as the shipping and transporting container. The rocket is placed in the barrel (or launcher) in the factory, and it remains there until it is fired.

The basic feature of this type of launcher, besides its original design, is the use of new materials and technology, some of which are being employed for the first time in Yugoslavia. Most of the materials used in making the launcher barrel are of modern composite materials, while the rocket is made of high-quality light alloys with high mechanical and technical characteristics. The barrel is also constructed in an original manner. Primarily thanks to the research of technical engineer Ljubica Sajnkar, this type of construction is being used for the first time in Yugoslavia. The barrel is five times lighter than previous models, yet it is mechanically very durable and cheap, as well as easy to manufacture.

Activation of the rocket is accomplished with a modern pressure electrical switch button with a self-liquidator and some new pyrotechnical mixtures.

As director of the development project, Lazarevic provided the concept of the rocket launcher according to on the basis of the tactical, technical requirements expected of it, but he also participated directly in research in other areas (such as rocket motors and the cumulative warhead).

The materials of the barrel and the rocket can withstand great operating pressure and high temperature. If one were to calculate the energy released in launching the rocket, it would be nearly equal to the power of a smallish hydroelectric power plant! When one writes about Slobodan's project, he could get the impression that they are completed easily and simply. On the contrary. They are the fruit of intense, long labor and great self-denial by a team of specialists. For example, the new rocket launcher was developed in record time, but to do so the engineers and technicians all skipped their annual vacation, and worked 10 hours a day to finish the project quickly. And it is finished! Lazarevic's work motto is "don't leave for tomorrow what you can do today." He says: "I don't want someone to be dependent on me to perform the tasks assigned to him, and to be unable to perform them because I hampered him. Thus I strive to complete the tasks given to me in the time limit I receive. I also expect that of the people with whom I work."

I Am a Lucky Man

The exceptionally diligent and persistant Slobodan succeeded in finishing all his schooling with excellent results, even the one abroad. He also performs the most difficult work, the vital practical work in the institute with success. For excellent results in designing weapons, he was promoted to major ahead of time, 4 years ago. Lazarevic says, "Everything that I have achieved in schooling and at work I have been able to accomplish thanks to the fact that I work in a healthy atmosphere, which is full of understanding and always ready to help. Specifically, on this latest project I received much help from

colleagues of various specialties. Personally, I have always sought to perfect and enrich my knowledge. I am not afraid to say that I am a lucky man, that in a pleasant family environment I can find time to read specialized articles and the written tests of officers who are seeking the rank of major. I have time to talk with my wife, who is an engineer of technology, to play with my children and to go for walks together."

After finishing elementary school, Slobodan put himself through school, for his parents were not sufficiently well off to provide further schooling for him.

Yet he was fortunate enough to receive a scholarship as a freshman. After graduating with a grade of 9.4 from the machine building faculty, the young engineer was sought by several labor organizations. But Slobodan did not wish to leave "the army." He says, "I stayed because I wanted to repay my debt. But I also like this dynamic designing job. I am constantly engaged with new projects, they do not let me get stale, and the results of my work appear quickly, they can be felt. I have put a part of myself into every new device."

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END

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22 March 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1990

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JPRS 80369

22 March 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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SLOVAK JOURNALIST DESCRIBES POST-MARTIAL-LAW POLAND

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak 21 Jan 82 p 10

[Article by Pavol Minarik: "Restoration Concerns Everybody"]

[Text] Shortly after martial law had been imposed in Poland, I got off the Prague-Warsaw international express train at the main Warsaw railroad station. That first day and the next 17 days, which I spent in our northern neighbor country, were more than interesting. I witnessed a radical change in the life of the country, which was literally tossing about in a deep economic and social crisis. It would be more than naive now to assert that a turn for the better in this turbulent country will occur overnight. The process of socialist restoration will certainly be neither easy nor short; however, it has been evident from the first day that the Military Council for National Salvation vigorously resisted Solidarity's anarchy, chaos and demagoguery.

Most people in our northern neighbor country wish that the situation in people's Poland will return to normal as soon as possible. They really have had enough of the strike nonsense, which brought about only growing problems and difficulties. In the following lines, I will recollect the story of several days of my stay in Poland under martial law, declared by the Polish People's Republic [PLR] State Council on 13 December 1981.

The First Day--In Poland Again

Less than 4 weeks have passed since my last visit in Poland. I have hardly recovered from a certain impression of those days, when there are new impressions. And I must confess that for a person who went to Poland frequently during this past year, these new impressions are unusual. Warsaw, which used to "blossom" with the provocative slogans and posters of Solidarity, the independent trade unions, staring at people from each corner, pole, gate or any vacant space, is now getting rid of these "achievements of democracy." Hundreds of people armed with scrapers, brushes and soap water are cleaning postered surfaces. The copies of the Declaration of the PLR State Council, Military Council and Salvation Council have been put up only in appropriate spaces. I am getting acquainted with the conditions of martial law. There is a curfew and all strikes are banned. Telephone and telex communications have been cut, taking photographs is forbidden. The activity of trade unions and certain associations has been suspended, Solidarity's extremist leaders have been interned as well as many of the former party and country leaders

responsible for errors that have been made. Important factories and institutions have been brought under military control, streets are patrolled by soldiers of the Polish Army and the Public Security forces. Both domestic and international air traffic has been suspended. Okecie, the Warsaw airport, handles only special flights for foreigners who were caught in the country by martial law. The Forum Hotel, where I stay is almost empty, as are other hotels.

On the very first day, accredited reporters of RUDE PRAVO and Czechoslovak Radio and I attended a meeting with the PZPR Praga South secretary in Warsaw, Comrade Janusz Patorski. He informed us about the situation in his district, where most of the large factories are located. Comrade Patorski was in contact with all the party organizations and knew what was going on in any particular factory. He informed us that in some factories attempts to halt the manufacture and to strike against the declaration of martial law appeared. However, the majority of the staff in the factories realized the seriousness of the situation and did not give any support to these hazardous appeals. During the time of our visit, the Praga South Party Committee was very busy. People from factories and institutions kept coming in, offering their help to the party. A workers' formed guard, wearing the letters PLR on his sleeves, together with the armed forces, kept order.

We left the district committee and went to one of the VSK [presumably USK, transportation equipment factory] factories, which manufactures aircraft engines. We did not choose this factory by chance. Here the KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] had a strong position some time ago. Jacek Kuron felt at home here, here he spoke to the workers during the general strike which took place at the end of November. Also, the situation in the party organization was complicated: only 20 percent of the party members were not also Solidarity members. We asked what the situation had been like immediately after the imposition of martial law. Comrade J. Sobis, PZPR factory committee chairman, told us: "People came to work in the morning, however, Solidarity attempted to organize a provocation, despite having been suspended and strikes having been banned. However, no provocation took place. We had control of the situation from the very start. The factory director talked to the organizers of the provocation and we talked to the secretaries of the manufacture guild party organizations. We left nothing to chance."

The Fifth Day--Provocation

This day had been selected by the Solidarity leadership for a demonstration against state power even before the imposition of martial law. It was supposed to be a kind of premonition of the last attack against the party and country leadership. It was to have been followed by open dismantling of socialism. The instructions discovered in Solidarity's central offices, particularly in the Mazowsze region, spoke clearly about forming some kind of revolutionary committees, diversive actions, terrorism and sabotage. The Solidarity intervention groups were waiting only for an order and the action would have begun. However, the extremists from "independent trade unions" miscalculated their position. In spite of this, those Solidarity leaders who had not been interned chose to continue to provoke. They distributed posters and leaflets calling for the strike to be held as planned. Solidarity's last instruction was: At five pm assemble in Victory square. A few minutes earlier, about 300 people, mostly youngsters, gathered in Warsaw's Krakow suburb (which is only a few meters from Warsaw University). At first, they were difficult to distinguish from people who were just walking home from work, however, suddenly a cluster of people formed

and the provocation began. It did not last long. Public Security forces dispersed the provocateurs without using force in the least. St Anna Church is only a few meters from there. No services were held at that time, however, shortly after the attempt at provocation, the church was packed with people. What was going on in this church only confirmed that the "House of God" had become a place where anti-socialist forces were coordinated. Having been dispersed, groups of extremists, who, hidden amidst the enraged crowd, had shouted insults at the Security forces calling for order, retreated to this church.

There one of Solidarity's communiques was read in public, urging people not to respect martial law, to fly country flags in protest and to light candles in apartment windows from 8 to 9 pm. On that evening, I saw one single candle shining in the entire apartment house block opposite the hotel. No other candles were to be seen in the hundreds of other homes.

During the evening hours, I learned from television that in other cities Solidarity's provocative actions did not end so quietly as in Warsaw. During a similar provocation in Gdansk, 160 officers of the Public Security forces were injured as well as 164 strikers who attacked the guardians of order. Similar events turned out to be tragic in the Wujek mine in the Katowice district; eight people lost their lives there. At the beginning, the Security forces peacefully appealed to the people to end the provocation; however, the people did not obey. What more, they attacked the Security officers and injured 30 of them. Then it was no longer possible to stop the bloodshed.

The Eleventh Day - Christmas

Despite the efforts of the Solidarity leaders who still were at large to instigate unrest, people remained quiet. Various provocative posters and leaflets urging interruption of bus traffic or wearing of black armbands to express a kind of "national mourning" appeared in Warsaw, however, they were largely ignored by the people. In some parts of the city, in Grochov for instance, the posters declaring martial law had been crossed out with black paint or, in other places, torn off. In Marszalowska downtown, the declaration posters were written over with derogatory slogans insulting the Military Council for National Salvation.

The army and the Public Security forces were on alert even during the holidays. On Christmas Eve, when most Poles were sitting at the festive tables, I went to see soldiers at their guard posts. I was not the only one who came to visit a group on guard not far from the hotel. A Catholic priest was talking with an officer and about 10 soldiers. As I was approaching the group, he suddenly became silent. A few hours later, I learned that during the midnight services priests voiced an appeal from the Episcopate which sympathized with the martial law opponents. The Polish Catholic Church headed by Primate Glemp played on both sides. On one side, it blinded the Military Council with various promises, on the other side, it incited believers and other people against the council's measures. Despite all this, life in the country began to return to normal to a considerable extent. Criminality and disturbances decreased rapidly. The situation in food supply improved. After a long time, the state market was well supplied with most basic food: bread, milk and butter. Stores remained open even during evening hours. For instance, in large Warsaw department stores food was sold even outside food departments. Continuous aid from

socialist countries streamed to Poland even during the holidays; food and medications were being sent in particular. Nor were children forgotten; presents in the form of sweets, toys and warm clothing were received. The supply situation began to turn for the better also thanks to the fact that about one-fourth of the food factories worked continuously.

During Christmas holidays I visited in Wedel, a Warsaw chocolate factory. The production was running at the full rate. I talked to several people directly on the production line. Henryk Siejak, who had been working in this factory's division for caramel mixing for 40 years, expressed the belief that General Jaruzelski's Military Council would introduce order and discipline into the country as soon as possible. Eleonora Mirecka spoke critically about Solidarity leaders: "While they still worked in workshops, they earned as much as we did--4,000 to 5,000 zloty, but later they made 20,000 or more. However, they had forgotten us only too soon. And besides, they were not responsible for anything, they always only demanded something, without a slightest effort to also help with something." Stanislava Nalezekova, a member of "independent trade unions," had a different view. She asserted that Solidarity had done really a lot for the people: "They increased wages, granted free Saturdays, etc. If martial law had not been imposed, Solidarity would have dealt with the situation otherwise..."

The Seventeenth Day--The Last Day

Only a few hours was left before the end of 1981. Despite the situation coming evidently to normal, the enemy, who in some cases had dug himself underground, could not be underestimated: rumors had spread that he was threatening with sabotage and conspiracy. It was still possible to encounter violations of the restrictions following martial law. PLR prosecutors daily sentenced tens of people for organizing strikes and various antistate provocations and spreading false information in spite of all the bans.

On the last day of the old year it was disclosed that strikes had been organized or attempted in 199 factories and enterprises during the first days of martial law. These actions had been organized by Solidarity extremist leaders and counterrevolutionary elements from the so-called Conference of Independent Poland, KOR, etc., who felt at home in the "independent trade unions." Most extensive strikes took place in the Katowice, Gdansk, Sceczin, Warsaw, Wroclaw, Lublin and Gorzow Wielkopolski voivodships.

The army, the Security forces and administrative agencies could not relax their vigilance even on the last day of the year. Not only that, they had to declare open warfare to profiteering. Unfortunately, profiteering did not decrease even after the imposition of martial law. The Polish media of mass information and propaganda almost continuously brought information about profiteers and dishonest people who profited from the bad economic and political situation. The administrative agencies would have often been helpless without support from society. This also applies to other areas of life. Without support from the broadest strata of working people, a real improvement would come really too late, and this should never happen.

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VATICAN STRUGGLE AGAINST MARXISM, SOCIALISM EXAMINED

Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 17 Feb 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Prof Deyan Pavlov, ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME's observer on ideological questions: "The Doctrine of Catholic Imperialism and Ideological Struggle--Ideology and Politics"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

> [Text] /During the era of the bourgeoisie's ascendance, its ideologues waged a bitter struggle against scholasticism as a weapon of outdated feudalism. But once transformed into a counterrevolutionary class, the bourgeoisie sought clericalism and scholasticism as its allies in the struggle against the working-class movement and Marxist theory. In V. I. Lenin's words, the monopolistic bourgeoisie, "out of fear of the proletariat that is growing and gaining in strength, supports everything that is behind the times, that is dying out and medieval." This applies with full force to Catholic imperialism as a weapon of anticommunism. To be sure, we do not equate believers and clericals. Clericalism is reactionary political speculation with belief. It is the counterrevolutionary "politicization" of religion and the "theologization" of politics in the interest of the conservative forces of the era.

Marxists respect believers and their convictions when they are not enlisted in political actions against the people. In this, we are guided by V. I. Lenin's recommendation that we must be extraordinarily cautious in combating religious prejudices; those who bring offense to religion into this struggle do great harm. We are not forgetting, however, that certain imperialistic forces in their mounting activity against detente and social progress are trying to use Catholic clericalism for their dubious purposes. It is an extremely powerful channel of ideological influence. The Jesuit order alone publishes 1320 periodicals in 50 languages, while Vatican radio has 800 radio stations. Catholic imperialism has a thousand years of experience in defending all exploitative socioeconomic formations in history.

/Tool of Three Exploitative Systems/

As is known, in the beginning Catholicism glorified the slave-owning system and created a "divine" nimbus around it. During feudal times the Catholic Church became a huge landowner and powerful bulwark of the feudal system. Catholicism had grown so tightly together with the feudal system that it defended it fiercely even when feudalism was obviously tottering. Pope Pius VI anathematized the French bourgeois revolution of 1789 and its leaders. He issued a special letter, "Adeo nota," in which he condemned the principles of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen." Even at a time when the Vatican was already adapting to the bourgeois era and itself gradually becoming a large-scale capitalist, Pope Pius IX issued the so-called "Syllabus" (1864), in which he anathematized not only socialism, but also "progress," "liberalism and modern civilization in general." This "Syllabus," which represents one of the darkest pages in the murky history of Catholic clericalism, has not been rescinded even to this day.

Finally, after the necessary "corrections" in its doctrine, Catholicism became a structural element of the capitalist system and one of its main spiritual and political mainstays. The Vatican has served as the tool of three exploitative social systems since it has always fallen in with the basic interests of the ruling classes, primarily by creating a halo around the rulers and inculcating in the oppressed people a spirit of resignation, of renunciation of "earthly happiness" for the sake of heavenly bliss, and by always apotheosizing wage slavery.

If we speak of Catholic social doctrine in particular, we must emphasize that it did not come into being until the 19th century. This happened at a time when the Vatican was no longer able to exert influence through direct religious homilies alone, as in previous centuries. In the middle of the past century there appeared on the historical horizon the staunchest revolutionary class--the proletariat, which initiated a struggle not for the replacement of one form of exploitation by another, but for genuine, complete and definitive social liberation. Under these conditions the bourgeoisie rapidly realized how useful the social demagogy of Catholicism, enriched by centuries-old experience, was to it. The "misunderstandings" between the bourgeoisie and the Vatican were at last settled and the alliance which continues to this day was established between the last exploitative class in history and Catholic clericalism in the struggle against the working-class movement, Marxism and socialism.

The social doctrine of the Catholic Church is a conglomerate of ideas, whereby a religious and neo-Thomist explanation is given to the most diverse problems in philosophy, sociology, political economy, law, ethics etc. The formation of this doctrine was preceded by the issuance of a number of papal encyclicals--"anathemas" of Marxism and communism--beginning as early as the 1840's. Thus, in 1846 Pope Pius IX issued the first anti-working-class encyclical, "Quam pluribus" [sic! actually "Qui pluribus"]. In it, communism is treated as a "pernicious plague," "barbarous sect" etc. It was precisely this encyclical Marx and Engels had in mind when in their deathless "Communist Manifesto" they pointed to the Roman pope as an active participant in the "holy gang" against communism. But the pope gave back as good as he got. At once on the appearance of Marx and Engels' "Communist Manifesto," Pius IX responded on 8 December 1849 with a new anticommunist encyclical, "Nostis et nobiscum."

Thus was inaugurated the profuse flow of papal encyclicals against communism which continued to pour forth for a full hundred years.

/The Number of "Anathemas" Grew in Proportion to the Success in the Propagation of Marxism/

and the creation of revolutionary proletarian parties.

After the Paris Commune, Pope Leo XIII issued the next anticommunist encyclical in the series, "Quod Apostolici muneris." But no "anathemas" were able to prevent the triumph of Marxism in the working-class movement. The bourgeoisie began to be more and more afraid of the heightening class struggle. Crafty Leo XIII realized that incantations did not suffice and took a new step. In 1879 in his encyclical, "Aeterni Patri" ("Eternal Homeland") [sic! actually "Aeterni Patris" ("Eternal Father")], he proclaimed the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas to be "golden wisdom" and the official Weltanschauung of the Catholic Church. By this act /a more flexible struggle against the revolutionary workers movement and Marxism was initiated/.

The creation of the Second International and the growing movement of the proletariat under the banner of scientific socialism showed the Vatican that it still did not have sufficiently effective weapons to combat Marxism, above all in social problems. This forced Leo XIII in 1891 to issue the first "social encyclical"-- "Rerum novarum." It was this document that laid the foundations of neo-Thomist social doctrine. Its /Leitmotiv is the defense of the private ownership of the means of production, the justification of exploitation, and the denunciation of the class struggle, with wide use made of religious Thomastic dogmas/. "And thus we must, firstly, agree to the following thesis," the encyclical "Rerum novarum" says; "mankind must bear its burden without repining. Social inequality cannot be eliminated from the world. True, socialists attempt to do this, but every attempt, being directed against nature, is unavailing." At the same time, Leo XIII resorted to typical clerical social demagogy. In 1898 he addressed the workers in the following words: "You must keep peace in your souls, placing your trust in those Christian employers who look after your life with so much wisdom. . . Love your employers." Thus Leo XIII pitted the thesis of class "harmony" and reconciliation, of the "coordination" of the interests of capital and labor, against the Marxist doctrine of class struggle.

After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, when socialism for the first time began to be transformed into a living social reality and capitalism entered upon its general crisis, turning back and the attempt to halt social progress became the basic watchword of the imperialistic bourgeoisie, now frightened to death. In 1924 the book of the German neo-Thomist, W. Koenig, was published in Strassburg: "Back to Thomas Aquinas," that is, back a good seven centuries! Yhis watchword took on ever greater significance in bourgeois philosophy. Neo-Thomist social doctrine was used more and more widely by the imperialistic bourgeoisie.

Under the conditions of the great economic depression of 1929-1931 the monopolistic bourgeoisie needed new weapons to combat the growing influence of communism and to bolster their badly shaken positions. It was at that time, exactly 40 years after publication of the encyclical, "Rerum novarum," that Pope Pius XI issued the second

"social encyclical" of Catholicism, "Quadragesimo anno" (1931). It hurled by-now

/Crude Anti-Soviet Invective/,

appealed for the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia and lauded "class cooperation." The Catholic clerical establishment was aligning itself more and more closely with fascism.

The smashing of fascism under the decisive blows of the glorious Soviet army of liberation and the creation of the world socialist system heralded the beginning of the second stage of capitalism's general crisis. Bourgeois ideology weakened as never before. The Vatican occupied one of the first places in the anticommunist chorus during the "cold war." It vigorously continued to inundate world public opinion with maledictions. Whereas Pope Leo XIII issued about 20 anticommunist encyclicals and Pius XI about 30, Pope Pius XII already "fabricated" over 150 encyclicals against socialism and the workers movement.

In its anticommunist obsession the Vatican on 1 July 1949 issued a special decree forbidding believers any contact whatever not only with communists, whom it "excommunicated" from the church, but also with all democratic organizations and movements in which the staunchest champions of the working class, of the laboring people, participated.

By his support of NATO's aggressive policy and by his moral and theological "justification" of atomic war against the socialist countries, Pius XII earned the nickname of the "American pope." In his 1956 Christmas address Pius XII condemned any negotiations whatever between the capitalist and socialist countries regarding disputed international questions. "Why should we talk to one another though, when we have no common language, or how can we have a meeting since our paths lead us to different countries. . . and therefore any coexistence is actually impossible. Merely out of respect for the name of Christ, Christians must cease to adhere to this tactic, for, as the Apostle says, it is not meet to sit down at the same time at the Lord's table and at the table of his enemies," the "American pope" declared.

Clearly, Pius XII did not want to hear of peaceful coexistence between the socialist and capitalist states or of any negotiations whatsoever. A former adviser of the same pope, the well-known neo-Thomist G. Gundlach, declared in a speech to the Catholic Academy in Bavaria that, according to Pius XII, "Use of the atomic weapon would not be absolutely immoral." Gundlach added that "even the perishing of an entire nation as a mark of faithfulness to God" might be of "value." Unfortunately, to this day there are Catholic cardinals who approve of nuclear war, even though contrary to the new official policy adopted by the Vatican on this question. Cardinal Terence Cooke of New York declared in December 1981 that "the strategy of nuclear containment is morally acceptable, as well as" President Reagan's "limited nuclear war." Such utterances are a culmination of reactionary Catholic clericalism, completely in harmony with the actions of the ultraconservative forces of American and world imperialism headed by Reagan!

To be sure, such acts are no reason to forget that Pope John XXIII in the 1960's initiated the "adaptation" of Catholicism to the modern age and that he issued the first Vatican encyclical in defense of peace, "Pacem in terris" (1963). Ever since, the Roman popes, including the present John Paul II, have conducted

/Dialogue of Catholicism with Participants in the Revolutionary Workers Movement, with Marxists/.

Much has changed in the Vatican, and that in the direction of recognizing the main requirement of the age, namely, the necessity of preventing thermonuclear war and of guaranteeing peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. The Vatican continues to normalize its relations with the socialist countries and to make a certain contribution to the solution of a number of present-day global problems. It was also represented at the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1975 at Helsinki. In this regard the last quarter of our century, with its tremendous changes in favor of the forces of peace, democracy and social progress, has left its imprint as well on Vatican policy, which is not at all identical with that of Pius XII. But still, /Catholic clericalism remains one of the most active and persistent anti-Marxist and antisocialist forces in the huge battle in the international arena./ As the Czechoslovak newspaper NOVE SLOVO wrote (15 October 1981), "Under the conditions of the crisis through which Poland is going, the church's social ideology, its content and function, must be perceived as the arch rival of Marxism-Leninism. . . All of present-day Catholic doctrine is, to a certain degree, a kind of 'borrowing' of Marxist ideas, while the ordinary believer perceives them as the church's own." The Czechoslovak newspaper adds that "Church leaders do not conceive of socialism passively, but strive to modify it and to erode it especially in the sphere of superstructure. They endeavor, above all, to neutralize its world-outlook and ideological function." Indeed, as a result of events in Poland the social doctrine of the church has revealed its eclectic character, its attempt to promote some sort of 'updated Christian socialism" under Polish conditions. It is no accident that the program of the extremist circles of "Solidarity" always emphasizes that its foundation is "the values of Christian morality and nationalism." On 10 February 1982 the American author David Land attempted to suggest on Voice of America radio that the Catholic Church is the "guardian of the Polish national spirit" and that "the church evangelizes and gives direction to the human conscience," something which was bound to have the effect of a "strait jacket" for the defenders of the legal social system in fraternal Poland. On his visit to Poland in 1979 Pope John Paul II, under abstract slogans of the "spiritual unity of Christian Europe," leveled indirect attacks on dialectical and historical materialism, which is the philosophical foundation of the socialist society. He anathematized "totalitarian materialism" and spread the idea of so-called free access of other forces to mass-information media in Poland etc. Reuters Agency interpreted John Paul II's third social encyclical in a row, "On Human Labor" (September 1981), as "practical intervention by the church in social life" and as an "epistle to the Polish trade union Solidarity and to Eastern Europe."

All attempts to use religious beliefs for reactionary political purposes do harm to the "dialogue" under way between Catholics and Marxists and hinder efforts to guarantee the highest common good--peace, cooperation and the progress of humanity. On this question there can be no compromises!

6474
CSO: 2200/68

BENO ON 1982 MEETINGS OF BASIC ORGANIZATIONS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary: "Important Meetings for Communists"]

[Text] In November of last year, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium approved a resolution concerning the programatic focus and the politico-organizational assurance of the member meetings of the basic organizations of the party at the beginning of 1982. At present the preparations for these important discussions among communists are culminating in more than 46,000 basic organizations, encompassing basically every work site and location of our society. Meetings at the beginning of the year occupy an important place as a tested form of party work, as an important mobilization of forces and activities for communists in all sectors for the assurance of tasks in the new year.

The year 1982 has some special features. It is the second year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, a year tied into the 16th Congress, general elections and the 60th anniversary of the founding of our party. At its very beginning, it is clear that this will not be an easy period. We will be carrying on a struggle throughout the year for the further implementation of the conclusions of the 16th Congress. Matters in all aspects of social development, but especially in the economic area, will be much more complex and difficult. The tasks outlined by the congress and then formulated in the 1982 plan by the Central Committee and the CSSR Government are oriented toward the mastery of ambitious, very rigorous requirements in the growth of efficiency, conservation, and overall management through the utilization of all resources.

For technical-managerial, administrative activity, as well as for politico-organizational, educational work and the development of initiative in all sectors, it is particularly important to base actions on the characteristic features of the replacement process. This means, above all, that the national economic plan projects a continuation of dynamic economic development and an increase in asset formation both for the development of production and for the life of the society, given lower growth rates and under very rigorous conditions--for practical purposes without an increase in material, raw material, and fuel and energy inputs.

The feasibility of these rigorously established tasks is based on the unused potential inherent in an increased valuation of all funds, under the conditions of a more substantial improvement in planned management, the utilization of the influence of economic instruments and the development of the immense force of the subjective factor--of the man in the managerial and labor spheres of production.

A plan of economic and social development conceived in this way is very demanding on the whole process of its implementation. For this reason, we will not be content solely with traditional approaches to its assurance. The individual effects of all factors, and their full development, place especially high demands on the multilateral application of the leading role of the party, its controlling, organizational and educational influence, and on close links with the working people.

The strategic task which has been outlined, the achievement of a substantial turnaround in the intensive development of the economy, its efficiency and the quality of all labor, has universal validity. Every basic organization and the sector in which it operates influences to a certain extent the replacement, formation and efficient utilization of the use values of society. This applies to all sectors, all areas of society, all levels of management, the entire political system. It encompasses the areas of production and consumption, and all types of social activities. In this way, considerable latitude is created for the developed functioning of the party and the entire political system. This creates the need to unite and the possibility for uniting, concretely literally every communist and every citizen in the achievement of this strategic objective.

The character, extent, urgency and difficulty of the tasks which lie before us in 1982 also determine the requirements for the corresponding approach of party organizations to their assurance. Societywide tasks have a concrete manifestation, a material form, at every work site and in the activities of every basic organization. This is the basis of the resolution concerning the content of the member meetings, in which the Central Committee has oriented the entire party and society to the key issues which must receive increased attention in the interest of a more rapid realization of the strategic conclusions of the 16th Congress. Emphasis is placed on the necessity for introducing at all levels a principled course of action for the realization of party policy, an atmosphere of critical rigorousness and implacability toward shortcomings and toward the inconsistent, often lackadaisical resolution of problems. This creates a natural requirement for the achievement of a significant turnaround in the sophistication of managerial work at all levels and in all sectors, the further intensification of the leading role of the party and its controlling activity, a strengthening of the entire system of controls in all its aspects, the development of ideological and educational work, and the constant fortifying of the links between the party and the workers.

The fulfillment of the established tasks is conditioned by an across-the-board increase in demands on the commitment of party organs and organizations, on the creative activity, initiative, and combativeness of communists in the implementation of the strategic line of the party in all sectors, throughout the entire society. A further intensification in the leading role of the party is closely tied to a strengthening of the ideological, political and operational unity of the party and the moral and political unity of our people, on the basis of a profound understanding of the domestic and foreign policies of the party in the overall struggle for their realization.

The member meetings of the basic organizations at the beginning of the year, as is evident from the conclusions and resolutions of the third, fourth and fifth CPCZ Central Committee plenums, are entrusted with a very demanding mission; the critical evaluation of their role in the fulfillment of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress, and the outlining of the main tasks for the basic organizations for 1982. The

outcome of the preparations and the discussions themselves are to be concrete measures, directives and paths for approaching the assurance of the principal 1982 tasks. The requirement for a specific, concrete resolution is intended to create a good foundation for the development of effective politico-organizational, ideological-educational, and mass political work. It also will serve to evaluate the overall view, and to identify the questions with which the basic organization committee and the member meeting will gradually concern themselves. The most important tasks must be integrated into the plan of the party organization, and the responsibility for their fulfillment allocated to communists working in the managerial sphere, on national committees and in professional, youth and other social organizations.

Member meetings of basic organizations will now concern themselves, above all, with fundamental tasks which fall to them on the basis of congress conclusions and other party resolutions concerning their area of activity. From this, it is clear that there is a need to devote particular attention to the preparation of the content of the member meetings to formulate high-quality bases for the discussions. At times, we refer to these meetings concisely as "accounting sessions," which is not a completely accurate description of the content. Even though it is not strictly a matter of accounting, the evaluative part of the meeting, in which the work of the past period is analyzed and lessons are drawn from the successes and failures, has an important function. Without a high-quality, critical and rigorous view of the existing state of affairs, there is a danger that we will approach current tasks in a formal, generalized way, with tried and true techniques, and that we can still allow ourselves to make past mistakes and indulge in past shortcomings, which reduced the efficiency of party work and weakened the impact of its results.

The efficient control and verification of tasks is a continuously valid, Leninist aspect of a party-oriented work style. In the requisite thoroughness, then, it cannot be absent, especially at a time when the work of one period is being wound up and that tasks for the next period are being outlined. Control, conducted in a spirit of constructive criticism, guarantees a unity of word and action, assists in eliminating boastfulness and fuzzy thinking in an approach to problem solving and the assurance of established tasks, and prevents inflexibility, a bureaucratic attitude and irresponsibility. It assists in understanding the basis of the causes of phenomena and in better indentifying paths to solutions. In this sense, control and verification of task fulfillment emerges not as a one-time, exceptional measure, but as an ongoing, necessary process in the development and intensification of managerial activity. For this reason, we take steps so that it is firmly rooted in the working style of the party-oriented membership at all levels, beginning with the CPCZ basic organizations, that controlling means to assist, improve, educate and correct.

A critical attitude toward previous activity has multifaceted significance. This lies, among other matters, in the fact that this attitude makes possible intensifying, supplementing, or simply adopting, as a component in the formation of the working attitude of party organizations for 1982, measures and resolutions which proved effective earlier and which are valid for the current period as well. We know from practice the importance of utilizing that most important criterion of the effectiveness of our work, actually achieved results, for our own self-inspection. It is well known that in some organizations it was precisely the inadequate monitoring of previous resolutions, decisions, measures, etc. that laid the basis for a formalistic attitude, superficiality, and led on more than one occasion to passivity. A committee

or a member meeting, precisely because of inadequate material controls on the fulfillment of previous measures, thus adopts new resolutions on the same issues, resolutions which are usually again too vague, not sufficiently binding and therefore fated in advance to the fate of the previous resolution.

An approach to the formulation of new tasks, the next measures, and a procedure based on the informal, critical evaluation of the work of the most recent period has great significance precisely from the viewpoint of the conscientious focusing of future activity in such a way that this activity is linked from the very beginning in a critical, creative manner with the period just passed. This means that future activity would be free of previous mistakes and shortcomings, that it would utilize and further develop all positive aspects which had been tested and proven, and that it would search comprehensively for an answer as to how best to approach the solution of those tasks which lie before us.

A member meeting may fulfill its mission only in the event that the main directions of further development of the internal life of the party, and the development of politico-economic, politico-organizational and ideological-educational activity are linked to the implementation of the critical working tasks which stand before the work collective in which the party organization is active. The formulation of economic plans for this year was accompanied by considerable difficulties. Nor will the fulfillment of these plans be without troubles. Party organs and organizations have evolved widespread politico-organizational activity in support of an active approach to the plan for 1982, and for the entire Seventh Five-Year Plan. We are well aware that the engagement of workers in the plan formulation process, in the search for ways to intensify production, has met with varying levels of success. The unjustified anticipation in some instances of a so-called comprehensive plan demonstrates a failure to comprehend the first-order requirement for a commitment by communists to party policy, especially in its decisive politico-economic area. Numerous party organizations serve as examples of how it is possible and essential to develop a counterplanning approach to broken-down plan targets, to search for unused capacities and possibilities for improved valuation of raw materials and other funds, to produce greater use values with higher technical parameters and with fewer inputs.

As certain findings of territorial party organs indicate, only one-fifth or one-fourth of the factories and enterprises have actually applied the techniques of the counterplanning assurance of established tasks. There are numerous factories where the comprehensive development of work according to this year's plan was not undertaken in time, nor was it discussed and provided for informally with an active approach by committees with broad party and managerial participation. Findings from current preparations and plan assurance for this year are signaling that the member meetings will have to deal with this kind of approach critically and in an uncompromising manner, and that they will mainly have to reach effective conclusions as to how to overcome this serious shortcoming, and how to achieve a fundamental turnaround in a party-oriented approach to the struggle for the comprehensive, most effective possible assurance of the fulfillment of planned tasks throughout the entire year.

A more profound analysis of the implementation of the leading role of the party in the politicoeconomic area at the member meetings must touch upon both the evaluation of the outcomes and approaches to the resolution of technical-production, economic, and social issues, as well as the development of an appropriate working style,

standards and methods, and instruments by which a party organization may assure its avant-garde mission. Personnel work, in its broadest sense, belongs among the basic instruments for the implementation of politicoeconomic objectives. This includes a concern for people and their education, as well as their engagement in the solution of problems and, clearly, the most effective possible placement of communists in critical sectors.

The influence of a basic organization on the solution to a specific problem is often conditioned precisely by actual, daily work with the communists in this sector and, with ther assistance, with entire work collectives. Much depends upon the success with which a committee interacts and makes use of professional and youth collectives, as well as the broader community of experts. Practice has made clear how much creative strength is represented by the participation of the broadest possible combination of communists and nonparty members in the search for a solution to problems and in the formulation of resolutions and measures.

This will also be the viewpoint from which party organization will approach preparations for public party meetings, which will become the platform for the acquaintance of work collectives with the measures adopted by the member meetings, for a common search for the most effective ways for resolving tasks related to plan assurance, and by the supplementing of the plan with the suggestions and experiences of workers. In this regard, it is also necessary to implement that important instrument for the realization of party resolutions--the entrusting of concrete, verifiable tasks to communists.

Even though we are speaking primarily about politicoeconomic tasks, this does not weaken the importance of tasks in other areas of our life. Achieving economic development targets is unthinkable without the development of the political instruments for actual work with people, organizational and educational activities. The resolution of the presidium of the party Central Committee emphasizes, in this connection, the necessity for party organizations to orient their efforts toward the clarification of all aspects of the domestic and foreign policy of the party and the complexity of the new conditions, toward the continual fortification of the trust of the workers in the party's policies, and toward active participation in their practical implementation. Party organizations are to develop the daily, aggressive political activities of communists within work collectives and openly to explain current problems to people so that they understand the purpose and objectives of the party line.

In connection with the convening of the member meetings at the beginning of this year, it must be pointed out how important it is to approach daily tasks from a political viewpoint and to view them in their wider connections, from the viewpoint of given conditions, in relation to prior and future development, but also with a recognition of the international political processes in the world. The historical advantages of real socialism, its creative force and revolutionary perspective, the unity of the socialist community under the leadership of the Soviet Union, constitute the critical conditions of our peaceful life, and their multilateral intensifications is an inseparable part of the building of socialism.

As is the case elsewhere, the achievement of positive results is dependent on the good work of individuals, on good organizational and managerial efforts. This is also true of the preparation and conduct of the member meetings. This is especially

so because the assurance of these meetings rests above all with committees of the basic organizations and their chairmen. The CPCZ Central Committee recognizes this when it orients its divisions, as well as kraj and okres committees, above all to the provision of effective assistance directly to basic organizations. The fact that the membership of the committees of these organizations represents an experienced, politically and professionally mature, elected group numbering 300,000 strong is a good precondition for a substantial increase in the sophistication of the work performed by basic organizations. This, however, does not exclude the requirement for organizing differentiated, concrete, effective assistance for basic organizations by supervisory organs, above all by okres committees, and by all-factory and enterprise party committees within the large party organizations. From them is required a knowledge of the work of appropriate basic organizations and of entire sectors within the range of their competence. Participation in the preparation for member meetings makes possible the application of findings of supervisory organs, the deeper involvement of nomenklatura personnel and the utilization of the generalized experiences of other organizations.

We know from experience that member meetings,with all their accoutrements, may be organized on a formalistically high level. We are not, of course, against party meeting "savvy"; quite the contrary, we strive for it. In the first place, however, must be the content, the political quality, the efficiency, the action-taking strength of a party meeting, the committed participation of members and candidates. All of these requisites, as is well known, are provided for in the entire course of preparations, in the enlistment of a broad group of participants and party groups, in the utilization of the remarks and suggestions of work collectives. The committee report, measures which are proposed and the discussion should openly react to actual issues of life and work in whatever sector, identify the basis of the problems as well as solutions to them and ways by which communists wish to resolve the submitted problems. These matters are discussed better than they are addressed in practice. The multifaceted, often very detailed, "ant" work which goes into the composition of the conclusions of a committee and the proposed measures, is not however immediately evident. The quality of the member meeting, the resolutions which are adopted and, then, the work itself and the results which are achieved all depend on it.

Quality preparations for a member meeting are necessary, above all, so that after its conclusion it may be justifiably stated that the meeting was good, up to standard, that it reacted concretely to the main, decisive questions, pointed to clear directions for the development of party work, that it set tasks specifically and concretely. Only in this way will this important meeting of communists effectively comprehend the directives and goals established by the 16th Party Congress and further resolutions of the Central Committee. Only in this way will we build upon the fourth and fifth plenums of the CPCZ Central Committee with first-class responsibilities of communists, place ourselves at the head of efforts by work collectives, win over workers to the fulfillment of tasks and become initiators and pioneers of progressive forms of work.

9276
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PASSPORT, EXIT PERMIT, FOREIGN CURRENCY REGULATIONS DISCUSSED

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 6 Feb 82 p 3

[In today's "Frequencian Column," reader's questions sent to us in writing or telephoned to the editor's office will be answered by Doctor of Laws, Capt Miroslav Slaby, Deputy of the National Security Corps (ZNB) Passport and Visa Department for Bratislava, the SSR capital, and the West Slovakia KRS, and Jozef Misovic, Head of the Exchange Division of the Czechoslovak State Bank (SBCS), the Main Headquarters for the SSR]

[Excerpts] [Question] I hear that the revenue stamp fees for passports have been changed. What are the fees to be paid now?

[Answer] Yes. The administrative charges have been changed as of 1 January 1982. In applying for a passport it is necessary to have a revenue stamp worth Kcs 50 and a stamp of the equal value is necessary in submitting the application for the exit permit. However, in other cases no changes have been made, that is, a stamp worth Kcs 10 is still necessary for the application for the traveler's supplement to the citizen's identification card and for the application to extend the passport's validity. A Kcs 5 stamp is also sufficient for adding a child to the passport or a change of address. The same charges hold in applying for separate travel documents for children.

[Question] How about passports for Yugoslavia? Especially for those people who were there last year on vacations or for those who have never been to that country but still possess a valid passport?

[Answer] Since 1 January 1982, new passports have been issued for Yugoslavia, distinguished by a different color--they are gray--and these passports are valid only for travel to and stay in Yugoslavia. Anyone who wishes to visit Yugoslavia this year needs this passport and an exit permit. Equipped with these two documents, he may travel through all socialist countries. If one wishes to go through nonsocialist countries, he will use the present green passport together with the corresponding exit permit. The green passports used by those who were in Yugoslavia last year and had them marked at the border were invalidated 31 January 1982. These passports must not be used as travel documents any longer and citizens must return them to appropriate divisions of the Passport and Visa Administration. Those whose passports

have not been marked expired can still use these passports for trips to nonsocialist countries, for trips to Yugoslavia in conjunction with visits to nonsocialist countries and for trips to all socialist countries.

[Question] How will we travel to Hungary this year?

[Answer] Trips to Hungary have not been restricted. For these trips, it is necessary only to follow the instructions issued by the SBCS.

[Question] How is the Public Security (VB) Passports and Visa Department prepared to cope with the great interest in travel during summer months and to provide all the people with documents?

[Answer] I would like to make use of this opportunity and ask our citizens not to put off the clearing of the documents till the last moment; in this way they will help themselves and our staff. It is necessary to start with this immediately after they have received the foreign-currency exchange guarantee or after they have bought a tour from a travel agency office. For instance, citizens can apply for a passport extension as early as 6 months before the date the passport is due to expire. It happens very often that a passport holder discovers this fact too late and then unnecessary anxiety results. The exit permit is also valid from 3 to 6 months.

[Question] What documents are required with a passport application?

[Answer] An applicant over 15 years of age must have:

--an accurately filled out application form for the Czechoslovak passport (with all spaces properly completed and written in full);
--two photographs on soft paper with a neutral background;
--his own citizen's identification card or the personal identification card of a professional soldier;
--a Kcs 50 revenue stamp.

An applicant under 15 must also have a completed passport application, however, this must without exception be submitted by a parent or the guardian; further, he needs his parent's citizen's identification card, two photographs, a Kcs 50 revenue stamp and written permission of one of the parents or the guardian, verified by the local national committee or the Passport and Visa Division where the application is being submitted. For persons with limited competence in legal procedures or who have been determined to be legally incompetent, the written approval of their custodian, verified by the National Committee, is also required.

[Question] Will supplements to citizen's identification cards continue to exist? For which countries? What do we need to obtain them?

[Answer] These are traveler's supplements to citizen's identification cards for trips to socialist countries and are valid 3 years. To obtain them, it is necessary to submit a valid citizen's identification card and a Kcs 10

revenue stamp. Traveler's supplements are also issued for children under 15 years of age, for which the parent must also submit a photograph of the child for attachment to the supplement and one of the parents' citizen's identification card.

[Question] How long is it supposed to take for the Passport and Visa Department to process a passport and the exit permit?

[Answer] Processing applications for travel documents is performed under the law on correct processing, which allows 30 days for processing applications or 60 days in complicated cases. This applies to both passports and exit permits.

[Question] At what age must a child have a passport of his/her own?

[Answer] If a child travels abroad unaccompanied by a parent, he/she must have a travel document of his/her own in the form of passport, the supplement to the citizen's identification card with the child's photograph on the exit permit. A child under 15 years of age can be added in a parent's passport; however, beyond this age a personal travel document is required.

[Question] At what age may a child travel abroad alone?

[Answer] Whenever the parents give their permission for the trip or put him/her in care of another person and, of course, when all the passport and visa formalities have been met--there are no other limitations.

[Question] For family reasons, I want to move to a European nonsocialist country. How shall I proceed?

[Answer] You must ask for the information at the appropriate Passport and Visa Office for your permanent address. They will provide all necessary information and also the application forms for emigration.

[Question] Is it true that passports to nonsocialist countries will be deposited at appropriate VB offices?

[Answer] The Passport and Visa Office will receive valid, i.e., green passports to be deposited in those cases where a citizen is being issued his travel documents for a trip to Yugoslavia. In other cases travel documents will not be deposited. Essentially, in this case we only apply the principle that a citizen is supposed to have only a single travel document entitling him to travel abroad.

[Question] I have had my passport for 5 years and it has been extended till 1984. Can I use it for traveling abroad or must I have the so-called 3-year supplement to the citizen's identification card, which was introduced some time ago? What is required for this supplement?

[Answer] If your passport is valid till 1984, it can be used for traveling to both socialist and nonsocialist countries with the exception of

Yugoslavia. Therefore, you do not need any supplement to your citizen's identification card.

[Question] How old must a CSSR citizen be to be permitted to travel privately to nonsocialist countries?

[Answer] No age limit has been determined. As long as the person meets all the requirements for the issue of a passport and gets it, he or she can travel.

[Question] For how many years after finishing basic military service am I prohibited from traveling to nonsocialist countries?

[Answer] There is a general rule that for traveling to nonsocialist countries a citizen must have the approval of his appropriate Military Directorate.

[Question] What documents are required for an exit permit?

[Answer] A valid passport is required; if a citizen does not have one, he should submit an application for a passport together with an application for the exit permit. For trips to nonsocialist countries, it is necessary to submit an affidavit of no criminal record; this is not required for trips to Yugoslavia. Further, you must have an appropriate document on sufficient funds in foreign currency to cover your trip, a foreign-currency guarantee from the SBCS, in other cases, a verified invitation from a relative living abroad (parents, brother, sister, child or a grandparent) or an acknowledgement from an appropriate travel agency which organizes the tour. You also need an opinion of the head of the organization where you are employed. If the citizen is a student, he needs the approval of the school principal or an academic functionary from his college. Further, everybody must submit a personal document verifying the applicant's identity, i.e., a citizen's identification card or a professional soldier's identification card and the approval of your military headquarters. If an applicant is neither employed nor in the military or other service, for instance, housewives, pensioners or freelance professionals, an approval from the appropriate local National Committee is required.

Foreign Currency

[Question] How does one apply for a foreign-currency guarantee?

[Answer] This year, application forms can be received from all SBCS branches from 15 January to 26 February. All the spaces of the application form must be filled out accurately. I wish to emphasize that especially the space entitled "Year of Your Last Trip Abroad" must be filled out accurately and truthfully; it is necessary to state your last private or individual trip to nonsocialist countries, i.e., even trips organized through a travel agency, trade union recreation trips and tours as well as all trips made abroad for the purposes of medical treatment and the like. The application must be approved by the employer; pensioners and housewives will have their

applications approved by a local National Committee, students by their schools. A duly filled out application form must be submitted before 26 February 1982 at the SBCS county branches or, in Bratislava, at the filing office--the address is 20 Leningradska St--or it can be sent in by mail.

[Question] How will forints be allotted this year for private trips to Hungary?

[Answer] The purchase of forints for private trips to Hungary has been stopped except for during the tourist season. We expect that forints will be available at the SBCS branches from 15 June to 31 August 1982. From the total amount of forints agreed upon by the Hungarian National Bank and the SBCS, we primarily must provide pocket money for tours organized by travel agencies and for business and official travel of our citizens.

[Question] Why and how long will travel to Hungary be restricted, while Hungarian citizens can travel to Czechoslovakia without any restrictions?

[Answer] Last year some of our citizens traveled to Hungary despite the fact that they had not been supplied with forints by the SBCS. Many of them took advantage of the situation and changed more Czechoslovak crowns than is permitted by the Czechoslovak Foreign-Currency Exchange Law; consequently, the Hungarian National Bank has a sufficient amount of Czechoslovak crowns to supply their citizens for trips to our country. Just as a matter of interest, I would like to add that the forint appropriation from the Hungarian National Bank has been the same during the last 4 years. As for the second part of the question--Czechoslovakia and the Hungarian People's Republic are preparing an agreement which will regulate even visits of relatives. Details will be known only after the agreement has been signed.

[Question] I am planning a trip as a tourist to Sweden for this summer. I would like to know the following: What is the exchange rate of the dollar and the Czechoslovak crown? What rate of tax is paid? How many dollars are granted for a 1-day stay?

[Answer] In February this year, the tourist rate for dollars is Kcs 23.82. The SBCS provides $15-18 per day, with a maximum of $360.00 for the entire stay.

[Question] Can I get a foreign-currency guarantee without approval from my school?

[Answer] Not for a trip to nonsocialist countries. A signed approval is necessary for such trips. We do not require an approval for trips to Yugoslavia.

[Question] As far as private trips to nonsocialist countries are concerned, will a citizen get only dollars or also the currency of the particular country where the citizen wishes to travel?

[Answer] There is a principle that a Czechoslovak citizen receives the currency of the country to which he will travel. If the currency of a particular country is not included in the SBCS official rate list, we will provide the citizen with the most convenient substitute.

[Question] Do you think you will be able to satisfy all applicants for foreign currency?

[Answer] Last year in the SSR the funds allocated to us satisfied 27 percent of all applicants for the foreign-currency guarantee for nonsocialist countries. The percentage of applicants satisfied in respect to the foreign-currency guarantee depends on the number of citizens applying for this document.

[Question] Is the regulation which prohibited a person from receiving a foreign-currency guarantee more frequently than every 5 years still in effect?

[Answer] In distributing foreign currency, the SBCS follows commercial and political principles approved by the Czechoslovak government on 8 November 1979.

This means that applicants who have not yet traveled privately to nonsocialist countries will be given priority in getting the foreign-currency guarantee. The 3-5 year restriction which previously was in effect does not apply any longer.

9814
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UNITED PEASANT PARTY SEEKS GREATER POLITICAL ROLE

Warsaw WIES WSPOLCZESNA in Polish No 8, Aug 81 pp 8-51

[Text] On 11 July of this year, a discussion was held at the editorial office of WIES WSPOLCZESNA devoted to the place of the Party [ZSL] in contemporary political life.

The discussion participants were (in the order of their appearance): Dr Tadeusz Kisielewski (ZIELONY SZTANDAR), Dr Eugenia Jagiello-Lysiowa (IRWiR PAN [Institute for development of Rural Areas and Agriculture, Polish Academy of Sciences]), Docent Dr Habilitatus Wladyslaw Szymanski (SGPiS [Main School of Planning and Statistics]), Docent Dr Habilitatus Jan Gorecki (SGGW-AR [Central School of Agriculture-Workers' Press Agency]), Editor Tadeusz Marczak (ZIELONY SZTANDAR), Docent Dr Habilitatus Marek Ignar (IRWiR PAN), Prof Dr Tadeusz Barszczak (SGGW-AR), Prof Dr Zygmunt Hemmerling (ZHRL [Institute for History of the Peasant Movement]), Docent Dr Habilitatus Stanislaw Grabowski (SGPiS and WIES WSPOLCZESNA), Dr Zenon Mikolajczyk, Czeslaw Kozak (chairman of WKZSL [Volvodship Committee, United Peasant Party] in Kielce), Dr Izydor Adamski (secretary of NKZSL [United Peasant Party Chief Committee]), Dr Witold Lipski (WIES WSPOLCZESNA). The discussion was opened by Dr Stanislaw Winiarczyk and led by Dr Witold Lipski.

Stanislaw Winiarczyk

The topic of our discussion, "The Place of ZSL [United Peasant Party] in the System of Political Forces in Poland" is dominant and at the same time broad. We would like to concentrate on several groups of the most important matters. One of them is the place of ZSL in the party system. Also of importance are program issues and ideological matters. In connection with the fact that, currently, there is work being done in the Peasant Party on an ideological declaration and a program of action, certain problems should be discussed, with the attitude of ZSL towards other social organizations at the head of the list. What we have in mind here is, above all, the attitude towards "Rural Solidarity" and the ZMW [Rural Youth Union].

As far as the first group of issues is concerned, the acceptance of general principles in regard to the place and role of ZSL in the party system is that which defines its functions in the State and above all, in relations with the Party [PZPR]. This raises the question, whether the adopted principles and political practice do not limit the capacity for the development of the organizational multiparty system? Are all its functions being utilized at the present stage of development of political and social relations? In the Declaration of Cooperation, it is stressed that PZPR plays a leading role in society together with the participation of ZSL and SD [Democratic Party]. It is further stated that a vital element of the leading role is allowing for the possibility of the occurrence of differences of opinion and positions between the PZPR and its allies in regard to the methods and means of building socialism as well as methods of influencing socio-political life. This formula goes further than the previously binding formulations regarding cooperation. Therefore, in practice, what does the carrying out of the leading role together with the participation of ZSL and SD mean? On what is the partnership role of ZSL based in interparty relations? What do such concepts as the equal rights and equally important relationship of ZSL to PZPR signify in practice?

The ZSL has been described up to now as a regional party. In this spirit, a statute was formulated which outlined rather clearly, the recruitment base of members, confining it to people connected with rural areas and agriculture and not to those who accept the Peasant Party program. This, of course, led to the limiting of its membership base and indirectly to program unilateralism. The Eighth Congress unlocked these restraints and took a stand in favor of the open character of ZSL for all those who recognize its program as well as in favor of moving beyond traditional circles of political interest of ZSL, rigidly outlined and which limit activity of the Peasant Party to rural areas and agriculture.

In that case, do some kind of limits exist for the interests of ZSL? On which issues should the Peasant Party have a deciding vote and where does its opinion count less? Will ZSL's entry into the sphere of problems reserved exclusively for PZPR not be interpreted as an attempt of undermining the leadership role of this party [PZPR]? How far apart can differences of opinion and positions taken be between PZPR and ZSL? What is the significance of the correcting function to be fulfilled by allied parties and how does this relate to the traditional concept of opposition? Political practice has shown that uncontrolled authority will constantly make mistakes. How then, should this sphere of activity of allied parties be structured? The trade union "Solidarity" is beginning to carry out supervisory functions whereas they should be performed by allied parties.

What should be the other goals of the multiparty system? That system, which during the time of renewal ceases to play some sort of vital role while the principal, specific weight is shifted to the relationships: the Party--"Solidarity"--the Church, which constitutes a third inportant socio-political force. It is worth noting, that some people are saying: the party and allied parties while others leave out parties in this formula. In this context, one has the feeling that allied parties are ceasing to fulfill those functions, which would arise from their function as political parties. In view of this, what

are the tasks to be fulfilled by the multiparty system? Is it only the enrichment of program contents elaborated by the Party and expansion of the spheres of social acceptance for this program? There is a problem in all of this: how to reconcile the principle of self-government and independence of organized forces with the principle of the leading role of the party. This is a key problem which occurs both in the theoretical aspect and in the aspect of political functioning. This is the first bloc of the most fundamental problems related to the place and role of ZSL in the party system.

I would like to make some comments regarding program issues, in particular, ideological issues. As far as ideology is concerned, there have been until now, difficulties in formulating a complete program in this area. It was molded from elements of the progressive tradition of the peasant movement and principles issuing from the socialist system. There existed an entire series of unanswered problems resulting from the selective treatment of the past as well as from principles incorporated into the peasant movement which were not fully accepted by all members. A negative influence on the program was exerted by dogmatic and sectarian concepts which were not totally surmounted, which underrated the role of rural communities and peasants in social development, which negatively evaluated cultural specificity and above all, the individual method of farming. As an ally of PZPR, ZSL tried to eliminate from the program and from its ideology, those elements which would suggest an association with agrarianism. At the same time, a lot of positive ideological-upbringing substance, which flows from the traditions of rural communities was being eliminated. This gives rise to one general question: which elements should, in this situation today, form the ideology of the modern peasant movement? What sort of role should tradition play and within what limits should it be exploited? How should the ideology of the peasant movement distinguish itself in a socialist state? There also exists an important block of problems connected to the attitute of ZSL towards world outlook issues.

The next group of matters--the issue of the Peasant Party's representation of peasant interests. This problem was not intensely exposed until now, particularly in the 1970's and this was probably one of the program weaknesses of the Party. ZSL is a peasant party; it counts nearly a half million citizens as members. Peasants make up the majority of the membership but the intelligentsia constitutes a sizeable group as well. The party machinery also fulfills an important role. In that case, how is the matter of representing peasant interests to look? What are the limits for the class interests of peasants and national interests in general? The Party must take up this important issue of the present day--a political and economic issue. The Eighth Congress negated the regional character of ZSL. Anyone who acknowledges the statute may become a member of the Party. Thus, a problem arises: what kind of role will other social groups and among these, the rural intelligentsia in particular? Should this be an independent role or an auxiliary role in regard to the peasant class? These are extremely vital and important issues. There is also a separate problem, important from the point of view of Party functioning, regarding the place and role of the party apparatus. It [the apparatus] is small in relation to the number of members but in the hitherto existing model of Peasant Party functioning, it played a leading organizational role. Therefore, what kind of role--in the process of

democratization and a socially broader life and democracy within the [Peasant] Party--should the permanent party apparatus play? What should constitute the guarantee of the proper fulfillment by it of its functions?

The last group of problems--the relationship of the Party to other social and political organizations in rural areas. In the beginning, I mentioned "Solidarity" and ZMW; agricultural circles and other organizations acting in rural areas should also be mentioned. Of course, from the political point of view, the most vital and most current problem is the attitude towards "Rural Solidarity". How should contacts be arranged in a practical manner and what is cooperation to look like? Will parallel activities continue, as was the case on the occasion of the People's Holiday when in certain areas there were two holidays--on Sunday and on Monday--one organized by the Peasant Party and the other by "Solidarity"? Will these social forces be divided or should we strive so that they will become integrated in a well understood, common interest of rural areas and agriculture together as a whole, in regard to other partners in our economic life, which also constitutes an extremely live and vital issue. It is too bad that the representatives of "Rural Solidarity" are not here (and whom we invited) because this is an issue which has a key significance for the practical functioning of the Peasant Party in the immediate future.

The next problem--the attitude towards ZMW, thus, towards that organization which was created through the heavy participation of Peasant Party members and activists. The Eighth Congress gave its backing to this organization and there exist many common levels of cooperation between ZMW and ZSL. Both organizations work out their program of activity in a youthful environment. On the other hand, it is necessary to take on an attitude towards the key issue which always takes place in relations between a party and a youth organization--the natural influx of youth organization members into a party. There was no tradition in the peasant movement for youth organizations to be strictly tied to political parties. ZMW "Wici" was automomous in regard to SL [Peasant Party] and as can be presumed from documents, such a position is also taken by ZMW in declaring cooperation with ZSL. Of course, ZSL is vitally interested in the passage of SMW members into the Party ranks. This constitutes a natural necessity; a condition indispensable for the preservation of the continuity of party life. At the same time--how should one go about shaping, in practice, cooperation between ZSL and ZMW, especially since ZMW is still an organization on the rise and one which is becoming organized.

These are the selected groups of problems which we would like to discuss today. However, as has already been stated, my opening address does not constrict the framework of our discussion but is simply, only an evocative element.

Tadeusz Kisielewski

In order to define the function and role of ZSL in our political life--we must return to history. First of all, we must turn our attention to the kinds of conditions under which ZSL was formed and then to its history and evolution.

ZSL was formed at a time when the period of Stalinism was already well underway. This, of course, must have exerted a great influence on the shape and model of ZSL. Of extreme importance also, is the period preceding the birth of ZSL--a period of sturggle for the victory of the socialist revolution in our country; and above all, the results of this stuuggle were of vital importance.

In its ideological and political structure, the emerging ZSL was a continuation of SL. However, the fact alone that it was formed--resulted from, in my opinion, the social presence and strength of all peasant party members, also including those who as a rule came from the old PSL [Polish Peasant Party] and who at that time remained outside of the peasant party movement, the SL and the reborn PSL but whose number was not at all small. It is also worth noting here that a certain group of activists from SL and from the reborn PSL also did not come into the emerging ZSL.

Shortly after the birth of ZSL, a theory appeared, which was propagated by a part of the party activists and also accepted by a part of ZSL activists, according to which the Party [Stronnictwo] was to be nothing more than a transmitter of Party [PZPR] politics to the peasant masses and most importantly, was to become lost along the way together with SD in the process of the development of socialism. In other words, ZSL and SD were treated as allied parties for the time being. Some ZSL activists hurriedly studied Marxism-Leninism, of course, in the Stalinist version prevailing at that time, in order to be able to join the PZPR at the moment of "ZSL's waning".

Then came October 1956--great hopes and great changes in the country. Socialism, democratic in nature, is capturing wide masses of Poles. It is linked to the Polish cause. All this proclaimed a "Copernican" breakthrough. Newness also enters rural areas in full force. The privately owned family farm is revived here--that very farm which will later prove to be for many an unwanted and unloved child. At that time, great hopes and fundamental changes occurred in the ZSL as well. The Party, which was being reborn, participated concurrently with full-fledged energy in the rebirth of social life in the country, particularly, of course, in rural areas.

However, the post-October changes quickly came to a halt. There were signs of this already in 1957. This must have affected ZSL as well. It was met with all kinds of restrictions more increasingly. The 1960's and in particular, the second half of that decade--represented regression in Party politics.

Then follows December 1970. Again, hopes and attempts of reviving ZSL. The country is undergoing great economic revitalization following great stagnation and hopelessness at the end of the 1960's. The same is true in rural areas and in agriculture. However, the situation differed from that in 1956--the former was a "Copernican"-type revolution while the latter [1970] was only a revision.

In 1971, the allied parties formally accepted the program of the PZPR as their own programs. It is clear that the circumstances for this arose much earlier--now it was formally sanctioned. This must have halted these parties' very own ideological and programmatic thought and that which follows--political responsibility. From the mid-1970's, a grave economic crisis was clearly mounting

and concurrently in the superstructure; a so-called propaganda of success became the official philosophy of the ruling party and for many--an inspiration for making private plans of setting themselves up in life. ZSL--from a practical point of view--was carried by the current of politics at that time.

Then came August 1980. This time, it would seem, we also have a "Copernican" revolution. However, it is completely different than the one of 1956. In 1956, it was a revolution of hope while in 1980--a revolution of social guarantees. In October 1956, belief came easily and without reservations; in August 1980 neither words nor gestures were trusted and an independent, huge social movement was created for the permanent assurance of subjectivity of working people and of the entire nation. This movement traverses through the trade movement as well as through political parties. Hence, it also creates a completely new challenge for ZSL.

History cannot be absent from present activity--stereotypes of thinking and actions continue and systems of political cooperation also cannot change from day to day. In Poland, there ought to be reasonably, clearly precise activity and responsibility of political parties, government administrations as well as of social and professional organizations. There must be clarity in social life. At the same time, a dialectical movement should take place between individual forces of importance in society, thus, a movement of contention and dialogue about the value and sense of actions and work. In this dialectical movement, the government should, for example, express postulates and also dissatisfaction when needed, in regard to political parties in the area of the presentation of general social and political strategy while political parties should voice their dissatisfaction, if required, aimed at the government--dissatisfaction with its activity and above all, with the effects of this activity.

Political parties should be with their members in a precise manner, in areas of their [the parties'] activity and they should express their [members] wishes and needs, of course, on a political level; they should point out prospective goals and persuade in favor of these goals; set, at the same time, on behalf of the present; indicate the complexity of things but keep in mind the overall class substance of these matters. They should also be with their members at times when discontent is roused in areas of their activity. ZSL ought to draw conclusions, as completely as possible, from the forthcoming and current history for its political activities.

Eugenia Jagiello-Lysiowa

Despite the difficulties which we are experiencing, despite the helpings of tension which we are served nearly all the time, I would, nonetheless, like to express my optimism in regard to the times in which we are living. I believe that this period can give birth to prospects of optimism including prospects of optimism for the peasant movement. This is a difficult process of creating a new model of society--nonstandard and nonduplicative; this process may, in effect, bring political and social stability to society and to the country. I would like to emphatically stress here, the point which was formulated at the meeting of the prognostication association's "Seminar on Experience and the Future" called together last Friday. In spite of what is generally said about

social upheaval, anarchy, about all kinds of threats which hang over us, the optimistic variant of this prognosis states that, in practice, a bloc of political understanding is forming which encompasses an overwhelming majority of Polish society and this gives rise to optimism.

In regard to rural areas, it may be presumed that in spite of various tensions, a new social order has begun to form here as well, an order in the area of social understanding. The registration of "Rural Solidarity" was, undoubtedly, the element which initiated the creation of this new order. I feel that without the formation of "Rural Solidarity", a new social order would be very difficult in rural areas, perhaps even impossible. Social order in rural areas should be regarded as an essential element of general social stability and not only because rural areas mean food. Polish rural areas were and still are to a certain degree, a specific social structure which possesses its own social "dimension", its own functioning mechanism, in a word--a specific socio-cultural identity. History has shown that "imposing municipal, industrial and urban structures on such rural structures as the peasant rural community (at least in our Polish conditions: the Polish rural community has a certain specificity as a result of its political tradition, its cultural cohesion and a number of other conditions) gives socially negative effects. This, of course, also gives certain positive features but the automatism of rapid "industrialization" and "urbanization", which does not take into account the danger of the loss of socio-cultural balance in rural areas and the disturbance of its internal rhythm of transformations creates a threat to the overall social balance. The uniqueness of individual farming under conditions of a socialist country together with threats from a dogmatically understood doctrine presented a unique situation here. In my opinion, this was a terrible lack of imagination and this lack of imagination is venging itself on society. This was, after all, constant undermining of the social foundations of agriculture which feeds the nation but above all, a lack of stability and confidence within agricultural management.

In connection with this, I would like to touch upon another matter. Much is said about manipulation of society in general during the past decade while little is said about manipulation of rural society. This was, after all, manipulation which was primarily based on the discreet disqualification of the peasant model of life in general. The attack on the peasant model of life in social categories was based on promoting the argument that agriculture and rural society based on individual farming because the peasant farm is an obsolete structure. This was leading astray of the collective awareness of rural areas in the personal, local and nonlocal cross section. In the personal cross section, other occupations and the glittering model of city life were important and inter sting. In the local cross section, rural life always meant gossip, slander, jealousy and selfishness. A cross section of rural class values was almost nonexistent· it was something shameful--this was related to the lack of cultural centers which would support this type of bond [rural class] and values. This was, so to say, the social "justification" for the nonexistence of an authentic peasant movement and party.

What are the conditions like for the rebirth of the Polish rural community, the revival of the peasant movement and the revival of an authentic Peasant Party? There exist many unknowns in this matter but above all, great difficulty

in discerning the damage done to the social tissue of the rural community. We can speak here, it would seem, of the significant local and regional differentiation. The rural community is the most damaged--it would appear--in industrialized regions. The process of industrialization gives people bread and at the same time causes social destruction of rural communities due to improper policies towards agriculture. This is specifically associated with a collapsing agriculture in which commonly known plagues occur, such as alcoholism, disrespect for work and in particular, disrespect for the working style of the farmer and the fatal, overall turning away from rural values. The reconstruction of this rural social structure, which should be a base for the new peasant movement as well as for the Peasant Party as a true partner of the Party in the struggle for a newly forming social order, will not be so easy but this does not, at all, mean that it is not possible. The reconstruction and development of peasant farming must be linked with the strengthening of the peasant rural community as a social structure and a specific model of life. One factor cannot be isolated and it cannot be said that peasant farming will be rebuilt and developed without the rebuilding of the peasant rural community as a whole. Therefore, agriculture and self-government are not the only factors but also specific cultural traditions and "local" values; dignity and pride in the rural community, in one's occupation; political significance, respect for and appreciation of the rural community on various levels.

The issue of this extensive social reconstruction is also very important for the characterization of social conditions of the future, reborn Party model representing the rural community because the issue of the Peasant Party cannot be treated apart from the entire scope of issues concerning the rural community. The model of the Party must be connected with the future model of the rural community, agriculture and rural society.

Justification for the existence of the peasant movement and the Peasant Party expresses itself for me, above all, in the voicing of the peasant community's interests. This does not, of course, indicate viewing the peasant movement and the Party in nationwide categories. This should be a party, open in nature but one which must voice the interests of the peasant rural community and above all, must defend peasants. If the Party will not defend the peasants, then it seems to me that the formation: peasant movement and Party will simply end: it will not continue. Of course, it may be assumed that there are social movements which reach their culminating point followed by a collapse. However, I think that this does not apply to the Polish peasant movement at this stage. The peasant movement treated in just this way may become revived and a strong Party may form as a political partner. Naturally, realism is the rule here. A new definition of the peasant movement is necessary, therefore, if the possibilities and barriers of the rebirth of the peasant movement also including the Peasant Party were to be weighed. It is very difficult to present new definitions and new political-ideological terminology of this movement within the framework of a socialist State since it is a kind of "novum". However, I feel that those in the Party who use their ability to think including those in the peasant movement, people of science, activists, people who have Poland's and the rural community's future at heart, should find the means to formulate such a definition, which would constitute the modern definition of the peasant movement. Many more elements from rural traditions and many more elements resulting from the nonstandard analysis

of contemporary times should enter this new ideological formula. From the past, if only to give an example--the ethos of peasant labor and land or in other words, those values which were once described as "agrarian". Other, descriptions better suited to the new society and our open times should be found and they should also be tied to socioccupational values; to local, agricultural microenvironments--the rural community should not be standardized [glajchszaltowac]. It seems very important to me that these environmental values should also be introduced into the program; elements of environmental balance: city-rural community on a socio-economic plane and on a cultural plane; scological values of rural areas, humanistic values, environmental protection, rebuilding of localism and of local bonds. There is also the matter of a totally different attitude towards the personality of the rural dweller and the individual. More understanding, more tolerance, more goodwill towards socio-cultural "dissimilarity" is needed. This is both a psychological problem and a social problem requiring an unschematic method of thinking about the rebuiding and development of this community. There are numerous areas, which went completely unnoticed and were not treated seriously, while they can, after all, enter into the make-up of programmatic thinking in this new [Peasant] Party.

The working out of program assumptions on the basis of these wide ranging thoughts about the rural community, social and political thoughts is after all primarily a question of shaping the program from below. The most intelligent intellectural of the peasant movement will not devise a program which can be accepted by the rural community alone. Even if we do have social understanding of what is happening in rural communities, the voicing of the rural community's interests must come from the rural community; people from the very "bootom" must take part in creating the program. Thus, this is a reverse process--not imposing certain forms of thinking, although they may be the best, but a process of creating a program from the bottom. Let the rural community itself and the peasants say what kind of Party they want and which program elements are most important to them in this Party.

I also feel that a pressure group should be formed in regard to matters involving rural society and agriculture while ZSL should become an initiating pressure group when it comes to thoughts and actions in the interest of the rural community.

Wlndyslaw Szymanski

Because we are discussing the place and role of ZSL in a new situation and during a time when the socio-political system is being reformed, I shall begin by saying that this role ought to be adapted, above all, to the main processes of change to which we are subject. One of the characteristic traits of the crisis, which has appeared in Poland, is that it demonstrated that we must adapt the political system and the economic system to national traits and to the mentality of Poles. The vertical, hierarchic structure of subordination and central control of society and the economy turned out to be not only rather ineffective but also contrary to our type of society. The sphere of culture and twists of history shaped a specific sense of personal independence, a particular attitude towards authority and towards authoritative subordination. The main precess of social changes must, among other things, take into account that Poles are not suited for a system in which comandeering dominates. The situation differs, in this respect, in different countries. In our country, this imposes a self-governing direction in politics and in the economy. This is also connected to the need for pluralism.

We can say, it would seem, that in Poland the process of renewal is nothing more than a process of spreading multisubjectivity and pluralism. Of course, this is a question of expressing social attitudes in a specific institutional framework, determined by recognizing the leading role of PZPR.

It appears that pluralism, which results from the formation of independent trade unions, is not enough. If there will not be certain changes leading to the increase of political pluralism, then the trade unions will simply not retain the character of trade unions. In order for trade unions to remain trade unions--in accordance with the spirit of their statute--existing political parties as well as ZSL and SD, must take on a new character in the practice of their activity. Otherwise, we will push the trade unions into politics and activity which belongs to political parties. Reality does not tolerate an empty field. If ZSL does not enter the empty field [void], then the trade unions will come into this field. Whether we will provoke extremes in Poland or neutralize them depends on the activation of parties. This requires that ZSL and SD, parties standing on the foundations of socialist development and active in alliance with PZPR, become parties with an authentic, independent program; parties which are completely sovereign for only then will their support of PZPR be of importance and one which counts. A good partner is one that is strong.

The second element which I wanted to discuss is the problem of creating a mechanism of democracy. We are forever saying that there will not be a renewal if we do not create appropriate mechanisms of democracy and if we do not create a mechanism of control and responsibility for information. Among other things, we are also saying that this requires the separation of political authority from economic authority and requires a change in the role of the Sejm. However, it appears that this does not suffice because a similar mechanism of responsibility and control must be created within political authority itself. One of the elements of the crisis, which became apparent, is that errors in the area of formulating goals of social development and defining and understanding the shape of development became clearly evident. This is precisely what belongs to the responsibility of political parties. PZPR should have defined such goals in objective discussions and even in disputes with ZSL and SD and with other social forces. This is where weaknesses in voicing social priorities and social evaluating appeared. These were words which were often padded as desired. Social priorities --was a concept which became an umbrella under which voluntarism and subjectivism were hidden. Political authority is responsible for voicing social priorities as well as voicing and defending collective interests. Certain mechanisms of control, of the flow of information and responsibility must become manifest in the very formula of political authority. Herein lies the great role of political parties: without sincere, genuine interparty discussion there is a much greater danger of erroneous comprehension of that which is compatible with social priorities and that which is not; that which is along the line of collective interests and that which is discordant with these interests. After all, it is not only the goals and program which are important but also the method of formulating them. This is dependent on social support and activity in their implementation.

The next matter, which I wanted to take up, is "Rural Solidarity" and the Party. A qualitatively new situation has come about which requires changes in the functioning of the Party. Certain forms of activity have lost their social meaning because of the nature of the social changes. Many crucial matters concerning rural areas have become the basis for the activity of trade unions. It appears from this that the Party must return to natural activities which belong to a political party.

What do I see as the main tasks of ZSL? Above all, active participation in the shaping of a program for the development of the country. This is the most vital matter. Furthermore--the creation of an ideology which would favor the equal rights treatment of rural dwellers. We are a class society. From this point of view, we are a class party. The formation of an appropriate ideology of the equal rights treatment of rural residents, disseminating information about their needs and the defense of their financial, cultural and political interests--that is the main task. The third important matter is related to the creation and defense of the ideology of the nonschematic approach to the structure of agriculture in a socialist State. This must be one of the important tasks for ZSL. We must fight for lasting perspectives for peasant family farms. It turns out that it is often the case that as gold requires admixtures in order to become gold of high quality so it also appears that socialism requires certain additions of other forms in particular areas in order to be strong and effective and to be good socialism.

At the present time, the responsibility of all political forces is to, as I would call it, create an ethos of work; create a proper attitude towards work and respect for good work. It is obvious in our society, at the present time, that we show remarkable judgement in extreme matters and in matters involving the greatest threat. When we are pushed against the wall and when we are on the edge of an abyss, we show instinct, common sense and humility. However, on an everyday basis, we do not show enough common sense in those activities which decide whether we will be pushed against the wall or not. This has been the case not only in recent months--it goes back much further into the past. We want a new form of socialism, a new sensible economy in Poland and yet in everday life as a mass and as a society, we do not activate ourselves in organized work. We are not too inclined to agree to sacrifices which are indispensable for the implementation of these goals. Finally, there is indifference, apathy and poor work which not only degrades us economically but poses a threat to the renewal of our socio-political life and threatens sovereignty. It may be said that what the Reformation did in the West was not done here at home. It [the Reformation] created a certain ethos of work. We do not have this in Poland. Such an ethos still exists in rural areas and it should be widely extrapolated. If we were to think about what we as individuals do specifically, on an everyday basis for the benefit of renewal, then it would very often become apparent that we are not doing a thing. We are waiting for someone to pull us out of the crisis; that our dreams will come true by themselves.

Eugenia Jagiello-Lysiowa

But my dear colleague, don't you see what the social activation has been like since August?

Wladyslaw Saymanski

Yes, but in essential matters, from the socio-political point of view. It is not apparent in daily work, in the elimination of difficulties or existing nonsense. There is a lack of organizational activities. There is constant waiting for miraculous formulas and authoritative decisions in regard to all matters even there where matters should be taken into our own hands.

Jan Gorecki

From the point of view of political-organizational activity of the Party, the basic issue is giving consideration to and a full explanation of how the "independence of ZSL" ought to be understood and implemented "while maintaining the leading role of PZPR". It should be admitted honestly, that until now this has been more of a slogan which does not have a broader explanation either from the practical or theoretical point of view. Therefore, we all repeat it without really knowing what it is about. The experiences gained until now are not promising either. In the history of People's Poland, we have tried perhaps only three times (for the third time at present) to give this slogan a more thorough dusting. This occurred during politically and economically difficult times when the country and, in particular, the party found themselves in jeopardy. Social forces were then sought which could help in the difficult situation. This activity turned out to be effective because among the reviving forces of renewal, ZSL activated its operations, mobilizing its members and the areas of its influence for the support of new party politics and its leadership. However, as danger would pass so the renewed declarations would be forgotten, which again were without significance. Thus, ZSL was again pushed down to the role of a passive participant in governing the country which only had the responsibility of supporting and accepting that which was decided upon by the party leadership. Any attempts at demonstrating independence and, particularly, a critical attitude towards the party line were strongly opposed and regarded as an expression of ally disloyalty and applying pressure on the party. It should also be admitted self-critically that ZSL leadership and this being on various levels, following periods of revival, quickly agreed to this role, most likely, not believing that a different one was possible. It was even believed, not too infrequently, that the development of independence may be harmful to ZSL itself by undermining the trust of the ruling party, which having reservations towards the ally, engaged it less, even for minor participation in the process of fulfilling authority; thus, the experiences up to now concerning the implementation of the thesis about the "leading role of PZPR and the independence of ZSL" are very one-sided and meager. However, only one experience is important--that whenever efforts were made of restoring the practical meaning of this thesis, ZSL became reanimated. The activity of rural areas and agriculture also grew and the nation's food supply improved as did the overall growth of the country.

It should also be stressed that every subsequent about face was less enthusiastic while its active participants were becoming more and more interested not only in renewal itself but, above all, in guarantees which could be adopted in order to prevent further departure from the line of renewal and development of ZSL independence. For this reason, even now, the Party members are interested not in repeating the worn out slogan about ZSL independence but in the practical aspects of its implementation and activity which will protect the Party from the role already experienced in the past. Therefore, both the impatient tone of many discussions and the obvious pessimism should be understood.

I am not a political scientist [politolog] but only a Party activist, more in the sphere of its socio-economic activities. However, I am aware that today the Party has found itself in such a position where its further development will be impossible without marked progress in the clear formulation of its new political role and the capacity to carry on its activity. The rebirth of the Party in rural areas will be possible only if it assumes independent activity which will be fully accepted by the community.

In this light, a series of questions arises which require clear and definite answers: thus, does ZSL, as an allied party have the obligation to always support the party program or can it and even should it present its own program or at least its own methods of implementation? Should not the alliance, PZPR and ZSL, based on the labor-peasant alliance pertain only to the basic socio-political goals which mark the principal directions of socio-political development? Can the implementation of these goals not be the object of separate programs which would accentuate various roads, priorities, etc.? Can the separateness of activity in this field not be outlined by a rather admissable border line of party coalition in which partners cannot cross over to the opposition but, at the same time, one in which they do everything in order to accentuate the separateness and dissimilarity of their methods of operating in the implementation of these same goals? Under our conditions, an admissable limit of such separateness would be the socialist State's constitution ratified by allied and--with respect to its socio-political goals--basic political forces of laborers and peasants.

Therefore, in such conditions, activities which would go beyond the limits of the allied party system would be activity discordant with the constitution and only such activity could be regarded as oppositional and inadmissable according to the agreement entered into between the party and other parties in our country. So much for matters concerning the political activity of the Party.

Right now, I would like to go on to matters involving the socio-economic program. I shall begin by saying that in this area as in the political sphere, the program of the Party must be credible and correspond to the aspirations of those social groups which it concerns. From this point of view, undoubtedly the most important issue is the attitude towards the system of ownership in agriculture and towards its evolution. The first program of agricultural policy of People's Poland had been worked out by the entire political Left Wing and by progressive forces in Poland already during the Nazi occupation and made known in the decree of 1944 regarding agricultural reform. This was the most valid agricultural policy of the People's government and popularly accepted by the peasant

masses. Therefore, it brought results beyond all expectations which made it possible for agriculture, whose production and human resources were ruined, to feed the starving population increasingly better and it brought accumulation for the rebuilding of the ruined economy in the entire country. However, the enthusiasm did not list long because if was acknowledged that only socialized agriculture is cap ble of taking care of needs. Therefore, already in 1948 a radical change in agricultural policy took place. Despite various efforts of encouraging and forcing peasant farmers to set up collective farms, collectivization did not succeed. It simply did not work out. Therefore, roundabout ways were sought which were given various descriptions and names depending on the internal as well as external situation. However, the doctrine, which stated that the family farm constitutes a temporary form and that the ultimate strategic goal of agricultural policy is socialization of agriculture, was still in force. Thus, for 30 years, we have been stressing, instructing and arguing on behalf of the superiority of State owned and collective farms and at the same time, we are tearing away land from peasant farms and drawing away from farming--entire generations of young people for whom departure from farming is, after all, for the most part an advancement. In place of this, we give neither machinery nor tools to agriculture only constant reprimands that it is not keeping up with industrial development. We are implementing the great process of industrialization, to a significant degree, from the resources and at the cost of agricultural development whereas it turns out later that the decisions made in this field are voluntaristic and ignorant. All this led up to the situation which we have today in peasant farming. In the meantime, the Party together with the Party issue declarations which, in practice, are not implemented. This year, a third such declaration is being delivered, which is essentially similar to the previous ones. Therefore, everything is as it was before although experiences are becomeng more important and in connection with this, results are increasingly smaller. Hence, what are the strategic goals of agricultural policy today; will the production growth be again related to the reconstruction of agriculture? Such a statement continues to conceal much vagueness. Thus, how should the reconstruction of agriculture be understood, should it necessarily depend on the socialization of the means of production? Moreover, as has been the case until now, the concurrent implementation of two goals; i.e., an increase in production and in reconstruction seems impossible.

All of this confirms an old, well-known law that as an area expands or the scale of production increases so the obtained production per unit of land area decreases. This problem is particularly important in our country where because of small land resources, the most important index is the amount of production per unit area. This indicates that in proportion to the increase of the land area of a farm (I believe that in our present conditions this is limited to 50-100 hectares), production from a unit surface area decreases. Therefore, two goals, which contradict each other, cannot be implemented concurrently. I believe, therefore, that in our conditions, the principal, strategic goal of agricultural policy should be an increase in production and as a result, by means of appropriate price ratios, assurance of an improvement in the standard of living of the rural population, which would equal the standard of living of other social groups. Under what forms is this to take place--this the farmers will decide themselves.

Personally, I feel that the period of large workers' groups, based on the separation of managerial work from production work is gone forever. In addition, there is nothing which would indicate that the family run farm, which undergoes changes and transformations is experiencing any kind of crisis. Quite the contrary, duovocationalism; biological production and the peasant movement [ruch zielonych] are rather testimony of its renaissance. It also cannot be said that modern family farm does not allow for a solution to social and cultural family needs. The rural laborer's aspiration for an apartment with a bathroom in an apartment building turned out to be the result of a low level of development or rather the result of the underdevelopment of the infrastructure. However, this is quickly losing its importance. The rural laborer is looking more and more to owning a home with a garden and work which is more diversified than the daily routine of removing and carrying away manure several dozen kilometers from the house. All of this does not appear to be more economical either--as had been anticipated. Therefore, the Peasant Party must assume new ideas and concepts in the area of the socio-economic program in agriculture. After all, a certain economic philosophy and doctrine should be created in this area which as a program should create an independent, creative movement. Otherwise, the Party not only will not achieve independence and programmatic identification but will die a natural death because it will neither mobilize its members nor attract new ones.

Tadeusz Marczak

I think that colleague Winiarczyk's introductory remarks have, so to say, called us to the blackboard. There are so many issues, that each one should have this type of discussion organized for it separately. In fact, I would like to stray somewhat from that which we call here the current events of yesterday and from today's calming news for I believe that this is called for. In conjunction with this, I would like to concentrate on certain inferences which flow from the most recent history. I am referring to that which colleague Gorecki talked about. Hence, a few comments. As we know, we have experienced crises in the past. The first crisis was the years 1949 and 1950; the following crisis was the year 1956 and the subsequent one was the year 1970. I probably will not discover America if I say that these are crises whose source is not so much in the sphere of economics as in the sphere of politics. One of the reasons for these crises are, in my opinion, mistakes made by PZPR in its politics. As far as mistakes are concerned, for which we as a Party and as a Peasant movement should take responsibility, I think that mention should be made of, above all, excessive submission in regard to the way the Party wanted to set up the peasant movement and the Party. We could argue over the degree of this compliance towards the Party's demands. However, it appears to me that a lot of our fault lies in that we were incapable of presenting our own, valid views to the Party in an appropriate manner.

Why was it so and perhaps continues to be so? Simply because we have strayed, in my opinion, from the main, fundamental principles of the program of the peasant movement. The Party should be the spokesman for one of the basic classes or strata (I do not with to argue here whether peasants are a social stratum or class) whereas it has stopped representing peasants in its programs and in its activity. Colleague Lysiowa talked about the need for voicing, at every turn, the interests of the class, which is being represented. I would like to add, however, that these interests should be voiced in the context of one of the basic program principles

which lies at the base of the peasant movement and which was best expressed in the past by Wincenty Witos--in the context of understanding the role of the nation, as independent and sovereign nation. I think that historians will agree with this. In other words, voicing class interests, which we represent in the context of nationwide and general social interests, is one of the basic program principles of our movement and our Party. I am afraid that we have strayed from this principle, especially in recent times. And this is one of those political errors--I am not saying that it is the only one--which caused the occurrence of these very crises.

In our practical activity in ZSL, we have slipped to the positions of cheap pragmitsm. We have become a party of agronomists for it seemed that the issue of agricultural production ought be the only, basic task of the Party. It appears from this--and I will refer here to that about which colleague Szymanski spoke--that we have forgotten about the upbringing functions of the Peasant Party, of the peasant movement in a broader sense and about work on behalf of shaping views and mentalities, particularly among the younger generation.

I will now assume an attitude towards the remarks made by colleague Kisielewski. The succeeding congresses of PZPR passed programs. The ZSL adopted these programs as its very own. What does this mean? This simply means, no more no less, that deviations in the activity and the political line of the Party [PZPR] became our deviations as well and we should, as Party activists, be always aware of this for this caused degeneration in our work. I will give an example. We placed our bets on, so-called, technocratism. I said, so-called, because experience and the reality of today revealed the total nothingness and worthlessness of bureaucratic-arbitrary solutions to, at any rate, the most vital matters for the country. We have cast aside the principle of forming cadres composed of activists. We have placed our bets on clerical cadres and this is one of the contributions to the activity of our apparatus. I do not wish to, hereby, condemn the entire Party apparatus because it does have many very valuable, committed people who in the course of their sork in the Party, in time, became activi ts. However, their road to this apparatus did not lead through previous social activity, development from the bottom or forming their own views and transmitting these views to the public. This road led not through natural social advancement but through a high school or college diploma. This caused the breaking away of the basic majority of the Party apparatus from that class which this apparatus is supposed to serve. These are only selected examples of degeneration, which I personally have been observing, especially, during the most recent period of the Party's activity.

I would like to refer to the issue of the Party program. This is where I must apologize to my colleagues for not sharing the view that the last Congress greatly enriched the Peasant Party's programmatic train of thought. Of course, I do notice the great values of the last ZSL Congress but I feel that it was within our capacity, especially at the threshold of renewal to take on a broader attitude towards the program issues and this, particularly, at the Eighth Congress.

Why do I believe that the program issue is so important? Because I feel that if we were to observe the general program assumptions of the peasant movement, then in very many instances it would not have come to the degenerations which took place. Therefore, what lies at the basis of the program of the peasant movement

and the peasant parties? First of all, the principle of social justics. This is, not at all, something new. This principle was formulated by peasant parties before the war. The second principle--democracy. At the present time, we are wondering how to return to democracy in the Peasant Paryy and on an overall social scale. There is no need to discover America in this case. What should be done--is to return to the basic principles which were once expressed in the programs of the peasant movement. The following principle is the principle of self-government. We are currently discovering self-government as a method of holding authority and what's more--authority in a socialist system. This principle was at the foundations of the peasant movement and it was for this principle that the peasant movement fought in the course of its history. The next principle is that of the cooperative movement. This too is not a discovery. It is that which the peasant movement absorbed into its programs during its history.

After all, all these principles which were at the basis of the peasant movement do not conflict with the substance of the socialist system. Quite the contrary--I believe that they enrich the socialist system. That is the way they should be treated right now when the issue of a turnaround stands before us, a major turnaround in our national, social and private life. It is currently very untimely and unfashionable to refer to Marxism. Nevertheless, I will refer to it. I would like to say here that it does not conflict with the theory of "the wasiing away of the State" expressed by Lenin.

Let us recall the Marxist definition that the State is the instrument of class rule. A State in which the socialist system develops towards communism--wastes away. However, in imperialistic surroundings, it maintains its defense and external functions. Under internal conditions, State functions succumb, to a large extent, to wasting away. If we now look at the programmatic principles of the peasant movement from this point of view, then would it not be possible to enrich these external State functions with the principles which I mentioned as being at the basis of the peasant movement? This does not weaken the State but strengthens it through truly democratic, autonomous, cooperative solutions of all those problems which the State is incapable of solving and should not solve--if, of course, we treat the State seriously as an instrument of class rule. For what does it mean? After all, we are the spokesmen of those classes which are in control. We agree, I believe, that the thesis of a growing class struggle is invalid. Therefore, if there is no mounting class struggle, then we can strengthen the socialist State with our programmatic principles. This, then, can be the original contribution of the peasant movement to socialism.

I think that it would be worth recalling here that another such contribution, which justifies our programmatic independence and our usefullness in shaping the socialist State, the people's State, could be the historical contribution of peasant party members to the shaping of the State.

In the book entitled, "From the History of the Peasant Movement", there is material by Dr Luczak in which the author shows to what extent the Peasant Party was a "support" of the peasant [people's] authority in the years 1944-1946. In all the provinces [voivodships] in which the State Council conducted a survey concerning the number of rural parish, county and provincial councillors and their membership

in political parties--there was a prevalence of Peasant Party members in the provinces of Bialystok, Lublin, Rzeszow and a part of the Warsaw province. This is, I would think, some sort of obvious contribution on our part to the shaping of this reality.

I would like to add a few more comments to the remarks made by colleague Kisielewski and to his statement as to how the relationship between the State, the Party [PZPR] and authority is to take shape and, particularly between ZSL and PZPR. His statement that ZSL should become a contesting force on the programmatic level in regard to reality is crucial. I am afraid, however, that this is only one step away from opposition and I think that we should not allow ourselves in taking advantage of relative liberalism, to shape the Party as an opposition party in the future. An attitude of partnership-like discourse with the Party or parties should be formed for, in this multiparty system, we are one of the forces. We should not come out with some sort of general thesis about the possibility of a contesting attitude of ZSL towards reality, particularly on a national scale.

I would also like to comment on what was said by colleague Szymanski. Therefore, it is my opinion that, in general, it should probably be said that every young generation discovers all solutions "anew". All that about which colleague Szymanski spoke--the creation of democratic mechanisms, also mechanisms of self-government and of the cooperative movement--is, in fact, a part of our history and in the history of the peasant movement. Please read the statutes of the peasant parties. They stipulate the possibilities of the democratic election of authorities. I am speaking of the statutes which were in effect between 1944-1948. The potential for democracy in those statutes was fully guaranteed. I am raising this issue because I fear the statement: if we do not create democratic mechanisms and the ZSL does not change its character, then it must leave the political arena. I should think it isn't so, We simply are in this political arena and we do not have to leave it. However, we must return to our basic, programmatic principles and this also applies to the ethos of work. To a large extent, we are responsible for the state of things as they are currently. That is how we have raised generations. I am afraid that this is perhaps the greatest harm which we have done to society in recent years.

Marek Ignar

In my opinion, during the entire postwar period, we undoubtedly had dealt with a certain kind of phase fluctuation, a certain kind of arrhythmia of awareness. This is also, to a certain degree, the result of infusing solutions and theories which were not always adapted to Polish specificity and to our peculiarities. But, after all, we came out of the shock of war with enormous energy which was stored in those who lived. This, then, ties in with the subject of what we as Poles are capable of? Do we store energy; are we hard working or not? My opinion is that the reserves [of energy] are very large. In this respect, we do not differ from other nations but it is rather conditions which determine that we act this and not another way. During the period immediately following the war, Polish peasants were forced to produce and also at times to carry out distribution under extremely difficult conditions. However, despite the tragedies of war and the destruction of agricultural workshops, this "silence"--the silence of

peace has turned out to be stronger as a stimulus of activity than all shortages of the means of production or of the means of consumption from nonrural sources. Hence, such traits as resourcefulness, efficiency and flexibility appeared along with minimalism of personal needs and pronounced neighborly assistance. Following the unprecedented misfortunes of war, gradual regeneration of the greatly wounded substance of the State and the nation turned out to be possible. It is a fact, to be sure--not without help from abroad. Furthermore, immediately following the war, farmers were not yet managed and were not yet graciously endowed with the means of production and in reality, a kind of independence and personal risk dominated which, in a sense, harmonized with the independence of rhythms in the giving of birth by the earth. Must we Poles have, in a sense, as our goad--our impulse, only misforture, destruction or war?

However, let us go on from this postwar period to our present times. In the social sphere, I tend towards the views of those authors who speak of something which could be called discrimination and a neofeudal attitude towards the peasant in the years 1974-1980. The description itself seems to me to already be, in truth, too extreme and as we know extremes are not one of the virtues of scientific analysis or even of journalistic expressions. We are dealing with very serious losses, almost continuously from August 1980 to April 1981 and maybe even longer, due mainly to the mistaken placing of stakes on bureaucratic "revitalization", "renewal", "declarations", etc.. What I have in mind here also is the nature of the first version of guidelines of the Political Bureau and Chief Committee of ZSL and the December ZSL Congress which discouraged peasants (although there were opporturnties for a different Congress, the SD Congress for example, which in turn perhaps went too far in the opposite direction). I would also include the "polished" congress of the cooperative movement in this same unfortunate and unconvincing series for the peasants. This is where I encounter a great conflict for rural self-government. The conflict: "Rural Solidarity" and CZKR [Central Union of Agricult ral Circles] and within this context--the congress of agricultural circles. Undoubtedly much damage was brought about during the months following August by obstruction, stupidity or by a lack of imagination; by securing against responsibility for decisions made and by a strange languor, particularly on the part of mid-level authorities as well as those on a higher level. Then followed the well-known agreements of Rzeszow and Ustrzyki which took great pains to achieve but were achieved successfully. Then came Bydgoszcz. I do not have the ambition nor the possibility of analyzing this conflict here but I am, I suppose, allowed to say that in the case of the strike in WK ZSL [Voivodship Committee of the United Peasant Party], we were, undoubtedly, dealing with underrating of the situation and not recognizing the quality and nature of the peasant protest while all this was spiked with apprehension, delayed reactions and, unfortunately, with indifference on the part of ZSL.

I am a representative of the AN [Polish Academy of Sciences] Institute, therefore, I would like to say a few words on the subject of the work of scientists. In my opinion, a very distinct separation of scientific activity from political activity is very important for researchers and scientists and is especially important to the agricultural sciences with which I have relatively the greatest familiarity. I believe that erasing the borderline between science and politics has done some serious damage in ZSL as well. I feel that just such an attitude is especailly dangerous on the level of research, analysis, diagnosis and

subsequently reaching conclusions. I would even go further by saying that the product of the agricultural economist's or rural sociologist's mental work on these levels should be categorically separated from the act of making political and economic decisions. Furthermore, I believe that the, at times, imperceptible erasing away of borderlines between scientific and political activity in, above all, the social sciences was in very many cases the cause of the situation whose results were meanders, mistakes and contradictions of policy towards rural areas and agriculture. As far as the independence of researchers is concerned--I do not necessarily interpret this to mean full-time, independent science employees. In rural and agricultural matters, what is needed, perhaps more so today--is a kind of reverse analysis of the work done until now and at the same time, a second objective look at the authors who perhaps sometimes were too hastily regarded as authorities in the area of those specialties in which man moved about. It appears to me that the proposed action is indispensable in order to describe anew, as precisely as possible and in a short amount of time, the among other things, very important relations--the present moment and the past as well as the present moment and the future. I believe that this applies, especially at the present time, to the peasant movement. This attitude should be kept in check so as not to do harm. Sometimes not doing something is more beneficial than hasty implementation. If we do not know exactly what action to take concerning various details, then let us, at least, be aware of what not to do under any circumstances. Therefore, let us not make mistakes, now, from previous years. The wealth of mistakes from previous years is very large indeed. And what else? I am convinced that--as was said by A. Slominski--everything is possible in Poland, even a change for the better.

Tadeusz Barszczak

In the discussion which we are conducting, I do not wish to go into an evaluation of the past, into an analysis of deviations from the principles of the socialist system or into the sources of deformation in the system of authority fulfillment. It seems to me that these matters are relatively well-known.

In presenting comments about the place and role of ZSL as a fully independent and individual political party in Poland, I am of the opinion that the question of what constitutes the principal motivation of renewal; of the great, invigorating trade movement and of the socio-political movement, should be answered in the very beginning. I believe that a basic change has taken place in the awareness of our society in regard to its participation in carrying out authority, appointing of representative organs and leading the nation. The common goal of society is to achieve self-determination by developing democracy in all of its aspects. The strength of the renewal movement increases through the increasingly greater reliance on the awareness that sovereignty can be increased, also in national categories, by the development of democracy and self-governments. I believe that in the foreseen future, the renewal movement will expand its influence to economic and n neconomic areas of national life, leading to the gradual implementation of goals defined by social awareness.

An important feature of the renewal movement is in principle, its evolutionary nature. This trait is extremely valuable for sudden changes are incapable of being controlled.

The place of ZSL in the political system should be examined in the aspect of ideological and programmatic goals of the Party, which are conditioned by its origins, its fundamental base of influence and of course, by social awareness which is developed by the renewal movement. The word "renewal" assumes reaching down to the roots--to basic truths.

It should be reminded more emphatically today than ever before, that the peasant movement formulated its own concepts of the political system of People's Poland which were never antisocialist and which had many ideas in common with those which were carried by the socialist movement. In this way, the peasant movement formed the basis for the alliance of the Party with the workers' party. Human development and welfare were the primary values of the political thought of the peasant movement.

It is my opinion that in certain essential matters, particularly, in regard to the methods of implementing goals, the peasant movement advanced the concept of social agreement more consistently. The thought of settling internal conflicts with a dictatorship was foreign to it.

From August, we have created many social agreements, thereby implementing, in practice, the ideas of the peasant movement in regard to social reconstruction. I consider this to be a very important matter and totally unexposed in the ZSL press. Social agreement has, today, become a significant foundation of national life. It can also be an important proposal from ZSL to society as not a temporary but permanent concept of creating order in public life.

The peasant movement consistently proclaimed democratic principles. In today's program, which from ZSL's position is to be at the same time a program proposal for society, it is difficult to even imagine that something else could be proposed other than, the as full and realistic as possible, participation of sociaty in administration and in the make-up of authority and its control.

In my opinion, the political system in Poland is succumbing and will continue to succumb to evolution. It is rather unlikely, today, that this evolution will achieve the Western European type of parliamentary democracy. As can be expected, society will also not accept the current practice of holding authority by a particular "elite". New systems solutions become indispensable. This is a vital matter. These solutions will be, as may be expected, the result of a large-scale social agreement in which ZSL together with the remaining parties, trade unions and Catholic Church, ought to be coordinators.

The permanent separation of the apparatus of political parties from the structure of the State must become the important element of the aforementioned solutions. The strong bond of the apparatus of political parties with the State not only failed to pass the test but created a serious threat to society in the past, especially, during periods of tension.

The fundamental base of ZSL activity are rural areas and agriculture. The rural movement always favored the parcelling of large land property but at the same time, it was for private land ownership and the agrarian system whose foundation consists of family farms which do not employ wage-earners. It [the peasant

movement] was not against the creation of other forms of farming. Its farming program was, therefore, not closed or dogmatic but open; it assumed the existence of multiplicity and strengthened those ideas which at the same time were conducive to efficiency and the development of the individual.

If today, in the form of discoveries, we record arguments "about the permanence of family farms", then it souuld be remembered that this is nothing new. The structure of peasant farming has endured in the agricultural system from Roman times and even earlier. Its fall usually caused not only misfortune but also economic regression and national disasters. The development of rural family farms in Poland constitutes a totally natural, vital element of the ZSL program for rural areas and for all of society.

An economic backup area in the form of varied trades and small industry is indispensable for the proper functioning of the agricultural family farm. These important areas of rural farm life are at a standstill today--they are an impediment to production growth. It appears that, in order for its growth to fulfill its task well, it must be an element of private enterprise. The growth of the agricultural family farm requires the development of private trades in rural areas on a large scale.

In considering the place of ZSL in the political system of Poland, it is necessary to answer the question: Is there a social need for a party of the peasant movement? I believe that such a need does exist, The peasants and the rural community need such a party; it is also the expectation of numerous city dwellers. This was expressed by farmers united in NSZZ RI "Solidarnosc" [Independent Self-governing Trade Union of Private Farmers "Solidarnosc"] at one of their meetings in SGGW [Central School of Agriculture]. They stated clearly that as a trade union, they do not want to concern themselves with politics. They anticipate that ZSL will take up problems of the rural community and agriculture which will be political in nature. In order for the Peasant Party to fulfill these tasks, it should free itself permanently from the still recent positions and become a truly independent party, firmly bound to its natural base, above all, in rural areas as well as in the city. The expectations of the city, in respect to ZSL, are connected with not only the food complex but also, not to a lesser degree, with ecological problems.

The activity of the United Peasant Party was characterized from its inception by many deformations. Other than, for short periods of time, ZSL was not an independent party and was also only formally united. The expectation of not only ZSL members is for this sad period to be completely in the past. I believe that the Extraordinary ZSL Congress should express this by, concurrently, undergoing a name change. Out of various suggestions, the one that appears worthy of attention is the one which refers to the federated congress of 1931, thus, to the historical name, "Peasant Party".

Zygmunt Hemmerling

In joining this discussion, I would like to begin with the problem of order. I found out rather late about today's meeting, therefore, my thoughts will be somewhat discheveled. Secondly--it is a shame that WIES WSPOLCZESNA, the organizer of this discussion has strayed from some very good customs as that of distributing the topics for discussion before the meeting, thus, greatly facilitating its direction and preparation.

I would like to begin with a more general thought, namely, that which concerns cooperation of the communist movement and the peasant movement in the 1930's. It is commonly known that in rural areas of Poland, the peasant movement was actually the closest ally of the Communist Party. It is also a known fact that the communist movement recognized the program objectives of the peasant movement in the 1930's. What I have in mind here is the Sixth Plenum of KC CPP [Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland] from February 1936. It accepted them [the program goals] as a certain phase in the struggle for the realization of general democratic tasks. In spite of this, certain ideas expressed by the communist movement were not accepted and did not have such an intense resounding in rural areas as we would have liked. I am thinking, in particular, of facts on the scale of the concept of the peasant front or the issue of the Declaration of Rights of the Young Generation. Without lowering the importance of these historical facts, it should be said that they were not generally accepted. It is common knowledge that the Declaration of Rights of the Young Generation was not signed by any of the leading activists who fulfilled responsible functions in this movement.

What am I driving at? My aim is to show that at the core of these difficulties was the fact that the peasant movement was always afraid of one thing: that in this alliance, it would lose its authenticity, its independence and its identity. It also asked itself the question of what would be its role in this alliance; will it be subordinate to the primary goals of the communist movement? Besides many other vital issues--ideological and programmatic or the fear of delegalization --this issue played a rather important role. I must say that these misgivings proved correct, to a lesser or greater degree, during the next phases of history. During the period of People's Poland, this occurred especially vividly in the years 1950-1954 and even in 1956.

Meanwhile, the socialist system, which accepted in full the peasant movement after some hesitation, created or began to create a new model of social attitudes, a new model of attitudes towards ownership, a new party system and a new political system. This system, which was forming, did not have historical experience. It is a well-known fact that the party system, which arose in the Soviet Union, had completely different traditions. It may be said that it lacked proper examples or historical experience and in connection with this, this system was exposed to many difficulties of one kind or another, downfalls, inconsistencies, etc. These downfalls did not lie only in people, party or State leaders. These downfalls were also affected by worldwide attitudes, attitudes in the Polish and international labor movement and the country's economic situation which characterized itself with a lack of stability. The essence of the socialist system is not competition, mutual discreditation or the fight for power but cooperation with the aid of jointly implementing set goals. In practice, this would come down to subordinating political allies and particular elements of the party system. During certain periods this subordination went very far.

In theoretical assumptions, particularly those of the 1970's or 1960's, which pertained to the party model and political model, we will come across many issues which are still alive today and which have not lost their value. On what, then, was the error or weakness of these theoretical constructions based?

In my opinion, simply on the fact that they were not being implemented. Such is the truth. If we were to take old handbooks pertaining to the party system and the role of allied parties in this system, then we could actually place our signatures under all this. However, the practice of political life strayed very far from these theoretical assumptions. This is evidenced by the fact that the threat of termination hung over ZSL not only between 1950-1956; this problem reappeared on a somewhat different scale in the 1960's and the 1970's. The range of activity of ZSL was limited. District committees in cities and school committees succumbed to quiet elimination. Theses which spoke of the prospects of ZSL activity in rural areas had a hard time passing censorhsip. It was necessary to use persuasion or refer to examples in NRD [German Democratic Republic] or Bulgaria.

That is why, it was with great satisfaction and pleasure that we seized the statement made by Prof Adam Lopsatka that in a discernible perspective, our party system is lasting. It may be stated that, in a sense, this thesis strengthened us. This sense of permanence or stability of the party system created a constitutional legacy for us. It was like this for a certain period which lasted for only a very short time. It turned out that this consitutionnal legacy, which was a great achievement of our State ideology, in reality, changed nothing and on the contrary, the process of limiting the role of ZSL proceeded somehow. Many factors contributed to this. The reasons for this phenomenon remain behind us but they also dwell within us. Sometimes many obstacles and restrictions were impossible to overcome. The truth is that Marx was also censored. We also sometimes sold out our ideological values and our independent, peasant party self-esteem. We sold out values which have a durable character and in a certain sense are--timeless. We ourselves would frequently approach these values too selectively, too easily and we indiscriminately assumed models of the revolutionary labor movement.

I do not, at all, wish to say by this that they were of no use to us. However, they originated in different surroundings, under different conditions and they were addressed to a different addressee [rec pient]; we often forgot about this and in this way we would lose our authenticity. Obviously, many experiences of the labor party have a great value for our activity but that which took place went very far. Simply put, a certain so to say, ideological as well as organizational-political convergence would take place. Perhaps this statement is rather anemic; this was not convergence but submission, subordination. The acceptance of everything, which originated on the outside, as one's own and not subject to discussion, had many negative consequences and also led to the committing of analogous mistakes. Such criteria were oftentimes used for the evaluation of ZSL work, so that models accepted from the outside were a measure of progress, radicalism and a measure of the maturity of the movement. A classical example of this is resignation from one's own program although this fact did not fit in the theoretical ponderings of political scientists [politologow]--Marxists. However, it was different in practice. It may be said that it was practice that was digging an abyss between the ZSL apparatus as well as the authorities and the party masses.

The party masses felt this clearly, consciously or perhaps subconsciously or be it intuitively. This abyss was becoming deeper. I would say that the peasant masses were aware that the loss of independence meant the limiting of various tasks of the political party; endowing the party with a functional character in regard to dissident environments. The mobilizational-programmatic and the organizational-production functions of ZSL were expanded. Some said that ZSL had become reduced to the role of an agronomist. It would have been good if it had some results in this field. However, there were downfalls, difficulties, failures, etc., here as well. In the field, ZSL did not codecide about the structure of agricultural policies. It lost its creative and supervisory functions, functions to which a peasant party is entitled.

The loss of authenticity or be it independence also proceeded in the area of ideological-upbringing and in the evaluation of its [ZSL] own achievements. In the 1970's, ZSL was detached from the rural community, from the peasants and from their real needs. It did not perceive them and ignored these needs since it could not fulfill them. This process was very obvious. Here lies, among others, one of the reasons hy "Rural Solidarity" found such a broad field for its activity.

It can be said that the Party lacked consistency and strength in laying cut its agricultural policy and later in implementing it. It did not defend or did not know how to defend joint agreements and resolutions, even the resolutions of the 15th Plenum of KC PZPR of October 1974 in regard to agricultural development and the food economy. Speaking of the agricultural policy of SL and ZSL, let us take a look at the vacillations which it underwent. By the end of the 1940's, SL and ZSL stand for individual peasant farming. At the beginning of the 1950's, we were for collective farming, although, voluntary which was to be put into effect when conditions for reconstruction would arise. Not much time passed until the moment when we began to exert force against that, which we had propogated earlier--collectivization of rural areas. And we, like the party apparatus of PZPR, gave people recognition on the basis of the results they produced in the area of developing the collective farm movement.

Here, a comment, in regard to that which was said by colleague Berszczak, comes to mind. It is true that individual farming is a very old category but I would like to recall a different side of the medal. Namely, during a certain period and not only in the 1950's, our educational training advocated the thesis that the peasant farm is an obsolete category. We were showing that under socialism as well as under capitalism, large farms do take shape and that on a small peasant farm there is little mechanization, no progress or social achievements.

In addition, I would like to point out that in the past, ZSL did not present its own position on many basic issues but only motivated or mobilized participation in the implementation of assumptions which originated outside of the Party. Perhaps, in a sense, it is necessary to correct oneself; i.e., that in narrow party groups, interparty groups or in committees, the situation, most likely, looked different. However, this did not reach public opinion and the general ZSL membership body; it was kept hidden for one reason or another. I feel this was not good. The feeling arose within public opinion that, in reality, this

is only a Party which applauds, bows and lacks independence. I am inclined to say that the ZSL idd not exert too much effort in demanding the right to participate in the implementation of mutually accepted assumptions, guidelines or decisions. A classical example of this is the issue of responsibility of governors or deputy governers--members of ZSL--for agricultural policies: none of them were responsible for these policies.

The ZSL never rebuilt its position to the extent held by the Peasant Party for a very short period of time between 1947-1949: I am speaking of participation in holding authority. In the years 1947-1949, this curve was at its highest and then came its gradual decline.

I would like to call attention to yet another matter. We are discussing, here, many, very important issues. However, it seems to me that the implementation of these postulates depends on many, very complex matters--on, among other things, the general, political situation in the country, which is changing very quickly; on the method of comprehending the labor-peasant alliance by PZPR and on many, other factors. We talked and wrote about it [the labor-peasant alliance] constantly. It turns out, that we actually did not finish saying everything--what it is supposed to be based on today and what its structure ought to be. Furthermore, the implementation of many postualtes depends on the ideological and organizational strength of ZSL and on the economic and organizational foundations of this independence. That is why, it seems to me, that an important issue on the road to building the Party's independence is formulation of new documents, declarations and its own program.

And in conclusion, certain polemic accents. It is difficult for me to agree with colleague Gorecki in regard to his evaluation of the anticlerical attitude of the peasant movement. Basically, the peasant movement was never antireligious--it was anticlergy. Anticlergy, in a political sense; in the struggle for influence and in the struggle to reign over souls. The struggle with the clergy was even taken up by very religious activists. Moreover, I feel that the issue should rather be presented that it was not the peasant movement which was the initiator of struggle but that acticists had to defend themselves because they were attacked.

In conclusion, I would like to present only one practical suggestion. Therefore, that the issues, which we are discussing today, should reach areas outside of our environment. In the next round of discussions, we could include those who concern themselves with these issues professionally--people from outside the Party. This is extremely important because these people prepare all kinds of studies and manuals, which go to a wide range of recipients, to student youth and to activists. If such issues will penetrate there, then they will have deep social reverberations and if not, then our, often very interesting discussions will have the air of a senior citizens' meeting club.

Stanislaw Grabowski

Our views and discussions are shaped by the domestic situation and general position of our nation on the political map of the world. I consider this to be, to a certain extent, a kind of limiting factor in this discussion. There is no

doubt that the postwar situation in Poland was not conducive to the full development of the peasant movement in its original, authentic form. Under specific, political and social circumstances, its political influence became radically limited. I tend towards the opinion that the position of a political party cannot be administratively or legally decreed. The position of a given party should be worked out within society and particularly in a socialist society, which is founded on the ideals of liberty, deomcracy and social justice. Of course, certain circumstances may be conducive to the activity of a political party. However, they cannot create hothouse conditions in which distortion of the, so-called, leading role could occur. A political party which wants to lead the nation must also have a partner who sometimes will say "no" and this is for the good of the party in authority. I could see, here, the active role of ZSL which does not conflict with the accepted political system in our country. Besides, in principle, competition must be everywhere--in political as well as in agricultural life. To political party can usurp permanent monopoly or an unconditional percent of proper behavior. Moreover, a political party, which has a decreed position, often believes that it does not have to fight for it. In the end, this gives very negative consequences. This is understandable and the motives for action here, are in my opinion, prosaic.

I would also like to call attention to the usage by many politicians and activists of such words as for example, "socialism" and "deviation". Theoretically, we understand what whese concepts mean. However, in the face of reality, it turns out that we make certain associations and actually many honest people in Poland ask themselves the question why the battle against corruption, theft or moral corruption is often labeled as a battle with the ideals of socialism. Let us, honestly, admit to ourselves that the hitherto existing implementation of the program of socialist development in the country was not entirely so accurate. Unfortunately, ZSL bears responsibility for this also.

I will go on to a perhaps more concrete matter since we could criticize our postwar development of political life for a long time. I would not like to concentrate primarily on program related matters, particularly, of the current program and the ideological program of ZSL. In taking on the elaboration of this program, we ought to take into account those problems which will not be subject to discussion. This includes the acceptance of socialist development in the country as well as that of our allies resulting from the existing socio-political reality.

I consider departure from genuine activity based on the trust of an organization's members and from listening to their opinions and passing over to contrived, politicizing activity as the most negative phenomenon of postwar socio-political life. The second thing, which I consider very negative, is the matter of the resurgence of the hydra of bureaucracy whose activity often comes down to common, economic sabotage. In the current ZSL program, attention should be directed to, above all, efficacy of activity. Besides, this principle pertains to activity in its entirety in regard to economic policy. The existing world of resolutions, statutes and discussions is turning into wishful thinking without a mechanism which would assure their realization, at least in part. That is why, I see here the great role of the solidarity movement which may eliminate this gap to some extent. What I have in mind here, first and foremost, is the phase of communal administration and this for me is vitally important. It should take

a more active part in the entire process of ZSL renewal. This is in my opinion, above all, a humanistic and fully moral process, although, it stands to reason that these types of processes are accompanied by specific negative phenomena and it is no wonder that they should exist in such a situation. Hiding one's head in the sand cannot be permitted in the ideological program of ZSL. In my opinion, there are certain problems about which ZSL should already have a definite and clear opinion. Among these is the attitude towards believers, the Church and trade unions of private farmers. Another issue of extremely vital importance is the killing with our social and economic policy of human initiative which is the foundation of the, so-called, economic movement in every country. We eliminated the old incentive system, having determined it to be too predatory and immoral--a new incentive system was not worked out, however. There simply are no interest groups whose activity would overlap in some way.

In this regard, we must depart from the schematic and primitive, social egalitarianism. Socialism should create equal changes for a start in life but it cannot authmatically ensure equality because this is contrary to the principle of social justice and the principle of eocnomic development. We cannot, therefore, condemn people for their initiative or look for the capitalistic dragon in income disparity.

As far as the participation of ZSL is concerned in the implementation of the economic program, the main area of interest should be agriculture and particularly, individual farming. Here ZSL must express itself politically, more clearly. It is incorrect to say that peasant farming, which will undergo modernization, may lead to the resurgence of capitalism. The main criterion, which will preclude this is, in our conditions, income parity. At the present time, this parity is 25 percent lower (capital consumption per person) in agriculture than in nonagricultural branches.

I would like to touch upon one more issue, which concerns our postwar development, namely, the problem of migration. Political parties, including also the ZSL, should not spread unfounded illusions before people who choose urban life. Experience shows that migrational processes, alongside positive results, often led to the formation of urban ghettos; i.e., towns without stores or cultural institutions; without health services, schools and kindergartens. This kind of policy is difficult to correct because the young generation unequivocally associates every departure from rural surroundings with great advancement.

In conclusion, I would like to call attention to the problem of cadres for ZSL. I consider this area to be the most neglected in our Party. This matter was raised numerous times in the academic community. Nonetheless, ZSL was unable to work out an unequivocal program of activation and surport for this activity.

Zenon Mikolajczyk

I would like to begin with a matter, which in my opinion, is important and which has already been taken up in the discussion, namely, the analysis and evaluation of various sides and aspects of ZSL activity in the past. The findings of such an analysis are needed to define the present and future role of ZSL as a political party. At the Third Plenum, there was even a proposal made, which did not pass anyway, of conducting a clearing of accounts of the former ZSL leadership's

activity in the 1970's. Some asserted that this would be like witch-hunting. If it was the intention of those making the proposal only to seek out the guilty, then the decision made by the plenum was justified. However, it should also be assumed that more noble motives also instigated the ZSL activists who are requesting the clearing of accounts. Through the realization of this postulate, some would like to obtain the assurance for the future that the Party and its leadership will not commit these same mistakes in the future. Such impulses and goals of the activists should be regarded as healthy and beneficial. However, in that case, the clearing of accounts must have a different character--this must be a clearing of problems and matters and not of people. This must be an analysis of what ZSL did at that time and what it did not do and why; what kinds of activities occurring at that time, attitudes on the part of activists and professed values served the development of ZSL and the strengthening of its position and which ones hindered or downright paralyzed ZSL activity, limited its independence or weakened its political role and partnership-like stance in interparty cooperation.

If this type of analysis and evaluation is to be, if only approximately, complete and true, then it cannot refer only to the 1970's. These different sides of ZSL activity, which I already mentioned, ought to be examined during various periods. Among other things, it should be explained why the process of renewal and democratization following October 1956 was not completed; what kinds of forces within the [Peasant] Party as well as their corresponding ideological stands and stereotypes halted the renewal process in a relatively short period of time. This can be researched not only on the basis of documents within the Party but also on the basis of publications and press releases. It can be stated that in every period of ZSL activity, there were limiting tendencies and those which stimulated its growth. It should be ascertained which factors and social mechanisms were conducive to one or the other.

It appears that two elements can be accepted as the principal factor which indicates the social role and position in the State: representing the interests of peasants in government, towards opinion-making centers and towards society in general as well as the area of fulfilling political functions. The objective evaluation of ZSL within the aspect of fulfilling these two functions can be extremely educational. I maintain that in every time period, the Party including its past leadership, have specific gains to record as well as unfulfilled expectations and exigencies. Lately, we have passed from glorifying the output of ZSL to its total criticism. However, one-sided criticism can nover be constructive. It is, undoubtedly, easier to evaluate the representation of peasants' interests by ZSL. In this respect, the opinions, demands and goals of peasants may be confronted with the program represented by ZSL at a given time and, above all, the decisions made in the past in the area of agricultural policy may be arranged from the point of view of their advantage for peasants. In other words, it may be ascertained which specific matters were taken care of by the Party on behalf of peasants and which ones were not and why.

It would be more difficult, however, to describe unequivocally the presentation by ZSL of itself as a political party in various periods. Undoubtedly, this feature of ZSL was most obvious during periods of change and renewal. That is when, its leadership took or was forced to take an independent, political stance

on the country's and the State's vital issues. Under normal conditions, ZSL was pushed down from political positions and in part, it pushed itself down. Many activists believe, and rightly so, that the Party's overly detailed concern with agriculture, annihilated, so to say, ZSL as a political party. In the 1970's, an accusation arose that ZSL was agronomical in nature. Is this accusation justified? This is a complex problem. First of all, ZSL's agronomical traits originated considerable earlier. In 1968, at a council session of the active members in Plock, this being a time of political animation for ZSL under the influence of the March occurrences, Stefan Ignar asserted that ZSL cannot be an agronomic party and no doubt, from the time of the Fourth Congress, tendencies of limiting the political role of the Party are intensifying. This limiting of political functions was imposed upon the Party but certain mechanisms, which reduced the role of ZSL to issues involving rural areas and agriculture, developed within itself.

The Peasant Party would often defend itself against assertions and postulates of a general, political nature in party documents.

Before the Sixth Congress, a concept was presented, in publications of WIES WSPOLCZESNA and in documents to this Congress, of a food economy complex and ZSL's effect on this entire complex and not only on the development of agriculture. However, among some activists, doubt and apprehension arose that this constitutes an ideological change of the ZSL character and that in accordance with ZSL regulations, it cannot go beyond the sphere of agriculture and agricultural policy. The expressing of opinions by ZSL on issues pertaining to the entire food economy indicated, therefore, an expansion of the existing formula of ZSL activity.

A second issue is ideological life in the Party. If in the 1960's, especially in the second half, discussions began to be limited to the past of the peasant movement, then in the 1970's anniversary sessions and historical conferences took on the current problems of the peasant movement and its growth perspectives. Furthermore, ideological--in a strict sense of the word--conferences took place where the second one took on the test of searching out its own ideological ZSL identity and defending the position of individual peasant farming in a socialist system. Such discussions took place in defiance of the stand of certain activists who felt that it was sufficient for the Party [Stronnictwo] to accept general socialist foundations and that there is no need to search for a personal, ideological Party identity. Thus, the accusation that only the agronomic aspect was dominant in the Party [Stronnictwo] is not totally true.

T. Kisielewski correctly observed in his publication in the ZIELONY SZTANDAR, entitled, "Original Sin" that the fundamental sources, which limit the political role of ZSL, should be sought in the period, which began with the unification of the peasant movement. Even valid ideological assumptions, which came into being during a period of intense, political struggle for a new, socialist reality in the latter periods of the solidification of socialism, ought to lose their timeliness. On the other hand, certain ideological stereotypes within ZSL, as for example, the concept of the Left and the Right did not succumb to updating and what's more, for many years, some people had as if a monopoly on representing the Left in the peasant movement.

During the next periods, new stereotypes of thinking and acting were acquired which weakened the political position of ZSL. However, in every period of ZSL history, there were also forces within it which fought for survival during difficult times, for raising the prestige of the Party [Stronnictwo] and for its organizational development during more favorable times. During all these periods, with the exception of the years 1953-1955, ZSL exhibited a growth tendency. Therefore, none of these periods should be either totally condemned or glorified.

There is no doubt that the Party [Stronnictwo] and its leadership can be accused of inadequately defending the interests of peasants or not adequately enough. However, it cannot be stated that it [the Party] did not do this at all. Even during the time when ZSL was involved in intense collectivization, often carried out administratively, there would occur a trend in the Party towards a certain, limited defense of peasant farming. For example, at the Second Congress, which deliberated before the October changes, it was stated in one of the presented lecture papers that collective farming cannot be built through the economic destruction of peasant farms. The need for exploiting the still existing production reserves on peasant farms was pointed out.

After 1956, ZSL did not yet talk about the permanence of peasant farming but strongly stressed the issue of voluntarism in the field of rural collectivization. For many activists, voluntarism at this stage, meant the defense of the peasant farm. In nearly every period, ZSL handled matters of one kind or another for agriculture and for rural areas. A certain growth trend may even be noticed of ZSL postulates advanced in the interest of peasants: from the postulate of complete voluntarism in the area of collectivization advanced by the Fourth Plenum NK [Chief Committee] in 1956 to the defense of the permanence of peasant farming at the Eighth Congress; from the postulate of limiting tax progression and compulsory deliveries--presented at the turn of 1956/1957--to the complete elimination of compulsory deliveries at the beginning of the 1970's. At the Sixth Congress, the Party came out with the initiative of introducing a general pension system for farmers. Later, this had definite political repercussions which were unfavorable to the Party. In spite of this, this idea was realized after several years, although to a limited degree. Today, ZSL has come out with new, specifically drawn up principles of granting pensions to farmers. The hitherto existing amounts and principles of according pensions are justly criticized but owing to them, it is now possible to fight for those [amounts and principles] which are more just and approximated to the pensions of workers in other areas of the national economy.

The role of ZSL will continue to depend on not only the situation within the Party but also on general political processes in the country--among others, on whether it will be recognized that in our socialist system, there is a place for a multiparty system or not; on whether we recognize the multiparty system as one of the specific features of our socialism or not? This is the basic issue. After 1956, one of the features of renewal depended on the fact that the role of allied parties increased and, above all, the system of relationships: PZPR-ZSL--changed. The Seventh KC PZPR Plenum of May 1957 gave a new interpretation tf the attitudes of the labor party towards the labor movement and the ZSL. This is something, which I do not perceive in the current renewal. In the resolution of the Third Congress, it [the thesis] was stated, while in

the resolution of the Fourth and Fifth Congresses, the thesis was repeated, that PZPR fulfills a leading role along with the participation of ZSL and SD. In the resolutions of the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Congresses, it was only said that cooperation of PZPR with ZSL and SD is one of the features of our political system but the role of allied parties in leading the nation was not defined there. Therefore, are we Poles placing our stakes on the socialist, multiparty system, which with unanimity of all parties in regard to the fundamental goals, assumed certain differences of position in regard to the tempo and form of implementing these goals? Today, we know that because there were no differences of opinion within the framework of the party system, we did not avoid making mistakes even in obvious matters. In other words, allied political parties should also fulfill the role of a revisionary force.

Another, in my opinion, essential matter is that of the party system relationship to the State and to State authority. Should the party system be contained within the framework of the State system or should it be above it? During the previous period, not only was the party system and, especially, the leading party placed above the State but much was done to degrade the institution of the State in the opinion of society. Among other things, an indication of this was the specific gradation of State and party functionaries in the mass media or even the practice of awarding State honors, etc. No political party can be above the State or totally identify itself with State authorities. Political parties should be the motivating force behind the life of the State; they should strengthen the rank of the State and that of its State authorities; they should inspire a program of State activity and prepare and advance cadres for State authority. The political party authorities and the apparatus should not, as was often the case until now, relieve State authorities, copy them or take over their prerogatives and authoritative characteristics. Such relations: the State--political parties--are in accord with the national traditions and feelings of Poles for whom an independent nation was the highest value and they are also in accord with the sense of democracy in the country. State authorities are appointed by the entire nation, in an indirect manner, of course; whereas party authorities are only appointed by their members, therefore, by a part of society.

Czeslaw Kozak

Please forgive the overly aggressive tone of my remarks. The political situation is not "elegant" but increasingly more brutal--it is full of drama. The discussed, great theories about the position of ZSL in the present situation and directions of its activity are--unfortunately--not very readable for the "average" member. They may be of use to a high level staff. Political goals--and not only political goals--should be layed out (perhaps formulated at first) from the standpoint of a regular Party member. Socialism, a system of social justice, prosperity and similar views can attract people only to the extent that the road to this goal takes in the existing realities.

The vision of peasant life in the future must be derived from the present position of today's peasant since no one (or nearly no one) will agree to march to prosperity barefoot, hungry, in rags and without a roof over their head. The attitude towards the present precludes the credibility of this vision. Therefore, it is

necessary to turn, above all, to the lowest elements of the Party for views on the subject of which road to take in the future. From the sum total of views and goals of the "bottom", the "top" should build a concept. That is also where many theoreticians should verify their present views. It appears from certain publications and statements, that they have not talked with a peasant and have not seen his farm for dozens of years.

Today, in various situations, we talk about many subjects as if we were talking to a blind man about colors. Being a man from the country, I get the impression here, in Warsaw, that nearly nothing is known about the conditions of life of the rural population.

If we do not know how many potatoes they gathered and how much livestock they actually have, then we also do not know about their real income and without this, we do not know about their living conditions. Recent months have confirmed this atrocious ignorance. The authorities astonish us with their misdirected decisions, even though they have statistical services at their disposal which count everything from eggs to poultry.

If we do not change this situation, then the peasant will continue to be neither the object nor the subject in Politics but merely an instrument. This, in my opinion, is more important than divagations whether socialism like gold can be enriched by adding or not adding other alloys because the consumer value of gold may be increased by adding a different metal but a large tub of honey can be ruined with a spoonful of birch tar. Things have also somehow quieted down about the 100 Chinese flowers of the other socialism. What is important, I suppose, is the composition of the said "mixture".

If the view is valid that in order to define the present position of ZSL, the evaluation of the state of the lowest elements of the Party and the position of activists in the community are indispensable, then I will allow myself a small register from this "inventory" in the form of the "bare" facts.

First of all: as a result of technocratic degeneration in the Party, the political activity of peasants gradually died off while the bureaucratic comprehension of the leading role of the Party [PZPR] reduced the political position of ZSL. For example, members of the Party [Stronnictwo] were not even allowed to participate with their green banners and flags in the May 1 manifestation. Those members of the Party who were appointed to executive posts were subject to, a so-called, nomenclature and were approved (in their presence) not by ZSL echelons. Examples were to be found where the acceptance of a ZSL member, even for the position of a "common" worker in any institution was easier if he concealed his affliation on the personnel questionnaire.

Secondly: the essential activity of peasant self-government--the groundwork of ZSL activity was almost entirely reduced. Agricultural circles were completely disabled, rural cooperatives were put under State control (the core of their activity), other elements of self-government (branch unions and associations, water partnerships, various suppliers' "committees", etc.) were incapacitated. National Councile were made subordinate to Party [PZPR] administration. In principle, directors, mayors and governors were excluded from social control.

Third: the active membership was theoretically disarmed, mainly, by so-called, adding on of a theory to someone's views and undertaken decisions. Above all, in recent years, young people did not hear anywhere the mention of Leninism, of State theory and economic rights. However, they did hear a lot--including from their teacher's desks--about fully developed socialism in Poland (in spite of the private sector of agriculture which was left unmentioned), about the classless nature of our State and about the supranational position of the Party [PZPR].

Fourth: conditions for the proper development of the Party [Stronnictwo] were blocked by cutting off the possibility of acting through the intelligentsia. In the 1960's NK ZSL [United Peasant Party Chief Committee] even passed a resolution about blocking admittance of the intelligentsia to ZSL (recruitment was to take place only from among farmers). Party activity was stopped in higher schools, in youth organizations and in many different areas of the national economy. Because of this, "even peasants were in control" but peasant reasoning [common sense] was lacking" (statement from a meeting of a ZSL circle).

Today, departure from these deviations (and there is much more of them than the register is long) even by means of the most fundamental resolution of NK ZSL or of a Congress--will not give an "off-hand" effect and will not wake up the "sleeping knights".

If in a province there is not one Party [Stronnictwo] member in ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] authority (from rural areas to the province), then "talk" of recognition, cooperation and attitude towards this organization is the simulation of something. Of what good is the ceremonial of a high level meeting of ZSL leadership with the leadership of ZSMP if there is not even one chairman of the provincial ZSMP board in the country and if cooperation is to take place anew through ZSL members.

Despite the total criticism of issues, which I have touched upon, the actual departure from old practices is not easy even for those who demand such departure. For example, I attended a joint session of KG PZPR [Main Committee of the Polish United Workers Party] and GK ZSL [Main Committee of the United Peasant Party] in a leading, so-called, town-rural parish in the province of Kielce. The topics were the current tasks of both echelons until the end of 1981. In a rather lengthy report paper and resolution of over a dozen pages, I did not find the terms "party organization", "ZSL circle", "Party [ZSL] members" or "members of the Party [PZPR]". This entire document was saturated with matters concerning the yield from a hectare, fertilizers, number of animals, reserves in agriculture, tasks for cooperatives, service institutions, the work of agricultural services, agricultural circles, etc., etc. and not one sentence about themselves or their work [organizational work].

The "lower end" of the Party [PZPR] and of ZSL was created mainly to fulfill the role of a specific type of social control and not to be an inspirator of activities in the community because community initiative was not consistent with the technocratic model of administration. Here is a "giant" of a problem.

"Deafness" on the part of the authorities and our echelons to the problems of the rural community must have caused a severs "clash" and collision between that which came from the top and rural reality; all the more, that it is the rural community which is the cradle of various forms of social action and collective decisions of natural cooperation. A peasant in a rural area, on his farm is not a city dweller in an apartment building who does not need his neighbor for years and to whom he does not even need to say good-morning. A peasant, by nature, hates to feign work. Has anyone ever seen a peasant [farmer] go into the field to sleep in the shade or lie hidden, sleeping behind a bush? The feigning of socio-political work, fictional and simulated information and declarations caused much havoc in rural communities and parishes. No one can hide there from his true countenance.

Wise advice is verified immediately not by reading theoretical works but through conformity with the situation of one's own farm and community. Some people delight in the problems connected with the "solidarity" version of peasant self-government. Various theories and predictions are thought of for rural Solidarity itself (I am simplifying the name) as well as horoscopes for ZSL within this context. Despite my many years of experience in the evaluation of social phenomena, I have never "seen" a correct, objective evaluation which came about from the fanaticism of its authors.

First--some digression. At one time, the slogan of Peasant Party members: "the peasant movement was born of the revolt of the peasant masses against mistreatment and degradation", found its full acceptance in the Party [Stronnictwo]. Peasants created their own political parties (although with varying results) in their own defense. There still exists the instinct of organizing self-defense within the peasants. In years past, their own party (ZSL) let them down to a large extent; they were also let down by the allied working class; the labor-peasant government did not fulfill their expectations; their self-government was destroyed.

The first elements of Solidarity had their start, as a rule, in communities with glaring incompetence on the part of local authorities and in conflicting political elements (ZSL and PZPR). They were most often founded with the help of activists from outside of the community who took advantage of the peasants' discontent. However, the subject was taken up, most often, by the more affluent farmers who enjoyed many privileges and preferential treatment in the past (specialized farms, for example). The attitude of the wealthy farmer in the vicinity of a collective farm being set up on not untainted soil or a PGR [State Farm] being expanded in terms of area, does not require sociological research. Next to this, we find the farmers at whose cost farming which was not theirs was being developed. Therefore, it is not difficult to imagine the attendance [as published].

Rural Solidarity is the "child" of political and social incompetence on the part of political parties and administrative authorities in rural areas. The ordinary farmer will support even ideas which are not his own if this support will help him to solve more effectively problems involving his farm and the welfare of his family. We should not be angry with this "child"; we should, however start bringing it up so that it will serve its community for rebellion against degradation also gave it birth. Discussion on the subject of the "union profile"

of this organization and educing from it a political sphere with which ZSL would occupy itself--that is an assignment for philosophers not for peasants.

Personally, I would be very grateful for an intelligible definition, comprehensible to the average "mortal" as to how far social activity in a union extends and where politics begins. Even if such a philosopher were to be found, then such a definition would still have no significance in rural areas. It has to be taken into account that peasants discuss and raise their own matters everywhere, at every meeting and in every organization to which they belong. They do not separate politics from economics and from the sphere of the union. After all, in rural communities, it is difficult to conduct a meeting, even of the fire department or a school meeting without talk of fertilizers, machinery and farm hands.

Every ZSL chapter even one which has the most perfect political program in the Party [Stronnictwo] must take this into account in the practice of everyday activity. Otherwise, the discussions will constantly be "off the subject". The most theoretically ideal testimonies of for example, the irreplaceable role of agricultural circles are worth nothing if in the rural area, the said circle is fiction.

Therefore, what suggestions are there in regard to the subject of the position and role of ZSL in the present situation?

First of all, eliminating from the practice of interparty cooperation in the rural parish, all strata which limit party independence of the Party [Stronnictwo]; departure from formality and pretenses. The practice of this cooperation must carry more traits of interparty coalition and less administrative dependence on communal echelons of PZPR in decision making.

The groundwork of ZSL activity must be a reactivated and modernized peasant self-government and social organizations acting in rural areas. Members of the Party [Stronnictwo] acting in these elements must be inspired in accordance with the class character of ZSL. The Party [Stronnictwo] is not a Marzist party but it should support the program of the Marxist party in the interest of rural areas everywhere joint effort is indispensable.

The Party represents the political interests of rural areas in which peasants are "incorporated" into the general stream of building a socialist system. Therefore, it cannot assume that it will not have opponents to its activity. Striving for a completely nonconflicting position blurs the contours of the peasant party. Examples of this may be situations in which certain activists begin to compete with each other to be in the good graces of rural Solidarity without so much as a question about the attitude of the other side towards ZSL or soliciting the favors of the clergy, even though many priests express complete indifference (if not negation).

The effort of the central leadership of the Party should, above all, be directed towards "unblocking" the mentioned in the beginning, brakes of activity. These topics should be the organizational plan of undertakings in regard to local echelons.

Izydor Adamski

The editorial staff gave the participants of the discussion, devoted to the role of ZSL in a changing socio-political life, several fundamental questions. They can all be reduced to a common denominator: what has been the role of ZSL in the party system until now and what can and should it be in that party system or more broadly speaking--in Poland's political system.

In the ponderings over this topic, it is assumed--this was voiced in the title of the discussion ("The Place of ZSL in the System of Socio-Political Forces in Poland")--that there exists a changeability of the factors which define the role of ZSL. This is correct, however, some sort of influence of ZSL activity, as one of the vital elements of the political system in Poland, on change in the socio-political life of the country, should also be assumed. The period from August 1980 provides certain proofs of the existence of ZSL influence on socio-political life. Three periods can even be distinguished here: the first one--from the beginning of the labor protest in July--August 1980 up to the Eighth ZSL Congress when the Party [Stronnictwo] played an active role in creating a concept for coming out of the crisis through understanding and dialogue as well as the creation of mechanisms for holding and controlling authority which would correspond to the goals of the class of laborers and peasants who are conscious of their role; the second period--from the Eighth Congress to the Third Plenum of NK ZSL when the still mounting, rank and file program and organizational proposals and in certain cases exceeding the capacity of the program of the Eighth Congress, had a weakening effect on the credibility of ZSL, particularly, on that of its management in the feelings of peasants and Peasant Party members; and lastly, the third period begun by the Third, May Plenum of NK ZSL, which characterized itself with a change in the approach of ZSL management to new, social occurrences in rural areas, especially in regard to peasant trade unions and one [the change] which is based on their recognition and the search for mutual planes of action. Therefore, in analyzing this period, how can the influence of ZSL on socio-political life be described? For me, there is no doubt that during the whole time, the United Peasant Party had a stabilizing effect on political moods; it gave its support to the Polish United Workers Party in the implementation by it [PZPR]--in after all, difficult conditions--of the concept of a political solution to the conflict; ZSL had a clear restraining effect on the display of radical tendencies, which expressed themselves by attacking PZPR in rural areas, through socialized ownership in agriculture and by agricultural circles, in the demagoguery of those acting here and there in the peasant union movement--thereby, suffering [ZSL] in certain social circles, temporary political losses. After all, it was not by accident that a part of the demogogically acting organizers of the peasant trade union movement as well as the middle-class environment opting for "Solidarity" branded ZSL as a conservative force in the process of renewal. I believe, however, that certain losses which the Party [Stronnictwo] incurred because of this were a necessary price for the inopportune party line of the United Peasant Party as an ally and partner of PZPR as well as a contribution to the defence of the democratic line before being pushed onto the devious paths of political quarreling [awanturnictwo polityczne].

In giving consideration to the role of ZSL in a changing socio-political life in Poland and by presenting my opinion on this issue right from the beginning, I would, nevertheless, like to approach this subject differently, namely, I would like to experss what I believe to be "unchanging" in socio-political life and what should remain as such. I am placing this word in quotation marks because in socio-political life, there is nothing as absolutlly unchangeable as, for example, the standard for a meter [model metra] but--I believe, there are principles considered as unchanging in the sense in which this can be referred to socio-political phenomena. I would think that there is a certain number of such invariables. I will name them: 1) the socialist system as a form of organization of socio-economic life based on socializing the basic means of production and as a form of holding authority in the State by the labor class in alliance with peasants and the intelligentsia; 2) the specific role of the Marxist-Leninist party which is based on political leadership in the State carried out with the participation of allied parties--ZSL and SD: 3) the alliance of Poland with the USSR And with nations of the socialist union justified by reasons of State and the nation. Perhaps.one or two invariables could be added, however, this will not change the heart of the matter when describing the nature of the proposed changes in the functioning of socio-political life.

I contend that in considering the role of ZSL in the political life of the country, it should be admitted that for the Party [ZSL], the said "invariables" are that role, if it [ZSL] wants to remain within the socialist, political system. I consider this statement to be necessary even if I should face the reservation that, after all, there are no voices in ZSL which question these principles. I am doing so, since voices can be heard from the outside which lead Peasant Party members to the temptation of violating these principles. The counterbalance of these suggestions is political realism as well as the class consciousness of peasants, which was clearly evident in the past as it is now, in the months of democratic renewal.

Political principles or be it "invariables", which the United Peasant Party should use for its guidelines, were, after all-someone would say-binding for the past 30 years or more and yet this did not protect the entire party system in Poland, including ZSL, from deformation and mistakes. I believe that it should be stated that the main reason for this was that the idea of the leading role of PZPR was falsely implemented which was based on identifying the role of the Party [PZPR] with the role of its narrow, controlling groups on the central level and on intermediate levels as well as that the principle of the genuine participation of ZSL in the holding of authority was, in fact--as in the case of SD--not being implemented. This state intensified as the PZPR echelons increasingly gained entry into the jurisdiction of the organs of State and economic authority and ignored the exerting of influence on solving matters through representative organs (the Sejm; national councils; organs of agricultural, labor and collective self-government). In this system, the leadership of allied parties was only consulted or even only informed about decisions while their members who fulfilled functions in various social organs only formally "voted on" these decisions like the members of PZPR and SD who had a seat there. This is how the waning of ZSL functions occurred and in a broader sense--the functions of political party members.

The active role of PZPR, ZSL and SD is possible in a party system and in the fulfillment of authority, when the possibility of differences of opinion is allowed for in methods of implementing strategic goals which are mutual. These differences always occurred regardless of whether they were officially displayed or not. They resulted and continue to result from the social base on which parties are founded. PZPR acts in all social environments but primarily in the working environment; ZSL functions mainly among peasants; SD--among the urban middle class. PZPR has the theoretically greatest chance of expressing, with considerable proximity, the essence of nationwide interests due to the rather complete, social cross-section of membership ranks and also as a result of ideological bonds with the international labor movement and particularly with the communist parties of socialist countries. However, Polish society is not and for a long time to come, will not be classless. There exist differences of class interests and at times (during years of difficulty), they even increase. If these differences are not revealed in public life and negotiation of ways to overcome them does not take place, then this threatens with wrong decisions being made and carries the risk of social tensions. An obvious example is the one-sided industrial concept of Poland's accelerated economic growth in the 1970's which led to collosal neglect in agriculture and in the sphere of sercices. Would this have been possible if the role of ZSL and SD had been different during this period?

Poland's historical experience teaches that a socially uncontrolled method of holding authority always leads to mistakes and distortions. In the fulfillment by the Party [PZPR] of the leading political role, there should exist--and this is the direction, in part at least, in which the discussion went in PZPR--the following mechanisms which strengthen the proper implementation of this principle: the first one--the strengthening of democracy within the Party [PZPR] itself (this was discussed heavily in the Party lately); second--the correcting role of allied parties in regard to PZPR and conversely, of PZPR to allied parties; third--expanding the influence as well as participation in the fulfillment of authority by citicens who are nonparty members and who form, together with political party members, an alli ce of forces of accord on the level of national interest and reasons of State. I am not leaving out here, the role of trade unions--labor and peasant--however, I see their function on a different plane of settling inte ests.

Sometimes the question is asked, whether the party system in Poland exhausts the gamut of political movements and also a second question, whether the concept of a mutually correcting role of allied parties is sufficient for the proper functioning of political life and whether thought should not be given to legalizing opposition--"constructive" opposition, as some have termed it. My point of view on the first matter is as follows. The triparty system in Poland corresponds to the class system of our society--after all, it is only on the class basis that political parties can develop and function. In Poland, there are no classes other than laborers-workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and a few, urban, middle classes--private trade and small merchants connected with the system of socialized economy. All other, theoretical bases for political parties other than the class system which exists in Poland (for example, on the basis of the Catholic doctrine or models of social-democracy) would lead to a struggle for the reversal of the structural [regime] processes which were carried out some 37 years ago.

A possible opposition, even though it would be "constructive" could contribute to this cause even more markedly. Such activity, irrespective of the intent of those who brought up the idea, would serve those forces, which are conducting a battle with socialism on a worldwide scale, in carrying it [the battle] over to the Polish soil, which undoubtedly would weaken our country.

Therefore, I believe that there exist realistic methods of improving the party system in Poland without these politically suspect reforms. Realistic methods, that is--let us repeat--the democratization of life within PZPR, which was taken up with such force during the period of discussions preceding the Ninth PZPR Congress, as well as restoring allied, active, partnership functions to the United Peasant Party and to the Democratic Party.

I would like to formulate in a few arguments how I imagine the role of ZSL in this system. First of all, the rule should be that ZSL possesses its own program of activity just as PZPR and SD possesses it. It is understandable that in Poland a program must be implemented in one or another area of life or in general. The government must know, for example, which program to implement. This program should come about as a result of interparty discussions, agreements and compromises. Political parties ought to have equal rights to drawing up and announcing their programs, even though their political importance varies--and this chould be taken into account. In returning yet to the matter of ZSL's own program, it should be said that it ou ht to take into account both the interests of peasants and those of the nation in general. Departure at some point from the defense of peasant interests may come into play only when the good of the nation as a whole advocates this in an open and convincing manner. It is the obligation of ZSL to constantly observe the methods if implementing the joint program established in a partnership-like fashion. The rule of thumb should rather be dissatisfaction with the implementation of the program. Experience proves that by serving well the interests of rural areas and of peasants and by fighting for their interesss, ZSL also serves all of society well.

In conclusion, a few words about the ideology of ZSL. The peasant movement has formulated ideological principles during the decades of its activity, deriving from the class experiences of peasants, such principles as the evaluation of people and their role within categories of their attitude towards work and towards institutions of the State as well as from general democratic ideology--a sense of justice, democracy and animosity towards racial prejudice. The peasant movement accepted and adapted, throughout its history, many, new principles, as long as they corresponded to the interests of peasants. This is the way it was with the concept of the labor-peasant alliance, which was accepted very early; it was this way with the principle of expropriating large landowners without compensation or with the concept of industrialization; however, not instead of the agrarian concept of economic development but together with it. During the years of People's Poland, the peasant movement would come into contact with the assumptions of the theory and practice of socialism and it was also from this source that it drew and still continues to draw its ideological inspirations. This is understandable. After all, there does exist something like the ideological subsumption of social movements to the political systems of the State within which these movements function. This does not mean that the United Peasant Party is becoming

a Marxist party. This is netiher necessary nor possible. The ideological basis of the ZSL program and activity is the accumulated wealth of peasant political thought elaborated and verified constantly for over 80 years of its activity and including also experiences from the period of its participation in the building of the socialist system in Poland.

Witold Lipski

In accordance with our custom in these types of discussions, my presentation, although being the last one in the series, is not an attempt at summing up. We are treating our meeting as the inauguration of a discussion which will proceed for several months. In my statement, I wish to assume an attitude towards several problems which I consider to be important and current.

In this discussion, one thing is indisputable--namely, that we have taken up an extremely complex subject. It will be difficult to find, already today, some sort of common stand on many issues. Some matters will be absolutely difficult to define. It seems to me that, for example, the leading role of the Party [PZPR] alongside the independence and sovereignty of allied parties does not lend itself to winning the point when the laws of formal logic are applied. It would make sense in a situation in which it [the leading role of PZPR and concurrent existence of independent parties] would have been achieved as a result of democratic elections or as a result of the obtainment by PZPR of a true majority in all representative organs which will decide the structure of authority. If such will not be the case, then it will be necessary to employ political criteria and search for solutions by means of, the well-known method in economics, of gradual approachment [coming closer together] or simply put--life must outpace theory. These are new solutions in the system and theory of socialism and in the practicing of socialist construction and that is why I do not, currently, see the possibility of the clear presentation of this matter.

Secondly, of extreme importance is that which was taken up in the discussion and initiated by colleague Kisielewski--namely, the evaluation of the past. Indeed, today's situation is the product of many years of practicing socio-political activity in our country. At the present time, we already have much experience. Chairman Ignar reminded us of this during the People's Holiday: during a period of social unrest when public feeling decides about political solutions, the role of the Party [Stronnictwo] increases. This is followed by stabilization and the role of the Party decreases. That is why, I believe that it will not be possible to detach the evaluation of the Party [Stronnictwo] from the overall situation. The following question is fundamental here: To what extent does the Party [Stronnictwo] bear responsibility for the present crisis? We are between two extremes here: either conveniently blame everything on the, so-called, overall situation and then we do not bear responsibility for anything but we degrade ourselves or we will detach ourselves from reality by saying that we could have influenced the course of events. I believe that this was a period in which a true ZSL activist could demonstrate his own position, protest and gain satisfaction from acting individually. On the other hand, it does not seem possible to me that in the conditions in which the Party [Stronnictwo] acted, it could have avoided, as a political party, the majority of those mistakes to which PZPR was the main contributor. This is a delicate situation but extremely vital. Here as well, searching for and some kind of comprehensive analysis of the past are greatly needed.

In coming back to the evaluation of the Party [Stronnictwo], I would like to take up this issue: besides opportunistic elements, which appear in every party and in society, there is always a certain number of people who want to participatio actively--they simply have that need. When there is no freedom of choice, they must somehow adjust to the reality of things. Very many Peasant Party activists felt--in not accepting these realities emotionally--that in this system in which we lived, even under conditions of very limited independence, organizational pluralism is already a plus; that any form of limiting the monopoly of Party [PZPR] authority is a positive value for social life since difficulties, mistakes and deformations resulted from this monopoly. In this complex situation, the dilemma with which many activists were faced was understandable: how to accept the limited independence of the Party [ZSL]? Naturally, I am putting this in very brief form.

I am of the opinion that one of the basic sources of distortions and deformations in our entire political, economic and social life is departure from the concept of a Polish road to socialism. This concept, which is the great accomplishment of the Polish Left and primarily of PPR [Polish Workers Party], was implemented for a certain period of time--until 1948. The program of PPR, from the time of the Occupation, is a program of historical dimensions in and of itself and particularly, if realities are taken into account at that time, dominant theory of scientific [Marxian] socialism is taken into account. Misfortunes began from the moment when that which was the greatest attraction in the program of Polish communists was considered as heresy. This had its effect on the peasant movementaand on everything that happened in the country. At the same time, we must admit to ourselves that this problem is not simple. This was a question of and still is a question of the interpretation of the important principles of Marxism-Leninism. A digression: I do not know if you remember that in Hungary in the 1960's, a very interesting discussion went on about the evaluation of folk [peasant] writers. Basically, this concerned the analysis of the peasant movement and its role in a socialist State. It was clearly stated at that time, that the elimination of peasant parties was Hungary's great achievement. And also several years ago, during the 30-year anniversary of WRL [Hungarian People's Republic], in a comprehensive, official pronouncement which showed the achievements of that country, the defeat of the multiparty system was among those which were at the top of the list--thus, the achievement of such a state in which only one party exists.

If we want to carry out an honest evaluation of the attitude of people who acted in the peasant movement, then we must remember that the central active membership and activists in the Party [Stronnictwo] were conscious of the total threat to the very existence of the Party [Stronnictwo]. There was always the fear that the kind of transformation and internal dismantling would take place which would turn it into only an empty form.

Another also very grave matter: in the sphere of genuine, peasant movement patriots, it was assumed that if we want to exist and if we want to fight effectively for equal rights relations with PZPR, then we should not be inferior as far as our program, ideology and political awareness are concerned. In my opinion, there were noble intentions which issued forth from erroneous premises because in

my opinion the Party [Stronnictwo] only has a reason to exist as long as it is not "a smaller PZPP" with the same program and ideology. It seems to me that these are matters which require a more thorough, unrestricted analysis. We will simply, then, be able to conduct an evaluation of the past and the role of individual activists in a more objective and honest manner.

The next problem, which is justifiably emphasized in the discussion and which, in my opinion, foredooms the character of the Party [Stronnictwo], is its attitude towards the durability of peasant farming. After all, according to the prevailing interpretation of Marxism-Leninism, peasant farming is doomed to extinction, interferes with the bringing about of a uniform character of society, constitutes a basis for the rebirth of capitalism, etc. Only when we bear this in mind, can we evaluate fairly how great a phenomenon was the fact that with all the distortions, imperfections and inconsistencies, the thesis about the durability of the peasant farm was never abondoned by ZSL. There is no exaggeration, whatsoever, in the statement that the mere existence of the Party [ZSL] contributed to the preservation of family farms in Poland. If ZSL could not log any other merits, then that one warrants its place in history. In considering this issue, it is not only important what the Party [ZSL] did for peasant farming and agriculture but also what it did not allow during various stages of development--even though there already were definite designs.

In a Joint Declaration of PZPR and ZSL from 1957, it was decided to return to the program from the first period after the war and from that time on, the existence of peasant farming was not frontally attacked, despite various practices. In my opinion, this already was a great achievement. However, there existed a divergence between theory and practice and the effect was such that agricultural secretaries in party committees were our allies while ideological and first secretaries, not infrequently--our adversaries. It appears that what we did within the framework of agricultural policy, with all its imperfections, has a more general meaning. This was, after all, some sort of defense--often ineffective but not in vain--of that which in the history of People's Poland is extremely important, namely, the concept of the Polish road to socialism.

The next issue. It can be assumed, I should think, that in civilized or developed countries, there occurs the aspiration for greater freedom; respect for human rights is demanded more strongly. This is a universal and, I suppose, permanent trend if one can talk about permanence in history. That which is happening today in Poland is, therefore, also a reflection of more universal trends--this should be remembered. Of course, there may be intervals in such trends. What is sought here are constitutional or institutional guarantees, however, I do not believe in the effectiveness of these types of guarantees. I am not coming out against institutional guarantees, however, I feel that a truly deciding factor is the awareness of the masses and the attitude of the fundamental classes of a given society. When people are active, everything is all right. However, when there is no activity, then even with the best and the most liberal constitution, there can be labor camps and things which are simply unimaginable can be done; indeed, ruling by means of terror is possible.

I believe that the further development of the Party [ZSL] depends, above all, on whether in all of society and in the labor and peasant class, active attitudes and striving for the implementation of the process of socialist renewal will maintain and reinforce themselves. Naturally, ZSL cannot be only the resultant of a general situation. It must have ambitions of influencing the activity of, at least, the peasant class. The thesis can be presented that the prestige of ZSL will depend on the extent to which it can currently become a driving force in the process of renewal, in rural areas, at least.

The decisions of the Eighth Congress concerning the nationwide character of ZSL and its ideological and organizational sovereignty confirmed in the triparty Declaration of Cooperation between PZPR, ZSL and SD; the atmosphere of peasant, social activity--all of this creates the basis for remaining by the Party [ZSL] of the role of a vital element in the triparty system of People's Poland. However, automatic action cannot be expected here. As to long-range trends, they are, I should think, easy to define. They must fit in and be adequate for those general trends, which are the product of the level of socio-economic development and awareness shaped by the development of education, particularly, by means of domestic and foreign mass communication. On the other hand, today's major problem is based on passing on to a stage of some sort of stability.

The formulation was presented here that at a certain time "applying the brakes" may be a positive action. I agree totally since I feel that halting that which was begun in July and August may be accomplished only in one way. I believe that in view of such a great committment on the part of society, particularly that of workers, any attempts whatsoever of crushing the renewal process and returning to the old, do not stand a chance. I am overlooking the activity of outside forces on which we have no influence. It seems to me that a real threat to that which we call the process of renewal is leading it to--according the old Roman method--"ad absurdum" [absurdity]. This means rushing it and making demands which are impossible to implement. Only in such a case, can the opponents of renewal have any kind of a chance of halting it. This is why I believe that from a certain time, in Poland, the skillful guidance of the renewal process and not amplifying it was sound activity, although one which did not receive applause. Sharp criticism--this was greatly needed some years ago and those people who did this played a positive role at that time. However, from a certain moment in minimum [a minimum], there is a different attitude.

Today, we are aware that a factor, which can thwart all our plans and is already beginning to thwart them is the state of our economy and an increasing decline in economic activity and efficacy of its management. In such extreme situations, moods become very unsteady. I am afraid that I even suspect whether the opponents of renewal perhaps do not have some part in this because certain occurrences are, indeed, very alarming. It is difficult to hope for solutions by the system when we are not even capable of implementing something as prosaic as the ration card system which should be one of the simplest tasks for the government apparatus. If we are unable to stock milk in such a difficult situation of the food market, then it simply is bad.

I see a threat for the Party [ZSL] in the underestimation of economic problems. It is true that we were too occupied with certain agronomic matters. The Party [ZSL] was becoming too "technocratic". In spite of this, we should give our undivided attention to economic matters today. In principle, the thesis is justified that it is not production but the human being that should be the center of attention. However, during this specific moment in our history, excessive exposure of this thesis is dangerous for the Party [ZSL] because it is socially harmful and then, the accusations would be justified that if we want to play some kind of role, we must take care of not only matters which concern the class which we represent primarily but we must also contribute to the solving of nationwide problems.

And the next problem. I believe that the Eighth Congress made a very great change in one area. Namely, it declared the transformation of the Party [ZSL] from a regional party into a nationwide party, which has enormous significance for the future development of ZSL. This was executed in a resolution while a new statute defines this even more precisely. It seems to me that while criticizing the Congress, we should not forget about this very important achievement.

And the last remark--pertaining to the attitude towards "Rural Solidarity". Hence, as far as I am concerned, I believe that the majority of our activists in rural areas and rural parishes are unhappy with what was happening in the rural community; unhappy with the statute of the Party [ZSL], which was binding in the previous period, and that it is sufficient to carry out changes in the program and in the statute as well as to secure a new declaration about cooperation so that the great, suppressed energy could show itself and start to put things in order in rural areas and in rural parishes. In connection with this, I presumed that it would be the ZSL elements, which acted in rural areas and for which the resolution of the Congress and declaration about cooperation of political parties created new conditions for activity, which would stand at the head of the renewal process in rural areas. My mistake--as I see it at this moment--was based on the fact that I did not realize that with all the restrictions, disadvantages of ZSL and its degradarion, our activists or more precisely--a considerable part of them--of the lowest rank were, nevertheless, incorporated to some degree into the local "establishment" and in the eyes of the rural community, they bear the responsibility for all the distortions of which there were so many. At the same time, these activists were not at all eager to participate in the renewal. The result of this was that an effective battle against distortions could be undertaken only by people from the outside or those who belonged to the Party [ZSL] but were not active and did not hold any positions and in connection with this saved face in regard to the entire rural community. This is the essence of the matter.

This state is extremely dangerous and sad for our Party [ZSL]. Let us, then, not make a new mistake. "Solidarity" may perhaps really play a big role in rural areas. However, it must take up definite action. It is not necsssarily true that if you have a program, then everything will proceed automatically. The role of the Party [ZSL] depends on helping the sound forces of "Solidarity"--after all, there are all kinds of people there too and furthermore, they do not always know how to function. However, they should not be blamed because these are often young, inexperienced people. Cooperation between "Solidarity" and the Party [ZSL]

is in the interest of both sides, of the entire rural community and the entire nation. And it seems to me that we should devote a lot of attention to maintaining contact, discussion and cooperating. The official report from the meeting of the leadership of ZSL and OKZ NSZZ RI "Solidarnosc" [District Union Committee of the Independent, Self-governing Trade Union RI] Solidarity from 25 June of this year indicates that there are many levels of cooperation. However, I would like to warn against excessive optimism that now everything will automatically begin to develop because, unfortunately, in spite of what we want to believe, in a situation of supply shortages, regulation and with the existence of prices which are detached from economic principles, etc., the rural community was also subjected, to a large extent, to moral and social degradation. The battle with this will not be easy.

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CHIEF OF ENGINEER TROOPS CITES ACHIEVEMENTS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24, 25, 26, 27 Dec 81 p 2

[Interview with Brig Gen L. Raznowiecki by Marek Kwiatkowski]

[Text] Engineer troops play a significant role in the whole range of labor services provided by the armed forces on behalf of the national economy. The Chief of Engineer Troops, Brig Gen Leopold Raznowiecki, talked with a PAP reporter about the work done this year by these forces in serving the needs of the nation and its people.

Soldiers assigned to engineer units worked with great dedication on various campaigns during which they were able to put to use their knowledge and skills on behalf of the national economy and the general public. Working all over the country they built, among other things, 29 bridge installations with a total span width of 1,704 running meters; last year 9 bridges were built with the help of combat engineers. The value of all this labor came to Zl 22 million. Forces of the Warsaw Military District put in an especially large amount of bridge construction work. The never-ending campaign of many years standing dedicated to the removal of the vestiges of war--explosive and hazardous objects--from urban and rural areas continued during 1981. Sixty-one mine clearing and removal patrols were at work in all parts of the country this year and they succeeded in locating, removing, and destroying more than 165,000 duds and unexploded munitions. Most of these dangerous life- and property-threatening objects were found, among other places, in Katowice, Opole, and Wroclaw provinces as well as in the environs of Grudziadz, Gryfice, and Kamien Pomorski.

On many occasions during the course of this year combat engineers and other engineer troop specialists assisted in flood relief and ice control projects and damage control work necessitated by other natural disasters. For example, at the end of February and beginning of March 1981 a battle was being fought against ice floes and floodwaters along the Bug River, especially in the vicinity of the township of Hanna where engineer troops from the Warsaw Military District were called into service. In August of 1981 units of the Silesian Military District rushed into action in connection with summer flooding along the Odra, Nysa, Bober, and Kaczawa rivers. In December, after martial law had already been declared, soldiers serving in engineer units of the Pomeranian and Silesian military districts joined in the battle against floods caused by the Warta, Notec, and Parseta rivers

and helped to break up the ice jams around the "Skawina" power plant. During these campaigns soldiers helped with the evacuation of citizens, livestock, and property from inundated areas, delivered supplies of food, water, and animal feed, and secured and shored up damaged flood-control levees. Altogether this year 1,500 soldiers serving with engineer troops took part in these various campaigns.

In the course of lending a helping hand to the agricultural sector combat engineers worked on the harvesting of grain crops and potatoes. They also did repair work on farm machinery and loaned out 23 mobile repair workshops to the agricultural sector.

Nor did our service fail to give a good account of itself in the services rendered by the military on behalf of the forestry industry in the course of reclaiming timber from windfall and pest-infested tracts. Teams of soldiers from engineer units cut approximately 10,000 cubic meters of timber in our forests and hauled 4,500 cubic meters of lumber to storage areas. Twenty field gang saws were put into service in order to cut lumber for construction purposes.

The civicmindedness of engineer troop soldiers was also evidenced in various kinds of projects initiated out of an awareness of the needs of certain segments of society. For example, one of the subunits of the 2d Warszawska Combat Engineer Brigade came to the aid of the Home for Blind Children in Lasky near Warsaw by laying the foundations for a school building in just 2 days. Warm bonds of friendship were forged between this unit and the staff and charges of this institution.

11813
CSO: 2600/208

ELBLAG NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE COMMISSIONER INTERVIEWED

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 27 Jan 82 p 4

[Interview with Col Jozef Caputa, KOK [National Defense Committee] Commissioner, Elblag Voivodship by Miroslaw Dymczak; date and place not given]

> [Text] Col Jozef Caputa has exercised the function of commissioner of the National Defense Committee [KOK] in the Elblag Voivodship since the declaration of marital law. He comes from Podbeskidzie, and has been a pilot for 32 years. After completing studies at the famous Deblin "Eaglets' School," he served in various capacities in air force units within the country. He is currently working in air force affairs at the headquarters of the Pomorze Military District.

[Question] Let me begin our interview with a question on the subject of the development of the situation during the first hours that martial law was in force.

[Answer] I received an order to go to Elblag and, of course, I came here immediately. The first hours of that memorable Sunday of 13 December 1981 were taken up by the execution of orders issued by the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON]. They concerned issues connected with the militarization of some economic and municipal units, as well as undertakings to ensure law, order and discipline.

The most difficult moments were those that we and voivodship residents experienced on Monday, 14 December. This was the first working day under martial law conditions. The people, the work forces of many enterprises, were still in a state of shock. Thus, our first task was to explain to them that the primary motivation underlying the temporary restriction of civic freedoms by the WRON was to put an end to anarchy and to draw the country back from the brink of the precipice.

After 2 hours, municipal transportation began to function in Elblag. Trade became somewhat confused--to add to everything there was the sudden buying up of milk and bread. The situation became critical in Zamech right after the end of the second shift, i.e., just after the 22nd hour. We assured the part

of the work force remaining in the plant that it would not be repressed, and that everyone could return home without fear. They believed us, they took down banners themselves, and they also removed the barriers blocking entrance into the plant themselves. But then the problem emerged that the hour was already late and the militia curfew was in effect. So we tried to get some cars. People were not sure whether they should get into them, because they did not know where they would be taken from Zamech. What were we to do? The next day, Tuesday, 15 December there was some relaxation of the tension: the Zamech workers became convinced that in fact no one who stayed on at the plant during the previous day had been interned.

[Question] On the following days, the situation clearly stabilized.

[Answer] Indeed. The work forces of all plants and enterprises without exception showed up for work. From every quarter, reports came in and are still coming in about the radical improvement of discipline. The numerous meetings we have held and which we are continuing to hold confirm our conviction that the inhabitants of the Elblag voivodship are demonstrating greater and greater sympathy for the WRON decision. They are aware that we are at work on business of interest to all. The 24 December statement of Gen W. Jaruzelski was received very favorably, especially his assurances that there would be no return to pre-August practices in economic, political and social life in our country, and that the course of renewal will not only be maintained but deepened.

[Col J. Caputa continues]: I would like to emphasize very strongly the great maturity demonstrated by the leadership cadre of most voivodship enterprises during the first and the next hours, and then the days and weeks. We did not observe even one case of indolence of formalism. Many directors, chairmen and managers literally doubled their efforts to guarantee the needed supplies, efficient transportation and the speedy elimination of trouble. The attitude of the management of the Zamech Wielki Proletariat [Great Proletariat] Furniture Plants and that of the Automobile Fittings Plant management in Elblag is worthy of special recognition.

[Question] For some time, meetings and gatherings of the work forces in plants and enterprises have been participated in by LWP [Polish People's Army] officers. What has been discussed at these meetings?

[Answer] During the first period, right after 13 December, people most often asked: what next? They feared greater restrictions. With the passage of time and the moderation of those restrictions (militia curfew hours have been shortened, communications has been restored), the basis for discussion has become issues associated with the future of the country, the region and the plant, hence economic reform, price reform, the prospects of the younger generation and other issues, equally vital.

In expressing their opinions, a number of people have not hidden the fact that now they move about the streets much more securely and safely. We even wanted to move the beginning of the militia curfew to the 23rd hour, but

representatives of "female" plants were opposed to this, saying that they would like to continue to return home from the 2nd shift in peace.

The subject [he says] which is not making its way into all meetings, without exception, is obviously the increase in prices and compensation. This problem is viewed from various aspects at particular enterprises. For example, at "Truso" women are discussing the proposed food, fuel and power price increases above all, while at the Elblag Construction Works, the discussion centers around the new prices of manufactured goods resulting from the change in procurement prices.

The suggestion of the Council of Ministers Economic Committee that compensation should be of two kinds: fixed, i.e., the same for all, and changing, depending on earnings, was received very favorably. People say that now every person employed in the socialized economy has the opportunity to receive at least those 750 zlotys. At the same time, the necessity of adopting such principles of remuneration and compensation as would work as an incentive toward work productivity is strongly emphasized. The decided majority of those with whom we come in contact and speak does not hide the fear of how they will manage the household budget after 1 February. All are aware, however, that price control is necessary and that this step "into deep water" is inevitable.

[Question] I would like to ask you about your first impressions of the Elblag voivodship.

[Answer] As I was on my way to Elblag I anticipated a considerably more difficult situation. I found that the supply situation was much better than, e.g., in Bydgoszcz. I have already mentioned the basic [sic:] [should be postawa-attitude] of the leadership cadre. I also came away with many favorable impressions from meetings and contacts with rank-and-file inhabitants of the region.

I am just beginning to learn about this voivodship, getting to the root of its special nature and problems. Thus, it is difficult for me to give an authoritative opinion. I am more and more firmly convinced that we can be optimistic about the future of the Elblag region. Its trump cards are its exceptionally fertile, if demanding soils of the Wisla Zulawy and its nationally recognized industry: Zamech, "Truso," ZWP [Expansion unknown], EZNS [Elblag Automobile Repair Plants] and, in the not-too-distant future, the Kwidzyn cellulose plant.

[Question] Comrade Colonel, you are a pilot, I would like to ask you how many hours you have spent in the air piloting planes.

[Answer] It depends how one calculates it. The Americans calculate this time from the moment one enters the plane until he leaves it. In Poland, the "clock ticks" from the moment the plane starts until it lands. Thus, calculating according to our criteria, I have spent a combined total of over 2,500 hours of time in the air, of course as the pilot of various types of craft, including supersonic planes.

[Question] What are your other interests?

[Answer] I enjoy sports above all. I am vice-president of the Bydgoszcz Zawisza. To this day, my charges remember the 1:3 defeat they suffered in the fall in Elblag in a first-league meet with Olimpia. They promise to take revenge on their own court in the spring. I will remind them then that the ball is round.

8536
CSO: 2600/345

DECREE ON JURISDICTION OF MILITARY COURTS DURING MARTIAL LAW PUBLISHED

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 29 14 Dec 81 pp 321-322

[Decree on the Transfer of Cases Involving Certain Crimes to the Jurisdiction of Military Courts and on Changes in the Organizational Structure of Military Courts and Military Organizational Units of the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic During a State of Martial Law]

[Text] In connection with the declaration of martial law for reasons of national security the Council of State resolves as follows:

Chapter I
Broadening the Jurisdiction of Military Courts

Article 1. During a state of martial law military courts shall also try cases involving crimes that hitherto fell under the jurisdiction of general courts and as defined in:

1) article 122, article 128, section 1, and article 129 of the Penal Code to the extent that these cases formerly fell under the jurisdiction of general courts;

2) articles 123, 126, and 127, 130-133, 143, 144, 260-262, 270 and 271, 276, 278, sections 1-3, articles 283 and 286 of the Penal Code;

3) article 254, section 1 in reference to articles 122, 123, 124, sections 1 and 2 and articles 126-128, section 1, and also article 273, sections 1 and 2 in reference to articles 270 and 271 of the Penal Code;

4) article 148 of the Penal Code insofar as an offender has committed an act against a public official or political official or their immediate family in connection with the performance of their official duties or the discharge of the duties of their political office;

5) articles 148 and 209-211 of the Penal Code insofar as an offender has resorted to the use of firearms or explosives or acted in concert with another person who resorted to the use of firearms or explosives;

6) article 288, section 1 of the Penal Code insofar as an offender has committed an act for the purpose of departing from the Polish Peoples Republic;

7) articles 1 and 2 of the Law of 29 December 1950 on the Defense of the Peace (DZIENNIK USTAW No 58, item 521);

8) articles 221-223, 226, and 227 of the Law of 21 November 1967 on the General Duty of Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111);

9) article 47, section 1 and article 48, sections 1-5 of the Decree of 12 December 1981 on Martial Law (DZIENNIK USTAW No 29, item 154).

Article 2. 1. Cases involving crimes mentioned in article 1 that hitherto fell under the jurisdiction of a provincial court shall be tried in the court of original jurisdiction by a military district court (or its equivalent), whereas cases which hitherto fell under the jurisdiction of a regular court shall be tried by a military garrison court.

2. Cases involving crimes mentioned in article 1 shall be tried by military courts within whose jurisdictions such crimes were committed.

Article 3. Cases involving crimes committed by persons called up for duty in civil defense units or in militarized units or while performing such service and in connection with such service, and also, insofar as a militarized unit has been subordinated to a military commanding officer, cases involving crimes that are not connected with service in such units shall be tried by military courts in conformity with the rules set forth in article 234 in reference to article 237 of the Law of 21 November 1967 on the General Duty of Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111).

Article 4. 1. If the same person is charged with having committed several interrelated crimes of which at least one is subject to adjudication by military courts, all of the cases in question shall be tried by a military court.

2. The provisions of article 24, section 3 of the Code of Criminal Procedure are to be enforced accordingly.

Article 5. 1. Insofar as such action shall not be detrimental to due process in the administration of justice or to the preservation of law and order, a military court may transfer a case involving a crime subject to the adjudication of military courts to a general court.

2. The provisions of section 1 are to be duly enforced during preliminary proceedings.

Article 6. 1. In cases involving crimes mentioned in article 1 the trial duties of public prosecutors serving organizational entities of the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic are to be performed by military prosecutors.

2. The provisions of article 262 of the Code of Criminal Procedure are to be duly enforced in cases involving crimes transferred to the adjudication of military courts during preliminary proceedings conducted by military prosecutors.

Article 7. Accelerated proceedings are to be instituted before military courts only in cases involving crimes defined in article 18, item 6 of the Decree of 12 December 1981 on Special Proceedings in Criminal and Misdemeanor Cases During a State of Martial Law (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 29, item 156).

Chapter II
Changes in the Organizational Structure of Military Organizational Entities of the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic

Article 8. 1. During a state of martial law the positions of public prosecutor and investigating officer in military organizational entities of the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic may also be filled by reserve officers called up for active military duty in accordance with the provisions of article 110, section 1 with reference to article 237 of the Law of 21 November 1967 on the General Duty of Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111).

2. The positions referred to in section 1 may be filled by officers who do not meet the requirements specified in article 10, section 1, items 5-7 of the Law of 14 April 1967 on the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW 1980, No 10, item 30) provided that they possess the training necessary to perform the duties associated with these positions. In this instance the provisions of article 11 of the law are not to be enforced.

Article 9. 1. Prosecutors serving in military organizational entities of the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic, with the exception of prosecutors specified in article 12, section 2 of the Law of 14 April 1967 on the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW 1980, No 10, item 30) are appointed and discharged by the Military Prosecutor General.

2. The Military Prosecutor General may empower the prosecutors of military district courts (or their equivalents) to appoint, transfer, and discharge investigating officers.

Chapter III
Changes in the Organizational Structure of Military Courts

Article 10. 1. The Chairman of the Military Chamber of the Supreme Court may establish extramural benches of a military district court (or its equivalent) off the premises of the main courthouse and he may also establish extramural sections of a military garrison court off the premises of its main courthouse while at the same time stipulating their respective locations and organizational structures.

2. The geographic areas of jurisdiction of military courts are to be determined by the Chairman of the Military Chamber of the Supreme Court.

Article 11. 1. A military district court (or its equivalent) is a superior court in relation to a military garrison court functioning within its area of jurisdiction.

2. In judicial matters the chief of a military district court (or its equivalent) exercises review powers over a military garrison court functioning within the military district court's jurisdiction.

Article 12. 1. Officers of the reserve called up for active military duty may be appointed to fill the positions of judge and associate judge in military courts for as long as martial law shall remain in force in accordance with the provisions of article 110, section 1 in reference to article 237 of the Law of 21 November 1967 on the General Duty of Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111).

2. The positions referred to in section 1 may be filled by officers who do not meet the requirements set forth in article 24, section 1, items 3 and 4 of the Law of 8 June 1972 on the Organizational Structure of Military Courts (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 23, item 166) provided that they possess the requisite training qualifying them to fill these positions. In such instances the provisions of article 24, section 4 of this law are not to be enforced.

3. Officers of the reserve appointed to fill positions referred to in section 1 may not preside over a court hearing a case that is being tried under the rules of summary proceeding.

4. The Chairman of the Military Chamber of the Supreme Court may empower the chiefs of military district courts (or their equivalents) to appoint and recall associate judges sitting on military courts and to commission them to perform judgeship duties.

Article 13. If so required for the good of the service a judge sitting in the Military Chamber of the Supreme Court may be delegated for an indefinite period to perform judicial duties in another military court, and judges sitting on military courts may likewise be delegated without their consent to perform judicial duties in the Military Chamber of the Supreme Court or to perform judicial or administrative duties and functions in another military court.

Article 14. 1. The legal validity of the provisions of article 48, sections 2 and 5 and articles 49 and 50 of the Law of 8 June 1972 on the Organizational Structure of Military Courts (DZIENNIK USTAW No 23, item 166) is suspended.

2. Associate judges are appointed to work on a given case by the commanders of military units. The provisions of article 48, sections 1 and 3 mentioned in section 1 are to be enforced accordingly.

Article 15. A judge sitting on a military court may appear in court without wearing the gold chain and emblem of the Polish Peoples Republic.

Chapter IV
Transitional and Concluding Provisions

Article 16. The provisions of laws currently in force together with amendments and additions thereto arising out of the provisions of this decree are to be enforced in matters not governed by this decree.

Article 17. Cases involving crimes mentioned in article 1 that are outstanding as of the date on which martial law is revoked are to be duly remanded on that date to the jurisdiction of general courts or general organizational entities of the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic. In this instance preliminary proceedings in progress are to be conducted thereafter in conformity with general rules of procedure, whereas proceedings in progress before a court of a given jurisdiction are to be recommended from their inception.

Article 18. Cases involving crimes mentioned in article 1 concerning which criminal proceedings were in progress before general courts or general organizational entities of the Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish Peoples Republic on the day martial law was declared are to be duly transferred on that date to military courts or military prosecutors. In this instance preliminary proceedings in progress are to be conducted thereafter in conformity with the rules provided for in this decree, whereas proceedings in progress before a court of a given jurisdiction are to be recommenced from their inception.

Article 19. The legal force of the provisions of chapter 7 of the Law of 8 June 1972 on the Organizational Structure of Military Courts (DZIENNIK USTAW No 23, item 166) is hereby suspended.

Article 20. The provisions of this decree are to be enforced during a state of martial law throughout the territory of the Polish Peoples Republic or within the boundaries of national administrative-political subdivisions in which martial law has been declared in conformity with the provisions of the resolution of the Council of State on the declaration of martial law.

Article 21. This decree enters into force on the date of its promulgation and is retroactive to the date on which martial law was declared.

Chairman of the Council of State,
H. Jablonski

Secretary of the Council of State,
E. Duda

11813
CSO: 2600/227

'SOLIDARNOSC' COMMENTS ON DRASTIC GOVERNMENT MEASURES

AU171542 Warsaw SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 11 Dec 81 p 3

[Commentary by Ernest Skalski: "An Attempt"]

[Text] The special government powers, which the Sixth Plenum has instructed its majority in the Sejm to grant, cover, besides a ban on striking, an even more extensive array of other possibilities. Thus, the following possibilities exist: the militarization of factories when the official recommendation becomes an order; the replacement of civil jurisdiction by a military prosecutor's office and military courts; a ban on activity by trade unions, organizations and societies; a ban on public gatherings except religious ones; suspension of the censorship law, in other words, censorship would be optional and the publication of printed matter could be banned; the deferment of elections to national councils; restrictions on international travel and also--wait for it!--on intervoivodship travel.

This information is reaching the outside world by a roundabout route. If it is not true, then let the government reveal the draft of a law on these special powers, and let us find out whether Central Committee members--in secrecy before the main body of party members and the entire community--knew what they were voting for, or whether they voted on this draft not knowing what it was all about.

Knowing our political and legislative practice, it is easy to see that this set of possibilities is one solution which has been considered--secretly, as usual. Maybe the set is not even complete, for it does not cover the possibility of apprehending and detaining persons and making bodily searches and searches of premises beyond the normal routine. But maybe an appropriate interpretation of the law against speculation is enough here.

In any case, the idea has arisen in the government machinery of the kind of government behavior which employs military occupation of a conquered country. As a condition in which the national accord put forward by this government ought to be implemented, this makes a somewhat funny impression.

The reason for taking measures like this is supposed to be the increasing anarchy and threats to our constitutional system and legal order. We write about anarchy in an article on the next page entitled "Hysteria"--see for

yourselves on what principles the government attempt on the life of the constitutional system and legal order is based, for there is no other way to describe these proposals. I wonder if it will ever occur to anyone in the Sejm to demand a majority, essential when amending the constitution.

The question arises: Why is the government taking such unheard-of measures against its own community right now? Surely the degree of "growing anarchy in social life" does not justify it, although it is not out of the question that some representatives of the machinery of government have themselves begun to believe in what they are telling their media to say. More likely they feel that the moment of reckoning is drawing nearer for the entire post-August period, for they do not want to introduce economic reform at the cost of their own interests and therefore in a way which is the only effective one and which has the support of the community. They know that no quarter-measures such as provisional measures will bring improvement. They remember the elections to the national councils and are not in a position to approve of their democratic nature.

At last we come to a local but delicate matter. It concerns the alleged eviction of the party from the factories at a time when in fact the principles by which party committees function were questioned in several places. This matter has a confrontational nature and is used by the government as justification for the extraordinary measures. The propaganda reaction to this is to try to create one general conflict out of a few incidents.

The party, which has the word "workers" in its title and which advocates the need for agreement, ought to hold consultations with workers on the way it functions in the factories, and not threaten them with the public prosecutor and the governor, because threats lead to provocation.

The final draft of the law conferring the powers will probably not meet the unanimous or almost unanimous approval of the Sejm, which is what our government in its parliament has gotten used to. So it is not out of the question that a compromise solution will be proposed which many deputies will accept with relief as a way of avoiding the worst and, considering themselves absolved of sin, will vote for it. This was the case with the law on self-government, and here one has to make it quite clear that compromise is a valuable and sought-after thing, but not always. There may be compromise concerning self-government, control by the authorities, the system of public services, prices and wages, but there may be no compromise at the cost of losing those citizens' liberties which have been achieved up to now, because the situation today already is a compromise between the aspirations of the community and the standards of civilized countries on one side, and the domestic conditions which are beyond our control on the other. These conditions have not changed since agreements were concluded in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie. In addition, any departure from them is intolerable, and attempts to introduce a police state even more so.

Yet another scenario of events is possible. The state of legislative work shows that before there is a law on special powers for the government, a law on trade unions in a version acceptable to both sides may be passed. This law

foresees a temporary ban on striking and it is not impossible that it may be hastily used to kindle unjustified antistrike hysteria and that during the strike ban the union could be provoked into breaking it by receiving direct threats. This would certainly give cause to introduce a state of emergency, or, as they call it, special powers.

In order that this hypothetical and far-fetched possibility may not occur, it is necessary to warn people against it in good time. The majority in the Sejm, composed almost 100 percent of the votes gained by the National Unity Front, may pass any law but in this way can pass final sentence on itself. However, it would be utterly stupid to expect that an aggressive minority of the community can succeed with the help of such a legal paper in enslaving its huge, sensible and organized majority and turn the chain of events to its own advantage. Of course, one can scare people, but it is worth doing so only when those one is trying to scare are likely to be afraid. In our situation, scaring mainly causes irritation, not fear. In this way one cannot extort obedience; however, it can lead to a conflict, even an extremely violent one.

That part of the machinery of government which believes in the beneficial effect of fear of itself is deceiving itself. The other part, however, knows what it is doing and why it is doing it.

CSO: 2600/377

'SOLIDARNOSC' ASSESSES POSSIBILITY OF CIVIL WAR

AU171138 Warsaw SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 11 Dec 81 p 15

[Commentary by Krzysztof Czabanski: "Will There Be Civil War?"]

[Text] Will there be civil war? Some say yes. I think differently--civil war must have two sides. I do not see the other side. True, the police can put up a show of strength as recently happened at the Firefighters' School. But such shows--officially called "unblockages"--can be staged more frequently in other cities and on other occasions. But can the entire community be "unblocked"?

When I say there is no "other side" I do not mean that everyone supports Solidarity. Public opinion polls in recent weeks have shown that groups of people have emerged who believe neither in the authorities nor in Solidarity--in no one. However, I think that there is no "other side" above all because the overwhelming majority of Poles knows well what it does not want, and that is authority outside public control.

The authorities can show what they think. Tanks may stand at crossroads and police and military controls may swarm the streets, but a rifle will never replace economic reform, nor will it fill the empty shelves in the shops. A rifle will never solve anything rationally at all, and talks between the authorities and the community will no longer be possible. A general strike which might then break out will expose the uselessness of brute force. Then we will see if there really are two sides (and civil war) or, as I keep saying, only one. We will see that those who bet on brute force will in this way withdraw from the life of the country.

CSO: 2600/377

ROLE OF ROMANIA IN LIBERATION OF BALKAN PEOPLES

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 18 Dec 81 pp 6-7

/Article by Prof Dr Constantin N. Velichi: "The Romanian Lands and Their Role in the Balkan Peoples' Struggle for Liberation"/

/Text/ The role of the Romanian Lands and later of Romania in Southeast Europe in the period of overthrow of Ottoman rule and formation of the Balkan peoples' national states is and will always be a current subject. Therefore the series of articles published in CONTEMPORANUL for 6 November 1981 was followed with keen interest everywhere. But it is true that the space allowed by the reknowned journal, although quite extensive, did not permit the authors to illustrate all the aspects.

This contribution will supplement the few data the readers could find in the said series concerning the Bulgarian people, especially since they were the main beneficiaries of Romanian aid in restoring their state, which was under Ottoman rule for almost five centuries. In speaking of this rule we must note that it was not equally oppressive everywhere. The Bulgarian territories in the immediate vicinity of the capital and up to the Danube suffered the most. All the roads taken by the sultan's armies to the center of Europe passed through here, and most of the tributes of any kind imposed upon the subject peoples were sent to Istambul through here as well. To Ottoman oppression, increasing in direct proportion to the decline of the empire, was added that of the "ciorbagi" and especially that of the higher Phanariot clergy, who had begun to take over the schools and culture in general. In this situation many Bulgarians took refuge north of the Danube, where they were well received. Sultan Selim III himself wrote the vali of Rumelia in 1795 that "Whole regions, villages and cities in my empire are laid waste and depopulated... The laws are disregarded and... there is complete anarchy in my state." Concerning the Bulgarian territories, the French traveler Olivier, who traversed them in the last years of the 18th century, wrote that "There is no part of the empire that presents such complete devastation, fields standing unworked, and huts and villages destroyed and abandoned." In the cities there were only schools under the church or the Greek ones, there was no secular book or even a religious one in the language of the people, there was no Bulgarian press, the number of intellectuals was quite limited, and contact with western ideas was nearly nonexistent. That was the dismal picture of Bulgaria at the close of the 18th century, and the outlook was equally gloomy. The sole hope was emigration to Russia or Istanbul, but especially to Wallachia, where the situation was entirely different and great political and cultural progress was made in the 19th century. But already in the 17th century there the language of the church, the schools and

culture was the national language. We find many printers who were printing secular or religious books and an intelligentsia aware of the people's origin and ethnic unity. The Greek Academies in Bucharest and Iasi taught in French or Italian as well as in Greek, and higher education in Romanian began in 1813 in Iasi and in 1818 in Bucharest. Quite a few youths were studying in Italy, Germany and France. There were royal schools in every district capital, and elementary education was beginning in the villages. Between 1700 and 1770, when national independence was the most restricted because the princes were mostly Phanariotes, 268 books were printed including 231 in Romanian. Many works of European literature were being translated, and the Romanian intelligentsia gave Europe men like Ienachita Vacarescu, Nicolae Milescu and Dimitrie Cantemir. All that Europe had that was more progressive in ideas, such as illuminist and Kantian criticism, enlightened absolutism, English liberalism, and the ideas of the French Revolution conveyed by the encyclopedists' works, were circulating in Romania, where such works were read as "On the Sovereignty of the People" (Paris, 1790), "The Citizen's Manual," etc.

On the political level, after 1821 the native rulers were restored, in 1829 vassalage to the Porte was reduced to supporting the princes and paying the tribute [haraciul], in 1848 the bourgeois-democratic revolution took place, in 1859 the modern Romanian state came into being, etc. That is what the young Bulgarians were seeing who came here for instruction, as well as the Bulgarian emigrants who found refuge in Romania. They had before them many models that they were quick to follow and adapt. In 1806, with the aid of the Vacarescus Bishop Sofronie of Vrata, who had fled to Romania, was printing the first book in the spoken Bulgarian language instead of Church Slavic, which was no longer understood. In 1824 Petru Beron, who had been educated in Bucharest, published the first Bulgarian primer in Brasov, thereby disseminating the Lancasterian teaching method, which was the most modern at the time, was suited to the contemporary requirements, and came to replace the medieval method based on religious books, psalters and breviaries that was designed to train priests alone. And finally Neofit de la Rila came to Bucharest, acquired the modern educational methods, published a Bulgarian grammar, and prepared other textbooks for publication. In 1835, with the help of the Gabrovian merchants from Odessa and especially those from Bucharest, he opened the first modern school in Gabrovo in Bulgaria, which was followed by others later. Dozens of books, textbooks and others of every kind were printed in Bucharest and sent south of the Danube, along with generous cash donations from the wealthy Bulgarian merchants in Romania, to the schools in the Bulgarian cities whence they had emigrated. Moreover Bulgarian schools and churches were founded in the Romanian cities with larger numbers of emigrants, like Galati, Braila, Bucharest, Giurgiu et al.

ALBINA BULGARA, the emigrants' first daily, came out in Braila in 1863 and was soon followed by others. Note that the most important Bulgarian dailies were published in Romania, including those of the revolutionaries Liuben Karavelov and Hristo Botev, to say nothing of the many journals, some of them humorous, patterned after the Romanian ones. The Braila REVISTA PERIODICA, the organ of the Bulgarian Literary Society, the future Bulgarian Academy of today, was particularly important. Also in Braila, Dobri Voinikov laid the foundations of the Bulgarian theater by writing plays and staging plays written by him or others with a troupe. The Romanian schools, high schools and universities educated a whole galaxy of Bulgarian intellectuals. Space does not permit us to go into details, but to conclude this section on culture, which pinpoints only the more important elements, we mention that in 1806-1878 over 40 Bulgarian schools were operating in Romania, including the first Bulgarian high school, and

more than 400 Bulgarian intellectuals were educated in Romania. Meanwhile about 300 books and over 50 periodicals were printed in some 40 different printing houses (over half of them Bulgarian firms). One cannot speak of the Bulgarian theater or Bulgarian poetry and prose under Ottoman rule without mentioning Romania in a place of honor.

Of course the Bulgarian revolutionary movement for national liberation is equally important, and Romania and especially some of its cities (Bucharest, Braila, Galati, Ploiesti, Giurgiu etc.) were its centers both before and especially after the modern Romanian state was formed. A famous Bulgarian historian who died recently and who published important studies on the Bulgarian Renaissance wrote in 1975, "Bucharest granted hospitality to the Bulgarian emigration and was its cultural and political center from the first years of the 19th century. The emigration developed a very intensive political activity there especially after the Crimean War, when the city became Bulgaria's true political capital for over 20 years and was the headquarters of all the emigration's political organizations chiefy dedicated to liberation of the enslaved fatherland." These statements are highly important and not isolated, and to be correctly understood they should be illustrated with some historical data and facts.

First we note that the Bulgarian emigration followed the course that the Romanian national movement had also taken. It was composed of both peasants settled in villages and tradesmen and merchants settled in cities, and it formed volunteer corps that fought with Romanians along with the Russian armies in the Russo-Turkish wars and especially in those of 1906-1812, 1828-1829 and 1853-1856. While the peasants fought in armed combat, the tradesmen and merchants played a diplomatic role by means of memoranda to Russia and other powers, etc.

The Romanian revolutionary movement of 1840 led by Dimitrie Filipescu encouraged the Balkan emigrants, largely Bulgarians, in Romania to try to form large armed bands to cross the Danube and launch a general anti-Ottoman uprising. These attempts, repeated in 3 successive years at Braila (1841, 1842, and 1843), failed because of the emigrants' inexperience and the unfavorable historical circumstances.

We must also make a further distinction when we speak of the Bulgarian emigration in Romania in the middle of the 19th century. It reached its peak during the Russo-Turkish wars at the end of the 18th and in the first half of the 19th century. As it was indicated in the above-mentioned series of articles in this journal, 12,000 Bulgarian families were living in Wallachiaaccording to the 1838 census, which was the most complete and accurate one that had been taken in Romania up to that time. At that time many of the Bulgarians, especially those settled in villages, no longer intended to return to their country, nor did some of the city dwellers, so that we can no longer call them emigrants. This is also borne out by the fact that after Bulgaria's liberation they stayed in their adopted land alongside Romanians and had the same interests. Consequently they also took part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in 1848, but that does not mean that their love for those still under Ottoman rule was any the less. A Bulgarian political organization was also founded then, the first of the kind, but we know very little about it. In any event it was the first Bulgarian committee in Romania.

But the emigration properly speaking, comprising the emigrants totally committed to the fight for liberation of their country, was another part of it. This movement's ideology originated in Gheorghi Stoikov Rakovski's writings and revolutionary deeds. Being in Belgrade in the years when the Romanians succeeded in uniting the principalities and laying the foundations of the modern Romanian state, the same revolutionary

openly stated that this event would greatly aid the success of the anti-Ottoman struggle of the enslaved Balkan peoples. Therefore Rakovski settled in Bucharest in 1863, where he enjoyed the friendship and help of Prince Cuza, Mihail Kogalniceanu, C. A. Rosetti, Cezar Bolliac, B. P. Hasdeu and others. The latter also collaborated with Rakovski on the first Romanian-Bulgarian daily, BADUSTNOST-VIITORUL, the appearance of which in 1864 was welcomed by the entire Romanian press. Although the grand vizir protested and demanded Rakovski's extradition, Romania refused it.

The circumstances of Prince Cuza's dethronement are well known, a situation where the Porte wished to annul the unification. Romanian-Turkish relations became so strained that the Porte concentrated armed forces on the Danube. Under the circumstances Romania appealed to all Balkan emigrants and also to some states in the area. In Rakovski's absence from Bucharest Rosetti looked to Ivan Kasabov, and a Romanian committee jointly with the CCSB /Bulgarian Secret Central Committee/ formed at the end of May 1886 drew up the draft of a "Sacred Coalition" between the Romanians and Bulgarians, which draft was never signed. But the Romanians continued to aid the CCSB.

The Benevolent Society was older than the latter, and it was so named in order to disguise the political organization of the Bulgarian great bourgeoise in the emigration. It faithfully followed the policy of Czarist diplomacy, thinking that Russia alone would liberate Bulgaria, by war but primarily by diplomatic means.

In his turn Rakovski returned to Romania in the summer of 1866 and founded his own revolutionary organization, setting up his headquarters in Sinesti, near Bucharest. One of the members wrote later, "If anyone had come and entered the houses there he would have found a whole arsenal of various weapons and a real barracks of rebels." They were the rebels Rakovski was training to cross into Bulgaria. The Romanian police knew all but pretended to see nothing.

This Bulgarian organization brought the number to three of them, despite the firman whereby the sultan recognized Prince Carol as ruler of Romania on the express condition that Romania "shall not become the center of assembly of the disturbers of the peace of the Ottoman Empire," an expression taken to mean the Bulgarian revolutionaries. Actually the Romanian government did not enforce that clause but let the three Bulgarian organizations do as they wished. It even closed its eyes and let the bands led by Panaiot Hitov and Filip Totiu cross the Danube in the spring of 1867.

In 1868 another Bulgarian political organization was founded in Bucharest, called the "Bulgarian Community." It should be pointed out that both it and the CCSB, which soon started its activity, developed under the auspices and influence of the Romanian liberals, especially the group around C. A. Rosetti. While Romania succeeded in pacifying the Porte and confined itself to purely formal measures against the Bulgarian organizations, France, England and Austria-Hungary exerted very strong and brutal pressures on the Romanian government, but it resisted them. But when a large band crossed the Danube in July 1868 under Hagi Dimitar and Stefan Karagea, and when Romanian aid could no longer be concealed, the great western powers as well as Turkey began definite measures and Turkish armed forces were massed along the Danube. Therefore the Golescu government, wherein Ion Bratianu was minister of interior, was obliged to resign.

This time too Romania succeeded in calming the situation. Moreover, the revolutionary Vasil Levski crossed into Bulgaria twice with the money of the Bulgarian Community in Bucharest and formed the internal revolutionary organization there in 1869-1870.

Meanwhile the revolutionary Liuben Karavelov, who found favorable conditions and aid in Romania after studying in Russia and operating for a while in Serbia, settled in Bucharest and founded the CCRB /Bularian Revolutionary Central Committee/, which collaborated perfectly with Levski's organization in Bulgaria. Soon, in the fall of 1867, the other great Bulgarian revolutionary, Hristo Botev, also crossed into Romania. Collaborating on Karavelov's daily LIBERTATEA and later bringing out his own daily CUVINTUL EMIGRANTILOR BULGARI, Botev contacted the socialist circles in Romania and made many friends there. The poet and revolutionary also knew through his Romanian friends the national ideal for which the Romanian national movement was fighting, namely completion of the Romanian national state "in its ethnic borders," as he himself wrote in an article in his daily STEAGUL (ZNAME). Botev helped Karavelov manage the CCRB, which he also took over after the latter's retirement from revolutionary journalism. When the rebellion in Bosnia and Herzegovina broke out in 1875, Botev prepared the first attempt at rebellion in Bulgaria in the fall of 1875, but the latter was defeated. Another Bulgarian committee with headquarters in Giurgiu and in contact with Botev laid plans for a future rebellion. The Romanian authorities closed their eyes to the shipments of arms and money , and the Bulgarians' rebellion broke out in April 1876, being put down in blood this time as well. Botev himself crossed the Danube in May 1876 under the sympathetic eyes of the Romanian authorities in order to inspire it with new strength. This rebellion, which was actually to be the Bulgarians' bourgeois-democratic revolution, was defeated by the Turks but it was the prelude to the Russian-Romanian-Turkish War of 1877-1878. Bulgarian volunteers trained in the camp at Ploiesti also fought in it. The battles of Plevna, Grivita, Rahova, Sipka, Vidin etc. have not been forgotten, and they led to Bulgaria's liberation and Romania's independence, so that the purpose of the Bulgarian revolutionary movement with headquarters in Romania was achieved.

All of the foregoing, preceded by the Romanian-Bulgarian relations in the 14th-17th centuries described in the above-mentioned series of articles, is an example rarely found in history of the collaboration of two neighboring peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence, relations illustrated and described in detail in the works of the Romanian and Bulgarian specialists.

Of course other interpretations have been attempted. In an isolated fashion, foreign historians and sometimes even Bulgarian ones who are insufficiently informed acknowledge the extensive hospitality Romania accorded the Bulgarian national liberation movement, but they overlook these facts or consider them details when they express the consistency of the Romanian spirit and policy. And so, we do not know for what motives, they try to maintain that Romania aided the Bulgarian emigration's struggle only when it had an interest in doing so and neglected it when its connections with the Porte or with the western powers required it. Those historians, either insufficiently informed or overlooking the actual facts, have failed to realize that for Romanians, the only people in Southeast Europe who succeeded with immense sacrifices in preserving their existence as an autonomous state in the face of Ottoman conquest, the anti-Ottoman battle was one of the constant features of their foreign policy, and that the corollary of this was support of the same struggle on the part of all the Balkan peoples. Therefore Romania never hesitated but was always concerned that the Bulgarian revolutionary movement for national liberation should be increasingly strong and never neglected it even when the Porte and the western powers expressly demanded it. Romania did not extradite Rakovski, Filip Totiu, Karavelov or any other revolutionaries insistently demanded by the Porte. Even when requested not to do so by the powerful states of the time, Romania aided the training, arming and Danube crossing of the bands of outlaws bent upon launching a general rebellion in the

Ottoman Empire. Those historians forget the elementary truths of the period, namely the great powers' interest in sowing discord among us and our interest, whether we are Bulgarians, Romanians or other oppressed peoples in this part of the world, in being as strong as possible in the struggle for liberation, not only ourselves but also our neighbors whom we can help.

All this can be proved and has been proved clearly by long series of pages of technical articles and demonstrations that have no place here. We shall cite just one example. In 1868, after Hagi Dimitar's band crossed the Danube with Romanian aid, a fact that contributed to the fall of the Romanian government, Ion Bratianu delivered a long speech in the Chamber in which he took up the defense of the Bulgarian people, declaring that Turkey and the great powers were dissatisfied because "We would not be executioners." Bratianu added, "We (Romania) are a small state, our heart is closer to our head, and we cannot compare ourselves with the big states... so that we can hang and slaughter people. We could never betray the Bulgarians in Romania and give them to hangmen, because then Romania would perish. In this regard, what the ministry of yesterday said the ministry of today must carry on, what we did they must also do, because they also have hearts and the same feelings and duties as Romanians that we do. Then all the powers of Europe will see... that what we did was neither the feelings nor the will of a man, a faction or a party but the feelings and will of the entire nation." Mihail Kogalniceanu as well as other deputies rallied to Bratianu's speech on behalf of the new government.

They as well as those in Rosetti's group could not be men who would plan to invade any foreign territories. They were fighting then for independence and the completion of the Romanian national state, as Botev wrote and as many Bulgarian revolutionaries contemporary with the events testified. Therefore we resent the attempt to accredit any erroneous theories. In addition to signs of forgetting the historical truth, they show ignorance of some elementary criteria of Romania's existence in this part of the world. Todor Jivkov, chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria was quite right in saying at one of his meetings with Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, that "I can mention only with profound gratitude the Romanian people's hospitality to our revolutionaries in the Renaissance period, the fighters for the Bulgarian people's national liberation, Rakovski and Karavelov, Botev and Levski, and the bands of Hagi Dimitar, Stefan Karagea, Panaiot Hitov and Filip Totiu, which were formed and armed on Romanian territory to cross the clear and calm Danube and give their lives for Bulgaria's freedom."

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'UNSCIENTIFIC' THEORIES OF ROMANIANS' ORIGIN COMBATTED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 18 Dec 81 p 7

/Article by Dr Lucian Boia: "Romanians' Ethnic Origin"/

/Text/ The origin of the Romanian people is one of the key problems of all Romanian historiography, from the chroniclers to the present time. Since study of the past has always been of a dedicated and deeply patriotic nature among Romanians, essentially contributing to the formation of the national consciousness, the struggle for liberation from foreign rule, and the creation of the single and independent Romanian state, it was natural for historiography to attach particular importance to the problems of the formation, continuity and unity of the Romanian people. They are three elements of the same process that substantiate the Romanians' ancestral right to the land they inhabit and the historical necessity of uniting within the borders of a single country those who speak one language and have one history.

Back in the 17th century Grigore Ureche and Miron Costin were interested in the origin of the Romanians, and the latter wrote the first work on this problem in Romanian historiography, "On the Moldavian People." The high steward Constantin Cantacuzino (in "The History of Wallachia") and Dimitrie Cantemir (in "The Chronicle of the Antiquity of the Romanian-Moldavian Vlachs," written in 1719-1722) made intensive studies of the same subject and were followed, at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries by the historians of the Transylvanian School, namely Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Sincai, Petru Maior and Ioan Budai-Deleanu, who used the idea of the Romanian people's Latin origin, continuity and unity as an ideological weapon in the struggle for national emancipation (opposing the immigrationist theories of one Sulzer in particular, then launched for obvious political purposes in the attempt to contest the historical basis of Romanian rights).

The Transylvanian School, like the chroniclers and Dimitrie Cantemir before them, attached great and even exclusive importance to the Latin origins and character of the Romanian language, at a time when very little was yet known about the Dacian civilization but the Latin language and culture had high and universal prestige. These trends continued on into the 19th century in the often exaggerated form of the Latinist School. A reaction became necessary in order to strike the balance between the actual factors that contributed to the formation of the Romanian people.

The new stage began in the period of 1860-1870, when all Romanian historiography was oriented toward more scientific investigation in greater depth. An outstanding part

was played by Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, who in his study "Did the Dacians Perish?" (1860) proved the onesidedness of the Latinist view and came to the unquestionably logical conclusion that the Dacian population survived after the Roman conquest. A notable linguist, he tried to determine the Dacian vocabulary surviving in the Romanian language, proposing about 100 such etymologies.

In the last decades of the 19th century the Romanian historians brought new and varied arguments (archeological, literary, linguistic, toponymic etc.) to combat the immigrationist theories, which had been revived and revised by Robert Roesler. In 1884 Alexandru D. Xenopol published the first book entirely devoted to documented refutation of Roesler's theories ("Roesler's Theory. Studies on the Continuity of the Romanians in Dacia Traiana), followed by Dimitrie Onciul in a "critical report" on his work, published in 1885. One of the problems discussed concerned the area of the Romanization and consequently of the formation of the Romanian people. Hasdeu referred to Oltenia, the Banat and Southwest Transylvania, Xenopol insisted upon Transylvania in its entirety as the nucleus for the formation of the Romanian people, and Onciul proceeded from the southwestern part of the country but expanded the discussion by pointing out that the regions south of the Danube had been Romanized and the river was never an obstacle between the Romanians on both its banks. N. Iorga adopted and developed the last idea, pointing out that the Romanians are descendants of Southeast European Romans as a whole, even though they survived chiefly in the area north of the Danube due to the vicissitudes of history. It is a view shared by Vasile Parvan, who also had the merit of emphasizing in his work "The Beginnings of Roman Life at the Mouths of the Danube," published in 1923, the role in ethnogenesis of a part of Romanian territory not much considered before, namely the southeastern corner of the country, chiefly Dobrogea, eastern Wallachia and southern Moldavia, which the great archeologist called "Scythian Dacia," an area of intensive Romanization.

All the foregoing views, however different they seem at first glance, are not mutually exclusive but supplement each other. They prove the Daco-Roman character of the Romanian people, their formation on the entire Romanian territory, and still further, the broad, Southest European proportions of the whole process. Special mention is also due G. I. Bratianu's work "Une enigme et un miracle historique: le peuple roumain," published in 1937 and in the Romanian language in 1940: "An Enigma and a Historical Miracle: the Romanian People." Therein Bratianu makes a "reduction to the absurd" of the immigrationist theories advanced by historians in various countries, to the effect that if they were all taken into consideration they would lead to the paradoxical conclusion that the Romanian people had not been formed anywhere! The self-contradictory nature of those theories proved once again that they are unscientific and influenced by considerations outside of historiography.

In attaching great importance to the problems of Romanian ethogenesis and continuity, current Romanian historiography is carrying on an old tradition. The special emphasis upon origins can be regarded as a characteristic and constant feature of Romanian historical research. But some new factors have now been added that must be taken into consideration for an adequate understanding of the problem.

Firstly, there are the various attempts to revive the immigrationist theories. The opponents in various countries of the idea of the continuity of the Romanian people have intensified their journalistic activity recently, for purposes that are obviously more political than historical, in view of current realities. The fact should be noted that the proportion of these interpretations in world historiography is minimal (as it always was, as a matter of fact), since the great majority of foreign

historians are entirely outside this campaign and a great many of them support the Romanian view. But Romanian historiography is obliged to state its position firmly in the face of attempts that it considers distorted and dangerous in their implications.

Another aspect, this time strctly scientific, is the considerable expansion in the last few decades of historical information basic to the whole demonstration of the Daco-Roman origin and continuity. Archeological investigation has proved essential in this respect, since its discoveries are more complete, more objective and more difficult to deny than the literary or linguistic sources used primarily by the old historiography. Many archeological sites throughout the whole country have demonstrated, on the basis of extensive material that has been brought to light, the survival of the Dacian population and even the great vitality of their civilization after the Roman conquest, as well as Daco-Roman continuity after Aurelian's withdrawal in 271. The significant results of the archeological excavations in Transylvania, an area particularly contested by "immigrationists," are also noteworthy in this respect. To cite just a few examples, the excavations at Alba Iulia, in the heart of Transylvania, have proved the persistence of the indigenous population for many centuries after the departure of the Roman administration. At Bratei, the cremation cemetery from the 4th-5th centuries illustrates the same fact, as well as the maintenance of close ties between the aborigines and the Roman civilization. There is also the well-known Latin inscription at Biertan, a proof positive of the existence of a population that was still speaking Latin. The examples could be multiplied indefinitely. They all demonstrate, in complete agreement with historical logic, the continuity of the life, language and civilization of a people who remained attached to their land.

It is gratifying that after so many detailed investigations and studies Romanian historiography has also emphasized syntheses in recent years concerning the problems of ethogenesis and continuity as a whole. On the whole problem, two noteworthy recent books can be consulted: Ligia Barzu, "The Continuity of the Romanian People's Material and Cultural Creation on the Territory of Former Dacia," 1979, and I. I. Russu, "The Ethnogenesis of the Romanians," 1981.

The current studies are also characterized by a growing emphasis upon the Dacians' role in ethnogenesis and in general upon the Geto-Dacian civilization and its original characteristics. Interest in this problem culminated in 1980 in many meetings devoted to the 2,050 years since Burebista's state was founded. Regarding the formation of the Romanian people, the proportion of Dacians has been made increasingly clear, especially by the works of I. I. Russu, who has carried on the work of B. P. Hasdeu and found a by no means negligible Dacian vocabulary surviving in the Romanian language (amounting in his opinion to about 10 percent of the basic elements of Latin origin). But the Dacian element must not be overrated at the expense of the Latin one. Each one played its particular part, and I would not interpret the actual process of Romanian ethnogenesis solely in terms of one of its determining elements. There is and can be no doubt about the phenomenon of Romanization and the essentially Latin character of the Romanian language, an obvious, final conclusion accepted by all Romanian and foreign science. The Dacian ethnic basis and the Latinity of the language are not mutually exclusive factors but form together the essence of the whole historical process that led to the crystallization of the Romanian people through the interpenetration of two civilizations. That is the conclusion of an extensive historiographical discussion held over several centuries from the chroniclers to the present time, in which each generation of historians has tried to contribute an increment of truth and accuracy to a problem of both the distant past and the present awareness of a people who want to know their origins and the direction of their development.

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STRONGER SANCTIONS FOR PARTY MEMBERS WHO 'FLIRT' WITH RELIGION URGED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Feb 82 pp 81-83

[Article by M. Cozma and Gh. Zamfir: "A Firm Attitude Toward Concessions to Mystical Practices"]

[Excerpts] It is an indisputable truth that the great majority of communists and of activists behave in accordance with the principles and norms of party life and work, not making any concessions to concepts foreign to our ideology. For this reason, the attitudes of those party members--unfortunately, even cadres--who, disregarding the high demands of the ideology of our party, which they, of their own free will, pledged to propagate, make, with condemnable levity, concessions to mystical doctrines, sponsoring all sorts of religious weddings and baptisms, and other anachronistic customs, must be firmly combated. As the secretary general of the party has said, such retrograde manifestations--transformed into real businesses, characteristic of the mores of the old society--show a grave confusion in the minds of the persons involved, who have an erroneous understanding of the relation between our policy of guaranteeing freedom of religions, under the conditions of the law, and the obligation of the communist and of the revolutionary to fight for the promotion of his views and for their dissemination in the world. On the basis of the opinion of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu that it is anachronistic that in our times--the period of the great achievements of the technical-scientific revolution--when the people are asserting themselves as conscious creators of all material and intellectual values, there should still exist people, even party members, who still believe in supernatural forces, who still accept religious dogma based on the existence of such forces, it is necessary that the party organs and organizations ensure unceasingly that the entire thought and life of the communists and, especially, of the party and state activists, be based on the scientific, revolutionary concept of dialectical and historical materialism.

Despite such obligations, some cadres, including Paraschiva Horvat, former school principal in Arbore Commune, Suceava County; Dumitra Costache, deputy chairman of the people's council of Bratovesti Commune, Dolj County; and others participated in religious weddings or baptisms, and some of these people submitted to the entire religious ceremony used on these occasions and set the style for giving considerable sums of money as gifts.

A more unusual case took place in Sacel Commune, Maramures County, where Elena Grad, secretary of the commune party committee and mayor of the commune, had no qualms about participating in the dedication ceremony for the commune church; in addition, she gave a speech before the altar. But this was not all. Demonstrating a crass political myopia and a total ideological eclipse, after the service, together with her husband and other officials of the commune, she accepted the invitation of the parish priest to participate in the dinner given by him, which, of course, took place in accordance with all the church regulations.

There is another aspect of the phenomenon which we are attacking. Some party and state activists, aware of the fact that direct participation in religious rituals is incompatible with their political and social position and, if it is made public, would result in their punishment, resort, with increasing frequency in recent times, to a rather cheap stratagem--they move the religious ceremony from the church to their home or they send members of their family to the church in their place, while they actually remain the real managers of the respective weddings and baptisms. This is only a stage device, permeated with a big dose of hypocrisy--and it is just as condemnable.

Ionel Balaci, secretary of the commune committee and mayor of Otesani, Vilcea County, assumed such a position. Two years ago, he arranged some religious weddings, sending to the church in one case his sister and her husband, and in the other case his mother-in-law and father-in-law. The mayor and his wife were listed on the wedding invitation as "nuni" [the people who give the bride away] and they were, actually the "spiritual parents," principals of the ceremony.

Or another example of the same type: Viorica Fronea, secretary of the commune party committee and mayor of Vionesti Commune, Iasi County, had a religious wedding ceremony for one of her sons. The godmother was the secretary of the general school in the commune; the religious ceremony took place in the home of the bride's father. The amount of money collected as a wedding present on this occasion, quite "enormous" according to one of the guests, was more than 100,000 lei.

Constantin Morostes, assistant secretary--for propaganda matters!--of the party committee in Simand Commune, Arad County had a religious baptism ceremony for his child.

Other activists, like Petru Mindrea, assistant secretary of the party committee in Ezeris Commune, Caras-Severin County, have gotten into the habit of participating in religious weddings and baptisms--and in the parties which are always held on these occasions--while devoting themselves with much less zeal to the tasks for which they are getting paid.

Of course, such actions are ultimately punished after the reports reach the higher party bodies. They represent different aspects of the same phenomenon of ideological confusion, more exactly, the blotting out of all boundaries between the clear party and state duties and the written and unwritten obligations of the activist, who is obligated not to make any concession to

mysticism. But the measures used to punish them reflect a weak spirit of exactingness on the part of the party organs and organizations to which these people belong: "reprimands," "a vote of censure," and, in rare cases, "a vote of censure with a warning" and removal from their positions.

The natural question is: Why is a mistaken attitude of understanding shown in regard to such practices, which are in flagrant disharmony with the ideology of our party and with its philosophical principles? Why is no stand taken and why are they sometimes regarded as insignificant, somewhat natural acts?

It is a serious matter that there are county, municipality and commune party organs which do not always know how the cadres assigned to carry on political, economic and cultural activity are behaving, even cadres in their own ranks. How effective is the inspection activity exercised by the members of the boureaus of these party committees assigned in the localities, the joint councils, the communes and the villages if they do not note such practices in time or, if they do become aware of them, if they do not inform the party organ and do not take a firm stand against those who are involved in such situations?

Some conclusions come forth clearly as a result of the presentation of all these cases. First, the exact relations existing in our society among the party, the state and the church must be discussed and fully explained in the respective party organs and organizations and the incompatibility between the philosophy of our party, its moral code, and the noble quality of a communist and flirting with practices which are based on anachronistic, mystical concepts must be stressed with all decisiveness. And, last but not least, there must be a party-minded, prompt and firm attitude toward all those party members who knowingly violate the fundamental ideological principles which they have been obliged--with their admission to the party--to apply precisely.

CSO: 2700/207

MEASURES TO REDUCE TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS DISCUSSED BY MILITIA OFFICIAL

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Feb 81 p 5

[Interview with Col Victor Beda, chief of the Directorate for Traffic in the General Inspectorate of the Militia, by Petre Popa: "Safe, Civilized Highway Traffic--A Goal Which Can Be Achieved by Strengthening Order and Discipline in the Ranks of All Automobile Drivers and Pedestrians"]

[Excerpts] Question: What are the statistics on highway traffic in 1982 compared to 10 years ago?

Answer: In 1982, the number of automobiles is three times as large as it was 10 years ago. More cars are registered in Bucharest alone than there were in the whole country, including Bucharest, 10 years ago. In order to get the total picture of the increase in traffic, we must also take into consideration the tens of thousands of trucks, the many tractors and agricultural machines and the approximately 3 million bicycles.

Question: Even under these conditions, the statistics you have given us show a reduction in the number of highway accidents.

Answer: Indeed, in 1981 the number of traffic deaths was 112 less than in 1980 and the number of persons injured was 173 less, continuing the decreases in deaths and injuries recorded in the past three years. This reduction is a result of measures established by joint action of all factors with functions and responsibilities in this sphere.

Question: Nevertheless, a large number of accidents are still occurring.

Answer: As long as an average of 10-12 serious accidents occur each day, we cannot say that we are satisfied with reductions of accidents in recent years. This was the purpose of the recent national conference--to identify new methods and practical and effective solutions to improve highway safety.

Question: What are the principal causes of the accidents?

Answer: Excessive speed. Last year 28 percent of the accidents which were the fault of the driver were due to excessive speed. But the most serious cause, especially in regard to the violence of the accidents, is alcohol.

Lack of attention and fatigue are also causes of accidents. Statistics show that more than 70 percent of the accidents took place in the afternoon and evening. And there is the question of the "problem driver," the person who flagrantly and repeatedly violates traffic regulations, with aggressive behavior behind the wheel and lack of discipline. In 1981, drivers were penalized for no less than 117,000 traffic violations, illegal turns, and parking violations. The use of state vehicles for business other than that of the state often results in very serious accidents. This is why, in 1981, the traffic services of the militia had to take more than 5,000 "problem drivers" off the road.

Question: What category of drivers--professional or nonprofessional--has the most accidents?

Answer: Some 57 percent of the accidents are the fault of nonprofessional drivers. There are counties which have higher percentages than this national average: more than 65 percent in Dolj and Harghita and more than 70 percent in Arges, Mures and Vaslui. Therefore, it is necessary to improve the forms and methods of training future nonprofessional drivers. This should be done in all schools for nonprofessional drivers, since there are still big gaps in the level of training of students from one school to another. In Giurgiu and Teleorman, the percentage of candidates who passed the driver's test in 1981 was only 21 and 25 percent, respectively, while in Tulcea and Maramures, it was 74 and 91 percent, respectively.

Question: Maybe the examining commissions were "kinder" in Tulcea and Maramures.

Answer: On the contrary. And I know what I am talking about. In schools where serious and responsible work is done, where there are diligent professors and instructors--last year more than 300 poorly trained or inaccurate instructors had their teaching credentials taken away from them--the results are evident, not only in the examinations, but later, in the behavior of the students in traffic.

Question: How many drivers received driving licenses last year?

Answer: More than 140,000. This figure is continually rising. Therefore, highway traffic safety of the future will depend on the way in which future drivers have been trained. They will have to master the norms of accident prevention and also they must know about the mechanism of the car so that they will be able to detect and remedy simple technical defects. A great number of accidents are caused by technical defects, which prompted us last year to take off the road, temporarily, almost 35,000 vehicles which presented real dangers for traffic safety.

Question: The annual technical inspections of automobiles have begun in units authorized by the militia throughout the country. Are there any supplementary requirements compared to last year?

Answer: Only one, essential requirement: an increase in the quality of all operations executed and, in particular, those which directly affect traffic safety: checking the steering and the brakes, adjusting the headlights and the carburetion in order to reduce fuel consumption and pollution.

Question: In what major areas will the militia traffic officers and others act in 1982 to improve traffic safety and reduce the number of accidents?

Answer: There are three areas upon which we will concentrate our attention this year: combatting excessive speed, combatting driving under the influence of alcohol, and adopting preventive and educational measures for the disciplining of pedestrians. Some 39 percent of the traffic accidents in the country were the fault of pedestrians and in Bucharest, pedestrians were the cause of 60 percent of the accidents. In addition to these areas of priority interest, we will continue to work against all things which may cause accidents, beginning with violations of traffic regulations, to combat technical defects in the automobiles, and to promote the practice of wearing seat belts. According to studies made in Romania and in other countries, 6 out of 10 persons who died in traffic accidents would not have died if they had been wearing seat belts.

CSO: 2700/209

ABUSES OF SICK LEAVE BY FEMALE FACTORY WORKERS

Bucharest FEMEIA in Romanian Feb 82 p 10

[Article by Niki Georgescu: "To Respect Discipline Means to Do Your Duty as a Worker"]

[Excerpts] Iulia Stamatoiu, director general of the Industrial Central for Knitwear, told me that the decree establishing regulations for the strengthening of order and discipline in work is a very welcome law for those who have trouble with discipline. "The decree affects not only workers but also engineers and directors. The publication of such a decree was prompted by lack of attention on the part of directors of work units, processes and workplaces who tolerated such negative states of affairs. I understand the letter and spirit of the decree to be as follows: to respect discipline means to do your duty as a worker. In every workplace, at every level of the hierarchy. Not only in industry, but also in agriculture, in education and in health."

Viorica Angelescu, secretary of the party committee in the Central and chairman of the Council of Workers, added: "We can no longer accept into our ranks people without professional and moral conscientiousness. The decree stirs up those people who have trouble with order and discipline, makes them aware that they must bear, directly and without any backtalk, the consequences of their lack of discipline and lack of responsibility toward the tasks of the enterprise and the collective to which they belong. Indeed, the spirit of the decree offers the legislative framework for a public opinion effort, which has been existent in our factory for a long time, against lack of discipline, delays, and poor quality work. In each workshop and in each trade union group there is a discipline commission in which violations of discipline are discussed. Therefore it is very good that we now have instruments for more severe punishment."

Georgeta Marcovici, chairman of the women's commission, vice chairman of the Council of Workers, added: "This is especially important since although the discipline commissions take prompt action, a movement of 'pity' and compassion has also been 'operating' (and probably not only in our central). We would say: 'Let us leave her alone this time; it is hard for a woman.' (And the majority of our workers are women.) Excuse-her, excuse-her, but how long?"

Georgeta Marcovici told me that that women's commission has proposed to undertake a number of actions with young women such as Ana Iloiu, Vasilica Petre, and Ioana Eftimie, who leave their machines to go to the cafeteria, to smoke a cigarette or for "conversation," in order to make them understand the possible consequences of their acts: outages, losses of raw materials, loss of energy, and loss of time while repairs are being made. "But the problem which disturbs us the most is that of medical leave, in the most cases, for young mothers. We have made several investigations at the homes of women on medical leave, for their children or for themselves. I must tell you--some certificates were not authentic and others, even worse, were falsified."

"I want you to know that I have nothing against women," foreman Mihai Voicu, head of the knitted sock section, told me. "We are the first section to promote women to positions of assistant foreman and foreman. Please believe me when I say that some women, of course, have difficulties and others, one might say, have made a habit of it. Abusing the rights which the law on mothers with small children gives to them, they go from one period of leave to another and appear only on payday to collect their compensation. Women like Floarea Argesanu, or Mariana Julea, or Nasta Mighin."

"Or Alexandrina Ionita," adds Sanda Deleanu. "Ionita was an engineer on probation in the same section who produced dubious medical certificates during the probationary period. The polyclinic which issued the certificates told us that they were false. Later we found out that she 'filled them in' and 'added' the number of days on the certificate."

"If I may close the discussion with some humor," said Maria Lefter, outstanding worker who has never left work early and has never come to work late and who, although she has two small children, has never taken any other leave than maternity leave. "The decree will also sober up some men who still drink. So I think that this measure is welcome not only on the job but also at home, in the family. Since, there might be fewer fights and fewer divorces (since many divorces are caused by drinking)."

CSO: 2700/204

REPORT ON RESULTS IN RETRAINING TEACHING CADRES

Bucharest TRIBUNA SCOLII in Romanian 16 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Costin Stefanescu]

[Text] During the period between the first and second quarter of this academic year, after strict planning, the retraining courses for teaching cadres in all specialties unfolded. They were organized by the Ministry of Education and Instruction, through higher education institutes and pedagogical lyceums.

The organization of the retraining courses was preceded by a swap-of-experience type conference, initiated by our ministry in conjunction with the Union of Trade Unions in Education, Science and Culture, held in Timisoara. The attendance included prorectors, chairmen of trade unions in higher education institutes, heads of a number of pedagogy chairs and other cadres from the institutions involved, who are responsible for the advanced training of teaching personnel, directors of central university libraries and other cadres concerned with retraining teaching personnel in preschool, primary, and gymnasial education.

In this extensive development of retraining of a significant part of teaching personnel from all over the country, when reports were given by highly qualified cadres with ample teaching experience and when discussions and demonstrations were conducted, an important program was implemented for professional advanced training -- specialized, political and pedagogical -- which is required for the continuous upgrading of the qualitative standard of education.

During my discussions with many participants — educators, teachers and professors in various specialties -- I noted the unanimous assessment that this year, more than in any previous years -- as part of the advanced training efforts -- the focus has been on the basic requirements of the instructional-educational process, with precedence given the new issues -- scientific, technical, economic, cultural and ideological -- emanating from the documents of the 12th RCP Congress, from the directives of Nicolae Ceausescu: absorption of the new instructional methods; expansion of laboratory projects and practical applications; enhancement of the input of each discipline into the patriotic, revolutionary education of students, into the formation of the dialectical-materialistic outlook of the world.

Well appreciated were the practical demonstrations and visits to some research institutes and production units. These were projects which involved great educational and initiatory value in terms of utilization and integration of modern instructional methods against the backdrop of the structuring of an active-formative education.

Noteworthy has been the participation -- greater than in previous similar courses -- of teaching cadres planned to benefit by the retraining program that unfolded during the winter vacation. During the same period, the Ministry of Education and Instruction organized courses of advanced training for teaching cadres with duties of guidance and supervision in county school inspectorates, retraining courses for school inspectors in specialties: Romanian language and literature, Hungarian language and literature, chemistry, physics, physical education, and also for personnel and advanced training inspectors and legal cadres in school inspectorates. Moreover, it is anticipated that by the end of this academic year, similar courses will be organized for school inspectors who are responsible for the other education specialties. In the retraining activity, at the end of December 1981 and beginning of January 1982, these courses also encompassed supervisory cadres from school inspectorates of counties and of Bucharest Municipality.

We must emphasize that in all these retraining projects -- with a marked practical and applied character -- for school inspectors, conducted under the direct supervision and in the presence of executive personnel, of directors and other cadres from the Ministry of Education and Instruction, the attendance included academicians and other prominent personalities of higher education, science, technology and culture, specialized personnel from the leading bodies of some economic ministries and research agencies and production units, of children and youth organizations.

During the week that preceded the opening of the courses for the second quarter, in Timisoara, in the presence of University Prof. Dr. Aneta Spornic, member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of education and instruction, a retraining course was conducted for school inspectors general from all Romanian counties and Bucharest Municipality. At the meeting for the opening of the courses, Petre Danica, first secretary of Timis County RCP Committee, warmly welcomed the participants to Timis County. He pointed out concerns of the local party organs with strengthening the leading role of the party in the Timis school system, with continuously upgrading the education of students in this area of the country.

In her address, University Prof. Dr. Aneta Spornic amply described the current and long-range efforts of the Ministry of Education and Instruction and pointed out the tasks allotted the Romanian school for implementing the decisions of the 12th RCP Congress, the directives of party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu, on training the work force and educating the youth in the revolutionary spirit.

Dwelling on the need for exemplarily applying the provisions of the Law on Education and Instruction, the minister of education and instruction emphasized the specific requirements of training the students for work, at all levels and in all specialties of education, beginning with kindergarten and up to the graduates who will be integrated in production, in social-useful activity. Furthermore, she recommended specific projects for each educational cycle and level for fostering dedication to work, eagerness to serve the people, boundless devotion to the country and to the beloved leader of our party.

In regard to the organization of the practical training of students the speaker emphasized the need for most actively promoting a new concept on assimilation of trades by trainees in school shops, principally in the context of technical disciplines under the instructional curricula, so that the training of the work force may involve not only a quantitative process but also -- and specifically -- a qualitative process. The minister of education and instruction indicated: In this respect, we must display greater initiative to upgrade the activity in school shops and especially in industrial enterprises. Discussed were facets of the activity of scholastic and vocational orientation of students, conceived as a permanent process, which involves teaching cadres, parents and pupils alike.

Dr. Aneta Spornic pointed out the need for promoting the scholastic and vocational orientation of students mainly through various educational disciplines and directly in light of the cadre requirements of each county and of the overall economy. She also dealt with matters relative to the need for more actively training the students' parents and utilizing school psychologists and the entire aptitude testing system, primarily in light of the cadre needs of the industry and agriculture of each county.

The minister of education and instruction placed much emphasis on the need for training the younger generation at a higher qualitative level, for educating them in the revolutionary spirit, in the spirit of the communist ethical values. She stressed the need for promoting the cooperative relations between the school and the children and youth organizations. Also pointed out were matters involving the need for the use on an overall scale of instructional techniques that correspond to the mass character of our education, that requires the teacher to work with the entire class and ensures a minimum of knowledge and habits for the actual and complete promotion of each generation of students. Dwelling on the need for differential and individualized work with all students of each grade, the minister of education indicated that the school inspectorates ought to be more concerned with verifying the uniform training of students and, on an immediate basis, with applying specific knowledge standards at the primary and gymnasial levels and also with better utilizing the single topic tests.

University Prof. Dr. Aneta Spornic dwellt on matters involving the activity of school inspectorates in the area of advanced training of teaching cadres, as a permanent program for all the educational staff, on the greater concern of school inspectorates with the network and specialization of educational facilities in each county, on problems posed by demographic rises in school population. She placed much emphasis on the need for enhancing order and discipline in all education, in the spirit of the recent Decree of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Stress was laid on the need for exemplary conduct in school, family and society on part of all workers in education and very firm mobilization of the opinion of teaching collectives in all educational units against any violation of the provisions of the Law on Education and Instruction, against any violation of the standards that regulate teaching activity and against any action that makes the violation involved incompatible with the noble mission of educator.

Special attention was paid to the major issues regarding the continuous upgrading of the style and methods of work of school inspectorates, the shift of the focus in their activity in educational units so that they may expeditiously and efficiently participate in remedying the possible deficiencies noted, for close supervision of implementation of the tasks by the teaching staff and executive bodies of educational units.

In closing her address, the minister of education and instruction requested an increased input of county councils for education and instruction and of all the other parties that, locally, are involved in educational activities and also organization of exchanges of experience in educational units that gained most valuable experience. She also urged the holding of periodical analyses of the activity of school units in the county concerned.

In the context of the program for advanced training of school inspectors general, a swap-of-experience type work trip was organized. It involved educational facilities in the Caras-Severin County. Participants included University Prof. Dr. Aneta Spornic, minister of education and instruction, and Nicolae Busui, first secretary of the RCP Committee of Caras-Severin County. At the school of the Sacu Commune and in the Caransebes pedagogical, mathematics-physics and No 2 industrial lyceums, which were inspected, there was a lively dialog of teaching cadres in the school units involved with the school inspectors general participating in the retraining course and the minister of education and instruction who answered the many questions asked.

The projects under the teacher development program involving the educational staff and many of the cadres from county school inspectorates all over the country have provided a very valuable input into the specialized, political and pedagogical retraining of the participants. They were continuously monitored by the minister of education and instruction, the deputy ministers of education and instruction, directors and other specialized cadres of our ministry.

All the information gathered under this retraining program must be used in the school network, in educational work, in the activity of guidance and supervision, under the specific conditions of the activity being conducted during this quarter by the teaching cadres. Moreover, the work for advancement must be continued as a highly efficient procedure for the exemplary implementation of our party policy in the field of education.

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CSO: 2700

EXPENSE OF SERBIA'S YOUTH CONGRESS HELD EXCESSIVE

General Discussion

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by Dusan Mikic: "Communism Via the Intercontinental Hotel"]

[Text] The congress is approaching. Oh, how fine it is to come to that meeting, to be together in our capital city of Belgrade, to get together in that international conference center on the Sava, that pyramid without a top, that is transparent and so blue. The walls of that structure are of glass and mirrors, clear streams of water that have gone vertical, impenetrable basements and catacombs, and the hidden eyes of the cameras monitor and see everything. At the screen sit people specially trained to see to our security. It is paradise on earth, it is a step into the future. But enough romance.

This congress of the Serbian SSO [Socialist Youth League] cost 17,335,000 dinars, or $415,000. And who is going to pay it--the Socialist Youth League, of course, not me, that's for sure. The leasing of the hall with technical services cost 2.5 million dinars, board and room of the participants 5.2 million dinars, and then pocket money, and evenings at the theater and going here and there. By and large this amount is greater than half of the resources allocated annually to this esteemed and overesteemed league.

I believe that honest people, young men and women, are elected and sent to the congress. But I also say that not a one of them will be honest when he leaves this congress. After all, it is dishonest to spend so much hard-earned money to no purpose. And why I say "to no purpose" you will learn from the figures which followed, which we came upon in the columns of our press.

Contribution to Discussion in the Congress of the Serbian SSO

Youth officials have fine salaries. The coefficients are on their side. Scientific-bureaucratic job analysis has helped them to correctly estimate their value, and the resources granted to them are distributed in the most correct way. Thus the coefficient of the chairman of the Serbian SSO Republic Conference is 3.10, that of the secretary 2.80, and so on--the smaller the fish, the lower the coefficient. After all, these coefficients are set according to level of responsibility. The basic level of responsibility carries a value of

9,000 dinars. That is the amount received by those who are in direct contact with us. The president of the SSO, for example, would not answer if you asked him something, since you are not on his level. His level is 3.10, and if you manage to climb that high--then he will answer you. The chairman of the Loznica Opstina Conference of the SSO, say, has the highest monthly pay in Serbia. That is a mess already. But let us quote only OMLADINSKE NOVINE [YOUTH NEWSPAPER]. And let us see: "The truth about the political and social status of youth officials is rounded out by the new method of fulltime employment in the Serbian SSO introduced 2 years ago, but still unknown to many people. All those elected to fulltime positions retain the status of workers in the OUR [organization of associated labor] they came from(!). They receive their personal income there, except that the organ of the SSO pays the difference up to the level of the salary of the office, and the organization of associated labor pays the personal income in full. At the end of their term, they resume work where they had been previously." And what is one to say about that? What connections are there between the SSO and OUR's, except those established by the system? It is clear that there is no necessarily organic connection whatsoever in this entire train of events.

But we should also say why they are paid so much, since it is still assumed that they do nevertheless do something. Let us quote the figures published in VECERNJE NOVOSTI [EVENING NEWS]: "The Republic Conference of the Serbian SSO had losses of 12 million dinars, or $285,000." There are also that many reasons, but we will cite only a few of them. The debt from the previous administration was 7.9 million, and the present administration is washing its hands of that, which is ridiculous and unacceptable. After all, if these people have taken the positions of those before them, then they have also assumed their obligations. Milan Obucina, chairman of the Presidium of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SSO, says: "The most important thing is that in funding our activities we spent even resources not paid by the sociopolitical communities." For that people really should go to jail.

If we dive a bit deeper, if we tighten the noose a bit, we will see that there is something else involved. That other thing is that SR Serbia has discharged all its obligations to the SSO. SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Vojvodina drastically reduced its contribution(!), while SAP Kosovo did not give a single dinar(!!). I do not know whose problem this is and why this problem is not solved once and for all.

And then, over the first 11 months of this year (1981) the presidium of the SSO conference had a loss of 4.1 million dinars, or $100,000. Those at fault are these: the cumbersome work community [office staff], the personal incomes of appointed officials and people on personnel lists, traveling expenses, hotel bills and printing expenses, office supplies....

Our old and cherished acquaintance Mila Korugic also had a few words to say for NOVOSTI (she is a member of the Presidium of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SSO): "If it is taken into account that we took over a rather shaky financial package, then it can be said that the activities we planned were unrealistic." And why did you take it over? Why not, you were well paid. "It also needs to be said that our numerous shortcomings are also to blame for the poor

conduct of business, above all the cumbersome work community of the republic conference and undefined job duties." The thesis: they are poor and their shortcomings are inestimable, i.e., expensive. The antithesis: the work community is cumbersome, i.e., incompetent. The synthesis: job duties have not been defined, that is, they do not exist. Does one need to be very smart to get the right picture of all this?

Hear, Hear!

Mila continues: "Nor has the question been resolved of elected officials whose term of office has expired." Those individuals came from the local level. They are like Russian princes, they do nothing, but they receive rent. "Their salary continues to be paid, since no other place has been furnished them, and at this point we cannot simply say goodbye to them." And why can you not say goodbye to them? Is it possible that you are supporting them because you feel it your duty not to say goodbye to them? Well, so long Mila, God help you. Everything is clear, everything is clear, only good horizons are needed.

Look at it this way: If someone comes from the local level, is it a necessity that he be cut off from it for the rest of his life? Why not return to the local level? Is it a question of money? Yes, yes. It is a question of money. And the question of honor? That is a good question. But it is only a question. It is not money. If someone has come live and healthy from somewhere and later does not go back there live and healthy, then it is clear that his occupation has become corrumpo--broken up into little pieces. Since what that person is doing is to shatter something so that no one can put it together again. And what is being shattered is the base [constituency], i.e., unity with the constituency, since an unbridgeable, unique and one-way gap has been established. Come on, Mila, tell us something more:

"The expenditure for the work of elected persons, nonstaff personnel and activists of the PK [Presidium of the Conference] of the Serbian SSO was 9 percent more than was planned. The plan called for 38,000 dinars for hotel accommodations of elected persons not provided apartments as perquisites of their office (hear, hear!--author's note), but 108,198 dinars were spent. That is, the chairman of one commission of the republic conference (the name! the name!--author's note) lived for more than half a year in the Jugoslavija Hotel, and that was paid for him by the youth organization of Serbia."

Bravo, Mila, you have said it all. Yet after all that hotel is still cheaper than an apartment. That sin can be forgiven. But we will not allow such a trifle to detract our attention from the real issue, since: "More than was planned went for per diems for official travel within the country." (All of this taken from NOVOSTI.) We have seen that no work was done, and we therefore wonder what sort of official trips these were. "The plan called for 50,000 dinars for foreign travel, but 102,769 dinars were spent. For the republic celebration of Youth Day 1,609,533 dinars were spent, instead of 1.05 million dinars, and most of that went to remunerate nonstaff personnel and for hotel bills. Printing services were up 750 percent(!), the purchase of tires 71 percent, and so on, and so on." It simply makes a man mad. Youth Day, hotels, foreign travel.

Ah, now here is self-criticism! Bozidar Vuckovic, member of the Presidium of the Serbian SSO, also a member of the Leskovac Interopstina Conference of the SSO, says: "It would be naive to dump all the blame for the present financial condition of the SSO Republic Conference on the work community, since we on the presidium adopted the financial plan. We also could have asked for regular financial reports. It is not right for us to require responsibility of others, but to evade that question in our own case."

One is simply struck dumb and wants to cry.

Proposed Resolution of the Congress of SSO Serbia

When all the facts mentioned above are established at the congress, when it is shown that nothing was done, that these people who sit there and say that they did nothing though they were employed the whole time and were receiving good salaries for their work, well then. I know that they will not do this. They will raise their hands, they will say: Look, our hands are clean. We have many shortcomings, we are incompetent, we do not have the ability, we are helpless, we promise you.

I therefore propose that our delegates to that congress promise that they will straighten out and that they will repay that debt with their work and that beyond that they will work for the benefit of us all. We will trust them once again this time. We will go off on voluntary labor projects and cost this country more than we will contribute to its prosperity with our own hands. We will watch how paper is consumed by our newspapers just to write about how some of our organizations are not doing anything. We will rejoice about congresses at which our delegates meet though, according to their own words, it would be better for them to go to a rehabilitation center where they might get a bit more red blood.

But let us not sail off into those wonderful and distant areas, let us return to earth a bit, painlessly if possible, without striking the top of a mountain or the pyramid, and say just a few more words. We seriously recommend to the congress of the Serbian SSO that it first put its own house in order, straighten out its own affairs as an organized force. Let it first solve the problem of Vojvodina and Kosovo, which, judging by their behavior, are refusing to participate any longer as equals in this community of ours. Let them first solve that, and then we will trust the Youth League to be capable of leading us to communism. Until then--goodbye. Our destination is not the congress, but communism. And if the SSO is weak, then let them send us an invitation. We will come to help.

Experienced Activist Speaks Out

Belgrade OMLADINSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jan 82 p 9

[Letter to the editor by Marinko M. Vucinic, former member of a commission for preparation of the SSO congress, and editor's response: "Parade in Potemkin Villages"]

[Text] Comrades,

I am among the "old" youth activists. I followed several youth congresses and I know what their range is. I do not mean to be malicious, but the request of the presidium of the republic conference for 17,335,000 dinars to cover the expenses of the congress is beyond all good taste, not to mention the political aspects of such a proposal. We will never manage to create an up-to-date youth organization if we do not dedicate ourselves to work for the rank and file of our organization. No one has ever managed to capture the wind, and likewise the revolution cannot be developed without strict ethics.

I want to present my view which I have every moral right to hold. Probably a discussion of this proposal by the presidium of the republic conference of the SSO should be initiated in primary organizations, at least in those places where they really exist.

Modesty is a rare and valuable virtue which determines the ethical profile not only of the individual person, but also of the revolutionary movement as a whole. Modesty, to put it figuratively, was at one time the middle name of our youth movement, which is the historical base and inspiration of the present-day youth organization. An appeal for modesty should not be taken as a demand for humility, but as an historical imperative to preserve the moral identity of our revolutionary movement. I would like to quote an interesting remark by Fromm in his book "Marksovo shvatanje coveka" [Marx' Conception of Man]: "If the meaning of socialism is to be understood, one must understand Marx' distinction between man's authentic needs and man's synthetically and artificially produced needs."

The report of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SSO on how much the congress is costing seems at first to be an attempt to make a distinction between necessary needs and those others. However, if we carefully analyze this report, we see that it outlines with exceptional clarity the state of mind in our top-level youth forums. It is a question of what predominates in this document: bureaucratic blindness or a lack of good taste, official exclusiveness and self-satisfaction, or the spirit of a youth leadership which has "choked on rhetoric and hypocrisy." This document shows the incapacity of the youth forum to see the situation in the organization as it is and to stop treating the primary youth organizations as immature children which need to be led through a congress hall all decked out for ceremonies. Sometimes it is possible to avoid irony: I wonder how the proposed budget of expenses would have looked if the presidium of the republic conference of the SSO had not been "guided by the goals of stabilization"? How many billions would then have been involved?

It has always been expensive to build Potemkin villages. The sponsors of the proposed expenses for the congress supposedly are aware of that, which is why, guided by "modesty," they have tried to select only those costs which were indispensable and could not be done without. One essential question interests me. How many primary organizations of the SSO would approve these "modest" expenses? But probably the organization's rank and file does not know about the "turning of faucets" and about decoration.

The difference between the humorous and the grotesque, between amazement and suspicion, is lost when one looks at certain items on the proposed expense sheet. Let us take them in order.

First of all, we need to check what happened to the books which were printed for the last congress and to see whether they ever reached youth activists or are actually inventories of the opstina conferences of the SSO. It really is generous to provide that primary organizations will obtain for their use books worth 200 million dinars. This is like a horse's dose which is being injected in youth organizations. After reading these books from the congress we must anticipate an exceptional burst of enthusiasm. Would it not have been more practical for the SSO republic conference to use those funds for more constructive aid to primary youth organizations, which have been left to themselves, without any worthwhile connections with youth forums at the upper level?

Would it not be possible for the delegates to bring to the congress their own briefcases and writing materials?

Certainly we should expect that our theaters and museums would be filled to overflowing during the congress, when the great numbers of delegates have come together.

Housing, food, renting the hall, traveling expenses and municipal transportation are decisive expenses, and truly they cannot be avoided. But what hall is the congress to be held in, where will the delegates be housed, in what "student restaurant" will they be fed, and in what parking lot will the "buses" used for transportation be parked? The congress would not lose a bit of its historical significance if it were not held in the Sava Convention Center.

A reserve faucet was also provided from which only 20 million dinars can flow for miscellaneous expenses. Those "miscellaneous expenses" have always bothered me, and they always seemed like a blank check to cover arbitrary expenditure rather than a worthwhile item in the financial plan.

Marinko M. Vucinic
27 5th of March Street, Belgrade

P.S. At one time I was the member of a commission for preparation of the congress. Once the commission was set up, I was never summoned to a single meeting. The important thing was to satisfy the formal requirement.

[Response of the editor]

Marinko, it seems you are right. The specialists in the presidium of the Serbian youth organization made fine calculations how 1.7 billion old dinars and a bit of change could be spent. It is certain that the congress would be a brilliant one with that much money, but there isn't that much dough!

Aroused by your letter, we made a few inquiries as to how much the other youth congresses will cost (and there will be an abundance of them this year). We will say it at once, they are all closing the faucets with determination--they are choosing more modest convention sites, the length of the congress is being shortened, there are no briefcases, badges or other trifles, and in some cases the number of participants is even being reduced.... With restrictions like that the financial costs of the other organizers have truly turned out to be more modest.

The federal congress is supposed to cost 1.4 billion old dinars. For the sake of comparison, the one 4 years ago cost 500 million more. It will be in session only 2 days, and there will be fewer participants. Young people of Croatia have been allocated 500 million. Their last congress cost 875 million, and they estimate that this one should cost approximately the same. Which means that they have to line up another 300-400 million. Of course, Congress '82 cannot be like that one in '78 for the same money. And it won't be: instead of 1,300, there will be 600 participants, it will not be held in the Lisinskiy, but in the student center, and only bus and train tickets will be reimbursed.... In Bosnia-Hercegovina they asked for 900 million, and they got 500, but they think they will actually spend about 700. If they wanted to organize everything the way it was 4 years ago, it would cost 1.3 billion. Which means that there will also be quite a bit of pruning there. In Macedonia as well it has already been agreed that the congress can cost 300 million and not a dinar more.

We have learned that the presidium of the Serbian youth organization is revising its original luxury plan. There is a great bustle to think of ways of making the congress less expensive. Attention should be paid to the proposal of the president of the youth organization in Belgrade to the effect that the young people of the capital would act as hosts for the participants in the congress. Without luxury hotels or other expenditures for entertainment, the expenses of the congress of the Serbian youth organization will certainly be lower.

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COUNSELOR KESETOVIC QUERIED ON DISINTEGRATIVE PROCESSES

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 205, 2 Jan 82 pp 27-29

[Interview with Dr Muhamed Kesetovic, counselor on the staff of the SFRY State Presidency, by Dragan Barjakterevic: "It Is Not a Question of Making Loud Noises"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Muhamed Kesetovic, doctor of political sciences, has in recent years turned the attention of the public toward new and fresh ideas and theoretical work on the development of our society and the fate of socialist self-management. A month ago he published a study entitled "Samoupravno socijalisticko zajednistvo" [The Self-Managing Socialist Community]. This book has aroused a great interest among specialists. He began the study with Tito's words: "The boundaries of the federal units in federal Yugoslavia are not boundaries of division, but boundaries of linkage. Those boundaries, if I might so portray them, should be something like those white lines on a marble column." Dr Kesetovic, who is a counselor in the SFRY State Presidency, also likes to recall another of Tito's ideas, which is topical even today: "Without brotherhood and unity there can be no strong and happy Yugoslavia, and without a strong and happy Yugoslavia, there can be no strong and happy Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina. All of this is complementary." At times, unfortunately, some people forget this. Why? That is what we talked about with Dr Kesetovic.

[Question] What is happening with Yugoslav consensus? We are confronted by attempts at disintegration. What does the danger consist of?

[Answer] You will probably be surprised when I tell you that in spite of the manifestly pronounced fear of disintegration, things are going very well with our consensus. When I say this, I am thinking above all of the fact that today there is a great deal of talk about our consensus, that is, that our public has become extremely sensitive when this topic is raised and especially when there is talk about cases of disrupting that consensus. In and of itself this indicates that the cause of community is in firm hands, on a firm foundation and that there are no reasons for any particular alarm. It is another matter that there is a great deal of resentment and dissatisfaction about things which objectively weaken consensus and which are caused by precisely those who ought to do most to preserve it. In that sense I think that our public's reactions are such as to indicate a high degree of politicization and critical maturity of

our public, which refuses to be blind and indifferent to attempts at disintegration. Our spirit of community has passed through several phases, as indeed has the revolution. At this point it would be good to insist on a strengthening of that basis, form and directions of consensus which are offered and made possible by this phase of the revolution. It would be dangerous to be taken in today by outdated ideas concerning the sense of community, and such ideas are present with us.

[Question] What are you referring to?

[Answer] I am thinking of unitaristic consensus, since it, through the disagreement that exists among the republics and provinces, is confronted in the consciousness of the so-called ordinary man with the condition that once existed, as though it supposedly was not that way in the period of unitarism, so that thought is then taken back to that old consensus. However, our agreements and disagreements have lived through that phase, and we can no longer seek the basis of our consensus in it. We have to go further. Put simply, it is our revolution that binds us together. Accordingly, we can realistically see prospects for consensus only in further prospects for the development of the revolution in which that consensus was conceived and born; the revolution was the vehicle of the community of consensus, and it in turn was the vehicle of the revolution. In this sense I think that we are now in a transitional period in which those ephemeral phenomena are emerging on the surface which create the impression that today we are less united than previously. In actuality that is not the case. Precisely because we are striving toward a greater degree of unity, it is rejecting those outdated relations and forms of disunity.

[Question] Who is responsible for preserving the sense of community?

[Answer] Who? Every man. This has indeed been expressed in our constitution, which in this sense is unique in the world, which holds that it is the right of every citizen to defend his country and that no one has the right to sign a capitulation. That force which bears the greatest responsibility for consensus is the League of Communists, that is, the members of the party. We can build this kind of system only on the supposition of an ideologically unified and firm League of Communists. However, the ideas of disunification in Yugoslavia are still very dangerous. Much has been invested in our community, a sea of blood was shed for it, and our people are sensitive to cases of disintegration. Incidentally, experience has shown that whenever we were united, we overcame all difficulties. It is clear to our people that we can preserve freedom and independence only through firm community, that every attempt, even the smallest one, at disintegration is a crack which Yugoslavia's "saviors" outside will hack at. And it is well known how much the meddling of the imperialist powers in the past has cost our peoples. Consequently, there is an awareness of this danger. It has also been shown that it is not difficult to enflame passions, especially when a favoring of a partial interest is involved.

Statism and Bureaucracy in Kosovo

[Question] How do you look upon the attempt at counterrevolution in Kosovo?

[Answer] Practically everything has been said about Kosovo at the last plenum of the LCY Central Committee, at which the policy platform was also adopted. However, the lessons and implications of the counterrevolution in Kosovo are lasting ones and we must always return to them. The events in Kosovo actually confirm how dangerous a lag in self-management is to our overall relations. Certainly there were several things which influenced what happened in Kosovo, but the most essential influence was exerted by the strengthening of statism and bureaucracy on the basis of a partial interest. Once it became consolidated, it became by definition as insatiable as Cerberus in the tendencies toward separation and toward glorification of one's own "exceptionalness."

From the standpoint of what is happening today, I think that relations were seriously disrupted, and self-management rhetoric is the last thing that will help in getting back on the desired course. What is needed, then, I am deeply convinced, is a far more resolute political battle, and that a battle above all of Albanian communists against their own reaction. The nationalism which flared up in the counterrevolution in Kosovo was not imposed from outside; it came as a consequence of the leading forces in the League of Communists bowing down to their own reaction and conservatism, and little by little it passed from being a force that encouraged that conservatism to being its standard-bearer. Accordingly, it is only from the opposite position that a way can be found out of that situation. By no means does this signify that the party members of other nationalities, both in Kosovo and outside it, cannot be of help here, but they will be of the greatest help if they do not allow those same forces to run rampant within their own community.

What has been written about Draginja Arsic and so on, those are horrifying things, it would be good if a blow was struck in this regard by party members who are Albanians in all the news media, especially their own, but at present one gets the impression that the political action is still lukewarm, that there are still people in responsible posts who should have been made very strictly accountable long ago. When I say this, I am not thinking of a broadening of the court trials, but of the severity of political action, since it is clear that the people who did this or supported it cannot occupy posts of any responsibility. As a matter of practical politics we could have named them and condemned them before sundown, but here 7 months have passed, and they are holding on. The responsibility for this is borne by members of the party, above all the most responsible Albanian members of the party.

Every Nationalism Is Counterrevolutionary

[Question] Do you agree that every one of our nationalisms is counterrevolutionary?

[Answer] In its tendency and by its nature every nationalism is reactionary, inhumane and aggressive--consequently, counterrevolutionary. Wherever, whenever, and in whatever form nationalism occurs, it is the offspring and creation of bourgeois society, it is bourgeois nationalism. In that sense it is both reactionary and conservative.

[Question] Nationalism and counterrevolution in Kosovo are not the first things which have burned us. Even earlier we have had harsh experiences with nationalism. Didn't we learn anything?

[Answer] Yes, certainly. But at least up to now we have overcome this more easily and in another way. In any case, over the last 10 years, since the production relations of self-management were checked, since statism began to gain strength, there has been a covering over of contradictions in society, since it is in the nature of the bureaucracy to cover up the contradictions. When those contradictions pile up, they are manifested in astounding forms. One wonders how all this is possible, when until yesterday everything was fine, how come this happens all of a sudden! But revolutionaries are revolutionaries because they aid the working class and all fighters for progress, for the new society, in revealing the contradictions in which society is moving. Then there is no surprise, since the contradictions are overcome and mitigated more easily and effectively through the internal struggle of contradictions with constant support so that that side to which the future belongs becomes stronger in that struggle, and that is the position of the working class.

[Question] All of these observations of yours can be applied to nationalism in Croatia, to nationalism and liberalism in Vojvodina and Serbia....

[Answer] Certainly. Our nationalism began to emerge first in the advanced republics and provinces as federal centralism and statism was decentralized. It began with what was referred to as the highway scandal, then there was the euphoria in Croatia, and then nationalism and liberalism in Vojvodina and Serbia. Was there a germ of nationalism at that time in the other republics and in Kosovo as well? The answer is Yes. And that in the same measure as it was there where it was so obvious and aggressive, since in both cases it manifested itself through statism. But in those communities we have mentioned it was materially stronger. The particularist-separatistic nationalism, that is, its forces, counted on having a stronger material foundation in the advanced communities and on having more to preserve through their manifestation. The reaction of the underdeveloped to that was simple: If they can act that way, so can we. It was the same food, then, for the underdeveloped as well. However, those forces in the underdeveloped communities did not come under attack at that time, but they became stronger and created the illusion that they were pure, while the others were not. That was the situation until the events broke out in Kosovo. Tito and Kardelj issued warnings.

[Question] But nationalism did not break out in Kosovo in March '81!

[Answer] True, it did make an appearance in '68, but only now in that most brutal and counterrevolutionary form. After all, the orientation of a portion of the leaders in Kosovo was constantly to spread the rumor and feeling: See how everyone is making progress, but Kosovo is lagging, they are not helping us, whatever is given is little, and so on. Never did they speak about how much solidarity Yugoslavia was showing in stimulating faster development in Kosovo, but they always talked about how they needed more! Thus the ordinary man was not aware what great efforts the community was making to develop Kosovo, and indeed that exceptional effort was even used for counterrevolutionary and

irredentist purposes, though objectively there was a possibility that brotherhood and community would become stronger precisely on the basis of that solidarity of the Yugoslav community. That shows how far blindness can take one, especially when the leaders are blinded by a partial nationalistic interest.

[Question] Could political thought or scientific theory have foreseen that strengthening of nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo? After all, the elements for that have been there for at least a decade.

[Answer] Certainly the elements were there. And it was foreseen. Tito and Kardelj specifically pointed to this. What an injustice it is that they are not alive today so that they might substantiate once again what they were cautioning about for such a long time. Kardelj was visionary in foreseeing the course of these events and cautioned that the orientation in Kosovo, above all in development policy, was not a good one, that Kosovo had to be included in the Yugoslav division of labor and that the creation of an industrial working class had to be facilitated as a social force that would carry socialist self-management on its back. However, most of the resources for Kosovo's development were used for other purposes.

[Question] Kardelj also spoke about some other things?

[Answer] He spoke about the unsuccessful orientation toward the chemical industry, which was abandoned, and then also the outsized ambitions in higher education. He told them what would happen. He warned that they had developed a university which was the third largest in Yugoslavia, that they were pushing the humanistic sciences most of all, that the problem of creating jobs would be raised. And so you get nationalism! The bureaucratic elite, nevertheless, played the coquette with precisely that portion of the so-called humanistic intelligentsia, since the bureaucracy was surrounded by power, but had no wit, and entered into an alliance with that portion of the humanistic intelligentsia and obtained from it that which strengthens nationalistic romanticism, that which revives the ghost of the past and that which activates everything in the arsenal of the bourgeois attitude toward the nationalities and toward manipulation with the nationalities. This is a law of bureaucracy, so that it applies to this one here as well.

How To Break Down the Bureaucracy

[Question] Who or what is actually in power today? Everyone is fighting against bureaucracy (especially the bureaucrats!), but it is growing! To what extent is bureaucracy opposed to the interests of consensus?

[Answer] We can never do harm to the bureaucracy by speaking against it. We must penetrate the material foundations from which it arises, and in our context that means statism. Our statism has grown a great deal in decentralized forms over the last 10 years or so. It is enough to remember that we have never had a stronger bureaucracy than now with respect to its impact on public decisions, its quantitative spread, or its methods, style, procedure and manners. And that is because we came to a halt with self-management precisely during that period. Bureaucracy has risen up in a production relation which

was entrenched in expanded reproduction. Before the decentralization of federal statism we had extended self-management over the sphere of simple reproduction, live labor, and necessary labor, but the surplus value of labor, past labor, that remained outside the range of self-management, outside the range of the working class. It is on that that the administrative and bureaucratic stratum, the strength of the bureaucracy, grew up. If, accordingly, we wish to fight against it, it is not a question of making loud noises about whether it is a good thing or not, but of shifting the balance in production relations, which means moving self-management from simple reproduction to expanded reproduction and bringing about shifts within expanded reproduction itself.

[Question] Some people say that the reason that is the case is because self-management is in crisis.

[Answer] But, I ask you, is it possible for what does not exist to be in crisis? Of course it is not! So, it is not self-management that is in crisis, what is in crisis today is our sphere of expanded reproduction, which has not been reached by self-management. So, it is not self-management that is in crisis, what is in crisis is what has regulated and made that sphere possible, that is, republic statism, provincial statism, opstina statism, SIZ [self-managing community of interest] statism, OUR [organization of associated labor] statism.... It is statism that is in crisis, and the forms of that crisis are in the accounts which we have obtained through inflation, and everything at present now indicates to us that we can get out of that crisis only if that sphere becomes a sphere of associated labor, that is, a sphere of self-management. Before us, then is the moment of self-management, and not its crisis!

[Question] How is bureaucratic statism to be broken down?

[Answer] Someone once said: A bureaucrat is like a man who has eaten garlic, and if he cannot smell himself, he thinks that no one else can either! He will smell that "odor" only when the material basis which is reproducing him begins to change against him. Today we are in a situation when not only does the idea tend toward realization, but also when realization must necessarily tend toward the idea! And I call that the crowning moment of self-management, its penetration into expanded reproduction. It is a matter of course that such changes of direction are not possible in society without convulsions and ruptures. This is the well-known transition from quantity into quality. It is like a woman's labor pains. So, our difficulties are not because of self-management, but because of self-management's underdevelopment. And what statism and that decentralized statism were able to offer over the last 10 years or so, it has done so, it has seen, and there is nothing any longer to see. The same thing is true today in the overripe bourgeois societies; the bourgeois has nothing more to offer except force and tyranny. Nor has the bureaucracy anything else to offer.

[Question] There are many examples of a failure of the republics and provinces to reach agreement. Where does that lead?

[Answer] It is certain that the conclusion of agreements by the republics and provinces has gone to the top of the list of topics on the current political

scene and in the interest of the public, and this is once again because of our public's sensitivity to consensus, to its prospects and its future. However, even the conclusion of agreements should not be viewed as a separate phenomenon. This problem, which can be called a problem of relations within our Federation, can be broken down and examined only in the context of overall relations in society. That is, when today we discuss this we often resemble people who accuse the mirror for not presenting a pretty picture! It is not a question of whether the conclusion of agreements has been successful or unsuccessful, but of the kind of relations that are created in the entirety of social reproduction; do those relations favor the conclusion of agreement, or do they stand in its way? It is quite certain that the conclusion of agreements at the federal level among the republics and provinces in establishing the common interest will always be successful when the conclusion of agreements penetrates all segments of society as the method and relationship that is practiced in society. When that method of agreement--from the work organization, the opstina, the province, the republic, through the operation of the delegate system and democratic reconciliation of interests and exchange of labor--takes on life, then that process at the federal level will only be the final act of a democratic process of self-management in society as a whole. This will happen only when associated labor, socialist self-management, and the working class penetrate the sphere of expanded reproduction, when associated labor and self-management take command over the surplus value of labor. Then they will have something to pool. But today they have nothing to pool, since this is being done instead of them by the banks and linkups of alienated monopolies. Thus associated labor is broken up into little parcels today.

Where is the disagreement now? It is actually greatest at the federal level among the republics and provinces over material issues, and those are all material issues concerning the alienated surplus value of labor, and it is the alienated power centers which are debating those issues.

[Question] How do you interpret the tendencies toward confederation of the League of Communists, the virtual existence of eight parties?

[Answer] The answer is a very simple one. Partial interests, be they those of the OUR, the SIZ, the commune, the province or the republic gained strength on that statist production relation which was decentralized.... When a tendency emerged in the League of Communists to slide off the lasting historic interest of the working class, then it was inevitable that the League of Communists itself should become fragmented as an organization. That is a consequence of relations of that kind in society. When the League of Communists takes up the fight for partial interests, when it becomes an ally of such inerests, it no longer has clear bearings and forgets what Marx said in the Manifesto: "The communists have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole." Consequently, this dilemma about the League of Communists automatically falls away for us at the moment when we resolve the basic problem in production relations and create the material foundation for integration and social influence of associated labor in the direction of overcoming the class division of labor.

[Italicized excerpt from the interview]

Concerning the News Media: "Do Not Be Taken in By Bureaucratic Sensitivity"

"The thesis of the sensitiveness of the moment, which is mentioned in discussions concerning the press, is actually a bureaucratic sensitivity. Who is sensitive, to what is he sensitive? If it is a question of truths, if truths are bitter, they are not bitter for the worker, but for the bureaucrat.

"This does not mean, of course, that the news media cannot be criticized and there is nothing to criticize them for. In criticism of the press, however, my point of departure would be that the press dare not be taken in by that bureaucratic sensitivity, just as it should not be taken in by petty bourgeois curiosity, but should be aimed at clearing the way for revolutionary self-managing action. This means that it reveals the contradictions in society, since behind every phenomenon, behind every idea, behind every position, whoever holds it, there stands some interest. That has to be exposed. Then it will be easier to choose sides in the struggle.

"The news media are a factor important to our consensus as a community. These divisions into these media and those media, into 'ours' and 'yours,' are nonsensical. We have two 'troublesome' currents--bureaucratic and liberalistic, and this is automatically carried over into the news media. Statism in the news media, that is the ugliest; it leads to statist obedience, and that means making the news media uninteresting. They thus become the means of disinformation rather than information. It is also dangerous to latch onto the wave of the petty bourgeois reaction to bureaucracy and statism, which then is nothing other than blinded liberalism, which in the final analysis leads to the same thing. We must therefore get beyond both of them, since the truths are in the middle, and that truth is the interest of the working class, and it is contained in socialist self-management. It has been well-said by someone, I think it was Joze Smole, that the news media should not listen to any particular forum. They should critically examine even the forum, but in so doing they should adhere to the program of the LCY, and they should understand it...."

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OFFICIALS' ENTITLEMENT TO PAY AFTER TERMS EXPIRE NOTED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1623, 7 Feb 82 pp 12-14

[Article by Svetislav Spasojevic: "Individuals of Particular Interest"]

[Text] It is impossible, at least for newspapers and newsmen, to obtain the precise figure of so-called "functionaries" whose term of office has expired and yet have retained their privileged status. Yet one thing is quite certain: at the end of this 4-year term there are incomparably fewer of them than when it began 4 years ago. This also means that the number of "beneficiaries of privileges for services rendered society" will be far greater in a few months, when the new term begins, than now.

In late November of last year this newsman had a very long conversation with Janez Lukac, secretary general of the SFRY Assembly. On that occasion Lukac told us that the payroll of the Yugoslav Assembly contained only 11 names of former officials. This right, though it would be far more correct to call it a legalized privilege, was enjoyed by 72 persons at the end of the term in 1978, and by 46 delegates and officials 1 year later. Today, as we have already noted, there are only 11 of them.

The situation is the same or similar at all levels, from the Federation to the opstina. Which accounts for the desire of certain responsible people to establish once again exactly what an officeholder is, on this occasion from the opstina to the Federation. How many of them are there? There are cases in opstinas, for example, and even in certain work organizations where the provisions of the constitution and law are interpreted arbitrarily and the number of officeholders broadened by virtue of that kind of interpretation. The contradictory opinions in interpreting the word "officeholder" are beyond reckoning. Yet there are no such dilemmas in the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. These two basic legal acts, then, are to some extent being circumvented.

Opstina Concern

Let us start, first, with the right to what is referred to as the "official's salary" after the term of office has expired. Federal and republic laws and opstina decisions have precisely defined the conditions under which delegates holding staff positions in the Yugoslav Assembly and republic and opstina assemblies, as well as elected and appointed officials may receive personal incomes even after they have left those positions.

To illustrate how the provisions and salaries of former officials are applied we visited the Cukarica Opstina Assembly in Belgrade. There is nothing in particular to distinguish this opstina from others in the city and in SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, so that it perhaps should be taken as a typical example. Back in 1976 the Decision on Personal Incomes and Compensation of Personal Incomes and Expenses of Delegates and Officials Elected and Appointed by the Cukarica Opstina Assembly was adopted; it was patterned after a federal law. Article 2 of that decision enumerated all the positions of officials: the opstina president and vice president, the executive council chairman and vice chairman, the secretary of the assembly, the members of the executive council employed in the executive council fulltime, and the heads of the secretariats or opstina organizations--the public revenue service and territorial defense staff, the opstina attorney general, the public defender of self-management law for Cukarica, Rakovica and Obrenovac Opstinas, the deputy public defender of self-management law for Cukarica, Rakovica and Obrenovac Opstinas, and the coordinating judge for misdemeanors.

In Cukarica, if one counts only the opstina assembly and does not include other sociopolitical organizations, there are some 15 officials who may among other things exercise the right to receive personal incomes after expiration of their term of office.

This decision, we were told by Selimir Pasic, secretary of Cukarica Opstina Assembly, was amended in 1979. Today a former officeholder may receive personal income up to a maximum of 6 months. This experienced lawyer adds that he knows of only two officials who have taken advantage of the provisions of that decision. These were the chairman and vice chairman of the Executive Council of Cukarica Opstina Assembly in the previous convocation.

We told him that one of the delegates in a recent session of all three chambers of the opstina assembly had asked the chair what was the situation with the schooling or granting of scholarships to former top officials in the League of Communists and trade unions in Cukarica and that the opstina president said in answer to that delegate that their opstina was rich enough to be able to set aside money to send all its former officials to school.

"Comrade president did not make exactly the response you say," the pedantic Pasic added. "To tell the truth, the president was not exactly up on that matter. I had to make the response. You know how we lawyers are, we know how to talk a lot without saying anything."

Pasic then spoke to us at length about the difficulties of people who hold public office. How their earnings, for example, are lower than those in business, how he earns only a bit more than 20,000 dinars a month and how educated and able people will decide increasingly rarely and with ever greater difficulty to accept public office.

"So, you see, you certainly cannot imagine the kind and extent of the fear that prevailed at the end of the old term and the beginning of the new term in front of us," secretary Pasic said. "Where is a man to go, I ask you, where? It is a hard way to make a living, holding public office I mean...."

At the end Pasic, our nimble-witted opstina secretary, answered affirmatively the question of whether all the public offices were filled. No one, then, has been afraid of the difficulties the secretary had been speaking to us about.

Fear of the End of the Term of Office

Nedeljko Boskovic, who is at present secretary of the LC [League of Communists] opstina committee in Cukarica, was previously a worker in the Ivo Lola Ribar factory. We have had occasion to hear from his workmates in the same shop that Boskovic was one of the best workers in the factory at Zeleznik. In the meantime he has held the post of secretary in the opstina committee, has completed 1 year of school in Kumrovec, and has received a fine new apartment.... He told us that there was nothing strange about the fact that some people who were former officials were receiving personal income and not working, but attending school. "It is a good thing," he added, "to have as many trusted, but also educated, personnel as possible.

"We are not all exactly the same," Boskovic told NIN. "Some, for example, were seized with panic about where they would go after their term of office. I am not afraid of that. I am convinced that I will not allow myself to receive personal income when I am without a position. I stopped by the factory and told them to condition and prepare my old machine. That would be just fine, and a good political stroke as well. But if the comrades feel that I have become skillful during this year spent at professional political work and that I am doing a good job, I have nothing against staying on. You know, it also means a diploma from the school in Kumrovec. Why should anyone return where he has come from? I think that it is a normal and human thing for a man to want to get ahead."

It is true that there are fewer and fewer officeholders and delegates receiving personal income even after their term of office has expired. We have shown how this looks at the opstina level through the example of "Red Cukarica" in Belgrade.

From another angle, in SR Serbia that is, there are at the moment 18 former officials receiving personal income. These are 11 officeholders who worked in sociopolitical organizations and 7 former officials in the assembly itself.

We will enumerate all the offices at the republic level which the law lists as those of functionaries.

Under a decision of the Administrative Commission of the Assembly of SR Serbia, only officials holding the following positions in sociopolitical organizations are entitled to personal income after they have left the function which they performed fulltime:

In the Serbian LC Central Committee: the member of the central committee, the chairman and secretary of the Bylaws Commission, the chairmen of commissions and committees, and the vice chairman if the chairman did not devote full time to the position.

In the SAWP Republic Conference: the member of the SAWP republic conference, the chairman of the conference of the social position and activity of women and chairmen of working bodies (sections, commissions, committees, etc.).

In the Council of the Federation of Serbian Trade Unions: the member of the Presidium, the chairman, vice chairman and secretary of the republic council, and the chairman of the republic trade union committee.

In the republic committee of SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War]: chairman, vice chairman and secretary, as well as the member of the presidium of the republic committee of SUBNOR.

The rights of opstina officials differ from the privileges of people holding office at the republic or federal level. The relationship between republic and federal leaders, that is, with respect to their more favorable status, is quite another matter. By contrast with the differences between the opstina and the regional republic, the differences here are almost negligible.

Confession of a Privileged Individual

The rights set forth in the federal law also apply to republic officials. All those appointed in the Assembly of SR Serbia are entitled to receive personal income for 1 year after they leave the post which they have held fulltime. This right is extended to 3 years for officials who have held paid elective office for more than 12 years. For those who have held the highest positions in the republic fulltime for two decades, the right to receive personal income after expiration of the term of office is lengthy--6 years. This applies exclusively to the highest officials in the Assembly of SR Serbia, the Serbian LC Central Committee, the republic council of the Federation of Trade Unions, the republic committee of SUBNOR.... These rights are not enjoyed by officials of the Economic Chamber or the Socialist Youth League, we were told by Zivorad Yakovljevic, chairman of the Administrative Commission of the Assembly of SR Serbia.

The rights which last 1 year, 3 years or 6 years also apply, according to Janez Lukac, to officials at the federal level. That is, federal and republic (as far as SR Serbia is concerned) officials whose term of office has expired are on a par with one another with respect to receiving personal income.

"In a bit less than 3 months it will be exactly 3 years that I have been on 'waiting status.' Please do not mention my name. I will be retiring very soon,

and I would not like certain of my acquaintances to learn that I am at this point, at the end of my working life, on 'waiting status.' I see that you want to criticize that law under which I and certain of my friends are receiving personal income though we no longer occupy the positions we held for years, positions in which we did work. I was in the war, you know, and after that I did political work. Perhaps in the interval I did not keep up with the times, though I am not altogether certain of that. Go back to my original job? Well, that would be ridiculous. I did that job of mine more than 40 years ago. Those times and that job are already a thing of the past. I would only like to tell you that it has been harder for me to be on 'waiting status' than it would have been if someone had called me once again to take up a gun and go into the woods."

So, we are not publishing that man's name.

Quite often a man is inclined to chase what is in front of him than to turn toward the person keeping pace with him. Are we, then, all going to become officials? The answer to that question is contained in a paper written by Momcilo Milovanovic, federal public defender of self-management law. The observation that "a tendency has emerged in society toward rapid expansion of the number of privileged people or people who have secured themselves separate treatment" led that specialist to prepare a paper on that phenomenon and to send it to the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, the SFRY State Presidency, the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, and to the Constitutional Court.

Ministers Without Ministries

In the multitude of various federations, communities of interest, and associations, various leagues and banks, and that from the opstina to the federal level, there are more and more employed persons whose job is put in the category "of particular public interest" in such a way that the distribution of income and conditions for social service expenditure applied to them are quite different from the "rest of the world" in those communities. Momcilo Milovanovic, federal public defender of self-management law, has directed his attention to only a small number of federal organizations and communities. Among others on that list are the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, in which there are 60 persons employed who have what we might loosely call "ministerial status," and then the Community of the Yugoslav Electric Power Industry (JUGEL), in which there are precisely 52 privileged members or people with special powers, and after those 2 associations come the Community of Yugoslav Railroads, with only 28 "people of particular interest...."

It is certain that the Law on Associated Labor and SFRY Constitution do allow for the possibility of a specific law to allow regulation of employment in certain activities of particular public interest, but not in such a way that those individuals acquire a different status in associated labor. Unfortunately, in many self-managing organizations and communities the delegate assemblies adopt specific decisions which accord to a certain number of persons a personal income that does not come under the principle of distribution according to labor. This is an imitation or copying of social compacts on the earnings of officials

at the federal level. Thus almost month by month the number of "unauthorized federal or republic officials" is increasing ... why, then, should we be surprised at the decision of any opstina assembly when it wants to increase the number of positions accorded this status? After all, to repeat: a man is more often inclined to chase what is ahead of him than to turn toward the person who is keeping pace with him.

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CAUSES OF REPUBLICS', PROVINCES' AUTARKIC STANCE NOTED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1622, 31 Jan 82 pp 15, 17-18

[Article by Dr Borisav Jovic: "Why They Shut Themselves Off"]

[Text] The strong tendency toward economic disintegration of the country and toward a closing off of the economy within the republics and autonomous provinces has led to serious difficulties in the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market. This is in conflict both with the SFRY Constitution and with economic logic. It is in conflict with the constitution because it clearly states that the Yugoslav market is unified and that any act to set up barriers within it are unconstitutional. It is in conflict with economic logic because a larger market is conducive to more efficient production, since it affords larger production runs, lower production costs and therefore larger income.

When any tendency persists so long and so stubbornly regardless of the goals of society, it unfailingly deserves the attention of scholars and specialists. An answer must be given as to the causes of these developments. Nor is anything to be explained by the mere fact of existence of the republics and provinces, since their existence nor indeed their economic sovereignty should not have been turned against the SFRY Constitution nor against economic laws and elementary economic logic.

It is well known and recognized both in economics and in general that income is the principal motivational factor in our socioeconomic context. That is why economic behavior must be analyzed first of all from the standpoint of income, i.e., analyzed as to whether that behavior is aimed at creating (more precisely: realizing) larger income.

Each in His Own Bailiwick

The usual point of departure is that investments will be made where larger income is to be realized and that this is in the interest both of the work organization (which has capital and is making a decision on investing it) and in the interests of its sociopolitical community. It is assumed that the work organization gives the same treatment to income to be realized in another work organization (by pooling labor and capital) as that which is to be realized within its own organization and that accordingly its sociopolitical community

(opstina, republic or province) will be equally interested in income realized through that pooling on the territory of another sociopolitical community as it is in income realized within its own jurisdiction. A second premise follows from that first one: that income is maximized through the pooling of labor and capital both for the work organization which has made an investment on the territory of another sociopolitical community and also for its opstina and republic or province.

These premises, however, have been refuted in reality. Work organizations prefer to invest within their own organization, and sociopolitical communities strive for social capital, insofar as it is possible, not to cross their borders. On the contrary, if it is possible, they want to see it flow in from other jurisdictions into their own.

When an investment is made within the work organization or within the sociopolitical community the entire newly created income (personal incomes, contributions, social service appropriations, capital surplus and reserves) is available for distribution, while an investment in other work organizations yields only a portion of the capital formed for disposition (formally indicated as a portion of income). It is well known that capital formation as a whole is relatively small as compared to total income, and that portion which can be counted on is particularly small. It is quite clear that the portion of capital formed is not capable as a motivational factor of outweighing the motivation based on the entirety of the newly created value, that is, income.

The reasons for this are not exclusively quantitative in nature; that is, it is not just a question of income being far larger than accumulation, much less a part of that accumulation. It is a question of the economic reality that there is a shortage of accumulation, while at the same time we have a surplus of manpower, that is, unemployment. Under the conditions when it is difficult to achieve accumulation and still more difficult to solve the problems of social welfare within one's jurisdiction, preference is given to one's own development and to creating jobs for one's own population rather than elsewhere. Not only is the "shirt closer than the sheepskin," but, as is evident, this brings greater material benefit both to the sociopolitical community and to the organization of associated labor.

Nothing much can be explained by the fact that the portion of accumulation realized through joint investment in another work organization augments the income of the work organization which invested the resources and that it can be divided up like any other income. The fact remains that that augmentation is marginal, small. Investments within the same sociopolitical community, above all the opstina, on the other hand, make it possible for the organization of associated labor to relieve itself of numerous burdens: from the pressure for economically unwise employment in the work organization to the burden of paying contributions for social services and government administration, since the newly hired workers will take this up in part. Investment of one's own accumulation in other organizations of associated labor and in the jurisdiction of other sociopolitical communities is done only in cases of great economic dependence (which usually borders on blackmail) for the supply of raw materials, industrial supplies and energy, and, recently, for foreign exchange as well. In

this case the motivational factor is once again the creation of conditions to augment income within one's own organization, since investment in those activities can yield little accumulation. However, these investments, aside from the fact that they are extorted, are marginal in size.

All Interests Pivot Around the Nationality ...

One could hardly say that anyone is working against economic logic from his own respective position. Work organizations and sociopolitical communities are behaving economically from their own viewpoint. Unfortunately, on the scale of the entire society, this often results in uncoordinated development and thereby a decline of the qualitative results of economic activity and the tendency to ward off competition through exclusiveness. The consequences of the uncoordinated economic development are manifested in the high inflation, in the drop in the standard of living, in the falling off economic growth and in the danger of interruption of the flow of the normal and continuous process of reproduction. The breaking up of the unified Yugoslav market is one of the consequences of that kind of development.

There is good reason to ask if everyone's behavior is logical and optimal from his own respective viewpoint and whether an overall social optimality is nevertheless being achieved?

We have noted that there is at least an indirect economic motivation to invest in other work organizations on which there is a dependence in the process of reproduction. At the same time we can note that profound disproportions are taking place in economic development, above all between the heavy industries we have mentioned, on the one hand, and manufacturing industries on the other. On that basis we can note that investment on the basis of the regional (republic and provincial) interests has prevailed over the interests of organizations of associated labor to solve their long-term supply problems and thereby the country's structural problems.

If we are to grasp and understand this, we need to grasp and understand the overwhelming economic and social power represented by the republic or province (and sometimes even the opstinas) from the standpoint of organizations of associated labor, that is, the extent to which the latter have a dependence status. Let us point out immediately that this is not on the basis of the constitution, but on the basis of reality, which differs from the constitution in many respects.

Let us start with the way in which prices are set. Instead of decisions on prices being made by the working people producing the goods on the basis of mutual dependence in the process of reproduction and on the basis of the economic effect of supply and demand on the market, decisions on prices are by and large made by sociopolitical communities. It is they in fact who divide up income. The republic fights to have the prices of goods produced within its jurisdiction as high as possible, especially if they are sold throughout Yugoslavia. Not only does this augment the income of the republic (province), but it places the work organization in a position of direct dependence on the goodwill and commitment of its own republic (province).

Nor is the situation any better in decisions on foreign exchange. Instead of the decisions on allocation of foreign exchange being made by the working people from the organization of associated labor in the framework of its self-managing community of interest and those decisions undergoing mutual reconciliation in the undivided space of Yugoslavia, the republics and provinces have taken over the decisive role in this area. Through the so-called payments-balance positions of the republics and provinces they have formalized the role of the economy to such an extent that virtually every work organization has been placed in a position of greater dependence on the republic or provincial government than on its own export performance. It has been taken to the point where the republic and province not only decide whether an import permit is to be obtained, but also how much foreign exchange will be paid, that is, what incentives will be given for exports, all of this operating within each republic and province separately, with no overall coordination.

And we have not even spoken about fiscal policy, where the constitutional powers of the republics and provinces are very great, nor about expanded reproduction, where only they have the constitutional power to reallocate and rechannel accumulation (if the conclusion of self-management accords has not been successful). The fate of many work organizations depends on how much will be taken away from them and how much given to them. If we add to that that the republics and provinces make the decisions to a large extent on covering losses, on the payment of personal incomes even when there is not sufficient income, and on the channeling of credit, and that they even have a direct impact on personnel policy and make decisions on individuals, then it can be fairly clear that organizations of associated labor depend very greatly on their respective sociopolitical communities, since the latters' economic power is enormous, granted in part by the constitution, in part expanded at the expense of the power of the organizations of associated labor, and in part at the expense of agreements concluded on the scale of Yugoslavia as a whole. The extent of all this is something that still has to be studied and analyzed, but these are the circumstances in which we live.

What Sort of Changes?

The first step, indispensable if these processes are to be halted at least to some extent, is certainly to return to the constitutional arrangements concerning the role of the workers in associated labor in the process of expanded reproduction. This can be achieved first of all by reducing the power of the republics and provinces (and of the opstinas as well) to what they are entitled under the constitution and likewise by strengthening the elements of community consensus in economic development, which is achieved by agreements among the republics and provinces concerning the social plan of Yugoslavia and concerning joint economic policy. In this sense it would also be necessary to revise and correct many laws and regulations from that viewpoint.

Alongside this there is a need to think as well about the soundness of certain practical mechanisms in the system from the standpoint of their creating a motivational force in the direction of forms of behavior at present which are "regionally optimum," but unwise from the standpoint of society as a whole. Since objectively income is the principal motivational force for behavior and

decisions on investment, and, as is evident, a very small portion of income is set aside for the investor of resources, it would be good to check out the possibility of a change which would establish a better balance of interest. First of all, it seems that the greatest problem is that nearly the entire expenditure for social services is bound up with personal incomes. From the standpoint of the motivation for making investments outside the collective and outside the respective sociopolitical community, it would be good if contributions for social service expenditure were not tied to such a great extent to personal incomes, but rather a portion of them tied to income. That would create the opportunity for the one pooling his resources to have a larger share in the income realized. Nor is it precluded that there might be some other similar change aimed at the same goal. It is difficult to state whether this would have a decisive impact in strengthening investment motivation, but certainly it would have a certain gravitational effect.

Finally, the need for a more effective self-management resolution of two major issues cannot be evaded: the division of labor on the unified Yugoslav market and concentration of resources on development of capital-intensive activities. It is a mistake to think that these matters should be left to spontaneity or that self-management cannot resolve them in a conscious and organized way.

The social nature of resources makes it a necessity that there be social standards governing their use. Unless the necessary changes are undertaken, exclusiveness toward the rest of the world and within the republics and provinces will be stronger and stronger and the consequences, both economic and also political, increasingly serious.

We can say by way of summary that the roots of the autarkic behavior of the republics and provinces lie in the economic motivation which follows from the present socioeconomic relations, and above all from certain practical arrangements in the economic system. The problem is a very complex one, and cannot be overcome quickly, among other things because the kind of economic structure already formed in the republics and provinces imposes a certain kind of behavior. Nevertheless, a more comprehensive approach might open up prospects for a way out of the process of disintegration of the Yugoslav economy. The basic elements of that approach might encompass the following:

First, revision of all the laws which contrary to the SFRY Constitution have augmented the rights of sociopolitical communities, above all the republics and provinces, at the expense of the constitutional rights of organizations of associated labor and a return to organizations of associated labor of all the rights and responsibilities taken away from them.

Second, a bolstering of the element of community consensus in the economy of Yugoslavia by according greater importance and content to the conclusion of agreements among the republics and provinces concerning the social plan of Yugoslavia and concerning joint economic policy; enhancement of the effectiveness of measures to implement the economic policy agreed on.

Third, the discovery of and agreement on a solution concerning division of labor on the unified Yugoslav market, at least for the most significant types of

production whose parallel organization in more than one republic or province is economically nonsensical.

Fourth, amendment of the system to regulate the responsibility of organizations of associated labor to make investments in the parallel development of those capacities on whose production the development of the respective work organization depends. No one ought to have the right to build new production capacities without at the same time making investments for a proportionate growth of production of energy, raw materials and other supplies and the like necessary for the functioning of his newly designed facilities.

Fifth, a study should be made of the possibility of enhancing economic motivation to make investments in other work organizations and within other sociopolitical communities on the basis of income sharing by shifting the base of the contribution or in some other manner.

Were this kind of broad spectrum of public actions and measures put into effect, something might be achieved over the long run. Over the short run we will certainly have to bear the burden of the reality of the economic structure that is in place and within whose framework every organization and every capacity naturally desires not only to live, but also to develop further, and thereby to reproduce its present unfavorable condition. We must anticipate resistance to such a course. That resistance arises out of the significance of the changes which would be necessary, both on the part of those whose erroneous behavior is to be corrected and also on the part of those whose power is to be diminished.

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JOVICIC INTERVIEWED ON IDEALS, HISTORICAL HERITAGE

Belgrade ZUM REPORTER in Serbo-Croatian No 807, 7 Jan 82 pp 29-33

[Interview with Vladimir Jovicic, chairman of the commission for ideological activity of the League of Communists in culture of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, by Boro Krivokapic, in Belgrade: "Worn-Out Idols"; date not specified]

[Text] The eighth floor is where we get off. Central Committee.

Serbia occupies the floors up to the 10th. Yugoslavia begins on the 11th.

Vladimir Jovicic speaks without "prepared notes." By and large he expounds clearly what he wishes to say and rather skillfully avoids what he does not. He does this in a language one can understand.

In making cuts in this text, many of them, I also admitted one answer. But the question still bothers me:

As though each nationality keeps in reserve--for the times when nationalism is being combated--its own all-star team of "typical nationalists"? For years the same people have always been on that team, as though this was a post they held in the government? People who are constantly being resurrected once again for the old needs of new fighters against nationalism?

A subsequent remark is related to this:

"We will have to 'lop the pinnacles' off certain...."

We have lopped them off. Pinnacles, pinnacles....

Krivokapic: How do you look upon the system of social values, here and now? Has the institution of moral recognition been lost? Can everything be measured and evaluated exclusively in terms of money?

Jovicic: That is an important social barometer, since every society establishes its own scale of values, the one which legitimizes it in historical terms....

Krivokapic: Is that principle being implemented?

Jovicic: It is being implemented with terrific pains and resistance, like everything that is truly revolutionary. Even though one should not harbor an illusion that one can quickly and easily bring into being a system of values based on work, the critical observation needs to be made that in practice we encounter departures, sometimes even of such nature and of such degree that they cause confusion, and they give the lie to its standards and its scale of values. It is clear by the nature of things that these are above all ideological matters.

Krivokapic: Nevertheless, the departures are obvious?

Jovicic: Though I do not think that all the blame should be put on the market, there is still room for spontaneity on the market. But let us not forget, that is at the same time the space for weaving the bureaucratic nest. Both the market and the bureaucracy have their own inclinations which cannot by any means be squared with this society's system of values.

The market, that conventional market, wants business advertising and cultural propaganda for goods which come close to being an apology for the goods as such. In and of itself it would never renounce the system of market conditions on behalf of the system of values, when there is a conflict. It is for that reason not only possible, but in the market sense even natural for certain banalities and petty bourgeois values, say, to maintain themselves at a high price in the "cultural marketplace." Contrary to this society's system of values, long-worn-out idols are still bought and sold here, and at the same time new ones which are equally false and worthless are also being produced and traded.

It is important to state, especially for the sake of young people whose critical sense is not always mature, that no one is truly satisfied when the taste they have is catered to, when the existing spiritual needs are targeted and fed, nor especially when false ones are evoked. What is more, what is most important for every man--belief in the attainability of values worthy of enjoyment--is also crippled.

A General Psychology of Plunder

Krivokapic: If we reward a work of art not only with money, but also with forms of idolatry, if in actuality the conditions are such that "values" of this kind obtain a high price on the market and in society, then certain authentic values for which the proclaimed policy is responsible are inevitably in jeopardy? At the same time certain forms of public recognition, which were a public substitute for the pecuniary factor, have also undergone a process of devaluation. Hasn't this widened still more the gap in the value system?

Jovicic: A hungry man overeats. And until yesterday we ate cornbread. And we are still poor, we still have not come close to satisfying the hunger for material goods. And even if we had, it is certain that that hunger would still plague us, just as an invalid is unable to escape the itching in a leg that has been long since amputated. Even without such a legacy, it is not easy to maintain moderation in the pursuit of material goods, to draw the line up to which

things serve man and beyond which man serves them. This is the context in which one can speak in terms of Marx' proposition: to have or to be.

When someone deserves it, my feeling is expressed in the folksaying: take off your hat and be generous. The son of Blagoje, the coppersmith in Lazarevic's short story "The People Will Guild Over All That," did not fail to receive the gold of fine words, but he would have liked to have had something, as it is put in the story, "to put in his mouth as well."

Krivopakic: Hand in hand with the other extremes, there is yet another that almost seems to be raging: a general psychology of greed. We behave as though no one will be here tomorrow....

Jovicic: Whether we call it greed or "overheated" demand--it is all the same, the fact is simply that we are spending more than we are really earning.

We truly know how to squander money, I am thinking both of individuals and of the entire community, and yet be left without what we need. Which is not to mention such very important and expensive items as what we refer to as duplicate facilities, I might mention only the numerous gala festivals, the still more numerous hoaxes in the form of symposiums and conferences, study trips and exchange of delegations without any sort of need or purpose. And yet in some places there are two to a bed in the hospital.

It Goes Much Easier With Unhappiness

Krivokapic: To what extent have the privileges of the representative structure of society, not only political, but also cultural, plotted that road? All the way to "vacillating practice"?

Jovicic: I am afraid that neither you nor I, in the role of selecting that all-star team, has sufficiently firm criteria for its membership, and still less do we have proof as to its privileges. Let us suppose, if it is not immodest, that even I might be taken into consideration at least for a broader selection of one such all-star team, and then I can tell you that that is an all-star team with less privileges than most others--not to mention the all-star soccer team. It would be wonderful if the vacillations with respect to our system of values were only the reflexes in the behavior of a relatively small stratum.

Examples usually narrow and vulgarize phenomena, but on the other hand they make them vivid. Many private farmers have not yet managed to buy even the most necessary machines for tilling the soil, nor a good portion of household appliances, but they are building such expensive fences around their houses that there is no other way to explain it except by the utter and overriding desire for "prestige." Is it not true that a great many workers, especially those returning from abroad, have instead of comfortable homes built massive ugly houses with the obvious intention of impressing the neighborhood? And there are even those who build themselves monumental tombs and tombstones as though to finally resolve their housing problem in the other world because they were unable to do so in this world.

Krivokapic: This is the exterior, the visible...?

Jovicic: All this that is seen on the outside is in a way on the inside as well, within people, in their consciousness, it is all a fruit of their system of values, which was established who knows when and how. Processes of this kind can be guided, and even catalyzed, but they must not be skipped over. All attempts to drive intelligence and taste into a man's head, to make him happy by summary procedure, have failed the test of history one after the other. Things have been much easier with unhappiness. There is a saying in Vuk [Karadzic] that is always up to date: "Perhaps you can take something from me by force, but you cannot give me anything by force!"

Krivokapic: What is the price of the gap between the scale of values set up in principle and actual practice?

Jovicic: The individual's withdrawal into the confines of privacy, his confinement to narrow and selfish ideals and goals. An undermining, then, of the basic value: the human sense of community in equality and freedom.

The system of socialist self-management cannot be carried out or maintained within closed circles. It is not important who would be at the center of those circles: the individual, the OUR [organization of associated labor], the opstina or the republic. All-enclosure is by its nature an attack on the system of values of such a society.

Because of such competitors I am unable to escape the impression that there is a certain symbolism in the scene which can frequently be viewed at track meets: the runner breaks the ribbon at the finish line, and then in a convulsion of effort--vomits.... Careerism is sinister even toward the person who has invested his entire self in its mechanisms. The roots of selfishness and vanity run deep.

Stupidities and Great Deeds

Krivokapic: Perhaps in seeking those roots we might get help from one of the last sentences of "Istorija Jugoslavije" [History of Yugoslavia] where Dedijer--in the context of the peasant character of the revolution and the social psychology of the peasantry--writes: "In the conception of the relations of fighters in wartime and in peacetime the old Dinaric tradition emerges whereby the war veteran in peacetime is entitled to enjoy the fruits of his wartime exploits, and in the conceptions of power identifies himself personally with the general social good."

Jovicic: I see nothing wrong in that. On the contrary, the acquisitive feeling, or, more accurately, the sensing of a need for possession--after all, down through all our history we have been more plundered than paid tribute--has become transformed in wars, and that to a considerable extent, into a feeling of patriotism. I also find that it is desirable to identify the personal with the general, insofar, of course, as this is not a sign of self-interest.

Finally, if you like, I vote for the proposition that the warrior who has shed blood for historically unquestionable goals has the moral right to enjoy the fruits of his struggle. To dispute that kind of tradition--and I do not find that it is developed to an exaggerated degree with us--would among other things signify looking a bit idealistically upon the future.

Krivokapic: To dispute a tradition--you have touched upon an issue here that is perhaps a "burning" one, one over which there have been frequent stumblings. We have spent many good years wrestling with that topic. With relative success and with varying consequences. Indeed there has even been stuttering....

Jovicic: Every young society ought to take up as responsibly as possible the unambiguous caution of history that the importance of the legacy cannot by any means be underestimated. Generations and generations have done things even before us on this same planet. They have committed stupidities but also performed great deeds. I place us among the latter. What do we owe them? Not so much to remember them as to obtain critical insight and render the justice of time.

The easiest and the worst is to keep silent. That kind of silence always has an overtone of a coverup. Silence, just like that undisguised glorification in the spirit of the religious precept: "Only good should be said of the dead!" truly equates the past with a dead person. But it is not all dead. Unless a critical attitude is taken toward the legacy, the present proves to some extent to be dead. After all, it shows that it is unable to critically adopt the legacy and supersede it....

Krivokapic: In that way certain major and even fateful historic events are being displaced further and further away and ever deeper. As though that would make them clearer and not still more cloudy? What is the source of the disagreements--is it inevitable?

Jovicic: Until recently World War I was one such event. Even though it is one of the key dates in the more recent history of the Serbian people. Now the myth of the myths and legends are slowly breaking up, and all its faces are coming through. Whoever is interested in the truth will easily distinguish the hero's and martyr's role of the Serbian peasant and Serbian proletarian from the hegemonistic role of the Serbian bourgeoisie.

Krivokapic: In a conversation with Deroko, member of the academy, I heard the story about the grave of Rastko Petrovic in Washington. With undisguised nostalgia for the days they spent together, Deroko asked himself still more sadly: Does a great poet have to be buried abroad? It is true that he had a job in Ljotic's administration. Nor should that be covered up. But is that the only thing that can be said?

Jovicic: First, it needs to be said that we have an inclination to politicize even ordinary negligence. We have people who zealously cover up their laziness with what purports to be political delicacy concerning everything that would be their duty to do, but which they are not doing. Nor are there any fewer of those who even in the dearth of goals at soccer matches find evidence for the restrictiveness of the policy we are conducting.

Living people who held positions in the former regimes have returned to this country, and no one (provided they were not criminals) hindered them from living and working normally. Rastko Petrovic's books are being published, his collected works are coming out, which means that he is living here, and there is no reason whatsoever why he should not be buried here....

Similarity to a Given Model

Krivokapic: All right, negligence: But has it been said in vain that tradition and culture are as though invented for sectarians and sectarian behavior?

Jovicic: The cultural legacy is a broad field for sectarians to vent their emotions, though I could give you as many examples as you like of social concern about the cultural tradition which is not sectarian in the least--to mention only the huge funds allocated every year to protect cultural monuments, the monasteries, for example....

The sectarians have one and only one model: themselves--their ideas, their experiences, their goals.... They will take up the tradition insofar as it suits them, the rest they will reject or distort until it conforms to their models and molds. The cultural legacy is helpless here, how is it to defend itself?

But very often in their attitude toward the past the sectarians are the same ones who would leave the future only to themselves. This line of the sectarian outlook is still more "vicious." The sectarian measures a young man by only one yardstick--Does he resemble him, does he copy him?... The young man has to prove himself by repetition. When the sectarian speaks, say, about the need to bring in new blood, he once again is actually thinking of himself, just a bit younger. In everything that does not fit into his schemes he sees "deviation," heresy, and indeed even treason. That is why sectarianism is incompatible with youth, dangerous for the future, more dangerous than for the past.

Krivokapic: What brings this "association" together?

Jovicic: This is an association of the selfish and the egotistical. They are brought together by fear of everything that is newer, broader, richer, different from their doctrinaire world. The narrower that world, the greater the fear, and the greater the aggressiveness at the same time. I would even go so far as to state that sectarianism concerning the legacy is by and large motivated by a narrow-minded attitude toward the future. Which is why, whenever and wherever it has appeared, in its essence it has been reactionary and baneful for every revolutionary organization. And it is manifested everywhere though it is almost solely in the League of Communists that cautions are issued concerning the danger of turning in upon oneself, of being averse to change, to what has not been tried, of doubt and suspicion toward everything that cannot fit into heads which are so shaped that their tastes and models are forms which are fixed for all time.

Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the League of Communists has definitively defended itself against the manifestations of sectarianism. What else is it to impose the condition of moral and political suitability, and especially to

equate it with membership in the League of Communists, even in competitions for those job vacancies whose nature does not require ideological and political allegiance to our revolutionary movement? The consequences are borne not only by those who are rejected in those competitions, they are also borne to a still greater degree by the League of Communists itself, since it becomes attractive to people willing to represent themselves falsely, to careerists and self-seekers of every kind.

In that way sectarianism broadens its base for reproduction. The protectionist will do everything just in order to avoid competition of real values. He will remove everything, then, which does not [negative supplied by translator] favor this religion of restriction.

Herald of Our Waywardness

Krivokapic: Aside from the classic forms of sectarianism, which means attempts (sometimes indeed successful) to proclaim everything that is distinctive, by some regional automatic mechanism, to be of particular value? Not only nationalism, but also rather confident forms of mediocracy have also marched forth under those banners? And that more of the living than the dead?

Jovicic: Real cultural distinctions usually are something of value. But if they are to become an element of activity and indeed of antagonism, rather than of difference and on that basis mutual equal cooperation and enrichment, then distinctions may be and have been used as boundary markers (local, republic, ethnic,...) and then these easily become stumbling blocks. Only through manipulation can distinctions in culture be used first as critically inviolable trademarks of a community, and then as values incomparable with the corresponding values of another community, and finally as values threatened from outside which have to be defended not only by an apologetic attitude toward them, but also by depracating those of others. As soon as a proprietary attitude begins to be established as the primary attitude toward such cultural distinctions, then we are dealing with culture only in name, while in actuality this is something else, predominantly political.

The settling of political accounts through culture, in which culture gets the worst of it, is not done solely because it is "more elegant" to wage war in the field of culture, but above all because there are much greater opportunities here for demagogy, the enflaming of passions, and everything that has the least right to be called culture.

The Impossibility of Critical Discussion

Krivokapic: Probably it is no accident that the sectarians, as masters of ritual, that is, the dogmatists, usually pass over into nationalism as a unique and specific form of the "law of separation"?

Jovicic: Nationalism is also a potential refuge for other "sects" lost in this historic time, for all individuals, groups and class remnants which are wandering around in search of their identity, personal, class, ideological or what have you. The alienated individual is seeking some kind of god, is seeking

some sort of sanctuary, since he cannot survive on his own. And in that panic search of his he is not, nor can he be, critically discreet. Unwilling to confront the complexity of life, to tackle the problems of his time, the uncertainties of the future, such people bury their head in dogma, call for the firmest and most restrictive standards, give themselves over to religion, to myths, usually to a nationalistic myth, since as a protective capsule it is still rather resistant. But nationalism is also engendered as a reaction to the contesting of ethnic sentiments. Every time a man is hindered in expressing a portion of his identity from the ethnic standpoint he is being pushed into the mire of nationalism.

In the strict political sense the nationalist is a dogmatist by vocation. The hand which today crosses itself on behalf of the nationality would show itself tomorrow to be an "iron hand."

Krivokapic: Alongside nationalism a certain number of people have also sprung up and promoted themselves to be "professional fighters" against nationalism, often even with certain credentials. Are they simply "responsible" for that area? Do they have a bad day if some outburst of nationalism does not "affect" them every morning? They are also people who never get enough of nationalism.

Jovicic: It is not uncommon for someone to seek a place for himself by means of someone else, rather than with someone else, to live off the errors and "errors" of others, to win points by sorting over the oversights and sins of others, and if they are lacking, to plant them. But is that style not inherent also in individuals who are not "profesionally" engaged in nationalism? The witch-hunt, that is probably the only hunt in which there has never been a completely closed season anywhere.

Krivokapic: Experience teaches us that in this respect--with respect to distinctions--language (Serbo-Croatian, or Serbian and Croatian) is more than a reliable messenger and indeed herald of our waywardness.

Jovicic: There are several ways in which language can be this. One of them is to be seen in the granting of all priorities to "distinctive" words, those which are not held in common by all those living in a linguistic area. To that end they dig up localisms, provincialisms, anachronisms, words which life itself has irrecoverably written off and buried.

Why? Certainly not so that we would enrich the language, since a language is not enriched in that way, but so that we would accentuate our differences and use this as a reason for division. This is a policy of violence to language. And every form of violence in language basically carries with it a policy of violence in a certain other sense as well. Likewise to overlook and abolish real linguistic differences is a form of violence aimed at bringing about a union which would not be solely linguistic.

In both cases the meaning of language as a means of understanding and agreement is lost, it is twisted to become a means of achieving nonlinguistic goals.

Are the Lectors [literary and linguistic advisers in publishing houses] To Blame?

Krivokapic: Less and less do we write as we speak. In the foreseeable future we might arrive at the linguistic situation before Vuk [Karadzic]. And then some joker emerges from time to time--who is usually not joking--and he says seriously: the lectors are to blame.

Jovicic: If only the lectors were to blame, but the reasons involved go much deeper than that. Not only do we write differently than the way we speak, but we often speak differently from what we are thinking!

Krivokapic: One need go no further than the nearest meeting.

Jovicic: Often I am unable to recognize even myself. In meetings I speak some language which I do not speak otherwise.

First of all we have equated meetings with action, and then, since very often they are excessively long and empty, we have transformed them into a ritual. Certain rules, certain codes, are established in any ritual. And, of course, language was the first to suffer from that coding. It had to undergo impoverishment and distortion, it was deprived of nourishment, it began to diverge from consciousness, of which it is, according to Marx, the "practical form."

And that is how the impersonalization and depersonalization of language came about. That outcome was also sponsored by something which is also taken for granted not so rarely in meetings--general agreement. But for the ritual to be complete, agreement had to be expressed to the end, not only in content, but also in form, that is, in a manner--with a vocabulary, the same syntactical technique, the same intonation and even the same gesticulation. When someone in a meeting slips and utters a sentence which does not differ in any essential respect from the general opinion, but which in its language jumps out of the ritual circle, it immediately arouses attention (those who have been dozing awake with a start), and thereafter amazement and even a bit of suspicion. For all these reasons a certain sclerosis of language had to come about in meetings.

Krivokapic: You are mistaken: that is indeed a "language"! To speak and write (even) to unconsciousness and not to say anything is a skill which can only be admired!? And it is possible only in that "language." Nonexistent and dead, but indestructible. In my work, for example, that is a characteristic more valuable than gold! So it is no rarity for people to speak without knowing what they are saying, and still less do they believe what they are saying.

Jovicic: No, it is still true that they do not have their language, it is that language which has them. They are alienated from language even when in meetings or in your profession they get their bearings with exceptional "success" in the linguistic ritual, and even then they enjoy it. Since they lack a personality of their own, how could they have their own language?

Krivokapic: Culture is often a cue not only of nationalism, but also of being an area in which nationalism is often and extensively manifested. Even that it is quite suitable for nationalism!?

Jovicic: On several occasions I have already come out in public against such assessments, not because every form of narrow-mindedness and enmity is alien to the essence of culture and art, since in culture and with culture nationalistic manipulations are possible, but because it is stupid to say [licirati] in which domains of public life there is nationalism and in which there is none. As though it were typhus, which allows itself to be confined by a quarantine!

It is true that for a time the field of culture did enjoy the inglorious advantage you speak of. One reason why it probably occurred is that the language of culture is somewhat more explicit and authorized than the language of certain other facts, economic facts, say, which we refer to rather euphemistically: the shutting off of markets, monopolistic behavior, etc. However, when without any sort of economic reasons and sometimes even in spite of them we have to drink exclusively mineral water produced in our own republic or to eat only one kind of sausage, and that because the other kinds are not produced in our region, then that ought to be evaluated in political terms by the same measure that would be used in a library if we were unable to find books printed in the other republics and regions.

This comparison might seem amusing to some, but the manifestations of exclusiveness and regional protectionism in the economy are not only--and in our multinational community, perhaps not even predominantly--economic outbursts. These are manifestations which have to be described in political terms, sometimes referred to even as nationalistic, and why not, since even if they do not come about from those motives, their consequences are in that direction. Then no one would get the idea that culture is a preserve of nationalists.

The Investment Intelligence in the Field of the Superstructure

Krivokapic: Somewhere, in certain foundations, perhaps not always visible to the naked eye, of all these manifestations and deviations we have been talking about (and also those we have not mentioned)--we find the school! It might be a lighthouse in the night, but it also can be a band over the eyes in broad daylight. Yet another reform of education is now under way, and its premises are radical: but there is also resistance in which disputation and interference are mixed.

Jovicic: Essential changes were indispensable, but by no means solely within the limits of the school as an institution.

The procedure used to arrive at the various specific solutions embodying the reform has not always been open enough to the broadest public. In some places everything that had been undertaken in practice was covered with the prestige of the stands adopted by the congress. One might get the impression that the congress even stands behind every schedule and every deadline. That is how the invitation for criticism is created in an inestimably important task in which all interested parties should participate.

Krivokapic: How are the conditions to be created for a young man to make a free choice in the direction of his abilities? How is he to discover them in good time? I have heard of "some" school in Macva; since you are from Macva, you probably know even the details?

Jovicic: At present the only thing I know for sure is that that "new" school, if it is to be accepted by the broader social community at the case held to up to now, will become an "old" school before it gets a roof.

Krivokapic: Why? Certainly there are reasons even here.

Jovicic: The overall investment intelligence in the field of the superstructure has still not embodied the spirit of this society and these times, nor has it authentically expressed the needs and tastes of today's man.

Schools, museums, libraries and galleries are still being built ... to be buildings in and of themselves, although their functions by no means should be an end in themselves.

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24 March 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1992

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24 March 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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GDR Regime's Reaction

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 8, 22 Feb 82 pp 28, 31

/Unattributed 'GDR' feature article: "Collecting Signatures Diligently--SED Concerned Over New Protest Movement in GDR: Thousands of Young People Demonstrate Against Armament and Militarism." Translations of other articles on a related subject are published under the heading, "Goals of, Reactions to Pacifist Movement Reported," in JPRS 79971, 28 Jan 82, No 1969 of this series, pp 6-14/

/Text/ The symbolism looks awkward: A clock painted on a poster and reading 5 to midnight. Next to it another poster with a lightning bolt as the warning signal for high tension. A cross points to the alternative. In a short dramatic sketch young people comment the various images.

Yet, the event of Saturday before last in Dresden's Church of the Cross alarmed the SED as nothing had done since the protests of the East German intelligentsia against the expulsion of lyricist Wolf Biermann: Thousands of young GDR citizens, most of them dressed in jeans and windbreakers, the worldwide uniform of their generation, had gathered from all over the country to demonstrate in the house of God--against armament and militarism not only in the wicked West but also in their own country, where peace is officially identical with government and people.

This human mass had been set in motion by the 47th anniversary of Dresden's destruction in World War II, spontaneously spurred on by whispered propaganda in GDR Protestant communities. At a peace forum, hurriedly organized by the ecclesiastical authorities in the Church of the Cross to channel the protest, the pacifists stated their demands in the presence of more than 5,000.

The Dresden meeting sharply underlines the SED's self-created dilemma: For months past East German media trumpeted against the "superarmament" of NATO and praised the growing resistance to missiles and nuclear weapons in the West. Now the party is compelled to acknowledged that their agitation had a strong impact at home also.

The peace movement in the GDR is no longer confined to easily controlled groups of Christian activists. According to an eyewitness of the Dresden meeting, "the somewhat amorphous mass of protesters stands on the threshold of turning into a movement."

The comrades of the State Security agencies are evidently disturbed by this development. In Dresden they kept to the background and in fact discreetly overlooked the unofficial emblem of the East German peace movement, attached to hundreds of windbreakers. The woven label displays a red circle surrounding a man who forges a sword into a plow, accompanied by the biblical phrase: "Swords into plowshares."

This insignia has frquently annoyed the state security people in past months. In one GDR village, for example, students wearing the badge to class were attacked by their teachers. Following the intervention of Protestant Church representatives, the educators were instructed to restrain themselves.

By now the badge is officially tolerated as the result of persistent Church protests. In Berlin, though, agents still haul young people off the streets for interrogation.

In other instances also the SED has so far yielded to Church pressure.

In late November last East Berlin youth minister Rainer Eppelmann wished to organize a "Blues Mass." The city council appealed to Gottfried Forck, bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg. Such services, the council claimed, had repeatedly led to disputes with the SED. Klaus Gysi, state secretary for ecclesiastical affairs, said: "That is political cabaret, not divine service."

Eppelmann persisted. The "Blues Mass" took place, 4,000 youths attended. The SED kept silent.

Last December Pastor Peter Freimark, Potsdam Diocese, was invited to come by the traffic police precinct "to help settle a certain matter." At the precinct the cleric was instructed to remove from his Barkas minibus the bumperstickers "Swords into Plowshares" and "Make Peace Without Weapons" as well as the painted inscription "Shalom." Freimark refused. The minibus was promptly taken out of circulation for reasons of "traffic safety," the license canceled. When the minister threatened to sign a complaint for theft of the license, his bus was returned early this year--minus the bumperstickers but still carrying the inscription "Shalom."

It is uncertain how long the comrades patience with the Protestants will last. Criticism is growing inside the SED regarding the flabby line adopted by the party leaders toward the Church.

At last November's synod of the Protestant Church in Saxony Diocese, held in Halle, the attendants sharply criticized the growing militarization of the GDR and supported the claim for a social peace service. Gysi subsequently warned Bishop Werner Krusche: "Do you really want confrontation?"

In fact Church leaders are just as averse to confrontation as the party leaders. They are afraid of losing the modest scope permitted the Church and Christians by the SED in recent years.

Rainer Eppelmann has already felt the consequences of the bishops anxieties. Since late last January this pastor circulated a "Berlin Appeal" for peace among likeminded people. This demands, among others, the replacement of obligatory military instruction by "instruction on peace problems," the introduction of social peace service

and the abandonment of all public demonstrations of military might" as well as of "exercises by the so-called civil defense."

Tuesday before last Eppelmann was arrested Tuesday before last and interrogated. Two days later he was released as the result of "urgent pleas by the Protestant Church in Berlin-Brandenburg" (statement by the Church leaders).

As a countermove the Church leaders drew up a statement. While approving the aims of the "Berlin Appeal," "the Church leadership emphatically advises against involvement in the collection of signatures, because this may cause misunderstandings and dangers not conducive to the necessary sober discussion."

The Church rank-and-file, though, is as little influenced by the veto of its own authorities as by the security peoples attempt to intimidate Eppelmann. By now the "Berlin Appeal" has been distributed in the entire GDR. Young people are diligently collecting signatures from friends and acquaintances.

Not even State Security Service chief Erich Mielke knows how many have so far been collected.

Church Leaders' Views

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 8, 22 Feb 82 p 30

/Excerpts from taped questions and answers at Dresden Peace Forum: Sometimes One Would Like to Have Power"/

> /Text/ Attendants at the peace forum in Dresden's Church of the Cross formulated their demands on the government and the Church in the shape of questions. They were answered by Johannes Hempel, bishop of the Saxon Land Church, and other ecclesiastical officials.

Hempel in answer to the question whether a Christian should refuse military service: Last week I told State Secretary Gysi exactly what I am telling you: In the course of its 2,000-year history the Church of Christ was repeatedly compelled to consider the likelihood of political resistance. However, the New Testament teaches that this may be done only in extreme circumstances. Those among you who say that such circumstances have arisen now, must certainly speak out. But I would like to tell them how I see the situation, and the risks they will have to accept because we will not be able to help.

Question: What would happen if we, the GDR, were to stop arming or were totally to disarm? Would we then be fairly certain of being attacked? And the other question: Over and over again we hear a wrong phrase quoted--that no unilateral initial step can even be considered. The ending of above-ground nuclear tests was a unilateral step by the Soviet Union. This mobilized world opinion to call for an end to above-ground nuclear weapons tests by other nuclear powers also, and the latter thereupon did cease to conduct such tests. Would not a partial unilateral step be a very effective measure for building up confidence? (Applause)

Joachim Garstecki, in charge of peace initiatives at the GDR Church Federation: I will start on the last question and say yes.

Every possible unilateral and responsible partial abandonment might be an effective measure for building up confidence, provided it does not--from one day to the next--suddenly destabilize the existing system of military peace maintenance--and unfortunately we now have just that. It is therefore a political problem to be considered with the greatest sense of responsibility. What possibilities do the highly armed countries in the East-West relationship now have for adopting unilateral disarmament stemps? After all, these unilateral steps are intended to initiate a bilateral disarmament process.

It is therefore not on the cards (as the first question suggests) for a country like the GDR, for example, to immediately and totally disarm--that would be the so-called unilateralism. Instead the question is this: What definite disarmament steps are now possible for the countries in East and West, primarily the USSR and the United States so as to initiate bilateral disarmament without risking their own security? In my opinion such a unilateral abandonment may, for example, consist in voluntarily giving up the GDR's own tactical nuclearly delivery systems now controlled by the Supreme Command of the National People's Army. (Applause)

If done in agreement with our allies in the Warsaw Pact, this might encourage multilateral disarmament, even initiate it at a certain level.

We must be quite serious in our demand that our own wishes, concepts and aims in the realm of maintaining peace and disarmament be politically reflected.

Question: What are the possibilities for clearly demonstrating one's desire for peace in one's capacity as officer of the reserve? Do you have any comments?

Hempel: We must find out how far we may go. I do not believe that it is possible in the present situation to do without defense. At the same time I believe that, basically, military defense is something dreadful. I do not know any other way out of this conflict than to join with others to find out where I may compromise if need be--and where I must make a stand. (Applause)

We have a lot of questions. I will now proceed simply to read some of them:

Why are peace demonstrations banned in the GDR? We should stand up for peace. (Applause)

Is security synonymous with military balance and strength?

"Peace instruction" should be made obligatory in schools. (Loud and persistent applause)

In Bonn 300,000 people demonstrated against nuclear missiles. I think they demonstrated mainly so that these, their missiles, should not land on our heads. (Applause)

A supplementary question: Should we not at last also make a start and count our missiles? (Applause)

Is it worth while to take to the streets for the sake of peace? (Applause)

Should the just look up to heaven while the bomb falls? (Applause)

Hempel's concluding words: I do not want to put you off until doomsday. I want you to live, and obviously I also fear total destruction. Of course I do not know what to do for the best. I do not know whether, in the name of our Lord, in the name of Christ, I can do more than talk, talk, talk. Sometimes I too am tired of words that do not seem to have any effect, but would else can I do? Let us keep in mind that the line between the weapons of charity and of power is very thin indeed. A Church indulging in power play may be successful, but it may not be blessed; I do not say this as an adversary but as someone who is also involved.

In one respect, though, I am implacable—the Church of Jesus Christ is best off when it does not have any power, although sometimes we would rather like it to have some to help us make our point. (Much applause)

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REPORT ON MEETING OF ARMY LEADERS PUBLISHED

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian No 6, 6 Feb 82 pp 7-9

[Article by Istvan Kozma Toth: "The Preparedness of Our Army Has Increased, Its Moral-Political Unity Has Been Strengthened: A Report on the Meeting of Army Leaders"]

[Text] A conference of leaders of the Hungarian Army was held on 28 January. Participants included Dr Jeno Kovacs, deputy department chief in the Central Committee, Dr Gyorgy Doro, deputy chairman of the National Planning Office, and Dezso Trombitas, secretary of the National Defense Committee of the National Assembly. Present was Nikolai Silchenko, colonel general and Hungarian representative of the Chief Command of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states.

The conference was chaired by Istvan Olah, colonel general, chief of staff of the Hungarian Army, and deputy minister. After the opening address, Karoly Csemi, colonel general and state secretary of the ministry of defense, evaluated the work of the Hungarian Army in 1981 and defined the main tasks for 1982.

Guarding Peace and Security

In the introduction to his speech, the state secretary of the ministry of defense, dealt with the most prominent characteristics of the international military-political situation. He pointed out that the present world situation is characterized by a sharpening of the international class war, and the increasing aggressiveness of the imperialist forces against detente and social progress. In reaction to all these matters, the achievements of the detente which developed in the decade of the 1970's have been endangered. In this strained international situation, the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union rightfully emphasized: in our times, the preservation of peace and security and the prevention of a new world war are decisive for humanity. In our world of today, a realistic condition exists for this. The desire of the people for peace represents a mighty force in all areas of the earth.

Bearing in mind the interests of peace and their security, the Soviet Union and the countries of the Warsaw Pact are reacting to the imperialist efforts resolutely, consistently, moderately and calmly. Our parties and governments remain prepared in the future for initiatives in the interest of peace, the preservation

of security, and the restraining of the arms race. Permeated with a deep sense of responsibility for the peace and fate of mankind and the cause of international progress, they are opposing the line of American imperialism and that of its allies with the alternative of building a peace program for the 1980's.

This policy meets the basic interests and goals of our people. Therefore, together with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, our country is purposefully striving to maintain detente and to settle controversial international problems at negotiation tables. Historical experiences show that our efforts to guard the detente process must always be accompanied by keeping the preparedness of the armed forces at a high level. Therefore, our most important task today is that in the spirit of the resolutions by the 12th Congress of our party and with the consistent realization of our national defense policy we should increase our efforts to raise the political, moral and military strength of our Army and to increase the moral courage of our personnel and its readiness to make sacrifices.

Touching on the Polish events as he continued, Comrade Csemi stated: an important factor is that the socialist community's judgment of the introduction of emergency law is in basic agreement; the countries regard it as Poland's internal affair, and they are increasing their moral, political and economic support. The imperialists had counted on a Polish crisis of prolonged character. Therefore, the introduction of emergency law surprised them and caused a quandary in their circles. They soon recovered from their surprise and began increasingly more coordinated attacks against Polish consolidation.

In this strained situation it is important that the personnel in our Army should perceive well and understand well the sources of the Polish events, the process and direction of their political unfolding, and the bourgeois propaganda directed against it. The position taken by the MSZMP Central Committee and by the government has clearly proclaimed our sympathy for the just struggle of the Polish people, the Polish communists, and their leaders. We support their struggle against the anti-people forces of counterrevolution and anarchy. We believe that the Polish People's Republic will again before long be a strong member of the socialist community.

Balanced, Successful Work

Continuing with his speech, Colonel General Csemi informed the participants in the conference that the upper military leadership established, in the course of its evaluation, that in the past year--in the first year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan--our Army carried out basically successful work. This was well aided, basically, by the fact that the professional personnel, the commanders, the political workers, the party and KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] identified with the requirements and the tasks, and in a balanced political atmosphere worked for their execution with commitment to the party's policies.

The participation of Comrade Janos Kadar, the first secretary of our party, in the leaders' conference held at the beginning of last year had an inspiring effect on Army personnel. Comrade Kadar's speech, in which he valued highly the

responsible and expert work performed by the Army leadership and the professional personnel, had a great effect on all the participants and provided further direction and strength. He also stressed the importance of the work which the Army is performing for all the people in its youth education work.

Comrade Kadar expressed with warm words his judgment and opinion of our people: "The attitude of our people is good. This is partly because our armed forces and their members understand their tasks and are fulfilling their obligations. The people sense this from day to day and all this influences favorably the feelings of the masses. At the same time from the political and military point of view, it is a very important factor for the Army that it has a steady and good neighbor." He emphasized that the Central Committee and the government will continue in the future as well to follow with increased attention the development of our Army and will provide the conditions which are necessary for solving national defense tasks. The appreciative words that Comrade Kadar spoke in the name of the Central Committee and the direction-giving ideas in his comments strengthened the self-confidence of the personnel and increased their commitment to carrying out the tasks that the party put before our Army.

Last year, Comrade Gyorgy Lazar, premier, visited an important area of our Army, the national air defense. During his visit he informed himself incisively on every important problem in development and of the life and work of those engaged in this field. On the basis of what he saw, he spoke with appreciation of the activity being conducted.

When we review the work that was done in the past year--Colonel General Csemi continued--we can report that as a result of the manifold and basic planning work apparent at every level of leadership, the improving organization and preparation, the more forward-looking and consistent leadership impact and the conscientious and devoted activity of the personnel, the Army commands, staffs, troops and institutes, and the organs and specialized bodies of Civil Defense successfully fulfilled the tasks set for 1981.

Also in this period, the moral-political unity and discipline of our Army continued to be strengthened. In accordance with plans, the technical equipping of the troops increased, battle worthiness grew, and the combat caliber was strengthened. The conversion to an 18-month service period was successful, and the level of preparation and training improved. The service, living and working conditions of the personnel improved to the planned degree. These results provide favorable conditions for carrying out the more demanding and complicated tasks for 1982 and the succeeding years.

Following this, he turned his remarks to the organizational and material-technical development of the Army. He regarded as worthy of recognition the work, performed with a constantly improving state of organization, which the leaders, commanders and personnel of the organs and troops placed in a system of modern weapons and means effected in assuring the necessary conditions in a circumspect and timely way. In 1982, the organizational and technical development of the Army will be continued according to plans.

New Work Schedule

The state secretary of the ministry of defense spoke of the introduction of a new work schedule. He emphasized that the 5-day work week is a great social achievement both for our people and for Army personnel; it has evoked a general satisfaction, and has further increased the international respect for our country and its policies.

In the Army the basic conditions for converting to the new schedule are assured--without harm to the tasks related to the fulfillment of its basic mission. Where the need existed, certain personnel corrections and organizational modifications have been carried out. The Hungarian Army will convert to the 5-day work week on 1 February 1982. Accordingly, the professional, re-enlisted personnel (or reserve personnel carrying out such assignments) and the civilian employees will generally work in 5-day periods. Under the new schedule, the rank and file will perform 4 hours of technical and facility maintenance work on Saturdays.

With the conversion to the new work schedule, we shall unconditionally have to assure the realization of the basic requirements: every military organization of the Hungarian Army must continue to be ready to fulfill tasks stemming from the basic mission. Combat preparedness must be maintained at the prescribed level. Preparation and training must be kept unchanged at the present level. The combat caliber of the organizations and the techniques must always be assured.

We must fulfill such socio-political goals of the new work schedule as more time for rest, more time with the family, and cultural activity. Rest or holidays spent in service must be compensated with a day off on the next day of the week. In order that the free time of those affected should not be reduced, when the rest day (Saturday or Sunday) cannot be granted, the weekly rest day (Sunday) must be granted on the following day or at the most within 30 days. It may happen that free days cannot be given according to the above rules; in such a case, the commanders have the right to grant the accumulated free days in 60 days, and possibly at one time.

The work of the cultural and entertainment institutions must be adjusted to free time. Provisions must be made to see that the personnel, in particular the rank and file do not suffer a loss in the various services. For the carrying out or supervision of organized political and educational programs on behalf of the rank and file, political duty officer service must be conducted.

He emphasized it must be seen to that this important socio-political undertaking well serves the fulfillment of goals directed at developing the Army and increasing combat preparedness and caliber, and the improvement of the living conditions of the personnel.

Training Reorganization

Colonel General Csemi evaluated as one of the outstandingly important tasks of 1981 the preparation and realization of the conversion to a troop training system in accordance with the 18-month training period. He emphasized that in the training reorganization both the organs of the ministry of defense and the troops

performed great, basic work worthy of appreciation. As a result of this--on the basis of experience controls embracing by far most of the troops--the conversion to reorganized training was carried out in a smooth and planned way, and the execution is now being conducted in an organized and successful manner.

All this contributed to the fact that the organs of the ministry, the troops, the schools and the training centers successfully fulfilled the 1981 tasks in preparation and training, the achieved results are stable, and in certain important areas the level of training has continued to rise.

The troops and the staffs successfully fulfilled their tasks in the coalition and national exercises. In tactical exercises, time use has been improved and the exercises are more substantive. Exercises under circumstances approximating actual combat conditions for the participants are being more effectively realized. The unit and subunit exercises that were executed received high evaluation.

Firing and marksmanship training is one of the most successful areas of troop training. The firing exercises are solid, a good evaluation is achieved on the average with all types of weapons. It is worthy of particular note that troops equipped with modern combat technical means had good and outstanding results in firing exercises and in live missile artillery firing. All this shows that the personnel has adapted as a result of expert training and preparation to the handling of combat and other technical means that have come into the system and that the troops are capable of using them effectively within a short period of time.

The state secretary called the attention of the commanders to the fact that consolidation of the firing results and the maintenance of firing caliber requires continuous, even daily, work that is tough and enduring. With this it is necessary to strengthen coordination between firing and tactical training.

The preparation of students is being conducted successfully at the military colleges and the noncommissioned officer schools. A significant part of the students who graduated from college or noncommissioned officer schools received outstanding, excellent, or good marks.

Help for the Economy

Colonel General Csemi spoke with appreciation of the fact that the designated outfits of the Army--despite the reduction in service time--gave significant help to the economy in 1981, particularly in performing the reaping, autumn harvesting and delivery tasks of agriculture. In addition to fulfilling the tasks deriving from its basic mission, the Army--from the middle of September to the end of November--assisted in farm work with about 5,000 hands and 1,000 transport vehicles. The participating personnel worked almost 450,000 working days, and the transport vehicles put in almost 4.7 million kilometers. Moreover, in week-end jobs performed on the basis of local initiative, 5,000 to 7,000 hands and 300 to 400 vehicles on the average took part in the operations. In 1982, the Army will extend help to agriculture in the spirit of the resolution by the 12th Party Congress.

He also spoke with appreciation for the work of the newly trained technical troops that worked in the economy. The production value which they created in the past year exceeded 5 billion forints. With their work they contributed significantly to the implementation of special state investments. Moreover, in their free time the personnel contributed 53,000 working days for the realization in social work of children's institutions and communal and sport facilities, and thus created about 50 million forints' worth of new value.

The construction outfits of the Army and the personnel participating in troop training performed very useful work. They created almost 2 billion forints' worth of production value, and with this they significantly contributed to the fulfillment of construction investment goals.

The speech also dealt with the activity of the MHSZ Hungarian Federation for National Defense, emphasizing that in the past year the MHSZ participated successfully in the implementation of overall social goals with its patriotic, internationalist education and training work.

Unselfish Moral Courage

After his analysis of experiences in combat readiness controls, Comrade Csemi dealt with the moral and disciplinary situation of Army personnel. He recalled that on 13 October the MSZMP Politburo discussed this subject. The presentation at the time extended over a longer period, and in debating this report the Politburo evaluated highly the devoted, unselfish moral courage of the communists working in the Army, the professional personnel, the civilian workers, and the rank and file. The Politburo judged that the Army enjoys the confidence and support of the working people which it has merited by its attitude and loyal service in the affairs of the people.

The Politburo devoted a great deal of attention to the situation of the professional personnel. It established that the political commitment, training, and leadership capability of the officers and noncommissioned officers meets requirements.

The professional personnel reacts to changes in the international situation with great maturity and sensitivity. In thought and attitude, it is characterized by internationalist commitment. They are conscious of the fact that the defense of our socialist country be assured only by constantly increasing the strength, unity and combat readiness of the Warsaw Pact system. We have an important political interest in seeing that this internationalist spirit and attitude continues to be maintained at a high level and that we strengthen without interruption our brotherhood in arms with the allied armies.

In the recent past, the reporting membership meetings have confirmed that the communists are working successfully to realize the party's policies and are capable of mobilizing the military masses for the successful fulfillment of the increased political, training, combat readiness, and construction tasks. The critical spirit of the membership meetings showed well which are those questions in our international and domestic political situation, in the military field, which represent further tasks in political work.

We must strengthen patriotic internationalist education in the rank and file, and intensify their thinking on this matter. In the process of social education, a particular role is played by the education young citizens receive during the period of military training. Public sentiment and its opinion of the Army is influenced to a large extent by how the rank and file is treated, by their education, and the formation and shaping of their character and attitude.

To raise the level of political work in the subunits, we are introducing a system of political delegates for the company. This is directed at further improving the conditions of political educational work in the subunits. The political delegates for the company—as service forerunners (eloljaro)—help the company and platoon commanders in political education work. These youths are selected from among conscripts distinguished in KISZ work before they enter the Army. After they are called up they are given reserve officer training in the framework of several months' study where they acquire the information necessary for performing political work. They work in the subunit for 1 year and before their discharge they are made officers in the reserve.

The selection and training of political delegates for companies will begin this autumn.

Furlough Rules

After the analysis of the cadre situation in the Army, he analyzed in detail the furlough rules as modified on 1 January 1982. In this connection, Comrade Csemi emphasized that the change was necessary. The previous furlough system had been basically developed three decades earlier for socio-economic relations existing at that time. The timeliness of the changes is also justified by the conversion to a new work schedule. As a result of this conversion the number of free and rest days per year will be nearly 120 days. Together with the general modification of the furlough system, and in harmony with it, the rules for professional personnel were also modified. All this was done in such a way that furloughs due to and permissible to the professional personnel should express in the future as well the greater burdens deriving from characteristics of the service and counter the more intensive demand.

In accordance with the system of counting that is valid in society, the Army must also convert to a system of counting the working days. (The only exception is in the case of sick leave.) The members of the professional personnel are due--as differentiated--18 to 27 leave days per calendar year. Within this framework, the basic leave is for 15 working days, whereas supplementary leave—depending on the length of service--comes to 3 to 12 working days.

Adding Saturdays and Sundays to the given time, this new numbering of days corresponds to the extent of leave granted up to now. In addition, professional personnel may be given extraordinary leave in the future as well. This gives commanders the possibility for settling important personal or family problems or for rest after intensively demanding work.

Special supplementary leave can be granted to airplane and helicopter pilots, other crew members, paratroopers, demolition experts and divers. The goal is to

make it possible for those engaged in the above services--in the case of airplane pilots over and above obligatory conditioning and sports training--to partake of rest as a counter to intensive psychical and physical burdens, maintain their stamina, and reduce harmful aftereffects. Such supplementary leave may amount to 5 to 20 working days per year.

Other leave grants for professional personnel--study, leave without pay, service in jobs harmful to health, prolonged service abroad--are determined in accordance with work-right regulations for civilian workers. The system of leave for health reasons and the possibility of therapeutic-preventive (regenerative) rest, which can be charged to health leave in the future, will not be changed.

In accordance with higher level decisions, as in society as a whole, award furloughs will be eliminated for professional personnel. This is related to the fact that in granting the Service Merit Award--the same as with recognizing senior workers--money awards can be granted in a sum incremental with the degree of the decoration. Supplementary leave for those fulfilling service after the upper age limit will be eliminated. In the future this must or may be balanced with greater moral recognition and extraordinary leave permission.

Maintenance of the Living Standard

Starting out with an outline of the country's economic situation, the state secretary of the ministry of defense presented these details: Almost one-half of the budgetary maintenance expenses went to service the direct provisioning of personnel and for pay. Amid expenditures decisively determining the living standards of the personnel, the national requirement for guarding the level already attained and the maintenance of the real value of allowances, was fulfilled.

Fulfillment of the 1981 building-investment plan both in the construction and maintenance sub-branch was 100 percent. Last year the housing problems of almost 2,000 families was solved. Accommodations in the bachelor officer quarters were increased as well as the number of kindergarten places available.

In 1982, the sum of money that could be used for building Army housing remained at the original level, which give an awareness of the government's and the party's concern. New bachelor officer quarters are being built. The planned renovation and modernization of apartments is continuing.

Social-type expenditures rose to a modest extent. On 1 January of this year, family assistance for rank and file dependents was increased by 50 percent. Compensation for participants in civil defense exercises is increasing significantly, as well as supplementary sick pay allowances, support for the widow, parents and orphans of those who die a heroic death, and the sums payable for accidents and pensions.

Turning to results achieved thus far in savings goals, Colonel General Csemi evaluated it as a favorable experience that the consumption of fuel remained at the 1980 level. As a result of rational savings management, this was the first year that fuel consumption did not increase vis-a-vis the previous year.

At the same time, the state secretary called attention to the fact that the time has come to re-examine and change the regulations for the basic norms of fuel consumption. We must adopt and clear the way for innovative proposals of rationalization to reduce fuel consumption. We must take over and introduce methods and means which have proved successful in the economy for reducing consumption. We must raise the interest of the personnel in energy savings, and after analyzing the results we must further develop the incentive system. We must see to it that the functional use of fuel should form an organic part of the protection of social property.

Regarding Our Tasks

Colonel General Karoly Csemi said the following of the 1982 goals: On the basis of requirements set forth in the 13 October 1981 resolution of the Politburo, we must further strengthen the ideological, political unity of the personnel and strengthen their moral-political state of condition. We must continue with all legal means the work of maintaining order and discipline.

It is a basic task to maintain combat readiness and combat caliber at a high level. We must fulfill according to plans the tasks of technical development on a time proportional basis during which special attention must be devoted to assuring the setting up of a manysided system.

We must summarize our experiences in the transformed change and training system, and on this basis perform the necessary modifications. We need to consolidate the results achieved in troop and staff training.

In harmony with requirements and possibilities, commanders and leaders must at every level assure that the new work schedule related to the 5-day work week will be introduced and implemented without damage to the preparedness for the basic mission or to carrying out the tasks.

Rational management must be regarded as an especially important task in all areas of work, and this includes strict energy savings. Economic organs at every level should solve everyday tasks from available material-financial possibilities and through maximum realization of economic savings requirements.

The state secretary of the defense ministry concluded his remarks with the following sentences:

This is the first full year in which we will have to carry out troop training in shorter training cycles because of the reduced service time, while the professional, re-enlisted soldier, and civilian personnel will convert to a new work schedule. This means that at every level of leadership we will have to conduct purposeful, effective and creative work in order to assure implementation of the goals we have set ourselves for the complete fulfillment of our tasks and plans. Our plans for 1982 are developed and we have the basic conditions. All these things--paired with the exemplary work of the communists, the firmness of the personnel, and the readiness of the professional personnel to make sacrifices--are guarantees that we will also enjoy successful work this year.

Comments were made on the speech delivered by Colonel General Karoly Csemi, state secretary of the ministry of defense. Dr Lajos Morocz, lieutenant general, Sandor Evin, Miklos Daranyi, and Janos Stock, major generals, reported on the 1981 task fulfillment of the preparations for 1982.

Colonel General Karoly Csemi summarized what had been said at the conference: for the implementation of the tasks facing the Army it will be necessary to have more responsible, devoted and disciplined activity. The conference of Army leaders ended with the closing remarks of Colonel General Istvan Olah.

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INTERNMENT OF SOLIDARITY MEMBERS, ISOLATION CENTERS NOTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 30 Jan 82 p 7

/Article by Stefan Dietrich: "The Men and Women of the First Hour--Where Are They Now? Inquiry on the Leadership of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions Solidarity"/

/Text/ "For internal trade union use only" is stamped on the back of the booklet with the well-known red logo of Solidarity. The dirty-white offset paper and the reduced typescript immediately reveal the 228-page brochure to be the product of one of those "independent" print shops that, like mushrooms after the rain, sprang up in the 16 months of turmoil in Poland. Similar to many other brochures printed in basements and backrooms--often in large editions--, a few copies only of this "Who's Who" in Solidarity got to the West more or less by accident. It stands out among the flood of pamphlets written for the day only, because we note here the first attempt of the trade union itself to look back, remember the refugees and render an accounting to itself. The book appeared in September 1981, just in time for the first countrywide Congress of Solidarity in Radom.

The history of Solidarity is already being written--by people who were vexed by it and are certainly not well disposed toward it. Anyone wishing to write the other history will have a tough job. We must assume that the trade union archives--according to eyewitness reports no more than a small room filled with papers--were taken away by military trucks and stored in a safe place.

Precisely for that reason this book is a legacy of inestimable value. It contains the biographies of 52 women and men of the first hour; of workers, students and professors who, from one day to the next, put their lives at the disposal of the trade union movement. Marked by the spirit of the first hour also are the portraits of these people. Their faith in the irreversibility of the situation once established was so strong that--in complete disregard of all caution--these portraits were adorned with many details which, under martial law and long afterward, will be important from the aspect of Poland's criminal code. It is proudly reported, for example, that Konrad Bielinski once managed to have 150,000 leaflets distributed in the center of Warsaw within 10 minutes only; that another time he evaded the police by a daring jump from a second floor window.

Many of the 52 whose fate we are now considering, clashed with the regime at a very early stage. At every possible opportunity they were fired, demoted, jailed and subjected to continual harassment. The critical dates of Polish postwar history--1956, 1968, 1970, 1976, 1980--reappear over and over again in all the biographies. Also

reappearing constantly are names and terms that have become synonymous with Polish intransigence: Kuron's scout federation Walterowcy /Walterites/. the ZMP youth organization, the magazine PO PROSTU /Simply/, the Committee for the Defense of Workers (KOR), the Academic Courses Society (TKN), a successor to the "Flying University" of German occupation years, the Free Trade Unions (WZZ), predecessor of Solidarity, Chojecki's "Independent Publishing House 'NOWA'," and other names bearing witness that not only individuals opposed the regime in Poland but that a consistent wave of opposition existed long before 1980.

The dictionary appended to "Who's Who in Solidarity" explains many of these terms. In addition it provides information about the stages of the organizational development of the trade union at local and regional level.

We still lack historical distance from the developments which were stopped cold on 13 December 1981 by brutal intervention in the wheels of history. It is, though, definitely time for us to ask questions about the victims of this intervention. Where are they, the people who were dragged from meeting halls, from their beds, from trains and workshops? What "crimes" are they accused of to warrant their being held for 6 weeks?

The 52 whom we describe here represent only the top of the iceberg. They are not even all the leaders of Solidarity, because a second generation of leaders emerged at the Radom National Congress, and most of these are not yet mentioned in the book. However, the 52 are the ones in the greatest peril because once before they inspired a movement threatening the very life of the ruling power. Their families also are endangered.

For the past few days a list, obtained via Church channels, has been circulating in the West; it records 500 names, including well-known representatives of Polish intellectual life, who are held in three isolation centers. The list's authenticity has now been confirmed by comparisons with other sources. The London headquarters of the prisoners aid organization Amnesty International and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, stationed in Munich, have their own sources and kindly made them available to us. On the basis of these data we have tried to somewhat illuminate the darkness that descended on the 47 isolation centers in Poland known to the outside. The statement "no information available" may mean that the person concerned is at large:

Lech Badkowski, born 1920, reporter and author. From August 1980 to November 1981 press spokesman of the Gdansk Interfactory Founding Committee of Solidarity, head of the editorial board and editor of the regular trade union page in the newspaper DZIENNIK BALTYCKI. No information available.

Konrad Bielinski, born 1949, mathematician, editor-in-chief of the trade union newspaper in the Mazowsze Region, NIEZALEZNOSC (Independence). Held in Warsaw-Bialolka.

Bogdan Borusewicz, born 1949, historian. Executive board member of the Gdansk Interfactory Founding Committee. Since last June no longer a candidate at trade union elections. At liberty according to Amnesty International.

Zbigniew Bujak, born 1954, energy technician. Chairman of the Mazowsze Regional Board. Member, Presidium of the National Commission (KK), the supreme body of the national leadership. Gone into hiding and active in the underground.

Andrzej Celinski, born 1950, sociologist. Secretary of the National Consultative Commission (KKP) and head of Walesa's office. Held in Warsaw-Bialoleka.

Miroslaw Chojecki, born 1949, chemist. Founder and director of the independent publishing house NOWA. In the West.

Wieslaw Chrzanowski, born 1923, lawyer. Adviser to the National Consultative Commission and the Mazowsze Regional Board. Attorney before the courts and negotiator with the government. No information available.

Andrzej Cierniewski, born 1946, miner. Until June chairman of the Bytom Interfactory Founding Committee, until September member of the National Consultative Commission. No information available.

Bogdan Cywinski, born 1939, philologist. Deputy editor-in-chief of SOLIDARNOSC. Confidant of Karol Wojtyla. In the West.

Joanna Duda-Gwiazda, born 1939, ship designer. Executive member of the Gdansk Interfactory Founding Committee. Delegate to the first National Congress. No information available.

Lech Dymarski, born 1949, poet and writer. Executive board member of the Poznan Interfactory Founding Committee. Member of the National Commission. Held in Gdansk-Strzebielinek.

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, born 1955, driver and mechanic. Chairman of the Lower Silesia Region. Elected to the Presidium of the National Commission at the first National Congress. Went into hiding, active in the underground.

Bronislaw Geremek, born 1932, historian. Adviser to the national leadership of Solidarity. After a 15-day hunger strike moved from Warsaw-Bialoleka to Drawsko-Pomorskie.

Wojciech Gruszecki, born 1936, chemist. Executive board member of the Gdansk Interfactory Founding Committee. No information available.

Grzegorz Grzelak, born 1953, geographer. Head of the secretariat of the National Consultative Commission. No information available.

Maciej Grzywaczewski, born 1954, student. Office manager at Gdansk headquarters. No information available.

Andzej Gwiazda, born 1935, engineer. Second to Walesa on the executive board of the Gdansk Interfactory Founding Committee and the National Consultative Commission. At the September Congress he was no longer elected to the Presidium, only to the National Commission. According to Church sources held in Gdansk-Strzebielinek.

Zbigniew Janas, born 1953, electrician. Trade union chairman in the Ursus Tractor Works. Member of the National Commission. Went into hiding, active in the underground.

Seweryn Jaworski, born 1931, skilled metalworker. Chairman, Trade Union Committee at Warsaw Iron and Steel Works. Held in Gdansk-Strzebielinek.

Marian Jurczyk, born 1935, shipyard employee. Trade union chairman in Szczecin city and region. Member National Commission. No information available.

Ryszard Kalinowski, born 1952, turner. Chairman of Elblag Interfactory Founding Committee. No information available.

Andrzej Kolodziej, born 1959, fitter. As leader of the strike in Gdynia he became an executive member of the Gdansk Interfactory Founding Committee. In 1982 retired from active trade union work. According to unconfirmed reports Kolodziej was arrested in Czechoslovakia.

Miroslaw Krupinski, born 1939, engineer. Spokesman of the Olsztyn Interfactory Founding Committee. Elected to the Presidium of the National Commission in September. Sentenced under martial law for "incitement to strike." Length of prison term and location unknown.

Waldemar Kuczynski, born 1939, economist. Deputy editor-in-chief and director of the economic section of the weekly SOLIDARNOSC. Held in Warsaw-Bialoleka.

Ronnald /should be Romuald/ Kukkolowicz, born 1922, economist. Official liaison between Cardinal Wyszynski and the Presidium of the National Consultative Commission (Walesa). Assigned to "advise and assist." Cardinal Glemp retained him in this assignment. Executive member of Mazowsze Region. No information available.

Jan Kulaj, born 1958, farmer. Chairman of the United Individual Farmers Union Solidarity. No information available.

Jacek Kuron, born 1934, historian. Adviser to the National Consultative Commission. Held in Gdansk-Strzebielinek.

Stefan Kurowski, born 1923, economist. Adviser to Solidarity and member of the Mazowsze Region Program Council. Held in Jaworzno.

Bogdan Lis, born 1952, mechanic. Executive board member of the Gdansk Interfactory Founding Committee. Elected to the National Commission at the first congress. According to Amnesty International not arrested.

Antoni Macierewicz, born 1948, historian. Member of Mazowsze Region Program Council. Arrested according to Amnesty International, whereabouts unknown.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, born 1927, attorney and journalist. Editor-in-chief of the weekly SOLIDARNOSC. Initially held in Gdansk-Strzebielinek, now in Drawsko-Pomorskie.

Henryk Mazul, born 1923, merchant seaman, Lech Walesa's bodyguard. At large.

Adam Michnik, born 1946, historian. Adviser to the Mazowsze Region executive. Held in Warsaw-Bialoleka.

Karol Modzelewski, born 1937, historian. Executive board member of the Lower Silesia Regional Federation. Elected to the National Commission of Solidarity at the September Congress. Held in Gdansk-Strzebielinek.

Jan Olszewski, born 1930, lawyer. Attorney and legal adviser to Solidarity before courts and in negotiations. Member of the Program Council. According to Amnesty International at liberty, according to Church sources held in Warsaw-Bialoleka.

Janusz Onyszkiewicz, born 1937, mathematician. Executive board member and spokesman of the Mazowsze Regional Federation. In September elected to the supreme body of the trade union at national level. Held in Gdansk-Strzebielinek.

Alina Pienkowska, born 1952, nurse. Executive board member of Gdansk Region. According to unconfirmed reports held in Gdansk-Strzebielinek.

Zbigniew Przydzial, born 1925, business administrator. Executive board member of the Wroclaw Interfactory Founding Committee and, until September, delegate to the national leadership of Solidarity. No information available.

Andrzej Rozplochowski, born 1950, mechanic. Chairman, Solidarity Federation of the Upper Silesian Region. According to Amnesty International held at an unknown location.

Zdzislaw Rozwalak, born 1943, fitter. Chairman, Poznan Region. Elected to the supreme body of the national leadership. Not arrested. In Poznan, on 14 January, in the presence of Western journalists, recanted a declaration of loyalty to the government forced upon him earlier.

Jan Rulewski, born 1944, engineer. Chairman, Bydgoszcz Region. Elected to the national leadership in September. Held in Gdansk-Strzebielinek.

Bozena Rybicka, born 1957, Lech Walesa's secretary. No information available.

Arkadiusz Rybicki, born 1953, historian. Head of the press and information office at the national leadership. According to Amnesty International held at an unknown location.

Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, born 1913, lawyer. Official adviser to the national leadership. Attorney and counselor before the courts and in negotiations with the government. Not arrested.

Andrzej Slowik, born 1949, driver. Chairman, Lodz Regional Federation and delegate to the National Consultative Commission. In September elected to the supreme body at national level. After 13 December sentenced to 4½ years. At least temporarily held in Gdansk-Strzebielinek.

Lech Sobeszek, born 1945, fitter. Executive board member of the Gdansk Interfactory Founding Committee and, until September, member of the Audit Commission at the national leadership. No information available.

Anna Walentynowicz, born 1929, crane driver. Executive board member of Gdansk Interfactory Founding Committee. Held in Fordon near Bydgoszcz.

Lech Walesa, born 1932, electrician. Chairman of Solidarity. Arrested.

Stanislaw Wadolowski, born 1938, mechanic. Executive board member of Szczecin Interfactory Founding Committee. No information available.

Andrzej Wielowieyski, born 1928, urban planner. Cardinal Wyszinski's emissary to the Arbitration Commission at the Gdansk negotiations. Since September last adviser to the national leadership. Head of the socioeconomic study group and member of the Program Council at the national leadership. No information available.

Mariusz Wilk, born 1955, editor. Edited the Information Bulletin of Gdansk Region. No information available.

Florian Wisniewski, born 1937, electrical engineer. Unitl November 1980 executive board member of the Gdansk Interfactory Founding Committee, later Solidarity chairman in the Gdansk Elektromontaz Works. No information available.

Henryk Wujec, born 1941, physicist. Director of the Warsaw "Workers" University (Wszechnica Robotnicza), executive board member of the Mazowsze Region; since September member of the national leadership. Held in Gdansk-Strzebielinek.

Map--Isolation Centers in Poland (scale 150 km)

11698
CSO: 2300/170

YOUTH MOTIVATIONS, SOLIDARITY, MARTIAL LAW PROSPECTS DISCUSSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 12-14 Feb 82 pp 1, 4-6

[Interview with Dr Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP); Prof Czeslaw Matusewicz, rector of the Higher School of Special Education, Warsaw; and docent dr habilitatus Artur Sliwinski, Warsaw University, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "Youth—An Attempt at Diagnosis"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: Over half the adult working population, people of a productive age, are young people up to 35 years old. This group predominates in the large industrial working class. Most of these people joined "Solidarity", became involved, and gave the new union its vote of confidence. It was the same, although the numbers differ, in the higher schools. The development of the situation in the direction of anarchy was cut short by imposition of martial law. What are the psychological effects of this, both on the whole society as well as on the youth?

[Answer] J. Jaskiernia: This is nothing new. The people up to age 35 did not have an opportunity to become acquainted with martial law before. At the very beginning the general reaction was one of shock, terror, uncertainty and even hysteria. The use of the term "war" [the Polish terminology for "martial law" is "state of war"] seems to suggest that war has been announced, a cataclysm. The next stage was characterized by a certain stabilization of these feelings. People somehow became accustomed to this. In our organization, a lot also depended on the aktiv. Where explanatory, political work was conducted, where causes and consequences were discussed with people, there the young people quickly saw the advantages of martial law. Establishing order, stopping destructive processes, restraining destabilizing mechanisms.

Practically speaking, however, we will be able to talk about martial law only after some time has passed. Many of the young people are still numb, stunned. Some of the people are just waiting, to see what happens, how the situation develops further. For many others, the proclamation of martial law meant a personal moral and political breakdown. After all, most members went into "Solidarity" with the right expectations, in a search for a good, different kind of, real trade union. The young people in August were seeking an organization that would handle their affairs well. The same expectations were

articulated to the organization. The entire Third Congress of ZSMP may be used as an example here. For these people, martial law is a shock. They are again analyzing and assessing the reality.

[Question] But do we not have the impression that we now have a peculiar kind of political vacuum--silence and apathy?

[Answer] J. Jaskiernia: Of course, but this is nothing new. Previously, after the strikes and tensions, there was also less being said. Solidarity did not know what to propose. Today, in addition, there is the feeling of uncertainty as to what happens next. That is why our declaration of the presidium of the Main Board of the ZSMP, dated December 15, 1981, endorsed the activities of the Military Council for National Salvation (WRON), but also clearly asserted that martial law should be the cutoff from certain practices and there can be no return to the style and method of governing before August 1980.

[Question] The youth went in droves to "Solidarity", but after 16 months of renewal they did not gain very much.

[Answer] J. Jaskiernia: Not only did not gain, but apparently lost. And this is what they gradually became aware of. The young people are the first to lose because of inflation and market shortages. How much effort went into raising the credits for young married couples from 50,000 to 70,000 zlotys. But inflation was faster.

[Question] Now the credits have been increased to 150,000 zlotys, but when I calculated the cost of furnishing and equipping one room it amounted to about 100,000 zlotys.

[Answer] J. Jaskiernia: We are concerned only with assistance at the beginning. It takes many years of work to become fully established. Anyway, we still don't know what the full price relationships will be.

[Question] The social reasons are obvious, but certainly they do not fully answer the question why youth went in such mass numbers to "Solidarity". During the big strikes the demands clearly reflected a desire for a return to the basic values of socialist humanism. Real egalitarianism, democracy, conformity of words and deeds, equal distribution of goods, elimination of the elite, were demanded... Therefore, more was said about the known and accepted values than about money. So was not one of the reasons for the mass support of new unions a crisis of values?

[Answer] Cz. Matusewicz: Values are never established once and for all. Values are a system of control of human behavior, which is subject to constant confrontation with life. It this confrontation is absent, the system ceases to function. There are, of course, values that are more lasting, due to a high degree of generality, so they can function in different situations. Therefore, there is always a crisis in the system of values, in different intensities, naturally. Recently, of course, the intensity was very great. Certainly the matters about which J. Jaskiernia spoke--living conditions, housing, a start

in adult life, etc., are important and have a bearing on the value system. But there are other aspects, also. The young people themselves are a value. The relationships between individual categories of values are important here. For example, the category of youth and the category of experience, apart from the category of services. In well-organized societies these dependencies are very obvious--it was not like that here. Particularly in the 1970's, many factors operated to the detriment of the youth. The young people themselves sometimes argue, because of the way we, their parents, brought them up, that it is not merit or qualifications that predispose the young to advance in life, but that the fact of being a young person alone determines this. The young do not like to wait.

After August, the young became intoxicated by the freedom to express their needs, for it was almost unlimited then. It gave them a great opportunity to make themselves known, to demand, postulate, vent their grievances--which, finally, became the destabilizing factor. This was one of the motives for involving the young people in "Solidarity". The individualistic context is also very important here. Some "impatient" people were reared in an "only child" atmosphere--one who should have everything all at once. These people found an outlet for their aspirations and demands.

[Question] This "only child" syndrome did not appear out of thin air.

[Answer] Cz. Matusewicz: Certainly not. The parents, and often the educators, are responsible for this. We prepared the young for life in a better world than we knew in our youth. We are the ones who unduly aroused their aspirations, which simply stemmed from our own very difficult, arduous beginnings of adult life. We promised the young that if they got an education they could advance, that they would take over the direction of the State, etc. Then it turned out that nothing is just waiting for them, that they have to work hard for everything. This collision between the imagined--in good faith--world of the parents and educators, and the practicality, released impatience.

[Question] But does waiting for housing 10 or more years have anything to do with patience?

[Answer] Cz. Matusewicz: This is, of course, an abnormality. But there must be a conviction, developed from childhood, that everything depends on one's own work and that that is what determines opportunities, what "I have coming to me". There has been and still is in the mentality of the young a disproportion between a sense of aspiration and a sense of obligation, between what one wants out of life for himself and what he must give of himself. I, personally, believe that the assertion that whether one works or not he has the same right to aspire to, require and demand, is not justified. Legally, of course, this has been settled, but psychologically--not always. And after August this opportunity for far-reaching expression of needs caused the relationship between the standard of the level for satisfying needs and the values based on input of work and obligation to waver.

[Answer] A. Sliwinski: I believe that the rush to "Solidarity" stemmed from different, often extremely opposite motives. Our society went into the 1980's greatly differentiated as to assets and wages, access to consumer goods, culture, science, and even health protection and degree of arduousness of work. These differences pertain to the individual strata of youth. What is most important is that fact that the differences in economic situation began to deepen from generation to generation. The material position of the parents began to carry more weight in the opportunities open to the children, because material conditions, the home and the environment, became the determinants of opportunities. The earlier mechanisms of fluidity of surroundings disappeared. People again began to be born as workers, peasants, or "high born". And "Solidarity" was able to take advantage of a broad platform of job-related agreements. The criticism of the authorities was able, for a long time, to exhort tolerance for profound inequalities and divisions. The slogans of egalitarianism, democracy, fair distribution of goods, and also demands for more consistent implementation of the goals of socialism, flowed from one current of "Solidarity", but were unquestionably ridiculed and compromised by another current. I call this, for my own use, pluralistic mendacity. And I believe that this is the primary reason why this trade union movement failed. The "Solidarity" movement entered the political arena, and there is no place in this arena for an organization based on the pluralism of conflicting interests. And there was no concurrence of interests, nor could there be.

No. I cannot accept the thesis that the youth had excessive aspirations. When someone voices this thesis, I begin to suspect that he is confirming them with his own observations from the "wealthy-homes" district. The youth from this district, from specific, affluent communities, does, of course, have exuberant, and thanks to the affluence of the home, fulfilled aspirations. But this is a small minority. The actuality for most young people is extremely different. And their aspirations? These are not aspirations, but effort and struggle. This is an effort to free oneself of the crushing burden of responsibility for a newly established family, the feeling of having been cast upon one's own resources, the awareness of the degrading situation created by various types of institutions. In recent years, the number of charitable institutions in our country has multiplied. Some of these institutions which are supposed to fulfill their normal obligations to the citizens have taken the position that they are doing a favor in granting "social services". Even the housing cooperatives!

[Question] Martial law is now in effect and the young people have taken this very hard. As the chairman said, they reacted with shock. Can we, and how, get them out of this?

[Answer] Cz. Matusewicz: The term "state" of war [martial law] is inaccurate from the sociological viewpoint. This is, after all, a process, and, in our case, a rapidly changing process. It began, indeed, with shock. Colloquially, shock means fright, bewilderment. But social shock has some other aspects also. It causes a change in the system of [illegible] studies were conducted in a mining town in the United States on a specific social dispute. In this community, white miners discriminated racially against their black colleagues above the ground. For example, they did not want the blacks to patronize the same stores and restaurants as they did. But underground,

during the shift, these same whites solidly fought for union rights for all, for the blacks also. This is a change in the system of attitudinal relations.

Martial law, the shock that it produced, caused a similar phenomenon among the people. Just as previously there was a knowledge of some kind of social forces, a knowledge of the value of a certain system, for example, exhibiting expression in social life, so after the imposition of martial law a sudden return to other standards occurred. Standards which are old and familiar, which previously were in second place, as it were--to diligence, punctuality, integrity, and finally, to work itself.

Naturally, this ongoing process will have further consequences. We still do not know what they will be, but we can attempt to not influence them. Very serious dangers exist in the educational institutions. Much has been said recently, for example, about the appearance of various retaliationist groups. If it were to come to this on a broad scale, we might have to move away from the value system that was proposed by WRON after martial law was proclaimed.

[Question] It seems, though, that social activities today, the active forming of a model of a system of authority, values, now, under the umbrella of martial law, will determine first, how long that state of martial law will last, and second, the vision of future Poland. Something is happening. Social commissions are being formed in work places, committees for national salvation--something is beginning to appear. Can we, on this basis, begin to speculate about the future? What will be the place of youth in this future? Finally, after almost a year and a half, the shallowness of our ideological activity was demonstrated. It appears that youth does not know Marxism as it applies to them; it does not think in terms of its own interests as a generation; it does not know how to historically evaluate the Polish reason of State; and it does not know how to think in terms of the State. Hence in large measure this gullibility, the easy surrender to mob psychology, the yielding to a strike psychosis, etc. Of course, I can somewhat explain the reasons for this: lack of historical knowledge by the young as a result of inadequate teaching programs, the low level of sociopolitical sciences in the higher schools, the one-sided propaganda of the Gierek era, etc. Still, the ideological defenselessness of generations somehow must have become apparent there.

[Answer] J. Jaskiernia: But I will stick by my thesis that both threads should be seen in parallel, both the social-living standards thread and the ideological one, which contains the value system. During the 1970's, the social activities of the youth organizations were inadequate. They fought for credits, sponsorship, applied band-aids. The tragedy lies in the fact that the politics of this period were based on the just premises of the need to solve the problems of the youth. Investments made at that time were supposed to protect the youth against unemployment--to give the young people jobs. The avoidance of unemployment was, indeed, a big success, but it occurred at the enormous cost of going into debt and an increase in bureaucratic investment. As the initial premise was implemented, the system broke down, made the proportions meaningless, and contributed to the dramatic situation in which the young people now find themselves.

Today we must precisely state a vision for the young. A responsible vision...

[Question] The same words were spoken at the beginning of the 1970's.

[Answer] J. Jaskiernia: That is why the vision must be responsible, so as not to create further illusions. Now, for the first time, we know exactly what we have. Nothing is rounded out--every thousand tons of coal are counted, every megawatt of energy. We never had this before. This is the school of economic hard knocks. Dramatic, but effective. Today we are not concerned with creating entrancing myths about "another Poland", but with sober calculation, counting, balancing.

General Jaruzelski's speeches convey the message that either we are able to mobilize the young generation, or it will be very hard for us. But we will mobilize it only when it believes us when we say that martial law is mainly to stop the anarchistic, destructive processes operating principally against that young generation, that this state of martial law is primarily to implement the vital goals of the young.

[Question] These theses do not carry the same weight everywhere. For example, the student community during the past decade was very protected economically. The student houses' standards rose steadily, full subsistence with decent meals, a system of stipends. It is hard to compare the start of a young married working couple in a rented room with a married student couple in a student house, where a doctor is not too far away and the sincere care of friends is at hand, and the money and meals will somehow be available. Is it possible that here, too, economy, social conditions were the cause of student riots, strikes, with the majority yielding to the strike madness created by the NZS [Independent Association of Students] minority?

[Answer] Cz. Matusewicz: I agree that the students had somewhat better conditions than the rest of the youth. It is also a fact that the opposition movement developed more strongly here. Any kinds of analyses expressed so soon will be in the nature of suppositions, they will be subjectivist. But the question is interesting.

The theory of relative gratification may be helpful here. What this theory states, is that people who have little in their surroundings and have little hope for rapid improvement in something, are satisfied with every real, even though insignificant, improvement. Those, however, who have relatively more and better opportunities to improve their living conditions create a system of expectations that makes them want more changes, much sooner, all the time. They are also the ones most dissatisfied. This is a matter of mentality, already observed by the people. Studies were also conducted in various armies and it was determined that where promotions were faster and easier, the dissatisfaction with the promotion system was the greatest. This is partially applicable to the student community. The greatest advancement aspirations were aroused here, conditions were frequently improved, preferences were established, etc. It was here, therefore, that the greatest opportunity for dissatisfaction with lack of fulfillment of rapidly growing expectations, existed.

Finally, let us remember that the student community is a group of people who is much more sensitive than the rest of the youth to nonmaterial factors and motivations. Here the need for prestige, importance in the group, was more stimulated. I have also heard statements from the young that the structure in our higher schools was feudal and most of the battles were fought for access to co-management, for student membership in the senate. These aspirations are understandable, but everything depends on proportions.

[Answer] J. Jaskiernia: We must avoid obliterating the theme of our conversation. Today some are promoting the thesis that everything began from ideological inadequacies, a crisis of values, and it is here that an attempt is made to find a cure, for this is cheaper and more simple. Yet we had successive collapses: December 1970, June 1976, and finally, August 1980. Let's not blur the picture by saying that all of this stemmed from an economic crisis. If we had not brought about an economic crisis, the ideological crisis would not have been so sharply apparent. There are two interconnected, parallel mechanisms. We also hear the thesis: we are not occupying ourselves with the living conditions of youth for they can't be solved anyway, so let us deal with ideology. Here the economy somewhat confirms the truth of the ideology, at least for now.

[Answer] A. Sliwinski: I agree with the chairman. Underestimation of the difficulty of the struggle for existence is a privilege of those who are not struggling. If we want to really look not at the youth but with them, we must see those who are taking this difficulty upon themselves. Mixing them with loud playboys was a sin of the Gierek politics. Then it was a sin of "Solidarity". Are we going to continue to collect these sins?

[Question] At the moment we are speaking mainly of the first element of this parallelism...

[Answer] J. Jaskiernia: This does not mean that we are not noticing the very disturbing events that occurred in this second sphere. August revealed some large white stains in the patriotic upbringing of our young generation. Stains of ignorance, for example, and mainly in the area of recent history. The opposition and political opponents went into these areas with vehemence and their own interpretations. Our textbook history did not speak of certain complicated or inconvenient facts. For example, the presentation of the Stalinist period, or Polish-Soviet relations before the war, the obliteration of facts from our workers' movement, for example, the disbanding of the [pre-war] Communist Party of Poland. The opponent took these facts and colored them in an anti-Soviet, anti-communist, etc.. direction.

Today we cannot return to half-truths, to methods of silence. The worst truth is, on balance, better, for it stimulates the confidence of the recipient. Worst of all in upbringing is contradictory activity, mutually conflicting. One thing is said in school, at home something else is said, what is not said in school. So in school they cannot talk, and they do not trust. Something else is said in the youth organizations, still something else in church. Such disintegration is most dangerous of all.

The problem of values. Equality. In August people began to talk about equality not because they are advocates of its "pure" ideology, but because in the 1970's there was a tremendous stratification of society. And thus the economic background. The same with egalitarianism, etc.

Finally, power as a value. Access to rule, co-rule. We constantly told the young--we are preparing you to co-rule. The structures of political participation were not prepared for a fluid exchange of compositions. The young constantly had to wait. In any case, that is the problem in general--the elite begins to age and there are no correcting mechanisms. So the young often waited and grew old, without learning to co-govern.

But "Solidarity" suddenly created such a plane for participation of the young in ruling. After all, most of its leadership on all levels were young people. One of the most important charges made against the State's social policy is that it created the semblances of such participation: rallies, meetings, clacques to create propaganda impressions. After August, new opportunities also arose in the branch and autonomous unions, in the youth organizations, and on a smaller scale but also in the party. And it turned out that these young people can and have an opportunity "to play in the big leagues". That they want this, and don't want to wait, as Professor Marusewicz puts it. Therefore, we must create efficient mechanisms for the actual participation of young people in ruling, within the framework of socialist democracy.

[Answer] Cz. Matusewicz: On the other hand, such a concept brings with it some dangers. In the higher schools, in which the senates were dominated by students admitted to co-rule, not ostensible but actual, as the chairman desires it to be, these bodies lost efficiency. There was a lack of experience, competence, and finally, responsbility. Those are the side effects. It is true, however, that youth feels a vital need for self-fulfillment in co-decisionmaking. For some young people this was not only an adventure, it was a great opportunity for self-fulfillment. This is positive and valuable. On the other hand, we must maintain a proportion of competence, responsibility and prestige.

[Question] Proportion--agreed. But the chairman is concerned that even the small number of young people in the pre-August representative organs were a similar decoration as the organs themselves. And here I am with both the chairman and the professor: participation in actual rule but maintaining proportions. But the words "socialist democracy" were spoken... And we have martial law...

[Answer] J. Jaskiernia: So we have calm and quiet. Some people are very happy about this. They counted on something happening, and nothing happened. Such an attitude frightens me, because this calm may mean that the people have retreated, hidden, become frightened, and are biding their time. The problem is that of initiating social activity, these planes of participation in governing. We will talk about these matters also at the Main Board plenum in March, when we are on the subject of consolidating the ideological and political face of the Union.

[Answer] Cz. Matusewicz: I would formulate the issue more simply. Not until we solve the problem of initiating full participation of not only the youth but

of all the people, will we become more efficient economically. It is important that social activity not be halted, but that it be stimulated and inspired, so that society and individuals would benefit by it. For example, the problem of modifying the bureaucracy looms before us. Today it functions in a way that it is more convenient for an official to ignore a matter than to take some constructive action to solve it.

[Question] Is such full activization today possible?

[Answer] Cz. Matusewicz: Today, of course, no. Not yet. But the premier's announcements about removing successive restrictions of martial law may make this possible. Probably both the student organizations and self-governments will become active then. This will begin to fill up. But martial law, despite the arduousness and the personal tragedies, can also play a specific upbringing role. Prior to December 13th, the basic reserves of energy and activity of the larger student groups were directed outside the schools, outside didactic duties, outside teaching. Now, when those opportunities have been completely stifled, we see an almost avid returning to learning. It may be the same with the work places. This is precisely the result of the sudden change in those frameworks of relations. Other values have now shifted to the forefront. Except that such an incomplete life cannot go on too long, of course, without lasting unfavorable effects.

[Answer] J. Jaskiernia: Our organization believes that martial law was imposed in order to halt the negative economic, social and political tendencies, in order to come out on a straight, socialist path, one that is economically efficient, without further shocks and cataclysms. The strategy for the future is important.

But I would warn against creating too many premises on the basis of martial law. It is, after all, an exception to the rule. And here and there, there are those who feel themselves more and more comfortable under the protection of this state. It relieves them of responsibility, for, of course, there is still a military commissioner, in case of something, on whom the blame can be placed. The troops can always be sent out and order restored where necessary. But we cannot become accustomed to a state of martial law. We must regard it as temporary, necessary for law and order.

[Question] It is difficult to attempt to summarize our conversation. Several statements emerge from it. Youth is that social group which, due to the mistakes made in the previous 10 years, most actively involved itself in the post-August transformations, and most actively followed the slogans of "Solidarity". Probably, too, youth most keenly feels the shock of martial law, the sudden revaluations. It is also the most threatened group. It appears from the discussion that the opportunities for coming out of the crisis exist in the gradual initiation of social activity, in the forming of a structure and vision of Poland in which everyone, through work in different fields, can as fully as possible find self-fulfillment. It appears that the building of this Poland depends on all of us, and particularly, although this is a truism, on the young.

9295
CSO: 2600/339

STATUS OF LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM UNDER MARTIAL LAW DISCUSSED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 6

[Interview with Prof Kazimierz Siarkiewicz, director general, Office of the Council of Ministers, by Krystyna Chrupkowa; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Are the planned legislative actions applicable in the period of the martial law as well?

[Answer] The aims expected through the government program of legislative activities are applicable now more than ever. Therefore, all ministers (heads of central offices) responsible for a concrete legal regulation—that is, for the preparation of the draft, its consultation, and presentation to the Council of Ministers—work as usual on what is their duty, on legal acts with which they were entrusted.

[Question] What were the aims of the Office of the Council of Minister in formulating this legislative program?

[Answer] The fundamental assumption was and still is a full realization—naturally in the form of legislative solutions—of the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and of the resolutions passed by the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD]. Another aim was to comply with the August agreement and other agreements signed with various social organizations and groups.

[Question] Specifically, which of the planned legislative acts are proof of that?

[Answer] All of them are for each of the 50 drafted laws concerns the basic fields of social life and national economy (see preceding article for the complete list - K. Ch. [author's initials]). Furthermore, the government will be directly involved in the preparation of nine laws related to our system of government, such as election procedures (Sejm and People's Councils), laws on trade unions, on People's Councils and state administration, on creating laws, on the Supreme Court, on the Prosecutor General's Office, on residents' self-government and on agricultural self-government. The drafts of these laws will be introduced in the Sejm by its deputies and by the Council of State.

[Question] One of the aims, no doubt, is the improvement in quality of legislative activities. Consultations with trade unions and work forces of the larger enterprises on the drafts served this purpose, among others. Until 13 December 1981 such consultations—sometimes very stormy—covered such important drafts as the laws on state enterprises, schools of higher learning, teacher's charter, and the like. Now it is impossible since consultations with nonstate organizations were suspended by the Guidelines of the Government Presidium in regard to the status of the legislative activities in the period of martial law. Are you not concerned that this fact will produce a lower quality in legislative acts passed in this period?

[Answer] Subjecting proposed legislative solutions to a broad public consultation is in fact one of the more important guarantees of quality law. If conditions allow it, various groups and organizations will be consulted on drafts of legislation. Nevertheless, despite present limitations, the proper level of work on the new laws is secured by the participation of high-level specialists and research centers. Let us also remember the most important factor: the role of the Sejm. In the last 18 months the deputies have exhibited great involvement in the work on created legislation. All government drafts and proposals have been discussed many times in specially established subcommissions and specialized commissions with joint participation in the discussions of the members of the Commission for Legislative Work. This process is a guarantee of the proper quality of the law.

[Question] Is an unusually great number of executive orders attached to laws a real plague in our legal system? Has the Council of Ministers given its proper attention during its work on the legislative program?

[Answer] The general assumption was that a law will comprehensively regulate the subject it covers. The authority to issue an executive order will be limited to specific regulations only. This way, the number of executive orders attached to laws will be decreased.

[Question] What happens to the one already in effect? Presently enforced laws contain some 2,500 resolutions of the Council of Ministers and some 17,000 orders of ministers and heads of central offices. Will these be subject to verification?

[Answer] Ministers and heads of central offices were instructed to analyze legal acts in their jurisdictions with the purpose of eliminating orders, bans and restrictions contradicting the principles of the economic reform and of eradicating outdated and obsolete regulations. Such analysis has already been made, consequently the Council of Ministers just annulled 403 resolutions of the Council of Ministers and of the Government Presidium. The work continues and we should expect an elimination of other regulations.

[Question] Does the program envisage abandoning the bad practice of not publishing legislative acts?

[Answer] It has been decided that DZIENNIK USTAW PRL [Legal Gazette] in continuing its obligation to publish laws, decrees with an authority of a law,

ratified international agreements and orders will be complemented by MONITOR POLSKI, from now also obligated to publish law-creating resolutions and orders. In the last year the publication area of the resolutions of the Council of Ministers has been considerably broadened. This way, the demand for freedom of information in regard to law--the basic condition for respecting it--will be honored.

[Question] If while this program is in effect--that is, until the end of 1983--there is an urgent need to regulate a certain problem legally, will the work on such a problem be undertaken even though the program did not envisage it?

[Answer] Certainly, yes, it will. The acts spelled out in the program must be prepared and passed in the years 1981-1983. However, other legislation, not covered by this program, can be passed as well. That is the meaning of the openness of the government program of legislative work.

8609
CSO: 2600/296

WARSAW REPORTEDLY WORRIED OVER WESTERN REACTIONS

PM151643 Paris LE MONDE in French 15 Jan 82 p 3

[Report by correspondent Bernard Guetta: "The Warsaw Authorities Are Becoming Worried About Western Reactions"]

[Text] Warsaw--The practical consequences drawn by the NATO countries, in Brussels on Monday 11 January, from their condemnation of the imposition of martial law in Poland are causing visible confusion among Warsaw's ruling circles. Evidently the new powers had not expected measures as severe as the freezing of negotiations on rescheduling the Polish debt and, in particular, the suspension of the credits which are essential to the relaunching of industry to be taken against them.

Without going so far as to hope that the 13 December coup would be swallowed by the West as easily as the occupation of Czechoslovakia, it was thought that the EEC governments would moderate the expected vigor of American reactions. The first disappointment: Poland's traditionally privileged partner in the West, France, very quickly adopted a firmness of tone which took Warsaw by surprise. Warsaw had underestimated not only the obligation to be very clear on this subject which the presence of communist ministers in the government imposes on the socialist majority, but above all the profound evolution of the French left in relation to the Soviet bloc regimes. Second disappointment: the FRG, which now seems less resolved to go it alone in the West.

The Polish authorities, surprised by the severity of the decisions they are now faced with, are therefore reacting with great prudence, described by a high-ranking diplomat as a "pragmatic approach." Official commentaries denouncing "open interference" in Poland's internal affairs have been published by the press, but this is about all. For the rest, they seem to have decided to confine themselves for the time being to the joint communique issued in Moscow Tuesday after talks between the Polish and Soviet foreign ministers, Mr Czyrek and Mr Gromyko.

This attitude has two advantages. First, that of making it clear to the West that economic pressure can only strengthen Poland's dependence on the USSR; second, that of freeing Warsaw from the immediate necessity of poisoning its bilateral relations with its Western partners. Since there is then a

risk of creating the impression that this dependence is already total, it is persistently repeated that there is only a "coincidence of timing" between the Brussels meeting and the Moscow talks.

Gestures of Appeasement

It is clear that the essential thing is to gain time--the time needed to see the extent to which the Western decisions will be applied in practice and to attempt a diplomatic campaign, in which General Jaruzelski's letter to the French president is doubtless only the first element. The military powers must now try to convince people abroad of their intention of conducting dialogue at home, and to make some gestures of appeasement to this end.

This approach--it would be premature to describe it as a will--should, in principle, be facilitated by the Church, which is sufficiently afraid of an upsurge of violence to want a lessening of tension above all, even if it is only symbolic. In this connection rumors launched by official circles mention an "important event" which is to take place Saturday and which--people are saying this more and more often--could be the release of Mr Walesa. This gesture would obviously help to improve the image of the new authorities without costing them much: in practice, the Solidarity chairman would not have much more opportunity to act when at liberty than he has under house arrest.

However, even that is not yet certain, since the authorities want Mr Walesa to agree to a dialogue, which he does not intend to do until others are freed. In particular, his two political advisers, Mr Mazowiecki and Mr Geremek. It seems that the authorities may be disposed to yield as regards the former, but not the latter, who has been savagely attacked by the press and whose family has had no news since last weekend, when he was transferred from Bialoleka prison.

Moreover, hardly anything is yet known about last Saturday's talk between General Jaruzelski and Monsignor Glemp. According to a source close to the primate, the talk was "sincere," in the diplomatic sense of the word. In other words, they chiefly noted the distance between their viewpoints, in particular on the question of declarations of loyalty, which the episcopacy is denouncing forcefully.

Aid Repayments

According to official figures, Poland should repay $10 billion this year. It needs $1.5 every 3 months for importing the raw materials needed by its industry. In these conditions the Brussels decision offer--the fact is not concealed--a "relatively gloomy" economic and social future. It is asserted that nonetheless, there is no danger of "total ruin" and its consequences ("chaos and revolt, since they would no longer have work or bread"), since "the socialist countries have no interest in seeing us collapse." Nonetheless, it is said that the strengthening of exchanges with CEMA could not replace cooperation with the West "1" percent, and that there would then be great difficulties. So the hope is to be able to change the Western attitude, and there is no wish to enter into isolation, "which in any case nobody (meaning the USSR) is asking of us."

It would of course be in the interests of the Polish military to be able to record some detente. The Church is working to obtain this for different reasons. But for all that, it is not certain that this will be achieved since the climate remains marked primarily by a spirit of revenge, hatred and denunciation. On Wednesday 13 January, a month after the coup, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, the Army daily newspaper, published, as it does every day, an indictment in the style of a Moscow trial of the "Solidarity extremists."

You could read for example: "The revealed background to the actions of the Solidarity leadership and its advisers shows clearly that the working class and the workers have been treacherously deceived by a gang of political adventurers who boldly sported the mask of 'defenders' of the working class. They were deceived because the main task (of the adventurers) was to be, according to the decisions and scenario of the strategists of the brain trust acting under the protective umbrella of Solidarity, to raise to power, on the shoulders of the workers, people like Kuron, Michnik, Geremek, and 'defenders' and 'representatives' of the working class like the deserter Rulewski and the adventurer Bujak...." It continues in the same vein, which would be alarming if it were not loathsome.

Trip to Poznan

For this anniversary day the authorities had invited some foreign correspondents to make a trip to the provinces, to Poznan. As soon as they arrived, the journalists asked to be able to speak to Solidarity's regional chairman, Zdzislaw Rozwalak, from whom a statement in support of the proclamation of martial law had been published shortly after 13 December. They were so persistent that in the end he was brought to them in their hotel at dinner time. In front of the governor and the city prosecutor, who were powerless, Rozwalak then calmly declared: "I made that statement under pressure while I was under arrest. Now I know what the security services are like." The trade unionist also said that Ciosek, the minister in charge of relations with the trade unions, had asked him on 17 December to think about new structures for Solidarity and that he had retorted that this was impossible before consulting with Walesa.

In Warsaw, also on Wednesday, the windows of a telephone kiosk opposite the Central Committee headquarters were blown out and bits of broken glass were blown to the other side of the road. One of the many soldiers immediately posted to move on curious passers-by merely commented that "somebody had done something stupid."

At the same time, around 1700 hours, two militants describing themselves as the spokesmen of a "clandestine Solidarity command" gathered several Western correspondents in an apartment on the outskirts of the city to reveal that around 20,000 people had so far been organized in resistance networks. The two men said they were deeply grateful for the positions taken by the Western countries because "the nation can tolerate hunger and poverty, to which the communist leaders have accustomed them, but its greatest fear is that of losing what was won in August 1980." Amid rather banal political remarks, they also stated that their group would try to organize a minute's silence

in all the country's big factories on 13 February and intended, "since the junta is continuing the repression, to develop the sabotage of production on a vast scale and to publicly denounce all those collaborating with this collaborationist government."

Absolutely anybody can declare himself to be anything he wants and say what he would like to believe without fear of contradiction. Nonetheless, the fact is that the 30 or so young people who were keeping watch around the building indicated that this "command" has at least one section.

CSO: 3100/418

UK WILL NOT ACCEPT PERSONS 'FORCED TO LEAVE' POLAND

LD041642 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1310 GMT 4 Mar 82

[Article by Tom McMillan]

[Text] Britain is not prepared to accept Polish citizens who are forced to leave the country against their will, the Foreign Office said today.

The British statement was issued after the announcement last night by the Polish authorities that people interned in Poland could apply to emigrate with their families from 15 March.

In the statement, the Foreign Office said: "We only consider application for re-settlement for Polish citizens who genuinely wish to leave Poland. Such applications would be dealt with in accordance with normal procedures.

"We condemn any attempt to exert pressure on those concerned to leave the country against their will.

"Her Majesty's Government has no intention of becoming an accomplice of the Polish authorities in resolving their internal problems in this way.

"The Polish authorities' announcement would appear to be at variance with their commitment to dialogue and reform."

A spokesman said it would be for the Home Office to decide whether any applicants for settlement in Britain genuinely wanted to leave the country.

Asked if Britain would accept Mr Lech Walesa, the Polish Solidarity leader, the spokesman replied: "I cannot answer a hypothetical question like that."

It is now estimated that more than 4,000 people have been interned in camps in Poland since martial law was imposed on 13 December.

CSO: 2020/35

DESIRED QUALITIES OF NONCOMMISSIONED NAVAL OFFICERS DISCUSSED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD MORSKI in Polish No 12, Dec 81 pp 15-24

[Article by Lt Cdr Dr Jozef Slugocki: "Personality Model of a Petty Officer--an Educator and Instructor"]

[Text] The question of a noncommissioned naval officer's personality has not yet found its place in the research and scientific literature. A few articles have been published in PRZEGLAD MORSKI (Naval Review) and BANDERA (The Flag) and in a few master theses prepared by naval officers, attempts have been made to discuss the qualities, functions and tasks of noncommissioned officers. In view of their significant role in the training and education of sailors, this is a subject well worth closer scrutiny.

This article has three parts. The first part contains a theoretical discussion of a regular military personality; the second part presents a postulated personality model of regular noncommissioned officer in light of the analysis of training and educational publications of the Noncommissioned Naval Officer Candidates School (plans and programs for didactic and educational efforts) and of the regulatory publications now in force (staff publications); the third part presents a model personality of regular petty officer--educator and instructor--as seen by the graduates of the Navy Officer Candidates School who are serving aboard ships.

Ideal Product of Education, Model of Professionalism

Socialist pedagogy, profiting from scientific achievements of progressive pedagogical thought, considers that the whole man is the subject of education, including his biological, psychological, social and moral characteristics.

Classic Marxist philosophers have pointed out the importance of having an objective for human behavior. The objective is the most essential element of human behavior, it is absolutely necessary to transform nature and it differentiates the human efforts from various animal activities. While making his famous comparison of the bee and the human being, K. Marx stated that "...even the worst human builder differs from the bee in that before building a cell from wax, he must build it first in his own mind."[1]

In the most general sense, the objectives of education comprise various attitudes and characteristics of human personality. A complete set of

educational objectives describes personality, called the educational ideal. This ideal outlines a model for the desired personality. An educational ideal depicts the final result of educational efforts and applies to the condition of an individual achieved under the influence of varied educational factors over a long period of time. The practical benefit of having an educational ideal, and the more tangible personal role models, is that when a person uses certain models for his behavior he tends to identify with that model. Although, in practice, human behavior always falls short of that of the ideal, the ideal plays an important role in education. M. Michnik states that it is important for people strive to embody the ideal and even approximate it, they really acquire certain characteristics through this behavior.[2]

The list of educational goals for the military fully reflects the aims of socialist education. Military attitudes, appropriate for the goals should be the effects of educational efforts and should manifest themselves under the peacetime conditions and in the complex situations in combat. The main educational goals are variously defined by the modern socialist pedagogy. All of them, however, concern human personality.

H. Muszynski in his work "Ideal i Cele Wychowania" (The Ideal and the Goals of Education) relies on the assumption that the socialist ideal of education should be the product of social ideology and should be harmoniously blended with reality. He discusses the basic goals of socialist education in terms of categories of social role categories, the fulfillment of which the educational process should prepare.[3] He also writes: "It is not possible...to find the answer to the question regarding the desired human pesonality until one answers the question of what will the main areas of activity in life be and what tasks will have to be accomplished."[4] This is important because, as J. Kuczynski says: "Modern man, and especially the man of the future, will be a specialist to an ever greater degree and in ever narrower field of science or practical skills."[5]

The problem addressed above is of an interdisciplinary character, it has to be looked at from pedagogical, psychological, sociological and also philosophical points of view. Of special value are the deliberations of M. Sidor on the subject of professional personality contained in his book entitled "System Oceny Osobowosci Dowodcy" (A System for Evaluation of Commander's Personality).[6] After an incisive analysis of the most important views on the subject of personality, M. Sidor states that "...it is the most society oriented layer of human psyche," or more broadly "...personality appears to be a system formed by external and internal conditions, dynamic, multi-layered, multi-jointed and hierarchical that embraces capabilities, knowledge, skills, character and the ideological and political attitudes."[7] Further, the author discusses problems of specific and professional personality. The concept of specific personality applies to all people regardless of their professional position. It is a theoretical construct permitting general description and analysis of components which determine how people function and their social attitudes under various circumstances. Personality, thus defined as well as the whole psyche, is formed by broadly defined natural and social conditions. The professional personality is influenced by the basic occupation for which

one has been educated or which one is representing. The professional personality grows on the foundations of specific personality, hence their structures should be compatible. M. Sidor clearly emphasizes that the professional personality model comprises the same elements as the specific personality model, differences are only in their contents and sequence. In case of specific personality, the sequence is determined by developmental considerations and in case of professional personality, the order results primarily from occupational needs. The author of this book states that: "Speaking about differences between the specific and professional personality, we do not bear in mind the structural differences but we think about the differences in content and, above all, about how the [various] elements manifest themselves."[8] On this basis, M. Sidor includes, as the component elements of personality, the ideological and political attitudes, knowledge, skills, state of health, physical ability and appearance.

In one of the preceding sentences, we used the concept of "personality model." At this point we wish to make it clear that speaking of personality model, we mean professional personality of a definite group of people characterized by a definite social and professional status. In this sense we can talk about a personality model of the teacher, manager, commander, noncommissioned officer-educator and instructor. Following M. Sidor, we accept that "...a personality model really amounts to a description of the desired state of things constituting a positive example of a certain perfection that is treated as a goal to be achieved."[9] It is worth adding, following H. Muszynski, "...that this description omits all details which are considered nonessential."[10] So defined personality model is reflected in the current manuals for the cadre "Zasady Dzialania Kadrowego W Silach Zbrojnych PPR (Principles of Leadership in the Armed Forces of PPR)"[11] and "Zbior Documentow o Opinionwaniu Sluzbowym Zolnierzy Zawodowych [Collection of Documents on the Subject of Efficiency Reports of Regular Military)."[12]

A personality model fulfills at least three functions

First--it is a pattern to follow and an ideal to be emulated in the process of forming an individual's personality, also during self-education.

Second--it permits a rough evaluation of an individual by measuring him against the model.

Third--it is possible by comparing men against each other to determine their value in relation to others.

A model fulfills these functions only if it is not general and abstract but when it deals with a definite category of people and is constructed on the basis of comprehensive analysis of their activities. Consequently, it can serve these functions if it includes the factors which are fundamental for effective implementation of tasks characteristic for a given field of social life.

A Postulated Model of a Noncommissioned Officer--Instructor and Educator

For years there have been efforts in the Polish Army to develop a model of the regular military personality, especially that of the officer-commander, branch officer of a certain branch and military school graduate. Using certain generalizations, a personality model of a regular military man was developed and used in the above cited publications. The authors of the existing version of personality model rightly consider it necessary to introduce certain differentiation and gradation regarding officers, warrant officers and noncommissioned officers because of their belonging to certain branches, occupying certain organizational positions and performing certain tasks.[13] Accordingly, the general model of regular military was supplemented by specific requirements for the cadre serving in various branches and specialties.[14]

To develop a professional personality model of a noncommissioned officer-educator and instructor, one must use the training program containing the didactic and educational goals and tasks of the school.

The Navy Noncommissioned Petty Officer Candidates School training program (The General Training Principles) states that the basic training goal of the school is to practically and theoretically prepare regular noncommissioned officers for service aboard ships and to serve coastal units as independent commanders, educators, instructors and naval specialists.[15]

The detailed goals and tasks for training candidates to serve as regular noncommissioned officer are formulated in individual subjects programs and methodology.

Sociopolitical Subjects

The basic purpose of implementing the sociopolitical subjects program (including the program's Methodology of Leadership and Educational Training for Regular Noncommissioned Officers) in professional noncommissioned officer schools is to train and educate highly ideological officers to be theoretically and practically prepared to carry out educational work with the basic service enlisted men. The overall didactic and educational efforts in training noncommissioned officer candidates are oriented especially towards developing activist ideological and moral attitudes, independent thinking and ability to use acquired knowledge in actually training and educating their subordinates.

According to the sociopolitical teaching program, the school's goals are:

a) in the area of education:

--to develop in the students exalted socialist consciousness of limitless devotion to the ideas of socialism, the conviction that the party and government make correct decisions regarding the direction and the tasks of building socialism and foreign policies of the PRL;

--to develop in the students a limitless love of the mother country and the readiness to defend it even at the cost of one's life;

--to develop in students high awareness of ideological-political and moral-combat obligations;

--to develop and strengthen in the students patriotism and proletarian internationalism and the commitment to unbreakable brotherhood in arms and alliance with the nations and armies of socialist states;

--education of the students to hate the class enemy and imperialism and to harden them against imperialist ideological diversion and psychological war;

--to give them the strength of ideological and political convictions of highly valuable noncommissioned officers totally devoted to People's Poland;

--to develop in students of a scientifically materialistic and creatively dialectic mind set and of the ability to evaluate events properly eliminating petit bourgeois and clerical influences;

--to develop in students the culture of communal living and the ethical principles of the regular soldier in the Polish Army.

b) in the scholastic area:

--develop in the students the ability to apply the leadership and educational methodology to the ideological and educational training of enlisted men and to develop their pedagogical skills and leadership;

--educate students to be regular noncommissioned officers who know how to train and educate their subordinates, to strengthen military discipline and maintain a high degree of constant combat readiness.[16]

General Military and Specialized Subjects

The program of general military and specialized subjects as well as teaching methodology are oriented to equip regular noncommissioned officer candidates with knowledge to develop proper skills and reactions for the selected naval specialties in the area of leadership and in the educational role as an instructor.[17]

The previously cited basic publications, scientific literature, materials from the symposium on the subject of "Formulating the Profile of a Regular Naval Noncommissioned Officer" and the analysis of pedagogical activities of regular officers provide a basis to formulate a postulated professional personality model of the noncommissioned officer-educator and instructor. In view of the existing, fairly detailed personality model of the professional soldier, in the model formulated by us, we focus primarily on those components and elements (characteristics) which have decisive value for a noncommissioned officer acting as educator and instructor. M. Sidor draws attention to this point when he writes "When constructing a personality model, it is necessary to consider the functions which the person performs. Accordingly, the basis for describing and defining a personality model...is the person's specific activity. The point is to develop and construct such a model which would function effectively to perform various tasks...."[18]

In the professional personality model of the noncommissioned officer-educator and instructor, the following components (sets of characteristics) can be distinguished: ideological and political attitudes, professional qualifications (knowledge and skills), general abilities, character, state of health, physical abilities and appearance. Let us discuss these components:

The noncommissioned officer's ideological and political attitude is expressed through professional, social and political activities and active participation in basic training and educational work oriented towards improving the unit's combat readiness including forming a moral and political atmosphere for the enlisted subordinates. Ideological and political attitudes consist of: a commitment to socialist ideology, patriotism, proletarian internationalism and a materialistic point of view.

A noncommissioned officer's professional qualifications include his preparation to perform his job which consists of military knowledge (general and specialized), general and sociopolitical knowledge and also leadership skills and style. Professional qualifications include pedagogical qualifications. Lack of these is the cause of failures in educational efforts and, from a more general point of view, in leadership i.e., managing subordinates.

General abilities include intellectual capability which also determines the level of all intellectual processes. It consists of: perceptivity, understanding of a situation, imagination, memory and ability to think. They determine the ability to absorb knowledge, develop skills and enable one to independently solve intellectual problems.

Character is that set of characteristics which expresses noncommissioned officer's attitude toward duty, and toward those around him and to himself. The professional military character is demonstrated by such factors as: honor, courage in combat and intellectual activity, endurance, self-control, independence and initiative, firmness, self-discipline, responsibility, loyalty to superiors (subordinates and equals), industriousness, systematic approach, honesty and dependability, modesty and tact, ambition.

State of health, physical proficiency and appearance are special aspects of a model noncommissioned officer personality because they are not attributes of personality. In our case, we take the following approach to these three elements.

1) State of health means the preservation of efficient operation of the body and its psychological and physical capabilities and, in cases of certain symptoms of an illness, the maintenance of physical ability to accomplish the tasks (duties) of the position held.

2) Physical proficiency means the ability to perform the movements that are necessary to discharge the duties of the position held. The characteristics of a physically proficient soldier are: ability to endure the hardships of military life, strength, physical coordination, hardiness and general physical condition.

3) Appearance means taking care to look neat, to cut a soldierly figure, wear the uniform and accessories according to regulations.

Thus, given that health, physical proficiency and appearance need to be atten attended to we decided, not to tie them to a man's character but we decided to include them in the professional personality of regular military.[19]

A careful review of elements and characteristics of the professional personality of noncommissioned officer reveals that his professional qualifications, including pedagogical qualifications, are impacted by all the above mentioned sets of personal characteristics. Moreover, these characteristics are related and interdependent.

The Regular Noncommissioned Officer Personality Model Evaluated by the Graduates of the Navy Petty Officer Candidates School

Analyzing the personality model of regular noncommissioned officer, it must not be overlooked that the noncommissioned officer, in his mind, also has a model that may or may not be well defined. That model may agree with the postulated model or may differ from it. The bigger the differences between these two models, the bigger are the discrepancies, the harder it is to achieve success in forming the personality of the regular noncommissioned officer. It is worth noting that the model functioning in the mind of regular noncommissioned officers depends to a great extent on the role and tasks which in fact are performed in a given environment regardless of program assumptions, various postulates and wishes.

In our research, we received from the Navy Noncommissioned Officer School graduates 52 characteristics which the noncommissioned officers-educators and instructors should possess. Out of this, 6 percent related to the ideological and political attitudes, 21 percent were related to professional qualifications including pedagogical qualifications, 4 percent were related to general abilities, 67 percent to character and 2 percent were related to the health, physical stature and appearance.

The model of regular noncommissioned officer-educator and instructor is followed (we are listing the personality characteristics in the order of importance assigned to them by the respondents).

Character: Being demanding regarding the achievement of tasks and carrying out of decisions undertaken and orders, instructions and directives issued (received); firmness; understanding; keeping one's word and commitments (dependability): conscienciousness regarding superiors, subordinates and equals and regarding carrying out tasks and duties; honesty, consistency in behavior; observing regulations (behaving by the book); comradeship; self-control (staying cool); soldierly courage; discipline; careful, precise, timely and consciousness attention to tasks; candor towards superiors, subordinates and equals; truthfulness; strict carrying out of duties of one's position; responsible behavior; simple and direct manners (accessibility); patience; decisiveness; friendliness towards subordinates, superiors and equals; taking good care of subordinates, combat equipment; using equipment

properly and rationally; carefully managing entrusted (supervised) military (state) property; respect for superiors, subordinates and equals and for their jobs, qualifications and opinions; readiness to help superiors, subordinates and equals in any way (willingness to help); retaining calm judgment under various conditions and in various situations; not being subject to harmful addictions; tactfulness and discretion; perseverance; honor; strong will; ambition; intellectual courage (courage of one's convictions); confidence in subordinates and superiors; unconditional obedience to orders and directives from superiors and seniors; ingenuity.

Professional qualifications. Specialized knowledge, general military knowledge, sociopolitical knowledge including pedagogical and psychological and general knowledge. Solid mastery of military technology, ability to use it optimally and to apply it in various situations (military trade). Leadership and educational skills; objective evaluation of subordinates' performance (fairness, impartiality); ability to develop desirable qualities in subordinates through personal example (personal authority); ability to develop social relations among people and groups of soldiers, caring for subordinates; ability to instruct (ability to transmit information and orders in an easily understandable and unambiguous manner); ability to organize one's own and subordinate's work; devotion to the noncommissioned officer position; detailed knowledge of one's own duties; experience; personal habits; ability to inspire discipline.

Ideological and political attitudes. Political savoir faire; involvement in political and social work including party political work; patriotism.

State of health, physical proficiency, appearance. In this group of characteristics, the petty officer candidates value the appearance most.

The comparison of the noncommissioned officer personality model in the minds of petty officers themselves with the general model of the professional military contained in leadership publications shows that there are considerable differences between them. The differences show both in the hierarchy of the groups of characteristics and in the specific characteristics within those groups. Petty officers attach special importance to the characteristics of character and the professional qualifications including pedagogical skills. They ranked lowly the remaining three groups of personality characteristics, namely: the ideological and political attitude, general abilities and appearance, state of health and physical proficiency. The research results presented here indicate the need for deep analysis and review of education and leadership by all superiors and the institutions responsible for education, training and management of regular noncommissioned naval officers.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol 1, Warsaw 1951, p 189.

2. M. Michalik, "Wartosci Osobowe Dowodcy" (Personality Qualifications of Commander), Warsaw 1973, pp 38 and 11-72.

3. H. Muszynski, "Ideal i Cele Wychowania" (The Ideal and the Goals of Education), Warsaw 1974, p 89.

4. Ibid, p 89-95.

5. J. Kuczynski, "Homo Creator. Wstep Do Dialektyki Czlowieka" (Man the Creator. Introduction to the Dialectics of the Man), Warsaw 1976, p 351.

6. M. Sidor, "System Oceny Osobowosci Dowodcy" (A System To Evaluate the Personality of Commander), Warsaw 1975.

7. Ibid, p 65-66.

8. Ibid, p 68.

9. Ibid, p 70.

10. H. Muszynski op. cit. p 37.

11. "Zasady Dzialania Kadrowego w Silach Zbrojnych PRL" (The Principles of Leadership in the Armed Forces of PRL), Warsaw 1976, pp 20-30.

12. "Zbior Dokumentow o Opiniowaniu Sluzbowym Zolneirzy Zawodowych" (Collection of Documents on the Subject of Efficiency Reports of Regular Soldiers), Warsaw 1970, pp 49-55.

13. "Zasady Dzialania Kadrowego" ..., op. cit. pp 20-21.

14. Ibid, p 99-107.

15. "Program Szkolenia Ogolnowojskowego I Bojowego PSZ MW" (The Program of General Military and Combat Training of the Navy Petty Officer Candidates School) Gdynia, 1972 p 6.

16. "Program Przedmiotow Spoleczno-Politycznych Dla Podoficerskich Szkol Zawodowych" (The Sociopolitical Subject Program for Professional Noncommissioned Officer Schools), Warsaw 1973, pp 2-3.

17. See: "Programy Szkolenia Ogolnowojskowego, Bojowego I Specjalistycz-Nego Dla PSZ MW" (Programs for General Military, Combat and Specialized Training for the Naval Noncommissioned Candidates School).

18. M. Sidor, op cit., p 73.

19. Cf. "Zasady Dzialania Kadrowego" ..., op. cit. p 23-30.

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CSP 2600/311

'ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI' ON CADRE POLICY CALLS FOR PURGE

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Col Dr Adam Rostowski: "Cadre Policy. Let Us Not Breed a New Trojan Horse!"]

> [Text] For everybody who is committed to the issue of defense and building of socialism in our country it is obvious that one of the very important sources of the arisen and still existent evil has been the cadre policy, which not always has been proper, principled and consistent. This applies, what should be strongly stressed, not only to the so-called higher managerial circles, but also to those of the middle and lower level. I am convinced that consistent purging of the evil from our life should start with the serious and consistent, conducted by the commissar method verification of the cadres on all levels and planes important for our national existence.

The issue of proper selection of people for the particular managerial positions was widely discussed at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PUWP and at the subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee. In the resolution of the Ninth Congress we read, among the others, that "in the selection of people for managerial positions we are for (...) strict adherence to the principles of competence and responsibility, as well as for socialist moral criteria, the popular supervision of the methods and results of the activity of the managerial cadres, in which the decisive role should be played by the party and popular opinion."

I think that it is worthwhile to remember also that the party and the government have undertaken activity in the area of comprehensively conceived cadres policy. After these decisions a review and assessment of economic and administrative managerial cadres were conducted in the first half of 1981.

Decisions of the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the PUWP announced the verification of cadres of the broadly understood journalists' milieu.

In the course of sharp political struggle in the past year, party, state administration, scientific and economic cadres were undergoing a kind of test of ability to act under different, more difficult conditions. We also know well that not everybody has passed that test successfully.

It pertains particularly to keeping one's political image, ideological posture, and resistance to political pressures and to the penetration of the enemies of socialism or the People's Poland. Experience has shown that preventive and precautionary activities in the form of all kinds of surveys, talks, analyses and verifications were not fully effective.

For this reason, therefore, introduction of martial law--as the only possibility to defend the country from the worst evil--became for some people a kind of test of their true views and positions. Very significant, although extreme, examples can be seen from the cases of ambassadors R. Spasowski and Z. Rurarz, who--as it is perversively said--"chose freedom," or in the case of the former department head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, B. Walewski, who simply conducted espionage activity for the United States. They committed ordinary betrayal of their native country, and they should be punished appropriately. More cases like these could be listed. It is painful and annoying, but it shows at the same time that the system for selecting people for the positions of responsibility has in many cases been unsuccessful, and had too many loopholes. For this reason General of the Army, Wojciech Jaruzelski's words were met with wide approval. He stated, among other things: "We shall consistently remove the evil from the Polish life--regardless where it is born."

I think that in this context it pays also to draw proper conclusions regarding those individuals who promoted and gave the "green light" for the people who were ideologically unstable, careerists and simple traitors and turncoats. It is particularly important task in the time of martial law, because decisions made now carry an unusual weight.

The martial law period simply creates ideal conditions to carry out a real, effective, rather than just apparent, verification of cadres in the party, administrative apparatus, economy, schools, press, radio, TV, and also in a number of other areas of our lives.

In the Polish Scientific Publishers (PWN) Lexicon (ed. 1973, p 1264) we read under the entry "verification" as "testing, ascertaining the truthfulness of something." In our particular case we are dealing with an unequivocal testing and confirmation of truthfulness of political and ideological commitments, as well as of people's genuine qualifications and professional abilities. We are particularly concerned about the removal of people who in the period of an intensified political struggle assumed ambiguous or wait and see attitude, or who simply took the side of the political enemy. Today, when the situation is being gradually normalized, they change like the proverbial chameleons. They are dangerous people inasmuch as by their attitude to the ideo-political matters they promote specifically understood opportunism, footdragging and duplicity. The unpleasant thing is that such attitudes are treated by some supervisors not only as well-meant, but even benevolently tolerated. In some circles they are even rewarded with "bonuses" as an expression of political wisdom and rational thinking.

We all probably remember loud and public exhortations of journalistic "advisors" --and we do not mean Lech Walesa's advisors--calling for the party to give up political authority in the name of an illusory agreement with the declared enemies of socialism, to sanction political pluralism of a well-known hue in our socialist

system of government, or their promotion of strangely understood ideological neutralism in the educational system. We remember also—and those who will work in the verification commissions should also remember this—that those "activists" who in all kinds of party- or job-related situations did everything to gain favors of the politicians from "Solidarity," the Independent Students' Union (NZS), the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) and other "opposition" groupings. These very people by their footdragging, appeasement and political capitulationism created the "green light" for the open activity of the enemies of socialism and Poland. They considered that comfortable seat astride the barricade constitutes the best guarantee of their political and professional survival.

I think that, in the course of the frantic verification process, we cannot forget those people who from the very beginning decisively and unequivocally defended the Marxist-Leninist party line, and who undertook hard and sometimes also the dangerous struggle against the enemies of socialism and Poland. Presently they do not push to the foreground, as it is quite often done by those supposedly "undecided," and they do not vie for a louder voice over the enemy who is receiving the "coup de grace." They simply think that they did their duty, and they are ready for further struggle against the ideological and political enemy.

Naturally, the cadre verification process is an unusually complex and delicate matter. The point is that really honest people, good professionals, humble people, as well as those who do not know how to elbow their way and loudly defend their particular causes should not be harmed. On the other hand, we cannot afford tolerance, weakness, wavering and undecisiveness in the case of people whose very position has discredited them, who under the coat of a particular kind of "loyalty" want again to quietly adjust to the next political deal. People from different pressure groups with true mafia-like ties, who again want to set in motion and to rekindle long-bygone and faded myths about the supposed "higher necessity" should be once for all eliminated, and we have a good chance to do this. The time has come to approach those very "untouchable" issues and problems in a Marxist way and without beating around the bush. In this context it is worthwhile to remember that the myths serving as "protective umbrellas" are most frequently created by the individuals involved themselves, and they are skillfully submitted to the decisionmaking authorities, who do not always have the time and will prove their authenticity.

The situation is undoubtedly complex and it requires considerable political wisdom.

People should be attracted to implement our common cause, not pushed away. These are obvious truths which are constantly being strongly stressed by the Military Committee [sic] of National Salvation (WRON) and by the party. On the other hand, however, what should be particularly underlined now, under the conditions of the martial law is that there are a number of ministries, services and institutions where under no circumstances can one permit a kind of "Trojan Horse" to remain. This would again signal its presence favorably for the situation our ideological and political enemies.

Everyday life and practice, as well as careful following of the processes taking place in the course of cadre verification, show that active attempts of this kind have been undertaken (and, lo and behold, often with good results) in many institutions and at many levels of our socio-political activity. Among others, this pertains especially to the mass media, particularly to TV and radio, and also to some newspapers and magazines editorial boards. The time is ripe to reveal such activities, conducted by camouflaged ideo-political enemies, a decisive, commissary: "NO."

What is at stake here is--to put it quite simply--that we should not again be the proverbial "wise men after the fact...."

9644
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LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR 1981-1983 OUTLINED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 6

[Article by Prof Kazimierz Siarkiewicz, director general, Office of the Council of Ministers]

[Text] On 16 November 1981 the Council of Ministers approved a program of legislative activities for the years 1981-1983. It provides for legislative regulations in many fields of our lives, such as: the functioning of state organs, the national economy, agriculture, labor, social security and health care, scientific research, education and culture, as well as the judicial systems internal affairs, and national defense.

I. The Area of the Organs of the Administration

1. The new socioeconomic policy assumes a change in the organizational and economic structures and thus also in the role of the supreme and main organs of the state administration. Hense comes the need for a law on the Council of Ministers or on the supreme and main organs of the state administration.

2. The need for a law on People's Councils [RN] and local organs of the state administration comes from the necessity to regulate the functioning of these organs in a more sophisticated way.

3. Constitutional rights of citizens in the field of consultations and discussions on the key problems of this country will be covered by the law on social consultations.

The Office of the Council of Ministers is the organ entrusted with the responsibility to prepare these laws.

4. The problems related to the political system and efficient management of the state require a legislative regulation of the status of a government employee as well as his duties and rights, hence the law on the rights and obligations of government employees. The minister of labor, wages, and human services is responsible for the preparation of this law.

II. The Area of the Functioning of the National Economy

1. The law on state enterprises, issued September 1981, defined the new organizational framework of an enterprise as well as the legal principles of

its activity. This automatically requires a stable financial system for the economy. It is assumed, therefore, that separate laws on financial management of enterprises and on taxation of units of socialized economy will be issued as well.

2. The law on planning in the national economy will increase the participation of economic units and work force in formulating planned tasks as well as define the authority of particular organs in the planning matters and the principles and the process for preparing economic plans. It will replace the outdated decree from 1947 and a great number of regulations issued by various main state organs.

3. The banking system also must be adjusted to the new principles of the functioning of national economy. The Polish National Bank [NBP] will function as the central bank, which--jointly with the Planning Commission and the minister of finance--will realize the economic policy of the government. The roles of the other banks will change as well. Also conditions will be created for establishing other banks, such as a communal one. All this will be covered by the new bank law.

4. The economic reform also requires a change in regulations regarding the establishment of duty and tariff tables. It is necessary to define the authorities in price fixing, variety of prices in turnover, and nature of prices established by the appropriate organs. The new law on prices will replace the 1953 decree, which is still in force.

These four laws have been introduced already in the Sejm. The drafts of 1 and 3 were prepared by the minister of finance; 2, by the Planning Commission at the Council Ministers; and 4, by the State Price Commission [PKC].

5. The current foreign exchange law was issued when turnover with foreign countries was small. It contains, therefore, almost exclusively restrictions; either it does not regulate the essence of existing problems or it solves them in a fragmentary manner. The most important item--such as possession and use of foreign exchange values; foreign exchange turnover at home and abroad; bringing in and taking out foreign currency; currency trade on accounts; foreign exchange trade by units of the socialized economy; authority for granting foreign exchange permits; authority of the foreign exchange banks; and foreign exchange audits--are additionally regulated by executive orders. Thus, there is a pressing need for a comprehensive regulation of this area in a new law: a foreign exchange law. The minister of finance is responsible for this task.

6. The needs of the commodity exchange with foreign countries also require a proper framework for the presently implemented regulations. It concerns both the international agreements regulating the principles of economic cooperation within the framework of CEMA and with the capitalist countries, and the internal regulations concerning a proper coordination of activities in the field of economic relations with foreign countries and administrative-legal problems of the foreign trade. The civil code regulations, issued to regulate the domestic trade within the framework of a socialist society, do

not serve the needs of the international economic turnover. The existing gap will be filled by the law on administrative-legal relations in international trade. It will normalize comprehensively the administrative-legal problems of the foreign trade and of the units of the socialized economy involved in relations with foreign countries. It will replace the regulations of the interwar commercial code, which has been in effect in the area of foreign relations.

7. A new law will be issued to define the principles of establishment of economic units involving foreign enterprises and their activities in People's Poland.

The minister of foreign trade is responsible for the preparation of the laws discussed under points 6 and 7.

8. The need for reactivation of the self-governing nature of cooperatives and for a return to traditional cooperative associations as well as for a guarantee to members of cooperatives of the right to influence the activities of cooperatives and for securing the right of the small trade units to join into larger cooperative economic organizations are some of the reasons necessitating a new law on cooperatives and their organizations. The Supreme Council of Cooperatives (Naczelna Rada Spoldzielcza) [NRS] was entrusted with the task of preparing this law.

9. Present regulations hamper proper realization of tasks in the field of correct land management. They are dispersed. Sometimes, they lack cohesiveness, as with the following three laws: on land management in the cities, on construction sites in the countryside, and on one-family construction, farm sites and division of real estate in the city. Also, there is a need for strengthening the protection of particularly valuable farm land prior to designation as a construction site. Therefore, a comprehensive law on the management of urbanized land will be prepared.

10. In connection with the socioeconomic planning, the system of territorial planning will be perfected. The present law does not serve this need. After the introduction of a two-level administrative structure, the territorial planning system, established within its framework, became either obsolete or outdated. On the other hand, a new need for adjustment of the territorial planning regulations to stricter criteria of environmental protection came to the fore. Hence we see the need for a new law on the territorial planning.

The minister of administration, local economy, and environmental protection was entrusted with the responsibility to prepare the last two laws.

11. The improvement in efficiency and modernization of all means of transportation is also one of the elements of perfecting the economy, It will be impossible, however, to achieve the goal without changing some legal solutions still in effect. In particular, it is necessary to introduce a comprehensive regulation of the transportation of people, commercial use of railroads and highways, and the river transport. This need is necessitated by great interdependence of various branches of transportation in the transport services and

the opportunity to replace one branch of transportation by another. The need for uniformity in the transportation law now becomes increasingly important due to the growth of combined transportation by means of transcontainers. Therefore, a new transport law is planned.

12. The construction and maintenance of public roads legally are related to the preceding problem. It is also necessary to coordinate the regulations of the misdemeanor code with the regulations of the law on safety and order on public roads in regard to dispensing additional penalty, that is, a ban on driving passenger vehicles. Therefore, it is planned to issue laws on public roads and on road traffic. The minister of transportation is responsible for the preparation of the laws discussed under points 11 and 12.

III. The Area of the Functioning of Agriculture

The new socioeconomic policy assumes an essential change in approach to the problems of agriculture and food economy as factors decisive for bringing the country out of crisis. It is contemplated to equalize the authorities and burdens of all sectors of agriculture, to eliminate the differences in the socioeconomic situation of persons employed in agriculture and to stabilize the agricultural policy as well as to regard private farming as a durable element of the socialist economy in Poland. The participation of those involved--that is, of the farmers themselves as well as their representatives and of the agricultural self-government--is contemplated in the decision-making process regarding agriculture.

These aims would be best served by a cohesive system of agricultural law, covering the entire set of problems. This would, however, require prolonged legislative work. It is necessary therefore to abandon the codification plans for now in order to prepare quickly individual legislative acts of fundamental importance to both, the economy and the farmers as well. The following law drafts have been already submitted to the Sejm:

1. The law changing the civil code (the responsibility of the minister of justice). The aim of these changes is to guarantee the inviolability of farmer's property and improvement of the turnover of the agricultural real estate. At the same time, the laws allowing farmers to be deprived of land ownership will be annulled.

2. The law on consolidation and exchange of land (prepared by the minister of agriculture and food economy and minister of forestry and lumber industry). This law introduces a number of changes in the authorities of local administrative organs and broadens the opportunity to apply the land exchange as a simplified and operative form of organizing the territorial structure of farms.

3. The law on protection of farmland and forests and on recultivation of land. Its aim in particular is to improve the laws concerning protection of farmland--classes 1-3 especially--as well as regulations on the utilization of agricultural and forest land, and to limit the issuance of permits for the use of agricultural and forest land for nonagricultural and nonforest purposes and projects. The draft of this law was prepared by the ministers of agriculture and forestry.

IV. The Area of Labor, Social Security, and Health Care

1. The need for a change of some regulations in the labor code does not require an extensive discussion. The problem has been widely recognized. The law changing the labor code will also contain regulations concerning the employment system, covered by the 1945 decree on employment agencies and by the 1964 law on the employment of higher schools graduates.

2. The economic reform will also affect the social function of the work place, hence, the law on social activities of work places and social funds for the workforce.

3. The law on universal retirement benefits for employees and their families. This law projects a gradual elimination of pensions and retirement benefits as spelled out in the old regulations and established a correlation between the amount of the benefits and employment seniority, projects cost of living adjustments, reduces the benefit scale and more fairly establishes additional compensation for those awarded state decorations.

4. Changes will also be introduced in the regulations concerning retirement benefits for private farmers and their families and for miners.

The minister of labor, wages and human services is responsible for all this legislation. A draft of the law on retirement benefits for miners has been already introduced in the Sejm. The minister of health and social welfare was entrusted with the responsibility to prepare drafts of the following laws this year:

5. On health protection. The legal support for health protection and organization of health service is insufficient. The major legal act in this area dates from 1948, and a considerable number of problems is regulated by laws passed in the interwar [between wars I and II] period, which do not take into account progress in medicine. The law on health protection will be the leading act developing citizen's rights to health protection as guaranteed by the Constitution. Furthermore, it will regulate the problems of health care on the community and health resort levels. The problems of medical professions will be regulated by law as well.

6. The work focusing on the law on mental health protection will be based on the assumption that mental health protection extends beyond the framework of psychiatric care and concerns also securing favorable conditions for mental health and countering harmful factors as well as securing for persons with mental problems a comprehensive and commonly accessible health service and other forms of care and assistance. The need for this law is additionally justified by a systematic growth of mental illness cases.

V. The Area od Education, Science, and Culture

1. The main reason for preparing the law, called the Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher, was to increase the prestige of the teaching profession. Prepared by the minister of education and upbringing, it has been already introduced in the Sejm.

2. The draft law on schools of higher learning, prepared by the minister of science, higher education, and technology is awaiting the Sejm decision.

3. The draft of law on the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] and on government agencies' research centers is being prepared. This project--like the one on schools of higher learning--took as its bases such principles as freedom of science, multitude of directions in scholarly research, and guarantee of self-government. PAN is responsible for the draft of this law.

4. The law on protection of youth against demoralization aims at defining the principles of prevention and combatting demoralization and delinquency of underage youth and at regulating the activities of organs for youth care and juvenile courts, use of these organs, and application of educational and penal methods and instruments. The ministers of justice and of education and upbringing are responsible for this law.

5. The limitation of preventive censorship has created the need for increasing the responsibility of publishers for the printed word. This is one of the reasons behind the effort to normalize the problems covered by the so-called press law in the new law.

6. The copyright law in effect does not acknowledge that technological growth has created new categories of art and new publishing and distribution techniques. In the last 30 years the socioeconomic conditions and the role of the motivating factors conducive to the development of science, culture and art have changed as well. Likewise, a change has affected multilateral agreements regulating international cultural and scientific cooperation. All of this justifies the issuance of a new law--the copyright law--which will normalize all problems related to protection of intellectual creativity and to organization of such protection. This new law will replace the current one, which was issued in 1952.

The minister of culture and art is responsible for the laws discussed under points 5 and 6 and the minister of justice is entrusted with the preparation of the copyright law.

VI. The Area of National Defense, Justice and Internal Affairs

1. In the sphere of strengthening legality and social order, the intention is to institute activities that will increase the effectiveness and the authority of the law. It is also intended to broaden effectively the framework of the courtroom protection of civil rights by entrusting courts with certain cases now tried in out-of-court judicial organs. In order to accomplish this task and to create an integrated model of independent courts, three new laws will be issued: on the system of courts, on the Supreme Court and on assessors. The minister of justice is responsible for all of them.

2. The law on the procuratorial system of the Polish Peoples' Republic will be revised to reflect the current social needs.

3. The role, tasks and authorities of attorneys will be redefined.

4. The economic reform requires that the role of the state economic arbitration system be redefined, as well as the attributes of independence, hence, the law on the state economic arbitration system. The Main Arbitration Commission is responsible for the preparation of this law.

5. The needs of the new socioeconomic policy as well as the announced work on normalization by means of specific laws of a number of problems contained in the civil code (such as the laws on civil-legal relations in foreign trade, on domestic trade and services and on the transport law) necessitate the change of the civil code.

6. Application of the penal code points to the need for a modification of certain solutions, particularly in order to limit the extent of penalization and to modernize the penal model. Therefore, a revision of these regulations is being contemplated, taking into account correct suggestions made by the public. Furthermore, the penal code will regulate crimes against peace and mankind as well as war crimes. Moreover, the law will also officially define the principles of protecting state and official secrecy.

7. New and more efficient actions will be undertaken to combat alcoholism. Consequently, the regulations in this field will be changed.

8. The law on property and mortgage books will normalize general problems regarding the open rights from property books, priority of limited property rights, system of property books, matter concerning the collection of submitted documents, the legal process regarding these matters as well as mortgage problems, coupled with simultaneous simplification of the legal process and making it more efficient. The property books guarantee clarity in the state of property relations. They constitute an effective instrument of the state in controlling the real estate turnover. The law on property books will simultaneously consolidate regulations contained in six legal acts in effect. The minister of justice is in the process of preparing this law.

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REPORTAGE ON ACTIVITY IN HIGHER SCHOOLS NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Feb 82 pp 1,5

[Article by I. Sol: "Students Want Year to Be Successful -- Intensive Scholastic Work in the Institutions of Higher Education"]

> [Text] Intensified work is going on in all the institutions of higher education. It is in the students' own interest for them to respect the discipline. There is almost no absenteeism at the lectures. Generally the institutions of higher education have even been giving up their few days' vacation between semesters.

It is only redoubled effort on the part of students and scientific instruction personnel which will make it possible to make up the time lost during the first semester. The stakes are high: getting credit for the difficult academic year 1981-1982. Here are a few reports from our correspondents:

Extended Winter Semester

The eight institutions of higher education in Poznan are educating more than 26,000 college students in their regular academic programs. Instruction is full speed ahead in all the faculties, and the number of class hours has been increased. Attendance is near 100 percent. I am talking to the Rector of the Poznan Academy of Economics, Prof Janusz Piasny.

"The instruction process is going on unimpeded. All the classes are being held in keeping with the curriculum adopted at the beginning of the year. Because of the losses at the time of the strikes and during the break following the introduction of martial law, we had to change certain deadlines. For example, we will end the winter semester on 20 March instead of in the middle of February. We have set the end of the academic year in the middle of July instead of the middle of June. Because it was necessary to shorten the vacation periods, the students themselves agreed to the schedule and supported this concept for saving the school year.

We made careful preparations to resume instruction. There were meetings between members of the School Committee and party activist group, and students to explain the situation in the country. There was a resolution in which party members committed themselves to full participation to make up the backlogs. All college students received their scholarship funds and other material benefits during the first few days of classes."

The Year Will Not Have Been Wasted

At Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, regular classes began on 18 February after teaching staff and students had carefully prepared for the tasks of this difficult academic year. In discussions the country's problems were explained, and precise information was given on the causes for martial law and the regulations in effect in the colleges and dormitories.

Prorector Docent Jacek Trojanek says: "In keeping with the intentions of college officials all the conditions are there so that no student will have to leave the university for lack of access to instruction or because of the violation of regulation commitments in the life of the institution." (hel)

Full Lecture Halls

"We are very satisfied with the discipline we presently find among our students," says Docent Aleksander Kubicz, Prorector of the University of Wroclaw.

"The discipline has increased not only because of the stricter course of study. Students are also aware that, given the present concentration of material, any absence will have an impact on the preparation of their course work and their examinations. We are practically at the midpoint of the winter semester. Winter classes are to last until the end of March, according to the new calendar. There will be no break for the examination periods or holidays. Students must complete their work during the time classes are in session, up until 17 April. We have asked university instructors to plan their oral examinations and grading for Saturdays and Sundays. Students presently often have their Saturdays all taken too." (TW)

AGH -- Grades to Be Turned in in March

Students will begin to take examinations and get their course work in at the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy [AGH] in Crakow on 19 March. Students are preparing for a continual review of their work by deans and working-group facilitators. This review of students' work will cover how well the students have done discharging their study obligations and their participation in the work of study groups, and so on. The problems in conducting class exercises are the same as usual: missing parts for laboratory equipment, shortage of textbooks.

"Many issues need to be thought through," people say at the party's School Committee. "They need patient, careful explanation. There must be a great deal of discussion of the decisions made. College officials have enlightened students concerning the sort of requirements presented by martial law. Students ask questions. Discussions have not ceased, but the opinions, though critical, are far more constructive." (hg)

The "After-School" Program

Among other issues, officials at Warsaw Technical University are concerned with recreation following many hours of intellectual effort, the recuperation of strength, and therefore the best possible use of the small amount of free time which the students have left to them. "We have to give up the nonoperating SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students], which does not mean that one can work on behalf of the students without the students," we are told by Prorector Prof Wieslaw Kawecki, who emphasizes his search for contacts between the active part of youth and the rector's plenipotentiaries, to whom the organization of sports, tourism, and cultural and scientific activities has been entrusted.

At Warsaw Technical University touristic clubs are already in operation under the auspices of PTTK [Polish Touring and Sightseeing Society]. The first outing is Sunday. A course for leaders has begun. The students interested in sports have gotten together. Next month there are plans to open the well-known cultural centers Riwiera-Remont and Stodola, along with department coffee houses. Their program is presently being prepared. The student scientific movement is being rebuilt, but a decline in their level of activity has recently been noted. New groups of enthusiasts are springing up. The deans are encouraging academic employees to become involved in the role of faculty advisers.

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BRIEFS

CZYREK MEETS WITH SCHOLARS--On 4 March, Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek met with a group of leading Polish scholars involved in academic contacts with foreign countries. The theme of the meeting was current issues concerning the cooperation of Polish scholarship with foreign circles and academic centers, as well as the utilization of the abilities of Polish scholarship in close connection with Poland's socioeconomic needs. The point of departure for a lively exchange of thoughts and experiences was Minister Czyrek's sketch of the main problems currently existing in our relations with foreign countries. The scholars, who represent various fields of study, submitted a series of important observations and proposals. Participants in the meeting included the minister of science, higher schools and technology, Prof Benon Miskiewicz, the chairman of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN], Prof Aleksander Gieysztor, and PAN scientific secretary Prof Zdzislaw Kaczmarek. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Mar 82 p 2]

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NEW MEASURES TO ENHANCE ROLE OF WOMEN IN ALL FIELDS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jan 82 pp 26-30

[Unsigned article: "New and Broad Measures to Increase the Affirmation of Women in All Fields"]

[Text] Being profoundly consistent in the application of its scientific policy for mobilizing and using all creative energies in the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society, the party leadership has recently drawn up a program of measures of a defining significance to increase the contribution of women to the firm carrying out of the decisions of the 12th Congress.

Drawn up in the light of the important guidelines and directives formulated by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu concerning the expression of a new quality in all spheres of political, economic and social affairs, formulated in an encompassing and unified view, these measures - an expression of the capacity for continuing improvement and the constant concern to maintain and broaden the fertile status of the emancipation of our society in all its cells and fibers - will bring about the better use of the significant availability of women.

In order for this powerful social force in our society, represented by the millions of women, to be fully employed and to be truly transformed into a factor for stimulating the country's economic-social progress, it is necessary for "the party and state organs and organizations to also pay greater attention to the promotion of women in all spheres of social activities and in leadership work at all levels - to the extent of their percentage and role in our society," as comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed.

Points for Increasing Women's Contributions to the Achievement of the Plan

Firmly pursuing this important directive issued by the secretary general of the party, the party organs and organizations will give priority attention in their concerns to the actions that directly involve the more action employment and participation of women in the achievement of plan tasks. In accordance with the provisions of the program of measures, the National Council of Women, the Union of Communist Youth and the General Union of Trade Unions will undertake and carry out specific activities designed to also lead to the more sustained mobilization of women in order to find certain new ways to increase physical and net production, especially that production slated to be exported, to raise technical-operational

parameters, to increase labor productivity, to achieve savings in material and energy consumption and to recover and reintroduce into the production cycle all reuseable material resources.

The concern for unifying women's efforts and expressing their energy and their management talent and spirit in this essential area of carrying out all plan indicators in an exemplary manner will be even more fruitful as we work with greater vigor for the rapid transfer of positive experiences. To this end, on the basis of certain joint programs the county women's committees, the county Union of Communist Youth committees and the county trade union councils, under the direct guidance of the county party committees, will organize exchanges of experience, practical demonstrations and conferences, especially at the enterprise level, at least twice each year.

In the same spirit of exigency, we have in mind the creation of an atmosphere of high responsibility in which mass, combative opinion towards any deviation from the norms of technological discipline and from specific consumption levels will flatly have its say. That is why, on the basis of extending and broadening actions designed to develop such a work environment, it is necessary to have measures for the effective organization of certain discussions in the "shop windows of quality" and on the quality control loading docks with the products right there, getting the entire group, the shop collective and the shift to express its opinion regarding the causes of certain deficiencies and those who are responsible, as well as regarding the means to eliminate shortcomings and prevent their appearance.

In order to stimulate the concerns of the women's committees and councils in unifying the creative energies of the female engineers, workers and technicians in the more rapid integration of women in production and in the expression of their organizational and managerial spirit, each quarter actions will be organized to popularize the positive experiences acquired in this regard. Such actions will be initiated on a priority basis by women who are not succeeding in discharging their professional obligations, better using the experiences accumulated in the organization of certain shop-schools and certain meetings accompanied by practical demonstrations. In this relationship, there is great value in the measure that is designed to pursue the extension into all enterprises of the method of organizing the prior instruction women who will contribute to the production of new products, as well as those who will work on installations that will be put into operation.

Keeping in mind the real possibilities for increasing women's contribution to the collection of certain significant amounts of reuseable materials from the populace and for these materials to be fully used, the National Council of Women, together with the Committee for the Problems of the People's Councils, have drawn up a program regarding the actions that will be organized in the coming years, establishing specifically the tasks of the people's councils and the women's commissions in this regard.

A broad sweep of measures and actions are dedicated to the mobilization of women in agriculture in order to participate competently and with a more substantial contribution to the achievement of the agricultural revolution. From this viewpoint, the National Council of Women, in cooperation with the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, are called upon to initiate mass actions to increase women's contribution to obtaining certain higher levels of crop and animal production, to using the entire agricultural land area and the technical-material base available to each unit and to adhering to the advanced agro-technical norms. Several of the main directions for action that are foreseen are the mobilization of women in the villages in agricultural work and the attraction of women to and their permanent involvement in the zootechnical, legumicultural and fruit-growing sectors of the socialist units, as well as the development of small-scale industries, including working at home, with the women's commissions in the agricultural units and villages working more strongly.

In defining the role of the party organs and organizations in the implementation of these measures, the program stresses the task of the county party committees to exercise a systematic control over and to intensely support the activities undertaken by the town people's councils, the women's organizations and the agricultural organs for the broad and permanent mobilization of women in work and for contributing ever more to the fulfillment of the plan tasks in agriculture and the achievement of the state and cooperatist sectors' obligations in providing agricultural products to the state fund.

By showing its efficiency on a number of levels, the valuable practice of annually organizing conferences by branch and field of activity for outstanding women involved in the raising of animals and fowl, in legumiculture and in sericulture needs to be generalized, providing the moral and material stimulus for those who distinguish themselves by achieving large amounts of production, concomitantly with the popularization and transformation of their experiences into a common good.

The continuing growth of the number of women involved in production makes necessary the contribution of the county, municipal and city women's committees, together with that of the trade unions, the Union of Communist Youth organizations and the workers' councils, to the elaboration and consistent carrying out of the program for the vocational training and upgrade training of the female workforce, to the proper organization of qualification and multi-qualification competitions and to the rapid integration of women into production.

A Permanent Concern for Social Conditions

In light of the program of measures, the National Council of Women and the General Union of Trade Unions will give the greatest attention to problems of a social nature regarding working women, participating directly in carrying out our party's and state's policies in this area, and will strengthen their control over the manner in which the leaders of the ministries and units fulfill their legal obligations for providing appropriate working conditions and measures for hygiene and worker safety.

In attempting to bring about an increase in the amount of free time for young girls and women and to create certain better premises for their more active participation in social-political affairs, according to the program of measures approved by the party leadership, the Ministry of Domestic Trade, the Ministry of the Electrotechny Industry, the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, and the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions will take special measures that will also involve the improvement of the activities of customer order centers, the diversification and production of certain new electrical household devices that are economical and the optimum use of transportation.

It is clear to see the special attention that the women's committees and commissions, the trade unions and the Union of Communist Youth organizations must give to the proper organization and operation of centers for young women workers and of child care centers and kindergartens, pursuing and supporting the on-time completion of the construction outlined in the Unified National Economic and Social Development Plan and the collective contracts.

In accordance with the provisions of the program of measures, the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils will extend the socialist economic units' sponsorship of children's groups and especially all children's care centers and homes.

Within the framework of the same concerns, the trade unions, women's organizations and Union of Communist Youth organizations will pursue the improvement of the activities of canteens and the quality of the food, and the management and proper administration of annex-farms, ensuring the permanent supply of canteens with meat, vegetables and greens.

The Promotion of Women - An Objective of Foremost Relevancy

Militating for the firm implementation of the directives and guidelines formulated by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu regarding the promotion of women at all levels of political and social affairs, the party organs and organizations have the duty to undertake specific actions, as called for by the program of measures.

Thus, they will ensure that at the meetings and conferences of the party organizations this year for reports and elections the percentage of women in the territorial party organs will increase from 20 percent, the current level, to at least 30 percent. Similarly, the percentage of women in the bureaus of the county, municipal and city party committees will reach 30 to 35 percent, compared to the current level of 25 to 30 percent, while in the total number of cadre reserves it will reach at least 40 percent.

In order to respond to the current exigencies, the county party committees, the ministries and the other central and local organs will pursue the selection of women having a good vocational and political training and high moral qualities and who really enjoy a level of prestige among the ranks of the workers for the purpose of promoting them to management positions, especially in those branches,

sectors and units where a large number of women are working - light industry, the electronics and electrotechny industries, trade, agricultural production cooperatives, telecommunications, health care, education and science and culture.

The fulfillment of these requirements will be pursued, as called for in the program of measures, on the occasion of the workers' general assemblies that will be held in January and February 1982, when measures will be taken to elect a larger number of women in the workers' councils so that their percentage will increase to at least 35 percent.

Similarly, it is necessary to ensure that in the leadership organs of the Union of Communist Youth organizations and the trade union organizations the percentage of women will be at least 35 to 40 percent. Since, on the basis of the Decision of the RCP Central Committee Plenary Session of March 1981, the percentage of female party members will have to reach approximately 35 to 40 percent in 1985, which means that each year 50 percent of those accepted into the party will have to be women, it is necessary for the Union of Communist Youth organizations to intensify in an accentuated manner their activities to attract young women into their ranks so that their percentage will be over 50 percent in 2 to 3 years.

In order to increase responsibility regarding the manner in which work is carried out within the ranks of the women, the county, municipal and city party committees have the task, as noted in the program of measures, of each year analyzing the existing concerns in this area. Similarly, each year the general assemblies of the base organizations will examine how activities are carried out for involving women in political, economic and civic affairs. Each quarter, the bureaus and secretariats of the county, municipal, city and town party committees will analyze the different aspects of the activities of the women's committees and commissions.

Keeping in mind the great importance of the party work carried out in the ranks of the women, it is necessary for the first secretaries of the county, municipal and city party committees to be closely concerned about these activities. In this view, the secretaries of the party committees in the towns, enterprises and institutes, as well as the secretaries of the base organizations, must be directly responsible for and effectively concerned with political-organizational activities among the ranks of the women.

According to the decision of the party leadership, each year the county, municipal and city party committees are called upon to assist the women's committees and commissions in the organization of certain exchanges of experience between the women's commissions in the enterprises, institutes and housing complexes.

For the purpose of giving differentiated and efficient guidance to women promoted to leadership positions in party, state, mass and public organizations and in state and cooperatist economic units, the party organs and organizations will establish specific tasks for those comrades having experience in political-organizational and educational activities in order to help and train these women.

A Broad Political and Professional Horizon, A Progressive Behavior

In a direct relationship to increasing women's contribution to the fulfillment of the complex group of objectives of the current five year plan is the formation and development of a progressive attitude towards work and public property and a behavior in agreement with the norms of socialist ethics and equity.

As the decision of the party leadership notes, the county, municipal, city and town women's committees will systematically analyze how activities are carried out to understand and firmly implement the principles of the communist code of ethics and certain decisions and laws, and they will discuss the causes of certain deviations from party and production discipline, establishing political-educational measures to transform the norms of ethics and equity into real work and living habits for all women and all workers. Along the same lines, social-educational actions will be intensified to strengthen the sense of responsibility in young women for being a spouse and a mother and to assist in creating and consolidating young families.

A separate place is reserved for implementing the party's program for the materialist-scientific education of the masses, with analyses being conducted annually regarding the manner in which the women's committees and commissions operate.

For the purpose of secularizing the celebrations of main events in the lives of women and other workers - marriage, birth, starting work, retirement, the women's commissions, together with the trade unions, the youth organizations and the workers' councils, will ensure conditions for carrying out these events in the spirit of socialist norms.

Through specific political-educational means - speeches, conferences, discussions, answers to questions and competitions of the type "The One Who Knows Wins", the women's commissions, under the guidance of the party organs and organizations, will participate in the modelling and development of women's socialist awareness and in the combatting of any backward, antisocial concepts and expressions.

Priority will be given to those actions involving patriotic education, in the spirit of the international solidarity of the younger generation.

It is beyond any doubt that by firmly implementing the important measures adopted by the party leadership we will ensure the good use of the giant potential of women and the growth of their role in all spheres of economic and social affairs.

8724
CSO: 2700

NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF 'FORMALISM' STRESSED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jan 82 pp 63-65

[Article by Adela Deac: "Regardless of the Clothes It Wears Formalism Is Equally Harmful"]

[Text] Regardless of the forms in which it appears or where it appears, formalism destroys initiative and blocks forward progress. That is why it is necessary to have a firm position regarding such phenomena, with fighting against it and eliminating it being one of the ways of improving party work. In this regard, we will refer to several aspects.

Sometimes, well-conceived actions that could not only create the appearance of a prodigious activity, but actually unleash mass involvement remain inert, simple objectives recorded in programs that are evaluated at the appropriate time. In this situation, the desires are merely expressed, the intentions merely declared, which means in a practical sense that the same problems and the same objectives are taken up again and put on the work agenda without getting a solution or a result. The energy expended and the manpower used to drawn these up will never be amortized nor expressed in deeds. A synoptic report covering 8 months of 1981 shows that in Cluj County of the 182 economic units with tasks and opportunities to contribute to the collection, recovery and reintroduction of certain reuseable materials into the production cycle, 79 are behind in their efforts. Thus, we can explain the fact that during this period the collectives in the Turda "9 May" Enterprise, the Cluj-Napoca Enterprise of Industrial Electronics and Automation or the Iclod Complex Fodder Enterprise, although they had programs of measures, did not collect and turn over, for example, a single kilogram of paper over 8 months. In such cases, it is clear that the party committees let things run by themselves, not intervening to eliminate the crust of formalism that had formed over the top of the adopted measures.

This trend is also shown by another example. In the first quarter 1981 work plan of the Ialomita County Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, a provision was included that was designed to led to an increase in the young people's contribution to the more fuller use of each unit's potential. This, however, remained merely simple intentions that were proclaimed in the plan of measures. The creation of worker poly-technic centers, the organization of a conference

involving the secretaries of the Union of Communist Youth organizations and vice presidents of the worker's councils or those actions regarding the participation of young people in the better use of reuseable material resources are merely several of the interesting measures that had the unjust fate of remaining simple pages in a file.

Sometimes, some measures whose significance for increasing the efficiency of party work in all aspects is clear are not applied with the necessary responsibility, being treated in a purely and simply formal manner. That is why, for example, the carrying out of the directive regarding the organization of individual discussions in the bureaus of the base organizations with party members constitutes a moment of special significance for strengthening ties with the communists, for stimulating them and for improving the work style and methods used by the party organizations. Not understanding, however, the meaning and reasons of this broad dialogue, some base organizations did not give these discussions the appropriate importance, inevitably arriving at a formal action. This is one of the conclusions made by the bureau of the Dolj County Party Committee following the examination of the manner in which this process took place. Not being centered upon the major aspects of the work of the communists and their behaviors, due to the fact that some of the base organization bureaus, such as those in the towns of Gogosu, Brabova, Goesti and Leu and in the commercial units in Craiova Municipality, knew only vaguely and in general terms the activities of these communists, the discussions were carried out in a minor area, an area peripheral to the essential concerns. This is also the source of the evaluation, which cancels any positive meaning, given to this action - that it had a purely formal nature. The point that formalism has reached can be seen in the fact that in the town of Carpen the bureaus of the base organizations, instead of discussing at the general assemblies those party members who did not show up for the individual discussions that had been set up by joint agreement, resorted to a system of original rights and went to the homes of those members who, defying the norms of party discipline, refused to participate in the dialogue with the bureau. In other words, instead of taking all the steps necessary to convince those members who did not respond to one of the orders of the base organization requiring such a self-analysis, they selected the path of least resistance, with they themselves violating the instructions in effect.

The absence of a systematic control over the manner in which the carrying out of certain measures is organized and how an action is prepared and conducted favors the appearance of formalism at the most diverse levels. An example where formalism can be clearly seen is the manner in which a general assembly was organized and carried out last year in base organization No 14 in the press section at the Brasov Truck Enterprise.

In proposing to examine the manner in which actions were taken for the fulfillment of plan tasks, the assembly, therefore, dealt with a subject area of acute and broad interest. To what degree, however, did it attain this goal? The report contained a series of evaluations of a technical nature without any

specific reference to the communists' contribution to the proper flow of production. The discussions floated on generalities, with the causes of shortcomings being sought in... Galati and with the principal blame being placed on the quality of the materials and the system of naming these materials. There was no reflection, no attempt to look into the collective, into the organization. Because of this, during the meeting some participants left, with not even one-half plus one of the members on the record being present for the deliberations.

It is an extremely serious situation when, in a conscious manner, certain solutions for implementing some measures are operating only on paper, reporting that problems were resolved, although in reality there has been no change. In such cases, the phenomenon exceeds the boundaries of formalism, being synonymous with the erroneous presentation of reality and with disinformation.

We know of the importance of achieving the measures concerning the reduction in the number of personnel indirectly productive and their reassignment to production activities. Not understanding the implications of carrying out these measures, some workers' councils have worked only in writing in the transfer of a number of persons to directly productive work, with these people continuing to carry out the same jobs in reality. Thus. at the Vaslui Enterprise for Insulating Materials, 104 personnel positions from the sales department were formally transferred to the production sections. The same thing was done at the Husi Cotton Spinning Mill where they reported reductions in the number of personnel in the programming and sales departments, who, however, even now continue to carry out office work. By not organizing qualification or multi-qualification courses and not offering real opportunities to those who are to be reassigned to production sectors for selecting certain skills or other fields, the managements in thse units have practically slipped on the incline of disinformation and falsehoods.

We can criticize the fact that the party organizations did not closely puruse, step-by-step, the manner in which the technical-administrative managements were concerned for bringing about these actions of a special, political, economic and social significance.

By showing several of the aspects that formalism can involve, with its negative consequences, we tried to equally point out the resources for improving party work and for increasing its efficiency.

8724
CSO: 2700

'IRREGULARITIES' IN AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES EXPOSED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jan 82 pp 46-48

[Unsigned article: "In the Absence of Control, Dishonesty and Brutality Put Down Roots in Some Persons With Poor Awareness"]

[Text] At the beginning of November last year, significant amounts of corn were going out through the gates of the Nuntasi Agricultural Production Cooperative in the town of Istria, Constanta County. Among the first transports were also those headed towards the yards of the cooperative president Andrei Dobrica and his chief engineer Vasile Tistea and other personnel. This was amazing because the normative act was not being fully applied, which was established and gave priority to the transport of products to the state fund so as to first fulfill this patriotic duty and to the use of the transport vehicles for delivering the corn while the weather was favorable.

Why was this directive not respected? How could the management personnel not understand it? A thorough analysis revealed serious shortcomings which noted that a good number of the persons mentioned long ago abandoned the principles and norms that guide our activities. Thus, in 1980, legal regulations were violated regarding payments in overall agreements for projects carried out in the cultivation of corn. Although the prices and means of payment were discussed in the cooperatists' general assembly in February 1980, outlining both the product adjustments and the amounts per ton of harvested corn, the management of the cooperative took "the initiative" of organizing another meeting in which it was completely illegally decided to make payment only in.... products, substantially increasing the amount of these products. As a result, there was a change in the economic destination of a significant amount of corn, at the same time costing the cooperative approximately 35,000 lei, the amount unjustly earned by cooperatists for work that was not done.

The moral deterioration of certain management personnel in the cooperative is clearly illustrated by their rapacious attitude, which drove them towards unworthy deeds solely for their own personal uses. The president of the cooperative did what he did and arranged for this wife to illegal earn nearly 3,000 lei as salary for a period in 1979-1980, when she did not work. During the period January 1980 to October 1981, the chief engineering of the cooperative did not pay rent of the house he occupied, a sum totalling over 2,500 lei.

Unfortunately, people can still be found who, either because they minimize certain deeds or are not aware of the seriousness of them or their consequences, favor the appearance of certain irregularities. The following example is illustrative in this regard. At a certain time, the chief engineer of the cooperative proposed to the chief accountant, Ilie Gheorghe, that he sign two fictitious order notes in order to procure from the supply base five tires and a battery for this privately-owed automobile. It was obvious that he was trying to violate certain regulations that were in effect, with the supply base having the task of serving economic units, not private persons. Certainly, the chief accountant knew this. But, parallel with the commission of fraud, the chief engineer also revealed his deficiences of a moral nature. And, the chief accountant, who also filled the position of secretary of the party committee in the cooperative, was the one in the best position to understand this and to give the appropriate rebuff and to wake up this person who was sliding on the tobaggan of dishonesty to reality. Instead of proceeding in this manner, the chief accountant closed his eyes, signed the notes and became a party to fraud, seriously soiling his awareness and facilitating the chief engineer's illegal procurement of these products and their sale at a low price, which caused 2,300 lei worth of damages to the budget.

The list of irregularities within this cooperative is sufficiently long. In protecting them, the cooperative's management nearly totally neglected their attributes and weakened control overall. Fully profitting from this situation was the cooperative's warehouse foreman, Gheorghe Pluteanu, who, on the basis of a shipping invoice, removed an amount of corn three times larger than he was entitled to!

As is also natural, these shortcomings were, in the end, discovered. Firm measures were taken against those who had caused them. The president of the cooperative, the chief engineer and the chief accountant were removed from their jobs and excluded from the party. The damages caused were charged against the guilty parties. For a lack of exigency and control and for tolerating the violations committed in the agricultural cooperative, the secretary of the Istria Town Party Committee, comrade Tudor Dorobantu, was sanctioned with a "vote of censure". Because he did not exercise an exigent control and did not work firmly for prevent these irregularities, comrade Gheorghe Radulescu, the party organizer and president of the Unified State Agro-industrial Council and cooperative worker Mihai Viteazu were punished with "reprimands". The executive bureau of the council, the leadership of the County Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, the leadership of the General Directorate for Agricultural and the Food Industry and the leadership of the office of the Bank for Agricultural and the Food Industry were called to task by the bureau of the county party committee for the shortcomings in the guidance and control of activities in this cooperative.

It has been clearly shown that what was lacking, first of all, was a firm, exacting and permanent control on the part of the local party organs. Once again it has been confirmed that the absence of this control facilitates the clouding of the awarness in certain weaker people. The civic degrading of certain people leads to significant damage not only of a material nature, but

also of a moral nature. It is clear for anyone that if the secretary of the town party committee, the party organizer and the member of the county party committee bureau who was responsible for this area had exercised a thorough, principled control and had systematically gone out among the people and maintained a close link with the communists, these shortcomings would have been discovered sooner.

What happened shows that the control conducted by the county party committee did not operate as it should have. In accordance with certain regulations that are in effect, it is known that each town party committee must pass through the filter of this control, which is designed to involve all activities and the manner in which the communists and especially the leadership cadre carry out their attributes. The fact that for a long period of time the serious deficiencies in the town of Mihai Viteazu were not uncovered speaks for itself about the superficiality and inconsistency of the county committee's control, which was called upon to find the shortcomings early-on and to prevent the slide of certain persons on the slope of moral decay. Concern for the manner in which each manager workers and the strengthening of party control in all areas in order to close any path to dishonesty and brutality and to ensure for all the spotless maintenance of the moral profile belonging to the new, progressive man of our times are the natural conclusions stemming from what happened in Nuntasi.

3724
CSO: 2700

SERBIAN LC DISCUSSES RISING DISSIDENCE AMONG INTELLECTUALS

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 82 p 2

[Excerpt] At a recent meeting of the presidium of the Republic of Serbia and that of the LC Central Committee [of Serbia] which discussed the current problems relating to the dissemination of information in this republic, "those people" were mentioned who, in the comfort of freedom, theorize about "humanism" and, in their attempt to sling mud on the year 1948, "link Stalinists with middle class liberals who did not care about real freedoms." These are individuals who brag about freedom and the courage of the press, but are in fact harassing the public by their destructiveness and intrusiveness. In their public appearances (which, unfortunately are not rare) they are applauded by dogmatists, the petit-bourgeoisie, nationalists, and all others who have lost the fight as an opposition to socialism, self-management, and progress. With their "leftist" phrases and cheap demagogy which ranges from ultra-leftist radicalism to middle-class liberalism, they succeed from time to time in seizing an area among certain young people and recently [they have succeeded in this way] in some reviews [publications] in which they usually give lessons on humanism, freedom, and democracy.

They judge and pre-judge everything: whether we need the Olympics, whether Montenegrins are more Serb than Montenegrin; they are judging us by 1948, they are judging the Party because of "the dispute with Krleza." They have made up a story, in cafes, about the persecution of a Serb painter from another republic and, without blinking, have reported it, although this involved the most common nationalist provocation! They will use the judgment made against a pamphlet in verse to equate present-day Yugoslavia with the regime of the monarchical dictatorship.

Linked together in a clan, they are carrying on political harangues and personal settling of accounts, using certain newspapers where editorial policy has been privatized. At the same time they are both the cause and result of the specific situation in our country: the result of the social climate which is too considerate and restrained (it can also be said that it is opportunistic) toward political attacks of this kind; and it is caused, among other things, by a certain fear of criticizing the clan which has no scruples about labeling people and doing all this in the name of freedom and courage of the press, for which they lack only two "trifling" qualities--morality and responsibility. They have become overbearing because of a lack of ideological and political action...and because of the liberalistic relaxation of communists in publishing and editorial organs of our information media.

Of course there will be show-offs as long as there are cafes. But whether they are present or not should not depend on them but on responsibility and consistency in editorial policy which naturally relies on the views of the LC regarding social criticism which cannot be replaced by destructive and petit-bourgeois criticism.

CSO: 2800/295

WESTERN COMMENT ON DEDIJER'S BIOGRAPHY OF TITO

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 5 Mar 82 p 5

[Text] Belgrade, late February--In Yugoslavia the din surrounding the book by Vladimir Dedijer, "New Contributions to Tito's Biography," continues. Seventy thousand copies have been sold so far but further printings are blocked even though not formally prohibited. On the other hand procurement of the 1,261-page-long volume was prohibited for the libraries of the Yugoslav People's Army. Even in the schools it may not be used although the first volume--the official Tito biography which Dedijer published in the early 1950's--is a sort of required reading.

The significance of the "New Contributions" lies above all in the fact that details from the war and its principal actors among the partisans were publicized which up to now were accessible in Yugoslavia to only a small circle of historians and veterans of the partisan war. There is, therefore, a series of "revelations" in the book, large and small, serious and not so serious, of which some might really shock the Yugoslav reader. This effect is, of course, all the greater since up to now an unblemished Tito image has been developed with which Tito's successors of the older generation would prefer to continue to live and work.

Strategic Errors

Dedijer now makes it clear that Tito committed strategic errors which caused considerable losses in some cases which he cites. That applies, for example, to the lost battle at Plevje (Serbia) in November 1941, one of the first organized actions of the partisan army. Moreover, it is also described by Milovan Djilas in his book of memoires, "War of the Partisans." Dedijer furnishes as documentation an analysis by Arso Jovanovic, an officer from the old Yugoslavia, who--as Dedijer and Djilas uniformly testify--was probably Tito's most important and experienced strategic advisor in the war (he was shot in 1948 as a collaborator in connection with Tito's break with Stalin). Dedijer also produces evidence to show that Tito reacted too late to reports on the preparation of the great offensive in the summer of 1943 which culminated in the terrible battle on the Sutjeska River. According to Dedijer, Tito was erroneously convinced that the Germans would accept his proposal for a truce.

Negotiations With the Germans

The negotiations with the German Wehrmacht in the spring of 1943 were known to the Yugoslav people to the extent that they dealt with the exchange of prisoners. After the first disclosures in America in 1973 of documents from Allied archives which had been inaccessible theretofore, there was also an official move in Yugoslavia to acknowledge that a truce was also a subject of negotiation. The author now enriches the reader's knowledge with yet another detail. The document signed by Tito's three emissaries concerning the negotiations contains the passage: "Our principal enemy is the Chetniks." The interesting thing is that Djilas, too, writes about these contacts and the negotiating tactics of the partisans, but a shade more carefully, and adds that he would "even today not have published the contents of these negotiations" if foreign historians had not already dealt with the theme and "Dedijer since 1967."

One of the truly great sensations of Dedijer's book is the documentation to the effect that before and during the war there were two secret Soviet radio stations in Zagreb, one for the Comintern and the other for the NKVD. The person cited by Dedijer, Vladimir Bakaric, first learned in the summer of 1941 of the existence of a Comrade Kopinic who had been sent to Zagreb by the Comintern with this mission. It is equally surprising for the reader to learn that the Comintern is believed to have issued orders at that time to separate the Croatian Communist Party from the Yugoslav Communist Party. On this question, however, there is, according to Dedijer, still no completely clear evidence. Kopinic was, moreover, a friend of Tito's from Moscow times--and remained a friend even after the war. Today he is living as a pensioner in Pula.

Atrocities

Perhaps, however, from an internal Yugoslav point of view the most shattering theme in Dedijer's book concerns the description of atrocities by partisans, especially leading partisans, against the population, against actual enemies including war prisoners, or against those whom they classed as enemies including partisans and many old party members. Dedijer explained that such incidents--death sentences were handed down and carried out without further ado--could take place because, among other things, of the great nervousness of those responsible and their fear of internal political faction building or of a breakdown in morale among the partisans.

Dedijer makes Djilas appear especially brutal and merciless and in doing so refers, among other things, to a statement which an old partisan, Cana Babovic, made shortly before her death. She described Djilas as a "maniac murderer," In this connection, in addition to Djilas, Dedijer also names Alexander Rankovic, Moshe Pijade and even Edvard Kardelj, though he protests the anonymity of those partisans who are still living and in office.

Distancing From Djilas

His relationship to Djilas would be worthy of a special study. Although in his "New Contributions" Dedijer repeats his support for Djilas when the latter was thrown out of all offices and out of the party in 1954, it is impossible to escape the impression that he no longer harbors any sympathy for his former friend. In conversation Dedijer explains: "I cannot write history about Djilas, there is not enough distance for me." In all his books Dedijer repeats what Djilas meant to him in private life--in a positive sense--and describes what persecution and difficulties he and his family suffered in the years after Djilas was cast adrift. Dedijer lived abroad for 6 years but then came back and made peace with the party. Since the end of the 1960's he again became generally recognized as Tito's "court biographer."

In comparison to the political sensation of the book, the theme of "Tito's women" is less exciting. The fact that although he had his second wife, Herta Has, fetched from German captivity but had already exchanged her earlier for a certain "Zdenka" and that he had this Zdenka, who died after the war, buried in the park beside his residence in Belgrade, will hardly damage his image with the Yugoslav reader. But when Dedijer then reports that Tito's wife, Jovanka, had listening devices installed in Tito's villa in collaboration with Interior Minister Rankovic who later fell from office, then the image of "the great old man" is in greater danger. Can he have really lived for years beside a traitor without knowing it or without letting the public know? Dedijer also reports that so-called Brioni Protocols on the Rankovic case were found hidden in a "washing machine" of Jovanka when the police combed through the premises after Tito's death. Dedijer bases himself here on a report by Dr Bakaric but offers no further evidence. After the publication of the "New Contributions" Bakaric himself reacted with downright anger and accused Dedijer of having caused him unheard of difficulties.

The greatest and most problematical surprise for the Yugoslav reader, to the extent that he was a party member and "ordinary" partisan, is no doubt, that he is again and again reminded of how much the party at its highest levels decided, knew and did which it did not consider necessary or "opportune" to impart to him who had offered his life in the war.

Symptoms of Change in the Tito State

Dedijer writes in a flowing journalistic style and--as in all his published works--sticks to the first person singular. That makes it easier for the reader to remain enthralled--and is, in itself, a sort of defense against criticism of unhistorical procedures. By and large the plethora of material gives the effect of still being in a rough stage and the book seems stamped with the quality of having been brought to an end very suddenly and in a great hurry--evidently because Dedijer came to the conclusion that the institutions and responsible persons were beginning to change towards him and his book. Nevertheless, when the book appeared in November 1981 he received every conceivable official support.

During the course of a recent conversation at his refuge on the north coast of the Adriatic, Dedijer himself explains the criticism of his book in the following way: even before its publication it was "misused" in personal struggles for position, in struggles between groups of which some wanted to permit more pluralism in Yugoslavia while others opted for the "policy of the hard hand." With respect to the latter Dedijer believes they criticized the book so harshly because they are against the "true Tito image" and because they oppose the essence of Tito's policies. These circles wanted to lead Yugoslavia back to the level of a "small Balkan police state." But in the view of Vladimir Dedijer this is the exact opposite of what Tito had in mind.

9827
CSO: 2300/172

BRIEFS

TWO YEARS FOR HOSTILE PROPAGANDA--The criminal council of the district court in Sarajevo yesterday sentenced Mehmedalija (Abida) Hujic (1954), unemployed auto mechanic, from the village of Ljubovcici near Hadzici [Bosnia-Hercegovina], to 2 years in prison for hostile propaganda based on Article 133, paragraph 1 of the SFRY Criminal Code. On 15 August of last year Hujic in the presence of several people made statements against brotherhood and unity between the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, alleging that one nation is subjugated in relation to another and he presented in a malicious and untruthful way conditions in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as the situation in Kosovo and the events of April and May last year. [Text] [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 27 Feb 82 p 20]

ROMANIAN ILLEGAL BORDER CROSSERS--Four Romanian citizens, Neda Grigore, Joan and Viorel Bot, and Francic Novakovici who were recently apprehended crossing the Yugoslav-Romanian border illegally, are to be handed over to the Romanian authorities this weekend. En route to the Romanian border in the vehicle of the Inter-Opstina Secretariat of Internal Affairs [SUP] of Zrenjanin they staged a disagreement and when the police opened fire, they tried to escape. Two policemen were slightly wounded. Neda Grigore and Viorel Bot were captured immediately, while Joan Bot and Francic Novakovici were apprehended today. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 82 p 5]

HOSTILE GROUPS APPREHENDED--The SUP (Secretariat for Internal Affairs) in Urosevac since 3 April 1981 has uncovered six illegal groups operating in Urosevac and neighboring Kacanik Opstina, as well as several individuals who were not members of these groups. All these groups acted from positions of illegal hostile organizations of the so-called "Communist-Leninist Marxist Party of Albania" in Yugoslavia which was headquartered in Urosevac and the Red Front which has its headquarters abroad. Four organized groups operated in Urosevac Opstina. They included 35 persons; 8 additional persons were not connected to them. SUP organs up to now have cleared up and proved 61 of the 81 recorded actions carried out by these groups and individuals. The most intensive ones were in the local communities of Kamenglava, Muzicane, and Selo Varos, and in two communities within Urosevac [city]. Actions took place most often in schools and in the "Milan Zecar" agricultural-industrial combine and the "Bankos" work organization. These illegal groups had their own statute, and propaganda material from Albania and from Western countries which was most often brought in by workers employed abroad. A considerable amount of

propaganda and subversive materials, typewriters, and mimeographing mats were found with these groups and individuals. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 82 p 4]

SCHOOL DIRECTORS EXPELLED--Three directors of the "Boris Kidric" technical school center in Titova Mitrovica have been removed from their jobs: Agim Deva, director general, and Stevan Miletic and Zejnel Kukoljac, directors of two basic organizations of associated work. According to the LC Opstina Committee, they are responsible for failing to prevent attempts to organization demonstrations by students at this center on 15 January of this year. They were also criticized for lack of vigilance last April when groups of demonstrators marched from this school through Titova Mitrovica. The school council has named Kemal Kamberij acting director. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 8 Feb 82 p 7]

VANDALS IN PEC--Night before last 13 young rowdies damaged eight cars and a minibus in the center of Pec and broke windows at the "Jugopetrol" gas station. With the help of organs of the [watch] alert service and of citizens, the Pec SUP organs were able to identify 13 of these young vandals known in the city as a group which regularly carouses in cafes. All, except two who are still at large, were sentenced to 60 days in prison. [Summary] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 82 p 9]

ETHNIC STRUCTURE IN SOUTH MORAVA AREA--The counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo have considerably affected Bujanovac, Medvedja, and Presevo opstinas where a large number of Albanians live who are creating an atmosphere like that in Kosovo, so the fear has arisen that good inter-nationality relations which are traditional in these areas are being shaken. The population of this region is 500,759, 80 percent of whom are of Serb nationality, 10 percent Albanian, 5 percent Bulgarian, and about 4.5 percent are Romanies. Those of Albanian nationality live in Bujanovac Opstina (comprising 53 percent of the population), Medvedja Opstina (30 percent of the population), and Presevo Opstina (about 85 percent of the population). In Bosilegrad Opstina 99 percent are Bulgarian and in Surdulica Opstina 20 percent are Bulgarian, while Romanies live in all these opstinas. In the last few years considerable results have been achieved among the Albanian population in Presevo Opstina in regard to equality of languages in schools, work organizations, and administrative functions. There is a need for simultaneous translation at opstina conferences and meetings of self-management organs, however, which are conducted in Serbo-Croatian. In Bujanovac and Medvedja opstinas, however, little has as yet been done to regulate the question of equal use of both languages. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 6 Feb 82 p 6]

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JPRS 80439

30 March 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1993

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30 March 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1993

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WARSAW PACT'S NEW TRACKED, MULTIPURPOSE VEHICLE DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 1, 1982 (signed to press 12 Nov 81) inside front and back covers

[Unattributed report: "MTP -LB, Technical Support Vehicle"]

[Text] The amphibious multipurpose tow and transport vehicle MT-LB is used in the Soviet army and in the armies of other Warsaw Pact nations. In addition to being a tow and transport vehicle, it also serves as base vehicle for various weapons and equipment. In the NVA, the MT-LB is used as tow, reconnaissance and guide vehicle in various branches of service and services. On the base of the MT-LB, a technical support vehicle by the name of MTP-LB was developed, which is used to aid the regiments and companies equipped with armored personnel carriers, armored vehicles and MT-LB's.

Depending on how it is equipped, the MTP-LB can pull out APC's, armored vehicles and MT-LB's either by direct pull or with the cable winch and can tow them in the terrain or on roads with tow cables or with the towing device.

In addition, it can rescue amphibious armored vehicles from water obstacles.

The MTP-LB is equipped with tools, sets of special tools and appliances, replacement parts and expendable material. This equipment is designed for simple technical maintenance and repair work.

For maintenance and repair, components weighing up to 1,500 kg can be moved with the attached crane. Gas welding and gas cutting work can be carried out on steel and aluminum parts.

The fully equipped MTP-LB weighs 12,300 kg. It is 6,800 mm long, 2,850 mm wide and 2,300 mm high. The crew consists of two men. Maximum speed is 55 km per hour on land and 6.5 km per hour on water. Hydrodynamic plates are attached on both sides of the vehicle to improve its maneuverability.

The vehicle has a cable winch, a supporting and towing device, buffer, water rescue device, attached crane and gas welding equipment.

The cable winch has a maximum cable pull of 67 kN. It is powered by the MTP-LB's intermediate gearing by way of a hydraulic pump and a hydromotor. Its steering mechanism is electrohydraulic. The cables are 85 m long.

The supporting device is mounted in the front of the vehicle. Its cable winch serves as anchor. It can also do light excavation work and serves as work-bench for mechanics. The supporting device is mounted at the front of the vehicle while the vehicle moves forward, and carried along on the loading area while the vehicle is in use or on the water. The supporting device is put on and taken off with a jack.

APC's, armored wagons and MT-LB's no longer able to move on their own are towed with the towing device. The attached crane is mounted at the front of the vehicle and used primarily for dismounting and mounting of aggregates. It can be used in two positions: in position I, the working zone has a size of up to 2,150 mm, and the height of the lift up to 3,600 mm; in position II, the corresponding values are 1,350 mm and 4,200 mm. The loaded crane can be driven at a speed of up to 5 km per hour and a list of up to 5°.

The MTP-LB has the equipment necessary for observation, guidance, warning, reconnaissance, deactivation, and camouflage. In contrast to the base vehicle MT-LB, and the MTP-LB shows some other differences besides the additional equipment. Racks and containers were installed to accommodate the equipment. In place of the turret, an additional hatch and angular mirror were placed above the commander's seat. This allows the commander to get in and out and to guide the MTP-LB on the water.

Inside lighting was installed for the loading and unloading of equipment.

Figure 1

Technical support vehicle MTP-LB. The supporting device is attached in the front while the vehicle moves forward. Between the hatches are the cable wind and cleaning device. It is covered by canvas. The end of the cable winch is attached to the upper side of the front end. The front spotlight is between the hatches.

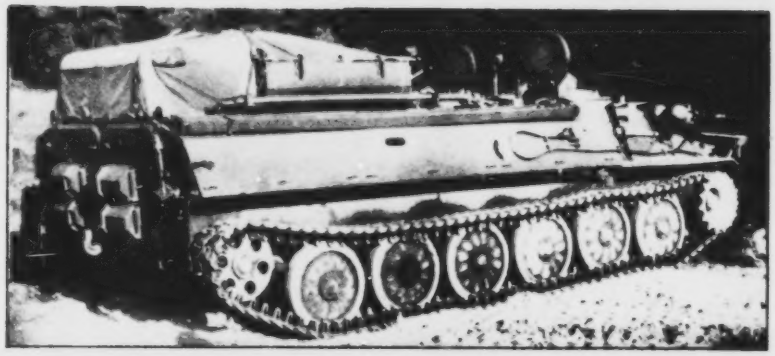

Figure 2

In the rack on the loading area of the MTP-LB are parts of the rescue and water rescue equipment. Hydrodynamic plates are attached on both sides of the rack. Behind the rack is the canvas-covered cable winch. On the right side of the loading area are the supports of the attached crane and the towing device.

Figure 3

MTP-LB with attached crane in action.

Figure 4

MTP-LB going on water. The breakwater is turned up on the front-end, and the cooling and exhaust casings are attached.

Figure 5

MTP-LB with attached water rescue device emerging from a water obstacle with an armored vehicle in tow.

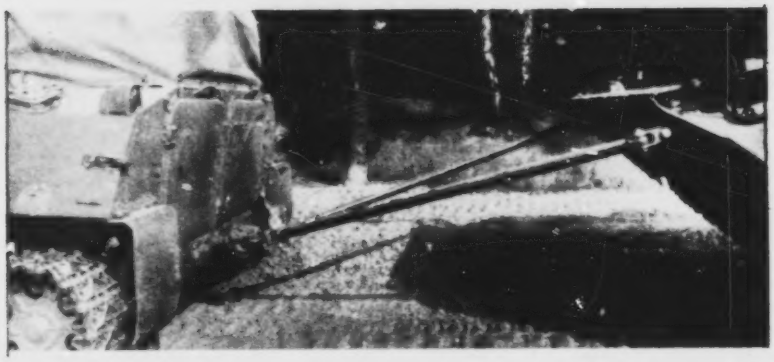

Figure 6

MTP-LB with attached towing device, attached to the BMP armored personnel carrier.

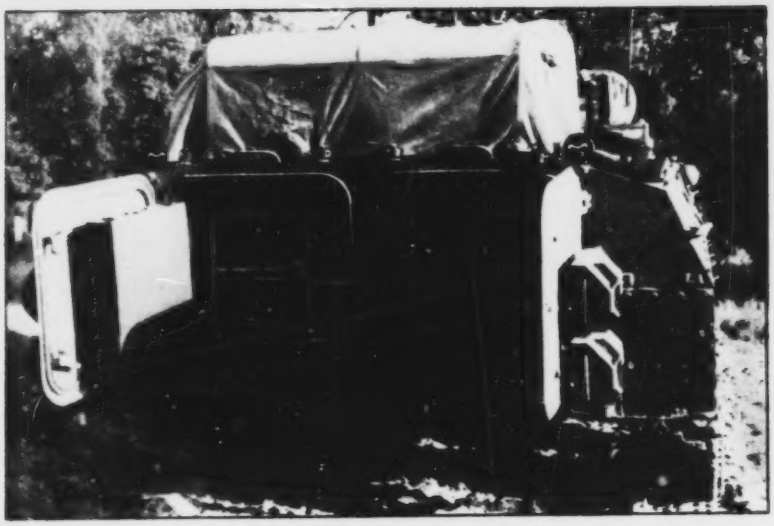

Figure 7

MTP-LB with open rear doors. The container with sets of special tools and equipment, and replacement parts can be seen.

9328
CSO: 2300/169

TRADE UNION LEADER ENCOURAGES OPEN CRITICISM

Prague SVET PRACE in Czech No 2, Jan 82 pp 4-5

[Interview with Vaclav Bezel, chairman of the Czech Trade Union Council by Jindra Horakova: "We Value Critical Opinions"; Date and Place Not Given]

[Text] On 26-28 February, the Prague Palace of Culture will be the site of the Czech congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH]. The event will be attended by 1,100 delegates with full voting rights, 60-70 delegates with advisory voting rights and about 150 guests. Half of the delegates were elected at regional all-union conferences, and half at conferences of the Czech trade union committees. We asked Comrade Vaclav Bezel what problems were slated for the congress agenda.

[Question] The congress was preceded by annual member meetings and conferences of sector, workshop and basic union organizations, as well as district and regional ROH conferences. What were the main topics on the agenda?

[Answer] The discussions naturally focused predominantly on union operations, while most of the critical and candid comments referred to their economic role and their share in the fulfillment of the state plan. Criticism focused primarily on inconsistent and slow processing of worker comments and suggestions voiced in production consultations and at sector union meetings. Members, as well as union officials, voiced skepticism at these meeting on the ability of certain economic management organs to respond to fundamental recommendations which must be handled in the supraenterprise sphere. Opinions of the respective branch enterprise and plant economic workers were in line with this criticism. Another problem strongly emphasized at ROH meetings and conferences was the reduction of personnel in nonproduction organizations, thus also the unions. Discussions showed that effectiveness and work organization in these bodies is often wanting, even though it may be difficult to measure these accurately. Other matters were also discussed. There were recommendations, for example, to reduce the number of official vehicles and to halt production of automobiles with high gasoline consumption. Many speakers drew attention to a lack of clarity and concreteness in this year's plan. Certain meetings and conferences even witnessed complaints that the concept of worker participation in management and preparation of the plan has ceased to be applied in practice in many plants;

not because people are not interested in the plan, but rather because the economic workers are themselves in an unfavorable situation. They cannot discuss the plan with collectives since they don't really know it themselves. Under such circumstances, it is understandably difficult to organize the initiatives of people, and some officials in their contributions have even turned this down. They argued that adherence to the above concept would politically discredit the role of the unions and worker initiative as a whole. In some enterprises, we find that deliveries were not met even in those products on which collectives had based their pledges of faster plan fulfillment. Because of inadequate transportation facilities, these products idled in plants and enterprises as late as the end of last year.

There was also criticism of the low quality of domestic materials, which increases complaints about finished products, as well as the sporadic material and technical supply process related to planned tasks. Frequently criticized were supplier-customer relations. In this respect, certain discussion contributions indicated that interenterprise corruption is flourishing. It was also suggested that the trade unions become more involved in the formulation of state price policy.

[Question] These comments show the great interest of trade unionists in the economic sphere, and this is certainly beneficial. During our visits to plants and enterprises, we often hear criticism of another area, namely, care for the working man and woman. How was this subject reflected at the annual membership meetings and conferences?

[Answer] There was primarily criticism of shortages, low quality and size assortment of personal protective clothing and aids. This problem has been with us for years and we are still unable to improve it completely. We still hear references to the same defects, gloves coming apart at the seams due to poor-quality thread, there is a shortage of rubber gloves and components of respirators, protective suits, etc. Many organizations critized the lack of interest in the working and social conditions of the workers which, in capital investment construction, is always shunted to last place and, when there are no funds for these necessities, they are forgotten altogether.

Also criticized is the system of allocating ROH recreational bonuses, more of these are demanded during vacation time of families with small children. There continues to be criticism of transportation facilities to and from work, deficiencies in train and bus schedules and the quality of commuting in general. Certain speakers pointed out that staggered work shifts cause higher petrol consumption on newly opened bus lines. This is a problem we discussed with the Czech Government some time ago. We agreed then that basically the working people were right. The changed working hours were to result in savings of electricity. This, however, needs to be compared with what it costs in petrol and overtime for drivers, and then we must decide what is really more economical. We must also remember that staggered hours of work shifts also lead to shortcomings in labor organization which cannot be corrected by individual exemptions. These realities were also criticized at the annual member meetings and conferences. Speakers noted the different working hours of maintenance facilities, service installations, material distribution points, etc.

[Question] In this multitude of critical commentary, there is one subject we hear most often. This concerns the extensive and sometimes really unnecessary administrative burden which has been criticized by union officials and, above all, leaders of the brigades of socialist labor, brigade sponsors, as well as members themselves.

[Answer] A bureaucratic and administrative approach to work practiced by some officials and apparat employees has indeed been criticized at most annual meetings and conferences. We consider this criticism justified. Many times in the past we have considered how to unravel this bureaucratic knot. Too many resolutions and directives are being issued and comrades in the basic organizations are unable to even absorb them, much less fulfill them. Take, for example, a bad old habit which somehow survives to this day. There was a meeting of the Central Council of Trade Unions, followed by sessions of the Czech and Slovak Union Councils. This in turn was followed by 18 trade union central committees meeting, and two further times by 17 Czech and Slovak union committee meetings. Then came regional union councils and district union committees. Soon thereafter came meetings of district union councils, and so it went. They all dealt with the same problems, a fact not bad in and of itself. However, they all also adopted their own resolutions. Some officials refuse to admit to this day that with respect to the general direction set forth by the Central Council of Trade Unions [URO], they should flexibly ensure its fulfillment, rather than adopt more resolutions. Unfortunately, there is a similar situation in the state organs. The government adopts one resolution after another and the branches do likewise. Old resolutions are not reassessed on the basis of their fulfillment or lack of it, and new resolutions are drawn up from such failures. We have been trying for years to do away with this system. Three years ago, for example, we introduced the method of coordinating the work plans of the Czech union committees and the regional union councils, since the workplace itself can breed either bureaucracy or creativity. Even those comrades who at first were angry with us, now consider this method beneficial. However, not all regional union councils as yet coordinate the district union plans, not all Czech union committees do so with regional committees, and so on. Only in the manner proposed can the union work plan become law. For everyone understands that not everything which occurs to someone as being suitable for a resolution can be included in the work plan. There can be no feeling of satisfaction at the congress with the present state of union administration. Everyone has not yet become aware that the mirror of our achievements is not the number of resolutions or aktivs, but rather how well union sectors and organizations are operating.

[Question] Lately, worker attention has focused on mutual negotiations between union organs and state and economic representatives. Will the congress be concerned with these problems also?

[Answer] It will, for it is important to assess these relations to see how they contribute to the resolution of problems in worker care, in their working and living environment, education, culture and legislation. This cooperation is becoming the more urgent as we approach the time for responsible realization of the 16th CPCZ Congress resolutions, reflected in the principal directions

of economic and social development in the next 5 years. And all this is taking place under complicated internal and external conditions. Such cooperation has not yet become the rule everywhere. It is lacking, for instance, between certain union organs and ministries. It has not been implemented sometimes due to the union chairman's disinclination, other times the minister's, elsewhere due to inconsistency or laxity. We would like to see cooperation of the regional union councils with the regional national committees, cooperation which would include enterprises and plants. And this should not be limited to meetings of the director with the chairman, but rather should include the whole plant committee with economic management. We see in this the only way, because the more complex the problems, the more people should take part in their resolution, thus increasing their chances of success.

[Question] You yourself have attended several annual meetings, your colleagues have brought back many experiences from others. Were you satisfied with their substance and course?

[Answer] I remember especially one annual meeting where there was considerable discussion which, however, was a bit too polished and officious. When during the intermission we had our cigarettes in the hall, I mentioned this to the local comrades. Right there and then, they all came up with enough problems to fill a notebook and the discussion continued into the evening. The union sectors had similar problems, in that there was little discussion, an average of five speakers participated, and even these were the appointed ones, as we say, one for the party group, one for the young, the foreman or workshop supervisor and, of course, the sector referent. This is all right, but we wonder why the others did not speak up. Wherein lies the difficulty? Is it that people do not trust us, or do they feel that it does no good to offer suggestions, since nothing will be done anyway? We analyze all opinions, even those voiced unofficially in the hallways. We need this to orient ourselves and we value candidly voiced views.

[Question] What other matters will you be discussing at the congress?

[Answer] The topics are many, for the congress is an opportunity to assess the effectiveness of management and control of all Czech union organs. We find out to what extent the Czech Union Council passed along good experiences of organs and organizations, and how this was concretely reflected in meeting the resolutions of the 12th URO plenum. It is also an opportunity to delve more deeply into the considerably different results of work among individual regions, districts and organizations, and assess how these differences can be overcome. We will have to find out how the tasks of ideological, educational and cultural work are carried out in union organs, organizations and cultural facilities, and how this entire system is interrelated with that which is fundamental, namely, material production. We need to judge how the area of culture, physical education and sports create conditions for purposeful utilization of free time, rest periods and needed regeneration of the labor

force. We also need to establish how the trade unions participate in the development of a socialist-thinking and socialist-acting human being. In short, the congress will assess the results achieved, for this is a prerequisite for accepting responsibility for new tasks. And these, as seen by the CPCZ Central Committee sessions and URO plenary meetings, will be great and difficult. On the other hand, however, only in their fulfillment can we hope for further development of our society.

9496
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'INDEPENDENCE' FOR TRADE UNIONS REJECTED, PARTY TIES STRESSED

West German Commentary

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 2, Jan 82 pp 13-14

['Background' report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Political Leadership of Trade Unions by SED Emphasized." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

> [Text] The trade unions in the GDR "are able to represent working class interests effectively and constitute an influential social force only by being politically led by the party and by always letting themselves be guided in their fundamental requirement by the general party line." This relationship of trade union dependency on the SED is emphasized in a feature article in EINHEIT (No 1, 1982), the "journal for the theory and practice of scientific socialism" published by the SED Central Committee. The author of the article ("The Trade Unions--Most Comprehensive Class Organization for the Creator of the New Society") is Fritz Brock, chief of the Trade Unions and Social Policy Department of the SED Central Committee since 1966 and member of the FDGB National Executive Committee since 1968. Brock also, with reference to Lenin quotations, deals with the demand for "so-called free and independent trade unions" for which, according to Lenin, there was "no place in the new social order."

Precisely because the "trusting relations between the working class party and the trade unions" had "developed fruitfully and intensively,"
--the enemy was trying to aim his fire especially against them, distort the Leninist lessons and the experiences confirming them in practical politics, and drive a wedge between the vanguard of the workers class, the Marxist-Leninist party, and the most comprehensive class organization, the trade unions."

"Suggestions and slogans for so-called free and independent trade unions" were "nothing new at all in the history of the revolutionary working class struggle against the bourgeoisie and its counterrevolutionary attacks." But Lenin already had given a "class-conscious answer to it" and shown that such trade unions found

"their 'freedom' and 'independence' in bearing no responsibility and taking no initiative for solving the overall state tasks, the construction of socialism and communism."

"Such an enterprise"--the activity of free trade unions--Lenin had called "either a bourgeois provocation of the most flagrant kind or a great stupidity, a slavish repetition of the slogans of yesterday," because "applying the slogans of the old trade union movement to the present era" would be "a departure from the socialist tasks of the workers class."

After this rejection--by means of Lenin quotations--of "free and independent trade unions within the new social order," Brock furnishes a situation assessment of the GDR trade unions, from the SED point of view, calling them the "cornerstone of the political organization of socialist society":

--They--as all our experiences confirm--take on a qualitatively new role in the management of the state and society, incomparable with their traditional role in capitalist society and inconceivable through its criteria."

For the "progressive construction of socialist society" created "not only constantly better conditions for trade union activity" but raised "objectively the responsibility and influence of the trade unions on all aspects of social development." Also in "strengthening socialist state power" the trade unions were gaining "constantly growing importance as a class organization and in representing the working people's interests." Brock says: "Never yet in the history of the German workers movement did the trade unions have such great opportunities to take care of the working people's fundamental interests as under the conditions of the workers and farmers power in the GDR."

Then Brock spells out the influence the FDGB, "being the largest mass organization of the working people in the GDR with its 9 million members," had "on the drafting and completion of all fundamental laws."

First on this list comes the GDR Labor Code that was introducedin 1978 and in the debate of which 5.8 million members had taken place and had submitted 147,000 amendment proposals. That justifies saying, according to Brock, "that the new Labor Code was written by the millions of trade union members themselves."

At the end of his article, Brock makes a special point of "the activity of volunteer functionaries," which could "not be rated highly enough because through this work hundreds of thousands constantly learn the basics in the exercise of political power, which will also remain in the future the best school for massively forming new cadres."

SED Functionary's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 9 Dec 81) pp 50-56

['The Topic' feature article by Fritz Brock, member, SED Central Auditing Commission; chief, Trade Unions and Social Policy Department, SED Central Committee:

"The Trade Unions--Most Comprehensive Class Organization for the Creator of the New Society." A translation of the Guenter Mittag article cited in footnote 6

is published under the heading, "Mittag Urges Combines to Economize, Raise Production," in JPRS 78885, 1 Sep 81, No 2167 of this series, pp 64-76]

[Text] The relationship between the party and the trade unions largely determines the relationship between the party and the class and, hence, the success of the socialist revolution. Proceeding from trade union policy as an inseparable component of the Marxist-Leninist party's overall policy, thoughts are presented on the interaction between the working class vanguard and its most comprehensive class organization, the further deepening of the trusting relations between the party and the trade unions, and the responsibility borne by the communists in them.

Establishing the historic role of the workers class as the creator and shaper of the new socialist society is what, according to Lenin, is most important in the Marxist doctrine. He devoted many studies to the art of political leadership by the working class party, the interrelations between the party, class and people in general, and the relationship between the party and the trade unions, in particular. From the outset, the SED has creatively applied these lessons, as well as Ernst Thaelmann's remarks on revolutionary trade union policy, to our concrete conditions. In this it always let itself be guided by Thaelmann's basic thesis that the relationship between the party and the trade unions largely determines the relationship between the party and the class and, hence, the success of the socialist revolution. Entirely along those lines, the SED Program states: "In the shaping of the developed socialist society, the leadership role of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, as well as the importance of the trade unions, are growing in all domains of public life. Also in the future will the party seek to boost working class influence in all domains of life."[1]

Through the high tribute the 10th SED Congress paid to the work of the trade unions and the perspectives it has indicated for the further shaping of the developed socialist society in our country, the SED's Marxist-Leninist trade union policy is being carried on steadily as a firm component of its overall policy. The tasks the party congress has issued for further elevating the leadership role of the workers class and its party, enforcing the economic strategy for the 1980's, further perfecting socialist democracy, and all-round strengthening of socialist state power are inseparably linked with further strengthening the trade unions. That becomes all the more clear from the analysis of the current situation made at the Third Central Committee session and the political, economic and ideological implications from it for further strengthening socialism in the GDR and the peace-securing effect it has in our time. The assessment in Comrade Erich Honecker's Politburo report of the good results thus far in the implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions and the prospect of their continued purposeful implementation radiate a sense of strength and confidence and assign new tasks. Those are truly revolutionary tasks. Fulfilling them calls for prudent, diligent, and honest work everywhere. A special responsibility is placed thereby on the communists working in the trade unions. It greatly depends on them how all FDGB members will make a resolute implementation of the policy set down by the 10th party congress their own business. "Every comrade, male and female, should thus

help the trade union with word and deed in successfully exercising its responsibility as the workers' largest class organization, a school of socialism and motor of socialist emulation, and the representative of the interests of the workers and employees."[2]

Constructive Cooperation Between the Trade Unions and the Socialist State

Among Lenin's great historic distinctions was that he proved the place of the trade unions as the combative companions of the party and the cornerstone of the political organization of socialist society. "Along with the greatest transformation that started in history when the proletariat seized state power, the trade unions bring about an enormous change in all they do."[3] They--as all our experiences confirm--assume an entirely new role qualitatively in the management of the state and the society, incomparable with their traditional role in capitalist society and inconceivable through its criteria. The progressive construction of socialist society not only creates constantly better conditions for trade union activity but objectively elevates the responsibility and influence the trade unions have on all aspects of social development. In strengthening socialist state power, aimed in its main trend at an ever more comprehensive, conscious and active participation by the working people in the management of state and society, they are steadily gaining importance as the class organization representing working class interests. Never before in the history of the German workers movement did the trade unions have such great opportunities to take care of the working people's fundamental interests in safeguarding peace, in peaceful work, prosperity and social security and in shaping high-level working and living conditions, and of the interests of individual workers in settling their everyday problems, as under the conditions of the workers and farmers power in the GDR.

With 68 deputies, the trade unions are the second strongest fraction in the People's Chamber; they exercise a significant influence on all decisions and resolutions of our state organs through the large collective of their representatives in the bezirk assemblies and local people's representations. The FDGB, its elected executive committees, boards and functionaries, are broadly participating in decision-making on all vital public matters. The trade unions affect the drafting and completion of all fundamental laws.

In exercise of their legislative initiative right, the trade unions started the revision of the Labor Code; the new Labor Code was set up under their responsibility. As the result of cooperative efforts by a large collective of proven trade union functionaries, and in close cooperation with the state organs and science institutions, the draft was produced, which was then thoroughly considered all through the whole trade union organization. Some 5.8 million working people took part in this debate submitting more than 147,000 proposals for further perfecting socialist democracy, for extending trade union rights, for further social welfare improvements and the simplification of law regulations, which were taken into account for the final draft. It justifies our saying that the new Labor Code was written by the millions of trade unionists themselves. The Labor Code, as ratified by the People's Chamber on 16 June 1977, is pervaded with the principle that all industrial concerns must be considered and decided on jointly with the working people. It is, essentially, a charter of trade union rights in the GDR.

With its 9 million members, the FDGB now is the all-inclusive class organization of the workers class and also the largest mass organization of the GDR working people. It holds 97.2 percent of the workers and employees and of the intelligentsia in its ranks. More than 2 million elected volunteer functionaries, over 1.4 million of them in trade union groups, are working in the organs of the FDGB, the 15 industrial trade unions and labor unions with their managements and boards, the enterprise trade union organizations and the trade union groups. Working people of different religions and members of all parties in the Democratic Block belong to the FDGB. The outcome of trade union elections thus far shows an increasing breadth of composition on the trade union executives and boards. More than 60 percent of the trade union executive membership and over 80 percent of the trade union group functionaries are nonparty or belong to the Block parties.

The trade union elections turned into an overwhelming pledge by millions to an active implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions. Characteristic of the course of the elections has been a great creative debate and the resolution on the responsibility and specific tasks for coping with the demands of the 1980's. The conclusion and culmination of this important demonstration will be the 10th FDGB Congress, where the further trade union tasks in the GDR's social development are going to be discussed and decided on.

Trusting Relations Between the Party and the Trade Unions

The working class seizure of political power, its being safeguarded, and an effective functioning of the political organization of socialist society are impossible without trusting and creative interaction between the working class vanguard and its most comprehensive class organization. Its role as the class vanguard and leader in the political mass struggle in socialist construction the party fulfills mainly by always being solidly and indissolubly linked with the entire workers class and all working people. The trade unions, in turn, can effectively represent working class interests and form an influential social force only by being politically led by the party and letting themselves always be guided in their fundamental requirement by the general party line.

Our party has learned crucial lessons from history. Its consistent course led to the unity of the workers class, a unified party and unified trade unions. Healing the split of the workers class and merging the trade unions into a unified FDGB immediately after the start of the antifascist-democratic work of construction in today's GDR became possible because the historic KPD Appeal of 11 June 1945 had developed the program tasks for it. The founding of the SED also created the premise to form, for the first time on German soil, qualitatively completely new relations between the working class party and the trade unions. The Third FDGB Congress in 1950 adapted it as its program: For the first time in the history of the German trade union movement, the trade unions acknowledged the leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party as the conscious vanguard of the workers class. They consistently adopted the premise of Marxism-Leninism and in their statutes proclaimed the socialist social order as their goal. That was the outcome of a frequently complicated clarification process opposing the strong efforts by rightist forces to rechannel the trade unions into so-called political neutrality with none but unionist interests.

The GDR working people's trust in the SED has grown tremendously because of the implementation of the Eight, Ninth and 10th SED Congress resolutions, particularly on the basis of the political course of the main task, putting into effect the unity of economic and social policy even under greatly altered foreign and domestic conditions. Party policy is oriented to the working people's interests; it expresses those interests. Important impulses for the party's mass solidarity and mass influence stem from that the people through their own contribution and commitment to this policy ever more strongly experience its being correct and effective. The popular saying among us that good work pays off, for the individual as for the commonwealth, has become a basic social experience. The main task policy, truly a workers' policy, has raised the interrelation between the party and the trade unions onto a new level.

Trade union influence on management and planning, on the state and the economy, was heightened, and new large areas for future activities were opened up. The main task policy is a reliable compass for the trade union representation of interests. The growth of the trade unions' authority and of their initiatives and activities, in solving production tasks as well as in further improving working and living conditions, have never before been this conspicuous. The trusting relations between the working class party and the trade unions have gone through a fruitful and intensive development. All the more the enemy seeks to direct his fire against them, distort the Leninist lessons and the experiences confirming them in practical politics, and drive a wedge between the working class vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party, and its most comprehensive class organization, the trade unions.

Suggestions and slogans, particularly, for the so-called free and independent trade unions are nothing new at all in the history of the revolutionary working class struggle against the bourgeoisie and its counterrevolutionary attacks. V. I. Lenin gave a class-conscious answer to it. He showed that for such trade unions that find their "freedom" and "independence" in bearing no responsibility and making no initiatives for solving overall state tasks, for the construction of socialism and communism, there is no place in the new social order. He called such an enterprise "either a bourgeois provocation of the most flagrant sort or a great stupidity, a slavish repetition of the slogans of yesterday," because the "application of the slogans of the old trade union movement to the current era would be a departure from the socialist tasks of the workers class."[4]

Main Task Policy--Program for Trade Union Interest Representation

The 10th SED Congress confirmed the basic experience that the trusting relation between the party, the class and the people is not given for once and for all but always must "be ensured with every step, so as to incessantly consolidating and strengthening the unity between the party and the people."[5] For implementing the pioneering decisions of the 10th party congress, a key position is therefore assigned to further shaping the trusting and creative relations between the working class vanguard and its most comprehensive class organization, to further implementing the party's leadership role in the trade unions. A pivot and fulcrum for it is found in the 10th party congress decision to carry on consistently with the main task in its unity of economic and social policy even under the new conditions.

That decision relies on the party's trust in our people's grown intellectual-creative potential and on our economic capacity. As attested to by the working people's millionfold agreement by word and deed, this policy turns out to be a source of strength for reinforcing socialism and preserving peace.

Reaching our targets in the continued implementation of our program for full employment, the people's prosperity, growth and stability depends on the full use of the advantages of socialism, which makes possible for us releasing those impulses that ensure a performance growth beyond the ordinary measure. That largely depends on how the objectively extant capacity and performance readiness of the workers, male and female, the researchers and engineers, and the production organizers "are put into social effect through prudent management activity so that thereby we meet the tasks of the 1980's."[6] Never yet did the trade unions have tasks and fields of activity as great as today. That holds for the development of mass initiative, the focusing on the 10 key points in our economic strategy, as for the systematic improvement of working and living conditions and providing ever better satisfaction of intellectual-cultural needs.

Participation in the plan in recent years became a decisive aspect of trade union interest representation and is an important element that goes into social decision-making. An assured right and fundamental principle of the socialist planned economy is that on all levels the draft plan is prepared with active trade union participation and is ratified through concurrence with the trade unions. The five-year plan draft, 1981 to 1985, and the 1982 national economic plan draft have all been discussed in plan debates organized by the trade unions in all work collectives. More than 90 percent of the working people took part in this discussion of the basic problems in continued economic development and their own prospects, significantly influencing these documents through more than 1.1 million proposals and propositions of their own. Based on the proposals and propositions of the plan debate, trade union positions taken accordingly play a significant role, all the way from enterprises to the People's Chamber.

It is a responsible task of the party organizations and of each communist to help all trade union executives and boards fully comprehend the historic magnitude of the tasks before us and from there, form and promote everywhere combative positions for coping with them. Everyday conversations on the job, in trade union membership meetings and in the schools of socialist work, about the implementation of the general party line are indispensable for it and will be all the more effective, the better one can explain our conditions and connections and derive from it consequences for action in any concrete field of work. In the schools of socialist work organized by the trade unions, there are more than 3 million working people who regularly discuss the 10th party congress requirement, acquire basic Marxist-Leninist knowledge and new production experiences to do still better at their jobs. Of the 3 million participants more than 80 percent is nonparty and 70 percent, production workers. Such eagerness to learn, mainly on the part of nonparty trade unionists, is unprecedented in our history.

The performance development intended for the 1980's sets new standards for the management and organization of socialist emulation and thus also for the activities of the trade unions that have been sponsoring and organizing it so well.

The emulation resolutions of the initiative enterprises, through the well tested slogan, "High performance growth through increasing labor productivity, efficiency and quality--Everything for the good of the people and for peace!" display these standards and mark a new phase and quality of our emulation development. In response to the basic concern of our economic strategy, the responsibility of all emulation collectives for increasing labor productivity and efficiency and for basically improving the cost/benefit ratio is being made the centerpiece of emulation management.

Combined with it comes a clear mass initiative focus on the fulfillment and targeted overfulfillment of the qualitative parameters and on the further deepening of intensification and rationalization.

Primary attention is given, e.g., to the obligations to improve the economic effectiveness of science and technology, the optimum refinement and utilization of available energy sources, raw materials and working materials, the rigorous reduction of production consumption, prime costs and investment expenditures, the efficient use of the social labor assets, including the securing of high labor discipline, and the meeting of all export tasks, proper as to plans, contracts and qualities, so that we can produce a greater distributable end product.

The obligation not to use and to return funds allocated by means of the plan marks a new quality of economic thinking and releases important reserves for constantly further improving the cost/benefit ratio at the overall national economic scale. Through the emulation resolutions of those combines and enterprises which were the first after the Third SED Central Committee session to determine their targets for the all-round fulfillment and targeted overfulfillment of the 1982 national economic plan--which were published in the daily press--we have an excellent guideline for adapting the complete objective and management of socialist emulation to the 10 key points in the economic strategy for the 1980's. What political leadership activity now focuses on is to help all collectives determine their own tasks in applying that strategy and assume ambitious emulation commitments commensurate with the new standards.

Everywhere, the trade unions have to use the whole multiplicity of forms of democratic participation, so that rationalization becomes organized as a process in which the working people's active participation is not only encouraged, but challenged. When there are changes made in our economic structure, when measures are taken in production rationalization, or when new technologies are introduced, the trade unions on a legal basis are from the outset involved in resolving these complex tasks. The experiences and results in the release of more than 2,400 manpower, e.g., through the Schwedt Initiative, "Fewer produce more," illuminate how broad the field is for trade union participation in socialist rationalization.

This ranges from preparing the working people in good time for their new jobs, to help in acquiring new knowledge and skills, via the influence on shaping working conditions conducive to personality development, better working conditions and more substantive work and the clarification of labor law and wage matters, all the way to helping them in solving all other social problems arising from changes in jobs or housing. It is perfectly correct that trade union work exercises a great influence on structuring all measures of socialist rationalization that have

enormous bearing on the work of thousands of working people and the life of their families so that conformity is obtained between social requirements and the working people's interests. Through prescience, trade union executives and boards can make an important contribution to recognizing in time and taking account of the consequences regarding the disposition, training, collective relations and health care of the working people as resulting from the application of microelectronics, industrial robots and the release of manpower caused by it. It has been found that things are going well wherever the communists, in particular, commit themselves to preparing and taking every step in rationalization together with the working people.

The trade unions have a great share in preparing and carrying out all measures affecting the working people's working and living conditions. All the comprehensive measures of social policy taken since the eighth party congress have been prepared, worked out and implemented jointly with the trade unions. On the basis of good results achieved through joint efforts, important results were achieved through their activities and services also in sociopolitical fields for which the trade unions bear a special responsibility. This includes their influence on improving working conditions, mainly health and labor safety and the supplying of the workers as much as their responsible participation in implementing a performance-oriented wage policy. It includes the efforts in satisfying the working people's growing needs for recreation and the extension of the FDGB vacation services and a better utilization of industrial recreation facilities as much as those for extensive material and financial care, and working people's care in cases of illness, labor accidents, disabilities and old-age.

The party program calls our attention to the link between further improving the effectiveness of socialist democracy and the extension of the role and responsibility of the trade unions in the work collective.[7] The new Labor Code strongly revalidates the importance of trade union work in the work collective and significantly expands the rights of the trade union functionaries within the groups. Whatever tasks one may pick out, frank conversations about topical political issues in the international class conflict, the organization of a vivid, mobilizing and intelligible contest, the indefatigable concern for improving working and living conditions, the development of multifaceted intellectual-cultural life--all that is most closely linked with trade union activity in the work collective.

The activity of volunteer functionaries, mainly those of trade union stewards, has received a much higher rating. This volunteer activity cannot be rated too highly because hundreds of thousands constantly learn in this work the basics in the exercise of political power and this also will remain in the future the best school for massively forming new cadres. The support given by the trade union executives to an all-round assistance and training of such functionaries therefore deserve much attention by every party organization and every state and economic manager, high appreciation and public recognition. More relevant than ever is the demand that it be each communist's first concern to work, with conviction, actively in the trade unions. That will be all the more successful, the better he knows how to make the consistent implementation of the policy assigned by the 10th party congress everyone's business, proves himself as a good trade unionist and, precisely because of that, complies with party policy. "It is a matter of honor for each comrade to be a fine unionist."[8]

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 37.

2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 3. Tagung des ZK der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 59.

3. V. I. Lenin, "Speech at the Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress," "Werke" (Works), Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 438.

4. V. I. Lenin, "Original Draft of Article 'The Next Tasks of Soviet Power,'" "Werke," Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 205.

5. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 137.

6. Guenter Mittag, "Combines in the Struggle for Implementing the Economic Strategy of the 10th SED Congress," EINHEIT, No 6, 1981, p 533.

7. Cf. "Programm . . .," op. cit., pp 43-44.

8. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., p 121.

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LITERARY PROOF SEEN FOR 'GERMAN SOCIALIST NATION'S CULTURAL IDENTITY'

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 9 Dec 81) pp 62-68

['The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Hans Koch, member, SED Central Committee; director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC: "Patriotism and Internationalism in Our Literature." A review of Kurt Hager's book cited in footnote 16 is translated under the heading, "Collection of Hager's 1972-81 Speeches, Essays Published," in JPRS 80140, 19 Feb 82, No 1977 of this series, pp 18-21]

> [Text] Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism in their unity and mutual dependence are critical components in the development of our society and its national culture. Many literary works of recent years are expressing that in new ways. Through its contents, committed to socialism and peace, GDR literature refutes the thesis that is widespread in the FRG that there allegedly continues to exist a uniform political and cultural nation. Our writers' commitment to peace is part of the activities through which progressive authors in many countries fight against imperialist war hysteria.

In harmony with the historic worldwide transition process from capitalism to socialism, the GDR people opted irrevocably for socialism. "Under working class leadership, it constituted itself the socialist German nation. No one can alter that in any way."[1] The socialist German nation in the GDR is and remains the historically necessary form in which--together with the closest internationalist fellowship with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community of states--the developed socialist society is constructed in our country, which establishes the basic prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism.

Socialist patriotism, which can exist only in closest interaction with proletarian internationalism, socialist love for our fatherland and a national sentiment commensurate with it, became irrevocable components of the conscious shaping of our society and its way of life and an ever renewed impulse toward opting for the socialist development in the GDR. That is also served by our literature and art. That is mainly so when they make men aware of the importance and value of the idea

of the fatherland, as Anna Seghers demanded as early as 1935 in Paris at the International Writers' Congress for the Defense of Culture. "The thing is that it does not do the writer any good, even if he learned his craft as well as Flaubert once demanded, so that the tree he describes differs from any trees anyone else has ever seen. The writer of our days must have caught something else of the essence of the tree. There is no homeland soil as such, there is no apple tree as such. The apple tree on the field of a feudal landowner differs from one on a field confiscated by the treasury and differs also from one on a collective farm." Anna Seghers asked whether a writer who loved his country might be proud of the "Leuna National Farm." Her answer: He is not proud of this "National Farm" but "he is proud of the labor of 50,000 workers, proud of what has been made of that landscape soaked with the blood of Central German revolt, proud of the future of Leuna. Do ask yourselves what it is that is being loved of your country by this weighty word 'love of the fatherland.'"[2]

Anna Seghers' demand is as timely as ever. Today, the "future of Leuna" she referred to has become reality. In more than one literary work, the real "Leuna National Farm" has become an object of pride, expressed by a new, socialist love of the fatherland.

Two German Literatures

Beyond the shores of the Werra and Elbe they keep trying to keep open the "German question," which has long been settled by history. They talk and write about an alleged continuing existence of "political national unity." The GDR and FRG are welded together into a "uniform cultural nation," or they keep twaddling that there purportedly continues to exist "one German literature." That suits those well who are dreaming about being able to push the effective borders of German imperialism again to the Oder and Neisse, thereafter to the "borders of 1937" of once, and then still farther east. Our press has often written about it. The real danger emanating from such "all-German dreams" proportionately increases with the imperialist political and military confrontation course and arms buildup.

A new nation concept was evolving, the conservative FRG journalist Fritz J. Raddatz prophesied. One could by now speak again of one German national culture. The literature in the two German states had "become one literature (almost of one country), in its expressing suffering, coercion, deprivation, withdrawal into individuality, the individual, subjectivity and the personal."[3]

How a work as that of Anna Seghers, which is so exemplary of the socialist German national literature of the GDR, can be bent through interpretation so it becomes presentable in the "all-German" sense as apostrophized by Raddatz, was presented by an edifying example by the prominent FRG critic Marcel Reich-Ranicki. Anna Seghers he terms a "principally religious author" (any comment would be feeble). "The foundation of her work, whatever it may look like, is not Marxist, not materialist, but devout." Anna Seghers was telling atheistic legends, secular martyrologies, profane passionals of the insulted and the injured, of victims of politics and history. The upshot, according to Reich-Ranicki: "Within man there is something--as it is put in the 'Seventh Cross'--that 'was unassailable and invulnerable.' This is the value Anna Seghers celebrated--a value beyond communism, class struggle and revolution, beyond politics."[4] Any tenth-grader in our country would

only shake his head over anything like that. But for the literature business prevailing in the FRG, it is not difficult to predict that Reich-Ranicki's botched work of interpretation will keep not a few literary interpretors busy and point them in the (false) direction.

Belles-lettres in the GDR can help shape a class-bound love of country devoted to the GDR, closely tied up with a ripening socialist national sentiment.

Literature and art, it turns out, are indispensable for forming a sensitivity, a subtle sense for that the existence and development of our socialist fatherland constitute a value of supreme social and personal significance: Art and literature arouse a sense and feeling for that our country is the historically supreme achievement of all forward-directed endeavors for which the German people has been fighting throughout its long, contradictory history, and that this country of ours offers an individual the widest space for development, action and responsibility.

Let us look at some books of 1981. In our country, and only here, the carpenter Tillmann Rutenschneider or the worker and later party secretary Kurt Zipfel can face, under whatever contradictory circumstance, the challenges to their capacities and abilities, to their sense of responsibility to large or small collectives of working people, and can do justice to them. The responsibility of the individual worker to history has thus far been best presented, impressive in its artistry, I think, in Bernhard Seeger's novel, "The Harmonica Player."

The Munich author August Kuehn, who shares the same world image with Bernhard Seeger, a few years ago also came out with a novel, "Die Merkwuerdigkeiten im Leben des Fritz Wachsmuth" (The Peculiarities in the Life of Fritz Wachsmuth), Volk und Welt, 1980, which likewise aimed at fostering an individual's sense of historic responsibility. But how different is the intent of his book and the effect of it! The differences in the characters and plots do not matter nor does the difference in the form of individualized writing. The dialectic of characters and situations and the details and motives of this FRG novel, placed in the postwar setting, are bound to be different. Especially the clearly sought thrust of Kuehn's consistently backing the historic responsibility of the working people rests on sociohistoric premises that differ from Seeger's. It belongs--as can be demonstrated down to many details--to a different literature from the one within which Bernhard Seeger writes, in a socialist country and for a socialist country.

Only in our country, the GDR, with its multifaceted literary aggregate, however ordinary their work may be, is this "historic dimension" of action conceivable, as of Elsa Scharfschwerdt, Mayor Sommerfeld, Rosina Grosch, but also this specific vagueness and indecision in the attitudes of the Roman couple and of Elli Gebhardt--to mention but a few characters of Helmut Sakowski's novel "Verflucht und geliebt" (Cursed and Loved).

Things are different again in Gerhard Holtz-Baumert's volume of stories, "Erscheinen Pflicht" (Appearance Mandatory). The book is not without cheerfulness, humor, even irony, says the blurb. Yet its subtext sounds worried anxiety in which the author explores whether we always respond cautiously, sensitively and accurately enough in our country to conflicts or yearnings of young people who are about to sink their roots into their physical-psychological and political homeland and whose task it is

to carry the flag forward. In Holtz-Baumert's narrative art, that apprehension is identical with his backing the young people's future prospects he is talking about, in awake and unerring party-mindedness toward his socialist country which becomes the young people's fatherland, not last, through the attitude and moral responsibility of their fathers.

Rainer Kerndl's political adventure novel, "Eine undurchsichtige Affaire" (An Opaque Affair), with its setting in the Near East, is very much a typically GDR book, and not only because its hero, Jochen Altenstaedt, comes from Erfurt, but also because of the ways and means in which it inquires into national identity and national consciousness.

Erik Neutsch, it seemed, had by now confined himself to stories of the present-day GDR and literary accounts of GDR history, but then he recently came out with a historic narrative, "Forster in Paris." Within a lengthy literary discussion of literary ancestors and the handling of genuine and fictitious symbols of German history, Neutsch acknowledges and espouses his Georg Forster, that most consistent German Jacobinic revolutionary of the pedigree of those who--as Engels put it, "fought for realities and not for illusions."[5] A creditable credo, sure enough. But more than that as well: Setting down an imperishable characteristic of the historically grown cultural self-reliance of our socialist German nation. In mentally bridging Forster's attitude with today's demands, Neutsch wrote in his Forster essay: "Being engaged and bearing responsibility for what happens all around, seeking perfection, but only together with those (not without them and not against them) who received the historic mission to provide the proper respect for perfection both individual and social, and ensuring the necessary material basis for it. That would be an extraordinary gain but conceivable only in a country of socialist coinage, and it would above all be the consistent continuation of the revolutionary traditions in German literature and art."[6]

How the ideas of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism are melded together in a new literary fashion is shown in Max Walter Schulz's recent story "Die Fliegerin oder Aufhebung einer Legende" (The Aviatrix or the Elimination of a Myth). On the Byelorussian front in 1944, under most peculiar circumstances, closeness, warmth, love develop between the Russian aviatrix L'yuba Kondratyeva and the German private-first-class Benno Hellriegel. That deeply affects Hellriegel as a person. But all that remains imaginary, mute, unspoken. Only decades later, at L'yuba's funeral, the "elimination of a mute myth" is brought about. The relations between the two nations have profoundly changed. Now it has become honest, and necessary probably too, to say what had remained unsaid and report about the episode between L'yuba and Hellriegel, decades removed. It sounds like an anticipatory introduction by which Max Walter Schulz introduced his story in the 1960's, when he wrote: "The bourgeois-humanistic German literature about World War II preferentially dealt with typical destinies. But if today in the FRG something that may not be a relevant yet still at least a subjective truth, that among the people in Nazi uniform something like personal decency still existed, is being manipulated to give rise to the myth of the good German who did his duty, that is not the fault of Boell, Borchert, Walser and their peers. In their work, the sorrow about the senselessness of human tragedies under fascism conforms with their indictment of the incessant human corruption of bourgeois

society. The business of the moral rehabilitation of fascist and fascistoid German inhumanity is taken care of by junk-type literature, the "Landserhefte" and anti-Soviet and anticommunist shockers, products of psychological warfare with circulations running into the millions. But it also comes out of the memoirs of former military and Nazi bosses giving themselves serious airs. It is understood that this not only shifts around the connections of historic truth but deliberately falsifies historic truth. That goes to say that socialist German literature dealing with World War II still has to look for its historic and social terrain within the contemporary German antagonistic conflicts. It must not descend unarmed from the hills of the German spirit of aggression and let it go at that. It also must protect and defend the peace of its own landscape. How? Essentially by poetically documenting that the liberation from fascism channeled into socialist development truly achieved the freedom for the great human change."[7] That is shown in particular by the signatures under which especially here, in this topic, the socialist patriotism of this our literature and art necessarily and organically connects with the idea of German-Soviet friendship, with the idea and act of proletarian internationalism.

"Nothing Is As Important As the Preservation of Peace!"

On 20 August 1981, the Association of German Writers (VS) in Munich published an "Appeal of the Writers of Europe." For the first time simultaneously in the name of a number of writers associations and PEN centers (including the GDR) and many individual signers from almost all European countries, later joint by almost all European authors associations. This is how the appeal starts out: "Humanity is now to get used to the criminal idea that a limited nuclear war can be fought--with new missiles, neutron bombs, cruise missiles and so forth. We counter that and say: No limited war can be fought with nuclear weapons; it would destroy the whole world."

Indeed there has never been a document yet which--as the text states--received "beyond all borders of states and social systems and beyond all differences of opinion" the agreement of entirely different and indeed, in their literary, ideological and political persuasions, opposed authors from almost all European countries, who are all unanimous in one decisive matter: "Nothing is as important as the preservation of peace!"[6]

Even the first commentaries pointed out that it had been necessary in this peace initiative to confront from the outset the propaganda objection that resistance against new missiles, neutron bombs, cruise missiles, and so forth "was identical with anti-Americanism, alias nationalism."[9] The progressive FRG writer Bernt Engelmann, who incidentally received a collective solidarity announcement from 52 SPD Bundestag deputies, found himself duty bound to take a position on that objection which had "unfortunately been raised also by prominent cabinet members." He said: "Our country's territory is 40 times smaller than that of the United States but ten times more densely settled. In spite of that, most U.S. nuclear warheads are deployed not in the United States, but among us. Our country has been turned into the most enormous arsenal of nuclear and other annihilation weapons that there is in the world. Now the already here concentrated U.S. nuclear power is meant to be further augmented, and this by new systems that can mainly still be used only offensively, in a nuclear first strike. And as previously, so also in

the future, the sole power of disposition over all weapons of annihilation stationed among us will go to the President of the United States." Calling "anti-American" an objection against the "course of Messrs. Reagan, Weinberger & Co.," Engelmann called "insulting to all decent Americans" and their democratic and antifascist traditions: "Resolutely confronting warmongers and saber rattlers is never directed against a nation. Our commitment plainly is the very opposite of the armaments madness in which relentless, power and profit greedy and misanthropic groups are engaged, and which threatens all inhabitants of the earth."[10]

That is the language of the noncommunist initiator of this peace appeal and not the argumentation of that significant document itself. Signing it, even declared enemies of communism thought possible and advisable, for instance. Whatever the view about the causes and mechanisms of the arms race and the judgments on social systems may be--above and beyond all differences in opinion--the vote that counts first and foremost is: "We appeal to the world audience not to resign but dedicate itself with greater energy to peace. Let us act together so that Europe will not be turned into a nuclear battlefield of another, the last, world war. Nothing is as important as the preservation of peace!"[11]

Western media have scolded Hermann Kant, president of the GDR Writers Association, that in his speech about that appeal he had made a special point of the peace power and initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community and of the personal share in it of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev. It may be taken for granted that Kant--like Engelmann and many others--would have been fair enough to pay proper respect to any American president if his political reason and mouth had uttered as many and equally reasonable peace proposals as did the Soviet statesman--ignoring for the time being the sympathy he enjoys among communists here. But as one knows, there are no such proposals. Reagan's so-called zero option, disseminated a few weeks ago with big manipulative efforts, cannot fool a thinking person. That was no peace initiative but, if looked at closely, turns out to have been a propaganda trick.

It is a hopeless illusion that the socialist German literature of the GDR might bear witness to the lie of the century, the threat from the east, betray proletarian internationalism which coincides with the inevitable course of history or anti-imperialist solidarity, or become disloyal to the law under which it has placed itself.

"You Think the Russians Want War"

That Yevtushenko poem embraces a whole literary program. It represents a literary current that in various forms and expressions has permeated all Soviet literature ever since Lenin's call, "To all!" The civil war, the intervention by 14 imperialist states, all suffering and struggle in World War II against German fascism, created an unusually multifaceted literary art which in its effects--wherever they can make themselves felt--constitutes one of the strongest ethical-intellectual potentials against the lie of the century about the Soviet threat. A boundless love for peace, an absolute will for peace, combines there with a resolute determination to defend the Soviet homeland and socialism against any assault or attack even under the toughest conditions.

GDR readers are inordinately receptive to books by Soviet authors, from Furmanov's "Chapayev" to Polevoi's "A True Man" to Sholokhov's "A Human Destiny" and Rasputin's "Live and Do Not Forget," and to books about the living and the dead, and about war and peace. For new generations of younger readers this literature is part of their own understanding and experience of history.

And there is more to it: the Soviet author Grigori Baklanov wrote on the occasion of the publication of Max Walter Schulz's novel "Der Soldat und die Frau" (The Soldier and the Woman): "At that time, Max Walter Schulz and I fought on opposite fronts. The books we have written since bear witness, from opposite sides, to one and the same period and the same tragic events in which we took part: enemies then, equal-minded today." Yet Baklanov did not forget to add: "However, by no means all who confronted each other at the time can say today they are of equal mind and nothing separates them."[12]

Equal-minded, firmly allied with the Soviet Union, today are, along with authors like Schulz, Hofe, Noll, or Brezan, many many others--younger ones among them--who came to understand the "German defeat" as their liberation. Friendship with the Soviet Union has become one of the basic ideas in our literature. In the third volume of the Hanusch trilogy by Jurij Brezan, there are found a few lines, throw-away lines actually, that have made a deep impression on me. "If there is no war," Felix remarked pensively, "if we ever truly get peace, then the Russians will have dragged the peace into the world, truly dragged, as laboriously as, on Repin's painting, the Volga Boatmen."[13]

Our people has established a deep bond with Soviet literature. Something similar could be shown in the intellectual-artistic relations with other socialist countries, from Cuba to Vietnam and Mongolia, and with the anti-imperialist national movements in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Indian and Afroamerican liberation movements in the United States itself.

How hard it is, on the other hand, to circulate Konstantin Simonov's books, e.g., in the GDR, was once admitted by Helmut Kindler who publishes Simonov's works there. Alfred Andersch also complained in that sense about lack of knowledge of Soviet literature. In a "Public Letter to a Soviet Author, Concerning the Obsolete," he wrote: "By a 'Westerner' I mean an intellectual in Western countries whose knowledge of Russian literature begins with Gogol and ranges via Turgenev, Dostoyevsky and Tolstoi to Gorki. At Mayakovski at the latest, his contacts are torn. At best he may have read some Ehrenburg, Babel's 'Budenny's Red Cavalry,' Gladkov's 'Cement' and a few symbolistic poems. From then on he uncritically accepts the information that the literature of the Soviet Union is a state-managed propaganda enterprise, belles-lettres interpretations of party assignments."[14] DIE WELT, e.g., acknowledges only one modern Russian literature, that of the so-called dissidents, whose intrigues Konstantin Simonov has called "political striptease."

In his open answer to Alfred Andersch, Simonov said: "The most essential in all this striptease, calling for acuity of judgment, is the desire to bring about a collision between our country and the West, and this by all means and at any cost." Simonov expressed his high respect to Andersch for his deeply pained sense of our general responsibility for the future. How do the "lessons of war and the author's duty connect? In that literature does what it can and "so that in the words

'second world war' the adjective 'second' be replaced by the adjective 'last' and compels mankind to come to its senses and terminate the enumeration of wars with 'two'; for there will be no one left to count to four, once it has come to three."[15]

There is no other literature which, in the given richness of its work, does as much for peace as does Soviet literature. The readers' and authors' relations with that literature have greatly entered into our national identity, the specificity of our socialist German national literature--as the attitude of equal-minded in the spirit of peace and socialism.

Let us work hard to do our share in this spirit: Its internationalist backing lends our own patriotism strength; through strengthening the GDR, including its cultural strength, we best contribute to the strengthening of peace. "Culture and art," Karl Hager said, "can make a direct contribution to shaping international relations in line with the peaceful coexistence principles and thus, to safeguarding peace. The creators of culture in the GDR can illuminate from their own experience the close connection between peace and socialism, and between social and cultural progress."[16]

There is a scene in Berhard Seeger's novel "The Harmonica Player" where his hero, with quiet and calm pride, reflects on the common achievements: "He was far from believing they had now done enough. Tillman knew all too well: He who thinks that has by that token stopped living. "[17]

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 28.

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3. Fritz J. Raddatz, "National Literature as Anxiety Literature," "Almanach fuer Literatur und Theologie," Vol 14, Wuppertal, 1980, p 43.

4. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 15 November 1980, p iv.

5. Friedrich Engels, "German Conditions," II, Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works) Vol 2, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1957, p 577.

6. Erik Neutsch, "Georg Foster Today," "Fast die Wahrheit" (Almost the Truth), Tribuene publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 241.

7. Max Walter Schulz, "Some Notes on GDR War Literature," "Pinocchio und kein Ende. Notizen zur Literatur" (Pinocchio and No End--Notes on Literature), Mitteldeutscher Verlag, Halle/Saale, 1978, p 61.

8. "Appeal of the Writers of Europe," "Action: Peace Appeal of the Writers of Europe." Association of German Writers (VS), IG Druck und Papier, Stuttgart, 1981, p 5.

9. DIE ZEIT, Hamburg, 21 August 1981, p 29.

10. Bernt Engelmann, "Some Words of Peace to the Federal Government," "Action: Peace Appeal . . .," op. cit., pp 14-16.

11. Ibid., p 5.

12. G. Baklanov, "Max Walter Schulz, 'The Soldier and the Woman,'" KUNST UND LITERATUR, No 5, 1981, p 503.

13. Jurij Brezan, "Mannesjahre" (Mature Years), Neues Leben publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 296.

14. Alfred Andersch, "Public Letter to a Soviet Author, Concerning the Obsolete," "Bundesrepublik Deutschland - Sowjetunion, Offenheit gegen Offenheit" (FRG - Soviet Union--Frankness for Frankness), Cologne, 1978, p 19.

15. Ibid., pp 41-42.

16. Kurt Hager, "The 10th Party Congress and the Cultural Policy," "Beitraege zur Kulturpolitik" (Contributions to Cultural Policy), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 213.

17. Bernhard Seeger, "Der Harmonikaspieler," Mitteldeutscher Verlag, Halle/Leipzig, 1981, p 433.

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SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 9 Dec 81) 'Resumes' addendum

Socialist Revolution's Universally Valid Laws and Their Creative Application by Our Party

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Manfred Herold, economist, candidate member, SED Central Committee; first dean (prorektor), Karl Marx Party College, SED CC; pp 7-14]

> [Text] The resolute implementation of the universally valid laws of the socialist revolution is a fundamental prerequisite for the construction of the new order. Through polemics against revisionist distortions of Marxism-Leninism, it is being shown that the condition for successful management activity and the criterion for the maturity of a Marxist-Leninist party is its ability to make these universally valid laws prevail creatively under the concrete conditions of its country and of the international balance of power. How has our party always complied with that requirement?

Our Party's Leadership Power in Shaping the New Society

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Manfred Banaschak, department chief, SED Central Committee; chief editor, EINHEIT; pp 15-24]

> [Text] Disputing bourgeois attempts at detaching the results of our socialist construction from its essential causes, the leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party is being explained while it is being shown that what has been achieved is the outcome of party policy implemented through diligent efforts. Its real leadership strength is critical for the implementation of our demanding tasks. On what do we rely in this, and what consequences arise from it?

Socialist State Power Under Marxist-Leninist Party's Leadership--Basic Question of Socialist Revolution

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Dr Klaus Sorgenicht, department chief, SED Central Committee; member, GDR Council of State; pp 25-32]

> [Text] By means of our practical politics and against any unsolicited advice from those that want to "improve" socialism, this is being demonstrated: Strong socialist state power, firmly rooted in the people and inviolable, under Marxist-Leninist party leadership, is the basis and condition for our continued successful advances and is and remains the fundamental question of the socialist revolution. What are our socialist state's main tasks? How can its authority and functioning capacity be ensured under any conditions?

Struggle for Highest Labor Productivity--Requirement of Economic Strategy

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Claus Kroemke, economist, deputy department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 33-40. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Industry Urged to Focus on Product Quality, Not Quantity," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] Proceeding from increased labor productivity, the indispensable prerequisite for any social progress, its importance is being explained for carrying on the main task policy in its unity of economic and social policy. Which economic and ideological questions are primary under concrete conditions today for boosting our labor productivity as our party's economic strategy would have it? Why and how does the effort for increasing labor productivity connect with efficiency improvements? What does it mean to conduct this struggle politically?

Socialist Planned Economy and Democratic Centralism

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Gerd Friedrich, economist, deputy director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management; SED Central Committee; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; chairman, Council for Economic Management Problems; pp 41-49. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Socialist Market Economy, 'Equal Rights' for Combines Rejected," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] Today it is historically proven that--as the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism had shown--the socialist planned economy can prosper only on the basis of democratic centralism and its improvements in line with any given developmental conditions. Precisely for that reason is this essential element of socialist management exposed to unabating attacks from bourgeois ideologists. In which directions is this principle being shaped, under party leadership, as required for making our economic strategy prevail in the 1980's?

Protection of Socialism and Defense of Peace--A Cause for Entire People

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Col Gen Herbert Scheibe, member, department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 57-61]

> [Text] It is among our party's historic achievements that the military protection of our accomplishments and the defense of peace have become a cause for the entire people. What consequences arise for our national defense from the arms buildup and confrontation policy of the United States and NATO? It is the business of every communist and each basic organization to help further develop all citizens' readiness and capability for national defense, deepen each citizen's sense of responsibility for reinforcing state security, and strengthen our revolutionary vigilance.

Greater Yield From Research

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Siegfried Schilller, deputy director, Manfred von Ardenne Research Institute, Dresden; pp 69-74. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Contact With Western Customers Urged to Improve Research Results," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] In analyzing the research institute's results and experiences, it is being shown how R&D could still contribute more to the implementation of our party's economic strategy. What role is played by top technologies; what is necessary for them to take hold? What does it mean to adapt to the standards of international markets and to customer preferences? How can research be made more dynamic, and how can we speed up the application of R&D data?

Collective Climate--Performance Readiness--Personality Development

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Dr Klaus Glodde, economist, senior assistant, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 75-81]

> [Text] Intracollective relations greatly affect an individual's attitude and conduct, his personality development and his performance attitude. Analyzed mainly are the conditions for forming and reinforcing socialist collective relations and norms of conduct, their effects on personality development and performance attitudes; changes in the substance and rating of collective relations and norms in connection with enforcing scientific-technical progress and the higher demands made on performance; and the role of emulation and encouragements and impediments.

'International Terrorism' and Imperialist Confrontation Course

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Dr Harry Klug, staff employee, SED Central Committee; pp 82-88]

[Text] This article comes to grips with design by the U.S. Administration to sharpen its confrontation course under the disguise of a struggle against "international terrorism" and change the tools of neocolonialism for the benefit of violence, terror and open complicity with terrorist regimes. The imperialist policy of threats and violence, aimed at the export of the counterrevolution and intensifying the danger of war, while also evoking the peoples' resistance, seeks an anticommunist "pacification" of the "third world" and the subversion of the alliance between socialism and the national liberation movement.

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JANUARY 1982 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Jan 82 p 4

[Brigitte Hering review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 1, January 1982, signed to press 9 December 1981, pp 1-112: "Classic Topic of Current Keen Interest." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] EINHEIT's January issue devotes 11 contributions to one of the classic topics of scientific communism, the universal inevitability of the socialist revolution and the construction of the new society.

Manfred Herold explains in his lead article why this subject in particular evokes the keenest interest today: More than ever before the enemy is directing his harassing fire against the basic principles of socialism. "The 'replacement' of the socialist revolution's universally valid laws is praised as a 'continuation of Marxism,' while the struggle for their consistent implementation, on the other hand, is snubbed as 'dogmatic adherence to something historically outdated.'"

In this respect the dialectic of the general and the specific plays a central role in most of the 11 contributions. Also with regard to methodology this dialectic has an effect. While Manfred Herold explains the objective inevitability of the leading role of the workers class and its party in ths socialist revolution, Manfred Banaschek demonstrates this by taking the SED as an example.

Klaus Sorgenicht deals with the comprehensive strengthening of the socialist state as another basic question of the revolution. Claus Kroemke discusses the inseparable relationship between labor productivity and social progress. Gerd Friedrich explains why the socialist planned economy can prosper only on the basis of democratic centralism. Fritz Brock writes about the active role of the trade unions in our country and their trusting relations with the party. Other contributions deal, among other things, with the protection of socialism (by Herbert Scheibe), patriotism and internationalism in our literature (by Hans Koch), and the effectiveness of research (by Siegfried Schiller).

In addition to this important topic, this EINHEIT issue also offers the following interesting features: 'Consultation' ["How Do Party Organizations Promote 'Quality Work From the GDR'?" (pp 89-92), by Dr Ekkehard Boettger, economist, lecturer on industrial economics, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee;

and "Tasks of the Basic Organizations in the Communist Education of School-children" (pp 93-96), by Dr Detlef Pietzold, staff employee, SED Central Committee]; 'Information' ["Great Britain in Crisis" (pp 100-103), by Prof Dr Franz Knipping, editor, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND]; 'Answers' ["What Significance is There in Drafting a UN Code of Conduct for Transnational Monopolies?" (pp 104-106), by Prof Dr Horst Heininger, economist, main department chief, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics (IPW)]; a book review [by Prof Dr Wilhelm Eildermann and Dr Horst Naumann, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; of book "Jugendjahre" (Early Years), by Franz Dahlem, published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1982; EINHEIT pp 107-109]; and a noteworthy report by Friedrich Richter on the Hegel symposium of the SED Central Committee's Karl Marx Party College, 29-30 October 1981 ["Hegel's Dialectic as Theoretical Source of Historical Materialism" (pp 97-99), by Prof Dr Friedrich Richter, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee].

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PREPARATIONS FOR 1983 LUTHER FESTIVITIES REPORTED

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 18, 12 Feb 82 pp 5-6

['Facts and Figures' report by Press Office, Chairman, GDR Council of Ministers: "Luther Historic Sites in the GDR Well Prepared for the 1983 Jubilee." Translations of articles on related information are published under the heading: "Luther's Legacy Accepted for 'Socialist German National Culture,'" in JPRS 79591, 4 Dec 81, No 1948 of this series, pp 16-33]

[Text] 10 November 1983 will mark the 500th anniversary of the birthday of Martin Luther, one of the greatest sons of the German people. With a celebration in Luther's honor, the GDR and its citizens will pay tribute to his character and to the historical achievements accomplished by him. To mark the occasion of this anniversary the GDR Martin Luther Committee was established in 1980 under the chairmanship of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

The activities in the GDR celebrating the 500th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther will include many political, scientific and cultural high points as well as church events in Berlin and in places where Luther lived and worked. The GDR Academy of Sciences and GDR universities have planned international colloquia and conferences. The Museum for German History and the National Gallery of Berlin are preparing appropriate exhibits. Publishing houses, theatres and orchestras, museums, art collections and art galleries, the movies, the press, radio and televsion will make their contributions to the festivities in honor of Martin Luther.

For the 1983 anniversary important national Luther sites will appear in dignified condition. Many specialists and thousands of citizens in the respective cities and communities have been working toward this goal with great personal efforts. Church committees are likewise fulfilling their responsibilities toward maintaining church monuments.

Martin Luther's birthplace in Eisleben is currently being restored. The house in Lutherstrasse is to be restored to its old beauty before the festivities on 10 November 1983 in honor of the 500th birthday of the important reformer, humanist and language artist. The restoration includes cleaning and preserving the remnants of a baroque painting on the ceiling of the "Beautiful Hall: in which carefully restored portraits of Luther and Melanchton as well as the Prince Electors of Saxony can be seen.

The work performed at Luther's birthplace is part of an extensive program of reconstruction and preservation for public use of several Luther sites in the GDR. With the help of scientific consultants and experienced craftsmen of the Institute for the Preservation of Monuments as well as numerous historians, art historians, architects, museologists etc. local authorities are supervising the carefully planned work on valuable single houses and housing complexes dating back to the 16th century. The purpose of this work is to preserve and restore the original setting of these sites while at the same time respecting the many restoration measures taken in previous centuries. Current restoration work is meant to enhance the effect and scientific significance of these monuments.

In Erfut extensive work is currently done on the Augustinian Monastery, one of the most important Luther sites in the GDR. Martin Luther joined the Augustinian Order in the Gothic monastery church in 1505. The church, built in the 14th century, and other monastery buildings were badly damaged by Anglo-American bombs in 1945. During the past decades major portions of the famous monastery complex have been reconstructed. In view of the Luther anniversary of 1983 the work is now concentrating on the goal of restoring the monastery as much as possible to its condition in Luther's time.

Much attention is also paid to the valuable stained-glass windows of the monastery church. Experts in monument preservation are cleaning the glass that has been considerably affected by exposure and are preserving it from further environmental effects. Similar work is done to the windows of Erfurt Cathedral where Luther was ordained a priest in 1507. This work was preceded by extensive scientific research on these valuable examples of medieval art.

Sites of special national and international significance are the cathedral and Augustinian Monastery in Erfurt, Wartburg Castle in Eisenach where, from 1521 to 1522, Luther disguised as "Junker Joerg" began his translation of the Bible into German and thereby completed one of the greatest cultural achievements of our history, the Augusteum, the National Luther Hall, the castle and castle church in Wittenberg, and other buildings connected with the life and work of Martin Luther. All of these are listed on the GDR Central Monument Register.

At Wartburg Castle, the legendary "singers' hall" with its valuable wall paintings by Moritz von Schwind (1804 to 1871) will soon be open to visitors from all over the world. Preservation work on the castle arcades, renovation of the castle facade, and the restoration of the large festival hall are also on the work program as well as the continuation of work on art and handicraft objects which belong to the Wartburg Foundation. The so-called Duerer Wardrobe, e.g., one of the chief examples of late Gothic furniture art, is presently in the restoration shop of the Berlin-Koepenick Artifacts Museum. Restoration work is also in progress on the colorful Elizabeth tapestry, on paintings, carvings and other objects. This fall, the work accomplished in this field is to be shown to the public during an international colloquium on the art of the Reformation era in Eisenach.

During the past months, extensive construction projects were completed at Luther sites in Wittenberg, e.g. at the St. Mary City Church. The Collegium

Augusteum of the former Wittenberg University received a fresh coat of paint. Expert roofers also completed their work. Not yet completed is the restoration work on and inside the Luther House.

In 1508 Luther was sent by his order, the Augustinian Hermits, to Wittenberg University. In Wittenberg, he lived at the Augustinian Monastery. He remained here also when the monastery was closed in 1522. Not until 1532 did the Prince Elector officially give the monastery to the reformer whose "room over the doorway, my poor little room," a monk's cell on the third floor, no longer exists. But there is still the living room on the second floor. Here originated, among others, the famous "table talks." This room has remained essentially unchanged over the centuries. In the early 16th century it was already called "Museum Lutheri."

For some time now, employees of the Historical Museum of the Reformation, which is part of the Luther House, have adapted their continual exhibits to the most recent findings. Next year, the exhibit will be reopened. It will include previously little known pictures, documents, printed papers and pamphlets and other documents from the time of the reformation and the German peasants' war which, taken as a whole, represents the first popular revolution in Germany.

Construction work on the Wittenberg Palace Church is also in full progress. The church is a remarkable example of how the 19th century practiced heritage and monument preservation. 100 years ago, the original form of the church was changed in many details in the process of reconstruction. In view of the anniversary, the Palace Church is now being redecorated; restoration work is also done on the "Theses Door" and on the 45 meter long and 2 meter high mosaic inscription that runs around the outside of the Palace Church steeple.

In addition to this work on important Luther sites in the GDR, the preservation program also includes restoration and preservation measures in Torgau. Years ago, the outside facade of Castle Hartenfels where Luther often stayed was restored, and soon the castle chapel will be restored. Luther had been influential in the interior decoration work of this chapel. Also planned is the restoration of the exterior facade of Torgau's Mary Church where Luther's wife, Katharina von Boar, is buried.

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BRIEFS

JASKIERNIA IN FRG--Bonn, 7 March--Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Youth, spoke on Sunday [7 March] at the 7th Congress of Socialist German Working Youth [SDAJ] in Dusseldorf. [By Zbigniew Ramotowski] [Excerpt] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Mar 82 p 4]

CSO: 2600/412

CRNOBRNJA URGES MORE DEMOCRACY IN PARTY

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 27 Feb 82 SEDAM DANA p 9

[Interview with Bogdan Crnobrnja, chairman of the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly, by Ratomir Petkovic: "Why Are We Closing the Mouths Even of the Well-Intentioned?"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Several more extremely important jobs arising out of the basic commitments to stabilization await the delegates of the Yugoslav Assembly just before their term of office expires. We are referring above all to the announced changes in the country's medium-term plan, and then the adjustment of the country's payments balance and exchange balance, legislative activity and certainly the necessary summation of the experience gained.

That is the context of our interview with Bogdan Crnobrnja, chairman of the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, a man who has had 8 years' experience as a delegate, long enough time for him to make an authoritative judgment of the functioning of the delegate system introduced by the 1974 Constitution. We took as our point of departure this statement by the subject of our interview: "On the basis of experience I have gained I have come to the conclusion that the functioning of the delegate system as conceived by the constitution calls for more democracy throughout society."

[Question] Could you elaborate on that?

[Answer] When there is not enough democracy, then the delegate system will have greater shortcomings than conventional electoral systems. When things are resolved in closed groups, when accountability is not public enough, then the delegate system objectively turns out to be weak, and conversely, when the atmosphere in the election of delegates is entirely democratic, when the accountability of the delegate for his work is democratic and public, when he is publicly responsible, including the right of recall, then this is the most superior form of social functioning and decisionmaking. I am in favor of the delegate system in those terms, and if it is to work better, I repeat, we must have more democracy.

Openly Concerning Errors

[Question] How are those processes to be initiated?

[Answer] First, we must start with the leading political force. Without the leading political force and its democratic profile there can be no democracy in society. Democracy is just as democratic and democratic in the same way as the leading political force in society.

[Question] Are you thinking of democracy in the League of Communists?

[Answer] Yes, above all in the League of Communists, without which, since it is the leading political force, it is not possible to perform those large revolutionary tasks which have to mark in historic terms the transition of a small portion of humanity (referred to as Yugoslavia) into something new that the world has not known up to now--a society of free men and free masters of their destiny. It is for that reason that there must be a revolutionary political force capable in every respect, in terms of ideology, morality and political organization. That role must be taken over by the League of Communists, developing universal public ties and dialogues, without sectarianism, including all forces capable of action.

[Question] How is the League of Communists performing its role in those terms today?

[Answer] Perhaps my opinion will be too critical, but I must explain that it would be extremely erroneous for someone to suppose that I underestimate or ignore what has been achieved. On the contrary, I am aware of our large achievements and I do see them, but that is not enough. At the same time I also see our shortcomings, which have prevented those achievements from being much greater. The goal is for us to move forward faster and more effectively. We need to say openly what is good and what is not.

[Question] What in your judgment is not good?

[Answer] When the discussion turns to the League of Communists, then we should first speak about our own errors. We do not speak enough about that, and that from the primary organization of the LC [League of Communists] to the highest forums of the party. And when we do, then we speak in terms that are too general, and it is worth little. Take, for example, the party congresses. I have the feeling that we are going about the preparations in a rather routine way. It is not that kind of situation, however. The situation requires of us that we work differently, democratically.

[Question] Do you think that we ought to be much more specific in the preparations?

[Answer] These discussions being conducted concerning the bylaws, democratic centralism or rotation, and then the discussions about whether it is a mass party or is not a mass party--those are rather secondary issues. Let the man who is prepared for action be a member of the party, and let reality and

experience decide whether there will be 1 million or 2 million members. As for rotation, rotation from one position to another that is just the same is not very convincing, and I am afraid there will be a great deal of that. In relative terms we speak about that a great deal, there are more important topics.

[Question] What is decisive to a strengthening of the League of Communists?

[Answer] The most important thing is ideological unity and capacity for action based on that. People who are in favor of that unity, in favor of what we have agreed on democratically, people who are prepared to carry out what has been agreed on in a different way, let such people be members of the League of Communists if they desire. Since many people are doing that same thing, but they do not want to be members of the LC. We need a political organization or mechanism which will lead toward self-management. That cannot be debated. As the self-managers become competent, there will be less and less need for the party to insist on this or that. The political mechanism will become something new, something not known up to now.

Unsuccessful Confrontation

[Question] However, as though we are letting up a little in achieving the goals which have been set, in stabilization, for example?

[Answer] Aside from what I have said, I am not satisfied with the effects of stabilization nor with its pace. I do not say that there have not been results. But it seems to me that the tasks of stabilization ought to be more in the focus of our preoccupations. We ought to have that issue much more frequently in our plenums, to see what party members are doing, what they have omitted to do, and what they should do. That would be the best preparation for the congresses. I am afraid that we will arrive at the congress and we will not get from them what, along with many people, we expect, more precisely, I am afraid that these will be gatherings which will affirm the League of Communists and its role.

[Question] One of the reasons why we talk so much about the League of Communists is because of its role in the development and advancement of the delegate system.

[Answer] It is clear that the contribution and political support to the delegate system, to executive bodies and assembly bodies, follows from what I have said about the place and role of the League of Communists. On the basis of the consensus and agreement achieved on the most essential and vital issues through discussions the League of Communists should issue guidelines and indeed even directives to its membership, and anyone who does not carry them out cannot remain in the LC. We have to do this if we want to continue in the same direction.

[Question] And not uncommonly this is lacking, so that a feeling of being left to oneself is thereby engendered?

[Answer] Exactly so. I am not appealing for any sort of overbearing attitude, that is, for a daily transmission of directives. Incidentally, no one has stood in the way of us delegates, not even the comrades who are members of the party, from making a greater and more militant effort, from showing more initiative and making more proposals, but the voting and the raising of hands seems to be a bit resigned in the style of follow the leader; that is, since others have voted that way, that is what I will do, too.

[Question] Is that an expression of lackadaisicalness or a consequence of uncertainty in making decisions and the belief that it is not possible to have an influence on things?

[Answer] I would rather think the latter is involved. I draw this conclusion because there have been attempts by delegates to oppose certain solutions, but in the end this was unsuccessful. A different decision was taken, and the delegates have provided formal confirmation to a considerable extent. In the absence of a democratic dialogue opposition to this kind of practice can be taken the wrong way, and a man risks being called a caviler or a sniper.

[Question] What is the basis for that conclusion of yours?

[Answer] I have been struck by recent statements by certain of our officials which practically preclude any criticism. I do not agree with such statements. We should call upon those who are in favor of socialism, a self-managed and federal Yugoslavia and the equality of its nationalities and ethnic minorities to be still more outspoken and to advise us and help us to become still better. In certain statements made against criticism we are closing the mouths even of the well-intentioned. We need to change those habits and allow more criticism. Why should we fear criticism if we are carrying on a good effort? It is not exactly an attractive situation when as soon as someone does not agree with some official position he risks being called unsuitable. Translated into political language, this means: we need more democracy, which, to be sure, has been felt more and more in the recent past.

Excessively Large Administrative Staff

[Question] Do you think that there ought to be certain changes in the party administrative staff and in the overall organization of the League of Communists?

[Answer] Yes. Though I recently noticed the news item that the number of employed personnel in the League of Communists has not been growing as rapidly as in the government administration, I feel that it is excessive. All those professionals, and there are also quite a few of them in the Federation of Trade Unions and in other organizations, are actually living outside self-management, and in the material sense they are altogether independent. They do not feel the consequences if self-management does not develop. Their role and work do not depend in the least on what happens in self-management. The supposition is that they ought to be promoting self-management, and that from certain academic positions and positions outside self-management, instead of their being within authentic self-management itself, there where self-managing

is actually taking place. However, this requires an altogether different organization. One that is more appropriate to the ideological and political goals, and in VJESNIK I recently read an article entitled "Forums and Organs of the LCY--Without Change"!

[Question] What sort of organization?

[Answer] The present organization is excessively institutionalized and rather cumbersome and rigid, and precisely because a good number of very influential and capable people are there, I feel a weakness in that communication and between the life of self-management and that sitting in separate offices where analyses and conclusions are then arrived at. I would prefer if it were different, that is, if the people were in self-management itself and were furnishing initiative from there for discussion and for adoption of the agendas of plenums, while the staff of party committees would, of course, be essentially reduced, and would only prepare the meeting. What we have now is like some government with executive secretaries for various sectors, with their aides, and so on. People who are not in the stream of production and the other streams of social self-management are the ones insisting on the vital topics of self-management. Of course, this then influences the position of the trade unions in the delegate system and all the rest.

[Question] What should be essentially changed here?

[Answer] The basic thing is to pass on decisionmaking concerning general public problems, economic problems in particular, to the people in production, that is, how to weaken the state.

[Question] The trends, however, are different?

[Answer] Unfortunately, the moment is such that the state is becoming stronger. The circumstances that have come about and in which we live have been working in that direction. We have not been resolute in carrying out degovernmentalization, and have thereby slowed down affirmation of the producers as the principal factor in decisionmaking on reproduction. Meanwhile we still do not see a sufficiently clear and decisive concrete orientation to pass on decisionmaking to the workingman more quickly. In this respect the League of Communists must change. This is the cardinal issue in the development of self-management socialism. A very great deal has been said about this up to now, but relatively little has been done.

[Question] We are witnesses to certain difficulties. How much of this is transitional in nature, that is, specific to the present level of our development, and how much threatens to take firm hold?

[Answer] It is true that there are transitional problems; however, there is also a tendency not to let power leave one's hand and not to turn it over into the hands of the working class and the working people. This reluctance is tough and will not allow itself to be removed so easily. This will have to be accomplished by pressure. Our congresses ought to do at least something in that direction.

[Question] Where is power most concentrated?

[Answer] In the presidiums of the central committees and certain other corresponding parts of the republics and provinces. There is also something in the Federation, but at the level of the opstina there is a tough concentration of power. Usually it is a tie-up of someone from the opstina government, the committee and similar points. If there are no deliberate actions to weaken that power, this will remain a permanent situation which could even get worse.

Uncritical Planning

[Question] To what extent is this situation having an impact on delegate decisionmaking, for example, concerning planning?

[Answer] As a member of two convocations of the Yugoslav Assembly since the delegate system was introduced I have participated in adopting two medium-term plans, and I can say that these are the poorest planning documents adopted since we became a socialist society. We were overambitious, we were not sufficiently mindful of real possibilities.

[Question] How did this uncritical planning come about?

[Answer] It came about because decisionmaking concerning plans and the manner in which they were adopted conflicted with the proclaimed policy. They are the principal source of our economic difficulties. We have to free ourselves of the manner in which we have adopted plans up to now.

[Question] Changes are about to be made in the plan; what course will that take?

[Answer] I am not overoptimistic. It is still being said that the present plan is the only alternative, but since the difficulties have come about, it is said, we have to narrow it. That will not be of much help. We should draw up several alternative plans and conduct a public discussion of them. The way it is now, the plans will be corrected by those who adopted them, and since everyone regards the plan as his offspring, he will take it as a personal affront if there are quite a few changes and if the changes are radical.

[Question] It is often stressed in the criticism that these are the plans of states and not of associated labor?

[Answer] Noneconomic factors have had a dominant role in adoption of plans. We have dressed things up in some nice-sounding terms, and we refer to the states as sociopolitical communities. It is true that the term "state" is too narrow and not altogether appropriate, but the plans are their work. Take, for example, how nice the term "social compact" sounds, but when one analyzes who has participated, then it is evident that it was a few people from the executive staffs of the republics and provinces. Here and there some of the influential people were consulted, and then we call this a social compact. What it is, however, is an agreement among our states to the greatest degree.

[Question] It has been remarked that we are slow to reach agreement. What is the reason for that; are there objective circumstances or something else?

[Answer] Experience demonstrates that we have a hard time and are slow in reaching agreement. The principal reason lies in the principals in the process of agreement. We must reconcile ourselves to the fact that the reaching of agreement would go faster and would be more successful if we altered what I would call its class character.

[Question] What do you mean by that?

[Answer] If the working class and the working people were put in the position of clearly knowing how much their income depends on the work they do, how they develop and plan, then they would quickly find a common language, more easily than any other social structure. Our problems can be resolved most easily and speedily by passing on that great responsibility to the workingman. I would be very happy if in the plenums and the congresses we were more concerned with how to do this.

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ARGUMENTS OVER NOMINATION LISTS FOR ELECTIONS ANALYZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1624, 14 Feb 82 pp 14-15, 17

[Article by Milan Milosevic: "Change the Slate"]

[Text] The newspapers have recorded a plethora of election news these past days, but only some of the items are dramatic in tone. We record them without taking into account the regional distribution, persuaded that our shortcomings are common to us all.

In Arilje the proposed slate of candidates for the opstina committee was "revised," in Vrsac the incumbent committee secretary and the chairman of the opstina conference of the LC [League of Communists] "did not get by." One of the things that disturbed people and moved them to undertake a counteraction in Velika Plana, as shown by an investigation by our colleague Svetozar Polic, was the following passage in GLAS POMORAVLJA: "Judging by practice to date, the personnel poll was strictly limited. Reliance, that is, was put only on certain circles which by a certain set of circumstances recirculated, holding to the same trusted people, chosen and tested people, the only ones capable of key posts in terms of general culture, professional knowledge, fundamental Marxist education and clear commitment." Someone recognized himself.

Though it is not typical, even this round of elections did not pass without notorious opstina cases of which there were quite a few at the beginning of the last decade. There are ever more frequent demands that the man holding the key position must be morally unblemished and better than the average citizen.

One of the bizarre examples was reported in Pristina. There, as we have written previously, it was discovered that certain citizens had not been paying for electricity, water or rent. The chairman of the opstina committee announced that a list of those people would be made public. M. Daci, a member of the BORBA staff, who learned that the list included certain officeholders, ended his report with the sentence that when all that becomes public it would not be very likely that confidence would be shown in certain of the nonpayers who occupy various positions....

What was the character of the reaction of the voters in the first round of the party elections? Let us examine in a little more detail the facts from these various election conflicts as seen by our collaborators on this occasion, correspondents of POLITIKA and POLITIKA EKSPRES: Each of these cases captures in an interesting way some of the critical points: inactivity, usurpation and shortcomings of kitchens in which lists of personnel are made up.

One of the primary organizations of the LC in Vinkovci, in rejecting the nominations for opstina party bodies of leadership, also said that it could not accept a structure in which directors themselves and other professional managers could no longer be members of party forums as individuals and as members of the party. This is a recurring motif.

How Many Can There Be?

Even in the largest organization in Baranja, the Belje Combine, certain party organizations did not concur with the proposed slate. Party members of the Jelen Hunting and Forest Preserve in Baranja did not reject the slate, but they protested because not a single one of the candidates whom they had recommended was on the committee's list. Someone in the committee, making reference to the LC Bylaws, had replaced those proposed by the basic organizations with two party members from Jelen without the knowledge and consent of the party members of that work organization.

They are therefore calling upon their delegates on Saturday, 13 February, at the opstina conference of the LC for election purposes, to demand that the people previously nominated be included among the candidates for the new committee.

In the old days it was "everyone cast his vote by 0800 hours." It seems the times are changing. Many people expect these elections to shake certain centers of power, to create conditions for moral renewal and economic stabilization.

The era of great personnel changes will not bypass a single segment of our social life: elections in the League of Communists are still going on, delegate elections are entering their final phase, and it just happens that the term of office is expiring for many directors and members of workers' councils, and the trade union elections are approaching. What change can be made? How will possible changes be carried out, with conflicts and a funeral or in a constructive atmosphere? Answers are coming in day by day. They need to decoded.

Election time can also be a relevant indicator of the situation in our society. When decisions are being made concerning people, passions and interests are more difficult to control. In that kind of atmosphere it is logical for exchanges over guilty parties and responsibility to be stormier.

Last year we had two interesting "opstina cases," similar and different--Krusevac and Kragujevac. Public opinion and above all party members in primary organizations of the LC had a significant role in the shattering of those

opstina concentrations of power. An imposing large-scale politicization was recorded and should probably be encouraged elsewhere as well. News has come in just recently from Kragujevac and Krusevac that workers from the largest and most important collectives have been nominated secretaries of the presidiums of the opstina committees: in Kragujevac Zoran Ognjanovic, highly skilled worker of [Crvena] Zastava, and in Krusevac Zoran Djurkovic, a skilled worker of the October 14th enterprise. That is one of the epilogues. The real one will be a reflection of the times.

Radovan Medjedovic, member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, has called attention these past few days to unwholesome things in advance of the elections. He recalled that back in 1977 the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee noted [original reads "made"] "quite strong manifestation of personal ambitions, careerism, factionalism, cliquishness, imputation, demagogic slogans, numerous intrigues and gossiping in order to discredit certain people in politics, the juggling of personnel in restricted informal units and attempts to impose such solutions on organs of the League of Communists...."

It is hardly likely that this diagnosis applies only to Vojvodina. In the recent past we have had opportunity to hear similar observations from many political rostrums: at the republic conference of the SAWP of Montenegro and the republic council of the Federation of Montenegrin Trade Unions almost the same sentence was uttered to the effect that "intrigues in the corridors and petty political machinations, careerism, sectarianism, subjectivism and privatization have to be prevented...."

How does this look in practice?

As described by Jovica Danilovic, POLITIKA correspondent in Vrsac, the now former leadership of the opstina organization of the League of Communists in Vrsac, and indeed even those who in the opinion of many have for years desired or succeeded in "doing as they pleased" have received a real dressing down from the electorate.

Certain names were erased from the slate of candidates to the bodies of leadership in the opstina organization, and delegates to a meeting of the electoral conference of the League of Communists decided that Milan Bakic, previous chairman of the opstina conference, and Bozo Jaksic, secretary of the opstina committee, not be elected to the new opstina committee. This is a precedent. The most frequent criticism: Why always the same people?

Open Ballot and Secret Ballot

The most frequently contested individuals: Milan Bakic, chairman of the opstina conference of the League of Communists, and then Bozidar Struza, secretary of the opstina committee during the previous term of office, Stevan Paunovic, former chairman of the opstina trade union council, and Bozo Jaksic, until now secretary of the opstina committee in Vrsac.

Some indication of the kind of atmosphere that prevails is the fact that in a meeting of the opstina conference a week before the electoral conference it was stated among other things that the stories about the physical showdown between Milan Bakic and Bozidar Struza, with whom even primary organizations of the League of Communists had been concerned in their meetings, were actually a fabrication and originated in well-known sources in Vrsac (the "sources" have remained anonymous). There were, it seems, also cases of digging up old crimes: the opstina committee and personnel commission established that the committee secretary Bozo Jaksic was not to blame for having signed a bill of exchange for which there was no coverage in the collective of Utva's plant in Vrsac where he was employed before taking up that post. Jaksic is not morally and politically accountable, since at the time when he signed the bill he was led into error and did not know that other possibilities existed, it was said.

In spite of the position of the opstina committee and the personnel commission that the proposed slate ought not to be halted essentially, changes did occur in some 10 cases in the meeting of the conference.

A week later, in a marathon meeting of the electoral conference of the League of Communists in Vrsac which lasted 9.5 hours something unexpected happened. After many discussions of the delegates and the views expressed to the effect that Milan Bakic and Bozo Jaksic be dropped from the slate for the opstina committee, a lengthy and unpleasant explanation by delegates of both convocations of the conference and of the oversight commission and bylaws commission was organized. Bakic and Jaksic remained on the slate nevertheless. However, in the secret ballot on the slate for the opstina committee Bakic and Jaksic received fewer votes than any other of the 58 candidates. In order to avoid a complicated procedure, the decision was made to reduce the number of members of the committee to 56.

It is interesting that in the meeting it was not stated either in the introductory address or in the later discussions by the leaders who was to blame for the situation that had come about. This was stated only a few days ago (3 February) in a meeting of the opstina committee. It has been established that the initial slate was drawn up by Milan Bakic, former chairman of the opstina conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina in Vrsac, and the action of the former opstina committee and personnel commission, who accepted that list, was also censured. Yet it is difficult to believe that Bakic was really all alone in drawing up that slate.

Our colleague Djordje Pilcevic, POLITIKA correspondent, followed the stormy discussions on the slates of possible candidates to make up the new opstina committee of the LC in Arilje. In the drawing up of the slate for organs in the LC the personnel commission and opstina committee of the LC stated in a letter sent to party organizations that their "point of departure had been the class-oriented nature of personnel policy."

However, a majority of the party organizations were not satisfied with the proposed slate of 45 candidates. The proposed members of the committee, it was judged in certain basic organizations of the LC, represented a committee of officeholders, directors and educationists. That is, the slate of 45

candidates included 19 enterprise directors and officeholders, and there were 7 educationists among the delegates, while only 5 farmers had been nominated, though this is a farming opstina. One rural basic organization of the LC objected that there was no commission for rural affairs and agriculture among the nine proposed commissions of the opstina conference of the LC!

Serious criticism was also heard because four enterprise directors and three officeholders were nominated to the presidium, which has 11 members, while there was only one nominee from direct production and one farmer. In certain basic organizations. [Sic]

The case of Ljuba Lukic, who was nominated both to the new committee and as a delegate to the Ninth Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia is an interesting one. By contrast with the committee and its personnel commission, which regard Lukic as a worker in direct production, party members of the Sieve and Bearing Factory regard their colleague as a talleyman who sits in an office and wields a pencil! The party members nominated the young worker Nikola Petronijevic in his place.

Milisav Stojadinovic, chairman of the opstina conference of the LC, with whom we spoke recently concerning the slate of candidates, feels that the objections which have come from the electorate were justified and that the committee and personnel commission will bear them in mind when the final slate is drawn up. He confirmed to us at this time that this had been indicated to them by the Titovo Uzice Interopstina Conference of the LC. It is an indicative fact that production people reacted the same way as we on the interopstina committee, says Radisa Gacic, chairman of the Titovo Uzice Interopstina Conference. This can be interpreted as a sign of the political maturity of the "base."

Without awaiting the end of the discussion in all primary organizations of the LC, the opstina committee and personnel commission took up the objections which had come in on 1 February and made up a new slate according to which the new opstina committee of the LC would include 18 workers from direct production, 7 farmers, 4 engineers and technicians, 3 administrative workers, 11 supervisory workers and 1 educationist and 1 pensioner. There was also a change in the proposed list for the presidium of the committee, on which there will be five workers from direct production, three supervisory workers and one engineer, one pensioner and one farmer.

Producers in the Majority

It appears that this demand for a "producer majority" on committees of the LC has encountered massive support elsewhere as well. In any case the statistics show that up to now workers have comprised 30 percent of opstina committees, that same proportion of republic and provincial committees, and about 10 percent in the Central Committee of the LCY.

Budimir Vukasinovic, a man for whom the elections are a "job duty" in the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, forecast in an informal interview to check out the reporter's impressions, running

the risk of not being absolutely accurate because the analyses of the first round of the elections are not complete, said that the "producer majority" (workers, peasants, with a certain addition of engineers and technicians who work in production shops) would most probably prevail in the opstina committees of the League of Communists. He took the example of the Kraljevo region to show that workers comprise 39.3 percent and farmers about 14 percent of the nominees. This is something new. Until now the peasants were neglected, at least as far as the number of "their" members of the LC in bodies of leadership was concerned.

A certain correction of injustice can be expected in the election of women, and the balance among the age groups is something new. The sentence "there is a shortage of women and young people" has been repeated for a long time, and there have also been critical remarks to the effect that one sex and at least one or two age groups are missing in our politics. This is that first feeling of the pulse.

Judging by the first freewheeling diagnoses, Vukasinovic says, the elections have not been marked by witch-hunting nor a pinning of blame in spite of certain short circuits. Conflicts are not the characteristic feature of elections at present. The impressions of this politician and others who attended meetings in enterprises and local communities during the election campaign indicate a "very serious critical attitude." By and large the criticism is turned inward, but there have also been "references" to the behavior of individuals. The emphasis in the criticism, it seems, has been mainly directed toward topics which have already been raised: exclusiveness, obtaining production supplies, difficulties related to inflation. Certain people note that the tones are somewhat fiercer in local communities than among producers.

One new observation, and certainly an important one if it proves to be accurate, we heard from Dragoljub Dragosan, chairman of the interopstina committee of Zajecar region (Radisa Gacic, his counterpart in the Titovo Uzice region, agrees with him to some extent): increasingly frequent mention is made of the belief that the "conventional" positions of the president of the opstina and the committee secretary are not the only important ones, the list of these, so to speak, important places is getting longer, which, if it is not a sign of democratization, is at least a sign of some distribution of power. A second observation indicates a certain falling off the scramble for official position. One politician says that the 1-year term of office will probably eliminate prestige as a motive along the lines of "I will do something they will remember me for." Interruption of professional advancement to hold office is objectively a handicap for those who are not planning a career exclusively in politics. If these observations are correct, perhaps a "Copernican revolution" is quietly taking place, one which is certainly desirable for our situation, so that the channels of social advancement become more effective on a professional than on a political basis. If they are accurate.

Rade Subotic, POLITIKA correspondent, investigated an interesting case which sheds its own kind of light on the topic--"Where To Go After the Term of Office Expires."

One primary organization of the League of Communists in Beli Manastir, which is in Baranja, has openly called for all sociopolitical leaders whose term of office is now expiring to return to the jobs they came from. They did not mention anyone's name specifically. Stipe Skeledzija, a delegate of the first primary organization of the LC in Beli Manastir, submitted the demand of his organization. Franjo Adler, secretary of the Beli Manastir Opstina Committee of the LC, who objected vigorously, said that Comrade Stipe ought to know as a delegate who starts such recommendations and demands and with what intentions, concluding "I suppose those individuals do not think that at the end of our term of office we should go back to herding sheep?" Skeledzija explained in his answer to the excited secretary that this is the position of their organization of the LC and not of an individual and that he as a delegate is passing it on.

"I do not know why Comrade Adler, secretary of the opstina committee, is angry. We did not mention anyone's name, we merely said that the time has come to return to the jobs they came from. This was said by some 20 party members in the first primary organization. It is quite clear that the comrade committee secretary, who came from commerce, would go back to the work organization Dunav which he left 8 years ago to become secretary," we were told by Bogoljub Dzambas of the first primary organization of the LC in Beli Manastir.

Our colleague Subotic, who published a report on the preelection events in Baranja some time ago in POLITIKA, called Comrade Adler, secretary of the opstina committee of the LC in Beli Manastir, on the telephone to propose an interview for NIN on the topic "Where To Go at the End of the Term of Office." Comrade secretary again became very angry and issued a threat that there must be no further writing about him. And in so doing he threatened and referred to prestigious figures and institutions....

"You come and see me for a talk and I will tell you and those like you what I think about you," were the threatening words from the mouth of the secretary over the telephone lines. He seems to have taken offense.

Incidentally, the newspapers are full of demands for return to production.

[Box, p 15]

Precedents

Party members at the Electronics Industry in Nis have been making demands in meetings that they participate in drawing up the final slates of candidates. This is interpreted in the opstina committee as an attempt at "partnership." After talks they withdrew this demand, as reported by POLITIKA correspondent M. Cosic.

In Subotica the presidium of the opstina council of trade unions called for members of the executive committee of trade unions in the "Transportation" OOUR [Basic Organization of Associated Labor] to submit their resignation, proclaiming them coresponsible for the situation in that collective. As far as we know, this is the first case of calling for the accountability of an entire trade union leadership.

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SUVAR DEFENDS KRLEZA AGAINST CRITICS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by Stipe Suvar: "The Shameless Dirty Work of Petty Politicians"]

[Text] In the meeting of the committee Dr Stipe Suvar submitted for adoption the decision establishing the Committee for Preserving the Name and Work of Miroslav Krleza. The members of the 15-man committee, whose proceedings would be governed by the rules adopted, would include Marijan Matkovic, member of the academy (chairman of the committee), Bogdan Tomasic, Enes Cengic, Dr Stipe Suvar, Anica Magasic, Hasan Grabcanovic, Andjelko Malinar, Veseljko Velcic, Ljubica Blazevic, Goran Babic, Josip Marotti, Dusko Roksandic, Pero Budak, Ismet Kreso and Branko Juricevic.

In supporting the choice of members of the committee, Dr Stipe Suvar mentioned that the choice was made according to the tasks which confront the committee and in line with Krleza's will, which was read on Thursday in the probate hearing. Suvar took a very polemical line toward certain deplorable things which have occurred since Krleza's death and said in part:

Reckless Allusions

"A month ago I expressed concern, not only in my own personal name, about certain actions by various mischiefmakers and petty politicians who, it seems, were waiting for Krleza's death to take him up as a standard-bearer of 'freedom' against the revolutionary party to which he belonged and at the same time to portray him as a man who lowered his banner to half-mast in our period of socialism.

"Unfortunately, the petty bourgeois and radical freedomlovers, various petition-signing intellectuals, and euphoric antiparty barbarians have continued this shameless dirty work of theirs day after day, all in the name of the late Krleza and especially his 'Dialectical Antibarbarus.'

"The editor of KNJIZEVNOST sent us word that that journal had published 'Antibarbarus,' since Krleza's work is not being treated as the work of a classic writer who is no longer alive, but as the work of a living contemporary who waged a battle throughout his life for the autonomy of poetry and against all dogmas, and so on. Now it was nice of him to be concerned about that. After

all, we are all in favor of Miroslav Krleza being a living contemporary. And he will be that for decades and centuries in the future regardless of the solicitude of the magazine KNJIZEVNOST. Nevertheless, why did that editor wait for Krleza to die to bring out 'Antibarbarus,' for which the type had been set in advance, and that in No 3 for March 1982, which appeared in the very first days of January? Why is it that KNJIZEVNOST did not reprint that piece while Krleza was alive? Are the intentions involved truly pure and noble?

"The editor of KNJIZEVNOST immediately tried to discredit those of us who have called attention to this speculative move. Nor in his reckless allusions and direct attributions did he spare even one Marko Ristic, who is the first to protest with a dignified bitterness the action taken by the journal KNJIZEVNOST. He called the man who was with Krleza the most over these last 10 years, who edited some 20 volumes of his collected works and whom Krleza authorized in his will to decide every publication and use of his works as long as he lives, a valet. He put me in the category of high-level bureaucrats in the field of culture, which is perhaps the case, but I am also presumably something else, and he places himself among writers, though I do not know on what basis, since he is more familiar to me as a high-level bureaucrat for many years in a literary organization.

"But none of that is important. The important thing is what is at issue here: He and his ilk moved into action as soon as Krleza died in order to set him in opposition to the CPY (LCY), to which he belonged from its establishment and under whose banner he was buried. Marko Ristic, and recently Petar Stambolic, and we others have been raising our voices against these intentions of the petty bourgeois intellectuals. And that is the essence of the dispute which in Krleza's name and with references to him, now that he is gone, it seems will continue, just as that dispute was conducted, incidentally, during his life. It is just that now when he is gone the petty bourgeois intellectuals are more reckless; they have gone aggressively on the offensive, and as they appeal to Krleza and proclaim him to be right, they are at the same time spitting on him."

"Antibarbarus" Under Attack

"Not in the least is the issue that of printing or not printing 'Dialectical Antibarbarus.' Even that well-known polemical document of Krleza's will be printed many times, as will all his other works. And the appeal in multicolored DUGA [RAINBOW] for the most urgent reprinting of 'Antibarbarus' in the languages of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities is really ridiculous, 'as far as Krleza's nationality is concerned.'

"Some pretext was needed for some of our freedomlovers to use even the late Krleza in their struggle for the freedom of their thought and for derision and branding of everyone who dares even to doubt their love for freedom and to suspect their ideas.

"In NIN on 24 January fun was made of Krleza's desire that 'Antibarbarus' not be published without comment belongs 'to the oral portion of Krleza's written will.' Even KOMUNIST (edition for SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, 22 January)

proclaims the smuggling of that document in KNJIZEVNOST 'undoubtedly a red-letter day in our periodical journalism.'

"Recently in the Student Cultural Center in Belgrade four members of our petition-signing and oppositionist intelligentsia, which is fortunately not numerous, but is everywhere evident in our press and in the public atmosphere, filed a great many assertions concerning Krleza and concerning his 'Antibarbarus' that are more than symptomatic.

"One of them was to the effect that Krleza supposedly did not at one time allow that document to be printed, saying: 'It is not possible, since I do not want to go to the slammer.' Probably he himself gave in. Speaking in the context of the meeting between Tito and Krleza in Sestine in 1939, the same spokesman says: 'Printed or not, a piece like "Dialectical Antibarbarus" has been educational for all people fighting against dogmas, regardless of whether Krleza himself persisted in that struggle or lowered his banners to half-mast.' (See KNJIZEVNA REC, 10 February 1982, page 8) Still the same spokesman knows quite well that Krleza way back in 1939 'was among those European intellectuals who had found out all about the tread of policemen's boots in the advance of the revolutionary masses.'"

They Want To Set Up Krleza in Opposition to the Party

"At that session in the Student Cultural Center it was said of the polemics in 1939 between Krleza and his opponents that this was a struggle between two lines: the truth or a lie, and that Krleza was opposed to the prevailing ideology in the party. And that ideology was, according to our interpreters, Stalinistic, and so on, and so on.

"Incidentally, we have had an opportunity long ago to read all this in the book 'Sukob na knjizevnoj ljevici' [Conflict on the Literary Left]. Now after Krleza's death there is merely a revival with more ferocity of the dirty work of the little group of radical and freedomloving intellectuals who would like to set Krleza in opposition to the party and to portray the party as hopelessly Stalinistic on the eve of the revolution, during it and up to this very day. In the name of Krleza's advocacy of the freedom of creativity those great figures of our revolution who clashed with the dogmatists and Stalinists in 1939 and laid down their lives for freedom as our national heroes are themselves proclaimed dogmatists and Stalinists.

"And what is one to answer when a man who in Moscow after 1948 put himself at the service of the Cominform campaign for a long time is appealed to as a witness concerning the meetings long ago between Tito and Krleza, even if it were only a matter of sorting out the data in the archives? All of this is shameless.

"This committee has not been conceived as either a body of censors, nor a body who is supposed to care for someone else's soul. It will, I hope, be a committee of goodwill, one which will endeavor to collaborate constructively with all those who really want the great work of the poet of our revolution, Miroslav Krleza, to be alive and as accessible as possible to all our people and

our youth. It will strive to encourage, to propose, and to organize both meetings and discussions, it will see to it that the Krleza workshop gets going, that his memory is preserved in museums, on the streets, in monuments, and most of all it will strive so that his written and spoken word, his message, accompanies us everywhere."

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CROATIAN OFFICIAL DISCUSSES DISSIDENTS IN MEDIA

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Feb 82 p 5

[Interview with Milan Rakas, member of the presidia of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY and the Croatian Republic Conference of the SAWP, by Milan Jaksic: "The Supply of Information Is Not Anyone's Birthright"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The rather heated debates concerning the media which have been taking place over more or less the entire area of Yugoslavia and the Law on the Information System which has just been passed in our republic were the reasons for the interview with Milan Rakas, member of the presidia of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY and the Croatian Republic Conference of the SAWP.

[Question] There has been a great deal of hullabaloo in recent months concerning public information. It is certain that there were major reasons preceding it, and we know by and large what those reasons were. However, newsmen are talking these days about the phenomenon of occasional or what is referred to as step-by-step criticism, of occasional vociferous reactions to certain articles of debatable content, to a kind of campaign whose characteristics we have noted already. How do you look upon this occasional pattern of reaction?

Half-Truths and Untruths About Our Revolution

Milan Rakas: I would say that we are dealing above all with an occasional major lapse on the part of personnel in editorial offices, which is why major oversights are occurring. That is the main reason for the more resolute reactions on the part of political leadership bodies to those oversights. I will repeat something which I wrote recently in an article of mine: if nothing bad had happened in recent months in the media except what happened in "features" departments, when a majority of the media engaged in almost a competition to see who would be completely uncritical in passing on and passing off more of Vladimir Dedijer's half-truths and untruths about our revolution, that would be sufficient reason for the sociopolitical leadership bodies to react resolutely and critically to the editorial policy of the media. But even in the most recent past there have been incomprehensible things in certain of our newspapers which we dare not pass over in silence. How could we fail to react, for example, to the fact that VECERNJE NOVOSTI, the newspaper which has the largest circulation and which was established by the Federal Conference of

the SAWPY, launched the thesis on 8 February of this year that Draza Mihailovic is one of the most tragic figures in our history. NOVOSTI, through the mouth of Milan Puzic, who plays the role of Draza Mihailovic in the play "The Last Act," says, and I quote:

"General Draza Mihailovic is one of the most tragic figures in our history. I had to understand that tragic figure as both a man and an artist if that was to be understood and accepted. Just as many of us have often made bad choices in life through 'errors'--beginning with marriage, say, and extending all the way to professional activity--there are also people who have made the wrong choices in the historical context...."

War Criminal--"A Little Stray Sheep"

So, the ideologist and organizer of the Chetnik movement, a war criminal, one of the greatest traitors of the Serbian people, the commander in chief of butchers, is portrayed according to this thesis as a "kind of little stray sheep" who made a wrong choice in the historical context. It is difficult to understand how the actor Puzic can in his role perceive Draza Mihailovic in that way. But it is doubly unacceptable and impermissible for the editors of VECERNJE NOVOSTI, a news and political periodical of ours which has so much influence, to publish in its pages that kind of thesis concerning Draza Mihailovic, and that immediately before a meeting of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance in which unwholesome things in the media were being debated.

Incidentally, I must say that anyone who carefully follows all that has been happening in the media since the resolutions of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance concerning the tasks of the SAWP in informing the public (the meeting was held in 1979) will have to conclude and agree that the assertion cannot be true that we are dealing with step-by-step criticism or merely with campaign-type reactions to certain debatable articles or broadcasts of debatable content. I must remind you that in the Resolutions of the Federal Conference, taking as our point of departure the stands taken by the 11th LCY Congress and the constitutional provisions concerning the role of information as an integral part of the political system of socialist self-management, we set--if it can be put that way--the Socialist Alliance long-term tasks in the steady development of the role in socialist self-management of all forms of information, the media in particular.

It is understandable that performance of these important tasks also includes waging a constant struggle against all those unwholesome things in the media which are directly contrary to the development of our system of socialist self-management. That is why we dare not equate the more frequent debates about the information system in sociopolitical leadership bodies with the reactions of individuals to certain articles and broadcasts which they do not like--for certain personal reasons and because of their taste, but we must take those debates in the leadership bodies as a part of the efforts of all the organized forces to put the public periodicals in the front fighting ranks of those forces, so that they are constantly active within our system, and not outside it and above it.

Journalists who are authentically committed in the context of self-management must be, I would say--in a unique way--gratified to have sociopolitical organizations and their leadership bodies involved in this way in the fight against unwholesome things in the media, since this is actually opening up broad areas for those fighters oriented toward self-management, those newsmen in the media, for them to display their progressive commitment.

A Day-to-Day Job for Party Members

[Question] This means, then, that the media are not always mindful enough of things opposed to our social commitments. You often emphasize that primary organizations of the LC [League of Communists] in the media do not react in time to such things. What is the reason for that?

Milan Rakas: Party members in the media must always be aware of the fact that the leading ideological role of organizations of the League of Communists in every one of the media, every editorial office and newspaper publishing house cannot be replaced by anyone either within the media, within the newspaper publishing house, nor outside the media and outside newspaper publishing houses. The constant concern of organizations of the LC to see that editorial policy is conducted in conformity with our basic commitments to socialist self-management and with the basic achievements of our revolution, will also be the best barrier to all mistakes in editorial policy.

The most important thing here is to break down the conception that because we have a large number of members of the LC on editorial staffs of our media the organization of the LC need not be constantly concerned with editorial policy in its meetings. On the contrary, we must develop the conviction that constant analyses of political-ideological expressions of every newsman who is a member of the party in his articles and broadcasts can only advance the everyday commitment of every individual in every one of the media. So, party organizations must inevitably be concerned with editorial policy on a regular basis in every news-gathering organization.

Current practice is for them to be concerned with that policy very rarely or, most frequently, only on an ad hoc basis. We also have cases where a journalist who is a member of the LC is refused credentials for following the proceedings of the Central Committee though the party organization has not previously discussed his mistakes. This kind of thing only confirms the extent to which that kind of party organization does not understand its role in editorial policy.

Encouragement of Ongoing Democratic Dialogue

[Question] It is not easy to write openly and critically. If we take a sharper and more scrupulous and courageous line, unless it is the fruit of that kind of commitment, we could go even to the other extreme--contesting the system or nihilism. Yet avoiding a critical attitude and combativeness results in playing it safe and neutralism. How is one to avoid those traps?

Milan Rakas: No one could if he wanted deny that being a committed and militant newsman on the line of the LC is today one of the most difficult and responsible jobs. It is not possible to be infallible in such a job. And anyone who because of errors which have not resulted from bad intentions "calls for the head" of the journalist, is in the most direct way preventing the development of a militant, committed, socialist and self-managing journalism that is creative. We must state that openly. However, this can also be ascertained very quickly. No large-scale analyses are required. It can be demonstrated with arguments and such cases can be prevented. But we must say that the debates we have been talking about over the last 2 years and especially the last few months, the debates being conducted in political leadership bodies and in sociopolitical organizations, are primarily directed, as far as I know, against things which call into question our basic commitments to socialist self-management.

But it is a good thing for us to be entirely precise concerning those discussions. Recently, frequently with the intention of expressing ourselves as resolutely as possible against attacks on the achievements of our revolution, we have been stressing that no dialogue or discussion is permitted of the basic commitments of our development. However, that incomplete thesis, taken literally, might even be harmful to those fundamental commitments of ours. That is, it is quite certain that all of those fundamental commitments of ours and those achievements of the revolution, such as brotherhood and unity, the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, socialist self-management, the policy of nonalignment, represent that which must not ever be called into question. But precisely for the sake of fuller accomplishment of those commitments and on behalf of those achievements we must be altogether precise. What is not permitted is any dialogue or discussion which in its content calls our basic commitments into question. However, discussions and democratic dialogues which represent a creative contribution to the advancement and accomplishment of those commitments we must encourage in our media. I will be still more specific because of the delicacy of this topic.

Against the Statist Shell

When it is a question, say, of the national economies, it is quite certain that today there is a very urgent need for dialogue and discussion of the place and role of the national economies in the development of Yugoslavia's socialist self-management. But that discussion may not be the kind of discussion represented, for example, by the dialogue between Comrade Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo and Vuk Draskovic in the newspaper RAD on 16 October 1981. There Comrade Tempo asserted that the rounded off national economies of the republics represent a line of development that leads toward a breaking up of Yugoslavia. This is untenable, since that kind of dialogue objectively calls into question the equality of the nationalities. What we do need is a dialogue against the confinement of those national economies, against their becoming ossified to form statist shells, but at the same time that dialogue must encourage linkage between the national economies, the pooling of labor and capital, and development of delegate relations regardless of republic borders, beginning with the OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] and going all the way to the Federation. We must, then, encourage and develop a

creative democratic dialogue, but the kind of dialogue which promotes and speeds up accomplishment of our basic commitments and revolutionary achievements, which means that we must at the same time be resolutely opposed to any dialogue which calls into question those basic commitments and achievements of our revolution.

Americanization of the Film Repertoire

[Question] Recent conversations concerning the media most often mentioned the press. Does that mean that everything is all right with the radio and television, that they are doing good work?

Recently the following remark was made in a meeting of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY, and I quote: "Six of our TV centers broadcasting in the Croato-Serbian language showed 329 foreign films in 1980, but only 49 Yugoslav films."

Milan Rakas: We must improve the monitoring and analysis of radio and TV broadcasting. It is not enough to merely conduct a public debate once a year on accomplishment of the program for radio and television over the past year and concerning the program for the coming year. We have already agreed this year in the section debate on programmatic orientations of both radio and television that we must hold more frequent special-topic debates concerning broadcasting, concerning programs or individual series. However, it cannot be said that we have in the past been uncritical toward those media. Clearly we will have to give them still greater attention because of their importance.

As a viewer I think, for example, that having joint evening news programs is an expression of the high degree of exclusiveness of the republic TV centers. By and large those programs are more and more becoming like billboards for information and advertising of events in the region whose TV center is preparing the joint evening news program (except for certain attempts to bring in more than one TV center on a particular topic). And as for the film repertoire, I think that what was said in the Federal Conference does not give the real picture. It would be very interesting to know how many of those foreign films are from the developing countries and nonaligned countries, and how many from the West, or, so that I might be still more specific, mainly from America. It is true that I do not have a numerical breakdown, but again, as a viewer of TV films, I would dare say that the process of Americanization of our television film repertoire is on the upswing. This is an incomprehensible and impermissible attitude toward the cultural values of all nations in the world. This orientation is also most directly contrary to our country's cultural policy. That is why in the Section for the Information System of the Croatian Republic Conference of the SAWP we concluded in our recent discussion confined to TV broadcasting that we would hold a separate discussion confined to the TV film repertoire and would attempt to help the subjective forces in television in overcoming those shortcomings and indeed difficulties which exist in this area. As far as I am aware, efforts are already being made in television to resolve those problems. Any specific help they get will be welcome.

Never Enough Humor, But ...

[Question] In the discussion of the media questions have also been asked about what is happening with our humor and satire? Do we in general have enough satire, especially with us here in Croatia?

Milan Rakas: There is never enough humor, satire and caricature in a democratic society like ours. And we in the journalistic field often behave as though we are not aware of all the possibilities offered by those forms of expression, as though we forget that a good cartoon, for example, concerning some event may be much stronger than a column. Myself, for example, I prefer to read the feature "Direct" in VJESNIK when it is taken up by a cartoon.

Why is it that we do not have enough humor, satire and cartoons? I personally think that from the standpoint of editorial policy there are two great dangers for humor, satire and cartoons. The first is our tendency as journalists to play it safe and not to be combative. The other danger is that the authors of humor and satire often avoid organized social influence. Not infrequently, then, the result is humor which is not directed against human follies (to which none of us is immune) and the opponents of this socialist society, but it is manifested in attacks on our greatest social values. In that kind of situation intolerant individuals, who exist in every society, including our own, and who are just waiting for a chance to open up debate in the courts on humor, satire and cartoons can come to prominence in such a situation.

It is clear that for all this important and steady creation of a climate among the leading figures in every community, they still support humoristic and satirical expression.

Social Influence

[Question] Delegate assemblies and councils which are supposed to contribute to greater social influence on editorial policy have been in the formative stage in our republic for a long time now. What has been the first experience?

Milan Rakas: The councils in the media and the assemblies of work organizations in the field of information have been operating in our republic on a delegate basis for a year in radio and television and slightly more than half a year in the Vjesnik SOUR [Complex Organization of Associated Labor] (councils with appointed members were previously in effect in Vjesnik). Similar bodies for exerting social influence on a delegate basis have now by and large been formed in the local media organizations, in the opstina and regional newspapers, as well as in local radio stations. The activity of these entities for conveying the influence of society shows that they are very suitable forms of involvement of the Socialist Alliance as a front in creating and carrying out editorial policy in all the media. The experience has been constructive. Though the period has been a short one for any serious assessment, it can be stated confidently that the activity of these public bodies on a delegate basis will eventually create a situation in which no one will be able to behave as though the field of information is his birthright.

Criticism on the One Hand and Praise on the Other

[Question] On one occasion you have proposed that newspapers from the other republics and provinces should have councils formed on a delegate basis in towns outside their area.

Milan Rakas: This idea of the possibility of forming councils and other delegate bodies for editorial policy of the media outside their republic wherever they have influence, wherever they are sold, wherever they are read, wherever they are listened to or watched, is based on reflections on how to strengthen the social accountability of all media throughout the entire area of Yugoslavia. It is quite certain that we cannot allow the present situation in which the media, virtually all of them, aspire to being read, listened to or sold and to have influence throughout the entire area of Yugoslavia, but the personnel who edit them are accountable for the content only to bodies in the places where they are published or where those programs are broadcast. Because of this kind of treatment of social accountability we have cases where the media in certain quarters are being seriously criticized, while at the same time the bodies where they are located are expressing praise of them.

In reflecting on how to prevent such cases from happening, I came to the idea that we ought to initiate through the Federal Conference a proposal that a public body be created on a delegate basis wherever a particular media organization has influence; that body would participate as it were in the overall editorial policy of that media organization. I think this is something that cannot be postponed unless we wish to have the present practice in which every media organization seeks a unified market for the press without limits, but when it comes to responsibility, then the boundaries exist.

Political Figures Should Also Bear Responsibility

[Question] At the 16th Meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia you advocated greater accountability on the part of personnel in sociopolitical leadership bodies for editorial policy, saying that that responsibility should not be borne solely by professional newsmen. What does this mean in practical terms?

Milan Rakas: In speaking about enhancing responsibility for what is published and broadcast, I insisted at the 16th Meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia that the responsibility for editorial policy should not be confined to professional journalists, but that we must fight, especially today when we are undertaking to set up public bodies for editorial policy on a delegate basis, for all factors involved in whatsoever way in editorial policy to have a very high degree of sociopolitical, personal and collective responsibility.

Now, let me be specific. My thought is that members of councils, members of the assembly, in view of the delegate relation, must bear their part of the responsibility for editorial policy. The leaders in sociopolitical leadership bodies, especially those who bear more detailed responsibility as it were for development and monitoring the information system, must bear political

accountability in the most concrete way for possible mistakes in this field. In all sincerity, the present situation is far from that. And that is the way it has always been in all crisis situations. As far as I know, for example, after the 21st Meeting of the LCY Presidium, which was held in 1971, when we had a very serious change of policy in settling accounts with nationalism, newsmen and chief editors lost their positions wholesale in editorial staffs. It was ascertained among other things that those newsmen very often had been tied in their activity to individuals, to leaders, and especially to those individuals in the sociopolitical leadership bodies who are responsible for contacts with the media and directly responsible for their editorial policy. So while professional newsmen, bearing political responsibility, were left unemployed throughout Yugoslavia, it seems that at the same time none of the leaders bore political responsibility for having helped to make the media organization what it was at that time. At least I do not know of any officeholder who has been so described.

The Danger of SIZocracy [excessive influence of self-managing communities of interest]

[Question] On Thursday the Law on the Public Information System was adopted in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia after several years of preparation and debate. What can be expected from that law with respect to advancement of the editorial policy of the media?

Milan Rakas: I would first like to say that that law is in the full sense of the word an example of a government act which by its content opens up broad opportunities for the process of self-management transformation of public information to be speeded up. That is, an act whose enforcement clears the way for self-management. I would even say that this is a kind of legislative long-term program for development of the public information system in our republic. Throughout the entire law there runs the demand for a steady strengthening of society's influence in the editorial policy of all the media. And in my opinion that is the most important feature of that law.

[Question] Does the law foresee certain new forms of social influence in the media?

Milan Rakas: It foresees and establishes a number of social forms which open up a long-term process of socialization of public information. Aside from the assemblies and councils already mentioned, it is significant that the law has foreseen the formation of special bodies for the information system in local communities and in OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor].

[Question] In the public debate there were many dilemmas related to organization through self-managing communities of interest in the field of information.

Milan Rakas: It seems that those discussions of the law and the dilemmas on whether self-managing communities of interest should be set up in the field of public information or not showed that in criticizing the formation of self-managing communities of interest we in general attribute excessively great

significance to what is referred to as SIZomania, yet we have not sufficiently taken into account the fact that SIZocracy, the transformation of SIZ's [self-managing community of interest] with large staff services into a form of government parallel to the existing bodies of government, is the greatest danger to the organization of self-management and to our entire system.

That is why we have endeavored, and I think we have succeeded, in the debates of the law to make it clear that the number of SIZ's is no danger at all. These SIZ's do not have large professional nor financial services which could grow to assume power. Their money is in the banks, and the staff services which work for them are tied to certain work organizations. Now that we have managed to clear up that dilemma, we have been coming closer to a solution to open up the optional possibility for self-management organization in the field of public information, but the kind of self-management organization which will not serve the sole purpose of taking in money, but which will signify some form of socialization. This means establishing a development policy and development program for public information which will then serve as the basis for exchange of labor.

However, the law has stated that every sociopolitical community may by a decision of its assembly require the formation of SIZ's and state the manner in which they shall be funded.

Both Collective and Individual Responsibility

[Question] The law also speaks about responsibility, but when the law is involved, then we know what kind of responsibility we are dealing with. In the ranks of journalists, for example, the provision on penalizing newsmen aroused quite a bit of resistance or, to put it better, hesitation.

Milan Rakas: We have set forth provisions according to which all entities participating in the information system are to bear both collective and individual responsibility. In practice this means that it is not just the journalist who will always be responsible. Although I think that the problems of the information system cannot be resolved by virtue of criminal accountability, the provision on criminal accountability, now that it has been adopted, has done well to provide penalties not only for newsmen, but also for other participants in the information system.

Clearly the law is not a magic wand. As I have said, it is a long-range program put in the form of a law. But if all the subjective forces do not constantly wage a battle to carry it out consistently, then it will turn out that we have done a good job of stating our desires and wishes, but they will remain a dead letter.

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KOSOVO INTERNAL AFFAIRS SECRETARY INTERVIEWED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1214, 9 Feb 82 pp 14-17

[Interview with Mehmet Malici, Kosovo provincial secretary for internal affairs, by Jevrem Damnjanovic and Jovan Antonijevic, in Pristina during February: "We Have Shattered the Top Leadership of the Irredenta"]

[Text] The headquarters of the Kosovo Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Pristina. Fourth floor, Room 60.

"Is the secretary for internal affairs in?"

"He has been here since yesterday," the secretary says.

At that point Mehmet Malici himself appeared at the door. He had heard her words and smiled:

"That is true. We worked until this morning, and I laid down to rest. I have not had time to go home. I have a new job waiting for me. And then this interview with you."

The traces of unslept nights, frequent trips and other meetings are delineated on his face. A burnt-down cigarette is in his hand.

"How are things?" we asked when we had taken seats in his office.

"When he is involved in a big job a man has no time to think about that."

Malici took up his present post on 3 June of last year by decision of the delegates to the Assembly of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo. Mustafa Sefedini was first dismissed from the post since the judgment was that the Kosovo service for internal affairs also bore responsibility for the counterrevolutionary events.

Even immediately after the war Malici had occasion to direct the struggle against the enemy of our socialist system. He received a summons from the provincial committee and was told: "You have to set up the OZNA [Department of Internal Security] in Prizren." This is how he recalls those moments:

"'What is OZNA? How does it operate?' I asked. 'You will manage,' they replied. What was I to do: I took 50 soldiers from the 7th Kosovo Brigade and 80 members of SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia] and told them: 'Now, you are OZNA.' And we put bands on our sleeves saying OZNA. We soon removed them when we saw what sort of tasks lay before us. And then we did get our bearings. Did we ever get our bearings, working on truly difficult tasks."

After OZNA came UDBA [State Security Administration], and the years passed. His work took him from Prizren to Suva Reka and then to Djakovica, Orahovac, Pristina....

He has had to move 24 times because of his job.

"And that little lounge in the building of the provincial secretariat for internal affairs where I often spend the night is like my 25th home. I have a wife, Remzi, a good companion, whom I came to know in the Partizans, and she understands why I often must be away for long periods of time."

He lit a cigarette though he had just put one out.

"I held the position of secretary of the secretariat for internal affairs once before, 28 years ago. And when I was again appointed to that place last summer from my position as president of the Kosovo Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War, my wife said to me after a time: 'Do you remember 1954? Back then our son was born 5 weeks after you took that job. And here again after 5 weeks you got a grandson.' And I said to her: 'And when that happens the third time, we will have a great grandson.' I was joking. This job is exhausting. Especially at my age."

The Demonstrations Were Not Spontaneous

[Question] How do you assess the present security situation in the province?

[Answer] You yourselves have seen how the situation is in Pristina: people are going to work, are going to the stores, the evening promenade is crowded, as are the coffeehouses and movie theaters.... An outside observer gets the impression that life is altogether normal. As a matter of fact, the life of the citizenry has returned to its everyday course. However, we are not even close to the point where as the security service we can "relax." The enemy is not lying low. He is making his voice heard here and there. If not in Pristina, then in some other place. There have been individual attacks on person and property of Serbs and Montenegrins as well as on officials. And even the university students are committing occasional outbursts. Though those are what I would call isolated cases, they make the other citizens uneasy and that is why we are combating them resolutely. It is our estimate that hostile activity from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism is gradually dying down. Even the writing of slogans is now a rarer thing. Over the last 2 months, for example, we have added only one case of distribution of leaflets containing hostile subject matter. By decisive action we have shattered the top active leadership of the Irredenta. I say that with confidence. The

organization which the enemy had has been cut off. Recently we have frustrated its activity almost entirely. And we are well on the way to discovering those who are still operating.

[Question] Eleven months have passed since the first demonstration of nationalists and irredentists in Kosovo. The counterrevolution failed, but, as we see, the situation in Kosovo is not yet what we would like. Ordinary citizens, and they are not alone, are asking: How long will it be like this?

[Answer] Understand that what happened in Kosovo resulted from lengthy preparations. And the counterrevolutionary activity was manifested on a large scale and to a certain extent covered the entire province. It was even manifested in certain places outside Kosovo where Albanians live. That went on for several months. Though, as you say, 11 months have passed, this is still a relatively short period for everything to calm down and become stable. The demonstrations, the boycotting of the flag, the writing of slogans and the distribution of leaflets containing hostile subject matter resulted from an organized illegal effort, though there was also semilegal and indeed even legal activity. This is unambiguously indicated by figures we have obtained in exposing the illegal hostile organizations.

[Question] This confirms, then, the fact that not even the first demonstration on 11 March of last year in Pristina was spontaneous and did not result from the demand of the students to improve conditions for their life and work in their dormitory?

[Answer] Certainly. That demonstration was not because of poor food in the dining hall. Far from it. Like the others which followed, it was planned and organized in advance. We have discovered two groups among the students of the university in Pristina who organized it. They had planned how to carry out demonstrations and how to gather as many students as possible together with propaganda. They also organized the demonstrations on 26 March.

[Question] The public has so far been informed about the exposure of several illegal groups which operated under various names. Did they have ties to one another?

[Answer] We have discovered 33 groups. Some of them sprang up spontaneously, while others belonged to illegal organizations such as the "National Liberation Movement," the "Communist-Marxist-Leninist Party of Albanians in Yugoslavia," the "Red People's Front" and the "Group of Marxists and Leninists of Kosovo." All those groups had similar or the same methods of operation. Their ultimate goal was to disrupt the integrity of the SFRY and annexation of Kosovo by Albania.

[Question] It is also well known that in order to protect the underground operation the enemy operated according to the "troika" system.

[Answer] That came later in what I might call the second phase. In the first nationalistic and irredentist indoctrination was carried out on the basis of propaganda publications which were mainly carried in from Albania and also

material prepared on that basis here in Kosovo. In that effort like-minded people, enemies of our country, established ties, and certain honest citizens were also led astray. When the hostile groups achieved this, they issued instructions for illegal operation according to the "troika" system, and these troikas [groups of three] did not know one another, so that the organization was preserved if someone was detected. They introduced conspiratorial operation in the sense that they gave their members underground names, and they even gave pseudonyms to certain towns in Kosovo so as not to reveal their plans.

[Question] Were these groups very large?

[Answer] We have so far identified more than 350 persons in them. Though the groups have resounding titles, and one might get the impression that these were large organizations, they had between 4 and 70 members. Some were well organized, they had their own bylaws and operational program, reproduced propaganda material, and their members paid dues, others were not. Aside from propaganda and organizing demonstrations, however, their plans also foresaw terrorist actions, and they were even plotting preparation of an armed uprising.

Enver Hoxha in a Plastic Drum

[Question] Tell us something about the operation of the "Group of Marxist-Leninists of Kosovo."

[Answer] We discovered it recently. It was fairly large. It had its own "committee" and was tied up with hostile circles abroad. We have discovered eight of their bases, which had 13 underground shelters. In them they kept hostile propaganda material, mainly from Albania, but also the material which they themselves had prepared. Actually they referred to them as bases, but they were far from what the term implies. The shelters were holes dug in the ground near settlements; in them they would hide what they were afraid might be discovered, since we were on their trail. Only two of the shelters were somewhat better made, and they contained mimeograph machines for copying propaganda material.

[Question] What was found in all?

[Answer] We found six typewriters, five electric mimeograph machines and one operated by hand, two rifles, six pistols and two walkie-talkie radios. One mimeograph machine was of foreign manufacture and probably brought in from abroad. We also found rubber gloves which the members of this illegal group wore in distributing leaflets so as not to leave fingerprints on the paper and also a wig which they used for disguise. There were also one megaphone and many books from Albania as well as cassettes containing recordings of Enver Hoxha's speeches. We found pictures of Enver Hoxha and Stalin along with propaganda material in plastic drums in which sauerkraut is usually made. It is interesting that aside from the books about Stalin, Enver Hoxha and the Albanian party, the books also included the works of Marx and Lenin. This illegal hostile group, made up mainly of intellectuals, used the works of Marx and

Lenin in that they would extract certain sentences and give them opposite meanings.

[Question] Where was this group operating?

[Answer] It began its hostile activity in 1978 in Pristina and certain other towns in Kosovo and then expanded to Skopje, Gostivar, Tetovo and Presevo. It endeavored to create resentment in the Albanian population so that it could then organize demonstrations, strikes and boycotts.... Its goal was for Kosovo to acquire the status of a republic and then to take advantage of a "given moment for Kosovo to be annexed to Albania."

[Question] Where are the roots of irredentism in Kosovo?

[Answer] The roots are deep and it is difficult to state in brief where they all lead. It is a fact, for instance, that the Italian fascists, whose aims were suited by division in the Balkans, encouraged enmity toward the non-Albanian population and revived the idea of Great Albania which would include not only Kosovo, but also certain other areas of Yugoslavia. This was in fact the ideological foundation of the Ballist groups.

Chauvinism Is Not Far From Irredentism

It is well known that chauvinism is not far from irredentism. And the errors committed in Kosovo up to the Fourth Plenum actually played in the hands of Albanian chauvinism. Then, as is well known, things even went so far that Albanians were even told which songs they could sing at weddings. They actually had to submit a list of those songs for approval. Even songs of romantic subject matter were banned. All this was supposedly done to suppress Albanian nationalism, whereas actually it was inspired by things precisely like this and worse which were done. It also played in the hands of the chauvinists to infringe the right to the flag and many other things.... The enemy knew how to take advantage of that both then and later.

Everything that had burdened the situation and relations in Kosovo was eliminated at the Fourth Plenum. And then the wave of national romanticism began. It was looked upon as a passing and harmless phenomenon. At the same time caution was relaxed toward the enemy, who saw the ardent nationalists as persons of like mind. The proper response was not given to the outbursts of individuals, and indeed were humored. For instance, 58 nationalists were discovered, but only 16 were convicted.... Interethnic relations were disrupted. A sense of community was not built, but indeed was dismantled. It even went so far as the opening of departments in day nurseries for Albanian children which were separate from those for Serbian and Montenegrin children. The separation began at an early age.

The hostile activity, which had its roots in the remnants of counterrevolutionary elements after the victory of the socialist revolution in our country, was continuous. It was manifested in more pronounced form during 1963 and 1964, and then in 1968, then 1973 and 1974 and right up until the counterrevolutionary demonstrations.

[Question] How is it that a portion of the nationalists yearn for the political system of Enver Hoxha's Albania?

[Answer] Anyone who uses his own eyes easily sees that even underdeveloped Kosovo (if compared with certain more advanced regions of Yugoslavia) is El Dorado, so to speak, compared to Albania. What has been done here from the Liberation to the present is amazing not only for the people who live here, but also those who come from outside and remember the way Kosovo was before the war. Kosovo cannot be compared with Albania, not only with respect to economic development and people's standard of living, but also with respect to human freedoms. But the blinded nationalists do not want to see this. We have a recent case like this: a peasant, an Albanian, an honorable workingman, has a little bit of land, a tractor, has built himself a house, and is living well. But his daughter, a schoolgirl who has been indoctrinated with nationalism, tells him: "You will not have it that way long. Enver will take away both your land and tractor. You will not live like a rich peasant." It takes a while to rid ideas like those of this girl of the consciousness of certain young people who, without even being aware of it, have fallen under the influence of an enemy who is not reconciling himself to our sociopolitical and economic system. But the overwhelming majority of Albanians have good sense. When Franjo Herljevic, federal secretary for internal affairs, was here, he said: "Let's go to some village, to some Albanian house to talk with the people." We went off to a village near Djakovica and went into a house. They received us well and treated us like guests. The host was over 80. During the conversation Herljevic jested: "Would you go to Albania to live?" The peasant shook his head: "Comrade General, why would I do that. I am all right here. Enver would take everything away from me. A peasant cannot have a cow or even a sheep over there. And I earned 16 million dinars just on sugar beets."

[Question] It is well known that the enemy particularly aimed its propaganda at young people....

[Answer] Yes. After the counterrevolutionary demonstrations in April and May and certain outbreaks during the summer the enemy's orientation was to use the beginning of the school year to resume broader actions. As is well known, he was unsuccessful in this. Thanks first of all to the commitment of party members, government agencies, law enforcement agencies and judicial authorities, there has been less and less room left for his activity. Since September there have been only two attempts at demonstrations, and one case last month when schoolchildren took part in demonstrations in Titova Mitrovica. The internal enemy even announced 46 demonstrations, and the emigre community 14. But these remained only their mere wishes and intentions.

[Question] It is obvious that there were many young people led astray.

[Answer] Certainly. There have even been children among the 320 people we have caught writing slogans. One 11-year-old boy cried and implored us not to tell his parents what he had done. When I thought about it a bit, what does this boy really know about what Marxism and what a republic or the slogan "Kosovo a republic" mean? Yet we do inform the parents. We feel that the

family, and not just the school, is very important in bringing up the children. When they hear what has happened, the parents are confused and ashamed. It is not easy for them: the child has hurt their sense of pride. But at the same time they will certainly pay more attention to their child in the future.

Restoring Lost Confidence

[Question] To return to interethnic relations. How do you evaluate them at the present moment?

[Answer] They were quite strained and chilly after the hostile demonstrations in certain communities. Time will be needed to restore mutual confidence. Certainly this will depend on complete normalization of the situation in Kosovo, that is, on when the outbreaks cease. I must also say, however, that there is also ethnic oversensitivity and stormy reaction even to things which in other communities would not constitute an expression of Albanian or Serb nationalism. Here at times we go to such extremes as to proclaim pickpockets to be nationalist. If an Albanian steals from an Albanian, no one pays any attention. But if an Albanian steals from a Serb, then that is another matter. But the pickpocket is only interested in the money, no matter whose. But, if this is not a good example, it is a fact that in this community we have to pay more attention to the behavior of Albanians because they are in the majority. All honest Albanians today have to protect the Serbs out of pride, since the Serbs are in the minority. For instance, in the village Mulici near Djakovica someone set fire to a Serb's hay while he was attending the wedding of an Albanian who was an intimate family friend. Most of the people in that village are Albanians, and what happened to the Serbian household was a blow to the pride of all. They will reimburse the man for the loss, but what happened was a severe blow to them....

Or a case in the village Klina: the night before last a peasant, a Serb, was robbed of two oxen from his barn. Had an Albanian robbed an Albanian, I would not get excited nor send out investigators in a rush to find the offender as soon as possible: they would simply do what is done in normal situations. However, I asked them to discover the thief as quick as possible and find those two oxen as best they know how, and if they need help, I will send it to them. They said that that was not necessary and that they were already on the right track. I want this solved as soon as possible, since cases like that create uncertainty in the peasants. The stealing of automobiles in the city is another matter. This might be called commonplace, and here less attention is paid to the nationality of the thief.

[Question] During our visit in Kosovo we have gotten the impression that many Albanians, because of everything that has happened, though they are not nationalists, but are in favor of brotherhood and unity, still harbor a sense of guilt for everything that has happened....

[Answer] That is an accurate observation. I have also gotten that impression in talking with people. Some of them tell me: "Even if someone were driving us, we would not follow Enver Hoxha. Why, then, is everyone attacking us?" Though the criticism and condemnation of Albanian nationalism and irredentism

coming from other quarters and also from Kosovo do not apply to all Albanians, reactions of this kind and this kind of expression of personal sentiment are Kosovo's present reality. Why is it like that? Perhaps because negative examples from Kosovo are mostly given in the press and the other media. But it is not all that black; in Djakovica, for example, Albanians constitute almost 97 percent of the population, but in the enterprise Emin Duraku, which has a work force of more than 2,000, 36 percent of the workers are of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality.

The People Are Helping the Police

[Question] Tell us something about collaboration between the security service and the people in breaking up the counterrevolutionary activity of the enemy?

[Answer] As you know, the conception of our security service is such that it relies on the people. That is why almost all the results of this service are a joint achievement. There was cooperation with the people even during the demonstrations. In Prizren 25 March was market day, and the enemy counted on the support of the population, assuming that they would join in large numbers. A small group of policemen intervened against the demonstrators, but thanks to the support and direct aid of the population the demonstrators were cut off in a short time, and most were arrested.

[Question] What sort of cooperation is there with the joint police units?

[Answer] These units came to Kosovo on our invitation. Their role is more than valuable. After all, because of the erroneous policy in the previous period the police in Kosovo had been reduced to a smaller number than was necessary even in normal times. Somehow everything had been allowed to slide in Kosovo. When we compare the number of policemen to the size of the population, we see that there are many more of them in other parts of the country than here. Police stations had been closed down, some areas in the province had been left uncovered, and this had a bad effect during the enemy's first onset. In addition, due attention had not been paid to personnel either of agencies for internal affairs or to the police. The supply of up-to-date equipment was also neglected. For all these reasons we more than welcomed the arrival of the joint units and also the professional and technical assistance from the republics and the Province of Vojvodina. We are now recruiting young people for the Kosovo police. We have already taken some of them into the service who have successfully completed the course. We will keep the joint units in the province until we have fully developed our own capability.

Now that I am speaking of the joint units, I would like to emphasize that in addition to performing tasks on the basis of the powers they obtained, they quickly developed acquaintances and friendship with the people here and have been helping them in their everyday life. If someone gets sick, say, and the doctor is far away, the policemen provide help immediately and call for emergency medical service or carry the patient in their own vehicle. Recently their speedy action saved the life of an old Albanian man in the vicinity of Glogovac. The people have accepted the policemen from the other republics and Vojvodina as their own and invite them for coffee, tea or lunch. This is

typical even in villages where almost 100 percent of the population is Albanian. And this is a slap in the face to the enemy.

[Question] Have there been difficulties in replenishing the personnel of the Kosovo security service?

[Answer] During the differentiation, which is under way, we are eliminating from this service all those who showed hesitation and also those who have displayed idleness or slowness in their work. We are also saying farewell to people who are honest and who can perform other functions exceptionally well, but who, if I might so put it, came into our service by accident.

[Question] Now that we are on this topic, why is it that Janko Jankovic, secretary of the secretariat for internal affairs in Pec, was recently discharged?

[Answer] Let us be clear at the outset: he was not discharged because he had been on the side of the counterrevolution or had done something wrong. He is both a good man and a good communist, but he will do better work in some other job. In the secretariat for internal affairs there are specific tasks which under normal conditions can be performed more easily than in a complicated situation such as we have today.

[Question] What sort of other changes have there been aside from personnel?

[Answer] You see, when it is a question of the police, professional and ideological work are also very important. And it has been neglected here in Kosovo, which has not been the case in other communities in the country. It was lacking in our case, and people relaxed, became lulled in a false security that everything was fine and as it should be. In the coming period we will be paying particular attention to ideological work.

The Unified Security Service

[Question] Harsh criticism has been expressed about the previous poor cooperation between the Kosovo Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs and its republic counterpart in SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia and indeed even with its federal counterpart. How will this be improved?

[Answer] You know, everything has been put upside down. Not only in the relationship between the province and the republics and Vojvodina, but also within Kosovo itself. A unified provincial police did not exist here, but rather there were opstina police departments. Each opstina set up a service in its own jurisdiction, and some of them were better in terms of personnel and some not so good. Often policemen were appointed to positions in the town where they were born. Because of familiarity this detracted from their effectiveness. Put simply, some of them looked the other way when things happened in their community. That, of course, cannot continue. There will also be uniform personnel policy and financing. We will call for changes and legislation to that effect. In that way we will not separate the security service from the opstinas. We will be collaborating with them, and we will be informing the delegates in the assembly regularly concerning the work of our service.

[Question] How will relations develop in the future within SR Serbia and with the services for internal affairs in the other republics?

[Answer] I would first like to emphasize that security is indivisible. For example, we cannot have one enemy for Macedonia and one for Serbia.... It is absurd to make divisions of that kind. Collaboration among security services must be complete; otherwise there is no success. As a party member I cannot conceive that it could be otherwise.

[Question] Has legislation been an obstacle to cooperation?

[Answer] The legislation, though it varied from one province or republic to another, has not been an obstacle to collaboration. Whenever something failed, it was people and not paper that were behind it. And when we are talking about the security of a region of our country, then the thing to do is not to look at the legislation in effect, but to operate effectively. I would like to emphasize that the overall results of the security service in suppressing the counterrevolution in Kosovo are the fruit of joint work by members of the security service of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo, the other socialist republics and SAP Vojvodina, especially the federal secretariat and Serbian Republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and also security agencies of the Yugoslav People's Army.

[Question] It is probably difficult to answer this question, but it is an inevitable one: When can we expect the situation in Kosovo to become completely normal?

[Answer] Complete normalization of conditions does not depend solely on us, that is, the services for internal affairs. That is clear. But I am convinced that consistent performance of the tasks that follow from the platform of the LCY Central Committee concerning Kosovo, and they pertain to all the socialist forces, will stabilize the situation and reestablish good relations among members of the different nationalities who live here. It is not easy to achieve that, but we have after all coped in more difficult days and achieved victory.

[Question] And finally, Comrade Malici, thank you for the interview. It is customary to ask whether you would like to read over the article we write for your approval?

[Answer] That is not necessary. I trust people. It is a question of your honor to write according to the way our conversation has gone.

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PROBLEM OF AGING POPULATION ANALYZED

Belgrade KOMUNA in Serbo-Croatian No 1, Jan 82 pp 44-47

[Article by Dr Zarko Vukovic]

[Text] Our country's population is getting older and older, and there are more and more elderly persons in advanced old age. The time has come when these facts can no longer be ignored, and no country can allow these phenomena to develop on their own because of the serious implications which aging of the population has in the areas of health care, social welfare and the economy. The very fact that World Health Day in 1982 was dedicated to the health of the elderly and that the World Conference on Aging was called in 1982 confirms the supposition of the serious consequences which can be anticipated if due attention is not paid to these questions.

Protection of the welfare of elderly inhabitants is becoming a very important task for all those concerned with health care and social welfare. At the same time, the welfare functions of the community toward the elderly are increasing, since there also is an increase in the number of chronically ill and incapacitated persons over age 60. This increase in the number of the chronically ill will no longer depend on the various health care measures taken, since a large number of people will become dependent upon the aid of others solely because of their advanced age. There is an increase in the amount of hospital treatment being given to the elderly, and the pressure on hospitals will increase to such an extent that the available capacity will not be sufficient to treat all the elderly unless certain forms of treatment outside hospitals are developed, at-home treatment and care of the elderly first of all.

Demographic Characteristics of the Aging Processes in Our Country's Population

The aging process in our country's population manifested itself in the years between the wars, but aging became more intensive in the sixties. If we examine the characteristics of the aging process in the population on the basis of postwar population censuses, we see that the number of inhabitants over age 60 was twice as great in 1981 as it was when the population census was taken in 1948. During the postwar years certain characteristics have manifested themselves concerning the aging of the population, but we shall mention only two of them here. First of all, there is the fact that there are more men than women among the elderly. The age groups of men dwindle with increasing age,

and the fact that there are 300,000 more women than men shows that advanced age is more prevalent among women. The second characteristic of the aging process is that the number of inhabitants over age 69 is gradually increasing; in 1981 (estimated) they were approximately equal to the number of younger elderly people between the ages of 60 and 69 (1.34 million inhabitants between the ages of 60 and 69, as compared to the 1.286 million people over age 69). As shown in Graph 1, it is evident that the number of elderly people (over age 69) will be dropping in the coming period, so that the process of aging in the population will enter its "normal" phase toward the end of our millennium.

Graph 1. Aging of the Yugoslav Population,
Number of Persons Between the Ages of 60 and 69 and Over Age 69*

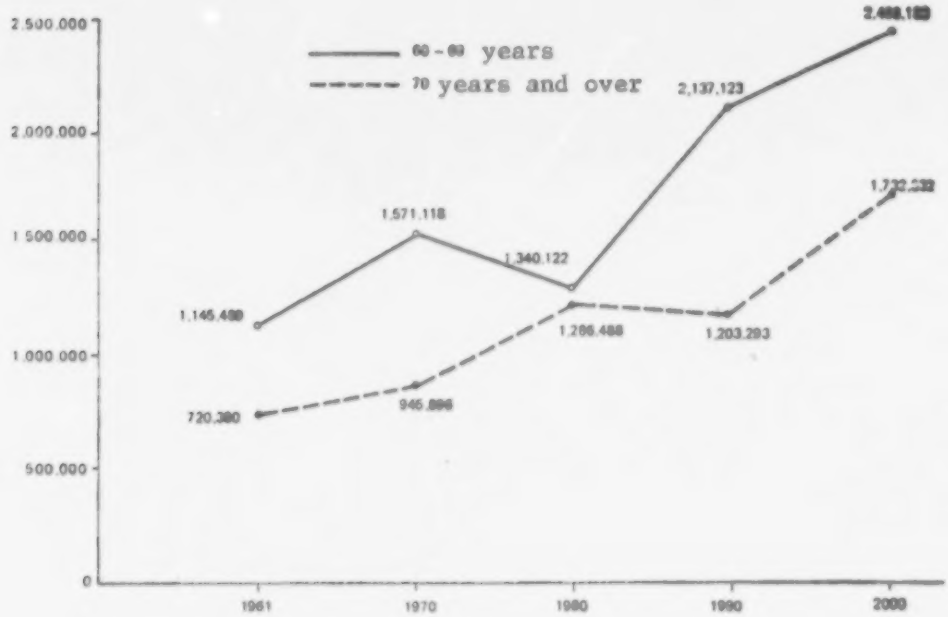

* Low birth rate variant.

Source: Projection of the Center for Demographic Research.

International Figures on the Aging of the Population

So that we might show the pattern of the aging processes in our country's population more fully, we have made certain comparisons with other countries in the view that today we need broader assessments of the aging processes and that we cannot be fully informed without more comprehensive data.

The rate of the aging of the population is shown in Table 2, and it indicates our country's position in a comparison with certain other countries. We note that the rate of aging of our country's population is high and that it

approximates the aging rate of Japan's population, taking into account the commencement of aging and attainment of a 12-percent share of the elderly population in the total population. The growth rate of the elderly population (rate of aging) must be taken as an increase in the size of the elderly population, but at the same time one must note in that increase an increase in the number of those elderly people who will require more and more protection, treatment and care, especially since at the same time there is a process taking place whereby family ties are becoming weaker and the family's share in protecting the elderly is diminishing. In this way it is possible to foresee the scope of possible protection, since today we know the number of elderly people and how many of them there will be at the end of this century, since these figures are accessible to us.

Graph 2. Total Population and Absolute and Proportional Representation of People Age 60 or Older in Yugoslavia

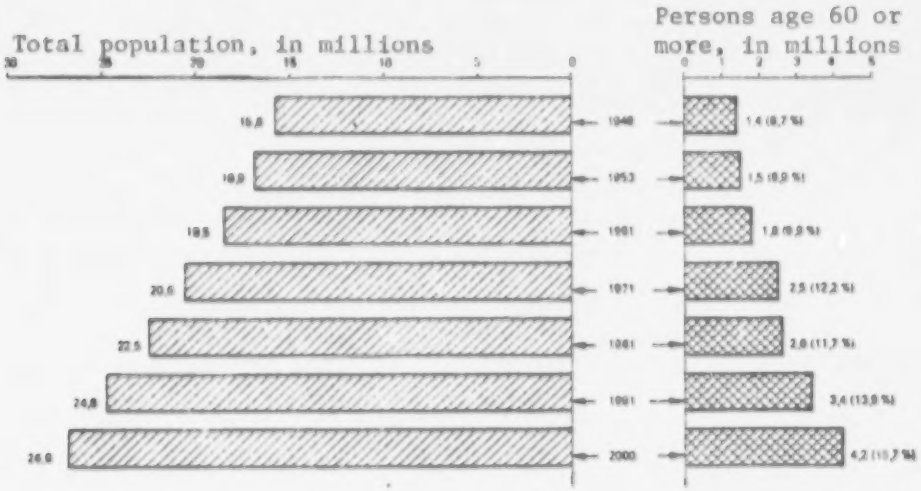

Note: The population is given according to the Yugoslav population census for 1948, 1953, 1961 and 1971, and in 1981, 1991 and the year 2000 it is given according to the projection of the Center for Demographic Research.

Table 3 shows us the "dependency index" of the elderly population, which, it is true, tells us that we will reach the level of dependency somewhat later than this has occurred in other countries, but we should bear in mind that this level was achieved faster than in other countries.

Age and Chronic Illnesses--An Increase in the Volume of Medical Treatment

Age and the chronic illnesses which accompany it, with all the consequences, though old age and chronic illness need not be synonyms, bring about an ever greater degree of dependency. In the context of all this the number of seriously ill and dependent persons will increase regardless of medical measures,

and it can be expected that the number of seriously ill people and the number in the terminal stage of illness will even increase unless we have better and better methods of medical treatment.

Table 1. Age-Specific Composition of the Yugoslav Population, absolute size of the age group and its proportion of the total given as the number of its members per 1,000 inhabitants*

	0—19	20—39	40—59	60 +	TOTAL
1948	6.854.512 434,5	4.435.833 281,3	3.115.887 197,6	1.365.005 86,6	15.771.267 1000‰
1953	6.917.462 408,5	4.976.198 293,8	3.535.476 208,8	1.506.324 88.9	16.935.460 1000‰
1961	7.148.921 385,8	6.032.957 325,5	3.535.476 190,0	1.829.319 98,7	18.531.975 1000‰
1971	7.542.664 366,9	6.182.722 300,8	4.312.126 209,8	2.517.014 122,5	20.554.526 1000‰
1981*	7.381.743 328,2	6.873.488 305,6	5.608.797 249,4	2.626.610 116,8	22.490.638 1000‰
1991	8.194.994 330,0	7.396.979 297,9	5.795.373 233,4	3.445.982 138,8	24.833.328 1000‰
2000	8.781.537 328,1	7.375.055 275,5	6.409.025 239,4	4.200.515 156,9	26.766.132 1000‰

* The figures for 1948, 1953, 1961 and 1971 are according to the population censuses; for 1981, 1991 and the year 2000 they were taken from the projection of the Center for Demographic Research.

Table 2. International Figures on the Aging Rate of the Population of Certain Countries

Country	Years in Which Population Age 65 or Over Reached Percentage Below 5%	12%	Length of Interval Between Attainment of 5% and 12%
Japan	1950	1995	45 years
France	1790	1960	170 years
West Germany	1890	1965	75 years
Sweden	1855	1960	105 years
Great Britain	1905	1965	55 years
Yugoslavia	1931* 5.3%	2000** 11.8%	70 years
Serbia proper	--	1996 (12.0%)	65 years
Croatia	--	2000 (12.2%)	69 years
Slovenia	--	1999 (12.3%)	68 years

* According to the 1931 Population Census.
** According to the projection of the Yugoslav population 1970-2000 (low birth rate variant).

Table 3. Dependency Index of the Elderly Population, Ratio of the Number of Inhabitants Age 65 and Over to Young Age Groups in Certain Countries of the World and Yugoslavia, SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, SR Croatia and SR Slovenia

Country	Dependency Index of Elderly Population (number of persons age 65 and over per 100 persons between ages of 15 and 64)			
	1930	1950	1971	2000
France	13.8	17.7	22.6	--
Great Britain	10.8	16.2	21.6	--
Sweden	13.9	15.6	21.8	--
West Germany	10.6	13.8	10.7	--
United States	8.3	12.5	16.5	--
Italy		12.1	16.5	--
Canada	8.9	12.5	11.4	--
Holland	9.8	12.3	16.5	--
Czechoslovakia	9.8	11.3	19.1	--
Yugoslavia	8.8*	9.4*	12.2*	17.5**
SR Serbia		9.4	14.6	19.5
SR Croatia		10.6	14.5	21.0
SR Slovenia		11.7	15.0	18.7

* According to the population censuses in 1931, 1953 and 1971.
** According to the projection of the Center for Demographic Research for the year 2000.

Table 4. Rate of Hospitalization of Persons Over Age 60 in SR Slovenia

Year	Patients Between Age 60 and 69		Patients Between Age 70 and Over		Total, age 60 and over	
	Number	Rate*	Number	Rate*	Number	Rate*
1961	13,426	12,265	8,020	10,552	21,482	11,159
1970	24,716	15,687	16,674	17,668	41,390	16,429
1980	21,741	19,741	31,533	25,230	53,274	22,659

* The rate per 100,000 inhabitants.

The growth of the volume of medical treatment is manifested most strongly in the hospitals, on which the greatest pressure is exerted for treatment of elderly and chronically ill patients. As matters stand today, a major portion of hospital capacity might be used to treat the elderly. This is also shown by the fact that most of the increase in the total volume of hospital treatment occurs because of the increase in the hospitalization rate of elderly patients.

In order to document this we used figures on hospital treatment in Slovenia, since those were the only figures available to us that went right up to 1980.

It is evident from Table 4 that the number of elderly patients treated in hospitals doubled over this period and that the hospitalization rate of persons over age 70 is rising.

As for hospital treatment of elderly inhabitants, we can expect the number of cases of their treatment in hospitals to increase more and more. This is indicated to us by the figures which show that accessibility of hospital treatment is not equal for the entire population and that there are large differences between the urban and rural population. Differences with respect to hospital treatment exist even between the urban and suburban areas; that is, the number of persons treated from the urban area proper is between two- and threefold higher than for the greater urban area. As for the rural population, we note a much higher representation of men receiving hospital treatment than women in the group over age 60.

All of this indicates to us that there are large reservoirs whose "emptying" in coming years will increase pressure for medical treatment by the population over age 60 and that there will be a need to take appropriate measures to cope with the larger requirements and needs.

Certain possibilities can be examined, and we will indicate them here without claiming that they are mandatory or must be implemented. This is only an attempt to mitigate the situation which can be expected in coming years with respect to hospital treatment of elderly citizens.

Institutions for Rehabilitation and Protection of the Elderly

We see one possibility for more effective handling of the difficulties of protecting the elderly in use of the facilities of rehabilitation centers. Up to now use of these facilities has not come into consideration, since in the past rehabilitation was oriented toward the more productive and younger age groups. We have that kind of situation even today, as shown by an analysis of cases of treatment in a small institution for rehabilitation in Serbia proper (Table 5).

The figures show compellingly that more than 50 percent of the patients undergoing rehabilitation were under age 50, and those under age 60 represented more than 80 percent.

In the future we can expect that rehabilitation will be oriented toward the elderly and aimed at maintaining the maximum possible level of functional abilities and thereby the possibility for living an independent life. We can thus expect a larger coverage of the elderly in institutions for rehabilitation, all of which could help to mitigate the crisis with respect to protection of the elderly.

Homes for the Aged and Retired People in Comprehensive Protection of the Elderly

Homes for the aged and homes for retired people have a large role in protecting the elderly, but their role has not been fully examined up to now. This can indeed be seen from the figures which show us (Table 4) a large lag in

construction of the facilities of these institutions except in SR Croatia and Slovenia. Nor has there so far been an examination of the role of these institutions in the health care of the elderly, which explains the fact that these institutions are outside the health care system and are used only as a "asylum" for the chronically ill.

However, recently there has been a marked trend toward construction of luxury facilities which can be referred to as homes for the elderly and retired people, which must not be tolerated in the future. The building of boarding institutions for the elderly and retired people has been abandoned in the world, since the costs are very high, and institutions are now being built which would provide care to the elderly and the chronically ill who cannot be otherwise protected, either in the case of a sick person or an elderly person with no one to care for him. It will become evident in coming years that we need homes to care for the elderly, along with a larger participation of the health care system, which will not be able to stand aloof from these institutions any longer. We do not need hotels and boarding homes for the elderly, whose construction shows that we have not fully examined the severity of the situation brought about by the intensive aging of the population.

Table 5. Patients Undergoing Rehabilitation in an Institution for Rehabilitation in 1980

Patients Under Age 50	Patients Between Ages 50 and 59	Patients Between Ages 60 and 69	Patients Age 70 and Over
508	279	100	92

Old Age and Retirement

We mention the importance of retirement here only to point out the extent to which these two questions are related to one another. Retirement policy and the level of retirement benefits have a decisive impact on the fate of the elderly, and this can especially be said of the influence which can be exerted by the staff services of self-managing communities of interest for old-age and disability insurance. In view of the ever greater number of retired people in our country, so that we are indeed gradually becoming a country of retired people, it is becoming more and more obvious that the function of SIZ's [self-managing community of interest] for old-age insurance cannot be reduced merely to the payment of pensions and the financing of "hotels" for retired people, while the actual protection of the elderly and retired persons in need of social welfare and health care remains outside the scope of old-age and disability insurance.

The aging of our country's population, which is manifested in a magnitude which is requiring ever greater participation of the community in the social concern for the elderly, will in coming years have ever more marked implications in the social and economic domains. This applies above all to health care because of the increase in the volume of medical treatment in all forms of health care and especially with respect to hospital treatment. Thus the health care of the elderly will in the coming period become one of the most

important tasks, if not the most important task for all those concerned with health care and social welfare.

Health care and social welfare have not up to now been adapted to the needs of the elderly, and certain transformations will have to be made so that health care and social welfare are made more accessible and more comprehensive. Certain examples have been given which pertain to institutions for rehabilitation and homes for the aged and retired people. Particular emphasis is put on the need to develop forms of health care outside the hospital, at-home treatment and care of the ill first of all, which is an indispensable measure in overall health care and social welfare of the elderly.

Since Health Day, 7 April, has been dedicated to protecting the health of the elderly, and since the World Conference on Aging has been called and will be held in Vienna from 26 July to 2 August 1982, we can expect that during 1982 certain needs of the elderly will be given greater importance than up to now, building on everything that has been done to date, above all on full health care for all citizens over age 65, which has great importance to improvement of social concern about the elderly.

7045
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31 March 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1994

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31 March 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1994

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SOFIA PAPER CALLS FOR IMPROVEMENT IN POLITICAL, MILITARY TRAINING

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Jan 82 pp 1, 2

[Editorial: "An Important Event for Communists in the Army and Military Groups"]

[Text] The successful accomplishment of the tasks set by the XII Congress of the BCP demands a complete mobilization of the creative forces, the energy, the experience and the ability of every communist, of every worker. In this persistent and selfless toil and struggle for the realization of the general policy of the April Plenum, the role and responsibility of the primary party organizations grow exceptionally. It was no accident that Todor Zhivkov, last year in his report before the October national conference stressed that they (the PPO's--TR) are the natural center and the social midst where new more complicated problems are solved.

In response to the higher requirements, the Secretariat of the CC of the BCP announced a survey throughout the first quarter of 1983, for elevating the role and the effectiveness of the primary party organization in the struggle for carrying out the decisions of the 12th Party Congress.

The basic aim of the survey is to expand the creativeness, enterprise, and responsibility of the primary party organization for the realization of the party forum requirements in raising the effectiveness and military preparedness of the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army]. This remarkable political event will, in the highest degree, contribute toward the further ideological and organizational consolidation of each primary party organization in the army; it will insure the flawless execution of the plans for military and political training and the construction programs by all military (construction) units.

The excellent preparation, organization, and implementation of the survey will help in strengthening the self-stimulated character of the primary party organizations in the further enrichment of internal party organization as a model of socialist democracy. The organization and discipline of the communists will be raised to a higher level as will their personal example in military, labor, social and political life. The primary party organization will perfect its style of work and will truly be transformed into the leading political nucleus of the respective unit and will be the prototype of its

future condition. It will assert itself as a firm support of its members in their striving to develop and to bear the calling of communist with honor.

Three basic stages are outlined in the organization and execution of the survey. What unites them is the purposeful, systematic and versatile activity for carrying out the decisions in full. Although the initiatives to be taken have specific time spans, the survey is not a campaign, but an essential feature of the modus operandi of the political organs and party committees together with the primary organizations. With it, a greater degree of organization and productivity is introduced into this activity.

During the first stage of the survey an important task is the elaboration of a full and objective characterization of the strengths and weaknesses of the primary party organization. Within this, the following rather important questions must be clarified and evaluated: what is the effect of the PPO on the development of the labor, social and educational obligations of the respective units; what is the extent and depth of internal party democracy, does it correspond with the political maturity, intellectual level and the social contribution of the communists and others.

The primary and basic thing in the second stage is the practical realization of the initiatives mentioned for raising and strengthening the work of the PPO. The guiding element in this stage is the concrete organizational and political activity of the communists and the rest of the personnel to display their creative strengths, abilities and drive in the struggle to meet the requirements of the congress for high military preparedness on the part of the army.

During the third stage of the survey, an evaluation will be made of what has been achieved from among the actions which were implemented and applied towards increasing the role and the responsibility of the PPO as a leading political nucleus of the military unit and as a prototype of its future composition.

The survey is a rigorous and exacting examination of the maturity of each party leadership, of each communist. It is not an external, demonstrative gesture by the primary organization but a serious test of the moral strengths, an occasion for self-analysis, for self-evaluation, for self-perfection. Not only the secretary and the members of the bureau, but each individual communist is personally responsible for its implementation. In the preparation and evaluation of the character sketch, in the search for the causes for the weaknesses and in pointing out the ways and the forms for making it prevail decisively, literally in all activity concerning the survey, each communist has his share and is obliged, first to begin with himself, to judge himself. Here the ideological requirement, that everyone is personally responsible for everything to everyone, is fully applicable.

The results of the survey will be even more productive if the appropriate leading groups will know how to involve creatively komsomol members and nonparty people in its total realization. In evaluating the activity and determining future tasks of the primary party organization, their opinions, critical notes and expedient proposals are a valuable reserve for heightening the

political consciousness and the social activity of all personnel. Getting a hold on this reserve and an active relationship with it will mean that it will become an essential feature of the style of party leaderships. In this way, the more successfully one of the basic problems of the survey is solved, the more the connections and interaction of the primary organization with military units and soldiers will be strengthened.

The successful organization and execution of the survey depends to a great extent on the activity, competence and approach of the respective political departments, party committees and deputy commanders of the political section and on the political maturity of commanders and leaders.

The duty of the political organs and the party committees is not only to take the lead in the survey, but also directly and very actively to take part in its complete realization, to resolve duly all questions which have arisen, to be informed about the main accomplishments and to take active measures to eliminate the weaknesses. In this responsible political task, hack work and rigid determination of the initiatives and approaches for all primary organizations can only reduce the results of the efforts which are made. This is why a creative approach which will insure the intensification of the spontaneous character of the primary party organization is indispensable, so that its ability develops and that it sets for itself socially significant goals and tasks.

Bulgarian soldiers gladly and enthusiastically greet the survey as an important political event, not only for party organizations, but for all military units. Because they see in the primary party organization not only the representative of the party in the unit, but also as the representative of the unit to the party.

It is an incontrovertible fact that the survey which was presented on increasing the role and efficiency of primary party organizations will help strengthen these further and will raise their capability so that they will be a leading force for the realization of the party's expectations for high military preparedness of the troops.

1400
CSO: 2200/62

REPORT ON PLENUM OF CENTRAL AUDITING CONTROL COMMISSION

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Jan 82 p 2

[Text] Yesterday the plenum of the Central Auditing Control Commission [CACC] of the Bulgarian Communist Party was held under the presidency of Stoyan Karadzhov, the chairman of the commission.

An accountability report on the activity of the CACC of the BCP in 1981 was read by the first deputy chairman, Stamo Kerezov. The report makes a profound analysis of the work of the CACC of the BCP in the light of the tasks set by the 12th Congress of the Party and by the general secretary of the Central Committee, Todor Zhivkov, at the national convention of party, state, economic and social activists on 24 October 1981.

The comprehensive activity of the Central Auditing Control Commission of the BCP was directed towards accomplishing the main socioeconomic task defined by the Congress, growing satisfaction of the material and spiritial needs of the workers through an intensification of the national economy, consistent application of the new economic approach, the new economic mechanism and the further improvement of socialist productive relations.

The CACC of the BCP has devoted special attention to raising further the leading role of the party, preserving the purity in its ranks and increasing the fighting efficiency of the primary party organization.

Approval was given for reciprocal relations and joint inspections by the national control system and the organs of social control in the struggle against negative phenomena.

On the basis of the positive balance sheet, the plenum designated the tasks of the members and leadership of the CACC of the BCP for 1982. (BTA)

1400
CSO: 2200/62

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON ASIA VISIT

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 15 No 6, 1982 (signed to press 1 Feb 82) pp 3-4

[Interview with Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy minister for national defense and chief, Political Main Administration, National People's Army (NVA); place and date of interview not given: "Successful Asia Trip of GDR Military Delegation"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Colonel General, in January 1982 a GDR military delegation spent some time in the SRV, the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK] and the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR]. What was the purpose of this trip?

[Answer] The GDR military delegation which was led by Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and minister for national defense, was charged, on the basis of the agreements on friendship and cooperation which exist between our countries, with deepening the traditional relations of the solidarity of the SED, the people of the GDR and its armed forces with the parties, peoples and armies of the countries visited. The leader of the delegation delivered to the representatives of these countries messages from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State.

Our task involved gaining more thorough information about the political and economic problems in respect to the socialist structure and to the development of national defense in order to utilize it as the basis of future cooperation between the NVA and the Vietnamese People's Army [VPA], the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea [RAK] and the Laotian People's Liberation Army [LPLA].

[Question] What made the most lasting impression on you during the military delegation's trip through the three countries that are such close friends with us?

[Answer] In whichever of the three countries we held discussions with the leading comrades of the party, the state or the army, with visits to troop formations and units or instructional facilities for the armed forces: we were always impressed with what dedication and political responsibility the next steps in respect to the socialist structure were laid out and at the same time with what determination dependable protection of the revolutionary achievements is pursued.

On the spot we learned how grave the legacy is which is present because of the French, Japanese and American intruders together with their local puppets. All the more remarkable is the optimism which we encountered everywhere and which--and this we know to be a fact--is historically justified. I recall the words of Pham Van Dong, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the KPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] and chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, which he used when he received our delegation for talks. "Yes, we have difficulties. But we are communists, and we are used to coping with them. We have all the prerequisites in order to be victorious: a strong party, a strong friend--the Soviet Union--, people who are able to accomplish a lot, and not least good weapons."

The the explanation for this optimism can also be sought in the active solidarity which was and is guaranteed by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community--also including the GDR--to these countries in the years of their national liberation war and of the socialist structure, is in the nature of the thing.

We visited an infantry division of the VPA which, 10 days after its historic victory over the French expeditionary force under General de Casire at Dien Bien Phu, President Ho Chi Minh honored as a "Division of Victory" and whose training results today range between "good" and "very good." We visited an RAK infantry school--not far from Phnom Penh--which, course by course, trains politically and technically qualified cadres for service in the army. And in a Laotian fighter pilot squadron which is in the process of being built up, we saw a double takeoff by MiG 21s, followed the conscientious and extremely disciplined work at the command post--at the radar station and on the fighter guide map. What we saw strengthened in us the certainty that the comrades in arms in the southeast of the socialist camp are doing everything in their power in order to protect their socialist homeland from all aggressive attacks just as the members of the NVA and the GDR border guards do in the heart of Europe.

In my opinion, this was also among the most impressive experiences which our delegation had during the trip through these countries. And in all the talks which we had we left no doubt that in the future, too, our republic and its soldiers will provide political, moral and material support, within the framework of what is possible, for the socialist structure and its dependable protection in the SRV, in the PRK and in the LPDR.

[Question] You mentioned a grave legacy which is confronting these countries. Among other things, what do you have in mind in this regard?

[Answer] For decades these countries were involved in a national liberation struggle. Everything was subordinated to gaining the victory over the French colonial power, the Japanese occupation, the American aggressors and the local reaction. To say nothing of the backwardness which had been left to them by the colonial masters and which was eloquently expressed in the high percentage of illiterates which after the victory of the revolution had to be gradually reduced; in part this is still happening today.

For the seriousness of the legacy I would like to cite just one example. I remember how shocked we were when we left the "Tuol Sleng" monument and memorial, a former concentration camp not far from Phnom Penh, in which 20,000 sons and daughters of the Kampuchean people were brutally tortured and murdered by the Pol Pot regime This regime was supported and sustained by the Peking hegemonists--by those forces which even today permit no peace in this region, which provoke border incidents, form and arm counterrevolutionary forces and seek to undermine the economy in a variety of ways.

Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann wrote as follows in the guestbook: "The GDR military delegation is deeply shocked by the severity of the suffering which the people of Kampuchea had to endure under the genoicde regime of the Pol Pot clique. They can depend on the fact that we will always stand at their side when it is a matter of creating the foundations for a flourishing socialist Kampuchea and of defending the freedom achieved."

The number of people who failed to live to experience the revolutionary uprising of the people of Kampuchea 3 years ago is in the millions. They were workers, scientists, teachers, architects, doctors, technologists and economic experts who were murdered by the thousands. Anyone suspected of being able to read and write was in danger of falling into the claws of the bloodhound Pol Pot. And if at the outset I mentioned a grave legacy, I meant not least the acute shortage of experts, which was carried to the extreme, without whom in any of these countries it is not now possible to get going and keep going a ruined economy, a broken down educational and health system. Here we do indeed have to contend with a grave legacy which will cost enormous effort to overcome.

[Question] What response does the solidarity of the GDR and its soldiers find in these countries?

[Answer] The GDR enjoys great respect in the three countries. We met specialists in the most diverse areas who are at home in the GDR. We heard of doctors who with considerable self-sacrifice provide assistance on the spot under complex climatic conditions. We saw trucks of the W-50 type on the roads, and in enterprises in the sister countries we saw machines and precision equipment from the Carl Zeiss VEB, Jena.

For example, in order to support the training of a qualified permament staff of skilled workers in the PRK, 30 young Kampucheans began skilled worker training in our republic in September 1980.

They will return home as enterprise mechanics or professional foresters. In September 1981 similar training began for 60 additional compatriots. Others have come to the GDR for advanced school study or are taking continuing education courses. At the same time we are supporting Kampuchean comrades in building their own training facilities for skilled workers. In addition there is the direct help which we guarantee in the economic and scientific-technical sectors, among others also the developing cooperation in starting up the production of natural rubber again. These and other examples of solidarity could be cited here for all three of the countries visited.

I cannot recall a single encounter during the days of our trip in which our partners did not find sincere, heartfelt words of thanks for this solidarity. For example, at the Institute for Military Technology in Hanoi a lovely woman of 39 years in a captain's uniform stood before us, in 1957 she had been among the first 200 Vietnamese children who were invited at that time by Comrade Otto Grotewohl to the GDR. During that period she had been trained in our republic as a skilled worker in chemistry and later had studied chemistry at Martin Luther University in Halle. As she said, the GDR had become her second home. Now she received our delegation together with the scientists, researchers and technical staff workers of the Institute. She had experienced herself what we in our country understand by active solidarity.

A country like hers needs people with the necessary specialized knowledge in all sectors just as they need their daily rice. We had a variety of such encounters in the SRV and the LPDR. Currently a doctor of natural sciences, 12 doctors of other sciences, 13 advanced school graduates, 5 specialists for scientific-technical administration and 35 technical cadres and skilled workers who received their training in the GDR are working at the Institute for Military Technology alone. The director of this facility, Chief Col Phan Thu, "hero of the VPA" and once a successful fighter pilot, paid tribute to this help with extremely cordial words--help which in the past few years made possible the building of laboratories and which at present is also being expressed, among other things, in the installation of an electronic information storage facility.

[Question] In the press releases there was talk of a Technical School for Noncommissioned Officers which was developed with our help in Ho-Chi-Minh City. What can be said about that?

[Answer] At this school we also held discussions with comrades who have studied in our country. The school trains specialists who service, care for and maintain optical devices, small arms, artillery weapons, radio equipment of high and low frequency, but also road construction machinery and other equipment. Every year noncommissioned officers in 24 categories are trained who, with a high political sense of responsibility, the necessary theoretical knowledge and versatile practical skills, also have all the prerequisites in order to make a contribution in the army to constant improvement of the combat readiness of our Vietnamese sister army. You already said this, but this school was built with the support of the GDR. Our help extended on up to the preparation of curricula which were developed in close cooperation with our Vientamese partners. Specialists from the GDR communicated especially to the instructors theoretical knowledge and practical skills, among other things--and this was stressed many times during our visit--such as how modern precision equipment, under the conditions of extremely high humidity, can be protected from harmful climatic conditions. On the spot it was possible to convince us of the fact that this form of our solidarity is of great value.

[Question] What were the military delegation's happiest experiences during this trip?

[Answer] No doubt these were the encounters with the very youngest citizens of these countries which we had in the course of the trip--whether in the "Bamboo Shoots" kindergarten in Hanoi, in an orphanage near Phnom Penh or

in a Laotian kindergarten. One must have experienced in what a well protected way these children grow up, to what extent the parties and the governments of these countries are concerned about their well-being in spite of all the complicated facts of the situation. But one must also have seen the big wondering eyes of the children when we spread out in front of them the gifts from the citizens of our country: children's clothes, wooden trains, puzzle games, balls, teddybears, crayons and many other things. One has to have seen how their eyes lighted up when they heard of the greetings from their peers in kindergartens in the GDR and how they "examined" the drawings which had been sent along. In parting we said to them: "Our wish for you is that you can grow up in peace." And in these words we saw at the same time the obligation to do everything in our power for this peace jointly with our comrades in arms in Southeast Asia and resolutely obstruct the path of any who seek to disrupt it with their criminal machinations and fear nothing.

[Question] Which results of the visit by the military delegation in the three countries would you highlight?

[Answer] First, I can suggest overall that the goals of this trip, which I mentioned at the beginning of our interview, were fully achieved. We were able on the spot to be convinced of the successes which were achieved in these sorely tested countries on the road of social progress. We came to understand even better their difficulties and problems. Undoubtedly the visit by our military delegation also contributed to the further deepening in particular of the relations of the NVA with the armed forces to the SRV, the PRK and the LPDR. Among other things, this is expressed in arrangements with the armed forces of these countries on the basis of the agreements which exist between the GDR and the countries visited. These arrangements underscore the commonality of our struggle and our goals. They help to continue the exchange of experience and the fraternal help in respect to bolstering the defense strength of these countries and make it possible for us to provide more purposefully and effectively practical solidarity like we have been doing for years.

[Question] At the conclusion of its trip the GDR military delegation spent some time in the Republic of India.

[Answer] Even the visit in the Republic of India was among the highpoints of our meetings. We became familiar with Delhi, the capital city, and were able to become informed about the problems of the country. Of special importance were the visits by Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann with Indira Gandhi, prime minister of the Republic of India, and R Venkataraman, the newly named minister of defense. Indira Gandhi, for example, expressed the idea that there is no alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence. She explained: "We value the friendship with the GDR very highly, and I still well remember my visit to the GDR." In the cordial talks she affirmed the commonality in all fundamental questions of the present. In India, too, we sensed that the GDR enjoys a good reputation in South Asia and Southeast Asia, that our policy, which is directed at peace and social progress, the energetic solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and hegemony is very well received.

12124
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LAW PROFESSORS CRITICIZE REGULATION ON 'MITIGATION OF SENTENCE'

Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 31 No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 19 Nov 81) pp 11-22

[Article by Prof Dr Guenther Kraeupl and Dr Lothar Reuter, Department of Political Science and Jurisprudence, Friedrich Schiller University, Jena: "The Perpetrator's Personality in the Process of Incurring a Penalty and in Relation to Fixing the Penalty"]

[Text] Marxist social scientists have made noticeably greater efforts in recent years to understand better the process of the determination and conduct of personality. They have been dealing more thoroughly with this subject matter because the role of the subject has notably grown in the process of socioeconomic change in our society thus far. Because of our higher level and an advanced equalization in individual social-educational living conditions, the development of personality and the self-determination of personality conduct have now become possible to a wider extent. The subject's own active role in determining personality and conduct grows faster today than previously in an individual developmental process. And so we needs have to take the individual more into account for the sake of enforcing general social goals. Criminology also has recognized the problem as an important one in basic theory.[1]

For the field of psychology, A. N. Leontiev has found its status conditioned by the contradiction between a vast amount of facts and inadequate theoretical foundations.[2] This tells us something too about criminology's foundation in personality theory. This unsatisfactory state of affairs is perceived especially in places where assured theoretical findings are of an immediate consequence to practice, e.g. in criminal law. The general part of the GDR's Criminal Law Textbook of 1976 says in this connection that scientific crime research on the role of the perpetrator's personality still is in its infancy. That is also reflected by the uneven use made of the concept of perpetrator in the criminal law of the various socialist countries.

I

The Marxist realization that personality and conduct are primarily determined by the external social and educational conditions of life must not mislead us to misconceive personality, all too diminished and oversimplified, and principally merely

as an object, as the result of adjustment to external conditions, and too little as an active subject, self-determining. That interpretation carries over the Marxist definition of the human being as an aggregate of social relations to a given individual in a linear way, regarding it as the definition of personality. In this definition of the essence of man (as a species) one does find the basic position of the primary social determination of human personality (as an individual), without the concept of personality becoming thereby sufficiently defined. A linear transfer to a given personality tends to overemphasize the determination by external relations and pays insufficient attention to the activities of the individual in creating or changing his own circumstances of life and to individual responsibility that belongs to it.[3]

Based on Marx' own definition of man there are diverse conceptions and definitions of personality. But these differences are not fundamental in kind. As a uniform basic position, the following is accepted: Personality means a particular quality of the human individual, to the effect that the subject's social determination and conscious activity coincide in a process of confrontation with the material and mental conditions of life and with himself.

Now one has to realize that the self-determination factor is not an abstract addendum to personality. The degree of self-determination ultimately depends on the material possibilities for the development of personality, on the historically concrete degree to which the individual can free himself from an immediate subservience to external conditions. To that extent then, personality is also socially determined with respect to self-determination. This self-determination ability is the sphere for actively controlling one's own personality development and actual conduct. On that, penal law is based. But it is also up to criminology to pay more attention to that aspect in explaining the causes, conditions and mechanisms in individually incurring penalties, and for conceptions for individual-educational work with criminally endangered and perpetrators.

The mediating role of the internal conditions takes effect in the subjective absorption of the external conditions (selection and evaluation) and in the subject's activity as an active reaction to those conditions (shaping or changing them). A more aware and stronger influence must be brought to bear on these mediating processes also among criminals. It is not enough to change external conditions of life (e.g. through placement in a firm work collective); we must also increasingly develop the ability to evaluate the external conditions in line with social standards. And finally it is a matter of fostering an active participation in changing one's own conditions of life (especially those that induce crime) because personality changes mainly through such a process and not through passive accommodation.

The determination of personality and conduct is generally understood as follows: In active confrontation with social-educational developmental conditions, personality forms (particularly by developing attitudes and a self-determination ability), and the personality so formed determines any concrete act of conduct by passing on actual socioeducational environmental conditions (especially within the family, at work and at leisure) and the conditions of the immediate action situation.

The dynamics of this process in the ontogenesis of man often only receives perfunctory attention. There, an individual frees himself from his initially direct subordination under external conditions. Internal conditions in formation increasingly enter into the personality formation and conduct regulation. Internal determination replaces external determination. Under such conditions, personality prefers certain external conditions and avoids others or restructures them. To criminality that appears as the problem of the perpetrator's relative independence or relative self-determination in the determination process of personality formation and conduct. The increase in internal determination is shown by the fact that when people get older, the process of incurring penalties primarily under direct external determination, through situation conditions or direct group influences (typical of children and adolescents), yields to a process of incurring penalties primarily under internal determination, largely independent of situations and groups.

The criminological relevance of this dynamic factor is found most clearly in recidivists: In comparison with first offenders, the differences found in them are due less to the environment than, rather, to the personality, with individual recidivism proceeding (i.e., in adding to the criminal record).[4] For recidivists, the grown internal conditions more strongly determine conduct than in the case of first offenders. Our investigations have confirmed previous data, to the effect that motives and decisions for crimes in recidivists, in contrast to first offenders, are less determined by the situation (through direct conditions in the crime situation) but more habitually so (through attitudes).[5] This habitual conditioning increases in individual recidivism and is largest in cases of multiple recidivism.

When the inner determination of conduct grows, one must increasingly pay more attention to criminal intent. It is thus not a matter of just looking for higher criminal intent but of giving attention to specific stages of personality formation. To the extent that the conception of criminal discrimination in the system of measures is affected by it, such considerations will have to remain related to the recidivism process.

Since the late 1960's criminal motivation investigations have benefited our criminological personality research. Focusing on the attitude category has been found useful because attitudes simply are central personal dispositions controlling the whole personality and constitute, as it were, the essential internal field of mediation for external influences, by which they essentially define the content and mechanism in this mediation.[6]

Attitude fields of special importance, criminologically speaking, are the attitude toward society, law, one's own offense, work, other people, the family, leisure time, and one's own personality. Then in individual cases there also are attitudes that are offense-specific, relating to the norms violated by the act (e.g., attitude toward property or physical integrity).

Our investigations have made apparent the special importance of the attitude toward one's own personality. It confirms the remark made by I. I. Karpez, that criminology had thus far done little in exploring self-assurance but that this gained importance due to the accelerated development of personality.[7] A special investigation has been started meanwhile.[8] Thereby criminology follows Marxist psychology

that has in recent years noticeably turned to the problem of self-assurance as the "core of personality." The weakness of criminological knowledge about this only is reflected by the fact that psychology itself has thus far done much too little in examining self-assurance.[9]

It would be a mistake to think of, and explore, self-assurance merely as the awareness of one's inner self. Self-determination and personal responsibility are its essential elements.[10] That is directly linked with the problem of self-education, for which the ability to be self-critical in the judgment of one's own personality is critical. An important task of criminal proceedings and the subsequent educational process thus is to make the perpetrator critically evaluate his own personality.

Statements on this problem in criminological literature are in part still contradictory. It is being said, e.g., that offenders are more frequently dissatisfied with themselves than others,[11] but also that offenders have an excessively positive evaluation of themselves throughout.[12] Recidivists are likely to be altogether more frequently dissatisfied with their social status and character. Status and character contentment, however, improves in the individual recidivist process. In particular, offenders who do not care to change or are rootless or asocial and those who deliberately defy educational influences more often accept their social status and personality than others do. They are evidently no longer adequately capable of evaluating themselves self-critically.

Dissatisfaction with oneself is, in principle, a positive start for education and self-education, even if one has to modify this by saying that this does not automatically generate activity for change. But such a condition at least indicates the ability to recognize the contradiction between one's own attitudes and socially required conduct. Experiencing this contradiction essentially gives the offender the ability and willingness to educate himself, accept educational influences, and change his own life style. Personality change presupposes as a subjective handle a minimum of self-critical reflection.

The contradiction between social demands and one's own attitudes toward the environment is covered up and not actively experienced to the extent that an individual has gotten used to not being able to cope or makes his own distorted attitudes, arrogantly, the sole measure. Depending on which of the mechanisms weighs more, that of being used to it or that of arrogance, self-satisfaction ultimately produces either a condition of indifference to improvements (rootless-asocial offenders) or of unwillingness for improvements (offenders who deliberately defy educational influences). Having lost the minimum of self-critical reflection, the subjective prerequisites have been lost for effective education in a normal environment. It would be asking too much of the environment, and the danger of recidivism would be high. First one would have to recreate this subjective prerequisite through special forms of intensive sociopedagogical influence.

II

With regard to criminal proceedings and fixing penalties, we are mainly interested in how the penalty and the other measures that come with it can be structured in such a way that they encourage a proper social development of the perpetrator's personality and effectively prevent the danger of more crimes. Criminal literature

has offered many ideas about that in recent years,[13] mainly with the intention to make a better use of our differentiated penalty system, in conformity with our greater social educational conditions and from a profound awareness of the self-education processes for offenders, to individualize penalties. Here the question keeps arising about the importance of the perpetrator's personality for fixing penalties, which must theoretically be settled mainly with regard to the dialectics between the objective and the subjective (the guilt; the perpetrator's ability and willingness to observe social conduct in the future), the ratio between objective and subjective factors in fixing the penalty, and our penalty policy altogether. Streit says about that: "We must be aware that any overemphasis placed on objective factors may lead to routine procedures, and placed on subjective factors, to subjectivism in our penalty policy."[14]

The principles in fixing penalties in the European socialist countries unanimously contain the demand for taking the perpetrator's personality into consideration, but the conceptualizations tied to it differ. Hungarian and Bulgarian penal codes ask for taking into account a perpetrator's danger to society. Those of the USSR and Romania say the perpetrator's personality should be taken into consideration and let it go at that. The penal code of the CSSR calls for regard for the perpetrator's chances to improve and his circumstances.

The circumstances of the perpetrators' personality are accounted for in the catalogues for penalty mitigating and aggravating provisions in the penal codes of the USSR, the CSSR and Romania. According to the Hungarian penal code, other mitigating and aggravating circumstances are to be taken into account which, however, are not legally defined and thus must be interpreted through jurisdiction. The Bulgarian penal code calls for considering "other circumstances mitigating crime," which are not any more closely defined legally, either. In the penal codes of the other socialist countries (with the exception of Romania), the possibility for extraordinary mitigation is, among other things, anchored in circumstances resulting from the perpetrator's personality.

In view of our investigations into recidivism, the theoretical conception of the perpetrator's danger to society is of special interest. That conception arose during the development of socialist penal law in the Soviet Union, evidently under the influence of representatives and followers of the bourgeois sociological criminal law school.[15] That was given expression, e.g., in the penal law guidelines of the RSFSR of December 1919, in figure 11, as follows: "In determining the degree to which a person having committed a crime is to be influenced, the court rules on the extent and character of the danger to society respecting both the perpetrator and the crime he has committed." It meant that in principle any perpetrator was to be considered dangerous to society. If conditions failed to arise under which a person was considered a danger to society, no criminal accountability existed (Guidelines figure 16).

The 1922 RSFSR penal code repeats the 1919 guidelines almost verbatim, but in Article 7 explicitly defines the concept "dangerousness of a person." It was found "in the execution of acts harmful to society or an activity seriously threatening the commonweal." That conception was taken over into the penal codes of the USSR and the union republics of 1924 (Article 30), but the RSFSR penal code of 1926, in Article 45, contained the deviating guideline that the

endangerment to society by the crime committed, the circumstances of the act, and the perpetrator's personality had to be taken into consideration. An explicit reference to the perpetrator's danger to society was omitted.

USSR criminal legislation from 1958 to 1961 likewise avoided any reference to the "perpetrator's danger to society" in the articles dealing with the fixing of penalties, yet the overall context of crime regulations suggests that the basic thesis on the perpetrator's danger to society was maintained (cf. e.g. Articles 50 and 52 in the RSFSR Penal Code). Consistently, A. A. Piontkovski declared in 1961 that for individuating penalties both the endangerment of society and the personality of the perpetrator should have to be taken into account.[16] That standpoint also has been upheld by criminal law textbooks of recent vintage.[17] The degree of the perpetrator's danger to society is derived mainly from the nature of the crime committed which expresses "the perpetrator's personal traits, and his attitude to the interests of the socialist state and the legal order set down by it."[18] For judging the degree of the perpetrator's danger to society, furthermore, his concrete role in the crime, a criminal record or recidivism, and his attitude toward work duties and social, family and other duties, and toward the crime committed, were important.

As the literature suggests, the conception of the perpetrator's danger to society is resorted to, above all, to established an increased criminal accountability of recidivists[19] or dismiss proceedings or penalties. But currently it plays only a minor role in the USSR's theory for setting penalties. No mention of it is made in the USSR Supreme Court Plenum decision of 29 June 1979, "On the Practical Application of the General Principles in the Setting of Penalties by the Courts," though that decision emphatically asks for considering information about the perpetrator's personality in fixing his penalty. In Soviet criminal law and the directional jurisdiction of the USSR Supreme Court, one thus finds that the conception of the perpetrator's danger to society has evidently been dropped from the theory that determines the measure of penalties.

A rational core the conception doubtless does have. There are, as a matter of fact, not a few perpetrators who, on the ground of their previous conduct, do constitute a real danger to society and the socialist legal order. Such danger must not be ignored when the measure of penalties is determined, as it signals a lack of willingness on the part of the perpetrator to obey the laws in the future. While from it alone one cannot derive more severe penalties, the protective and security interests of the socialist state in such cases still justify certain state and social measures of influence along with the penalty. That is the direction, as one knows, in which GDR criminal law has in recent years been perfected (particularly by the 1st and 3rd criminal law amendments).

In our view, however, to justify such measures, no construct of a special "endangerment of society by the perpetrator" is needed but instead, and above all, a criminologically more reasonable analysis of the perpetrator-oriented criteria for determining penalty measures, principally the criterion as formulated in Article 61 section 2 of the Penal Code, "Ability and Willingness for Proper Social Conduct in the Future," which should be rendered more specific in its content and be utilized for improving the individuation of penalty.[21] Determining such an ability and willingness, it seems to us, allows a more discriminating view and

assessment of the personality than is possible by the criterion, "the perpetrator's danger to society," which in every given case is a matter of degree. The circumstance of "ability and willingness" does not proceed from such a "negative" graduation of the perpetrator, but from positive and constructive findings of personal prerequisites for proper social conduct in the future, so that through taking them into account when the measure of penalty is determined, not only the protection requirements (which, in our view, predominate in the conception of the danger of a perpetrator) and the general preventative effects, but also the individual-educational requirements can be kept well balanced and judged accordingly.

In general it may be said that the circumstances of the perpetrator's personality may cause more severe penalties when they increase the seriousness of the crime or spell out the objective harm of the act. If from there one analyses the circumstances which increase criminal accountability according to the penal codes of the USSR, the CSSR and Romania, one finds they express either a heightened severity of a crime or a heightened objective harm of the act. Such circumstances also are rated in almost every case of GDR jurisdiction as circumstances that may aggravate the criminal accountability. Catalogues for aggravating circumstances probably are a suitable supplement to general penalty adjudication principles as they invest with legal authority the circumstances that heighten criminal accountability. Their danger, however, is that they facilitate routine handling in the fixing of penalties and may lead to collisions with extenuating circumstances.[22]

Circumstances of the perpetrator's personality cannot, according to GDR penal law (Penal Code Article 62), lead to any extraordinary mitigation of penalty, in the sense that the threatening minimum prison sentence is reduced to the legal minimum or a prison sentence can be replaced by a penalty other than a prison sentence, except for circumstances relating to cases of extraordinary mitigation, legally made specific (e.g. diminished soundness of mind, diminished crime due to extraordinary circumstances). The extraordinary mitigation as of Article 62 section 3 in the Penal Code can yet not be based on circumstances in the perpetrator's personality characterizing his attitude before or after the act and suggesting his ability to behave responsibly in the future. It can only be applied when aggravating causes have not led to making the crime more severe, which would justify the threatening minimum prison sentence.[23]

That may give rise to problems in some cases, e.g., if the act was indeed a crime but stood in striking contradiction to the positive personality of the perpetrator and his special efforts to make good or turn state evidence. Less than the minimum prison sentence of 2 years is normally not granted for such reasons. Criminal law rulings in case of extrordinary mitigation, for these reasons and in comparison with rulings in the USSR, the CSSR, Hungary and Bulgaria, therefore do not seem flexible enough.

It is possible, to be sure, in the GDR that the perpetrator's great efforts at making good and such circumstances as his turning himself in himself and turning state evidence, through the regulations in Article 62 section 2 of the Penal Code, may lead to an extraordinarily reduced sentence, yet that provision is hardly ever used in practice. It would indeed be purposeful to find a similarly flexible solution as in other socialist countries, so that when there are extraordinary circumstances about the perpetrator's personality, which themselves do not justify an extraordinarily reduced sentence, one may pronounce less than the threatening minimum prison sentence or a penalty other than imprisonment.

III

Adequate respect for the perpetrator's personality as a relatively independent condition in the process that determines culpability and as the condition for an educational effect of criminal law and other measures, it seems to us, calls for three basic consequences:

1. Criminal investigation must get deeper insights into the perpetrator's personality. For one thing, the criminological relevance of external social-educational conditions is not adequately provided by the fact that they deviate from the norm. Rather, it can only be determined from the symptoms of the perpetrator's personality caused by them. On the other hand, a change of the external environmental conditions is not sufficient for educating the perpetrator. The internal conditions must explicitly be looked at as handles for educational influences. Their importance grows to the extent that in the personality development process a personality is formed, increasingly relatively independently of the environment, and a conduct is developed, also more or less regardless of the situation. This dynamic element tells us how necessary it is to differentiate the intensity of an investigation and the consideration given to the perpetrator's personality in criminal proceedings.

2. Ensuring justice and a higher effectiveness of adjudication call for individualizing penalties according to the degree to which the act conflicts with and endangers society and with consideration for the penetrator's ability and willingness to adopt a proper social conduct in the future. More importance must be attributed in criminal proceedings to understanding and evaluating the personality of the perpetrator, and what his other attitudes are and his circumstances in life. What matters here is completely utilizing our differentiated penalty system. Penalties and other criminal law measures to be linked with them must be pronounced more with a view to the perpetrator's future development.

3. Criminal investigation and a criminal law consideration for personality have to observe the dialectics between social determinants and self-determination in personality formation and conduct. Educational effects essentially depend on how the perpetrator is drawn into the changing of his own living conditions and his personality under his own responsibility. This self-determination must be explicitly respected; the perpetrator must be made aware of it; it must be demanded of him. And so even during criminal proceedings we have to encourage a more intensive self evaluation or the perpetrator's personality, a critical assessment he is drawn into himself. Especially through a detailed explanation and assessment of his personal guilt, self-determination and personal responsibility have to be made evident. Trends of shifting one's blame, as found especially among recidivists, must be opposed rigorously.

Finally, with regard to the guilt and educational ability and willingness, one has to answer the questions of how the perpetrator has come to grips with the crime-inducing conditions affecting him, what objective and subjective opportunities he had to come to grips with them, and what may be expected of him. After all, he may, in spite of his emphatic obligation and suitable assistance, have let himself slip into crime-inducing conditions, or may have looked for them or created them himself. A modicum of critical self-evaluation by the perpetrator in these

confrontations with himself is indispensably prerequisite to self-education and the willingness to accept educational influences. If that is lacking, special sociopedagogical efforts are required which, as a rule, are not possible in the normal environment.

FOOTNOTES

L. Cf. J. Lekschas, "New Methodological Aspects in Criminological Research," "Aktuelle Beitraege zur Kriminalitaetsforschung." (Topical Contributions to Criminological Research) "Wissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe" (Science Series), Humboldt University, Berlin, 1980, pp 9 ff.

2. Cf. A. N. Leontiev, "Taetigkeit-Bewusstsein-Persoenlichkeit" (Activity-Awareness-Personality), Berlin, 1979, p 10.

3. Cf. M. Vorwerg, "Personality Psychology Implications About the Individual in Society," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, 1980, pp 430 f; cf. also B. D. Parygin, "Grundlagen der sozialpsychologischen Theorie" (Principles of Social Psychology), Berlin, 1976, p 48.

4. Previous comment on that by R. Hartmann and H. Dettenborn, "Criminal Activity and Personality," JUGENDFORSCHUNG, 1969, No 9, pp 69 ff.

5. Cf. H. Dettenborn, "Beziehungen im psychologisch relevanten Determinationskomplex der Jugendkriminalitaet" (Relations in a Psychologically Relevant Complex of Determinants in Juvenile Crime), Dissertation, Berlin, 1970, pp 133 and 146.

6. Cf. Y. A. Budilova, "Philosophische Probleme in der sowjetischen Psychologie" (Philosophical Problems in Soviet Psychology), Berlin, 1975, pp 243 f.

7. Cf. I. I. Karpets, "Topical Problems of Criminal Law and Criminology," (in Russian), Moscow, 1976 pp 92 f.

8. Cf. A. R. Ratinov, N. Y. Konstantinovka, and E. M. Sobchik, "The Self-Evaluation of Perpetrators," "The Perpetrator's Personality as an Object of Psychological Examination," (in Russian), Moscow, 1979.

9. Cf. L. I. Bozhovich, "Phases of Personality Development During Ontogenesis," "Sowjetwissenschaft (GB)," 1979, pp 753 and 762.

10. Cf. S. L. Rubinstein, "Grundlagen der allgemeinen Psychologie" (Principles of General Psychology), Berlin, 1973, p 832; cf. also B. D. Parygin, op. cit., pp 101, 123 f.

11. Cf. H. Dettenborn and H.-H. Froehlich, "Psychologische Probleme der Taeterpersoenlichkeit" (Psychological Problems in the Perpetrator's Personality), Berlin, 1971, p 53.

12. Cf. A. R. Ratinov et al, op. cit., p 78.

13. Cf. particularly J. Streit, "On the Creative Application of Criminal Law in Socialist Society," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1977, pp 574 ff; H. Harrland, "On Some Questions of Penalty and Its Efficacy," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1977, pp 36 ff; E. Buchholz, "Socialist Justice as the Principle for Fixing Penalties," STAAT UND RECHT, 1977, pp 126 ff; U. Daehn, "The Principle for Making the Punishment Fit the Crime," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1980, pp 12 ff; G Kraeupl, "The Principle for Making the Punishment Fit the Crime and Taking Account of the Perpetrator's Personality and His Social Environment in the Adjudication of Crimes," STAAT UND RECHT, 1980, pp 434 ff.

14. J. Streit, op, cit., p 578.

15. On the influence by followers of the sociological school on the development of Soviet criminal law, cf. "Course in Soviet Criminal Law," Vol I, (in Russian), Moscow, 1970, p 35.

16. Cf. A. A. Piontkovski, "Strengthening the Role of the Public in Crime Fighting and Some Questions of the Theory of Soviet Criminal Law," SOVETSKOE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, 1961, No 4, p 23.

17. Cf., e.g., "Course in Soviet Criminal Law," Vol III, op. cit., (in Russian), pp 128 ff.

18. Op. cit.; cf. also B. V. Volshenkin, "The Perpetrator's Danger to Society and the Principles of Criminal Accountability," PRAVOVODENIYE, 1963, No 3, p 96; B. V. Volshenkin, "On the Criteria for Perpetrators' Danger to Society," SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA, 1966, No 3, p 9.

19. Cf. A. M. Yakoviev, "Fighting Against Recidivism," (in Russian), Moscow, 1964, pp 89 ff.

20. SOVESTSKAYA YUSTITSIYA, 1979, No 16, pp 21 ff; Cf. G. Kriger, "General Principles in Fixing Penalties, ibid., 1980. No 1, pp 18 ff.

21. Cf. E. Buchholz and H. Dettenborn, "The Perpetrator's Ability and Willingness for Responsible Conduct in the Future," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1979, pp 440 ff; 1980, pp 109 ff; G Kraeupl, L. Reuter and W. Mueller, "The Perpetrator's Ability and Willingness for Responsible Conduct in the Future as a Criterion for Determining the Measure of Punishment," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1980, pp 414 ff.

22. Article 80 in the Romanian Penal Code has special provisions for the case that aggravating and mitigating circumstances meet.

23. Cf."Report by the Presidium to the 2nd Plenary Session of the Supreme Court, 29 March 1972 (Section I, Figure 5.1)," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1972, supplement 2.

5885
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NEW DEPARTMENTS CREATED AT KARL MARX UNIVERSITY, LEIPZIG

'Scientific Communism' Department

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 30 No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 2 Nov 81) pp 123-124

/Report by Dr Karl-Heinz Gehlauf, Department of Scientific Communism, Karl Marx University, Leipzig: "Creation of the Department 'Scientific Communism' at Karl Marx University, Leipzig." A translation of SED's Social Science Central Research Plan for 1981-85 cited below is published in JPRS 77514, 5 Mar 81, No 1854 of this series, pp 23-25/

/Text/ The Karl Marx University, Leipzig section "Marxist-Leninist Philosophy/ Scientific Communism" was reorganized effective 1 September 1981. It was subdivided into two sections: "Marxist-Leninist Philosophy" and "Scientific Communism." The department "Marxist-Leninist Sociology" and the "Student Research Laboratory" are attached to the "Scientific Communism" section.

The creation of the two sections is an outgrowth of the objective social requirements of the eighties aiming for higher quality—as outlined in the "Central Research Plan of the GDR for the Marxist-Leninist Social Sciences for 1981-85"[1]—and the developmental conditions that arose in the section as it was. It also became possible and necessary as a consequence of the scientific profiles and potentials developed in theory, education and research. But it also is one of the essential preconditions to help achieve the graduate profiles in the specialized fields of training teachers of Marxism-Leninism as defined by 18 March 1980 resolution of the Politburo of the SED central committee.

Since 1968, 595 graduates of the university itself and more than 900 graduates of correspondence courses have successfully concluded their studies as qualified teachers of Marxism-Leninism in the specialized discipline of scientific communism or as qualified sociologists—some of them also as a result of a one-year post-graduate course of study. 79 young scientists defended their thesis A and another seven their thesis B in the specialized fields of scientific communism and Marxist-Leninist sociology.

1. Cf: Central Research Plan of the GDR for the Marxist-Leninist Social Sciences for 1981-85 in EINHEIT No 12/1980

Research collectives are forming in the section which have come out with some noteworthy publications—among them the textbook "Scientific Communism" for use in basic Marxist-Leninist studies compiled under the direction of Prof Dr sc Guenther Grosser; the magazine series "Problems of Scientific Communism;" the monograph "The Labor Movement in Present-Day Capitalism" and also the research reports by the sociologists and their collaboration on the textbook "Marxist-Leninist Sociology." We might also mention the great number of conferences with international participants—above all those of the research group headed by Prof Dr sc Harry Pawula.[2]

Mainly since the 8th SED party congress, the scientific discipline of scientific communism has undergone greater development at the Karl Marx University, Leipzig and now occupies an important place in GDR university life.

The "Scientific Communism" section is the only one in the GDR to train qualified teachers in the specialized discipline of scientific communism as well as qualified sociologists. The GDR research plan for the social sciences for 1981-85 places greater demand on research in the field of scientific communism which is called upon to contribute "to the further elaboration of basic questions of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution and of the strategies and tactics of the international class struggle" and "to the enhancement of the theory and practice of developed socialism" as well as to "the systematic intensification of research into the history, theory and methodology of scientific communism."[3] These increased demands call for the concentration of the existing potential in a separate section which is to include the following courses of study under the specialized discipline of scientific communism: methodology of scientific communism; communist social formation; social relations under socialism; political system and political guidance and leadership under socialism; revolutionary world process; anti-monopoly struggle in capitalist countries; history of scientific communism; critique of bourgeois political theories, and didactic methodology of scientific communism. Under the specialized discipline of sociology will be included: the theory of Marxist-Leninist sociology; history of sociology and critique of modern bourgeois sociology; methodology, methods and techniques of sociological research; statistics; sociology of work and of management as well as industrial sociology, urban sociology and the sociology of housing.

The first scientific conference organized by the "Scientific Communism" section on the theme "The 10th SED Party Congress and the Tasks of the Scientific Communism section" was held on 8 October 1981.[4]

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2. Cf reports in INFORMATIONSBULLETIN WISSENSCHAFTLICHER KOMMUNISMUS Nos 2/1976, 3/1977, 1/1978, 3/1978, 4/1979, 3/1980 and in DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE Nos 6/1974, 4/1975, 8/1976, 11/1977, 11/1978

3. GDR Central Research Plan for Marxist-Leninist Social Sciences 1981-85

4. CF conference protocol in INFORMATIONSBULLETION WISSENSCHAFTLICHER KOMMUNISMUS, special issue 1982

'Marxist-Leninist Philosophy' Department

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 30 No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 2 Nov 81) pp 124-125

/Report by Prof Dr Frank Fiedler, Department of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Karl Marx University, Leipzig: "Creation of the Department of 'Marxist-Leninist Philosophy' at Karl Marx University, Leipzig"/

/Text/ Effective 1 September 1981, the new "Marxist-Leninist Philosophy" section was created along with the "Scientific Communism" section at the Karl Marx University, Leipzig. At a ceremony on 18 September 1981, Prof Dr G Engel, deputy minister for university and technical school affairs, presented the founding documents to Karl Marx University rector Prof Dr L Rathmann. The significance of this scientific-political event was underscored by the presence of Prof Dr E Hahn, chairman of the scientific council for Marxist-Leninist philosophy in the GDR, and a number of other personalities representing scientific and social life of our country. In his official address, Prof Dr Engel had words of praise for the work done by the "Marxist-Leninist Philosophy/Scientific Communism" section which has been in existence since 1968 and voiced the hope that the two new sections would help establish even closer ties between science and political life; between Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice, and between education, research and the development of cadres.

The establishment of the "Marxist-Leninist Philosophy" section ushers in a new phase of the 30-year history of teaching philosophy students at Karl Marx University, Leipzig. In contrast to the philosophy sections at the universities of Berlin, Halle and Jena, this training will continue under the basic course of study for "teachers of Marxism-Leninism." This is the basic objective of the section—to give priority to training cadres in the field of dialectical and historical materialism for basic studies in Marxism-Leninism.

In research, too, the section will continue working along previously defined lines—in the fields of epistemology and historical materialism. Research into the history of philosophy and in logic will be continued. Research into materialist dialectics as a philosophical method and theory is to be intensified.

Based on the training and research profile, the new philosophy section encompasses five disciplines: dialectical materialism; historical materialism; epistemology; history of philosophy, and logic. On the occasion of the foundation of the section, a scientific conference on "Philosophy and Political Life" was held on 9 October 1981 which established the guidelines for future operations. The conference also made it plain that the collective of the newly formed section stands ready to make a substantial contribution to fulfilling the tasks set for our republic's social scientists by the 10th party congress of the SED.

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THEATER CRITICIZED FOR INDIFFERENCE TO 'POLITICALLY-ORIENTED' DRAMAS

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 20, 18 Feb 82 'iwe-kultur' supplement

/Report from Berlin: "GDR Dramatists Shun Conflicts." A translation of the East Berlin THEATER DER ZEIT article cited below follows this commentary/

/Text/ The East Berlin magazine THEATER DER ZEIT (No 2, 1982) has criticized the noticeable reticence of GDR dramatists to deal with touchy themes and social conflict. "Politically-oriented drama" which tackles the crucial issues of our time directly is too much of a rarity. Many dramatists, the magazine says, "mistakenly think they are being asked to gloss over, to treat superficially and to avoid conflict" whenever they are called upon to turn to present-day themes. The authors are also not encouraged enough to deal with conflict and perhaps the time has come for the GDR to throw "some antiquated conceptions" of contradiction and conflict overboard.

GDR Theater Magazine's Analysis

East Berlin THEATER DER ZEIT in German Vol 37 No 2, Feb 82 (signed to press 22 Dec 81) pp 6-7

/'TdZ Kolumne' feature article by Hans-Rainer John, chief editor, THEATER DER ZEIT: "To Master the Central Topic." A translation of the Dec 81 THEATER DER ZEIT article cited below is published under the heading, "Dramatists Urged Not to Neglect Sociopolitical Issues," in JPRS 80054, 2 Feb 82, No 1973 of this series, pp 1-4/

/Text/ In the lead article of our December issue, Christoph Funke criticized the theaters. He attacked them for not paying enough heed to our best dramatic works. I agree with him. They do not occupy a focal position in our repertoires. As far as I can tell, the way our theaters deal with the authors leaves something to be desired in any event. New plays, for example, are examined to determine whether they fit in with existing plans. But it is unusual to provide the author eager for some comment with news on the outcome of the examination. If the author is not told what the theater and the audience want, the gap continues to widen. In many instances, the practice of suggesting certain subject matter has been discontinued. That is unfortunate. If Heiner Mueller's "Construction Site" had not been commissioned, it would not have been written.

My view is that this wait-and-see attitude of so many theaters should give way to increased activity stemming from a feeling of joint reponsibility.

In addition the Funke's article pleading the authors' case, the above-mentioned issue contained reviews of "Jaeckel's Dream," "August Caesar," "All Or Something" and "The Tripping Rooster." Toward the back of the magazine, a theater was sought that would premiere Koerbl's "Double Murder in the Rue Morgue" and then there were the texts of the one-act plays "The Tailor of Ulm" and "Don Juan." Reading through all this, one comes to the conclusion that these works—although one could think of them as little dots of color on the broad palette of contemporary drama—cannot be used as the core of an entire repertory but should really be performed in studio theaters. Farces, fairy tales, historical pieces, charades, parables and detective stories could be cited as evidence of the diversity of drama, if and only if topical plays dealing with central topics constituted the core of the repertory. But we are (still) a long way from that.

Politically-oriented dramas are far too much of a rarity; dramas that deal directly with the crucial issues of our time which touch on everyone and that are conscious of the fact that the portrayal of the working class is at the heart of artistic progress. There is nothing to be said against clowns and synthetic characters on stage or against animals and outsiders but audience interest after all focuses on vivid characters alive with the contradictions of present-day life. The claim by society to see itself represented in art is no doubt legitimate. But it is not being taken into consideration sufficiently. Why is that ?

I think that whenever there is a call to turn to the present, to reveal the heroism inherent in everyday life, the dramatists mistakenly think they are merely being asked to gloss over, to treat superficially and to avoid conflict. But any dramatist who assumes the point of view of the organizing, leading power of society is by no means obligated to limit himself to portraying a happy and altogether "wholesome" world or to try for a happy end at all costs. If he did, that would indeed result in boredom, petty bourgeois self-contentedness and insignificant drama.

Drama lives by conflict. It was only after Soviet drama overcame the no-conflict theory that it regained its strength and significance. But anyone who believes that differences of opinion on substantive issues or that debate and discussion make for conflict will have a difficult time reaching an audience. Rudolf Floss, the writer, once said "that many a person lives dangerously today by trying to do a better job than he did before. In this way, he shows up his colleagues which is something they do not like at all. Thus, anyone who wants to achieve something new that has not been done before and that cannot be officially sanctioned beforehand cannot properly hope to be caressed for it. Now that is not deplorable. In fact, it is quite normal. /In our country, too, no one makes it big without a struggle./

In literature, these inexorable struggles cannot be replaced by unpleasantnesses or by see-sawing between the good, the not-so-good and the somewhat-bad, Floss said—and the fact is that he does not write plays. Now if that is a problem in epic writing, it becomes an almost existential problem in dramatic writing, since drama must have conflict. Tendryakov once said that an Othello who was /normally/ jealous and does /not/ strangle Desdemona would be an extremely moderate character who would elicit no more than mediocre responses and no great emotions. "The acuity of the problem calls for characters with conflicts. Conflict is the basis of the artistic merit of any given work...Unsatisfactory, grey, insignificant works are those that are incapable of carrying certain problems forward until they reach the conflict stage." Gelman said much the same thing and Gorky made this comment: "Art sets itself the goal of exaggerating—both the good in order that it should become even better and the bad which is hostile to man and which disfigures him in order that it should arouse loathing."

Perhaps we have at times not encouraged our authors sufficiently to proceed along these lines. Perhaps we pointed them to a "middle-of-the-road" kind of truth that did not sufficiently take the essence and the possibilities inherent in art into account. "The fictions which every art must have are so poorly understood by all those," Goethe said, "who wish everything that is true to be natural and thereby rip art out of its proper sphere." Perhaps we ourselves harbor some antiquated notions concerning contradictions and conflicts which we ought to throw overboard. It should not be risky to take up complex problems of our life—provided, of course, that we do so using socialist positions as our point of departure.

The best Soviet dramatic works could point the way in terms of method. What are their characteristics ? Toughness most of all and the heightening of conflict; the courage to pose sharp questions, to uncover contradictions in socialist reality so as to contribute to resolving them. Then there is the substantive and professional know-how, the familiarity of the authors with the sphere of life they are writing about and which merely serves as a backdrop for the personality problem at the center of things. The relationships between the individual and society are not viewed merely from the subjective standpoint but also in terms of objective reciprocal contingencies. And then there is their consistent, pitiless way of not accepting any taboos on issues or functions where the life styles of the working class are concerned; the communist point of view which serves as the basis for an impassioned attack against everything that holds up the progress of society. There is no skepticism there or criticism for its own sake which puts some distance between itself and the historical process. Social activity is stimulated and there is the joyous belief in the "perfectability of human destiny through society." And Brecht's call is answered that "the struggle of the new with the old... should not only be the subject matter of the play but its consequence as well." As we well know, that is why these plays have elicited a great deal of response both in our theaters and among our audiences.

I wish that this might encourage our authors to make a direct commitment to the exciting processes of the realization—full of conflict as it is—of socialist ideas in real life. Most certainly, this is the shortest and most effective route to contributing to expressing the attitudes toward life which have their origin in the ideals of the working class.

9478
CSO: 2300/188

SED BOOK ON 'SOCIALIST GERMAN NATION' REVIEWED

East Berlin DER NATIONALE DEMOKRAT in German No 12, Dec 81 (signed to press 26 Nov 81) pp 45-46

["Our Socialist Nation in the GDR--An Irreversible Reality"--Review by Dr Fred Dumke, director, Central Party School; of book, in the series "Critique of Bourgeois Ideology," by Prof Dr Walter Schmidt, director, Institute for History of German Labor Movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee. For various references to discussions of the same and related subjects see translations of articles by other GDR authors, published under the heading, "Development of Nation-Nationality Concept Analyzed," in JPRS 79645, 11 Dec 81, No 1950 Of this series, pp 48-55]

[Text] This 106-page monograph was published in 1980 as the 99th volume of the internationally esteemed series "Critique of Bourgeois Ideology" under the direction of Manfred Buhr through the Akademie-Verlag, Berlin. The work, with a wealth of information and argument, makes the point that understanding history in its factual and objective course, in its totality of dialectic, is congruent with working class values. To grasp it as a history of class struggle does not equate a constraint but rather genuine insight into the actual course of things, into historical connections and objective patterns. History, heritage and tradition are essentially determined by classes and their struggles. The author begins with the historical reality in mind: on the territory of the former "German Reich" there have existed for more than 30 years two basically different, independent and sovereign states with contrasting social systems--our socialist GDR and the imperialist FRG. In his introduction the author asserts the scientific perception that the socialist German nation has developed with the socialist revolution, with the shaping of socialist society based upon its own integral principles, while in the FRG the old bourgeois nation has continued to exist based upon the social principles of capitalism (ibid. p 7). This principle had been established as early as 1971 by the secretary-general of the central committee of the SED, Erich Honecker, at the Eighth SED congress. To summarize, "As far as the question of nationality is concerned, history has already made that decision." There is then no "open German question."

The same forces, which fear for a loss of their monopoly-capitalistic power bases in the FRG and who have for decades worked systematically to destroy the unity of the German nation, are now, ever since the collapse of the Hallstein-

doctrine at the end of the 1960's, hypocritically laying claim to the title of guardian and defender of a "national unity of all Germans." What has now come onto the center stage of FRG propaganda is the doctrine of a purportedly "unitary German nation" that has continued to exist since the GDR and the FRG stand in a "special relationship" to each other as "two states of one nation" and with which the "German question" is to be kept "an open one." Influential circles in the FRG are hoping that such historically determined factors as the origins of German history, the common language and the commonalities of culture as well as family relationships can be used to do away with our socialist GDR. In this situation attitudes toward the question of nationality become a central issue in the ideological confrontation between socialism and imperialism.

It is from this background that the discussion of the relationship of nation and history has taken on new dimensions. Bourgeois ideologists in the FRG believed that they could achieve significant support for the official Bonn doctrine of the purported "unity of the German nation" and be able to confront the historical reality, legitimately confirmed by the GDR, of two contrasting German nations, basically different in their societal character.

The discussion which was carried on in the GDR through the 1970's regarding the relationships of nation, history, heritage and tradition were concentrated, as the author shows, on three major complexes of problems:

1. Efforts to reassess and reintegrate the role of the German Reich from 1871 to 1945 within the development of the German nation;

2. Increased concern with the so-called "pre-national-state" era of German history, i.e. with the thousand years of German history between the evolution of the German people as an ethnic unit in the 10th century and the creation of the bourgeois German national State in 1971;

3. The arguments concerning the consequences of independent and societally different processes of development in the GDR and the FRG upon the status of the nation (pp 8/9).

The author very convincingly lays to rest, by careful use of many important sources, the revanchist variants of the FRG's doctrine of national unity. In the course of this, many individual questions are dealt with, such as: "The Founding of the Reich of 1871--High Point Or Episode Of German History?" (p 11ff.). Another chapter is concerned with the prehistory and evolution of the bourgeois nation (pp 24 ff.) and makes it clear that distinctions must be made between people, nationality and nation. The German people had come into being in the 10th century, the process of development of a bourgeois German nation only began at the end of the 15th century with the creation of capitalistic relationships and the early bourgeois German revolution of 1517 to 1526 and extended into the second third of the 19th century, founding of the Reich 1971! (p. 26).

At the same time the phases in the evolution of the bourgeois German nation are dealt with. The author shows how the concept of a German nationality, that had come into being as early as feudalism, lead to the development of

the various independent bourgeois nations; the Dutch nation, Switzerland and Austria (34 ff.). Very informative is the treatment of the role mass movements, especially during 1517-1526, 1813-1815, 1848/49 and through the 1860's.

One reads with great interest the argumentation regarding the historical basis of the GDR. "Genuine socialism on German soil can only be understood historically as the end-product of the totality of German history" (p 56), and, moreover, in a three-fold connection: chronological, territorial and socio-structural. The history of the GDR does not begin only in 1949 or 1945—the historical roots of our GDR extend far back into German history to the time of the evolution of the German people, back into primitive society. Socialism in our country has evolved out of the almost 150 year-long struggle of the revolutionary German labor movement.

The historical roots of our socialist German nation do not, of course, exist only on that part of German territory where socialism is already a reality. Our evolving socialist nation must, in the end, take into account all of German history in all its contradictions, in its dialectic, in its class struggles between progress and reaction. Particularly, however, the GDR now for several decades has a comprehensive history of its own with a historically new character. Our republic is the legitimate end product and the crowning of the centuries-long struggle of progressive forces of German history for a humanistic German state. It stands in the line of continuity of everything progressive, revolutionary and humanistic in the entire, thousand-year course of German history.

The GDR and the FRG have, of course, both evolved from German history. The GDR from the struggle of progressive forces against reaction while the FRG continues in the reactionary line of the ruling classes of the exploitative society. History itself shows: historical traditions have class character. The revanchist FRG thesis of a "common history of the German people" is untenable in the light of the irreversible realities of the last three decades upon German soil. This FRG thesis cannot obscure the fact that the objective relationship of the two German states is totally at odds even with respect to the past, to history. There is in this regard no "open German question" (pp 64 ff.). This is categorically underscored by the socialist consciousness of the people of the FRG with regard to the state, history and the nation (pp 78 ff.).

This new, socialist substance in the history of the GDR serves to mark even more clearly the independence of its society, state and nation. A clear demarcation between socialism and imperialism has been drawn on German soil, and there has come into being the commonality of the GDR with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. "The progress towards socialism on German soil and with that the creation of a socialist German nation in the GDR is irreversible" (p 88).

This timely work by Walter Schmidt is a very valuable contribution to its theme of class struggles in our time on German soil. It presents a great deal of new material and can be an important ideological guide for us who are allied with the working classes and their party.

9878
CSO: 2300/164

BOOK ON 'CITIZENS' RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY' REVIEWED

Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 30 No 12, Dec 81 (signed to press 22 Oct 81) pp 1133-1136

[Review by Prof Dr Ingo Wagner, Department of Jurisprudence, Karl Marx University, Leipzig; of book "Grundrechte des Buergers in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (The Citizen's Basic Rights in the Socialist Society)--published by Staatsverlag der DDR, East Berlin, 1980, 308 pp--collectively authored under the supervision of Prof Dr Eberhard Poppe, Department of Political Science and Jurisprudence, Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg; member, GDR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] This book, collectively authored under the supervision of Eberhard Poppe, in its first chapter deals with questions of the relations between society and personality and of the citizens' basic rights and basic duties in the GDR's socialist social and political system. Then follow, in the second chapter, thoughts about the development, content and functions of the constitutionally guaranteed basic citizens rights and duties in the GDR. The third chapter is devoted to the guarantees of the citizens' basic rights and the demands placed on the activity of the people's representations and social organizations. Problems of the basic rights and duties of the socialist community of states follow in the fourth chapter. The fifth and final chapter discusses questions of the socialist basic rights in their relation to democratic international law.

The authors' collective has produced an extensive and most relevant work presenting to the reader in an exemplary fashion important questions concerning the rights and freedoms of the citizens of socialist society. Among other things, the authors have succeeded in establishing vividly the existence and need of constitutionally guaranteed basic citizens rights and duties. Not only have they managed to summarize and popularize all the knowledge established about the subject, they also offer many new scientific insights which are indicative of their creative and fruitful work and also define the approach to future research. Future projects should try to disclose commensurate objective inevitabilities in our legal superstructure. What deserves special recognition in this context is that they did not leave out the structuring of a legal set of concepts as a method for gaining further knowledge. An example is their interesting discussion of the legal status of the socialist personality (p 38). Pronoses on the constitutional position of the citizens in the European countries of the socialist community complete that component (pp 236 ff).

Among the advantages of the book furthermore is its coming to grips consistently with the bourgeois ideology and practice of law. The authors convincingly show that research in jurisprudence must also always include an examination of questions in the historic development of the elements in the legal superstructure. The historic disgression into the history of the basic rights and basic duties in the GDR undergirds the realization that only socialism truly brings to realization the human rights and freedoms and that the basic citizens rights in socialist society play a significant role in this. Cogently and objectively, the authors make critical comments on mistaken positions in the discussion of socialist basic rights (pp 24 f). The language and style of the presentation also helps facilitate the right understanding. For all these reasons one should hope the book will be read by a broad circle of readers. Especially party and state functionaries, social scientists and any other citizens interested in it could garner many suggestions and insights from it.

The book, of course, also raises some problems and evokes some critical objections in this context. The following comments are meant mainly as suggestions for future research in this field. First, it seems necessary to strengthen its theoretical cogency. The essential structural element of jurisprudence is the system of theoretical knowledge. That calls for always giving proper attention to raising the metholological potency of statements in jurisprudence. The authors of the present work do not use all opportunities available to them. That may be briefly explained with respect to the unity of basic rights and basic duties and to the constitutionally guaranteed basic rights as subjective rights.

The law in socialism as such ultimately serves the personality development, and this also then by means of basic rights and basic duties. The authors have most cogently connected the content and functions of the basic rights with the basic duties and thereby displayed the unity of rights and duties. Yet it seems necessary to me to shed more light on what is specific in these legal manifestations--also within the scope of the present work, which emphasizes the basic rights.

Altogether in technical literature dealing with the unity of rights and duties, it is more or less being ignored that we are dealing, on the one side, with legal rights and with duties, on the other. It is often being said that human rights and duties form objectively, that the process through which they evolve historically conforms with the formation of personality, that they exist in a new quality in socialism, and so forth. But the question about the why of rights and duties is hardly ever raised.

This is a deficiency that can also be found in the present work. But if one fails to disclose the specifics that come with it--or looks at them in a one-sided or superficial manner--, one cannot sufficiently penetrate the inseparable dialectical unity of rights and duties nor adequately disclose their prognostic development in the further construction of communist society. On the one side, basic rights and basic duties are, in a manner that is in principle correct, related to the objective inevitabilities in society (p 63), but then comes a certain reduction of what is socially necessary to binding regulations by basic duties (p 80).

That the authors think that the socialist basic rights are also subjective rights, is an advance, because in political science the basic rights are in fact treated mainly as objective right only, and there are even scientists that admit no subjective rights to this branch of law. The authors can, of course, not be expected to allude to all the consequences resulting from it for further research in constitutional law, yet one should have wished for more than merely affirming the basic rights' being also subjective rights.

"The socialist basic rights and basic duties conform to objective social inevitabilities, are objective law, because they orient the citizens to socially necessary and possible conduct, to a behavior that is indispensable for the development of society as for the citizen himself" (p 61). Here the remark should be made that this observation at the same time applies to the constitutionally guaranteed subjective right in general which, as the right of personality, is a specific legal-social measure of man's individuation and socialization in the construction of communist society. For that reason, the affirmation of basic rights also as subjective rights should not so much be derived from settling partial contradictions, conflict between partners, claims an individual may have and so forth (p 67), but one should rather look at the role subjective right plays as a delineated area in normative terms of personal freedom in the individual's connection with society--his individuation and socialization.

If we accept personality, endowed with subjective rights, individuated and realized in the exercise, through subjective rights, of the modes of conduct which the socialist state sets down and guarantees as objective law, for future research on constitutional law, it seems to me, subjective rights must receive major attention in the following aspects: (a) The social content of subjective right, nourished, as social freedom, out of objective requirements; (b) the citizens' individual law consciousness--the awareness of norms--, as subjective right is internalized through appropriation by personality at uneven degrees and is itself further developed depending on any given state of awareness; and (c) subjective right as behavioral reality.

By means of such research, new editions could eliminate another basic fault of the work: Its somewhat weak empirical base as shown in the presentation of the implementation of the basic rights. It is correct, of course, that most citizens exercise their basic rights consciously and socialistically, but there are already differences in the positive motives for the highest level in the exercise of socialist rights. An habitual use of basic rights can mark a higher level of intellectual human development as the outcome of realizing the moral content of certain modes of conduct, but it may also attest to a lower state of awareness, and so forth. Such (and other) problems enter the scientific field of vision through exploring basic rights as subjective rights.

Furthermore, there are many individual matters in this monograph calling for further specification or causing objections. The book does not extensively reflect, it seems to me, the status of philosophic-sociological knowledge relating to the social determination of the position of personality. The relation between constitutional right and human right, which is presented unequivocally in the last chapter, has to be rendered somewhat more precise in the opening of the book.

One should also give more thought to certain qualitative components of basic rights, e.g. the right to peace. The management component of basic rights and basic duties ought to be deepened, and so forth.

Nonetheless, this book introduces a higher level of research on the basic socialist rights, which deserves to be acknowledged and appreciated.

5885
CSO: 2300/184

KOPECZI DEFINES NEW CONSERVATISM

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Oct 81 pp 11-12

[Article by Bela Kopeczi: "The Conservative New-Wave and Socialism"]

[Text] Our sincere congratulations to academician Bela Kopeczi on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

We cannot deny the fact, that the global problems facing the world, the economic and value-system crises accompanying them, the often sharp internal contradictions, and at the same time, the legitimate determination to preserve the achievements attained so far may provide fertile ground for the development of conservative attitude and behavioral forms, even in the socialist countries. While these forms reflect present interests, they also borrow from the past; from a historical view which focuses not on revolutionary traditions, but rather on traditionalistic or conservative reform endeavors.

Conservatism in Hungary has a rich past. I am not talking about the old, noblemen's conservatism which characterized Hungarian political thinking for such a long time, or about the retrograde nationalist view, the pro-independence and pro-Habsburg versions of which appeared simultaneously after 1867, whose aim was to bring about a form of capitalism that was filled with feudal traditions and to ensure Hungarian superiority. Today, it is more worthwhile to examine those traditions which stand closer to the new conservatism. During the first half of the 19th century, it was not only the absolutist reaction and its Hungarian followers that tried to organize against bourgeois liberalism, but also the so-called new conservatives. In 1839, their leader, Aurel Desswffy, submitted their program to Chancellor Metternich, which represented the interests of the aristocracy and the wealthy landowners with medium sized estates without turning down certain reforms. Thus, they were ready to accept the idea of limited taxation for the nobility and the curtailment of megye self-government, but the way expected this syncretism to materialize was partly through economic compensation, and partly by seeking accommodation with the absolutist system. They criticized the rapid advancement of capitalism in Hungary, and in this respect they liked to turn to the arguments of romantic criticism of capitalism in Western Europe.

The new conservatists' syncretic attempts failed, but some of their ideas were carried on by Istvan Szechenyi, and in general, by the pro-reform aristocratic

minority which advocated limited bourgeois development. The way the followers of this trend wanted to liven up the domestic economic life was by developing the large estates, and by investing the income generated by those estates into industry and transportation; they were, however, unwilling to tamper with the existing political conditions. Within this framework, they also recommended reforms, such as the general and proportional taxation, the abolition of entailment, equality before the law and universal conscription, all of which were contradicted feudal privileges. We have to add here that, taking the legacy of enlightenment further, Szechenyi and his fellow reformers attributed great significance to the development of science and education, and to the dissemination of culture.

This concept was in contradiction with the liberal bourgeois policy of Lajos Kossuth and the gentry, which considered the country's political transformation, the reexamination of its ties with Austria and the realization of a certain degree of national independence to be the preconditions of economic and cultural development.

For a long time, the development of Hungarian political thinking was determined by a contrast between carefully weighed progress and radical, or more radical change, and the effects of this can still be felt today. After the collapse of the 1848-1849 revolution, it seemed natural for the various conservative trends to gain strength, and here again, I am talking not about their most reactionary forms, but about those which did not preclude the necessity or the possibility of certain reforms. Among the representatives of this type of reform-conservatism was Zsigmond Kemeny, whose direct aim was to try to prove that the Hungarian had an instinctive aversion for anything revolutionary, and he carried this as far as to claim that Lajos Kossuth was not a real Hungarian. This was an argument which later, following the fall of the Soviet Republic, was advocated by groups other than merely those on the far right. In Kemeny's opinion, the preservation of the Habsburg empire was of vital necessity, although he did not agree with the retrograde social efforts of ultra-conservative circles.

The type of liberalism that had laid the groundwork for the compromise, was not that far from the position taken by reform-conservatism. In his work which appeared between 1851 and 1854, entitled "The Influence of the Prevailing Ideas of the 19th Century on the Present Situation," the former centralist, Jozsef Eotvos, whose international viewpoint was the broadest among his group, stood up in defense of human rights as an advocate of bourgeois constitutionalism, but he did so feeling apprehensive about the specter of a take-over by democratic forces. Eotvos spoke out against the excessive state power, and did so in the name of the very principles of liberty, equality and nationality, referring of course to the Habsburg state; at the same time, however, he hoped that this state would also play a restrictive, equalizing and, of course, repressive role as soon as these human rights, as interpreted by him, were threatened. His thinking was focused on the relationship between individual freedom and centralization, and it was this relationship which he tried to syncretize; however, he failed to see the connection between individual freedom and economic requirements. His state--as he envisioned it--would not strive for "universal" equality, or even for providing the individual with the enjoyment of material and moral benefits; all it had to do was to guarantee these benefits, i.e. to ensure private property. His criticism of communism was also connected with the question of equality, for in

his opinion the only way the kind of equality professed by communism could be achieved was through subjugation of the individual by the state. "It is not the victory of communist principles which is impossible--he wrote--, but the idea that those principles can someday be achieved by forces other than those of absolutism." The vindication of equality, therefore, would lead to the omnipotence of the state, and would threaten the bourgeois concept of human rights.

The liberalism which became predominant in Hungary after 1867 was not of the pure bourgeois variety; much rather, it was the kind which we could call conservative liberalism and which asserted itself in so many different forms in other, mainly Central European countries. It was in this Hungary, filled with vestiges of feudalism, where due to the weakness of the bourgeoise it was impossible to pursue a bourgeois liberal policy, that Ferenc Deak and his followers decided to make an economic, political as well as cultural compromise. Precisely for this reason, Gyula Szekfu's claim blaming Hungary's misfortunes on liberalism, seems to be an over-statement of the facts. His partiality was so great, that in his far-reaching work, entitled "The Three Generations and What Will Follow," he went as far as to accuse Istvan Tisza of being a liberal. It was Tisza's concept of nation and state which he attributed to liberalism, but he also blamed him for "not dedicating his energies and crystal-clear character to serving higher causes that went beyond the sphere of Parliament, such as trying to prevent the exodus, saving the gentry class and working to strengthen and consolidate the national intelligentsia." In view of all this, it is understandable then why he considered bourgeois radicalism and Marxism, which in his opinion was an alien ideology transplanted from outside, to be the most reprehensible manifestations of liberal development.

These views of Szekfu were adopted by a segment of the Hungarian ruling class, which announced the program of neo-nationalism, and with it the program of neo-conservatism, and used Istvan Szechenyi and his work to carry out an ideological reconstruction which was not nearly enough to satisfy the majority of the ruling class, or the various Hungarian trends connected with European rightist movements.

In the introduction of his book, written in July 1920, Szekfu was still calling for the socio-economic organization of national forces in an international environment which took for granted that "throughout their history, the Hungarian people had been an integral part of the Christian-Germanic cultural community." When in 1933, he issued a new expanded edition of his book, he had to concede that he had been chasing the illusion of naive nationalism, because the neo-baroque society of the Horthy system had failed to realize his ideas. The worst kind of conservatism had come to assert itself in Hungary that rejected all reforms. Once again, he began to advocate reform-conservatism: "the synthesis of reform and preservation, innovation and tradition will help Hungarians to be better Hungarians." This is what he thought was being realized in the works of Bela Bartok, Zoltan Kodaly and Janos Horvath. This illusion was also to be destroyed by historical development, the Hungarian ruling class would continue to refuse to undertake the reforms recommended by Szekfu, and it would not only tie its fate to fascism, but would produce a political force that was even farther to the right. It was Saekfu himself, who after the end of World War II would proceed to criticize the "middle class," exposing its incompetence.

The purpose of this short historical review was to call your attention to the fact that Hungarian traditions include the antecedents of not only the most extreme forms of conservatism, but also of the position advocating syncretism between conservatism and liberalism. The reason this deserves attention is because many of the elements of today's neo-conservatism which is making itself felt in various parts of the world, can also be found--taking into account, of course, the differences of the times and circumstances--in the Hungarian trends, especially in those which emerged after World War I, but some of which have precedents going back even further. Also not without interest are the forms in which the often reinterpreted and updated ideological elements of these precedents are found in the conservative moods appearing in Hungary today. It is not by accident, we feel, that the activities of Istvan Szechenyi, Ferenc Deak, Gyula Szekfu, and the debates centered around them, have received so much attention recently in Hungarian public thinking. We believe, that the explanation for this lies not only in the one-sided historiography of the 1950's, which stressed our independence-loving and revolutionary traditions and which we want to replace now with a more balanced picture of history that more closely reflects the historical truth and our actual development; this phenomenon is also connected with the deeper currents of today's social and ideological development.

In 1956, socialism in Hungary was in danger. Based on the progress we have seen since then, however, we can say we have proven that socialism can endure crises, that it is capable of development and that it is able to renew itself. Many have tried to attribute the success of this policy exclusively to our ability to adjust to reality, to our economic reforms and to our emphasis on pragmatic methods. Obviously, these features do appear in our practice, but it would be completely one-sided to refuse to see the great importance of the kind of political-ideological analysis which we have used to examine the consequences of dogmatism, of the struggle between dogmatism and revisionism and of the influence of other bourgeois trends, and to draw the theoretical conclusions that have served as the basis of our renewal. We could argue, and with good reason, about the thoroughness and depth with which the scientific analysis of our economic, social and cultural development has been carried out, but no-one can deny that even in theory, the main directions of our renewal have already evolved.

The reason this must be especially stressed, is because the development and renewal capability of our socialism as it exists is a constantly talked-about subject in debates not only against the new conservatism and the new right, but also against the various liberal bourgeois and social-democratic ideas. A typical example of this is one of the latest books of the liberal French sociologist, Maurice Duveryer, which he has given a title that closely concerns us: "The Orange Trees of Lake Balaton" (Les oranges du lac Balaton). In it, he attempts to prove that Marxism is not a science, and that socialism as it exists is inconsistent with reality. To support his argument, he cites the anecdote about the time when under Rakosi the political leadership ordered the planting of orange trees on the shores of Lake Balaton, even though the agronomist in charge of the project had scientifically founded reservations. The plantation was destroyed by frost, and the agronomist was sentenced for sabotage, because the party--"as the interpreter of historical materialism which is the expression of scientific truth"--could not be wrong. In his analysis of "totalitarian socialism," the author does not revert

to what actually has happened in Hungary since the early 1950's; he does, however, theoretically claim, by presenting the point of view of political democracy and pluralism as absolute, that socialism cannot renew itself. In his last sentence he justifies his pessimism, which extends not only to socialism but to the entire future of humanity, and adds that he would like it better if he could have said that "the orange trees were able to develop on the shores of Lake Balaton." Perhaps he should have looked at the flourishing vineyards, the transformed villages and the relatively well-to-do people there; these also could be considered symbols of the renewal of socialism.

Our post-1956 development proves that it is capable of renewal, and not only in practice, but also in theory. Political interests may hinder the drawing of theoretical conclusions, although perhaps from time to time their weight is overly great, thus hampering the development of ideological work and especially the satisfaction of the spiritual needs of our intelligentsia. Bolder theoretical work could help to further clarify the development tendencies of the past quarter of a century, among them, naturally, also the problems of today's Marxism.

Today we are witnessing the emergence of views which equate ideology with dogmatism, and which fear that by trying to draw theoretical conclusions from practice and by confronting them with the basic categories of Marxism, we are in effect providing arguments for a policy that prevents us from taking into account actual processes and carrying out necessary reforms. Reform policies are instruments of the development of socialist society which, of course, do not necessarily have to be limited exclusively to the economy. The experiences of the past decades indicate that one-sidedness in any form can only lead to serious consequences. For the economy cannot develop without the unfolding of socialist democracy, or without people who accept its scientific, humane and communal system of values. Developing and implementing a complex reform policy which takes into account several factors and some broad interrelationships is not an easy task in a society which does not have fully evolved automatisms that would, at least partly, regulate its economic processes, in which the means for providing political solutions to conflicts are not given, and in which conscience-inspired and often very subjective and voluntaristic factors play a great role.

Let us add to all this, that in the 1960's the country, which after so many shocks was finally able to live in peace, and which was able now to pay more attention to economic construction as well as to the enrichment of the individual, welcomed the benefits of stabilization. The positive aspects of this stabilization should by no means be underrated, for even today they continue to serve as the main source of trust. Yet, we must concede, that this one-sidedly interpreted stability has led to a certain rigidity both in our institutional system and in our way of thinking, and it has resulted in a kind of attitude in practice which is unprepared to handle changes. One consequence of this was that both our leadership and public opinion were caught off-guard by the symptoms of the international economic crisis which began to appear after 1973, and by the effects of that crisis on Hungary. The first reaction to these changes was to use our old, discredited methods to find a way out. During the second half of the 1970's, our attention was focused once again on the reforms that had been launched in 1968 with the introduction of the new economic mechanism; however, today it is generally believed that if new ground is to be broken, the importance of the human factor cannot be ignored.

A segment of the public opinion still has not understood the changes that have occurred, or the new requirements that are facing us, and continues to want to preserve its own standard of living without making any concessions. This conservatism in the public mood must also be considered when we talk about the importance of ideological work. For ideological apathy only helps to reinforce this "popular conservatism," this unyielding insistence to hang onto the things already achieved, which is neither in the individual's nor in the public's interest anymore if after a certain amount of time, the reforms are not realized then our previous achievements are also threatened.

When we talk about ideology, we are talking about a system of ideas which combines not only knowledge about the world, about society and individuals, but also feelings and thoughts which help to increase and enrich the awareness of the various strata, groups and individuals concerning their interests, and which help to determine their value system and also their attitudes and actions. Why should we forego an ideological activity which helps to call our attention to this important prerequisite of personality-development, i.e. to the importance of having a world outlook? Why should we be indifferent to the need to develop a kind of social consciousness promoting communal cohesiveness which affects the relationship between the individual and society, the development of democracy and the strengthening of the ne national idea? And why would there not be a need now even from the point of view of everyday life to increase people's awareness toward our economic, political and cultural activities, thereby helping to develop an open, reform-minded and progressive stand?

There are some forms of conservatism presently manifesting themselves in Hungary which are reminiscent of certain similar phenomena found in developed capitalist countries. By conservatism I mean those attempts aimed at reviving dogmatism, which use the sharpening of the international class struggle as their chief explanation for our existing difficulties, and which consider the consciousness factors as the only possible solutions to those problems. Conservatism, in my opinion, includes all attempts aimed at reviving nationalism, even if they are conceived as the results of national preservationist sentiments and even if, due partly to the deterioration of moral norms and partly to the development of the fate of Hungarians living outside our borders and to the domestic reaction toward them, they are concerned about the loosening of our national cohesion. Here again, what we are doing in fact is pushing the objective factors into the background, and by doing so, we are abandoning the only realistic way of strengthening our country. Just as conservative, in my opinion, are those pro-reformist trends which underrate the importance of the consciousness factors and are content with accepting one of the versions of the economist, technocratic view, when similar forms of these concepts have already been discarded by the developed capitalist countries, and when development has proven--in connection with the introduction of the reform of our economic mechanism, among other things--the significance of political and ideological factors. Neither one nor the other form of conservatism can be justified by looking back at our ancestors.

The world-wide ideological reconstruction attempts of the new conservatism and the new right have made it possible for us to assess our own situation and tasks in the area of ideology. Their general, or I could say, frontal attack on Marxism

has had the advantage of clearly enhancing the differences that exist between Marxism and other trends. The new conservatives have taken the concept of dialectical and historical materialism, and have made it a part of a long development process which from the Greek philosophers to Marx includes the totality of progressive thinking. This frontal attack does not deal with questions of detail; instead, it questions one specific direction of the entire human development, including socialism as a whole. Under these circumstances it has become a domestic necessity underlined also by international factors to theoretically examine our own experiences, to further improve our ideology, to shape public thinking and to personalize and accept the requirements of consciousness. (This subject is discussed in greater detail in my book published by the Kossuth Publishing House, entitled "The New Conservatism and the New Left.")

9379
CSO: 2500/62

ZSMP MAIN BOARD SECRETARY INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 25 Feb 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Krzysztof Janik, secretary of the main board, Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "What Kind of Poland, What Kind of Union"]

[Text] [Question] Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: You have begun a big discussion in the organization under the slogan "What kind of Poland, what kind of Union?". But before we state exactly what the subject matter of this action is, let us ask a fundamental question: How did the Union come out of these 16 months?

[Answer] Krzysztof Janik: I think we came out in better moral, mental and organizational shape than when we went in.

[Question] A bold statement. The facts, please.

[Answer] We went in with a hyped up, fictitious membership total, derived mainly by juggling the figures...

[Question] What was your official membership?

[Answer] Officially--two and a half million.

[Question] How much of this was fictional?

[Answer] The half million.

[Question] And then? For example, ZSMP membership cards turned in?

[Answer] This did not happen on a large scale. There was a certain increase before the Third Extraordinary Congress, when the Main Board was accused of passivity, apathy and unwillingness to act radically. After that, there was almost none of this. Some changed their colors, going over to the Polish Youth Uion (ZMP) "Robotnik" ("Worker"). They were not happy about that fact that the party line won out at our Congress. They preferred to go with "Solidarity".

[Question] Were there many of these?

[Answer] At the most about 300 persons.

[Question] Let us go back to the question. How did the Union come out of these 16 months?

[Answer] We still do not have the results of a statistical questionnaire, but we believe that there are now considerably over a million and a half of us. Ultimately, we came out with a much more clearly defined ideological makeup. The Third Congress was of primary assistance here because of its political and ideological decisions. Finally, the fact of the existence of a state of martial law was a definite turning point, for it required self-determination. There was a barrier that had to be surmounted. Those who surmounted it--and after the imposition of martial law a very small number of membership cards were turned in, several dozen--spoke out clearly in favor of the ideological, programmatic and political principles. Possibly there is still a hidden, silent group, those biding their time, so we must reach them.

Finally, the Union came out with specific program principles. During those 16 months--this is positive--there was so much freedom to articulate desires, aspiration, expectations, that we now know what's what and can function programmically without a high probability of error.

[Question] How do you react to these expectations?

[Answer] We have formulated a program of five priorities: 1 - ideological and political education; 2 - a vocational start for the young farmer; 3 - housing construction; 4 - assistance to young married couples; and 5 - organization of free time, i.e., sports, recreation, culture. This is the program which we, as the Main Board, are presenting to the organization.

[Question] So again we have a program issued from the top, from the Main Board.

[Answer] Emanating from familiarity with the situation and not in the least rigid. If in some voivodship they set this up for themselves differently, then not only will we not hold it against them, but we will support them. Just so it conforms to their rules and expectations.

During the state of martial law we lost none of our old gains. We had several voivodship conferences where complete democracy prevailed. Except for one, we have had no cases where it was necessary to designate a commissioner-chairman of the voivodship board. The exception is Plock. The commissionership was determined not by political conditions, but by weather conditions, due to which a conference could not be held. In four voivodships, commissioner-secretaries of the voivodship board were appointed because it was not possible to call a plenum and action had to be taken. We are already making up for this. The same with authorities on the lower level.

[Question] What do you want to achieve in this first program campaign when you ask the young people "What kind of Poland do you want?"

[Answer] In our materials we are stating this question more precisely. What characteristics should this socialist Poland have? What avenues of approach should we use? What should be our input in the building of it?

[Question] This has been stipulated, demanded and expected many times.

[Answer] Exactly. That is the legacy of those 16 months. Following the example of both the party and "Solidarity", we learned how to word our demands in a categorical form. We want, we demand, give us, for if you don't we will... We want to change this style into the form: "we are giving you but help us, make it possible".

[Question] If you don't help us, we will not be able to give? Will we give anyway?

[Answer] No, we will not give. Society, certainly, is a two-way street! In this discussion we want to help work out some kind of vision of Poland in which crises would be avoided, because for the young the crisis is something more dangerous than for the older generation. The older generation has had "practice"--it has lived through several of these breakdowns and has developed an immunity. We do not want immunity and we don't want breakdowns.

[Question] What are the most important matters for future Poland, according to the Main Board? What do you want to discuss and what are you asking for?

[Answer] When we ask about the form of socialist Poland, we propose--I don't know whether our members will go along with us on this--that the discussion concentrate on the most important, in our opinion, problems. In our aspirations for the Poland of our future, we must implement the concept of social justice and equality. This means law and order, equal opportunity and equal responsibility. The second problem is the democratization of public life--returning the constitutional role to the Sejm and the people's councils, really establishing social control, not in the form of new institutions and bodies, but as a universal process in which everyone is both the controller and the controlled at the same time. Finally, the third set of matters takes in the good of the individual, the opportunity to share in the culture and educational advancement, the psychical self-fulfillment of an individual in his society.

[Question] What do you want to learn about the Union?

[Answer] Three things. What conditions should an organization have in order to effectively conduct ideological-educational work.

[Question] Should have. You can create those conditions yourself!

[Answer] It is the subjective role of the youth, not just the Union, in the state that is important. Its role and political importance. And not just at the top level, but also in the gmina, town, village, and in the workplace. This includes actual co-participation in authority, in access to culture. In short, to what extent are we to be self-dependent, and what kind of cadre policy should be conducted in the state.

We are referring to the promotion system, the vocational start, etc., i.e., the whole cadre policy as regards all workplaces in relation to actual talents, work and individual capabilities. For example, the matter of that magical work internship, which blocks the path of the young people and makes it impossible to make proper evaluations, not just where money is concerned, but also the attainment of positions, the full utilization of the capabilities of the best people.

[Question] What is the second question to which you want an answer?

[Answer] What conditions must the Union itself fulfill in order to effectively influence the youth? We must, therefore, state clearly what the concepts "political organization", "struggling organization", "open, multi-circle organization" mean... Finally, what does it mean to be an organization representing the interests of the youth.

[Question] Are you not taking the chance that the leaning will be towards the ideological side?

[Answer] We have more often been accused of leaning in the direction of a youth trade union, for the pressure on social matters during the crisis is especially great. In practice, we are simply returning to "indirect upbringing". We try to settle social matters in such a way that this will have an important significance in the upbringing. We do not settle matters in such a way as to make it easier for the youth, but to come closer to the ideals of social humanism, the values that today are threatened by public practice. But the conflict of theory with practice is devastating to the minds of the young.

[Question] Can you give me an example of any such action on your part?

[Answer] When we fought for an increase in credits for young married couples we were concerned about restoring something called social justice.

[Question] You mentioned three problems pertaining to the Union. What is the third?

[Answer] It is the five program priorities of which I spoke earlier.

[Question] You are going to the youth with these problems now, when the difficult problems of daily life discourage one from making long-range plans, when certain workplaces may be shut down due to a shortage of raw materials, when there is job insecurity. Will that work?

[Answer] We are talking about the most important matters of both the present and the future. A large part of the youth are depressed, in a kind of daze, especially those outside the Union, those who are not members. Particularly in the working community. Through this discussion we want to lift them out of this depression and, on the other hand, to place these justifiable mental states into the perspective of the realities which caused them.

9295
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TEACHERS' ROLE IN SCHOOL STRIKES CLARIFIED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 21 Feb 82 p 5

[Article by Zbigniew Pawlowski: "Who Participated in the Strikes?"]

[Text] Serious accusations about the strikes in schools are being made these days in statements and in publications against teachers. Thus, society is led to believe that Polish educators--one and all-took part in strikes or were in favor of carrying out reform in education and in the school system by means of strikes, and by getting children and youth involved. In the meantime, opinions formulated in this way, which lump all teachers together, are simply erroneous. The truth is completely different.

Teachers--united in the Polish Teachers' Union[ZNP], and it is to this organization that over 70 percent of the active teachers belonged and nearly 100 percent of teachers on annuity or pension, were against school strikes, against any and all attempts to involve children and youth in adult matters and against various kinds of manifestations on school premises.

Admittedly, it was entered in the ZNP Statute that "ZNP employs all legally permissible means of implementing its goals including the right to strike"--however, in the post-August practice of its activities, the organization never took advantage of this entry. On the contrary, the Union declared itself decidedly against school strikes in many decisions and resolutions passed during the stormy period of 1980-1981.

Here are a few examples from recent months. In the declaration of the Secretariat of the Main Board of ZNP-Education, published in, among others, the GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI of 4 December 1981, we read: "The pronouncement of readiness to strike in schools and educational institutions and the announcement of an active strike meets with our decided disapproval..." Strikes organized by extremist teachers within "Solidarity" in Lublin schools and in the voivodship of Lublin were met with an emphatic protest from teachers--ZNP members. In the appeal of the ZNP District Board and Department Board in Lublin, which was also published, among others, in GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI,

stated: "We are categorically cutting ourselves off from strike activity which pushes the object of our work into the background; and which creates a state of emergency atmosphere, one of conflict, unrest and chaos...". Further on in this same appeal: "Dear Colleagues! We turn to you with an appeal: in the spirit of union discipline try to do everything possible so that order will reign in your educational institutions; so that exerted instructional efforts may continue; so that problems in education may be solved as effectively as possible for the good of the child and youth".

A unanimous stand on matters regarding student strikes in colleges and universities was also taken by the Main Board of ZNP-Science. In a proclamation published in issue 47 of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI from 22 November 1981 we read: "ZNP-Science steadfastly maintains the position that in the present situation, the escalation of strike activity impedes the generally awaited national accord. For this reason, we feel that neither the conflict in WSI Higher School of Engineering -Radom nor even the, by no means, justified delay in relegating the law on higher schools to the Sejm of PRL, constitute sufficient reason for general strike action in Polish academies.

Let us also be frank: in this activity, advocates of the rank and file membership of "Solidarity" were to be found among teachers and higher school instructors. There is evidence of this in the form of resolutions and proposals as well as many statements.

Thus, the stand taken by teachers in regard to school strikes and various kinds of political manifestations with the participation of children and youth was not--as some would think--unanimous. A decided majority of teachers and educators were against strikes. Such is the truth and all journalists who make public statements on this issue as well as the entire community should know about it.

In writing the above, we also wish to say that at present we do not want to divide teachers into those who were on strike in the voivodship of Lublin and those who did not succumb to the pressure of agitators and carried on normal lessons to the satisfaction of parents and youth. These are serious and complicated problems with which, above all, the teachers' community itself will have to contend in each particular school, bearing one thing in mind above all others: that schools in Poland was, is and will be a socialist school which prepares youth for the role of builders of People's Poland. This obvious truth is understood by teachers--by a decided majority of them. These teachers are also aware that our school, our education and national education in its entirety require reforms. These reforms must be introduced into practice as soon as possible; they concern a wide spectrum of problems--beginning with democratization of school life and ending with changes in program content. These reforms must be introduced if we want to raise our educational standards. This is talked and written about extensively.

Teachers united in ZNP-Education were in favor of these changes. However, they want to put them into effect in a way in which the importance of education and upbringing in the country requires it--after judicious discussion of the problems, whereby the word, judicious, has nothing in common with prolonging the solving of these problems indefinitely. The matter of the Teacher's Charter may be given here as an example. Owing only to the tenacity of ZNP-Education members, their responsibility and prudence in conducting a discussion on the draft of a Charter with the wide-ranging participation of teachers' groups as well as that of other social communities, we now have a law which was truly long awaited by the teachers' community.

In his article published in TRYBUNA LUDU entitled, "What Ought To Be Cast Aside--What Ought To Be Preserved", Piotr Rzadca writes, among other things: "A process is beginning of self-cleansing of the teachers' community from the negative phenomena of the pre-August past as well as from trends, which originated in recent months and which led to the negation of the entire output of education after the war. I write--self-cleansing--for I believe that this must be done by, above all, the teachers' community itself, which--I should think--knows best what will be beneficial for the school and what will bring it harm. It has sufficiently numerous social and political powers to accomplish this sensibly, fairly and objectively--for internal interpretation and not for subsequent disruption".

This is a just outlook. We make our columns accessible for such reflections as well.

9853
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PARTY MEMBERS PENALIZED FOR DISHONESTY, VIOLATION OF RULES

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jan 82 pp 90-92

/Article/

/Text/ A Bizarre Decision

Being accepted into the party is an act of great responsibility. No one is permitted to reduce the exigencies that are involved or to violate the instructions that regulate the activities in this field. Unfortunately, there still are situations where the requirements stressed above are not kept in mind. In the town of Brosteni in Suceava County, for example, the secretary of the town party committee, Vasile Sasu, and the secretary of the bureau of the base organization at the Brosteni Industrial High School, Elena Lese, serious violated the principles and norms referring to accepting people into the party.

The facts speak for themselves. On 9 October 1981, professor Gheorghe Pancu submitted a request to the bureau of the base organization to be accepted into the party. The next day the bureau drew up a report proposing that his request be accepted, and, after 6 days, the general assembly gave its approval with a tiny majority of votes, althought there were voices that expressed their bewilderment regarding the fact that they were aware of the bureau's intentions only in the general assembly and the speed with which the bureau moved, in the end taking a decision that, as we will see, was completely outside statutory bounds.

First of all, one of the recommendations, from the Union of Communist Youth organization, was the result of the foul play by the person who had requested acceptance into the party. As the deputy secretary of the committee of the town organization of the Union of Communist Youth and as one who knew well how these recommendations were given out, he avoided the accepted path and presented a false document drawn up by the secretary of the youth organization in the high school. Neither the secretary of the base organization at the high school nor another member of the bureau deigned to check the recommendation, not to mention the fact that the secretary or, if she could not attend, another member of the bureau should have been present at such an assembly.

Second, in an absolutely unacceptable fashion the secretary of the town party committee asked the applicant who made the request to go to the place of his birth to get a... recommendation. Which he did!

Third, although some party members in the general assembly expressed reserve with regards to the manner in which the applicant had been trained and, as a result, four of them abstained from the voting, instead of taking these signs into consideration the secretary of the town party committee committed an act that was totally out of the ordinary: he directed the secretary of the organization's bureau to individually call forth those persons who had abstained from the voting and to have them... make written statements regarding their attitude.

What could have put a stop to these shortcomings? Clearly it could have been done; on the condition that the maximum spirit of responsibility had been operating in the bureau of the town party committee and in the county party committee instructor, comrade Filaret Cora, who had the job of keeping track to the best extent possible of the manner of accepting this professor into the party. This was not done, however, and in the session of the bureau, with the instructor present, those present confirmed with their eyes closed the decision of the general assembly. Nor did they find out about the true reason for all the machinations of the secretary of the town party committee and the secretary of the base organization bureau: on 9 October 1981, the date the request to be accepted into the party was forwarded, a letter had been sent to the County School Inspectorate in which the applicant was proposed for the position of director, stating that he was a member of the party!

In other words, one lie after another, a continuing slide on the path of dishonesty, insincerity and abuse that could come to an end only in their discovery and the taking of certain measures. The decision to accept him into the party and its confirmation were annuled. It seems, however, at least bizarre regarding the manner in which the guilty parties were sanctioned by the secretariat of the county party committee. Elena Lese was removed from her position as secretary of the base organization bureau and sanctioned with a "vote of censure", while the instigator of these deeds, Vasile Sasu, the one who fully demonstrated characteristics completely incompatible with the qualities of a party activist and who knowingly sponsored the violation of current regulations, was merely sanctioned with a "vote of censure". He retained his position! In this case, the lack of firmness and exigency is clear, where a decision should have been made that would have clearly shown that those persons who proceed in this manner will find no tolerance, being treated in accordance with the seriousness of the deeds they commit.

Tolerance Regarding Serious Violations

The party has asked and is asking all its members to give permanent proof of high professional and political awareness and to firmly combat any attempts to acquire the fruits of others' work through abuse, dishonesty or cheating. He who ignores such requirements seriously tarnishes his moral profile and commits a deed incompatible with the qualities of a communist.

Such was the case with Cornel Stoica, the former secretary of the party committee at the Simeria Processing Section of the Hunedoara Steel Combine. Putting their trust in him, the members of the party organization elected him to the Simeria City Party Committee. Similarly, they trusted to him the great responsibility of being a vice president of the executive bureau of the city people's council. Holding these two positions required an irreproachable comportment. But, he violated the people's trust, committing reprovable acts that were especially serious. He stole a significant number of beehives from a work colleague, causing a loss estimated at over 15,000 lei. Similarly, profitting from the position he held in the people's council where he had to be involved in certain demolition work, he purchased the materials left over after the demolition and transported them home using the section's tractor-trailer.

These violations were discussed in the plenary sessions of the party committees to which he belonged and in the session of the city people's council. He was excluded from the party organs and removed from his position as vice president. Surprisingly, however, he was sanctioned by the plenary session of the city party committee with... "a vote of censure with a warning". What has to be done to be excluded from the party?

After a report by the editorial staff of this magazine, the bureau of the Hunedoara County Party Committee directed a reanalysis of the case. The person who stained his honesty and human nature was placed in discussion in the general assembly of the base organization to which he belonged, resulting in an unanimous decision to exclude him from the party.

When the High Investiture by the People Is Confused With the Imaginery Position of "Owner of the Position"

For years, Constantin David of the town of Birla in Arges County had committed abuse after abuse in all the positions that he had held as the director of the Agricultural Machinery Station, president of the agricultural production cooperative or chief engineer there. Thus, ten hectares of the most fertile land were given in an overall agreement to nine citizens from Olt County so as to be planted with melons - outside of the provisions of the production plan approved by the general assembly of the cooperatist members. In two cases, several transports left the cooperative loaded with clover and good quality hay, and he paid with straw (?). He worked 2.17 hectares of corn under an overall agreement in his group, but in establishing the amount of production he calculated that where his family had worked the harvest was 1,000 kilograms per hectare greater than his neighbors'. He used the cooperative's transport vehicles for his own personal use, without paying the appropriate charges. At the same time, his brothers, Ion and Dumitru David, were given approval to use personal lots that were 16 and 12 square decameters, respectively, larger than they had a right to use.

With an impulsive and haughty nature, Constantin David got even with those who dared to criticize the illegal acts he committed, with some of them being

sanctioned for imaginery crimes. In analyzing the acts of engineer Constantin David, the plenary session of the town party committee sanctioned him, requesting his removal from the leadership positions that he held.

What was there need, however, for more than 2 years until the time when correctness, honesty and an atmosphere appropriate to the proper conduct of work could be put right? If there had been proof of firmness in their interventions, both by the party organization in the cooperative and by the town party committee, the abuses committed by CD could have been stopped from the first moments. This was not done because there was a tolerance in the judgement of the deeds and because the critical spirit was lacking.

A maximum number of lessons must be learned from the case of engineer Constantin David, both by the party committee in the agricultural cooperative and by the party committee and people's council in Birla, whose activities must be closely followed and supported. Just as this case must be broadly presented to the party activists and discussed with all management and technical personnel in the county's agricultural units.

8724
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VIOLATIONS OF LAW BY OFFICIALS IN CALARASI DEPLORED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jan 82 pp 57-62

[Article by Maria Cozma, D. Horomnea and I. Vaduva: "The Education of Cadre in the Spirit of Honesty, Correctness and Intransigency Towards Shortcomings and Violations - A Requirement Imposed Acutely by Reality"]

[Text] The moral profile of the communist, the party activist and cadre is linked, certainly, to the manner in which he deals with reality and to his understanding and exact communication of the existing state of affairs. This is so because, depending upon this, the party organs and organizations can work concretely through the most adequate measures for the purpose of eliminating eventual shortcomings and of ensuring the proper flow of affairs.

A communist must be honest, sincere, principled and corrent, must not tolerate lies, falsehoods and hypocrisy and must fight against attempts to cause superior organs and work comrades to err and against avoidance of responsibilities and duties, as is says in the Code of the Principles and Working and Living Norms for Communists.

In referring to this important aspect of the behavior of party and state cadre, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the RCP Central Committee Plenary Session of November 1981 that "unfortunately, we have more than a few cases where some party organs and organizations are not appropriately fulfilling their roles in the organization of leadership activities and where - and I am referring especially to some party and state cadre and activists - either because of misunderstandings or because of the distortion of certain states of affairs they present unrealistic data and reports, exaggerating achievements or diminishing them..."

The Exigency of a Facade

As is known from the press, such inadmissible practices were also found in Calarasi County. Beginning with these indications, we attempted to see what lessons were learned after the unrealistic reporting during the summer regarding the wheat harvest campaign and what the party organs did so that these phenomena would not be repeated. Here is what we could find in the investigations that were conducted and from the discussions carried out with some party and state activists in the county.

For good reason, to militate for the strengthening of responsibility, order and discipline and for the establishment of honesty and correctness is one of the cardinal tasks of the party organs and organizations. This is an elementary duty for which there should not have to specific guidelines and recommendations, but one naturally carried out from one's own impulses. There is no doubt that many of the party organs and organizations even proceed in that manner. A primary, graphic example is the Calarasi Enterprise for Construction Materials in Calarasi Municipality. It is significant that here, right from the first signs of such negative phenomena, a firm attitude was taken, without waiting for urging and directives from the higher party organs.

At a point in time, comrade Tudor Stoian, the secretary of the party committee in this enterprise, was telling us, the habit started in out enterprise of reporting the production of panels and prefabricated elements for housing not by the number of component pieces, but by overall quantities: so many cubic meters of prefabricated parts were produced which, usually, means the achievement and even overfulfillment of the production plan. But, the complaints coming from the consumers that they were not receiving from our enterpise anything but wall panels and not all the other prefabricated items in the order required by the assembly process caused us to understand that actually things were not the way they should have been. In order to stop this trend of unrealistic reporting generated by the desire for large incomes - since there was talk of large incomes, we asked the bureau of the base organization of the prefabricated parts section to discuss the foreman, Constantin Macinic, who was protecting this system, and he was sanctioned with a "reprimand". The chiefs of the other sections were also called to task for not admitting to such practices. On the other hand, I proposed, in my position as president of the workers' council, and the council decided to no longer pay for the labor of those persons who do not adhere to the production of prefabricated items in the order called for by the assembly process.

It is curious, however, that precisely where there were a greater number of and more serious cases of distortions of realities, the party organs in the county did not promptly intervene to stop them, but on the contrary we encountered here and there a concessional situation and a total indifference towards party members involved in phenomena of this type.

At the former Plevna Agricultural Machinery Station in the town of Lupsanu in the spring of 1981, it was stated that 170 tractors were repaired and ready to go out into the fields. In fact, not even half of them were ready to be operated. The director of the unit, Catalin Mati, who was to be found guilty of this false report, was removed from his job and sanctioned with a "vote of censure with a warning" by the county party organ. The party organization, however, did not think it fitting to make a case out of this situation, in which there was not merely a single guilty party. It is true that in his position as director Catalin Mati had the duty to provide exact information about the real status of the tractors, but also at fault were those who did not repair

the equipment. And, precisely within the ranks of these workers there should have been - using this particular case - a powerful educational effort involving the strengthening of the spirit of responsibility, honesty and correctness.

When asked why there was no broad discussion of the events that occurred, Traian Gheorghe, the secretary of the base organization, told us clearly that from the moment that the punishment was handed out at such a level the base organization had nothing else it could do. This is the source of the misunderstanding of the natural duty of any party organization to undertake educational actions that will lead to the formation of opinions in communists and other workers in the spirit of intransigence towards shortcomings and a high exigency towards their own activities.

From what was uncovered at the county party committee, especially from the information provided by the first secretary, comrade Vasile Martin, we noted that the director of the Intercooperatist Economic Association in the town of Lupsanu, Vasile Oprisan, was removed from his post and sanctioned with a "vote of censure" for false reports regarding the increases in the weight of animals being fattened, disorder and an excessive mortality rate. This same was also shown in the report from the session of the county party committee secretariat of 15 November 1981, while the local newspaper VREMURI NOI [New Times] reported in its 17 November 1981 issue to the people in the county that "the serious violations uncovered and the existing shortcomings in zootechny caused the county party committee secretariat to decide to remove from office the director of the General Directorate of Agriculture responsible for activities in raising animals, Dr Constantin Pucheanu, and directors at the A.E.I. Calarasi and Lupsanu (Konza Wilhelm and Vasile Oprisan), as well as sending the last two to trial." A big surprise! At the Lupsanu Intercooperatist Economic Association we find one and the same person in the position of director, the person removed from office and slated for trial, Vasile Oprisan. This person seems undisturbed by anyone or anything in daily affairs.

With regards to the party organization at the pig raising complex, it did not direct its "attention" towards such affairs that led to the serious shortcomings that existed there - the delivery in 1981 of less than 900 tons of meat and the registering of losses of 13 million lei caused by exceeding by five times over the needed slaughter rate and the doubling of the permitted mortality rate.

Among the first persons called upon to fight to pull this unit out of its precarious situation was the party organizer and president of the Lehliu Unified Agro-Industrial Council, comrade Gheorghe Ivan. Ivan, however, as one of the people sanctioned by the party and drawing the necessary lessions, made the decision, we believe, in time in order to be rehabilitated through work. In the secretariat session that analyzed his lack of concern, comrade Gheorghe Ivan did not try to defend himself, like the chief engineer of the Plevna Unified Agro-Industrial Council who was also sanctioned with a "vote of censure with a warning" because he reported the clearing of certain fields and their seeding, which constituted a case of crass disinformation, and did not openly

recognize his error. Now, he tells us, happily, that he recognizes his error through the results obtained in 1981: an average per hectare production of 4,470 kilograms of corn; going into the new year with all plowing completed compared to 1980, when he had come into January with a shortfall of over 11,000 hectares or over three-fourths of what had to be completed left undone.

Direct Help, Not Tardy Intervention and Half-Way Measures

On the way to the town of Vasilati, comrade Gheorghe Dragomir, the president of the county party collegium, listed part of the deviations in the behavior of the mayor, Alexandru Androne. Among other things, he was nearly always drunk, including in all types of meetings in which he participated or chaired. This caused him to lose control of affairs in the town and, at the same time, to slide into promiscuity, into the basement of an immoral life. We find that this state of affairs was known for a long period of time in the county party committee and, with our being surprised that such a person would still be at the helm of the town, we interestingly awaited a discussion with him. At the mayor's office, however, we found only an office worker. According to this worker, comrade Alexandru Androne had gone to the Galbinasi Agricultural Production Cooperative. We wanted to have a discussion with the deputy secretary for propaganda affairs, comrade Niculina Mihalache, but she was also out of the office. By 1600 hours, she still had not come back into town, a situation far from being unique and one tolerated by the mayor in exchange for keeping quiet about his own violations. Being a commuter, the deputy secretary carried out her attributes between the arrival and departure of two of the most comfortable commuter trains and, from time to time, she took a day off, but not from her legal number of days of leave, but from a reduction in correctness.

Looking further for the mayor, we could not find him at the Galbinasi Agricultural Production Cooperative, because he had not been there. He has been taken however, back home in a clearly drunken state. He had been "toasting" with some workers who were working on enlarging his house. "Do you have a permit to expand the house," we ask him. He answers that he is the mayor and that, from what he knows, the mayor does not have to ask himself for permission. In other words, he does not have one. Nor did Ion Constantin, the chief of the militia post, when he built his garage with materials purchased not on the basis of agricultural products, as it is for everyone else, but for money. On the other hand, permits are required for anyone else in the town, if they are not relatives or friends of the mayor...

The discussion with this person continues under an avalanche of justifications for his deeds that are far from any laws and human nature. Here are some of them: allowing teaching faculty at the school in the village of Popesti to be late or absent, with the students frequently being left in the care of the cleaning crew; giving permission to a friend in the village of Lamotesti to organize a 3-day wedding in the school courtyard, with the bar being located within the school and causing classes to be cancelled for 3 days, in the presence of the mayor, who was the best man; authorizing Ion Mehedintu, a store clerk, to purchase three containers of cooking oil and three sacks of sugar in his name. After the county found out about this, the mayor fired another store clerk in

the consumer cooperative, the one who had "honored" the order. Certainly, after such a strictly personal oversupply of goods, numerous citizens in the town were no longer able to acquire the appropriate levels of cooking oil and sugar.

These are merely several of the practices of the mayor of Vasilati, as well as some of his friends who were encouraged to follow his example. This situation went on for a long period of time. As one of the local people stated, the town seemed to be his estate where arbitrariness and the law of pleasures dominated social relations and the relationship between the mayor's office and the masses. Although, as we have said, these practices did not occur over the course of weeks or months, but rather years, measures were not taken at the level of the former Ilfov County to stop them. Soon, it will be 1 year since the creation of Calarasi County and the leadership of this county still has not done anything, except to conduct a summary check of certain reports and to formulate... some intentions to remove the mayor. Thus, just the intention to remove him and that is all, without going any further to improve the basic situation by going right to the scene and giving the appropriate support and guidance.

Abuses, violations of the laws and violations of party directives also have been committed and are being committed frequently by Mihai Cihanovschi, the mayor of the town of Nana. The disinterest that he shows in the leadership of political and economic affairs in this town has a flip-side: his personal interests. For him, illegally acquiring the most diverse goods constitutes nothing more than a "right" stemming from his position. Other rights are considered to be long banquets in official rooms, requiring town officials to attend a wedding in Vaslui County where he married a couple in a religious ceremony, driving a motorcycle while under the influence of alcohol, endangering the lives of pedestrians, threatening and even beating citizens who do not do as he wishes, and nighttime searches conducted without warrants, in the company of sergeant major Nicolae Martac who, as far as he is concerned, should know the limits of carrying out a mayor's orders. In such a list of violations of laws and human dignity, it is not surprising that the activities of the party organ "headed" by Mihai Cihanovschi are also lacking content and efficiency. During the period of April to October 1981, there were no meetings of the bureau of the town party committee, with these meetings being replaced by the issuing of tasks. Finally, when these meetings were held, the reports were written several weeks later on the basis of notes and... recollections from memory. The review and direct guidance on the fulfillment of decisions and tasks were purely and simply abandoned after a short period of time of carrying them out.

The defective work style of the secretary of the town party committee also was reflected in the activities of the bureaus of the five base organizations. The work plans only to a small degree involved the real problems confronting these organizations - the achievementof tasks in an exemplary manner, the appropriate education of communists - deficiencies that gave the overall work a large dose of apathy.

The situation caused some residents of the town to notify the party leadership and, after the reports were checked, the secretariat of the county party committee found it fitting to sanction the mayor with "a vote of censure". The case was not put into discussion with the communists in the town nor did it constitute the subject of severe criticism in the instruction sessions organized at the county level in order to prevent other such situations. Actually, the seriousness of the violations does not justify the mild measure taken by the secretariat of the county committee, which, after this measure, no longer took an interest in Mihai Cihanovschi, losing sight of him once again and giving him the opportunity to continue his abusive practices and to lead the review organs to err once again. As a result, the reports concerning the mayor of the town of Nana have increased. It was, therefore, natural for the higher party organs to consider the sanction imposed by the county committee secretariat as insufficient, as it actually did, recommending further investigations for the purpose of applying certain adequate measures. This recommendation, however, has not produced anything to date, remaining in the status of a "future concern" of the bureau of the county party committee while the mayor and his friends, protected by the indulgence of the county organ, continue their slide through and around the most basic norms of ethics and equity.

Unfortunately, the bureau and the secretariat of the county party committee have not been involved in completely resolving other cases either. Thus, after the removal of the mayor of the town of Lucia for deeds that were similar to the ones mentioned above, in addition to gross disinformation regarding cadre affairs, the county party organ decided that the attributes of the secretary of the town party committee would be assumed by professor Veronica Stoian, the deputy secretary for organizational affairs. In reality, the town had no mayor since professor Veronica Stoian could not abandon her teaching responsibilities. In such a situation, the county party committee should have accelerated resolving this problem and supported political-organizational activities through the member of the county party committee bureau responsible for this region. It did not, however, happen that way. The bureau member rarely goes to the region while his direct support is usually the forwarding of tasks.

These same practices, furthermore, are also found in other towns to which we have referred.

The Cause of the Causes - A Defective Work Style

The existing state of affairs that we have presented is also explained by the fact that, according to what we could find, not even at the county party organ level have all the lessons been learned from what happened during the summer and firm measures have not been taken that will eliminate, right from the very beginning, any trends towards disinformation, a rosy presentation of the picture and a casual committment without discrimination and with a level of enthusiasm insufficiently based upon real possibilities in the fulfillment of one task or another. Thus, after the higher party leadership pointed out the untruthful

content of the telegram in which the Calarasi County Party Committee anounced the conclusion of the wheat harvest and punished those who were guilty, it would have been natural for the bureau of the county party committee to have directed the carrying out of certain thorough, intransigent analyses at the level of each economic, industrial or agricultural unit, in construction, transportation, trade and so forth, and in each party organ and organization in order to uncover and sanction in an exemplary manner similar phenomena, preventing any tendency of this type. Things did not happen, however, in this manner. The general recommendation to "call those to task who were involved in what happened" led to the measure being applied only in some units and in some party organizations. This did not create the atmosphere necessary to stop any expressions of this nature or acts of dishonesty or impropriety and to guarantee that deeds like those pointed out will not be repeated. Our findings, unfortunately, even point out that in Calarasi County there still are serious deficiencies and that the work style practiced by some party organs and, as we have seen, even the county committee is seriously marked by formalism and a lack of efficiency.

Serious shortcomings and deficiencies are also noted with regards to educational work, lacking the prompt, formative and transforming intervention in the educational process. It could not be said that in Calarasi County there is no punishment for those who commit certain violations, those who do not carry out their jobs at their place of work. Certainly, those who do not carry out their tasks and do not show concern for the goods entrusted to them to be administered must be held responsible with all severity. But, it is equally necessary for the party organs to combine exigency with a permanent educational effort and to turn each case into a powerful educational experience, one that is preventative for the rest of the collective. And, of the numerous administrative sanctions only a small number where followed by party sanctions and even fewer of these were the subject of serious discussions and analyses in party general assemblies and work groups.

In this regard, a graphic example to us was the session of the bureau of the Oltenita City Party Committee on 15 December 1981, which had on its agenda two extremely important problems for party work in general and the theme of our report here: "The Concern of the Party Organs for the Growth and Education of Cadre" and "The Organization and Carrying Out of Political-Ideological Education". Being held a short period of time after drastic measures were taken to remove certain cadre from their positions for serious violations of the norms of our socialist behavior and work abuses, involving the former first secretary of the city party committee, the president of the city council of trade unions and five directors and deputy directors from different economic and commercial units in the city, you would expect that this session would have carried out a serious analysis that would have shown clearly what had to be done by the city committee and the other party organs so that such violations would not be repeated, as well as to thoroughly understand those who were promoted and to provide for their careful support and education. But, both the materials presented and those who spoke were satisfied to present merely some figures and data regarding the problem in general, leaving people to think that everything is going so well that people would ask why it was necessary for the bureau to discuss these aspects.

Correctly, the first secretary of the county party committee, who was present at this session, made an appeal, both through certain interventions during the course of the session and in his final speech, for the need to discuss these important aspects of party work that are closely tied to the specific problems confronting the party organs in the city of Oltenita and to the activities to fulfill economic tasks. However, instead of leading the bureau of the city party committee to an exacting self-criticism and to identifying those aspects that still need its prompt, qualified intervention in the problem of forming and educating cadre and raising their level of political-ideological training, the first secretary restricted himself to pointing out the good results obtained by certain economic units since the time the county was created, creating an atmosphere of self-satisfaction and pomp. Under these conditions, it is no wonder that this session decided nothing.

Finding that there were some gaps in the application of the new economic-financial mechanism and in the completing and reporting of certain erroneous economic reports at the county level, it is commendable that they initiated some courses and series of speechs with the party personnel in the economic field - presidents, first vice presidents and vice presidents of the workers' councils, chief accountants, planning office chiefs and so forth. Commendable measures were also taken along the lines of training the secretaries of the party committees and the bureaus of the base organizations and the members of these bodies in the direction of understanding and applying in a unified manner the instructions of the RCP Central Committee and the party decisions, drawing up summary materials containing all the methodologies of party work and the attributes of each component of the party organs, which, when made available to them and presented within the framework of instruction, constitute a guide of great utility for their practical activities.

Unfortunately, the same concern is not expressed for the education of cadre and for their formation as the active, revolutionary militants of the party who will know how to place the interests of the people above all else, how not to tarnish the title of communist under any circumstances and how not to violate the trust of the party and the masses. Several educational-formative actions were outlined in the program of monthly instruction for the party apparatus. Althought few in number, in recent months they have hot been achieved either because for a number of reasons the time alloted to them was reduced to 1 or 2 days instead of the 4-5 days that were scheduled or because of the fact that they were not held at all.

The phenomena that we have encountered attest that there are serious gaps in the work style of many party organs and organizations in Calarasi County and in the control that it exercises in all areas of economic, social and political affairs.

Certainly, the county is a new one and the leadership team is still being formed. But, the serious violations that have been pointed out, as well as the half-way measures that are used to deal with these violations, and the

visible deficiencies in the educational work that the county party organ is called upon to carry out with greater perseverance and skill require an urgent mobilization of forces and the possibilities that the county party committee actually has in order to thoroughly base its activities on the enduring support of the principles and norms of party work.

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REVISIONS DEMANDED IN DRAFTS OF LCY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

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[Article by Stevan Niksic]

[Text] Numerous remarks about the draft congress resolutions indicate that the texts are too general, too broad, full of phrases and long-established truths, but poor in answers that are justifiably expected from such documents. These attitudes bear witness that the preparations for the 12th LCY Congress differ in some ways from the usual documents offered at such times.

At the end of last week we learned that the Commission for Preparing the Draft Resolution of the 12th LCY Congress, which is to be held in several months, has returned the proffered draft documents, entitled "The Role and Tasks of the LCY in the Struggle for the Development of Socialist Self-Management and for the Material and Social Progress of the Country." The commission called for fundamental corrections. From that apparently common information, we can perceive in many ways the specific character of current preparations for the coming party congress of Yugoslav communists. When we keep in mind that the pages of party and other newspapers have already begun to carry public debate on the content of the coming congress resolutions and on the themes that should be found in these documents, it is not hard to reach a conclusion about the significant differences in comparison with what has been usual before party congresses until now.

At the same time, we can already discern the basic contours of the coming 12th LCY Congress, considering that the preparations, including work on proposed congress resolutions, have entered the final phase.

In the past months there have been many, perhaps even futile or overly academic debates on the subject of whether this will be a congress of changes, of a turning point, or a congress of continuity. It could also be a congress of sterility, according to a recent comment, in jest, by a well-known scholar who was expressing his dissatisfaction with the quality of the preliminary draft of congress documents, which have now appeared.

For many, chiefly well-known and justifiable reasons, preparations for the 12th LCY Congress began rather late. Judging from the first texts, which will serve as the basis for debate at the congress, and the public reactions to those texts, they were not as well done fundamentally as, let's say, was the

case before the 10th or 11th LCY congresses. It is enough to recall the preparations for the last, 11th Congress: A year and a half before that congress, Edvard Kardelj, at the behest of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, prepared the projected congress platform. From that work later came the book "Directions of Development of the Socialist Self-Management Political System." That text was published in tens of thousands of copies and, in the course of debate lasting several months, not only the party membership but the entire Yugoslav public had the opportunity to express its opinions about the proposals.

It seems that this time, some hot political themes of recent months and the elections this spring have attracted much more attention and somewhat overshadowed this broad and important work and pushed it into second place. That is borne out among other things by a whole series of information about preparations for the republic and federal congresses published recently, which openly and sharply criticize the pooposed texts of the congress documents. The most frequent comments are that they are general, overly broad and empty, crammed with phrases and long-established truths, but poor in answers that might reasonably be expected from such documents. A few days ago the Commission for Preparing the Political Report on the Work of the Macedonian LCY Central Committee reached a similar conclusion; the corresponding commission of the Serbian LCY Central Committee stated in its draft report, which should be presented at the congress, that certain evaluations in the draft were "idealized" and then there is a lack of high critical perceptions and arguments."

Superfluous Words

With the simple and picturesque remark thatthe text contains "many heaps of superfluous words," Stipe Suvar gave probably the most precise evaluation of the proposed basic congress document. He was speaking last week at a session of the Commission for Preparing the Draft Resolution of the 12th LCY Congress. "The entire commission will have to do a lot of work yet. If it stays as it is, this resolution will be far below the level of the program documents for the two previous congresses. Superfluous words and proclamations disturb everyone because they are contrived and they annoy all of us. We have annoyed ourselves by repeating the same cliches year after year." Suvar came out for a "congress of continuity," but he stressed that that formulation should not conceal the powerful weakness of characterizing at the same time a congress of theoretical and practical political stagnation and "declarative confessions and oaths as a form of unique expressions of a feeling of impotency of the League of Communists both in the LCY and in society."

Otherwise, there was an interesting debate at that session that was more concerned with things not covered by the proposed congress resolution text than with what was on its 100-plus pages. In starting the discussion of economic problems in the proposed resolution, Mito Hadzivasilev noted that the authors of the proposed text had largely avoided mentioning certain disputed matters, and that precisely for that reason many gaps are to be found in this voluminous text. He suggested that a statement be entered into the resolutions that would indicate that one of the most important causes of the present economic difficulties was in the "unsatisfactory recognition of the economic principles of socialist production of goods." In his opinion, that makes possible manifestations of voluntarism and subjectivism in the behavior

of self-management subjects, uncontrolled trends in social reproduction, extravagant spending, egoistic behavior, and administrative measures.

Most participants in the later discussion agreed that it is significant and important to point out the need for respecting "economic principles" in society, but nevertheless they did not accept Hadzivasilev's suggestion that that should be given special study in the way he proposed.

Milan Kucan, however, warned that a condition for continuity in LCY policy, which all support, is the elimination of the major weaknesses that lead us into serious difficulties and compromise our system of socialist self-management. The chief cause of these weaknesses is in economic policy, as it has been and continues to be conducted at these levels. In Kucan's view, we must make a radical break with that sort of economic policy. He said: "I think that current circumstances, especially those provoked by the economic trends and the status in our material relationships, generate many questions, confusion and lack of control in the LCY and in society as a whole. That brings with it a series of problems of an ideological and political nature and influences ideological and political disunity, and at times, ineffectiveness in the LCY as a whole. The most important problem is that in this period we have built an autarchic program and a concept for developing the country that needs to be changed fundamentally. That autarchic Yugoslav and autarchic republic, and even opstina manner of development has provoked the operation of noneconomic elements, for only in that way could it justify its autarchic character. We must get started changing it tomorrow." These words came from Ante Markovic.

How To Mend The Trough

Kiro Gligorov, as well as most other participants in this discussion, came out in favor of having future congress documents contain a valid program of economic stabilization. However, he also warned that there are quite a few misunderstandings in that along with the disagreements. Gligorov said: "In the last 10 years or so we have had two or three stabilization programs, and all of them aimed at patching something, at putting the water that had run out of the trough back into it."

Gligorov gave similar evaluations as early as the beginning of December, when he gave the keynote presentation at a session of the Commission for Preparing the Resolution of the 12th LCY Congress. The newspaper KOMUNIST carried it under the typical title "When and in What Did We Err." At that time Gligorov stated: "There are no theoretical or empirical proofs that we erred in the basic elements of the self-management system." He went on to specify that as basic elements he meant the stipulations in the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. However, at that time he also expressed the opinion that many other so-called "systemic laws" cannot be raised to the same "rank." He referred to laws on planning, prices, the monetary and credit system, the banks and the foreign-exchange system. Gligorov suggested that it was possible to adapt and change these laws: "A strict position in connection with these laws would shackle or pacify active social factors so that they could not affect the timely overcoming of certain weaknesses as they emerged. In the opposite case, we simply tie our own hands, and dogmatize social thought."

Miladin Korac, a member of the LCY Central Committee and professor of the Belgrade School of Economics, reacted by opposing some of the positions taken by Gligorov.

In an article published 2 weeks later in the same paper, Korac presented the opinion that "not only among economists, but among politicians as well, there are many disagreements and, very often, conscious deception" about the role and significance of agreementmaking and contracting, the market and economic principles. Therefore, Korac concluded: "In the resolution of the 12th Congress, it is not necessary again to clarify or clean up all those problems and relationships. Rather, if possible we should more precisely determine what actions should be undertaken in order for this and other clear LCY definitions to be implemented in practice."

In this debate, as in some other theoretical and political debates by economists (see, for example, the discussion "Why the Economists Are Silent" in the latest issues of NIN), the center of interest is the role of the market in a self-management socialist society, and concepts such as "economic principles," or "self-management agreementmaking and contracting." In the meantime, Belgrade economist Ivan Stojanovic entered the debate on the pages of KOMUNIST. He believes that Korac and the other economists who agree with him have not explained satisfactorily why here in Yugoslavia in the last decade the role of the market has been shackled, while the importance of state control has grown, with clearly damaging effects.

In the latest issue of KOMUNIST, Gligorov replied to Korac by expressing the opinion that there is no doubt that in practice between the 11th and 12th congresses of the LCY that has been a suppression of economic laws and the market in their objectively necessary functions. At the same time, Gligorov says, we have come into conflict with uncontrolled elements, with economic instability. Government regulation is growing in economic and social currents, while autarchy and the regionalization of the Yugoslav marketplace is ever more pronounced. Plans have been unrealistic, overly optimistic and with strong doses of voluntarism.

Clear and Unclear

Gligorov asserted that he agreed with Korac concerning his evaluation of the importance and urgency of self-management agreementmaking and social contracting in our system. In contrast to Korac, however, he said that he believes that negotiations and contracting will attain increasing significance if we straighten out the relationship toward the market and economic principles, and eliminate the subjective relationships toward this institution and its conscious idealization. Thus he comes out openly for "clarification" and "elimination."

This in many ways characteristic polemic illustrates in the best way the mood in the present phase of preparations of the congress resolutions. In the opinions of some, we need only make more precise determinations of how the clear decisions of the LCY can be implemented and brought to life conscientiously. According to others, it is necessary first of all to "clarify" and "eliminate," despite the fact that the basic determinations, as all confirm, are correct and indisputable.

The debate thus far on the proposed texts for the congress documents has also brought out some other ideas, as well as some new dilemmas and considerations. For example, at the session mentioned above it was suggested that in the congress resolution the LCY should come out categorically against "receiving rent for holding a job." Specifically, several discussants cited the well-known facts that show that in Yugoslavia today the average workday is but 3.5 hours, and that labor productivity here is from 2 to 2.5 times lower than in Western Europe. This is related to existing regulations and the practice of juridical agencies, which offer absolute protection of employment in such a way that, in some opinions, they tolerate malingering.

As one participant in this discussion stated: "The unemployed are also members of our society, and they have the right, not only to vacant jobs, but also to jobs that are being held but are not being performed in harmony with the nature of social ownership of the means of production." In joining such opinions, Mijat Sukovic nevertheless warned that this is a rather "delicate question." He started from the fact that it is necessary to solidify even further the social security of the worker in his job, but we should "shake the legally solid security of the nonworker in his job." He did not say how that could be done, although he perceives that it is not simple.

Only a day later in Belgrade there was a meeting of the Council for Preparing the Eighth Congress of the Serbian LCY, which considered draft resolutions on the political system, science, culture, education and the media. Once more it was asserted that the texts were too broad, that the chief evaluations in them should be formulated more clearly. Among many proposals, suggestions were made that the resolution should contain chapters about the freedoms, rights and responsibilities of each person and citizen and on the freedom of creativity in scholarship. It was also asserted that the conclusions of the Serbian LCY Central Committee on the continued development of unity and community in Serbia provide an opportunity to make a step forward in the congress resolution regarding the content of the previous Congress's resolution.

It is difficult, even impossible to count all the topics that were mentioned so far in the discussions of the document for the coming congress. Although not much time remains before the congress, in the coming few months it would still be possible, and sufficient, to transform the most important elements in the draft into a projected congress decision and to offer it to the delegates for consideration.

12131
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KUMROVEC MEETING CENTERS ON FEDERAL, REGIONAL PROBLEM

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Feb 82 p 6

[Article by Seada Hodzic: "A Nonunited Approach To Unity"]

> [Text] More than three hundred scientific workers and teachers of Marxism gathered at the speaker's platform in Kumrovec for the "Marxist Week discussions," in order to examine the development of internationality relations on the basis of socialist self-management from various aspects and to clarify it in terms of theory.

What did the discussion in Kumrovec show? Was it able to reflect the relationship of our theory to social events? Did it also show the limitations of our ranges of preception in dealing with the issues of nationality relations within Yugoslavia?

We could raise questions endlessly, but we still cannot seek complete answers at a conference like this, in spite of the fact that the organizers (the center for ideological and theoretical work of both the republican and provincial central committees) tried to make this meeting an open one and a critical exchange of views. There was, of course, a great deal of dialogue, critical confrontation of views, agreements and disagreements, and some good reports, but there were also some reports that are written for all occasions, as at many similar conferences.

One of the participants in the discussion said that it seemed to him that there is no high degree of unity in our theory and scientific thought, for example, when we discuss such a sensitive theme as the existence of a united Yugoslav market under the conditions of the existence of national economies. All of us, he said, agree on the need for a united market; it is just that some of us define it differently, and others even see different ways of attaining it.

We have to admit that even the participants in this year's "Marxist week discussions" gave grounds for such a claim. For example, Kiro Gligorov supported the free operation of economic laws in the market, naturally a united one. "Taking into account the economic laws of socialist commodity production," he said, "and the economic compulsion that they contain in

themselves, along with planning as a tool for the conscious regulation of socioeconomic trends, make it possible to administer social funds, income, and the surplus of labor responsibly and efficiently, for the benefit of the workers, the organizations of associated labor, and the entire society."

He was supported in these views by Dr. Vojo Rakic, who did not agree with the views of many of the participants in the discussion that associated labor has been restricted within republican and provincial limits. He furthermore cited various forms of cooperation, commodity trade, and collaboration.

In contrast to this, Dr. Stipe Suvar, who also supports a united market, asserted that such a market does not exist, but should be organized. He said that a completely free market does not exist anywhere. In the world it is divided up among 850 multinational companies. Allowing the market to function freely does not just mean the overnight failure of two or three thousand firms, but also a danger that the underdeveloped areas might lag even further behind in development.

A fairly stormy discussion, as well as some confusion, was generated by the question of the existence of republican and provincial economic relations. One participant asked whether this conflicted with the constitutional right of associated labor to cross republican boundaries and to seek its interests outside the territory of a republic, and to unite [with other organizations].

Vukasin Stambolic said, "I have an impression that many people recoil from national economies out of fear that this concept conceals aspirations for different (ethnic) socialisms in Yugoslavia."

"Some people already shiver when national economies are mentioned," Suvar says. "Yugoslavia really could not exist at all, except possibly in the sense of the European Economic Community, if real national economies were to exist here, because this would entail separate currencies, customs, and so forth. Our republics neither have this nor are able to have it. National economies should therefore be understood in a conventional sense. Under our conditions this means the right of each national group to dispose of its surplus labor, and the right of the republics and provinces to the labor surplus created within their territory. But under the circumstances of the Yugoslav division of labor that is established by the producers themselves. This would then make the regional economies open ones, and open Yugoslavia up to the world. One of the political conditions in building associated labor is the condition that we do not allow any de-Tito-ization and de-Kardeljization, which is being thrust upon us secretly with the aim of restoring the old order. Many forces are nibbling away secretly," he said.

A National Messiah

"But even within the framework of such a conventional national economy," one of the participants in the discussion said, "there are forces that take the surplus of labor away from the producers. Who is now making the decisions in the republics and provinces on behalf of the producers and on behalf of the people?", he asked.

Dr. Suvar answered that the organized producer still does not make decisions in a self-managing manner in the region and on behalf of the people. Various intermediary forces make the decisions. We can argue and conclude whether it is the bureaucracy or the technocracy; the intelligentsia--productive and creative--which most often plays the role of the ideological advocate of a people, springs up from this and multiplies itself. One of the problems of Kosovo is the pathological increase in the intelligentsia, which was not proportionate to the development of the working class and the productive forces. It played on the card of being the messiah of the nation, the "carrier" and "savior" of the [Albanian] nation, ideologically antagonizing the Albanian population against all others and pathologically proclaiming the idea of a "pure Kosovo," because then the intelligentsia would be the cultural and social master in everything.

The discussion in Kumrovec also stimulated many other questions. Many dilemmas were opened up and many individuals were even disturbed by Vukasin Stambolic's discussion on Yugoslavism being a national orientation (he was actually conducting a polemic with the positions from the interview with Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo by the journalist Vuk Draskovic), which some of the participants of the Kumrovec roundtable perceived as an denunciation of all those declaring themselves to be Yugoslavs. In fact, the establishment of a link between Yugoslavism and the doctrine of the so-called socialist nation gave rise to several sharp reactions from the participants in the conference even thought this was expressed through criticism of the positions in the above-mentioned interview, and the interpretation of such a statement of nationality as a political symptom of some sort of future demand for such citizens to be organized as a separate political entity.

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VUKMANOVIC-TEMPO DISPUTES BAKARIC ON PARTY HISTORY

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croation 15 Feb 82 p 9

[Article by Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo: "What Did the Comintern Really Want?"]

[Text] The New Year VJESNIK published an interview with Comrade Bakaric in which he referred to my speech at the Petar Kocic Library.

The part of the interview that applies to me reads as follows: "Tempo said in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA that I was keeping silent. This was after a beautiful introduction saying that people are suppressing history, and then he said in regard to me that I was keeping silent, and then he continued by saying that no one has written the truth about 1941 in Zagreb. In the first place, I have said publicly everything that I had to say about 1941 and everything that I know. I do not know why Tempo is not aware of this. Secondly, I do not know how he can know that no one is telling the truth, because many people have written about this topic, and he was not here himself, but in Bosnia, as he says, and I do not know how he can know that no one is telling the complete truth, except unless he wanted to amuse the audience."

I must say that such a statement surprised me, because Bakaric had to be aware from my letter published in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA that there were several errors and inaccuracies in the report by its journalist about the meeting at the Petar Kocic Library. He should have found out first from there what I really said at that meeting. Since he did not do this, I have to explain how the Kerestinec case came to be mentioned, in which context I also mentioned Bakaric's name.

The Background of the Kerestinec Case Has Not Yet Been Clarified

In speaking about the suppression of history by some of the participants of the revolution, as well as some historians, I cited the parts of the memoirs of Cola Dragojceva and the book by Vladimir Dedijer which dealt with me. I saw immediately that I had made a mistake. In fact, the people present began to bring up questions that I could not answer because I did not know the subject well enough. Thus, among other things, I was asked what I thought about what Dedijer had written regarding the Kerestinec case. The question was accompanied by surprise that something like that could have happened in our party and our revolution. I did not want to answer that question, not

because I was trying to avoid answering awkward questions (I have never done that), but, as I have already emphasized, because I did not know the subject well enough. I therefore said that I was in Bosnia at that time, and that I knew some features of the Kerestinec case, like other readers, from newspaper articles published in POLITIKA on the basis of Dedijer's book. Then someone spoke up from the audience and said to me that I was Vlado Popovic's best friend and that he had probably told me about that event, since he was on the scene. I stopped for a moment. Vlado Popovic really did tell me about that event, but I felt that it was not advisable to involve a dead man in the clarification of this event. But I nevertheless wanted to say that Dedijer's writings did not clear up the Kerestinec case, and especially not the background of it. That is why I said something similar to what is included in the newspaper report; namely that of the people who were on the scene and knew what happened, Vlado Popovic is dead and Vlado Bakaric is keeping silent. At that time I forgot to mention several other people as well: for example, that Rade Koncar is also dead and the Blagoje Neskovic is also keeping silent... I repeated that no one who has written about the Kerestinec case has told the complete truth, and that Dedijer does not do this in his book either.

What Vlado Popovic Told Me

I did not intend to state what Vlado Popovic told me during the 1950's about the Kerestinec case, but since I am now called upon to do so, I have to say the following: in some way at that time I stated in the press for the first time who had attended the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia] on 4 July 1941; I also wrote that at that meeting it was decided that Zujovic, Djilas, and I would leave for Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Hercegovina in order to organize the armed struggle. We had extraordinary authority. Vlado Popovic criticized me for not writing that he went to Croatia with the same task. I answered that he had not attended the Politburo meeting and that I did not know how he had received such a task and such authority. He told me that on the following day he had visited Comrade Tito and that he was then given the same task with the same authority. At the same time he told me the kind of difficulties that he had encountered in Zagreb. Among other things, he told me about the background of the Kerestinec case. According to his story, a Comintern tactic, well known from the time of the factional struggles within our party, was then being repeated. People who were otherwise good Communists, in the leadership of the Communist party of Croatia, were being slandered for not following the Comintern line (in regard to the armed struggle), and some even for being agents of the class enemy. This, of course, was a well known operation, tested several times, and in all likelihood organized by the Comintern, in order to replace the leadership at that time, as was finally done. A Comintern dispatch replaced the slandered leadership, and in place of it a mandator (Kopinic) was named to constitute a new leadership. This mandator began to contact inficual Communists in order to form a new leadership. Popovic cited the names of several Communists who would have agreed to form part of that new leadership.

When Popovic learned about all of this, he immediately informed Comrade Tito in Belgrade, feeling that the entire action was directed not only against

the Croatian leadership but against Comrade Tito as well. Comrade Tito formed a commission to investigate the entire case. Blagoje Neskovic went from Belgrade to Zagreb. The commission determined what was going on and wrote a report for the Central Committee. It also proposed party punishments for several communists. The proposed punishments were for the most part adopted by the Central Committee. It is not important that some of the punishments were reduced. The important thing is that the punishments were imposed, not just because of the Kerestinec case, but also because of their conduct in attempting to overthrow the existing leadership and replace it with a new one, which would obviously have been in accordance with the will of the Comintern. But the main actor (Kopinic), who apparently did all of this at the order of the Comintern, could not be punished. He was directly responsible to the Comintern for his work. Thus the Central Committee of the CPY could not punish him, but it suggested to the Comintern that he also be punished; the Comintern, however, did not accept this proposal. Naturally, all of this is what I recall of what Vlado Popovic told me in the 1950's. Comparing this with the parts of Dedijer's book published in POLITIKA, as well as his statements that there are several documents that cannot be published because of the "historical distance," I concluded that the full truth had not yet been stated about the Kerestinec case. And when I read Bakaric's letter (or note) to Dedijer, in which he stated some minor and actually insignificant criticisms, I concluded that Bakaric was keeping silent. This is what I said when the participants in the talks at the Petar Kocic Library insisted that I answer the questions about the Kerestinec case. The newspaper reporter distorted this, but the substance remained unchanged.

The Policy and Intentions of the Comintern

It can be seen from what Bakaric is writing now and his reactions to what Dedijer wrote that he kept silent in regard to the background of the entire "case," in regard to what was to be achieved by replacing the leadership of the Communist Party of Croatia. When it is a question of whether the Comintern was conducting a policy of dividing Yugoslavia, I have to say that it is difficult to accept the position that Bakaric stated in VJESNIK. Furthermore, I do not feel that the attempt to replace the leadership of the Communist Party of Croatia was necessarily a result of the Comintern's intention to separate the Croation Communist Party from the rest of Yugoslavia and thus make it possible to divide up Yugoslavia, as Dedijer claims. I do not have any proof for something like this, but this was Vlado Popovic's view when he told me about the Kerestinec case. But even without this, such a conclusion is indicated by the dispatch from the Executive Committee of the Comintern, which was sent to our Party sometime (I think) around the end of March 1941; this document said that the CPY should not fight to defend the borders of Yugoslavia. This, in my opinion, cannot mean anything other than creating the conditions for a future division of Yugoslavia, naturally under more favorable circumstances. This is why it is necessary, instead of a facile rejection of Dedijer's thesis that this was an attempt to divide Yugoslavia (which had already been divided by the occupier), to initiate further investigation of the background of the attempt to replace the leadership of the Croation Communist Party, especially if one takes into account what happened somewhat earlier in Macedonia.

There is even less justification for saying that Satorov's attempt to separate the organization of the Macedonian Communists from the CPY and attach it to the Communist Party of Bulgaria was a purely internal affair of the Yugoslav Communists and that Comintern policy was not responsible for it. If this were so, Satorov's action would have been prevented quickly. In fact, the Macedonian Communists were willing to remain part of the CPY, but many circumstances indicate that this was a long-term and well thought out action. First of all, the Comintern sent Satorov to Macedonia to be appointed secretary of the LCY PK for Maceonia. This is what Comrade Tito told me when I was supposed to form the leadership of the Macedonian Communists in 1940. If Satorov's later action are taken into account, it can be concluded that he was sent with "ulterior" motives. In the second place, when Yugoslavia surrendered and the country was divided up by the occupiers, Satorov felt that favorable conditions had come about for separating the organization of the Communists in Macedonia from the LCY and attaching it to the Communist Party of Bulgaria. In doing this he called for a decision by the Comintern, and it was necessary to wait for months until the Comintern decision finally arrived (although there was regular and almost daily radio communication). In the third place, the Comintern decision was formulated in such a way that it left enough leeway to prevent the development of an armed struggle in Macedonia, in order to create more favorable conditions later on for Macedonia to be finally "annexed" to Bulgaria, thus dividing up Yugoslavia. This can easily be established if one studies the documents available from the time before, during, and after the war.

Erroneous Directives and Predictions

It is a somewhat more complex question whether the leadership in Serbia (Neskovic), following the withdrawal from western Serbia, conducted a Comintern policy in regard to the armed struggle against the occupiers. It is difficult to defend the arguments of Bakaric that the Comintern line was not that the struggle should be carried out in the cities and not in the hills, that Neskovic did not have any connection with the Comintern, that there are not any documents from which it could be seen that Neskovic was presenting the creation of new units, etc. On the contrary, all of these "arguments" should be subjected to thorough analysis. It is correct that at the beginning of the war (in 1941) the Comintern called for a struggle against the occupiers in the hills and the cities. Even Stalin, in his November speech, emphasized the struggle of the Yugoslav partisans. The Comintern directive, however, was that this was not a socialist revolution, but only a struggle against the occupiers. The Communist parties (except for ours and some others) understood this directive to mean that the socialist revolution was still to come and that it would be conducted in the cities, just as in the case of the October Revolution. Preference in the struggle against the occupiers was therefore still given to the struggle in the cities. This may explain the fact that none of the countries in which the Communists adopted this line developed a national armed uprising until just before the end of the war. After all, in his November speeches Stalin no longer praised the struggles of the Yugoslav partisans (although we had achieved many more successes), but rather stressed the strikes by workers in France. And in the Comintern circles, according to Vlahovic, it was said that our party was isolated in the hills and that the

armed uprising would be inevitably defeated. All of this throws a very clear light on the nature of the Comintern line.

It obviously follows from this that it was not necessary to have direct contact with the Comintern in order to be actually following its line. This is confirmed by the practice of many Communist parties that did not have direct contact with the Comintern but carried out its line and lost the chance, which is rarely offered, of achieving victory in a socialist revolution.

A separate question is what kind of line was followed in Serbia after the withdrawal of the supreme headquarters and the main body of our forces from western Serbia. This question has not yet been cleared up; there are no documents available that could help to answer it. Conclusions can only be drawn indirectly, on the basis of certain facts. These facts are as follows: first, after the withdrawal about 2,000 soldiers returned to the area of western Serbia from Sandzak (they came to their own area and remained there until they were completely destroyed!). Secondly, at the same time over 2,000 soldiers were in the partisan units in the area of southeast Serbia and Sumadija; the occupier forces conducted an offensive against them and decimated them, but did not destroy them (these units held on for the entire war and by 1943 developed into brigades, and in the first half of 1944 into divisions). Thirdly, during all of this time, up until the middle of 1943, the leadership of the LCK PK for Serbia was located in the city (Belgrade). Military and political leaders (Mirko Tomic, Moma Markovic, and others) who were almost irreplaceable in the field were even withdrawn from the field (from the units), and were not able to contribute a great deal in the city in view of the fact that they were known to the police and could not move freely so that they were prevented from working in the city. In the fourth place, until the middle of 1943, almost no workers were sent from the cities to the existing partisan units, although the workers, and especially the youth in the cities were willing to join the partisans (there were also opportunities to accept and distribute these people among the existing partisan units, especially in southeast Serbia).

An Orientation That Cost Us a Great Deal

These are the facts, on the basis of which it is not difficult to conclude that the predominant orientation among the Serbian leadership was nevertheless to remain in the cities, i.e. that the center of the struggle was in the cities. If this assessment is correct, it has to be said that such an orientation cost our party a great deal. We lost the best Communists in raids in the cities (Mirko Tomic and others); all of the partisan units in western Serbia were crushed; the partisan units in southeast Serbia and Sumadija were decimated; and the development of the national liberation struggle in Serbia was considerably slowed. Such a state of affairs cannot be explained by the attitude of the population, because in 1941 it had entered the struggle against the occupiers on a mass scale, nor by the strength of the occupiers and their servants. It is thus a mistake to claim that the orientation of the Serbian leadership was not to remain in the cities.

Finally, I am extremely surprised by the way in which Bakaric is attempting to neutralize my speech at the Petar Kocic Library: first of all by how he can state, even as a hypothesis, that I was talking about these problems (the Kerestinec case) in order to "amuse the audience," and in the second place, by why he did not inquire about the kind of audience that attended the meeting before stating this hypothesis. Those present were the leading people in our revolution, historians, and other public figures, who would not have accepted anything that had been stated "in order to amuse the audience."

I also must refer to the article by Marinko Gruic, the president of the VJESNIK SOUR [complex organization of associated labor]. He actually says that certain economists have taken up some of my positions, and that these positions are unacceptable to the LCY. To tell the truth, he did not say which positions these were, and so it is impossible for me to answer him, although I feel that among Communists all issues should be discussed publicly and without allusions. This is all the more true because we are about to hold the LCY congresses, at which Communists, through their delegates, are to formulate the line that we all have to adhere to until the following congress. There are no issues that can be excluded from the pre-congress discussion--the LCY Central Committee does not have this right, and individuals in particular do not have it. If it were done otherwise, the line of the LCY would not be established by the Communists through their delegates to the congresses, but rather by the existing leadership, whose mandate is to expire with the convening of the congress. It is natural to expect that there will be a minority and a majority in this discussion. The minority has to be an equal partner in the discussion, until the Congress adopts the position of the majority, to which the minority must then yield. This is the essence of democratic centralism. We will not abide by it if various restrictions are placed on the questions that can be discussed.

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LCY JOURNAL NOTES USSR, EAST EUROPE'S CHANGING VIEWS ON NONALIGNMENT

Belgrade SOCIJALIZAM in Serbo-Croatian No 12, Dec 81 pp 1987-2002

[Article by Jelica Kurjak: "USSR and Other Countries of the 'Socialist Community' on Nonalignment"]

[Text] I. Some Introductory Remarks

This article, as the title indicates, will examine the attitude of the USSR and the countries of the "socialist community" toward the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment. It is beyond question that a topic so stated requires a deeper, broader and more all-inclusive analysis than an article of this kind and length can offer. The article, then, will deal with only certain aspects of this problem, and that in turn necessitates certain preliminary explanations:

First, the analysis of the attitude of the USSR and the countries of the "socialist community" toward nonalignment will be based primarily on Soviet theoretical and political thought. This thought usually coincides with Soviet party and government stands: it represents to the greatest degree a specific statement of Soviet party and government policy as concerns the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment. However, often led by the pragmatic interests of a great power, Soviet government policy toward the nonaligned movement sometimes departs from the stands taken in theory.

Second, the paper will analyze above all the positions and assessments of the USSR, since the party and government stands of a majority of the countries of the "socialist community" toward the nonaligned movement and policy of nonalignment coincide with the positions of the CPSU and Soviet theoretical thought.

Since among the countries of the "socialist community" only the positions of Romania toward the policy of nonalignment and the nonaligned movement differ essentially from those taken by the other members, something more will be said about those views in particular.

II. Factors Which Determine the Attitude of the USSR and the Countries of the "Socialist Community" Toward Nonalignment

The following trend has been evident for many years now in Soviet political theory and in the political attitude of the Soviet Union toward the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment: the nonaligned movement and policy of nonalignment are looked upon as a reserve of the "world socialist system," on the one hand, but on the other those principles of the policy of nonalignment which coincide with the strategic interests of the USSR as a great power in international relations are likewise taken up.

The attitude of the USSR and a majority of the countries of the "socialist community" toward the nonaligned movement and policy of nonalignment are determined both by domestic and international factors. We will discuss several of the most important ones here.

a) Global Soviet doctrine concerning international relations, affirmed back in the time of the Stalinistic period, with corrections imposed by the everyday policy of the Soviet Union toward the developing countries, is the basis of present Soviet policy toward the nonaligned countries. This doctrine is based on competition between the blocs, on rigid political verdicts against capitalist practice in the underdeveloped part of the world, with pronounced emphasis on the political significance of the help of the socialist camp in liberating the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America from the imperialist economic yoke.

b) Another factor which influences the attitude of the USSR and a majority of the East European socialist countries toward the policy of nonalignment is certainly the fact that the Soviet Union has created a firm alliance of the countries of the "socialist community" as the basic counterweight to the other side with respect to the lineup of forces in the world.

The "alliance" established in this way makes it necessary to preserve its compactness at all costs and not to allow any forces of adhesion to have a disuniting effect on the group which considers itself the basic instrument in the struggle against imperialism and for peace and progress in the world. In that context the role of the nonaligned countries is most frequently reduced merely to an additional strength of the countries of the "socialist community" in their struggle against imperialism in the world.

c) At the time when the nonaligned movement was taking political shape, the Soviet Union looked upon this phenomenon in international relations as a chimera, a short-lived creation, a group of countries whose principal aim was nonparticipation in the blocs. Over the years, however, the nonaligned movement has become stronger, gaining ever greater relative importance in international relations.

In the light of these factors one can note several tendencies in the attitude of the Soviet Union toward the policy of nonalignment. First is the result of the endeavor to have the issues of the international community resolved in the framework of a confrontation between two socioeconomic, political and military

blocs, which accounts for the Soviet Union's reserved attitude toward countries with a nonaligned foreign policy orientation. The present bloc structure is so constituted as to exclude any third force as a significant factor in international relations, whatever kind of motives and aims it might have.

The second is related to the position that the most important issues of peace and progress can be resolved solely within the framework of the countries making up the "world socialist system," since it does in fact follow from that position, as soon as the possibility is eliminated for there to be any other force representing a peaceful world. That is why the nonaligned movement is reduced to a reserve of the countries of the "world socialist system," and the desire is to subordinate the policy of nonalignment to the foreign political interests of the countries of the "socialist community." That is why the nonaligned countries are acceptable to the USSR only if they can be placed in some economic, ideological or political relationship of a subordinate partner, a junior ally. It is felt, then, that the nonaligned countries are more suitable as individual partners.

The attitude of the USSR toward the developing countries, a majority of which belong to the nonaligned movement, is therefore based on this strategic policy. Theses have indeed appeared along these lines in Soviet theoretical and journalistic articles concerning a division of the developing countries into groupings as a function of the class structure of those societies and of the prospects of their socioeconomic and political transformation. This division, as we shall see, essentially reflects greater or lesser Soviet interest either in particular regions or in individual countries.

On the basis of this division the developing countries have been put in three groups: the first group is made up of countries in which the national bourgeoisie has taken a basically anticolonial stand as the ruling class, but is at the same time standing in the way of the transition to an anticapitalist development strategy. The second group is made up of countries in which, according to Soviet conceptions, the class structure of society has not been clearly differentiated, and the choice of strategy in social development has not yet been clearly defined. In the third group are countries which have committed themselves to what is referred to as a noncapitalist development strategy. According to the Soviet conception, these countries are in the first, democratic phase of social development toward socialism. That is indeed why they are the closest allies of the "world socialist system" and the international working class movement. After all, according to this thesis, countries with a noncapitalistic orientation in social development are opening up encouraging prospects of entering upon the road of the socialist transformation of society in the course of their further struggle and with the abundant aid of the Soviet Union and the countries of the "socialist community." This thesis is based on the position that the noncapitalist strategy is the first stage of transformation in the direction of socialism.

Third, given the division into blocs and the confrontation between them, the Soviet attitude toward the nonaligned countries also expresses the aspiration that the nonaligned countries represent a permanent "second echelon" in the machinery of force with which the Soviet Union exerts pressure on the other

side. It is for that reason that the Soviet Union accepts such principles of the policy of nonalignment as the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, the struggle for peace in the world, the struggle to change existing economic relations of domination, which represent an important weapon of the nonaligned movement in gaining respect from the two great powers. One of the terms used frequently for the nonaligned countries--the "reserve army of socialism," which made its appearance in Soviet political terminology in the early seventies, clearly indicates the character of the Soviet attitude toward nonalignment.

The conclusion can be drawn from these tendencies in the attitude of the USSR toward the nonaligned movement and policy of nonalignment that the Soviet Union has been suspicious toward every idea, initiative and especially autonomous policy independent of its influence that has been conducted by the grouping of nonaligned countries, and it is not very likely that it will cease to be suspicious in the future. In view of the ideological and political nature of the "socialist community" and the principles of relations on which it is based, a majority of the countries of this grouping, with the exception of Romania, have an almost identical attitude toward the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment.

III. Evolution of Conceptions

In the period up until the sixties official Soviet political thought did not acknowledge the progressive character of national movements in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Only the communist parties were recognized as a transmission of the policy of the CPSU and of the Soviet Union toward the colonies and the newly liberated countries. For long years the communist parties were directed toward a politically implacable line vis-a-vis the national and anticolonial forces. This policy, recurrences and traces of which are noticeable even today, put many parties on the fringes of political events in those countries.

Only at the 20th CPSU Congress did a somewhat more flexible attitude coward the struggle of peoples for national liberation begin to be taken. It was stated at that congress that the "forces of peace have been strengthened considerably by the appearance on the world scene of the group of peaceful European and Asian states which have proclaimed nonparticipation in the military blocs as a principle of their foreign policy. The "'extensive peace zone' encompassing states of Europe and Asia--socialist and nonsocialist--and comprising more than half of the population of the world" was created in the world as a consequence.[1] Even though it had been noted that "new forces" had made their appearance on the world scene, it was even in that period that the struggle and aspirations of the newly liberated countries began to be equated with the actions of the socialist countries assembled in the military bloc organization of the Warsaw Pact. Thus actually from the very first steps of creating an independent policy and a more organized activity of the newly liberated countries in international relations Soviet political thought narrowed the nature of the struggle of countries to free themselves of every sort of dependency. It was thus stated even at the 22d CPSU Congress that these countries "often call themselves neutral," but it was stressed that the "newly

liberated countries cannot be neutral on the essential issues of the present time--the issue of war and peace."[2]

It is beyond question that this initial interpretation of the policy of nonalignment greatly restricts its outlines, since if the policy of nonalignment is reduced solely to the struggle for peace and against war, then it comes down to a less important segment of international relations, to a supplement to those forces which are in essence fighting for peace: and those are the socialist countries. However, it is well known that the social and historic role of the policy of nonalignment and the nonaligned movement is not restricted solely to this set of world problems, but "through its struggle for the independence and equality of peoples in international relations, for their security and peace, for peaceful coexistence among peoples and for their active mutual cooperation on the foundations of equality and equal responsibility, the nonaligned movement has been deeply involved in all domains of international relations."[3]

The strong anticolonial and anti-imperialist component of the movement in the phase of its coming into being was not in conflict with the interests of the Soviet Union. What is more, it was an element of pressure on the other side, the United States and the West. The ever greater affirmation of the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment in international relations even brought about a greater interest on the part of the USSR in events within this movement. In the late sixties articles were published in which there was discussion of "the progressive bloc of democratic forces in the newly liberated countries" as a "class-oriented vehicle of the transformation for socialism, in which the working class is the principal component."[4] However, in those countries one could not speak of a working class in the conventional meaning of that term, much less a working class that would figure as the vehicle of socialist social transformations. Soviet political thought had begun even then to associate every qualitative social transformation with the process of its transformation into a socialist revolution, which later it would continue with increasing intensiveness and straightforwardness. The activity of the Soviet Union and CPSU from such position has been aimed more and more toward extending ideological and political influence on the developing countries, which, according to Soviet assessments, have started out on the road of socialist development.

It is along the same lines that one can interpret the view that "the common interests of the world socialist system and the national liberation movements objectively constitutes the basis for close cooperation between the socialist countries and the developing countries. Today the struggle of the world socialist system, the international communist and working class movement, and the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the former colonies or semicolonies have merged to form a single and powerful revolutionary torrent directed against imperialism and toward building a new life."[5] This view encourages the conclusion that the struggle of all progressive forces is being equated with the vital interests of the countries of the "world socialist system." Very little space is left in that relationship for the independent activity of any ideology, movement or of individual countries in international relations.

Moreover, on the one hand the Soviet Union was preoccupied by its relationship with the other superpower in the mid-sixties, while the movement of the nonaligned was during that period in the phase of clearer definition of its position in international relations. These factors had a significant influence on the attitude of the USSR and the CPSU toward the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment.

In the political documents and indeed even in the journalism of the Soviet Union the very term nonalignment was long avoided; documents from the conferences of the nonaligned were not published, and very little was also written about the specific actions of the nonaligned countries and of the movement as a whole.

Insofar as the nonaligned movement has become stronger and its strength has become increasingly influential in the international community, the countries of the socialist camp have shown an ever greater measure of respect, but the essential reserve concerning it has persisted. The highest government leaders of the Soviet Union and of certain countries of the "socialist community" have regularly sent greetings in which they expressed support to the conferences of heads of state or government of the nonaligned countries, but the actual attitude of the countries of the "socialist community" and USSR toward the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment has still remained within the limits of respecting the progressive character of the struggle of the newly liberated countries.

The thesis that the nonaligned countries constitute a "reserve of the world socialist system" made its appearance back at the time of the First Conference of the Nonaligned in 1961. Over the years it has step by step grown into the thesis of the so-called /natural alliance of the nonaligned/ [emphasis in the original] with the countries of the so-called world socialist system.

Beginning in 1971 the constructive role of the nonaligned movement in the world is emphasized in the treaties which the Soviet Union has been concluding with certain nonaligned countries. The Soviet Union's attitude toward nonalignment can be described as more flexible. The following factors have had a bearing on this: first, the number of nonaligned countries has increased considerably, and this has thereby increased their importance and influence on settlement of issues of interest to the international community as a whole. Second, the process of the relaxation of international tension and recognition of the status quo as the point of departure for further development of relations between the blocs. Third, the process of the opening up of the People's Republic of China to the outside world and especially toward the nonaligned countries and toward the United States has revealed its aspirations to take up more favorable positions in international relations. When we bear in mind that PR China began to develop its relations with the nonaligned countries by offering various types of material assistance to the underdeveloped countries, relations which in ideological terms were based on the assertion of identical goals with the Third World, to which China itself belongs, then it is understandable that this should have resulted in a greater interest of the Soviet Union in the developing countries and likewise brought about its more flexible attitude toward the nonaligned countries. Yet views toward the policy of

nonalignment did not undergo essential change in that period except for discussion of a broader range of basic principles on which the policy of nonalignment is based.

Views were also taken in this period whereby support was given to the struggle of the nonaligned countries to establish fairer political and economic relations in the world. That support is most frequently expressed in the following terms: "The present system of international relations cannot be justified as viable if it contains economic inequality, if its essence, as in the past, is still economic pressure. That is why the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, and all progressive forces in the world see it as one of their most important tasks in the international field to create and develop new relations in the sphere of economic ties among states with differing social systems. Abolishing the elements of inequality in the domain of international economic relations will eliminate one of the causes of conflicts between states and peoples and will create a structure of the contemporary world which will be distinguished by stability."[6]

The strength of the nonaligned movement and of the policy of nonalignment, its influence on international events and its prestige in the world community are beginning to exert ever greater influence on Soviet views toward nonalignment; even certain actions of the movement, which previously were not spoken about, are being honored. However, the existence of the movement itself is made strictly dependent upon the "existence of the socialist countries which stand against imperialism and restrain it."[7] In addition, the principal source of the strength of the augmented influence of the young independent countries is explained by the "development of comprehensive relations with the Soviet Union and the 'socialist community' as a whole, which possesses both the economic and military power and is on the side of the national liberation movements of the young states in their struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism and for social progress."[8]

The phrase "nonaligned movement" was used for the first time at the 25th CPSU Congress, and then only in passing, in a report of the CPSU Central Committee, but not in the introductory section of the report which L. I. Brezhnev read at the congress. Since that congress the views of the Soviet Union and of the CPSU toward the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment have also contained certain new elements: with ever greater frequency emphasis has been put on the importance of the nonaligned countries in the struggle for peace in the world and for establishment of more equitable economic and political relations. But the anti-imperialist character of the policy of nonalignment is still put foremost, which opens up room for emphasizing the thesis of the need for a unified effort by the nonaligned countries and the countries of the "socialist community" against imperialism.

The Conference of Communist and Worker Parties held in 1976 in Berlin had a significant impact on the views of the CPSU and the USSR.

The European Conference of Communist and Worker Parties assessed the nonaligned movement favorably. The final document of that conference states: "The movement of nonaligned states in which a majority of the developing

countries are taking part is today one of the most important factors in world politics. It is making an active contribution to the struggle for peace, security, relaxation of tension and equal cooperation, for creation of an equitable system of international political and economic relations, and to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and all forms of domination and exploitation."[9]

L. I. Brezhnev in fact cited almost the same elements of the policy of nonalignment contained in the final document of the Berlin conference in his speech at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in October 1976. However, remnants of the old assessments of the nonaligned movement from the camp-oriented viewpoint are still noticeable, especially in the platform offered on development of relations and cooperation of the USSR and the countries of the "socialist community" with the countries of the nonaligned movement as well as in the view toward the goals which that movement advocates. Greater emphasis than in the past is put on the need for unity of the developing countries and the progressive forces of the nonaligned movement with the "world socialist system" in the struggle against imperialism and for peace in the world.

The need for a joint offensive of the nonaligned countries with the "socialist community" in the struggle against imperialism has been emphasized ever more frequently and straightforwardly since the 25th CPSU Congress, which marked the beginning of development of the thesis of the "natural alliance" of the "socialist community" and the nonaligned countries.

The ever longer chain of nonaligned countries is supposed to comprise the political and material foundation of the "natural alliance." The needs of a number of nonaligned countries to consolidate newly won independence, pressures from the United States or the former colonial powers, and the danger of aggression and destabilization have directed some of these countries to seek military aid and material and political support from the Soviet Union. Participating in building up armed forces in a number of nonaligned countries through deliveries of military supplies, by training military personnel and by sending in military experts, the Soviet Union has endeavored to make its presence in those nonaligned countries permanent through the involvement of all government-party and bloc structures.

Disputes between certain nonaligned countries, the emergence of hegemonistic ambitions and territorial aspirations of certain nonaligned countries toward their neighbors also opened up more room for the activity of the great powers. It is therefore stressed that "the joining of Cuba and later of such countries as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, North Korea, the People's Republic of Angola and Mozambique, which earned particular credit in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism has had a particular importance in bringing the nonaligned countries closer to the 'socialist community'" as well as in "strengthening the authority and constructive tendencies in the movement."[10] The common "struggle against imperialism, colonialism and aggression" is still emphasized as the firmest link of this "natural alliance."[11] In that way the essence of the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment is still reduced to its anti-imperialist orientation. Conclusions are drawn on the basis of this conception of the nonaligned movement to the effect that "cooperation

between the Soviet Union and a majority of the nonaligned countries has been furthered by their identical or similar views concerning a number of international problems." According to this conception, this follows from the "fact that the nonaligned movement emerged thanks to the existence and strengthening of the world socialist system and that it is guided by the principles of peaceful coexistence. This places it in the closest natural relationship with the socialist countries."[12]

In the Soviet opinion, the nonaligned countries and the countries of the "world socialist system" have identical views on the following issues: "disarmament, enhancement of the policy of relaxation of tension in the world, which would then be followed by a military relaxation of tension, and also concerning the struggle to abolish the remnants of colonialistic and imperialistic rule aimed at ensuring respect for the principles of peaceful coexistence and redistribution of international economic relations."[13]

This attitude toward nonalignment is based on the well known Soviet view that "for socialist countries there can be no nonalignment in the struggle between socialism and capitalism in the world," and that between socialist states "the principles of nonalignment do not apply, but rather they are bound by the principles of socialist internationalism, which regulate relations among socialist states."[14]

Soviet publications and the press of a majority of the countries of the "socialist community," proceeding from the principles on which relations between socialist and nonaligned countries should be based, have expressed a "fear" since the 1979 meeting of the nonaligned in Havana of an alleged "departure of the nonaligned movement from its basic principles: the struggle against the blocs."[15] It was stated at that time that "some third party" is attempting to "distance the movement from its primary role--protection of the majority, and that its policy is undergoing reorientation so that it is not directed against imperialism, but toward movement away from the world of socialism and the world of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Since there are supposedly such tendencies in the movement, and especially because they are urged by some third party, it was emphasized after Havana that "the anti-imperialist platform devised in Havana, which suits the long-term interests of the nonaligned countries, is an important factor in the movement's real resolution."[16] "The opponents of nonalignment," it is most often stressed, "attempted in Havana to break up the movement, but they were condemned to failure." Why? According to this conception, the opponents of nonalignment "lost sight of the fact that in spite of the policy of imperialism and certain disagreements that exist between participants in the nonaligned movement, they are all part of a movement which is not stagnating, but is gaining in strength and size all the time. The point is that the nonaligned movement is the movement against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid. The conference in Havana once again confirmed this very eloquently."[17]

Assessing the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment in this way, Soviet thought is endeavoring to reduce the essence and aims of the policy of

nonalignment and the nonaligned movement to the essence and goals of its own strategy in international relations, especially as concerns the other great power.

A majority of the countries of the "socialist community" have taken almost identical stands concerning the role, character and prospects of the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment since the Conference of the Nonaligned in Havana. It is most often stressed that the conference in Havana was an "important new stage in the struggle to strengthen the movement's guiding principle--repulsion of imperialist attempts and unity of the movement's goals with the struggle of the countries of the socialist community, their natural ally."[18]

At the same time the constructive role of the nonaligned movement, its importance in the struggle for relaxation of international tension and for disarmament, as well as for establishment of fairer economic and political relations in the world is emphasized with increasing frequency in Soviet publications and speeches by the top party and government leaders. This position might lead one to the conclusion that the Soviet Union is willing to honor a broader range of original principles of the policy of nonalignment and also problems, demands and goals of the movement as a whole. However, the essence of these statements and writings is usually a function of global Soviet strategy concerning the attitude toward the developing countries, a function of the political, economic, ideological and military rapprochement and inclusion of those countries in the general front of the struggle of the countries of the "world socialist system" against imperialism. Aside from emphasizing the constructive role of the nonaligned movement in the world, then, "joint action with the countries of the socialist community on behalf of peace" is always put in the first place.[19]

Criticism of the conception of so-called equal distance from the military and political blocs followed in fact from the thesis of the necessity of joint action by the nonaligned countries with the countries of the "socialist community." The criticism of this conception emphasizes that "the West wants to deprive this movement (the nonaligned movement--J. K.) first of all of its anti-imperialist cutting edge and ... to bring it into conflict with the socialist countries. That is why the imperialists and the Maoists support or inject into the movement the conception of 'equal distance' from the imperialist and socialist countries. This conception is based on the simplest logic of one who has committed a crime: what I don't steal, someone else will."[20]

Following the assessment that the theory of "equal distance" is upheld by "those who supposedly want to preserve the purity of the nonaligned movement" and to distance "the friendly socialist countries from the movement," it is emphasized that the "conception of 'equidistance' is malicious because it is based on false and artificial interpretations instead of on an objective scientific analysis of the lineup of forces in the world."[21] The purpose here is essentially to emphasize that the nonaligned must maintain an awareness of who their friends are and who their enemies are. Along these lines it is emphasized that "reducing world politics to rivalry" between the "great powers" in a struggle for spheres of influence means closing one's eyes to the struggle

between the two opposed social systems. "Since the world is divided into two hostile camps," there "should be no dilemma with respect to the choice of allies" for the countries of the nonaligned movement, according to that conception. After all, the "theory of 'equidistance,' which sets the nonaligned countries in opposition to the socialist world, actually leaves them to confront imperialism alone, deprives them of the firm point of support offered them by the solidarity of the other anti-imperialist forces. Many nonaligned countries have a different approach to this problem."[22] There is no doubt that such criticism is indirectly addressed to those forces in the nonaligned movement which are advocating that the movement develop in the future on its original principles.

On the eve of the conference of ministers of the nonaligned countries in New Delhi, assessments appeared in the Soviet daily press about how "the imperialists are attempting to accomplish a revision of the anti-imperialist orientation of the movement," that "someone is imposing" all sorts of conceptions on the nonaligned countries: concerning equal distance from the blocs and "counteraction of bloc policy," and that "what is more, someone is attempting to impart to the movement an antisocialist and anti-Soviet character."[23] In the context of the marked fear that the movement is allegedly turning from its positions, criticism has also been expressed concerning the movement's behavior. It has been stated in this sense that the movement is concerning itself with "cardinal," but not "specific issues." The reference in specific terms is to the following: "recently attempts have been made to impose the so-called Afghanistan question on the nonaligned movement. Nor have attempts been abandoned to reassess the decisions of the conference in Havana."[24] At the basis of these most recent Soviet views is the essence of their attitude toward the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment: the movement, as is often emphasized, is an important factor in international relations and a progressive force in the world, and therefore its acceptability as a partner in joint action increases directly with its distance from the forces of imperialism and its closeness to its "friends," the forces of the "world socialist system." It was along these lines that L. I. Brezhnev spoke about nonalignment in his report at the 26th CPSU Congress on 23 February 1981. He emphasized that the nonaligned movement is an "important factor in international relations" and that the strength of the movement lies in its "orientation against imperialism, colonialism, war and aggression." In the official view of the CPSU, "the key to a further strengthening of the role of the nonaligned movement in world politics lies in its devotion to its own fundamental principles."[25] Most probably the reference is to those principles of the policy of nonalignment which, as seen by the CPSU and a majority of the parties of the countries of the "socialist community," constitute the foundation of the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment.

By contrast with Soviet views concerning the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment and also the views of a majority of the countries of the "socialist community," the Communist Party of Romania has taken a basically different attitude toward nonalignment.

Romania has always emphasized the historic role of the nonaligned movement in the struggle for the liberation of peoples from domination of all kinds, in

the struggle for peace in the world, "for strong affirmation of the principles of complete equality, respect for independence and national sovereignty, nonintervention in internal affairs, renunciation of force and threat of force, as well as for equal and mutually beneficial cooperation."[26] This attitude toward a nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment has been especially emphasized since Romania began to attend conferences of the nonaligned as an observer (the 1975 meeting of ministers of the nonaligned countries in Lima). Romania accepts the original principles of the nonaligned movement as the principles on which fairer economic and political relations can be established in the present-day world.

Conceiving the nonaligned movement as an alternative in development of the contemporary world, Romania often emphasizes that attempts at intervention and subjugation of the nonaligned countries are unacceptable. At the same time it emphasizes that dangers to the movement itself and to the policy of nonalignment are also originating from within the movement itself, but that it has the strength and ability to overcome them on its own. Along those lines the first secretary of the Communist Party of Romania emphasizes that Romania "feels that in present international conditions everything needs to be done to preserve and strengthen the unity of the movement of nonaligned countries so that the activity of that movement, the activity of the states within it, is directed precisely toward relaxation of tension, toward cooperation and peace, toward elimination of force and the threat of force from international life. Perhaps more than in the past the movement of nonaligned countries should put emphasis on strengthening and consolidating the nonalignment of states."[27] That is why the representative of the Communist Party of Romania advocated the principles of "equality, sovereignty, and nonintervention in the internal affairs of others" at the Conference of Communist and Worker Parties and National Liberation Movements held in October 1980 in Berlin.

One of the most important questions of the contemporary world whose resolution is in the vital interest of the nonaligned countries is establishment of more equitable economic relations in the world. The pragmatism of Soviet ideological and political goals is especially manifested in connection with this question--establishment of the new international economic order. The historic inevitability of establishing equal economic relations has in the Soviet Union and the countries of the "socialist community" long been a secondary area of interest and activity. The reasons for this position should be sought in the fact of the economic equality of the capitalist world and the socialist world, which is unacceptable for the Soviet Union. Within the context of this view it is most often emphasized that the USSR and the other socialist countries cannot bear responsibility for the plundering of the developing countries by the former colonizers and the present neocolonizers. This attitude is based on the Soviet view toward the developing countries and nonalignment. That is, if the basis of relations is contained in the view that the nonaligned countries do not have "tried and true" friends in the countries of the "world socialist system," then, according to their conception, it is natural that the socialist countries cannot be responsible for the poverty of the developing countries. The Soviet criticism of the "conception of 'equal responsibility' of capitalism and socialism for the political and military tension in the world and for the backwardness and present difficulties of the developing

countries" follows in fact from criticism of the conception of "equidistance."[28] Since "colonialism does not want to pay the bill, it attempts to lead the developing countries to the idea that all the advanced countries are responsible for their troubles, all the 'rich' nations, including, of course, the socialist countries."[29] However, there is obviously a substitution of arguments involved here: after all, responsibility for the causes that led to the present situation in the world is one thing and the historical need and necessity to correct inequality by establishing equal relations between the rich and poor countries is something else.

For reasons that have to do with disagreement with the essence of the demand to establish fair economic relations, the term "new international economic order" has long been put in quotes in the Soviet press. However, when the ideas and initiatives for establishing the new international economic order met with the broadest support of the developing countries and the nonaligned countries, including even a number of the advanced capitalist countries, the Soviet Union's view has been becoming more flexible. This attitude is motivated in large part by the fear that should it negate these initiatives and take a position of rejection, it might let slip the still awaited opportunity for penetration of Soviet influence into certain countries and regions, that is, the interests of the Soviet Union in certain developing countries might be jeopardized. Along those lines there have been texts in which the views were expressed that "the present system of international relations cannot be accepted if it contains economic inequality.... Rejection of the elements of inequality in the domain of international economic relations will eliminate one of the sources of conflicts among states and will create a structure of the contemporary world which will be distinguished by stability."[30]

The Soviet Union's approach to the new international economic order presupposes above all maintaining and pursuing the basic goals of Soviet policy toward the developing countries. Dominant among those goals is the aspiration of tying certain nonaligned countries and developing countries (which have not committed themselves to a nonaligned foreign policy) closer in economic and political terms to the Soviet Union and the countries of the "socialist community." Ties with the countries of the so-called Third World and actions aimed at ever greater rapprochement with them are usually achieved in three ways: first, by offering support to individual countries in gaining economic independence from the industrial West, which opens up room for penetration of their own interests; second, by offering support to individual developing countries which have gained national independence in their effort to undertake a "noncapitalist strategy" of development; that is, it is anticipated that in this way those countries will come closer to the USSR and the countries of the "socialist community"; third, by the endeavor to guide the flow of social, economic and political events in certain nonaligned countries and developing countries toward the foundations of the "model" of the "world socialist system." The interests of the first country of socialism are recognizable in this view. The basic thesis taken as the point of departure here is that the "peoples of the Third World are becoming more and more aware of the fact that only the socialist countries are sincerely offering aid to their countries."[31]

It is emphasized in that context that the "aid of the socialist community to the developing countries is an expression of the new socialist type of international relations, of the highly developed feeling of international equality and solidarity which distinguishes only the world of socialism."[32] We recognize in this view the thesis of the need to establish a "natural alliance" between the nonaligned countries and the countries of the "world socialist system." That is indeed why it is emphasized that the "entire logic of the nonaligned movement leads toward consolidating ties of solidarity with the other forces which represent peace, progress and social justice. Only in that way will the movement be able to retain and strengthen its influence as an authentically constructive and independent factor in world events, contributing to a strengthening of the peace and to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, that is, to achievement of the goals for which it was in fact founded."[33]

In the context of these attitudes toward the struggle of the nonaligned countries to establish more equitable economic relations in the world we also find views to the effect that "nationalistic views are leading many representatives of the developing countries to advocate the theory of the so-called superpowers. No distinction is made between an imperialist and a socialist state, and they see the principal antagonisms of the world today in the relationship between the backward South and the advanced North, that is, they do not divide the world in class terms, but into 'poor' and 'rich' peoples."[34] This attitude toward the need to establish the new economic order gives rise to the thesis that "the movement is being depoliticized" by demands for a fundamental alteration of economic relations in the world and that "an attempt is being made to place an equal sign between all states, including even the Soviet Union and the other advanced socialist countries, with respect to responsibility for the backwardness of the Third World."[35]

These views impose two basic conclusions: first, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the "socialist community" have taken a reserved attitude toward the need to establish a new international economic order. This attitude arises out of strategic interests in international relations which are based on the policy of expanding ideological, political, economic and military influence on the developing countries; second, the Soviet Union is building a strategy of permanent class struggle against the other side, the imperialist side, on the foundations of the doctrine of the division of the world into two hostile camps. Since it takes the view that only the socialist countries can bear the burden of the struggle with the other side, then it looks with reserve upon any endeavor by any other group of countries whatsoever; and most often it strives to bring that group, including its initiatives as well, into the position of a subordinate partner.

Concluding Considerations

By a combination of diverse pressures and by granting recognition the Soviet Union and the other countries of the "socialist community" have built up an extremely oversimplified and utilitarian approach to the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment. The initial basis is the ideological premise that as the forces of socialism grow, and they are equated with the economic

and military strength of the Soviet Union, a majority of the nonaligned countries are on the road toward rapprochement and integration with the bloc structure of the Soviet Union. A country's nonaligned position might be provisionally acceptable for the Soviet Union, but only insofar as it can be pulled away from the protection of the other side, that is, the United States, and placed under its own influence. This attitude is built up on the thesis that the world is divided into "friends, enemies and 'those third parties.'" Since the friends and enemies are well known, the emphasis in Soviet foreign political activity is directed toward "those third parties"--the developing countries. The essence of the attitude toward the developing countries can be expressed in the view that those countries "can achieve their historic goals and preserve the achievements gained through the national liberation revolution only in unity with the countries of the world socialist system."[36]

Soviet theoretical and political thought has followed closely the trend of development of the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment, but it continues to emphasize those aspects of the policy of nonalignment which according to Soviet interpretations are relevant to joint action in international relations. After all, the bloc policy of a great power has shifted and is shifting into the background everything which might disrupt the established balance of power, while on the other hand it accepts what is new insofar as it has significance in the confrontation with the other side.

The significant growth of the movement of nonaligned countries and the expression of justified demands for superseding the unfair relations that exist in the world are factors on which Soviet political thought is basing its attitude toward the nonaligned movement. The more the goals of the movement coincide with Soviet goals, the more flexible the attitude of the USSR becomes, and vice versa.

The conclusion can be drawn from what we have said so far that it is realistic to expect that the Soviet Union and a majority of the countries of the "socialist community," depending on the needs of the moment and long-term interests, will be changing their views toward the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment. On one occasion it will put more emphasis on those principles of the policy of nonalignment which, in the constellation of the lineup of forces in the world, point to the need for unity of the countries of the nonaligned movement with the countries of the "world socialist system." Then its attitude toward the movement will be toward an important force in the world, but a force that is not strong enough to act on its own. On another occasion it will deny the historic role of the policy of nonalignment, offering its own help to the movement. Whenever the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment have been in the phase of proposing and adopting decisions important to the world community as a whole, and when those decisions were not in the interest of the Soviet Union and its allies in the same camp, the USSR and the other countries of the "socialist community" have acted toward the movement from far firmer positions--offering it pressure and calling it aid.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Resolution of the 20th CPSU Congress on the Report of the CPSU Central Committee," DOKUMENTACIONI BILTEN, Institute for the International Working Class Movement, Belgrade, 1956, p 54.

2. "XXII s"yezd KPSS, Materialy" [Proceedings of the 22d CPSU Congress], Vol I, Politizdat, Moscow, 1961, p 37.

3. Speech by E. Kardelj delivered at the International Scientific Conference entitled "The Forces and Strategies of War and Peace," POLITIKA, 17 September 1975.

4. "Mirovoy sotsializm i razvivayushchiyesya strany" [World Socialism and the Developing Countries], USSR Academy of Sciences, Mysl', Moscow, 1969, p 7.

5. Ibid., p 25.

6. N. Kopchenko, "The Foreign Policy of Socialism and Reorganization of International Relations," MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN', No 3, 1975, p 13.

7. "Mirovoy sotsializm ...," op. cit.

8. Introductory article by R. A. Tuzmuhamedov in the collection "Dvizheniye neprisoyedineniya v dokumentakh i materialakh" [The Nonaligned Movement in Documents and Materials], Nauka, Moscow, 1975, p 23.

9. "Berlinska konferencija komunistickih i radnickih partija Evrope" [Berlin Conference of Communist and Worker Parties of Europe], Komunist Publishing Center, Belgrade, 1976, p 64.

10. Anton Khristov and Bocho Bochev, "The Policy of Nonalignment in Contemporary International Life," NOVOYE VREMYA, No 9, 1977, p 14.

11. "Prospects of the Nonaligned and the Blind Alley of 'Equidistance,'" NOVOYE VREMYA, 30 July 1979, taken from the bulletin SVET NESVRSTANIH, 9 August 1979.

12. A. Khristov and B. Bochev, op. cit., p 15.

13. "Prospects of the Nonaligned ...," op. cit., p 32.

14. Introductory article by A. Tuzmuhamedov ..., op. cit., p 27.

15. A. Maslenikov, "On an Anti-Imperialist Basis," PRAVDA, 4 October 1979, p 4.

16. Ibid.

17. Vasiliy Kudravtsev, "An Imperative of Our Time," IZVESTIYA, 12 September 1979, p 3.

18. "The 'Homeland Front' on Nonalignment," TANJUG, 27 September 1979, according to the bulletin SVET NESVRSTANIH, 27 October 1979, p 35.

19. Speech delivered by B. N. Ponomarev at the International Conference entitled "The Present-Day Struggle of the Working Class Movement and the National Liberation Movements Against Imperialism and for Social Progress," PRAVDA, 21 October 1980, p 4.

20. Emil Polak, "On the Eve of the Sixth Conference of the Nonaligned in Havana," NOVO SLOVO, Bratislava, 16 August 1979, p 3.

21. "Prospects of the Nonaligned ...," op. cit., p 9.

22. Ibid., p 10.

23. "Twenty Years of Nonalignment," PRAVDA, 8 December 1981, p 4.

24. Ibid.

25. Speech delivered by L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, PRAVDA, 23 February 1981, p 2.

26. "On the Eve of the Conference of the Nonaligned in Havana," SKANTEA, 25 August 1979, according to the bulletin SVET NESVRSTANIH, 20 September 1979, p 37.

27. Interview with N. Ceausescu by NIN, 1 April 1979, p 24.

28. "Prospects of the Nonaligned ...," op. cit., p 35.

29. Ibid.

30. N. Kopchenko, op. cit., p 13.

31. E. Obmunskiy and G. Prokhorov, "Vzaimootnosheniya sotsialisticheskikh stran i razvivayushchiyesya strany: printsipy i praktika" [Mutual Relations Among the Socialist Countries and the Developing Countries: Principles and Practice], Mysl', Moscow, 1975, p 91.

32. "The Developing Countries in Present-Day International Relations," RUDE PRAVO, 4-5 July 1979, according to the bulletin SVET NESVRSTANIH, 10 August 1979, p 41.

33. Ibid., p 43.

34. "The 'Homeland Front' ...," TANJUG, 27 August 1979, according to the bulletin SVET NESVRSTANIH, 20 September 1979, p 41.

35. Ibid., p 42.

36. A. Maslenikov, op. cit., PRAVDA, 10 October 1979, p 4.

7045
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SOFIA PAPER CRITICIZES QUALITY OF MEDICAL SERVICES

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Feb 82, p 1

[Editorial: "Selfless Labor for the Health of the People"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Communist Party has always devoted special attention and care to the health and well-being of our people. The issue of health has occupied and still occupies a central place in its social policy. As a result of thorough socio-economic reforms and of achievements along the lines of the Soviet health care system, a number of successes have been attained in the free curative-prophylactic area. The average life expectancy is growing longer, infant mortality has reached its lowest level in our country thus far, significant indicators are being improved, illustrating the high viability of the workers. On the front line--in the struggle for the health and life of the people--stood the medical workers with high qualifications and a new socialist consciousness of duty and honor.

Parallel with the health network, there was a considerable expansion in the leading role of the Medical Academy, the scientific staff of the Ministry of Health in devising and spreading the new methods of preventive medicine, diagnosis and healing, of new and effective approaches in solving today's problems of maintaining health. This confirms once again the correctness of the party's decisions on integration in the medical sector.

In carrying out the tasks set by the 12th Congress of the BCP for intensive development of the country on the basis of fostering the achievements of scientific-technical progress and the most advanced in universal experience, the possibilities have been increased for diagnosing and curing through the introduction of the most modern apparatus (heart stimulators, automatic laboratory analyzers, ultrasonic equipment, tomographs and others). With the active help of the Medical Academy, hemodialysis centers ("artificial kidney") were opened in each okrug--30 in all. In this way our country is becoming one of the few in the world to be equipped with this apparatus, which is so expensive yet important as a life saver. In our country, everyone who needs it can benefit from it.

The achievements are incontestable, but it must be stressed that there is an ever-growing gap between the possibilities of our health services and the

results achieved.... "The level of the medical service remains far from the needs of the population," said Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his speech of 7 December 1981. That can be explained by lagging behind in basics and other factors which do not depend on the cadres who work in this area. But we must say that in the medical service there exist serious subjective reasons for the emergence of these contradictions. The state of the district team and the organization of the work in the polyclinics is not satisfactory. Each year in our country millions of prophylactic examinations are carried out, but here too, an increasing number of organizational weaknesses is apparent. Primarily, again for subjective reasons, a lot of public time is wasted by individuals in receiving prompt dental care. The potential of dental laboratories is smaller than the number of orders they get and, in some cases, their potential is not used the fullest, causing the preparation of dentures to take a great deal longer. There are also weaknesses in the tending of the sick and the cultural level of life in some hospitals. One can still find hospital directors who are lagging behind in developing measures for two-stage care of the sick. Yet such measures are one of the ways to overcome these weaknesses. Because of poor forecasting and planning for medications and sanitary materials, as well as the lack of sufficient effectiveness in the management of reserve stocks, etc, there are still cases in which citizens are refused medications.

Thus it is the primary task of all communists, members of trade unions, komsomol members and all workers in health or social care institutions to stand implacably against weakness, insufficiencies, and those responsible for them: the task is to achieve a complete mobilization of the subjective factors in the medical service. Through rapid application of the leading scientific-technical achievements and by improving socialist organization of labor, universal intensification and optimalization of preserving health must be achieved in our country. The party committees and primary party organizations in accordance with the goals set by the 12th Congress of the BCP and the October Conference (of 1981), must insure on the spot competent and effective leadership for a decisive improvement of the style and method of work. In this respect it is essential to apply the economic approach in matters of health. The experience of the Medical Academy of the Stara Zagora and Plovdiv okrugs shows that it yields positive results in health care operations. Therefore three problems must be at the center of party work: intensification and optimalization in medical services, i.e., achievement of the maximal effect in the struggle for health and longevity; a sharp increase in the intellectualization of health matters and replication of the experience of the Medical Academy of the Stara Zagora and Plovdiv okrugs in applying the economic approach.

The efforts of medical teams must now be directed toward the fullest mobilization of medical workers to make a decisive breakthrough in the quality of services by improving professional training and work discipline of the cadres, through intensification of the control exercised, discovering of new reserves for work and introduction of a strict regime of economizing. The participation of the population and of economic and social organs

and organizations is of great significance in solving the problems of health care which must be a real concern of the entire people and of each citizen.

There is no doubt that our medical workers who have shown more than once their selflessness and high awareness of duty and responsibility have sufficient strength to accomplish successfully the very responsible tasks set by the party and the people.

9900
CSO: 2200/66

RAKOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON WALESA, OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

Helsinki SUOMEN KUVALEHTI in Finnish 29 Jan 82 pp 54-57

[Excerpts from an interview given to the editors of the West German weekly STERN by acting Prime Minister of Poland, Mieczyslav Rakowski; date and place not specified]

[Text] "We have become the beggars of Europe. We will once again have to start at point zero. The reform policy will simply have to continue. There is no return to the time before August 1980," says acting prime minister of Poland, Mieczyslav Rakowski, in this special interview, that was given to the editors of the West German weekly, STERN, the first Western publication to interview Rakowski after the declaration of martial law. Following are some excerpts from the outspoken STERN interview.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, during your quick visit to West Germany you have said that the declaration of martial law was entirely Poland's own solution. It will in the same way be entirely Poland's own decision to end martial law. When do you think this will take place?

[Answer] There is no doubt that I will stand by what I have said. I am consequently very surprised that the West stubbornly holds on to the suggestion that martial law was imposed because of pressure from Moscow.

[Question] There is indeed a difference in opinion about what has been done: Did it happen as the Americans say, 'on orders from Moscow' or is there not some basic reason for the declaration of martial law was a hidden serious threat from the Soviet Union?

[Answer] There was no such threat from Moscow. But international power relations certainly do exist. And the fact that Poland belongs to the socialist bloc is as obvious as the FRG is one of the Western allies. Is it then so strange that the situation in Poland in the beginning of December caused concern in the Soviet Union and critical reactions in the socialist bloc. Your view that the Soviet Union is continually exerting pressure on us ignores the fact that 50 years have gone by. The dogmatic ideas have been footed in the West for a longer time than in our country. In any case the Soviet Union has determined that all the changes that have taken place in Poland since August 1980 are internal matters of Poland.

[Question] Moscow is, however, not especially well known for accepting changes in the system in its allied countries. Think for example of Hungary, the GDR or Czechoslovakia. PRAVDA has written that one cannot even think of autonomous trade union movements in a socialist country. Despite everything such a movement has developed in Poland.

[Answer] You should differentiate between a change in the system and structural reforms of the system. Moscow has never criticized us for accepting an autonomous trade union. Moscow began to get concerned, just as we did ourselves, when this trade union began to develop into a political party which, in December, quite obviously began to resist our socialist system system.

Solidarity started out as an autonomous trade union movement in order to represent the workers' rights. It then developed into a social movement and finally into a political movement, which quite openly had on its agenda to take over the government.

"The Decision To Impose Martial Law Was Sudden and Tragic."

[Question] The imposition of martial law, which took place in one blow on 13 December, and the successful crackdown on Solidarity indicate that the Polish Government had planned the military coup for a long time. Were the arrest lists also printed in advance?

[Answer] That is not true. At the end of October the efforts to unify the country were still dominant as was the belief that the government, the church and Solidarity would reach an understanding. This turned out to be so much hot air. Then came the meeting of 4 October, the discussion between General Jaruzelski, Archbishop Glemp and Lech Walesa. This discussion led us to believe that the turmoil was over and that a new phase of discussions had opened up. But at the time when Walesa left Danzig in order to meet Archbishop Glemp and General Jaruzelski in Warsaw, the speakers' council in Danzig had already decided that the discussions with the government were useless.

[Question] At that point was Lech Walesa still master of the situation?

Rakowski: Well, he took part in the discussions, then returned to Danzig and there set himself up to oppose the decision made by the Solidarity speakers' council. Voting took place. Walesa's side got only 55 percent of the delegates' votes. And then the anarchistic elements of Solidarity finally entered the fight for power.

[Question] And you began to prepare martial law?

[Answer] No. Do you think that we did not have enough imagination to understand what violence means? That we would not see that imposition of martial law is a most dramatic decision. Tragic. I would like to ask you how on 12 December, when things were becoming chaotic and a general strike had already been called, we could have ended the chaos in any other way?

"We Rescued Poland and Europe"

[Question] This so-called spontaneous declaration of war on 13 December as well as the separation of Solidarity that took place almost without a hitch do not exactly give the impression that the decision was made at the last minute?

[Answer] Do you think that we are politically very naive? First of all we never made a declaration of war, but of a state of war, because Polish constitutional law, like that in your country, does not recognize a "state of emergency." And everyone who tries to understand politics ought to know that every country is prepared for such exceptional conditions. This applies to you, too, or why would you have a constitutional law or the criminal police of the Federal Republic? Do you think that they would just sit around and roll their eyes in troubled times?

[Question] Have Polish uniforms been expressed to the Soviet Union and have Soviet soldiers wearing Polish uniforms participated in military actions?

[Answer] No, unambiguously no. That is an idea brought up by General Dubick, who retired several years ago and moved to the West. He himself is a former officer of the Red Army, by the way. He was far away from the window, so you counld not call him an eyewitness. God knows that the state of war, the prices that we have paid to save Poland, was no small matter. For you it means the rescue of Europe. For do you know what would have been the consequence of a catastrophe in Poland? When developments come to such a boiling point, they can no longer be controlled. There would in the end have been a situation in which any crazy person could have shot patrolling military or police.

[Question] ...Or some provocator?

[Answer] In theory everything is possible.

"You Do Have a Fixed Idea"

[Question] What will happen next? The Soviet Union welcomed the declaration of state of war with satisfaction. Is Moscow now expecting that the situation in Poland will be arranged in accordance with Soviet Union model?

[Answer] I am beginning to believe that you do have a fixed idea. You--now we--are staring at the Soviet Union full of fear, like a rabbit staring at a snake. We do indeed have much better relations with the Soviet Government and in no way do we have the impression that the Soviet Union is interested in anything else but the strength and sovereignty of the Polish nation within the socialist bloc.

Naturally, the Soviet Union has followed some of the developing tendencies in Poland with concern. But the Soviet Union has never said "NO" to the economic reforms that we have planned, to the autonomous rights of workers, to pluralism, to our collaboration with the church nor to the extension of

civil rights in Poland. And we do not now focus on how far the limits on Poland's sovereignty extend, but, above all, on how we can get the Polish economy back on its feet. The key to all the reforms in Poland is namely that the economic life is functioning. We are simply forced into all these reforms.

[Question] And you believe that the Soviet Union is so unworried that you can carry out reforms that involve economic and pluralistic features?

[Answer] Listen, in the past few years we have shown the Soviet Union and the rest of Europe only backward movement. We have become the beggars of Europe. And I do not believe you would ask the Soviet Union questions like the ones you ask me. Poland's geopolitical position is a fact. If we intend to get the Polish economy in order, we will need at least 5 years for that; 5 years during which we will have to work like slaves in order to even get where we were before.

[Question] Will this be done under the military regime?

[Answer] The concept of "military regime" is not correct.

How Will the People Be Included?

[Question] How will the people be included?

[Answer] That will under no circumstances take place by means of the junta. There is no classic military regime in Poland. The Sejm, our parliament, is functioning. Our government is now even more competent than before and it is a civil government. I am no soldier; I am only a captain in the reserves.

[Question] And at the same time substituting as the acting prime minister?

[Answer] Acting as a full time prime minister.

[Question] What is then the task of the military council?

[Answer] The military council is the guarantee that the necessary social and economic changes can be carried out. The reforms will be carried out through the civil government and its organs.

[Question] To put it in a simple capitalist way: the government is the leadership and the military council the accountants.

[Answer] By all means, you can call them that, if you like to.

[Question] But where would the production ladder be? With whom do you work?

[Answer] The people who simply do not want to cooperate are for the time being kept out of positions. But as before, the workers are our partners. And together with them we are again systematically striving for the rights and the necessary changes that were gained after August 1980. There is no

return to the situation before August 1980. But it is still necessary for many new ideas to materialize.

What Kind of a Man Is Walesa?

[Question] Is Walesa any longer a negotiator for the Polish Government?

[Answer] I would not present the matter in such final terms. But I myself am completely sure that Walesa without his advisers is of not much importance. And his advisers have, by far, not always been of the best. Lech Walesa--he is for you mainly a symbol, for some others he is a myth, for me he is a person, whom events first lifted him up above other people and then went ahead of him.

[Question] Mr Rakowski, and now not speaking as a writer, but as simply as possible, can you describe Lech Walensa--and indeed you have been very much in contact with him. What kind of a man is Lech Walesa?"

[Answer] He is an honest man, with sane common sense and undoubtedly some good, oftentimes even amusing colleagues. He is no doubt a man with a charisma to which people react. One can, however, say of him that he easily loses touch with reality; he is more of a romantic than a politician. Poland has a primitive painter named Nikifor. I have often thought that Walesa is the Nikifor of Polish politics.

[Question] But have you ever had the impression that it is easier for the Polish people to understand Walesa's primitive pictures than the party's gigantic paintings?

[Answer] No. In many cases, Walesa expresses himself in a way that is closer to the masses than the way in which the politicians in my party express themselves. But the name of the problem is not Walesa. Walesa is clearly a man with good intentions and he is also a great popular speaker, but it is difficult for him to find any clear and constructive answers when important political problems are involved. Without his advisers Walesa is no great leader of the workers, as he is seen to be by the West.

[Question] But it still was the Polish workers who lifted Walesa up on their shoulders?

[Answer] You know what? History will describe this movement in detail, and also the true story about the strikes in the Lenin shipyard in Danzig. There are 14,000 workers in the Lenin shipyard. The workers who lifted Walesa up on their shoulders did not represent all the workers of the Lenin shipyard. However, and in this case I do not want to underestimate, these strikes were a spontaneous movement. Poland was truly ready for reforms. And the anarchistic elements are to blame that the great opportunity for such a reform of the Polish system was lost in the beginning and that we have to start over again from point zero.

"There Will Be No Consequences for Those Who return the Partybook"

[Question] Is it true that thousands of people have returned their partybook since 13 December?

[Answer] I have heard rumors about a coffin full of torn up partybooks. The coffin was placed somewhere on display. There are naturally deserters. Yesterday, Nova Huta's party secretary announced that 79 out of their more than 8,000 party members had returned their partybooks. That is insignificant. But personal settlements of account have certainly also taken place. Young fellows wearing T-shirts with "I Am an Antisocialist Element." written on them have terrorized entire miners' unions and humiliated their leaders. Such a leader now naturally shows who has power. We all know that. And our military commissaries are trying to put an end to it. General Jaruzelski has often spoken about this matter to the masses. Whatever wrong does indeed take place, we regret and try to make up for it.

[Question] What personal consequences are there for a member who returns his partybook.

[Answer] There should be no consequences, but it is natural that something might happen. In such cases we intend to interfere, because we need all the Polish people, not only the party members. Our men want to turn Poland into anything but a dictatorship. You can hardly find a country that loves freedom more than Poland. But the freedom must not turn into anarchy. The Poles were above anything else inclined to romanticism and to spiritually overestimate themselves: "We can do anything." That is a very explosive mixture. We are also familiar with the Polish proverb: "In one way or another we will get through this."

[Question] Are we going to get through this?

[Answer] The factories are again in operation, the decline in productivity has come to a halt, the increase in dairy products is accelerating. By 13 December meat production had gone down by between 4 and 4 1/2 tons, and 10 days later already by 7 1/2 tons. When the economy stabilized freedom within the country will be returned. There will be no return to the time preceding August 1980, except that those interned will return to their homes as soon as possible and the soldiers will be sent back to their barracks.

9662
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BRIEFS

ZSMP-SDAJ AGREEMENT--Bonn (PAP)--Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], concluded his stay in the FRG by signing a cooperation agreement between the ZSMP and the Organization of Socialist German Working Youth [SDAJ]. Jaskiernia, who went at the invitation of the SDAJ and took part in that organization's congress in Dusseldorf, also held meetings with the leadership of other youth organizations in the FRG, among them the Federal Youth Council [DBJR], the Young Socialists [JUSO], and the Young Democrats [JUDO]. The subject of the talks was the youth situation in the Polish People's Republic and the FRG, as well as prospects for the further development of cooperation between youth organizations from Poland and the Federal Republic. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Mar 82 p 7]

ZSMP, THIRD WORLD COMMITTEE--On 12 March a meeting took place between Eugeniusz Szyr, chairman of the Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the leadership of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP]. The subject of the meeting was the partciipation of the ZSMP in the works of the committee. The importance of internationalist upbringing of youth in light of the resolutions of the ZSMP Main Board Presidium was emphasized. It was agreed that the union should attach significant importance to problems of solidarity with peoples struggling for peace and social progress, both in its current activity and in its press and publications. Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the ZSMP Main Board, participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13-14 Mar 82 p 2]

COMMUNIST YOUTH CONGRESS POSTPONEMENT--The Congress Commission and National Presidium of the Communist Union of Polish Youth [KZMP] held deliberations in Lodz on 12-13 March. The Congress Commission acknowledged that preparations for the KZMP Constitutional Congress have been terminated. The congress was to have begun on 17 March. However, in connection with the preparations for the IX PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which is to be devoted to youth problems, the Congress Commission has decided to move the KZMP Congress to a later date. [by pl] [Text] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16 Mar 82 p 2]

CSO: 2600/425

CADRES GIVE FALSE DATA TO CONCEAL SHORTFALLS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Feb 82 pp 58-60

[Unsigned article: "Disinformation - An Act Inadmissible, Incompatible With the Qualities of an Activist, a Communist"]

[Text] Always, when we encounter certain clear achievements and the efforts of those who prove their political and professional responsibility and awareness through their deeds, we show a feeling of consideration and admiration, sensing the need to follow them. But, when, instead of the daily efforts to make today greater and better than yesterday, there is ardent concern so that the statistical reports and other reports showing results will appear as good as possible, even if reality is something else, merely to get undeserved appreciation from the higher authorities, the feeling can be none other than sorrow and condemnation.

Dominated by the thought that plan achievement reports must appear good and not raise any problems, some cadres and some activists feel that, after they "pass the test", they can set things straight and recoup their shortfalls. Actually, such an attitude demobilizes the collective since it renounces the organizational efforts to unite the people's efforts to eliminate the shortfalls. As a result, another test, the one facing one's own conscience, is not passed.

The practice of embellishing reality provokes great damage to the national economy because of the fact that, by not delivering the products initially taken into consideration, perturbations are produced in technical-material supply.

At the same time, by informing that the plan was achieved for all indicators, although some products still have to pass through important stages of the production cycle, some cadres illegally benefit from rights that they do not deserve.

It is understood that such practices, regardless of who uses them, are synonymous with dishonesty and incorrectness, strongly contrasting with the ethical profile of a communist, for whom sincerity and the courage to tell things as they are are defining traits.

Under conditions where fictitious reports are made by party and state cadres, this act is even more serious, with this situation offering negative examples

to their subordinates, who, instead of struggling in order to find the solutions to resolve problems, also resort to this poisonous procedure.

At the Roman Mechanical Enterprise in Neamt County, at the end of September 1981, they falsely reported on 13 vertical lathes, that had not yet been completed, that had "finished-off" a goods production with an extra amount of over 40 million lei. Realizing that these lathes could not be completed by the end of the month, the management at the enterprise decided to resort to this comfortable, saving path so that no one would find out that activities actually were not being appropriately carried out. Not even the party committee secretary opposed such a course of reporting; on the contrary, he supported it and in a practical sense associated with those who had distorted reality.

The removal of the technical director from his job and the sanctioning of eight management cadres along party and administrative lines, including the party committee secretary and the director, are, without a doubt, severe measures that will bring about a change of view regarding the manner in which results are presented.

In the same tone of intransigence, the first secretary of the Roman Municipal Party Committee was also called to task for not checking the accuracy of the reports.

At the Rosiori de Vede furniture section belonging to the Alexandria Furniture Factory in Teleorman County, they reported falsely, with the approval of the factory director and the consent of the section party committee secretary, on the entire goods production for the month of June 1981, worth approximately 2.6 million lei. By virtue of this nonexistent reality, they gave out preferential bonuses to certain persons, including the trade union group organizers, going from one illegality to another.

The results were among the most drastic: the removal of the section party committee secretary, the section chief and the president of the section trade union committee from their jobs.

Sometimes, the tendency to falsify documents and distort reality takes on monstrous proportions, becoming a criminal act. Instead of making efforts to rigorously adhere to the norms of socialist legalities and fighting to convince those around them to follow their example, party and state cadres knowingly abdicate from these rigors. From the false reporting and discounting of certain investment projects worth 243,000 lei, as was done at the Drobeta-Turnu Severin Combined Fodder Enterprise in Mehedinti County to the carrying out of certain construction projects without documentation and approved funds, an "initiative" taken by the leadership of Tirgoviste State Agricultural Enterprise on the Moreni farm in Dimbovita County, we have reached the point, as we will see, of modifying certain solutions outlined in projects and changing the destination of certain funds. Thus, the Petrosani Municipal People's Council in Hunedoara County, together with the management of the Mining Combine, established that the

roof of the stands to the new stadium should cover an area larger than the one approved, deciding upon construction not from reinforced concrete, as had been planned, but completely of metal. Without checking the provisions of the draft plan and the degree to which legal conditions are ensured for payment and payment for the additional metal is approved, the former president of the Petrosani Municipal People's Council, Petru Barb, issued a written order to the management at the Enterprise for the Repair and Maintenance of Mining Equipment in Petrosani to make and install the roof.

Faced with such an order, the management at the Enterprise for the Repair and Maintenance of Mining Equipment, with an understanding with the management of the Valea Jiului Enterprise for the Preparation of Coal and the chief engineer of the Mining Combine, handled it without any reservations, also finding the necessary funds to make it. From the funds set aside for the maintenance and repair of five conveyors, they illegally "filched" a sum first calculated at 3,182,312 lei.

Although they knew full well that carrying out the order was outside the framework of the law, nonetheless, for their part the directors of these enterprises gave orders through the most natural channels to their chief engineers to start production of the metal structures needed for the roof of the new stadium's stands.

These serious violations were favored by the absence of the weakest sign of responsibility in such leadership cadres, who are called upon to ensure adherence to the norms of legality, consistently showing, first of all, their total lack of control, which could have found out in time and then stopped this merry-go-round of illegalities.

The measures adopted to sanction those who were guilty - the removal of the director of the Enterprise for the Preparation of Coal from his job, the removal of the director of the Enterprise for the Repair and Maintenance of Mining Equipment from his job and the sanctioning of other leadership cadres along party and administrative lines - will rightly contribute to the strengthening of responsibility and firmness in respecting the law.

But, since the acts committed fall under criminal jurisdiction, the full restoration of legal rights also requires a severe analysis on the part of state organs.

Working under arbitrary rule and replacing the collective style of work with a personal one and ignoring an active contact and permanent dialogue with the workers, Ion Vlad, the director of the Insula Mare a Brailiei State Agricultural Enterprise, systematically placed himself outside current regulations. Although there are standards and legal norms for carrying out basic agricultural work and establishing densities for grain crops and technical plants, they were not adhered to in all the complexes and sectors. At the direction of I. Vlad,

activities were reorganized into complexes with large areas of land, disestablishing, purely and simply, the farms - the basic link in agriculture. From 1979 on, he maintained no records regarding the projects upon which an analysis of technical and technological activities could be made.

In such an environment, in December 1979, he turned over to the state fund a quantity of corn 35,000 tons smaller than the amount reported as being harvested in the reports forwarded to the party and state organs. For this gross disinformation, the Department of State Agriculture and the secretariat of the Braila County Party Committee decided to remove I. Vlad, as well as his technical director, from their positions. Later, feeling that he had learned the maximum lessons and in order to give him a chance to prove this fact, I. Vlad was returned to his old position.

Experience has demonstrated, however, that this person learned nothing from what happened, from the time when he continued to resort to the practice of disinformation. A review conducted at the Insula Mare a Brailiei State Agricultural Enterprise also discovered other violations and abuses of the norms of legalities and socialist ethics and equity.

What is essential now is that the measures adopted, that call for the removal of I. Vlad, will continue in other areas, with the party organs and organizations discussing with the communists the acts of incorrectness and dishonesty committed here.

These are several extremely serious limited aspects of dishonesty and falsehoods. They call for the intensification of concerns to promote by all means a high responsibility for the direct application of the norms of the law, honesty and correctness and the development of intransigence towards one's self and others, which must constitute the support of a broad political-educational action and the permanent objective of a firm review, truly becoming an essential ethical criterion in the work and behavior of the leadership cadre, each activist and each communist. Only in this way will the premises be ensured that are necessary for an exacting climate for work in which a militant, revolutionary spirit can be affirmed in finding the materiality of deeds.

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POLITICAL-EDUCATIONAL ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Feb 82 pp 44-47

[Article by Elena Ene, a secretary of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions: "Priority Requirements of the Political-Educational Measures of the Trade Unions"]

[Text] The trade unions, mass organizations of our working class, are called upon to work, beginning with the new status itself of the workers as the owners, producers and consumers of national wealth, under the guidance of the party organs and organizations, so that each worker will understand and master the great duties and responsibilities stemming from this status in expressing the leading role of the working class in society and in achieving the country's economic and social development plans, the sole basis for the continuing improvement of the standard of living and the quality of life. "The trade unions have special responsibilities in the education and creation of the new man, in the development of a worker, revolutionary spirit in all collectives, in the creation of a new, socialist awareness, in the cultivation of a progressive attitude towards work and society and in the development of socialist-type relations between all workers," stressed comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the Congress of the General Union of Trade Unions in April 1981. These programmatic guidelines, as well as other requirements of a qualitative nature regarding the activities of the trade unions on the plane of mass political and cultural education, opened new horizons for the concerns in this field. Working more perseveringly and with more exigency and responsibility, the trade unions give importance to the workers' thorough knowledge and understanding of party and state decisions and the country's laws, trying hard to thus contribute more efficiently to increasing their awareness and to their becoming used to politically judging and scientifically interpreting domestic and international events and phenomena.

In our acceptance, with full responsibility, of the critical observations made by the secretary general of the party at the Joint Plenary Session of the RCP Central Committee and the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development in November 1981, we feel that our activities in this area are still not up to the level of the requirements and that it is necessary to have a more powerful and firmer commitment from the trade unions in the revolutionary, patriotic education of the workers. In permanently pursuing the growth of the efficiency of cultural-

educational work, we must obtain, through all the means that have been initiated, the strengthening of order and discipline, the firm respect for laws and the principles of socialist ethics and equity and the growth of each worker's responsibility for the development of industrial and agricultural material production.

Formative Measures Will Serve, First of All, the Fulfillment of the Principal Objectives in the Economic Field

The new, socialist awareness, with the trade unions also being called upon to contribution to its creation and development, involves both the thorough understanding of what is valuable in the fields of culture and contemporary science and technology and the full mastery of one's profession, and the mastery of the philosophical concept presented by our party regarding the world and society and the formation of a progressive, militant civic attitude.

According to the concept of the permanent education of the workers, as promoted by the party, the trade unions achieve their responsibilities right in the material production process, in close connection with the specific realities of the place of work, where competence, the creative spirit, patriotism, the spirit of order and discipline, self-denial and passion are expressed, with all of these being expressed in the effort to have an exemplary fulfillment of plan tasks. In this view, the trade unions have drawn up and are applying a group of forms and means of action. By using charts, displays, economic calculations, wall and satirical bulletins, "quality display cases," expositions of technical-scientific work and, especially, the actualy work from worker to worker and meetings of trade union groups, the trade unions are popularizing how the outstanding workers and production collectives are fulfilling the plan tasks and the results obtained in socialist competition. The means of visual propaganda, the discussions and debates are to serve the promotion and stimulation of the management spirit in the use of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy, the reduction of production consumption and costs, the spread of valuable worker initiatives and the improvement of economic efficiency. Precisely for this reason, it is necessary for the trade union organs everywhere to eliminate generalities and uniformity from their educational actions and to give a powerful formative substance to their person-to-person work, to the visual propaganda, to the activities of the workers' clubs and cultural centers and to all the forms and methods of mass political work. Beginning with the premise that each economic unit must exist within a complex of production and education, we have the duty to permanently militate so that each worker and each work group will understand the need for improving professional training and the responsibilities for the full, productive use of the time at work and for the protection and development of socialist property and the expression of a firm, combative attitude towards any violation of worker discipline and the norms of socialist ethics and equity.

The mass political-ideological education organized by the trade unions for the workers not covered by party or Union of Communist Youth education and attended this year by over 2.6 million workers has become an ever more efficient for explaining, understanding and thoroughly mastering our party's and state's policies.

This study year, the carrying out of this education under good conditions presents new tasks for the trade unions. The analysis conducted by the executive bureau of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions regarding mass political-ideological education showed a series of positive aspects and interesting experiences, but also a series of shortcomings that must be quickly eliminated. The conclusions of the analysis, accentuated by the critical observations of the party leadership, imposed measures for the improvement of the forms of organizing and conducting this education in a closer connection with the specific tasks of the units and places of work so as to increase its contribution to making the workers aware and mobilizing them to carry out their professional tasks in an exemplary manner and to create a materialist-scientific concept and combat negative manifestations.

The elimination of formalism and speeches on minor and insignificant subjects, as well as sterile discussions about general subjects that have no practical conclusions must be brought to the attention of all activists, especially in units with fluctuating levels of personnel or that were recently created. In order to present speeches and carry out discussions at an appropriate, attractive and convincing level capable of capturing the interest of the audience, the trade union committees and the enterprises' leaderships have initiated, in addition to the monthly training sessions by the propaganda specialists in the centers and units, the organization of certain periodic reports regarding the status of fulfilling the plan and the commitments in socialist competition, the status of discipline, the quality of production, the reduction of specific consumption levels, the use of time at work and production facilities, the achievement of exports and so forth. Similarly, the members of the executive bureaus of the territorial organs of the trade unions and the trade union committees are concerned to a greater degree about the proper organization and carrying out, on the basis of a monthly schedule, courses in the enterprises and institutes and the presentation of certain speeches and certain political reports, and about the leading of discussions.

During this stage, when the Romanian economy and all our activities are directed towards obtaining high efficiency, when the level of technical equipment and work conditions have experienced a remarkable progress in all units and when the workers' access to the advances of science and technology is wide open, political-educational activities must be strongly centered on the development of their economic and technical-scientific knowledge and thinking and on the stimulation of creativity. These requirements mean that the technical departments and courses in the cultural-scientific universities organized by the trade unions must be true centers to stimulate the movement of inventions and innovations and the interest to participate in technical-applied groups in clubs and cultural centers. Unfortunately, the trade union organs in the enterprises are not involved with direct, specific and systematic responsibility in all cases. They do not carefully pursue the operation of these courses and clubs and they do not show the efficiency of them in a convincing manner in order to stimulate an ever broader participation. They do not sufficiently explain the fact that the powerful and modern technical equipment that the

units have require a high degree of professionalism in order to obtain a much higher output and productivity, a higher quality and an improved economic efficiency. These phenomena are also due to the limited, mainly quantitative, superficial and hollow views that lack the ability to bring change of certain cultural activists in the trade union system who pretend that the objectives of their work, the methods practiced and their intervention in the organization of educational measures are minor and insignificant.

Permanent Action for the Promotion of Moral Norms and Norms for Progressive Behavior

The trade unions are integrated into the effort to give all educational-formative activities a rich political-ideological content filled with the principles of socialist humanism, promoting the spirit of right, respect for the truth, honesty, modesty and correctness, comradely relations of trust, mutual esteem and mutual assistance and the combating of expressions that fail to consider the general interests of society. They pursue the more interesting presentation of the results of competition and the decisions of the workers' councils on displays suggestively entitlted "Worker Self-Management Decides and Carrys Out" or "Self-Management at the Level of New Quality" and they use the presentation of suggestive calculations regarding what the enterprise loses and what the individual loses when someone misses a day at work for an unauthorized reason. They also use side-by-side displays of well-executed work and negligently produced work. In enterprises and institutes and in workers clubs and cultural centers of the trade unions, they frequently organize speeches on subjects regarding ethics, roundtables, debates, meetings with veteran workers and outstanding workers in competitions, inventors and innovators, cultural events dedicated to meritorious workers and so forth. The discipline commissions, the "outstanding workers council" and the trial commissions carry out a useful activity in legal education and in the education for respecting the norms of behavior at work, in relations between people and in the family and society. A mobilizing example in this direction is the model collective for communist work and life organized in some economic units. There is need, however, and the negative aspects that we encounter confirm this statement, for us to bring about a true turning point, especially in the work style at the level of trade union groups, so that they will constitute the most favorable framework for expressing constructive public opinion against backward manifestations and for educating and creating the workers' moral, political and professional profile. Without forgetting certain achievements, we feel that the trade union group framework is insufficiently used.

In the area of visual propaganda, although there are many positive experiences, there are still serious shortcomings expressed in the absence of a unity of themes in the visual materials on display and in the fact that many of them are not up-to-date and do not reflect the essential subjects in the complex problem of the economic-social development of the country, county, locality or unit.

As was stressed in the party leadership's directives, visual propaganda must be mobilizing, expressive, dynamic and, at the same time, accessible and direct

and it must efficiently serve revolutionary education, the creation of the management spirit and the development of the feeling of brotherhood for all workers, regardless of their nationality. Thus, the trade union organs must contribution more broadly, in a more sustained manner to the achievement of these desires in close connection with other factors and under the direct guidance of the party organizations.

We fully understand the requirement to work so that the trade unions and their entire aktiv will more efficiently militate for the creation, at the trade union group level, of a climate of reciprocal influence, of improvements in interhuman socialist relations, of attention and care for how each person works, of promoting new things, initiatives and advanced examples, as well as of firmly, promptly rebuffing those who violate our principles of organization, order and discipline, and the socialist laws. In eliminating such deficiencies and other things that we encounter at the place of work, the trade unions are aware that they must make a greater, more efficient and more specific contribution. Actually, this is one of their essential duties as a mass organization of the workers. The spirit of economizing, the respect for order and discipline, the protection of public property and the application of decisions and the provisions of law represent the main content of the activities at the level of the trade union groups and the permanent tasks of the political-educational work carried out by their bureaus. In order to outline and strengthen these responsibilities we do not have to immediately think of finding certain spectacular methods, of certain groomed spaces or of complex materials for cultural practice. The best method, as validated by life, is and remains actual political work and an open, close and sincere dialogue, person-to-person, on those subjects which, unfortunately, are passed over today too easily. Similarly, we have numerous artistic groups, movie clubs and photo circles that have quickly and well mastered the language adequate for their specific mission. Moreover, during the current edition of the "Song of Romania" National Festival these forms have been especially noted, with their educational action being characterized by effectiveness, exactness and direct, acid criticism and by their force of conviction and influence. Precisely for that reason, we have the duty to more consistently promote their creations and to permanently work for the development of their activities in order to mark a significant qualitative and content improvement in this fourth edition of the festival and to transform them into efficient means of educational action.

The achievement of the major objectives of political and cultural-educational work naturally requires, as an essential condition, the stimulation and development of the mass's degree of participation in the acceptance and creation of the cultural act and the establishment and practice of certain inspired and efficient means that will unite the efforts of all workers expressed in the production of the material and spiritual goods needed by Romanian society during this stage. A new human quality, as a major requirement of the stage through which we are passing, is not achieved by itself, but through a continuing, persevering and militant effort. In this context, cultural activity

does not appear as a non-productive consumption or as a non-reimbursable investment, but as a socially useful action that intensifies the production capabilities of the people, contributing both to social development and to the personal development of each individual, and improving the level of awareness and knowledge, through education adopted as a permanent action, it naturally brings about an increase in the results of labor and social wealth.

We feel that these desires and objectives must be served more broadly and more efficiently by the rich material base available to the trade unions, which is also being developed during this five year plan. This base is made up of 45 cultural centers, 208 workers clubs and over 3,143 libraries containing approximately 11 million volumes, modern equipment for cultural practices, instruments, costumes, props and so forth. It offers the trade unions the opportunities and the obligations for organizing certain diverse political-educational and cultural-artistic events in support of production and the workers' pleasant and instructive enjoyment of their free time.

The requirements of the stage through which we are passing make it necessary to eliminate the campaign nature that still dominates cultural-artistic work, to numerically and qualitatively improve events and to broaden the area of involving the masses, as well as the ranks of those who participate in achieving the programs in the cultural centers and clubs, and to attract more people from science, art and culture, engineers, foremen and outstanding workers with whom we can initiate discussions that are significant in their conclusions and lessons, both in order to improve the programs of these institutes and in order to attract certain ever broader categories of workers. In this way, we can demonstrate much more responsibility and respect for the time dedicated to the workers and their families in the activities organized by the cultural centers and workers clubs. All this asks us to express more initiative and consistency and to adopt a modern concept in which the actions initiated for political and professional training will not be just spontaneous, isolated and improvised measures, but a complex system with clear objectives, concentrically oriented in order to respond to the criteria of quality and efficiency in production activities and in order to profoundly and lastingly influence and ensure the ever more active participation of the workers in the achievement of the program for the multilateral development of our socialist society.

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PARTY MEMBERS ATTACKED FOR SHIRKING DUTY, FALSIFYING DATA

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Feb 82 pp 16-20

[Unsigned article: "Revolutionary Responsibility and Combativeness, Communist Order and Discipline"]

[Text] The direct and complete fulfillment of the great economic and social objectives stemming from the 1982 plan and the entire five year plan and the successful achievement of the complex construction projects standing before our nation of necessity call for ensuring a high spirit of responsibility, order, discipline and organization in the party organs and organizations, in the entire party and in the ranks of all the collectives.

Furthermore, this is the idea that runs like a red line from the first to the last paragraph through the speech by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at the plenary session of the Central Committee last November, this programmatic document for the communists and all workers in our country, regardless of their nationality. Each activist in the party and state apparatus, each party member and each worker, regardless of where he works, was given the revolutionary call to analyze with the greatest responsibility his party work, attitude and behavior in production, in social life and in light of the great tasks contained in this speech, realistically and clearly evaluating, in a profoundly critical and self-critical spirit, both his successes, however important they may be, and, especially, the lapses, shortfalls and shortcomings in his activity.

It is known with how much force comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked for the increase in petroleum, coal and electrical energy production to be placed at the top of our concerns. In those counties where there are oil rigs, coal mines and thermal and hydroelectrical power stations, it is necessary to give the greatest attention to the party work in these units, placing before the party active and apparatus their specific tasks for the full achievement of the plan, as well as the best methods that they are to use to this end.

Likewise, in those counties where steel combines or enterprises are operating, the problems of increasing the production of metals must have a priority place on the agenda of all activities, precisely directing the manner in which they must work in order to recover the shortfalls from last year in the shortest time.

It is necessary for the party organs and organizations to daily keep track how the plan is progressing, ensuring an activity so that production will be achieved on a regular basis, each 10-day period and from month to month. Overall, the plans were discussed in the collectives and were rationally proportioned. Furthermore, as the secretary general of the party said, these tasks must be considered minimal tasks, with the party organs and organizations having the job of maintaining such a work atmosphere and of ensuring an organization of work so that more and more new reserves will be permanently discovered and put to use, especially with regards to raw materials and energy sources where the overfulfillment of the plan can be unlimited.

It is necessary to combat with the greatest decisiveness the tendency of some leadership cadre who, instead of finding solutions for the fulfillment of the plan, attempt "to discover" all types of justifications and reasons that will prove, allegedly, that the tasks are too great, asking for exemptions and demobilizing the collectives. The purpose of the party organizations and the aktiv of the city, municipal and county party committees is to steadfastly militate in order to create a state of general mobilization in the ranks of the party members and all workers, with each one seeking, at his place of work, new opportunities to increase the effectiveness of work and production.

Ensuring a fruitful activity of high efficiency is inconceivable with a permanent effort to instill an exemplary order and discipline at all places of work and to directly adhere to the requirements of technological discipline, the standards for operating equipment and the regulations on internal order. It is especially necessary to take all the required measures to more strictly apply the provisions of the Council of State Decree for establishing certain rules regarding the use and maintenance of installations, equipment and machinery and the strengthening of order and discipline at work in those units with continuously burning fires or that have equipment that is very dangerous when being operated, adopting an energetic position against any acts of indiscipline and any expressions that can disturb the normal carrying out of the production processs.

To this end, it seems to be an absolute necessity for the party organs and organizations to multiple their efforts to thoroughly understand the economic and social realities in the units, in the localities and by areas of the country, the essential condition for adopting certain substantiated measures and outlining certain directives actually required by life.

Unfortunately, it must be said that there still are party activists and some bureau members, and even secretaries, who do not sufficiently and multilaterally understand life, especially from their personal contacts and their systematic visits to the countryside. An activist with leadership responsibilities must base the conclusions that he draws and the guidance that he gives, first of all, on what he sees with his own eyes and on his own personal findings. Certainly, no one is contesting the role and value of data and reports furnished by other authorities, but what has priority are his own conclusions, with the rest being

good to reinforce some of your convictions. Precisely because the appropriate concern does not exist in all categories of cadre to acquire by themselves a picture of the evolution of work, the review of the implementation of decisions is not everywhere producing the expected results.

How can it otherwise be explained that, last year, at the Miercurea Ciuc Tractor Enterprise certain products were not produce at the established technical parameters because of the nearly complete lack of party review. No party organ can feel that things will go along by themselves. Only through energetic measures for review and guidance can there be a full guarantee that only high quality products will go out through the gates of each enterprise.

During the last year's fall agricultural campaign, in Braila, Constanta, Tulcea, Dolj, Calarasi, Ialomita and other counties some party and state cadre in the agricultural units did not fulfill their entrusted tasks as they should have. Precisely because of this, in Braila County 19 party and state activist were sanctioned, including 9 who were removed from their jobs; in Tulcea County, six agricultural production cooperative presidents were removed from their positions, plus four directors and four chief engineers from state agricultural enterprises, a party organizer and many other leadership cadre in agricultural units were sanctioned; in Constanta County, two state agricultural enterprise directors, an agricultural machinery station director, four agricultural production cooperative presidents, three chief engineers from the unified councils and eight agricultural production cooperative chief engineers were removed from their positions.

It is clear that such violations could occur because their was a lack of a firm and exacting review on the part of these county party committees.

Because of a poor review activity, frequently with great delays or, sometimes, not at all there are discoveries of serious violations of laws, abuses and expressions of disinformation. Some cadre with greater or smaller leadership responsibilities attempt to present, in one form or another, distorted and false views of reality, achievements and their own shortcomings. In some places, especially at the level of the directors and chief engineers of enterprises and, many times, with the knowledge and consent of the secretaries of the party organizations, it has become a practice to "arrange" the production results, either above or below the planned levels, according to the achievements or shortfalls recorded at the end of the month, the quarter or the semester. Such "maneuvers" are made with intent of either covering up shortcomings in the organization of work or the incompetence of certain people or hiding certain "reserves" for more difficult periods that might appear at a later date.

We know of the serious violations committed at the former Oltenia Mining Combine where, over a period of 2 years, there were daily false reports of amounts of coal of 25,000 to 35,000 tons greater than that actually achieved. Certainly, the Central Committee plenary session of November 1981 took severe measures against certain leadership cadre, but we cannot lose sight of the fact that

at Rovinari, Motru and Urdari there are party committees, broad aktivs and communists who knew about the falsehoods that were being presented. Activists from the county committee went there to conduct a review and they should have immediately noted, taken positions against and unmasked such reprovable acts.

These practices not only give a distorted picture of the real situation, with shortcomings being hidden, but also create an atmosphere in which lies, falsehoods, dishonesty and incorrectness move about at will.

As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, these kinds of attitudes and these types of deeds are incompatible not only with the qualities of an activist, but also with those of a party member. It is necessary, therefore, to take the most severe measures against such people because they cause very great damage to all of our activities.

The party leadership has decided, at the direction of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to create groups of instructors at the county party committees to review and guide party work in the villages. These groups will have to give priority attention to how the internal affairs of the party organs and organizations are organized and carried out so that these affairs will progress in strict conformity with statutory norms.

Certainly, these groups of instructors will have to work on the basis of certain well-substantiated programs and will be permanently guided in order to especially help those party organizations where there really is a need for meaningful assistance so that shortcomings can be eliminated as quickly as possible.

According to the tasks established by the party leadership, all the local party organs will conduct a broad analysis this quarter into the manner in which control is exercised over the implementation of decisions, putting in discussion all cases of superficiality and recklessness in order to draw the appropriate lessons and take energetic measures for the purpose of carrying out a firm, exacting and principled review everywhere.

Experience shows that it is absolutely necessary for the local party organs to be more closely concerned and to have greater responsibility for the organization, understanding and implementation of decisions and law. In a totally unjustified manner, a series of party organs have abandoned the good system where, immediately after the appearance of a law or the adoption of a decision, they organized discussions, examination and mastery of these laws and decisions and, later, followed up on their fulfillment, regularly listening to reports in connection with the status of achieving measures and quickly and energetically intervening whenever they found tendencies of delay and different irregularites in the execution process.

In this regard, it is expected that the organizational sections of the county party committees will make their presence much more strongly felt. Actually,

they are responsible for the organization of all reviews and, as such, are called upon to keep them firmly in hand so that they will know exactly at any given moment what the status is of each measure, organizing a very well-defined system that will help to understand the progress in the fulfillment of all party and state decisions.

In ensuring the assignment of all forces, on the basis of a judicious program, available to the party organ, of the members of the bureau, the members of the party apparatus and of other activists, the organizational sections are required to pursue who each person fulfills the tasks entrusted to him, while strictly respecting the statutory measure that each activist will report to the collective to which he belongs at least once each month regarding the manner in which he has worked to carry out his responsibilities.

The Central Committee plenary session of November 1981 urgently asked the entire party and state aktiv and all communists to adopt an unyielding attitude under all circumstances regarding shortcomings and failures, no matter how great the overall successes and to energetically reject any expressions of sufficiency or tendencies in certain people to build a quiet and peaceful life by knowingly closing their eyes to the complex problems created by daily life.

The facts show that in the ranks of some activists there is an atmosphere or self-satisfaction and indifference towards shortcomings, with some becoming so accustomed to this that they no longer believe there could be better things in their activities. Instead of adopting an energetic, combative attitude, as is required of an activist, some of them are transformed into a screen for all types of dishonest elements.

The party activist who casually passes over serious shortcomings is lacking combativeness, does not possess the ability to discover violations in a timely manner and, especially, is not in a position to contribute to their elilination and does not exhibit the qualities of a party activist. And, in either case, the party organ must very seriously ask whether such cadre can ensure the fulfillment of the great tasks standing before them.

We are seeing a true plea for the protection of certain abusive, dishonest elements who have purely and simply compromised themselves in the eyes of the people, with their reprovable deeds being willfully minimized. There are situations, like the one in the town of Sprincenata in Olt County, where the secretary of the town party committee, Marin Dindiri, together with the deputy secretary Valentin Vinturis, falsified the documents of a person newly accepted into the party, putting down not the job that the person actually held - a telephone operator - but that of a cooperatist peasant. Instead of taking the most severe measures against such a gross falsehood, the county party committee bureau sanctioned the secretary with a "vote of censure with a warning", while the deputy received a "reprimand".

Sufficiently frequently we encounter activists who work without any energy and who do not adopt an energetic attitude towards the shortcomings that exist in the field. In addition to this inert position of sliding over shortcomings and of waiting for them to eliminate themselves, we see a damaging attitude of hushing up and discounting these shortcomings and of tolerating violations and different infringements of the laws and ethical standards of our society.

The strengthening of the spirit of responsibility, exigency and combativeness is in a direct relationship with the level of the general assemblies and with their educational efficiency and content. Not long ago, the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, directed that a more pronounced spirit of combativeness and exigency be introduced into the framework of these assemblies. They should not be seen as a club for abstract discussions, but as a supreme organ that makes obligatory decisions and that can call any communist to task, regardless of his position. The party assembly is the most suitable place to seriously discuss such problems as the growth of the leading role of party organizations, the strengthening of each communist's responsibilities and the consolidation of party discipline. In preparing himself for the assembly and in participating in the discussions, the party member closely examines his communist awareness and analyzes himself, constantly bringing out new sources to improve his work in order to be of the most use to the collective and to increase his contribution to the implementation of the tasks of the party organizaion to which he belongs.

The strengthening of revolutionary responsibility and combativeness and the consolidation of communist order and discipline represent indispensable conditions for the continuing increase in the leading political role of the party organizations in all sectors of social affairs and for their more fruitful and responsible integration and better results in the great patriotic effort of the country to improve itself in the light of certain future and imposing socialist achievements.

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ETHNIC DISSENSIONS IN MONTENEGRIN TOWN DESCRIBED

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 207, 30 Jan 82 pp 28-29

[Article by Branko Vukovic: "Assault of the Irredenta in Plav"]

[Text] Today one does not arrive at Plav by a dusty track, but by a broad asphalt road. The bus takes about an hour from Ivangrad to Plav.

So we cannot use the usual journalist's crutch to begin this article--that Plav is located "at the end of the world," that "God said good-night long ago" to the people of Plav, and so on. Like it or not, newsmen who come here in the future will have to think up some more original beginning.

We arrived in Plav on Friday, which was market day here. So the peasants began to come into the town from neighboring villages from early morning. There were great crowds in the streets and in the shops. Women were dragging along large baskets and bundles, and the men bags and sacks. It was difficult to find a seat in the coffeehouses.

Ramo Becomes Ram

The population of Plav Opstina is about 20,000. Half are Moslems, 30 percent Montenegrins, and the rest Albanians.

Until recently people lived peacefully and without disturbances here. The Montenegrin and the Albanian not only have been good friends, but by no means enemies. The Albanian and the Moslem likewise. Nevertheless, the events in the spring in Kosovo awakened a fear: that "something bad might happen" in Plav as well.

The fear was understandable. This is an area which lies along the very border with Albania. Many people in Plav have those closest to them living on the other side of the line--parents, brothers and sisters. And then some schoolchildren and university students from here are attending school in Kosovo. Nearly 1,000 inhabitants of this area are employed temporarily in the countries of western Europe. And finally, the pressure of Enver's [Hoxha] propaganda, radio and television particularly, is constant and very intense.

And as a matter of fact the bad omens were borne out, just what the people of Plav did not want--"happened."

The population census gave the first hint. At that time individuals were left overnight without that "ic" at the end of their surnames. Cosovic became Cosaj, Sinanovic Sinanaj, Redzovic Redzaj, and so on. At the same time some of the teachers in the Plav Educational Center entered the "new" surnames of their pupils in the roll books differently from the surnames as stated in the birth records. And a high school teacher who until recently everyone thought was called Ramo, suddenly began to object: "I am not Ramo, but Ram!"

Or an example from the border village Vusanje, whose population is predominantly Albanian. Some 10 days ago ceremonies were held there to open a new school. The American ambassador in Belgrade came in person to cut the blue ribbon. After all, the school was an American gift to the Republic of Montenegro to help overcome the consequences of the destructive earthquake. The powers that be in the republic had decided that the school was to be built in Vusanje. But only 2 or 3 days before the opening ceremonies a hostile slogan made its appearance in the school.

There Had Been Disruption

Demo Uljaj, a painter who recently graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in Pristina, lives in that same village. He is now awaiting trial. Propaganda material imported from Albania had been found in his house.

Not long ago a plaque written in Serbo-Croatian was taken away here from the elementary school in Martinovici. The plaque has not been found, and a warrant is out for the culprits. Who could have been bothered by this plaque?

In the school bus which travels between Plav and Vusanje the schoolchildren sing hostile songs "picked up" from the broadcasting of Radio Tirana. The teachers traveling by the same bus--keep silent.

We learned from material prepared for a meeting of the opstina conference of the League of Communists that in Vojno Selo "there had been disruption of a party meeting by individuals not related to this OOSK [primary organization of the League of Communists], but who attend school outside the jurisdiction of our opstina." We inquired about that. Stated in the vernacular, this was an almost incredible act of terrorism and irredentism: three armed young men rushed into the hall and drove the party members away from the meeting!

Now rumors are circulating in Plav that interethnic relations are after all disrupted. Moslems and Montenegrins have supposedly lost confidence in Albanians, since the latter are enemies of our self-management system! This lie also has its "counterweight": "The time will come when Moslems and Montenegrins in Plav will feel the way Albanians are feeling now!"

The following rumor passed off by the irredentists offers the best confirmation that there are no holds barred in propaganda warfare: "There are 1.8 million of us. We will sacrifice 1 million, but the rest will live in freedom!"

This Is Tirana Radio

All of this dirty work of the enemy has, of course, given political people in Plav quite a headache. They do not overestimate the capabilities of the irredentists, but neither do they underestimate them.

We are sitting in the office of Radenko Radevic, secretary of the Plav Opstina Committee of the League of Communists. This 40-year-old lawyer, former presiding judge, works virtually from dawn to dark. He is preparing materials, writing reports, and attending numerous meetings "of the rank and file."

"The purpose of these hostile writings and rumors is the same as in Kosovo," Radevic says. "The nationalists want to disrupt our peaceful development and shatter brotherhood and unity. In addition, the Albanian irredenta is striving in this way to unify its activity throughout all of Yugoslavia."

Radevic emphasizes that the hostile acts and incidents have been strongly condemned throughout Plav, above all by the Albanians themselves. The strictest penalties, both political and administrative, have been implacably demanded for the guilty. It has been stated that no penalty is severe enough for those who sow interethnic enmity.

"Those who displayed hostile behavior were discovered by people at large in their own communities," Radevic says. "But law enforcement agencies have also been rapid and effective. But it is a fact that we have not yet managed to catch all those who have been 'calling the shots' of this game. If a child in school writes a slogan, someone had to teach him. Who? They are the ones we have to find and get their tail under our foot."

The subject of our interview, then, is speaking about the influence of propaganda from Albania. Tirana broadcasts several hours of programming in Serbo-Croatian. As luck would have it, the reception is excellent for both radio and television.

"So, if a child listens to Enver Hoxha day after day instead of Djuranovic or Milatovic, and if he does this 365 days for 5 hours a day, then there is nothing more we can say about his upbringing."

By contrast with Tirana, reception of the broadcasting of Radio-TV Titograd is poor. Sometimes none at all. Radevic says:

"As a judge I often pronounced verdicts against people who refused to pay their subscription fee [for ownership of a radio or television set--translator's note] because of the poor reception. I remember two or three men who brought in their television sets, saying: 'So here you are, and you can give it to Television Titograd!' After all, in Plav it is all the same whether you have a television set or not."

"We Will Lynch You!"

Certainly, the secretary of the opstina committee would have been incomparably more pleased if we had come here to write about the significant achievements of the people of Plav in various fields in recent years, about the authentic exertions of business people here, about their conviction that the prosperity of this underdeveloped opstina would finally begin with the new paved road and new tourist facilities.

Secretary Radevic speaks about the construction of a new basket and sieve factory, about two new bus stations in Plav and Gusinje, about 60 km of new roads, about construction of a health care center and several health care stations, about two large luxury hotels, about how all the children in the opstina are attending school, about electrification of even the most out-of-the-way villages.... The secretary speaks about the true and large momentum in development of Plav Opstina as a whole.

(In the disconnected conversation that followed I learned an interesting datum: Plav is an opstina which has the highest number of doctors of science in Yugoslavia on a per capita basis! There are exactly 48 of them. Unfortunately, none of these learned persons lives in Plav.)

In the material of the opstina conference quoted above we read that at the educational center "segregation of the pupils on an ethnic basis has been felt for quite a long time now." The slogans "SR [Socialist Republic] Kosovo" and "Kosovo a Republic" have also appeared in that school. Sefer Kojic, teacher of Serbo-Croatian, who reported the writing of slogans, received a threatening letter from a group of pupils in Class III-5. "We are Enver Hoxha's army, we will lynch you!" Certain pupils and teachers in the school have criticized the curriculum taught in Albanian from nationalistic positions. Along with all that, there is the assessment of the opstina conference of the LC [League of Communists], "the teaching process and upbringing are on a rather low level, and the work of sociopolitical organizations and bodies of self-management is characterized by confusion and lack of political discipline."

Principal Hodzic's Dream

"Immediately after the events in Kosovo there was suspicion that something like that could happen here," says Sreten Prascevic, assistant principal of the school center. "We noticed that all at once a large number of strangers began to parade through the school. Slogans appeared, first in the classrooms and then in the corridors and on the walls. Equipment and furnishings received more damage than usually caused by the children. When we were in a hurry to discuss this in public, it was objected that we were carrying out an attack on our Albanian colleagues."

However, when Professor Sefer Kojic received a threatening letter, there was nothing else to do. The children were immediately given written work to do so that the authors of the threatening letter could be established by comparing handwriting. That is how the staff of the school, with the help of SUP

[Secretariat for Internal Affairs], discovered the seven "members of Enver Hoxha's army."

Teachers of Albanian nationality played a large part in detecting the nationalists. Mention is made of the names of Musak Djumbaljaj, geography teacher, and then Musa Gocaj, who teaches Marxism, and others. There were also teachers who expressed doubt that the authors of the letter were pupils in that school, suspecting that this was done by "someone else."

The faculty council adopted a decision expelling the "members of Enver Hoxha's army." However, there was a long wait before the decision was carried out. Why?

Sefki Hodzic, principal of the school, explains:

"It was not difficult for us to expel those children. We were waiting for the opinion of the comrades in the opstina committee and the republic. We felt that an agreement was indispensable on this matter. It was a delicate issue, one that strikes deep into political relations in our community. We did not hesitate. And indeed the comrades in the opstina committee advised us to wait and not to be hasty. Now they reproach us for not having reacted in time.

We reminded Principal Hodzic that the political figures in the opstina were not satisfied with discovery of the actual offenders, but were seeking the "stringpullers." They obviously felt that the pupils were only someone's puppets. Whose? Certain teachers?

Though he has many years' experience in politics behind him, Principal Hodzic confesses that to a large extent he lost his own peace of mind in the situation that came about. The mental strain was severe. He told us:

"Recently, our school's youth organization arranged a dance together with the young people in the town. There were many pupils and several of us teachers just in case. At the end of the dance we went through all the classrooms, made a detailed examination and locked up the school. I was the last to go home and go to bed. But I had just closed my eyes when what did I see but a slogan on the ceiling of a classroom! I jumped from the bed as though scalded, and I realized that I had dreamed that. That shows how this was weighing upon us."

Skurta Means "Short"

We learned about the bullying behavior of certain pupils of this school from Radojica Spalevic, another teacher. Individuals among them came to class armed to the teeth! They behaved haughtily and provocatively. Nor were these children, many were already of age.

One such bully threw school furniture from the fourth floor during the congress of the Albanian Workers Party. Desks and chairs were smashed to pieces! He got off more than light, since his daddy was a member of the opstina committee.

"When we voted to expel the pupils in the last party meeting, a majority of those present were 'for,'" Professor Spalevic says. "When the secretary asked whether anyone was voting 'against,' no one spoke up. Then I called for the question of whether there were any abstentions. I feel that a party member must make a clear commitment in matters like this. After the meeting one of the 'abstentions,' a colleague of mine, attacked me with abusive language and threatened me. Such as why was I constantly causing provocations, what business was it of mine who abstained, that I would regret this, and so on."

So far nine pupils have been expelled from the school center because of nationalistic behavior. A sad fact. So sad that Munira Kukaj, a woman teacher, cried for a long time after a meeting of the faculty council. Her colleagues calmed her down, they even brought her tea to restore her composure.

Professor Munira requested that the order expelling the students not be read during the first class hour. She proposed that it be read after the fifth class hour, since the children might "get excited and cause a ruckus." Nevertheless, the order was read during the first class hour, and the children, strange to say, did not become excited.

Skurta Uljaj, another woman teacher, was nevertheless criticized for having worn a red blouse and a black skirt. She saw nothing unusual in that. Some people, however, noted that Professor Skurta was at the very least unsuitably dressed, that is, that "her ensemble smacked of nationalistic romanticism."

We leave Plav. The radio in the car is turned on: "This is Radio Tirana." The announcer informs us that Enver Hoxha has written a new book--his 33d.

The book is called "The Anglo-American Danger to Albania"! The wartime and postwar struggles with the imperialists are described by "the principal protagonist of those historic events which were decisive to the destiny of Albania, by the founder and leader of the party and the Albanian people, by the distinguished military and political leader of the National Liberation Struggle, who with his revolutionary wisdom, resolution, farsightedness and boldness has always led the party and people as victors from every battle"!

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DEDIJER DISCUSSES TITO BIOGRAPHY IN WESTERN PRESS

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 1 Mar 82 p 3

/Report of interview with Vladimir Dedijer by PRESSE correspondent Christine von Kohl, datelined Ljubljana/

/Text/ Snow covered the pines and cypresses at the time that we--a Dutch colleague and I--found Vlado Dedijer's refuge, located at the end of a world. On several occasions before we had passed by the almost impassable and unmarked road to Sipar and Villa Aishu.

Close by the beach of the northern Adriatic, some 30 km south of Koper, in a "400-year-old goat barn" (as the giant master of the house reports with obvious satisfaction), the Dedijers built themselves a home, sophisticated in its simplicity--open fireplaces, much wood and bright folk art from various parts of the country, enclosed by a wall that keeps the residents of the tourist bungalows in the vicinity from encroaching on them. Surrounded by shelves full of specialized books and sitting on a comfortable couch is the author of the book "New Notes to the Biography of Tito," who is currently reviled by the entire Yugoslav public.

"I am glad to be able to receive you for this interview here in Yugoslavia, where I am in the hands of my executors, because I think that what I am saying here now has more of a moral impact." My first question: "You are Tito's official biographer. You have made your contribution to the cult of personality around Tito, the partisans and the partisan war. Why do you now write of another truth?

"There is only one truth. Thirty years ago I wrote a book based on the material then available. Since then I have collected new material, have done so for the entire 30 years, and this is what I have now published. I am proud to be the official biographer. My book is very subjective--because I love Tito, I am very close to him, and the criticism now swelling against the book in Yugoslavia is actually directed against Tito, against pluralism. My book is used as a pretext for attacking Tito's best concept."

Are Dedijer's critics defending the image they themselves created for the Yugoslav public? Dedijer: "I would not say so. Just look who does the criticizing. Who are these people? They include many followers of Alexander Rankovic (interior minister until overthrown in 1966), in other words followers of the "strong arm" policy, and not only in the centralist meaning. They cannot even be politically identified with Rankovic; rather are they admirers of his concept of a strong arm

policy designed to make Yugoslavia into a small Balkan police state. That is in total contradiction to Tito's image of Yugoslavia."

In answer to the question whether the book represents an attack on or defense of Djilas, Dedijer answered: "Many criticis in Yugoslavia say that it is a pro-Djilas book; the Cetnik press, on the other hand, wrote abroad that it is anti-Djilas. It is neither for nor against him. At the time I let Tito know that I was going to write a book about his life. I am investigating everything that has been written about Tito, what others have written about him, including what Djilas wrote. I thus stand by the method which prescribes that the historian must question everything, especially his own 'truth.' In this book I have once again stressed that I continue to defend Djilas just as I did in 1954. It seems to me that this was the biggest task I tackled in all my life. And that is what I emphasized. My views of Djilas' actual attitudes, such as I express them--that is not 'writing history,' because all of us, Tito, Djilas, Rankovic, Bakaric, Kardelj, will one day be weighed in the scales of history, and it will the be decided who was guilty and who was not --I personally do not fear the scales of history."

Is Dedijer to be considered a chronicler rather than a historian? The author maintains that it is impossible to write contemporary history. "First of all we do not have all the documents, secondly we are subjective; we were rather like a cult before and during the war, and that is why some time must pass. But we who are now dealing with the chronicle or history, we have an obligation to discuss the problems. Moreover, there is also a history born from the sentiments of the people, from the way the people look at these matters. We must note down everything, and that is the advantage of the chronicler. When I want to know who spied on Tito, I go to Bakaric and ask him, and he answers. Afterward, though, he begins to be afraid and denies everything. These are the positive and negative conditions confronting the contemporary historian."

Subsequently we talked in some detail about the harassment suffered by Dedijer: Documents are stolen, telephone lines cut, his archives are to be taken away from him. We also talked about the increasing change that occurred in the past 2 years in the climate of opinion about him and his work on the book.

"My work became a football. First it was used in the struggle who is to have or retain what chair. Secondly, hardly had it appeared, it was misused in the conflict between those who advocate greater pluralism and those who oppose Tito's policy.

Dedijer keeps returning to the question: Who is it, who wants to prevent Tito from being described as he really was? A "revolting peasant" with "revolutionary charisman," a man who ate from the same dish as his close collaborators? Who benefits from the de facto ban on the publication of the third and fourth volumes of Dedijer's biography of Tito? The third volume, already typeset, deals with "Tito's Struggle Against the Cominform" (that is against Soviet attempts to infiltrate the Yugoslav Communist Party); the title of the fourth volume is "Tito and the Nonaligned Nations." Also banned from publication is a collection of various essays that Dedijer wrote for the papers in the course of many years. "Evidently I am entering another phase of 'lean years,' as in Rankovic's time, when I was prevented for 12 years from publishing a single book."

Dedijer, now 68, has plenty of plans for the coming years. A Swiss publishing house will issue his book on the topic "Spheres of Interests." Together with Sartre he hopes to be able in the near future to finish a work on "how the rulers destroyed the heretics." They have been working on this for 15 years. First of all, though, he will respond to an invitation from the Sorbonne and lecture there at the end of April on the "charisma of revolutionaries, from Napoleon to the present day." In May-June he is to take on the honorary presidency of a mass tribunal on the topic of Poland, which is to take place in Rome and Stockholm. In the summer he will organize a preparatory seminar in Sipar for a symposium planned by the Berlin Free University for next spring, and which is to deal with the problem "spheres of interests and international morality." Other likely speakers are Kreisky, Brandt and Palme.

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FRANK REMARKS BY WRITER KAPOR CAUSE UPROAR

Text of Controversial Interview

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 82 p 10

[Interview with Momo Kapor, writer, academic painter and journalist, by Svetozar Rakovic, in Belgrade: "The Strategy of a Lightweight Writer"; date not specified]

[Text] No one turned around when he entered the restaurant, as he approached me, accompanied by a young man whom he introduced to me simply as his friend Aca, I was already going over the data on him. His greeting was brief and conventional. He asked that we "get down to work" immediately. He also proposed that I remove the tape recorder from the table and hide it somewhere between my legs. The waiter knew him. He acknowledged that he felt at home in the restaurant, which is called "Under the Linden Tree." Kapor, academic painter, journalist and most of all writer.

[Question] In speaking of your generation one begins with the war, with socialist realism and the struggle for new objective space in art. How has your generation perceived those problematical years?

[Answer] Under normal circumstances, you know, kids are usually in awe of their elders. I had no such opportunity watching the guys in my street greeting the Germans as they entered Sarajevo and weeping as they bid them farewell and then cutting 5-pointed stars out of their wooden fences as they awaited the liberators. Within a month those same people had become protagonists of the new life, and I, of course, did not trust them. We in my generation became hungry little individuals who found our own bearings and gradually built up the integrity of a world of our own.

Wait ... let us order something.... Shall we have "Grasevina" ... give us a liter (turning to the waiter) and a bottle of soda water.

When the postwar drill began, when the little streetwise and anarchoid individualists were supposed to be turned into little Pioneers with red neckerchiefs after the Soviet model. When a heap of idiotic and stupid books appeared in support of this effort along the lines of "Snezna turdjava" [The Snow Fortress], "Timur i njegova ceta" [Timur and His Band], "Kavaljer crvene

zvezde" [Cavalier of the Red Star], "Cetiri uspeha Gulje Koroljeve" [Gulja Koroljeva's Four Successes], which made cretins out of the kids, we naturally resisted in our way. We picked up continuity with the time before the war in the comic strips about Flash Gordon, Tom Hunter.... We came into a situation where we had to write compositions about the warmth of Stalin's gaze, while secretly we were carrying on a child's intellectual guerrilla war, on a small scale but very effective. We were also getting part of our education at Kolarac People's University, listening to the St. Matthew's Passion in certain houses in Belgrade, in the film museum.... All of this was our resistance to the stupid bureaucratic output. Thus at one point we became too smart, too well educated and had a great deal of energy to do something in life. Ahead of us, however, there stood a semiliterate generation which had come out of schools for commissioned officers and held positions as theater directors, editors.... They had absolutely everything in their hands.

The So-Called Eastern Sin

[Question] Was that the beginning of a lasting conflict between the generations?

[Answer] Yes, but not the true conflict. They were totally uneducated, Sholokhov was their model.... Everything somehow in that style. When they broke with Stalin, they felt as though they had spit in their own father's face, that they had renounced him. It was like pangs of conscience or the so-called Eastern Sin. Room had to be found alongside such people, and they held in their hands the print shops, the editorial offices, the radio, the theaters.... A certain cleverness was therefore indispensable, and that later became one of the essential features of my generation. It had to find places for its own, to draw them through the eye of the needle, to wear camouflage so as not to be noticed. Just a moment ... (he took the bottle of wine with an agile movement from the waiter and filled the glasses). Will you have soda? Record away [snimi trc] ... (alluding to my tape recorder). That enough?

[Question] You were speaking about the problems of our postwar cultural ferment....

[Answer] You know what is interesting in that whole story? That precisely those same people I have just been telling you about are today themselves beginning to reveal the previously unknown steps they made in furthering their careers. It turns out that we were abused and manipulated, and that they actually were deceivers, murderers and liars--scandalous memoirs are appearing in which they attack and accuse one another. Light is getting into those dark areas which previously one did not dare speak about, since the view was that we lived in the most perfect of all worlds. Some of them stopped trains on the open track so that their spouses' morning cafe au lait would not shriek in the cup; they had special stores for the diplomatic corps, it has turned out that even during the war the leaders received different food from the soldiers, horrible things are coming out that the entire nation had no idea of. Incidentally, if anyone at that time had been able to say what he thought about all that, that man would still be in prison to this very day. No one would ever come to the point of pardoning such a person. We have in general a kind of tradition of no one ever pardoning anyone else.

I fear that we have moved too much into the domain of political life.

Indeed without politics one can neither explain nor understand my generation's development.

[Question] Was your beginning as a writer related to the publishing of your first journalistic pieces in book form at the suggestion of Zlatko Crnkovic, editor at Znanje?

[Answer] That might have been the beginning as far as journalism in book form. However, before that I had already done about 20 radio plays and 10 plays for TV, which I guess is also literature. It is funny how newsmen feel a kind of traumatic paralysis about their pieces appearing in book form. After all, newsmen are trained to write only for today. But actually there are more talented and good writers among newsmen than among the writers themselves. A great number of writers are actually just lazy people who hide behind padded doors, making a big thing of their work and boasting how little they write. But writing little does not mean anything.

[Question] The critics have often called you a "lightweight writer," whose works are read one day and forgotten the next. It is surprising, however, that you yourself have announced that you are a lightweight writer.

[Answer] This is a matter of the most ordinary strategy. It dates from the period I was talking about. You see, when you get the image of a lightweight writer like I have, you get a chance under that cover to pass off certain things which you could not have published under ordinary circumstances. So I voluntarily let myself be treated as a lightweight writer. But believe me, when today I read some of my manuscripts published earlier, my hair stands on end, since now, for example, I would not be able to publish those same things. Practically every paragraph would get me in trouble. As for being lightweighted, remember that many people even today look on Mozart as a cheerful and lightweight composer, while actually there is no composer more morbid or gloomy than he is. The same is thought about someone like Chopin, and it took Pogorelic to get down to some lower level, some fifth or sixth level in his work which shows that Chopin was a very complicated and sick composer, similar to, say, E. A. Poe, or to Redon in painting. Any writer who is any good at all has several layers in his book.

[Question] You often say that your works are documents of our time. In your books you point to "ordinary things," which, according to your critics, "you raise to the level of literary facts." Is that not the influence of the time you spent in journalism?

[Answer] You know, I actually never have done anything intentional, and I have no esthetics [original reads "ethics"] like that at all. I am short of time and I am always in a kind of machine which is turning at a dizzying speed, and that is the way it has been since I was 16. I have not had the time to define my ars poetica. Let the estheticians and critics continue to concern themselves with that.

[Question] You have spoken about some conflict between generations in the domain of politics and culture in the period of socialist realism. Today a real problem in art related to the emergence of the new and opposition of the old is becoming topical once again. Josip Vidmar, say, is openly expressing a lack of confidence in young artists.

[Answer] Vidmar is a fine and congenial fellow, but like many in his generation, he is detached from the real world and constantly surrounded by chauffeurs, by secretaries.... He is a man, then, from some archaic time, someone who woke up all of a sudden in an altered world. He was amazed that no one was listening to what he said any longer, that people were yawning when he spoke, that they were walking out without excusing themselves.... Actually it is a question of profound changes and the mentality of our people, which Vidmar does not believe in.

When the Capillaries Pop

[Question] What do you think about the division into writers who are free and those who write "on order"?

[Answer] You know what, it seems to me that this could explain the frequent cases of heart attack among newsmen who get caught up in the merciless government machinery and who usually write the opposite from what they think. That is why the capillaries pop, people crack and die young.

[Question] When we speak about the free artist, we usually think of a man who is not overly precise and orderly. It seems that you belie that.

[Answer] Absolutely! I am the most punctual man in the world and arrive at every meeting 15 minutes ahead of time, though everyone else is usually late. Had I not been punctual in my life, I would hardly have been in this situation and in this place. Castaneda describes this superbly in his book "Journey to Ixtlan" when he says that the only true works are those in which one feels that the man who made them did so as if for his last time. Such works have a certain magic, ferocity and strength. Perhaps, let us say, this will be my last interview!

[Question] Most of your works have an air of nostalgia. How do you build up your literary world, how much of it is subject to identification?

[Answer] That is a matter of personal literary cuisine. Every individual is a mixture of several different personalities. You fell in love, he committed a theft, and yet a third committed a murder, and when I put you together I have a good character. The beginning writer's greatest difficulty lies in the fact that he does not realize that a brunette can also be a blond, and so on. As for nostalgia, I already feel nostalgia for the night before or, still better, for yesterday in the daytime, when my wife and I had a lunch of fish in the snow on the Sava.

[Question] Where in your opinion is it best for young people to break the notorious "ice" of their elders?

[Answer] There is only one invariable rule. A young man must be horribly strong and brave to write a truthful book about what he knows and not act the part of Ginsberg, Eliot or someone else. I guarantee that that book will take off and fly over all barriers without anyone's help.

[Question] Do you think that our writers would be unable to earn even the price of a cup of coffee in America?

[Answer] Writers have the best life in this society. They are taken care of without having to do even as much as their colleagues in the USSR or Bulgaria. Our writers are privileged. They are so spoiled they would have trouble doing anything in America where things are different. Over there they do not want to know whether someone is Leonardo or Lubarda, Kapor or Trnavac. The important thing is what you will do and how much you can do on your own.

[Question] In the usual discussion of art the question of the goals of the artist's commitment is usually asked....

[Answer] We are all running toward some bluebird. One man's goal may be the Nobel Prize, another the Academy of Sciences, still another the Association of Serbian Writers, from which there is a wholesale exodus every other year. My goal is to write a book which will not be longer than 80 pages and will be very popular. It would be a book in the style of "The Little Prince," "Catcher in the Rye," or "The Silences of the Sea." It seems to me that I have been close to writing such a book twice already. When I succeed in doing that, I will not write anything more except for the newspapers, since I like that profession. Incidentally, it is a good job, an easy life, you get around, it is comfortable.... What is most important, you do not have a boss, or as Matija Beckovic says: "Goethe is my boss."

Rage in Bosnia-Hercegovina

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 7 Mar 82 p 4

[Account of statement made by Dragutin Kosovac, Energoinvest executive, in session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina: "It Was Not an Attack on SRBiH [Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina], But on the Revolution"]

[Text] "I did not intend to speak, but I have been aroused by an article which I saw and read today," were the words with which Dragutin Kosovac began his statement. "I think that it is clear in discussion of unwholesome things in the press that the reference is not solely to magazines, since the attack of individuals on Yugoslavia's constitutional system was not published in any popular review, but in an official organ of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions. MLADOST is an organ of the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia, and it published the article I will speak about. It is not, then, just popular magazines. Second, I think in essence it has to do with the League of Communists, the problems and relations in the League of Communists, that it is a question of tendencies, both nationalistic and unitaristic, which have not been overcome and of liberalism in the League of Communists, and also, within

the framework of that liberalism, a question of playing the coquette with the opposition toward achievement of its goals. It is not a question of Bosnia and Hercegovina as such. Bosnia and Hercegovina are attacked because it is a question of the Bosnia-Hercegovina instituted by AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], which is a thorn in the eye of both Great Serb and Great Croat nationalism, because by its very existence it prevents the nationalists, Great Serb and Great Croat, from striking a bargain. It is a thorn in the eye of nationalism of various kinds and is therefore the target of those attacks, and it is also the policy which is being conducted in Bosnia-Hercegovina. However, beyond Bosnia it is also a question of attacks on our revolution as a whole. It begins with a tale about this or that, and then it arrives at the gist of the matter, which is an attack on the revolution.

"The reason I am saying this is a disgusting nationalistic and counterrevolutionary article which was published on 22 February 1982--even after, that is, the Federal Conference and after the meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of Serbia. It was published in the newspaper MLADOST, an interview with Momo Kapor, in which he says: '... Under normal circumstnaces, you know, kids are usually in awe of their elders. I had no such opportunity watching the guys in my street greeting the Germans as they entered Sarajevo and weeping as they bid them farewell and then cutting 5-pointed stars out of their wooden fences as they awaited the liberators. Within a month those same people had become protagonists of the new life, and I, of course, did not trust them.' This is obviously a disgusting and poisonous nationalistic attack and a check should be made as to whether this Momo Kapor could indeed have remembered it. Probably he could not have remembered the Germans entering Sarajevo and leaving it. However, he goes on to say: 'When the postwar drill began, when the little streetwise and anarchoid individualists were supposed to be turned into little Pioneers with red neckerchiefs, when a heap of idiotic and stupid books appeared in support of this effort along the lines of "Snezna turdjava," "Timur i njegova ceta," "Kavaljer crvene zvezde," "Cetiri uspeha Gulje Koroljeve," which made cretins out of the kids, we naturally resisted in our way. We picked up continuity with the time before the war in the comic strips about Flash Gordon, Tom Hunter, and so on.' Which means that even as a child Momo Kapor sought and found continuity with the old royalist and capitalistic Yugoslavia. And he says this today, on 22 February in the year of our Lord 1982, but he does not even stop there. He says that he came into conflict with the generation which was ahead of him, which was half-educated, untrained, etc.

"'They were totally uneducated, Sholokhov was their model.... Everything somehow in that style. When they broke with Stalin, they felt as though they had spit in their own father's face, that they had renounced him. It was like pangs of conscience or the so-called Eastern Sin.'

"And then he says: 'You know what is interesting in that whole story? That precisely those same people I have just been telling you about are today themselves beginning to reveal the previously unknown steps they made in furthering their careers, it turns out that we were abused and manipulated, and that they actually were deceivers, murderers and liars--scandalous memoirs are

appearing in which they attack and accuse one another. Light is getting into those dark areas which previously one did not dare speak about, since the view was that we lived in the most perfect of all worlds. Some of them stopped trains on the open track so that their spouses' morning cafe au lait would not shriek in the cup. They had special stores for the diplomatic corps, it has turned out that even during the war the leaders received different food from the soldiers, horrible things are coming out that the entire nation had no idea of. Incidentally, if anyone at that time had been able to say what he thought about all that, that man would still be in prison to this very day.'

"I think he really should be put in prison. And one reason I say that is that I think that sometimes our behavior and actions are not appropriate. I am afraid that sometimes we get things confused. An attack appeared recently on Bosnia in the newspaper DUGA. Signed 'A reader who is a pilot,' it is about abuses of executive aircraft, about how a Sarajevo professor flew to Geneva in a small plane to buy coffee, took his child with him, the child was fooling around the airplane, the pilot objected to this when he came back, and the pilot was fired because of that objection.

"And something else, that primitive Bosnia had a Lear jet; when the late Djema [Djemal Bijedic, former Yugoslav prime minister] went down in the Lear jet, Bosnia sold the spooked aircraft and bought another one. This was published in the newspaper DUGA.

"Our secretariat for information issued denials; but in my opinion that was not the way, perhaps the denials should have been made by some pilot: to say as a reader 'do not tell lies,' and the public prosecutor ought to see who that 'pilot' and the editor are and to prosecute them, since I think that we should not enter into discussion about such matters, things like this are clearly defined in the law, and they should be handled in accordance with the law. Respect for legality is an integral and essential part of democracy. But I say this because there is every indication that this is not an attack on Bosnia, but, through Bosnia, this is an attack on our revolution as a whole and on the revolution and cadres in both Serbia and Croatia as well as in the other republics. Such counterrevolutionaries are also served by Tempo [Svetozar Vukmanovic] and others, pursuing their own ambitions, who believe that they are furthering their own ambitions, but in actuality the counterrevolutionaries are leading them from the library to a performance, making fun of them, and through them carrying out an attack on our revolution.

"Enough about that.

"Second. We find ourselves in economic difficulties, and the economic difficulties are being used for an attack on our constitutional system, for an attack both on self-management and on the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. I will not enter into any further discussion of this, since I have spoken about this on one occasion both here in the Central Committee and also in public, and I do not want to repeat myself.

"However, let me say something about the methods of the attack and about our behavior. That is, the method is one of torcida [loud rabid rooting]. The

attack is begun in some political meeting, it is carried over into the press and is 'chewed over' endlessly, and then a situation is created in which even decent people take that assertion as though it were a fact and enter into discussion on that basis. For instance, we have created the picture that nothing is worth anything in society, nor in the economy, nor in relations, and we now believe this, and it even creeps into our own materials, 'there is no progress with self-management, there is no progress with pooling,' no progress here, no progress there--so, there is no progress at all. And actually things are not going as we would like. But do not forget that we are creating relations which are new in history. When we talk about joint revenues, about joint income, those are historically new relations on which a great deal of work needs to be done, they cannot be achieved overnight. And instead of our starting with an analysis, instead of analyzing what is involved here, how much is involved, instead of seeing what is constructive and of backing up those constructive aspects, we accept their 'nothing is any good' and take that as our point of departure in the discussion.

"A similar topic of a frontal attack is that of the exclusiveness of markets. But the problem of exclusiveness is not being discussed from the standpoint of an analysis as to whether a market is closed off or not, where it is closed off and why, but it is created by the method of torcida, the canard 'the republics have shut themselves off,' the republics are breaking down the unified Yugoslav market, and the role of the republic in the economy, its responsibility for its own development, is attacked on that basis, and that is an attack on Yugoslavia's constitutional system, in actuality an attack on the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia. However, sometimes even certain of our good and well-intentioned comrades give way to 'torcida' and postulate this in discussions as though it were a fact. Or, now a new torcida. Using the payments-balance difficulties which we are having, the payments-balance position of the republics and provinces is now under attack with bursts of gunfire, is proscribed, and is pilloried. And that generally, on the broadest scale, but in actuality the attack is being made on the constitutional order, the position and responsibility of the republics for their development, since there can be no question of development if it is not related to relations with the rest of the world. There can be no responsibility of the republics for their own development if it does not also involve their responsibility for their own balance of payments and, through that balance of payments, for the balance of payments of Yugoslavia.

"I think that we dare not give in to the methods of torcida and accept attacks uncritically. We ought to be capable of reading the goals being striven for and of reacting in good time, of not buckling under to these attacks. In this specific case we should preserve the payments-balance positions as an important element in achieving the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of this country and the constitutional position of the republics and provinces and as a condition for our emerging once and for all from the deficit in the balance of payments," Dragutin Kosovac said among other things.

Open Letter to Kapor

Sarajevo SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian No 1240, 8 Mar 82 p 17

[Open letter by Miro Jancic: "'We' and 'They'"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 4 March 1982

Dear Momo,

We have not seen each other nor kept up our friendship in recent years, and this letter will probably surprise you, especially since our generation has almost completely gotten out of the habit of correspondence and given it up. I seem to have lost your address, perhaps in fact you have moved, but that is not the reason why I am addressing you through the newspapers; I know that it is enough to address the envelope MOMO KAPOR, BELGRADE, for you to be found by any postman in our capital who is at all literate, which cannot fail to be a compliment even for the ordinary people of Sarajevo you come from, about whom you have written so beautifully in your many books and journalistic pieces, and to whom you are endeared in a way--let me inform you by the way that you are still among the writers most in demand in Sarajevo libraries and bookstores.

Let me not beat about the bush, the occasion for this letter and a letter of this kind is your interview which was published under the title "Strategy of a Lightweight Writer" in MLADOST, a periodical of the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia. Since I am no longer a subscriber--both of us are now unfortunately in our "advanced youth"--I do not follow that Belgrade newspaper, but several friends of mine, some of whom are in fact our mutual friends, called my attention to its last issue, the one for February. Now, about that interview of yours (I assume that you have been interpreted fairly) which is being talked about in Sarajevo with so much disappointment that I took pains to find it and read it word for word. Another reason I decided to do this was that a few years ago I was in a position of defending you from some careless name-calling in connection with your drama "Vox humana" and I hope that those names you were called, which it seems some people need to be able to express themselves, have not done you much harm.

The chatter of a writer like you, who is well known among other things for his nonchalance and charm, ought not as a rule to raise any furor. This time, however, you have surprised your readers and those who know you by the pretentiousness of your indicting, trying and rendering judgment on entire historic eras and communities. One could swallow even that--we all have our moments of bitterness and indeed our right to our own viewpoint of events and people. It is confusing that you insist on speaking in the first person plural, though Boro Mihacevic, now deceased unfortunately, teacher in the First Boys High School, taught us that that was not always recommended.

From the standpoint and interest of our generation, dear Momo, perhaps it is not even so important who agrees with you and who does not, that is, who consents or does not consent to be included in that "we" of yours. In view of

the broader context of the times in which you were interviewed and in which you represented yourself as in fact an exceptionally committed writer, however, in spite of the best will in the world and a feeling of melancholy for those days spent together in childhood, youth and school, days that bind us together, it is difficult to shrug my shoulders and say "but that is just Momo's usual way"--perhaps that ought not to be done precisely for the sake of those generations now coming of age whom you are addressing as your potential public through the youth newspaper: they have the right to be informed about everything as objectively as possible, which is what you yourself advocate.

So allow me to recall, to present my own vision of those same things, even though it may seem like "Rashomon." Always and everywhere there have been and will be Quislings and no-good careerists--in Sarajevo, in Belgrade, and also in Zagreb--but I personally do not know a single one who--as you assert, once again in the plural--greeted the Germans on the Miljacka, wept when they departed, and then hastily cut in 5-pointed stars in his wooden fence (up to this point the possibility does exist), and then a month after the Liberation became a "protagonist of the new life" (the latter could not have occurred even theoretically, as you yourself testify a bit later--contradicting yourself when you say that "ahead of us there was a semiliterate generation which had come out of schools for commissioned officers," which "held absolutely everything in its hands"--who then was the protagonist?).

Dear Momo, you were always exceptional and talented, but I really do not recall that even in short pants, or even in graduating from the eighth grade, that you were so aware of this that you were wise to all the traps of the Stalinist system of indoctrination and socialist realism, and much less that you can say "we" again in this case. We all played hooky, but mostly to go to dances, we did get reprimands, but, say, for playing games (pucomet) on the teacher's desk, and if you suffered in school and boycotted it out of ideological motives--more power to you! It really is difficult to believe that even at the age of 13 you were convinced that "Snezna turdjava" and "Timur i njegova ceta" are books which "turn children into cretins"--you might have told us so back then. I do not even dare to think that you cried when you saw sentimental films like "Tahir and Zuhra," nor that you had a good laugh at a programmatic comedy like "The Girl Who Kept Pigs and the Shepherd," as I, I confess, did. Might it not have been said earlier that our entire generation--viewed, of course, from the present point of view--was naive and uninformed, that is, that in that difficult postwar period when we were in the first grades of secondary school we actually did not know about all the things that could be known and possessed? In my opinion, that is the essential difference between our world and the world of the present young generation, which has an obvious advantage. But I would not attribute the credit for that development of events either to enlightened individuals or to enlightened age groups, but to society as a whole, and we know quite well who has been leading it, in what way and in what direction.

You were very incautious in your statement so that younger age groups might conclude that Flash Gordon and Tom Hunter ("We picked up continuity with the time before the war in the comic strips," we carried on "secret intellectual guerrilla war") and then Kolarac and music ("listening to the St. Matthew's

Passion in certain houses in Belgrade") were above all responsible for the epiphanic moments in which even you reflected freely, that thanks to that we "became too smart and gifted," but we were blocked in advance by people who were "totally uneducated and took Sholokhov as their model." It really is difficult to agree with you, even allowing that you are speaking metaphorically. There were so many events of greater importance to our generation's development, including artistic works, that I do not feel the need to enumerate them here and now--allow me only to express my opinion that Sholokhov is not such a bad writer.

Now that I have dealt with the first person plural, though rather superficially (I would be happy if we could talk about this at length), allow me to move on to the third person plural, which you also use in a rather strange way. "They"! "They did not allow us to go forward," "we had to pass through the eye of the needle," "a certain craftiness was necessary, and that later in fact became one of the essential features of that generation...." I do not know whether you actually did that, but I do not allow anyone to tell me that I was pretending all that time. Indeed I would rather say of you yourself that you entered life through a wide open door, that both professionally and financially you climbed to the very top, as far as our dinar peaks go. Haven't you become what you wanted and could? What else would you want except, as you say, to write your best book? Is someone preventing you from doing that? Have you become bored with your nice life, and now you want to get yourself in trouble? Really, Momo, on this occasion you are not nearly as clear as you are otherwise brilliant in our precincts and in Gutenberg's and McLuhan's galaxy.

"Room had to be found alongside them," "we were abused and manipulated," and "they actually were deceivers, murderers and liars" (Momo, poor man, are you in your right mind?), and now "scandalous memoirs are appearing in which they attack and accuse one another," "light is getting into those dark areas which previously one did not dare speak about," they "even during the war received different food from the soldiers," "things are coming out that the entire nation had no idea of" and so on--and you spill out all this and other nonsense in a restaurant, but in front of a public address system, and at the end you also want "them" to pardon you for all that!

Just as I do not know whom you mean by "we," still less is it clear to me who "they" are. Is it those who waged war so that among other things they made it possible for you and me to have a peaceful life for these three or four decades, to develop and express ourselves, those who opened the doors of the entire world to us, or is the reference to others? Limiting myself to that restricted home town we have in common, I can think of many people whom you are hurting, but I do not see anyone who really fits your description. To be sure, there were and there are those who do not exactly cherish the freedom of other people, but that is more a question of personal pathology, which is less and less able to manifest itself in our system.

Dear Momo, in your brief interview you showered the public and above all the young and innocent with so much disinformation and unusual views of our generation and certain other older generations that it really is not clear what you

had in mind. Perhaps it would not be bad for you to make another statement and clear things up completely, on which occasion, were I in your place, I personally would not honor that "tradition of no one ever pardoning anyone else," which you also mention. Until then perhaps it is best for us to abide in the belief of that bottle of Grasevina and the soda water which the faithful newsman of MLADOST noted down, lucky for you. Which is why I am writing to you as a friend, and I send greetings and wish you all the best.

Miro Jancic

P.S. I hope you will not mind very much if I send a copy of this letter to SVIJET in Sarajevo as well as to MLADOST in Belgrade.

Kapor's Response in 'MLADOST'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1628, 14 Mar 82 p 23

[Excerpt from review of controversy around Momo Kapor consisting of his response to Dragutin Kosovac]

[Text] Reacting to those articles [by Dragutin Kosovac and Miro Jancic] Momo Kapor has sent a letter to MLADOST (which MLADOST is publishing in its most recent issue) in which he says:

"Unfortunately, I have not been reading the newspapers in recent days, so that I could not have known that in the meantime Dragutin Kosovac, a member of the Central Committee in Bosnia-Hercegovina and chairman of the business board of Energoinvest, has acquired so much power that he can deprive Yugoslav writers of their freedom, wherever they may reside.

"That is, I have read the article in OSLOBODJENJE, 7 March 1982, in which Kosovac says: 'I think that he really should be put in prison.' That prevents me from any kind of response to any attack, since my arguments consist of ideas and words, and not violence and prison bars. After all, what good are open letters if the writers are to be shut up?

"In the meantime I am waiting for Dragutin Kosovac or his representatives to come for me."

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7 April 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1996

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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DEFENSE SYSTEM BASED ON SELF-RELIANCE EXTOLLED

Tirana ZERI I POLULLIT in Albanian 9 Feb 82 pp 2-3

[Article by Ali Vukatana: "Let Us Assimilate as Deeply as Possible the Ideas of the 8th Congress of the Party--the Party Does Not Rely on Foreign Aid or Circumstances for the Defense of the Fatherland"]

[Text] During the 8th Party Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized that "Our party has never relied on foreign help or on various international situations for the defense of the fatherland, but has mainly depended on internal factors: on the strength, patriotism and bravery of our people and on complete preparedness and the consistent combat readiness of the whole nation to defend the country." This has been and remains one of the basic principles of the general Marxist-Leninist and military line of our party, which runs like a red thread through the entire organization and activity in the area of training the soldier-people to successfully confront every possible imperialist-revisionist aggression.

The history of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War and the period of socialist construction in our country fully attest to the correctness of this principle, which our party has faithfully followed. Our party has assimilated the experiences gained in every stage of our revolution, has continuously increased vigilance and has taken the necessary measures to ensure and continuously strengthen the defensive powers of the fatherland by relying on our own internal forces.

Expressions of this farsighted Marxist-Leninist policy are the perfecting, by the party and by Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, of our Military Art of the People's Struggle, the arming of all the people for defense, the continuous perfecting of our military organization, the creation of Free Military Schools and the bringing of military arms and techniques as close as possible to production centers and to our working people and soldiers, improving the Theater of Combat Activities in all its complexity, achieving complete dedication to the interests of socialist construction and the protection of the fatherland and safeguarding and strengthening the popular revolutionary character of our army, not as an army separated from the people, but as an organized and modern army with steel-like discipline, politically and ideologically aware consolidated and organized, united as one with the armed and militarily-prepared people.

The party has constantly made it clear to the people that the socialist fatherland is defended with arms in hand by the people themselves and no one else, because to successfully confront the imperialist-revisionist blockade and come out victorious, requires a continuous strengthening of the steel-like unity around the party, raising vigilance to a higher level. It requires political and ideological maturity, a deep understanding of the party line and its implementation with unshakeable faith, high conscientiousness, fiery patriotism, iron discipline and perfect organization.

The thorough evaluation of these matters, which are among the most sacred for us, has been reflected and continues to be reflected, better and better, in the military preparation of the entire armed people and the people's army as an indivisible part of the party, based on the influence our Military Art of the People's struggle. This art is indisputably superior to that of the enemy because it relies on Marxism-Leninism, on the experience of our Anti-Fascist National Liberation War and on the experiences of other peoples' revolutionary wars. Our defense has had and will always have the true character of a people's defense, because our party has not moved a bit from the principle of the line of the masses in the military preparation of the entire country to ensure success in the People's War. Under the leadership of the party and according to the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our people and our army, with high morale and with the proletarian virtues and attributes which characterize them, enthusiastically assimilate and creatively implement our Military Art. They know why they are getting ready, why they are fighting and what they will defend in case of danger.

Armed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the party and with firearms, our people are aware that under no circumstance can we rely on foreign aid or various international situations for the defense of the fatherland. The party took in time, and it is continuing to perfect in every way, measures to make the defense of the fatherland unbreakable. The different theories on "detente" and "international aid"; the tale of "European security" etc, are delusions and nothing more; therefore, the party teaches the armed forces in all their structures and all the people to devotedly and intelligently implement the party's directives and instructions: keeping their revolutionary vigilance up and their military preparedness high in order to defend the freedom and independence of the socialist fatherland.

The historic decisions of the 8th Party Congress have opened new horizons and perspectives and have set down even greater tasks for this area. The conditions and capabilities the party has created for an overall strengthening of the defense capabilities of the fatherland, by relying on our own forces, are without comparison. However, at the present stage, the work of the party and its levers must respond better to these conditions and capabilities by developing a more profound education for the people, which will strengthen everywhere the firm belief in the vitality of socialism and the absolute necessity of defending it with our own forces, from all internal or external dangers. Concrete realistic educational work will further strengthen socialist patriotism and will serve to increase political vigilance and revolutionary class convictions against the many-sided bourgeois-revisionist pressures, and against euphoric manifestations that "the enemy does not dare to attack us" etc.

Greater care must be devoted to the work of assimilating and creatively implementing our Military Art of the People's struggle. Instilling and further strengthening deep convictions for the assimilation and creative implementation of this art, are very necessary conditions to assure the defense of the fatherland and a decisive victory over the enemies. This necessitates a new impetus for the revolutionizing of the political and military preparedness of the people, to assure higher efficiency and maximum results in every type of training, to perfect even more the methods of their management, organization and development; it requires a sound knowledge of the system of combat readiness and the use of the terrain, while supporting and encouraging, in every possible way, advanced scientific thought. Our military art is and must become even more the property of all the people, of every soldier-citizen and citizen-soldier capable of bearing arms.

The party has never separated the defense of the fatherland from the construction of socialism. The people and the army in our country are in complete unity. And precisely because of this continuously improving relationship and implementation of political, ideological, economic and military tasks in undivided unity, the defense of our fatherland has become even more impregnable. Although this unity has been built on sound foundations in every respect, it is actually still necessary to strengthen and perfect it even further so that all our people, in the terrain and in the army, any place where soldiers are trained, think and act with the same politically mature proletarian class judgment, with the same discipline and militay spirit, with the same organization and strong need to economize in the production areas as well as in the defense areas, because every step we take today, in any area of social activity, must be considered as a preparatory measure for defense.

Our people and our army have been equipped with powerful modern arms and techniques to confront every enemy or coalition of enemies. The principle of man's superiority over arms is the basic principle of our Military Art of the People's struggle. But this does not mean that arms must be underrated or neglected. Our party has always followed the principle that the more we are prepared politically and militarily and the more skillfully we use the arms we have, the better and stronger the defense capabilities of the fatherland will become, and the less the enemy will hurt us. All attitudes of underestimation in this matter and every bit of negligence in preserving the complete combat readiness arms and techniques has harmful consequences. Therefore, the work of the party and the party levers is concentrated on instilling deeper and strengthening further correct concepts and the belief in the effectiveness of our arms, on belief in the mastery of these arms by all our defense structure, on achieving the maximum combat productivity and on a highly-skilled knowledge of their technical and tactical use and on keeping and maintaining them like the apple of our eye.

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ZHIVKOV GIVES INTERVIEW TO PERGAMON PRESS PRESIDENT MAXWELL

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Jan 82 pp 1-4

[Answers by Todor Zhivkov to questions asked by Robert Maxwell, president of the Pergamon Press publishing house: "Steady All-Round Upsurge and Systematic Course of Peace and Cooperation"]

> [Text] The following are the answers which Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, gave to questions asked by Robert Maxwell, publisher and president of Pergamon Press, the Anglo-American publishing company.
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> The interview is a segment of the book of works by the leader of our party and state, which was published by Pergamon Press in Great Britain in November 1981. It is part of the series "World Leaders" and is entitled "Todor Zhivkov--Statesman and Builder of New Bulgaria." Robert Maxwell is editor in chief.

Robert Maxwell: Dear Mr President, what explains the fact that you have held the highest political and state position in your country for such a long time?

Todor Zhivkov: I find this question difficult to answer. I hope that you will not ask of me to assess my own political and practical qualities. Let us leave this to the future.

You probably know that I have been a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party for half a century. I was a fighter in the front line of its difficult struggle in the period of clandestinity and armed resistance to fascist dictatorship for about 15 years. After the victory of the socialist revolution, I carried out whatever assignments were entrusted to me by the party. I was elected BCP Central Committee first secretary in 1954. I was reelected at the historic April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum as Central Committee first secretary and have been reelected to this position at all subsequent party congresses. The 12th BCP Congress restored our party's traditional position of BCP Central Committee general secretary and elected me to hold this position. I have always felt a profound gratitude and filial responsibility for this high trust and have always tried with all my work and behavior to dedicate a maximum effort, energy and knowledge to justify it.

I personally consider my appointment as BCP Central Committee general secretary a new and responsible assignment, an obligation to work even more energetically and purposefully for the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th party congress, the triumph of its April line and the building of a mature socialist society in my fatherland.

Robert Maxwell: What is your view on the possibility of retiring and taking a deserved rest after so many years of earnest work for your country and party?

Todor Zhivkov: Frankly speaking, I have not given this possibility any particular thought. I believe, however, that it is entirely natural for any person who, working tirelessly, reaches a certain age gradually. You know, I have three grandsons and a natural wish to devote greater attention and concern to them. I would also like to have more free time to read and reread books by authors I love....However, here again we meet with some written and unwritten laws of our party which I must take into consideration as a conscientious and disciplined communist.

The rule which remains from the period of the struggle for social freedom is that for as long as this struggle goes on there neither is nor could there be any rest for the communist-revolutionary. He remains at his post for as long as he lives and is full of energy. After the victory of the socialist revolution, the retirement of a party member is something rather relative. Even after they retire, most party members keep working for as long as they can contribute their knowledge and organizational and practical experience serving the party and society. No one but themselves urges them to do so!

That is precisely why our party bylaws set no age limit on membership or leading work.

The biological limits and the limits of the mental and physical possibilities of doing full-time work, which are taken into consideration in defining retirement age, have probably been scientifically substantiated. However, they are largely no more than an arithmetical average.

Such is my answer to your somewhat provocative question. I can assure you, however, that what is certain that is my decision to retire or not does not depend exclusively on my personal wishes and considerations but on may other circumstances which I must take into consideration as well. We, Bulgarians, like to joke, and let me tell you in this connection that one of my ancestors--Grandpa Vulko Zhivkovski--lived to be almost 107 years old and felt sprightly and far from old to the very last day of his life....

Robert Maxwell: Allow me, Mr Zhivkov, to offer my deepest condolences on the subject of the premature death of your daughter, Mrs Lyudmila Zhivkova, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Committee on Culture.

Todor Zhivkov: Thank you.

Robert Maxwell: The Bulgarian people were profoundly saddened by the death of Mrs Lyudmila Zhivkova. Hundreds of heads of state and governments, leaders of communist and workers parties, politicians and cultural personalities the world over extended their condolences to the Bulgarian people, the BCP Central Committee and you personally on the occasion of such a severe loss. All of

this confirms the great importance of the activities of Mrs Lyudmila Zhivkova in the development of Bulgarian culture and its dissemination and growing prestige in dozens of countries. Let me ask you in this connection how Mrs Zhivkova's plan for "esthetic education" (defined as "awareness of the vital need to live in accordance with the superior laws of truth and beauty") agrees with the more orthodox, if I may use this expression, objectives of "communist education"?

Todor Zhivkov: The greater material and spiritual possibilities of our country at the stage of developed socialist society naturally trigger qualitatively new processes in social development. One of the basic objectives of the program for esthetic education at the present stage is to enhance theoretical and practical activities in shaping the new personality on the level of contemporary science. Our social management today has reached a level of maturity which makes scientifically controlled complex processes in the spiritual area possible. On the other hand, mankind's present--the enhanced spiritual and intellectual needs of the people, the tempestuous development of science, and the difficulties and acute problems facing our planet at the end of the 20th century--objectively raises the question of the overall comprehensive development of the individual. We believe that the fullest solution of this problem is possible only under the conditions of a developed socialist and communist society.

It is no accident that it is precisely now that the Bulgarian Communist Party has made the task of esthetic education a nationwide project, an important party and state task. We consider the development of a nationwide esthetic education program an essential component of the communist education of the people, for this task is consistent with the final objective of the communist ideal--the creation of spiritually complete individuals, of active creators who are building the communist system. In our country we do not speak of esthetic education in general but of the type of esthetic education which molds the new man, which shapes not only talents, works of art and activities but which also awakens and develops the organically inherent creative gifts of every individual.

The program for esthetic education is not an element separate from the social processes in our country but is precisely the opposite: it meets a real need which develops at a certain stage in the development of our society toward mature socialism. It is only a system which eliminates the antagonism between man and society, between man and man and between man and nature that can assign itself the specific and realistic historical objective of ensuring the all-round harmonious development and manifestation of the creative principle in man. Acting in close interaction with the remaining ideological-educational factors and components of communist upbringing, esthetic education participates actively and directly in the development of a communist outlook and behavior.

Therefore, it is a question not of a mechanical combination of a project with the basic concepts of communist education or, to use your expression, the "orthodox objectives of communist education," but of an exceptionally important process in terms of the spiritual growth of our nation, of the all-round training of the young generation for life and for the solution of the major problems which face our country.

Robert Maxwell: What is your view concerning state relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and on the prospects for their future development?

Todor Zhivkov: The historical relations between our two countries have experienced various period. This is not the place to discuss each one of them in detail.

If you look at Bulgarian history textbooks you will come across the names of many noted British political and cultural personalities who, more than a century ago, boldly spoke out in support of the liberation struggle of our people. If you visit our biggest cities such as Sofia and Plovdiv, you will walk on streets named after William Gladstone, Lady Stratford, the brothers Buxston and Maj Frank Thompson, who died for the freedom of Bulgaria as commanding officer of the British military mission to the Bulgarian partisans in World War II. It is our view that this must be the solid foundation on which our relations must be built.

It seems to me that in terms of our country, which has changed significantly over the past 3 decades, a certain inertia from the past seems to remain in Great Britain. It is true that Bulgaria is not among the largest countries in Eastern Europe. However, if we compare our state relations with Great Britain with relations we maintain with the FRG, France or Italy, the lag becomes obvious. Here is one example only: our two countries have maintained diplomatic relations for more than a century but to this day no visits between our ministers of foreign affairs have been exchanged.

Let me reemphasize that there are grounds for the development of state relations between our two countries. The Bulgarian people are well acquainted with English culture. The works of English writers, both classic and modern, have been published in our country in large editions. Our theaters stage plays not only by Shakespeare and Oscar Wilde or Bernard Shaw, but by modern British playwrights as well. The works of British composers and of your painters are well known and appreciated. The first exhibit by the sculptor Henry Moore in our country took place more than 20 years ago. This year, his works were shown in Bulgaria once again. I was informed that our exhibit of "Thracian treasures" at the British Museum was seen by more than 400,000 people in under 3 months. Other Bulgarian exhibits in Great Britain have had great success. In recent years, the number of British tourists visiting Bulgaria has been increasing steadily.

Our position on the development of relations with Great Britain is the same as the one shown toward the other Western European countries. It is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social system, total equality and mutual respect.

In my view, raising the political level of relations between Great Britain and Bulgaria would also contribute to broadening contacts between our countries in other areas such as economics and culture and to strengthening the understanding and cooperation among countries on our continent and detente, which is in the interest not only of our nations but of peace in Europe and throughout the world. We sincerely believe that there are no insurmountable objective reasons for not energizing our relations.

Robert Maxwell: Trade relations with Great Britain are good but indicate an imbalance in favor of Great Britain. In 1979 British exports to Bulgaria totaled 27 million pounds compared with Bulgarian exports to Great Britain, which totaled 12 million. What measures are being taken to improve the competitiveness of Bulgarian goods on the Western market, more particularly in Great Britain?

Todor Zhivkov: If we look at current data on trade between the two countries, we will see an increase of about 75 percent between 1971 and 1979. However, in terms of fixed prices and taking inflation into consideration, we would see that despite our wishes, during the past decade economic relations between the two countries have essentially remained on the same level. Furthermore, if we compare the development of trade between Great Britain and Bulgaria in the 1970's with the tempestuous development which occurred in the period of improved economic relations between East and West, we see that our trade relations are lagging behind this general growth. Great Britain and Bulgaria have strongly developed foreign economic contacts. However, the share of our reciprocal trade remains rather low for both our countries. This indicates the existence of great opportunities in this connection.

For the sake of comparison, let me point out the development of economic relations between Bulgaria and the FRG or between Bulgaria and France, which are several times higher than our relations with Great Britain.

I would use this as a starting point in answering the second part of your question. As our trade with other developed countries proves, the problem does not lie merely in the competitiveness of Bulgarian goods. In my view, the level of our economic relations reflects the general level of relations between Bulgaria and Great Britain. Other factors are present as well, naturally, such as the still-insufficient familiarity with our export potential on the part of British firms and merchants.

The very substantial different in the balance of payments in favor of Great Britain is due to a variety of reasons, mainly the structure of our trade with your country. Our exports consist essentially of fuels, mineral raw materials, metals and foodstuffs, i.e., goods requiring a relatively lower level of processing and the prices of which are not rising as rapidly as the prices of machinery and equipment on the international market. Conversely, we import above all expensive mineral raw materials and equipment, chemicals and rubber, the international price of which is high.

It is clear that such a trade structure dominated by goods subject to considerable circumstantial changes does not create a stable base for the development of bilateral trade. I believe that we should try to broaden industrial cooperation and conclude long-term agreements. At the same time, more favorable conditions should be secured for trade in traditional commodities, for they account for a considerable portion of our reciprocal trade.

The joining of the EEC by Great Britain and the restrictions imposed on the import of Bulgarian goods have had an adverse effect on our reciprocal trade. This negative influence could be largely eliminated by including the Bulgarian People's Republic in the generalized EEC customs preferential system for which we applied some time ago. The British are one of the oldest trading nations in the world and know very well that one of the basic laws of trade is that if you want to sell you must also buy.

Increasing trade between our two countries is of mutual interest. Your plants manufacture high-quality machines and equipment sought by Bulgaria. On the other hand, our economy is planned, which makes us a stable partner. A long-term agreement between our governments would broaden our trade, which would benefit both the Bulgarian and the British people.

Robert Maxwell: What is Bulgaria's current attitude toward "joint enterprises" with developed capitalist countries (which was not mentioned in the theses of the 12th congress)?

Todor Zhivkov: The resolutions passed at the 12th BCP Congress, particularly those dealing with the country's foreign economic relations, note that over the next 10 years Bulgaria's foreign economic relations with the developed capitalist countries will be expanded and intensified on an equal and mutually profitable basis.

It is true that the materials of the congress do not make particular mention of the creation of mixed companies. However, our position in this area is known, clear and constructive. As in the past, our legislation provides for a great variety of economic, industrial and market cooperation between Bulgarian economic and foreign trade organizations and companies in the capitalist countries. Such forms of cooperation were used in the general agreements concluded between Bulgarian economic and foreign trade organizations and British companies such as Cadbury Schweppes, ICI, Shell and Northern Engineering Industries. As of March 1980, by special ukase of the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council, additional opportunities and legal prerequisites were established for the creation of mixed companies in all areas of economic activity in our country. The ukase provides opportunities for extensive and flexible forms of economic cooperation and allows the partners freedom to decide on the ways and means of joint activities.

Our country is ready to study most attentively all suggestions for cooperation, which are of reciprocal interest, regardless of whether it is a question of a mixed company or any other form of cooperation. So far, however, British firms have not shown any particular initiative in this respect, and the reasons for this should not be sought in our country.

Robert Maxwell: A committee was set up in Great Britain to provide consultations and help in the organization of initiatives for the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of Bulgaria. What are the most important measures planned in this respect? Do they include initiatives such as the "Thracian treasures" exhibit or the exhibit of Bulgarian icons from the Alexander Nevskiy Church, which enjoyed great success in Great Britain?

Todor Zhivkov: Allow me first of all to thank the leadership and members of the anniversary committee for their active efforts which are contributing to the better reciprocal acquaintanceship between our peoples.

This autumn a number of initiatives will be carried out in Great Britain in honor of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of Bulgaria. Through them we shall try to give your public a broader view of the achievements of the Bulgarian People's Republic in the areas of culture, art, science and economics, and of our overall development, particularly in the socialist period.

Allow me to mention a few initiatives of which I have been informed: the contemporary Bulgarian art exhibit, the ethnographic exhibit, the concerts of the Dimov String Quartet and the forthcoming tour of the Trakiya Folklore Ensemble. Other forthcoming joint scientific symposia on a variety of problems pertaining to Bulgarian-British scientific, economic and other relations will be of interest. Some activities in Great Britain will deal with our economic accomplishments and will illustrates the possibilities of our country as a trading parter.

Allow me to emphasize that the successes achieved so far in the area of cultural cooperation between our countries is a good example of what can be accomplished in other areas of mutual relations.

Robert Maxwell: The way events in Northern Ireland were reflected in the Bulgarian press in hostile commentaries (in RABOTNICHESKO DELO, for example) was insulting to Great Britain. Would you agree that speaking of "British imperialism," considering that Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom, is equivalent to "deliberate disinformation"?

Todor Zhivkov: I can understand your greater sensitivity to this matter, particularly today, when the topic of Northern Ireland is a permanent feature in the world press. I do not consider, however, that a reflection of events in Northern Ireland by the Bulgarian mass information media could be characterized as "hostile" or as "disinformation." Our publications are trying to provide an objective picture of what is taking place throughout the world. The photographs which our press publishes and the films on Northern Ireland shown on television have been taken mainly by British and Western journalists.

When people die every day in a country, when young people die from hunger strikes proclaimed on behalf of a humane cause, you must agree that the Bulgarian journalists, like many journalists in Britain and the West, cannot remain indifferent. This is not only a professional but a human duty, and it would be entirely unfair to accuse them of nonexistent sins or hostile feelings toward Great Britain. It is just as natural for our journalists to have the same free right of publishing political commentaries on any given event in the world as their colleagues in the capitalist countries. It is indicative that in the case of Northern Ireland both express virtually identical views. I do now know how you feel about it, but I find this proper.

As far as the profound respect which the Bulgarian people feel for the achievements of the British people and their culture, a number of proofs can be offered, as I hope you have been able to see.

Robert Maxwell: What distinguishes the "new economic approach" described in the theses of the 12th BCP Congress from previous attempts at reform and, particularly, the "new economic system" of August 1968?

Todor Zhivkov: Your question leads us to an area which may be found boring by many. That is why I shall try to be extremely brief.

Naturally, new problems arise in the course of building a developed socialist society, which began in our country toward the end of the 1960's. They affect both the future development of production forces and the improvement of production relations.

When we speak of a new economic approach, this does not mean that we are departing from the basic principles of the socialist management of the national economy. On the contrary, it is a question of a new approach to management, based on the fundamental principles of socialist economic management.

Allow me to emphasize that this new approach has nothing in common with the concepts of uncontrolled marketplace mechanisms. However, it makes the economic organization of society far more consistent with the effect of objective economic laws and the objective laws of socialism.

The new economic approach and its mechanism are the natural extension and advancement of the management system adopted by our party in the 1960's.

The new economic approach is an overall comprehensive system of economic means, methods, forms and mechanisms for influencing and regulating, which combines most completely and comprehensively the areas of management, planning, production and distribution.

What are the main features of the new economic approach and the mechanism for its implementation?

First: scope is provided for the overall utilization of commodity-monetary relations and the systematic application of cost effectiveness. Commodity-monetary relations and related economic levers objective exist at the present stage of development of the socialist society. Because of insufficient historical experience, Marx predicted that they would exist only during the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. On the basis of a profound analysis, Lenin drew the conclusion that commodity-monetary relations will operate in the mature socialist society as well.

In our economic practice we do not underestimate or ignore commodity-moneary relations but use in the interest of socialist progress. It is on this basis that cost effectiveness and its nucleus--the self-support of each organization, enterprise or economic and social activity--is being systematically applied.

We know that in the course of building the material and technical foundations for socialism there was a period during with the state was forced to finance some big enterprises and even entire sectors. This was inevitable. However, it also enabled our country to convert from agrarian into an industrial-agrarian socialist state, considered powerful in terms of its scale.

Today the necessary prerequisites for making each sector and enterprise profitable have already been created.

Second: the centralized planned management by the state, based on socialist ownership, is the main advantage of our society. The task is to make use of this advantage on all management levels.

In recent years, the state has defined as mandatory no more than a few main economic indicators of the plan, which guarantee basic proportions and balances.

On the basis of these indicators, each enterprise, organization or labor collective formulates its own plan. In the course of its formulation, contracts

are concluded on the need for resources and the marketing of produced goods. It is thanks to this mechanism that the national economy is balanced from top to bottom. On the other hand, conditions are created for enterprises to develop the creativity and initiative of workers and specialists, who are the producers of the goods. Consequently, with the new economic mechanism, centralism and democracy are combined in such a way as to offer broad scope for self-initiative and highly effective output.

Third: the implementation of the plan is assured essentially through economic means and regulators. Prices, profits, credits, taxes, bonuses, etc, are used far more flexibly. The role of profits and profitability is particularly enhanced. In this manner the centralized planned management is based essentially on economic means, on the principle of economic incentive and economic responsibility.

Fourth: the socialist principle of payment according to the quantity and quality of labor is applied in a new way. It is based on the requirement that wages are tied to the income of the enterprise.

Fifth: the new economic mechanism enables the producers to take their goods to the domestic and foreign markets and reach the consumer directly. Each economic organization can organize its own marketing-procurement and foreign trade activities.

Briefly stated, these are the basic distinguishing features of the new economic approach and its mechanism.

Robert Maxwell: The Bulgarian economy has shown a phenomenal growth during the past 10 years. Nevertheless, the indicators of the Bulgarian Seventh Five-Year Plan (1976-1980) were not reached in all sectors. There was a considerable lag in agricultural production: the plan called for a [20] percent increase for the period whereas the increase was 12 percent. Does this mean that the agroindustrial complexes, which were welcomed as an original Bulgarian form, did not meet expectations?

Todor Zhivkov: Allow me to point out above all that in the Seventh Five-Year Plan our economy continued to maintain one of the highest rates of development in the world. The achievements of the entire Sixth Five-Year Plan were considerably exceeded in only 4 years (1976-1979). These successes become even clearer if we bear in mind that they were achieved despite exceptionally difficult and complex international circumstances and adverse natural weather conditions.

The 1976-1980 period was characterized by the aggravation of the raw material-energy and monetary crisis in the capitalist world. Prices of raw materials, fuels and equipment increased by several hundred percent. Ours is an open economy, for which reason these factors affected the implementation of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. We suffered substantial losses from price differentials alone.

The BCP Central Committee charted a firm course toward the identification of internal reserves and the rapid adaptation of the economy to the new conditions. As a result of the steps which were taken, this adaptation was concluded as early as 1979 rather than 1981.

During the Seventh Five-Year Plan our agriculture was forced to surmount a number of objective difficulties. Adverse climatic conditions and natural disasaters, which took place during almost the entire 5-year period, resulted in losses in the national income. That is why we mobilized the entire economic potential of our country to compensate for the damages. The measures taken by the agroindustrial complexes enabled us not only to harvest, store and utilize agricultural commodities on time and without losses but to guarantee the further stable development of agriculture. It is precisely this that proves that the agroindustrial complexes are viable, flexible and stable even under the most adverse economic and natural conditions.

Robert Maxwell: Will the private plots in your country be expanded?

Todor Zhivkov: It is a known fact that as early as 1957 the Bulgarian People's Republic was the first after the Soviet Union to complete the reorganization of agriculture on a socialist basis and to put an end to private farming once and for all. Within a short time our country reached the level of agriculturally developed countries in the rest of the world. This success is partially due to the private plots which we consider a natural extension of public farming.

Private farm workers are given land plots for personal use, the sizes of which are determined by the bylaws on the organization and functioning of the National Agroindustrial union. The size of the private plot varies from one area to another. It is determined by the general meeting of agroindustrial complexes. The legal and economic status of these plots is substantially different from that of the plots of the former private farmers. They are not owned by them but are merely granted by the agroindustrial complexes for use and for cultivation exclusively by the family, without the right to exploit outside labor.

The private plot enables us to make fuller and more efficient use of manpower resources in the individual families and to obtain additional farm produce both for personal needs and for the market. On the other hand, this increases the export possibilities of the public farms.

The system of self-satisfaction of the population for basic agricultural commodities, which has been applied over the past few years, has led to the making of a number of improvements in the functioning and stimulation of the private plots. Land unsuitable for mechanized cultivation or temporarily abandoned by the public farms was granted also to urban workers and employees. With a 5-day work week and reduced heavy manual labor, there are many people who are willing to spend their free time in raising some special crops, vegetables, animals or flowers. This enables them to improve their health, to add to their meals fresh, high-quality products and even to earn additional income. So far, more than 700,000 decares of land have been allocated under this system in our country.

Robert Maxwell: The new Bulgarian five-year plan is described as a "five-year plan of technical progress." Is the more extensive use of foreign technology, Western in particular, being planned? What is to be understood by the reassertion of "self-sufficiency"? (Between 1981 and 1985 the volume of foreign trade was increased by a relatively modest 40 percent, compared with the nearly 100-percent increase which was achieved in 1976-1980.)

Todor Zhivkov: The level of production forces which was reached and the exhausted objective possibilities of further extensive development required that the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1981-1985) be oriented mainly toward extensive development of the economy and the other areas of social life.

The practical implementation of comprehensive intensification requires the accelerated application of scientific and technical progress. Our objective is to make above all a proper choice and make able use of the best Bulgarian and foreign scientific and technical accomplishments and most effective trends in scientific and technical progress and to combine them expediently with the rational utilization of the already existing production potential. That is why we pay particular attention to active cooperation with Eastern and Western countries.

Naturally, the basic prerequisite for such cooperation is to be mutually profitable and equal, properly balanced. Corresponding laws which call for joint production-technical and trade activities between Bulgarian enterprises and Western companies on Bulgarian territory, on the territory of our partners or in third countries, were passed in our country in recent years. This will enable us to enhance the technological standard of the joint products, to broaden marketing opportunities, to increase foreign exchange income and, naturally, to ensure long-term possibilities for mutually profitable economic and scientific and technical cooperation.

In order to ensure the fuller and more comprehensive satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people, we shall make maximal use of the great reseves of the Bulgarian economy. This will limit the country's dependence on importing commodities which it could produce itself, thus becoming self-sufficient. However, this neither is nor could constitute a reason for limiting economic cooperation with nonsocialist countries. If such reasons nevertheless exist, their origins must be sought elsewhere--in the crisis of the Western economy and in their policy of economic discrimination and restrictions. Despite this, thanks to the measures we have taken, the absolute volume of our trade with the nonsocialist countries has not declined. It will continue to increase in the future, for the export possibilities of our economy will be increasing steadily.

Robert Maxwell: How do you intend to compensate for price increases in fuels, energy, raw materials, etc?

Todor Zhivkov: Naturally, our economy is also affected by the increased prices of basic fuels, energy and raw materials on the international capitalist markets. We have compensated for such price increases mainly with the help of two factors:

First: the great reserves found in all sectors of our economy.

Second: the advantages offered to us by socialist economic integration, particularly our close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the CEMA-member countries.

We also intend to use other factors such as production modernization and comprehensive intensification through the accelerated application of scientific achievements; the economical and efficient utilization of raw materials and energy resources, particularly those of domestic origin.

We are trying to attain better results with lower material outlays by reducing energy- and material-intensiveness of goods, starting with their design; through a comprehensive and extensive processing of raw materials; use of wasteless technologies; and use of byproducts, waste and secondary raw materials.

Robert Maxwell: What are the short-term prospects of the Bulgarian economy for increasing the level of population employment over the next few years? What sectors of the Bulgarian economy do you expect to show the largest increase with a view to exports as well?

Todor Zhivkov: The first part of your question would puzzle any Bulgarian. We resolved the problem of population employment several decades ago. We have no unemployment. Particularly in the case of the young, this is an "imported," an unknown concept. Furthermore, we are experiencing some manpower shortages in a number of economic sectors.

Over the next 5 years our maching-building output will be increased by 50-55 percent. We shall be paying particular attention to heavy investment machine building. We shall increase the export of machine systems and technological lines, complete projects, control systems, and equipment and one-of-a-kind machines and installations. We shall increase the production and export of industrial robots, manipulators, robotized technological modules and metal processing tools and equipment with digital programming. On the basis of new electronic, microprocessor and electrical engineering elements, we shall convert from the production and export of individual technical facilities with electronic elements and general-purpose computers to comprehensive electronic equipment and systems. Bulgaria will export microprocessor systems equipped with the necessary program support, quasi-electronic and electronic automated telephone exchanges, digitai transfer systems and integrated office management systems.

Over the next 5 years our chemical output will be increased by about 50 percent. We shall organize the production and export of polypropylene, raw materials for polyurethane and polyurethane goods, and products of industrial microbiology. The export of low-tonnage chemicals, dyes, catalyzers, enzymes, pure and superpure substances, carbonite, ammonium nitrate, fertilizers, plant protection preparations, pharmaceuticals and cosmetic goods will be increased.

Even though we are assigning priority to the machine-building and chemical industries, the other sectors of our economy will be developed faster as well.

Robert Maxwell: In its 22 April 1971 issue, SOFIA NEWS, an English-language weekly, reported that a second nuclear electric power plant will be built in Belene, 150 km from Kozloduy, where the first nuclear electric power plant is located. What are Bulgaria's plans in the field of energy, bearing in mind that it imports two-thirds of the energy it needs from the Soviet Union, Iraq, Iran and Libya?

Todor Zhivkov: The building of nuclear electric power plants is one of the basic directions in the development of the Bulgarian power industry. We undertook implementation of our long-term program for the development of the nuclear power industry long before the outbreak of the energy crisis. The first 440-megawatt reactor was commissioned at the Kozloduy nuclear electric power plant

in 1974. Currently it has three reactors and the installation of the fourth will be completed before the end of 1981.

In 1980 the Kozloduy nuclear electric power plant accounted for about 18 percent of the country's overall electric power production. In terms of this indicator, Bulgaria is among the leading four-five countries in the world. We are currently expanding the power plant by adding two more 1,000-megawatt reactors.

The share of electric power produced by nuclear power plants will reach about 26 percent in 1985 and about 40 percent in 1990. A second nuclear electric power plant will be built near Belene to this effect.

In order to meet the growing needs of the country for energy, a comprehensive program has been drafted for the development of the power industry and the effective utilization of energy resources through 1990. It is consistent with Bulgaria's specific conditions and is based on close cooperation and integration with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity. The implementation of the program will increase the share of local power resources in the Bulgarian power balance from about 30 percent in 1980 to 40-45 percent in 1990. Along with the construction of nuclear electric power plants, we shall continue to develop the country's hydraulic power potential, which will increase from 46 percent in 1980 to 53 percent in 1990. We are planning to increase the utilization of unconventional power sources such as solar and geothermal energy.

The extraction of conventional fuels will be increased mainly by increasing the extraction of coal, most of which consists of low-caloric lignites. Most of the coal will be used for the production of electric power in thermoelectric powr plants on the basis of effective original systems developed by Bulgarian specialists.

The production of electric power will continue to develop at a faster pace mainly on the basis of nuclear energy and low-caloric lignites. In terms of per-capita electric power consumption, the Bulgarian People's Republic reached the average European level in 1980 and has come closer to the level of the most developed countries. Over the next 10 years electric power consumption will be increased by an average of 5.3 percent annually, compared with more than 7 percent over the past decade.

Robert Maxwell: The new Eighth Five-Year Plan (1981-1985) of the Bulgarian People's Republic calls for the expansion of light industry. Is this an amendment to the ideological priority which was given to the development of heavy industry in the past?

Todor Zhivkov: Our country's 1980 industrial output was about 35 percent higher than that of 1975. The theses of the 12th congress on the socioeconomic development in the Eighth Five-Year Plan call for a 30-35 percent increase in overall industrial output. We do not anticipate for the five-year plan a higher growth rate of the light industry (which is 25-30 percent) compared with heavy industry. At the same time, the documents of both the 11th and the 12th congresses have emphasized that we are following a course of bringing the pace of development of heavy and light industry closer together. As a result of this policy, over the last decade (1970-1980) the indicator of production of capital goods in industry was 206 compared with 228 for consumer goods.

The priority which was given to the growth of heavy compared with light industry in the appearance and consolidation of socialism was based on the technical and economic backwardness of our country. The fact that this ratio is changing in accordance with specific historical conditions and that there is an emphatic rapprochement between the rates of development of heavy and light industry in the country confirms that we are not the slaves of dogmas but are taking into consideration the real needs of socioeconomic development.

Robert Maxwell: Is the continuing emphatic increase in the production of consumer goods (undertaken in 1974) in answer to the demands of the people?

Todor Zhivkov: What does "the demands of the people" mean? We are trying to follow as well as to guide consumer demand. The main objective of our socioeconomic policy is the increasingly better satisfaction of the steadily growing material and spiritual needs of the people. This policy is the core of our ideology. The programmatic slogan of our party is "everything for the sake of man and everything for the good of man."

In the period of building socialism a material and technical base, extensive in terms of the scale of our country, was created, including a developed heavy and light industry, and modern agriculture. Both the party's social policy and the exceptionally increased economic potential of the country made the task of decisively increasing the production of consumer goods realistic and possible.

Now, with the application of the new economic approach, even more favorable conditions are being created for increasing the interest of production and trade organizations in improving their activities related to the production and supplying of the population with consumer goods. With the help of the new economic mechanism this direct interest leads to the establishment of a direct contact between the producers and the market and ensures the most accurate orientation of the production process toward goods in demand by the population.

Robert Maxwell: What is the expected net increase in the cash income of the Bulgarian population in 1982? Will retail prices of staple goods remain unchanged?

Todor Zhivkov: The steady growth of the real income is ensured through wages and other population income (pensions, scholarships, supplements for children, etc). At the same time, the funds allocated by the state and the economic organizations for improving education, health care, culture and other social measures are being increased steadily. They account for nearly one-quarter of the working people's income.

During the next 5 years real income will increase by 16-18 percent. Average annual wages will increase from 2,185 to 2,500 leva.

We have no intention of changing the retail prices of staple goods and services in the future.

Robert Maxwell: In the 7 June 1981 elections, 99.96 percent of the voters voted for the single Fatherland Front list. The 12th congress emphasized that

the National Assembly must play a greater role. How is this possible if currently the people's representatives meet only four times a year for a period of a few days?

Todor Zhivkov: During its 5-year mandate the former Seventh National Assembly held 16 sessions. At each one of them, 10 to 15 people's representatives spoke. This naturally raises the question of how the National Assembly is coping with its responsible tasks of drafting and adopting laws, controlling, and so on. The actual situation is different. The National Assembly is engaged in important activities between sessions as well. It has permanent commissions which involve the participation of all people's representatives. For example, during the now elapsed mandate of the Seventh National Assembly, separately and jointly with other permanent commissions the legislative commission discussed a total of 56 draft bills and held 60 sessions, or an average of 12 sessions annually. A similar situation prevails in the case of the other five permanent commissions.

The permanent commissions, which are the auxiliary organs of the National Assembly, exercise parliamentary control on its behalf between sessions. During the mandate of the Seventh National Assembly, the commissions heard 98 ministers and heads of other departments and representatives of okrug people's councils on a variety of problems.

At the beginning of every year, the permanent commissions set up work groups of people's representatives to provide specific aid in the preliminary preparations for the draft plan for the socioeconomic development of the country and the state budget. In the course of the discussion of the draft plan for 1981 and 1982 and the 1981 state budget, the permanent commissions and the people's representatives submitted [illegible] suggestions to the Commission on Socioeconomic Development, 74 of which were adopted by the National Assembly.

The individual work of the people's representatives with the voters is a great contribution to upgrading the role of the National Assembly. They must meet with the voters to whom they report their activities no less than once every year. The overwhelming majority of people's representatives set a very good example in this respect.

The activities of the Eighth National Assembly, which was elected on 7 June 1981, will be even greater.

Of the 400 people's representatives who were elected, 83 are workers; 295 are specialists with a higher education degree, or 74 percent; 33 deputies are under 30 years of age. Compared with the Seventh National Assembly, the number of women who are representatives rose by 9 percent and that of specialists with a university degree by 9.25 percent; 156 people's representatives were elected for their first term.

With such a structure, the statement included in the accountability report to the 12th congress on the need to upgrade the role of the National Assembly will be met. The controlling functions of the National Assembly in terms of the government as a whole and the individual ministries will be intensified even further. The practice of ministers to report to permanent commissions, to discuss more important projects with them, and so on, will be expanded.

In the Bulgarian People's Republic the power comes from the people and belongs to the people. All the activities of our parliament are aimed at ensuring the programs of the country and the well-being of the people.

Robert Maxwell: Should the Bulgarian trade unions pay more attention to the needs of the workers rather than being mainly a transmission belt for the policy of the government and the party?

Todor Zhivkov: Your question indicates that you lack an accurate understanding of the activities of the trade unions in socialist Bulgaria. We do not limit the concern of the trade unions to meeting the needs of the workers rather than engaging in comprehensive activities for the implementation of the policy of the party and the government. In other works, we do not separate the economic from the social functions of the trade unions.

By accepting the leading role of the party and mobilizing the working people for the implementation of the tasks earmarked by the party, the trade unions are concerned with satisfying the requirements and needs of the working class and all citizens. The party has always tried to develop the autonomy and initiative of the trade unions, so that they can carry out both functions: to organize the working people for the purpose of upgrading social labor productivity and production effectiveness and, on this basis, to be concerned with the increasingly fuller satisfaction of their needs. The correctness of this line of unity and interaction between economic and social trade union activities was confirmed in the course of 37 years of practical experience in socialist Bulgaria. Here are a few eloquent figures.

During the past 25 years Bulgaria's productive capital was increased by a factor of 8, while the volume of industrial output increased by a factor of 11. Today it takes only 3 days for our industry to produce as much as it did during the entire year 1939. This output is based on higher social labor productivity, which has increased by a factor of 7. Our national income has increased by a factor of 6.5; the average annual growth of the national income is 8.1 percent--an indicator which places socialist Bulgaria in one of the leading positions in Europe and throughout the world.

During the same 25-year period per-capita consumption more than quadrupled while real income increased by a factor of 4.3. Social consumption funds rose by a factor of 16, from 34 leva per capita in 1952 to 619 leva per capita in 1980.

This progress, which is tremendous given our circumstances, could not have been achieved without the unity and interaction among the party, the state, the trade unions and the people.

Robert Maxwell: In a recent report (December 1980), Amnesty International mentioned the poor attitude maintained toward members of the Moslem minority in Bulgaria, which has objected to cultural discrimination such as, for example, the closing down of schools offering training in the Turkish language. What is the current policy toward the Moslem minority? The Pentecostals are another religious minority which, according to some, has been in trouble with the authorities.

Todor Zhivkov: The socialist revolution formulated the question of religious faiths on a radically different basis. According to our current constitution the church is separated from the state. Religion has become a private matter for the citizens. No right privileges or restrictions are allowed on the basis of nationality, origin, religion, sex, race, etc. According to article 52 of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the citizens have the right to set up religious organizations. Article 53 stipulates that they are guaranteed freedom of conscience and religious faith, including that of conducting religious ceremonies. According to the constitution, no citizen can be persecuted or restricted in his civic and political rights or be released from the obligations imposed upon him by the laws of the country for belonging to one or another religious faith or for not belonging to any.

Several protestant Pentecostal ministers were tried in Sofia in 1979 and a hullabaloo was raised in some Western countries alleging that religion is persecuted in Bulgaria. Actually, the ministers were tried for a variety of currency and customs crimes and violations of the laws. The trial was open, and anyone who was interested was able to see the guilt of the defendants. The Pentecostal leadership itself condemned such actions as incompatible with their ministerial status.

Religious Moslems in our country (Bulgarian Turks and a small number of Bulgarian Mohammedans) are the second largest faith in our country. They are entirely equal with all other citizens in the republic and are free to profess their faith. The country has more than 1,300 mosques, 8 regional muftiships and 1 head muftiship and 570 rayon imams. Every year the state allocates the necessary subsidies to the chief muftiship, thus adding to its budget for the support of the clergy. Furthermore, the state engages in the preservation and restoration of old monuments remaining from Turkish times (mosques, burial sites and others) of architectural and historical significance. According to Koranic law this faith continues to own and manage its own property, the income from which goes to religious purposes.

Houses of prayer--the mosques--are always open and freely attended by believers. Furthermore, the newspaper YENI USHUK is published in Bulgaria in the Bulgarian and Turkish languages in 20,000 copies; the periodical YENI KHAYAT, which is also published in the Bulgarian and Turkish languages, comes out in editions of 10,000 copies. The Bulgarian radio broadcasts 4 hours daily in the Turkish language. Art ensembles perform special "Turkish programs," dances, etc, and operate as part of the state theaters in Shumen, Kurdzhali and Razgrad. The works of Turkish classics and modern Turkish authors are published in our country in Bulgarian and Turkish.

The education of the children of Bulgarian Turks is guaranteed by the constitution and is based on the Law on Public Education in accordance with national curricula and programs on the basis of which all children from the ages of 7 to 16, who are subject to mandatory education, are trained. Eighth-grade graduates have the right to continue their education in all types of general educational, specialized or vocational-technical secondary schools and, subsequently, in higher educational insitutions. This presents them with equal training opportunities and development as specialists like all young people.

That is why, it was in answer to the demand of the parents--Bulgarian Turks--themselves that the optional study of the Turkish language from the first through the ninth grades was adopted as of the 1972-1973 school year. Special Turkish-language and literature textbooks have been published for this purpose. Like all children in our country, the children of Bulgarian Turks receive free textbooks and aids and go to semiboarding schools, study halls, boarding schools and hostels. As to the Bulgarian Moslems, whose number is very small and who inhabit the Rodopi area mainly, the believers among them have the same equal and free opportunity to profess islam. They have their own clergy and mosques. This population is of purely Bulgarian ethnic origin. Under the Turkish yoke, however, it was converted to Islam by force. Today this segment of the population has expressed its entirely free desire to regain its Bulgarian names. This does not affect in the least the status of the believers.

I hope that this answer will be satisfactory. As to the data cited by the organization you mentioned, I have no idea of their origin.

Robert Maxwell: Let me go on to the next question. Why has emigration to Turkey been clearly terminated?

Todor Zhivkov: I think that you mean the resettlement of Bulgarian Turks to Turkey.

The gathering of split families and other humanitarian reasons resulted in the signing of the 1968 Bulgarian-Turkish agreement on partial emigration. As a result of its application, in 10 years a considerable number of Bulgarian Turks left for Turkey to rejoin their families. A certain portion--more than 10,000 people--who, in accordance with the agreement, had the right to emigrate, preferred to remain in the Bulgarian People's Republic. As stipulated in the treaty, its effect was terminated in 1978, for it had served its purpose.

Therefore, it is inaccurate, to say the least, to speak of "terminated" emigration.

Robert Maxwell: Are there differences between Bulgarian and Soviet foreign policy?

Todor Zhivkov: The question is not new or surprising. It conceals a small trap. If I were to answer simply with a "no," it might be interpreted that the claims that Bulgaria is a "satellite" of the USSR, widespread in the West, are accurate. If I were to say "yes," I would be adding grist to the mill of those who are doing everything possible to discover some cracks and contradictions in the relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. The truth regarding the foreign policy of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR is the following: side by side with the other members of the socialist comity, they are pursuing a coordinated foreign policy course. They look and react to events through the lens of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, which we consider as the only accurate one.

The Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR have the same socioeconomic system. They are guided by common principles on all matters of domestic and foreign policy and share the same interests. Both are members of CEMA. Both are members of the Warsaw Pact. Adding to this the historical traditional ties of

friendship and brotherhood between the peoples of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, the reason for which there are no differences in the foreign policy pursued by either country will become clear.

Naturally, there neither exists nor could exist absolute similarity between the relations which Bulgaria and the Soviet Union have with other countries. In this case various factors are operational: the size of the country, geographic proximity, traditions, and so on. In that sense, Bulgaria pursues an active and constructive Balkan policy which is entirely consistent with the peaceful course pursued by the fraternal socialist countries and is concretized in our geographic area.

I wish to emphasize, however, that the objective of Bulgarian and Soviet foreign policy is the same: ensuring the most favorable international conditions for the building of socialism and communism; the basic principles on which such conditions are structured are identical: peace, security, good neighborly relations and cooperation.

At the 12th congress we stated that we accept the peace program of the CPSU as our own and that we shall do everything we can for its implementation. This is because the Soviet proposals on strengthening detente, terminating the arms race, taking specific steps for disarmament and development of international cooperation and for freedom, independence and social progress are consistent not only with the interests of the USSR, Bulgaria and the other members of the socialist comity but the interests of all nations in the world.

Let me especially emphasize that circles whose policy toward the USSR is hostile cannot rely on Bulgarian friendship.

Robert Maxwell: Your statements regarding a greater "organic unity" with the Soviet Union in the future has led some observers to speculate on whether some form of closer political integration between Bulgaria and Soviet Union was being planned. Is this the truth?

Todor Zhivkov: I have been asked the same question in various ways and at different times by correspondents from the United States, Greece, Iran, Great Britain and other countries. The conditions governing the process of all-round cooperation and rapprochement between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR took decades to mature. This course is based on the firm roots of age-old spiritual and social ties between the two fraternal Slavic peoples--the Bulgarian and the Russian. The Bulgarian people are profoundly grateful to the Russian and Soviet peoples for their decisive help in the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkish slavery in 1878 and from fascism in 1944. Factors such as the long revolutionary traditions of the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples in the common struggle for a new and just life, the common objective laws of social development under socialism and in the period of transition to communism, the common Marxist-Leninist understanding of the nature and prospects of the development of the new, socialist type of intergovernmental relations, the community of interests and objectives and, more specifically, the need to steadily upgrade the living and cultural standards of our working people, the ideological and political affiliation of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR with the Warsaw Pact and CEMA countries and their joint struggle for peace, security and cooperation among nations and for social progress play a fundamental role in shaping the process of Bulgarian-Soviet rapprochement.

You are interested in whether "some form of closer political integration" is being planned? The answer depends on the content which you invest in this concept.

If it is a question of the final objective, it stems directly from the concept of the definitive building of a classless, entirely homogeneous society in both the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR. In that sense we can speak of reciprocal and objective aspirations toward the intensification and consolidation of the political unity and the unity of action between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR.

If by this concept you mean something like institutional changes, i.e., a "unification," "merger" or reciprocal substitution or replacement of the state organs of one of the countries with the state organs of the other, this is not only not forthcoming and not only is it not "in planning" but is frankly absurd. The integration processes which are taking place in the comprehensive Bulgarian-Soviet relations are developing on the basis of the full preservation of the state sovereignty of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union. Furthermore, in our view, the rapaprochement is a high manifestation of the sovereign will of the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples and a guarantee of the total success of this joint course and the steady strengthening of the fraternal friendship which has linked them forever.

Our view and assessment are eloquently confirmed by the fact that rapprochement between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR not only does not hinder but, I would say, actively contributes to the broadening of ties and relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the other countries in the world.

Robert Maxwell: It is being said that particularly warm relations exist between the Bulgarian and the Romanian peoples and between you and Mr Ceausescu. Is this true, and if so, how do you explain it?

Todor Zhivkov: You will agree that this is perfectly normal. The reason is not geographic proximity alone. Nor does it lie only in the age-old traditions of cooperation in the struggle for national and social liberation, waged by the best sons of the two nations, which have always met with the understanding of the other side across the Danube and have given one another reciprocal support.

Periods of coldness and even hostility existed in the past between bourgeois Bulgaria and bourgeois Romania. However, a radically new situation was created 37 years ago. Socialist revolutions were made in both countries and the building and strengthening of a new social system was undertaken. A treaty for friendship, cooperation and mutual aid was concluded between Bulgaria and Romania in 1948. This is a programmatic document governing the development of relations between our two countries on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The treaty was renewed in 1970.

This is the political base of today's dynamic cooperation between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

It would please me to know that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu have contributed to such a development in our relations with our frank discussion of problems of reciprocal interest and the constructive spirit of the meetings between us, which are traditionally quite frequent.

Robert Maxwell: Are the socialist states currently able to pursue a policy consistent with the Marxist theory that nationalistic conflicts between them are impossible?

Todor Zhivkov: Yes, they are and this is their policy. It is a question of countries which are indeed guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

However, the building of socialism is a difficult and lengthy process. The combination of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism with national characteristics requires a great deal of maturity and experience on the part of the individual parties and their leaders. The lack of such maturity and experience may lead to the neglect of national characteristics. Conversely, the appearance, development and growth of nationalistic trends and actions on the part of a given party or country at a certain time and under certain circumstances are also possible. We must also bear in mind that socialism is being built in countries of different size, tradition and economic standard. Each one of them faces the specific problems of combining national with international factors. However, as long as they remain loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and remain countries of real socialism, differences between them cannot assume an antagonistic nature. In other words, nationalistic conflicts are impossible.

I believe that you are interested not only in the theoretical formulation but the actually existing situation. The West is speculating a great deal about problems raised in recent years by the "theory," policy and practices of the Chinese leadership.

Efforts are being made to present the origin and nature of the Chinese problem mainly as the product of unresolved national contradictions, including territorial disputes mainly between China and the Soviet Union. The truth is entirely different. In our view, a different ideology, hostile to Marxism-Leninism, rules in China. It is steadily misshaping and distorting the results of the socialist reorganization of that country, including its foreign policy course. Militant nationalism is the basis of Maoism. Consequently, in this case a different basis for comparison is used: it is no longer a question of parties and countries guided by the same ideology or pursuing an identical policy.

Consider China's military aggression against Vietnam. Does it truly constitute a proof that armed conflicts are possible between two socialist states, as some bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians are trying to present matters? No, this "war" was neither needed nor desired by the Vietnamese or the Chinese peoples. The culprit in the war was not socialism or its ideological foundation--Marxism-Leninism--but Maoism and the Maoists, who are guided in international relations by great-power hegemonism and who are betting on confrontation, expansion and armed aggression.

Robert Maxwell: You are acknowledged as the most noted statesman in the Balkans. What suggestions and initiatives do you have in mind so that the Balkan Peninsula can remain as peaceful in the future as it has been in recent years?

Todor Zhivkov: The Bulgarian People's Republic is located in the center of the Balkan Peninsula and has common land borders with four countries, some

of which have a different social system. With some of them its relations are developing on the basis of socialist internationalism, to use our expression. With the others, we are guided by the familiar principle of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

The main, the determining feature of Bulgaria's Balkan policy is its wish for the Balkans to remain an area of durable peace and security and the Balkan peoples, who have experienced many difficult times in the past, to live in an atmosphere of trust, understanding, friendship, good neighborly relations and mutually profitable cooperation.

The new initiatives formulated at the 12th BCP Congress are the latest expression of our peace-loving constructive foreign policy.

Which are they?

We believe that efforts must be made to ensure the steady improvement of the climate of trust in the area; we are proclaiming our readiness to follow the path drafted in Helsinki so that the Balkans may become a stable area of detente; we are ready to conclude bilateral agreements with our neighbors which would include a code of good neighborly relations, the rejection of territorial claims, the prevention of the use of the territory of the party to the agreement for hostile purposes and actions against the other country; we favor the further expansion of bilateral cooperation in economics, tourism, science, culture, education and sports, so that our peoples may get to know and be friendly with one another; we are also ready to extend our cooperation with the other Balkan countries on a multilateral basis on matters of reciprocal interest.

The implementation of the important initiative which we discussed with Comrade Leonid Brezhnev in the course of this year's Crimea meeting--the declaration of the Balkans as a nuclear-free zone, would be a particular contribution to strengthening the peace and security of the Balkans and in Europe and the conversion of our peninsula into a stable area of detente.

We are firmly convinced that, considering the worsened international situation, the only proper way consistent with the vital interests of all mankind is that of good intentions and constructive dialogue, cooperation, understanding and mutual trust. It is in this spirit that we are building our international relations with Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia.

Robert Maxwell: During your last state visit to Greece you expressed a hope for better relations with Greece, particularly in trade. Based on previous experience, could you tell us what positive results have been achieved and what probable development there will be in Greek-Bulgarian relations in the immediate future, particularly after your visit?

Todor Zhivkov: Let me specify that it is a question not of a "hope of better relations with Greece" but of a confidence in the further ascending development of Bulgarian-Greek relations in all areas, including that of economics. We have sufficient grounds for this, which were strengthened even further during the meetings we recently held in Greece with President Constantine Karamanlis. Bulgarian-Greek contacts on the highest level have become a good tradition and an excellent example of constructive dialogue for the implementation of new, useful initiatives within the framework of our cooperation.

I am therefore satisfied with my last visit to Greece, with our past achievements and with the opportunities which exist for the future. In 1980 Bulgarian-Greek trade totaled about $440 million. I hope that you will agree that for two small countries such as ours this is a truly impressive figure. Furthermore, along with the development of trade, we are trying to introduce new, more progressive forms of economic cooperation through long-term cooperation agreements, agreements for the supply of complete projects, the building of mixed enterprises, and others.

Some of our new suggestions which call for broadening economic cooperation between the two countries in the machine-building, chemical, energy, light and food industries, transportation, and others, are in the same spirit. Talks were already held in Sofia last June on such matters between the respective ministers of the two countries, and a joint document was signed.

The future will show the concrete results of this. In any case, a good foundation has been laid.

Robert Maxwell: Bearing in mind the overall good relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and Greece and Turkey, your noncommunist neighbors in the Balkans, and your many bilateral cooperation agreements with them, why does your country oppose multilateral regional cooperation?

Todor Zhivkov: Please study the communiques of my meetings with some statesmen from our neighbor countries, where you can clearly read that Bulgaria has never been nor is now opposed to cooperation among Balkan countries on a multilateral basis.

I can back this up by enumerating a number of forms of cooperation among Balkan countries in which our state is actively participating. It was precisely the Bulgarian People's Republic that initiated the implementation of some of them.

For example, in the initiative of the Bulgarian Ministry of Transport, a meeting of experts from the Balkan countries was held in Sofia last June. I know that the talks took place in the spirit of reciprocal understanding and with good results. A number of specific problems of the development of cooperation among Balkan countries were discussed, involving the use of new transportation technologies and combined transportation systems; steps were taken to facilitate international transportation, etc. A representative of the Committee on Internal Transportation of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe attended the meeting as an observer.

The very nature of areas such as transportation, communications, long distance communications, raw material resources, energy and environmental protection is such that problems can be resolved more successfully and completely if discussed at general Balkan meetings with the participation of international organizations and countries close to the Balkan. This is the case with telecommunications, for such lines go throughout Europe and to the Middle East. There also are non-Balkan countries which must cross the Balkans in the course of their daily economic activities. As we know, the Balkans are part of Europe, and any effort to consider them as some kind of exclusive region or any attempt to convert them into a closed group have no firm foundations.

This has another aspect as well. Because of their relatively limited economic potential, some Balkan countries are naturally encouraging bilateral or multilateral integration with powerful economic groups outside the Balkans, such as CEMA and the EEC. Each country chooses its own direction. That is precisely why we must not exaggerate the possibility of Balkan-wide cooperation. In my view, such cooperation must be considered a supplement and extension of bilateral cooperation in areas in which the solution of problems exceeds the framework of bilateral agreements.

It seems to me that considering the variegated political nature of our area, a great deal of understanding has been achieved. Together with the broadening of bilateral relations for the sake of peace and good neighborly relations, our country will continue to develop its cooperation with the Balkan countries on a multilateral basis as well in areas for which conditions and reciprocal interests exist.

Robert Maxwell: Relations with Yugoslavia have been relatively good after President Tito's death. What was the reason for the appearance of the current new "round" of polemics on Macedonia?

Todor Zhivkov: Both before and after the death of President Tito relations between our countries have been developing relatively well, particularly in the field of economics. Progress has been made in science, culture, sports, etc.

In our view, however, such achievements remain below the objective needs and real opportunities of the two countries. We have repeatedly stated, and our readiness was confirmed at the 12th congress, that Bulgaria favors the further expansion of bilateral cooperation with Yugoslavia. We are convinced that this will yield even greater results for both countries, will contribute to the better acquaintanceship between our people and will become an important factor in strengthening peace, security and understanding in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world.

In our view, it is wrong to draw a line between the development of relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia before and after President Tito's death.

Your question regarding the current "new round" of polemics on Macedonia is not entirely accurate as well. Obviously, you refer to the increased frequency of articles published in the Yugoslav press since last February, for the Bulgarian mass information media have not printed materials on the so-called controversial problems so that actually there is no polemic.

The position we hold on such matters is clear: the Bulgarian People's Republic believes that they can be resolved successfully only in a spirit of reciprocal respect and consideration, through calm, positive and constructive dialogue.

The Bulgarian People's Republic has repeatedly suggested that controversial problems, including the so-called Macedonian problem, become the subject of joint scientific study and clarification so that mutually acceptable solutions may be reached. Objective scientific studies and analyses are needed. It is more than clear that one-sided emotional polemic in the press does not contribute to positive solutions.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is guided in its policy toward Yugoslavia by its desire for all-round development of political, economic and cultural relations between the peoples of our two neighboring socialist countries, in the interest of peace, good neighborly relations and social progress in the Balkans.

Robert Maxwell: If Bulgaria has no "territorial claims" toward Yugoslavia, as is frequently claimed, and if it is satisfied with the solutions reached after World War II, would it not be logical to put an end to all polemics on the so-called Macedonian question?

Todor Zhivkov: Yes, we have frequently stated that Bulgaria has no territorial claims toward any one of its neighbors, including Yugoslavia. The recognition of political realities and state borders created after World War II is dictated by the objective laws of contemporary international relations, as expressed in the United Nations charter and the final act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The question is reduced not to whether or not Bulgaria is "satisfied with the solutions reached after World War II" or not, but to the voluntary and effective implementation of its obligations as a participant in the Helsinki Conference.

In 1978 the Bulgarian People's Republic officially suggested to Yugoslavia that several documents be signed, which included a procedure for the discussion and resolution of disputes and a solemn declaration of the inviolability of orders and reciprocal abandonment of territorial claims. Our proposals were dictated by the desire to put an end to speculations involving imaginary territorial claims on the part of Bulgaria toward Yugoslavia and the strengthening of reciprocal trust.

As to the second part of your question: the Bulgarian People's Republic has proved that it is against any kind of polemics waged through the mass information media. We do not engage in such polemics. I already pointed out that controversial problems in Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations must be discussed only through scientific means. The Bulgarian People's Republic has never abandoned this principle-minded and constructive approach.

Robert Maxwell: What is your opinion on the foreign political views of President Reagan, who does not support the implementation of SALT II and for the time being refuses to engage in constructive talks on detente or on the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe?

Todor Zhivkov: The foreign policy of the biggest capitalist country in the world affects all countries on all continents. The foreign political course pursued so far by President Ronald Reagan's administration is not contributing to the consolidation of the peace, detente and cooperation among nations.

Bulgaria is a small country, and it is not a matter of indifference to us whether or not in the years to come we shall have to set aside more funds for defense in a new round of the arms race or else use such funds for peaceful construction and for improving the life of the people. It is not a matter of indifference in the least to use also whether or not the new American Cruise and Pershing II nuclear missiles will be deployed in Western Europe, the more so since Bulgaria too will be within their range. We have a similar attitude toward the decision to manufacture the neutron bomb, which, according to strategic plans, could also be deployed on our continent.

The question is not that Bulgaria and the other socialist countries have no such weapons or the possibility of manufacturing them. The question is different: the stockpiling of ever new, more dangerous and more expensive weapons does not make peace more secure. Conversely, the expanding pile of armaments in itself is turning into a monstrous threat to mankind.

Let me give you a specific example. All of us know that today as well, weapons sufficient to destroy mankind several times over have already been stockpiled. Now, however, whether accidentally or as a result of a technical error, if the United States or the USSR were to fire an intercontinental missile, it would take about half an hour for the missile to reach its target. Within that time defensive system could be activated. The time is sufficient for the use of the "hot line" and to determine the fact that a technical error has been made. Therefore, at present the possibility of preventing a universal catastrophe still exists.

As we know, the United States and the Soviet Union have signed an agreement on the prevention of an accidental outbreak of nuclear war.

However, if the new American nuclear missiles were to be deployed in Western Europe, the situation would change greatly. A missile such as the Pershing II would take no more than 5 to 10 minutes to reach its target. Military specialists unanimously believe that at present there are no technical means with which defense systems can be activitated to a state of readiness within such a short time. Should such a missile be launched, the other country would have to react immediately without having the time to determine whether this was an accidental error or a deliberate massed attack. The dividing line between war and peace becomes exceptionally fine. That is what we are talking about!

For all these reasons we believe that the foreign policy course of President Reagan's administration is showing no concern for the preservation of peace, contributing to the strengthening of security or helping to develop cooperation. This is no farsighted policy.

Together with the other members of the socialist comity, Bulgaria is pursuing a consistent policy whose objective is not the increase of armaments but their limitation and the preservations of identical security of the countries. We announced our opposition to the plans for the deployment of new American nuclear weapons in Western Europe and suggested talks on this matter. To the best of my knowledge, in Great Britain as well many individuals and political parties, the labor party for example, support such a sensible approach.

Allow me to add something else. I know the Soviet Union and its leaders well. I know Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev well also. I can assure you that the Soviet Union, which suffered more than any other country in the last war, is in favor of peace and detente and is doing everything for their preservation.

Leonid Brezhnev is a wise statesman who will be remembered in history as one of the greatest builders of peace and detente in our time.

The Soviet Union sincerely strives toward peace and disarmament. This must be well understood by everyone. Naturally, it is a question of a just and democratic peace. It is equally clear that the land of the soviets will not permit itself to be dictated conditions or to be addressed "from a position of strength."

Robert Maxwell: What can you tell us about the current state of relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the United States? In your opinion, could either one do something to improve such relations, particularly in the areas of trade and culture?

Todor Zhivkov: The Bulgarian People's Republic is developing its relations with the United States on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality and mutual benefits. As a most general characterization, I would say that Bulgarian-American relations are developing normally. In our view, however, they do not corespond to existing possibilities. A certain progress has been made in recent years in the development of trade-economic, scientific and technical and cultural cooperation. Trade between the two countries is increasing and the number of cultural manifestations--Bulgarian in the United States and American in Bulgaria--is increasing as well. There has been a certain revitalization in political relations as well.

We know that substantial differences exist between us on all basic international problems and on the reasons for the existing worsened international situation. Nevertheless, we favor the further development of relations between the two countries on the basis of respect and consideration of the positions they hold. The natural development of relations is a bilateral process which requires reciprocal willingness and effort. We hope that the desire announced by President Reagan's administration to continue the development of relations with Bulgaria will be followed by specific steps. The abandonment of a policy of discrimination toward our country and the conclusion of a trade agreement would be a major contribution on the part of the United States, which would play an important role in the expansion of trade-economic and overall cooperation. Naturally, as we have already stated, this must take place without preliminary conditions, on an equal footing.

The feelings of our people for the American people and their democratic traditions and contribution to world civilization are ones of respect and friendship.

Robert Maxwell: Currently Bulgaria is playing a useful role in maintaining good relations with the nonaligned and the developing countries. Are there data on the annual amount of aid given and on the technical support provided to such countries?

Todor Zhivkov: I cannot fail but be pleased by the thought included in your question to the effect that Bulgaria plays a useful role in maintaining good relations with nonaligned and developing countries. Such a statement, coming from both partial and impartial observers, relieves us from the delicate position of assessing our own contribution or boasting....

I have said on other occasions as well that we, Bulgarians, have always felt sincere sympathy for the developing countries. We are continuing to give them selfless moral-political, diplomatic and, to the extent of our possibilities, material support. We are promoting intensive and ever broader contacts with virtually all developing countries. The size of the material aid given to the developing countries by a country such as Bulgaria is substantial. The Bulgarian People's Republic is sharing its experience and providing economic and scientific and technical assistance in the building of industrial and other projects and in organizing agroindustrial complexes. All this is taking place on an equal and mutually profitable basis, with strict respect for the

sovereignty and independence of our parters. We are thus helping these countries to develop their economies and are assisting their peoples in their struggle for surmounting backwardness and upgrading their living standards. Let me illustrate this by pointing out that so far our country has granted developing countries loans totaling about 600 million foreign currency leva. These funds were granted above all for the building of industrial, agricultural and infrastructural projects. The low interest rates and favorable repayment conditions are a manifestation of the desire of our state to help the developing countries to resolve their problems.

Scientific and technical cooperation is developing successfully. It covers areas such as mining and geological studies, designing and other engineering services and construction. Thousands of Bulgarian specialists--engineers, physicians, geologists, economists and others--are working in the developing countries. At the same time, young men and women from these countries are attending our higher educational institutions. Like their compatriots, within the framework of postgraduate training, together with Bulgarian specialists, they are participating in joint scientific studies and development, adding to their knowledge and training in our secondary and higher educational institutions so that they may apply them later in their homelands successfully.

Robert Maxwell: Mr President, allow me to express my profound thanks for the time you spared to answer my questions and for this interesting, frank and exhaustive talk. I wish you good health and strength so that you may work just as tireless for the blossoming of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the success of peace and detente throughout the world and for understanding and cooperation among nations! I thank you very much. (BTA)

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'TRIBUNA' EDITOR-IN-CHIEF ON POLISH CRISIS

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech Nos 6, 7, 8 of 10, 17, 24 Feb 82

[Article by Karel Horak: "The Aim Was Counterrevolution"]

[No 6, 10 Feb 82 pp 1, 3]

> [Text] The declaration of martial law in the Polish People's Republic [PLR] which frustrated the plans of anticommunist centers to liquidate socialism in this fraternal country, led to the unleashing of a furious anti-Polish and antisocialist campaign throughout the capitalist world. Representatives of the most reactionary imperialist circles and the news media in their service, reformists, as well as revisionists, competed in attacks on the lawful Polish organs which, in accordance with the constitution, took decisive steps to halt the raging counterrevolution, prevent the spreading of chaos and anarchy, and restore production, thus creating the prerequisities to overcome the political and economic crisis and return the PLR to the road of socialist construction.

Just as following the defeat of the counterrevolution in Hungary in 1956, and in Czechoslovakia in 1968-69, bourgeois propaganda has in recent weeks been spouting a flood of lies and slander not only with respect to developments in Poland after 13 December 1981, but against the Soviet Union, our own country, and real socialism. As always when plans of the anticommunist centers for the destruction of the socialist community are frustrated, newspapers, magazines, radio and television programs endlessly parrot old, wornout cliches on the trampling of democracy, violations of human rights, and the incompatibility of democracy and real socialism, and on the forcible disruption of a hopeful development which was to lead to the creation of a social order reflecting the character and tradition of -- Poland, this time. And this is not enough! Top leaders of many capitalist states, led by President Reagan, proclaim economic sanctions, ultimatums, demands, and threats against the PLR and the Soviet Union.

The fury, spite, and hatred which imperialism holds against socialism and its ideas burst out again in full force. For its representatives expected to harvest the fruits of aiding the antisocialist forces. They were already

opening their arms to catch the "Polish apple" which was to fall into their laps. It was for this reason they had exerted such efforts to present the decision of the PLR state council to declare martial law and ensuing measures as illegal, antidemocratic, and to slander real socialism as much as possible, thus at least partially balancing the defeat of their plans.

All those who follow the current anti-Polish hysteria in the capitalist countries, must ask who it is the imperialists defend so fervently in Poland. Why and over whom are they shedding their tears? What is it that has literally reduced them to rage?

It is generally known that despite the defeats it has suffered in its strategic program of liquidating socialism, imperialism has never abandoned its basic objective of destroying the unity of the countries of the socialist community, wresting them away from the Soviet Union, and returning them all, or at least one of them, into its realm. Toward this end, imperialism has used various forms, ranging from direct counterrevolutionary action to the tactics of creeping counterrevolution.

When in 1969 the counterrevolutionary forces were definitely defeated and imperialism was preparing new plans against socialism, it became -- not for the first time -- the turn of Poland. As early as in the November 1974 issue of FORTUNE magazine (addressed to businessmen), one of the foremost American anticommunists, Herman Kahn, wrote an article in which he called the events in Czechoslovakia during the crisis years a "decisive experiment." The article demonstrates that even in the late 1960s the anticommunist centers were planning to expand the "erosion of communism" to Poland as well. Their strategists assumed that in the PLR the government would be replaced either by an independent, nationalist -- thus anti-Soviet -- but still communist group (the so-called revisionists), or else by a reformist regime which would also be independent, nationalist and anti-Soviet.

Class Enemy Exploits Party Mistakes

In the late 1970s and the dawning 1980s, the imperialist planners of counterrevolution saw an ideal opportunity for the implementation of their plan to liquidate socialism in Poland. The early mistakes of the PZPR were accumulating and creating deepening social tensions causing dissatisfaction in the ranks of the working class and other working people. This was fully exploited by both the domestic and foreign enemies of socialism.

The fact that agriculture had not been socialized brought about not only crisis situations stemming from shortages of basic foodstuffs but also led to the constant reproduction of petty bourgeois and often even kulak elements, along with their ideology and morality. Thus, metaphorically speaking, the socialist economy in Poland stood on only "one leg." The ranks of the rural petty bourgeoisie to a great extent also produced a new generation of the working class whose numbers increased constantly due to the rapid development in industry. A considerable portion of this working class (especially in certain regions), was a working class of the so-called first generation. While they were workers and spent varying lengths of time in industry, their views,

attitudes, morality, and family ties, remained rooted in an environment from which they came, namely, the petty bourgeois countryside. In their consciousness there survived petty bourgeois tendencies toward vacillation, anarchism, nationalism, etc.

This unfavorable composition of the working class was exacerbated by the ideological influence of the church. While the party leadership allowed itself to be lulled by certain achievements and underestimated the importance of sustained ideological work within the party and among the working people, the church was strengthening its ideological and political positions. It became a political force with a large, well-organized and functioning apparat. Quite legally, it introduced hostile opinions into the consciousness of the working class and other working people and undermined their confidence in socialism. Moreover, it skillfully manipulated not only the consciousness but the attitudes of many workers, members of the intelligentsia and peasants on various issues or party and state policies. Behind the so-called patriotic stance of the church hierarchy, there lurked carefully thought-out and precisely disseminated anticommunism, the aim of which was to exploit appropriate opportunities for the restoration of a pluralist world outlook and the church's old privileges.

The creation of propitious opportunities for manipulating the broad masses toward a crisis situation was considerably aided and abetted by the flirting of the then PZPR leadership with liberalism, underestimation of the class enemy and insufficient revolutionary vigilance and foresight in the face of antisocialist machinations. The years-old, virtually legalized, activity of the anticommunist center, the so-called Committee for Social and Political Self-Defense (KOR) and other antisocialist organizations, tolerance of the so-called "flying university" with its spreading of hostile ideology and preparation of cadres to lead the attack against socialism at the right moment, tolerance of a state of affairs in which KOR and its activists massively published books and periodicals of an inciting and antisocialist content and distributed them among the working people, all this enabled the antisocialist opposition to organize ideologically and politically, and purposefully carry out its work, especially among workers, the intelligentsia and university students.

There were, naturally, other factors which played a negative role. Among others, these were serious errors in the party and state economic policy, discrepancy between words and deeds, theory and practice, underestimation of party ideological work and internationalist education in society, violations of leninist norms in party work and insufficient care for strengthening the ideological and organizational unity of the party emanating from Marxism-Leninism, including the inadequate struggle against growing revisionist and opportunist tendencies in the party and insufficient attention to work with the young and to the resolution of their justified needs.

All this, along with other factors, constitutes a broad complex of internal causes and conditions which in the summer of 1980 led to a crisis situation in the PLR. To these must be added the carefully thought-out and long-term operations of the imperialist forces and their various special services and centers, as well as the extensive activity of domestic antisocialist forces.

These and many other facts prove the mendacity of bourgeois propaganda, supported by the revisionists, in its assertion that the crisis in the PLR is a crisis of real socialism and its theoretical foundation -- Marxism-Leninism. It was not socialist but errors in its construction stemming from the underestimation of the universal verities of socialist construction and Marxist-Leninist theory, gross violations of Leninist principles of development and party work, the party's separation from the masses, it was these errors which enabled the antisocialist failure to resolve certain social and economic problems, and to incite a political crisis, its constant intensification and its gradual transformation into a frontal attack against socialism.

Long-Term Preparation of the Assault on Socialism

The principal moving force which carefully planned and prepared the assault on socialism was provided by the anticommunist centers of imperialism. The domestic antisocialist forces operated under their direction and were financed with their money. This is attested to, for example, by the magazine KULTURA (published in Paris by Polish emigrants and funded by imperialist intelligence services). In addition to many other methods and channels, the publication was used to transmit ideological and political instructions to the antisocialist opposition. The PZPR Central Committee periodical IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS, published the following on this subject: "These 'enlightened' people (representatives of the antisocialist forces) in Poland amass and collate thoughts which are transmitted to them in readymade manifestos and programs. This is quite obvious when one compares, for instance, the KOR program and pronouncements with materials published by the Paris KULTURA."

As early as 1976, this magazine in an editorial entitled "Political Opposition in Poland," published the scenario by which the antisocialist forces were guided. The article's main theses later appeared in almost verbatim form in the program of the KOR. The article maintained, among other things, that there is need to strive for educational activity and to organize within it self-administered, activist groups which would in the future become the nuclei of political pluralism. The article also recommended that the opposition operate on principles of formal legality, penetrate the workers environment, exploit legal, as well as illegal, printed matter and maintain contact with intellectuals, emigres and their publishing houses.

Developments in the PLR in the second half of the 1970s and after August 1980, demonstrate that the antisocialist forces were indeed guided by this scenario. Even in early 1978, they established the illegal, so-called trade unions and the "flying universities" trained future functionaries and activists of "Solidarity," the Independent Union of Students, as well as other oganizations. Antisocialist books and periodicals were illegally published in thousands of copies. Throughout the country, the KOR built a network of illegal cells to which its couriers delivered directions, instructions, and antisocialist printed material.

Thus, in August 1980, it was KOR members and activists who prepared the strikes, organized their escalation and introduced into the workers demands (which in the first phase had a social and economic character) political and antisocialist

content. They were the ones who first raised the demand for the so-called independent trade unions and circulated it among the workers under demagogic slogans of protection of workers rights and prompt fulfillment of all, even the most unrealistic, demands. It was the representatives of the antisocialist forces and the church who, through skillful manipulation of the striking workers, transformed the demand for independent unions into the principal condition for ending the strikes.

The decisive participation of the antisocialist forces in the exacerbation of the Polish crisis, was emphasized even by the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL on 3 November 1980: "The strike in the Lenin Shipyards was carefully prepared by local members and supporters of the KOR...Everything proceeded according to Kuron's slogan 'Organize Committees Instead of Conflagrations'...The central staff of the strike front was joined by a KOR braintrust which counseled the strike committee in all situations and supplied legalistic background material for negotiations with the government."

In Solidarity which -- as if by a wave of a magic wand -- sprung up almost simultaneously all over Poland (while in reality illegally prepared long before), the antisocialist forces acquired a legal base for their activity. Through demagogic and nationalist slogans, the raising of seemingly attractive demands, this organization, pretending to have a workers character, succeeded in gaining the support of many working people. Representatives of the antisocialist forces, making full use of the 40,000 strong, well-paid Solidarity apparat, and enjoying the close cooperation and support of the church, were also to skillfully manipulate their positions and views. Since its inception, Solidarity had become the main instrument of the antisocialist forces. It became a factor which enabled them to conceal the demands and actions aimed at liquidation of socialism, behind the so-called interest of the working class and working people.

It was this approach on which the tactics of creeping counterrevolution were based. In the name of the workers, Solidarity raised and promoted aims which were gradually destroying the political system of socialism and legalized its new, counterrevolutionary structure. Under slogans about defense of workers rights, hundreds of strikes were organized which brought the Polish national revival, camouflaged a campaign leading to the discreditation of the PZPR and liquidation of its leading role, to a disintegration of organs of people's power, chaos and anarchy, with the aim of creating conditions for a counterrevolutionary coup.

False Slogans of the So-Called Friends of Peace

It was again confirmed in practice that the so-called independent organizations have nothing in common with the interests of the working class and socialism. While they put on a democratic face, repeatedly proclaim their workers character, and promise to safeguard socialist legality, they are willing to respect only independence from the communist party and the socialist state. They demand absolute, uncontrolled freedom, but only for those who disseminate antisocialist views, who would destroy the socialist society. In reality, they are anything but independent. They merely provide a front behind which lurk socialism's enemies, they operate in the interest and pay of the anticommunist centers.

The role played by Solidarity in Poland in 1980-81 was the same as that played by the so-called independent and free organizations in Czechoslovakia during 1968-69, such as the Federation of Locomotive Detachments, KAN, K 231, Union of University Students, Coordinating Committee of Creative Unions, etc. Those, too, were organizers of antisocialist counterrevolutionary operations.

Such is the universally valid experience of the international communist movement. Even the Kronstadt revolt against Soviet power in the spring of 1921 was carried out under slogans of independent soviets separated from the Bolshevik party. When, at the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, Lenin analyzed the causes, character and leaders of the uprising, he emphasized: "They all come with slogans of equality, freedom, constitutional assembly, and not once but many times we later found that such people merely served as a stepping stone, a bridge to power of the White Guards."

Such is the logic of the class struggle. Slogans calling for a status independent of the communist party and its Marxist-Leninist policy have always served and still serve the class interests of enemies of socialism. There can be no independent or somehow supraparty policy. Even though the bourgeoisie and the revisionists try to conceal this fact in every possible manner, history has unalterably confirmed that in the struggle between capitalism and socialism of which every class struggle is an inseparable part, cannot be independent. All concerned fight on one side of the barricade or the other. And those who proclaim the slogan of independence in this struggle, knowingly lead the working class and other working people into the arms of the imperialists.

This well-known Leninist truth has again been confirmed to the fullext extent in the PLR. Solidarity and similar organizations which were carrying out the plans of the antisocialist forces, have not only turned the slogans of independence and freedom into a trap into which they lured the working people and into a facade under which they concealed their true aims, but also used them as their battle cry.

As always in the past, during the recent months in the PLR, those who were spreading these slogans, posed as "friends of the people" and defenders of workers interests. In reality, however, they were acting contrary to these interests. They strove for the liquidation of workers socialist achievements, and wanted to drag the workers, peasants and intelligentsia into the serfdom of capitalism. Step by step, first covertly, more recently quite openly, they used these slogans with grim determination toward the destruction of the socialist system of government, and were preparing a counterrevolutionary coup.

[No 7, 17 Feb 82 pp 1, 3]

[Text] Before the declaration of martial law in December 1981, the PLR did not present a pretty picture. Anarchy and disruption in all spheres of social and economic life had reached their peak. Organs of peoples power were paralyzed, as was the work of the PZPR. Officials and organizations of Solidarity willfully reigned in offices, institutions, and plants. Moral terror grew against all those who did not exhibit sufficient enthusiasm for the policies of this "independent" organization and who did not "voluntarily" participate in the

strikes and demonstrations organized by Solidarity. The whole country was flooded with antisocialist and anti-Soviet slogans, posters and printed matter. The antisocialist forces were getting ready for the decisive strike.

As early as late October 1981, one of the spokesmen of Solidarity, Marian Jurczyk, spoke quite openly about the orientation of this organization toward a final accounting with the "communist regime" in Poland. In his speech, he grossly slandered members of the party and state leadership, the socialist system, and the Soviet Union. In his words, parliamentary deputies and the government were "traitors of Polish society." He stressed that "the time for coddling has ended, let them shout as much as they want, we need no longer be interested...The whole world is counting on us." At the same time, he threatened that "there will come a time when the PZPR will disappear from the plants. It will only exist in cities where they can sit and spout party ideology, the party cannot manage the economy." He also expressed quite candidly Solidarity's final objective: "It is possible that for some people there will have to be gallows on which they will hang. In my opinion, it would not hurt to build a few of these as an example. I believe this is our decisive year, there should be an upheaval which would enable us to take power into our hands."

Yes, such was Solidarity's program from its very inception. After all, even L. Walesa confirmed this is a conversation with journalists at a Solidarity meeting in Gdansk in December 1981, when he said: "We will eventually get them (i.e., communists true to socialism - K.H.), including those in the highest places, despite the fact that they will try to escape in their helicopters." Do we need clearer testimony that Solidarity representatives began to see themselves in the role of rulers of Poland, in a situation where its detachments of thugs have finally liquidated the socialist system in the PLR, its representatives, and all those who consistently defended it?

No Treaties Possible With Antisocialists

Solidarity's every action was subordinated to this one goal of seizing power. All that stood in its way, all institutions which still retained their socialist character and in which the party and government still exerted a certain influence, were to be either subordinated to Solidarity or else liquidated. It is for this reason that Solidarity pressed so vehemently for an economic reform on its terms. The substance of this reform was abolition of socialist ownership and its replacement by group ownership and takeover of management in enterprises by self-administered groups of "workers" under Solidarity's patronage. In order to make certain that this process of liquidation of the economic foundation of socialism proceed smoothly and precisely according to Solidarity's vision, the government was to hand over economic management to a so-called social council composed of people who enjoyed Solidarity's confidence. A similar objective -- to take over control of mass communication media -- was behind the demand to establish their own -- independent of state control -- editorial offices in radio and television, and the abolition of management of news media by state and party organs. The call for so-called free elections for seats in the Sejm and the national councils in which the candidates would be "independent" representatives of all the organizations which legally or

illegally operated in Poland, according to a scenario prepared by Solidarity, was to climax the counterrevolution.

In the struggle to push through the demands, the behavior of Solidarity's representatives and organizations was becoming increasingly more provocative, brazen and arrogant. Ultimatums to the Sejm and government, the attempt to push the PZPR organizations out of the plants, increasingly sharper attacks on the security organs, ceaseless escalation of antisocialist and anti-Soviet propaganda, all this was in preparation for the final confrontation.

Even in this situation when it was obvious to everyone that Solidarity intended to seize power, the government kept trying to resolve the crisis through negotiations. Solidarity's response was a resounding no to the PZPR and government proposal to establish a front of national reconciliation. It was clear that for the Solidarity leadership words about agreement and dialogue have all along been merely a means of deceiving the workers, only a tactic to force the government into concessions and to gain advantageous positions for the final confrontation.

None of the agreements concluded since the first in August 1980 were good enough for Solidarity, which constantly violated and frustrated them all. The situation was always the same. Even before the ink was dry on an agreement, Solidarity's representatives would already be raising new ultimatums and threatening new strikes. No concession or compromise by the government was good enough but always only provided a pretext for more far-reaching demands. Anytime Solidarity was forced to compromise or retreat even an inch, it promptly unleashed a propaganda circus, claiming that the government was applying undemocratic methods, violating the so-called social contract and seeking confrontation. A dialogue in Solidarity's conception was nothing but a monologue of the antisocialist forces. All those who stood up in defense of socialism and friendship with the Soviet Union were immediately branded enemies of Polish revival and the people, or simply dogmatists, while a vast campaign was unleashed against them from all quarters.

Developments in Poland thus demonstrated once again that no agreements are possible with those who fight against the socialist system and strive for its overthrow. All those who embark on such a path, endanger the political power of the working class to its very foundations.

Financed by Anticommunist Centers

Imperialist centers of ideological diversion were not only the patrons of those who stood in the shadow of Solidarity's birth and directed its operations, but also provided it -- either directly or through various organizations, including the yellow trade unions -- with great material and moral support. Throughout the 16 months of its existence, Solidarity's activity was featured prominently in the bourgeois communications media, as well as in statements by leaders of the capitalist countries. From these countries also flowed millions of dollars, pounds, West German marks, as well as significant material "presents" into Solidarity's treasury.

Solidarity's officials did not even try to conceal the fact that they had considerable hard currency means at their disposal. At a preelection assembly in Gdynia in July 1981, for instance, L. Walesa stated that he had sent $11,000, which was received from Sweden, to the Gdansk organization, and $60,000, received from Greece, to the Wroczlaw organization for the purchase of printing dyes abroad. He added: "We are receiving other types of currency as well, marks, francs, pounds...we have funds in foreign accounts. In the United States, for example, Solidarity has $600,000, and a little more money in other countries." The fact that Solidarity owned considerable funds deposited abroad, was also confirmed by Z. Zlotkowski, an official of its Gdansk leadership: "While the Ministry of Finance authorized Solidarity to expend $2,500 per quarter, we have spent $250,000 for printing machines alone, for example, such as those which were recently installed in Gdansk. We will be purchasing 10 sets of such equipment for the union." A good part of the funds acquired in this manner, ended up in private accounts. At the same assembly in Gdynia, A. Gwiazda, for example, admitted that he had received $3,000 from Australia and deposited it in his own account because, he alleged, he was subject to different regulations. As we can see, Solidarity had no shortage of funds. Without any control, its officials distributed large sums and spent even more for purchases abroad. Even in the management of Polish currency, Solidarity chieftains did not worry about a million zlotys here and there. As shown by documents discovered in a safe belonging to the Wroczslaw branch of Solidarity after the declaration of martial law, 80 million zlotys was paid to the counselor of Solidarity's regional leadership, Jozef Ponior, without any specification of the purpose for which these funds were to be used.

This practice of dispensing funds without any justification was quite common, as revealed during an investigation by accountant Bozena M. Equally unexplained is the amount of 167,000 zlotys which members of Solidarity's Silesian-Dobrowski leadership spent in Warsaw hotels, as well as what happened to millions collected for more than 40,000 tickets sold for admission to various so-called cultural events organized by Solidarity's regional branches.

From the capitalist countries, this "independent" trade union organization received not only money, but also generous material aid. It was equipped with everything it might need for ideological persuasion of the population and for waging a political struggle. An incomplete survey of this material aid includes the most modern printing and duplicating equipment, hundreds of tons of paper, television studio funishings, including cameras, motion picture cameras, photographic cameras, radio transmitters, listening devices for monitoring telephone conversations, personal automobiles, minibuses and large quantities of consumer goods intended for rewarding the faithful and bribing those who still needed to be convinced. A portion of this material aid arrived openly, the rest illegally, concealed as aid "for the needy" in Poland. As confirmed by customs officials in Gdansk, this "switch" in contents of deliveries addressed to Solidarity Gdansk, occurred frequently, especially during November and early December of last year. At that time, gifts for Solidarity from its friends in the United States, FRG, and other capitalist countries, were literally pouring in. The customs records, for instance, show delivery of a duplicating machine worth 800,000 zlotys, printing machinery worth almost half a million Swedish crowns, and motion picture cameras worth 1 million

zlotys. Crates marked as foodstuffs, contained radio transmitters, paper for leaflets, etc., instead of canned meat and powdered milk.

March to the Overthrow of the Government

What Solidarity needed these and voluminous other materials for was more than obvious, namely, to possess at the time of the decisive strike all that would be needed to organize and manage the overthrow of the government, toward which Solidarity and its advisers from the KOR were consistently oriented. The only question was when. The decision was finally made to act in the second half of December, after the government had refused to submit to Solidarity's most provocative demands, and when the PZPR Central Committee instructed PZPR members in parliament to present and discuss in the Sejm a law granting the government emergency powers to restore order and suppress antisocial activity (as seen from its leadership's decision in Gdansk, Solidarity's final deadline for action was 15 January 1982, the date by which there was to be a referendum on confidence in the government).

The fact that Solidarity was preparing its final move to seize power, is clearly attested to by the course of its leadership's meeting in Radom in early December 1981. It was there that L. Walesa and other officials quite openly admitted that they were preparing the final strike within the next few days. L. Walesa clearly expressed this conclusion when he said: "Confrontation is inevitable and there is no doubt it will come...I naturally wanted to delay confrontation until such time as almost all the social groupings were with us. I miscalculated. I believed that if we persevered, we could bring down the Sejm, the national councils, etc. We now see that we can go no further with such tactics. We, therefore, choose the road of lightning maneuver...For today it is already clear that Andrzej Gwiazda did not leave the leadership because our views differ substantially on what course to follow. The only difference is that his road and Jan Rulewski's demand immediate use of tanks and aircraft. Naturally, they are right. We will win but we wanted to avoid paying the ultimate price. There is no doubt that this struggle cannot be won without paying a price. The aim is to pay as little as possible. Therefore, we must choose the place and set the price we are willing to pay. As long as we have the right plan and make the right decisions, the fight we choose may be less costly, but a fight there will be. We reject all the fronts of national entente! Serious problems will be decided by Solidarity alone."

Other Solidarity leaders made the plan for confrontation and seizure of power even more precise. Jan Rulewski emphasized the necessity of attacking at any price the regional organs of state power, and compromise them before the elections. "People will attack the regional leadership and Solidarity, which will operate to compromise all basic organs of state, will make capital from this. This is the course we must follow, starting today." Andrzej Sobieraj proposed that "Solidarity groups take over a portion of the state administration and, at all cost, remove the local and regional organs." Wladyslaw Frasynik demanded to "build and expand the union apparat which in the future will assume its place in the state administration." Grzegorz Palka, in his turn, stressed that it would be necessary to establish patrols composed of

Solidarity members equipped with helmets and night sticks. Zbiegbiew Bujak announced that the immediate task of these "patrols," in reality some sort of combat commandos, would be the "liberation" (which translated into normal language means occupation - K.H.) of the Committee for Radio and Television in Warsaw. He also demanded the immediate establishment of a so-called Social Council. "It will be something on the order of a provisional national government." Zdislaw Rozwalak spoke in a similar vein: "We must make society aware that the government cannot be trusted. It must be overthrown, exposed for what it is and stripped of any remaining confidence it may still enjoy." This assembly also approved a document entitled "Standpoint" which threatened a 24-hour general strike if the Sejm were to approve the law enabling the government to resort to emergency measures to restore order and peace, and a strike of unlimited duration should the government actually apply such measures.

That these were no empty threats but rather concrete steps and concrete preparation for seizing power, is documented by many facts. In the Warsaw and other Solidarity organizations, they were setting up the so-called permanent worker patrols which were to supplement the structure of the already existing commandos and hit squads (some sort of police forces) belonging to Solidarity. Under the slogan of "No Politics in the Workshop," there was intensified activity to frustrate the work of PZPR organizations, their secretariats in plants were occupied and there was a broad campaign for their complete expulsion from work sites. Solidarity headquarters in Gdansk sent their emissaries to Katowice and other areas to instruct local officials how to prepare for the "uprising." There were also instructions on how to disarm members of Public Security and the military at the time of the coup. The Solidarity leadership in Szczecin (and not only there) had a complete plan for the occupation of official premises, especially radio and television stations, and the regional PZPR committee. In the Gliwick area they established a so-called exchange center, which was a cover name for a headquarters which would direct production and distribution processes. Various Solidarity departments were preparing a so-called government of national trust, slogans proclaiming "death to the PZPR" were being unveiled, etc. Stated briefly, Solidarity unleashed a psychosis of an uprising throughout the country.

Protest demonstrations were announced for 17 December 1981 in Warsaw and many other localities, in which university and secondary school students were to participate. The aim of these demonstrations was to be to express the demand that the lawful PLR Government resign. "If these demonstrations take place all over the country," stressed J. Onyszkiewisz, "the state leadership will be unable to concentrate its forces." Let us add--and will be unable to contain the attempt to seize power.

The so-called rural Solidarity actively participated in the preparation for the overthrow of people's power in Poland. It boycotted food deliveries, occupied public buildings, and presented ultimatums to the national councils. The Independent Union of Students (acting under the patronage of Solidarity and its advisers) organized strikes at almost all universities and many secondary and even primary schools. In short, they created conditions in which the students would function as Solidarity's reserves in the operations for the overthrow of the government.

The refusal of Solidarity's leadership to join the front of national entente led by the communists, and attempts to create in its place an "independent and self-managed alliance of national forces" under Solidarity's leadership, was an attempt to form a broad anti-Soviet coalition which would also serve as foundation of the new political system. It is not without interest to examine what its substance was to be. Besides Solidarity, rural Solidarity, and the Independent Union of Students, there were to be more than 30 illegally or semilegally operating political parties and organizations. Their political spectrum was indeed a colorful one. From organizations with ties to the prewar National Democratic Party and the fascist-leaning tendencies of Pilsudski, they extended through the Trotskyites, all the way to social democratic and Christian democratic groupings. What united them was hatred of socialism and the desire to restore a capitalist system in the PLR, and again integrate Poland into the imperialist camp.

Preparations for the counterrevolutionary coup climaxed at a session of Solidarity's national commission in Gdansk, which on 12 December 1981 decided to hold by 15 January 1982 at the latest a national referendum on confidence in the PZPR and the government, and on the formation of a provisional government. At the same meeting, 17 December was proclaimed a day of protest against the government.

It is quite obvious that in an atmosphere of antisocialist hysteria which Solidarity had been inciting for a long time with great determination, this so-called day of protest was actually to be the steppingstone to the counterrevolutionary coup. The referendum was later to provide a stamp of legality to the liquidation of socialism and a mandate of the "people" to the provisional government which could then settle in blood--assuming it had not already happened earlier--accounts with the adherents of socialism.

Solidarity has thus willfully violated not only the constitution and its own pledges, but also the elementary principles of the functioning of any type of state. During the 16 months of its activity, it had demonstrated that, within the organism of a socialist society -- and against the interest of its rank and file, it was as an instrument of the antisocialist forces. They were the ones at its cradle and they branded it with their program, methods of operation and the ultimate goal which, as events clearly demonstrated, was counterrevolution.

[No 8, 24 Feb 82 pp 1, 3]

[Text] In the light of Polish developments after August 1980, how paradoxical are the furious attacks which, following the declaration of martial law, were unleashed against Poland and the Soviet Union by bourgeois propaganda, revisionists and official representatives of the capitalist states. With unconcealed rage, they attack the constitutional organs of the PLR and accuse them of suppressing democratic freedoms and human rights. Things and events, however, must be called by their right names. Democracy and freedom which were abolished by martial law and which the imperialist circles so bemoan, was democracy for the antisocialist forces and freedom for their machinations to destroy the socialist society.

When sworn enemies of socialism threatened to build gallows for communists, and Solidarity proclaimed its plans for the overthrow of the socialist system, disrupted the national economy through strikes, expelled the PZPR organizations from plants and spread chaos and anarchy, the bourgeois press and the governments of the capitalist countries did not protest. On the contrary, they incited this activity in every possible way and elevated Solidarity to the "ultimate" in democracy and freedom in socialist Poland. Not even the moral terror, the discreditation of hundreds of thousands of honest communists, slandering of socialist ideals and the alliance with the Soviet Union, nor the affront to the civic pride of millions of citizens were in conflict with how these circles visualized democracy in Poland.

Hypocrisy of the West

At the moment when the people's power acted to put an end to counterrevolutionary havoc and began to restore order and normal social and economic life in Poland, the governments of the capitalist states and their servant communications media unleashed a hate-filled clamor about suppression in Poland, military dictatorship and violations of democracy, freedom and human rights. Contrary to all usages of international relations, they even usurp for themselves the right to punish the PLR Government through political and economic sanctions.

The fact that the campaign against the PLR is a collection of lies and slander intended to deceive workers in the capitalist countries and the world public, is not doubted even by many public figures in the capitalist world. The publisher of the West German weekly STERN, Mr Henri Nannen, for example, branded the attacks which the West wages against Poland as hypocritical. "This hypocrisy," he wrote in the first January issue of STERN, "began when people who consider any struggle for employment here as a crime against free democratic institutions, rejoiced whenever a new strike was called in Poland...Was it a question of greater freedom within the existing socialist system," he asked, and replied: "No, the aim was to make Poland the center of conflagration in the Soviet Bloc...It was hypocrisy to refuse to recognize that the extremists were gaining increasingly more influence in Solidarity."

In this article, H. Nannen also shows the true aim of these forces, namely, an uprising and overthrow of socialism: "Conditions in Poland had reached such a point that on 12 December Solidarity demanded in Gdansk a vote on its referendum which, together with a general strike, was to impose on Poland a social system of the Western democratic type which would be anticommunist in its substance."

The author of this statement can certainly not be suspected of communist sympathies. It can, therefore, serve as potent testimony that the campaign against Poland and the Soviet Union is not at all concerned with democracy, but rather with the foiled interests and plans of imperialism. For according to them, the PLR was to be "democratized" according to the NATO doctrine and a so-called independent Poland, torn out of the socialist community, was to be the first step in the revision of the postwar arrangement in Europe and a change

in the balance of forces between capitalism and socialism. The anticommunist center had yet another goal, namely, they hoped that the developments in Poland would lead to a destabilization of the entire socialist community, that it would work toward internal erosion in the other socialist countries.

The demands which the U.S. President, the NATO council, and governments of other capitalist countries raised against the PLR Government, also confirm the real aim of the imperialists in this campaign. This coarse political and economic coercion is intended to pressure the Polish authorities to restore the situation as it existed before the declaration of martial law. Under threat of sanctions, the government of a sovereign state is being ordered to abolish the emergency measures, release the interned Solidarity leaders and fully restore the dialogue between the state on one side and Solidarity and the church on the other. Since the PLR Government rejects this dictate, President Reagan loudly proclaims all over the world that conditions in Poland are worsening. One can legitimately ask what business the United States and NATO have in the internal affairs of the PLR. What gives them the right to exert pressures and grossly interfere in the development of this socialist country? The answer is simple, nothing.

Strange Logic of Revisionists

It is regrettable, but not surprising, that the declaration of martial law in the PLR also became the pretext for gross attacks against the CPSU, the Soviet Union, the PLR, and real socialism, for the so-called Eurocommunists. Statements by the leaders of the Italian and Spanish communist parties are no better than the approach of the most reactionary imperialist forces in the crudeness of attacks on real socialism and the Soviet Union. The general secretary of the Communist Party of Spain [PCE], Santiago Carillo, for instance, vehemently demanded in his public appearances the abolition of martial law and restoration of the dialogue between the PZPR and Solidarity and the church. Moreover, Carillo in his assessment of the situation went even further than representatives of the capitalist states when he said that he saw no difference between the present situation in Poland and fascist dictatorships in other countries. As always, Carillo did not hesitate to crudely assault the CPSU and the Soviet Union. In his words, the Polish crisis was caused by forcing the "Soviet model" of socialism on Poland, even though it is in conflict with conditions in that country. He also accused the USSR that the declaration of martial law was undertaken under its pressure. Like all other revisionists, he claimed that society in the Soviet Union is neither communist nor socialist. "We have come to the conclusion," he announced, "that between that which we consider the socialist ideal and the official ideology of the Soviet Union, there is fundamental conflict." What this conflict was, he explained at a press conference in Madrid on 11 January, when he again conformed that the PCE has definitely abandoned Marxist-Leninist principles and is instead pursuing the line of the so-called Eurocommunism, including the formation of some sort of "Eurocommunist," i.e., revisionist international which would overcome the "historical rift" between communists and socialists.

The leadership of the Italian Communist Party [PCI] also denounced the Polish Government measures as a "blow against efforts to find a political solution for

the Polish crisis with the participation of all social strata, the only road to real democratization." Like the governments of the imperialist states, the PCI demands abolition of the state of emergency, restoration of "civil and trade union rights," and a dialogue between the government, Solidarity and the church. According to the PCI, the Polish crisis cannot be blamed on the reactionary forces inimical to socialism, it is rather the consequence of the PLR's application of the so-called "Soviet model" of socialism.

The assertion of the PCI that the Polish crisis is not the result of machinations by the antisocialist forces but a consequence of the application of the so-called Soviet model, is supposed to provide backing for its "Eurocommunist" theses. In order to justify to its own membership the so-called third road to socialism and their revisionist thesis that the driving force of the October Revolution is exhausted, that the stage of the workers movement stemming from that event is ending, that a "new type of socialism" must develop in the West, the PCI leadership must besmirch and reject real socialism. In order to create a "realistic" base for slandering Leninism, it must reject its application in the USSR and in the countries of the socialist community, and "prove" that the society which has been built there is really not socialism but rather its deformation. The martial law in Poland has thus become a welcome opportunity for the PCI leadership to initiate a long-prepared rift with Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The fact that the leaders of these parties, in evaluating the causes of the Polish crisis, in exerting pressure on the PLR Government, and in attacks on the Soviet Union and real socialism, share a platform with the most reactionary circles of imperialism, is a logical climax for all those who enter the revisionist road and reject Marxist-Leninist teachings. E. Bernstein, K. Kautsky, O. Bauer, R. Garaudy, E. Fisher, and a long assortment of other revisionists and renegades, all posed as the only true interpreters and heirs of Marx's work, and they all ended up as apologists and direct supporters of the bourgeoisie. The revisionists in the CPCZ also belonged during the crisis years in our country to the principal organizers of creeping counterrevolution.

The history of the international communist movement has often confirmed that revisionism, no matter what theories it wraps itself in, is an arch enemy of the revolutionary workers movements and its vanguard, the communist parties. On the historical scene of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, revisionism has always stood and still stands on the side of reaction.

It was no different in the PLR. Opportunists and revisionists played the part of active helpers of the antisocialist forces in the PZPR as well. They undermined the party from within, attacked its Marxist-Leninist character and tried in every way to liquidate Leninist principles in its work. Through slogans about some sort of "Polish" model of socialism and the need to reject the universal legalities of socialist construction, which allegedly did not suite the specific Polish conditions, they disoriented not only party members but also broad strata of the working people. They thus played directly into the hands of the antisocialist forces and their propaganda. By supporting Solidarity and belittling the counterrevolutionary threat, they created in the party an

atmosphere of passivity. Through the spreading of illusions about some sort of socialist pluralism, they intensified the ideological wavering of party members, etc. All this multiplied the attacks on the PZPR launched by the antisocialist forces and, along with other causes, contributed to the fact that the PZPR organizations lost their ability to act. The revisionists in the PLR today, such as S. Bratkowski for one, reject the need for martial law and defend the antisocialist activity of Solidarity.

Those who criticize -- be it in Poland or abroad -- current developments in the PLR from revisionist positions, have not learned their lesson. They do not see, rather they do not want to see, that the organization whose activity they so staunchly defend, was systematically and with determination liquidating the socialist order and was preparing a counterrevolutionary coup. Neither do they see, nor want to see, that currently it is Solidarity's officials who in Poland and abroad are trying to organize some sort of resistance movement, issue calls for strikes and passive resistance, publish illegal leaflets in which they threaten individual communists and the PZPR as a whole, incite to civil war and in many other ways strive to disrupt the process of consolidation for which foundations have been laid.

One truly wonders on what strange logic the revisionists base their positions. On the one hand, they swear allegiance to socialism and, on the other, defend those who were preparing its liquidation in Poland, and conduct shameful hate campaigns against those who strive for revival of socialist construction. Such, however, is the end of all revisionists. Being captives of their false theories of democracy and freedom, omnipotence of pluralism, and new "roads" and "models" of socialism, they abandon real socialism and its theoretical foundation, Marxism-Leninism, and betray the most fundamental interests of the working class.

Different Tactics, Same Goals

The Roman Catholic Church and its leaders who pose as patriots and defenders of Polish workers interests, are also among those who criticize developments in the PLR after 13 December 1981, and raise their voices in defense of "freedom," "conscience" and naturally, Solidarity as well. In the proclamation of Polish bishops which was read on 31 January 1982 as a pastoral letter, the church leaders demanded the restoration of "liberties," end to martial law, the right to organize "independent" unions and youth associations, and the resumption of a dialogue. The Polish primate, Archbishop J. Glemp, has preached on a number of occasions in the same spirit.

Not even the pope, John-Paul II, has missed a single opportunity since 13 December 1981 to criticize the PLR Government and to express his sympathies to Solidarity. On 9 February 1982, he even received 12 Solidarity officials, who are abroad, in a special audience, to underline through his authority the importance which the church assigns to this counterrevolutionary organization. His address on this occasion, in which he stated that the only way to solve the crisis is to restore all the rights to Solidarity, which, in his words, had no political objectives, demonstrates the carefully thought-out tactics of pressure on the PLR Government. After all, the visit of J. Glemp and two other

members of the episcopate to the Vatican and their many discussions with the pope, show that, as it has done all along since August 1980, the church wants to exploit even today the religious feelings of PLR citizens toward influencing them and acting in the role of some sort of intermediary, thus help steer developments in a direction desired by the church.

What this direction is was stated quite clearly by J. Glemp: "We must lift ourselves from the abyss by our own efforts and in unity. And unity can only be achieved through dialogue. Let the committees of civic salvation be established. Priests, however, will not be participating because their task is to pave the road to national unity according to the laws of the gospel." Thus, the aim is to achieve unity of the Polish nation under the leadership of the church, and create conditions for its becoming the decisive force which will direct both the government and Solidarity from the background, and which will, in fact, determine how the country will be governed.

Solidarity, which the church helped bring to the world, supported in every way and significantly influenced its activity,was to play -- according to the visions of the church hierarchy -- the role of a strong but obedient instrument in the church's hands. Through Solidarity, there was to be pressure on the government to make it sufficiently receptive to the church's political demands. The goals of the church hierarchy never really differed from those of the antisocialist forces, except that the church would have preferred to achieve the liquidation of socialism more gradually through precisely gradated ideological pressure, linked with the coercion tactics of Solidarity. When, after 13 December 1981, they failed to achieve this goal, they would like to realize it today. They would like to see the process of renewal proceed on the basis of Christian unity -- in their view it cannot be otherwise -- under the ideological leadership of the church, which alone should be the arbiter of Poland's future fate.

The church and its leaders in the PLR, however, should not forget that they were the ones who served mass for the strikers and incited them to antisocialist activities, they were the ones who blessed Solidarity's banners and supported its political demands. The cross became the second symbol of Solidarity. It is certainly no coincidence that early last year the pope granted L. Walesa an ostentatious audience, and that before all important Solidarity actions, Walesa consulted the Polish primate. It is the height of hypocrisy when the pope proclaims today that Solidarity had no political aims, and when Polish bishops accuse the government of undemocratic behavior. The "democracy" which, through Solidarity, the church helped to install, was much more intolerant and undemocratic than the approach of the government today.

Imperialism Against Consolidation

No deep analyses are needed to show in which direction is aimed the coordinated campaign of the imperialist circles, their servant communications media, the revisionists and the church, in its effort against the PLR. It is meant to discredit real socialism and reduce its attractiveness for the working people in the capitalist countries. At the same time, it strives to divert attention of the world public from the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and from the

undeniable fact that the United States and its allies in NATO are rejecting them and, ignoring the opinion of the working people in their own countries, are accelerating the wheels of new arms production and preparing for nuclear war. The "struggle" for democracy and freedom in Poland is used by the imperialists as a smokescreen behind which they want to conceal their own crimes in El Salvador, Chile, and other countries, and to ascribe to the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, the very characteristics which are capitalism's own, such as antidemocracy, inhumanity, exploitation of the working people and suppression of their basic rights.

And with respect to Poland, they want to intimidate its government and force it, through economic sanctions, to again provide elbowroom for the activity of the antisocialist forces. All those who are now attacking Poland from this or that position are well aware that the situation in the PLR cannot be returned to the period of anarchy, chaos and whipped-up antisocialist atmosphere of the days before 13 December 1981. Therefore, they at least try to prevent the realization of consolidation on the basis of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism, prevent the PZPR from restoring its Leninist character and its leading role in society, and becoming again the moving force of development in Polish society and guarantor of its socialist progress.

They wish to see consolidation on a classless principle of liberalism and nationalism, expressed by the slogan "A Pole Will Eventually always Get Along With Another Pole." Under the rubric of consolidation, they would like to install some sort of liberal democratic pluralism with a socialist facade, composed of the church, Solidarity and the party, thus reaching the goal which was rather aptly formulated by Austrian Chancellor Kreisky: "Curtail the influence of communism in a communist country." And we should add, thus achieve in this manner its gradual liquidation.

Crucial Role of the Party

The state of emergency, which, due to the threat to socialism in Poland, was necessary, is only a temporary measure. It succeeded in averting the immediate peril of counterrevolution and in creating prerequisites for the restoration of order and overcoming disruptions in the economy. The 2 months of its existence have shown that the determined action against the counterrevolutionary forces was greeted by a large majority of the population with understanding, even though it subjected citizens to many restrictions. The restoration of order and elimination of antisocialist incitement, created conditions for overcoming the crisis in which this fraternal country has been suffering for many long months, and the serious consequences in all spheres left by the antisocialist forces and Solidarity.

There can be no doubt that the road to restoring socialist construction in Poland will be complicated and difficult. In all spheres of life, from the economy all the way to the people's consciousness, the PLR organs must resolve many problems, overcome erroneous views and continue to struggle against the still powerful internal enemy who has not abandoned his plans.

The tasks which the Polish communists must now address are many. The fundamental and decisive one is consolidation of the party. Action capability of its organs and organizations, unity of the PZPR on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, consistent application of Leninist norms in its work: This is the only road on which the party can again become a strong revolutionary force and be recognized as the leading force in society.

As demonstrated by the CPCZ experiences in the struggle to overcome the crisis in Czechoslovakia, for Marxist-Leninist unity in the party it is necessary to fight. It is essential to defeat the opportunists and revisionists and expel them from the party. It is necessary to part even with those who showed weakness in a difficult period and thus lost the confidence of the people.

There is no doubt that a similar process -- even though under different conditions -- is confronting the PZPR today. It too has the task of waging a determined struggle against the opportunists and revisionists, a struggle for ideological purity in the party and for overcoming the centrist slogan voiced at the Ninth PZPR Congress by S. Kania: "We will march neither left nor right, but straight ahead."

As emphasized in TRYBUNA LUDU by the chairman of the PZPR Central Commission of Party Control, J. Urbanski: "The greatest danger for the party at the present time are revisionist, nationalist and also capitulationist tendencies." Without overcoming them, without party unity and its Leninist character, the process of consolidation cannot be brought to successful fruition.

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POLITICAL COMMENTATOR MINARIK ON POLISH CRISIS

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 5, 1 Feb 82 p 6

[Article by Pavol Minarik: "Poland: Seeking a New Way"]

[Text] In the past I would smile to myself at reporters who began their stories essentially by describing how they got to the place of action. Nevertheless, I have no choice but to begin this article about my recent trip to the Polish People's Republic [PLR] precisely the way they did.

Just a few hours after the national council of the PLR had declared a state of emergency in the country I found myself on the Czechoslovak-Polish border and I must admit I had misgivings as to whether I would be able to cross in a northerly direction. At that time, the situation in Poland was unusually grave and, furthermore, as a special correspondent I am not among those who had the right to cross the border directly after declaration of the state of emergency. The Polish passport control office proceeded accordingly. Since I did not have special permission to cross over I had no choice but to pick up my rather heavy luggage and leave. My momentary haplessness, together with the prospect of lasting disgrace which surely awaited me at the editor's office for prematurely returning from a country where something was going on, gave me a bright idea--to ask for permission to cross the border from the military commissar of the Military Council of National Salvation, which surely had an office at the border crossing. At that moment I did not know where, but in less than 15 minutes I was standing in his office. I recalled from my time in the service that when one wants something from the commander he should not ask for it but demand it and the more peremptorily the greater the chance of success. So I made my demand, out loud, right from the door.

The colonel, who appeared to be closer to 40 than 50, must have had more than enough that really chilly night, but he listened to me quietly.

"Why do you want to come here just now?" he asked.

"I have been in your country 6 times in the last 16 months." Involuntarily I began telling him about my journalistic travels and wanderings during which I often met up with the bitter realities of Poland. "And now, just when something important is going on, when a momentous change is taking

place in Poland, believe me, I cannot remain at home," I said defending myself tooth and nail.

It was hard to tell anything in advance from his austere military appearance. He asked for my passport and perhaps to verify my words, or just idly, he began to count the entry stamps from the Polish passport control in my travel document. When he had counted six of them he made an appropriate sign and a seventh one was added. Then he offered me a cigarette and tea and, even though I am a nonsmoker and I was extremely warm, I found myself smoking and drinking tea with this soldier as though we were buddies.

"You know," he began saying in his turn, "I remember some of your articles which are often quoted here. From the way you write, I expected you to be older. We won't prevent you from coming here and writing about what is going on in Poland now. It's in our interest, too, for your people to know the whole truth."

Seventeen days in the land of our northern neighbors only confirmed the fact that a striking change had come about in Poland, a change that saved this country from certain disaster. After all, what the radical leaders of the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity had agreed upon at their meetings in Radom and Gdansk was really beyond all reasonable bounds of political tolerance and good sense.

What Remained of the Scheme

The "independent Polish trade unions" which originally spoke only about "democracy, justice and a better Poland" rather quickly forgot about these particular "aspirations." Futhermore, there began open antistate and antisocial activities among those who a while ago had claimed to be "representatives" of the workers.

I probably need not even mention the situation in the land in the middle of last December when the PLR national council declared a state of emergency. Deterioration of working and social discipline prevailed, production was dropping from day to day, wages were sharply increasing together with inflation at a rate almost unprecedented in today's civilized world. Regulations and orders indispensable to the normal life of society became subjects of discussion and laws were almost laughed at by those who flouted them every day. The black market grew to uncontrollable dimensions.

It is easy to understand that under such circumstances introducing constraints resulting from the state of emergency was not at all simple. The demoralizing element which Solidarity had been disseminating at full tilt for a year and a half probably affected Polish society far too much. Even though it seems incredible, it is a fact. Some of the people, under the influence of the "independent unions," simply began to take it for granted that they could tear down with impunity what others had built up during years of honest work. Many of the leaders of Solidarity had built their lightning careers precisely on this basis. Even today, although the most extreme ones together with their advisers have been interned, there can be

found those who stubbornly keep exhorting people to passive or active resistance against the state of emergency in the land. They obstinately persist in their thesis that "only through chaos, shortages and disturbances can Poland attain its higher goals." A clear-thinking person, however, will ask himself: How could such ideas find support, and often still do, among the people? The answer is not easy to find but there are now many examples of all kinds showing how and why the radical leaders of the "independent unions" succeeded. If they were not aided by demagogy, there were various advantages offered to Solidarity supporters, and if even that did not work, they simply used force. In fact, let us recall the specific and literally classic example of demagogy as used by Lech Walesa, leader of Solidarity, after his return from Japan. At that time he said, among other things, "In a short time we will build a second Japan here and everyone will envy us." Well, there is an old proverb, promises are a dime a dozen. When it came to action, it was a lot worse. Mr Lech certainly knew how to talk, truth to tell, on any subject, but when it came to doing something positive, that was another matter. Luckily, he was not always successful, even with his negative ideas. For example, in the first half of December 1981, he was heard to say that confrontation was inevitable. But what people would eat the next day, whether children would have any winter clothing or workers would have better working and living conditions--that did not interest this "union official." Only bloody confrontation with the public authorities and the party churned in his head day and night those last days. He became an advocate of Jurczyk's theory that "party committees must be burned down and communists hanged and the higher the better." That was also what was wanted by Walesa's closest advisers: Kurone, Michnik, Lipsky, Lipinsky and Wujce.

Today, when Walesa is not in direct contact with these "benefactors" he cannot manage, without their "advice," to do anything but just be silent. It is true that at the beginning he tried a hunger strike but pretty soon hunger became stronger than his resolve.

Who Is and Who Is Not a Traitor

To involve himself in the reconstruction of the economy shattered through his fault--that is obviously the last thing that Walesa wants. Illegal Solidarity printed matter, which even now is still appearing, is prepared to say that "Walesa is convinced that the communists before very long will come to him begging on their knees for forgiveness." At the same time those Solidarity leaders who publicly declared that they want to help find a way out of the crisis by honest work are being branded as traitors and collaborators who will be dealt with later.

In spite of these voices the majority of Poles simply want peace and quiet in their country and to have daily life return to complete normalcy. I was in a number of plants and institutes where the people did not hesitate to say that they had had enough of adventurism and endless strikes which brought the country to the brink of the abyss. Many of them are rightly embittered over the results of Solidarity's actions. In more than one case, even the members of the "independent unions" did not hesitate to say that no

one had asked for their opinions--and not just recently--and that they had served only to show the number of members. Their bosses forgot about them only too quickly. They thought only about themselves. Wages of 20,000 plus 8,000 to 10,000 zlotys bonus monthly, that was the measure of their "equality and democracy" for which they had fought with such heartbreak.

Today, when the activity of Solidarity has been stopped, the leaders and workers of the "independent unions" who have not been interned had to return to the jobs they held before the rise of Solidarity and start to earn their living by honest work. Even from the first days of the state of emergency it became clear that some of the leaders of Solidarity are incorrigible. In spite of the prohibition to organize strikes or other protest demonstrations they carried on activities that ran counter to the proclamation of the Military Council of National Salvation. It is easy to understand that security bodies could not be indifferent to this. There was scarcely a day that they did not find several of them and bring them to court. The struggle against these people will apparently last for some time yet, especially when it comes to light that some of the Solidarity leaders who were not interned are involved in conspiratorial activities. They simply do not want the country to return to normal. In that case, their activity would be restricted to trade union matters only and thus they would not be able to grant themselves, try as they might, salaries that are triple those of university professors. That is precisely why they were anxious to promote chaos and still are. They were doing very well in troubled waters. The income that they were getting let them live well, even in such an unfavorable situation as prevailed in the country until recently. Those whose pay was 4,000 to 5,000 zlotys could only rail against the public authorities and continually push for the introduction of unrealistic demands which did not lead to anything but the ruin of all society. Consequently, sober-thinking people in Poland today agree with the provisions which issued from the declaration of the state of emergency. Whether certain circles in the West which supported the opposition in Poland like it or not, after 16 months of chaos and anarchy, life is beginning to return to normal. In plants, enterprises and institutes the working rhythm has begun to pulsate and classes in universities are starting again.

Of course, if would not be true to claim that now everything will change for the better in no time, but a period of honest work will surely bring positive results. Months of stagnation, or rather deterioration, in almost all aspects of the national economy and social life brought about a great deal of mischief which will not be easy to eliminate, but the most important thing of all is that this process has started without delay.

Be Done With Speculators

Among the important factors in the state of emergency in the land of our northern neighbors is also the fact that Public Security and the army, together with control bodies, declared open warfare against profiteers, speculators and corruption. In the past year and a half these maladies really flourished in Poland. While national trade experienced the worst period in its existence, the black market literally bulged with scarce

goods. Today the situation is beginning to change. Speculators who profited for years from dishonest work will naturally not give up easily. They think up new, often ingenious methods of illegally obtaining goods which they then sell at a profit many times over. Until recently they were hardly ever stopped, but now an important change has occurred. Scarecely a day passes that Polish security bodies do not let the public know that they have apprehended groups of speculators or individuals. Their property, often worth several million zlotys, is forfeited to the state and they themselves, without lengthy investigations, are marched off to jail. The streets, which until recently were plastered with Solidarity posters exhorting the overthrow of public authority, have suddenly undergone a change. The posters have been replaced with others that call for an end to profiteers and middlemen. And this too, is one of the objectives on the way out of the crisis situation.

8491
CSO: 2400/157

PAY FOR RETIRED PERSONS ADJUSTED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Feb 82 p 5

[Interview with Dr Jaroslav Peterka, Director of the Social Security Office, by Zdena Stepankova: "Nobody Will Be Cheated."]

[Text] In February an adjustment was made to the incomes of practically all persons living on retirement and social security allowances, effective with the February 1982 payment. Thus extensive activity is now in progress which places a great work load on the Social Security Office in Prague. We asked the director of the Social Security Office, Comrade Dr Jaroslav Peterka, about the progress of this demanding work and about the experience of the staff of the Social Security Office in carrying it out.

[Question] Comrade Director, what's the progress of the work concerning the adjustment of retirement pay adopted by the Presidium of the Federal Assembly in January of this year?

[Answer] The first demanding stage in the adjustment of retirement pay has already been carried out successfully. During the course of it, all retirement payments disbursed by this office were raised by the fixed amount of Ksc 30 and Kcs 40 and by the child support allowance which is disbursed with them. At the same time payments representing the only source of income which until now amounted to Ksc 780 [for the pensionser] (Ksc 1330) [for the pensioner and his family] adjusted to Ksc 880 (Ksc 1500). Similarly some retirement payments to resistance veterans were adjusted to newly established minimums.

In all, nearly two and a quarter million retirement payments have been thus adjusted. The handling of these adjustments required extraordinary work effort on the part of the staff of the Social Security Office because they were carried out while doing other routine work which, especially at the beginning of the year, when new payments are inaugurated, is not negligible. In order to carry out this work, the office had to operate continuously. This was made possible by institution of special work shifts, including Saturday and Sunday work, night work and overtime work. This was true above all where computer technology was used. The second stage of the adjustments process will begin in the next few days.

[Question] What will it deal with?

[Answer] In that stage there will be adjustment mainly to retirement payments which are the sole source of income for the pensioner (his family) and which are less than Ksc 880 (Ksc 1500), and are not recorded as such in the Social Security Office files. These adjustments may be carried out only as a response to an application, which should be submitted with the requisite documentation to the Department of Health and Welfare of the District National Committee (or Municipal National Committee). The first applications are already arriving at the Social Security Office. All applications will gradually be processed. Pensioners should have no fear that they will be somehow shortchanged, the appropriate increases will be retroactive to the February payment. Pensions of resistance veterans will be adjusted in a similar fashion, as will the incomes of some groups of invalids.

[Question] What happens when a pensioner, for one reason or another, does not receive the increased payment? What should he do?

[Answer] With such an extensive undertaking, mistakes can happen. The Social Security Office, in cooperation with the Post Office, is gradually checking all discrepancies. This will be done during February and March. Claims should therefore be filed only in the subsequent months. The requisite adjustment will be implemented retroactively, and the supplementary payment will be remitted. Thus the pensioner will in no way be deprived of his entitlements.

[Question] Are there any misunderstandings on the part of the pensioners which you would like to clarify?

[Answer] Yes, there are. These are the cases where the recipient lives on an income of less than Ksc 880 (Kcs 1500). Some pensioners have erroneously assumed that, if the amount is Kcs 880 (1500), all payments which are being disbursed at the lower amount will be increased. That assumption is not correct.

If the amount is 880 Ksc (Ksc 1500 for a married couple), only those payments can be adjusted which amount to less than the mentioned amount and which are the only source of earnings for the pensioner (his family). That means that the pensioner has no other income or that the sum of his earnings and his payments is less than the stated amount. It is naturally necessary to consider as second income the earnings or retirement pay of the other spouse. That is because, by law, both spouses in a family have mutual support responsibility. It is also necessary to consider as income the income tax deduction from wages which a family member collects on the pensioner (the deduction is allowed for the support of the individual and is not meant for the taxpayer). Further, all other income is considered for this purpose, such as rent, the return from privately-farmed land and writers' honoraria. Not considered as income are only those earnings gained from irregular or occasional work, short-term work (less than 60 days a year) and the wages of individuals more than 70 years old. Also not considered is the child-care allowance given to the pensioner for support of a dependent child, an increase in the invalidism allowance and contributions paid by organizations such as Cultural and Social Fund of Unified Agricultural Cooperative,etc., that is, payments which are disbursed for very specific needs.

[Question] When a pensioner wishes to find out further details concerning his case, to whom should he turn?

[Answer] Should a pensioner have any questions, he should turn to the Department of Health and Welfare of the District National Committee at his place of residence, or to his Municipal National Committee. There he will get a thorough consultation and will learn the steps required to fill out an application for an adjustment of his retirement payment or how to file a claim.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

9764
CSO: 2400/165

IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL DEFICIENCIES IN FILM INDUSTRY DISCUSSED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Feb 82 p 4

['Culture' feature article by Lothan Bellag, president, Association of Film and Television Specialists: "Congress of Film and Television Specialists in the Fall--Great Tasks for Film and Television in the 1980's: Through New Works Elucidate the Greatness of Our System--Consistently Ask: What is the Contribution of Our Films to the Struggles of Our Times?--The New Generation Needs the Same Cooperation and Coresponsibility." A translation of the 17 Nov 81 NEUES DEUTSCHLAND letter from a reader cited below, accompanied by a West German commentary, is published under the heading, "Sharp Criticism of Film Industry, Television Voiced," In JPRS 79885, 19 Jan 82, No 1962 of this series, pp 10-13]

[Text] The Fourth Congress of the GDR Association of Film and Television Specialists was called for September 1982. This was the decision of the executive board at its meeting in January. The film and television specialists are now discussing which tasks the congress will take up, which questions deserve special attention in the preliminary period.

The work which it accomplished since the Third Congress in 1977 must also be appraised, the balance must be struck as to how the objectives of the 10th SED Congress were met. We will also decide on measures to solidify our association and discuss how its social impact can be heightened.

True to Reality, Not Just Realistic

In his report at the 10th SED Congress Erich Honecker spoke of the fact that a task of socialist-realistic art rests in taking up and answering questions of our time concerning the value of man and his place in society, of freedom and responsibility, of the claim to happiness and the possibilities for realizing it in socialism.

The report goes on to say: "Anyone who accomplished a work of the greatness and beauty of ours, wants to find in literature a source of more profound information about our life with its revolutionary breath, its struggles and conflicts. Out of that he wants to create ideal, moral and philosophical gain in the sense of socialism. For this, not only realistic, but rather artistic creation which is true to reality is required to the fullest extent

of its means of expression." This is also true of the work of the film and television specialists in our country.

The question is asked as to how our film art must be shaped in the theater and on television in the 1980's. Do our films satisfy the demands of the time and the claims which arise out of the struggles of the present? These are vital questions to which answers are expected from us, from our art which is directly tied into the network of mass communication. What can a film artist, a television journalist, a creator of documentaries, a producer of animated films, a science journalist do in active participation in the further development of socialist society in guaranteeing peace?

We see our first task to be in getting involved in the struggles of our time with new works, to work with them for peace, socialism and a meaningful life for men. Under the direction of the working class party, film and television specialists will actively make their contribution to developing the intellectual-cultural conditions for an increase in performance in all sectors of our society.

For Us Art Continues To Be a Weapon

The film artists and film journalists will only do justice to this task if, with their specific means, they contribute to the realization of the main task and make social-human conditions, relations, connections, social processes and expressions of life, which are developed in our socialist society and especially in the working class, into the subject of artistic assimilation.

Now and then we hear that art can have little effect when the decisions are in the economic, political or even military sector. That is not true. For us art is always a weapon. We possess a line of tradition of which we can be proud--the antifascist and antiwar film of the DEFA [German Film Corporation] and GDR television. With these films we were also involved in the fact that we continued to have peace until now.

We continue to ask ourselves the question how we are in a position to penetrate and represent the current dimension of the problems of peace and socialism--which has been with us for almost four decades and will not abandon us in the future.

I mean, we must delve deeper into today's class conflicts, into social questions of life, in order to be able to represent how everyday events and attitudes become significant for existential questions of our time. More consistently, indeed at all costs, we must ask what we and our films are doing in this process of coming to terms. We have learned to represent the basic questions of our time using the example of history. And we will not let up in that; but, more than has been the case to date we must gain access to the direct reality of the international processes of the present.

Mass Effect Use of the Power of Our Arguments

Much remains to be thought over: how the challenge of the imperialist mass media can be effectively met, how we use our reason and power of our arguments against their agitation and hysteria; how the world peace movement has been strengthened in the struggle against the aggressive circles of imperialism; how serious dialogue spreads between those who are in different camps politically and philosophically, but think realistically; how the consciousness of the necessity for an open factual exchange of opinion grows; how the illusionist disproves himself, he who demands of socialism that since its will for peace must be acknowledged it might lay down its arms in order thus to make an impression on the heavily armed enemies of peace.

Not for one minute may we close our eyes to the fact that the mass media of the West have become unrestrained. Konrad Wolf said that that is "the mobilization of emotions as a prerequisite for mobilizing weapons." He brought up for discussion whether our art "in the coming years will assume more and more the function of enlightening, whether making social events more transparent, the transparency of their causes and effects, will take on greater importance." Coming to an understanding on this prior to our association's meeting is the dictate of the hour.

On 17 November 1981 in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND there appeared the letter from a reader, chief mechanic in the Hubert Vater Transportation Works VEB, Erfurt, addressed to the DEFA and television. The questions raised in it are familiar to us and are part of the critical dialogue in the association. The predominant majority of our members, in their efforts for an ideologically effective and emotionally strong film and television art, views itself as strengthened by this critical letter.

Providing Clarity in the Quarrel of Opinions

At the last meeting of the association's executive board this expression of opinion was the focal point of a quarrelsome discussion about the concrete path in the immediate future. The need was present to give a collective response to it and we did so.

The discussion confirmed the dissatisfaction with the status of our own work. Our deliberations, which at present are expressed in the programs of the association, in our journal FILM UND FERNSEHEN and in the studios, concerning the social function and the future of the filmwork for theater and television, confirm this.

Every development process, even that of film and television, has its contradictions and difficulties. This cannot be concealed. Substantial progress was made. Progress in the creation of psychological-realistic films is irrefutable. Without it a number of top films, which had millions of viewers and to a large extent found international recognition, would not be conceivable. Our films must nonetheless be devoted more to the man who works on the key points of the socialist structure.

Our films also show how socialism involves all society and penetrates the life of all people, reaches their world of feelings and consciousness and presents them with moral decisions which correspond to the socialist position. That is a result which should not be taken lightly. Also we do not need to abandon the seriousness with which colleagues in both media devoted themselves to the personality development of women in our society.

Heroes Who Feel Responsible For the Totality

But the present film scene also has its shadowy side. In the artistic shaping there are manifestations of wear and tear in the everyday heroes, who have been discovered since the mid-1970's, a trend toward tranquility in the plot which misses those decisive points in the social life of man which indicate a trial, the growth in performance and consistency in life. The hero who consciously takes on difficulties in order to solve problems not only for himself, but also for others is likewise not widespread. Recently we have seldom succeeded in showing how a comparatively modest everyday figure conveys the breathtaking element, the magnitude and dialectic of our time, how its vision opens up horizons.

The development of film and television art can be accomplished only in intensive consideration of the dialectic of the present and past. A year ago we asked ourselves a question which in respect to its realization is simple, but which is not a simple question: a fourth generation is here; it has just embarked on its path in film and television. At the Fourth Congress we shall ask it for its statement on what it believes it must accomplish.

If we forget that, we would have neglected something serious: to concern ourselves with the continuity of socialist film and television development in the GDR. We would only have remained where we were. We do not have this right. We are obligated to lead our youngest colleagues into the political struggle; for this is a generation that is now learning to help shape society.

The Issue Is Work of a New Quality

It should not be concealed that upon occasion we neglected to demand a great deal of our young colleagues and, clapping them on the shoulder, preferred to certify that half things can also become whole things. Patronage, excessive praise or leading around by the nose were also at play. We must cling to that which Brecht and Dudow demanded of the next generation: equivalent cooperation and coresponsibility.

I believe that the close tie to young colleagues also helps to better understand the present and the social psyche of young people: how art and science are involved in the learning process of youth, what variety of intellectual stimulation codetermines the growth of youth, that the inclination for the discotheque by no means must be the dominant leisure demand, how great the demand is to be stimulated by films into thinking about feelings.

In this, young people scarcely commit themselves to any film type. Certainly there will always be a preference for exciting entertainment, but the demand

for a diverse offering of well made films is undeniable. Onesidedness inevitably results in the loss of impact.

The experiences of the 1970's include the fact that socialist art develops in connection with its social mandate, in the conscious participation in the class struggle, in the artistic struggle for control of the new facts of life.

Comrade Kurt Hager reminded us of the fact that the issue is the quality of the relations to reality, "which is not absorbed in individual experiences and chance events--no matter how important these are--, but rather which includes the entire treasure of historical experience, of social findings and political strategy as it is most finely expressed in the program of our party."

12124
CSO: 2300/166

CHIEF DISCUSSES FORTHCOMING GST CONGRESS' DEFENSE TRAINING GOALS

East Berlin SPORT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 30 No 2, Feb 82 (signed to press 24 Dec 81) pp 6-7

[S & T interview with Lt Gen Guenther Teller, chairman, Central Executive Committee, Society for Sport and Technology (GST), in view of the Seventh GST Congress scheduled for 25-27 June 1982 in Cottbus; date and place of interview not given: "We Are Strengthening the Defensive Power of Our Republic"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Lieutenant General, can you say at this time what will be discussed at the Seventh Congress?

[Answer] Of course, we have no details yet. In general it may be said that the discussions will revolved around how our socialist defense organization in its future work will be able to serve the commitment set by the 10th SED Congress to promote a higher degree of defense readiness of GDR citizens and perfect their defense capability by purpose-oriented, organized training. The work is to be concentrated on helping to secure the peace by a perceivable increase in performance in all aspects of GST activities and thus contributing to the further strengthening of the GDR defensive power and the protection of socialism.

It is therefore an issue of higher quality and efficiency of premilitary training so that the future soldiers, noncommissioned officers and commissioned officers receive an optimal preparatory training on a wide basis at the highest uniform standard possible for their service of honor in the National People's Army and will thus be up to the requirements of this service in the 1980's.

It is also a question of widening the basis and increasing the efficiency in defense sports activities by means of which many young and adult citizens of this country acquire a sound knowledge and skills benefiting the country's defense. A justification of the GST work throughout the past 5 years to be submitted to the Seventh Congress will show that our socialist defense organization has a sound foundation for its upcoming future. This certainty is corroborated by the successful course which the election meetings and delegate conferences held by the sections and basic organizations have taken thus far.

[Question] You said that the preliminary training must be improved even further. In your opinion, Comrade Lieutenant General, what should and can any young man himself do to prepare for his military service or his career in the military?

[Answer] The most important aspect is and remains his conviction of the necessity to defend our socialist mother country, combined with the willingness to give his very best for it and prove himself in the National People's Army or the GDR border troops at all times. It has been proven that this attitude is strengthened both by the defensive training in school, active cooperation in the Free German Youth, and participation in the GST defense sports.

Whoever actively participates in one of the defense sports lays the groundwork for the subsequent premilitary training. Experience shows that it also facilitates the decision on a certain career in the National People's Army. Every young conscript, and particularly every future National People's Army specialist is well advised to utilize premilitary training intensively so that he may acquire a sound political and special knowledge as well as a high degree of physical fitness. It is just as important, of course, to consciously exercise discipline and adjustment to the respective collective. Everyone who participates in the premilitary training should also know that the fight for the GST First Place Medal is a rewarding one. Those who succeed in attaining it are particularly well prepared for service in the army.

As far as future noncommissioned and commissioned career officers are concerned, premilitary training will provide initial important experience for their future careers through their function as a group leader, deputy platoon leader, or any other function. This period of proving themselves and their entire active involvement in the Free German Youth applicant collectives also contribute to strengthening their decision to pursue a career in the military.

[Question] Even now many National People's Army reservists are active and proven GST activists, although their number could be even higher. Is there an activity for everyone who wishes to participate which corresponds to his interests and capabilities?

[Answer] If our socialist defense organization submits sound proof of its work at the Seventh Congress, this is largely due to the untiring and deserving activities of many thousands of reservists as party officials, trainers, or GST training supervisors. The knowledge and skills of these comrades and the experience gathered by them in the service are, as has been shown, of great value to the fulfillment of our organization's tasks. Therefore we find it very important that many more reservists will resolve to participate in such GST activities. There is certainly no lack of opportunities to cooperate according to certain interests and skills.

I am also referring to the defense sports which are specifically created so that many reservists can do something to maintain their defensive power. Anyone who is interested in being able to shoot accurately and maintain their physical fitness can and should participate. Those reservists who wish to stay up to date with their special knowledge and skills will certainly find a

a corresponding GST sport and will actively participate in it. In short, GST provides manifold opportunities for all reservists, unless already active in other areas of this country's defense, to meet their responsibility to protect socialism.

[Question] In the elections taking place this week in the sections and basic organizations numerous young comrades will be entrusted with responsible functions in the command sections and boards. Comrade Lieutenant General, what would be your advice to these young officials who for the first time will have to master supervisory tasks in our organization?

[Answer] I may say that we will be very glad if these elections will permit that we will have a good mix of experienced officials and young comrades in the command sections and boards. This fully complies with the proven principle of giving young people responsibility.

The young command section and board members who will soon be elected are well advised if they consistently work in the interest of the successful work of their collectives and seek the advice of experienced older officials in fulfilling the tasks entrusted to them. They should always be guided by the principle that their actions will decide how fast and surely the premilitary training and defense sports and the organizational strengthening of their collectives will proceed. Particularly the comrades of the same age in the training units and sections will look to them, which obligates them to set an example with a clear, class-oriented attitude and proper, responsible work. I am convinced that in this sense the many new young officials of our organization will fully justify the confidence placed in them.

[Question] It is a good tradition to prepare highlights of the social life of our country and our organization--as the Seventh Congress will be--with outstanding performances. What should the comrades in the sections and basic organizations concentrate on?

[Answer] The answer to this question is actually contained in the many thousands of declarations which were passed at the campaign rallies and delegate conferences. In these declarations the comrades confirmed their resolution to fulfill the task of the 1981/82 training year completely and with the best results. They wish to contribute to the further strengthening of the GDR defensive power through successful work in premilitary training and high performance in defense sports, thus combining commitment to and activity for the politics of the working class party and our socialist country.

Fully complying with the purpose of adequately preparing the Seventh Congress, the combat power of our entire socialist defense organization will be strengthened by a further strengthening of all collectives, the entry of many new members, by the GST members expressing their internationalistic attitude through active solidarity which now helps the Polish people, and will permit the construction of modern ranges for the development and promotion of the shooting sport in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The comrades in the sections and basic organizations will also want to contribute to the success of this year's "week of fraternity in arms" by various political and sports defense activities, thus demonstrating their close commitment to the National People's Army and the Soviet Army. The many good intentions in preparation of the Seventh Congress justify our certainty that the active and responsible GST members will prove worthy of the working class party's trust as socialist patriots and internationalists, as true friends of the Soviet Union, as steadfast defenders of socialism and peace in compliance with the slogan of our socialist competition, "Direction Seventh Congress--With Initiative and Energy for the Fulfillment of the Resolutions of the Tenth Party Congress."

9544
CSO: 2300/163

TRAINING WITH ANTITANK ROCKET LAUNCHER DETAILED

East Berlin AR--ARMEE-RUNDSCHAU in German No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 3 Nov 81) pp 30-33

[Article by Capt Ulrich Fink: "Rockets Out of the Container: Two Shots, Two Hits"]

[Text] "Get off, get into position!" This command releases the three comrades' tension. One of them grasps the canvas-covered box. The other two each take a cylindrical container approximately one meter in length. Down from the armored personnel carrier. It is not easy to find suitable cover right away. Get down. And up again. Some 30 m ahead a hole in the sand. That is just right. Soldier Bittner is the first to have the machine gun in firing position. As a second gunner he has to secure the setting up of the antitank rocket launcher (PALS) system.

The hole in the ground makes for good cover. Singer, a noncommissioned officer and the aiming gunner, finds, "I can see across the entire combat field." He carefully lowers the device weighing more than 20 kg onto the edge of the position and removes the canvas cover with ease. The support beams provide a sound base of the launching device on the sandy ground. Almost simultaneously soldier Wuestneck places the rocket container on a sliding carriage for firing. Within a few seconds the noncommissioned officer has aligned the optics on one of the approaching tank silhouettes.

"Crew ready for firing!"

The company commander is satisfied that the standard times were complied with. He can rely on Jochen Singer, noncommissioned officer in his third half-year of service, and his crew. So far their performance has been outstanding. Now they can hardly wait to prove their training status on the range. Comrade Singer carries the Grade III Classification Medal of the artillery and the chemical service. He has also earned the sports medal. And recently he passed the test required to obtain the "good knowledge" medal in gold. Last year he placed first in training.

During the past weeks and months he and the two soldiers practiced every move required to handle the modern weapons system entrusted to them innumerable times. Today, during combat firing of this part of the troops, the three

comrades wish to prove that they are capable of effectively and accurately utilizing their weapon. They intend to destroy the target with the first rocket.

Thumb, middle and index fingers of the right hand of the aiming gunner lie calmly on the control wheel. Upon firing, when the rocket has left the container, he will use it to keep the cross hairs of the sight constantly on target, i.e. to cover it. Thus the rocket will always go in the desired direction, controlled by the command computer's signals.

The company commander had given the instruction, "Shoot only on my command!" The tank mockups come closer and closer. Don't get nervous, the most favorable firing range has not been reached. The seconds seem like hours. The recommendation of an umpire nearby to finally open fire was, however, rejected by the noncommissioned officer by replying, "My company will give the command."

Then comes the firing command. The rocket bursts from the container. A small powder gas cloud marks the firing. A detonation way ahead. "Hit!" The umpire takes the binoculars from his eyes. The one word implies recognition.

Hardly has the first rocket reached its target, then the gun is reloaded. Soldier Wuestneck has mastered every move. That's a must! The potential firing speed of this weapons system is three firings per minute. If you want to achieve that, the container with the rocket must click into place upon initial placement on the carriage. The first gunner again does an outstanding job.

Noncommissioned officer and aiming gunner Singer is assigned a second target. He has to reposition the optics and does it fast, but without haste. The second rocket is a hit as well!

The PALR crew comprised of noncomissioned officer Singer and soldiers Wuestneck and Bittner of the first antitank battalion has passed its crucial test. Intensive training was the key to success. They reached the goal which they had aimed at. Two rockets--two hits.

This result does not only convince the aiming gunner and his two gunners of their weapon's potential, but is also demonstrates the extraordinary effectiveness of this modern antitank rocket launcher system in a striking manner.

9544
CSO: 2300/160

EXPERIENCES OF EMERGENCY MEDICAL AID ORGANS CITED

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN in German Vol 22 No 6, Dec 81 (signed to press 24 Jul 81) pp 277-279

[Text of talk given by Prof K. Scheidler, MD, at the joint session of the Rostock Regional Society and the Section for Medical Service Organization and Tactics, GDR Society for Military Medicine, in Greifswald, 30 May 80: "The Deployment of Urgent Medical Aid (DMH) in the Rapid Medical Air (SMH) System in Berlin and the Experiences Gained Therefrom"]

[Text] The Berlin Rescue System has a long tradition. The Rescue Office, founded in 1919, has developed into a technically organized installation which became effective in many different ways above all through the central control of the bed availability register, patient transportation, and the medical alert service. Using the lessons learned in the past, it was possible, under the new social conditions after World War II, soon to start the gradual buildup of a medical emergency supply system.

The control and field stations can be reached at any time via a standard call number (115) (Figure 1). They can employ and manage the DHD [Urgent House Call Service] and the DMH [Urgent Medical Aid] teams by means of direct wire and radio communications in keeping with requirements. A system of Urgent Medical Aid became operational in three city boroughs already in 1965. In 1969, the Rescue Office assumed overall control over a general and special emergency service which was an improved version of the somewhat older medical alert service and which later on was renamed DHD or DKHD [Urgent Pediatrician House Call Service] (Figure 2).

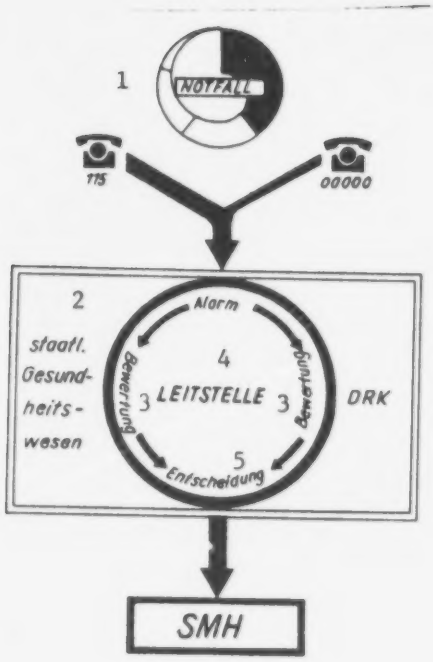

Figure 1. Control station can be reached quickly via public telephone network. Key: 1--Emergency; 2--Government health system; 3--Analysis; 4--Control station; 5--Decision; DRK--German Red Cross.

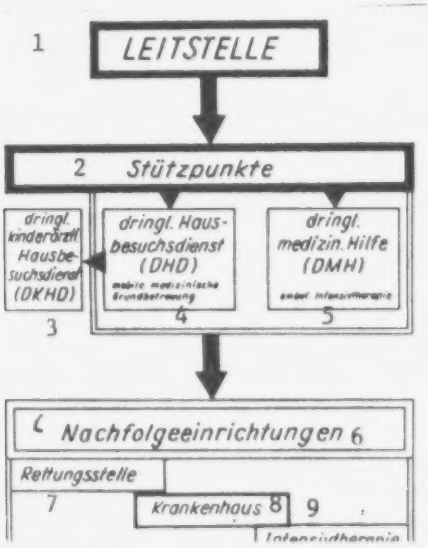

Figure 2. Fast Medical Aid System. Key: 1--Control station; 2--Bases; 3--Emergency pediatrician house call service (DKHD); 4--Emergency house call service (DHD), basic mobile medical care; 5--Urgent Medical Aid (DMH), ambulatory intensive therapy; 6--Follow-up installations; 7--Rescue station; 8--Hospital; 9--Intensive therapy.

At this time, the capital has four DMH, nine DHD, four DKHD bases and seven rescue stations within the SMH (Fast Medical Aid) system to provide timely necessary medical assistance (Figure 3).

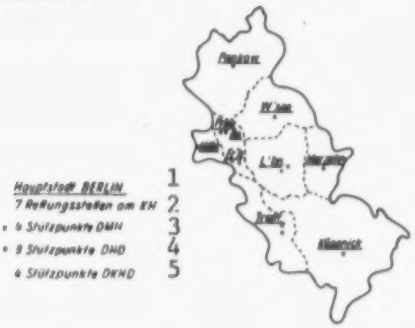

Figure 3. Sketch showing SMH layout in GDR capital. Key: 1--Berlin, the capital; 2--Seven rescue stations at KH [hospital]; 3--Four DMH bases; 4--Nine DHD bases; 5--Four DKHD bases.

Directive No 2 concerning the buildup of Fast Medical Aid, dated 12 June 1979, including the General Regulations for management, organization, and planning of SMH, obligates all bezirks in the GDR gradually to establish and develop the SMH which will essentially be introduced by 1985 in all kreises of the republic. Long-term experience with the efficiently organized medical-complex emergency service in the capital of the GDR made it possible to develop ideas which can also be useful to other territorial areas. Stationary aid provided by rescue stations is an important link in guaranteeing the fastest possible effective medical emergency supply. Here again, the Berlin tradition was continued after World War II and rescue stations, accessible at all times, were again being set up at seven hospitals. The record of services provided is quite considerable. In 1970, 94,700 citizens were taken care of by the rescue stations; in 1975, the figure had gone up to 104,400. In general, there is an impression that primary first aid supplied by rescue stations assumes growing significance. The citizens themselves decide more and more frequently which type of emergency aid is best in a specific case. For example, the DHD is summoned mostly to take care of emergency patients who in most cases suffer ailments of the internal organs while the rescue stations above all take care of emergency patients in need of surgery. Under no circumstances are mobile and stationary emergency aid to be considered as competing methods. Both forms complement each other advantageously. Let us explain this with the help of the example of providing care for infants. A pediatrician at a rescue station equipped with a laboratory and other diagnostic aids undoubtedly is in a better position to perform his functions. On the other hand, additional viewpoints must be taken into consideration to clear up cases involving fever which during the evening hours constitute the most frequent causes for emergency calls. Working mothers often find it difficult to visit a rescue station, which is unfavorably located as far as they are concerned, during the evening and early night-time hours. This is why certain social viewpoints, just as various differing ways of behavior, must be included in the calculations concerning the differentiated use of medical emergency aid.

The dimensioning of the various forms of emergency service is an essential problem anyway. On the basis of domestic and international experiences, 200 requirements were given in Berlin for 1,000 inhabitants per year, using the broad emergency concept (Budapest, 1974) as basis for planning. The results with the SMH in Berlin (Figure 4) but also those from other cities prove that these numbers are entirely realistic (Table 1).

Table 1. "SMH" Requirements Per 10^3 E [Inhabitants], 1977

Versorgungsbereich 1	DHD	DMH	2 Rettungsstellen
BERLIN	88,6	13,6	104,4 (1975)
COTTBUS	81,1	11,0	●
KARL-MARX-STADT	73,4	12,7	●
LEIPZIG	95,5	10,0	●
MAGDEBURG	67,3	7,3	●
Erfahrungs-Richtwert 3	90,0	10,0	100,0

Key: 1--Supply area; 2--Rescue stations; 3--Empirical standards.

The economical employment of available material assets and manpower calls for a concentration on emergency supply areas with a population of at least 100,000-150,000, as demonstrated with the help of the organization of the DMH and the DHD in the Gera area.

The callup requirement for doctors to assist in medical emergency situations necessitates further considerations. The highest goal of a well-organized rescue service is the guarantee of optimum assistance in acute medical emergency situations. It is not without justification that the opinion of the citizens concerning the socialist health system is determined to a great extent by how quickly and how effectively assistance is provided in medical emergency situations.

The need for SMH and rescue station services is subjected to many different factors. First of all, it is necessary to counteract the existing tendencies on the part of some doctors to shift normal obligations concerning house calls to the emergency service. Service calls during the morning hours, according to the statistics, appear to be much more numerous not only in Berlin but also in other bezirks than could be justified in objective terms. In Berlin, therefore, the introduction of the 24-hour emergency service was paralleled by measures designed to stimulate the performance of routine house call activities. On the other hand however it is also necessary to introduce regulations to be able to cope with an unjustified

request for emergency service. This includes the denial of certain expectations which generally are connected with care given by a doctor. The method of not making out any prescriptions--other than in special situations, such as during flu epidemics--proved to be effective. The patients only get stopgap therapy with medications that are brought along and for further needs they are referred to regular medical care. Besides, emergency physicians do not make out any work disability certificates. Such measures also take into account the legal aspects because the family physician must often be called upon to keep tabs on the course of the illness as such. After the introduction of this regulation it was possible to observe that the calls for emergency service declined by almost 20 percent in spite of their extension to 24 hours.

Some remarks are necessary regarding DMH assistance calls in the Berlin area. The bar graph for 1969-1978 DMH service requests (Figure 4) shows that the number of missions almost doubled. This introduces the multifaceted problem of the ratio between quantity and quality.

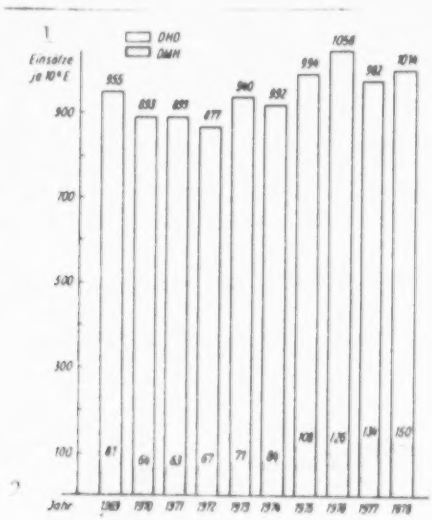

Figure 4. DMH and DHD missions per 10,000 inhabitants per year (Berlin). Key: 1--Missions per 10^4 inhabitants; 2--Year.

Based on general agreement, the term DMH means preclinical intensive therapy where life-saving methods are used as early as possible at the scene of the event and during transportation. The difficulty in assigning teams to missions correctly in keeping with the indications (Table 2) consists in the fact that even a seasoned dispatcher, in the light of our experience, cannot be in a position to make justified decisions on the basis of frequently vague data coming from an emergency call. One must use certain rules of thumb; for example, heart attacks in men over 40 and in women over 50 must be considered grounds for suspicion of heart infarct and the DMH must therefore be sent into action. Discussions spring up again and again with doctors both in the DHD and in the DKHD as well as with the DMH on the question of the determination of indications. To assure a high degree of safety, the indication must not be established too tightly for the

employment of DMH and DHD. On the other hand, one must counteract certain existing inclinations on the part of individual dispatchers to employ DMH in an entirely too broad fashion.

Table 2. Indication for SMH Employment

Direct threat to life,
Danger of lasting bodily damage,
Required fast pain alleviation,
Behavior disturbances (for the protection of groups).

This problem complex last but not least touches on the really decisive point: the attitude of medical staff members who must implement the requirement for optimum emergency aid. Emergency supply in the GDR deliberately refrains from using full-time emergency physicians, except for some government management functions. This solution on the one hand offers the advantage that the doctors as a rule remain familiar with the many aspects of intensive medicine by virtue of their daily work in out-patient or in-patient care. On the other hand, additional activity in the context of SMH, at any time of day or night, calls for a high level of discipline and extraordinary action readiness and thus a great effort in terms of persuasion and indoctrination. Some doctors try not to participate in emergency service, citing various reasons. Some switched to the out-patient sector precisely in order to avoid the obligations connected with the standby alert service. In addition to convenience or family considerations, there are entirely understandable reasons for that, for example, the fear that the individual might not be up to the requirements of emergency service in terms of his own knowledge and ability.

The advanced education of doctors therefore is a very important task. The increasing trend toward specialization, resulting from concentration on subproblems in individual disciplines and in medicine as a whole, means that doctors are on many issues no longer sufficiently available to be able to meet the requirements of emergency service provided by a physician. For example, not every specialist in general medicine feels that he is able to provide care for bleeding injuries and fractures. Effective measures for the prevention and control of threatening shock are still taken too rarely. The number of patients who are delivered to the hospital with on-going i.v.'s is definitely too small.

A central training facility was created in Berlin with the possibility of practicing on dummies, with simultaneous theoretical advanced training; the results are already visible. But work at rescue stations proved to be a good opportunity for advanced training. There are employment possibilities here for doctors who are not suitable for assignment to mobile emergency duty for reasons of health and for technical considerations likewise. In close cooperation with the hospital physicians on duty, especially the internists, surgeons, and anesthesists, they can acquire the missing knowledge and they can get training; later on they can effectively be integrated into the emergency care system.

The doctors assigned to DMH must meet special requirements in terms of their qualifications. It is irresponsible to allow doctors, who do not have a mastery of the necessary techniques and who do not have correspondingly broad experience, to

provide emergency assistance in this specialized form. For duty with DMH, it is necessary to require the individual to be an anesthesist; but that cannot be done in practice because the number of anesthesists is far too small to meet the obligations in the clinics and in DMH equally.

This is why surgeons and internists from emergency and intensive-medical sectors were from the very beginning employed in DMH in Berlin. Over the years, it has been possible to develop a cadre of doctors who have acquired extensive experience also in the marginal areas of their field. Constant participation in emergency care is necessary to enable the physician to cope with current tasks through past experience and through a constant learning process. At this point we might note that, according to experience in Berlin, optimum emergency care can be achieved only if the measures, initiated at the scene of the event and during transportation, are smoothly continued in the hospital. The ZRI (Central Rescue and Intensive Therapy Department) at the Friedrichshain Hospital passes its test daily. Through the multidisciplinary cooperation of various specialized fields, it is possible here to provide services which could not be administered without such a form of organization. The rescue station of the Friedrichshain Hospital fits into the territorial network of the other rescue stations. Cooperation among rescue stations, reciprocal exchange of information, as well as the acceptance of patients facilitates highly-specialized care under all circumstances. If necessary, this can also be done in such a way that an operating team is dispatched from the hospital to the corresponding installation for special care to be given to patients after serious cerebro-cranial traumas or vascular injuries.

The lessons learned in Berlin show that it takes manifold technical but also political-educational efforts to be able--through the involvement of the SMH--to meet the requirement addressed to the health system, that is to say, to make the achievements of medicine available to all citizens in a comprehensive manner and at all times.

5058
CSO: 2300/191

DEFENSE MINISTER CALLS UPON YOUTH TO REPORT FOR MILITARY SERVICE

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Mar 82 p 21

[Article: "The Defense Ministry Competition"]

[Text] The Defense Ministry invites all applicants or full-time day students at selected postsecondary institutions, who wish to pursue careers as permanent officers in the Hungarian People's Army upon completion of their university studies, to submit their applications.

The following are required for application: Hungarian citizenship, unreproachable past record, moral and political reliability, physical fitness for professional military service, single marital status, age of no more than 23 years. Students or applicants at the following postsecondary institutions are eligible to apply for the army scholarship.

Budapest Polytechnic University:

--mechanical engineering, sanitary engineering, and engineering industry technology majors;

--electrical engineering, telecommunications, broadcasting, data publications, and control engineering majors;

--traffic engineering, vehicle and automobile mechanics majors;

--architecture, design engineering and surveying majors.

The Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences:

--natural science, cartography and meteorology majors.

The arts and science universities:

--political science and law students, natural science, programming mathematics, and physics majors.

Medical universities:

--general medical and dental students.

Karl Marx College of Economics:

--general economics, planned economics and finance majors.

Traffic and Telecommunications Engineering Academy:

--bridge construction and maintenance, road construction and maintenance majors.

Mihaly Pollack Engineering and Miklos Ybl Construction Engineering College:

--architectural and civil engineering majors, as well as sanitary and building engineering majors.

School of Forestry and Wood Industry:

--surveying and land allocation majors.

During the school year, technical training, and basic military training, the recipients of army scholarships will receive monthly student grants. While studying, they will be under the command of the Frigyes Karikas Military Academy. Upon request, those studying in Budapest may receive room and board in place of compensation.

Upon completion of their third year or brief military training, scholarship recipients at universities are awarded the rank of ensign and receive army academy student status. After completing their studies, they become members of the permanent staff and are awarded the rank of officer.

Army scholars at colleges participate in brief basic training after passing the state exam, and afterwards receive officer rank. They are appointed or begin their career posts on the basis of their achievement and training.

Entrants may obtain application forms at their local recruitment and defense headquarters (in Budapest, at the capital recruitment headquarters).

The deadline for application is anytime for current students, regardless of the school year; for university applicants, the deadline is 31 March.

9890
CSO: 2500/161

COMMANDER OUTLINES ACTIVITIES OF TECHNICAL MILITARY ACADEMY

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 10 Feb 82 p 3

[Interview with Maj Gen (Docent) Aleksander Grabowski, Commander of WAT [Technical Military Academy; date and place not specified]

[Text] The catchword 'laser' makes us think of modern technology in the service of the economy and science. But probably few people remember when that word earned the full right to be included in the Polish language...

It was in 1963 that the world learned from PAP tapes that a group of WAT scientists placed the first gas laser in Poland into operation, and in that very same year the ruby laser came into being at the WAT. These two news items were signal that the Warsaw military school had begun the research offensive.

A KURIER POLSKI reporter discusses with Maj Gen (Docent, Doctor, Engineer) Aleksander Grabowski the accomplishments of the scientists in uniform and their meaning for the national economy.

[Question] General, last year the school which you direct celebrated its 30th anniversary...

[Answer] The WAT was created by the Sejm act of 22 March 1951 and was officially opened on 18 December 1951. The creation of the school was supposed to--and did solve the problem of training engineering cadres and of preparing scientists in the military technology field; further expansion of the armed forces required modern armaments and technical equipment. Didactic problems were the center of attention. In the beginning most cadres consisted of young officers, graduates of civilian schools, engineers unaquainted with military hardware. In this situation, Soviet specialists were of invaluable aid. Many well-known Polish professors were also involved, including Professors Janusz Groszkowski, Witold Pogorzelski, Tadeusz Pelczynski, Stefan Ziemba, Kornel Wesolowski, Dioniz Smolenski, Jerzy Gierula and Tadeusz Ubranski. These are the people who actually directed the development of WAT's young cadres, the first masters work and who sponsored the first doctors. Such were the beginnings.

Today the Academy conducts masters studies, graduate studies for graduates of the higher military schools, graduate correspondence studies, post-graduate studies and courses, and doctoral studies. Armies of the socialist countries also take advantage of our masters and doctorate studies. WAT's departments have the right to confer the degree of doctor and doctor habilatatus of the technical, physical, chemical and military sciences. Our graduates will be professionally active in the 21st century, and each year will produce an enormous flow of scientific and technical information, especially a vast expansion in military technology. A WAT graduate must have somewhat different preparation than a colleague graduating from a civilian polytechnic. In the initial phase of studies, all our students are already acquainted with the basics of computer technology, and during the later years of studies they become acquainted with computer applications by solving concrete technical problems. We place a great deal of emphasis on initiative and self-reliance.

Scientific-research activities are conducted along with didactic-training tasks. The school conducts basic and applied research concerning the development of military technology.

[Question] I understand, General, that this theme, for obvious reasons, will be incidental to the interview, but, broadly speaking, solutions originating at the WAT are of definite importance to the national economy. Lasers are the standard example, if one can say so, that is theoretically well known among the uninitiated.

[Answer] Of course. We developed laser technology applications for range-finders, surgical devices, vertical plumbs for construction as well as mining work, geodetic equipment and equipment to control work machines. As an example let us consider what I called surgical devices--a laser coagulator and laser scaple. The coagulator is of no small importance in opthamology because with its help one can join an eye reticle to an eye lens. In other words, it can be used in certain cases to save eyesight. This type device is in operation in many hospitals and is highly valued by the professionals. Introduced in 1965, the use of the coagulator was one of the first in the world. They are being constantly improved and, one can say, are getting better and better. However, the laser scapel is not used on a large scale and remains an experimental device.

Laser devices are also working out well in the mining industry. They are used to lay out straight lines which are used to guide mining machines. Because of this a heading can be dug with great accuracy, an accuracy which is of great significance when a hole is bored from two sides simultaneously; the crews drilling the hole must meet. Modifications of this device are used in geodesy. But that is not all. Several years ago shipyard workers developed a unique method to assemble the two parts of the hull of a large ship. Centering had to be done to an accuracy measured in millimeters. The whole thing was actually done with a laser. To end this discussion of lasers, it should be remembered that we initiated this technology in Poland and in this field we are not the worst.

I have the impression that the laser is only a well-known word, and that most people know only superficially what lies behind it. With regard to this, I will cite another example, the so-called optimal-slide braking system. We developed it for the Fiat 125p and the Polonez. Separately, braking each of the automobile wheels, is controlled by an electronic system. It prevents wheel lockups, and at each instant and for each wheel it provides the optimum degree of braking. Speaking figuratively, with complete confidence one can brake even 'accidentally,' even when the right side of the automobile is on concrete and the left side on ice. Without using electronics, in all probability such an operation would end up in a crash. An automobile equipped with our device simply begins to apply the brake. Last year we equipped 10 automobiles this way. They are under testing.

Speaking of electronics, in 1980 we won a gold medal at the Poznan Fair. It was awarded for our automatic telephone exchange. It has 200 numbers and can operate, for example, in a larger industrial plant. It is now in production. We also developed a telephone exchange dispatcher, portable equipment in a container. It permits a number of operations and is ideal for the mining industry and large building sites. We are completing the development of an automatic exchange for buildings. We also have in the works electronic equipment to locate buried miners. It is now in production.

Now, a couple of words about WATEX. Of course, the name is derived from WAT. It is an explosive material in semi-liquid form. However, it is safer to use and transport than, for example, dynamite and ammonite [amonity] used to date. In addition, it is cheap to produce and is produced from domestic raw materials. In short, it is the ideal peaceful--as I call it--explosive material. What is more, our industry had a strong disposition to purchase an American license from Du Pont. However, we made do without a subsequent purchase under license; a semi-technical production line is already in operation.

[Question] In the civilian world it has been accepted that if one is unfortunate enough to become ill then one is fortunate to be placed in a military hospital, and in a truly complicated technical situation it is best to seek shelter under the military wing.

[Answer] I will pass without comment on what you said. I understand, however, that the question concerns the contribution of military scientists to the economy in specific situations. For example there is the Bizon, a combine harvester which at one time had an exceptionally poor hydraulic system. We fixed it. The Autosan bus at one time had a body that was inconsistent with aerodynamic principles. Therefore, we developed a new shape. We are collaborating with the factory producing this bus on a permanent basis. Another example of such activity is the expert work we performed after the explosion at Warsaw's rotunda. Several days ago we investigated the ice near Plock using infrared techniques. Over a distance of 32 km we defined the area where thick layers of ice are located. I emphasize that those are only examples.

[Question] And if I were to ask, General, about the influence of military technical ideas on civilian science...

[Answer] Then I would cite the work of Col Prof Stanislaw Kocanda concerning metal fatigue and thus the safety of flight, trips and work near machines and the proper use of these machines. These are basic matters, and the professor's book is of outright fundamental meaning. It is the theoretical foundation for those concerned with the design and operation of different kinds of equipment. It was translated into English, Russian and Japanese. One finds more and more frequently articles by WAT scientists in specialist periodicals published abroad. This is proof of their excellence. We have about 500 Polish and foreign patents. We collaborate with the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] and scientific schools and institutions in Poland and the USSR.

[Question] You spoke about technical matters. For many readers they are problems that are very distant and difficult. Would it be possible via the columns of KURIER POLSKI to draw some of them nearer, to go into the WAT with an objective lens and notebook, to describe, for example, how several hundred pages of text can be recorded on a small disk...

[Answer] Of course. We welcome you.

11,899
CSO: 2600/389

SHORTAGE OF TEACHERS DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Mar 82 p 6

/Article: "Where Shall We Get the Schoolteachers?"/

/Text/ (P) /Our Own Information/ /in boldface/. We have in our country employed in the schools, as well as places for monitoring-tutors /teachers' aides/ of various types, more than 425,000 teachers and tutors (as of December of last year, the exact total was 425,696). According to the Cadre Department of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, half a million employees are needed in order for the schools to be able to operate without difficulties and with an equitable distribution of personnel. Forecasts of the Institute for Teacher Training state that prior to the year 1990 we must employ a further 180,000 teachers for the schools as well as 46,000 tutors for pre-school institutions.

In the short run, the new Teacher's Charter deepens this impasse still further. By virtue alone of reducing a teacher's teaching load to 22 hours a week, i.e., by 13 percent, an increased demand has occurred for 55,000 teachers. This problem will be exacerbated still more by the fact that, beginning in September 1983, the teaching load will be reduced, as guaranteed by the Charter, to 18 hours, and, beginning in January 1984, the obligatory right will be introduced whereby a teacher may retire on a pension after 30 years of work, including 20 years of pedagogical work. At present under this provision we "lose" 2,000 teachers a year; within two years 7,000 teachers will be retiring on a pension.

Also influential on the increased need for teachers are the following factors: tutors' leaves of absence, reduction in the number of pupils per class to 25 (the smaller the classes, the more classes are required, and this entails a need for more teachers), as well as the unique kind of gradual break-up of the structure of the gmina school system. For various reasons, of which not the most insignificant are transportation difficulties, there has been a reactivation of the branches of consolidated schools, while further sections have been added to those which are already in existence. This also entails the necessity of finding new teachers.

According to the Ministry's calculations, in order to cope with the growing need for educational personnel, we need to train 18,000 teachers a year. Meanwhile, during the 1982--1983 school year we will have only about 9,000 graduates of higher pedagogical schools, university teaching programs, and other institutions of higher learning, such as, for example, academies of physical education, music,

and the fine arts. Of the number of 180,000 teachers who will need to be employed prior to the year 1990, only 30 percent, as forecast by the Institute for Teacher Training, will be graduates of daytime programs of higher studies. As a further misfortune, the Ministry of Education has observed a tendency at many educational institutions to eliminate methods courses or even entire teaching programs.

A disturbing reality of the last few years has been the refusal to undertake work in education by approximately one-fourth of the graduates, potential teachers. One may cite several reasons for this non-popularity of the teaching profession, which is helped by the Teacher's Charter itself.

In the first place--the lack of housing. Already today the needs of rural teachers are estimated at 35,000 housing units. This fact is most efficacious in deterring people from working in rural education. Another deterring factor which causes many graduates not to undertake work in this field and others to leave the profession has been the low salaries in the school system. The Teacher's Charter guarantees that they will be raised to the average level for engineers and technicians. An entire system of material incentives has likewise been worked out. Beginning on 1 September 1983, teachers working in a rural area will be paid a special supplement. They will be granted housing and living-expense credits. A low retirement age with pension or modest-sized hourly teaching loads could also be a certain form of incentive.

While all these undertakings are approaching fruition, however, during the current school year among the 29,000 newly employed teachers as many as 14,000, or almost half, are lacking sufficient training to practice their profession. They are predominantly graduates of general high schools. In the course of the last two years altogether some 22,000 of such teachers have been employed. They, of course, cannot teach at secondary schools but rather classes of elementary instruction and pre-school institutions; nor are they left on their own without supervision. They have an obligation to undergo further training and to improve their qualifications in higher teacher-training programs. The Ministry of Education realizes full well that this is an action done out of necessity, but such patch-work is still better than closing down schools to pupils "because of a lack of incentives to work."

2384
CSO: 2600/384

NEGLIGENCE IN SAFEKEEPING OF ENTERPRISE DOCUMENTS DEPLORED

Bucharest INFORMATIA BUCURESTIULUI in Romanian 15 Mar 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by Sorin Holban: "Responsibility--A 'Key' Which Is Sometimes Missing in the Keeping of State Secrets"]

[Excerpts] Law No 23/1971 on protecting state secrets in the Socialist Republic of Romania is clear: "The heads of socialist organizations will ensure continuing control over the keeping and handling of documents which are state secrets." The same obligations are incumbent upon these managers in regard to the preservation of job secrets, that is, information, data or documents which--although they do not constitute state secrets--are not intended for publication and, therefore, cannot be divulged.

We are presenting this explanation because--during an investigation which we made with officers of the Bucharest Municipality Inspectorate of the Ministry of the Interior--we came across cases of flagrant disrespect for the law, of lack of knowledge of (or violation of) basic obligations of ensuring the integrity of job secrets and of the security of the enterprise. These cases were evident as soon as we entered the respective units. But let us look at the facts:

We had worthless identification cards, prepared for the occasion, bearing the heading "Publicom", an advertising enterprise which has as much to do with the inspection of a unit as a bus ticket does. In addition, the "personal" identification was so obviously "fabricated" that attention would be drawn to it immediately. It did not have my photograph and my name, written in black and white, was Mihai Viteazu. [Michael the Brave, 16th century lord of Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia].

Thus "armed", I went to the ventilator enterprise at 1800 hours in the evening I showed my identification to the door keeper, telling him, short and sweet: "inspection". Sufficient "documentation" to be invited into the enterprise. But there was also a duty officer there, Gheorghe Farcuta, inspector in the department of personnel who--one would think--because of his job, would know how to distinguish an authentic document from a falsified one. I did not have any reason to be "worried". He glanced at the "documents" and told us to wait "a minute" in the enterprise yard. Instead of waiting in the yard, we went, slowly, into a work area, where, later, the duty officer also appeared.

"Come in", he said like an amicable host and we walked through several sections. Finally, in the office of some foremen, I asked him, pointing to my companion:

--Do you remember where this comrade comes from?

--Of course, the duty officer responds. From "PUBLICICOM". (Not the precise rendition of the name.)

--And what is this "Publicicom", Comrade Farcuta?

--What it should be!! he said, astonished at my insistence. An inspection body!

We repeat: all this was said to us, with serenity, by the duty officer, whose functions include, especially, the ensuring of the security of the enterprise! What does this person know about and how does he apply a law of such great importance? Who has "instructed" him so "thoroughly"? It is hard to say.

Nothing can justify superficiality, indolence, indifference toward the integrity of the enterprise and of the public property of tens of millions of lei entrusted by society to each work collective.

How are secret documents kept? In the office of the supply service (department chief Iulian Vilceanu), in an open file cabinet, we found files on the raw materials and other materials needed for production this year, as well as a section of the supply plan. In the same office, we found other file cabinets wide open, some with keys in their locks. The files "secured" in this manner contain data on imports, copies of contracts with foreign firms, technical records on products for export, etc. In the sales department, the file cabinet is locked with a padlock and the key is in a nearby drawer (unlocked, of course)!

The respective employees have long since gone home, without any thought of such flagrant violations of the law and of discipline. We cannot help but compare this lamentable manner in which the worksite of the respective functionaries has been left with the exemplary order in which we found the equipment of the workers. Another question: do these people leave their doors at home open and accessible to everyone? We do not think so.

We presented these conclusions to the director of the enterprise for ventilators, Comrade Gheorghe Serban; he was justifiable distressed. We understand, but the law refers firmly--and with justification--to the responsibilities of the heads of the units, to the need for constant and exacting control in this year. A control which has been proven, in this case, to be completely inadequate, considering the serious violations discovered. We have been assured that the most severe measures will be taken to strengthen order and discipline. We await them so that we can inform the public.

A few observations: in the "Electromagnetica" plant, the majority of keys belonging to the TESA [technical, economic, specialized and administrative] departments were not on the specially-constructed board. In this case, how

could the respective offices be inspected, in order to prevent fires, for example? Or how could action be taken in the case of an accident? By breaking the windows?

In most of the enterprises we visited we found various memoranda, blank delivery slips, etc. It is true that these documents are not job secrets. But if they fall into the hands of crooks they can be used--and this has happened many times--for all kinds of swindles. Is it so difficult to keep them under lock and key? In the final analysis, it is a matter of elementary discipline of the workplace.

The safekeeping of documents of a secret nature, the ensuring of the integrity of the property of each enterprise are duties of the greatest responsibility, which are enscribed as such not only by law but also by our moral code of work and life. These obligations should be matters of constant concern for the party organs and organizations, and for the workers councils.

CSO: 2700/223

CRITERIA FOR NAMING OF FEDERAL OFFICIALS UNDER STUDY

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1624, 14 Feb 82 pp 12-14

[Interview with Ivo Senjanovic, president of the Yugoslav Assembly's Commission for Elections and Appointments, by Jug Grizelj]

[Text] For the first time, the Yugoslav Assembly's Commission for Elections and Appointments is preparing concrete criteria for selecting and appointing federal officials. Ivo Senjanovic, the president of the Commission pointed out several dilemnas: "College graduate or not, foreign language knowledge or now, and should we set an age limit for 'ministers?'"

Last week the public's attention was drawn by information from the session of the Yugoslav Assembly's Commission for Elections and Appointments, which was published under the very catching titles "Must Ministers Know Foreign Languages?", "Criteria for members of the Federal Executive Council," and "College for Ministers as Well." From these articles it was obvious that the responsible commission, in lively discussion, had been determining what concrete qualities should be possessed by members of the Federal Executive Council, directors of the Yugoslav National Bank and the Public Accounting Office of Yugoslavia, etc. In this they had particular difficulty regarding criteria relating to whether all the officials should have high specialized preparation, and whether they should know a major world language.

This is the first time the Yugoslav Assembly has discussed concrete qualifications for federal officials. In previous years, this was largely a topic for stormy debate at closed sessions, or else a topic discussed by officials appointed to the Federal Executive Council, sometimes even after their time in office was over! To the question posed by reporters 7 years ago to Nisim Konfin, the long-term chief of staff of three FEC presidents (Spiljak, Ribicic and Bijedic) as to the basic qualifications for work in the Federal Executive Council, he responded: "Readiness for exceptional exertion, great physical and mental tension and work day and night." A FEC member whom a reporter caught there by chance added: "And he must be ready in advance to accept the blame for those things he is guilty of, and for things for which he is not guilty."

A former FEC president (who did not want his name to be mentioned) recently asked our question as to whether his government had had the best possible people by saying, "I knew exactly what sort of people I wanted, but I did not know how to get them."

Once, after the discussion of the new concept of federation, at the Brioni meetings attended by many of the most prominent theoreticians and practitioners, the dilemna was posed as to whether FEC members should be "politicians" or "experts." Behind that probably stood the fundamental dilemna of a political government or a bureaucratic government. The concept that prevailed holds that the Yugoslav government should be composed of politicians who are experts.

Special Criteria

Now for the first time a discussion has been initiated as to what qualities ministers should have. Accordingly, we asked Ivo Senjanovic, president of the Commission for Elections and Appointments, what was the impetus for this Commission, and thereby the Federal Assembly, to open this topic for debate, and if that meant that our experiences have dictated the need to define and institute certain criteria.

[Senjanovic] The immediate impetus for the discussion to begin in our commission on proposing and selecting condidates for specific functions in federal agencies and organizations whose membership is selected and appointed by the Yugoslav Assembly was not in any way either the positive or negative experiences of the members of the commission itself. We, or rather the Assembly of which we are a commission, are directly responsible through the "Social Agreement" (signed in November 1981) on the creation of cadre policies in federal agencies and organizations and agencies of sociopolitical organizations in the federation to approve narrow, special criteria for the nomination and selection of candidates for functions in federal administrative agencies and federal organizations. To be precise, in accordance with this social agreement, which was signed at the S.WPY, the general criteria are determined, and the Yugoslav Assembly is assigned the task of defining the special criteria for all the officials it nominates and appoints. That is how the discussion on the so-called special criteria came about.

Who's Who: Officials Selected by the Yugoslav Assembly

President of the Yugoslav Assembly	1
Vice Presidents of the Yugoslav Assembly	5
Presidents of the Councils of the Yugoslav Assembly	2
Vice Presidents of the Councils of the Yugoslav Assembly	2
Presidents of Joint Task Forces of the Assembly's Councils	6
Presidents of Permanent Committees of the Assembly's Councils	20
President and Members of the Federal Executive Council	29
Members of the Federation Council	133
President and Justices of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court	14
President of Justices of the Federal Court	14
Total	226

[Question] Can it be said that events took a very radical turn, at least in the task force?

[Senjanovic] In the course of the discussion, there were various viewpoints, and quite a few were contradictory. It is true that at one phase, in our working group the prevailing view was that all FEC members should have advanced technical training and should know a major world language. But this was later dropped in agreement with representatives of the appropriate republic and province commissions, who felt that such requirement would narrow the personnel base, and prevent candidates with extensive work experience from vying for these responsibilities. Such people have the capability to perform these duties, but do not have the formal preparation. These educational requirements were not, however, eliminated in all cases.

Advanced education is already a condition for selection to the Federal Executive Council, with the stipulation that article 7 of the indicated resolution foresees that, except in specially determined cases, advanced education is not to be a condition if the candidate by previous work has proved that he has the special competencies to perform the function for which he is being proposed and chosen.

[Question] If we understood you correctly, in principle all FEC members who control resources, and other officials to whom this applies, must have advanced training, but for most duties a candidate may be proposed and elected who does not meet this condition. For what responsibilities is it proposed that FEC members must unconditionally have a college education?

[Senjanovic] According to our proposal, that applies to officials who administer federal administrative agencies responsible for finances, foreign trade, jurisprudence and government organization, as well as the director of the agency responsible for legislation. A college education is a condition for nominating and selecting a candidate for these offices as well: general director of the Federal Public Planning Office, director of the Yugoslav Public Accounting Office, president and judges of the Federal Court and the federal public prosecutor, the federal public defender, the general secretary of the Yugoslav Assembly, the secretaries of the Yugoslav Assembly's Councils, and the Yugoslav Assembly's Secretary for Legislation.

No Age Limit

[Question] The version of the resolution proposed by Yugoslav Assembly delegates proposes that a certain number of FEC members is obliged to know a major world language. What is the purpose of that?

[Senjanovic] That relates to officials who administer foreign affairs, finances, foreign trade and information services. Thus it is a matter of "ministers" who by the nature of their work are often in contact with foreign representatives.

[Question] We know that in an earlier version of the criteria for selecting FEC members, an age limit was anticipated. The version we have in hand today does not indicate either a minimum or a maximum age as a limiting factor.

[Senjanovic] In the course of the discussion, the opinion prevailed that, despite the fact that the work of the Federal Executive Council involves extreme exertions, it is the duty of every candidate to determine for himself whether he will be able to bear up under those efforts, regardless of his age.

[Question] The special criteria for the position of federal secretary of national defense nowhere mention that he must be a military man. Does that mean that the future secretary for national defense does not have to be a military man?

[Senjanovic] According to the criteria proposed by our commission, he does not have to be a military man, but one of the criteria ("Capability for Leading and Commanding") does give preference to a military man.

[Question] In the long history of the Federal Executive Council, the secretary for information has never been a journalist. Does this proposal foresee such a possibility?

[Senjanovic] I think that that possibility is suggested, particularly where the special qualifications indicate that a candidate for the secretary of information should have "practical experience in the area of information."

[Question] The following question must also be posed: In a number of European countries (from Sweden to Italy) there are numerous examples where the position of minister, and even president of the government, is held by people without any diplomas. How then is it that we are now insisting on college preparation?

[Senjanovic] In my opinion, in a country such as we have not yet become, in a country of sufficient cultural traditions, habits and responsibilities, probably neither the general or the specific criteria would not be necessary. All of that could be left to the conscience of the citizen who is running for office or being nominated as a candidate for some duty. Experience teaches us, however, that we are not yet in that phase.

Officials Selected by the Yugoslav Assembly

Total No: 226 Number of Women 14 Number below 27 years of age --

Survey According to Republic of Province Representation and National Composition

Nationality	Republic or Province								
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Montenegro	Croatia	Macedonia	Slovenia	Serbia proper	Kosovo	Vojvodina	ALL
Montenegrins		33	1				3		37
Croats	7		29			1			37
Macedonians				25					25
Muslims	4								4
Slovenes					30				30
Serbs	17		6			35	3	11	72
Albanians				1		1	9		11
Hungarians								1	1
Turks									
Yugoslavs	4		2			2		1	9
Others									
Totals	32	33	38	26	30	39	15	13	226

[Question] There is one other question: There is nothing more logical than the hypothesis that the persons responsible for the composition of the Federal Executive Council should be higher that all others in order to select the most capable, most specialized collaborators. Does the structure of written criteria that is being suggested by the Commission not mean a restriction on the responsible selectors?

[Senjanovic] We know that many persons responsible for the composition of the Federal Executive Council in the past knew exactly what sort of FEC members they wanted, but they were unable to get them. We believe that this proposal will only offer assistance to the selectors so that they can get the best and most capable people.

Time Spent in Federal Work

Total time	up to 4 years	4-8 years	8-12 years	more than 12 years
In federal agencies	54	36	27	105
In present agency or organization	27	78	27	44

Participation in the National Liberation War

Total No of veterans	Of those:		
	With the 1941 decoration	participation since 9 May 43	participation since 9 Sep 43
205	170	24	11

Total Number of LCY members: 223

Average age of present FEC members upon election: 53.2 years*

*Average ages in other countries for government officials: Sweden 51.9
Italy 53.5
FRG 52.5

[Question] If we have looked over the schedule right, it seems that this set of proposed criteria will be at the Assembly only sometime in March. Won't comrade Milka Planinc and her team be about finished selecting candidates by that time?

[Senjanovic] That is true. We expect that these proposed criteria for selecting federal officials will only be in effect for the next Federal Executive Council. Yet regardless of the formal legal moment of their effectiveness, we think that this discussion in public and at official forums has already had its impact on the conscience and on future practice.

12131
CSO: 2800/278

'RILINDJA' PUBLISHES POPULATION, STUDENT, EMPLOYMENT DATA

Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 6 Mar 82 pp 4, 5, 6

[Excerpt]

(1) Popullsia sipas përbërjes nacionale në KSA të Kosovës në bazë të regjistrimeve të viteve 1961, 1971 e 1981.[1)]

	1961		1971		1981	
(2) GJITHSEJT	963988	100,0	1243693	100,0	1584558	100,0
(3) - shqiptarë	646631	67,1	916168	73,7	1227424	77,5
(4) - serbë	227016	23,5	228264	18,3	209792	13,2
(5) - malazezë	37588	3,9	31555	2,5	26875	1,7
(6) - turq	25764	2,7	12244	1,0	12578	0,8
(7) - muslimanë	8026	0,8	26357	2,1	58948	3,7
(8) - të tjerë	18963	2,0	29105	2,4	48941	3,1

(9) 1) Të dhënat e mësipërme të regjistrimit të banorëve, familjeve dhe banesave në vitin 1981; Publikimi "Rezultatet e regjistrimit të banorëve, familjeve dhe banesave në vitin 1981"-Buletini, nr.14, fq.10.

[key on following page]

Key:

1. Population According to Nationality in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo Based on Population Registration in 1961, 1971 and 1981
2. Total
3. Albanian
4. Serb
5. Montenegrin
6. Turk
7. Moslem
8. Other
9. Data obtained from registration of dwellings, families and population in 1981; published in "Results of Registration of Dwellings, Families and Population in 1981" - Bulletin No 14, p 10

STUDENTET TE CILET STUDIOJNE NE KSA TE KOSOVES
SIPAS PERBERJES NACIONALE NE VITIN SHKOLLOR
1980/81

	(10) (11) Gjithsejt	%	(12) TE RREGULLT	%	(13) NE KORRESPONDENCE	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
GJITHSEJT	42.700	100	28.227	100	14.473	100
Shqiptarë	30.724	71,95	21.358	75,66	9.366	64,71
Serbë	7.107	16,64	3.829	13,56	3.278	22,64
Malazezë	1.766	4,13	998	3,53	768	5,30
Turq	300	0,07	215	0,76	91	0,62
Muslimanë	1.974	4,62	1.328	4,70	646	4,46
(14) Romë	38	0,08	25	0,08	13	0,08
Të tjerë	562	0,13	263	0,93	299	2,06
(15) Shtetas të huaj	223	0,52	211	0,74	12	0,82

(16) STRUKTURA NACIONALE E BURSISTËVE NË KSA TË KOSOVËS

(17) Viti shk.	GJITHS.	%	Shqip.	%	Serb.	%	Malaz.	%	Turq	%	Musl.	%	Romë	%	Të tj.	%
1978	6871	100	5492	79,93	1072	15,60	162	2,35	60	0,87	47	0,68	5	0,07	33	0,48
1980	4966	100	4037	81,29	656	13,20	131	2,63	45	0,90	48	0,96	8	0,16	41	0,82

(18) STRUKTURA NACIONALE E STUDENTËVE TË CILËT KANË SHFRYTËZUAR KREDITË NË KSA TË KOSOVËS

Viti shk.	GJITHS.	%	Shqip.	%	Serb.	%	Malaz.	%	Turq	%	Musl.	%	Romë	%	Të tj.	%
1978/79	6595	100	5576	84,54	546	8,27	167	2,53	103	1,56	90	1,36	-	-	113	1,71
1980/81	6640	100	5379	81,00	614	9,24	216	3,25	144	2,16	178	2,68	-	-	119	1,79

(19) PASQYRA E VENDOSJES SË STUDENTËVE NË KONVIKTET E STUDENTËVE SIPAS STRUKTURËS NACIONALE

Viti shk.	GJITHS.	%	Shqip.	%	Serb.	%	Malaz.	%	Turq	%	Musl.	%	Romë	%	Të tj.	%
1981/82	3889	100	3536	90,90	76	1,90	26	0,66	12	0,30	169	4,34	1	0,02	69	1,77

Key:

10. Students Studying in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo According to Nationality in the 1980/81 School Year
11. Total
12. Regular
13. Correspondence
14. Romanies
15. Foreign citizens
16. Nationality Structure of Students Receiving Stipends
17. School Year
18. Nationality Structure of Students Using Credit Grants
19. Students in Student Dormitories According to Nationality

(20) PERBERJA KËRKUESE TË CILËT KËRKOJNË PUNË [1]

(21) Kombësia	1977		1978		1979		1980		1981 (30.VI.)	
(22)	Gjithë.	%	Gjithë.	%	Gjithë.	%	Gjithë.	%	Gjithë.	%
Shqiptarë	39937	74,2	43687	76,0	48590	76,0	52926	76,1	52170	77,6
Serbë	10085	18,7	10124	17,0	11216	17,6	11812	17,0	10202	15,1
Malazezë	1944	3,6	1471	2,6	1491	2,4	1465	2,0	1267	1,8
Turq	411	0,8	380	0,7	412	0,7	464	0,7	447	0,7
Muslimanë	-	-	547	0,9	691	1,2	1228	1,8	872	1,4
Romë	-	-	573	1,2	982	1,6	1361	1,9	1301	2,0
Të tjerë	1334	2,7	692	1,2	610	0,5	390	0,5	880	1,3
GJITHË.	53812	100,0	57474	100,0	63992	100,0	69576	100,0	67143	100,0

(23) 1) Muslimanët dhe romët në vitin 1977 janë përfshirë si të tjerë.

Key:

20. Nationality of Persons Seeking Work
21. Nationality
22. Total
23. Moslems and Romanies in 1977 are included in "other"

(24) STRUKTURA E POPULLSISE DHE E PUNETOREVE NE KOSOVE

(25)	Numri i banorëve	%	(26) Numri i të punësuar.	%
Shqiptarë	1.227.424	77,4	114.591	64,9
Serbë	209.792	13,3	45.183	25,9
Malazezë	26.875	1,7	7.447	4,3
Turq	12.578	0,8	2.246	1,3
Muslimanë	58.948	3,7	2.729	1,3
Të tjerë	48.941	3,1	4.198	2,3

Key:

24. Structure of Population and Employed Persons in Kosovo
25. Population
26. Employed Persons

CSO: 2100/53

END

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9 April 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1997

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TU CONGRESS REPORT CRITICAL OF TRADE UNION, ECONOMY PRACTICES

Prague PRACE in Czech 27 Feb 82 supplement pp 1-21

[Report of the Czech Trade Union Council read by Comrade Vaclav Bezel at the Czech ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] Congress: "On Activities and Future Tasks of Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the CSR"]

[Text] Our congress convenes a short time after we recalled once again the historic February victory which paved the way to building socialism in our fatherland. We are proud that in the struggle with reaction, in building the socialist society and now in the implementation of policy formulated by the 16th CPCZ Congress our unified trade unions lent solid and reliable support to the party.

With deep respect and gratitude we recall those comrades who unswervingly, with self-sacrifice and enthusiasm were building socialism in our fatherland and particularly our unforgettable Comrade Klement Gottwald and his close collaborator -- Comrade Antonin Zapotocky.

We give our wholehearted support to Comrade Gustav Husak who said at the 16th CPCZ Congress: "To protect the legacy of revolutionaries and builders of socialism, to augment it by honest work is the highest duty of us and those who succeed us."

This obligates us, in the spirit of the legacy of the Victorious February, in the spirit of the traditions of revolutionary trade unions and their unity and closely rallied around the CPCZ, to evaluate the results of our work and, on the basis of our past experiences, to do much more with revolutionary zeal for the implementation of the line laid down by the 16th CPCZ Congress.

Every working man in our country clearly realizes the close connection between the building of socialism and a happy life, and the strengthening of world peace. Like all other peace-loving people in the world, we are fully aware of the fact that to counteract the forces of war, threats by the United States of America and the North Atlantic Pact, positioning of medium-range missiles and neutron bombs in Western Europe, it is necessary to fight for and more vigorously support the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

We are fully aware that the guarantee of further successful building of the developed socialist society, of thwarting the threat of war and consolidating peace lies only in rallying around the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

The aggressive policy of the imperialist countries was also denounced by the 10th World Trade Union Congress in Havana which took place recently. The congress became a big manifestation of progressive trade unionists from all continents for permanent peace and progress in the world. We are pleased to note that it highly appreciated the international consciousness of our trade unionists in rendering moral and material support to the developing countries and to the working class in the capitalist countries in their struggle for independence, basic human rights and a more just social system.

Increasing Authority of ROH

Our congress concludes a period of many trade union conferences -- from annual membership meetings of trade union sections to the national trade union conferences in the CSR. With reference to these deliberations, to the views of millions of trade unionists, we can now review our contribution to the implementation of resolutions of the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress and Czech ROH congress in 1977, discuss and undertake tasks which correspond to the demanding political, economic and social goals of development of our socialist society in the interest of the working class and all working people.

The results of discussions at the annual membership meetings and conferences of trade union organizations and organs, secret elections, views, comments and proposals by members or elected delegates at these highest trade union meetings reflected the profound democratic nature of our trade union organization. They were the reaffirmation of our members' trust in the CPCZ policy and confirmed the increasing authority, capacity for action and strength of our ROH.

The ROH activity and the results which we achieved in the CSR during the last 5 years are evidence of gradual, but consistent observance of permanent values and principles of socialist trade unions and particularly of their double role in building the developed socialist society.

Our activity was marked by the effort to achieve the best possible results in the implementation of the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress. We attained many successes. We succeeded in discharging our trade union functions more evenly, in increasing our influence over the economy and the satisfaction of the material and social needs of the working class and other working people. The trade unions are in fact becoming a school of economic and financial management and administration -- a school of socialism.

Encouraging Constructive Initiative

Despite a number of positive results which we achieved in trade union work in the CSR, it is necessary to improve and expand our work, and to choose more efficient work methods. We must get rid of formalism, and conscientiously and responsibly fulfill the tasks assigned to the ROH in the CSR by the 16th CPCZ Congress.

The convening, deliberations and resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 60th anniversary of its foundation stimulated constructive initiative. Almost 85 percent of all workers participated in socialist competition. The brigades of socialist labor (BSP) in particular set the example. This enormous growth of socialist competition is a convincing proof of the determination of workers to overcome the existing difficulties, of their dauntless will to implement the congress resolutions. This represents a solid guarantee of conscious support of CPCZ policy in the future.

Its will -- to continue building the developed socialist society -- was also expressed by the Czechoslovak people in the elections to the legislative bodies and national committees.

Likewise the convening of the 10th All-Trade Union Congress brought about an upsurge in trade union work and workers' creative initiative.

Overall Increase in Trade Union Activity

A key prerequisite for various activities of trade unions is the consistent implementation of the policy of the working class and its vanguard -- the CPCZ. If the last period is characterized by increased activity of trade union organs and basic organizations in all areas of trade union work and social life, if we succeeded essentially in implementing the resolutions of the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress, it was due to the fact that the ROH correctly applied the leading role of the CPCZ, that the Central Committee, organs and organizations of the CPCZ paid constant attention to trade union work.

From this place we want to express our thanks to the CPCZ for its systematic assistance and support.

At the same time, we thank all ROH officials and members who actively contributed to the overall increase in trade union work in the CSR. The importance which the party attaches to the trade unions in the political, economic, social and cultural development of the socialist society, in overall care for man, in safeguarding the interests and protection of workers' rights, obligates us to concentrate the forces of the trade union movement in the CSR on the implementation of "Main Directions of Economic and Social Development of the CSSR during the 1981-1985 Period."

Worker Participation in Management to Be Increased

The manysided work of trade unions was and will also in the future be based on the experience that economic policy and its results are of fundamental, key importance for the further development of the socialist society.

For this reason, the ROH in the CSR organized worker participation in economic development, implementation and surpassing of national economic plans and thus also in the production of resources designed to satisfy the increasingly demanding and diversified material and spiritual needs of our people. We proceeded from the principle that the maintenance and increase in the living standard depends not on subjective wishes, but on the production of values, and

that no society can distribute more than it produces. We were guided by the old and time-tested truth that "our future living standard will depend on how we work today."

Although, despite more complex conditions, social production of the national economy increased during the last period, all plan targets, particularly in regard to some qualitative indicators, were not met. The planned tasks could have been fulfilled much better in individual years of the five-year plan if management at individual levels had been more efficient and created conditions for greater participation of workers in management and for stimulation of their initiative, and if the work of trade union organs and organizations had been more thorough and more emphatic. As trade unionists, we share the responsibility for the existing shortcomings not only by tolerating them or trying to explain them away, but also and primarily by not eliminating them with the help of all workers.

We have not succeeded in putting an end to the incorrect practice of drawing up the drafts of plans without the participation of workers in the workshops, departments and plants. In most instances the work collectives become acquainted with the drafts only after they had been processed.

To change this practice, we must more consistently and uncompromisingly insist that management present the draft plans to the work collectives and individuals so that by using the method of counterplanning higher targets may be set and potential reserves revealed.

We cannot get reconciled to the fact that the number of ROH factory committees which express their own opinions on the draft plan has declined since 1979. Only 40.1 percent of factory committees expressed their opinion in 1980. Moreover, the attitudes of trade union organs are not based on the workers' views and therefore insufficiently respond to the problems in plants and enterprises, to the troubles and needs of the working class and other working people.

In formulation of the final position, it is necessary to take into account the workers' comments and views and, after the economic plan is approved, to ask for its consistent detailing and determination of main directions of initiative so that every worker and every collective knows its concrete tasks in order to be able actively to participate in their implementation. The participation of workers in the implementation of the plan, in the half yearly and yearly checks on its fulfillment in the enterprises and plants must be closely combined with the evaluation of results in work and creative initiative, and fulfillment of obligations listed in the collective agreements.

Production Conferences

Production conferences in the workshops represent one of the irreplaceable forms of worker participation in management. These production conferences averaged 8.5 per trade union section in the CSR in 1980 and were attended by 33 million workers. The ratio of implemented proposals increased from 74.2 percent in 1976 to 82 percent in 1980.

Despite this favorable development, many production conferences are of information nature only, their importance is frequently underestimated and insufficient attention is paid to their preparation, agenda and implementation of resolutions, particularly by the economic workers.

These shortcomings can no longer be overlooked by the trade union organizations, which should consistently refer to the document published jointly by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government and Central Trade Union Council (URO) in 1974.

The production conferences should be organized purposefully according to a plan, and their agenda should include the questions which are related to the implementation of the plan and checks on its fulfillment, economy and quality of production, checks on the fulfillment of socialist pledges, labor safety, observance and strengthening of work and technological discipline and other problems arising in the everyday life of workshops.

Collective Agreements Are More Specific

Together with the preparation of the economic plan it is also necessary to prepare the draft of collective agreements reflecting our double role -- in the implementation of the economic plan and in creating conditions for comprehensive care for workers.

We appreciate the fact that following the Seventh URO Plenum in 1979, these documents binding the workers and economic management alike were worked out in more detail. They are more concrete, more specific, and the checks on their implementation and evaluation of their observance are carried out more consistently.

Nevertheless, only 55 percent of our basic organizations signed collective agreements in 1980 and their contents can be still further improved. There still persists a conciliatory and tolerant attitude toward penalties for nonobservance of obligations, particularly in regard to care for workers.

Only by consistent application of the principles approved by the CSSR Government and URO in regard to the content, signing and control of collective agreements during the Seventh Five-Year Plan can they be made more effective and significantly contribute to closer cooperation between the economic and trade union organs, to the greater participation of workers in production management, to the development of initiative in new economic conditions and satisfaction of the social needs of workers.

Application of Set of Measures

The trade union organs and organizations actively participated in the verification of the "Comprehensive Experiment in Efficiency and Quality Control" in selected economic production units [VHS] of industry and construction in the CSR. On the basis of these experiences we gave our full support to the "Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy After 1980." We participated in the formulation of individual provisions

and instructions affecting the workers' interests. The principles were presented to the trade union activists and most of the workers.

The experiences gained during one and a half years, however, make it clear that the application of the "Set of Measures" will not be easy and will require an improvement in our organizational work and political education. We must press management personnel more emphatically than in the past to draw up draft plans by means of the method of counterplanning and for more effective renewal, distribution and utilization of manpower. The volume of wage funds must be made dependent on the labor-productivity increase. Khozraschet, moral and financial incentives and economic tools should be used for increasing efficiency and quality of production. Worker participation in management and worker initiative should be encouraged and promoted.

Brigades of Socialist Labor

Without the admirable effort and self-sacrificing work of the overwhelming majority of workers who often with difficulties had to overcome the obstacles to the fulfillment of tasks and pledges, the results reviewed by the 16th CPCZ Congress could not have been achieved. For this reason, everyday effort to increase initiative and socialist competition among the workers will be among our foremost tasks in the future, too.

Approximately 86 percent of all workers participate in various forms of competition today. Many combined, tens of thousands of collective and literally millions of individual pledges were made and most of them are honestly honored.

There were a number of exemplary initiatives primarily by the BSP, which headed the initiative in connection with all important anniversaries and political events. Among these workers collectives we may mention the BSP from the Fuel Combine of 25 February Vresova, FEZKO Strakonice and CKD [Ceskomoravska Kolben Danek] Blansko.

The BSP headed the effort not only to surpass the production plan targets, but above all to reduce production costs, achieve higher efficiency in the national economy and to increase quality and technical standards of products.

In all krajs and trade union federations there was an increase in the number of bearers of honorary titles -- of bronze, silver and golden badges to whom we pay homage from this place.

Much more attention must be paid, however, to their grouping under the slogan: "To increase production, economy and quality with combined BSP forces." We must make better use of experiences in North Moravia Kraj, where this initiative is widespread and was pioneered by Comrade Ogrocki from the Trinec Iron Works and Comrade Kral from Sigma Hranice.

On the basis of long-time experiences, the CSSR Government and URO approved new principles for the development and evaluation of the BSP movement. These principles were welcomed particularly by the ROH basic organizations because they simplify paper work and increase their jurisdiction. They enhance the

responsibility of the BSP, but primarily of trade union and economic organs for directing and evaluating BSP activities. These principles must be consistently observed and enforced in practice.

Emphasis on Principal Tasks

Despite a number of problems and shortcomings during the Sixth Five-Year Plan and especially after the Seventh URO Plenum in October 1979, we succeeded, on a larger scale than in the past, in directing worker initiative to the reduction of material consumption, conservation of raw materials, fuels and energy which contributed to the reduction of production costs.

As emphasized by the fourth and fifth plenums of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1981, this effort still is not commensurate to our potential and needs. It is necessary to draw conclusions from these plenums for our work. The trade union organs and organizations must more actively participate in the introduction of khozraschet and order in material standards because without these tools of management we would not make any progress, and persuasion and education of workers would not be specific and effective.

Initiative is not becoming everywhere an effective tool for plan fulfillment, a tool for achieving higher efficiency and quality, and intensification of social production. There are plants which do not meet the plan targets, although they report a high percentage of workers participating in competition. The reason this is so is that many economic workers do not regard the development of initiative and its orientation to the key tasks of the plan as part of management.

Socialist competition and socialist pledges lag behind in design organizations, engineering, technological and other preproduction departments. That is, precisely in those departments which are of key importance to production efficiency and quality. Only 6,320 collective and 29,334 individual creative plans were signed in the CSR in 1980. The overall effect of their implementation amounted to approximately Kcs 2.2 billion in the CSR. We hope that our technical intelligentsia will achieve much more and its contribution will be much bigger in the future, if the Czech committees of trade union federations and kraj trade union councils will pay more attention to it.

Billions of Kcs from Scientific and Technological Achievements

The 16th CPCZ Congress again emphasized that the application of scientific and technological achievements was indeed the revolutionary task of the entire society. The trade unions must, therefore, direct worker initiative much more specifically to the practical application of scientific and technological achievements.

During the Sixth Five-Year Plan, inventors and innovators submitted more than 1 million proposals, 628,000 of which were accepted and 554,000 used. The social benefit is estimated at Kcs 28 billion. This was largely made possible by the "Program of Implementation of Inventions and Innovators' Proposals" which were processed for the first time during the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The

standard of these programs, however, varies considerably and the share of trade union organizations in their preparation and implementation is rather small in a number of enterprises. We must appreciate particularly the program of VZKG [Klement Gottwald Iron Works in Vittkovice], Svit Gottwaldov, Sokolov Chemical Plants, Sklounion Teplice, Elitex Usti nad Orlici and many others.

The development of this time-tested initiative of workers requires, however, that the programs of implementation of inventions and innovators' proposals be systematically carried out during the Seventh Five-Year Plan in order to increase society's benefit, resulting from the application of new engineering designs, to at least Kcs 34 billion. This is a demanding, but realistic task particularly if we succced in overcoming technical conservatism and professional envy and see to it that every invention and innovators' proposal is utilized without delay.

To accomplish this goal it is necessary to broaden cooperation with the Czechoslovak Scientific and Technological Society, make better use of past experiences in the organization of various competitions, publicize the balances on the socialist accounts of inventors and innovators as well as pioneering actions and pledges of members of 100,000 groups, competitions in individual sectors and branches in conservation of raw and industrial materials, quality of products, occupational protection and labor safety.

Combining the Forces of Collectives

The needs of technological and scientific progress make it imperative to solidify cooperation between blue-collar workers, technicians and scientific workers -- to combine their forces in comprehensive rationalization brigades.

Although we registered an increase in their number during the last period, their average number per ROH basic organization was only 3.2, and 72.9 percent of our basic organizations did not establish comprehensive rationalization brigades. We, therefore, appeal to trade union federations and management personnel to more purposefully combine the forces, experiences and knowhow of prominent blue-collar workers, technical and scientific intelligentsia, to concentrate them on the key tasks of technological development, quality and economy, to evaluate their work periodically and to remunerate them according to the results achieved.

The trade union organs and organizations focused on promoting creative initiative of scientific-technical workers in order to make scientific research more efficient and to help shorten the research and implementation cycle: "science--technology--production--utilization." Good results were achieved by CKD in Prague.

The great reserves are clear from the fact that only 17-20 percent of organizations participated in the competition for the banner of the CSR minister of construction and technology and Czech Trade Union Council, which was designed to express appreciation of the best research and development organizations in the CSR. Many more research and development organizations from the sectors

supervised by the CSR Government must participate, with the effective support by the appropriate Czech committees of trade union federations, in the new competition for the Red Banner.

The development of worker initiative has been directed also to the area of capital investment in recent years. We focused attention on key construction projects, particularly in the area of nuclear power plants, and the fuel-energy basis especially in North Bohemia Kraj. In this connection, we also paid attention to the trade union councils on these projects.

The honoring of combined socialist pledges helped put a number of production capacities into operation on schedule. Those pledges became formal, however, where the investors and general contractors did not create necessary conditions because they failed to submit designs on time, sign supplier-customer contracts and develop a mandatory work schedule.

It appears correct that in the future our share of responsibility for the development of initiative on selected construction projects should be borne by the trade union associations according to the investor's domicile.

Furthermore, it is desirable to make use of experiences from the cooperation of Czech committees of trade union associations in mining and power engineering, metal industry and construction sectors on capital investment projects in the North Bohemian brown coal district and construction of the Dukovany nuclear power plant, and also to apply them to other key projects with the participation of all interested trade union associations.

The work of trade union councils on construction projects must be further improved and effort unified in organizing and evaluating combined socialist pledges, in improving social, health and cultural conditions for builders of these projects. Okres and kraj trade union councils must bear increased responsibility for their activities, assist them in specific instances and review their experiences.

Advance Knowledge of Tasks and Remuneration Essential

Effective economic incentives play an important role in overall support of the intensive development of our national economy.

We directed our activity to the gradual introduction of work- and wage-system rationalization and to the implementation of "Programs of Wage Development, Incentives and Wage Differentiation." Despite some partial successes, however, we did not succeed during the last period to effect a substantial qualitative change in observance of the socialist principle of remuneration according to work performed, which was criticized by trade unionists at the annual membership meetings and conferences.

Nor did we not succeed in altering the wage forms in such a way as to make wage increases be in harmony with labor-productivity growth, to stimulate workers to achieve the best possible quality, the greatest possible conservation of fuels, energy motor fuel, raw and industrial materials, and to reduce other costs as the "Set of Measures" calls for.

The resolution of the URO presidium of January 1981 on increasing trade union responsibility for making wages more effective is being translated into practice slowly, insufficiently and many ROH basic organizations have not even received it yet.

Therefore, we ask the trade union organs to fully commit themselves to the consistent implementation of programs for increasing economic effectiveness of wage systems, to work for the application of intraenterprise khozraschet so that people know their specific tasks and also how they will be remunerated.

They must patiently explain to workers the harmfulness of wage equalization, press for differentiated remuneration according to the results actually achieved and support the active and responsible attitude of state and economic organs toward the application of the merit principle in wage practice.

A joint task of trade union and all-trade union organs, but above all of basic organizations will be not only to categorically demand that management personnel create conditions for continuous and effective work, but also to explain to the workers systematically and patiently the importance of conscious work discipline and honest work for society's benefit, to pillory loafers and dishonest workers, to support those economic workers who see to it that the workers can work efficiently and are rewarded according to their merits.

Attacking Problems More Vigorously

The implementation of resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress on "Main Directions of Economic and Social Development of the CSSR during the 1981-1985 Period" and of the tasks resulting from the fourth and fifth plenums of the CPCZ Central Committee, which discussed topical problems of the development of our society, the plan of economic and social development in 1982 and the law on the Seventh Five-Year Plan, require the more active participation of workers in all forms and at all levels of management, and primarily in drawing up, detailing and implementing the economic plan.

In this context, I want to refer to the statement by Comrade Husak at the 16th CPCZ Congress: "We do not plan for the plan's sake, we do not organize production for production's sake, but everything we do, all our effort to build socialism, to make our fatherland flourish, aims at benefiting workers. The happiness of man is and will remain the highest goal of our effort."

The tasks of trade unions in creating conditions for increased participation of workers and development of their initiative were set by the Seventh URO Plenum in 1979. Its resolutions were taken as the basis for our actions in the CSR and gradually implemented. Their topicality is further underlined in the present period.

The demanding nature and complexity of tasks in the development of the national economy require that we utilize all raw and industrial materials more effectively, that we conserve crude oil, fuels and electric energy and increase the efficiency and quality of all work.

Worker initiative must be directed to cutting down consumption of fuels and energy by a minimum of 2 percent and of metals by 4.5-5 percent per year, and to more efficient utilization of metal scrap and other secondary raw materials during the entire 1981-1985 period. In addition, the emphasis is on economical use of grain fodder and a gradual increase in the intensity of agricultural production.

With socialist pledges, we must help improve services and achieve smooth satisfaction of domestic market needs in the required quality and necessary assortment. We should also help fill export orders on time.

The effective development of the national economy calls for an increased share of Czech committees of trade union associations in the development of individual sectors, which must be increasingly reflected in the joint specific actions undertaken in cooperation with the ministries involved. Territorial all-trade union organs also must increase their share in the effective results of sectors managed by the national committees.

We appreciate the effort of those collectives and plants which realized the goals of present economic policy and in honor of the 10th All-Trade Union Congress signed their valuable socialist pledges and are gradually implementing them.

Overall Care for Workers

The economic development during the Sixth Five-Year Plan became the basis for the implementation of the social programs formulated by the 15th CPCZ Congress. Despite the existing problems and difficulties, much work was done in overall care for workers during the last period. The working environment was improved particularly by the implementation of "Comprehensive Worker Care Programs" which were incorporated in the annual collective agreements.

The results of our social policy must be regarded as satisfactory in view of the fact that they were achieved during a period in which the capitalist world is plagued by worldwide economic depression, inflation and unemployment.

We paid main attention to the improvement of the working environment and prevention of accidents. The annual checks on labor safety, the wider application of the Basov method and the gradual introduction of three-stage controls significantly contributed to the reduction of accidents by almost 20 percent. The Basov method is being employed on an ever-increasing scale which is evidenced by the fact for example that 14,000 collectives with 158,000 workers in construction and production of building materials use this method.

There was a decrease in the number of women exempted from handling loads exceeding the specified limits.

Despite these successes, however, there still exist hazardous workplaces, occupational diseases increased in mining, agriculture, the chemical industry and the health sector, and major injuries occurred.

Attention to labor safety and protection of health at work will continue to be the basis of our trade union social policy in workplaces.

We will ask the trade union organs to exert, in cooperation with the state technical inspectorate, more effective social control through trade union organizations over the observance of labor safety in hazardous workplaces, sources of occupational diseases, and to draw necessary conclusions from discovered shortcomings.

They must insist on creating a safe working environment at the design stage of new plants and equipment and in reconstruction of existing plants, pay constant attention to creating an unobjectionable working environment, particularly by the more consistent elimination of exemptions for women handling excessive loads.

They must actively help economic organs to organize annual public checks on labor safety, demand the application of the three-stage control system, and more actively participate in training of workers in safe work harmless to health and employ the time-tested Basov method on an increasing scale for this purpose.

Systematic Health Protection

A serious and constantly criticized problem in the past is the permanent shortage of good-quality devices for personal protection, their manufacture, distribution, allocation and maintenance.

In accordance with the request of the Czech Trade Union Council, the CSR Government adopted a measure which provides for the inclusion of 15 types of key personal protective devices now in short supply in the mandatory tasks of the state plan.

In cooperation with the appropriate trade union organs, the Czech Trade Union Council will, through the development of worker initiative, assist in the manufacture and systematically control the implementation of the above government measure.

We ask our factory committees, however, to consistently check on how the economic organs create conditions for maintenance and repair of damaged protective devices, what records are kept and how the available devices are allocated.

As to health care for the workers, the trade union organs participated in improving health care provided by the industrial plants and in its gradual extension. We succeeded in constructing some new factory, combined or public health care centers which provide medical care to 62 percent of all workers at the present time, and long-range plans anticipate its further expansion. The workers, however, justly criticize the shortage of factory physicians, particularly in big industrial complexes.

Health Insurance and Social Security

It will be 30 years this year since, on the basis of the resolution of the Ninth CPCZ Congress, health insurance was transferred to the industrial plants and the ROH entrusted with the administration of health insurance funds. An important role in this area is performed by the national insurance commissions in the plants together with the okres and kraj administrations of health insurance.

The scope of jurisdiction and responsibility is clear from the expenditures on health insurance benefits which increased almost 19 percent since the last congress and amounted to almost Kcs 15 billion in the CSR annually. At the same time, there was an increase in the allowances for children which amounted to Kcs 7.73 billion in 1981.

The participation of trade union organs in the administration and control of social security benefits intensified too. The preliminary procedure for claiming retirement benefits gradually improved, on an experimental basis some plants organized informative meetings for prospective beneficiaries ahead of their retirement, and care for partly disabled workers improved. Some progress was made also in trade union care for pensioners and the elderly.

As to workers health care in the future, we will ask the all-trade union organs to study, in closer cooperation with health-care organs and economic management, the varying degrees of disability and to try to eliminate its causes. With the jointly sponsored measures, they should heed and answer critical comments on inadequate prevention, long waiting periods for surgery, the insufficient number of factory physicians and selection of participants for medical treatment in spas regardless of their class origin and merits.

This effort will be facilitated by the periodical conferences of the Czech Trade Union Council with the ministries of health, labor and social affairs which solve these problems comprehensively with reference to specific problems in individual sectors and areas.

Food to All Workers

We paid necessary attention to providing food to factory workers during the last period. The target set by the Czech congress to provide food to 37 percent of workers was surpassed by 350,000, the coverage amounting to 45 percent. In close cooperation with the CSR Government, conditions are being created for a gradual transition to the centralized, rational development of factory cafeterias. Examples were set by the Military Construction Projects Prague in preparation of frozen food and Kutna Hora in centralization of factory catering for the entire kores.

On the basis of comments by workers, the supply situation was checked and some problems and shortcomings were found in 409 factory kitchens.

Upon our suggestion, first the CSR Government and then the presidium of the federal government approved specific measures to remedy the present situation.

They provide in particular for allocation of the available meat supply by the okres national committees in close cooperation with the okres trade union councils, and for dealing with the problems arising in connection with food items in short supply.

In the development of factory and office cafeterias, we shall proceed from the positive experiences in the past and ask the state and economic organs and national committees for more effective assistance in their improvement. In the first place, this will involve the mobilization of reserves in the capacities of kitchens and dining rooms in individual plants and restaurants, the combination of forces and merger of funds for centralized production and distribution and delivery of food to lunch alcoves in workplaces, the application of the territorial system of management in expanding meal-serving capacities, providing meals to the second and third shift, and coping with shortages in food supply to factory kitchens.

Increased Possibilities of Recreation

Recreation care is an important area of our work. Recreation organized by plants and enterprises constitutes the largest basis for recreation of workers and their family members. The capacity in the CSR exceeds 180,000 beds and is much larger than the capacity of selective recreation provided by the ROH. Although there are still problems with the utilization of this capacity during the off-season period, recreation facilities were expanded and their standard increased recently.

The guidelines approved by the URO are gradually being implemented in selective recreation organized by the ROH, more attention is being paid to the selection of participants according to their merits and recreation for families with children is being provided on an increasing scale.

In distribution of vouchers for selective recreation, the Czech Trade Union Council gives priority, due to the more polluted environment, to workers from North Bohemia and North Moravia krajs and from the area of the capital of Prague. Most of the kraj trade union councils likewise make use of the possibility of giving preference to selected okreses, plants or sectors. A permanent problem of selective recreation is the lack of vacancies for families with children during the summer season.

We have achieved good results in the development of ROH camps for pioneers. Our goal -- to provide recreation to 330,000 children prior to the 10th All-Trade Union Congress -- was not only met, but even slightly surpassed: we provided recreation to 336,000 children in 1981. This is 75,000 children more than in 1975.

The total capacity of camps, the number of their operators as well as of winter camps all increased. Their programs became more varied, and ideological education and cooperation with organs of the Pioneers Organization of the Socialist Union of Youth intensified.

During the off-season period, and some Pioneer camps and recreational facilities owned by the ROH were used for organizing schools in nature and recreation of children from areas with polluted living environment.

We want to further increase care by factory committees for workers' children in the ROH Pioneer camps not only by new construction, but also by more purposeful use of recreational facilities owned by enterprises and suitable buildings which we lease. We will pay more attention to the programs of ideological education in the Pioneer camps and, in cooperation with the Socialist Union of Youth, employ the educational system of the Pioneers Organization.

For Better Living Conditions

In improving working and living conditions, an important role is played by worker initiative in the campaign: "Trade Unionists' Gift to Their Plants and to the Republic" in which the trade union brigades voluntarily worked more than 220 million man-hours during the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

Cooperation of trade union organs and organizations with the national committees improved in regard to the standard of services and living environment which was facilitated by the contribution of trade unions to the implementation of the National Front election programs. The trade union brigades worked more than 66 million man-hours in the "Z" beautification campaign alone during the last election period.

The trade union organizations together with the industrial plants and national committees spent almost Kcs 3.5 billion on the construction of preschool establishments and thus helped since almost 85 percent of children in the kindergartens and increased the capacity of factory daytime nurseries by more than 20 percent.

What joint forces can accomplish is clear from the example of Decin Okres where all children of the appropriate age are in kindergartens or of Benesov Okres, where 95 percent of preschool age are in kindergartens.

The election programs of the National Front for the 1981-1985 period create additional prerequisites for our even more effective participation in the solution of important problems related to the living environment.

We expect the kraj and okres trade union councils to expand cooperation with the national committees in improving conditions which constitute the basis of happiness of every working man. We must see to it that common negotiations and the resulting agreements must eliminate shortcomings, justly criticized by workers, in services to the population, health care, transportation, food supply and coordination of working hours.

More Effective Social Control

Some progress was achieved in strengthening socialist legality in labor-management relations, in exercising jurisdiction and duties of trade union organs in relation to enterprise and plant management. This was made possible

mainly by the gradual implementation of the resolutions of the last Czech congress in the area of labor law and implementation of the agreement signed by the Czech Trade Union Council, the CSR Ministry of the Interior and the General Prosecutor's Office.

The arbitration commissions in plants, under the methodological guidance of okres trade union councils, play an important role in strengthening socialist legality in the area of labor law and particularly in the settlement of labor disputes. Social control over the observance of labor-law provisions, exercised by the higher trade union organs, qualitatively improved and focuses now on the elimination of shortcomings resulting from the violation of work organization, discipline and legality.

We must continue along this road -- provide better political and professional training for the members of arbitration commissions, improve social control by the higher trade union organs and pay more attention to the elimination of discovered shortcomings. It is also necessary to increase cooperation in the area of joint decisionmaking of factory committees with economic management.

Investments for Benefit of Members

An important area of work of organs of the Czech Trade Union Council became investment activity which, in accordance with the congress resolutions, helped build the material basis for the activity of our basic organizations. Through investment activity, the higher trade union organs return a considerable part of members' ROH fees to the basic organizations -- for the benefit of members.

We invested Kcs 1.14 billion in the CSR during the Sixth Five-Year Plan. By the self-sacrificing work of our members, we built 11,337 beds in Pioneer camps either by new construction or remodelling. In addition, operations conditions were improved in tens of camps by modernization of social facilities, kitchens, housing capacities and so on.

In building our camps for Pioneers, we assigned priority to the North Bohemia and North Moravia krajs and the capital of Prague as is clear from the fact that 61 percent of available funds were made available to the operators of camps from the above areas.

We also continued in the construction of cultural establishments. Some of them were already put into operation -- in Litvinov, Sumperk, Louny and Semily. Additional ones are being constructed in Plzen, Liberec, Breclav and Uhersky Brod. Our effort has not yet met the need of building a comprehensive network of cultural establishments in the CSR.

A new area of ROH investment activity during the Sixth Five-Year Plan was the construction of projects of a social nature with budget costs below Kcs 2 million. In this way we contributed to the construction of several kindergartens, day-time nurseries, factory and office dining rooms and some recreational facilities.

The results achieved by ROH investment activity during the 1976-1980 period confirm the correctness of our course of action. If we meet with greater understanding by the CSR Government and Czech Planning Commission, we want to focus our attention in the future on those projects which will serve the largest possible number of workers.

Socialist Working Environment Is Our Goal

Our role in the area of overall care for workers during the Seventh Five-Year Plan stems from the program of economic and social development which was approved by the 16th CPCZ Congress. This practically means that, taking into account our past achievements, we must concentrate on the utilization of all reserves in enterprise social policy in all sectors, enterprises and plants, and on the elimination of persisting shortcomings.

The drawing up and implementation of plans of cadre, personnel and social development for the Seventh Five-Year Plan will call for close cooperation of state, economic and trade union organs and initiative by our basic organizations.

The inclusion of these plans' social tasks in the annual collective agreements underlines the mutual obligation to their gradual implementation.

The basis for setting the goals in the five-year and annual plans of social development must be the gradual compliance with the standards of enterprise social facilities in order to create a socialist working environment and optimum conditions both on the job and in connection with the job. Among the foremost tasks is the observance of all safety and sanitary standards, reduction of physically strenuous work, providing quality meals in plant cafeterias and due attention to the necessary capacity of preschool facilities for children.

This broad enterprise social policy will be financed primarily from the funds produced by the successful fulfillment of planned tasks and from the cultural and social services fund. These funds must be used on a priority basis for production of permanent values which serve an overwhelming majority of workers and promote the initiative and commitment of collectives and individuals.

We will also utilize more effectively the voluntary initiative of workers in the campaign "Trade Unionists' Gift to Their Plants and to the Republic" for improvement of the working and living environment.

Together with the effort to increase production, the improvement of working and living conditions must be at the center of our attention because this stems from the basic feature of working class policy and reflects the concern of trade unions for the needs of the working class and other workers engaged in the production process as well as in life.

Socialist Education

The implementation of the demanding tasks of the economic and social program approved by the 15th CPCZ Congress also called for raising the standard and effectiveness of our ideological-educational and cultural work.

We contributed more purposefully to the education of our members in the socialist view of the world, to the growth of their socialist consciousness, to the promotion of proletarian internationalism, socialist patriotism and socialist way of life.

We can say that during the last period our trade union organs and organization improved their educational work, which became more comprehensive, more effective and more varied both in content and form. We intensified mass political work among the members in explaining the resolutions of the 15th and 16th CPCZ congresses and party economic, social and foreign policy.

Since the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress our cooperation in the socialist education of workers increased with the national committees and their deputies, with the Socialist Union of Youth, Socialist Academy and schools. It is encouraging that an increasingly greater number of prominent blue-collar workers and members of technical, creative and artistic intelligentsia are joining this educational work.

We directed our entire mass political and educational work to the promotion of the political activity and social commitment of workers.

Collectives Primarily Responsible for Education

The analysis of the results achieved since our last congress confirms the correctness of the decision by the URO presidium to shift the center of the educational process to basic organizations and work collectives, particularly to trade union sections and BSP. At the present time, almost 50 percent of trade union sections are participating in the campaign to gain the "For Development of Socialist Education" plaque and it is precisely these collectives which demonstrate more work, social and cultural-educational activity. We cannot become reconciled with the fact, however, that in many basic organizations, even with special officials in charge of this campaign, not one single trade union section joined this activity, and the supervisory all-trade union and trade union organs kept silent about it.

In the future, too, constant attention must be paid to socialist education in work collectives, trade union sections, brigades of socialist labor, and on the basis of past experiences to expand and improve their plans of educational and cultural activities.

In connection with the fulfillment of demanding tasks in the national economy, we have tried to improve the economic education of our members and officials. We succeeded in winning over more than 2 million members for participation in political and economic training. An important role in this respect was played by schools of socialist labor, 26,534 of which were set up by the ROH basic organizations in the CSR during 1980-1981 alone and attended by almost 650,000 members, predominantly from BSP. Although this was almost three times as much as 4 years ago, it is not enough for today's needs.

In the training of members and officials, we also put emphasis in economic education and propaganda on the implementation of tasks related to the practical

application of the "Set of Measures," on the more rapid application of scientific and technical achievements, and on conservation of raw and industrial materials and energy. This training was completed by more than 50,000 ROH officials and 1.5 million members. The orientation and schooling of members to thinking and acting in economic terms, however, is permanent and must also be incorporated in the plans for ideological education of basic organizations in the future.

We ask the trade union organs in the first place to pay more attention to the economic education of members and particularly to the schools of socialist labor. Factory committees and their commissions in charge of educational and cultural work, and centers for trade union education must deal much more responsibly with the training of propagandists, agitators, instructors and officials, and pay more attention to improving their ideological, political, pedagogic and professional standards.

Strengthening of International Solidarity

Among the foremost tasks of our ideological educational work is the systematic education toward proletarian and socialist internationalism, toward the friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

We vividly realize this fact today, when the most reactionary forces of imperialism try to throw the world back into the period of cold war. They try to reactivate the rightist and antisocialist forces, and with all methods and means to undermine the unity of the states of the socialist community. This is evident from their attitude toward the present situation in Poland, when they outrageously interfere in Polish internal affairs. We are convinced that the Polish working class will successfully cope with the counterrevolutionary forces. We fully support the Polish communists, Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary trade unionists in their struggle against the schemes of domestic and external enemies.

We support the expansion of friendly relations of kraj trade union councils, enterprises and plants with the trade unionists of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. These friendly relations, however, should result in the application of new progressive work methods, more intensive international competition and better mutual knowledge of the life and work of our closest friends.

We acclaim further expansion and strengthening of international solidarity and will actively participate in moral and material support of the progressive forces in the world, of trade unions in the developing and capitalist countries in their struggle against imperialism and for genuine democracy, freedom and peace.

The ROH members in the CSR contributed to the Solidarity Fund an amount which averaged Kcs 9.11 per member in 1981. In the future, we must increase sale of solidarity stamps and combine it much more with everyday political educational work and education in internationalism.

Constant attention was paid during the last period to the training and additional schooling of officials, to their ideological, political and professional growth. The well-rounded system of schooling makes it possible for us to train more than 300,000 officials of basic organizations and higher trade union organs every year. This schooling definitely had a considerable influence on improving the work of ROH officials and organs. However, we must pay more careful attention to the selection of officials in accordance with prospective needs, and improve coordination between the trade union and all-trade union organs.

Today's Needs Are the Criterion

Graphic agitation is becoming a tool of education on an ever-increasing scale. Various competitions for the best visual agitation in the plants, towns and okreses contribute to its development and improvement. One of its shortcomings is the fact that it frequently lags behind life's needs. Such agitation is the subject of just criticism and a sign of factory committee formalism. Graphic agitation must be topical, specific, more oriented to censuring disarray, material waste, defective products and must stress efficiency, economy and quality of work. Only such graphic agitation will significantly contribute to the education of workers.

A positive result of the comprehensive concept of educational and cultural work in the basic organizations is the rise and work of groups of activists in civic affairs in the plants who organize celebrations and ceremonies on various important personal and work anniversaries. In this context, increasing use is made of the hall of revolutionary traditions and glorious work achievements, where the outstanding workers are awarded enterprise or sectorial decorations or other tokens of appreciation by the society. We must particularly appreciate the exhibit of documents from the revolutionary struggle of the working class, from the glorious days of February 1948 and the period of building socialism in our country. They are of great importance for the education of the young generation of workers and the admission of young workers to work collectives.

Although from the quantitative standpoint we achieved good results in the trade union press, such as PRACE daily, SVET PRACE and other periodicals, the trade union press does not maintain systematic contact with members, trade union sections or officials.

It is necessary to make more effective use of the "ZZ [expansion unknown] competition" and of other new forms so that cooperation with the press gradually becomes a matter of course in everyday agitation and propaganda.

We must state frankly, however, that by its standards and effectiveness the educational activity of many of our organs and organizations does not meet today's needs: it is not goal-oriented enough, is frequently of low ideological-political standard and is not linked to the specific tasks of work collectives and the worker's life. How else could it be explained that some workers show an incorrect attitude toward work, social property and work discipline. There are still instances of parasitism, pilfering of socialist

property, payments of various bribes in the area of services, health care and retail stores, along with other malpractices.

Although there have been appeals to struggle against these ills, it appears that they have not met with popular response. We must, therefore, launch a vigorous and unremitting struggle against these phenomena, mobilize work collectives and public opinion for their elimination and reprimand the culprits in the press and other news media.

Differentiated Approach to Youth

The past period was also marked by the tendency by our organs and organizations to approach the problems of life and work faced by the young generation, particularly by young apprentices and blue-collar workers, more purposefully and comprehensively.

Increased attention was paid to promoting initiative among young people, to their ideological-educational growth, to their cultural activities and sports related to the defense of the country.

However, there are still few work collectives, BSP and outstanding workers who actively participate in the education of youth toward a socialist approach to work and life. The educational process involving apprentices and working class youth must be carried out within the work collective, where a differentiated approach to the young people is possible. For this reason, we categorically ask the officials of basic organizations to closely cooperate with the Socialist Union of Youth, to follow up and systematically affect the inclusion of young workers in good work collectives, particularly the BSP, to expand the activity of sponsors of working class youth and to mobilize the reserves of the BSP.

In connection with the future development of the Czechoslovak educational and school system, we must express our dissatisfaction with the present cadre, material and organizational conditions in the theoretical and practical training of apprentices and their extracurricular activities. The Czech committees of trade union associations, the kraj trade union councils, sectorial and enterprise committees must show much more interest in this problem, and within their jurisdiction affect the improvement of conditions in training centers.

Much more attention will have to be paid to the questions which fall directly in the trade union jurisdiction, such as training of apprentices toward ROH membership and their active participation in trade union work. More emphasis must be placed on solving the problem of serving meals to apprentices, protection and labor safety. Ways must be explored for providing larger facilities for recreation and better preventive medical care for apprentices.

Better Conditions for Leisure

In the area of cultural and educational work, we paid principal attention to the correct use of workers' leisure. We can say that many workers use their leisure for study, education, pursuance of various hobbies, tourism and sports.

There are several thousand hobby circles engaged in artistic or other activities in the basic organizations and trade union cultural establishments. The Czech Trade Union Council, together with the Ministry of Culture, participates in organizing festivals and exhibitions of objects of art produced by hobby circles, events which demonstrated that we have some outstanding ensembles which are even appreciated abroad, but on the other hand there are ensembles with low ideological and artistic standards to which we must pay much more attention.

We can give some examples where the basic organizations and their cultural department organize various cultural, educational and entertainment programs for workers. Nevertheless, there still are many trade union cultural departments, clubs and libraries which operate in the old way. They confine themselves to entertainment programs which are frequently of an inferior ideological and artistic standard. For this reason, it is imperative to consistently implement the spirit of the resolutions of the 11th ROH Plenum of February 1981, to develop cultural and educational activity and to evaluate the work results regularly.

Just as the Czech Trade Union Council expands and improves its cooperation with the CSR Ministry of Culture, it is necessary for the okreses and krajs to further increase cooperation with the national committees, state cultural and educational institutions within the "Unified Plans of Cultural-Educational Activity," to improve the work of activists in civic affairs, to pay more attention to education of youth toward marriage and parenthood, to work with the gypsy population and create room for work with pensioners.

Physical education and sport occupies an increasingly important place in the many-sided activities of trade unions. The competitions in collective sports, particularly in tabte tennis, volleyball, soccer, tennis and racing in running organized by the daily PRACE are becoming increasingly popular.

In the future, we must take these experiences into account and develop recreational physical education, particularly tourism and sports related to the defense of our country. We must plan to include it in the activity of trade union organizations, recreational activities sponsored by plants and enterprises so that it becomes an integral part of the life of our workers and will be taken for granted.

Personal Agitation Is Most Convincing

The demanding resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress formulated the requirement that mass political work must be characterized by daily personal persuasion and agitation by trade union officials in the workplaces, and must not only explain the CPCZ policy, but also aim at winning over all members for its active implementation. There must be more contact and more frankness between the trade union officials and members whose opinions must be listened to. Their justified criticism must be heeded and they must be won over for the elimination of subjective shortcomings.

The resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress concerning all areas of our activity, including ideological education and cultural work require that we must not be satisfied with the present situation. No values are given for ever. In life there is a constant struggle going on between the new and the old, a permanent struggle for the consolidation of socialist values, for preservation of peace and progress in the world. For all these reasons, we must improve our ideological education so that all our members not only realize these connections, but also act accordingly.

Political-Organizational Work

The annual membership meetings of trade union sections and basic organizations last year represented the beginning of a long series of conferences in the CSR which will culminate in our congress.

During their preparations for the 10th All-Trade Union Congress, trade unionists in the CSR at the annual membership meetings and association and all-trade union conferences evaluated their past activities, reviewed the problems of trade union work as well as their contribution to the implementation of the CPCZ social and economic program.

All these conferences expressed full support to the CPCZ and its policy corresponding to the needs of further economic, social and cultural development of our society and to the genuine interests of our workers. They made it clear that ROH activity is closely linked to the lives and needs of the members, that trade unionists were not indifferent to the manner in which the line laid down by the 16th CPCZ Congress was being implemented, and that they were resolved to actively participate in its implementation.

These conferences reviewed the successes and achieved results. However, there were also many critical comments regarding trade union work itself, inadequate conditions for worker participation in management and development of their initiative, insufficient care for workers both inside and outside of the plant and inflexible settlement of justified complaints.

From the annual membership meetings and conferences we have drawn the following conclusion: officials and members must frankly talk about all, sometimes unclear and frequently discussed issues, and promptly react to comments and suggestions of members. For this reason, we ask all our trade union organs and organizations to systematically deal with the comments made at the annual membership meetings and conferences. They must make this a permanent feature of their work and must not leave comments of workers without adequate response and concrete conclusions.

Since our last congress, the unity of trade unions has been strengthened, their capacity to act increased, the principles of democratic centralism and intra-union democracy more consistently observed.

The Czech Trade Union Council paid systematic attention to the application of Leninist style and methods in the work of trade union organs and organizations and this was reflected in the greater purposefulness, better planning and concreteness of their activities.

The relations of the Czech Trade Union Council, trade union organs and organizations with the state and economic organs and the National Front were strengthened. These relations helped overcome some shortcomings and underscore the key issues in the national economic area, care for workers, problems in the working and living environment, education and culture which must be dealt with consistently.

Against Formalism and Cliches

While we evaluate the results achieved in our political-organizational work with critical thoroughness, we must say that it still contains some features of formalism, mechanical implementation of tasks, cliches and stereotypes. Our work quite often does not reflect new ideas and a fresh approach, and does not take sufficiently into account the difference in the conditions in which individual organs and organizations operate.

To tell the truth, trade union and all-trade union organs do not work with equal intensity nor do they always achieve good results as the comparison of statistical data makes clear.

Activity of some trade union organs still contains elements of bureaucratic approach and involves an excessive amount of paper work. The resolutions of higher trade union organs are mechanically repeated without applying them to local conditions and specific needs. Frequently new and newer resolutions on the same problems are passed without checking on the implementation of earlier resolutions.

It happens in practice that personal contact with members is replaced by resolutions and appeals which do not take into consideration the life and work needs of people in our basic organizations.

Not all of our officials realize that their authority does not stem from the multitude of resolutions, guidelines, instructions, conferences and meetings of activists, but originates in and is strengthened by concrete organizational work, solution of problems primarily in basic organizations.

The findings and experiences during the last 5 years fully confirmed again that the ROH basic organization is the principal and basic unit in which our successes are decided.

The annual plans of ROH activity provide uniform orientation to work in individual areas of trade union work. The implementation of these plans, however, depends on the degree of assistance rendered by the higher association and all-trade union organs.

The improvement of the activity of basic organizations calls for differentiated, well-thought-out and coordinated work with the chairmen of factory committees. An important part in it is performed by the officials-activists and those members of basic organizations who are officials of higher trade union organs. It is necessary, however, to work with them much better.

Irreplaceable Role of Trade Union Sections

An important unit of trade union organizations is the trade union section, which by its activity maintains daily contact with members.

The trade union sections in the CSR elected 181,662 section stewards and 209,796 stewards for principal areas of trade union activity. Of this total, 58.6 percent were blue-collar workers, 40.4 percent women and 23.7 percent young officials, percentages which correspond to our membership structure.

Although much work was done after the Fifty URO Plenum in 1973 had approved a document on the position and role of trade union sections, we cannot be satisfied with the present situation. All factory committees do not pay constant attention to the officials of trade union sections, do not systematically work with section stewards and do not properly guide and train them for effective performance of their demanding function.

It will therefore be necessary to refer again to the document of the Fifth URO Plenum to make constant use of it, to check on its implementation and to evaluate experiences.

The most important place for exercising, in accordance with the ROH statutes, of every member's fundamental right are the membership meetings through which the members participate in management and administration of plants and enterprises. The data in your hands demonstrate that both the number of and attendance at such meetings have been increasing. There are, however, considerable differences between individual trade union associations and krajs, and more effective measures designed to remedy the situation are not taken. This points to the different standard of work not only in factory committees, but also higher trade union organs. A major issue on which we shall focus our effort is the standard, resolutions and effectiveness of membership meetings. It is by no means exceptional that they are primarily informative and that the issues stemming from the activity of trade unions or related to everyday life in workplaces are rarely put on their agenda. Proposals are not always submitted for solution of problems on which the members have the right and duty to decide or express their opinion.

Responsibility of Trade Union Organs

During the last period, we paid more attention to the activity of higher association and all-trade union organs. We reviewed their work schedules, evaluated their work and publicized their experiences.

We paid more attention to the Czech committees of trade union associations bearing in mind that they have an irreplaceable role in organizing worker participation in the implementation of tasks of economic and social development of sectors in question. We helped expand mutual relations and the scope of joint actions with the CSR ministries.

Despite more complex external and internal conditions, the trade union associations registered a number of successes in stimulating worker initiative and

in care for workers. While we speak so emphatically of our share in the implementation of the CPCZ social and economic program, we must also mention our legitimate demand -- to enhance the role and responsibility of Czech committees of trade union associations for better fulfillment by the trade unions of specific tasks in individual sectors and branches, for better orientation in sectorial problems, for improving the work of their kraj committees which, together with the okres committees of trade union associations, are closest along the association line to the basic organizations.

Our okres and kraj all-trade union organs discharged a demanding task during the last period. They coordinated and rendered uniform the activity of trade union organs and organizations in discharging all ROH functions. They represented all trade unionists in relation to the appropriate political, state, economic and National Front organs on the territory in question.

At recent all-trade union conferences we emphasized that the criterion of a new quality of work of kraj and okres trade union councils will increasingly be how they contribute, in coordination with the kraj and okres committees of trade union associations, to the development of creative work, to the growth of the capacity of action of basic trade union organizations and factory committees in the fulfillment of political, economic, social and educational tasks.

While we speak of the necessity of paying more attention to the living conditions of workers, we must also mention our demand on the kraj and okres trade union councils to expand and improve cooperation with the appropriate national committees and to secure an increased share for trade unions in the work of the National Front.

We Appreciate Self-Sacrificing Work of Officials

In connection with the overall evaluation of results achieved by the ROH in the CSR, it is necessary to see that the demanding tasks could not have been fulfilled without the self-sacrificing work of the large body of activist officials, without the trade union cadres. For this reason, we paid systematic attention to the selection, training and distribution of officials and workers of apparatus.

During the last period, our membership increased almost 352,000 and by now 98.29 percent of the workers in the CSR are organized in trade unions. More than 290,000 officials were elected at the annual membership meetings and conferences of basic organizations. This body of activists was further augmented by the officials elected by the all-trade union, association and republic organs. The ratio of blue-collar workers, women and young officials increased.

This large body of activist officials represents a great force whose correct and constructive management and use will create conditions for further improvement and more effective trade union work. Apart from its political and professional training already mentioned, we must carry out regular and demanding evaluation of the work of trade union officials.

Improving Management

As pointed out by the annual membership meetings, too, the demanding nature and complexity of tasks requires that we systematically improve management by the factory committees all the way up to the Czech Trade Union Council, and raise the overall standard of our work.

The Czech Trade Union Council together with the all-trade union and association organs must see to the gradual and systematic implementation of resolutions of our Ninth All-Trade Union Congress, of the highest party organs and the URO.

During the current term of office, we have discussed and reviewed in individual areas of trade union activity the results achieved by 300 basic organizations, 101 kraj and okres trade union councils, 59 Czech and kraj committees of trade union associations and 9 trade union councils on the important construction projects.

We held a total of 18 plenums, including two joint sessions with the URO and the Slovak Trade Union Council, 65 presidium meetings and 112 secretariat meetings.

During this period, we also held three joint meetings with the CSR Government presidium and a number of meetings with the state organs and organizations of the National Front.

Common Course of Action

We are aware of the demanding nature of trade union work during the next period in which we will try to render management and control more effective in relation to the association and all-trade union organs, to coordinate our course of action and effort in the solution of key problems. We will make them implement their own resolutions as well as resolutions of higher trade union organs and publicize their experiences.

We will expand cooperation with the CSR Government and other state organs, and particularly conclude and consistently carry out agreements on a common course of action toward accomplishing the goals of economic and social policy, and settlement of the rightful complaints of workers.

We must improve cooperation with the organizations of the National Front and particularly with the Socialist Union of Youth, Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League and Czechoslovak Scientific and Technological Society in increasing the activity and social commitment of trade unionists in their workplaces and places of residence.

Proper Management of ROH Funds

The work of trade union organs and organizations required proper management of trade union funds and administration of trade union property.

In accordance with the resolutions of the 13th ROH Plenum in 1981, we can state at our congress that the ROH organs and organizations in the CSR had the necessary financial resources and material property for the fulfillment of extensive ROH tasks during the last period.

There was an improvement in the standard of budgeting and actual management of trade union property and financial funds which are earmarked for accomplishing trade union political goals and for our members' benefit. Moreover, the kraj and okres trade union councils not only increased their share in management of trade union funds, but also their assistance to the basic organizations.

These results were made possible by the self-sacrificing work of many thousand activist officials of basic organizations and higher trade union organs, particularly auditing commissions, and by periodical discussions of problems related to management of trade union finances.

In accordance with the resolution of the URO presidium, management of almost all basic organizations was audited during the last period. The results of this audit revealed that not all factory committees regarded the audit as part of their work, and that appropriate higher trade union organs did not pay sufficient attention to the activity of audit commissions in the basic organizations because many of them were sluggish.

We must proceed more purposefully and more economically in management of trade union funds in the future. We must assign priority to the production of permanent values which will be reflected in the various forms of care for political, educational, cultural, recreational, physical education and other interests and needs of trade unionists.

In cooperation with economic management, we will pay more attention to the maintenance and modernization of property used for providing care for workers and their family members, particularly to the camps for Pioneers and ROH recreational facilities and cultural establishments.

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We have submitted this report to you on the results of our work since the last Czech ROH congress. It is clear from this report that the Czech Trade Union Council, trade union organs and basic organizations in the CSR based their manifold activity on the vital needs of workers, and directed the creative activity of workers to the fulfillment of national economic plans as the basis of the economic, social and cultural development of our society in accordance with the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and Ninth All-Trade Union Congress.

We referred quite frankly to the existing shortcomings and additional possibilities of improving our work. Bearing in mind the increasing responsibility of trade unions for further development of the socialist society, we are presenting to the congress the principal tasks for the next 5 years which are very demanding and will call for increased efficiency and quality of our work.

We are convinced that our congress will express the determination of trade unionists in the CSR to consolidate and strengthen the unity of trade unions, to increase our share in the implementation of the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

We believe that the results of our congress will become an asset for the 10th All-Trade Union Congress which will convene in Prague in a few weeks.

We are looking forward to its proceedings with further development of creative initiative, signing of socialist pledges and concrete deeds.

Let us do everything to contribute by the best possible results to the development of our socialist society and maintenance of world peace.

10501
CSO: 2400/162

CONDITIONS OF BELIEVERS IN CSSR DESCRIBED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 20 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by "R.St.": "Church Under Pressure in Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] Vienna, 18 March—The visit of a delegation representing the Czech and the Slovak episcopate to the Vatican has once more focused attention on the situation of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia. As reported earlier, only three out of 13 dioceses presently have ordinaries and of the three archdioceses of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia only that of Bohemia is headed by an archbishop, namely Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek. Tomasek, who is 82, has long since passed the age limit. It hardly seems possible at present to find a successor to him who would be acceptable to all concerned. The appointment of Apostolic administrators or chapter curates in other dioceses is blocked either by the state or by the Pope. There is no relaxation in sight; in fact, developments in Poland have all but stiffened to Czechoslovak communists' attitude toward the Church.

Types of Discrimination

Late reports indicate that the state has recently been increasing its suppression of religious activities. In a new document, the "Charta 77" human rights movement has accused the authorities of discriminating against believers and of purposely limiting church publications (last year, permission was given to publish only two books). Half of the 60 candidates for the study of theology were said to have been turned down by the Litomerice theological faculty and last year the Bratislava faculty expelled 12 students for going on a hunger strike. The document further states that the authorities have infiltrated unqualified teachers into the faculties and were applying pressure on young priests to join the Pacem in Terris movement which is friendly to the regime.

Church in the Underground

In the recent past, some information has reached the West on secret churches and underground religious groups. Slovak bishop Hlinica, who lives in Rome, has said that young people above all are increasingly committing themselves to religion and are joining together with likeminded people. Such groups are considered illegal by the state. Their meetings are broken up; during the past year, several of the members were sentenced to prison terms. The state authorities usually say that such groups make it difficult for the state to maintain control of the churches. In most cases, however, these groups cannot be charged with having engaged in political activity. The regime hoped to strike a blow against the Church by not permitting hundreds of priests to exercise their religious functions. Many of these priests have since

found regular employment and are now active as worker-priests. It is said that their influence on the believers is greater now than it would be, if they preached from the pulpit. In the Czech part of the country, the Church used to be traditionally identified with the powers that be; today, it undoubtedly is more closely associated with the people. In addition to the restrictions on religious activity described above, actual repressive measures do occur. 3 weeks ago, two men were surprised as they tried to set up (or perhaps modernize) a listening device in archbishop Tomasek's residence. When a protest was lodged, the interior ministry offered a half-hearted excuse. Searches of parish houses and of former monasteries which have since been converted into old-age homes appear to be quite frequent.

Poland Accused at Writers' Congress

In other fields, too, any hopes that the forcible collapse of the Polish reform movement might at least have some salutary effect on Czechoslovakia have proven to be unfounded. At the writers' congress in early March union secretary-general Kosak criticized those responsible for Polish literary activities for having published practically no new Czech books in Poland during the past few years. As far as official Czech literature is concerned, interest in Poland was indeed scant because these Czech authors—with few exceptions—were far too much inclined to cozy up to their rulers. Now this is not about to change, if Kosak has his way. But even under present conditions in Poland, it would be far from easy to get such a functionaries' literature established there.

The Prague government's tactics have changed very little with regard to the dissidents. Out-of-favor authors, who were still able to publish abroad until recently, are systematically stripped of their means of existence—for instance by not letting their wives work. Writer Eva Kanturkova has been in prison for 10 months after being accused of having had a part in the transport of leaflets by two young Frenchmen. The singer Charlie Soukup was offered the choice of appearing in court once again or emigrating because of his "subversive" songs. Last week, he opted for emigration and loss of citizenship instead of a prison sentence and left with his family for France.

9478
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FIVE NEW ARMY DIVISIONS ALLEGEDLY ESTABLISHED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 6 Jan 82 p 1

['ASD' report by Ingo Urban, West Berlin: "GDR With Five New Divisions?"]

[Text] The GDR military leadership has raised five new divisions for its ground forces, apparently in great secrecy. At the same time, as reported yesterday by a reliable source, the executive power of the state apparatus has been transferred to the National Defense Council, whose chairman is SED chief Erich Honecker.

According to this information, the East Berlin Ministry for Defense has not released the 70,000 reservists called up in November 1981. These men for the most part have been placed in the five new divisions. Thus, the ground forces of the "National People's Army (NVA) now have a total of 11 divisions. That is one less than the FRG Bundeswehr has in its ground forces.

The called-up reservists did not receive any leave time either at Christmas or New Year's Day. In letters to their families, the soldiers mentioned a "special mission" as the reason for their not getting any leave. The soldiers have been promised leave by their superiors, however, upon completion of this mission.

Precisely during the visit of FRG Chancellor Schmidt to SED chief Erich Honecker in Schorfheide, north of Berlin, the entire administrative operation of the GDR was placed on war status. That happened on Saturday, 12 December. This measure enabled the GDR to go into military action at a moment's notice. In the jargon of the GDR administrative and military leadership, the term "shortened structure" has been used in this context. By this is meant that the entire administration in all areas of the state has become subordinated only to the SED bezirk and kreis secretaries.

Since the beginning of 1982, moreover, in East Berlin the police force has been augmented by members of the People's Police and the Garrisoned Alert Police from GDR bezirks. According to information from the GDR as reported on 5 January 1982 by Information Office West (IWE), at present an as yet unknown number of People's Police officers has been transferred "temporarily" to East Berlin for reasons of security policy. In comparison with GDR bezirks, East Berlin has the highest criminality figures.

CSO: 2300/201

DISCUSSIONS AT EAST BERLIN 'PEACE MEETING' OF WRITERS ANALYZED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 1, Jan 82 pp 5-9

['Commentaries and Current Discussions' feature article by Harald Kleinschmid, editor, Deutschlandfunk, West Berlin: "'I Have Fulfilled a Dream'--On the 'Berlin Meeting for Promotion of Peace.'" A translation of a Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE article on the same topic is published under the heading, "GDR Writers' Critical Views at Berlin 'Peace Meeting' Reported," in JPRS 79988, 1 Feb 82, No 1970 of this series, pp 1-8. For various references to other items of related information see translation of a Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE article published under the heading, "Western Attitudes at East Berlin 'Peace Meeting' Criticized," in JPRS 80054, 8 Feb 82, No 1973 of this series, pp 12-15]

[Text] On the eve of 14 December 1981, in conclusion of an approximately 15-hour discussion, Stephan Hermlin stated: "I have fulfilled a dream which has been engaging me during the last few months and from which I no longer want to wake up." The emotion that Hermlin felt in saying this was genuine.

For it was truly a singular event what this author--who in both East and West is considered a man of honesty and integrity--had initiated in September, when he sent letters of invitation to writers, artists and scientists in several East and West European states and above all in the two German states. The meeting, which was supposed to be neither a conference nor a congress and at which no resolutions were to be adopted, had originally been planned for mid-November. Naturally, it could not be held without the backing of the first man in the GDR, Erich Honecker, especially since the guest list comprised explosive names such as Guenter Grass, Jurek Becker, Thomas Brasch, Stefan Heym, Rolf Schneider and others, whose sympathy for socialist ideas is beyond dispute, but whose sympathy for real socialism is limited. One may assume that it was with an eye to his imminent talk with Federal Chancellor Schmidt that Erich Honecker proposed mid-December as the conference date. In fact, the meeting began exactly 2 hours after the chancellor had left the GDR via Guestrow; it is unlikely this was an accident.

During the preparatory period preceding the conference, discussions took place; open discussions in the West, where the suspicion was voiced that protagonists of the West German peace movement could be made tools of Eastern peace propaganda. It seems safe to assume that the GDR leadership, too, harbored doubts and skepticism, for the security experts in the party and state apparatus were bound to consider such an event a considerable risk. Prior to the conference, Guenter Grass and Stephan Hermlin debated the question whether or not the press--both Eastern and

Western--should be present from the beginning: That the press was finally admitted is a tribute not only to Hermlin, who assumed this risk; it also is evidence of considerable self-assurance on the part of East Berlin.

Even Robert Havemann could have been present; however, he complained he had not been invited and mentioned "dubious terms." He then invited the participants to Gruenheide, but it is not known whether anybody accepted this invitation. Hermlin called Havemann's attitude "thoroughly German," by which he meant the attempt to secede in order to split an incipient movement. In defense of the system's critic, the writer Erich Fried stated at the conference that Havemann had obviously done injustice to Hermlin, but one should bear in mind that anyone could become unjust after suffering injustice for such a long time.

Stephan Hermlin had made clear his intentions before the opening of the conference. At the end of November, in a ZDF [Second German Television Network] interview, he had stated--with reference to the strength of the West German peace movement--"that I am not quite satisfied with the way things have been done in my country." In his opening speech in the evening of the first conference day, his intentions became still clearer. Hermlin stated that the motto "Establish Peace Without Armaments" was akin to great utopias, "thus having a core of reality"; in support of his thesis, he quoted a letter by Lenin, which had been published only in the previous year and in which Lenin took a very pacifist stand in favor of unilateral disarmament measures. While emphasizing that this was not the only view of Lenin's in regard to disarmament, Hermlin wanted Lenin's undogmatic, flexible and pragmatic approach to be considered a model for the GDR leadership. Even though Hermlin did not conceal his conviction, he exercised restraint during the discussion held the following day; he always was conscious of his function as a figure of integration. The controversies were supplied by others and occasion for such controversies was amply provided by the very composition of the body of participants (just under 90): the spectrum ranged from the two scientists, the "atomic spy" Klaus Fuchs and the Austrian futurologist Robert Jungk, to Hermann Kant and Bernt Engelmann and then to Stefan Heym and Jurek Becker. Present were many of those who in the intellectual arena of the two German states have rank and name: Guenter Grass, Luise Rinser, Peter Ruehmkorf, Fritz Cremer, Christa Wolf, Gerhard Wolf, Konrad Wolf--to name but a few. At the conference, which was officially staged by the GDR Academy of Sciences and the GDR Academy of Arts, but the premises for which were not to be provided by these two organizations, there gathered expellees and individuals who had stayed, outcasts and individuals held in high esteem, quiet individuals and noisy ones. They did not spare each other; there was hardly any taboo in both the West and the East that remained untouched; the participants gave each other a piece of their minds, without any of those attacked losing their composure. Complying with the request Stephan Hermlin had made at the beginning, all of the participants exercised self-discipline--and perhaps they really did so for the sake of the common cause of peace. Anyone who knows artists and intellectuals knows how difficult this is.

"The Fuse Is Already Lit"

It goes without saying that the subject of Poland weighed heavily on the conference; after all, it was on the conference's opening day that the state of emergency was announced. Robert Jungk asked right at the beginning: "What is going to happen to our Polish colleagues?" He emphasized that one could not solve "problems by means

of armed force or by the threat of armed force." The next morning, Stefan Heym stated he thought he was dreaming, because all the while the conference members were discussing war and the threat of war, "a few kilometers off the fuse is already lit." He stated there had begun "once before a world war over Poland." Heym was supported by the Swiss writer Adolf Muschg who spoke of the "strong flight reflexes" that he had experienced in consequence of the news from Poland and who warned: "If intervention occurs in Poland, we might as well forget about all possible results of our meeting. If that happens, the peace movement will be destroyed and that goes for the West, too. Our arguments will then have lost their punch." On the subject of Poland, there were no comments from the party line-following GDR authors and scientists, who on other occasions were not averse to explaining the position of the party leadership and of the government in regard to peace and disarmament. In some instances, this was done in differentiated, finely honed formulations such as those advanced by Hermann Kant in defense of the Soviet moratorium proposal. Other speakers, e.g. the 85-year-old Wieland Herzfelde, were very direct; Herzfelde reduced the problem to the following simple formula: "To my knowledge, our country does not have any military service; there is only a defense service and this is a great difference, as anyone with a command of the German language will confirm."

The stumbling block for this part of the discussion was supplied by Guenter Grass' remark that he felt threatened by the American Pershings as well as by the Soviet SS-20 missiles. Grass likened the two great powers to "two unloved giants who want to be loved and who occasionally use threats to make us love them."

As has been pointed out, some comments on this subject were much more differentiated. Franz Fuehmann delivered a passionate speech in favor of truth and against mendacity. "In the universal character of the peace movement of the 1980's--a character transcending national, religious and ideological boundaries--one finds the beginnings of what could be called global politics from below: the breaking up of a vicious circle, within which distrust and increased armaments generate intensified distrust....to wage war on mendacity wherever he or she is--that is the essential step, the big as well as little step, that a writer can take in the defense of peace." Heiner Mueller called the peace in Europe a peace within a war on three other continents: "The peace movement, if it considers itself an innocent, idealistic unity movement, repeats the tragedy of the Children's Crusades. Behind the question of war or peace, the nuclear threat poses the more terrifying question whether there may be another peace, a peace different from the peace of exploitation and corruption: The end of mankind as the price of the planet's survival."

Christa Wolff took a stand against the entire civilization: "If there are people who plan annihilation, one should be permitted to take certain liberties. This civilization, which has so systematically produced the materials for its own destruction, is sick, perhaps insane; it is mortally ill."

"Not the Mouthpiece of a Government"

Within this global problem--i.e. the problem concerning ways of survival open to mankind--the subject of pacifism in the GDR, which had been introduced by Stephan Hermlin, determined the tenor of large parts of the discussion. Guenter Grass was the first to demand that the Western peace movement be matched in East Europe. The view of the GDR economics professor Juergen Kuczynski--to the effect that a peace

movement in the GDR would be superfluous, because the GDR Government was anyhow in favor of peace--was opposed by Jurek Becker who stated that writers and scientists should "not be a mouthpiece of this or that government," that they should "not subscribe to the logic of the military." Dieter Lattmann from the Federal Republic then called for replacing the word "war" by the war "genocide." He stated that even if opponents of military service did not enjoy any respect in the FRG or in the GDR, respect might be accorded to opponents of genocide. The most persuasive contribution to the subject of a peace movement in the GDR was made by Guenter de Bruyn, "one of the quiet ones in the country": "However pleasing the recognition of the West European peace movement by the GDR may be, its utility will remain questionable, if there is the impression that what is acclaimed over there is undesirable here.... The peace-oriented policy of the GDR, which aims at forming an alliance with the peace movements all over the world, will be hurting itself, if it rejects the alliance offer of independent peace groups in its own country, e.g. the overtures of the young Christians calling for a social peace service. If they are pushed into the underground, one not only loses valuable peace forces, but also detracts from one's own credibility. It would be a great advance, if the assent to proposals concerning proscription of nuclear weapons were cosigned by an independent peace movement of the GDR.... It would be desirable for this conference to provide an impetus in this direction, but I have to concede that I have not much hope in this regard."

The same line was pursued by the spectacular proposal made by Stefan Heym: A number of conference members from both East and West should march to Alexanderplatz [Alexander Square] and demonstrate in favor of abolition of nuclear weapons in both German states. In addition, Heym urged "to invite to the first rank a number of representatives of this government, e.g. Comrade Honecker. Should this demonstration take place here, I guarantee that the silent majority in this country--which always keeps silence, because it feels we are powerless--will join in the march, and I am convinced that such a demonstration could have a tremendous effect on the peace movement in the West."

The picture presented above could be misleading: The voices objecting to these views--views that had rarely been voiced so candidly and publicly in the GDR--were at least as numerous. For example, in reply to Heym's proposal, the Soviet scientist Daniel Proyektor stated such a demonstration was superfluous, since no nuclear weapons were stationed in the GDR. Only Volker Braun succeeded in driving on the discussion concerning this issue (see below). Likewise deserving of attention--at least from a personal point of view--were the statements of the GDR PEN president, Professor Heinz Kamnitzer, who passionately objected to unilateral disarmament on the part of the East: "I cannot forget--and I think many others in this hall have not forgotten either--how defenseless we once were, when Adolf I came and conquered."

Hermann Kant, the eloquent president of the GDR Writers Association, demonstrated in the course of the discussion his own learning ability: "We must take seriously the assumption that the other side may feel threatened by us. The fact that I know the other side is mistaken does not help us out of this predicament. I have to convince anyone concerned--and who would not be concerned--of my interest in peace."

As early as the beginning of the conference, Kant had perceived "nervousness on the part of some authority figures in the face of our gathering."

Some of the subjects, a detailed discussion of which could really have given rise to nervousness, especially on the part of the GDR leadership, were only of secondary importance. One of these topics was the German Question. To be sure, the statement--nowadays almost a cliche--that never again must a war be started from German soil was repeatedly voiced in the hotel on Alexanderplatz [Alexander Square]; however, no one wanted to turn the conference into an all-German event. Even Guenter Grass mentioned his idea of a German nation based on cultural values only in his opening speech and he did so only in passing.

There was another fear that proved groundless: The fear that some of the authors, who after Biermann's expatriation had been subjected to regimentation or who had emigrated, would make their lament the focus of the discussion. To be sure, this subject was included, e.g. by Thomas Brasch who called "horrible" the state of peace that he had experienced before his departure from the GDR. He said it was the "permanent state prevailing between the rabbit and the snake, an absolute lull."

In an overly impetuous speech, Rolf Schneider pointed to the fact that the GDR media had not mentioned some of the writers disciplined in 1979, when they signed Bernt Engelmann's "Appeal of European Writers": "It appears that those publicists who censored the names out of the GDR press considered the 1979 dispute concerning literary policy to be more significant than the cause of peace. This is worse than shabby."

In reporting about the "Berlin Encounter," the GDR media took a similar position. The GDR television network showed only scenes in which controversial figures such as Stefan Heym, Thomas Brasch or Jurek Becker were invisible. Although the 17 December 1981 issue of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the central SED organ, devoted an entire page to the conference, the coverage of the speeches hardly reflected the controversies and opposing views prevailing in the discussions. If covered at all, divergent opinions were mentioned only in passing. The SED's agitation apparatus consistently adhered to the view that thanks to the admission of the Western press the public nature of the conference had been assured and that the GDR citizens would thus be provided with a comprehensive picture by the Western electronic media.

Of greater interest is the question whether in the near future the complete minutes of the meeting will be published in both German states. In this connection, Stephan Hermlin stated during an interview by Deutschlandfunk [German Radio Network] he did not consider it a good thing, if these minutes were to be published only in one of the two German states. The "Berlin Encounter" was an event that for the GDR was unprecedented. It remains to be seen whether it will result in direct consequences for the policy pursued by the other German state. At any rate, the peace movement in the GDR, which so far had appeared to be restricted to the Protestant Church, suddenly has gained prestigious allies. Moreover, the success of the conference has lent support to those in the GDR leadership who advocate a policy of cautious risk vis-a-vis the West. The conference has helped--and presumably this was the original intent--to restore at least in part the GDR's intellectual reputation, which had been severely damaged by the writers' exodus following Biermann's expatriation.

Excerpt from Volker Braun's Speech

The proposal to stage a demonstration has quickly been shelved. I am concerned about the fact that there obviously is not enough motivation for a peace movement in this country. I have the impression--and I am saying this seemingly abruptly and by the way--that it is no accident that in this hall the word communism has not been said. Forgive me for repeating my premise; I think this is necessary in view of Professor Jung's (GDR) opinion that presently peace could be said to be a paradise. The peace that now must be maintained is a terribly gaunt figure armed to the teeth; a figure that forces us to make unceasing efforts to armor it all over; efforts over which socialism may forget its own objectives. Peace--a monster that devours our strength. All interests and objectives subordinated to the banal purpose to maintain it. And not only that it uses up science in the arms industry: presently it even demands that every mental effort be made to undo achievements of the mind. Presently it demands that we ponder not only the development of technology, but also ways of returning--for reasons of economy--to a more primitive technology. Instead of automation, mini-rationalization; instead of petroleum, coal; instead of coke, plant soil into the furnaces. This dismal exertion--it is bound to turn us into the species of inventive dwarves described in Brecht's "Galilei." Inventive dwarves--also in regard to the oppressive structures necessary for this peace, in regard to the powers of command necessary for this peace, in regard to the information monopoly necessary for this peace. Peace--the alibi for the well-nigh unchangeable socialism, for the well-nigh unchangeable capitalism, for this world that is chasing after things that are no improvement. And I must praise it, I must desire it: this peace of such small dimensions. This hunchbacked peace, this little peace. And not even the fact that we have obtained it in this way makes it secure; rather, because we have obtained it in this way, the danger of mankind's self-destruction is growing.

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CULTURE MINISTER ON GOETHE LEGACY IN 'SOCIALIST NATIONAL CULTURE'

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Mar 82 p 4

/Report on speech by Minister for Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffmann in Weimar on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's death: "His Legacy Will be Preserved and Carried on by a Free People on Free Soil"/

/Text/ In his commemorative address in Weimar, GDR Minister for Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffmann called Johann Wolfgang Goethe one of the most important figures in the history of intellectual life, science and culture. "We think of him with love and reverence," the minister said. "His genius continues to act upon our life and will provide future generations with stimulation, wisdom and intellectual delight."

The stronger and the more diversified developed socialist society becomes, the more urgent is its need to partake of the great experiences of past epochs and of the critical acquisition of its entire historical heritage.

Proven Tradition of the Labor Movement

"Faithful to the traditions of the revolutionary labor movement, we in the GDR have always made an effort to combine the heritage of the great personalities of the German people with the social life of our time. We have always tried to free the heritage of the nations of the world and our own nation from distortion and defamation. This was one of the fundamental conditions upon which to construct a truly free society in cooperation with the Soviet Union and all progressive forces in the world."

Freedom from exploitation for the working class, the peasants and the working population as a whole, the minister continued, also provided all these with the freedom to develop their own intellectual-cultural powers and to partake of all the values of education and culture. The aim is to creatively develop the heritage further so as to do justice to the great tasks of this epoch. "The continuity with which the German revolutionary labor movement has always devoted itself to the German classics—above all to Goethe and Schiller—has been a mainstay of our socialist national culture ever since the inception of our governmental-social development in the GDR."

Hans-Joachim Hoffmann recalled the Goethe celebration of 1949 at which time Otto Grotewohl, Johannes R Becher and Thomas Mann gave expression to the ideological mandate for our time which sprang from classical humanism. Goethe was always near at hand during the years of socialist development, "a friendly spirit that partook of the creation of a new socialist consciousness keyed to the future tasks of mankind."

"Goethe was one who enlightened and who always sought to gain ideological insights in his understanding of the real world and who for all the contradictions in his life and thought fought for truth at all times. He is the greatest poet the German people has yet brought forth, deeply rooted in his own time, a part of it with every fiber of his body and pointing toward the future at the same time, of value and profit to later generations." In this connection, the minister for culture related Goethe's role to that of other major poets of his age like Lessing, Klopstock, Herder, Schiller and Hoelderlin as well as to revolutionary bourgeois democrats and to important authors of German Romanticism.

"But let us leave no doubt about the fact that despite all our respect for their great achievements in thought and in art that it is Goethe who occupies a special, extraordinary—one might say—central place in the cultural history of the German people above all because his creativity, bringing together the major intellectucal currents of his epoch, was an expression of the high point of bougeois-humanist emancipation."

Irreplaceable Values for the World Image of Socialism

"We often refer to classical German philosophy as one of the sources of scientific socialism," the speaker went on. "One should include in this classical German literature and Goethe's heritage most of all. In his view of man and his historical potentialities; in much of what is contained in his view of nature and history, we can find productive inspiration for forming our own views about nature, society and art. His work provides us with much stimulation for developing our own view of history and the world and he inspires us by offering value concepts and a view of life. His poetry helps in the maturation process of socialist-realist art and literature."

As a witness to great historic events and upheavals, Goethe reacted to new social processes in every instance. "His efforts—up to his old age—to assign the proper place to the epoch he lived in within the larger framework of world history so as to look ahead to the future development of mankind are important to us." In this connection, the minister for culture cited Goethe's theoretical writings but above all his major works like "Faust." "What a colorful panorama of human history full of artistic imagery unfolds before our eyes in his works! In his later years, Goethe recognized the historical necessity of the incipient age of bourgeois society and defended it against illusionist romantic thinking! But he also held on to his conviction that this society could not be history's last word." Goethe's legacy to mankind is contained in his vision of a free people upon free soil, "the best and finest legacy of humanism bequeathed to us by the bourgeois class," Hans-

Joachim Hoffmann said. "This legacy hands down to us the obligation to relate past, present and future to each other which means no more and no less than to conceive of one's own actions beyond the present day and to take one's place within the course of history. We not only see the nearest attainable political, economic or cultural goal; we see the small things within the large; we see in this present time the movement carrying us forward into the communist age just as we can only support the great world movement, if we resolutely, accurately and consciously set for ourselves and fulfill the tasks of our day. Goethe was deeply beholden to just such a dialectic and his wise recognition that purposeful action in the present and for the future must be based on an awareness of history has become part of our own view of the world."

"One cannot speak of Goethe's classical humanism," the minister continued, "without calling to mind his conviction that welfare and culture can prosper only in times of peace. In view of the present tense world situation, we are duty-bound to develop and apply all our powers in all fields of endeavor to make certain that the historical possibility of the peaceful coexistence of peoples becomes a reality. Goethe's ideas and his wisdom can help and stimulate us in this endeavor."

The minister then spoke of the active role Goethe played in promoting scientific progress in his time. It was impressive how he tried to combine learning about the view of the world with a scientific urge to know. "We recall and marvel at the universal character of Goethe's efforts and his intention to protect the individual disciplines from isolation and practical limitation."

"He was early to recognize that every scientist must be at pains to apply interdisciplinary standards to the subject matter under consideration and to fix his ideological point of reference again and again which relates his personal actions and ideas to the whole."

"This humanistic ideal which places the individual in the center of the world also requires of him that he resolutely take issue with the world. This leads over to the idea to which Goethe gave expression quite clearly in his 'Poetry and Truth': 'Like the whole in which we are contained, our life is in some inexplicable manner combined of freedom and necessity. Our actions are a premonition of that which we will under all circumstances do.' In the struggle to find the solution for the tasks that need to be done; in the correct assessment of possibilities—therein, says Goethe, lies the seed of a mature person."

Felt and Acted Like a Collective Being

The interrelationship between the creative individual and other people working productively was the prerequisite for desired achievements in Goethe's view as much as anyone's. In that sense, he felt he was a "collective being." Not only to be prepared to learn from others but also to discover the means of going about it—to choose, to ponder, to experiment and to act purposefully, these are the aspects in the life of each individual which we have come

to appreciate as we move forward in the direction of our socialist society. But we cannot only learn from Goethe how each individual talent must be developed but also that such capabilities must be permitted to grow, since they were not—as the saying goes—given to the individual at birth." If Goethe penetrated into so many areas of knowledge and acquired new faculties until old age, then it was his great diligence which guaranteed his success.

Search for the Great Subject of Art

"The humanistic values which Goethe and other thinkers of his time proclaimed were not based on pale, altruistic conceptions of man as he is and as he might be. They were based on a profound understanding of social realities and thus of the need to contribute to the social progress of the bourgeois class and the masses," the minister said. "The liberation from antiquated norms of feudal and bourgeois morality, from narrow-mindedness, class prejudice and ideological obtuseness was bound to bring forth a new ethic which combined a great number of elements pointing toward the future."

"Much of what still moves us in our time," the minister went on, "moved Goethe in his. He was affected by the problems of love, marriage and the family. The marvelous characters—both women and girls— which Goethe created and which have no equal in the German literature of earlier centuries give proof of their right to a good life and to moral-legal emancipation." Goethe helps us raise questions of morality and of ethics which are of interest to us. "He inspires us to give thought to ourselves and turns out to be a truly sage and worldly-wise counselor."

Among all of Goethe's great achievements, his poetic legacy speaks to us most of all. "As the foremost among the group of great writers of the 'artistic period,' his major works of poetry not only represent refreshing art at its noblest but also testify to the historically conditioned heights of aesthetic endeavor. Goethe's poetry shows us how an artist can provide us with a most exalted reflection of the world around us."

Like other poets of his time, Goethe was always interested in the great subject of art. "Again and again, he related his own personality to the whole world and thus to the current problems of the nation and of mankind. And in all of this, he knew that only an 'I' that is 'ever striving;' a man who never stops learning but gains new knowledge step by step will be able to follow the course of history and to create the kind of poetry which does justice to the highest social demands. Such productive tension between the individual creative artist and the society of his time can lead to achievements in each epoch that are commensurate with it."

The speaker then pointed out that Goethe, Schiller and other poets of the time were active "defenders of poetry;" advocates of a new, progressive relationship between culture and contemporary society. "We, too," he continued, "know of the need to bring socialism and art closer and closer together, since the continuing efforts to achieve our primary goals not only call for material well-being but also for intellectual-cultural well-being."

Humanistic Dreams of the Past Are Now Being Fulfilled

Art and literature are capable of making a wide impact on the life of men. "The more man frees himself from the shackles of oppression and bondage imposed on him by the antagonistic class society; the more he comes into his own, the more he will be able to make use of art and literature as a social being. The more real socialism unfolds, the more art and literature become a multifarious and important necessity of life."

"Thus, in our time, the dream the classic writers dreamt is being fulfilled. Our socialist national culture is thriving and will continue to thrive; many important talents are coming to the fore; literature and art have become the property of the people. There is a lively intellectual-cultural life going on; new works of artists and writers are being discussed; the variety of individual contributions and forms has become a characteristic feature of our artistic landscape. The arts are a partner in the development of socialist-humanist man. Of course, not all the 'grand dreams' we have come true but we may be sure that the artists will continue to learn from the masters of classic-humanist art."

The productive-critical acquisition of the classic heritage, the minister said, must always be accompanied by historical-social self-comprehension. "Let us not forget that we in the GDR have a particular internationalist obligation to preserve the classic legacy and Goethe's legacy as well as to delve deeply into it and present it to the public. Other peoples have a right to expect that from us because this legacy is part of what Goethe called 'world literature' by which he meant the humanistic, peaceful cultural exchange process between nations which include the immortal works that belong to all peoples."

"We are proud of everything," Hans-Joachim Hoffmann declared in conclusion, "which the German people has contributed to the peaceful intellectual and artistic growth of mankind in the past. We defend this treasure against all those who would misuse, distort or deny it. We honor the masters of centuries gone by as we hand down their works to the ensuing generations in recognition of the fact that they belong to them and that they constitute the best part of what makes up our socialist national culture."

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KADAR COMMENTS ON POLICY, PROBLEMS IN ACADEMY SPEECH

Budapest MAGYAR TUDOMANY in Hungarian No 2, Feb 82 pp 86-94

[Text] I thank the Presidium of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for their invitation and for their friendly reception. I would like to emphasize that meeting with the leaders of Hungarian scientific life is an important event for me also. I have listened with great attention to the opening speech of the comrade president and to all fourteen of those commenting on the achievements and problems in their scientific areas. Their words testify that there is sparkling life in the leading body, departments and research institutes of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and that very significant work is taking place there. It is gratifying and worthy of recognition that their activity is linked much more closely than before to those questions which concern the Central Committee of the party, the government and Hungarian society.

Every comment merits attention, the comrades touched on very important themes. Still, permit me to talk about the questions of our contemporary life more comprehensively--occasionally linking this to what has been said.

Experiences of the Past 25 Years

When I received the invitation I thought I would come for a visit and ask you how you were doing, what you were doing, and wish you continued good work. But in the midst of daily occupations the weeks and months and years fly by quickly, and if one recalls when we last had such a meeting it is almost embarrassing, because almost a decade has passed. This inspires a more fundamental review. This is also inspired by the fact that the press and media organs these days are saying a good deal about the events of 25 years ago, about the experiences of the past quarter century.

It is not by chance that these things are now getting greater publicity than earlier. Twenty-five years ago our people lived through very serious, critical times. That period provided very important experiences and was accompanied by lessons of historical significance. But that was a quarter century ago. Since then about half of the population of the country has come of age. Almost three quarters of our party membership joined the party since then. So an entire generation has grown up which did not live through nor experience those events. At the same time it is very important that they know these experiences, draw from these lessons. Certain international

developments also justify taking our experiences into account. Such causes have guided us in the relatively broader publication activity.

You know those goals which the party and government proposed at that time, clearly marking out the direction of progress for both leadership and people. Certainly you recall that at the beginning this met with little understanding, but we achieved a swift socialist consolidation in every area with diligent, patient work which brought results step by step. The direction designated proved to be correct, the goal proposed was realized! So the party and government and the leadership of the country can say that it has kept its word. Struggling for correct, good goals, it won the support of the people. And when I say the people I am also thinking of those working in science.

I would like to point out that our policy not only kept to the main direction but it was also capable of developing every fundamental question of social life. It was able to keep pace with the age, although these 25 years were extraordinarily complex in the life of our people and society too. In regard to the world situation in which we Hungarians exist and had to prosper, it was even more complex. The fact that the party was successful in realizing its chief line through such a quarter century is a guarantee that it will be able to continue it in the future also, will be able to progress further on the correct path. There is in the party a determined intention to do this, and there is a readiness and ability to do so. In regard to methods also we are striving for consistency and continuity.

Everyone knows that I am a convinced communist; I have believed in the socialist ideal always and in all circumstances. This is true. Of the many experiences and lessons to be derived from the events one of the most essential for me is that it is important not only what I represent but also how I do so. This requires no special proof. Life itself shows and proves that the correct guidance methods of the party involve close and vital mass contacts. In the future also the "how" will be a determining factor. It is thanks to this that after designating the correct direction we achieved the greatest victory of our quarter century, which is not a material but rather of a moral-political nature, namely a socialist national union, which is also the source of all our achievements in socialist building work. Our successes are very significant in the development of productive forces, in artistic life and in public culture, and in the area of the standard of living. We can be happy about this, and we can be proud of it. But we cannot be self-satisfied. There is still very much to do, as you also have pointed out, disclosing the problems of the various spheres of scientific life, the causes hindering further development. Such observations are important and timely.

All things considered we can say that the conditions necessary for progress do exist. The most important condition--which is also a unique summary of all which we have achieved--is that the socialist system works!

Several Problems of the Socialist System--With the Eyes of History

In regard to its internal essence and developmental possibilities the socialist system is superior to capitalism and is the highest order society of those

known thus far. But for this very reason--in my view and according to my experience--it still has a number of weaknesses which are connected primarily to historical causes. There were social system changes earlier too, we know this from history, but never before was there such a critical turning for mankind. And it appears that this, putting an end to the exploitation of man by man, is a more difficult undertaking, involving a greater parturition, than all those before.

Viewpoints of security and trust necessarily received an important role beginning with the days of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The first and well functioning organization of the Soviet state, in addition to the party tempered in the revolution, was the Red Army. A significant number of the revolutionaries could not read a map, much less prepare general staff plans. The way they fought was to name Czarist officers to command the troops, and they put a political commissar beside each one of them who, pistol in hand, saw how they led the troops to battle and to victory. That was how the question of "experts" and political reliability stood at the time of the birth of the system. After the Second World War the smaller socialist countries also were born under more or less similar circumstances, and they were affected by this same mentality, which could not be eradicated so simply. All the less so because, unfortunately, the harmful view became fairly widespread later that the class struggle increases with the progress of socialist building.

This is how the new Hungarian state began to function also; the old state apparatus remained--it would be harmful not to recall this--under the supervision of not large groups of revolutionaries tempered in the hard struggle under the Horthy regime, supported by the left, the democratic forces, and bringing the people too into this supervision. This involved the question of political trust. This is how it came up then. Since then Hungarian society has gone through an entire developmental epoch, it is placed on socialist foundations, has created and educated its own apparatus. But looking at it historically, we can attribute to this something which I consider a weakness of our system, one still not entirely overcome, something which I see in the fact that the decision making process is slow. We must refine and constantly perfect these decision making reflexes and mechanisms.

Reckoning with the changing historical conditions, social realities and power relationships, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has built its policy on broad trust. It has placed cadre policy, the requirements made of leaders, on principles of political, professional and moral suitability, and in harmony with the alliance policy it has made it the practice that, with the exception of party functions, anyone can fill any office or assignment. This is how cadre work is done here. Now we are struggling with such problems as inadequate realization of personal responsibility, a reliance on committees, a postponing of decisions. The party, and society in the given place of work and in the broader sense, cannot tolerate such phenomena. In your comments you formulated this requirement by saying that the responsible leaders should be trusted more. This is certainly true, but we must not forget that what is involved is not the person X or Y but rather the adopting of a historically new system.

Among other things this also means that in accordance with the present requirements of socialist development there must be a further improvement of leadership perceptions and behavior and the readiness to make responsible decisions, and suitable conditions for this must be created.

Not rarely matters suffer delays because the leaders make their decisions only when they have innumerable prior agreements and concurrences. Certainly it does not increase the courage, responsibility or independendence of the leader if everyone agrees with his decisions in advance.

For example, a leader cannot give a 300 forint award to someone he thinks worthy of it because this requires, at a minimum, the agreement of the party organization and the trade union. And obviously this is how it is elsewhere and in other questions too. For example, even now, after the simplification which has been carried out, I am told that several dozen concurrences are needed for a building permit. Many sorts of concurrences are needed from those regionally responsible in cadre questions. I think this could be done more flexibly, more rationally. The decision making processes must be accelerated--and not only in regard to building permits and cadre questions of course.

A greater than necessary centralization is also a weakness of our system, although we have improved in a number of ways in recent yeras. Let us recall here the economic reform introduced 12 years ago. I honestly confess that at the time, when a decision had to be made about it, I was convinced not so much by the scientific theses; rather I was prompted to decided and act by my earlier experience and dissatisfaction, that we were slow and clumsy in economic life and did not work efficiently enough. One cannot guide or lead the economy of the country, which embraces a number of branches and subbranches and many concrete areas and activities, as if it were a single large enterprise. We all know of some famous world firms, but we do not know of any that deal with everything, produce everything from Jonathan apples, through baker's wares, to truck rear axle assemblies. One cannot imagine such universal preparedness and understanding. I have a little self-esteem myself, I certainly respect the members of the Political Committee and the Council of Ministers, but we cannot know everything, cannot decide about everything. For example, it is impossible to decide sensibly from the center, without wasting time, what products an industrial plant should produce, what equipment should be replaced with more modern equipment, where to invest the money, the investment assets. This must be looked at and decided on the spot. In such and similar questions the enterprise leadership can take a stand more practically and more quickly, because they are closer to production, closer to the problems which cannot brook delay, which require objective judgment. The fundamental virtue, strength and superiority of the socialist system must be coupled with flexibility and swifter action. This is why I voted for decentralized guidance.

It is also a weakness of our socialist system--at least in its present condition--that it supports everything and everybody. There has been talk here, in addition to many other factors, about the role of initiative in, the dynamic initiative strength of the capitalist system. What really maintains

the capitalist system is coercion, the drive to get ahead, the struggle for existence. Ours is a more humane system. It is good to know this and see it in practice--it guarantees work and a living, it protects its citizens. General employment is one of our great achievements, and we must maintain it. But just as I respect man, work and the interests of the economy so I consider it an error that the good and the bad live the same way here, he who works and he who only has status. This must be changed, in the interest of the area in question and all working there, in the interest of the entire community. But also in the personal interest of those who are not really needed at the given enterprise, shop or office. Knowing the national manpower situation it is certain that there will be work for them elsewhere, a useful occupation. If such individuals find their place and finally go where they are not simply taking on people but also have real work, and if they do the work regularly and honestly, they will become more valuable members of society. And they will be happier in life too, will prosper more than if they vegetated somewhere as superfluous men.

When I talk with parents about the problems and possibilities of choosing a career I am happy to advise them to educate their children into real, cultured skilled workers. I have lived in capitalism too, and I have much life experience in socialism. I can say with complete conviction that even the factory owner had to listen to the worker--if he did his work honestly--because he could not finish the piece in the place of the worker, and he knew this quite well. In our system the worker is the man who is most free, because the person who provides the work, the person guiding, cannot stand there at the machine, he has a different post, a different task. In socialism a worker need not fear that he will be ousted from his position, have the work taken from his hand, or be looked down on if his opinion seems a bit rough.

It was under entirely different circumstances but I also lived through a time when I was forced to do only imitation work. I finished my apprenticeship as an industrial worker in 1929. Older people know what this year meant in economic life. In Hungary at that time 40 percent of the industrial workers were put on the street overnight. I worked in a little place, in a shop dealing with office machines. This was a small trade then. The workers of the firm were told, they knew how long the orders would last. In order to prolong the possibility of earning bread they made two weeks' work last four weeks. I was never so tired in my life as then. It wore me out more than any period of intense work. I think others find the same thing.

It is a question of social significance that those working in various areas are those suited for it. This applies to scientific life also. It is a fundamental requirement in the cultivation of science that those go there who show promise, who have some talent or inclination to discover new things. Naturally we are for a humane solution to personnel questions. But we must free ourselves of the superstitious belief that if someone goes somewhere he must stay there until judgment day.

If we are to free ourselves of these weaknesses we will need the united strength of the party, government and science; it will require strict, purposeful and certainly long lasting work.

Interest and Incentive

Speaking of the link between life and science I would mention two branches of science which graphically illustrate that if society provides the task then research picks up. One is agricultural science and the other is economics. The first got a great impetus in connection with the socialist reorganization of agriculture and the second in connection with working out the reform of economic guidance. If the development of society puts a question or task on the agenda--and naturally the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers must be listed among the formulators of the task--then everyone is mobilized and results are not lacking either.

It is an important experience, valid for this area also, that one needs patient, persuasive argument, putting foward the socialist ideal. If people are convinced of the correctness of the goals they are able to work effectively for them. In themselves, naturally, beautiful words are not enough. The conditions must be such as to encourage conscientious, quality work. Interest and incentive should be developed accordingly; I am the most convinced believer in this in every area, including scientific research. Among the conditions I also would include what has been said here about the need for an objective evaluation of results.

Our party has been capable of much in the past 25 years; our government has solved many difficult tasks. When our foreign partners bring this up, which they do often with recognition, I always note that this is not the result of some sort of sleight of hand or some special Hungarian inspiration. We learned that necessity is the greatest commander! We also know that one must always face the facts, reality, the problems. Life again gave us a difficult lesson: Solve your problems or stop short. And stopping leads to falling back. This is the greatest coercive factor, which prompts all of us to new efforts, to even more intensive work.

In connection with interest I would like to point out that much is said these days, abroad and at international meetings, about Hungarian agriculture. The successes which are attracting attention can be attributed to the joint effect of a number of circumstances, including the fact that individual, household plot work is organically adapted to socialist foundations. It is extraordinarily important that interest has been built in, to an almost maximal extent, into the activity of the large socialist agricultural operations. Today we can with confidence take anyone to any part of the country, to any producer cooperative, and everywhere he will see and experience the same thing--people are working, the land is properly cultivated, the stock well cared for. This is so because everyone--the members and the employees--has an interest in the final product. This is evident in management, because they see the sense of their work, they are working for results. In the present phase of development socialist awareness and material interest have a joint effect and strengthen each other.

In capitalism the chief fear of men is dismissal, unemployment. There is no greater coercion in capitalism. I learned about unemployment in the capitalist system, I know from experience what it means. There is no such coercive force

in our society, and there will not be. Amidst our socialist relationships self-awareness should take the place of this. But socialist self-awareness is not yet strong enough. The coercion of unemployment no longer exists and that high level of self-awareness which should take the place of, and even more than take the place of, capitalist coercion does not yet exist. It will someday, but it does not as yet.

Somehow we must develop so that there should be an interest in the growth of self-awareness, of responsibility. For example, the sums at our disposal in the budget can be used for rational purposes, and they can be frittered away; we need an interest system which will encourage their being turned to rational purposes.

I give first place to the following among the socialist moral requirements: "If you take a job, do it with integrity." This must be required of everyone, from the scientist to the unskilled worker!

The Hungarian national economy rests on solid foundations. There are many things supporting this. Since 1973 it has withstood the surging waves, unfavorable to us, of the world market, but to a large extent it depends on the world economy. Foreign trade makes up about half of the national income. There are few such countries, except for us, in the world. What we import we must certainly have countervalue for. And in addition we must manage to pay off a part of the debt, with interest. We must live and work under such conditions. Taking all this into consideration, we can justly say: Our economy is viable, its foundations are strong.

Of course, we are very far from being able to say that everything in the economy is good. The picture is quite checkered. We have outstanding enterprises in industry which are holding their own even in the currently sharpened international competition. There are middling ones and there are weak ones too. In general we can speak of agriculture glowingly. The greatest part of its products are such that there are no quantitative limits on our export; even more of them could be sold. But here also it is time to calculate what it costs; we must keep track of economicalness and efficiency. This can be done, because we are ahead scientifically too; trained experts work in agriculture, operations are better organized and easier to survey.

To sum up, our socialist system is politically strong and economically well founded. The chief requirement is that it must work better and more efficiently.

Guidance work also must be done better than heretofore, beginning with the Central Committee and the government all the way to the shop foremen. No one in the world can change the given conditions of the country; only with a swifter and more flexible adaptation to more difficult conditions, only with more demanding work, can we improve the economic balance further and maintain the standard of living achieved.

It also follows from our given conditions that the world market acquisition prices must be better reflected in producer prices and to a certain extent in

consumers prices as well. Without this it would be impossible to maintain the level of supply which is acceptable today, a variety which is adjusted to demand.

Interdependent with these economic questions and the realistic international financial conditions is the fact--announced in the press today--that we have asked for membership in the International Monetary Fund and the International Reconstruction and Development Bank. By this step we want to ensure better operating conditions for the Hungarian economy in the present complex world economic circumstances.

With all that I have said about our policy and our social system I hoped to make you sense that what our party has said thus far it has said seriously, that it has acted accordingly, and will do so in the future.

Concerning Scientific Creative Work

In connection with what has been said about scientific work--and without going into detail--I would note that I am aware of a significant part of the problems raised and I agree with those urging a solution. Perhaps it would be most useful to use the parliamentary method, that is for us to ask for the minutes of the meeting, noting the concrete questions therein, and dealing with them at the appropriate place.

Still, I would like to say something in connection with scientific life. Several speakers have noted how important it is that there be suitable conditions for scientific work. I agree. In the name of the party and government I announce: We consider it our obligation to ensure suitable working conditions. At the same time, together with the extraordinary importance of creative work, I would like to point out that I am interested in the final product, not only in agriculture but in all work, in every activity--in scientific research as well! It is not a matter of indifference how and for what we use science, use the assets available.

I say, not in my quality as a central committee secretary but rather as a Hungarian citizen, that our people are interested primarily not in whether we write good or bad articles about scientific research but rather in "what do I get out of it?". Much of what you deal with is abstract, unknown to the people. But if somebody gets something out of it, then he will say "I respect the scientists." We must accept this, take it to heart, and work in an awareness of it.

Naturally, it was also justly said that we should not look at and favor the practical application of the results of scientific research alone, but should include basic research as well. This also has its function and mission, which it must fulfill. It is true that from the viewpoint of the country what is important is that as much as possible from scientific research should be put into practice, but this requires basic research as well. Without it the water of life, the spring nourishing the sciences, would dry up.

I also consider it important to continue the old, good traditions. We can count it a very significant achievement that the new Academy, with a socialist

organization, has found its place, functions and works well. This is very essential, there was need for a transformation of its structure, because the old organization was outmoded. But one should not forget that Hungarian science has traditions worthy of respect which must be continued.

A demand was voiced that there should be a better linkage system between the central leadership of the party and scientific circles. We must study this proposal also with great circumspection. I do not speak against it but I call your attention to the fact that we must be careful lest we create superfluous institutions. We should be aware of the fact that such intermediate institutions always have an isolating effect as well.

I would also like to affirm that in keeping with its practice thus far the Central Committee will not undertake in the future either to decide scientific debates. In our opinion if we were to deviate from this practice it would be bad and harmful. Scientific problems must be claried and decided in the sphere of science and the the debate of scientists.

Our people have won respect before the world with the great common work accomplished. Our position and the judgment of us today cannot even be compared with that of 25 years ago, and even less with the epoch preceding the liberation. Today everyone, at any point in the world, can admit to being a Hungarian with human and civic dignity. We must care for this respect; it can be maintained and enhanced only with honest work, struggling for progress and the good cause.

International Contacts

As for the international situation, we are now living through a bit of a bad course. The present leadership of the United States, in a vain hunt for military superiority, is endangering the accomplishments of the years of detente, endangering the peace of the world. The extreme monopoly capitalist circles do not want to reconcile themselves to the fact that they have suffered the loss of additional positions in various parts of the world; they are incapable of conceiving that social progress, the freedom aspirations of the peoples, cannot be kept back behind national borders. We are convinced that they will not be able to realize their adventuous plans, that they cannot be carried out with the present international power relationships. We are aware that the power relationships which have developed in the world are not realized automatically; in the more tense situation one will not only need good nerves, we must be determined and active in the defense of the accomplishments of detente. Here at home we must work so that our work, our strong internal situation, should provide an adequate underpinning for our stand for peace. I believe that here, before the representatives of Hungarian science, there is no need for special emphasis or proof of how many large common problems mankind has to solve, from overcoming energy problems, through improving foodstuffs supply to developing countries, to protection of the environment. It is also clear what powerful material resources might be released for the solution of these tasks, requiring broad international cooperation, if a brake were put on the arms race, an end ardently desired by us.

It is the position of our party and government, openly announced before the country and the world, that we believe in good relations among the peoples. In accordance with this we are urging mutually profitable cooperation in practice in economic, cultural and other areas. We take a stand on principled foundations for the development of political contacts, and we are for the negotiated settlement of disputed issues. We raise our voice in the interest of this at every international forum and at our bilateral and multilateral meetings. The men of science also can effectively serve understanding and a rapprochement between people and countries. Their words have weight, their international contacts are extensive, in their international contacts they can be at one time ambassadors of science and of peace. So I ask you, let your words be heard for the good cause of our homeland and mankind.

8984
CSO: 2500/173

TEACHER'S CHARTER PASSED BY SEJM

Executive Orders in Preparation

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Feb 82 p 5

[Article by J. Krasniewski: "Teacher's Charter Now in Effect"]

[Text] DZIENNIK USTAW [Legal Gazette], No 3, dated February 1, 1982, gives the full text of the Teacher's Charter passed by the Sejm on January 26th.

As we already noted, this document defines the many new teacher's entitlements to benefits. Some of them are available immediately, but in most cases it will be necessary to issue at least 35 orders, resolutions, and instructions, and also a good many interpretations and annotations to the law.

This second stage of implementing the Charter is just as important as the preparation of the text of the law. This successive step will also proceed under the direct control of the Sejm.

The entitlements that do not require legal annotations or interpretations include:

--a nonrecurring allowance equal to 2-months' base salary for initial household expenses in undertaking the first job in a school,

--payment for overtime in accordance with the personal classification rate,

--anniversary awards for a minimum of 20-years' service,

--a longevity allowance this year for those with a minimum of 20-years' service, and as of September of next year for the remainder.

In order for the remaining entitlements to become fact, the Council of Ministers was obliged to issue 6 executive orders; the Minister of Education and Upbringing, 21, including 15 in consultation with other concerned ministries; the Minister of Culture and Art, 10; the Minister of Health, 5; and the Minister of Labor, wages and Social Affairs, 1.

Among those waiting for issuance of executive orders are practical vocational science instructors, pedagogical workers from cadre training centers, and professional court-appointed guardians. They were not mentioned directly in the law and an executive order will be required to extend the provisions of the Charter to cover them. The same pertains to teachers in the denominational schools.

The Charter speaks of evaluating the teacher in the school, but ministerial orders will establish the principles and procedures for making this evaluation. The following must be defined: the teaching workload for teachers not mentioned in the law; the principles of remuneration for conducting instruction and upbringing activities on nonwork days; the principles, conditions and procedures for obtaining professional specialty degrees, which the Charter is introducing into the teachers' community for the first time.

The Council of Ministers will define the principles of organization of social services; approve the list of teachers' occupational diseases, the propriety, principles and procedures for appointing a disciplinary commission for teachers, and also the amount of bank credit for those taking jobs in schools in the villages after graduation, and the principles of granting and repaying this credit.

An order, the first of its type in Poland, in which the Minister of Labor will define the principles for comparing the remuneration of engineering-technical workers in industry and teachers, in order to maintain average earnings at the same level, in accordance with article 31 of the Charter, will be received with interest.

It is impossible to mention even the most important duties that the legislature has assigned to the ministries. The Sejm has stipulated that every executive order must be submitted to the trade unions in which the teachers are associated, which will occur after these trade unions have resumed their activity, and to the Sejm commissions.

In view of the deadline specified in the Law, July 31, 1982, the concerned ministries and state institutions have a tremendous amount of legislative work ahead of them. The administration of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing has already looked at the first four draft executive orders.

Final Text of Charter

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 3, 1 Feb 82 pp 45-59 Item 19

[Law dated January 26, 1982]

[Text] Teacher's Charter

In consideration of the important role of education and upbringing in the Polish People's Republic, desiring to give expression to the special social significance of the teacher's profession in conformity with needs and

expectations, and paving the way, by this law, for further legal regulations in the system of national education, it is proclaimed as follows:

Chapter 1. Introductory Provisions

Article 1.

The following come under the law:

1) teachers, educators and other pedagogical workers of state schools and other educational and training, upbringing and guardian-upbringing centers, established and operating by virtue of the law dated July 15, 1961, on the development of a system of education and upbringing (SZIENNIK USTAW, No 32, item 160; No 12, item 115, 1971; No 16, item 114, 1972; and No 45, item 234, 1975),

2) teachers and educators in medical centers, medical-education centers, and medical-care centers,

3) teachers, educators and other pedagogical workers in correctional institutions, juvenile shelters, family diagnostic-counseling centers, and schools attached to penal institutions,

4) pedagogical workers in school and pedagogical libraries, methodical centers, and vocation-education counseling centers,

5) teachers employed in schools and centers which teach arts to children and youth, upbringing centers and guardian-upbringing centers conducted by cooperative societies, social institutions and organizations conducting statutory educational-upbringing activity and arts training,

6) teachers employed in organs of the state administration in positions requiring teaching qualifications within the sphere established by the law,

7) teachers employed in political and social organizations and in trade unions in positions requiring teaching qualifications within the sphere established by the law.

Article 2.

The provisions of the law, with the exception of articles 50 and 59, do not apply to soldiers on active military duty or to functionaries of the Citizens' Militia and firefighting who are:

1) occupying the positions of teachers in military and Ministry of Internal Affairs' schools and educational-upbringing centers,

2) assigned to perform duties outside the military and Ministry of Internal Affairs, in the positions mentioned in article 1.

Article 3.

Whenever reference is made in the law to:

1) teachers, without closer definition--it is understood to mean the teachers, educators and other pedagogical workers employed in the schools and centers mentioned in article 1, points 1-5,

2) schools, without closer definition--it is understood to mean the schools and other centers mentioned in article 1, points 1-5,

3) school supervisory organs--until new legal regulations in the field of education and upbringing are issued, it is understood to mean:

a) the local organ of state administration of the appropriate rank--in relation to the schools under this organ,
b) the appropriate minister or the organizational unit under him which he designates--in relation to schools not under the local organ of state administration,
c) the main boards of cooperative societies and social organizations and institutions, as well as denominational societies, conducting statutory educational-upbringing or arts teaching activity or the organizational units which they designate--in relation to schools conducted by these societies, organizations and institutions.

4) concerned ministers, without closer definition--it is understood to mean also central organs of cooperative societies and social organizations and institutions conducting statutory educational-upbringing and arts teaching activity.

Article 4.

1. The principle of cooperation in the field of education and upbringing by the organs of state administration with the trade unions in which the teachers are associated, not established in the law on trade unions, are defined in an agreement concluded by the Minister of Education and Upbringing or the appropriate minister with the chief organs of these unions.

2. Orders, resolutions and instructions provided for in the law will be coordinated with the trade unions in which the teachers are associated and submitted to the Sejm commissions before they are issued.

Article 5.

1. The minister of Education and Upbringing, by means of orders, may extend the rules of the law or some of its provisions to:

1) teachers of schools and training centers, and educational-upbringing centers, other than those mentioned in article 1,

2) workers in socialized workplaces, fulfilling the function of practical vocational-science instructors or conducting work with juvenile workers in

collective housing centers, for whom teaching and upbringing work is a basic occupation,

3) pedagogical workers employed in teaching positions in cadre training and advancement centers, in vocational training centers, and professional court-appointed guardians.

2. The Minister of Education and Upbringing, by means of orders, at the proposal of denominational societies conducting schools, educational-upbringing centers and training institutions, will extend the rule of the law of some of its provisions to the teachers and educators employed therein.

Chapter 2. Teachers' Duties

Article 6.

1. A teacher is required to honestly implement the basic function of a school: teaching, upbringing and care; strive for the full development of the student's and his own personality. A teacher should mold and bring up the youth in a love of Fatherland; respect for the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic as a socialist state in the spirit of humanism, tolerance, freedom of conscience, social justice and respect for work; be concerned about shaping the moral and civic attitudes of the students in conformity with the ideals of democracy, peace and friendship among nations.

2. The work of the teacher is subject to evaluation. The evaluation is made during the first 3 years of the teacher's employment in the school, and after this period, at the request of the teacher concerned, or at the initiative of the pedagogical council or the school principal. The evaluation is of a descriptive nature. The principles and procedures of evaluation are defined, by means of an order, in consultation with the concerned ministers, by the Minister of Education and Upbringing; in relation to teachers of arts subjects in art schools, by the Minister of Culture and Art; and in relation to teachers of professional subjects in medical secondary schools, by the Minister of Health and Social Welfare in consultation with the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

Article 7.

1. The school is directed by the principal, who is its representative on the outside, the official superior of all the school employees, and chairman of the pedagogical council. The principal exercises care over the children and youth studying in the school.

2. The school principal is responsible in particular for:

1) the teaching and upbringing level of the school,

2) the accomplishment of tasks in accordance with the resolutuions of the pedagogical councils and instructions of the school supervisory organs,

3) creating the conditions necessary for the development of self-governing and autonomous work by students and wards,

4) providing assistance to teachers in the accomplishment of their tasks and in their professional advancement,

5) providing, insofar as possible, the appropriate organizational conditions for accomplishment of teaching and guardian-upbringing tasks.

3. Teachers who have been assigned administrative duties in the school in addition to the duties mentioned in paragraph 2 and in article 6, paragraph 1, are thus performing other tasks connected with the function assigned to them, as specified, in consultation with the concerned ministries, by the Minister of Education and Upbringing, and in relation to teachers in the art schools, by the Minister of Culture and Art.

Article 8.

1. Pegagogical supervision is exercised by teachers appointed and employed in the organs of state administration and in other organs supervising the school in positions requiring teaching qualifications, and by school principals and other teachers performing administrative duties in schools.

2. A detailed list of positions and the scope of duties, rights and qualifications of teachers referred to in paragraph 1, and the principles of exercising pedagogical supervision, are defined, by means of an order, by the Minister of Education and Upbringing, in consultation with concerned ministers, and in relation to teachers exercising supervision over art schools, by the Minister of Culture and Art, in consultation with the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

Chapter 3. Qualification Requirements.

Article 9.

1. The position of a teacher may be occupied by a person who:

1) has a higher education and the appropriate pedagogical preparation or who has completed a teachers' training school and is undertaking a job in a position for which these qualifications are adequate,

2) observes basic moral standards,

3) meets the health requirements indispensable for the performance of professional duties.

2. The Minister of Education and Upbringing, and in relation to art school teachers, the Minister of Culture and Art, in consultation with the concerned ministers, by means of orders, defines the detailed qualifications required of schools and teachers, and the cases where teachers may be employed who do not have a higher education.

3. The Minister of Culture and Art may specify the schools and other art training centers in which the position of teacher may be occupied by persons who completed a grade 2 art school in the field which corresponds to the subject to be taught.

Chapter 4. Establishing, Changing, and Terminating a Work Relationship

Article 10.

1. A work relationship with a teacher is established on the basis of an appointment or a labor contract.

2. A work relationship with a teacher is established by appointment if:

1) he is a Polish citizen,

2) he is legally competent,

3) he has civil rights,

4) no penal or incapacitation proceeds are pending against him,

5) he has the required qualifications to fill that position,

6) he can be employed on a full-time schedule for an indefinite period,

7) immediately before appointment he worked without interruption for at least 2 years on a full-time basis in a teaching job in which he was satisfactorily evaluated. If, during a period of 3 years from the date of employment a mandatory performance evaluation was not conducted on the teacher, and he meets the remaining conditions required for appointment, he is appointed by virtue of the law,

8) he is resuming work in the teaching profession, if he was an appointed teacher previously and the break in service did not exceed 5 years, and in the case of a longer interruption, if he worked as a teacher during this period.

3. A work relationship with a teacher who does not meet all the conditions specified in paragraph 2 is established on the basis of a labor contract, except that a work relationship cannot be established with a person who does not meet the conditions mentioned in paragraph 2, points 2-4.

4. A teacher may be employed for a definite period only if such a need arises in the teaching organization or if substitution for an absent teacher is involved.

5. With those persons for whom work in the school is additional employment, labor contracts are concluded.

Article 11.

1. Teachers are appointed or labor contracts concluded by the organ which directly supervises the school in which the teacher is to be employed, by agreement with the principal of this school or at his request.

2. The organ referred to in paragraph 1 may authorize the school principal, at his request, to conclude labor contracts with teachers.

Article 12.

1. Appointed teachers are not subject to the official channels specified in other rules of law for appointed state functionaries.

2. A teacher, in the implementation of the teaching program, has the right to freely apply such teaching and upbringing methods as he deems most appropriate from among those recognized by contemporary pedagogical science and to select textbooks and teaching aids from among those approved for school use.

3. A teacher should improve his general and professional knowledge by taking advantage of his entitlement to preference in participation in all forms of professional advancement at the highest level.

Article 13.

A work relationship based on an appointment is established on the day specified in the appointment order, and if a day has not been specified, on the day the order is delivered, or on the day the appointment is made by virtue of the law in accordance with article 10, paragraph 2, point 7.

Article 14.

The appointment order and the labor contract should specifically state:

1) the position and place of work,

2) the day the work is to begin,

3) the remuneration or the principles under which it will be established.

Article 15.

When appointments to a teaching position are made, the person being appointed takes an oath as follows:

"I will honestly fulfill my duty as a teacher, educator and protector of youth, strive to fully develop the personality of the student and my own, mold and educate the young generation in the spirit of love of the Fatherland, respect for the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, in accordance with the principles of humanism, social justice and freedom of conscience."

Article 16.

An appointment or labor contract expires if the newly employed teacher does not explain, within 7 days, his failure to report for work, unless the specific rules state otherwise.

Article 17.

1. The school supervisory organ assigns administrative duties only to active, appointed teachers, both in the same school or another school, after receipt of a favorable opinion from the pedagogical council.

2. The requirement that the opinion of the pedagogical council must be obtained does not pertain to assignments to administrative duties in newly organized schools.

3. The school supervisory organ which assigns an administrative function in a school to a teacher may remove him from this function at the end of the school year after issuing a 3-months' written notice, and in especially warranted cases, during the school year also.

4. Teachers to whom administrative functions have been assigned in schools are entitled, according to the function, to official titles: principal, vice principal or director.

5. Only appointed teachers may be employed in organs of state administration in positions requiring pedagogical qualifications.

6. Teachers referred to in paragraph 5 receive unpaid leave during the time they are occupying these positions.

Article 18.

1. An appointed teacher may be transferred at his own request or by the administration, with his consent, to another position in the same or another school, in the same or another locality, to the same or another position.

2. The administrative transfer of a teacher, as defined in paragraph 1, to another locality, may take place on condition:

1) that the teacher is provided, at his new place of work, housing appropriate to his family status, and a job for his spouse, if he is a teacher.

2) that the teacher is reimbursed for his moving costs in accordance with the principles defined in article 21, paragraph 1, and that he is also granted a relocation allowance equivalent to 2-months of his most recent base pay and allowances.

3. The rules of paragraph 1 and 2 apply correspondingly in transferring a teacher to a school that is supervised by another organ, and the rule of paragraph 2 also applies in a case where a teacher is transferred with his consent to work in local organs of state administration.

Article 19.

1. Should it be necessary to ensure that the school will be staffed with teachers of the qualifications that meet the needs of the school's program, a teacher may be transferred to that school without his consent, but for a period not to exceed 3 years, with the right to return to his former position.

2. In the case described in paragraph 1 pertaining to work in another school in another place, the teacher is entitled to:

1) a 4-day workweek,

2) a 20-percent base pay hardship differential,

3) official housing at the place of temporary employment, irrespective of the housing he may have on general principles.

Article 20.

1. In a case where organizational changes are occurring which totally or partially eliminate a school, making it impossible for an appointed teacher to continue to be employed in that school and the teacher does not consent to a transfer to another position in this school or to another school in this same or another locality, to the same or another position, the school supervisory organ must, at the teacher's request, transfer him to an inactive status, which may not last longer than 6 months, or terminate the work relationship and pay him severance pay equivalent to 6 months' base pay.

2. A teacher in an inactive status retains his entitlement to base pay and other work benefits.

3. In a case where it becomes possible to re-employ the teacher in the same school in the same position, the school supervisory organ is obliged to employ the teacher who is on inactive status on a first-preference basis. In a case where the teacher refuses to take the job, the work relationship expires on the date of refusal.

Article 21.

1. In the case of a transfer, the teacher is entitled to reimbursement for moving expenses in accordance with the principles defined in separate rules for workers in state offices.

2. A teacher changing his place of residence in connection with a transfer is excused from his official duties for an appropriate amount of time, not to exceed 7 days.

Article 22.

A teacher may be required to work in another school in the same locality and in the same or, with his consent, another position, to complete the required

teaching (upbringing) workload, in an amount no greater than one-half of his permanent workload. In a case where a teacher does not give his consent, he receives pay proportionate to the workload performed.

Article 23.

1. The work relationship with an appointed teacher is terminated:

1) at the teacher's application,

2) in the case of the teacher's temporary inability to work due to personal illness, if the period of this illness exceeds 1 year. In especially warranted cases, upon confirmation by a medical commission that there has been an improvement in health and that work can be resumed, the period of absence from work due to illness may be extended above 1 year, but to no more than 2 years, counting the combined period of illness and recuperative leave.

3) in the case where a medical commission for disability and employment affairs rules that the teacher is permanently disabled and cannot work full time in the position he occupies,

4) at the end of the school year in which the teacher reached retirement age, if the period of employment enables him to become eligible for a pension when he reaches this age. If, when he reached retirement age the teacher does not have a right to a pension, the work relationship should not be terminated until he obtains this right, but for a period not to exceed 5 years from the attainment of retirement age. The school supervisory organ authorized to appoint, may, with the consent of the teacher, in cases warranted by cadre needs, extend the period of employment.

5) in the case where it has been shown that the teacher has failed to fulfill his official duties.

2. The application to terminate the work relationship should be submitted by the appointed teacher in writing, no later than 3 months before the beginning of the summer vacation. Termination of a work relationship with an appointed teacher, at his application, occurs on August 31st. In a school where lessons are on an entire calendar-year basis, the work relationship may be terminated by the appointed teacher at any time with 3 months' notice.

3. Referral of a teacher by the appropriate organ as defined in article 11, for examination by a medical commission on disability and employment affairs, may be made at anytime at the initiative of the teacher or administratively; the unexcused failure of the teacher referred administratively for examination to report for that examination, gives the appropriate school supervisory organ the right to terminate the work relationship.

4. Termination of a work relationship, as specified in paragraph 1, point 4, should take place after prior 3-months' notice.

5. Termination of a work relationship with a teacher by reason of his failure to perform his official duties takes place at the end of the school

year, with 3-months' written notice, after the teacher has twice received, at intervals no shorter than 1 year and no longer than one and a half years, an unsatisfactory performance evaluation as specified in article 24.

6. The work relationship with the teacher may also be terminated by mutual agreement.

Article 24.

1. The organ directly supervising the school, on the basis of an opinion from the school principal and his own representative, may determine that the teacher's work performance is unsatisfactory.

2. The organ directly supervising the school must notify the teacher of the unsatisfactory evaluation of his work, giving the reasons, with a warning that the next unsatisfactory evaluation will cause the work relationship to be terminated.

3. If the unsatisfactory evaluation was not made by the chief (central) organ supervising the school, the teacher has the right to appeal within 14 days from the date of notice about the unfair, in his opinion, evaluation, to the organ directly above the one that determined the evaluation.

4. A teacher whose work has already once been unsatisfactorily evaluated, may name an appointed teacher of the same subject to participate in the second evaluation. The teacher is given 14 days' notice of the intent to make such an evaluation.

5. In the case of an appeal by a teacher from an unsatisfactory evaluation warranting termination of a work relationship, the work relationship cannot be terminated until this appeal is decided.

Article 25.

The decision on terminating a work relationship with a teacher on the basis of article 23, is issued by the organ authorized to appoint the teacher, as specified in this article.

Article 26.

1. The work relationship with an appointed teacher ceases to exist by virtue of law in case of:

1) valid punishment in the form of a disciplinary penalty consisting of dismissal from the job or expulsion from the teaching profession,

2) valid punishment consisting of loss of civil rights or loss of the right to perform the duties of the profession,

3) after a lapse of a 3-months' period of a jail sentence,

4) ascertainment that the appointment was made on the basis of false or invalid documents,

5) upon expiration of a 6-months' period of inactive status.

2. Cessation of a work relationship in the cases specified in paragraph 1 is ascertained by the organ authorized to appoint the teacher.

Article 27.

1. A labor contract concluded with a teacher for an indefinite period may be terminated by both parties at the end of the school year on 3-months' notice. The condition of termination of a labor contract at the end of the school year does not apply to teachers in schools where lessons are held throughout the entire calendar year.

2. A labor contract for an indefinite period may be terminated at any time and without notice in the case of inability to work due to illness of a duration longer than 1 year, unless in exceptionally warranted cases the appropriate medical commission certifies the ability to resume work in the teaching profession. In this case, the period of absence from work due to illness may be extended to 2 years, including convalescence leave.

Article 28.

1. An appointed teacher with whom a work relationship was terminated for the reason specified in article 23, paragraph 1, point 3, is entitled to severance pay equivalent to 1 month of his last base pay at the time the work relationship was in effect, for each full year of teaching work counted in the pedagogical work periods as defined in regulations issued on the basis of article 36, but not exceeding 6 months' base pay.

2. An appointed teacher with whom a work relationship is being terminated for the reasons specified in article 70, paragraph 2, and to whom the appropriate school supervisory organ did not offer a job in accordance with his qualifications, is entitled to severance pay as specified in paragraph 1, but not exceeding:

1) 3-months' base pay if the period of teaching work did not exceed 10 years,
2) 6-months' base pay if the period of teaching work exceeded 10 years.

3. The severance pay specified in paragraphs 1 and 2 is paid in monthly installments, corresponding to the amounts of monthly base pay.

Chapter 5. Working Conditions and Remuneration

Article 29.

1. The school supervisory organ must provide basic conditions for accomplishment of didactic, upbringing and custodial tasks.

2. The teacher is entitled to the accoutrements of his position which will enable him to implement the didactic-upbringing teaching program.

3. The Minister of Education and Upbringing, in consultation with the concerned ministers, and in relation to art schools, the Minister of Culture and Art, will define the basic conditions indispensable for the accomplishment by schools and teachers of the tasks and programs referred to in paragraphs 1 and 2.

Article 30.

1. The teacher's remuneration is made up of base salary and allowances.

2. The amount of the base salary is dependent on the teacher's level of education and number of years of work, and the allowances are dependent on the duties performed, the position occupied, working conditions, attained work results, and special qualifications.

Article 31.

1. A teacher advances to the next higher level of base pay every 2 years. The expectation period for attainment of the highest level of base pay cannot exceed 30 years of pedagogical work.

2. Beginning September 1, 1983, the average salary of a teacher cannot be lower than the average salary of engineering-technical workers employed in socialized industry. The principles for comparing the levels of these salaries are defined by means of orders from the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, in consultation with the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

3. Equalization of average teachers' salaries with average salaries of engineering-technical workers will take place in installments until September 1, 1983.

4. The increase in the average of the teachers' salaries to the average of engineering-technical workers' salaries in socialized industry should take place annually on September 1st.

5. Teachers' salaries are subject to revalorization annually on general principles.

Article 32.

1. Teachers who have been assigned administrative duties in the school are entitled to a duty allowance.

2. Teachers who are assigned substitute administrative duties are also entitled to duty allowance. In these cases, the right to an allowance accrues from the first day of the month after a 1-month period of fulfilling these duties has elapsed, and expires with the first day of the month following the cessation of performance of these duties.

3. Teachers referred to in article 1, point 6, are entitled to an official allowance.

Article 33.

1. Teachers are entitled to a longevity allowance for uninterrupted work in a school, called a seniority increment, amounting to 1 percent of the base pay for each year's work, paid in monthly periods beginning with the fourth year of work, except that this allowance cannot exceed 20 percent of the base pay.

2. Entitlement to a longevity allowance accrues to teachers employed more than 20 years, from January 1, 1982, and for others, from September 1, 1983.

3. Special cases where employment periods are counted for purpose of longevity allowances are defined by the Minister of Education and Upbringing, in consultation with the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs.

Article 34.

1. Teachers working under difficult and arduous conditions and under conditions that are harmful to health are entitled to the allowances mentioned in paragraphs 2 and 3.

2. A list of difficult and arduous working conditions constituting a basis for awarding allowances for this reason and the detailed principles for paying these allowances are defined by the Minister of Education and Upbringing, in consultation with the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs and concerned ministers.

3. A list of jobs in which conditions are harmful to health, with indication of the degree of their harmfulness, constituting a basis for award of an allowance for this reason, and the detailed principles for paying these allowances are defined by the Minister of Health and Social Welfare in consultation with the Ministers of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, and Education and Upbringing.

Article 35.

1. In specific cases dictated exclusively by the necessity to implement the teaching program or to ensure care in custodial-upbringing centers, the teacher may be required to work paid overtime hours in accordance with his specialty, in a number not to exceed one-fourth of his required weekly workload. A teacher may be assigned a larger number of overtime hours only with his consent, and not to exceed one-half of his required weekly workload.

2. In especially warranted cases, the teacher may work overtime in an amount exceeding one-half of his required workload, but only with the consent of the appropriate supervisory organ at the voivodship or central level with the approval of the pedagogical council.

3. By an overtime hour it is understood to mean an hour of teaching or upbringing work beyond the required weekly load of teaching or upbringing work.

4. Remuneration for overtime work assigned to the teacher in the school's organizational plan, is paid at the teacher's personal classification rate, including the allowances referred to in article 34, also in the case of an excused failure to perform the duties.

5. Hours of didactic, upbringing or custodial work, efficiently worked by the teacher as an emergency substitute, are paid according to the hourly overtime rates applicable to him.

6. Women who are pregnant or who are caring for children up to age 4, may not be employed overtime without their consent.

Article 36.

The amount of the base salary rates, allowances, remuneration for additional duties, principles of classification and the awarding of allowances, for the remuneration of teachers, are defined by the Council of Ministers, except that remuneration for additional duties, i.e. teaching a class or conducting special-interest or subject circles or groups, is due beginning January 1, 1983.

Article 37.

Teachers' base salaries, all allowances, payment for overtime hours, additional allowances for didactic work and awards, as defined in the law and the regulations issued on the basis of article 36, are exempt from taxes on remuneration.

Article 38.

The teacher acquires the right to be remunerated as of the date the work relationship is established.

Article 39.

1. A change in the amount of remuneration during the work relationship as a result of promotion or other reasons, is made on the first day of the next calendar month, if the promotion or other reasons did not take place on the first day of that calendar month.

2. In the case of a change of work locality, which carries with it a change in the amount of remuneration, the right to remuneration corresponding to the new work locality accrues from the first day of the calendar month following the assumption of duties in the new work locality, if the assumption of these duties did not begin as of the first day of that calendar month.

3. Salaries are paid monthly in advance. Other remunerations, whose amounts can be established only on the basis of duties already performed, are paid monthly or once only at the end of the month.

Article 40.

The right to be remunerated expires on the last day of the calendar month in which the expiration or termination of the work relationship occurred.

Article 41.

The teacher retains the right to be paid for excused absences from work if the provisions of the law do not specify otherwise.

Article 42.

1. The weekly required teaching (upbringing) workload of lessons conducted directly with students or wards for teachers employed on a full-time basis, is established according to the following norms:

1) teachers of preschools with the exception of teachers working with groups of 6-year-old--25 hours;

2) teachers of preschools and other preschool centers working with groups of 6-year-old--22 hours;

3) teachers of special preschools, elementary schools, special schools, general high schools, theoretical subjects in vocational schools, special vocational schools and crafts training in institutions for juveniles, arts and general subjects in art schools and other art training centers--18 hours;

4) teachers of the following studies: preschool upbringing, cultural-emotional and library, and teachers of theoretical subjects in pedagogical technical studies--15 hours;

5) teachers of practical vocational science in all types of schools--22 hours;

6) educators in school clubrooms and day schools (with the exception of special-school clubrooms)--26 hours;

7) educators in boarding schools, pupils' hostels, children's play parks, station clubrooms- permanent school youth hostels--30 hours;

8) educators in school-upbringing centers--28 hours;

9) educators in custodial and upbringing institutions in:
   a) children's homes and medical-care institutions for children--26 hours;
   b) children's holiday homes--26 hours; including for didactic work--10 hours;
   c) special medical-upbringing institutions, institutions for vocational rehabilitation of the disabled, special and upbringing centers, correctional institutions, hostels for juveniles, special-school clubrooms, emergency care centers, family diagnostic-counseling centers--24 hours;

10) teachers in youth palaces, youth cultural clubs, afterschool activities centers, afterschool special-activities centers, intermural sports centers, conducting work directly with children and youth by a laboratory system--18 hours;

11) teachers-librarians in school libraries--30 hours.

2. The Minister of Education and Upbringing specifies the number of students for whom one permanent teacher-librarian should be assigned.

3. The teaching (upbringing) workload, specified in paragraph 1, is required as of September 1, 1983. Until then the teaching (upbringing) workload as specified in past regulations is required, except for teacher-librarians in school libraries, for whom the weekly number of hours stated in paragraph 1, point 11, is required starting September 1, 1982.

4. In addition to conducting teaching-upbringing work in the required weekly workload, the teacher is required to:

1) do the work related directly with the organization of the teaching-upbringing and custodial process, within the limits of the base salary to which he is entitled,

2) to conduct other additional teaching-upbringing work on a compensatory basis.

The assignment of work and lessons referred to in points 1 and 2 is made by the school principal in coordination with the pedagogical council.

5. The list of work and lessons referred to in paragraph 4 is defined by the Minister of Education and Upbringing in consultation with concerned ministers.

6. Teachers, for whom the established plan of lessons in certain periods of the school year did not exhaust the teaching load requirements for this teacher, should teach for correspondingly more hours during other periods of that school year. Work performed in accordance with such a plan does not qualify as overtime work.

7. For principals and vice principals of schools and teachers performing other administrative duties in schools, the required workload specified in paragraph 1 is reduced by amounts which depend on the size and type of the school and the working conditions. This applies also to teachers who perform administrative duties as substitutes for teachers who have been assigned these duties.

8. The principles for granting the reduction and the amounts of the reductions referred to in paragraph 7 are defined by the Minister of Education and Upbringing in consultation with concerned ministers and in relation to art schools, by the Minister of Culture and Art, in consultation with the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

9. The required teaching workload for teachers in schools not mentioned in paragraph 1, including teachers of correspondence schools, teachers of subjects with various teaching loads, pedagogues, psychologists, librarians of pedagogical libraries, and other workers employed in education-upbringing positions, and the principles for counting the individual lessons in correspondence training as part of the teaching load, are defined, by means of orders, by the Minister of Education and Upbringing in consultation with the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs and other concerned ministers, and in relation to art school teachers, by the Minister of Culture and Art.

Article 43.

1. The appropriate minister or organ authorized by him may, for a teacher employed on a full workload basis, reduce the required teaching load for a specific time or until revocation, due to reasons of health, training, or advancement, performance of teaching duties or work as instructed by school authorities, or due to the teacher's particular working conditions in the school, or because the teacher is conducting lessons in classes or exercise groups.

2. A reduction in workload may not cause a reduction in remuneration or restrict the teacher's other entitlements.

3. A teacher whose workload has been reduced may not work overtime, taking into consideration the provisions of paragraph 4.

4. Teachers referred to in article 42, paragraph 7, and teachers whose required weekly workload has been reduced because they are conducting activities in classes or exercise groups, may, in warranted cases, due to the school's organizational needs, work overtime on the principles and in the amounts specified by the Minister of Education and Upbringing, and in relation to art schools, by the Minister of Culture and Art.

Article 44.

1. The Minister of Education and Upbringing, in consultation with concerned ministers, specifies the schools, positions and conditions under which a teacher may be required to implement the weekly required teaching (upbringing) load at night also.

2. Night work entitles the teacher to a separate allowance, specified in the regulations on remunerating teachers.

3. A teacher is required to work a 5-day week.

4. In schools in which work is conducted on all days of the week, the teacher may have, at least once every two weeks, two successive days off from work, of which one should fall on a Sunday. This does not apply to teachers working in a correspondence training system.

5. For teaching-upbringing or custodial activity performed on a day off from work, the teacher obtains another day off from work, and in particularly warranted cases, separate pay instead of a day off.

6. For work on a holiday which falls outside the two days a week off from work, the teacher receives another day off from work, and in particularly warranted cases, instead of a day off, pay at a 100 percent increase.

7. The Minister of Education and Upbringing, and in relation to art schools, the Minister of Culture and Art, in consultation with the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, defines the principles of remuneration for teaching-upbringing work performed on the days off from work referred to in paragraph 5.

Article 45.

1. A teacher may, outside his required teaching load, with the permission of the principal, take additional paid employment not conflicting with his duties in an amount not exceeding his required workload by one-half.

2. Cases in which the permission referred to in paragraph 1 is not required and the principles for granting such permission are defined by the Minister of Education and Upbringing in consultation with the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs.

Article 46.

1. Teachers may obtain professional specialty degrees.

2. The detailed principles, conditions and procedures for obtaining the degrees referred to in paragraph 1 are defined by the Minister of Education and Upbringing in consultation with concerned ministers.

Chapter 6. Awards and Decorations

Article 47.

1. For many years of service, teachers obtain anniversary awards amounting to:

1) for 20 years of service - 75 percent of a month's salary,
2) for 25 years of service - 100 percent of a month's salary,
3) for 30 years of service - 150 percent of a month's salary,
4) for 35 years of service - 200 percent of a month's salary.

2. The entitlements referred to in paragraph 1 become effective as of January 1, 1982.

Article 48.

Beginning January 1, 1982, teachers are entitled to an institution award fund, defined in the law dated June 23, 1973 on the principles of creating and distributing an institution award fund and an institution social and housing

fund DZIENNIK USTAW, No 27, item 150). The institution award fund is created in the amount of 3 percent for 1981 and 8.5 percent for the following years.

Article 49.

1. A special award fund is maintained for teachers for their teaching-upbringing achievements in the amount of 1 percent of the planned annual personnel wage fund.

2. The Minister of Education and Upbringing defines the rules for distributing this fund.

Article 50.

1. The honorary title "Meritorious Teacher of the Polish People's Republic" will be awarded to meritorious teachers for particularly distinguished achievements during many years of pedagogical work.

2. The honorary title "Meritorious Teacher of the Polish People's Republic" is awarded by the Council of State.

3. The Council of State decides:

1) the design of the insignia of the honorary title,
2) the procedure for presenting proposals for granting an honorary title,
3) the procedure for presenting the insignia and diploma in bestowing the honorary title.
4) how the insignia of the honorary title is to be worn.

Article 51.

1. The "Commission for National Education Medal" will be awarded to teachers and other persons for exceptional service in education and upbringing.

2. The "Commission for National Education Medal" will be awarded by the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

3. The chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the proposal of the Minister of Education and Upbringing, presented in consultation with concerned ministers, defines the detailed principles for awarding the "Commission for National Education Medal," the procedures for submitting proposals, the design of the medal, the procedures for presenting it, and how it is to be worn.

Article 52.

1. The Gold Cross of Merit is awarded for 20 years of distinguished pedagogical work.

2. For 30 years of exceptionally distinguishing pedagogical work, teachers will be awarded the Cavalier Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta [Rebirth of Poland].

3. The rules of paragraphs 1 and 2 also apply to teachers who are pensioners or annuitants, regardless of the date they became pensioners or annuitants.

Chapter 7. Social Entitlements and Leaves

Article 53.

1. A social fund, amounting to 5 percent of the planned annual personnel wage fund, is being created for teachers.

2. A social fund, amounting to 5 percent of the pension and annuity fund, is being created for teachers who are pensioners and annuitants.

3. A housing fund, amounting to 3 percent of the planned annual personnel wage fund, is being created for teachers.

4. Local organs of state administration are creating social staffs appointed to manage these funds.

5. The Council of Ministers defines the principles or organization of social staffs and the methods of utilizing the funds referred to in paragraphs 1-3.

6. Implementation of the provisions referred to in paragraphs 1-4 may take place no later than January 1, 1984.

Article 54.

1. Teachers employed in all villages and in towns with no more than 5,000 inhabitants are entitled to free housing in the locality where they work, in accordance with population density norms no lower than those prevailing and the average standard of housing for that locality. Annexing a village to a town with a population of over 5,000 inhabitants or annexing a village to a number of towns, or an increase in the number of inhabitants in a town to above 5,000, does not deprive the teacher of the right that he has acquired to free housing.

2. The entitlements referred to in paragraph 1 should be implemented primarily by assigning teachers housing in school buildings and buildings used by schools, or in buildings which are under the management of the local organs of state administration.

3. In case of lack of housing in the buildings mentioned in paragraph 2, the local organs of state administration of basic rank are required to enter into contracts for rental housing with owners of houses in order to provide housing for teachers in their work locality, and if this is not possible, in other localities in which a daily commute to their job is possible, with reimbursement of commute costs by this organ.

4. If the local organ of state administration cannot implement the entitlement of the teacher to free housing as specified in paragraphs 2 and 3, or the teacher does not take advantage of the entitle due him, this organ is required to pay the teacher an appropriate allowance.

5. The amount of the allowance referred to in paragraph 4 and the principles for its payment are defined by the Minister of Education and Upbringing, in consultation with the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs.

6. The entitlements described in paragraph 1 for active teachers of schools located in all villages and in towns of up to 5,000 inhabitants are due also to teachers who are drawing a pension, if immediately before they became pensioners they worked in the mentioned localities for at least 5 years. The 5-year condition does not apply to teachers who were administratively transferred to these localities or to teachers who are annuitants. These entitlements are also due teachers who are pensioners or annuitants regardless of the date they became pensioners or annuitants.

7. Teachers employed in all villages and in towns of up to 5,000 inhabitants are paid, as of September 1, 1983, a separate monthly allowance amounting to 10 percent of their monthly base pay.

Article 55.

The local organs of state administration of basic rank will ensure that teachers employed and living in the villages can purchase fuel according to the norms established for the town population and that this fuel is delivered to the teacher's house without delivery charges.

Article 56.

1. A teacher employed in a village is entitled to a plot of land on school grounds for his personal use and that of his family.

2. Local organs of state administration of basic rank will allocate, insofar as possible, the necessary area of land if the school grounds are not large enough to implement the entitlement specified in paragraph 1, but the land area should not be larger than 0.25 hectares.

Article 57.

Teachers are entitled to additional living space in the form of an additional room. If the regulations in effect provide for higher payments because of the additional room, the teachers are exempt from paying this additional amount. The principles of allocation of additional living space are defined by the Minister of Education and Upbringing in consultation with the Minister of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection.

Article 58.

Housing in school buildings and buildings used by schools may be occupied only by teachers and workers employed in the schools.

Article 59.

Children of teachers, all other conditions being equal with those of other children, are entitled to preference in admission to preschools, boarding schools, pupils' hostels, and high schools.

Article 60.

The entitlements described in articles 55-58 are also due teachers who become pensioners or annuitants, and the entitlements described in article 59 are due their children.

Article 61.

1. Teachers who are taking their first job in a school, receive a nonrecurring allowance to set up housekeeping, equivalent to 2 months of the base pay to which they are entitled.

2. The allowance referred to in paragraph 1 must be refunded if the teacher terminates the work relationship or is discharged for cause before he has worked 3 years. In warranted cases, the immediate school supervisory organ, in consultation with trade unions, may exempt the teacher totally or in part from the requirement of refunding the allowance.

3. Teachers who have a graduation diploma from a higher school or from another school entitling them to work in the teaching profession, who are taking a job in a village or in a town of up to 5,000 inhabitants, in positions corresponding to their qualifications, are granted additional material assistance for establishing a household in the form of bank credit. The amount of credit and the principles under which it is granted, paid or amortized, are defined by the Council of Ministers.

Article 62.

A teacher who maintains a work relationship, and also after he begins drawing a pension or a disability pension, as well as his spouse, is entitled to a reduced fare in railway travel, on the principles defined by the Council of Ministers.

Article 63.

A teacher, in connection with performance of his official duties, is entitled to the protection provided for state officials. The school supervisory organs are officially required to appear in the defense of teachers if the rights established for them are violated.

Article 64.

1. A teacher employed in a school in which the organization of work provides summer and winter vacations, is entitled to a rest leave in an amount corresponding to the vacation period and during that period.

2. The teacher referred to in paragraph 1 may be required by the principal to perform the following work during these vacation periods:

1) conduct examinations,
2) perform work connected with the end of the school year and in preparation for the new school year.

These activities may not take more than 7 days of the teacher's time.

3. Teachers employed in schools where school vacations are not provided, are entitled to a rest leave amounting to 6 weeks, at a time established in the leave schedule.

4. The teacher is entitled to at least 4 weeks of uninterrupted rest leave within the amount of rest leave provided for in paragraphs 1 and 3.

5. Teachers employed in a school for a definite period of less than 10 months, are entitled to a rest leave in an amount proportionate to the period of time worked.

Article 65.

A teacher employed in a school in which the work organization provides for school vacations, obtains the right to his first leave of the last day preceding the school holidays, and the right to the next and further leaves in every subsequent calendar year.

Article 66.

1. In a case where a rest leave has been fully or partially unused during the period of the school holidays due to inability to work caused by illness or quarantine in connection with a contagious disease, maternity leave, military exercises, or short-term military training, the teacher is entitled to a leave during the school year, in a make-up amount of up to 8 weeks.

2. In a case where the rest leave is not used because of termination or expiration of the work relationship, callup to basic military service or to perform replacment duty in this service, callup to temporary military service or for long-term military training, the teacher is entitled to a money equivalent for the period of unused leave, but not more than 8 weeks for the teacher referred to in article 64, paragraph 1, and not more than 6 weeks for the teacher referred to in article 64, paragraph 3, if the termination of the job relationship did not occur for reasons which would cause forfeiture of entitlement to rest leave.

3. In matters referred to in paragraphs 1 and 2, the date of eligibility for entitlement to a make-up 8-week leave and to the money equivalent in this amount is established to be January 1, 1982.

Article 67.

During the period of the rest leave, the teacher is entitled to remuneration in the same amounts that he would receive if he were working during this period. The variable components of remuneration are calculated on the basis of average remuneration for the 10-months' period preceding the month in which the leave began.

Article 68.

1. A teacher employed full-time is entitled to paid leave for further schooling and to other reliefs and benefits in connection with this schooling. A

teacher may obtain a paid or unpaid leave for scientific, artistic or educational purposes, and an unpaid leave for other important reasons.

2. The Council of Ministers defines the principles for granting the leaves, reliefs and benefits referred to in paragraph 1, and specifies the organs authorized to issue decisions in these matters.

Article 69.

1. A teacher is paid the same remuneration during a maternity leave as for a rest leave.

2. In a case where the working hours of a mother nursing a child exceed 4 hours of continuous work daily, she is entitled to a 1-hour break counted as work time.

Article 70.

1. An appointed teacher who has applied for a transfer to a locality which is the place of permanent residence of his spouse, if the application for transfer cannot be considered because of the inability to employ him in the teaching profession at the place of permanent residence of the spouse, is granted an unpaid leave or transferred to inactive status by the school supervisory organ.

2. The period of unpaid leave referred to in paragraph 1 cannot exceed 2 years. If during this period the teacher has not returned to work, the work relationship is subject to termination. Should it become possible to re-employ him, he should be given first preference.

Chapter 8. Health Protection

Article 71.

Teachers employed in all villages and in towns numbering up to 5,000 inhabitants, are reimbursed for costs of transportation by public means to a doctor or hospital in order to obtain medical assistance for themselves and immediate family members.

Article 72.

1. Irrespective of the entitlement of the teacher and members of his family to medical care and medicines on the principles defined in the regulations on social insurance, school supervisory organs will each year earmark in the budget the approrpiate funds for health care for teachers using health care facilities.

2. The Council of Ministers, by means of orders, defines the list of teachers' occupational diseases.

3. The Minister of Health and Social Welfare, in consultation with concerned ministers, defines the form of specialized preventive and medical assistance for teachers.

4. The entitlements referred to in paragraph 1 in article 71 are retained by the teachers after they have become pensioners or annuitants irrespective of the date they became pensioners or annuitants.

Article 73.

1. A teacher employed on a full workload basis, after working at least 3 years in a school, may be granted paid sick leave by the immediate school supervisory organ for a period of up to 1 year if the social health service organ certifies that the teacher's state of health prevents him from working and that he must undergo prescribed treatment. If, however, less than 1 year remains before he is eligible for retirement, a paid sick leave cannot be granted for a period longer than to the end of the calendar month preceding the month in which the teacher retires.

2. The procedures and methods of conduct of social health service organs in the matters referred to in paragraph 1 are defined by the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, in consultation with the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

Chapter 9. National Education Day

Article 74.

National Education Day will be observed each year on October 14th, the anniversary day of the creation of the Commission for National Education. National Education Day is recognized as a holiday for all education workers and is a nonwork day.

Chapter 10. Disciplinary Liability

Article 75.

1. Appointed teachers are subject to disciplinary action if they transgress the dignity of the teaching profession or the duties referred to in article 6, paragraph 1.

2. Disciplinary penalties, in accordance with the Labor Code, will be administered against teachers for transgressions against work discipline, within the meaning of article 108 of the Labor Code.

Article 76.

1. Disciplinary punishment for teachers is:

1) reprimand with warning,
2) reprimand with transfer to another school in the same or another locality,

3) dismissal from job,
4) expulsion from the teaching profession.

2. Disciplinary punishment is administered by a disciplinary commission.

3. The administration of disciplinary punishment described in paragraph 1, point 4, is equivalent to a prohibition against accepting the person punished for work in the teaching profession.

4. The administration of disciplinary punishment described in paragraph 1, point 3, is equivalent to a prohibition against accepting the person punished for work in the teaching profession for a period of 3 years after the punishment.

5. A copy of the ruling, together with the grounds for it, is placed in the teacher's personnel file.

Article 77.

1. Teachers' disciplinary matters are decided at the first instance by:

1) a disciplinary commission at the organs of the state administration of voivodship rank for teachers of schools that are directly or indirectly under this organ,
2) a disciplinary commission at the appropriate ministries for teachers of schools under these ministries and not under the organs of state administration.

2. The second instance in teachers' disciplinary matters are the disciplinary appeals commissions at the appropriate ministries appointed to consider appeals from the decision of the disciplinary commission mentioned in paragraph 1. The decisions of the appeals commissions are final.

3. An extraordinary appeal may be made from a legally valid decision to the disciplinary appeals commission referred to in paragraph 2 if the decision violates the rules of law. The composition of the disciplinary appeals commission excludes the persons who issued the decision that is being appealed. Only one extraordinary appeal in relation to this same teacher may be made on the basis of the same charges.

4. An extraordinary appeal may be made by the appropriate minister or chief organ of the trade union in which teachers are associated. An extraordinary appeal of detriment to the teacher cannot be filed later than 6 months after the date that the ruling was issued.

Article 78.

Disciplinary commissions are independent in the area of disciplinary decisions.

Article 79.

1. The organ of state administration at which the disciplinary commission was appointed will designate for each disciplinary commission a disciplinary ombudsman and an appropriate number of assistants from among the workers under him.

2. The disciplinary ombudsman is bound by the recommendations of the organ which appointed him to this function.

Article 80.

1. Disciplinary proceedings are initiated by the disciplinary commission at the motion of the disciplinary ombudsman.

2. Disciplinary commissions issue decisions after conducting an investigation and after hearing the opinions of the disciplinary ombudsman and the accused or his defender.

Article 81.

1. A disciplinary proceeding cannot be initiated later than 3 months from the date of obtaining, by the appropriate organs of state administration at which the disciplinary commission was appointed, the information on the commission of the act warranting punishment, and no later than 3 years after this act was committed. If, however, the act constitutes a crime, this period may not be shorter than the period of the statute of limitations for prosecution of that crime.

2. Termination of a work relationship after commission of the act is not an obstacle of initiating and conducting a disciplinary procedure and administering punishment.

Article 82.

1. The punishments provided in article 76, paragraph 1, points 1-3, will be expunged and the written decision on punishment that has been placed in the teacher's personnel file will be destroyed after a lapse of 3 years from the time a valid ruling on punishment has been delivered, if during this period he was not punished by disciplinary action or by a court.

2. The duty of executing the provisions of paragraph 1 rests with the organ at which a disciplinary commission of the first instance is appointed.

Article 83.

1. The immediate school supervisory organ may suspend from his duties the teacher against whom penal proceedings were instituted or the proposal on initiating disciplinary proceedings was made, if in view of the seriousness and credibility of the charges, it is advisable to relieve him of the performance of duties in the school. In matters that cannot be delayed, the teacher may be suspended at the time the motion to initiate disciplinary proceedings is made.

2. The teacher is, by virtue of law, suspended from the performance of his duties if he is held for investigation or if he is jailed in connection with a penal proceeding.

3. Suspension from duties cannot be for more than 6 months unless an investigative proceeding is still pending against the teacher in connection with which the suspension occurred.

Article 84.

1. The teacher's base pay may be reduced during the period of suspension from the performance of his duties, and the base pay of the teacher held for investigation may be reduce by no more than one-half, depending on the teacher's family status, beginning with the first day of the calendar month following the month in which the suspension occurred.

2. During the period of suspension from performance of duties, there is no entitlement to allowances or overtime pay.

3. A teacher is not entitled to pay while in jail.

4. The provisions of paragraph 1-3 and article 83, paragraph 2, apply also to teacher employed on the basis of a labor contract.

5. If the disciplinary or penal proceeding ends with dismissal for lack of proof of guilt or with the issuance of a decision or a verdict of innocence, the teacher should be returned the sums of remuneration that had been withheld.

Article 85.

The Council of Ministers, by means of orders, defines the composition and propriety of the disciplinary commissions for teachers, the rules and procedures by which they are appointed, the composition of the adjudicators, the appointment of disciplinary ombudsmen and defenders, the procedures of disciplinary proceedings, and the execution of disciplinary punishments and their expungement.

Chapter 11. Retirement Entitlements

Article 86.

Teachers and members of their families are entitled to retirement benefits as described in the regulations on general retirement benefits of workers and their families, taking into consideration the provisions of this law, except that the teachers referred to in article 1, points 1-7, are included with workers of category 1 employment.

Article 86.

1. A teacher who is retiring is entitled to severance pay in an amount equivalent to 2 months of his last base pay in the school which is his basic workplace.

2. Early retirement may take place at the application of the teacher or on the basis of a certification by a medical commission that the teacher is unable to perform the duties of his profession.

3. The procedures and principles for issuing the certificate referred to in paragraph 2 are defined, by means of orders, by the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, in consultation with the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

Article 88.

1. Teachers with 30 years service, including 20 years of category 1 employment, and teachers of special classes, schools, centers and institutions, with 25 years of employment, including 20 years of category 1 employment in special education, may, upon termination of the work relationship at their own request, retire.

2. The amount of pension or annuity for a teacher employed in the education and upbringing system, retiring on a regular or disability pension, is established on general principles defined in laws on general retirement benefits for workers and their families, except that this base also includes remuneration for overtime hours, allowances, and services in kind, if the teacher does not use these services after he becomes a pensioner or annuitant, and all awards obtained by the teacher for professional achievement during the period on which the amount of his pension or annuity is based.

3. Entitlements defined in paragraph 1 accrue as of January 1, 1984.

Article 89.

1. A teacher entitled to a disability pension or annuity is entitled also to a supplement to his pension or annuity in the amount of 20 percent of these benefits if the person entitled to a pension performed teaching duties in a school at least 15 years, and the person entitled to an annuity, at least 5 years.

2. The provisions of paragraph 1 apply both to teachers who become pensioners or annuitants after the date that the law went into effect, as well as to those who became disability pensioners or annuitants before that date.

3. A supplement for teaching work is also added to disability pensions for on-the-job accidents and occupational diseases.

Article 90.

1. Teachers who conducted clandestine teaching during the occupation, are entitled to a supplement to their pensions or annuities amounting to 25 percent of these benefits if they are not now receiving such a supplement on some other basis.

2. The supplement referred to in paragraph 1 accrues also to teachers who, before September 1, 1939, taught in the Polish language in Polish schools on

Third German Teich territory or in the former Free City of Danzig, if they are not now receiving such a supplement on some other basis.

Article 91.

Teachers' pensions and annuities are subject to continuous recomputation as the remuneration of active teachers increases.

Chapter 12. Interim and Final Provisions

Article 92.

1. A separate law on national education defines:

1) the system of social educational organs at all levels of management and their competence,
2) the system and scope of activity of the self-governing body in education.

2. Superintendents and vice superintendents of education and upbringing are appointed and dismissed by the Minister of Education and Upbringing at the motion of the appropriate governor or major of a city of voivodship rank, submitted after prior coordination with the voivodship education commission (or voivodship-rank city education commission) of the people's council, and consultations with the trade unions in which teachers are associated.

3. Inspectors and deputy inspectors of education and upbringing are appointed and dismissed and the duties of gmina school principals and their assistants are assigned, at the motion of the local organ of state administration of basic rank, by the appropriate superintendent of education and upbringing.

Article 93.

Wherever coordination with trade unions is required in individual affairs of teachers, this is understood to mean the trade union of which the concerned teacher is a member, or if he is not a member of any union, the trade union with which teachers are associated, as indicated by him.

Article 94.

1. Teachers employed in schools or organs of state administration in positions requiring pedagogical qualifications on the day the law goes into effect, who obtained, on the basis of regulations now in effect, the academic and pedagogical qualifications necessary to teach or conduct upbringing activities in schools of a specific type and level, are assumed to have the qualifications necessary for the position of teacher or educator in these schools, even if they do not have the education specified in article 9, paragraph 1, point 1.

2. As regards the field of academic and pedagogical qualifications, the provisions of paragraph 1 apply correspondingly to graduates of teachers' studies who completed their education in these studies after the day the law went into effect.

Article 95.

The provisions of articles 30, 31, 33, 46-52, 55, 57-60, 62, 72, 73, 86-91 and 100 apply to appointed teachers who take jobs in organs of state administration or in political and social organizations and trade unions in positions that require pedagogical qualifications. These provisions also apply to teachers who took jobs in these organs or political and social organizations and trade unions in positions requiring pedagogical qualifications before the day the law went into effect.

Article 96.

1. Teachers appointed permanently on the basis of regulations previously in effect become appointed teachers within the meaning of the law.

2. Teachers employed on the day the law went into effect on the basis of an appointment until dismissal, become appointed teachers within the meaning of the law if they meet the conditions prescribed in article 10, paragraph 2.

3. Teachers who are employed on the day the law went into effect on the basis of an:

1) appointment until dismissal and who do not meet the conditions prescribed in article 10, paragraph 2,
2) appointment for a definite period,

become teachers employed on the basis of a labor contract within the meaning of the law.

Article 97.

The provisions of articles 52, 54-62, 71, 72, and 86-91 do not apply to teachers employed for less than helf the required teaching workload.

Article 98.

1. In matters arising from the work relationship that are not regulated by the provisions of the law, pertaining both to appointed teachers as well as to those employed on the basis of a labor contract, the provisions of the Labor Code apply.

2. Disputes on claims arising from the teacher's work relationship, regardless of the form in which the work relationship was established, are investigated by appeals commissions for labor affairs and by labor courts.

Article 99.

Teachers who due to working conditions or qualifications are, based on special regulations, entitled to certain entitlements or branch benefits, continue to retain those entitlements or benefits that were obligatory on the day the law goes into effect.

Article 100.

Benefits to which teachers are entitled in accordance with the provisions of the law are applicable as of September 1, 1981, unless the law provides otherwise.

Article 101.

1. The law dated April 27, 1972, "Charter of the Teacher's Rights and Duties" (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 16, item 114; No 12, item 89, 1973; and No 11, item 43, 1977), as it pertains to teachers is invalid.

2. Until the executive orders provided for in this law are issued, but for no longer than until July 31, 1982, the regulations in effect up to the present time along with the changes arising from the law, are binding.

Article 102.

The law goes into effect on the day it is announced.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers:
H. Jablonski
Secretary of the Council of Ministers:
E. Duda

9295
CSO: 2600/343

'SLOWO POWSZECHNE' POSTURE OUTLINED IN FIRST EDITION UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish No 1, 19--21 Feb 82 pp 1,2

/Article by Jozef Wojcik: "On Choosing a Posture"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface/

/Text/ /After an interruption consisting of more than two months, caused by the declaration of martial law, we are resuming publication of SLOWO POWSZECHNE--the PAX Association's daily newspaper. Deeply moved by the status of our Fatherland, we are thinking today with great benevolence, above all, about our Readers, to whom we will be addressing ourselves. We trust that the news of the renewal of work by our editorial staff will be received with joy./

At the same time we are also thinking gravely about our responsibilities to our Readers. Indeed, we are resuming publication of this newspaper under unusual circumstances, during a period of great national drama, confusion in views and evaluations, a dispersion of civic consciousness, and--just as often--a greatly differentiated understanding of patriotic obligations. However, the meaning of publishing written materials--in addition to the role of information--with which we would like to involve ourselves fairly--is also conducive to help in discerning and evaluating the reality which surrounds us, to proposing a posture in matters which are the subject of disputes, often in fundamental questions which affect our national and state everyday life, our present and our future. /We will not turn aside from taking up our own position. At the same time, we want to remain in genuine contact with our Readers; we want to know their views and opinions and to present them in our columns./

And it so happens, by chance, that several weeks have elapsed since the date marking the 35th anniversary of the existence of SLOWO POWSZECHNE, a publication whose destiny has been closely linked with the history of the PAX Association, a social movement of lay Catholics, whose founder and ideological moving force for many years was /Boleslaw Piasecki./ This is not the time to bow down to history. The most enlarged and most universal expectation, as we judge it, is the demand for constructive answers and to make moves toward the future. /Nevertheless, we do not wish to lose contact with historical experience, with the values which have already been worked out. We will likewise give due weight to the Polish school of patriotic thought, together with the ideological and programmatically represented principles running through our movement. Moreover, this is not simply a question of their continuation but also concerns the necessity of enriching them with new, contemporary contents./

Alongside of the attempts to work out socio-economic concepts, there is no more important question for our Polish community than the question of /the essence, the substance, and the direction of deepening in whatever way is necessary to develop Polish political thought in its connection with the moral problems of the nation./ This is a question of the future national life, the revival of the strength of the contemporary Polish state. What we need here is a creative approach and new, bold general ideas concerning the nature of developed socialism. The call for such a creative approach may seem to many people at the very least improper in a situation of general misfortune, disturbed by daily anxieties. /Nonetheless, we assert that everything must be done in order to make the causes of the national drama become such a "felix culpa," a point of departure for a new stage of development by the nation and the state./ For this reason, it is difficult to agree with the following view, which is often manifested: let's settle economic affairs first, there will be time for everything else later. No, it is equally important, all the more so since it affects conduct in the material sphere, to provide an answer to the following question: /what should the development in the trans-material sphere, the moral, cultural, and political fields, consist of?/.

It is worth while to be apprised of the fact that everything which has been going on in Poland for a long time now on the level of internal life bears the traits which are characteristic of a /turning-point between historical epochs./ We observe that, as it were, the end of a certain historical period is wearing out many of the truths and stereotypes of thinking which were valid up to that time. This period is ending in an all-encompassing crisis because, among other reasons, the need which has been felt for a long time for a development of the thought and practice of socialism which would correspond to our native experience--such a need has remained unsatisfied, and the call for such a development has remained without a response. The void has had to be filled by administrative-type methods of governing and by various kinds of pragmatic undertakings the efficacy of which is always of brief duration and illusory. Political opponents have profited from this weakness and social dissatisfaction.

Every turning-point between epochs is characterized by the fact that people no longer function according to nor are convinced by the former program fundamentals organizing collective life, but, at the same time, they do not yet participate sufficiently fully in the new ways because the latter have hardly yet emerged. This is always a difficult and perilous period for the life of the nation. And for those who are informed, for those political forces which are responsible for the course of events in the country, it is a time of particular responsibility.

/Let us say openly that if we can find the courage to adopt new ideological generalities and new perspectives, which express the patriotic and humanistic needs of society--we will prove, in this manner, the strength and vitality of contemporary Poles. If not, then we can expect to enter upon a period of decadence./

It is clear that the problem, when posed in this way, is bound up with many threads and questions, to which we will be returning on various occasions. For we would like to be right together with all those who feel a similar need to search out paths to the future. Today we wish to dwell only on one topic, albeit a fundamental one. /This is the question of the place of lay Catholics in public life, in the life of the country./ The problem is felt universally. It has

been highlighted by the utterances of General /Wojciech Jaruzelski./ Moreover, it has been noted for some time now by certain Marxist theoreticians. Unfortunately, it has remained undeveloped by them.

/Within the program assumptions of the PAX movement this problem has been treated in a multi-faceted and profound manner, from viewpoints which are allied to those of the party./ In my opinion, it was not necessary to begin from the beginning, to push open doors which were already open. It is a question of /partners, theoreticians, and intellectuals/ wanting, within the framework of a dialogue, to present their own profound viewpoints, which would avoid the declarative slogans, prevalent up to now, about the need for common work or a common, popular front.

/In our opinion, it is high time to remove the world-outlook barrier in the development of socialist democracy./ Efforts to implement a democratic world outlook in Poland already have an extensive history of their own. As a result of this, Catholics as well as Marxists may feel weary today of the mutually experienced difficulties and errors committed by both sides, which are often taken advantage of demagogically against the cause itself. Experience has shown that putting forth the postulate of a democratic world outlook--as a condition for the development of socialist democracy in general--runs the risk of incurring a conservative force of some other authority, mainly one of a cosmopolitan tinge. We must, at last, overcome this conservatism.

In our country a rejection of the concept of socialist democracy, as well as of the postulate which talks about the subjective participation of society in the life of the country by citizens from world-outlook convictions, will always be a turning away from the reality of social needs. This is a problem of unusual importance, which cannot be evaluated merely by indifferent persons or opportunists. A fundamental level of humanism, human dignity, and the instrumentality of patriotic reasons create a perspective for its solution. Poles, irrespective of the differences which divide them, including differences of philosophical world outlook, live basically in an atmosphere of mutually shared fundamental ethical values which have been formed under the influence of Christianity. It is obvious that these ethical values have differing foundations. A Catholic recognizes both their temporal and spiritual sanctions, whereas a non-believer is subordinate only to the temporal sanction of morality. Nevertheless, the fact of a communality of ethnic feelings ought to favor a final solution in the spirit of a multiple world outlook.

/In posing the problem, we also confront lay Catholics with the simultaneous task of a three-fold engagement: the engagement of a Catholic world outlook, the Polish patriotic engagement, and the engagement directed at a developmental interpretation of Polish socialist reality./ What enter here into play, therefore, are the criteria of responsibility for the socialist state, for its place in the set-up of international relations, for the force of the general-national reasons for Poland's alliance with the Soviet Union.

Let us express these propositions within the specific situation. Manifesting itself in the social disposition is a phenomenon of passivity, expectation, defectionism, and, at times, an open tendency to psychic emigration. This state of affairs must undergo change. Everybody who asserts at this time that we should wait has not done a good job of evaluating the pros and cons in the experience of

Polish history. One of the regular principles of this history consists of brief outbreaks of enthusiasm, separated by long periods of relative passivity in public affairs. This enchanted circle must be broken up by means of equal efforts on the part of the state authorities as well as those of all responsibly thinking social circles. All too frequently the history of our nation has been carried on by designs which have not provided well-founded results or by results which have not moved Polish intentions forward. /Only a conscious collective effort can cut short such a tradition. This demands moral force and social energy. In this context we are proposing the problems of world outlook./ For the Catholic the extreme depth of the truths of faith, the incarnation and entrance of God into human history, into the life of Man, signifies the imparting of value to the entire secular reality; it also signifies the imparting of value to the time which he has at his disposal, time as an occasion for doing good, for carrying out manifold vocations and obligations, including obligations with regard to the nation in which he lives.

/Our Fatherland is in need. If that is so, then our obligations, flowing out of the inspiration of the Christian world outlook are great. We cannot wait, nor, all the more so, succumb to becoming bitter. This is a difficult truth, but it must be attained in its discovery within oneself./

2384
CSO: 2600/396

WEST GERMAN REPORT ON YUGOSLAV SECRET SERVICE IN FRG

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 27 Feb 82 p 5

[Article by Guenter Bannas: "Anger in Bonn over Belgrade's Secret Service; Rivalries, Drugs, and Murder on German Soil"]

[Text] Bonn, 26 February--The impression is justified that the Yugoslav secret service is not only looking for secrets in the Federal Republic, but it is also concerned with Yugoslav citizens no longer residing in their country. The service is obviously less interested in Yugoslav guest workers than those who for political reasons are not satisfied with conditions in Yugoslavia. Many of the latter belong to a specific Yugoslav nationality, especially to the Croatians or Albanians. How far this interest of Belgrade's secret service extends, whether serious crimes are being committed in the process, is one of the questions that Bonn is attempting to clarify. In private, agitation and anger are great. Many people are certain that Yugoslavia's secret services have been behind a number of murders of past years, but evidence--in the legal sense--is difficult to obtain.

Those responsible for foreign policy may think of Yugoslavia's position in East-West and especially in North-South relations. One ought to be sympathetic from this point of view. Other people consider Yugoslavia's important assistance in combating the drug trade from the Near East to Central Europe; without being affected by such business herself, Yugoslavia is always available when it is needed to support German police against commerce in drugs. One would not like to endanger this cooperation. There are also those--especially SPD politicians--who have political and personal ties to Belgrade and would not wish to jeopardize them.

It is the opposition in Bonn that has for a long time wished to know more. One of its 1978 inquiries went unanswered; a recent inquiry was answered promptly. According to the information in 1970, 14 Yugoslav emigres were killed in 12 attacks in the Federal Republic, 4 more (bearing German passports) abroad. In three instances, says the attorney general, nine criminals were apprehended. In one case, sentence was passed down. Apart from this trial, four more similar cases are pending in German courts. The guilty parties seem to be known in two of them. Two proceedings are concerned with persons unknown. Of the 12 attacks in the Federal Republic, only five have been solved, are close to solution, or at least are worth the attempt.

Seven cases, on the other hand, have been dropped. Are they hopeless? Are we dealing with perpetrators who are known to be back in Belgrade? German police are successful in capturing murders in "normal" cases over 90 percent of the time, with the exception of the Yugoslavs. The Federal attorney general says in his answer that the people known to have committed the crimes or to have been accomplices are without exception Yugoslav citizens. Merely rivalry in the underworld? In no case was it possible to prove only private motives.

Maybe a statement by the minister of state in the foreign office, Mrs Hamm-Bruecher, would have been sufficient. Last October, when asked by CSU deputy Wittmann with what success the Federal foreign minister had protested during his visit to Yugoslavia "against the activities of the Yugoslav secret service on West German soil," she did not deny the existence of the problem. Rather, she stated, "condemning and fighting against terrorism" was a duty of the Federal Government, which discussed it everywhere that it seemed appropriate. "On 12 October 1981" Genscher "spoke" to Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vrhovec "among other things about matters of terrorism," said Mrs Hamm-Bruecher, pointing out the discretion necessary in such a case. Genscher's talks appear to course to have failed. At the beginning of this year, three ethnic Albanians--Yugoslav exiles--were murdered in Heilbronn. One of the three, who fought for the independence of Kosovo Province, is reported to have said before his death, "That was the UDBA" (Yugoslavia's secret service). Now many Yugoslav emigres bring the secret service into play when they wish to cover up their own shady business affairs. But there is considerable proof that this is not what happened to reporter Jusuf Gervalla.

It was this attack more than all the others that roused people in Bonn who had otherwise been reserved. No one is voicing conclusions; everyone is aware of the difficulties involved in proving the participation of Yugoslavia's secret service in each individual case. But the similarities between the crimes are great enough. This may help a resolution introduced by the CDU/CSU parliamentary group which says, "The German parlaiment can no longer tolerate officials of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" continuously and gravely violating "the sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Germany through persons performing assignments for them"; the Federal Republic cannot endure Yugoslav officials "carrying out attacks, killing or threatening former citizens of their country who have found asylum in Germany." The resolution calls attention to Belgrade's unkept promises.

9873
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CRITICISM OF BISHOP'S BOYCOTT, VESELICA'S FUNERAL WREATH

Zagreb VJESNIK in Servo-Croatian 30 Jan 82 SEDAM DANA supplement p 17

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic "The Bishop's Leap Back to 1879"]

[Excerpts] On the occasion of the recent New Year's meetings with representatives of various religious communities, Jure Bilic, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, made a few statements. He said, among other things, "It is not God who separates us, but politics. And politics can, indeed, divide us... Of course, this in no way means that we want the church to be used as a system of order, as is sometimes suggested, but only that it relate properly to the basic values of this socio-political community.

"We also want every citizen, without regard to his faith and ideology, to be able to live in this society on a completely equal basis with all other citizens, and to be able to participate fully in the affairs of the community. This also means keeping in line with the policies put into effect during the People's Liberation War, when the party put together new social relationships from the efforts of all patriots in the struggle for liberation, regardless of national, religious, or ideological differences. And these New Year's meetings are to some extent a way of demonstrating good will and the desire that such policies continue, and that the problems and difficulties we encounter be resolved mutually, in keeping with this perspective."

In light of these statements, something else should be discussed, something which in the present state of affairs should not be suppressed. This year, for the first time, the Catholic bishops did not attend the receptions. This is all the more regretful because the majority of the bishops were "compelled" to stay at home in order to give, somewhat understandably, a show of solidarity with a few prelates (who most certainly did not want to come). But without regard to the circumstances (which to some extent are indicative of the situation in the upper levels of the Catholic Church in Croatia), the fact remains that this behavior is reminiscent of the manner in which the Irish tenantry acted to Mr. Boycott in 1879 (speaking only of the manner!).

Perhaps some people feel offended, and, if we may be so bold to say, in this way they flatter themselves. If this assumption is correct, one is completely justified in saying that it is the motives and interests of a few individuals

which are controlling the behavior of all the church structures, and it goes without saying that this is unacceptable from the point of view of the church, the community of believers, and society as a whole.

If, then, some prelates maintain that there is nothing to discuss with "this type of regime" and that there is no hope of mutually solving problems, then we hope we are justified in asking, what good is it in trying to understand the statement of our bishops cited above (not only from the political point of view, of course, but also the evangelic)?

Perhaps some church people fear contacts because, in their opinion, they might sometimes be misinterpreted by some people in the "newly created" conditions and circumstances. If this is so, we ask, should a pastor consider the interests and opinions of a few to the detriment of the overall good of the church? We ask this because we believe that it cannot be inconsequential for the church in our milieu (as well as elsewhere in the world) whether or not it lives in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and faith. And, of course, one of the jobs of the bishops is to help create these cosial conditions. At least, the Council thinks so.

So that we are not dealing only with suppositions, we should also bring up one factual matter. Everyone is familiar with the fact that, on the occasion of the death of Cardinal Franja Seper, the coffin was placed in the middle of the Zagreb Cathedral. Right next to the catafalque, in a place of honor (not chosen by chance!), the organizers of the funeral ceremony placed the wreath of Marko Veselica, a man who is currently in jail because of his connections with the ustasha emigration. Everyone has the right to give a wreath, but every wreath does not turn up where the one from Veselica did! Should the meaning of this gesture be explained? Obviously it does not demonstrate good will to the social and political community.

But there is something even more appalling in this incident. The organizers of this ceremony are certainly not people who would not be able to figure out certain consequences of such an act, at least to some extent. And one consequence might be that someone will say (unfairly, of course, but possibly not without malice, or satisfaction, depending on who it is) that some sort of symbolic connection exists between the Catholic Church of Croatia and Veselica and what he stands for, although the statement may not be meant seriously. This type of notion would, of course, be dangerous for the church in many ways.

And should these church people, in the name of the church, be permitted to fool with its image? Shouldn't they be concerned that someone might attach some undesirable sect to the Gospel? And finally, should they be permitted to do this in spite of the disposition of the majority of their believers?

Someone might well ask, in the name of which Christianity is such a thing being done, and are we indeed talking about Christianity? If we are not, then we think it is obvious what is left.

Finally, we should say that we do not want someone to think that we are trying to involve the bishops in politics. We know very well that politics are

not a part of the church's concerns, and we respect this completely. But we also maintain that politics is not everything that the church sometimes tries to describe it as being. Recently one of our Adventist ministers made a pun about this. He said, "We church people always say that we do not want to be concerned with politics and that it is not our job to do so. But if it is our policy to love our country, our people, and if it is our policy to contribute to the development of our society, then we should concern ourselves with political policy."

We also would not want anyone to think we believe that everything is dependent upon the relationships of the higher-level representatives of the church and the representatives of the governmental structures, and that this is the only explanation of what is actually going on. Moreover, we think (and this is in keeping with the development of our society) that the church and the government must lose their intermediary mission, which they still have today, so that the religious rights and the position of believers in society is directly insured, and this means in a way which is autonomous. But today, conditions are still always such (both in society and especially in the church) that much of this depends on contact and understanding at "the summit."

Therefore, it is not inconsequential whether or not these contacts are maintained. This means being held responsible before the entire community (and we should also say before the generations to come) for every omitted, gambled away, or frustrated opportunity for dialogue and the chance for historic change, regardless of where it comes from. Not only is the solution of one o another problem dependent upon this, but we might also say that to some extent the future of life in our corner of the world is dependent upon it.

9548
CSO: 2800/272

END

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12 April 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1998

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12 April 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1998

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USSR Poll on Solidarity Union

PM251545 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 21 Mar 82 p 6

[Report by Jan Jakob Floryan: "Majority in Soviet Union Hostile to Solidarity"]

[Text] The majority of Soviet citizens are hostile to the Polish Solidarity trade union in the form it was taking before the coup. This is shown by an investigation which has been smuggled out of Moscow and is now being published in the West for the first time. Of those interviewed, 55 percent had a negative attitude toward Solidarity, while 32 percent had a positive one.

Attitudes toward Solidarity

Hostile	13 percent
Indignant and surprised	30 percent
Skeptical and mocking	8 percent
Negative with no reasons given	5 percent
Apathetic/do not know	13 percent
Positive with no reasons given	1 percent
Interested and sympathetic	16 percent
Positive and anxious about the future	11 percent
Deeply committed	5 percent

The most important subgroup within the survey was workers, 163 of whom took part. One-third had no knowledge of Solidarity, while almost half were hostile and aggressive to varying degrees. Only a little over 20 percent had a positive attitude toward the movement.

The same breakdown was found among the lower-paid, with less than 150 rubles per month, and among students. However, among these latter, answers were remarkably divided, with the extreme positions dominating. Among party members--81 individuals--the attitude was even more negative, with 80 percent against Solidarity.

There is a clear difference between male and female attitudes--women being more negative. Age also has an effect on attitude, with the young (under 30) and the old (over 50) being most negative.

The attitude of Soviet citizens is most clearly influenced by their education, and assessment of Solidarity become more positive as educational qualifications become better. For example, 60 percent of scientific workers who have not reached the higher academic grades were positive. In the group comprising academics in arts subjects there was a 50/50 split in attitude. People with a technical education, however, took the most negative view.

Very positive attitudes are found among those not of Russian nationality and among believers--66 percent among the former and 60 percent among the latter take a positive view, with no one at all with a negative attitude.

Only a very small percentage--4 to 5 percent--are deeply committed as regards Solidarity's struggle, but at the same time it is important to remember that none of those interviewed were dissidents and that the views expressed are not without risk.

However, this does not alter the fact that the military coup in December must have the support of a majority of the Soviet population.

Commentary on Solidarity Poll

PM251547 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 21 Mar 82 p 6

[Report by Jan Jakob Floryan: "About the Poll"]

[Text] The above-mentioned poll was carried out illegally in Moscow and cannot, therefore, claim to be statistically representative. Thus, the results must be accepted with reservations.

The poll is based on 618 persons, and the more important subgroups are large enough to justify the more detailed breakdown of figures. The interviews were collected from mid-September to the beginning of December 1981 by the author's friends within their circles of acquaintances, but in such a way that various types of persons were included. In order to avoid any imbalance, dissidents were excluded. The interviews took the form of a conversation without the interviewee's being aware of the real objective.

The material was smuggled out of the Soviet Union and the author's name--S. Pukhov--is, of course, a pseudonym. The poll was passed on to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE by Borsi Weil, who works at the Royal Library in Copenhagen and is connected with the well-known exile publication L'ALTERNATIVE, published in Paris.

CSO: 3106/94

BRIEFS

ANNIVERSARY OF STALIN'S DEATH--ATA Report: Various activities were organized on the occasion of the 29th anniversary of the death of J.V. Stalin, brilliant Marxist-Leninist, faithful pupil and worthy continuer of the great work of Lenin. Workers in work and production centers and in various institutions, soldiers, veterans, young men and young women, pupils in the schools in Tirana District and other districts of the country recently visited the "V.I. Lenin-J.V. Stalin museum in the capital city. Special programs were organized for them. They were told about the life and activity of the steadfast revolutionary, Stalin, about the resolute struggle which he waged to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism and opportunism of every hue. Also, the talks stressed the consistent struggle of the Albanian Workers Party, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, to defend Stalin and his immortal work, as a struggle in defense of Marxism-Leninism. The documentary film on Stalin was shown to the visitors,. [Excerpts] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 6 Mar 82 p 1]

CSO: 2100/57

COORDINATION BETWEEN CSSR'S STATE, SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS DESCRIBED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 1, Jan 82 pp 14-23

[Article by Josef Korcak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and premier of the CSR Government: "Close Cooperation of State Organs and Social Institutions--A Significant Feature of Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] We are entering 1982 with the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress whose fulfillment is the goal of efforts shared by the CPCZ, the National Front and all institutions of our socialist state. Even under more complex circumstances we shall proceed systematically from the strategic program for the building of a developed socialist society. Developments over the past 9 months confirmed that the program of the 16th Congress is the only feasible alternative pointing out the way to the solution of difficult problems in our economy and in other areas, to efficient eradication of our own shortcomings and impediments put in our path by the development of the international situation as well as of the situation in world markets.

The Fourth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee responded to the harsh realities of the contemporary world with an answer reflecting our party's responsibility for the further advance of socialism, for a contented life of our country's citizens, and for the destiny of future generations; it is an answer worthy of our best revolutionary traditions and of our communist goals. The Central Committee placed in the forefront the requirement of closer unity of the party ranks, consolidation of our solidarity with the masses, and stimulation of the struggle for a prompt and comprehensive fulfillment of the decisions postulated by the congress. On the basis of an analysis of current problems the Fourth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee reached the conclusion that it is imperative to achieve "a substantial turn in the level and efficiency of all work in management. This primary consideration applies to the entire party, from top to bottom, from the Central Committee to its basic organizations. Likewise, the federal government, the national governments, the ministries, the national committees, the general directorates and enterprises must upgrade the standard of their managing and organizational operations along the entire state and economic axis. Analogically, the communists in social institutions in which the absolute majority of our population is associated must become more demanding when asking how to train people for the tasks stipulated by the congress; they must correspondingly improve their programs of political education and organization. We must be more critical when analyzing our problems; we must be more

efficient in resolving them, in implementing the adopted decisions and in controlling their fulfillment." These words of Comrade Gustav Husak expressed the gist of what we need in order to achieve success in meeting the tasks of 1982.

The imperative to escalate our efforts and to proceed with greater vigor, determination and military concerns all of us; everyone has a stake in it. There is no reason whatsoever for self-satisfaction; there is always something in need of improvement and upgrading everywhere. No sector is without some major or minor untapped assets. By setting them in motion we may help accelerate progress on a societywide scale and make it more comprehensive. One of the significant--albeit not always fully appreciated--assets is more consistent orientation on efficient, informal cooperation of our state organs and social institutions in the interest of more functional implementation of the CPCZ policies and in agreement with the needs of our society's further development.

Our building of developed socialism as a unified social system poses higher demands on organic unity and harmonious balance in all its sectors and links. The main guarantee for the management of this process is the leading role of the CPCZ, particularly the consolidation of its coordinating function in relation to other sectors of our political system. This is related also to specifications of the purpose of operations carried out by our socialist state, to more goal-oriented division of labor between the center and the communities as well as to the effort to improve in general the structure of the state mechanism and the position of its individual factors. When planning and implementing the policies of the CPCZ and of our socialist state, there is an increasingly more meaningful role for our social institutions, representing a significant mechanism of the party's unity with the masses, complementing and enhancing the function of the state and at the same time, fulfilling their specific tasks in controlling social development; they serve as an important means for the citizens to assert themselves and to satisfy their individual interests and needs.

In terms of ideology and organization, socialism has always enjoyed the power and advantage of being able to amalgamate the broadest masses of the working people. This axiom is particularly distinctive at this stage in the building of developed socialism, however, by the same token, it is extremely demanding in its expression, particularly as concerns the ability to find its specific affirmation in the present specific situation. Therefore, it is an important talent, when leading the masses, to initiate differentiated approaches to individual classes and social groups, to apply various forms of work, to proceed from the everyday experience of the people and from the problems of their life in actual social conditions, to bring closer to them the perspectives of our socialist society in a close confrontation with the demands of our daily efforts to improve efficiency in every sector. And here every sector of our political system has its specific mission, opportunities and means.

The historical experience of the CPCZ in the 60 years of its struggles, especially over the last 10 years, has confirmed the validity of the idea

that the achievement of constant ideological and organizational leadership of the masses, based on a scientific program planned with the aid of Marxist-Leninist ideology, is a continuous and tremendously demanding social task. In the spirit of this principle, the 16th CPCZ Congress correctly articulated the basic problems of the current stage and formulated a political program in agreement with those conditions as the force motivating the mobilization of the masses.

It is typical for the strategy of economic development and for the building of developed socialism that they are focused on intensive methods of development, on the final national economic results and on the achievement of highly efficient social production. In the forefront, therefore, appears so much more distinctly the question of the most efficient operation of our political and economic mechanism. The management system which represents the most dynamic part of relations in production must expand the propagation of socialism and its vigorous proportional development. The mechanism for satisfaction of societywide economic interests must enforce their priority over group, local and partial interests. From these perspectives, we see in the forefront the relations between the Communist Party as the vanguard of the workers class and all the working people, the National Front as the political representative of the unified class, national and international interests of the Czechoslovak people and of the socialist state as the main organizer of the building of socialism.

The success of the Communist Party in our socialist state and of social institutions depends not only on correct understanding of their common and individual tasks and on an appropriate organizational structure but also on the skill of finding a correct approach to the masses in every individual, specific case, and of uplifting them politically, economically and culturally. That was the reason why Lenin considered it so important to know how "... to determine, in any problem and at any moment, the opinion of the masses and their real efforts, concerns, thoughts, to know how to determine, without the least false idealization, the level of their awareness and the force of the influence exerted by various prejudices and vestiges of bygone days, to know how to win unlimited confidence of the masses by a comradely attitude toward them and by considerate satisfaction of their needs."

To identify the contents, methods and objectives of the program of our national committees and social institutions at each stage of the development of socialism, the crucial question is how to approach the masses and galvanize them for a certain objective, how to find and maintain solid, informal and lively daily contacts with them. For that reason the power of every social institution depends on the quality of its identification with the policies of our party. Furthermore, it stems from their unified policy with our socialist state, from its vigorous, imaginative and at the same time responsible participation in the drafting, implementation and control of the laws and regulations on every level of our state organs. Social institutions have much in common with our Communist Party as the leading political power and with our socialist state; nevertheless, they can neither replace nor duplicate them.

Our economic practice calls for even more coordinated action in management and increasingly closer cooperation of the pa ty, state, economic and trade union organs as well as of other social institutions. Experience has shown that even here we cannot overlook objective conditions and that it would be dangerous to regard the consolidation of their unity as disregard for the specifics of individual organizations, to misinterpret cooperation as weakening of independence, to imitate methods of work mechanically and to draw hasty conclusions from common objectives, to the effect that one type of organization may be replaced by another. Life has confirmed that thus far none of those factors of our political system has fully developed its potential. At present, this concerns the consolidation of a unified program by all these factors and simultaneously, the fulfillment of specific social functions, based on joint support for the CPCZ policy, which is the program of our entire society, and on the dynamic action of the communists active in all sectors.

The position of social institutions in our socialist political system is--figuratively speaking--between the party and the state power. It provides a base without which state organs cannot adequately discharge their duties. Yet the reverse is also true--without united action with the state organs, no social institution can operate really efficiently in our socialist society. This has been confirmed also by the experience from joint agreements concluded by the URO [Central Council of Trade Unions] secretariat with the presidium of the federal government, and of the presidia of the governments of the republics with the secretariats of national trade union councils, and from the cooperation of the territorial trade union organs with national committees. In the interest of the mobilization of all social forces and resources, this calls for even more extensive and above all, more efficient implementation of this method of work.

The unity of the Communist Party with the masses, the close cooperation between the organs of our socialist state and social institutions of the National Front, the highest possible harmony of laws and duties of all links and individuals provide the basis for the socialist democracy to operate efficiently. A creative, informal application of this principle helps best to avoid the pitfalls of anarchist arbitrariness and bureaucratic organizational overkill. The slogan of democracy in the more than 60 years of history of socialism had been on more than one occasion misused against its achievements. However, that changes nothing on the vital necessity to proceed tenaciously in developing socialist democratism, to make it an organic part in the enforcement of scientific methods of work and in the effort to raise the efficiency of all managing processes. No higher level of socialism may be achieved without more far-reaching and mature participation of the people.

The development of socialist democracy is one of the basic objective principles of the building of developed socialist policy. Even here we cannot rely on any self-activated developments. The crucial part here is the leading role of the Communist Party, implemented thoroughly, comprehensively and correctly, as discussed at the Fourth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee. Practical application of this postulate in the political, economic

and cultural areas, and in places of work and residence calls for political maturity, systematic effort and tactical skill. Continuous improvement of socialist democratism depends on correctly resolved programmatic conclusions from the changes in our social structure, on constant concern about efficient operations of the political mechanism and on a better style and method of work.

The 16th CPCZ Congress presented another proof of the broad base we have for intensification of socialist democracy: the National Front and the institutions associated in it, the entire system of representative councils, from the Federal Assembly to local national committees, executive state organs, and the legal, educational and information systems. At the same time, the congress stressed that at the present stage in the building of developed socialism it is particularly important for all those sectors to function efficiently; to fulfill their functions in close cooperation and unity and in the spirit of the party's political program; to follow societywide interest always and everywhere, and to act so as to enhance the working people's participation in the management of the production and in the administration of our state.

Safeguarding and development of our society under increasingly more complex conditions depends on the level to which the Communist Party identifies with the masses and on its skill to hearken to their voice, on vigorous support for every initiative that is beneficial to socialism, and on wholesome, constructive criticism from below. We regard dynamic reactions to the recommendations by our working people as an important means to prevent errors and to rectify the developing problems promptly and consistently. By the same token, in the innermost interest of millions of our citizens we resolutely oppose demagogy, idle criticism and disparagement of our accomplishments. Following the lessons of crisis development which have also been confirmed by the current events in Poland, we are dealing with our problems in building a new society and developing socialist democracy where neither space nor opportunity will be given to the adversaries of socialism.

Winning people over for the CPCZ political program is an offensive in the political and ideological struggle in which our party teaches the masses and learns from them, combining its conscientious attitude with sensitivity and a differentiated approach. As all the landmarks on its path over the 60 years demonstrate, the CPCZ fought for the Leninist interpretation of relations between the party and the masses by overcoming opportunistic submission to conservative feelings, sycophancy and demoagogy as well as sectarian impatience and isolationism. Also, any further successful advance presupposes respect for those lessons from its past.

The objective trend in the development of socialist democracy as a form of government by the workers class in unity with other working people stems from the need for even more efficient mobilization of all social forces and resources. The demands for the implementation of the principle that socialism is an achievement of creative and conscientious activity of the broad masses are growing with each higher degree of our social development and are increased in relation to the rigor of our social tasks. It is

neither a simple nor one-shot matter to grasp this fact in theory and to fulfill it in practice.

Moreover, socialist democracy has its quantitative as well as qualitative aspects. Over the past 10 years our party has paid considerable attention to an expansion of its social base, in other words, to increasing the number of the working people actively participating in the management of production and in the administration of our state. Moreover, we focused on further consolidation of the role played by basic units of national committees and social institutions as well as on the consolidation of the role played by work teams. In quantitative aspects, for example, in the growth of the membership in social institutions and of participants in various public programs, our advance was far from negligible, yet even here we have not exhausted every opportunity. For various reasons, many people failed to become interested in social issues, to feel an inner urge to take an active part in the work of our national committees and to get involved in the programs of social institutions, which undercuts the efforts of other people to a great extent.

However, the main problem today stems not only from consolidating the mass character of labor and political initiatives, but primarily from the qualitative aspects, i.e., from the direction of its contents and from its actual efficiency. In itself, even socialist democracy is not self-serving; its purpose is not to participate for the sake of participating, or to be active for activity's sake. Its fruits are decisive--the standard of efficiency of production in the place of work, the quality of the environment in the place of residence, the level of maturity and the cultural standard achieved by individuals, collectives and the broadest masses.

In this qualitative development, every step forward becomes increasingly more strenuous, albeit more commendable and, above all, important for the fulfillment of the purpose and function of socialist democracy. Even here we cannot proceed from mere wishful thinking; we must make realistic demands and discern the limitations and restrictions stemming from the conditions of people's awareness and the time available to them, from their preparation for competent participation in management and, in the final analysis, also from the level of efficiency in the operation of the political system itself.

Socialism opened rich opportunities for mass exploitation of the right to take part in the creation, implementation and control of the political program, and as the new constitution of the USSR confirms, it is gradually transforming that right into a basic civic duty. We do not regard the level of our society's realistic democratism as the culmination of our efforts; we are not blind to its historical limitations or to needless bureaucratic shortcomings, expressions of formalism and diplorable red tape. We are aware of the problems on hand and we do not conceal them. We shall not resolve them by turning back to the old, historically outworn and restricted bourgeois democracy, as various anticommunists would advise us; instead, we shall consistently follow the socialist path, the methods germane to the substance of our system and the forms based on more determined, thorough and comprehensive implementation of Leninist principles.

We are learning day in and day out that our talent to interest the necessary number of people in a certain task determines the prompt and complete fulfillment of our plans and that more demanding tasks cannot be met without wider involvement of our people. The experience of our best enterprises, national committees and work teams has confirmed that next to an efficient management, the source of their success is above all in an increasing involvement of the people. Without such an approach by the working people plans cannot be fulfilled promptly, fully, economically, in accordance with societywide interests and with lasting results. This path, which calls for considerable patience and confidence in the strength and abilities of the masses, is based on the art of winning over and persuading, and is incompatible with domineering and formalistic attitudes. To accomplish this purpose, our political system, with its extensive, internally differentiated organizational structure has created fine preconditions which we have not always sufficiently utilized.

We know well that efficient operation of the system of socialist democracy also depends on efficiently organized activities of collectives and individuals in every sector. We have begun improving the organizational structure of national committees; we are organzing a system of central committees, and we intend to reach full solution of certain issues related to the work of national committees in large housing projects. Nor do we underestimate the organizational aspect of the issue, although we do not see the solution in continuous reorganizations but most of all in improving the style of work and in raising it to the level of current tasks and needs of socialist democracy. Here we proceed in the spirit of the idea postulated in the report by the CPCZ Central Committee to the 16th Congress that "the strength of the Leninist style is primarily in our systematic work with the people. The activity of every official and of every responsible worker must be characterized by our knowledge of people's view, by our sensitive approach to their problems and needs, by systematic explanation of our party's policies to them, by our skill in convincing them and winning them over for the fulfillment of those policies, and by the generalization of their experience."

The development of socialist democracy provides the preconditions and the means for the implementation of the program stipulated by the 16th CPCZ Congress. It is a common issue of the people's active participation in the solution of practical matters of life in factories, communities and towns. National committees contribute greatly, especially on their basic level, so that as many citizens as possible may enjoy the advantages and achievements of socialism and so that they may feel the need "to participate" and "to be with it" becuase of their inner conviction that they are the creators of values and their conscientious stewards. The people's activity and the results of this activity are expanding wherever they are in step with actual demands. The election programs of the National Front represent the main device for the joint processes of all links of our political system and the common denominator for the activity of our political organs and for the development of people's involvement. It has become customary for the organs of the National Front and for the organizations associated in it to participate in the drafting and implementation of election programs. Those relevant and public documents open a wide space for the initiative of the organizations

of the National Front in developing various methods of work and programs of ideological education.

The 16th Congress underscored once again that an important part in consolidating the power of the people and in the further development of socialism was assigned to national committees as the main links in contact with our citizens and as a practical school of socialist democracy. Increasing demands on the management of socioeconomic development call for dramatically improved methods and style of work of the state administration, for high personal responsibility and for a politically mature, expert and creative approach by every worker.

The elections in June 1981 provided the basic cadre preconditions. More than 70,000 of the 196,469 elected representatives of national committees in the CSSR are women and 71,000 are young people under 35 years of age. According to the social structure, 42.9 percent are workers, 17.0 percent cooperative farm workers, 22.5 percent members of our intelligentsia, and 17.6 percent members of other social groups. In the new national committees, 56.7 percent are members of the CPCZ who work in harmony and unity with the members of other political parties of the National Front and with politically unaffiliated citizens. These data characterize also the composition of national committees in the CSR. The fact that the composition of our national committees corresponds with the class and social structure of our society offers advantageous preconditions for close unity with citizens of the widest range of occupations and age groups. Furthermore, it also favorably affects their consolidation and cooperation with organizations of the National Front and work teams from factories and JZD [unified agricultural cooperatives].

The efficiency of the methods of work carried out by our national committees is determined by the fact that they do not represent only organs of the local administration but rather the representative councils which in their territorial areas deal with basic problems of the state administration and which are capable of expressing comprehensively the interests and desires of our people. National committees are dealing with the most essential and the most urgent issues of our people's life and work, and stand in the forefront of constructive efforts. Therefore, our party organs frequently discuss relevant problems of their activity, and the organs and organizations of the National Front pay constant attention to the fulfillment of election programs.

The economy represents the main battleground in the building of developed socialism. This implies the necessity of increased attention to economic issues and to the problems of comprehensive socioeconomic development along with upgrading our people's living conditions in towns and in villages. The maxim of Soviet communists that "particular concern about each particular man and his needs is the alpha and omega of our party's economic policy" defines precisely the direction and purpose of our efforts. National committees bear considerable responsibility for making the power of socialist democracy effectively serve economic progress--the material base for better and higher safeguards of citizens' rights and freedoms.

Intensification of the influence exerted by our national committees on our economy does not stem from better territorial planning alone but rather from more scrupulous demands on the standard of the performance of their coordinating functions. In our socialist society, places of residence and work form an organic unity whose healthy and, at the same time, efficient development depends on the goal-oriented enforcement of the unity of territorial and production principles. The development of individual communities is in the common interest of all citizens who reside or work in those communities. Also, the experience of recent years has confirmed that it is appropriate to focus on goal-oriented unification of forces of local authorities representing state power and administration with production plants and social institutions of the National Front. Much has been done in this respect under the leadership of our party organs, as demonstrated, for example, by the share of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] organs and organizations in the building of socialist towns and communities following the spirit of the slogan "The Factory to the Town--the Town to the Factory."

In order to unify more efficiently the socioeconomic development of individual communities, we support joint programs in planning construction projects, in organizing political and social actions, and in collecting material and financial funds. The value of projects contributed by Action Z during the Sixth Five-Year Plan in the CSR which amounted to Kcs 34.6 billion is convincing proof of the opportunities open to this method.

When searching for more effective methods of citizen participation in management and administration, close cooperation of our national committees with organs and organizations of the National Front proved successful, for instance, in organizing public meetings with citizens and the so-called dialogue of the national committees with young people, in preparing and implementing unified plans for cultural and educational programs, and in developing mass political programs by mediation of the propaganda centers.

The achievement of useful cooperation among all sectors of our political system in the CSR on individual levels of national committees have been confirmed by numerous markedly successful results, for example, the fact that the ROH contributed some Kcs 3.4 billion to united funds, that the trade union members volunteered 231 million hours for the action "Trade Unionists to Their Plant and to the Republic" in order to fulfill the election program, and that the trade union organs and organizations helped expand the capacities of kindergartens by 153,000 places. Members of the Socialist Youth League, the Czech Gymnastic Organization, Svazarm, the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship, the Czech Red Cross, the Union for Fire Protection of the CSR, and other social institutions provided considerable aid in the fulfillment of election programs. Commendable actions of the Czech Union of Livestock Breeders, the Association of Czech Gardeners, the Association of Czech Hunters, and the Association of Czech Beekeepers represent a considerable economic contribution. In agreement with the focus on the exploitation of all agricultural lands, the Fourth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee underlined the importance of the useful activities of the livestock breeders and keepers which is beneficial to our society and to individuals. National committees cooperate closely with agricultural enterprises and will assist them effectively in their endeavors.

The program for the building of a developed socialist society in the CSSR proceeds from the generally valid principle based on the growing role of the subjective factor, involvement and awareness of our people. It is imperative to mobilize more and more efficiently the inexhaustible resources of our people's creativity and to develop the activity of our working people and, thus, to increase the demands on efficient operation of the whole political system where the National Front plays an important role now, as it will in the future. The 16th CPCZ Congress emphasized: "We shall bear in mind that the National Front, as a political expression of the class unity of industrial and farm workers and the intelligentsia, and of the close kinship of our nations and nationalities, further galvanizes the efforts of the communists, of politically unaffiliated citizens and of members of other political parties in the building of socialism, intensifies their full and equal participation in the management and administration of our public affairs, and creates good preconditions for assertion of the diverse interests of our citizens and of their political rights and freedoms."

The CPCZ has consolidated its unity with the broad strata of our working people by protecting and further developing the socialist contents and functions of the National Front, that great historical achievement of our people. This form of class unity and the method of organizing and leading the masses in specific Czechoslovak conditions enhances the power of our socialist system and represents important support for all sectors of our socialist state, which is in the interest of the building of developed socialism as a truly democratic society whose political system guarantees efficient management of all social affairs, increasingly more vigorous participation of our working people in the life of our state and the unity of genuine human rights and freedoms with civic responsibility.

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FEBRUARY 1982 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Feb 82 p 4

[Rene Heilig review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 2, February 1982, signed to press 13 January 1982, pp 113-224: "Initiatives for Growing Yields." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] The February issue of EINHEIT signals the preparations for the 12th Farmers Congress to be held in May this year in Berlin.

There is but a 0.37-hectare acreage per capita in the GDR, which makes it mandatory, as Werner Felfe asserts in his contribution, to use maximally and properly each square meter of soil during the entire vegetation period. The most important thing, he goes on to emphasize, is the struggle for top achievements in grain and livestock feed grain production. To accomplish the ambitious goals in crop and animal production, the great opportunities inherent in the cooperative ownership in the means of production have to be exhausted more and more.

"In every LPG we must, through good political-ideological work by the basic organization, expert management activity, and the consistent use of socialist industrial management, but mainly also through the development of cooperative democracy, create the kind of conditions for the cooperative farmers, male and female, to conduct with great initiative the struggle for high yields and performance while reducing expenditures," Werner Felfe affirms.

Heinz Kuhrig comments on the importance of the new LPG law, its bill being currently debated. He mainly focuses on two questions: the continuing internal consolidation of the LPG's, the responsibility of the collectives and the still closerties between crop and animal producers. Two LPG chairmen, Johannes Ruhnke and Heinz Ziegenbalg, add experiences from the work of their cooperation council, and Prof Dr Erich Ruebensam explains the tasks of the agricultural scientists. The international importance of stable yields is underscored by Horst Schilling, who also unmasks the U.S. food-power strategy.

Furthermore, this issue 2 offers interesting matters about GDR literature (Klaus Hoepcke) and facts on U.S. support for reactionary regimes (Werner Flach).

5885
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CRITERIA FOR ACCEPTABLE SOCIAL CRITICISM IN LITERATURE DEFINED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 20, 8 Feb 82 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "SED Sets Limits to Literary Social Criticism." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 2, 1982) has set definite limits to literary social criticism by GDR writers. The journal granted authors the right, to be sure, to attack "morally dubious thoughts and actions," but resolutely opposed texts "pretending to critical descriptions of petty bourgeois views and modes of conduct while actually cultivating such characteristics in a literary way." The impression would then be created that such features were appropriate to socialist society, characteristic of socialism, as it were, rather than "deeply alien" to this order. "Such interpretations" were facilitated particularly by a "conspicuous lack of social accuracy" in literary presentation. So one should "carefully distinguish" between criticism, or the "so-called critical element" in the GDR's socialist literature, and anti-socialist criticism. As in all other aspects of political life and literary work, one should "also have to judge criticism in terms of its class-bound positions."

Deputy Culture Minister's Analysis

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 2, Feb 82 (signed to press 13 Jan 82) pp 173-179

[Article by Klaus Hoepcke, GDR deputy minister for culture; chief, Main Administration for Publishing Houses and Book Trade: "Fantasy in the Service of the Real--On Achievements and Tasks of Our Literature"[

> [Text] Pursuant to its function to reflect our socialist reality and help shape it progressively in its own way, much in our literary work deals with the basic topic of our time: the struggle for safeguarding peace and strengthening socialist positions. Those works settle accounts with fascism and war and deal with freedom and responsibility and with the claim to happiness in socialism. Important components to further heighten the quality and effectiveness of our literature are the presentation of the workers

class as the leading force, relevance to and truth about reality, the authors' honesty in being oriented to social and historic progress, and imagination and skill, in further enhancing our literature.

Literature and art have their own ways by which they take an active part in advancing the socialist revolution in our country. They affect the deep change taking place in society and each individual person. It was in this sense that Comrade Erich Honecker affirmed at the 10th party congress: "During recent years, art and literature have produced much that is part of our constantly changing socialist reality and at the same time affects this change."[1] To be an element and factor that moves life in its changes--that is what counts in works of art dedicated under socialism to socialism.

What are the conditions for works of art to affect life this way, for novels and stories--with which we shall mainly deal here--to contribute, qualitatively still better and more effectively, in their specific and unique way, to socialist personality formation, at a time when what matters is to strengthen the efficacy of socialism and the struggle for the preservation of peace?

Answers to Questions That Move Our Times

Our literature often picks up issues that move us very much in the present age. In Berlin recently, the executive board of the Writers Association of the GDR considered the subject "authors and peace." Hermann Kant advanced from the consideration that everyone in our country has appropriated a love for peace--as Erwin Strittmatter would put it. Kant paid tribute to the books of our authors as a "peace library" giving voice to the conscience and memory of the people. He advocated that our authors should remain loyal to the tradition tied to the name of Anna Seghers, to meddle, in their literature and outside of it, in the political struggle for the preservation of peace.[2]

Outside of literature this happens, among other things, through the various activities in the sense of the joint declaration by authors of the GDR and the USSR for disarmament and peace and by backing the appeal of European writers against the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles on West European territory. In meetings such as the "Berlin Encounter on the Promotion of Peace," which was held in December 1981, it becomes clear that we are ready and able to enter a broad alliance in the struggle for peace with all who are interested in it. That implies resolutely representing and maintaining the historically proven unity between socialism and peace, within the framework of any such alliance, in opposition to a mode of thinking which negates the decades-long and ongoing lead accomplishments in the peace struggle by the socialist states and their peoples. That sort of thinking suppresses, at least insufficiently recognizes, that our party policy, the industrious work of our citizens, and all manifestations and demonstrations in our country are deeply imbued with the care for preserving peace and ensuring a material and cultural well-being for all people.

In a literary sense, our authors' will to peace is expressed in a substantively and thematically broad scale of works. Autobiographies by Peter Edel, Franz Fuehrmann, Stephan Hermlin, Ruth Werner and others, memoirs, e.g. by Alexander

Abusch, as well as novels and stories coming to grips with the past, are among them. There are Hermann Kant's "Der Aufenthalt" [The Stay], Kurt David's "Die Ueberlebende" [The Survivor], Christa Wolf's "Kindheitsmuster" [Model of Childhood], Max Walter Schulz' "Der Soldat und die Frau" [The Soldier and the Woman] and "Die Fliegerin oder Aufhebung einer stummen Legende" [The Aviatrix or the Cancellation of a Mute Myth], Eberhard Panitz' "Meines Vaters Strassenbahn" [My Father's Streetcar], Bernhard Seeger's "Harmonikaspieler" [The Harmonica Player], Jan Koplowitz' "'Bohemia'--mein Schicksal" ["Bohemia"--My Destiny], Otto Gotsche's "Die seltsame Belagerung von Saint Nazaire" [The Strange Siege of Saint Nazaire], Peter Abraham's "Pianke," Eva Lippold's novel trilogy "Haus der schweren Tore" [The House with the Heavy Gates], made into a film by Guenther Ruecker and Guenter Reisch under the title "Die Verlobte" [The Betrothed], and others. These works mainly reinforce the conviction that all peace-threatening and inhuman social relations--particularly fascism--have to be opposed until even their tiniest roots or hidden belated shoots are destroyed completely. The chief tenor of such works is the realization that one's own humanistic activity always has a critical bearing on being human and experiencing humanism.

A special place in our literature goes to presentations depicting the lives of people over decades under the workers and farmers power or in separate sections of these decades, describing how, with the growth of our republic, most people also opt for an auspicious, socialist position in life. The wealth of material that must go into them, all the entwining of individual life stories with social processes, and the propensity toward the epic detail of a panorama of history explain why works of this sort, e.g. by Bastian, Knappe, Neutsch, Roehricht or Strittmatter, come to several volumes or parts. The artistic work on this subject matter is going to ripen further. Relying on the suggestions and evaluations prepared meanwhile on GDR history by our scientific historiography, those authors will find it more possible still to link the individual fate of their heroes more artistically and organically with historical perspectives.

Books more immediately related to our socialist present about the value of man and his place in society, such as Guenter Goerlich's "Eine Anzeige in der Zeitung" [Newspaper Ad] and Erik Neutsch's "Zwei leere Stuehle" [Two Empty Chairs] can be read mainly as artistic testimonies to human creativity unfolding in socialism, each as a Song of Songs about the conflict-ridden construction of a new world, a pleading for frankness and caution in dealing with one another, warnings against superficial and perfunctory judgments on the strengths and weaknesses of characters evolving. Younger authors as well, like Frank Weymann and Beate Morgenstern, reveal through manifold literary fates and encounters the tensions in human fellowship in socialism.

The focal point in many recent works in epic literature is the relation between freedom and responsibility in socialism. So it is in Jurij Brezan's "Krabat oder Die Verwandlung der Welt" [Krabat or the Transformation of the World], Helmut Sakowski's "Daniel Druskat," Dieter Nolls' "Kippenberg," Volker Braun's volume of stories, "Das ungezwungne Leben Kasts" [Kast's Easy Life], Erik Neutsch's story "Forster in Paris," Walter Flegel's novel "Es gibt kein Niemandsland" [There Is No No man's-Land], as well as novels penned by still hardly known authors like Achim Metzkes' "Das Haus des Vaters" [Father's House] and Helmut H. Schulz' "Das Erbe" [The Legacy]. Remarkably, it is shown there through material of the

past and present--without denying the concrete historic conditioning of human existence--that any historically achieved dimension of freedom has to be consummated through full individual responsibility. Dieter Noll's novel, for instance, derives from the freedom to act creatively, which has socially so much expanded in our present-day socialism, a higher personal responsibility, and when such responsibility is aborted, he does not accept it being shoved off to "circumstances at fault," accepts no attempts at apologies.

Suggestive ideas about the problem of freedom and responsibility can also be found in Inge von Wangenheim's essay to be published under the title "Genosse Jemand und die Klassik" [Comrade Somebody and Classicism]; it was circulated in excerpts prior to publication, for review.[3] Her essay causes us to reflect on that dealing with developmental problems and contradictions in our society always demands that we proceed from what has been accomplished and is to be preserved in our socialist society. Otherwise, stimulating considerations, as also expressed by the author, would be deprived of their whole foundation, as it were. Her thesis that the continuity of revolutionary action threatens to be broken among us must, therefore, be countered by affirming that our grandfathers' torch of revolutionary action certainly has been and is being passed on from the fathers to the children of our time through a, to be sure, contradictory yet altogether successful process that conforms to current class struggle conditions.

Another topic that comes close to the relation between freedom and responsibility is that of man's claim to happiness and its possibilities of fulfillment in socialism. This has also been dealt with in many literary works such as Brigitte Reimann's novel "Franziska Linkerhand," Hans Weber's "Einzug ins Paradies" [Entering Paradise] and--to mention more recent works--in Benno Pludra's children's book "Insel der Schwaene" [The Island of the Swans] and Egon Aderhold's artist's novel "Strichvogel" [Bird of Passage]. The same problem is confronted by many books describing either a successful or a failed effort by men and women to practice equality. This also reminds us of works by Maxie Wander, Irmtraud Morgner, Helga Schubert and Helga Koenigsdorf. Not last, we should also refer to works about the fate of mentally disturbed persons such as Sibylle Muthesius' recent, richly documented book "Flucht in die Wolken" [Escape into the Clouds] which--along with other similar books--found deserved attention in the just ended year of the disabled.

Yet what about books pessimistic in their tenor, suggesting the idea that man's claim to happiness cannot be fulfilled? Their authors misperceive or do not perceive deeply enough how vast the opportunities actually are in socialism for having individuals creatively unfold their capacities. Fighting for the realization of humanistic ideals, for making the lofty goals of socialism prevail--that is our vital element and it is worth writing about it. And then there are other works that call for criticism in which, either directly or below the threshold, the human-moral value of achievement is placed in doubt. Achievement, understood as responsible, imaginative, disciplined and effective work for socialism--this we know from our national and international experience still better today than we did yesterday--is the basis for the well-being and happiness of the people. The will and capacity, readiness and ability for performance in our society are the practical expression of socialist consciousness, of implementing real humanism. They are highly to be esteemed human traits. They increase the material, cultural and moral wealth of our society and deserve to be respected and fostered by all who create literature.

Portraying the Workers Class as the Leading Force

An essential reason for whether works of GDR literature are effective or not is to be found in how successfully the working class has been given artistic shape in them. The "key problem in further artistic advances is and remains the portrayal of the workers class as the leading social force."[4]

And this is not only a matter of the artistic treatment of reality as the workers class sees it, of solving conflicts in terms of the ideology of the workers class and its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party. But for the sake of further progress in art it also is a matter of enriching more than we have our literature and art with characters of workers, both male and female, so that their relations, thoughts, feelings and actions, their intellectually demanding or heavy physical work, which may often be interesting and yet may sometimes be monotonous, or their work in project planning or the chief operator domains, get more frequent and thorough artistic exploration and treatment, providing the joys and cares of the members of the working class, all they feel are victories or defeats, all they enjoy and are pained by, with more emphatic expression in our narrative, lyrical and dramatic literature.

With respect to further advances in our literature and art, it remains correct and important to direct our attention at the literary treatment especially of such important sides in the life of the workers class which essentially determine its social role in socialism: its efficacy as the leading force. To cope with this extensively remains a creative task artists have to solve time and again. Many authors have presented studies on these problems ever since our republic was founded. Eduard Claudius wrote "Menschen an unserer Seite" [Men on Our Side], Erich Neutsch, "Spur der Steine" [The Trace of Stones], Herbert Otto, "Die Sache mit Maria" [The Business With Maria], Joachim Nowotny, "Ein gewisser Robel" [A Certain Robel], and so forth. Younger authors continue this tradition. Like Claus Nowak with his book, "Wart nicht auf einen Orden" [Don't Wait for a Medal], where representatives of three workers' generations clash with their disparate attitudes toward life in socialist society. The unevenly developed degree of dialectics in personality development and revolutionary conduct, throughout the ordinary day or on the job, induces the author to present moral values such as courage, dedication, integrity, the will to work and the readiness for risks as desirable traits. Rolf Floss' book "Tanzstunden eines jungen Mannes" [A Young Mans' Dancing Lessons]deals with the growing-up process of the young worker Hagen Tautz, to show that character development in socialist society is a social process asking for more than just personal honesty and individual courage. One should further mention Harry Falkenhayn's book "Einer vom Rummel" [One from the Fair-ground], which shows why meaningful work and a great love affair significantly determine men's sense of happiness in socialism, and Lothar Hoericke's "Rando" and works by Hartmut Biewald, Jochen Hauser, Harald Heinze, and Harry Kampling.

If one asks how such literary achievements and contributions to artistic progress in our country have been examined and paid tribute to by literary criticism and literary science, much that has been done can be pointed to and much that still has to be done. We should also mention that the ministry of culture, the writers association, publishing houses, the youth association, trade unions and other social organizations want to do more still, and together, to detect talents who will above all portray and persuasively present the workers class as the leading social force through their writing.

Relevant and True to Reality

The 10th party congress has posed the task to improve the quality and efficacy of our literature further. Success in this will essentially depend on how close the works of art come to the processes that are under way in life, on whether they grasp, party-mindedly, the true content of the processes of reality. The twofoldness of relevance and truth to life is what counts. To gain in ideas, ethics and philosophy from literature "we need artistry with the whole fulness of its means of expression which must be not only relevant, but also true, to reality."[5]

In the years after the eighth party congress, many literary works came out that excelled in being relevant to reality. That moved into our field of vision many facts of life that had previously not been or hardly been observed. If the importance of such facts and phenomena is explored, evaluated and given artistic form from party-minded socialist positions, the artist, through a denser relevance to reality in his material, also makes a contribution to the truth of reality, to an emotionally and rationally deeper understanding for socially motivating issues.

In coupling the relevance with the truth of reality, the emphasis lies on truthfulness. However close an artist may come to the phenomena of reality which he observes, describes and shapes, the rank of the work of art he creates, its validity, efficacy and permanence, in short, whether or not it is an artistic masterpiece, essentially is determined by whether and how far the artist penetrates to the essence of the phenomena, uncovering the essence so that it can be experienced in artistic terms, from the socialist standpoint of the changeability of the world. One of the crucial criteria of party-mindedness so understood, and one of the fundamental criteria of artistic achievement in socialist realism as such, is that the artist, behind and below the visible sides of reality, helps uncover its moving forces with their inevitabilities aimed at social progress, whereby he then in his specific way probes the truth. This is the sense in which our party program orients us to deepening the arts' content of socialist ideas.[6]

Clear is in all this that the truth of reality must not be identified with the external manifestations of facts, with material resemblance, with how true to nature something portrayed is. The fact is that an artistic portray as a rule, in a most imaginative way, combines impressions of reality with thought processes, showing events that have the likelihood and possibility of having happened but must not, as a rule, have happened just that way. Along with realistic portrayals there also are fairy tales, parables, phantastic-grotesque poems that may express something essential, correct or true about man's social practice, the character of a society or era, or the connection between man and his times. Truth value also has to be conceded to portrayals that do not resemble reality--provided they harmonize with the objective course of history. Genres like the phantastic, the grotesque, or satire, important as they are in socialist realism, can reveal the truth of reality, even if they mostly do it through pointed exaggerations and apparent distortions.

An intellectual and artistic mastery over the dialectic between relevance and truth to reality will lend wings to the further development of our socialist literary culture. We shall have a new literature which will provide great philosophic

and ideological, ethical and aesthetic proceeds, pleasure and enjoyment, and will, mentally and emotionally "teach us to live more humanly in having us take part in lives of other people, their thoughts and sentiments, their struggles, defeats and victories."[7] Fred Wander was right when he said, pointedly: "Let us build power plants, but air castles as well. Without air castles, no power plants!"[8]

Discovering the Fairy Tale of Reality

Relevant and true to reality. That reality is what both are relating to, points still to another aspect of importance to our socialist literature: that our world-outlook and conception of art concern the here and now. All our skill is aimed at real life, all our effort, at changing it further for the benefit of men. So it is also in literature and art. "We have to rearrange our relationship with reality, reeducate ourselves to understand the given and the actual. We must have more imagination, so that we can imagine what reality is actually all about. Let us start to deal with the given and then, discovering the fairy tale of reality, get closer to ourselves."[9]

The conception of a socialist author and poet contained in those remarks by Johannes R. Becher combines objectivity and subjectivity as important sides in creating art. Becher's standpoint opposes a view about GDR literature variously expressed during the 1970's, to the effect that the essential prerequisite for artistic truth solely was a "subjective authenticity," the writer's subjective judgment of reality. The artistically most persuasive achievements in GDR literature prove that subjective authenticity must above all be understood as personal integrity oriented to social and historic progress and as the writer's aesthetic uniqueness, as a characteristic, that is, which is deeply tied up with the aspect of the truth of reality. It remains a topical problem mainly because, once given the grown educational level of the working people and their creative participation in the everyday revolutionary changes of life, their demand for quality and relevance and truth to life in art has risen further.

That has some implications for the study of reality and the artist's relation with reality. One must agree with those authors who do not for once and for all want to refer to and rely on the knowledge of life once acquired. And young poets also are right when they seek to enrich, through a manifold experience of reality, their own ego, the subject which in the lyrical poet, as one knows, is--to quote Hegel--the object of his creation. Keeping close to life as it progresses, artists involved with life and with the people--both older and younger ones--seek ever new access to reality, especially to what is new, what is evolving through men's everyday modes of conduct.

Along with broader practical observation, greater attention should be given to scientific explorations and theoretical generalizations. There are quite a few works of art about materials from the past and present that would have enjoyed much more of a success if they had been preceded by a thorough study of historic or social facts and interconnections.

Surmounting What Is Alien to the Essence of Socialism

When we ask about the artistic efficacy of our literature today and in the future, what is important there, along with accomplishment and the content in socialist ideas, and with the relevance and truth to reality, also is the degree of commitment by which our authors, e.g., attack morally dubious thoughts and actions by their works. Socialist art doubtless must and can find a terrain also "where it is a matter of surmounting attitudes that are alien in essence to our socialist society, as our party program has put it."[10] Gerhard Holtz-Baumert's collection of stories, "Erscheinen Pflicht" [Attendance Mandatory], e.g., shows how incisively literature can operate in this regard. It shows negative attitudes for what they are without allowing the least bit of doubt in the real humanistic capacity of our society to surmount such attitudes.

For literary works which intend this kind of effect, in conformity with social requirements, it is important for their creators and readers to understand profoundly two fundamental facts of Marxist-Leninist theory and policy: first, that development proceeds through contradictions and an idea of a condition without contradictions is undialectical and does not conform to our world-outlook; second, that it is criticism and self-criticism which our party uses deliberately to attack and overcome phenomena in our life which contradict socialism and to banish from socialist society such attitudes as egotism, heartlessness, greed and so forth.

On occasion one runs into texts that pretend critical portrayals of petty bourgeois views and modes of conduct but actually cultivate such characteristics in a literary way. The impression is created that such features are compatible with socialist society, peculiarities of socialism in a way, instead of deeply alien to the nature of this order. There are literary works which leave room for such interpretations due to a conspicuous lack of social accuracy in the literary portrayal. One must therefore carefully distinguish between criticism, or the so-called critical element in the GDR's socialist literature, and anti-socialist criticism. As with respect to everything else in our political life and literary creation, criticism must be judged in accordance with class-bound criteria as well. What a criticism actually is does not depend on quantity and is not determined by how sharp it may be as such, but by the answer to the question whether it comes from party-minded positions that strengthen or order or not. We must distinguish whether we are dealing with criticism that affirms socialism and criticizes obstacles that are hurting the forward march of socialism or with a criticism of real socialism expounded in the name of bourgeois value and individualistic personality ideas or of anarchistic anti-order conceptions. On manifestations impeding us, criticism is welcome to us which illuminates the reasons and motives for such manifestations and reveals their tenacity or the degree of their social harmfulness. And no one ought to think he can find a handle there for confusing it with anti-socialist attacks.

Altogether, the development of our socialist literature in the 1980's takes place under conditions that tax our capacities as never before in the struggle for the progress of mankind, the safeguarding of peace, and the communist future. Never yet since the end of World War II has world peace been as threatened as right now. In their alliance with other humanistic forces, the communists stand in the front

rank of the struggle against that pernicious imperialist policy. "Aware of the communists' great joint responsibility to peace and to averting the danger of war, our party has sought and is seeking to reinforce and extend its cooperation with the communist and workers parties and with all forces interested in peace and progress."[11] One of the most important tasks of our socialist literature and art is to track still more accurately all the problems of cognition and conduct that are tied up with those contradictory developments and help provide for people political, psychological and moral backing and guidance in these struggles.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 107.

2. Hermann Kant, "We Have Been and Are Ready When It Is a Matter of Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 24 September 1981, p 4.

3. Cf. NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR, No 3, 1981, pp 99 ff.

4. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 108.

5. Ibid., p 107.

6. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 52.

7. Kurt Hager, "Zu Fragen der Kulturpolitik der SED" (On SED Cultural Policy Matters), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1972, p 32.

8. Quoted in Maxie Wander, "Tagebuecher und Briefe" (Diaries and Letters), Der Morgen book publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 168.

9. Johannes R. Becher, "Lessons on Facts or the Fairy Tale of Reality," "Gesammelte Werke" (Collected Works), Vol 13, Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1972, pp 139-140.

10. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 107.

11. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 3. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo to the Third SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 22.

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MEMOIRS OF SED'S ALEXANDER ABUSCH REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 2, Feb 82 (signed to press 13 Jan 82) pp 215-217

["In the Spirit of the Invincible Cause"--Review by Prof Dr Werner Neubert, head, faculty for Cultural Policy and Aesthetics, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; of book "Der Deckname, Memoiren" (The Cover Name. Memoirs), by Alexander Abusch, member, SED Central Committee; published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1981]

[Text] Autobiographical and memoir literature has, quantitatively and above all qualitatively, reached a level in our republic in the course of the last 15 years that raises it up into an indispensable constitutive element of the GDR's socialist national literature. In the literature of this genre and topic there are many (and still much better to be used) potentials for a firmly established Marxist-Leninist consciousness of history, and for keeping alive and carrying on the best traditions and values of the revolutionary German workers movement, in being proud of what has been accomplished. In all this, scientific historiography and individual memoirs published about the great struggles, temporary defeats and historic victories constitute no nicely differentiated positions taken on our era, nor are they reciprocal "complements," but they rather work together organically, are working "in each other," as Hegel once put it in a different context.

This qualitative efficacy, which ultimately requires a readership to be recognized, finds its decisive premise in the level of the scientific-party-minded standpoint of the author presenting the events of his time. He faces the task of rating his own role within the historic efforts of the working class party and the revolutionary world movement objectively as a whole and, with it, in its unique character, intellectual, psychological, emotional in kind. The result should not be merely a confirmation of oneself through retrospect but, above all, increase in knowledge for those who come after us, an enrichment of our fund of party-minded education experience, and a handing on of basic verities in our class struggle.

Alexander Abusch's memoirs are a new climax among all the many rich and ripe autobiographies and memoirs we already have with their different content emphases, formal solutions and individual visions. It is of importance here that the author takes a position here as one who participated in epochal events. The fiery zeal of historic experience and co-combativeness is what the reader here senses on every page of the book, the passion of a revolutionary wholly submersed in the

cause, from the "school" of Karl Liebknecht, Lenin and Thaelmann, finding expression in each of the 22 chapters in the volume. As the credo for his memoirs one may take the plain yet programmatic statement for any party-minded presentation and formulation--found in the prologue, "While Writing My Memoirs": "If one wants to write as a communist, communist spirit must imbue even the toughest experiences and decisions" (p 10). In the few pages of introduction, Alexander Abusch alludes to the "aesthetics" in the conception of his two volumes of memoirs, covering the years 1902 to 1940 and 1940 to 1954, and he mentions the productive "torment" of his project: "What to pick out from the wealth of experience and cognition? How to find the drops which mirror the ocean of events as broadly and deeply as possible?" (p 9). Along with reawakening the sense of recall, documentary search and the evaluation of facts and documents were required, and attitudes, positions, and decisions for half a century had to be reexamined. The outcome of this arduous effort once again confirms that what Johannes R. Becher called finding the "salient point" in its dialectic with party-mindedness is the key to success in memoir literature.

In these memoirs of his, the author has found an impressive synthesis of scientific precision in presenting party history, at least bits of it, defined as "educational novel" by literary history and literary theory, that is to say, in presenting the actual growth of a person under the circumstances and conditions of his historic-political time.

So it is only logical that the memoirs start with a detailed presentation of the family and local milieu in which young Alexander Abusch, born in Cracow in 1902, receives the first impressions of his life as one of five children of hard-working parents in Nuernberg, his primarily social basic experience of existence, as it were, which--however many qualitatively new personality factors were added through party and self-education--remains yet unforgettable for the subsequent decades of this dynamic and stirring biography.

The tough subsistance struggle of his parents, getting to know work as the highest demand placed on all physical and psychological capacities of the individual, a humanity and solidarity in everyday life virtually taken for granted, the still unconscious yet steady search for beauty, cleanliness and clarity in interhuman relations, all that is presented impressively and against a concrete historic background in the first two chapters about the curriculum vitae of young Alexander Abusch ("A Boy Becomes a Communist" and "Apprenticeship and Not Much Travel"). This is the exposition for an individual life which can gain its dimensions however not until it can fully find a new, collectively organized and historically organizing force--the revolutionary party of the workers class.

In Nuernberg-Gostenhof, young Alexander Abusch experiences World War I, the years of the imperialist atrocities, the year of the great turning point in the world, 1917, the revolutionary uproar of the large massive strikes of 1918 against the military policy of prolonging the war, and he receives the light beam of the new hope emitted by Spartacus and the just then founded KPD. All this stirs him into a positive restlessness of awakening to a new world of social justice and permanent peace that still has to be fought for. Among all the many social, pedagogical, psychological and aesthetic experiences conveyed to the reader here in an impressive language which yet does not shy away from the emotional, one should be

aware especially of the effect described that reading had, the full awakening of Abusch's love for a good book--belles-lettres and scientific literature, particularly the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Reading profoundly informed his personality, his mental productivity, through all of his life's phases and responsibilities. These passages in Abusch's memoirs furthermore provide enormously important and most pertinent information on the place of literature and that of reading in the intellectual education of the individual, not last in the instilling of sentiments. One statement of pure beauty summarizes Abusch's early relationship to literature: "Literature mentally prepared me for how the soil is loosened up to receive the seed" (p 39). A member of the youth groups around Karl Liebknecht at the age of 16, he becomes, barely 17, a founding member of the KPD, which constituted itself at the turn from 1918 to 1919. That this marks the beginning of incessant work on himself too, is insinuated by some self-interrogating flash-backs by the now fully mature and experienced. And here there comes then another sentence of the greatest importance to party education and socialist education in the broader sense: "But already it seemed to him (Author: Alexander Abusch is barely 20 years old) he had succeeded in keeping his dreams and ideals from turning into utopias or into a drive for a purely individualistic self-realization--and that instead the basic experience of his youth had tied him firmly into the large community of struggling men" (p 74).

The stations of his life that are presented in the next chapters show the responsible editor or editor-in-chief of several communist newspapers, the longest period with the legal and illegal "Red Flag." They also present the party worker Alexander Abusch working together with Ernst Thaelmann, Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht, Franz Dahlem, Wilhelm Florin, Theodor Neubauer, and Ernst Schneller. Described are the creative acquaintance and the start of the great friendship with Johannes R. Becher and many representatives of the progressive-humanistic, proletarian-revolutionary, socialist literature and art. The chapter, "The Experience of the Great Plan," is devoted to a trip by a delegation to the USSR at the time of the first Five-Year Plan (1930)--an account of utter plasticity in its impressions, somewhat like enrolling in the university of communist construction.

Alexander Abusch's presentation sets the features of many outstanding functionaries of the KPD and the communist world movement in bold relief. Especially the personalities of Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck, encountered in their revolutionary work, are fashioned into portrays of authentic accuracy and ardent cordiality in the chronologically written chapters of the book.

The increasing dynamics of the memoirs is no literary device employed by the writer but an expression of the enormous intensification of the class struggle in Germany and the world in the 1920's and 1930's. Thus the chapters in the second half of the book describe the contradictory developments that would lead to Hitler fascism and eventually to World War II. They document the KPD's truly gigantic struggle to avert fascism, create a united front and prevent war. And the book manages to meld the person of the narrator with the course of events, as the resolutions and measures and the needed new way of operating in the illegal KPD become, for a contemporary reader, a vivid demonstration of the invincibility in the struggle for the just cause. From the antifascist struggle on the Saar (1935) via the illegal Brussels and Bern party conferences of 1935 and 1939, to the eve and beginning of World War II, the memoirs draw a dramatic bow

engendered by the course of events, presenting the reader, along with the heroics in the illegal struggle, also, inevitably, with the many different forms of stunning tragedy. It is altogether typical of this book that the individual human element finds itself heartfully suspended (in the sense of being positively preserved) in the objective historical, as for example, when the author among other things describes the tragic fate of his parents and relatives, or when he comes to talk about the inspired help the party gave to Anna Seghers to achieve an optimum conceptual-artistic quality in the novel "Das siebte Kreuz" [The Seventh Cross] she had just begun (cf. p 471).

The author does not shy away from taking a position in his memoirs on matters that are likely to be unavoidable concomitants of incisive revolutionary transformations: cases of reneging and betrayal. Here Alexander Abusch comes up with an ideological diagnosis which--however much subjective circumstances may modify it--essentially is, as a matter of principle, one of party-minded lucidity and accuracy: "There are many forms of mental betrayal that always appear when world political situations become tense. Traitors cannot fogive communism for also suffering defeat on its tough course and even requiring sacrifice. In that they find its 'errors,' but not the real ones, which the party, in Lenin's spirit, recognizes and corrects self-critically in good time" (p 452).

In this sense, the author makes no secret either of actual difficulties during sudden turns in politics, notably the period leading to World War II, when the USSR found itself compelled resolutely to use the contradictions among the imperialist states for the sake of protecting socialism. But also the unforeseeably fast collapse of French military resistance against Hitler's speedy tank wedges--facilitated by the obvious treason of anticommunist politicians and military--in 1940, confronted the communists, as the author shows, with entirely new tactical problems, which in the given situation initially led to a number of different answers. Without whitewashing these real problems, the book then also shows that, historically speaking, none but the Marxist-Leninist party with its firmness of principle can handle even the most complicated situations in the class struggle.

The title of the memoirs is taken from a Gestapo file found: "Der Deckname" (Abusch also used the names"Ernst Reinhardt," "Comrade Ernst," and "Ernst Bayer"). The book ends with a description of the situation in France after Hitler's "Lightning Victory" in 1940, and the author's attempt to join a different front of the anti-Hitler struggle, on party orders, by routes possibly still open--in the given case it was to be via the democratic, anti-fascist Mexico. The second volume of the memoirs (title: "Mit offenem Visier" [With Open Visor]) will describe that period among other things and the dramatic return, almost up to our republic's current socialist cultural policy. No doubt, after becoming familiar with the first volume, a reader is likely to look forward to the second with suspense.

With these memoirs by Alexander Abusch, our literature receives an important work completely clear and true in content, and in a form of austere beauty of presentation of history shared and fought for. It is an achievement that warrants using the force of revolutionary example contained in it fully for educating and steeling new generations of fighters in the spirit of the invincible cause of Marxism-Leninism.

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SOVIET AMBASSADOR ABRASIMOV'S BOOK ON BERLIN REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 2, Feb 82 (signed to press 13 Jan 82) pp 218-220

["West Berlin and Detente"--Review by Prof Dr Stefan Doernberg, director, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; chairman, GDR Scientific Council for Foreign Policy Research; vice president, GDR Committee for European Security and Cooperation; on book "Westberlin gestern un heute" (West Berlin Yesterday and Today) by Soviet Ambassador Petr Abrasimov; published by Staatsverlag der DDR, East Berlin, 1981]

[Text] Signing the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin was among the most important events at the start of the detente process, which authoritatively fashioned international relations in the 1970's and the further extension of which is not only possible but urgently needed. In the course of the Cold War, West Berlin, due to the imperialist policy of confrontation and conflict instigation, had become a particularly neuralgic spot in Europe and the world beyond. Experiences gained in defusing that situation and signing the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin on 3 September 1971 mainly demonstrate how international accords can be reached on enforcing detente and settling complicated international conflicts and what place value such accords have with respect to further international development.

Petr Abrasimov's book, "Westberlin gestern und heute" (West Berlin Yesterday and Today), attests to that in having the reader mentally recapitulate the development of the West Berlin problem. That applies to the history that gave rise to it and its exacerbation in the 1950's and 1960's as to the efforts to find a solution, to the concrete course of the complicated and tense negotiations that led to the signing of the Quadripartite Agreement in 1971 as, finally, to the conflicts about strictly abiding by it. This book is persuasive, not only by the compelling cogency in the ideas expressed, accuracy, party-minded polemics and detail combining with having specific problems clearly embedded within the overall development of international conflict, but also by the effective journalistic manner of presentation, making the reader take part in the events, the negotiations and the conflicts.

The book conveys revealing insights into the work of a socialist diplomat who, representing his party and his state, was assigned to an important sector of the comprehensive international class struggle, and who is always aware of his high responsibility to his own people, the people of his host country, and all peoples in the socialist community.

For every good reason, the author writes: "Here, in and around West Berlin, many lines of world politics intersect and the interests of the four powers as well as of many other countries do. West Berlin formed a sort of 'neuralgic spot.' Complications over this spot would at once set in motion the complicated mechanism in the interactions of the whole system of international relations and immediately affect the political world climate as demonstrated among other things by the events of 1948 and 1961. Due to the policy of the Western powers, West Berlin was for many years among the most acute hotbeds of international tension and seriously obstructed the normalization of the situation in Europe and the world at large. West Berlin was a global problem. It contained an extensive set of issues tied up with solving pertinent, highly important practical problems to which many countries and the international public paid special attention" (p 12).

That West Berlin evolved into a hotbed of conflict of international range doubtless was caused and compelled by that many-layered problems bunched up here that were extremely tough to entangle. According to the strategic conceptions of the most aggressive NATO forces, West Berlin had received the function of an advanced bridgehead within the socialist community, a source of unrest, a center of intelligence and other subversive activities, mainly that of ideological diversion. An important place in the struggle the Soviet Union and its allies carried on to preserve the peace that had been jeopardized by aggressive imperialist policy, even since the end of the 1940's, was assigned to the many initiatives for normalizing the situation in and around West Berlin. Then, to be sure, they did not yet lead to the desired stable solution under international law and yet were a significant contribution to preventing a world conflagration.

Measures taken on 13 August 1961 by the GDR government in close concurrence with the USSR and other socialist states, were extremely important. Securing the GDR's border with West Berlin, consolidating the economic foundations and social relations in the socialist German state, and mainly the significant change of the international correlation of forces in favor of socialism helped start in the capitals of the three Western powers a reexamination process of their ideas about settling German affairs and the problem of east-west relations as such. The realization that negotiations were the only reasonable alternative for settling unresolved problems began to prevail. In West Berlin itself, more and more symptoms became apparent of a more realistic approach to the developmental prospects of this city and of the opportunities and needs to draw West Berlin into the process of international detente, above all into ensuring European security and cooperation.

West Berlin, as Petr Abrasimov emphasizes, had developed into "a specific administrative-territorial community, a city in its own right with its own status, a special structure unequalled in international practice on the whole" (p 81). The respect and confirmation of this reality had become the only possible starting point to get to propitious agreements by which to safeguard the interests of all states affected, mainly also those of the GDR, in the midst of whose territory West Berlin is located, and also, not last, the interests of the West Berlin population itself.

"The indefatigable efforts of the Soviet Union finally bore fruit. The basic issues pertaining to West Berlin were settled in the Quadripartite Agreement, signed on 3 September 1971, which contained well-balanced rules of advantage to all sides and made an important contribution to ensuring peace and security in Europe. The Quadripartite Agreement was a compromise; its strategic goal was to normalize the situation around West Berlin by placing the situation that had actually arisen in this area under international law. And the goal was attained. West Berlin stopped functioning as fuel for international tension" (p 12). The core of the agreement was the ruling of principle that the Western sectors would "continue to be no parts of the FRG, nor governed by it" (p. 184). It is equally significant that the agreement concretely addresses only the Western sectors, which also then clearly delineates the substance of the agreement. The signers of the agreement emphatically endorse the sovereignty of the GDR, mainly also in its exercising its sovereign rights with respect to the development of connections between West Berlin and the FRG and other states.

The negotiations among the representatives of the Soviet Union, France, Great Britain and the United States in 1970 and 1971, and the signing of the Quadripartite Agreement and its implementation, far exceed in importance the in itself highly significant settling of the West Berlin problem. Abrasimov's work once again makes clear that through the Quadripartite Agreement, through coping with an extremely complicated and difficult matter, the need and possibility of a policy of peaceful coexistence and detente was demonstrated. The negotiations themselves, and especially their outcome, confirm that even the most difficult problems in international relations can be resolved at a mutual advantage when there is a political will to do so. In this it is an indispensable requirement that all participants show a readiness for compromise, based on an objective analysis of the participants' interests.

The key for success lay in the Soviet Union's position of principle on defusing and resolving the West Berlin issue and in the combination between firmness of principle and elasticity marking the Soviet negotiating team. The governments of France, Great Britain and the United States and their representatives doubtless contributed to the success of the negotiations. Delays, however, occured time and time again because influential circles made attempts to bargain for unilateral advantages and pose unacceptable conditions. And then there were efforts made by certain circles in the FRG to misuse the negotiations on West Berlin as leverage for, as it were, constraining the GDR's sovereignty through the back-door and obtaining a vested right to being able to continue and manipulate West Berlin as a means of pressure for neorevanchist claims. These efforts, as well as the hopes to be able to drive a wedge--even the slimmest--between the USSR and the GDR, foundered miserably.

The negotiations on signing the West Berlin agreement were a model, as it were, for the closely coordinated foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the GDR and received new impulses from the peace program announced at the 24th CPSU Congress and the peace concept of the Eighth SED Congress which is identical with it. "We worked together fruitfully with the leadership of the SED and the GDR and conferred on all questions that arose," Comrade Abrasimov writes. "That followed not only from the directives I had received as member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR ambassador, but also from our attitude of principle toward the fraternal

parties and countries. Not one step pertaining to German affairs and West Berlin was taken without consideration for the view of our German friends. We spent countless hours with Comrade Erich Honecker, the members of the SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR ministers discussing constantly arising questions. Such fraternal cooperation was a precept for the successful implementation of Soviet foreign policy, especially for resolving issues that had to do with German and West Berlin affairs--let alone our developing direct relations with the GDR" (pp 65-66).

Since it came into force, the Quadripartite Agreement has on the whole proven a reliable instrument to end the permanent and perilous crisis around West Berlin. The search for a balance of interests, for well-balanced agreements at mutual advantage and reciprocally preventing damage has become an organic component of the policy of peaceful coexistence and detente, which turns it into something new brought into international relations by the foreign policy of socialism. The traditional methods and goals of imperialist foreign policy stand in contradiction to it. Representatives of capitalist states keep having trouble in taking the realities of our era into account. And when the international situation becomes more tense especially there comes more of a pressure for returning to old forms of behavior. When influential NATO circles in the second half of the 1970's went into their confrontation policy, the West Berlin agreement also was variously infringed, especially by attempts at testing the stress it could take and undermining its key provisions by dealing with West Berlin as if it were de facto a Land of the FRG.

The effort to abide strictly by the Quadripartite Agreement, especially in situations where new tensions arise elsewhere, demands constant attention from the USSR, the GDR and their allies. Once again as in all other cases, the Soviet Union and the GDR have demonstrated the loyalty to agreements by socialist states. They have done what they could to preserve completely all the positive that was achieved through the Quadripartite Agreement and, in fact, to develop its inherent possibilities further. With it, they resolutely rule out any violation of the agreement. That is in the interest of all people "to whom peace and quiet are dear in this part of Europe," because, Petr Abrasimov affirms, "life itself and practice convincingly prove that the Quadripartite Agreement, balancing the interests of all participants, can function normally only if one relates to it carefully and cautiously. And that means, all sides have to respect the spirit and letter of the agreement precisely, regardless of whether they like it or not" (p 166).

It attests to the great value of the Quadripartite Agreement that 10 years after it came into effect the respect for its provisions, and thus the usefulness of this agreement for ensuring security in Central Europe, are predominant. Yet we must continue in our efforts to stabilize these effects, ruling out new complications in West Berlin affairs. "The USSR and the GDR do what they can to have the Quadripartite Agreement function successfully. They seek no unilateral advantages, let alone confrontation with the West, neither in West Berlin nor because of West Berlin. That kind of approach they are entitled to expect of the Western side as well" (p 182).

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SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 2, Feb 82 (signed to press 13 Jan 82) 'Resumes' addendum

Socialist Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs Industry in Step With 1980's

[Summary of 'Our Agriculture in the 1980's' feature article by Werner Felfe, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for agriculture; pp 130-138. A translation of this article is published under the heading, SED Calls for Agricultural Production Consolidation in 1980's," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] Relying on the cooperative farmers and the workers in agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry for making a positive contribution to our economic balance sheet, and in preparation for the 12th Farmers Congress, the tasks of that contribution are presented for the high performance improvement that is needed, as analyzed at the Third Central Committee plenum. What is mainly needed is a better performance in the field and in the stables with a more favorable cost/benefit ratio. To that end, it is necessary comprehensively to use science and technology, consolidate the LPG's and VEG's, deepen cooperation, and continue the use of all forms of cooperative democracy.

The New LPG Law--Important Basis for Continued Implementation of SED's Agricultural Policy

[Summary of 'Our Agriculture in the 1980's' feature article by Heinz Kuhrig, GDR minister for agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs; member, SED Central Committee; pp 139-144. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Agriculture Minister on New LPG Law, Cooperative Farmer's Status," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] The 12th Farmers Congress of the GDR is first going to discuss extensively and then ratify the new LPG bill. What is its main concern? How does it take care of the SED's agricultural policy, the development of the class of the cooperative farmers, and the rural production relations?

Answers to these questions, based on an analysis of what has been accomplished, show that the cooperative farmers will in the future continue to create the prerequisites for reliably supplying the population and industry with their products.

Experiences From the Work of Our Cooperation Council

[Summary of 'Our Agriculture in the 1980's' feature article by Johannes Ruhnke, chairman, Agricultural Producer Cooperative for Crop Production (LPG/P), Berthelsdorf; and Heinz Ziegenbalg, chairman, Agricultural Producer Cooperative for Livestock Production (LPG/T), Grosshennersdirf; pp 145-149]

[Text] How does the working method of the cooperation council encourage the cooperation between crop and animal production, and how does its activity encourage the joint responsibility for the streamlined agricultural reproduction process? How should its work be organized, and what ideological and practical questions have to be resolved in that process? What new requirements are placed on its work? Devoted to those questions, the authors present experiences of the work on a cooperation council and point to good results achieved in the joint crop and animal production effort.

Cooperative Facilities and Cooperative Democracy

[Summary of 'Our Agriculture in the 1980's' feature article by Eva Hempel, member, SED Central Committee; first secretary, SED Schwerin-Land Kreis Management; pp 150-153]

[Text] Cooperative facilities are of great weight to the agricultural performance improvement required. How do the LPG's and their cooperation partners fulfill their duty of joint responsibility for the cooperative facilities' activities? What role is assigned here to the functionaries' assemblies, and which ideological issues have to be settled? Experiences are conveyed about this from the work of the functionaries' assemblies in Schwerin-Land Kreis.

Higher Standards of Social Responsibility for Our Agricultural Sciences

[Summary of 'Our Agriculture in the 1980's' feature article by Prof Dr Erich Ruebensam, member, SED Central Committee; president, GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences; pp 154-160]

[Text] Implementing the main task in the 1980's calls for a large agricultural performance boost relying on further advances in intensification. It heightens the social responsibility of our agricultural sciences. On that basis the tasks are discussed for accelerating scientific-technical progress,

especially for a broader reproduction of soil fertility, mainly that of organic substances, in creating new crop and animal varieties, preparing modern production methods, and a more rapid application of scientific-technical data.

The 'Food Weapon' in US Global Strategy's Arsenal

[Summary of 'Our Agriculture in the 1980's' feature article by Dr Horst Schilling, department head, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 161-167]

[Text] To representatives of U.S. imperialism, foodstuffs are "more powerful weapons than guided missiles or a warhead." Combined with showing off its military power and with shamelessly exploiting starvation in developing countries, which imperialism has caused, Washington is employing that weapon to make its world domination interests prevail. Blackmail pressures are exercised against progressive developments, while reactionary, terrorist and counterrevolutionary forces are being backed. Thwarting this "food power" strategy calls for the cooperation of all progressive forces and high achievements by socialist agriculture.

Produce More With Less Expenditure

[Summary of article by Siegfried Porsche, engineer, general director, VEB Combine for Roller Bearings and Standard Parts; pp 168-172]

[Text] The thriftiest use of energy, material and raw materials is a mission for the fulfillment of which each manager bears all the more of a high responsibility in view of the altered conditions. How are these factors of intensification effectively being tapped today and with a view to the future in the VEB Combine for Roller Bearings and Standard Parts? How is the work, relying on the initiatives of all working people, being organized in accordance with the new intensification criteria? On what must a long-term material and refinement conception be based to maintain top positions on the world market even beyond 1985?

VEB Combine for Roller Bearings and Standard Parts

Producer of joints, roller bearings, chains and springs with a work force of 26,000. Its 550,000 products are used mainly in the motor vehicle industry and in plant and machine construction.

The combine includes 22 production enterprises, one foreign trade enterprise, one ADP center, a centralized plant for means of rationalization construction, and one for design and research.

High-grade products are exported to 20 different countries. There are close ties with all producers of roller bearings in the CEMA countries. Reciprocal deliveries are correlated with them; scientific-technical tasks are jointly organized.

As the most important combine in the ancillary industry, it has a great responsibility for meeting the requirements of the end producers.

Legacy of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Struggle for Peace

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Annelies Laschitza, sector chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 180-186]

[Text] In the struggle against imperialism, militarism and war, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg left us with an inheritance which today, when safeguarding peace has become the fundamental task of mankind, has become a compelling legacy to us for doing all we can to banish world war from international life. The breadth of their realization ranges from their focusing on the international workers class as the main force, via their seeking a broad, all-inclusive anti-militarist movement, to linking time-tested means with new methods in the peace struggle, all the way to the early signs of a socialist peace policy alongside Soviet power emerging just then in the fire of the Red October.

Imperialist 'Policy of Strength'--A Dangerous Delusion

[Summary of article by Dr Peter Stechmesser, staff employee, SED Central Committee; pp 187-196]

[Text] Has the development of humanity impotenly been caught in the "infernal arms race cycle" with all its perilous consequences, as the most aggressive circles of imperialism are apt to suggest? In confronting the "ideology of strength," which aims to bestow some pseudo-legitimacy on the imperialist "policy of strength," the evidence provided in the article is this: That which was novel in principle when socialism brought it to international affairs in our era provides mankind, branded with wars for centuries, with justified hope for permanently stabilizing peace through the peoples' energetic struggle.

Wall Street, Pentagon and Their Pets

[Summary of 'The World of Capital Today' feature article by Werner Flach, department head, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 197-202]

[Text] Going cahoots with the reactionary regimes installed, fostered and protected by Washington has been and is an essential component of the expansionist policy of U.S. imperialism

as it aims for supremacy in the world. Their relentless terror against their own peoples and against progressive developments in other countries, their strategic locations, military potentials and natural resources are turning regimes like the Latin American dictatorships, the South Africa apartheid state, the aggressor Israel and the South Korean puppet regime into preferred alliance partners of the chief imperialist power.

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'COMMON CLASS FEATURES' BETWEEN RELIGION, MARXISM EMPHASIZED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 30 No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 2 Nov 81) pp 114-120

['Discussion' feature article by Dr Franz Loeser, prof emeritus, Department of Theory and Organization of Science, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "On Epistemic Problems of Faith"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th Party Congress contained a critical discussion by Leonid Brezhnev about political activities for the masses. He found fault with the fact that big propaganda opportunities are not being fully utilized, that the forms of political activities affecting the masses are almost paralyzed, that propaganda is afraid of touching on delicate topics and raising difficult questions and inadequately prepared to convey questions in a manner that is effective with the masses. He explicitly demanded a reorganization of many areas of ideological work to increase their effect on the masses and make them correspond to the growing expectations of Soviet citizens.[1] Erich Honecker made a similar statement during the 10th SED Congress: "It has always been the best policy--knowing the superiority of our good cause--to explain a situation exactly as it is, even during complicated periods, without circumventing the difficulties."[2] "We are dealing with knowledgeable, intelligent people who are not satisfied with generalities and slogans. They expect comprehensive information and pertinent arguments, to be able to orient themselves properly."[3]

The fact that the increase in mass effectiveness of ideological activities is a vital question for society received special emphasis in the politburo resolution of the SED Central Committee, "Future Tasks for the Party's Political Activities for the Masses."[4] An increase in the mass effectiveness of ideological activities, however, requires, among other things, the specific research into the transformation of theoretical knowledge into practical-political actions. Consequently the following statement can be found in the above-mentioned resolution by the politburo of the SED Central Committee: "Our social scientists should place more importance on...exploring the scientific foundations of political mass activities, particularly by agitators and through propaganda."[5] But to date there have been far too few philosophers who have followed this challenge by our party. One of the few praiseworthy exceptions is Dieter Wittich and his article, "Marxism-Leninism as a Theoretical and a Practiced Ideology."[6] Another article, "On the Structure

of Practiced Ideology" by B. Okun, which is based on D. Wittich's work, continues the efforts of exploring the process of transition from ideological knowledge to conscious, political actions.[7]

It is certainly understandable that the common struggle by philosophers and other scientists to comprehend more accurately this enormously complicated and partially still unexplored process of knowledge can also lead to diverse opinions. The decisive factor, however, is a clarification of differences of opinion and a discussion of these opinions by the party in a fair and constructive manner and mutual assistance in the effort to continue the creative development and effectiveness of our Marxist-Leninist philosophy in this area. In my opinion, B. Okun's remark is therefore of little help. He was referring to my thesis on the effect of a scientifically based socialist faith as a basis of knowledge for conscious socialist actions, as an important phase of knowledge during the process of transformation from the theoretical to the practiced Marxist-Leninist ideology. In a footnote to the above-mentioned article Okun stated: "F. Loeser...is introducing an irrational trait into the discussion which, in my opinion, is unnecessary."[8] Irrationalism would not only be "unnecessary" for our discussion; being one of the most reactionary imperialist ideologies, it is incompatible with our philosophy. The question to be discussed here is: Is it a case of a linguistic error, an attempt to cling to an outdated category--no longer suitable for our purposes--when the word "faith" is used to express socialist aspects of consciousness, something I have done, but it is also widespread in our socialist literature as well as in our spoken language? Or does this concept also have scientific justification in socialism?

The opinion expressed in the "Philosophisches Woerterbuch" [Philosophical Dictionary] is widespread in our literature of the social sciences. Accordingly, faith exists exclusively in its religious form, and the belief in the existence of a supernatural being is in irreconcilable opposition to science and being misused for reactionary purposes of imperialism.[9] But to restrict the concept of faith exclusively to its reactionary religious form is in contradiction to the social as well as the cognitive practice. There are innumerable examples for the significance of a scientifically based faith in the struggle of the proletariat as well as in the life of our socialist society. Here are merely a few examples. From his death cell in Ploetzensee, shortly before his execution by the fascists, the communist resistance fighter Harro Schulze-Boysen wrote to his parents: "...I do not only hope, I believe that time will relieve your suffering....Believe with me that the just time will come when everything will come to fruition!" Juergen Kuczynski is writing in this "just time": "But in my opinion it is wrong not to want to talk about a Marxist faith, for instance, in the final victory of socialism.... At any rate, I would like to speak quite openly about my faith in the world victory of socialism...."[10] During the process of educating socialist personalities, particularly in our military training, the "faith in our socialist fatherland," the "faith in the victory of socialism" and similar concepts are used again and again. Even in the documents of the party of the working class, the concept of faith has played a significant role from the beginning of the labor movement until the present day. In 1847 the first Congress of the Communist League passed the "draft of the communist creed," which, on good authority, was written by Friedrich Engels.

This "communist creed" was the starting point for the "Communist Manifesto" and introduced the first Marxist discussion in the history of the labor movement for the preparation of a party program. During the 26th CPSU Congress Leonid Brezhnev said: "It is important to develop a style of work which combines in an organic manner willingness to participate and discipline with bold initiative and enterprising spirit, practical thinking and objectivity with the orientation toward big goals, critical attitudes toward shortcomings with the unshakable belief in the historic advantages of the road chosen by us."[11]

In philosophical circles there have also been moves to counter the attempts or restricting faith to its religious form. G. Claus wrote: "Faith and creditibility are by no means limited to religious statements. There is a faith based on reason, a faith in the truth of statements, in the truth of theories, etc."[12] In its definition of the term "faith," the "Kleines Woerterbuch der marxistisch-leninistischen Philosophie" [Small Dictionary of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy] makes a distinction between religious and theoretical faith. Theoretical faith is defined as follows: "Such a faith is based on reliable knowledge which has already been examined and on practical experiences. It plays an important role with respect to the orientation for practical actions and attitudes, especially in the class struggle."[13] It may suffice to demonstrate that in our literature the thesis of a scientifically based socialist faith is by no means considered as irrelevant or even irrational as might be gathered from B. Okun's remark.

As far as my own opinion is concerned, there are at least two reasons why I feel that it is wrong to limit faith exclusively to religious faith, which is being misused by imperialism for its own purposes. First of all, this restriction robs the progressive religious forces of their theoretical and ideological foundation in their struggle against imperialism and for world peace. Second, it relinquishes the category of faith without a struggle to its class enemy and therefore withholds from the socialist society a very important means of knowledge to master the environment.

Concerning the first point: There is no doubt that religious faith as an ideology of the exploiting classes is a wrong reflection of objective reality, irreconcilably opposed to science, and to this date its role has been markedly reactionary. The question remains, however, whether this characterization applies indiscriminately to every religious faith and beyond that to faith in general. To answer this question with respect to religious faith, one can rely on the works of the classic writers, particularly the works by F. Engels about early Christianity. Engels represented the view that the nature of religion and its faith must be explained historically, and accordingly it cannot be characterized indiscriminately as reactionary or simply as a false reflection. "A religion which subjugated the Roman Empire and dominated the greater part of civilized mankind for 1800 years cannot simply be dismissed by declaring that it is some kind of nonsense put together by impostors. The only way one can deal with it is by trying to understand and explain its origin and its development from the historic conditions under which it was established and came to power."[14] Proceeding from an historical analysis of religion, Engels shows that the Christian religion and its faith

as an ideology of the oppressed emerged during their struggle against exploitation, and on the basis of its class character under these historic conditions they were of a revolutionary nature. "The history of early Christianity offers remarkable points of contact with the modern labor movement, which, as was the case with early Christianity, was originally a movement of the oppressed..."[15] "Christianity, like all the other big revolutionary movements, was created by the masses."[16]

Therefore, if one wants to characterize religious faith, one must consider the historical conditions that existed when it began, whether it is an expression of the class interests of the oppressed or the ideology of the exploiters. In accordance with its differing class character, faith also demands a differentiating characterization. With respect to the faith of the early Christians Engels said: "The faith of these combative early congregations is of a totally different nature than the one of the later victorious church...."[17] Consequently there is no doubt that the religious faith of early Christianity as an ideology of the oppressed masses is certainly not reactionary but it definitely has progressive characteristics. The same applies in a similar manner to the corresponding Jewish faith. One need only be reminded of the Jewish prophets Isaiah and Micah (about 700 B.C.), spokesmen for the people who called attention to the exploitation, corruption and the class justice of their time: "Hear this, I pray you, ye heads of the house of Jacob and princes of the house of Israel, that abhor judgment and pervert all equity. They build up Zion with blood and Jerusalem with iniquity. The heads thereof judge for reward and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money."[18] The writings of these Jewish prophets provide us also with the religious faith in the coming kingdom of peace: "And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: Nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."[19] What Marxist would want to insist that religious faith in this form is reactionary and, although he himself has not yet been able to present a scientifically based consciousness, incompatible with scientific methods? This humanistic religious faith, as an ideology of progressive classes, anticipates to some extent the scientific realization of a classless society, in which there will be no more wars.

The struggle between a humanistic, progressive religious faith and the reactionary religious faith--the confrontation between the faith of the oppressed on one hand and the faith of the official church as an instrument of power of the ruling class on the other hand--is visible throughout the entire history of Christianity. Ambrose, the Hussites, Thomas Muentzer or, in our time, Pastor Niemoeller, the "red deacon," Dr Hewlett Johnson, Dr Martin Luther King or Ben Chavis, Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Emil Fuchs--the difference between their faith and the faith of religious ideologists of the monopoly of capital is like day and night. In several Third World countries, freedom movements and revolutionary struggles are currently operating on the ideological basis of a religious faith. Leonid Brezhnev's comment was: "Of late, active Islamic slogans have been proclaimed by a few countries of the East. As communists we respect the religious convictions of the people of the Islamic faith as we do other religions. The main thing is, what are the goals

that are being pursued by those forces who are propagating various slogans. Under the banner of Islam the struggle for liberation can unfold. There are experiences in history which are proof of it, including the most recent ones. But they also show that the reactionary forces areoperating with Islamic slogans too, instigating counterrevolutionary riots. Consequently it is important to determine what the real substance is of this or that movement."[20]

Like all the other ideological manifestations in a class society, religious faith has a class character as well. It can be progressive or reactionary, depending on the class interest which it represents. The humanistic, progressive religious faith is born during the struggle of the popular masses against exploiters and oppressors. These common class traits, which in spite of ideological and philosophical differences--which I will discuss later--create a firm bond in the struggle between the representatives of the humanistic, progressive religious faith and the Marxist-Leninists.

An indiscriminate characterization of religious faith as something reactionary and incompatible with scientific methods is not only in conflict with a scientific analysis of religious faith but also with the political necessity of our time. Today the international peace movement is faced with the task of mobilizing the broadest segment of the world population, including the people of religious faith, for the struggle for peace and against imperialism. Particularly the humanistic, progressive traits of religious faith are offering important ideological prerequisites for winning also the religiously oriented people for this common struggle of mankind and for fighting the reactionary religious faith, which is inseparably interwoven with the imperialist ideology.

With respect to the second point, the question concerning the essence of a scientifically based socialist faith: My definition of faith as an epistemic category in the most general sense is not something that is based on certainty but on a certain probability and the assumption that a piece of information is true (false). Such an assumption can be formed when the truth of the information in question cannot be proven or verified with certainty by the discerning subject.

The fact that the truth of the information has not been proven with certainty may be related to certain principles. Predictions for the future, for instance, cannot always be proven with certainty, consequently their truth content takes on a probability character. On the other hand, the expense of verifying certain information relative to its use can be so great that proving its truth is unjustified and it is left undone. No practical process of thinking, including the socialist one, provides an opportunity for the discerning subject to rely only on proven or personally verified knowledge when he deals with his environment. A great deal of information that is required, cannot be proven as being true or it cannot be verified independently. If the discerning subject would try to get along with nothing but proven or personally verified knowledge, his intellectual capacity would be so limited that it would not be able to master its environment adequately. It applies to the ordinary as well as to the scientific consciousness. Nevertheless,

although faith is ordinarily related to the everyday consciousness, it plays an indispensable role in scientific consciousness, for instance, in the form of a hypothesis. Without the hypothesis, i.e. the assumption that a thesis is true or false, although neither its truth nor its falsehood was established, many scientific problems could not be solved. A properly used faith, as the justified assumption of the truth (falsehood) of an unproven piece of information, is therefore an indispensable cognitive means for the subject to master his environment.

An interesting question which arises in this connection is whether the scientifically based socialist faith will be curtailed in its effectiveness. Juergen Kuczynski, who represents such an opinion, writes the following: "Herbert Hoerz, who was kind enough to make critical remarks about this manuscript, is doubting my thesis that faith will play a smaller and smaller role in our ideology...."[21] Since there is a trend, according to which the amount of proven and verified information grows as society moves into more and more sophisticated formations, Juergen Kuczinski is probably right in this respect. But that is only one trend. The continuing upward development of society also means that because of increasing complications in social interactions, a more and more comprehensive division of labor as well as the growing complexity of special development processes for the individual, the amount of knowledge which cannot be verified or proven by the subject himself increases simultaneously and steadily. Therefore, seen as a whole, the scientifically based faith will assume a large and steadily growing role on the road to communism and in the communist society, in everyday consciousness and also scientific thinking. In my opinion, Herbert Hoerz's doubts about the thesis represented by Juergen Kuczynski seem therefore justified.

Whenever socialist faith is mentioned, it is imperative to remember how it differs in specifics and qualitatively from religious faith, including the humanist, progressive religious faith. In contrast to religious faith, socialist faith is based on scientific findings. The socialist faith in the victory of communism on a worldwide scale, for instance, has its foundation in the knowledge of the laws of social development. From the historical point of view, the socialist faith as an expression of the interests of the working class is the first form of faith which is consistently based on the knowledge of the laws of nature, of society and of thoughts, in other words, it is the first form of a universal scientifically based faith. Beyond that and in contrast to religious faith, the socialist faith does not represent a system of dogmas, but it is a phase in the process of knowledge which will lead to conscious socialist actions. Nevertheless, the significance of the socialist faith for the transformation of theoretical knowledge into conscious socialist actions can only be understood properly if one investigates its cognitive relations to doubt and to conviction. Below are a few brief remarks on it.

In Greek antiquity, faith (doxa) was opposed to true knowledge (episteme). Doubt (scepsis) was considered a means of cognition assisting in the process of getting from faith to true knowledge. This opinion contains a very important realization. Doubt, dialectically seen, i.e. "not mere negation... but negation as an aspect of interrelationships, an aspect of development, while preserving the positive,"[22] possesses indeed great significance for

the cognitive process and the transformation of theoretical knowledge into practical actions. Doubt as interpreted by Lenin is the relization that a piece of information which is considered true (false) may in reality not be true (false) at all. The proper use of doubt is therefore a crucial cognitive prerequisite for overcoming outdated knowledge and gaining new knowledge which could lead to a higher level of actions.[23] But the mistake to see doubt and faith as irreconcilable opposites and to overemphasize the cognitive function of doubt--something that is practiced by philosophical scepticism--does not only lead to a kind of absolutism and an overrating of doubt, but it also causes a devaluation and negation of faith. Doubt as a means of gaining knowledge and as a cognitive basis for actions can only be directed at strictly limited areas and levels of the cognitive object, while--in reciprocation--faith must play a crucial role for many aspects of the cognitive object. The justified socialist faith provides an opportunity to utilize in a meaningful manner important pieces of information, the truth of which cannot be proven or doubted but which are indispensable for mastering the environment. Even though the subject has to doubt fundamental premises to be active in a creative manner, he will necessarily have to believe simultaneously in many other premises.

Faith and doubt form two necessary and reciprocally dependent sides of the united dialectic cognitive process. The history of philosophy shows that if doubt is negated and faith is made absolute, it will lead to dogmatism. If doubt is made absolute and faith rejected, the consequence is scepticism and nihilism. Only a properly applied interchange between faith and doubt can preserve the dialectic character of the cognitive process and lead to optimal actions.

The fact that faith is an indispensable cognitive foundation for practical actions must not cover up the fact that it always contains a risk because it is an assumption of the unproven truth of a piece of information.[24] If it is not the right faith, for instance, it can lead to a serious disorientation of the subject. This possibility of disorientation of a human being through the consciously steered misues of faith was recognized only too well by all the exploiting classes in history. Here one can find decisive, class-oriented and epistemic sources for the conscious development of the reactionary religious faith and the scientifically concocted imperialistic manipulation of faith. But because of its inherent risks, even the scientifically based socialist faith offers by no means an adequate cognitive foundation for the actions of man in all situations of life. In many situations, in addition to proven knowledge, the subject needs as a prerequisite for his actions some knowledge, the truth of which he convinced himself personally. Proceeding from faith, conviction is formed within the believer by personally examining what he believes while engaged in practical activities. In other words: Through the verification of the assumption of the unproven truth of a piece of information, faith can either be refuted or it can be strengthened and develop into a conviction. This process shows that compared to faith, conviction represents a higher degree of cognition. Socialist faith as a preliminary form of socialist conviction changes into the socialist conviction just as much as the socialist conviction can create prerequisites for the establishment of a new socialist faith on a higher, iterative plain of cognition.

I therefore reject tendencies of considering conviction of "socialist counterpart" to faith, more or less a "replacement" for a form of consciousness which allegedly has become outdated and is of no use. Both socialist faith and socialist conviction, two crucial components of consciousness which must be given the utmost attention when training socialist personalities and instilling conscious socialist actions, are necessary like two sides of a socialist consciousness depending on each other. If one of these two components is neglected, the other one is damaged as well and along with it the entire educational process. Consequently Juergen Kuczynski must be fully supported when he writes: "In my opinion the doctrine of faith has been neglected by our philosophers--with very rare exceptions....I think that we should...demand... that our philosophers conduct a thorough investigation into the role of faith in society, including the socialist society...."[25]

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. CPSU Central Committee Report and Future Tasks of the Party in Domestic and Foreign Policies. Reporter: L. I. Brezhnev, Berlin, 1981, p 102 ff.

2. SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress. Reporter: E. Honecker, Berlin, 1981, p 137.

3. Ibid., p 141.

4. Die weiteren Aufgaben der politischen Massenarbeit der Partei [Future Tasks fot the Party's Political Activities for the Masses], Berlin, 1977.

5. Ibid., p 85 f., see also: F. Loeser, "Philosphische Probleme der Populaerwissenschaft" [Philosophical Problems of Popular Science], DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 2, 1978.

6. D. Wittich, Der Marxismus-Leninismus als theoretische und als praktizierte Weltanschauung" [Marsixm-Leninism as Theoretical and Practiced World View], DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 10, 1979.

7. Cf. B. Okun, "Zur Struktur und Entwicklung praktizierter Weltanschauung" [About the Structure and Development of a Practiced World View], DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 1, 1981.

8. Ibid., p 83. With respect to my opinions on the category of faith see: F. Loeser, "Der Glaube als logische und heuristische Kategorie" [Faith as a Logical and Heuristic Category], WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER HUMBOLDT-UNIVERSITAET ZU BERLIN. Social and Linguistic Series, No 5, 1977, F. Loeser and D. Schulze, "Schoepfertum in der Zwangsjacke?" [Creativity in Straitjacket?], Berlin, 1980, p 33 f., F. Loeser, "Ein Traeumer, der keiner war" [A Dreamer Who Was no Dreamer], DIE WELTBUEHNE, No 2, 1979.

9. See: PHILOSOPHISCHES WOERTERBUCH, edited by G. Klaus and M. Buhr, Vol 2, Leipzig, 1976, p 1052 f.

10. J. Kuczynski, "Studien zu einer Geschichte der Gesellschaftswissenschaften" [Studies About the History of Social Sciences], Berlin, 1977, Vol 5, p 72.

11. CPSU Central Committee Report and Future Tasks of the Party in Domestic and Foreign Policies, op. cit., p 69 (Emphasis is mine--F.L.).

12. C. Klaus, "Die Macht des Wortes" [The Power of the Word], Berlin, 1968, p 143.

13. Kleines Woerterbuch der marxistisch-leninistischen Philosophie [Small Dictionary of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy], edited by M. Buhr and A. Kosing, Berlin, 1962, p 145.

14. F. Engels, "Bruno Bauer und das Urchristentum" [Bruno Bauer and Early Christianity], K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol 19, Berlin, 1962, p 297 f.

15. F. Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums" [On the History of Early Christianity], K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol 22, Berlin, 1963, p 449.

16. F. Engels, "Das Buch der Offenbarung" [The Book of Revelations], K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol 21, Berlin, 1962, p 10.

17. F. Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums," op. cit., p 471.

18. The Bible, Micah 3, Berlin, 1965, p 959.

19. Ibid., Micah 4, p 959.

20. CPSU Central Committee Report and Future Tasks of the Party in Domestic and Foreign Policies, op. cit., p 19.

21. J. Kuczynski, op. cit., p 72.

22. W.I. Lenin, "Konspekt zu Hegels 'Wissenschaft der Logik'" [Conspectus to Hegel's 'Science of Logic'], W. I. Lenin, Works, Vol 38, Berlin, 1964, p 218.

23. See also: F. Loeser and D. Schulze, "Erkenntnistheoretische Fragen einer Kreativitaetslogik" [Epistemic Questions of a Creativity Logic], Berlin, 1976, p 88 f.

24. Concerning mathematical modeling of the risk of faith cf., F. Loeser and D. Schulze, "Schoepfertum in der Zwangsjacke?" op. cit., p 37 ff.

25. J. Kuczynski, op. cit., p 72.

8991
CSO: 2300/187

AUSTRIAN CITIZEN'S EYEWITNESS REPORT ON SITUATION IN POLAND

AU231323 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0613 GMT 23 Mar 82

[Report by an Austrian who has been "regularly visiting" Poland lately and has "just returned" from Warsaw, Krakow and Gdansk, but "wants to remain anonymous," on his impressions--read by announcer]

[Text] Apparently the situation has calmed down. There are only a few military and police patrols, and only about half of the original road blocks are left; but those that have remained seem to have been made permanent. Sheds have been set up to provide accommodation, and traffic seems nearly back to normal, because rationed gasoline is obtainable, through bribing, also over and above the permitted quotas. Also rationed are foodstuffs and nearly all essential commodities, whose distribution has been taken over by military units. This, together with the trebling of prices of essential commodities early this year, has led to the queues at the shops--those perpertual signs of communist mismanagement--becoming shorter. The fact that these price increases have not yet led to the overthrow of the potentate, as happened in the cases of Gomulka and Gierek, is of course partly due to the iron fist of General Jaruzelski, but also to the trick of the authorities to pay an extra monthly salary as a one-time compensation for the price increases. Now, by the end of March, this money has been used up and increasing unrest is spreading.

However, the pay of military personnel was raised last week by 3,000 zlotys, and at the enterprises and in the administration the corrupt and inefficient functionaries, who had been dismissed as a result of the demand of "Solidarity," are now constantly being reinstalled in their former positions. The way in which the regime proceeds against "Solidarity" has changed: while in the first phase after the proclamation of martial law it was primarily the top leaders of "Solidarity" who were arrested, and strikes were broken by massive force, it is now increasingly also unimportant "Solidarity" members who are being harassed--arrested and questioned, and in many cases released again.

Nevertheless "Solidarity" has succeeded in again organizing itself in small cells. It owes this to a large extent to the Church, which fully supports it and helps it with its organization wherever it can. For example, if a Solidarity member has to attend a secret meeting in a neighboring village, a priest who hardly needs to fear any controls takes him there in his car. The activities of "Solidarity" consist in supporting the families of the interned,

the dissemination of leaflets, and acts of--thus far--only symbolic resistance. On one occasion, for example, "Solidarity" called for buying many many copies of the party paper, then throwing them on the floor and trampling on them, which was actually done everywhere.

In the leaftlets it is reported, for example, that food and drinks offered by police during questioning contain drugs designed to weaken the mental powers of resistance. From circles close to Lech Walesa it was learned that he is unwaveringly advocating the cause of his people vis-a-vis the regime. Walesa demands the release of all internees, termination of martial law, legalization of "Solidarity", return of its property, and access to his--primarily intellectual--advisers. Only then, he says, will he be ready to negotiate with the regime, with the aim of making "Solidarity" an organization confining itself to purely trade unionist activities and abstaining from any political activities.

Regarding the internment camps it was learned that the treatment there is now relatively good. The camp inmates are allowed to receive packages and occasional visits by their families. To avoid any possibility of exchanges of information with the outside world--especially with the newly forming "Solidarity"--through guard personnel, both the detainees and their guards are constantly transferred to other camps. Another method that is being employed is shuffling the camp inmates according to their social background. The large number of miners among the interned is quite striking--a sign that the resistance in the Silesian coal districts was particularly strong. The committees for the support of the internees, that are operating with the aid of the Church, claim that 5-10 percent of camp inmates are spies of the regime.

The relatively good treatment of the internees does not apply to 2 camps: Strzelce Opolskie and Ostrow Wielkopolski, where the very hard core of the resistance are interned. Unheated rooms, poor food and no access to the International Red Cross are to punish the detainees for their advocacy of freedom in a communist dictatorship. In Ostrow Wielkopolski, 42 detainees went on hunger strike on 8 March, firmly determined to end it only when their demands for abolition of martial law, release of the internees and legalization of "Solidarity" are fulfilled.

CSO: 2300/209

BRIEFS

DISCREPANCIES IN DEGREE PLANNING--During 1976-1980 there were 18,837 doctoral degrees conferred in Poland. A report entitled "Training cadres with academic degrees in Polish Academy of Sciences institutions" reveals that 1,077 people, i.e. 5.7 percent of the total number, defended their dissertations in the Polish Academy of Sciences during this period. This is basically in accordance with the established plan, although the extent of its implementation differs in individual sections. It turns out that in the Social Sciences Section, for example, there were 27 percent fewer doctorates awarded than planned, while there were 15 percent fewer in the Mathematical-Physical, Chemical and Geological Sciences Section, and 22 percent more in the Technical Sciences Section. Disproportions between forecasts and results are particularly evident in such disciplines as law, art history, philosophy, literary history and theory, and architecture, in which the number of conferred doctorates is approximately half of the planned number. This state of affairs is related primarily to a decrease in employment opportunities for specialists in these fields, to changes in the structure for financing individual institutions, different with respect to the originally planned directions of research, and to Poland's new socio-economic realities. In this connection, it is interesting that during 1976-1980 more doctorates were awarded in fields such as physiology, cybernetics, information science, environmental protection and mechanics. [Text] [by jaw] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Feb 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/453

BRIEFS

NEW OFFICIALS IN NEAMT, SIBIU--Inasmuch as some positions of deputy chairmen of the executive committees of the peoples councils in Neamt and Sibiu have become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe-Lucian Buzdugan is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Neamt County and Comrade Iosif Tutulea is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Sibiu County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 25, 5 Mar 82 p 3]

CSO: 2700/225

BANGLADESH FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES NONALIGNMENT

Sarajevo OSLOBODENJE in Serbo-Croatian 21 Feb 82 p 9

[Interview with Mohammed Shamsul Huq, Bangladesh minister of foreign affairs, by Mugdim Karabeg]

[Text] Professor Mohammad Shamsul Huq, minister of foreign affairs of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh, is more than just a "professional diplomat." For many years now his professional and life's work has been focused on the problems of Bangladesh and the interests of its people. As a university student in Dacca, Calcutta, and London he very early on opted for a major in economics while at the same time addressing himself to problems of education in the most backward regions of Southeast Asia and to the study of the social structure and issues of this region. He has lectured at the universities of Dacca and Rajshahi, and he is the author of several internationally renowned studies on education and labor in the countries of southern and southeast Asia.

He is one of the originators of a program for regional cooperation among seven Asian countries: Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Nepal, and the Maldive Islands. He is an active member of several working bodies of the nonaligned movement, the United Nations, the Islamic summit, and other international organizations. He served as an intimate adviser to the assassinated president of Bangladesh, Ziaur Rhaman, together with whom he acted as an intermediary in the Iraq-Iran conflict. He is one of those leaders of the Republic of Bangladesh who prevented the assassination of president Ziaur Rahman from being turned into a pretext for the abandonment of the late president's long-standing policy in favor of the development of Bangladesh as spelled out in the famous "19 points" and the consistent promotion of a democratic political system in that country. He is a close adviser of the current president, Djastis Abdus Satar. It is for this reason that our recent meeting with this prominent figure on the Bangladesh political scene proved to be so very interesting. When we put to him the rather conventional question as to "what he thought about the nonalignment movement" professor Shamsul Huq responded in a quite unconventional manner as if he were quoting excerpts from some of his scholarly works.

"The commitment of president Tito, with whom I was personally acquainted and whom I deeply admired, to unconditional dedication to the original principles of the nonaligned movement was a reflection of the deepest interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia is putting these principles into practice

steadfastly and in their purest form, i.e., the principles associated with the struggle for independence in the geopolitically most sensitive point on the globe between East and West, the struggle for world peace, for the freedom of all peoples, and for cooperation among all countries on the basis of full equal rights. This policy of nonalignment served as a powerful inspiration to a number of other countries, including in particular those countries which are most underdeveloped, and this also includes our own Bangladesh.

"We are fighting for the same things. Constant reliance on the original principles of the nonaligned movement arises from the most profound interests of our peoples, since this is the most solid foundation for promoting faster domestic economic development under conditions marked by the severe backwardness which we inherited. This is why all of the policies and views of Bangladesh and Yugoslavia concerning the most critical issues of international relations and development are either identical or similar. And this is why at the forthcoming conference of the nonaligned in Baghdad we too will commit ourselves to the preservation and further strengthening of these principles."

Professor Shamsul Huq, noticeably disturbed and at the same time resigned, then went on to talk about the contradictions of the modern world, the increasingly strained relations among the superpowers and the senselessness of the arms race, conflicts, including open military conflicts, among members of the nonaligned movement, and the unjust international economic order which is driving the underdeveloped countries into even greater poverty because they are forced to sell their raw materials for one dollar in order to be able to pay 10, 20 or even a 100 dollars for finished manufactured goods.

"All of these things are a reflection of the dangers and new challenges that the non-aligned will have to come to grips with in Baghdad," continued the Bangladesh minister of foreign affairs. "What are we going to do to slow down the arms race?! While a large part of the human race is suffering from starvation at least 500 billion dollars are being spent every year on weaponry and armies. And these resources could be expended so much more beneficially to promote international economic cooperation and the more rapid development of the underdeveloped countries. The world has succeeded in overcoming naked, political colonialism. But economic colonialism remains as a yoke hanging around the necks of many countries. Because of the unfair prices that prevail in trade between the world's poor and highly developed countries the profits from this trade are flowing from the most backward countries to the most affluent countries, and the gap between them is widening.

"I think that the nonaligned movement has to take a stand in favor of fulfilling several tasks of common concern to all of these countries. In the first place it is necessary to mount a struggle against hunger which is plaguing many nations, including our country, Bangladesh. This could be accomplished in part through the establishment of closer cooperation among the nonaligned countries, the creation of more open markets, and the signing of barter trade agreements based on fair prices. This would open the way for increased sales of our goods on the markets of the nonaligned countries and vice versa, greater employment, and a faster rise in incomes. I believe that another one of these common concerns is to find a way to effectively put a stop to the senseless wars that are going on among nonaligned countries..."

Minister Huq then went on to comment in detail on the subject of regional cooperation among the countries of southeast Asia. This cooperation got under way last year with the holding of two conferences of deputy foreign ministers and the formation of study groups dealing with the areas of agriculture, rural development, transportation, health care, meteorology, communications, postal services, and scientific-technical cooperation. These talks and cooperative ventures are taking place in keeping with the spirit of the principles of the United Nations and the nonaligned movement.

"This regional cooperation is guarantee of peace, stability, and progress in this part of Asia," said professor Shamsul Huq. "If we want to have economic cooperation, then it is most important that we should have peace and stability. This is the long-range goal of our policy, i.e., the advancement of good relations with all of our neighbors throughout the region and the settlement of minor disputes. We are happy with the results that have been achieved to date, and a conference of the foreign ministers of the seven countries will soon be held to put the finishing touches on the work already done by the deputy ministers and study groups.

"I would also like to call attention to the fruitful cooperation that exists among the Islamic countries, a record of cooperation that is of great importance and benefit to Bangladesh. We are of course cooperating with many other countries all over the world. Even though Yugoslavia is a long way from Bangladesh, companies from your country are still working on some very important projects here which we highly appreciate. There are no problems whatever as far as relations between Yugoslavia and Bangladesh are concerned. We are bound together by general commitments to the development of mankind as well as by the deep emotional ties that exist between our peoples and individual leadership figures due to their constant and close contacts."

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16 April 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1998

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15 April 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1999

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WARSAW PACT SEA RESCUE EQUIPMENT DESCRIBED

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 25 No 2, Feb 82 pp 92-95

[Article by Commander Ludwig Stoll: "Ocean-going Rescue Equipment of the Warsaw Pact Navies--Technical Progress Also in the Development of Rescue Equipment"]

[Text] As is customary after major catastrophies at sea, the tragic sinking of the modern LASH container ship "Muenchen" in December 1978 has once again focused interest on the theme of "rescue equipment at sea," in addition to other aspects of safety at sea, and has set off lively discussions in navigation circles. Although getting somewhat less attention than the development of rescue equipment in the merchant marine, which is pushed for by international agreements, the rescue equipment of warships has nevertheless seen a considerable change in the last decades. The navies of various nations have made special contributions in solving survival problems at sea through in-depth evaluations of their combat experiences, while taking the development of new means and processes into consideration. Adding modern rescue equipment to a warship is not only costly but it also gives a certain indication of that country's degree of technological development. This applies to the Soviet Navy as well as the other fleets of the Warsaw Pact. Since rescue rafts and boats and other rescue devices are generally visible on deck, it is quite interesting and rewarding to look at available photos of the warships of the Warsaw Pact Navies from the viewpoint of technological evaluation.

It must first be clarified that there is a difference between individual and group rescue equipment (also called collective rescue equipment). Individual rescue equipment such as life preservers can not be dealt with here because there is little useful information. The only noteworthy thing here is that the Warsaw Pact navies are still using the traditional life belts even on their newer ships, which has long been discarded as worthless by the FRG Navy and replaced with a "rescue buoy, U-shaped," a device which has become popular in civilian usage, e.g. on sailboats. Life belts are most decorative, especially when they--as is customary in the Soviet Navy--are painted white and red and

bear the name of the ship in letters 10 cm large. They have a diameter of 80 cm, while the GDR Navy, e.g., uses belts having a diameter of 75 cm. Even the Warsaw Pact navies have no modern development in individual rescue equipment. Let us now go to group rescue equipment.

Rescue Islands--Dimensions, Structure and Types Known

The most important step in the development of "collective" rescue equipment is without a doubt the change from rigid to inflatable rescue rafts. Rigid rafts as were commonly used in World War II can today be seen only on older Soviet Navy vessels (See Figure 2). A trend towards standardization and concentration on just a few types can be noted in the inflatable rescue islands. There are devices which are also used in civilian navigation, a fact which, without any doubt, facilitates evaluation.

When equipping the Soviet block merchant marine with rescue equipment, international agreements must be closely observed, e.g. a rescue capacity of up to 150 percent of crew strength on every side of the ship. However, when equipping warships, these rules do not necessarily apply. There does not seem to be a uniform code for the equipment of Warsaw Pact warships. Aside from smaller vessels, which are at times better equipped, it can be said, at least of the Soviet Navy, that in general, rescue equipment is geared for a 100 percent crew strength.

At present, inflatable rescue islands or rafts are still considered to be the safest means of rescue at sea. They can be put to sea before the ship goes down or else they can be thrown to people in the water. If they are equipped with automatic hydraulic pressure locks, they float automatically. These islands offer a good chance for survival because they are equipped with food, water, radio and signal devices. However, getting onto the islands from the water is extremely difficult. Positioning and mounting are other problems. Rescue islands are mostly stored in plastic containers and are equipped with devices for immediate release but, if not attached sufficiently high on the ship, are endangered by high seas. In warships there is the added danger of damage from weapons, i.e. not only enemy weapons can destroy or damage the islands, but even the airodynamic pressure caused by firing from the ship's own cannons can rip the container out of its mounting. Positioning then poses a special problem for the design of warships. The following shows how the Soviet Navy has solved this problem.

What is true for the other nations is also true for Soviet warships, namely that principles applying to rescue equipment on the merchant marine ships are not necessarily applicable. On vessels for civilian use, especially for passenger transport, the islands are generally placed in large racks in a central location, where they can be quickly put into the water by the crew.

This arrangement, as seen in Figure 3A in the "Iwan Rogow," is not considered very practical for warships. In a warship, in case of emergency, the crew is to assemble separately in individual rescue stations, where each crewmember has been assigned to a certain spot. Positioning as in the carrier "Kiew" (Figure 3B), where the islands are placed singly along the side of the ship, seems like a better solution. A concentration of several islands at one central location only as on the missile cruiseships of the KRESTA II class (3C), contradicts modern maritime safety principles. The positioning of the rafts on the new research vessels of the BALZAM class (Figure 3D) is practical and safe. Here, the containers are placed very high on the deck house where they are well protected against the effects of high seas.

Let us now describe some types of rescue islands seen on ships and boats of the Warsaw Pact navies, but limit the description to the stored island and thus the container. Like the merchant marine, the Polish Navy uses a standard type which accommodates ten persons (Figure 1). Examples for the positioning of these islands can be seen in Figure 4. The GDR Navy also uses mainly merchant marine-type rescue equipment, most frequently 12- and 20-man rescue islands. Manufacturer is primarily the people-owned textile and refinement works in Neugersdorf, the Grosschoenau Works in Saxony. The containers for these islands (Figure 6) are made of polyester. The Soviet Navy apparently prefers the merchant marine-type PSN-10M for ten men for its newer ships. The only other type known, used exclusively for warships, presumably holds 15 men. The Soviet Navy does not appear to have rescue islands with larger capacity, as e.g. the 25-man island used in the United States Navy (See Figure 5 for examples of Soviet types).

Rescue Boats

While rescue equipment on warships consists only of inflatable rafts i.e. islands (boats are considered a vehicle of conveyance), auxiliary vessels of the Soviet Navy use plastic boats as are customary in the merchant marine, especially on tankers. In the merchant marine, closed, capsize-proof, the flame-resistant boats, which are standardized based on international agreements, have come into use worldwide. These boats were first developed in Germany soon after the war by a Bremerhaven firm and were exported in fairly large numbers to the Soviet Union. Meanwhile they are also produced in shipyards of the Soviet block. Figure 7 shows such a standardized plastic rescue boat, which is also used in the military versions of ship classes designed for civilian use, and must thus be counted among the rescue equipment used by the Navy. Boats equipped with engine are called "active rescue equipment," in contrast to the immobile, i.e. "passive" ones.

Use for Evaluation

Knowing what rescue equipment is on board a warship does not only give a clue to the technological capacity of the respective country. It also aids in the overall evaluation of the ship. Since the Soviet Union does not publish any

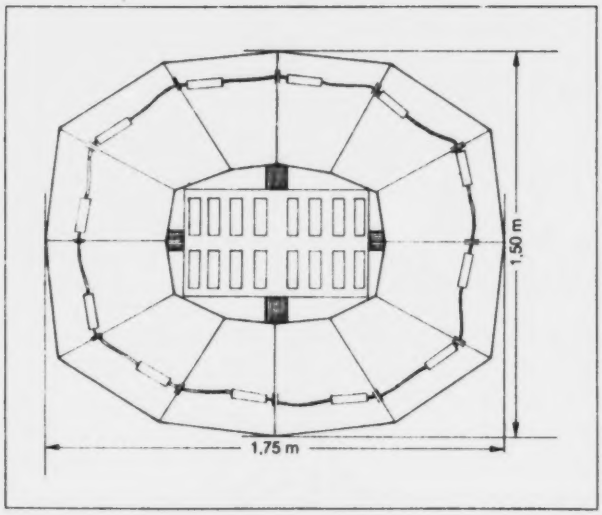

Fig. 2. Rescue raft of the Soviet Navy

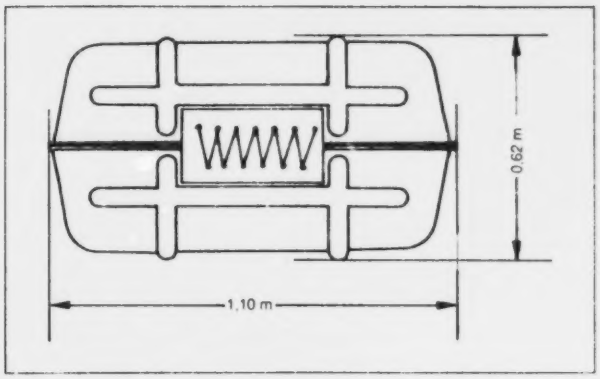

Fig. 1. Polish rescue island for ten men. The drawing shows the island in its plastic container, but without launching device. The drawing was made from a simple model without hydraulic pressure lock. Weighing 400 kg total, it is a rather awkward device.

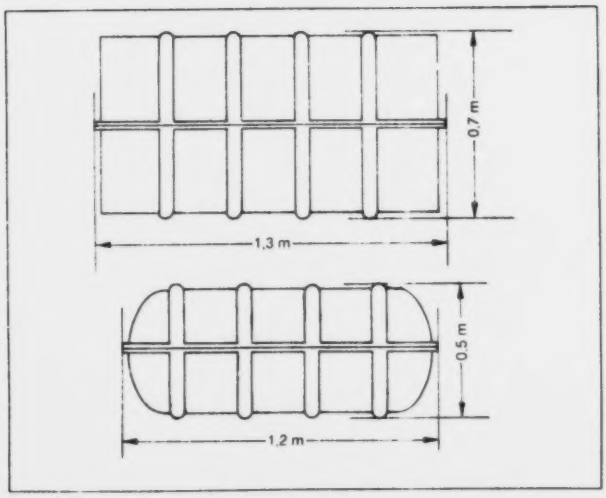

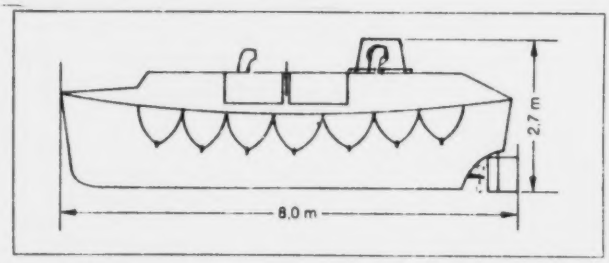

Fig 7. The plastic rescue boat, type 3SSchR-2M (55 seats) used in the Soviet merchant marine and in auxiliary ships of the Soviet Navy.

Fig 5. Soviet rescue islands (in container, without launching device); top: 15-man rescue island (for warships only; the containers are devided into 2 or 3) bottom: standard model of the 10-man rescue island type PSN-10M used on warships and in the merchant marine.

details about its Navy, even information which may appear trivial, has considerable importance. When, e.g., Captain Kehoe describes in the "Proceedings" (see Footnote 3) that the number of rescue islands on the missile cruiser "Kirow" indicates that the ship has a crew of 800, then this is not merely guesswork but rather well-founded knowledge. The approximately 80 islands on this ship can indeed be clearly identified as the type PSN-10M. A systematic analysis of the rescue equipment not only on this ship leads to the conclusion that on this large surface vessel a high degree of automation must have been reached which allows for such a low crew strength.

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9328
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NEED TO COMBAT 'LIBERALISM,' 'BUREAUCRATIC CENTRALISM,'

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Feb 82 pp 2-3

[Article by Pipi Mitrojorgji: "Socialist Democracy--A Great Moving Force Which Shows the Way to Our Revolution"]

[Text] Among the problems which have to do with the further strengthening of the political system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the communist education of the workers, an important place in the report of Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered to the Eight Party Congress, is occupied by those which are related to the continuous strengthening of the organs of state authority and of state administration, and to the understanding and most correct implementation of the decisive role of the masses in the building of socialist society. These problems have always been correctly treated by our party in accordance with the situations and the long and principled struggle against various foreign and internal bourgeois and revisionist enemies of the people's authority. The party has educated the masses in the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has made them aware that the people's authority is their greatest victory and the most powerful weapon in the struggle for the building of socialism and the defense of the freedom and independence of the homeland. Therefore, the people love its own authority with all its heart; it defends it as the apple of its eye, from any potential threat, and protects it from foreign influences and the negative manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy.

Our people's authority is today stronger than ever. The strength and endurance of our socialist democracy is based on the close ties with the masses, on the active and direct participation of these masses in the governing of the country. The Eighth Party Congress stressed once again this issue of principle--the constant strengthening and perfecting of the ties between the organs of state authority and the masses. The concrete tasks which arise in this field are numerous. They have to do, above all, with the entire organized propaganda work and with a high level in content and form which must be developed by all the party organizations, the state organs and the other levers of the party so as to know and to carry out precisely the party line and the state laws, the norms of the society. Our entire experience in regard to this matter has convinved us that in this way, the authority is strengthened, socialist consciousness is raised, discipline and order are strengthened everywhere and in every field of our life, and the

road can be blocked to many harmful things. The party has fought and will fight all violations of socialist legality, every action, arbitrary interference and behavior contrary to state laws and rules, it has condemned and condemns every instance of brutal behavior and attitudes which hinder and suffocate the just criticism of the masses. But, the disdainful rejection of arbitrary and arrogant behavior, does not necessarily mean that persons will no longer be held accountable or that strict and healthy proletarian discipline will be weakened. On the contrary, the actual conditions under which we work and fight for the building and defending of socialism, require, among other things, strict, obligatory and full implementation of state laws, of state discipline and of party directives from every collective and individual. The educational work of the party and of its levers must make it clear and must create strong impressions in the people so that they can fully subscribe to the socialist laws and norms, to the discipline required by the plans of our social development. These are essential prerequisites for the activity of the organs of state authority and of the working masses to be carried out correctly and successfully.

Socialism, the party teaches us, is the work of the broad working masses led by the party. Expressed here is another great principle of our proletarian democracy. In our country, the entire method of the organization and management of the state, economy, education, culture and defense of the country is such that it requires as an objective necessity and effectively assures the active participation of the masses and their decisive influence in social activity and in the progress of work. Our democracy gives the opportunity and right to every citizen, every collective and the entire people to speak freely on all political, economic and social issues, to criticize shortcomings, weaknesses and everyone who violates the norms of our socialist life and state discipline, the line or guidelines of the party.

But at the same time, our democracy demands that everyone carry out, in the best possible manner, his duties toward society, that everyone is fully responsible for the work he does and the sector which he directs and in which he works. We are a state built on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism. Our economy, too, is a socialist, single economy which is managed on the basis of the same principle and of the general state plan. The demand for and the giving of accountability for the fulfillment of the tasks by everyone, the party teaches us, is a norm which derives from our social order itself, from the principle of democratic centralism. The demand for accountability, in a party spirit and manner, has nothing in common with the expressions of superiority and of arrogance which are manifested among some bureaucratic elements, sometimes even cadres, who misuse the people's trust, who behave in a rude, denigrating and improper manner toward the others, who treat their subordinates in arrogant and harmful manner. But, at the same time, the party has continuously stressed the necessity of the struggle against manifestations of liberalism and petty-bourgeois sentimentality. He who allows shortcomings and mistakes, who does not demand full accountability for the fulfillment of the plan tasks, who displays indifference in demands towards others, causes great harm to the society. Not only this. Anyone who thinks and acts in the spirit of liberalism, not only allows violations of laws and irregularities at work, but also opposes the revolutionary spirit

of our authority, the interests of the broad working masses, the progress of our society. Basically, the liberal person denies class struggle, gives up the struggle against external and internal enemies, against the stains of the old society and of the present day influences of foreign ideology. The fulfillment of the great objectives of this 5-year plan through self-reliance, the implementation of the successes of science and of advanced technology, the increase of labor productivity, the discovery and utilization of all the internal reserves of the economy, the strengthening of cooperation and specialization, the further intensification of agriculture and so forth, require conscious work, discipline and a higher sense of responsibility, they require the elimination of all expressions of liberalism, unhealthy and petit bourgeois sentimentality.

The continued struggle against the manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism, of superiority and of arrogance, as has been proven by our entire experience, will lead to the further improvement of the method and the style of the worker of the organs of state authority, will further revolutionize the concepts, the methods and the forms of work, will do away with ministerial, sectional and local manifestations and narrow artisan practices which hinder the correct and timely solution of problems, and hinder the utilization of all the advantages of the socialist order and economy.

In connection with the above mentioned, the Eighth Congress assigned to the basic party organizations, the organs of authority and of the state administration, the mass organizations at the center and at the grassroots level, the task of waging a more resolute struggle against any lack of sense of individual and collective responsibility, foot-dragging conformism and resorting to petty quarrels, and to further strengthen the spirit of collegiality, initiative and self-action.

The party has evaluated the ever growing role of the masses in the building of socialist society, their active participation in the management of the country and in the entire life of society as a fundamental question of the communist view of revolutionary theory and practice, as a more profound expression of socialist democracy and the fundamental management of its development, as a decisive condition for defending and strengthening the people's authority, as an internal law of the development of socialist society, as a great motivating force which leads forward revolution.

The party has clarified these issues and has continuously taken the necessary measures to implement them as correctly as possible in the struggle against all manifestations of formalism and of underestimation. The party has continuously reminded the organs of the party and the government, the state and economic organs, all the cadres to political and ideologically understand the need for a direct relationship with the masses. They, the party has recommended, must extensively consult with the masses on the problems with which the party and the state are concerned, and together with them look for more rational solutions.

The cadres, the managers and the communists, the party teaches us, should never think that they know everything, that they are specialists in everything.

Megalomania, conceit, the overestimation of one's self and disrespect for others are foreign to our people. This leads to the monopolization of works, to arbitrary decisions, to the violation of the principle of collegiality, to the placing of oneself over the others, over the masses, and to bureaucratic centralism which is as harmful as anarchist liberalism.

Our democracy is a true democracy for the masses, the highest type of democracy where all the freedoms and democratic rights have been given to the masses, where the authority is in the hands of the working people, with the working class at the head, under its Marxist-Leninist leadership. "Our people--Comrade Enver stressed at the Eighth Congress of the AWP--enjoy great rights and democratic freedoms, such as the right to work, to education, to elect and to be elected to state and social functions, freedom of speech, of the press and so forth, which in our country are a reality, not only declared by law, but also put into daily practice." It cannot be otherwise in our socialist society, which has at its center of attention the overall development of the personality of the working man. It is our task to further stimulate everywhere all the forms of the free expression of thoughts on various problems, such as meetings of mass organizations, consultations, debates and fruitful and principled discussions, seminars for the exchange of progressive experience, conferences, organized forms of political and theoretical education, and so forth.

A broad path should be opened to new scientific and party thought. Our life is exceptionally rich, lively and dynamic. In this reality, every person, social unit, family and social organization can find an unlimited number of political, ideological, cultural, social, scientific and other themes for interesting, educational and fruitful talks. But it is also the duty of all our patriotic and honorable people who have in their hearts the lofty ideals of freedom and democracy to uphold and protect them from every distortion and misuse, from those who see and want only rights, but who do not show the same sense of responsibility for the implementation of tasks, from the speculators and gossipers who chatter like a "mill without grain to grind," from naive and curious people who discuss state secrets irresponsibly in public places and in coffee houses. It is the duty of our healthy social opinion to exercise over them its educational influence, to correct them, to advise them to behave in a spirit befitting a citizen, and to criticize and show the way to the incorrigibles.

Our socialist democracy, the true democracy of the masses, which acts, develops and is constantly strengthened in our country, is inspired by a great aim: the strengthening and the further consolidation of our socialist victories, freedom and national independence, the complete construction of the socialist society, and the happiness of our people so that this revolutionary process will never change in a bureaucratic-administrative process, but as it is stressed in the report of Comrade Enver to the Eighth Party Congress, "will remain always a lively and creative work of the broad working masses under the leadership of the party."

5112
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RELIGIOUS SUBVERSION SAID TO FOCUS ON YOUTH

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak No 5, 4 Feb 82 p 8

[Article by Docent Milan Sciranko, Candidate of Sciences: "Clericalism and Youth; Reactionary Ideology Against Social Progress"]

[Text] Recently, the youth has become a main target for the ideological efforts of reactionary forces; the youth, its education, ideological and political orientation and training, the youth, on which depends not only the future of every class and society but also the future of all humanity.

In their attempts to dismantle socialism from within, the bourgeois ideologists place great hopes on the youth in particular. They attempt to use the youth for their own purposes by presenting themselves as "friends of the youth," which is politically and ideologically immature and insecure and aspires to a consumer way of life. They intend to break the class consciousness of the youth, to foist upon it the idea of apoliticality and scepticism, to put it in opposition to the older generation.

At the head of the bourgeois ideological arsenal aimed at young people, clerical anticommunism occupies an important position and acts as a parasite on the religious beliefs of part of the believing youth. Why is it that just the youth has become a target of the ideological effort by clerical anticommunism?

First of all, because the youth as a social and age group is not yet ideologically and politically mature and its world view is just being formed. Various bourgeois conceptions, forms and methods pf psychological influence on the youth are spread and the problems of religious improvement of the personality, individualism, the idea of death and life after death are emphasized. These concepts are also propagated by the Slovak Institute of St Cyril and Method in Rome in its various publications, such as "Ways to Eternity," where the question of "for whom the book is intended" is answered as follows: "it will help a sincere seeker to find his way to God," since "it is hard to come to believe the existence of God for someone who has been brought up without God or with hatred toward religion."

Secondly, the youth is one of the fundamental resources of political, economic and intellectual life in every country in the world. It is up to

society how and to what extent it makes use of these resources. Socialism provides tremendous opportunities for the education of the young generation. The objective conditions existing in our society constitute a guaranty for the happy future of our youth. No opiate for humanity, no illusory ideology promising paradise after death can replace the scientific Marxist teaching, which Lenin called almighty, since it is true, expressing the interests of working people and, therefore, the overwhelming majority of people.

The clerical apologists for the bourgeoisie are unable to propose a different, attractive program against Marxist teaching and its goals. Pessimism and uncertainty of tomorrow, the hopelessness of the present situation, leads finally to the bourgeois ethics of fear, hatred, sadism, murders and violence. For instance, America is rapidly turning into a country living behind seven locks, where in every apartment or house a gun is hidden. Four out of nine Americans think it likely that they will once become victims of killers, violent criminals or robbers. Having returned from a visit, 6 out of 10 guests instantly call their hosts to let them know that they got home safely. Most of the arrested delinquents are jobless young people. Criminality is the inherent flaw in the system, which the defenders of "human rights," appearing as the representatives of "Western democracy," such as the former as well as the present American President, present as a model to the whole world and which was enthusiastically admired by the head of the Roman Catholic Church at the United Nations.

Thirdly, the growing role of the youth in political life constitutes a problem for research by philosophers, sociologists, historians, etc. It is the youth of the capitalist and third world countries who is always vigorously and actively standing up against the bourgeois-exploitation order and for a democratic reformation of society. The sympathies of the young generation toward the ideas of Marxism-Leninism is growing throughout the world and its social and political activity compels the representatives of the clerical ideology to look always for new theories and ideas which could at least temporarily serve to divert young people from dealing with present problems. The youth, as the clergy themselves put it, takes the contradictions in human society more seriously than the adult generations. It is more open to changes and reforms and possesses a greater sense of common values. It revolts against the misuse of power and stands resolutely against oppression, dishonesty and egoism. They wait impatiently for a better, more just world. Young people see the defects in the capitalist world and they are disillusioned by the values which are daily presented to them.

Focusing on the youth in socialist countries, clerical propagandists, on the one hand, slander realistic socialism and its values, and, on the other hand, they want to make our young people believe that they do not aim at liquidating the socialist system but that they only wish to liberalize it, to "improve" it. The ideological diversion of clerical anticommunism aims at moral weakening of the youth, at undermining its political beliefs and class consciousness, leading it astray from the path of traditional revolutionary struggles of the communist party.

Fourthly, it is the fact that the youth is a unique demographic group, always more numerous on our planet. "Today, the youth under 22 years of age constitutes 49 percent of the world's population. In the USSR, young people under 30 years of age constitute more than 50 percent of the population..." says Soviet author S. M. Lepechin.

Clerical ideologues are very anxious about the question as what social changes await humanity at the beginning of the new millenium. No wonder the young people of the year 2000 are now being brought up. Ideological apologists of capitalism try to find an answer to this question. For this purpose, they established various futurist centers, such as the Commission For the Year 2000 of the American Academy of Sciences, the Humanity of the Year 2000 working team and the Society for the Problems of the Future in West Germany. Thousands of scientists and specialists are involved in prognostication. The UNICEF statistics of 1977 shows that there are about 120 million children between 6 and 11 years of age in the world who do not attend school. The prospects for the future are not any better. On the other hand, life of children under socialist conditions is entirely different. Children are regarded as the highest value and a harmonious development of the young generation is at the center of interest and attention of the entire society.

Fifthly, the youth as a social and age group has specific characteristics of its own, such as fast psychological and physiological maturity entailing the young people's growing social activity. Each period of human life is interesting and unique, however, youth is the most varied period. Young people are very sensitive, some even emotionally unstable. Therefore, clerical ideologues concentrate at finding shady aspects of our reality and struggle for winning young people using all means of propaganda. Contemporary young people are not indifferent to the present revolutionary processes in the world. The ideologues of clerical anticommunist seek ways of affecting the youth and hold out various saints as models for young people. They also complain about the Vatican II Council for not having appreciated sufficiently the place of saints in daily Christian life. One of the exemplary saints of a clerical fascist type was Jozef Tiso, about whom Ferdinand Durcansky said: "...he is the greatest character ever born to a Slovak mother." In order to enable the youth to know this "saint" and martyr better, Ernest Zatko prepared a bizare study: "Doctor Jozef Tiso and the Slovak Youth."

Sixthly; under present conditions, when the questions of war and peace come to the fore, young people play a very important role--they constitute the resources for the army. In socialist society, young people enter the army willingly and with devotion. They see in the army the force of defense of socialist countries against aggressive appetites of the world imperialism. A soldier in a socialist country is a citizen with full rights and people look upon him with high respect as their protector against imperialistic aggression. It is just the opposite in the capitalist society, where the ruling bourgeois circles employ the army not only for their aggressive goals against socialism and all progressive elements in the world, but also for suppressing national revolutionary moods. In order to protect their own interests, the ruling class--bourgeoisie forces the soldier to stand up against his own nation in which he has been brought up. Progressive youth

from all over the world revolts against such misguided methods. As an example we can mention students from Latin America, who struggle for progressive metamorphoses of their continent. The First Congress of Latin American Students, which had a unifying character, was held in Montevideo in July 1955. In 1966, a Fourth Congress was held in Havana under the slogan "For the Anti-imperialist Unity of Latin American Students." This Continental Organization of Latin American Students (OCLAE) is an active member of the International Association of Students [ISU]. It is also true that there are many opposition ultraleftist, religious, rightist and anarchist groups and associations, which enjoy the total support of the monopolist bourgeoisie. On the other hand, even in the opposition student organizations and associations which are under strict supervision of Christian democratic parties, a clear dividing border line has recently appeared between ultrarightist leaders and the majority of the students, who demand fundamental structural changes. In a situation where the masses are generally oriented to the left, Catholic students put forth a political program much more radical than the official doctrine of the church. That is why even the head of the Roman Catholic Church pays much attention to the youth in his presentations. At the Third General Conference of Latin American Bishops in Pueblo, at the close of his speech, John Paul II commended the youth to the Latin American bishops' hearts, since he knew that "50 percent of Mexicans are under 20 years of age." And this is exactly why the Latin American youth is the hope of the church. How much energy there is in this youth needed so much by the church. Therefore, clerical centers support extreme rightist student organizations in Mexico (The University Movement of the Revival Orientation), Tacuare in Argentina or the anticommunist movement in Brazil, but also others.

It is generally known that Vatican supports these centers, including the organization of Slovak clerical fascists of the World Congress of Slovaks, which organized the First World Festival of Slovak Youth in Waldkraiburg on 4 to 10 August 1980.

Various associations of the Slovak youth and folk-singing and dancing ensembles which have been in existence on the American continent for years have been lately brought under the influence of reactionary clergy. A similar situation exists in associations and various meeting of the Slovak youth in Europe, where through sports, entertainment, but above everything else, spiritual themes, the ideas about the so-called Slovak state are being implanted in the minds of young people, ideas claiming that "our roots have grown in the soil of Christianity...," "the tradition of courage, industriousness, morality and devote religiosity, in which our families took pride, are the expression of the Christian faith and our true wealth." According to clerical ideologues, "these are our precious roots and valuable human characteristics which can make valuable contributions to the society in which we find ourselves." Clerical propaganda throws doubts on the moral, political, socioeconomic and spiritual virtues of socialism. It rejects the humanism of realistic socialism, its real values and the socialist reality in order to implant the attitudes of rejection toward socialism as such in the minds of young people.

The ideological confrontation of the present is not only an ideological and political struggle. It includes fundamental most urgent problems of economic growth, social utilization of discoveries and achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, ecology, demography, etc. Biased, class-restricted interpretation of social progress, the publicity given to fatalistic images of the future, spreading pacifying prognoses for capitalist society--this is the arsenal of means used by clerical ideology in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, against the socialist and communist way of development, against social progress. This al' confirms that now that socialism is gradually and successfully being transformed from theory to social reality, one of the most important areas of the struggle against realistic socialism will be the youth. That is also why the 16th CPCZ Congress stipulated one of the most important tasks which our ideological educational work faces--to form a harmoniously developed human personality, primarily [through] the young generation, its thoughts, and activity in the spirit of our socialist ideas.

One of the main tasks that the CPCZ stipulated for itself in the area of ideological efforts is an immediate switch of our propaganda over to concrete tasks of the development of an advanced socialist society. This also entails our young people being well equipped in order to learn the laws of socialist development, to understand correctly the policy of the party, to actively participate in the building of a fully developed socialist society. The 16th CPCZ Congress emphasized: "Socialist establishment incarnates the youth of the present epoch and devotes its attention daily to the young generation. Our party and the socialist state systematically create conditions for harmonious development of the young people. We wish our youth to be healthy, educated, well prepared for life, acquiring everything wise, noble, honest and beautiful which is in our people and oriented toward all progressive values that humanity has created.

9814
CSO: 2400/156

IMPORTANCE OF IMPROVING MINERS' LOT STRESSED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 7, 17 Feb 82 p 2

[Article by Miroslav Srbek: "General Public Task: Improve Living Conditions of Miners"]

[Text] One of the most important social policy projects of recent times is the set of measures for further improvement of the living and working conditions of miners. It is one of the objectives specified by the 16th CPCZ Congress. The Main Guidelines for Economic and Social Development of the CSSR for the years 1981-1985 state: "In the coalmining industry, an important general social objective is a further improvement of the working and living conditions of miners. In particular, intensified attention to work safety and the adoption of additional measures in the wage, social and health areas and in housing construction, thus also supporting the recruitment of the work force for the mining industry."

This concern is not accidental. The work in this field is one of the most demanding and most needed by the public. It calls for a corresponding level of wages and social welfare. Without miners' work, not a single powerplant could deliver electricity to the factories, railroads, households, cultural and other establishments; individual branches of the chemical industry would cease to operate and the life of the national economy would stop.

There is no other field which has such key importance for us all now or in the near future. For this reason it was already singled out in the well-known Lansko action; for this reason in the later years of the buildup of socialism, and especially in the Sixth Five-Year Plan, a series of measures were adopted expressing the importance that our society attaches to the mining industry. It is enough to list the wage adjustments for selected underground worksites in the Ostrava-Karvin and Kladno mines: increased recruitment allowances, broader economic safeguards for young apprentices, preferential reassignments of workers whose work fitness changed, free snacks for underground workers, stabilization of loans for housing construction and improved conditions for workers' education, health care and recreation, etc.

These measures indisputably helped to stablilize the work force in the individual districts. However, wages increased and work conditions improved gradually in other fields as well. This meant a lowering of the essential preferential

standing of the mining industry, particularly in strip mining. Other fields, where only slightly lower wages than in coal mining could be earned for less difficult and less hazardous work, became more attractive. This can be documented: in the past five-year plan, the wage raises did not correspond to the wage rise in industry in general (18.4 percent); in the Kladno mines they amounted to 17.3 percent, in the Sokolov district to 16.5 percent and in the North Bohemian to only 14.3 percent, while in strip mining to not quite 13 percent.

The decision was made, therefore, to adopt new, more effective measures giving a clear preferential status to the mining occupation. Among them, starting with April 1, a higher scale of wage rates for subterranean work in deep mines by 13.5 percent and strip mining by 6.75 percent. Wages of some categories of technical personnel working underground in the mining industry will also be raised. Better pay will be received for afternoon and night shifts, but this measure also applies to other fields, of course.

Beside wage questions, resolution of the improvement of working conditions of miners was necessary--risk factors of mining such as noise, dust, vibrations, effects of ionizing radiation and harmful chemical fumes, and worsened geological conditions in mining. The appropriate departments were, therefore, charged with such duties as, for example, the securing of technological development, production and deliveries of measuring and other instruments and of equipment insuring dust prevention; preclusion of vibrations and noise, according to the specifications presented by the minister of fuels and energy; accelerated innovation of pneumatic tools in the Permon Krivoklat national enterprise to reduce vibrations and, no later than 1985, introduction of vibration-free sledgehammers; solution of the design and production of safeguards against effects of vibrations and noise for operators of heavy machinery in quarries and the like.

Other adopted measures directed at the social area are also important. They strengthened the security of living and social conditions of the miners. They deal, for instance, with an increase of health insurance; possibilities to draw on the fund of cultural and social services to contribute to individual housing construction; and shortening of the qualifying period of employment for work category 1. The limit of maximum pension has been raised; allowances for deteriorated health of miners have been adjusted; supplementary 1-day leave has been authorized for each Saturday worked without any change of the pay rate for such work; bonus savings of Kcs 200 a month from the funds of the organizations have been established for miner-apprentice youths, and the like. Priority of housing solutions in the individual districts and further improvement of health care and medical treatment and meal programs in the mines and quarries are also considered.

This is briefly the content of the measures adopted by the federal government to meet one of the objectives set forth by the 16th CPCZ Congress: a clear preferential status for workers at the most difficult worksites in the mining industry and further improvement of their working conditions and social benefits. This also created better conditions for insuring the mined volume of solid fuels needed for the growth of the national economy and the supplying of our population.

9562
CSO: 2400/171

MEASURES TO IMPROVE MINERS LIVING STANDARDS EXAMINED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Feb 82 p 3

[Interview with Vladimir Marik, secretary, Central Trade Union Council, by Vlastimil Svoboda: "From the Republic to the Miners, from the Miners to the Republic--On the Set of Measures for Further Enhancing Social Services and Living and Working Conditions of Miners"; date and place not specified]

> [Text] Our socialist society has always given special attention to Czechloslovak mining. The results achieved from mining coal and ores determined to a considerable extent how well prescribed goals for building the economic base of socialism would be met. Equally challenging tasks face the miners in the Seventh Five-Year Plan. Their complexity, however, is reflected in ever-worsening mining and extracting conditions and other problems which, however, must be overcome so that coal extraction may be increased by 3 million tons.
>
> Contributing to meeting these goals is the set of measures for further enhancing social services and living and working conditions of miners which was adopted by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government and the URO [Central Trade Union Council] and is now gradually being put into practice. We have asked Vladimir Marik, secretary of the URO and chairman of its secretariat commission for mining, to give us more information about this document.

[Question] What is the basis, the intent and goal of these measures under current economic and sociopolitical conditions?

[Answer] The measures of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, the federal government and the URO issue not only from the economic urgency of mining work but stem from the continuity of class policies of the CPCZ. Mining collectives always supported the revolutionary process which was led by the party and fully supported by individual trade unions. Consequently, the living, working and social needs of miners always were and still are the focus of interest and concern of the party, as was emphasized by Comrade Gustav Husak at the celebration of Miners and Power Workers Day

in Most in 1971. The 16th CPCZ Congress was also oriented toward determining policy for solving problems of the social climate of miners, improving their working, living, pay and security, health, housing and recreational conditions. Also contributing to specific measures were recommendations of the North Bohemian and North Moravian CPCZ kraj committees and the long-range conceptual approach of the CSSR minister of fuels and power and the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Mining and Power Workers. Thus the intent is to use the whole complex of measures to supplement and form stable, highly qualified, work-motivated and ethically mature collectives in the coal, uranium and ore mines. The urgency is heightened by the fact that our own primary fuel and energy resources must be secured to the highest possible extent facing definite import limitations.

[Question] What is the main orientation of the measures, what is their substance and how do they relate to personal monetary incentives?

[Answer] We cannot concentrate on only one of the aspects of the measures or partial ones, we must see the solution in its entire social and class totality. As concerns wage measures, there are some adjustments directed toward giving more preference to underground work in coal, uranium, ore and magnesite mines and in quarry and stripping operations. In mining activities performed underground, the wage rates are increased 13.5 percent and in open pit mining 6.75 percent. For superintendents and other operational technicians with sector authority, the basic pay is increased by a differential of 10 percent. As of 1 April, in multiple-shift operations extra pay for night work is also increased, which alone represents an expenditure of over one-quarter billion korunas in the fuel and energy department. In addition, the new regulations allow broader use of wage forms of personal ratings which will further intensify wage differentials.

The measures adopted this year will give workers who fulfill planned quotas increases over current earnings of 15 to 18 percent in the case of underground mines and 10 to 12 percent for stripping and quarry operations. Specific measures and procedures for implementing them will be discussed with the workers at production and union meetings.

[Question] Measures on pension security and sick benefits aroused great attention among all workers. Can you give specific examples of what this is about?

[Answer] This is how we are expressing the existing preference toward miners continuously working underground in deep mines because of ever harder conditions. Reducing the length of employment from 20 to 15 years for this group with a total of 25 years employment will thus apply generally, without further conditions. At the same time the existing requirement of at least 10 years of work underground for workers in uranium mines remains in effect.

At the same time, another applicable condition is being eliminated--the requirement to work continuously underground up to the date of eligibility for a pension. In order to retain the benefits from the first working category, in the above case a change (termination) of employment in

underground mines will be considered as an interruption for good cause which continues until the date of eligibility for a pension.

There is also a distinct benefit in raising the existing limit of the old-age pension from Kcs 2,500 to 3,000 monthly. In addition, workers who worked continously underground for less than 15 years will also get the benefit of including this period in the computation of their pensions. At the same time, they are entitled to a maximum pension of Kcs 2,500 which is approximately Kcs 400 more than heretofore. The earnings obtained in underground mining are retained when computing pensions of miners who worked underground at least 5 years continuously but for various reasons had to leave. Also for purposes of the benefit cited, the period of employment will cover only the actual performance of work in underground mines plus any days for which sick pay was received or used to assist in caring for a member of the family. The same procedure will apply in granting disability pay and favorable adjustments will also be made in computing survivor benefits.

[Question] What changes are being made in sickness insurance?

[Answer] In considering sick benefits we naturally took into account the difficulties and hazards of the mining environment and also that it has a detrimental effect on the health of miners, prolongs work disability, time of treatment, etc. Therefore, the limits of regular daily wages which determine sick and other cash benefits covering lost pay for miners who permanently work underground in coal, uranium and ore mines and in quarries and strip mines are raised from Kcs 120 to 180 per working day. In practice, with average monthly earnings of about Kcs 5,000, this would mean increasing sick pay by Kcs 1,000 to 1,200. The legal wage form of monetary guarantee to workers who are being carried or released for health reasons is a special allotment for miners amounting to 80 percent of the difference between average net earnings before the implementation or release and the new net wage. Beginning 1 January 1982, the average wage of miners before implementation has been increased by 2 percent for every calendar year from the time of eligibility. This is for a maximum period of 12 years from the start of this allotment. At the same time, the limits of the allotment have also been increased from Kcs 1,250 to 1,400. The same method of retroactive rating is also used for purposes of compensating for loss of wages after termination of disability due to a job injury or job-related illness.

[Question] How will rehabilitation, health and recreation services be handled?

[Answer] In accordance with the number of Saturdays worked, as stipulated in the mining regulations, other supplemental leave will be granted to the extent of 4 to 10 days. All of the measures, like the other supplemental leave, rehabilitation treatments and other health precautions with the objective of improving living conditions in coal and ore mining would be of little avail and would have only a limited effect if they were not supplemented by a complex system of job safety, health protection and health precautions, including adequate high-quality protective working devices.

We fully support the stricter and more effective measures of the minister of fuels and power which were issued to guarantee labor safety. Party authorities and organizations, plant committees and commissions of OBP [Labor Safety] must also increase their educational influence directly on every individual. After all, the second most frequent cause of accidents at work, about 17 percent, is due to methods of working or acting without authority or against orders or prohibitions.

We are also concerned about the development of job-related diseases. We keep looking for ways, such as through science, technology and health precautions, to limit the effects that threaten and cause job-related diseases. It appears that it will be necessary, especially in underground coal mines, to intensify checkups of miners according to various risks--dustiness, noise and vibration. At the present time, however, we must meet plans to fill medical positions, so far without success, because the proportion of hours per 100 workers allotted doctors weekly at plant health facilities has remained at the 1975 level. There is still evidence that the problem is not the number of doctors but their interest in working in plant facilities which call for descending into mine working areas, special preventive examinations and rapid first aid. These are much more demanding duties and so the position of the mining doctor should get more social support.

[Question] Could you describe the measures which have been adopted to support stabilization of the labor force?

[Answer] For many workers in the past, the mines had become more "transient centers" where they collected their recruitment and other allowances. Whereas only in 1975, 8,778 workers received over Kcs 15 million in this way, the year before last as many as 19,191 persons were granted Kcs 44,808,000. Consequently, it is the job of communists, party and union organizations and officials together with business leaders and state authorities to cooperate even more actively in providing stability and improved overall living conditions for miners.

One of the important ways is the entry of the new mining generation which must gradually fill in the cadre collectives. To improve the recruitment of apprentices, however, society must create appropriate ethical and psychological conditions. In addition, we anticipate higher monetary incentives for future miners with, for example, the benefit of bonus savings for young people with the organization making the deposits.

For this mining year, a measure was also adopted to raise the loyalty bonus a total of Kcs 90 million for selected productive occupations in underground mines, coal pits and strip mines. Under the provisions of the current law the loyalty bonuses are increased up to Kcs 5,300 and in quarries and strip mines to Kcs 4,000 annually. At the same time, the principle of the new law on loyalty bonuses will be proposed for miners.

Another important measure is the provision of snack-packs valued at Kcs 6.00 which workers in quarries and strip mines will receive free.

[Question] What about housing construction?

[Answer] In order to attract new workers, the limit on housing construction will be raised and it is also expected that some nontraditional forms will be used. We are emphasizing individual construction with high participation by the state which will be linked with long-term retention in the mining organization. We expect that workers in underground and quarry operations will erect 3,000 family houses in the Seventh Five-Year Plan and that the contribution from the Cultural and Social Services Fund will go up to Kcs 100,000.

[Question] Where will the funds for further developing social services for miners come from?

[Answer] Comprehensive services for the workers call for creating more monetary resources for the Cultural and Social Services Fund. Therefore, even this year the basic allocation has been raised from 0.8 to 1.2 percent of the annual amount of wage funds from coal, uranium and ore mining organizations with a corresponding upward adjustment for all allocations to the fund. Just to complete the picture: 0.4 percent from the amount of wages paid out represents about Kcs 45 million, which is more than one-half of the amount expended last year for all forms of recreation for workers in mining. Business managers of concerns and enterprises, together with union authorities, can, according to collective agreements and budgets of the Cultural and Social Services Fund, even further enhance the program of services for workers for which, in 1980 alone, Kcs 2,538,000,000 were expended. Besides social services, however, we must also foresee extensive outlays for modern technology and engineering, including safety equipment, the installation of which was approved by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR Government.

[Question] What direction will further development of the recreation policy of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] take?

[Answer] The fact that recreational services are constantly increasing is attested to by the number of participants in enterprise recreation programs which increased by 33,770 in the course of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. In 1980, 113,380 workers and family members took part in recreation. In that time, the URO provided Kcs 57.5 million for capital construction for which large Pioneer camps for miners' children were built and we also helped in the construction of a center for mining youth and enterprise recreation for workers. In the Seventh Five-Year Plan, starting with a fund of Kcs 52 million from the URO, we are embarking on the construction of a recuperation facility for miners, complete with rehabilitation care services. In cooperation with the ministry and the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Mining and Power Workers, we want to further develop this construction policy and give priority to social programs using ROH funds.

This year we have already signed new agreements for miners to go to the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Greece and Italy for their health. The expenditures for this are being increased and will represent Kcs 38,483,000 in foreign currency.

[Question] In conclusion, how are the miners themselves reacting to the set of measures?

[Answer] Their response is seen primarily in greater working efforts and dedication by means of which they are overcoming all problems. We are expecting--and the opinions of miners agree--that the liberal set of measures to improve social services will be a further stimulus to trade union and other organizations, so that together with business management, led by party officials and organizations, they will develop, coordinate and stimulate the initiative of workers to fulfill the challenging plan this year and in the whole Seventh Five-Year Plan. There is room for much improvement in the organization of coal mining and in stripping earth and in greater use of technology, as miners rightly point out to management personnel at production and member meetings.

We fully appreciate what we owe to the mining occupation besides material incentives, guarantees and benefits. We must raise even higher the moral and social respect with which society rightly regards this calling and rank it among the most honored ones. As was indicated by the 16th CPCZ Congress, time has not changed anything nor should anything be changed in the principles manifested by the CPCZ and inscribed in the miners' coat of arms by Comrade Klement Gottwald--"I am a miner and who could be more?"

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

8491
CSO: 2400/164

ARMORED COLUMN MARCH PROCEDURES OUTLINED

East Berlin AR—ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 3, Mar 82 (signed to press 31 Dec 81) pp 54-56

[Article by Capt Ulrich Fink: "Armored March"]

[Text] From time to time, we see tanks on their way to a training area and marvel at how the drivers manage to maintain equal distance to the vehicle in front of them and how the entire column goes thundering past us at an even speed. This mastery of steering the huge vehicles does not come easy. The drivers have to go through a whole series of driving tests until they finally have their "fat ones" under control. AR reporters were present when first lieutenant Mueller's tank company from the "Thomas Muentzer" unit trained for an armored march.

The commanders have taken up their positions in front of the tanks that are ready to roll. They pay close attention to what the assistant batallion commander for technical equipment is saying: "We will be conducting the march on a circular course. There are some natural obstacles to overcome with short inclines. At the turning point, a narrow passage has to be negotiated."

After that, the company commander explains some peculiarities of the course and checks on how familiar the men are about what to do about equipment failure along the way. He also makes sure that the signaling procedures with the red and yellow flags are clearly understood. To be sure, an armored column can be guided by radio—each vehicle has a transmitter connected to the lead vehicle and to the others—but if there is a chance of the enemy listening in on radio traffic, commands are transmitted by flag signals. Then, the red and yellow flags are the only means at the tank commander's disposal to keep in touch with the others.

"Start the engines!"

The drivers start their powerful Diesel engines. Blue clouds of exhaust rise above the column. The smell of Diesel oil is in the air. Their feet on the pedal, their hands on the steering levers, the drivers await the order to start moving. They are eager to show what they have learned on the training equipment and on the practice course.

There is no steering wheel as in an automobile in a tank. It is steered by means of levers which activate planetary gears. There are two steering levers, to the left and right of the driver. He uses these to change direction or to stop without having to shift. If he moves one of the levers slightly from its

starting position (position 1), the corresponding track moves somewhat slower than the other and the vehicle describes a wide arc. If he pulls on the lever even more (position 2), the track does not move at all and the tank will turn on its own axis.

"Forward march!" All the tanks start rolling almost simultaneously. That is the way the column should start off. None should wait until the vehicle ahead has gone several meters. That would tear the marching column apart like an accordeon at the very start. The tanks in back would have to catch up at high speed. That would take additional fuel. On long marches, this would cause them not to reach their goal for lack of fuel.

On the first part of the course, the men at the steering levers establish the fixed distances between vehicles. The ground is still slightly frozen. The tracks grip well. And the drivers can adjust their speed to the engine's rpm without shifting.

The commander of the lead tank bears a great deal of responsibility in such maneuvers. All the others are guided by him. In other words, he must lead in such a manner that the column neither tears apart, nor gets involved in rear-end collisions. This is far from simple, if it moves through hilly terrain, for example, but it is imperative, if the column is to reach its destination intact and ready for action. The driver of the lead tank must therefore be particularly skillful. After all, he bears responsibility for the rest of the column. To maintain an even speed over long distances, calls for a maximum of concentration on his part.

The ground the armored vehicles have reached in the meantime is fairly soft. Their tracks leave deep marks in the sand. "At this spot," first lieutenant Mueller had warned before they started out, "the drivers must take care not to get caught in the tracks of the vehicle in front of them. If the sand works its way into the road wheels, the engine may not have enough power to negotiate the incline." Even before they start climbing, the drivers start to increase the distance between vehicles somewhat. They shift down; the steering levers are back to position 1. The incline must be negotiated in second gear. They approach the incline at right angles so that the tanks do not slip down over a track or turn over. To keep that from happening, they also try to avoid steering during the climb.

Shortly before reaching the ridge, one has to catch the exact moment when the foot must be taken off the gas or the foot driving lever, as it is called in technical language. If the brakes are applied too soon, the tank will roll back down. If the engine speed is reduced too late, the tank will hit the ground hard as it tilts forward. But the company encounters no major problems negotiating the hill. But behind it, the next test awaits them. There are road markers indicating a path leading off at a right angle. To get through here without making a mistake, is no easy matter for the drivers. One must have the right feel for the length and width of the tank—that is the most important thing. One really has to know how to steer the vehicle so as to negotiate this tight passage without stopping. About 10 meters before the

path is actually reached, the drivers step on the brake briefly, then shift, increase engine speed and continue on their way, exercising extreme caution. Not all of the crews manage it on the first try. Along the curves, one marker or another is upset sometimes. Which means they have to drive even more carefully next time! And when the column passes this segment the second time around, things work out better already.

Overall, Mueller's company got pretty good marks for its driving exercise. The column attained high average speed given the driving conditions. Driving discipline and driving order were satisfactorily maintained. In conjunction with their commanding officer, the tank drivers clearly proved: we have a firm grasp of our equipment.

9478
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DETAILS OF COMBAT ENGINEER EXERCISE REPORTED

East Berlin AR--ARMEE-RUNDSCHAU in German No 2, Feb 82 (signed to press 30 Nov 81) pp 30-35

[Report by Lt Col Horst Spickereit on observations in Maj Krieg's battalion: "Breaching the Barrier--Forward! How Engineers Clear the Way for Other Troops During an Exercise"]

[Text] "Mission understood?" The commander of the motorized infantry regiment gives an affirmative answer, leaves. While he hurries from the combat post back to the assembly area of his engineering units, he thinks about the mission ahead. The motorized infantry is preparing for an attack. But reconnaissance has shown that the "enemy" has constructed a wide blockade. Barbed wire obstacles, shell-holes, mine fields are to prevent our tanks and APC's from advancing. The motorized infantry can not do much here with the means it has at its disposal. Specialists are needed, combat engineers who can break through these obstacles. You will have to use minesweeping tanks--the engineering commander thinks to himself--bulldozers, bridge building equipment and, above all, combat engineers with special training in explosives. A few motorized infantry squads will secure our advance.

Among the combat engineers getting ready for their mission in a forest road is NCO Manfred Mueller's engineering platoon. Together with his driver, also an NCO, and his five men, he checks everything in his combat vehicle which will be needed within the next hours: minesweeping equipment, bursting charges, tracing tapes, rope ladder, tow ropes, wire cutters, drills, saws, hatches, life preservers, rubber raft....

Their vehicle is a small, maneuverable towing vehicle on tracks called MTLB. A real combat engineering vehicle. Robust, amphibious, it has seven gears. With that you can go anywhere, says the driver. It had never yet let him down.

Privates Bonack and Kranich have placed small packages of firmly wrapped bursting charges on 3-meter-long wooden tracks. They are high explosives. They are transported on the outside of the vehicle.

Today's exercise is the first of its kind for most of the soldiers. They are in their first six months of training, have been assigned to their branch for

just over three months. Courageous--quick--precise: those are the characteristics of a combat engineer. The commander had talked to them about that when they entered the service. Now they want to prove that they have understood his words, that they are able to act like combat engineers. Theoretically they have already learned quite a few things. In today's exercise they must put it into practice. NCO Mueller reminds them of details: always keep a close watch on the battlefield. Think about every step. Dangers can lurk everywhere. The obstacles are usually secured several times. You know: a combat engineer makes only one mistake!

The first obstacle to be removed consists of trees: 14, 16 thick tree trunks stuck diagonally in the ground, covered by a barbed wire net. Slowly a minesweeping tank advances to the obstacle, slips back a few meters. It has cleared a path in the minefield in front of the obstacle for Mueller's squad.

"Clear the way--forward!" Privates Dathe and Noock quickly jump from the MTLB, run stooped over to the obstacle, check it for hidden explosives, defuse them, with their large cutters they cut the wire close to some tree trunks. "Darn!" curses Private Noack under his breath. He moved too quickly, a barb tears his left pantleg. It takes practice to move efficiently in these twirls. Privates Kranich and Schawalla come running up. They attach one explosive charge underneath each one of seven cleared trunks, press some dirt over it. There must not remain any space between it and the obstacle, it could reduce the effectiveness. The fuse net is laid out. Red wires coming from the individual explosive charges come together to form one main wire. It is 18 meters long. NCO Mueller's eyes check it over piece by piece. Is there a knot somewhere? Some wire overlapping, and possibly blowing itself up? He finds no mistakes, the two soldiers have done clean work.

The squad leader beckons Private Bonack to come forward. He is responsible for igniting the charge. An experienced comrade, sure of himself in his work, he has done it many times before. His principle: don't rush, work deliberately, observe safety regulations--then nothing can go wrong. This is how he acts now, too. He attaches a short fuse with insulating tape to the long red fuse cord. He holds its end between index and middle finger, and with his thumb he presses the head of the match to the end of the cord, with the other hand he guides the matchbox over it. A spark. "Run for cover!" calls the NCO. They run to the MTLB. After one minute, a loud bang rings through the silent forest. In his rearview mirror Mueller sees a gray-black cloud rising. He listens intently. "Everything blew up," he yells out to the others. And to himself: "It went great."

The minesweeping tank is the first to go through the path, followed by the other engineering vehicles. But they only get as far as a few hundred meters. Four giant shell-holes are blocking the way. "The BAT has to take care of that!" the commander orders the machine with its wide blade to take the lead, has it fill the holes and level the road. "Forward!"

Ten minutes have passed. The Mueller squad receives its next order. A barbed wire obstacle, two rows deep, has to be removed. This time with

distributed charge set off electrically. With this method the barbed wire does not need to be cut first. Privates Dathe and Kranich huff and puff as they carry the long wooden frame and push it cautiously underneath the entanglement, they attach the fuse cord, want to return. "Back!" orders Mueller. "Attach the charges correctly! On two posts!" The two soldiers pull the wooden frame into a different position. They know how it should be done properly, they had learned it. But now, under more difficult conditions and in a hurry, they had forgotten, thought it would work anyway. But what was it the commander had said: Quick and precise. To make good time at the expense of precision can be bad. Half the effect can be lost if the charge is not solidly attached to the post, requiring a second explosion. That would mean a loss of time, at the expense of the troops following behind! After the charge had been brought to detonation with an ignition device, the two soldiers can see how correct the commander had been when he admonished them. A wide pathway had been created, wide enough for all vehicles to get through.

There is no rest for the seven men in the MTLB. After a steep incline, open, hilly terrain is spread out before them. While the neighboring squad detonates a huge wooden barricade with a 25 kg charge, the Mueller squad receives the mission to widen the path in a minefield. The heavy minesweeping tank has already left its trail in the extensive field bordered by colored strips. Now the combat engineers must look for mines to the right and left of this trail in order to create more room for future traffic.

Private Bonack and Dathe put on ear phones, attach their minesweeping devices, gently move metal loops back and forth over the ground, listen to the high and low sounds. The other soldiers are holding thin steel poles in their hands and keep sticking them into the ground. Thus they advance step by step. Suddenly one of them calls out: "Mine!" His pole has hit something made of metal. Mueller's reaction is quick: "Take cover!" In an instant they are all lying prone. The NCO sends two soldiers to dig out the mine, attach a charge and spread out the net. The squad leader watches over this also, sees to it that they work carefully, in spite of the necessary haste, that nothing is done carelessly. In combat the mine would be active, and for that reason accuracy must be practiced here and now. Three mines are "destroyed" that way, the red border strips are staked a little bit further out. More room has been made for those following behind.

Bridge-building tanks and vehicles bringing other bridge parts are already rolling in. Farther up front they will build a crossing over a water obstacle. And the first units of the regiment can already be seen also. Its commander is satisfied. The combat engineers, his comrades, have made it possible for him to give immediate pursuit to the "enemy." And our combat engineering squad is no less happy. It has collectively passed the test. How does Private Dathe put it? "It is a good feeling when you have succeeded, when you see the motorized infantry and tanks go by, for whom you have forged the way."

9328
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'IDEALIZED' HERO MODELS REJECTED FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 35, 5 Mar 82 pp 1-2

/Report from Berlin: "GDR Adolescents Reject 'Perfect Heroes.'" A translation of the East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION article cited below follows this commentary/

/Text/ JUNGE GENERATION (No 2, 1982), the FDJ functionaries magazine, warns against presenting GDR youths with role models "which are perfect" and "are only capable of outstanding achievements." Such "unparalleled heroes" and "idealized figments of the imagination" are "rejected by young people." If functionaries and educators make too much of such idealized types, they tend to bring about the opposite: "The entire complex of expected behavior patterns is cast in doubt."

Studies conducted in the GDR have found that role models play an important part in the life of adolescents. Their own party and government leaders are not chosen as models by young people but rather revolutionaries like Che Guevara. Role models which are often mentioned include film stars, popular singers, top athletes and Western pop stars. Not seldom, these are all but idolized by the young people and in fact copied. In this connection, JUNGE GENERATION calls it "unwise to conduct a generalized campaign against this type of imitation" because it would be "counter-productive" and permit this practice to "harden into a behavior pattern."

GDR Youth Journal's Analysis

East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION in German Vol 35 No 2, Feb 82 (signed to press 12 Jan 82) pp 42-44

/'Education Theory' feature article by Dr Manfred Klaus: "The Expected and the Desired—Ideals in the Educational Process"/

/Text/ The Springer paper BILD AM SONNTAG asked "German youth" to name its role models and this was the response. "My role model is my ficus tree. It possesses all of my ideals: perseverance, thrift, reticence and cleanliness." (Nicole from Munich). "Giants are my role model because I am so small—just five feet." (Thomas, 15 years old from Schleswig-Holstein). All in all, a

"profound" summary of the findings, to wit: "...young people are more realistic, more sober, less emotional and less prone to illusions than they were in former generations. But this is also a generation that has no role models."[1] And a Hamburg institute even discovered that "75.8 percent of those between the ages of 15 and 25 feel that 'charity begins at home and everyone must look out for himself.'"[2]

It is not surprising in a society where charity does begin at home that adolescents are already provided with such "wisdom" at their mother's knee. There are no other ideals the bourgeois press would care to disseminate. But there are such! Che Guevara, Karl Marx and Karl Liebknecht on T-shirts and posters and inside young people's heads! Quite contrary to the intentions of the capitalist opinion makers, the ideals of communism have not lost their attraction for young people of the present day. And that applies all over the world! Why ? And, for that matter, what does one need /ideals/ for anyway ?

What the Wants of Personality Are

The first question is easily answered. No anti-communist mountain of lies can smother the truth which is that socialism alone is capable of opening up to young people a meaningful perspective of a life worth living. In consequence, the interest of more and more young people centers on the words and deeds of the communists and, quite naturally, also on their ideals.

But the search for an ideal is also subject to a psychological law which is called the /directedness of personality./ At first quite unconsciously and then ever more clearly, this manifestation invests a man's life and his behavior with a singleness of purpose which points him in a very specific direction. Rubinstein says that this directedness supplies the answer to the question "what does man want; what are his goals ?"[3] If this directedness fastens on to something, we speak of a basic personality trait. If this tendency is lacking or is severely impaired, the particular individual will be plagued by dissatisfaction, agonizing tension and oppressive uneasiness. Directedness builds above all on ideals, interests and needs. We will be looking at these in this article and the one that follows.

A Dream Is to Come True

Even in ancient times, an ideal ("that which corresponds to an idea") was the essence of highest completeness, a most desirable image, a model of great significance. It subsumes the (almost "dreamlike") virtues that (should) characterize a person or a social system. Take for example the ideal of the young Greek: he was to be equally well-proportioned in mind and body—a strong and courageous warrior possessed of an aesthetic intellect. Or take the ideal of "liberty, equality, fraternity." Embroidered onto flags that were carried into the great French Revolution, it still moves us deeply today in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and in Schiller's message that "all men will be brothers."

Without a doubt, there was a deep split between such ideals and reality in antagonistic class societies; the ideals remained a lofty but unfulfillable dream. What is more, they had to turn into a mirage (to a non-realizable ideal) because when they were formulated the objective chances of their being realized were not taken into account sufficiently. In the debate with people who "float on high," Lenin said: "A Marxist starts out with the same ideal but the difference is he measures it...against /the existing class distinctions./ ...If one does not measure ideals...against reality, then the ideals remain pious hopes without a chance of their being approved which is to say realized by the masses."[4]

"Moral Signposts"

Thus, ideals bear the imprint of existing production and class relationships; they reflect the objective demands of a given class and contain the moral values and standards of society.

Secondly, ideals are characteristic of a condition the individual or society desires but which has not yet been attained. As such, an ideal is an image of what man would like to be or would like to achieve.

These two form the basis of a third—the great normative power of ideals. They provide a moral motivation for man's entire striving. Their attractiveness acts both as a spur and imposes the obligation to act commensurate to the ideal. As a kind of "privy councillor," ideals tend to establish signposts—even in many everday situations—and act as a standard against which every decision of one's own and of others can be measured. In other words: Tell me what your ideals are and I will tell you what meaning you have given to your life...

Different Forms

An ideal not only has the power to move the intellect but also the emotions. It is its very emotional attractiveness that imposes an obligation. The manifestations of the ideal image itself are diversified. Above all, it is embodied in a personified image (Ernst Thaelmann, Richard Sorge, Etkar André, Adolf Hennecke, Sigmund Jaehn come to mind) or as a more generalized image (such as the revolutionaries, the Chekists, resistance fighters, activists or cosmonauts). Ideals also appear in the guise of maxims and principles (such as Pavel Korchagin's motto "the most valuable thing a man possesses...") or of basic tenets (such as the social ideal of communism "everyone according to his abilities; to everyone according to his needs"). Ideals are also expressed in ethical-moral terms (one of these is our love of peace concerning which Erich Honecker said amid the horrors of Nagasaki: "Our ideal is the liberation of mankind from the scourge of war and a lasting peace for all peoples.")[5]

Models play an important role particularly among young people. Children for the most part look to people closest to them to fulfill that role. But even in early youth, the circle of personified models begins to extend to historical, political or literary figures or personalities in the news and in the

world around them. Following puberty, what is desired is no longer personified in individuals but in members of a similar group or class. Thus the way progresses from concrete-objective, personified ideals to abstract-conceptual ideals.[6] If one knows this and takes it into account (as for example in the traditional work of the FDJ) one will not be unnecessarily (and unjustifiably) dismayed when somewhat older youths are unable to come up with a concrete description of their ideal when asked to do so.

Ideal with Blemishes ?

Communist ideals are no far-out utopias; they do not personify some lonely, unattainable hero who can only be looked up to with reverence; they are not moralizing principles that block the way to reality. This immediacy also includes the minor weaknesses of the models. Young people do not look to "knights in shining armor" as their models, to people in other words who are faultless and capable only of performing exemplary deeds and possess unattainable character traits. Such idealized figments of the imagination (to idealize: to call something better and more beautiful than it really is) are rejected by young people. If FDJ functionaries, teachers or parents make too much of such idealized types, they will very likely bring about the opposite: Doubt will be cast on the entire spectrum of expected behavior patterns. For this reason, too, we neither want to, are able to or are entitled to portray the road to communism to our friends as an uninterrupted triumphal procession with no problems, no detours or annoyances. After all, we want young people to recognize the difficulties and to overcome them with strength of character. For this very reason, we have a need of models who have gone through life's trials but have come out on top.

The search for such models does not always have to take us to faraway times or faroff places. In our everyday work, in our youth brigades, in many of the collectives of our socialist youth organization exemplary things are being done—not least in overcoming problems, difficulties and weaknesses.

Emulate, Don't Imitate

Many times, the models mentioned are film stars, pop singers or top athletes. No question about it—their frequently outstanding exploits are exemplary. But is it proper to designate them as models ?

It certainly is, if the conditions that make for continuing success (infinite hard work, perseverance and self-control) act as a stimulus for one's efforts and thus for one's own achievements. To emulate in the sense of living up to the main personality traits of one's model (his character, intellect and abilities) that is, by definition, the meaning of an ideal. That is hard and the grapes hang high. That is why quite a few people are content simply to imitate; to copy a prominent person's style of clothes or hair or his way of speaking or his gestures more or less accurately. The model then becomes a kind of god, an idol. His fans not only wear his colors; they appropriate his successes and make believe they were the "winners" without themselves ever having "gone the

distance." "Whenever one creates an idol," the Soviet author Alexander Kron writes, "one tries to find confirmation of oneself. One participates in the idol's glory and reputation; one becomes ordained as it were and acquires the right to pass judgment and to criticize as one never did heretofore; and of course to exert influence, to state demands, to give advice and even to condemn."[7]

It would be unwise to conduct an all-out campaign in our collectives against this type of imitation. Within ourselves, there are positive forces slumbering which are waiting to be tapped. Outward appearances, on the other hand, have a merely limited impact in the normal course of events; they come and go as fashions do. For that matter, petty unreasonableness might well be counter-productive in that it might cause unreflected imitation to harden into a behavior pattern (if only for spite).

It would be preferable to tie into the interests shown; to find the particular task a given person would enjoy most and that would help him develop so that he becomes an actor and not just a spectator. But that is already part of the next instalment entitled "If It Were Not for Curiosity—Interests and Needs in the Education Process" which is to appear in JUNGE GENERATION, No 3, March 1982.

FOOTNOTES

1. BILD AM SONNTAG, No 34/1978.

2. QUICK, No 29/1979.

3. S.L. Rubinstein, "Basic Principles of General Psychology," Berlin, Volk und Wissen, 1962, p 785.

4. V.I. Lenin, "The Economic Content of Populism and Its Criticism in Mr Struve's Book," [Complete Works] Vol 1, p 114f.

5. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, No 129/1981, p 3.

6. Cf Dictionary of Psychology, Leipzig, VEB Bibliographisches Institut, 1981, p 273.—This second edition is recommended as background to this series of articles.

7. A. Kron, "Sleeplessness," Berlin, Volk und Welt, 1980, p 212.

9478
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STATISTICS ON, MEASURES AGAINST INCREASE IN CRIME RATE ANALYZED

West German Analysis

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 2, Feb 82 (signed to press 22 Jan 82) pp 148-151

[Analyses and Reports' feature article by Dr Arnold Freiburg, Research Institute for Juvenile Affairs, Hannover: "'Temporary Increase of Particular Criminal Offense Categories' -- On GDR Criminality in 1980." A translation of GDR Prosecutor General Josef Streit's article cited below follows this analysis]

[Text] Josef Streit, GDR prosecutor general, announced recently "that the process of curbing crime is lengthy and complicated, and one that can result in periods of stagnation as well as a temporary increase in particular criminal offense categories, as our statistics show."[1] The crime statistics have now been published[2] -- in roughly structured and incomplete form, as they usually are.

Criminal Offenses

The total number of crimes increased only slightly over 1979, but the rise that has taken place since the mid-1970's cannot be overlooked. The number of criminal offenses is considerably higher than the figures recorded in the late 1970's[3] but has thus far not climbed back to the level registered between 1971 and 1974 (an average of 131,426 each year). The fluctuation peculiar to the GDR's criminality curve -- downward at mid-decade, upward at the end of each decade[4] -- continued through 1980 (see Table 1).

The statistics identified 25 "selected categories of criminal offenses"[5]; this means that not all criminal activity was categorized and that some of the categories are incomplete. Theft continues to head the list of all categories of offenses with 42.3 percent. A total of 24,059 crimes of theft were directed "against socialist property," while 30,598 were "against personal and private property." The corresponding figures for "fraud and fraudulent activity" were 5,526 and 738. Together, these 60,940 crimes of financial gain accounted for 47.2 percent of all criminal activity. On the basis of percentages, these crimes were followed by traffic offenses (10.2 percent), but these figures are incomplete. The main omissions are hit-and-run offenses. Other crimes of quantitative significance were "assault and battery" (11,202, or 8.7 percent), "abetting and receiving of stolen goods" (2,781, or 2.2 percent), and "hooliganism" (2,205, or 1.7 percent). The remaining 14

Table 1. Development of Criminality in the GDR — 1968-1980

	Criminal offenses	Offenders	Including: Sentenced criminals	Including: Transfers[1]	Including: Others[2]
1968	100 126	81 609	45 720	27 637	8 260
1969	105 869	83 758	48 930	—	—
1970	109 101	87 400	—	—	—
1970-74	126 981	97 814	63 214	24 018	10 582
1975	117 994	91 312	64 112	20 751	6 449
1976	124 678	88 683	59 267	23 114	6 292
1977	116 170	85 005	56 804	22 859	5 442
1978	126 620	93 016	66 305	21 755	4 956
1979	129 099	97 836	73 183	19 966	4 867
1980	129 270	99 881	75 876	19 442	4 563

[1] Transfers to social courts

[2] Other verdicts: dispensing with criminal liability measures; temporary and permanent suspension of proceedings

Sources: A. Freiburg, "Criminality in the GDR," Opladen, 1981, pp 39,56; "1981 GDR Statistical Annual," p 379.

categories together accounted for only 8,251 crimes, or 6.4 percent of all criminal activity. None of the categories listed exhibited any notable changes compared with the preceding year. And considering the magnitude of the annual changes -- 53 more cases of "arson," 270 fewer thefts -- and the annual switch from increases to decreases in many categories, a year-to-year comparison is useful only in some exceptional cases.[6] A longer-range comparison yields a more reliable picture, with several conspicuous trends emerging. Since the end of the 1970's there have been distinct increases in cases of assault and battery, fraud and fraudulent activity against socialist property, arson, hooliganism and especially crimes of robbery and extortion, whose numbers have more than doubled. The number of thefts reached its peak at 60,163 in 1976 and appears to have been hovering at 55,000 annually since that time. The record of crimes of resisting arrest and "illegal possession of firearms and explosives" has also remained constant since the mid-1970's. The only clear declines were in offenses in violation of support and educational obligations, the sexual abuse of children and juveniles, offenses relating to accident prevention on the job (to the extent recorded), drunken driving, and documentary crimes ever since the forgery of medical cards has been classified as fraud. In other words, the effort to "curb criminality" has met with only modest success. Crimes of aggression increased, chiefly among youthful offenders. Although the number of crimes of financial gain declined, the amounts involved increased considerably; this is evident from the GDR mass media and several references in the literature of the field.[7] The shortage of building materials, tools, spare parts and

other high-quality consumer goods led in some instances to notable criminal practices within the confines of business and "speculation" on the outside. It appears that vehicular theft and burglary, check fraud and manipulation of company books, and illegal commerce and the theft of antiques are increasingly becoming "the fashionable thing to do."

But the most remarkable development was to be found in crimes that were not further identified; their number has to be calculated as the difference between totals and individual figures. Besides military offenses, damage to property, "disturbance of public order and security through antisocial behavior" and others, political crimes are the main ones included in this category -- ranging from national security offenses to criminal offenses pertaining to "illegal border-crossing" and other crimes "against the national order." The average number of uncategorized crimes for the 1970-74 period was 23,718, or 18.7 percent. By 1976 these crimes had dropped to 19,324 (15.5 percent) and since then have increased by a few thousand each year. In 1980 there were 30,794 of these criminal offenses, accounting for 23.8 percent of all crimes committed. It was in this sector that the "temporary increase in particular criminal offense categories" deplored by Streit occurred. This was probably primarily the result of more vigorous action taken against "antisocial" and politically undesirable conduct. The changes in the criminal code effected in 1974, 1977 and 1979 made provision for this.

Regional Distribution of Criminality

As expected, East Berlin, the only purely urban district, had the highest regional burden of crime in 1980 as well; Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk was next on the list, as usual. Given a GDR average of 772 criminal offenses per 100,000 residents -- or 729 established offenders per 100,000 residents of responsible age -- the figures for East Berlin were 1,157 and 1,028; those for Frankfurt were 998 and 945. There was a change in the third-place position, which for many years had been occupied chiefly by Rostock Bezirk. The "seasonal criminality" of this vacation region and the character of the bezirk capital as a development center and port city probably contributed equally to its third-place listing. But in 1980, as had happened once before in 1976, the GDR's most sparsely populated bezirk, Neubrandenburg, occupied third place with a crime figure of 980. The number of offenders (1,003) was even higher than that of Frankfurt. On the other hand, the southern bezirks of Dresden and Karl-Marx-Stadt continue to demonstrate the lowest crime figures. Problematic trends in the thinly populated, predominantly agricultural, northern part of the GDR have continued. Virtually the only explanation for this is the large percentage of young people in this region.[8]

Offenders and Sentenced Criminals

The percentage of cases solved was not given out for 1980. Also lacking is information on the makeup of the group of offenders (and those sentenced) according to crimes, age, sex and size of locality. Figures on the number of accused persons -- and thus the number of acquittals -- were last published for the year 1968.[9] "Offender"in GDR terminology means a person convicted of a criminal offense. The method used to identify "offenders" and "criminal offenses" differs from that used in West German statistics. Consequently, a direct comparison of frequency figures -- a favorite practice in the GDR literature[10] -- is misleading. The number of

established offenders increased approximately on a parallel with development of the number of criminal offenses — with periodic interruptions. There were substantial changes, however, in the scope of the verdicts that were reached on the offenders (see Table 2.).

Table 2. Development of Criminality in the GDR, 1968-1980, in Index Figures — Percentages of Verdicts Against Established Offenders

	Crimes	Offenders	Including: Sentenced criminals		Including: Transfers		Including: Others	
	I	I	I	in %	I	in %	I	in %
1968	100	100	100	56,0	100	33,9	100	10,1
1969	105	103	107	58,4	—	—	—	—
1970-74	127	120	138	64,8	87	24,8	128	10,8
1975	118	112	140	70,2	75	22,7	78	7,1
1976	125	109	130	66,8	84	26,1	78	7,1
1977	116	104	124	66,8	83	26,9	65	6,3
1978	126	114	145	71,3	79	23,4	60	5,3
1979	129	120	160	74,8	72	20,4	57	4,8
1980	129	122	168	78,0	70	19,4	55	4,8

The number and percentage of convictions increased disproportionately, while the courts made less and less use of the opportunity to transfer cases to social courts — which means an enterprise Conflict Commission or a local Arbitration Commission.

The greatest reduction was made in the percentage of "transfers" involving crimes of "drunken driving to endanger," "abetting and receiving of stolen goods" and theft cases.[11] The already low percentage of suspended proceedings and "dispensing with criminal liability measures" was even cut by more than 50 percent. Leniency seems to be inappropriate to the GDR justice system. For example: "Hooligans and those people who think they can lead the life of a parasite at the expense of their fellow men are consistently called to account. Tendencies toward anarchy, unscrupulousness and moral decline will be fought vigorously in the future as well."[12] The prosecutor general was even more outspoken: "Our position is clear: It says that punishment cannot be dispensed with when protection of the state, society and our country's internal security demand it. We will not tolerate attacks on the state and its principles. We will apply severe penalties against these and other serious crimes, against incorrigible and parasitic elements and recidivists."[13] The large numbers of prison sentences and their length[14] have meanwhile aroused misgivings even in the GDR. Overly frequent use of preventive detention is being warned against; juveniles should be placed on probation whenever possible; "the possible notion that prison sentences must be increased in proportion to rising recidivism" ought "to be rejected."[15] It remains to be seen whether these warnings are heeded. The — apparently suspicious — "conspicuously liberal attitude of bourgeois society today toward criminal activity"[16] is still not in evidence in the GDR. The

liberal course that people thought could be permitted in the 1960's was followed by an increasing stiffening of policy on crime.

GDR crime statistics attempt to prove a decline in criminal activity from one decade to the next — although only for the figures recorded as "criminal offenses." Appearing instead of figures in the columns headed "offenders," "sentenced criminals" and "transfers" is a horizontal bar graph that is apparently designed to deter the curious from going back and tracing developments beyond the year 1976.[17] We do so regardless:

Table 3. GDR — Criminal Offenses, Sentenced Criminals and Persons "Called To Account for Crimes" — Average Totals for Years Listed

	Criminal offenses	Sentenced criminals	Called to account for crimes
1946–48	472 295	?	?
1950–1959	157 488	78 953	78 953
1960–69	132 741	54 980	ca. 80 000[1]
1970–79	124 802	63 573	86 429
1980	129 270	75 878	95 318

[1] The number of "transfers" for 1969 was not published

The effort to reduce the number of "criminal offenses" has apparently been successful. Legislative and statistical reforms carried out in the 1960's contributed to the decline. On the other hand, the number of persons sentenced to prison terms has climbed back to the level in the 1950's — despite the juggling of statistics. Including those persons turned over to the social courts to receive punishment for their crimes, the number of "those called to account for crimes" has been rising from decade to decade. Not included in these figures are "misdemeanors" and those upon whom sanctions have been imposed for such actions since 1968 by the social courts, the police and retail trade. The situation is a paradox: They laud themselves for "curbing criminality" while simultaneously finging themselves having to bring more and more citizens before state and social courts.

What was it that the prosecutor general wrote? "In the prevention of crime by society as a whole, criminal prosecution occupies a prominent position."[18] The article quoted is entitled "Into the 1980's on Firm Foundations."

FOOTNOTES

1. Josef Streit: "Tenth Party Congress — Compass for the Work of the Prosecutor General's Office in the 1980's," NEUE JUSTIZ, Vol 35, 1981, pp 243,245; here p 244.

2. "1981 GDR Statistical Annual," published by the State Central Administration for Statistics, (East) Berlin, 1981, pp 379-383. This volume was not made available to the FRG until December 1981.

3. The GDR's new criminal code went into effect on 1 July 1968 and has been revised three times since then.

4. See Arnold Freiburg, "Criminality in the GDR — On the Phenomenology of Deviant Behavior in the Socialist German State," Opladen, 1981, pp 33 and 39.

5. There were 13 categories listed until 1969, then 25.

6. Certainly useful in police work is the method of identification used in "Police Crime Statistics," published by the BKA [Federal Criminal Police Bureau] -- based on percentage-point changes and on the order of these changes; in criminological work a trend is usually followed for lengthy periods merely in order to avoid misinterpretations or overinterpretations.

7. In progress is an examination and evaluation of police- and court-reporting in the GDR press, especially from the aspects of "offense, offenders and sanctions." Included are references to the scope of damages, about which little is to be found in GDR literature in the field.

8. For detailed information: Arnold Freiburg, loc. cit., (footnote 4), pp 196-212.

9. Arnold Freiburg, loc. cit., (footnote 4), p 53.

10. Most recently, Herbert Kern and Guenter Sarge, "On the Work of the Courts in 1980," NEUE JUSTIZ, Vol 34, 1980, p 50 f.

11. "1981 GDR Statistical Annual," loc. cit., (footnote 2), p 382 (Table 5).

12. Herbert Kern and Guenter Sarge, "The Tasks of the Courts After the 10th SED Party Congress," NEUE JUSTIZ, Vol 35, 1981, pp 290-292; here p 291.

13. Josef Streit, "Tenth Party Congress...," loc. cit., (footnote 1), p 245.

14. See Siegfried Lammich, "Prison Sentences in the GDR and the Other Socialist Countries," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV edition: "The 10th SED Party Congress -- 35 Years of SED Policies. An Attempt To Draw a Balance," Cologne, 1980. Arnold Freiburg, loc. cit., (footnote 4), p 56 f.

15. Rolf Schroeder and Adolf Buske, "The Responsibility of Public Prosecutors and Judges in Examining the Indispensability of Pretrial Detention," NEUE JUSTIZ, Vol 34, 1980, pp 404-406; Manfred Boese, "Peculiarities of the Probationary Sentencing of Juveniles," NEUE JUSTIZ, Vol 35, 1981, p 456 f; Siegfried Wittenbeck, "Application and Form of Probationary Sentencing," NEUE JUSTIZ, Vol 34, 1980, pp 201-206; Guenter Kraeupl and Lothar Reuter, "Effects of Punishment on Repeat Offenders," NEUE JUSTIZ, Vol 35, 1981, pp 559-561, here p 560.

16. Hans Weber, "The Place of Punishment Under Socialism," NEUE JUSTIZ, Vol 34, 1980, pp 248-251, here 251.

17. See "1981 Statistical Annual," loc. cit., (footnote 2), p 379 (Table 1).

18. Josef Streit, "Into the 1980's on Firm Foundations," NEUE JUSTIZ, Vol 35, 1981, pp 2-4, here p 3.

GDR Prosecutor General's Discussion

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 35 No 6, Jun 81 pp 243-245

[Article by Dr Josef Streit, member, SED Central Committee; GDR prosecutor general: "Tenth Party Congress -- Compass for Work of the Prosecutor General's Office in the 1980's"]

[Text] The Central Committee's report to our party's 10th Party Congress, a report unanimously elevated to the status of a resolution, initiated a new period in the continuing development of the German Democratic Republic and delineated the goal of its struggle. The delegates enthusiastically agreed with the Central Committee's assessment that the historical process of far-reaching political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural change -- as our party program characterizes the process of fashioning the developed socialist society -- is in full swing in our fatherland, and that our continued advance will take place across the entire spectrum of society.

Our staff members have enthusiastically approved the party congress's scientifically developed resolutions and have solemnly pledged all their strength and all their knowledge in support of the course laid out by our party's highest forum.

It has been our experience that the party resolutions must be implemented uniformly in every single collective if we are to achieve high levels of quality and effectiveness in our work. This is why we have committed ourselves to a comprehensive program for study of the party congress documents, so that all staff members may become familiar with the scientific richness of these documents from all aspects. We are thus responding to the party congress's call, which says that we need a high political and technical standard because mobilization of all the working people for the party's policies and realization of our program depend upon the ideological clarity of the communists, their knowledge and above all their revolutionary zeal.[1]

Struggle Against Negative Social Manifestations

The Central Committee's report to the party congress determined that the working people of our country respect the responsible work of the judicial organs.[2] This is great praise, from which we derive our obligation to live up to the party's expectations in every respect and to make an even greater contribution toward strengthening national security, preventing crime and educating citizens who have committed criminal offenses.

There is no other way but for this greater contribution to build on our good experiences in recent years and to be aimed at further increasing the social effectiveness of all our work in line with the new conditions and requirements -- as were substantiated in detail in the Central Committee report and the addresses by delegates to the party congress. On the basis of our experiences since the Ninth Party Congress, we regard it as a proven fact that the higher quality of work to which we aspire can be produced only if we continue to make improvements in our work and achieve in social practice the tried and tested unity of criminal prosecution, supervision of law and order and public relations work. This unity also has within it the most important point of departure for all the activities that we are increasingly directing toward the struggle to prevent crime and other violations of the law. It is our firm resolve to carry on the fight against negative social manifestations, particularly at their inception, thereby attaining a new level of quality. We shall be putting all our means to work here and -- basing our efforts on our comrades' wealth of ideas -- opening up new avenues.

Thus, by directing our attention far more intensively than before toward early manifestations that are antisocial and damaging to society, we shall be better able than before to prevent economic and other damage. We know that we have at our side in this effort the numerous working people's collectives that are struggling in the most varied spheres for exemplary order, discipline and security to preserve and protect all that has been gained through the work of our industrious people; their struggle is also aimed at helping enable the citizens of our country to work and live in peace and security. It is our duty to provide every support to these collectives.[3]

Main Directions of the Work of the Prosecutor General's Office

On the basis of the resolutions of the 10th Party Congress relating to the organization of our continued social advance -- one which sets major tasks for all sectors and fields of activity -- the objective for the prosecutor general's office consists in making a maximum contribution to the all-round strengthening of the German Democratic Republic's systems of government and law and its national economy. Bound up with this contribution are essentially three main directions of our work:

The first direction consists in combatting criminal activity through a more consistent prosecution of crimes.

We base our work in this area on the firm principle of socialist legality, which states that criminal prosecution in our socialist state is carried out without respect of person.

As regards the assessment of criminal conduct and the measures pertaining to criminal liability, we can say that the standards developed since the Eighth and Ninth Party Congresses have proven successful. We must now continue with this process -- taking into account the conditions that are reflected in the 10th Party Congress materials. This means that in the interest of providing secure protection for our state and for GDR society and its citizens, we must make consistent use of stiff prison sentences against elements that commit serious crimes under orders from the class enemy. This also applies in the case of other serious crimes -- for instance, to persons who unscrupulously derive personal financial gain from socialist property, to speculators and to hard-core repeat offenders.

In the overwhelming majority of criminal offenses, however, the opportunity exists to take even greater advantage of the educative function peculiar to our system of criminal law by making even more conscious use of all legal options. But if we are to arrive at equitable sanctions against these offenders, besides ascertaining the objective factors in the case we must always be equally thorough in our investigation of the subjective circumstances surrounding the crime, in determining why it happened. Essential prerequisites for the socially effective application of criminal liability measures -- with their dialectical unity of protection and education -- are adequate knowledge and assessment of the motivations, views and attitudes relating to the offense and the offender.

An evaluation of our criminal prosecution work in the last 5 years clearly implies that the effectiveness of criminal sanctions depends in large measure upon the great variety of possible responses and upon whether and how these many different options are used in a legally precise manner and with far-reaching social vision in each individual case, taking into acc ount the differences in criminal offenses and the individuality of the offender. It can thus be emphasized that the individualization of criminal liability measures as an essential element of just decisions absolutely requires an increasingly better grasp of the diversity of crimes and criminals. There is no doubt that this also makes greater demands on the technical and political abilities of the public prosecutors as well as on their willingness to make decisions.

The second main direction of our work is aimed at further increasing the effectiveness of the overall supervision of law and order.

We must substantially increase our efforts to enforce strict observance of the laws, especially in economic management bodies, and to provide effective protection for the rights and interests of our citizens.

Security under the law is a very important precept for our socialist state. It s ays that the citizen may rely on legal regulations and be assured that no one is authorized to infringe his established rights. It is very important to the work of the prosecutor general's office to eliminate breaches of the law against injured citizens, to restore law and order and if necessary to assign liability to those who violated rights or permitted them to be violated.

But it must also be pointed out that the security under the law that our socialist state guarantees does not allow laws and standards to be applied only formally and without regard for specific conditions and circumstances. We should always bear in mind that security under the law has a stable basis only if it is firmly grounded in justice and in the sense of justice of the working people.

The third direction of our work has as its goal a higher quality of public relations work as a genuine element of the party's political work with the masses.

Public relations work by the prosecutor general's office is an important part of the responsibilities conferred upon us. It will be most effective if we pay strict attention to the following points:

The intellectual demands of the citizens and their interest in general social and national concerns have increased;

More than ever, it is a matter of basing responses to every political or social question on class issues and of pushing on to the essence of manifestations as conditioned by the system;

It is our duty to use our specific knowledge of the actions of the class enemy to put in the hands of the working people the tools needed to strengthen class vigilance;

We must organize our public relations work as an open dialogue with the people by providing them with specific information, explaining social interrelationships and equipping them with sound arguments against the virulent propaganda of our enemies;

We must carry on our public relations work as a vital form of disputation with old, outdated opinions and modes of behavior, especially violations of the law, thereby getting down to ideological bedrock.

Overall Social Responsibility and Initiatives Designed To Strengthen Law and Order

All of our work is consciously oriented toward the advantages of our socialist society, and it is our firm conviction that the measures passed by the 10th SED Party Congress aimed at the continued formation of the developed socialist society, together with the effects resulting from these measures, will cause socialist conceptions of morality and law to integrate themselves more and more into the conduct of our citizens. This will also set the scene for further measures aimed at curbing crime and other violations of the law. It is urgently necessary in this regard that the prosecutor general's office, in its search for new ways to prevent crime and other violations of the law, maintain an eye especially to the new aspects of human behavior that are developing.

I consider it absolutely essential that the office of the prosecutor general make a major contribution in the continuing process of fashioning the developed socialist society, as the 10th Party Congress has mapped out for the years just ahead. Occupying a prominent place in this effort are our activities aimed at preventing manifestations that are antisocial and damaging to society. Insofar as the fight against crime is concerned, we are guided by the scientific view that crime in the socialist society can be overcome. The German Democratic Republic's experiences in fighting crime for more than 30 years are convincing proof of this. We nevertheless do not overlook the fact that the process of curbing crime is lengthy and complicated, and one that can result in periods of stagnation as well as a temporary increase in particular criminal offense categories, as our statistics show. But one thing that is certain -- from a historical point of view -- is that we are dealing with a positive trend toward declining criminality, one that the imperialistic states dare not even dream of.

The fight against crime and other violations of the law is being carried on in the German Democratic Republic as a task for society as a whole (Art 90 of the Constitution). But if we are to continue to achieve effective results, state and economic management organs and social bodies need to do a better job of meeting their

specific responsibilities. It is particularly a question of increasing activities by society as a whole against criminal offenses and violations of the law at their inception. All this is fully in line with the resolutions of the 10th Party Congress, which confirm the party's resolve to further strengthen law and legality. Some of the bases for this resolve are as follows:

Socialist law protects our nation's achievements against all attacks by our enemies;

Law and legality are closely linked to the development of truly socialist ties among people and to the accomplishment of economic tasks;

Strict observance of relevant laws by the enterprises, combines and economic management organs are extremely important to our growth-oriented economic policy and to protection of our national property.[4]

It is significant in this regard that the report to the party congress acknowledges in particular the initiatives of labor collectives that are supporting the cause of law, the rule of law, and order. Also applauded were the activities of citizens who are increasingly speaking out publicly against violations of the law. They all deserve the attention of the prosecutor general's office.

Growing Demands on the Work of Public Prosecutors

The orientation contained in the 10th Party Congress resolutions -- that of continuing to raise the quality of the work performed by state organs, improving analytical work and meeting growing demands in every respect -- is extremely important in our continuing effort to fashion a developed socialist society. We prosecutors view this orientation as a commission from the party that we accept without hesitation. A real help to us in this regard are the thorough discussions already conducted with all staff members from the prosecutor general's office in preparation for the party congress; this is because the comrades related numerous good experiences.

Allow me to elaborate on some especially interesting problems.

Many comrades advocated that we convey even more strongly through our specific practice as well as our public relations work the certainty that everyone will be called to account personally for the crimes he commits, because the chances of preventing criminal offenses increase as the inevitability of the response from the state and the public to crimes becomes a social reality, thus having predictable consequences for the violator of the law.

There were some interesting remarks from public prosecutors concerning the increasing implacability and impatience toward crime felt by citizens in their territories, reactions resulting from consistent work by security and judicial organs. Since crimes are being solved quickly and offenders personally brought to justice within the shortest possible time, there is a growing willingness on the part of the working people and their collectives to take action against violations of the law and to help educate citizens who have committed crimes. There was a lively discussion on the need to strictly observe legality in criminal proceedings at all stages and with each individual measure. It was clearly emphasized that only legal and just

verdicts are capable of satisfying the offender as well as the injured parties and the public.

Speedy trials and their varied organization on strictly legal grounds were described as criteria that are essential to a high level of effectiveness in criminal prosecution. And it was stressed that these very criteria do not preclude an even more carefully considered -- and thus more diversified -- inclusion of social forces in the proceedings and their evaluation when this inclusion is based on the requirements and real possibilities of the specific case. This is why all of the principles that determine and permeate the socialist penal process must constantly be viewed in their dialectical unity and practiced as such in a balanced manner. An approach such as this will certainly be a substantial guarantee that the initial verdict will be the correct one.

Questions of prevention are prominent in the discussion that is going on now. It is clear that disclosure of the causes of a crime and the conditions that encouraged it constitutes part of the effort to increase the preventive effects of criminal prosecution, because only on this basis can those measures be instituted which will lead to tangible changes in the conditions that produced the crime.

Another topic of discussion at present concerns our attitude toward prison sentences. We emphatically stress that we are not fetishists in the matter of punishment, but we cannot yet do without it. Our position is clear: It says that punishment cannot be dispensed with when protection of the state, society and our country's internal security demand it. We will not tolerate attacks on the state and its principles. We will apply severe penalties against these and other serious crimes, against incorrigible and parasitic elements and recidivists. But it must also be emphasized that one of our unalterable principles is that of making a correct and well-founded assessment of the effect of a crime when it first comes up for consideration, because a hasty and biased conviction that does not take circumstances into account is bound to produce unwanted effects.

Occupying a special place in our discussion in evaluation of the party congress are those issues that concern the close relationship between the state and its citizens. These close ties are an essential part of our socialist democracy, a characteristic of the quality of socialist statehood, a guarantee of further advances toward fashioning the developed socialist society. Taking as a point of reference the specifics of our work in particular, we must impose high standards on relations with our citizens. Above all, these standards concern firmness of principles, correctness and fairness, understanding for the conflicts, concerns and problems of the people and implacability toward our enemies.

Our work with information supplied by the working people is tremendously important in forming close ties with the citizens. This input constitutes one of the many different forms of citizen participation in state management. It must be stressed that our attitude toward the needs of the people is also expressed in our response to this input. Good work with these tips will contribute in large measure toward strengthening the citizens' personal relationship of trust with our socialist state; however, unsatisfactory handling will lead to opposite results.

Our many years of experience tell us that citizens who approach us generally have confidence in us and expect help from us. When their requests are justified and feasible, it is our duty to see that they are granted. If, however, their expressed requests cannot yet be realized -- or not at all -- our task is to explain the reasons tactfully and intelligibly. Discussions with the people produce the best results in this regard.

With the resolutions of the 10th Party Congress, our party is continuing its general policy under the conditions of this decade. Much creative effort and high levels of performance will be needed in all areas. The office of the prosecutor general of the German Democratic Republic has taken up the necessary positions for the struggle and is prepared to carry out the resolutions of the 10th Party Congress conscientiously and in every respect.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf E. Honecker, "Report by the SED Central Committee to the 10th Party Congress," Berlin, 1981, p 134.

2. Loc. cit., p 119.

3. Cf J. Streit, "Into the 1980's on Firm Foundations," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1981, Vol 1, p 2 ff; see also H. Harrland, "Consistent Accomplishment of Overall Supervision of Law and Order by the Prosecutor General's Office," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1981, Vol 2, p 54 ff.

4. Cf. E. Honecker, loc. cit., p 119.

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VILLAGES TO BE MORE INVOLVED IN LUTHER FESTIVAL PREPARATIONS

East Berlin BAUERN-ECHO in German 13-14 Mar 82 p 4

[Article by Prof Dr Gerd Gerdes, member, Central Executive Committee, Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany (DBD); member, GDR Martin Luther Committee; department head, Institute for Root Crop Research, Kleinwanzleben: "In Luther We Honor the Universal Spirit." For references to other items of related information see translation of a Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG article published under the headline, "State, Church Approaches to Luther Legacy Contrasted," in JPRS 80104, 16 Feb 82, No 1975 of this series, pp 44-46]

> [Text] In the socialist culture of the GDR all valuable, progressive, humanistic and revolutionary ideas have their permanent home just like the great figures of the history, the cultural and intellectual life of the German people. Everything in the past that is good for the people and points the way to progress, in contrast to the bourgeoisie, is preserved by the working class and continuously carried on. Accordingly, we are making long-term preparations to honor Martin Luther on the occasion of his 500th birthday on 10 November 1983.

The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, stated in his significant speech on the occasion of the establishment of the GDR Martin-Luther-Committee on 13 June 1980:

"The course of the 16th century, in which Martin Luther lived, as is well known, was of far-reaching significance for our people. Accordingly we celebrated the 450th anniversary of the Reformation in 1967. Into this framework belong also the celebrations on the occasion of the 900th anniversary of the existence of the Wartburg and the 150th anniversary of the festival of the German Students' Association (Burschenschaftsfest) in the Wartburg. These were followed by celebrations honoring Albrecht Duerer in 1971, Lucas Cranach in 1972, and the celebrations on the occasion of the 450th anniversary of the German Peasants' War.

Friedrich Engels said of the 16th century that it was the greatest progressive upheaval which mankind had experienced up to that point, a time which needed giants and produced giants--giants in brain power, passion and character, in versatility and scholarship. Martin Luther was among them. He and the Reformation emanating from him had consequences far beyond the frontiers of the country.

Thus he was one of those who paved the way to those upheavals with which the German states and Europe made their entry in the epoch of the decay of feudalism and the bourgeois revolution. Luther left his imprint on the leading ideas of the 16th century to a decisive degree. Yes, one may say that his influence on the course of events is unmistakable even today, at the threshold of the 21st century."

Among the indispensable principles of socialist dealing with the legacy is our obligation to see history in its objective historical development and to characterize the outstanding personalities in their greatness and with their limitations.

Reformation and Revolution

Luther is a personality very contradictory in itself. We honor his lasting historical merit as the individual who triggered the Reformation. The latter, it is stated in the theses on Martin Luther, became "an essential component of the beginning revolution, constituted the clamp for the highly diverse classes carrying it and, in the further course of the revolutionary process, provided the framework for their rapid differentiation."

Luther's ideas offered points of contact to the most diverse social forces for the substantiation and clarification of their own interests, conceptions and goals. These ideas promoted not only the combination of these forces, but also offered the germ for a later justification of entirely different, at times opposite, aspirations.

According to Luther's conception, the Reformation was to be carried out by peaceful means in alliance with the secular authorities. To the extent to which the reformation endeavors proceeded to develop into an antifeudalist popular movement, a popular reformation, with Thomas Muentzer as its leading ideologue, which found its climax in the German Peasants' War, Luther, the representative of the urban-bourgeois forces, turned away from it. The published theses that have already been mentioned stress as the tragic of Luther the fact "that he fell into the contradiction between his role as initiator of a broad revolutionary movement including all opposition classes and strata and his own limited goals, which in the final analysis had their basis in his bourgeois-moderate class position oriented towards the sovereign principalities."

His most profound influences in the realm of cultural history emanate from his work regarding church reform and theology. This does not mean that we do not take note of the other aspects of his activity. We honor in Luther the universal spirit.

Open Up the Historical Heritage on a Broad Basis

Already now it is becoming clear that a great deal of effort is being expended by the reactionary ideologues of the FRG for the purpose of falsifying the personality of Luther and the heritage handed down from him and utilizing it for the justification of antidemocratic intrigues. Another line of honoring Luther in the FRG aims at making use of lies once again to turn the common history of the early-bourgeois revolution into a "clamp of unity of the German nation".

We have an abundance of materials in hand which make it possible for us to assimilate the heritage of the early-bourgeois revolution and to put it into an active relationship to the tasks of the present. The speech of Erich Honecker, the theses on Martin Luther and the other publications of the Martin Luther Committee of the GDR, as well as many works of literature and art, are of great significance for making this cultural and historical heritage, too, effective in the spiritual, emotional, moral and aesthetic enrichment of developing socialist personalities.

Important Tasks for the Village Clubs

"Those who want to master the problems of the present and walk with assurance into the future," as Erich Honecker emphasized in his report to the 10th SED Party Congress, "needs the knowledge about the experiences of the past and the experience of its cultural values." In our collaboration in the preparation of the 500th birthday of Martin Luther, we should induce the village clubs to consider carefully what results and experiences among the historic high points named by Erich Honecker are present in the territory.

Contact will surely be made in this connection with the GDR Cultural League and its Society for Local History, as well as the Society for the Care of Monuments, or a club of young historians, to carry out the preparations jointly. Perhaps it is possible to make use of events in one's own village to reflect the powerful historical processes of the early 16th century.

We should time and again remember that it is our intention to make an active contribution to the deepening of the socialist consciousness of history, and that can take place with particular effectiveness through a close linkage of the grand course of history with the peculiar local manifestations.

At the present time, the history of our people is being presented very impressively in the Museum for German History in Berlin. A visit is worthwhile, many a village club could surely include this in its program. Without a doubt, for reasons of local-historical perspective, the village clubs in the vicinity of Luther memorials, as well as memorials of the German Peasants' War, will devote themselves with particular intensity to the preparation of the Luther celebration. Inter alia, this applies to such places as Erfurt, Arnstadt, Eisenach, Gotha, Weimar, Muehlhausen, Eisleben, Mansfeld, Wittenberg, and Torgau.

The Main Point Is to Make Use of a Rich Treasure

We have at our disposal a rich supply of testimonies about the revolutionary struggles from the time of Luther, of works of belles-lettres, as well as contemporary and socialist literature of the time--we shall mention here only Hans Sachs, Sebastian Brant, Joerg Wickram, Hans Lorbeer and Rosemarie Schuder. A rich treasure of songs and poems, numerous slide series, many reproductions of works of art, stage plays and a good many films can be used without much expense by the village clubs for familiarizing the entire population with this significant part of our heritage on a long-term basis.

It is an important concern to bring the life and work of Martin Luther and his contemporaries, the artist Lucas Cranch, Matthias Gruenewald, Albrecht Duerer and Til-

mann Riemenschneider, as well as the scholars and humanists Philipp Melanchthon, Ulrich von Hutten and Erasmus von Rotterdam, into consciousness as expression of the upheavals in thought and deed of the people of this, so agitated, 16th century. The many good materials published on the occasion of the 450th anniversary of the German Peasants' War can also be utilized for this purpose.

Active Cooperation of All Citizens

The active cooperation of the committees of the National Front will flow into the local state study groups for the preparation of the Luther celebration. Furthermore, care and protection work on memorials are included in the competition "More Beautiful Our Cities and Communities--Take Part!"

Thus there are diverse possibilities for active involvement in the preparation of the Luther celebration, in connection with which the words of Erich Honecker are important guidelines for us: The heritage of Martine Luther "lies in reliable hands among us. May the celebrations honoring his 500th birthday, as in accord with the world-wide effect of the Reformation, contribute also on a world-wide basis to the struggle for the preservation of peace and to the peaceful coexistence of peoples and states.

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CURRENT STATUS OF POLISH INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ASSESSED

Warsaw IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA No 7-8, 1981 pp 18-25

[Article by Jozef Wiejacz]

[Text] /Depicting the picture of the foreign policy of the Polish People's Republic (PRL) on the eve of the 37th anniversary of the July Manifesto and the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress is a very responsible task, considering both the future prospects as well as the extremely complex present realities. Mostly simply it can be said that this is a policy of continuation based on unchanging principles and premises. Time, the very unfailing examiner, unequivocally confirms the propriety and the need, ensuing from a well-understood Polish reason of state, for continuing all practicable basic directions of our foreign policy.

Such a formulation, however, does not convey all the complicated realities of our life and our activities on the international arena. In what sense, therefore, can we and should we talk about continuation? What concrete substance does this continuation take on today towards the numerous challenges that the development of the situation in Poland and beyond its borders entails?

For Poland, as for every state, although for us in view of our historical experience perhaps in a more perceptible way, the primary concern is for a secure life, without threats to sovereignty, territorial integrity and national identity, without undermining of those governmental principles which the Polish nation has recognized as its own. Is this complex of our interests today in danger? To answer this question positively, a discussion of their concrete manifestations is required./ [in italics].

Last year has advanced our unstabilized, critical internal situation to first place on the list of these threats. Poland is experiencing a great, necessary process of internal transformations, which we have agreed to call a socialist renewal. We believe--and the large majority of Poles, Polish communists, all the truly patriotic forces of our nation, are aiming for these goals--that a consistently implemented renewal will help us rebuild a socialist Poland that is strong, effectively governed, stable, and internally united. There are some real premises for this, on which we have based our preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

Meanwhile, however, Poland is become weaker, and fear about the direction of events in our country becomes cause for justifiable worry among our allies and further, in Europe and in the world. We know that prolongation of such a state, including the internal collapse of socialist Poland, would suit the most reactionary, intransigently anti-communist, anti-Polish forces in the West. But this would also mean a national catastrophe for us--Poles. We must, therefore, strive with all our might to prevent such a calamitous, for us, turn of events. The decisive factor here is internal action. But our diplomacy is also important here. If our internal moves do not give it credibility, it will be a sham, doomed sooner or later to disgrace. The history of Poland supplies us with too many analogies which confirm such fears. Let us also agree to the fact that in connection with the controversies that have arisen throughout the world around Polish matters, the linkage of intelligent internal moves with effective diplomatic activities in relation to our foreign partners is indispensable.

The worldwide extent of the consequences of events in Poland has an unfavorable influence on international relations. There are fears that as a consequence this may bring about a disturbance of the strategic balance between the East and the West. Hence both our allies as well as realistically thinking and responsible political circles in the West are interested in the stabilization of political life in Poland.

During the difficult months of the crisis we have once more become convinced of the key role of relations with our great neighbor, the Soviet Union. To survive the crisis, Poland has needed and still needs considerable economic assistance. We have obtained it in large measure and most quickly from the USSR, in the form of gifts, postponement of repayments, new credits, and a continuous, increased flow of raw materials and goods for the market. This is taking place despite the fact that because of our difficulties we are not fully meeting our trade obligations, which causes the USSR definite economic problems. But not all of Poland's partners have shown so much good will.

However, equally necessary with economic assistance is an understanding of the nature of the changes that are taking place in our country. No one should be surprised that the Soviet Union is observing what is presently happening in Poland with great anxiety. This anxiety ensues from the communists' many years of experience which shows that the reactionary forces are always ready to take advantage of every occasion that comes along to undermine the socialist political system. And undoubtedly the deep crisis in Poland and our internal changes create such an occasion.

In the reactions of our Soviet comrades we also see an understanding of the urgent need to improve social effectiveness in practically all fields of our life, as well as a concern that the opponents of socialism not exploit the great processes occurring in our country to implement goals that conflict with the interests of the Polish working class and the entire Polish nation. The confidence which the Soviet Union bestows on Polish communists, the working people of People's Poland, is an important factor which assists in our actions aimed at putting affairs in order inside the country and strengthening our position on the international arena.

We should not forget that a state that is all alone and is experiencing the great internal difficulties that Poland is now, would, in the modern world, be exposed to threats on its sovereignty, territorial integrity, or at the very least, to a considerable drop in international position. The history of our nation and many other nations confirms this thesis. It is precisely the system of alliances built after the war, and particularly our alliance and friendship with the USSR, that is responsible for the fact that we can conduct our transformations protected by the effective shield of the Warsaw Pact against all possible attempts at our survival as a state or our territorial possessions.

Having this in mind, the report of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee at the 11th Plenum states: "The historical experience of our nation, People's Poland, proves uncontrovertibly, that membership in the community of socialist states, our alliance with the Soviet Union, was and is the basic premise of our security, the permanence of our boundaries and peaceful development. Any tendency which in its objective consequence would threaten to impair this premise, must constitute a threat to the most vital interests of the nation."

We realize, however, that the permanence of the existing system of our alliance depends in large measure on us alone, on our internal activities, but also on the condition of our relations with our allies in these difficult months. The traditional postulate of tightening our allied connections must be reinforced in these concrete conditions by a lively, objective dialogue, and a concrete, insofar as possible at present, contribution in the implementation of many economic and political tasks which are in the common interest. This is fulfilled by the frequent meets of Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and other members of the party and state political leadership, with Secretary General Leonid Brezniew, Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (KPZR), and leaders of other states in the socialist community, and party and government contacts at all levels. This is fulfilled also by the close cooperation of Poland, the USSR, and the remaining states in the socialist community on the international arena.

Thus the striving to maintain and strengthen the alliance, friendship and cooperation of Poland with other states in the socialist community is particularly current today. This pertains, of course, not only to the USSR, but also to other socialist partners, and first of all our two other neighbors, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CSRS) and the German Democratic Republic (NRD). This is especially necessary because they are particularly worried by the absence of internal stability in Poland, the direction of changes taking place in our country. And their confidence, understanding, support and assistance are extremely important as external factors guaranteeing the success of socialist renewal in Poland. This opens up a large field of action for us. We are and will continue to be active in that field, understanding today perhaps especially clearly how much in our internal development depends on the position which we occupy in the community of socialist states.

The Polish crisis has also placed new tasks before us in our relations with Western states. For many years we were expanding our contacts with them, seeking new avenues of understanding and cooperation. Today a great deal depends on whether we will be able to take advantage of what we have gained by cooperating with them, whether, in their practical activities they accept the thesis that a sovereign, strong, socialist Poland and a secure, stable and self-cooperating Europe are mutually necessary. We appeal to those forces in the West who have a good

understanding of this truth and the conclusions that ensue from it. This is not an easy task, for it requires that those circles in the West who in Polish matters would like to proceed according to the formula: "the worse, the better", or who have shown an inclination to interfere in our internal affairs, must be politically isolated.

This also requires a considerable amount of political common sense to reinforce many basic actions in mutual relations, including in economic matters. Thus far, our activities in this field have turned out to be moderately effective, and a good yardstick here may be the April Paris meeting with representatives of the governments of 15 Western states on how to reschedule the Polish debt.

Finally, this requires constant reminding that adding to the tensions in our country and around it, and particularly an attempt to treat Polish affairs in the broad context of East-West relations, or to set Poland against its allies, cannot serve the well-conceived interests of Europe as a whole, and will certainly damage Poland directly.

Thus the continuation of dialogue and the development of mutually advantageous cooperation, by Poland, with the Western signatories to the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and also with other developed capitalist countries, gives us concrete benefits in the extremely complicated situation in which our country has found itself.

However, with the appearance of a new factor constituting a threat to the safe development of Poland, which is, without a doubt, our internal crisis, the other basic negative factors affecting our position in this field have not disappeared. Some of them are appearing with unprecedented force. We refer here, of course, to such threats to the safety of all European states and the world, including Poland, as the practically unrestrained arms race, the lack of military detente, and also the policy of many influential circles in the NATO states which see deceptive political advantages in advocating armaments, and attempts to talk with the East, and particularly the USSR, "from a position of strength".

We have begun the 1980's without a ratified SALT II treaty, burdened by armaments decisions made at the NATO Coucil session in Washington in 1978 and in Brussels in 1979, which provided that a new generation of American nuclear-missile weapons will be located in Europe. In the generally worsened political atmosphere, talks between the USSR and the United States on the subject of disarmament and security have been halted and there is almost an impasse in all multilateral armaments negotiations. The political course taken by the Reagan administration is disturbing because much of what it proclaims and does is a direct threat to the possibility of an effective understanding between the two great powers, and without this it is difficult to visualize progress in strengthening the security and the development of cooperation in today's world.

Political tensions are being intensified by the situation in Afghanistan and around that state, by the Iraq-Iran war and the entire complex of matters related to the situation in the Persian Gulf, and by the constantly very dangerous, far from solved, conflict in the Near East. Nor is there peace in Southeast Asia, whose nations are being subjected to political and military pressures.

These negative events and facts, both in the military as well as the political sphere, if not directly then certainly indirectly, strike at Poland's interests. They make Europe and the world less secure, increase the direct costs of guaranteeing our security, and do not provide a favorable internal climate for undertaking the broadly outlined internal reforms which we are now confronting.

In the face of the dangers mentioned the importance of our active cooperation with our allies on the international arena increases; for example, for the implementation of the program for peace which has been initiated for over 10 years by successive KPZR, PZPR and other fraternal parties and concretized at the meetings of the Political Advisory Committee of Warsaw Pact States-Parties. This program originated with the consistent activities of the socialist states during the entire postwar period. It was creatively adapted to today's requirements and developed at the last, the 26th KPZR Congress. The extensive package of Soviet proposals which it contains relates to the initiatives previously put forth jointly by all member states of the Warsaw Pact during successive meetings. It was very highly evaluated in a resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. Poland sees it as a tremendous opportunity to heal the international situation.

In our activities and talks on the international arena we give full support to the efforts of the USSR to renew a fruitful dialogue with the United States, which in the interest of world nations should preserve the SALT process and avert the specter of a nuclear arms race from Europe. We are in favor of bringing about the signing of an understanding in the matter of arms reduction at the forum of disarmaments negotiation in Vienna. During the Madrid Meeting of the representatives of the CSCE countries, Poland put forth a joint proposal of the socialist states to call an all-European conference devoted to military detente and disarmament on our continent.

We are also traditionally active at the United Nations, concentrating, in this world organization, on problems of security and disarmament. Our activity on this forum has given us considerable influence dating back to our first postwar years of the struggle for decolonization. We are for extinguishing the many smouldering fires throughout the world by employing all of the political instruments available to the United Nations, particularly in matters relating to the situation in the Near and Middle East and in Namibia.

We support the national liberation struggle in the world, the struggle against the remnants of colonialism, and signs of neocolonialism. We are against racism in any form, and particularly against apartheid.

We believe all of these matters to be important from the standpoint of the external preconditions for our development. It is hard to make a definite division into matters that are closer or farther from our interests. The struggle for consolidating certain humanitarian and democratic principles in international relations cannot be conducted piecemeal. The international climate in which we are living is influenced, among other things, by broad, public condemnation of violence, the use of force or threat of its use, for war and making preparations for it.

We are a component part of the broad international front of political forces actively opposing all negative phenomena on the international arena. In a closely connected, interdependent world, our sense of security is conditioned on whether somewhere the fundamental rights of nations and standards of international behavior are not being violated, or whether the foundations of political detente and cooperation in all systems of relations between states are being expanded.

The intellectual front in world politics comprises many countries of a socialist orientation, members of a movement of uncommitted countries, and also the ever-more realistically thinking political forces in the Western states. For years we have been developing productive contacts and cooperation with them. This is also occurring now, in the particularly difficult moments which political detente is experiencing in East-West relations. Our political dialogue with France, the United States, and the Federal Republic of Germany (RFN), and also numerous other West European states, is aimed at searching for not what divides but what joins, at advocating joint actions strengthening the not-so-slight, after all, achievement of detente in Europe.

Our dialogue with the Apostolic See occupies a special place in our activities in this area. Pope John Paul II, just as his immediate predecessors, has committed the authority of the Catholic Church, and his own personal influence, in the struggle for peace. He has thus become the natural ally of all forces and nations going in this same direction.

The vast complex of matters related to security does not, of course, exhaust the list of needs in our relations with foreign countries. At present there is no field of social development in Poland, as in most other countries of the world, which could get along without expanded foreign contacts. This applies to our economy, science and technology, culture and education. The broad, worldwide connections in these fields give too many favorable occasions for cooperation than could be effectively developed in total or relative isolation. Our policy for years has been characterized by an extremely open approach to broad, diverse cooperation with all countries of the world, although, and we admit this self-critically, sometime we have not been consistent enough and sometimes our intentions exceeded our capabilities.

CEMA is the basis of our economic development. Therefore, we are deeply interested in constant, well-calculated, progress in economic integration within the framework of this grouping. We realize that, burdened by our problems, to some degree we complicate the activities of CEMA. But our political willingness to be an active, effective and valuable participant remains unchanged. Insofar as we are able to, we are even now fulfilling this task. A socialist Poland, reformed and economically strong as a result of socialist renewal, will be a tower of strength for the economic potential of the socialist states. In anticipation of this favorable period, we are making an effort to safeguard our interests in CEMA; we are also trying to minimize the losses which other member states are suffering due to our failure to meet the obligations of our agreements.

Our economic relations with the West have expanded greatly in past years. They are being overshadowed now, however, by the state of our indebtedness resulting from serious mistakes in economic policy, including licensing policy. But I believe that among the reasonable people in our country there should be no misunderstanding

which would confuse the principle of scientific-technical cooperation with the West with the extreme inefficiency with which this policy was implemented by the previous leaderships. Almost the whole world takes advantage of foreign financing, and the whole world actively participates in scientific-technical exchange. The first provides the forces for development, the second determines its quality. The abandonment of this factor of development would sentence us to a slow but inevitable slide to the bottom of the list of developed states.

In the difficult circumstances in which we find ourselves, we need, first of all, to stabilize our economy and free ourselves from the huge indebtedness. This means that it will be necessary for us to continue, on a considerable more effective basis than thus far, a policy of maintaining and developing financial and technological connections with foreign countries in the future. The process of qualitative reconstruction of our industry must be continued. Our economic diplomacy must provide favorable conditions for such a continuation, primarily within the framework of CEMA, but also in constacts with individual Western states, with EEC, GATT and other Western economic and financial institutions of a global scope.

Finally, the matter of economic cooperation with the developing states. This is a typical field, in which, despite correct assumptions, progress for years has been barely perceptible. We are not taking full advantage of the obvious political aktivs which we have had in these states. And these contacts are increasingly more valuable, for a large group of these states have achieved a considerable level of development, to say nothing about their export capabilities in the field of raw materials and some types of food. So in this field, too, we need to more definitely continue the policy line that has already been prescribed, taking into account, of course, the needs of these countries and their aspirations for accelerated development.

9295
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MEASURES FOR IMPROVING PARTY WORK ON CENTRAL, LOCAL LEVELS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Mar 82 pp 6-11

[Unsigned article: "Measures of Great Principled Significance for the Improvement of Party Work at the Central and Local Level"]

[Text] The growth in the volume and complexity of the tasks stemming from the current five year plan and the carrying out of the objectives of the new agricultural revolution necessarily involve the improvement of the activities of all party organs and organizations and, first of all, those in the villages.

Under current conditions, new measures are necessary, in accordance with the directives of the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to provide a firm, exacting and permanent control in all the sectors of social affairs, to improve the responsibility and competency of the aktiv and all communists and to most judiciously use forces for the purpose of better covering problems and all areas and sectors for the optimum achievement of the decisions of the 12th Congress and the tasks stemming from the documents of the November 1981 plenary session of the Central Committee [CC] and of the joint working session of the RCP CC and the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development of February of this year.

To this end, the Political Executive Committee of the party's CC has recently adopted a group of political and organizational measures designed to lead to the improvement of reviewing the fulfillment of decisions, the development of activities on public bases, the amplification of the ties of the party organs and organizations with the workers and the more powerful intensification and growth of the efficiency of mass political and cultural-educational work.

Thus, according to the decisions, a group of public instructors belonging to the RCP CC will be created at the CC level who will be assigned to the counties in order to assist the county committees in the organization and review of the fulfillment of party and state decisions and the implementation of measures dedicated to the improvement of political and organizational activities in the villages.

Similarly, groups of public instructors will operate within the CC sections that will be concerned with the specific problems of the sections and will be assigned to counties, enterprises, agricultural units and institutes by type of problem or by fields of activity. These groups will go out into the field in the counties, municipalities, cities, towns and industrial and agrarian units for 5-6 days each month, normally.

The CC public instructors and those of the RCP CC sections will be recruited from the ranks of the RCP CC members, secretaries of the party committees in large enterprises and the ministries and activists in the central organs, as well as other communists having rich political and organizational experiences and a thorough ideological and professional training.

The RCP CC public instructors and those of the sections will be instructed along with the CC apparatus, within the framework of the same unified program, and they will monthly present reports about the guidance, assistance and review work carried out in the counties, enterprises, institutes and agricultural units.

Similar measures will be taken at the local party organ level. Thus, the decision calls for all county committees to create groups of public instructors to guide party work in the villages. These groups will be assigned one to each town, while for larger towns there will be two.

These people will be recruited from the ranks of RCP CC members located in the counties, members of the party committees, other cadres having responsibilities, secretaries of the party committees in enterprises, deputy secretaries and secretaries of base organizations. Similarly, groups of public instructors will be created within each county party committee section that will be used according to the specific nature and attributes of each section.

The public instructors will regularly, at least 1-2 days each week, go out into their assigned towns and villages where they will assist the party, mass and public organs and organizations and the leaderships of agricultural units, institutes, schools and other economic units in the organization of political and organizational work in order to implement the decisions of the 12th Congress of the party and carry out the objectives of the new agricultural revolution and in order to have the ever more accentuated growth in animal and crop production, to use the land as judiciously as possible, to fully create the state fund and to increase economic efficiency in all sectors of activity.

The public instructors will be trained monthly, along with the party apparatus, within the same training program by the secretariat of the county party committee.

For their part, the municipal and city committees will create groups of public instructors to guide and review the base organizations in enterprises, institutes, schools and housing complexes, assigning, on the average, one to two base organizations to each instructor.

Within the county party committees, groups of four to six party activists and salaried territorial instructors will be created that will operate in the organizational sections to review and guide party work and affairs in towns and villages. These groups will give priority attention to providing a firm, exacting and permanent party review, closely and consistently pursuing the direct fulfillment of party decisions and state laws, covering all the areas and problems that currently crop up in agriculture and other branches of the national economy and

carrying out political-educational work among the masses and organizing the internal activities of the party organs and organizations in strict accordance with the statutory norms and instructions of the RCP CC.

Each quarter, the county committee secretariats will approve special activity programs for these groups of instructors.

Within the group of measures established by the RCP CC Political Executive Committee, special attention is given to the party aktiv, which will have to be more systematically and more broadly attracted to the elaboration of decisions and to the review of their fulfillment, and to the entire leadership process. To do this, the county, municipal, city and town committees and the committees in enterprises, institutes and agricultural units received the task that, immediately after the reporting and election assemblies and conferences, they will review their party aktiv, add to it and broaden it with the best party committee secretaries, base organization bureau secretaries, deputy secretaries, other members of the party committees and bureaus and other cadres having rich experiences in party work and a thorough political and professional training.

After each RCP CC plenary session, the county committees will organize meetings of the aktiv in which the first secretaries will make a speech regarding the content of the problems that have been dealt with and specific measures will be adopted stemming from the decisions taken by the CC and the directives of the party secretary general, which must be discussed with the masses. The rule has been introduced that we must organize studies and seminars on party decisions and laws and on the guidelines and directives issued by the party secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, involving the RCP CC section apparatus and the county party committee apparatus. The seminars will be led by the RCP CC secretaries, the section chiefs and the secretaries of the county party committees.

In order to more strongly guide party work towards production and social-cultural units and in order to more firmly move the center of gravity of this work into the field where the fate of decisions is decided, each month the county party committees will draw up plans for activists to go out into the organizations and they will follow up on how these plans are respected.

The members of the county committee bureaus, as well as the activists in their apparatuses, will participate monthly in at least: one to two base organization meetings, of which one or two will be in the villages; one or two bureau sessions and plenary sessions of the municipal, city or town committee or in the enterprises and institutes; two to three sessions of the workers' councils; and they will give one or two speeches before workers' collectives.

The members of the county committee bureaus, and first of all the secretaries, and the activists of the party apparatus will have to participate monthly in at least one training session that takes place in the municipalities, cities, towns and large industrial units, directly helping in their good preparation and organization.

The county party committees will take measures so that the organizational sections will schedule the assignment of all the forces available to the party organ - the members of the bureau and the party apparatus and other activists - and will pursue the manner in which each person fulfills the tasks entrusted to him. The organizational sections will report each month to the county committee secretariat regarding the manner in which programs were implemented for judiciously using the forces of the county party organ.

Everywhere there must be adherence to the statutory measure whereby each activist must report before the collective to which he belongs, at least once per month, regarding the manner in which he worked for discharge the tasks entrusted to him, and, when there is cause, to take measures against those who do not do their duty.

In order to strengthen the party's leadership of economic activities at the level of the enterprises, the councils for workers' review of economic and social activities will be moved from the trade unions to the direct subordination of the party committees in these units, with the presidents of these councils becoming the deputy secretary for economic affairs.

The rule will be introduced whereby the activities carried out by the leadership cadres in the economic and social units in order to fulfill the tasks entrusted to them will be analyzed, prior to the workers' general assemblies, in the party organizations, where a decision will be taken regarding each cadre whether he should or should not be recommended for confirmation or reconfirmation in his position by the workers' general assembly.

The county and Bucharest municipal party committees will take measures so that all agricultural production cooperatives and state agricultural enterprises, especially those with recovery programs, will be taken in under the patronage of large industrial enterprises, giving them all the necessary assistance to improve activities, to resolve certain difficult problems facing the agricultural units, to ensure their profitability and to have their participation to a greater degree in the achievement of the state's centralized fund.

Some of the measures adopted by the party leadership calls for ensuring a more systematic review and guidance for the activities of mass and public organizations, as well as the improvement of their own work. Thus, it has been established that the RCP CC Secretariat will analyze, at least once each semester, different aspects of their work, on the basis of a program approved at the beginning of each year.

With regards to the secretariats of the county, municipal and city committees, at least once each quarter they will listen to reports made by the leaderships of mass organizations, they will analyze their activities and they will issue appropriate directives.

For the purpose of improving the work style and methods of the mass organizations, the Executive Bureau of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions,

the Secretariat of the Union of Communist Youth CC and the Executive Bureau of the National Women's Council were directed to take measures to create their own groups of public instructors, which will be trained just like the salaried activists. The county, municipal and city leadership organs of the trade unions, the Union of Communist Youth and the women's organizations will proceed in a similar manner in taking measures to create groups of public instructors that will operate alongside these organizations. The training of these public instructors will be carried out just like that for the salaried aktiv.

In working to improve the level of organizational work, the party leadership has, at the same time, adopted a series of measures to stimulate ideological and political-educational activities.

Thus, according to the decisions, at the CC level the RCP CC Group of Propagandists will be created, composed of members of the RCP CC, members of the Central Auditing Commission, members of the Party Central Collegium and cadres with responsible jobs in the central party apparatus, in the ministries and other central state institutes and in mass and public organizations.

The RCP CC propagandists will carry out their activities on the basis of subjects outlined by the party leadership and priority propaganda subjects in conferences approved annually by the RCP CC Secretariat.

In order to give permanent assistance to the county party committees in ideological activities, three to four RCP CC propagandists will be assigned to each county. These people will go out into the counties monthly for 5 to 7 days, will help the county party committees in the organization and carrying out of political-educational work and in the periodical training of the party apparatus and aktiv, the mass and public organizations and other propagandists, will make speeches and will give answers to questions regarding the domestic and foreign policies of our party and state while standing before the workers in enterprises and agricultural units and students.

The training of CC propagandists will be accomplished quarterly, at the time of the unified training of the apparatus, by having them participate in the conferences organized at the RCP CC involving the base aktiv from different fields of activity, as well as in training conducted by the RCP CC sections, by field of activity, whenever it is considered necessary.

These groups of propagandists will be created at the level of the county party committees and the Bucharest Municipal Party Committee. The county party committee group of propagandists will contain members of the county party committee, activists from the party and state apparatuses, workers, foremen and technicians, as well as other cadres having a high party awareness and a thorough political and professional training.

Training for the county party committee group of propagandists will be done monthly by the first secretary, the secretaries of the county committee and

other cadres with responsible jobs, providing an adequate training for the propagandists assigned to guide the political-ideological training in the villages.

The composition of the group of propagandists will be approved annually by the county party committee secretariat, at the same time as the analysis of its activities is conducted.

Under similar conditions, groups of propagandists will be created in the municipal and city party committees, as well as in the sector party committees in the municipality of Bucharest.

County party committee propagandists, a number of propagandists from the municipalities and cities and other cadres having a thorough ideological training will be assigned to political-ideological education circles in the villages in order to directly assist their activities. The propagandists assigned to these circles will present speeches, will answer questions, will lead discussions and will help other propagandists in getting those persons taking courses to clarify and master the problems being studied.

The work of the propagandists assigned to assist the activities of the political-ideological education circles in the villages will be analyzed each semester by the county party committee secretariat.

Alongside each party committee in industrial enterprises and agricultural units and institutes, a Commission of Propagandists and Agitators will be created, composed of 9 to 15 members. Members of the party committee, cadres who have tasks in the field of political-educational activities, workers, foremen and technicians, as well as other cadres having a thorough political and professional training, will take part in these commissions. The activities of the commissions will be headed by the deputy secretaries for propaganda affairs in the party committees.

On the basis of a unified program approved monthly by the party committee, the commissions will coordinate the activities of the propagandists and agitators, will ensure their monthly training and will initiate systematic actions for the discussion of party and state decisions that appear during that month.

The commission members will direct participate in the preparation and carrying out of political-ideological activities and in the review of the carrying out of political-ideological education, will present speeches and will give answers to questions regarding problems of domestic and international policies.

At the time of the creation of the commissions of propagandists and agitators, the current commissions for party training alongside these party committees will cease their activities.

The composition of the propagandists involved in political-ideological education, as well as the collectives of agitators, will be reviewed and improved, attracting

to this work of great responsibility those cadres who carry out their activities directly in production with prestige and authority and who, through their work and behavior, constitute an example for the entire collective and are capable of militating with exigency and revolutionary combativeness for the establishment of a climate of order and discipline at each place of work and for the exemplary implementation of party decisions and the laws of the country. The Council of Socialist Culture and Education will examine and present to the party leadership measures regarding the improvement of the activities of cultural centers, clubs, cultural houses, libraries, museums and other cultural organizations, pursuing the placement of these activities to a greater degree on public bases and the self-financing of all units.

Commissions for various types of problems will be created in the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, in the territorial committees for socialist culture and education and in the cultural organizations in the cities and villages, and groups of public instructors will be created who will be selected from the ranks of the members of these organizations, the people involved in culture and art, the people who create these works and the activists in the cultural institutes and organisms. This public aktiv will be assigned to cultural organizations and to localities in order to coordinate and guide the cultural-educational activities among the ranks of the workers and the mass creative work, as well as the other actions within the framework of the "Song of Romania" National Festival.

The members of the councils of political education and socialist culture and the activists in the field of propaganda in the county, municipal and city party committees, within the framework of their obligations and tasks, will be directlt responsible for, together with the party committees, the political-ideological and cultural-educational activities in two to three towns (the activists in the municipal and city party committees will be assigned to towns located close to the these municipalities and cities).

The activists assigned to towns will report each month regarding the fulfillment of their tasks at the time of the training for the party apparatus.

In order to improve the unified coordination of all ideological and political-educational work, the county, municipal and city councils of political education and socialist culture will draw up their semester activities programs, while the town councils will draw up quarterly programs. Each month, the councils of political education and socialist culture, with participation from the representatives of mass and public organizations, as well as cultural institutions, will analyze the manner in which actions were achieved from the unified program and will establish the measures that are to be undertaken to improve these actions.

In industrial, construction, transportation and public service enterprises, agricultural units and institutes, under the guidance of the party organs, the mass and public organizations will draw up each quarter unified programs for political-educational and cultural-artistic activities. In addition to

joint actions, the program will also contain activities specific to each mass and public organization. These programs will be approved by the party organs in these units.

Each semester, the county, municipal, city and town councils of political education and socialist culture will analyze the content of the programs of the cultural centers, clubs, cultural houses, libraries and museums, the manner in which the leadership councils of these institutions have fulfilled their attributes and tasks and their contributions to strengthening revolutionary spirit, order and discipline among the ranks of the workers.

The party and trade union organizations, the Union of Communist Youth organizations, the women's organizations, the organizations of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization, the workers' councils and the other educational factors will involve the propagandists, agitators, order and discipline teams, work and education brigades and cadres having leadership positions to a greater degree in popularizing party decisions and the laws of the country, cultivating the principles and norms of socialist ethics and equity and promoting socialist, revolutionary humanism, as well as in discussing the negative manifestations in the work and life of certain people and in establishing order and discipline and responsibility in the exemplary fulfillment of their tasks at their place of work.

In order to improve political-educational and cultural-artistic activities within the framework of the "Song of Romania" National Festival, the county and Bucharest municipal socialist culture and educational committees will ensure that the professional show institutes and the branches of the artists union will visit certain cultural centers, clubs and cultural houses, as well as amateur theater, musical and dance groups, and the cadres from these units will be assigned to cultural organizations in order to directly help them at least 4 days each month.

The county party committees will annually analyze the cultural-artistic activities carried out by the party, mass and public organs and organizations and by the institutes of culture and art, establishing measures to improve the content of these activities and increase their efficiency. The socialist culture and education committees, the mass and public organizations and the leadership councils of the cultural institutes and organizations will report each semester before the party organs regarding the manner in which they are working to fulfill the unified programs in the area of political and cultural-educational activities, and, at this time, they will establish measures to continue to improve the work within the framework of these organisms.

The institutes of higher education and the departments in them will visit the high schools in the cities, and the high schools in the cities will visit the general schools with grades I-VIII and I-X in the towns and villages.

The university teaching cadres, scientific researchers and the professors in high schools in the cities, especially in the subjects of Romanian language,

mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, technical drawing and the specialized subjects, will go out into the high schools and schools to be visited at least twice each month, for 1 day at a time. The university teaching cadres and the scientific researchers will carry out teaching activities and will directly participate in improving the content of lessons, laboratory projects and other practical projects, in improving the training of local teaching cadres and in carrying out activities of the various and technical-applied circles, as well as in guiding the scientific research of the teaching staff. The high school professors from the cities will teach lessons, will carry out laboratory projects and other practical projects and will lead various and technical-applied circles of students, courses or other forms of improving the training of local teaching cadres.

The activities that they will carry out in the educational units that are to be visited will be part of the established norms for the teaching cadres in higher education and high schools in the cities and for the scientific researchers who receive these tasks.

In the annual evaluation on teaching cadres and scientific researchers, the leadership councils and professorial councils in the high schools and departments and the senates in the institutes of higher education will keep in mind the contributions of these persons to the proper conduct of the instructional-educational process in the units that were visited.

The county and Bucharest municipal councils of education and learning will coordinate the visits to school units and will report quarterly to the party organs regarding the manner in which these actions were carried out.

The measures adopted by the Political Executive Committee, at the initiative of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have special significance for the improvement of political and organizational work at all levels. Their consistent implementation will contribute, without a doubt, to raising the leading political role of the party and all its organs and organizations to new levels of efficiency and to qualitatively superior heights and to accelerating the entire process of building a new order in our country.

8724
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PLANS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF PARTY WORK WITH YOUTH

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Mar 82 pp 12-15

[Unsigned article: "The Improvement of Organizational and Educational Activities Among the Ranks of School and University Youth"]

[Text] "We need builders of socialism and communism, citizens who are masters of their craft and the most advanced science and technology, as well as the revolutionary concept about the world," comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stresses. "We need people who will know that everything that is accomplished serves the well-being and happiness of the people and to ensure the independence, sovereignty and freedom of our country." The development of young people under the sign of these requirements has proven to be, throughout the years, one of the major educational goals recorded in our party's political programs. The measures recently adopted by the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee [CC] regarding the improvement of political-educational and organizational activities among the ranks of the youth in educational units clearly reflect precisely this constant concern for the complex, revolutionary development and the work and life of the younger generation in our country.

The distinct characteristic of the measures established for the purpose of fulfilling the directives issued by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at a qualitatively superior level regarding the achievement of a unified process to develop and educate the younger generation is represented by the efforts to permanently strengthen, under the leadership of the party organs and organizations, the cooperation between the Ministry of Education and Training, the Union of Communist Youth [UCY] CC, the Council of the Union of Communist Student Associations in Romania, the National Council of the Organization of Pioneers and the children's, youth and student organizations, and the educational organs and other educational factors so as to ensure a more accentuated continuity in educational work and the responsible and active participation of all teaching cadres in all activities in each education unit.

Thus, in the center of all existing efforts in the schools and departments we must place the pre-schoolers', young students' and students' understanding of our party's and state's ideology and domestic and foreign policies, the thorough mastery of the works of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and the knowledge of his scientific and creative contributions to the development of the revolutionary theories and practices of socialist construction. This objective creates a broad field of activities

for the party, youth and children's organs and organizations, for the teaching cadres and for all those charged with attributes in the complex process of moulding the socialist awareness of young people.

The instructional and political-educational actions involving children, young students and students, pursuing the more careful planting of certain profound revolutionary convictions in the awareness and soul of the youth, and the more skillful transformation of knowledge into a lasting instrument for social-political and scientific options and for participation are designed to directly contribute to the cultivation of love and profound devotion to the party and respect and appreciation for the glorious traditions of the Romanian people, the working class and the Romanian Communist Party. There should be a much better knowledge of the fascinating, heroic history of the years of building socialism in our country and the shining successes obtained by the people during period since the country has been led by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

A principal direction in achieving the continuity of developmental activities is represented by the strengthening of the educational process through work and for work involving the children, young students and students and the development, right from a very tender age, among their ranks of the cult of work and the desire and love for creating material and spiritual goods, as the sole means of improving and expressing the human personality.

In promoting a broad view of the educational process in the spirit of work, special attention will be given to developing the young people's economic thinking and concern for national property, for the rational administration of all the country's resources with maximum responsibility and for the balanced development of the national economy.

Beginning with comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's evaluation, which states that the young students' and students' "principal duty to the country" is obtaining the best possible results in education, there is stress on the fundamental concern of providing a thorough professional training to the younger generation on the basis of the newest advances in science and technology and human knowledge, in full agreement with the requirements for the development of the country.

All developmental factors, militating in a sustained manner for the infusion of certain solid scientific convictions, by means of instructional-training and educational activities, that are capable of helping the young people to correctly interpret phenomena in nature and society and actively combat mystical concepts, have the duty to place our party's revolutionary philosophy - dialectical and historical materialism - at the basis of the efforts that they undertake. Special stress must be placed on the knowledge, mastery and implementation of the principles of socialist ethics and equity and the country's laws and on the strengthening of order and discipline, firmly respecting the norms of behavior in school, the family and society.

The fulfillment of the major educational objectives along such lines as established by the party leadership and comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, requires the promotion

of a revolutionary, combative spirit in all the work of the youth, children and student organs and organizations and the growth of responsibility among the youth cadres in honoring the tasks entrusted to them by the party.

In order to meet these major requirements, a series of organizational measures were established to improve the structure and content of the "Falcons of the Country" organizations, the pioneer organizations and the UCY organizations in the schools, high schools and vocational schools.

Thus, the "Falcons of the Country" organization will be created at the level of each school, being composed of groups of falcons of the country from grade I and groups from the kindergartens subordinate to these schools. Similarly, the following were instituted: at the level of each group of falcons, there will be the position of group commander, filled by a falcon of the country for the period of 1 year; a commander-instructor, designated from the ranks of the best pioneers in grades V-VIII, who will be helped by three to five other pioneers in organizing and carrying out activities with the falcons; a guide for the "Falcons of the Country" organization, filled by the kindergarten teachers and the grade I teachers in the school. The party cadres and the cadres of the UCY organization having experience, teachers, retired professors, women's committees and those who work in the medical care field, especially in the villages, have important duties in helping the guides in the "Falcons of the Country" organization at the group level.

The new regulations confer an adequate framework to unifying the efforts to coordinate the activities of the "Falcons of the Country" organization at the level of the schools by creating the Commission of the "Falcons of the Country" Organization, which includes: the commander-instructors for the pioneers, teachers and professors, the pioneer commander-instructors for the falcons, representatives from the UCY organizations and the women's committees and parents. The president of this commission is a faculty member who also holds the position of deputy commander-instructor of the pioneer unit in the school.

For the purpose of increasing the educational influence of the pioneer organization on the children, it was established that, in addition to the pioneers, all children between the ages of 7 and 14 will be included in the activities of this organization until they acquire the qualities of being a pioneer, with this group wearing the pioneer uniform, but without the tie and insignia. Similarly, it was decided that pioneers who reach 14 years of age and are accepted into the UCY will continue to carry out their activities in the pioneers, until they graduate from grade VIII. In order to strengthen the schools' responsibilties in the revolutionary education of the children, the commander-instructor of the pioneer units in the school will be a faculty member and a member of the party or UCY who fills the position of deputy director for educational work.

The provision of a powerful blending of educational efforts and certain special qualitative efforts is also pursued through improvements of an organizational nature that involve the UCY organizations in education. Thus, it was established that the position of instructor of the UCY organization would be created at the

level of each UCY organization in the classes in schools, high schools and vocational schools, with the position to be filled by the master teacher of each class. Similarly, the guide for the UCY organization in the education unit will be a faculty member, who is a party member, who will also fill the position of deputy director for educational work.

For the purpose of improving educational activities with the young students in the villages, it was established that a UCY organization for young students, subordinate to the town committees of the UCY, would be created at the level of the education units in the rural areas.

The UCY organizations have increased responsibilities in all fields through the measures designed to create the opportunities for all young people between 14 and 30 years of age to be included in the organization's activities, if they are not already members, as associate-members of the UCY, a membership acquired upon request and with the approval of the general assembly of the UCY organization and which confers the same rights and duties as UCY members, with the exception of the right to elect and be elected to the leadership organs of the UCY.

In this context, there is separate significance in the UCY obligation to be concerned for preparing and recommending its best members, including those over the age of 26 who are still members, to be accepted into the ranks of the party.

So that the measures adopted and the improved organizational structures will fully contribute to the improvement of the educational process in the preschool, school, high school and higher education institutes, new ways and means were established for the party organs and organizations to more directly and effectively exercise specific leadership and guidance over the activities of the children's and youth organizations. Thus, each month the UCY CC, the Council of the Union of Communist Student Associations in Romania and the National Council of Pioneers Organizations will present reports to the RCP CC Secretariat regarding the activities that have been carried out. Similar reporting will also be done at the county, municipal and city levels. The county, municipal, city and town party committees have the obligation to analyze, at least once each year, in plenary sessions or sessions of the bureau of these organs the manner in which the children's, youth and students' organizations fulfill their tasks and attributes, together with the educational organs at the appropriate levels. Each year, the bureaus of the county, municipal, city and town party committees must examine the activities of the party organs and organizations in the education units. A more substantial contribution to strengthening the role of the party organs and organizations in this area must be made by the analyses conducted by them each quarter in the schools and each semester in the departments regarding the efforts of the collective leadership organs, the teaching cadres and the children's, youth and students' organizations for the optimum conduct of all activities for the revolutionary development of the young people.

Review and guidance activities will also continuously be improved by: at least twice annually meetings of the first secretaries, secretaries and members of the

bureaus of the county, municipal, city and town party committees with the aktivs of the children's, UCY and students' organizations and the leaderships of the education units; assigning members of the party organs at the territorial level to schools, high schools and institutes of higher education, with the larger units being covered by secretaries of the county and municipal party committees, while the link with the party committees at university centers being directly maintained by the first secretaries of the county party committees. At the county party committees, the current guidance to the falcons organizations, the pioneers, the UCY and the students' organizations will be accomplished directly by the secretaries for organizational affairs.

The assistance from the party organs and organizations will be expressed ever more concretely by implementing the measures regarding the selection, preparation and periodic training of those cadres designated to fulfill different attributes in the leadership of falcon, pioneer and UCY organizations.

8724
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ROLE OF PARTY IN ELIMINATING SHORTCOMINGS IN MINING SECTOR

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Mar 82 pp 43-45

[Article by Viorel Faur, first secretary of the Petrosani Municipal Party Committee in Hunedoara County: "A Full Commitment of All Forces to Recover the Value of Compensation Payments"]

[Text] The stirring call addressed by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the country's honorary miner, at the plenary session of the RCP Central Committee in November 1981, to all the workers who work in the depths of the coalfields in the country had far-reaching echoes among the ranks of the miners in the Jiu Valley, starting a broad competition in which self-overfulfillment constitutes a concern of the first order for everyone. "Do everything, dear comrades, to respond to the requirements of the entire nation and provide to the greatest possible degree the necessary amounts of energy and raw materials to our national economy and to the people!", stressed the secretary general of the party.

The conclusive expression of the Jiu Valley miners' decision to respond through their work to the ardent call made by the party secretary general constitutes a commitment to give the country 100,000 tons of coking and energy coal above the plan provisions. It is, in fact, the lasting support of the Jiu Valley miners' contribution to recovering the value of the compensations paid to the workers to increase their salaries, the entitlements for children and pensions. And, the truth outlined by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the plenary session of the RCP Central Committee in November 1981 and at the meeting with the party and state aktiv in Brasov, which stated that the coal production plan, as well as the plans for petroleum and ores, must be considered the minimum level, opened in a practical sense an unlimited field of activities for the party organs and organizations. In light of this, we felt that the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan tasks by each group, sector, shift and enterprise represent, without a doubt, one of the basic conditions for increasing the contribution to the development of our own base of raw and energy materials. For that reason, we have given priority to our efforts to create certain ample systems for the daily follow-up and review of production task achievements, making a more judicious assignment of the members of the bureau of the municipal party committee and the basic cadres of the aktivs in the enterprises and sectors. In our proposal to give a differentiated support, naturally, from the beginning of the year, the most competent cadres were concentrated in those mines that were last year confronted with certain difficulties in

achieving their coal production and in those sectors where problems that influence the regular fulfillment of the plan and obtaining the scheduled increases were of a greater complexity.

By using this system of follow-ups, we have the possibility of effectively understanding the fulfillment of the plan, of identifying certain negative trends, of discovering significant capability reserves by comparing the results obtained by the mining units from one day to the next and even of forecasting the results of concluding the 10-day and monthly plan periods. Thus, we could learn, at any given moment, that difficulties and shortcomings are localized in the same or nearly the same units, causing us to strengthen the assistance given to these units and to give them a better efficiency. And, the only way to fulfill such a desire is to project it into the mines to those work groups that had the greatest difficulties, where there actually were trouble spots. At the Aninoasa Mining Enterprise, for example, a significant unit in the achievement of the plan and pledge this year and where there were shortcomings, we detached a group of activists having the mission to help the party committee organize specific actions designed to lead to the creation of a climate of high order and discipline at each place of work. At the same time, municipal party committee bureau involved specialists from the Valea Jiului Mining Combine who were tasked to go into the mine and to examine on-the-scene the causes that generated the negative state of affairs, staying to work shoulder-to-shoulder with the miners and the technical-engineering personnel in the enterprise until they could find definitive solutions to the problems.

By virtue of the truth, which states that the day-to-day growth in coal production is in a direct relationship with the status of discipline and with the degree of the workers' awareness, and by drawing lessons from the situation existing at the Aninoasa Mining Enterprise, the municipal party committee bureau extended the analysis to all the units in the Valley, involving the city party committees and the trade union councils. Thus, a valuable initiative was born that proved to have an extremely positive influence upon the awareness and responsibilities of the miners and the development of internal convictions and upon the need for each person's and everyone's contribution to the accelerated growth of production. Entitled "The Workers Judgement", this initiative, which opens broad possibilities for expressing the role of the work collective and for achieving worker self-management, shows the true reserves for the fuller use of work time and for the growth in the number of jobs in the coal mines. In the meeting halls, ad-hoc discussions are organized before all the workers of an entire shift on the causes of indiscipline and, especially, their consequences for the fulfillment of the plan and for adherence to the pledges, with the workers opinion being very prompt, severe and intolerant. In the end, the work group decides upon the measures deserved by those involved as well as their shortcomings, if any, in the work collective that caused the difficulties.

Broad investigations and discussions have shown the still great differences that are being recorded in the achievement of efficiency in jobs between enterprises and even within the same enterprises and between sectors and brigades.

Aware of the fact that this represents significant reserves to increase coal production, the municipal party committee bureau is closely pursuing things so that in each enterprise and sector there will be a general progress and the ambition of each miner will be cultivated not only to meet the norms, but also to obtain significant increases at the highest levels of efficiency that are obtained by the outstanding brigades. This is so because, if the Lupeni, Vulcan and Uricani mining enterprises achieve a high productivity at each coal mining job - from this point of view constituting reference points, the Livezeni, Dilja and Lonea mining enterprises obtain a level of productivity of three to five tons of coal below those levels. Just as, even in those units that are involved in competition to increase efficiency at each job, there are differences that are equally as great and unjustified. Specifically, at the Lupeni Mining Enterprise, if in sectors IV, V and VI there is a productivity of up to 12 tons per post per day, in other sectors they achieve only five to six tons. Despite the fact that this reality was obvious, some party committees were satisfied to uncover these discrepancies without being decisively involved in eliminating them, while others were purely and simply ignored. For us, however, it was certain that without combining the efforts of everyone, the party organizations and the workers' councils the premises could not be created needed to wipe out these significant differences and to ensure a general progress in work. Since the causes were different from one mine to the next, adequate measures were adopted regarding the strengthening of the work groups with miners who were communists with a high professional training, good work and production organizers with a developed spirit of initiative, the homogenizing of brigades and shifts and the managing of some of these groups by technical-engineering personnel.

One concern with multiple implications for the growth of production in the coal mines involved the continued improvement of vocational training and the permanent enrichment of the technical knowledge for handling and mastering the highly complex equipment in the mines. In this regard, the forms of training which we have called upon are different, reflecting their level of training, both for the requirements of the miners and for production. For those miners who do not succeed in meeting the norms, special courses were reopened and organized at the mine-schools. For those who are constantly at the limits of fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan, courses were started to improve professional training and for multi-skill training.

An important moment in understanding and extending the experiences acquired to date and in stimulating the efforts of self-overfulfillment was the recent conference organized by the municipal party committee bureau, together with the leadership of the Valea Jiului Mining Combine and the union of trade unions in this branch, on the subject "Socialist Competition - An Important Factor in the Achievement and Overfulfillment of Economic-Social Tasks and Increasing Contributions to the Development of Our Own Base of Energy Raw Materials". On this occasion, the brigade, sector and enterprise - all from the Lupeni mine - which recorded the greatest increases in production, becoming the standard, presented the methods used and the path traveled, as well as what they propose

to continue to do to consolidate and exceed their own records. For their part, the participants expressed their opinions regarding the work methods that they will use and the conditions that should be created in order to close in on the performances obtained by the "top" units.

In ensuring the growth of the Jiu Valley miners' contribution to gaining the country's energy independence and keeping in mind the non-circumstantial nature of this objective, concomitantly with obtaining certain immediate results the municipal party committee bureau is trying hard to cultivate responsibility for the thorough preparation of an activity of a broad perspective. In this regard, it is necessary to have a political work effort so that the obsession for immediate results, as expressed in many party committees and leaderships, will be equally present and tenacious when we are talking about maintaining and consolidating these results and improving them. And, an activity exclusively aimed at ensuring the achievement of daily tasks, without looking towards the future, can generate advances with negative influences upon the use of production facilities, manpower and the quality of work. In order to avoid the difficulties that appeared last year, when concerns directed towards the preparation of future work fronts and the full achievement of the plan for opening certain new mining horizons were not in the field of vision of the party organs and organizations and the workers' councils in some mining units, separate measures were adopted right then in 1981. We are especially talking about identifying certain responsibilities for the basic cadres in the party aktiv who will pursue the fulfillment of these objectives and periodically inform the municipal party committee secretariat of the status of their achievement. Similarly, knowing the fact that in the first quarter of this year nine new mines will be put into operation, the necessary manpower was recruited and trained on-time.

Along the same lines, the municipal and city party committees developed a policy of providing certain new work fronts and the advance opening of mines in Hobiceni, Lupeni-Sud and Valea de Brazi.

A significant contribution to the full use of the potential available to the mining enterprises and the existing possibilities in the Jiu Valley for increasing coal production is played by the opening, using its own forces, of the surface mining pits at Cimpu lui Neag. There, with the help of the county party committee bureau, manpower and equipment were assigned that will ensure fast uncovering rates, offering, under the generic of "Cimpu lui Neag Pit Coal", 1982 edition, a broad area for expressing the spirit of worker mutual assistance and through which 1,000 tons of coal and 2,000 cubic meters of waste rock will be provided daily.

In placing a special accent on the day-to-day growth of coal production, the municipal party committee bureau did not lose sight for a moment of the concerns to improve the quality of the coal that had been extracted, knowing that, actually, this represents an important source for obtaining certain supplementary amounts of coal. Not by chance, we dedicated a special analysis to the examination of

this objective in a plenary session with the party aktiv. On this occasion, it was stressed that in 1981 some of the mining units did not stay within the planned quality indices, which resulted in the application of a correction, at the combine level, to a significant amount of coal, adding over 172 million lei to production costs.

Once again giving proof of their full adherence to the recent measures to increase salaries, state allocations for children and pensions, and their high devotion, the miners in the Jiu Valley, who are benefitting from the highest amounts of salary compensations, have decided that through new and exemplary deeds at work and the more rational use of work time and equipment they will achieve production increases that will contribute, by the end of the year, to the recovery of at least 30 million lei of the value of the compensations paid to the workers, thus exceeding their initial pledge by two percent.

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TASKS OF PARTY IN IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS ON USE OF MACHINERY

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romania Mar 82 pp 70-72

[Unsigned article: "Systematic Political Actions for the Firm Establishment of Order and Discipline"]

[Text] The regular and faultless operation of enterprises, factories and plants at high technical and economic parameters - the basic nucleus of the national economy - objectively requires the permanent existence of a climate of absolute order and discipline, maximum care for the proper maintenance of technical equipment and for its safety and security and for preserving the production obtained under optimum conditions - the priceless wealth of the entire nation - and a high level of exigency and revolutionary, worker awareness.

Precisely for the purpose of responding in the most adequate manner to these requirements, the Council of State adopted the Decree for the creation of certain regulations regarding the use and maintenance of installations, equipment and machinery and the strengthening of work order and discipline in those units that have continuously burning fires or that have installations which pose a high degree of danger when in use. Stemming from the requirement to regulate in a unified manner the obligations and responsibilities of the workers in these units, industrial centrals and ministries, this decree pursues the uninterrupted operation of installations and equipment under conditions of complete safety for the purpose of achieving plan tasks, preventing and eliminating any situations that might put the workers' lives and security in danger and having the normal flow of production.

A Thorough Understanding of the Provisions of the Council of State Decree

As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, stresses: "The problem of order and discipline and of work responsibility must be one of the permanent, daily concerns of the workers' councils and, certainly, of the trade unions and Union of Communist Youth - as mass political organizations - and of the party, which, in each unit and throughout the entire country, has the role of the leading political force and bears the responsibility for the carrying out of all activities under good conditions."

That is why the political-educational measures that were taken by the party immediately after the appearance of this normative act in the press were fully justified

for the purpose of broadly popularizing and thoroughly and exactingly discussing the provisions contained in this decree and of having the workers understand them.

In many counties, including Brasov, Caras-Severin, Dolj, Iasi, Sibiu and others, the decree was published in large runs, in brochures and in the form of bulletins, distributed and placed in the most visible places, with maximum circulation in the enterprises. At the same time, through the concern of the party committees and the bureaus of the base organizations, special displays containing extracts from the decree were made in sections and shops which individually listed the specific attributes, obligations and responsibilities of the leaders of the different work departments, the foremen and the workers.

Articles were published for the bulletin board newspapers - for the central ones and the ones in the production areas - that point out, along with the special importance of the decree, the tasks belonging to each work collective for its precise implementation. This same purpose was also served by the sustained activities of the radio stations, satirical newspapers, artistic groups, agitators and the other forms and means of political work in the enterprises, at the construction sites and in other economic units. They permanently reflect the manner in which the decree's provisions are known, intervening with the effective criticisms and proposals of the workers for the purpose of rigorously applying these provisions.

We should note, for example, the fact that the propaganda section of the Mures County Party Committee initiated a conference with the responsible persons from the radio stations in Tirgu Mures, Sighisoara, Reghin and Tirnaveni for the purpose of establishing certain active means for dealing with the principal obligations contained in the decree by using the programs of these stations, including the reading and commenting on chapters and paragraphs in the decree, supplemented by the telling of certain specific aspects from units, sections, shops and other places of work. In the clubs in the enterprises and the cultural centers in the municipalities and cities in Mures, and in other counties, cycles of political-educational action were initiated, containing hours of questions and answers, speeches and symposia on problems raised by the decree.

Similarly, we should stress the measures taken by many county party organs to have columns and special broadcasts in the pages of the local press and on the territorial radio and television stations dedicated to assisting all the workers, from the director down to the worker, in understanding the higher reasoning and the economic, social and political causes that lead to the adoption of the new regulations.

Certainly, those county, municipal, city and town party committees that provided careful training for its groups of propagandists and agitators proceeded well in their efforts to permanently carry out an intense activity so that each worker would understand his obligations and responsibilities on the basis of the decree

and the other normative acts that regulate the internal order in the enterprises, the appropriate use of equipment and installations and the care and development of public property. At the same time, they scheduled separate discussions within the framework of the party political-ideological training of mass and public organizations dedicated to outlining the principal conclusions of an economic, political and ethical nature for people stemming from the provisions of the Council of State Decree and their close correlation with the specific existing situations in the units where these people carry out their activities.

Naturally, it is necessary for each young person or student who walks through the gates of a modern industrial unit having continuously burning fires or installations posing a high degree of danger when in use to be thoroughly trained regarding the provisions contained in the decree and fully aware of the obligatory nature of fully adhering to them, as well as the especially serious consequences that the smallest violation of these provisions could have for them. It is the task of the party organs and organizations, the Union of Communist Youth organizations and the student associations in the industrial high schools, vocational schools and technical and economic departments to ensure the young students' and students' thorough understanding of the decree's provisions and the other normative acts that set precise rules for work safety in the modern enterprises in our industry.

Energetic Organizational Measures in Each Enterprise and at Each Place of Work

It is essential, certainly, to also undertake practical, effective measures for the purpose of organizing activities for the full implementation of the decree's provisions. Which is what is being done in numerous workers' councils and leadership councils in the centrals and ministries, under the careful guidance of the party organs and organizations.

Of special significance is the fact that within the framework of many of the general assemblies of party organizations separate attention is being given to discussions of the decree and specific programs of measures are being adopted, according to specific conditions, that are designed to imprint a powerful spirit of order and discipline in all sectors and all places of work and to give production a high degree of safety. Along this line of thought, we can point out the initiatives of those party organs that have proposed to contribute in different forms - discussions, short courses, practical demonstrations, exchanges of experience and so forth - to the thorough understanding of the construction and operational characteristics of the installations and machinery that the workers use and the exacting check of the manner in which all workers master the norms for the operation and maintenance of equipment, for work safety, for preventing fires and explosions and so forth.

According to the plan of measures approved by the party leadership for implementing the decree, the workers' councils in those units with continuously burning fires - and not just these units - have moved to updating the regulations on

internal order and the operation of enterprises and their subordinate units, specifically establishing the attributes, obligations and responsibilities of each leadership cadre, each leader at the place of work and each worker, for the purpose of strengthening order and discipline.

In many counties, the bureaus and secretariats of the county, municipal and city party organs are carrying out, night after night, reviews in those enterprises having continuously burning fires and a high degree of danger, checking on these occasions: attendence at work, the physical state of those who come onto the shift, how the principal installations are operating and so forth, promptly intervening for the elimination of shortcomings that they find.

At the same time, the county, municipal, city and town organs, in whose jurisdictions there are enterprises carrying out activities that fall under the decree, are organizing teams of party and state activists, activists from mass and public organizations, workers from the militia, prosecutor and judicial organs, firefighters and so forth, with the mission of reviewing the rigorous adherence to the provisions of this important document.

Faced with such negative acts like delays in schedules, unjustified absences, showing up for work under the influence of alcoholic beverages or having such beverages on them, leaving the place of work without the approval of the foreman or other work group leader being issued under the conditions outlined by law, the lack of careful supervision of machinery and installations that are running, the failure to immediate announce any irregularity, defect or anomaly found in the operation of machinery, the failure to adhere to the norms for work safety and to prevent fires and to the provisions regarding the organized changing of shifts and so forth, an intransigent attitude must be manifested and effective measures taken to punish those who found guilty. In more serious cases, appropriate measures are adopted, up to the termination of the work contract and the forwarding of the case for legal action. In order to give a more accentuated educational nature to the actions of punishing those who are guilty of violating the provisions of the decree regarding the strengthening order and discipline in industrial units, in some of these cases public trials are organized in which hundreds of workers participate. The coverage of these trials in the county newspapers can greatly increase the number of those persons who can draw necessary conclusions from the incriminating deeds.

Certainly, such measures are absolutely necessary. But, in order to stay away from using these measures there is need for persevering preventative work and for embedding the rigorous norms for the operation of our socialist enterprises in the awareness and practical attitudes of each communist in industry and each worker. In this regard, a much more active role in achieving these objectives must be played by the agitators - communists who work and take actions right in the middle of the collectives and micro-collectives and who, at any moment, know well the situation and conditions at the place of work and the morale of the workers, which gives them the ability to promptly and efficiently intervene to find and eliminate irregularities, no matter how insignificant it might seem at first glance.

In exercising their decisive role in the organization and leadership of economic and social activities in each production unit, the party organizations have a high responsibility to the people for the proper administration, conservation and development of the huge amount of technical equipment entrusted to each collective by society.

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PANEL DISCUSSION STRESSES NEED FOR SEX EDUCATION

Bucharest SANATATEA in Romanian Feb 82 pp 6-7

/Article by Cristian Ionescu: "Love Is Not a Game of Chance and Irresponsibility"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface/

/Text/ There is an age when you are too big to be little and too little to be big. An age of all uncertainties, when the role of mother and of father begins to seem possible, but...is not yet. The grandparents, the parents, the older brothers know the dangers that lie in wait for the fragile tranquillity of adolescence and try to give warning.

It has always been so: mothers have advised their daughters, fathers have talked lengthily with their boys--in short, adults have been anxious for the generation that comes after them to pass more easily through the difficult age and to enter life honest and upright, thus prepared for the future family. It has been so..., it is so even now, but the place of the parents and brothers has been taken to a certain extent by teachers, educators, foremen..., and the framework of the discussion is not just that of the family, but also the club, the study hall, the boarding school.... This is because an impressive number of young men and women, pupils, students, workers in the first years of activity, now live in nonfamily dormitories. For several years, they have been out of the family environment, as well as that of the village, commune or city in which they were born and in which they were well known and guided. Out from under the tutelage of the family, they sometimes have the impression that they have gone beyond their real age, obtaining an earlier independence, that they henceforth have not permission but the very "right" to act like "big people."

And some of the signs of independence that they exhibit are also the first mistakes: smoking, consumption of alcoholic beverages, verbal or physical aggressiveness, precocious sexual behavior.... When the advice of those who have taken over the function of the parents is too late, problems appear. At first simpler ones, then more and more serious ones, sometimes in connection with an infraction.

These problems were discussed at one of the colloquiums of our periodical. Organized at the request of the Party Committee of Sector 6 of the municipality of Bucharest, it had as a theme "Behavior and Responsibility at a Young Age" and was held at the "Ecran" club in the presence of over 500 dormitory residents--boys and girls. The editorial staff invited to the discussion well-known health educators and public activists of the Red Cross:

Dr Felicia Rebedea, chief of operations, Giulesti Hospital for Obstetrics and Gynecology;

Col Leon Bobocel, commander of the Sector 6 militia;

Prof Dr Pavel Vulcan, Dermatological Clinic 2 of the "Berceni" Hospital;

Dr Docent George Marinescu-Dinizvor, section chief at the "Victor Babes" Hospital for Infectious and Contagious Diseases;

Lecturer Dr George Meiu, psychiatry clinic of the "Dr Gh. Marinescu" Hospital;

Lecturer Dr Lucia Butucea-Vatasescu, director of Children's Home No 1;

Stefan Roman, chief prosecutor of Sector 6;

Dr Mioara Mincu, chief physician of Sector 2.

Dr Felicia Rebedea: At the age of 14-16 years, sometimes even earlier, there begins puberty, explosive somatic development, dominated by hormonal changes. They bring about the transformation and growth of the organism. As a result, in a relatively short time, the bones lengthen, the body begins to be modulated, becoming harmonic, the musculature develops considerably, the genitals reach their full development, the general morphology acquires features characteristic of the sex. But the mental development is still unfinished. Consequently, the adolescent still needs to be guided by adults, to be helped to pass successfully through a stage on which to a great extent his future depends.

/A number of studies made in our country and in other countries have demonstrated clearly that while young people are maturing earlier and earlier from a biological viewpoint, with the threshold of puberty falling continually in recent decades, they are maturing later from a social viewpoint. Young people can be capable of establishing a family, of raising and educating a child, only when they also fulfill themselves from a social viewpoint./

Under these conditions, it is particularly important for young people to know how to control their instincts, to which, urged by malicious friends or colleagues, they must not give free rein and, in a moment of weakness, risk their future. This is because the possibility of becoming pregnant can become a reality even in very young girls: 13, 14 years. And cases have been cited when they were able to become pregnant even at 9 years. However, at this age it is not possible to maintain a

pregnancy, because during pregnancy and especially at childbirth the organism is subject to special difficulties and can be faced with mortal danger. In addition, motherhood presupposes important social responsibilities. It is very important for a girl to control her relationships, to get to know morally the young men around her, thinking about feelings that may develop into relations of friendship over 2-3 years, and the result should be marriage--the family and the children whom she may raise, she herself being for them an example in life. The necessity of knowing these rules of behavior is thus important for preventing a disorderly life and early sexuality, with its medical and social consequences.

Col Leon Bobocel: It is known that in most cases the group has a positive educational role. This happens in the majority of the dormitories. Sometimes, however, as has been remarked here, in groups, under the influence of young people at odds with the law and with morals, antisocial acts also occur, with consequences that can change the normal course of life for a rather long period. The Department of Forensic Medicine of the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy in Bucharest has made a study on deviant behavior that attests that in its sociogenesis one observes the predominance of the negative factors of immediate and precocious contact with the individual. A composite picture of the negative factor capable of influencing wrongly a young person or a group of the sort in the nonfamily dormitory is this: below-average schooling, with a lack of instruction; repeated changing of the workplace; professional behavior judged as negative; he comes from a disorganized family or from a deficient social microclimate; with penal antecedents. These are the young people who incite the others to infractions: rapes, fights, beatings, injuries, stabbings with tragic consequences. Similar situations are also found in some dormitories for girls, where attempts at illegal abortion occur, mostly resulting in deaths. Cases are also encountered in which, becoming pregnant, some young women--wrongly advised--do not have the moral strength to keep the child and take care of it and they commit monstrous acts: abandonment or infanticide, cases punished by the law with all possible harshness.

/The humane laws of our country provide a number of measures for helping young unwed mothers. According to the regulations contained in the Law for the Care of Minors, young unwed mothers have the possibility of appealing to the commissions for the care of minors under the county people's councils or those of the sectors of the municipality of Bucharest. They can put children up to 3 years old in homes. For the maintenance of her son or daughter in the case in which she is employed, the mother must pay a fee in proportion to her monthly wage. The legislation in force also provides that the mother can remove her child at any time when she has legalized her family status or has solved her problems that caused her to resort to the help of the commission for the care of minors./

Prof Dr Pavel Vulcan: Comrade Dr Felicia Rebedea spoke about the consequences of a precocious sexual life. But when should it begin? At the time of marriage, I believe, because otherwise a number of risks appear. For instance, the risk of venereal diseases given by contact with persons of an inadequately formed morality: a casual acquaintance on the street, at a movie, in a coffeehouse. What are these diseases? Syphilis, blennorrhagia, benign lymphogranulomatosis inguinalis and chancroid. The first starts very slowly and without pain. The development of a sore on the genitals--the hard chancre--begins after 3 weeks. It is followed by other symptoms, and without treatment the disease can result in mental and neurological syndromes and in eruptions over the whole body after a few years. The second disease is

gonorrhea (blennorrhagia)--a discharge from the urethra that is accompanied by smarting, which can appear in 3-4 days. It lasts a long time and has sterility as a result. The third disease--lymphogranulomatosis--is rare but possible. The fourth--chancroid--is painful and very contagious. Any symptom, even an unpainful one, as in the case of syphilis or blennorrhagia, must make one think, and treatment should be started under the supervision of a physician. Self-treatment with antibiotics can only stop the disease for a while, but it develops further and is harder to treat. It is thus necessary to avoid relations with such persons and self-treatment.

/Venereal diseases still have a large percentage among the aspects of morbidity in our country, although one sees an improvement in comparison with past years. It should be borne in mind that the biggest jumps in the incidence of syphilis were recorded in those urban centers that have attracted a very large number of young people for several years. The same situation is also noted with regard to gonorrheal infections. It should be noted that the source of infection was discovered only 74.4 percent of the time in the case of syphilis patients and only 63.9 percent of the time in the case of gonorrhea patients. This is due to the fact that the patients did not always want to collaborate with the health authorities, not revealing the source and the contacts./

Dr Docent George Marinescu-Dinizvor: In essence, health education--also the reason for this meeting--finds expression in hygiene and behavior. I would like to talk about the way in which the lack of education at home for young people manifests itself in the dormitories. There are dormitory residents who spit in the rooms, urinate in the corridors, throw up. What are they doing? They are spreading viruses. Very many respiratory diseases are contracted through saliva or nasal secretion. One of them is meningococcic meningitis, which took many lives in the past century. Meningococcus is found in the buccal cavity and can be transmitted through spitting.... But not only these germs are found in the buccal cavity. Even gonococci--dangerous because, in addition to the local disease, they can cause pneumonia and especially meningitis and gonorrheal rheumatism--are found there. Pneumococci and koch bacilli are also found in sputum. Germs are also found on the genitals. In addition to the four venereal diseases, I also mention: gonorrheal urethritis, Candida fungi, Trichomonas, mycoplasms and hepatitis, which is also contracted by sexual means through urethral secretion and menstrual blood. But germs are found particularly in the anal region: over 1,500 salmonellae, the viruses of dysentery, of cholera.... The examples given are meant to point out that strict observance of the rules of hygiene is necessary in everyday behavior and even in sexual relations.

Not only strict personal hygiene but also strict measures of disinfection and a good organization of self-administration are thus necessary in the nonfamily dormitories, where the health groups are common.

/Provided in the Skeleton Program for Health Education of Preschoolers, Pupils and Students, the self-administration of the classrooms, laboratories, gymnasiums, boarding schools and commissaries and the hygienic maintenance of the schoolyard and green spaces are health-education activities performed outside the educational process./

/As a component part of the instructional and educational process, self-administration is the first lesson of organization, a model of the way in which young people will have to conduct themselves throughout their life, of how their future dwelling will have to look./

Lecturer Dr George Meiu: The Romanian has a wise saying that we paraphrase: "Tell me with whom you make friends so that I may tell you who you will be." A first very important thing is thus for you to know what conditions another young man or woman must fulfill in order to be friends with him. Fundamentally, friendships are relationships that are based on qualities, on availability, on reciprocity. The way in which a person looks and behaves can give some signs. Young people must know, thus must observe, laziness, dirtiness, foul language, in order to avoid friendship with people who have such manifestations. If we choose our friends well, a number of risks, with all their consequences, will disappear. Another risk factor is that of incorrectly understood solidarity. There is sometimes the tendency for young people to try to shield one who has done wrong. This is solidarity that disturbs the atmosphere and creates danger. I would not like to go into the pathology of the deviations caused by the altered life of the microgroup, but just to mention it: neuroses, psychoses, deviant sexual behavior--from masturbation to seduction and rape--whose dangers are the modification of future sexual behavior and a whole series of dissatisfactions, of sexual disharmonies in the future family. Only by viewing things seriously, with more responsibility for one's own life and for the life of others--friends, colleagues, acquaintances--for health, will young people remain with the image of this wonderful period of life, which I wish more and more beautiful for them, and with achievements that may do them credit.

Lecturer Dr Lucia Butucea-Vatasescu: Young people should love, marry and have children. This is the law of life. There are cases when things do not happen so. Two young people meet without being well acquainted and proceed to acts which in fact are normal acts but which should be done not just at any time and in any way. Children of mothers who sometimes do not even know who the father is come to Children's Home No 1, where I work. They do not know who the father is because they had sexual relations with many men. But something else also happens: men or women, some over 40 years old, come after 10-20 years; trying to be casual, they question us: "You know, it seems to me that a child was once brought here. I would like to know what happened to the youngster." We tell them: the child went on to a home for preschool children, to school, even to college; he made a place in life for himself because the state gave him good care. But this child did not know what a mother's love, a father's love meant. Up to 3 years of age, he did not know how to say the word "father." Because there are no men in our unit. He knows how to say "mother," although for him this does not mean that he has a mother. These children are handicapped, since they meet children from organized families or adopted children and these children say to them: "See daddy, see mommy!" And the tragedy follows; they come afterwards and cry out to me: "Mother director, mother director, but didn't daddy come to visit me, but didn't mommy come to visit me?" It is a painful situation. This is the result of the irresponsibility of the young people who have a child out of wedlock. Love is not a game of chance and irresponsibility.

/Several times, for documentation, the editors of our periodical were at Children's Home No 1, run by lecturer Dr Lucia Butucea-Vatasescu. On those occasions, we noticed the love with which the children are surrounded, the conditions that they have for growing up and being formed. At the same time, however, we also observed the great drama that is experienced by those who begin to understand that a child should have true parents, not parents who permanently abandon their children. It seems paradoxical to us that, along with the act of abandonment, applications for adopting a child are registered daily at this unit. In one of our future issues, we will return to this matter in detail./

Stefan Roman, prosecutor: Because responsibility at a young age has been put in discussion at this colloquium, I too am obliged to refer to some isolated manifestations that nonetheless must be viewed seriously, because they must be eradicated from the causes that produced them. I shall refer to an act which was committed last year on our sector's territory and which is under investigation by the authorities of the militia and the prosecutor's office. On the evening of 18 October 1981, a young working woman of 18 years of age from an enterprise for metal products in Sector 6 was in front of the TILIB /Bucharest Insulation Trust for Industrial Projects/ dormitory. Taken into one of the dormitory's rooms, the girl was forced, by blows in the stomach, to the head and in the chest area, to have sexual relations with 11 men. A barbarous act, which occurred over a span of 48 hours, a period in which the girl was not allowed to leave the dormitory and which culminated in a series of sexual perversions. I would like to add that the perversions are regarded by our law as infractions and are punishable with 5 years in prison. Moreover, the mere possession itself of pornographic books or magazines, which are making their presence felt more and more in the nonfamily dormitories, represents an infraction. My mission as a prosecutor who will take part in this trial is to request the maximum penalty: 10 years in prison. I want to point out, however, that this act did not arise by chance and that it is grafted onto what we define as "bad company" and "union in unnatural acts." And it is a result of a state of disorder in some nonfamily dormitories. Because it is proper for you to know how to wash yourself and for you to have the desire to use soap every day, it is very important for you to brush your teeth, to have personal hygiene, to act as it is normal for you to act, but it is just as natural for you to know that you must take a stand regarding one beside you when he is guilty of dangerous actions. Such as, for example, someone throws a knife at the door, shoots craps, consumes alcohol to excess, smokes until emptying scores of packs of cigarettes. From this to the commission of a criminal act is not very far: it is the doorway to an infraction.

/Shortly after this colloquium, we were also invited to the "Ecran" club for a public trial in which young perpetrators of various offenses (vagrancy, social parasitism, rape, robbery) were tried, in the presence of a numerous young public from the sector's enterprises, for the acts committed. In most cases, the infractions would not have been committed if schoolmates or fellow workers had intervened promptly right at the appearance of the first manifestations. It was a hard lesson, but necessary for all those present at the trial, a lesson starting from the concern for preventing manifestations that endanger the physical and mental health of the younger generation./

Dr Mioara Mincu: The questions that were addressed to me, as the last speaker, refer to the desire for information, for health education, of the many young people who want to live properly, correctly, to love, to have friends. Thus, how should a proper young person be? What should one do to be nice in society? When should sexual life begin? When should one marry? When should one enter this cell of human society? If man is a being who builds his life consciously, what should he do in order to be happy? What does happiness mean? What is the condition for two young people to be happy together? Our discussion up to now could be reduced to these questions.

We cannot establish a standard, a guide. Because happiness, like beauty, means variation, nuances, different types and prototypes, it means harmony, cleanliness of body and mind. To this higher, human species, evolved on a biological scale, nature has given an extraordinary quality: thought, a product of the activity of the central

nervous system, different from that of the other creatures. On entering into the institution of love, two indispensable elements are necessary: physical and mental health. But so that love can be fulfilled, with a whole series of disappointments and sufferings being prevented, a well-defined social status is also necessary. The proper time is, in my opinion, the age of 20 years both for girls and for boys, on the condition of their professional fulfillment, the age regarded by the experts as ideal for young people to enter into the institution of the family. This is why it must not be felt that man is qualified for sexual relations as soon as endocrinologic sex--the first menstruation, the first sexual impulse in boys--has appeared. Life must be started with responsibility, not with stigmata of the body and mind. There may be very much to say. In my capacity of doctor and health educator, I feel that discussions like today's, initated with so much concern and warmth by very many educational personnel, should continue with even greater intensity.

/We presented above just part of the contributions at a colloquium that lasted nearly 4 hours. Clearly, such a long discussion, followed not only by those in the auditorium but also, through loudspeakers, by another few hundred young people in the hall of the "Ecran" club, points up the great interest in these matters. Are they really so sensational? So indecent? Of course not. But many parents, teachers, educators and foremen refuse to talk about them.

/At the age when you are too big to be little, but too little to be big, there is no void of information. If this is not done in the school and in the family, the street, the unorganized, chaotic, misinformed or ill-meaning group, will take over the task of providing information. This is why there must be no taboo subjects for an educator.

/Sex education as education for family life is absolutely necessary.

/The so numerous attendance at the colloquium points up the fact that too few actions of this sort are undertaken in the general schools and secondary schools, actions provided moreover in the Skeleton Program for Health Education of Preschoolers, Pupils and Students. These are conclusions on which the parents, the teaching personnel and the Red Cross commissions in the educational units should reflect more deeply.

/The discussions in the colloquium at the "Ecran" club were conducted by Diana Zefer, secretary of the Party Committee of Sector 6, and Maria Silea, chief editor of our periodical. The fact that representatives of the UTC /Union of Communist Youth/ organizations, of the Red Cross and of the trade-union committees participated in this colloquium opens up the prospect of a more organized activity, in support of a good integration of the younger generation into life and work./

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REVIEW OF NEW BOOK ON HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN ROMANIA

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Mar 82 p 4

/Review by Al. Popescu of the book "The Hungarian Minority in Romania," edited by Sandor Koppandi and sponsored by the Institute of Political Sciences and Study of Nationalities Problems and the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality in Romania, Kriterion Publishing House/

/Text/ The 29 authors of the interesting and comprehensive studies included in the recently published book "The Hungarian Minority in Romania" are party and state activists, scientists, teachers, authors and journalists, both Romanian and Hungarian, who have successfully undertaken to make this book a rich and timely contribution to the development of literature on the Hungarian minority in Romania, on its friendly coexistence with the Romanian people, and on its efforts to develop socialist Romania.

The book strikingly illustrates the fact that the revolutionary changes and innovations in Romanian political, economic and social activities have created the best framework for the development of socialist Romania, since the RCP policy provides the climate and conditions for the progress of all Romanian citizens' creative work in all fields of activity.

The articles entitled "From Habsburg Oppression to the Overthrow of Hitlerite Rule," "The Romanian Nation: Landmarks in its Construction and Evolution," "The Socialist Nation As a Higher Stage of National Development" and "Unity and Brotherhood Between the Romanian People and the National Minorities As a Motive Force of Contemporary Romania" are uniformly supplemented by the ariticles on specific problems within strictly defined subjects, such as "County Covasna's Present Image." The article "Education in the Mother Tongue" presents a striking picture of the current realities in Romania, as the right to education conclusively demonstrates the workers' complete freedom of expression regardless of their nationality. "Literature of the Natural Sciences" provides a chronological review (the first of its kind) of some of the more significant aspects (in the last 30 years especially) of the scientific work of some members of the Hungarian minority in Romania in mathematics, physics, chemistry, interdisciplinary studies, biology, the agricultural and geologic sciences, and medical practice and science. Another study concerns social thought in the years of the people's power. The articles on the work of Hungarian linguists in Romania, the Hungarian ethnographic studies being made today in several of socialist Romania's scientific institutes and museum, or the current collection of folklore are parts of the same uniform

picture. The articles include convincing facts and figures on the participation of workers of Hungarian nationality in the broad and comprehensive mass cultural movement in present-day Romania or in artistic activity. The article "The Hungarian Book in Romania" demonstrates by telling facts and figures that Hungarian books, like the German, Serbo-Croatian, Ukrainian and Yiddish ones, are of particular value on the publishing scene of socialist Romania and that, in addition to the Bucharest Kriterion Publishing House (the first minorities publishing house, founded by a party decision in December 1969), books are published in national minority languages by the Political Publishing House, the Dacia, Torch, Eminescu, Albatross, Ion Creangu and Ceres publishing houses, the Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, the Technical Publishing House, and the Didactic and Pedagogic Publishing House. Conclusive figures show that the said publishing houses cover all areas of the intellectual life of the Hungarian workers in Romania and all technical and artistic activities.

The book makes many other points illustrative of the intellectual life of the Hungarian workers in Romania, as in the article "Hungarian Literature in Romania." On the basis of the interpretation made four decades ago by Gabor Gaal, who took as a criterion of this literature its affiliation with Romania, the article concludes that "The social determinant of Hungarian literature in Romania is the whole reality in Romania and, within it, primarily the experience of the Hungarian minority and the resulting problems," a literature which "conforms to the trend of the most progressive endeavors .... and formulates the truths of modern humanism in lasting works." The articles should also be noted here that deal with some aspects of the history of Hungarian journalism in Romania, beginning with KIALTO SZO ("The Call") founded in 1921 and the social-cultural journals consistently performing their task of promoting the literature and combining the effort to foster the traditions with promotion of the new values created by our socialist activity, as well as the article "Information Media," which is a full and documented presentation of the many Hungarian-language dailies published in Romania today and of Romanian Radio and TV's broadcasts in Hungarian. The articles on the activity of the six Hungarian theaters in Romania, as well as those on matters musical and the fine arts, also bring out the uniform message of socialist Romanian culture.

"The Hungarian Minority in Romania" is unquestionably a worthy contribution to the readers' fuller information on the historical past and the political, economic and social conditions and atmosphere wherein the Hungarian minority in Romania lives and works, enjoying the fullest rights today and, together with all the workers and the entire people, contributing to the great objectives of socioeconomic development of the common fatherland, socialist Romania.

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SOME GYPSIES RESIST SOCIALIST LIFE

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 12 Mar 82 p 9

[Interview with Dr Jan Bubelini, secretary of the Commission for Problems of Gypsy Citizens, of the East Slovak Regional National Committee, by Eva Bombova: "Subject Instead of Object"; conducted on 12 March 1982 at Dr Bubelini's office]

[Text] The problems of social and cultural integration of gypsy citizens are very timely today, especially in the East Slovak Kraj where 52.7 percent of gypsy citizens in the SSR live in the 13 East Slovak okreses.

The Plachetkovs have demonstrated, even in the rugged conditions of the Slovak highlands, that they are among the most skilled forestry workers within the Slovak State Forests system.

The Lukases, a family from Presov, have become intimately familiar to television viewers throughout Czechoslovakia. The children, their father and grandfather have captivated audiences in the program "The Whole Family Sings," and at work, too, the two adult Lukases have an excellent reputation.

The life and work of the following can alse serve as good examples: Tibor Gazda from Zbiniece, Michal Banom from Lucky, Pavol Nistor from Inacoviece, Jan Kompus from Jasov, Pavol Gabor from Kaceroviece, longtime CPCZ member Comrade Polak from Medzevo, Dezider Balog, Pavol Cifra, and Jozef Joska from Kosice, Pavol Demeter from Ladomirova, Jan Sivak from Svidnik, Helena Conkova from Spisska Nova Ves, Jan Bikar from Svedlar, and hundreds of others.

Admittedly, there are also backward gypsy citizens who stubbornly cling to the old way of life into which their ancestors were forced long ago by an uncaring society. This is unfortunately documented by the gypsy settlements in

Bystrany, Rakusy, Nalepkova-Grina and elsewhere where many gypsy citizens are only interested in alcohol and shun work.

Their numbers, however, are much smaller than in the past.

[Question] How would you characterize the results of the social and cultural integration of gypsy citizens in eastern Slovakia during the period just elapsed?

[Answer] I should say right at the start that the problem of social and cultural integration of the gypsy population is not only timely but very complicated. Even though many gypsy citizens in our region still live the old way, the purposeful and systematic work of party and state organs, the Commission on Gypsy Affairs of the East Slovak Kraj National Committee [KNV], other commissions and national committees of lower levels, social organizations, enterprises and plants, is producing positive results. In certain areas as, for example, in attendance of 3- to 5-year-old gypsy children of kindergartens, improvement in school attendance of older pupils, the tempo of state purchase and liquidation of gypsy hovels and settlements, in finding alternate housing corresponding to the gypsy share in the population, we in Slovakia have had excellent results. The aim of all our endeavor in this demanding sphere is to see to it that the gypsy population adopt the socialist way of life. The process of social and cultural integration of the gypsy population is of a complex character, which to us means the need to concentrate attention on the education of gypsy children, starting at an early age in the family, kindergarten, basic and higher schools, as well as better placement and stabilization of gypsy adolescents, employment of adults, improvement of their living environment and cultural well-being. We strive to make gypsy citizens not mere objects of concentrated educational influences and other types of care, but try to have them become activist subjects in the process of change in their living conditions.

[Question] As we have done in the introduction, we could also cite here many courageous gypsy citizens. Recognition by society and just reward for work performed, naturally makes this process of social and cultural integration easier for them. How well is the gypsy population prepared for this process?

[Answer] With respect to employment, of the more than 50,000 gypsy citizens of productive age, 68.2 percent have permanent or short-term jobs, while the overall employment average in Slovakia is 73 percent. The difference is caused primarily by the low percentage of gypsy working women which, as opposed to the high employment of males (93.9 percent), is only 41.1 percent, while the overall average in Slovakia is 50.9 percent. It is for this reason that the measures approved last year by the commission of the East Slovak KNV were focused on raising the employment of gypsy women 10 percent by 1985. Certain districts, such as Kosice City, Presov, and Vranov, will have to do more in the future to achieve this goal. The working gypsy population is most often found in the construction industry, agriculture and local administration, and even though there are cases of outstanding exceptions, most of them work as unskilled auxiliary labor. Consequently, we consider it especially

important in improving the gypsy employment situation, to concentrate on placement and stabilization of the young. Here we continue to have problems, especially in placing boys and girls who have completed their compulsory school attendance in the seventh or lower grades. During the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the number of gypsy children who completed required school attendance in the fifth or lower grades of the Basic 9-Year Schools, dropped from 30.5 percent to 11.6 percent, while the number of gypsy pupils who completed their compulsory school attendance in the eighth or ninth grades rose from 26.7 percent to almost 50 percent. Improving their school performance is extremely important for the employment future of gypsy youth. In 1980, 8.8 percent more gypsy students completed their compulsory school attendance in the ninth grade than in 1975, and as much as 12.8 percent more did so in the eighth grade. This improvement, however, is still insufficiently reflected in increasing the number of students who continue their studies at secondary schools. As a rule, under the influence of parents, there survives a lack of interest in gypsy children in additional preparation for a career, and the tendency to find a paying job as early as possible is very strong.

[Question] From what you have just said, it is clear that in the process of social and cultural integration you are devoting much attention specifically to the young generations.

[Answer] Constant improvement in education and knowledge among gypsy children, students, and the young gnereally, was the most characteristic feature of the period just elapsed. We have gradually succeeded in raising the enrollment of gypsy 3- to 5-year-olds in kindergarten. Judge for yourself--in 1975 only 31.5 percent of gypsy children were enrolled in kindergartens in our kraj, by 1980 this rose to 61 percent, and last year to 63.8 percent. The East Slovak Kraj has thus achieved the highest enrollment of gypsy 3- to 5-year-olds in the Slovak Socialist Republic. We have succeeded in this endeavor thanks to the fact that with Slovak Government funding we have built or reconstructed more than 70 kindergartens. The most successful in this respect were the okreses of Roznava, Svidnik, and Michalovce, while performance will have to be improved in the Spisska Nova Ves, Vranov and Poprad okreses.

Much attention is also devoted to the enrollment and school attendance of older children. Following several years of stagnation, in the school year 1980/81--as compared with the preceding school year--we have been successful in reducing the number of missed hours of instruction 11.9 percent per pupil, and the current status of 91.8 attended hours of instruction is the best in the SSR, namely, 5.8 better than the republic average. Most successful in this effort are the okreses of Humenne, Svidnik, Vranov, and Poprad, while a more intensive effort will be needed in the Presov and Michalovce okreses. Since a large segment of the gypsy population in our region still clings to the obsolete way of life, we currently accentuate continuous educational care for gypsy pupils through school associations and clubs, through the expansion of food catering, interest groups, optional instruction and summer recreation. The school association program is currently attended by 3,834 gypsy pupils, 6,815 of them eat in school cafeterias, which in the last year is an increase of 3.9 percent; 20.4 percent of gypsy students are involved in the special interest groups, and 54 percent of gypsy boys and girls are members of the

Pioneer Organization of the Socialist Youth Union. At a joint consultative meeting of the okres commissions for gypsy affairs and okres youth union secretaries late last year, we agreed on additional concrete measures to increase the participation of the Socialist Youth Union in the education of gypsy children, pupils, and youth. Within the framework of the recreational and educational summer camps where we focused especially on socially neglected children, we had 1,688 children last year. To illustrate further, such recreation was provided for 333 children in the West Slovak Kraj, 686 in the Central Slovak Kraj, and the city of Bratislava did not organize such activity at all. In our region, the recreational plan was fulfilled by the okreses of Bardejov, Humenne, Kosice countryside, Presov, and Spisska Nova Ves.

[Question] While the care which the national committees in the East Slovak Kraj devote to the young generation is clearly beginning to bear fruit, gypsy adults are often at a loss when trying to deal with housing or other problems.

[Answer] Throughout the region, in 25 communities and 12 districts, we continue to develop the so-called Experiment in Raising the Hygienic and Sanitary Consciousness of Gypsy Citizens. The most serious problem is unquestionably housing. As of 31 December 1980, 2,450 gypsy citizens lived in hovels and 317 in settlements throughout the East Slovak Kraj. In accordance with measures adopted by the commission of the East Slovak KNV toward implementation of Slovak Government Directive No 141/1980, the KNV department of territorial planning and construction ordered from Stavoprojekt Kosice a series of urbanist studies which would govern the gypsy housing situation through 1990. These studies will be ready by April of this year. We anticipate that this step will represent a qualitative turn and will introduce into this area a certain sense of purpose, dedication and conceptual approach, while we realize that this is a very complicated problem. Meanwhile, we continue to improve the housing situation of gypsy citizens in the traditional manner, i.e., individual housing construction, purchase of older family houses, cooperative apartments allotted from the state and enterprise building program. We are also revaluating the possibilities which exist in individual okreses and in areas where the hovel concentration is the smallest, such as Humenne, Kosice City, Michalovce, Stara Lubovna, and Svidnik; these basic housing problems should be resolved even in the course of the current five-year plan. As I have already noted, it is complicated, nevertheless, the number of hovels will diminish. During the Sixth Five-Year Plan, this number dropped by 1,107, and the number of gypsy settlements by 111. In this area, we often have to struggle against prejudices and erroneous views. The outlook must be radically changed even in those national committees which, up to now, have acted with reluctance in allotting building sites for gypsy citizens, in other words, were opposed to purchases of family housing by gypsy citizens for fear that this would spread their presence throughout the area. We also hope for a more significant contribution by those plants and enterprises which employ gypsy citizens, in assisting to provide proper housing in accordance with the stabilization and overall care program.

[Question] Given your specialization in psychology, I believe it would be interesting to hear your views on relations between gypsies and other

citizens. The public is voicing certain legitimate complaints, such as, for instance, the high share of gypsy citizens in the crime rate, their tendency to shun work, etc., even though some of these preconceptions may be changing.

[Answer] I agree with you. These phenomena must be dealt with in a differentiated manner. Simply to condemn and criticize is not enough. On various occasions, we try to put across the fact that for these gypsy citizens this country is as much their home as it is ours. Old political systems discriminated against them, society rejected them, and even today there survive erroneous concepts of the term "gypsy," even though we have achieved certain basic objective changes. If, instead of normal contacts with the rest of the population, they are left with no choice but to associate exclusively with those groups which are antisocial in nature, it is quite logical that this will be reflected in a higher share of the gypsies in the crime rate. We even encounter the view that the so-called gypsy problem should be the business of the gypsies themselves. We cannot agree with this. It is the business of society as a whole and this should become clear to all culturally mature citizens.

The various forms of care for gypsy workers we have used to date, however, should not leave them passive, they should rather stir themselves into activism and contribute themselves to changing their lives for the better. A person appreciates an accomplishment for which he has exerted a certain amount of energy. In this respect, for example, our best experiences in the housing problem have been in individual construction. What a person builds himself, to what he devotes his energies and means, he appreciates most. There are a number of opportunities toward encouraging such a positive attitude toward one's environment, neighbors and society as a whole. When we build a gypsy settlement a drinking fountain, provide trash containers, or construct public toilets, we should try to interest the residents themselves to accept responsibility for these improvements and see to it, especially the young, that they are cared for rather than vandalized, as unfortunately is still often the case. State purchases of the hovels, subsidies, etc., should be conditioned on the fulfillment of certain obligations, such as reciprocal care for children, especially in encouraging their school attendance. In the current phase, we plan to advance more forcefully in the organization of the activity of gypsy workers in plants and enterprises, and activism among other gypsy citizens in their place of resident. Such an effort to aid in the education and reeducation of the gypsy population should become the concern of employers and social organizations, national and citizens committees, etc. All these are concrete approaches toward meeting the task I mentioned at the beginning, namely, to transform the gypsies from an object of social influences to an activist subject of changing conditions and their way of life to the socialist model.

9496
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'TRIBUNA' ATTACKS ZIONISM AS 'MILITANT EXPANSIONIST IDEOLOGY'

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 9, 3 Mar 82 pp 8, 9

[Article by Ota Kratky]

[Text] Zionism, which originated at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries during the era of transition of capitalism into an imperialistic stage, has changed in the past three decades from a bourgeois nationalist movement into a militant expansionist ideology of chauvinist and anticommunist action of the Jewish grand bourgeoisie and world Jewish capitalism. Consequently, it was proper for the 30th session of the UN General Assembly to pass resolution No 3379 of 10 November 1975 characterizing Zionism as a "form of racism and racial discrimination."

As stated in "Creeping Counterrevolution," a book written by the Soviet author V. Byegun, the goal of Zionism, the ideological and political representation of world Jewish capitalism, especially of Jewish-American capitalism, is to build a Greater Israel, to take over the natural riches, especially oil, belonging to the Arab nations and, with the help of this wealth, to create a system of ultraimperialism in which world Jewish capitalism would occupy a dominant position and the Jewish grand bourgeoisie would become a ruling caste in the entire world.

Instrument of Enslavement

Since the founding, Zionism considered Judaism, a national religious system, an important instrument for the dissemination of its influence. The dogmas, cult and organizational structure of Judaism are, for historical reasons and because of the peculiarities of its teachings, basically accepted only by the Jews. The history of Judaism is closely related to the history of the old Jewish--Hebrew--tribes. The history of Judaism is divided in its literature into four periods: the biblical period, corresponding to the breakdown of the original social system; the talmudic period, justifying the "legality" of slavers' oppression; the rabbinic period, attempting to falsely explain the tragic situation of Jews during feudalism; and the reform period, in which Judaism is accommodating itself to the conditions of imperialism.

The religious beliefs of the old Jewish nomadic tribes developed under the strong influence of the originial inhabitants of Palestine, namely, the

Arameans and other ancient nations. The Bible contains references to the worship of the "gold Calf" and "copper snake" whose cult is a remnant of totemic beliefs. However, as a result of the gradual appearance of a slave system with its seat in Jerusalem, the entire cult became centralized. From the originally polytheistic religion, worshiping a variety of gods, developed a cult of a single God called Yahveh, who was worshiped by the tribe of Judah as the personification of storm, fire and water.

The Jewish state was conquered many times by the stronger states of the Near East--Babylonians and Persians. During the fourth century B.C., this state was a part of the empire of Alexander the Great. During the first century A.D., the Jewish state was definitively subjugated by the Romans who destroyed the temple in Jerusalem in the year 70. Thus the adherents of Judaism lost their religious center. Moreover, many Jews emigrated abroad where they lived in the so-called Diaspora. While abroad, the Jews established religious communities and built their synagogues, whose functions were both cultural and administrative. These communities and synagogues were headed by rabbis--teachers of the law and judges who, as time progressed, acquired the sole right to interpret the "scriptures" and demanded blind obedience from their coreligionists. Because of their exclusivity and rituals, both hostile to nonbelievers, "Goys," the adherents of Judaism often got themselves into sharp conflicts with other montheist religious systems--Christianity and Islam--which shared with the Jews the same lack of tolerance for "nonbelievers" and used all available means to liquidate them.

During the capitalist era, there developed within the Jewish camp two main groups: Orthodox Jews who adhered faithfully to the old scriptures and Reform Jews who removed certain burdensome rules concerning meals, adapted their beliefs and cult to contemporary life and now try to establish a dialogue with Catholicism, Protestantism and Islam. At present, Judaism is the state religion of the Israeli state where, together with Zionism, it constitutes the basic ideological springboard for the aggressive imperialist policy of its ruling clique.

The teachings and cult of Judaism as we understand them have been developing for thousands of years. Among the main dogmas belong a belief in the sanctity of the Old Testament and the Talmud, belief in the single God, Yahveh, belief in the future arrival of the Messiah (Savior), belief in an after life and that the Jewish nation was "chosen" by Yahveh to rule over inferior nations condemned by God. The source of the faith is the Old Testament (Tanach), especially the so-called Torah (the first five books of Moses, or the Pentateuch) and the Talmud--a collection of Jewish religious literature compiled between the third century B.C. and the fourth century A.D. The believer must observe an entire series of religious customs, prohibitions and orders, the number of which in the Talmud amounts to 613 (365 prohibitions and 248 requirements). Very burdensome rules exist in the area of permitted (kosher) and prohibited (traif) food, a prohibition on consuming dairy and meat products at the same meal or on eating pork, etc. Great significance is given in Judaism to circumcision, which originated as one of the forms of "initiation" rites even during the earliest social community.

Generally we can say about Judaism what we say about every religion: as such, it has historically justified and still justifies the private ownership of the means of production, class and social antagonisms, that it has served and still serves as an instrument for the spiritual enslavement of people. Fully applicable to Judaism are the words of V.I. Lenin who wrote in his letter to A.M. Gorky of December 1913: "A belief in God always put to sleep and deadened social feeling because it substituted the dead for the living and practiced slavery (the worst, unending slavery). The idea of God never linked the individual to society but always linked suppressed classes to a belief in the divine mission of oppressors."

Part of the Ideological Arsenal of Zionism

No wonder that Zionism has included Judaism in its ideological arsenal, even if it would not be right to equate the two. The circumstances of their origin which link them to the manifestations of various forms of social consciousness are different. While Judaism is the form of social consciousness of the orginial communal and slave society containing tribal antagonisms and customs, Zionism is the ideology and policy of Jewish capitalism during the imperialist era. The two are related through their agreement on social class exploitation and roles.

The record shows that clerical Zionist circles classify any criticism of them as a manifestation of anti-Semitism, especially in the case of Marxist-Leninist criticism of the theory and practice of international Zionism or its ruling Israeli clique. Their point of departure is their own scheme which, contrary to reality, declares Zionism as the "common ideology of the world's Jewish nation," a "national movement." They declare Judaism is the basis of a "Jewish national style" and of the "national identity" of individual members. It is on this basis that they equate the terms Zionism, Judaism and Jew, and see any criticism of the first two as anti-Semitic. In order to improve the affectiveness of their arguments, a few other falsifications are added: anti-Semitism is deprived of its sociopolitical characteristics as a typical product and manifestation of imperialist policy aimed at dividing the working people of different nationalities and ethnical diversity and is considered as an "internal characteristic of each non-Jew." Quite rightly, a document on the International Symposium on Zionism and Racism (Tripoli, 1976) states: "There is nothing more dishonorable than an assertion that anti-Zionism is in itself anti-Semitism. This shameless allegation is based on the false premise which identifies Judaism with Zionism and Jews as Zionists." The fact remains that Zionism has met with major rejection by Jews themselves. It is also a fact that Judaism is clearly different from Zionism (and, in the view of many Jews, the two are incompatible) and that the majority of Jews refuse to join Zionist organizations, to identify themselves with Zionists, or to fulfill the basic Zionist obligation, namely, return to the "promised land." From the overall number of Jews in the world (approximately 14.5 million), less than 1 million affiliate themselves with various Zionist organizations. There are certain Jewish organizations, for example, the American National Council for the Defense of Judaism or American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism which reject identifying Judaism with Zionism. We can encounter similar phenomena even in Israel where certain Hassidic organizations have adopted very sharply anti-Zionist positions.

Jews Without Religion

By analogy, it is not possible to equate Zionism with membership in the Jewish ethnic group. This cannot be done, but it is often attempted by the apologists of Judaism in relation to the "ethnic group and religion." In many countries of the world there are citizens of Jewish descent who are not only indifferent to the Jewish religion but are outright opponents of any religion.

Even in Israel where the ruling Zionist clique carries out a policy of religious dictatorship and violates consciences, a large part of the Jewish population has adopted an indifferent and sometimes a negative posture toward Judaism. As stated by Soviet scholar G. Banakurskiy, public opinion polls have shown that only 15 percent of the Israeli adult population favor theocracy, i.e., a political system in which the clergy rules and the church is the foundation of the political system. Over 30 percent of the adult population favor a completely secular state. The rest either is for a "close relationship" between state and religion, or propose separation of the synagogue from the state and separation of the school system from the synagogue.

In Israel, Judaism has become the dominant form of religion with the status of an "established church." This state does not have a unified constitution. There are laws adopted by the Knesset (parliament) which have a racist or chauvinist character. Discrimination is applied not only to Arabs but to Jews themselves according to their origin, social status and length of residence in the country. According to a 1952 law, Israeli citizenship can be denied to those Jews who do not practice Judaism but belong to other religions or are without religion. A professional cult apparatus, namely, the rabbis, exercises full control in the country: through a variety of requirements and prohibitions they supervise the entire existence of believers including their everyday lives. A law, for example, prohibits marriage between a Jewish and non-Jewish citizen. The wife cannot end a marriage; only husbands have such right. The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel consequently characterized the situation in the country as one of "religious violence."

Jewish teaching, especially the Torah and Talmud, sanctifies the exploitation of man by man. Their ideal man, as stated in the encyclopedic work by a group of Soviet authors entitled "ABC of Atheism," is a devoted slave deprived of feelings of human dignity. Talmudic literature contains unscientific views concerning nature and human life. Several great Jewish thinkers, Uriel d'Acosta, Spinoza, and others subjected the Jewish religion to severe criticism and condemned its antihumanism. Because of these characteristics, ideological Judaism has become a pillar of Zionism.

1277
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SLOVAK TU CONGRESS RESOLUTION, AUDIT REPORT PUBLISHED

Slovak ROH Congress Resolution

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 9 Mar 82 p 4

[Resolution of Slovak Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] Congress]

[Text] The Slovak ROH Congress took place at a time characterized by worker activity in the carrying out of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the resolution of the CPSL Congress. It is a period of creative efforts by our people to bring about the implementation of demanding tasks in the interest of the further development of our socialist society.

We are living at a time when the most reactionary imperialist circles, above all in America, are causing tension on a world scale by their aggressive policies. This type of imperialist policy sharpens the international situation, and even threatens peace. The political and economic crisis of the capitalist world is depriving millions of its people of employment and basic social insurance. The events in contemporary Poland are an expression of this aggressive imperialist policy, where it was only thanks to the determined conduct of forces loyal to socialism that a fratricidal bloodbath was avoided. For this reason, in the name of the more than 2 million ROH members in Slovakia, we declare our full support for the Military Council of National Salvation, and its extraordinary measures for the consolidation of the situation, for the unification of unions and workers, for the strengthening of the power of the workers and farmers in fraternal Poland. In accordance with the decision of all ROH members, we are prepared in all respects to assist our class allies in their efforts to strengthen socialism in Poland.

Delegates to the Slovak ROH Congress express their full support for the peaceful program of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 16th CPCZ Congress and their basic line in foreign policy.

The entire precongress period was marked by increased activity by union organs and organizations, functionaries and members of the ROH for the implementation of the congress resolutions, for an increase in the efficiency of production, for the high quality of all work. This is evident in the efforts to welcome with new labor successes the 10th All-Union Congress, as well as the upcoming 65th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Red Unions in Czechoslovakia.

The Slovak ROH Congress assessed the results of the work of union organs and organizations in the SSR in implementing the line adopted by the 15th CPCZ and CPSL congresses and in the implementation of the resolutions set down by the Ninth All-Union Congress for the carrying out of the program and objectives of the workers policy of the CPCZ in the Slovak ROH.

The congress has expressed its support for the policy of the CPCZ and its determination to participate actively in the fulfillment of tasks of economic and social development during the years of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. This period will require increased efforts by every ROH member and by all workers because we will fulfill the tasks under difficult conditions brought about by both external and internal influences.

The delegates to the Slovak ROH Congress appreciate the recognition accorded them by the CPSL Congress in March 1981 for union work in Slovakia. This appreciation stimulates us, but also commits us. It commits us to a situation in which union organs and organizations and all ROH members are obliged to develop more thoroughly and at a higher level of quality and intensify their multifaceted activity. The Slovak Union Council and ROH organs in Slovakia will mobilize the workers, under CPCZ leadership, and win them over to labor, civic and political activity so that they will consciously fulfill their daily tasks.

The recent past has confirmed the correctness and utility of cooperation between the SOR [Slovak Trade Union Council] and the SSR Government, cooperation which has also deepened among other state and economic organs and ROH organs, especially trade unions, ministries and VHJ [economic production units] during the assurance of state plan targets and as a result of concern for workers. As a result of this common approach, additional results have been achieved in many sectors of union and economic life. With this in mind, we will continue to deepen the joint approach of state, economic and union organs, so that this becomes a regular and permanent technique for increasing the efficiency of work.

The Slovak ROH Congress has stated that the period between congresses has been marked by increased activity of union organs and organizations, of functionaries and ROH members for the implementation of congress resolutions.

Union organs and basic organizations have on each occasion participated more intensively in the deepening and increasing of the quality of worker participation in the management and development of production. By means of socialist competition, production conferences and collective agreements there has been a further deepening of worker participation in the management and control of production and a development of socialist democracy.

In accordance with the application of the Set of Measures, and with the requirement for increasing the efficiency of production and the quality of all work, there has been a rise in the organization of various forms of labor initiatives. Additional progressive forms and techniques of work have arisen and developed. Progressive experiences, especially those of Soviet workers, have been applied and expanded.

The participation of union organs in the implementation of the rationalization of the work and wage systems has increased. With the implementation of the resolution of the Ninth All-Union Congress, concern for workers has increased, especially in the areas of health care, prevention and safety on the job, and the number of participants in factory catering and recreation programs has increased. Problems remain, however, in transportation to and from work, in working and living environments and in population services.

The sophistication of the organizational and political work of ROH organs in Slovakia has increased. The training of personnel has increased in quality, as has the selection and education of the corps of functionaries. Mass participation of ROH members has been achieved at union shops and in socialist labor schools. Union education departments have been providing effective assistance in this schooling and education.

The 16th CPCZ Congress outlined the task of intensifying social production as a strategic line of economic development corresponding to a developed socialist society. The Seventh Five-Year Plan requires new progressive changes in approaches to, forms of, techniques and instruments of economic management which are rooted in the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy after 1980.

The annual member meetings and conferences of basic organizations, the okres, kraj and Slovak conferences of trade unions, the all-union conference and the Slovak ROH Congress have stated that the ROH membership and a majority of the workers comprehend the difficulty of the present period and the seriousness of the problems which exist in the economic area. At the same time, they have pointed to the necessity for focusing all efforts on overcoming these problems as the basic precondition for the further increase of the living standards and cultural sophistication of our people.

The Slovak ROH Congress considers the participation of the ROH and a deepening of its work in the implementation of the economic and social development objectives of the CSSR from 1981-1985 to be a critical task. The work of union organs and basic organizations will give priority to a strengthening of joint responsibility for the solution of societywide problems, for the development of worker initiatives directed at an increase in the efficiency of production and product quality throughout the entire national economy. A large role will be played in this by the greater efficiency of production conferences, the more thorough participation of workers in counterplanning and a fuller application of the Set of Measures. Higher expectations for the quality of all work must become a matter for every working person.

We are turning to trade union organs and basic organizations, so that under the leadership of the CPCZ and in cooperation with state and economic organs and in conjunction with the Union of Socialist Youth they may create the conditions for the daily participation of workers in administration and the management of production. To the greatest extent possible, we must orient worker initiatives toward greater conservation of energy, raw materials and inputs generally, and toward their more extensive participation in scientific and technical development.

In the development of the agriculture and food complex, initiatives are to be developed for the more complete utilization and mobilization of under-utilized capacity in the production and processing of agricultural raw materials, thereby strengthening self-sufficiency in foodstuff production. Other branches as well, especially the machine building and chemical industries, must also effectively contribute to the fulfillment of these tasks.

In the movement "Everyone in a Socialist Manner" we will develop proven as well as innovative forms of worker initiatives, both ours and Soviet, which are contributing to the dynamic and efficient development of the national economy. We will more decisively utilize and expand the Saratov Zero-Defect System, the Lvov model of the comprehensive management of quality and production, the Zlobinov technique of brigade khozraschet, and others which are directed at the qualitative indicators of plan fulfillment, at the efficient linking of the economic and educational function of initiative and socialist competition.

In the interest of the further qualitative development of the national economy, we will support multilaterally invention- and improvement-producing activity, comprehensive rationalization brigades, hundred thousandaires and millionaires and other progressive forms of technically creative initiative. There is also great significance in the more efficient linking of theoretical worksites with production, which substantially speeds up the research-production-utilization cycle.

We are devoting separate attention and concern to the organization and development of international socialist competition, to the adoption of joint socialist commitments, especially to increase the quality of final products and to fulfill capital investment targets.

We will also orient worker initiatives toward the further improvement and beautification of working and living environments. In krajs and okreses, we will use for this purpose agreements concerning common approaches with the appropriate national committees, in conjunction with the development of the "Unionists for Their Own Factory and Republic" movement and to assist Project "Z". We will regularly monitor measures which are adopted, individually within the limits of Bratislava where there are increased tasks. We will take a more active role in the protection of agricultural land, especially that which is arable, and see to it that it is fully utilized.

Furthermore, we will actively assist in the strengthening of socialist legality. We will utilize our own rights and responsibilities in the interest of upholding socialist labor discipline, the use of working time, the strengthening of technical discipline and the protection of property which is under socialist ownership. This also includes the defense and protection of the legal rights of workers and their justifiable interests. We will continue to pay attention to increasing our concern for the protection of health and for safety on the job, and to improve working and living conditions, especially for working women and youth.

Socialist compensation according to the amount, quality and social significance of work belongs among the gains of the working class and revolutionary unions. For this reason the congress requests that all union organs and basic organizations, and especially trade union organs, fight more energetically for the practical implementation of socialist compensation principles. The task is to conduct a decisive campaign against mediocrity and egalitarianism. At the same time, we must more significantly apply the right of joint decisionmaking and cooperation in this area.

In union work, an especially significant place is occupied by concern for the workers. It is the responsibility of union organs and basic organizations to increase the quality of this activity. Collective agreements must play their role in this area, both for the development of production and compensation and for the improvement of working conditions, increases in worker qualifications, the creation of conditions for recreation, rest and the proper use of free time and an overall socialistic life style. In this field, it is desirable that union organs exert a more active influence, along with state and economic organs, on the pooling of resources, on the reconstruction, building and operation of preschool catering, social, recreational, sporting and cultural facilities while respecting frugality and appropriateness.

The congress, then, expects that union organs and basic organizations will thoroughly implement their rights and fulfill the responsibilities which accrue to them from their position and role in a socialist society, and their responsibilities to their own members.

All union organs and basic organizations are to deepen the socialist consciousness of workers through systematic ideologically educational work. The educational work of union organs and organizations must be directed to the daily revolutionary struggle for courageous and responsible work, for labor discipline, for socialist ties among people, and must lead them to acts which contribute to the building and welfare of a socialist society. We must exert a greater influence on the intensification of a scientific world view among workers, and we must actively and effectively strengthen socialist patriotism and the international ties among our peoples and nationalities, among the working classes of the SSR and the CSR, with the workers of the countries of the socialist community. We must also take the offensive and be more decisive in the struggle against the influences of bourgeois ideology. Economic propaganda and agitation by way of explaining the economic policy of the CPCZ must likewise become an inseparable component of the ideologically educational work of the ROH, and must contribute to the political awareness and increased work activity of workers.

A developed socialist society places high demands on the multilateral political and professional education of its younger generation. Union organs focus their efforts, above all, on the youngest generation of the working class, the apprentices and young workers, so that they win them over to the goal of socialist construction. It is a matter of their proper integration into the work collective, of the mastery of professional expertise and of a socialist life style. There is a need to be more attentive in solving their work and life problems as well, and to increase the percentage of young

unionists in the activities of union organizations. It is necessary to increase the influence of work collectives and of socialist work brigades and the best workers on apprentices and working youth.

Union press and literature has an important place in politicoeducational work. We will continue to intensify its party orientation, ideological slant and aggressive posture, and see to it that all publishing and printing activity is in accordance with ROH tasks and that its content is focused on the immediate needs of a broad unionist audience.

Union organs and organizations will develop this cultural-educational work in the spirit of the cultural policy of the CPCZ and the resolution of the 10th All-Union Congress. Factory clubs and houses of culture of the ROH will deepen their cooperation with national committees and cultural institutions. Through close cooperation and the fulfillment of individual plans for cultural-educational activities, they will increase the sophistication and the content of cultural and politically educational undertakings and influence the development of culture and of the human personality. From the ROH House in Bratislava is expected the full development of its activity as a useful institution of the SOR.

In the development of mass physical education, we will strengthen and intensify the cooperation of ROH organs with physical education units and organs of the Czechoslovak physical education union. We will systematically increase the number of unions for the development of mass physical education and the self-defense training of the population as an inseparable component of the socialist life style.

The Slovak ROH Congress announces its conviction that all union organs, basic organizations and the corps of functionaries will strengthen the ideological, organizational and the resultant unity in action of the ROH as a whole, so that in this way they may fulfill the demanding tasks and basic functions of socialist unions in a higher quality manner. The content of the politico-organizational work of union organs and organizations must reflect a concern for the development of the internal life of the union, in particular an increase in the political activity, educational influence and level of the content of meetings of members at union shops, and in workshop and basic organizations as a manifestation of socialist democracy. The congress requires of all union organs that they thoroughly and regularly gather critical comments and suggestions from meetings of members and use them to correct shortcomings and also for an overall increase in the sophistication of political and educational work.

Personal concern requires work with shop and other stewards in union shops. We must assure that the shop steward in all basic organizations become a true confidant of the members and workers of a union shop.

The tasks outlined by the 16th CPCZ Congress and the Resolution of the CPSL Congress are demanding, but meetable. Their implementation requires that union organs, from the SOR right through the ROH factory organizations, apply and integrate into their life the Leninist style and techniques of work.

Democratic centralism is to be applied consistently, internal union democracy is to be developed, as is a collective orientation in decisionmaking and the fundamentals of criticism aimed at the discovery of shortcomings and their correction, to an improvement in techniques and forms of work by union organs and their functionaries.

Regular monitoring of the resolution and the generalization of positive experiences must be implemented at every level of ROH activity.

We will devote greater attention to the selection, political and professional training of functionaries, members of election organs, commissions, lecturers and propagandists, so as to increase their role in the implementation of policy in a spirit of high expectations which correspond to the role and mission of the ROH in our society.

The consistent practical application of democratic centralism must be marked by united efforts of trade unions and all-union organs at all levels of activity to increase their capacity for action related to the fulfillment of tasks and resolutions of congresses and plenary meetings of organs.

A permanent principle in the work of ROH organs and organizations must be unity in the assertion of the basic objectives of the building of a developed socialist society.

By raising the quality of the level of work of union organs, we must strengthen the unity of the membership and carry to completion the basic responsibilities of every member, regularity in paying ROH membership dues, upholding of the principles of managing the financial resources and property of the ROH. At the same time, it is necessary to deepen controlling activity and the activity of auditing commissions at all levels of the organizational structure.

Union organs and organizations in the SSR will continue to govern themselves by the URO [Central Council of Trade Unions] unified plan of international and friendly contacts. They will support and develop the ROH Solidarity Fund and the development of friendly agreements with the objective of deepening and strengthening mutual relations, the recognition and exchange of experiences, particularly concerning the union life of socialist countries and of Soviet unions. The activities of the WFTU are to be supported, focused as they are on the strengthening of international unity and the preservation of world peace.

Through its participation in the fulfillment of the Communist Party program, the Slovak Trade Union Council and all ROH organs and organizations will actively contribute to the realization of the peaceful policy of the CPSU Congress and the 16th CPCZ Congress for the assurance of the most important task which now stands before humanity--the defense of peace.

The delegates to the Slovak congress and the entire membership of the ROH are proud of the results and gains of socialism. They are fully aware that these results are based on the work of millions of courageous workers, farmers

and other employees. And a contented life in the future also depends on good work, and on the results of it.

Union organs and organizations in Slovakia are determined to contribute actively, do their part, and devote all of their work to the fulfillment of the demanding tasks of today and tomorrow. They call upon all unionists in the SSR to demonstrate through their daily creative work their patriotic attitude to our socialist society, to their homeland. This is the path to the development of the riches of our country, to the strengthening of the power of the working class and our socialist order.

We proclaim our conviction that through common work and new labor activities we will fulfill the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the Resolution of the CPSL Congress and contribute to the further development of our socialist homeland, to the strengthening of peace.

Audit Commission Report

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 9 Mar 82 p 4

[Text] The Auditing Commission has based its work on documents of the Ninth All-Union Congress and Slovak ROH Congress, and on the regulations and appropriate documents approved by the URO [Central Council of Trade Unions] for union management.

The Ninth All-Union Congress charged the union organs and ROH basic organizations with increasing the organizational level of unions, with strengthening discipline in the payment of dues, with the achievement of maximal managerial efficiency, with the merging of union resources with the objective of assuring the long-range needs of members and of workers, with an increase in concern for union property, with an intensification of controlling efficiency and an increase in the activity of auditing commissions.

The established tasks in the area of concern for union property had as their objective the assurance of sufficient financial and material resources for rich ROH activity, concerning which none other than L. Abraham, SOR [Slovak Trade Union Council] chairman, spoke in the above-mentioned report, and concerning which data has been presented in the written factual report which delegates received.

The Auditing Commission, therefore, has set as its goal the monitoring and controlling of the fulfillment of the main source of revenues, namely from the collection of membership dues. While in 1976 the annual volume of dues collections amounted to Kcs 399 million in the SSR, by 1981 a level of Kcs 510 million had been achieved. In the SSR, 99 percent of the full-time workers are organized within ROH, which is the greatest percentage in its history. Toward the end of last year, the number of ROH members had reached 2,056,036, which is an increase of 187,024 members in comparison with 1977. The average stamp value has also increased, from Kcs 18.66 in 1976 to Kcs 21.14 in 1981.

These data convincingly confirm the fulfillment of the tasks set by the Ninth All-Union Congress. A high level of union organization means that the ROH may, through its members, discharge its function at all work sites. This basic precondition for union activity has been achieved through the excellent mass political work of union organs and auditing commissions and through the committed activity of the ROH functionary corps.

The fulfillment and exceeding of the plan for dues collections has created the conditions for the financial assurance particularly of politico-organizational and cultural-educational work as well as work in the area of concern for ROH members and their family members. This has meant that, with frugal and effective utilization, union organs and basic organizations have had sufficient financial resources for their activities.

Even in view of the favorable development in the collection of dues, there are still ROH basic organizations for which collections are not being realized either in terms of time or in the desired amounts. The appropriate union organs should provide these organizations with the necessary assistance.

The Ninth All-Union Congress set the task of convincing ROH members to collect solidarity stamps, a task to which the Auditing Commission has devoted special attention.

The Auditing Commission has verified through its monitoring activities whether union financial resources have been expended economically and effectively. It has paid attention to and required that managerial-administrative outlays not increase more rapidly than revenues, a policy which has been assisted by the conservation measures of the SOR, which have been focused primarily on the conservation of fuel, energy and office supply consumption.

The SOR and all-union organs, as well as their specific facilities in the SSR have been financed by and managed on the basis of a set-aside percentage of dues and other special revenues within the contraints of budgets approved by the SOR. In the compilation of these budgets, the Auditing Commission saw to it that principles of frugality and efficiency were upheld. It verified by inspection the adherence to budgetary discipline in management. It can confirm, on the basis of its own findings, that through a broad application of the principles of union financial policy, the principles of democratic centralism, of internal union democracy, of a plan orientation, efficiency and economy consciousness, management sophistication has increased in union organs and basic organizations and in the administration of union property.

In spite of these positive developments in union management, we cannot fail to notice shortcomings which are still evident. There are instances in which the expenditure of financial resources violates the guidelines concerning frugality, and it is not always the case that financial resources are expended effectively. In certain instances, supervisory organs have had to take up the issue of the improper management of specific basic organizations and union organs. In these cases it was determined that the Auditing Commission had not carried out its responsibilities.

One of the important areas of concern for ROH members and their family members is union capital investment, for which a significant portion of financial resources is expended. During the Sixth Five-Year Plan in the SSR, Kcs 1,135,000,000 was invested. Operation was begun of 6 vacation homes, 77 Pioneer camps, 9 cultural facilities, including this ROH House, in which we are holding discussions, facilities related to the social program and other projects.

Currently, construction is proceeding on 6 vacation homes, 3 of which are to begin operations this year, as well as 3 cultural facilities, 41 PTs, kindergartens, day-care centers, etc.

For the Seventh Five-Year Plan, an investment of just Kcs 680 million is projected for these purposes.

Capital investment requires systematic attention within overall union activity. Union construction projects, in particular, have suffered from shortcomings in construction capacity. Cooperation between the SOR and the Ministry of Construction assisted in a positive way in the resolution of the problems which had arisen.

At the present time, it will be more necessary that union organs devote multilateral attention to union construction projects, beginning from their preparation and continuing through the beginning of their operation. The objective must be to succeed in fulfilling the construction plan, within the constraints imposed by efficiency, quality and frugality. The Auditing Commission will assist in this regard through its monitoring activities.

The specific facilities of the SOR play an important role in ROH activities. The SOR periodically inspects their management. The Auditing Commission reviews the results of these periodic audits and implements selective inspections.

The ROH press and publishing house, Praca, is one specific facility which makes a profit in its operations which contributes to the overall revenues of the SOR. The daily PRACA has seen a continually increasing trend in its subscriptions, as has union literature. In this area it is desirable to satisfy additional requirements.

The Frantisek Zupek Union School in Sladkovicov fulfills an important function in the education of the union functionary corps. The construction of a residential part to the school has improved its conditions. However, the full capacity of the school is still not being used in the conduct of planned courses which increases the per participant costs of the school. Trade union and all-union organs have as one of their tasks the sending of functionaries to courses according to the plan.

ROH houses in Zilina and Presov are provided with subsidies by the SOR. Their management is, therefore, under a direct periodic control of the SOR and under the control of the Auditing Commission. There is a problem in that the subsidies for the activities of both ROH houses, especially the one in

Zilina, are increasing each year. Local organizations, and especially national committees should, in their own interest, contribute financially to the coverage of outlays, since the Houses of Culture serve the population of their city and okres.

The ROH House in which our congress is taking place is an important specific facility of the SOR. It began its activities last year. The SOR and the Auditing Commission have set as their goal to devote attention to its management from the beginning, to assist through control in establishing a proper management approach and to take consistent care of the entrusted property. The objective is to reduce costs while fully developing the activities of cultural facilities in conjunction with potential savings.

Auditing commissions are charged in ROH regulations with the task of monitoring the timeliness of the clearance of workers' papers being sent to union organs. The Auditing Commission has regularly verified whether papers which have been received are passed on in a timely manner at the SOR. It is possible to state that with a few complicated exceptions where the situation required further investigation, workers' papers have been cleared in a timely fashion.

Our congress and the 10th All-Union Congress will outline significant and demanding tasks for further ROH activity. Implementation of these tasks will require the systematic development of politico-organizational, ideological, educational and cultural work, as well as concern for ROH members and the members of their families. It will also place increased demands on the financial and material assurance of these activities. In this regard, union organs, basic organizations and their auditing commissions will have to exercise the responsible function which has been entrusted to them.

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CZECH TU CONGRESS RESOLUTION PUBLISHED

Prague PRACE in Czech 2 Mar 82 supplement pp 1-8

[Resolution of the Czech Revolutionary Trade Union Congress, held 26-28 February 1982; portions within slantlines in boldface]

[Text] The Czech Revolutionary Trade Union (ROH) Congress, which was held 26-28 February 1982, discussed the role of Czech Socialist Republic unionists in the realization of the program of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the resolution of the Ninth All-Union Congress.

CSR union organs and organizations, under the leadership of the CPCZ, have actively and conscientiously contributed to the further development of our socialist society. Through their active efforts, they have assisted in strengthening the leadership role of the working class and of its vanguard, the CPCZ, and in strengthening the ideological and organizational union of the ROH.

Unionists in the CSR have contributed to a strengthening of the international ties of the ROH with unions in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries, have participated in projects organized by the WFTU to display their solidarity with progressive world forces and have fully supported all initiatives directed at a strengthening of world peace.

They have actively shared in the activities of CSR National Front organs, in the preparation and fulfillment of election programs.

Cooperation has intensified with state and economic agencies in the resolution of binding measures in the economy and social policy. There has been success in increasing the role of unions in worker participation in management, in the development of work initiatives, in a comprehensive concern for workers through the improvement of working and living conditions. Ideological, educational and cultural efforts have been organized more systematically.

Union unity has been strengthened and the capability of unions for action in the carrying out of all their functions has increased. Internal union life has increased in quality, as has member participation in the work of union organizations. The role of the basic organizations of the ROH and of union shops has been strengthened.

The Czech ROH Congress states that the main directives established by the resolution of the last Czech ROH Congress in 1977 have been, basically, fulfilled.

The Czech Congress Has Discussed and Approves:

/--the report of the Czech Union Council concerning the current activities and further tasks of the ROH in the CSR;

/--the report of the Czech Union Council Auditing Commission.

/The annual member meetings and conferences of the basic organizations and higher union organs have evaluated the work of unionists in the CSR, expressed the firm unity of the ROH and their determination to carry out consistently their share of the responsibility for the implementation of the directives of the 16th CPCZ Congress, which the 10th All-Union Congress will integrate into the conditions of union activity.

/We foresee the activity of union organs and organizations in the CSR for the upcoming period in terms of active and decisive support for the policy of the CPCZ and its leading role in society, in terms of an increase in the role of unions in the implementation of the directives of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

/These demanding tasks require an intensifying of union participation in the work of the National Front, aimed at the development of labor activity and the social involvement of workers, an increase in the quality of cooperation with state and economic organs, a strengthening of international ties with unions of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as well as with progressive world forces, and active participation in all projects concerned with the preservation and strengthening of world peace./

During the upcoming period, the Czech ROH Congress will focus the activity of all union organs and organizations in the CSR on the following critical areas:

I. Worker Participation in National Economic Management

Carrying out the objectives for the economic and social development of society outlined by the 16th CPCZ Congress, and maintaining the current standard of living and social certainties of workers requires a more decisive approach to the resolution of questions of efficiency, the quality of all work, and the intensification of social production.

To achieve these objectives, union organs and organizations of the ROH in the CSR will further /intensify the economic function of unions/, and organize along with state and economic organs, labor and creative worker initiatives and assist effectively in the assurance of the development tasks for the national economy which have been approved through 1985.

ROH union organs and organizations in the CSR will direct their efforts toward the following tasks:

--Active assistance in the gradual /implementation of the Set of Measures/ for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy After 1980 by a further intensification and increase in the quality of worker participation in the management of production, but above all in their participation in plan preparation and implementation as well as in the monitoring of its fulfillment and in the evaluation of the results which have been achieved;

--Increasing the efficiency of joint approaches with state and economic organs to the organization of /worker participation in management/. A breakdown of the plan must be requested for individual work sites, and regular monitoring must take place as provided for in the Principles of the CSR Government and Central Trade Union Councils of 1980. The knowledge and experience of employees, of the best employees, of innovators and improvers, must be utilized in order to come up with internal underutilized capacity for the undertaking and implementation of counterplans for increases in requested production. In conjunction with the plan proposal, the main directions of the development of worker initiatives, as well as basic criteria for the organization, evaluation and interpretation of the results of socialist competition and directives for the activity of comprehensive rationalization brigades are to be outlined;

--In conjunction with the economic leadership, /an increase in the sophistication and efficiency of production conferences/, seeing to it that they take place regularly and that all of the positive suggestions and comments of employees are utilized and implemented. The results and effectiveness of production conferences are to be evaluated, and suggestions and comments which are received are to be acted on in a consistent manner;

--The creation of conditions for the further development of the /socialist work brigade movement/ through an application of Principles of the CSR Government and Central Trade Union Councils. Their work is to be examined regularly and the achieved results evaluated morally and materially according to merit. Their influence is to be increased on the formation of a socialist consciousness and the character traits of individual members;

--In conjunction with economic organs, all proven forms of initiative are to be focused on a higher valuation and /more rational utilization of all forms of fuel and energy, raw materials and materials/, on the economical use of bulk fodders and on intensification of agricultural production. There is to be active participation at the enterprise and factory level in the fulfillment of the established objective--the achievement in individual years in the national economy of a minimal average 2 percent annual conservation of fuel and energy and a 4.5 to 5 percent annual conservation of metals in production, and an increase in the utilization of metal waste and other secondary raw materials. The creative initiative of workers is to be organized and focused on the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the qualitative indicators of the national economic plan, on an increase in the

efficiency and quality of production, an increase in exporting ability, and on the production of goods which are in short supply for the domestic market;

--Assistance in increasing self-sufficiency in foodstuff and agricultural raw-material production. To this end, worker initiative in chemical and machine-building enterprises is to be developed in the direction of assuring deliveries for agriculture, especially of industrial fertilizers, agro-chemicals, machinery, tools and technical equipment. In the foodstuff industry, the focus must be on the improved valuation of raw materials, an expansion and increase in the quality of the product mix, an increase in its usable life and quality;

--In conjunction with economic organs, the more consistent organization of /internal enterprise socialist competition/ among individuals, collectives, socialist work brigades, the same or similar professions, whose work results may be compared and evaluated. There is to be a more conscientious organization of the generalization and expansion of proven experiences and new working methods of the best employees, heroes of socialist labor, the most decorated collectives, or our own and Soviet innovators. In the organization of initiatives and socialist competition, no elements of formalism or bureaucratism can be allowed. Reaction is to be flexible to the conditions of individual work sites, and the forms of initiative and the competitive considerations of internal enterprise socialist competition are to be adapted to them. Declarations of socialist commitments and of various exhortations which are of a proclamatory nature and do not relate to the commitments of collectives and individuals are not to be permitted;

--Expanded worker participation in scientific and technical development through the creation and implementation of /inventions and suggestions for improvements/. Efforts are to be made to assure that, during the Seventh Five-Year Plan, new technical solutions at the invention level will increase by 2-2.5 percent, the creation of improvement suggestions and industrial models will increase by at least 3-5 percent, of declared thematic objectives by 5-6 percent, that social benefits from utilized inventions and improvement suggestions will increase by at least 5-6 percent, so that the overall social benefit in the Seventh Five-Year Plan will amount to at least Kcs 34 billion;

--In conjunction with economic organs, a still more conscientious concentration of the forces, experience and abilities of leading workers and technicians in /comprehensive rationalization brigades/ on the critical tasks of technical development and on the fulfillment of the comprehensive socialist rationalization program;

--Stimulating the initiative of employees of design organizations, of construction, technological and other preproduction divisions whose activity significantly influences the level of quality and the efficiency of all work. All proven forms of initiative are to be utilized for this, especially /"Personal Creative Plans"/;

--A further continuation of the organizing of the creative /initiatives of employees of the scientific and technical base/ in order to increase the

efficiency and quality of scientific research efforts and to speed up the practical introduction of scientific findings. To this end, there is to be an expansion of the merging of socialist commitments of research institutes and production enterprises, as well as the socialist competition of the research and development base organized by the Czech Union Council and the CSR Ministry of Technology and Development;

--An increase in the activity of union organs, and especially of union councils, at critical construction projects for the stimulation and organization of initiatives for the /timely and high-quality completion of construction projects/ and the startup of new operations. Attention is to be concentrated in particular on selected projects related to the fuel and energy base. The conclusion of joint socialist commitments is to be organized and the responsibility of union organs for the monitoring and fulfillment of commitments in contracting and assembly organizations increased. Favorable working, living, health care and cultural conditions are to be created for construction workers;

--The introduction and multilateral support of the formulation and consistent implementation of programs /to increase the economic efficiency of the wage system/ for the years of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. Most attention is to be focused on the systematic expansion and increase in the quality of labor-consumption standards, service standards and norms for the numbers of employees. Care is to be taken that these improved standards and norms be utilized for a substantial expansion of task wages not only for production workers, but also in assistance, service, managerial and administrative activities;

--The efficient application of the principle that /wage growth will be in full accordance with the level which has been achieved in the growth of labor productivity/. The socialist principle of compensation according to the results of work must be asserted as the real criterion of the evaluation of achieved results of labor;

--/The introduction of internal enterprise khozraschet/ must be supported, and much more attention than to date must be devoted to the consistent application of economically efficient wage forms, especially of premiums and bonuses tied to the conservation of fuels, propellants, energy, raw materials, materials and the overall reduction of costs, and increases in the quality and efficiency of production and services;

--Attention to the consistent carrying out of /"Principles of the CSR Government and Central Council of Trade Unions for the Conclusion, Content, and Monitoring of Collective Agreements"/, and the inclusion in these agreements of tasks which are concrete, feasible, for which specific people are made accountable, which have completion schedules and are, therefore, monitorable. Economic management must be required to apply penalties against employees responsible for the failure to fulfill commitments in collective agreements.

II. Multilateral Attention to Workers, to the Improvement of Living and Working Environments

The development of the economy, the efficiency of social production and the continued growth of labor productivity are preconditions for maintaining and increasing the quality of current living standards and the further strengthening of living and social certainties. The joint responsibility of unions /for the intensification of multilateral concern for workers/ requires from union organs and organizations primarily the following:

--In close cooperation and in agreement with union organs and state and economic agencies, the strengthening and full development of the planning of the social development of enterprise collectives by means of five-year and annual plans for personnel, individual, and social development and the integration of their implementation into collective agreements. All resources for the implementation of the tasks of enterprise social policy are to be utilized efficiently, including the cultural and social needs fund and the voluntary project "Unionists for their factory and the republic";

--/An increase in the role of social control in the creation and preservation of the working environment/, especially in terms of safety and health on the job. A three-level monitoring of work safety is to be consistently implemented, there is to be an expansion of collective education and the organization of safe work according to the example of A. D. Basov, and a public inspection of work safety is to be organized on a yearly basis. Systematic attention is to be devoted to the outfitting of workers with quality, work-related, personal protection equipment. The production of these resources in sufficient numbers and quality is required, as is an introduction of order into their documentation and economical utilization;

--In addition, /health care services must be of increased quality/, preventive care is to be emphasized, efforts made to construct and to modernize factory health care and rehabilitation equipment, to which end there is to be an effective merging of factory and national committee resources. An attempt is to be made to influence the development of labor disabilities, to take steps to place citizens with altered work capabilities in an appropriate occupation, and to extend the work activity of pensioners in accordance with national economic needs. In close cooperation with health care organs, there is to be a systematic influencing of the stabilization of factory physicians, diagnostic service physicians, and a reduction in waiting periods for examinations;

--/Increased attention is to be devoted to sanatorium care/, and class and merit viewpoints are to be applied to the social composition of participants from the ranks of workers, from high-risk work sites in industry and from agriculture. The preventive function of sanatorium treatments is to be increased. The rights of union organs in the area of health insurance are to be implemented, the political and professional sophistication of functionaries is to be systematically increased and the education of workers intensified regarding the responsible management of medical insurance resources;

--The exertion of active influence on the further /development of factory catering/, above all in production branches and for workers of the second and third shifts. In cooperation with economic organs, the rational development of factory catering is to be directed in accordance with established standards. Support is to be provided for the utilization of all underutilized capacity, to mergers for the production and distribution of entrees and to the utilization of restaurant catering equipment according to the principles of factory catering;

--The further expansion of numbers and capacities of operators of /ROH pioneer camps/ affiliated with enterprises and factories, and the utilization to a greater extent of enterprise recreational equipment and rented facilities for these purposes. Full support is to be provided to the development of schools in nature, educational influences are to be intensified on children in ROH pioneer camps as well as during recreational stays within the framework of family union-sponsored recreation;

--In the area of ROH recreational care, it is necessary to proceed conscientiously and economically, to utilize all facilities fully, to merge forces purposefully, along with financial resources, for the construction and maintenance of recreational facilities. In the selection of participants in enterprise and selective recreational opportunities, there is to be an intensification of considerations of merit, social involvement and of preferences for employees, especially workers from multishift operations, from territories with difficult living conditions and from families with children. There is to be the consistent application in enterprise recreation of the new principles of the CSR Government and the Central Trade Union Councils of 1981 in order to foster its planned and efficient development;

--Efficient participation in /fulfillment of the election programs of the National Front/, the concentration, by means of volunteer brigade work, on the improvement of living conditions and on the resolution of long-standing shortcomings. There is to be an increase in factory and enterprise participation in the construction and operation of preschool facilities for children;

--The more efficient expansion of /cooperation with appropriate national committees/, the more emphatic and basic resolution of all issues related to worker living conditions, the increasing of the quality of citizen services, the supplying, health care for and transportation of workers;

--In conjunction with the economic leadership, the devotion of regular attention in basic organizations to issues of legal education, to the public exposure of the antisocial dealings of individuals in violation of laws, of labor and technological discipline, as well as in an irresponsible approach to socialist property;

--/A permanent increase in the quality of the work of arbitration commissions/, concern for the political and professional growth of their members, and the gradual orientation of their activity to prevention in the upholding of labor law regulations;

--A further increase in the quality of the /social control of higher union organs/ in the area of labor law and a demand for the consistent elimination of all known shortcomings.

III. Assistance Through Socialist Education in the Development of the Conscious Work and Social Activity of Members

The demanding tasks of the development of our socialist society require, in accordance with new needs, /the development of ideologically educational and cultural work/, the formation of socialist thought patterns and dealings among workers and the younger generation.

To carry out the above directive it is essential that union organs and organizations fulfill, in particular, the following tasks:

--The planned, conscientious, and more efficient than previously /development of mass political work within basic organizations/. A different approach must be applied to every social group, work collective and individual, and there is to be a flexible reaction to internal and foreign economic, political, social and other problems, the more emphatic development at work places of economic propaganda and agitation, and of everything that contributes to an increase in the efficiency, economical nature and quality of work, as well as to an improvement in working conditions;

--There is to be an increase in the sophistication and efficiency /of the socialist education of workers within work collectives/, especially in union shops, and an intensification of its planning and organization. Influence is to be exerted toward the mastery of a Marxist-Leninist world view and of socialist moral qualities of collectives and individuals. There is to be a tight joining of a patriotic and internationalist education with an education in class vigilance and an uncompromising attitude toward petty bourgeois and bourgeois ideology. The union press is to be utilized to a greater extent, and work with it is to be organized as with a source of information and experience;

--There is to be an intensification of /proletarian and socialist internationalism/, a strengthening of friendship with the people of the Soviet Union and of other countries. The expansion of signs of solidarity are to be more efficiently linked with the daily political-educational work of the basic ROH organizations, and in this concrete form our assistance to the international workers movement is to be explained;

--There is to be more active organization within basic organizations and union groups /of scientific technical propaganda and economic education/, and a multilateral contribution to the raising of general educational and professional qualifications as well as the overall cultural sophistication of workers and other employees in accordance with the penetration of scientific and technical progress into production practice;

--There is to be an increase in quality, and an expansion of the /culturally educational activity/ of basic organizations, of the cultural facilities of

the ROH and of union libraries. The avocational artistic and technical creativity of workers and youth is to be developed. There is to be support for an expansion of modern traditions, the founding of youth clubs, and the organization of active worker participation in the purposeful utilization of free time;

--/The assurance of training and advanced training for ROH functionaries/ is to proceed with greater responsibility and an increased sense of perspective. Young functionaries are to be selected more conscientiously for long-term study at the Antonin Zapotocky Central ROH School. There is to be an improvement in the use of centers and departments of union education, and the assurance of quality preparation for lecturers and propagandists for all forms of politicoeconomical education of members and the schooling of functionaries;

--One of the critical tasks to be considered is to be an increase in the influence of work collectives, socialist work brigades and leading workers on the /education of young workers, trainees, apprentices/ and, in cooperation with the Union of Socialist Youth, the development of proven forms of work with youth--the reserves of socialist work brigades, the activities of patrons of working youth, the Red Carnation;

--Attention is to be devoted to the personnel, material and organizational /assurance of the theoretical and practical training of apprentices/ as well as their out-of-school activities, and influence is to be exerted to improve the conditions in secondary training centers;

--In connection with the further development of the Czechoslovak culturation and educational system, active assistance is to be provided in the unified educational efforts of schools and families, /cooperation is to be expended between factories, socialist work brigades and schools/, Pioneer groups and shops, and stations are to be established of young technicians and natural scientists;

--Workers and youth are to be convinced to take part in year-round /recreational exercise/. Varied forms of physical exercise, sporting self-defense and touring activities are to be organized in factories, enterprises and recreational facilities. The requisite personnel and material conditions are to be created to this end.

IV. Politico-organizational Work in Basic Organizations and Union Organs

The demanding tasks facing the ROH after the 16th CPCZ Congress necessarily require /an improvement in the sophistication of organizational work/, a strengthening of union unity, an increase in union capacity for action, an improvement in the forms and techniques of work, the consistent application of the principles of democratic centralism and internal union democracy.

This presupposes a concentration of attention on the work of basic organizations, the level of internal union life and an increase in member involvement in the activities of union organizations.

In the upcoming period, the focus is to be on the following tasks:

--An increase in /the efficiency and quality of the work of the basic ROH organizations/, the application during discussions of factory ROH committees of greater conscientiousness, specificity and awareness of the plan and operative reaction to material problems. Greater use should be made of internal analyses and the findings of individual union shops and work sites;

--A further /increase in the quality of the activity of union shops/, and attention to the consistent application of the Central Trade Union Council document "Concerning the Position and Role of Union Shops and the Shop Steward." The role and mission of member meetings and of meetings of union shops within the basic organizations of ROH are to be increased;

--/An ever-wider circle of functionaries and members is to be involved/ in union work, the experiences of the best and most decorated workers as well as those of innovators and improvers are to be utilized, and in their activities they are to depend on the collective wisdom of the workers and to react sensitively to their suggestions and comments;

--In all ROH organs and basic organizations there is to be some serious thinking and, on the basis of findings and analyses, /concrete resolutions are to be adopted/, or other measures, and attention paid to the more thorough conduct of the monitoring of their fulfillment, the main element of technique is to be applied, thereby achieving a higher level of implementational activity;

--/There is to be systematic work with factory committee chairmen/, and their political and professional sophistication is to be increased. Assistance is to be provided on a differentiated basis to basic ROH organizations, and the quality of work is to be increased conscientiously in those areas where there is the lowest level of implementational activity. The results which have been achieved in individual areas of union work are to be further generalized;

--/The sophistication of the work of kraj and okres union councils/ is to be improved, and accountability increased for the unification and coordination of the activities of all union organs and basic ROH organizations, along with the multilateral development of the appropriate territorial units. Kraj and okres trade union committees are to be oriented toward the resolution of specific problems with branch national committee divisions;

--/The style and work techniques of Czech trade union committees/ are to be improved, and the sophistication and specificity increased of the joint measures and directives adopted along with ministries. The specific role and position of trade unions is to be respected, their evaluative and analytical activity intensified, and the quality increased of the conceptualization, conscientiousness, plan awareness and critical attitude in the work of organs. Branch issues are to be judged more thoroughly, and the attention and efforts of all union organs concentrated on their resolution. Information concerning a situation is to be obtained more rapidly and

problems and shortcomings which have arisen are to be resolved more decisively. A more active approach is to be taken to the assurance of critical tasks in territorially managed enterprises and factories, and there is to be a systematic increase in the close cooperation and joint activity with the appropriate branch divisions of national committees;

--The efficiency and rigorousness of the /administrative and monitoring activities of the Czech Union Council/ on union and all-union organs is to be increased, and a common approach determined for the resolution of critical tasks. Attention is to be paid to a thorough implementation of their own resolutions and the resolution of the Central Trade Union Council, and a generalization of experiences carried out;

--/Cooperation is to be continued with the CSR Government/, especially regarding the establishment of joint approaches to the resolution of critical intentions and objectives in carrying out the economic and social policy of the CPCZ in individual years. Cooperation is to be continued with the Union of Socialist Youth, with the Czechoslovak Scientific and Technical Society, with the central committee of the Czech Women's Union, and /with other National Front organizations/ as part of a unification of joint efforts to increase the work and social involvement of workers;

--The political and professional sophistication of union organ members is to be raised, a system of personnel reserves is to be established, a rigorous attitude is to be taken to the evaluation of the work of union functionaries, and all forms of moral evaluation are to be employed for long-time and esteemed ROH functionaries. In the selection, preparation and placement of union functionaries, the focus is to be on a conscientious and systematic /application of Leninist principles of personnel work/;

--/Financial resources are to be expended effectively/ for the assurance of union activity, there is to be a systematic and plan-oriented increase in the assistance to basic organizations in the area of union management. In the course of a given functional period, there is to be at least one inspection of the management of every ROH basic organization by the appropriate okres union council. /The administrative sophistication of auditing commissions/ is to be increased by supervisory union organs, and their work oriented toward the consistent control of financial asset management and the administration of property. Control is to be considered part of the administrative process, with findings discussed within organs and utilized in future work.

/The Czech ROH Congress commits all union organs and organizations, functionaries and ROH members in the CSR to active participation in the assurance of the tasks established for the upcoming years, to a further increase in the quality of union activity, and to a contribution, through more efficient and purposeful work, to the development of our socialist society.

/The Czech ROH Congress charges the Czech Trade Union Council with:

--/Utilizing these suggestions for discussion;

--/The plan-oriented administration and conscientious organization of the fulfillment of the approved resolution;

--/The unification of the approach of union organs in the CSR to the implementation and formulation of the tasks which will stem from the discussions at the 10th All-Union Congress./

The Czech ROH Congress addresses all ROH members in the CSR with an exhortation to fulfill honestly the socialist commitments which they make in connection with the 10th All-Union Congress, thereby contributing to the future development of socialism and to an increase in the quality and effectiveness of union work, and to an increase in the role of the ROH in the implementation of the directives and tasks outlined by the 16th CPCZ Congress.

9276
CSO: 2400/176

SED LEADERS DISAGREEING OVER AID TO POLAND, RELATIONS WITH WEST

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 11, 5 Mar 82 p 26

[Unattributed article: "Falling Into the Holes--Erich Honecker Finds Himself Under Pressure in the SED: No Changes for the Time Being With Regard to Minimum Currency Exchange"]

[Text] Egon Franke went on the offensive. As the minister for inner-German relations put it in an interview with the NEUE OSNABRUECKER ZEITUNG, if the GDR did not revise the minimum currency exchange by 30 June, it would "reach the end of its rope: then the GDR would have to see to it that it could get along with fewer non-interest bearing credits."

Franke's threat that Bonn would put a ceiling on the no-interest overdraft credit in inner-German trade (Swing) does not come out of the blue. For a few months it appeared that Helmut Schmidt's and Erich Honecker's Werbellin Lake agreement to trade a Swing extension for new minimum currency exchange rules was going to work. The SED had announced already last January that it would come up with a proposal no later than March which should be acceptable to Bonn.

But lately evidence is mounting that the GDR can no longer honor Honecker's promise to either lower or totally eliminate the October 1980 raise in entrance fees to the East Republic, at least for pensioners and children.

The reasons for this change of heart do not lie in Bonn, but farther east: events in Poland have triggered stormy debates within the SED leadership about party policy and have made some inroads on Erich Honecker's previously unassailable position.

At present the Politburo agrees on only two points: the SED must spare no effort to separate Bonn from the Western counterarming front. At the same time the GDR's stability must be secured under all circumstances. But there is a great divergence of opinions among the leading comrades on ways and means of attaining these goals.

The principal trigger for this controversy was Leonid Brezhnev's promise to General Wojciech Jaruzelski that Moscow would increase its economic aid to Poland beyond previous levels. The SED functionaries fear that this promise would have to be primarily kept by the GDR.

In this context, the comrades are circulating a standard East German joke: China and the USSR resume friendly relations. The Chinese list three conditions: Moscow must provide annually 200,000 agricultural machines, 300,000 bicycles and 500,000 tons of rice. Brezhnev agrees to the first two conditions, but declines the third: "That's impossible; the GDR has no rice."

Even now the East Germans are delivering goods to Poland which they urgently require for their own needs. Thus for instance some foodstuffs are withdrawn from availability to the GDR population, with the result that some cities are even suffering a shortage of potatoes.

Aid to Poland is especially difficult for the GDR inasmuch as its own agriculture is in considerable difficulty because of years of faulty planning, such as a strict separation of animal and plant production. Nor is industrial development nearly as rosy as the SED leadership officially proclaims. The real data and facts are shown only in top secret analyses which are not even accessible to all members of the Politburo.

The GDR citizens are so far reacting to the increasing daily food shortages with anger against the Poles, wbom they blame for everything. But the agents of Minister for State Security Erich Mielke find growing dissatisfaction with the entire policy. In summary, the GDR economic system is after all the same as in neighboring Poland.

Mielke has already warned: "If the Western services should get into this also, we would be faced with great internal political changes." And Berlin SED chief Konrad Naumann, notorious for his drastic pronouncements, was angered about "rats which one might stroke once in a while but which must be chased back into their holes."

Fearing internal instability, part of the Politburo, including besides Mielke and Naumann especially Defense Minister Heinz Hoffmann, is pleading for exchanging Honecker's lax consumer socialism for a more hardnosed policy, especially toward the West.

They are supported by SED functionaries who have for a long time blamed Honecker's "wrong handling of economic and social programs" and the influence of West marks and Western credits for the bad mood in the country. This group demands also that the GDR not permit itself to be blackmailed by Bonn into trading the Swing for a lowering of the minimum currency exchange.

The SED chief finds support only among a number of district chiefs of his Unity Party. Their counter argument is that tightening the reins does not ease the burden; it provokes the opposite effect.

Resistance to Honecker's plan to keep his promise regarding the minimum currency exchange in the spring is also found among the foreign policy experts in the SED leadership. Party Secretary for International Relations Hermann Axen declared that in his opinion Bonn would eventually fall in line with American policy--"perhaps not on the natural gas pipeline business, but on arms policy." Even changes in the minimum currency exchange would not change that, he said. Axen suggested that the GDR should bide its time until the SPD party congress in April and June's NATO summit in Bonn.

Finally even Erich Honecker agreed with Axen's recommendation. He informed Bonn that nothing would happen in March.

Whether or not Honecker will have his way later on also depends on what Leonid Brezhnev does in Moscow during the next few months.

9273
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FRG PRESS PUBLISHES TEXT OF GDR BORDER TROOP FIRING ORDERS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 1 Mar 82 p 6

[Partial text of 'Service Regulation 018/0/008--Deployment of Border Troops to Secure the State Border--Use of Firearms': "'...directed fire is to be opened'--Text of Secret Firing Order for GDR Border Troops"]

> [Text] The content of the firing order has been known since the middle 1970's from statements made by defected NVA non-commissioned officers. Last weekend the BERLINER MORGENPOST published the full text of "Service Regulation 018/0/008--Deployment of Border Troops to Secure the State Border--Use of Firearms." Verbal instructions to border troops on guard duty are much more stringent. According to Service Regulation 30/10, directed fire is to be opened on any fugitive in close proximity to the border fortifications. Challenge or warning shots are permitted only if a minimum of 50 meters separates him from the border. DIE WELT herewith reprints verbatim excerpts from the BERLINER MORGENPOST.

210.

1. The use of firearms is the extreme measure of employing force against an individual. Firearms may be used only if physical force with use of auxiliary resources is unsuccessful or cannot reasonably be expected to succeed.

2. Firearms may be used only by order of a superior or upon the personal initiative of border troops.

a. to prevent the imminent implementation or continuation of an action which under the circumstances appears to be

- a crime against the sovereignty of the GDR, peace, humanity or human rights;

- a crime against the GDR, against general security or state laws;

- a crime against an individual;

- any other crime which is being committed or about to be committed involving the use of firearms or explosives;

b. to prevent the escape or to recapture persons

- who are suspected of a crime or who had been arrested for committing a crime;

- who are suspected of having committed other punishable offenses or who had been sentenced to a jail term; when it is apparent that firearms or explosives are involved or that escape is in some other way being initiated through force or violence against individuals charged with arrest, guarding or supervision; or that a mass escape is in progress;

c. against persons who are trying to liberate by force anyone who had been arrested for committing a punishable offense or had been sentenced to a jail term, or who is assisting in such an endeavor;

d. when all other means have been exhausted for successfully preventing an immediately impending or actual attack upon military installations or other state, societal or economic facilities or upon oneself and other persons (in accordance with paragraphs 17-19 of the criminal code);

e. to break up armed resistance;

f. to arrest individuals

- if armed persons refuse to comply with the order to drop their weapons or are trying to resist arrest by threatening to use such weapons or actually doing so;

- if individuals ignore the challenge or orders by border guards and are apparently trying to violate the GDR state border and if all other means of arrest or prevention of escape have been exhausted;

- if individuals in vehicles ignore official stop signs and have broken through, removed or circumvented barriers and are undoubtedly attempting to break through the state border.

211.

The use of firearms against members of the border troops and the National People's Army is permissible as an extreme measure if in a frank breach of discipline, or resistance by subordinates all measures to reestablish military discipline and order have remained unsuccessful and arrest is not feasible.

212.

The use of firearms must always be preceded by the command "Stop! Border Guard! Hands up!" Should this challenge be ignored, a warning shot is to be fired. Should this be ignored also, directed fire is to be opened.

213.

Firearms will be discharged with directed fire without prior challenge and warning shots

a. if this is necessary for defense against a sudden violent attack and to eliminate armed resistance;

b. if there is no other way of preventing or deterring an actual attack upon military installations or other state, societal or economic facilities or against oneself or other persons.

214.

In using firearms, the life of target individuals is to be preserved if possible. Wounded individuals should be given first aid under observance of appropriate security measures. The rendering of first aid is subordinate to the performance of urgent and non-delayable tasks.

215.

Firearms will not be used

a. if the life and health of bystanders is thereby endangered (in urban areas, thronged streets, full restaurants, public transport, etc.);

b. if the persons involved appear to be juveniles (up to age 14);

c. if circumstances which originally made the use of firearms justifiable do no longer apply;

d. if the persons to be arrested are members of occupation forces stationed in the FRG or in West Berlin or their military missions;

e. if it involves members of diplomatic missions;

f. if aircraft of foreign nationality violate GDR airspace;

g. for the purpose of giving a signal (except "Help!").

216.

1. Any use of firearms must immediately be reported to a superior and, if persons were wounded or killed, it must be treated as a special incident.

2. Fatally injured individuals must be taken to a terrain sector which is outside the adversary's field of vision. The site of the incident must be marked and secured. In other cases the bodies must not be moved. Further action must await direction by the military prosecutor.

217.

If the firearm was used against border violators, the territory of the neighboring state or West Berlin must not be fired upon.

218.

In case of deployment for the defense of the GDR, the use of firearms is decreed by the minister for national defense.

9273
CSO: 2300/202

'FALSIFICATIONS' BY FOREIGN HISTORIANS CONDEMNED

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 5, Sep-Oct 81 pp 76-100

/Article by Ion Ardeleanu and Mircea Musat: "Some Fundamental Problems of the History of the Nation and of the RCP"/

/Text/ In the RCP's view, strikingly reflected in Nicolae Ceausescu's thought, historical studies play a major role in ideological activity and are regarded not only as means to knowledge of man's past but beyond that and particularly as a powerful instrument of political education and of formation and development of the patriotic and revolutionary self-awareness of the masses and especially of youth.

In pointing this out Nicolae Ceausescu said that by studying "the glorious history of the Romanian people, the struggles and sacrifices of our ancestors, and their efforts to perfect material and intellectual creation we learn to appreciate and love the advances of the present more deeply and to make every effort to develop them and to create the new history of Romania, the history of socialism and communism."

The theoretical and practical effort the RCP is making in the broad program on behalf of the nation's present and future includes, in a place of honor, the major contribution made by its secretary general, Nicolae Ceausescu, to the development of Romanian historical science. A reader of national history, the president of Romania has also distinguished himself as a masterly interpreter of its fundamental values. It can be said that there is no critical point in Romania's national history upon which the party secretary general has not expressed his realistic, considered and authentic opinion.

Nicolae Ceausescu's speech on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the RCP confronts the historians and all teachers of the social disciplines with new and quite different considerations.

The speech is a program document of outstanding theoretical and methodological value for the study and teaching of history and for the other social sciences.

In the spirit of the historical materialist conception, the speech analyzes some of the most important periods in Romanian history, from the most ancient times to contemporary history. A first analysis of the speech leads to some conclusions of inestimable value to the historical front:

- It notes the processes of anthropogenesis and social continuity on Romanian soil, and consequently the process of ethnogenesis here in the Carpatho-Danubian-Black Sea area.

- It points out the unscientific, erroneous and politically tendentious nature of the historical works and theories that try to contest those facts and to establish the idea of other peoples' historical primacy here or that of a historical hiatus in certain periods.

- It brings out the process of the Romanian people's historical development, accordingly, and especially in the modern period, pointing out the part played by a number of revolutionary changes such as the revolutions in 1821 and 1848, the unification in 1859, the independence in 1877 and the unification in 1918 in the advancement of Romania's creative potentials and in its development as a factor for civilization and progress in this part of Europe.

- It indicates the continuity of the revolutionary processes on Romanian soil and the dialectical relationship in time between the revolutionary movements of the peasants, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national emancipation, and socialist construction, drawing the final conclusion that there have always been progressive social and political forces in Romanian society that have known how to understand the demands of historical progress, to combat the backward, conservative social forces, to promote the new, and to secure continuous social progress.

- It points out the historic role of the revolutionary party of the working class, its relations with other political forces, and the ways in which it provides for the unity of action of the entire people and their organization and management in socialist revolution and construction by asserting itself as a representative of the political, economic, social and national interests of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia and all workers regardless of nationality.

- It notes the quite exceptional historical significance of the entry of the working class upon the historical scene and the particular ways in which the Romanian working class organized its ranks and emerged as a leader of the nonproletarian masses in the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

- It reveals the role of advanced ideas in historical development and in the revolutionary struggle, and accordingly the particular role of the theory of scientific socialism and the historical and dialectical-materialist conception, which enlighten social action as well as the socialist revolution and construction.

- It treats the relationship between national and world history in the light of the historical-materialist conception, bringing out the Romanian people's important contribution to world civilization and the influence of other peoples.

- It presents a telling picture of the combination of patriotism with internationalism in the struggle of the revolutionary forces in Romania, bringing out patriotism as well as solidarity with the revolutionary forces and peoples of other countries as traits of the Romanian people's character.

- It presents a detailed picture of the process of socialist construction and the Romanian people's extensive accomplishments since the 1944 revolution.

- It sets an example of highly principled historical research, presenting the political errors and historic oversights of various periods as well as the favorable processes and historical development and drawing conclusions to enable contemporaries to avoid such errors and oversights.

- It is an example to be emulated of scientific militance, intolerance of historical distortions, and incisive criticism of the realities of capitalism and imperialism, noting the inner motives and aims leading to abolition of outmoded social relations and to man's objective evolution toward a new society and new international relations.

In making all these points we realize that other conclusions also follow from study of the speech. Therefore we consider it necessary to reappraise our activity, teaching program and historical research according to the speech and to direct our historical efforts according to the main indications presented in it and other party documents.

In stressing the importance and objectives of history as a social science Nicolae Ceausescu said, "History is a revolutionary science by its nature. Therefore the histories must also militate from revolutionary positions and give a firm, scientific and dialectical-materialist answer reply to the attempts of some foreign historians who are trying (in vain and perhaps some in their ignorance, although I do not want to insult them) to prove that there was a vacuum in these regions" (2). Nicolae Ceausescu also said, "We must realize that there are different views on historical problems, confrontations of ideas, and even attempts to distort the historical truth. Therefore it is the Romanian historians' task to actively help to clarify those problems on a scientific basis, while giving a firm answer to any attempts to falsify history and distort reality" (3).

In this connection Nicolae Ceausescu directed the Romanian historians to approach historical problems from positions of dialectical materialism and in view of the fact that from the earliest times the history of mankind is closely bound up with the living and working conditions and the gradual development of the productive forces. The facts indicate that people have formed smaller or larger communities in the course of work and that they have learned to work together in the course of working and improving the production means, to cooperate and to consider what is to be done to withstand all disasters and to secure a civilized life.

Since some isolated historical facts and considerations are sometimes overemphasized in the course of writing and teaching history, the RCP Program and Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works advise workers in the field of history to proceed from the general conditions in which a given people formed and developed, and from the relations of cooperation among peoples and the close interdependence of their civilizations. In teaching history we must also begin with the historical role of the masses, the peasants, the artisans, and later the working class, bringing out their role in material production, in cultural creation and in the struggle to defend the ancestral land.

Our explanation of the historical process of the Romanian people's development should be based on the same considerations, and it is in this light that we must emphasize the antiquity of the material and intellectual culture on Romanian soil: the most important aspects of Thraco-Geto-Dacian history, the intensive socioeconomic development of the Dacian state in the time of Burebista and Decebal, the extensive contacts and mutual influence between the Geto-Dacian civilization and the Greek, Persian and Roman civilizations, etc.

The study of history demonstrates the basic factors that have determined social evolution in this area, which factors have always included uninterrupted continuity of life and then of state organization, defense of freedom and independence, opposition to exploitation and oppression, and the constant effort to develop the productive forces and to secure material and cultural progress.

The decisive role of the masses as true creators of history, the progressive stand taken for centuries by the peasantry and by the working class in the modern and present periods, the progressive stand of the patriotic intelligentsia, and the RCP's historic role in organizing and managing the revolutionary struggle and in building the the new socialist order all emerge strikingly against this background.

In presenting these processes the historians must also emphasize the historical facts that favored contacts and mutual influence among the populations of these regions, a process that was basic to the formation of the Romanian nation, the Balkan peoples and other neighboring peoples. We must point out what the neighbor peoples have accomplished in common and the fact that their civilization is the result of close cooperation among them.

Particular importance is to be attached to firm, well-substantiated opposition, on a broad basis of scientific information, to any attempts to distort or falsify the historical processes, the periods or the roles of any outstanding personalities in the Romanian people's history, as well as any facts or phenomena of universal history. It must be demonstrated that foreign domination and impairment or loss of sovereignty and independence seriously affect peoples' socioeconomic development, that elimination of foreign domination is a historical necessity, and that no attempts by foreign powers can stem the course of every people's historical development toward freedom and independence. In this connection a firm reply must be made to any attempts to present the foreign, imperialist, colonialist and expansionist domination of the great powers as progressive manifestations in aid of the oppressed peoples' development. The peoples' right to self-determination and a free and independent life must be emphasized.

It must be demonstrated by historical documents that the formation of the nations and national states played a historically important part in mankind's general socioeconomic progress, and that the nation and national state are expected to play a highly important part from now on in society and in the struggle for social progress. We must resolutely expose the imperialist policy of force and dictation and advocate a policy of widespread economic and cultural-scientific collaboration and of equality and respect among all peoples. That is the only way history will serve the true aims of science as well as our socialist aspirations and the developmental policy of Romania and the Romanian people.

In the light of these principles and policies, the study and teaching of history have taken on new qualitative dimensions indicated by the preparation and publication of works, including some school and university textbooks, on fundamental aspects and events in order to improve instruction in this discipline.

In evaluating the critical part played by education in the formation of the young generation's consciousness, Nicolae Ceausescu said that "The study of history is to become an essential factor in Romanian schools for patriotic indoctrination of the young generations and for developing the sense of responsibility for the destiny of socialist Romania and all youths' firm resolve to dedicate all their energy,

enthusiasm, working capacity and even their lives if necessary to the prosperity and defense of the nation and to the preservation of freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the people's revolutionary socialist gains" (4).

1. The Romanian People's Historical Roots

The history of the Romanians is the history of a stable people, formed in their ancient Dacian homeland, who followed their own course of action, expression and sedentary material and cultural civilization and conceived original and lasting values long since included in the heritage of world culture. In reference to this fact the scholar Nicolae Iorga said, "They are a people whose ancestors go back 4,000 years. That is our pride and that is our power" (5).

The archeological discoveries throughout Romania prove man's existence on Romanian soil hundreds of thousands of years before our era, and it is at that point that Romanian history actually begins.

The first written notice of the inhabitants of the Carpatho-Danubian-Black Sea area dates back about 2,500 years. The Getae or Daci are mentioned, who were one and the same people belonging to the great family of Thracians.

The Thraco-Geto-Dacian civilization developed in particular forms with uniform traits more and more intensively in Central and Southeast Europe, participating in the exchange of material and cultural values of antiquity. This is evidenced by ceramics of the Cucuteni type, neolithic art, the treasure recently discoved at Hinova and other evidence of those periods. "The bravest and most just of the Thracians," as Herodotus called the Geto-Dacians, made great political, economic and cultural progress in the first century B.C., when Burebista began to unite Dacia. Around the 70's B.C. the centralized and indepent Dacian state exercised sovereignty within relatively stable borders, to the northwest as far as the Slovakian Mountains and the Middle Danube, to the south as far as the Haemus Mountains, and to the southwest down to the northwestern shore of the Black Sea. Toward the middle of the first century B.C. the Dacian state also included all the towns of the Greek colony from Olbia to Apollonia, founded long before in the Dacian regions on the western shore of the Black Sea. Intensive agricultural, artisan, commercial, municipal and cultural activity in the interior provided the necessary means for exchanges with the outside world.

The political unification accomplished by Burebista, whom his contemporaries rightly called "the foremost and greatest of the kings in Thrace and master of all regions beyond and this side of the Danube" (6), was accompanied by a considerable consolidation of the power of the Dacian state in the political situation in the second half of the first century B.C., when a Roman invasion was becoming more threatening. By means of a wise policy Burebista succeeded in developing Dacia further and making it one of the major political and military powers of ancient times.

Burebista stands in the history of Romania and its people as one of their most reknowned and illustrious personalities. He was ahead of his time, and he inscribed his name among the great figures of antiquity.

The period of Burebista prepared the way for the period of Decebal, the hero-king of the Dacians, who was to confront one of the greatest powers of ancient times, the Roman Empire. Thus the first century A.D. marks the beginning of our ancestors' struggles for independence and in defense of a definite territory.

A good military leader, Decebal also distinguished himself as a skillful diplomat and wise politician. Thanks to his relations with the Roman Empire, the stipends that Rome paid him according to the peace treaty concluded with Domitian in 89 A.D., the alliances the great king established with the peoples in the regions bordering on Dacia, and the organization of an extensive zone of resistance on the Danube and in the Carpathians, the wars the empire was preparing against Dacia were considered the severest military test of the Romans. Dion Cassius said Trajan "was appalled at the thought of the sums of money the Romans had to pay every year" (7). In referring to the Dacians' courage in the wars with the Romans in 101-102 and 105-106, Vasile Parvan said that "The Dacian people's defense of their land was a hymn of love such as the peoples of their threatened country had rarely raised" (8).

In describing the Geto-Dacians' struggles to defend themselves against Roman expansion the Soviet historian N. S. Derzhavin pointed out that "The Dacians who occupied the territory of Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia and Bessarabia as far as the Black Sea and the Dniester put up a very stubborn resistance to the Roman conquerers for whole decades..." (9). In his turn the Hungarian scholar Andras Huszti wrote in 1791 [sic] about the characteristics of our ancestors: "Dacians were the oldest inhabitants of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia, being very brave and unsurpassed in battle... the word Geta means a javelin or lance, and so Getae could only mean brave people, spearmen and lancers. Some scholars believe the name Dakus means a warrior, that is, brave" (10). A large, oval burial mound was recently discoved at Cucuteni, with stone walls, an entrance 3.5 meters high on the southwest side, and a maximum diameter of 10 meters. The funeral rite of cremation and the furnishings of the tomb indicate that it belonged to some of the top Geto-Dacian aristocracy. The tomb is dated in the 4th-3rd centuries B.C.

After the Roman conquest of a part of Dacia, which, Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu concluded, "like any conquest had tragic consequences for the Dacian people, economic, social and cultural activity in those regions made new and instensive progress because of the close involvement of the two civilizations that had coexisted for a long period" (11).

The fact to be stressed is that Roman rule over a part of Dacia could not break up the unity of the Dacian people, as some historians have maintained and still say. Simion Mehedinti was quite right in stating that "A people as numerous as the Dacians, spread over such a large geographic area protected by such a varied relief (both geographically and in vegetation), could not be annihilated."

Of course there were still constant material, cultural and political ties both within the Roman province and between the free Dacians and those in the Roman province, and their unity of language, beliefs and customs developed in that way. The sense of unity, based on a civilization and a culture created over several millennia of sedentary life, was consolidated under the new political-administrative organization.

The start of the Roman Empire's political and military decline (to which the Dacian people contributed with their repeated uprisings and the presence of some of them in the empire's administration), due to the intense internal contradictions that were tearing it and the blows struck by the subjugated peoples who were rising to fight for their liberation from its rule and by the migratory populations, compelled the Roman administration and legions to leave Dacia beginning in 271 A.D. while the native population remained in its country, on its ancestral soil.

Concerning the developmental stage of Geto-Dacian society, some works published abroad erroneously maintain that the Daco-Getae were in an inferior stage of development and that any civilization they had was a borrowed one. This theory is used as an argument in support of another and equally erroneous theory to the effect that the Geto-Dacian people were exterminated by the Roman army.

Recently some works on Romanian history published abroad have maintained that the Daci were a different people than the Getae, and that the Romanized Daci form the Romanians while the Romanized but heavily Slavicized Getae formed the Moldavians as a separate people. Other historians go so far in distorting the historical truth as to claim that the Romanian people were formed south of the Danube, whence they penetrated the Carpatho-Danubian area and then Transylvania. For example, "Chronology of Universal History from the Prehistoric Period to 1977" by Csato-Jemnitz Gunszt-Markus (Didactic Publishing House, Budapest 1981) says literally: "The ancestors of the Romanians are the Thraco-Illyrian tribes who were Romanized in the period of Roman rule of the province of Illyria and later merged with the Slavic colonists and thus gave rise to the Romanian people (Vlach, Olah in Hungarian) in the 6th-12th centuries. From the 12th century on they expanded in the Balkan Peninsula between the Danube and the Carpathians and later toward Transylvania. These are false theories. Many convincing historical and archeological arguments bear out the identity of the Getae and Daci. The ancient sources point out that the Daci and the Getae were the same people, called Getae in the Greek sources and Daci in the Roman and Dacian ones. Moreover the fact became axiomatic that the Romanian people were formed in the Carpatho-Danubian-Black Sea area, in ancient Dacia.

As to the terms "people" and "population," sometimes arbitrarily used, the concepts must be defined in the historical-materialist sense: "People" is used for stable communities, organized from the social-political, socioeconomic and institutional standpoints, and "population" for migratory, hence unstable or less stable communities. In this case we should use the term "people" for Geto-Daci and "population" for migrants. Our Geto-Dacian ancestors can already be considered a people in the time of the Geto-Daci because they were sedentary within a definite area and had their own political organization, a uniform language, and a developed economic and cultural activity.

When we speak of proving the existence of the people as a form of historical community on Romanian soil we are actually making the point that the Dacian people appeared as such before Roman rule. This form of community has an uninterrupted continuity, having survived the difficult conditions of Roman rule and many subsequent confrontations with the migrant populations. The Romanians are the continuers of the Daco-Getic people, who underwent an evolution to be sure through the involvement of their civilization with the Roman civilization and also encountered other outside influences. As it says in the RCP Program, this involvement of the two civilizations brought about a new socioeconomic development of these regions that "affected the whole subsequent historical evolution of society in this geographic area" (12).

2. Roman Withdrawal South of the Danube and Romanian Continuity

The continuity of the Romanian people was maintained and developed without interruption in the 3rd-9th centuries, corresponding to the period of withdrawal of Roman authority and the passage of the main migrant populations over Romanian territory, and it led to the formation of the feudal Romanian states throughout the area of ancient Dacia. This reveals the absurdity of some foreign historians' theories to the effect that Aurelian's withdrawal left a vacuum in Dacia that was filled by such migrant

populations as Slavs, Bulgars, Hungarians etc. while the Romanians did not return to ancient Dacia until the 12th-13th centuries. In reference to these pseudoscientific theories, our party secretary general said at the Congress on Education and Instruction that "The vacuum was not in those regions but possibly in the consciousness of some historians, who keep trying as they have in the past to prejudice and divide workers of different nationalities in their nations' and peoples' foreign interests and on behalf of the imperialist policy of domination."

Some foreign historians came to the correct conclusions through careful and objective study of Romanian history. The American historian John Matley said on this subject that "The abandonment of Dacia and its subsequent population by a massive migration from south of the Danube are fantastic theories unconfirmed by historical sources and unacceptable even as hypotheses." The American author believes that had it not been for the expansionist claims "with a semblance of historical justification, it is unlikely that such a theory would ever have been invented." And the Hungarian historian Andras Huszti said, "The descendants of the Getae live and dwell today where their ancestors dwelt, and they speak the language their ancestors spoke long ago" (13).

Some distinctive features born of the historical necessities imposed by the migrant populations figure in the Romanian people's development, such as the evolution of the process primarily in rural areas, since the village was for a long time the source of our strength and our power to survive. As contrasted with the other Romanic peoples, who were formed within barbarian kingdoms, the Romanian people had particular forms of organization such as village communities, unions of communities, people's romani [?], voievodates, principalities and duchies.

The migrant populations caused great destruction and devastation in their passage across the Romanian regions beginning in the 3rd century A.D. In reference to this Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the migrant populations "were usually the bearers of a less developed civilization, so that development of the productive forces was impeded for a certain period" (14). The migrant populations could not change the Romanian people's community of life, language and culture nor stop their historic unified progress toward higher forms of political and socioeconomic organization. It should be noted that the migratory populations that became sedentary under the cultural influence of the peoples with whom they came in contact adjusted to the latter's level of civilization and embraced Christianity, like the Bulgarians and Hungarians.

Note also that the Romanian people maintained constant contact with the Byzantine civilization after the Roman withdrawal.

The historical sources demonstrate the uninterrupted continuity of the Romanian people's material and cultural existence in their native land throughout this long period of great social-political upheavals.

First-hand accounts from various sources, some even written in different languages and having no connection with each other, mention not only the Daco-Romanians' presence throughout the whole Carpatho-Danubian-Black Sea area but also their feudal state organization. The great burial ground and mixed rural and urban settlement in the northwestern part of Alba Iulia city recently discovered by archeologists provide information of great scientific importance about the 4th-12th centuries, indicating the existence of a large Romanian population in large settlements that was economically and culturally developed and politically organized in voievodates. The fortified center at Oresti (Mures County) with moats and earthworks proves the existence of a

powerful Romanian state unit in that part of Dacia, like the one at Udesti (Suceava County) and the citadel of wood and earth at Fundul Mortii (Botosani County).

An unpublished mention of Romanians in the 9th century A.D. occurs in "Oguzname," the oldest Turkish chronicle, from the 9th century A.D. It mentions the existence of a "Country of the Romanians" in the 9th century or more specifically about 839. And Moise Oboneanti's "Armenian Geography" written between 855 and 902 mentions a "country called Balak" north of the Bulgars, namely Wallachia or Valahia.

King Bela's anonymous scribe, in his chronicle "Gesta Hungarorum," mentions the existence of three Romanian duchies (voievodates) at the end of the 9th century, the first in Crisana with its center in Bihor (Biharia) city under Menumorut's rule, the second in the Banat ruled by Glad and with one center in Cetatea Cuvin ("Castrum Keve") and another in Cetatea Orsova ("Castrum Orsicia"), and the third duchy or voievodate in Transylvania proper. The Romanian Gelu ("Gelcu quidam Blacus") ruled there with his residence in Dabica city.

The chronicle "Gesta Hungarorum" mentions that Menumorut, stating his resolve to defend his independence and to preserve the integrity of his voievodate, replied with dignity to the emissaries of the Hungarian king, "Tell Arpad, Duke of Hungary and your master, that we owe him, as a friend to a friend, all that he needs since he is a foreigner and lacks much. But the land that he has asked of our good will we shall never give him... out of neither love nor fear... And do not trouble us with words like those he sent, that he is decended from the people of King Attila, who was called 'the scourge of God.' Even if the latter seized this land from my ancestor by force, now.. no one can tear it from my hands" (15).

On another level the statement in some Hungarian works is also false that the route of the Magyar tribes coming from Atelcuz passed through the Eastern Carpathians into Translyvania in 895, where they encountered a sparse population and that too of Slavic origin. The Hungarian journal HISTORIA (No 2, 1981), in Gyula Laszlo's article "Where Did the Avars Disappear to?," recently promoted the "theory of the double settlement" to the effect that Hungarian-speakers were living in the Carpathian region before the occupation in Arpad's time who merged with the newcomers, pointing out that regardless of who the inhabitants of Pannonia were (Slavs, in general), the conquering Magyar society "was much more developed and had its own agrarian culture with a pronounced social stratification. Only this advanced society could take over the "Roman heritage." No Pannonian-Slavic state existed, and on the ruins of the Avar state battles were fought between the eastern Franks, the Danubian Bulgar state (Tisa-Transylvania) and the principality of Oravia. Between those territories there was a "no man's land." "The Hungarian language was spoken" in the Carpathian region in the 8th century.

In conclusion the author maintains that the Avar population coexisted with the Magyar one and contributed to the ethnogenesis of the Hungarian people.

The unscientific character of this now revived theory is obvious. The sources bear witness that the Magyar tribes' route to Pannonia crossed the Wooded Carpathians, and when they began to expand toward Transylvania the above-mentioned Romanian political units were coming there from the west and put up a stiff resistance to the Magyar invasion. The recent archeological studies pinpoint the citadels of Biharia, Satu Mare, Zalau, Cuvin, Orsova and Fescari. Two voievodal citadels, centers of Gelu's voievodate, have been discovered at Dobica and Cluj-Manastur, confirming in this case too the said chronicler's statement that Voievod Gelu's residence was near the Somes River.

There were also other Romanian feudal state units in Transylvania proper that are not mentioned by Anonymus because they had not been reached by the expeditions of the Hungarian conquest at the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th (Tara Birsei, Tara Fagarasului, Tara Almasului, Tara Hategului, Tara Maramuresului etc.).

The old chronicles mention a number of Romanian voievodates in the Romanian area east of the Carpathians such as those of the Birladans in the middle of Moldavia and the Cimpulungans between the curve of the Carpathians and the Danube and Black Sea. To the south of the Danube the Romanians organized their state affairs in many Vlahias, such as Alga (Moesia), Mica (Aetolia), Mare (Thessaly) Tara Valahia (Epirus) etc., and because of their strong ties with the Romanians north of the Danube, they laid the foundations in the beginning of the second millennium for the Romanian-Bulgarian Empire under the Asanesti dynasty.

In that millennium a number of documents mention the existence of Romanian states south of the Danube named Vlahia, Vlahia Mare, Vlahia Mica, Vlahia de Sus etc. and headed by distinguished princes.

Concerning the social-political situation in the Carpatho-Danubian-Black Sea area in this period, some Bulgarian historical works state that "The sovereignty of the first Bulgarian czar extended over the whole territory of Romania today." No certain evidence, written or archeological, attests any such sovereignty or even a hegemony. The ethnic composition and strength of the Romanian-Bulgarian czardom are illustrated by Pope Innocent III's correspondence and the coronation of Ionita as "king of the Bulgarians and Vlahs" by the papal envoy in 1204. Theories have also been circulated about the second Romanian-Bulgarian czardom that err particularly in not recognizing the Romanian presence in that state. The Asanesti are regarded as Bulgarians and not Romanians and the state is regarded as strictly Bulgarian in character, whereas actually it was "the beginning of close cooperation between the Romanian and Bulgarian populations settled on the right bank of the Danube under the Bulgarian-Vlach kingdom of the Asanesti, headed sometimes by Romanians and sometimes by Bulgarians, which contributed to both peoples' development."

The objective historical process of building the centralized Romanian feudal state through development and unification of the voievodates throughout the whole Romanian territory was encumbered both by the internal centrifugal trends due to the process of feudal fragmentation characteristic of all Europe at the time and by the constant external danger. Accordingly the troops of the Hungarian kings began to infiltrate Transylvania in the 10th century, after they became sedentary on the Pannonian Plain and despite a strong resistance on the part of the Romanians led by their voievods. They succeeded in mastering part of northwestern Romania (Transylvania) only toward the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th. Under those circumstances the administrative organization of Transylvania necessarily had a structure different from that of the rest of the feudal Hungarian state, and the native form of the voievodate, also common to the other Romanian lands, was retained for it. The Hungarian humanist Istvan Losonczy wrote on this subject that "Transylvania, upon which Hungary bordered on the east, was sometimes called Middle Dacia." In reference to the Hungarians' arrival in this area, he said that "The kings of Hungary ruled it through the voievods of Transylvania." On the same subject, Nicolae Iorga wrote that "Of all the provinces ruled by the Hungarian crown, Transylvania was the only one that kept a voievod as its chief under the Hungarians" (16).

And so Hungary and Transylvania were different entities under the crown of Saint Stephen, each with its own physical and human structure, its own political organization and its own economic otientation. The Transylvanians ignored the geographic configuration of Hungary but kept up with the realities of Wallachia. One Hungarian author said, "The Szeklers think Hungary is just as mountainous as Ciucul and they know Seghedinul only by hearsay, but even the children who play in the dust of the roads know Bucharest, Braila and Sinaia..." (Hegedus Lorant. "A szekelyek kivandorlasa Romaniaban," Budapesta, 1902), and the historian Alexandru Szilagyi categorically states in his treatise that "Transylvania and Hungary were never merged and they always formed two different countries" (Alex. Szilagyi, "Erdelyorszag tortenete, Budapesta, I, 1859, p 56). The same Hungarian historian, in seeking the reasons why Transylvania was not "welded" with Hungary, said that "The needle of the Transylvanian compass seemed fixed upon the East because most of the population belonged to the eastern church, while in Hungary it pointed to the West ever since the time of its first king" (Alex. Szilagyi, "Erdelyorszag tortenete," Budapest, I, p 58).

With a presumptive number of 200,000 men, the Hungarian kings could not cope with the vast apostolic obligations they had assumed. They could not effectively rule or even assimilate the provinces they had invaded, so that they had to resort to colonizing them with Szeklers and Saxons and they had to bring in the religious orders of knights for the success of Catholic propaganda and the defense of the Carpathians. The Szeklers first settled in the western parts of Transylvania, in Crisana, and later, in the beginning of the 12th century, in southwestern Transylvania, where they remain today. The origin of the Szeklers is still disputed, whether they were descendants of the Avars, descendants of some Turkish populations or of some tribes who fled the Chazar Empire in the 9th century, or related to the Magyars. They maintained their way of life and institutions and their own organization throughout the Middle Ages and often fought for freedom alongside the Romanians against Magyar aggression and later against Ottoman and Tatar aggression. Stefan the Great, voievod of Moldavia, fought the Turks at Vaslui in 1475 with 5,000 Szeklers in his army. Pentru /sic/ Rares, also a voievod of Moldavia, was aided by the Szeklers in his campaign in Transylvania in 1541. In 1599-1600 the Szeklers fought under the banner of Mihai Viteazul, voievod of Wallachia, against the cardinal-prince Andrei Bathory, who had deprived them of their privileges.

The groups of Germans who came from the territories west of the Rhine (some of them from Westphalia, Hesse, Thuringia and Bavaria as well) are known as Saxons. This population developed a culture of its own and, thanks to the privileges granted it by the kings of Hungary, conducted an important socioeconomic activity and contributed to the general progress of the region along with the Romanian people, the Hungarians and the Swabians.

The long existence of the Romanian lands as separate feudal states did not affect the Romanian people's ethic unity, reflected in their common language and culture and the similarities in economic, social and cultural structure throughout the whole area inhabited by Romanians. They always maintained their close political, economic and cultural ties and their largely identical or similar internal organization (princes, high officials, justice, armies and other feudal institutions). The people also maintained the Dacian ethnic identity for all inhabitants, even though they bore several names taken from geographic areas, designations of waters, mountains, etc. The names Wallachians, Moldavians, Transylvanians, Banatans, Bucovinans, Dobrogeans, or some more particularized ones like Moti (in the Apuseni Mountains), Vrinceni (in Vrancea), Birseni (in Tara Birsei) etc., all mean the same people, the Romanian people.

While the process of organization and consolidation of the Romanian feudal states was going on, the Ottoman Empire was conquering the peoples and states of the Balkan Peninsula and changing them into pashaliks, reaching the Danube line by the end of the 14th century. Meanwhile other powerful states or empires were created or developed near the Romanian lands, such as the Polish Kingdom and the Habsburg and Czarist empires, which seriously threatened the Romanian people's independence and unity.

Under these circumstances the Romanian lands had to form a common front (political, military, diplomatic and economic) against the aggressions and expansionist actions of the great powers, who were disputing their interests at the expense of the Romanian and other neighboring peoples.

And so the struggle for unity, freedom and independence has been the main characteristic of the Romanian people's entire history, determining their very way life, their concepts, and their ideals (17).

3. Status and Ottoman Relations of the Romanian Lands

Several terms have been used to describe this status, such as Turkish rule, Turkish domination, the Turkish regime etc. Today we know for certain that there was no Turkish rule in the Romanian lands as it was exercised over some Balkan peoples. The Romanian lands were not an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. They had special relations of suzerainty with the Porte that were characteristic of the feudal period, and they kept their own institutions, such as princes, national councils or divans, legal and administrative institutions, armies, the right to conclude agreements and treaties with other countries, etc. They were obliged to pay tribute to the Porte, and on that basis the Porte interfered in the principalities' affairs by enthroning and unseating princes.

Tradition confirmed by the historical facts attributes the conclusion of the first Capitulations (treaties) with the sultan to Mircea the Old for Wallachia and to Bogdan III, Stefan the Great's successor, for Moldavia. The chronicler Miron Costin and later Ion Neculce described Moldavia's deputation to Istanbul in 1511 and the establishment of relations of suzerainty between Moldavia and the Ottoman Empire. The first article of the treaty with Moldavia stipulated that "The Porte recognizes Moldavia as a free and unconquered country." Other articles stated that "Moldavia will be managed and governed according to its own laws without interference from the Porte" and that its princes would be elected for life by the people "and confirmed by the Sublime Porte." This confirmation, along with the annual tribute, were the main prerogatives of Turkish suzerainty.

The sultan assumed highly important obligations to defend Moldavia against any aggression "so that not the slightest wrong shall be done to it and without allowing the slightest impairment of its territory," and to the effect that "The Turks cannot hold nor purchase lands in Moldavia... nor build any mosques there" (18).

The provisions of the Capitulations concerning both Moldavia and Wallachia were reflected in the historical facts of Romanian-Ottoman relations in the 14th-19th centuries, and they were also to be recognized by other European powers in the great international treaties of the 19th century (Paris, 1856 etc.).

The Porte recognized Transylvania as an autonomous voievodate after 1541, when Hungary became a Turkish pashalik as a result of the defeat at Mohacs.

The Romanian lands' development was characterized by permanent economic ties between them that crossed the artifical and temporary political borders and were a powerful factor for the Romanian people's unity. The economies of Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia supplemented each other in an inseparable unity.

Although Transylvania was forced into political dependence upon the Hungarian feudal kingdom for several centuries up to 1526, its economy took a different turn from that of the Hungarian kingdom proper, gravitating toward the other two Romanian principalities to the east and southeast, Moldavia and Wallachia. This natural orientation of its economic ties has been recognized by many Romanian and foreign historians, economists and geographers, including Hungarian ones. One of them, Jeno Kalnoky, acknowledged in an intensive study in 1915 based on specific facts and data that Transylvania "would not rally here (i.e., to Budapest -- our note). It remained apart as a distinct physical-geographic unit, and that situation was always apparent throughout history. Whether it was Dacia or the Principality of Transylvania it always had a history of its own..."

The collapse of the Hungarian feudal kingdom after 1526 caused many major and minor Hungarian feudal nobles to flee from their Hungarian lands that were converted to pashaliks and take refuge in the independent voievodate of Transylvania, swelling the ranks of the exploiters. Meanwhile various voievods of Transylvania of Hungarian origin sought unity with Moldavia and Wallachia in order to help Hungary free itself of the Turkish occupation. This was true of Gabor Bethlen, Racozi and others.

The existence of the same legal status vis-a-vis the Porte for Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia strengthened the ties between the Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians and encouraged the development of collaboration on many levels among the three Romanian states. The unification in 1600 was an inevitable necessity due to the objective historical development of the Romanian lands and the struggle of the broad masses and the entire people. The political situation accordingly called for the appearance of a personality of Mihai Viteazul's stature who could fulfill an ideal for which they and other illustrious forebears had militated in their time.

As a symbol of their historic right to a free and independent life in their ancestral homeland, the Romanian people succeeded in accomplishing the most brilliant deed of their medieval period by achieving, under Mihai Voda Viteazul's reign nearly 4 centuries ago, the first political unification of the Romanian lands within the borders that included most of the territory of ancient Dacia.

The need to create a significant military force drove the Romanian prince to accomplish the unification of the Romanian lands of the same people, and he thereby exalted the idea of uniting the Romanian lands which had been promoted before him by Mircea the old, Iancu of Hunedoara, Stefan the Great, Ioan Voda the Bold and other brave princes and voievods. Mihai Voda carried on Petru Rares' idea and formed the "Dacian plan," which the despot prince or the Batory princes of Transylvania had tried to implement and which had taken shape in Sigismund Batory's attempt to make Transylvania the centerpiece in the "restoration" of ancient Dacia. For example, the Polish chronicler Stanislav Sarmicki stated that the despot prince was trying to unite Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia, which "the native places of the Dacians."

In Mihai Viteazul's time there were veritable explosions in Transylvania of popular feelings of Romanian solidarity, based on the idea of unity. As the chronicler Szamoskozy said, "The Romanians who lived in villages throughout Transylvania joined the

men of the same origin from across the Carpathians and rebelled everywhere (against the exploiting nobility), full of the confidence inspired in them by a prince of their people." The same thing is attested by the Saxon chronicler G. Kraus: "The Romanians rebelled then because... Mihai was one of their people, that is a Romanian."

Mihai met with almost no resistance at all in Moldavia, the third Romanian land, which had the same aspirations to liberation as Wallachia and Transylvania. The chronicle said, "The wole army came with the people and surrendered to him."

Mihai Viteazul's unification accordingly was based on a Romanian solidarity born of the Romanians' consciousness of belonging to the same people, that is the consciousness of their unity.

Although the unification of the Romanian lands under Mihai Viteazul's rule was of short duration, it remained a living presence in the thoughts and feelings of both the contemporaries and their descendants. Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "... the idea of uniting the Romanian lands and the ideals of forming a strong state in the regions of Dacia could never be killed because they are deeply rooted in the very blood and in the minds and consciousness of the entire Romanian people" (19).

Mihai's feat at the height of Ottoman power showed the oppressed Balkan peoples that state liberation and unity were quite possible. That also explains why the great Romanian prince figures in the oral and written literature of the peoples south of the Danube who were subjugated by the Ottomans, who saw their liberator in Mihai. It says in many contemporary accounts that "The Serbs, Bulgarians and Dalmatians awaited the voievod of Wallachia across the Danube in order to surrender to him." "The Christians in Bulgaria and beyond the Danube awaited him with great entreaties and urged him daily to come and liberate them." The chronicler Stavrinos expressed the same thoughts when he wrote, "The Serbs and Bulgarians sided with Mihai and waited anxiously to see him come to them and to surrender to him. The most progressive personalities of Romanian culture in the whole medieval period and in the modern period after it and writings published on both sides of the Carpathians and on both sides of Milcov referred with veneration to Mihai Viteazul's personality and period and to the unification inflaming all Romanians' age-old aspiration to unity within their natural borders. The historian Grigore Tocilescu was quite right in pointing out that "Mihai has remained forever the national hero of all Romanians and the symbol of unification of the brothers separated by their cruel fate and invading neighbors." In his turn Nicolae Iorga wrote, "To forget Mihai Viteazul would be to forget ourselves and to abandon our mission now and forever."

The historical facts show that from the second half of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century on, when the power of the Ottoman Empire was declining and that of the Habsburg and Czarist empires was growing, the Romanian lands were on the borderline of the interests of the three great empires. Under these circumstances the Porte, in the effort to cope with the constant pressures from the other imperial courts, often tried to resolve its military and political difficulties at the expense of the Romanian lands. To protect themselves from the consequences of this situation, the Romanian lands concluded a number of treaties on terms of equality guaranteeing peace and their free development even if for short periods, such as the treaties with Russia, who assumed the role of protector of the Orthodox peoples against Ottoman oppression while keeping a close eye on a number of territories under Ottoman domination. The first political treaty, already well known, was concluded between Moldavia and Russia on 7 May 1656, in the reigns of Gheorghe Stefan and Czar Alexey Mihaylovich.

In the first article of this treaty Russia promised to respect the customs of Moldavia as they were before, that is with no interference in policy or administration:

"I. Our customs and those of our people shall not be impaired, but we and our entire people shall live and conduct ourselves in the way and in the same manner as we have lived and as the other princes of our land conducted themselves in this world, who were not subject to nor under the rule of the Turkish Empire."

Moreover the treaty concluded by Dimitrie Cantemir, prince of Moldavia, with Peter the Great, czar of Russia, on 13 April 1711 stipulates in Article 6 that "All state power will be in the hands of the prince" (20). And in Article 11 the czar of Russia recognized that "The boundaries of the Principality of Moldavia according to its ancient rights are those described by the Dniester, Camenet and Bender (Tighina), by the whole territory of Bugeac, the Danube, Wallachia and the Grand Duchy of Transylvania, and by the territory of Poland according to the demarcation made" (21).

The Romanian people's struggle for unity and independence was to develop further both in united Romania in 1859 and in the territories subjugated by foreign powers, in spite of the interference of the great powers.

An extremely serious situation developed in Transylvania after the Austro-Hungarian dualist pact was concluded in 1867, obliterating any trace of that province's centuries-old independence and,with the most disastrous consequences for the Romanian population there, forcibly incorporating it in the Hungarian state.

The reforms adopted during Al. C. Cuza's reign were true acts of opposition to the seven powers' pretense of "guaranteeing" the Romanian people's development, resulting in their repeated attempts to annul the unification by direct intervention under the pretext of some complaints of some circles of landowners.

4. Development of the Modern National Consciousness

When in the course of the collapse of the feudal system and the appearance and development of capitalist relations beginning in the second half of the 18th century the dynamic impetus of capitalist economic progress was added to the factors of material and spiritual unity, unity of language and culture, ethnic unity and that of consciousness of common origin, aspirations and ideals, the need to expand and secure a uniform market and consciousness of a common origin developed into the national consciousness and the aspiration to unity became a political goal, the goal of uniting all Romanian forces in a single national state.

An important part in developing the national consciousness as a historical phenomenon was played by the contingent of famous chroniclers as well as the noted representatives of Romanian culture who helped to develop the consciousness of the Romanian people's unity and their common origin by emphasizing their centuries-long struggles against invaders and the high points of their history (Gr. Ureche, M. Costin et al.).

Thanks to the national unification in 1600, the characteristics of consciousness of origin and language were developed more and more extensively in the 17th-18th centuries. In that period the feeling for national history predominated in Romanian opinion. The Romanian political program is conveyed in the document of profound analysis and synthesis of the interests of the Romanian nation as a whole known as the Supplex Libellus Valachorum (1791). Although it was written and adapted to the facts in

Transylvania, where the Romanians (men of the soil) were not recognized as a nation with equal rights alongside Hungarians, Saxons and Szeklers (national minorities), this program-document opened up a new stage of the Romanian national movement. The idea of a Romanian nation with inalienable rights to its ancestral land and the right to organize its life in freedom and without restriction is clearly expressed and came to support the political and social actions in the next stage. In 1804 the new Romanian Supplex Libellus clearly stated that the Romanians were "freeholders in Dacia (Dachia), consisting of Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldo-Vlahia and the Banat" and then added, "This people were divided in government, each country with its voievod, just as Wallachia and Moldavia are governed today."

Accordingly the movement for national liberation and unity acquired new dimensions in the Transylvanian School and the cultural and political movements and associations in Wallachia and Moldavia. The words "Dacia" and "Daco-Romania" became a manifesto in the literary and historical publications of the period.

Among these people and in this intellectual climate the men appeared who were to advance the cultural movement of national resurgence even further, as an ideological reaction to the socioeconomic changes during the crisis of feudalism and the development of capitalism, namely Samuil Micu (nephew of his precursor, Ioan Inochentie Clain), Petru Maior and Gheorghe Sincai. Their historical, philological and didactic works carried on the efforts of our great Moldavian and Wallachian scholars. The Romanian people's common historical origin and continuous existence in their native land, and ideas that guided the preceding chroniclers half a century before were substantiated with scientific arguments by the leaders of the Transylvanian School. Like Dimitrie Cantemir, the pioneer, these representatives of the illuminist theory knew how to make their writing a theoretical foundation and a weapon of a centuries-long creed, a task that should be better presented by historians.

Created and fostered by the consciousness of origin, the culture raised that consciousness to a new level, preparing the Romanian people for the effort whereby they would see the culmination of their struggle in national unity and independence in the new historical stage that was announced.

5. Unity and Independence in the Modern Period

The 1821 revolution, led by Tudor Vladimirescu and caused by the highly complex and tense domestic and foreign conditions affecting the Romanian lands, marked a turning point in the struggle for national freedom, social justice, abolition of foreign domination and assertion of the Romanian people's legitimate rights that characterized the beginnings of the modern period of Romanian history.

In its extent and intensity and by virtue of the national and social program it upheld, the 1821 revolution was the Romanians' greatest uprising to win their nation's legitimate rights since Mihai Viteazul's successful attempt in 1600. In Mihail Kogalniceanu's view, Tudor Vladimirescu raised the "national banner in Wallachia, notifying the Romanians that the time had come for the nation to shake off the foreigners' rule, to do away with the abuses that were rending it, and to acquire a national government."

The revolutionary events of 1821 included, in one way or another, all the territories inhabited by Romanians regardless of their political or legal status. While Tudor Vladimirescu was restoring native rule in Wallachia after more than a century of gross violations by the Ottoman Porte of the provisions of the treaties with the Romanian

lands, there were fierce national and social uprisings in Moldavia that led to the forced removal of some representatives of the administration imposed by the Ottomans, which was an important step toward restoring native rule in that Romanian land too. And in the program document of 5 April 1821 Tudor formulated the idea of the Romanians' solidarity and common struggle for the common national goal: "Being of one mind and one voice with Moldavia, we can win the rights of both principalities by helping each other." And the revolutionary events south of the Carpathians were accompanied in Transylvania too by the uprisings and unrest of the Romanians awaiting the arrival of Tudor ("Prince Todor"). As it says in a contemporary document, "All the circumstances indicate that the Romanian peasants here sympathize with the events in Wallachia, and if there were an invasion from that quarter they would undoubted be inclined to join it." These uprisings took place against the background of the aggravated forced denationalization of the Transylvanian Romanians, who were refused the status of a nation equal in rights to the three privileged nationalities in Transylvania. In opposition to the Hungarian chauvinist attempts to introduce Hungarian instead of Latin in the administration of the province, the Transylvanian humanist of German origin Stephan Ludwig Roth acknowledged in 1842 that the Romanians were the majority population in Transylvania and advocated Romanian as the official language: "I see no need of imposing an official language on the country because we already have a national language. It is neither German nor Hungarian but the Romanian language" (22).

In the period between the revolutions of 1821 and 1848 national liberation of the Romanians under foreign rule, their unification in a single national state, and full independence of any kind of foreign interference or domination (bourgeois-democratic reforms) were the main common problems of the whole Romanian people's struggle, and they were asserted and maintained with particular force in the 1848 revolution. Nicolae Balcescu expressed these aims most clearly when he wrote, "We wish to be one nation, one strong and free nation by our right and our duty to the other nations, because we wish our happiness and have a mission to fulfill for mankind... National unity was the cherished dream of our brave voievods and all our brave men, who embodied the individuality and intent of the people to manifest it to the world. For that they lived, worked, suffered and died" (23).

The Romanian revolution of 1848 was a uniform one and marked an important point in Romania's transition to capitalist development. It expressed the resolve of the Moldavians, Wallachians and Transylvanians to create national unity within the borders of one and the same state and to progress steadily on the path of social progress.

In pointing out the uniform character of the revolution Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Born of the same conditions, occurring in the same period and proclaiming common goals, the revolutionary events of 1848 were uniform in all the Romanian lands. They were focused everywhere upon abolition of feudal servitude, liberation of the serfs, introduction of the bourgeois democratic freedoms, abolition of foreign domination and achievement of national unity and independence, which were democratic aims that concerned the broadest social strata and corresponded to the aspirations to independent development of the Romanian nation" (24).

The revolution of the Transylvanian Romanians was an integral part of the Romanian revolution in 1848, and it emphasized political emancipation of the Romanians and unification with Romania.

Some Hungarian historical works still support the theory of the alleged "counterrevolutionary" character of the Transylvanian Romanians' struggle on the basis of

"collaboration" with the Habsburgs, a theory that revived nationalist ideas conveyed by the Hungarian leaders back in 1848. As we know Lajos Kossuth, the leader of the Hungarian revolution in 1848, did not understand the necessity of granting national freedom to the peoples oppressed by the Hungarian crown. He siad, "The territorial integrity and political unity of the country (feudal Hungary -- our note) are the framework within which the nationalities problem must be solved... I regard dismemberment of the country according to languages and destruction of its political unity according to the languages as crimes against the nation." This explains the refusal of the main leaders of the Hungarian revolution to recognize the rights of the Romanian people as a political nation, as well as the decisions to maintain backward feudal conditions in Transylvania and to send troops to massacre the Romanian population. All this culminated in the decision of the reactionary Cluj Diet, composed of representatives of the privileged nationalities, to annex Transylvania to Hungary despite the Romanians' emphatic protests.

But we must say that representatives of some progressive factions within the Hungarian nation opposed such a chauvinist policy. In the words of 15 MARCH, the Hungarian newspaper published in Pest, "In Transylvania two powers have to decide the fate of the union (of Transylvania with Hungary -- our note), namely the Diet and the Romanian people. The Diet represents only a few hundred people, while the Romanian people mean all Transylvania. The union of Transylvania with Hungary without the Romanians' consent is something we do not in the least support."

Expressing their veto of the decision of the Hungarian aristocracy in the Cluj Diet to annex Transylvania to Hungary without the consent of the Romanians, who were in the majority in the province, the peasants who came to Blaj on 18/30 April 1848 declared, "We do not sell our country and we wish to know nothing of the unification that the lords (the Hungarian nobles) want to make without telling the Romanians. We wish above all to be free in our country, and as serfs we cannot make agreements with foreign countries. After we are free, as a free nation, we shall see with what country we unite and have to deal."

Some foreign historians also overlook the efforts of some leaders of the Romanian revolution to unite the Romanians and Hungarians in the struggle against the absolutist empires that threatened both peoples alike. Avram Iancu said to Simonffy, "Nature has placed us in one and the same region so that by cultivating it together we may toil together and taste the sweetness of its fruits together. Be fully convinced that the weapons can never distinguish between you and us. The same ideas were expressed by the Hungarian revolutionary fighter Josef Simonffy, who said, "The Romanians and Hungarians have an absolute need of the closest brotherhood. That is the only way they will preserve their existence. Therefore who sows hatred and causes bloodshed between these two nations is a traitor to his own nation. And the Saxon publication SATELITT /sic/ said, "Let the dividing walls no longer isolate the Saxon, Hungarian and Romanian. Those three, in a close friendly alliance, will victoriously resist any dark enemy and will develop together."

From its beginnings the Romanian revolution of 1848 encountered the fierce opposition of the great neighboring absolutists empires, Habsburg, czarist and Ottoman, which cooperated in crushing it. In explaining the causes of the defeat of the Romanian revolution in 1848 Nicolae Ceausescu said, "One of the main reasons for the defeat of the revolution was the brutal intervention of foreign reactionary forces, the great neighboring empires profoundly hostile to the Romanian people's emancipation effort, to their national and social liberation, and to their unification in a single state.

The 1848 revolution in the Romanian lands seemed a threat to the existence of those reactionary empires" (25). The chanceries of the great neighboring powers tried to present the revolution as a phenomenon foreign to the Romanian people's minds and interests, as a trend "imported" by a band of rebels.

6. Formation of the Modern Romanian State

The great ideals of the 1848 revolution for which the Romanian masses fought were to bear fruit only a decade later when, on 24 January 1859, the union of Moldavia and Wallachia, "the powerful feat of completing the Romanian nation," laid the foundations of the modern Romanian national state and accordingly foiled the great powers' plots against the Romanians. As we know, in the Crimean War (1853-1856) the national-revolutionary actions in the Romanian lands made the Romanian question a European problem that the great powers had to discuss at the Paris Peace Conference in 1856. The conference abolished the czarist Russian "protectorate" over the Romanian Principalities (instituted after the Peace of Adrianople in 1829), returned the three counties in southern Bessarabia and Serpi Island to Moldavia, and placed the Romanian Principalities under the guarantee of the seven great powers. The conference also called for consultation of the Romanian people concerning the future of the two principalities. As we also know, some of the great powers plotted to keep Moldavia and Wallachia separate, which would make it easier for them to maneuver behind the scenes or interfere in their internal affairs.

The unification of the principalities, as an expression of the Romanian people's wish for national freedom and unity, brought out once again and in the most convincing way the unanimity of aspirations and action of all classes and strata of Romanian society in both Wallachia and Moldavia, as well as the role of the masses as makers of history and the major contribution that can be made by the personalities who are identified with the broad masses' aspirations and understand the direction of historical development. Mihail Kogalniceanu expressed this great historic truth very clearly when he declared in the ad-hoc assembly of Moldavia that "The unification of the principalities in a single state is the greatest and most general desire. It has been fostered by all past generations, it is the soul of the present generation and, now fulfilled, it will make the future generations happy. It is natural, legitimate and absolute because in Moldavia and Wallachia we are the same people, homogeneous and identical as no other, and because we have the same beginning, the same name, the same language, the same religion, the same history, the same civilization, the same laws and customs, the same principles and hopes, the same needs to fill, the same borders to guard, the same hardships to bear, the same future to secure and, finally, the same mission to accomplish" (26).

The unification of the principalities had a great effect in the other Romanian provinces still under foreign rule, giving them new grounds for their abiding hope to unite with Romania. As Alexandru Papiu Ilarian wrote in 1860, "....the Romanians in Transylvania look only to the principalities under the present circumstances, await the signal from there, and see their salvation from there alone. When Prince Cuza was elected the enthusiasm among the Transylvanian Romanians was perhaps even greater than in the principalities..."

Some foreign historians accept the idea that the unification in 1859 was backward in nature because it interrupted the formation and development of the "Moldavian nation." They reduce the objective, regular process of unification of the two Romanian provinces to "a bargain among the top Moldavian boyars, who betrayed the interests of

the Moldavian people and joined the top bourgeoisie in Wallachia. At the same time they accept the idea that since there was no Romanian nation or state until 1859, all the territorial seizures were justified because they were negotiated with the Ottoman Empire. These ideas blatantly conflict with the historical truth and serve the allegation that Moldavia was not a historical Romanian province, that the Moldavians are not Romanians, that they speak another language, and that they are consequently a distinct ethnic and state-political unit.

Actually the unification in 1859 laid the foundations for the modern Romanian national state and was a decisive historical event for the Romanian people, who created favorable conditions for gaining absolute national independence and completing the formation of the single national state.

The Romanian people's struggle for unity and independence was to develop even further, both in Romania united in 1859 and in the territories subjugated by foreign powers, despite the interference of the great empires.

An extremely difficult situation arose in Transylvania after the conclusion of the dualist Austro-Hungarian pact in 1867, which destroyed any trace of that province's autonomy of many centuries and forcibly incorporated it in the Hungarian state, with the most disastrous consequences for the Romanian population there.

The reforms adopted during A.I. Cuza's reign were true acts of opposition to the seven powers' claim to "guarantee" the Romanian people's development, and they resulted in repeated attempts on the seven powers' part to annul the unification by direct intervention on the pretext of some complaints of some circles of landowners.

As we know, the centuries of sacrifices and ceaseless efforts on behalf of national freedom and progress objectively resulted in the historic act of 9 May 1877, the proclamation of Romania's absolute independence by Parliament by a unanimous vote after the Ottoman government repeatedly refused to settle recognition of Romania's independence politically. In response to the attacks of the Romanian army south of the Danube Romania mobilized its entire military-economic potential for national defense, confirming Parliament's decision for independence on the battlefield. In the war that broke out between Turkey and Russia, wherein the former tried to maintain its unjust rule over many Balkan countries and peoples and the latter to extend its domination in that area, Romania won complete independence and transformed the war into a people's national one.

In the face of the truth, some Bulgarian and Soviet historians minimize Romania's decisive contribution to the victory almost to the point of denying it by attributing it solely to the czarist troops. Moreover those historians falsely maintain that the independence of Romania and Serbia and the autonomy of Bulgaria were won thanks to czarist Russia. But the telegrams of Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia are well known in which he asked Prince Carol I to intervene immediately with the Romanian army: "The Turks are massing the greatest forces at Plevna and destroying it. Please make a merger, a demonstration and a Danube crossing if possible" (27). The Turkish troop commander himself, Osman Pasha, surrendered to the Romanian troops (to General Cerchez). The Romanian army's participation changed the course of the war and secured the victory over Turkey.

Despite Romania's major contribution to the war, the policy of force and dictation characteristic of the great powers fully asserted itself. The preamble to the

Peace of San Stefano (3 March 1878) was dictated to the Porte solely by czarist Russia without including the Romanian government representative in the negotiations, with the result that the provisions of the peace treaty considerably strengthened Russia's positions to the detriment of Romania's interests and territorial integrity (Russia annexed the three counties in southern Bessarabia again). When Romania protested, the czarist army began to organize the occupation of Romania, compelling the withdrawal of the Romanian army to Oltenia to organize the resistance.

The consolidation of czarist Russia's positions in the Balkans displeased the great powers, who had the peace negotiations shifted to Berlin (1878). In Berlin the Romanian government representatives (Prime Minister I. C. Bratianu and Foreign Minister M. Kogalniceanu) were not admitted to the negotiations or decisions of the congress although Romania had suffered heavy human and material losses. At Berlin Romania's state independence was recognized and its former territory of Dobrogea, until then under Ottoman dominion, was ceded back to it, but it was robbed of the counties in southern Bessarabia although Russia had promised in the agreement of 4 April 1877 at Livadia to guarantee its territorial integrity at the time.

The Romanian people's victory of 9 May 1877 was welcomed by international progressive forces and the peoples who were also engaged in the national liberation struggle. The victory had a particular impact in the Southeast European area, where the Serbs, Montenegrans, Croats, Bulgarians and other peoples were battling fiercely at the time to throw off foreign domination.

Romanian independence was an important component of the objective process of liberation and unification of the subjugated nations in independent states of their own, which process developed tempestuously on the European continent in the second half of the last century. A number of revolutionaries from the neighboring oppressed countries, especially Bulgaria, found refuge on Romanian soil and formed detachments that opened the struggle for their own peoples' national emancipation.

The acquisition of absolute state independence opened the way to modern Romania's development and advancement in the concert of European nations and to fulfillment of the Romanian people's other vital aspirations.

7. Beginnings of the Formation of the Working Class

The conditions for the formation of the working class, a process begun in the second half of the 18th century when the first enterprises of the capitalist type were formed, developed in Romania against the background of the Romanian people's struggle for unity and independence and their progress in socioeconomic development. As the productive forces and industry developed, the working class became a powerful revolutionary factor for progress as the most advanced force of society and a consistent bearer of the ideals of progress and of the Romanian people's social and national liberation.

The appearance and progress of the working class in the arena of history are inseparable from the spread of ideas of scientific socialism in Romania. Those ideas bore fruit in the soil of a rich revolutionary and democratic tradition in Romanian social-political thought and the spread of utopian socialism, practically expressed by the organization in 1835-1836 of the phalanstery at Scaieni (Prahova County), one of the first of the kind in Europe.

Various labor organizations were started in the middle of the last century, like the Brasov Printers Association (1843) or the Bucharest Printers Association (1859), and by 1872 there were over 50 professional and political labor organizations, making it necessary to form the General Association of Workers in Romania in 1872, which is one of the oldest labor organizations in Europe.

The development of the labor movement, the formation of the socialist workers circles and rural socialist clubs, and an extensive democratic, socialist press evolved toward the founding of the PSDMR /Social-Democratic Workers Party of Romania/ in 1893, an event that denoted the political organization of the working class on a national scale. In its program the PSDMR proposed to militate under the leadership of the proletariat and the masses for "transfer of all instruments of labor to the collective ownership of society as a whole" and for "the founding of socialist society."

Anchored in the social-political realities of the country, the Romanian labor party expressed itself on all the great problems troubling Romanian society and recommended solutions, in keeping with the aspirations of the masses, to such basic questions as national industrial development, the agrarian problem, granting democratic rights and freedoms, and construction of the uniform national state.

The presence of Romanian revolutionaries at the barricades of the Paris Commune and their participation in the activity of the international organizations, the First Communist International and the Socialist International are significant as expressions of the revolutionary spirit and international solidarity of the working class in Romania.

It must also be said that the party had to face many difficulties, some caused by political and ideological inconsistencies in its management that resulted in troubles and disturbances within the party at the end of the 19th century, leading to interruption of the activity of the centralized party administration. Nevertheless the revolutionary struggle went on and various labor organizations remained active and continued to concentrate increasingly numerous labor forces. The Working Romania socialist circles (1901), the Socialist Union of Romania (1907), the Social-Democratic Party of Romania (1910) led the workers actions as avant-garde political forces at the beginning of the 20th century. They carried on and developed the revolutionary traditions of the proletariat and the party founded in 1893 in a natural process of continuity and progress, firmly anchoring the labor movement in the realities of the country and constantly enhancing its power and its influence upon Romanian society.

8. Romania's Socioeconomic Development at the Start of the 20th Century

Upon analyzing Romania's socioeconomic development in the first two decades of this century, we readily conclude that Romania was in the first stage of capitalist development with an agrarian economy and a developing industry. Capitalist relations predominated throughout the economy, interwoven with feudal remnants that were still strong in agriculture.

This disproves certain assertions circulated several years ago in Romanian historical and technical literature and still made today by foreign historians, especially in the USSR, Bulgaria and Hungary, to the effect that Romania entered the stage of monopolist capitalism at the beginning of the 20th century and became an imperialist state. Ignoring the realities of the stage of national economic and social-political development, that opinion is based upon such a syllogism as this: If the whole world passed

into imperialism at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, then Romania also passed into imperialism. Hence their attempts to present as typically monopolistic the phenomena of concentration of production and centralization of capital, characteristic of any country that was moving toward capitalism, as well as the conclusion of some agreements of a monopolistic nature in the sugar, cement and milling industries and later in the petroleum and other industries. This deliberately overlooks the fact that they were far from playing a predominant part in the nation's economic and political activity and were rather expressions of tariff protectionism and an attempt on the part of foreign capital to organize Romanian industry according to monopolist criteria. The fact is also overlooked that these agreements of a monopolistic nature were ephemeral (Except in a few sectors they were concluded for 2-3 years) and very limited in scope, representing only 11 percent of the nation's gross industrial output. Furthermore they were not intended to organize production but primarily to sell the products on the domestic market. No monopolistic cartel formed in Romania acquired international importance or invaded the foreign market. Romania was not a capital-exporting country but on the contrary a capital-importing country, an object of the struggle of the imperialist powers to divide up spheres of influence.

Meanwhile strong feudal remnants persisted in agriculture although it was the basic sector of the economy.

It is very important to note that Romania had not yet achieved its own national and state unity and that more than half of its population and territory were still under foreign domination.

All this shows the absurdity of the assertions that were and are intended to present Romania as an imperialist state, for the ultimate purpose of substantiating the idea that the Romanian single national state was formed at the end of 1918 by an imperialist state pursuing an imperialist policy. That is why we must clarify the stage of Romania's capitalist development at the beginning of the 20th century.

9. Formation of the Romanian Single National State

In presenting the process of forming the Romanian single national state in 1918, we begin with the revolutionary struggle of the Romanian people and their progressive forces against foreign domination and for national justice and state unity.

World War I, which broke out in 1914,and was prepared by the great powers, was imperialistic throughout and in pursuit of division and redivision of territories and spheres of domination and influence among the great imperialist powers at the expense of the small and medium nations. At the start of the war Romania declared itself neutral because it did not feel obligated to comply with the provisions of the treaty with Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1883, since that treaty was a defensive one calling for mutual aid in case of a foreign attack upon one of the parties. Furthermore the Romanian rulers had realized years before that the main obstacle at the time to the Romanians' basic aim was Austria-Hungary seconded by Germany. In the discussions of the Crown Council in 1914 some politicians favored entering the war on the side of the Central Powers against czarist Russia and demanding annulment of of the Treaty of 1812 concerning Bessarabia (P. Carp, C. Stere and Marghiloman) while others favored entry on the side of the Entente powers against the Central Powers in order to liberate the Romanian territories under Austro-Hungarian domination (28). The neutral position reflected the nation's particular situation in its effort to achieve the single national state.

Some materials published abroad accept the idea that Romania used its neutrality to bargain with the two warring blocs in order to obtain the greatest possible advantages, whereas actually the Romanian government used its 2 years of neutrality to strengthen the nation's defensive capacity and to secure diplomatic and military support from the Entente for recognition of the Romanian people's national rights to the territories under Austro-Hungarian domination (Transylvania, the Banat, Crisana, Maramures and Bucovina).

Accordingly Romania's participation in the war was dictated by legitimate national aims as it allied itself with the Entente, which promised it fulfillment of the aim of national unity. After 2 years of neutrality Romania entered the war in August 1916 according to the Crown Council's decision, after the Entente powers had accepted the Romanian government's just requests for unification of Transylvania, the Banat, Crisana and Maramures with Romania. In the great battles of Marasti, Marasesti and Oituz in defense of their ancestral land, the Romanian army and entire people displayed heroism and dedication to the cause of the nation and its freedom, unity and independence, in addition to the long series of struggles and sacrifices of the Romanians in the great epic of national unity. Through them and its contribution to the defeat of the Central Powers, Romania acquired its legitimate right on the international level as well to complete its national boundaries.

The struggle for national and state unity entered a new stage toward the close of World War I and was finished in 1918.

The fall of Russian czarism and the victory of the new socialist revolution in October in Russia resounded like an inspired call to the struggle to fulfill the aspirations of all peoples of the world to freedom and self-determination.

The peoples' movement for national self-determination and abolition of foreign domination also included the Romanian people's struggle. It was of a broad, bourgeois democratic nature, involving the bourgeoisie, the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the other social and political forces.

As we know, under the given historical circumstances Bessarabia was united with Romania on 27 March 1918 by decision of the National Council, which was formed on the basis of elections.

In the Romanian provinces in Austria-Hungary, news of the victory of the Russian revolution aroused hopes and spurred the struggle for national liberation.

The great demonstrations organized throughout 1918, the entire people's participation in the cause of unification, and the actions initiated by the cultural associations and societies reflected the act of will of the whole Romanian nation. The Romanian nation's attitude helped decisively to expedite liquidation of a despotic and aggressive regime and to break the chains of national oppression throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire. One after another the Serbs, Czechs, Poles and Romanians were liberated and established in states of their own.

The independent state of the Czechs and Slovaks was founded on 28 October 1910 /sic/. The southern regions, of Yugoslavia, were separated from Austria-Hungary on 28 October 1918 and later formed the Yugoslav state. Poland gained its state independence on 7 November 1918. On 9 November 1918 the monarchy was abolished and the German Republic was proclaimed. The Republic of Austria was proclaimed and the monarchy was abolished on 12 November 1910 /sic/. The Republic of Hungary was proclaimed on 19 November 1918 and Transylvania was united with Romania on 1 December 1918.

Both the democratic revolutionary movement and the national unity movement acted to the same purpose.

Events in Transylvania were closely parallel. The Central Romanian National Council was formed on 18/31 October 1918 "as the only forum that represented the will of the Romanian people." It was composed of six social-democrats and six representatives of the Romanian National Party.

Local and regional national councils were formed throughout Transylvania, as well as national guards, as organs of a broad bourgeois-democratic movement operating under the Central Romanian National Council.

In their turn the events in Transylvania affected and expedited the course of events in Bucovina. On 15/28 November the congress of representatives of the population of Bucovina unanimously decreed "uncoditional and perpetual unification of Bucovina in its former boundaries with Romania."

On 1 December 1918 over 100,000 people, workers, peasants, intellectuals and tradesmen, assembled at Alba Iulia on Horia Field to confirm the regular, objective and progressive act concluding the formation of the Romanian single national state. The assembly was attended by 1,228 delegates elected by vote of the electoral circles or political organizations and Romanian institutions in Transylvania, including politicians and leaders of the national movement, and by 150 delegates of the Romanian social-democrats representing about 70,000 organized workers, both Romanian and Hungarian, German and other nationalities. It should be noted that the government in Budapest not only was unable to prevent the National Assembly of Romanians at Alba Iulia from being held but had to make trains available to the delegates in order to travel to travel to Alba Iulia.

The assembly on 1 December 1918 ratified the historic Alba Iulia Declaration, wherein the Grand National Assembly solemnly proclaimed the "unification of Transylvania and the Banat with Romania in perpetuity."

We should point out that the historic unification of Transylvania with Romania was supported by the progressive representatives of the Hungarian people as well as the workers belonging to the national minorities in Transylvania interested in abolishing national and social oppression. It said in the manifesto of 3 November 1918, signed by the major representatives of Hungarian cultural and political affairs including Endre Ady, Gyorgy Bartok, Zoltan Kodaly and Jeno Varga, that "We have no claim upon our sister nations, and we consider ourselves a renewed nation, a power now liberated upon the ruins of the monarchy. We feel relieved by the knowledge that we are no longer compelled to be the pillars of oppression. Let us live together in peace as free nations with other free nations." In his turn the Hungarian prefect of Arad County, Dr Lajos Varjassy, said, "I find it natural as can be that a people with dignity no longer wish to tolerate slavery, as we (the Hungarians -- our note) did not tolerate it on the part of Austria."

A manifesto in January 1919 notified the public of the rural population's decision to unite with Romania, sending the Romanian people "brotherly greetings with hearty congratulations upon the fulfillment of their national ideals. The same attitude was taken by the Swabians in the Banat, who assembled at the congress in Timisoara, held in August 1919, and expressed their devotion to Romania, regarding "the decision at Alba Iulia as a guarantee of ethnic and cultural development. And in January 1919 the

Jewish population in Transylvania also supported the decision to unite Transylvania with Romania and to found the Romanian single national state.

Therefore in teaching history we must make it more clear that the formation of the Romanian single national state was the work of the whole Romanian people and that the unification in the memorable year of 1918 was the victorious culmination of the centuries-long struggle of the most progressive forces of the Romanian people. In bringing out the historical circumstances of the completion of that process Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The creation of the Romanian single national state was not a gift or the result of international arrangements, but the fruit of the tireless struggle of the most advanced forces of society and the masses for unification, the due product of the Romanian people's historical, social and national development" (29). The peace treaties of Saint Germain (1919), Trianon and Paris (1920) confirmed internationally an actual situation created by the struggle of the masses.

The unification in 1918 opened up prospects for more rapid development of the nation's productive forces and created new opportunities for intensifying the activity of the progressive social forces and the revolutionary labor movement. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "The formation of the single national state marked Romania's entry upon a new stage in its socioeconomic evolution, characterized by rapid growth of the productive forces and accelerated capitalist development" (30).

As we know the composition of the Romanian single national state included a population of other nationalities which, however, did not modify Romania's uniform character, a fact fully confirmed by its demographic evolution. According to the 1980 census Romania's ethic structure, which totaled 18,057,074 inhabitants as of that date, was as follows: 73 percent Romanians, 7.1 percent Hungarians, 4.01 percent Jews, 4 percent Germans, and 11 percent other nationalities, so that the national minorities accounted for 27 percent of the total inhabitants of the country, and most of that population was settled in the Romanian territories that had been under foreign rule for a long time.

Nicolae Ceausescu's speech on the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Romanian single national state contains comments on Romanian-Hungarian relations in 1918-1920. It says in this important document that "Both the bourgeois revolution and the Soviet power established in Hungary in 1919, not fully understanding the principles of the peoples' right to self-determination, failed to recognize from the very start the regular and accordingly correct nature of the unification of Transylvania with Romania. Not until later did Bela Kun, the head of the government of the Hungarian Soviets, understand the necessity of that objective process and express his approval of the Hungarian revolution as regards the formation of the Romanian single national state."

Accordingly the conclusion that the Entente's military intervention began on 16 April 1919 with the attack of the Romanian troops does not correspond to the historical facts, since the main objective of the Romanian army's action was to liberate all Transylvania. The leadership of the socialist movement in Romania did not oppose intervention in Hungary until after 1 May 1919, when the Romanian troops were on the Romanian-Hungarian frontier and the Hungarian Soviet government officially recognized the unification of Transylvania with Romania in a note to the Romanian government. The revolutionary movement in Romania sympathized with the revolution of the councils in Hungary.

Unfortunately the leading circles in Romania did nothing to establish state relations with the revolutionary government of Hungary but, on the contrary, took part in the

imperialist powers' intervention against the young Hungarian Soviet republic, in reply to the appeal of the reaction in Hungary.

It is asserted in the Hungarian historical literature that the Horthyite regime and its army were organized in the shelter of the Romanian occupation regime. The documents of the time make it clear that there were no relations at all between the Romanian command and the future Hungarian regent. On the contrary, hostility arose between them. In a talk on 20 September 1919 Horthy said, "The Austrians and Romanians are our enemies now. We shall measure our forces with theirs and I think we shall win out."

Horthy was brought to power by the Hungarian reaction together with the Supreme Council in Paris. The latter gave a mandate to its political representative in Budapest, Clerck, to make an agreement with Horthy for his troops to enter Budapest "after the departure of the Romanian troops."

At the end of 1919 negotiations started at the Paris Conference to finalize the peace treaty with Hungary.

Confronted with an accomplished fact in the masses' struggle for national self-determination in the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the Peace Conference had to confirm an existing state of fact in the treaty with Hungary. For example, in the letter of 6 May 1920 handed to the Hungarian delegation along with the draft peace treaty A. Millerand, as chairman of the Peace Conference, declared that the forum in Paris did nothing but recognize a historical situation resolved by the peoples' struggle, which was also true in Romania's case. As it said in the letter, "The peoples' will was expressed in the days in October and November 1918 when the dual monarchy fell, to the effect that the long suppressed populations would join their Italian, Romanian, Yugoslavian or Czechoslovakian brothers. A situation, even a millennary one, has no reason to endure when it has been found contrary to justice."

A month later, on 4 June 1920, the representatives of Romania and Hungary signed the Trianon Peace Treaty. Article 45 of the treaty provided that "For its part Hungary cedes to Romania the rights and titles of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy located beyond the frontiers of Hungary, as they are set in Article 27 Part II ("The Frontiers of Hungary") and recognized in the present treaty or in any other treaties concluded for that purpose, to regulate current affairs, since it is part of Romania."

Some foreign historians try to contest these facts even now, deplore the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, present that empire nostalgically, and conclude that the treaty was an act of imperialist politics, but the historical truth cannot be distorted. It serves no one to cultivate nostalgia for foreign domination or to maintain a demanding, irredentist spirit. The interests of the peoples who are building socialism require us to cultivate the traditions of unity and common struggle, to present the historical truth, and to draw conclusions concerning the united effort to build the new order.

10. The Social-Political Regime in Romania Between the Wars

There were a number of structural changes in Romanian society after 1918. The bourgeoisie, whose economic and political role had grown until they became a leading class in the state, adopted a number of measures to consolidate the single national state and, within it, their own economic and political positions. The agrarian reform,

whereby an area of more than 6 million hectares was expropriated from the big landowners and distributed to the peasants, helped to improve the paesants' condition and to develop capitalist relations in agriculture. The ratification of the new electoral law, which granted the right to a universal, equal, direct and secret ballot (except for the military and women), extended the masses' participation in political affairs.

In March 1923 a new constitution was adopted of a bourgeois-democratic nature that established the new realities of the Romanian single national state, in which the bourgeoisie had the leading role, but did not entirely exclude any influence of the landowners.

The role of industry in the national economy was intensified by restoring and developing the existing enterprises and building new ones. Nevertheless the Romanian economy still had the characteristics of an underdeveloped, capitalist, industrial-agrarian economy.

The changes that took place in Romania, especially as a result of the agrarian reform and the expansion of the electoral system, produced major shifts in the social and class base of the political parties. The Conservative Party, a traditional political exponent of the landowners, left the political scene of the nation. By contrast, the National-Liberal Party, an exponent of the bourgeoisie, was favored by the objective process of national capitalist development and, with brief interruptions, dominated Romanian politics. Another bourgeois political party that played an important part in political affairs was the National Peasants Party, formed in 1926 by the merger of the Romanian National Party (in Transylvania) with the Peasants Party.

On the left of political affairs, in the main confrontation with the bourgeois political forces, was the workers and peasants movement, represented politically by the RCP, the Federation of Socialist Parties (formed in 1922 and transformed into the Social-Democratic Party), the Socialist Party of Workers in Romania (detached from the PSD /Social-Democratic Party/ in June 1928), the Worker-Peasant Bloc (founded in October 1925), the Plowmens Front (formed in 1933), and the Union of Hungarian Workers in Romania (Madosz).

The General Congress of the Socialist Party in Romania in May 1921 assembled delegates from the whole country , united the labor movement on the national level, and decreed the transformation of the party to the Communist Party and its affiliation with the Third International. The brutal interruption of the proceedings by the arrest of the delegates on 12 May 1921 prevented the ratification of the party regulations and other decisions as well as the election of the central administrative organs and the party secretary general. The first RCP Central Committee and its first secretary general, in the person of Gheorghe Cristescu, were elected by the Second RCP Congress in October 1922.

The Second RCP Congress (Ploieste 1922), the third (Vienna 1924), the fourth (Kharkov 1928) and the fifth (Moscow 1931) reflected the efforts in the party's ranks to crystallize its general political policy and its strategy and tactics as well as the efforts toward organizational consolidation and strengthening of the party's ties with the masses.

But improper estimates of the realities of Romania were formulated in a number of documents, resolutions and decisions of the third and fourth congresses, and erroneous slogans concerning basic problems were launched, such as the slogan " ationalization

of the Land" concerning the agrarian problem, the slogan "The Oppressed Peoples' Right to Self-Determination Until the Disappearance of the Romanian State," etc.

The Fifth RCP Congress determined the party's general policy, strategy and tactics and abandoned the slogan "Nationalization of the Land," but it kept a number of erroneous slogans and directions concerning the nationalities problem and that of the single workers front, as well as the erroneous description of the social-democrats as social-fascists.

The erroneous principles and slogans in the party documents are largely due to the direct and brutal interference of the Third International in party affairs, going so far as to appoint administrative personnel, including the party secretary general, from people who were not RCP members or who did not live in Romania and did not know the social and political conditions here.

The changes in Romanian society between the wars (growth of the economic and political role of the bourgeoisie, who became the leading class in the state, essential reduction of the economic and political positions of the landowners, and aggravation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, reflecting the basic contradiction in Romania's social structure) consisted of essential features of a bourgeois social-political regime, with retention of some landowner influences. The whole institutional system was of a bourgeois nature. This feature of the social-political regime was reflected in the class structure of parliament and of the system of the state and electoral mechanisms and also in the judicial system.

In its foreign relations Romania pursued a policy of peace and normal relations with all countries and especially with the neighboring states on a basis of equality and mutual observance of territorial integrity and national sovereignty. It militated for collective security and against the policy of territorial revision and revanchist wars.

Romania was a founding member of the League of Nations, wherein it made sustained efforts in defense of peace.

11. Threat of Fascism in Romania

As we know fascism came to power in Romania in September 1940, about two decades later than in other countries. For example, the Horthyite fascist dictatorship came to power in Hungary in 1920, fascism was inaugurated in the administration of Italy in 1922, the fascist dictatorship triumphed in Bulgaria in 1923, and in Portugal in 1926. Then the military dictatorship in Poland followed in 1926, the royal military dictatorship in Yugoslavia in 1929, and the Hitlerite fascist dictatorship in Germany in 1933. Fascism was enthroned in Austria in 1934, the military dictatorship came to power in Greece in 1936, and the fascist dictatorship was installed in Spain in 1939.

Romanian politics between the wars were characterized by a constant confrontation between the revolutionary democratic forces and the reactionary forces of the right. Some reactionary nationalistic manifestations were known, which went as far as political assaults (muder of the prefect Manciu in Iasi in 1924 and assassination of Prime Minister I. G. Duca in 1933). Against this background, the Romanian democratic and progressive forces made a firm reply to the recrudescence of the legionary movement, as the Hitlerism agency in Romania barred the way to fascism and prevented is rise to power.

Fascism was not popular in Romania and it had no roots whatever in the masses because it was always struck down by a strong democratic, progressive movement led by the communists, who barred the way to its advancement on the Romarian political scene. In the fourth decade of this century the fascist organizations in Romania and especially the Iron Guard intensified their activity, which fact was the greatest threat to democracy, to the labor movement, and to the entire people. Under these circumstances the RCP, expressing the vital interests of the masses and the Romanian nation, militated actively to unite all the democratic and patriotic forces of the people against the internal and external danger of fascism and in defense of the independence and integrity of the Romanian state. The parties of the working class and dozens of legal and illegal mass organizations acted to this end, and hundreds of legal newspapers were published under the guidance of the Communist Party. The antifascist and antiwar demonstration on 1 May 1939 was memorable, and Nicolae Ceausescu played a leading role in its organization.

The Communist Party's heroic struggle in those years in the lead of the working class and that of some extensive progressive forces under the banner of democracy and national independence, as well as the rational attitude of some political groups of the leading classes, checked for a while the fascist organizations' rise to power and the nation's enslavement by Nazi Germany.

The inauguration of the Iron Guard fascist regime in September 1940 was the result of the external political upheavals from March 1930 to September 1939 in favor of the fascist powers, Romania's isolation and the collapse of its system of alliances, and the political crisis caused by the territorial cessions forced upon Romania in the summer of 1940 under the direct pressure of Hitlerite Germany and fascist Italy.

12. Nature of Romanian Political Regime in 1940-1944

The legionary fascist regime in Romania was inaugurated in September 1940, when the international balance of power favored the fascist, revisionist and aggressive states and when World War II was in full course. Until the legionary rebellion in January 1941 the political base of the new regime was the Iron Guard, a terrorist organization of the fascist type. The German National Socialist Workers Party and the German Ethnic Group in Romania also had freedom of action. The other political parties were henceforth dissolved (an action decided by the royal dictatorship in February 1938).

The fascist nature of the political regime in Romania was also determined to a great extent by the domination of Hitlerite Germany. The political regime from 15 September 1940 to 23 January 1941 was that of a legionary fascist dictatorship of which the Iron Guard was the political expression. Regarding the rise of this fascist organization to the role of a main government power, Lucretiu Patrascanu said, "It was not the work of our ruling classes. The legionary movement was entrusted with power under Germany's control and on the initiative of the Hitlerite leadership for the sole benefit of the Nazi war machine for the purposes pursued in East and Southeast Europe by the Third Reich" (31).

The defeat of the legionary rebellion in January 1941 and their expulsion from the state administration made no essential changes in the nature of the regime or its foreign policy. In January 1941 Romania was governed by Ion Antonescu, who bore the title of state leader according to the prerogatives in September 1940. The established political regime was one of military-fascist dictatorship until 23 August 1944.

FOOTNOTES

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3. Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., Vol 20, PPH, Bucharest 1981, pp 61-62.

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5. Nicolae Iorga, "Origin, Nature and Destiny of the Romanian People," in "Romanian Encyclopedia," Vol I, 1938, p 4.

6. Vasile Parvan, "Getica," Bucharest 1926, pp 78-79.

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12. "RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism," PPH, Bucharest 1975, p 28. On the mentioned problems see "Foreign Sources and Accounts on the Ancestors of the Romanian People," by Mircea Musat, Academy Publishing House, 1980. ANALE DE ISTORIE, 1980 and 1981. REVISTA DE ISTORIE, 1980 and 1981. MAGAZIN ISTORIC, especially No 6, 1961, on the Hinova treasure.

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29. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 13, PPH, Bucharest 1977, p 39.

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5186
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SLOVENIA'S SETINC EXPOUNDS ON CURRENT POLITICAL TOPICS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1627, 7 Mar 82 pp 14-16

[Interview with Franc Setinc, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, by Aleksandar Novacic: "Against Illusions, in Favor of Realism"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Setinc, can the 12th congress confine itself solely to an analysis of the Yugoslav situation without projecting specific ways of getting out of the difficulties, perhaps in the form of a new social and economic reform?

[Answer] The congress would fail the test if it confined itself to analyzing the situation. It has to build a strategy for getting out of the crisis, and this is already becoming clear. I think that there will not be a new reform. What kind of new social reform would that be alongside the constitution, which we have and which we must implement?

[Question] And an economic reform?

[Answer] The basic postulates of the 1965 reform apply even today. In this area there must simply be more consistency in implementation. Who can and dares to spend something which he does not have? When we know that we have large credits which have to be repaid, insistence on excessive spending and reference to some rights which have been acquired, regardless of what they may be, is a blow to the unity of Yugoslavia.

[Question] When I mentioned an economic reform, I was also referring to the fact that in spite of the basic positions and principles, the state-ownership monopoly is in a way being revived, and self-management is being restricted....

[Answer] In that sense, yes. There has to be a more radical showdown with proponents of those tendencies. The situation at present is contradictory. On the one hand we have a difficult situation, a payments deficit, inflation, while on the other it is our goal for associated labor to become truly dominant. The situation is difficult, and the government must intervene with definite measures. However, in rescuing certain things the government is tempted to broaden the scope of its interventionist measures. We have to be aware

that only those interventions which strengthen the political influence of the working class are justified.

[Question] How about debts?

[Answer] The issue of who will pay those debts is certainly an important one. It cannot be done by associated labor, it can only be done by the government, some say. I acknowledge that the temptation is great. We have large credits which we must repay, but here again the working class must have the decisive influence. Let the books be opened, let it be shown what sort of debts we have, who contracted the indebtedness, who must repay the money.... Let the working class also assume its responsibility here.

[Question] Is the shadow of administrative socialism again hovering over Yugoslavia in some way?

[Answer] It is making an appearance, it is not hovering. It exists as a possibility. I do not think that at this point that is some kind of treason and that one must immediately think in this connection of some other model and so on. Some people are merely seeking shortcuts, a cutting of corners, without seeing clearly where that leads.

[Question] I have noticed that in conversation you constantly go back to our debts.

[Answer] I am not thinking only of the debts as an amount of money. I am thinking more of the way of life we have. It has to change.

[Question] In some quarters the congress is expressly related to the principle of continuity, while others speak about a congress representing changes....

[Answer] I think that the 12th congress will be both. The changes are based on continuity. I am referring above all here to self-management, to nonalignment, to the role of the League of Communists and to Yugoslavia as a community based on equality. Only that kind of Yugoslavia can be strong, and any other kind would lead to friction, even to bloody conflicts such as there have been.... However, since we can never be satisfied with what exists, especially not today, this must also be a congress of changes. It is not a question of whether new doors are opened in some spectacular way. The changes are already here, though in certain quarters we are not aware of that.

[Question] Are you referring there to certain changes within the party itself?

[Answer] Certainly. But now there is a great deal of talk about federalization of the party, though it seems to me that that is a consequence and not a cause. The essence lies in the partialization of consciousness which begins even in the basic organizations of associated labor. This is one of the causes of the present situation. Party members are turned into advocates of individual interests, and they are not seen as a function of a cohesive force. And thus a new consciousness comes about. It is not a question of changing

the character of Yugoslavia, but of a need for party members, respecting the interests of their own community, to rise above those interests and to be a truly integrating force in society. We must always be mindful that the nationalities are a reality, that the republic is a reality, and that the basic organization is a reality....

[Question] But Yugoslavia is also a reality.

[Answer] Of course. The party member must be anchored in the base, but also able to build a cohesive Yugoslavia.

[Question] What in your opinion is the international aspect of our congress? That is, the Yugoslav congresses have always attracted a great deal of attention in the world.

[Answer] Even in the future our role will be all the greater insofar as we are successful in solving our internal problems. I would recommend modesty. Our place is important, but we dare not be teachers, and we dare not set ourselves up as tutors to tell others how to solve their problems. We do not allow others to impose solutions on us, and so we should not do this nor create of self-management some "real-self-management." Everyone has his own way, his own conceptions, and socialism consists of different streams running into the same river.

[Question] It is said that some of them have dried up.

[Answer] Some have dried up, and some have turned to mud. These are stagnant backwaters; but even that is not a catastrophe. There is always fresh water.

[Question] Are we well organized for a more effective role of the League of Communists?

[Answer] Not enough in my opinion. For example, if we adopt some resolution in a meeting of the Central Committee, this is only the first step and as a practical matter does not mean anything in particular. It is not enough to tell the members of the League of Communists that these are the stands taken by the Central Committee and that they are to be guided by them. Experience has shown that we adopt one resolution, we assume that it will be carried out in and of itself, and a year later we see that this is not happening, we adopt another resolution similar to the first one, and thus we run around in a circle.

[Question] The elections of the new party leadership bodies are coming to an end. In some places the 2-year or 4-year term of office is being introduced instead of the 1-year term. Is that a departure from Tito's initiative concerning collective work?

[Answer] The Slovenian delegation visited Tito in December, just before he became ill. At that time we openly told Comrade Tito that we were not against the initiative and collective work, but that we were taking a broader view of this. That is, that democracy cannot be reduced merely to the question of the

1-year term of office, but to democratization of the entire forum, and beyond that, of the entire society. These are decisive issues. After all, if someone has power during his term of office, then this is not a consequence of the time he spends in that particular office. We cannot alter this solely by saying that he is to stay 1 year instead of 4.

[Question] What was Tito's answer to you?

[Answer] What he said was approximately this: when I took that initiative, I was not thinking of a linear application, but that things should be thought through, and if time shows that some particular thing is not good, then we will change it. Though this is not a quote, I think that this shows quite well the flexible attitude of Comrade Tito, who showed understanding toward our assessment. I conclude from that Tito did look upon his initiative as precisely that, as a possibility of finding the best solution through various versions, and not as a firm formula, not to say dogma. The emphasis was on democratization of life as a whole, and everything else follows from that. We in Slovenia decided to make the term of office 2 years, with the possibility of extension for another 2 years.

[Question] Recently there has been quite a bit of talk about manifestations of nationalism in various quarters in Yugoslavia. How is it in Slovenia?

[Answer] They recently asked me in a seminar whether interethnic relations were in crisis? I answered that they are not, but the illusion that this has been solved once and for all and that in the future we will not have any difficulties whatsoever is in crisis. I mentioned Kardelj's idea that we will face this issue for a long time yet and that alongside the healthy course of our revolution there will be at least two other tendencies. One is nationalism in the form of separatism, and the other in the form of bureaucratic centralism and unitarianism. To be sure, the boundaries here are not rigid, and we have seen in the example of Kosovo that separatism can also emerge as bureaucratic dogmatism. I think that we will confront these problems for a long time yet and that as Marxists we must be aware of that. We dare not harbor illusions. Some people think, for instance, that Yugoslavia was most ideal after the war, when we had great centralization and when for objective reasons we put less emphasis on the republics. I am afraid of such illusions. Even the idea of community spirit is sometimes associated with reflections of that kind. I do not mean to say that at the present time a majority of those who speak about community consensus are thinking in exactly those terms, but I do say that there are those who when they use that term are not referring to brotherhood and unity, to equality, to a correct conception of Yugoslavia, but who think of this only as a slogan, while in actuality they think that all the difficulties would be resolved if there were no republics, provinces, and so on.

There is nationalism everywhere, and it is all the more dangerous if we do not combat it.

[Question] Does it exist in Slovenia?

[Answer] It does.

[Questin] I was referring to the statement that there is no true nationalism in Slovenia.

[Answer] We did not say that.

[Question] You did not say it, but it was said by the chairman of the Slovenian Language Court.

[Answer] I do not think this was well understood. He said that in the debate on language and in the letters received by the Language Court he had not seen true nationalism, and that accordingly certain rather free declarations ought not to be proclaimed nationalism without much thought. That is what he was thinking, and it seems to me that that statement of his was given an inappropriate interpretation.

As you know, we have been conducting a discussion of the Slovenian language, and one of the motives was in fact the danger of nationalism, lest the nationalists take advantage of our lack of vigilance and easy attitude toward the language. We entered into that problem area with a desire to cut off the road for nationalists in advance. Much the same is the case with the problem of workers from other republics who live in Slovenia. Were we to leave concern about their position, about the preservation of their language, about the problem of their inclusion in this community, to others, and should we remain deaf to those problems, then that is something the nationalists could take advantage of.

After that meeting we received many letters, including letters from Serbia, and we see from them that there is a misunderstanding. We, of course, were not criticizing community consensus or the idea of Yugoslavia, which is based on full equality of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities, on brotherhood and unity, and on the other well-known principles. We were criticizing certain illusions of those who still feel that Yugoslavia would be more unified if there were not the various "burdens," by which they mean the national and republic particularities. We were actually talking about unitarianism.

[Question] Now that we are dealing with these issues, could you comment on the fact that more than 1.3 million of our citizens declared themselves to be Yugoslavs in the recent census.

[Answer] I have not specifically analyzed that, but I think this has quite a bit to do with mixed marriages. That is, of course, fine, and it is a good thing that the constitution affords the possibility of that declaration. But it would be wrong if people were to get the idea that this is now the height of revolutionism, that that is the only true spirit of Yugoslavia, while everything else is not. I do not wish to insult anyone, but I think that there are still illusions, often even based on the best intentions, that there would be fewer problems if we undertook to establish unity more rapidly, by which they are often referring to mechanical mergers. Regardless of the sentiments of individuals, I think that that is not the right way.

[Question] You have been a newsman. How do you look upon the fact that recently there has been so much talk about journalism, more perhaps than ever before? What are the reasons for this?

[Answer] They lie in the seriousness of the situation. But regardless of how difficult the situation is, nervousness is no salvation. We cannot have an ideal situation in the press when we have the kind of situation we have. It is not a question now of "putting pressure" on newsmen, but of our opening up as much as possible. The working people need to be given complete information. Incidentally, they are not naive, they have their eyes open, they feel the situation on their own skin. Concealment is fear, and opening up information is a guarantee that we will find a way out.

[Question] In some places information that is openly critical is associated with liberalism.

[Answer] I do not think that there is not a certain liberalism in the press. But liberalism in the sense that we do not take the offensive enough and do not react in good time to certain things. We allow events to take their own course and adopt an attitude of waiting: it could go that way, but it could also go this way. That is liberalism.

[Question] How do you view the appearance of Dedijer's book?

[Answer] I think the essence of the matter does not lie in the fact that the book was published. The essence lies in the question of how history is treated, how on the one hand to prevent mystification and on the other a rewriting, an embellishment, a falsification of the revolution. Our attitude must be crystal clear about this. In addition, we also need to clear up the relationship between politics and the historian. After all, regardless of the respect for the individuality of every politician, we must know what can be said in his name and what happens when it is a question of responsibility for history, for truth, for the League of Communists and so on. If the party operates in public and democratically, then this cannot be Zhdanovism. The most dangerous thing is when there is no position which can then be opposed in a democratic atmosphere by different opinions and positions backed up by argument.

[Question] What lesson would you draw from this "case"?

[Answer] The discussion can remain at the scholarly level in both writing and criticism. History is a great thing, and therefore the responsibility toward it is great. It cannot pertain only to certain "contributions," leaving it to the scholars themselves to choose what they like and what they don't in all that. There were also difficult moments in the revolution, and we cannot conceal them from young people, since they will nevertheless learn about it sooner or later. History does not forget anything.

[Question] The topic of Goli Otok has drawn attention recently. In Slovenia a novel which won a prize has been published on the subejct. What was the reaction of the Slovenian public? Have you read it?

[Answer] Yes, I have, as for the reaction, it was not very strong. To be sure, the young people did say: we did not know there was anything like that. And aside from that they wondered whether it truly was that way, whether that was the truth? For instance, my son said that it was a great thing for this to be written about openly. If you say that you have a blemish somewhere in your history, then that is also something encouraging, is it not? That is a guarantee that nothing like that will occur again.

[Question] The objections, so we hear, were that the topic of the Cominform is at times reduced solely to the problem of Goli Otok.

[Answer] It would be a great untruth and a mistake if we were to reduce the Cominform solely to Goli Otok. And that danger does exist. We should know that at that time we were all in a great danger. Yugoslavia was in a great danger. And now to show, so to speak, the blemish on one side and not to explain how fateful that plan was, when not only the destiny of the state and the party were in jeopardy, but in fact the destiny of every individual--that is a one-sided approach which does not explain to the young generation the totality of the event.

I think that there cannot be any taboo topics if I might return to the idea that we have a great responsibility to history. It cannot be embellished, just as no individual can embellish his own role. There is an ethical standard here. Of course, it is a problem of artistic imagination to shed light on a topic in the right way. All writers are not capable of that. An inappropriate artistic approach and treatment can cause misunderstanding.

I also think that we dare not burden any individual with being the principal party at fault for certain things. Of course even the individual is a product of a certain time. I was also a product of my time and participated in certain things, requisitions, the creation of the cooperatives, and so on. Some actions were certainly of such a nature that today they would deserve condemnation. But that was a different time, and I was convinced that I was doing the best thing and the most worthwhile thing. How is it possible now after so many years to portray me otherwise?

7045
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ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION IN SERBIA IN PROSPECT

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1625, 21 Feb 82 pp 14-15, 17

[Article by Dragan Jovanovic: "The More It Changes ..."]

[Text] The news from the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly which has been carried by the newspapers to the effect that the new law on the republic administration will cut in half the number of republic secretariats has not gone unnoticed. The press is already speaking about the "important change of direction." The idea has been taken up in the public with the hope that this change will finally make the executive power not only more effective and cheaper, but that it will reduce its growing political power. It really does seem to be an extremely radical stroke. Of the 20 some secretariats only four will remain: for national defense, for internal affairs, for finance, and for jurisprudence and administration. The other secretariats will be "compressed" into committees. Instead of the secretary as an executive officer and his secretariat, it is proposed that there be a chairman of a committee which will act as a collective body and will decide with joint responsibility of both the councilor and the chairman on matters which up to now have been decided by the "secretary personally" with a signature which has still been reminiscent of the "ministerial" signature.

The idea of collective direction even in the executive branch of government was born immediately after Tito's initiative, and then it somehow died out. More serious thought began to be given to it once again last year, when the draft version of the law on the republic administration was approved in the Executive Council. It has now become a bill, now, of course, that the public discussion has been held. And now only the delegates remain to have their say. There can be no doubt that they will give resolute support to this idea, since no one knows better than they what it means to wrestle with a powerful administration that holds a large share of the power of the assembly in its hands.

The history of our executive branch in the recent past demonstrates this clearly.

"That Is the Way It Has Been for Decades"

Since the spring of the last year of the deputies up until the present there have been increasingly frequent references to the danger of the ever greater political power of the republic administration in Serbia. The March meeting of the Republic Executive Council that year, 1973, was devoted to a criticism of the work of the republic administration "in the light of Comrade Tito's letter."

The commission of the RIV [Republic Executive Council] for the political system then "cut in half" the demand that another 400 people be hired in the republic administration.

Thus "elimination of the hierarchical relations that had prevailed for long years in the republic administration of Serbia" was announced in March 1973. The newspapers wrote that "the foundations of the increasingly cumbersome pyramid of officeholders is beginning to be undermined, and that in the offices of the republic government!"

The most suitable person to talk with at that time was Zika Radojlovic, member of the RIV, who was responsible for personnel. "The present hierarchical relations are untenable," Radojlovic said at that time, "beginning with trifles: a higher rank automatically means a higher salary, an apartment, and all of this creates differences between officeholders off the job as well, larger privileges. That is the way it has been for decades."

Something was attempted. Amendments were made, say, in the Regulation on Housing under which the undersecretary received an apartment for no longer than 2 years. The opportunity also existed for an adviser, for example, to have a higher salary than his superior, though in practice this did not happen.

The principal purpose of the announced "dismantling" of the republic administration apparatus--which was also debated by the deputies of the Assembly of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, was to "bridge the gap between the number of officeholders and the number of experts." This was supposedly to be achieved in such a way that the leading experts (department heads, special advisers and other bureaucrats) "would be enabled when it was a question of their fields to act more on behalf of the secretary before the chambers of the assembly and in meetings of the government"(!?) The rationale behind that was that this would "enhance the reputation and position of bureaucrats who are experts and would thus eradicate cases of subservience and a failure of the conscience of the expert," all of which is part and parcel of the bureaucratic relationship between bosses and the people they work with.

How much of this declared "large-scale housecleaning" and "breaking down of the pyramids" was done?

Perhaps we speak too harshly, but almost--nothing. In December 1973 it was stated in a debate in the assembly: "Although back last summer it was estimated on the basis of a study of the Republic Bureau for General Administration

that the pyramid of officeholders and administrators is continuing to grow, fertile soil for its growth continues to exist."

Here is one deputy's observation on this topic: "The so-called 'high-level bureaucrat' (adviser, assistant secretary, undersecretary) who is as a rule the 'right-hand man' of the highest officeholder, is aware that he perhaps is better versed in affairs and moreover can offer his superior something that does not follow solely from 'dry' figures, but offers as well his political stand or even his own interest as a careerist."

The Administration in the Delegate System

The administration showed the greatest resourcefulness in the new situation that came about in 1974 with introduction of the delegate system. What is more, the republic administration perhaps even strengthened its power in an alliance with the parallel republic SIZ [self-managing community of interest] "ministries." This process was reproduced at the regional and opstina levels as well. Creation of the region was a new link and hotbed for growing administrations, which had not been foreseen. There was even fierce criticism by those who warned of the danger of the region as a "ministate."

"The specialized staff services of the republic and regional communities of interest received backing for everything they were doing and more and more took on the appearance of government fiscal agencies," said Zivan Vasiljevic, president of the first Serbian Assembly after adoption of the delegate system. Zivorad Kovacevic, president of the Assembly of Belgrade, referred to this as "complete confusion." The old opstina administration will behave in a similar way. Only in 4 of the 114 opstina executive councils in Serbia were there a few workers, and it would be recorded as a curiosity when there was even one peasant sitting in the Bela Palanka "government"; in some places entire old opstina "teams" of bureaucrats passed over into the executive councils. To tell the truth, this also happens with the "disinvested" republic executive council, which was now called the Executive Council of the Assembly of Serbia. The newspapers had a slogan: "The old government in a new fleece."

That would also be "acknowledged" in a way by Dusan Ckrebic, chairman of the new Executive Council as early as the end of the first year of that term of office:

"The tasks which the constitution has made the obligations of the new republic executive power have not been fully performed in practice. In 87 percent of the cases the Executive Council was the proponent of the relevant acts and materials, and of the numerous acts adopted in this period of less than a year, only 2 were not proposed by the council.

Two Interesting "Pictures"

It is still rare for the officeholders in the republic administration to answer the questions of the delegates that are put during a meeting of the chamber of the assembly. They continue to provide answers 2 or 3 months later, when the response is often not even necessary any longer. They continue to

write incomprehensible "novels" for the delegates. Finally, one unprecedented motion would be made: "That the assembly commission for informing the delegates be authorized to act as a 'filter' for all materials coming from the Executive Council and to return those that are cumbersome and confusing." Of course, the proposal failed to pass. After all, the position taken by the Exexutive Council was that "not a word was to be changed in material submitted to the assembly"! Thus in just the first 10 months of the term of office the delegate had to read 7,127 pages!

The Bureau for Public Administration was commissioned in 1975 to "take a picture" of every job in the republic administration and to evaluate the extent to which the members of that administration were (un)employed. The "picture" showed an annual increase in the number of employees between 10 and 20 percent, "which is socially untenable." The specialized staff services of the republic communities of interest alone had 720 staff members that year.

Another "picture" (1976) needed for recording all personnel in Serbia showed that "people elected to political office are mainly from Belgrade and--the republic administration":

"Officeholders appointed by the Executive Council, for example, by and large circulate from the republic agencies and the administration. Thus of the 62 officeholders appointed over the last 2 years, 45 had worked in administrative agencies, 12 outside the administration, and only 5 of them came from the economy," said Miodrag Bogdanovic, president of the Commission for Personnel Affairs of the Executive Council. In that first term of office under the delegate system the Council was enriched with still "another format"--the committees of the Executive Council. These were made up of members of the Council and high officials in the republic administration. Their main task was to "prepare" what was to come before the meetings of the Executive Council, and also after them, "if things had not been altogether clarified." These bodies operated "altogether underground" so that for a long time even the newsmen did not know about them, and when they did learn it, they were unable to attend their meetings.

Has anything essentially changed in this last term of office, the current term in the delegate system? It is difficult to give an affirmative answer.

After all, on 5 May 1978 the newly elected Executive Council of this term of office was more numerous than the previous one, there were five vice chairmen of the Executive Council elected, and the Council's secretary also officially became an equal member of the government. In addition to the 15 republic secretaries, another 12 members of the Executive Council were also elected. Naturally, the broadening of the apex of the pyramid was also followed by a broadening of the base.

It soon became evident that this had gone too far. Immediately after the annual vacation, at the August meeting in 1978, when it was assessed that "the Council as an executive body of the assembly is operating to a considerable extent under the influence of remnants of the old practice and relations," it was said that "the republic agencies and various staff services should be

reinforced," but that "the administrative apparatus must not be allowed to expand." The Council also adopted a decision that the staff services which were on the republic budget could not hire a single person up until the end of that year, 1978! In May 1979 the Executive Council examined the program of the effort to carry out Tito's initiative concerning collective work and leadership in the Executive Council and republic administrative agencies. It was proposed at that time that a law be adopted on the government and republic administration. In November there was another debate in the Council on the topic: How To Make the Government Administration More Effective and Cheaper? Nothing at all new was said.

In March 1980 the draft of the law on the republic administration was put up for public discussion. There were quite a few serious criticisms. One of them went: "When the law is adopted, will any kind of serious step be taken toward reorganizing and modernizing the republic administration?"

Finally--Committees

In December 1980 the Executive Council approved the draft of a decision under which workers in republic agencies who did not have the schooling to qualify them for their jobs would be discharged as of 9 March 1982. More accurately, by this March they were supposed to have been assigned to jobs they did qualify for or to have acquired the training they needed.

The draft of the law on the republic administration was finally approved last June. From that time until this January it was up for public discussion, and it again came before the Executive Council, which "promoted" it to a bill. There were few items on the agenda which took the Executive Council 5 hours of debate. That was the length of the debate of the bill on the republic administration; that was a debate "about our own skins."

And what is really changing?

Instead of republic secretariats for transportation, agriculture, urban development, labor, information, health and legislation, there will in future be republic committees which will be headed by committee chairmen instead of the present republic secretaries. Some areas which up until now have been independent will be "compressed" under a single committee--fuel and power and industry, foreign relations and commerce, and education and science will be combined with culture. It is natural that there have also been objections to the combining and separation of the areas. Everyone's view depends on where he is sitting. And there was also criticism that now "even the committees as collective bodies would suffer from the--lack of a quorum," and that "there would not be enough room for the meetings of the committees"!?

At this point it really is difficult to say whether the present number of employees in the republic administration is sufficient or perhaps excessive for the jobs awaiting the new committees. Without wishing to predict anything, at the end of this article on the reorganization of the republic administration over the last 10 years, we will give the figures on the number of employees in those bodies and agencies: 3,507 in 1973; 4,735 in 1975; 5,750 in 1980. How many will there be in 5 years?

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19 April 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2001

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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POLITICAL COMMENTATOR JAVUREK ON POLISH CRISIS

Prague TVORBA in Czech Nos 6-7, 10, 17 Feb 82

[Article by Jaroslav Javurek: "Comments on the Political Platform of the Polish Opposition"]

[No 6, 10 Feb 82, p 6]

[Text] Justification of the declaration of martial law in Poland has become an acutely controversial topic. All those persons who recognize the genuine interests of the Polish people accepted with understanding this measure which alone could avert the worst at the last moment. However, while even certain liberal bourgeois notables in the West, as, for instance, H. Nannen, the publisher of the West German journal DER STERN, acknowledged that bloodshed and a national catastrophe in Poland had thus been prevented, certain leftwing forces are casting doubts on the justification of that measure which was taken against the counterrevolution. What, then, was the program of the Polish opposition in theory and in practice?

Program of the Opposition and a Pragmatic Approach

It is difficult to analyze the ideological bases for the activities of the antisocialist forces in Poland because they were never too frank in disclosing their real objectives. In an effort to learn from the defeat of the previous attempts for counterrevolutionary changes in socialist countries, the leaders and ideologues of the opposition in most cases did not come forth with grand transparent ideological pronouncements. They did not even postulate any grandiose "models" of a social system that would replace real socialism. As A. Mlynar, one of the leading activists who had attempted to revise socialism in the CSSR, said, "the Polish developments in the autumn of 1980 did not begin with any ideological declarations, as was the case of the Prague Spring in 1968. Programs for another type of socialism had not been proclaimed from the top or from the base; no intellectual fireworks took place." (DER SPIEGEL No 41, 1980). The only exception may be the voices of the leaders on the far right, such as L. Moczulski, the head of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) who, in the spirit of undisguised anticommunism urged that "the new political parties organized in Poland bring about in the end loss of power for communism." (DER SPIEGEL No 38, 1980).

Otherwise, the spokesmen of the forces hostile to the existing system addressed themselves mostly to the broad public mainly with their postulates advocating pragmatic reform programs. Their actions were pragmatic, which reflects one of the lessons that the authors of the counterrevolutionary strategy had drawn for themselves under the given circumstances. They took advantage of the legitimate slogan calling for the reform of the country's economic and political life, and promoted demands acceptable to the most diverse factions of the opposition, from the followers of the ultrajingoistic organizations, through the KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] activitists of certain social democratic leanings, militant advocates of political clericalism and moderate clericalists, up to the revisionists in the PZPR. This extremely broad and heterogenous group could be brought together to some extent and unified around demands aiming, in fact, at dismembering socialism, no matter how concealed those goals were under democratic slogans. They focused on "detotalization of Polish society," connected specifically with "breaking down the party monopoly" in the area of decisionmaking, in the area of administrative power, and in the area of information, pluralization of political life, etc. Various factions of the opposition which called itself "democratic"--despite its diversity and even its mutal internal controversies--were unified against the party and state leadership so as to pressure on them, and this became the essence of the so-called

Function of Ideological Eclecticism

For pragmatic reasons slogans apparently magnetic enough to affect the masses were chosen first of all and formulated so as to stress the justified demands that all deformations be corrected and all abuses accumulated in Polish society in the past be eradicated. Although objectively these slogans in themselves were not always incorrect, the opposition imbued them with an antisocialist charge.

As for the ideological platform of the opposition, it may seem to lack all or some theoretical concepts on which to base an alternate model of the country's social system. It may seem that the antiregime movement was de-ideologized, since it stressed, for example, that the dissidents with their pragmatic attitude "did not intend to waste any time by reflecting on abstract implications" or that the state leadership "would be more likely to feel social pressures than social and philosophical dissertations." The KOR activities pretended, particularly in the beginning, that they did not share any one political ideology and that the movement was concerned about partial reforms to abolish injustice. They made it clear that the movement was capable of expressing and enforcing the interests of all people who stood outside the "monopolized state system" (L. Kolakowski), in other words, the workers, farmers, intellectuals, students, youth, catholics, and local interests.

Nevertheless, their ideological and political background may be discerned and identified in all demands, slogans and programs, no matter how pragmatic their formulation may be. In addition, practical organization of the opposition movement could not refrain from more explicit definitions and formulations of its principles and objectives on which, and around which, they evolved. In

his "Ideological Principles" (Zasady ideowe, Paris 1978) Jacek Kuron called for the establishment of a broad-based opposition movement in Poland against the "totalitarian system," and said that "public opinion in our country and abroad must be informed" about his postulates which must be further developed in cooperation with experts and economists, engineers, lawyers and sociologists--all of them independent of the state. In this direction the Polish opposition as a bloc of the most diverse antisocialist forces promoted various ideological influences. Thus, the Solidarity leadership postulated ideas of ideological eclecticism reflected, for instance, in the allegation that in the reborn Poland a singular, unprecedented system would emerge where Christian ideals, state industry, private agriculture, liberal democracy as well as communist equality would find their place.

Despite that fact, it was above all the ideology of the KOR drafted by coordinated efforts of the domestic dissident elements and foreign centers of ideological subversion, primarily KULTURA [Culture] in Paris, that came to the fore in Solidarity. Its particular ideology unified the characteristic ideas of the anarchist syndicalist, Trotskyite and liberal democratic provenence, combined with clericalist and nationalistic influence.

Anarchist Syndicalism in Theory and Practice

Along with its "practical action" the opposition also developed its lively "theoretical program." One of its achievements was the revival of anarchist syndicalist ideas and their application in drafting the concept of self-government in the management of national economy. In their blatant attempt to foment antagonism toward the authorities of the state power, the KOR ideologists grabbed from the anarchist syndicalist heritage, among other things, the old idea that the state is the cause of all exploitation and social oppression. From that, it follows that trade organizations of the workers class should be politically independent and that trade unions are regarded as the key force in the struggle against the state; once the state is broken down, the trade unions will take into their own hands the management and organization of production. Similar views crossbred with Trotskyite and other ideas akin to corporativism were articulated by Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski who, together with Adam Michnik, had become the leading ideologists of the KOR as early as in the latter part of the 1950's. After their explusion from the PZPR, Juron and Modzelewski published an "Open Letter to the Party" (List otwarty do Partii, Institut Litteraire, Paris, 1956, Biblioteka Kultury, Vol 122) that was revised and reprinted abroad several times over the following decades. The main thrust of the pamphlet was another modification of the petty bourgeois concept of "workers democracy" whose theses constitute also a part of Solidarity's "workers ideology." It charges that Poland is not a socialist state because state ownership is not social ownership, and that the power belongs to a monopolistic party, and therefore, the decisions by its elite (bureaucracy) are free from any control by the workers class and other social strata which are thus deprived of all means of power, control and self-protection. In order to have the power to determine the social purpose of production, the workers class needs a decentralized system where "the enterprise itself can make decisions concerning its production" and where the state plan is implemented "not in the form of an

administrative order but only by means of economic action." In addition to independence and autonomy on the enterprise level, "complete economic democracy" further presupposes economic and political decisionmaking of central, societywide importance.

In the developments after August 1980, the idea of autonomy for all levels of management and for all walks of social life became generalized and implemented in deed in the building of new political and organizational structures which counterbalanced the state authorities and other sectors of the political system. To demonstrate that fact, the newly emerging organizations of antisocialist orientation received blessings as "independent" and "autonomous" and with their aid the opposition forces began gaining more and more political positions which led to a situation with a dual government. The crowning glory of the idea of autonomy promoted during the period of transition to direct confrontation was the plan to create an "autonomous republic." It is known that in order to bring this plan to life the counterrevolution led by Kuron attempted to organize "Clubs for an Autonomous Republic, Freedom-Justice-Independence." The declaration issued by their initiators noted that "the state authorities subjected to pressure from an independent organization" would be unable to act and that would extinguish any hopes of society that the negotiations between the statewide Solidarity commission and the government might result in peace and harmony. The name of the clubs suggests the slightly modified title of the rightwing reformist party "Freedom-Equality-Independence" organized in the autumn of 1939 by the leaders of the rightwing in the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] (K. Puzak, Z. Zaremba); the purpose of its organization (after the dissolution of the Socialist Party following the capitulation of Warsaw) was to expel its leftwing.

Realization of anarchist syndicalist concepts of economic management in practice would mean fragmentation, atomization of the national economy, especially as concerns ownership; society as a whole would then lose any influence on the determination of the goals of economic development and the means for its implementation. The socialist state would be stripped of its rights to fulfill societywide goals of production. Then the extremist elements concluded that, unlike earlier, the time had come when the masses were sufficiently indoctrinated, and at the First Solidarity Congress they began clamoring for organization of the Social Council of National Economy, which was supposed to become a kind of "supergovernment" "autonomous and independent of anyone," "social supervision," an authority above the government, with the right to propose laws. Soon thereafter they began discussing its transformation into a "Provisional National Government" which was to complete the transition from the dual goverment to total seizure of power.

Social Democratic Reformism and Bourgeois Liberalism

While its opponents cast all kinds of doubts on the existence of real socialism and called it at most "state socialism," the KOR ideologists at the same time recognized the socialist social system in countries with state-monopolistic capitalism where the social democratic concept had been enforced. The syndicalist traditions, however, would be contradicted by any recognition of state interventions, and for that reason the opponents of socialism preferred

for domestic consumption another variant of social democratism which presupposes a completely autonomous system of socialism developed from down below. Its character is utopian, its petty bourgeois concept is in fact inapplicable; nevertheless, it was supposed to fulfill an important ideological and political function in destroying real socialism. The antisocialist opposition, and the KOR in particular, spread the views that the social democratic principles of organization of the social system were superior to the principles implemented by the communists and other leftist forces in the building of socialism in Poland. This conviction also included principles formulated on the basis of the general experience of August 1980, articulated by the Ninth PZPR Congress and by other political forces that express the real interests of the people. For that reason, it should be underscored that the KOR propaganda of social democratic reformism did not present a program to improve the existing system but to negate it.

On the ground of Solidarity, the KOR activists, together with the representatives of the KPN and other illegal organizations, infiltrated and took over its leadership not only on the statewide level but also in regional and factory commissions, and at a later stage they completely abandoned even the pseudosocialist phraseology. At the First Solidarity Congress, the decision of both factions failed to mention the word "socialism" even once. After all, Kuron had already rationalized in his "Ideological Principles" that negotiations and discussions with government representatives should lead to demands for more and more concessions so as to "reform the system" by evolution into bourgeois democracy. The process begun by outlining the demands of independent trade unions led in the end to plans for seizure of power. In fact, this faction and the rightwing of the opposition met here in an effort to restore the bourgeois democratic political system, with that difference, that, for example, Moczulski's KPN called for immediate restitution of the plurality of political parties, while according to the KOR scenario, the Solidarity trade unions, transformed into a social movement which would replace the political party, would play here the leading role. Over the past year, in addition to the existing opposition organizations, various parties, such as the Polish Labor Party and the Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League of Poland, were organized and several other rightwing socialist, social democratic and bourgeois nationalist parties were hatched.

Solidarity's political orientation was supported by the reformist faction in the PZPR (Bratkowski, Iwanow, Lamentowicz, Szumowski et al). The revisionists in the party acted as helpers to the principal antisocialist forces to whose positions they switched ideological and politically. Over the decades revisionism had not been eradicated, nevertheless, it could not play the leading role in imposing "from above" the revisionist concepts in the party and in the state leadership. Anticommunist think-tanks speculated with that in their strategic and tactical projects. Consequently, the inspirers of the opposition did not focus mainly on recruiting followers "within the establishment." Instead, as T. Szafar noted, the opposition addressed itself "right from the beginning, directly to society and planned to set up a whole number of pressure groups." Naturally, this does not imply that the reformist orientation within the party did not give welcome support for the opposition. Otherwise it seems that, unlike the role ascribed to revisionism in the latter

half of the 1950's and in the 1960's, the authors of the scenario for Poland never expected too much from "revisionist innovations of socialism" but wagered mainly on "independently conceived alternatives to official policies." As a matter of fact, the revisionists were in tow of the other opposition and the individuals who had been unmasked a long time before, whether they operated in Poland or abroad, could do no more than to preach the familiar "democratic socialism" (W. Brus, W. Bienkowski et al).

For the forces loyal to socialism in Poland the entire period of about 2 1/2 years meant a struggle for correct interpretation of the slogan of "renewal." This task still continues. If it is right to say that there can be no return to the conditions and practice of the period preceding August 1980, then the communists have as much right to add that neither is there any possibility of returning to the situation prior to 13 December 1981.

[No 7, 17 Feb 82 p 6]

[Text] The concocted scenarios which were to guide the opposition in Poland focused the sight of anticommunist ideologists and of the strategists who were planning to erode the social system in socialist countries on the workers class and its role as never before. It is extraordinary to hear from the lips of the bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians, who traditionally used to emphasize the role of one elite or another, so much "appreciation" for the role of the working class as a relevant, even decisive social force. This stems from the strategy of the opposition intent on undermining precisely the power of the workers class and of the working people.

Dissident, Centers, and Workers Class

One of the differences between the Polish events after July 1980 and the events of the "Prague Spring" in 1968 was the conspicuous and intentional focus of the antisocialist forces on influencing the workers class. While in the case of the CSSR it was primarily a gamble on the role of the intellectuals and the party intelligentsia, according to the plans for the transformation of the social system in Poland the workers were intended to become the very force that was supposed to shake the foundations of workers power. From their analysis of the unsuccessful attempts and previous thrusts against people's power, both in Poland and abroad, the forces hostile to socialism finally concluded that the movement of dissident intellectuals was not sufficiently strong to meet the contrarevolutionary objectives. Therefore, their attention turned to "amalgamating" those intellectuals with the workers class.

When devising the general strategy and tactics with consideration to the Polish situation, the opposition needed to clarify this orientation step by step, which was a prolonged process that was maturing gradually, with the cooperation of domestic dissidents and foreign propaganda centers.

The "Open Letter to the Party" by J. Kuron and K. Modzelewski was calculated on ideological influence of the workers class; it outlined their concept of "workers democracy" with an intent to impress with its anarchist syndicalist idea of total autonomy proceeding from the bottom upward and construed so as

to appear as guaranteed to satisfy the workers interests and to give them opportunity for their self-defense not only against the state authorities and institutions but also against their own central representation. The demand that trade unions be independent from the state was presented here. A foreign center, the Literary Institute (Institut Litteraire) in Paris, known for its weekly, KULTURA, played a special inspirational role in the gradual crystallization of the idea that the workers class in particular must be affected and become an object of manipulation. Initially, in accordance with its long-range programs to influence internal developments in Poland, which were then in the drafting stage, this center focused after October 1956 mainly on intellectual circles. In conjunction with the events of March 1968, Kultura set forth a program for a "student movement," however, at the same time it criticized that movement for not sufficiently promoting the demands and slogans aimed at the workers class; it urged the movement to clamor for the organization of workers councils, independent trade unions, and so on. These anticommunist programs did not regard the genuine workers party, the Marxist-Leninist party, but rather the university youth as the socially aware, revolutionary vanguard of the workers class. After the Polish events of December 1970 the propaganda from the Paris center shifted its focus, since it realized that the gamble on the academic youth had failed to pay off. For that reason, it devised a slogan declaring the "democratization of socialism" in Poland was in the hands of the workers class which might gradually transform the system by means of strikes and thus, obtain "bread and freedom" at the same time. In order to "politicize" the workers, this modified strategy included the instruction to issue specially slanted political literature that would convince the workers that they should struggle not only for higher wages but also for a change of the system. This led to the task of identifying the groups of intelligentsia capable of mediating contacts with the workers and of publishing illegal "samizdat" publications in Poland. Theses articulated later also in the Paris KULTURA were then completely adopted by the KOR organized in Poland toward the end of September 1976 and immediately taken under the protective wings of that center, which recognized J. Kuron and A. Michnik as the leaders of the opposition movement.

In the Name of the Workers

It must be stressed that the forces of the opposition succeeded in fulfilling their proclaimed plan to attract workers for their goals. For that purpose, they skillfully exploited the justified dissatisfaction of the working people and the criticism of deformations and shortcomings which remained uncorrected for a long time. Already the first of the illegal organizations, KOR, which chose the task of penetrating among the workers, adopted the title "Committee for Workers Defense," which was hardly by coincidence. Even after its metamorphosis into the Committee for Social Self-Defense its old name was retained in the hyphenated title KSS-KOR.

Looking back, many people are now asking how was it possible that such a large part of the workers class would let itself be manipulated and that it could be so susceptible to the demagoguery of the opposition leaders. In this context, the demand for "free trade unions" and its implementation must be particularly underscored. Kuron and Modzelewski had proclaimed it in theory already in

their formulation of the principles of "workers democracy." In their "Open Letter to the Party," they said, "...trade unions that are absolutely independent from the state and have the right to organize economic and political strikes must guarantee the possibilities for defense." This demand was presented for the first time in Poland in 1977, after a loud campaign by the Paris KULTURA and by the Radio Free Europe and BBC, precisely on the pages of the KSS-KOR publication ROBOTNIK (The Worker) whose purpose was to influence the workers in particular. Upon the initiative of KOR activists, the Council for Free Trade Unions was organized in February in Katowice; the Western propaganda centers took it upon themselves to spread the news about it all over Poland and abroad. The next step was the establishment of illegal trade unions on the coast and in other areas. These attempts, however, failed to win any substantial support among the workers collectives. Nevertheless, their KOR initiators developed intensive "teaching" programs, organized "teach-ins" and trained cadres for future actions.

The opposition made an extraordinary effort to "politicize" the workers class with the aid of foreign propaganda and illegal domestic publications, by imputing its own political demands to the workers class. Nonetheless, as the first great wave of strikes was rolling over the country, the workers themselves did not call for any new trade unions. As one Western expert on the Polish situation (J. Kay) had admitted even earlier, "The first symptoms were not auspicious. The workers looked askance at the program for 'free trade unions.'" (SURVEY No 4, 1979). Why, then, in the end did this slogan win support among a certain part of the workers? The bitter social protest was aimed, among other things, also against the old trade unions in which the principles governing the activity of trade unions in a socialist state had been in some instances grossly violated and which had failed to fulfill their mission of caring for the needs of the working people. The organization of new trade unions appeared among the demands of strike committees in major plants in industrial centers only after they had been infiltrated by KOR and KPN activists who, together with catholic experts, acted there as "advisors" and helped the workers, in the words of one emigre (P. Bruckner), "articulate their demands and put them into a political form." (LE MONDE DIMANCHE 8 March 1982). Thus, this and some other political postulates were incorporated as Point 1 in the social contract signed in Gdansk. A review by an analyst (C. Royen) who attempted a "preliminary account and projection" of the "Polish Summer" demonstrates how the "platform of purely economic demands" was abandoned; we shall use this review as a concise illustration: the agenda for the negotiations with the representatives of the government in Szczecin and Gdansk included the following demands: 1. for the strikers--independent trade unions; 2. for the dissidents--release of the arrested KOR leaders; 3. for the church--access to public media; 4. for the "reformers in the party"--different policy personalities, and 5. for all "critical forces"--a joint revision of the practice of censorship. Thus, the effort to speak on behalf of the workers was beginning to triumph.

Arbitrariness, Awareness and Orchestration

To distract attention from the definitely ideological and organizational role played by the activists of the opposition factions in this "politicization," they and their followers declared that the former "official" "portrait

of the workers class" was fallacious; instead, they created a new image, a part of which emphasized the decisive role of the workers class. Thus, it created an illusion that the whole development of events stemmed from an essentially spontaneous workers movement, and alleged that the workers class had "adopted for its own the postulate of freedom of discussion and freedom of expression" (A. Wajda). Myths to this effect were spread about antisocialist ideas and sentiments as being germane to workers.

Naturally, events such as those occurring in Poland since mid-1980, do attract extraordinary attention and are scrutizined all over the world. In that process numerous analyses have elucidated the extent to which the implemented strategy had succeeded and the reasons of its success; even its authors are interested in the explanation to that question. In critical assessment, these analyses and reviews may divulge various factors when searching for answers to the widely debated questions about how much it was an authentic expression of the workers class, what role it really played in those events, and what was the part of the dissident intellectuals who had focused on the workers class.

In an answer to these questions, Prof Seweryn Bialer, the director of the Institute for International Change at Columbia University, borrowed from Marx (as had earlier Kuron and Modzelewski in their "Open Letter to the Party") and came up with the allegation that what had happened in Poland was nothing less than "transformation of the Polish workers class from a class in itself into a class for itself." He attributes the key role to the workers class itself; in his opinion the role of the dissident intelligentsia which only "came along for a ride" "should not be overestimated. The decisive power behind these events was a genuine, spontaneous workers movement" (FOREIGN AFFAIRS No 3, 1980). Prof W. Brus, another emigre activist, admits that such a factor as "effectiveness of systematic activity developed by the dissident movement over the past 4 or 5 years should not be ignored. This applies especially to the group of dissidents who focused their attention on the workers class." (MARXISM TODAY no 11, 1980)

Of course, the most appropriate question came from the editors of DER SPIEGEL who asked J. Kuron: "Who is the producer of the show?" He was forced to admit that "a well-organized opposition cannot be denied" (DER SPIEGEL No 32, 1980). Other analyses which may be quoted confirm that the strikes and the enforcement of the demands followed the plan for the implementation of instructions devised for foreign centers and not by a spontaneous workers movement.

However, the best light was shed on the role of the KOR in a report of one of the DER SPEIGEL editors who said: "The strike in Gdansk shipyards was carefully orchestrated by the KOR sympathizers represented there, in cooperation with workers who had gained experience in organizing strikes."

"In individual sectors, trustees had been indoctrinated and workers trained to observe iron discipline in strikes... Food, drugs and paper had been stockpiled and contacts made with enterprises all over the region...

"In Gdansk, the people from the KOR found also a worker who was to serve as the symbol of the strike... Walesa was the commander in the trenches but

certainly not the staff commander on the strike battlefront. The KOR brain trust which served in that capacity provided counsel to strike committees in every instance and carefully worded the texts of agreements with the government from the legal point of view." (DER SPIEGEL No 37, 1980)

Some Lessons

Polish communists are beginning to evaluate more thoroughly the dramatic events in their country in order to draw lessons from them. One of the most fundamental lessons indubitably concerns also the enforcement of the leading role of the workers class in a socialist society and in this conjunction, it evidently touches also upon the character and activity of the trade unions associated in Solidarity. It appears that when the striking workers adopted the demand of new trade unions which had been imposed upon them, they failed to recognize the fact that it was antisocialist. It has been pointed out that even after the takeover of the Solidarity leadership by adventurous political gamblers, another genuine trade union faction, the "workers movement" still survived in it next to the "political movement." That is not all; it is recognized as a positive contribution to those trade unions that the workers protest played in them a meaningful role in eliminating deformations, helping push through changes of socioeconomic policies, and dismissing from office persons who were responsible for the development of the crisis. Its activity, however, soon turned Solidarity into opposition.

At various stages of ideological and organizational preparations for counterrevolution in Poland, its ideologues offered various definitions of the attitudes of the intelligentsia to the workers class. In the end, they were forced to abandon the idea of an omnipotent role for the intellectuals. The reflections of experts on anticommunism make it clear why it was so imperative to focus the program of indoctrination and manipulation on the workers class, because "it was far more difficult for a communist regime to face a challenge coming from the workers than the preceding outbursts by dissident intellectuals..." (S. Bialer). As a matter of fact, experience has taught the anticomunist forces that without achieving real influence over the workers environment, the plans for disbanding socialism have no hope for success. Willy-nilly, the anticommunists had to accept the decisive role of the workers class. The following statement concerning the Polish dissident intelligentsia confirms that the workers class had to be recognized: "[The intelligentsia] realized that no relevant problem of both intellectual and national life has any hope of a successful solution without unity with the workers who represent the real social force." (W. Brus) This confirms somewhat negatively the role of the workers class as the most important social force of our time. Even the policies aimed against the fundamental interests of the workers class cannot be made without influencing at least some segment of that class. This in itself would be impossible if it were not for errors that occur. The preconditions for the mobilization of elements hostile to socialism come into play precisely where errors and failure occur along with subversive activities conducted by imperialism... The events in Poland have shown once again how important it is for our party and for the consolidation of its leading role to listen intently to the voice of the masses, to struggle with determination against every expression of bureaucratism and voluntarism, to develop vigorously socialist democracy, and to introduce well-planned policies in foreign economic relations." (L.I. Brezhnev before the 26th CPSU Congress)

REASONS FOR REJECTING 'PEACE WITHOUT ARMS' SLOGAN PRESENTED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNA in German Vol 29 No 13, 2 Apr 82 (signed to press 25 Mar 82) p 1

[Article by Wolfgang Tilgner, writer, dramatist: "Manifestation of Writers of Our Republic: We Need Our Plows As Well As Our Swords"]

[Text] We writers, in the GDR or other socialist states, advocating peace, and are doing so without reservation, are in a situation that is as enviable as it is difficult. Enviable, because we evidently are not in opposition to our socialist governments from which we would have to wrest a realization of the need for peace, for the survival of our species, or should have to push toward the today only reasonable policy, the policy of equal security and disarmament. On the contrary: It calls for larger and the largest efforts in our trade to come anywhere near the socialist politicians and all they do to ensure secure human conditions. And that precisely is what makes our situation so difficult. Can even he who is most skillful with words express any better the vital matters which beset us, or differently, than, say, Leonid Brezhnev in his interviews and speeches? Can it be more clearly put than thus?

"The design of surpassing one another in the arms race and counting on victory in nuclear war is perilous madness. I like to add that only someone can start a nuclear war hoping to win it who wants to commit suicide. Whatever might the attacker may have, whatever methods to unleash nuclear war he may use, he will not reach his goal. Retaliation follows unavoidably."

Being a Spokesman for Peace

What else then can and should we writers do? Something very simple and useful, I believe. Talk with the people about peace. Not only on festive occasions, but on every occasion. Being a spokesman for peace, but not a nebulous, fictitious peace above the clouds, but a realistic and feasible peace. Being an agent of a policy that is engaged in bringing to realization, and truly, real peace. Those who figure we are weak count on our still being ignorant of the situation, our not believing the magnitude and reality of the threat, our lack of imagination, our human forgetfulness and the paralyzing force of habit, our resignation and our fear.

Struggle for Men's Minds

So let us talk and reflect on the chances of peace together and publicly, paying constant attention to the menacing perils. This struggle for peace thus is, not last, a struggle for men's minds, so they will never, not even when the danger is greatest, stop to think clearly. For there still is far too much confusion. The loftiest truths that seemed to be eternal are falsely applied and so turned into their opposite. One can find buttons, for instance, with the well-known saying of forging swords into plowshares. The elderly remember: That slogan helped after the end of World War II remove Nazi and militaristic debris from German brains. And today? That the leaders and spokesmen of ideological warfare seek to use that slogan to disarm real peace and weaken it, and so create new and higher rubbish heaps--who could easily understand that? Yet it must be comprehended that such a political slogan, rather than reducing the danger of war, will only increase it today.

Protecting Ourselves So We Can Plow in Peace

Those who want to take our state-owned plows away from us again would be pleased, were we first to surrender our swords voluntarily. Or take the formula, "Peace Without Arms," which virtually seems derived from the Christian Sermon on the Mount, the proclamation of an absolute goodness. Does it not under an altered historic situation, as under the hands of the magi, change into man's total capitulation to the very real forces of evil, armed to their teeth? And is it not so that today, someone who prays as solemnly for the salvation of the murdered as for that of the murderer, instead of preventing him from what he is doing, becomes his accomplice?

Recently a famous West German writer a few steps from here announced he was as much afraid of Soviet missiles as of American. Quite a few people reverently circulated that statement but unfortunately did not always realize what it amounted to: a classic stupidity, of which Guenther Grass is likely going to be ashamed once he has survived the current dangerous phase of human history thanks to the tough efforts of those he is maligning today. I love life as much as he does and would like to make all of my biologically allocated portion up to the last second, but in decency and in full control of my reason. That I need not be afraid of Soviet missiles, I know. There is no one in the Soviet Union who would profit from war. But that I need not be afraid of American missiles either is due to the fact that there are Soviet missiles.

Such a certitude does not mean, however, underrating or belittling the dangers! Marxist philosopher Herbert Hoerz put it this way: "I support all those who speak of a dread of the future when they think of the dangers. But I think it is necessary at the same time to develop a real optimism which, in view of the risks and the dangers, organizes all forces against war."

With No One Shooting First, No One Must Die

Among diplomats, politicians and scientists who professionally deal with the matters of safeguarding peace and with disarmament, a word is circulating which puts the present political situation and the possible consequences of the American confrontation course on a pointed general denominator: "He who shoots first is the

second to die." Some may think that cynical; no communist would have put it just like that. Communists are wont to express themselves more quietly and objectively, more like Comrade Brezhnev. And yet, that statement is less cynical than it is true. It smacks of the painful frankness of a medical diagnosis. And there is another reason why it is not cynical: it is no autopsy report on a corpse but contains an optimistic reference to how the patient, humanity, can be restored to full health: with no one shooting first, no one must die. And that is all the many Soviet peace initiatives amount to. That is all that Erich Honecker's remarks come down to: "This peace movement that surpasses parties and borders contains all elements to ban the perils by which the most aggressive circles of imperialism threaten world peace; jointly with the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community." Constantly reminding of the dangers while showing real possibilities to remove them--that is and remains the task of the writers in the peace struggle.

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SED MANAGEMENT CADRE TASKS TO BE FURTHER CLARIFIED

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 37 No 5, 1982 (signed to press 25 Feb 82) pp 175-177

[Aarticle by Helmut Eisentraeger, political researcher, SED Central Committee: "Guidance, Advance Training for Party Secretaries to Be Improved"]

[Text] The speech by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, to the first kreis secretaries provides the strategic orientation for the continued successful implementation of the 10th party congress and Third Central Committee plenum resolutions. It also in substance determines the party elections. To improve the support given to the elected functionaries in the basic organizations, so they can cope with their growing tasks, the SED kreis managements are organizing for the long range the guidance and advance training for party secretaries and other members of management.

This form of monthly whole-day guidance and advance training through lectures, seminars and experience exchange, combined with increasing operational support for the basic organizations by executive cadre in situ, has been found expedient. The advantage of such a "party worker day" is perceptible especially where the content of monthly guidance and advance training is under long-range planning for an entire year--as in the kreises of the bezirks of Gera, Cottbus and Rostock. This amounts to a thorough preparation for a high level of activities.

The 1981/82 study year focuses in its lectures, seminars and experience exchange on explaining the nature and content of the 10th party congress and Third Central Committee plenum resolutions and the tasks assigned in the speech by general secretary Comrade Erich Honecker at the conference with the kreis first secretaries, for further implementing the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress, their practical implementation.

Kreis managements use the monthly guidance and advance training to explain to the party secretaries the Central Committee and kreis and bezirk management decisions. This is combined with a situation assessment and that of the results of the implementation of decisions, and with generalizing good results in party activity.

It must help all executive cadre in the basic organizations understand the magnitude, responsibility and criteria of the 10th party congress and Third Central Committee plenum resolutions, particularly in implementation of the 10 key

points in our economic strategy, to further boost our economic efficiency, and make them act accordingly. We have to clarify still more thoroughly the dialectic, the essence of the phenomena in the harsh class conflict, the connection between strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace, and have to unmask the confrontation policy of U.S. imperialism and the most aggressive NATO circles. Great attention has to be given to the questions of further strengthening the party's leadership role in all domains of public life.

Closer Links Between Theory and Practice

The 10th party congress resolutions induced many kreis managements to consider how guidance and advance training for management cadre could be further improved in the basic organizations. It is properly being understood here that what matters is not to increase the number of activities but to improve the quality and efficiency of guidance and advance training within our time-tested system.

What matters mainly, according to the conclusions drawn, is to link still more closely, through lectures and seminars, the basic issues of Marxism-Leninism and the 10th party congress resolutions with the immediate tasks of the basic organizations and the concrete situation in the kreis. That requires still more thorough analytical work.

Many secretariats of kreis managements--e.g. in Oranienburg, Gera-Stadt, Senftenberg and Zwickau-Land--therefore prepare regular assessments of the working people's consciousness development, the fighting strength of the basic organizations, and the status of fulfillment of the political and economic tasks. And they study good experiences in party work while preparing their guidance seminars.

Gera-Stadt kreis management, e.g., in order to be able to link theoretical problems closely with practical guidance tasks, uses analyses and assessments gained from operational activity, from basic organization reports to the secretariat, from the activity of kreis management working teams, and from impormation reports by the basic organizations.

In preparing differentiated seminars, e.g. for the basic organizations in trade, the building trade, bezirk-managed enterprises and so forth, party secretaries are briefed by kreis management associates for their experience exchange so they can present their experiences in party work with reference to branch-specific conditions. Target-directed and high-level advance training thus also makes demands on the kreis secretaries with regard to an accurate and long-term planning for the activity of the apparatus, for a good coordination of manpower assignment.

A high quality and efficiency of advance training is obtainable if kreis secretaries on the "party worker day" concentrate on major aspects in the management activity of the basic organizations and not just bring up a big number of topics. Thereby alone can one profoundly deal with the main issues.

Gera-Stadt kreis management, e.g., focuses on one management activity problem each month at the "party worker day." In November, it was the role of science and the tasks of the basic organizations in accelerating scientific-technical progress to ensure a high performance boost. Surveys by the science and technology task force--led by the first secretary--formed the basis for the lecture and

the seminars. Furthermore, two party secretaries reported on their experiences in the political management activity aimed at speeding up scientific-technical progress. In all sorts of different seminars and excursions, those problems were then further discussed.

Concentrating on major management activity aspects raises the question of course how the ample content of the Central Committee and the bezirk and kreis management resolutions, and other topical matters brought up by life itself, can properly be handed on and conferred on during the "party worker day."

Each kreis management has to consider carefully which resolutions have to be read verbatim to all party secretaries, which can be summarized, because they were published, and for which it is sufficient to be announced in a seminar for a certain group of party secretaries.

It is also worth considering which concerns and projects may be handed over to the basic organizations through operations or in writing, so that one does not excessively burden the "party worker day" and enough time is left for experience exchange on the main issues.

Preparing the Best Argumentation

There is a noticeable need among secretaries and management associates to get more convincing and massively effective argumentation on our basic political issues during the "party worker day." That is understandable, because the task is frankly to discuss with the people all issues of life, all domestic and foreign policy problems, to react to current events and assume a party-minded position on them, and so spark new activities among the comrades and all working people and motivate new initiatives.

Experience has shown that convincing argumentation is provided if it was previously taken under advisement collectively in the kreis management secretariats. It has been found expedient to have argumentations worked out by the cadre of the basic organizations in advance training activities themselves; they, after all, are familiar with the mood in the work collectives and with the issues that concern the working people. That makes the cadre more able to find persuasive and aggressive responses to daily questions independently and resolutely come to grips with hostile conceptions.

Furthermore, of course it is most helpful if kreis managements issue written argumentations on important SED policy matters in the intervals between the monthly guidance. Kreis managements in Gera Bezirk also conduct brief conferences in their bases with secretaries or management cadre of selected basic organizations and thereby hand out relevant arguments and suggestions for their political mass activity. Altogether, the great variety of tasks a party secretary is responsible for calls for other new forms of discriminating guidance. And we always have to be most economical in using the precious time of our party secretaries, whose work is volunteer-work.

Still more time must be set aside on the guidance and advance training days for experience exchange on the best ways and means of party activity. That need is one the party secretaries stress everywhere. They want to be in a better position to deal more distinctly with the wherewithal, with the best ways and means to implement the resolutions, for further improving intra-party life and vivid political mass activity.

Therefore it pays off for kreis managements to plan long-range not only the lectures on theory, but also the topics in the experience exchange, and in having members of kreis management or party activists help the basic organizations in preparing that. That way alone can we ensure a good quality of passing on the experiences of the best workers. A call for it alone cannot accomplish much in it.

Discriminating training and experience exchanges in vividly structured consultation bases have been found expedient. In some such bases dealing with the problems of the SED's economic strategy, however, the concrete experiences in the political management of economic processes by the party organizations ought to be rendered more compelling. To provide expert information on scientific-technical problems as such will not do. The party secretaries also want to have more of an opportunity to be able to look at and absorb thoroughly the experience offered on the "party worker day" or previously, in the consultation bases.

To be sure, as everywhere else, one will not gain in knowledge here without diligent self-study. And so, when we reflect on more effective guidance and advance training for party functionaries, we recommend not to miss the control of self-study.

A one-day guidance and advance training for party secretaries per month never can take the place of their operational support by the managements and basic organizations. On the contrary, precisely that form of support must be further strengthened. Especially a scheduled assignment of kreis management personnel and experienced party activists in the basic organizations, and their participation in management and membership meetings, have a positive effect on sound management activity.

Many kreises sponsor advance training activities for deputy secretaries and agitprop functionaries every 8 weeks or once every quarter. In these meetings, along with instruction on theoretical knowledge, the emphasis is placed on experience exchange on matters of party and mass activity, for which such management personnel bear a great responsibility, e.g. cadre work, regulating the growth of party ranks, information, the organization of everyday political discussions, the party study year, and so forth. Drawing such functionaries into the guidance and advance training system improves the collectivity of management.

In implementation of this year's party elections, kreis managements are going to conduct special weekend training, seminars and problem discussions for newly elected management comrades. That is a time-tested opportunity to confer with these comrades on topical management activity as well as on what party work is all about.

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FUTURE ARMY OFFICERS PREPARED IN PARTY BASIC ORGANIZATIONS

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 37 No 5, 1982 (signed to press 25 Feb 82) pp 181-183

['Party Experiences' feature article by Arnold Schoenberg, political researcher, SED Central Committee: "Preparation of Future Officers Is in Good Hands With the Party Managements"]

[Text] Herbert Thaten wants to become an NVA officer. He learns all about shock absorbers in the Fuerstenwalde tire combine while getting ready to graduate from high school. For a year and a half he has been an apprentice. He himself is of the opinion the results of his apprenticeship could be further improved through more diligence and steadfastness, but he has no doubt he will achieve his occupational purpose.

Why did he as a young budding worker decide to become a professional soldier? He says: "I am much interested in the natural sciences and technology. That is why I want to become an officer in the chemical services. Thereby I can also do something for the protection of peace. That is highly necessary in view of the U.S. and NATO missile program and the exacerbation of the international situation by imperialism. Moreover, the NVA makes high demands. I want to become a tough guy there."

Ready for the Defense of the Homeland

Herbert Thaten's view is characteristic of many young people's conviction in the GDR. An absolute majority of youth is ready to dedicate all to the reliable defense of the socialist fatherland. Quite a few of them take an important step each year. They become NVA career officers or career NCO's. Thereby they opt for an extremely necessary social tasks which certainly makes high demands on them for devoting their lives to the armed protection of their homeland.

This impressively confirms the 10th party congress assessment that young generations are growing up in the GDR that are ready for diligent work and for the defense of their homeland because they find their ideals fulfilled in our workers and farmers state. The mass movement, "FDJ Mission 10th Party Congress," which was started by the 11th FDJ Parliament, therefore posed as one of its most important goals to ensure the inviolability and security of socialism.

The concern of many basic SED organizations is to instill in each girl and boy a class-bound attitude on the protection of peace as an element of communist education. Led by them, the school, the FDJ, the GST and, not last, the parents also have a share in it. Important insights are conveyed and new abilities are formed in defense education, the FDJ Hans Beimler contests, the military policy working teams and circles of the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization and the premilitary GST training.

The FDJ membership meetings in March, dealing with the subject, "Peace Must Be Defended--Peace Must Be Under Arms," help reinforce the conviction that none bu the strength of socialism can tame the aggressive intents of imperialism. They explain the contribution each individual can make to it. They are being helped in these debates by experienced comrades--many of them from the armed organs. Many party organizations have set down measures assisting these membership meetings.

To our basic party organizations a long-term preparation of new generations of career soldiers is an important task within the scope of socialist defense education. It has turned out to be the proper thing to discuss with FDJ members the question early in the game how they feel about the military profession. Consequently, many boys decide to become career officers or career NCO's while they are still in school. To reinforce such a desire and anchor it in a position on life is an important objective in political activity. As in other areas of the party's youth policy, here also the principle prevails that an active role of the FDJ is indispensable for it.

The circa 1,000 "FDJ Applicants' Collectives for Military Careers" are making an important contribution to preparing professional military replacements. Circa 90 percent of the future officers and NCO's gets prepared there for the future profession.

In the Fuerstenwalde tire combine the "FDJ Applicants' Collective" is developing a most interesting and diversified activity. The centerpiece is the political discussion between time-tested comrades and NVA members and the applicants. During the "Comradeship-in-Arms Week," e.g., the director for cadre and education in the tire combine, Comrade Mueller--himself a reserve first lieutenant--proved an expert partner in the discussions. Among the good experiences of many "FDJ Applicants' Collectives" is to talk also with the parents and girlfriends or fiancees of the applicants. Fuerstenwalde has scheduled for that purpose a round-table discussion in spring, for example.

Many applicants collectives work together with NVA and Soviet Army units. That is helped by visiting NVA officers colleges and sponsorship units. The thing is, of course, that the members of the FDJ applicants collectives acquire the knowledge and physical condition needed for military careers mainly in the GST. In the Fuerstenwalde tire combine, the applicants are trained as group leaders for GST premilitary training. There they get their first experiences and get the opportunity--with a view to their future profession--to show their qualifications for leading collectives. In the FDJ and GST and other organizations, they assume public functions.

Reservists Train FDJ Applicants

The Fuerstenwalde tire combine several times each year assesses the work done with the applicants for military careers. On behalf of the party executive, the tire plant's "socialist defense education" commission organizes the military policy work in the enterprise and the cooperation among the FDJ, the GST, the applicants' collective and state management. In January, the director of the vocational school reports to the commission on his work with the officer's or NCO candidates. For 3 years, Comrade Joachim Hain has been in charge of this applicants' collective. He had been recommended for it by the party management's reservists' collective because the reservists thought him best qualified for it, being a reserve officer, experienced communist and state manager. Comrade Hain tells us he does not find his activity difficult as the head of the FDJ Applicants' Collective because he always feels the helping hand of the party executive. The basic FDJ organization, the FDJ applicants' collective, to a large extent organizes its activities by itself. It is being helped in this by the basic GST organization. It also conducts the training jointly with the reservists' collective.

The party executive deliberates directly on important political projects. That also entails, e.g., the "week of comradeshin-in-arms" activities. The party executive confers monthly on the issues of socialist defense education with the secretaries of the FDJ or GST basic organizations and the head of the reservists' collective.

The point remains to be made that because of the diversified and interesting political, defense policy, military sports and cultural activities preparing future officers and NCO's for their careers, most of them, despite many other opportunities, abide by their original decision. Year after year, young workers of the Fuerstenwalde tire combine swell the ranks of our NVA as career soldiers.

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NEGATIVE EFFECTS ON POLISH 'RENEWAL' ON YOUTH ASSESSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH 15 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "Preserve the Values and Win Youth Over"]

[Text] Democracy has been variously defined--for the most part, alluringly and in rosy colors. But the Polish "renewal" of 16 months has demonstrated that democracy is nothing but the free interplay of the interests of groups and segments in society. This free interplay makes success possible not for those who are right but for those who are stronger, more clever and more adept at manipulating public opinion.

Of course, all this has little in common with the theoretical concept of democracy as a political system under which the source of authority is recognized as the will of a majority of citizens, who are ensured equal rights and liberties. Only too often theory in practical applications is merely a form of struggle for the attainment of interests.

Under the economic condition of surplus production of goods, democracy poses no direct threat to any segment of society. It contributes to the perpetuation of existing political systems; e.g., under capitalism it perpetuates the dominance of specific classes based on capital, thus perpetuating capital itself.

In our country's situation of mounting shortages in all areas, such "free" democracy is something totally different. More than anything else, it is a tragedy for the young generation.

It is not only a drama of failed hopes and bankruptcy of faith in fundamental values of humanistic socialism during a period of hasty--for the most part, socially undesirable--reevaluations. It is also a most powerful economic blow.

Since the mid-1970's the "generation of great opportunity" has been increasingly deprived of opportunities. Bold programs of frequently absurd investment and "open-ended" economic plans were constantly superseding the production of consumer goods, durables and apartments. Basic values of socialist humanism taught in schools--egalitarianism, upward mobility, equal start for all and universal access to culture--were coming into an increasingly

felt conflict with reality. Yet they appealed primarily to young people, captivating them then as now with their moral and universal human attractiveness, resulting after all from the quintessence of socialism, which is why Polish youth equates socialism with these values.

At the same time, those "vigorous" development programs actually did not need young people to the extent the latter were being prepared for their new life by the educational system and propaganda.

The times of massive, though primitive, advancement in society achieved by the very act of migrating from overpopulated rural areas are irredeemably past. The migrations of the 1970's continued, artificially propelled, from the countryside to the huge investment projects of the Katowice Steelwork the Northern Port and the FSM [Compact Car Factory]. Meantime, Warsaw, Lodz, Krakow and Wraclas had already become, especially for the young, off-limits cities. Young adults' work was being exploited but they were actually not wanted.

The path to advancement through education also was becoming blocked over the past decade. The cadres had become infused with people who acquired their qualifications largely under a system of degree programs for jobholders. Problems began to develop with graduates of higher educational institutions.

Similarly, blockages began to form at the outset of professional careers. Many differing position classification schedules, salary scales, promotion grids and differentiated access to more attractive goods and social benefits put a nearly exclusive preference on time-in-grade, length of service and job experience. Qualifications were determined solely on the basis of the application's requirement of a diploma. Afterward, there was no need to exhibit an active approach, be successful and productive. It was only necessary to accumulate time-in-grade. Even under the piecework system, rates were increased in relation to time on the job.

The old meritorious cadre tightly dug in the positions that they had captured on all levels, reducing young college graduates' early professional careers to toilsome apprenticeship supervised by masters who were often stupider than their apprentices, rather than providing the creative work that is to become the quintessence of living according to Marxism. Those having no connections were hopelessly stuck.

If this sketch is amplified with increasing apartment waiting lists, mounting difficulties in purchasing furniture and other furnishings, and rising prices, we will get the picture of the "generation of great opportunity," which in its surging embitterment only waited to recover its opportunities.

This silent social time bomb--persons under 30-35 constitute nearly one half of all employed--only waited for a chance to explode. It happened in July and August of 1980.

At the time, a massive outburst of discontent seized primarily the young people. At issue were not only higher meat prices--the point was to provide

honorable and decent living, to restore truth to words and declarations, to provide apartments that gave a chance of independence and to guarantee that the slogans of socialism would be equated with social practices and that human beings would never be treated as mere instruments.

Subsequently, a "democracy" ensued that few at the time expected to bring about the free play of interest groups and the ruthless struggle for preservation of possessions, for power and for capturing maximum amounts of goods, importance, fame and glory.

What made these developments even more curious was that under that breed of "democracy" the authorities felt the least confident, charged with all mortal and venal sins, humbly accepting--as their own inner contradictions also began to increase--even those sins commited on their behalf by their opponents.

It occurred to few among those thousands of young angry people that under the conditions of free interplay of interests, youth was economically the weakest group, whose own interests required protection and constantly suffered losses in that confusion.

In the course of those feverish 16 months, people whose existence had not even been suspected earlier came to the fore and entered the ruthless struggle for survival. In politics, factions, groups and concepts from the political storehouse came to light, ranging from the National Democratic nationalism through exhuming the Freedom and Independence [underground wartime political organization] traditions referred to in Kuron's "Clubs of a Self-Governing Republic" through Pilsudskyite dreams of a Poland "from sea to sea" to attempts at social democratization of the PZPR and bedevilment by reminiscences from the time of generalissimo [Stalin].

The struggle for power and political influence proceeded everywhere and at all costs. Within the Solidarity leadership was a struggle for control over the union as well as over the country. A personnel crisis did not evade the party and political groupings either.

At the same time powerful tug-of-war games were seen in industry and economy. Bargaining primarily involved the defense of managerial positions by some against others willing to take them over, the latter including those known as credible people and new people--all fighting for control over industry.

Strikes were the weapon. The medium through which they were carried out was primarily young people.

Who was losing the least during the crisis? To state it brutally, the middle and older generations, the people who had already acquired apartments and automobiles, television sets and washers, lost the least. The difficulties that they experienced chiefly concerned maintenance and food. As the economic crisis intensified, young people who owned nothing or very little kept losing opportunities to arrange their lives, but not only those. They were losing their hope for survival as well. Thus, that breed of "democracy" impacted primarily on its proponents.

Herein lies the answer why young people and almost none but young people started a mass emigration during the "Polish miracle" by which the West was so enraptured and excited.

A clear thesis should be formulated. The entire crisis was directed primarily, if not exclusively, against the young. It affected with particular destructiveness the core of the generation--the young segment of heavy-industrial working class, which was manipulated with especial vigor.

Analysis of Solidarity's "egalitarian" slogans indicates that it, too, was directed against Polish youth. "Equally to each" does not always mean justice. The union allegedly rejected all privilege and demanded that all be given equally. In a situation of widespread shortage of goods, however, the slogan "equally to each" meant nothing but the perpetration of distinctions. Providing goods to those who have nothing and to those who have much does not eliminate unfair disproportions.

An illustration of youth having been maneuvered into a situation where it would act against its own generational interests is provided by one of the leading slogans of the Lodz student strike. It was "Abolish preference points!" That is, abolish a privilege that at least psychologically supported rural and working-class youth and gave them a chance to obtain higher education.

Real egalitarianism, genuine social justice and authentic democracy--not merely a democracy of banner declarations--required that the preference point system be maintained and even amplified so that young people from the villages and small towns began to be represented in college by percentages corresponding to their rank is society.

Thus, as the crisis progressed, raving democracy expanded, brutal struggle for control intensified, stores were cleared and Polish youth continued to bear an increasing burden of the crisis. A generation supposed to be coming into its own was actually a generation whose opportunities were rapidly diminishing.

Martial law interrupted that process, though it did not terminate it. What it did amounts to a "freeze-frame" operation in a movie. What will come next? Once the projector is restarted, will the process of deprivation of young people go on?

The economic reform, as conceived, will primarily affect the young. Employment reductions, relocations, changes in production profile and elimination (bankruptcy) of some plants will focus front line fire on young people with the shortest service time, the lowest earnings, the least culpable and the least aware of possible machinations--precisely those who constitute no organized pressure group. For a large segment of youth, work compatible with qualifications is not available while people without qualifications are in many cases holding positions (last year, nearly 20,000 persons without higher education were accepted as teachers in provincial schools). Young people are the ones most affected by traditional promotion patterns and by

constantly perfected position classification schedules and collective agreements putting a preference on time-in-grade.

Finally, it is necessary to try to mitigate the effects of the prices of manufactured consumer goods. Such articles are bought by young people, first of all. If they have acquired or are about to acquire an apartment, they must furnish it. Even when living in expensive rented rooms, they must buy everything needed for upbringing and raising children. Most likely to suffer are those who, thanks to education, migrated from the countryside to cities.

Thinking today about Poland's emergence from the crisis, we must not underestimate a highly complex phenomenon coming into sharp focus. It is youth's ideological unsteadiness, resulting from a washout of fundamental values and moral concepts in social mentality, especially in the minds of the young. Both in the 1970's and during the "Polish renewal" we had to deal with a deepening chasm between the theory and real practices of socialism as well as with the evident neglect of ideological and educational activity. Over the last decade the party and youth organizations focused most of their attention on economic and livelihood matters, devoting marginal attention to ideology and adapting sociopolitical sciences to justify their tactical socioeconomic decisions.

Those divergences also were the source of the initial attractiveness of Solidarity slogans. Such notions as truth, social justice, self-government, and egalitarianism are values learned from the teaching of socialist humanism, whose violation and falsification young people repeatedly witnessed. In effect, they joined in good faith the ranks of those who supposedly were to actualize those values. On the one hand, they yielded to manipulations of Solidarity extremists; on the other hand, the weakened and defensive party did not devote necessary attention and effort to youth and youth organizations.

Precisely now, under the protection of martial law, the party must restore ideological and upbringing activities their due rank. At this time, youth organizations necessarily place major emphasis again on the economic protection of young people, particularly those in the heavy-industry working class. They should be relieved of that duty, however, thanks to the development of governmental programs for rapid specific actions. The organizations should return to ideological and educational work. Analysis of the results of those 16 months of Polish "democracy" can provide a class-conscious demonstration of which side has the potential to actualize the interests of Polish youth both as a generation and as socio-occupational segments and groups.

By developing a realistic educational and social program, the party should strive to rejuvenate its ranks. Young people will more easily come to terms with young people; after all, they speak the same language. The young people within the party are the party's future.

Taking offensive action on all levels should release initiative and ardor and should cause the Polish youth to join in the shared efforts of leading the country from crisis.

Yet it must be said openly. Without restoring meaning to the concepts of fundamental values; without the truth about history--errors, distortions and successes alike; without routine social justice under which those most in need of protection, youth among them, will be protected and the guilty punished the more severely the higher their status; without genuine rewards for good work and severe penalties for poor work; without permitting joint management by genuine self-government bodies rather than by "managing boards" unidirectionally operating from above; without egalitarianism--equal law for all--and without elimination of cliques, coteries and elites, all ideological and educational work with youth and any teaching of humanistic principles of socialism will become a Sisyphean effort.

Emerging from the crisis is in a very large measure tantamount to a battle for youth. It is a battle conducted on many levels, chiefly, in the economic domain, however. The youth organizations launched an attack immediately after the imposition of martial law. Meeting with government and WRON [Military Council for National Salvation] representatives were held. But time goes on.

Far-reaching decisions are needed. A profound reform of recruitment and promotion principles is necessary, as is liberation from the curse of time-in-grade in favor of appraisals of professional suitability and efficiency. Why shouldn't highest earnings and managing positions be attained at age 35 when the body is at its most fit?

There is a need for protecting youth employment. It is necessary to give real impetus to the housing problem, for example, by rapidly allocating credits and construction materials primarily to sponsored housing cooperatives for young adults.

A social war for youth should be declared, a war that must not be lost. Benifiting from the umbrella of martial law, we must initiate a battle for restoring significance to humanistic ideas of socialism and we must start protecting the majority within the working class.

As the 16-month long "Polish experiment" demonstrated, the young generations do not stand a chance either under a "democracy" of that type or during a crisis with a shortage of goods.

8795
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POLITICAL MOVEMENTS AMONG SCOUTS DISCUSSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 5-7 Mar 82 p 5

[Text] Concerns about the scouting movement have not cropped up overnight. A discussion about the role of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] has been going on for years. But the most recent struggle for the role and model of the organization during the past 18 months deserves special attention. It is not enough to say that the recent developments within the ZHP and in society at large merely imply social processes. Views expressed in this article are solely those of its author, and they do not necessarily reflect the editors' standpoint. But we hope that the article will lead to an extensive discussion of what is expected from the scouting movement.

On a late November afternoon, a group of scout troop leaders gathered for still another meeting in an empty high school building. There were 15 of them. Six were college students, the others were high school students. Working under the leadership of a Ph.D. student from the University of Warsaw, the group had been the first one in Warsaw to secede its tribe from the ZHP. Thus it laid foundations for an Independent Scouting Movement [NRH] district. I met with the group to hear first-hand why it had decided to secede. Now, when we analyze the developments in our country during the past eventful months, I keep thinking about my interview with the troop leaders.

The NRH began in April 1981 with two Lublin districts, one for boy scouts, the other for girl scouts. Following the summer vacation, reportedly two or three tribes in Warsaw joined the NRH. According to NRH leaflets, individual troops in nine small towns, chiefly in Lublin voivodship, also seceded to the NRH. In terms of numbers, the NRH secession was negligible in comparison with the ZHP, almost two-million strong. But there were attempts, especially within Solidarity, to give a lot of publicity to the secession. The very word "independent" in the name of the NRH was to some people a sufficient proof of noble pedagogic intentions of the founders of the movement.

Political Neutrality

was the favoriate term of the toop leaders whom I interviewed. That concept in particular attracted them to the new movement. For some of them, the political neutrality meant that the word "socialism" would be dropped from scouting vocabulary, especially from the oath. For others, it meant that all

pedagogical activities designed to create certain attitudes in children would have to be abandoned. It was the tribe commander who brought order to those chaotic explanations:

"Our goal is to raise scouts independently of any ideology. We want to be motivated only by our love for Poland, in the most general sense, by patterns inherent in Christian ethics and morality, and by the practical ideal of social service. It is not important what views our charges will eventually subscribe to as adults. Our responsibility is to remain neutral and prepare them merely for making a choice."

This mode of thinking is open to many questions.

Educational process prepares children to enter the life of their nation and country full and actively. This process is possible only through imbuing the children with a system of values and behavior patterns which are recognized by society as the most essential and desirable, apart from the values shared by all cultures within the same civilization.

In a socialist country, no thoughtful person would say, "If he is poor, that is his business; apparently he is no good." This simple example illustrates how concrete social upbringing influences people. The process of imbuing a young person with attitudes toward laws of the world and with concrete meanings of such "universal" words as good, evil, just, or progressive, constitutes ideological upbringing which simply cannot be avoided.

When the tribe commander referred to the Christian ethics and morality, he made a firm choice of educational ideology, although he was trying to prove something totally different.

His "love for Poland, in the most general sense," is also open to question. To be sure, it means knowledge of and respect for the whole history of the nation and its accomplishments. But where does this lead us to? Would a farmer, for example, be satisfied if he taught his children "to love the land, in the most general sense," leaving out any considerations of what his children will do with the land, as long as they love it?

To the dismay of his colleagues, one of the scouts volunteered this conclusion of a long discussion:

"The fact that we interpret the history of Poland and the ZHP in a particular manner is in itself an ideological choice."

Scout Upbringing

is based on a particular, very effective method. A scout instructor is not so much an educator as an older colleague. Having earned respect of his "subordinates," he serves as a role model for them. The scouts imitate their instructor instinctively, without even knowing that they accepted his methods and views. It is impossible to imagine a scout instructor who would choose not to imbue his charges with his view of the world and human responsibilities. By the same token, it is impossible to believe in "apolitical upbringing."

This postulate of "apolitical scouting movement" has been raised by numerous social groups involved in the renewal of the ZHP since the summer of 1980. If this postulate were interpreted literally, one would have to abandon the 50 year tradition of political upbringing in the Polish scouting movement. No one would want that. What was the problem then?

Over the past years, there were attempts to impose on the scouting movement patterns of work taken directly from political organizations of the older youth. Meetings with a featured speaker or ideological training were simply unaccessible to grade-school students because of their age. These youngsters need games, physical activity, and adventure, and it is only through such recreational situations that the upbringing porcess can occur, if we do not want to imitate school.

The work patterns, alien to the scouting movement, have been opposed by instructors and scouts alike. A talk by an instructor was worth nothing if it was preceded by the statement, "We have got to get it out of our way," or when the instructor privately expressed opinions totally different from the ones in an instruction booklet.

In the scouting movement, the job can be done through imaginative games, short talks, and especially through the direct contact with troop leaders who on numerous occasions transmit their worldview to the scouts. No one can come up with a better way of ideological and patriotic education in the scouting movement. Had the postulates for an apolitical scouting movement involved a return to such patterns of work, one would readily have subscribed to them. But there remains the question:

What Ideology

was the reformed scouting movement to serve? For me, it is difficult, for example, to evaluate unequivocally objectives of the numerous and very diverse Andrzej Malkowski circles [of scout instructors (KIHAM)]. Their representatives held on-going talks with the elected ZHP officials, suggesting many different reforms and changes. Some of those suggestions coincided with those offered by the new ZHP district and council officials, while others were politically dubious. Ambiguous, to say the least, was also a cooperation of some KIHAM circles with Solidarity, clearly not an apolitical organization. Those circles, for example, took over some administrative responsibilities during the Solidarity congress. It must be emphasized, however, that the leadership of the KIHAM Agreement continued to support the idea of keeping the ZHP within the limits delineated in the Polish People's Republic Constitution, and they never recommended a secession from the ZHP. Such a stand was apparently not acceptable to some people, for in the article "Our Attitude Toward ZHP Officials," an NRH representative has thus justified the need for the NRH:

"The road chosen by the KIHAM Agreement is, in our opinion, an unnecessary compromise. It is a halfway and dubious measure."

What was, then, a small group of the NRH founders trying to accomplish? After considerable consideration, the scouts, whom I interviewed, came up

with their own answer. Let us go back to the November meeting. Says patrol leader Krzysztof, second grade student in high school: "Only now has it occurred to me that the NRH is, after all, a political organization. We have seceded from the ZHP which has accepted the program of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR]. This may mean that we are against the party, which in itself constitutes a political program."

Indeed, the founding of the NRH had a political message. People were saying: "Even children are revolting against the power structure."

I think, however, there was something more.

A Struggle to Win Young People

was a struggle to determine the future of the country. These young people, with their views, will decide what Poland will be like in 10 or 15 years. From a purely operational point of view, it is no surprise that even this very crucial stake was used in the struggle for power. But dragging children into an overt political game, whose meaning and scope was not even clear to them, is a morally most dubious act.

Young fish bite even a bare hook. But no one takes advantage of such a basic lack of life experience. To the contrary, small fry is under strict protection of law--for humanitarian reasons.

9852
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LONG-TERM YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM REVIEWED

Overall Situation

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1626, 28 Feb 82 pp 14-18

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic and Teodor Andjelic: "Usually Young People Are Unemployed"]

[Text] "Unemployment is more of a problem than oil--it is more likely to flare up!"

That is what we were told by Ljuba Zeremski, director of the Federal Bureau for Social Planning.

With this in mind a delegate in the Serbian Assembly last month issued a spontaneous sigh of relief toward the end of his term of office: "It will go hard on the next republic Executive Council when the young people begin to knock on the door during their term of office!"

Two weeks later, in a meeting of the Commission of the LCY Central Committee for Preparation of the Draft of the Resolution of the 12th Congress, there were criticisms of the working version of the draft. Young people had been neglected and were referred to in routine fashion.

These problems are not new; the only thing that is new is the seriousness with which they are being spoken of. If it is any consolation, the troubles with the economy, unemployment and the crisis of education--taken as a single "package"--are directly affecting young people throughout the world. An analysis by UNESCO entitled "Prospect for Young People in the Eighties" shows that unemployment of young people will be the most serious challenge in this decade.

In the United States of America there are 13 million people seeking jobs; in England 4 million; in the countries of the European Community there are in all 11 million without work. Our unemployment runs to more than 800,000 people. About 600,000 are employed abroad. It seems that of two possible economic evils, we have chosen both: high inflation and a high rate of unemployment.

Honorable Service to the Nation

Since 1965 (the date of the so-called economic reform) the total number of unemployed has increased 3.3-fold. At the same time, the number of skilled and highly skilled people and of people with junior and senior postsecondary education seeking work has increased 8.8-fold. Before the economic reform trained people represented 16 percent of the unemployed, while their share in 1980 was all of 43.3 percent. If it continues at the same rate--and the specialists judge that it will--the number of skilled and highly educated "jobless" will soon exceed the total number of unskilled people waiting for a job.

Young people make up the largest group in the job lines both in the world in general and in Yugoslavia--ranging from one-third in England to our own two-thirds.

The trade unions explicitly state that the Western economy has not known such long lines of the unemployed since the great crisis in the thirties. Reaganom ... [garbled text] Robin Hood: rob the rich and give to the poor! Among other things, also at the price of a high rate of unemployment the advanced industrial countries are holding inflation at a relatively low figure. There are also exceptions; this statement is attributed to Bruno Kreisky, the Austrian chancellor:

"I would rather have 100 million shillings of debt than 100 unemployed!"

Analysts in the West feel that it is extremely shallow thinking to expect blind resignation on the part of young people "in the situation of a radical narrowing of their prospects and an ebb in the quality of life." And the UNESCO specialists feel that the forms and fiercity of the reaction will vary as a function of place, level of education and class status.

Sociologist Paul Willis says that at the beginning unemployment is like an extension of the school vacation. However, if the situation persists, everything changes. Looking for a job becomes a humiliating routine. Young people cease to value their education and abilities. Thus lengthy unemployment becomes a symbol of the personal and social failure of themselves and their families. A general feeling prevails among the unemployed that they are condemned to uselessness in a world which worships those who are useful.

"Every time I go to the unemployment office I have the impression they look upon me as a good-for-nothing. I feel they are rejecting me, that they believe they are better than me," declared a young unemployed Englishman in an article published in the HERALD TRIBUNE.

A columnist in that paper, referring to this situation of the young and angry, observed: "There is no doubt that unemployment is an honorable way of serving the nation."

Back in 1965 we removed the disguise of "full employment." We thereby admitted unemployment. In the meantime, its nature has been changing. It is no longer a question of migrational pressures (from rural areas to the city). We

now have unemployed in the true sense of the word. In a recent conversation with a delegation of Titograd University Vladimir Bakaric described these unemployed as people who "have nowhere to go but have to be here." Bakaric observed that at present they are a minority, but our dissidents are mainly recruited from their ranks.

The Core of a Strategy

"The total number of people without work at present is a record since records have been kept on the unemployed. If we allow things to go on this way, the situation could become extremely unfavorable," we were told by Milorad Milenovic, chief of the Federal Employment Security Bureau.

Was that "record" properly measured? The efforts to distinguish the terms "unemployed" and "people looking for a job" are only partially justified. Some people really do not want to work. But this may at the same time be an expression of an administrative desire to reduce the record by "computational means."

Employment and Unemployment From 1975 to 1980

Republics and Provinces	Year	Population	Employment	Rate of Employment*	People Seeking Employment	Rate of Unemployment**
Yugoslavia	1975	21,365,000	4,758,000	22.3	540,135	10.1
	1980	22,344,000	5,798,000	26.0	785,499	11.9
Bosnia-Hercegovina	1975	3,980,000	677,000	17.0	86,616	11.2
	1980	4,225,000	834,000	19.7	136,865	14.1
Montenegro	1975	561,000	101,000	18.0	17,144	14.4
	1980	595,000	128,000	21.5	22,157	14.7
Croatia	1975	4,514,000	1,158,000	25.6	67,491	5.4
	1980	4,616,000	1,414,000	30.6	78,452	5.2
Macedonia	1975	1,756,000	337,000	19.2	89,666	20.7
	1980	1,889,000	427,000	22.6	117,151	22.5
Slovenia	1975	1,775,000	677,000	38.1	9,944	1.4
	1980	1,838,000	794,000	43.2	10,772	1.3
Serbia proper	1975	5,394,000	1,188,000	22.1	171,479	12.5
	1980	5,559,000	1,464,000	26.3	273,700	15.7
Kosovo	1975	1,406,000	137,000	9.7	41,282	22.9
	1980	1,606,000	178,000	11.1	67,548	27.5
Vojvodina	1975	1,979,000	481,000	24.3	56,513	10.4
	1980	2,016,000	558,000	27.7	78,854	12.4

* The rate of employment is given as the ratio of employed persons to the total population.
** The rate of unemployment is given as the ratio of the number of unemployed to the total number of employed and unemployed.

Source: "Statisticki godisnjak Jugoslavije 1981" [Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia 1981], XXVIII, Belgrade, 1981.

Young people know that there is no simple way to get a job. Milan Obucina, president of the Serbian youth organization, had this to say in an interview:

"I am certain that young people do understand our present economic situation, I am certain that--if they are trained for an occupation which is not in great demand--they will patiently wait even 4 or 5 years for a job. However, if a young person sees that a job goes to a colleague who finished school after he did, to one who had poorer grades and better material conditions, then he would no longer have patience. These rigging of competitions for jobs, bribes, corruption, connections of various kinds involved in hiring have become a more serious problem than unemployment itself. There can no longer be any compromise in this area," Obucina says.

Nevertheless, the delegates representing youth in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Serbian Assembly voted for rejection of an amendment on changes in the law which would speed up retirement and thus open up room for 5,000 of the unemployed.

Difficulties in obtaining employment ought to "enjoy" at least as much public attention as inflation and indebtedness, but it appears that this is not the case. There are economists who believe that we are a quarter of a century late in including the growth of employment among the tasks of medium-term plans, but in the ranking of goals and tasks it has been pushed to the bottom of the list.

Yet are young people interested in the speed with which the question of their jobs can move upward from the bottom of the list? Dr Berislav Sefer thinks that the question of hiring young specialists is a central and strategic question in our society's development. If they do not become involved in the work process, Sefer told us, this means that they remain on the periphery of society, that they become observers. And then this is no longer a merely social or merely economic question.

"When able and trained young age groups become involved, both self-management and society take on a new and higher attribute. The fact that we have not had any evident sociopolitical upheavals because of the large number of unemployed does not mean that they are not possible. Some kind of reaction does exist, it is not a stormy one, but is expressed in specific forms of abstinence," Sefer believes.

Dr Kiril Miljovski wonders how one can explain the negligence of the most responsible official entities (executive councils, trade unions, and so on) toward this burning socioeconomic problem?

According to him, the reason lies in the belief that the creation of new jobs and employment are not an economic problem, but a social problem, and therefore a less important problem. The next reason is that the survival of the executive councils, trade union forums, the leadership of the Socialist Alliance, and so on, in the opinion of Dr Miljovski, does not depend on the level of unemployment and the mood of the unemployed. Moreover, an additional reason lies in the fact that full employment is a long-range task which by its

long-term nature becomes repellent to our short-term reflections and short-term efforts.

Our economy has obviously been developing illogically, though probably no one wanted it that way. The labor-intensive manufacturing industry has developed in the northwest, where there is a shortage of workers. In the underdeveloped southeast, where there is an abundance of manpower, the fuel and power industry and raw materials industry have been built.

That is why the regional distribution of unemployed in the country is uneven. The high rate of unemployment in Kosovo and Macedonia, higher than 20 percent, is in line with their underdevelopment. According to the experts, it is the result of mistaken investments and of demographic expansion. The cure for the first cause is to increase labor-intensive investments. Treatment for the second cause, however, is more difficult, since the demographic explosion is not recognized as a limiting factor on growth in precisely those regions where it is most pronounced.

The ratio between the lowest level of employment in Kosovo and the highest level of employment in Slovenia is 1:4. Thus in spite of the high rate of expansion of employment, above 4 percent per year, which we have had recently, for every 100 people employed within the country there are 10 employed abroad temporarily. People employed abroad temporarily and the unemployed within the country represent about one-fifth of the total number of employed workers in Yugoslavia. This means that about 1.5 million potential workers have been excluded by the influence of numerous factors from production and creation of income within the country, we were told by Ljuba Zeremski.

Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro have a higher rate of unemployment than the average. Unemployment is also higher than the Yugoslav average in Serbia proper. Perhaps this is an additional element for the criteria of underdevelopment. In Croatia unemployment is close to a tolerant rate and shows prospects of dropping further. Slovenia, as is usually the case, is an exception: in 1975 the rate of unemployment was 1.4 percent, and in 1980 it dropped to 1.3 percent. For all practical purposes full employment has been achieved.

A Decade Ahead of Us

Treatment of unemployment is not a simple matter. Specialists in the trade unions abroad recommend shortening the workweek to 35 hours. In some countries workers have been given the opportunity to retire voluntarily under the most favorable terms even when they have not reached pensionable age. In one report of the British government amazement is expressed that the traditional length of the workweek could have persisted so long in spite of the high rate of unemployment without causing a public protest. In Belgrade it is calculated that shortening the workweek from 42 to 40 hours would open up 12,500 vacancies. But that computation is incomplete. A second shift must produce something which has a good market. At present even the first shift does not always manage this.

Economic difficulties, the demands of the economy for skilled manpower and the constant delivery of young volunteers for "white-collar" occupations are crisscrossed everywhere today. That is why the university is often being "called upon." In spite of its efforts, say the knowledgeable, it is even becoming a mere parking lot for temporary postponement of the existential troubles of the young age groups and of society.

The true solution does not lie in administrative restriction of the number of students. That would cause new social conflicts and would close off roads to a sizable portion of the young age group, which in that case would become both unemployed and untrained.

According to assessments of our specialists, unless we essentially reduce the number of university schools and students, in the year 2000 we will have an enormous number of unemployed people with higher education, and we will be importing ordinary manpower.

Opinions are also divided concerning secondary schools. Some think that an untargeted system of education of young people would offer greater opportunities for jobs. The targeted system prematurely determines the occupational physiognomy, and this later restricts the opportunities for employment.

In a recent meeting of the Central Committee the League of Communists of Macedonia Angel Cemerski said that opportunities exist in our country for a sizable growth of employment. However, he emphasized that there are large reservations about the plans now being made concerning education:

"It is said that associated labor does not want so many personnel. Associated labor at present does not know which end is up and will not say how many personnel it will need. Work organizations do not even know whether they will be getting raw materials tomorrow," Cemerski says.

There are no jobs today for all the unemployed--nor will they exist in the very near future, but there are still more jobs than we see and are taking advantage of. Small business and agriculture have been mentioned again for the umpteenth time. Judging by certain statements, an awareness of the phenomenon of unemployment as one of the most important social problems is making its way at all levels. This will also be discussed soon in the most responsible forums.

Nevertheless, it certainly will be difficult for the delegates in the new administration, just as their departing colleagues noted!

Aversion Toward Blue-Collar Occupations

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1626, 28 Feb 82 pp 14-16

[Article by Dr Stipe Suvar: "Blue and White Collars"]

[Text] Two or three decades ago the children of peasants entered the worker occupations in large numbers. And the peasants comprised two-thirds of the population. Today that "peasant pool" of the working class has almost dried up. Except in the most underdeveloped regions, the peasantry comprises one-fifth of the population, mostly in advanced years and no longer a reserve army of labor, as was the case in the distant and fairly recent past, when by and large the pauperized masses sought any way out of the situation, in which there was a shortage even of the basic achievements of civilization and the goods that represent a contemporary standard of living. Certainly almost 100 percent of the children of peasants still want and strive to leave the farm and to be something other than farmers, but at the same time they also want to avoid the worker occupations and the fate of a production worker.

The working class has grown many times over in the postwar processes of industrialization and urban development. But today the great majority of children of worker families also want to get education and acquire occupations which take them as far as possible from work in the factory shop or in physical production.

The "middle strata"--if we include here all those members of society who are not part of the two producer classes, the workers and the peasants, and including also the private-owner and rentier segments of society, and indeed even the petty routine bureaucrats and all the groups of creative and reproductive intelligentsia, the "conventional" bureaucracy and the "elites" of professional managers in associated labor--have also grown many times over; that is, they already comprise approximately the same percentage of the population as the working class narrowly conceived as the group of direct producers and those who perform mostly physical work (both in the economy and outside it). With rare exceptions children from the families of the "middle strata" want at any cost either to inherit the social status and occupation of their parents or to achieve still more in their "rise" and "career" within those same "middle strata," to which they belong, that is how it is, by birth.

This breakdown of society into social classes, which to be sure is greatly simplified, and these tendencies toward change in it, tendencies which are expressed in the fact that the two basic working classes are by and large not tending to reproduce themselves, and by the nature of things they are not being entered by "newborn infants" from the "middle strata," but, on the contrary, worker and peasant children in great numbers are on their own striving for something, anything, other than the destiny of a peasant or worker--have aggravated the question of the orientation which the young age groups adopt in their lives and their prospects in Yugoslav socialist society in the seventies.

Unless there are profound changes in some things in society and unless certain social phenomena are eradicated, in the decade ahead of us these issues will quite certainly become much more aggravated and could even give rise to quite serious sociopolitical upheavals and conflicts.

Where are the basic causes of the discrepancy between the aspirations and orientation of the new generations and the needs of society with respect to maximum success in development of the productive forces, in augmenting the material and nonmaterial wealth of both society and every individual, and in realizing the socialist ideals about everyone living from his work, about the work and life of all being creative and about people making decisions as self-managers in the sphere of the res publica concerning their everyday life and concerning the important affairs of society?

Certainly we can only enumerate some of those causes, without being able in a limited space to interpret them in any detail.

In our society productive work is less esteemed than any sort of work in an office or bureaucratic work, and the production worker, in spite of all the proclamations, is pushed into a reservation of "toil" and privatization, represented by something he can manage to get on his own. He is more or less a self-manager at the bottom level, and more frequently a delegate as well, but still the "people with education and position" do a good job of pushing him out of all the duties and responsibilities in every part of social and political life.... Until quite recently if he showed heroic persistence, he could push off into further education, all the way to the very top, but only by means of parttime study at his own expense could he manage to "slip" into the low-level office occupations. The movement for the material and social and moral rehabilitation of productive labor, the granting of preference to the production worker in the settlement of housing problems, the creation of broad opportunities for him to obtain education on a fulltime and parttime basis, and authentic accessibility of social positions to him as well as to others, must therefore be all-embracing and profound to take all this into account. In that case the panicky flight of young people from productive work and worker occupations would probably be halted or at least would die down.

Finally, in the last decade there has been a particular widening of the gap between the developmental means of associated labor and of society as a whole, on the one hand, and the "explosion," or haphazard and unwise expansion, of education.

At this point more than 200,000 young people are studying law, economics and political science, that is, the organizational and pedagogical sciences.

About 1 million people have gained junior and senior postsecondary education, but two-thirds of them are working in the so-called superstructure, outside physical production and outside a facility where scientific work is actually done. Highly educated people, then, have been "mistakenly" distributed, primarily where physical and nonmaterial wealth is not being created.

At a majority of the 10 universities more than 70 percent of the students are studying law, economics and the other social sciences. This has to do with the expansion of universities, university schools and junior postsecondary schools, which primarily reflect the ambitions of the cities and regions to have their "own" higher educational institutions, regardless of what kind. The young universities are mostly copies of the older ones in the capital cities. Since they were opened without having good physical facilities and personnel for the engineering and so-called production disciplines, the predominant studies are those for which it is easiest to obtain instructors and those which require minimum space, so that a large number of students can be enrolled.

The great mass of the "unproductive" intelligentsia is concentrated in the large cities, and even now it is being hyperproduced, and in coming years it could grow at a galloping rate.

The "explosion" of higher education has already taken on pathological dimensions and is not an expression of real needs in development of the productive forces. This assertion can be backed up with a great deal of data and evidence.

Thus the "reform" of the educational system is one of the most important issues in Yugoslavia's social development during this decade. It is still at the very beginning, it is paradoxical that many uninformed people are casting blame on that "reform" which as yet has hardly begun at all, and the point is not that it has caused pathological phenomena in the development of education, but that it has not even begun yet to prevent them, much less correct them.

It is commonly asserted that young people cannot obtain employment after elementary and secondary school, so that for reasons of social welfare they should be enrolled for university education, regardless of what kind. However, it is difficult for people with secondary education to obtain white-collar jobs, but for those with production training it is difficult only insofar as in some city or commune care was not taken to prevent a surplus in this or that trade or occupation.

But when it comes to the prospects of young people, it is not so essential whether the work is productive or unproductive, but whether a particular job is creative and what opportunities it gives young people to affirm themselves creatively. Young people are more and more dissatisfied both in our country and throughout the world even when various diplomas and titles are still being offered, and indeed even money which can be earned in the consumer society, but there is less and less opportunity for their own creativity both in the spheres of material production and outside it. And this is the main field of battle for the young people, especially for that increasingly large portion of this group which is growing up under urban and industrial living conditions and is staying in school too long without any sort of contact with the workplace and is not taking responsibility even for its personal development, nor for anything in the family and in its social environment. It is striving only to "get ahead in any way" and to jump the barriers in the race for titles and diplomas.

In a society of socialist self-management youth ought to assume responsibility from a young age both for its own education and for its work, it should support itself, and even during schooling it should have one foot in associated labor and should itself solve all the problems of its employment and housing in good time, instead of those problems being solved, as is the case today, mainly through family solidarity and private and family connections.

Only in this context can we arrive at an authentic social commitment of young people, rather than having them stand around doing nothing or being an object of manipulation, feeling embittered because of being under tutelage, because of the gerontacracy, because of the a priori dominance of the principle of seniority.

Total Number of Unemployed in Yugoslavia in 1981

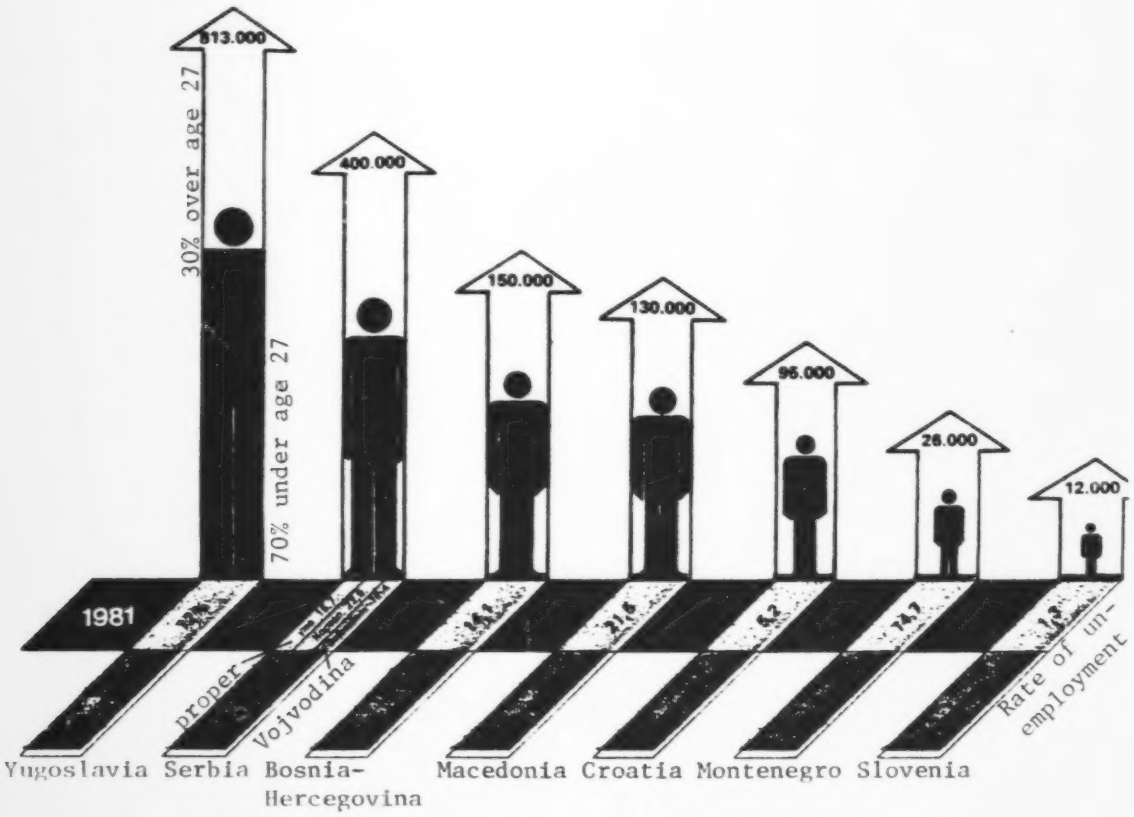

Urgency of Issue

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1626, 28 Feb 82 pp 16-17

[Article by Dr Miroslav Peculjic: "The Borderline"]

[Text] The attitude toward the employment of trained young people is becoming a line of demarcation between the conservative and progressive ways of getting out of the crisis.

This kind of bold project, a solution in the grand manner rather than a patchup job, encompasses a number of factors.

First, the possibility that the young generation could combine work and education, that jobs could be opened with shorter working hours. Second, the possibility that the older generations might work shorter hours, that the workweek be shortened, which would bring large changes in the conception of the industrial organization of work so that the social product would not drop. Third, it includes projects involving emergency financial rescue and rehabilitation of those production sectors which are in a crisis because of the effect of the international market and which now represent unutilized capacity.

Fourth, it presupposes a well-thought-out opening up of those sectors of labor which afford higher employment and which are sectors of the future. Fifth, it is related to a new conception of the role and the institution of "members" whose hiring becomes a part of a development investment (investment projects) which make it possible to activate the productive forces which are otherwise going to waste, which make it possible to breathe new life into them by employing trained and professionally competent manpower.

This is an investment in the decisive component of development, the human component.

Affirmation of creative activities is becoming a decisive task. It is built up on the simple principle that is the key to success: we dare not leave people unemployed. Affirmation of that principle is achieved not only through augmented income, but also by enrichment of the content of work, by enhancement of the role of highly trained personnel, and by boldly orienting them toward their own creativity and innovation. At present this work is degraded both in its content and in the professional opportunities offered the young man who is overflowing with knowledge. This kind of rehabilitation of the content of work also expands the number of jobs, and a greater need arises for research and project planning. It is not just a question, then, of creating more jobs, but of more productive involvement in work.

Creation of new jobs is the key link in the chain of changes, since it inevitably leads toward alternatives. Higher employment is not possible unless radical alternatives are introduced in production, in the organization of work and in consumption.

After all, if the task is set of achieving higher employment, then the task must also be inevitably set of changing working hours, of changing the organization of work, which is becoming less bureaucratic, which is stimulating the development of the worker's own research. If a decision, for example, is made for strong development of agriculture, to turn the country into a "socialist Denmark," which is attainable, then there is a great expansion of the demand for a large number of specialists in this sector.

The decisive thing is to achieve a change of direction in the present logic, a change of direction in the order of priorities.

The criterion of all the other solutions and the driving force for a way out of the crisis must be employment of trained manpower. After all, more and more will depend on the young generation. And now it is losing determination, it has lost its motivation, it is becoming listless and without prospects. If the generations to come lack determination, desire and motivation for productive work, then productivity will again fall. Not only because of poor organization of work, but also because of the listlessness and lack of prospects, because of the lack of motivation.

A new attribute is needed in the political and moral climate in society. Nor would we immediately solve everything thereby. But people are realistic, they know that in a year or two they cannot resolve all those difficulties which have beset society. But the essential thing is the prospect which is opened up, the energy and determination of the organized social forces which will change the present course, which will make the great wheel begin to turn differently, for the better, rather than to slide downward.

Survey of One Group

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1626, 28 Feb 82 p 17

[Article by Ljuba Stojic (along with those who conducted the survey in NIN's Research Center): "Getting Along Fine at Their Parents'"]

[Text] We surveyed 51 unemployed people in SIZ's [self-managing community of interest] for employment security in Belgrade (Stari Grad, Zvezdara, Cukarica, Rakovica and New Belgrade), during the morning hours on Monday, 22 February 1982.

A majority had finished secondary school (31) or higher education (13), and there were also a few skilled workers (5) and unskilled workers (2). Almost all those who had finished secondary school were studying something while they were registered with the SIZ. Among them there were more who had come from specialized schools (17) than the academic high school (14 [original reads 4]). They represented all the possible types of secondary specialized schools, without any one being distinguished.

By and large their academic success had been good: that is, there were 26 with an average grade of 8, 14 with a "good" grade, or about 7, and 6 with an "excellent" grade, i.e., 9. In all there were 21 with satisfactory grades.

The Situation of the Respondents

The largest group (18) had been waiting for a job less than a year, the next group had been waiting between 1 and 2 years (15), and the last group had been waiting between 3 and 4 years (14). Those who had been waiting longer than that were quite rare (4).

Seven out of every 10 respondents were relying on their parents, most of them exclusively on their parents (while one-third was attempting to earn something as well through the Youth or Student cooperative).

Four out of 10 respondents were attempting to earn something from time to time through the cooperative. A third port of support was the spouse--for 2 out of every 10 respondents. Assistance was being received from the SIZ's quite rarely (only 3 cases out of 51!).

Let us also insert here the impression of those who conducted the survey that a majority of those they talked with did not have serious desires to find work, since they were getting along fine at their parents', they were studying parttime, the only reason for going to the SIZ was so that they would accumulate longevity (32 of the 51). Among those who left the impression that they really did want any kind of job and were hurt by being unemployed, most were university trained and could not benefit from continuing their studies (19).

Attitudes of the Respondents

At the end we put this question to the unemployed:

"In your opinion is our society undertaking in an organized way everything it might to reduce unemployment more quickly?"

The answers were mostly negative (36), but among them there were few extremists ("Far from it"--only 4). By and large these were moderately negative responses ("It is not doing everything"--19; "It is not really doing a great deal"--12).

Only 1 out of every 5 respondents (11) gave a favorable opinion of employment policy. Nor were superlatives in the majority here either ("Everything"--1; "Enough"--3). There were more of the moderately affirmative responses ("An effort is being made, they are trying"--7).

Some people did not respond at all to this question (4).

Need for Reform

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1627, 7 Mar 82 p 13

[Article by Ljubisa Ristovic: "Do Not Underestimate Reforms"]

[Text] In the analytical article "Usually Young People Are Unemployed" (NIN, No 1626, 28 February) the authors boldly pointed to the social and political

consequences unless the problem of providing jobs to the young generation is solved more quickly. Seeking an analogy in the recent past, they referred to the major changes in the economic system 17 years ago as the "so-called economic reform," which means: either it was not a reform, or if it was, why does it deserve today the epithet "so-called"?

I do not agree that it deserves that kind of qualification. It was one of the boldest strokes made since the introduction of self-management. The strategists of the reform had the knowledge and boldness to make a radical break with certain legacies of the administrative system and to strike at the growing power of the state in the sphere of distribution. Incidentally, the political-ideological basis of the 1965 reform was laid by the Eighth LCY Congress in its strategic commitment to place expanded reproduction under the power of the working class.

The reform struck deep at certain inherited privileges of certain industries and regions on the unified Yugoslav market, but on behalf of common interests, in the name of the historical interests of the working class, in the name of strengthening the economic foundation of associated labor, and that was also a chance to cut away the power of statism, and the boundaries of self-management moved a large step forward. The goals were well chosen, and the reform was a great challenge. As a strategy, as a commitment, as an interrelated set of economic policy measures, the 1965 reform is an inspiration even today. We should seek the reasons for its failure to yield results exclusively in the fact that at precisely that time there was a strengthening on the political scene of those statist structures which on the ruins of federal statism, in the name of republic statism, that is, narrowly conceived interests of the nationalities, frustrated the reform and annulled and defeated all its initial results.

If we are to draw certain analogies, then all those crucial problems which the reform was trying to resolve at that time are still outstanding today. With the difference that today they are manifested in still more acute form: commodity production is stifled under the pressure of administrative restrictions; structural disproportions are still more pronounced, as evidenced, incidentally, by the enormous debt in foreign trade; centers of alienated economic and political power mostly make the decisions on distribution of the surplus value of labor; though energy, raw materials and food have been priority sectors in two medium-term plans already, things are not changing because of opposed economics (statist) interests.

There is good reason, then, to put the question: Why are there no hints whatsoever of a reform which would radically alter relations on the unified Yugoslav market and would make an essential contribution to correcting the discrepancy between the constitutional commitments and real relations in which self-management is being displaced more and more?

Is it because of a lack of knowledge as to which are the dominant tendencies in world political economic thought; as to what are the possible ways of Yugoslavia's becoming a part of the world market; as to what brings the working class together or divides it; as to what determines the behavior of producers; as to

what drives them to develop modern technology, to enter into association and to break down the narrow framework in which statism is persistently trying to push them?

It is evident that there is this kind of awareness. But there is greater power in the resistance of those structures and centers of power who do not like any fundamental seizure of inherited and newly acquired privileges. That is why there is no unified position concerning the essential issues of the system, and in the space from which self-management has been driven, controversial economic policies exist and conflict in the name of national (republic, provincial) interests on the unified Yugoslav market, sometimes making compromises, sometimes quarreling fiercely and exchanging accusations, and all of them together displacing associated labor to the periphery of decisionmaking. And why should such forces advocate any reform which would put them where they belong?!

One of the essential preconditions for getting out of the crisis in which the Yugoslav economy finds itself is to clear up the ideological confusion which is being tolerated more and more. For instance, we know that one of the fundamental commitments of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, set down in all the programmatic documents and the SFRY Constitution, is that the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia exercise their rights on the unified Yugoslav market and that this guarantees them optimum conditions for their comprehensive economic, social and cultural development. This is also an integrative element, a prerequisite for the unity of the working class.

Recently the idea that relations among the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia might also be regulated on the principles of a common market has entered the orbit of public communication. It is true that they could. Only a unified Yugoslav market presupposes that those relations be regulated on the principles of the Yugoslav federal system. Regulation of those relations on the principles of a common market presupposes confederative relations, or the kind of relations that exist between the countries of the West European Economic Community, which have concluded certain agreements as sovereign countries, with all the attributes of that sovereignty. Those two terms are not synonyms, they do not have the same social content, but they express diametrically opposite political-ideological approaches, and an equal sign cannot be placed between them.

It is probable that there are many reasons why the preconditions do not exist at present for any fundamental changes in the economic system. That incidentally is why pragmatism in the bad sense of the word is the prevailing economic practice. But resistance should at least be offered to the advocates of statism who describe as heresy and an attack on the fundamental values of the system of socialist self-management any hint that we need fundamental changes in the economic system as we need bread itself (and why not those changes which would really bring the working class into the position of making decisions on the surplus value of its own labor instead of those decisions still being made by intermediaries?). Precisely in the name of the basic values of the system of self-management, on behalf of its further affirmation and an opening up of space for the leap from self-management as a formality into

authentic self-management--which presupposes that the working class manage the entirety of social reproduction--more radical changes are needed.

If the 12th LCY Congress adopts clear and decisive views in this regard, it would give a great thrust to those forces in the Yugoslav community which have both the knowledge and the boldness to tackle the problems that have accumulated. I do not believe that that kind of reform would experience the fate of the one in 1965. But it should also be mentioned that it ought not to be a copy of the previous one, but an extension of it at a far higher level.

Response to Suvar's Remarks

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1628, 14 Mar 82 p 2

[Letter to the editor by Obrad Zaric, Graditelj Construction Enterprise in Ivanjica, in response to the article "White and Blue Collars" by Dr Stipe Suvar: "Fathers and Children"]

[Text] I am the most ordinary worker in this society, and I do not know whether because of its content this letter will reach the columns of "Echoes" (though my son helped me quite a bit in writing it).

I was moved to write it by the article of Comrade Stipe Suvar in your paper on 28 February 1982 under the title "Blue and White Collars." In that article Comrade Suvar spoke about peasant children, the children of workers, "how almost 100 percent of them still desire and strive to leave the farm and not to be farmers, but at the same time they also want to avoid the worker occupations and the fate of a production worker."

I wonder whether the children of farmers and workers are required to stick with what their parents did and what they were concerned with? In his opinion should the children of those strata remain where their parents got stuck for the love of the individuals in this society? Is it the duty of those children to do the same jobs which their parents have done? Cannot those jobs be done by the children of the leaders and officeholders, but only by the children of farmers and workers in our society? If it were better to be a worker and a farmer, then we would support them, and other people would also point their children in the direction of those occupations.

I am a worker, but I will give everything (as our saying goes, even the black under my nails) so that my child does not stay at the level where I have been. As one who has been a worker for many years, I do not know of a case where any leader or officeholder in this society has chosen a worker occupation for his child, rather than to seek something higher and better for his child.

Why should I leave my child as a legacy a job in which he earns 6,000 dinars a month holding a shovel and mixing mortar, where he is always smeared up, exposed to the weather, held in low esteem, left with only a dream about an apartment and other benefits, when with a little more toil and work in school he will in the future be able to earn 20,000 a month, to hold a pencil and a piece of paper in his hand, to receive an apartment immediately and

automatically all the other benefits in this society, which I do not have even after 20 years of labor?

It is no wonder that according to recent research of the Serbian Republic Conference of the Socialist Youth League only 1 young person in 100 is interested in a worker occupation, since even they see that school and only school brings a finer life and more prestige in this society.

So that this situation might be corrected to some extent, from my point of view as an ordinary worker I feel that the worker should first of all be better remunerated and given far higher esteem, and then we would have enough masons, enough carpenters, locksmiths, milling machine operators, grinder operators and other occupations (personnel) of which there is a shortage in our economy.

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SARAJEVO TEACHER'S STATEMENTS EVOKE RETALIATION

Belgrade OMLADINSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jan 82 p 6

[Interview with Sarajevo teacher, Vojislav Seslj by Vuk Draskovic: "Rebel without a Cause"]

[Text] When I met Vojislav Seslj on Thursday, 7 January, and we shook hands and exchanges pleasantries, I felt deceived and disappointed.

Before me was a young man, a robust fellow with a pleasant face, on which you could not help noticing the strong nose of a mountaineer and unusually moist eyes that look at you from behind glasses.

I had pictured him differently. I had expected to meet "intellectual filth," a "destructive personality," an "indecent and arrogant" character, a "simpleton," a "prompter of the political underground," a "pretentious university teacher," a "nihilist and a grumbling critic," a "phantasmagorical dreamer" and a member of a "pack of starving sharks," which "rush after the least drop of blood, after the most insignificant wound in some tissue"--as he was recently called publicly in Sarajevo by a very prominent and widely quoted "Marxist theoretician" and university professor, Dr Fuad Muhic.

I expected to see a "Trotskyite," a "Stalinist and a Stalinist scum," a "young lion who is trying to rush to the side of the old guard," an "ultra-leftist, anarcholiberal, and new leftisit," as he was called by his colleagues, teachers at the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo, Vladimir Degan and Ivica Milicevic.

I expected to see a "megaphone for various foreign psychological warfare services"--as Seselj was described by the Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE on 27 November last year.

I had hoped, finally, that I would meet a monster who "moves quickly through the city sewer system like a disease-bearing rat"--as Seselj was called in OSLOBODJENJE by journalist Ismet Kreso.

Instead, the person before me was an almost boyishly smiling young man, 27-years-old. He has been a teacher at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Sarajevo since 1 July 1981. He received his doctorate at the Law Faculty

in Belgrade in 1979. He was born in Sarajevo. He became a member of the LCY when he was 17 years old and was in the party until 4 December 1981, when the Municipal Committee took away his red booklet.

[Question] I am surprised that you are even at liberty and that I have an opportunity to talk with an "enemy," the like of which has not appeared for a long time in our socialist Balkan area.

[Answer] I was thinking about that just this morning. If only a tenth of the accusations were true, I really should be shot, not put in jail, but shot.

[Question] If I am not mistaken, the avalanche came down on you 2 months ago, when you asked your faculty to revoke any master's degree of Brana Miljus, the secretary of the municipal committee of the Sarajevo LC?

[Answer] That is correct, although the avalanche started moving quite a while ago, back in 1971, when I was in the second year of high school. Atif Purivatra came to our school then and delivered a lecture on the national aspect of the population census that was being conducted. He wrote various columns on the blackboard, added them, subtracted them.... He called the students and divided us by nationality and counted us. He even screamed hysterically about the idea of Yugoslavism, so that he was sharply opposed by a group of students and professors, in which I admit I was fairly vocal. After the 21st meeting of the LCY Central Committee in Karadjordjevo, we asked that Atif Purivatra be held politically responsible for his nationalistic activity. Do you know what happened? The municipal committee of the Sarajevo LC issued an official communique saying that in his campaign in 1971 Atif Purivatra represented the positions of the municipal committee!

Somewhat later, as a student associate dean of the Law Faculty, I opposed the selection of Dr Fuad Muhic as dean of the Law Faculty in Sarajevo....

[Queston] Can we skip the past and start with Brana Miljus and his plagiarism?

[Answer] Brana Miljus is a young man; we are almost the same age. But he is the secretary of the municipal committee, untouchable and sacred, as he considers himself and as many people still consider him. I took the liberty of requesting that his master's degree be revoked, primarily because in the faculty we all knew and said openly that Miljus had literally copied his master's thesis on nonalignment.... To make matters worse, around that time I published a critical article in KNJIZEVNA REC about the participation of Atif Purivatra and Hasan Susic in an international symposium in Madrid at which Qadhafi's "Green Book" and pan-Islamic positions were discussed. I linked their participation in such a gathering to the well-known pan-Islamic ideas of Dr Muhamed Filipovic, which were ridiculed in Cavtat in 1979.... I thus touched upon two forbidden areas, bureaucratic and nationalistic, and revenge had to be swift and brutal.

[Question] You also made public the fact that a fellow who wrote for PREPOROD, the newspaper of the Islamic religious community in Yugoslavia, was recently appointed the chief managing editor of OPREDELJENJA (the theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina)....

[Answer] Right, that was Nijaz Durakovic, a fellow who replaced the "unsuitable" Nenad Kedzmanovic. But he is not the only Sarajevo "Marxist" who has made a name for himself by articles in PREPOROD. Other contributors, at least those whom I was able to note by rapidly flipping through this religious newspaper, were Muhamed Filipovic and Atif Purivatra, while Hasan Susic was one of those who received public praise and congratulations from the PREPOROD editorial board.

[Question] What is your nationality?

[Answer] I am Yugoslav of Serbian ethnic origin. Why are you asking me?

[Question] Then it is none of your business what is written by whom in the newspaper of the Islamic religious community. I am sorry, but you do not belong to that community.

[Answer] I hope that you are joking. You are being ironic. But Fuad Muhic, at a prominent political meeting in Sarajevo, counted the number of "prominent Moslem intellectuals" whom I had attacked, and concluded from this that I was a nationalist! This, however, is not the first time that Muhic, Filipovic, Purivatra, and such people have declared any critical word directed against their own positions and behavior to be an attack on the Moslem nation and the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina! If I used Muhic's methods, then I could also label as nationalistic activity the series of articles published by him last year in SVIJET, in which he criticized a group of "non-Moslem intellectuals": Bozidar Jaksic, Zoran Avramovic, Predrag Matvejevic, Dragan Jovanovic, and Rajko Djuric. But I will never make use of those Moslem methods, no matter what happens to me. All the citizens of our one united Yugoslavia can criticize my articles and my behavior. I'm afraid that I cannot stand Muhic's complexes and deceptions.

[Question] What complexes are those? Didn't that word slip out uncontrollably, by chance?

[Answer] You see, I feel that only an unfortunate man who himself is burdened with these low passions and complexes could have happened upon the idea of seeking the "basis" for my "nationalistic" activity in regard to the Moslems in the fact that I am not a Moslem. Look, I'll tell you about the case of one university professor whose father was a Chetnik during the war and afterward lived abroad as an emigre for some time. Since he was not a criminal of any kind, he returned to Yugoslavia to visit his son in Sarajevo. This "intellectual" kept his father constantly locked inside the apartment and hid him, keeping him a complete secret, from a maniacal fear that if people found out about his father he might be declared a Greater Serbian nationalist! Afflicted with this complex and fear, this "intellectual" began to make himself known through increasingly more hysterical attacks on everything Serbian; he became unable to tell the difference between "national" and "nationalistic," and recently announced publicly that POLITIKA is a Greater Serbian newspaper!

It was probably because of similar complexes that Omer Ibrahimovic stated at a meeting of the Faculty Committee for All-People's Defense that Vojislav Seselj

had been awarded a doctorate at the Law Faculty in Belgrade just so that "Seselj could carry out Greater Serbian sabotage more easily in Sarajevo!"

[Question] Stating some facts from your private life, which he could have known only if he had been your nurse, Fuad Muhic wrote in SVIJET that your "destructive behavior" had not even left the Yugoslav National Army alone. Can you translate this allusion?

[Answer] First, I would like to tell you about the conflict in secondary school with Atif Purivatra. I wanted to tell you the genesis of my disagreement with the activities of some individuals at the university in Sarajevo and introduce you to their tricks and reprisals. These are influential individuals. But you won't want me to go too far and to a certain degree I understand you.... Well, this allusion of Muhic's also comes from the past. The man is reproaching me for the fact that before I went into the army I complained to General Ljubicic. I complained to him because Purivatra, Susic, and a few other teachers at my faculty, through political slanders and dirty tricks, managed to keep me from serving in the reserve officers' school. They spread the rumor that my father Nikola has been "convicted in 1950." They had somehow dug up the fact that my father, a railroad brakeman, spent two months in investigative detention in 1950 because of a collision in which only material damage was done. They did not want to tell the entire truth, naturally, and instead put together a formulation that suggested some serious crime of a political nature. This was the only "taint" that they were able to find in my entire family, and I hear that they also investigated the "moral and political suitability" of my ancestors....

There is a type of people here--and I do not think that this is anything peculiar to Bosnia or Sarajevo--a layer, a caste, I do not know what to call them, who consider themselves infallible, irreplaceable, and untouchable. These people are prepared to do anything to preserve their high but undeserved positions and posts. They have developed typically Stalinist methods of discrediting anyone who interferes with them and does not bow down to them. They conceal their spiritual darkness and backwardness, their ignorance, their nationalism, their raging ambitions for consumption and power, by a cloak of very loud verbal professions of faith in socialist and communist principles and ideals.

[Question] I hope that a democratic discussion was at least conducted when you were expelled from the party?

[Answer] It was an exceptionally democratic procedure. The municipal committee expelled me from the party and only afterward a meeting of my party organization was scheduled. I asked to speak five times at that meeting, but they did not let me speak....

[Question] Who could have forbidden you to do that?

[Answer] The workers' presidium, directed by Professor Pozderac, did. I asked him personally for permission to speak. "You cannot," he shouted at me.

"You had better be quiet, because in your articles you did not offer an acceptable platform for a discussion. You even attacked me; this is insane!" Then he said to me in a somewhat calmer tone that as a communist and a comrade, after discovering Miljus's plagiarism, I should have gone to Miljus and said to him, "Friend, this is a little awkward. Put in quotation marks and footnotes, and cite the one you copied it from!"

[Question] Is it true that the last copy of Miljus's master's thesis has mysteriously disappeared from the faculty library--the obligatory copy that is never supposed to be taken from the library under any circumstances?

[Answer] It's true. At a meeting of the teachers' collective, at the end of December, I alerted them to this curious fact, especially since there are indications that a special working group has been appointed to correct and straighten out Miljus's thesis as soon as possible and to present it to the public as Miljus's genuine original text!

[Question] That is impossible to do, because Miljus has published his thesis as a book.

[Answer] The faculty's press release says, and probably not by coincidence, that the faculty is not interested in the contents of Miljus's book but only in the contents of his master's thesis.

[Question] I hear that "energetic steps" have also been taken to expel you from the faculty?

[Answer] A few days ago a lawsuit was initiated in a very perfidious manner; the person who was the rival candidate when I was selected as a teacher has sued and requested that the decision on selecting me be rescinded. But it cannot be proven that this was rigged. This person has a master's degree and has not published any papers. The court reacted like a shot and showed unusual haste and readiness to make a decision as quickly as possible on the lawsuit of the "rival candidate." I am convinced that my selection as teacher will be rescinded.

[Question] And then?

[Answer] I am adhering to what Marx said: Fight! I am lucky that I am not married. Even if I lose my job, there will only be one person to suffer the consequences and go hungry.

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END

JPRS 80663

26 April 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2003

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JPRS 80663

26 April 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2003

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SOVIETS ON FATE OF POLISH EMIGRE IN BRITAIN

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 9, 3 Mar 82 p 14

[Article by Vladimir Simonov: "The Fate of a Polish Immigrant"]

[Text] Beep-beep-beep! These are the sounds you hear when a call is made from a London telephone booth:

--Is this the Soviet correspondent's office? Are you Soviet, or have I made a mistake?

The speech is rapid and inconsistent. It is clear that it is not an Englishman speaking.

--How can I help you?

--Help me! I beg you, let us meet. It is so important for me! I am at a dead end. There is nothing left for me but to hang myself from the fence of Buckingham Palace. . . .

Who does not call a correspondent! There is a lot of grief in Britain these days. A kind of deluge of despair. And in it, like the last straw, is the telephone book. Is it really a suicide candidate again? There have been calls from them.

--Excuse me, but perhaps it would be better for you to contact the Samaritans? There is this "telephone of hope," do you know?

The voice in the receiver is like a moan:

--What have the Samaritans to do with it! I have only one hope now--publicity! Nobody in this country cares about my pain. I am not an Englishman, you know. . . .

--Who are you?

--A Pole. A Polish citizen. . . .

We met on a street which in London is said to be the street of "millionaires." It was simply on the way for both him and for me. The crests of the oak trees

come together here like enormous oval frames. Set in them are the palaces of the royal family, the mansions of the aristocracy, and diplomatic missions. Black "Mercedes" slip by with funereal solemnity. From their glass enclosed booths policeman drill through you with a suspicious look. The heavenly oak bower is two miles long. My companion in his poor worn-out coat and his briefcase tied with rope seems out of place and absurd in this satiated little world. Limping on one foot, he was bent into a hump as it he was carrying all of these winding iron fences together with the gates which opened by means of photo elements.

After greeting one another, we walked along in silence for several minutes. I did not hurry him. And it was as if he was waiting until we came out onto the much more talkative, smoky Kensington High Street. Then he undid his briefcase:

--Have a look, will it help or not? A human being's fate, will it interest them or not?

Printed letters ran along the sheet of paper:

"Letter to the European Human Rights Conference in Madrid, Spain."

The address was a bit inexact. This was the Madrid meeting of the participants of the All-European conference. But, in general, it was clear where Yezhi Kokot was sending his appeal. That is his name. He is from Manchester. Here, in the right-hand corner of the letter, as is the rule here, is his address: "8 Sale Road, Northenden, Manchester, 23, England." But is this a letter? It is a broken, desperate scream: "Help me!!" The periods and the commas are like the S.O.S. in Morse.

"Dear Delegates.

I would like to put my case before the conference's consideration as one which will not endure postponement. Only because I am a Polish citizen and a true Christian I cannot get . . . justice in England where only the subjects of the Monarch are regarded as citizens of the first sort. . . . I ask the delegates. . . ."

I understood what Yezhi Kokot was asking the conference in Madrid about only later, at my office. For a long time my guest hesitated, and did not want to take off his coat, apparently, ashamed of his dilapidated clothing. Then finally he made himself comfortable in an armchair, hugging his briefcase.

His discharge papers. 1946. After having seen duty by the will of fate in the Polish Corps of the Eighth British Army, Kokot sought an occupation for himself in England. He had a Polish passport, and he would not change it for any other. Then why in England? "There was a need for qualified engineers in Poland. Well, I thought: I would learn a specialty here, abroad, and then--home. . . ."

Kokot did study something here. But not engineering. He studied the subject which is called capitalism.

In work on a turning mill a very important thing is the emulsion. The greasy poisonous liquid splashes onto the part that is being worked, helping the cutter. It also splashes onto the worker's hands. In any case, this was the kind of "safety" that existed during those years at the very large machine building company "David Brown Industries, Ltd." Misfortune struck in 1961. Kokot, as he says, "poisoned my hands," and earned industrial dermatitis. The doctor said: Change your occupation. That is easy to say--change! For what. You cannot exchange the machine tool. The boss snapped: "There are no more jobs. If you do not like lathing on a rotary--get lost." On account of the dermatitis it was torture for Yezhi to put on protective gloves. He continued to work with the shavings as before, with bare hands. Then another ailment came on top of the dermatitis--"metal disease."

On 17 July 1962, at the age of 39, Yezhi Kokot became disabled and from that time was unable to find an occupation for himself not in the cities nor in the dales and hamlets of this United Kingdom concerned with human rights.

And he was unable to leave for any other place now. In Manchester he had gotten himself a family. His wife, a quiet, ferociously devout Englishwoman, did not leave the house--a severe case of rheumatism. Thank God, he did not have to concern himself about the health of his daughter, Angela, and his son Karl. But feed the children?!

The "David Brown" Company seemingly accepted the responsibility for the disability. Now it was a matter of the amount of the financial compensation. When Yezhi was working, three types of different insurance had been milked from him. National insurance, the company insurance, and also some other kind. But today, during his dark days, no one wanted to pay him for the loss of his profession and for his ruined life. The giant of the much-praised British social security very calmly turned his back upon yet another unemployed lilliput.

It was then that Yezhi Kokot's court claim No. 1969 K 7739 against "David Brown Industries, Ltd." arose.

He clutches his glass of hot tea with both hands and, excited, burning himself, he tells me how the truth is ground to dust in the mill of local justice:

--At the first hearing the judge said: "Your case can be decided in 10 days. Do you have a lawyer?" I did not, of course, have a lawyer. A lawyer was beyond my means. The judge immediately understood where the money was. "Then," he continued, looking in the direction of the defendant, his words heavy with meaning, "then, do not drag out the case, or it will have to be denied altogether." Only afterwards it was explained to me that this was a direct hint to the defendant. Drag it out, he was saying, and the Pole's whole situation will collapse.

Where Yezhi got the energy from at that time, he is unable to explain today. But he kept going, wandering after an escaping shadow of hope. And what if suddenly after this solicitation something would begin to move. . . . Suddenly after this one. . . . The ball bearings of court procedure rolled on quietly, smoothly, tuned

by the centuries. All of the time there was the illusion of some kind of movement, of society's involvement in your fate. But as a result--zero! In the end, Kokot was received by Mr. Spicer himself, the political advisor to the chairman of the Supreme Court of Appeals Lord Denning. The secretary instructed him that the questions of the high personage had to be answered by either "yes" or "no." Yezhi was taken into an office and seated at a respectful distance. The great man was reading a newspaper. Five minutes passed. Mr. Spicer tore himself away from his study of the pages of a television program and uttered:

--Are you a Pole?

--Yes,--Kokot replied.

And that was all. With that the audience ended. That was the only question. Yezhi is convinced that his nationality predetermined the case: the claim was refused.

--If I had not been a Pole, but an Englishman, everything would have gone differently. But this way I am an inferior race. A Pole here is the same kind of outcast as a Pakistani, a person from Bangladesh, or a Negro from the West Indies. I have felt this during my life here on the Islands. That is what I am complaining about to Madrid. I am demanding that this discrimination be discussed at the conference. Is it said clearly here?

Kokot reads some lines from his letter:

"My long sufferings and study of the problem have convinced me that at the basis of the suppression of human rights is the entire structure of the political establishment in England and of the entire United Kingdom . . . the system of dividing people into two kinds which has been created here."

Could it be any clearer! Only, will the gentlemen Western delegates take this question up? At the beginning of February the Madrid meeting renewed the next stage of its work, but the West was making a fuss about a completely different document. As is known, in its Brussels communique NATO banged its fist, demanding: the immediate placing on the agenda in Madrid of the "serious violations of the Helsinki Act in Poland." Lord Carrington, the English Minister of Foreign Affairs, signed this masterpiece of unceremoniousness with his gold "Parker."

But at the same time, here, in London, Yezhi Kokot is walking about under the windows of the Foreign Office. He comes from Manchester, puts two cardboard posters on himself, and makes his way this way like a "sandwich man" among the crowds. He marks time at the entrances of department stores. He wants Britain to hear his scream: "Help me!" The mirror-like show windows fearlessly reflect the inscription on the posters: "Oppression and discrimination in the law courts." But, in general, one can read more between the lines. The tragedy of a Pole who has been crushed by "British democracy"--this is a piercing symbol of what the West would like to do with 36 million.

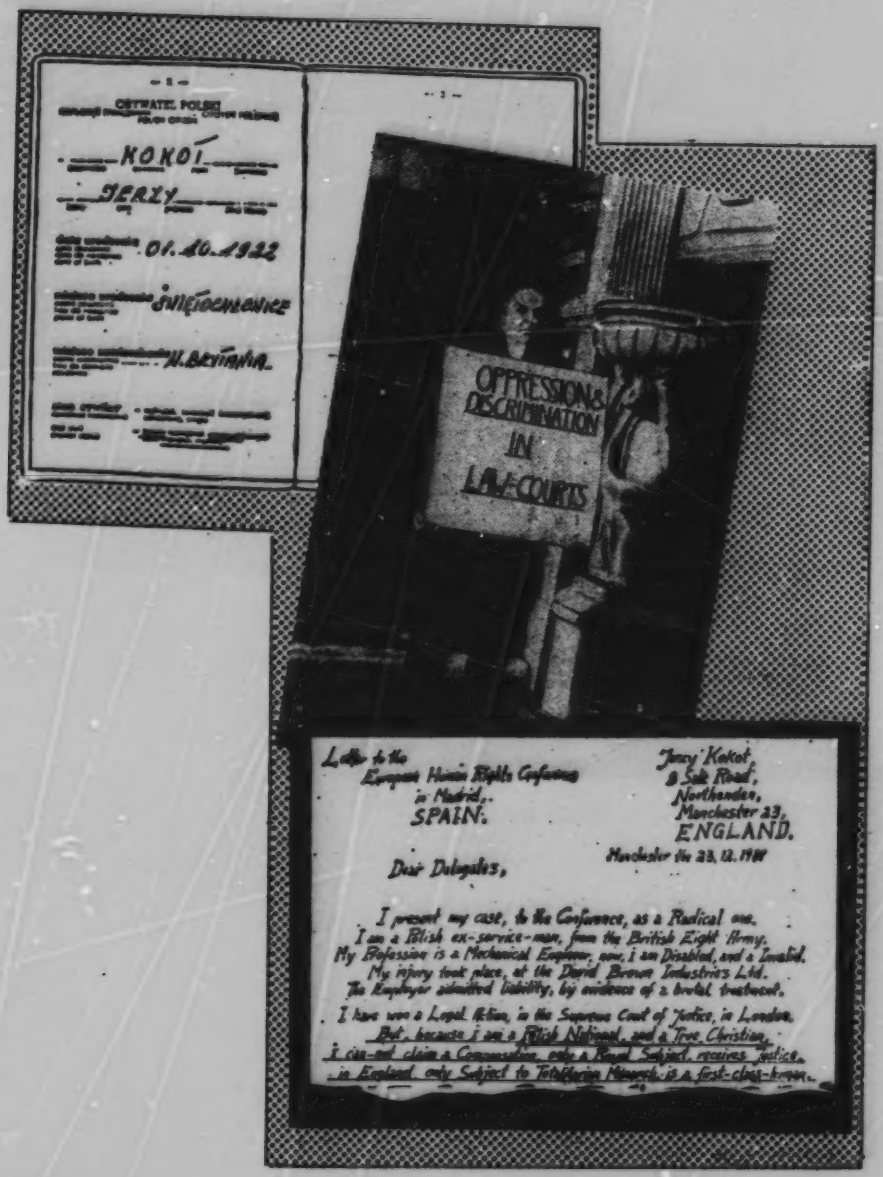

No one pays any attention to Kokot. Britain has buried itself in the "box." There horrors are being played out about Poland, and all official sympathy is directed there. However, some people are aware of Yezhi. The police.

--On account of the fact that I protest and organize demonstrations alone with posters, my Karl has not been hired for a job for more than four years now. My son says to me: "Father, it is all because of you!" I cannot look into his eyes. As it is, I do not buy tobacco and I tremble over every pence. All the same, Karl at 24 has nothing to wear. . . .

Strange. The West seems to have laid up quite a bit with its concern for the Poles. The Brussels "Common Market" commission has halted food deliveries to People's Poland. Twenty million pounds sterling have been saved. Whom will they seat on these mountains of gold? "The funds are to be distributed through the Catholic Church and other organizations. . . ."

Which are the ones, need not be asked. Here, for example, the group "Solidarity with Solidarity" is advertising from the pages of the DAILY TELEGRAPH. The discussion here is only in the imperative mood. . . . "Rush money! Printing equipment! Rented trucks and cars! And headquarters in central London with Telexes and telephones!"

Do you feel the scope? This is pan Yarskiy, who is already known to the readers of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, who is running the show in a foreign kingdom. An "Honorary Member of 'Solidarity'"--this is how he recommends himself. It is not yet in the center of London, but he does already have a headquarters. And the telephones are busy from morning until evening. Finally I break through the commotion of activity:

--May I speak with Yarskiy?

A female voice in broken English:

--He is very busy. From 6 in the morning until 11 in the evening he is constantly on the road somewhere. . . .

It is known where. He is shouting into a megaphone in the ports and at the docks: "Stop repairs on Soviet ships! Do not unload containers from Poland!" He hangs around the local trade unions. He tries to persuade the trade union leaders to pressure the government to shut off the valve of international trade. With the Soviet Union and Poland? No, with a single wave with all of Eastern Europe. Why be petty here! At the same time he looks greedily at the trade union safes and rattles his collection box: "Everybody give as much as he can for freedom in Poland!"

In recent days the English trade unionists have been somewhat confused:

--But a collection has already been made by you, by "Solidarity." Also for freedom. So, who, Mr. Yarskiy, represents "Solidarity," you or they?

They--this is a lively new working group of the "Solidarity" trade union led by Arthur Svirgil who has only just slipped out of Poland. He presents himself as a "new Marshal Pilsudski." About his colleague Yarskiy snorts contemptuously:

A pretender, he is ruining my whole liturgy with the English trade union bosses. In short, the keepers of the flame of freedom are backbiting one another. As if they are ideologically different. The counter-revolution which has been smashed in Poland is moving into the emigration on full maintenance from its long-time protectors. And here it is like in a harem: Who is going to be the first wife?

In contrast to Yarskiy who is digging in for a long stay in London, Svirgil excitedly keeps his spirits up: "My stay here is temporary. My goal is to return to Poland and see to it that others return. . . ." What is meant, of course, is the "Polish government in exile." In a mansion on Eaton Place, the gift of the English government, its 90-year-old president--he is Count Edward Rachinski--shakes his head in agreement: "Yes, as long as we are here the communist government in Poland is temporary. . . ."

But here is a strange thing! Work is now being sought for some of the fellow countrymen of the leader of the Polish emigration a bit further from Poland and on a little more permanent basis.

. . . On the television screen--a festive reception. The guests have lined up staidly to kiss the hand of the hostess. Smack, smack . . . An expensive evening dress flutters on the hostess. A gold chain shakes on the host. Across his entire chest. But the guests for some reason are dressed helter skelter: jeans and tee shirts. Lively conversations are not to be heard, only the clatter of forks against plates.

Where is the celebration and for what reason?

In Johannesburg, the Union of South Africa. The local city fathers are greeting the arrival of a group of Polish labor power. While seeking to halt relations with the socialist world, the leaders of the Polish emigration have set them up with . . . the apartheid regime. They have finally found a democracy to their taste!

Moreover, a complete division of labor has been organized. First, the Yarskyies and the Svirgils and others feel out the Poles who were caught by the war abroad and incite them to betray their homeland. Then the job is joined by special groups of recruiters from the South African Republic who today are standing watch at the railroad stations of Austria, at Danish ports, in Sweden, and here in English Tillbury. Sailors from a Polish ship? Okay. Members of a Polish tourist group? That is also good. The racists from the South African republic have plenty of work. From the vacancies at jobs for which blacks are not taken to military service in the detachments of raiders against the border areas of Angola.

Thus, solidarity with "Solidarity" ends with kissing the hands of the monster of racial oppression.

I ask Yezhi Kokot:

--But has it not entered your head to ask help from these emigrant headquarters? Still, they are your fellow countrymen. In addition, they have money--just for the purpose of saving Poles from oppression.

Kokot actually jumps up and down in the armchair. He speaks rapidly, now and then breaking into Polish:

--What do you mean no occasion! The English authorities frequently advised me: "You should go to your own people, for solidarity. . . ."

--And did you go?

--I went. Only, how are they my own? Poles in Poland itself have no idea of who speaks in their name here. They are Zionists!

--But did they receive you?

--I came and set out all of the documents. And they asked: "Why did you come from Manchester? You should have stayed where you were. You should have bought yourself a piece of bread for the money you spent on the railroad ticket." I said "goodbye" and left.

--Do you know what I would like?--Kokot continued.--I would like to speak on Polish television. To tell who is blackening the name of Poland in immigration circles today and why. To tell about the unemployment here which has crossed the three million level. To explain why the chaos in Poland is needed by the English government for its own salvation. To cite its own fate as an example.

. . . A few days later by chance I again saw Yezhi Kokot on the street. The Pole was picketing the entrance of a fashionable restaurant. The same sandwich boards were hanging over his chest and back. Plywood shields which do not protect against anything.

2959
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DEPUTY PREMIER SPEAKS OF DETERIORATING HEALTH SERVICES, HIGHER MORTALITY

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 27 Feb 82 pp 1, 8

[Speech by Stanish Bonev, Council of Ministers deputy chairman, at the National Conference with the Health Aktiv]

[Text] Comrades:

It is with pleasure that I take the floor to carry out a pleasant instruction of the BCP Central Committee and Comrade Todor Zhivkov, its general secretary, and of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic. The instruction is the following: to present to all of you and, through you, the huge army of medical cadres in our country, the warmest greetings and wishes for new and even greater successes in your highly responsible and dedicated efforts for the enactment of the concern of the party for strengthening the health and extending the longevity of every Bulgarian citizen.

As we know, health and longevity are the most valuable human possessions, the highest social value:

They are the foundation for enhancing the sociopolitical and labor activeness of man;

They are a decisive factor in increasing the volume of material goods and spiritual values;

They are a necessary prerequisite for the vitality of the nation and the victory of the new social system;

They are one of the focal points of the social policy of the party and the people's system.

Health and longevity mean the happiness of man. They are one of the essential features of the socialist way of life. That is why, the party's programmatic slogan is "Everything for the Sake of Man and Everything for the Good of Man!" That is why the 12th Party Congress formulated the main socioeconomic task of the Eighth 5-Year Plan: "To continue the line of comprehensive satisfaction of the steadily growing material, spiritual and social needs of the people...."

The 12th congress made an assessment of results achieved in politics, economics, culture, the further enhancement of the well-being of our people and the strengthening of the country's international prestige.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov said at the congress that "Now we can state with legitimate patriotic pride that under the party's guidance and with the dedicated work of millions of working people we have marked the first decade following the adoption of the program of the Bulgarian Communist Party by building, metaphorically speaking, another new, a second Bulgaria, and entering the second decade with two Bulgarias.

Unquestionably, the cadres on the health front have made a worthy contribution to this major success achieved by our people.

Here are a few facts:

We have a fully developed network of outpatient-polyclinical establishments, totaling 3,758; there are 184 hospitals, 186 sanatoriums, 1,130 nurseries and more than 4,500 pharmacies;

The average life span is increasing; temporary disability and invalidity are declining; major successes have been achieved in the struggle to reduce the prevalence of a number of infectious diseases;

Bulgarian medicine has achieved unquestionable successes not only within the country but abroad, in the field of medical-biological, clinical and hygiene disciplines;

The leading role of the Medical Academy, as the scientific health care headquarters, has been strengthened and broadened considerably.

The specific yardsticks and results of such successes achieved in the Seventh 5-Year Plan are the following:

Morbidity caused by contagious diseases declined by 23.5 percent;

Losses caused by illness have declined by six percent in terms of days and 12.5 percent in terms of prime disability;

Infant mortality has reached 20.2 per 1,000 live born children, etc.

These are the clear results of real socialism! This is the overall result of the proper April social policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party!

Today every working person in our country, every Bulgarian citizen, lives and dedicates his work to the solution of the specific problems proceeding from the main socioeconomic task. One of them is the preservation and strengthening of the health of the people, of all members of society.

Consequently, if we ask what is the criterion in assessing the work of the individual citizen, regardless of the nature of his work, the answer is

clear: it is the individual contribution to the implementation of the party's plans. It is the meaning and the content of our daily life.

What was the significance of the October National Conference in terms of the party and the working people in our country?

First. It was a conference at which Comrade Todor Zhivkov, with his typical Marxist-Leninist perspicacity and innovative approach in discovering new means and methods for the implementation of the general April line of the party, formulated the most topical theoretical and practical problems of the present and of the future.

They are the following:

The creation of a material and technical base consistent with mature socialism;

The problem of who is the owner of socialist property;

The nature of the state and the counterplans;

The nature of democratic centralism under contemporary conditions;

The nature of commodity-monitary relations and their place in the period of building mature socialism, etc.

Second. It was a conference at which Comrade Todor Zhivkov, with his typical desire to improve on achievements, made a critical study of many sectors in our life and indicated the topical problems which require the adoption of urgent measures.

One of them is the improvement of health services as a basic component of the system of comprehensive social services to the population.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov made the pleasing assessment that we can be proud of the great successes of our health care system. However, as he said, "A more careful look at things and a consideration of the final results of medical services aimed at improving the health of the people, increasing the life span, and so on, would show that our health front suffers from serious weaknesses and that major claims could be filed against it.... Work on the health front must be improved decisively and problems which affect millions of people must be resolved."

The report submitted by Comrade Radoy Popivanov and many other statements offered extensive data and a thorough analysis and conclusions based upon the critical remarks addressed to our health care system at the October conference. A draft resolution was submitted as well. This is good. I would say that this is a high honor and great responsibility for the leadership and the aktiv of our health front. It is a high honor, for you react quickly to critical remarks not in general terms but with concern, proving once again

that you are listening to the voice of the party and are sincerely trying to justify its trust; it is a great responsibility, for by adopting the suggested resolution you will assume an obligation to the party and the government to make the health care system consistent with the criteria of the 12th Party Congress and the instructions of our general secretary.

The following question arises: is it guaranteed that the present discussion and the draft resolution provide an accurate diagnosis and the type of prescription which will heal the shortcomings in population health services?

I believe that the October National Conference is an exclusive reason for an even deeper and more thorough study of the place and role of the public health care service at the stage of building mature socialism.

In this sense, I shall consider some features without claiming to cover the problem comprehensively and exhaustively.

Let me begin with the following question: is the stipulation of the July 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum and of the 1978 National Party Conference on the main contradiction between the tremendous opportunities and reserves of the existing material and technical base and our entire socialist system and their insufficient subjective utilization applicable to the health care system?

There could hardly be anyone in this whole who would reject its validity.

The party's concern for the development of health care is known far beyond the country's borders.

Let me recall a few facts.

In 1981, our medical services had capital assets in excess of 1.1 billion leva; annual costs are close to 900 million leva, an impressive figure considering the scale of the country, i.e., double the 1975 amount; there are more than 80,000 specialists with secondary and semi-higher training and an identical number of auxiliary personnel; in 1977 Bulgaria was sixth in the world, fifth in Europe and first in the Balkans in terms of the number of people per physician; the specialized health care institutions are being increasingly supplied with the latest medical equipment, and so on and so forth.

The state is allocating substantial additional funds to improve working and living conditions and protect the environment!

Consequently, man with his various needs is the focal point of party policy not in words but in actions.

At the same time, as a party, a state and a nation with a 1,300-year-old history, we cannot ignore the fact that in the stage of building mature socialism some areas in our country trigger justified discontent with the condition and quality of health services.

As a result of a variety of factors recorded cases of population morbidity are increasing with every passing year. Statistical data indicate that there were 7 million registered cases of illness in 1965 compared with 11 million in 1979, i.e., an increase of 62 percent; the number of discharged recovered patients increased from 883 thousand to 1.4 million, i.e., by 58 percent; active preventive examinations cover a larger population; the number of people under outpatient clinic observation has increased.

It is true that as a result of the improved general and health standards of our population, the citizen of today is more careful about his health and seeks medical advice and help more frequently.

Nevertheless, the increased mortality rate justifiably concerns the population and us. Whereas in 1977 Bulgaria was the 60th most populated country in the world, the 17th in Europe and 5th in the Balkans, in terms of mortality per 1,000 people it is 90th in the world, 22nd in Europe and 5th in the Balkans! In 1975 the overall population mortality rate was 10.3 per thousand; in 1980 it had reached 11.1.

One explanation has been that the nation is aging.

Let us consider, therefore, other data:

Please note that whereas in 1965 the mortality rate of the 40-49-year age group was 2.9 per thousand, it rose to 3.6 per thousand in 1979; in the 50 to 59 age group it rose respectively from 8.0 to 9.1 per thousand.

Yet all of us would agree that this is the most active creative age of man! It is in this area that all health units must concentrate their main efforts and take radical measures!

The public health workers owe something for the concern which the party and the state show for our people also in terms of reducing infant mortality. In 1979 we were 37th in the world, 26th in Europe and 2nd in the Balkans in terms of this indicator, although our birth rate was lower and declining. In terms of the birth rate per 1,000 population we are 142nd in the world, 15th in Europe and 6th in the Balkans!

We see, therefore, that many other countries, with similar or even lesser health care resources per capita have reached considerably higher health-demographic indicators.

A close study of such data must be made. Proper conclusions must be drawn precise decisions must be formulated by the personnel, from the cadres of the Ministry of Public Health to the individual health center, in order to raise the level of health services to the requirements of the builders of mature socialism.

It is true that the lag in health services is influenced by factors independent of you, the workers in this area. They include the unsatisfactory solution of the ecological problem, the annual failure to use substantial funds

of planned capital investments for the development of material health care facilities and the preservation and improvement of labor safety and hygiene; the shortage of some types of medical equipment and other modern facilities, etc.

It is also true, however, that the unsatisfactory condition of medical services are caused by major subjective reasons as well. That is precisely what we are discussing now!

What are the more essential among them?

First of all, despite clear party stipulations, preventive treatment has still not become the leading principle in health care. This is confirmed by a number of data: the number of recorded professional illnesses is increasing with every passing year; the number of labor accidents, including lethal ones, remains high; every year, more than 2,000 workers drop out of material production because of disability, and many others.

This is mainly due to the fact that preventive treatment is not active and comprehensive. In many cases it is only formal. Economic managers are responding even more formally to recommendations regarding improvements in hygienic conditions and labor safety.

Let us also not forget that preventive activities have two sides: the first is oriented toward improving the living environment and the second is focused on the individual citizen. Both sides have their place. They are inseparably related and deserve identical concern and attention on the part of all health, economic and public organs and organizations.

However, it is the Ministry of Public Health and its organs and, in the final account, all of us here in this hall who play a leading role in promoting an active and aggressive preventive treatment.

Secondly, some negative aspects in the "sick and healthy worker" ratio continue to manifest themselves.

Many among the speakers who preceded me discussed this topic. I too shall discuss it.

Why?

Because this is the topic of many letters, reports and complaints of individual citizens addressed to central party, state and economic organs and editors of mass information media. They describe not isolated but large numbers of specific cases of formalism, callousness and coarse attitude toward patients. This has been confirmed frequently by the Committee for State and People's Control and the Fatherland Front.

All of this, comrades, justifiably concerns not only the ordinary citizen but our party and state leadership as well.

Let us consider outpatient-polyclinical services. The polyclinics are among the most frequently visited public establishments in the country. Here the citizens are forced to wait a long time before registering, being seen by the sectorial physician, the specialist, you name it! Frequently patients are being shunted from one office to another, from the village to the city, from the polyclinic to the specialized institute, and so on and so forth.

Marx himself wrote that time saving is the first law of social development. What is the contribution of our health care system to saving the time of the working people? Available data show that about 70 percent of the 80 million examinations conducted at polyclinics take more than 1 day.

Since we are discussing time saving, let me cite data of a sociological study. They show that paperwork alone accounts for the following average length of working time: per physician--93 minutes; per feldsher--106 minutes; per midwife--99 minutes; and per nurse--109 minutes.

I have not cited these figures for purposes of sensationalism but as a signal that the organization of labor in outpatient-polyclinical services must be improved; we must save the time both of medical workers and citizens.

What about the standards of medical services! This has already been discussed.

Many physicians do not hear out their patients attentively or else, if they do, give them superficial explanations and wrong tretment instructions, almost looking at their work as "occupation" rather than a vocation. The attitude of the secondary and auxiliary medical personnel toward the patients is particularly alarming. The psychological approach to the patient is underestimated; the fact is ignored that the warm and humane attitude toward him has its spiritual and medical impact. Let us not even mention the unpleasant nature of the hospital garb and furnishings, unseemly feeding equipment, etc.

The report cited some scandalous cases regarding so-called internal hospital infections:

There were 187 cases with 2,018 patients and 186 dead.

Can you imagine the nature of such a traumatic experience: a patient who has been admitted for treatment for one illness dies from another because of the circumstances which developed in the hospital!

It is high time to provide an accurate answer to such questions.

As to dental aid, here again there are "blank spots" along with good accomplishments:

There are frequent cases in which a person has to wait 2 to 3 months for the treatment of a tooth and 10 months for a bridge;

The dental offices in many enterprises have been closed down and services to the workers are extremely limited, although today the number of dentists has merely quadrupled compared with 1944, while the population has increased by no more than 30 percent;

Fillings fall out a few days after they have been put in, although we are working with modern equipment and higher grade materials.

Consequently, what is wrong here is the organization. Here again urgent measures must be taken to raise the level of dental care to meet the greater claims of the citizens.

As to the "sick and healthy worker" ratio, allow me to diverge for a moment and discuss pharmaceutical procurements.

This does not involve exclusively difficulties related to the production and importation of medicinal drugs. Clearly, in that area as well there are major omissions, but that is not our topic. You know far better than I do that many physicians prescribe drugs for which equally good domestically produced substitutes or medicines imported from the socialist countries exist. This worries the patients who begin to apply to the highest party and state levels in an effort to find the missing drug although other drugs with the same effect are available.

This is an urgent problem which demands its rational solution.

Thirdly, the problem of securing health cadres has not been resolved entirely.

We are faced with a clear disproportion in the saturation of some parts of the country with medical cadres, mainly those with higher training. There is a very great shortage of cadres in Kurdzhali, Razgrad, Blagoevgrad, Silistra, Vidin and other okrugs. A large number of physicians practice "on wheels"--they live in the city and practice in various settlements.

Some settlements are without a single physician.

We also face the problem of health care in the border areas and in mountainous and semimountainous villages.

Not all problems of health care in the schools have been resolved.

All of this creates some difficulties in serving the population and, above all, in terms of the quality and effectiveness of health services.

Something better leaves to be desired in upgrading the professional skill of health workers. The problems are:

Usually, young specialists are appointed sector therapeuticians and pediatricians. That is why, they are frequently uncertain in their work, try to reinsure themselves, and frequently make gross diagnostic errors;

Another problem is that of the early general specialization of young physicians and dentists and their training to do independent work in a rural or shop (plant) sector;

It is high time to amend the methods for determining the quantity and quality of medical work: the yardstick must be not the number of people examined but the number of people healed and to what degree of success;

I agree with the fact that something leaves to be desired in terms of improving the moral and material incentive of health workers.

In a word, we need a new approach in the cadre support of the health care network. Without high skill and reliable moral and material incentives no qualitative medical work is possible. This is the only way through which we can and must raise to a higher level the social recognition and prestige of medical work.

Comrades:

I raised somewhat higher the curtain and drew your attention to some sensitive problems in health care not because of a sense of nihilism or disrespect for your successes and your profession. On the contrary! This was dictated exclusively by the desire to reach an accurate assessment and proper conclusions regarding the standard, quality, level and effectiveness of medical services through our joint efforts, which is the topic of the present discussion.

In all likelihood, this discussion will be continued tomorrow at your congress--the congress of the Health Workers' Trade Union.

Allow me to note one aspect, which is giving a more substantial content to the protective function of trade unions.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov has frequently emphasized that under socialist conditions the trade unions are involved in and co-responsible for our socioeconomic policy, i.e., for the organization, activities and results of the work of the health care collective and the individual health care worker. They must protect the ordinary health worker against manifestations of bureaucracy and gross administration by superiors. At the same time, the trade unions must struggle against the unconscientious medical workers whose behavior hinders success in health care, improvements in working and living conditions and strengthening the health and extending the longevity of man.

Our conversation today must be shared by all units within the medical network, in every okrug and every conurbation system.

Please, let us understand one another properly.

We have gathered today to review and assess the quality, standards and effectiveness of medical services in accordance with the criteria and

requirements of the 12 Party Congress and to earmark realistic and effective practical measures for their decisive improvement in the spirit of the instructions of Comrade Todor Zhivkov issued at the October 1981 National Conference.

That is why this discussion be headed by the leadership of the Ministry of Public Health and the primary party organizations within the health care system. Effective and comprehensive measures must be earmarked with their help so that health care may become a project involving the entire nation and every individual citizen.

The main problem now is the following: a change must be made in the style and method of work, of thinking and actions of the personnel, of all medical cadres, ranging from specialists at the Ministry of Public Health to the rural and shop sector.

Why?

Because the subjective factor is the one which can rapidly improve or worsen the condition of health care without particularly substantial investments;

Because the subjective factor is the one which raises or lowers the standard of medical services;

And because the subjective factor is the one which is responsible for the reorganization of health care which must be entirely consistent with the party's socioeconomic policy.

That is why we expect in the few days, with no postponements or hesitations, specific positive results in terms of:

Improving work with the ordinary working peoples;

Mastering and applying the latest and most modern scientific achievements in medical practice;

Reducing paper shuffling and excessive meetings.

Consequently, the decisive factor today is the organization, the organization and the organization again of medical work. This is the most important conclusion which can be drawn as the result of today's discussions.

We must decisively improve the work of the okrug people's councils and the managements of the conurbation systems. As organs of the people's regime, they bear governmental and social responsibility for the status of health care work; health care problems must become their daily concern; they must improve and expand material facilities and create the best possible conditions for the stabilization of medical cadres and the prompt solution of all of their social problems.

The economic organizations within the chemical, machine building, electronics, construction, transportation, forests and light and local industries and the agroindustrial complexes are also short in their help to the health care system.

In a word, comprehensive and radical measures are needed in the spirit of the new economic approach and its mechanism in order to create the necessary environment in which the existing weaknesses in the medical services offered the population will be eliminated, the vitality of the Bulgarian nation will be improved and the life span of the people will gradually extended to its natural limits.

Now, when the party has supplied us with the milestones for future development, and when the problems which must be resolved have been clearly delineated, action and only action, creative and communist action, is demanded of all of us.

The BCP Central Committee and the government have great faith in the medical cadres. They believe that you, our health workers, will dedicate a great deal of effort, knowledge, ability and sacrifice to improve the standards and effectiveness of medical services in order to protect and strengthen the health of the Bulgarian people--the people building Bulgaria's communist century.

I thank you!

5003
CSO: 2200/69

RESEARCH OF PUBLIC OPINION DIRECTOR ON MASS MEDIA

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 7, 17 Feb 82 pp 14, 15

[Article by Karel Rychtarik, PhD, Director of the Federal Office of Statistics' Research Institute of Public Opinion: "Social Information and Its Dominating Sources."]

[Text] In the whole history of the party, the importance and causes of the struggle for the character of human consciousness have never been emphasized so urgently and specifically as at the 16th Congress. This struggle constitutes a fundamental part of the social conflicts of our times. It requires further investigation of the means and methods for increasing the effectiveness of ideological efforts, which cannot be exercised successfully without sufficient and reliable social information concerning primarily and specifically the area of sociopolitical relations, phenomena and processes.

Information--the Instrument of Control

In the area of information processes, particularly as related to the mass communication media, we face situations that are usually characterized as "scissors" between the amount of information and the opportunity to use it. For instance, Soviet authors involved in the theory of social information and its relationship to the control of ideological efforts estimated that 7 billion pages of printed material are being added to the information flow every year. About 700,000 scientific research final reports and 85,000 original articles are published in the world every year; there are 100,000 scientific journals published in 60 languages, etc. This situation is sometimes referred to as the "information explosion." Questions arise as to not only how to produce information but also how to index, process and classify it and how to readily retrieve it for practical purposes in a modern way, with the help of computers.

Sociologists point out another problem: we do not need just any kind of information; we need valid information to be available, i.e., accurate, authentic, and sufficiently reliable information about the needs, interests, opinions, and moods of classes, groups and strata of population, nations and nationalities living in the CSSR, the inhabitants of villages, small communities and big cities, people both with basic and college education, youth, pensioners, etc. Systematically organized research based on the theoretical methodological basis of Marx-Leninist sociology can provide a significant method for obtaining such information. The research must be conceived in such a way as to provide information relevant from the point of view of social demands and meaningful from the point of view of the investigated social relations and social interaction.

Such information is useful and necessary for making correct decisions only when its value is reduced to immediate application of the data obtained through empiric sociologic research but particularly in such situations when it discovers new facts about social development, improves our knowledge of the laws governing social processes, their tendencies, pace and the nature of changes taking place in various areas of social life. This applies equally to the macrolevel, interlevel and microlevel and also throughout the entire country as well as in individual localities.

With respect to these relations we must always keep in mind that not only empiric sociological information but the entire system of sociological knowledge must be involved in the process of social practice. Neglecting these facts of sociology can have as negative consequences as ignoring some "insignificant details" or "local problems." Not to deal with "local," seemingly "partial" questions which, however, are very important for people's everyday life, or not to deal with them consistently, means to create situations potential for the rise of social crises.

The questions of information processes constitute problems which can be managed only through gigantic work, which must be done. It is unnecessary to prove why information is an indispensable instrument of control and the most important condition for making correct decisions. We all realize that especially control over ideological efforts, whose improvement has been so urgently emphasized in the resolutions of top party organs, can only be exercised effectively on the background of representative and differentiated information.

The problem of information is thus formed as unusually important both from the point of view of scientific research and practice. Quite a few things have been done. In the area of scientific research, cybernetics have been established as an independent science and information problems are being elaborated; information science has arisen as a new scientific discipline, the number of monographs concerning the mathematical statistical approach to information is growing, the unity of both qualitative and quantitative analysis of social information has become the subject of many--very often stormy--disputes, the institutional basis for research into public opinion is being completed, etc.

These problems are encountered with similarly high frequency by those who are in immediate contact with social practice. A growing number of ideological-front workers realize that the formation of contemporary man, the increase of his creative and transforming capacities, is possible only when a certain amount of social information has been acquired as a significant part of the social consciousness.

The user of the results of scientific research activities wishes to have an increasingly more extensive spectrum of alternative options enabling him to make purposeful choice. He may or may not recognize numerous deforming noises in the communication channels and the information redundance and, therefore, he demands the introduction of rationally working systems optimizing the communication processes based on the media of mass information and propaganda, especially in the area of social consciousness.

Dominating Sources of Political and Economic Information

Today, television, radio and press have become incomparable sources of information, instruments of great influence and effect on people's consciousness, thought, emotions, actions, work and life, sources of information about political and economic problems of life in our country.

Some results of the research carried out into the public opinion have recently brought significant facts in this respect.

Let us consider the fundamental conditions for the acceptance of social information, that is, the interest of the users themselves. Eighty-one percent of the people asked regard political and economic information as "very important" or "rather important" for contemporary man, 7 percent consider it "rather unimportant" 1 percent "unimportant", 11 percent do not know, they have never thought about it.

These are very favorable findings and they do not change essentially for the area (CSR, SSR), kraj, age, sex, economic activity or the size of the community where people live. However, a higher level of education completed and political activity are meaningfully related to the growing awareness of the importance of the political and economic information for our citizens. Our research has also brought similar findings in instances where we inquired into our citizens' interest in the most discussed internal or international political events.

Political and economic information is understood as very important by the entire population. The awareness of the importance of information grows with the citizen's political activity and involvement, the level of his education and the level of his position in the job, i.e., with the citizen's participation in control.

The wide spectrum of our information sources, serving as instruments of political and ideological education in the socialist society, makes use of its potentials in a very favorable situation.

Let us show now the general evaluation of these sources, as obtained through an analysis emphasizing the influence of the information sources on the formation of the opinions on economic, internal and international political problems. (Table 1)

However, the fact that the importance of television, press and radio has been appreciated so highly does not mean that all people, or even the majority of the people, are satisfied with the present way of providing information on political and economic events at home or abroad, or that these media of mass information and propaganda always meet all their expectations; e.g., that the listeners and readers are satisfied entirely with the information as interesting, current and clear. The Czechoslovak population is widely differentiated, particularly with respect to these questions. This, however, is a subject requiring an independent and deeper analysis by specialized scientific research centers.

Table 1

Influence on the Formation of Opinions on Czechoslovak Economy, Internal and International Political Events Data for CSSR in percents

Source	Degree of Importance			
	Very Important	Important	Little Important	No Opinion
ECONOMY				
Czechsolovak Television	80	15	4	1
Central Press	73	20	6	1
Czechoslovak Radio	71	21	7	1
INTERNAL POLITICAL EVENTS				
Czechoslovak Television	80	13	5	2
Czechoslovak Radio	72	20	6	2
Central Press	73	18	7	2
INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL EVENTS				
Czechoslovak Television	77	15	6	2
Central Press	72	18	8	2
Czechoslovak Radio	69	22	7	2

Nevertheless, it is an indisputable fact that television, radio and central press constitute a dominating group of information sources. Out of these, television occupies the leading position and becomes a medium with specific potentials.

In contradistinction to all one-sided predictions, it has been confirmed again that the central press and radio do have their own irreplaceable mission. No matter how television spreads, the specific characteristics of the radio and press cannot be replaced. Thus, television only modifies but does not restrict the specific potentials of the radio and press, especially their mobility, operational readiness, immediateness, the ability to maintain permanent information connections with large audiences and the differentiated methods of effective action in the domain of politics, education, culture, arts, recreation and entertainment. The ascertained data emphasize the urgent requirement for deepening and accentuating those specific features that are irreplaceable for the information influence of individual mass communication media.

Not even the highest intensity of the influence of the mass communication media can "erase" the effect of the direct word and direct contact as represented by dialog, instruction, meetings, consultations and the like. Thus, "10-minute talks" and county and factory local press are primarily the sources of information of local influence (factory, workshop, school, office and the like) with a considerably specific orientation, and constitute an inseparable part of our economic, internal and international political information network.

The graded importance of real information influence should not lead to underestimating such media whose function is relevant just for this specific differentiated influence over certain limited locality, social, professional and age groups, as applied to immediate local situations at workplaces. Direct communicative contact is particularly irreplaceable in politically tense and complex situations. The demand for the live word is multiplied by the need to find one's way in the large amount of information available, to answer every question, to clarify opinions on the information received and make them more accurate, to conduct dialog and to show active interest in the questions discussed. In this very context, the 16th Congress emphasized the role of personal agitation in the system of the development of mass political efforts. For instance, the research into information problems shows that more than two-thirds of the Czechoslovak population "always" or "quite frequently" or "from time to time" discuss political questions of our life with their friends and acquaintances.

Sometimes it happens that people's opinions on a certain thing or event, verified by direct experience, differ from what is presented on the radio or television or what they read in the central press. The following data have been obtained from people who answered the question: "What information do you consider more reliable: the information provided by the press, radio and television or what people say?" (Table 2)

Table 2

"What Information Do You Consider More Reliable: the Information Provided by the Press, Radio and Television, or What People Say?"

Data for CSSR in percents

Type of Response	Preference				
	Sometimes the Media, Sometimes What People Say	Television, Press and Radio	What People Say	Do Not Know	Total
Respondent's Statement About Himself	44	35	13	8	100

Apart from great importance which people attribute to direct communication (44 percent of citizens sometimes prefer information from the communication media and sometimes what people say), the data show again considerable confidence that our citizens have in our mass communication media. These numbers confirm again the dominating preference for the mass media as the basic source of information. However, we should not make unambiguous positive conclusions from this fact for at least two reasons:

1. The dominating preference for mass media can be given only by their easy and direct availability and by their attractive potential firmly rooted in the consciousness of the readers and listeners. 2. As for the content and evaluation of particular problems, people's natural direct communication should not be at variance with the information provided by the mass media for a long time (we already know that more than two-thirds of our citizens discuss political topics with their friends and acquaintances). Such contradiction stimulates distrust in everything which now creates the dominating preference of the mass communication and propaganda media.

If we want to achieve unambiguous influence, the sources with local influence and direct personal information transfer must not be given less care than television, radio and central press.

However, it remains an indisputable fact that mass media have become indispensable social institutions of the second half of the 20th century. Their dominating preference has become a reality of the ideological and political struggles of our times. They collect, process and spread information on a mass scale. This happens with considerable regularity and speed and in an impersonal and, to a large extent, stereotyped way. This "complement to direct, immediate, interpersonal contact" intended for a varied, geographically scattered public constantly increases the amount of information which influences people in particular situations and may or may not become behavioral motivation.

V I Lenin considered social information as part of the party political and educational efforts. In his words, "if life should not go past us and if we should not go past our life," we must pay constant and systematic attention to the question of the sources and content of information flows, the qualitative analysis and optimal application of information related to the ideological efforts of the party in particular. The more developed the society, the larger and the more contradictory the extent of historical events and the more people participating in the social struggles of our times, the more qualified and more reliable information must be provided for the control of the ideological processes.

9814
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STRUCTURE, FUNCTION OF SOCIALIST POLITICAL ORGANIZATION DEFINED

Theory-Practice Contrast

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 30 No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 2 Nov 81) pp 5-17

[Article by Prof Dr Rudolf Dau, Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wander Pedagogical College, Dresden: "The Political Organization of the Socialist Society and Its Realization in the GDR." Translations of this author's two Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT articles cited in footnotes 14 and 32 below follow this article]

[Text] The matters of the theory and practice of political organization in socialist society have played an increasing role since the early 1970's in the program documents of most Marxist-Leninist parties and the social science publications in the countries of the socialist community of states. In connection with the elaboration of the theory about the developed socialist society, produced through an internationalist cooperative effort and by generalizing the experiences of several countries, as underscored by the 26th CPSU Congress as an essential prerequisite for rendering the paths and time-frames for implementing the program goals more precise and concrete over a long historic period,[1] we have been ever more successful in defining the essence, functions, historic dynamics and prospect of the political organization of socialist society and gaining uniform basic positions--while differences of opinion about details certainly still exist. The need to do "thorough theoretical work" on problems of political organization in socialist society, which the 10th SED Congress also underlined as a national and international task,[2] mainly follows from the fact that in the process of the continued shaping and perfecting of the developed socialist society, the role of the subjective factor inevitably rises, by which we mean "the intellectual, moral-psychological and other components in the activites of people, classes, parties and other social groups and organizations." "The subjective factor is a certain degree of men's awareness, organization, will and energy, as needed for their obtaining their goals."[3] The political organization of socialist society--based on the socialist production relations and created by the workers class and its allies--is that "multisegmented and streamlined total social subject"[4] which, as the centerpiece of the political superstructure, and in the sense of the relative independence of politics, actively affects the shaping of the economic, political, social and cultural-ideological relations of society. With it, it is the crucial instrument of the working people, led by the workers class, for revolutionarily organizing men in socialism, exercising the political power of the

workers class, and the scientific management of social affairs satisfying ever more complex and higher demands.

While taking generous account of the extensive discussions going on, mainly in the Soviet Union but also in the GDR and other socialist countries,[5] toward defining the political organization of socialist society, and by treating the concepts, "political organization of socialist society" and "political system of socialism," as synonyms, we define the political organization of socialist society as the totality of the governmental-political and sociopolitical facilities, institutions, organizations and movements and their relations with one another.[7] This thus embraces a certain order of concrete political organizations, their activities and objectives, as well as the reciprocal relations among the political subjects in socialist society, the forms, norms and methods and the development of their working together.[8] In this sense then there are also included in the political organization of socialist society the substance and methods of implementing the interests of the workers class and of the classes and strata allied with it, the ways and means for realizing the political power of the workers class, characteristic of the socialist type of democracy, the character of relations evolving among the classes in the seizure and consolidation of socialist state power, the steps of social maturation in involving the working masses in the organized exercise of power and management of society, the realization of the working people's rights and freedoms, the socialist political and legal order, as well as the interrelations between society, the state, the collective and the socialist personality.

Through political organization, the power of the workers class is realized in its totality, and all working people, led by the workers class and its party, are comprehensively organized for the purpose of consciously enforcing their interests and of utilizing objective inevitabilities and are enabled scientifically to manage society and construct socialism and communism. The political organization embraces the system of the political organizations, institutions and facilities such as the Marxist-Leninist party as the leading core, the socialist state as the main instrument of the working people, led by the workers class, for constructing socialism and communism, as well as the social organizations (like trade unions, youth and women's organizations), cooperatives (consumer cooperatives, housing construction cooperatives), affiliations (scientific and technical educational societies) and associations (for artists, journalists and writers), the mass communication media (the press, radio, television), the work collectives and--in some countries--democratic parties of the socialist working people closely cooperating with the communist parties in the shaping of socialism, as well as movements and organizations such as the National Front in the GDR. Of increasing importance in our political organization are the work collectives which provide greater opportunities for the working people to combine their jobs with participating in management on the various levels, as are the forms of direct democracy (public debate of bills, constitutional plebiscites). The political organization furthermore includes the political ideology of the workers class, the directives from the working class party, the political-moral norms elaborated by the social organizations, the political traditions and the political culture.[9]

Political organization in its origin and development is most closely linked with the fulfillment of the historic mission of the working class, the preparation, formation and development of communist society. In the process of preparing and conducting the socialist revolution, the workers class creates for itself its political organization because the politically organized power of the exploiter class can be overthrown only by the stronger politically organized power of the workers class. "The proletariat has no other weapon in the struggle for power but its organization. Split by the rule of anarchical competition in the bourgeois world, suppressed by its unfree labor for capital, the proletariat can and absolutely will become an invincible force only by having its ideological unification reinforced on the basis of Marxist principles through the material unity of organization which molds millions of working people into the army of the workers class."[10] Establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat makes possible and necessary at once the comprehensive organization of all working people. The socioeconomic principles of this completely new type of unified political organization of all society lie in the socialist ownership in the means of production and in the class and social structure of socialist society by and large determined by the leadership role of the workers class. During the transition period from capitalism to socialism, during the shaping of the developed socialist society, and while the foundations of communism are laid, the uniformity, organization and purposefulness of the variously structured and ramified political organization increase constantly. Its creative functions are growing in the management of the economic, social and cultural construction of the new society. An important condition and an outcome at once of its functioning successfully and of the further development of the political organization is the constant growth of social consciousness raising the population onto a higher level of political culture.

The fundamental and all-inclusive inevitability in the development of the political organization is the further spreading and perfecting of socialist democracy. Socialist democracy is at one and the same time the substance and the manner of functioning, the prerequisite and the result of the work of political organization. The further spreading and perfecting of socialist democracy as its real exercise of power, the ever broader involvement of the citizens in the management of public affairs, and the strengthening of the role of the work collectives and of the social organizations are important conditions in the GDR for fulfilling the main task policy, issued by the Eighth SED Congress and carried on by the ninth and 10th party congresses, for implementing the unity of economic and social policy. Also such tasks as socialist economic integration, the struggle for ensuring peace and further enforcing the peaceful coexistence policy, and the support for revolutionary movements in capitalist countries and young national states can constantly be better taken care of only through growing effectiveness in political organization, especially by the increasing role of the working class party and the socialist state.

The 10th SED Congress took important resolutions on further perfecting the political organization of socialist society in the GDR. Of special importance here are the tasks to strengthen the role of the Marxist-Leninist party as the leadership force in shaping the developed socialist society and in reinforcing its relations with the masses. The all-round strengthening of the socialist state, as the power instrument of the working people under working class leadership and as the state-political organization of the GDR people, will continue to

guarantee throughout the 1980's "that the great goals are achieved which our party has posed in the interest and for the benefit of the working people."[11] Also the resolutions on the role and tasks of the trade unions and of the women's and youth organizations, on the close cooperation among the parties and mass organizations in the Democratic Bloc and the National Front of the GDR, reflecting the working class party's alliance policy, are aimed at further elevating the authority and functionality of the political organization of socialist society. Socialist democracy is the major trend in which the state power and all of the political organization of socialist society will continue to move. "It ensures the broadest involvement of the working people in the management of public processes, particularly in state management. That is why we aim our efforts at an ever closer cooperation of the state organs with the social organizations, the work collectives and the various activities of the working people in all domains of life."[12]

A New Type of Political Organization

The resolutions of the eighth, ninth and 10th party congresses--foreshadowed already in the Party Program--aimed at shaping more clearly than ever before the characteristic traits of the political organization of socialism in the process of shaping the developed socialism of the GDR, pervading all phases of its development and only now coming fully into their own. Such traits mainly are the uniformity of political organization, its historic creativity as the subject of politics, its communist purposiveness, and its democratism aimed at the self-realization of man. While it is itself one of the advantages of socialist society, in the course of historic development it, in turn, crucially contributes to gaining full validity for all the advantages, impulses and values of socialism. "Only the political power of the workers class ensures the freedom of the people for creating living conditions of human dignity for all citizens, as it ensures the freedom of personality."[13]

That political organization of society which is decisively shaped by the constantly growing leadership role of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party thus is from the very outset a new type of political organization. As to its new socioeconomic principles, its class content and communist objective, its historic dynamics and prospects and its principles and manner of functioning, it fundamentally and ever more visibly differs from previous types of organization of society, being historically superior to them from the outset. That is also brought out clearly by a survey on the most important phases in the historic development of the political organization of socialist society in the GDR:

1. The prehistory of the political organization of socialist society embraces the whole history of the revolutionary German workers movement and the history, forged by the workers class, of the anti-imperialist, later the antifascist, alliance of the working people up to 1945. Through decades of changeable class struggles, the revolutionary German workers class, thanks to the outstanding historic achievement of Marx and Engels, under direct influence from Lenin and the Comintern, and through constant confrontation with social reformism, created its Marxist-Leninist party in the form of the KPD which, after Hitler fascism was crushed, would prove the nucleus of a new political organization of society. As the best organized and conscious vanguard of the German workers class, structured

in line with the principles of democratic centralism, the KPD in the 1920's created a system of revolutionary social organizations (trade union, women's, youth and children's organizations) and a political alliance of antifascist working people. Being itself still a part of the unified yet contradictory political organization of capitalist society,[15] it prepared, through its program on destroying German fascism, particularly in the 11 June 1945 appeal, the plan to eliminate capitalist society's political organization in Germany and, through its state-political ideas for establishing an antifascist German democratic republic, the orientation to an entirely new type of political organization for society.

2. The period of the antifascist-democratic transformation from 1945 to 1949 may be called the period that directly prepared socialist society's political organization in the GDR. Under the leadership by the politically united workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, there was created at that time on the soil of today's GDR, under the encouraging influence by the Soviet occupation power, what was essentially an antifascist-democratic state as the chief link in a new political organization of society. In close unity and reciprocity with the construction of state-political institutions then came the construction and development of sociopolitical organizations. Society's political organization as an instrument of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and farmers matured and developed particularly in the process of creating its own economic and class-bound principles. Mainly the implementation of the democratic land reform, the expropriation of war and Nazi criminals, and the conversion of expropriated enterprises into public property left the reactionary forces with less and less ground to stand on and formed that new basis of society which was prerequisite to a quick consolidation of the class alliance led by the workers class and its party, and thus to boosting the development of society's new political organization itself.

3. With the founding of the GDR in October 1949, socialist society's political organization began to form in our country. Already prepared to a large extent under working class hegemony, in economic, social, political, and cultural-ideological terms, under the conditions of the antifascist-democratic transformation, the entire political organization of socialist society now began to function more and more as the instrument to implement the dictatorship of the proletariat, the SED being its leadership nucleus and the socialist state, its main link. The organized state-political and sociopolitical power of the workers class became the principal foundation of socialism, and it remained that principal foundation during all the further shaping of socialism, became the instrument for the progressing implementation of the historic mission of the workers class under the conditions of transition from capitalism to socialism. In the same process in which the foundations of socialism were laid, there also formed socialist society's political organization as part of the new social superstructure, in close interaction with the development of the economic and class basis of society, and at the end of this phase, "socialist society's political organization had essentially been created."[16] The recently published "GDR History" also observes: "Under SED leadership and in alliance with the other working classes and strata, the workers class had created firm political and economic foundation for politics. Socialist society already had a stable political organization."[17]

4. With the transition to the all-inclusive construction of socialism (Fourth SED Congress, 1963) and with developed socialism beginning to be shaped in the GDR (Eighth SED Congress, 1971), the socialist society's political organization entered a new phase of development. Its basic tendencies and requirements were set down in the Party Program as adopted by the ninth party congress and further specified in the tenth. It is being taken as an accepted fact that "the shaping of the developed socialist society is an historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes."[18] In this historic process, where the material-technical base and the production relations of developed socialism are created, the rapprochement among the classes and strata proceeds according to plan and consciously, the socialist political and legal order takes shape, the socialist achievements are expanded, and the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community of states is consolidated, socialist society's political organization--in counteraction with those changes--keeps developing further.

The fact that socialist society's political organization is a new type of political organization hence is in principle expressed in being
--the start of the revolutionary transformation of society--in contrast to capitalist society's political organization, which was given birth from the womb of feudal society--and will remain the "first and foremost"[19] in laying the foundations of socialism and developed socialism, as the embodiment and expression of working class power, all the way to mature communism;
--in accordance with its essence, the dictatorship of the proletariat, "not merely a force against the exploiters, and not even mainly a force," but "the economic foundation of this revolutionary force, the guarantee for its vitality and success being that the proletariat, in comparison with capitalism, represents and realizes a higher type of the social organization of labor";[20]
--constitutive from the beginning, as the substance and functional framework of socialist democracy, of the dictatorship of the people's progressive majority vis-a-vis a historically obsolete minority, whereby it becomes superior a millionfold[21] to bourgeois democracy; and
--created by the workers class, not to eternalize class rule but to abolish the state and politics altogether through evolving the communist overall social ownership in the means of production and the classless, communist society, and to do away gradually with the dualism between state and society, or political organization and society.

The historic superiority of socialist society's political organization in the GDR to capitalist society's organization finds its most concentrated expression in that it, as the subject of politics, always aims at "creating all material, socio-economic and political-ideological prerequisites for bringing to realization at an ever higher level the purpose of socialism of doing everything for the good of the people and the interests of the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people."[22]

On the Uniformity of Socialist Society's Political Organization

The constantly increasing uniformity of socialist society's political organization is due to the dialectical interaction, typical of socialism, between the dynamically developing economic and social basis on the one side and the increasing role of

the political superstructure, on the other. The undivided supremacy of socialist production relations evolving becomes the foundation for a progressive socialization of production and labor, and thus of the rapprochement among the classes and social strata. "From that politics is the means to enforce the economic interests of the classes, it is bound to follow that it is not merely a passive result of economic circumstances but that it itself again actively affects them, in that the classes through political means affect economic circumstances on their own behalf. This repercussion politics has on economics is also expressed under the conditions of the political power of the workers class through the deliberate implementation of the principle of the primacy of the political approach to resolving economic problems."[23]

The critical guarantee for the increasing uniformity of socialist society's political organization--with all the growing variety of political relations--is the Marxist-Leninist working class party. It also is the crucial component of the subjective factor in socialism.[24] The leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party in socialist society is qualitatively determined by its representing the interests of the workers class, which are identical with the basic interests of all other classes and strata. As the vanguard of the workers class, as "the highest manifestation of consciousness in social development, in the construction of communism,"[25] and as the "mostly highly organized force combining in itself the unity of will and action and iron discipline,"[26] it elaborates the social conceptions, coordinates all political activities in socialist society, and also keeps developing socialist democracy further while the masses are gaining greater awareness. Among the most important tasks the party has also are a constant and penetrating analysis of objective conditions developing, a timely recognition and solution of ripened contradictions, and an ever deeper penetration of the developmental laws of society.

The 10th SED Congress also has confirmed the finding that "the constant elevation of the party's leadership role in all spheres of society is an objective necessity." "That ensures the political stability and dynamics of socialism. A steady ideological and organizational growth of the party, the further elevation of its leadership role, and its alliance policy are important characteristics of the strengthening of our workers and farmers power. Above all the revolutionary characteristics of the workers class as the class in power, its increasing political maturity, its internationalist and patriotic stance in confrontation with imperialism and bourgeois ideology, its ideological and technical training, and its ability to manage, plan and shape our socialist society are going to become much more pronounced in the stage ahead. From that it follows that we must aim our Marxist-Leninist party's leadership role still more at predictively and comprehensively directing the developmental processes."[27]

An important basis for the uniformity of socialist society's political organization also is the socialist state. In its function of being the state-political organization of all members of society, it ensures the stability, functionality and forward development of socialist society's political organization on the basis of a uniform system of corporate representative bodies throughout the country and by means of the uniform working principle of democratic centralism and of socialist inevitability.[28] As the power instrument of the workers class, the class of the

cooperative farmers allied with it, and the other working people, it will in the GDR also have in the 1980's "important tasks to fulfill in the implementation of its economic-organizational and cultural-educational functions, in foreign policy, and in ensuring the protection of the workers and farmers power. Its continued all-round strengthening will remain a key political issue to us."[29]

The political exercise of power in socialism, "its dynamic reality, mainly materializes through the management of many public affairs"[30] by the state which, furnished with all the attributes of political power, is the most important agent of party policy. Its role keeps growing always through the implementation of the economic strategy of the 10th party congress, the solving of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, and the fostering of continued intellectual-cultural development, as described in the 10th party congress resolutions. What matters here, in the sense of socialist democracy, the main trend in the development of socialist state power, is to strengthen the radiation of the people's representations as working corporate bodies, to learn control increasingly more how to entwine the manifold processes in the economy, in science, in the social and cultural field and in national defense, and to attain ever closer cooperation between the state organs and the social organizations, the work collectives and the various activities of the working people in all domains of life."[31]

An expression of the growing uniformity of socialist society's political organization in the GDR also is the work of the social organizations and work collectives. Proceeding from idential basic interests of the forces united in the social organizations, and reinforced by ever more effective forms of cooperation and the gradual rapprochement among the classes and strata, the working people are developing extensive public activities which have their basis in the social organizations' secured right to take part in the management of state and social affairs. That is why the 10th party congres paid special attention to the growing role of the trade unions, the youth and women's organizations, and the National Front for the further development of the class alliance, the conduct of socialist emulation, the enforcing of scientific-technical progress, the constant deepening of socialist democracy and the further improvements in the working people's working and living conditions. Also grown has the role of the work collectives which--as there are representatives of the party, the state and the social organizations working in them--are living micromodels, as it were, of the socialist society's overall political system. Through their confirming the candidates for being elected people's representatives, their efforts in solving production tasks, their ideological work, their improving working and living conditions, and their demonstrating internationalist solidarity, their role was heightened especially as subjects of politics.[32]

Political Organization and Socialist Personality

Especially since the Eighth SED Congress, social development in the GDR has made us ever more clearly aware of that the effort of all of socialist society's political organization--its seperate components as well as its functioning mode, and its principles and norms--is aimed at the well-being of the people, the development of its creativity, the free development of each working person as a socialist personality. The peace strategy of the 10th party congress attests to that primarily which--in unity with the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress--

is informed with the working class party's desire to ensure peaceful development for the GDR people and the peoples in the socialist community of states even under the more complicated conditions of the confrontation course by reactionary imperialist, especially U.S., forces. Another point of orientation for the 1980's is to hold on to the time-tested course of the main task despite changed reproduction conditions and increased economic burdens and to elevate "the people's material and cultural standard of living on the basis of a high developmental tempo in socialist production, and our efficiency, scientific-technical progress, and our labor productivity."[33] This expresses the humanistic nature of socialist policy of doing everything for the people and with the people. The focal point in the activities of the party, the state and socialist society's entire political organization is being placed more and more evidently on man, the socialist personality. His rights and freedoms not only find their basis in socialist state power and in the entire political organization of socialism, "they furthermore culminate in the right and freedom to be able to exercise power, power over our goals and plans, over what we ourselves do and the social relations emanating from that. Political freedoms are many, but the most fundamental of all of them are the right and freedom to participate in government and administration."[34]

Socialist society's political organization increasingly determines the substance, dynamics and functionality of socialist democracy. The new socioeconomic bases of socialist society make possible and require that higher type of social labor organization that finds its most striking expression in planned and organized production, in the scientific management of all production processes on behalf of the members of society, and in the utilization of the accomplishments of scientific-technical progress for the benefit of all. Primarily through the working people's struggle for rapid production boosts through raising its productivity and efficiency, for ever better satisfying the people's material and cultural needs, for developing the working people's sociopolitical activities in production, and through the management of social affairs, that higher level of socialist democracy is being reached that still more emphatically affects the development of socialist personalities and promotes the fashioning of a socialist way of life. For the first time, the freedom of personality and a genuine guarantee of human rights are being made to prevail all throughout society. Thanks to the working people's communist education by the institutions of socialist society's political organization can such ethical working class values as collectivism, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism become the norms for the thinking and conduct of all classes and strata.

By constantly further developing and perfecting itself, socialist society's political organization also crucially contributes to the shaping of the socialist character of the family, the people and the nation. Communist education within the family, the increasingly effective family policy of the socialist state, and the fully enforced equality between man and woman within the family and society increasingly become an important condition for the functioning of socialist democracy while they also are an outcome of the work of socialist society's political organization. Through doing away with exploitation and transforming all people in socialism into working people, the people and the population become identical in a socialist country. In essence, the political community of the socialist people coincides with socialist society's political organization. It not only

creates and develops the material conditions for the blossoming of the socialist nations, the realization of proletarian internationalism, and the rapprochement among the nations; it also affects and alters, in line with working class norms and principles, the national consciousness, the national traditions, customs, habits and so forth.

The 10th party congress directed the party and state organs' attention and the attention of the social organizations, in particular, to the new requirements and opportunities resulting, for the working people's democratic activities, from the newly evolving combines and specialized agricultural production cooperatives. As social division of labor and specialization advance, a greater responsibility arises for each and every enterprise collective and each individual with respect to the functioning of the reproduction process in the entire combine or cooperative. What matters now is to carry over the basic forms of the working people's democratic activity, as they have evolved and proven themselves, into the cooperation relations in the large economic units; optimum cooperation between individual management and working people participation in economic management is to be achieved thereby.

The party congress made us realize that the further development of socialist democracy in the combines and cooperatives helps consolidate the GDR's socialist production relations, promote the cooperation and rapprochement among the classes and strata and, with our economic performance improvement in the 1980's and the fulfillment of the main task, also helps change qualitatively the conditions and possibilities for the complete development of socialist personality. "We can rest assured," E. Honecker observed at the 10th party congress with reference to the GDR's economic strategy, "that the main lines of our qualitative economic development developed by our party in recent years have deeply penetrated our people's thoughts and conduct. They increasingly inform the cooperative efforts of workers and cooperative farmers, scientists and technicians, and determine the thrust of their emulation. It becomes ever more evident that socialism can effectively link scientific-technical progress with mass initiative, which is one of its great strengths."[35]

Socialism's Political Organization and Its Imperialist Enemies

Proceeding from imperialist conceptions of society such as the theory on the industrial society, the doctrine on totalitarianism, the conception of evolution and bourgeois nationalism, imperialist ideologues have done what they could in the last 1 1/2 decades to attack socialist society's political organization as a whole and undermine the political power of the workers class by supporting and "justifying" active anticommunist policy with suggestions for "improvement," "liberalization," "democratization" or "pluralization." Without resorting to hyperbole, it may be said today, that they have formulated their anticommunist alternatives for all the issues raised, without exception, in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. The gist has been as follows:

1. With the theory on the "industrial society," of a "subjectivistic" leadership claim by the party, they mean to deny and distort the inevitabilities rooted in society's socioeconomic processes and the historic working class mission derived

from them, on which is based the leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party as the core of socialist society's political organization. They deny the legitimacy of the Marxist-Leninist party's leadership role.

2. With their theory on elites and conflicts, originally the trotskyite thesis of "socialist bureaucracy" and the "innovation" conception, directed against the party, the social foundations of socialist society and their historic dynamics are being falsified.

3. The dialectics of the exercise of power, management and revolutionary organization, marking the essence and functioning of socialist society's political organization, is being reduced, in conformity with an imperialist understanding of it, to the thesis of the "party's power monopoly" that is "securing" its "domination." This most severely misrepresents and defames the purpose of socialism, the nature of socialist democracy, and the content of the socialist way of life.

4. The thesis of the "heteronomous" character of the working class party most sharply expresses the anti-Sovietism of all political anticommunist conceptions. It constitutes an up-to-date summary of all theses directed against socialist internationalism in their historic development, from the "satellite" theory via the "Asiatic character of bolshevism" to the "Brezhnev Doctrine."

5. The theses of the party's "deficit in legitimacy," its "heteronomous" character, and that of "party supremacy" mainly attack the unity of the party with the people in the GDR and the uniformity of socialist society's political organization. These theses are the direct points of departure and pickup points for the "improvement" recommendations from the imperialist ideological enemies of real socialism.

6. The thesis on the "continuity break" in the history of the SED (in particular as of 1948) mainly serves the effort to restore the situation the class forces were in at the time of the antifascist-democratic transformation as a target for "democratizing" the GDR. This is to create the kind of political conditions where the question of "Who to Whom" can be asked anew and be answered in favor of imperialism.

So one can see that all these ideological attacks are in their final consequence aimed at the elimination of the leadership role of the working class party, whereby they pursue the counterrevolutionary goal to destroy the socialist social relations by weakening and paralyzing the strength of the Marxist-Leninist party. All attacks against the trade unions in socialism, the socialist youth association, and the women's organization in the GDR are designed to give oppositional groups, "nonconformist to the system," the opportunity to organize and become articulate because that alone, presumably, makes "true" democracy feasible. The identical goal is ultimately pursued also by the orientation contained in the "innovation" conception toward mobilizing so-called nonpolitical population groups as antisocialist opposition.

One should not underrate how dangerous, ideologically and politically, such attacks on political power in socialism are, particularly under the conditions of imperialism's sharpened confrontation course in world politics. Socialist society's stable political organization and its high authority and functioning capacity are the indispensable premise and prerequisite for securing what has been achieved and for successful advances in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. An inviolable working class power guarantees that all imperialist attacks upon socialism's political organization will founder, in whatever garb and partial tactical objective they may be launched in any given concrete historic situation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. L. I. Brezhnev, "CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Berlin, 1981, p 106.

2. Cf. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Berlin, 1981, pp 92 and 150.

3. B. A. Cagin, "Der subjektive Faktor. Struktur und Gesetzmaessigkeiten" (The Subjective Factor--Structure and Inevitabilities), Berlin, 1974, p 48.

4. U.-J. Heuer, "Gesellschaftliche Gesetze und politische Organisation" (Social Laws and Political Organization), Berlin, 1974, p 146.

5. Reports on the state of the discussion are found in H. M. Karle and V. M. Stukin, "On the Concept 'Socialist Society's Political System' and on the Role of the Work Collectives in Socialism's Political System--in Soviet Literature," WISSENSCHAFTLICHER KOMMUNISMUS, INFORMATIONSBULLETIN, Nos 2 and 3, 1980; R. Pfretzschner, "Socialism's Political System--Socialist Society's Political Organization--On the State of the Discussion," WISSENSCHAFTLICHER KOMMUNISMUS, INFORMATIONSBULLETIN, No 3, 1980, pp 30 ff; cf. also N. I. Asarov, W. U. Wartschuk and E. M. Penkow, "The Political Organization of Society," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT, GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE, No 5, 1973.

6. That also conforms with the practice of the textbook, "Wissenschaftlicher Kommunismus" (Scientific Communism) since its third revised edition of 1978, p 283, and with the synonymous use made of the concepts in the 10th SED Congress documents; cf. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., pp 92 and 150.

7. The following statements are based mainly on Soviet and GDR publications as cited by Karle and Stukin and by Pfretzschner. Use had been made also of "Nauchni Kommunisme Slovar," Moscow, 1975; Editorial board, directed by N. P. Farberow, ed. "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie des Staates und des Rechts" (Marxist-Leninist General Political and Law Theory), Berlin, 1975; I. Ilyinskiy, "VLKSM v Politicheskoe Sisteme Sovetskogo Obshchestva," Moscow, 1981.

8. Cf. V. Y. Gidirinski, "XXV sezd KPSS o Dalneishem Sovershenstvonaii Politicheskoe Sistemy Sozialisticheskogo Obshchestva," NAUCHNI KOMMUNISME, No 2, 1977, pp 47 ff.

9. For the concept of "political culture," cf. J. A. Tichomirow, "Political Culture in the Society of Mature Socialism," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT, GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE, No 11, 1978, pp 1121 ff.

10. V. I. Lenin, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," "Werke" (Works), Vol 7, Berlin, 1956, pp 419 f.

11. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., p 116.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Cf. R. Dau, "Problems of the History of the GDR Socialist Society's Political Organization," STAAT UND RECHT, No 1, 1979.

15. For the concept of "political organization of society" and its uniformity and contradictoriness under the conditions of class antagonism and exploitation, see V. I. Razin, "Politicheskaya Organisatsiya Obshchestva kak Kategoriya Istoricheskogo Materialisma," Moscow, 1972.

16. "Geschichte der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands--Abriss," Berlin, 1978, p 440.

17. Authors' Collective under R. Badstuebner, "Geschichte der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik," Berlin, 1981, p 240.

18. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Berlin, 1976, p 19.

19. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Berlin, 1976, p 110.

20. V. I. Lenin, "The Great Initiative," "Werke," Vol 29, Berlin, 1961, pp 408 f.

21. V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky," "Werke," Vol 28, Berlin, 1959, p 247.

22. "Programm . . .," op. cit., pp 19 f.

23. H. Friedrich and G. Grosser, "On Some Methodological Prerequisites for Exploring the Objective Laws of Political Relations," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 11, 1976, pp 1349 f.

24. Cf. Authors' Collective under P. N. Fedoseyev, "Sozialismus--Theorie und Praxis," Berlin, 1977, p 254.

25. Ibid., p 255.

26. Ibid.

27. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., p 130.

28. Cf. editorial committee under N. P. Farberow, W. Weichelt et al, "Demokratie--Entwicklungsgesetz des sozialistischen Staates" (Democracy--Developmental Law of the Socialist State), Berlin, 1981, pp 106 f.

29. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . . ," op. cit., p 116.

30. "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie des Staates und des Rechts," op. cit., Vol 3, p 198.

31. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., p 116.

32. Cf. D. Chitralla, R. Dau and R. Mittag, "The Work Collective as an Integral Part of the Socialist Society's Political Organization," STAAT UND RECHT, No 10, 1980, pp 894 ff.

33. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., p 48.

34. G. Soeder, "Freedom, Democracy and Human Dignity in Socialism," EINHEIT, Nos 5-6, 1976, p 554.

35. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., pp 51 f.

Historical Perspective

Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 28 No 1, Jan 79 (signed to press 27 Nov 78) pp 44-52

['Discussion' feature article by Prof Dr Rudolf Dau, Karl Liebknecht Pedagogical College, Potsdam: "Problems of the History of the GDR Socialist Society's Political Organization"]

[Text] The Ninth SED Congress termed the continued shaping of the political organization of the developed socialist society a central, overall social requirement in which all socially and politically organized citizens take part.[1] In steadily molding the leadership role of the party, which is "in all domains of public life an essential prerequisite for conditions maturing into the gradual transition to the construction of communist society," it does mainly amount to a "further all-round consolidation of the socialist workers and farmers state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, representing the interests of the entire GDR people." The main developmental trend of the socialist state and of all of society's political organization is "the further spreading and perfecting of socialist democracy."[2]

As our party sees it, in the early 1960's, when the period of transition from capitalism to socialism came to an end in the GDR, socialism's political organization also had been "formed completely," which has made ever more evident since then "the historic superiority of socialist society's political organization and socialist democracy to capitalist society's political organization and manipulated bourgeois democracy."[3] The recently published SED history outline puts it similarly in saying that socialist society's political organization was by and large set in the early 1960's.[4]

The assumption must be that socialist society's political organization has a genesis and evolution of its own and has to be regarded as being in existence and being effective from the very moment that socialism began to develop on its own foundations.[5] Indeed, most Marxist social scientists start from that proposition.[6]

By socialist society's political organization we mean the totality of the state-political and sociopolitical facilites, institutions, organizations and movements and their interconnections. Socialist society's political organization brings the working class power to realization. The dialectical unity between the working people's revolutionary organization, the exercise of political power, and scientific management, embodied and realized in toto by socialist society's political organization, is denoted by the concept of organization both in structural-substantive and in functional-genetic terms.[7] A. K. Belych has proven that the concept of organization in Marxism-Leninism "is used not only in the sense of concrete organizations (collectives of people) but also in the sense of a system of social relations."[8] Socialist society's political organization hence must be understood in the sense of a certain order of the concrete political organizations, of an activity of such organizations in a specific sphere of public life, in there being a goal for their activities and there being organs that affect such affairs through their leadership functions, as well as in the sense of the essence of the political subjects in socialist society, their functioning in conjunction, and the forms and methods and development (ripening) of their cooperation. In the latter sense, socialist society's political organization then also includes the content and methods for implementing the interests of the workers class and the classes and strata allied with it, the procedures and methods for making the political power of the workers class effective, as it typifies socialist democracy, the character of relations evolving among the classes in seizing and consolidating socialist state power, the social maturation stages in involving the working masses in the organized exercise of power and the running of society, the materialization of the working people's rights and freedoms, the socialist political and legal order, and the interactions among the society, the state, the collectives and socialist personalities.[9]

Any examination of socialist society's political organization "from a logical vantage point demands an analysis of its actual prehistory, its history and its developed status, proceeding, methodologically, from the unity between history and logic."[10] An exploration of the history of socialist society's political organization informs about the continuity and interactions among economic, social and political relations and makes possible a deeper penetration into its nature and functioning mode, the qualitative changes of its components and the relations among those components. So one can understand its nature only, if the following two aspects are taken into consideration in their unity and elaborated on, on a priority basis:

(a) The complexity of socialist society's political organization in its internal order and in the variety and purpose-orientation in the relations of its components, the economic conditioning of socialist society's political organization as the core of its political superstructure and, simultaneously, the relative independence or politics and the active effect of political organization on economic and social relations in socialism.

(b) The historic dynamics of socialist society's political organization, most closely linked with the genesis, development and ripening of communist society, and the dialectics between the development of socialism's political organization in practice and the development of political consciousness.

The history thus far of socialist society's political organization in the GDR, the developmental stage it reached by the end of the 1970's, and the perspective indicated for it by the Ninth SED Congress express the close connection between these two aspects. The whole history of the revolutionary, organized German workers movement and the history of the working people's anti-imperialist, later anti-fascist, alliance up to 1945, forged by the workers class, can be regarded as the prehistory of socialist society's political organization in the GDR. This, it seems to me, is corroborated in the first chapter of the "SED History Outline."

Through decades of changeable class struggles, the revolutionary German workers class, thanks to the towering historic achievement by Marx and Engels, and under the direct influence from Lenin and the Comintern, created its Marxist-Leninist party in the form of the KPD which, after Hitler fascism was crushed, turned out to be a completely new type of political organization of society. As the best organized and most conscious vanguard of the German workers class, constructed on the principles of democratic centralism and furnished with Lenin's ideas, the KPD in the 1920's created a system of revolutionary social organizations (trade union, women's, youth and children's organizations), organized a political alliance of antifascist working people in the form of antifascist action, and headed the Free Germany National Committee. At the Brussels and Bern conferences, in the organs of the Free Germany National Committee, and especially in its 11 June 1945 appeal, the KPD, with its program on destroying German fascism, prepared the plan for eliminating capitalist society's political organization in Germany and, with its state-political ideas for establishing an antifascist German democratic republic, an entirely new type of political organization of society. The German workers class had appropriated the Leninist doctrine that the proletariat "has no other weapon in the struggle for power but organization."[11]

In terms of the history of socialist society's political organization in the GDR, the period of the antifascist-democratic transformation from 1945 to 1949 may be seen as the period that immediately preceded it. Led by the politically united workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the SED, there was established at that time on the soil of the GDR, encouraged by the Soviet Military Administration in Germany, to begin with, the antifascist-democratic state as the main link of a new political organization of society, which on the whole more and more exercised the function of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and farmers. In implementation of the Potsdam Agreement, the antifascist forces, while abolishing the fascist state and the Nazi party and its formations and uprooting fascist law and Nazi ideology, also created the people's new power organs. The governmental administrative organs in the communities, cities, kreises, laender and provinces, formed as early as 1945 with help from the Soviet Military Administration, soon demonstrated their ability to take care of the interests of the working people in the exercise of power and of enforcing the new law and managing public affairs. In the outcome of the elections for the communal assemblies and kreis and provincial diets in September and October 1946, the first antifascist-democratic people's representations originated which, under

SED leadership, gradually turned into corporate bodies functioning in the Leninist sense. In close unity and interaction with the construction of state-political organizations, the formation of sociopolitical ones followed.

Society's political organization as an instrument of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and farmers matured and developed particularly through the process in which it created its own economic foundations. Mainly the implementation of the democratic land reform, the expropriation of the war and Nazi criminals and the conversion of expropriated enterprises into public property left the reactionary forces no ground to stand on and formed that new economic basis of society which formed the foundation for the rapid consolidation of the class alliance led by the workers class and its party, heightening the development of society's new political organization.

With the founding of the GDR in October 1949, socialist society's political organization began to evolve in our country. Already to a large extent prepared under working class hegemony in economic, social, political and cultural-ideological terms under the conditions of the antifascist-democratic transformation, all of socialist society's political organization, with the SED its leading core and the socialist state its main link, now came to serve more and more as the instrument for putting the dictatorship of the proletariat into effect. Working class power, organized in the state-political and sociopolitical sense, became the primary basis of socialism, decisive for all the subsequent shaping of socialism.

Under SED leadership, which had itself further developed because of the higher requirements in the transition to the construction of the foundations of socialism, at that time the "process of the formation of state power of the type of the dictatorship of the proletariat by and large found its conclusion."[12] The Democratic Bloc parties, particularly the CDU and the LDPD, had taken decisive steps to clarify their positions alongside the workers class,[13] the National Front of democratic Germany had formed, and the social organizations, as e.g. the FDGB at its third congress (30 August to 3 September 1950),[14] had proclaimed the socialist order their goal. Subsequently, socialist society's political organization developed as an instrument of the workers class and its allies for materializing the power of the workers class, the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this, under the conditions of a constantly perfected socialist revolutionary organization, the process of the political exercise of power asserted itself more and more through the management of society's material processes.

When the phase that constructed the foundations of socialism in the GDR ended, the growing leadership role of the workers class had come to prevail completely, the process that formed the class of the cooperative farmers came to an end, segments of private craftsmen had formed the stratum of the cooperative craftsmen, segments of private tradesmen and enterprises had started working on commission or had become partly state-owned respectively, and a new, socialist intelligentsia had grown up. To the extent that the highly differentiated class and social structure of 1949, in interaction with the continually higher degree of maturity in the economic base of socialist society, and in conformity of the goal of a new, socialist class and social structure, changed, the leadership role of the workers class was recognized and its interests became identical with the basic

interests of the other classes and strata. On this basis, it became possible to involve increasingly more all classes and strata in the exercise of political power and the management of society, which in fact was necessary for the further development of socialist society. An expression of it in the phase when the foundations of socialism were laid was the process that evolved and developed socialist democracy as a form and substance of socialist society's political organization, which simultaneously reflected the further development of the essence of political organization, i.e. the qualitatively more mature features of the unity of political organization, exercise of power, and management.

Socialist society's political organization thus evolved through extending society's political organization as it emerged between 1945 and 1949 under the conditions of the anti-imperialist-democratic transformation in the years between 1949 and the early 1960's, the phase when the foundations of socialism were laid in the GDR, in close interaction with the economic and class basis of society. At the end of that phase, "socialist society's political organization essentially was set."[15]

With the transition to the all-inclusive construction of socialism (Sixth SED Congress, 1963) and the start of the shaping of developed socialism in the GDR Eighth SED Congress, 1971), a new developmental phase also began for socialist society's political organization. Its basic tendencies and requirements were set down in the Party Program as adopted by the ninth party congress. The assumption there is that "the shaping of the developed socialist society is a historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes."[16] On the basis of an undivided supremacy of socialist production relations and of the friendly cooperation and beginning rapprochement among the classes, socialist society's political organization became constantly more perfect, being at the same time a multifaceted yet uniform social total subject[17] producing the material-technical base and production relations of developed socialism, the further development of the socialist political and legal order, the extension and protection of socialist achievements, and the deepening of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community of states.

The process of the shaping of developed socialism in the GDR made more pronounced than ever the characteristic features of socialism's political organization, which went through all its phases but only now fully come into their own. Such characteristic features are:

1. Socialist society's political organization is from the outset a new type of political organization. It is decisively marked by the constantly growing leadership role of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party. As to its new socioeconomic foundations, its substance and objective, its dynamics and perspective, and its principles and functioning mode, it differs fundamentally and ever more apparently from all previous types of political organization of society, being historically superior to them.

2. It becomes ever more apparent that man is the focal point of socialist society's political organization. He is the most important criterion for the development of democracy. "Socialist society needs the constantly developing personality, whose general educational and political levels rise steadily."[18]

3. The increasing uniformity of socialist society's political organization is due to the dialectical interaction, typical of socialism, between a dynamically developing economic and social base on the one side and the growing role of the political superstructure, on the other. The undivided supremacy of socialist production relations that evolves becomes the basis for a progressive socialization of production and labor and, hence, for the rapprochement among the classes and social strata.

4. With the historic advances in the process of the construction of socialism, the organization and purposefulness of socialist society's political organization keep increasing--while political relations assume a greater variety. The role of the Marxist-Leninist party increases, it being the core of socialist society's political organization, which elaborates the social conception and leads in enforcing it, coordinates all political activities in socialist society, which also further develops socialist democracy, as the awareness of the masses grows. Growing importance also attaches to the socialist state, the main link in socialist society's political organization, in view of the rapidly increasing economic dimensions and its greater tasks in enforcing socialist legality and in assuming its cultural-educational and foreign policy functions. It also enhances the role of the social organizations and work collectives as components of socialist society's political organization.

5. In contrast to all other types of political organization of society, which primarily exercise suppressive and exploitative functions, the higher, socialist type of society's political organization realizes mainly "creative functions pertaining to the management of the economic, social and cultural construction of a new society, first socialism and then complete communism."[19] As historic experience in the development of real socialism has also demonstrated in the GDR, the function of socialism's political organization in the protection from attacks by domestic and foreign reaction must never be underrated. With socialist production and class relations becoming fully mature and antagonisms disappearing, however, political power loses the character of being "organized coercion by one class suppressing another."[20] Political power "in socialism assumes the character of leadership for the society by the workers class."[21] Accordingly, power does not separate the members of society, but "we rule by uniting all working people by means of the unbreakable chains of their vital interests, their class consciousness."[23] The dynamic reality of power in socialism "materializes chiefly through the management of many social affairs."[23]

6. Socialist society's political organization more and more determines the substance, dynamics and functioning mode of socialist democracy. The new, socioeconomic foundations of socialist society make possible and require that higher type of social labor organization that finds its most striking expression in planned and organized production, in the scientific management of all production processes on behalf of the members of society, and in the utilization of the accomplishments of scientific-technical progress for the benefit of all. Chiefly through the work collectives' efforts toward rapid production boosts and ever better satisfying the people's material and cultural needs, toward creative activities in production and in the management of public affairs, that type of the new, socialist democracy is brought about which significantly affects the formation and development of socialist personalities and shapes the socialist way of life. For the first time, the freedom of personality and a real guarantee of human rights are made to prevail all throughout society.

7. An important condition and, at once, the result of a successful functioning and further development of socialist society's political organization is the steady growth of social consciousness, the heightening of the population's political culture.[24] "That presupposes that every citizen shows deep understanding not only for his rights and freedoms, but also for his duties and responsibility to the society and the state by making them his own."[25]

8. In constantly further developing and becoming more perfect, through dialectical interaction with its socioeconomic base, socialist society's political organization also greatly contributes to molding the socialist character of the family, the people, the nation, and the international relations.

This survey of the problems in the history of socialist society's political organization in the GDR by no means resolves all questions. Extensive research is required to say things that are more definite about the further extension, the functions and structure of socialist society's political organization in its unity of logic and history. It also becomes obvious that this is a requirement international in dimension. A theory on socialist society's political organization cannot be confined to the experiences of only one country; it is conceivable only within the unity of universal inevitabilities, effective in all socialist countries, and of specific phenomena which in each country express the effects and concrete forms of the universal inevitabilities.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Berlin, 1976, pp 40 f.

2. Ibid., pp 65 and 40 f.

3. Cf. K. Hager, "Der IX. Parteitag und die Gesellschaftswissenschaften" (The Ninth Party Congress and the Social Sciences), Berlin, 1976, pp 11 and 45.

4. Cf. "Geschichte der SED, Abriss," Berlin, 1978, p 440.

5. As to Marxist social scientists who hold a different view, cf., e.g., Y. A. Tikhomirov, "Socialism and Political Power," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT (GB), 1979, p 920, and "Some Questions on the Development of Socialism's Political System," Ibid., 1976 pp 958 ff; A. K. Belych, "Organisation, Politik und Leitung" (Organization, Politics and Management), Berlin, 1969, especially p 105.

6. Cf. e.g. B. N. Topornin, "Das politische System des Sozialismus" (The Political System of Socialism), Berlin, 1974, pp 47 ff; "Die politische Organisation der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (The Political Organization of Socialist Society), Berlin, 1972, p 37; "Marxist-Leninist General Political and Law Theory," Vol 3, Berlin, 1975, p 83; "Scientific Communism Dictionary" (in Russian), Moscow, 1975, p 266.

7. In Soviet and GDR literature one finds both, an identification between "political organization" and "political system" (Y. A. Tikhomirov, "Some Questions . . .," op. cit., p 959; U.-J. Heuer, "Gesellschaftliche Gesetze und politische Organisation" [Social Laws and Political Organization], Berlin,

1974, p 132) and a clear differentiation between the two concepts (O. T. Bogomolov, THEORETISCHE INFORMATION UND DOKUMENTATION, Akademie fuer Gesellschaftswissenschaften beim ZK der SED, 5th series B, p 44; V. I. Gidirinskiy, NAUCHNIY KOMMUNISM, 1977, No 2, p 48) and even a reduction of "political organization" to its structural-substantive aspects ("Wissenschaftlicher Kommunismus, Textbuch" [Scientific Communism Textbook], Berlin, 1974, pp 425 ff.).

8. A. K. Belych, op. cit., pp 122 ff.

9. Cf. also V. I. Gidirinskiy, op. cit., p 49.

10. D. A. Kerimov and G. V. Maltsev, "Democracy and the Political System of Socialist Society," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT (GB), 1977, p 1244.

11. V. I. Lenin, "Werke" (Works), Vol 7, Berlin, 1956, pp 419 f.

12. "Geschichte der SED," op. cit., p 245.

13. Ibid., p 280.

14. Ibid., p 250.

15. Ibid., p 440.

16. "Programm . . . .," loc. cit., p 19.

17. Cf. U.-J. Heuer, op. cit., p 146.

18. D. A. Kerimov and G. V. Maltsev, op. cit., p 1249.

19. "Marxist-Leninist General Political and Law Theory," loc. cit., pp 82 f.

20. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Werke," Vol 4, Berlin, 1959, p 482.

21. A. K. Belych, op. cit., p 147.

22. V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 26, Berlin, 1961, p 479.

23. "Marxist-Leninist General Political and Law Theory," loc. cit., p 198.

24. Cf. V. Kudryavtsev, "The Political System of Ripe Socialism." PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, 1978, p 116.

25. Ibid.

'Work Collective' Model

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[Article by Prof Dr Rudolf Dau, rector; Dr Dieter Chitralla and Dr Reinhard Mittag, faculty members, Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wander Pedagogical College, Dresden: "The Work Collective as an Integral Part of the Socialist Society's Political Organization]

[Text] The formation and qualitative development of work collectives is an essential part of the process that creates socialist social relations. Whereas the whole mode of capitalist production objectively opposes the formation of cooperative production collectives because the producers, "as cooperators, as members of a working organism, are themselves only a specific mode of capital existence,"[1] the working people's division-of-labor cooperation in socialism's social reproduction process facilitates and determines their being formed into work collectives. The public ownership in the means of production conditions the free and creative work of the working people and the spreading of genuine collectivity, comradely cooperation and mutual aid. The work collective becomes a "relatively independent cell of society and, at once, an integral part inseparable from it, constituting an organized and legally defined association of free and equal working people created for the purpose of producing material and intellectual goods, and taking shape, and exercising its function, on the material basis of state or social institutions, facilities or organizations."[2] When the foundations of socialism are in place, in the phase of the shaping and perfecting of the developed socialist society, the work collective constitutes the typical form of the working people's labor cooperation for socialist industrial production and agricultural large-scale production and for jointly coping with tasks in other, even nonproductive, areas as well.

In the further shaping of the developed socialist society, the work collectives gain increasing importance in many domains of public life due to the rapid development of the productive forces, the steady improvements in socialist production relations, and the shaping of the socialist way of life. Combined into work collectives, the working people accomplish the increasing identity of their social, collective and personal interests in the crucial field--that of social production. Through their coping with any requirements the work collective has, social requirements of the working people are translated directly into concrete activities by which they affect the shaping of socialist society. And so the work collectives increasingly turn into a social organism providing the decisive makeup to socialist relations developing in the production field and beyond. The working people's field of activities broadens and transcends the scope of the production processes proper. Constantly encouraged and challenged by their collectives, the working people are fulfilling more and more tasks, mainly in exercise of their functions as owners of the means of production and controllers of the production processes. They exercise an influence on production management, planning and organization and on the economic and scientific-technical production preparation. That also includes training, the improvements for the working culture, the enhancement of order and safety, and other processes.

The qualitative growth of the workers class and the gradual rapprochement among the classes and strata taking place under Marxist-Leninist party leadership cannot be separated from the personality development in the work collectives. Especially in the collectives of material production it can be seen how closely linked socialist personality development is with the qualitative growth of the workers class and its assuming its growing leadership role in socialist society.

A socialist attitude toward work, socialist labor discipline and a high sense of responsibility are becoming more and more the crucial mental substratum for the development and efficacy of the work collectives. Essential prerequisites are

created in the work collectives for reducing the still existing essential differences between physical and mental work. The work collective is that basic cell of society "in which, as in society at large, the process of the incessant rapprochement among the various social groups and of reducing social differentiations is taking place. The materialization of this process is tantamount to perfecting the collective's social structure. That is why economic interhuman relations do not fully take care of the relations within the collective."[4]

In close dialectical interaction with the growing economic and social role of the work collectives, their role as the subject of politics in socialism also becomes more pronounced. Based on a pronounced proprietory awareness, the working people's broad spread of social activity, and a high sense of social responsibility, they give, at an increasingly higher level, life to the slogan, "Plan with us! Work with us! Govern with us!" It makes more and more working people aware of the great opportunities offered to the work collective for implementing working class power and scientifically managing public affairs. So the work collective in socialism, along with its, originally, economic and its social function, also assumes a political one, aimed at forming the working people's political awareness based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the development of socialist democracy, and the public activities of the members of the collective.[5]

The working people are increasingly using the extensive opportunities the work collectives have to contribute by the specific means at their disposal to the fulfillment of collective and overall social tasks. As the work collectives--with regard to their position within the economic structure of society--as collectives of proprietors and producers with political means, as subjects of politics, help shape the economic, ideological, cultural and political relations according to plan and consciously, they are an integral part of socialist society's political organization and, hence, of the superstructure of society as such.

In connection with the debate on the Soviet Constitution, the CPSU took into account the trend toward an ever stronger development of the work collectives' political function in proposing to include a section about work collectives in the chapter on socialism's political system. That is why L. I. Brezhnev underscored at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR: "Several thousand suggestions concerned the article on the role and importance of the work collectives. The work collective, the activity of its party, trade union and comsomol organization, reflects the whole life of society: the economic, the political and the intellectual life. It actually is the basic cell of our whole organism, not only the economic one, but the political one as well. That supports those who think that the article on the work collective be best inserted in chapter 1 of the Constitution, which deals with our political system."[6]

As to the inseparable unity of the work collectives' economic, social and political functions, the Soviet Constitution emphasizes in its Article 8: "The work collectives take part in the debate and decisions of state and social affairs, in production planning and social development, in cadre training and assignment, in deliberating on and deciding matters of enterprise and facility management,

in improving the working and living conditions, and in allocating the means set aside for production development, social and cultural measures, and material incentives. The work collectives develop socialist emulation, help disseminate progressive working methods and solidify work discipline, educate their members in the spirit of communist morality and see to heightening their political awareness, cultural level and vocational qualifications."[7]

Social science literature still uses the concept of work collectives in more than one sense. Two basic meanings are found: first, the work collective is conceived as a large economic-organizational unit, mainly in the sense of an enterprise collective or even a combine collective, which itself is still subdivided into separate units. Secondly, the concept of work collective denotes the smallest structural unit of an enterprise, an institution or a facility.[8] The conceptual determination of both meanings is reflected by the use of the following paired concepts: work collective in the broader sense--work collective in the narrower sense; work collective--immediate work collective; enterprise collective--immediate work collective; basic collective--primary collective.[9]

While such methodological differentiation among work collectives of various levels may certainly be apt for examining certain questions, all authors nonetheless agree that there can be no rigid separation or even contrast among work collectives of diverse structural or magnitudinal units. In the final analysis, "each collective is part of a larger collective, which in turn again belongs to a still larger collective. A work brigade is part of a plant department, it in turn is part of the entire plant collective, and so forth."[10]

For our requirement to define and describe the work collective as an integral part of socialist society's political organization, we mainly address the level of the work collective on which the workers directly cooperate and communicate, either permanently (brigades, departments, research collectives, science areas and so forth) or temporarily (innovator collectives, rationalizers collective, training collectives, and so forth), where everyone knows everybody else, where the productive, personality-promoting and formative social function is exercised directly in a unified manner, where the work collective under a management purposefully copes with common targets and also forms, organizationally, a firm unit that can no longer be subdivided into smaller units.[11] Every working person belongs to such a "community of working people within the structural unit of an enterprise or an area which is aimed deliberately at achieving high labor results, developing comradely cooperation and mutual aid, and an all-round promotion of its members' personalities."[12] The political function of the work collectives mainly on this level, it seems to us, has grown in importance recently, wherefore it has attracted the attention of many social scientists. In years ahead it will doubtless be an important task as well for various science disciplines to devote themselves to a theoretical and empirical investigation of this subject matter.

The work collectives constitute an extremely complex and complicated social organism. Their political character, function and role, as an overall social phenomenon, took and takes shape in two different ways. For one thing, the work

collective is the operations base for essential components of socialist society's political organization itself, a "live micromodel of the entire political system."[13] At the same time, and increasingly so, the work collective asserts itself as an independent component of socialist society's political organization, as a subject of political relations in its own right, in that it takes a direct part in the management of state and public affairs.[14]

As the operations base for essential components of socialist society's political organization, e.g. of the party, the trade union or the youth association, which form and develop the work collectives, one must chiefly emphasize the work collectives' positions as objects. The solution of all collective tasks and the development of the collective and its members are subject to the leadership by the working class party and to the target-directed influence by state management, the trade union, the youth organization and other social organizations of the working people. In this process, the implementation of the unity of politics, ideology and economics has special importance. State-political and sociopolitical organizations and institutions form and align the work collective so it will achieve its goals. They bring an influence to bear on the development of the work collective and use it as an instrument for the all-round strengthening of the political power of the workers class and for the management of public affairs.

Here the party has the job to enforce its leadership role; exercising it over all of society, it must do so also within the framework of the work collective. The party organizations in the work collectives see to it that the central party and state directives are applied, coordinate the activities of the state and social structural units in the collective, have a crucial share in solving manpower problems, and exercise the right of supervision vis-a-vis state management.[15]

The SED Program has demanded that the "political-ideological activity be concentrated more on developing the educational capacities of the work collectives, to give effective shape to the characteristics of socialist personalities."[16] Social organizations also are coming up with ever better results in this. Through the work of the social organizations, under party leadership, mainly the trade union and the youth organization, the creative capacities and potentials are being released in the work collectives and concentrated on targets that comform with the interests of the working people and the tasks for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society.

On the whole, the process of perfecting and ripening socialist society's political organization and that of the further development of socialist democracy have decisively contributed through all phases of socialist construction to giving more effective shape, more and more evidently, to the work collectives' political character and function.

In close dialectical connection with the "politization" of the work collectives as operations base for essential components of socialist society's political organization stand the development and elevation of the work collectives' subject role in their outer-directed function in the management of public affairs. On the one side, thanks to the work of the working class party and the social organizations, more shape is being given in the work collectives to the social awareness of their members, their skills in effectively exercising socialist democracy,

and their socialist personality characteristics. It promotes the desire and develops the ability of all members of the work collective to become politically active in the collective itself and beyond, in the territory or in the overall social framework. On the other hand, the political activity of the members of the collective inside and outside of their work collective greatly helps in developing qualifications within the work collective itself.

Our assumption is that the importance of the work collectives as subjects in the management of public affairs is going to increase in the further shaping of the developed socialist society and in the construction of communism. "A greater role by the collective in management functions marks an important direction in the development of socialist democracy--with socialism's political system growing into the system of communist self-administration."[17] This refers to the work collective's growing political responsibility for solving labor tasks proper and the need, resulting from it, for drawing the entire work collective more into the management of labor tasks, mainly in material production, as well as to the work collective's activity transcending the actual labor process, in the territory or in the overall social framework.

Their increasing political responsibility to solving actual labor tasks, the work collectives primarily exercise within the scope of socialist emulation. The working people's direct participation in socialist emulation expresses their politically active and conscious participation in economic planning and management. Socialist emulation is aimed at improving production quality and efficiency, boosting labor productivity and, with it, improving the working and living conditions. It is an important source for a conscious attitude toward work, for forming socialist personalities, and for the development of a spirit of initiative, of the creative urge and of a sense of responsibility to society. The contest for the title, "collective of socialist work," has become a mass movement among the working people in our country.

An effective form of the work collectives' immediate participation in the management of production processes is the plan debate, where they, with increasing expertise and responsibility, get drawn into the decision-making on planned production quotas, on improving working and living conditions, and on other matters. Both the quantity and quality of this form of democratic activity by the working people have risen lately. More than 80 percent of the working people of all economic areas and of public life took part in the debates elaborating the national economic plans in recent years already.

Another significant form of creative mass initiative and, hence, a new effective form of socialist emulation, are the initiative shifts. Among the work collectives' political activities in the production field itself furthermore are public inspections by the work collectives and their members, permanent production consultations, the participation by work collectives in enforcing and abiding by socialist law, the movement to enforce order, discipline and safety and other matters, which may be referred to by different terms in some other socialist countries.

The political activity of the work collectives and their members by no means is confined to solving immediate production tasks. While the work collectives together with the integral parts of socialist society's political organization that are operating within them, and as the subjects of politics, aim their political activity at the solution of territorial and overall social tasks, their profile as independent integral parts of socialist society's political organization becomes most conspicuous. Our own most recent social development has already given rise to a wealth of vivid examples regarding the growing role of the work collectives as management subjects for social processes outside of their labor activity.

For example, as early as in 1973, with the "Law on the Local People's Representations and Their Organs in the GDR," the need for cooperation between the people's representations and the work collectives was written into law: "The deputies in the local people's representations establish close and permanent ties with the work collectives in the enterprises and the citizens in the residential areas, explain to them the socialist state's policy and the resolutions of the people's representation and its council, and recruit them into taking an active part in the implementation of state tasks."[18] To make, above all, the cooperation between work collectives in socialist large-scale enterprises and the local people's representations more effective, on the initiative of the 11th SED Central Committee plenum, in the communal elections in May 1974, the number of mandates for city-kreis assemblies in cities with more than 40,000 inhabitants, in city-district assemblies and in kreis assemblies was raised, in a differentiated fashion, by from 10 to 25 percent, and the new 4,000 mandates were mainly assigned to production workers. Simultaneously at those elections, nominations of candidates were for the first time discussed directly within the work collective, and so were the questions of the candidate's receiving support from his collective within and outside of the enterprise. Work collective responsibility to the deputies was made explicit in Article 17 of the Election Law of 24 June 1976: "Candidates nominated by the democratic parties and mass organizations should first be checked and proposed by the collectives in which they work."[19]

How the work collectives make use of their right to examine the candidates to be nominated, became especially clear in the preparations for the communal elections of 20 May 1979. The outcome of the discussions demonstrated that the vast majority of the candidates had the confidence of their work collective (261,107 candidates); but 859 candidates were not nominated since they did not have the confidence of their work collectives.[20] The juridical arrangement and social practice of a direct influence by the work collectives on the people's representations as the supreme state organ for the exercise of power and management by the people indicate the high appreciation for the work collectives' degree of social maturity in their being the subjects of politics.

The territory has in recent years become an important field for the public activity of the work collectives. The perfecting of socialist democracy in the further shaping of the developed socialist society emphatically demanded strengthening the influence of the enterprises and work collectives on public life in towns and communities. Article 4 of the "Law on the Local People's Representations and Their Organs" and Article 5 of the "Decree on the Tasks, Rights and Duties of

the State-owned Enterprises, Combines and Associations of State-owned Enterprises" set down the relevant legal obligations for the cooperation between the local power organs and the enterprises, combines, cooperatives and facilities not under their authority. This cooperation relates in particular to "matters of political mass activity in the residential areas, the development of working and living conditions, the site distribution for the productive forces, the development of the infrastructure, rational access to territorial resources, the rational use of the labor capacity, and socialist territorial culture, including environmental protection."[21]

In recent years, through territorial rationalization, a complex tasks has evolved which presupposes a close cooperation between state organs and work collectives. Work collective influence on the territory must not be confined to the cooperation between their management organs and the local councils, or to the activity by the deputies from the work collectives. It is increasingly displayed by the political-ideological efficacy of the work collectives and their representatives within the territory, mainly in the residential areas, particularly in their taking part in the residential party organizations and in the residential area commissions of the National Front. And the work collectives make their appearance in the territory not only in a collective form, i.e. as entire collectives. "The more developed the relations within the work collective are and the more emphatically they affect the personality development, the more the work collective will also influence through its own members the modes of thought and conduct in other public communities and social areas. The working people's democratic activity in the work collective and in the territory must be conceived and developed in unity. An individual is connected via many social relations with a great number of different collectives and groups, on his job, in his family, in his residential area, in his political life, during his leisure-time and so forth.

Another important feature in describing the work collectives as integral parts of socialist society's political organization is the role they play in explaining important domestic policy events. This form of working people participation in the planning and management of social processes becomes most evident in the popular debates on party draft documents and government bills in the most recent history of the countries in the socialist community.

Not last, the political responsibility and activity of the work collectives are increasing in connection with the tasks that have to be resolved in the field of the economic integration of socialist countries and in the proletarian-internationalist solidarity with the workers class in the developed capitalist countries and with the young national states and the national liberation movement. In sum, the increasingly more evident emergence of the political function of the work collectives and their development as subjects of politics in socialism reflect the historic dynamics of socialist society's political organization.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol I, K. Marx/F. Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 23, Berlin, 1962, pp 352 f.

2. I. Ilyinskiy, "The Political Organization of Socialist Society" (in Russian), Moscow, 1976, p 199.

3. Cf. F. Adler, H. Jetzschmann and A. Kretzschmar, "Arbeiterklasse und Persoenlichkeit im Sozialismus" (Workers Class and Personality in Socialism), Berlin, 1977, p 114.

4. G. J. Gleserman, "Der historische Materialismus und die Entwicklung der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (Historical Materialism and the Development of Socialist Society), Berlin, 1973, p 222.

5. For the problem of structuring the functions of the work collective, cf. P. T. Bugayenko, "The Production Collective as the Sociopolitical Cell of Socialist Society," NAUCHNI KOMMUNIST, 1977, No 1, p 42.

6. "The Soviet People--Creator of Its New Constitution--Report by Leonid Brezhnev before the Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6 October 1977, p 3.

7. "Constitution of the USSR--Adopted at the Seventh Extraordinary Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Ninth Legislative Session, 7 October 1977," (in Russian), Moscow, 1977, p 9.

8. Cf. A. Kahl, "Arbeitskollektiv und Automatisierung in der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft. Eine soziologische Analyse von Arbeitskollektiven in automatisierten Produktionsbereichen der chemischen Industrie" (Work Collective and Automation in the Developed Socialist Society. A Sociological Analysis of Work Collectives in Automated Production Areas in the Chemical Industry), Dissertation B, Leipzig, 1977, p 73.

9. Cf., e.g., in Soviet literature: V. G. Ivanov, "Collective and Personality," Berlin, 1973, p 59, note 83; G. S. Khokhlyuk, "Work Collective, Experiences, Problems, Perspectives. A Sociological Analysis." (in Russian), Khabarovsk, 1976.

10. A. W. Petrowski, "Allgemeine Psychologie" (General Psychology), Berlin, 1977, p 41.

11. Cf. A. Kahl, op. cit., p 73

12. "Woerterbuch der marxistisch-leninistischen Soziologie" (Marxist-Leninist Sociological Lexicon), Berlin, 1977, p 41.

13. Z. A. Yampolskaya, "On the Interaction between State Organs and Social Organizations in Present-day Society," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT (GB), 1979, No 1, p 38.

14. Cf. A. I. Kiryushin, "The New USSR Constitution and the Heightened Role of the Work Collective in the Management of Society," VESTNIK MOSKOWSKOGO UNIVERSITETA, SERIYA XII: TEORIYA NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNISMA, 1976, No 3. p 37.

15. Cf. P. T. Bugayenko, op. cit., p 46.

16. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Berlin, 1976, p 67.

17. A. I. Kiryushin, op. cit., p 37.

18. GBL, Part I 1973 p 318, Article 16 Section 3.

19. Law on the Elections to the People's Representations in the GDR (Election Law) of 24 June 1976, GBL Part I p 303.

20. Cf. "261,107 Candidates Nominated for the 20 May Election," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 20 April 1979, p 1.

21. Law on the Local People's Representations and Their Organs in the GDR of 12 July 1973, GBL Part I p 315, Article 4.

22. H. Zienert, "Sozialistische Demokratie und Wirtschaftsleitung" (Socialist Democracy and Economic Management), Berlin, 1976, p 41.

5885
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BOOK ON POLITICAL CRIMINAL LAW REVIEWED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 3, Mar 82 (signed to press 19 Feb 82) pp 296-299

["Critique of Criminal Law as Historiography"--Review by Karl Wilhelm Fricke, director, East-West Department, Deutschlandfunk, Cologne; of book "Geschichte und Struktur des politischen Strafrechts der DDR bis 1968" (History and Structure of the GDR's Political Criminal Law Up to 1968), by Wolfgang Schuller, jurist, associate professor of history, University of Constance, FRG; published by Rolf Gremer, Ebelsbach, 1980, 487 pages, DM 89.00 (hard cover)]

[Text] Political criminal law as it reflects GDR government and society--that in short is the subject to which the present book by Wolfgang Schuller is devoted. He himself summarizes the purpose of his substantial investigation as "presenting, describing and explaining with reference to the concrete content, form and development of the GDR's political criminal law until 1968, a part of its political and social reality." And this, to say it at once, the author has succeeded in doing in a sound scientific fashion, i.e. convincingly. By documenting the qualitative differences between the text of the law, its interpretation and the practical application of political criminal law, he accounts for the whole range of mandatory political penalties in the SED state and thereby gains significant insights into its governmental practice. A fascinating book!

Its special value is that Schuller far transcends purely legal investigations into the GDR's political criminal law, producing a work which is both a critique of criminal law and historiography. The author here benefited from the fact that he is both a jurist and a historian. First, in 1935, he studied jurisprudence and gained his law degree with a thesis on "Political Criminal Law in the GDR, 1945-1953," Thereafter, he took up the study of history. In 1971, Schuller acquired his teaching credentials for ancient history; for the last 6 years, he has held a professorship in ancient history at the University of Constance. That biographical background should at least partly make plausible the idea of the book of systematically reviewing the political criminal law and its application in the GDR within the context of historic development.

The basis of material on which Schuller relies once again demonstrates how worthwhile persistent search and sifting can be. Along with the relevant law regulations, he has adduced all obtainable western and eastern literature in his subject--his bibliography filling more than 20 printed pages. Furthermore,

he includes more than 600 legal documents, mainly GDR court rulings both published and unpublished, prosecution resolutions, indictments and other decisions, and he has of course also combed through SED decisions and resolutions for pronouncements that were relevant to the subject. Under the possibilities at hand, the material basis could not be broader.

In the first part of his book, the author deals with the norms of political criminal law in effect until 1968, when the new GDR Penal Code came into force. He first analyzed their official interpretation so as to engage in critical textual comparisons and then explore practical applications. Supplementing his investigation of trial procedure, he comes to grips with the material criminal law. In the second part, Schuller formulates what he calls an "explanation" of the results elaborated up to that point in his book. Proceeding from a critique of the sense of identity and of the argumentations in GDR jurisprudence, he decodes the dialectics between politics and law development and concludes with a comparative structural definition of criminal law.

Schuller bases his treatment on time frames, dividing the entire period into the phases of 1945-53, 1953-58, and 1958-68. These three phases do logically represent the legal and juridical development which in the GDR suffered far-reaching caesuras with the new course policy after the 17 June 1953 uprising and then again when the criminal supplementary law went into effect on 1 February 1958, and yet the question may be raised whether a different type of periodicity might not have been more meaningful. After all, the politization and orchestration of criminal law in the GDR but reflect political and social power relations, the development of which was marked by their own historic dates. And that would have suggested a different periodization, one more strongly oriented to the course of history.

One of the most revealing explorations in Schuller's work is his critical confrontation with Article 6 in the first GDR Constitution, the second section of which, as one knows, pronounced the so-called boycott agitation a crime in terms of the penal code. Up to the time that the criminal supplementary law went into effect on 11 December 1957, that constitutional provision was, to GDR jurisprudence, "immediately applicable penal law," even though it was no criminal law "not only due to lack of evidence but also, mainly, due to the lack of a threat of impending penalty." GDR jurisprudence, in Article 6, got a device by which any conduct purportedly or actually critical of the regime, or oppositional or hostile, could be criminalized. With reference to many sentences based on Article 6, Schuller shows the absurd variety of forms in which boycott agitation could be "committed." It could be found in causing disaffection and showing hatred, in diversion and war agitation, treason (Wolfgang Harich and others were sentenced on the basis of Article 6) and organized crime, defection, espionage, terror and much else. Schuller's resume: "Agitation was seen to be any kind of activity committed even by doing nothing, or by actions without comment; boycott was identical with doing harm. Boycott was any conduct regarded as harmful by the regime."

With the example of Article 6 as well as of most other norms of political criminal law, the author demonstrates the flagrant contempt for any elemental principles of the modern administration of criminal justice by GDR jurisprudence--the principle, that is, that no one may be punished unless his act was previously made

punishable under law; and the principle that anyone, until proven guilty, was to be regarded as innocent, the evidence having to come from the state. Both principles have been turned upside-down by GDR jurisprudence. "If the interpretation and application differ from the text of the law, which in turn can only partially be regarded as criminal law, the sentence patently is not pronounced on the basis of a criminal law, but one punishes whatever the state pretends is a criminal act at the time the sentence is due." So says Schuller, who attributes the replacement of the presumption of innocence by the presumption of guilt to that the state, "through its preponderance in the investigative and trial proceedings, through substantially aggravating the difficulties of the defense, (made it happen) that a de facto suspicion of criminal guilt of the indicted and accused required to be refuted by them."

All this may already have been set down in other works, to be sure. But nowhere else have the results of an investigation of these problems been so richly shored up in terms of material and have been so cogently presented as in Schuller's book, whose original approach to it is to be seen in that he derives his insights from a structural analysis of the criminal law itself and, only after those matters are cleared up, asks how all that relates to the theories found binding by GDR jurisprudence on law, on socialist legality or on the party-mindedness of the judicature. Normally, the mode of thinking and procedure goes the other way.

Schuller has no compunction to extend his structural analysis to a comparison of political criminal law in the Third Reich and in the GDR. There is no special pleading for common features and parallels found there, the omnipotent role of the state in proceedings, for instance, "with its consequence of the presumption of guilt, thus Freisler's pronouncement: 'nullum crimen sine poena' or, in Hilde Benjamin's version: 'a crime does not remain unpunished because there seems to be no appropriate law for it.'"

Common features like that disturb as much as the differences Schuller has brought out—the proof, for instance, that political justice in the Third Reich "lacks many features of the fictitious or the cover-up discernible in GDR law: from a much more outspoken language in sentencing down to the fact that Nazi law in peacetime did not fabricate by means of false interpretation but even in that regard was more overtly brutal. Embryonically, that difference is discernible in the two statements quoted of Roland Freisler and Hilde Benjamin." Acrid truths. To have made us again aware of them and given them a scientific substantiation, is one of the advantages of this book.

Only does not come it a decade too late? This would be easy to say, especially in view of the fact that the author omitted the development in the GDR starting with the 12 January 1968 Penal Code, meanwhile amended by three politically relevant supplements. But to squawk that way would be sheer sophistry; it would appear all the less justified inasmuch as Schuller's basic insights certainly allow inplications by analogy for the political criminal law of the GDR as of today and at least teach us better to understand its principles and structures.

This analysis, couched in historic terms by the author, provides knowledge highly topical in value, as far as it goes. Jurists and historians dealing with the GDR will find the book is an indispensable reference work, not last on account of its painstakingly prepared index (on laws, sentences, persons and subjects). A significant book, this one by Wolfgang Schuller, a gain for GDR research.

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BRIEFS

CONFERENCE OF PRORECTORS--The national conference of prorectors for student affairs, which took place on 25 March at Warsaw Technical University, was devoted to the resumption of social activity on the part of the student community. The conference was chaired by Jerzy Sablik, deputy minister of science, higher schools and technology; participants included representatives of ministries superintending higher schools, prorectors for student affairs, and representatives of student organizations and of youth organizations which are active in schools. The basic goal of the deliberations was the implementation of decisions, made by the Socio-Political Committee of the Council of Ministers at a 12 March meeting, concerning the resumption of activity on the part of the Socialist Union of Polish Students, student self-governing bodies, and student cultural and scientific sections. [Excerpt] [by A.S.] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Mar 82 p 8]

NEW PEDAGOGICAL SCHOOL RECTOR--At the recommendation of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship National Defense Committee, the minister of science, higher schools and technology has appointed Docent Dr Bronislaw Ratus to the position of rector of the Bydgoszcz Higher Pedagogical School. B. Ratus had previously served i.a. as prorector of the Higher Pedagogical School in Zielona Gora, and most recently was employed at the Institute for Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism in Warsaw. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Apr 82 p 5]

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27 April 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2004

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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BRIEFS

ZSMP, WEST BERLIN YOUTH--At the invitation of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], a three-member delegation of the leadership of the Karl Liebknecht Socialist Youth Union [SJV] from West Berlin visited Warsaw from 25-27 March. The visit was intended to acquaint the delegation with current ZSMP work and to allow discussion on the prospects for cooperation between the ZSMP and the Karl Liebknecht SJV. It was also determined that the chairmen of both organizations will sign a friendship and cooperation agreement during the World Federation of Democratic Youth Assembly in Prague. The SJV delegation was received by ZSMP Main Board chairman Jerzy Jaskiernia. [Text] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29 Mar 82 p 2]

SZSP DELEGATION IN MOSCOW--Moscow--At the invitation of the Komsomol Central Committee, a delegation of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], led by Tadeusz Sawic, visited the USSR from 29-31 March. The Polish delegation was acquainted with Komsomol activity; in addition, the SZSP representatives visited the Moscow Transportation Institute. The traditional annual "Polish Culture Week" was organized at Moscow University at the end of March with the participation of circles from the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship, the Society for Soviet-Polish Friendship, SZSP student councils, and the Komsomol. [Text] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 1 Apr 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/482

AUERSPERG CRITICIZES CP OF JAPAN

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 4, Feb 82 pp 32-36

[Letter by Pavel Auersperg, responsible secretary of the editorial office of the periodical OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU, in response to a letter by Antonin Hlavina, worker-pensioner, CPCZ member since 1935; portions within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Esteemed editorial offices!

For more than 20 years I have been a prepaid subscriber to and reader of the periodical OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU. As a Czechoslovak communist, I am proud of the fact that the main editorial offices of this international periodical of communist and workers parties are located in Prague, and that representatives of our fraternal parties work continually on this periodical in our capital city. Not long ago, I learned by chance that the Japanese Communist Party [JCP] has apparently proposed that the publishing of this periodical cease. Is this true? And if so, how do our Japanese comrades justify this strange proposal of theirs? And in general, what am I to make of this?

Antonin Hlavina, worker-pensioner, CPCZ member since 1935, Prague.

Esteemed Comrade Hlavina,

The editorial offices of ZIVOT STRANY have passed on your questions to me. An answer to the first one is not difficult. Unfortunately, what you are asking about is true, and has become a tasty morsel for the Western media. The standing committee of the Presidium of the JCP Central Committee made public on 11 December 1981 in the periodical AKAHATA a resolution under the title "Further Publication of Pernicious Magazine OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU Harms International Communist Movement" and proposed in the article that publication of this periodical be ceased.

In accordance with the norms and principles recognized within the international communist movement, every party may adopt its own resolutions on

any issue at all. No one has ever forced the JCP to participate in the publication of the periodical OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU. No one has, or will mount any pressure on it, provided it will be decided whether its representative will leave the editorial board of the periodical, or remain on it. Decisions of this type are an internal matter for each party. And if everything were limited only to the question of whether the JCP would continue to participate or cease to participate in the work on the magazine, then my answer would not make sense.

But unfortunately, the matter is far from concluded with the above-mentioned resolution of 11 December 1981. Right after it was made public, additional materials were published in the party daily AKAHATA and in the JCP information bulletin with direct attacks against OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU. All of these accusations were then sent abroad with the assistance of the JAPAN PRESS SERVICE bulletin. Excerpts from these texts were printed on the pages of the world press and appropriately commented upon. The JCP also sent its accusations to numerous fraternal parties. At the same time, a number of facts were distorted in the 11 December 1981 resolution. And such actions--I hope that you will agree with me--at once extend beyond the realm of a strictly internal party matter, because they run counter to comradely relations among fraternal parties.

In view of the fact that these norms have been violated and the accusations against the magazine raised publicly and circulated throughout the world, I consider it essential that the voice of the other side also be heard. Therefore, Comrade Hlavina, I am answering you in no way internally, but in an open reply on the pages of the magazine ZIVOT STRANY, which is aimed at the CPCZ functionary corps.

Well then, let's take a closer look at what took place. As you know from our press, on 24-26 November 1981 there took place in Prague a "Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties," as the highest forum at which, in accordance with the valid statute, the activities of the journal OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU could be discussed and evaluated. During the more than 23-year existence of this magazine there have been six such conferences and at the most recent one, in November 1981, the participation of fraternal party representatives was the greatest. Delegates from 90 parties in all positively evaluated the activity of our international communist periodical, discussed its future tasks, expressed various material and critical comments and communicated a number of requests. The common denominator of these was an attempt to further increase the quality of the content and improve conscientiously the multilateral activity of OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU.

A large delegation from the JCP also participated in the conference. I am in no way mistaken when I say that their speeches disillusioned those conference participants who were present. I myself had the impression that the Japanese comrades had decided to use the conference podium to verify before the fact the reaction of the fraternal parties to certain theses and "accusations" which later became the basis for the resolution of the standing committee of the Presidium of the JCP Central Committee on

11 December 1981. To tell the truth, it is necessary to say that this test turned into a debacle for the Japanese representatives. The insinuations of the Japanese comrades were most decisively rejected in the speeches of many delegates. However, without regard for this reality, these theses were not only repeated in the 11 December 1981 resolution, but in addition certain new "justifications" and "new" elements appear.

What are we dealing with here?

In evaluating the magazine as "pernicious" and "harmful," mention is made in the JCP resolution of a certain "tendency to make the magazine an organ of propaganda, defending the hegemony of certain parties." The JCP had directed similar anonymous accusations at the magazine previously. But this time it mentions this "certain party" by name. In the 11 December resolution, it is openly stated that this is a matter of "the Soviet hegemonistic intervention policy," of "the hegemonistic foreign policy course of the CPSU."

In this connection, additional new realities are worthy of note. The JCP leadership expressed malicious objections to the fact that in the ideological struggle the magazine is oriented toward the fight against anti-Sovietism. This objection may not be characterized in any other way than as a clear attempt to force upon the magazine a different focus, one absolutely unacceptable to the fraternal parties. In the conference speech of the chief of the CPCZ delegation, Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, it was on the contrary emphasized that the magazine must still more thoroughly and decisively fulfill its basic mission in the fight against anti-Sovietism. Several other delegations also expressed the same views.

To proceed otherwise would, you see, mean acting in conflict with a document approved at the 1974 conference, in which the editorial organs are directed to devote most of the attention of the magazine, among other things, "to uncovering anticommunism and /anti-Sovietism/ (my emphasis, P.A.). No one has repealed this requirement which had been placed on the work of the magazine, thus it continues in force. The parties which cooperate on the magazine regard anti-Sovietism as an insidious form of anticommunism, as an instrument of the aggressive policy of imperialism which is threatening all the peoples of the world.

Intentionally, then, I shall make no mention of everything published in the Japanese materials as "criticism" directed at Soviet foreign policy, its alleged "hegemonism" and "interventionism." All progressive people are well aware of what Soviet peace-loving policy has meant for the world, how for almost 40 years now in the postwar period it has effectively contributed to the preservation of peace, the strengthening of international security, the struggles of people for freedom, independence and social progress. The Japanese comrades are accusing the magazine of supporting this policy. Should, perhaps, a periodical of communist and workers parties support another policy--say the policy of imperialism, distort its undertakings,

or fail to speak out against the doctrine of "limited nuclear war," and the like?

In the JCP resolution of 11 December 1981 objections were again presented to the criticism of the CCP on the pages of the magazine. In comparison with the speeches of the JCP representatives at the conference, there appears here, however, a new anti-Soviet aspect: This criticism is directly linked with the "antagonism between the USSR and China." At the same time, every serious and impartial reader of OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU can confirm that in the articles by authors of the individual fraternal parties /criticism is directed only at those aspects of Peking's foreign policy/ which directly harm the interests of these parties. No one has the right, not even someone in Tokyo, to forbid this logical defense of the vital interests of the fraternal parties.

I wish to assure you, Comrade Hlavina, that all of these, and other, accusations contained in the JCP resolution of 11 December 1981 had been aired in one form or another at the November conference concerning the magazine's work. They received no support there from the delegations of the fraternal parties which took part in this meeting. Nor did the fraternal party representatives support additional proposals advanced by the Japanese delegation, and which were again repeated in the JCP resolution of 11 December 1981. What were these in particular?

--The JCP delegation unconditionally demanded a so-called "consensus," according to which complete unanimity was to be introduced in the approval process for the magazine's content and for the adopting of decisions in individual organs of the magazine. By way of explanation, Comrade Hlavina, I wish to add that under this interpretation of "consensus," which in Czech means an accordance of views, one contrary vote would be sufficient, for instance from the Japanese, to block the implementation of resolutions or the publication of articles about which the representatives of all the other fraternal parties in the magazine are in agreement.

--In addition, efforts were made to assert the view that articles ought not to be published in the magazine in which authors write, to be sure, about problems in their own parties or countries, but about which there is an alleged difference of opinion. For instance, the Japanese side holds another viewpoint on a given matter than the one held by the fraternal party which is directly affected by the issue at hand. This requires nothing more or less than ceasing to recognize the sovereign right of every fraternal party, under which none other that it alone may interpret its own domestic and international policy in the magazine. I would like to clarify this with an example: Concerning problems being resolved by the CPCZ, a viewpoint may be presented on the pages of the magazine only by functionaries and authors affiliated with our party, and under no circumstances, as they would wish, by Japanese representatives.

--It was firmly requested that the makeup of the editorial board be changed and expanded to include a representative of the JCP.

It is my pleasure to note, Comrade Hlavina, that the JCP delegation did not arrive at the November conference with proposals of this type as if with something new or unexpected. These proposals had been contained in several letters from the JCP Central Committee which had been sent since the beginning of 1981 to the attention of the magazine. The editorial board had discussed these letters in great detail, despite the fact that the JCP Central Committee had immediately published this internal correspondence in a tendentious manner. /The conclusions were unambiguous: the editorial board has no interest in carrying on a public dispute with the JCP. The resolution of the issues brought up by the Japanese comrades does not fall within the competence of the editorial board, but belongs "to the exclusive jurisdiction of the conference of communist and workers party delegates concerning the work of the magazine."/ This conference convened and held constructive discussions. The speeches of the Japanese delegation, whose "proposals," as the conference protocol confirms, were explicitly rejected by everyone, were the exception. The JCP delegation for all practical purposes remained alone and isolated with its "proposals" and "demands."

In this connection, I cannot refrain from asking the question of whether the disappointment of the JCP delegation because of this lack of success was the primary motivation for the unconvincing assertion contained in the 11 December 1981 resolution which states that "The course and outcomes of the conference clearly showed that the magazine has completely and definitively departed from the principles on which it was founded." That famous comment from the world famous book, "Adventures of the Good Soldier Svejk," immediately comes to one's mind: "The whole column is marching poorly, only Mr Frajtr is keeping the correct pace."

Regretfully, it must be stated that this style, a combination of attempts to control and to lecture while simply ignoring the factual aspects of a matter, is very typical of the other accusations of the JCP which were brought to the attention of the journal. But if we lay our hands on the facts, on the resolutions adopted at the founding conference in 1958, when it was decided to start the magazine and to approve its charter, then we learn that the magazine has not deviated and is not deviating in any way from the principles with which it was endowed at its inception.

What were these principles?

Let us refresh our memories as to what was written at that time. The parties which agreed to found the magazine characterized its basic objectives as follows: "The magazine should not be a directive organ; it is to concern itself with propaganda and with the discussion of issues of Marxist-Leninist theory, to inform comprehensively and widely the international workers movement concerning the activity of communist parties and to provide an international forum for the exchange of experiences among fraternal parties. To this end, the editorial offices may also provide space in the magazine for a comradely exchange of views and experiences which, within the framework of the general principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, reflect certain differences in the positions of their authors;

the magazine editorial offices also have the opportunity to express their views on the issues under discussion. When basic differences arise among the members of the editorial board in relation to making public politically very significant material which defines the positions of the parties which share in the publication of the magazine, then the question of its publication is to be negotiated on the basis of mutual agreements among the central committees of the appropriate parties."

In 1958, when these principles were announced, only a few correspondents from the other fraternal parties were working in the editorial offices, along with the 12 members of the editorial board. Subsequently, when the representation of the fraternal parties had increased substantially, and when the 1969 conference concerning the work of the magazine decided to form an editorial council on which all fraternal party representatives would sit with equal powers, this regulation concerning the making public of materials on which there was a difference of opinion was made more precise, following discussions with the central committees of the fraternal parties. It was established that /this agreement would be implemented through the party representatives on the magazine staff./

The times have required changes in certain other norms of editorial work. At the 1974 conference of communist and workers parties concerning the work of the magazine there occurred a further refinement of the principles governing editorial work which took into account 5 years of experience in the activities of the editorial council and of the current situation in the communist movement. In the resolution adopted by this conference it is stated: "The participants express the wish that the editorial board and the editorial council attach still greater significance to a collective resolution of questions which must be negotiated in the course of their work, and that occasional differences of opinion be overcome in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, democratically, on the basis of comradely discussions, equality and attention to and /maximum possible respect for the views of the representatives of all fraternal parties./

This was not a matter, however, solely of supplementing the work rules of the magazine with some new elements. Certain, previously valid principles had again to be jettisoned as a result of changes which had taken place in relations among fraternal parties. This, however, was passed over in silence in the position papers of the JCP. This related, for instance, to the principle which had been emphasized at the founding of the magazine, that it was to concern itself with the discussion of issues of Marxist-Leninist theory. The conclusion was reached that this was not appropriate for the magazine, but should be strictly a matter for the individual fraternal parties. Or the principle that the editorial offices have the opportunity also to express their own view on issues under discussion. These principles were jettisoned, because retaining them might have been interpreted as an attempt by the magazine to stand to a certain degree above the fraternal parties and to conduct itself in relation to them as a kind of directive organ, which it is not, cannot, and does not wish to be. The JCP leadership arbitrarily attributes similar thoughts to the magazine,

although without presenting any proof, and without justification accuses it of intentions which simply do not exist.

The truth is simple and incontrovertible. No fraternal party has ever received any kind of directive guideline from the magazine. Over the period of almost 15 years that I have in one way or another been connected with the work of the editorial offices, I do not remember a single such instance. On the contrary, the principles which are very well known to all fraternal parties including the JCP, according to which the magazine informs the international workers movement concerning the activities of the fraternal parties and provides them with an international forum for the exchange of experiences, are stringently observed to their full extent.

But let us proceed further. In the JCP materials directed to the editorial offices, complaints also appear concerning the violation of the organizational and administrative principles established at the founding of the magazine, concerning the "nondemocratic character" of the editorial office structure. What does reality look like, however?

The composition of the editorial offices, like the norms and principles of activity of the international magazine collective, was also modified and has evolved in relation to the actual situation. In the first years, the editorial activity of OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU were managed by an editorial board composed of representatives of the 12 parties which were the founders of the journal. In 1969, in conjunction with a substantial increase in the number of parties participating in the publication of OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU, a standing editorial council was created, and a large number of the functions of the editorial board passed to its jurisdiction. At the 1974 conference, in an attempt to provide a more even geographical representation of the parties composing the editorial board, it was unanimously decided to accept as additional members representatives of three parties, specifically the Iraqi Communist Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, and the U.S. Communist Party.

And finally, at the November 1981 conference where, as is well known, no resolutions were adopted, the representatives of practically all 90 parties, with the exception of the JCP, agreed with the proposal contained in the "Report of the Editorial Board and Editorial Council, that the role and range of functions of the editorial council be increased, and furthermore that an international collective secretariat be formed, composed of two responsible secretaries from the editorial offices and 10 elected chairmen of territorial and thematic commissions for the magazine. This organ is already functioning, and among its priority tasks is the preparation of the content of specific editions, which is then approved by the editorial council.

All of these changes attest to the constantly advancing process of democratization of the activity of the magazine editorial offices, to a strengthening of the principles of collectivism of its management, to the winning over of all parties represented on the magazine, on the basis of absolute equality, for active participation in the resolution of all questions connected with the issuance and activities of the magazine.

The Japanese assertions to the effect that proposals to democratize the work methods of the magazine, including those communicated by the JCP, have been ignored are thus simply unsupportable. All such proposals have been discussed and appropriate decisions have been made regarding them, of course in such a form as to meet with the maximum possible support of those parties which participate in the work of the magazine.

Additional accusations leveled at the magazine are likewise problematic. They indicate, you see, that on a number of issues the Japanese comrades demonstrate a startling ignorance and, in a clear attempt to mystify their own party and the general public, they confuse several issues. They maintain, for instance, that allegedly "the editorial board is not elected according to accepted standards" and that "it is formed arbitrarily." In reality, it operates with the composition that was agreed upon when the magazine was founded following an agreement among the founding parties. As has already been stated, the 1974 conference decided to expand the editorial board with representatives from three additional fraternal parties. Three years later, however, at the 1977 conference no one supported the Japanese proposal that the JCP also become a member of the editorial board.

The JCP also asserts that the position of chief editor "has been taken over" by the CPSU. The truth, however, is that the chief editor fulfills his function on the basis of an agreement reached among the representatives of the fraternal parties at the founding of the magazine, and discharges his duties at first among equals. I myself remember the date of 13 August 1968 when the editorial board unanimously voted for and approved Konstantin Zarodov in the function of chief editor with the unambiguous approval of all the magazine correspondents then in attendance. As is well known, the JCP already had its correspondent on the magazine at this time.

The JCP further asserts that, allegedly, "the editorial board has the right to make decisions about all basic issues concerning the content of the magazine." Again, it has missed the mark. Such decisions fall under the competence of the editorial council, and under no circumstances under that of the editorial board.

The JCP is, furthermore, futilely attempting to deceive its own and the international public with the assertion that, allegedly, "the editorial offices of the magazine are, basically, run by the CPSU." The truth, again, lies elsewhere. The editorial offices are run by the editorial council, on which there are representatives of the 63 fraternal parties which participate in the work of the magazine; operational problems connected with the work of the editorial offices are resolved by the editorial board, composed of representatives of 15 parties, all of whom, including the chief editor, have equal rights. Finally, the Japanese comrades assert, without compunction, that the newly created "international collective secretariat is run by the Soviet chief editor." This is also nonsense, because the chief editor is not even a member of the international secretariat.

This naturally raises the question of how it is possible to make such serious allegations while at the same time dealing so irresponsibly and lightly with the facts?

But let us proceed further, Comrade Hlavina! The Japanese comrades have proposed to the editorial offices that "there be an end to the improper practice of decisionmaking on the basis of a majority of votes." I can assure you that such a practice does not exist. In its decisionmaking, the editorial offices are governed by the principle /"of maximum possible respect for the views of the representatives of all fraternal parties"/ recorded in the resolution of the 1974 conference.

In the 11 December 1981 resolution disagreement was expressed with the fact that, allegedly, "representatives of additional parties, without any kind of consulation with the appropriate organs" had been coopted into the editorial offices. This criticism, as well as the term "appropriate organs," were explained as follows in a letter from the JCP Central Committee dated 27 December 1980 and addressed to the editorial college: "representatives of certain parties, the structure and character of which remain unclear, have become members of the editorial council. On the issue of accepting new parties, it is essential to adhere to a democratic approach: to consult with parties which are already participating and to make a decision with their approval."

But this again does not correspond to the principle established in 1958 at the founding of the magazine, at which time it was stated: "All fraternal parties who have not participated in this conference are extended the possibility of joining in with the same rights as the parties which are founding this magazine, or to participate in its publication and activities in any manner which they desire." This, then, is the principle, and the editorial offices consistently and constantly govern themselves according to it.

Finally, the 11 December 1981 resolution provides a distorted picture of the course of the November conference concerning the work of the magazine. The Japanese comrades attempt to create the impression that the conference did not assure the equal status of the participants, and that the democratic norms accepted at the magazine, and within the communist movement generally, were not adhered to. Matters are presented in such a way that it appears that the "chief editor's report" was discussed at the conference, and that the JCP representatives were discriminated against in the sense that their proposals were "rejected in an evasive manner." It likewise points to the fact that "a number of additional parties" besides the JCP "protested against the communique," but that, allegedly, "someone" took no notice of all of this.

Was this, in fact, the case? Not at all! The facts have again been stood on their head.

Participants at the November conference were presented with a detailed "Report of the Editorial Board and the Editorial Council Concerning Magazine

Activities" (35 pages plus 55 pages of supplements), which had been approved by these democratic organs of the magazine. The chief editor appeared in no way with the report, but with a very short introductory commentary on the report. This in itself refutes the other tendentious Japanese assertion that, allegedly, the magazine is not run by a collective organ, the editorial council, on which 63 parties are represented with equal rights, but by some mysterious "responsible person," or in other words, an underhanded, narrow circle of people.

Conference participants were given every opportunity to express themselves concerning the broad range of questions connected with the activities of the magazine, above all concerning its content, so that they could come forward with critical comments and present proposals. The order of discussion was established by none other than the conference participants themselves. No one was discriminated against in this, not even the Japanese comrades. I consider it my responsibility to call attention to what we all witnessed. The chief of the JCP delegation gave a speech in which he gave relatively short shrift to actual work of the magazine, while subsequently broadly and specifically criticizing the position and the policy of the council of fraternal parties. This speech disrupted the established order of discussions. It is natural that a large number of discussants who gave speeches after him reacted to this tendentious criticism. Still more in conflict with the approved order of conference discussions, the JCP delegation again demanded the floor insistently at the concluding session, and this gave it the possibility to speak a second time, the only participant to do so, even before the informational communique was formulated.

I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise at the way in which the 11 December 1981 resolution exaggerates the "positive support" and "solidarity" with the proposals of the Japanese delegation. There is even talk of some kind of "opposition to the report." Actually, for one reason or another the views of the JCP received certain single responses in the speeches of two or three discussants. But all other conference participants, and there were 80 speakers in all, expressed fundamentally different, not to say opposite, views, or entered into direct polemics with the views of the Japanese delegation on content and organizational questions connected with work of the magazine.

It is likewise a distortion of reality when the 11 December resolution mentions a certain "communique" from the November conference. Above all, this so-called "communique" was nothing more than a terse, informational announcement for the press, and contained no evaluation or instructions. Moreover, to speak of "a number of other parties" which raised objections to this informational announcment is to describe the entire matter in a distorted fashion. In addition to the JCP delegation, only one other delegation had reservations at the conference session regarding information for the press--the delegation of the Italian Communist Party.

The 11 December 1981 resolution also contains a sharp protest against the fact that, allegedly, "during the session, a campaign was systematically provoked for the calling of an international conference of communist and

workers parties." What is in fact hidden behind this anger? Only the fact that in their speeches several conference participants expressed their support for the idea of an international conference of communist and workers parties. Is it possible to call this a "campaign"? And who would forbid those comrades, who wanted to say this, the right to do so? Who here should, or wanted to appear in the role of censor or judge? Does not the 11 December 1981 resolution provide a sufficient answer?

A clear responsibility always to have respect for and to maintain a serious relationship to the facts applies to all communists. As you see, Comrade Hlavina, the JCP in this instance has forsaken this principle. First of all, it has portrayed the activity of our international periodical in the crooked mirror of its own perceptions, paying no attention whatever to the elementary requirements of logic and morality, and finally it did not shrink from making, with haughty precipitousness, the conclusion that the further publication of the magazine "is becoming harmful" and that therefore "there exists no other path than the cessation of the magazine OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU and the dissolution of its editorial offices." In this connection, the Japanese comrades warn, "the JCP Central Committee will take the requisite steps within the framework of the international communist movement."

It is clear then that the JCP, which is now pursuing the demise of the magazine, has arrogated unto itself the role of a kind of supreme judge who will decide what corresponds to the interests of the communist movement, that is, its fraternal parties, and what is harmful to them. At the same time, the Japanese comrades either pass over with disparaging silence or directly distort the completely opposite positions of other fraternal parties toward the magazine, positions which were expressed at the November conference. Through this unfair technique, the leadership of the JCP is attempting to negate the results of the broad exchange of views, to reduce its significance and to corrode the broad unanimity concerning the tasks of the magazine which was achieved at the November conference in Prague.

The request to liquidate the magazine, along with its more than 60 National editions issued by communist and workers parties in 37 languages and distributed in 145 nations of the world is difficult to view as anything but an unacceptable attempt by the JCP to force the acceptance of its own line by ultimatum, to force its own unique views on other fraternal parties and to reject their clearly expressed will, which is to fully support the work and activity of their international magazine OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU.

I would like, therefore, again to emphasize that almost all the fraternal party delegations at the November conference evaluated positively the important significance of the magazine for the international communist movement. During a meeting with the chiefs of the delegations of the fraternal parties which were present at the November conference, the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Comrade Gustav Husak, at a reception held at the Prague Castle, emphasized that during the period of its more than 20-year existence, the magazine has "become a useful,

important instrument for the development of ties and cooperation among our fraternal parties. Through it, the victorious ideas of Marxism-Leninism reach many countries of the world, and the progressive objectives of the policies of communist and worker's parties in the struggle for socialism, social justice, for national freedom and independence, for peace and democracy are popularized. The dialog on the pages of the magazine makes possible the retention and generalization of the rich experiences which fraternal parties are obtaining in their daily struggle for the ideals of the working class and all workers under the concrete and specific conditions of their own countries. It forms good preconditions for these, more than once very expensively acquired, experiences to become the property of all communists and progressive people."

As is well known, the chief personnel and central committees of the vast majority of the world's communist and workers parties hold a similarly high opinion of the activity and role of OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU. Therefore OTAZKY MIRUA A SOCIALISMU will continue to be published and distributed throughout the world, because this is required by the interests and needs of the international communist movement, the interests of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism!

With comradely best wishes,

Pavel Auersberg, responsible secretary of the editorial offices of the journal OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU.

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FLEXIBILITY, TOLERANCE URGED IN LEADING YOUTH TO MARXISM

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[Article by Eva Ancsel, candidate, professor of Lorand Eotvos University: "The Path of the Youth to Marxism"]

[Text] The path leading to Marxism is not a race track. Nor is it a process which can be or should be accelerated! We do not well if we measure with a stop watch who runs most quickly.

Lenin's thought that the young generation may not attain socialism by the same path as their predecessors applies to Marxism as well. And naturally they will not do so in the same way, for the path cannot be uniformized. We must stress from this same thought of Lenin that the youth cannot come to the ideals of Marx without independence. This does not apply to every ideology. But how one can come to Marxism is determined by its most interior nature, namely that this is the system of ideals of the movement of the worker class. It is not a closed study, with a capital S, but rather a dynamic ideal, because the theory of a revolutionary movement must be so, and coming to such an ideology is something else too.

So it is not at all a matter of indifference how we imagine this path or onto what path we want to "turn" the youth. It may be that we want to build them a path leading there which can be traveled most quickly, most easily. But it is not important that it should be easy to attain to Marxism. There may be a need for certain obstacles, naturally not artificial obstacles! We must see that only those ideas and ideals strike deep roots in people for which they struggled in their own way--everyone differently. It is not possible to receive a system of ideals for a movement, Marxism, from the hand of those who allegedly have a permanent ticket to the realm of truth, from the adult generation. Perhaps we still think this and so are intolerant with the youth, because they are not willing to believe that they can tranquilly take our truths from us, truths which we have brought from a sure place.

If I speak of a path, emphasizing that this path is different--because there are great differences within the young generation--I must stress the idea that we will be able to help the youth only if we have historical empathy, if we are able to put ourselves in their shoes--what it means to have been born in 1960 or 1965. Only this historical empathy can protect us from expressly or

tacitly reproaching this generation for not having lived through the past two fatal cataclysms. "What have they done?" we ask at such times. "On what basis do they speak against the perversities of society, when they cannot yet show historic merits?" This express or tacit reproach is profoundly ahistorical. Why should we not regard it rather as a great achievement that this generation has not passed certain tests, even if this appears in the absence of historical experience.

Marxism cannot be reduced to a system of concepts and information. Naturally it contains indispensable information, but an open ideal is much more, it means a definite system of passions also, passions motivating action. These cannot be chilled, made to hibernate as didactic ideas, so that, rigified into study material, they can be more easily administered. So this attainment cannot be identified with study, or even with mastering what one studies. To use a biological simile, the system of Marxist ideals must be assimilated. Biologists use this concept for material exchange. In the process of plant material exchange the plant transforms inorganic materials into organic material. The indispensable information contained in Marxism is in itself inorganic material; by assimilation it becomes organic material, which ensures the growth of the plant.

If we interpret in this way the relationship of the maturing generation to Marxism, what might be the impulses for mastering or assimilating it? Casting a glance at the history of Marxism the answer is obvious--it is basically historically forced action which has carried people, groups of people, strata and classes to marxism. Impulses of historic acts which made it indispensable --to use Lenin's words--to think things through, because without this the deeds could not be realized. In this respect there has been no essential change. Today also it is basically the will to action which is the only way to attain to Marxism, the sovereign will to attain it.

The trade we ply--we propagandists and teachers of Marxism--cannot be regarded as primary; this work is in the service of transmitting the will to act. To put it more crudely, direct ideological activity can be "worked into" this process, but it cannot be the starting point or the end point. The latter would be an idealist and not a Marxist interpretation of ideology itself.

It is true that teachers and propagandists also are affected by an occupational disease. They would like it better if the path could be traveled from awareness to awareness, if thought did not have to stumble through the often thorny filter of reality. But it must stumble through, because only that thought can be credible which undertakes this path, which is not the shortest path. A straight line is not always the shortest path between goal and result, especially if awareness is involved. I mentioned the often thorny filter of reality, and this is hardly a strong expression, because very often, for an obstinately long time, we meet with views according to which there is something which basically confuses our ideological activity, namely, reality. If there were no reality--perhaps as if there should be no reality in institutions of learning--if we could attain to a hermetically sealed ideology under hermetically sealed conditions, then--many feel--our task would be easier. This is not a Marxist behavior, because reality is not an extenuating circumstance.

We have a true statement, a true and yet unsatisfactory statement, which is not sufficient for answering the problems of the young generation, and it goes like this: Today's youth were born into socialism, so they consider this society natural. Why it is true need not be explained, but why is it not satisfactory? It is because the followers of Marx thought that the communist movement would strip off from the eternal social relationships the character given by nature, regarding these as nothing more than relationships created by men, which thus could be changed by men. The essence of the communist movement is so defined. To regard socialism as natural is different from endowing existing relationships with a character given by nature, still this Marxian idea must be noted. Because to be born into something is an accident, and it is the mission of socialism to reduce the accident of birth, which burdens every individual life. Thus, if the youth regard socialism as natural this should not make us think that this is a guarantee of socialist or Marxist awareness. It is here that we have the specific tasks, characterizing present relationships, of developing the Marxist-Leninist view of the world. I use the expression "view of the world" because Marxism cannot be compared to eyeglasses with which, if we put them on, we will see better. Eyeglasses--even in the age of plastics--are fragile.

He who masters Marxism has his vision changed; he does not wear eyeglasses. His wits will be sharper and braver. It is not simply that he attains to truths, including the great laws according to which history moves; he attains to a way of viewing which makes it possible to understand what happened 2 years ago at some point on the planet. Of course, it is easier to view the general laws of world history with the aid of Marxism; it is much more difficult to explain, for example, the events in South Africa with Marxist eyes. But this is the test, whether we are able to go beyond the big questions and apply Marxism--even if not self-assuredly, not in schema, not without worry. In the final analysis, ideology today is nothing more than the ideological form of the conflicts of the age.

To put it mildly, we cannot leave the conflicts of our age outside the sphere of the ideological process. It may be that we are incapable of doing it; it is certain that we are incapable of doing it perfectly, for we have great failings. All this must be faced; but out of it we must undertake what is possible and which can be undertaken; and in the meantime we must dare to say what those questions are which we cannot answer. If we wanted to explain everything with a behavior which explains despite all obstacles we would only harm the credibility of Marxism. There is not theory which can given an unambiguous thesis-like answer to every problem in the world--only a mythology is capable of this.

We must approach the problems, and do so in a Marxist manner, but we cannot take out the only possible solutions to new phenomena and problems from some sort of warehouse of answers.

It may appear that when I emphasize independence in an actual approach to the real problems of reality I am expecting us to behave in a paradoxical way. This appears to be a paradox because if I have a conviction, if I think and feel something, then I can want nothing else than that the members of the maturing generation should think as I, feel as I.

But if we are Marxists then it is part of our conviction that a man must be an independent being (we are speaking of independence, not isolation); so what we should want also is that the maturing generation should be capable of being independent, of being our partner in the search for answers, and not only the generation but the empirical members of it also. (Because we are much easier with the "maturing generation" than we are with the empirical youth!)

I believe that there is no paradox here; it is only that we must free ourselves of historical lapses of memory. We should not forget that we also stumbled on that path; we should not forget that finally we also forged those harmonies which maintain the soul within us. And in this struggle a great role was played by the independent processing of basic information acquired with the aid of others. We must pass on our conviction, but we must also develop those abilities indispensable for the forming of sovereign judgments, and we must bear it, and with a good heart, if sometimes these are used against us. In the final analysis this is not done against us a priori; it is not a failure but an achievement.

We should not think that impatience, in any sense, can be a synonym for party spirit. Intolerance is not party spirit, but passive tolerance is not desirable either. Life experience shows that the weaker a man's conviction the more intolerant he will be of others. This is completely understandable, because he who has only a little, shaky system of values is afraid of every contradiction, fearing that his rudimentary, fragile internal structure will collapse. One cannot do ideological work in a way intolerant of contradiction as the representative of an ideal in which a position of prominence is given to dialectic contradictions. To put it differently, persuasive force weakens in direct proportion to the urgency, intolerance or pressure added to it--with the ticking of the stopwatch mentioned in the introduction.

The path by which one can attain to Marxism is immeasurably broader today. It is broader in comparison to that narrow path, fraught with perilous obstacles, by which the members of the pre-1945 generations came to revolutionary ideas. The question is: Although the possibilities are immeasurably greater, are there not obstacles on this path, and if there are, what type are they? Before all else, the fact that this generation grew up in socialism or was born into socialism is, naturally, a great opportunity for attaining to Marxism. But it is not only an advantage. If ideological work is not sufficiently profound then the problems of building socialism cast their shadows on the system of Marxist-Leninist ideals which is "innocent" in this.

Marxism is at least as innocent in regard to the weaknesses of our socialist building work as physics is in regard to the fact that radios sometimes have static. No one would think to conclude, in the wake of hearing static on the radio, that the laws of acoustics had been overthrown. If the maturing generation concludes from the occasional static of socialist reality that there may be trouble with the laws of the theory then this is due not simply to the bad working of their minds but also to our having tied the Marxist ideals in an illusory fashion to the socialist realization.

The surge of history is not such that only the ideals of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Gramsci are realized in it. They are realized, but they are not the only things controlling the waves. This would be a most illusory view of history.

If we present our reality as it is it means that we should strip it of appearances, of those mystic veils of which Marx speaks. This is an indispensable, central element of our ideological activity; without it we teach in vain the infinitude of the world, the objective and subjective conditions of revolutions, formulated into points.

There are also obstacles of another type on this broad path, obstacles which we raise ourselves, out of excessive zeal. In the majority of cases this excessive zeal is well intended, because we think that with 500 more debating circles we can make 5,000 more young people into Marxists. This is not the way it is.

We are beginning to get over extensive economic thinking. But there is still an extensive effort in ideological activity, which does not always serve the cause well, not even if it derives from entirely well intended zeal. But it is not certain that it is always intended, because one can win merit with such excessive zeal, and this is not gratifying.

We must ask ourselves also why it is so very difficult to make the meeting with Marxism the enlightening experience it was for so many of our generation. Perhaps it is because the young people hear the same thing in so very many versions, so often repeated, as a result of our excessive zeal. Naturally, the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin can be real revelations today also. Perhaps this is why we might praise our handbooks, because after them an original work of Marx is staggering. But more important than everything is to get rid of that caution with which we treat the contradictions of our own reality. This is even increasing before the maturing generation. Frequently we consider them, at the age of 25 years, to be too poorly provided with historical experiences to hear from us about the contradictions of reality--past and present--when they have experienced them themselves anyway. There is an extraordinarily simple reason for this silence of the adults. Very often we are silent about things which cut to the quick, at home and in the seminar room alike. Is it not because we do not dare say that we did not always unerringly condemn what was happening around us? Well, even if we do not say it they will learn that we made mistakes. They will know it independent of what we say, and this will cause more harm than if we dared to say what the classics of Marxism often said in the first person singular, "I was wrong."

Young people react sensitively to silence and uncertainty. Not long ago a student said that he had a teacher who resembled a traffic light. If somebody says something which already appeared in NEPSZABADSAG then he shows a green light, otherwise he turns red. But the worst type, he said, is the one who is always orange, being uncertain whether he should show red or green.

The youth--like everyone else--need someone who will talk with them not as a pipe for words but as a personality, who bears the human marks of his conception of the world and does not forget how he got there. Because he who does not remember this cannot have historical empathy either. The sign of the strength of one's conviction is not rigidity, least of all is it that; rather, it is the ability to accept the posing of new questions and to seek paths not yet tried.

8984
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'POLITYKA' REPORT ON MADRID MEETINGS NOTED

Review of Madrid Meetings

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 2, 27 Feb 82 p 11

[Article by Adam Daniel Rotfeld, director of the Department for European Security in the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)]

[Text] The 9 February resumption of the Madrid meeting of states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] has evoked a great deal of interest in Poland. This is not so much the result of the arrival of the NATO foreign affairs ministers, as the subject being discussed: Polish affairs (the second article in this group is a commentary on this).

News from the Madrid meeting, which has continued with interruptions since 9 September 1980, had been published rarely in the Polish press. Matters of real importance were at work in Poland. The news from Gdansk, Ustrzyki Dolne, Bydgoszcz, Radom and Zielona Gora was more important than information from Madrid, Vienna, Geneva or New York.

Until 13 December (more precisely, until 16 December 1981) nothing was said in Madrid on Polish issues. That is, nothing was said officially. No one, with the exception of the Polish delegation, broached the subject about which the whole world was talking. Meanwhile, in the lobbies and in private conversations between delegates, this was the number one subject. Publicly, at meetings, in working groups and in the plenary hall, the principles of noninterference in Polish internal affairs were being observed. This all changed.

Practically the entire final meeting held directly before the Christmas holidays (18 December) was devoted to Polish affairs. The delegates from the United States and from Liechtenstein spoke on these issues. So did the representatives from France, the FRG, Great Britain and San Marino. In all, there were over 20 speakers. The next day, when we landed in Poland, we found nothing on this subject in the Polish press. Nor was any mention made that another break had been called in the work of the Madrid meeting and that deliberations would resume in February under Polish chairmanship.

Since the daily press is now providing us with current information on the Madrid debate, it is perhaps worthwhile to explain why the work of the meeting, which was initially planned to end in March 1981, has little chance of ending this March. The reason is that 1 year ago--on 31 March 1981--an extensive document prepared by a group of neutral and unaligned states reached the deliberations table. Delegates from the East and West considered this document a good working basis for a compromise. Their optimism seemed justified because the diplomats from Austria, Finland, Switzerland, Sweden and Yugoslavia, as well as from several smaller neutral states, took into account in their document all of the initial understandings and solutions reached in the five editorial groups.

Work on the final document in Madrid embraces nearly 100 different problems of a political-legal, military and economic nature; problems concerning environmental protection; scientific-technical, cultural, educational and informational cooperation; contacts between people; human rights, religious freedoms; cooperation in combating terrorism; and the like. The framework and the directions specified in the principles and recommendations of the Helsinki Final Act serve as the point of departure. This act states that the purpose of meetings of the Belgrade-77 or the Madrid-80 type is to conduct "an in-depth exchange of views, both with regard to the enactment of the provisions of the Final Act and the implementation of the tasks specified by the conference and...with regard to the improvement of their mutual relations, the strengthening of security, the development of cooperation in Europe and the expansion of the process of detente in the future."

This formula, subject to various interpretations, led to a great diplomatic battle during preparation for the CSCE meeting in Belgrade and caused still greater quarrels during the preparatory meeting in Madrid. The essence of the problem is that the United States, backed by several other Western states (primarily Great Britain and Canada) would like to limit the task of the Madrid debate to a review of the implementation of the CSCE Final Act; i.e., an evaluation of the past (hence in the Western press, when meetings of the Belgrade or Madrid type are discussed, the concept of the "review conference" is used). Meanwhile, socialist countries emphasize aspects concerning the future: improvement in mutual relations, strengthening security and developing cooperation and detente. This requires that new decisions be agreed upon.

As known, 4 years ago in Belgrade, quarrels on the subject of who is observing and who is violating the Helsinki Final Act made it impossible to agree upon new resolutions. The Final Document adopted there was very laconic (approximately 3 1/2 pages). Resolutions were of a formal rather than political character and they merely guaranteed that multilateral CSCE meetings would continue. During the period between Belgrade and Madrid, specialized consultations of experts were held: in 1978 in Montreux on the topic of the peaceful resolution of quarrels in Europe, in 1979 in La Valletta concerning cooperation in the Mediterranean area and within the next year, a CSCE scientific forum in Hamburg.

Expectations linked with the Madrid meeting are considerably more ambitious. After a long debate it was commonly recognized that, given the considerable

worsening of East-West relations, the results of the Madrid deliberations should represent a considerable impetus for improving the situation and for returning to the path of detente and cooperation. The organization of work (editorial groups) was subordinated to this concept, as was the distribution of time, which differed from the Belgrade meeting; preferences developed for debate on the new proposals and the preparation of an extensive, substantial document on this basis. The assumption was adopted that the Madrid meeting and its results would be a test of the permanence of the detente structures developed in the 1970's. Thus far, the progress of work in Madrid and the results of negotiations over a year confirm the suitability of this method.

The debate has concentrated around the key issues; its measurable achievement in the form of initial understandings on many issues is impressive. They include the concretion and forms of implementation of CSCE principles. Recommendations concerning economic and scientific-technical cooperation (the so-called second basket) have been approved in their entirety. Work has concluded on resolutions regulating cultural-educational cooperation; other problems from the "third basket" are nearing resolution--facilitating contact between people and cooperation in the area of information. In short, the final document is close to being finalized. This was formally expressed on 16 December 1981 in the second version of a draft composed by eight neutral and unaligned states, which prepared their own "synthesis" of what had been agreed. Almost 90 percent of the text engenders no reservations.

The definition of the zone of confidence- and security-building measures in Europe is the most important issue and is still open. It is the thorniest problem in the present stage of the Madrid negotiations; its successful resolution would mean a successful meeting. If a compromise were reached on this issue, the path would be clear for quickly overcoming the remaining controversies. What is the essence of the difficulties? The answer is not a simple one, since the differences in interests are considerably greater than would appear from a simple comparison of the positions of the sides taking part in the talks. The problem lies in the fact that deliberations are not taking place in a void. On the one hand, they reflect the relations between states; on the other, their goal is to influence the improvement of these relations and the development of the CSCE process. Within the framework of this process, a consensus is required in the adoption of new decisions; i.e., all 35 participants must agree. There must be progress in all chapters of the final act, and this progress must create a balance of interests among all the states, above all, a balance in the security of states.

The need to check the arms race, to reduce its intensity and to counteract the characteristic militarization of international relations places the military aspects of security in Europe in the center of the attention of the Madrid meeting. Already at the time of the Belgrade meeting, the idea was maturing that the range of this problem would require a special forum. The Vienna talks concern a reduction in armaments and armed forces in Central Europe alone and are conducted exclusively with the participation of members of the Warsaw Pact and NATO (without neutral states). At the same time, the prospects that they would be successfully concluded seem to be more than 3 or 4 years in the offing. In Madrid, five drafts expressing various concepts

for a Europe-wide conference devoted to issues of military detente have reached the deliberations table. The first was the Polish KOMiR [Conference on Military Detente and Disarmament in Europe] proposal (8 December 1980), which was supported by socialist countries; a day later, France announced a draft of a European Disarmament Conference [EKR], and during the next few days Sweden, Yugoslavia and Romania presented their proposals. A common element of all the drafts was the very idea of and need for a special forum, as well as the organization of work into stages. It was relatively quickly agreed that the first stage would be devoted to preparing confidence- and security-building measures in the military field.

The concept of confidence-building measures [CBM] in the context of the military aspects of security was first formulated in the Helsinki Final Act. The essence of these measures is to avert armed conflicts that may arise as the result of an accident, an error of judgment or a lack of communications. This is the preventive aspect; in a certain sense, it is passive. Of equal importance is the active function of these measures, which should foster the easing of tension and the building of an atmosphere of confidence, or at least the avoidance of mutual distrust. The political and psychological significance of these measures is universally acknowledged. Their military significance evokes greater controversies. In Madrid, these measures on confidence-building have been expanded to the sphere of security (CSBM [Confidence and Security-Building Measures]). This reflects the trend toward objectivization of the elements of security. The feeling of security depends equally on the lack of a threat (an objective factor) and on perception, which may exaggerate or reduce the state of the actual threat (subjective factor).

The "document concerning confidence-building measures and several aspects of security and disarmament," which is an integral part of the CSCE Final Act, defines five categories of measures: advance notification of large-scale maneuvers (more than 25,000 soldiers), notification of maneuvers taking place on a smaller scale, the exchange of observers, information concerning large troop movements as well as other confidence-building measures (visits of military delegations, personnel exchanges, contacts between military schools, etc.). It was agreed in Helsinki that all these resolutions would be applied on a voluntary basis, although the degree of political-moral obligation varies; e.g., the Final Act says that notification of large-scale maneuvers "will be given," while states "may provide information" concerning smaller-scale maneuvers. The exchange of observers takes place "voluntarily and on the basis of bilateral understanding, in the spirit of mutuality and good will." The resolution concerning notification of large troop movements is less binding. These issues are proposed to the states entirely for further consideration, considering the experience gained in the implementation of other measures. The zone of CBM application was defined regarding notification of large-scale maneuvers in such a way that it encompasses the territories of European states, as well as the sea waters and air space contiguous to Europe. In regard to European states whose territories extend beyond Europe (USSR and Turkey), it was agreed that they will notify the other CSCE participants only of those maneuvers to be conducted within a zone of 250 kilometers from their border with another European state.

Neutral and unaligned states submitted a draft in Madrid for expanding and developing confidence measures: notification of maneuvers in which 18,000 soldiers participate, 30 days before drills begin (prior recommendations stipulate notification of maneuvers of more than 25,000 soldiers, 21 days before drills begin). Their demands are similar to the proposals announced a year earlier by Leonid Brezhnev and concretized in the Warsaw Pact Declaration adopted in Berlin on 5 December 1979. The preparation of a special set of regulations for observers was also proposed. However, there was no general discussion on this topic, since attention was concentrated in Madrid on the precise preparation of a mandate for a conference devoted to the military aspects of security, within the framework of which a so-called second generation of confidence-building measures would likewise be approved. France made its approval of the conference mandate contingent upon the precise definition of four criteria, which should correspond to future CSBM's: they are to be militarily significant, politically binding, subject to control, and their zone of application should embrace the entire European continent "from the Atlantic to the Urals." The first three demands were relatively quickly approved. The stumbling block was the new definition of the zone of application of confidence-building measures in the military field.

The course of the debate seems to show that the Western states, particularly the United States, were not prepared for the eventuality that the USSR would agree to submit to the application of military confidence- and security-building measures throughout all its European territory, up to the Ural mountains. On 23 February 1981 at the 26th Party Congress, Leonid Brezhnev expressed such approval, to the extent that Western states would expand the zone of application of these measures correspondingly. Soviet compensatory demands concern the waters of the Atlantic and are based on the assumption that the continent is merely a part of the broader area of European security. The Western states expected the Soviet Union to reject the Western demand that the CBM zone be expanded to the Ural mountains, creating a pretext for the United States to strike the idea of a conference devoted to the military aspects of security from the agenda. The calling of such a forum would complicate the implementation of a program of stepped-up armaments.

This issue is viewed differently from the perspective of European states. They aim toward the opening of a zone in Europe in which the eruption of even a limited nuclear conflict would be ruled out. Under pressure by its allies, the United States formulated a so-called functional concept of the zone on 16 July 1981. In practice, this envisages a limited interpretation of the zone for the application of confidence-building measures in relation to resolutions adopted in Helsinki, since it excludes notification of independent sea and air maneuvers near Europe. This position crippled the attempt made by neutral countries to reconcile the Soviet demand (the geographic broadening of the zone east and west of the line established in Helsinki) and the American demand (including in the regime of the CBM zone only such sea activity as would "be a composite part of land activity requiring notification").

In November 1981, after a visit of L. Brezhnev to the FRG and the outlining of Soviet expectations in an interview for the weekly SPIEGEL, there was a

certain coalescing of positions. In this interview, Brezhnev stated that confidence-building measures should encompass "the islands contiguous to Europe, the adjacent sea and oceanic areas and the air space over them." In this way, speculation that the USSR wished to include a part or all of the territories of North America in the zone was dismissed (the correspondence of Gen S. Kozlow for POLITYKA, 1981, No 11 hints of such expectations). Several days later, President R. Reagan likewise stated that an understanding on the issue of a conference on the subject of CBM's was "within reach," but he did not explain what steps he was prepared to take to effect a compromise.

The Polish delegation played a vital role in overcoming this controversy blocking the work of the entire meeting. This resulted from the special interest Poland had in agreeing upon the conference mandate. Polish delegate Dr Andrzej Towpik stood alongside Gen K. Michailov of the Soviet delegation as a chief negotiator for socialist states in all groups and organs involved in approving a formula for a mandated conference on the military aspects of security.

Several attempts at a compromise solution led in mid-December 1981 to Austria's proposal, which was acknowledged as a foundation of a possible emergence from the impasse. As a result of many consultations with the Polish delegation, Austria also included in its formula the "principle of equal rights, equal security and the corresponding duties," as well as the demand to preserve "equilibrium and mutuality" and the guarantee that "the necessary concretion will be effected as a result of deliberations on the subject of confidence- and security-building measures at the conference itself," which expressed the essence of the USSR position. On the other hand, the Austrian draft likewise considered the primary aspect of the functional approach in the zone issue as represented by the United States. Given this state of affairs, on the day that the fourth round of the Madrid meeting concluded (18 December 1981), both sides agreed that the new draft of the complete document introduced by the eight neutral and unaligned states could be considered as the basis for finalizing the work of the Madrid meeting.

Today it is difficult to predict the results of the Madrid meeting, particularly in light of the dramatic turn when deliberations resumed in February. Nonetheless, it seems that a continuation of dialogue in general, and dialogue on issues of confidence and security in particular, is in the interest of Europe.

Aspect of Poland

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 2, 27 Feb 82 p 11

[Article by z]

[Text] The resumption of the Madrid CSCE meeting began according to the Western scenario. First, the NATO foreign affairs ministers arrived. Second, from the height of this summit (to emphasize the importance of the problem) they made a massive attack on martial law in Poland.

The formula of the "Western scenario" is clumsy enough to betray its further American variant, for which "passing judgment on Poland" was to be a pretext for annihilating the CSCE process. This variant turned out to be indigestible for the Europeans. Thus, the French minister of foreign affairs, Claude Cheysson, while sharply criticizing our country, also stated that he does not share the opinion of the American secretary of state, Alexander Haig, that further talks in Madrid have become impossible.

The PAP correspondent in Madrid, editor Jan Dziedzic, commented, "The meeting was not broken off, as considered. The United States, which encountered avowed opposition in Madrid among a considerable number of West European NATO countries, led by the FRG, did not break it off; the silent hopes that the socialist countries would take on the responsibility and, standing in solidarity with Poland, which was being attacked and criticized, would break off the meeting, were not realized."

Nor was the first item of the Swiss proposal recognized by neutral and unaligned countries; i.e., "to suspend deliberations immediately or when possible." Deliberations continue, in an "atmosphere of greater detente"--AFP [Associated Foreign Press?]--and they are of a more and more substantial nature. Hence, after the first week of deliberations the DPA reported, "The process of detente and cooperation in Europe, initiated in 1975 with the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, passed through its next trial by fire during the Madrid CSCE meeting and, to all appearances, was temporarily rescued."

This does not mean that the meeting will not be broken off and postponed until the atmosphere in Europe is more favorable for detente.

Nor does it mean that the speakers in Madrid have abandoned criticism of martial law in Poland for the duration of the meeting. However, one can hope that the arguments used in Madrid by the Polish delegate, Deputy Minister Jozef Wiejacz, will have some softening effect. He said, "The domestic problems of Poland belong to the exclusive competence of the Polish state. Debate on the subject of the so-called Polish problem can only lead to the worsening of the situation in Europe. It will harm the CSCE process and can only complicate the search for understanding and compromise here in Madrid and elsewhere." Further, "it is already high time that all who in Madrid and beyond, are trying to play the so-called Polish card, realize that despite pressure from without and economic restrictions, Poland will someday overcome its crisis. But if our bilateral relations are damaged, they will remain so for a long time, especially with regard to those taking advantage of our national tragedy for their own dark political machinations. Let us not create new obstacles of this sort. This lamentable campaign must be halted."

In Madrid--and not only in Madrid--it is thus a question both of multilateral relations in Europe and our relations with particular states. The stakes are high and they cause us to reflect.

8536
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ALTERNATE MILITARY SERVICE IN FIRE DEPARTMENTS DISCUSSED

Warsaw STARZAK in Polish No 1, 1-15 Jan 82 p 21

[Text] For the past several years there's been a possibility of using alternate military service in Fire Departments thus creating important links in the Civil Defense system of the nation.

In order to get a picture of the education process of conscripts we turned to the 7th Unit of the Regular Fire Department in Warsaw. There we found several fireman who are participating in alternate military service. They are actually at the specialized training stage. Three months ago they were becoming acquainted with the secrets of fire fighting at the Training Center for Fire Fighting of the Civil Command of the Fire Departments.

There they gained fundamental knowledge and first-hand experience. During service at a unit they are now perfecting their specialized skills necessary in fire fighting and life saving. The majority of conscripts undergo training of the candidates. During this period they have the opportunity to get to know in detail their future occupation and undergo tests to determine their physio-psychological characteristics.

In the words of the commandant of the local unit--Lieutenant Colonel Leszek Kazmierski, serving alternate military service here--the fireman do not make any concessions to their friends who joined the fire department through the normal channels. It also needs to be added that the education of the conscripts does not differ from the regular program. The majority of the firemen possess average technical or professional qualifications. Service in a fire department affords them additional opportunities for developing technical knowledge or individual interests since we cannot complain of lack of varied equipment.

The firemen of this department to date have participated in many fire fights, both large and small. They took part in extinguishing a dangerous fire at the warehouses of the Commercial Centre for the Oil Industry in Mosciskach (metropolitan province) and extinguishing a shaft in Karlina where a section under the command of Andrzej Bialasiewich operated a large output motor pump. The gained knowledge and experience pays off today.

The fulfillment of the alternate military service by conscripts in fire departments benefits not only the candidates themselves in terms of learning an occupation, but it also significantly benefits the nation because those trained in the profession do not abandon fire fighting after finishing their alternate military service. Instead they make up the reserve personnel for militarized fire departments. It frequently happens that they remain in the profession. An example of this is Jan Zbrzezny--a driver who 9 years ago did his military service at this station.

Besides combat training and participating in fire fighting, members of this unit participate in a wide variety of preventive activities. In a work, they do not lack work since Warsaw, where they operate, is a very industrialized area.

9820
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BRIEFS

NEW RECTOR--By decision of the minister of culture and art, Prof Juliusz Bursze has been appointed as rector of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, where he is a lecturer and eminent specialist in the field of painting preservation. Prof Bursze was given the certificate of appointment by Deputy Minister of Culture and Art Eugeniusz Mielcarek at a 20 March meeting with the directorial cadre of the Academy of Fine Arts. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Mar 82 p 2]

WORKING STUDENTS' DEMANDS--Last Saturday and Sunday [20-21 March] the National Council of Working Students of the Socialist Union of Polish Youth held deliberations in Warsaw. The situation among working students was evaluated, with attention paid to the need for amendments to the Council of Ministers draft resolution concerning the principles and procedure for improving the qualifications of employees in socialized work places, and concerning the rights and duties of the latter. During the discussion there was postulated i.a. the need to specify the minimum benefits to which an employee who begins studies is entitled. The council members proposed that from the moment studies are begun, the employee and the work place, as the two parties, have concluded an agreement on mutual rights and duties during the period of the employee's studies and after their completion. The council decided to make recommendations on the draft resolution in the following ministries: Wages, Labor and Social Affairs; Science, Higher Schools and Technology; Education and Upbringing, as well as in the Sejm Commission for Science and Technological Progress. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Mar 82 p 2]

NEW SCOUT DEPUTY COMMANDER--There have been changes in the Headquarters of the Polish Scout Union. In connection with his assumption of work on the editorial staff of the weekly MOTYWY, Piotr Lapa has resigned as deputy commander-in-chief of the Polish Scout Union. In his place the Supreme Council has appointed Julian Nuckowski, a scientific employee at Warsaw University. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Mar 82 p 2]

CSO: 2600/481

PRESENT-DAY DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 2, 20 Jan 82 pp 24-27

/Article by Constantin Florea: "Development of the Communist Movement in the Present Stage"/

/Text/ Among all the present-day revolutionary and progressive forces, a particularly important part is played by the communist and labor parties as promoters of the peoples' vital interests. By virtue of its advanced conception of the world and life, the ideals of national freedom and social justice and international collaboration and peace that it consistently promotes, and its entire activity in constant service of the nations' basic aspirations, the communist and labor movement is the most advanced revolutionary political force in the modern world. The communist parties are in the front ranks of the social and national liberation movements and the class battles against exploitation and oppression, asserting themselves more and more as organizers of the advanced social forces in the struggle for progress, a better life, abolition of the imperialist, colonial and neocolonial policy, armaments, wars, force, hegemony and dictation, and for new, truly democratic relations among all peoples of the world and preservation of peace.

As government parties, the communist parties in the socialist countries are leading the struggle of the working class and their peoples for successful construction of the new society, socioeconomic development, and improvement of the masses' material and cultural living standard, constantly increasing their efforts to demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system in practice by actual facts and achievements. Meanwhile the communist parties in some developed capitalist countries are enhancing their political influence and prestige by better adapting themselves to the national realities and relating their activity more closely to the masses' aspirations. The communists have made an active contribution to the recent successes of the socialist and democratic forces of the left in the presidential, parliamentary or local elections in various West European countries, in some of which they are now participating in government. We are also seeing a growth and maturing of the communist revolutionary movement in a number of developing countries. In some of the new sovereign states the democratic, anti-imperialist government parties are becoming revolutionary parties declaring their adherence to the principles of scientific socialism.

To be sure the communist movement is not evolving in a "triumphal march" or developing in a "constantly rising" line with no difficulties or obstacles. The advance of the

revolutionary parties is actually an extremely complex dialectical process wherein the generally rising historical development, victories and successes are accompanied in some periods by fluctuations, zigzags and sometimes even by defeats or temporary setbacks. And as we know the communist parties' influence does not "cover" all areas and countries of the world uniformly, and it is still limited in various developed capitalist countries or developing ones. This is due to objective and subjective reasons and to both internal and international factors, such as the difficult illegal or semilegal conditions under which many communist parties have to operate; some parties' insufficient study of the particular national conditions in their countries, of the new phenomena and trends in the evolution of contemporary capitalism and, in general, of the changes taking place in the world, and the resulting delays in developing strategies suited to the new historical conditions and an approach to the problems in the light of outmoded theories, conceptions and evaluations of experience; the bad effect of the difficulties and crisis situations in some socialist countries, the political and, unfortunately, even military conflicts among some of those countries, the split in the communist movement between parties with great political influence, etc. Of course in addition to these general reasons there are also factors characteristic of a given country or a given party.

The major interests of the revolutionary movement call for an approach to these situations in a critical spirit with courage, clarity and political responsibility but also with optimism and confidence in every communist party's full ability to overcome any difficulties and obstacles with its own forces, to cope successfully with new and highly complex situations, and to bring its historic mission to fulfillment.

In the effort to distract attention from the seriously aggravated crisis of the capitalist system, to check the rise of the revolutionary and progressive forces, and to vitiate the influence of socialist ideas, some Western ideologues are trying to establish the idea of a so-called "crisis" of Marxism and the communist movement. But it is clear that the problems arising in the constant growth and maturing of the communist movement and its adjustment to the conditions and demands of the current historical period can by no means invalidate its fundamental principles and policies (the validity of which is fully proved by experience) nor detract in any way from the great successes of the revolutionary parties and the forces of socialis. There is no question that it is not the dialectical-materialist and historical revolutionary conception that is in a crisis, nor the communist and labor movement, but merely some old and outmoded theoretical views and principles, some unsuitable combat methods valid in other periods but no longer justified under present conditions, the old type of relations among parties based on inequality and the existence of a supernational administrative center, and some anachronistic practices in the conduct of those relations.

The growing influence of the revolutionary parties is not due to any chance factors but on the contrary results from an objective, regular process and the action of some essential, permanent factors basic to mankind's development. Analysis of the historical laws and predominat trends of human evolution confirms the conclusion in the RCP Program that in the future "The communist and labor parties' role in organization and management of the revolutionary struggles for social reform, a new international order and a lasting peace will be increased even further."

Revolutionary Theory and New Social Requirements

The communist movement is faced today with situations qualitatively different from other historical periods and even from the period following World War II, with new

and extremely complex phenomena both national and international, and with many highly diverse and unprecedented problems due to the great processes of social and national liberation that changed the face of the world, the extremely contradictory course of international affairs, and the appearance and aggravation of some global problems affecting all countries and peoples and all mankind. It might be said that never in their history have the communist parties been confronted with such diverse, complicated and sometimes even paradoxical situations and phenomena almost unthinkable a few decades ago.

The revolutionary parties' adequate adjustment to the new conditions requires scientific, in-depth analysis of the facts, a clear and bold approach to the current trends and phenomena, overcoming the outmoded views and principles in theory and practice, and constant enrichment of the revolutionary theory with principles and conclusions based upon contemporary social-political experience. The realities of the present period and the markedly greater extent, complexity and diversity of the revolutionary process demand new courses of action, a new, dynamic and creative approach to the problems, and liberation of political thought from any subjectivism, simplistic cursoriness, or any sectarian or conservative influences. Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "We must not look in the classics to see whether or not something was said about the phenomena of today. To think that way means to act dogmatically, to be conservative instead of revolutionary, and to lag behind social development. To be revolutionary you must look ahead, act in the spirit of the new gains in human knowledge in all fields, understand the new social demands and the aspirations of the working masses and the entire people, act purposefully in the lead of the masses by organizing and managing their work and their struggle, and find the ways to bring about the development of society and its advance toward communism!"

The revolutionary theory is nothing concluded or finished, nor any "set of laws" laid down once and for all, nor a collection of principles valid anywhere at any time. On the contrary, it is only a starting point to be further developed in keeping with the practical lessons of history, the new socioeconomic realities, and the new advances in science and human knowledge. Therefore it is a good thing that more and more communist parties are now pointing out that under the new historical conditions to remain faithful to scientific socialism means to understand at every stage of the struggle what differs from the preceding stage and what is new and original, to analyze the evolution of the realities as thoroughly as possible, to condemn any routine or inflexible attitude, and to formulate a principled criticism of historically outmoded ideas and objectives, giving new answers to the new problems.

Of course creative development of the revolutionary theory does not mean discarding all that has been done before and starting from scratch. As the RCP says, it does not mean opposing some parties to others or opposing the new order the socialist countries are building under their particular conditions to the socialism to be built in the future in other countries, nor does it mean preparing "countermodels" for creating the new order in opposition to the old "models."

The RCP considers it a major obligation of every communist party and the communist movement as a whole to help renovate and further enrich the revolutionary theory and to help relate it as closely as possible to the scientific socialism of contemporary social-political experience. That is the only way the communist and labor parties can further develop, actively influencing the present evolution, or play their part as a motive force of revolutionary transformation of the world, or take the lead in the struggle for a lasting peace and widespread international collaboration.

New Strategic and Tactical Options

The communist and labor parties are operating under socioeconomic and historical conditions that differ widely from one country to another and are constantly faced with many particular problems. Therefore independent development of its political policy and revolutionary strategy and tactics according to the facts of the respective country is an inalienable attribute of each communist party, which is directly responsible to the working class, the masses of workers, and the people of the respective country.

Important theoretical and practical problems are now facing the communist parties in the socialist countries, which are in a very complex period of the process of building the new social order. It is well known that the peoples of those countries have made great progress in socialist construction, in national economic development, in improving the masses' material and cultural living standard, and in establishing and developing better social relations in a relatively brief historical period and in spite of the onerous legacy of the old society and all the defects and difficulties that have developed in one country or another.

Analysis of the stage reached by the socialist countries reveals some new problems that are sometimes more difficult and complicated than those of the socialist revolution, and their treatment involves the qualitative aspect of social development, some reproportioning in economic development, improvement of social activity, and satisfaction of some new and greatly increased demands upon all activities. It is also well known that in the last few years some socialist countries have experienced certain negative phenomena in their socioeconomic development due to the effects of the world economic and energy crisis, as well as some lags in securing their technical-material resources. Under these circumstances the communist parties have increased their efforts to better solve some major problems of socialist and communist construction and devised programs and measures to further develop the economies, improve social relations and social management, enhance socialist democracy, and improve the masses' material and cultural living standard.

Constant development of the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party in building the new order is essential to the solution of all these problems. In speaking of the ways and means of exercising the Communist Party's political leadership, the RCP secretary general pointed out that it consists of constantly studying the socioeconomic phenomena in the light of the dialectical-materialist revolutionary conception, preparing revolutionary strategy and tactics, and building socialism and communism, always proceeding "from careful study of the contradictions, what is old and should be discarded and what is new and should be encouraged, and from thorough analysis of the historical (both national and international) socioeconomic phenomena and realities, drawing the right conclusions for each stage of development."

The confrontation with the new historical realities and conditions also includes the activities of the communist parties in the capitalist countries against the background of the seriously aggravated crisis of the system founded upon exploitation and oppression. The revolutionary parties in those countries are militating for preparation and application of solutions that will permit a real escape from the crisis and resolution of the growing difficulties facing the working class and broad masses of workers. The anticrisis programs they have devised for that purpose involve progressive changes in all economic, social and political activities to bring about full employment of the labor force, recovery of the economy, defense and development of the democratic rights

and freedoms, effective opposition to terrorism and the fascist and neoracist organizations and trends, consolidation of national sovereignty and independence, and promotion of a policy of detente, disarmament and peace.

Moreover the struggle with the consequences of the crisis is inseparable from the struggle for progress and radical democratic changes that will limit and eliminate the domination of the big monopolies and thus prepare the way for socialism. "Rethinking" the old patterns of action and efforts to find ways and means of advancing on the path of democracy and progress toward socialism in keeping with the actual facts and particular conditions of a given country have been essential features of the activity of more and more communist parties in the countries of Western Europe and other continents in recent years.

The new strategic and tactical options adopted in the 1970's by the communist parties in some developed capitalist countries include objectives, ways and means characteristic of each country, but they are also distinguished by a number of common characteristics such as emphasis upon achievement of socialism in a democratic, peaceful way without armed conflict, with the qualification that this way involves a parliamentary struggle but also an extraparliamentary, mass struggle; the idea that socialism and democracy are in complete unity while expansion and consolidation of democracy are basic requirements for revolutionary social reform; understanding of the fact that transition to socialism requires the agreement of the great majority of the people as well as emphasis upon formation of the widest possible alliances that will go beyond the traditional worker-peasant alliance to include all democratic ad progressive forces, all those interested in such changes, etc. In the course of clarifying and crystallizing these strategic and tactical options (a process still far from complete) new theoretical concepts are developed, older ideas are abandoned, and investigations, discussions and arguments take place concerning the relationship between the objective laws and the particular forms they take, the present-day significance of the aims of socialism, the very concept of socialism, etc.

Historical experience proves that new peoples' transition to socialism takes place in a great and increasingly pronounced diversity of forms and ways because of the profound differences in economic, social and national development, historical past, and the institutions that exist in a given country. But it is very important to understand that the transition to socialism is the result of the operation of the objective laws and the efforts of the revolutionary and progressive forces in each country, involving rejection of exported revolution as well as exported counterrevolution in any form. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Any people has the right to free socioeconomic development and to create the desired social order with no outside interference. And experience has proved that there are and will be no forces in the world that can stop the peoples in their triumphal march toward socialism and communism."

For a Policy of Extensive Alliances

In the struggle for social reform it is critically important for the communist parties to pursue a policy of extensive alliances in keeping with the great changes in the last few decades in the nature of the various social categories, strata and classes and of the political parties, organizations and movements of various persuasions and trends. There are wide and diverse social forces in the capitalist countries today that favor a break with the old state of things in society and in international affairs. We are seeing the emergence of new forms of opposition to monopolies and capitalism and the development of widespread mass movements (of women and youth, ecological etc.) which used to be either undefined as distinct, independent forces or on the

"periphery" of the social confrontations. The movements against the armaments race and in favor of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, and the preservation and consolidation of peace have become widespread in various capitalist countries.

Accordingly the forces in favor of democratic, progressive social reform go far beyond the working class in the ordinary sense of the term. They include increasingly broad social strata and categories as well as democratic, progressive revolutionary trends and movements, both organized and unorganized. New and unprecedented situations have arisen wherein many political forces act together or interact: The communist parties share the great battle for social reform with other political units and combine their efforts with those of many other forces and movements serving the aims of development of democracy and further social progress. It is becoming increasingly clear that the communist parties cannot assume the sole responsibility for fundamental changes and a break with the old society, which is historically outmoded but still has resources of adaptability. Elimination of any sectarian trends, which did great harm to the revolutionary movement in the past, and formation of new relations between the communist parties and other political forces committed to or objectively interested in the great struggle for national independence, democracy, peace and progress are therefore a most urgent necessity. Under these circumstances it is quite natural that the documents of the communist parties in various capitalist countries increasingly emphasize the need of broad receptiveness to the masses of the whole population affected by crises, social discrepancies and the policy of big monopolies and point out that the revolutionary and democratic process makes it necessary to rise above the "hegemonism" of any given political unit and to try to achieve a consensus of the parties of the working class as well as other parties advocating a new course of socioeconomic development and independence, peace and progress.

In the struggle for democracy, peace and socialism it is fundamentally important to achieve unity and collaboration among communists, socialists, and social-democrats, to overcome the mutual distrust and hostility inherited from the past, and to emphasize the factors that unite the parties of the working class and can contribute to a broad political agreement and their eventual historical reconciliation. Rapprochement between communists and socialists is particularly difficult and has many obstacles to overcome in its evolution. But however great those difficulties are, they must not interfere with the efforts to achieve unity and collaboration among all working class parties above and beyond any theoretical or ideological differences. Experience shows that this is quite possible and that, given the necessary political will, the communists and socialists can act in close unity as equal partners in various fields of social activity, including parliaments and governments, on behalf of the working class and their peoples.

Unification of the advanced social and political forces differs in its aims and methods from one stage of the revolutionary process to another and from one country to another. It would be unrealistic to believe that the systems of alliances recommended for a democratic and progressive development are easily accomplished, for they require a procedure fraught with obstacles. But that does not in the least invalidate the conclusion that only the broadest possible social and political alliances, only a lasting unity among all national and international revolutionary and democratic forces, and only the purposeful union of the working masses, the progressive forces of society and the peoples can bring about the solution of the social problems for the benefit of the masses, the defense of democracy and civil rights and freedoms, and the triumph of the struggle for national liberation and the revolutionary struggle for progress and a better life, for the revolutionary, socialist transformation of the world, and for peace on our planet.

Peace Essential to the Revolutionary Struggle

The communist and labor parties are operating today under highly complex international conditions characterized by an acute worldwide confrontation between diametically opposed trends: On the one hand there is the accentuated policy of force and war, maintenance and reallotment of the spheres of influence, escalation of armaments, and aggravated contradictions among various states and groups of states, and on the other there is the intensified struggle of the peoples against the imperialist and colonial policy and on behalf of preservation of national sovereignty and independence and maintenance and consolidation of peace. This situation confronts the communist and labor movement with great and highly critical tasks.

The development of the current communist movement is characterized, among other things, by its increasing strong and active commitment to solve the great problems of mankind, namely securing peace, stopping the armaments race, accomplishing general and especially nuclear disarmament, building lasting security in Europe and the whole world, eliminating underdevelopment, establishing a new worldwide economic order, abolishing the imperialist policy of force and dictation with redivision of the world into spheres of influence and domination, and establishing new relations among states based on equality, mutual respect, and every people's right to self-determination without outside interference. These contemporary global problems are not solely of a "class," socialist (in the narrow sense of the word) character but generally democratic. But their existence and solution affect all peoples, all mankind, and the very fate of civilization, since it is obvious that as exponents of the vital interests of the working class and revolutionary forces everywhere the communist parties have the heavy responsibility of taking a firm stand in the first ranks of the battle for their democratic solution. The more actively the revolutionary parties (each one and the communist movement as a whole) participate in discussion of the economic, political, social and other problems facing all peoples of the world today, the more they will contribute to the solution of those problems, the more socialism will influence the course of international affairs and all contemporary development, and the greater will be the communist and labor parties' power of attraction, prestige and authority.

Preventing another world war, maintaining and consolidating peace, and achieving disarmament are now particularly important to the success of the revolutionary struggle. The principle that socialism and peace are inseparable and that a calm atmosphere of security and peace is critical to a free, worthy and prosperous future for all humanity is proving more valid than ever. It may be said that peace is the international prerequisite for continuing and intensifying the revolutionary process, and its maintenance and consolidation are now the main objectives of the communist and labor parties and all revolutionary and progressive forces.

As we know Marxist literature widely circulated the theory for a long time that since the first socialist state in the world was formed after World War I, and socialism succeeded in other states after World War II, a third world war could only result in the total collapse of capitalism. This theory (whose remnants are still to be found today in some foreign works and studies) has nothing in common with the current facts of the worldwide democratic and revolutionary process or with the real prospects and conditions for the triumph of socialism throughout the world. The struggle for socialism cannot be associated in any way today with wars or world conflicts today. A nuclear war would cause incalculable damage and vast losses to mankind, making mankind's very existence doubtful to say nothing of any prospects of progress. Detente and peace are in the interest of the progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist

forces, while discord and the policy of armaments serve the reactionary forces hostile to freedom, progress and peace.

The historic importance of the RCP's theories and judgments as to the necessity of a resolute struggle to safeguard and consolidate peace is even more clear in this light, as well as the proposals of Nicolae Ceausescu and socialist Romania to stop the armaments race and achieve disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament.

Need of Promoting a New Kind of Unity

The communist movement's present developmental stage is characterized by new phenomena and trends in the relations among the revolutionary parties, the character and principles governing those relations, and the nature and extent of international solidarity in the world of today. A new kind of unity of the communist movement is gradually emerging in the struggle with the old concepts and practices and, as the RCP keeps pointing out, this unity is to be firmly rooted in all parties' fully equal rights, in each party's right to determine its political policy independently, as well as its revolutionary strategy and tactics, with no outside interference, in mutual aid, collaboration and solidarity, and in full confidence in every party's ability to overcome any difficulties or obstacles by its own forces and to secure the success of the revolution and socialist construction.

The communist and labor movement's history proves that outmoded relations and disregard of socialist principles have always seriously harmed international solidarity, the growth of socialism's prestige and influence, and the communist parties' development. The present stage of the revolutionary process, the pronounced diversity of the conditions under which the communist movement operates and its increasing maturity require reorganization of relations among the communist parties, a firm and complete break with the old methods of centralization and subordination, and creation of a new kind of unity.

But alongside the stronger assertion of the tendency to pursue an independent policy on the part of the communist parties in various countries and to base relations among parties upon equality and mutual esteem and respect, tendencies also persist today toward interference by some parties in other parties' internal affairs, violation of equality of rights, and hegemonism. Some parties are still under pressure to adopt views and positions that they consider unsuited to the conditions in their countries. The practice is not yet fully established of settling differences of opinion and disagreements or any problems arising in interparty relations by friendly discussions between parties and their leaders in a spirit of mutual esteem and respect. And some foreign authors still question the principle of the parties' independence, which is, as it were, a violation of the standards of solidarity and the revolutionary struggle and even represents a so-called outmoded formula, and that too in spite of all the lessons of history and the entire experience acquired by the communist and labor movement, which forcefully brings out the truth that strict observance of the revolutionary parties' independence of thought and action is vital to the further consolidation of every communist party and to the successful performance of its historic role of strengthening international solidarity.

All this proves that the new kind of unity in the communist movement does not arise spontaneously by itself. It is not a matter of a simple, smoothe evolution by any means but on the contrary a process that must overcome quite a few obstacles and some anachronistic ideas, practices and methods. There are increasingly favorable

conditions now for promoting new and better relations in the communist movement, and they should be used to secure the success of the new principles for relations.

Further strengthening the communist parties' solidarity and unity on a new basis is essential to the struggle for progress and peace and a factor of importance to present-day social development. Meanwhile the conclusion is clear that the particular urgency and seriousness of the problems facing mankind today, especially the necessity of preserving peace, and the recent intense discord in international relations demand a policy of widespread international solidarity. Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "It is more necessary than ever to strengthen solidarity and collaboration among all progressive, anti-imperialist forces and among all peoples in favor of disarmament and peace. Experience demonstrates more and more emphatically the peoples' invincible power to stop the armaments race and the policy of discord and to bring about collaboration and peace.

In securing the success of the Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism the RCP is fulfilling its highest obligation to its own people as well as its primary obligation to the communist and labor movement and to the progressive and democratic forces everywhere. In its entire activity, under the leadership of its secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu, the RCP actively contributes to the creative development of the revolutionary theory, to the analysis of the new problems facing the communist movement and international life, to the promotion of a new and better kind of relations among the communist and labor parties, and to stronger unity and solidarity among all the revolutionary and progressive forces. In the RCP the communist parties, the democratic forces, and the peoples of the whole world have had and will continue to have an active and reliable revolutionary detachment resolved to raise Romania to new levels of socialist civilization and to devote its entire energies to fulfilling the ideals of freedom, progress, independence and peace of all peoples of the world.

5186
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LAW ON LOCAL TAXES, FEES PUBLISHED

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/Law No 25 of 23 December 1981 on Local Taxes and Fees/

/Text/ Socialist Republic of Romania

On the basis of Article 57 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania, we sign and order to be published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA Law No 25 of 23 December 1981 on Local Taxes and Fees.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
Chairman
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 29 December 1981.

Law
on Local Taxes and Fees

In accordance with the Program of the Romanian Communist Party for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism, the state allocates every year large amounts of funds for the balanced development of all urban and rural localities at a steady rate, with a view to providing better working, housing and living conditions for all citizens.

In addition, through the payment of local taxes and fees, the economic units, the cooperative organizations and the other public organizations, and the population participate in the creation of the financial resources needed for the economic and social development of each locality.

The participation of the population and the socialist units in the formation of the monetary funds needed for these objectives, in conformity with the principles of socialist ethics and equity, represents at the same time a form of manifestation of the relations of the population and the socialist units with the state and an expression of their concern for the fulfillment by the state of its functions and obligations.

With a view to improvement in the legal framework concerning the setting and collection of local taxes and fees that would help to strengthen the economic and financial self-administration and the self-financing of the municipalities, cities and

communes, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania adopts the present law.

Chapter I
General Provisions

Article 1. Local taxes and fees constitute a means of participation by the citizens, the socialist units and other juristic persons in the self-administration and self-financing of the localities, in the formation of the monetary funds needed for financing the objectives and actions provided in the sole national plan for economic and social development.

Article 2. The monetary funds constituted from local taxes and fees are utilized to achieve objectives and actions from which the citizens and the socialist units benefit directly.

In their capacity of owners of the means of production and producers and beneficiaries of the material values, the working people participate in the implementation of the party's and state's policy of multilateral development of all localities, in the raising of their degree of civilization, in the utilization of material and monetary funds with maximum efficiency, in the expenditure of public funds with a thrifty sense, in the preservation of the integrity of public property and in the elimination of any forms of waste.

The participation of the citizens--in the process of self-management--in the creation and utilization of the funds needed for the municipal-administrative development of the localities strengthens the civic responsibility for the general needs of society and constitutes their contribution to repaying to society a part of the expenditures made, from which the citizens benefit directly.

Article 3. Local taxes and fees are utilized, in accordance with the law, to increase the degree of municipal-administrative equipping of all localities, to extend and mondernize roads, to increase the number of places in nurseries and kindergartens and to develop the system of education, health, culture and art, thus providing for the continual improvement of the living and working conditions of the whole populace.

Article 4. Local taxes and fees, as a source of revenue for the budgets of the municipalities, the sectors of the municipality of Bucharest, the cities and the communes, stimulate the responsibility of the local bodies in utilizing their own funds, so that this revenue may contribute to the development of all localities of the country at a steady rate, in accordance with the provisions of the sole national plan for economic and social development.

Article 5. The local taxes and fees that are paid by the cooperative and state socialist units and by physical and juristic persons other than socialist units are those regulated by means of the present law, namely:

a) The tax on buildings;

b) The tax on land in municipalities and cities;

c) Fees for means of transportation;

d) Fees for the use of public places of sale;

e) Fees for the issuing of permits in the field of construction;

f) Fees for the use of means of publicity, billposting and advertising;

g) The fee for staying in health resorts;

h) The fee for visiting museums, memorial houses and historical, architectural and archeological monuments;

i) The fee for the possession of dog.

Article 6. The level of the tax rates and of the local fees, the terms of payment, and the manner of setting and collecting them are established by means of a decree of the State Council.

Article 7. The level of the tax rates and the fees is revised at least once every 5 years, in relation to the general development of the municipal-administrative activity, the expansion and modernization of the road system, the growth of the degree of urbanization, the diversification of the services performed for the population and other specific elements and in relation to the growth of the monetary incomes of the population.

Chapter II
The Tax on Buildings

Article 8. Building owned by physical persons and by juristic persons other than socialist units, state-owned buildings under the administration of the state economic units, and buildings in the use or, as the case may be, the possession of the cooperative organizations and the other public organizations, with the exception of those provided by law, are subject to the tax on buildings, regardless of the place where they are located and their purpose.

Article 9. The tax on buildings owned by physical persons is calculated by applying tax rates to the insurance value through the effect of the law, determined in accordance with the legal standards in force.

The tax on buildings belonging to the cooperative and state economic units and the other public organizations is determined by applying the tax rates to the inventory value of the buildings subject to the payment of this tax.

Article 10. The rates of tax on buildings are set varyingly according to the purpose of the buildings, the place where they are located and the category of the payers--socialist units, physical persons and juristic persons other than socialist units.

Article 11. In the case of personally owned dwellings located in urban areas, for the rooms that exceed the number of family members and fit within the limits provided by Law No 5/1973 on the Administration of the Housing Supply and the Regulation of Relations Between Landlords and Tenants, increased tax rates are applied.

The rooms that exceed the housing needs of the owner and his family, determined in accordance with Law No 5/1973, will be rented by the owner to other persons, and in

the case in which he does not rent them, the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils can rent them to entitled persons, through specialized units for administering and renting the state housing supply.

The incomes obtained from renting will be taxed in accordance with the legal provisions, without the application of the increase in the tax rates for the rooms rented.

Article 12. For buildings located in rural localities that pass into the category of cities, the rate of tax on buildings corresponding to the new category of locality is applied beginning on 1 January of the year after this change.

Chapter III
The Land Tax

Article 13. Land owned by physical persons, state-owned land under the administration of the state economic units, land owned by the cooperative organizations, the other public organizations, and juristic persons other than socialist units, and land put in use, located in municipalities and cities and in their component localities, are subject to the tax in conformity with the provisions of the present law.

The tax is set in a fixed sum per square meter, varying according to municipalities and cities.

Article 14. Land located in component localities with an agricultural character within municipalities and cities, established in accordance with the law, land located in villages that belong to municipalities and cities, and land in suburban communes are subject to the tax provided by Law No 2/1977 on the Agricultural Tax.

Article 15. The tax on land located in cities that pass into the category of municipalities or in communes that pass into the category of cities, as the case may be, is changed in accordance with the new status of the locality in which the land is located, beginning on 1 January of the year after the one in which this change occurred.

Article 16. The land tax mentioned in Article 13 does not apply to land for which the fees for the use of state-owned land or the annual fees provided by law are paid.

Article 17. Land unfit for construction or cultivation, that used for recreation or sports, firing ranges, ports, airports and other such, and land that serves tax-exempt buildings are not subject to the land tax.

Chapter IV
Fees for Means of Transportation

Article 18. Means of transportation with mechanical traction and means of water transportation owned by physical persons and by juristic persons other than socialist units are subject to an annual fee under the conditions of the present law.

Article 19. The fee for means of transportation with mechanical traction are set in accordance with the cylinder displacement of the motor. The fee for means of water transportation are set varyingly, according to the type of means of transportation.

Chapter V
Fees for the Use of Public Places of Sale

Article 20. Physical persons, the cooperative organizations and the other public organizations, and juristic persons other than state socialist units pay a daily fee for the use of public places of sale in municipalities, cities and communes.

The fee for the use of public palces of sale is set varyingly, in relation to the degree of equipping of the spaces put at the disposal of the producers, the nature of the products sold, the age and species of the animals brought for sale, the services performed for the population, and the area occupied.

For the occupation of sidewalks and streets in municipalities and cities by physical persons and by juristic persons other than socialist units, with a view to the storage of various materials, the sale of products or the performance of services, or for the execution of construction work, as the case may be, a daily fee is proportion to the area occupied is owed.

Article 21. The executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest will take steps to improve and diversify the services performed for producers in markets, fairs and stockyards by providing coveralls, scales, showcases, weighing machines, baskets, handcarts, storage and lodging spaces and other such, on the basis of rates, set in accordance with the law, that would ensure the self-financing of the respective activity and a suitable profitability.

Chapter VI
Fees for the Issuing of Permits in the Field of Construction

Article 22. The permits issued, in accordance with the law, to physical persons and to juristic persons other than socialist units, for the construction, transformation, modification, demolition, outfitting and repair of constructions and installations, the alignment of constructions, the division of land and constructions or the transfer of constructions, the issuing of copies of construction plans or of other plans, technical advice, topographic surveys, parcelling and staking-out of land, the issuing of permits for takeover and division of land by heirs, and other permits in this field are subject to fees, varying according to the value of the constructions or installations, the area of the land, and the nature of the services performed.

For extending, under the conditions of the law, the validity of the permits, the fee is 25 percent of the fee due on the issuing of the permit.

Article 23. For the performance of work that has as an object topographic surveys or measurements requested by physical or juristic persons other than socialist units, fees varying according to the nature of the service performed are owed.

Chapter VII
Fees for the Use of Means of Publicity, Billposting and Advertising

Article 24. Physical persons and juristic persons other than socialist units that use means of publicity in the form of billposting and advertising owe a fee in a fixed sum for each copy, varying according to the dimensions of the posters, the printed advertisements, the store windows and the billboards made of any material.

For publicity through the press, the fee is levied in a percentage quota applied to the sum collected by the organ of the press.

Chapter VIII
The Fee for Staying in Health Resorts

Article 25. For staying in health resorts for a duration of more than 48 hours, physical persons over 16 years of age owe a fixed fee set for the whole duration of the stay in the respective resort.

For pupils and students the fee is reduced by 50 percent.

Article 26. The fee for staying in health resorts is not owed in the case of lodgings in tourist chalets outside the health resorts, as well as by persons who have their residence in these localities, those on business trips, and pupils and students in practical training, in rest camps or in school activities.

Chapter IX
The Fee for Vising Museums, Memorial Houses and Historical, Architectural and Archeological Monuments

Article 27. For visiting museums, memorial houses and historical, architectural and archeological monuments, classified as such according to law, visitation fees are set by the Council for Socialist Culture and Education.

The visitation fees are set varyingly according to the artistic, historical and architectural value of the respective facilities.

Article 28. Pupils, students, and military personnel on active duty who visit historical, architectural and archeological monuments in groups organized by educational institutions or military units do not owe the fee for visiting these facilities. For visiting museums and memorial houses, the fee is reduced by 50 percent.

The Council for Socialist Culture and Education will be able to assign 1 day per week on which the fees for visiting museums, memorial houses and historical, architectural and archeological monuments will be reduced by up to 50 percent.

Chapter X
The Fee for the Possession of Dogs

Article 29. Physical persons residing in rural or urban localities who possess more than one watchdog per household and physical persons who possess pet and hunting dogs pay an annual fee varying according to the number of dogs possessed and the purpose for which they are used.

The possession and raising of dogs in apartments located in blocks of dwellings or in buildings with many apartments will be able to be done only with the approval of the tenants' association.

Chapter XI
Common and Final Provisions

Article 30. The state economic units, the cooperative organizations and the other public organizations, physical persons, and juristic persons other than socialist units are obligated to submit tax statements to the financial bodies of the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils, as the case may be, within 15 days after the date of acquisition of the goods subject to taxation or the date on which changes occurred that lead to the modification of the tax or fee owed.

Article 31. Objections regarding the incorrect setting or levying of the taxes and fees regulated by means of the present law can be made at the financial body which performed the taxation or into whose account the fee was paid.

Article 32. The local taxes and fees regulated by means of the present law that are not set in due time are owed, in the case of the state socialist units, the cooperative organizations and the other public organizations, for a prior period of 18 months, calculated from the date of discovery, and, in the case of physical persons and of juristic persons other than socialist units, for 2 years prior to the year in which this situation was discovered.

Article 33. For the failure to pay on schedule the local taxes and fees regulated by means of the present law, extra charges for lateness are applied: 2 percent per month or fraction of a month in the case of physical persons or of juristic persons other than socialist units and 0.05 percent for each day of lateness in the case of the cooperative, public and state socialist units. The extra charge is calculated from the date when the taxes and fees were owed.

Article 34. The local taxes and fees regulated by means of the present law become revenue for the budgets of the municipalities, the sectors of the municipality of Bucharest, the cities and the communes, as the case may be, or constitute the own income of the units that collect them, in accordance with the law.

Article 35. The Ministry of Finance, the financial administrations, and the financial districts and departments of the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils have the obligation to verify, regarding the socialist units, physical persons, and juristic persons other than socialist units, the factuality of the tax statements and the manner of setting and collecting the taxes and fees provided in the present law.

In the case in which, from the inspections made, differences in taxes and fees are found, steps will be taken to recalculate and collect them in accordance with the law or, as the case may be, to adjust or refund them, on request.

Article 36. The provisions of the present law also apply to foreign physical and juristic persons insofar as by means of conventions or other international agreements to which the Socialist Republic of Romania is a party or on a basis of reciprocity, it is not established otherwise.

Article 37. The failure to comply with the provisions of the present law entails disciplinary, material, civil, contraventional or penal liability, as the case may be.

Article 38. The present law goes into effect on 1 January 1982.

This law was adopted by the Grand National Assembly in the session of 23 December 1981.

Chairman
of the Grand National Assembly,
Nicolae Giosan

Bucharest, 23 December 1981.
No 25.

12105
CSO: 2700/216

DECREE ORGANIZES ACTIVITY OF NURSERY SCHOOLS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 20, 17 Feb 82 pp 2-4

[Council of State Decree No 65 of 17 February 1982 on Organization of the Activity of Day Care Centers and Nursery Schools and Establishment of the Parents' Contribution for the Children in These Units]

[Text] In order to aid parents in raising and educating their children, along with giving state allocations for children and other forms of material aid, the state, under conditions of worker self-leadership and economic-financial self-management, organizes day care centers and nursery schools, within which medical assistance, instruction and education for the children are provided free of charge.

Taking into account the fact that food is provided for the children in the day care centers as well as the nursery schools with weekly and extended programs, the parents and other legal supporters are required to bear a portion of the expenses incurred in proportion to the incomes they obtain.

With a view to improving the current regulations on the organization of day care centers and nursery schools and establishing the contribution of the parents or legal supporters for the children in these units,

The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. The day care centers and nursery schools are organized on the principle of worker self-leadership and economic-financial self-management.

The collective leadership organs of the units at which the day care centers and nursery schools operate are required to insure that the expenses are set sensibly, that the material-technical base and assets they have at their disposal to cover the expenses are used efficiently and that their activity is carried out under good conditions.

Article 2. The day care centers and nursery schools with extended and weekly programs are organized directly under the enterprises, other economic organizations and state institutes at which they operate. The entire activity of the day care centers and nursery schools takes place under the guidance of the Ministry of Education and Instruction, the Ministry of Health and the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils.

Article 3. Establishment and organization of the day care centers and nursery schools are done in accordance with provisions of the law, within the indicators established by the single national plan for social-economic development.

Article 4. The expenses of the day care centers and nursery schools are covered by:

a) The amounts allocated from the state budget for the instruction, education and medical assistance for the children and for other expenses;

b) The amounts allocated from the fund for social actions established, in accordance with the law, at the disposal of the economic units for management and maintenance expenses;

c) The amounts allocated in accordance with the law from the fund for participation in profits;

d) The amounts allocated from the prize fund established, under conditions of the law, at ministries, other central organs, executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils;

e) The contribution of the parents to cover the expenses for food and certain expenses for maintenance and operation.

Article 5. For the good operation of the day care centers and nursery schools and the judicious use of material and monetary assets, the units in which they are organized as well as the people's councils are to take measures for participation of the members of the parent committees, women's commissions and other persons in certain management activities and the care and educating of their children.

Article 6. The monthly contribution of parents of legal supporters for the children in day care centers and nursery schools is established according to their monthly cumulative incomes and by the program of the day care center or nursery school as follows:

Cumulative monthly incomes	Contribution for day care centers		Contribution for nursery schools	
	Daily program	Weekly program	Extended program	Weekly rogram
Up to 5,000 lei	270	320	256	270
5,001-6,000 lei	295	385	275	295
6,001-7,000 lei	320	445	295	320
More than 7,000 lei	340	500	320	340

Article 7. The collective leadership organs may approve that within the limit of the amounts allocated, in accordance with the law, from the fund for participation in profits with a view to establishing the fund for social actions and from the fund of prizes established, in accordance with the regulations in effect, at the ministries, other central organs, executive committees of the county or Bucharest municipal people's councils in certain cases, a portion of the

contributions due for keeping the children in day care centers and nursery schools be borne in proportion to the cumulative incomes of the parents or legal supporters as follows:

a) Up to 50 percent in the case where the cumulative incomes do not exceed 2,500 lei per month;

b) Up to 40 percent in the case where the cumulative incomes are between 2,501 and 3,000 lei per month;

c) Up to 30 percent in the case where the cumulative incomes are between 3,001 and 3,500 lei per month;

d) Up to 20 percent,in the case where the cumulative incomes are betweeen 3,501 and 4,500 lei per month.

Benefitting from the provisions of the preceding paragraph are parents or legal supporters who have at least two children under 16 years of age.

Article 8. The monthly contribution is to be paid by the parents or legal supporters of the child by the end of each month for the next month. The leaders of the unit in which the day care center or nursery school operates, at the request of the parents or legal supporters of the child, may approve for the payment of the contribution due to be made in two installments, with the second one to be paid by the 15th of the current month.

Article 9. The following may be accepted in day care centers and nursery schools on a priority basis, within the limit of the existing places:

a) The children whose mothers are employed in work or who are in their studies;

b) The children under care only of the father, who is employed in work or retired due to illness or an accident;

c) The children whose mothers are not employed in work, being invalids or suffering from illnesses which have made them unable to care for and educate them;

d) The children whose mothers, not employed in work, are also caring for children with physical or mental deficiencies.

Article 10. Within the limit of available places, the children of foreign citizens temporarily in the Socialist Republic of Romania may be accepted into the day care centers or nursery schools, with complete payment of the expenses in accordance with the legal provisions.

Article 11. The Ministry of Education and Instruction and the Ministry of Health, with the agreement of the Ministry of Finance, are to work out methodological standards for applying this decree.

Article 12. This decree goes into effect on 1 March 1982.

On the same date the normative acts provided in the appendix, which is an integral part of this decree, as well as any other contrary dispositions, are cancelled.

Appendix: Normative Acts Being Cancelled

Council of Ministers Decision No 586/1951 on the Method of Operation and Maintenance of Day Care Centers and Nurseries in the Budgetary Institutions, Enterprises and State Economic Organizations, Seasonal Nurseries in the Agricultural Sector and Neighborhood Day Care Centers and Nurseries, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 72, 27 June 1951.

Council of Ministers Decision No 3159/1953 on Reduction of Parents' Contribution to Keeping Their Children in Day Care Centers and Nurseries, published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRI No 60, 22 September 1953.

Council of Ministers Decision No 3790/1953 on Improvement in the Operation of Existing Day Care Centers and Establishment of New Day Care Centers, published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRI No 77, 11 December 1953.

Council of Ministers Decision No 368/1956 on Organization and Financing of Childrens' Nursery Schools in the People's Republic of Romania, published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRI No 13, 17 March 1956.

8071
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BOOK BY ORTHODOX BISHOP HAILED FOR NATIONALISM

Cluj-Napoca STEAUA in Romanian Feb 82 p 39

[Article by Mircea Muthu]

[Text] The angle of cultural history, characterized by a broad opening and synthesizing intention, restores the true dimensions of the memory of the book, printed or manuscript;it then again argues with philological and historical strictness for the parameters between which the spirituality of a people, such as the Carpathian-Danube, rushes to develop. Comprised of an eminently theological perspective, the book by Dr Antonie Plamadeala, "Dascali de Cuget si Simtire Romaneasca" [The Masters of Romanian Thought and Sentiment] (Bucharest, 1981) knits together "a solemn meeting of the great people of our culture, of the great patriots." He stresses a basic matter for an understanding of the special nature of our culture, not only literary. Truly, if the existence of the Carpathian territory in a certain zone of the continent, as well as the history of the Romanians, with the normal prejudices of neighboring peoples, explains for us the belonging to the so-called "southeastern European spirit," then the eastern Christian culture also is established as an integral part of the "Romanian spirit," fully cristalized even from early medieval period. As P. P. Panaitescu wrote in a reference work, "Orthodoxy was not only a theological doctrine, but also the sign of a cultural unity linked with eastern feudalism." In addition, "in both directions," "Romanian spirit" being a condition of "Romanian Orthodox Christian spirituality" is the subject of these documentary studies written by a clergyman who is up to date with the latest discoveries made in the area of literary history or in that of Romanian humanism. The contributions, I would say the chapters, made by the clerical institutions under the historical conditions to preserving the unity of the nation as well as to the creation of our literary language up to its becoming a "hieratic and state" language, as Eminescu already had observed (in 1881), are analyzed intelligently and with the pathos of the man of great culture, behind whom we find the "model" of Gala Galaction, the scholar-priest. It is not an accident that successive translations of "The Bible" are enoying particular attention, with their occupying a large section of the book. Nicolae Milescu Spatarul's interpretation of the Old Testament, "The Bible from Bucharest" (1688) and, in the end, "The Bible of 1936 and Its Transformations" comprise crucial stages in the superb adventure of the Romanian language. "The Bible of 1936 thus is "the first synthesis of the Romanian language, knit together into a whole able to communicate any movement of thought, poetry and prose, history and philosophy."

That is why the publication of "Concordance" put together by Fr Gh. Rosca and which includes "all the words used by it and the Latin, Slavonic and Greek relationships, from which it is derived" is absolutely necessary, since it is "the most important tool for drawing up a scientific history of the Romanian literary language" (Virgil Candea). The perfectly justified and empassioned plea for a comparative study of existing versions, the reestablishment of the way in which Galaction began and finished the edition which appeared in 1936, the discussions pro and contra regarding the person of those who actually translated the sacred texts are accompanied by subtle interpretations, some of them strengthening and certifying what we asserted in the first volume devoted, in 1976, to "Romanian literature and the southeastern European spirit." For example, Greceni's introduction in the bible of the celebrated treatise entitled "On the Dominant Reason" (translated by the humanist Milescu Spatarul and to which, we recall, its discoverer Virgil Candea devoted valuable research) is due to the "cooperation between the laymen and clergymen in our church of the past, between humanism and Christianity which, far from rejecting each other, often occurred in the western Middle Ages, worked together and freely, leaving open the orientation of everyone toward that which they felt more attracted." "The Teachings of Neagoe Basarab" is reanalyzed under the sign of this cooperation; a careful observation of the ethical ways of the master from Muntenia leads to the conclusion that "humanism was compatible with our Romanian Orthodoxy." More precisely, the Neagoe humanism does not come either from the dictrine of the heretics (I. C. Chitimia) or from the Renaissance (Edgar Papu) but rather from the "Orthodox theology which he knew very well." In other words, it is a question of a "Christian, Orthodox humanism and not from any special virtue of the Orthodoxy of that time but simply because that is what the times demanded then in Romania." Synthesizing the two directions of Orthodox spirituality, contemplative and active, the "Teachings" express through their entire structure the complementary nature of religious-laic; they coexist with the aulic/popular dualism characterizing a good portion of our culture but also the broader southeastern European culture. For the first time the analysis of the religious content of this "Romanian treatise of dogmatics" naturally completes the voluminous critical monograph of "The Teachings." The assimilation, the "Romanianization" of isihaism, for example, is better understood following what we feel is a convincing demonstration that in Neagoe Basarab we discover "an illustrious forerunner to the Cernica direction of Romanian spirituality, a realistic, balanced spirituality operating according to the mental-physical reality of the human person and according to the reality of man's condition as a citizen of the earth and heaven at the same time, with double functions and duties." "The balance between the two fortresses, in their Augustinian meaning, as we saw in the Cernica spirituality, we also found on the church walls," where the sacred images adjoin those representing the princes, donors or even painters, once again sensitizing the basic dualism between heavenly and earthly, hieratic and dynamic, which another time we put into relationship with the dualism which, we feel, also characterizes the Byzantine cultural model. No matter what, the understanding of the concept of Christian humanism in the above way--which is another axis of the present book--has reference value for the virtual synthesis devoted to Romanian and southeastern European humanism. The contribution which deserves to be taken up again in a separate study is all the more deserving, since it is worked out from the angle of the author's profession, from where we have the specific nature of it in the context of the research of the history of culture written here. For the time being let us remember the conclusion that

reception of Christian culture "could not produce a basic change in the Romanian spirit" (Stefan Barsanescu, just as "this constant of the 'Romanian spirit' is just as present in the clergy's writings" (Antonie Plamadeala). In this regard, the retrospective examination in "Orthodox Clergymen, the Founders of Romanian Language and Culture," comprising another center of gravity for the volume, returns to us the emotional gallery "of the models of Romanian thought and sentiment" from the anonymous transcriber to the prelate scholars who entered their names in absolute premieres, regardless of the fact that they created the first institution of Romanian culture and school, that they printed the first book from the history of our literature or that they accomplished the first attempt to place the history of the Romanians into periods, along with Bishop Chesarie of Ramnicul. That same bishop "finds the literary equivalent for the Slavonic text sung, which insures the final triumph for the Romanian language in church." Oprea, a deacon, uses the concept of the "cartulariu" [translation unknown] (1570) for the scholar, while the term of culture appears in 1785. The entire chapter is a concentrated history of our medieval literature, written with "humbleness but also with the assuredness of the person long familiar with the texts of "The [Mineei-unknown]" or with the ones signed by the scholars Nicolae Olahul, Varlaam, Dosoftei or Antim Ivireanul. A general view permits a sketching of the dominant characters in the clergy's contribution to old Romanian culture: the awareness of Roman characteristics, the effort to build a unified culture understood from the beginning as a "culture for everyone," the Cernica-type rationalism, the constant plea for autonomy and national independence, also carried out by the 1885 recognition of the autocephalous nature of the Romanian Orthodox Church as well as by raising it to the rank of a patriarchate in 1925. The paragraphs in this gallery are retaken and extended to the dimensions of portraits which exceed the strictly commemorative level. That is how the one is dedicated to the Transylvanian"Andrei Saguna, Leader of Men and Guider of the Times," or calling up Gheorghe Lazar, "doctor in theology and law," with rhetorical inflection. The main information from our history is recalled, linked with such and such a personality whose "Romanian feeling" continually is stressed. "Gheorghe Sincai and the Controversial Problems of the History of the Romanians" or "Gheorghe Asachi, Moldavian Founder of Romanian Culture" share the era which brings in "The Year of Wisdom: 1859."

Whereas most of the studies and articles have as their subject the medieval culture and events of the last century, in the second section of the book we meet memorable contributions, with unique value, to a more shaded understanding of certain episodes--some really tragic--from the history of modern Romania. Under the banner of "scripta manent," the author, aided by the archives, reestablishes the terrible film of the attempts "to denationalize the Romanians from northern Transylvania through the church (1940-1944)." Thus, "An Important Episode in the Struggle for the Romanian Language" uncovers the activity of the incredible "Central Association for Magyarization of Names," which even in 1898 had published the brochure entitled "How Should We Magyarize the Last Names?"--a book denounced by world public opinion through its recent republication in Milan (1977); also, the Horthyist plan to "establish a Hungarian Orthodox Episcopate" is related, which would have led to removing the Romanian language from church. Another sequence, also remarkable, is reserved for the role played by the clergy in the war of 1877 ("The Romanian Orthodox Church and the War for Independence). Last but not least, I should also mention the return of certain "Moments and

Documents From the Year of Joy: 1918": "Alba Iulia, despite everything it was and meant on 1 December 1918, entered and remains in the rhythm of Romanian life as a heartbeat inherited from parents to children and remains a living spoke for the nation, the memory of history and the duty to keep the nation in unity and liberty." Oracle-like closing words, poem-like, summing up the tone and content of ideas for the entire volume signed by Dr Antonie Plamadeala.

8071
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WRITERS UNION CONFERENCE REVIEWED BY EMIGRE WRITER

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 16 Feb 82 pp 7-8

[Article by Ion Caraion]

[Text] Which are the books bearing the signature of this "someone named Dascalescu, an obscure writer but a member of the RCP CC Executive Committee," who, at the Writers Union Conference last summer (as told by Nicolette Franck in the interview you gave her for LA LIBRE BELGIQUE), "took from his pocket a list bearing the name of a president" other than the one actually elected?

Obscure, yes, but a somebody, this Dascalescu, about whom Mrs Nicolette Franck came out and about whom you now ask me, bewildered. But a writer, no. Not notorious, not obscure. Neither way. Or at least,not up to the time I left. Yet (why should I delay in relating it?), the time has not passed. If he receives a task from the party, of course, he, too, will be a writer. For instance, he succeeds to the presidency of the Union of Writers, of Dumitru Radu Popescu, without being elected; no surprise, just as DRP succeeded--also without being elected, but merely coopted, so it also was without a minimum number of votes, which is required according to the statutes, or George Macovescu.

Romanian officialdom and the Romanian Communist Party, as the whole world knows, in the end, when it is a matter of making decisions and issuing ukases, to the shame of the security, army, government, Grand National Assembly and even of the Central Committee, actually nonexistent, has been reduced to will, culture, indigestion, intelligence and a way of articulating and regurgitating what the presidential couple says. Or, at least, until recently that is how things were and now they are starting to move. The play is being organized and the directors are not refusing their contribution. I think the premiere is coming. The pair at the top of the communist pyramid never knew and does not know what a writer is or what it is to be one. Since someone else draws up the scientific and literary productions for each of the two, while merely the results brought to them for their signature, they are very convinced that the entire story and drama of creation in this sector are reduced to a simple cunning: to have the power, of course, the political power, from the balconies of which you order that the necessary slaves, happy and many, be found for you and you force them to write.

When, at the height of his indignation, Eugen Jebeleanu went to the RCP first secretary for the plagiarisms several years ago of one of the member of the

CC for literature (because all the books signed by Eugen Barbu are plagiarized, not just "Incognito," and he told the first secretary that there was a violator of common law, he asked, completely innocently:

"Good, good, but what actually did he do?"

"He plagiarized!" fumed the author of "Inimile sub Sabii."

The dictator on the Dimbovita did not understand: "That is?"

"That is,he stole someone else's writing, sir! And he took those hundreds of thousands of lei. He's a thief!"

Faced with the fakery, not a move. And he even did not get angry that he had called him sir. Absolutely not one move. A little jaundice, hate, at the most. And only then, perplexed, did Eugen Jebeleanu see the truth: that that stuttering little man before him, with so many claims and so much arrogance, about whom by chance he had written in his youth several warm words, had become wicked from all the good living and had no idea what plagiarism was. That he, for whom various and sundry flunkey underlings manufactured for him the daily, bombastic, boring and never-ending babblings, thought that is normal for you to be cunning. And the president is cunning. He along with Eugen Barbu and several other...writers.

If one has reached power, who is not able to become or feel that he has become a writer in Romania? From A. Toma to N. Ceausescu and Eugen Barbu, anybody. A flock of examples and two flocks of books. You liquidate the life of a great chemist, academician and illustrious professor, you steal his works and, for example, you become a scholar. You say "Codoi" instead of CO_2 and the earth shakes. But the climax is that such things are not taking place in the fantasy of a fairytale writer. The anecdote and fable long ago were exceeded.

On the morning of 1 July 1981, when the par ticipants in the Union of Writers Conference were awaiting the Head of State to open the meetings, while herds and herds of workers and office functionaries had been taken by force from the factories and offices and were battling to greet him, squealing with slogans of praise on which they had worked weeks and months ahead of time, I found out that the little man who waves his hands and utters words--angry with us--would no longer be honoring us with his presence and that he had left somewhere for the field, accompanied by his entourage and his regular tapes to hold forth with the cows and view the grass. And in his place he did not send Ilie Verdet,but Dascalescu , truly a member of the RCP CC, with a letter of threats and warnings, a kind of salad of swear words given publicity, with only partial changes, in the press in the coming days. For Dascalescu to read us the letter from the indisposed Leader, the "Ruin Everything and Confuse the World" person who for the first time since he has been at the top, since the Writers Union has existed and since the union has held its conference every four years was to throw into its work with the stones of indifference and defiance and was no longer going to, oh, grace us with the honor of receiving directives from him, the RCP secretary general himself. For those who were in prison in Aiud and remember him, Dascalescu reminds you of that jail commander, a colonel named Craciun. Ongoing events will tell what this Craciun is doing now. So the emissary of

the little man who is abusing his role as Romanian head of state, thus, the reader of the letter, thus Dascalescu, sylabbified however he could--looking at us bitterly--the presidential "message," in which we were threatened and scolded like some presumptive evil-doers. He stopped at each of the more provocative formulas, probably waiting for acclamation,enthusiasm, the false socialist theater. But, on the contrary, the chairs were squeaking, there was fidgeting, loud talking, some got up and left; at times, he asked for quiet and when he finished his red sermon, there was silence. That silence froze many people. It had never happened before. But they had reached the limit of their patience.

Just a day before, on the eve of the ill-fated opening of the conference, on 30 June, Dumitru Popescu--he, too, one of the high emissaries of the CC--who always zealously expressed the opinion of the current African-type dictator, that is, the high (as it is said) evaluation of Ceausescu, had spoken of the stables of the Union of Writers. Public opinion does not know, but it should. And C. Toiu, a novelist, drew his attention to the fact that he would be better off to dwell on the stables of the weekly SAPTAMINA. In short and as recognition for the attachment shown the party in three and one-half decades of defiling their consciences, the writers finally were clear, with the curtain going up on the eve of their professional conference,about what value the party higher-ups placed on them: they were considered quadrupeds. No more. Because Dumitru Popescu was not speaking only in his own name but in the name of the one who had sent him. And as additional proof of how it was, his sulking senior did not even deign to see us the next day so that he wouldn't get the smell. But he still did. As never before, in nearly all the three days that the work lasted,thousands of truths were told there (the usual two-three exceptions: Poppiliu Marcea, Iulian Neacsu, Mihai Davidoglu--were like some simple wrecks and moral failures and not men and not even remainders of men) in a language anyone would understand, regarding the entire disaster of culture, politics, economy, education and the future being prepared for the Romanian people and youth. A unanimous courage animated most of those who spoke and the signal of the alarm sirens roared continually for nearly three days. At the end, some conclusions were drawn which had nothing in common with what had taken place there and had been delivered under the cupola of the small hall of the palace which, I am not exaggerating, had lived through a small historic moment more burning than the month of July. However, everything had closed hermetically so that not a word would be heard outside, under a giant glass bell. And almost nothing was heard. But in a dull, cowardly, clumsy, banal and hard-to-read speech by Ilie Radulescu, we found out, perplexed, that we ("we": not he or they!) agree with the directives in the letter-swear words of Ceausescu. It had not even been a question of anything like that. Nobody had even mentioned it. The vote followed. An entire night. Under the gross and pressing vigilance of the police, who investigated and inspected the results unfairly. That night, when they had found that their people were not winning, for example, Dumitru Radu Popescu, whose election they supported tenaciously, this kind of sentence was heard: "Comrade DRP must have 230 votes!" or "See, 14 axe handles did not vote!" They knew by exact count, anticipating, how many votes so and so had to have and the number of those who had pledged that they would sell their vote had been counted. However, 14 still did not keep their word. It even happened among the brigands. These words were delivered by the massive delegates of party control,

that is, the security men placed there to obtain a result which they could not obtain, by using force, whether they wanted to or not. Dumitru Radu Popescu, although votes were also given to him from the pockets, was coopted, not elected.

As never before in the past, the composition of the Bureau of the Union of Writers, the name of the president and the vice presidents who--in the socialist expression--"enter into the listing of the Central Committee," that is, they do not owe their particular quality to the fact that they were elected by their colleagues but are appointed obligatorily by the head of state (not to keep getting mixed up with words) who is generous; so the composition of the bureau, the name of the president and the vice presidents, were given to us some days later in couformity with the wish of the head of state, whom you know and whose preferences you know, to whom you know were directed, thus making this guilt happy, too.

As I said, several days later, those from the council of the Union of Writers, the only ones really elected by secret vote, some with a considerable quantity of support (as far as I was concerned, it seems I was 12th in number of votes, but this had no importance; we mean nothing in the eyes of power, nothing more than, at most, a form of hostility which had to be crushed quickly), we were convened in a building full of security officers dressed in civilian clothes, to intimidate us, a building right near the Central Committee, where the team of death and horror appeared very unpunctually, following a calculated delay of more than two hours, while we were looking at just those nice prince charmings who would have nibbled on us. That is, the death and horror prepared for us: Suzana Gadea, Ilie Radulescu and, yes, Dasculescu!

But, with a lack of ideal manners, very rudely, troubled eyes, stopping anyone who dared to put together several well-intended words and to prevent the imprudence of using blind methods of force, like fascists. On behalf of the presidential couple, among the last of the faithful, Dascalescu told us, in a police-like and threatening way, who we have as president and who we are in for in the bureau. Period.

Several vainly tried--each in his own way, like Geo Bogza, Dan Desliu, Dan Haulica, N. Manolescu and Ileana Malancioiu--to bring back the atmosphere which had existed very recently during the conference, the risk of carelessly going above everything said there and the legitimate thirst of more than 500 writers, guild delegates, to see in the bureau at least a portion of the first ones they had elected, but the procedure was by putting fist to the throat: Sit down! That's enough! We won't talk! And so forth. With the security at the doors, in the hallways, even among us. Very democratic and free.

The majority of the Union of Writers Bureau was comprised of writers with very few votes (for example, Constantin Chirita, Nichita Stanescu, Petre Salcudeanu and so forth), however agreeable to the party for services rendered.

When the funeral ceremony was over, everyone going his own way, the nearly 100 writers invited to that requiem service felt almost freed in the rain outside, since it was a rainy day like the lead in our souls, without having to see

among us those rough faces of the "comrades" from that building, the comrades from the party control but not also conscience control.

Shortly afterward , Dumitru Popescu and Ilie Radulescu were rotated, because their play had not succeeded and there were other cues. The conference of the Union of Writers, instead of coming out a socialist piece of cake like so many times in the past, had meant a warning.

8071
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NEED FOR ORDER, DISCIPLINE IN ALL FIELDS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 2, 20 Jan 82 pp 17-19

/Article by Cristian Ionescu: "Insistence Upon Order and Discipline in All Activities"/

/Text/ As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The party organs and organizations must make every effort toward complete application and observance of both the party's decisions and the state's laws as the basis of our entire activity. This primarily requires well-organized knowledge and understanding of the decisions and laws."

Romania's socioeconomic progress as well as further consolidation and development of socialist democracy, including intensified workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration, heavily depend upon institutionalized and improved methods for the entire people's participation in management of all activities, upon the efficient operation of those methods and those for organizing and managing socioeconomic activity and the political-legal superstructure, and upon firm reinforcement of social order and discipline. Securing discipline and order in all activities as well as consistent observance and enforcement of the laws and the standards of coexistence as basic requirements of social existence are primary civic duties in the system of human and society-state-citizen relations, and the harmonious progress of Romania's socialist society depends upon their exemplary fulfillment. And as we know the laws of the Romanian state are observed and enforced according to their letter and spirit out of a free conviction of the workers that directly follows from their position in regard to the production means, the purpose of production, and the legal provisions.

Within this legal framework the workers are closely associated in the production process and that of producing material values in a vast ramification of social relationships and interests. They have definite rights and obligations vis-a-vis each other and all of them vis-a-vis the state and society, while they participate in and contribute to Romania's all-around progress by performing their jobs.

In keeping with the party's and state's constant efforts on behalf of good organization and performance of economic activity, the recently ratified laws on organization and management of the socialist state units and improvement of the workers councils activity, as well as the State Council's decree setting definite legal standards to strengthen order and discipline in every economic unit, form a legal framework essential to better management and further development of the entire people's property.

The measures to establish complete order and consistent discipline uniformly regulate the responsibilities and duties of personnel in the state socialist units in order to ensure the uninterrupted operation of the installations and equipment in their inventories with complete technological safety.

It is clear that every economic unit's technical equipment belongs to society as a whole as part of the national wealth and public property, so that endangering, destroying or failing to use it most effectively will impair the whole national economy and the collective property of society. As its owners and managers the workers are directly responsible for the proper operation of the installations, equipment and every machine with which they produce material goods from which they themselves ultimately benefit.

Every worker must manage the technical equipment in his unit properly and most effectively because the economic tasks must be performed regularly and punctually, and any interference with the completely secure operation of the installations must be scrupulously prevented or eliminated. Fulfillment of this obligation depends upon the workers' greater responsibility for the direct and effective management of every enterprise or unit, upon strengthened order and discipline on every job, and upon their natural duty to take a direct interest in the efficiency of their unit.

As Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The problem of order and discipline and of job responsibility is to be one of the regular daily concerns of the workers councils, the trade unions and the UTC /Union of Communist Youth/ of course as mass political organizations, and the party as a leading political force in every unit and throughout the country that bears the responsibility for the efficiency of the whole activity."

This urgently requires a greater sense of responsibility on the part of every citizen toward his obligations on the job and for strengthening order and discipline in every unit. By its very aims and nature the new order is incompatible with disorder, anarchy, or irresponibility in the management and administration of material wealth and with violations of the laws of the socialist state.

Any modern society and especially the socialist state creates a system of social standards to ensure its efficient operation. As we know the Uniform National Plan for Romania's Socioeconomic Development has been discussed and enacted by the Grand National Assembly. Therefore it is implemented by every workers collective in close connection with their observance and performance of the units' tasks flowing from the economic plans. But fulfillment of the tasks depends upon precise application of the laws and decisions enacted for efficient production and upon observance of the contracts which, as we know, have the force of regulatory enactments in relations among units.

The good results obtained last year were due to the workers' creative efforts as well as the political-educational and organizational work done by the party organs and organizations on behalf of the socioeconomic objectives and their effort to enforce the party and state decisions and to apply the laws of the land. From this standpoint, proper preparation of production organization from the start of the year, prompt performance of the tasks, and establishing order and discipline in economic activity are the main essentials for accomplishing the objectives of the party program.

Our party and state attach particular importance to improvement of social relations and legislation and to basing the entire Romanian socialist social order upon laws in keeping with the new realities and demands of progress.

Socialist order and discipline, the fundamental obligation to observe the party decisions and laws of the land as possessions of the entire people and components of the nation's moral wealth, heavily depend upon daily civic manifestation and assertion of the workers' socialist awareness and upon firm opposition to any tendencies to disregard the legal provisions or evade regulations and to any forms of subjectivism in interpretation and application of the laws.

Strengthened order and discipline on every job and elimination of any violations of the legal provisions require a firm stand and stronger collective opinion against any antisocial acts. It is well known that tolerance of one violation invites others, which in turn impair the normal climate of economic activity. Lack of a firm worker reaction gives free rein to further indiscipline, with direct effects upon the planned tasks and even upon social activity as a whole.

It is any citizen's civic duty not to shirk the responsibilities assigned him by laws and other regulatory enactments or state and party discipline on the job and not to violate the standards of conduct in society and in all social experience. But experience tells us that some citizens disregard the laws, violate their provisions for effective socioeconomic activity, and do not always observe the strict, precise standards governing rules for proper operation and use of technological installations, machines and equipment or, in general, the system of order and discipline in their units. Meanwhile there is not always firm control over the standards of technology, labor safety etc., and it is not perfected by specific measures to eliminate the defects. Unfortunately some units still keep up an inadequate practice of compiling mere records of passive findings of the defects and failures without proceeding to firm, definite measures to eliminate them (and some of them are serious) or to sanction the guilty parties. Indulgence of defects and legal violations is intolerable and incompatible with the sense of responsibility that should characterize every worker's activity. Any violation must be sanctioned promptly in order to remove any possibility of "perpetuating" it. Some economic units tend to apply administrative sanctions (quite justified of course) only to violations like delays in the work schedule, "shortening" it on "one's own initiative" although the installations, machines or equipment are in "full" operation, unexcused absences, and absences without leave for personal business, while they overlook violations of the rules and standards governing labor safety and the use and performance of installations that are very hazardous in operation unless they result in accidents, although such breaches of discipline are far more serious and may be followed by fires, destruction of machines and equipment, etc. Ignorance of the legal provisions in force or even of technological standards is invoked in many such situations. Breaches of discipline and disregard of elementary rules of conduct cannot be excused by these "explanations." Laxity of some managers and team or unit leaders in occupational training and instruction of personnel and the bureaucracy and routine embedded in the activity of some productive sections in economic units greatly contribute to the preservation of a "lukewarm" atmosphere of minor mutual "compensations" for "departures" from the standards of discipline which are actually violations of strict rules and elementary obligations.

Breaches of the economic contracts (interfering with effective application of the economic-financial mechanism and self-administration) are often due to defects detected "at the last minute" by the producer or beneficiary in installations, engines, machines and equipment in the installation stage etc. Such defects, which disrupt the work of other productive units, are not due to the workers' lack of training or technical competence, which are weaknesses that can be remedied by better specialized training, but to violation and disregard of the standards of technological discipline and inadequate specialized control throughout the manufacturing process or flow.

Certainly the explanations of some technicians and even some members of the party and youth organs and organizations like "We have taken steps in these directions, but...," "We have discussed it with our comrades in the general assemblies and they promised ...," "We have made some progress, but there are still some long-standing violations of labor discipline," etc. indicate how harmful the irresponsibility is of those entrusted with management and implementation of the production processes, with revolutionary education, and with formation of the working consciousness of the workers and especially the youngest ones. The shortcomings are also aggravated by indifference to control of technological order and discipline in production and of all workers' performance, failure to notify the higher organs promptly, and delay in taking firm measures to eliminate the breaches of discipline or any violations.

Such violations are not "foreign" to the quality of the political-ideological and educational work done by some collectives and party, youth or trade-union organs and organizations or the low level of individual political work. The weakened militance and sense of responsibility and the breaches of discipline of some workers, including some managers, misinforming the party organs, submitting false economic reports, and concealment of errors and violations of the laws and ethical standards are direct results of serious defects in ideological and political-educational work. Quantitative "reporting" of some political-ideological actions, many of them routine and superficial, shows that no attention was paid to matters of content or the militant spirit. The tendency to conceal defects in analyses, reports and surveys gives rise to further violations because they do not get beyond the stage of bureaucratic recording and are not followed up by firm and strict measures to put a stop to the breaches of discipline and legal violations. As some examples show, a number of laws vital to all socioeconomic activity are not enforced because they are often "forgotten" in various forms of occupational or political-ideological training, despite widespread discussion of them in the press and in workers collectives, and replaced by detailed instructions and orders some of which even depart from the legal standards. Some economic laws or decisions are formally discussed with special emphasis on the provisions concerning settlement of property disputes without covering the correct application of the regulatory enactments to prevent such lawsuits.

Legal propaganda work in some economic units is still inadequate and done by outmoded standards in conflict with the current requirements, although a party decision assigns specific tasks for proper publicizing of legislation. The activity of the jurists in economic units, institutions etc. is often underrated and confined to consultations as "house lawyers" after some enactment or administrative provisions of minor importance have been approved. But jurists and personnel with specialized legal training in general should be further involved in management, organization and control of economic-financial activity and in making and applying any decisions, because the latter also have a legal content and direct consequences with material implications that concern every unit.

The party organs and organizations have an important and even critical part to play in the enforcement of laws, order and discipline. They are expected to take all measures to initiate definite and firm actions to publicize the laws, to control their application, and to eliminate and prevent any difficulties that prevent some units from fulfilling their assumed tasks.

As we know, the greatest possible progress critically depends upon the effort to establish an atmosphere of complete order and strict observance of the norms of socialist coexistence, upon the high standards and aggressiveness with which every party

organization should combat shortcomings and defects, and upon intolerance of breaches of discipline, incompetence, indifference and all that obstructs the progress of any workers collective. As Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu said about this, there can be no tolerance of indifference and irresponsibility on the job, or indulgence toward those who impair the economy, public property and the interests of the Romanian people. In playing a decisive part in organization and management of every unit's socioeconomic activity, the party organizations have a heavy responsibility to the people for the good management, conservation and development of public property and for the further growth of the nation's wealth, which is the source of all workers' welfare.

Violations of technological and labor discipline will be firmly sanctioned by the party organizations according to the seriousness of the social danger of the violations committed. They will see that the sanctions applied to those guilty of disregarding the legislation are drastic but fully justified and right. An effective political-educational and organizational activity is one which enhances the atmosphere of order and discipline and fosters and maintains the Romanian people's sense of justice and their resolve to eliminate any disruptions of labor discipline or the social order.

Of course social control of strengthened discipline and order in every unit is not confined to preventive measures or to sanctioning the offenders as the case may be but also requires firm and intensive action and the opinion of the workers collectives and every worker.

Being fully integrated in the state's effort to enhance the national wealth and the entire people's welfare, every worker from the laborer and craftsman up to the director is bound by the new regulations to take personal responsibility for observance of order and discipline at work and the standards of socialist ethics and justice and to make every effort to secure a climate of order and labor discipline in performing his tasks on behalf of the efficiency of the production process.

Every worker's civic duty to observe the standards of social coexistence and the laws must be reinforced by more exacting standards on the part of the party organs and organizations and a firm stand against those who violate the laws, order and discipline and take a superficial and irresponsible attitude toward their work. The revolutionary spirit that should characterize the whole effort to carry out the state's laws and to enforce technological discipline and standards on every job requires the party organs and organizations to keep improving their working methods and approach, to strengthen their role in production management, and to disseminate intensive and lively political-ideological propaganda related to experience and the requirements and actual realities of every job. To this end educational programs must be organized to explain the nature and significance of the standards of coexistence and to ensure comprehension and firm application of the laws by every citizen as a freely accepted personal habit.

Comprehension of the nature and broad social purposes of the new regulatory enactments, which set new standards and obligations of great civic significance for strengthened order and discipline in all activities, and their resolute application help to improve and enhance the effectiveness of the democratic instruments for organization and management of socioeconomic activity and contribute to the nation's general progress.

In harmoniously combining selfless dedication to the cause of socialism, consistent and enthusiastic application of the party policy and observance of the laws, professional competence, excellent political-ideological training, receptiveness to the new, a militant attitude and intolerance of shortcomings, legal violations and routine, the communists and personnel in all fields combine the characteristics of the revolutionary political activist. Clearly a thorough mastery of the revolutionary ideals and cultivation of the sense of duty to the nation and unfailing respect for the laws of the socialist state are essential to further the great undertaking of attaining the goals set by the 12th RCP Congress.

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IMPACT OF RISING LIVING COSTS ON FAMILY BUDGETS ILLUSTRATED

Two Railroaders

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 206, 16 Jan 82 pp 28-29

[Article by Rajko Djurdjevic: "To Have Or Have Not"]

> [Text] When we cannot do what we want, then we have to do what we can. From one January to the next, household food products became 37 percent more expensive.

Prices are in fact frozen--but they are moving now like glaciers!

Subsidies have been discontinued and new price increases have appeared. Retail prices have been increased for milk, bread, oil and poultry, until now the cheapest groceries.

At the Belgrade Toll Market, that showcase of the most widespread standard of living, everything is expensive and in short supply. The season has emptied the counters, and the New Year holidays have also emptied pockets and shops. What really is there to buy?

One old man says, "I go through the market, hunting and aiming [to buy things], haggling, but it's all the same. Enormously expensive."

In front of the Ptuj PPK [farm and food processing enterprise], a group of citizens are patiently waiting for poultry. It has become more expensive, but it is still the cheapest, they say. The problem is that there is not enough of it. The manager of the shop, Momo Brankovic, received only 400 kilograms of poultry for this day. He says that there is no more, it has been sold. The line reluctantly disperses, with some people loudly speculating that he had left a good part of it in the freezer "for his friends," protesting, threatening an inspection, wanting to form a delegation to search the shop....

Down the street, at the bottom of the market in front of the Slavija BIM [Belgrade Meatpacking Plant] butcher shop, which sells ungraded meat, "bony meat," the people who are waiting are even more energetic. The line in front of this shop formed early this morning, they say. The meat here is the

cheapest. They sell tripes, cow and pig feet, lungs, hearts, "lamb parts," giblets....

One young woman goes past the people who are waiting and with a rather pleasant voice asks the salesman for "something for her cat." The old housewives protest sharply. "What do you think we are waiting for here?" they ask. "What do you mean, cats, I need it for my children!" Instead of sharp words, the young woman only directs a scornful glance at them and goes away.

Time For Oxtails

A middle-aged man approaches the salesman and buys a half kilogram of bones. "A little for the soup and some just to flavor the stuffed leaves." The salesman asks him what else he wants, and he says, "Give me what you have."

I ask the man whether he always buys meat here. "Of course," he says, "the tomcats and retirees get fed here. This is the time for oxtails!"

The woman right next to him says that her name is Milica Ivanovic and that she lives on Cucuk Stanina St. She complains that her pension is 4,500 new dinars and that she does not know how to make ends meet. "I worked my whole life in a mill," she says, "I used to get up at 0300, and now I'm doing exactly the same thing; I get up at 0300 in order to wait for bony meat."

"What are you complaining about?" says the next one in line, an older woman. Her name is Darinka Volosinko. "I live on 2,200 dinars in social assistance. Half of that goes for the apartment and electricity."

"My God, how do you live?" one of the people in the line wonders.

"This is how: I cook soup and stretch it out," Darinka says smiling.

A woman only 40 years old buys a half kilogram of hearts. "You retirees complain, bit it's no better for us workers with working families," she says. "My husband is a fitter in Novi Dom. He earns 7,000 dinars a month. We pay 4,000 of that for a room in Mirijevo. What is left for food does not even last 10 days."

"Of course, you spent money on the New Year?" I ask. "What New Year! Where are we going to celebrate it? My husband and I and a 15-year-old daughter live in the same room."

Thus time flies, the line disperses, and there is less and less bony meat. Obviously there will not be enough of it for everyone. More and more often, half-empty baskets are being carried out of the market. Times have changed.

The Two Faces of One Sentence

The experts have meticulously made new calculations: from last January until this one, food products, the ones that we most often bring into our houses, have become 37 percent more expensive. In just the last month, nine products,

from eggs to salt, lost subsidies from sociopolitical communities. The non-food products most needed by households have become 15.7 percent more expensive in the course of the last year. Lent has already gone by.

Now the cancelled subsidies for milk, bread, oil and poultry will raise the growth in living costs from six to seven percent. How should we protect our standard of living, the difficulties of which are not temporary? The subsidies were unpopular with economists, but they had a role to play. They were a help with the "euphoria" of prices threatened the standard of living.

The experts accused the subsidies of "unselectivity, bringing about an increase in consumption," and finally, of "not solving the right problems." Now it is even worse; however, the subsidies are gone and the price increases have remained. There are, furthermore, no clear programs yet. No one is asking the workers for their proposals, although they alone are setting aside funds for the subsidies and for all of the other measures.

An increase in prices will also require an increase in personal incomes. A trade union will again be in the position of doing an excellent job of protecting the workers with the lowest salaries instead of supporting division according to labor, the principles of which have in any case already been shaken.

Assistance will be received by the people for whom it is hardest to make ends meet. Socially endangered people will receive it, and retirees will receive somewhat more. The ones in the most difficult position, however, will be the skilled workers with salaries only a little above those that qualify for social protection. And they are the ones who are responsible for production in the creation of income.

How do they live and how should they be assisted?

An impression of buying power from the marketplace can be deceptive. These are the days after the New Year holidays, when the pockets of even the most thrifty people have been imperceptibly emptied. For this reason we wanted to see how a typical family lives. What is there for it to eat every day? How do railroad workers, mailmen, and factory workers live?

In New Belgrade, just across the old bridge, I looked for the railroad settlement. I thus met and became acquainted with Miodrag Pantovic, a driver. "I'll tell you the same thing as the railroad workers," he says. "We are in the same fix."

Only Clothes Can Be Mended

Pantovic, together with his fellow driver Slobodan Krusic, rented a three-room apartment at 15 Radnicka Street, in Dobanovci. Each of them has a wife and two children. He says that they divided it into a room and a half apiece and half a bathroom apiece. They live together, so to speak. They have similar salaries. They earn from 8,000 to 9,000 new dinars per month. Pantovic, however, has a great advantage over his colleague and fellow tenant, since his wife Vukosava is employed. She works in the Sava-Center as a cleaning

woman and receives 4,760 dinars a month. When they are refused credit, they are left with what they have.

"Here's how we live," Pantovic says. "Be ashamed and be silent. My wife and I pay 3,000 dinars for our part of the apartment. This is a serious problem. We beg the enterprises to let us work on different shifts, so that one person will always be watching the children to keep them from making an uproar and angering the landlord. Apartments are the biggest problem. I have been working for the same firm for 15 years, and I do not even think about the possibility of receiving an apartment. To tell the truth, my children are already bigger; one daughter is 12 years old and the other is 15. No one would take you with small children; I know some colleagues of mine who are having a lot of trouble."

The Pantovic family's apartment at 15 Radnicka in Dobanovici is modestly furnished. Their wives say that it is more important to feed the children. Everything is expensive. They say that every dinar is spent strictly according to the budget.

"It cannot be done, however," says Miodrag's wife, Vukosava. "The children are already growing up."

The mother was happiest when she could cover them with one blanket. Now she can no longer do so. They have grown bigger and they need clothes. Half a million has to be set aside just for books in one school year.

The schools are always asking for something new, the Pantovic family says. They complain--what should they buy for the children first? Just the tennis shoes for gym class cost 650 dinars.

"As for the clothes, let them be expensive," Miodrag says. "It is not a disgrace if a person wears patched clothes; that is all right. But food is a problem. Until recently our children did not have a school kitchen and every morning I have had to give them 50 dinars apiece for breakfast. Where is this supposed to come from? No one asks about that. I neither smoke nor drink. I do not even think about a day off or a vacation. I do not buy a newspaper. Now there are new price increases, and I am losing my orientation a little. We are not starving, but we are barely getting along. And again, at the end of last year the final balance was negative. I owe a million old dinars to my sister from Vrsac. I'm showing a deficit, so to speak, and I don't know when I'm going to break even.

How To Dismiss the Guests

Miodrag Pantovic's job is certainly not easy. He drives 20 kilometers to Belgrade by bus. He says that this is not traveling but suffocation. The [bus] lines have been cut back, and so there is a constant crowd. At the work site, he is on wheels again. When he goes home, it is the same thing. "When I come home," he says, "it seems to me that I have grown wheels on my feet."

The Pantovic family is deleting one item after another from their family budget. They buy what they have to. There is never an end to economizing.

"The situation," Miodrag says, "is enough to make a person think. If you want to work well, you have to eat well; and the budget is thinner and thinner. Think what happens when guests come! Those expenses are already a luxury. We don't see friends anymore, we don't go anywhere, and people do not come to visit us. We sit and go through the calculation. The only way out is for me to go abroad somewhere. The children will grow even more and they will need more. Where are the four of us going to live? In a room and a half? Is that really possible?"

Pantovic says that he hears a great deal about stabilization and economizing. People talk about that at every step. But what is economizing, he wonders? He says that it seems to him like when someone buys some wheat and puts it in a big but the bag is torn, so what is inside gushes out. Some people save and others are extravagant. One cannot save just by wanting to.

Pantovic's colleague and fellow tenant, Slobodan Krusic, does not even want to talk about his situation. He is the only one who works, and he has a wife and two children. Krusic soon calls his colleague Pantovic and tells him "to see some higher mathematics! I calculated that if I only buy one yogurt and a roll for each member of my family for dinner I need 4,350 dinars a month. And when I pay for the apartment, there's not even a broken dinar left!"

"So how do you live?"

Both Miodrag Pantovic and Slobodan Krusic shrug their shoulders. Krusic also adds, "I love from loan to loan. We will see what happens!"

This is how the costs of living appear when measured by the standards of a worker's family. Naturally all workers do not earn the same amount. There are some who earn more, but also others who do not even earn as much. Prices are frozen, but the standard of living is facing serious difficulties.

Input Into Statistical Average

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1214, 9 Feb 82, pp 34-35

[Article by Stevan Zec: "The Pencil Writes For Others"]

[Text] Stojana usually writes her diary at night, when everyone in the house is already asleep. It is an almost ordinary notebook with lined pages. She writes down everything, even the purchases that she, her husband, and her two children have made that day. The list begins with bread and milk. She writes down the type of article, the amount, and the price. She does not add them. This is done by other people: the employees and computers of the Serbian Institute for Statistics. When the newspapers say that the costs of living have increased in the last three months by, let us say, 19.6 percent, Stojana

knows that she and her diary are the ones most responsible for the accuracy of the figure that shows what it is like for us on the average and per capita.

This family is average, in the number of members, the size of the apartment, the car that they use, and most important as an indicator, in their income. It has been officially declared to be average because it collaborates every day with the Serbian Institute for Statistics.

They came into this story by their own wish, although the law guarantees them anonymity. We ask them, "Can we write about how you live?" They said, "Why not?" Let us introduce them, then: the Dimitrijevic family from the old Kragujevac settlement of Pivar, No 18 Miodrag Urosevic St.

The head of the family, the father and husband, is Slavoljub, 33 years old, who was trained as a radio and TV mechanic but is working as a qualified electrician for the maintenance OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] of the Crvena Zastava [Red Flag] Institutes. (Slavoljub is the one least to blame for the fact that he studied and learned one thing but is doing something else. We did not establish whether this is also average in Yugoslavia.)

She, a conscientious housewife, has borne and raised two healthy and handsome children; Stojana, a skilled metal miller, is working as a final-product inspector in OOUR One of the Crvena Zastava Institute.

The older child, a boy, is their son Ivan, who is 11 years old, a very good student in the fifth grade of elementary school ("Mother, I got excellent grades all the way through up to this semester"), the best soccer player in the street, and a passionate fan of the Crvena Zvezda [Red Star] team, which he has never seen in the stadium.

It Can Also Be Done For Cash

The younger child, the ornament and darling of the household, is their daughter Ana, 6 carefree years old, who has begun to lose her milk teeth.

Almost everything in the Dimitrijevic family is associated with Zastava as after all is the case with most of the families in Kragujevac; not just because Stojana and Slavoljub both work there and earn their living there, but also because of the pupil, Ivan. "Here the school break is when it suits Zastava. It began before the New Year and lasted until 25 January. Zastava wasn't working then either."

The Dimitrijevices earned everything that they have in the institutes, she with 13 years of service and he with 12. That is where they met and fell in love.

Last December Slavoljub received 12,200 dinars. This was above average for him because he worked a considerable amount of overtime. The same month Stojana brought home 9,650 dinars, as always. Together they received 21,850 dinars on 15 January 1982, which was 2,000-3,000 more than their average the previous year. Actually, these sums were written on the envelopes, and their

net pay was considerably less. They have long-term loans (15 years) for the apartment, and short-term ones for the color television, the refrigerator, an electric oven, and a man's suit from Bek. When it is all added up, it comes to 3,957 dinars a month. The cashier at Zastava took another 964 dinars out of the Dimitrijevices' envelopes for trade union memberships, the municipal water fee, and one percent for Montenegro; Stojana and Slavoljub thus brought home 16,920 dinars on 15 January 1982.

"Can you live on that?" we asked.

Slavoljub, an optimist, half answered and half asked, "Well, what do we need?"

Stojana, the housewife, immediately added, "What do we need? Do you want me to make up a list or should I list them from memory?"

Nevertheless, for the sake of "more constructive reporting," we will start with what the Dimitrijevices do not lack, but rather already have.

With a loan totaling 200,000 dinars at three percent interest for 15 years, they somewhat renovated and expanded the old family house, which was already in bad shape, and thus moved away from slavoljub's parents. Now grandmother Branka and grandfather Radomir are actually their next door neighbors, but as will be seen later in this story, they are very important for the family standard of living of their son and daughter-in-law. With the same loan, they installed central heating in the entire house, with a coal furnace. The part of the house in which the Dimitrijevices live with their children is in fact a two-room apartment with 64 square meters of floor space, i.e., 18 square meters per family member. All of the appliances in the house are electric: the refrigerator, oven, freezer, vacuum cleaner, mixer, and washing machine.... Only the coffeegrinder is an old one, the kind that grinds slowly and well. And since there is not always coffee, it is a good thing that it grinds slowly. All the appliances are of domestic manufacture, which demonstrates the patriotism of the Dimitrijevices, but also shows the origin of the property; it was purchased all at once on credit.

"This month we also bought an appliance for cash," the optimist Slavoljub boasted.

"But say what it is," the housewife Stojana interrupted again. "A household appliance? Right. Bought for cash? Right. But it was a No 10 meat grinder, retail price 214.25 dinars."

"But we also have an automobile; why aren't you telling him about that?" Slavoljub played his last trump.

"We have a car, but neither of us has passed a driving test, neither he nor I. The car has already been mostly sitting in the garage for a year. We only drive it a little when a friend or a relative comes. You know, driving schools are expensive, and then the medical certifications, and the fee for every time you take the test...."

(We heard from the municipal police in Kragujevac that the driving test is taken an average of five times.)

"But what a car," their son Ivan exclaimed. "It's not just a car, it's a beauty. A Polish Fiat 126. Besides, it was a present from grandfather."

"Go to your room, son, and study for school," Slavoljub said calmly.

"It really is. We installed heating in the entire house," Stojana said, "and my father-in-law repaid us by buying us that car."

The Stomach Is the First Concern

A plum dessert with walnuts inside was served as soon as we came in the door. This was a home, and at the Dimitrijevices' something has to be on the table when guests come.

"Domestic plum brandy? Beer? Wine, white or red?" our host offered, just as if we were in a cafe.

The largest item in the family budget is food. We looked over the household diary that will go to the Institute for Statistics in a few days for proces processing. As we all know, January is the "longest" month in the year.

"In January, there are a fair number of holidays, and we had a birthday, which means that you have to buy a present, and at the same time there were seasonal sales that you cannot resist," Stojana says.

We flipped through the diary. It had been kept since 3 January. The last transaction was recorded on 26 January. In those 24 days the Dimitrijevic family spent a total of 14,543.45 dinars. A rough analysis is as follows: 7,917.90 dinars for food, 769 for cigarettes (both of them smoke), 443.30 for toilet articles, 3,135 for clothes and textiles, 1,240 for cultural necessities, 500 for a birthday present, and 144 dinars for the lotto payment and the purchase of lottery tickets. Also, 180 dinars were paid for the water they used. Electricity consumption is not in the diary. It is paid for on the last day of the month. The Dimitrijevices have a two-rate meter, but as they say themselves, they do not keep a strict account of when electricity is cheap and when it is more expensive. There are months when they even pay 800 dinars.

When the food that they bought is broken down, [it turns out that] the most money was left at the butcher shop: 3,206.90 dinars. Both meat with bones and boneless meat was bought, for the most part pork. One of the children likes bologna sausage and hot dogs, and the other likes meat pastries and liver. Also bought was tea sausage, along with pork lard and five kilograms of raw bacon.

"There is a freezer where I mostly keep fresh frozen fruits and vegetables. There are also several kilograms of cutlets, just in case. I also have plenty of winter stores and various pickled foods, thanks to my mother-in-law, and

"also a large cask full of sauerkraut," Stojana listed. "We really don't economize on food at all. To tell you the truth, I am trying to keep to some sort of diet, but I don't have much willpower."

They pent 443 dinars on toilet articles, buying a 3-kilogram bag of detergent, three bars of soap, two toothbrushes, 11 packages of toilet paper, four bottles of shampoo, and hair spray.

"Slavoljub shaves himself, and I do not go to the hairdresser except for haircuts," Stojana says.

The dimitrijevices spent 1,240 dinars on cultural necessities but only went to the movies once in January 1982. The largest part of this item was a new TV antenna costing 1,040 dinars; they say themselves that television is the most important if not the only "culture" in the house. They rarely buy the daily newspapers, but they regularly read weeklies.

"We only went to a cafe once," Slavoljub added.

"Here is what it says in the diary," Stojana said. "On 13 January we went to a cafe and spent 60 dinars on drinks. We buy one whole lottery ticket each and pay for the whole lotto ticket every week. Maybe we'll get a prize tomorrow...."

"Not tomorrow, it's Saturday," Slavoljub says. "We might get a prize only on Tuesday, from the lotto, or on Thursday, from the lottery ticket."

The door opened and Slavoljub's mother Branka came in.

"This is our lottery ticket," her daughter-in-law Stojana said sincerely. "If she didn't watch our children, I don't know where we would find the money for the nursery school."

Grandmother Branka, the certified babysitting service, only smiled. She did not want to boast, but she knitted all of the children's sweaters herself. Grandfather Radomir bought Ivan a real leather soccer ball, and he bought Ana a large doll that can sleep.

The optimistic Slavoljub boasted, "Ivan also got Elan skiis for the New Year, the kind that Stenmark and Krizaj use."

"Except that there's no snow," the mother said.

The Savings Book Still Exists

When the computer printed out data after the census last March on the Dimitrijevic family, as one of the candidates with which statistical work would be done, Vojislav Brajovic, an investigator for the Kragujevac Institute for Statistics, attempted at once to determine whether the household of Slavoljub's parents was strictly separate. It was scientifically proven that the money (the grandfather's invalid pension is 8,000 dinars) is not combined

and does not affect the standard of living of the young Dimitrijevices. Scientific proof is one thing, however, and life is another.

"Neighbors help each other, and parents will especially help their children," grandmother Branka said. "You know, I was the first [to suggest] that they move out. When they are young themselves it is better for them, they get along better, and we old people help as much as we can. Sometimes we give the children a present, I knit a sweater, and I watch little Ana, her grandmother's darling...."

Let us return to the information in the household diary. Under the date 14 January it is written that a kilogram of coffee was bought for 600 dinars.

"How did you get it?"

"My sister works in the shop," Slavoljub admitted contritely. "We also have a good friend in the butcher shop."

"In January you spent 3,135 dinars for readymade clothing and textiles, and this was in cash. Where did you get the courage to do that?"

"I couldn't resist the sale; I bought men's pants, two women's blouses, some stockings, wool for sweaters, and material for a skirt or a dress, I haven't decided which yet," Stojana reported.

There were another five days left until 1 February and according to the calculations there were 2,385.55 dinars in the household budget. Would the Dimitrijevices make it?

"We have a savings book account," Stojana remarked. "To te-l you the truth, we borrow from our relatives and friends, but not often."

This savings book also proves that household budgets still do not make sense. They use it to save money for their annual vacation. Last year the four of them went to Sutomor for 20 days. As they reported to the Institute for Statistics, they spent 13,600 dinars, including transportation. They had a fantastic time. They stayed in a private room, and Stojana was naturally responsible for the cooking. They have never taken a winter vacation, and they will not do so now.

Will they take a summer vacation this year? They say maybe, but summer is a long ways away. We told them that we would visit them again at the end of April. Then we will also compare the diaries and see how our official average family standard of living is doing.

9909
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ANALYSIS OF CENSUS DISCLOSES NEW TRENDS

More Identifying as 'Yugoslavs'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1625, 21 Feb 82 pp 8-10

[Article by Zvonko Simic: "Peoples, Nationalities, Yugoslavs"]

> [Text] The second "batch" of results from last year's population census, published a few days ago, reveals many interesting trends in the ethnic picture of individual areas in Yugoslavia; the greatest change is of course in the number of our countrymen who have declared themselves to be Yugoslavs. There are now four times as many of them as after the last census, 10 years ago.

Almost a year after the population census, the second group of data has begun to reach the public. They reveal certain complex trends regarding population changes by republics and provinces. In response to loud criticism of this delay, Andreja Stokic, the director of Serbia's Republican Institute for Statistics, told the journalists as a sort of consolation, "But do you know that half of the data from the 1931 census were not even processed until 1941?"

First Glance

We did not know, of course. At that time it was done "by hand," and today the computer at the disposal of this institute prints out 1,200 lines per minute, with 32 characters in each line. Some time is spent while people translate the data into "the language that the computer understands," and then it is a question of selecting priorities, which group of data will be taken up first by which institute, and which ones after that....

In this new batch of data prepared by the census statisticians for the public there is "a great deal that is the same" but also "a great deal that is different." Slovenia remained the most nationally homogeneous republic, but nevertheless the proportion of Slovenes in the total population of the republic was reduced from 94 percent to 90.5. Among the Slovenes, the number

of Serbs increased by 22,000, the number of Croats by 13,000, and the number of Moslems by 10,000 in comparison with the last census. These were probably mostly immigrants from Bosnia-Hercegovina and other emigration areas.

From a casual first glance, here are a few more data. In addition to Slovenia, Serbia also has a fairly high positive migration balance. During the decade between the censuses, 85,000 more people moved into Serbia (the provinces are not being counted) than moved out of it. It is estimated that among them were about 55,000 immigrants from Kosovo.

Belgrade's population increased by one-fifth in the meantime. In 1 year or at most 2, the number of inhabitants of the capital will reach a million and a half.

The national awakening of the Gypsies may be mentioned as a consequence of progress in emancipation, as demonstrated by last year's census. The number of Gypsies in Macedonia increased from 24,500 to over 43,000; it more than doubled in Serbia; in Vojvodina it increased by over 2.5 times, and in Montenegro, by 3.5 times. This surely cannot be just the result of a high birth rate. It is reasonable to assume that many Gypsies who previously declared their nationality of some more "acceptable" people in their area are increasingly declaring their nationality according to their spontaneous national feelings.

This census shows that the assimilation of Jews, who were in any case not numerous--a process that no one has encouraged nor has had any reason to do so--is in its final phase. In Macedonia, 28 are left, and in Serbia, 391 (there were over 600 in the 1971 census); only about 15 of these live outside Belgrade.

In regard to Jews, the statistics show that there were 406 in Croatia in 1961, 2,845 in 1971 and 316 in the last census. In response to a question from this journalist about this statistically impossible jump in the preceding census, one individual familiar with the situation answered, "It was from spite."

Otherwise, in Croatia, with a total population increase of 4 percent between the two censuses, the total number of both Croats and Serbs declined; for Croats the index is 95.3, and for Serbs, 84.8. The reason for this decline will be discussed later.

Manifold Increases

Even this first glance at the new population census figures cannot overlook the fact that a large number of citizens are filling in the blank for nationality on the census questionnaire with the word "Yugoslav." There are incomparably more of them than after the 1971 census. The tendency is pronounced in all of the republics and in Vojvodina. These data are still unavailable for Kosovo and they will probably not be available until the middle of April, since the census was late as a result of last year's disturbances.

Those Identifying Themselves as Yugoslavs by Republics and Provinces

Republic/Province	1981/1971 Index	1981 Percentage of total population
Bosnia-Hercegovina	745	7.91
Montenegro	285	5.35
Croatia	451	8.24
Macedonia	390	0.74
Slovenia	389	1.39
Serbia	357	4.77
Vojvodina	351	8.13
Kosovo	--	--

Some of these figures were obtained from the preliminary results of the census and may be corrected by a hundredth or a tenth of a percent, but their basic meaning cannot be disputed.

This trend is also followed by republics in which the percentage of declared Yugoslavs in the total population is small or very small, as in Slovenia and Macedonia. In Slovenia 1 of every 72 inhabitants identified himself as a "Yugoslav" in 1981, and in Macedonia 1 of every 135, but even this was a nearly fourfold increase in comparison with the census 10 years earlier.

In Serbia outside the provinces, the Yugoslavs are in second place by number in the census totals, immediately after the Serbs. Their number has increased 3.6 times since the last census, and they are now 4.77 percent of the population.

The largest percentage of declared Yugoslavs in the total population is in the Republic of Croatia--8.24 percent. No one could have expected this, because the proportion of Yugoslavs in the last census in Croatia was only 1.34 percent. Vojvodina, where 8.13 percent of the total population identified themselves as Yugoslavs, is in second place. The greatest increase in the number of declared Yugoslavs from the last census to this one, however, was noted in Bosnia-Hercegovina, where there are 7.5 times as many as in 1971 (see the table).

In Bosnia-Hercegovina, 283,000 more citizens identified themselves as Yugoslavs in the last census than in 1971. Apparently all three of the largest national groups--Moslems, Serbs and Croatians--participated in the creation of this "surplus of Yugoslavs" in the republic. According to the data published a few days ago in the press, they all have different annual rates for the increase in the population. The Moslems have the largest, 13.62 percent, followed by the Croats with 8.10 percent and finally the Serbs, with 7.12 percent (from 1981 data). Ten years ago these rates were higher, and they have gradually declined. The total increase in 10 years for each of these three peoples, however--as shown by the results of the 1981 census--was noticeably lower than expected in view of the annual rates of increase.

Something similar happened in Croatia. As mentioned, the total number of Croats and Serbs in this republic has declined in comparison with the preceding census. The number of Yugoslavs, however, increased 4.5 times, so that this census found a total of 379,057 of them in Croatia. In the preceding census, 84,118 Yugoslavs were recorded in Croatia, and in the 1961 census, 15,560.

Bosnia-Hercegovina has a negative migration balance; more people are moving out of it (into Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and even abroad) than into it. Part of the explanation for this phenomenon could be sought in this fact, but likewise some citizens who identified themselves in the 1971 census as Moslems, Serbs and Croats must have identified themselves now as Yugoslavs. These are furthermore not hundreds or thousands, but rather tens of thousands. The number of declared Serbs and Croats in 1981 declined in absolute terms in comparison with the corresponding numbers from the previous census--the Serbs by 72,500 and the Croats by about 14,500. The number of Moslems increased by 147,500, but since the annual population increase is greatest in this group (significantly higher than 10 percent throughout the last decade), the increase in the Moslem population in Bosnia-Hercegovina would have to be greater if there were no emigration and if part of the Moslems had not "identified themselves as Yugoslavs."

A similar change could explain the census data from Montenegro, where, from 1971 to 1981, the number of Serbs declined from 39,500 to less than 19,500, while the number of Yugoslavs increased from 11,000 to over 31,000. If this is not an ordinary coincidence, this "deficit" of 20,000 Serbs in Montenegro and the equally large "surplus" of Yugoslavs cannot be attributed with complete certainty on the basis of the available statistical data, and even less disputed. In any case the public is not aware of any migration currents that could explain these figures differently. There has not been any mention of a migration of Serbs from Montenegro during the past decade.

In Serbia, the Yugoslav census designation was selected by the relatively largest number of citizens in Bosilegrad (27.4 percent) and in Dimitrovgrad (23.1 percent), where the Bulgarians constitute about two-thirds of the total population, according to the latest census data.

Mixed Areas

The recent census seems to suggest that areas with mixed nationalities "produce" the relatively largest number of declared Yugoslavs. These data, from Bosnia-Hercegovina, Vojvodina and to some extent Serbia, have indicated this conclusion, but different examples require an examination with some reservations. Macedonia, where the Albanians constitute about 20 percent of the population (378,000 Albanians have been recorded in Macedonia, almost a hundred thousand more than in the last census), has the least declared Yugoslavs. In Bujanovac (in Serbia), on the other hand, where there are approximately 3 Albanians for every 2 Serbs, there are only 0.2 percent declared Yugoslavs.

Diverse regional traditions (those with religious roots should by no means be underestimated) and the same or a different language must have a considerable effect on social differentiation. It is possible that in some areas, identifying themselves as Yugoslavs in the census may help citizens to overcome this more easily (it has been observed that the "Yugoslav option" has particularly been represented in mixed marriages), while in other areas this bridge is of little use to anyone.

The available data indicate that living in large cities encourages a Yugoslav designation, in regard to the census questionnaire. Let us take Banja Luka with its 184,000 inhabitants, as an example. The Serbs constitute 50.86 percent, the Croatians 16.58 percent and the Moslems 11.83 percent, while the "Yugoslav" entry was selected by 17.07 percent of the inhabitants of Banja Luka.

And the Young People?

The structure of the population of Sarajevo is different. In the census the city had almost 450,000 inhabitants--42.17 percent Moslems, 29.57 percent Serbs, 8.19 percent Croats and 15.94 percent who identified themselves as Yugoslavs.

The Vojvodina cities Novi Sad and Subotica recorded about 15 and 18 percent of their citizens respectively as Yugoslavs. In Belgrade, which in view of its nature as the capital and the presence of a multitude of federal institutions has unique and somewhat extrarepublican characteristics, every 10th inhabitant declared himself a Yugoslav. This is much more pronounced in the Belgrade communes that are metropolitan in the narrow sense of the word. Among the inhabitants of New Belgrade, 18.65 percent are Yugoslavs. Stari Grad is in second place with 16.43 and Savski Venac is in third with 16.25 percent. On the other hand, in Sopot only 1.19 percent of the citizens chose this census designation, with 2.16 percent in Mladenovac and 2.47 percent in Obrenovac.

In Croatia, Osijek is the city with the relatively largest number of declared Yugoslavs--28,439 from a total of 158,797 inhabitants, or 17.91 percent. Rijeka and Sisak are likewise among the highest in the republic in this respect. In this republic, the number of mixed marriages in industrial centers is increasing, especially among young people, and is approaching 16 percent.

In most of the Serbian village communes, the percentage of declared Yugoslavs is insignificant. A village obviously does not favor these designations, adhering more firmly to national and other traditions, but a metropolis and industry, with all the currents that accompany them, definitely encourage them.

And the young people--have they designated themselves by nationality in a particular way? For the time being, the census data do not indicate this. Possibly indicative is what Novi Sad University professor of sociology Dr Aleksandar Raic said a few days ago for the newspapers: "More than

40 percent of the first-year students at Vojvodina faculties identify themselves as Yugoslavs."

Mixed Marriages

This Yugoslavism in the census is naturally to some extent a surprise, less so for some people and more so for others. As this issue of NIN is being completed, at noon on Wednesday, we do not have all the aggregate data required to give a precise figure for the entire country. Some of the data are so-called preliminary statistical data, and others must be corrected. The differences are most often expressed as a fraction of a percentage, but statisticians are meticulous people and their exactitude should also be observed in newspapers whenever possible.

Therefore, instead of an exact figure, we would prefer to make a very probable assessment: that somewhat more than 1.2 million Yugoslav citizens identified themselves as Yugoslavs in the 1981 census. This would be more than 5 percent of the population, a small segment in view of the size of the national population. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to recall that in the 1971 census a total of 273,000 citizens selected the census option "a Yugoslav of undetermined nationality," and now in Bosnia-Hercegovina alone there are over 50,000 more than in the entire country in 1971.

The initial and inevitably superficial commentaries pointed out mixed marriages as an explanation. In 1978 there were 3,340 more mixed marriages in Bosnia-Hercegovina than in 1971. This was an increase of 24 percent.

Nevertheless, the effect of mixed marriages on census designations in regard to Yugoslavism has certainly been overestimated in all the commentaries. Only every 8th marriage in Yugoslavia in 1971 was a marriage between members of different peoples and nationalities. Eighteen years ago every 11th marriage was mixed. The changes are there, but they are slow in coming. There is no basis for assuming that during the last decade the changes in this regard were dramatic, although the proportion of mixed marriages may be increasing to some extent. Stronger stimuli for the increase in the Yugoslav designation in the last census had to come from somewhere else.

Professor Raic says that nationalism disrupts relations among people and their freedom and security, especially in a multinational family and in friendships among members of different nations; Yugoslavism is thus probably an attempt by people to oppose nationalism in this way.

The Need for Cooperation

Naturally, in all these variations we are not in the domain of statistics, nor can we develop these variations with the aid of figures. On the other hand, there are a great many relevant qualifications. After all, objective membership is only one component in national feeling. The other is an emotional orientation derived from many diverse circumstances in one's life. Probably many readers--if they were to concern themselves with this--would find among their acquaintances two brothers with the same father and the

same mother, who because of different circumstances in their lives identified themselves emotionally or rationally with different nations. In any case, this journalist could cite examples for you, adding that the area of feelings is subject to change.

The census indicated many changes in the population of Yugoslavia--changes both larger and smaller than this change in expressing membership in a nationality, which does not have practical significance but does have emotional significance as an expression of an increased need for cooperation in our common difficulties.

Changes Among Ethnic Groups

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1626, 28 Feb 82 pp 18-20

[Article by Zvonko Simic: "What the Census Figures Say"]

> [Text] How demographers explain some of the differences between the data obtained by this census and the one 10 years ago: a certain reduction in the numbers of the largest nations, the Serbs and Croats, an abrupt increase in those identifying themselves as Yugoslavs; how they view the difference in birthrates between the Moslems in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Moslems in Kosovo....

The new group of census data is already becoming the subject of observations and commentaries. They apply to the national identification of Yugoslavs; many of them are unexpected and interesting.

The individuals with whom we spoke on this subject--the prominent demographers Academician Milos Macura and Prof Dusan Breznik, the director of the Center for Demographic Research in Belgrade--had in their hands the report of the Federal Institute for Statistics, "The Population by Nationality," for only a few hours before they stated their initial observations for NIN. They are therefore unavoidably incomplete, unsystematic and "disjointed" but very expert and stimulating.

Ebb Tide of the Largest

Academician Macura immediately pointed out that the two largest nations in our community have shown an ebb during the period between the two censuses. There were 7,000 fewer Serbs in Yugoslavia in 1981 than in 1971, and 98,000 Croats. This, in his opinion, cannot be explained by ethnobiological facts. Both the Serbs and the Croats, according to everything that is known or can be estimated with a high degree of probability, have had a small but positive natural increase. There should therefore be more of them in 1981 than 10 years ago. This is not true, however. Dr Breznik said that some of them, of course, have identified themselves as Yugoslavs. He also cites another possible factor. The census of people employed abroad was more meticulous and comprehensive last time but has fallen somewhat short in this regard. Macura

said for his part, as experience shows, it is worthwhile to consider that about 200,000 Yugoslavs employed abroad and the members of their families decided to stay "outside" permanently over the decade.

Both Macura and Breznik stress the relative significance of the nationality declarations and the subjective nature of nationality. Macura cited as an example the fact that in 1971 his wife, "objectively" a Macedonian, and he, "objectively" a Serb, identified themselves as Yugoslavs. He said that this was a reaction to the nationalistic euphoria at that time.

It seemed indiscreet to this journalist, who observed and to some extent instigated these remarks, to ask him whether Academician Macura and his wife identified themselves in the 1981 census in the same way. But when there is no question, there is no answer.

Macura remarked that the census data on nationality were influenced by the legalistic--i.e., constitutional--concept of the nation and the classification system. In previous censuses, for example, the Moslems were described in different ways: in 1948 as "undetermined Moslems" ("m"--an indication of religious affiliation), in 1953 as "undetermined Yugoslavs" and in 1961 as "Moslems" ("M" meaning an ethnic affiliation). Such changes naturally affect the corresponding series of statistical data and are worth considering.

The latest census found 39,000 Moslems in Macedonia, while the preceding one only found 1,000. These are probably groups with a Moslem life style, whose native language is Macedonian. They obviously identified themselves differently in the new census. There is no other way to explain a 39-fold increase in 10 years, according to Macura.

"Yugoslav" Surprise

Different identifications must be the basis for the very large increase in citizens declaring themselves to be Yugoslavs, according to Macura. In the 1981 census there were 943,000 more than in the 1971 census. For some reason this new designation became more meaningful to them than the previous designation as one people or another, Macura said. We do not know why this happened. The phenomenon deserves to be studied carefully.

Professor Breznik said that such an increase in the number of Yugoslavs surprised him. "I did not expect them to increase that much," he said. Do not ask the statisticians about the reasons. They gathered the data and the facts. Statistics cannot give a direct answer to a question about reasons, whether it was the mixed marriages or something else.... This must be the subject of deeper sociological and political analysis.

A qualitative analysis of the census data on nationalities is also very important, Breznik emphasized, and it will not take place until later. Is there a slow equalization occurring in the level of education among the peoples and nationalities, the level of employment, the professional structure and other important factors? Subsequent, more refined analysis of the data will provide

this information; it is at least as important, if not more so, than the data on the numbers of one nationality or another.

Considering the role of mixed marriages in this increased number of Yugoslavs, Macura said that the number of marriages in which both partners are Yugoslavs is relatively small, only a small percentage of these marriages, and likewise only a small percentage of all children are born in such marriages.

We asked Macura if we understood each other, that he agreed with the view in the last issue of our newspaper, that this increase in the number of Yugoslavs cannot be interpreted primarily as a result of an increase in mixed marriages.

Macura answered, "It is difficult to do so, for one thing because mixed marriages in some strong and exclusive national groups maintain the focus, the goal of that group. The predominant part of Macedonia, Slovenia and Kosovo is such a group.... A marriage between a Slovene and a Croatian woman in Slovenia will usually have a Slovene national designation; a marriage between a Macedonian and a Greek, for example, in Macedonia will be designated as Macedonian. In these two republics, the percentage of marriages in which both partners are Yugoslavs is practically zero, and in Kosovo, it amounts to 0.9 percent of the marriages contracted in the course of a year."

Dr Breznik wanted to comment on the reduction in the numbers of many nationalities: Hungarians, Romanians, Italians, Bulgarians, with the exception of Albanians and Gypsies. He says that these are predominantly old populations with a low, zero or even negative birthrate. The figures, however, show that many members of nationalities have now designated themselves as Yugoslavs in the census. These new data cannot be explained differently. Breznik also mentioned assimilation. "The fact that no one wants it and no one is imposing it does not mean that there is none. I am a Slovene. I have been in Serbia for more than 35 years. If not my children, my grandchildren will probably be Serbs. That is the way life is."

Breznik said that the data on who--in the sense of social, age and educational structure--identified himself as a Yugoslav will not be available until later. Are these predominantly young people, predominantly educated ones and predominantly citydwellers, as it appears? Both Macura and Breznik felt that the noticeable increase in the number of Montenegrins in Serbia is only partly a consequence of migration. They assume that some Montenegrins in Serbia who selected Serbian nationality in the 1971 census for various reasons have returned to the Montenegrin nationality option. The same thing would be indicated by the reduced number of Serbs in Montenegro, although on the other hand they appeared primarily as a surplus under the "Yugoslav" entry.

Area	Serbs			Croats			Yugoslavs		
	1971	1981	+ -	1971	1981	+ -	1971	1981	+ -
Yugoslavia	8,143	8,136	- 7	4,526	4,428	- 98	273	1,216	+943
Bosnia-Hercegovina	1,393	1,320	- 73	772	758	- 14	44	326	+282
Montenegro	40	20	- 20	9	8	- 1	11	31	+ 20
Croatia	627	532	- 95	3,514	3,454	- 60	84	379	+295
Macedonia	46	45	- 1	4	3	- 1	4	14	+ 10
Slovenia	21	42	+ 21	43	57	+ 14	7	26	+ 19
Serbia proper	4,699	4,861	+162	38	31	- 7	76	271	+195
Vojvodina	1,089	1,107	+ 18	138	109	- 29	47	167	+120
Kosovo	228	210	- 18	8	8	0	1	1	0

Area	Moslems			Slovenes			Albanians		
	1971	1981	+ -	1971	1981	+ -	1971	1981	+ -
Yugoslavia	1,793	2,000	+270	1,678	1,754	+ 76	1,309	1,731	+422
Bosnia-Hercegovina	1,482	1,629	+ 8	4	3	- 1	4	4	0
Montenegro	70	78	+147	1	1	0	36	37	+ 1
Croatia	18	24	+ 6	32	25	- 7	4	6	+ 2
Macedonia	1	39	+ 38	1	1	0	280	378	+ 98
Slovenia	3	13	+ 10	1,624	1,712	+ 88	1	2	+ 1
Serbia proper	124	151	+ 27	11	8	- 3	66	72	+ 6
Vojvodina	3	5	+ 2	5	3	- 2	3	4	+ 1
Kosovo	26	59	+ 33	0	0	0	916	1,227	+311

Area	Macedonians			Montenegrins			Hungarians		
	1971	1981	+ -	1971	1981	+ -	1971	1981	+ -
Yugoslavia	1,195	1,341	+146	509	577	+ 68	477	427	- 50
Bosnia-Hercegovina	2	2	0	13	14	+ 1	1	1	0
Montenegro	1	1	0	356	399	+ 43	0	0	0
Croatia	6	5	- 1	10	10	0	35	25	- 10
Macedonia	1,142	1,281	+139	3	4	+ 1	0	0	0
Slovenia	2	3	+ 1	2	3	+ 1	10	9	- 1
Serbia proper	25	29	+ 4	57	77	+ 20	6	5	- 1
Vojvodina	17	19	+ 2	36	43	+ 7	424	385	- 39
Kosovo	1	1	0	32	27	- 5	0	0	0

Differences in Birthrate

Interpreting some of the earlier figures, Macura said that a fairly rapid decline in the birthrate is appearing among Moslems. Immediately after the war, it was very high. "I think that this was a consequence of several complex circumstances, primarily changes in the understanding of human values and life's values; economic and social emancipation are only a part of it. I always wondered why the birthrate in Kosovo was declining so slowly. The influence of religion in regard to this is higher there. It is successfully blocking positive changes."

We asked Macura whether such a reproduction ideology had been favored until recently by official political circles in Kosovo? Nothing serious in family planning has ever been accepted in Kosovo. Such proposals have been rejected as unacceptable to the Albanian population, because they are allegedly irreconcilable with Moslem traditions.

Macura answered, "It is not easy to answer whether there is any reproduction ideology in the national ideology of Kosovo Albanians--a 'something' that encourages an exceptionally high birthrate. But the difference in attitudes toward these issues between Moslems in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Albanians in Kosovo, in spite of a similar Moslem tradition, is cause for thought."

Breznik and Macura did not agree on the source of these differences. Breznik recalled that Bosnia-Hercegovina was the most frequent refuge of the armed phase of the revolution. The partisans arrived in isolated villages. Along with them a new ideology and a new world view penetrated, and the Moslem population of these areas was, along with the rest of the population, relatively well prepared during the war to accept a new life style.

Macura again felt that these circumstances could not have had such decisive impact on the attitude toward the birthrate. He recalled that precisely this reproduction ideology accompanied a revolution in certain Moslem countries.

Breznik felt that the natural increase in Kosovo will begin to decline gradually (the birthrate of the Albanian population has fallen from 44 per 1,000 after the war to 31 per 1,000, but the mortality rate has also fallen from 20 to 6 per 1,000, so that the natural increase in still rising to some extent). Educated generations are coming (the education explosion in Kosovo has not been present very long). When a larger number of women finish school and when the rate of the employment of women increases (it is still very low in Kosovo), there will inevitably be a decline in the birthrate of the inhabitants, according to Breznik. An educated woman will hardly decide to have seven children, and a woman with a job will simply not be able to. A future decline in the birthrate is indicated by the fact that among Albanian women there has been a reduction in the number of women giving birth after 35. In 1950, 1,000 Albanian women between 35 and 44 years of age gave birth to 74 children, and in 1978, only 16. In Serbia and Slovenia, for example, women of that age virtually do not give birth if they already have 1 or 2 children.

In 1950, a woman in Kosovo had an average of 7 children and in 1978, an average of 4.5 children.

Breznik said that Yugoslavia is still aiming at a reduction in the population growth. The birthrate is already low in both Montenegro and Bosnia-Hercegovina, not just in Serbia and Croatia. This is compensated for to some extent by the reduced mortality rate. In 1978 in Serbia there were an average of less than two children per woman, which is not even enough for mere reproduction. Seven to 8 percent of the women do not have any children at all. Some of them never marry. Breznik said that at least a fifth of the marriages should have three children in order to maintain the average reproduction rate of slightly over two children per marriage.

9909
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TREATMENT OF COMINFORMISTS ON PRISON ISLAND DISCUSSED

Abuses, Confusions, Rectifications

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1628, 14 Mar 82 pp 55-56

[Installment from series entitled "The Cominform and Goli Island" by Savo Krzavac and Dragan Markovic]

[Excerpt] In the atmosphere of general tension and indeed confusion as well, under the strong pressure and menacing dangers--with tanks on the border, with infiltrated saboteurs, and powerful propaganda of all types--there was nervousness as well as harsh and inhumane acts against those ascertained or even suspected to be on the "other side." Though more than 3 years had passed since the war, it was still going on against the "invisible" adversary for members of UDBa [State Security Administration]. Immediately after the war they were pursuing Chetnik and Ustasha bands. And no sooner had they thought they might live like the rest of the world than the conflict with the Cominform overturned them. These were usually young people who wanted a peaceful and normal family life which the great majority of citizens of Yugoslavia did have. But they had not had it since 1941. It was on them that the strongest blow of the counterrevolution fell. They died and were wounded in conflicts with individuals and counterrevolutionary groups. They froze and suffered in the forests and ravines. We have already written that 1,980 of our people died in defending the achievements of the Yugoslav revolution at the time of the Cominform pressure. Three times as many were wounded and injured, and many of them were left disabled for the rest of their life.

For that reason many were harsher toward the traitors than toward opponents on the other side of the front, toward the captured fascist soldiers, for example. These had been their comrades and fellow fighters until yesterday, but had left them, and had turned against them as traitors in the country's gravest moment. There were also those who manifested their personal contempt in an impermissible way, by abusing both the Cominform supporters and their families. There were also individuals who took advantage of the situation that had come about for personal revenge or those who wanted in this way to prove their loyalty and "orthodoxy." Cases were recorded in which some investigators exposed members of their own families to the harshest treatment because they had shamed them and even brought them themselves under suspicion

and "ruined" their future. Many other errors were also committed. There were cases when an investigator would move into a better apartment belonging to a "Cominform supporter" whom he had himself sent to prison, or this was done by some other "important figure" in the opstina committee. Pressure was exerted on the wife or husband to obtain a divorce when the respective spouse had favored the Cominform Resolution.

Of all the petty or major errors, major or minor injustices which were committed, about which one wonders whether they were necessary from the comfortable vantagepoint of this moment, the most difficult was that among those in the prisons, and indeed even on Goli Island there were people who were not guilty!

Such cases were errors, but never the policy. These were outrages which were noted even at the time, and those who committed them were strictly penalized even at the time, not uncommonly by ending up in prison instead of their "victims." Those who committed the errors and injustices were called to account.

Prison--Instead of a Decoration

There were several cases in which major errors were committed, when several groups of people were in prison without cause. One such was the "railroad group" (Belgrade, 1951). One incompetent investigator was taken in by fabricated tale (which, incidentally, is a customary method used in the unsparing war of nerves) of a railroad engineer of unstable character and issues the order to arrest a whole group of people from the railroad, among them their supervisor, a distinguished fighter and responsible man. To compound the trouble, something which might have been called a great exploit was also included among his sins. That is, with those same comrades with whom he found himself because of an error on Goli Island (on Grgur and in Bileca), several months earlier, by order from the very top level, he had managed to organize a fictional "Ustasha network" on the railroad as one of the baits, which were taken by Ustasha emigres of Ljuba Milos' group, who even came from abroad to join it and take part in its actions! And--instead of decorations and the highest public recognition, he found himself in prison.

As soon as the error was suspected, the most able investigators were sent to study the entire case, whereupon they were released and judicially rehabilitated. They were reinstated in the jobs which they held previously.

Nor did the "KOS group" fare better. A certain participant in the war who had gone through OZNa [Department of Internal Security] and then UDBa, an officious braggart, had even managed to reach a supervisory post in KOS (the counterintelligence service of the police), wherefrom he arrested a large number of his coworkers as "Cominform supporters," figuring that he would distinguish himself "as the best" in the fight against the counterrevolution on the basis of the number of people arrested. When the inquiry was opened, it turned out that none of the persons arrested was guilty. All were released and reinstated in their previous jobs. But then he himself found himself in the dock, and then he found himself on Goli Island. One can imagine the attitude toward him on thepart of those convicted persons who had unjustly gone to prison again through someone's error or clear intention.

After the war we learned everything, including how to conduct inquiries and trials, though our revolutionary courts began at the time of the uprising in 1941. We did not have professional judges and investigators who had graduated from school and the university. These functions were performed by those who had been pupils in elementary and secondary school, by shepherds, by workers, and less frequently by lawyers and trained judges, who were not numerous at that time.

Being Taken in by the Testimony of "Cominform Supporters"

The desire for effective action, and sometimes even stronger emotions, resulted in haste, and from there it was only a step to committing an error. There were cases when the young and inexperienced investigators, who were honorable people and brave fighters from the war, were taken in by the testimony of Cominform supporters, who instead of their real collaborators in the counterrevolution "gave away" not only innocent, but precisely those who had conducted the most successful action against the system of Cominform agents. Errors like these were also rectified, of course. And those who had made the error suffered penalties of being discharged, or criminal charges were brought against them.

Certainly it was not possible in all this for new errors to be altogether avoided, but there were fewer and fewer of them, especially as the country became more secure, better stabilized, and as the danger to the achievements of the revolution abated. The conditions existed for calmer work and also more successful pursuit of the members of foreign networks of agents.

That was also the case on Goli Island. The errors which were discovered were rectified, and those guilty of harsh treatment, whether prisoners themselves or those who guarded them, were discharged and punished.

Incidentally, the barracks (buildings built of stone) had "chiefs" who were themselves convicts who obtained that position on the basis of good behavior while serving their sentence. Their assistants were also convicts. The investigators and guards, members of the Security Service, were located quite a distance from them (more than 1 km). They exercised overall surveillance, but they did not always have the necessary insight into the everyday behavior of the convicts and their "chiefs" who at times regulated life in the barracks according to some standards of their own. And among them there were those who wanted to "prove themselves" and did so with a harsh regime which they themselves established and enforced.

Usually the inmates complained about this attitude to the investigators, but sometimes also to physicians who occasionally came for medical inspection, and then "finally" they moved on to responsible individuals. This would usually be followed by an inspection by the appropriate authorities, which after an inquiry into the situation in the prison, would take steps, and there were cases when people were discharged from the staff of the body responsible for that prison. One such inspection at the "highest level" occurred in 1950, the most difficult year for us both from the standpoint of security and also from the standpoint of the economic situation (it was the first and only time up to

the present that we were actually threatened with starvation). One of the former convicts in "Structure 10," to which people were assigned who before their conviction had held responsible positions in society, has told us how "everyone bustled about" before the arrival of that inspection team. They fixed up and painted the interior, they prepared "for it to be seen how good people here lived." The guards were at that time more anxious than the convicts themselves, whose life had improved essentially under these conditions.

That was also the case on Grgur, a tiny island alongside Goli Island, where former members of the Yugoslav Army and Security Service were imprisoned separately.

There were also cases in which the investigators themselves would conclude from direct encounters with some of the convicts that they could not have had any connection whatsoever with the Cominform, which they reported to the appropriate authorities, who thereupon sent them home after brief formalities.

There was even a case like this on Goli Island. A high official of the Ministry of Internal Affairs met a convict and after exchanging a few words concluded that this person must have come to the island "by accident."

"Why were you arrested," he asked him.

"I don't know!"

"And do you know what the Cominform is?"

"I heard that he was against Tito, but I have not seen him."

"?!"

The official issued an order that this convict be sent home immediately and that a check be made that there were no others like him.

And during the investigations there were also people who declared themselves "in favor of the Resolution," but who did not know what it contained.

In the archives there are brief investigator's reports on interrogations like this:

"Are you in favor of the Cominform Resolution?"

"Yes!"

"Are you in favor of Stalin?"

"Yes!"

"Are you in favor of Tito?"

"Yes."

"Have you read the Cominform Resolution?"

"No."

"Do you know what is written in it?"

"No, I don't."

"Do you know what the Cominform is?"

"No, I don't."

"Yet you are in favor of the Resolution...."

"Yes, I am!"

And, of course, in most cases it depended on the investigator whether such a "Cominform supporter" would go to prison or someone would take him and explain to him what the Resolution was and what the Cominform was, what we were against, and what we wanted to preserve, and let him go home, which is what was usually done.

If one of them did happen to go to prison, those were mistakes which were sooner or later discovered and rectified.

Yet most of the inmates were real "Cominform supporters, traitors to the country and revolution.

Sardonic 'Explanation'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1628, 14 Mar 82 p 3

[Letter to the editor from Ilog Koto, Belgrade: "A Bolt From the Blue"]

[Text] Never up until 1948 was any dispute between the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia] and other communist parties made public. It all was like a bolt from the blue. It is natural that many people did not get their bearings in that kind of situation. Had people been informed earlier about the Stalinist purges and other pogroms, Goli Island would not have been a camp.

Hoax Revealed

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 82 SEDAM DANA p 19

[Editor's comment on the letter from Ilog Koto: "Oversight"]

[Excerpt] In its last issue NIN began to publish in its department "Echoes" reactions to the feature article "The Cominform and Goli Island" written by Savo Krzavac and Dragan Markovic. The following letter was among the first to be published:

"Bolt From the Blue

"Never up until 1948 was any dispute between the CPY and other communist parties made public. It all was like a bolt from the blue. It is natural that many people did not get their bearings in that kind of situation. Had people been informed earlier about the Stalinist purges and other pogroms, Goli Island would not have been a camp."

The letter quoted above, which attempts to find a justification for several thousand people, most of them traitors and criminals, who served their legal sentences on Goli Island, was signed by Ilog Koto, Belgrade. The signature, if the words are transposed and the letters read backward, actually reads: Goli Otok (Goli Island).

Thus it escaped the attention of the editors of NIN that one of its readers was taking advantage of the openness of the department in which readers' letters are published. Since our newspaper has in recent years also developed an extensive and popular department called "Messenger," and since we have also at times been uncertain about the identity of a person we are collaborating with, we understand the difficulties of our colleagues at NIN in guaranteeing the authenticity of every letter.

'Such Were the Times'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1628, 14 Mar 82 pp 3, 6

[Letter to the editor by Dragoslav Manic Forski, Babusnica: "My Brother Has Only Now Begun To Speak of It"]

[Text] My brother was on Goli Island as a "Cominform supporter." He does not read the papers. He does not have the time. When I read to him the first two installments of your feature article, he became visibly agitated. It was clear to me that he was reexperiencing what he had experienced 30 years ago....

He never spoke about his imprisonment on Goli Island. Now, however, he has begun to speak.

Here is what I have learned from him.

Like two other brothers of mine, he was a participant in the National Liberation War. (One of our brothers gave his life for freedom.) After the war, as a member of the CPY, he was vigorous in everything the party requested of him.

In his soul he remained a true peasant: He loved his piece of land. That is why he didn't like it when he learned that the "Russian regime" also meant confiscation of the land. So, suspicion toward that "regime" was immediately aroused in him.

Well, it was that loyalty to the land that caused his trouble. That is, our household got into a squabble with the household of an uncle over a mill. We

had to go to court. When my uncle saw that he would lose the case, he thought of a way to get his revenge. He knew the kind of political climate the Cominform had caused, and, with the help of two pals of his, he falsely accused my brother of being a Cominform supporter!!!

And thus they drove an innocent man to Goli Island. Without a trial. They believed the testimony of those three heartless individuals.

You already know what it was like on Goli Island. It is the truth, my brother says, what the comrades at NIN have written, but quite a few things might be added....

And then there was the "Rankovic case." My brother thought: "Now is the time to clear my name!" He wrote to the competent authorities in order to have his case reopened. The answer he received was this:

"Comrade, there is no documentation on your case whatsoever." Which means: as though nothing had happened!... But, these are living people, they know what happened. "Leave it, comrade, the times were like that then."

Of the three heartless individuals who drove my innocent brother to Goli Island, one drowned himself, another moved away, and a third, whenever he is drunk, cannot resist the voice of his conscience: He admits his sin.

So, comrades, this is a story about a "Cominform supporter." I do not know the others, perhaps they are also interesting.

'A Little Brain-Rinsing'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1629, 21 Mar 82 p 7

[Reader's letter to the editor from Bozidar Krsta Pejovic, Konik, Titograd: "I Will Never Know"]

[Text] I was arrested on 26 November 1951, and on 7 January 1952 I turned 18, I repeat, 18 years of age. I was never in favor of the Cominform, nor did I know about it, nor do I know today why I was on Goli Island. I think that something should be written about people like us, who comprise more than 70 percent, since we were victims of the hysteria of UDBa investigators. I do not agree with and categorically reject what Krzavac and Markovic are writing and presenting to the readers: "[text garbled--translator's note] were the convicts themselves" ... that is a fairy tale. Who was it that ordered me to keep my head in the chamber pot all night, who hung around the neck of an old professor at Belgrade University a "sign" on the front which said "I am a traitor," and on the back which read "A traitor who has not changed his position"?

It happened and it is over, let it not happen again!

And finally, when I returned, the chief of UDBa in Titograd asked me when I reported to him, I think his name was Vlado: "Well, you were not on the list

of wrongdoers, young lad." "How come I am not, when you arrested me and you yourself beat me?" To that he answered: "You know, just to rinse out your brain a little bit! THAT IS ALL. I have remained loyal to Tito and the party to the grave, but I resent the fact that I will never know why I was on GOLI ISLAND!

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5 May 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2007

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2007

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Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 3, Mar 82 (signed to press 19 Feb 82) pp 269-276

/Analyses and Reports' feature article by Karl Wilhelm Fricke, chief, East-West Editorial Staff, Deutschlandfunk, Cologne: "Occupiers or Comrades-in-Arms?--The Group of Soviet Forces in Germany"/

/Text/ Dates in history deserve to be remembered if they contribute to the better understanding of the present and the future. On 12 March 1957 the Government of the German Democratic Republic and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signed a treaty on issues involving the temporary stationing of Soviet Armed Forces. [1] This date may serve as an example to remind us that even a quarter century may be considered "temporary" within the scope of historic time.

After all, 12 years had passed since the Red Army had advanced to the Elbe by the time that Foreign Minister Dr Lothar Bolz and Defense Minister Willi Stoph, both then also deputies to the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, as well as Foreign Minister A.A. Gromyko and Defense Minister G.K. Zhukov signed the agreement. Initially the units now described as the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany (GSFG) were called Group of Soviet Occupation Forces in Germany, because "the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany (GSFG) is an advance guard of the Soviet Army. It was set up on 10 June 1945 and, since 1949, has borne its present name. Its core was made up of divisions and regiments from the armies of the first Belorussian Front directly involved in the assault on Berlin."[2] After the troop stationing treaty had been negotiated, Premier Otto Grotewohl recalled the historical background when pointing out in the People's Chamber "that the stationing of Soviet armed forces in Germany is a consequence of the Hitler war. Initially it served the final destruction of the bloody fascist dictatorship and was intended to prevent its restoration. The fact that Soviet forces even now stand on German soil is due entirely to those West German and foreign imperialist forces who have so far prevented the establishment of a united and peaceful German state."[3] No such declarations are heard these days. Instead it is asserted "that the defense of socialism and peace lies in strong and reliable hands." Erich Honecker claimed this at a 1979 meeting with soldiers on the occasion of a visit to a GSFG guard motorized infantry regiment. "Our party and our entire people have the highest esteem for the Soviet soldiers, their outstanding military performance in the interest of socialism and peace here in the GDR, the border region between the two social systems. Sincere friendship has developed between the citizens of our countries and these forces, and this has successfully withstodd many tests. The comradeship-in-arms between the members of the National

People's Army and the Soviet armed forces reflects the fact that the GDR and the Soviet Union are for ever linked with one another."[4] And so on and so forth. The defense and security function of the armed forces stationed in the GDR is moved into the field of vision. Retained from the past is merely the description Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany--as a linguistic (no more than linguistic?) relict of the rights of the four Allies in divided Germany, although the 12 March 1957 treaty on stationing speaks throughout only of Soviet armed forces "stationed on the territory of the German Democratic Republic."

The Treaty on Stationing

The occupying forces thus became comrades-in-arms--at least in the opinion of the SED. Their international jurists[5] indicate 1954/1955 as the time of change. They point to the Soviet Government's declaration of 25 March 1954, where we find the first mention of the "temporary sojourn of Soviet armed forces on the territory of the GDR,"[6] as well as to the treaty on relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 20 September 1955. Article 4 of this treaty includes the following statement: "The Soviet armed forces stationed on the territory of the German Democratic Republic at the present time in conformity with existing international agreements, will temporarily remain in the German Democratic Republic on terms to be settled by an additional agreement between the Government of the German Democratic Republic and the Government of the Soviet Union."[7] Exactly that happened by way of the treaty on the stationed of armed forces cited earlier. In addition we must take into account the fact that the establishment of the Eastern defense coalition--of which the GDR has been a member from the outset--is within the time context of this development: The Warsaw Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was concluded by eight countries on 14 Mah 1955.

The treaty on the stationing of armed forces has 22 articles. It preamble declares "necessary the temporary stationing of Soviet armed forces on the territory of the German Democratic Republic as consonant with international treaties and agreements" because it "responds to the concerns of the guarantee of peace and the security of the German and Soviet peoples as well as the other peoples of Europe." Analogous to articles 1 and 4 of the treaty of 20 September 1955, article 1 reaffirms that the temporary stationing of Soviet armed forces on GDR territory will "not impair" the GDR's sovereignty, nor will these forces "interfere in the internal affairs of the German Democratic Republic and the sociopolitical life of the country." As per article 2 any "questions regarding changes in the strength and location of the Soviet armed forces" in the GDR are to be the "object of consultations" at government level. Article 15 guarantees that barrack complexes, airfields, maneuver terrain, training areas, residential and other buildings, railheads, and so on "used by the Soviet armed forces at the time this treaty is signed" may continue to be so used. In addition to various legal provisions of a rather formal nature, article 18 finally sets out an emergency regulation. In the case of "the security of the Soviet armed forces in the GDR being threatened," this acknowledges the unrestricted right of the GSFG supreme command "upon appropriate consultations with the Government of the German Democratic Republic to adopt measures for removing such a threat."

The 12 March 1957 treaty does not include provisions governing GDR contributions to the cost of the GSFG stationed there. Such contributions were however made at least through 1958. At the Fifth SED Congress Soviet party and government chief N.S. Khrushchev reported the Moscow Government's decision "from January 1959 to forego

the payments made annually by the German Democratic Republic in partial settlement of the maintenance costs for the Soviet forces temporarily stationed on the territory of the GDR."[8] Of course this does not prove that the GDR now does not have to carry any of the financial burden arising from the stationing of Soviet forces on its territory. The opposite conclusion seems to arise from the fact that the "Mixed German-Soviet Commission" on the settlement of issues "related to the application of this treaty," set up as per article 19 of the treaty on the stationing of forces, includes for the GDR not only a representative from the defense ministry (currently Lt General Joachim Goldbach, deputy minister and chief of rear services) and the foreign ministry, but also a representative from the finance ministry (currently deputy finance minister Helmut Sandig). Moreover, the Soviets always have very senior officials attending the meetings of the commission--at the latest meeting Ambassador P.A. Abrasimov and Army General M.M. Saitsev, supreme commander of the GSFG.[9]

The treaty on the stationing of armed forces--supplemented on 2 August 1957 by a treaty between the GDR and USSR on reciprocal legal aid with regard to issues relating to the temporary stationing of Soviet armed forces in the GDR[10]--may be criticized from three aspects: The GDR is consulted when the strength and location of the GSFG is decided, but it is not permitted to have any say in the decision nor to raise objections. Secondly GSFG troop movements outside their GDR locations are not even mentioned in the treaty. And thirdly the GSFG supreme command may, in an emergency, adopt measures at its sole discretion; again the GDR Government may at best be consulted. Justifiably attention has been drawn to the fact that the treaty with the GDR differs substantially, at least in this respect, from similar treaties concluded by the Soviet Union with other socialist countries.[11] Neither of the two treaties of 12 June 1964 and 7 October 1975 on friendship, reciprocal assistance and cooperation between the GDR and USSR mentions the stationing of Soviet armed forces. It is therefore obvious that the 12 March 1957 is not affected in any way.

The GSFG--Formation, Strength, Supreme Command

No definite data or current figures relating to the strength of the GSFG are available from Eastern reports. According to Western sources the GSFG consists of land and air forces and, after the force reduction proclaimed by Soviet party and state chief L.I. Brezhnev in his speech on the occasion of the GDR's 30th anniversary, currently has 9 tank divisions, 10 motorized infantry divisions and 1 artillery division as well as a forward air force (2 air corps at 2-3 air divisions each).[12] "Before the above mentioned force reduction in the GDR, the strength of the Soviet armed forces stationed there has been estimated at about 400,000 men and more than 7,000 battle tanks."[13] According to official reports the withdrawal involved 20,000 men and 1,000 tanks.[14] It has not been determined whether the reduction in force related only to the withdrawal of complete units or also to the personnel of the rear services. There is no doubt that large-scale military transports left rail depots in Brandenburg, Jueterbog, Halle/Saale, Oschatz and Wittenberg in the period from 5 December 1979 to 1 August 1980--some in full view of demonstratively invited Western newspaper correspondents. The armed forces thus withdrawn and evidently confined to land forces are said to have been moved to assembly areas in the Western part of the Soviet Union.

The regiments, units and divisions of the GSFG--the largest Soviet military contingent outside the USSR--are largely assumed to be elite forces with a combat strength

and readiness well above the average standard of the Soviet Army. Every second regiment of the GSFG is a guard regiment.[15] Military experts estimate a GSFG tank division to have an actual strength of 11,000 men. The equipment ranges from 335-415 battle tanks, at least half of them of the most modern design, to 390-450 other tracked vehicles and 1,800-2,200 motor vehicles of all types. The strength of a motorized infantry division is assessed at roughly 13,500 men with 266 battle tanks, another 600 light armored and tracked vehicles as well as 2,100-2,300 motor vehicles of all types. Each tank and motorized infantry division also includes an artillery regiment, equipped with mortars, field and howitzer guns as well as 2 rocket launchers and 1 anti-aircraft battalion.

The GSFG air force--this means the 16th forward air army--is alleged to have available more than 1,000 aircraft, mostly of ultramodern design, 120 reconnaissance aircraft, 680 fighters and fighter-bombers, 100 light bombers, 120 transport aircraft and 120 combat helicopters.[16] In addition there are anti-aircraft rocket troops. Bombers and fighter-bombers are potential nuclear weapons carriers. Every year, in April and October, a special air bridge joins Soviet military airfields in the GDR with similar airfields in the Soviet Union, specifically to effect the exchange of some 100,000 GSFG personnel and their families within 14 days. Used for this purpose are civilian aircraft of Aeroflot; these operate from airfields in Brandenburg, Falkenberg, Merseburg, Parchim, Stendal and Templin.[17]

GSFG radiotechnical forces together with radiotechnical personnel of the National People's Army Air Defense exercise surveillance of the air space above the GDR's territory. They are joined in an "alert system" that operates round the clock and are incorporated in the air defense system of the Warsaw Pact Organization.

With respect to strength and formation the GSFG corresponds to an army group. It represents the core of the first strategic echelon of the Warsaw Pact Organization; this includes, in addition to the GDR's National People's Army, integrated divisions of the Polish Army and the Czechoslovak People's Army--probably also major units of the Soviet Army in the Western defense districts of the USSR.[18] The GSFG tests its own combat strength and readiness in its own command staff exercises and maneuvers, in joint maneuvers with the National People's Army (NVA) and multinational maneuvers within the framework of the combined armed forces.

Subordinated to the GSFG command staff, domiciled in Wuersdorf near Berlin, are five army staffs as well as the air force staff. Since early December 1980 Army General M.M. Saitsev has been supreme commander of the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany.[19] Since February 1981 he has been assisted by Col General I.A. Gubin as head of the political administration and, since June 1981, by Col Gen I.F. Sviridov as first deputy and chief of staff.[20]

According to Soviet data[21] Army General Mikhail Mitrofanovich Saitsev was born in 1923. He has served in the army since 1941. He participated in World War II from 1942-1945, at the end as adjutant to the chief of staff of an army corps. In 1943 he joined the CPSU. In 1954 he graduated from the Military Academy for Tank Forces and, from 1957-1858, exercised the function of deputy chief of staff, subsequently chief of staff, of a tank division. From 1959-1968 he was deputy commander of a tank division. In the mid-1960's Saitsev graduated from the Military Academy of the Soviet Army General Staff, and from 1969-1980 was deputy commander, later commander,

of the Belorussian military district. Since the Twenty-sixth CPSU Congress he has been a member of the CPSU Central Committee. His appointment as head of the GSFG signals his promotion to one of the highest ranks in the Soviet military hierarchy, a top job that offers every prospect of greater responsibilities to come. Some of his predecessors[22] in the GSFG supreme command later rose to be supreme commanders of the Warsaw Pact Organization's combined forces,[23] two even advanced to defense ministers of the USSR: Soviet Marshals G.K. Zhukov and A.A. Grechko.

As the supreme commander of the GSFG Saitsev is also a member of the combined forces military council, and so is Col General Ivan Arkhipovich Gubin, chief of the political administration of Soviet armed forces stationed in the GDR, born in 1922 and a graduate of the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy. He has been active in political work in the Soviet Army since 1951, last as chief of the political administration of a military district.[24] Before his transfer to the GSFG, chief of staff Col General Ivan Fedorovich Sviridov, born 1926, was head of the political administration of the Baku air defense district.[25]

The GSFG and the NVA

In its standard work on the National People's Army, the Thomas M. Forster study group draws attention to the fact that the GSFG has "located its forces in that part of the GDR, which is also the key location of the NVA land forces. Close cooperation between the GSFG and the NVA must therefore be assumed."[26] That is indeed the situation. It is actually quite easy to recognize that this cooperation has never been closer than now. At the present time the NVA is doubtlessly the most important military partner of the Soviet Union in Europe. Back in 1974 Erich Honecker was quite justified at a meeting of Soviet soldiers in Magdeburg to point out "that the comradeship-in-arms between the Soviet armed forces and the National People's Army has grown stronger with every year. The unswerving comradeship-in-arms among the socialist armies represents proletarian internationalism in action in the military field, and for us it manifests itself most of all in our relations with the comrades of the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany. Cooperation between the staffs, divisions and units of both armies has achieved a qualitatively new stage especially in recent years. More and more directly does it affect the improvement of combat strength and readiness in the National People's Army. Our collaboration in the Alert System, common training as per coordinated plans and standardized norms, the common use of training bases, help in the mastering of new weapons and equipment, the fruitful exchange of experiences and performance comparisons have become everyday military reality, just as meetings for the purpose of sports and games, joint cultural events and intimate friendships among soliders."[27] Honecker's remarks, though not quite free of hyperbole, are fairly realistic in their description of the relations in effect between the GSFG and the NVA. Army General Saitsev, for his part, confirmed them in one of his first public remarks as the newly appointed GSFG supreme commander: "Relations between Soviet soldiers and the National People's Army are growing increasingly stronger in the course of carrying out the common tasks for the armed defense of the most forward line of the defense of socialism. For 25 years this cooperation has extended to all areas of life, of military and political training. Our comradeship-in-arms is daily lived in practice."[28] In any case it is more than the organization of joint meetings and comparisons of sports performances, joint excursions to memorials or joint military ceremonies and rallies such as have been current since 1968 when the GDR began to organize an annual "week of comradeship-in-arms" from 23 February to 1 March.

NVA relations with the GSFG, the "regiment next door," have long advanced to include common standard catalogues and performance comparisons in combat training and shooting. "Group starts of rockets, field camps of signal troops, the adjustment of methods for joint bridge building by pioneers as well as changing uses of certain training facilities served the steady improvement of combat readiness as well as training in mixed groups, crews and teams made up of members of the Soviet Army and the NVA."[29] Joint exercises are often quite martial in nature--for example the command staff exercise "Soyuz 81," in the course of which tanks, motorized infantry and artillery units of the GSFG and NVA, supported by fighters and helicopters, operated "in the central section of the GDR (!)" in spring 1981: "The training engagement began with complex artillery fire on the approaching adversary. Resources of all types of weapons were used. From the rear a tank destroyer section pushed forward. It aimed to prevent an attempted breakthrough (recognized in its earliest stage) by enemy tanks. ... In the meantime guns, howitzers and missile launchers added their voices. At regular intervals combat helicopters flew low over the field of battle, assumed firing positions on the rise and fired salvoes of unguided rockets. Covered by the persistent fire of the artillery and weapons systems of the air defense troops as well as aircraft, motorized infantry and tank units of the NVA and the Soviet Union, acting in unison and advancing in step, proceeded to counterattack..."[30]

Prescribed Comradeship-in-Arms

Logically such joint exercises require standard planning and preparation within a set period--and in fact agreements of all kinds on GSFG/NVA cooperation have been concluded ever since the 1960's. On 13 November 1964, the beginning of the 1964/1965 training year, a first "long-range plan was agreed for the further consolidation of the comradeshil-at-arms between the National People's Army and the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany."[31] It prescribed "all-round cooperation" between the GSFG and the NVA at all levels, "beginning with the ministry for national defense by way of military districts and commands, divisions and regiments, down to independent units." In addition to "close personal contacts between personnel of the NVA and GSFG" the long-range plan provided for the "purposeful and technical exchange of experiences between commanders and political workers," among others on "the methods of the work of commanders at all levels in the organization of military training and the study of weaponry and technical combat equipment" as well as "the method of operation of political organs" and "the practical work of noncommissioned officers and officers in the education and training of army personnel." This long-range plan "also remained in effect when, on 6 January 1965, the minister for national defense issued the order on cooperation between the National People's Army and the fraternal armies of the socialist countries with a view to deepening comradeship-in-arms."[32] This is evidence of the special nature of relations between the GSFG and the NVA. That special nature was again reaffirmed by the "order on the consolidation of the comradeship-in-arms between the National People's Army and the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany,"[33] issued by the defense minister on 18 December 1969. This sets out the principles of cooperation in the 1970's. Five years later three senior NVA officers summarized cooperation with the GSFG in the following three principles arising from earlier experiences:

"First: From the aspect of the incidence of measures as well as the participating personnel of the army, cooperation has acquire mass character... Second: Joint measures regarding education, training and the organization of leisure have become far

more systematic and consistent. Third: Contacts with the comrades-in-arms are more and more purposefully directed to raising the combat strength and readiness of the armed forces."[34]

It would surely be inappropriate to dismiss such statements as mere propaganda. They seem quite genuinely to arise from the maxim, mandatory on officers of the National People's Army, "that smooth cooperation by commanders, staffs and troops with those of the Soviet Army is a preeminent political and military duty."[35] In the meantime a new order on comradeship-at-arms was issued on 23 January 1978.[36] This renders ineffective its two predecessors of 6 January 1965 and 18 December 1968. According to the new order, it seems that operational plans are agreed annually between the GSFG and the NVA. The signing of a "plan of joint measures for deepening cooperation in the 1980/1981 training year" by Col General Heinz Kessler, chief of the NVA's main political administration, and Col General I.S. Mednikov, then chief of the GSFG political administration, for example, was reported in the GDR press.[37]

Nevertheless, in view of the fact that it requires regimentation by special orders, there does not appear much substance to the piously emphasized claim for comradeship-in-arms. It may be confined to cooperation in working hours. Outside such hours comradely relations with the "regiment next door" are maintained at best by NVA officers, especially because, unlike their men, they are not obstructed by the language barrier.

Nothing is to be seen of extra-hour relations between GSFG and NVA rank and file personnel. It is hard to imagine spontaneous contacts--the comrades-in-arms meet one another only in an organized and therefore controlled setting. This probably due to many factors. Among others Soviet solders stationed in the GDR serve in far more oppressive conditions than their German comrades. Their housing conditions, far removed from residential areas, are ghetto-like, and usually they are far worse equipped than NVA barracks. Discipline is much harsher in the Soviet Army, pay much lower than for GDR soldiers who, moreover, are conscripted for 18 months, 6 months less than their Russian comrades. From that aspect alone it appears that unsupervised meetings are hardly desirable. A man-to-man "exchange of experiences" might be politically damaging from the standpoint of the CPSU and SED. Unless ordered from above, comradeship-in-arms is no more than a myth.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Treaty between the Government of the German Democratic Republic and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Issues Related to the Temporary Station of Soviet Armed Forces on the Territory of the German Democratic Republic, dated 12 March 1957," in: "Dokumente zur Aussenpolitik der Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik" /Documents on the Foreign Policy of the Government of the German Democratic Republic/, vol 5, Berlin 1958, pp 677ff.

2. "The Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 23 February 1980.--On the history of the group see Wolf Oschlies, "Thirty Years 'Group Soviet Armed Forces inGermany'," DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV No 10/1975, pp 1019ff.

3. From the government declaration by Premier Otto Grotewohl on the result of the Moscow negotiations, report to the People's Chamber on 16 January 1957, quoted in "Documents on the Foreign Policy...," as before, p 83.

4. Erich Honecker, "Reden und Aufsaetze," /Speeches and Essays/, Vol 6, Berlin 1980, pp 520 and 525.

5. See Jens Hacker, "Der Rechtsstatus Deutschlands aus der Sicht der DDR, Abhandlungen zum Ostrecht" /Germany's Legal Status from the Standpoint of the GDR, Treatises on Eastern Law/, Vol 13, Cologne 1964, pp 250ff.

6. Soviet Government declaration of 25 March 1954 on the establishment of full sovereignty for the German Democratic Republic, in: "Documents on Foreign Policy..." as before, vol 1, Berlin 1954, pp 303f.

7. "Treaty on Relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 20 September 1955," as above, pp 280ff.

8. "Protokoll der Verhandlungen des V. Parteitages der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" /Record of Proceedings at the Fifth SED Congress/, vol 1, Berlin 1959, p 281.

9. See "Conference of the Mixed GDR-USSR Commission," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 11 November 1981.

10. See note 1, pp 699ff.

11. See Stephan Tiedtke, "The Status of the GDR in the Warsaw Pact Organization," in: "Die Nationale Volksarmee" /The National People's Army/, Reinbeck 1976, pp 42ff.

12. See "Die Armeen der Warschauer Pakt-Staaten" /The Armies of the Warsaw Pact Countries/, published by Friedrich Wiener, 7th edition, Munich 1979, pp 62ff; Mg: "Federal Republic of Germany/German Democratic Republic--National Forces and Forces Stationer There," OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT No 1/1981, pp 58ff; H.M.: "The Military and Arms Potential of the Soviet Union," ibid, No 1/1982, pp 17ff; and "Streitkraefte 1981/1982, Die 'Military Balance' des Internationalen Instituts fuer Strategische Studien, London," /Armed Forces 1981/1982, The 'Military Balance' of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London/, published by the Study Group on Defense Research, Munich 1982, p 39.

13. Mg: as above, p 61.

14. See "USSR Set an Example," TASS on the withdrawal of Soviet forces from the GDR, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 2 August 1980.

15. See "Every Second GSFG Regiment a Guard Regiment," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 11 June 1980.

16. Details on the arms and equipment of the GSFG may be culled from technical military literature (note 12).--A general and highly informative survey is also offered by the so-called Pentagon Paper, "Soviet Armament," published in German translation by the Bernard and Graefe Publishing House, Munich, and supplemented in an appendix by two Federal Government replies on the armament of the Warsaw Pact countries and a comparison of United States-USSR strength.

17. See "Soviet Exchange of Forces in the GDR Has Begun," DER TAGESSPIEGEL, 18 April 1980; and "Soviet Exchange of Forces in Progress in the GDR," ibid, 23 April 1981.

18. See Stephan Tiedtke: "Die Warschauer Vertragsorganisation" /The Warsaw Pact Organization/, Munich-Vienna 1978, pp 65f.

19. See "Close Comradeshipin-Arms for the Defense of Peace and Socialism," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6 December 1980.

20. See "Tribute to Col General Mednikov," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 7 February 1981; also "Scharnhorst Order Bestowed on the Chief of the GSFG Staff," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 23 June 1981.

21. See "Annual of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia 1981," Moscow 1981, p 578 (in Russian).

22. Earlier supreme commanders were the Marshals of the Soviet Union and Army Generals G.K. Zhukov (1945-1946); V.D. Sokolovský (1946-1949); V.I. Chulikov (1949-1953); A.A. Grechko (1953-1957); M.M. Sakharov (1957-1960); I.I. Yakubovsky (1960-1961 and 1962-1965); I.S. Koniev (1961-1962); P.K. Koshevoy (1965-1969); V.G. Kulikov (1969-1971); S.K. Kurkotkin (1971-1972) and Y.F. Ivanovsky (1972-1980).

23. Marshals Grechko, Yakubovsky and Kulkov transferred from the function of supreme commanders of the GSFG to that of supreme commanders of the Warsaw Pact Organization's combined forces. In one case the transfer was in the opposite direction: Marshal Koniev was supreme commander of the combined forces when appointed head of the GSFG in summer 1961: He was to hold the supreme command during the cordoning off operation of 13 August 1961 and was recalled soon after, in April 1962.

24. See note 21, p 574.

25. As per information from the All-German Institute, Berlin.

26. Thomas M. Forster: "Die NVA-Kernstueck der Landesverteidigung der DDR" /The NVA--Cornerstone of the GDR's National Defense," fifth edition, Cologne 1979, p 99.

27. See note 4, vol 3, Berlin 1976, p 100.

28. Mikhail Saitsev: "Born in the Battles for the Defense of the Revolution," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21 February 1981.

29. Klaus-Ulrich Keubke/Toni Nelles/Heinz Oeckel: "On the Development of Comrades-in-Arms Relations between the National People's Army of the GDR and the Soviet Army in the 1970's," MILITAERGESCHICHTE No 1/1978, p 28.

30. Dietmar Jammer/Rainer Funke: "Comrades-in-Arms Show Their Worth at the Command Staff Exercise 'Soyuz 81'," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 7 April 1981.--The exercise lasted from 17 March through 7 April 1981 and took place with the participation of Polish and Czechoslovak units not only in the GDR but also in Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

31. Quoted by Klaus-Ulrich Keubke: "Two Documents on the Comradeship-in-Arms of the NVA with the Soviet Army and the Other Socialist Fraternal Armies (in the mid-1960's)," MILITAERGESCHICHTE No 1/1982, pp 83f.

32. Ibid, p 82.

33. Quoted by Klaus-Ulrich Keubke: "On the Comradeship-in-Arms between the National People's Army and the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany in the 1970's," MILITAERGESCHICHTE No 2/1980, pp 205ff. (The author reproduces the full text of the 1969 comradeship-in-arms order)

34. Hermann Mueller/Karl-Heinz Schulz/Paul Wollina: "Warschauer Vertrag--Schild des Sozialismus" /Warsaw Pact--Shield of Socialism/, Berlin 1975, p 135.

35. Ibid.

36. In a footnote Keubke (note 33) indicates the new comradeship-in-arms order without quoting from it. Its full designation is "Order No 030/9/007 by the Minister for National Defense on the Consolidation of Comradeship-in-Arms Relations between the National People's Army of the GDR and the Fraternal Armies of the Socialist Community," of 23 January 1978; it is therefore not restricted to relations with the Soviet Army or the GSFG although those relations are crucial.

37. See "Plan for NVA-GSFG Cooperation Signed," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21 November 1980.

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ACHIEVEMENTS, FAILURES REVIEWED ON FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF 12TH CONGRESS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Mar 82 p 1

[Editorial: "One Year after the 12th BCP Congress--Unswervingly and Consistently on the April Course"]

[Text] When the 12th Party Congress closed, Comrade Todor Zhivkov declared, "This was a good congress, a strong congress, a congress of decisive significance for our further development."

Twelve months have passed and with still greater reason we can repeat those words today: yes, events have proved that the congress, which began its proceedings on 31 March 1981, has exceptional and historic merit for the party, the people and the state. This is clear now; it will be appreciated even more categorically by our posterity and successors. For the 12th Congress is a peak in our party congresses. A peak from which one sees especially vividly both what has been done and what lies ahead.

If we have to characterize briefly the year that has passed since the 12th Party Congress, we have sufficient reason to call it a time of creative restlessness, of the development of initiative and a search for the best solutions to problems. It was during this period that our theory and practice were enriched by several important party documents which are a continuation of congress policy and a concretization of its remarkable theses. We refer to the following: Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech on "Some Problems and Tasks involved in Fulfillment of the Decisions of the 12th BCP Congress," delivered at the National Conference of Party, State, Economic and Social Activists on 24 October 1981; the address of our first party and government leader, made at the traditional meeting of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee with student youth on 7 December 1981; Comrade Todor Zhivkov's detailed answers, published in our press, to the questions of Robert Maxwell, president of Pergamon Press publishing house; his programmatic statement regarding questions about the cooperative movement in our country at a meeting with the Executive Committee of the Central Cooperative Union. We give this reminder of these four documents since they have become events for the whole of public opinion, have given forward impetus to theory and have provided serious stimuli for the practical efforts of the working people whom they concern.

How great is the importance, for example, of the problem of the material and technical base of mature socialism, the basic ways of building it, clarification of the

role of the owner and proprietor of every enterprise and the responsibility of the worker? The party has clearly determined that this problem of creating the material and technical base of mature socialism at the level of modern scientific and technical progress is and will be the great decisive problem in our development both up to 1985 and in the next decade. This has dictated consistent efforts for the mass dissemination and adoption in practice of the achievements of pacemakers, for full modernization and full automation, and for switching the entire national economy from the track of extensive development onto the track of intensive development. This task--revolutionary in its design, pace and results--shapes all the efforts of all the collectives. Comrade Todor Zhivkov's latest speeches to the plenums of okrug people's committees in Burgas and Silistra raise again, exceptionally forcefully and sharply, the problems of intensification, which must become the core and burden of party, administrative and economic activity from top to bottom and along the entire front of the campaign to build socialism in our country. The sharpness appeared despite no small progress, despite solid gains. We should mention here that despite difficulties resulting from the international situation which has worsened through the fault of the imperialist powers and, above all, the United States, and despite the fact that there are subjective weaknesses, our economy both last year and during the first quarter of 1982 continued to develop at a steady rate that is one of the highest in the world; the living standard is stable and the tranquility of the domestic economic front is a fact requiring no proof. Yet despite these unquestionably favorable phenomena, the party even now, a year after the 12th Congress, with great force emphasizes how much we still have to do in all areas in order to implement entirely the transition to intensive development, to achieve a significant rise in the social productivity of labor and, on this basis, meet more and more fully the high material and spiritual needs of every family, of every person. The ways of achieving these results are known. There are no secrets here--everything is in the hands of the people. "Nothing comes free in this world," Comrade Todor Zhivkov declared in his speech to the congress. "To consume more, more material and spiritual goods have to be produced." And here precisely is where we still encounter many shortcomings--both laxness towards the quality of output and loose discipline, laggardness in adopting new things, squandering of raw materials and labor resources, a wrong attitude towards the appeal to economize on fuel and electric power everywhere, and the wasting of precious time. We must rehabilitate the factor of time: how profound in its connotation is this slogan of the congress--and how much more we have to work if we are to respond to the demands with real deeds! The right thing will be if in every unit, in every labor collective, the campaign to save time and use it to best purpose becomes a fundamental criterion for assessing party, administrative and economic work, becomes a problem whose successful solution will result in a number of advances in the labor, political, ideological and educational activity of primary party organizations and of entire collectives. By steadfastly pursuing the policy of general intensification and combining it with the adoption of the new economic approach and its mechanism and by creating conditions everywhere for everybody actually to earn his labor remuneration, we can shortly reach considerably higher peaks and make the time before the next party congress especially fruitful.

The year that has passed is characterized by a number of new and favorable aspects in inner-party life. The main thing is the policy of elevating the role and fighting efficiency of the primary party organization in the campaign to fulfill the decisions of the 12th Congress. The review that is now under way must contribute to

raising the level of ability of every primary party organization to fulfill the role of a political staff in the campaign to implement the intensification policy, to educate labor collectives as the proprietor of socialist property, and to mobilize communists and working people to translate into deeds and results the economic, social and cultural policy of the party at the present-day stage. What is fundamental, decisive and imperative now is party work--among the people, party concern--for the people, and the efforts of every organization--for direct and constant work among the members of the particular collective. What is especially important for every primary party organization is feeling the pulse of collectives, living with the problems, thoughts and attitudes of the people, giving prompt answers to the questions that arise, being always in the forefront and in this way successfully fulfilling its leadership role. This is what the bureaus and committees and all communists should concentrate their efforts on. Maximum concreteness in both ideological and organizational and political work, continuous ideological support of political and economic goals without evading difficult and pointed questions, frank and businesslike chats with the people--this is the behest of the congress which must be carried out with still greater vigor. Numerous fine examples, which are abundant in practice, show the right way.

The Bulgarian Communist Party has made spectacular progress in its development; the Bulgarian people are now living in the most fruitful period of their thirteen centuries of history. And this is no accident. It is a result of the right policy which the party is implementing--Marxist-Leninist policy, April policy. In its resolution on the 25th anniversary of the April plenum of the BCP Central Committee, the 12th Congress noted, "The April policy is the Leninist general line of the BCP during completion of the transition from capitalism to socialism, under conditions of triumphant socialism, during the campaign to build a developed socialist society and the gradual changeover to the building of communism in Bulgaria."

All our progress is the fruit of this April policy, of faithfulness to the April line. And there is no doubt that faithfulness to this line is the main prerequisite for the new and even greater achievements we have to win in the next few years by labor and persistence.

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PRAISE FOR LYUDMILA ZHIVKOVA'S WORK, IDEAS CONTINUES

Culture Committee Chairman's Speech

Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian 11 Mar 82 p 1

[Speech by Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture at the first session of the Initiative Committee of the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation: "Among Us Today and Forever"]

[Text] Dear guests, ladies and gentlemen, comrades:

For me it is a stroke of good fortune and a high honor to be able to greet in the name of the membership and of the government of the Bulgarian People's Republic such esteemed personages in the arts and figures in the cultural, economic and political life of our country and many others in the world. From the bottom of my heart I thank you for responding to the invitation to meet in Sofia on such a noble occasion.

I hope I express our common opinion if I say that we are united by a single thought and impulse: peace and peaceful cooperation on behalf of a continuous upward trend of culture, on behalf of social progress. We are united by what in our time we call the "spirit of Helsinki." The strength of this spiritual unity is lasting and eternal. It brings us closer together despite the differences of socioeconomic systems and the political creeds that we profess.

We are about to exchange opinions regarding the practical steps involved in the creation and activity of the new international foundation, which gives profound meaning to our impending talks. We are inspired by Lyudmila Zhivkova's sacred memory and by her lofty humane work. She was a remarkable daughter of our people, a striking personality in our spiritual life, a dedicated builder of modern Bulgaria. Lyudmila Zhivkova's pure and humane ideas and her strivings for harmony and beauty, for unity and creativity, for peace and friendship, as well as what she created in her short life, have won her the love and esteem of the people in our country and of wide public circles in many countries.

I speak of all this with emotion because many of us knew her élan vital and the profundity of her thought and creative undertakings. She had the marvelous talent of lighting the flame of Good and turning it into a blazing torch of progress.

Suffice it to recall that Lyudmila Zhivkova was the originator and organizer of our National Program of Esthetic Education, of the Banner of Peace International Assembly and a number of initiatives of international importance. A warm-hearted person, a talented scholar and researcher, she enriched the life of the people and inspired in them her belief in peace, friendship and cooperation. Efforts to protect the peace, strengthen friendship and cultivate cooperation among nations characterize the policy of our party and government. This lofty humane goal is also served by the proposal, made at a meeting of the Balkan countries by Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, to discuss the idea of turning the Balkan peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, into a zone of peace and good neighborliness.

Comrades, ladies and gentlemen. Just a year ago, during the days of the approaching 1300th spring in socialist Bulgaria, Lyudmilla Zhivkova said, "The spring in Bulgaria, in the Bulgarian land, is the spring of the renascent new spirituality, of the eternal striving, implanted and living in the people, after Beauty, Freedom, Creativity."

I recall these words because contained therein is her yearning for a new world illumined by social justice, by creativity and beauty, by life and strength, by happiness and a peaceful sky for our children. Can anyone doubt that the place of such a person is in fact among us--today and forever?

Writers Union Chairman's Speech

Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian 11 Mar 82 p 1

[Speech of Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of Union of Bulgarian Writers: "A Human Being as Precious as Fine Gold"]

[Text] I thank all who have given me their confidence. The ideas that have brought us together here tower above individual feelings; therein lies their grandeur. Lyudmila Zhivkova's ideas summon us to think of every living human being's individuality and of the whole of society through the prism of universal laws of Beauty rather than subordinate these laws to our personal passions. This basic, self-sacrificing and heroic element in the work of Lyudmila Zhivkova and the assay value of that human being as precious as fine gold are today recompensed by the exceptional recognition, admiration and sense of debt that bring us together here at this first session of the Initiative Committee of the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation.

(Lyubomir Levchev then introduced the participants to the session.)

He continued further:

Like a true daughter of the Bulgarian people, of a new socialist Bulgaria, like a spark wrested from the steel of time and the flint of truth, Lyudmila Zhivkova perceived the necessity of the unity of human creative forces in the name of that beauty, by the force of whose laws, we believe, the future of the world will be built and controlled. Lyudmila Zhivkova was nurtured and inspired by a philosophy,

as much national as international, that affirmed and always will affirm that peace is the sacred condition, without which the spiral of unending human development and self-perfection is impossible. She devoted her whole life, she burned herself out selflessly and self-sacrificially, transforming into real conditions and real achievements the expansion of the horizon of human consciousness, the awakening of the creative principle, its perfection and realization in qualitatively new, versatilely and harmoniously developed personalities in a world of beauty and harmony.

Lyudmila Zhivkova was not just one of the many giddy visionaries of mankind. She combined the force of ideas with the force of deeds to form the cutting edge of a beam of light. The Banner of Peace Movement, conceived and created by her, and the international assembly of the same name, which received unqualified recognition from a small child's heart to the United Nations, remain and evolve as a glowing symbol and a monument not made by human hands.

We are now brought together by the apprehension and the hope that this wealth beyond price should not be frittered away, that so lofty a creative impulse should not fade away in the cold haze of indifference, that Lyudmila Zhivkova's work shall continue.

The nature of the foundation, just as Lyudmila Zhivkova's work itself, has deep national roots. This is the tradition of the church founders and donors who in all the distant centuries built the temple of Bulgarian spirituality. Somewhere at the very end of the book or far from the altar the hand of the scribe or icon painter, now frozen in death, has left us a fleeting marginal note or fresco, but these shy evidences move our hearts more deely today than the sacred images of God Almighty.

Again according to this tradition of ours, during the most frightful days for the country through the collection of donations which joined daydream to great idea, national reading rooms were built, these cherished lamps of education, from whose sparks the conflagration of the struggle for national and social liberation was kindled.

Lyudmila Zhivkova's ideas inspire us with the April spirit, reminiscent of this Bulgarian national revival. They are a precious first fundamental contribution and we believe in the future of a new, genuine people's foundation. And thus the purpose of our gathering is to unify our common appeal for the setting up of the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation, which will take up the flame from her heart and pass it on to the future. Drafts of the documents necessary for convening the foundation's constituent assembly have been distributed to all participants in this first session of the Initiative Committee of the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation. I request our friends and colleagues who have already been appointed to one of the four working commissions of the Initiative Committee, viz., the commission on organizational and technical questions, the commission on international relations, the commission on financial and commercial questions, and the commission on the constitutional instrument and other normative documents, after familiarizing themselves with the drafts, to give us their recommendations before the end of the month of April so that we can take them into consideration in organizing the constituent assembly.

The great ideas belong to all who have a heart open to them. And, it seems to me, it was a symbolic moment when Mr Lorenzo Maria Gallo announced at the 21st International Golden Mercury Conference the proposal that a Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation be set up where cooperation between the spiritual and the economic sphere should be established on behalf of progress and peace on the planet. Thus was lifted up, simply and courageously, the heavy cross of noble ideas, thanks to which the human spirit is inherited, human civilization evolves, and we profess the hope that tomorrow will be more humane, happier and worthier.

In his concluding remarks Lyubomir Levchev emphasized that the unity of thought and words, strikingly manifested in the session, gives rise to great joy. The meeting proceeded successfully and this inspires optimism for the future. We see Lyudmila Zhivkova's image, work and ideas bringing us together and uniting us anew with the noble ideal of harmony and beauty in the name of peace. And in this unity of ours we see the simple miracle of the overcoming of physical death, a human being with high ideals proving stronger than all else. This unity of ours gives us the right and duty not only to appeal for the creation of the foundation, but also to set about organizing the constituent assembly for it at the beginning of July 1982, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the birth of our dear Lyudmila Zhivkova.

6474
CSO: 2200/81

ADVANTAGES OF TRACKED, WHEELED ARMORED VEHICLES DISCUSSED

Prague OBRANA LIDU in Czech 13 Mar 82 p 6

[Article by Jozef Honzer: "Wheels or Tracks?"]

> [Text] Driver Pvt J. Blazek, measuring device in hand, checks the spacing of 11 pins on the stretched upper section of a tank track. His eyes move along the pins and shoes to make sure that none of them is broken. The clanking of tank treads quickly reveals the presence of this crew on the range. "High-quality performance of the mission at the range also depends on correct stretching of the tank track," the company commander declares, "so that the driver will not have to change direction while on the move and throw the sight-setting off." Accordingly, hitting the target on the first shot involves not only correct ranging of the weapon and correct engine speed, but also the skill of the driver and careful preparation of the vehicle.

The date 15 September 1981 marked 65 years since the first use of tanks in combat. Have they then, by a human analogy, reached an honored old age? Have they a claim to a pension? By no means; when we prepare to use them again in exercises, time is of little importance. The weapons, engines and armor of these vehicles are being modernized: would not an advanced running gear design also be worthwhile? Might it not be a timely step to replace tracks with wheels? Let us consider in more detail the advantages offered by both these types of drive.

Mobility is unequivocally in favor of wheels, not only because of the greater speed that is possible, but also because of vulnerability. Tracks are at a disadvantage in this respect. If it is hit, the entire running gear is wrecked, and the tank stops. In the case of 4-axle or 6-axle vehicles, generally only one wheel is hit and they can move out of the line of fire. Helpful factors in such a situation are the emergency cycle of modern tires and equalization of air loss by another feed system, using equipment for regulating the air pressure in the tires.

Because of their inflation, tires also are helpful in swimming. Otherwise, under extreme combat conditions it is difficult to determine the advantages of either of the systems. We know that tires slip somewhat in snow and ice. But we assume that, especially in dynamic phases of battle, vehicles would avoid impassable areas.

Both evidence and tradition speak in favor of tracks. Tracks have a smaller specific ground pressure, making it easier for them to move in soft ground. Tracks are not vulnerable to small-arms fire or to shrapnel from grenades. A decrease in the air pressure to increase traction results in increased wheel effort and a higher tire temperature, which decreases their life. More than half a century's use of tracks has led to improvement of the drive and transmission systems to the point that even with tracks a modern tank has extreme mobility and maneuverability and the capability of overcoming difficult manmade and natural obstacles.

Another factor in the balance is the tank's vulnerability resulting from the ease of locating it. The problem is noise. Because of the smaller engine power needed, a wheeled vehicle is harder to hear, and it is not given away by the clanking of treads. The smaller engine power which is required in a wheeled vehicle also makes possible better thermal insulation, which decreases the likelihood of discovery by modern infrared detection methods.

Both tracked and wheeled vehicles can carry weapons. The wheeled vehicle allows better gun stabilization and more precise laying, which is the problem we noted at the beginning of the article. Experts may object that the stabilizer reliably eliminates vibration in tanks and that, on the contrary, the vibration of springs or the tires themselves may be much more important.

It is difficult to foresee what will decide the issue. Also significant are production expenditures, which affect every project, even if in this case it would be possible to use the capabilities of the automotive industry. It is possible that both tracked and wheeled tanks will appear in the future and that armored personnel carriers, which are generally wheeled, will come to use tanks. Also possible is the use of a dual system.

The combat value of every armored vehicle results from its weapon. Mobility and crew protection are equally important, but the designer always thinks of the vehicle's mission. He considers whether it is intended for a brief, powerful blow or for fast deployment over short distances in a meeting engagement. Also critical is the requirement that the vehicle withstand an enemy nuclear strike and thus be as well suited as possible to the nature of modern combat.

These principles of armaments are reflected in the development of our army. International division of labor and socialist integration enable our industry to concentrate its facilities on the research, development and production of equipment which will be suitable for the other Warsaw Pact armies as well. Systematic improvement of armaments proceeds simultaneously with mutual improvement of the effectiveness of development and production, where there is no place for speculation, accident or whim.

8480
CSO: 2400/197

BRIEFS

AFGHAN STUDENTS--At present more than 200 Afghans are studying at the CSSR institutes of higher learning. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Mar 82 p 6]

PHYSICIANS TO KAMPUCHEA--A group of Czechoslovak physicians has left for Kampuchea to work 6 months in the Kompong Som Hosptial within the framework of urgent medical assistance to developing countries. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Mar 82 p 2]

AUXILIARY SECURITY FORCE--In Western Slovakia there are currently 983 units of auxiliary public security guards, with a total of 8,050 members. Since 1977, a total of 3,019 new members were received in the units in the region. The average age of the members is becoming lower--about 50 percent of them are less than 40 years old. Since 1977, 82 new units have been set up. During the last 5 years the units in the region ascertained 176,837 transgressions, 4,635 offences, and 4,076 criminal acts; they apprehended 445 wanted persons; and passed on to the public security bodies 8,401 bits of information on antisocial activities. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Mar 82 p 2]

COOPERATION WITH MOZAMBIQUE--An agreement on cooperation between the Chambers of Commerce of Czechoslovakia and Mozambique was signed at the conclusion of his Prague visit by Armindo de Brito, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce of the People's Republic of Mozambique, who visited the CSSR from 23 to 25 March at the invitation of Ludvik Cerny, chairman of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Mar 82 p 2]

COOPERATION WITH ITALY--The mixed Czechoslovak-Italian commission meets in Prague on 23-26 March. It is discussing the program of cultural, educational, scientific and medical exchange between the governments of the CSSR and the Italian Republic for 1982-84. This document was signed this Thursday in the Cernin Palace; within its framework both sides expect a further successful cooperation in all spheres which the program amends. In the course of deliberations the Italian delegation was received by Mecislav Jablonski, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Mar 82 p 2]

SLOVAK COOPERATIVE FARMERS--At its Bratislava session on 16 February, attended by Rudolf Vanco, head of department in the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, the Slovak Committee of the Union of Cooperative Farmers evaluated the union's activities since the Ninth Congress of unified cooperative farms; approved the budget for 1982; approved certain cadre questions; released T. Bohdanovsky from his post as acting deputy chairman and member of the Slovak Committee of the Union of Cooperative Farmers; and coopted J. Gajdos as member of the union's Slovak committee, simultaneously electing him acting deputy chairman. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Feb 82 p 2]

PREPARATIONS FOR WFDY ASSEMBLY--Prague, 16 Mar (CTK)--The 2-day session of the Bureau of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), which was concluded this Tuesday in the Palace of Culture in Prague, was devoted to preparations for the 11th WFDY Assembly. The supreme gathering of the largest youth organization in the world will take place at the beginning of this June in the CSSR capital. "The main item on the agenda of the June assembly in Prague should be the activation of the fight waged by the progressive youth throughout the world for peace and disarmament," Miklos Barabas, WFDY secretary general, stated in his talk with the journalists. Part of the assembly will also be an international tribunal called "Youth Accuses Imperialism," and a peace rally in Lidice. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Mar 82 p 1]

CSO: 2400/211

EXISTENCE OF CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALIST SYSTEM ACKNOWLEDGED

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 25 Mar 82 p 6

['Theory and Practice' feature article by Dr Peter Kranenpuhl, Karl Marx University, Leipzig: "Are Contradictions Alien to Socialism?--On Driving Forces That Must Be Controlled"]

[Text] The problem of contradictions in socialism is an area of continual controversy-among the friends of socialism as well as among its opponents. Capitalist mass media especially try to "make it clear" that, in general, contradictions in socialism must be seen in a negative light. They say that the existence of these contradictions runs counter to the great socialist ideas of early socialists, including Marx and Engels. This capitalist interpretation of contradictions then becomes part of a general campaign against socialism.

In this interpretation, contradictions are considered the same as errors, difficulties and conflicts, i.e. aspects resulting from deficient attitudes of men and originating from subjective causes, e.g. the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the party of the working class or the socialist state.

If we accept this anti-socialist argumentation, the question arises why, in countries dominated by imperialism, contradictions arise with such violence and why they lead to considerable social upheavals. The conclusion must be that contradictions exist in capitalism just as in socialism. Their moral condemnation does not in any way result in a clearer understanding of their character.

To Understand Their Character

It is therefore absolutely necessary to analyze their character and their role in the development [of socialism]. In contrast to capitalism, contradictions in socialism have a non-antagonistic character. They are not an expression of an irreconcilable class polarization, and their solution does not result from class struggle. The character of the contradictions in a society is determined by the character of the production conditions from which these contradictions and consequently also the form of their solution arise. Seen in a positive light, contradictions in socialism exist through and in the actions of friendly classes. Solutions are found through joint work under the

scientifically oriented leadership of the party of the working class. These contradictions are just as objective here as in other areas of realities.

How do these contradictions become obvious?

To Understand Them in Theory

Contradictions are the internal driving forces of a changing reality. The development of socialist society is a process of gradual and continual progress, and also of quick changes in particular areas. At the present time, this could be demonstrated especially by the need to develop quickly a new attitude in dealing with material and raw materials in an economical way in order to make further progress possible--and thereby also continuity. Almost "over night" an established relative balance is being abolished. One condition is replaced by another. It becomes clear that in this balance exist contradictory tendencies that act as causes. Stability and instability, continuity and discontinuity replace one another and require reactions that are ever adapted to new circumstances. The existence of contradictory tendencies not only points to the existence of contradictory aspects, the unity of these tendencies is at the same time their form of movement.

From the objective character of the contradictions in socialism follows the necessity of continually understanding them in theory. From the fact that we are dealing here with contradictions in a society liberated from exploitation and that these contradictions can be analyzed with the important tools of Marxist-Leninist sociology we cannot conclude that these contradictions will run their course and develop their functional driving forces automatically. On the contrary, these contradictions challenge our actions as harsh conditions of daily work, the mastery of scientific analysis, prudent innovative action, high-level commitment and discipline.

There is no doubt that in the process of understanding and solving contradictions, mistakes and conflicts are possible. Although every mistake is painful, we are equally certain that faults can be reduced to a minimum or avoided completely through joint socialist action, criticism, self-criticism and [work on] a high ideological level. Faults must thus be considered not as a necessary but rather an accidental attribute of contradictions in socialism, and the two must not be considered identical. Analysis of these contradictions demands strict objectivity and the clarification of internal and necessary connections inherent in appearances.

As important as the problem of understanding is that of making objective contradictions the basis of action. This process contains three aspects: the origin, the development and the solution of contradictions.

The origin lies in the solution of previous contradictions and also follows the interaction of different social phenomena, e.g. the adaptation of the advantages of socialism to the scientific-technical revolution. This last problem is, as Lenin observed, especially interesting in the development of socialism, e.g. the interaction between democracy and centralism in the structural progress of party and state. Frequently certain social processes develop relatively

independent from one another. Thus, socialism grows on the soil of unsolvable social contradictions of capitalist society where they have become powerful economic and social conflicts and where they appear also in contrasting aspects of man and reality. On the other hand, the mastery of the scientific-technical revolution, if it is not to be limited to individual achievements, is conditioned by a high development level of the economy and the working class as well as of intellectual capacity. The two sides do not always develop at the same time. Each individual communist party must therefore consider very carefully when and in what way it changes over to the broad and most total possible combination of socialism and scientific-technical revolution.

The development of contradictions has two essential aspects: the development of the necessary objective and subjective conditions, and the mastery of the time factor.

To Utilize Their Driving Forces

The solution of contradictions may consist of the transition from one quality to another, and also of the transition from the "old" contradiction to a "new" form of movement. Thus it can be stated without hesitation that the contradiction between the development state of production and the needs of society constitutes an "eternal" driving force in the development of mankind. However, each individual form of society develops a different social mechanism that advances the development of social needs. There is a considerable difference in whether the two develop as aspects of capitalist profit making or whether, as under socialism, the total economic, political and spiritual activity of the workers is directed under the leadership of the party of the working class toward the fulfillment of socially necessary needs. Among these needs the most important ones are no doubt the preservation of peace, social security and steady social progress because on these depend all others, such as personal happiness etc.

The total understanding of contradictions in socialism thus means that they must be used as universal driving forces of progress.

8889
CSO: 2300/216

GREATER MOBILITY, ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY FOR ARMED FORCES CITED

East Berlin TRIBUENE in German 19 Feb 82 p 4

[Interview with Col Gen Werner Fleissner, GDR deputy minister for national defense, by Manfred Strzeletz and Holger Arnhold; date and place not specified: "To Protect Peace Is Our Class Mission — Modern Combat Equipment Places Greater Demands on Consciousness, Knowledge and Ability"]

> [Text] Colonel General Fleissner was born in 1922, learned the trade of a pattern maker and joined the People's Police [VP] in 1946. He gained experience in responsible positions in the VP, KVP [Garrisoned People's Police] and NVA [National People's Army], in courses and by graduating from the Friedrich Engels Military Academy. He has been deputy minister for national defense since 1964. He has received high GDR and foreign decorations.

[Question] The National People's Army of the GDR will soon celebrate the 26th anniversary of its founding. How do you view the development of our People's Army?

[Answer] These 26 years are a part of the successful development of our socialist fatherland. Our party has, in accordance with the Leninist teaching about the necessity of collective defense of socialism, adapted the military policy of developing the National People's Army into a combat-effective coalition army.

The firm unity of the people and the army is of great significance for the successful balance of our armed forces. Remembering our great responsiblity for the peaceful life of our citizens and the entire socialist community, we do everything to ensure that a war will never again start on German soil. Our military class mission is to give the imperialist forces of American imperialism and NATO no chance to plunge our people and the peaceloving peoples of the world into the inferno of a world nuclear war.

[Question] The military industrial complex in the imperialist countries continues to plan and build new weapons of mass destruction. Neutron bombs, cruise missiles and MX missiles are the latest examples. For our servicemen these mean new efforts in mastering modern combat equipment to secure peace.

[Answer] You are right. From the aggressive policy of American imperialism and the Reagan administration in particular, world peace is threatened to a degree not seen since the end of World War II. The aggressive military strategic plans of these reactionary forces have been recently disclosed in detail in a documentation of the USSR Ministry of Defense.

It is, among other things, convincingly proved that the aggressive confrontation course of the Reagan administration permeates all aspects of American policy. These unscrupulous politicians want to shift the military balance to their favor by the mid-1980's.

Our peace policy, the policy of detente and peaceful coexistence radiates a great force that mobilizes peaceloving people in the entire world and establishes clear limits to the boundaries of power of the imperialist forces.

We are today faced with the task of preventing imperialism from starting a third world war, of protecting the peoples from indescribable suffering and guaranteeing favorable external conditions for the continued strengthening of socialism. The peacekeeping mission of our armed forces has significantly increased. For this reason we close ranks even closer with the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies. At the same time the demands on consciousness, knowledge and ability of our servicemen increase because of the high state of development of our modern military equipment and armament.

[Question] How do you assess the technical state of development of the National People's Army?

[Answer] Our National People's Army is a modernly equipped army which, as a coalition army on the frontier of the aggressive NATO pact, is ready at all times to defend the socialist homeland. A process is underway in our armed forces which, among other things, is characterized by an increased transition from the simple weapon to the weapon system, a significant increase in measuring, control and regulating elements as well as electronic tracking and fire control devices and the employment of microelectronics in all services.

Motorization and mechanization of the troops have reached a high state. In the ground forces, for example, the degree of motorization in the mid-1970's was about 25.74 kW (35 hp). This has since increased to 36.78 kW (50 hp) per soldier.

These examples alone make it clear that the high combat value of our military equipment places significant demands on the training of our servicemen and demands a great sense of responsibility for operational readiness, for mastering and using new technology on the battlefield, at sea and in the air.

[Question] Which requirements on the soldier's life result from the enormous technical development?

[Answer] Typical is the transition from the individual fighter with a single weapon to the responsibility of military collectives, squads, crews and troops of the most different arms and services. But the responsibility of each

individual in the collective has also increased by the same degree. The significance of cooperation between arms and services has likewise increased. All these in turn place high demands on each serviceman.

I want to make this clear with one example. Under present conditions only the exact cooperation of all our air defense forces participating in the vectoring of a modern interceptor guarantees the effective engaging of an aerial enemy flying at supersonic speed. If the reaction of the pilot is delayed by only one-third of a second, this can result in course deviations of 300 meters or more.

Today the time factor is proving to be an important criterion of military mastery. Only fractions of seconds pass between the detection of a target, determining the range with a laser rangefinder, transmitting the data to the onboard computer and opening fire.

The "hit with the first shot, the first rocket, the first salvo or during the first pass" movement arising from the socialist competition in our army has proven to be a great force in meeting demands.

Today the soldier must be able to independently compute, control, measure, regulate, dejam, evaluate and process data. In modern combat this all takes place under the most tense physical and mental stress.

[Question] In our enterprises young people can show their talent in many ways. Not least of all in the innovator movement. What is the status of this in the National People's Army?

[Answer] Being a good soldier also means being able to think and act economically in the military sense because modern equipment embodies material and financial values in ever increasing degrees. Thus its correct use, servicing and maintenance is, among other things, an area of concentration in socialist competition and in the innovator movement. The innovator movement made possible a higher military use and a saving of 11 million marks last year.

Exemplary also is the operation and use of trainers, simulators and other modern training devices with which we satisfy the requirement for greater intensity and effectiveness in training. Thus, for example, at the 24th Central MMM [Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow] we rewarded a youth collective of the Ernst Thaelman Higher Officers' School which had created a universal crane trainer. This device is used for initial and continuation training of hoist equipment operators and maintenance personnel as well as for exactly evaluating the state of training. This has resulted in saving valuable material and financial means and the device is also available for further use in the civilian economy.

[Question] Are important prerequisites created prior to military service?

[Answer] That is correct. Decisive foundations have been established by our workers' and peasants' state in that our youth receive solid education and training.

We view socialist upbringing in production, in the enterprise, from the work collective as one of the most important prerequisites. By gaining this at work, our young people receive important fundamentals for their personality development and the formation of the socialist defense motivation. We can then build on this in the army.

[Question] What possibilities of development do young people have who select a longer period of service in the army?

[Answer] The structure of our military higher and professional schools and the technical noncommissioned office [NCO] schools offer broad prospects to each applicant for a military profession. The officer's profession requires completion of an institute of higher education which awards a diploma. Each warrant officer completes a professional school and the career NCO qualifies as a master.

A communications troops career NCO, for example, can gain the qualification of a communications or electronics technician. There is also the chance to attain the qualification of a master of BMSR [Main Administration for Industrial Measuring, Control and Regulating Technology] equipment and even more. During actual service all career military personnel are covered by a continuation training system. Career officers have the opportunity of a second higher education at an NVA academy or at one of the fraternal armies. Scientific personnel have the opportunity to complete doctoral work.

[Question] Could you give our trade union members and functionaries a tip on directions for working with young people?

[Answer] The conscript eligibles who have already been active in political work, in socialist competition, innovator work and also in sports in their work collective bring the best prerequisites for army service. The struggle to achieve scientific and technical progress in the enterprise and for higher effectiveness in the work process is a good preparation for service with us.

It is important that trade union members, trade union functionaries and, in particular, reservist collectives, carry out concrete individual work with young people. In this case we consider the assumption of sponsorships until conscript service begins or until training as a career military person to be an effective form of work. It should be noted that the association between the work collective and the serviceman should be allowed not to lapse but rather should be continued to be maintained.

We, the members of the National People's Army, express our profound gratitude to our class comrades, to the workers of our German Democratic Republic, to the brigades, to the collectives of socialist work for the continual solicitude about reliable socialist national defense and the close relation of trust to our army.

8373
CSO: 2300/196

GUIDELINES ON CITIZENS' TRAVEL TO WESTERN COUNTRIES ISSUED

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 9, 17 Mar 82 pp 187-188

[Official text of "Order of 15 February 1982 on Regulations for Travel by GDR Citizens," signed by Friedrich Dickel, minister of interior and chief of GDR People's Police, in East Berlin on 15 February 1982]

[Text] In implementation of the resolutions by the GDR Council of Ministers, the following order is issued concerning travel by GDR citizens to nonsocialist states and (West) Berlin:

Article 1

(1) At the invitation of relatives, GDR citizens may receive permits to travel from the GDR to nonsocialist states and (West) Berlin in connection with urgent family matters.

(2) Urgent family matters referred to in paragraph 1 are: births; youth consecrations; confirmations; first communions; weddings; 25th, 50th, 60th, 65th and 70th wedding anniversaries; birthdays (60th, 65th, 70th, 75th birthdays and all subsequent ones); critical illnesses; and deaths.

(3) Within the limits of the grounds listed in paragraph 2, permits may be issued as follows:

For births:

a) One month prior to the anticipated due date for purposes of providing care, or up to 3 months after the birth;

b) On the occasion of the christening

For weddings:

a) On the occasion of the civil marriage ceremony;

b) On the occasion of the church wedding

For 25th, 50th, 60th, 65th and 70th wedding anniversaries:

a) On the occasion of the respective anniversary of the civil marriage ceremony;

b) On the occasion of the respective anniversary of the church wedding

In cases of death:

a) Up to 3 months after the death has occurred;

b) On the occasion of burial any time within this period

(4) Proof of the existence of grounds for travel must be established through documents, official certificates and/or official medical confirmation.

(5) Exit permits for travel to nonsocialist states and (West) Berlin in connection with urgent family matters may be granted to grandparents, parents, children and siblings (including half-sisters and half-brothers) residing in the GDR.

Article 2

(1) Citizens of the GDR who have reached legal retirement age, or who are disabled, may be granted permits to travel from the GDR to visit relatives in nonsocialist states and (West) Berlin for reasons other than those stated in Article 1.

(2) Exit permits may be granted once or several times a year for periods up to a total of 30 days -- up to 3 months for travel to states outside Europe.

Article 3

(1) When applying for permission to travel from the GDR to nonsocialist states and (West) Berlin, employed persons must submit written approval from their place of employment.

(2) In urgent cases, travel by private automobile from the GDR to nonsocialist states and (West) Berlin may be authorized.

Article 4

(1) This order takes effect on 15 February 1982.

(2) The following orders simultaneously cease to be in effect:

"Order of 17 October 1972 on Regulations for Travel by GDR Citizens" (GESETZBLATT DER DDR, Part II, No 61, p 653);

"Order No 2 of 14 June 1973 on Regulations for Travel by GDR Citizens" (GESETZBLATT DER DDR, Part I, No 28, p 269).

7458
CSO: 2300/227

BRIEFS

PUBLIC ECONOMIC, POLITICAL DEBATING CLUB--An open club for debating topical economic and political issues has been established by the Section for Agitation, Propaganda and Leisure of the Budapest Committee of KISZ. Named the Vox Politicae, the club selects topical issues and invites well-known specialists to express and debate their views. At the first session of the new forum, the topic was: "Only Renewal Will Enable Us To Keep Pace." Among the panelists was Academician Tibor Vamos, director of the Institute of Computer Technology and Automation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The debate drew an audience of 150 persons. The next meeting is scheduled for 23 March, and the topic to be discussed is "Connections Between Science, Ideology and Policy." [Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 20 Mar 82 pp 2, 31]

CSO: 2500/217

INCREASED RATES FOR POSTAL, TELEPHONE, TELEGRAPH SERVICES

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 33, 31 Mar 82 pp 1-3

[Council of State Decree No 122 of 27 March 1982 on Increase in and Improvement in the Correlation of Rates for Mail and Telecommunications Services on Econonomic Principles]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. The rates for domestic mail, telephone and telegraph services are correlated on economic principles and are increased differentially depending on the real expenses for operation and maintenance of the mail and telecommunications resources so that complete coverage of costs and a corresponding profit are insured for each service separately.

Article 2. The rates for the main mail, telephone and telegraph services are as provided in Appendices Nos 1-3.

For other services the rates are established by the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, with the agreement of the State Committee for Prices, under the conditions provided in Article 1 and through correlation with the rates included in Appendices Nos 1-3.

The rates in lei for international mail and telecommunications services are set by the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, with the agreement of the State Committee for Prices, insuring recovery of the domestic expenses and currency expenses and a corresponding profit, also taking into account the international conventions in which the Socialist Republic of Romania takes part.

Article 3. The Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications is to take measures to:

a) Reduce production costs in mail and telecommunications activity and to rationalize the distribution of the mail and the press;

b) Reduce the special consumption of materials and electric energy, recondition and modernize telecommunications installations and improve the technical operations indicators;

c) Use the national telecommunications network more completely and utilize the reserves in the network, improve service to the national economy and the

population by raising the quality of services in the area of mail and telecommunications.

Article 4. With a view to insuring the technical conditions for applying the new rates for local telephone calls, the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications and the Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrotechnical and Electronics Industry are to take measures to manufacture and supply all mail and telecommunications units with appropriate equipment by 30 June 1983, spread out until that time.

Also, the Ministry for Machine Construction Industry is to take measures to manufacture simple transportation means to supply the mail and telecommunications units for the purpose of reducing costs in the transport of mail sent.

Article 5. The ministries, other central organs, executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils as well as units subordinate to them are to take measures for the rational use of telephones, for rationalization of mail and telecommunications expenses and other administrative-management expenses so that they fit into the plans of expenses approved, under conditions of the application of the new rates.

Article 6. The Ministry of Domestic Trade and the Central Union of Cooperatives for the Production, Acquisition and Sale of Goods are to take over from the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, within 90 days, the stands and shops which sell the press and are to take measures to change them into complex points for the sale of the press and other products, for the purpose of better utilization of these sales points.

Article 7. The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance are to make proposals for introducing the appropriate changes in the economic and financial plan indicators as well as in the volume and structure of the 1982 state budget as a result of application of the provisions of this decree. Toward this end, the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications is to present the necessary documents on influences in economic and financial indicators within 30 days.

Article 8. Appendices Nos 1-3 are an integral part of this decree.

Article 9. This decree goes into effect on 1 April 1982. The applicability of rates for mail and telecommunications established by legal provisions prior to this decree ceases on the same date.

Appendix 1: Rates for Domestic Mail Services

Name of the service	Unit	Lei/unit
Simple postcard:		
Local	one	.50
Other locations	one	1.00
Illustrated postcard:		
Local	one	1.50
Other locations	one	2.00

Name of the service	Unit	Lei/unit
Simple letter up to 20 grams:		
Local	one	1.50
Other locations	one	2.00
For each 20 grams or additional fraction	20 grams or fraction	.50
Registered letter up to 20 grams:		
Local	one	3.50
Other locations	one	4.00
For each 20 grams or additional fraction	20 grams or fraction	.50
Home newspaper delivery	one copy	.25
Money order by mail or telegraph:		
a) Fixed rate, regardless of money order value		
Local	one	1.00
Other locations	one	1.50
b) Rate in proportion to value of money order	100 lei or fraction	.50
The telegraph rate is added for telegraphic money orders		
Savings and loan bank operations	operation	1.50

Messagers	Rates per kg and by zones (km)				
	I	II	III	IV	V
	0-100	101-200	201-300	301-400	More than 400
Mail	1.50	2.00	2.50	3.00	3.50
Train	.60	1.00	1.20	1.50	1.80
Plane	--	2.50	3.50	4.00	--
Boat	.60	1.00	1.50	1.70	2.00
Rate for notification on parcel			1.00		

Appendix 2: Rates for Domstic Telephone Service

Name of service	Unit	Lei/unit
Telephone subscription for home of physical persons and for socialist units and other legal persons:		
Individual line--150 impulses	Monthly	100
Party line (for two)--75 impulses	Monthly	50
Party line for apartment central--100 impulses	Monthly	60
Subscription for phones installed in hotels for private parties, in private shops, in foreign firms and representatations, embassies:		
Individual line--150 impulses	Monthly	200
Two-party line--75 impulses	Monthly	100
Additional calls	Impulse	.50

Name of service	Unit	Lei/unit
Calls at urban public posts	3-minute call	1.00
Installations of new phone posts	post	1,500
Moving of telephone post	post	800
Interurban telephone calls		
Zone I up to 100 km	minute	3.00
Zone II between 101-200 km	minute	5.00
Zone III between 201-400 km	minute	6.00
Zone IV more than 400 km	minute	7.50

Appendix 3: Rates for Telegraph Service

Name of service	Unit	Lei/unit
Simple local telegrams:	Telegram	4.00
Up to and including 10 words	Telegram	4.00
For each additional word	Word	.25
Simple telegrams--other localities:		
Up to and including 10 words	Telegram	6.00
For each additional word	Word	.50
Telex:		
Zone I	Minute	1.00
Zone II	Minute	4.00
Zone III	Minute	6.00

8071
CSO: 2700/250

TRAGEDY OF EXPATRIATES IN NEW YORK DESCRIBED

[Editorial Report] Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian 18 March 1982 pages 24 and 25 publishes an article entitled: "It Happened in New York" by Craciun Ionescu, reporting on the difficulties experienced by Romanians who have left their country to live in the United States, New York City, in particular. Most of the article is devoted to the Miu family, Rodica Natalia Miu, formerly a mathematics teacher in Bucharest who taught the author's son; her husband, Ion Miu, also a mathematics teacher; and their daughter Mihaela. They went to Morocco in 1973; sent by the Romanian Government to teach in a school in Casablanca. They remained there 6 years "honorably fulfilling their obligations, just like other Romanians who teach in Moroccan schools, in the framework of the program for cultural and scientific cooperation between the two countries." When they were in Casablanca, the Miu family were often visited, in their home, by an American "cooperant," who was also a mathematics teacher. When they returned to Romania, they filed requests for emigration, stating that they wanted to go to New York where they had been promised stipends to study for their doctorates at "City University." In April 1981, they left for America, with their daughter Mihaela, 14 years of age, and went to live at "2606 18th Street in Queens, New York."

"We do not know what happened to the promises received earlier but, probably, after they had spent all their hard currency savings, which they had amassed in Morocco, the Miu family was in a precarious financial situation. The two mathematics professors had to work as taxi drivers. It seems that the shattering of the illusions with which they had come to America, the depression of everyday life, and despair played a principal role in the tragic end of this family, about 3 months ago."

"According to documents compiled by the American authorities, the Mius and their daughter were found dead in their residence in New York on 9 December 1981. Natalia Rodica and Mihaela were knifed to death and Ion was poisoned to death. The conclusions of the inquest conducted by the American police officials was that the mother and daughter were killed in a moment of despair by the head of the family who then committed suicide by drinking poison."

"I have before me several letters sent to the Romanian authorities by people who, in a moment of madness, left the country where they were born and lived, allowing themselves to be deluded by the false myths of a foreign land, which, as soon as they arrived there, they succeeded in deciphering. The reawakening often comes too late when they have already fallen into the final stage of human misery."

The writer gives some excerpts from letters from Augustin Murar, a graduate of the faculty of chemistry and physics in Cluj, currently living in New York, who wants to return home; from Lenuta Iliescu, who came to live in the United States in 1978, with other close relatives. Her greatest desire is that her 20-year-old son be allowed to continue his education in "the bosom of the Romanian State, a true parent which educates its sons in the spirit of the dignity of the human personality, and which is incomparable in its level of civilization, considering the decadence of the degenerate youth here [in the United States]"; from Gheorghe Lecu, who asks to be returned to his family as soon as possible; from C. Dumitrescu, professor of physical education and sports in Bucharest, currently in New York with his family. He confesses his error in leaving his country and asks for repatriation.

CSO: 2700/265

IRAQI VICE PRESIDENT INTERVIEWED ON NONALIGNMENT

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 31 Mar 82 p 3

[Interview with Taha Yasin Ramadan, first deputy prime minister of Iraq, on 28 March 1982 in Baghdad by a group of OSLOBODJENJE and TANJUG journalists: "A Great Deal of Work Has Been Put into Preparations for the Seventh Summit"]

[Text] Taha Yasin Ramadan, the first deputy prime minister of Iraq and the commander-in-chief of the Iraqi National Army, received a group of Yugoslav journalists on 28 March in Baghdad. The group included OSLOBODJENJE journalists Feto Ramovic, Ljiljana Smajlovic and Dragan Miskovic and TANJUG journalists Mirko Aksentijevic and Dejan Vasiljevic. In an hour-long conversation, the first deputy prime minister of Iraq answered several questions.

[Answer] "The nonaligned movement has encountered and is [still] encountering many trials, but it has become an irreplaceable necessity for the modern world. The original principles of the movement are the only basis for intensifying cooperation among the nonaligned countries and thereby strengthening their international position," Taha Yasin Ramadan emphasized at the beginning, [while] assessing the development of the nonaligned movement in the 21 years of its existence.

Gratitude and Acknowledgement to the Founders

[Answer] In the 1980's, the nonaligned movement--President Tito played an exceptionally significant role in its founding--has become even more essential and is gaining more and more adherents in the world. What makes this movement strong are its original principles and their broad applicability. The large number of member countries is a factor in the movement's strength, but the most important factor is precisely the broad applicability of the original principles. We wish to express our gratitude and acknowledgement to the founders of the nonaligned movement and to promise that we will continue to enrich the experience of the movement and extend the principles that it has represented for almost a quarter of a century.

[Question] The seventh summit meeting of the nonaligned countries will be held soon, and your country will be the host. Mr Deputy Prime Minister, can you evaluate the progress of the preparations for the summit meeting to date?

[Answer] Our extensive work in preparing for the seventh nonaligned summit meeting in Iraq is the result of our sincere hope that this summit meeting will play a substantial role in promoting the development of the nonaligned movement. Iraq and Yugoslavia share a common desire for the conference to contribute to strengthening the original principles and the movement itself and to strengthen its activities for the welfare of the movement as a whole. In spite of the wartime conditions, we have continually made efforts to provide all of the conditions and facilities [required] for the successful work of this meeting. Today we can say that we have overcome all of the difficulties associated with holding the summit meeting. The facilities that we will place at the disposal of the delegations will meet their requirements in regard to lodging, comfort and other conditions. It is our sincere hope that the conference will be successful.

[Question] The nonaligned movement is making great efforts to build a new and more equitable international economic order. What is your view of this part of the activities of the nonaligned countries, and how do you view the possibility of overcoming the existing development gap between the rich North and the undeveloped South?

[Answer] The nonaligned countries and their movement are an active factor in the struggle for a new international economic order. We must persist in the development of this process. This goal cannot be achieved only on paper. The building of a new economic order requires as high as possible a degree of mutual cooperation and coordination, because on this level, events in the economy of one country must also affect economic trends in other countries.

For the Achievement of True Independence

The question is how to achieve cooperation among the nonaligned countries, the countries of the so-called Third World and the undeveloped countries, in order to strengthen them [enough] to resist the influence of stronger economies. There are many proposals on how to achieve the desired goal, but among them I wish to emphasize the possibility of creating a special fund, as well as other measures aimed at reducing the rate of inflation. A special fund to encourage the development of the developing countries, which was proposed by President Saddam Hussein at the sixth nonaligned conference in Havana, could be a factor in aid to the Third World countries. If a country is not economically independent, this will also affect its other state activities. The struggle for a new international economic order, together with its political aspects, is really a struggle to achieve true independence for the nonaligned and developing countries.

[Question] What is your view of the prospects for constructing mechanisms to prevent the outbreak of conflicts between nonaligned countries?

[Answer] It is our sincere hope that the nonaligned movement will be able to construct a mechanism that would prevent the emergence of conflicts between countries belonging to the nonaligned movement. Iraq has long been working to achieve this goal. In February 1980, President Saddam Hussein delivered a

speech in which he pointed out possible ways of ending the disagreements and differences that exist among the Arab countries. To a great extent the same principles for resolving problems and disagreements can also be applied to relations among the nonaligned countries. It would be very useful for the nonaligned movement to concern itself with this question.

Concerning Peace Initiatives

[Question] Mr Deputy Prime Minister, what do you think of the current peace initiatives for settling the Iraq-Iran conflict?

[Answer] Our attitude toward the peace initiatives is a principled one and is closely connected with our position that we do not have any ambitions toward or claims to Iranian territory. Although we were victorious from the first week of the war, at the same time from the beginning we expressed our desire to have the problem resolved by peaceful means and we offered our sincere support of all peace initiatives aimed at ending the Iraq-Iran conflict. We are repeating the same hope and desire even now. It is too early to give an assessment of all of the peace initiatives, but we hope that there will be even more efforts and more intensive ones, to reach the goal and end the conflict.

The first deputy prime minister of Iraq then explained that his country is prepared to accept any peace efforts, but that at the same time, it is prepared for war, no matter how long, because there cannot be any alternative to achieving full Iraqi sovereignty over its own territory, on land or at sea. Ramadan stressed that every Iraqi citizen, young or old, male or female, knows that the country and its leadership are doing everything possible to achieve their rights. "We are willing," Ramadan said, "to prove to everyone that we do not have any claims on Iranian territory and we think that Iraq is fighting for its rights, as other countries should also fight for theirs."

[Question] What is your assessment of the present critical situation on the front, especially in the southern part, where battles are being conducted at this very moment?

[Answer] Our assessment is that a critical situation on the front is better than an exhausting war. After 19 months of battle, we are still on Iranian territory. If Iran were inclined toward peace and if it were prepared to recognize our rights, we would not have anything against withdrawing from the occupied portions of Iranian territory. Our troops are on a front about 1,200 kilometers long. We do not want to advance further, although we can. At this time the Iranians have concentrated almost three-quarters of their forces on a front about 20 to 30 kilometers long, and the battles have already been going on for 7 or 8 days.

[Question] Mr Deputy Prime Minister, you are also the commander-in-chief of the Iraqi National Army. What can you tell us about the role and significance of this army, which does not belong to the regular armed units?

[Answer] The units of the National Army are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the regular Iraqi Army, and they are on the front line. Their contribution begins on the domestic front, in Iraq, and their task consists of assisting the regular units on the front. The soldiers in the National Army are very well trained, armed and equipped; about 70,000 of them are fighting in the war. There are about 400,000 members of the National Army and our plan is to increase this number to 500,000 during the forthcoming period.

In response to a question about his view of the most recent events in the occupied territories of Palestine and other possible repercussions, Ramadan said that this is concrete proof and an example of how the continual deterioration in the international situation has a negative effect in crisis areas. Through increased mutual cooperation, the nonaligned countries can contribute in the best and most effective manner to halting the present negative trend and opening the way to improving the general atmosphere. The superpowers have openly demonstrated their intention of achieving some influence in certain nonaligned countries Ramadan considered this dangerous and added that this can be eliminated only through an overall strengthening of the movement and consistent application of its original principles.

Great Prospects for Bilateral Relations

[Question] Iraqi-Yugoslav cooperation can be considered very satisfactory, on both the political and economic levels. Nevertheless, not all of the possibilities for improving it have been fully exploited. In your opinion, in what fields can this be achieved most rapidly and most effectively?

[Answer] Our ambition is to intensify and promote our bilateral relations with Yugoslavia. We ascribe particular significance to the principles on which our mutual relations are based; President Tito contributed the most to this development. Our cooperation is marked by numerous possibilities for us to help one another by complementing each other. Thus on the Iraqi side there are no limitations of any kind in regard to the areas for our cooperation, because all of the areas are equally open for cooperation. Our assessment of relations with Yugoslavia is based not only on our economic cooperation, but also on the extent of the understanding between the two countries and the extent to which both countries benefit from our mutual relations. With some other countries we may have economic relations that surpass our relations with Yugoslavia in volume, but this does not mean that we have better relations with those countries than with Yugoslavia. My assessment of our relations is therefore not based just on quantitative factors but rather on qualitative ones. When relations are based on such firm principles as here, cooperation is always more solid and more advanced. As an official who has himself contributed a fair amount to the development of this cooperation, I believe that a great future is before us in developing our mutual cooperation.

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COMMENTATOR VUCELIC SPEAKS OUT ON CURRENT TOPICS

Striking No Crime

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1629, 21 Mar 82 p 18

[Articles by Milorad Vucelic]

[Text] In a recent session of the Assembly of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia there was discussion of the activity of law enforcement authorities in combating crime last year. There was mention of the number of cases of economic crimes discovered, of misdemeanors against public peace and order, and so on. The report compared the most recent figures with figures from previous years, it spoke about the increase or decrease in percentages. All of this of course arouses attention and opens up possibilities for reflection and for studying and discovering the real causes and consequences of particular phenomena and for examination of directions for future efforts.

However, particular attention is drawn by the fact that newspaper reports on this session, carried under the overall headline: "The Fight Against All Kinds of Crime," includes the following:

"The number of work stoppages in the republic dropped from 74 in 1980 to 58 in 1981. The number of participants in stoppages also decreased--from 5,881 the year before last to 2,745 last year."

The reference, then, is to work stoppages, or, more precisely put, to strikes. We have nothing against law enforcement authorities keeping records on work stoppages. Someone must obviously keep those records--and if there happens to be no one more specifically assigned, it is good that at least someone is keeping them.

The most amazing thing is that the strikes are registered, compiled and treated as forms of criminal behavior, as criminal phenomena.

As is well known, strikes are a form of the struggle of the working class to realize its class interests and thereby the general interest as well. From the entrance of the working class on the historical scene up until the present day the strike has been a legitimate form of the proletariat's class struggle.

Nor has the strike lost its essential working class character in the countries which have a socialist system. There are very persuasive articles and analyses on this by many Marxist theoreticians and we also have the positions taken by sociopolitical figures.

Strikes also have specific features (without losing their social essence) in a society which is building self-management socialism. Neca Jovanov, author of the well-known book "Radnicki strajkovi u SFRJ" [Worker Strikes in the SFRY], says:

"Our worker strikes mainly occur because of an increase in the difference between the actual state of self-management and the self-management system which has been projected. They objectively alter the situation that exists in the direction of the projected self-management system. That is what distinguishes our strikes from strikes under capitalism and state socialism, which are directed both against the real and against the projected system. In our case the workers ought to have the moral and political right to those strikes which speed up achievement of the projected self-management system." In spite of this favorable general definition, we naturally cannot speak of every strike as something constructive. The strike is a contradictory social phenomenon whose true essence we can penetrate only on the basis of a concrete analysis of the causes, immediate pretexts, effectiveness, and so on, but it is certain that strikes or work stoppages are by no means a pathological social phenomenon which can be included among crimes. The strike is a manifestly social phenomenon, a conflict which has a class character.

In the situation when we rightly present the evidence on the tendencies toward a narrowing of both the economic and sociopolitical foundation of self-management and when we rightly emphasize vigilance in preserving our country's security and the achievements of the revolution, we must be ready to stand in the way of any contribution to preservation of that type of consciousness which would translate certain inherently social phenomena of broad importance into cases placed in the jurisdiction of those agencies predominantly concerned with crime. Where a certain type of dogmatized consciousness sees only unrest and disturbances of the peace, we are perhaps dealing with quite complicated social transformations within society's very social reality. That kind of thinking should not be accorded approbation in any manner whatsoever, not even by placing work stoppages under the heading of crime.

Versions of History

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1630, 28 Mar 82 p 13

[Text] For years we have been confronted by an approach to our quite recent past which can be described as embellishing and glossing. Instead of being what it is, instead of being the drama of difficulty choices in difficult times, in one type of predominant interpretation history has been turned exclusively into a web of dates, historic events, meetings, battles, conferences, straightforward sessions, and undiscriminating generalizations to suit the occasion, along with an abundance of hoked up enthusiasm from which the human content, the entire human dimension, has vanished.

This has been abundantly furthered by a goodly portion of the artistic output, especially films and television series which in spite of the fabulous sums of money spent on them, have been of modest artistic stature, to say the least, and which appear not only to have created repugnance on the part of the young generations, but by virtue of their false picture have also exerted a strange influence on participants in the war, often much greater than was exerted by experience of the war itself.

In short: Too often we have only taken note of the past, instead of contemplating it and authentically assimilating it. The high requirements of socialist thought--a critical attitude toward the tradition, is being subjected to increasingly frequent exceptions and is ceasing to apply when one's own tradition is in question.

Alongside what we have noted there is an ongoing process of the strengthening, development and support of the petit bourgeois mentality, of a gossipy "culture," of entertainment based on chatter produced for mass circulation and with a big hype. A full-blown sensibility has been created which has erased the boundary between the public and the private; acts of the highest principle have been transformed into private acts, into the worst kind of behavior through an intrigue conducted out in the open. The modes of reflection of the man in the street have been translated into media. An almost dominant mentality has been created in society, a mentality of lack of interest in any question pertaining to the meaning of our survival. It seems this has been made to order for many, since that mentality and sensibility and its most outspoken representatives have not touched upon certain painful problems, questions of power, and the feeling has been that it would be easy to deal with this kind of petit bourgeois mass mentality.

Then in the last decade there came an outright invasion of various bits of information which did not fit at all in the prevailing and manufactured picture of the idealized past. Various eyewitness accounts were gathered, memoirs were published in book form and installments, history projects were undertaken in various regions--and all these discoveries and "discoveries" had a variety of motives. Often they were authentic. Sometimes attempts were made to accuse and blame the very essence and nature of the movement and the revolution because of slips people made in their own past. Sometimes and very often the "discoveries" resulted from disagreements with the current political situation.

In any case, regardless of the motives and reasons which have brought the data and facts into the public domain, every document must be valuable or at least necessary in the process of assimilating our own past, and as such it deserves a certain attention. All movements which believe in the productive force of the truth (and that applies first of all to the communist movement) must always aid everything which makes it possible to establish and to round out the historical truth. There was a need for a critical commitment to contemplation and rumination of all that new knowledge, those new documents, this unique "discovery of history." Regardless of the occasionally shocking nature of the various kinds of new information which came to light, there was a need and there is a need to persist in the sober effort to arrive at the historical--

and thereby human--truth, a truth which does not satisfy any sort of desirable and given-in-advance doctrinairism. There was also a need to wonder about the reasons why some of the revelations caused so many shocks.

It is precisely that sober, frank and critical Marxist rumination which has been missing in our situation today. (On this occasion let us leave to one side what brought this about.) Some of the truths and "truths" caused outright panic and horrified people. Our new and old petit bourgeois, along with the entire mass machinery which works for them, began to be horrified at every victim with false morality and in a mawkish way ("Well, I ask you, just imagine, there was killing done in the war?!?") over every drop of blood that was shed. The petit bourgeois sensibility and mentality already mentioned began to be politicized in its way--we are witnesses of the emergence of outright petit bourgeois hysteria.

A move was even made to deny the Partizan victory which created the historic possibility for establishing a communist alternative on this soil. That type of thinking in the writing of history and in other similar places which sees in revolutions only street disorders, crimes, unrest and chaos became established.

It is logical that these tendencies and phenomena should require a severe critical opposition, a persistent, direct, public and unsparing critical struggle. Because of the seriousness of the problem and because of the size of the stake, that struggle must truly be a daily one, clear and well documented.

But, it must be frankly stated, agitated, nervous and excessive reactions are no help whatsoever. With their inappropriate harshness, they only set up an obstacle to the public job of thinking, they burden Marxist commitment with repressions which are already constantly being put under its nose. Aside from that, such acts only furnish free and inappropriate advertising, and they distract the public's attention from the real and essential issues. The political institutions of socialism cannot be neutral observers by any means, but they must build and constantly continue to build various forms of their own historical bias which do not by any means include the courts, prosecutors' offices, bans or prisons. That type of reaction is impermissible, and there is no need for it if we truly believe in the superiority of the mode of thought on which this country's credentials are based.

Every rejection of the tendency to impose a basic political attitude through all forms of communication and reflection as sufficient in and of itself, as a clear demarcation line, is inherent in the authentic Marxist approach. It possesses all its dignity and value only insofar as it facilitates the comprehensive and existential investigation of every situation in a concrete democratic atmosphere of dialogue. It exists in fact only insofar as it affirms and creatively maintains an awareness that all relations are not established or rounded off solely in the plane of "political ideology, but this also occurs at a greater depth, in the plane of existential and social experience."

It is only by affirming that kind of approach that we can become true custodians of our history, and not only its mere epigones.

'Needless Sentence'

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 82 p 10

[Text] We are confronted with a new judgment against the poet Gojko Djogo. The Supreme Court of Serbia has changed the classification of the criminal act and has reduced his sentence to 1 year in prison.

As is well known, it is long since a case has aroused such public attention. Nor is it any wonder, since a prison sentence has been pronounced for a book of poems which was banned as soon as it appeared. Nor is it any wonder since this is a sensitive field of activity in which the freedom of creativity, critical public expression and the jurisdiction of the court are intertwined. It was in defending the principles of the freedom of creativity that the public said what it had to say about the book "Vunena vremena" [Woolen Times]. No opportunity was missed to say in an entire series of articles what was unacceptable in "Vunena vremena" and why and everything that deserved harsh public criticism and social condemnation. But an equally unanimous and unambiguous attitude was adopted by a large portion of the public and a number of cultural and public figures, which was and still is that the jurisdiction of the court cannot extent to poetic creativity, even though it might go against certain principles of society and might be suitable for various unacceptable types of interpretation (at least no further than what was done by banning the book).

If the district court--perhaps under the influence of the overtense atmosphere, and at one point even an inappropriate linkage of Djogo's book to the events in Kosovo--turned a deaf ear to the attitudes of the public as an essential type of social common sense, and if the court, like any democratic institution, can have the right to make a mistake, it was expected that in the process of further deliberation the court would show greater heed to public expression and to the independence of public thought. It was expected that the higher courts would show more understanding for confirmation of the principle that the sphere of law and legal norms is inseparable from the strategic goals of the socialist self-managing society of Yugoslavia. The public also had a right to expect that what was more valuable could prevail in a sober and calm atmosphere: the principles of the freedom of creativity and their preservation as opposed to the judicial reaction to an unacceptable incident.

This was expected above all in view of the unambiguous, clear and well-known position in the LCY Program, which states that we must wage a committed struggle to "liberate educational, scientific, artistic and cultural life of administrative meddling by the agencies of government."

Yesterday we had an opportunity to read as much in an interview with Vladimir Jovicic, chairman of the Commission of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia for the Ideological Effort in Culture ("Every Boundary Stone Need Not Be a Stumbling Block," POLITIKA, 27 March 1982), a description of the situation in which we confront books "with the superficial features of a work

of art" and when timely public critical expression is lacking. "There are cases," Jovicic said, "when the courts act peremptorily in bringing charges in controversial cases even before any critic has had a chance to speak, before, that is, it has even become quite clear whether the message involved is an esthetic or political one. When the issue reaches the prosecutor, the judge and jury, the time has already passed for public critical expression, since at this point the critic runs the risk of being denounced as a scavenger and signer of the arrest order."

Nor is that any worse than with the type of criticism which, as happened in Djogo's case, reacts promptly and confronts the deed, but subsequently is penalized by the court or some agency in the government administration. It is also morally discredited. And that on many counts--because of the lack of trust in it, because of the consequences under criminal law, because of the direct consequences for the destiny of the person criticized....

The Marxist position--public critical expression--is also vacated when various repressive interventions appear to be supporting it. The handicap of repressiveness should not always be placed on the back of that outlook which rightly considers itself to be Marxist and socialist. There must be a great deal more confidence in the creative intellectual forces of this society and in their capacity for critical recognition and activity.

The decision to punish Gojko Djogo has neglected the fact that the issues being tried had already been settled in the domain of public opinion, in the domain, that is, to which the entire subject matter in fact belongs by the nature of things.

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BRIEFS

FEDERAL OFFICIALS' QUALIFICATIONS--A 23 March 1982 meeting of the SFRY Assembly commission for elections and appointments adopted a new text of the Decision on Critiera for Electing Candidates for Specific Functions in Federal Organs and Organizations. The initial proposal of the commission did not pass the Chamber of the Republics [and Provinces], so today a new one was accepted which differs considerably from the previous one. Namely, all school and professional qualifications envisioned for individual federal secretaries were omitted and replaced by the statement, "proven professional capability and knowledge needed for carrying out the specific function." Also accepted was a Slovenian amendment that one of the criteria be "experience and results in administration necessary for performing the function." In the initial proposal it was planned that all federal secretaries have advanced educational schooling and certain ones also knowledge of a foreign language. It was also planned that some federal secretaries (for instance, the secretaries for finance and foreign trade) have faculty-level education and, of course, knowledge of a foreign language. After discussion in the Chamber where the class character of our cadre policy was pointed out, the [above] changes were made. When the question was raised: What does "proven capability" mean and who is to judge this?--the answer was: It is not proved by documents or school diplomas, but by work and the ability to carry out a specific function. Both chambers of the Assembly must adopt this decision. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Mar 82 p 4]

ARRESTED FOR HOSTILE ACTION--The district court in Doboj has charged Ante (Luka) Kovacevic (30) from Ada in Odzak Opstina of the criminal action of associating [with others], while temporarily residing in Austria, for the purpose of hostile action, hostile propaganda, and slandering the reputation of the SFRY. While in Vienna, working as a teacher in a home for defective children, he joined a group formed to carry out criminal actions of counter-revolutionary danger to the social system and territorial integrity of the SFRY. Acting from the positions of extremist emigre organizations during visits to Odzak, Modrica, and Bosanski Samac opstinas, he called for overturning the rule of the working class, changing the socialist self-management system, the breaking up of brotherhood and unity and equality of our peoples and nationalities, and he presented the sociopolitical situation in our country in a malicious and untruthful way. [Excerpt] [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 8 Apr 82 p 24]

'DANGEROUS' SLOVENIAN HUMOR--A certain Tone Forneci, called Tof, has been writing a humorous-satirical column in the Slovenian weekly with the largest circulation, NEDELJSKI DNEVNIK. This paper, with a fantastic circulation of 230,000 copies, has a definite influence on the formation of public opinion in this republic. Considering this fact, it would be normal if the journalists of this paper had also a fantastic sense of responsibility for every word expressed, even of a humorous-satirical nature. Unfortunately,...this is not so. In the 28 March 1982 issue, under the title "Historical Dinar," Tof writes: "I did not have a dinar to get coffee from the automat, but it happened that Comrade Zora Tomic, president of the Federal Conference for Social Action of Women in Belgrade, was nearby at the time and gave me a dinar. But I did not spend it for coffee. It would be too bad to spend such a significant piece of money.... So I framed it. This is an historical dinar! The first dinar to come back from Belgrade to Slovenia." ...We do not have the space or the desire to prove the unprecedented stupidity of this "humorous-satirical" contribution of Comrade Tof. It would suffice to ask him: How has it been possible for Slovenia to develop faster than Yugoslavia as a whole...? Thanks to its good work? Yes, of course! But only its work? No one in Slovenia has responded to Tof's nonsense in all this time since 28 March, [although] it would be logical, for at least two reasons: we have become accustomed to open and critical comments from certain Slovenian functionaries and also there is the view that each should clean before his own doorstep first.... [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Apr 82 p 2]

HOSTILE ACTION IN VITINA--In Vitina Opstina [Kosovo] hostile action has been seen largely in writing hostile slogans, distributing pamphlets, causing insecurity among the non-Albanian population, and calling on students, workers, and citizens to boycott classes, work, and action carried out by progressive organized socialist forces. An attempt by a hostile group from the village of Begunce to organize a boycott of classes at the "Boro i Ramiz" secondary school center was recently discovered. Another such group in Gornja Slatina and Donja Slatina was discovered which operated according to the "troika" system, distributed pamphlets and slogans, and tried to include as many others as possible in this organization; propaganda material and mimeograph machines were found. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 82 p 3]

MORE PENSIONERS IN KOSOVO--Although the Kosovo population is the youngest in Yugoslavia, the number of pensioners is increasing from year to year. Last year there were 39,170 which is 6.8 percent more than in 1980. The largest increase is in old-age pensioners (10.5 percent increase), totaling 8,766, while the number of family pensioners [widos, orphans, etc.] increased by 7 percent, and the number of disability pensioners increased by 5 percent. This year the total number of pensioners is expected to increase 8.4 percent over 1981 with 9,720 old-age pensioners (a 12.5 percent increase), 18,960 disability pensioners (6 percent increase), and 13,587 family pensioners. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 82 p 7]

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2008

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NEED TO EDUCATE WORKERS IN SPIRIT OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Feb 82 pp 2-3

[Article by Xhafer Dobrushi: "Educating the Workers With the Spirit of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Class Struggle Is a Continuing Task"]

[Text] Within the conditions of the construction and defense of the socialist social order the communist education of the masses is one of the most vital areas in the struggle for the victory of the socialist way of development over the capitalist way. Basic to this organized, all round, long educational process, which is guided by the party in every step, is the molding of our new man with the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle. "The party--Comrade Enver Hoxha stated at the historical Eighth Party Congress of the Albanian Workers Party (AWP)--must work tirelessly to continually educate the communists, the people and the new generation with the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle so that they will always be vigilant and ready to defend socialism from every danger and all enemies and struggle in their conscience, within the ranks of the party and the people, against everything that is contrary to the spirit and principles of socialism."

It is not at all by chance that the AWP and Comrade Enver Hoxha in all the stages of the revolution and socialist construction have always closely linked the problem of the correct development of the class struggle, in a revolutionary way, to the victory, strengthening and defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a known fact of Marxist-Leninist theory that during the whole period of transition from capitalism to communism, the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as two general objective laws which are characterized by the same development process: the construction of the socialist society and then the communist society, cannot exist or be properly understood apart from each other. This idea passes like a red thread through all the monumental works of Marx and Engel and has found in them a brilliant scientific argument and development. While expressing his basic theory on class, the class struggle and the socialist state Marx showed"...that the class struggle leads without fail to the dictatorship...of the proletariat that this dictatorship is not just a transition to the disappearance of every class and to a classless society." Marx based this revolutionary conclusion on the objective laws of social development, on the historic mission of the proletariat as a class: as the gravedigger of capitalism and the builder of the new socialist and communist society. The AWP and Comrade Enver Hoxha while implementing, with determination and consistency, the Marxist-Leninist theory, have always

placed these important principles at the foundation of the revolutionary class education of the communists, the cadres, the working class, the masses and the new generation. The party has considered and continues to consider the correct understanding and implementation of these principles: the arming of every communist, cadre and worker with the spirit of the development of the class struggle and the strengthening and defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the principle condition for the advance, with determination and without avoidance or vacillation of the revolution and of socialist construction in the country.

Naturally, molding and deeply implanting this kind of scientific materialistic thought is not an easy matter that progresses spontaneously by itself; it is a programmed process that is well directed and organized. On this broad and complicated front the party, relying strongly on the Marxist-Leninist ideology and on generalizing the theoretically rich experience of the revolution and the socialist construction in our country, has fought simultaneously on many directions and sides.

The party is engaged in a harsh battle against modern Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese and Eurocommunist revisionists to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism. The AWP and Comrade Enver Hoxha have forcefully uncovered and unmasked the hostile counter-revolutionary dimensions and goals of revisionist theories and practices "on the extinction of the class struggle," on the absurd claim that supposedly the dicatatorship of the proletariat is realized in the form of "direct self-administered democracy" and on the transformation of the dictatorship proletariat of the "into a state for all the people," etc. The struggle against these pseudotheories has fully proved that they are nothing but a revival and a continuation of old opportunistic views, especially the views of the traitorous leaders of the Second International, against whom V.I. Lenin developed a strong fight. In unmasking their efforts to liberalize Marxism, V.I. Lenin stressed that "to restrict Marxism to the theory of the class struggle means to distort and misinterpret it; it means to group it with all that is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. A Marxist is one who extends his understanding of the class struggle to include an understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The party has uncovered, unmasked and harshly condemned the attempts of internal enemies, who have made an appearance from time to time, to weaken the class struggle and soften its cutting edge, to lower vigilance and liberalize life in our country. The experience of the fight against them has proved that their efforts and their dark devilish goals, under one form or another, have had as their principal objective to minimize, weaken and destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat and the guiding role of the party within it.

The struggle against enemies abroad and those within the country has proved the the correctness of the party theory that the class struggle, regardless of the defined areas where it is concentrated and develops, never loses its marked political character and cannot be separated from the ruling government or from its efforts and struggle to protect and consolidate itself.

The tasks set down by the Eighth Party Congress for the education of communists, the people and our youth with the spirit of the dictatorship of the

proletariat and the class struggle is not only a principled theoretical problem of great im ortance, but is, at the same time, a problem of the daily work, struggle and practical activity of every basic party organization, of every communist and every cadre and worker. In a class society no one can remain outside the class relations and contradictions and outside the class struggle. Even a socialist society, which moves forward, develops according to the law of the class struggle. Within the condition of a harsh class struggle, people, no matter where they work, produce, learn and are trained, in their conduct and activities hold to a definite class behavior. In order for this behavior and activity to respond to and always serve the interests of the working class, the people, the revolution and to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and all the socialist order, it is necessary that communists, workers and our youth, at work, within the family and society be always guided by a scientific and materialistic world outlook, by our party line and by the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The main thing in the work of the basic party and communist organizations to thoroughly assimilate and correctly implement always the party line and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the class struggle. It is well known that this struggle remains, through the stage of the complete construction of socialist society up to communism, an objective law and the principal moving force of the society. However, this objectivity in character does not mean that the development of the class struggle can be linked to spontaneity. While insisting on familiarity with the conditions and factors that make the development of the class struggle a law, the party has formulated the materialistic theory that the subjective factor, mainly the guiding role of the party, plays a decisive role in the results to be achieved in this struggle. From these party teachings emerges the fact that to effectively guide the education of communists and workers with the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle, means to harmonize and fuse into one the work for creating firm convictions and a socialist awareness based on the assimilation of Marxism-Leninism, inciting the masses to take part in a concrete revolutionary struggle to implement all the tasks of socialist construction, which are defined in the state plan in the areas of production, defense, education, science and culture, etc.

The historical experience of our country and our party shows that the implementation of the great and difficult tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, the continued progress of socialist construction in our country, the successful confrontation of the harsh imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement require people who are molded and tempered as revolutionaries; armed at a higher level with a Marxist-Leninist outlook and ethics, so they can always be correctly and comprehensively oriented in the class struggle; capable of confronting the pressures from the ideology of the exploiting classes. In this area an important ideological problem is the struggle against a petit-bourgeois mentality and psychology which emerges in attitudes towards work and ownership.

Our working man is characterized by a great conscientiousness in work and in protecting socialist property, although, we come across instances when personal interests are considered before the general interest; when group and enterprise interests are considered before the interests of society and the

state; we come across instances of the violation of work discipline of inexcusable absences, of low, poor quality production, of failure to make full use of production capabilities, superficial attention to the subject matter during classes, damage to and misuse of common property.

The success of the struggle to eliminate these manifestations and to strengthen the communist education of the workers depends to a great extent on whether these attitudes are understood as and are always treated as concrete expressions of the class struggle: as events with concrete causes or simply as acts of chance, without concrete causes and connections. As the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha recommend, the basic party organizations and the communists should guide this struggle, not just by concentrating on chance occasions and expressions, although they may be worrisome and alarming, but by a deep and systematic study of the situation; analyzing the problem and the dynamics of its development from many angles. In this way, a clear picture is created of the class struggle in every collective; negative factors and their causes are uncovered; work is scheduled to eliminate or transform them, the masses are mobilized and incited to take part in the struggle; the level of class consciousness is raised; manifestations are combatted from the very beginning and the class struggle is kept alive from a position of attack. In order to correctly develop the class struggle in the ideological field, the party has taught and continues to teach us "not to forget for a single instance that the remnants of the past mesh with the degenerate influences of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement which, claiming to be 'modern' and 'advanced,' basically the same old dangerous elements."

In order to have a healthy educational work with people and to effectively combat all foreign expressions and liberal attitudes that emerge, as always, it is necessary not to minimize the danger of these expressions and attitudes, so that liberal concepts and practices will not be overlooked and ignored and called by different names as has happened in the past, but so that they will be uncovered and harshly confronted. A more comprehensive concept must be created in every worker, concerning the confrontation of the influences of the all-round pressure of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, as a front where everyone has his specific duties. The blockade and the encirclement can be successfully broken when every worker lives intensely with the situations when he works and struggles every moment to confront them and to derive lessons and tasks from them, while increasing vigilance and performing the daily tasks for the fulfillment of the plan, improving quality, increasing production, lowering costs and developing the technical and scientific revolution, and so on. This will lead to a feeling of responsibility in every worker to build and protect socialism; it will awaken the interest of the masses and their participation in directing the affairs of the state and society. In this environment, no gaps or periods of tranquility and euphoria will be permitted and every infringement of and departure from socialist principles and norms will be exposed and fought.

A conscientious understanding and implementation by the communists, the people and our youth of the party line concerning the class struggle and its perpetual bond to the dictatorship of the proletariat is a vital problem, and as Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses it is "only by correctly developing the class struggle, without deviation, with broad participation by the working masses, guided by the party, that the present will always be built correctly and will stand on sound foundations and the future of socialism and the fatherland will be insured."

6160
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SLOVAK MINISTER ON NATIONALITIES POLICY

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak No 9, 4 Mar 82 p 9

[Article by Eng Jan Gregor, vice premier of the SSR: "Unity and Friendly Cooperation--Achievements of the CPCZ Nationalities Policy"]

[Text] One of the main springs of the CPCZ's creativity over its 60 years of struggles for a revolutionary transformation of Czechoslovak society has been the ideological and political program of proletarian internationalism. The CPCZ was organized and has developed as an international organization--it united the Czech and Slovak as well as German, Hungarian, Polish and Ukrainian working people and struggled tenaciously for their social and national liberation. It fused its struggle against national oppression with its struggle against the capitalist system, with its struggle for the installation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the building of socialist society.

The liberation of the Czechoslovak Republic by the Soviet Army and the victory of our workers class over the bourgeoisie in 1948 created the fundamental preconditions for a radical solution of the problems of our national minorities along the lines of Marxist-Leninist principles. Experience has confirmed that socialist society alone can overcome national oppression and inequality,eliminate antagonism among nations and nationalities, and provide auspicious conditions for emancipation of all nations and nationalities.

According to the census of 1980, among the 4,987,853 citizens residing on the territory of the SSR 559,801 (11.2 percent) were of Hungarian and 37,179 (0.7 percent) of Ukrainian nationality. The Hungarian ethnic population is settled mainly in the okreses of Bratislava-Suburbs, Dunajska Streda, Galanta, Komarno, Levice, Nitra, Nove Zamky, Lucenec, Rimavska Sobota, Velky Krtis, Kosice-Suburbs, Roznava, Trebisov, and in the cities of Bratislava and Kosice. Most citizens of Hungarian nationality live in the okreses of Dunajska Streda, 88.2 percent; Komarno, 72.2 percent; Rimavska Sobota, 47.9 percent; Galanta, 44.5 percent; Nove Zamky, 41.5 percent, and Trebisov, 39.3 percent.

An overwhelming part of the Ukrainian ethnic population resides in the okreses of Humenne (16.3 percent of all residents), Svidnik (15.5 percent), Bardejov (6.2 percent), Stara Lubovna (5.5 percent) and in Presov okres (1.1 percent).

A sensitive attitude to the needs of each nation and nationality is of enormous importance for consolidation of unity among our nations and nationalities and for enhancement of Czechoslovak socialist patriotism. A correct approach in translating the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on nationalities into reality accelerates and facilitates the fulfillment of fundamental objectives in the building of socialist society and conversely, a wrong approach to that issue acts as a brake and causes problems and harm.

We are entitled to feel proud about the overall achievements of our party's policy on nationalities as assessed by the 16th CPCZ Congress. At the CPSL Congress, Comrade Jozef Lenart emphasized that "in the past, the process of development and rapprochement of our nations and nationalities had advanced further on principles of equality and mutual trust. The level of unity and international brotherhood achieved by the Czechs and Slovaks as well as by ethnic minorities residing on our territory belongs among the most meaningful historical advances of our revolutionary workers movement and of the struggles waged by our party and our people. The process of development and rapprochement of our nations and nationalities advanced under the conditions of the building of a developed socialist society where the development of both our nations, the Czechs and the Slovaks, and of our nationalities is dialectically intertwined with the development of our Czechoslovak statehood based on the political unity of the workers class and all working people and on our unified Czechoslovak economy."

The point of departure for our party is its correct interpretation of Marxism-Leninism, namely, that the problem of nationalities must be resolved in a comprehensive way in the economic, political, legal, educational, linguistic and cultural areas. Our party regards social and economic changes as the basic--albeit not exclusive and exhaustive--means and ways to the solution of this sensitive issue. By eliminating the economic differences inherited from the past, it creates the most essential preconditions for genuine equality of our nations and nationalities, as may be illustrated with the graphic example of the planned, accelerated economic, social and cultural development of Slovakia and of its less developed areas within the socialist Czechoslovakia. In capitalist Czechoslovakia, Slovakia's economic standards lagged 50 years behind the Czech provinces. Prior to the implementation of the industrialization policy and to the organization of socialist agriculture Slovakia's southern and northeastern okreses, together with Kysuce and Orava counties, were among the most backward regions in the state.

Slovakia's goal-oriented socioeconomic development made it possible to balance and equalize gradually the living standard of our population in both parts of our republic. Our country's economic power has dramatically increased and the unity of the Czech and Slovak nations and our nationalities in the framework of the federal arrangement of our common state was enhanced. Along with gradual elimination of the differences between the CSR and the SSR, advantageous conditions were created for a dynamic development of the economic, social and cultural standard of okreses with Hungarian and Ukrainian ethnic populations.

Scores of industrial enterprises and factories built and modernized in their areas play a meaningful role in terms of our national economy as well as in terms of international economic cooperation. Noteworthy among them are the Slovak Shipyards in Komarno, Elektrosvit in Nove Zamky, Duslo in Sala, JCP in Sturovo, BZVIL in Levice, Pleta in Sahy, LIAZ [Liberec Automobile Works] in Velky Krtis, Heavy Engineering Works in Lucenec, Polana in Lucenec-Opatova, Kovosmalt and the Mier [Peace] Furniture Factories in Filakovo, Tatrasvit in Roznava and in Kosice, VSZ [East Slovakia Iron Works] in Kosice, Furniture Factories in Kralovsky Chlmec, Chemlon in Humenne, Jas in Bardejov, Slovnaft in Vojany, the Jablonec Glass Works in Medzilaborce, Vihorlat in Snina and the Food Industry Machine Works in Svidnik.

The expansion of the production-technological base has been in the past, as is now, in harmony with the statewide trends toward further exploitation of the raw-material base and toward more thorough utilization of domestic and imported raw materials. In conjunction with our agricultural production, modern sugar factories, breweries, large vegetable and fruit canneries, integrated meat processing plants and dairies were built.

Of particular importance for these okreses as well as for our national economy as a whole are projects now under construction which will be completed during the Seventh Five-Year Plan, among them especially the construction of a nuclear power plant in Mochovce, furthermore, the Agrochemikalie II and the rubber chemical plants of the Duslo national enterprise in Sala, the construction of the SES plant in Zeliezovce, the expansion of the Strojstav plant in Sahy and of the spare parts machine factory in Rimavska Sobota, the construction of a plant for manufacture of mineral fibers in Jesenske, the Tesla in Velky Krtis, Chirana in Humenne, etc. This will provide opportunities for employment of an additional 5,000 workers.

The construction of a railroad junction in Velke Kapusany-Uzgorod, and the completion of the southern line of the Kosice-Filakovo-Zvolen-Levice-Galanta-Trnava-Kuty railroad will play an important role in accelerating the economic development of the okreses in the south and northeast of Slovakia. Moreover, attention is focused on the solution of problems concerning transit transportation (Sturovo, Komarno) and our largest inland port in Cierna on the Tisa River.

Investments in our agriculture, particularly in southern Slovakia, amount to billions. Extensive investments in land reclamation and irrigation as well as the advantageous climate and soil conditions rank the okreses in the south of the SSR among the most productive areas in the SSR. Particularly the okreses of Dunajska Streda, Komarno, Velky Krtis, Rimavska Sobota, Lucenec and Tretisov have surpassed their kraj averages in gross per hectare agriculture production as well as the intensity of livestock breeding.

The tasks facing our agriculture in the Seventh Five-Year Plan demand that even the above-mentioned okreses further intensify their production, protection and efficient exploitation of their land fund, the use of irrigation, amelioration, regionalization and utilization of crops, and so on. Certain untapped assets still exist in the use of fodder crops and in better utilization of livestock. The importance and role of Slovakia's most productive southern okreses are growing further in terms of self-sufficiency of production

and reduced import of fruits and vegetables (particularly early produce); those areas will help supply okreses in the north with more early greenhouse and thermophilic types of vegetables and fruits.

The development of the production and nonproduction branches is opening new job opportunities and greatly increasing employment: the number of workers increased sixfold from 1946 to 1980. In the period from 1970 through 1980, the number of persons employed in Dunajska Streda Okreses increased by 13,000, in Galanta Okres by 12,000, in Velky Krtis Okres by 5,000, in Trebisov Okres by 10,000 and in Humenne Okres by 9,500. In most of the okreses located in the south and northeast, employment is approaching the optimum level, although the okreses of Nove Zamky, Komarno, and the southern areas of Rimavska Sobota and Trebisov okreses are still lagging behind the all-Slovakia average. They still have a limited number of relatively easily available resources female work forces whose search for jobs in the nearest centers is meeting with various obstacles. Launching of production in some of the projects now under construction, investment programs for the Seventh Five-Year Plan and further development of the network of preschool facilities will open more economic opportunities for women.

A prosperous economy, a relatively rapid development of industry, agriculture, construction, transportation and nonproduction branches (health services, the educational system, the trade network, social care, higher employment rate of the population) are distinctly reflected also in the continuously rising living standard, primarily in the growth of personal consumption, as confirmed by the growing volume of retail turnover.

Measured by per citizen income, the southern and northeastern okreses have reached 80 percent of the all-Slovakia level in services offered by enterprises of local economy and by production cooperatives. The lower standard stems, among other things, from the fact that these okreses are not adequately equipped with appropriate facilities.

In these okreses, the share of apartments in family houses is about 18-20 percent above Slovakia's average (58 percent). Stabilization of the population and its concentration in selected communities of district and regional signifiance (the current and former okres towns) are incumbent on higher concentration of the housing construction.

The area of social consumption noted some positive achievements. New facilities for health services (hospitals built in Galanta, Nove Zamky, Roznava, Trebisov, Svidnik, Kosice, etc.) gradually approached the standard in the number of hospital beds per 1,000 citizens and the number of physicians per 10,000 citizens.

Considering their weather and natural conditions and geothermic springs, the southern and northeastern areas of the SSR are ideally suited for the development of tourism. Curative mineral waters in Dudince, Santovka, Ciz, Bardejov, the health resort in Stos, and thermal springs of Zitny Ostrov offer advantageous opportunities for balneology, recreation and relaxation for our

working people. For instance, there is considerable interest in the balneologic-recreational areas of Dunajska Streda, Calov, Kralova near Senec, Podhajska, Samorin-Cilistov, Diakovce, Dolna Strehova, Safarikovo, and so on.

Our society demonstrates constant concern about the material-technological base for the educational and cultural system and for social services. During the Sixth Five-Year Plan, 344 buildings for cultural institutions were completed and opened in Slovakia, with over 20 percent of them (70 establishments) operating in towns and communities with Hungarian and Ukrainian ethnic population. A modern cultural and social center in Komarno which is near completion will serve also as the headquarters for the Hungarian Regional Theater.

Our socialist state shows constant concern about comprehensive development of our citizens of Hungarian and Ukrainian nationalities, which has been confirmed convincingly by the establishment and systematic development of an extensive base for ethnic cultural institutions. Hungarian and Ukrainian ethnic workers associations, ethnic press, theaters, art groups, publishing houses, broadcasts in the languages of national minorities, ethnic libraries and museums are involved in successful cultural and educational activities promoting proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism among our ethnic population. These institutions represent an important factor in promoting culture in the mother tongue of ethnic groups.

The young generation of Hungarian and Ukrainian nationality enjoys excellent opportunities for education in preschool facilities and in elementary and secondary schools with instruction in their own languages. Appropriate instances systematically strive to raise the share of students of Hungarian nationality in narrowly specialized secondary schools, vocational schools and individual departments of Slovak and Czech colleges.

The topic of numerous discussions in the past used to be the extent to which the students from schools with instruction in the Hungarian language could master the most prevalent language--in our case, the Slovak language. Improvement in this respect has been achieved because of their teachers' concern and because of cooperation by parents and students themselves. The quality of Slovak-language instruction in schools with Hungarian-language curricula was further upgraded and students in such schools are gaining bilingual skills necessary for their future practical involvement in our society.

The development of recent years has confirmed that our objectives in the area of the policy on nationalities had been successfully achieved by gradual improvement of the socioeconomic and cultural standards in every okres with Hungarian and Ukrainian population.

In the spirit of the Leninist principles guiding the CPCZ policy on nationalities, our party organs, the Slovak National Council, the SSR Government, the Nationalities Council of the SSR Government, individual ministries and national committees are paying systematic attention to creating preconditions for a comprehensive development of areas populated by Hungarian and Ukrainian nationalities.

Hungarian and Ukrainian nationals participate on the basis of democracy and equality in the government and administration of our states, an expression of which is, above all, the proportional representation of citizens of those nationalities in our representative bodies and in the organs of our state administration. In last year's election to the representative councils of the SSR, among a total of 61,408 representatives 8,115 representatives of the Hungarian nationality and 1,756 representatives of the Ukrainian nationality were elected. Their share is 13.2 percent and 3 percent, respectively, which basically coincides with the national distribution of our population.

Our achievements in the building of a developed socialist society convincingly demonstrate that following the Leninist policies on nationalities we have advanced the development of our nations and nationalities and brought them closer together. The federal state legislative system consolidated the unity of our nations and nationalities, intensified the consciousness of Czechoslovak statehood and promoted more efficient exploitation of resources for an advantageous development of a unified Czechoslovak economy. In view of the increasingly more complex domestic and foreign economic situation, it is desirable that we make the best possible use of investments, production capacities, our natural and geographic advantages, our extraordinarily important agricultural fund, etc., to the benefit of all working people in the CSSR.

The past obligates us and the future challenges us to guard and to enhance the unity and fraternal cooperation of our nations and nationalities, to protect them from anybody and anything that might harm them, to promote harmony in the life and work of our nations and nationalities and their joint building of our socialist Czechoslovak fatherland.

9004
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COMMENTARY ON NATO, U.S. 'DISTORTIONS' IN DISARMAMENT TALKS

Erfurt DAS VOLK in German 24 Mar 82 p 3

[Commentary by Dr Peter Sterzing and Sergej Lockthofen: "Facts and Distortions --Or: Who Is Actually Putting Obstacles in the Way of Disarmament?"]

> [Text] With the most recent Soviet proposals, Leonid Brezhnev gave an unmistakable signal to NATO: an end to missile deployment in the European part of the USSR; removal of intermediate range weapons; a desire for resumption of the SALT talks and initiation of positive mutual confidence. Even though this initiative found worldwide positive acceptance among peaceful powers and triggered far-reaching international discussions among realistic politicians, Washington is attempting to reject these renewed Soviet proposals with a brusque "No." Other NATO circles are doing all they can to downgrade the value of the most recent Soviet undertaking. Thus during the past week, herculean efforts took place with NATO to falsify the facts for the Western public about the Soviet negotiation initiative as well as to the identity of those who are truly putting obstacles in the way of disarmament.

Misrepresentation No 1: NATO Secretary General Luns says that Brezhnev's moratorium proposal is designed to maintain Soviet superiority, because, according to U.S. President Ronald Reagan, NATO has no land-based missiles which can reach the USSR.

Is that really true? At the present time, the ratio between NATO intermediate range missiles and the USSR potential is 986 to 975, thus, for practical purposes, approximate parity (1:1). The constantly repeated statement about Soviet superiority consists of the fact that the USSR is basing one half of its defense potential on its SS-4 and SS-5 missiles which were deployed during the 1960's and which are now obsolete, as well as the SS-20 which is replacing the old missiles (the balance consists of aircraft and 18 sea-based missiles).

In the past, these intermediate range missiles were the Soviet counter balance to the deployment of more than 300 nuclear-weapon-carrying fighter bombers as

well as 15 Jupiter missiles (2,000 km range, deployed in Turkey) and 96 Thor missiles (3,000 km range, deployed in Italy and Great Britain). The continuing intention of the United States consists of getting as close to the socialist states as possible for a nuclear first strike with these forward based nuclear weapon systems (FBS): one reason being to be able to make maximum use of the surprise factor; the other, to circumvent in this manner the provisions of the SALT I and II agreements.

In accordance with the agreement between the United States and the USSR in which the USSR renounced the deployment of intermediate range missiles in Cuba, the United States was required to remove its Jupiters and Thors from Europe. Thereupon it deployed four Poseidon nuclear submarines which, with their missiles alone can, according to statements by the U.S. Navy, destroy all cities of more than 200,000 inhabitants in the USSR. Apart from those, there exist today additional nuclear submarines belonging to Great Britain and France, whose number is to increase within the next few years and which are to be further modernized. In the number of the other FBS must be included more than 600 U.S. combat aircraft with a range of 1,000-6,000 km, armed with nuclear missiles of up to four warheads each. According to Soviet data, there exists then today a NATO superiority of 1:1.5, considering these nuclear warheads.

In view of these facts, anyone who speaks of Western "counterarming" is trying to hide the fact that with the inclusion of the additional 572 U.S. missiles NATO is in effect approaching a "first strike superiority." This would considerably impair the present approximate balance of power, because the new Pershing II and cruise missiles (in contrast with the most modern Soviet SS-20 intermediate range missiles, which cannot reach U.S. territory) can be targeted for USSR military and political centers.

Conclusion No 1: The United States is not concerned with parity--it is aiming for superiority!

Misrepresentation No 2: Only "resolute action" against the USSR, like the "zero option" proposed by the U.S. President for the Geneva negotiations, could lead to successful agreements. Not so the new Brezhnev proposal; according to U.S. President Ronald Reagan, "it is insufficient because it does not go far enough."

Is that really true? The real difficulties lie in the superiority-hungry U.S. arms race. It was decided upon on 12 December 1979 for the intermediate range weapons in Europe, even though Leonid Brezhnev had already proposed a solution in his Berlin initiative of October 1979 to the forthcoming difficulties in the nuclear arms sector: to reduce the number of Soviet missiles, if NATO were to renounce the deployment of additional weapons. The Soviet offer was rejected and the Brussels missile decision was pushed through.

In February 1981, the USSR expressed interest in FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's original proposal for a moratorium, made in April 1980, and thus gave enormous impetus to the West European peace movement. The pressure exerted by that movement upon West European governments finally forced the United States into the Geneva negotiations. Western interpretation of Ronald Reagan's proposal of

a "zero option" tabled there has as its primary objective (according to U.S. arms control expert Arthur M. Cox) "to hold European opposition against additional nuclear arms at bay until such time as the new U.S. missiles can be deployed."

In this connection, there is one trick which serves to confuse the international public. In Western terminology, the collective designation "intermediate range weapons" (sea and land based missiles and aircraft) is understood to mean [only] land based missiles. According to the U.S. proposal for Geneva, the zero option therefore means the removal of the USSR's main defensive potential, while not even discussing the U.S. FBS weapon systems. Thus the charade becomes perfect: NATO retains the FBS--which additionally are being rapidly modernized not only by the United States but also in view of the submarine-based French and British missiles--while generously "renouncing" new U.S. weapons, and while requiring the USSR to fall back.

The reproach that the Soviet proposals are not "far-reaching enough" is not even worth the effort of confirmation; as long ago as 23 November 1981, the USSR proposed the following:

"Basically we are in favor of freeing Europe of the presence of nuclear weapons of any kind, be they intermediate range missiles or tactical weapons. That would be a true 'zero solution,' a just solution for all concerned."

Conclusion No 2: Proposals by the USSR are being dismissed as being insufficient, so as not to have to take any corresponding disarmament steps.

Misrepresentation No 3: According to Bonn's DIE WELT last midweek, NATO feels that "Soviet SS-20s are a threat even if deployed east of the Urals;" further, this suspicion is stated: "Behind the fogbanks of propaganda, there are two objectives: the softening up of Europe and creation of a better starting position for disarmament talks..." (FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG).

Is that really true? Let us start once more with the USSR proclamations to date.

First: A temporary end to Soviet missile deployment in the European part of the USSR.

Second: In the absence of a worsening of the international situation, the USSR will remove a certain number of its intermediate range missiles.

Anyone who suspects in this context that the USSR would engage in that much more of an arms buildup in its Asian part, should be reminded of a previously made Soviet proposal on how to deal with this problem:

"The main goal of reducing intermediate range weapons will be their destruction; this does not exclude the possibility of removing a portion of this armament to mutually agreed upon locations."

However, one gains the impression that many a Western politician has no other objective in his reasoning than to leave the USSR entirely bereft of intermediate range nuclear missiles, even in its eastern and southern areas. Any counterproposal is used by these sources for propaganda, mainly within NATO, to the effect that "the Kremlin" is tring to sow confusion in the West.

The "softening up" of NATO which is often talked about in this context, does however not originate in Moscow, but rather in Washington. There, Reagan, Weinberger and Haig have been vying with each other in making declarations of their intentions of making a nuclear first strike against the USSR while restricting the nuclear strike exchange to Europe to the maximum extent feasible. Anyone who feels that the resistance by the Western European peace movement against this brutal planning for an inferno on the part of the United States is purely a propaganda success for Moscow should try to obtain more "favorable" positions, perhaps at the Geneva negotiations. But this does not appear likely!

Even worse--the opposite seems to become reality. While the United States is forcibly seated at the negotiating table in Geneva, Pentagon planning has long since gone beyond a few hundred new missiles. More than 6,000 of these new weapons are supposed to be deployed around Europe on ships and nuclear submarines during the next decade, targeted for the USSR!

Conclusion No 3: The United States imputes treachery to every Soviet proposal --instead of offering to reduce its own armament, plans are accumulating for a forced arms race.

Thus, proposal after proposal has come from the USSR for more than 2 and one half years. The question arises: What else are "the Russians" supposed to come up with? The world is waiting for a constructive reply from NATO and, more specifically, from the United States.

9273
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GOETHE JUBILEE SEEN AS MIXTURE OF IDEOLOGY, NATIONALISM

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 27 Mar 82 p 23

[Article by Eberhard Straub: "The Goethe of Socialism--Commemoration of a Bourgeois Poet in Weimar--Respect for the 'Legacy'"]

[Text] When Franz Grillparzer in 1871 expressed his thanks to the German Empress Augusta, "the daughter of Weimar," the "holy place," for her congratulations on his birthday, he said unaffectedly, "Yes, your Majesty, in spite of the Main and Rhine frontiers, this is the real fatherland of every educated German." Since then other frontiers have been added, making the "fatherland" that once erected a monument to the poets Goethe and Schiller in front of the National Theater wholly unrecognizable, though without being able to abolish the "real fatherland," Weimar, as a spiritual reference point. Even the "Goethe tributes" in Weimar--ranging from a ceremony dedicating a new Goethe museum to a scholarly colloquium concluded yesterday and performances of "Faust I" and "Tasso," have been unable to change that fact.

Even if they were to be regarded as the exclusive expression of gratitude to the "genius" whose heritage is preserved in a "socialist German national culture"--to be understood in a polemical sense in contrast to a differently interpreted national culture--every educated German could still find "his" Goethe in the Goethe being celebrated there. For, as Minister of Culture Hoffmann stated, the GDR perceives its special task in preserving the heritage of Goethe and in revealing it to the world and it will reach--even if by way of the detour of all of mankind--all those who speak German and commemorate their Goethe "with love and veneration."

During the SED ceremony Hans-Joachim Hoffmann avoided the concept toward which his own Socialist Unity Party's striving for unity is directed. Yet he did of course remind the "German people," whose greatest poet was Goethe, of the "central position" which he occupies in "the history of German culture." The "real fatherland" was for Hoffmann naturally the frequently invoked socialist national culture.

Whatever a socialist national culture might be, no educated German of 1932, 1949 or even 1982 could make any objection to "a renewal of classical humanism," or to the concept of Goethe as a "liberator," who worked and who endeavored to work as a man bringing enlightenment, "deeply rooted in his

epoch" and yet prefiguring another time far past his own. Bourgeois-humanistic emancipation, classical German literature and philosophy as a source of inspiration for the future and for the present so that man might become master of his own fate and that all men might stand "as free folk upon free soil," should not be despised by those who might hold other ideas of freedom of the individual and of society.

Non-socialist Germans as well could take pride in the fact that "it was the noblest legacy of the bourgeoisie," to see itself in historical perspective--relating the present, the past and the future each to the other. Certainly bourgeois historicism is not given the same degree of unreserved admiration by all German speakers. The educated German could, despite the heady rhetoric of the speaker, agree with his characterization of Goethe. Why should one not see in Faust "the grandiose balance of the history of humankind," why not "admire in Goethe his universal orientation," his curiosity for all things and his capacity again and again "to redefine his philosophical reference point" so as to assure himself of his harmony with the whole?

Since, especially outside the GDR, the demeaning perspective of the valet who sees no hero in his master, has become the prevailing one, it was refreshing to see Goethe venerated as the "uomo universale" who set the individual at the center of things, whose presence is still felt as "a shrewd and wise teacher" and who provokes each of us to self-reflection.

In contrast to many more rigorous ponderers, Hoffmann did not object to the idea that reading Goethe for intellectual satisfaction could and should also be pleasurable. In many of his own contradictions Goethe recognized with true historical perspective the contradictions of his own time--of the bourgeois epoch--or of the inexhaustible individual. For a non-socialist German this may seem to be the most surprising praise for Goethe--the fact that he always preserved "a respectful attitude toward tradition," appropriating to himself the heritage of his own people and of many other cultures, not quarrelling with the past or with the plurality of pasts but instead kept respectful company with all of them. Though not everyone might see the development of the world process culminating in communism, still there will be those, some of whom Hoffmann might suspect of falsifying Goethe's legacy, who would agree with him that man, the more free he becomes, is master of himself and will therefore enjoy art more fully and see art as a necessity of life. The straightforward acknowledgement of pleasure, of literary education; of painstaking, historically patient communication with tradition will, at least in West Germany, be recited in more embarrassed and shamefaced tones. "We honor the master"--not a bad idea at all.

What exactly his legacy is, what comprises the real heritage of Goethe and the classical writers, may still be a matter of argument among educated Germans today. Nonetheless, the citizens of the GDR are expressly directed to the traditional literature. They have no problems with the literary canons of the schools or universities.

"Basically we are all collective beings, say what we will. For how little we are and how little we have that we can, in the strictest sense, call our own property! We must all receive and learn from those who have gone before us

s well as from those who are with us." Hoffmann called to mind these final words of Goethe spoken on 17 February 1832. This was also the motto of the colloquium on Goethe.

So as not to allow an all too clear reference to Germany to be made, Goethe, in the plenary sessions was generally honored as a European phenomenon, as the leader of a European Romanticism, as the natural representative of world literature in whom the "delayed aesthetic revolution" which the great French revolution had failed to achieve, finding its fulfillment only after 1814. Manfred Naumann depicted Goethe as a liberator who freed himself from the universal, timeless idea of the beautiful and who, while accepting the authority of the Greeks as a normative force, still respected what was historically beautiful in his own time, seizing upon it as a stimulus and remaining aware that the modern artist with all his historical insights still could not create "more naturally," "more innocently" than the Greeks were assumed to be able to do.

The perspective into the world, into world literature, into forms and styles, into the crisis of modernity which Goethe could observe with discontent even in his own time, did not, however, lead Naumann to the obvious question of whether "world literature" itself had not long since become a phenomenon of a more fortunate moment in history. For, especially in German-speaking countries, but elsewhere as well, an ever deepening nationalization of literature is becoming evident instead of a boldly free venturing out into the world.

Bernd Leistner drew a picture of a Goethe striving to reach the cosmos in his constrained and threatening present, in a world that was falling out of joint. He called to mind Goethe's astonishment after 1814 that it was almost inconceivable how so much had been survived; of his unwillingness on that account to abandon himself to the empirical, to mere experience, to this "Hindu idol" with a thousand arms and heads, and of his need to "amicably untangle all things," that is to put them into a relationship of meaning and degree. Goethe's "egoism," his impatience with the present, the "uneasy intensity" of the Olympian who was troubled by the inconsistency of mankind, Leistner refused to perceive, as do the industrious valets, as an unpolitical escapism but rather as what Peter Hacks called "a terrible form of mourning."

Goethe did not withdraw from his historical environment, he was looking instead for an Archimedean point from which he could put things in order. His studies of an ordered, eternal nature served him as an "antidote" against the poisons of his time and as a means to become its master. From this point out there flowed much that was Goethe's into the thinking of Karl Marx, whose bourgeois understanding of Goethe was treated by Wolfgang Heise. His discontent with societal existence in an insecure society led Goethe to a denial of self and the custodianship of the arts so as to guarantee for himself in history an aesthetic and individual existence, though not a publicly political one as a privy councillor or minister of state. There was no reproach in this characterization, as is often heard, but rather a cordial respect for the "generous aristocrat," for the undemocratic Goethe who looked forward to a reasoned transition for society--as in the Company of the Tower depicted in "Wilhelm Meister"--through individuals who gained self-insight and dimension in freedom.

His humanistic respect for the politically caused aesthetic existence brought Leistner--perhaps unintentionally--close to the Goethe of an almost religiously understood inwardness, to the image of the helper in need and the cultural saint of many Germans around 1932, during the Third Reich or in 1949, whose Goethe cult Hans-Dietrich Dahnke, though not himself sharing it, sought to interpret as an historical phenomenon.

There were no signs of a quarrel with Goethe, there were no convulsive attempts to bring Goethe up to date--it was much more an effort to undertand that Goethe and to comprehend our relationship to him. No one reproached him for political and thus human inadequacy out of humanistic respect for Goethe's "particularity" in his bourgeois era, perhaps also keeping in mind Goethe's remark: "Whenever a poet would be effective in a political way, he must surrender himself to a party and when he does this he is lost as a poet; he must bid adieu to his free spirit, his unobstructed overview and doing so must pull down over his ears the nightcap of narrow-mindedness and blind hatred." There the matter rested with an encounter with the Goethe of all educated Germans, for where else, if not in Weimar, could one gain a better view of the peculiarities of an historical situation?

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DRAMA CRITICAL OF GDR HISTORIOGRAPHY ON PRUSSIA REVIEWED

West German Commentary

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 4, Feb 82 pp 10-12

['Background' report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "GDR 1981 Theater Season Without Climaxes." A translation of the review of East German dramatist Claus Hammel's play cited below follows this report]

> [Excerpts] Although 23 new plays by GDR authors were premiered in the GDR during the last theater season--compared to 11 that had been announced--theater critics in the GDR agree that the 1981 season ended without any climaxes. In addition, there was general agreement that the East Berlin stages that earlier had been setting the tone with respect to premieres by GDR authors were becoming cuatious, and new plays were being introduced primarily in theaters of other cities--for instance, Dresden, Rostock and Schwerin. Furthermore, GDR critics stated that many of the new plays were based on successful novels.

Christoph Funke, chairman of the work team "Neue Werke" [New Works], of the association of Playwrights in the GDR, introduced his criticism of the last season with the following quotation from Brecht: "Now, after working for many years, we find outselves in a more difficult situation than we did at the beginning. In spite of a few successes by several GDR authors, it cannot be ignored that

--"the national dramaturgy has not yet become a comprehensive artistic factor of substance that could have a decisive influence on the theatrical life and its political and aesthetic effects. Statements about the present are becoming much more decisive, extraordinarily exciting, controversial and challenging while they are being incorporated into the interpretation of classical works. At the same time the new dramaturgy is relegated to smaller playhouses, discovery and spectacle programs, played by an intensely interested audience; simultaneously, however, it is strangely removed from the public discussion with the audiences of the larger houses."

One of the few new GDR plays which received unanimously positive praise by theater critics was the comedy "Die Preussen kommen" [The Prussians Are

Coming] by Claus Hammel. It was performed by the Volkstheater Rostock under the direction of Hanns Anselm Perten, general manager. The play polemicizes "against the shallow and hasty treatment of the historical heritage." A critique in the journal THEATER DER ZEIT contains the following comment:

--"Last but not least, it is an important reason why additional--equally responsible--productions of this comedy are desirable. They can be a helpful way of demonstrating the opportunities of the theater, particularly comedies--in contrast to historiography and political propaganda--to offer productive impulses in the process of shaping a sovereign socialist consciousness. Hammel and his Rostock interpreters are proof that one can experience a great deal of inspiration and insight into serious matters through laughter."

Place and plot of the play, which takes place in today's GDR, lead to a "testing laboratory for the reintegration of historical personalities." In addition to the reformer Martin Luther, Prussia's King Frederick II is making an appearance. He is to be won for the West by an agent disguised as a reporter. But Frederick reverses his decision to leave the country because he does not want to leave the heritage to DR Luther alone."

GDR Theater Journal's Critique

East Berlin THEATER DER ZEIT in German Vol 36 No 9, Sep 81 (signed to press 27 Jul 81) pp 57-58

["History in Action--On the Premiere of Claus Hammel's Comedy, 'The Prussians Are Coming,' at Volkstheater Rostock"--Review by Dr Manfred Noessig, Central Institute for Literary History, GDR Academy of Sciences. Claus Hammel, journalist and dramatist, born in 1932, was awarded the Lessing Prize in 1968 and the National Prize Third Class in 1979, for his artistic achievements]

[Text] Before historical figures of the 16th and 18th century confer with contemporaries on stage and parquet in an entertaining and demanding manner, there is a prologue. It was written by the general manager himself and had to be brand-new: The director--Hanns Anselm Perten--and a fool--Siegfried Kellermann--had posted limericks on the final page of an "Eulenspiegel" number. It is a defense of the performance, the fact that it is "realism in spite of itself," and it contains a call for objective discussions under the responsible leadership of the party: "...if you find the subject too demanding or too meager turn to Kurt Hager!" Anyway, a comedy with dynamite? Yes! Because this subject--the relationship between the socialist society and the controversial past of the German people--is politically a central problem. In its most extreme generalization it is clarified readily, but efforts to put it into practice meet with difficulties again and again, evoking the danger of simplification and bias. But as far as Hammel is concerned, he wants to provide thought-provoking assistance for the everyday handling of history and also the creation of a historical-philosophical sovereignty for socialist personalities.

The theatrical story, which is altogether aimed at allegory, begins at an allegorical location: in the "testing laboratory for the reintegration of

of historical personalities." For this purpose, Falk von Wangelin constructed a modern museum storage room--in bright ocher--with a practically arranged workplace containing nostalgic furniture and boxes as high as people, "housing" prototypes of figures such as Muentzer, Luther and Frederick II, who are engaged in disputes over historical legacies, in the presence of busts of Marx and Engels. (Later, when the ensemble of figures goes on an "excursion," a green cloth is spread over the furniture, extending to the open rear stage--a scenery that is light, imaginative and tasteful, comical and "playful.")

At this location, the director of the imaginary laboratory, a well-known woman doctor and the author of a well-known dissertation on Frederick II of Prussia as a forerunner of German imperialism, is visited by this Frederick, who is on his way to the Linden-Allee where his equestrian statue is supposed to be reerected after being in storage for 35 years. The way in which this woman doctor--who, naturally, had already integrated Muentzer and also Luther (and who had placed a "finished" label on their residence boxes)--receives the new guest and befriends him with a sovereign look, essentially is the plot of the play. At the beginning there is the well-experienced, self-established, severe rejection, paired only with the objective settlement of an integration order from the "top." (It is combined with an acute knowledge of the subject--a beautiful accent of the production: the snuffbox the visitor brings along.) In the end the lady is fighting for this feudal lord, because she found out that historical traditions cannot even be exported in exchange for foreign currency, a deliberate view of history which incorporates all the contradictory facets of past class struggles, which helps to develop and strengthen the goals of current policies.

Nevertheless, this beautiful, funny, basic idea--as happens frequently with Hammel--is followed through rather loosely. Viewed from the aspect of historical "alienation," there are many apercus: About the endangered German language in the press, the preoccupation of rulers with festivities, currency problems, the quality of potatoes and writers; yes, in addition to many literary allusions, there are witty parts in the dialog that even deal with the metabolism needs of General Zieten, who has been in a coffin for 200 years. (The production picks up this kind of witty gestures: for instance, the bicycling Luther telephoning with the "Lord.") Above all, however, the political seriousness of the comedy writer leads again and again to an expansion of the total complex of problems (the question of war and peace, probings into all the aspects of tension between Luther and Frederick) as an independent "topic," related to the plot only in a general way. Consequently the play gains more timeliness and operativeness rather than aesthetic, all-around solidity. As a result it provides many areas for attacks. In my opinion it is not a disadvantage--as long as one does not have to be prepared for humorless-brutal opponents.

Reciprocal polemics between the historical characters of Luther and Frederick represent one of the overriding factors of the play. It carries insight into the contradictions of historical accomplishments and personalities, reducing agitatorial interpretations and inappropriate analogies--when the differences of opinion of the two become visible, for instance, with respect to farmers (agriculture) or the question of opportunism. Last but not least, it helps

to construct these two main witnesses in an artistically interesting manner for our perception of history, liberating us from linearities (for instance, the creation of a jealous relationship). It is most evident in the character of Luther. This role also offers the actor an abundance of material for the portrayal of the character. One can feel that the dramatist is very sure of himself. He can pull out all the stops when confrontations occur scenically and during dialogues. Frederick II comes across a little duller in spite of many punch lines in the dialogue. The reason is the historical model but also the new complexity of problems with respect to the "legacy" of this "period" in German history. Although it seems justified to avoid persiflage or caricature--which would point to a perplexity which has not yet been dealt with--one gets the following feeling when observing this character: The writer himself is still struggling with the subject although he treats it with apparent ease when he introduces it for discussion.

A new central topic is alluded to in the second part of the play. Suddenly a new artistic and symbolic figure appears in connection with confusion and mix-ups which occur several times involving the coffin of the old Zieten which is demanded by Frederick. Rivera's picturesque vision of death as a skeleton with a machine gun slung over his shoulder transposes the figure into something theatrical. With this idea the comedy reveals--without relinquishing its superior gesture--the total seriousness which is inherent in the controversy with the Prussian history and especially with the person of Frederick II. Still Hammel deliberately brings everything to a head: The Prussian king demonstrates his culture by presenting a flute concert. But the contemporaries also make him--reluctantly--play the "hohenfriedberger," the signal of Prussian militarism. Then the death symbol comes alive: The stage depicts optically and acoustically a modern war inferno. This, in turn, is affecting Frederick himself. He offers himself to carry out a "preventive strike," to subdue the West Germans and to solve in this manner the dispute about his person by force and "forever" in favor of socialism. Driven to such an extreme, the danger of the Prussian spirit which belongs to these potentates and which is diametrically opposed to socialism becomes frightfully apparent.

This dissonance of the comedy points to the responsibility which is required to process our own history for the present. When Frederick accepts the offer of a Western reporter-agent--after his macabre campaign plan is rejected--to return to his ancestral Hohenzollern seat in the FRG, everything seems solved and anew endangered. After all, Frederick's confession that he possesses the sole claim to the "true Germans" beyond the Elbe would firmly establish a reactionary function of his legacy, the productive contradiction of which has only now become apparent. But the play remains a double-faceted comedy. Frederick--noticing the difficulties of his reintegration in the GDR--rescinds his decision to leave the country: Considering all the contradictions, my wheat can still blossom here after all; and I certainly do not want to leave the legacy to Luther alone. At the same time the inconclusiveness of the debate becomes apparent, the continuous obligation for new decisions: When the woman doctor places a "finished" label on the museum box of Frederick II, Bismarck appears at the footlights.

Hanns Anselm Perten has total and complete confidence in the productivity of the premiere production of this problem-laden play. Instead of petty caution he practices responsible boldness. With much courage he produces a comedy which does not stop at violence when the material and the play demand it. Of course, the Rostock Theater has spent a long time and much continuous work to produce an alert and intelligent audience which is extraordinarily suited for such experiments and which is not looking for sensational materials but for an understanding of the political and spiritual problems of the time. It is responsible for the success of the evening to the same degree as is the author, the production collective and the performers.

Last but not least, they deserve joint praise for portraying the intellectually demanding text accurately and simultaneously presenting the situations of the play in an entertaining and thought-provoking manner, fully supporting the interests of the author. It helps to coordinate the sketchy structure of the plot and put it together theatrically, permitting concentration on its special qualities, which lie in the charm of its individual scenes; as a consequence the main idea is noticeable throughout the whole play.

Uwe-Detlev Jessen seems to be the one who enjoys the play--and the production work--the most. He portrays a Luther who fully tastes flights of fancy and depressions (magnificent the desperate, tearful collapse: "I certainly was not a revolutionary!"); a stout figure who seemed to burst at the seams; a kind of a renaissance giant that is needed for such a derogatory comedy.

Klaus Martin Boestel concentrates his portrayal of the Prussian king on respect-seeking goals. Thus he becomes a serious partner in the play and in our thoughts, who occupies our minds beyond the evening at the theater. The discipline is impressive with which Boestel organizes his joy in seeing through this role (because this Frederick looks at himself much less critically than Hammel's character of Luther does), and in spite of all the narrow-mindedness he moves toward an intelligent statemanlike profile, which has format whether it applies to the good or the bad in him.

Christine van Santen uses a rarely tested simplicity to portray the director of the reintegration laboratory. She provides opportunities for the "heroes" to unfold fully as they move through the problem situations that surround them. and at the same time she is successful in showing the scruples and hopes of a deeply affected contemporary--reflecting the impulse of the plot of the play--in an unpretentious and emphatic manner and conveying it to the spectator as if it were also a suitable attitude for him.

In addition to Siegfried Kellerman, who functions as a fool between museum employees and important figures, Joachim Ulitzsch and Armin Roder, two tall fellows who are a deliberate anachromism, there are three performers who share the remaining 13 roles: Katrin Stephan (who is also death), Manfred Schlosser, Erhard Schmidt. Most of the time they come up with the required wittiness in their portrayal of contemporaries from production and administration. They are presented as cheerful and critical characters who are trying to cope with history and present it in their own ways.

The play and its production polemicize against the shallow and hasty treatment of the historical heritage. They take "the side of those who are enlightening and completing our concept of history without affectation, hypocracy and cheap pragmatism" (C. Hammel). Last but not least, it is an important reason why additional--equally responsible--productions of this comedy are desirable. They can be a helpful way of demonstrating the opportunities of the theater, particularly comedies--in contast to historiography and political propaganda--to offer productive impulses in the process of shaping a sovereign socialist consciousness. Hammel and his Rostock interpreters are proof that one can experience a great deal of inspiration and insight into serious matters through laughter.

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FORMATION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE SOCIETY ANNOUNCED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Mar 82 p 4

[Article--no author given: "The Hungarian Political Science Society Was Formed"]

[Text] Our country's political science has arrived at an important milestone of its history: the Hungarian Political Science Society was formed this Thursday. Member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee Miklos Ovari, president of the Academy Janos Szentagothai, and Zsigmond Pal Pach, vice president of the MTA [Hungarian Academy of Sciences] were there, among others, in the presidium of the founding general meeting held at the Academy.

After opening remarks by academician Kalman Kulcsar, chairman of the general meeting, the science director of MSZMP's Institute for Social Studies Sandor Lakos reported on the work of the society's temporary caretaker committee and also spoke, among other things, about the road which has led to the present general meeting. He mentioned that political ideology and cultivating political history have domestic traditions going back a long time, but political science in today's sense, as an independent scientific branch, is only now developing and becoming institutionalized.

After the report by Sandor Lakos, the general session debated and adopted the society's bylaws, then elected its officers and committees. The president of the Hungarian Political Science Society is Janos Peter, vice chairman of the National Assembly; its vice presidents are: Gyorgy Antalffy, president of the Jozsef Attila University of Sciences; Jozsef Halasz, deputy director of the MTA's Institute of State and Legal Sciences; and Sandor Lakos.

After this, Janos Peter delivered a brief acceptance speech as president. He said, among other things, that a special interest follows abroad at this time the development of the Hungarian society, and the political scientists can also make significant contributions to make our experience suitable for international acceptance.--"Our experiences can be processed only in a forum of debate"--he said--"which also takes advantage of the freedom to take risks and make mistakes. The Hungarian Political Science Society"--Janos Peter concluded--"may provide useful assistance to the leadership bodies which are awaiting society's initiatives and suggestions."

After the president's remarks Miklos Ovari welcomed the society's formation, emphasizing that the organic connection between science and politcs can look back on strong traditions: it has existed ever since Marxism united science and politics. However--the Central Committee's secretary recounted--this relationship has not always been smooth. The conditions have been suitable for a quarter of a century now--Miklos Ovari said--for the relationship between science and politics to be increasingly smooth.

Hungarian political science has helped politcs primarily by continuing its independent research projects and is cooperating in making the results of social science research usable. Miklos Ovari concluded by saying that making scientific results directly applicable is indispensible to politics.

8584
CSO: 2500/187

MINISTRY CALLS FOR MORE REALISTIC SCHOLARSHIP SYSTEM

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Mar 82 p 4

[Article: "Directive by the Minister of Education--New Scholarship System is Being Introduced Beginning with This Semester in the Institutions of Higher Education"]

[Text] A directive by the minister of education has been published about state assistance which can be given to daytime students of the institutions of higher education. The regulation, known in university student circles as the new scholarship system, received its final form after wide ranging debates by the interested parties. The background of the debates was that the government increased the sum for scholarships and social assistance by 150 million forints per year, and the ministry has worked out a proposal for distributing this assistance, which is almost 30 percent higher than before, in a reasonable and fair way which truly provides incentives. This was debated in the higher educational youth parliaments held at the end of last year. The new system was developed with attention to the opinions and suggestions heard at these forums.

In making the awards the basic goal continues to be on the one hand to provide the incentives to achieve better academic learning, and on the other hand to effectively assist the continued education of deserving students who need it because of their social circumstances. Decreasing certain inequalities which existed in past practice of the past was an important endeavor in developing the principles of distribution; that is, to have the scholarship better acknowledge the outstanding performance, and have social assistance become more fair, and rigid categorization should not mean a more advantageous or more disadvantageous situation for some young people than for the others. One of the most important characteristics of the regulation is that it significantly expands the sphere of authority and the responsibility of the higher educational institutions and KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] organizations, since it defines only the basic viewpoints of entitlement in connection with the individual forms of assistance, while the universities and colleges make their decisions independently about the specific conditions. Thus they may consider the social composition of their student body, the institution's average academic standards, and all those local circumstances which may influence the distribution of the monies.

Thus, for example, the minister's directive regulates only the lower limit of the previous semester's average academic grades in connection with granting general scholarships--this is 3.00--, and that the acount of the scholarship can be 200 to 1,200 forints per month. The rules of the institutions may decide the amount of scholarship to be paid, and with what average grades, or which subject grades should be given more emphasis and importance from the educational viewpoint; and what kind of attention should be given to the other student activities, for example to his [or her] work in academic study groups or activity in political or public affairs.

All these things reflect the intention that general scholarship should urge the students to obtain a high level of professional and political knowledge, participate in useful social and community activity, as well gain broad and multi-faceted preparation for an intellectual career. They may also give higher scholarships to aid exceptionally gifted and industrious students on the basis of their grades.

The new system more decidedly separates student educational assistance for from social assistance to youth. The purpose is to create the basic financial condition to advance the education of deserving needy students based on their social and family circumstances. The method of determining this aid has become more standardized because the social situation of the applicants and the sum which can be awarded are established by weighing all circumstances. Thus, differently from past practice, in addition to the specific financial assistance the contribution to dormitory charges or to rental accomodations, as well as the supplement for student cafeteria charges are also included. The assistance budget given to each institution of higher education is based on the social circumstances of the student body. The regulation was developed to better reflect the actual income conditions of the young people, so that the assistance would go to those who really need it, and that the available amount in the budget could all be used up.

One of the fundamental factors of implementing fairer social assistance is: when the applications are evaluated and the amount decided, consideration is given not only to whether the student lives in the city where the institution is located or far from it, and the amount of monthly income of the person supporting him, but those financial and other circumstances are also evaluated --which are not reflected in the proof of income--which significantly effect the standards of the student and his family.

The new system of assistance to university and college students by the state is being introduced beginning with this semester in all institutions of higher education in the country.

8584
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DUSKO POPOVIC DISCUSSES VOJVODINA PROBLEMS, NATIONALISM

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Apr 82 p 5

[Interview with Dusko Popovic, member of the LCY Central Committee, the Presidium of the Vojvodina Provincial Committee of the League of Communists, and the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the Vojvodina SAWP, by Jovo Paripovic: "Among Equals There Are No Privileges"; date and place not specified]

[Text] "The assessment of the effort of Vojvodina party members in the period between the last conference, the 16th, and the upcoming one, the 17th, of the League of Communists of Vojvodina is derived to the greatest degree from the assessment of the effort of the LCY between the 11th and 12th congresses. The successes and shortcomings are basically the same, but certain differences arise out of the peculiarities and activity of party members because of specific economic, ethnic and other conditions," said Dusko Popovic, member of the LCY Central Committee and member of the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina and the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the Vojvodina SAWP in answering a question about the extent to which Vojvodina party members have performed the tasks assumed at the last Conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina and in congresses of the Serbian League of Communists and the LCY.

"In this period Yugoslav communists have suffered a tremendous loss through the death of Josip Broz Tito and Edvard Kardelj. We Vojvodina party members have been particularly affected by the death of Jovan Veselinov and Stevan Doronjski. The most significant result of the struggle of Yugoslav and Vojvodina communists is that we have shown our determination to continue the policy we built up under Tito's leadership."

Unitaristic Nationalism Weakens the Unity of the LCY

[Question] In the interval between the two conferences and two congresses quite a few changes have occurred in our society. Since Tito's death various enemies have been active both within the country and outside it, attempting to belittle both the revolution and everything that has been done so far, we have been confronted with the counterrevolution and irredenta in Kosovo and so on. To what extent is this a reflection both of a weakening of unity in the LC [League of Communists] and of the failure of the vanguard of the working class to resolve the contradictions of social development?

[Answer] Since Tito's death all the antisocialist and antiself-management forces have stepped up their activity to the maximum both within the country and abroad, as have all those who on the soil of our self-management reality have not agreed with certain aspects of LCY policy, especially those expressed at the 10th and 11th LCY Congresses, in the SFRY Constitution and in the Law on Associated Labor. It was to their advantage that economic difficulties have aggravated many contradictions which have been operative for a long time in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism.

The common denominator of the antisocialist and antiself-management forces and tendencies is nationalism. Counterrevolutionary irredentist Albanian nationalism attempted to inflict the first blow against us. Nationalistic-unitaristic forces, operating simultaneously on "socialist terrain" and also in the form of bourgeois nationalism, in a tie-up which gives them mutual encouragement and motivation, were waiting and ready and took advantage of that breakthrough of separatistic nationalism. Aggressive advocates of the unitaristic ideology have obtrusively expressed their disagreement with our country's constitutional system and with the federal system in particular.

Those who are in the party and government hierarchy, knowing that they will soon lose their reputation in the working class and with the working people if they openly negate the SFRY Constitution and the federal system, wave the slogan of unity, while striving to alter the essential relations through the most varied pressures, both openly and behind the scenes. They are favored in this by our opportunism and the pragmatistic advocacy of particularistic interests. The unitaristic nationalists have been evading the positions and decisions of the 10th and 11th congresses and the LCY Bylaws, they are striving to rig the decisions of delegate assemblies from political centers, and they are openly counting on the momentary balance of power in the context of economic difficulties and political-ideological vacillations. The centralistic-bureaucratic and statist foundation of the unitaristic nationalists is being exposed ever more nakedly. It is a great responsibility of the LCY to frustrate unitaristic nationalism in its encouragement of separatistic nationalism in Kosovo and in other parts of the country.

The unitarists have very quickly forgotten the catastrophic consequences of the unresolved nationality question in old, centralistic and nationalistic Yugoslavia and the historic significance of the struggle for unity on the foundations of equality by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, headed by Tito. This weakens the unity of the LCY and makes it more difficult for the working class, the nationalities and ethnic minorities to fight the bourgeois nationalists, the counterrevolution in Kosovo, and all the other internal and external enemies of socialist self-managed and independent Yugoslavia.

Measures, Enactments and Statements of Position Are Not Sufficient for Stabilization ...

[Question] Why has the effort to achieve economic stabilization in Vojvodina, and indeed in other parts of our country, not become an integral part of the everyday behavior of entities in social self-management, especially with respect to the attitude toward the growth of exports, reduction of investments,

utilization of capacity, above all in the production of food, and conservation and economy?

[Answer] Measures, enactments and statement of policy position are not sufficient for carrying out the policy of economic stabilization, but there is also a need for much wider and more astute political action in society, for more intense involvement, greater responsibility, commitment and effort by all the working people, self-management entities and sociopolitical factors. There is also a need for more unified political-ideological action on the part of all the leagues of communists of the republics and provinces and of the entire LCY.

Overcoming the increasingly pronounced difficulties and disproportions with which we are confronted requires first of all a further strengthening of the system of socialist self-management and the role of the working class in taking command of the flows of social reproduction and in establishing more balanced relations and trends in social reproduction.

Restricting the Power of the Political Bureaucracy

So that we could spend too much, and in particular to invest too much, by adopting excessive government administration we have closed the door to the operation of objective economic and market laws, but they have returned with the force of the elements and have entered through the windows like a flood. An expression of our present difficulties is the vigorous strengthening of the operation of economic laws, accompanied by an equally vigorous strengthening of self-management planning and decisionmaking by the working class and working people in managing accumulation and social reproduction as a whole. Which means that the power of the political bureaucracy and the power of the technocracy in enterprises, which is augmented by mutual ties, has to be determinedly restricted. The economic contradictions have exacerbated extremely the conflict between self-management and statism. These are the basic causes of the individual difficulties which you have mentioned in Yugoslavia and in Vojvodina.

If food production is to progress according to our real capabilities and needs, the agroindustrial complex has to be freed of statist restrictions, in particular decisionmaking by the Federal Executive Council on the prices and export of food. The production of food needs to be integrated into the socioeconomic relations of self-management like any other production sector. Agricultural workers and farmers have the right to self-management just like other direct producers in our country. The freer operation of economic laws and advanced self-management planning are needed in the agroindustrial complex as they are elsewhere. All of us together have already paid very dear for the delay in adoption of economic policy measures in the food area.

Disputes

[Question] Recently there has been quite a bit said about relations in SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia. Aside from the well-known counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, the question is often asked: "What does Vojvodina want?" or "What is happening in Vojvodina?" The differences in views are obvious.

Could you single out certain basic differences in views, if there are any: for example, over the question of Vojvodina's autonomy, issues related to the bylaws? To what extent are those different views the cause of certain tendencies and what strength is there to overcome those differences?

[Answer] The development of socialist self-management, the SFRY Constitution and the decisions of the 10th LCY Congress have proclaimed the self-managing independence and equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities and of the republics and provinces in our Yugoslav Federation. However, the workers and the working people and the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Vojvodina cannot exercise their self-managing independence and equality if they are infringed within SR Serbia.

The problems and difficulties arise out of the endeavor to restrict the historic achievements of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Vojvodina's self-managing independence and equality within SR Serbia through governmental and political centralization. Those disputes have been manifested in the economic field in particular through the insistence of the republic center, on the question of the governmental organization of the republic, through the insistence on strengthening uniform republic legislation, and especially in the domain of nationwide defense and social self-protection, the security service, and especially the State Security Service, as well as in foreign policy. In spite of the Resolutions of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia adopted in January, concerning settlement of those questions, we are now on the threshold of a new exacerbation.

A Flowering of All Ethnic Cultures

The issue has been raised of relations within the League of Communists of Serbia, of its "unity" and of its "democratic centralism," and for the first time outvoting and majority rule have replaced democratic reconciliation of interests and policy within the delegate Assembly of SR Serbia. Instead of joint efforts to develop self-management, income-sharing relations, and the conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts, the questions at issue are returning us to redistribution of government powers and the powers of the forums and organs of the League of Communists of Serbia.

[Question] There has also been "name-calling" to the effect that Vojvodina is moving toward destruction of Serbian culture.

[Answer] In cultural policy we insist on free development and flowering of all the ethnic cultures in Vojvodina and on their self-managing community consensus on the foundations of equality. It is the essence of culture to strive for open communications with the world, for openness and cooperation with all cultures within Yugoslavia, and Vojvodina communists are encouraging and nurturing that interethnic community spirit in cultural life. The unity that has been achieved between the class aspect and the ethnic aspect in our cultural policy does not require any sort of specific relations on an ethnic basis that would upset the lively dialectics of the community spirit of culture and artistic creativity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Vojvodina.

For the culture of the Serbs to have a privileged position with respect to the culture of the other nationalities and ethnic minorities in the province would constitute a retreat from the overall policy of the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities and of brotherhood and unity in Vojvodina. And that is what constitutes the tremendous historic achievement of the revolutionary struggle of the League of Communists of Vojvodina and the resolution of the nationality question in Yugoslavia. It is our duty to oppose every disruption of those achievements, regardless of who is responsible.

Unlimited Devotion to the LCY and Tito's Lifework

Throughout the entire history of Vojvodina, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Vojvodina, that is, the League of Communists of Vojvodina is the first political party which all the nationalities in Vojvodina have had in common. During the National Liberation Struggle and the socialist revolution it transformed the working class, the nationalities and the ethnic minorities of Vojvodina from the object of political enslavement and economic exploitation by hegemonistic Hungary and the Serbian and Croatian bourgeoisie into an exponent of a free socialist and self-managing Vojvodina, of a fraternal community of all its equal nationalities and ethnic minorities, in particular of Serbs, Croats and Hungarians.

That is why the workers, the working people and citizens, and all the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Vojvodina feel unlimited devotion to the Communist Party, that is, to the LCY, to the thoughts and lifework of Josip Broz Tito, the most important Yugoslav figure of all time. The degradation and destruction of self-managing independence and equality of Vojvodina in the name of anyone's nationalism or advocacy of a powerful state would inflict a serious blow to interethnic relations in Yugoslavia; this would cause a crisis of self-management by the working class, the working people and citizens, and especially in relations among the nationalities and ethnic minorities in Vojvodina.

There Can Never Be Enough Activities by Consensus

[Question] Though there has been no manifestation of organized nationalistic activity in Vojvodina since the events in Kosovo, there has been a growth of Serbian and Hungarian nationalism, and indeed even irredentism. To what extent have a certain self-satisfaction and the assessment of the situation to the effect that "there have been no cases of irresponsible behavior" in the Vojvodina organizations of the League of Communists been blunting the sharp edge of the struggle against nationalism and other "isms" in this province?

[Answer] Even in the past period the League of Communists of Vojvodina carried on a widespread political-ideological effort to develop the equality of our nationalities and ethnic minorities and to reinforce brotherhood and unity and socialist self-management consensus. There can never be enough of these efforts, nor dare we ever fall into complacency.

When the Albanian nationalistic counterrevolution in Kosovo was sharply condemned, a warning was issued concerning occurrences of nationalism in our own community, including the creation of an anti-Albanian disposition.

Though nationalism has not been manifested in the forms of organized activity, individual expressions and reactions from nationalistic positions have occurred in all fields of work and creativity. Their number has been increasing since the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, especially in the case of Great Serb and Hungarian nationalism, and indeed even irredentism.

There has also been heightened activity on a nationalistic basis by the reactionary portion of the clergy, especially within the Roman Catholic and Serbian Orthodox churches, but in other religious communities as well. Tendencies toward politicization of the church have become stronger with a portion of the clergy, and there has been a tendency to portray the church as the only reliable defender of ethnic interests.

[Box, first column]

Membership in the League of Communists

From the 16th conference up to the beginning of this year almost 2,000 new primary organizations of the League of Communists have been established in the League of Communists of Vojvodina. There has been a great deal of activity to implement the initiative of Comrade Tito concerning collective work, decision-making and responsibility. From the beginning of 1978 to the end of 1981 the number of members of the League of Communists of Vojvodina increased from 179,000 to 223,000, or 25 percent. Today nearly 1 inhabitant of the province in 10 and 1 out of every 3 persons employed in the socialized sector is a member of the League of Communists.

[Box, middle column]

Per Capita Income of $2,850

Between 1976 and 1980 the social product in Vojvodina increased at an average annual rate of 5 percent: 7.1 percent in industry and 1.8 percent in agriculture. Labor productivity rose at a rate of 2.6 percent. Economic activity facilitated a 3.1-percent annual growth of employment, the overall standard of living rose at a rate of 4.6 percent, and personal consumption grew at a rate higher than 3.7 percent. At the end of 1980 the per capita national income in Vojvodina was about $2,850.

7045
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LITERARY PAPER REFUTES CHARGES OF CHAUVINISM

Belgrade KNJIZEVNA REC in Serbo-Croatian 25 Feb 82 p 2

[Text] At a joint session of the presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia and the presidium of the republic-level SAWPY committee regarding information services on 12 February 1982, the following positions with respect to KNJIZEVNA REC were stated in the introductory report by Moncilo Baljak, LCS CC executive secretary:

"However, we must refer to certain negative phenomena that are the result of the one-sidedness of the editorial policy of certain publications. Political problems are provoked by the unacceptable, onesided and sensationalistic reporting of events and phenomena in certain milieus, based solely upon negative examples from social practice. The reporting of certain journals such as DUGA and KNJIZEVNA REC and also certain other youth publications regarding certain aspects of political life in Bosnia and Hercegovina have generated justifiable critical reactions because of bias, intolerance and the unacceptable linking of scattered instances with broader political conditions in such a milieu [...].

"Regardless of the motivations for bringing up certain subjects and events, the manner in which this is done in certain cases has an objectively nationalistic tone."

Since we think that the keys to objectivity are not always found in one pair of hands, and also for a variety of other reasons, we cannot accept an assessment of this kind.

Above all, we are of the opinion that critical reporting about the third universal theory of so-called "Islamic socialism," about the plagiarism of scholarly works and favorable appraisals of such plagiarisms, about violations of certain elementary legal and ethical norms in various acts, and about the fact that contributors to religious newspapers become editors of theoretical party journals are in no way exclusively political topics, but rather topics that concern the fulfillment of the basic legal, civil and self-managing rights and obligations of all citizens. In a certain sense, this is a matter of a prepolitical quarrel; or, more precisely, this discussion can be treated as political only to the extent that all topics are political. And, of course, to the extent to which the actors in the "events" in question are actors in political life.

We also consider the direct and indirect identification of individuals with whole so-called "milieus" to be deeply unacceptable and alien to any socialist self-managing and public consideration of our present situation.

But here is what is most important. We think that it is the task of every revolutionary organization, such as the LCY, and its organs, to take clear positions on specific social phenomena--including those involved here--and only on the basis of such evaluations and appraisals to take positions as well on their interpretations in the public information media, which are also a social phenomenon.

We hope that the cited reasons are both sufficient and convincing to indicate why we consider the assessment of a single individual regarding an "objectively nationalistic tone" to be absolutely unacceptable and untenable.

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END

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2009

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13 May 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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No. 2009

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BRIEFS

SOVIET CONSUL AT KRAKOW MEETINGS--Last Saturday [6 March 1982] there was a meeting of the plenipotentiaries of the National Defense Committee (KOK) at the voivodship, city section, and gmina level with the first secretary of the PZPR Krakow Committee, Krystyn Dabrowa, and the mayor of the city of Krakow, Jozef Gajewicz. The minister plenipotentiary and Consul General of the USSR in Krakow, Georgiy Rudov, also took part in the meeting. The subject of the meeting was the discussion of the current political and socio-economic situation of Krakow voivodship as well as the designation of the main directions of the further work of the KOK plenipotentiaries. The meeting was conducted by commissar and KOK plenipotentiary Gen Leon Sulima. [Text] [Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 8 Mar 82 p 2]

CSO: 2600/566

ROLE OF NAVY STAFF SPECIALISTS OUTLINED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 19 Feb 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Capt Ventseslav Velkov: "The Staff Specialist and the Ship's Crew"]

> [Text] "Our military establishment needs party people with profound ideological conviction and political experience, people who are most closely related to the servicemen..., who constantly demonstrate their care for their subordinates, respect their human dignity, know their needs and mood, and offer necessary and timely help, people who find their way to the hearts of the servicemen."
>
> Todor Zhivkov

Navy regulation ascribe high responsibility to navy staff specialists for helping the professional development of navy officers, for organizing the combat use of weapons systems and equipment, for their exploitation and repair, for training in a special field, for military discipline, and for the moral-political education of marines and sailors. As a rule, navy staff specialists are officers excellently trained in a certain field, who know to perfection the weapons systems and equipment and possess high organizational skills.

Careful planning of the activities of staff specialists is of great importance for the efficiency of their work. The staffs give them sufficient time to train their subordinate captains and mates in their special field. Long periods of time spent in offices by staff officers is considered incompatible with the execution of their functional duties. Every flagship specialist should carefully consider in his personal daily schedule the concrete problems which he will check, study, or help overcome during his visit to the ship, or during his work in the special laboratory, or during his participation in party-political activity. This will help him achieve excellent results in the work with his subordinates. He can avoid becoming party in his work, a common weakness among staff specialists, by carefully planning his time. Naturally, there are cases when it is necessary that the staff specialist should himself team a class of sailors, conduct a training exercise, or direct a specific repair job. However, these are exceptions. Regardless of his efforts, he does not have the physical ability to replace his subordinate specialists and marine officers, nor should he. His comprehensive work is the chief condition for achieving the desired high results in combat training.

The staff specialist's participation in determining the special training themes is imperative. Here he can show creativity in reporting the educational level reached by officers, sergeants, and sailors. He can also plan forms of work which will secure practical education. Especially important is the role of the staff specialist in improving the methodological skills of captains, in implementing our and the Soviet leading experience in the special field, in educating sailors in strict and precise abiding by exploitational instructions in servicing weapons and equipment. Classes in teaching methods are also used by staff specialists to improve instructors' skills in their classes and in their drills in the special field. There, they share their personal experience as well as the methodological know-how of the whole unit and the navy. The flagship specialist should conduct regular practice sessions in the special field with the specialists from subordinate staffs and with marine officers. Sometimes, when there are great educational differences among the officer in a given subject, it is appropriate to have individual instructions (conferences). Such a form of work, for example, is often used by Officer Christo Dimitrov, and it has contributed to the improved preparation of his subordinate ship mechanics.

The role of staff specialists is especially important in organizing sailing exercises, combat drills and practice in special subjects and tactics. Participating in their planning, they instruct ship captains how to secure higher efficiency by conducting combat practice in conditions closest to real combat conditions, by comprehensive use of the full potential of all weapons systems and equipment. The staff specialist should very carefully analyze the results of these sailing practices so that he can develop proposals and recommendations for improvement of crew training. In analyzing the practice, the staff specialist should strive for precise and realistic conclusions which can form the basis for improvement of the existing regulating documents and for the creation of new ones. He should not be satisfied only to give facts and describe activities, but should make deep analyses.

The continuous active control of combat practice is the staff specialist's responsibility. This includes not only control of the crew's education in the special field, the drills, training and daily maintenance of the equipment, but also control of the officers' knowledge and skills. The exams in all subjects taken by officers in the preparational period, before the first course assignment, are necessary for acquiring better knowledge of weapons and combat equipment, and skills for their intelligent use in practice.

I can point several staff specialists who successfully use the existing conditions to achieve good results in their subject. Such officers are Chr. Dimitrov, Nikov, D. Dimitrov, Milev and Koev.

Along with the successes, there are some weaknesses which are due, most often, to subjective causes. Such weaknesses are the insufficient organization and poor quality of some exercises in the special subject, insufficient use of the laboratories for practice, especially in RTS [radio engineering stations] and

survival skills. The indifference displayed by some captains toward the education of their subordinates in some subjects is another problem. The radiotechnical exercises are underestimated and are not always well organized. The maintenance measures during the scheduled navigational maintenance are not used effectively and sufficiently for improvement of the practical preparation of the crews. A considerable part of the causes for these weaknesses is attributable to the insufficient organizational work and lack of strictness of the staff specialists. Combining organizational work with high discipline and punctuality, the staff specialists should utilize even more fully the great opportunities at their disposal in order to contribute to the improved combat readiness of ship crews.

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STATE COUNCIL ISSUES NEW LAWS ON SOCIAL COURTS

Justice Minister Discusses Changes

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Mar 82 pp 4-5

[Address by Hans-Joachim Heusinger, deputy chairman, GDR Council of Ministers, and minister of justice, to Fourth People's Chamber Session held 25 March 1982 in East Berlin: "The System of Laws in the GDR Is Being Developed According to Plan--Hans-Joachim Heusinger on the Law on the Social Courts." Translations of the law on the social courts and the resolutions on conflict and arbitration commissions follow this address]

[Text] The present bill, the speaker explained, completes the legal foundations for the work of the conflict and arbitration commissions, so that the social courts can with still higher social effectiveness make their specific contribution to the further shaping of our society. The desire also is to connect that work still more with forming socialist relations among the citizens and solving demanding economic tasks.

Expanding the authority of social courts belongs to the task of systematically expanding the socialist system of laws in accordance with socialist society's degree of maturation and ensuring law security.

A Great Educational Impact

Based on the new laws, the social courts will make a still greater contribution to strengthening state security, preventing crimes and other law violations, and educating citizens who have become punishable. Their work also aims at protecting, guarding and enforcing the citizens' legally guaranteed rights.

Conflict commissions have been in existence for nearly 30 years and arbitration commissions, for nearly 20. In 1968, the Constitution vested a higher responsibility in the conflict and arbitration commissions. They were incorporated as social courts in our socialist court system. They were given jurisdictional tasks within the legal system.

The social-educational impact of the social courts has become greater from year to year.

In 1981, conflict commissions held more than 65,000 conferences, circa 49,000 of them in their major field of responsibility, labor law. Arbitration commissions held more than 19,000 conferences in 1981. Minor criminal cases handed over to the social courts become part of the crime statistics among us, of course. Citizens use them to clarify their legal affairs of everyday life, and so do the members of the social courts in their deliberations. This activity of explaining the law to prevent conflicts is increasing in tendency. We find that already instances where people express their opinions are on the average twice as frequent as consultations.

The successful work of the conflict and arbitration commissions thus far, their experiences and the stage of social development reached are the basis for their being able to take on new authorizations.

Broadening the social courts' authorizations is part of the purposeful measures for shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR. It is a direct expression of the spreading and perfecting of socialist democracy, the main trend in the further development of our state power.

At present, 26,085 conflict commissions with 229,829 members are at work in GDR enterprises and 5,237 arbitration commissions with 54,290 members, in towns, communities and production cooperatives. Citizens of all classes and strata of our people and representatives of all parties and mass organizations are taking part in the commissions. The membership of the conflict commissions is up to 56.6 percent of working class origin, while the arbitration commissions have a 38.9 percentage of workers and a 17.2 percentage of members of production cooperatives. The women's proportion in the social courts is circa 44 percent.

Commissions Hold a Place of Respect

Involved every day in the shaping of socialist democracy, the more than 280,000 members of the social courts are a significant societal force. For decades, they have successfully taken part in extending and consolidating the socialist system of law. Conflict and arbitration commissions hold a firm place of respect in our jurisprudence. Our life is no longer conceivable without them.

The work of the conflict commissions since 1953 impressively displays the extensive, constitutionally guaranteed rights of the trade unions in the shaping of the socialist system of law in our workers and farmers state. Because of their activity and experiences, the members of conflict and arbitration commissions increasingly promote public activities to enforce socialist legality and ensure order, discipline and security in the combines, enterprises, towns and communities. They take care of much small detail, which is highly to be recognized.

Circa 90 percent of all labor disputes coming in to them is settled by the conflict commissions for good. The proportion of conflict commission cases continued by the kreis courts was only 2 percent of the total. This also generally holds true for arbitration commission rulings.

The purpose of broadening the authorizations of the social courts is to make their public work more effective. The law gives them new opportunities to prevent law violations and disputes. They are getting authorizations which ensure their great

educational influence, reinforce their effect above and beyond considerations of and decisions on individual cases, and thus raise their contribution to the further shaping of the socialist way of life. Their supervisory rights over the implementation of their rulings are being broadened to continue the educational process that started in their deliberations.

Broadening the social courts' authorizations requires managerial improvements for them. The proven forms and methods of management, training and support, and the relevant tasks by the authorized organs were further developed so that they meet the growing demands made on the social courts.

More Intelligible and Understandable

One concern of the law on social courts has been to make the regulations more intelligible and understandable. The clear arrangements of the new regulations attests to that.

The bill defines the tasks, the composition, the election, the competencies, the working principles and the management of the social courts. The law and the resolution on the activity of the conflict commissions--conflict commission order--and the resolution on the activity of the arbitration commissions--arbitration commission order--, all ratified by the State Council, determine the further development of the social courts.

The broadening of authorizations proposed in the bill is expressed, particularly, by the following: The members of the social courts are directed at more strongly assisting citizens looking for counsel through talking with them so as to clarify legal affairs and in enforcing legally guaranteed rights, advising them on the fulfilment of legal obligations and helping explain legal regulations.

Leisure-time Work of Public Benefit

The objective competency in plain civil suits among citizens making monetary claims is raised from M 500 to M 1,000. Social courts are getting the authority to make final decisions on civil matters in dispute among citizens on their own, as requested by the moving party. Previously, that had not been possible under law. Trade union participation is intended in conflict commission sessions on labor disputes, in support of the working people exercising their rights. Through further diversification and an objective extension of educational measures, additional opportunities are created for boosting their educational influence. Monetary fines, e.g., are set at a maximum of M 500.

Citizens under indictment, who have committed crimes or irregularities which have destroyed or damaged places or values for public use may, in sessions of the social courts about such law violations, now also demonstrate their probationary and compensatory potential by declaring themselves willing to perform for public benefit during their leisure-time.

The social courts' right to supervise the implementation of their decisions is further broadened. As the result of their deliberations they may decide that citizens report back to them on the implementation of educational measures or, when fines are levied, bring evidence that payment has been made.

These courts also get a broader competence to make recommendations on eliminating causes and conditions for law violations. This they may do not only in consequence of a session but even of consultations. Thus these recommendations can become more of a useful instrument in affecting the enforcing of order, discipline and security.

Improving the effectiveness of court activity is an overall social and political task. It calls for steady and skillful direction and assistance for the conflict and arbitration commissions, in line with the basic political concern to expand rights, by the organs responsible for it. There is more detail also on how enterprise trade union managements can exercise their responsibility for regularly instructing the conflict commissions and training their members.

It is also being brought out clearly how FDGB kreis executive committees generalize good experiences in the work of the conflict commissions and improve their effectiveness. It is furthermore set down that the local people's representations and their councils get regular reports from the arbitration commissions, analyze their experiences and support their activity. Also the tasks of the commissions of the National Front of the GDR have been made more specific. They are being directed at making better use of the experiences in the activity of the arbitration commissions for their political mass activity to ensure order, discipline and security in the towns and communities.

Unsalaried Service Warrants Recognition

The activities and dedication of the members of the social courts warrant high recognition. The present bill therefore calls for paying tribute to the meritorious work of the conflict and arbitration commissions and specific members of them.

Women and men who are doing exemplary work and have vital experience, and are highly respected and appreciated on their jobs and in their residential areas, and are now doing successful work to improve the social effectiveness of our socialist law, are working on these social courts. I should like to express my own gratitude and appreciation to all members of the conflict and arbitration commissions from this rostrum in this great place.

This bill was prepared in direct and comradely cooperation with the FDGB National Executive Board and the National Council of the National Front of the GDR. It is the outcome of extensive preliminary efforts in which members of conflict and arbitration commissions, scientists, and representatives of central state organs and social organizations took part.

Law on Social Courts

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 13, 6 Apr 82 pp 269-274

[Official Text of "Law of 25 March 1982 on the Social Courts of the German Democratic Republic," signed 25 March 1982 by Erich Honecker, chairman, GDR State Council]

[Text] Chapter I

General Provisions

Article 1

(1) Social courts are the conflict commissions and arbitration commissions.

(2) This law defines the tasks, the formation, the election, the competencies, the principles of the working method and the management of the social courts.

(3) The activity, working method and support of the conflict and arbitration commissions are more closely defined by State Council resolutions. For the conflict commissions, the FDGB National Executive Committee has the right to make recommendations.

(4) Social organs of jurisprudence in terms of the Penal Code, the code of criminal procedure and other law regulations are social courts in terms of this law.

Article 2

(1) The social courts exercise jurisdiction within the scope of the tasks assigned to them by law. In all their activity they counter causes and conditions that may give rise to litigation and law violation.

(2) The members of the social courts are elected, report on their activity, and may be recalled.

(3) The members of the social courts are independent in their jurisdiction. They are accountable only to the Constitution, the laws and other law regulations of the GDR.

Article 3

(1) The activity of the social courts promotes public activities to enforce socialist legality and ensure order, discipline and security in the combines, enterprises, towns and communities. It is aimed at
--protecting the socialist state and social order and socialist property;
--protecting, guarding and enforcing the citizens' rights and interests guaranteed under law; and
--reinforcing the citizens' socialist state and legal consciousness, encouraging their readiness to abide by socialist law voluntarily, and strengthening their intolerance to conduct that is socially inappropriate.

(2) The conflict commissions convey their activities' experiences to the enterprise managers and the enterprise trade union managements. Thereby they assist the managers in their assuming the responsibility for enforcing socialist legality and ensuring order, discipline and security, and the trade unions in their exercising their rights of participating in the shaping and implementation of socialist labor law and exercising social controls on its being observed.

(3) The arbitration commissions convey their activities' experiences to the local people's representations and their organs in the towns and communities, the commissions of the National Front of the GDR, and the boards of the production cooperatives. They thereby assist them in their exercising their responsibility in enforcing socialist legality and ensuring order, discipline and security in their domain.

Chapter II

Formation and Election

Article 4

The Forming of Conflict Commissions

(1) Conflict commissions are set up in state-owned enterprises and those that are equivalent to them, in institutions of public health, culture and public education, in communal institutions of vocational training, in agricultural cooperative institutions, in state organs and institutions and in social organizations with a work force higher than 50 persons. In establishments with fewer than 50 persons employed, conflict commissions may be set up provided they have an enterprise trade union organization.

(2) Conflict commissions are set up, in accordance with public requirements, in agricultural and horticultural production cooperatives which have trade union organizations. They take care of citizens under labor contracts.

(3) A conflict commission will normally handle the affairs of no more than 300 persons employed. With respect to this, the responsibilities of the enterprise trade union management have to be taken account of.

(4) The enterprises, institutions, organs, organizations and production cooperatives referred to in sections 1 and 2 are enterprises in terms of this law.

Article 5

The Forming of Arbitration Commissions

(1) Arbitration commissions are set up in towns and communities. In accordance with public requirements, arbitration commissions are set up in agricultural and horticultural production cooperatives and in fishermen and artisan producer cooperatives.

(2) The kreis assembly, the city kreis assembly in city kreises or the city-district assembly in cities with city-districts determine in which of their territories arbitration commissions are to be set up. When making those territorial determinations, it must be made sure that the citizens can properly exercise their rights before an arbitration commission. Consideration has to be given in particular to the number of inhabitants, the territorial range and transportation conditions. In cities the area of responsibility of an arbitration commission shall not as a rule embrace more than 8,000 inhabitants.

(3) The councils of the kreises, cities and city-districts, with respect to the criteria set down under section 2, when populations figures change significantly, have to prepare in the arbitration commissions' fields of activity resolutions for their people's representations on changes in these areas. Doing so, they work together with the commissions of the National Front of the GDR.

Article 6

Electoral Principles

(1) The membership of social courts is to be made up of citizens who are models of public and personal conduct and enjoy respect and trust. They are eligible if on the election day they have attained the age of eighteen.

(2) The members of the social courts are elected directly by citizens or local people's representations.

(3) The members of the social courts are solemnly committed after their election to making fair and unbiased decisions and devoting all their strength to the implementation of socialist legality and the consolidation of order, discipline and security. They receive a written certification on having been elected.

(4) The members of the social courts elect their own chairman and one or more deputies.

(5) The members of the social courts report to their constituencies on the fulfilment of the tasks assumed by their election.

(6) The members of the social courts in the enterprises and production cooperatives may be recalled by their constituencies, those in the cities and communities, by the people's representations that elected them, if they violate the Constitution or the laws or otherwise grossly violate their duties. They also can be recalled if for health or other reasons they are no longer able to engage in their activity.

The Election of the Conflict Commissions

Article 7

(1) In exercise of their constitutionally guaranteed rights, the trade unions organize the election of the members of the conflict commissions. The FDGB National Executive Committee makes the necessary arrangements for preparing and conducting the election.

(2) The enterprise trade union managements are responsible for preparing and conducting the election. The enterprise managers create the objective prerequisites for it.

(3) The candidates for the conflict commissions are nominated in the trade union groups and proposed by the enterprise trade union managements in meetings of the working people.

Article 8

(1) The members of the conflict commissions are elected by the members of the enterprise on the principles of trade union elections on secret ballots for the duration of the election period of the trade union boards and managements.

(2) Betweeen 8 and 15 members are elected for a conflict commission. In enterprises with a work force of fewer than 100 persons, the number of members may be reduced to six.

(3) The commitment of the elected members of conflict commissions (Article 6 section 3) is handled by the enterprise trade union managements.

Article 9

By-election

(1) A by-election of members is to be held if a regular activity of conflict commissions is no longer ensured. In such cases, the requisite measures are taken by the enterprise trade union managements.

(2) The preparation and conduct of the by-election proceed in accordance with Articles 6 and 8 of this law.

The Election of the Arbitration Commissions

Article 10

(1) The minister of justice makes arrangements needed for preparing and conducting the election of the members of the arbitration commissions.

(2) The people's representations in the cities, city-districs and communities, and the boards of the production cooperatives are responsible for preparing and conducting the election.

(3) The candidates for the arbitration commissions are proposed by the democratic parties and mass organizations in the cities and communities and, in the production cooperatives, by their boards.

(4) The commissions of the National Front of the GDR list the candidates for the arbitration commissions as proposed by the democratic parties and mass organizations in the cities and communities and submit these election proposals to the municipal council, the council of the city-district or the communal council.

(5) Those who are entitled to make these proposals also are the ones to decide on any objections against particular candidates.

Article 11

(1) The members of the arbitration commissions are elected in the cities and communities by the authorized local people's representations, in the production cooperatives, by their members, for the duration of the election period of the local people's representations.

(2) Between 8 and 15 citizens are elected for an arbitration commission. In exceptional cases, the number of members may be reduced to six or raised to twenty.

(3) If the kreis assembly has decided to form a joint arbitration commission for several communities, each communal representation elects the members residing in its area.

(4) The committing of the elected members of the arbitration commissions (Article 6 section 3) is handled by the election manager.

Article 12

By-election

(1) A by-election of members is to be held if a regular activity of arbitration commissions is no longer ensured. In such cases, the requisite measures are taken by the councils of the cities, city-districts and communities and the boards of the production cooperatives.

(2) The preparation and conduct of the by-election proceed in accordance with Articles 6, 10 and 11 of this law.

Chapter III

Competence, Working Method and Decisions

Objective Competence

Article 13

(1) The conflict commissions consider and decide on
--Labor law litigations including innovator claims;
--investigations handed over by the investigative organs, the public prosecutor or the courts;
--misdemeanors;
--irregularities when handed over by those in charge of disciplinary action;
--infringements of mandatory schooling; and
--plain civil litigation between citizens or between an enterprise and members thereof.

(2) A conflict commission hands a case of labor litigation over to the kreis court if prior to handling the case the public prosecutor or the FDGB kreis executive committee have requested kreis court jurisdiction or the director of the kreis court has brought the case to the kreis court.

(3) Labor litigations are handled by the kreis court without previous appeal to the conflict commission if that is provided for by other legal regulations.

Article 14

The arbitration commissions consider and decide on
--Plain civil litigations among citizens and plain civil litigations and other litigations, including such as related to innovator rights, between production co-operatives and their members, insofar as that is provided for in laws and other legal regulations;
--investigations handed over by the investigative organs, the public prosecutor or the courts;
--misdemeanors;
--irregularities when handed over by those in charge of disciplinary action; and
--infringements of mandatory schooling.

Article 15

The social courts consider and decide on other litigations and law violations when the law calls for it.

Article 16

Local Competence

(1) The conflict commissions are authorized to consider and decide on labor litigations between members of enterprises and their enterprises. In other cases, they are authorized when the plaintiff or accused are members of the enterprise.

(2) The arbitration commissions are authorized to consider and decide cases when the plaintiff or accused reside or work in their area of responsibility. If only the plaintiff resides in their area of responsibility, they may take on the case, provided the major weight of the conflict pertains to their area and no considerable expenditures are anticipated for considering the case.

(3) If several accused citizens are answerable to charges of a disciplinary nature, misdemeanor or irregularities, and for several of these citizens the legal prerequisites are given for assigning the case to a social court, either the conflict commission is authorized in the area of which the violation was committed or an accused citizen works, or the arbitration commission in the area of which the law violation was committed or an accused citizen resides or works.

(4) If those who have the parental right to educate are jointly answerable to the charge of having violated mandatory schooling, the case goes to the social court in the area of which a person with the parental right to educate works or resides. Young persons are answerable to the same social court for having violated their mandatory schooling as the persons with the parental right to educate them, or to the social court in the area of which they reside, work or receive vocational training.

Working Method

Article 17

(1) The members of the social courts give information to citizens asking for advice, help them in clarifying legal matters and assist in explaining law regulations.

(2) The members of social courts are entitled to hold discussions to avoid or settle litigations and law violations.

Article 18

(1) The social courts consider and make decisions upon request or being charged with making decisions.

(2) The social courts consider or make decisions as a collective organ with at least four members in attendance.

(3) Social courts hold their sessions in public.

(4) To make decisions, the social courts have to determine the essential facts of a case.

(5) Each attendant of a session is entitled to help settle a conflict by questions and suggestions. The social courts have to hold their sessions in such a way that this right can extensively be exercised.

(6) Petitioners, respondents and accused citizens are obligated to appear in person before the social courts. They are entitled to legal council prior to the session, particularly by the trade unions, the kreis courts, and attorneys.

(7) The social courts are entitled to supervise the fulfilment of their decisions.

Article 19

Decisions and Appeal

(1) The social courts decide, by resolution, on claims and settlements, on there being a law violation and on pronouncing educational measures.

(2) Appeals are possible against social court decisions. Appeals are settled by the kreis courts.

(3) Social court decisions may be altered or rescinded only under legal prerequisites and in legally defined ways and means.

Article 20

Educational Measures

(1) In charges of a disciplinary nature, misdemeanor, irregularities, infringement of mandatory schoolingand of socialist work discipline, the conflict and arbitration

commissions may diversely set down, within the following scope, these educational measures:

1. Endorsement of the citizens' obligation to apologize to the injured party or the collective, or imposing such an obligation on them.
2. Endorsement of the citizens' obligation to pay monetary compensation in conformity with legal regulations or repair the damage by their own work, or imposing such an obligation on them.
3. Endorsement of the citizens' obligation to do up to 20 hours of unpaid work in their leisure time for the common benefit.
4. Endorsement of other obligations of the citizens aimed at developing, promoting and ensuring conduct commensurate with socialist law.
5. A citizen is reprimanded.
6. A citizen is charged a fine between M 10 and M 500.

(2) Social courts may endorse obligations for work collectives, housing communities, another type of collective or individual citizens to educate the law violator.

(3) Arbitration commissions, to ensure their regulatory activity, may levy fines up to M 50.

Article 21

Recommendations

(1) In the outcome of their deliberations and discussions, social courts make recommendations to eliminate causes and conditions determined for litigations and law violations and to do away with irregularities and illegalities.

(2) Enterprise managers being recipients of such recommendations have to respond to them in writing within 2 weeks.

(3) Social courts are entitled to check on the implementation of their recommendations.

Chapter IV

Management

Article 22

Tasks of the Central Organs

(1) The Supreme Court, in its responsibility for directing the courts' jurisdiction, ensures uniformity in the social courts' legal activity and in the legal supervision and enforcement of their decisions.

(2) In exercise of the constitutional rights of trade unions, the FDGB National Executive Committee ensures regular briefings for the conflict commissions and training for their membership, an analysis of the activity and public efficacy of the conflict commissions, and a generalization of their best experiences.

(3) The minister of justice ensures regular briefings for the arbitration commissions and their membership's training, an analysis of the activity and public efficacy of the arbitration commissions, and a generalization of their best experiences.

(4) The Supreme Court, the FDGB National Executive Committee and the minister of justice coordinate their activity in directing the social courts. In implementation of their tasks, they work together with the general prosecutor, the minister of interior and chief of the German People's Police and the National Council of the National Front of the GDR.

(5) The FDGB National Executive Committee, the minister of justice, the president of the Supreme Court, and the general prosecutor have the right to request the Supreme Court to issue guidelines and resolutions on ensuring a uniform administration of law in the activity of the social courts.

Article 23

Tasks of the Kreis Courts

(1) The kreis courts ensure in their territory the uniform administration of law in the activity of the social courts. They fulfil tasks in enforcing social court decisions.

(2) The kreis courts conduct the regular briefings for the arbitration commissions and the training of their members, analyze the activity and public efficacy of the arbitration commissions, and generalize their best experiences.

(3) In briefing the arbitration commissions, the kreis courts work together with the public prosecutor and the competent precincts of the German People's Police, the local people's representations and their organs, the commissions of the National Front of the GDR, and the FDGB kreis executive committees.

(4) The kreis courts assist the trade unions in briefing the conflict commissions and training their members.

Article 24

Tasks of the Bezirk Courts

Bezirk courts ensure in their territory a uniform administration of law in social court activity. They make sure that the kreis courts meet their responsibilities to the social courts.

Article 25

Advisory Councils for Arbitration Commissions

(1) Advisory councils for arbitration commissions are set up under kreis and bezirk court direction.

(2) The arbitration commissions' advisory councils are consultative organs of the director. An advisory council is run by the director or his deputy. The advisory council is composed of representatives of the office of the public prosecutor, of the competent German People's Police precinct, of the kreis or bezirk council, the kreis or bezirk commission of the National Front of the GDR, the FDGB kreis or bezirk executive committee, and arbitration commission chairmen. The director appoints the arbitration commission chairmen to the advisory council.

(3) The advisory council advises and assists the director in the following tasks:
--Ensuring a uniform administration of law in arbitration commission activity;
--promoting public efficacy in arbitration commission activity;
--training arbitration commission membership;
--guiding the law propaganda activity of the arbitration commission membership; and
--providing efficient arbitration commission cooperation with the local people's representations and their organs and with the commissions of the National Front of the GDR, especially for ensuring order, discipline and security in the cities and communities.

Article 26

Tasks of the Public Prosecutor's Office

The public prosecutor's office works together with the social courts. It checks their decisions, raises objections against unlawful decisions and analyzes, jointly with the social courts, the results of such checks. The public prosecutor's office assists the trade unions and courts in their directing the social courts by means of regular instructions and in training their members.

Article 27

Tasks of the Local People's Representations and Their Councils

(1) The people's representations and their councils in the kreises, cities, city-districts and communities, in cooperation with the kreis court, the competent trade union executive committees and managements, the public prosecutor's office, the competent German People's Police precincts, and the commissions of the National Front of the GDR, ensure the analysis of the social courts' experiences for extensively fighting against and preventing crimes and other law violations. Together with the other organs referred to, they inform the social courts about problems in the development of public life in their area of responsibility.

(2) The people's representations and their councils in the cities, city-districts and communities receive regular arbitration commission reports, analyze their experiences and assist them in their activity.

(3) The councils of the cities, city-districts and communities have to
--create the objective prerequisites for arbitration commission activity;
--take care at once of the fines and disciplinary measures pronounced by the social courts, arrange for the necessary measures for scheduled payments and, in case fines become overdue, apply to the kreis court for pronouncing on their effect and execution in accordance with the code of civil procedure; and

--take care of the obligation assumed, as endorsed by the social courts, for performing unpaid work for public benefit during leisure.

Article 28

Tasks of the Enterprise Trade Union Managements

(1) Enterprise trade union managements work closely together with the conflict commissions. They assume their responsibility for regularly briefing the conflict commissions and training their members in particular by organizing the members' training, receiving conflict commission reports, analyzing their activity and public efficacy, and generalizing the best experiences.

(2) Enterprise trade union managements are assisted in fulfilling those tasks by the enterprise managers and the executive associates in the enterprise. Together with the enterprise managers and the executive associates of the enterprise, they regularly analyze conflict commission activity experiences and see to it that use of them is made for improving management activity in the enterprise.

Article 29

Tasks of the Enterprise Managers

(1) Enterprise managers have to assist the conflict commissions in every way and inform them on development problems in the enterprise as of concern to their activity. The general directors of the combines and the enterprise managers analyze conflict commission experiences and use them to improve management activity. In this, they work together with the enterprise trade union managements.

(2) Enterprise managers have to create the objective prerequisites for conflict commission activity in their enterprise.

Article 30

Tasks of the FDGB Kreis and Bezirk Executive Committees

(1) FDGB kreis executive committees exercise their responsibility for regularly briefing the conflict commissions and training their members particularly by generalizing good experiences of the conflict commission activity by means of training, law conferences, experience exchange and analyses, so as to improve their activity. They see to it that the enterprise trade union organizations and their organs fulfil their responsibilities to the conflict commissions.

(2) FDGB kreis executive committees are assisted in the fulfilment of these tasks by the public prosecutor's office and the kreis courts. They work together with the local people's representations and their organs and with the competent German People's Police precincts.

(3) FDGB bezirk executive committees see to it that the FDGB kreis executive committees fulfil their responsibilities to the conflict commissions.

Article 31

Tasks of the Commissions of the National Front of the GDR

(1) Commissions of the National Front of the GDR in the cities and communities work together with the arbitration commissions and promote the efficacy of their activity. They inform the arbitration commissions on the development of the citizens' socialist communal life and assist housing communities in assuming educational tasks.

(2) Commissions of the National Front of the GDR in the cities and communities use the experiences of arbitration commissions activity for political mass activity to ensure order, discipline and security in the cities and communities.

Article 32

Tasks for Production Cooperative Boards

(1) Production cooperative boards have to support the social courts' activities and analyze their experiences.

(2) The boards have to create the objective prerequisites for the activity of the social courts.

Article 33

Paying Tribute to the Activity of the Social Courts

(1) The trade union executive committees and managements and the commission of the National Front of the GDR are entitled to submit proposals for paying tribute to the activity of the conflict and arbitration commissions or to pay such tribute themselves.

(2) Enterprise managers, councils of the local people's representations, the public prosecutor's office and the courts pay tribute to the meritorious activity of conflict and arbitration commissions and individual members of theirs.

(3) Such tribute is paid, in particular, by letters of appreciation, premiums in goods and money, certificates of honor from the FDGB National Executive Committee and the minister of justice, distinctions from the National Front of the GDR, the awarding of pins of honor from the organs of jurisprudence or the medal of merit in jurisprudence, and other public and state distinctions.

Chapter V
Final Provisions
Article 34
Penal Code Amendments

The Penal Code of the GDR, of 12 January 1968 (GBL, Part I, No 1, p 1) in the revision of 19 December 1974 (GBL, Part I, 1975, No 3, p 14) and in the version of the second criminal code amendment of 7 April 1977 (GBL, Part I, No 10, p 100) and the third criminal code amendment of 28 June 1979 (GBL, Part I, No 17, p 139) is amended as follows:

Article 29 section 1 is given the following version:
"(1) Public organs of jurisprudence, upon deliberating on offenses, may set down the following educational measures:
1. Endorsed is a citizen's obligation to apologize to the injured party or the collective, or this kind of obligation is placed upon him.
2. Endorsed is a citizens' obligation to pay for the damage, in conformity with legal regulations, or repair it through his own work, or this kind of obligation is placed upon him.
3. Endorsed is the citizen's obligation to perform up to 20 hours of unpaid work for public benefit during his leisure-time.
4. Endorsed are other obligations of the citizen aimed at developing, fostering and ensuring conduct in conformity with socialist law.
5. The citizen is given a reprimand.
6. The citizen is obliged to pay damage between M 10 and M 500."

Article 35

Amendment to the Law of Fighting Against Irregularities

The law of 12 January 1968 on fighting against irregularities (GBL, Part I, No 3, p 101) in the version of the foreign exchange law of 19 December 1973 (GBL, Part I, No 58, p 574), the penal code amendment law of 19 December 1974, the adaptation law and the law on fighting against irregularities (GBL, Part I, No 64, p 591) and the third criminal law amendment of 28 June 1979 (GBL, Part I, No 17, p 139) is amended as follows:

Article 31 section 2 is given the following version:
"(2) Under these considerations, such irregularities may be assigned which are directly related to an offender's activity in the enterprise or harm socialist communal life in a town or community, and amount to violations against public order and security, state and economic management measures locally, against legal regulations for labor, health, fire and environmental protection, and against leisure-time regulations."

Article 36

Coming Into Force

(1) This law goes into force on 1 January 1983.

(2) Rescinded are at the same time the 11 June 1968 law on the social courts of the GDR (GBL, No 11, p 229) and Article 206 of the 19 June 1975 law on court procedure in civil, family and labor law cases (GBL, Part I, No 29, p 533).

The above law, ratified by the People's Chamber of the GDR on 25 March 1982, hereby is promulgated.

Resolution on Conflict Commissions

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 13, 6 Apr 82 pp 274-283

[Official text of "Resolution of German Democratic Republic State Council of 12 March 1982 on the Activity of the Conflict Commissions--Conflict Commission Order," signed 25 March 1982 by Erich Honecker, chairman GDR State Council, and Heinz Eichler, secretary, GDR State Council]

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In accordance with Article 1 of the 25 March 1982 Law on the Social Courts of the GDR (GBL, Part I, No 13, p 269), as proposed by the FDGB National Executive Committee, the following is resolved:

I.

Working Method of the Conflict Commissions

Article 1

Discussions and Requests

(1) The conflict commission or individual members advise working people in their field of activity who ask for advice in clarifying legal matters and in enforcing legally guaranteed rights and offer them recommendations on meeting legal obligations. They help explain legal regulations.

(2) A conflict commission or individual members receive written or oral requests for a discussion and a decision. Of oral requests the conflict commission has to make a written record.

(3) In plain civil litigations or in cases of libel, slander or illegal entry, a conflict commission or individual members also may conduct, prior to considering the case, discussions with the applicant and respondent or the accused citizen. Unless the matter is settled by the discussion, the case has to be considered.

(4) If in the outcome of discussions obligations are assumed, a written record of them has to be made.

(5) In conjunction with discussions, the conflict commission may make recommendations (Article 16).

(6) In cases of labor litigation, transgressions, misdemeanors against property, irregularities and the infringement of mandatory schooling, a consultation has to take place when the case is petitioned or handed on.

(7) The conflict commission keeps a record on its activity and written records on the various consultations.

Preparing Deliberations

Article 2

(1) The conflict commission checks whether the request or the decision to pass it on comply with legal requirements. It prepares its deliberations in such a way that the facts of the case basic to the litigation can be discussed and clarified in every way.

(2) The chairman, through concurrence with the members, sets down the measures needed for it. They obtain the information necessary for setting up deliberations, adduce the necessary documentation and familiarize themselves with the legal regulations applying to the case.

(3) Conflict commission deliberations have to be held within 4 weeks after the receipt of the request or its being handed on. If that time frame is exceeded in exceptional cases, the reasons for it have to be set down in writing.

Article 3

(1) The chairman sees to it that at least one week prior to the scheduled deliberations, their subject matter, time and place are publicly announced.

(2) The applicant, the respondent, the accused citizen and other citizens and representatives of state organs whose attendance is required to settle the case have to be invited suffficiently ahead of time so they know about the deliberations for at least one week. Their attendance is mandatory.

(3) The respondent or accused citizen have to be informed in the invitation of the substance of the request or the order to pass it on.

(4) To enhance the efficacy of the deliberations, the conflict commission may invite representatives of the enterprise, of state organs, of the managements of social organizations and other social forces.

(5) Jointly with the competent enterprise trade union management and the shop steward, the conflict commission sees to it that, particularly, the work collective is in attendance during the deliberations.

Article 4

(1) If the applicant or respondent is an adolescent, the persons with the parental right of education also have to be invited. If necessary, the representatives of the youth-aid organs, the school, the enterprise and the youth organization should be summoned.

(2) When an adolescent is the accused, the persons with the parental right of education and the representatives of the school, the enterprise and the youth organization also should be summoned. If necessary, representatives of the youth-aid organs should be brought in.

Conducting Deliberations

Article 5

(1) The conflict commission deliberates and decides with at least four members in attendance.

(2) Deliberations are directed by the chairman or a deputy. If both are absent or it is suitable for objective reasons, another member may be asked to chair the session.

(3) The outcome of the session is to be set down in writing. The recording secretary need not be a member of the conflict commission.

Article 6

(1) A conflict commission member is barred from considering and deciding a case if
--as the applicant or respondent or accused citizen, he is drawn into the deliberations or was injured by the law violation, or
--he is the spouse or a close relative of the applicant, respondent, the accused citizen or the injured party.

(2) Reservations taken to a member's attendance by the applicant, the respondent, the accused citizen or the injured party, are settled for once and for all by the conflict commission. Such objections are admissible up to the start of the session. If justified, such a member can then not take part in the session and decision.

Article 7

(1) Conflict commission sessions are public and are normally held outside working hours. Sessions have to be held with the applicant, the respondent or the accused citizen in attendance.

(2) The conflict commission may summon citizens who are not members of the enterprise, if it is required for settling the case.

Article 8

(1) The conflict commission is under the obligation to ascertain the facts of the case pertinent to decision-making and the causes and conditions for the suit or violation. To the extent that it is required for decision-making, it must inform itself about the personal and economic circumstances of the applicant, the respondent or the accused citizen.

(2) In assessing the accountability of an adolescent for a transgression, misdemeanor, irregularity or infringement of mandatory schooling, the characteristics of his conditioned by his development have to be taken into consideration.

(3) The members of the conflict commission, the applicant, the respondent and the accused citizen, as well as all others who take part in the session, are entitled to present their conception of the case, the causes and conditions for the suit or offense, on the citizen's conduct and on settling the case.

(4) The competent enterprise trade union management, the shop steward of the trade union group and representatives of the work collective have the right to present the view of their collectives.

Article 9

When transgressions or misdemeanors are under consideration, plain civil litigations that are connected with it (Article 50) may, on request, be drawn into it, provided no further preparations are required for explaining them.

Article 10

(1) If an applicant or respondent fails to appear for a labor litigation session, it must be rescheduled. The same applies to nonappearance in cases of transgressions, misdemeanors, irregularities or the infringement of mandatory schooling on the part of the accused citizen.

(2) The conflict commission, aided by the competent enterprise trade union management, the shop steward and the work collective, shall make sure that the applicant, the respondent or the accused citizen appear at the rescheduled session. Summons must point out the consequences of a repeated failure to attend (Articles 24, 30, 36, 44 and 49).

Concluding Deliberations

Article 11

(1) In the outcome of its deliberations, the conflict commission decides by resolution on the claim, the settlement or the existence of a law violation and the pronouncing of educational measures.

(2) The conflict commission also decides by resolution when the case is dropped, the claim unjustified, a settlement cannot be accepted because it contradicts the principles of socialist law, or no law violation is found to exist.

(3) In the outcome of its deliberations, the conflict commission may make recommendations (Article 16).

Article 12

(1) The conflict commission's decision is made in public. Through an all-round explanation and clarification of the facts of the case, all preconditions should be created for unanimous decisions.

(2) If in an exception no unanimity is obtainable, a decision carries if most of the members of the conflict commission attending the session agree.

(3) The decision is to be announced in the session.

Article 13

(1) A decision contains
--time and place of the session,
--the names of the conflict commission members who made the decision,
--the name, age, occupation and address of the applicant and the respondent or the accused citizen,
--the petitions,
--a brief account of the facts of the case ascertained with the facts and reasons on which the decision bases itself,
--the decision arrived at through deliberations, and
--the reference to the possibility of appeal against the conflict commission decision and the writ of execution.

(2) The decision is to be signed by the session chairman and to be sent within two weeks to the applicant and the respondent or the accused citizen by registered mail.

(3) A copy of the decision has to be sent within two weeks to the kreis public prosecutor and, in case the case was passed on, to the organ from which it came. If the decision provides for a monetary fine or for an obligation to do work for the common good during leisure-time, the local council also gets a copy (Article 57 sections 2 and 3).

(4) Conflict commission decisions are not entered in personal records.

Article 14

(1) No dues are charged for conflict commission activity.

(2) About reimbursing applicants, respondents, accused citizens, injured parties and citizens summoned to clarify the case, the conflict commission decides by decree in conformity with legal provisions in force.*

Measures to Strengthen Effectiveness

Article 15

(1) To the extent necessary, the conflict commission brings an influence to bear on extending the educational process started during the session with help from social forces, mainly from the work collective.

(2) During its session, the conflict commission may decide that its decision, once it comes into effect, is publicly announced in a suitable manner in the enterprise for a certain period, at most for one week, if this reinforces its educational effect.

(3) The conflict commission supervises the implementation of its decisions. In the outcome of deliberating on transgressions, misdemeanors, irregularities and infringements of mandatory schooling, it may order citizens to report on their fulfilling the obligations contained in the decision and, in case of monetary fines, to provide payment evidence.

(4) Citizens' appearance before the conflict commission, to report, is compulsory.

(5) If the conflict commission ascertains that a citizen fails to fulfil educational measures contained in a decision, the chairman may schedule another session (Article 57 section 4).

(6) If a citizen loses his labor contract within 6 months after the session, the conflict commission may decide to send a copy of the decision to the enterprise trade union management of the new enterprise to ensure that educational measures will be enforced there as well.

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*Right now are in force: for labor cases Article 305 section 2, Labor Code; for transgressions, misdemeanors, irregularities and infringements of mandatory schooling Articles 363 section 1 and 364 section 1, Penal Code; for plain civil suits, Articles 174 sections 1 and 2 and 175 sections 1 and 2, Code of Civil Procedure.

Article 16

(1) If the conflict commission ascertains causes and conditions for legal litigations or violations, it makes recommendations to the managers of enterprises, combines, state and economic management organs and institutions, production cooperative boards and the managements of social organizations. The recommendations are intended to help solidify order, discipline and security. The recommendations are to offer suggestions for eliminating causes and conditions for legal litigations or violations and overcoming deficiencies and illegalities.

(2) Recommendations are to be submitted to the recipients within two weeks.

(3) The managers or organs to which a recommendation was addressed have to inform the conflict commission within two weeks on what was initiated in response to the recommendation or for what reason it cannot be accepted.

(4) If this obligation is not followed or a recommendation is not responded to without cause, the conflict commission may inform the next-higher manager or organ about it and demand that the person so obligated, in conformity with section 3, take a position on the recommendation. If through the neglect of a recommendation illegalities continue, the kreis public prosecutor will be informed about it.

Article 17

(1) The conflict commission checks on the implementation of the recommendations it makes. The enterprise manager, the executive associates of the enterprise and the enterprise trade union managements assist the conflict commission in such supervision.

(2) The enterprise managers, executive associates and enterprise trade union managements have to report about the implementation of the recommendations in meetings of the working people.

II.

Fields of Activities of the Conflict Commissions

Considering Cases of Labor Litigation

Article 18

(1) The conflict commission considers and decides on litigation between working people and the enterprise concerning the existence and implementation of rights and duties of the labor contract. It is authorized to handle litigations in labor law claims in accordance with the Labor Code and other labor law regulations including general labor codes, contracts of enterprise collectives and labor regulations.

(2) The conflict commission considers and decides on, particularly,
--suits over the signing, modification or cancellation of labor contracts as well as enterprise assessments and performance ratings,
--suits over the payment made to working people on the basis of prevailing rates

and job classifications, on the legality of the type of payment used, the wage differentials in accordance with the quantity and quality of labor performed, and on bonus, compensatory and indemnity payments,
--suits over enterprise claims to the repayment of wages,
--suits over the working people's claims to end-of-the-year bonuses and others, especially over bonus claims as set down through general labor codes or enterprise regulations or agreements,
--suits over rights and duties resulting from the apprenticeship and the working people's training and advanced training,
--suits over the application of working hour arrangements and the granting of recreational furlough and release for public or personal reasons,
--suits in the field of the working people's working and living conditions, health protection and labor safety, social welfare, especially the promotion of women, young people and other groups of persons insofar as they concern labor law rights and duties,
--petitions for carrying out educational procedures when labor obligations were infringed,
--objections by the working people to disciplinary measures based on the Labor Code and other disciplinary regulations, insofar as disciplinary provisions grant competency to the conflict commission,
--indemnity claims from the enterprise or the working people, and
--suits over the innovator right according to the regulations in the innovator decree.

(3) The conflict commission also considers and decides on suits between the mutual-aid insurance and its members over the repayment of loans and suits resulting from rental contracts linked with labor law relations (plant housing leases).

Article 19

(1) Application entitlement arises for
--any member of an enterprise on his own behalf or on behalf of his collective if his application coincides with the collective's,
--persons with the right of education over juvenile members of enterprises,
--the enterprise manager or someone deputized by him,
--the manager of the next-higher organ in claims against the enterprise manager,
--the kreis public prosecutor,
--former members of the enterprise, the enterprise manager or someone deputized by him, if it involves claims from a former labor contract with the enterprise, and
--the enterprise trade union management in claims by the mutual-aid insurance on loan repayments.

(2) Applications meant to enforce labor law claims by the enterprise have to be made in writing. They mainly have to contain
--an accurate description of the claim with reference to its foundation in law,
--an accurate account of the facts of the case,
--ascertained causes and conditions for the conflict and references to how to surmount it, and
--the evidence at hand.

Unless the application meets these requirements, the conflict commission cannot ask for having the deficiencies eliminated.

Article 20

If the conflict commission finds it is not authorized to handle a suit, it makes a resolution about it and refers the claimant to the competent organ. In that case also, the conflict commission may make recommendations on eliminating causes and conditions for the conflict.

Article 21

(1) Sessions are attended by the applicant, the respondent, persons with the parental right to educate youths, work collective and trade union representatives and other working people who might help settle the conflict. The members of the competent enterprise trade union management, the shop steward and other trade union group functionaries have the right to support the working people in exercising their rights. In exceptional cases, as during a longer illness or longer absence, an applicant or respondent may find other citizens to take their place. No such substitution is admissible for a respondent in educational proceedings when labor obligations were violated.

(2) Deliberations have to be conducted in such a way that the facts of the case are discussed thoroughly with the applicant and the respondent, the working people are informed about their rights and duties, and responsible conduct is instilled in the members of the enterprise.

(3) If the applicant and respondent settle their differences during the deliberations, the conflict commission confirms the settlement if it conforms with the principles of socialist law. If no settlement is reached or the confirmation is refused, the conflict commission rules on the claim. In claims on money payments, an adequate deadline for payments or instalments may be arranged, if necessary. In educational proceedings due to the violation of labor obligations, no settlement is allowed.

(4) If an applicant without his fault misses a deadline for raising an objection, he may on his own request be granted a release from the consequences of the missed deadline. A delayed objection from working people can also be treated as if it had come in time if there are serious reasons for it and it seems urgently required in the interest of the working people.

Article 22

(1) An enterprise manager's petition for carrying out educational procedures after a violation of labor obligations (Article 255 section 3, Labor Code) must mainly contain
--an account of the discipline violation,
--the causes and conditions ascertained for it, and
--a personality rating of the working person.

(2) The conflict commission may turn down the petition when the case seems unsuitable for conflict commission treatment.

Article 23

(1) The conflict commission may, in the outcome of educational proceedings because of a violation of labor obligations, drop the educational measures if the session itself has produced the educational purpose. This has to be stated in the resolution.

(2) The conflict commission may set down the following educational measures:
--confirming the obligation of the working person to apologize to the collective or imposing such an obligation on him,
--confirming other obligations of the working person which will support his respect for labor obligations, and
--the working person receives a reprimand.

(3) The conflict commission may endorse obligations from the work collective for the education of the working person.

(4) On ruling on the infringement of labor obligations, educational measures are to be applied in line with Article 29 section 1.

Article 24

(1) The petitioner has the right to withdraw his petition up to the end of the session.

(2) If the petitioner without cause fails to appear even at the second session, his petition is considered withdrawn. This has to be stated in the resolution.

(3) If the respondent without cause fails to appear even at the second session, the conflict commission may rule in his absence, provided the facts of the case have been clarified and the claimant requests a ruling. If the conflict commission cannot decide, the claim can directly be continued at the competent kreis court.

(4) If the respondent in educational proceedings because of labor obligation infringement without cause fails to appear even at the second session, the conflict commission must return the application within one week to the enterprise manager.

Considering Transgressions

Article 25

(1) Transgressions are anti-social crimes committed on purpose or negligently, causing injury to the citizens' rights and interests, socialist property, the social and state order or other rights and interests of society.

(2) The conflict commission considers and rules on transgressions, if in terms of its consequences and of the citizen's guilt, the conduct has not been significantly anti-social and if, in consideration of the act and the citizen's personality, an effective educational influence from the conflict commission is anticipated. Such offenses are passed on when the facts of the case are completely clear and the

citizen admits he has committed this law violation. In offenses committed through negligence, the case may be passed on to the conflict commission even when considerable damage was caused but, because of extraordinary circumstances, the citizen bears but little blame.

(3) Under those presuppositions, the conflict commission considers and rules on all transgressions, especially
--transgressions against socialist and personal property,
--bodily injury, and
--infringements of labor safety and health protection.

Article 26

(1) Cases are handed on to the conflict commission by the investigative organs, the public prosecutor or the court.

(2) To ensure thorough considerations, decisions to pass a case on must contain above all
--a summary presentation of the facts of the case and the evidence at hand,
--an assessment of the act with reference to the criminal law violated,
--an act-related assessment of the citizen's personality,
--the reasons for being handed over to the conflict commission, and
--suggestions on the causes and conditions of the act.

If damage has been caused, damage claims and the address of the injured party have to be added.

(3) When cases concerning transgressions by adolescents are handed over, the decisions for it also have to contain
--an act-related assessment of the adolescent's family and other educational circumstances,
--statements on the likelihood of culpability, and
--suggestions on an effective involvement of state and social agents of education.

(4) The organ that hands over the case is responsible for assisting the conflict commission in the treatment of the case.

Article 27

(1) The conflict commission can object against being handed the case to the organ from which it comes until the end of its own deliberations, if in its opinion the prerequisites for being handed the case do not apply (Article 25 section 2) or the case is for other reasons unsuitable to being considered by the conflict commission.

(2) In such cases, the organ from which the matter was handed on has to reexamine its decision. If this reconsideration confirms the transfer of the case, it becomes compulsory for the conflict commission.

Article 28

(1) In consequence of its deliberations, the conflict commission may issue the following educational measures:
--Confirming the citizen's obligation to apologize to the injured party or before the collective, or imposing such an obligation on him,
--confirming the citizen's obligation to pay damages in accordance with legal regulations or repair the damage by his own work, or imposing such an obligation on him,
--confirming the citizen's obligation to do up to 20 hours of unpaid work for the common good during his leisure-time,
--confirming other obligations of the citizen aimed at developing, promoting and ensuring conduct that conforms to socialist law,
--the citizen is given a reprimand, and
--the citizen is compelled to pay a fine between M 10 and M 500. A fine up to M 300 is imposed on an adolescent if he has an income or resources of his own.

(2) The conflict commission can confirm obligations of a work collective, a housing community, a different kind of collective or individual persons to educate a citizen. These obligations shall contain controllable stipulations and help overcome causes and conditions for law violations.

(3) The citizen's commitment to repairing the damage calls for agreement from the injured party.

(4) The conflict commission may drop the educational measures if the severity of the case allows it and the overall attitude of the citizen after his offense and his efforts in repairing the damage indicate that he is going to respect the socialist legal order in the future. The dropping of those measures must be stated in the resolution.

Article 29

(1) If educational measures are needed to induce the citizen to abide by socialist law on his own free will, the conflict commission determines the measure, in taking account of the type and severity of the transgression, and of the circumstances under which it was committed and the citizen's personality, that would most effectively meet the purpose. Several educational measures may also be assigned side by side.

(2) A monetary penalty is to be set down if the type and severity of the transgression, in view of the citizen's personality and on behalf of the protection of socialist society, call for a more permanent influence on him. A monetary fine is to be pronounced especially if the transgression is based on contempt for the values created by the working people or of their personal property, on an enrichment mania or a contempt for the commitment to property rights.

(3) In using the monetary penalty and setting its amount, consideration has to be given to the citizen's economic circumstances and to the damage payment obligations caused by the act. For adolescents the monetary penalty is to be used only if they have their own income or assets. If a monetary fine or payment for damage are imposed in terms of cash, installments may be provided for, if necessary, in the resolution. Indemnity payment assessments are made in concurrence with the injured party.

(4) The obligation to perform gratuitous work at leisure-time for the common good can be confirmed only if the act has destroyed or damaged places or values that serve the general public. The conflict commission may determine up to when the citizen has to report to the local council (Article 57 section 3).

Article 30

(1) If the citizen fails to appear without cause at the second session, the conflict commission has to return the case in one week to the organ from which it came.

(2) The case it not returned to the organ from which it came if the transgression in question is one that can be prosecuted upon application only (Article 2, Penal Code) and the application was withdrawn. Applications can be withdrawn up to the time that the conflict commission concludes its considerations. In such a case, a further treatment of the case is halted by resolution.

Considering Misdemeanors

Article 31

(1) Misdemeanors are infringements of legally protected interests of society or of the citizens where the effects of the act and the citizen's guilt are minor and defined as such in the Penal Code and other laws. These are
--offenses against property,
--libel and slander, and
--illegal entry of apartments, other rooms and enclosed real property of citizens.

(2) An offense against property is committed when the deed, in taking account of all circumstances such as the damage, the citizen's culpability and his personality, is minor and the damage, caused or intended, does not much exceed the amount of M 50. That normally involves a first offense.

Article 32

(1) A conflict commission considers and rules on a misdemeanor if requested by an injured citizen, a work collective, a housing community or some other injured party, or when the case was passed on from the German People's Police or a chief with disciplinary authorizations.

(2) The conflict commission can consider and rule on misdemeanors only if the statute of limitation had not yet expired when the request was made. Misdemeanors carry a statute of limitation of 6 months.

(3) In libel, slander and trespassing the request must be made within one month after the injured party discovered the misdemeanor. If this deadline was missed without fault, the conflict commission may, on request, grant release from the consequences of the missed deadline.

Article 33

(1) Holding a conference on misdemeanors is petitioned either in writing or orally. That should contain, in particular,
--a summary of the facts of the case and the evidence at hand, and
--damage payment claims or other civil-law demands.

(2) The substance of the deicision to pass it on is governed by Article 26 sections 2 and 3 respectively.

(3) The conflict commission, by resolution, turns down a citizen's petition for holding a conference on a misdemeanor if the petition itself indicates that there has been no misdemeanor, that the statute of limitation has expired or that the deadline for registering the petition has faultily been missed (Article 32 sections 2 and 3).

Article 34

(1) In dealing with a petition concerning a misdemeanor, the conflict commission clarifies the facts of the case with the applicant, the accused citizen and other citizens and ascertains the causes and conditions of the conflict.

(2) The conflict commission may hand the case on to the German People's Police for further processing because it cannot handle the case with the means at its disposal or if, after examining the effects of the act and the citizen's culpability, it is under the impression that a misdemeanor did in fact occur. This is a decision that can be made still during the conference.

(3) After examining the case, the German People's Police may return it to the conflict commission. That decision is binding to the conflict commission.

Article 35

(1) Up to the conclusion of the conference, the conflict commission may protest to the German People's Police or the authorized chief of disciplinary action against the transfer of the case as long as the conference prerequisites are not met (Article 31) or it is under the impression that a misdemeanor has in fact been committed.

(2) In such cases, the German People's Police or the authorized chief of disciplinary action have to reexamine the decision. Another decision to transfer the case is binding to the conflict commission.

Article 36

(1) A conference on a misdemeanor is held with the applicant and the accused citizen in attendance. In exceptional cases, such as during a longer illness or longer absence, the applicant can have another citizen take his place.

(2) In offenses against property, the conflict commission can rule in the absence of the applicant, if the written petition concerning the misdemeanor is adequately substantiated.

(3) If the accused citizen fails to appear without cause even at the second session, the conflict commission, exceptionally, rules in his absence, provided the facts of the case have been clarified and a decision is feasible in accordance with Article 11 sections 1 or 2. If that is not so, the case must be handed over for further processing to the German People's Police within one week.

Article 37

(1) In the outcome of the conference, the conflict commission can refrain from assigning educational measures on account of a misdemeanor, if the educational purpose was achieved through the conference. That has to be made clear in the resolution.

(2) In dealing with libel, slander or trespassing, the conflict commission pursues a reconciliation between the accused citizen and the applicant. If a reconciliation is achieved, educational measures may be disregarded. The reconciliation must be mentioned in the resolution.

(3) The conflict commission may issue the following educational measures:
--Confirming the citizen's obligation to apologize to the injured party or before the collective, or imposing such an obligation on him. The same applies to the obligation to retract in a suitable form the libel or slander before the circle of persons that received knowledge of it.
--Confirming the citizen's obligation to pay damages in accordance with legal regulations or repair the damage by his own work, or imposing such an obligation on him.
--Confirming other obligations of the citizen that would help protect and secure the property, human honor and dignity and the place of residence.
--The citizen is given a reprimand.
--The citizen is compelled to pay a fine between M 10 and M 150.

(4) In addition, Article 28 sections 2 and 3 are applied accordingly.

(5) When a misdemeanor is found to have been committed, the educational measures as of Article 29 sections 1 through 3 are to be applied.

(6) If in the outcome of a conference on libel, slander or trespassing no misdemeanor can be proven and there are no other opportunities for the German People's Police to investigate further, the conflict commission decides by resolution that no misdemeanor is indicated.

Article 38

(1) If the applicant in turn has committed libel or slander against the accused citizen, such a misdemeanor can, upon request, be included in the conference, provided it occurred no longer than 6 months previous to it.

(2) If no reconciliation is established between the applicant and the accused citizen, educational measures may be assigned to either one or both.

Article 39

(1) The applicant may withdraw his application up to the end of the conference.

(2) If the applicant, without showing cause, fails to attend a conference on libel, slander or trespassing, his application is considered withdrawn.

(3) In such cases, the conflict commission drops the proceedings by resolution.

Considering Irregularities

Article 40

(1) Irregularities are culpably committed law violations expressing lack of discipline and hampering state management activity or interfering with the development of socialist communal life, without, however, significantly violating the interests of socialist society or of individual citizens, wherefore they are no criminal acts.

(2) Irregularities are only such law violations as are explicitly defined as such in legal regulations.

Article 41

(1) The conflict commission considers and rules on irregularities directly relating to the citizen's activity in his enterprise and amounting to infringements of the legal regulations on labor, health, fire and environmental protection and of price regulations.

(2) Once assigned by a competent disciplinary action official, the conflict commission takes the case. Such a transfer may take place once the facts of the case have become clear and the circumstances of the irregularity and the citizen's personality suggest the conflict commission can bring a better educational influence to bear.

Article 42

(1) To ensure a thorough consideration of the case, transfer decisions mainly have to contain
--a summary of the facts of the case and the evidence at hand,
--a reference to the infringed legal regulations,
--the reasons for assigning it to the conflict commission, and
--references to the causes and conditions for the irregularity.

If damage was caused, the damage payment application and the address of the injured party have to be added.

(2) Up to the end of the conference, the conflict commission may return the case to the next-higher organ if the prerequisites for having it assigned to it are not satisfied (Article 41). Then the organ from which it came processes the case for good.

Article 43

(1) In consequence of its deliberations, the conflict commission may issue the following educational measures:
--Confirming the citizen's obligation to apologize to the injured party or before the collective, or imposing such an obligation on him.
--Confirming the citizen's obligation to pay damages in accordance with legal regulations or repair the damage by his own work, or imposing such an obligation on him.
--Confirming the citizen's obligation to do up to 15 hours of unpaid work for the common good during his leisure-time.
--Confirming other obligations of the citizen aimed at ensuring order, discipline and security.
--The citizen is given a reprimand.
--The citizen is compelled to pay a fine between M 10 and M 300. An adolescent can be fined up to M 20, if he has his own income or assets. The amount of the monetary fine may not exceed the maximum as determined for fines in prevailing disciplinary regulations for fines.

(2) In addition, Article 28 sections 2 and 3 are applied accordingly.

(3) When irregularities are found to have been committed, educational measures are applied in accordance with Article 29.

(4) The conflict commission may disregard educational measures, if the degree of severity of the irregularity allows it and the citizen's overall conduct after his offense and his efforts to make up for it indicate that he is going to respect the socialist legal order in the future. When such measures are dropped, the resolution has to make a point of it.

Article 44

If the citizen, without showing cause, fails to appear even at the second session, the conflict commission has to return the case to the organ from which it came within one week.

Considering Infringements of Mandatory Schooling

Article 45

(1) The conflict commission considers and rules on the conduct of citizens who, as parents or others having the parental educational responsibility, fail to make sure that school-age children or other youths attend classes at the general education polytechnical secondary schools or at vocational training institutions regularly, or keep them from attending other mandatory school activities or from complying with school regulations or with duties resulting from the instructional setup.

(2) The conflict commission also considers and rules on the conduct of adolescents (pupils of 14 years of age and older and apprentices) who stubbornly refuse to go to school.

Article 46

(1) The request for a conference can be made by the director of the school in concurrence with the parents' advisory council or the director of the vocational training institution, if all previous educational influence brought to bear on the persons with the parental educational responsibility or on the youths have remained unsuccessful.

(2) Inadequately substantiated requests may be returned to the requester.

Article 47

(1) The conference is meant to induce the persons with the parental educational responsibility to have children or youths fully comply with their mandatory schooling. If the conference accomplishes that purpose, educational measures can be discounted. This has to be affirmed in the resolution.

(2) The conflict commission may set down the following educational measures for persons with parental educational responsibility:
--Confirming the obligations of citizens to help ensure regular school attendance by the school-age child or the youth, or imposing such obligations on them.
--Confirming the citizen's obligations that help make the school-age child or youth attend mandatory school activities and comply with school regulations and any duties resulting from the instructional setup, or imposing such obligations on him.
--The citizen is given a reprimand.
--The citizen is compelled to pay a fine between M 10 and M 150.

(3) The conflict commission may confirm the obligations of a work collective, a housing community, or individual citizens to assist persons with parental educational responsibilities in fulfilling their educational obligations.

(4) When an infringement of mandatory schooling is found to exist, the educational measures in accordance with Article 29 sections 1 through 3 are to be applied.

(5) The conflict commission may instruct a young persons who infringes his mandatory schooling about his duties.

Article 48

(1) The conference is meant to induce the youths, in accordance with Article 45 section 2, to comply fully with their mandatory schooling. If that purpose is attained by the conference, educational measures may be discounted. This has to be stated in the resolution.

(2) The conflict commission may issue the following educational measures against youths:
--Confirming the youth's obligations that help ensure his fulfilling on his own the requirements resulting from mandatory schooling or the instructional setup, or imposing such obligations on him.

--Confirming other obligations of the youth that help develop his assistance and co-responsibility at the school or vocational training institution.
--The youth is given a reprimand.

(3) The conflict commission may confirm the obligations of the persons with the parental educational responsibility, of a collective or of individual citizens to help the youth meet the demands made on him.

(4) When an infringement of mandatory schooling is found to exist, the educational measures in accordance with Article 29 sections 1 through 3 are to be applied.

Article 49

(1) If persons with the parental educational responsibility, without showing cause, fail to appear even at the second conference, the conflict commission can rule in their absence when the facts of the case are clear. If the conflict commission can come to no decision, it returns the case to the requester within one week.

(2) If the youth, without showing cause, fails to appear even at the second conference, the case is handed over within one week to the kreis school council or to the head of the vocational training and vocational counseling department under the kreis council.

Considering Plain Civil Litigations

Article 50

(1) The conflict commission considers and rules on
--plain civil litigations between citizens and between the enterprise and members of the enterprise in monetary claims up to circa M 1,000,
--plain civil litigations between citizens resulting in the citizens' everyday life from infringements of their rights and duties, particularly within their housing or residential communities, and
--other plain civil litigations between the enterprise and the members of the enterprise.

(2) Requests for conferences can be made by one or several citizens and in litigation resulting from the citizens' fellowship in housing or residential communities, also by the housing community managements.

(3) Application from the enterprise have to be made, in writing, by the enterprise manager or a person deputized by him.

Article 51

(1) The conference is held in the presence of the applicant and the respondent. Exceptionally, as during a longer illness or longer absence, both the applicant and the respondent may ask to be represented by other citizens.

(2) The conflict commission seeks to bring about a settlement between the applicant and the respondent that conforms with the principles of socialist law in this conference. Such a settlement is then confirmed by resolution. When it amounts to monetary claims, an adequate payment deadline or installments may be agreed upon, if necessary.

(3) If no settlement between the applicant and the respondent can be achieved or if it must be refused because it contradicts the principles of socialist law, the conflict commission decides the litigation upon the joint request from the applicant and the respondent or upon the request from the applicant. The decision is predicated on that the facts of the case are plain, fully clarified, and not hard to judge legally.

Article 52

(1) The conflict commission rejects dealing with the case if it turns out that the facts of the case are not plain, cannot be clarified by questioning the applicant, the respondent and other citizens, or are hard to judge legally. That can be done up to the end of the conference.

(2) The applicant has the right to withdraw his application up to the end of the conference.

(3) If the applicant, the respondent or both fail to appear, without showing cause, at the conference or a settlement cannot be reached nor a decision be made in accordance with Article 51 section 3, the conflict commission schedules another conference on the case by resolution.

(4) In cases to which sections 1 through 3 apply, the applicant is to be informed that he has to address himself to the kreis court.

III.

Appeals and Enforcing Decisions

Article 53

The Right of Appeal

(1) The applicant and respondent in labor and civil law litigations, the applicant in cases of libel, slander or tresspassing, or the citizen accused of a transgression, misdemeanor, irregularity or mandatory school infringement have the right to appeal, in written form, to the kreis court or to a deposition before the moving party, contesting the conflict commission ruling, within two weeks after receiving the notification. Also the injured party has this right, as far as the decision on repairing the damage and its outlays are concerned.

(2) An objection against passing on a settlement in labor and civil law litigations can be justified only by there not having been a settlement or its violating the principles of socialist law.

(3) The public prosecutor of the kreis in which the conflict commission is located may appeal to the competent kreis court against any conflict commission ruling, within 3 months after its having been pronounced, if the ruling or particular obligations fail to conform with the law.

(4) The kreis court in the area of which the conflict commission is located makes the decision. In labor litigation cases, competency is set down in Article 25 of the Code of Civil Procedure.

Deciding on the Appeal

Article 54

(1) The authorized chamber of the kreis court decides on the appeal against a conflict commission ruling in labor or civil law litigations. It may call for a deposition from the conflict commission or summon the chairman or members of the conflict commission and other citizens for a verbal exchange, insofar as its decision requires it.

(2) For proceedings before the kreis court there apply the provisions of the 19 June 1975 law on court procedures in civil, family and labor law matters--Code of Civil Procedure--(GBL, Part I, No 29, p 533). To the release from the consequences of having missed the appeal deadline in labor litigations, there applies Article 296 section 5 of the Labor Code; in case of civil law suits, Article 70 section 1 of the Code of Civil Procedure applies.

(3) No legal remedy exists against the labor law chamber decision on an appeal against a conflict commission ruling in educational proceedings due to the violation of labor obligations.

Article 55

(1) An appeal against a conflict commission ruling on a transgression, misdemeanor, irregularity or mandatory school infringement is settled by the kreis court penal chamber by resolution. Prior to settling it, it may conduct an oral exchange and listen to the citizen in his appeal. It may also call for a deposition from the conflict commission or summon the chairman or members of the conflict commission and other citizens for a verbal exchange, insofar as its decision requires it.

(2) The penal chamber can cancel the decision of a conflict commission and return the case with appropriate comments to the conflict commission for a new deliberation and decision, or it can refuse the appeal, if it is unjustified. Prior to canceling a conflict commission ruling on making good for damage, the injured party must be given the opportunity to comment on the appeal.

(3) Returning the case to the conflict commission for a new deliberation and decision is set aside, and the penal chamber makes the final decision, if it is certain that the accused citizen is not to be blamed, or when all that remains to be done is to decide on the repair of the damage and the reduction of a monetary fine. An amicable settlement may be the outcome of libel, slander and trespassing or in actions for damages.

Article 56

(1) An appeal which has to be decided on by the penal chamber of the kreis court can be withdrawn until the verbal exchange comes to an end.

(2) No remedy exists against the decision by the penal chamber of the kreis court on the appeal.

(3) In the appeal's trial before the penal chamber, each participant himself pays for the expenses he incurs. The accused citizen, if it turns out that he is not to be blamed, is reimbursed, upon request, from the state budget. For budgetary expenses the participants are not charged.

Enforcing the Decision

Article 57

(1) The citizen shall fulfil obligations assumed or duties imposed upon him on his own free will.

(2) Monetary fines are paid to the council of the city, city-district or community in the area of which the citizen resides. About payments received the conflict commission is to be informed.

(3) The citizen's obligation to perform unpaid work for the common good in his leisure-time shall be taken care of within 2 months. The council of the city, city-district or community in the area of which the citizen resides is to determine when and where that work is to be performed. About its having been taken care of, the conflict commission is to be informed.

(4) If a citizen fails to meet the obligations set down in the resolution, the conflict commission may reopen the case (Article 15 section 5). Within the scope or provisions applicable to the case (Articles 23, 28, 37, 43, 47, 48), it may set down a different appropriate educational measure.

Article 58

(1) Conflict commission decisions on monetary claims, making up for damage, the monetary fine, the release of objects, the intent, toleration and omission of actions and the reimbursement for outlays may be declared enforceable by the kreis court and be so enforced.

(2) The claimant may petition the kreis court to enforce the decision. With regard to the monetary fine, the local council has that right as well.

Article 59

(1) The competent chamber of the kreis court decides on enforcement by resolution.

(2) Proceedings before the kreis court are governed by the provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure.

IV.

Special Provisions

Article 60

The Decisions' Range of Effect

(1) Conflict commission decisions on transgressions, misdemeanors, irregularities, and infringements of work obligations and of mandatory schooling remain in effect for the duration of one year from the expiration of the appeal period.

(2) To the enforcement of claims from conflict commission resolutions apply the time frames for the statutes of limitation according to Article 480 of the Civil Code of the GDR, of 19 June 1975 (GBL, Part I, No 27, p 465).

(3) The enforcement of monetary fines lapses after 2 years.

Article 61

Accountability of the Members of the Armed Organs

(1) The conflict commission is not authorized to consider and rule on transgressions, misdemeanors and irregularities by members of the armed organs.

(2) If the conflict commission receives a case concerning the transgression or irregularity of a member of the armed organs, it declares itself not competent and returns the case to the organ from which it came.

(3) If the conflict commission is petitioned or handed a case dealing with the misdemeanor of a member of the armed organs, it submits the petition or transfer to the authorized commanding officer or precinct chief or refers the petitioner to the commanding officer or precinct chief.

V.

Support for the Conflict Commissions

Article 62

Tasks of the Enterprise Managers

(1) The enterprise managers and the executive associates of the enterprise are under the obligation to give all-round support to the members of the conflict commissions in the exercise of their responsible activity. Upon the requests from the conflict commissions, they have to attend their conferences and give the members of the conflict commissions access to enterprise documents insofar that it is necessary for correctly assessing the case and person of the working people and contradicts no social interests.

(2) The enterprise managers and the executive associates of the enterprise are under the obligation to analyze the experiences of the conflict commissions for the sake of enterprise management activity.

(3) In meetings of the working people and before the competent enterprise trade union management, they must report on how they have fulfilled their obligation to give the conflict commissions all-round support.

Article 63

Objective Prerequisites for the Activity

The enterprise managers and the executive associates of the enterprise are under the obligation to create the objective prerequisites for the work of the conflict commissions operating in their area. That, in particular, includes the following obligations:
--making available the necessary legal regulations, instruction materials and literature,
--providing appropriate accommodations for the conferences,
--ensuring safe documentary storage,
--taking care of the written work and making a recording secretary available, if necessary, and
--keeping adequate means available for the activity of the conflict commissions and for appreciating their work.

Article 64

Reimbursement

Upon request, the enterprise has to reimburse the members of the conflict commissions. That also includes expenses incurred in connection with instruction and training.

Article 65

Support Obligation

If someone responsible for supporting the conflict commissions fails to meet his obligation, the conflict commissions are entitled to turn to the next-higher organ and demand the fulfilment of that obligation.

Article 66

Storing and Delivering Documents

(1) The conflict commissions keep the written documents about their activity and the registers for 2 years.

(2) The period during which such materials must be kept begins with the first day of the calendar year following the date on which the case was concluded, and for the registers it is that of the last entry.

(3) After the expiration of that period, the written documents and registers are to be transferred to the kreis court under the jurisdiction of which the conflict commission falls.

VI.

Final Provisions

Article 67

(1) This resolution goes into effect on 1 January 1983.

(2) At the same time, the resolution by the State Council of the GDR of 4 October 1968 on the election and activity of the conflict commissions--Conflict Commission Order--(GBL, Part I, No 16, p 287) is rescinded.

Resolution on Arbitration Commissions

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 13, 6 Apr 82 pp 283-292

[Official text of "Resolution of German Democratic Republic State Council of 12 March 1982 on the Activity of the Arbitration Commissions--Arbitration Commission Order," signed 25 March 1982, by Erich Honecker, chairman, GDR State Council, and Heinz Eichler, secretary, GDR State Council]

[Text]

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In accordance with Article 1 of the 25 March 1982 Law on the Social Courts of the GDR (GBL, Part I, No 13, p 269), the following is proposed:

I.

Working Method of the Arbitration Commissions

Article 1

Discussions and Requests

(1) The arbitration commission or individual members advise working people in their field of activity who ask for advice in clarifying legal matters and in enforcing legally guaranteed rights and offer them recommendations on meeting legal obligations. They help explain legal regulations.

(2) An arbitration commission or individual members receive written or oral requests for a discussion. Of oral requests the arbitration commission has to make a written record.

(3) The arbitration commission can hold regular office hours.

(4) In plain civil litigations or in cases of libel, slander or illegal entry, an arbitration commission or individual members also may conduct, prior to considering the case, discussions with the applicant and respondent or the accused citizen. Unless the matter is settled by the discussion, the case has to be considered.

(5) If in the outcome of the discussion obligations are assumed, a written record has to be made of them.

(6) In conjunction with discussions, the arbitration commission may make recommendations (Article 16).

(7) In cases of transgressions, misdemeanors against property, irregularities and the infringement of mandatory schooling, and in violations of socialist labor discipline by members of production cooperatives, a consultation has to take place when the case is petitioned or handed on.

(8) The arbitration commission keeps a record on its activity and written records on the various consultations.

Preparing Deliberations

Article 2

(1) The arbitration commission checks whether the request or the decision to pass it on comply with legal requirements. It prepares its deliberations in such a way that the facts of the case basic to the litigation can be discussed and clarified in every way.

(2) The chairman, through concurrence with the members, sets down the measures needed for it. They obtain the information necessary for setting up deliberations, adduce the necessary documentation and familiarize themselves with the legal regulations applying to the case.

(3) Arbitration commission deliberations have to be held within 4 weeks after the receipt of the request or its being handed on. If that time frame is exceeded in exceptional cases, the reasons for it have to be set down in writing.

Article 3

(1) The chairman sees to it that at least one week prior to the scheduled deliberations, their subject matter, time and place are publicly announced.

(2) The applicant, the respondent, the accused citizen and other citizens and representatives of state organs whose attendance is required to settle the case have to be summoned sufficiently ahead of time so they know about the deliberations for at least one week. Their attendance is mandatory.

(3) The respondent or accused citizen is to be informed in the summons of the substance of the request or the order to pass it on.

(4) To enhance the social effectiveness of the deliberations, the arbitration commission may summon representatives of state organs, of social organization managements, of the commissions of the National Front of the GDR, the housing community, the enterprise, the production cooperative and other social forces.

Article 4

(1) If the applicant or respondent is an adolescent, the persons with the parental right of education also have to be summoned. If necessary, representatives of the youth-aid, the school, the enterprise and the youth organization should be summoned.

(2) If the accused is an adolescent, the persons with the parental right of education and representatives of the school, the enterprise and the youth organization also should be summoned. If necessary, representatives of the youth-aid organs are to be summoned as well.

Conducting the Deliberations

Article 5

(1) The arbitration commission deliberates and decides with at least four members in attendance.

(2) Deliberations are directed by the chairman or a deputy. If both are absent or it is suitable for objective reasons, another member may be asked to chair the session.

(3) The outcome of the session is to be set down in writing. The recording secretary need not be a member of the arbitration commission.

Article 6

(1) An arbitration commission member is barred from considering and deciding a case if
--he is part of the case as the applicant, respondent or accused citizen or was harmed by the law violation, or
--he is the spouse or a close relative of the applicant, respondent, the accused citizen or the injured party.

(2) Reservations taken to a member's attendance by the applicant, the respondent, the accused citizen or the inured party, are settled for once and for all by the arbitration commission. Such objections are admissible up to the start of the session. If justified, the member concerned can then not take part in the session and decision-making.

Article 7

(1) Arbitration commission sessions are public and are normally held outside working hours. Sessions have to be held with the applicant, the respondent or the accused citizen in attendance.

(2) The arbitration commission may, exceptionally, bar individual citizens from the session or part of the session, if it helps settling the case.

(3) If someone attending the session shows flagrant disregard for the arbitration commission by improper behavior, the arbitration commission may give him a fine up to a maximum of M 50.

Article 8

(1) The arbitration commission is under the obligation to ascertain the facts of the case pertinent to decision-making and the causes and conditions for the suit or violation. To the extent that it is required for decision-making, it must inform itself about the personal and economic circumstances of the applicant, the respondent or the accused citizen.

(2) In assessing the accountability of an adolescent for a transgression, misdemeanor, irregularity or infringement of mandatory schooling, the characteristics of his conditioned by his development have to be taken into consideration.

(3) The members of the arbitration commission, the applicant, the respondent and the accused citizen, as well as all others attending the session, are entitled to present their conception of the case and of the causes and conditions for the suit or offense, and on the citizen's conduct and on settling the case.

Article 9

(1) When transgressions or misdemeanors are under consideration, plain civil litigations and other litigations connected with them (Article 17) may, on request, be drawn into it, provided their clarification requires no further preparation.

(2) When plain civil litigations are combined with misdemeanors, they can be taken care of in one and the same session. Article 22 applies to this kind of session.

Article 10

(1) If a citizen accused of a transgression, misdemeanor, irregularity or mandatory schooling infringement fails to appear at a session, a second session is scheduled. The same applies when in a petition to hold a session on a violation of socialist work discipline, the respondent fails to appear.

(2) The arbitration commission, aided by social forces, shall make sure that the accused citizen or respondent appears at the rescheduled session. Summons must point out the consequences of a repeated failure to attend (Articles 21, 28, 34, 42 and 47).

(3) If the accused citizen or respondent fails to attend a session without showing cause, the arbitration commission may imposed a fine up to M 50 on him.

Concluding Deliberations

Article 11

(1) In the outcome of its deliberations, the arbitration commission decides by resolution on the claim, the settlement or the existence of a law violation and the pronouncing of educational measures.

(2) The arbitration commission also decides by resolution when the case is dropped, the claim unjustified, a settlement cannot be accepted because it contradicts the principles of socialist law, or no law violation is found to exist.

(3) In the outcome of its deliberations, an arbitration commission may make recommendations (Article 16).

Article 12

(1) The arbitration commission's decision is made in public. Through an all-round explanation and clarification of the facts of the case, all preconditions should be created for unanimous decisions.

(2) If in an exception no unanimity is obtainable, a decision carries as long as most of the arbitration commission members attending the session agree.

(3) The decision is to be announced in the session.

Article 13

(1) A decision contains
--time and place of the session,
--the names of the arbitration commission members who made the decision,
--the name, age, occupation and address of the applicant and the respondent or the accused citizen,
--the petitions,
--a brief account of the facts of the case ascertained with the facts and reasons on which the decision bases itself,
--the decision arrived at through deliberations, and
--the reference to the possibility of appeal against the arbitration commission decision and the writ of execution.

(2) The decision is to be signed by the session chairman and to be sent within two weeks, by registered mail, to the applicant and the respondent or the accused citizen.

(3) A copy of the decision has to be sent within two weeks to the kreis public prosecutor and, in case the case was transferred, to the organ from which it came. If the decision provides for a monetary fine or for an obligation to do work for the common good during leisure-time, the local council also gets a copy (Article 53 sections 2 and 3).

Article 14

(1) No dues are charged for arbitration commission activity.

(2) About reimbursing applicants, respondents, accused citizens, injured parties and citizens summoned to clarify the case, the arbitration commission decides by resolution in conformity with legal provisions in force.*

Measures to Strengthen Effectiveness

Article 15

(1) To the extent necessary, the arbitration commission brings an influence to bear on extending the educational process started during the session with help from the social forces in the city, the community, the production cooperative or the enterprise.

(2) During its session, the arbitration commission may decide that its decision, once it comes into effect, is publicly announced in a suitable manner, at most for one week, in the housing community, the residential area, the production cooperative or the enterprise, if this reinforces its educational effect.

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*Right now are in force: for plain civil suits and other law suits, Articles 174 section 1 and 2, and 175 section 1 and 2, Code of Civil Procedure; for transgressions, misdemeanors, irregularities and infringements of mandatory schooling, Articles 363 section 1 and 364 section 1, Penal Code.

(3) The arbitration commission supervises the implementation of its decisions. In the outcome of deliberating on transgressions, misdemeanors, irregularities and infringements of mandatory schooling, it may order citizens to report on their fulfilling the obligations contained in the decision and, in case of monetary fines, to provide payment evidence.

(4) Citizens obliged to report have to appear before the arbitration commission in person. When they fail to appear without showing cause, the arbitration commission may impose a fine up to M 50.

(5) If the arbitration commission ascertains that a citizen fails to fulfil educational measures contained in a decision, the chairman may schedule another session (Article 53 section 4).

Article 16

(1) If the arbitration commission ascertains causes and conditions for legal litigations or violations, it makes recommendations to the managers of state and economic management organs, combines, enterprises and institutions, production cooperative boards and managements of social organizations. The recommendations are intended to solidify order, discipline and security. The recommendations are to offer suggestions for eliminating causes and conditions for law violations and litigations and overcoming deficiencies and illegalities.

(2) Recommendations are to be submitted to the recipients within two weeks.

(3) The arbitration commission checks on the implementation of the recommendations it has made.

(4) The managers of organs to which a recommendation was addressed have to inform the arbitration commission within two weeks on what has been initiated in response to the recommendation or for what reason it cannot be accepted. They have to work together with the arbitration commission in implementing the latters' recommendations.

(5) If this obligation is not followed or a recommendation is not responded to for no good reason, the arbitration commission may inform the next-higher manager or organ about it and demand that the person so obligated, in conformity with section 4, take a position on the recommendation. If through the neglect of a recommendation illegalities continue, the kreis public prosecutor will be informed about it.

II.

Fields of Activities of the Arbitration Commissions

Considering Plain Civil Law and Other Legal Litigations

Article 17

(1) The arbitration commission considers and decides on
--plain civil law suits between citizens arising in the citizens' everyday life

from violations of their rights and duties, especially from their communal life in housing or residential communities,
--plain civil law suits between citizens or between a production cooperative and its members concerning monetary liabilities up to circa M 1,000,
--other plain property litigations including those resulting from innovator rights in accordance with the stipulations of innovator regulations between a production cooperative and its members, and
--petitions for holding a conference to consider violations of socialist work discipline by members of production cooperatives.

(2) Requests for a conference may be made by one or several citizens, and in case of quarrel resulting from the citizens' communal life in housing or residential communities, even by housing community managements.

(3) Requests of production cooperatives have to be submitted in writing by the board or the chairman.

Article 18

(1) The conference is held in the presence of the applicant and the respondent. In exceptional instances, such as a longer illness or longer absence, both the applicant and the respondent can ask some other citizen to take their place. Taking the place of a respondent in conferences on violations of socialist work discipline is not admissible.

(2) In its conference, the arbitration commission endeavors to have the applicant and the respondent make a settlement in conformity with the principles of socialist law. It passes on such a settlement by resolution. When the settlement concerns monetary liabilities, an appropriate payment deadline or installments may be worked out. A conference about the violation of socialist work discipline provides for no settlement.

(3) If the applicant and the respondent cannot come to a settlement, or if it cannot be passed because it contradicts the principles of socialist law, the arbitration commission rules on the litigation by a joint request from the applicant and the respondent or by one from the applicant only. The decision is predicated on the facts of the case being simple, fully clarified, and not hard to judge legally.

Article 19

(1) A petition from the board of a production cooperative for holding a conference on account of a violation of socialist work discipline by a member mainly has to contain
--an account of the discipline violation,
--the causes and conditions ascertained, and
--a personality assessment of the member of the production cooperative.

(2) The arbitration commission can reject a petition if the case is not suitable to be considered by the arbitration commission.

Article 20

(1) The arbitration commission may, in the outcome of a conference on a violation of socialist work discipline, discount educational measures, provided the educational purpose was accomplished by the conference. This must be so stated in the resolution.

(2) The arbitration commission can issue the following educational measures:
--Passing on the liability of the member of the production cooperative to apologize to the collective, or imposing such a liability on him.
--Passing on other liabilities of the member of the production cooperative that serve the respect for socialist work discipline.
--A reprimand is given to the member of the production cooperative.

(3) The arbitration commission may pass on the obligations of the work collective to educate the member of the production cooperative.

(4) In ruling on violations of socialist work discipline, educational measures to be issued are in accordance with Article 27 section 1.

Article 21

(1) The arbitration commissions rejects considering a case if it turns out that the facts of the case are not simple, cannot be clarified by questioning the applicant, the respondent and other citizens, or are hard to judge in legal terms. This can be done all the way to the end of the conference.

(2) The applicant is entitled to withdraw his request up to the end of the session.

(3) If the applicant, the respondent or both of them fail to appear at the conference for no good reason, of if neither a settlement can be reached nor a decision be made in accordance with Article 18 section 3, the arbitration commission drops further proceedings by resolution.

(4) If the respondent without any good reason fails to attend a conference on a violation of socialist work discipline, though it was scheduled for a second time, the arbitration commission has to return the request to the production cooperative board within one week.

(5) In instances according to sections 1 through 3, the applicant is to be told he can address himself to the kreis court.

Article 22

Complex Considerations of Plain Civil Law Litigations and Libel, Slander and Trespassing

(1) If simple civil law disputes between citizens originating from the violation of their rights and duties in their communal life in the housing or residential community are accompanied by libel, slander or illegal entry, the arbitration commission can, upon request, handle both cases in one conference.

(2) Articles 29 through 37 apply to the consideration of and decision on misdemeanors, and Article 17 section 2 as well as Articles 18 through 21 apply to the consideration of and decision on civil suits. Both decision are combined in one resolution.

Considering Transgressions

Article 23

(1) Transgressions are anti-social crimes committed on purpose or negligently, causing injury to the citizens' rights and interests, socialist property, the social and state order or other rights and interests of society.

(2) The arbitration commission considers and rules on transgressions, if in terms of the consequences and of the citizen's guilt, the conduct has not been seriously anti-social and if, in consideration of the act and the citizen's personality, an effective educational influence from the arbitration commission is anticipated. Such criminal matters are handed over when the facts of the case are completely clear and the citizen admits he has committed this law violation. In offenses committed through negligence, the case may also be assigned to the arbitration commission even when considerable damage was caused yet, due to extraordinary circumstnaces, the citizen bears but little blame.

(3) Under those presuppositions, the arbitration commission considers and rules on all transgressions, especially
--transgressions against socialist and personal property,
--bodily injury, and
--infringements of labor safety and health protection.

Article 24

(1) Cases are assigned to the arbitration commission by the investigative organs, the public prosecutor or the court.

(2) To ensure thorough considerations, the decision to assign a case must contain above all
--a summary presentation of the facts of the case and the evidence at hand,
--an assessment of the act with reference to the criminal law violated,
--an act-related personality assessment of the citizen,
--the reasons for being assigned to the arbitration commission, and
--suggested causes and conditions behind the act.

If there was damage, damage claims and the address of the injured party are to be added.

(3) When cases concerning transgressions by adolescents are assigned, the decisions for it also have to contain
--an act-related assessment of the adolescent's family and other educational circumstances,
--statements on the likelihood of culpability, and
--suggestions for effectively involving state and social agents of education.

(4) The assigning organ is duty bound to assist the arbitration commission in dealing with the case.

Article 25

(1) The arbitration commission can object ot being assigned the case to the assigner if in its opinion the prerequisites for assignment do not apply (Article 23 secion 2) or the case is for other reasons unsuitable to be dealt with by the arbitration commission.

(2) In such instances, the assigning organ has to reexamine its decision. If this reconsideration confirms the assignment, the arbitration commission is obliged to take it.

Article 26

(1) In consequence of its deliberations, the arbitration commission may issue the following educational measures:
--Passing on the citizen's liability to apologize to the injured party or before the collective, or imposing such a liability on him.
--Passing on the citizen's liability to pay damages in accordance with legal regulations or repair the damage by his own work, or imposing such a liability on him.
--Passing on the citizen's liability to do up to 20 hours of unpaid work for the common good during his leisure-time.
--Passing on other liabilities of the citizen aimed at developing, promoting and ensuring conduct that conforms with socialist law.
--A reprimand to be given to the citizen.
--A citizen is compelled to pay a fine between M 10 and M 500. A fine up to M 300 is imposed on an adolescent if he has an income or assets of his own.

(2) The arbitration commission can pass on the liabilities of a work collective, a housing community, a different kind of collective or individual persons to educate the citizen. These obligations shall contain stipulations that are controllable and contribute to the development of socialist consciousness and to overcoming causes and conditions for law violations.

(3) A citizen's commitment to repairing the damage calls for agreement from the injured party.

(4) The arbitration commission may drop the educational measures if the severity of the case allows it and the overall attitude of the citizen after his offense and his efforts in repairing the damage indicate that he is going to respect the socialist legal order in the future. The dropping of those measures must be stated in the resolution.

Article 27

(1) If educational measures are needed to induce the citizen to abide by socialist law on his own free will, the arbitration commission determines the measure which, in taking account of the type and severity of the transgression, and of the circumstances under which it was committed, and of the citizen's personality, would most effectively meet the purpose. Several educational measures may also be assigned side by side.

(2) A monetary penalty is to be set if the type and severity of the transgression, in view of the citizen's personality and of the protection of socialist property, call for a more permanent influence on him. A monetary fine is to be levied in particular if the transgression is due to contempt for the values created by the working people or of their personal property, to an enrichment mania or a contempt for the liability to property rights.

(3) In applying a monetary penalty and fixing its amount, consideration has to be given to the citizen's economic circumstances and to the damage payment liability caused by the act. For adolescents, a monetary penalty becomes applicable only if they have an income or assets of their own. If a monetary fine or payment for damage are imposed in terms of cash, installments may be provided for, if necessary, in the resolution. Indemnity payment assessments are made in concurrence with the injured party.

(4) The liability to perform gratuitous work at leisure-time for the common good can be imposed only if the act has destroyed or damaged places or values that serve the general public. The arbitration commission may determine up to when the citizen has to report to the local council (Article 53 section 3).

Article 28

(1) If the citizen fails to appear without cause at the second session, the arbitration commission has to return the case within one week to the assigning organ.

(2) The case is not returned to the assigning organ if the transgression in question is one that can be prosecuted upon application only (Article 2, Penal Code) but the application was withdrawn. Applications can be withdrawn up to the time that the arbitration commission concludes its considerations. In such a case, a further treatment of the case is halted by resolution.

Considering Misdemeanors

Article 29

(1) Misdemeanors are infringements of legally protected interests of society or of the citizens where the effects of the act and the citizen's guilt are minor and are defined as such in the Penal Code and other laws. These are
--offenses against property,
--libel and slander, and
--illegal entry of apartments, other rooms and enclosed real property of citizens.

(2) An offense against property is committed when the deed, in taking account of all circumstances such as the damage, the citizen's culpability and his personality, is minor and the damage, caused or intended, does not much exceed the amount of M 50. That normally amounts to a first offense.

Article 30

(1) The arbitration commission considers and rules on a misdemeanor if requested by an injured citizen, a work collective, a housing community or some other injured

party, or when the case was assigned by the German People's Police or a chief with disciplinary authorizations.

(2) The arbitration commission can consider and rule on a misdemeanor only if the statute of limitation had not yet expired when the request was made. Misdemeanors carry a statute of limitation of 6 months.

(3) In libel, slander and illegal entry, the request must be made within one month after the injured party discovered the misdemeanor. If this deadline was missed without fault, the arbitration commission may, on request, grant release from the consequences of the missed deadline.

Article 31

(1) Holding a conference on a misdemeanor is petitioned either in writing or orally. Such petitions should contain, in particular,
--a summary of the facts of the case and the evidence at hand, and
--damage payment claims or other civil-law demands.

(2) The decision to assign the case is, in substance, governed by Article 24 sections 2 and 3 respectively.

(3) The arbitration commission, by resolution, turns down a citizen's petition for holding a conference on a misdemeanor if the petition itself indicates that no misdemeanor has occurred, when the statute of limitation has expired or the deadline for registering the petition has faultily been missed (Article 30 sections 2 and 3).

Article 32

(1) In dealing with a petition concerning a misdemeanor, the arbitration commission clarifies the facts of the case with the applicant, the accused citizen and other citizens and ascertains the causes and conditions of the conflict.

(2) The arbitration commission may hand the case on to the German People's Police for further processing if it cannot handle the case with the means at its disposal or if, after examining the effects of the act and the citizen's culpability, it is under the impression that a misdemeanor did in fact occur. This is a decision that can be made still during the conference.

(3) After examining the case, the German People's Police may return it to the arbitration commission, on which it then becomes binding.

Article 33

(1) Up to the end of the conference, the arbitration commission may protest to the German People's Police or the authorized chief of disciplinary action against having been assigned the case as long as the conference prerequisites are not met (Article 29) or it is under the impression that a misdemeanor has in fact occurred.

(2) In such instances, the German People's Police or the authorized chief of disciplinary action have to reexamine the decision. Another decision to assign the case makes it binding to the arbitration commission.

Article 34

(1) A conference on a misdemeanor is held with the applicant and the accused citizen in attendance. In exceptional circumstances, such as during a longer illness or longer absence, the applicant can ask some other citizen to take his place.

(2) In offenses against property, the arbitration commission can rule in the absence of the applicant, if the written petition concerning the misdemeanor is adequately substantiated.

(3) If the accused citizen fails to appear without cause even at the second session, the arbitration commission, exceptionally, rules in his absence, provided the facts of the case have been clarified and a decision is feasible in accordance with Article 11 sections 1 or 2. If that is not so, the case must be handed over for further processing to the German People's Police within one week.

Article 35

(1) In the outcome of the conference, the arbitration commission can refrain from assigning educational measures on account of a misdemeanor, if the educational purpose was achieved by the conference. That has to be so stated in the resolution.

(2) In dealing with libel, slander and illegal entry, the arbitration commissions works for a reconciliation between the accused citizen and the applicant. If a reconciliation is achieved, educational measures may be disregarded. The reconciliation must be mentioned in the resolution.

(3) The arbitration commission may issue the following educational measures:
--Passing on the citizen's liability to apologize to the injured party or before the collective, or imposing such a liability on him. The same applies to the liability to retract in a suitable form the libel or slander before the circle of persons that received knowledge of it.
--Passing on the citizen's liability to pay damages in accordance with legal regulations or repair the damage by his own work, or imposing such a liability on him.
--Passing on other liabilities of the citizen that would help protect and secure the property, human honor and dignity and the place of residence.
--The citizen is given a reprimand.
--The citizen is compelled to pay a fine between M 10 and M 150.

(4) In addition, Article 26 sections 2 and 3 are applied accordingly.

(5) When a misdemeanor is found to have been committed, the educational measures as of Article 27 sections 1 through 3 are to be applied.

(6) If in the outcome of a conference on libel, slander or illegal entry no misdemeanor can be proven and there are no opportunities for the German People's Police to investigate further, the arbitration commission decides by resolution that no misdemeanor is indicated.

Article 36

(1) If the applicant in turn has committed libel or slander against the accused citizen, such a misdemeanor can, upon request, be included in the conference, provided it occurred no longer than 6 months previous to it.

(2) If no reconciliation is accomplished between the applicant and the accused citizen, educational measures may be assigned to either one or both.

Article 37

(1) The applicant may withdraw his application up to the end of the conference.

(2) If the applicant, without showing cause, fails to attend a conference on libel, slander or unlawful entry, his application is considered withdrawn.

(3) In such instances, the arbitration commission drops further proceedings by resolution.

Considering Irregularities

Article 38

(1) Irregularities are culpably committed law violations expressing lack of discipline and hampering state management activity or interfering with the development of socialist communal life without, however, significantly violating the interests of socialist society or of individual citizens, wherefore they are no criminal acts.

(2) Only those law violations are irregularities that are explicitly defined as such in legal regulations.

Article 39

(1) The arbitration commission considers and rules on irregularities which interfere with socialist communal life in towns or communities and amount to infringements of public order and security, state and economic management measures on the local level, and the legal regulations on labor, health, fire and environmental protection and of price regulations.

(2) Once assigned by a competent disciplinary action official, the arbitration commission takes the case. Such an assignment may be made, once the facts of the case have become clear and the circumstances of the irregularity and the citizen's personality suggest the arbitration commission can bring a better educational influence to bear.

Article 40

(1) To ensure a thorough consideration of the case, assignment decisions mainly have to contain
--a summary of the facts of the case and the evidence at hand,
--a reference to the infringed legal regulation,
--the reasons for assigning the case to the arbitration commission, and
--references to the causes and conditions for the irregularity.

If damage was caused, the damage payment claim and the address of the injured party have to be added.

(2) Up to the end of the conference, the arbitration commission may return the case to the next-higher organ, if the prerequisites for its assignment are not satisfied (Article 39). Then the assigning organ processes the case for good.

Article 41

(1) In consequence of its deliberations, the arbitration commission may issue the following educational measures:
--Passing on the citizen's liability to apologize to the injured party or before the collective, or imposing such a liability on him.
--Passing on the citizen's liability to pay damages in accordance with legal regulations or repair the damage by his own work, or imposing such a liability on him.
--Passing on the citizen's liability to do up to 15 hours of unpaid work for the common good during his leisure-time.
--Passing on other liabilities of the citizen aimed at ensuring order, discipline and security.
--The citizen is given a reprimand.
--The citizen is compelled to pay a fine between M 10 and M 300. An adolescent can be fined up to M 20, if he has income or assets of his own. The amount of the monetary fine may not exceed the maximum as determined for fines in prevailing disciplinary regulations for fines.

(2) In addition, Article 26 sections 2 and 3 are applied accordingly.

(3) When irregularities are found to have been committed, educational measures are applied in accordance with Article 27.

(4) The arbitration commission may disregard educational measures, if the degree of severity of the irregularity allows it and the citizen's general conduct after his offense and his efforts to make up for it indicate that he is going to respect the socialist legal order in the future. When such measures are dropped, the resolution has to make a point of it.

Article 42

If the citizen, without showing cause, fails to appear even at the second session, the arbitration commission has to return the case to the organ from which it came within one week.

Considering Infringements of Mandatory Schooling

Article 43

(1) The arbitration commission considers and rules on the conduct of citizens who as parents or others having the parental educational responsibility fail to make sure that school-age children or other youths attend classes regularly at the general education polytechnical secondary schools or at vocational training institutions, or keep them from attending other mandatory school activities or from complying with school regulations or with duties resulting from the school setup.

(2) The arbitration commission also considers and rules on the conduct of adolescents (pupils of 14 years of age and older, and apprentices) who stubbornly refuse to go to school.

Article 44

(1) The request for a conference can be made by the director of the school in concurrence with the parents' advisory council or the director of the vocational training institution, if all previous educational influence brought to bear on the persons with the parental educational responsibility or on the youths remained unsuccessful.

(2) Inadequately substantiated requests may be returned to the requester.

Article 45

(1) The conference is meant to induce the persons with the parental educational responsibility to have children or youths fully comply with their mandatory schooling. If the conference accomplishes that purpose, educational measures can be discounted. This has to be so stated in the resolution.

(2) The arbitration commission may set down the following educational measures for persons with parental educational responsibility:
--Passing on the citizen's liability to help ensure regular school attendance by the shool-age child or adolescent, or imposing such a liability on him.
--Passing on the citizen's liability to help make the school-age child or adolescent attend mandatory school activities and comply with school regulations and any duties resulting from the school setup, or imposing such a liability on him.
--The citizen is given a reprimand.
--The citizen is compelled to pay a fine between M 10 and M 150.

(3) The arbitration commission may pass on the liability of a work collective, a housing community, or individual citizens to assist persons with parental educational responsibilities in meeting their educational liabilities.

(4) When an infringement of mandatory schooling is found to exist, the educational measures in accordance with Article 27 sections 1 through 3 are to be applied.

(5) The arbitration commission may instruct an adolescent who infringes his mandatory schooling about his duties.

Article 46

(1) The conference is meant to induce the adolescents, in accordance with Article 43 section 2, to comply fully with their mandatory schooling. If that purpose is accomplished by the conference, educational measures may be discounted. This has to be so stated in the resolution.

(2) The arbitration commission may issue the following educational measures to adolescents:

--Passing on the adolescent's liabilites that help ensure his fulfilling on his own the requirements resulting from mandatory schooling or the school setup, or imposing such liabilities on him.
--Passing on other liabilities the adolescent has, which help develop his assistance and coresponsibility at the school or vocational training institution.
--The adolescent is given a reprimand.

(3) The arbitration commission may pass on the liabilities of the persons with the parental educational responsibility, of a collective or of individual citizens to help the adolescent meet the demands made on him.

(4) When an infringement of mandatory schooling is found to exist, the educational measures in accordance with Article 27 sections 1 through 3 are to be applied.

Article 47

(1) If persons with the parental educational responsibility, without showing cause, fail to appear even at the second conference, the arbitration commission can rule in their absence when the facts of the case are clear. If the arbitration commission can come to no decision, it returns the case to the requester within one week.

(2) If the adolescent, without showing cause, fails to appear even at the second conference, the case is handed over within one week to the kreis school council or to the head of the vocational training and vocational counseling department under the kreis council.

III.

Appeals and Enforcing Decisions

Article 48

The Right of Appeal

(1) The applicant and respondent in civil law suits and other litigations, the applicant in cases of libel, slander and unlawful entry, or the citizen accused of a transgression, misdemeanor, irregularity or the infringement of mandatory schooling have the right to appeal, in written form, to the kreis court or to a deposition before a moving party, contesting the arbitration commission ruling, within two weeks after receiving the ruling. Also the injured party has this right, as far as the decision on repairing the damage and its outlays are concerned, as well as a citizen on whom a fine was imposed (Articles 7 section 3, 10 section 3 and 15 section 4).

(2) An objection against passing on a settlement in a civil suit or other litigations can be justified only by there not having been a settlement or its violating the principles of socialist law.

(3) The public prosecutor of the kreis in which the arbitration commission is located may appeal to the competent kreis court against any arbitration commission ruling, within 3 months after its having been rendered, if the ruling or particular liabilities fail to conform to the law.

(4) The kreis court in the area of which the arbitration commission is located decides on the appeal.

Deciding on the Appeal

Article 49

(1) The civil chamber of the kreis court rules on the appeal against the arbitration commission ruling in civil suits and other litigations. It may call for a deposition from the arbitration commission or summon the chairman or members of the arbitration commission and other citizens for an oral argument, insofar as its ruling requires it.

(2) To proceedings before the kreis court there apply the provisions of the 19 June 1975 law on court procedures in civil, family and labor law matters--Code of Civil Procedure--(GBL, Part I, No 29, p 533). To the release from the consequences of having missed the appeal deadline there applies Article 70 section 1 of the Code of Civil Procedure accordingly.

(3) No legal remedy exists against the civil chamber ruling on an appeal against an arbitration commission ruling on the violation of socialist work discipline by a member of a production cooperative.

Article 50

(1) An appeal against arbitration commission rulings on plain civil suits and misdemeanors connected with them in the form of libel, slander and unlawful entry (Article 22) is decided by the civil chamber of the kreis court.

(2) To appeal proceedings against the civil-law part of rulings there apply Article 49 section 1, sentence 2 and the provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure.

(3) To appeal proceedings against that part of the ruling that concerns the misdemeanor there apply the provisions of Articles 51 and 52 section 1 accordingly. No legal remedy exists against that decision.

Article 51

(1) An appeal against an arbitration commission ruling on a transgression, misdemeanor, irregularity or infringement of mandatory schooling, and against the imposing of a fine, is decided, through resolution, by the penal chamber of the kreis court. Prior to settling it, it may conduct an oral argument and hear what the citizen has to say about his appeal. It may also call for a deposition from the arbitration commission or summon the chairman or members of the arbitration commission and other citizens for an oral argument, insofar as its decision requires it.

(2) The penal chamber can cancel an arbitration commission ruling and return the case with appropriate comments to the arbitration commission for a new deliberation and decision, or it can refuse the appeal, if it is unjustified. Prior to canceling an arbitration commission ruling on making good for damage, the injured party must be given the opportunity to comment on the appeal.

(3) Returning the case to the arbitration commission for a new deliberation and decision is set aside, and the penal chamber makes the final decision, if it is certain that the accused citizen is not to be blamed, or when all that remains to be done is to decide on making good for the damage or reducing the monetary fine. An amicable settlement may be the outcome in the case of libel, slander and unlawful entry, or in actions for damages. An appeal against fines is settled by the penal chamber for good; returning it for reconsideration is impossible.

Article 52

(1) An appeal on which the penal chamber of the kreis court has to decide can be withdrawn until the verbal argument in the proceedings ends.

(2) No remedy exists against the decision by the penal chamber of the kreis court on the appeal.

(3) In the appeal's trial before the penal chamber, each participant himself pays for the expenses he incurs. The accused citizen, if it turns out that he is not to be blamed, is reimbursed, upon request, from the state budget. For budgetary expenses the participants are not charged.

Enforcing the Decision

Article 53

(1) The citizen shall fulfil obligations assumed or duties imposed upon him on his own free will.

(2) Monetary penalties or fines are paid to the council of the city, city-district or community in the area of which the citizen resides. About payments received the arbitration commission is to be informed.

(3) The citizen's obligation to perform unpaid work for the common good in his leisure-time shall be taken care of within 2 months. The council of the city, city-district or community in the area of which the citizen resides is to determine when and where that work is to be performed. About its having been taken care of, the arbitration commission is to be informed.

(4) If a citizen fails to meet the obligations set down in the resolution, the arbitration commission may reopen the case (Article 15 section 5). Within the scope of provisions applicable to the case (Articles 20, 26, 35, 41, 45, 46), it may set down a different appropriate educational measure.

Article 54

(1) Arbitration commission decisions on monetary claims, making up for damage, monetary fines, the release of objects, the intent, toleration and omission of actions and the reimbursement for outlays may be declared enforceable by the kreis court and be so enforced.

(2) The claimant may petition the kreis court to enforce the decision. With regard to the monetary penalty and fine, the local council has that right as well.

Article 55

(1) The civil chamber of the kreis court decides on enforcement by resolution.

(2) Proceedings before the kreis court are governed by the provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure.

IV.

Special Provisions

Article 56

The Decisions' Range of Effect

(1) Arbitration commission decisions on transgressions, misdemeanors, irregularities, and infringements of work discipline and mandatory schooling remain in effect for the duration of one year from the expiration of the appeal period.

(2) To the enforcement of claims from arbitration commission resolutions apply the time frames for the statutes of limitation according to Article 480 of the Civil Code of the GDR, of 19 June 1975 (GBL, Part I, No 27, p 465).

(3) The enforcement of monetary penalties and fines lapses after 2 years.

Article 57

Accountability of the Members of the Armed Organs

(1) The arbitration commission is not authorized to consider and rule on transgressions, misdemeanors and irregularities by members of the armed organs.

(2) If the arbitration commission receives a case concerning the transgression or irregularity of a member of the armed organs, it declares itself not competent and returns the case to the organ from which it came.

(3) If the arbitration commission is petitioned or assigned a case dealing with the misdemeanor of a member of the armed organs, it submits the petition or assignment to the authorized commanding officer or precinct chief or refers the petitioner to the commanding officer or precinct chief.

V.

Support of the Arbitration Commissions

Article 58

Arbitration Commission Advisory Council

(1) The arbitration commission advisory council under the director of the kreis court and the director of the bezirk court supports and promotes the work of the arbitration commissions and helps enhance their public efficacy.

(2) The advisory council, in its sessions, deals with major emphasis tasks, based on an operations plan, in support of arbitration commission activity. Such tasks principally pertain to:
--Assessments of the arbitration commissions' jurisdiction and their public efficacy in the various fields of law,
--assessments of the assignment and petitioning practice in transgressions, misdemeanors, irregularities and infringements of mandatory schooling,
--encouraging the law propaganda activity of the members of the arbitration commissions,
--shaping an effective cooperation between the arbitration commissions and the local people's representations and their organs and with the commissions of the National Front of the GDR, particularly for ensuring order, discipline and security in the cities and communities,
--preparing experience exchange and conferences with the chairmen and members of the arbitration commissions,
--training measures for the members of the arbitration commissions,
--ensuring the arbitration commissions' functionality, particularly the need for by-elections and the redistricting of arbitration commission areas, and
--recommendations for paying tribute to the fine work done by arbitration commissions and for awarding distinctions to arbitration commissions or specific members of them.

(3) The advisory council in its sessions mainly deals with assessments and practical experiences submitted by the court and other organs represented in the advisory council in fully assuming its legal responsibility for managing and supporting the activity of the arbitration commissions.

(4) The head and the members of the advisory council exploit the advisory council sessions for their own fields, arrange for necessary measures and inform the advisory council on their outcome.

Article 59

Objective Prerequisites for the Activity

The councils of the cities, city-districts and communities and the boards of the production cooperatives are under the obligation to create the objective prerequisites for the work of the arbitration commissions operating in their area. That, in particular, includes the following obligations:
--making available the necessary legal regulations, instruction materials and literature,

--providing suitable accommodations for the conferences and office hours,
--ensuring safe documentary storage,
--taking care of the written work and making a recording secretary available, if necessary, and
--allocating the means necessary for arbitration commission work and the appreciation for that work.

Article 60

Reimbursement

(1) Upon request, the council of the city, the city-district or the community, or the production cooperative, has to reimburse the arbitration commission members for expenses incurred in connection with arbitration commission activity.

(2) For needed expenses incurred in connection with instruction and training, the arbitration commission members are to be reimbursed by the kreis court.

Article 61

Support Obligation

If someone responsible for supporting the arbitration commission fails to meet his obligation, the arbitration commissions are entitled to turn to the next-higher organ and demand the fulfilment of that obligation.

Article 62

Storing and Delivering Documents

(1) The arbitration commissions keep the written documents about their activity and the registers for 2 years.

(2) The period during which such materials must be kept begins with the first day of the calendar year following the date on which the case was concluded, and for the registers it is that of the last entry.

(3) After the expiration of that period, the written documents and registers are to be transferred to the kreis court under the jurisdiction of which the arbitration commission falls.

VI.

Final Provisions

Article 63

The minister of justice is charged with taking the measures necessary for implementing this resolution in concurrence with the authorized central organs. He may issue implementation regulations for it.

Article 64

(1) This resolution goes into effect on 1 January 1983.

(2) At the same time, the resolution of the State Council of the GDR of 4 October 1968 on the election and activity of the arbitration commissions--Arbitration Commission Order--(GBL, Part I, No 16, p 299), in the version of the 19 June 1977 law on court procedure in civil, family, and labor law matters--Civil Law Order--(GBL, Part I, No 29, p 533) and the first implementation regulation, of 7 May 1973, for the Arbitration Commission Order--Order on the Place, Tasks and Working Method of the Arbitration Commission Advisory Councils in the Kreis Court Directorates and Bezirk Court Presidiums (Advisory Council Order)--(GBL, Part I, No 29, p 288) is rescinded.

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CSO: 2300/242

NAVY'S TIES WITH CIVILIAN SPONSORS SEEN 'MUTUALLY INFLUENTIAL'

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Apr 82 p 13

[Article by Vice Admiral Guenter Kutzschebauch, deputy commander, People's Navy; chief, Political Administration: "Traditions of Our National People's Army: Sailors and Their Sponsors From Cities and Enterprises"]

> [Text] Guenter Kutzschebauch is 51 years old and an agricultural worker by profession. From 1947 on he was secretary of the FDJ district office in Marienberg and voluntarily entered the People's Police in See in 1950. He graduated from military and political educational institutions in the GDR and in the USSR. In his career as a political officer he was deputy commander for political matters on a ship, director of the political department of a torpedo speedboat brigade and director of the political department of a flotilla. He has been deputy commander of the GDR's People's Navy and chief, Political Administration since 1974.

A meeting of the city assemblymen is taking place in Grimmen. Among those present is a delegation from the assault ship of the People's Navy which bears the name of this Mecklenburg district capital. The council reports on the fulfillment of economic and communal tasks. And the delegation reports on the ship's crew's accomplishment of its military mission of securing the workers' and peasants' power.

This example is not an exception. In Berlin or Rostock, Riesa or Kyritz, Soemmerda or Anklam--in all cities which have given their names to ships of the People's Navy, this form of public reporting is an established part of the sponsorship between ships' crews and the population of those cities. The close relationship between the citizens of our country and its sailors has been obligatory for more than two decades of Navy life.

Proclamation by the "Schwerin"

In late 1961, the crew of MLR ship "Schwerin" proclaimed its intention to follow the example of the workers of the Elektrokohle Berlin state enterprise and its production effort after 13 August and to enter into competition for

the title of "Best Ship," as well as to conclude a friendship agreement with its sponsoring city. This was imitated widely. Almost every ship's crew concluded partnership agreements at that time. Then and now these sponsorships have great influence upon the optimum accomplishment of the military mission by the military collectives.

The crews of modern combat vessels consist mostly of young specialists who after graduation from schools had been working in a great variety of industrial enterprises. That is the reason why they easily find common ground with the citizens of the sponsoring cities during visits to enterprises, discussions with the workers or military-political seminars in secondary schools. During such meetings our sailors are also aware to what extent the thought of defense readiness is rooted in our people, because many workers contribute to the strengthening of our national defense in combat groups, civil defense, reservists' collectives, the FDJ recruiting collectives or the Society for Sport and Technology organizations. This also becomes evident through the interest and knowledge with which sponsor city representatives follow the reports during shipboard visits on how the crews accomplish their military mission and how they managed to acquire modern technical skills in minimum time.

It has long been a common occurrence in many a city, even in those distant from the coastline, to see delegations of sailors participating in political marches, in fairs, and in discussions in enterprises and schools. A part of the established method is also the maintenance of direct relationships within the framework of the sponsorship of individual military units with specific enterprises; e.g., with the Cottbus automobile maintenance shop, with a brigade in a Schwedt department store, with the Eberswalde slaughter and processing plant, or with student groups in Neubrandenburg.

The mayor of Rostock regularly receives visits by a delegation from "his" coast guard ship, which he briefs on developments in the district capital. This year officers have served and are serving in "their" cities as speakers at youth consecrations, such as in Schwedt, Grimmen and Hagenow.

Common Motives

Close relations with workers in cities and in the country are not restricted to contacts with cities as such. Among the honorifics which are awarded by the minister for national defense to ships, units and posts are also the names of revolutionary fighters of the working class. The People's Navy has for instance the missile speedboats "Albin Koebis" and "Max Reichpietsch," the officer academy "Karl Liebknecht," the naval school "Walter Steffens" and the torpedo speedboat unit "Fritz Globig."

The names of these role models are also borne by polytechnic institutes, brigades in enterprises and 100-men units of battle groups, with which equally close relationships were established. The "Walter Steffens" naval school for instance has close contact with an FDJ organization in the Ministry for Export Trade, with the 34th Polytechnic Institute in Stralsund, with a unit of the Society for Sport and Technology (GST) and with a GST 100-man unit

of the same name. Similar bonds tie the "Fritz Globig" troop unit to sponsor organizations in the districts.

Once every year there is a meeting of the bodies bearing the same honorary designation, during which there is an exchange of experiences and knowledge in traditional research and of results in the indoctrination of socialism. This gives rise to the formulation of political motives designed to expend one's best efforts at work and in the military assignment toward the strengthening and the protection of the republic.

The closer the relationships between sailors and workers, the more effective becomes this mutual influence. That is why increasing breadth and significance are acquired by contacts between military members and their former work collectives, enterprises, place of birth, sponsoring city, FDJ and GST organizations, and vice versa. Use is also made of the opportunity to write letters to the former workers' collective, parents and relatives, informing them of the manner in which their colleague, husband or fiance accomplishes his honorable task.

In his recent speech before the parliamentary people's chamber on the establishment of the military service law, General of the Army Heinz Hoffman had this to say: "These close ties contribute to strengthening the unity of the people and the army."

Performance Competition

Every year there are also in our country countless meetings between members of the NVA and those of the Soviet Army. The Brotherhood in Arms Week also provides an opportunity for our citizens for thousands of encounters with their soldiers.

"Their soldiers"--this includes not only the members of the NVA; it includes to the same extent the brothers in arms from the countries of the socialist defense coalition. Just recently, the Kotte unit was host to ships of the Baltic fleet and of the Polish Navy. Along with the crews of the People's Navy, the brothers in arms also demonstrated their proficiency in military performance competitions, in sports and cultural competitions. The workers of the GDR consider all of them--as was also the case in maneuvers--to be "their soldiers," who together and with high motivation serve the cause of protecting peace and socialism.

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PEACE MOVEMENT IN EAST, WEST CONTRASTED

FRG Representative's View

Bonn VORWAERTS in German 1 Apr 82 p 15

[Article by Guenter Gaus, FRG representative in the GDR: "Peace Is Not Divisible--The Peace Movement in the GDR Has the Tenacity of a Lone Wolf," A translation of the interview with Stephan Hermlin cited below follows this article]

> [Text] The peace movement in the GDR is characteristically close to the hearts of those who have a few good words to say about the peace movement in the FRG. Guenter Gaus, veteran representative of the Federal Republic in the GDR responds to the question: Why is there no peace movement in the GDR and in other socialist countries as there is in West Germany? He and Stephan Hermlin, who last December issued invitations to an East-West writers conference in East Berlin, point out the commonalities and the contrasts between the peace movements of the East and the West.

Are we really certain that there is no peace movement in the GDR and in other socialist countries? Reports have been coming from the GDR for some time now, that a pastor has written letters and gathered signatures or that some young people have been demanding a form of civilian alternative to compulsory service in the National People's Army.

Not all of these reports agree with each other; often they have been blown up out of all proportion. This is a matter of concern especially for those among us who have little good to say about the peace movement in their own country. Yet whenever there are even hints of a visible departure from the state and societal norms "over there" where there is little room for tolerance of peace movements as we know them--then these same people who claim to see a communist underground movement at work in such demonstrations as the one at the Bonn Hofgarten--demonstrate their most heartfelt sympathy. For then they can shift their opposition "over there" and by so doing feed their illusions. What is written in bigger headlines here than is really the case, almost always redounds to the personal cost of those affected in the GDR: after all, sacrifices have to be made.

Totally schizophrenic--almost a plague when it concerns the reality of issues in the GDR--is the response of those among us in this connection; as soon as peace appeals from their fellow-countrymen in the GDR are spelled out in detail, which on this side of the Elbe are an offense against the dominant NATO doctrine, but on the other side of the East-West German frontier river are a rebellion against the military plans of the Warsaw Pact.

Robert Havemann, with his most recent statements on disarmament, has become the convenient target of such two-faced commentary in the Federal Republic. Keep in mind (to really understand our country): what Havemann has been saying to the satisfaction of us in the FRG is forbidden to Eppler; and even Havemann can only say it as long as the communists have the last word in the GDR, because only so long as that is the case is he even a slightly useful man for our purposes.

It if were not so sad, it would be cause for laughter namely at the fact that even over here the ideological superstructure has debased the facts. Except that we come off poorer than the system of the other German state, because our superstructure ought, according to its definition, find its justification in placing a higher value on objectivity than on bias.

Why am I dealing with a peripheral issue? Because it is not really peripheral. Because on our side of the military border between the two defined military blocks--this border being identical with the East-West German border mainly as a result of our guilt and primarily to our misfortune--we have to be constantly aware of how much fast and loose talk is being expended on the peace movement on both sides; and on our side this is often more cleverly spun out such that one does not notice it at first glance. Thus we must always be mindful of what commentary Havemann finds and what Eppler finds among us when both propose the same thing.

Is there possibly some hint in the question of why there is (purportedly) no peace movement in the Warsaw Pact states of the seed of Western arrogance that may have been planted by a propaganda which, while it does not esteem the peace movement in its own country, would count the lack of such activity "over there" as a plus point for our side?

There is very definitely a peace movement in the GDR, which is hurt by deliberate exaggeration of its existence on the part of certain political forces, though it is not about to lie down and die. It has the tenacity of a lone wolf in a harsh environment; it is not endangered by the resigned sobriety that takes over many of its Western supporters after the fervor of a mass demonstration has flown--and peace is no certainty of victory but rather a day-to-day political committment.

The socialist states do have their peace movements, unless one is not prepared to recognize them when their members number fewer than in the hundreds of thousands. I would add this: as far as I can judge the lone wolves in the GDR, they do not wish to exchange the doctrine of the Warsaw Pact for that of NATO. We are not talking about people with conveniently comparable convictions.

On one point, of course, the question is correctly posed. By the nature of the system in Eastern Europe there cannot be any spontaneous mass movement as with a European peace campaign. One thing should be learned in the West from this fact--the peace movement--if it is to be at all effective against the "political machines" in the West and in the East--cannot base its success solely upon a rank-and-file mentality. It will have to take account of the realities of both systems in its plans and actions, or else it will vanish like so many other exuberant and illusionary campaigns before it.

The now prohibited emblem of the peace movement in the GDR--Swords Into Plowshares

GDR Writer's Comments

Bonn VORWAERTS in German 1 Apr 82 p 15

[Interview with Stephan Hermlin, member, GDR Writers Union; by Heribert Schwan, co-author with Werner Filmer of the book, "Was heisst fuer mich Frieden?" (What Does Peace Mean to Me?), containing among other things Guenter Gaus's article translated above as well as this interview (date and place not indicated); published by Stalling, Oldenburg, 1982; 269 pages, DM 16.80. For references to various other articles on this and related subjects see translation of a Hamburg DER SPIEGEL article published under the heading, "Activities, Ramifications of 'Dresden Peace Forum' Reported," in JPRS 80394, 24 Mar 82, No 1992 of this series, pp 1-5]

[Text] [Question] How are you defining peace?

[Answer] You know, that's not so easy to say. It means the absolute refusal to employ violent military means in relationships with one's neighbors or with any other countries. That is the principle of peace which would have to guide policy. That means that while I can fall into sharp disagreements with my neighbors on specific questions and so on, we must both live in the absolute certainty that such disagreements will never take on the form of warlike action.

[Question] To create peace without weapons?

[Answer] Yes, I believe that this phrase, that this idea, is certainly worth discussion and that it should be taken very seriously. I am firmly convinced that we will have to begin by discussing these ideas, these proposals which can lead to peace with each other and to take serious thought to all of them, for no one can say that he has a plan that is dead certain. There are so enormously many problems that we have to deal with that we will have to think through all of these things with each other.

[Question] The fear of nuclear death you probably see having its origin in the GDR not just from the planned stationing of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe but just as much from the already installed Soviet SS-20's?

[Answer] Of course a population is afraid of a nuclear confrontation and of course it knows that even a nonaggressively intended stationing of nuclear weapons is automatically going to draw the nuclear weapons of its opponent and the danger arises from this whole concatenation of circumstances and it's clear that any population is not going to be gazing just in one direction when it is concerned.

[Question] Your country's government has shown its respect for the peace movement in the West. Such peace initiatives are not tolerated in the GDR. How do you explain this contradiction?

[Answer] I wouldn't say that they are not tolerated. The situation is this: no one would have thought it possible that a meeting like that of the writers and scientists in East Berlin could have come to pass. Even a few months ago, everyone would have said the idea was absurd. It can't come to pass. For the meeting of 100 people actually took place in full view of the public. That means that the entire television network, the entire press was able to witness it from the first moment to the last. And this took place on the soil of the GDR. Many demonstrations for peace are taking place in the GDR, have taken place in the past and I don't see why peace initiatives shouldn't be possible among us. They are definitely possible. I know, for example, how many peace initiatives are taking place not within the framework of political organizations but also, for example, within the churches.

[Question] What's your personal opinion of the statement: peace must bear arms, as formulated by the SED?

[Answer] That's a statement that may once have been valid in, I want to emphasize, in earlier times. Today, in my opinion, it has become absurd.

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MARSHAL RANK CREATED FOR ARMED FORCES

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 16, 19 Apr 82 pp 138-139

[Unattributed article: "Titles: Lazy Fools"]

> [Text] The GDR's National People's Army wants to upgrade its image also as being the number one fighting force of the Warsaw Pact after the Soviets: it is creating the bombastic rank and title of a marshal.

For the past 21 years there has been no more room for additional stars on the gold-embroidered epaulets of the GDR's minister for national defense. Ever since Heinz Hoffmann was promoted to the rank of army general by Walter Ulbricht in 1961, he has held his chest ready.

It was gradually decorated with the USSR's Order of the Red Flag, with the gold battle order "For Merit for the People and the Fatherland," the gold Fatherland Order of Merit, the Karl-Marx-Order, and the Order of the Patriotic War, First Class. Somewhere in there is the Scharnhorst Order, named for the creator of the Prussian People's Army.

But General Gerhard Johann David von Scharnhorst would not have dared to unleash the Spanish civil war veteran and "Hero of the GDR" against Napoleon on the battlefields of Jena or Auerstedt. The Prussian army reformer was always against promoting officers by seniority, only because they were getting older.

Age, according to Scharnhorst, must not constitute an entitlement to higher rank in the army, because this would result in "bypassing active, alert, ambitious men, whose spirit is threatening to consume their bodies--and would, with few exceptions, place lazy, phlegmatic fools at the top."

Scharnhorst's warning, coming from a man who is otherwise presented as a role model by the GDR leadership to its soldiers, is ignored by the SED--instead of being pensioned off, the 71-year old Hoffmann is to be promoted to "Marshal of the GDR."

The Unity Socialists, who started out as antifascists and antimilitarists, are continuing a tradition which was last practiced in Germany by Adolf Hitler.

The latter handed out marshal's batons like pea soup. Military officers had been disadvantaged long enough: since the "forward marshal," Gebhardt Leberecht Prince Bluecher, there had been only a few field marshals in the Prussian Germany during peacetime; among them were War Minister Roon, Boxer Rebellion fighter Waldersee and Count Schlieffen.

Wartime Marshal Hindenburg still promoted to that rank the Fuehrer's first Reich Minister of War Werner von Blomberg, who in 1936 became Hitler's first general field marshal. As a reward for the invasion of France Hitler then handed out marshal's batons to 12 of his generals on 19 July 1940. After the end of the war, Erich von Manstein, who had himself been promoted to general field marshal, criticized the overly generous flood of stars as follows: "When Hitler, in addition to an admiral of the fleet, appointed 12 field marshals in one fell swoop, this could only cheapen the value of that title which until then had been considered the highest honor in Germany."

By the end of the war Hitler had used up 26 general field marshals and grand admirals, not counting the vain Reich Marshal Hermann Goering, who with his fruit-salad-covered fantasy uniforms made all other officers look like civilians in flaming gray.

There will not of course be that many in the GDR. In last week's decision by the council of state, it was stated that the top rank should be awarded "in a war situation or for extraordinary performance." For the time being, Hoffmann is the only candidate. He would become the first German marshal since Robert Ritter von Greim, who was still decorated with marshal's insignia by Hitler on 26 April 1945.

This would of course not constitute a precedent for the National People's Army. The latter prefers to think in this connection of a traitor to Lenin's revolution: Josef Stalin, who at the end of the war created himself the "Generalissimo of the USSR," the only one to this day.

In 1935 Stalin reintroduced officers' and noncoms' ranks in the Red Army, which had been abolished during the revolution. He placed five marshals of the Soviet Union at its head; three of them, including First Deputy Minister of Defense Mikhail Tukhachevsky, he had shot 2 years later during the great housecleaning.

Those who survived were compensated by Stalin in 1940 with glittering monstrosities--five-pointed gold stars which would have been the envy even of the ostentatious Goering.

This is how the Soviet party newspaper described the jewelry, which is worn on the necktie: "Between the points of the star there are five diamonds weighing a total of 3.06 carats; between them is a five-pointed platinum star with diamonds. In the center is a 2.62 carat diamond and on the center rays another 25 diamonds weighing a total of 1.25 carats. The gold star has a diameter of 44.5 millimeters and the platinum star, 23 millimeters.

At present eight marshals of the Soviet Union are wearing the jewels, as well as Leonid Brezhnev and Minister of Defense Dmitri Ustinov; further, 12 air marshals and two air chief marshals; two tank and four artillery marshals; two engineer marshals and one signal corps marshal; four fleet admirals, Fleet Admiral of the Soviet Union Gorshkov and two dozen army generals.

When Hoffmann becomes Marshal of the GDR, he will have to start by removing some stars; the four small general's stars on his epaulets will probably be replaced by one big marshal's star.

A similar rank insignia, two crossed marshal's batons on the uniform coat, are worn within the Warsaw Pact since 1945 by only one other oldster: 91-year old Marshal of Poland Michal Rola-Zymierski. The Bulgarians and Romanians, who know the marshal's rank also, no longer make use of it.

Thus the National People's Army is upgrading itself to be the first of the fraternal armies after the Soviet Army in a visual sense too. The SED leadership is not only trying to do something about the lack of promotion opportunity in the top military grades, but also to give its veterans a new career incentive--just like the 18th French Louis, who on 8 August 1819 said to the officer cadets at Saint-Cyr: "Always remember that every one of you carries the marshal's baton in his ammunition pouch. It is up to you to bring it out."

When in the 17th century the French Army had several marshals on its rolls, the baton was awarded to the commander-in-chief as his sign of authority. This motivated his envious rivals not to rest until they could all parade around with the decorative little stick.

At present the modern Western armies are still suffering deprivation in this respect: within NATO, only the French force de frappe provides for marshal's rank--on paper. The last Marshal of France, Alphonse Juin, died in Paris in 1967 at the age of almost 79.

The rank of general of the army, the equivalent of field marshal, can be attained by British or U.S. officers; but in those armies such billets have not been filled since Bernard Montgomery, the Korean war's Douglas McArthur and the last five-star U.S. General Omar Bradley.

The Bundeswehr wants to remain modest in this respect also: there will be no Federal Marshal. The military men on the Hardthoehe are ridiculing the fact that the workers' and peasants' state is going to reintroduce this bombastic title. Says one senior officer: "As long as it's good for combat effectiveness..."

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CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES OF MARRIAGE FAILURES IN GDR ANALYZED

East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 20 Feb, 13 Mar 82

[Two-part "Woman, Family, Society" feature report by Gudrun Skulski on a conversation with Dr Jutta Gysi, head, "Woman and Family" research group, Institute for Sociology and Social Policy, GDR Academy of Sciences: Part I: [20 Feb 82 p 8] "Equal Rights in the Family--The Claim to Happiness and Divorce in the Context of Social Processes; Part II [13 Mar 82, p 8] "The Basis of a Marriage--Partnership Also Requires Outside Inducements"]

[20 Feb 82 p 8 Part I]

[Text] Solemn music, dignified words that speak of love, of mutual understanding and trust, and of affection--may it last a lifetime. A "yes" confirms the alliance. Rings are exchanged as a symbol of the new union. Hopes, wishes and expectations accompany the start together of two young people. Will they be fulfilled? How will the two handle the daily problems? Will their love stand up to the stresses of occupation, household, marriage and family? Will they find the happiness that they dreamed of? Those are the thoughts of parents and older people sitting with them at the wedding table.

As we know, this unencumbered happiness does not last for everyone and is also not constant, says Dr Jutta Gysi, head of the research group "Family and Society" at the Institute for Sociology and Social Policy of the GDR Academy of Sciences. Very soon the young people notice that everyday life provides many problems, along with large and small difficulties requiring decisions. That is perfectly normal, for education, occupation, household and family obligations, acquisitions, free-time interests and the hunger for experiences can only rarely be reconciled immediately without friction. Considering that these daily problems are a part of life, if the firm resolve and ability are present to solve them together and in a friendly manner, then the future of the marriage will surely not be shaken. On the contrary, solving such problems together can strengthen compatibility. But often young people in particular do not feel adequate to the higher demands and responsibilities resulting from their life together. Suddenly they perceive both daily and unusual problems as unsolvable. Sometimes the congratulations have barely died away when some of them, hopes and expectations dashed, stand before the judge in order to correct their "error."

Since, however, marriage and family conflicts also affect other married people, even those considerably older, it is understandable that divorce is often discussed in our country. In essence, every divorce is also a family separation

which perceptibly affects the lives of those involved and touches their joy of living, their expectations for happiness and the further course of their lives. Not just the marriage partners themselves and their children, relatives and friends suffer but also the society, which in turn has to bear a good portion of the consequences, because new demands result for housing, along with a greater social contribution in the education of the children and the support of single parents, effects on work satisfaction and productivity, and other factors, says Dr Jutta Gysi.

For this reason it is important and necessary to be involved with the causes of divorce and with the question why certain problems lead to divorce in some marriages, whereas obviously for a much larger portion of marriages the same or similar conflicts can be resolved. That is no easy task, explains Dr Gysi, because we--and other countries as well--know too little about such causes. One can assume that the reasons given by the "divorce candidates" and considered by the court are often only the symptoms of the causes for marriage failures, and the actual origins are very much deeper and more complex. Many of these reasons and circumstances have to do with the tremendous changes in the socialist society and are an expression of the vitality and the tempo of the social processes taking place in our society.

Socialism has freed marriage and family from economic and moral constraints, and has created all of the prerequisites for the development of the inner values and traits in this area of life. Equality of rights for women in the society and family, love and affection as the exclusive motivation for marriage, harmonious companionship, the desire to have children, and social security are all an eloquent expression of the enormous social upheavals that we experience and live daily. This exalted position enjoyed by partnership, marriage and family also creates the wants and demands that husband and wife, parents and children place on living together. Possibilities for social development, high expectations for personal development and the requirements of the society on each individual go hand in hand with equally high expectations on the partner and on the marriage.

Unfortunately, all too often the expectations are exaggerated, that is, unreasonable, based on the fallacy that social success standards must also be applied to marriage and family without differentiation, declares Dr Jutta Gysi. Thus, we often forget that marriage and family are special and cannot be measured with the same criteria as other collectives and associations. In a social sense, marriage and family are considerably less accessible areas of life. Not only do they give a person a great deal of freedom of choice and latitude for creativity, but they also demand a certain amount of self-responsibility that no other person and no social organization can take away from him. Because of this relative isolation, self-reliance and intimacy thrive better in marriage and the family, as is true of in many ways very stubborn conventional moral perceptions, traditions and views from many thousands of years development in this area of life. As everyone knows, that is especially true for the relationship between the sexes, that is, traditional role concepts that are passed on to the children--generally unconsciously and unintentionally.

This explains the widespread view that equality for women in the family "is not keeping pace" with equality in employment. Especially the younger generation must be made aware of these problems, so that it will be prepared to deal with them, although under no circumstances should the necessity of divorce be doubted, explains Dr Jutta Gysi. A ruined marriage that has lost its meaning for the marriage partners and the children, and thus for society as well, should be ended if the partners want to separate. A simple and inexpensive divorce, compared with bourgeois family law, is an accomplishment of socialism, and a high divorce rate can also indicate that the society and its citizens place great value on harmonious and happy relationships in marriage and family.

[13 Mar 82 p 8 Part II]

> [Text] The unencumbered happiness of the wedding day does not last a lifetime, and the marriage is threatened by ma y minor storms. Our colleague Gudrun Skulski spoke with the head of the research group "Woman and Family" of the Institute for Sociology and Social Policy of the GDR Academy of Sciences, Dr Jutta Gysi, on the preconditions for marriage stability. The following is a continuation of the article "Equal Rights in the Family," which we published 20 February 1982.

But what is it that assures the continuation of a marriage? Is it the children, common interests, geniality in the home, sexual compatibility, mutual friends? Of course there is no single formula for all marriages. For that, people are much too different in their needs, values, characters and demands. What is important for one person may carry no weight at all for another. The question is especially difficult to answer because involved is a partnership which evolves and where both husband and wife expect it to fulfill the wants, expectations and demands for happiness that both place on the marriage, says Dr Jutta Gysi.

The problem of marriage stability begins with the selection of the right marriage partner who has identical or similar views on marriage and family and life. The widepsread belief that a poor choice of partner leads to marriage failure cannot, therefore, be dismissed lightly, provided that the argument is not actually concealing one's own failure. Children, common interests, sexual compatibility and a certin harmony in basic character and temperament definitely are exceptionally favorable factors for the continuation of a marriage. But since this partnership is also dependent upon impulses from outside, and the formerly valid motto for marriage "a cozy home makes for happiness" is no longer enough, an interesting and stimulating job, the receptivity of the marriage partners to political and social matters, and steady contact with mutual friends are also very important.

The most important conditions for the permanence and development of a marriage, however, are to be found in the actual moral values and attitudes existing in and practiced by the marriage partners. That is valid for equality of rights

and comradeship, for mutual decisions in all matters of living together, for an atmosphere of understanding, for mutual respect, responsibility for one another, participation in success, but also for sensitivity to the other's problems, as well as for a mutually satisfactory division of household duties and a sharing of free time by parents and children. These values, in turn, are decisively related to the continuation of love, which itself changes or develops in the course of the individual phases of marriage. If the married couple is able to preserve their love and affection, then they will have stablished a stable foundation for the will, capacity and involvement of the marriage partners in trying to make the marriage last. This effort should occasionally also include adding something new to the mundane and unfortunately often monotonous daily life in order to avoid the routine and uniform patterns of marriage.

In preparing young persons for love, marriage and family, for whose social realization much still remains to be done, it is important to begin as early as possible with the training of attitudes and behavior toward the opposite sex. It is especially important for young persons to learn cooperative thinking and to make the leap from I to you to we, to be ready to support the other person, and to organize and master life for him and with him, says Dr Jutta Gysi. Prior to marriage young people are often not sure what tasks and problems they will face. Therefore, they must be prepared for them in time. The social educational process from the crib to marriage, and preferably beyond that, must include the practicing of cooperative behavior as an element in the general norms of human behavior. Naturally, abilities and skills must be learned and practical knowledge must be taught. That cannot be the task of the school system alone, but it does bear a large responsibility there.

For years, marriage, family and sexual counseling services have been effective in helping to solve marriage problems, although as a rule they cannot make fundamental corrections to defective partnerships. Mainly they help in very special conflicts, and are successful when the marriage partners are prepared to fight to save the marriage.

From our point of view, we would like to add to these statements by scientist Dr Jutta Gysi by saying that in addition to the mentioned commitments, for Christian married couples the common faith and the resulting ethical views on the life of two people together determine the atmosphere in the marriage bond. They form a significant basis for seeing that harmony and friendliness and love for one's fellow man set the tone in the family.

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'TARSADALMI SZEMLE' ANALYZES POSITION, PROBLEMS OF PZPR

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 4, Apr 82 pp 76-77

[Article by Istvan Pataki, political colleague of the MSZMP CC]

[Excerpts] The PZPR faces monumental tasks in attempting to fulfill its leading role in the process of socialist evolution. It is hardly debatable that the party suffered painful losses over the past decade, especially during social movements following the summer of 1980. Voluntarism and subjectivism manifest in the party's policy weakened its relations with the working class. The prestige of the party, its credibility, were shaken. This was aggravated further by the constant psychological and moral attacks following the coastal agreements. Despite these painful losses, the organization framework of the party was maintained; the 16 months of acute political struggle toughened the party activists.

The leading role of the PZPR is inseparable from the 35 years of Poland's socialist development. Although errors and distortions could not be avoided, the Polish people under the leadership of the party and communists mastered the situation and established modern large industry which resulted in fundamental changes in living conditions. The heritage is a firm support and the party must make use of the experiences gained from the past.

The immediate task of the party is to lead the country out of social-economic crisis. Consolidation of the party's position and earliest possible reestablishment of unity of action are essential to the achievement of this goal. This is the fundamental question insofar as the socialist evolution of Poland is concerned. The party must provide Marxist-Leninist answers to the basic questions facing society; it must construct a political platform for evolution and reestablish party unity; it must fight with deeds for the accomplishment of the foregoing. Over the past 3 months, the activity of the party organization has increased and become more pronounced; they have taken greater initiative in determining local tasks in socialist evolution. There is ever-growing response to the words of Jarzulski: "Revolutionariness is measured by deed, not words." The party is beginning to be cleansed of elements who cannot or will not meet the new requirements. However, evolution and its rate is made more difficult and slow by numerous factors. To list a few: The performance capability of the Polish economy has fallen to standards below those of 5 or 6 years ago in several areas; in some, it has

fallen by as much as a decade. Western sanctions are inflicting severe damage. The rate of evolution is also held back by chronic shortage of basic materials and parts, underutilization of plant capacities, the wait-and-see attitude which reflects the lack of confidence of the peasantry. Maintenance of tension by internal and external enemy forces compound the problem as does the insistance of the United States on keeping the "Polish Question" on the agenda.

The first steps towards socialist evolution are taking place amid great struggle and intense class conflict. The internal class enemy has not laid down its arms yet; it has not surrendered in the war for achieving its goals. It is being encouraged by the extremists of international imperialism as well. Forces interested in increasing tension are bolstering and stimulating resistance to socialist consolidation by expanding economic sanctions, propaganda and attempts at international isolation of Poland.

The support of the Soviet Union and the socialist community are essential external factors for the normalization of the Polish situation. The Polish communists can lean on the support of the socialist community, on its multilateral political, economic and moral support. To the extent of its strength and opportunities, our country and the MSZMP have undertaken to participate in this. The mutual goals of building socialism, the traditional friendly cooperation between our two countries provide a favorable opportunity for expanding our international relations. Poland has set off on the path of socialist evolution, but it is the beginning of a long road full of struggle. We trust that, under the leadership of an organizationally and ideologically unified party and in concert with a unified front, the Polish communists and the patriotic forces will be able to use the opportunity for development and provide new proof of the viability of socialism. The communique issued by the Polish party and government delegation at the time of its visit to Moscow expressed this attitude: "Poland has been, is and will remain a socialist country. It is a nation whose economic and political system is based on social ownership of the means of production, the power of the working class and the working people, the leading role of the PZPR."

CSO: 2500/223

ROLE OF MILITARY SCIENCE DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR TUDOMANY in Hungarian No 1, 1982 pp 31-35

[Article by Maj Gen Laszlo Damo, deputy chief of staff: "The Role of Military Science"]

[Text] Our party's 12th Congress stated "we shall strengthen our national defense and modernize our army in harmony with the interests of our country and in accordance with the requirements of the international situation. In addition to carrying out its basic task, the army should continue to take part in economic building work, continue its successful activity in the education of young people performing military service, and in their political, general and skill training. It is a task of the greatest importance that we strengthen our alliance, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist community, and contribute to improving the defensive strength of the Warsaw Pact."

We could hardly do justice to these manifold tasks without the understanding use of scientific results and progressive research work. By science we mean, in this case, not only one scientific branch. Military science is unable by itself to provide the necessary scientific bases and the foresight necessary in military problems. We must rely on a whole series of sciences. Therefore, we must take into account all those scientific branches which deal in some respect with warfare and the army. First of all, we include here the component parts of Marxism-Leninism: dialectic and historical materialism, scientific socialism and political economics, which together express the teachings of Marxism-Leninism related to warfare and the army. We must also take into account those branches of social, natural, medical and technical sciences which with their subject matter are already present in military science or which must appear.

The above-mentioned branches of science touch on many problems of military affairs, but not on armed conflict, which is the main specific of war. The study of this complicated social phenomenon is the task of military science.

War is an extension of policy by other (forceful) means. It derives from this maxim that the study of war, of problems of armed conflict, its principles and methods is a science with a class base. In our era, therefore, there are basically two kinds of military science: socialist and bourgeois.

Socialist military science serves to defend the achievements and peace of socialism, and bourgeois military science serves the aggressive goals of imperialism.

In the Warsaw Pact countries, the world outlook and methodological system of knowledge related to warfare and the army is Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, we must regard the military science of these countries not simply as socialist but as Marxist-Leninist. The main content of this science is represented by Soviet military science, but it also is an alloy of experiences reflecting the national characteristics of the individual socialist countries.

Marxist-Leninist military science seeks to give answers to three large, basic groups of questions. These are the following:

--what kinds of war can erupt in our times, and what kinds of laws may be realized in them;

--how should we prepare the armed forces and the country for the defense of socialism in order to ward off a possible act of aggression; and

--how can war as a whole and military activities themselves be successfully waged.

The theory of military science which forms the seed of Marxist-Leninist military science is called on to answer the last of the three questions.

The theory of military science embraces four large areas:

--theory of strategy,

--theory of military operations,

--theory of tactics, and

--theory of military leadership.

The theory of strategy must be emphasized above the other areas of military science because the principles worked out in this field serve as a guide for the general theory of military science, the theory of building up armed forces, the theory of military training and education, the theory of war economy and military management, which are called on to shed light on various specialized areas. (The history of military science and the history of armed forces provide theoretical and procedural bases for a historical approach to military science research.)

Particularly in recent years, discipline in questions related to the theory of military science has increased significantly. The causes may be summarized as follows:

1. After World War II, particularly beginning in the 1950's, a profound quality change occurred in military affairs. These changes were basically

expressed in the fact that most of the armies in the world were equipped with missiles and atomic weapons and other modern weapons. The atomic weapon set off a revolution in military affairs, the nature of military activity, the organization of armies, and the method of training and education also changed.

2. In many areas of life, but particularly in the ideological, the struggle between imperialism and socialism became more intense. To destabilize the military equilibrium and to acquire world superiority, the most reactionary imperialist circles made anticommunism and anti-Sovietism the basis of their policy. They would like to strengthen their positions in all areas of the world.

Under such circumstances, of course, we must do everything we can in order that the whole socialist camp, particularly the member states of the Warsaw Pact, have the defense preparedness which can repel any ideological diversion and any kind of attempt by the aggressors in a powerful way, and if necessary by arms. This circumstance also guides the research work of Marxist-Leninist military science.

The theory of strategy interprets modern war as follows: if it is erupted by the imperialists, it will result in the decisive conflict of the two opposing world systems. Coalition armed forces numbering millions would take part in such a war. The conflict would be on an immense scale into which the socialist states would cast all their military, economic and moral-political strength in order to disperse and annihilate the aggressor for once and all.

In such a war, strategic operations, in any theater whatsoever, can be carried out to their conclusion only with the combined activity of all types of military forces. Therefore, it is of decisive importance to approach the building up and preparation of the armed forces, the training and education of personnel from a unified viewpoint, from the viewpoint of an alliance system. The theory of strategy attributes great importance to the combat preparedness of the armed forces and to combat capability.

The central problems of the theory of military operations is to work out problems regarding both combined and independently conducted operations and activities by the various types of armed forces. Success in battle depends more and more on the coordination of firepower, striking power and maneuverability.

The theory of military leadership--proceeding from the fact that in recent years there has been a radical change in troop combat personnel, their equipment, fire and striking power, maneuverability, the firing and guidance systems based on high-level electronics--indicates that under such circumstances only those leaders are capable of leading effectively who have a high level education, up-to-date knowledge, continuously become familiar with the new results of military science, know the enemy well and the battle procedures of their troops, and are able to use military techniques, weapons, and knowledge in actual practice.

The various general staff organizations, as apparatuses of leadership, have a large role. Systems theory, computer technology, and the application of the most modern means of automation, telecommunications and data transmitting means are being given a greater and greater role in the work of the staffs.

An indispensable condition of leadership processes is multichannel, coded communications built on the combined use of all instruments and types.

The accompanying outline portrays the structure of Marxist-Leninist military science and adjoining areas.

Given the conditions of a tense class war between the socialist and capitalist world system, the imperialists are seeking to sharpen tensions and to acquire a military technological superiority as regards the forces of peace and social progress. In order that the weapons and equipment of the armies of the socialist community not lag behind the technology of the armies of the imperial states, we make maximum use of the most recent achievements of the civil sciences (natural, technical and social sciences) to increase the strength of the Warsaw Pact. In our army we see the task of the military scientists and the managers of research in mutually strengthening our relations with the domestic scientific organs, and in assuring the full use of the most recent discoveries (principles, methods, techniques) in developing military theory and practice. With all this, the theory of military science will be enriched, the defense organization of our military community will be strengthened, and our army will also become more suitable for fulfilling at a higher level the mission conceived at the 12th Congress.

The Structure of Marxist-Leninist Military Science
and the Adjoining Scientific Areas

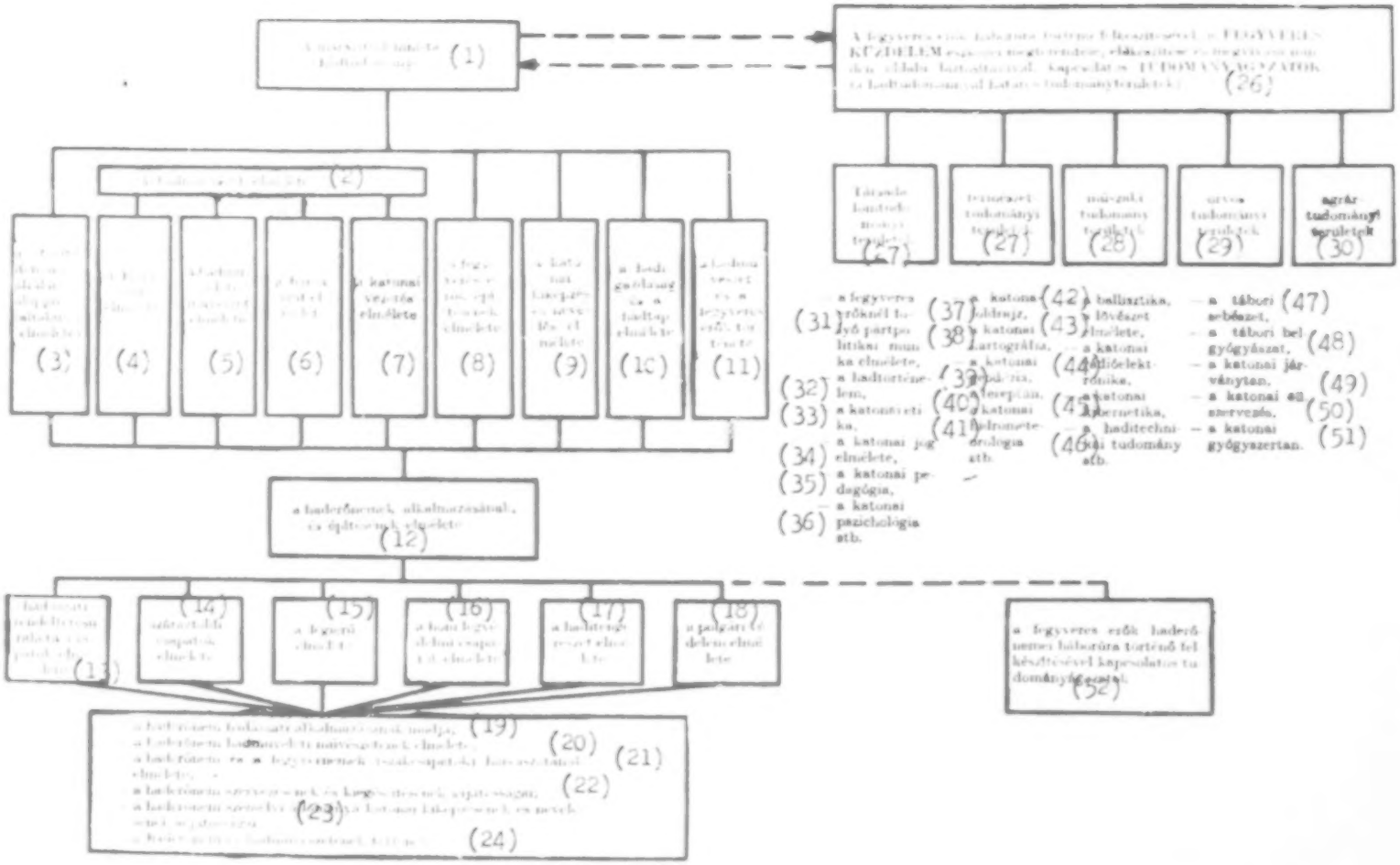

[Key on following page]

Key:

1. Marxist-Leninist military science
2. theory of military science
3. general foundations of military science (general theory)
4. theory of strategy
5. theory of military operations
6. theory of tactics
7. theory of military leadership
8. theory of building up armed forces
9. theory of military training and education
10. theory of war economy and war provisions
11. history of military science and the armed forces
12. theory of using and building the types of armed forces
13. theory of strategic missile troops
14. theory of land forces
15. theory of the air force
16. theory of air defense troops
17. theory of naval warfare
18. theory of civilian defense
19. method of strategically using armed force types
20. theory of military operations of an armed force type
21. tactical theory of armed force types and weapons types
22. characteristics of the organization and supplementation of armed force types
23. characteristics of military training and education of personnel in armed force types
24. history of armed force types and of military science
25. scientific branches related to preparing armed forces for war and the manysided assurance of creating, preparing and achieving the means of armed conflict (scientific areas adjoining military science)
26. social science areas
27. natural science areas
28. technical science areas
29. medical science areas
30. agroscience areas
31. theory of party political work in armed forces
32. military history
33. military ethics
34. theory of military law
35. military pedagogy
36. military psychology, etc.
37. military geography
38. military cartography
39. military geodesy
40. topography
41. military hydrometerology, etc.
42. ballistics
43. theory of gunner
44. military radioelectronics
45. military cybernetics
46. military technological science, etc.
47. military surgery
48. camp internal pathology
49. military epidemiology
50. military health service organization
51. military pharmacology
52. scientific branches related to the preparation for war by various armed force types

6691
CSO: 2500/197

MILITARY TRAINING UNDER MARTIAL LAW CONDITIONS DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 3 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by Franciszek Goral: Combat Training Under Martial Law]

[Text] The specific nature of the activity and training of troops during martial law poses considerable problems to be solved by the commanding officers, and the tasks performed are more difficult than those under normal conditions. No wonder that the majority of the commanding officers, having in mind their responsibility during this demanding period, is urging their superiors to make timely decisions concerning training and to transmit those to the responsible officers in the specified time, together with the organizational planning instructions.

Considering the principles of rational action, before the implementation of each task the specific training aims have to be clearly defined, aims which are attainable under given conditions. Movement of a subunit from one area to another, along a road or a street, along a clearing in the woods and in the wilderness gives drivers a chance to master their driving skills, and the commanding officers can gain the ability to work with the communication equipment and to lead a convoy. And for the remaining personnel it is an excellent lesson on conducting observations.

Long distance relocation of troops under difficult winter conditions provides much data on the endurance of the personnel and equipment, on how to organize rest breaks and provide technical assistance, on the possibility of maintaining marching speed stipulated by the tactical standards and performed by a homogenous convoy, composed of different kinds of vehicles. It is a rich testing range for technicians and tacticians, as well as for quartermasters and health services.

The stationing of troops in the concentration areas should release much inventiveness on the part of the commanding officers of all levels and the staff officers in organizing the preparing the 24 hour rest, while strictly observing security measures concerning the personnel and the equipment. The chief areas of activity are troop camouflaging, building of trenches and air attack shelters, organizing duty shifts and chemical and fire

protection shifts, conducting repairs under field conditions, and organizing rest periods for the squads and crews not engaged in combat work and assignments. The general principles of troop activity in the concentration areas are defined by the combat regulations, but each new situation creates considerably more possibilities of use of different ways of performing these tasks.

Each soldier, squad, crew or service detail should know the principles of activity at his assigned combat position. If this has not been taught earlier, it should be done before a specific task is assigned. This implies a need of much broader training of soldiers; training which goes far beyond the regulation limits, but one that is necessary for efficient implementation of specific tasks. The staffs should master the ability to plan such activities. Consideration should be given to the fact that hitherto an infantry soldier, even more so an artillery soldier or a tank soldier, has not encountered such actions as blockades, protection of installations, infiltration penetration, raids, and assaults.

Residence outside of the garrison should not hinder organization of infantry, fire and artillery training, in spite of the fact that it would be often necessary to forego modern training devices the fire exercise fields are equipped with. In this case they have to be replaced by simple training aids and devices which were used successfully several decades ago. The theory and principles of fire and the knowledge of weapons would not be adversely affected by this, since these classes can be conducted with authentic weapons. The same applies to the knowledge of ammunition, use of grenades and training in target observing and indicating. If the conditions for conducting fire exercises exists in the nearby area, they should not be neglected.

Specialized training, such as chemical, engineering, communication, air defense, medical and topography, is so tightly integrated with the activity of troops in the concentration areas and with their protection and defense that in each situation appropriate training topics can be selected. To give an example: building of antiaircraft slit trenches, selecting of a position and activity following an aerial alert signal or weapons of mass destruction alert signal, identification of terrain objects, helping the wounded, etc. These problems, treated as training aims, are executed with the utilization of soldier's standard equipment and his personal weapons.

As far as the specialized topics are concerned, a selection of themes from the training programs still has to be made which is useful in any conditions, both during training in the garrison, and under field conditions. However, approval of the particular training topics can not be random, i.e., unrelated to the existing conditions and possibilities. If, therefore, mine-sweeping equipment is lacking, a crossing utilizing such equipment can not be planned, and the same exercise should be changed to a manually performed one. It is advised that the specialized topics listed in the training programs should be presented separately, and not as parts of the training packages. This makes it easier to link such classes with other topics. This comes from training with smaller groups and in limited time.

Even clearer is the situation in the area of technical training. Good training conditions are a consequence of the need to work with the equipment in order to have it fully combat ready. It is a pity, though, that there is no deeper commitment of the commanding officers in organizing of training after duty hours. The equipment crews are lacking even the simplest training elements. The need to perform a given work is not being explained, the effects of various types of negligence are not being foreseen.

Units undergoing range training and those remaining in their garrisons should limit the amount of training with combat equipment in favor of training without such equipment. An urgent need also exists to organize training of the cadre of front subunits within the framework of group exercises in the field and in the classroom, and as a form of instructional-methodological exercises. In training of draftees more emphasis should be placed on improving the qualifications of specialists and gaining the knowledge of other specialties. Inactivity of many commanding officers in this respect results from their custom of waiting for the decisions of their superiors, which arrive at the subunits very late and the contents of which differ. Three commanding officers of three different command levels who were spot-checked quoted three possible ways of interpretation of the same guidelines for a quite specific problem. One can draw widely varied conclusions from this.

While organizing training one has to control the emotions caused by martial law. The execution of tasks that are not always in the nature of preparations for continuing the classic forms of combat, cannot adversely influence the organizational structure of training, or justify its absence or the [alleged] impossibility of conducting it. It is true that the process of training under such conditions has a specific character, the most striking feature of which is that it is conducted under conditions requiring constant combat readiness of the troops and cautious action. On the part of soldiers it demands considerable straining of all their mental, moral and physical resources, causing a substantial psychological burden for them.

Elimination of various kinds of psychological stresses is the basic duty of the cadre. It is also expected to possess a high level of discipline. A subunit commanding officer cannot passively wait for action guidelines. His duty is, mainly in the case of a squad, a crew, and, partially, a platoon commanding officer, to remain at all times among his soldiers, to utilize each free moment to ensure them good quality recreation, or to improve their general military knowledge and practical abilities. It is necessary to organize a march along a clearing in the woods with singing of songs, play with snow balls, etc. Among the activities which develop the mind and improve combat preparedness can be listed: solving fire assignments, training in weapons assembling and disassembling, solving of simple tactical tasks on the sandbox, chess and checkers games, conducting of talks explaining the reason for the particular action.

The supervisors cannot delay giving the directives and create a situation where the soldier does not know at which moment he will be used to perform this or that task. Maintaining high combat readiness is also possible when

the subunits are engaged in program training in the vicinity, it is even considerably enhanced by maintaining a systematic action rate.

Factors strongly influencing soldiers' minds are living conditions, quality of uniforms and sufficient supplies of articles of personal hygiene. Most often they make it difficult to observe the daily schedule and require a multi-shift use of sanitary installations or soldiers' mess halls. The solution of thus created conflicts requires the participation of the sub-unit commanding officers and duty details as well as the unit quartermaster service. The details are responsible for the strict enforcement of the ad hoc regulations. The hosts should schedule their day in such a way that those performing most important tasks would be served first.

I have covered some items from the life of subunits under martial law. I am aware that the problems differ considerably in the particular units, and this makes it hard to make any generalizations and to answer all the cadre's and soldiers' questions. I even concede a possibility that I could be accused of over-idealized solutions. My aim was, however, to alert the cadre to the problem of searching for the best possible solution of the issues of soldiers' life, activity and training under martial law.

9644
CSO: 2600/458

SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION BETWEEN MILITARY, CIVILIAN SECTORS NOTED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 2 Feb 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Second Lt Tadeusz Pieklo]

[Text] (Our Information) For the past few years, a closer and closer cooperation has been developing between the military and the scientific sections of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN]. This cooperation helps bring about solutions to many basic research problems and serves to implement the practical application of results.

The comprehensive research implemented by the institutes and scientific-research centers of PAN and MON [Ministry of National Defense] is valuable and mutually beneficial. The research level and output of civilian and military specialists in the various fields is improving; new solutions, professional reports and research methods have come about. Numerous concrete achievements in the medical and biological research fields enrich practice and are finding practical applications in medical care, feeding groups of people and the satisfaction of the other needs of the military and society.

Various questions and operational problems experienced by military researchers from academices and institutes, as well as from the scientific-research centers of the WP [Polish Army] Chief Quartermaster Service who were participating in the work of the PAN councils and committees were discussed during the Warsaw meeting. The deliberations were chaired by the WP Chief Quartermaster, Deputy minister of MON, Lt Gen Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski. Military professors and docents appointed in recent years to PAN collegial bodies participated as did the plenipotentiary of the National Defense Committee, PAN military commissioner, Brigadier Gen Rudolf Dzipanow.

During the meeting, there was an updating of the subject of the planned cooperation between the Quartermaster institutes and PAN for the current year and those up to 1985. The need was taken into account for the broad participation of researchers in the development of the rear area of the rear services as well as a greater involvement of the Quartermaster Service and PAN research

centers and institutes in the resolution of current, urgent problems of the national economy. Working together toward the resolution of many governmental, focal and ministerial research problems, military and civilian researchers can do much for the military and the country, especially in such fields as health, food, construction, transportation and environmental protection.

The head of the Research and Development team of the WP Chief Quartermaster Service, Col Prof Jozef Kubica presented an evaluation of the achievements of the cooperation between military and civilian researchers in 1980-1981 and outlined prospects and directions for the development of cooperation in the current year and during the coming period.

Among the other discussants, Col Prof Sylwester Czaplicki, Col Prof Wladyslaw Tkaczewski, Col Prof Stanislaw Zdzienicki and Col Docent Czeslaw Kierebinski evaluated the participation of military researchers from the Quartermaster section in the work of PAN collegial organs. They likewise gave careful consideration to what is to be done and how to ensure that this enormous research potential might best serve the good of the military and the country and be protected against collapse. They concentrated upon resolving the most pressing, basic research problems.

That Polish science wants to protect its high position and guard against stagnation in this difficult period was affirmed at the next session, which was held in the WP Chief Quartermaster Service. The scientific secretaries of PAN sections as well as eminent scientists from the agricultural institutes and academies participated.

During this period of crisis, a high degree of activity, civil consciousness, work and its results will be the test of our scientific cadre. The cooperation of military researchers democratically appointed to PAN as partners with the community of civilian researchers will favor not only the unity of effort but also the economical, rational and effective use of the more modest means set aside for the development of science. Under martial law conditions researchers will do their utmost to restore the strained lines of cooperation, reestablish areas of common undertaking and precisely determine goals that favor the stabilization and rebuilding of that which was partially destroyed by the recently concluded social erosion.

Representatives of PAN sections cooperating with the Chief Quartermaster Service, including the medical, technical, biological, agricultural, forestry research, soil and mining research sections evaluated the state of research of interest to both sides conducted during the past year. Scientific participants from PAN, including Prof Stanislaw Mossakowski, Prof Adam Urbanek, Prof Franciszek Witczak, Docent Dr Habilitatus Zenon Szkoda and Docemt Dr Habilitatus Michal Szulczewski highly praised the work of military researchers and research centers working together to resolve many problems, talked about deficiencies and conditions of the research conducted and postulated increased access to specialized information and journals, for, as was stressed, a well-prepared cadre is of the greatest value for Polish science, and none of its potential must be lost in order that it might be activated and of service today, for the future.

Col Prof Edward Waniewski from WAM [Military Medical Academy] CKP [Center for Computerized Practice] presented interesting information about the practical use and application of certain mathematical methods and computerized information in civil and military medical care, which in the case of the military enabled the care of more than 30 percent additional personnel. Work on a computerized system to aid in the diagnosis of liver ailments is nearing completion. Thanks to cooperation with PAN, resulting in access to professional reports, laboratories and research results, the level of habilitatus dissertations and doctoral studies of military doctors specializing at WAM CKP is rising.

A good deal of attention was also devoted to questions of agriculture and the food economy, biocybernetics, environmental protection and human ecology, as well as to anthropometric problems, which are closely connected with the service activity of the Quartermaster Service.

Summarizing the meeting, the WP Chief Quartermaster asserted that it had played an important role, thanks to the review made of research issues, which affects the contents of plans and intentions for mutual cooperation. The general emphasized the urgent need to formulate a constructive and active program of cooperation, which would resolve, in the best possible manner, the burning issues of domestic life as we emerge from the crisis.

8536
CSO: 2600/512

CIVIL DEFENSE PREPARATIONS OF NEWLY ESTABLISHED MINISTRY DISCUSSED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 3, Mar 82, pp 12, 14, 15

[Interview with Jerzy Nodzenski, representative of the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry, by Grazyna Dembowska, PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ (POC); date and place not given]

> [Text] Last year three ministries were merged: Metallurgy, Heavy and Agricultural Machine Industry, and Machine Engineering Industry. As a result of this operation, the largest industrial ministry in the country was formed: Metallurgy and Machine Industry. We have asked Jerzy Nodzenski to give us information on the functioning of Civil Defense in the new ministry.

[Question] POC: What effect did the merger of three separate ministries have on civil defense preparations?

[Answer] Jerzy Nodzenski: The merger of the ministries: Metallurgy, Heavy and Agricultural Machine Industry, and Machine Engineering Industry, into an industrial giant named the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry, brings enormous advantages, but also some specific minuses.

An indisputable advantage is the removal of barriers in the path of the production of many products. What formerly required cooperation among three ministries, can now be taken care of in the individual departments of the same ministry. The drawback that comes with every merger, is the optimism in the reduction of the personnel of the combined organizational cells. I said "combined", but I should have used the term "amputated", for I have never come across a sutation in which a reduction in the number of decisionmaking organs left the executive cells intact. It is generally believed that the cause of many mistakes and distortions is an overly expanded administration. In my opinion the administration does not have the additional training and does not have the additional investment, therefore it cannot, in the required amount of time, fulfill the tasks assigned to it. What connection does this have with the problems relating to Civil Defense? It has a direct and a very

big connection. Civil defense activities are, after all, a complex of organizational-training and administrative work. In the workplaces, both functions of civil defense are performed simultaneously, the organizational and the training, by preparing the workforces to act in the event of catastrophes, accidents, natural disasters, or enemy attack. Comradeship, courage, community of interests, integration of the individual with the workplace, are only some of the characteristics that can be shaped by training, drills, and above all, by life-saving exercises. Drills, combined with performance of useful work in behalf of the workplaces, housing communities, etc., result in millions of zlotys saved, or greatly hasten the implementation of specific plans. Insofar as the administrative function is concerned, in the workplace it consists of preparing a number of reports, analyses, specifications, and balances, which help the higher organizational levels in making decisions on the division of funds, allotment of equipment, etc.

The higher up in the hierarchy, the more the burden of authority for these functions shifts from the organizational-training sphere to the administrative sphere, with broadly expanded supervision and control tasks. That is why, depending on the reliability of the reports, requirements, etc., prepared in the workplace, and the efficiency of the administrations at the higher levels in the treatment of this material, in order not to lose the sense of the total amounts of the requirements submitted, new results may be obtained or the opportunity to obtain them, or even to maintain the status quo, may be lost. An example of this may be the arithmetic mean, which obliterates the difference between the zero state and the full-complement state.

[Question] How, then, does the hierarchical administration of the Ministry of Metallurgy and Heavy Machinery Industry fulfill this function?

[Answer] The elimination of associations (which was unarguably required by the assumed model of economic reform), i.e., the intermediate level between the enterprise and the headquarters of the ministry, shifts the whole load of the administrative functions of this level to the Civil Defense cell in the ministry, which is totally unprepared for this if only from the standpoint of size of the personnel staff and the technical ability to analyze the reports coming in. I want to make it clear that in speaking of reporting, I am referring to all of the activities that form the basis for determining the requirements and the division of means for the purchase of Civil Defense equipment, protective and special construction, training, etc.

Let us, therefore, recall the situation that existed when the associations were eliminated:

--Civil Defense in the enterprises functions without change,

--Civil Defense in the associations is eliminated,

--Civil Defense in the ministries is not in a position to assume the tasks implemented in the past by Civil Defense in the associations.

That is where we were when martial law was imposed. On 30 December 1981, the Council of Ministers resolution on the functioning of the economy during a period

of martial law, appeared, It provided for the appointment of ministerial plenipotentiaries for matters relating to the management of separate production systems (branch groups). A place for Civil Defense was found in the offices of these plenipotentiaries. Considering, however, that there are fewer plenipotentiaries than there had been associations, and that instead of association Civil Defense cells we have in the offices of the plenipotentiaries only a few people who can deal with Civil Defense problems, and also that the life of the offices is basically linked to the implementation of the operational programs and the state of martial law--there is little reason for optimism.

[Question] If the future looks like this, what next?

[Answer] Several solutions are possible, but the most realistic appears to be the structural-decisionmaking variant. According to this variant, revisions would have to be made in the Civil Defense structure so as to transfer the right to decide specific matters from some organs to others. It is, therefore, proposed, that all of the reporting which furnishes the basis for decisionmaking in the matter of the distribution of funds for purchase of equipment, training and broadly understood protective and special construction, as well as its modernization, be concentrated on the voivodship level, in the voivodship civil defense inspectorates. This would permit full concentration of Civil Defense forces and means in the area of each voivodship in a much higher degree than had been done by the "ex-territorial" ministries, the associations, and now the plenipotentiaries, in relation to subordinate or supervised enterprises and other organizational units. The WIOC [Provincial Civil Defense Inspectorate], which has the funds for the purchase of equipment, construction, etc., that had previously been dispersed among the individual plants in the various ministries, could, in its own area, taking into account such factors as the particular threat to the cities, the possibility of the spreading of toxic substances in case of an accident, catastrophe, etc., build shelters, special installations, and also equip the workforces with personal protection means in a way that is more rational than now being done by the ministries.

The specialized WIOC cadre can reach every workplace in its area more quickly than any ministry or plenipotentiary. Many more advantages could be enumerated, but the plan, I believe, needs no defense or advertising. What is needed, however, is a quick revision of the regulations in effect to authorize WIOC to make such decisions and to define the remaining tasks for the ministries.

[Question] What can be said about the present role of the manager of the workplace, when he stopped being the Civil Defense boss?

[Answer] Personally, I see this as a prestige position of little importance. After all, the manager (director) by reason of the functions he performs is responsible for the production and civil defense activities of his plant.

[Question] As we know, the enterprises are gaining a far-reaching independence. How will this affect their preparations in the field of Civil Defense?

[Answer] It will require that the commanders of the Civil Defense units organize the organizational, training, propaganda and other work in such a way that it does

conflict with the tasks accomplished by the workforce, but assists in their performance. Thus far I have not seen any attempts to deny the need for the existence of Civil Defense, despite the frequent criticism that the forms of training are not very interesting. But this is a separate problem. There will be an appropriate place for Civil Defense in 3xS [self-government, self-dependence, self-financing].

[Question] How well prepared are the Civil Defense forces in the ministry?

[Answer] I can say with complete authority that the Civil Defense forces organized in the individual plants of the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry are almost 100 percent trained in basic and special fields. I say "almost", because the fluctuation of the employees keeps removing the trained people from our ranks, and thus the training process is constant.

Outfitting of Civil Defense with basic equipment is approaching the 80 percent limit, which means, unfortunately, that some workforces have been 100 percent equipped, but others to a somewhat lesser degree. Our system of informing the majority of the workforces of plants that employ well-known technological process of impending dangers is functioning rather well. Our Civil Defense plans for workplaces, plans for evacuating the workforces and their families, are good. Not in all workplaces yet, it is true, but we have the model and its dissemination is only a matter of a few weeks.

[Question] The machines and equipment from the national economy used in Civil Defense are often the creation of the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry. What is your participation in stimulating the production of dual-task equipment, i.e., applicable also to Civil Defense work?

[Answer] Our ministry has a new name and a new organization table, but it did not spring up like a volcano as a result of eruption. This industry existed and had specific traditions. We have taken them over and are continuing them. Perhaps we are originating too little ourselves, but we are willingly undertaking every initiative that we can.

[Question] What do you and all the employees of the ministry involved in Civil Defense activities wish?

[Answer] More frequent contact with PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ. The satisfaction of the workforces that they have fulfilled their Civil Defense tasks well. That the proposal contained in this interview be realized, and above all, peace and calm.

9295
CSO: 2600/506

RESULTS OF RESEARCH ON SOCIAL VIEWS OF YOUTH DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6-7 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Dr Zenon Kawecki, scientific worker of PPML [Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism] of the PZPR Central Committee: "Social Views of Youth--To Bring Them Closer to Everyday Life"]

> [Text] In the Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism [IPPML2 of the PZPR Central Committee, studies were conducted between 1977-1980 and social views on a wide representation of youth which encompassed 12 thousand or so secondary school students about the world and their social views. The picture drawn from the result of these studies can provide educators and youth organization activists with a good number of reflections.

What Do They Value and What Do They Criticize?

For a majority of the students researched, socialism signifies, above all, such values as freedom, equality, democracy and social justice. However, their understanding is, as a rule, in static, ahistoric categories without the awareness that these values can be fully implemented only over a longer developmental period.

Many of the students tested are searching for a specific compromise between socialism and capitalism which would, in their opinion create chances for more effective development of the country. In addition, they feel that socialism encompasses better social ideals while capitalism [is better] because of the effectiveness of economic solutions. This attitude of ideological compromise, being a fundamental trait of the youth tested, differentiates it from the, so-called, Columbian generation or the ZMP [Polish Youth Union] generation which were more categorical and decided in their political views and attitudes. They were more convinced as to what ought to be done to solve social problems, perhaps because they became involved sooner in the active struggle and work for social reconstruction.

From our studies, an undisputed conclusions is evident that a decided majority of the students (three-fourths of the researched collective body) favor socialism and perceive its superiority over capitalism. They pay particular

attention to, above all, such values of socialism as the elimination of exploitation, the country's advancement, raising the living standard of its citizens, chances for growth and [eliminating] the barriers to talented and hard-working people. Also, in reconstructing a model of a "good social system," on the basis of the opinions presented by young people, it may be said that they favor such traits of socialism as: social justice, democracy, concern for the human being, equality in starting out in life, the observance of civil laws, the guaranteeing jobs for everyone, access to education and cultural goods--in other words, that which constitutes the essence of socialism.

A positive evaluation of socialism as a social system does not mean, however, that young people relate to the facts of reality uncritically. The comparison of ideals with their implementation, in theory and practice, raises the most critical voices.

It should be stressed that the majority of students assume a critical attitude towards the country's realities from the point of view of socialist ideology. They expect rapid changes in the direction of egalitarianism, justice and democracy and, especially, improvement in the material well-being of the country's citizens. They would like to quickly overcome the classification into the poor and the wealthy and to eliminate favoritism of certain groups or individuals. They are concerned that the principles, which had been proclaimed for a long time in socialism, have not yet been fully implemented.

However, one-fifth of the students tested, criticized the reality of things from the standpoint of bourgeois ideology. In connection with this, they are demanding a kind of "upgrading" of socialism with certain capitalist solutions which would, in their opinion, raise the level of the national economy, create incentives for greater work productivity, improve market supply and which would also improve the mechanisms of democracy.

The socio-political attitudes of youth researched differ depending on their social background and place of residence as well as on the degree of professed religiousness. These dependencies may be characterized as follows:

A positive attitude towards socialism, expressed in the evaluation of the country's realities is presented more often by students from peasant backgrounds and those living in small towns. The most critical attitude typifies youth from educated [intellectual] families, particularly those [young people] who attend schools in large cities. These young people voice particularly, sharp criticism in regard to all social inequality and demand the expansion of the range of civil rights and democracy.

This phenomenon can be substantiated by at least two reasons. In the first place, in an urban environment, existing social inequalities, privileges and occurrences of protectionism are more visible. Secondly, youth from educated families and large cities demonstrates a greater interest, in relation to their peers, in socio-political issues. They are also typified by greater demands towards social reality. However, the increased influence of foreign ideologies on the awareness of these young people cannot be excluded.

Critical Evaluations and the Economic Situation

As we have already mentioned, the social views of youth, which are in strict alliance with Church doctrine, differ depending on religious attitudes. Thus, for example, students who declared themselves to be "believers" or "deeply religious," approved of the view, much more frequently, that "to be a good Pole, one must be a Catholic"; they also supported the view, less frequently, that the good of Poland is inseparably bound to socialism. In connection with this, it may be presumed that decidedly religious attitudes coincide with a certain kind of social conservatism while non-religious attitudes are more often linked with a positive evaluation of socialist changes and with socially progressive views. However, we cannot speak here of some sort of obvious dependencies but only state the fact that there exists a concurrence of specific views.

There is no doubt that an increase of critical attitudes and evaluations is linked to, above all, the development of the economic and political situation in the country during the second-half of the 1970's. Deepening economic problems and increasing social discontent with the handling of power by the authorities had a negative bearing on the assessment of occurring changes in Poland and also on the appraisal of socialism as a social system.

Let us add to this one more detail which differentiates the attitudes of youth. From among those tested, boys as well as youth not belonging to organizations hold a more critical view of socialism and the reality of the country than do girls or members of youth organizations. This may be the result of the lower interest on the part of girls in community life as well as less knowledge about it and also, most probably, their greater optimism towards life. In turn, youth belonging to organizations, especially its active section, demonstrates greater ideological commitment. It is characteristic, however, that socio-political attitudes of young people are not significantly differentiated according to their parents' party affiliation.

Sources of Attitudes

The reasons for critical attitudes of a part of youth should be sought in many factors.

First of all--in observing negative phenomena in our lives. Perceptiveness and at the same time, great moral impressionability cause youth to be overly sensitive to all deviations from the generally accepted norms of social coexistence: inequality and injustice; opportunities for excessive or dishonest accumulation of wealth at the cost of others; disproportion in people's standard of living; occurrences of protectionism and corruption. This criticism should be evaluated positively because attitudes of commitment on the part of youth in the struggle against social evils can be built upon it. However, it also happens that young people carry out unqualified generalizations of these negative phenomena without, at the same time, noticing their real causes.

In the second place--students do not possess the knowledge of conditions surrounding a situation in the country and the world. On the basis of many remarks made by secondary school graduates, it may be presumed that the extent of their political knowledge is poor and one-sided. Thus, for example, the concept of capitalism is most often associated by them with several of the most developed countries of Western Europe. However, they do not notice the situation in underdeveloped capitalist countries and they also do not fully understand crisis phenomena in the West such as unemployment or inflation.

Third—the source of negative evaluations of many social life phenomena is a certain kind of idealism in comprehending the processes of social development. In considering the problems of building a new system, many secondary school graduates do not take into account historically formed social, economic and political conditions; they also refrain from considering the state of society's awareness. For them, socialism is something ideal and at the same time something that manifests itself without conflict and which simply can be decreed. This idealistic method of comprehending historical processes is the result of gaps in the system of upbringing.

On What Is the Effectiveness of Upbringing Work Dependent

The fact of the matter is that civic training of a young generation is, as a rule, one-sided and based on theoretically-historical sources, thus, leading to the notion of an ideal social system based on the classical, socialist concept. On the other hand, it explains and interprets inadequately the realities of current life, its numerous conditions and developmental peculiarities. For this reason, reality, above all, should be discussed with youth in the process of upbringing on the basis of basic theoretical-social system problems.

Subjects taught in school facilitate in the relaying of knowledge which is ideological in nature. Nonetheless, this depends almost entirely on the willingness, skill and time available to teachers and not on the educational system.

The effectiveness of ideological-upbringing work is also limited by the overly formal method of instruction in schools. The preeminence of organizational tasks above social goals of upbringing is evident there [in schools] as is the dominance of formal roles over a direct contact between instructor and student. The treatment of young people not as partners but as recipients of ready solutions becomes one of the fundamental sources for a lack of open and sincere discussion on socio-political issues. Many secondary school graduates felt that, for example, the schools relayed only a part of the truth which caused them to accept views from other sources indiscriminately.

Our studies show that young people frequently do not have sufficient informational basis for more independent thinking about reality. Therefore, there appears to be a reason for introducing periodic information to schools on the subject of the current situation in the country and in the world. It would seem that this knowledge of current events ought to be executed on the basis of available press information.

It should also be concluded that young people ought to be included in the current of present community life sooner and that they should share the responsibility for the fulfillment of community [social] work.

In addition, more room should be found in the schools for discussions with youth about the current and future developmental problems of Poland and the world, treating this task as equally important in civic upbringing as the mastery of a given subject is in teaching. Youth organizations should find this to be a field with a particular challenge for them.

9853
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AGRICULTURAL ASSISTANCE TO AFRICAN COUNTRIES DISCUSSED

Bucharest VEAC NOU in Romanian No 3, Mar 82 p 5

[Article: "Romanian Specialists in Africa," interview with Adrian Rogojeanu, deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry, by Emil Tilenschi]

[Excerpts] Question: In how many African countries are Romanian specialists currently working in the field of agriculture?

Answer: In about 20. Our agronomists. zootechnicians, water improvement specialists, mechanics and tractor operators can be found in Libya and in Angola, in Mauritania and Nigeria, in Mozambique and in Benin, in Somalia and in Burundi, etc.

Question: And in the Mediterranean, in the tropics and near the Equator, there are different conditions and different problems.

Answer: In general there is only one problem: helping to increase the agricultural and food-producing potential of the countries in which we are present. Our cooperation with these countries takes on multiple forms and, as a result, good results can be achieved, in fields of special interest, in the joint activity which we carry out. The projects include the creation of grain farms, the following of virgin land earmarked for planting, the setting up of irrigation systems on large areas of land, the creation of animal husbandry complexes, the organization of mechanization centers or centers for the exploitation of ocean fishing zones.

Question: In concrete terms, what we call transfer of technology.

Answer: Of course! Our specialists bring to Africa technical designs and solutions, high-productivity hybrids; they provide tractors, machines and equipment for agricultural production and land improvements, as well as fishing ships.

Question: Could you tell us some of the results achieved?

Answer: Our cooperation with African countries, in the agricultural field, dates back to 1973-1974. At present there are four joint companies of an agricultural-zootechnical nature operating in Libya. One of the two companies

in Tripoli is concerned with obtaining seeds and planting materials and the other--which is called "Librom"--deals with arrangements for land improvements. Another joint company, with headquarters in Benghazi, deals with poultry raising. And finally, in the joint company for raising and fattening sheep in Misurata, some 300,000 sheep can be raised each year for meat.

There are joint companies with Romanian participation in other African countries. In the Congo, the "Socoton" joint company is concerned with the cultivation of large areas of grain and the raising of animals. The "Zairom" company in Zaire has a similar mission. In Mauritania, the "SIMAR" joint company in Zaire has a similar mission. In Mauritania, the "SIMAR" joint company engages in fishing activity, in the Atlantic Ocean with 12 trawlers and two refrigerator ships made in Romania. Negotiations are in progress for the creation of other joint companies with African countries, specializing in the field of fishing.

Question: And besides joint companies?

Answer: We have organized many forms of cooperation. One of the most important actions of this type is taking place in Mozambique where our specialists are contributing, with technical means and specialized assistance, to the implementation of a vast program of clearing and utilizing virgin terrains amounting to more than 400,000 hectares of land. In the first phase, up to 1985, some 100,000 hectares will be planted. In the provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassai grain and animal husbandry farms are being organized, in cooperation with Romania.

In Benin, two agricultural farms are being fully utilized [with Romanian assistance]. In Burundi, Romanian tractors are participating in the reclaiming of 7,000 hectares of land. In Angola, in Lucala, a state enterprise specializing in grain crops was organized. Ultimately, it will have more than 15,000 hectares. In Somalia, technical documentation is being prepared for irrigation projects on 5,000 hectares of land. We are engaged in discussions in regard to cooperation projects in Guinea, Ghana, Nigeria and other countries. All these are useful to those people who are combining their efforts so that the land of the African continent will become even more fertile.

CSO: 2700/271

NEW CHIEF EDITOR FOR CLUJ-NAPOCA CULTURAL WEEKLY

[Editorial Report] Cluj-Napoca TRIBUNA in Romanian, 15 April 1982, page 16, a cultural weekly published by the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, lists Vasile Salajan as chief editor of the publication, replacing Dumitru Radu Popescu, who was listed as chief editor in the 8 April issue. The other members of the editorial board remain the same: Victor Felea and Ion Vlad, deputy chief editors, and Augustin Buzura, secretary. On page 2 of the 15 April issue, TRIBUNA reports on the commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the newspaper. The participants included: Dumitru Radu Popescu, "chairman of the Writers Union of the Socialist Republic of Romania, deputy chairman of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education" and Vasile Salajan, "chief editor of TRIBUNA."

CSO: 2700/269

WORK OF SOCIAL SUPERVISORY COMMISSIONS DESCRIBED

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 82 p 5

[Interview with Chairman Bozidar Pavlovic of the Social Supervisory Commission of Serbia's Assembly by Bosko Grbic and Dusan Nedeljkovic]

> [Text] The institution of social supervision was established by the constitution 8 years ago. Using as an example the work of one commission, the Social Supervisory Commission of Serbia's assembly, which has dealt with a number of interesting "cases," we attempt to give some idea of experiences and difficulties in establishing this important form of activity as a part of developing self-management and in assuring complete legality within society. We converse with commission chairman Bozidar Pavlovic.

One and a half years ago, the public learned of the "case," already somewhat faded from memory, of the Association of Journalists of Serbia. As a brief reminder: the association had been operating entirely illegally for nearly 2 years. A large number of malversations, abuses and criminal actions was found. In this typical group-of-citizens outfit, easily acquired money was given out in handsful and hatsful, travel expenses were reimbursed for fictitious trips, fat commissions were paid to canvassers, etc. The 40 employees of the association lived on income produced in a strange fashion, to say the least: their publishing activity encompassed anything and everything--from the printing of forms and various advisory handbooks to technical and political literature.

Because of demonstrated abuses, arrogation of public property and unauthorized publishing and marketing activity, the association was forbidden to operate by decree of the Municipal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. An investigation was started on the instigators and their abettors, headed by the general secretary, some of whom have already been convicted.

Public attention was strongly drawn particularly, however, to the imposing list of 473 outside collaborators--authors of journalistic works and canvassers. The Social Auditing Service found that their total fees amounted to more than 15 million dinars.

Self-Management and Legality

This entire "case" became public knowledge thanks to the Social Supervisory Commission of Serbia's Assembly when commission chairman Pavlovic reported the results of the audit to a session where journalists were also present.

This is precisely one of our reasons for speaking with Pavlovic. First we ask him about the function of the institution of social supervision, noting that this is a new constitutional category (1974 Yugoslav Constitution) about which relatively little is known.

"Social supervision is the responsibility of all sociopolitical communities," Pavlovic tells us. "Seen through the work of the commission, there are three basic groups of tasks: a concern with the further development of self-managing relations and the elimination of all the negative factors which interfere with this development; questions of the production and distribution of earnings, and especially deviations in this area; and a struggle for complete legality. Our commission specifically is working on these problems in two ways--independently and by initiating certain issues in the assembly chambers."

As an illustration of the performance of social supervision in the assembly chambers, Pavlovic cites specific problems raised by the commission. In 1978, it initiated a discussion of the problems of the durable and stable supply of the market, and now--in his words--as a society "we hold the problem of supply in our hands, for we intervene quickly and in a better-organized manner in situations when shortages become a political problem."

The commission also initiated discussions in the Assembly about expenses for representation, official travel, and the use of official vehicles. Interestingly, such costs in 1979 actually exceeded overall losses in the economy. Pavlovic says that the Assembly adopted conclusions and undertook measures but that we cannot be satisfied with the results, especially in view of the fact that representation expenses do not correlate with the volume of operations--representation expenses are higher in health care, banks, sociopolitical communities, and culture than in the economy.

Self-managing workers' supervision is an essential part of social supervision:

"Twice we discussed this form of self-management activity and both times determined that the situation was unsatisfactory," Pavlovic notes. "Self-managing workers' supervision is particularly underdeveloped in the self-managing interest communities, where consumption is enormous and where social supervision is most needed. There are misunderstandings about the function of such control and much trouble is caused by the attitude of managerial entities.

Independently--Effective

In its independent activity, the Social Supervisory Commission was apparently more effective. Again, specific examples:

"We had serious problems with the use of the Belgrade-Batocina highway," Bozidar Pavlovic recounts. "Malversations, not to say thefts, amounted to

4 million old dinars in 1979. The relations between the contractors for these projects and users were completely unregulated. The road was consigned for use over a drink, without any sort of contractual agreement. We succeeded in getting to the bottom of things and now the situation has been remedied."

This example and the next one are evidence for the exceptional importance of properly performed social supervision and the irreplaceability of its institutionalized forms, along with the lack of broader systemic organizational arrangements for these activities.

The commission has also investigated enterprises which originated from well-known group-of-citizens outfits. Pavlovic tells us:

"We made an analysis of the operations of these working organizations and what did we find? We learned that in many cases no business records are kept, that these work organizations may be headed by persons who have been convicted of embezzlement and operate for the most part in conflict with the regulations. In such a situation, the employees' insecurity is noticeable. And despite all of this, these enterprises have been awarded contracts to build major projects, even military installations. The campaign that we initiated in collaboration with the Social Accounting Service, which has increased its supervision, has enabled us to succeed in stamping out the extreme forms of such activity, but we have not put an end to it."

Interesting as well as educational from the stand point of effectiveness is the "case" of the Yugoslav Bureau for Labor Productivity:

"That bureau is a tale unto itself. We investigated the state of affairs in that collective, which was supposedly founded by the Socialist Republic of Serbia. A ruinous situation. They had, for example, not a single economist and yet they were signing contracts and working for our largest businesses and industries. In the end, because of our recommendations, the Yugoslav Bureau for Labor Productivity was abolished, and its employees given new jobs."

When There Is None

These few selected examples certainly prove the usefulness of the institution of social supervision. At the same time, they underscore the necessity for extending this type of supervision to all elements of society. After all, it is a lack of social supervision which is responsible for these and all similar "cases."

"The 'case' of the Association of Journalists of Serbia is particularly characteristic of the absence of social supervision. We cooperated with the prosecuting authorities and the Social Accounting Service and succeeded in establishing a part of the material evidence. Earnings were being collected and distributed on very dubious bases. We initiated proceedings to ban such operations, and this was accomplished. We filed criminal charges, and the investigation is complete in eight instances. We also published a list of outside associates. This is really the commission's jurisdiction under the Constitution; the rest is up to the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the prosecutor's office, and the court."

Pavlovic continues: "The commission is dissatisfied, however, with the pace with which the whole affair has been investigated. Our aim was to prevent this so-called working organization from operating in this way, to point out how easy money could be earned from honoraria, a widespread practice; to have a preventive effect by publishing a list of associates. Our aim was to acquaint the public and social structures with the participants in this affair so that other social measures would be undertaken."

The commission, therefore, made full use of its authority. Its aims in every case were well chosen, but what is their scope? What has become of these "other social measures?"

"Well, they weren't undertaken at all. You see, that list of associates contained the names of party secretaries, prominent journalists, sociopolitical workers, etc., and their colleagues didn't utter a word about the moral aspect of collaboration with such an association. At the last meeting of the commission, we sent them an appeal to do just this."

The Moral Aspect

What is happening with the "moral aspect," and not only in this case; where is the source of behavior and activity which, evading the law, evade also their own social responsibility?

Pavlovic, a prewar communist, warrior and revolutionary, in the postwar period always occupying responsible social and political offices, is happy to give his personal opinion on this question:

"We are not paying enough attention to morality, to the creation of a moral system, and this is a major issue which has a larger political dimension. We have, for example, instances of rather arrogant behavior by people in managerial positions at all levels, who take advantage of their power and privileges, and even behave in an unseemly way. Our society has not developed responsibility for such types of behavior."

Our collocutor reverts to the past: "The question of morality was fundamental in wartime to the process by which the movement attained massive scale. Our morality at that time was simplicity itself for that era. Those moral norms cannot be fully applicable any longer today, but we have not created new behavioral norms. The numerous privileges at all levels are evidence of that, for example."

We return to the experience gained by the work of the Social Supervisory Commission. One example is the following:

"We came to the conclusion that a smaller part of the problems which we encounter are of a criminal nature, while by far the larger part involves a question of morals."

Bribery and corruption, those great social evils, are somewhere "in between" the criminal and moral, as if they floated in some space that cannot be

controlled. Bribery and corruption, even when we discount the exaggerations of marketplace chatter, are a part--so to speak--of our daily lives. To judge by social penalties against this social evil (only 23 criminal denunciations were filed in the last 2 years in Serbia), they are practically nonexistent. What does the chairman of the Social Supervisory Commission have to say about this?

"It is true that these practices are widespread, but they are difficult to uncover and prove. We seek broader social action, and the judiciary must be more severe in dealing with these criminal acts. These are incredibly subtle problems which, under these conditions, become politically very sensitive. For example, bribery is becoming more and more evident in hiring practices and in health care, although this is referred to as 'gift-giving.' I think that an important role in wiping out such practices is played by the press, which should assist in the investigation of such practices and in this way contribute to creating a healthier social climate, constricting the field for bribery and corruption."

Praise for the Press

The institution of social supervision is a constitutional innovation dating from 8 years ago, still almost unknown to us. This story of the operation and experience of one commission was not chosen at random. This is as clear as the fact that the idea of social supervision cannot be confined in commissions or similar forms of activity. Our story is valuable to the extent that it serves as proof that the tasks cited earlier can be accomplished and stimulates us to think about the need for much greater involvement by the many elements of social work and life. Pavlovic tells us:

"The institution of social supervision has made significant progress. Our commission has brought a number of sensitive issues to the attention of the public. Almost every day we receive reports, not only from individuals but also from social, self-managing entities. We even receive reports from the autonomous provinces. We consider this as proof of the growing reknown of social supervision. We have accomplished a great deal to control negative phenomena but much more in prevention."

The commission chairman himself admits that this should not be interpreted as satisfactory progress. Social supervision is, in fact, least active where it is more needed--at opstina level, in organizations of associated labor, in local associations, etc. Social supervision comprises also self-managing workers' supervision, the courts of associated labor, and the public defenders for self-management.

"There should be much more cooperation among all the elements of social supervision. We have problems in the areas of prosecution (slowness) and sentencing (insufficient severity). Social supervision was conceived as a combination of coordinated activity by all social factors. Let us take, for example, the courts of associated labor. They cannot retain the forms of a traditional court; they must be in much closer contact with associated labor itself and with its interests. Or take the public defenders for self-management: they have jurisdiction over a whole complex of interpersonal relations in the working collectives. The cooperation of all factors is therefore indispensable."

We bring the conversation to an end. We ask Pavlovic the most specific question: "Considering the sensitivity of certain topics and 'cases' dealt with by the commission of which you are chairman, have there been any instances of interference or pressure?" Pavlovic answers without hesitation, transmitting a sense of conviction to his collocutor:

"In none of the efforts which we conducted was there any pressure or interference. We operated completely independently."

Our conversation has come to an end. But Pavlovic, as if not wanting to leave anything out, tells us:

"Our commission has operated in a completely open manner. The press has made the best possible use of this openness, cooperating with us and supporting us in these 'cases.' Together, we have been able to approach these problems not as scandals but as problems to be solved. I can state that the cooperation of the press has been complete and very correct.

9832
CSO: 2800/342

MERGERS OF COMMERCIAL OFFICES ABROAD NOTED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1217, 2 Mar 82, pp 14-15

[Interview with Radoje Kontic, president of the FEC Coordinating Council, by Stevan Zec; date and place not given]

[Text] Instead of closing their offices and returning home, enterprises are joining commercial offices that function well. Nevertheless, soon a stop will be put to that practice.

When some 10 years ago and more large affairs began to take place in Yugoslav foreign trade--the reader will probably remember the cases of Bata Todorovic, Vracaric and others--work began at the same time on the Law on Commerce and Services With Foreign Countries and the Law on Performing Economic Activities Abroad. These laws were adopted by the Yugoslav Assembly in 1977, and the first results were expected by 31 December 1981. To accompany and expedite the implementation of all the regulations, all of the executive councils of the republics and provinces formed coordinating councils, and in addition a ninth one was formed at the Federal Executive Council.

Graduate engineer Radoje Kontic, a member of the Federal Executive Council and president of the Federal Coordinating Council, tells us the following:

"We expected basic changes in the activities of foreign-trade labor organizations, but only symbolic results were attained. True, there was some reduction in the number of foreign-trade labor organizations, but the number of production labor organizations that developed foreign-trade office systems increased. Domestically, 15,000-17,000 self-management agreements were concluded between merchants and producers, but they were often only formal and really were only new masks for the old manner of operation."

The basic achievement was that the number of networks of import-export enterprises was brought into accord with the number of Yugoslav republics and provinces. Now instead of a single network there are eight. Besides that, in practice there came to be ties between import-export enterprises, but only within the borders of republics and provinces. There are, however, even worse situations where these bonds are within the limits of a town, opstina or region.

Laws Are One Thing....

The year 1980 was to be the turning point in organizing foreign trade. Specifically, the coordinating councils examined the documentation of all labor organizations involved in import-export operations, and the law stipulated that those that were not abiding by three basic principles were to close up their foreign offices. The first condition for continued existence was that an enterprise must have exported more from Yugoslavia than it imported for the 3 years 1978, 1979 and 1980, by a ratio of at least 51:49. The second condition was that the firm's overall operations had to be free of losses, and that every foreign-trade office, even if it consisted of an individual, would have to show positive operational results. Yugoslav agents in East European countries were given expense limits that restricted expenses to 1.5 percent of the value of exports. For agents in developed Western countries, the expense limit was somewhat more generous, in that their expenses could not exceed 2.5 percent of exports from Yugoslavia.

The third, and to some people, most important condition involved the signing of self-management agreements. In fact that means that all who, for example, deal in textiles and have offices in the FRG must immediately sign an agreement on joint entry into that country. That agreement would establish the lowest price for Yugoslav textiles being exported to the FRG, and the highest price that may be paid for textiles imported from West Germany.

At the same time, precise regulations were established for each Yugoslav office abroad. The law stipulated such "details" as school equipment, the length of sojourn (with a 4-year maximum), and obligatory work in Yugoslavia for 2 years between stays abroad.

The republic and province coordinating councils sought data about these regulations, and received them from labor organizations involved in import-export operations, during the past year.

....But Practice is Something Else!

According to data received from 328 Yugoslav offices in East European countries, only 149 satisfactorily fulfill the requirements (49 percent of the total). Of the others 66 (20 percent) were "retested," while 91 offices (28 percent) did not receive approval for further operations. The remaining 13 offices are still being processed.

The Federal Executive Council's Coordinating Council has not yet examined our offices in the United States, Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland, Luxembourg or Lichtenstein, but that is under way right now. Up until last week, 308 offices in Western Europe, Canada and Japan had been examined and evaluated. Fewer than half of them, 144, or 47 percent, received positive evaluations, while 78 (33 percent) must make corrections in the coming 6 months, or they will suffer the fate of 86 (20 percent) offices that were ordered closed by 31 December 1981.

Radoje Kontic, president of the Federal Executive Council's Coordinating Council, explained why they still say these offices "should have been closed during the last days of last year" rather than "they were closed."

[Kontic] According to available data, so far a very small number of import-export labor organizations have complied with the decisions of their republic or province coordinating councils, or the FEC's Coordinating Council. We know for certain that of 16 offices in the Soviet Union, only 2 have been closed, and it is already the end of February.

We asked Comrade Kontic, "How is that possible?"

[Kontic] "From a legal viewpoint those offices no longer exist officially, because they have fictitiously joined other offices that received positive evaluations for their operations. That again is an abuse of self-management agreements and circumvention of the law. So that you will understand better, let me explain how they did it. Let's say Pera Peric, a representative of a Yugoslav firm in Bonn, did not receive permission to continue working because he was engaged solely in importing goods from the FRG to Yugoslavia. The costs of his office were greater than his total transactions. At the same time, another Yugoslav agent in the FRG, Marko Markovic of Frankfurt, operated well. He exported more Yugoslav goods to West Germany than he imported to Yugoslavia, and his operating expenses were less than 2.5 percent of his total exports from Yugoslavia. To abide by the law, on 31 December of last year Pera Peric would have had to be back in Yugoslavia, because his place of work was closed and his office furniture sold. In fact, however, he did not return, because he signed a self-management agreement with Marko Markovic, removed his firm name from the office and put up Marko's. But he continued to work as before. We are quite aware that Pera Peric outmaneuvered us."

Because of such cases, which number nearly 177, the Federal Executive Council has asked Yugoslav embassies and consulates in many countries to check the situation on the spot and, by 10 March of this year, send reports. Those who have evaded the law will be punished, according to Kontic. What sort of penalty? He did not know yet, they still have to determine the punishment.

A detailed examination of the commercial records of Yugoslav merchants abroad showed that there were offices, enterprises, and entire networks in certain countries that were involved exclusively in imports to Yugoslavia. If they exported anything from Yugoslavia at all, the total

value of such exports was but $200,000-$300,000 per year. There were also enterprises and offices that for years did not succeed in earning enough to pay for their water. More precisely, their total trade had a value less than their operating expenses for maintaining offices. There were also offices that did not employ a single Yugoslav citizen!

[Kontic] "There were offices that handled business amounting to barely $100 per year for imports and exports, but which showed excellent commercial results, with total capital resources of several million dollars. You ask how that can be possible? Those foreign trade firms of ours dealt exclusively with foreign commerce. They would, for example, buy goods in Italy, Spain or elsewhere, and sell them in the FRG or the USSR, in their so-called reexport operations. Such operations are not permitted by the laws, because in such dealings, regardless of the commissions they earn, our foreign trade representatives damage Yugoslavia by dealing with foreign goods instead of Yugoslav goods.

"Now the question is why that is permitted. This was known to the general director and to a few other people around him, but I would dare to say that the labor councils of those enterprises certainly had no perception of the true state of affairs. The degree of information distribution was poor, while commercial failure was hidden in various ways, so that even the working people were given explanations, they could not know everything that the commercial representative was doing abroad because that was supposedly a business and state secret.

"What interest could the general director and the people around him have in concealing the inactivity of their foreign representative? There can be various reasons. To have 'one's man,' let's say in Moscow or Frankfurt, is a big thing. The director can go visit him in an official visit at least once a year, and that can have its benefits."

We asked Kontic, "Are those personal reasons?"

[Kontic] "As a member of the Federal Executive Council, I am not acquainted with that aspect and therefore I cannot comment. I know that there are such cases. Nonetheless, I think that we should not generalize and say that everyone involved in foreign trade is a rascal or a crook. Cases such as you mention certainly exist, yet all people are not like that. I would like to say something else: There has been great resistance to implementing the laws, in the Federal Coordinating Council and in the republic and province councils. There is even greater resistance from the labor organizations whose offices are to be closed, to say nothing of the opposition from the people whose offices function ineffectively. Incidently--why should we hide it?--the sociopolitical communities also resist. We have received real support and understanding from delegates of the Yugoslav Assembly and the Federal Executive Council."

To Our Detriment

If the decision to close (at present only) 177 offices that operate ineffectively were to be enforced, which would mean a total of 300 positions abroad, Yugoslavia would stop wasting about 1.6 billion dinars

annually, in foreign exchange. Figure it out yourself: Every foreign position costs about 300 million old dinars according to estimates by the Secretariat for Foreign Trade.

The average income of these people fluctuates between $3,000 and 4,000 a month.

The records we have received mention the large reexport transactions of our merchants. At present the coordinating councils do not know the types of goods our merchants have been buying and selling abroad. The law has forbidden reexport transactions that directly harm the Yugoslav economy, i.e., where transit operations involve goods that Yugoslavia itself could be selling. Here is an example to show what our merchants in the wide world know.

Take the example of butter. Sometime before the Moscow Olympics, the USSR bought several tons of butter from Yugoslavia. When the Olympics were over, the butter remained unused. The USSR sold that butter to the GDR. The East Germans sold the butter to the Czechs, and the Czechs sold it to Yugoslavia. Imagine how much that butter traveled! In fact, it never left our cold storage. During those 5-6 months, it only traveled by telex, from Belgrade to Moscow to Berlin to Prague to Belgrade.

In the meantime, at first there was butter in our shops, and then it was missing completely. Then you may remember reading in the newspapers that "interventional imports had been approved." Well, that "intervention butter" was the same that was lying here in cold storage all the time, while the telex messages made a circle. That intervention butter had, however, a much higher intervention price. Someone had to pay for all the telex messages.

We had a final question for Comrade Kontic: "Why was foreign trade checked over when sometimes it is better not to know what is being done to you or who is doing it, than to know and be unable to do anything about it?

[Kontic] "It is true that we do not have the results we anticipated. Yet nevertheless, we are making progress, step by step, and it isn't true that we are impotent. Don't forget that in 1981, as a country, our trade deficit was not the planned $1.5 billion, but only $700 million."

When a man thinks about it more carefully, that is exactly right! What would have happened, however, if we had intervened much earlier with ome import-export enterprises and unemployed foreign representatives? Then where would we be?

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17 May 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2010

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2010

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[Volkmar Bachmann review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 3, March 1982, signed to press 10 February 1982, pp 225-336: "Creativeness, Ideas and Initiatives." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] The creativeness and initiatives of the working people of our country for implementing the economic strategy of the 1980's are reflected in the March issue of EINHEIT.

In the opening article, Harry Tisch explains that the working people find fulfillment primarily in the enterprise, in their daily work. Here they want and are able to demonstrate their creativeness and develop their personality. The trade unions play an important role here, for through them millions of working people in the GDR participate directly in the management and planning processes. This has also been impressively demonstrated in the more than 2 million contributions to the discussions at the election meetings in the basic organizations marked by the forthcoming 10th FDGB Congress.

Anneliese Bauerhorst and Hans Buchholz devote their article to the tasks of the basic party organizations in the struggle for high performance growth. Through the experiences of the basic organization, they show that the fighting programs prove to be the more effective as a management tool, the more concrete and controllable the tasks are that are to embrace every Communist.

In the subsequent contributions, Rudi Winter deals with the intellectual creativity in production-preparing enterprises, while Harry Nick discusses the high demands made on creative work under the conditions of the 1980's.

Other subjects are "Ideas Which Pay Off," by Werner Gilde; "Shop Steward--Honor and Duty," by Klaus Gregor and Erich Roeder; and "Science and Technology at the Core of FDJ's Economic Initiatives," by Gerd Schulz.

In addition to the above main topic ["Creativeness and Initiative"], the March issue too offers the usual features as follows:

--"Brief Commentaries" [one each of the following five writers: Werner Meilick, social scientist, secretary for economic affairs, SED Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk Management (pp 227-229); Klaus Joachim Herrmann, journalist, staff employee, SED Central Committee (pp 230-232); Dr Hans Peter, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics (IPW) (-p 233-234); Prof Dr Stefan Doernberg, director, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; chairman, GDR Scientific Council for Foreign Policy Research; vice president, GDR Committee for European Security and Cooperation (pp 235-237); and Prof Dr Hubert Laitko, program director, Institute for Theory, History and Organization of Science, GDR Academy of Sciences (pp 238-240)]

--"Consultation" ["Requirements for Armed Protection of Peace and Socialism" (pp 312-316), by Dr Willi Effenberger, colonel, staff employee, SED CC]

--"Information" ["Promotion of Young Marriages and Families" (pp 317-321), by Irene Zickenrott (see translation published below under heading, "Conditions for Improving Family Life Analyzed")]

--"Answers" ["What Are the Goals Pursued by Washington's Policy of Threat and Sanctions?" (pp 322-326), by Klaus Benjowski, economist, IPW]

--"Book Reviews" ["History of Our Socialist Youth Organization" (pp 327-330), by Prof Ernst Diehl (see translation published below under heading, "Book on History of Communist Youth Organization Reviewed"); and "Revolutionary Experiences in Latin America" (pp 331-333), review by Prof Dr Manfred Kossok, head, faculty for General History, Karl Marx University, Leipzig; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; of book "Ausgewaehlte Reden und Aufsaetze" (Selected Speeches and Essays), by Rodney Arismendi, first secretary, Central Committee, CP Uruguay; published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1981]

The issue also carries "On the Meaning of Life and Art," Alexander Abusch's last essay written for EINHEIT only a few days before his death.

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IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION OF TRADE UNION REAFFIRMED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 3, Mar 82 (signed to press 10 Feb 82) pp 241-247

['Creativeness and Initiative' feature article by Harry Tisch, member, SED Politburo; chairman, National Executive Committee, Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB): "Action Marked by Initiative and Creativeness to Benefit the People and Safeguard Peace"]

> [Text] In the outcome of the formation process of the workers and farmers power under Marxist-Leninist party leadership, a new segment also began in the history of the FDGB. The revolutionary working class party and the class trade unions have formed from the outset a close fighting community. New great and revolutionary tasks arise from the 10th party congress resolutions and from the targets assigned by the Third SED Central Committee plenum. With strength, optimism and confidence in victory, the trade unions help the workers class and all working people cope successfully with the tasks for the 1980's for the benefit of the people.

We are still only a few weeks away from the 10th FDGB Congress. All the preparations for it are marked by the purposeful implementation of the 10th SED Congress and the Ninth FDGB Congress resolutions. The 10th party congress paid high tribute to the activity of the FDGB, its industrial labor unions and trade unions, all the executive committees and managements, and the diligent public work of many volunteer trade union functionaries, especially the industrial shop stewards. In the central committee report to the party congress, Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of our party's Central Committee, announced: "With its nearly 9 million members, the FDGB is making an important contribution to the shaping of the developed socialist society for the all-round strengthening of our socialist state."[1]

New great and revolutionary tasks arise for the trade unions from the targets set by the resolutions of the party congress and of the Third SED Central Committee plenum. While solving them, the FDGB considers that working people's interests include the advocacy of growing productivity as well as ever better satisfying the people's needs, and the connection between economic and social progress is becoming increasingly closer in the further shaping of the developed socialist society.

FDGB comrades therefore aim their efforts at mobilizing the millions of nonparty unionists for implementing those tasks. The party takes it for a fact "that one can advance only together with the working people, relying on firm relations with them," as Comrade Erich Honecker affirmed in his speech at the Central Committee secretariat conference with the kreis first secretaries of the SED on 12 February 1982, where he underscored the great trade union responsibility for proposals from the working people, which must be given proper attention.

We have come ahead quite a goodly stretch this way, as proven by the course of the trade union elections and the results of socialist emulation. Election meetings in the basic organizations were marked by a creative, constructive and objective, critical atmosphere and by the FDGB members' readiness to do all they can for the continued implementation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy. More than 2 million members took the floor in the discussions. They proposed 3/4 million suggestions and recommendations largely aimed at making the economic strategy for the 1980's come through. They made apparent that the trade unionists' thinking and conduct are increasingly governed by the conviction that only that can be consumed which was first produced. Typical of their basic attitude is, as the elections have brought out, the great trust in the policy of the working class party and the pride in the great achievements of their socialist fatherland. The unionists confirmed that the SED's domestic and foreign policy conforms deeply with the people's interests because it in every respect serves to safeguard peace and improve the material and cultural standard of living.

The preservation of peace, as more and more FDGB members come to realize, has become a vital issue for humanity in view of the immense dangers emanating from imperialism's current arms buildup policy. An active participation in the peace struggle therefore is a critical element of the trade union representation of interests. The GDR unionists wholly and completely support the tenacious struggle of the Soviet Union, our republic and the other socialist states for peace and their constructive proposals for arms limitation, arms control and disarmament. A concrete position was taken in many status reports and in the discussion on which contribution each could make to the defense of peace.

The FDGB--as we unequivocally affirmed at the 10th WFTU Congress--is resolutely dedicated to ensuring and stabilizing peace, the supreme good of mankind. We shall continue to fulfil that class mission under party leadership by our activities for further strengthening our socialist fatherland in every way, our struggle for a recovery of the international situation and the continuation of the detente process. We are ready to cooperate actively in this struggle with all forces of good will, with all unionists, regardless of their orientation and of the international organizations to which they may belong.

The Lessons of History Bestow Important Impulses on Our Work

In staking out the trade union tasks for the years ahead at the 10th FDGB Congress, we proceed from objective public requirements and from the party strategy prepared to cope with them. We also pay attention here to the experiences gathered for a successful representation of interests by generations of unionists during the history of the German trade union movement fighting for socialism. The lessons of

history provide our future work with important impulses. They lend us strength, optimism and a triumphant certitude that the workers class and all working people in our republic, led by the Marxist-Leninist party, are going to solve also the new and more complicated tasks of the 1980's.

We find a great significance in this connection in the publication of the "Geschichte des FDGB" [FDGB History] by the National Executive Committee on the occasion of the 10th FDGB Congress. This book reports on how the FDGB in 1945, alongside, and under the leadership by, the SED became the largest and most comprehensive class organization of the GDR workers class, and how it realizes its role as the active co-shaper of the developed socialist society. We are mainly concerned with tracing the great developmental lines of trade union activity and with it, mainly, the effects and results of this work serving the good of the people. Special consideration was given to presenting the activities of the millions of unionists and, by means of many vivid examples, reflecting those that add up to the essence of trade union activity in socialism.

The FDGB history attests to how, since our organization was set up, the creativity of the workers, employees and intellectuals has constantly broadened and deepened. Through trade union efforts under working class party leadership, the number of those has grown from year to year who deliberately have been making history in our country through the construction of socialism.

The FDGB history, not last, is the history of volunteer work done, and being done, by many hundreds of thousands of elected functionaries. Through it, countless unionists have become class-conscious, politically experienced, steadfast fighters. That work has been, is and remains of critical importance for the influence and fighting strength of our entire class organization, for its work as a school of socialism and as the trustee of the working people's interests. The FDGB history begins, to us, with the workers' tough and sacrificial struggle against capitalist exploitation and suppression. In that struggle, the workers class, influenced by the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, increasingly developed the ability and readiness to act in an organized fashion on behalf of common interests. In this, steadfastness and discipline, readiness for sacrifice, organizational loyalty and solidarity became the basic values and standards of trade union conduct. The far-sighted militant representatives of the German trade unions always felt committed to proletarian internationalism. The FDGB has accordingly always regarded itself as part of the international trade union movement. It has always received and practiced solidarity. Important and valuable for it have been and are the rich experiences of the Soviet trade unions in the construction of socialism and communism.

The Communists in the Trade Unions Have Passed the Tests of History

A special place is given in the FDGB history to the formation and development of the fighting community between the revolutionary working class party and the class trade unions. The party and the trade unions, originated under identical historic conditions, representing the interests of the same class and fighting for the same goals, have objectively combined in a fighting community from the outset. This has stood countless tests in the course of history and, especially under the conditions of triumphant socialism, proven the decisive prerequisite and assured guarantee for our successful trade union interest representation.

The communists, as this history documents, have proven themselves active unionists. Many communist functionaries, like Ernst Thaelmann, Wilhelm Pieck, Fritz Heckert and many others, started their political activity as trade union trustees. In their daily trade union detail work, they gathered valuable experiences they would later use in their leadership functions. In their trade union activities, the communists reaped significant successes, but they also had to suffer many harsh defeats. Yet never did the communists give up; they always represented the working people's interests and eventually brought it about that the workers class in alliance with the farmers and the other working people established its political power in the GDR.

This opened up dimensions and perspectives for the trade union activity and interest representation that are inconceivable and unattainable under the conditions of capitalist exploiter rule. With the founding of the GDR, under the leadership of its revolutionary party, the SED, a new chapter also got started in FDGB history. In the outcome of the formation of the workers and farmers power, the trade unions in our country also "took an enormous turn in their entire activity." They became "the master builders of the new society, because only the masses of millions can be the creators of that society."[2]

In their work, the trade unions had to proceed from that in a workers and farmers state, led in its "entire political and economic work by the conscious vanguard of the workers class," the revolutionary party, there can be no other "final purpose for any working class act but the consolidation of the proletarian state."[3] From this, the trade unions received their great obligation to enable the GDR workers class, under revolutionary party leadership, to direct the state and the economy.

Another remark by Lenin is of immediate relevance, to the effect that with establishing this state power, "the proletariat's most important and basic interest lies in enlarging the production volume and in enormously increasing society's productive forces."[4] This clearly and unequivocally defined the new content of trade union work, the essence of trade union interest representation under the conditions of the workers and farmers power. Today, three decades later, we may say: History has proven that a correct and successful decision was made thereby, which conformed with the interests of the workers class and all working people.

The eighth party congress with its resolutions, especially with the policy of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, opened a "broad field for the rank and tasks of the trade unions on the further road of socialism."[5] The party policy for the people's well-being and the safeguarding of peace, which was prepared by the ninth party congress and further developed by the 10th, finds the broadest agreement and active support among the trade union members because it deeply conforms with their interests today and for the future. A party which can boast such massive political effectiveness and such mass solidarity may well affirm: The communist trade union policy and the communists in the trade unions have passed their historic tests.

Creative Work--Expression of Socialist Democracy

The Central Committee report to the 10th SED Congress emphasizes that millions of working people in the GDR are directly participating, through the trade unions, in the management and planning of social processes. The SED has always let itself be guided by Lenin's remark that "the collective experience, the experience of millions, is indispensable for the work of socialist construction,"[6] and that "the socialist transformation can be achieved only through an active, direct and practical participation of millions and millions in the management of the state."[7] And these millions have been and are primarily organized in the trade unions, the most comprehensive mass organization of the ruling working class. The trade unions have offered and are offering, as history teaches, the most favorable prerequisites for bringing the working people into the management of the state and the economy.

We take for granted that working man finds his fulfilment mainly in the enterprise, in his daily labor. There he wishes to, and can, manifest his creative capacities and develop his personality. For that, the necessary prerequisites are created in the GDR through the abolition of the private ownership in the means of production and of the exploitation of man by man, and through opening the enterprises to trade union activity and interest representation, ensured by appropriate norms of law in the GDR Constitution and in the Labor Code. Here the working people, the owners of the means of production, affect through their trade unions the entire development of the enterprise directly, above all the development of production and of the working conditions. That is attested to, among other things, by the plan discussion in the enterprises and combines, organized and conducted by the trade unions. Year after year, millions of unionists are taking part in it. They infuse the plan with experiences and recommendations, with hundreds of thousands of prudent ideas for improving the efficiency and quality of production and the working and living conditions.

As trade unions, we always champion the unity between better performance and better working and living conditions. At the Third SED Central Committee plenum, Comrade Erich Honecker said: "All questions of the working climate and the social conditions call for the greatest attention."[8] That clearly addresses us too in our trade union responsibility. Our responsibility always embraces all questions of life. This precisely displays the free, unobstructed activity of our trade unions, in that they work in all domains shaping the life of working men as a force that buttresses the state. The right to being involved in determining what and how we are producing under socialist conditions is inseparable from everyone's ability, which is being increasingly used, to become active himself and develop his personal initiatives. Each utterance, each suggestion on how things can be done better, faster and more easily, is a concrete piece of evidence in our country to that millions are involved in our working, planning and governing, an expression of vivid socialist democracy, truly the people's rule.

The sense that one is being needed, and knowing that one can oneself contribute to providing ever more ample and substantial living conditions for oneself, one's family and the entire society, and that one bolsters peace through one's own good work--all this makes people happy and content and grants social security and safety. This becomes all the more weighty in view of the manifestations of intensifying crisis that have engulfed the capitalist system, bringing rapidly growing

unemployment, runaway inflation and a reduction of social benefits at a record size. While the imperialist arms buildup and high interest policy metes out gigantic profits to a handful of billionaires, the red pencil cuts more and more radically into the working people's social benefits, prices and rentals are rising, the standard of living is dropping, and social insecurity and dread about the future are spreading. But among us, in socialism, for party and government policy, and for trade union efforts, man is the measure of all things, and the good of the people is the supreme concern.

Socialist Emulation--The Largest and Most Comprehensive People's Movement

For many years, the GDR trade unions have been the successful organizers of the activists' and emulation movement. Increasingly, they have become the strongest motor of socialist emulation. Thereby they carry on, at an ever higher level and in ever better quality, those initiatives which the class-conscious unionists had released during the first months of the antifascist-democratic reconstruction.

The First FDGB Congress already called upon the working people to boost production for the fulfilment of the economic plan. An important premise for that was the expropriation of the Nazi and war criminals and the instituting of public ownership in the most important means of production in the summer of 1946. On that basis and under the influence of the party, supported by the trade unions, a new attitude toward work began to form, expressed in extensive initiatives and emulation activities. The Second FDGB Congress in April 1947, calling the construction and expansion of an efficient economy the vital question for our people, in view of these experiences, asserted in its social demands: "The development of all available productive forces is indispensably prerequisite to ensuring and improving the material and cultural standard of living."[9] This trade union decision of principle and the way of construction paved by the Second SED Congress relied on the trust in the creativity of the working people.

In all phases of the activists' and emulation movement, party members, worker personalities took its lead. That is indicated by the names and acts of Adolf Hennecke, Paul Sack, Erich Wirth, Franz Franik, Erich Seifert, Frida Hockauf, Paul Strauss, Charlotte Steinbach, Guenter Christoff, Willi Wehner, Gerhard Kast, Horst Franke, Gerd Pfeiffer, Margarete Koch, Doris Kersten, Erika Steinfuehrer, Christine Holste, Manfred Boettcher, Christa Kellermann, Wolfgang Sinn, Anneliese Eggert, Peter Kaiser, Andreas Finkernagel and many others. Through their example and the trade union activities encouraged by the party, tens of thousands and, eventually, millions of working people were drawn into the effort toward boosting our labor productivity. This did not come all by itself, of course; it was the result of the party policy, aimed at the good of the people, of its political-ideological work and of the efforts by the trade unions in providing their members with the scientific worldoutlook of the workers class. Time and time again they would explain Lenin's view that for all successes and the victory of socialism top labor productivity is crucial.

This link between political power and economic and social progress found its most prominent expression in the policy of the main task with its unity of economic and social policy, as issued by the Eigth SED Congress. It released the creative capacities of the workers class and all working people to an unprecedented extent.

Socialist emulation became a vast popular movement. Especially after the 10th party congress and the Third SED Central Committee plenum, among trade union members the realization came to prevail, which then found its concrete expression in the emulation resolutions for 1982, that continuing to strengthen our socialist fatherland extensively is necessary to meet the demands of the 1980's in the political, economic and social fields.

With its economic strategy, the working class party has established a sound scientific work program that mobilizes the working people's great creative energies for the solution of ambitious tasks. Tapping all reserves so as to attain a maximum of productivity and performance growth with the least of efforts makes a high demand on socialist emulation management, on all participants in emulation, on their political knowledge and technical skills. Only through profoundly understanding the dialectics between ends and means, and the initiative for one's own job that derives from it, can the advantages of our socialist planned economy be fully realized, and can the social causes we have put in motion, to quote Friedrich Engels, mainly and always increasingly have the effects we have intended, and will all capacities be unfolded for attaining the targets posed by the party in its working class mission and on behalf of all the people.

When in November last year the metallurgists of the Riesa steel and rolling mill promised at a shop steward plenary meeting to carry on socialist emulation with new initiatives, fashioned resolutely by the party's economic strategy, that resolution had been preceded by thorough discussions in the collectives. We must appreciate as most striking and exemplary the obligation to return to the economy a large part of the funds allocated according to plan. That is a weighty credit item to help make the party's economic strategy prevail and makes a high demand on creative work. What is new in such a commitment is that not only does it express the desire to reach the quota by the end of the year, but that even at the start of the plan year the economy may count on those funds which can then already be effectively applied to the plan. This makes the Riesa example worthy to be generalized, and meanwhile we have found in many other combines and enterprises that it is possible to do so. To learn from the best ones and make their experiences a common property is becoming of increasing importance while our economic performance is improving further.

For another reason as well, the resolution of the Riesa shop stewards enriches the emulation movement in our country. The emulation targets to be attained are vastly above the average and are based on high growth rates already achieved. This again indicates that high targets in socialist emulation stimulate creativity, keep producing more and more initiatives, and provide with the certitude that the strength and ability is there to ensure and extend economic performance improvements.

Everywhere in our life it is indicated that it pays off to strive for higher achievements in socialist emulation, under the slogan, "High Economic Growth Through Increasing Labor Productivity, Effectiveness and Quality--All for the Good of the People and for Peace!" The trade unions will continue to dedicate themselves, undeterred, to making our economic capacity grow further--as the critical factor for strengthening our socialist state and the source for ensuring and continuing our sociopolitical program. Producing more and better goods of all kinds through a decreasing investment of working hours and material also pays off because it induces creative acts, leads to the experience of success, and provides courage to tackle the most difficult tasks.

The FDGB devotes all its strength and authority to ever better conforming with these interests of the working people and creating the prerequisites for them always and on every job to place their own initiative-rich abilities at the service of society. We always take it for a fact that there is a close interaction between creative performance and the desire for higher political and technical training. Demands are growing for a diversified intellectual-cultural life that satisfies diverse interests and needs, and for leisure-time and vacations which provide pleasure, relaxation and stimulation. More and more working people want to enjoy culture and art, be active in it and find themselves confirmed by it. Eloquent testimony to that have been the 3,600 enterprise festivals, attended by circa 10 million persons, in 1981. Creativity includes the whole personality and all domains of life. Culture and art increasingly affect socialist personality development. That is why here too the demands are rising that are made on trade union activity.

A free, unhampered activity of working men in all domains of public life always produces new creativity; that is a sure guarantee for continued political, economic and social progress. It bears testimony to the vitality and efficiency of socialism. Thus the GDR trade unions, with a fine balance-sheet and great tasks for the future, are approaching the 10th FDGB Congress

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 120.

2. V. I. Lenin, "Speech at the Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress," "Werke" (Works), Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 438.

3. V. I. Lenin, "About the Role and the Tasks of the Trade Unions under the Conditions of the New Economic Policy," "Werke," Vol 33, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, pp 175 and 172.

4. Ibid., p 174.

5. Erich Honecker, "Thirty Years Successful Trade Union Work," "Reden und Aufsaetze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol 3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 452.

6. V. I. Lenin, "Speech at the First Congress of Economic Soviets," "Werke," Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, pp 406-407.

7. V. I. Lenin, "Speech at the Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress," op. cit. loc. cit.

8. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 3. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Third SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 33.

9. FDGB National Executive Committee (Soviet Zone of Occupation), ed., "Protokoll des 2. Kongresses des Freien Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes" (Second FDGB Congress Proceedings), 1947, p 221.

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BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS' 'POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL WORK' ILLUSTRATED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 3, Mar 82 (signed to press 10 Feb 82) pp 248-253

['Creativeness and Initiative' feature article by Dr Anneliese Bauerhorst, senior assistant; and Dr Hans Buchholz, head, Main Department for Correspondence Courses, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee: "Basic Organizations in the Struggle for High Performance Growth"]

> [Text] How our party's basic organizations stand up as centers for the political activity and confident relations with the working people and mobilize all creative forces in order to carry on resolutely, together with the working people, our united economic and social policy course--that is being presented by means of basic organization experience in the "Relais" enterprise of the EAW Friedrich Ebert parent enterprise in developing and testing new automated testing devices.

Our party's basic organizations are centers for the political activity and confident relations with the working people. The SED Central Committee report to the 10th party congress also points out that they ever more prominently appear in organizing the implementation of our united economic and social policy course.[1] Firm fighting positions and a relevant, massively effective political-ideological work by the basic organizations are all the more wanted today because eocnomic growth directly depends now "on further advances in intensification in all fields of social production. In fact, funds in energy, raw material and materials can as little be enlarged as can the labor force. Investments available to us also are strictly limited. Any further production boost thus depends on a better input/output ratio through rigorous intensification. There is no other way."[2]

Developing our economy in accordance with the requirements for the 1980's, attaining the above-average economic performance improvement needed to ensure, and gradually further raise, the people's material and intellectual-cultural standard of living achieved--that makes high demands on economic management and planning, on improving the quality and efficiency of all public efforts, and on the dedication of all working people. How we accomplish this, and how persuasively the party's word is carried into the masses, how well we succeed in encouraging the working people's creativeness and energy, all that greatly depends on the fighting strength of the basic organizations, on exemplary efforts by each communist in his

work collective. "The party organizations' fighting strength is tested against their high objectives; it mainly grows when one is not satisfied with what has been accomplished and critically evaluates one's own work results."[3] Where party work is determined by a fruitful exchange of ideas about the most efficient way to implement the tasks, and where every party member pays attention to what the workers have to say, there the communists' ability and readiness will grow to do their best, and great performance reserves will be tapped together with the working people.

Campaign Programs Are Leadership Tools

For the basic organizations in the enterprises, their campaign programs are crucial instruments by which to implement our economic strategy for the 1980's in its unity. They contain the points of major emphasis in the party organizations' political-ideological work concerning the tasks derived from the 1982 national economic plan, and they enable them to conduct the daily struggle for the plan positions politically, together with the state managers and economic functionaries, so that in their sphere of responsibility a higher economic benefit is achieved through reduced investments.

This is what experiences have confirmed in the basic organization of the "Relais" enterprise in the parent enterprise of the Friedrich Ebert electrical appliances works combine in Berlin-Treptow: Campaign programs turn out to be all the more effective as management tools, the more concretely and accountably tasks and measures are planned, the more they involve each individual communist, and the more carefully they have been coordinated with the mass organizations, especially the trade union and the youth organization. Such an action program for the management, planning and control of political mass activity for solving economic tasks expresses all the better the collective and uniform standpoint of all comrades and their demanding contribution to implementing the party's economic strategy, when all good experiences and ideas are admitted to its elaboration, when all recommendations and suggestions are carefully weighed.

The comrades in the basic organization of the "Relais" enterprise, e.g., in preparing their campaign program, proceeded from the need to concentrate their capacities on those products and procedures that have profound economic effects. Their aim is to produce top achievements and pave the way for efficient production over long range, as it was demanded at the Third Central Committee plenum. Deliberations pertained in particular to a new automated calibration and testing device for a motor protection relay that would make possible a considerable labor productivity improvement. The project relied on an extensive analysis of the economic situation in the combine, especially in those three enterprises which were to work on its design and production together. Equally thoroughly, the comrades provided themselves with an overall impression of the ideological situation. First, there was a broad spectrum of ideas about the project. They ranged from unconditional agreement to the warning that testing under operational conditions had never paid off, all the way to skepticism. So the party organization had to come up with a campaign position and provide itself with the knowledge the comrades would need for persuasive argumentation. Political knowledge was as necessary as technical knowledge. A comrade ignorant of microelectronics application opportunities is not likely to contribute to efficient solutions in this field or to advocate them as necessary. But if he is skilled in those matters, he can persuasively contend on behalf of innovations and help make them come through thanks to his dedication.

Under the slogan, "Tempo Through Technology," the communists first encouraged all involved in the development, design and production of the automated device to take their clues from top world standards. Vividly and intelligibly, they explained to every member of the enterprise the project's political significance and the scope of each individual contribution to it. They explained its economic benefit by the crucial effect the automated devide would have on the quality of output and on the efficiency of technology and on overall production. Through rapidly introducing this new generation of microcomputerized automated calibration and testing equipment, produced in the construction of means of rationalization by the parent enterprise itself, a 40-percent increase in labor productivity over the previous calibration and testing technology is brought about. For eight such automated devices, 16 jobs are cut back. There is a testing unit that can turn it into a complex automated device. The labor itself, handled mainly by women, becomes much easier.

The communists' campaign position was unequivocal: Anticipated for no sooner than in 2 years from now in the science and technology plan, the product was to be pushed ahead and be produced and become production-effective in already 9 months. In their effort to accomplish that objective, the comrades of the party organization in the "Relais" enterprise confirmed the experience that the working people, above all the communists, are motivated for a high performance all the more readily, the better they understand the purpose of their activity and know the importance and scope of their projects. After all, there is no automation device, no industrial robot, and no rationalization measure in our socialist society that is important for economic growth as such. Our economic activity, after all, becomes meaningful by serving the well-being of the people, the implementation of economic and social policy in its unity, the strengthening of socialism and, hence, the safeguarding of peace. Experiences furthermore indicate that concrete, accountable missions, which develop the skills of the individual comrades in bringing them to realization conscientiously, strengthen the authority and impact of the basic organization while they also mobilize the comrades in it. Especially such missions are indispensable for a party-minded posture and exemplary work that promotes innovations in the collective. A firm collective is generated by such highly charged efforts in which the members spur each other for highest achievements and tackle and resolve each task from the vantage point of the great social context, of the political objective.

To develop each comrade's fighting strength, a constant overall view on the results, experiences and problems that may arise in the implementation of the party mission is equally important. It greatly helped the scheduled realization of the project that party management in the "Relais" enterprise from the very beginning set precise deadlines for the various developmental phases and strengthened the authority of the managers on all levels to meet or beat those deadlines. Fighting strength and controlling the fulfilment of obligations belong together like word and deed.

Facing the challenges of the 1980's thus also always means seeking a better quality and efficiency of ideological work. High dedication by the working people, after all, also reflects the effectiveness of political-ideological work. There are vast rserves here for making each still more persuasively aware of his responsibility, of the identity between his own interests and those of society. The more successful the basic organizations' political-ideological work becomes in directly picking up

an individual's experiences and pervading them ideologically, the more successfully can dedication and a sense of responsibility be developed in the work collectives. The effectiveness of political-ideological work mainly depends on how convincingly the connections are conveyed between solving any particular tasks and the basic issues in the continued implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions, how each, in consequence of it, is assigned his place in it and how fully his potentials are utilized in actively participating.

Firm ideological positions are also wanted because the measures to improve our economic efficiency not rarely have far-reaching implications for the individual. Workers are being regrouped--as in the "Relais" enterprise--, have to move out of familiar collectives and have to establish new social ties. New educational efforts are made necessary by changed technologies. The use of industrial robots and of automated equipment alters working shifts and production structures. This always has to do with people; it affects and changes their working conditions and, not rarely, their living conditions, too. It is all the more important to convey still more through insights about social interconnections and the party's overall policy, awaken an ever deeper understanding of economic processes, the nature of economic laws in socialism and one's own place and contribution in our social development, reinforcing the experience that the scientific-technical revolution is, only in socialism, coped with on behalf of men and is the chief reserve for further boosting our economic efficiency. The successes in the "Relais" enterprise also only were possible because, together with the concrete economic problems, the bassic issues of our policy and, proceeding from there, the requirements and developmental prospects for each and everyone had been clarified. That sparked initiatives, further developed the sense of responsibility, brought together and reinforced collectives, and induced innovators from the enterprise itself and from other enterprises in the combine to enhance their own performance.

The basic organization's campaign program in the "Relais" enterprise is structured in such a way that the state managers, the mass organization managements, and all working people are oriented to the crucial connecting links in performance growth and can derive their own tasks from it. That is also true of the emulation program in the enterprise, in which the basic point of orientation in the party organization's campaign program, to tap further reserves through microelectronics and more efficient technologies, was broken down accurately and accountably and carried over into the more long-range training tasks for the youth collective. It makes apparent the joint concern between the basic organization's campaign program and the enterprise trade union organization's emulation program: to mobilize the working people for constructively and passionately coshaping the political course of the unified economic and social policy in the interest of society and in their very own interest. Through extensive information, personal talks and a quick reaction to proposals and recommendations, the readiness to participate is advanced and the trusting relations with the party become firmer all the time.

Demanding Intra-party Life

Steadfast communists are principally educated and steeled in their basic organization. The political-ideological work is the core of party work, unseparable from overall management activity where all forms, means and methods of political mass activity

are employed in a purposeful and differentiating manner. The effectiveness of political-ideological work greatly depends on the quality of intra-party life. How well the Leninist norms of party life are realized in the life of the basic organization, managerial collectivity and personal accountability are marked, and intra-party democracy is perfected--all that greatly determines the party organization's fighting strength and, hence, the quality of labor and the atmosphere in the collectives. Steadily striving for a party-minded creative atmosphere in the basic organization, the political home base for the communists, is standard procedure in management activity.

So that the basic organizations always prove centers of growing political activity and confident relations with the working people, the demands have also risen for holding high-level membership meetings. Active participation in the decision-making organ of the basic organization--the membership meeting--is among the duties and rights of each party member. For instance, the technician who was responsible for the scheduled production and for the production effectiveness of the automated calibration and testing device spoke in the membership meeting and showed the advances the collective had made, but he also called ideological impediments by name, e.g. lack of confidence in one's own capacity. In a debate, a basic position on it was jointly elaborated. This in turn strengthened his self-assurance for his report at the combine's intensification conference. There he was able, based on the communists' collective experience, to submit proposals for the development and prospects of those automated devices for the whole production of motor protection relays and vividly demonstrate thereby how a world top standard technology leads to permanent quality production.

Each basic organization's political impact and the effect it has on all working people in the operations field are greatly dependent on the fighting spirit, discipline and reliability with which the comrades resolve their tasks. A clear political orientation in the membership meetings, precise information on the situation in the collective, especially on complicated problems, are imperative. That is why the comrades in the "Relais" enterprise always seek to discuss the problems democratically, through creative debate, make concrete decisions on resolving them and carry them out with discipline. A frank and optimistic atmosphere in the party collective is the basis on which each comrade can aggressively advocate the decisions and help implement them with fighting spirit, objectivity in argumentation, and concrete acts.

Intra-party life also has specific features in each basic organization due to the differences in the comrades' development, in their campaign experiences and their technical qualifications. Intra-party life--as also demonstrated by the work of the basic organization in the "Relais" enterprise--is all the more interesting when each individual's abilities and knowledge are made to count. This way the comrades get many suggestions and impulses especially also for talking within the work collective, which is something they seek and use so as to make effective the knowledge, skills and abilities of the colleagues to improve the efficiency of the entire collective. This makes clear that intra-party democracy never serves only the development of the party itself. It is an objective requirement for an effective political leadership for the masses and a purposeful organization of their work.

In the "Relais" enterprise, the party secretary and the other members of party management confer regularly with the work collectives. They inform themselves right on the jobs about what affects the shift foreman, the installer, the worker on the analyzer, the comrades and colleagues every day, what they enjoy and what they "have to put up with." That also helps them find out about the communists' effectiveness, their impact and authority in situ, so they can talk about it personally, as they are doing every day. Constant contact with the individual comrades is irreplaceable in intra-party life. It helps in making the party member increasingly aware of his own importance to the party collective, so that he learns to assess his own strengths and weaknesses correctly while he perceives that his own commitment to strengthening his party organization's fighting capacity also is irreplaceable. The focal point of such talks is placed not only on the outcome of an individual's work but also on how the comrade tackles a problem and overcomes difficulties and gains companions in his efforts. Clarity about that helps the collective as it helps the individual.

All this was decisive in developing the new automation equipment within 9 months and putting it into three-shift operation. Meanwhile the second calibration and testing automation device also has been placed under production tests. Smoothly, things did not go, though. Uninterrupted operation, e.g., demonstrated that the new quality of the testing technology depends more than used to be the case on the quality of each relay component. This again gives rise to higher demands in the contest for the title, "Enterprise of Excellent Quality Work," and in developing socialist collective efforts, in the work of the innovators and each individual worker's involving himself in thinking about it, too. Now, fighting positions are being taken to achieve all efficiency parameters and ensure a stable, uninterrupted operation of the six automated devices to be produced by the end of the year. Experiences gained and data acquired must be used at once for our work ahead.

Involving each working person in the effort for high labor efficiency and quality, conducting, as a party organization, the struggle for each plan position politically, concentrating capacities and means on the key issues of rapid economic growth while tapping the potentials of individuals--therein the party organizations see the guarantee for implementing step by step, together with the working people, the demanding campaign programs.

The basic organization's party work in the "Relais" enterprise has confirmed this: "Wherever there is a comrade, there is the party, too!" The more clearly and soundly the campaign positions were worked out for enforcing these economic tasks in new dimensions, the more strongly the readiness of the party members has developed to bring them to realization under any conditions and mobilize the whole work collective for it. It is the basic organization that directs this process through long-term task planning, constant attention to the unity of politics, economics, ideology and organization, high and ambitious objectives, clear and accountable intermediate goals aimed at major emphasis points, and an accountability spelled out in concrete party missions.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 138.

2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politburos an die 3. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Third SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 30.

3. Ibid., p 55.

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DISSEMINATION OF SED'S 'MILITARY POLICY' TO BE INTENSIFIED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 36, 8 Mar 82 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "No Cuts in the Militarization of the GDR Youth--SED Demands 'Increasing Performance' in Premilitary Training." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The theoretical SED organ EINHEIT now has confirmed there will be no cuts in the militarization of the GDR youth. In a contribution on the future tasks of the premilitary Society for Sport and Technology (GST), EINHEIT (No 3, 1982) called for "increasing the citizens' readiness and ability to defend the socialist fatherland" and for strengthening "ideological influence" mainly on youth to keep developing the motives for military service. With reference to GDR army reorganization, the party journal asked that the premilitary training of youth be "oriented to the new requirements of the NVA." Future soldiers were to be prepared for their duties to defend socialism "to the extent the demands of army service requires." That compelled "qualitative improvements" in premilitary education and training. EINHEIT in this context confirmed the introduction of new and more precise training programs (which IWE has reported before). They were "derived from higher demands for socialist national defense and aimed at a high performance growth." Especially the program-directed premilitary career training extending the knowledge provided through defense instruction and the defense training camps was "important for operational readiness" in the armed forces and should therefore be conducted "with great responsibility." To accomplish the increasing performance demanded for premilitary training, EINHEIT said a greater use of NVA reservists as training officers in the GST was "necessary."

SED Educator's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 3, Mar 82 (signed to press 10 Feb 82) pp 289-294

[Article by Dr Werner Eltze, colonel, deputy chairman, Central Executive Committee, Society for Sport and Technology (GST); and Dr Willy Meinert, colonel, staff employee, SED Central Committee: "The Society for Sport and Technology Prepares for Its Seventh Congress"

[Text] As a socialist defense organization in the GDR, the GST is making an important contribution to the protection of socialism and the safeguarding of peace. The centerpiece of its entire activity is the mission from the 10th SED Congress to keep promoting the GDR citizens' socialist defense readiness and perfect the capabilities of youth through purposefully organized premilitary training and the continued shaping of socialist defense motivation. The GST has its specific opportunities to contribute thereby at the same time to turning our young people into socialist personalities with a sound political steadfastness.

Our 10th party congress has provided all domains of society in the GDR with a realistic action program for the 1980's. This scientifically sound perspective also provides the GDR's defense organization, the GST, with important impulses. Its social mission is to contribute to the strengthening of socialism and the safeguarding of peace through premilitary training and defense sport; this calls for boosting the citizens' readiness and ability to defend their socialist fatherland and for assisting in the development of socialist personalities. The task assigned by the 10th party congress, to keep promoting the citizens' defense readiness and perfect the defense capabilities of youth through purposefully organized training,[1] guides all GST activity.

Mobilizing all forces for safeguarding peace and high vigilance for the protection of socialism are needed especially in the tense international situation at present where, as Comrade Erich Honecker underscored at the Third SED Central Committee plenum, "world peace has never been threatened as much, ever since the end of World War II, as it is at present."[2] "Increasing dangers arise from the growing aggressiveness of imperialism and the exacerbation of the international situation caused by the United States and NATO. To make peace permanent, we have to strengthen our defense capability."[3] To that, the GST has to make its specific contribution.

The board and executive committee elections being held right now in the GST, the preparations for the seventh congress (25 to 27 June 1982), and the 30th anniversary of its founding (7 August 1982) offer extensive opportunities for bringing a political-ideological influence to bear on large parts of the population, mainly on youth. Especially our party's military policy has to be convincingly explained, and the motives for the tasks in national defense have to be further developed on a sound political-ideological basis.

Achievements in Strengthening Socialist National Defense

Based on SED resolutions, the GST has done well, especially in recent years. The years since the Eighth SED Congress were the most successful ones thus far in our promoting our defense readiness. It deserves to be highly recognized that through the industriousness of, mainly, tens of thousands of volunteer training officers and functionaries, the soldiers of tomorrow have been purposefully prepared for their upcoming service. Many commanding officers of NVA troop components and units unanimously agree that the GST's preparatory training is of ever greater benefit for NVA training. In the 1980/81 training year, 93 percent of all who took part in premilitary training got the "premilitary and technical knowledge" medal, and in the second GST training year, more than 10 percent of the young people met the tough conditions for the GST's "best performance medal."

Premilitary career training is of special value for the NVA. The centerpiece of the activity of GST executive committees is to prepare the future motorized riflemen, military chauffeurs, radio operators, teletypists, military pilots, sailors and divers in fine quality for their later creditable service. This amounts to providing them efficiently with extensive knowledge and the acquisition of special skills and facilities in line with the greater NVA requirements. This process also develops and shapes important socialist personality traits of great value for the service in the socialist armed forces as well as generally in our society.

A young GST pilot who flies his plane for the first time senses the responsibility he is going to bear later as a military pilot for protecting his socialist fatherland. The "signature" of his first flight instructor, usually a volunteer GST glider-pilot, unforgettably marks his path of development. A future NVA motorized infantrist can already find out in the GST how important comradeship and a collective spirit are in military life. A diver will execute his tasks in the NVA all the faster and better, when he has previously become familiar with safety regulations while in the GST and was thoroughly trained there. A budding sailor going into the navy can learn in the GST how important discipline and order are in the military service. In his study, "About Authority," Friedrich Engels, in explaining an "imperative authority," chose as example a ship on the high seas. "Here, in the moment of danger, all lives depend on everyone obeying, at once and absolutely, the will of one individual."[4] Such a realization holds true, without reservation, for all domains of military life in a special way. To be properly focused on that, is an important matter for the future recruits.

Part of GST work also is to provide many citizens with opportunities to maintain and further develop their defense capability through interesting and diversified defense sports. GST defense sports in this sense are making an increasing contribution to communist education and are motivating young people over long range and, particularly, for NVA service. From that vantage point, results as those in the Halle bezirk organization are of special importance, where 75 percent of the future military drivers took part in the motor vehicle defense sports activities. The Cottbus bezirk organization brought it about that all future pilots, paratroopers and teletypists went through active defense sports.

In the martial arts, of central importance for maintaining a defense capacity, 275 new sections were set up last year, and an interesting activity was organized there. GST comrades also try harder to support the more than 9,000 work communities at the polytechnical secondary schools, helping arouse and strengthen the interest in national defense and offering defense sport opportunities.

The achievements of the socialist defense organization reflect the greater maturity of the boards and executive committees, which are ever better meeting their responsibility with assistance from our party. Many comrades do exemplary work in this socialist mass organization which is expanding its field of action ever more suitably, especially through its stable cooperation with the FDJ, the NVA and the other armed organs, but also with the comrades in public and vocational training, the trade unions, "Urania," the committees of the antifascist resistance fighters and the state organs. A special point has to be made here of our comradely cooperation with the socialist youth association. Working agreements and concrete arrangements for jointly sponsoring political highlights and for the regular work in premilitary training and in defense sports have become standard procedure.

Strengthening Military Service Motivation

Of crucial importance is the communist education to be performed in the GST. It extends the education at home, in school, in the FDJ and elsewhere and aims at preparing the young people of premilitary age for their service with the armed organs. Most young people are greatly responsive to the premilitary training requirements. Knowing how necessary military service is helps them understand how useful premilitary training is. Our youth's higher educational level and growing awareness favorably affect the attitude toward the defense of socialism. They consider premilitary training necessary and personally beneficial and they are ready to perform what is demanded of them in accordance with the GST training programs.

It is this healthy attitude of the vast majority of the young people in the GDR toward the need to defend their socialist fatherland that is used as the point of departure for political-ideological work in the GST. It is aimed mainly at further shaping a class-bound attitude toward the defense of the achievements of socialism and concentrates on explaining socialist military policy, unmasking the enemies of peace and socialism, and fostering socialist defense readiness through instilling discipline, collective spirit and operational readiness.

What counts is to reinforce the young people in their desire to make a high personal contribution to socialist national defense and acquire the knowledge and skill they need for it in the GST. The core of it lies in answering the decisive questions about the meaning in being a soldier in socialism: "For whom? With whom? Against whom?" Simultaneously, it is important to deepen, especially in young people, the knowledge about the war danger existing today, caused by imperialism, provoked especially by the United States and NATO, but also the optimistic realization that peace today is not unprotected and not at the mercy of its enemies. Service in the socialist armed forces is service to peace, and the peace initiatives of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states offer a reasonable and auspicious alternative for preserving peace in spite of dangerous intrigues from the most aggressive imperialist forces, an alternative that is worth investing all capacities in. Service to peace and for peace, therein lies the all-round strengthening of the GDR, and that includes our military service, through the conscientious fulfilment of which all conscription-age citizens help reliably secure the military protection of our socialist fatherland.

Here we also must concretely and relevantly prove the connection between peace and socialism while taking issue with imperialist defamation and slander. Not only the infamous lie about the threat must be crushed persuasively with reference to the resolute peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. We also must cogently refute by means of the irrefutable facts of the arms buildup policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles such seemingly neutral claims by the class enemy that "both world camps" were engaged in a "policy of strength," that the arms race was being pushed as much by the USSR as by the United States. That aims deliberately at disorienting especially the youth, and it counts on instable class positions, on inadequate political knowledge and discernment. That, in the final analysis, is nothing but a modernized form of the all too well known slogan, "a rifle is like any other rifle," to which the bourgeoisie has always resorted to corrupt the truth.

In all apprentice shops and brigades, in schools and boarding schools, wherever youth collectives work and live together, a healthy political climate, especially open-mindedness and a party-minded stance are a basic prerequisite for fostering and further advancing a personal readiness and responsibility for strengthening and protecting socialism.

Together with the FDJ, the GST seeks to deepen the awareness of the defense worthiness of our socialist fatherland in the soldiers of tomorrow and to elucidate the defense of socialism as a right and honorable duty for each GDR citizen. All premilitary and defense sports training in the GST is tied to this leading idea. All participants must realize that the military defense of our accomplishments is an inevitable consequence of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. What matters is further to mold the young people's firm solidarity with their socialist German state as the critical basis for a sound defense motivation, deepen the unshakeable friendship between the GDR and the USSR as the firm foundation for all our successes, and make everyone aware of the character of the socialist military coalition to which the GDR and its NVA belong as being the reliable military protection of socialism.

The GST executive committees and boards concentrate their work on their central task: Preparing the future recruits for their service with the NVA and the border troops of the GDR. This responsible political mission makes high demands on all functionaries, coaches, trainers and drill instructors. What it amounts to, after all, is to help create the decisive bases for the political-moral spirit of the future defenders of socialism through aggressively and persuasively propagating our world-outlook and our party's policy and military policy. With that, the effort starts to achieve fine training results.

Strong impulses for the political-ideological work also come from a close cooperation with the comrades on the committee of the antifascist resistance fighters and a meaningfully organized GST work on our tradition. The lives of the antifascist resistance fighters who under the toughest conditions fought for the just cause of the people against fascist terror, impressively exemplify the harshness of the class conflict but personal fortitude and steadfastness as well. Transmitting their experiences therefore is of great value for the political-moral education of youth.

Special commitments arise for the functionaries as well as the GST press organs to further deepening the friendship with the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community, especially the Soviet DOSAAF (Voluntary Society for the Support of Ground, Air and Naval Forces) and the other fraternal organizations. Deepening our fraternal alliance strengthens optimism and confidence in the triumphant prospects of socialism and is an ineradicable component of communist education. Many practical measures, such as the friendship camps, comprehensive contests and permanent sponsorship relations, have been found of excellent benefit to developing our relations with the fraternal socialist organizations.

New Requirements for GST Work

At the 10th SED Congress, Comrade Gen Heinz Hoffmann, Politburo member and minister for national defense, explained why higher demands are being made on our national defense in the 1980's. He emphasized as the crucial cause "the enemy's aggressiveness rising by leaps and bounds,"[5] forcing us, with its growing threat, into commensurate defense efforts.

Modern weapons and combat equipment make new demands on every soldier in the NVA. Military equipment, as one knows, depends on the skill of the one who operates it. Extensive new demands are placed on the soldier personalities with respect to the qualifications and operations readiness, due to the technical-tactical parameters of modern military equipment as well as to the structural changes and operational conditions. The handling and processing of various data and of surveillance, control, regulation and debugging functions are gaining increasing importance. That depends as much on solid natural science and technical knowledge as on a clear political attitude.

The GST, the school for tomorrow's soldiers, must take its clues from these new NVA requirements. Future soldiers have to be prepared for their duties in safeguarding peace and defending socialism to the extent that the demands of military service require it. Skillful military service preparation always comes as a package that includes political-moral education, premilitary-technical training and physical toughening. None of these sides must be neglected. We need an increasing performance in premilitary training and better leads for the military service, and we, essentially, have no more time and no greater means in personnel, materials and funds by which it is to be accomplished. So the quality of education and training has to be improved.

The GDR's overall social development, the economic advances made, and the high educational level and growing political maturity of youth offer increasingly more favorable conditions to fulfil that task. New, more specific, training programs derived from the higher demands made on socialist national defense, taking account of experiences thus far and in line with the GST's possibilities, as well as their being scientifically and methodologically readied for the training personnel, are oriented to a high performance increase. That calls for a rational use of training time, for activating the participants of training, and for systematically and steadily qualifying the training personnel.

Of great value it is here for the NVA if the GST's premilitary career training logically focuses the knowledge transmitted through defense instruction and the defense training camps so that the GST training programs are concluded on a fairly uniform level. Fulfilling the program for premilitary career training in the GST is important for operational readiness in our socialist armed forces and must therefore be subject to great responsibility. Preparing precise programs accurately, training the training personnel, and providing a political attitude toward solving the new tasks in premilitary training are a key issue for all GST executive committees and boards in preparation for the seventh congress.

In connection with the increasing performance in premilitary career training called for, it becomes necessary to draw more NVA reservists into GST work. Their activity as training officers is of increasing importance. It is part of the responsibility of the party executives, mainly of the basic SED organizations, to recruit in particular those reservists into GST activity who acquired their military knowledge and experiences in recent years. It will partly depend on their active participation that the newly ripened tasks in defense policy education and in premilitary career training are solved by the GST in fine quality and on a high level. The state managers also ought to keep this task in mind and create the prerequisites for the reservists' in the GST maintaining their fighting capacity and transmitting the knowledge they acquired in the NVA. And then there is this other point that

for still quite some time, for reasons of our demographic development, much also still will have to be done to maintain premilitary knowledge acquired up to the time of enlistment. In this field as well, reservists collectives are invited to address further tasks in cooperation with the GST's martial arts sections.

The higher demands are made on defense sports also because it is especially suitable for developing socialist defense preparedness. Here we might merely stress its importance to preparing a new generation of military career soldiers. Interesting defense sports stimulate among many young people an option for military careers early in their lives. Someone who comes from the defense sports working communities at the polytechnical secondary schools and goes into GST defense sports sections for his premilitary training is best prepared, and excellently motivated, for the military profession. Target practice and martial arts also deserve much attention, however, as the basis for maintaining and extending the reservists' defense capacity.

The socialist defense organization has repeatedly given impressive evidence for its grown performance capacity. The Fourth Military Spartacus Festival in Erfurt in July 1981 was the first such GST highlight after the 10th SED Congress which publicly demonstrated that. With support from party members and candidates, the GST intends to reach a performance balance late in June, at its seventh congress, and in August, for the 30th anniversary of its founding, that comes up to the targets set for promoting all citizens' defense readiness, as proposed by the 10th SED Congress. It is a matter of honor for each comrade to prepare social highlights properly by plans fulfilled and by fine achievements. Under the motto, "Toward the Seventh Congress--With Initiative and Energy for the Fulfilment of the 10th Party Congress Resolutions," tens of thousands of volunteer functionaries and training officers and all GST members are making great efforts to have the GDR's socialist defense organization fulfil its social mission in an exemplary manner.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th Party Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 126.

2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 3. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Third SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 9.

3. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., p 126.

4. Friedrich Engels, "About Authority," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 18, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 307.

5. Heinz Hoffmann, "Protokoll der Verhandlungen des X. Parteitages der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (10th SED Congress Proceedings), Vol 1, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 196.

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CONDITIONS FOR IMPROVING FAMILY LIFE ANALYZED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 43, 19 Mar 82 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "Still No Guarantee for Simple Population Reproduction in the GDR." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The theoretical SED organ EINHEIT (No 3, 1982) now has underscored that there still is no guarantee for the so-called simple population reproduction in the GDR despite the strong boost in the birth rate up to 1980. Some 265,000 children should have been born in 1980, e.g., circa 20,000 more than actually were born, EINHEIT wrote in its most recent edition. In 1980, the baby boom had reached its climax in the GDR with approximately 245,000 live births. Last year, the birth rate again dropped for the first time, by more than 7,000. The three children family, propagated by the party, the state and the media, EINHEIT admitted in this context, could not be enforced. Right now, families mostly had one child or two children. That was a great advance, to be sure, compared with years when most only wanted one child, but it was not enough to guarantee the simple population reproduction. Between 1976 and 1980, the GDR spent more than M 5 billion on birth-promoting social measures.

SED Functionary's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 3, Mar 82 (signed to press 10 Feb 82) pp 317-321

['Information' feature report by Irene Zickenrott, entineer, economist, staff employee, SED Central Committee: "Promotion of Young Marriages and Families"]

[Text] Marriage and family relations are based on love and mutual respect, understanding and mutual help every day, and the joint responsibility for the children, our Party Program says. "The complete equality of the marriage partners, the increasing economic independence of women and ever improving opportunities to take part in public life on equal terms have created qualitatively new preconditions for the personal bonds established by marriage and starting a family."*

*"Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 55.

That remark is predicated on the application of Marxism-Leninism to our social conditions, on the victorious working class struggle under party leadership. As early as in "Das Kapital," Marx demonstrated that by including woman in the social production process, a new economic basis would be generated for a higher form of family and sexual relations because large-scale industry would provide woman with a crucial role in socially organized production processes beyond the sphere of the household.*

Ever since its founding, our state has created continually improving conditions and prerequisites for the prospering of marriage and the family, where the abilities of both marriage partners can develop in every way, and children born are properly taken care of, educated and--together with the socialist school and the youth organization--prepared for life. That involves the general legal principles such as the GDR Constitution, the Family Code and the Labor Code, the law on mother and child protection and the rights of woman, the abortion law and the law on the local people's representations and their organs, the youth law and many other legal regulations and provisions, resolutions and measures aimed at promoting marriage and the family.

Important advances have been made in social and family policy since the Eighth SED Congress. Its resolutions, aimed at doing everything for the well-being of the workers class and all other working people, for the happiness of the people, in an extensive fashion touch on marriage and family development. Through the implementation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, resolutely carried further by the ninth and 10th party congress, a program is in effect which, by means of a multifaceted system of sociopolitical measures, helps ensure and gradually improve the people's material and intellectual-cultural standard of living. Young marriages and the family enjoy special encouragement and promotion from that. This was impressively confirmed at the Third Central Committee plenum.

What are the young girls and men like who decide to get married in our country? These young people have grown up in socialist society and, thanks to the socialist countries' policy, in peace. They are part of a generation that no longer had to live through war with all its misery and dread. Generally, they have a fine education. Both partners are working and can acquire further training both technical and political. They have grown up under the influence of norms of conduct which facilitate, demand and foster socialist interhuman relations, which include as a crucial basic condition woman's equality in all domains of public life. They make high demands on their partner and enter marriage with great expectations. The main motives for getting married are love and mutual trust, mutual respect and responsibility for each other. It is a desirable goal for these young people to marry the partner they love and start a family with children. It meets their very personal need and relies on the experience that marriage and the family are respected, protected and in many ways promoted by socialist society.

In recent years, between 130,000 and 140,000 couples got married in our country annually. In 1980, there were 86,400 marriages with both partners still below the age of 26. That came to nearly two-thirds of all marriages.

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*Cf. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol I, Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 514.

Granting credits on favorable terms is a generous act of promotion and a precious aid in getting young marriages started. That decree has been considerably expanded on the basis of our further economic performance improvements, as of 1 September 1981. Now still more young couples have access to interest-free credit at a sum of M 5,000 for housing procurement and funding their household furnishings. Income limits in effect previously have been dropped. Even young people contracting their second marriage get a credit if they are below 26 years of age and did not use that credit for their first marriage. Of the interest-free credits to be redeemed, M 1,000 are canceled for the birth of the first child, M 1,500, for the second, and M 2,500, for the third. This credit reduction is now also granted for premarriage children to whom one of the spouses holds the right of parental education and for adopted children.

This further improved the fine social and material prerequisites for a harmonious development of young families with children. Almost all young married people have thus far taken advantage of this interest-free credit. That it enjoys great appeal is shown by the great increase in credit recipients during the first months after the expanded benefits became applicable. In toto, from May 1972 till December 1981, 778,199 credit contracts were concluded with young married people, and more than M 4.5 billion were allocated for it from the state budget. For 845,243 children born during that period, credit discounts went into effect, so that M 992 million did not have to be paid back to the state. For more than 26,000 young couples, the whole repayment liability for their interest-free credits of M 5,000 was canceled because their families already had three children each.

Our housing construction program is highly responsive to the high place value young married people attach to their own apartment and to starting a family. That program is the centerpiece of our social policy. In recent years, one out of every five new apartments went to young couples. Furthermore, the FDJ initiative helped hand to young married people circa 54,000 reconditioned or completed apartments since 1976. The number of homes of their own they were able to get doubled since 1976. For improving the housing situation, 30,800 young couples resorted to purpose-related credits since 1972, for which M 799 million were made available.

Although the number of young couples who are the happy owners of an apartment rises from year to year—a positive trend that will continue with our gradually solving our housing problem as a social problem--, many young couples' desire for an apartment still cannot be satisfied at once. To reduce the waiting periods steadily is something on which the five-year plan requirement is focusing which has set down that during this period 940,000 apartments are to be newly built or modernized.

Within the scope of the general improvements of the working and living conditions for all working people, additional sociopolitical measures went into effect for mother and child, for a more favorable compatibility between a working life and maternity, which correspond in an exemplary fashion to significant vital needs of young families with children. Important expenses and services having to do with pregnancy, the birth, care and education of the children are through these measures assumed by society. These benefits, which are paid for directly or indirectly out of the social funds for the promotion of young couples and families, are increasing steadily. For pregnancies and deliveries alone, allocations rose from M 2.3 billion between 1971 and 1975 to M 5.3 billion between 1976 and 1980.

Working mothers who have given birth to their second or any further child are entitled to paid leave, following their maternity leave, up to the first birthday of the child. Up to the end of 1981, there were 371,350 mothers who availed themselves of the baby year. The state budget put up some M 930 million for it.

Pregnancy and maternity leave was prolonged from 11 weeks (1950) to 26 weeks.

	1950	1963	1972	1976
Pregnancy leave, in weeks	5	6	6	6
Maternity leave, in weeks	6	8	12	20
Leave totals, in weeks	11	14	18	26

State subsidies for mothers came to more than M 4.2 billion since 1971.

State child support also went up. Since 1972, it has amounted to M 1,000 per child.

Children	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th and more
1950	M 50*	M 50*	M 100	M 250	M 500
1958	M 500	M 600	M 700	M 850	M 1,000
1972	M 1,000	M 1,000	M 1,000	M 1,000	M 1,000

(*only for [working] mothers under state insurance)

Subsidies for it came to M 1 billion between 1976 and 1980.

The 40-hour week was introduced for all mothers working full time with two or more dependant children. Leave was prolonged. Through extending the minimum leave for women working full time, some 402,000 women working on regular shifts are given three additional days leave, including 52,000 mothers with two or more children. Thus the number of working women with children entitled to 20, 21 or 23 days of basic leave per year rose to 607,500 in 1980.

Another great achievement of our socialist society of great benefit to married people and the family is the Abortion Act of March 1972. This ensures a woman's right to determine the number and spacing of children herself and decide whether she wants to carry to term. The act also helps further extend the health protection for mother and child.

Experiences of recent years confirm that the sociopolitical measures have developed and reinforced the desire for children. They brought a basic change to the birthrate in the GDR. The number of live births in 1980, at 245,132, was higher by 66,005, i.e. by 36.8 percent, than in 1974.

Year	Total live births in 1,000	Changes since 1974, in percent
1974	179,1	100
1975	181,8	101.5
1976	195,5	109.1
1977	223,2	124.6
1978	232,2	129.6
1979	235,2	131.3
1980	245,1	136.8

Along with the beneficial effect the sociopolitical measures have, the birthrate since the mid-1970's also reflects the assuredness that children in our society enjoy social security and comfort. More than 70 percent of the children born in 1980 came from women below 26 years of age.

Right now, families mostly have one child or two children. That is a great advance, to be sure, compared with years when most only wanted one child, but it is not enough to guarantee the simple population reproduction. For that, e.g. in 1980, some 265,000 children should have been born, e.g., circa 20,000 more than actually were born. Yet it still has been confirmed that our society can affect the birthrate positively through a social policy that meets with the interests and needs especially of the young couples—particularly also under the conditions of extensive opportunities for family planning.

An essential social prerequisites for fulfilling the young couples' desires for children doubtless is the availability of places in day nurseries and kindergartens. Great efforts are being made to increase child care from year to year through a planned construction of child facilities and through local initiatives. In the current five-year plan, 55,000 nursery spots and enough kindergarten capacities will be newly created for all children, whose parents desire it, to be placed in the care of a kindergarten and so prepared for school.

In 1980, 329,600 children were taken care of and educated in 6,415 day nurseries. In the last 10 years alone, nearly 40 percent of that capacity was created, so that in that period, in spite of the higher birthrate, child care more than doubled--from 291 to 612 per 1,000 children to be cared for. That is the highest figure in the world, and still there are right now not a few young mothers waiting for a day nursery spot. There are not enough of them to meet the desire of many young mothers to get back to work as fast as possible. State budget subsidies for day nursery care rose from M 2.7 billion in 1971 to 1975 to come to M 3.6 billion in the last five-year plan period.

By the end of 1980, 710,351 places were available in the 12,145 kindergartens and the weekly homes for infants between three and six. The rate of care for infants from the age of three to their entering school rose in the last 10 years from 645 infants per 1,000 to 922. State budget subsidies for kindergartens and combined facilities rose from M 3.4 billion between 1971 and 1975 to nearly M 4.6 billion between 1976 and 1980.

The high social appreciation for young families with children is expressed in the party resolution and the decree on it by the Council of Ministers in concurrence with the FDGB National Executive Committee for granting another large increase in child support money from the state budget for every third and additional child in a family. Starting on 1 December 1981, that came to M 100 per month for such children instead of the previous M 50, 60 or 70. A quarter of a billion Marks come out of the state budget for it annually.

The decree on granting scholarships to full-time students at the universities, colleges and technical schools in the GDR, which went into effect on 1 September 1981, has found much approval. It raises the subsidies for student families and for students with children and a parental educational responsibility for them.

Now circa 11 percent of the female students gets for each child a basic stipend raised by M 50, and for male students the percentage is still much higher. That also helps improve the subsistence of the student family or the young family in which one spouse is a student, while it also induces a good performance in studies and in public work.

The prolonged leaves and the conditions for vacation arrangements also have a positive effect on young marriage and family relations. In 1980, it was possible to distribute 4.6 million vacation trips, 1.3 million more than 10 years before. The number of vacation spots given to families with three or more children rose more than eightfold from 1970 to 1980. Some 1.9 million pupils spent at least 2 weeks of their vacation in enterprise vacation camps, pioneer camps and school and specialists' camps. Moreover, circa 700,000 pupils of the lower grades had a great time at local vacation games.

The expanded opportunities for furlough and vacation activities are part of our social policy. The state budget and enterprise funds will also put up copious means for it in the years ahead. Directly or indirectly, they benefit the young families with children.

Among the facilities which we can no longer conceive ourselves to be without, and which ease the lives of the young families and help, in particular, the mothers' work life are the after-school centers and school lunch programs. There were over 745,500 after-school center vacancies in 1980. That means each child on grades 1 to 4 can attend an after-school center. Over 1.7 million pupils get a warm lunch each day in 1980, 78 percent of all pupils in grades 1 to 12. In 1970, it had been just 47.2 percent. Some 66 percent of the pupils regularly gets milk at school. Ten years before, it had only been one-fourth of all pupils. For feeding the pupils, the state budget between 1976 and 1980 allocated nearly M 4.3 billion.

This systematic development of services fully conforms to the justified desires, also of young families to reduce household chores with the time and efforts they consume. Laundry services, e.g., have shown fine results. Per inhabitant and per year, more than 12 kilogram of laundry is washed right now, almost twice as much as in 1970. The share of home deliveries, which is the most efficient form for the families, rose from 18.7 percent in 1970 to 22.6 percent in 1980.

Altogether, the social and family policy of our workers and farmers state, and the important sociopolitical measures that have gone along with it, have greatly helped further elevate the families' material and cultural living standard. Married couples and families enjoy social security and comfort. They have what it takes to make their relations harmonious and permanent. Even so, it is of course up to the marital partners themselves how to use these excellent conditions and opportunities. The norms of conviviality commensurate with the socialist way of life, and especially with the new social position of woman, do not prevail automatically. Making them real within the family implies changed attitudes and modes of thinking and conduct in men as well as women. That starts with family upbringing and then passes through the school up to preparing adolescents for love, marriage and family and continues in the state of matrimony through coping with problems and difficulties. That includes, not last, that the household chores and the upbringing of children, duties the families regularly have to deal with, are handled by both marriage partners in a sensible division of labor.

Society's influence is directed at helping the various family members--especially the marriage partners--shape family relations commensurate with the socialist way of life and benefiting the personality development of all family members.

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BOOK ON HISTORY OF COMMUNIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 3, Mar 82 (signed to press 10 Feb 82) pp 327-330

["History of Our Socialist Youth Organization"--Review by Prof Dr Ernst Diehl, member, SED Central Committee; deputy director, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED CC; chairman, GDR Council for History Studies; of book, "Geschichte der Freien Deutschen Jugend" (History of the Free German Youth), by authors collective headed by Prof Dr Karl Heinz Jahnke; published on orders of FDJ Central Council by Verlag Neues Leben, East Berlin, 1982]

[Text] At the 10th SED Congress, Comrade Erich Honecker was able to make a point of the significant fact that the young generation in the GDR has made the SED program its own business and is meeting its civic responsibility with revolutionary elan: "Today, there is no field left in which the FDJ would fail to stand up for itself. With dedication, creativeness and a sense of responsibility, it is meeting the demands of the 1980's and is proving itself on all frontlines of the class struggle a reliable helper and fighting reserve of the SED."*

For illuminating the historic magnitude of what was achieved thereby, so as to gain new knowledge from it and deepen the firm class positions and communist convictions in the GDR's youth with a view to the past and the present--an important contribution is made by the "Geschichte der Freien Deutschen Jugend," prepared on orders of the 10th Parliament (1976) and about to be published. Oriented to the party resolutions and the speeches and essays of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and summarizing as well as extending the outcome of long years of scientific research, the authors collective has succeeded in presenting cohesively for the first time the historic roots of the FDJ, its founding and its active role in mobilizing the youth of the time of the antifascist-democratic transformation all the way to the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. Many illustrations and documents--many less known or unpublished ones among them--illuminate and deepen the cogency of this important work.

Ever since Marx and Engels and the start of the deliberate struggle for the victory of socialism, firm foundations have been laid for the unity between the revolutionary working class party and the working youth. The book follows the bend from those

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*Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 145.

beginnings, when socialism still was a matter of the far distant future, to our present time, when it has become a reality in the community of the socialist states and, under party leadership, the very own cause of youth in our GDR, too.

Presented are in a concentrated fashion the great traditions in the undeterred, selfless efforts of the revolutionary vanguard of the German workers class on behalf of the immediate as well as the future interests of working youth. Tribute is paid to essential stations in the struggle of the organized revolutionary German working youth, led and promoted by it, especially to Karl Liebknecht's work as the leader of the revolutionary German workers youth movement. A point is made of the historic achievement of the Communist Youth League of Germany which--guided decisively by Ernst Thaelmann--carried the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and of the Red October into the German working youth and helped the party bring up resolute and unbending fighters against imperialism and fascism and for a socialist German fatherland, revolutionaries loyal to the working class cause even under the toughest conditions, the heavy years of the antifascist resistance struggle. Thus, through bitter class struggle conflicts, important battle experiences were gained while the cadres were forged who paved the way for the fundamental change in the social position of youth as it became reality in the GDR, under SED leadership, borne decisively by FDJ efforts. The "Geschichte der FDJ" proves this: Marxist-Leninist party leadership for the FDJ and the unity between the party and youth are the guarantee for youth in the GDR to be able to develop all talents and capabilities and shape a happy future by taking part in the strengthening and protection of its workers and farmers state.

The liberation of the German people by the Soviet Union opened this chance for a fundamental change in German history. The book makes clear under what extraordinarily difficult conditions the KPD and, with it, class-conscious social democrats and other antifascist forces had to conduct the struggle for committing youth to a new life. The KPD resolutely championed a unified, free, antifascist-democratic youth movement. It conformed thereby to the lessons of history as much as to the experiences of common action among young communists, social democrats, Christians and other enemies of Hitler in the antifascist resistance struggle and in the first steps taken toward democratic reconstruction.

How much conviction of the attractiveness of the party's cause and of socialism and how much trust in the young generation were required to conduct, without false leniency yet patiently and tenaciously, the struggle for a youth that had by and large been abused by fascism against its own interests and those of other peoples! Under such complicated circumstances, the party acted in accordance with an unalterably relevant principle of its youth policy, to trust youth and assign responsibility to it. How much communists always care about youth is brought out by the fact that party chairman Wilhelm Pieck himself handled youth activities in the KPD Central Committee secretariat. The "Geschichte der FDJ" displays the outstanding personal distinction Comrade Erich Honecker acquired in successfully bringing this youth policy of the party to realization, in generating and strengthening the unified democratic and socialist youth organization and turning it into a passionate co-shaper of the GDR. "There is no event of social importance in the life of our youth association which would be unrelated to the work of Erich Honecker."* That is the way Comrade Egon Krenz describes this mobilizing and guiding role of the general secretary of our party's Central Committee.

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*Egon Krenz preface for Erich Honecker, "Zur Jugendpolitik der SED" (On the SED's Youth Policy), Neues Leben publishing house, Berlin, 1977, p 6.

Youth movement unity had to be fought for and defended against numerous designs by reactionary forces at splitting youth once again into a large number of political and denominational affiliations. All those designs failed, as do all imperialist gambles--then as today--targeted at contradictions between the party and youth. All the more weighty are the historical facts, telling us: Through the unified youth association the firm foundation was laid for our young generation to be able to become, under SED leadership, a conscious coshaper of its socialist fatherland. The founding of the FDJ marks a turning point in the history of the German youth movement.

Always guided by the party's general Marxist-Leninist line, the FDJ would face any demands resulting from the consolidation of antifascist-democratic relations and the tasks in the transition period from capitalism to socialism. It would always abide by the oath through which on 11 October 1949 Erich Honecker pledged the youth's loyalty to its state. Since the early 1970's, it has been concentrated on widening and using the creativeness of youth in shaping the developed socialist society. The historic account transmits permanent results of that effort by millions of young people in the GDR on behalf of socialism. And it also bears testimony to how--supported and encouraged by tried and tested communists, specialists, engineers and scientists--difficulties have been coped with time and time again with youthful dash and elan and durability tests have been passed. The reader receives a vivid impression of the FDJ as a militant organization of young revolutionaries who more and more learn to do justice to their role as a shocktroop for the new thing. A wealth of facts confirms this remark by Erich Honecker: "The FDJ has always stood at the focal points of our social development and made an outstanding contribution to the blossoming and protection of our workers and farmers state. And so FDJ history is inseparable from the birth, growth and consolidation of socialism in the GDR."*

Young people especially will be much interested in the authors' intention to describe the diversified FDJ activities in town and countryside, in socialist industrial and agricultural enterprises, in the schools, vocational training facilities, colleges and universities as in the armed organs of the workers and farmers power. Comments are made on the most diversified areas of life of young people in socialism. This gives the reader a deep insight into the extensive efforts of our socialist youth association. He finds out about the cooperation with other social forces so as to meet the manifold interests of youth in socialism, and about its efforts to develop and foster its abilities and talents through work and study and in the defense of the homeland as through sensible leisure-time activities, in tourism and in sports.

The authors are especially eager to describe FDJ efforts among working youth, the spreading of its initiatives and creativeness. It becomes clear how much party and FDJ orientation means to the working youth for a uniform action of the entire young generation and the impact and political stability of the youth association. The reader becomes familiar with the enormous achievement of the FDJ in the all-round consolidation of the workers and farmers power. From the beginnings of the young activists movement, the already legendary operations such as "Max Needs Water" and the building of the Sosa Peace Dam, the connection is drawn to the activity of tens of thousands of youth brigades and the work of hundreds of thousands of young

*Erich Honecker, "Always, from the first day, loyally by the party's side," Ibid., p 578.

people on youth projects and in the FDJ campaign, "Materials Economy" and the "FDJ Initiative Berlin," the largest youth project thus far. This makes fruitful for the communist education of the young generation the great traditions, already rooted in real socialism, of peaceful creative work for the good of socialism, all vividly and interestingly shown.

Such initiatives are rated not merely from the vantage point of their economic results--however much bearing they have--, but also as fields of struggle between the new and the old, of in manys way clarifying confrontations, the massive enforcing of socialist consciousness and the formation of young revolutionaries. The authors pay much attention to the young generation's participation in solving the tasks of the scientific-technical revolution. It is shown how the FDJ in various ways, mainly through the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow movement, enables youth to face the challenges of our time, develop its knowledge and skills, creativeness and dedication for the good of all of us, and prove itself in this crucial field of the worldwide class conflict.

Among the outstanding traditions of the youth association is its active contribution to the protection and armed defense of the socialist achievements. Addressing particularly younger readers, who do not know much of it from their own experience, the authors collective recalls the various designs by imperialism and its henchmen to force the GDR to its knees, soften it up ideologically, and isolate it internationally. Alongside our party, the FDJ has always regarded it as its duty to frustrate such designs and, by strengthening socialism, defend the peace. It has always been its endeavor to mold and deepen youth's readiness for the armed protection of our socialist fatherland. Almost 30 years ago, the FDJ, on orders from the Fourth Parliament, assumed the sponsorship of the garrisoned people's police units, and our youth association has been and is actively supporting the construction and toughening of the NVA and the border troops of the GDR. Many of the tried and tested commanding officers in our army and the other armed organs were brought up in the youth association, and many of them were delegated from the FDJ at the time. In close cooperation with the GST, the FDJ is doing great work in all areas of our society, seeking always to keep the young generation's defense readiness and capabilities at its requisite high level.

That the socialist youth association always could fulfill the tasks the party had assigned and innumerable steadfast fighters for socialism and peace grew up in its ranks, is greatly also due to the FDJ's steady ideological efforts. Its history reflects the great weight attributed to the shaping of unshakeable class positions and the conveying of the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory and world-outlook in every developmental phase of the youth association. We can read here about the first training evenings, the opening of association schools at the time when the FDJ was founded, a time when the point was, throughout the bitter struggles, to at least manage to acquaint broad sectors of youth with progressive and humanistic ideas, can read about the beginnings of the movement for gaining the "good knowledge" medal and of the long planned and complex FDJ study year, within the scope of which hundreds of thousands of young people acquire their political-ideological equipment for the demands of the 1980's and beyond. References keep being made to the experience that socialist convictions grow out of the unity between knowledge and practical action, and that youth's active participation in work and in political life is an essential precondition for the development of socialist personalities.

FDJ work is profoundly marked by the positions of proletarian internationalism. Its deep rooting in the Thaelmann traditions, the indissolubility of its relations with the working classparty, also shows precisely in its consistent internationalist positions, its unshakeable loyalty to the Soviet Union and its firm, fraternal alliance with the Leninist Comsomol. From the very beginning, the FDJ learned from the world historic experiences of the first socialist country and the most advanced fighting troop of the international democratic youth movement. It considers the rigorous struggle against any kind of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism a task of the first rank that serves the interests of youth. This summer it will be 35 years since the peace flight to the Soviet Union by Erich Honecker and other executive youth functionaries, which established the firm and permanent bases for the Comsomol-FDJ friendship alliance. A wealth of historic facts makes the reader aware of the fellowship between the two youth organizations, bearing rich fruit, undestructible and pointing to the future, in their struggle for socialism and peace.

The internationalism of the FDJ also stands up in its cooperation with the fraternal associations in the other socialist countries, in the relations with communist and other democratic and progressive youth organizations all over the world, and in its active membership in the WFDY and the ISL. The authors document how much the ideas of anti-imperialist solidarity is alive in the youth of the GDR, not only in connection with the big highlights--such as the Third and 10th World Festivals of Youth and Students in the GDR capital--, but also in the numerous activating operations from which no enterprise and no place in the GDR was excluded, and which would have been inconceivable without FDJ action. So the self-reliant contribution becomes apparent which the FDJ is making in the revolutionary world process, in the struggle against imperialism and for uniting all progressive and peace-loving forces, and for enhancing the international respect for the German workers and farmers state.

One of the strengths of the book is that it presents in great detail the greatly mobilizing effect of the eighth and ninth party congress resolutions on developing youth's creative talents and militant dedication to shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR. The reader is impressed with the constant attention and care the Central Committee Politburo and, mainly, its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, devotes to the young generation, the requirements of its communist education, and the further development of the socialist youth association. A pregnant picture is given of crucial operations and mass movements of the 1970's, in which millions of young people contributed their deeds to the implementation of the party policy, aimed at the well-being of the people, and to strengthening the GDR, cornerstone of socialism and peace in Central Europe.

The indestructible unity between the party, the FDJ and youth belongs among those firm foundations on which the 10th SED Congress was able to rely in its far-reaching decisions on coping with the demands of the 1980's. Through this active participation in the implementation of this Marxist-Leninist policy--after the Ninth Parliament, through the mass movement under the slogan, "FDJ Mission 10th Party Congress" --the FDJ steadily continues on the road on which it has proven itself in every phase of the struggle the party's helper and fighting reserve.

5885
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SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 3, Mar 82 (signed to press 10 Feb 82) 'Resumes' addendum

Intellectual Creativity in the Spheres of Industry Dealing With Preparatory Stages of Production

[Summary of 'Creativeness and Initiative' feature article by Dr Rudi Winter, economist, member, SED Central Committee; general director, VEB Fritz Heckert Machine Tool Combine, Karl-Marx-Stadt; pp 254-260. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Ways to Promote Risk-Taking in Design, Technology Discussed" (subheading: "Effectiveness of Incentives"), in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] Accelerating scientific-technical progress in the combines, reducing innovation intervals, and meeting, with the new products, the requirements of years ahead makes high demands on the management of these processes. How does one in the VEB Fritz Heckert Machine Tool Combine, Karl-Marx-Stadt, guide all working people's creative activities toward the kind of objectives that will guarantee further advances in performance growth and give rise to products that will stand up to tough international competition? What are the prerequisites for top achievements in R&D and technology?

On the High Demands Made on Creative Work

[Summary of 'Creativeness and Initiative' feature article by Prof Dr Harry Nick, economist, research director, Institute for Political Economy of Socialism, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 261-267. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Ways to Promote Risk-Taking in Design, Technology Discussed" (subheading: "Difficulties Applying Performance Principle"), in a recent issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] The shaping of the developed socialist society demands and promotes the creativeness of people, the increasing effectiveness of intellectual-creative work. That needs must give rise to high demands on the people's performance in production and science, their culture and education. Proceeding from the specifics in intellectual-creative work, the author comments on the management, planning and performance rating of scientific work, and on developing dedication and risk-readiness in research.

Ideas Which Pay Off

[Summary of 'Creativeness and Initiative' feature article by Prof Dr Werner Gilde, engineer, director, GDR Central Institute for Welding Technology (ZIS); pp 268-270. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Ways to Promote Risk-Taking in Design, Technology Discussed" (subheading: "Planning, Creativeness Compatible"), in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] Which demands are to be made on the planning, organization, control and concluding assessment of research projects? Which are the criteria that give the manager and researcher an objective picture of the course and conclusion of the projects? What is the role played in this by answering simple questions such as: What did the researcher promise? Has he kept or exceeded his promise? Why does creativeness call for a political stance? These questions are answered from experience in ZIS.

Shop Steward--Honor and Duty

[Summary of 'Creativeness and Initiative' feature article by Klaus Gregor, staff employee, SED Central Committee; and Dr Erich Roeder, deputy chairman, Berlin Bezirk Executive Committee, Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB), pp 271-274]

> [Text] Shop stewards confront the high requirements with initiative and energy. They are in the position to represent the interests of the trade union members as they never were before. The shop steward plenary sessions play a great role in this. Especially through understanding the connection between one's own performance and the safeguarding of peace, the readiness asserts itself to come up with better economic results. The exemplary work of the shop stewards has a large share in enforcing the economic strategy in the work collectives.

Science and Technology at the Core of FDJ's Economic Initiatives

[Summary of 'Creativeness and Initiative' feature article by Gerd Schulz, secretary, Central Council, Free German Youth (FDJ); pp 275-281]

> [Text] Combining the personality-promoting values of scientific-technical work effectively with communist education is the joint responsibility of the FDJ and the state and economic functionaries. We must draw youth still more into solving crucial tasks of the science and technology plans. By means of good experiences, especially in the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow movement and the "microelectronics" FDJ initiative, it is shown how the scientific-technical efforts of the young workers, particularly of the youth brigades, the young graduates, scientists and inventors, are to be further extended at greater breadth and higher levels.

On the Meaning of Life and Art

[Summary of article by Alexander Abusch, member, SED Central Committee, deceased; pp 282-288]

> [Text] For millenia, the peoples have given artistic expression to their yearning for a peaceful life in human dignity. Since there has been socialism, those dreams have been brought to realization in a part of the world. The socialist countries stand in the front rank of the struggle to preserve world peace. Socialist and humanistic artists make millions of people aware of that critical task of our time through their words and works, whereby they perform a contribution to safeguarding humanity's vital interests which profoundly conforms to the nature of art.

Decline of Values in Capitalist Society

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Eberhard Fromm, lecturer, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; and Dr Klaus Merz, study group head, philosophy faculty, Ernst Schneller Party Bezirk School, SED Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk Management; pp 295-301]

> [Text] In all domains of public life, the moral decline and the vacuity of human life become ever more apparent in imperialism. So people increasingly ask about the values of that society. Confronting the designs of imperialist ideologues at reducing the various manifestations of the general crisis of capitalism in our time to a "crisis in meaning and values" as characteristic of the 20th century. It is shown that this crisis is part of the general crisis of imperialism and in what it expresses itself.

Authoritarian Trends of Imperialist Power Mechanism

[Summary of 'The World of Capital Today' feature article by Prof Dr Ekkehard Lieberam, program chief, and Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Roeder, deputy director, Institute for Theory of State and Law, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 302-307]

> [Text] In connection with the imperialist confrontation course and the reactionary reduction of social benefits, and against the background of increasing class struggles, the tendencies toward applying authoritarian forms and methods of government are gaining strength in a number of capitalist countries against a policy of making concessions. The promoters of a "strong-hand government," it turns out, are mainly the conservatively inclined parties and forces seeking to optimize the enormous apparatus of repression, surveillance and intimidations and, particularly in the United States and England, to "discipline" and disfranchise the trade unions.

More Courage for Capitalism?

[Summary of 'The World of Capital Today' feature article by Dr Guenter Kalex, economist, sector chief, SED Central Committee; pp 308-311]

[Text] Entrepreneur associations in the FRG are calling for "more courage for capitalism," while in the United States, Reagan is coming into his own as a "fearless fighter" for capitalism--inspired by the faith in the divinely decreed mission of the wealthy. Either one expresses the search for a way out of the intensifying crisis of the system, vigorously pushed forward by authoritative circles of monopoly capital. To shore up its profit and power interests, the exploiter class is relentless in pushing its offensive against the working people's fundamental social interests while its most aggressive circles are engaged in a course that threatens the peace and security of the peoples.

5885
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OPERATIONS OF P-12 AIR DEFENSE RADAR DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 2, 1982 (signed to press 12 Jan 82) pp 64-65

[Article by authors' collective: "Mastery of Radar Equipment Requires the Entire Soldier"]

[Text] Day after day members of the Radiotechnical Troops [FuTT] of the Air and Air Defense Forces monitor the airspace of our country and solve tasks of radar support of surface-to-air missile troops and combat training of fighters with the help of Soviet radar equipment. They have both newer and older equipment and use both to accomplish the combat tasks ordered. Mastering this radar equipment requires exact knowledge, comprehensive abilities and skills from the individual and from each collective. It requires the entire soldier.

Each of us knows the significance of having high-performance radar equipment for air defense. Despite the stormy development of microelectronics, many radar stations today still function primarily with components based on semiconductor and tube technology. The members of the FuTT have the task of completely mastering this reconnaissance equipment, of taking care of and servicing it conscientiously and fully exploiting its combat capabilities so that it is used to guarantee high combat power and combat readiness.

An example of a proven radar station is the P-12 which was described briefly in a previous contribution* and will be discussed here in terms of selected requirements on the crew.

The function of the P-12 radar station is continuous search, time and precise locating and uninterrupted tracking of aerial targets under all conditions. From these are derived the stratified political-ideological, command, training and engineering technical problems which must be solved in mastering the station. High demands are made of the P-12 station chief since he embodies command, servicing and also maintenance tasks in one person. There is a requirement, on the one hand, for command abilities such as foresight, boldness and decisiveness but,

* B. Liemant, "P-12 Ground Radar Station," MILITAERTECHNIK, Berlin 1980, No 4.

on the other hand, a first-class technically trained specialist is needed for expert operation and maintenance.

Absolute prerequisites for the effective combat operator of the P-12 radar station are knowledge, mastery and consideration of the effective basic relationships between the tactical task assignment, the technical parameters and environmental influences. These relationships are reflected in the fundamental radar equation

$$r_{max} = \frac{Pi}{P_{Emin}} \cdot \frac{G^2(\alpha,\beta) \cdot \lambda^2 \cdot \sigma}{64\pi^3}$$

The task of the P-12 crew is to extract from the fundamental equation the factors influencing the acquisition range of the radar station. Geographic and meteorological influences, which likewise have a direct effect on the positioning range, must also be conscientiously analyzed. In addition, servicemen must exactly, as prescribed, and logically accomplish functional checks on the equipment, expertly establish its technical status and, if necessary, restore complete functional capability in the shortest possible time.

The requirements can be satisfied only if the members of a P-12 crew have a politically motivated attitude toward the military task and the radar equipment entrusted to them. They they will strive to achieve a high standard of training, will work purposely to improve it and contribute to still better operation, care, servicing and maintenance with their own ideas. In analyzing the fundamental equation and environmental influences, the task is to derive the degree of influence on individual factors exertable by the operator and to uncover ways and means as to how maximum detection ranges can be secured.

It may be seen from the fundamental equation that radar station range r_{max} increases as transmitter power Pi goes up and receiver absolute sensitivity P_{Emin} goes down. It is significantly dependent on antenna gain G. Reflective area σ and wavelength λ also influence range. Since P-12 transmitting power is continuously variable, the output prescribed by the manufacturer must be set. An optimum tuning of the receiver and the operation of gauged tubes will always result in falling below the normal value of receiver sensitivity and thus create favorable detection conditions. Antenna gain is, in the final analysis, a design value. The radar operators can counter it by avoiding deformations on the radiators, by not misadjusting the erected antenna supports, by protecting the HF cable connections from moisture penetration and by carefully removing ice from the antenna when deicing.

These parameters capable of being influenced give rise to high demands on crew technical qualifications. The station chief must learn every detail of his station, comprehend the physical interconnections that start when the P-12 is switched on and be able to really grasp these. The radar station crew can achieve maximum detection ranges only after optimum tuning and setting of norm values together with careful handling of the antenna.

The effective reflective surface of the targets to be reconnoitered is not controllable by the radar operator but has significant influence on detection

range. It is not constant and is determined by geometric dimensions, reflective properties and the position of the target in relation to the radar station. The differing effective reflective surfaces, all in the range of 0.2 to 100 square meters, explain why military aircraft are significantly more difficult to reconnoiter than civilian transport aircraft. Based on this knowledge, the radar operator must be able to categorize the targets on the basis of radar returns on the screen. He must know how he can achieve a maximum detection range for determining the position of missiles, aircraft and other airborne vehicles with appropriate antenna maneuvers and expedient operating modes.

The geographic and meteorological influences not covered in the fundamental equation require that the crew have substantial knowledge and some special skills and abilities. Thus the position of the P-12, which works in the meter band, in a given terrain has a decisive influence on the formation of the reconnaissance pattern, the size of the local compass rose and the formation of dead zones. Radar operators must also know the influence of vegetation and terrain shapes, soil properties, congruence and terrain angles. They must understand why the so-called local compass rose originates from inequalities in the surrounding area and that positioning is made difficult or even impossible in this area without turning on SBZ [moving target indication]. They must also consider that buildings, woods or mountains create invisible areas (dead zones) which the enemy can use for a surprise approach. These factors are analyzed with the aid of the congruence angle. In the case of the terrain angle, it must also be considered that negative terrain angles create more favorable conditions for detecting low-flying targets whereas high-flying targets are better detected when there is a positive terrain angle. On the basis of information about geographic influences, the crew must have skills and abilities in surveying the position, that is, they must be able to use the measuring rod and azimuth circle and evaluate the suitability of the site on the basis of measurements.

Although one of the advantages of radar reconnaissance as compared with visual is the certain positioning of the targets during night, fog, rain and snow, weather alters the detection range as a result of attenuation and refraction. The effect of suprarefraction is particularly critical since it causes radar station excess ranges and makes definite determination of range to target difficult.

The resistance to jamming of the P-12 is another parameter which characterizes the effectiveness of this station. It indicates how the most important tactical and technical data can be maintained at a prescribed level under the influence of radar jamming. In order to guarantee secure functioning during enemy use of electronic countermeasures, the P-12 has effective systems such as frequency changing apparatus and the SBZ system for protection against jamming measures.

Detecting and tracking targets during jamming is one of the most difficult tasks. For this reason the absolute prerequisites are comprehensive knowledge about enemy jamming capabilities, the use of one's own jamming countermeasure facilities and the psychological stability of the crew in order to keep the effects of radar jamming as low as possible.

Concentration points in P-12 utilization and maintenance are professional and errorfree operation, thrifty use of spare parts and removal of secondary raw materials for processing and recycling of high-value materials.

Crew members can, for example, by military economic thought and action increase P-12 transmitter tube service hours by 70 percent. The critical factor here is forming of the transmitter tubes before they are placed into operation and after operational pauses of more than seven days. Forming is here understood to mean restoring the vacuum of the tube while operating with decreased anode voltage.

Requirements for conscientious servicing are established in military regulations. Although the procedures about periodicity, length, sequence, methodology, tools, measuring devices and norm values to be achieved create favorable conditions, the conscious action of the individual is decisive. Only when servicing is conducted on a programmed basis with adequate quality can it be guaranteed that the station is available for the combat task with a definable probability.

Maintenance times also depend largely on crew skills. A well-trained crew member must be able to recognize faults on the basis of typical external characteristics. Certain knowledge about norm value settings of the radar station is necessary since some faults normally appear as deviations from norm values. The radar operator must pay particular attention to analysis of the P-12 radar scope. Changes often immediately indicate the cause of a fault and help to discover faults more quickly. The crew must know the most frequent causes of faults and, in particular, avoid operating errors. The typical faults summarized in the training documentation are to be taught, along with their effects, during training and simulated if necessary. If the crew can systematically employ proven fault-finding methods, radar station downtime will be reduced to a minimum. In one minute of station downtime, a modern combat aircraft can cover undetected the range from about 10 to 40 kilometers. This helps to understand how important is continued operational readiness of a radar station.

An effective method to reduce P-12 failures is the procedure of receiver tube forecasting. Up to 70 percent of failures are attributable to electrical vacuum component breakdowns. This is due in particular to the circumstance that during operation a preventive examination of tubes is either not done or testing with the tube tester is not effective enough and very time-consuming. The military economic aspect must also be considered. Many times after checking with the tube tester, a large number of tubes are sorted out because their mutual conductance does not meet requirements but they could still continue to operate for longer periods in an appropriate stage.

The apparatus available in the station for preventive examination of receiver tubes in terms of module terminal parameters at reduced filament voltage is an effective supplementary device. If it is used professionally, the crew can make a preventive check including capability for further use without removing these tubes from the circuits. By decreasing filament voltage from 6.3 to 5.0 volts, one can imitate decreased emission capability of the tube cathodes (artificial aging). If the terminal parameter (such as receiver sensitivity) of a module is determined, then the criterium for functional capability of the tubes during the

next period of use is the receiver sensitivity at 5.0 volts filament voltage. If this is within the norm, the receiver tube will function reliably for an additional 200 hours. Replacing tubes not meeting the norm values gives the crew the opportunity of preventing failures attributable to breakdown of electrical vacuum components.

It may be seen from the foregoing that the presence of appropriate radar stations alone does not determine whether the Radiotechnical Troops can do justice to their military tasks. The decisive factors are the attitude and capability of people. To the degree that the P-12 crew is capable of expediently deploying the radar station in terrain, achieving a technically perfect mastery of it and exploiting all combat capabilities at the required moment, thus will no target escape the operators of this proven radar station.

8373
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MISSIONS OF ROCKET TROOP METEOROLOGICAL SERVICES DETAILED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 9, 1982 (signed to press 22 Feb 82) p 8

[Article by Capt Karlheinz Dietrich: "The Thing That Links Balloons With Howitzers and Rockets: Exact Weather Reports Ensure Great Accuracy of Fire"]

[Text] Continually changing meteorological elements such as wind, temperature and air density have great influence on the trajectory of a shell or rocket. Here are two examples to illustrate how normal wind and temperature influence the trajectory of a 122mm shell at a firing range of 15 kilometers. Given a headwind of 10 meters/second [m/s] (average up to maximum trajectory altitude), the shell will land 447 meters short. Given a temperature 10 degrees centigrade above or below the average table value, the range will change by 282 meters. And one can imagine how much stronger the influence of wind, temperature and air density is on a rocket with substantially greater dimensions and firing ranges.

In order to precisely calculate the trajectory, meteorological units of the Rocket Troops and Artillery compile an exact, complete and timely weather report [for] up to an altitude of 30 kilometers. They transmit this by radio, telephone or courier, depending on the priority. As compared with other weather reports, the standard weather report contains average deviations of meteorological elements for standard values up to an established altitude in a compact summary coded in numbers.

The standard weather report can be processed by electronic computer and is easy to transmit. It guarantees simple and rapid derivation of azimuth and range corrections to be set on the howitzer or rocket launcher and also [permits] estimating the radiological and chemical situation in combat actions. Expected weather conditions can also be determined.

Tools: Ballon and Radar

A complex sounding is taken to compile the standard weather report. This involves releasing a hydrogen-filled ballon with an attached radiosonde into the atmosphere. We have ballons with diameters of 100, 150 and 200 cm which are, on the average, filled with two to three cubic meters of hydrogen and ascend at a rate of 300 to 350 meters/minute. Before launching, the ballon is warmed to about 40 to 50 degrees centigrade in a preparation device using a white gas mixture so that it

becomes soft, elastic and expandable. Depending on size and flight time (about 60 to 90 minutes), it reaches an altitude of 21 to 30 kilometers. The attached radiosonde has, among other things, a transmitter, a power supply unit and a temperature sensor. It continually transmits signals (temperature frequencies). A radar station continually tracks the sonde. Every 30 seconds [the station] registers on a recording tape the spatial coordinates of the sonde and the temperature frequency, which corresponds to the temperature electrically measured by the sonde. Tracking of the sonde is done automatically. During range measurement the radar station transmits focused strong pulses of electromagnetic energy. The time [elapsed] until the arrival of the response signal of the sonde or of the reflected energy of the radar station is electronically measured. Since the signal propagates with the speed of light (300,000 m/s), the range can be easily calculated ($E = \frac{c \cdot t}{2}$).

The range is immediately printed out in meters on the recording tape by the radar station. The average or true wind direction and velocity at any desired altitude can be computed from the sonde spatial coordinates measured and printed at definite time intervals. The temperature at a given altitude can be established by analyzing the temperature frequencies transmitted by the sonde. Incidentally, at an altitude of 14 kilometers, a temperature of minus 50 degrees centigrade and a wind velocity of 10 to 20 m/s are completely normal even in summer. If the ballon bursts at this altitude, the missing values can be extrapolated.

Wind soundings are conducted between complex soundings. These have the goal of keeping rocket and artillery units informed about rapidly changing wind conditions as often as possible. In this case, a corner reflector is attached to the ballon. The radar station tracks the ballon automatically out to a range of 25 kilometers. The spatial coordinates printed out at definite time intervals permit establishing wind direction and velocity at the prescribed standard altitudes. If the radar station is not working or good visibility prevails, wind soundings can be made with a pilot ballon (50 cm diameter). In this case the angle of elevation ε and the azimuth α are measured at precisely prescribed intervals with one or two optical devices (ballon theodolites).

Altitudes can be determined with an optical device (single bearing) using average ballon ascent velocity and measured time. The use of two optical devices (double bearing) permits a far more exact determination of the three spatial coordinates (ε, d, H) using the appropriate calculations (trigonometric function) since ascent velocity is only an empirical value.

Meteorologists are required to issue a wind warning to their superiors when wind at ground level exceeds 15 m/s or exceeds 50 m/s at altitude.

What A Meteorological Unit Has

To accomplish the missions or, in a sense, to ensure a hit with the first shot, the unit has numerous devices available. This includes the medium-range radio equipment mounted on a vehicle. Then there are two tractor trucks with box bodies. One vehicle serves as the analysis vehicle with working places for the analysis group. The second is the support devices vehicle.

An important element is the meteorological radar station with diesel generator. It is capable of automatically or manually tracking a radiosonde out to 150 kilometers or a corner reflector out to 25 kilometers. Range is measured with a maximum error of 40 meters. In addition to control elements, the station has a range measuring device, a registering system, a counting system to analyze temperature frequencies and a high-performance receiver and transmitter. These systems are housed in a heatable compartment. The antenna is in a second compartment. It is a 1.83-meter large parabolic dish that can be hydraulically extended. This very reliable station is mounted on a two-axle special trailer.

Also to be mentioned is the transport vehicle for steel hydrogen bottles (one bottle being needed to fill one ballon on the average) and the generator for producing hydrogen in the field.

In summary it may be said that the unit has the necessary material to accomplish the missions under all conditions. The operation and maintenance of the devices require much factual knowledge, skills, discipline and a sense of responsibility from the members of the relatively small collective. The initiative of all comrades, expressed not least in mutual interchangeability, guarantees a continuous operational and combat readiness of the unit and thus high effectiveness of rocket troop and artillery fire.

8373
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DISCOVERER OF ANIMAL VACCINE BARRED FROM EXPERIMENTS

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 12 Feb 82 p 8

[Article by Liviu Timbus and Dumitru Eliade]

[Text] Almost 7 years have elapsed since the publication of our article on the therapeutic effects of the total complex cellulomicrobial vaccine, with concept and treatment by physician Constantin Bacanu, and more than 12 years since this physician has been currently using the vaccine in managing very diversified ailments. Moreover, we remind our readers that in reporting the notable results obtained through this procedure, we did not shy away from also providing public opinion with the proofs of obtuseness and conservatism by which some people, more or less influential but lacking scientific acumen, have kept in the background or simply prevented the promotion of a unique treatment which has demonstrated its effectiveness in more than 800 cases.

This time we shall give the floor to close co-workers of Dr. Bacanu, human and veterinary physicians, persons who, on various occasions and repeatedly were able to determine the clinical and laboratory effects of the cellulomicrobial vaccine. We are doing this in order to again focus the specialists' attention on the importance of this biological treatment and also to voice our perplexity over the manner in which the Ministry of Health and especially the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry handle the continuation of experiments on a product that was approved and proposed for use on an overall scale. But before giving the floor to our interviewees, let us briefly describe Dr. Bacanu's vaccine and the genesis of this treatment.

What Is the Vaccine, How Did It Develop?

The total complex cellulomicrobial [CMTC] vaccine is a sterile, aqueous suspension, composed of microbial flora, pathological cells, produced by metabolism in the proportion corresponding to the localization and specific nature of the disease. The product is collected from patients from the cavities of the digestive, respiratory and urogenital systems, from organs, hematopoietic, muscular, osseous or tegumental tissue. After inactivation, the vaccine is orally administered daily, 10 ml each, or percutaneously, twice a week, 4-12 months, on an average. In patients with advanced stages of the disease or immunity exhaustion, administration may be extended over 2-3 years after which the treatment is repeated at close intervals. The idea developed as a result of long observation and of the fact that the author worked for more than 30 years at the "Ion Cantacuzino" Institute for Serums and Vaccines

where he focused on vaccines. Hence, he was able to notice that current techniques make it impossible to identify the entire microbial flora in the body, all that becomes aggressive when encountering an organ with immune deficiency. "The idea of the vaccine," Dr. Bacanu told us, "emerged mainly as a result of the many failures produced by the administration of the conventional vaccine prepared with germs isolated on culture media. At that point I planned to prepare a total vaccine (with all germs and their biological products) and also a complex vaccine (from all the body's cavities)." The product -- as we earlier had the opportunity to indicate -- has proved its effectiveness in curing or ameliorating some variously etiologic chronic infections, which were resistant to current methods of antibiotic or immunobiologic treatment, and in the treatment of some neoplasias, in skin diseases and troubles of the nervous system.

Noted Clinicians Certify Value, Advocate Broad Use of Discovery

Prof. Dr. Stefan Berceanu, head of the Bucharest Clinic of Hematology: I continue to assess and maintain that the theoretical basis and the practical results of the vaccine are significant factors in the treatment of many immunologic deficiencies. I was able to find out in our clinic and in other medical units how the patient's condition changes for the better after the Bacanu treatment. The vaccine demonstrates a strongly immunogenic potential in that besides the microbial agent it contains tissular extracts with adjuvant action. It remains to be seen whether the administration of a vaccine with malignant tissue will yield results in cancer. So far we have obtained results in conditions of essential and secondary medullar aplasia and in postchemotherapy.

Prof. Dr. Dan Alessandrescu, director of the "Polizu" Maternity Hospital: Dr. Bacanu's idea of stimulating the body's defensive forces, of strengthening the body immunologically, in face of the infectious and cancerous aggressions, is an idea that deserves to be taken into consideration with complete seriousness. The vaccine which Dr. Bacanu has been preparing may have a beneficial or favorable action in the context of the factors related in the cancerous process. In cases of infected neoplasms, we use the vaccine with good results in immunologic stimulation.

Moreover, Dr. Constantin Bacanu's idea of using the vaccine for immunologic stimulation of a group of different mammals is, in my view, in light of current ecological changes, of special importance and, consequently, must be treated with most attention.

Dr. Kondi Vanghel, Bucharest Center of Hematology: I do not keep it a secret that Dr. Bacanu is a good friend of mine and that we have known each other for a lifetime. I have assisted him as best I could, in the first place with materials, with flasks or with sterile distilled water, because I found that it was worth it, that the vaccine prepared by him gave very good results. I have been familiar with the vaccine for 10-15 years and during that period I have had enough patients whom I recommended to Dr. Bacanu. This vaccine has yielded very good results specifically in the case of urinary infections. Hence, I do not believe that it is a universal panacea for all diseases but where it has yielded very good results we ought to tell that it has yielded very good results. Perhaps Dr. Bacanu exaggerates sometimes. He speaks of cancer! That, I do not believe. As a matter of fact, I am not familiar with his results in reducing cancer, hence I have no way of contesting it. But even if Dr. Bacanu's vaccine has special effects in the case of urinary infections only,

as I stated, still this would be a sufficiently powerful reason to consider the vaccine as an asset to men, a step forward in protecting them against disease and suffering. The importance of the vaccine resides in the fact that it stimulates the body's resistance so that it manages to heal by its own resources stimulated by the vaccine. As for the application of the vaccine: I, also, wonder why it is not used, as it can be prepared in laboratories attached to any hospital.

Prof. Dr. Iuliu Suteu, Emergency Hospital: Dr. Bacanu's vaccine is very good. In all patients to whom I administered it, the results were impressive, both in terms of local evolution and general condition. This vaccine is very well tolerated by patients. The fact that it has yielded good results and that it is well tolerated by patients has won our confidence in the total vaccine. I firmly believe that if conditions were created for its being studied in specialized laboratories, it would be possible to spotlight the programs which I regard as beneficial in the treatment of the varied surgical infections and in the biological improvement of the patients. I shall use one or two examples, recalling the salutary efficiency in redressing the hemogram in anemic patients and in cobalt-irradiated patients in cancer treatment.

To these medical advantages I add two major advantages which by no means are negligible in our health care: 1. The vaccine can be applied on an outpatient basis; 2. It is very inexpensive.

Dr. Andrei Firica, director of the Clinical Emergency Hospital: In the activity of preparation, supervision and monitoring of Dr. Constantin Bacanu's total complex vaccine inactivated at 100° Celsius, administered per os, there were included 113 patients (73 observed by the Laboratory of Bacteriology-Immunology under the Clinical Emergency Hospital and 40, by Dr. Bacanu himself).

The ailments for whose treatment this vaccine was administered had an infectious etiology, namely: languishing urinary infections, acne, languishing infections of surgical wounds, osteomyelites, osteites, chronic colites, and so forth. Clinical results were obtained in a proportion of 90-95%. Immunologically, the medical workers found a net differentiation in the concentration of immunoglobulins Ig G and Ig A especially, before the treatment with the vaccine, during the course of the treatment (1-3 months) and after the obtaining of the clinical result, to the effect of rise in these immunoglobulins.

This rise in the concentration of immunoglobulins indicates the humoral efficiency of the vaccine by the increase in nonspecific antibodies.

In the future, if our laboratory is better equipped, we shall conduct research on specific antibodies.

Recently, FLACARA published Dr. Constantin Bacanu's hypothesis regarding the biological conditioning of the quality of life. The hypothesis was formulated as a result of an experiment made on animals at the Peris Livestock Farm. We remind our readers that the experiment involved immunizing with the total vaccine the hogs in the stages of pregnancy, maternity and nursery and resulted in outstanding health in sows and newborn piglets, so that after 110 days of treatment the researchers obtained a surprising equality in terms of physical condition. Furthermore, it was proved that animals also demonstrate uniformity as to the degree of health and of

psychosomatic and trophic manifestation. Telling are statistical data: from 300 unvaccinated control piglets, only 194 attained the growth level and were transfered from maternity to nursery, while in the vaccinated group, from 300 subjects, 245 transfered from maternity to nursery, also showing an increase in weight, of 1 kg per animal.

Because of these results the experiment was extended to include a hog farm in Tamadau. Moreover, recently, at Giurgiu ISCIP [State Enterprise for the Raising and Fattening of Hogs], a pilot station was set up, which is provided with special laboratories and where the vaccine testing will continue on a great number of hogs. Actually, the experiment should have started as early as last October, but for strange reasons, and despite of the lapse of time which means money and in spite of the sums invested in structures and equipment, the tests are being constantly postponed because the main author of the program, Dr. Constantin Bacanu, was not invited to participate in the experiment. And because nobody has officially ordered a stay in the vaccine administration, the situation appears totally unexplainable.

Results in Livestock Industry Are Outstanding But the Proper Ministry Procrastinates

Dr. Adrian Elefterescu, veterinary surgeon, head of the Laboratory for Control of Veterinary Biological Products: The total complex cellulomicrobial vaccine, produced by Dr. Constantin Bacanu, was checked by our laboratory in 1980, under both laboratory and field conditions, in a unit for industrial hog raising, at the farm in the Tamadau locality. The cecking involved pregnant sows, sucklings and weaned piglets. The vaccine was perfectly tolerated by all categories of animals. The effectiveness of the product could not be verified so far by laboratory methods because the author has not yet succeeded in finalizing theoretical studies on the vaccine's manner of working (types of antigens, the immunological systems involved, the immunological response, and so on). But based on the results obtained by the author in prior years, in administering the product to humans and also on results obtained in another hog raising unit, we agreed to test the effectiveness of this vaccine at the Tamadau Animal Farm. The results obtained on animals up to the weaning age (35 days) indicated that the vaccine administered to sucklings, born from vaccinated sows, cut losses by about 8% versus the control group, young pigs born from nonvaccinated sows. When administered to sucklings born from nonvaccinated mothers it no longer proved the effectiveness demonstrated before. Nevertheless, by continuing the administration of the product until the age of 110 days, vaccination brought about a weight increase of approximately 4 kg per piglet in vaccinated animals, hence a substantial rise if we consider the entire batch of 400 subjects or if we admit that such increases may be obtained at the level of the thousands of animals at the farm. Following these results, in the course of 1980, jointly with the Veterinary Health Directorate in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, we decided to expand the experiments to other industrial hog raising units and to complete laboratory surveys for the purpose of scientific substantiation. On the basis of these proposals, the leading body of the above-mentioned ministry approved the establishment of a plant laboratory at the Giurgiu State Enterprise for the Raising and Fattening of Hogs [ISCIP] where the staff should promptly move to prepare batches of this vaccine. The laboratory has been waiting for more than 2 months now to commence the experiments. I also point out that based on the results obtained especially in sucklings born from vaccinated sows, the product was officialized also within our ministry by Order No 102 of 22 July 1981. Under these conditions, I believe that

prompt action must be taken to prepare new batches of vaccine at Giurgiu ISCIP and the effectiveness of the vaccine should be further surveyed by the Laboratory of the center for control of veterinary biological products and medicines.

Mircea Alboiu, physician, "Louis Pasteur" Institute: In July 1981, at Giurgiu ISCIP, in the presence of a large group of specialists, and in the presence of Dr. Constantin Bacanu, the decision was made to establish a plant laboratory for preparation of the vaccine based on Dr. Bacanu's formula. To this effect an official document was signed which contained terms and responsibilities on making this laboratory operational as soon as possible. The Pasteur Institute was allotted the task of outfitting the laboratory with basic materials and we did this in the course of August, hence during a period when construction work was in the initial stage. I wish to point out that great efforts were made so that all the structure may be completed on schedule and that throughout this period I inspected the construction site several times, together with Dr. Bacanu and Dr. Constantin Cocaneanu and Dr. G. Moraru, both from the County Veterinary Inspectorate. Work was completed on schedule due to the efforts made by Giurgiu ISCIP and primarily by Engr. Dosoftei. Meanwhile, to our great surprise, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry issued an order for the operation of the laboratory but in which the chief parties were omitted: the author of the vaccine, Dr. Bacanu, Dr. Adrian Eelefterescu, the representative of the "Louis Pasteur" Institute, and Dr. Constantin Cocaneanu, the delegate of the County Veterinary Inspectorate. Consequently, I contacted the head of the Veterinary Health Directorate in the ministry and asked him to take action for the supplementation of the document involved. Under these conditions, Dr. Bacanu refused to participate in the commencement of the experiment. But, without the mandatory presence of the author, without the technical instructions of Dr. Bacanu who devised the organization of the technological flow of the vaccine, of a biological product which is unique in the world, and without the presence of Dr. Elefterescu, the application of the vaccine was not and is not possible. The situation seems paradoxical to us. The industrial experimentation of a product which has been so much discussed, praised and debated to an equal extent can proceed only in the presence of the author. It is an experiment that involves enormous moral and material responsibility.

As for the effectiveness of the vaccine, our institute was only allotted the task of preparing the first experimental minibatches. However, I had the opportunity to get to know the final paper worked out by the verification commission at Tamadau, a survey conducted by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, when the decision was made to extend the method on an industrial scale. Moreover, I had several discussions with Drs. Moraru and Cocaneanu who made a point of highlighting the outstanding merits of the product and constantly urged that Dr. Bacanu's vaccine be used on an overall scale. Consequently, we justly wonder how is it possible that almost 4 months after the completion of the laboratory at Giurgiu ISCIP, the experimentation of the vaccine continues to be a simple project.

Another Speeding Incentive: Overall Use Could Mean Extra 120 Million Kg Meat Annually

Dr. Constantin Bacanu: For reasons beyond my control, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry did not invite me to participate in this final experiment. I regret this very much, the idea belongs to me and people at Giurgiu ISCIP would have needed my specialized assistance. It would be very regrettable if the vaccine would not demonstrate the efficiency expected and proved on other occasions. I have

calculated that the extension of the use of the procedure to all Romanian farms could result in an annual surplus of 120 million kg meat. Which, evidently, is an enormous amount.

Indeed, how is it possible that the author of the vaccine be excluded from the experiment planned? What are the real reasons and who are those who are behind the stay or postponment sine die of an experiment that has so many times demonstrated its therapeutical importance and economic value?

We also justly wonder how long do we have to wait until the Ministry of Health and the Academy of Medical Sciences will take steps needed for the official experimentation, in clinics and with the participation of commissions of specialists, of the therapeutical method proposed and proved by Dr. Constantin Bacanu? And this -- allow us to recall -- because nobody has the right to delay putting to good use a new medical procedure whose effectiveness already involves so many concrete proofs and appreciations of undoubted and high competences.

That is why, just as 7 years ago, we feel compelled to note that Dr. Bacanu's vaccines continues to remain a promise, that little, very little has been done for their experimentation and upgrading in an official context, as was the procedure for other inventions as well and as should also be the procedure in the case of Dr. Constantin Bacanu, of this idea that involves the vaccine.

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SERBIAN OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON CURRENT CULTURAL TOPICS

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[Interview with Vladimir Jovicic, chairman of the Commission of the LC Serbia Central Committee for the Ideological Effort in the Field of Culture, by S. Dautovic: "Every Boundary Marker Does Not Have To Be a Stumbling Block"; date and place not specified]

[Text] In our usual "round table" discussions, in polls, in articles and interviews with distinguished artists and scholars, our newspaper will endeavor on the eve of the upcoming congresses of the League of Communists to indicate still more comprehensively the richness and complicated problems of our cultural life. On this occasion we talked with Dr Vladimir Jovicic, writer and chairman of the Commission of the Presidium of the Central Committee of League of Communists of Yugoslavia for the Ideological Effort in the Field of Culture.

[Question] It is a widespread opinion that the congresses of the League of Communists are finding us with a certain shortage of public democratic discussions. Is it possible to speak about this even in the case of culture?

[Answer] Not only do I not share that opinion, but I do not remember a congress preceded by more discussion. This is not only an expression of the readiness of the League of Communists to publicly confront the contradictions that have grown up. Reality itself has forced us to begin to speak openly about all the questions which the congress is expected to answer.

As for culture itself, perhaps one might get the impression that it is not at the center of discussions in advance of the congress. (This is to some extent natural since the economic problems are urgent and even burning.) However, this impression is deceiving if we extend the term "discussions in advance of the congress" beyond those organized monologues and dialogues in advance of the congress which are specifically stated to be such. In a sense every new book, exhibition, criticism, debate, theater performance, film premier ... everything that enters public life and affects people's awareness and tastes is a contribution to the congress. There have been so many such contributions, sometimes truly creative, in the interval between the two congresses that the League of Communists can reasonably conclude that it has fulfilled the most important task in the field of culture covered by the resolution--it has

created the conditions for its development. Even in these years of economy and scarcity, in spite of all the cutbacks, culture has not experienced the fate of being supported, as Nusic noted, under the heading "Unforeseen Expenditures."

Culture Is Not a Preserve

So, if we do not take such a narrow view of culture and art--seeing them as ideological scamps, then it can be said that over the past 4 years cultural creativity has made a rich contribution to spiritual development and consequently to future congresses. Surely this is more important than the discussions specifically devoted to an occasion, even though the occasion be so important as a congress. Incidentally, the broadest discussions may begin only when the proposals of the congress documents are made public.

[Question] In principle the LC [League of Communists] takes the position of "nonintervention" in the affairs of culture and art, that is, it refuses the role of arbiter. Can this signify that the LC is remaining neutral in this area, or, by the nature of things, is it historically present? If it is, how does it exert that historic presence--to what extent is it able to contribute to vivifying that ideological concept of the development of culture and are which is proper to a socialist self-managing society?

[Answer] I would first distinguish the terms culture and art, since the League of Communists has never renounced "intervention" in matters of culture. What is more, in both the Program and in the resolutions it committed itself to participating in these matters--in a manner consistent with self-management, of course. It is a great shame that to some extent it recoils from that role which it has, and in part that is one reason why today megalomaniacal monuments are flourishing, luxurious centers of culture altogether unsuitable to their purpose and community, there are all manner of showy and empty events, there are many anniversaries celebrated with a "cultural" stuffing, entire settlements are erected without elementary architectural sophistication.... Not only are party members bound by their duty to "intervene" in these and a multitude of similar cases, but they ought to be held responsible for not doing so. When something is stupid and harmful, even though it be decked out with hundreds of military stamps of self-management and hundreds of "cultural" tassles, it needs to be branded and eradicated. Culture is not any sort of preserve in which weeds can grow up without hindrance and which is not to be entered without hesitation.

However, with respect to art, it is not out of the way to be more cautious, since the laws of its occurrence, its adjustment and its duration are altogether specific. However public it may be, and whatever effort has been made in essence to make it accessible to every man, a work of art, when it truly is that, must not be put up for auction or arbitration. It appeals to every man in a different way, and every man judges it in his own way, and it is nonsense to cut off that process with some blanket judgment by a forum, whatever or whosever forum it might be. Nor does that role belong entirely to the people who are supposed to be professionally responsible for making judgments about art. No one's word is guaranteed to be the last word here. More than one

work of art condemned to oblivion by the most authoritative critics has endured and given the lie forever to its critic! I dare to say that today no one can confidently say which work of art created in recent years will bear the epithet "artistic" over the next few decades. This does not mean that I am belittling the role of criticism; I am only advocating a realization that interpretation and evaluation of a work of art are a lengthy process.

The League of Communists long ago honored Marx' admonition that the flower of art is rare although it does not grow under a cloche and is not subject to the standards that prevail in other fields of life, including politics. A political organization is not entitled to prescribe smells and colors, to establish taste by an order of the state. Unfortunately, this still needs repeating, though it is enough to cast even a cursory glance at bookshop windows, moviehouse and theater repertoires, and painting exhibitions ... to become convinced that neither styles, nor topics, nor authors have been banned in our country. Nevertheless, sometimes troubles do occur when this diverse abundance needs to be enriched even further.

Since there is no idyll anywhere it cannot exist in the attitude of the League of Communists toward art. The problems arise first of all when some political pamphlet is published with the superficial features of a work of art, just enough so that its apparent esthetic nature assures it in advance an alibi and asylum from the appropriate political criticism. To be sure, this kind of disguise would not be necessary if the content of the pamphlet were not contrary to the commitments of the League of Communists and if there always existed a readiness on both sides for critical dialogue, for debate. But since that kind of readiness is sometimes lacking, there are times when summary judgments are rendered concerning the matters in dispute even before any critic has opened his mouth: even before, that is, it has become quite clear whether we are dealing with an esthetic or political message. When the imbrolgio reaches the prosecutor, the judge and the jury, it is already late from a moral standpoint for public criticism, since at that point the critic yields to the danger of being called a scavenger and the signatory of the arrest order.

Though cases of this kind are very rare, truly exceptional, they deserve attention both in and of themselves and especially as painful illustrations of the need for party members, above all those in culture, to abandon public neutrality, for their critical expression to be heard in good time, since this is the most reliable pledge not only for recognition of the character and for a more objective evaluation of the work in dispute, but also for democratic relations in culture. Finally, this kind of expression has greater weight than either court verdicts or the assessments of forums, since it cannot be labeled in advance profesionally incompetent, devoid of understanding, unsuitable in its approach, in its critical criteria, and so on.

A Generation in the Shadow of Its Fathers

[Question] It has recently been said in a press conference that the League of Communists "lacks an adequately organized ideological effort, that in this respect we are not as organizationally equipped as we should be." To what

extent does this assessment apply to the questions of the ideological effort in the field of culture? Is the impression close to the truth that here the League of Communists has in recent years been in a certain passive position, indeed even on the defensive? If so, why?

[Answer] My previous answer fully agrees with the assessment that we do lack an organized ideological effort and that in this respect we are "unequipped." The most reactionary interpretations not only of history, but also of contemporary development, both in our context and in the world, are advanced, even through the press, and yet no one reacts to them. Should someone think that this should be done by the "professional ideologists," that they have an exclusive duty here, then he is overlooking two facts: that there are few "professional ideologists" (they can be numbered on one's fingers), and, much more important, that that would signify the beginning of the end of democracy. If on the other hand someone should think that every party member is ideologically capable of carrying on a debate with demagogically inventive advocates of petty bourgeois liberalism, nationalism, or leftwing radicalism (read: dogmatism and bureaucracy) and all the other natural by-products of socialist development, then he himself is a demagogue or is so naive as to have made a great mistake.

The fact that today we read without public critical comment that Lenin installed Stalinism, that the entire revolutionary year of 1948 is insufficient to justify Goli Otok, that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has always been Stalinist "at heart" ... and a plethora of other accusations and slander is a consequence of the underestimated opinion of the ideological effort within the League of Communists itself. It is worth more in politics to deliver a speech, however banal it might be, to take part in a discussion just for the sake of discussion or to spend one's time in some ceremonial meeting than plunge into literary matters ("Why should I read if no one sees me?").

Never before was ideological effort needed as now. Circumstances have come about which urgently call for more profound interpretations of the past and more inventive proposals for the future. We have entered years when the glorious generation of Sutjeska is already entering into the legend of its grandson but is still rendering the remaining historic accounts to its sons, though they may be inessential. These sons belong to the so-called "skipped over," "reserve" age group which experienced the war in the most tragic way. The child who was helpless to rebel and defend himself carried the deepest scars from the war and often spiritual wounds which still are not healed, since they were received in the most vulnerable time of life. This generation still stands in the shadow of its worthy fathers, and yet its own time has already come to withdraw from the public scene. That is why, at least in terms of psychology and age groups, it is to some extent natural that it is at times grouchy and suspicious, that it demands reassessment no longer just of the bourgeois past, but also of the revolutionary past, that often it makes petty attempts to discover in that past some error or at least oversight so as to confirm its own identity in the typical manner of the son. However unpleasant this rummaging in the revolutionary past might sometimes be, it ought to be critically accepted, not only for the sake of the truth, but also for the sake of the dignity of the revolution. It is too unquestionable to have to hush up anything about itself.

There is an especial need for the presence of an "ideological spirit" at this moment of accumulated vacillation, when current problems are obsessing the public mind, and when we are becoming smothered with pragmatism. There is an urgent need for new and bolder ideas, ideas which will not give in to the status quo, to be derived from the achievements of the revolution. We find ourselves facing the first step out of the entangled contradictions which for several years we have been attempting to resolve, mainly by administrative resourcefulness. Obviously we have lacked a well-organized ideological effort in the searches for new answers and also for new questions.

Incidents in the Field of Culture

[Question] Various incidents are occurring more and more frequently in the field of culture, and often the way in which they are overcome is such that it has a discouraging effect on quite a few creative people. We are not concerned, let us be clear about that, about the incidents occurring--the concern is because usually such occurrences go without response, without a stand being taken by the League of Communists.

[Answer] I think that in large part I have already answered that question. I would add only that the so-called "incidents" in the field of culture have for a long time been exaggerated at least by comparison with the equally frequent political "incidents"--in the economy, say. Perhaps this is because the former are signed, that is, authorized, while the latter are disguised, indirect and anonymous. For a long time, for instance, culture was thought of without good reason as a preserve for nationalism, and these past few years it has become evident even to the naked eye that those people were right who warned that the germ of exclusiveness, which is nothing other than one of the most sinister forms of nationalism, was raging in the economy. Perhaps it is more dignified and easier to take note of outbursts in the field of culture, but I do not believe that this will help us to quiet our political conscience concerning everything that is happening, for example, on the market.

Here I am only attempting to find a fairer measure in assessing the frequency and gravity of "incidents" in culture, and by no means to deny them or justify them. And there are several reasons why the League of Communists usually does not open up a front of ideological combat against every stupidity expressed in public: first of all because of a certain inertia, and then because some things we can allow to wither out of their own incoherence, which is why the prevailing psychology in the League of Communists is sometimes: "I am not frightened by a flea in my fur coat," and finally because you don't fire a howitzer at mice....

It is certain that none of these excuses can be accepted, but if we want to have a frank critical conversation, if we want debates, then we should not expect it of the League of Communists as a political organization, but of party members, above all those in the field of culture, to speak out in public in their own name on such occasions to be horrified and, as they say, "lose heart."

A New Look at the Past

[Question] We have had quite a few debates and many differing opinions concerning them. Does the League of Communists see in these discussions and debates in the field of culture some productive force and in what way is it helping the ideas which are in circulation to be recognized and evaluated in an open democratic dialogue?

[Answer] Even in the proposed version of the resolution for the upcoming congress, the League of Communists of Serbia advocates debate, it being understood that this is not to be name-calling all the way to personal eradication, but a contest of opinions. Only in this case can the debate be productive, however passionate and fervent it might be.

Debate has been out of practice in public life for a long time, and we have almost lost the sense of a dialogue in which the sparks fly, of a fierce opposition of arguments, of an implacable tone of voice. So, debate has returned--it is getting back into the assemblies, it is being heard in the meetings of the Central Committee, it has raised some ghosts, and unfortunately, it has also made some work for the courts, but it has not cleared the air. I think that its trenchant speech will be more effective when the polemicist is no longer expected to be left either with his spear or to be borne on the shield.

[Question] In all fields we are faced with certain tendencies toward partialization, and manifestations of disintegration are quite marked in the field of culture and art. Evaluation of the cultural and literary heritage of our nationalities and ethnic minorities, instead of contributing to affirmation of community, is more and more losing its integrative features. What is promoting this--a strengthening of statism, which in practice is turned into separatism, an absence of authentic public interest, underdevelopment of the relations of self-management...?

[Answer] Few young societies are prompt and responsible enough in unambiguously heeding the admonition of history that the importance of the legacy cannot be overestimated in any way. Without a critical attitude toward the legacy, without a new look at the past, there can be no look into the future either. If we look at our cultural legacy with the eyes of the past, then we will be divided today by the same thing that separated us yesterday.

A people's authentic cultural peculiarities are usually virtues as well. But if they are used as trademarks of division rather than of the difference among collaborators, of mutual cultural enrichment and interpenetration, then those peculiarities degenerate into boundary stones and stumbling blocks. The peculiarities in the cultures of our nationalities and ethnic minorities, however great they may be, can only by abuse be proclaimed first to be critically inviolable and then incomparable and finally threatened by the peculiarities of others. Then comes the apologetic attitude toward them, and then a national quarantine, along with the necessary belittlement of the peculiarities of other cultures, especially those which are close and for that reason are "dangerous."

As soon as the people's cultural peculiarities begin to be preserved in a closed space as national peculiarities, as critically untouchable relics, as soon as standards begin to be set up with a "national reduction," there begins a process of discrediting the values of others, clans begin to gather with the excuse of caring for the symbols of the nationality. It is precisely here that we are no longer talking about culture, but about nationalism. Every restriction in the movement of values, regardless of whether they are in the form of ideas or goods, cannot signify anything else in our socialist self-managing community than an expression of nationalistic aspiration for exclusiveness and division.

So that I might not be taken amiss, I must emphasize that in the culture of every people there are certain values which belong, so to speak, only to it, since they simply do not exist outside the limits of that nationality. No one can have anything against the preservation of these local monuments, but it is certain that they cannot be used as foundations for bridges in cultural cooperation, simply because even the parent cultures are not founded on them.

Instead of Quotas--Value Standards

[Question] In connection with the previous question, tell us how we can bring it about that culture functions more successfully as an integrative and integrating factor. Are the existing forms underutilized, or are some of them historically outdated?

[Answer] Quite simply--make the authentic cultural values of all the Yugoslav nationalities and ethnic minorities accessible to Yugoslavs. Instead of quotas, what we need are value standards. Often we have gone no further than quotas. A bad film, a bad novel, or bad music cannot be any kind of "factor," least of all a "integrating" factor. Cooperation on the foundations of equality, and it is a condition for bringing the cultures closer together and for their interpenetration, cannot be conducted or proven with arithmetical operation.

[Question] In science and literature, in the writing of history, and in other fields new works of major importance have been appearing. To what extent is the Marxist view of tradition present in them? How much that is new are they bringing in the critical reassessment of the cultural, literary or historical legacy?

[Answer] It is difficult to give a single answer to that question, since all the works that are being financed and published as major works do not have major importance. In any case, it is notable that the time is coming for new syntheses, for reassessment of entire eras and movements, for a generation of historians and critics to grow up who have not been burdened with traditionalistic preconvictions and who think in Marxist terms. Little is known about their quiet and patient work, much less than they deserve. (Nor is it any wonder since this is not the kind of work that can be screeched over the radio or danced on television.) But the worst thing is that the new insights, findings and views are having a very difficult time breaking into school syllabi and curricula.

[Question] Many misunderstandings are also being caused by those works concerned with interpreting our most recent past--the national liberation war and the revolution. What do you see as the causes of those disagreements?

[Answer] I am not a historian so that I might be able to say something more definite about some specific misunderstanding of this kind. In general, as I have noted earlier, they are a natural consequence of a historic event passing into legend. Why is this occurring right at this present moment? Because the heroes of the revolutionary era are moving off the stage of history at an ever faster rate.

Language--The Warning of the Past

[Question] We have also had several works of art--plays, films and novels--about the Cominform which have not been disputed from the standpoint of their artistic worth, but as a rule disagreements have broken out because of their documentary subject. This is a kind of reduction which would like to put an equal sign between historical truth and truth in an artistic work. It is obviously a case of a lack of comprehension, and it has then resulted in certain performances being removed from the repertoire, some manuscripts waiting several years to be published ("Tren 2" [Moment 2]), etc. How are such cases to be averted?

[Answer] Every work of art resolves the relation between historic and artistic truth in its own way. Entire studies have been written on this relationship. For this occasion it is enough to recall two unquestionable experiences: the truth of history and the truth of art are not commensurable; no equals sign can be placed between them at any level of meaning.

But the trouble comes when the creator relies for his theme and subject matter on documentary material, aiming to surpass it esthetically, which also means to reshape it, and is unsuccessful. Then his creative freedoms, which inevitably have done damage to some of the "facts," are twisted into mere falsification. Criticism will perceive a failure in the artistic shaping of material from life as a bad job, but when the creator fails in his use of historical material, he can expect to be accused of falsifying history.

Consequently, I am convinced that only a malicious or ignorant person can suspect a falsehood and "unsuitability" a work which has used a historical event only as a foundation and which has achieved artistic importance.

The League of Communists ought to pledge itself more resolutely to having the truth of art, when it is authentic, paid the same respect as historical truth, which above all means that both are approached with the critical methods proper to their differences. This practice should also apply to all attempts to reshape historical material into artistic characters and scenes, including those examples which you have mentioned. Only under this condition is it possible to avert the disagreements of which we have been witnesses and sometimes even the "sponsors."

That being the case, here we are again, faced with the necessity of developing a professionally sound criticism committed to Marxism which would evaluate works and occurrences in good time. We still do not have critics of that kind--intractable, perspicacious and courageous.

[Question] And now language has again come on the agenda in our republic as well. What does public concern about language mean? Can this be short term, or must it be long range?

[Answer] Whenever the discussion turns to language, we are dealing with people's very consciousness, since, as Marx himself noted, language is a practical form of man's consciousness. What happens with language cannot be a matter of indifference to a society which wants to develop consciousness and to improve human relations. Even were we to reduce language merely to a basic ethnic feature, we would still have to pose the question today of why we are paying so little attention and concern to it, why we are beginning to pay serious concern to language only when it becomes the subject of interethnic disagreements and squabbling. This is another area in which the past has several times warned us that the nurturing of the language cannot be left exclusively to the competent institutions and university departments, especially since few people are concerning themselves with them.

The consequences of the years of neglect in this field of social life are today already so obvious that no serious man disputes the necessity of the most urgent reconciliation and unification of all the forces which can socially, scientifically and professionally contribute to overcoming this situation.

The neglect of the Serbo-Croatian language in the Socialist Republic of Serbia with its two provinces and multinational population is of such a kind and extent that it cannot be remedied with short-term measures nor by the disconnected efforts of individuals and individual institutions. Only through the organized public will can we prevent a further crumbling of linguistic values and improve linguistic relations with other nationalities and ethnic minorities in Yugoslavia. We owe this to the revolutionary tradition of Vuk's language, and to ourselves, and especially to future generations.

That is why measures have been taken a few days ago to organize a council for all of Serbia through a self-management accord, assigning it the long-range task of binding together through self-management all the forces who have the competence and the power to study and develop our language policy and linguistic culture.

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CSO: 2800/360

RETIRED GENERAL INTERVIEWED ON ELECTION ISSUES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1630, 28 Mar 82 pp 18-19

[Interview with Stanko Naletilic, chairman of the Croatian Republic Committee of the Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War (SUBNOR), by Jug Grizelj: "Against Comfortable Niches for Personnel"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Early this month certain proposals of candidates for posts in the republic and in the Federal Assembly were debated at a working meeting of the Presidium of the Croatian Republic of SUBNOR. On that occasion several criticisms were made, mostly of a general nature, of the way in which the nominations are made. Since these criticisms are undoubtedly of importance to Yugoslavia as a whole, we called upon Stanko Naletilic, chairman of the Croatian Republic Committee of SUBNOR, to answer several questions about this urgent topic. Comrade Naletilic had this to say to us in connection with the "paper" which the Presidium of SUBNOR sent to the Presidium of the Croatian SAWP:

"The veterans' organizations of Croatia, and not only of Croatia, are regularly analyzing all developments in society and, within that context, matters related to personnel policy. As usual, we have on this occasion taken positions which are frank and critical. Since it was my duty to present the views of SUBNOR to the comrades in the Socialist Alliance and to others, I must say that these views were received with full understanding. What we said on that occasion was not any new position at all, nor the position of SUBNOR alone, but the generally accepted commitment of our entire society. You have read it yourself: we said we feel that personnel policy should not be turned into an institution for placing people and for providing comfortable niches to our personnel, but that personnel solutions presuppose that the best people are put in responsible posts, people, moreover, who are able to offer the best programs that will help us to get out of the economic difficulties in which our republic and our country as a whole have found themselves. We are not in favor of any sort of radical changeover of age groups, but we resolutely advocate giving up the practice of making a profession of politics and the delegate system. We think that this must be realized first of all by the people who have been traveling about in a circle for years. There are able and proven people even outside that group, and there are, in particular, able young people who should be given responsibility and above all a chance to show what they know.

"Aside from that, we were critical that there are not enough workers in our political pyramid. Today our worker is not a semiliterate wage earner, he is authentically able to self-manage, and he must be given the opportunity to get where the decisions are really being made.

"The problem is that I think that we have all had too little time to concern ourselves specifically with our personnel policy, and that is an experience we need to apply to the future. We need to give more heed to the base and to the proposals from below. I think that we must finally take the decisive step toward deprofessionalization of politics, so that it becomes a normal thing for a man to do the job for which he was elected and to go back where he came from."

[Question] Reproaches are sometimes heard to the effect that the veterans are "cavillers," and that often at inopportune moments.

[Answer] We need to be altogether clear: The veterans' organization is not some kind of caste organization with some particular program; it is a political organization which structures its activity on the basis of the LCY Program and the constitution, an organization which has its obligations and its rights, not to take shots as it pleases, but to be of help with bold exploration for solutions. We do not claim to be the conscience of society, but at times we have perhaps been in a situation to have fewer hindrances so that we can speak our minds openly. There are many people in the veterans' organization who have held high posts; they have done their job; they truly have no need to fight for their personal status and affirmation, and I think that they are in a position of being able to evaluate trends in society objectively, and this, I admit, is not always to everyone's liking. One needs to hear the members of our organization in the meetings of veterans, from the local community to the Federation, to see that there is nothing personal in all these discussions. The veterans are demanding that the shortcomings be overcome, and they are not seeking any positions or privileges for themselves. In this connection I must repeat: we have no ambition to have it said that we love this country more than other citizens. No, we have only seen more blood shed for this freedom of ours and our socialism, and that is why our feelings run deeper.

[Question] At some veterans' meetings it has been said that the positions adopted by SUBNOR sometimes have trouble reaching the public.

[Answer] I do not feel that every opinion of the veterans' organization ought to have its place in the public, but it is a fact that sometimes even our important opinions are not heard, even though it would be a natural thing for them to be heard. Somehow I can understand this: We veterans are no longer so attractive, there are fewer and fewer of us, we are getting on in years, and, of course, we are not in power either. We have only our moral and political force. But there are fewer and fewer veterans in important positions, we have become pensioners. It is true that here and there a position is adopted in a veterans' organization which has pretensions of delivering lectures, but that is not a widespread phenomenon.

[Question] It is thought by some that when the behavior of young people is evaluated in certain veterans' quarters a lack of understanding is shown for various present-day processes.

[Answer] Perhaps one might get the idea on the basis of certain isolated reactions that some veterans behave like touchy old men who are temperamental and like to split hairs. I do not say that such people do not exist in certain isolated cases, you know how it is when a man gets old, and at the same time is not well informed, he takes hold of something and won't let go; that is not something peculiar to veterans alone. However, I absolutely deny that that kind of behavior is typical of a majority of veterans. The veterans fully understand that our principal task is to win young people over to our programs and to the development of self-managing socialism. We are perfectly aware that the success of our effort should not be measured only in the extent to which we veterans are involved in social processes, but above all by how much we have contributed to the involvement of young people.

It is true that recently there have been cases where veterans in some places have given excessive importance to isolated excesses of young people, failing to see that those same young people, through their overall activity, are altogether "our own," whether they be in stadiums, on the job or at the university. There is no other way it can be. I can say that we are truly gratified when in stadiums we hear "Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia," our anthem, fighting songs, or the chanting "We Are Tito's--Tito Is Ours," and that even when it is not in direct proportion to the occasion. For instance, at some game in Nis, in Split, in Zagreb or in Sarajevo, when our team is competing against some foreign team, one usually will hear this kind of reaction of young people. So, why "worry" about young people? Perhaps some veterans have given excessive importance to all those "cases" of "Fish Chowder," and the like.

What we veterans are really sensitive to and always will be, that is when, as there have recently been cases, and I would say quite a few, people look for "dark places" in our history and insist on them, when attempts are made to diminish the importance of our revolution and Comrade Tito. This is what we insist on, especially when we feel that the proper and responsible people have not reacted.

[Question] One might expect that veterans would be especially sensitive to the matters of brotherhood and unity, community consensus and our federal system. Do you think that we are decisive in expressing concern for our community consensus in the many specific deformations which have been occurring recently?

[Answer] I think it only seems that veterans are not resolute in expressing their disagreement with various manifestations of disruption of community consensus and violations of brotherhood and unity both in politics and in the economy. Perhaps the problem is that we spoke about this earlier, that our positions often do not receive publicity either at the opstina level or at the republic level. This is a rather delicate situation: Veterans are not opportunists, nor would we like to be seen as oppositionists; that perhaps accounts for a certain hesitation on the part of the veterans to always thrust all

their own positions into the foreground. We see the deformations, we point to them openly and severely, and to what extent this is always taken in good part is another question. It is true that we perhaps show too much impatience, which is understandable, when we judge that certain ideological and practical positions which do not lie in the continuity of the revolution are on the offensive, and we as a society, at least so it seems to us, sometimes behave complacently and like someone who is in no hurry to correct those deformations. I must add only one more sentence so that we can fully understand each other: The veterans are not those who see every critic as an enemy. We make a precise distinction between the critical and the hostile, but when something is hostile, then we really demand that a spade be called a spade. Perhaps it is true that the veterans should have been more resolute when there were cases of violation of brotherhood and unity, cases of nationalism and also attacks on the independence of the nationalities and on the federal system. There is, however, a need for the system of political information of all the organized socialist forces to be better, broader and more effective. You know, if veterans are not sufficiently informed, and this incidentally applies to all other people, then they are not even able to react. We still keep many things marked "strictly confidential" and it often happens that we learn about certain deformations only when nothing more can be done. It is late to say that such-and-such a factory ought not to have been built when it has already been built. It is late to say that so much indebtedness should not have been incurred abroad when we have already become overindebted, and we did not know this, since until recently information on our indebtedness was kept secret here in the country, although everyone in the world knew what our condition was. We were the only ones not to know! So, I see this as another reason why veterans did not react in time.

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END

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19 May 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2011

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19 May 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2011

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ABORTIONS, LIMITATIONS OF BIRTHS CONFLICT WITH PATRIOTIC DUTY

Tirana SHENDETI in Albanian No 8, Aug 81 pp 16-17

[Article by Viktor Theohari, gynecologist: "The Responsibility of the Man in Abortions"]

[Excerpts] Abortions are a very serious problem for society. When the interruption of pregnancy is not necessary for medical reasons it means the killing of something which is just developing. Some believe that abortion is a simple operation, without any harmful consequences. This is not true. Even when the operation is performed successfully, in accordance with medical standards, it has serious effects on the health of the woman.

Throughout this drama which the woman faces, the figure of the man remains in the background, as if he has no part in the event, as if he has no responsibility for the interruption of the pregnancy, as if he does not know what is happening to the woman. The responsibility for the interruption of the pregnancy or for the complications which are caused belongs to both the man and the woman; the man has even more responsibility because he, unlike the woman, does not endanger his health by the abortion.

First of all, pregnancy is the result of joint action by the couple and a conscientious decision should be made by the two partners. From the very beginning, they should examine their ability to raise a child, before the child is conceived. They should not wait until the child has begun to live in the mother's womb.

Irresponsible behavior under the influence of alcohol or some other stimulus does not make the man any more attractive and does not justify unwanted pregnancy. Certainly, every man should think carefully before acting under the influence of alcohol or some other emotional stimulus, lest his action force him to take the hard road which involves interruption of pregnancy.

Many women who have abortions claim that they are not able to raise another child since they are busy at work, in the house, in the nursery, at school, etc. When we ask these women if their husbands help them, the reply is the same: Men do not bother with this work, they say it is women's work!

Recently, especially in the cities, a phenomenon which is foreign to our people has been noted--the trend toward having only two children and, why not, even fewer. We are a country with a young population, full of life and optimism. Limitation of births will result in the aging of the population, something which should not happen and will not happen in our country as it is happening in the bourgeois and revisionist countries. Therefore, the man has responsibility in regard to this problem of vital importance, when he makes an unthinking decision in favor of interruption of pregnancy.

Increasing the population is a patriotic duty which every family should keep in mind. Then the question arises as to what the man is doing in the family to respond to the call of the party to keep putting new blood into the population. The reproduction of the people is a vital issue which deals with the future of socialism in our country.

Implementing the recommendations of the party and of Comrade Enver in regard to the health of mothers and children in Albania, all facilities have been created for women to raise healthy children in the best conditions. Our laws have always given pregnant women and nursing mothers a number of benefits to ensure the protection of pregnancy and the normal development of the child.

A new and important measure which expresses, once again, the great and continuing concern of the party and of our socialist state for the health of mother and child is the decision of the People's Assembly that maternity leave for women in the cities and the villages will be extended from 49 calendar days, which it has been, to 135 calendar days.

The important measures of the party and the state and the concern of the entire society should be a great impetus for men to better understand their duties to the fatherland, to learn more about the health problems of women, and to assist actively in everyday household chores and in the raising of children.

CSO: 2100/59

NEW SCHEDULE FOR INTERNATIONAL FLIGHTS PUBLISHED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 Apr 82 p 4

[Announcement from Albtransport]

[Text] From 19 April to 31 October 1982, the schedule for the flights of international airlines will be as follows:

1. INTERFLUG (IF 390/391), of the civil air transport enterprise of the German Democratic Republic, will fly on Mondays (once every 2 weeks) on the Berlin-Budapest-Tirana route and the return route. It arrives at Rinas Airport at 1125 and departs Rinas at 1225.

2. OLYMPIC (OA 115/116) of the national air company of Greece, flies every Tuesday, on the Athens-Iannina-Tirana route and the return route. It arrives at Rinas Airport at 1150 and departs Rinas at 1250.

3. TAROM (RO 251/252), of the civil air transport enterprise of the Socialist Republic of Romania, flies every Wednesday on the Bucharest-Tirana-Rome route and the return route. It arrives at Rinas Airport at 1000 and departs for Rome at 1050; it returns from Rome to Rinas at 1500 and departs Rinas for Bucharest at 1600.

4. JAT (JU 480/481), of the Yugoslav air transport enterprise, flies every Wednesday, on the Belgrade-Tirana route and the return route. It arrives at Rinas Airport at 1200 and departs Rinas at 1300.

5. MALEV (MA 430/431), of the civil air transport enterprise of the People's Republic of Hungary, flies every Thursday on the Budapest-Belgrade-Tirana route and the return route. It arrives at Rinas Airport at 1115 and departs Rinas at 1205.

Passengers should be at Rinas Airport one and one-half hours before the departure of the plane. Otherwise, Albtransport will not be responsible for their failure to depart.

CSO: 2100/59

CSR LAW ON DOMESTIC TRADE

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 12, 26 Mar 82 Supplement pp 3-16

[Law of the Czech National Council No 127/1981 of SBIRKA of 17 December 1981: "Law on Domestic Trade"]

[Text] Czech National Council Law on Domestic Trade No 127 of 17 December 1981

The Czech National Council approved the following law:

Part 1
Introductory Provisions

Section 1
Subject of Regulation

(1) Domestic trade is the sector of the socialist economic system which acts as an intermediary between production or import of consumer goods (henceforth "goods") and their distribution and consumption. In this manner it contributes to the satisfaction of citizens' needs on the domestic market and to the conditions for the socialist way of life.

(2) The law defines the status and tasks of domestic trade in accordance with CSSR economic and social policy and regulates the conditions of business activity in domestic trade as well as the rights and duties of organs, organizations and citizens in this area.

Section 2
Basic Task of Domestic Trade

(1) The basic task of domestic trade is to secure, in accordance with the national economic plans and uniform socialist trade policy, the development according to the plan of economical and continuous satisfaction of citizens' needs by sale of goods and providing services on the domestic market according to this law.

(2) The organs which direct business activity and the organizations which are engaged in it are responsible for the fulfillment of this basic task.

(3) Other organs and organizations which by their production or other activity participate in the satisfaction of citizens' needs on the domestic market must create conditions necessary for the fulfillment of the task according to Para 1.

Section 3
Uniform Socialist Trade Policy

(1) A uniform socialist trade policy whose principles are determined by the CSR government is implemented in domestic trade.

(2) The principles of uniform socialist trade policy are proposed to the CSR Government by the CSR Ministry of Trade (henceforth "Ministry of Trade") which directs the implementation of uniform socialist trade policy and, in cooperation with the Czech Union of Consumer Cooperatives (CSSD), other central organs and kraj national committees implements it.

Part 2
Business Activity and Conditions for It

Head 1
Business Activity

Section 4
Definition of the Term

By business activity according to this law is meant retail trade activity, providing commercial services in connection with retail trade, providing services of public catering, lodging and travel agencies as well as wholesale business insofar as these activities are carried out on the domestic market.

Section 5
Retail Trade Activity

By retail trade activity is meant selling or providing for selling of goods to citizens and, on the scale and under the conditions specified by the enabling regulations, also to the organizations.

Section 6
Commercial Services

By commercial services are meant services which are related to retail trade activity and are rendered to the citizens in order to satisfy their needs. The scope and conditions of commercial services will be determined by the supervisory organ.

Section 7
Public Catering Services

(1) By public catering services is meant the preparation and sale of food, convenience foods, drinks or supplementary sale of goods and providing services related to public catering in sales outlets of restaurant catering.

(2) Serving of meals in factory cafeterias is not regarded as public catering according to this law.[2)]

Section 8
Housing Services

By housing services is meant providing for payment of temporary lodging and related services to the public in the establishments and facilities designed for this purpose.

Section 9
Services by Travel Agencies

By services of travel agencies are meant services to tourists and particularly theorganization of recreational, tourist, topical and other excursions and sojourns, providing and procurement of transportation, public catering, housing, guides and other related services to the tourists.

Section 10
Wholesale Business Activity

(1) By wholesale business activity is meant securing of shipments of goods from the production sector or imports for the purpose of regular and speedy supply to retail trade or other commercial activity or to other customers.

(2) According to this law, the activity of sales and supply organizations in the area of material and technical procurement is not regarded as wholesale business activity.

Section 11

Business activity is carried out in stores, sales centers of restaurant catering, plants and establishments providing housing services, travel agencies, the ordering offices of the fuel trade sector, gas stations and other places of business which are engaged in business activity (henceforth "store or place of business"). They are located in accordance with the interests of regular and steady supply of goods and services to citizens.

Section 12

The enabling regulation will define in detail the content and scope of business activity and the principles governing the planning and construction of stores or places of business.

Head 2
Authorization of Organizations to Engage in Business Activity

Section 13
Authorization to Engage in Business Activity

(1) Business activity can be pursued by

a) organizations set up for engaging in business activity which are controlled by the Ministry of Trade, CSSD or national committees;

b) other organizations only, if they see granted a special permit or have the right to do so according to this law.

(2) The provisions of special regulations, insofar as they require a special permit for engaging in some business activity, are not affected by this law.

Section 14

(1) the permits to engage in business activity are granted by the Ministry of Trade or national committees. These organs must approve also permanent discontinuation of business activity.

(2) The Ministry of Trade grants a permit to engage in business activity, if

a) it involves business activity of one or more organizations on the territory exceeding one kraj and the permit is applied for by their central organ or

b) the permit is applied for by other than a socialist organization or

c) it involves wholesale business activity.

(3) Except for the instances listed in Para 2, the permit to engage in business activity is granted by

a) the kraj national committee, if business activity is to be carried out on its territory in more than one okres;

b) the okres national committee, if business activity is to be carried out on its territory only;

c) the municipal national committee, if business activity is to be carried out on its territory only;

d) the local national committee for nonrecurring business activity on its territory.

Section 15

The organs listed in Sect 14 grant the permit to engage in business activity only, if it is in harmony with the society's interests and

satisfaction of citizens' needs, and if the organization has necessary conditions and funds for business activity or will produce them within the specified deadline.

Section 16

The organization has the right to engage in business activity only in the scope and territorial district specified in the permit.

Section 17

The organ which sets up an organization or changes the subject of its economic activity can list in the charter, statutes, articles or other document, business activity as the subject of economic activity only on the basis of a permit issued by the appropriate organ of state administration (Sect 14), if such a permit is required according to this law.

Section 18

An enabling regulation will spell out the details of the application for the permit to engage in business activity and the procedure in filing it.

Section 19

Abrogation of the Permit

(1) The organ authorized according to Sect 14 to grant a permit to engage in business activity

a) will repeal this permit, if it was granted on the basis of incorrect information by the organization or if the prerequisites under which it was granted change or if the interests of regular and fluent flow of supplies to the domestic market or other important interests of the society so require;

b) can withdraw or revise this permit, if the organization involved does not make use of this permit without any particular reason or violates the duties imposed on it according to this law.

(2) The permit to engage in business activity ends by

a) disbanding of the organization involved;

b) repeal of the permit according to Para 1;

c) the decision of the organ of state administration, authorized to issue the permit, by which it consents to permanent ceasing of business activity on the basis of the notification by the organization to this effect;

d) completing of nonrecurring business activity (Sect 14, para 3, Letter d);

e) expiration of the time for which the permit was granted.

Head 3
Conditions for Engaging in Business Activity

Section 20

(1) The organization which is engaged in business activity must observe the conditions stipulated by this law, enabling or special regulations as well as conditions stated in the permit to engage in business activity, insofar as it needs such a permit. In particular it must

a) engage in business activity in accordance with the principles of uniform socialist trade policy and tasks charged according to this law, enabling or special regulations;

b) maintain the specified assortment of goods and scope of services within which it has the right to engage in business activity and to secure an adequate supply of goods to citizens during the entire selling period;

c) secure, in cooperation with the production and other supply organizations, an adequate quantity of goods in the specified assortment and quality and in various price groups;

d) take care in every possible way of safety and health protection at work and sanitary conditions of sale;

e) ensure, in cooperation with the production and other organizations, an adequate quantity and specified assortment of spare parts and components in the trade system and reach agreement on repairs both during the warranty period and after its expiration;

f) propose to the appropriate local national committee the regulation of selling and operating periods (henceforth "selling period"), observe and make it public;

g) maintain specified basic operating and technical equipment of stores and places of business, sectorial norms on categorization of lodging establishments and facilities, and of sales centers of restaurant catering;

h) protect citizens' interests in domestic trade and actively work for the development of socialist relations between the workers at places of business and citizens, and in particular direct these workers to a friendly attitude, honesty and active interest in citizens' contentment;

i) see to it that the workers at places of business possess the required qualification and meet other requirements specified for the workers at stores or places of business.

(2) The enabling regulation will spell out in detail the conditions of business activity.

Head 4
Setting the Selling Period

Section 21

(1) The selling period in stores or places of business is set or changed by the appropriate local national committees on the proposal of the organization lawfully engaged in business activity. The organization must discuss the proposal with the appropriate organ of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH].

(2) The selling period is set in accordance with the society's interest in such a way as to allow the citizens to shop and make use of available services before and after work.

(3) If the organization does not submit the proposal for setting or changing the selling period at the store or place of business, or submits a proposal which does not meet the requirements of Para 2, the selling period is set by the appropriate local national committee after discussing it with the organization and appropriate ROH organ.

Head 5
Temporary Closing of Store or Place of Business

Section 22

(1) The store or place of business can be temporarily closed for the absolutely necessary period only due to the

a) taking of inventory of economic funds;

b) natural disaster;

c) death of the worker or time off necessitated by his sudden illness or injury or in connection with the sudden illness, injury or death of his family member, if the store or places of business employs one worker only;

d) dangerous condition of the store or place of business or its equipment;

e) adaptation or other remodeling of the store or place of business or its furnishings or equipment.

(2) The organization engaged in business activity must discuss in advance the temporary closing of the store or place of business with the appropriate local national committee.

(3) In other instances than those listed in Para 1, the store or place of business can be temporarily closed only with the permission of the appropriate local national committee or on the basis of the decision by another appropriate organ of state administration made according to special regulations[4].

(4) Upon temporary closing of the store or place of business, the organization engaged in business activity must, in cooperation with the appropriate local national committee, provide for substitute sale of goods or services so that the citizens in the respective locality are normally and fluently supplied or secure in the nearest store or place of business of the same type the sale of goods or providing services according to this law.

Head 6
Sales of Goods by Citizens

Section 23

(1) A citizen has the right to sell goods only in the scope and under the conditions specified on the basis of this law or special regulations.

(2) Plant and animal products from their own small-scale production and berries gathered in the forest can be sold by citizens without a permit unless specific regulations provide otherwise.[5]

Section 24

(1) Citizens can sell their homemade or home-processed products on the basis of the permit granted by the local national committee in whose territorial district sales are to be made.

(2) In the permit, the local national committee lists the types of products, scope and place of sales, the duration of the permit and possibly also other conditions under which the citizen can sell these products.

Section 25

The citizen who was granted the permit to sell goods

a) can do so only at open air markets or other places specified by the appropriate local national committee;

b) must have about him evidence that the permit to sell goods was granted and produce this document, when asked by the appropriate organ to do so. At the same time, he must display his name and the place of his permanent residence conspicuously.

Section 26

The local national committees publish market regulations in which, in accordance with the citizens' interests, they stipulate the conditions

for sale of goods at open air markets and particularly specify the time and place of sale of goods as well as the fees for the use of public area.[6]

Section 27

(1) The permit to sell homemade or home-processed products expires upon the lapse of the period for which it was issued or by the death of the citizens.

(2) The permit can be withdrawn, if the citizen without any special reason does not make use of it, violates the duties imposed by this law or special regulations or if the society's interests so require.

Section 28

An enabling regulation will spell out the details of the application for the permit to engage in sale of one's own homemade or home-processed products, state detailed conditions and scope of this sale as well as the types of those products for whose sale a permit is not required.

Head 7
Protection of Citizens' Interests in Domestic Trade

Section 29

(1) The organizations engaged in business activity must, in addition to the conditions listed in Sect 20 and special regulations[7], comply with or create additional conditions for the protection of citizens in domestic trade.

In particular they must

a) introduce and effect such work organization and technology of operation which contribute to regular and steady supply of goods and services to citizens;

b) see to it that the standard of goods offered for sale, of services rendered and of sales personnel in stores or other places of business continuously increases;

c) exercise quality and price control upon receiving goods in order to prevent sale of merchandise not conforming to the technical standards, price and other regulations[8] or aesthetic requirements. No merchandise must be sold in domestic trade that does not correspond to the regulation on safety and health protection;

d) in relation to suppliers, insist on higher technical and aesthetic standard of goods and their packaging, and on their higher use value;

d) in accordance with special regulations[9], demand the application of more progressive technical norms and changes in them, suggest that the products are subjected to mandatory evaluation and its results used, and particularly, in cooperation with the production organizations, indicate the quality grade of products or exception from the technical standards;

f) inform citizens on the goods sold and services rendered.

(2) The Ministry of Trade, CSSD, other central agencies and national committees which direct the organizations engaged in business activity create, in cooperation with the central agencies of supply organizations, a well-rounded system of commercial-political, legal, technical-organizational, educational and control measures designed to increase protection of citizens' interests in domestic trade.

(3) If the citizen exercises his right to complain about the defects of merchandise or services (henceforth "complaints"), the head of the store or place of business or the worker authorized by him must, after careful examination, decide on the complaint immediately, or within 3 days in more complicated cases. The decision on the complaint concerning the merchandise defects must not be made dependent upon the opinion of the supply organization. The regulation governing the settlement of citizens' complaints must be displayed in a conspicuous and readily accessible spot in every store or place of business.

(4) An enabling regulation will spell out the procedure and details of the settlement of citizens' complaints.

Part 3
Management of Domestic Trade

Head 1
Sectorial Management of Domestic Trade

Section 30

(1) The Ministry of Trade, CSSD, other central agencies and national committees, in mutual cooperation with the organizations supervised by them insofar as these are engaged in business activity and in accordance with the tasks set by the national economic plans, uniform socialist trade policy and by using specified economic tools must

a) ensure uniform and coordinate course of action in the drawing up, fulfillment and control of the fulfillment of the retail trade turnover;

b) carry out, in accordance with the uniform principles, domestic market research, analyze consumer demand and control it in accordance with the needs of development of the socialist way of life;

c) create uniform conditions for the coordinated and planned development of the material-technical basis, and for the adequate number of stores and places of business in all trade systems;

d) ensure the implementation of uniform principles governing the economic conditions of business activity;

e) create basic conditions of social development, training and stabilization of cadres in domestic trade;

f) organize in accordance with special regulations[10)] a promptly available and uniform information system in the domestic trade sector.

(2) The Ministry of Trade organizes the coordinated implementation of tasks listed in Para 1.

(3) An enabling regulation will formulate the uniform principles governing domestic market research and analysis of the consumer demand and its control.

Head 2
Organs of State Administration for Domestic Trade

Section 31

(1) State administration in the domestic trade sector is executed and the tasks according to this law fulfilled by the organs of state administration for domestic trade which are

a) the Ministry of Trade as the central organ of state administration for domestic trade;

b) national committees.

(2) In executing state administration in the domestic trade sector, the appropriate central organs cooperate on the necessary scale with the organs listed in Para 1 and assist them. Special provisions regulating the status and tasks of cooperative organizations are not thereby affected.

Head 3
Jurisdiction of State Administration Organs for Domestic Trade

Section 32
Ministry of Trade

The Ministry of Trade

a) directs the execution of state administration and in specified instances exercises state administration for domestic trade and tourism. It also exercises state trade supervision;

b) submits to the CSR Government the draft proposals for uniform socialist trade policy, the proposals for long-term development of the domestic trade sector, the proposals for basic measures aimed at the improvement of production and import of goods as well as the proposals for measures in tourism;

c) puts together the draft plan for domestic trade;

d) in accordance with the principles laid down by the CSR Government, enacts measures necessary for the implementation of uniform socialist trade policy and distribution of goods, particularly of regular and smooth supply of goods to citizens and improvement of services rendered, including controlling sales of goods, implementation of price measures and measures designed to protect citizens' interests in domestic trade;

e) secures, in accordance with special regulations and uniform principles of appropriate central organs of state administration, the implementation of price, wage, financial and investment policy and scientific-technological development, and directs research in domestic trade;

g) performs additional tasks in domestic trade according to this law and special regulations.

Section 33
Kraj National Committees

The kraj national committees

a) follow up and evaluate the level of citizens' supplies and services. They propose or carry out themselves necesssary measures for securing a regular and smooth flow of supplies and services;

b) analyze trends in personal consumption;

c) work out the concept of development of the material-technical basis of domestic trade and tourism, coordinate and check on its implementation;

d) develop the concepts of development of enterprises managed by the national committees in the domestic trade sector and check on their implementation;

e) coordinate the development of individual systems of public catering;

f) work out the concept of development of tourism and check on its implementation;

g) exercise state trade inspection;

h) grant organizations the permit to engage in business activity.

Section 34
Okres National Committees

The okres national committees

a) follow up and evaluate the level of citizens' supply and services and propose or carry out themselves necessary measures for securing regular and smooth flow of supplies and services to citizens;

b) analyze trends in personal consumption;

c) work out the concept of development of the material-technical basis of domestic trade and tourism and coordinate and check on its implementation;

d) develop the concept of development of tourism and check on its implementation;

e) exercise state trade inspection;

f) impose fines according to this law on the organizations for the shortcomings found by the organs of state trade inspectorate;

g) place lodging establishments and facilities in classes and categories, and sales centers of restaurant catering in groups;

h) grant organizations permits to engage in business activity.

Section 35
Municipal National Committees

In addition to the jurisdiction exercised by the local national committees according to Sect 36, the municipal national committees

a) exercise jurisdiction which belongs to the okres national committees according to Sect 34 letters a) and c);

b) exercise additional jurisdiction extended to the okres national committees, if the kraj national committees delegate it to them;

c) grant organizations permits to engage in business activity on their territory;

d) impose fines according to this law on organizations for the shortcomings discovered by the organs of state trade inspectorate.

Section 36
Local National Committees

The local national committees

a) enact measures necessary for securing regular and smooth flow of supplies and services to citizens;

b) set the selling period for stores and other places of business;

c) discuss and give their approval to the temporary closing of stores or places of business;

d) approve the distribution, location and opening of new stores or places of business, and extension, restriction or discontinuation of their activity;

e) express their opinion on the proposed appointment or recall of the heads of stores or places of business of the organizations managed by the superior national committees. If major or recurrent shortcomings in the activity of these stores or places of business are found, they can propose a recall of their managers;

f) grant permits to citizens to sell goods;

g) determine the marketplace or other sites for sale of goods by citizens and publish the market regulations;

h) exercise state trade inspection;

i) set up consumer councils and direct their activities;

j) grant permits to organizations for nonrecurrent business activity;

k) express their opinion on the schedules for delivery of goods;

l) discuss offenses according to this law.

Part 4
State Trade Supervision in Domestic Trade

Section 37

(1) The national committees and the Ministry of Trade are the organs of state trade supervision in the domestic trade sector.

(2) In exercising state trade supervision, the appropriate organs check whether the organizations engaged in business activity and citizens who sell goods comply with the conditions and perform duties stipulated by this law as well as duties assigned by the measures enacted by the organs of state administration. In particular, they check whether the terms stipulated for engaging in business activity by organizations or for sale of goods by citizens are observed; whether there is compliance with the specified assortment, quantity, quality, weight and price of goods, selling period and other conditions and duties specified for the protection of citizens in domestic trade.

(3) If the organ of state trade supervision discovers a shortcoming, it will ask the organization or, according to the nature of the matter, the organ which supervises it or the citizen who sells goods to rectify the situation. In exercising supervision in stores or places of business, it can within its jurisdiction impose necessary bans and enact temporary measures for the elimination of shortcomings.

Section 38

(1) In discharging their tasks, the workers of the organ of state trade supervision have the right to enter stores or places of business, inspect equipment and buildings insofar as no permission is required according to special regulations, conduct necessary investigations, ask for necessary data and explanation, and examine the pertinent documents. In exercising state trade supervision, they must produce a card identifying themselves as organs of state trade inspectorate and not disclose facts constituting the subject of state, economic or service secrets.

(2) The organ of state trade supervision can in complicated instances ask for cooperation of the expert who has the same right as the workers of the organ of state trade supervision according to Para 1.

Section 39

In order to discharge the tasks related to state trade supervision, the local national committees set up consumer councils[11].

Section 40

In order to increase protection of citizens' interests in domestic trade, professionally qualified workers, authorized by the central organ which directs the organization engaged in business activity, have the right in exceptional cases to check on the observance of technical norms, production processes and technology in the production of goods, particularly in those instances when inferior products are delivered repeatedly or in large quantities. The scope and conditions of such supervision will be decided upon by the central organ which manages the organization engaged in business activity, together with the central organ which directs the production organization.

Section 41

In exercising state trade supervision, the supervising organs rely upon workers' experiences and initiative, and cooperate with the organs of people's control, of ROH and other mass organizations. They can also request cooperation of the organs checking on the observance of prices, quality and harmlessness of goods from the standpoint of health, and observance of sanitary regulations in stores or places of business.

Section 42

Every store or place of business must make available to citizens a book of wishes and complaints in which they can register their complaints, comments and suggestions.

Section 43

Every store or place of business must keep an inspection book in which the appropriate organ must record the results of inspection and findings, including the proposed or demanded measures for elimination of shortcomings.

Section 44

Special regulations defining the status and tasks of the organs of state inspectorates[12] are not affected by this law.

Section 45

An enabling regulation will spell out in detail state trade supervision, maintenance of books of wishes and complaints, manner in which the complaints, comments and suggestions registered by citizens in the book of wishes and complaints are to be attended to, and keeping of inspection books.

Part 5
Fines and Other Sanctions

Section 46

(1) The okres national committee, municipal national committee or--in the community designed by the kraj national committee--the local national committee will impose on the organization which

a) does not create conditions for state trade supervision, prevents the organs from exercising it, does not implement within the specified deadline measures ordered by the organ of state trade supervision or does not correct an irregularity discovered by the organ of state trade supervision within the deadline specified, a fine up to the amount of Kcs 100,000;

b) does not observe the conditions of business activity specified by or on the basis of this law, a fine up to the amount of Kcs 300,000;

c) despite a prior written warning, engages in business activity without a prescribed permit, a fine up to the amount of Kcs 500,000.

(2) If another organ of state trade supervision than that listed in Para 1 discovers violation of duty according to Para 1, it will report it to the appropriate okres national committee together with a proposal for imposing a fine.

(3) In determining the amount of fine, attention will be paid particularly to gravity and duration of illegal activity, the extent of guilt, amount of damage caused and especially the amount of damaged caused to the citizen.

Section 47

(1) The fine must be paid within 30 days from the day on which the decision by which it was imposed became legally effective.

(2) The fine can be imposed on the organization within 1 year from the day on which the appropriate national committee learned about the violation of duty, but not later than 3 years from the day on which the violation of duty took place.

Section 48

By imposing a fine on the organization, responsibility of the organization or its workers according to special regulations remains unaffected.

Section 49
Offenses Committed by Citizens Selling Goods

(1) For offenses committed in sale of goods by citizens, the local national committee can

a) issue a reprimand;

b) impose a fine according to Para 2 or 3;

c) order forfeiture of goods.

(2) A fine up to Kcs 2,000 can be imposed on the citizen who commits an offense by

a) violating the duty stipulated by the market regulations;

b) selling goods at a site where sale of goods is not permitted;

c) failure to show the permit to sell goods when asked to do so by the appropriate organ;

d) failure to display conspicuously a sign listing his name and place of permanent residence;

e) violating other duty stipulated by this or on the basis of this law.

(3) A fine amounting up to Kcs 5,000 can be imposed on the citizen who commits an offense by

a) selling without a permit goods for whose sale a permit is required or engages illegally in business activity;

b) causing damage to citizens in terms of price, assortment, quality, quantity or weight of goods sold.

Section 50
Forfeiture and Seizure of Goods

(1) If a citizen sells goods of inferior quality or at an unjustifiable price or sells goods without a permit, the local national committee can declare

a) forfeiture of goods which were used in committing the offense and which belong to the citizen who committed the offense;

b) confiscation of goods which were used in committing the offense, but the perpetrator cannot be called to account or the goods do not belong to him.

(2) The local national committee can declare the goods confiscated in addition to the reprimand and fine.

(3) The state becomes the owner of forfeited or confiscated goods.

Section 51

Unless this law explicitly provides otherwise, general regulations[13)] apply to offenses and procedure involved.

Section 52

The fines imposed according to Sect 46 and 49 are part of revenues of the national committees which imposed them.

Part 6
Interim Provisions

Section 53

(1) The organizations which are lawfully engaged, on the day on which this law becomes effective, in business activity for which a permit is required, can carry on this activity on the same scale only if they, within 6 months of the effectiveness of this law, report this fact to the organ of state administration which would otherwise be authorized according to Sect 14. If they fail to do so, they are regarded as unlawful operators.

(2) The reporting duty according to Para 1 is regarded as met, if the notification is made within the same period by the organ which has the right to apply for the permit according to Sect 14, Para 2, Letter a).

Section 54

The citizen who on the day on which this law becomes effective has the right to sell his homemade or home-processed products must, if he wants to sell these products in the future, apply at the proper local national committee within 6 months for the permit to sell these products according to this law. Should he fail to do so, his permit to sell is terminated.

Part 7
Concluding Provisions

Section 55
Joint Provisions

(1) The provisions of this law do not apply to

a) sale of medicines and medical supplies insofar as it is effected by the organizations or establishments of the uniform health care system;

b) sale and distribution of periodical press, sale of postal and other valuables, sale of philatelic merchandise and of loudspeakers for broadcasting of radio programs by wire which are made by the organizations and establishments of the communications sector;

c) business activity of the organizations supervised by the CSR Ministry of Culture;

d) sale of articles of religious worship or church literature, insofar as it is carried out by a church or religious society;

e) foreign economic activity.[14)]

(2) The scope and conditions of pursuing business activity in the units and establishments of the armed forces and armed corps will be jointly agreed upon by the Ministry of Trade, Federal Ministry of National Defense, Federal Ministry of Interior and CSR Ministry of Justice.

Section 56
Authorizing Provisions

In cooperation with the central organs involved, the Ministry of Trade will issue generally binding regulations to implement the provisions of Sect 5, 12, 18; Sect 20, Para 2; Sect 28; Sect 29, Para 4; Sect 30, Para 3, and Sect 45 of this law.

Section 57
Rescinding Provisions

The following regulations are rescinded:

1. Law No 160/1949 of SBIRKA on domestic trade;

2. Ministry of Domestic Trade Decree No 13/1968 of SBIRKA, which stipulated the rules for business enterprise as amended by Decree No 105/1971 of SBIRKA;

3. Ministry of Domestic Trade Decree No 218/1954 of the OFFICIAL GAZETTE on uniform form of the book of wishes and complaints in the retail stores and places of public catering;

4. Ministry of Domestic Trade Decree No 177/1956 of the OFFICIAL GAZETTE on the classification of establishments of public catering in price groups as amended by the Czech National Council Law No 146/1971 of SBIRKA.

Section 58
Effectiveness of Law

This law becomes effective on 1 April 1982.

Signed: Kempny
Korcak

FOOTNOTES

1. Sect 239, Para 1 of the Civil Code No 40/1964 of SBIRKA.

2. CSSR Government Order No 25/1974 of SBIRKA on catering in factory cafeterias.

3. For example, Law No 162/1949 of SBIRKA on weapons and ammunition as amended by later regulations and Government Order No 56/1967 of SBIRKA on toxins and other substances harmful to health.

4. For example, Law No 20/1966 of SBIRKA on people's health care, Law No 50/1976 of SBIRKA on territorial planning and building code (law on construction).

5. For example, Law No 61/1964 of SBIRKA on plant production increase, Law No 20/1966 of SBIRKA, decree of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food No 123/1976 of SBIRKA on basic conditions of delivery of agricultural products and supplies as ammended by Decree No 83/1977 of SBIRKA.

6. Law No 82/1952 of SBIRKA on local fees.

7. For example, the Civil Code No 40/1974 of SBIRKA and Law No 20/1968 of SBIRKA.

8. For example, Law No 50/1968 of SBIRKA on testing in state laboratories.

9. Law No 98/1964 of SBIRKA on technical standardization. Law No 30/1968 of SBIRKA.

10. Law No 21/1971 of SBIRKA on the integrated system of socioeconomic information.

11. Section 65 of Law No 69/1967 of SBIRKA on national committees as amended by later regulations.

12. Law No 122/1962 of SBIRKA on state agricultural, food and trade inspection as amended by Law No 31/1968 of SBIRKA.

13. Law No 60/1981 of SBIRKA, Law No 71/1967 of SBIRKA on administrative procedure (administrative code).

14. Law No 42/1980 of SBIRKA on economic relations with foreign countries.

Excerpt from the Background Report

Sections 1-2 of the Law

The purpose of the new regulation of domestic trade is to replace the legislation of 1949 (Law No 160/1949 of SBIRKA on domestic trade), which no longer meets contemporary economic-political conditions and has become obsolete, with a new regulation which reflects the status and tasks of socialist domestic trade at the stage of building a developed socialism society.

The law regulates particularly the management of domestic trade, uniform socialist trade policy, jurisdiction of organs of state administration in domestic trade, supervision of domestic trade including imposing of fines and other sanctions for the violation of duties ensuing from this law, and completes an integrated system of protection of citizens' interests in domestic trade.

As to the position and tasks of domestic trade, the law defines with more precision, in accordance with the principal goal of CPCZ economic and social policy, their features in relation to the population and to the reproduction process.

The principal tasks of socialist domestic trade for individual stages of development are determined by the national economic plans and uniform socialist trade policy formulated by the government.

It is likewise taken into account that domestic trade performs its role under the conditions of the socialist domestic market organized according to the plan whose dynamic balance is part of the overall balance of the national economy and an important factor in domestic policy.

Section 3 of the Law

The Seventh Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee in May 1977 laid down the directive that domestic trade must operate on the basis of a uniform trade political concept. The uniform trade political concept makes imperative the formulation of uniform socialist trade policy which is part of CPCZ economic and social policy.

For this reason, the law makes the uniform socialist trade policy mandatory for all organs and organizations which control or are engaged in business activity in domestic trade, and at the same time charges them with the duty to use, in addition to the generally applicable tools of planned management of the national economy, also specific tools and methods of management of domestic trade which are to contribute to the accomplishment of these goals.

The principles of uniform socialist trade policy are proposed and submitted for approval to the CSR Government by the Ministry of Trade which also directs the implementation of uniform socialist trade policy and, in cooperation with CSSD, other central organs and kraj national committees, carries it out.

The principles of uniform socialist trade policy reflect its goals, content and tools. Its goals lie in the accomplishment of planned development of market personal consumption in accordance with the requirements of the socialist way of life. In this respect, they particularly follow the structural and qualitative changes in personal consumption and shopping conditions for the population.

The subject of uniform socialist trade policy and thus also the basic duty of all organs and organizations which direct or implement the uniform socialist trade policy is in particular

a) to work out the concept of development of market personal consumption and create conditions for its implementation. By the concepts of development of market personal consumption are meant both the comprehensive plans for dynamics and structure of sale of consumer goods on the domestic market and similar plans for consumption in specific assortment of groups of goods. In addition to the anticipated trend in sale of goods, the concept simultaneously deals with future changes in quality, innovation process, changes in the area of price relations, method of sale, retail packaging and so on;

b) to actively affect market personal consumption and to make use of price and credit measures, market research and commercial advertising;

c) to ensure deliveries of goods to the market funds both from the production sector and imports in accordance with the domestic market plan;

d) to make business activity economically more effective, particularly by achieving a rational distribution of goods and maintaining adequate inventories;

e) to pay increased attention to the quality of goods in domestic trade and to exercise active pressure for innovation and changes in the available assortment of products;

f) to systematically improve the conditions in domestic trade for shopping by citizens and the quality and scope of services rendered;

g) to increase protection of citizens' interest in domestic trade and to contribute to the development of socialist relations between citizens and organizations engaged in business activity and their workers.

To achieve the tasks followed by the uniform socialist trade policy, the organs and organizations which direct or are engaged in business activity

in the domestic trade sector use, in addition to the general tools of planned management of the national economy, particularly the following tools and methods:

a) the findings of market research and analysis of consumer demand;

b) commercial operating and organizational-technical measures for active control of retail trade sales and services rendered;

c) price and credit measures;

d) measures of legal nature;

e) measures aimed at protection of citizens' interest on the domestic market;

f) socialist commercial advertising.

Sections 4-12 of the Law

The law uses a common term "business activity" for economic activity of socialist organizations in domestic trade. The law therefore defines this term with more precision and describes individual kinds of business activity in such a way as to make their features evident.

According to this law, by business activity and providing of services is meant a systematic and gainful activity unless the law states explicitly otherwise as, for example, according to Sect 14, Para 3, letter d) of the law.

The definition of retail trade activity will not affect the respective provisions of the Civil Code on sale of goods in trade (Section 239 and seq. of the Civil Code). This means that the legal relations arising from this retail trade activity between the organizations and citizens are regulated by the respective provisions of the Civil Code. Retail trade sales to the citizens take place in stores and other sales outlets, department stores, industrial plants, stalls, certain warehouses selling goods, food counters, buffets, mobile cafeterias and so on. Various forms of sale are permitted such as sale by mail-order offices, sale of goods on the basis of samples, sales of good on commission, sale of goods on installments and so on. Retail trade activity also includes sale of second-hand goods, antiquities and works of art as well as their sale or sale on commission. As retail trade activity is regarded also the purchase and sale of home-made products and particularly of folk art and craft products from citizens which particularly organizations of production cooperatives sell in their retail stores. The preliminary condition is that the citizen has a permit to engage in such production (issued according to the principles of Law No 20/1965 of SBIRKA) and that the product was approved, so far as such an approval is required, by the art commission set up in accordance with Decree No 149/1961 of SBIRKA. If it becomes necessary, a more detailed regulation of individual forms and methods

of sale will be described in the enabling regulation which will also devise the procedure for management and modernization of the trade network and its rational development.

The details of conditions of purchase by the socialist organizations in domestic trade will be defined by the Ministry of Trade in the enabling regulation with the proviso that, according to the situation on the domestic market, ministerial measures can restrict or even ban these previously permitted sales to the socialist organizations.

By commercial services according to this law are meant services which are directly related to sale and also services which, though not directly related to sale, are customary, business organizations provide them and the citizens make use of them, such as watch repair shops, stores for repair of sports goods, adjustment and hooking up of color television sets in customers' apartments and some additional commercial services.

The law does not apply to those services rendered by organizations of local industry and production cooperatives and other organizations which are set up for providing services, such as manufacture of custom-made articles, repairs and adjustment of products. The provisions of the Civil Code are not affected by these regulations.

According to their nature, scope or difficulty, individual commercial services are paid for or provided free. Their manner and form are decided upon by the supervisory organ, that is the intermediate unit of management (general directorate of OHJ [sectorial economic unit], general directorate of VHJ [economic production unit], kraj committee of the union of consumer cooperatives [SSD] and so on).

Services of public catering are offered particularly in the specified types of establishments and place of business of public catering such as restaurants, coffeehouses, buffets, diners, refreshment counters in the rest areas along the freeways and so on, which are described in more detail in the sectorial norm. They include also production of convenience foods, delicatessen, confectionery and so on.

The law does not regulate the operation of factory cafeterias, which according to this legislation is not covered by the term "business activity." In addition to cafeterias in enterprises and industrial plants, there also are cafeterias in schools, daytime nurseries and kindergartens, cafeterias for armed corps and so on. These forms of catering are always confined to a specific group of persons (workers, children and so on) and the principle of business activity is not involved here, since the meals are served to a special group of persons only. Moreover, the basic regulations on providing and development of factory catering is covered by the Labor Code and CSSR Government Order No 25/1974 of SBIRKA on factory cafeterias.

Housing services are provided in various types of lodging facilities such as hotels, motels, dormitories, camping grounds and so on as are described

in more detail in the appropriate sectorial norm. The law does not regulate lodging and related services offered in enterprise recreational establishments, school and other similar enterprise dormitories and boarding houses or ROH housing facilities. However, if these recreational establishments, dormitories, boarding houses and so on provide room and board to the public, then it is business activity according to this law.

Providing housing services and public catering to the public according to this law means that these services are offered to everybody who asks for them, and then the provisions and conditions of this law must be observed.

Wholesale business activity is carried out in the network of wholesale warehouses and establishments. It consists of the purchase of goods, including purchase preparations, contract negotiations, signing of economic contracts, their evaluation, proper storage of goods, work rationalization in wholesale warehouses; putting together an assortment of goods for the consumer, retail packaging, activity of wholesale sample rooms; filling of orders placed by the retail stores and places of business, and delivery of goods, including arrangement of delivery schedules. The law does not apply to the operation of sales centers (supply centers and so on) of production organizations insofar as they secure material-technical procurement of organizations.

A permit according to special regulations is required for business activity related to foreign tourism.

Sections 13-19 of the Law

In view of some specific conditions of this activity, business activity in domestic trade requires special procedure for its licensing. According to the general regulation contained in the Economic Code, the scope of organizations' economic activity is determined by the organ which sets up the organization by defining the subject of its economic activity. The general regulation (Sect 43 of the Economic Code) does not contain a detailed description of the subject of economic activity so, if a certain area of economic activity and the right to engage in it is not covered by a special regulation, a permit to engage in such activity, including business activity in domestic trade, could so far have been granted by any central organ. Moreover, according to the provisions of Sect 18, Letter a) of the Economic Code, the organizations can through their retail outlets sell the products which they manufacture unless specific regulations provide otherwise. Such regulations have not yet been issued for domestic trade. Consequently, the state, cooperative and mass organizations can engage in business activity, that is, sell goods and provide services without observing the fundamental principles of uniform socialist trade policy and maintaining the desirable level of services rendered.

The restoration of order in business activity in accordance with the society's interests is, moreover, necessitated by the objective need of national committees, which are responsible for the comprehensive socialist economic development on the territory under their jurisdiction, to have

a well-rounded picture of business activity on the domestic market and also to take active or regulatory measures in this respect.

For this reason, the law gives the appropriate national committees and the ministry the right to issue permits to engage in business activity in domestic trade, if the conditions and terms specified by this law are met. The permit is granted upon the conclusion of the administrative procedure (Law No 71/1967 of SBIRKA on administrative procedure). It defines the conditions for engaging in business activity as well as its scope, territory and duration. Administrative fees are charged for this licensing procedure.

Organizations of state trade, consumer cooperatives and business organizations managed by national committees whose socioeconomic mission is selling goods and providing services in domestic trade do not need a special permit for engaging in this activity because their authorization to do so rests directly in law.

Other socialist organizations, other organizations whose activity contributes to the development of socialist relations (Sect 14 of the Economic Code) and other than socialist organizations, if they are legal entities (Sect 488 of the Civil Code) need a permit according to this law for engaging in business activity in domestic trade. These organizations engage in business activity in domestic trade frequently as secondary supplementary activity.

To coordinate services to the population, build the material-technical basis of the retail trade network, rationally administer the manpower and so on, these organizations, if they want to continue in their business activity as a secondary activity after this law becomes effective, must obtain a permit from the appropriate organ of state administration. This applies also to the sale of products by the organizations which manufacture them because this law represents a regulation covered by the provision of Sect 18, Letter a) of the Economic Code.

If the organizations under the jurisdiction of the appropriate central or superior control organ are to engage in business activity on the entire territory of the republic, the Ministry of Trade can, according to this law, grant a permit to engage in business activity on the basis of the application filed by this organ (for example, the application filed by the CSSD on behalf of the production cooperative organizations). An enabling regulation will spell out the procedure in filing the application for the permit.

Otherwise by the organization authorized according to this law (Sect 13, Para 1, Letter b)) are meant, in connection with the interim provision of Sect 54, those organizations which are already engaged in business activity on the domestic market on the day on which this law becomes effective and need not apply for a permit to engage in this activity. It is enough if they report this fact within 6 months after this law becomes effective to the organ of state administration which would otherwise (if the permit were needed) be authorized according to Sect 14.

The law also regulates the cases in which the permit to engage in business activity can be withdrawn as well as cases when the authorization to engage in business activity terminates. By the term "prerequisites" (Sect 19, Para 1, Letter a)) the circumstances are meant which were listed in the application for the permit to engage in business activity and on whose basis the permit was granted (for example, no socialist organization sells a particular type of goods and the situation changes in the meantime).

Section 20 of the Law

The conditions for business activity in domestic trade were so far regulated in different ways by regulations legally binding to a varying degree. Many of them have become obsolete and no longer meet the demands on the standard of services rendered in domestic trade. On the other hand, some aspects of business activity are not regulated at all.

For these reasons, the law lists the conditions which every organization engaged in business activity must meet and consistently observe. The law regulates this question only in a general way because the details will be spelled out in the enabling regulation. The regulation will, in the manner mandatory for all organizations lawfully engaged in business activity, state the operating conditions for stores and places of business, specify their equipment, trade policies, duties of workers at sotres and places of business in connection with the sale of goods and services, the forms of sale of goods, protection of citizens' interests in domestic trade, use of the book of wishes and complaints, and keeping of inspection books.

Section 21 of the Law

Selling periods must be set in stores, public catering establishments, travel agencies, ordering offices in the fuel trade sector, newsstands, buffets and so on in such a way as to allow citizens to buy needed goods and satisfy their needs before and after work.

On the basis of uniform principles laid down by the government, the Ministry of Trade, in cooperation with the appropriate central agencies and ROH organs, will set selling periods for individual types of stores, taking into consideration as needed thespecial nature of places such as spas and recreational centers, spots in kraj, okres and industrial towns and centers usually visited by more people and so on. The ROH organs will not be consulted in regard to the production cooperatives, where there is no trade union organization. As needed and to ensure a regular supply of goods to the local population, the business organizations together with the appropriate national committee must set selling periods in such a way as to be convenient both in terms of time and number of sales outlets.

Section 22 of the Law

The regulation of temporary closing of stores or places of business is to prevent their closing without a serious reason and without the consent or knowledge of the local (municipal) national committee. The frequently groundless closing of a larger number of stores and places of business

contributes to deterioration of conditions for shopping by, and services to, citizens, their disorientation and often also to disinformation of national committees themselves. To avoid such situations, the law mandatorily provides that the organization can temporarily close a store or place of business only after discussing it in advance with the appropriate local national committee.

By another authorized organ of state administration by whose decision a store or place of business can be temporarily closed is, for example, meant a measure taken by the kraj or okres hygienist according to Section 75 of Law No 20/1966 of SBIRKA on people's health care or a measure taken by the construction supervising authority according to Law No 50/1976 of SBIRKA on territorial planning and building code and so on.

The duty of securing sale of goods or providing services of an identical type or similar services in the nearest store or place of business, while the store or place of business is temporarily closed, applies primarily to the organization itself with the proviso that this substitute sale in another store or providing services in another place of business are to be based on agreement between the organization and appropriate local national committee.

A distinction must be made between a temporary closing of stores and places of business, and changed working time as, for example, shorter working hours due to the illness of the worker or changes in the working hours during the vacation period.

This regulation of temporary closing of stores and places of business applies to the instances when temporary closing lasts at least 1 entire day.

Sections 23-26 of the Law

In view of its importance, sale of goods by citizens is regulated directly by the provisions of the law. A distinction is made between the sale of plant and animal products from one's own small-scale agricultural production, including gathering of berries in the forest, and sale of homemade or home-processed products.

Agricultural products produced on a small-scale by individual growers can be sold by citizens without a permit unless special regulations provide otherwise (for example, Law No 61/1964 of SBIRKA on plant production increase; Decree No 123/1976 of SBIRKA on basic conditions of delivery of agricultural products and supplies as amended by Decree No 83/1977 of SBIRKA; Decree No 62/1961 of SBIRKA and others). Insofar as the citizens sell such products at open air markets in towns and villages, they must observe market regulations which are issued by the appropriate local national committee and set the terms under which these products can be sold at the open air markets. One of the conditions is the proper marking of the stand with a sign which shows the seller's full name and the address

in the place of his permanent residence. The general rules apply to the collection of local fees by the national committees (Law No 82/1952 of SBIRKA on local fees as amended by later regulations). Agricultural products can be sold by citizens, however, also in other areas and locations, such as gardens, in villages before the house or along the highways, if sales are not banned on these spots for other reasons (such as safety of highway traffic).

Their own homemade or home-processed products can be sold by citizens on the basis of a special permit. The emphasis on their own homemade or home-processed products makes it clear that middlemen must not be used.

This permit is issued by the appropriate local national committees according to the place where the goods are to be sold on the basis of the statement of the local national committee in the place of the citizen's permanent residence. Before it is issued, the local national committees examine the purposefulness and need of such a selling permit from the standpoint of trade political aspects and the population's supply. They also take into account whether the products for whose sale the permit is to be issued are not sold in the stores of socialist organizations and the consumers ask for them, whether the assortment of products sold in the stores should be augmented by them and so on.

The permit for sale of goods by the citizens is granted upon the conclusion of an administrative procedure. Prior to the decision on granting or refusing the selling permit, the national committees thoroughly examine the applications, may ask for supplementary information in order to determine whether all necessary prerequisites exist for granting the selling permit to the citizen.

Sales of goods by citizens are governed also by Sect 399 and seq. of the Civil Code as well as by some other special regulations.

The enabling regulation may list certain types of homemade or home-processed products for which a permit is not required.

Section 29 of the Law

The task of socialist trade is also to assert and defend citizens' legitimate interests in domestic trade. This concerns both honesty in selling goods and services rendered, and insistence on the higher qulaity and technical standard of consumer goods toward production, consistent observance of set prices and settlement of complaints.

The Civil Code contains the basic regulation of citizens' rights and organizations' responsibility in sale of goods in stores and services rendered. Past experiences have demonstrated that the general provisions of the Civil Code should be supplemented with more detailed regulation of business organizations' responsibility and duties. This involves questions such as exercise of citizens' right to invoke responsibility for

defective merchandise, that is, citizens' complaints, rulings on them and their settlement, a more detailed definition of the term "correctable and uncorrectable defects" for individual groups of products, more detailed regulation of warranties and so on. The point at issue also is to make this more detailed regulation and definition of duties and responsibility of the organizations engaged in business activity, which strengthens the protection of citizens' legitimate interests and rights in domestic trade, generally applicable to every organization engaged in business activity regardless of the central organ which supervises it. By the provision on the settlement of citizens' complaints (Sect 29, Para 3) notices are meant on the activity of stores, public catering and lodging services (excerpts from them are sufficient) and relevant rules on complaints in individual trade sectors.

An integral part of the protection of citizens in domestic trade is the supervision exercised over the activity of organizations in sale of goods and services rendered, particularly by the superior organs. This concerns the consistent enforcement of the observance of regulations, for example, on the protection of citizens in public catering, observance of mandatory recipes for preparing meals and drinks, particularly from the standpoint of new prices, observance of correct measure and weight, quantity, quality and so on. For this reason, the law explicitly charges the appropriate organs with the duty of further intensifying the protection of citizens in domestic trade and checking on the observance of regulations and measures enacted in this area.

Section 30 of the Law

The increase in market personal consumption and activity of domestic trade lays increasingly higher demands on the standard of management in domestic trade. For this reason, the Seventh Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1977 strengthened the principle of sectorial management of domestic trade.

Business activity in the domestic trade sector is carried out by:

-- state business organizations supervised by the Ministry of Trade;

-- cooperative business organizations directed by the CSSD;

-- state business organizations directed by the national committees;

-- other organizations engaged in business activity which, according to this law, are regarded as trade systems.

In accordance with the resolutions of the Seventh Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy, sectorial management applies to all socialist organizations engaged in business activity according to this law. It is conducted, within the jurisdictions delineated by the appropriate central organs of state administration, in mutual cooperation with the CSSD,

national committees and other organs in the organizations managed by them. At the same time, it charges the Ministry of Trade with the duty of directing and coordinating, in close cooperation with the organs which supervise the activity of business organizations, all business activity in the entire domestic trade sector. The emphasis is on the methodological regulation and coordination in this sector.

The basic tools of sectorial management of domestic trade are national economic plans and economic, legal and other incentive tools. Another important tool is domestic trade and consumer demand research. The planned management of domestic trade takes into account also the uniform socialist trade policy and the functions of the socialist market in consumer goods. The sectorial management of domestic trade according to this law does not in any way affect the existing regulations, particularly as to the jurisdiction of the organs involved. Likewise, all effective forms of mutual cooperation with these organs will be employed for the improvement and full enforcement of sectorial management.

Sectorial management of domestic trade will include uniform training of qualified cadres for domestic trade in intermediate professional training centers, vocational high schools and at colleges. In the area of social development, methodological assistance will be provided in drawing up of long-term and medium-range plans.

Section 31-36 of the Law

The law is based on the fact that state administration in the domestic trade sector is exercised by the CSR Ministry of Trade as the central organ of state administration for this area (Law No 2/1969 of SBIRKA on the establishment of ministries and other central organs of state administration in the CSR as amended by later regulations) and by the appropriate national committees. These organs exercise state administration in the domestic trade sector according to the principle of territorial jurisdiction and sectorial principle within the sphere of activity and jurisdiction as delimited by this law, enabling regulations or special regulations (for example, by the law on national committees, law on people's health care, law on state inspections and so on).

The law lists the main areas of activity in which state administration is exercised. The law also describes jurisdiction of national committees at individual levels in this area.

In accordance with the resolution of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee of 27 April 1979 on increased activity of national committees, the law extends their jurisdiction and provides for delegation of authority among the individual levels of national committees. For example, they analyze the trends in personal consumption, work out the concept of development of the material-technical basis of domestic trade and tourism, coordinate and check on its implementation, work out the concepts of development of enterprises controlled by the national committees in the domestic trade sector and check on their implementation.

To secure the implementation of party and government measures in the area of uniform socialist trade policy and supply of goods to the population, the appropriate organs of state administration are authorized to take indispensable measures in sale of goods to the citizens in domestic trade. These are the measures ensuing from the needs of the national economy, trade policy and so on when it is necessary for social reasons to enact certain regulatory measures in sale of goods to the citizens, ensure the implementation of price and credit measures and so on.

The law takes into account existing close cooperation with the CSSD and special provisions regulating the status and tasks of cooperative organizations. It also ensures close cooperation with the appropriate ROH organs.

The coordination and advisory function and activity of the Government Committee for Tourism in the CSR is not affected by this law.

Individual provisions on jurisdiction of the Ministry of Trade and individual levels of national committees in this area cannot be interpreted as authorization for these activities, but rather as the enumeration (summary) of these organs' jurisdiction in the area of state administration. Individual authorization for these activities are specifically formulated in the law in connection with the solution of these problems.

Sections 37-45 of the Law

From the standpoint of protection of domestic trade, the law completes the regulation of state trade supervision particularly in those areas which are not covered by other regulations and which are specific for business activity. This, in the first place, includes inspection of stores and places of business and service centers with the emphasis on the consistent protection of citizens' interests, comments on shortcomings in attention paid by the servicing personnel to customers, supplies, behavior of workers in stores and places of business, honesty, willingness and so on.

The law entrusts state trade supervision to all levels of national committees and to the Ministry of Trade.

In accordance with the resolutions of the Seventh Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee of May 1977 and in order to reduce the quantity of defective merchandise shipped to the market, state trade supervision can also be exercised--on the basis of mutual cooperation among the superior central organs--in the production sector in exceptional instances and under specified conditions.

State trade supervision by the Ministry of Trade includes also supervision, exercised in close cooperation with the CSR Ministry of Education, of the training of young people for blue-collar jobs.

The law lays down the principles of state trade supervision with the proviso that an enabling regulation will spell out the details and procedure to be followed in state trade supervision.

State trade supervision of business activity according to this law will be helped by the consumer councils established according to Section 65 of the law on national committees. Their purpose is to increase citizens' participation in management and control of domestic trade, to obtain better knowledge of citizens' needs and to achieve better protection of their interests. The consumer councils should display initiative, exercise control, engage in market research, and concentrate on checking on the observance of basic activities and duties of stores and places of business (standard of service and supplies, observance of selling periods, principles of honesty, hygiene and so on), carrying out their own research and topical investigations, and on submitting proposals for improving the relations between the citizens and personnel in stores and places of business.

Section 46-52 of the Law

In accordance with practical needs, the law provides that the organizations can be financially punished for the violation of duties imposed by this law or on its basis. The law defines individual actions constituting the violation of duties and specifies graded upper limits of fines for these instances. If the organization engaged in business activity again violates its duties within 1 year after imposing the fine, the okres national committee will impose another fine up to double the amount of the original fine.

The responsibility of workers for the fulfillment of their work duties in the domestic trade sector is outlined in the organizational and work statutes, and defined in the job descriptions. Its violation will be punished according to the provisions of the Labor Code.

The organs of state administration in the domestic trade sector impose fines or other sanctions in the administrative procedure and the amounts collected constitute their revenues.

The law also regulates punishment of citizens who violate, while selling goods in domestic trade, the provisions of this law or tasks to be discharged in accordance with it. The law defines the actions constituting individual offenses and specifies punishments for them in the form of reprimands or fines. The fines vary according to the nature of the offenses committed.

As another sanction, the law contains also a provision on forfeiture of goods which is designed to protect the interests of the society and the citizens if these interests are gravely violated.

By illegal business activity according to the provision of Sect 49, Para 3, Letter c) is meant, for example, sale of goods above the limit specified in the permit (scope, type of goods, place of sale and so on).

Unless this law provides otherwise, general regulations apply to the punishment of offenses and related procedure. Underlying the law is the general principle that an action is regarded as offense if it cannot be

qualified as misdemeanor or crime. In determining the nature of violation, the pertinent provisions of Law No 150/1969 of SBIRKA on misdemeanors or pertinent provisions of the Penal Code must be taken into account.

Sections 53 and 54 of the Law

To eliminate a large amount of paper work at the Ministry of Trade and national committees, the law provides that the organizations engaged in business activity on the day when this law becomes effective and need a permit according to this law, can continue to operate and are regarded as having the right to do so according to this law. The condition, however, is that within 6 months after this law becomes effective they will report the fact that they will continue to be engaged in business activity in the future to the proper organ of state administration according to Sect 14 of this law.

This reporting duty does not apply to the business organizations controlled by the Ministry of Trade, CSSD and national committees. An organization which fails in this reporting duty within the specified deadline will be regarded as an organization engaged in business activity without a permit.

Citizens who possess a permit to sell their own homemade or home-processed products which was issued to them according to Sect 6, Para 2 of Decree No 13/1968 of SBIRKA on rules of business enterprise by the appropriate local national committee and want to sell goods after the new law on domestic trade becomes effective must, within 6 months after the law becomes effective, apply for a new permit at the appropriate local national committee.

Section 55 of the Law

The law applies to all organizations which are engaged in business activity in the domestic trade sector regardless of the central organ by which they are controlled. However, the different status of some organizations is taken into account which, though engaged in domestic trade activity designed to satisfy the citizens' needs, operate under specific conditions which distinguish them from other organizations engaged in business activity. For this reason, the law does not apply to sale of medicines and medical supplies conducted by the organizations of the Ministry of Health, to sale and distribution of periodical press, sale of postal and other valuables, sale of philatelic merchandise and of loudspeakers for broadcasting of radio programs by wire which is conducted by the organizations of the communications sector; to the sale of articles of religious worship and church literature carried out by churches or religious societies nor to other business activity of the organizations controlled by the CSR Ministry of Culture. These instances deal with quite specific activity to which, although it is business activity, the provisions of the law on domestic trade should not or could not be reasonably applied.

The purchase of agricultural products is regulated by the Economic Code (Sect 259 and seq.) and the enabling legislation, particularly Decree No 123/1976 of SBIRKA on basic conditions of delivery of agricultural products and supplies as amended by Decree No 83/1977 of SBIRKA. In accordance with these regulations, business organizations can continue to purchase agricultural products as before, including the purchase of berries growing freely in forests and other areas from organizations and citizens.

The law likewise applies to foreign-trade activity regulated by the Law No 42/1980 of SBIRKA on economic relations with the foreign countries. It thus does not apply to retail business activity carried out by the foreign-trade organization, TUZEX, nor to wholesale business activity carried out by other foreign-trade organizations in relation to foreign countries.

Due to its specific conditions, business activity in the armed forces and armed corps is defined in detail in the regulation issued by the Ministry of Trade, Federal Ministry of National Defense, Federal Ministry of Interior and CSR Ministry of Justice.

Insofar as the relevant provisions of this law provide for cooperation with the trade union organs, these provisions do not apply to membership relations in production cooperatives, while the provision of Sect 267, Letter a) of the Labor Code applies.

Section 56-58 of the Law

The concluding provisions of the law contain authorization for the Ministry of Trade to issue the enabling regulations and rescind the regulations which have become obsolete and are, therefore, no longer needed.

10501
CSO: 8112/1072

PEOPLE'S CONTROL STRENGTHENS TRUST BETWEEN PARTY, WORKERS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Jozef Szakali, member of the Central Committee of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], chairman of the Central Commission for People's Control, Budapest: "People's Control: On the Course of the Party Congresses"]

[Text] The decisions of our party's 12th Congress mention the need for the further intensification of the role played by the people's control and the increase in the public activity rate. "Socialism is built with the participation of the entire nation, for the good of the entire nation, on the basis of mutual trust between the party and the nation." Those words by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP Janos Kadar, which were spoken at the congress, require us workers in people's control to struggle unceasingly for the interests of the people, to serve it with honor and truth, to take all steps to help the party in creation of that atmosphere of mutual trust, and to contribute to increasing the public activity rate of the masses.

The increase in the role of the public and representative agencies of people's control is dictated by the demands for deepening socialist democracy under the present-day conditions. There is no complicated tasks that could not be resolved by us by frankly discussing our problems with the workers. The people's controllers help the party to reveal shortcomings boldly, to show everything that has been retarding our development, and to render assistance and support to every good undertaking.

The work of people's control must aid the reinforcement of state and civil discipline, and must render assistance in the protection of public property and in increasing the organizational spirit and effectiveness of labor. The agencies of people's control are required to combat corruption, irresponsibility in business practices, and squandering, to unmask any abuses, and to bring to responsibility any persons who use their official position for selfish purposes.

During the past decade the number of people's controllers executing the work on public principles has increased from 30,000 to 37,000. Despite the small number of released colleagues, we still have 1,300 elected members of various commissions.

The people's controllers, the commission members, and the released colleagues rely upon a broad public base, and listen to the opinions and proposals of thousands and thousands of workers. More and more frequently the results of our studies and inspections, our comments and proposals, are discussed at public forums, where they are brought to the attention of all the interested persons and local soviets. This information is also given to the plant collectives and the members of the cooperative peasant farms. We also achieve publicity through the press, radio, and television. All these things are indicators of the link that the people's control has with the masses. Wherever there is insufficient publicity about public affairs, a direct harm is inflicted on the increase in the activity rate of the masses. Publicity reinforces socialist society and the state, develops people's initiative, and contributes to the further consolidation of the mutual trust between the party and the people.

Every year 60,000-70,000 workers at plants, factories, institutions, and cooperatives listen immediately to the reports on the work performed by the people's controllers, and the steps that have been taken on the basis of their inspections. In the press we reported that, for example, in 1981 the committees of the people's control in more than 900 instances demanded disciplinary fines; in approximately 700 instances recommended conducting an investigation as a result of the violation of established norms and rules. Criminal charges were leveled against several dozen people.

An important task of the people's controllers is the guaranteeing of a situation in which the enterprises and other economic agencies observe the appropriate instruction manuals and rules. If we establish that an enterprise is receiving an illegal profit, for example, by violating the norms that pertain to prices or by lowering the quality of output, or is falsifying its financial balance sheet or is engaged in padding the figures, the TsKNK [Central Commission for People's Control] comes forward with an initiative requiring that the illegally obtained profit is confiscated by the court. Such enterprises, in addition, have a penalty imposed on them. Various agencies of the ministries that are also conducting such investigations and that reveal such violations are obliged to report them to us and to the prosecutor's office. That helps to achieve uniformity in the system of taking administrive steps against those who break the law.

Our activities are closely connected with the work plan of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, and with the government's long-term programs. In the interests of the more effective support of state and economic management and the rapid resolution of matters that pertain directly to the workers, we conduct comprehensive studies that cover a number of problems. We also carry out special-purpose studies and instant analyses which provide for rapid information for the government. All this contributes to the preparing of the decisions and to improving the work of the state apparatus.

Last year the TsKNK presented five reports to the government. Seven more studies and analyses were considered by various governmental commissions. On the basis of our proposals, state agencies made the appropriate decisions.

The number of inspections carried out by the TsKNK does not exceed ten a year. Usually they encompass topics which are of general state importance. During

recent time we studied questions of energy supply, the economizing of energy, and efficiency improvement in management. The government adopted our proposals. This gave rise to a number of new decisions that contribute to the economizing of electricity, petroleum, gasoline, and gas.

An important study was carried out on the state of affairs with the regrouping of manpower as a result of the reorganization of the structure of production. As is well known, one of the basic tasks confronting the Hungarian national economy at the present-day stage is the improving of the production structure and the increasing of the effectiveness of labor. The resolution of that task involves the regrouping of manpower. In this matter it is extremely important to demonstrate circumspection. The commissions of people's control must keep a constant watch on the measures being carried out at the enterprises for the purpose of regrouping the manpower.

In the area of public services, a new governmental order concerning the improvement of public nutrition has been promulgated. It was born as a result of a checking of the work performed by plant, school, and student dining rooms and snack bars.

The people's controllers cooperate broadly with the committees of the Patriotic People's Front. For example, we studied jointly the question of the raising of hogs in personal plots. New recommendations were made, and they were considered by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry. After being accepted for execution, they will contribute to the further development of the personal sector.

Agreements dealing with cooperation were also signed by us with the All-Hungarian Council of Trade Unions and the VKSM [Hungarian Komsomol]. They expand the public base of people's control and mutual representation in various agencies, and make our work even more diverse.

The party agencies constantly listen to oral reports locally concerning the work of the people's controllers, help in the selection of topics and in the organizing of inspections, and require the people's controllers to be well-principled and accurate and to make constructive conclusions and recommendations for correcting the shortcomings. There has been an increase in the authority of the people's controllers and a constantly increasing number of persons elected from among them to be members of party committees. This helps us to coordinate the inspections better.

The Communists and workers of Hungary react sharply to any mistakes or flaws in work. In recent years people have been taking a more critical approach to the shortcomings in the activities of enterprises and cooperatives, as well as their managers. This attests to the increase in the citizens' sense of responsibility. Bold, well-principled criticism and constructive suggestions are contained in many letters and statements that are received every day by the party and state agencies and the committees of people's control. Annually 7,000-8,000 citizens write letters and complaints to the agencies of people's control. These letters and complaints represent broad public interest and pertain to the activities of workers in industry, agriculture, trade, and public services. They are all verified by us, are discussed, and the implementation of them is taken under control. We devote a large amount of attention to protecting those who have come forward with the criticism and who have revealed the mistakes and shortcomings.

Our experience convinces us that increasing the sense of responsibility and reinforcing discipline are impossible without the further improvement of control and checking. The people's controllers are constantly improving the style and methods of their work, are learning the art of control, and are exchanging their experience. A magazine and numerous pamphlets that throw light upon their activities are being published. Table-of-organization workers and public citizens in the people's control take refresher courses.

The main function of people's control is the intensification of the workers' authority and the better carrying out of the program of socialist construction. At the present time the situation in our national economy has become more complicated as a result of the crisis phenomena in the Western market. In the working plans of the people's control, special attention is being devoted to the comprehensive studies of the problems linked with changes in the production structure, the development of foreign economic ties, the balancing of the national economy, the increase in the profitability of enterprises, the use of raw materials and energy, and the supplying of products and services to the public. The fight to raise the level of the economic management of the means of public people's control is a requirement made by our party. The people's controllers are increasing their efforts in all sectors and making their contribution to the carrying out of the plans for socialist construction.

5075
CSO: 1800/495

FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY DELEGATION VISITS HUNGARY

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 30 Apr 82 p 3

[Text] At the invitation of the MSZMP CC, a delegation of the French Socialist Party visited Hungary between 26-29 April. The delegation, under the leadership of Lionel Jospin, first secretary, included Paul Quiles, Jacques Huntzinger, Anne Tregouet, members of the executive committee and national secretaries as well as Rene Girault, colleague of the Central Committee.

The delegation was received by MSZMP first secretary Janos Kadar and conducted talks with a group of officials headed by Miklos Ovari, member of the Politbureau. Other group members included Janos Berecz, CC member and head of the foreign relation department of the CC; Laszlo Ballai, head of the CC economic policy department, and Mrs Istvan Verok, colleague of the CC foreign affairs department.

The delegation met Sandor Gaspar, MSZMP Politbureau member and first secretary of SZOT, the National Council of Trade Unions

The parties exchanged views on recent changes in Europe. They expressed profound concern about political and economic actions which were endangering the results of detente. Recent intensification of such deeds is hindering progress, the freedom and independence of people as well as the peace and security of nations. Development of multilateral relations in Europe must continue among the nations, honoring the commitments of the Helsinki Accords. The two delegations found that they differed in their evaluation of the Polish situation. They felt that discontinuation of the disarmament talks would result in a new arms race and lead mankind into grave danger.

They agreed that Soviet-American talks begun in Geneva on deployment of medium-range missiles should produce concrete results as soon as possible and that there should be early talks between the United States and the Soviet Union aimed at balanced reduction of intercontinental strategic missiles: SALT talks. They hoped that the second UN disarmament conference scheduled for June 1982 would lead to positive decisions which would establish conditions satisfactory to all concerned for the reduction of nuclear and conventional weapons. The parties agreed that there were genuine prospects for convening a European disarmament conference.

They also agreed that settlement of the problems existing at centers of tension in various parts of the world in a manner which would preserve national independence and sovereignty was indispensable to international security. Both parties favored negotiations for dealing with disputed issues in all parts of the world.

The negotiators assured people struggling for establishment of a new international economic system, for social progress, political and economic freedom and against neocolonialism and racial discrimination of their support. They reiterated their solidarity with such people.

Both sides expressed their conviction that, despite differing ideological-political views, continuing and increasing contacts between the MSZMP and the French Socialist Party are in accord with the interests of both parties and serve to strengthen multilateral ties between Hungary and France to which each side wishes to contribute actively.

CSO: 2500/233

GABRIELSKI IDEOLOGICAL-THEORETICAL CONFERENCE SPEECH

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 9-12 Apr 82 pp 1, 3

[Selected fragments of S. Gabrielski's speech at the PZPR First National Ideological-Theoretical Conference; edited by Ryszard Naleszhiewicz]

[Text] Much time, patience, and wisdom is required in our struggle for the hearts and minds of our youth. On one hand, the latest socioeconomic and political crisis had a most profound impact on the sensitive but crucial area of ideas and of motives of people's actions. Hence the wide extent of the disappointment and discouragement felt by our entire society, and particularly by our young generation; hence a profound mistrust, one could say hostility, harbored by this generation toward the authorities.

On the other hand, our educational work is concerned with transforming the psychology and consciousness of the Polish people as shaped by their history, and with transforming their attitude toward their own state and their own authorities, as well as toward their civic obligations which have to take precedence today, in times of organic and basic activity which is so necessary today.

Even if we direct our attention toward the past, our conclusions and generalizations cannot disregard the causes of the existing situation. We must not forget those bad experiences, but we must not return to them. And so, what were the main causes [which were] responsible for the accumulation of negative phenomena and attitudes in the youth milieu?

I would include among most important of these, first, the clash between the social and material expectations as awakened by us in the young generation, and between our pledges to this generation, and the drab reality and lack of real possibilities of fulfilling these expectations.

Secondly, [I would mention] the lack of mechanisms and conditions for the implementation of the social and political subjectivity of our youth--something which sharply contradicted the former propaganda about our young people being our nation's great opportunity;

Third, I would mention the deterioration of ideological and intellectual activity among our youth, the verbal and superficial nature of political and

educational work, and the avoidance of sensitive and difficult topics;

Fourth and final, I would mention the discrepancy between the proclaimed ideals and reality or, phrasing it differently, as our youth defines it, the two-facedness of politicians and educators.

I am aware of the fact that these are not all the causes of the crisis of attitudes, and that many of them are a consequence of incomplete elimination of the effects of previous crises. The causes of this siutation are rooted also in the whole difficult and at times dramatic process of the building of socialism, as well as in the consecutive stages and transformations of the youth movement.

Paradoxical is the fact that a generation which in scientific research has been considered a generation which was previously regarded as a generation of ideological and social lethargy, a generation which had turned its back on the world of ideas and social life, became in August [1981] a socially active generation which entered the mainstream of public life. Nonetheless, research confirms that in their thinking about social reality young people often disregard objecgive laws of historical development, and contradictions and conflicts of social life, and [they] demonstrate a lack of ability to analyze facts and social phenomena.

Idealism, unwillingness to recognize the realities of international and objective laws of social development--all this has transformed the youth people's rebellion into a negation of our social reality.

When making an in-depth analysis of the attitudes of our youth, searching for the motivation of the August protest, one has to stress the fact that, in the opinion of the young people themselves, they fought for right causes, such as human dignity, morality of public life, and a law-abiding and just government. These are essentially socialist values. The young generation of Poles regards these values highly and wants to be true to them. And so, the party's obligation is to exploit the noble impulses, the anxieties and non-conformity of our youth, and to transform these into the causative forces of development, into forces which are creative.

The harm [already] done in young minds and hearts is so much greater because many party organizations were not equal to the requirements of the political struggle for our youth's minds and hearts. Neither were the educational centers, the mass media, the youth organizations and, finally, the youth milieu itself.

Previous shortcomings and errors caused the weakening of the ideological resistance of our youth. The weakness of these attitudes was noted by our political adversary, who injected confusion, doubt, and disorganization into the young people's consciousness. We have to take into account the significant fact that the anti-socialist action among our youth was accompanied by such adjectives as Polish, national, labor, democratic, free, self-governing, etc. And so, advantage was taken of our youth's sensitivity and its patriotic feelings for the purpose of sowing hatred and discrediting the people's authority.

To win our youth over to the party and to the party's political line and programs is today a problem of fundamental importance. The party's ties to our youth determine the fate of socialism in Poland and its ability to repel any attacks or threats.

Thus, the party should have full knowledge and description of the state of minds of the young generation--a description which is regularly updated by new material. Today we have to be seriously concerned about the accuracy and reliability of our perception of the young people. As a matter of fact, scientific and journalistic analyses in this respect pertain to problems which are already past, and cannot formulate any practical conclusions except for a general conclusion which demands the elimination of the generally recognized casues of the August eruption of our youth's discontent, and also the forms in which that discontent manifested itself. Will this suffice? To what extent will the process of the polarization of the young people's attitudes be influenced by the processes of improvement and reform of socioeconomic life which are being directed by us, and by a return to the ideological sources of socialism? We need also to answer the question concerning the extent to which our youth's minds have been penetrated by ideas and actions inculcated by our political adversaries. From the above ensues a demand for concrete action. There is a need for systematic, in-depth research on youth, for the development of theoretical thinking related to the young generation, and for better utilization in educational practice of accumulated scientific knowledge.

Today we must change the scope, concepts, and methods of ideological education. Our educational concepts are based on a conviction that only an active man transforms the world while simultaneously changing himself. To educate is, above all, to involve in action, to rouse to social activity, to taking on and solving responsibly one's own problems and those of one's own family and milieu. Ideological education must take into account today's realities, must be firmly rooted in the difficult reality of our youth, and must embrace large areas of our youth's mistrust, disappointments, and bitterness--and often, resignation and a lasting inner rebellion.

Today it would be rather necessary to assume that the consciousness gap between the youngest generation and the middle and oldest generation is greater than at any time in our postwar history. I wonder whether there may be some truth in the assertion that we are dealing with an argument which has not manifested itself in the form of a public debate, but which is a heated argument between generations concerning the world of values, the meaning of life under socialism, and the manner of exercising authority.

And so, the party should assume an attitude of trust and understanding toward our youth, and should demonstrate patience in debating difficult problems of political nature. Unfortunately, in our country so far we have had a debate about our youth rather than the party's serious discussion with our young generation. Initiating a dialogue and arriving at an agreement on these matters is one of the basic platforms for every positive educational program.

The party's ideological strength in creating concepts of youth education, and particularly of ideological, civic, and moral education, should be based on consistent and creative inspiration of basic segments of education, [such as] family, school, and youth organizations, with full utilization of the possibilities available in this area to propaganda, science, and culture.

In these actions, of primary concern to us should be to provide information to our youth in the area of the so-called elementary truths; I mean here mainly the need for an honest presentation of Poland's most recent history as well as matters pertaining to the functioning of a socialist state and society. In these areas, the degree of ignorance and false interpretation among our youth is enormous.

No educational system can effectively perform the function of shaping human consciousness without being firmly rooted in a specific ideological tradition. The party should see to it that the young generation of Poles grows up in an atmosphere of progressive tradition with regard to culture, ideology, and world outlook--that it familiarizes itself with the achievements of our Marxist, socialist, democratic, and rationalistic thinking, and is more conscious of its ties with the tradition of Polish liberation movements--those of workers and those of peasants, and with the tradition of the revolutionary and progressive creativity and activity of prominent individuals.

The condition for effective political and ideological education is the restoration of the status of Marxist sciences in higher schools, and the awakening of a Marxist intellectual movement and of a need for getting to the root causes, for self-education, for seeking contacts with the ideological life of the world communist movement, with polemics taking place in it, with political literature, and with contemporary economic and philosophical thought. Without this, it is impossible to develop any thinking about the future of our nation and state. Our duty in our work with youth is to form new links in the relations among people and nations, and to develop the sense of identity with the world mainstream of socialism and with the struggle for the latter's victory. What we have in mind, then, is ideologically committed education. Contemporary civilization, and the educational level and universal concerns of our youth, demand that we give a prominent place to our youth's intellectual, world-oriented, and spiritual needs in our concepts of educational work with youth. Beyond any doubt, the dimension of human life exceeds a mere concern for social and material existence. I venture here into the territory of vast problems of interhuman relations, of the relation of an individual to society and to other humans. Ultimately a question arises how to mold the joy of life, the perception of the value and meaning of existence, and the spell of involvement and of active life. These are some of the most difficult educational problems of the contemporary epoch.

At the Seventh Plenum of PZPR Central Committee, the First Secretary of our party, comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski said, among other things: "We were unable to demonstrate that Marxism is plainly interesting, that it stimulates independent thinking and gives answers to questions which people ask of themselves. In the consciousness of the young generation, the no-man's land has expanded. It has been overgrowing with weeds. Who knows whether this is

not the cause of all these frustrations, and of the ideological vacuum into which our adversary made inroads with such ease?"

In Poland, matters of historical dimension are being decided. An economic reform is being implanted, a discussion of the prospects of the trade union movement is continuing, many essential changes pertaining to the functioning of the state are in preparation, serious discussions are continuing with regard to the operative model of socialist democracy and to workers' self-government. At last, the movement of national rebirth is originating from the rank and file. Thus, a great opportunity arises for our youth's activity and initiative. There is room here for a great intellectual youth movement focusing on problems of the future; there is room for innovations and for very practical steps. Present reality is characterized by the fact that just criticism has not been transformed into constructive criticism based on one's own activeness as an indispensable condition. We still have not witnessed the formation of a school of thought which would base one's own chance of survival on one's own above-average professional and social activeness, demonstrated despite difficult conditions. Our concern, therefore, is, in short, to outline realistic future programs, to inspire our youth's activeness, and reveal, with complete honesty, that the truth is that our society and authorities will not be able to create for our youth the expected conditions of life and development if our youth itself is not active in this respect.

We should create conditions for the young people's activeness to assert itself everywhere--in the Sejm, in People's Councils, in the self-government of the work force, in rural self-government, in trade unions, in state and economic administration, in segments of social control, and in groups of experts and advisers at all levels; lastly, the young people's activeness is necessary in the ranks of our party, of social organizations, and among the originators of the idea of national rebirth. Nobody can, however, assign this place [for our youth] by a decree. It must be confirmed by social activeness, by qualifications, and by moral and civic attitude.

The principal issue is the education of the young generations for socialist democracy, and the proper molding of a man's consciousness, mentality and attitudes in this respect. Socialist democracy takes for granted the oneness of rights and obligations. Young people's participation in public life is a great school of formation of civic virtues, such as responsibility, social service, civic discipline, and respect for work.

The expectations expressed by the party with regard to our youth must be accompanied simultaneously by will and decisiveness in meeting the vital needs of the young generation.

We cannot continue to delude and to make empty promises. Today nobody will trust pledges any more. We need facts. Therefore, we must tell our youth openly and frankly that Poland in the next few years will not be a country of plenty and abundant consumption, that the next few years will be difficult and will require, above all, sacrifices and work. But we are also saying that despite this the young generation will have opportunities to develop its own personality, to study, to work creatively, to build interhuman relations on

the basis of friendship, and to participate in public life. To create real conditions for this to occur is the task of the party and the authorities.

Youth can most effectively represent its interests, express opinions, and assume important obligations with regard to itself and our country, through an organized, authentic and strong movement of its own.

We should emphasize the following conclusions, drawn from the experience of past years and of the critical months of the existing crisis:

FIRST--The strength of a youth organization is determined by the unification of its program of action with the Party's ideology and policy and with the program of Poland's development.

SECOND--The effects of the activity of youth organizations are the greatest when they bear the stamp of authenticity, are firmly rooted in the realities of the life of their milieus, cover a wide spectrum of practical tasks, encourage initiative from the rank and file of our youth, and they know how to harmoniously combine our youth's own problems and needs with the general needs of our society.

THIRD--Honest and direct political talks with young people should be our method of molding the political convictions and the characters of our youth. It should be the party's concern that youth organizations should pulsate with intellectual and ideological life and offer attractive forms of cultural, tourist, and sports activities. It is in such an atmosphere that frank discussions can take place, doubts regarding philosophical and world-outlook questions can be resolved, and interpretations of the contemporary world can be formed.

In our work with youth and with the youth movement of great importance is the idea, forgotten in the past few years, that the young people must attain socialism not in the same manner and way as their fathers did. "Therefore, among other things, V.I. Lenin wrote, "we should unconditionally support the organizational independence of a youth organization, and not only because opportunists are afraid of this independence, but for reasons of principle. For, without complete independence, it will not be possible to mold youth into good socialists; nor will it be possible to prepare youth to lead socialism forward."

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KOSZALIN OFFICIAL COMPARES PAST, PRESENT CRIME SITUATION

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 4 Mar 82 p 3

[Interview with Col Jan Dylewski, deputy commander of the Citizen's Military [MO] in Koszalin Voivodship, by Jerzy Rudzik; date and place not specified]

> [Text] A day-to-day feeling of calm and security goes with values which are highly priced and which until recently have been endangered. The MO guards law and order. Can we feel safer today when the martial law regulations--while gradually softened--are still harsh and when the streets, settlements, and cities are patrolled by militia and the army? We are discussing these matters with Col Jan Dylewski, deputy commander of the MO in Koszalin Voivodship.

[Question] Let us begin with a brief characteristics of the crime statistics prior to the introduction of the martial law.

[Answer] In Koszalin Voivodship--and throughout the country--a growth of unfavorable tendencies in the structure and volume of criminal behavior was observed. In the first 11 months of 1981, we noted a significant growth in criminal activity in major categories, particularly in acts directed against state and private property. The number of judicial proceedings increased considerably as well. The solved crimes indicator for 1981 reached 74 percent, that is 14 percent lower than in 1980. This means, among others, that the number of investigations closed because of inability to find the perpetrators also increased significantly. The number of unresolved crimes was particularly high in such crime categories as robberies with forced entry against individuals and state property and fires and arson. Fights and brawls were also on the increase. In summary, unfavorable trends, characterized by an increased frequency of criminal activities and lowering the feeling of public safety, were to a tremendeous degree resulting from the then sociopolitical situation, growing anarchy in everyday life, and the need to focus the MO efforts on new directions and tasks forced upon us by life.

[Question] And how is it today?

[Answer] The situation is unquestionably more favorable in every sphere of our activity. We have received huge assistance from the army, reservists, ORMO [Auxiliary Reserves of Citizen's Militia], whose activities got more spark, sociopolitical cadre and retired citizens. Now, when our ranks have doubled and perhaps even tripled we can be and are where our presence is required by the situation. Moreover, the martial law restrictions conducive to the maintenance of order and calm have brought about a big drop in the number of criminal offenses and an increase in the solution rate.

[Question] For example?

[Answer] In January 1982 alone there was a 39-percent drop in criminal offenses in comparison with the analogous period last year. The statistics are even more favorable when compared with the fall of 1981. Between 13 December 1981 and 20 February 1982 we registered, among others, 1 homicide and 1 rape (solved), 4 armed robberies (3 solved), 59 forced entries to state facilities (36 solved), 33 robberies with forced entries to private properties (so far, 11 solved), and 16 serious thefts (all solved). These are in general high solution indicators considering the fact that none of the investigations has yet been completed.

[Question] However, have new kinds of crimes and threats been noted?

[Answer] Not really entirely new, but many of them have simply intensified, for example, the production of moonshine. In the period mentioned above we closed 30 moonshine facilities. There has also been noted an increase in illegal hunting on the fields, forests and water and the perpetrators often use illegally obtained guns, ammunition and explosives. Just recently 14 guns, several hundred rounds of ammunition and 5 kg of explosives were confiscated.

[Question] It is obvious that during the martial law the militia performs various tasks and as a rule directly interacts with a citizen whom it --frankly speaking--threatens with all kinds of reprisals.

[Answer] Anybody who follows the law does not have to be afraid of the militia, but a violation of the law obviously calls for punishment. However, the margins of such contacts and interventions are still filled with instructions and warnings. The effectiveness of patrol services and all types of controls has also obviously increased. By 20 February 1982 some 50,000 persons had their identification papers checked in public places, and similar checks covered 118,000 vehicles, their owners, and passengers as well as 2,000 dives and other unsafe places were checked which led to exacting fines from some 4,900 persons for a total of over 2 million zlotys while 1,500 persons were directed to appear before lower judicial bodies. In addition to that, 220 persons were arrested for committing felons and 1,644 were detained for misdemeanors. Reasons? Unfortunately, too often testifying to disregard for elementary requirements such as lack of

documents, violation of the curfew, moving around without a required pass, and yet these violations can be avoided!

[Question] I would like to know if your preventive activities contain any new elements.

[Answer] I can tell you that a new element, for example, is the increased surveillance of public places and of all those persons who can be a threat by a much greater number of undercover militiamen. A thief, a hooligan, or anyone interested in a willful violation, even if he cannot see a uniformed militiaman must have a clear understanding of a serious risk because of possible quick discovery and punishment.

[Question] MO actively participates in combating illegal trade of which we often inform the public as well as in actions against economic crimes. Please describe some directions of these activities.

[Answer] In regard to the antispeculation actions, the following figures can illustrate them. In the period discussed, we discovered goods in illegal trade worth nearly 7.5 million zlotys, goods worth over 3.5 million zlotys were confiscated, and goods worth over 1.1 million zlotys hidden from the consumer were discovered. This led to the initiating of 56 preliminary investigations. We are also concerned about the illegal trade in cattle; four preliminary investigations have been already initiated. We pay a lot of attention to prevention, among others, through intensified inspections of stores and meat stands. We have observed--and quite often--that they produce unscheduled and unrecorded surpluses of meat not covered by ration coupons and vice versa. Thus, we are dealing with either simple dishonesty or illegal trade. I also wish to emphasize that we direct considerable effort toward prevention of waste and poor management. The storage of grains is a good example. It is plagued with inertia, bad will, light-heartedness, particularly in state farms and various warehouses. Result? Very often the grains due to overgrowth or excessive moisture are good for breweries only. Recently in a collective farm we discovered 219 tons of rye and 322 tons of barley unfit for consumption. Thus we have a paradoxical situation: we have to import considerable amounts of grain, but ours gets spoiled because of somebody's fault.

[Question] ??

[Answer] And to add another dimension to this paradox, I can tell you that the price of the--let us call it--spoiled grains are more favorable than those of the consumption grains. Who in this situation is interested, then, in taking care of grain when the spoiled grain can be sold on such favorable terms? In this situation, it is difficult to talk about losses in terms of formal proof although the real losses are clear.

[Question] How do the people react now to the MO activities? Before the militia accused the society of passivity, and even overt animosity in situations requiring intervention, while the society had a number of its own criticisms against you.

[Answer] I can state briefly that the Koszalin society then and now in comparison with many other regions has been rather disciplines and calm. There have been no drastic conflict situations here. Today, for all practical purposes and excluding exceptions, the militia does not meet obstacles in the course of an intervention. Also, I think that the social climate of condemnation of crime and its pertpetrators is becoming more pervasive.

[Question] Can we feel safe today, then?

[Answer] Completely, absolutely?--this would be too beautiful. The drop in number and weight of criminal activities is unquestionable, but felonies are being committed every day. To maintain the state of relative safety will not be easy or simple, because the criminal world still exists, adapts to new conditions and with time will intensify its activity. The crime-generating factors have not disappeared either. We have no shortage of degenerated alcoholics and parasites who, in order to live, must steal, speculate or procure; there are also foreign-currency speculators and hooligans. Today we have already some signals of concern, but no concrete examples.

And one more thing: the character of felonies is changing. Robberies of a house, store, or garage, an assault, or a rape--these are classical forms of crime we have gotten used to in a way. And yet today theft of a ration coupon is also painful and hard for a poor person or a family with many children. Thus, an improvement today does not mean that we can be absolutely sure of tomorrow.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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HARSH TREATMENT OF GYPSIES DESCRIBED IN FRENCH SOURCE

Paris LE MATIN in French 30 Mar 82 p 15

[Article by Alexandru Danciu: "One Does Not Meet Any Happy Gypsies in Romania--More than a Million Gypsies Are Victims of Violence on a Regular Basis"]

[Text] In the aftermath of the aggression of which our collaborator Bernard Poulet was the victim in February while on a reporting assignment in Romania, we have just received a letter from Bucharest. Written by a gypsy, this document points up the situaiton of oppression under which more than a million gypsies live in Romania. We remember that the Romanian authorities had said that the aggression of which Bernard Poulet had been the victim, while trying to visit the dissident Vasile Paraschiv, was the work of gypsies.

[The letter] Your article, published in LE MATIN on 15 February which we, in Romania, learned about through Radio Free Europe, deeply disturbed and angered me and presented a serious matter of conscience for me. How is it possible for such things to happen in Romania today? While trying to find an answer we must say, with sorrow, that suspicion, fear, abuse, violence and all the other aspects of terror are present in our everyday life.(...)

However, the events which you have experienced oblige us to become more mindful and to meditate on the everyday abuses by the organs of repression in Romania. Indeed, these abuses--which have become legal currency--can lead to the inhumanity and brutality with which you have been treated, you or Vasile Paraschiv, or others who have the courage to openly express their opinion of the real situation in the country. As a result of our passivity and silence, we are becoming, little by little, the involuntary accomplices of this conspiracy of terror whose victims we, ourselves, could be tomorrow.

Each one of us can recognize ourselves at a moment or in a character described in the account of your trip to Romania and your attempt, which was brutally interrupted, to meet with V. Paraschiv.(...)

For my part, since it was your article, as a whole, which prompted me to write to you, I am determined, in particular, to clarify an element in your story; the part where the police in Ploiesti tried to explain the attack on you by insinuating that it was a question of "gypsy thieves" who would even have stabbed you. You, Bernard Poulet, have understood very well that it was not the gypsies (the real ones) who pursued you all the time and attacked you.

Since I am a gypsy, I am familiar with the mentality which is becoming more and more widespread among the Romanian authorities today--the idea that the gypsies in Romania--always more numerous--are a permanent source of dangers of all sorts. However, I have been surprised to find out how far the xenophobia and anti-gypsy racism of the Romanian authorities can go and in what unexpected context the prejudice against the "thieving and dangerous" gypsies can be used. There is indeed an evolution, of the socialist type, of the cliche of the "chicken-stealing" gypsy to the cliche of the gypsy "who steals notes of journalists," notes which are compromising for a political regime, or perhaps--who knows?--who steals undesirable political dissidents.

The story of the "gypsy thieves" who attacked you in Ploiesti is attracting the attention of public opinion to the prejudice and discrimination against gypsies in Romania today, a prejudice utilized more and more frequently by the authorities to "explain" a number of negative phenomena in the country. Here are some examples: the gypsies are considered to be the main ones responsible for disturbing the peace, and you were able to learn about the rules and the defenders of the very same law and order. It is always gypsies who are responsible for the increasing number of thefts and infractions--and not low incomes, lack of food and consumer goods or the frustration of people who, in peril every day, respond by violence.(...) The gypsies have a large number of children because they "want to misuse" the very meager material assistance given by the state to large families.(...) Many more examples could be given to illustrate this "multilaterally developed" prejudice against the gypsies, which I do not hesitate to call racism.(...)

This is why the districts where the gypsies live (such as in the cities of Timisoara, Tirgul-Jiu, Sibiu, etc.), are often stormed very early in the morning by armed militia men, accompanied by dogs, under the pretext of looking for some offenders hidden by the gypsies. They force their way into the houses and strike the women and children; they kidnap youths and men and take them to the militia head quarters where they are beaten and threatened until they confess actions which they have not committed. Also, each summer, these so-called "social parasites," a majority of whom are gypsies, are rounded up by force and, under the pretext of assigning them to military duty, are sent to do forced labor on construction sites, in agriculture or in the Danube-Black Sea Canal project. Sometimes, gypsy women who have a number of children are operated upon and sterilized for no medical purpose.(...)

And since, as a result of the rough handling which you have had, you have become "one of us," I can tell you confidentially that, in Romania, there are some gypsies who are thieves and dangerous. Perhaps this confidential explanation will be followed by another official explanation, based on an "objective" investigation by the Romanian authorities, which will show that your attackers on 11 February really were gypsies. Perhaps they will even be generally regarded to be authentic gypsies, since, by the methods described above, the police will not have any difficulty in finding someone who will be ready to admit this heinous crime. In order to be absolved of another transgression, or, who, knows, in order to fulfill his service obligation in a painful manner. I am sure that you know the rules of the game now that you will keep the attitude expressed in the article in LE MATIN, an attitude which

I have admired both as a man and as a gypsy who wants to be thought of other than as a potential thief. But prejudices and suspicion, whoever their victims are, are only one of the many aspects of the reign of terror established--for how much longer?--in Romania.

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AMENDED DECREE ON RULES FOR USE OF HAZARDOUS EQUIPMENT

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 5, 11 Jan 82 pp 2-7

[Decree of the Council of State No 400/1981]

[Text] Decree of the Council of State No 400/1981, to establish laws regarding the utilization and maintenance of installations, equipment, and machinery, and of stronger order and discipline on the job, in units that maintain continuous fires, or that have installations of a highly hazardous nature. (Republished on the basis of article II of Decree of the Council of State No 16 of 8 January 1982, published in this issue of BULETINUL OFICIAL, and renumbering the articles).

The country's socioeconomic development, strongly oriented toward technologic progress following the advances of the modern technical-scientific revolution, has steadily raised the qualitative level and complexity of production processes, and led to the extensive utilization of installations, equipment, and machinery with continuous fires or highly hazardous working conditions, whose operation imposes special rules for utilization, monitoring, verification, maintenance, and repair.

Workers, foremen, technicians, engineers, and all those who work or supervise production processes with installations, equipment, and machinery with continuous fires or highly hazardous working conditions, bear full responsibility for assuring the uninterrupted and totally safe operation of equipment, and for preventing and eliminating any situation which could endager life and health.

In all their activities, workers in units endowed with such installations, equipment, or machinery must assure a strict respect for technical discipline, establish rigorous order and discipline at work, demonstrate professional interest and competence, and firmly fight against any infringement of established rules.

In order to strengthen order and discipline among the working personnel in units that maintain continuous fires, or which are endowed with installations, equipment, and machinery that create highly hazardous conditions, as well as in order to firmly establish uniform regulations about the obligations and responsibilities of ministries, other central or local organs, enterprises, centrals, and all workers' collectives in assuring production continuity and safety in those units, the Council of State of Romania decrees:

Chapter I. General Provisions

Article 1. The organization of activities in units endowed with installations, equipment, and machinery that operate continuously, or that are of a highly dangerous nature, in the branches of chemistry, mining, petroleum, metallurgy, machine construction, electric and thermal power, construction materials, lumber, cellulose, and paper, as well as other sectors, must assure uninterrupted production according to approved schedules, strict respect for technical discipline and all other rules of order and discipline at work, and must prevent any damages, explosions, fires, or other technical accidents.

Article 2. Workers in units that maintain continuous fires, or which are endowed with installations, equipment, or machinery whose operation is highly hazardous, bear the responsibility for the complete safety of production, for the monitoring, verification, utilization, maintenance, and repair of installations, equipment, and machinery, and for the strict respect of technical documentation and standards, so as to prevent any damages, explosions, fires, or other technical accidents.

The personnel included in the first paragraph has the obligation to strictly respect order and discipline on the job, conform with and firmly apply standards and instructions concerning production processes, fulfill their work assignments with a sense of high responsibility, and demonstrate intolerance toward any infringement of established regulations.

Article 3. Ministries and other central or local organs, together with the centrals and enterprises under their jurisdiction, are responsible for asuring the proper utilization and maintenance of installations, equipment, and machinery with continuous operation or that is of a highly hazardous nature; to this end, they have the obligation to take and apply all the measures necessary for the proper organization and pursuit of production activities, to rigorously respect operation, maintenance, and repair regulations, to prevent any damages, explosions, fires, or other technical accidents, and to strengthen order and discipline at each work location.

Article 4. Units that maintain continuous fires, or that are endowed with installations, equipment, and machinery whose operation is highly hazardous, including factories, plants, departments, sectors, shops, or other similar production sectors that are endowed with such means, are established by the Council of Ministers on the basis of proposals advanced by the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets (MATCGF), and by the Ministry of Labor, together with other ministries and central organs.

Chapter II. Obligations and Responsibilities of Working Personnel in Units That Maintain Continuous Fires, or That Have Installations, Equipment, and Machinery Whose Operation is of a Highly Dangerous Nature.

Article 5. The managements of units with installations, equipment, and machinery that operates continuously or whose operation is highly hazardous, are responsible for their safe and uniterrupted operation, utilization, and exploitation, for technical discipline, and for the application of all regulations concerning proper working conditions; to this end, they have the obligation to assure:

a) The receipt and placement in operation of installations, equipment, and machinery, with strict compliance with the provisions of technical documentations;

b) The rigorous respect of technical regulations regarding the utilization of installations, equipment, and machinery, as well as the provision of measurement, control, and automation devices, together with the verification and maintenance of these devices in perfect operating condition;

c) The performance of maintenance, adjustment, and repair operations, with rigorous respect for technical standards and regulations;

d) The distribution of production tasks among sectors, shops, sites, lots, and teams, so as to assure a steady production process under safe and efficient conditions;

e) The judicious organization of labor in shifts, and of supervision and technical assistance during all shifts, using qualified personnel capable of effective intervention in directing production and preventing any disturbances, interruptions, or damages; and the designation of persons who can provide technical assistance, of those authorized to order the stoppage or restarting of installations, equipment, and machinery;

f) The selection and hiring of personnel with the qualification necessary to use, maintain, and repair installations, equipment, and machinery, as well as the organization of means for professional training improvement, and the periodic testing of the personnel's knowledge and capabilities;

g) Work protection measures, fire prevention and fighting, the endowment of work sites with means for protecting the installations, and the devices and materials necessary for this purpose;

h) That the working personnel is provided with protection and work equipment specific for highly hazardous jobs, so as to prevent accidents, explosions, and fires;

i) The utilization, storage, and transportation of explosive, flammable, and other materials that are hazardous, in accordance with specific prevailing regulations;

j) The determination of work sites at which access or trafic is forbidden or permited only under certain conditions, as well as of work sites where smoking or the carrying of cigarettes, matches, lighters, or materials that could cause fires or explosions, is prohibited;

k) The existence of guard and order-keeping services under conditions established by law, the establishment of strict regulations regarding entry into and egress from the unit, and the interdiction of access to the unit, for persons who report for work under the influence of alcohol;

l) The respect and rigorous application of all regulations regarding the operating safety of installations, equipment, and machinery, boilers, pressure vessels, hoisting equipment, fuel burners, and measurement, control, and automation devices.

Article 6. The managements of units have the obligation to take all necessary measures to prevent damages, explosions, fires, and other accidents as well as to eliminate without delay any technical defects that are disclosed during production.

In case of accidental interruptions, the managements of units will take immediate steps to restart production capabilities in the shortest possible time, analyze the causes of the interruption, take measures to prevent the recurrence of similar events, and establish the responsibility of guilty parties.

The managements of units have the obligation to secure evidence of any damages and technical accidents in production, as well as to immediately report them under conditions established by law.

Article 7. The heads of departments, shops, installations, or other similar production sections assure, and are responsible for taking all measures such that the installations, equipment, and machinery will be used under fully safe conditions; to this end they have the following obligations:

a) Organize the production process and assign tasks to all their subordinated personnel;

b) Take steps to provide each work site with specific technical instructions for the normal operation of installations, equipment, and machinery; establish the steps that must be taken in case of malfunctions, interruptions, or damages;

c) Assure that each person is informed of his job functions and responsibilites, and verify the manner in which these have been met and fulfilled by the entire personnel;

d) Formulate manufacturing programs which will assure the operation of installations at specified parameters and in complete safety;

e) Assign technical personnel among shifts to assure the technical assistance necessary for correct application of fabrication technologies;

f) Supervise and assume responsibility that the personnel working on jobs which involve risks of explosion and fire, is using protection equipment specific for the job, from the beginning to the end of the working schedule;

g) Inspect daily the technical nature of installations, equipment, and machinery, and compliance with utilization regulations and working conditions;

h) Assure the performance of compulsory planned technical adjustments for installations, equipment, and machinery, according to technical documentation; be responsible for the preparation of installations for repairs, and monitor that all safety measures have been taken;

i) Organize the periodic training of the working personnel in the operation, utilization, and maintenance of installations, equipment, and machinery under safe conditions, the teaching and application of work protection regulations, fire prevention and fighting, as well as regulations for preventing malfunctions, interruptions, damages, technical accidents, and premature wear.

In case of damages or other technical accidents, the heads of departments, shops, installators, or other similar sectors, have the obligation to participate directly in eliminating the results of these accidents, in determining their causes, and in establishing measures for restarting the installations and directing operations for restoring normal conditions.

Article 8. Foremen and other leaders of work teams are responsible for the organization and complete safety of production activities, and for the full implementation of measures for the proper operation, utilization, and maintenance of the installations, equipment, and machinery entrusted to them. To this end they have the obligation to take steps for:

a) The rigorous respect of manufacturing technologies and instructions regarding the maintenance of installations, equipment, and machinery;

b) The complete operating safety of installations, equipment, and machinery; the prevention and elimination of interruptions or operating malfunctions;

c) Organizing each job, preparing manufacturing conditions, assigning jobs to each team, brigade, and worker, supervising and guiding each worker so as to impart the knowledge and habits necessary for the proper execution of production tasks, and supervising the execution of operations during the entire work schedule;

d) Assuring that members of work teams understand the regulations governing technical and job order and discipline, specifications for installations, equipment, and machinery utilization and maintenance, as well as rules for handling, transporting, and storing raw and other materials and products;

e) Instructing team members and supervising the strict application of specifications regarding work safety, hygiene, and fire prevention and fighting; periodically repeating instruction, and verifying the level of understanding of team members;

f) Providing work safety devices and monitoring the use of work protection equipment specified for each work site; monitoring the peformance of work protection and fire prevention projects; supplying work sites with necessary technical operation specifications;

g) Performing maintenance operations on time, and participating in planned technical inspections and repairs;

h) Forbidding access to work sites to those who are not capable of performing their assignments, and notifying their superiors for replacements for absentees; monitoring the performance of medical examinations for subordinated personnel;

i) Taking over the work of previous shifts and turning work over to the next shift, specifying the objectives to be achieved.

Article 9. Leaders of units and other persons with leadership functions must fulfill their job obligations in an exemplary manner, take steps to establish order and firm discipline among the entire personnel, develop among the personnel a sense of duty and responsibility, and punish promptly and severely any violation or infringement of work rules and functions.

Article 10. The personnel with leadership functions has the obligation, within the range of its attributions, to give clear and precise orders, assure the conditions necessary for their execution, and systematically control the manner in which they are fulfilled.

Subordinated personnel has the obligation to execute the orders received, exactly and on time.

Article 11. Workers and other operating personnel are directly responsible for the completely safe operation, under approved operating conditions, of the installations, equipment, and machinery assigned to them, to which end they have the following obligations:

a) To know the construction and functional characteristics of the installations, equipment, and machinery with which they are working, use and maintain them as prescribed, and apply the standards of work protection and fire prevention;

b) To assure in accordance with technical specifications, the constant monitoring of installations, equipment, and machinery, and of other resources entrusted to them, and verify the proper operation of safety devices, as well as of control and measurement instruments;

c) To use and care for protection equipment and safety devices in accordance with established regulations;

d) To report for work fully capable of performing their job, so as to properly fulfill the tasks assigned to them;

e) To immediately notify their supervisors of any malfunction, defect, anomaly, or other situation observed that is likely to create a hazardous situation, as well as any infraction of labor protection regulations or fire prevention standards;

f) Not to leave the job without the approval of a foreman or other work formation leader, under legally stipulated conditions; to be concerned with the proper performace of tasks at all times;

g) To take urgent steps to eliminate damages and accidents when they occur, according to programs formulated for this purpose, and to remain at the disposal of the unit, or return to the unit in the shortest possible time, in case of damages or other urgent needs;

h) To respect access regulations to the unit for which they work, and not receive outsiders into the unit, except in accordance with prevailing regulations;

i) To strictly respect the provisions regarding organized shift changes; work sites cannot be left until the arrival of replacements, and activities can be terminated only after installations, equipment, and machinery are turned over to workers of an incoming shift, in the presence of a shift engineer, installation leader, foreman, or other work formation leader of the incoming shift;

j) To secure installations, equipment, and machinery in strict accordance with technical specifications, when these are not turned over to another shift as a result of work schedules.

Workers and other operating personnel must fulfill their job obligations exactly as specified, prevent any deed that could endanger the safety of the personnel or the integrity of installations, equipment, and machinery, or of other property, and effectively eliminate any situations which could constitute a source of hazard.

Article 12. The working personnel is prohibited from bringing or consuming alcoholic beverages in the unit, or to facilitate the commission of these deeds.

Those who arrive at work under the influence of alcohol are forbidden access to the unit and are subject to the sanctions stipulated by law.

It is forbidden to smoke or bring cigarettes, matches, lighters, or any materials or products which could cause fires or explosions at work sites where smoking or the presence of these materials is prohibited.

Chapter III. Obligations and Responsibilities of Ministries and Other Central and Local Organs.

Article 13. Ministries, other central organs, and executive committees of county and the Bucharest people's councils, together with centrals, are responsible for taking all necessary measures for the completely safe operation of installations, equipment, and machinery, to which end they:

a) Assure, as early as the planning stage, that the execution, placement in operation, and utilization of installations, equipment, and machinery is conducted for safe operation and elimination of hazards for damage, explosion, or fire; it is forbidden to mass produce installations, equipment, and machinery without preliminary testing of prototypes; no construction modifications can be made without the approval of the designer, and only if it assures the existence of at least the initial parameters;

b) Take measures for the rational and safe utilization of installations, equipment, and machinery, and for the respect of technical regulations regarding their maintenance and repair;

c) Organize and monitor the instauration of firm order and discipline, as well as the establishment of precise tasks and responsibilities, for the proper operation of units that maintain continuous fires or that are endowed with installations, equipment, and machinery with highly hazardous applications;

d) Organize and control the utilization, maintenance, and repair of installations, equipment, and machinery, and of control and measurement devices, as well as the production of tools, devices, gauges, and spare parts;

e) Organize the formulation and completion of plans, programs, and schedules for the maintenance, inspection, and repair of installations, equipment, and machinery;

f) Formulate and improve technical specifications for the utilization, maintenance, and repair of installations, equipment, and machinery specific to the branch which they coordinate.

Article 14. In case of damage, explosion, fire, or other technical accident, the ministry, central or local organ, together with the central which has jurisdiction over the unit in which the event occurs, has the obligation to:

a) Effectively determine the causes of the accident and its consequences, and take steps to return the production capabilities to operation in the shortest possible time;

b) Determine who is guilty for the occurrence of the accident, and the responsibility of the guilty parties in accordance with legal provisions;

c) Take technical and organizational measures to prevent accidents of the same nature, measures which then become compulsory for the utilization of all similar installations, equipment, and machinery in subordinated units.

Article 15. Ministries, other central organs, and the executive committees of county and the Bucharest people's councils, must constantly supervise the application of the provisions of the present decree, and of other legal provisions regarding the proper operation, utilization, maintenance, and repair of installations, equipment, and machinery, and must act to prevent any causes which could disturb the production process.

Article 16. Throughout the economy, MATMCGFF controls the safe utilization of installations, equipment, and machinery that operate continuousously or under highly dangerous conditions, their endowment with the measurement, control, or automation devices stipulated in technical documentations, compliance with all technical operation, maintenance, and repair standards, staffing with properly qualified personnel, and periodic instruction of the personnel according to law.

Through its specialized inspections, MATMCGF assures technical verification and authorization to operate, in accordance with law, for installations, equipment, and machinery, as well as the coordinated formulation of technical specification for their safe operation.

The MATCGF state inspector general for the management of fixed assets, fuels, and energy, and for the verification of pressure vessels and hoisting installations, has the right to order the temporary or permanent removal from operations of installations that are unsafe, are not equipped with the measurement, control, and automation devices stipulated in drawings, or which cause a waste of material resources with significant effects for the national economy, in those cases in which established remedies have not been instituted on schedule, giving a 30 day warning to the central or local organ that has jurisdiction over the unit involved; similarly, it has the right to prohibit, according to law, the production, delivery, installation, and operation of steam boilers and similar devices, pressure vessels, hoisting machinery, and fuel consumption devices, if they have defects that can endanger operation safety or can cause damages and accidents.

Control organs are responsible for taking steps, according to law, which will assure that the observed defects are eliminated, that their recurrence in other situations is prevented, that the responsibility is placed on the guilty parties, and that activities are improved.

Chapter IV. Sanctions

Article 17. Depending on circumstances, violation of the provisions of the present decree results in the disciplinary, material, civil, misdemeanor, or penal punishment of the guilty.

Article 18. The following deeds, when committed by personnel working directly with installations, equipment, and machinery that operate continuousously or under highly dangerous conditions, constitute infringements of the law, and are punished with prison sentences of three months to two years:

a) Leaving the installations, equipment, and machinery with which they work without the supervision stipulated by technical regulations;

b) Departure from the job site during working hours, without the approval of the foreman or other work formation leader;

c) Ceasing activities before turning over the installations, equipment, and machinery, according to law, to workers of the next shift;

d) Failing to secure at the end of the work program, according to technical specifications, installations, equipment, and machinery that operate under highly dangerous conditions, when there are no provisions for turning them over to another shift.

Also considered infringement of the law and punished with the sanctions indicated in paragraph 1, is the commission of one of the following deeds on the part of the working personnel, independently of its functions, in units that have installations, equipment, and machinery which operate continuousously or under highly hazardous conditions:

a) Smoking or the carrying of cigarettes, matches, lighters, materials, or products which could cause fires or explosions, in work areas where smoking or the carrying of these items is prohibited;

b) Carrying or consuming alcoholic beverages in the unit, or presence in the unit under the influence of alcohol.

If the commission of one of the deeds stipulated in paragraphs 1 and 2 has disturbed the proper operation of the unit or has resulted in damages to public property, independently of its value, the punishment is a prison sentence of six months to five years.

If the deed stipulated in paragraphs 1 and 2 has resulted in a particularly serious disturbance of the unit's activities, or has caused particularly serious damage to the national economy, or has caused serious bodily harm, impaired health, or resulted in death for a person, the sanction is a prison sentence of 5 to 20 years, interdiction of rights, and partial confiscation of wealth; if the result is serious bodily harm, impaired health, or the death of several persons, the punishment is a prison sentence of 10 to 20 years, interdiction of rights, and partial confiscation of wealth.

Deeds committed from fault are punished; in that case, the maximum punishments stipulated in paragraphs 1-4 are reduced by one-fourth.

Article 19. Commission by an employed person, independently of function, of other deeds than the ones stipulated in article 18, which violate the obligations stipulated in the present decree, are sanctioned under the conditions and with the punishments stipulated in penal law, if these deeds constitute infractions.

Chapter V. Final Provisions

Article 20. The provisions of the present decree also apply to units that maintain continuous fires or which have installations, equipment, and machinery with highly dangerous operating conditions, in cooperative or other public organizations.

Article 21. Until the date on which this decree becomes effective, units stipulated in article 4 will be established by decision of the Council of Ministers. For new production facilities, these units are established at least 30 days before they are placed in operation.

Article 22. The management councils of ministries, other central organs, the executive committees of county and the Bucharest people's councils, and the workers' councils in centrals, enterprises, and other socialist units have the obligation to take steps to learn and strictly apply the provisions of the present decree, in order to strengthen order and discipline at each work site, and prevent any damages, explosions, fires, or other technical accidents.

The collective management organs stipulated in paragraph 1 have the obligation to:

a) Organize the sound learning of the provisions of the decree by the entire personnel of units that maintain continuous fires, or which have installations, equipment, and machinery whose operation is highly hazardous;

b) Discuss the provisions of the decree in workers' assemblies by departments, shops, or other similar production sectors, in all work collectives;

c) Organize the dissemination of the provisions of the decree through their posting at each work site, and through other means of information;

d) Soundly instruct the working personnel with respect to the functions, obligations, and responsibilities they have in strengthening order and discipline, carrying out the entire production process under conditions of total safety, while respecting approved production programs.

After studying and learning the provisions of the decree, workers, foremen, technicians, engineers, and all those who work in or lead production processes with installations, equipment, and machinery that have continuous fires or whose operation is highly hazardous, must sign to acknowledge that they are aware of the regulations of the present decree, and that they assume responsibility for the exact fulfillment of their obligations.

Article 23. The management councils of ministries, other central or local organs, the executive committees of county and the Bucharest people's councils, workers' councils in centrals, enterprises, and other socialist units, have the obligation to control the manner in which the provisions of the decree are disseminated and learned by the entire working personnel, to periodically instruct the personnel, and to become directly responsible for taking all the necessary measures for the exact application of its provisions.

Through direct participation, the organs of the Ministry of the Interior, of the attorney general, and of justice, have the obligation to provide the necessary support to socialist units to learn and disseminate the information in the decree, and to supervise the strict compliance with its provisions, taking measures to prevent and firmly combat any violations of the provisions of the present decree.

Article 24. The present decree becomes effective on 1 January 1982.

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DISPUTE OVER DEMAND FOR JUDGE'S RECALL AIRED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian

No 1628, 14 Mar 82 pp 26-28

[Article by Petar Ignja]

[Text] In November of 1980, a group of citizens sent a proposal to the Executive Council of the Belgrade City Assembly calling for the removal of Mikaina Savic from the position of president of the Court of Associated Labor. Recently, a delegate, author Radomir Smiljanic, made the same suggestion. Why are these people demanding the recall of the president of the court?

While seeking a bit of news for our paper, we came across an interesting item: a group of citizens (in the linguistic sense of the word), citing their constitutional right, sent a proposal to the Executive Council of the Belgrade City Assembly over a year ago calling for the removal of Mikaina Savic from the position of president of the Basic Court of Associated Labor in Belgrade. The Executive Council decided that it did not have jurisdiction in this matter, and sent the proposal to the City Trade Union Federation. A working group was formed, meetings were held. They concluded that the demand for the recall was not justified, although the Court of Associated Labor made a slight mistake. Instead of a response, the authorized representative of the signatories of the proposal was summoned to the trade union. The invitation was sent 6 days after the meeting was supposed to have taken place!

The Executive Council was again "challenged" this fall through the press. It was criticized for sending the citizens' proposal to another agency. Instead of a response, the text of a report by the president of the Executive Council at the meeting was published, with the announcement that the trade union would finally clear things up. The response was aired (finally) in November. The signers of the proposal were not satisfied.

Then on 17 December of last year, delegate Radomir Smiljanic, the author, put forward a delegate question at a meeting of the Council of Associated Labor. Actually, he asked a number of questions. He demanded that the proposal calling for the recall, which was signed by 33 petitioners, be

answered in a precise manner. He asked whether or not it was correct that Comrade Mikaina Savic hired the attorney Kosta Nadj without open competition for the job, whether she took on, illegally, Ranka Mirilovic, Ziva Nikolic, and Slavica Angelovski, whether she employed a worker who had already been excluded from the court, whether she unlawfully employed a typist from Cacak (Comrade Savic is from the same city), whether she paid Vesna Jankovic for a seminar at the court's expense although she was not employed by the court. Delegate Smiljanic also asked why judges from associated labor come to court less often than they used to, and why so many judges are pensioners. And finally he asked whether Mikaina Savic, after all these events, was worthy of the position of president of the court.

An Unusual Meeting

An unusual meeting was held on 19 February in the City Assembly (it lasted 5 hours). Present at the meeting were the delegate Radomir Smiljanic, eight people who had signed the proposal for recall, several members of the Executive Council, inspectors who were carrying out an inspection in the court in order to "establish the facts of the matter," Mikaina Savic, and a few reporters. The meeting was stormy and occasionally took on elements of well-directed drama (the signatories were especially good). But the responses which the signers of the proposal received that evening did not give them reason to rejoice.

The presiding officer at the meeting, Radoje Stefanovic, president of the Executive Council of the Belgrade City Assembly, noted, among other things, that to some extent the demand for recall blemished the name of Gen Kosta Nadj. Delegate Smiljanic called this remark unjustified and said that he rejected such an insinuation with indignation. "My second indignation is the fact that this proposal is in fact interpreted as an attack on the institution of the Court of Associated Labor. One hopes, however, that it is clear to everyone that this is an attempt to defend the court as well as to defend our social system, the heritage of our society, for which Comrade Kosta Nadj fought..." said Smiljanic.

Journalist Vuk Draskovic, one of the signers of the proposal for recall, said that he was gladdened by the discussion, because "it is a sign that we are beginning to get used to some democratic autonomous forms of dialogue." He stressed that this discussion came "a little late." In the meantime, he said, "they are taking up arms against us, everyone has declared us the enemy."

"What then are these constitutional rights!" exclaimed Draskovic. "One hopes we did not think them up only as a display for our public and for the world, and that tomorrow some learned people from abroad will say to us that we do not have civil rights."

And Drago Vucic, another of the signatories of the proposal, spoke about the fact that those who signed the proposal were declared the enemy, but that their organization should not disburb anyone. "The fact that workers also make judgments in the Court of Associated Labor means that the judges

can be manipulated in some situations," said Vucic. He added, "I know that Comrade Mikaina Savic is the least guilty in this matter. She is guilty only because she did as she was told."

How does the court work? What sort of decisions are made? The signers of the proposal for the recall of its president are convinced that the court does not work very well. Tomislav Stevanovic, the city secretary for administration of justice, reported some facts which, in his opinion, contradict this conviction completely. He said, for instance, that the court of secondary jurisdiction confirmed the decisions of the Basic Court of Associated Labor in 63 percent of the cases. Not even the regular court, in which experienced judges preside, have this "mortality" of decisions of the court of original jurisdiction. Facts should be taken for what they are; one can believe in them if he so chooses.

Why the Newspapers Are Writing

At the end of the meeting, the president of the Executive Council, Radoje Stefanovic, gave his impression that the meeting had been useful both for the preparation of a response to the delegate question and for a better familiarization of the procedings, the conduct, and the different viewpoints quite obviously. "It is unusual for a group of citizens to organize themselves in order to attack decisions of the court. It is unusual for there to be, in a large number of newspapers, articles about the Court of Associated Labor which are based on falsehoods, with the number of writers far less than the number of published articles, and the mutual connection of the writers of these articles apparent. It is a strange idea that something which is written in the newspapers and which is not refuted is therefore true. It is interesting that the writers of some articles are also signers of the petition, and that quotes from articles they themselves have written are cited in the petition as evidence. I do not believe that any editorial staff would give its blessing to this type of activity when looked at in its entirety.

I believe this because I have faith in the journalists, communists, and other responsible people who work on the editorial staffs. I am in favor of a response to the delegate question being delivered to them, because this whole matter is very instructive."

Radoje Stefanovic, his eyes fixed on the signatories of the proposal for the recall (they were sitting opposite him), said one more thing. "I have not said that you, either individually or as a group, are (to be regarded as an) enemy. But some of you so insist on this that it must be important for you."

A Dissatisfied Delegate

At the end of the discussion, one more "spark" was set off. The question was raised as to whether all 33 citizens actually signed the proposal for recall (doubt was expressed about a number of them) because there were only 32 signatures on the page, and the addresses of 24 of them were not given, and

one of the signatories had ascertained in writing that he had not signed the proposal for recall. Milosav V.R. Jovanovic, a reporter for RAD, explained that Andelko Anusic (the person in question), had revoked his signature because the editor of RAD had threatened him with dismissal because of the influence that the City Council of the Trade Union Federation has on this Yugoslav paper.

Be that as it may, the delegates of all three chambers of the Belgrade City Assembly were provided with a lengthy response (14 pages) from the City Secretariat for the Administration of Justice to the delegate question of Radomir Smiljamic on 25 February of this year. The main point of the response was a refutation (with the simple statement, it is not true...) of many of the remarks which related to the work and the composition of the Court of Associated Labor, and detailed information was cited which led to the conclusion that the criticism of the relationships in the court was, for the most part, unjustified. The professions of both parents of all beginning employees for whom the legality of employment in the court was contested were cited. But it is not unimportant (on the contrary it is quite important) that the response to the delegate question proved two illegal acts to have taken place. The lawyer Kosta Nadj was employed in the court without open competition for the position, and the expelled driver, Nenad Radanovic, worked, after being hired without open competition for the position, for 6 months as a courier. The fact that both employees have since left the court does not lessen the severity of the errors which were committed.

Delegate Smiljanic was not satisfied with the response. He informed the delegates that many citizens had come to him at his apartment and notified him that they were joining in on the demand that Mikaina Savic be called to account. And after this came another demand (Smiljanic read it through) from a group of workers from Minel that Radoje Stefanovic be removed from his office of president of the Executive Council because of his earlier conduct while director of the Minel labor organization.

"The workers invited me to their meeting twice. I will tell you frankly, I was advised by comrades in the City Committee not to go...and I did not go to that meeting." said Smiljanic.

Delegate Marijan Pavlovic, who worked at Minel for 20 years, explained that the signers of the new petition were at one time forced to return from communal jobs to production, and that is why they are dissatisfied.

Delegate Ratko Butulija responded that Radomir Smiljanic did not consult with comrades on the City Committee, but talked by telephone with one member of the City Committee "in order to fetishize the issue, and to present it here in order to give new strength to the unprincipled conduct which he set in motion."

Smiljanic also charged that the vice president of the Executive Committee, Nikola Djordjevic, in a conversation with citizens who signed the proposal for the recall (on 19 February), threatened them with these words: "We could be malicious and throw you all in jail."

Nikola Djordjevic called for the stenographic report of the meeting, which showed that no imprisonment was threatened. "I consider writing to be a highly moral act, and when a writer uses words he should measure them well before he commits himself, whether verbally or in writing. However, I am shocked by the great and serious falsehood of which I have been accused, by the fact that I have been accused of saying things I never even though of, let alone said."

Is There Anyone Who Is Satisfied?

The discussions in the assembly lasted almost 2 hours. Then the delegates of all three chambers voted and adopted a response to the delegate question of Radomir Smiljanic. Smiljanic and one other delegate voted against it; two delegates abstained.

Having adopted the response to the delegate question of Radomir Smiljanic, the Belgrade City Assembly, at the proposal of the Executive Council, concluded the following:

"With regard to the expression and the character of the action against various decisions of the courts of associated labor which are in effect at present, and the action for the demand for replacing the president of the Basic Court of Associated Labor in Belgrade, and with regard to the breach of the appropriate conceptions in the editorial staffs of various newspapers, the response to the delegate question, with the text of the question and the text of the proposal of the group of citizens enclosed, will be sent to the City Conference of the SAWPY, the City Council of the Trade Union Federation, the City Conference of the League of Socialist Youth, the publisher's councils, and the editorial staffs of all newspapers in which the texts appeared, and in addition, to the group of citizens who refer to themselves as the signatories of the proposal. This conclusion is based on the belief that a more detailed analysis of the action for replacing the president of the Basic Court of Associated Labor in Belgrade will facilitate the implementation of the recently adopted resolutions of the Presidency of the Republic Conference of the SAWPY of Serbia and the Presidency of the Central Committee of the LCY of Serbia concerning the social role of the public information media."

The result of all this is that delegate Radomir Smiljanic is not satisfied with the response to his question. The signers of the proposal for the recall of the president of the Court of Associated Labor are also dissatisfied. The majority of the delegates are dissatisfied with the positions of Radomir Smiljanic.

Will the discussions be continued? What will be resolved in the Socialist Alliance, in the editorial staffs of the newspapers, and the publisher's councils? Will all those summoned and those not summoned have enough patience, a very important quality in these circumstances? Time will tell.

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2012

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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No. 2012

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BRIEFS

USSR, POLISH HIGHER SCHOOLS--Moscow--PAP correspondent Wl. Knycpel writes: At the invitation of the Soviet minister of higher and secondary specialized education, Vyacheslav Yelyutin, a delegation from the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology of the Polish People's Republic, chaired by Minister Benon Miskiewicz, has made a trip to the USSR. The discussions with Minister V. Yelyutin centered around directions of cooperation in higher education, and the implementation of decisions reached. Above all, attention was concentrated on direct cooperation between higher schools in Poland and the USSR, the broadening of cadre exchange in the field of social sciences, and also on the training of our students and doctoral candidates in Soviet schools. Minister B. Miskiewicz also held discussions with the vice chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Council of Ministers State Committee on Science and Technology, Guriy Marchuk. Polish-Soviet scientific and technical cooperation was discussed, and views on the topics of verification of research problems and joint utilization of licenses were exchanged. [Excerpt] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Apr 82 p 7]

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ITALIAN PARTY'S INSIGHT INTO POLISH SITUATION QUESTIONED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 3 Mar 82 pp 34-46

[Article by Peter Renyi, Member of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of NEPSZABADSAG: "Consistently with Our Principles and Through Mutual Understanding. Comments on the Position of the PCI Leadership"]

[Text] It is undeniably true: we cannot expect a debate to yield any kind of a result, reconciliation or persuasion, without trying to put ourselves into our partner's position, without carefully thinking it through and empathizing with it. This also holds true for negotiations between states of opposing social systems even at times of sharp confrontation. This requirement is all the more valid then, when it comes to disputes between parties of the international communist movement, thus to the polemics which have just recently heated up between the Italian Communist Party and other European communist parties, with a degree of intensity that has surpassed all previous disputes, regarding their assessment of the state of martial law in Poland.

One of the unique characteristics of this dispute, in our opinion--and this must be pointed out right at the outset--is that our Italian comrades in leading positions virtually lack the willingness to put themselves into the position of the Polish forces who have been dedicated to socialism, namely, the Polish communists, or to interpret the situation by trying to weigh the domestic conditions that have forced the Polish leaders to introduce these extraordinary measures. A few months ago they were still showing a little greater understanding; since 13 December, however, it seems as if even this little has disappeared.

For this very reason, let me start out by saying that we also have to try to sympathize with the problems of the Italian communists; including the difficulties and dilemmas facing their party leaders and leading bodies in this extremely complex and serious tension-laden age. We cannot expect any understanding on their part, if we do not make an effort to try to understand them, however difficult it is even to explain their newly formulated theses, not to mention how impossible it is to accept them.

The sharpest debate is centered around the subject of assessing the historical role and the present day development, crises and prospects of so-called "existing socialism."

We have to start from the fact that the crisis situations which periodically appear in the countries of the socialist community present an extraordinary ordeal for those communist parties which must function in the capitalist world: the bourgeoisie, and especially their extreme reactionary forces, make full use of the opportunities offered by these crises to discredit these fraternal parties. It would be unfair by us not to take into account the terrible insults our friends have been, and continue to be, exposed to. For them, the negative political repercussions are in many ways more serious than in the socialist countries that are directly--or indirectly--affected. In these matters, aggressive bourgeois propaganda holds virtually complete monopoly; it purposely misinforms the public and uses unscrupulous exaggerations to incite hysteria, while the socialist countries have no way of counteracting these.

On such occasions, the reactionary forces take special care to ensure that their intellectual forces and technical means are concentrated in such a way as to enable them to crush the communists and all those who sympathize with socialism. We are safe to say that the propaganda campaigns unleashed by the centers of imperialism, which during periods of crises in the socialist camp become especially intense, are among the sharpest and most carefully organized actions of today's international class struggle; they use every possible weapon of agitation from false, but skillfully disguised arguments to unscrupulous efforts to stir up sentiments.

There is, therefore, enormous pressure on those who are attacked in this manner, i.e., in an attempt to make them scapegoats for events which they are not even responsible for, and which have hit them almost like natural disasters. While this is not the only aspect to be taken into account under such circumstances, it must also be examined whenever there is an outburst of emotions by certain parties (in which ones, and to what extent also depends on their ideological circumstances and on the domestic political situation): they not only condemn the socialist countries for some specific mistakes they might have made--we could not really blame them for this--but they also question the entire functioning and even the socialist character of the existing socialist systems. This is precisely what the bourgeoisie, whose aim is to add them to its line of defendents as "accomplices" is attempting to do: namely, to put these parties under such great pressure so as to have them abandon and repudiate their solidarity with existing socialism.

This holds especially true for Italy, where the forces of reaction--fearing the considerable power of the Italian communists--have been even more vicious in their attack on socialism than in other countries and have been rampantly inciting against the PCI. This is only one of the ways in which the instability of Italian society, and the "ungovernability" of that country even bourgeois politicians often talk about, manifest themselves. Incapacitating, humiliating and perhaps even trying to "win over" and integrate the communist party is in the utmost, we might even say, vital interest of the system. Since, on the domestic political scene, they have found it to be more difficult to deal a blow to the party, they have been all the more ruthless in "utilizing" the opportunities presented by the difficulties and problems of certain socialist countries.

As I have already pointed out, when we complain about their unwillingness to try to put themselves into and think through our position, we are not expecting our Italian comrades to close their eyes to the mistakes we have made. However, we do want them to understand that their search for alternative roads to socialism and our efforts to find alternative forms of socialist development cannot hope to succeed without the security guaranteed by the power and the policies of the Soviet Union, and by the existence and struggle of already realized socialism aimed at ensuring the preservation of world peace. We also want them to realize that in working toward these goals we are both faced with the same desperate and dangerous enemy. This, however, does not change the fact that it is our duty to make our opinion know decisively and without hesitation, whevever we find—and this is what seems to be taking place in the PCI--that as a result of pressure, serious concessions are being made on matters of principle. In fact, for this very reason--while respecting their independence—we must use every argument at our disposal to prevent them from succumbing to such pressures.

What this requires in the given situation, first of all, is that we refute all reactionary theses alleging a general and final crisis of socialism, and show what the real characteristics of temporary crises are, how they have come about, and which factors hamper and which may promote efforts to discredit them. It is our duty all the more, since—if we may say so--we are at least as competent in this as our friends in the West.

What has intensified the dispute virtually to a breaking point is not the fact that the leaders of the Italian party have disapproved of the measures taken to save the Polish socialist system (although—as we will later discuss--they are wrong in this also), but a statement which they made in connection with this in the 30 December 1981 resolution of the PCI leadership: "that period in the development of socialism which began with the October Revolution has exhausted its impetus"; "we must look for entirely new ways to give fresh momentum to the struggle for democracy and socialism in the world"; in the Eastern European countries "regressive processes" are taking place, and the existing system "does not allow real democratic participation either in production, or in politics"; "their repeated attempts at bringing about a renewal have failed." And it was on the basis of this that they went on to conclude that "in the present phase it is becoming increasingly clear that the future development of socialism will have to be based on those ideas and democratic and socialist achievements which have evolved in the developed capitalist countries, primarily in the countries of Western Europe, and on those progressive, socialist-inspired, successful experiences which--following their particular individual roads--the countries of the Third World have gathered."

This resolution, of course, also contains some observations about the achievements of the socialist system; their assessment of the present situation is that it is characterized by "balances," in which the pluses and minuses offset each other. They state, for example, that while the role of the Soviet Union "sometimes coincides with the interests of those peoples struggling for freedom and national independence against imperialism and the reactionary systems, it sometimes runs counter to

those interests and occasionally may go even as far as to openly violate them." In other places, they admit that the Soviet Union has been fighting for the preservation of European stability, but they see this as something which the USSR uses to justify its "suppression of demands for human rights, for independence and for the renewal of economic, social and cultural life..." As far as the tendencies of socialist development beyond the present situation are concerned, however, there is no more mention of any pluses or positive aspects. As pathetic as the resolution's tone is when it speaks about the heroic past, and about the historical role of the October Revolution, just as all-out and categorical is it in renouncing the present development and the future of existing socialism. They go beyond simply saying that in other regions of the world, in Eastern Europe, for example, different roads must be and can be sought for socialism to assert itself--a requirement, by the way, which we have long been advocating--what they are saying instead, is that since it has already "exhausted its impetus" within existing socialism, the only hope for socialist development to continue successfully is outside of its limits. "The boundaries of socialism--since it is a universally evolving historical process--do not coincide with the boundaries of the Eastern European countries," says the resolution. The thesis, according to which the continuation of socialist development is left more and more clearly to those movements which operate in the developed countries and "Third World" countries, seems to suggest that as far as they are concerned the leaders of the PCI have all but "written off"--as a dead end--the socialism that has been established in the socialist countries.

This view, regardless of when or by whom it may be expressed, must be rejected; but it is especially disappointing for us to have to do so when we hear it from the leaders of a communist party, and it is particularly upsetting for us in the present situation, since by advocating this view they are giving direct support to the anti-Soviet and anti-peace campaign of the most aggressive circles of imperialism. A campaign, the effects of which have justly led Brezhnev to state only recently that "the international situation has never been this serious since WW II.

Even West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt--who in the last couple of weeks has made such extremely great, at times seemingly almost unexpiable concessions under pressure put on him by the United States--has not gone this far. He has tried to keep some doors--although only narrow ones--open toward Eastern Europe. When in an interview he gave at the end of January to LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR he was asked whether he thought that the Polish developments were proof that in the countries of the Warsaw Pact (including the GDR) it was impossible to have any kind of internal development--which, of course, would have implied, in effect, that the FRG's Ostpolitik has been a deception of the masses --he answered: "Poland's case does not prove that there is no chance for any kind of development. Take a look at Hungary and all the changes that have taken place there since the suppression of the rebellion." In explaining the need for continuing the Ostpolitik he added: "We wish to have a morally clean relationship with the Polish nation, regardless of who may be in charge of running the country, whether it be Gomulka, Gierek or now another communist... Even though we are talking about a communist system, we are grateful for everything that Warsaw has done to bring about a reconciliation between Germans and Poles."

Whatever Schmidt's view may otherwise be regarding the socialist systems of Eastern Europe, it is clear that he does not judge their domestic possibilities as categorically as the Central Committee of the PCI has done.

It is clear that this is the question which needs to be cleared up first in this dispute. Not that we could not confront these unfair or prejudiced views with the already attained achievements of socialism. But even more serious than their disesteem for these achievements is the fact, that the PCI resolution questions the established socialist systems' inner potentials, i.e., their capacity to release their latent stimulating, incentive and driving forces and to further broaden their scope. It sets up an analogy between the capitalism-serving Second International and today's socialism, and goes on to condemn the former by saying thatit had also exhausted its reserves. However, even this fails to stand up to the facts; an objective observer cannot say even about the capitalist system that it is no longer able to mobilize any reserves. How can they say this about socialism then, which measured on the time scale of the development of social formations, is still young! Why, this new socioeconomic formation has had but a single generation's length of time--following the epochmaking achievements of those great pioneers, the early years during which Soviet Russia was still struggling to overcome backwardness, isolation and ruthless intervention, and later its life-and-death struggle which also helped to save humanity--to concentrate (and even then amidst constant threats) on asserting its capabilities and potentials.

The decisive criterion for this kind of a far-reaching social transformation to occur is not that there can be no mistakes, that the leading forces must be able to immediately find the optimal solution, or that there can never be--sometimes even serious--distortions in certain processes. This holds especially true, when we consider that in general it was in the under-developed countries where socialism first triumphed, and that by necessity, building a fundamentally new society elsewhere may also entail several risks, searches for solutions, failures, mistakes and down swings following great bursts of activity.

In Hungary's case, our party and people had to learn that at the expense of some especially harsh lessons. And not just in the sense that simultaneously with the crushing of the counterrevolution we also broke with the sins and mistakes of the Rakosiite leadership--without which the revival of socialism could not even have begun in our country. One of the most universal lessons we learned back then was that only by taking initiatives and by experimenting, constantly checking and double-checking our experiences to see what works and what needs to be changed, can we hope to build a new society and answer new questions as they arise; that we must advance consistently and step by step, that even the most carefully thought-out, best decisions have virtually unavoidable negative outgrowths, and that there is no such a thing as a conflict-free situation. In other words, we learned that although we can--and indeed must--define our long-term goals and tasks in the course of building our socialist society, the attainment of those goals in something which can only be realized through unceasing self-critical and critical analysis and with the addition of increasingly newer inner incentive forces.

This is teh road we have been following for the past 25 years--and with considerable success, we might add--yet today we still feel that we are only in the beginning phase of this development, and that there are still enormous resources lying underneath which have to be allowed to surface.

We cannot, and indeed we do not, claim that this is the prevailing view in every area of social activity and in all spheres of public life. There is a great disparity of views--in this respect, also--even in a relatively small country like ours. The general objective tendency and dominant pursuit of our development, however, is still toward trying to release the creative forces that are latent in our system.

It must be pointed out that it appears as if our Italian comrades' criticisms were concentrated only on the Soviet Union and on the countries that have close ties with it. It seems that what they really want to prove is not so much the "failure" of existing socialism, but their claim that the Soviet Union, as a great power, is trying to force its will on its allies at all cost.

The only thing that is wrong with this, is that one needs only to take a look at the social arrangements of the countries cooperating either in the Warsaw Pact or in the CEMA, to realize that this is not the case at all. It is true that at the time the socialist countries in question first came into being, due to a lack of other examples, they chose the Soviet experiences as their models to follow; as a result of dogmatism and the personal cult that subsequently ensued, it became a widespread practice to mechanically copy those models, and this was to become the source of many problems. Since then, however, it has become an axiom that neither the universally valid regularities, nor the experiences that have been shown to work in the socialist countries can be applied without first taking into account the individual countries' national characteristics and without upholding the principle of self-determination. In turn, this recognition has led to the development of a complex and multicolored practice which, aside from maintaining certain common characteristics, has made it very difficult even to typify these states.

Even in the West, many people have recognized the clearly pronounced characteristics of Hungary's brand of socialism. Quite a few of our observers there have been wondering how we have managed to obtain "permission" --from Moscow, of course--for implementing such "heretical" reforms. This same question may also be asked in the case of other countries, which may be "heretics" in a different sense, and which may deviate in some other way from the allegedly involuntary and mandatory doctrines. The problem is that if--as in the case of Hungary, for example--this kind of practice has been going on for nearly a quarter of a century now, and if others have been following still different roads for similarly long periods of time, would it not be about time to start thinking that perhaps this threatening rule, according to which anything that needs to be done in the socialist community requires "the Kremlin's" approval, does not even exist?

In their current polemics, the Italian communist leaders have made a special point of rebuking the CPSU, as well as some other Eastern European parties, for rejecting their criticisms "without seriously analyzing them" and for dismissing their views as slender. Well, let us examine then just how exactly the PCI has analyzed the declaration of martial law in Poland.

Let us start with the date their first and categorical position was announced, for this happens to be quite significant in this case.

It was during the night from 12 to 13 December 1981, that the extraordinary measures were first put into effect in Poland. On Sunday the 13th, even the Western statesmen were only making cautious statements; Chancellor Schmidt, who was on a visit in the GDR at the time, made it clear that the FRG would strictly adhere to the principle of noninterference, that West German economic assistance would continue regardless of who was in charge in Poland, and that he hoped that the Polish people would be able to solve their longstanding problems. French Foreign Minister Dheysson declared : "This is an internal Polish matter. We would very much like to see the Poles themselves taking care of these Polish matters. At the moment, we see no sign of outside interference." Even American Secretary of State Haig was reluctant to take a definitive stand at the time: "Naturally, we cannot tell how these events are going to unfold... Our representative was told that they wanted to continue with the reforms... Without additional information it would not be appropriate for me to comment any further at this time."

We are well aware, that this moderation did not last long. Especially not by the leaders of the United States, but the others also changed their tone within a few days. Still one has to stop and wonder about what made the PCI come out and declare as early as Sunday evening, on the very day martial law was put into effect: "We must condemn these measures...a system is needed in which the reaching of a national concensus and the guaranteeing of the human rights and national independence of the Polish people is based on open debate; which does not require the use of forcible measures, isolates all extremist and irresponsible tendencies and rejects all outside pressures and every form of external interference."

But it is not just this shocking haste that has made us wonder about the seriousness of our Italian comrades' analysis. They have indicated that they are not denying that there were some "extremist and irresponsible tendencies" that had to be isolated. However, in the same sentence they are admitting this, they also call on the Polish leaders to start building on open debate and refrain from using any forceful measures. Let us examine what is behind this line of reason ng.

By "extremist and irresponsible elements" in this context, they are obviously referring to those people who up until 13 December had held influential positions in the top leadership of Solidarity, i.e., those who had initiated and directed the subversive activities. How would it have been possible to build on these elements in the form of an open debate? How can any analysis be called "serious" which refuses to take into account the fact,

that starting from August 1980 the Polish Government and party had been devoting all their efforts to making attempt after attempt to initiate an open debate on principles and to avoid having to use forcible measures. The results of these efforts are well known: instead of creating a national consensus, the forces of counterrevolution were able to build up their positions, and the action they had announced for 17 December did not, and could not have had any other aim than to seize power.

This is not contradicted even by the fact that there were also some more moderate forces among the Solidarity leadership. The only problem was, that at no time during Solidarity's 18 months of operation were these moderates in a position where they could have played a policy-setting role; on all critical points, and with increasing clearity, it was the goals of the radical extremists which the central and some of the more powerful regional bodies of the organization chose to espouse and implement. As we learned from the Radom tapes: it was this predominant group of Solidarity itself which finally got fed up with its disguise as a constructive debating partner and chose to arm its active. How should we look upon an analysis which disregards these unmistakable facts; which demands open debate, when it was precisely the opponents' constant breach of faith that had made open debate impossible; which requests that the forces defending the people's power refrain from the use of force, while the forces bent on undermining this power were organizing to employ force in order to assume power.

Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, who cannot be considered procommunist by any standard, just recently chided those members of Solidarity--from the Social Democratic point of view, of course--who thought that "all one needed to do was to demonstrate and strike and everything would be solved, and who failed to recognize that there are certain weapons which must be handled with care if one wants to preserve the state." Elsewhere, he talks about the fact that "politically" the movement "was obviously left without a leadership"--referring to the role of the Catholic Church, which in his opinion never proved to be suitable for directing workers' movements.

Kreisky also takes note of the social and conscionsness-related components of Solidarity, especially the fact, that the organization's activists had been recruited from among new worker generatations which had just recently moved up from the villages--mostly during the accelerated industrial development period of the 1970's--and which, therefore, could not have had any experience either in the workers movement, or in recognizing the interrelationships which, in our complex, age must be properly handled to ensure an adequate level of economic productivity and an appropriate standard of living. It was primarily the naivite of these strata which the "extremist and irresponsible elements" were taking advantage of. Our Italian comrades' comments are totally lacking these kinds of considerations.

The 30 December resolution calls the Polish situation an "extremely acute political crisis" which "shook, and has continued to shake the very foundations of Polish society"; this is how it assesses the unrest and rebellion that had been brought to the surface by economic difficulties, and in addition, by a lack of democracy, by overbureaucratization,

corruption and by the existence of some intolerable privileges. Although we do not consider this characterization complete, since there were also other forces and mistakes that contributed to holding back the development of Polish society, still we must admit: the raising of the problems listed is justified.

But how could anyone consider it conceivable that the outbreak of a profound crisis of such great dimensions which had been building up for decades, would not unavoidably bring with it the serious danger of a takeover by counterrevolutionary forces? If a society is shaken "in its foundations," and if the results of its inner tensions can be called a "rebellion"—then we would like to know how one could even think that this would not increase exponentially the influence of the system's enemies, making it several times greater than it would otherwise be in calm, normal times; that spontaneous reactions and deliberately dissentient, counterrevolutionary organizing activities and manipulations do not endanger the socialist system as a whole, including all of its achievements? And that we do not need to use whatever acceptable means we have at our disposal to defend those fundamental achievements which—despite all its mistakes—make this a socialist society?

It is worth examining in detail, how this problem has been handled by the PCI's recent publications. "It does not surprise us," says UNITA in its 26 January article, "that the enemies of socialism and the provocators are also active. But why were they not isolated politically? How could they acquire such broad popular influence within the Polish working class?" With the same rationale, we might as well ask: Why did they make the mistakes they made? Obviously, it was because of these mistakes that they failed to isolate them! But could this be all there is to it, when—even according to UNITA—the forces exercising this great influence on Polish society are none other than the very "enemies of socialism and the provokers"? Is it not more important at a time like this to try to find ways of defending the system against hostile elements; a system, which at the cost of immense efforts has been able to build a country in a totally destroyed area, in one of Europe's most desolate fields of ruin, which compared to the old Poland has made gigantic steps forward in all walks of life? How would it be possible—once we have acknowledged the fact that the enemies of socialism have acquired mass influence—to abandon efforts to stop these hostile elements, when this is precisely what constitutes the basic condition for rectifying the mistakes. Or maybe our Italian comrades believe that what the opponents of the system had in mind was to correct the mistakes of socialism, or that these latter were going to use the "broad" influence they had acquired among the masses to remedy whatever the former leadership had messed up?

There are, in the above-mentioned resolution of the PCI, certain provisions which seem to support this assumption. According to the text, with the announcement of Solidarity's program, "the Polish working class made a powerful entrance onto the political scene, and began to demand an opportunity to have an actual voice in enterprise management, economic guidance and state control. How does the PCI compare these last two

categories : i.e., "the broad working masses influenced by hostile elements" as described by UNITA on the one hand, and "the working class that has made such a powerful entrance onto the political scene" and whose aim, in the words of the resolution, is to reform socialism, on the other?

Naturally, the hostile elements must also be isolated politically. However, anyone who has, at one time or another, been forced to live through a similar crisis--as we, Hungarians had to, unfortunately--knows, that the enemies of the system are at a great advantage in movements which suddenly emerge under these kinds of tense conditions. The advocates of rational reform and change, who at the same time are also trying to protect the achievements already attained, are in an incomparably less advantageous position than the demagogues who try to make irresponsible use of discontent, for whom no cost is too great. Everyone is familiar with the laws of mass psychosis. It would be self-deceiving to believe that, immediately following August 1980, these "reformers of socialism" ruled or could have ruled the scene.

The next charge is that the reason the PZPR's efforts failed was because they were constantly frustrated by dogmatists and conservatives within the party, and because incompetence and indecision became increasingly widespread. But why was the PZPR leadership hesitating for so long? Was it not because of the pressure put on it by Solidairty? Was it not because it was concerned about protecting the system's achievements from the extremists? The reason it did not isolate itself more distinctly even from the dogmatists--or more precisely, from the voluntarism of the previous leadership--was presumably because it was afraid that this would only add oil to the fire of hysteria. As soon, however, as the party and the government decided to put an end to the dominant role of the counterrevolutionary groups, there were also more definite steps taken on this front.

Those who had been following the struggle of the Polish leadership during the past year and a half in question must have sensed the internal agony it was going through; those who held offices during this tragic period sincerely regretted the mistakes (which had not even been committed by them to begin with!), and tried to do everything in their power to rectify them; this is what they were requesting time and patience for. It is true that what they believed was impossible--and for this they do deserve some criticism, but only once it is made clear that they were faced with ruthless subversives and other destructive elements, willing to risk even the fate of their nation, who cynically even took advantage of the vulnerabilities of pwople who were struggling with their conscience.

What we cannot understand at all about the emotions which keep resurfacing in our Italian comrades' resolutions and speeches, is that they are directed against those who, amidst some painful ordeals, have been finally able to pull themselves together. Characterizing them as if they were despotic careerists obsessed with power; presenting General Jaruselski, the first secretary of the Polish party as some kind of a self-appointed dictator; and calling the 13 December action a military coup d'etat--are all tragic signs of a fundamental misunderstanding of the situation.

How can they disregard the fact, that what occurred on 13 December in Poland, had been forced on the country by those who had wrecked every attempt at compromise and had blocked every way out. The PZPR had gone a long way trying to reach an agreement on the basis of some kind of minimum compromise. Only after every possibility had been exhausted, and after several warnings did it decide--virtually at the 24th hour--to resort to extraordinary measures; and even then, without any doubt, with the intent of continuing the process of reform as soon as all subversive actions threatening lawful order had been eliminated.

For us, who had already lived through a counterrevolution in October 1956, it is perfectly clear that the most important question facing Poland was the same: how to separate those embittered and disgruntled people who wanted a better, reformed socialism, from the revisionist, counterrevolutionary demagogues; how to regain the people's trust, while the enemy is trying to paralyze the followers of the system by way of incitement and through the use of force--in our case, even by using force of arms. In situations like this, the frontlines become blurred, and the chaos which is created leaves no other choice than to forcibly remove all subversive elements from the scene and to restore basic order, which at the same time is also the main condition for finding a political solution. In Poland--fortunately--there was an indigenous, well-organized force, the national army, which undertook the task of eliminating anarchy.

And another thing: those organizing to overthrow the system overestimated their own power and believed that they had once and for all smashed all resistance by the followers of socialism and that victory was theirs. But can we say that their calculations, even though they have been proven wrong--were entirely without foundation? Hardly. Even if from nothing else, from this at least the PCI could have concluded that those Polish leaders who had finally decided to act had done so not from a position of overwhelming power, but by taking much greater risks than their enemies; in other words: with heroic audacity. Perhaps nothing is more saddening in this dispute than the decision by our Italian comrades to describe this action aimed at saving Polish socialism as a "blow to socialism." One cannot help but wonder how they would have reacted if the goals put forth by the leaders of Solidarity on the evening of 12 December had become a reality.

In Poland's case, the PCI has also charged that the Soviet Union has been trying with every means at its disposal to force its own model on the Poles. But hwat does practice show? Even from the point of view of its structural makeup, Polish society has been visibly (and for a long time) different from that of the Soviet Union. The Soviet national economy is based on unified socialist bases, while in Poland even today the greatest part of agriculture is in the hands of small-scale private operators. The process of industrialization in Poland has been also significantly different from the forms this process has taken in the Soviet Union. It so happens that one of the most widely debated problems of Poland's industrial development today is that the country has used excessively large capitalist credits to build up its financial base, and that in marketing its products it has come to rely mostly on capitalist markets. For years before the

crisis, the socialist countries had been giving friendly warnings to the Polish leadership, cautioning them against excesses. (It may sound strange, but it is a fact: in this respect, if we must assign blames, the responsibility for the mistakes of Poland's economic policy should be shared more by those Western states and banks which had a thorough knowledge of the conditions existing there.)

As far as other structures of society are concerned: the Catholic Church has played, and continues to play even today, an extremely important role in Poland. (This has been so strictly respected by the PZPR that it has never considered belonging to the church and holding religious beliefs as reasons that would disqualify people even from joining the party.) In Poland, non-Marxist parties have also been, and still continue to be, allowed to operate. These two factors, even if they have not played a determinant role in developing the state's character, have had a noticable effect on society, on political life, and in general on the climate of thought, on the ideological sphere, culture and art. There have been wide opportunities for "thinking differently" and for expressing views which differ from the "official" line. (Unfortunately, the previous leadership was so confident of its presumed power and was so tolerant that it also allowed organization by definitely confrontationist, hostile forces.)

From the moment of its inception, people's Poland has been characterized by an extremely strong sense of national consciousness, and one might even say, by an intensified national sensitivity, which has been a natural consequence of the Polish people's turbulent history. During the period since the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the peculiarities of the Polish development have become even more pronounced and have evolved in an even greater variety of directions. Perhaps we could even say: as much as it can be discerned, it is Poland which--in addition to all of its similarities --has had the most divergent features among the countries of the socialist community.

This, of course, does not in the least change the fact that the above-mentioned mistakes have already been made; it merely refutes the charge that these mistakes stem from some kind of a "socialist model forced on Poland." Moreover, if they seriously tried to analyze the causes behind the crisis situation of 1980, they would clearly see: Poland's unique problems have played an enormous role in bringing things to the point they are at today, undoubtedly more than in Hungary in 1956. The fact that the country's economy rests on two fundamentally different sectors is also connected with forced industrialization, since the basic intent of this latter was to ensure supplies to the population, without protests from the peasants or conflicts with the church. Following the liberation--partly to make up for the horrible losses suffered during the war, and partly because of the goal of building a "Polish nation of 50 million"--there was a significant increase in the rate of population growth: consequently, new jobs had to be created to meet the needs of the oncoming generation. Overestimating its realistic possibilities, the leadership, newly transformed following the disturbances of 1970, also wanted instant results in creating new jobs. Disregarding

the world market changes of 1973, it continued to make gigantic investments, inspired partly by its determination to ensure full employment. Although between 1970 and 1975 there was a marked improvement in the standard of living, the economy soon had to pay for these unrealistic industrialization schemes and excessively high rates of investment; there was an insufficient amount of consumer goods and foodstuffs compared to the level of wages paid, a part of the credits was used up by consumption; consequently, serious disproportions were created in the national economy.

We cannot condemn the group of leaders responsible for the mistakes of this economic policy simply by saying that they disregarded every wish of the popular masses; at times they were very much seeking popularity, and several of their currently criticized undertakings were aimed precisely at trying to win the favor of public opinion. But their living-standard policy, unsupported by an adequate level of production and lacking proper foundations; their economic policy which had led to inflation and to constantly worsening supplies, eventually undermined the relationship between the party and the people. The masses' distrust was further increasec by attempts to introduce sudden unpopular, although otherwise necessary, price measures without warning. This is another thing which they did not learn from outside "models"...

The other root of the problem, as seen by the PCI, was that the Polish communists "refused to accept the fact, that they had to make some real changes in the social model; that they would have to introduce certain elements of political and institutional democracy into their system; that they would have to assert the principle of pluralism, and that by doing so they would have to ensure actual participation in the exercise of power." UNITA went on to blame the PZPR for: "stubbornly insisting that the bylaws (i.e., those of the Solidarity) include and recognize the leading role of the party, even though this, in addition to being a completely disputable principle, is merely a simple phrase." Today, more than a year and a half after the debate on Solidarity's bylaws, it has become perfectly clear that in reality the leaders of the union never for a moment considered adhering to this principle seriously, and were declaring it merely as an empty phrase. The reason for this was that the actual founders and organizers of Solidarity, and the people who perfected its concept, demanded that the leading role be given to their own organization; as they later made it clear: they wanted Solidarity—which they considered, as they put it, the only guarantee of renewal—to have complete monopoly.

In the 1970's, especially during the second half of the decade, the monopoly of power in the Polish party was held by a voluntaristic and over-confident group of leaders. Another indication of the inauspicious character of the situation was that those who had been emphatically warning against these mistakes and against the dangers stemming from them were subsequently removed from leading positions. We know very well from the lessons we learned at the price of great sacrifices in the course of the Hungarian Workers Party's history, how dangerous is can be when collectivity within the leadership disappears, and when a single faction or group begins to

supress all other opinions. We could understand our Italian comrades' misgivings if this were what they had in mind. The only thing we cannot understand is how they could overlook and ignore the fact that this process was even more distinctly and more unequivocally repeated in the leadership and in the entire activity of Solidarity.

It is obvious that under socialism many different interests and ideas have to be taken into account. Our own experience also sh ws that cooperation among various constructive forces can only be truly fruitful if the political and institutional democracy ensures the necessary forums and limits for differing interests and aspirations to manifest themselves, to be confronted, and for free discussions and rational compromises to evolve—in other words: if it allows actual participation in the exercise of power. But was this really what Solidarity was an example of? Why, there was never even any mention of the differing interests, positions and views of the various groups within this multimillion-member organization; there were no attempts either on the branch or any other levels to organize the representation of these interests. Clearly, only in one sense were the various committees formed according to regional and factory-level principles able to act individually and independently: namely, in that many of them even outdid the central organs in organizing strikes and demonstrations; the majority of the membership which, in view of the developments, was becoming increasingly concerned, could not even make its voice be heard. A strictly centralized organization was becoming established within Solidarity, with an increasingly large apparatus and bureaucracy, which began to rise above its own masses. Why is it that this was never recognized by those who continued to curse the party bureaucracy even after it began to take action against those functionaries who had misused their authority, irrespective of their ranks and earlier merits, and tried to establish puritan order in its on household?

The development of democracy is indeed the basic question of socialism. As our practice has proven, we are also trying to make certain that the organs, movements and forums of democracy function properly, both in content and in merit, and that our workers have a greater say in the administration of matters in all areas. And we also know that those complications which lead to disputes and confrontations are natural concomitants of development. What is crucial, however, is that this confrontation of various interests and views must promote better utilization of the socialist system's resources and serve the advancement of socialist development. In order for this to be possible, however, inevitably it is necessary to have a political force—in addition to the need to ensure the far-reaching independence or organizations representing various interests—which, as a body responsible for all the workers and aware of this responsibility, is able both organizationally and idologically to lead society along the road of building socialism.

As a result of the Eastern European countries' historical development, this task has been performed by the communist parties. Our party wishes to emphasize that the essence of its leading role is to further this cause: It is not allowed to claim any privileges for itself, and it may not rule

or form a special caste. The most important guarantee of this, again, is the effectiveness and maturity of our socialist democracy. Why would this be a "completely debatable principle" or an "empty phrase"? This assessment is just as false as it would be to say this about the devoted work which, for example, the Italian communists have been doing in their own country, serving in various party and public functions, which unfortunately they have not been able to do as part of the government as they have long deserve it, given their importance.

There is no doubt about it that it would be incomparably better both for our Italian comrades and for us, if crisis situations of the kind which currently exists in Poland never happened again; if hostile elements had no breeding ground to thrive on; and if it were impossible to stir up the class struggle in the socialist countries to the point where it begins to threaten the existence of the system and requires the use of military action. It is clear, that in a country like Italy where conspiracies such as the P-2 have been allowed to continue, where terrorism has taken frightening dimensions, where neo-fascist commandos have been rampant--there are enormous dangers threatening democracy and the working masses. It is also evident, that whenever military martial law is introduced in a socialist country, this may give reactionary forces in Italy an excuse to use coercion against the progressive forces. We would be disregarding a very important connection, if as part of our efforts aimed at strengthening socialism, at developing our democracy and our economy and at eliminating mistakes, we failed to consider it to be an extremely important international motive to feel a sense of responsibility for our comrades who are struggling under capitalist conditions.

This, however, does not change the fact, that once the crises have broken out we have to defend ourselves against our enemies who are controlled by the very same elements which are also threatening progress in Italy. It is an unacceptable logic which puts an equal sign between taking action against a counterrevolution supported by imperialists, and an imperialist counter-revolution aimed at crushing the force of progress; i.e., which talks about a "military coup d'etat" and a "military junta" in today's Poland. This is astonishing not only because the Polish Government has been operating on legal foundations and because it has been limiting its actions to enforcing only the most necessary measures striving for political normalization at the earliest possible time, while the counterrevolutionary juntas are practicing bloody terror and are massacring their populations--but also because our class goals are diametrically opposed in every respect. The Military Council of National Salvation is headed by the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, the communists have control in the military leadership, the party organs and party organizations are playing an increasingly active role in the process of normalization; and the struggle for the people, and for the trust of the people is being waged under socialism.

In their bitter struggle for their rights, the Italian workers are faced with the same people who--while repressing the unions of the Italian workers--are shedding crocodile tears for Solidarity. The Italian party

leadership would be risking its own credibility by failing to expose this hypocrisy of the class enemy, and by refusing to ask the question: how was it possible for the leaders of Solidarity to accept the financial, political and "moral" assistance they were given by the sponsors of the likes of Pinochet and Duarte with open arms? For these are the kinds of facts which can reveal the most clearly where the real frontlines are drawn.

We cannot believe, furthermore, that criticizing the socialist countries would permanently and significantly strengthen the PCI's domestic positions. Nobody really expects them to idealize our realized--more precisely, still materi lizing--socialism. But how do they expect to be able to convince the masses "to open a new phase in the struggle for socialism," as they even put it in the title of their 30 December resolution, if they consider the efforts that have already been made for socialism to be unpursuable and void? Although it does not come right out and say it, this concept also implies that they are promising people a new phase which will be free of problems and conflicts. The problem is that these are merely illusions.

It has often been said, that one of socialism's historic disadvantages is that until now it has only been able to triumph in underdeveloped countries. And this is true, indeed. But is it really conceivable that the transition from modern monopoly capitalism to socialism will be simple, a kind of conflict- and crisis-free victory march? Not at all. The fact, that this process will have to take a form that is essentially different from the form it took in the Eastern European countries, which in most cases had had started from an underdeveloped level, is something which all sensible people realize. But to say that the road could be made smoother by rejecting what has been learned under socialism until now, and to talk as if the best thing for the socialism of the future were to forget that the existing socialism ever existed--these, to say the least, we consider dangerous illusions which ignore the realities of history.

Moreover, we also doubt that this could win new followers and voters for them in their country. We assume that those Italian workers who are searching for other alternatives to present-day capitalism also expect to use whatever they can of capitalism; it goes without saying then, that they would also want to analyze the already realized socialism, making use of everything in it which is applicable and which can be further developed.

The PCI resoluton's assessment of the present situation creates the impression that in the West the cause of socialism has arrived at a historic turning point, and it promises the coming of a new upward trend. World public opinion, however, is permiated by different moods: The feelings which dominate the emotional atmosphere of various peoples are the fear of war and the unrestrained arms buildup by the aggressive imperialist forces. There has been a rapid strengthening of efforts to mobilize and gather all forces--including, naturally, the socialist community--to help humanity avert the irremediable catastrophe. We

wholeheartedly hope that the Italian communists will succeed in opening a "new phase" in their struggle for socialism. There is no doubt, however, that this will also largely depend on our ability to avert wars. The consequences could be most tragic if the communist parties, the international workers movement and the various peace-loving forces failed to join forces against the danger of war.

We have been calling for mutual understanding, for trying to sympathize with each other's situations and problems; but first and foremost, we must try to put ourselves into the situation of our endangered human race. After all, what is at greatest stake today is the very survival of peace and of the peoples of the world.

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PROBLEM OF INTERPRETING SOCIALISM IN LIGHT OF REALITY DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 11 Apr 82 p 7

[Article by Ivan T. Berand, rector of Karl Marx University of Economics: "Our Image of Socialism Yesterday and Today"]

[Text] The history of the past quarter of a century has been accompanied by debates. This is understandable for many earlier values have become questionable, even suspect, and we have had to find new paths where solutions already tested could hardly be of help. Debates were conducted about the price system and its possible principles, but we also had to revise our relationship with our own past and in this framework the peasant writers were reevaluated as well as agrarian policy, debates were conducted on the education system, the methods of planning, the demographic situation, the course to be followed by socio-policy, tipping, and the housing problem. We could, as a matter of fact, work out the course of the past 25 years through a history of the debates.

The recurrent dominant motif, more accurately described as the motif accompanying the quarter-century old debates, may be defined as the conflict between economic-social reality and the image of socialism that lives in society and politics. To put it another way: a considerable part of the debate derives from the fact that the action that desires to take into account the actual or presumed requirements of social demands and attitudinal forms came into conflict from time to time with the concept of socialism which has been regarded as valid, and in terms of the latter the requirements of socialism have been called to account in social or political practice, or in proposals for transforming them.

At first glance it may appear that a summary of the concept of socialism is a simple task. The natural constituent elements of socialism are state-ownership of this means of production; collectivized, cooperative agriculture; and central social planning based on social property. The working class as organized into the ruling class, the principle of distribution according to work, and state constraint linked to everything, but which assures democracy for the majority and helps put into actual public ownership the interests and cultural values of the public, is fixed with sloganlike simplicity in everyone.

But still the task is surprisingly difficult. The present image of socialism is the product of a historical process that is at least 100 to 150 years old.

Thus among the difficult to define elements of our concept of socialism we can find living motifs from the independent life of utopian socialism, which became one of the constituent elements of Marxism; deductions about the future society drawn from the analysis of capitalism by Marx and Engels in their time; the theoretical and practical works of Lenin, not least of all the determining theorems deriving from the relationship with the development problems of the underdeveloped countries; but the most important, although drawing sustenance from the above sources, the practical model of socialism realized amid concrete historical relations by the Soviet Union; but this model, too, includes the direct system of war communism and the commodity market distribution system of NEP, or the theoretical-ideological generalizations born of these.

It is an obvious trend, at the same time, that the earlier theoretical constructs of Marxism on the image of socialism which developed by the middle of the 20th century survive largely in the partly reshaped forms of later analyses and of continuing developments; and that every theoretical concept was built into the image of socialism in recent decades to the extent and in the form that it was built into Soviet practice, and what was sifted from the image of socialism is also what fell through the sieve of Soviet experience.

In order to illustrate the characteristic commingling of older and more recent elements, the advance of newer motifs, and the repeated resurrection of older elements, let me quote from the famous work which Engles wrote in 1894 under the title "The Peasant Question in France and Germany" the often-cited lines in which he conceived the basic doctrines of the collectivization of agriculture and established the still valid basic principle of socialist agriculture. "What then is our position in respect to the small peasantry? And how must we behave toward them when state power passes into our hands?...we cannot think (he put the answer to these questions himself) of expropriation of the small peasants by force (with or without compensation)...Our task, first of all, is that we should lead them with their private farms and property into cooperatives, not with force but by example and by extending social assistance for this goal...And we stand firmly on the side of the small peasants; we can do everything possible to make their lot more bearable, to make their transition to cooperatives easier, if this is what they decide, and if they cannot, let us assure them a longer time for thinking it over on their own parcels."

We well know that although the practice of collectivization deviated very often from this concept of Engels and the assurance of "a longer time for thinking it over on their own parcels" was formulated in our domestic agrarian history only in 1957, the above quoted cooperative principle still was an inalienable part of our socialism image in the middle of the 20th century.

The other half of Engels' thesis regarding the path of the peasantry to socialism was lost without a trace, however, for a long time from the concept of socialism. Two pages after the above quoted passage, Engels continued: "Let us turn now to the peasants with larger holdings...If these peasants want assurance for the survival of their farms, we cannot at all help them...we can do nothing else here either than offer them association of their holdings with cooperative farms...When these peasants see the inevitable dissolution of their mode of production...they will come to us, and it will be our obligation to do everything we can to make their transition easier. Otherwise, we must leave them to their fate and turn toward their hired labor."

The concept for fitting the kulak problem into the image of socialism in the middle of the 20th century, however, did not develop according to the theoretical foundation laid down in "The Peasant Question in France and Germany."

Since the path to collectivization in the Soviet Union was joined in a well-known way and for well-known reasons with the final fight against the rich peasants, "kulak riddance" was for long regarded as an important part of the image of socialism and an accompaniment of collectivization which condemned these once-rich peasants to annihiliation not only as a class but as individuals.

We well know that our domestic concept of socialism was also made in this mould at the beginning of the 1950's. In the wake of tragic lessons, the MSZMP changed its rural policy and reevaluated its kulak policy as was rooted in the earlier concept of socialism. This was a new solution which was suffered in history, which not only rejected the fight against the kulak at any cost and not only made simple work and livelihood available, but--depending on local decisions--also made it possible for kulaks to join cooperatives and even become leading officials. And with this, the MSZMP's new concept of socialism suddenly restored into the socialist image the classical position of Marxism formulated by Friedrich Engels.

The characteristic blurring and reshaping of the concepts in the image of socialism formed over a century of time is worth particular attention. Let me illustrate this with further examples, including an element of our image of socialism which had been regarded as valid, so to speak, until yesterday: with the doctrine of particularly rapid growth, which appeared as an inalienable characteristic of socialism. Through careful theoretical-historical tracing we can find the start of this doctrine in the Communist Manifesto: "The proletariat will use its political sovereignty...(we may read) to multiply as rapidly as possible the mass of producer forces."

On the one hand, they regarded this as necessary in order that the new society being born of capitalism might wade as quickly as possible through the temporary relations which follow of necessity a proletarian revolution. On the other hand, they regarded it as possible because they believed--it was Engels who formulated it in his work "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science"--that the development possibilities of the producer forces freed from the ties of the capitalist mode of production would increase to an incredible degree. "Their release from these ties (we can read) is the single precondition for an increasingly more rapid rate of development and at the same time for a practically unlimited increase in production."

Lenin saw the requirement for rapid economic growth differently: at the time of the revolution that was at hand in backward Russia, it became obvious to him that "either we die, or we overtake and surpass the most advanced capitalist countries." It was under the sign of this thought that rapid growth became the leading motif in the socialist transformation that was taking place in the more backward Central and East European countries, and a value priority was linked to its essence. In an article written for PRAVDA in February 1931 and entitled "On the Tasks of the Economic Leaders," Stalin

wrote his famous lines; "For 50 to 100 years we have lagged behind the advanced countries. We must make this distance up in 10 years. Either we make it up or they will trample us." Also in the same place: "To brake the rate of speed is the same as to lag behind. They beat whoever lags behind." But this recognition born in a specific historical threat and marking with prophetic accuracy, so to speak, the 10-year gap 10 years before the attack by Hitler, grew for Stalin into a general theory. From here it is only a fast, single step to raising to preminence the concept of rapid growth as an expression of the superiority belonging to the essence of socialism.

A similar situation exists with the other essential constituent element of the image of socialism. The study of capitalist relations made it clear to Marx and Engels that the socialization of production, the great expansion of its dimensions and organization, not only contradicts the private character of property and acquisition, but also makes planning on a social scale indispensable. "With handling like this according to the finally recognized producer forces of today," writes Engels in his work entitled "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," "planned social regulation will step in the place of social production anarchy in accordance with the needs of every man. After the proletarian revolution and by virtue of the producer means freed from their capitalist character, social production according to a prior established plan will become possible."

Thus if the requirement for planning is characteristic of the image of socialism from the beginning, a concrete form of plan economy was not only undeveloped for a long time, but in the first period of Soviet power, linked with Lenin's practical economic political activity, it appeared in a number of variants, most convincingly in the well-known, long term electrification plan (GOELRO). With industrialization strained to the maximum in a war economy medium, in the turn between the 1920's and 1930's, planning developed into a characteristic, strongly centralized system controlled by direct instructions.

It was in this environment and interrelationship that a concrete system of planning evolved in which the central plan instructions are broken down by sub-branches, enterprises, workshops and work benches, the five-year targets by the year, quarter of a year, months and 10 days, and in which by striving to eliminate the "accidental" they exclude the market and market prices to the maximum degree, and in which the plan--to use Stalin's words--is "not a plan prophecy, not plan guessing but plan direction." A plan economy philosophy conceived in concrete historical circumstances but formed at last as the one possible theoretical model of socialist planning lived for a long time with extraordinary strength in the image of socialism for the past quarter of a century.

I believe the above examples carry a truth of general validity. Many elements were mingled into the image of socialism in the mid-20th century. We may regard as determining the inventory of our deductions as conceived from the "Communist Manigesto," but still this had its effect rather with the mediation of generalized doctrines from the experience of the socialist transformation. In the Soviet experience, however, an immediate answer had to be given to every social, economic and cultural question that appeared. These answers,

these practical solutions had to be born, of course, only in the medium of characteristic and concrete historical relations, and these solutions carried their sign. The continuous processes of Russian history determined these signs with class struggles intensifying to particular keenness after the victorious revolution in a single isolated country, truths that were reduced to black and white, and the process of transformation begun in the medium of an illiterate, backward peasant country.

But it also indispensably belongs to the characterization of the image of socialism that in addition to the theoretical deductions drawn from the capitalist development processes and doctrines deriving from the historical experience of socialist transformation, the utopian elements relevant to later communism are characteristically turned back in.

The characteristic blurring of the socialism-communism image also has a number of sources and causes. One of the most natural causes is the desire of the masses for social justice and morality which comes into natural conflict with the historically possible justice and morality of socialism. This is exactly what gives the utopians their stubborn strength of life. In 1877, Engels stated, "The outlook of the utopians prevailed for long in the views of 19th century socialism, and in part still prevails today." We can add without exaggeration that after more than a century we can at present quote this statement without change. Under this guise there may crop up from time to time the views which proclaim "the general asceticism and harsh equality," as the Communist Manifesto put it, of the primitive revolutionary literature accompanying the first movements of the proletariat. But in this way, again to quote Marx and Engels--"their positive doctrines regarding the future society, which, for example, call for the elimination of the contradictions between the city and the village, the family, private earnings and proclaim the harmony of society," have vigorously survived.

The realistic concept of socialism which profoundly influenced Leninist thinking also in the 1920's and led to taking into account market relations became after a decade essentially transformed with the policy of accelerated growth. The two periods of socialism which in the concept of Marx or Lenin were separated by an entire historical era came closer and closer to each other so that finally the realization of communism was shortened by arm's breadth, so to speak. This concept was fixed for a relatively long time as is indicated by such theoretical and practical initiatives in the turn from the 1950's to the 1960's which not only called for overtaking and leaving behind the most developed capitalist countries in production, productivity and living standards with the closing of the gap among the East European countries themselves, but between 1960 and 1980 they also treated the realization of communism as a concrete practical goal.

The image of socialism became saturated with unrealistic elements, with ideal images of justice and full well-being, the individual released in the collective. "Mobile goals" someone may maintain. "Harmless fantasizing"--another may say. But neither is right. The fantasies conflicted of necessity with a reality which in a more severe medium became demagoguery giving birth to vexing cynicism as they were stubbornly spread with their empty slogans. With these

fantasies there were at the same time always some who from time to time desire to use force in practice, who in opposition to their own efforts desire with their own doctrinaire thinking to "make the masses happy" and make the economy function, and so forth.

It was precisely in substance that theory, which had turned into dogma, came into conflict with the original concept, the deep historicity of Marxism. On this latter observation, let me quote the following lines from a letter written by Friedrich Engels in a letter of 1890: "There has been a debate in the VOLKSTRIBUNE over how distribution will take place in the future society, according to the amount of work done, or by some other means (wrote Engels). As a matter of fact, neither side recalled that the mode of distribution still depends essentially on how much must be distributed, and this is something that changes with the development of social organization, that is, mode of distribution must also change. But the participants in the debate do not perceive a 'socialist society' as something which is in constant change and has a mode of distribution that is forever fixed."

It assumed it form in the wake of a long historical process, and it is an image of socialism which is by no means unified and which since the middle of the 20th century has become fixed in a concept that is rather stable. It was, therefore, at one and the same time the guideline for social transformation, the guide for action on the historical experience that was formed into a theory, and an attitudinal system raised to general validity of action stemming from characteristic historical conditions. It included at one and the same time the recognition of real historical necessity as well as the elements of distant ideas and utopian fantasies.

The norm system of the image of socialism which cannot be defined exactly, contains a considerable number of changing elements but is still stabilized came into confrontation in domestic reality, with that social action which in itself proceeded from the principles of socialism and sought for solutions that are adjusting to reality, and in doing this it went back to earlier, forgotten principles of socialism, or with the analysis of new conditions it strove to develop new elements. The debates arose from this basic situation, more exactly this is what gave an ideological base to the debates that were interwoven with the interest system, which developing around the concept of socialism accompanied the decades of the recent past.

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SOCIETY DEBATES THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 1 Apr 82 p 9

[Article by Katalin Vikol: "The Sociology of Knowledge: Debate of the Hungarian Sociological Society"]

[Text] Hungarian sociology has achieved in the past 15 years important successes in structural descriptions of our society, in familiarizing us with class and sub-class relations, surveying the operations of various social organizations (school, health and economy). Publishing houses have put out one sociological classic after another, and the ELTE [Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences] Sociological Faculty and the Marxist-Leninist Night University have started professionally trained sociologists on their careers. And still, there are blank areas: descriptive works which strive for objectivity have become impersonal, they have failed to include the description of actual human activity, the everyday world, the medium where interest becomes value, information becomes knowledge and social resolution becomes the conditions for action.

The Hungarian Sociological Society sought to absolve one of the debts of Hungarian sociological research when it devoted on 24 March an entire day's session to the sociology of knowledge. Interest in the subject is shown by the fact that about 100 persons appeared in the auditorium of the Social Science Institute. Tibor Huszar, faculty chairman and university professor, judged research in the social life of values, knowledge, beliefs and convictions one of the most important tasks of our scientific life, pointing out that amid more difficult economic circumstances and politically consolidated relations a sociological attitude is inadequate which is bent on studying society with the objectivity of the natural scientists. Therefore, in the coming years it will be necessary to research more intensely the active resultant forces of society, that consciousness which not only reflects social reality but in a certain sense also creates it, namely, in the many-colored refracted light of classes, sub-classes, groups, traditions and values. Without studying the phenomena of consciousness from the sociological point of view we cannot develop conditions of confidence to the desired degree, and our survey of the faith placed in institutions and the prospects of action guided by values will suffer damage.

In his lecture, Zsolt Papp discussed the circumstances of the birth of the sociology of knowledge. Karl Mannheim (who started out together with Gyorgy Lukacs, Arnold Hauser and Karoly Tolnay in the Sunday Circle) published in Germany in 1928 his lecture "The Importance of Competition in the Field of Intellectual Life," which was followed by a great debate. The debate concentrated on the question of the relationship of Mannheim and Marxism, but the raising of the question itself, that is, what kind of relationship exists between the phenomena of consciousness and the social interests that form their base is still a key motif of the sociology of knowledge. The value crisis of German society following the war formed the social soil which was the basis for raising the question of the sociology of knowledge.

In the 1930's, Alfred Schutz published his work "The Phenomenological Structure of Society" (Der sinnhafte Aufbau der sozialen Welt), which evoked no reaction in its time, and only in the 1950's did it become the starting point for that trend of the sociology of knowledge which made everyday life the basis of studies on society. In the 1960's, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann published their book "The Social Formation of Reality," which at the cost of some eclecticism summarized the trends in the sociology of knowledge from Mannheim to the trends that undertook a sociological-psychological study of everyday life.

Robert Angelusz emphasized on the basis of the question raised by the sociology of knowledge the fact that studies increasingly show there is no exact correspondence between class, sub-class and group conformations and consciousness formations. The sociology of knowledge does not deal with the problem of what is true and what is false in the various beliefs, opinions, and attitudes but rather it seeks to know what people do or do not recognize as their interests, why they believe in false maxims of consciousness, why they follow ideological teachings with false substance of reality. According to Angelusz, social stratification is as inseparable from the processes of currents between sub-classes, and from the movements within and among the generations as from the consciousness of people who change sub-classes. But being embedded in the facts of social stratification is not the only characteristic of the social phenomena of consciousness; they also show active movement "from soul to soul" with which research deals in social communication, mass orientation, public opinion and publicity. As the lecturer affirmed: the meaning of the reference group is that where the three factors--social stratification, social change of place, and social communication--appear together, they represent the basic factors for raising questions on the sociology of knowledge. Namely, reference group is that group to which people, not unconditionally, belong on the basis of objective criteria; but it is these groups that count as the standard of their deeds, thoughts, values and norms. Thus we need social research which, besides taking into account objective specifics, extend to subjective ideas, self-classification, the desired place of belonging; and thus in this way facts which are traditionally regarded as "subjective" can have an "objective" standing.

In his lecture Gyorgy Scepeli dealt with the problem area of everyday life or with the second range of the knowledge of sociology emphasized by Zsolt Papp. Essentially he stated that everyday life can serve as one kind of medium between

the objective movements of society described by sociology and history and the psychological plane dealing with a world not even conscious for the individual himself. Everyday life is the active terrain of the individual where with the means made available to him by society--language, values, models for information acquisition--man can make at once an individual and at the same time a social world, which is called "life-world" after the German philosopher Husserl. The mass of restless, avid individuals created by modern social development finds itself in the uniform of everyday life. This approach puts into parenthesis, therefore, the "hard" social factors which form and define man, but the placement within parentheses is temporary, and serves altogether only to reveal the secrets of man's active, conscientious and intended tempo of leading his life, in order that after the conclusion of the study he is placed back in his historical and social specifics, and it is possible to have a more exact picture of him. According to Csepel, everyday life stands under the power of symbols which on one hand are circumscribed by the unconscious deep world--covered by false significations and fog--and on the other hand by the forces of the social-economic-historical area of mobility which are unapproachable to the individual's insight.

Two speakers also affirmed very convincingly the productive relationship between sociology-social psychology, which researches the phenomena of everyday life, and ethnograpy-folklore. Mihaly Sarkany reviewed the question of the sociology of knowledge by discussing a single striking problem. He dealt with a socially formed, characteristic reality. Peter Niedermuller, on the other hand, said that although it has for long been doubtful that under folklore we must understand exclusively the cultural products of peasantry with an aesthetic value, it has been exactly the theoretical and methodological research of everyday life of the sociology of knowledge that has served the main proof for the untenableness of this view. With knowledge of these things--according to the speaker--we must today interpret folklore as belonging to a much wider area of phenomena: we must regard as properly belonging here the culture of all classes, groups, and sub-classes kept out of political, ideological economic, and cultural power. In the final lecture, Agnes Kapitany and Gabor Kapitany reported on an interesting experiment. For 2 years they occupied themselves with the workers of a large factory with the goal of teaching them to understand their world better by acquiring certain aesthetic knowledge and by living the conflicts of their life circumstances with greater consciousness.

In the discussion which followed the lectures, Tibor Huszar emphasized the idea of Zsolt Papp, the opening speaker, that the sociology of knowledge must also be explained frm a social basis: knowledge, the relativity of values, and ideology always become doubtful when an earlier rapid development slows down, consolidated relations follow, and quantitative development is forced to yield its place to qualitative development. The discussion leader, in reacting to Rober Angelusz, expressed the view that in the present situation we cannot leave the nation out of consideration as a reference grou, because it can be at one and the same time that which increases social confidence and understanding, but if the national consciousness turns to the past, if it is the consciousness of nostalgias and painful memories that cannot soar above historical wrongs then it becomes retrograde as it withdraws from constructive factors. In the study of everyday life, he emphasized the importance of historical and social concreteness, otherwise the everyday life becomes an

unhistorical, empty construct of the "general man" which dims the vision of social science.

Aliz Matyas spoke out against relating folklore with subcultures; he took exception to the discounting by Peter Niedermuller of the autonomy of peasant culture and its creative artistic power. Balint Suranyi said in the debate that the problems of the sociology of knowledge are "eternal problems," and when they become matters of consciousness and scientific discussions it can be linked to eras when belief in rapid progress and quantitative development is weakened. Tibor Huszar agreed in this with Suranyi, but emphasized that scientific ideas have their own internal development logic and undoubtedly Hungarian sociology owes a debt with the introduction of the sociology of knowledge and its constructive application.

In his concluding remarks, Tibor Huszar indicated that hopefully the exchange of ideas on this subject would continue, and on the following occasion with the participation of historians, science historians, economists or art philosophers we will learn even more about certain phenomena of knowledge and consciousness, the system of norms regulating weekday and holiday behavior, style, legislation, taste, or scientific thinking.

6691
CSO: 2500/208

SZSP PRESS SPOKESMAN INTERVIEWED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Apr 82 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Jan Garlicki, press spokesman of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] by Ewa Wilk: "We Do Not Want To Be Monopolists"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The SZSP's start in a new stage of activity is surely not easy. Throughout all of last year there was a shower of complaints that the organization was window-dressing, that instead of looking after the students' interests, it served only careerists as a rung in their climb on the ladder of positions. Let us not conceal also that even after 13 December voices could be heard questioning the sense of resuming the activities of the union in their previous form...

[Answer] Indeed, the opinion that the SZSP is a compromised organization was, and still is, being heard in the academic milieu. We have been reproached with being too strongly connected with the authorities in the 1970s. It has been suspected that the fundamental goal of the organization was to channel the students' moods and consequently to preserve the existing status quo in the schools and in the nation. We were the only youth organization active in schools of higher education, and that led to monopolization of all spheres of student activity. We do not propose to justify or to explain the mistakes of the SZSP. It is true that we could be reproached with not being very effective in defending the students' interests. However, it is also true that we did a great deal, at least in the sphere of social life. The SZSP changed very much in the past academic year. We introduced many changes in the working of the union; among such changes we achnowledged an openness in outlook on life that went beyond the statutory principle of the union. I think that we became an independent and inquiring organization.

It should also be admitted that careerists clustered in the organization before September 1980 and treated it as a sort of "trampoline" in their own life's journey. When I look at the students with whom I have worked lately, however, I find it difficult to point to one who might be furthering a career. Rather, performing duties in the SZSP has brought them problems, sometimes the antipathy of part of the scientific milieu or personnel.

[Question] You were also reproached with wasting money. Various camps or groupings which were for the so-called active members and about which stories circulated were especially poorly received in the studen milieu...

[Answer] The majority of the undertakings we organized are information camps for "zero" year, tourist, scientific, and sports camps. Throughout all the years of our activity they have been undertakings accessible to everyone. Last year we did not even initiate a priority for SZSP members in recruiting for these camps. Meanwhile we are indeed organizing a sort of "higher school of driving" for our cadre. But conditions at the camps for the cadre have not been at all better than conditions at other camps. The quantitative ratio between the tourist, scientific and information camps and the instruction camps for the cadre is 20 to 1.

[Question] Your cadre enjoys considerable privileges, however. At least the number of full-time jobs testifies to that.

[Answer] It is a misunderstanding to speak today of the privileges of the SZSP cadre. Rather, one can speak of responsibilities and burdens. Among the privileges exactly one has remained--that of satisfaction, which is, moreover, difficult to attain. At present we administer 553 full-time jobs for all of Poland, of that over half are full-time jobs for workers of the finance section and administration (for example, drivers and maids). And the finance cadre of SZSP serves the majority of the undertakings in the nation organized by the student milieu. On the whole, we have few full-time jobs for so-called essential workers, or those occupied with organizing programmatic activity, or performing duties from choice.

[Question] The organization administers fairly large funds. Aside from the subsidies from the state, you make a profit in the student clubs, the activity of which has for some years been limited almost exclusively to discotheques with unbelievably expensive tickets and prices in small cafes which match the prices in night clubs.

[Answer] It is difficult for me to speak about the budget for this year, since I still do not know how much money we are receiving. The activity of the SZSP, however, is two-thirds supported on funds generated by the organization itself. The clubs operate on a self-financing principles; that means that the money coming from the profitable discotheques is designated for less profitable undertakings, for example, record exchanges, writers' evenings and also poetry evenings, and especially the activity of creative groups. On the other hand, the buffets in the larger clubs have in considerable part been turned over to agencies--thus the clubs' high prices. In order to restore our funds, we came out even before 13 December with an initiative to begin economic activity. We undertook attempts to obtain an agreement for opening secondhand bookshops and for conducting exchanges, publishing activities, a legal advisory office, and so forth.

[Question] Let us turn then to the plans for your activity. You are once more the only student organization. I would guess that that makes your work considerably easier.

[Answer] We do not want to be monopolists, we do not aspire to be the students' only representative. We realize, however, that for some time we will be the only organization capable to some kind of broader activity. The launching of the SZSP cannot mean that the shape of the student movement has been set once and for all. The decision about the SZSP's resumption of activity does not mean the end of discussion about the model for that movement. On the other hand, until that model has been worked out, the SZSP has the responsibility to preserve the whole achievement of the cultural, intellectual, and also material movement of the students, and that means even from the time of the Association of Polish Students.

In addition to us the Rural Youth Union is also active in the student milieu, and the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] intends to undertake activity. There exists the traditional strong, self-governed movement of student houses. As like as not, the activity of the ZMD [Union of Democratic Youth] will resume. Thus in time the number of partners in the schools will grow.

[Question] How do you intend to attract people?

[Answer] We have an obligation to implement further the resolutions of the Third SZSP Congress. We do not intend to resign from political activity, understood as discussion on the present situation and the future of the nation. We will resume the activity of the centers of political work, and we would like also to stimulate the movement of the social sciences and encourage scientific circles to take up themes essential for Poland at present. The most important matter for us is forming the outward appearance of the higher school and working on the statute on higher education. We will continue to participate in the sessions of the Sejm's Commission of Science and Technical Progress. We want to present student opinions and the organization's earlier elaborated position on its forum. We also want the organization to become a place of intellectual development. We want to support a cultural, scientific, journalistic movement. We are trying to give assistance to young people's creative and artistic groups. In addition to that, we will organize student free time in a traditional way, especially in such areas as tourism and sports.

[Question] Those are just slogans. What do you have "in the works" that is definite? What do you want to do for people?

[Answer] I believe that the most important task for us today is involvement with student social affairs. Along with the increase in prices, the material conditions of our fellow students have worsened. Thus on the strength of our own project, we intend to become involved with the formation of a new student stipend system and with questions of graduates' employment. We will endeavor to have the new stipend system be socially fair and at the same time beneficial to the students. We have worked out our own project for the system of graduates' employment. We are of the opinion that good training during one's studies should be rewarded with a good job and good pay.

We want to open an information bank on the possibilities of finding employment consistent with education, to organize an employment exchange, to make an analysis of comparative conditions in the life start of graduates of higher schools in various regions of the nation, and to cooperate in creating possibilities for qualifying for a new job. We have formed "Absolwent," a National Council of Work Cooperatives. These cooperatives are to enable unemployed graduates of higher schools to find a paying job consistent with their education. The Student Association of Housing Construction, which will assume patronage of the small housing cooperatives, acts under our sponsorship. It will be something like their assistant and advisor (it will maintain contacts with building firms, give legal advice, and so forth). But above all we will endeavor to attend to the students' everyday problems. Discipline in studying has been intensified. This has led to the elimination of traditional freedom, a fact which in turn creates a problem for us—assisting students to surmount the obstacle thereby raised. These are important problems, and they are difficult to resolve.

9451
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REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF VOIVODSHIP AUDIT COMMISSIONS' AKTIV HELD

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 26-27-28 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by krc]

[Text] Yesterday at the PZPR/KK [Central Committee] the regional conference of the PZPR Audit Commission's aktiv from the following six viovodships was held: Bielsko, Katowice, Kielce, Krakow, Tarnow and Nowy Sacz. The goal of this conference was that the rebirth of the party be accompanied by control over and consistency in the implementation of resolutions, as well as by reckoning with duties at every level.

The conference, which was conducted by Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Central Audit Commission [CRK], included participation by members of the CKR Presidium--Stanislaw Blezien, Leonard Grymel and Marian Stoklosa--and members of the CKR Plenum, the chairman, deputy chairman, bureau heads and aktiv of the Voivodship Audit Commissions [WKR] of the six voivodships. The secretary of the KK [Krakow Committee] Jan Bronied, greeted participants in the name of the Krakow echelon and related the goals and activity of this echelon. Openging the meeting, Morawski stated, "It would be good if, as a result of today's discussion, we could develop a system to increase the efficiency of control activities." Jozef Oleksy, director of the CKR Bureau, presented problems of the audit commissions, concentrating on the following: the need to struggle toward a real understanding of the party line after the Seventh Plenum, especially tasks emanating from its resolution; the restoration among members of a sense of responsibility for the party; the revitalization of authentic, nonroutine political work; the restoration of the subjective role to Basic Party Organizations [POP]; the struggle over a new operational style for the party, echelon and POP; the search for ways to renew contact with working masses; the role of the party with regard to the state and society; and the need to bring the party cause to society. He also discussed problems and intraorganizational issues concerning the work of revision commissions at all levels.

The discussion treated many subjects and a wealth of problems and questions. Speakers included Antoni Hajdecki, chairman of the Krakow Audit Commission. He stated "We must be extremely conscientious in listening to the voices of party members; we must attach real importance to implementing the recommendations and demands made at meetings. The implementation of these recommendations

and demands guarantees that party organizations regain authority and trust" Henryk Krzyzak, chairman of the Tarnow WKR, said, "The input of every member into the party program and activity is the implementation of the recommendations and demands he made at the meeting of his own organization. If they are not implemented, many members lose faith in the idea of voicing them--and then how can we speak of activism?" Wladyslaw Bulka, chairman of the Bielsko-Biala WRK, said, "Much depends on the work of POP's and plant audit commissions, for it is among the workers that the wisdom of the party lies. It is there that opinions are formed and it is there that one may learn what is being thought and said about the party"

Summarizing the deliberations, CKR Chairman Kazimierz Morawski, addressing the variety of problems discussed, emphasized the need to create the habit of control and self-control throughout the entire party. Approximately 25,000 activists work in society at all levels of party control. We must help party echelons and organizations to fulfill the duties to which they have been appointed. Control and suggestions relevant to such control offer concrete assistance. Thus, let us execute our statutory tasks systematically and openly. We must make party members and the POP aware of their supervisory rights; i.e., how they are to act so that their recommendations are not ignored. Not every recommendation must be right, but every recommendation must evoke a response. Our role in the PZPR is to create a party for those who are reasonably dissatisfied.

8536
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SOCIOPOLITICAL SUBJECTS TEACHING FORMULA DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Waldemar J. Szczepanski: "On a New Higher School Model--Good Citizenship Education of Students"]

[Text] In the continuing discussion of a higher school model, the dispute over the system of training the future Polish intelligentsia in good citizenship, particularly the new formula for teaching sociopolitical subjects, is essential.

The model inherited from the 1970's had its good points. During 4 years of studies, the time spent on these subjects amounted to 270 to 360 hours. That constituted 10 to 12 percent of all studies, about as much as in higher schools of other socialist countries and schools in many West European countries.

System Weaknesses

The weakness of this system was the lack of differentiating programs by the types of schools and fields of study. Only toward the end of the 1970's were such efforts made, particularly with social sciences (e.g., agricultural policy problems were developed in agricultural schools, and learning relative to the ideological premises of technocracy, and managerial and convergence doctrines in engineering colleges). However, the principal deficiencies resulted from an "instrumental" treatment of these subjects and their instructors by the authorities.

Efforts were made to subordinate teaching methods, particularly of social sciences, to immediate propaganda tasks and to the justification of sometimes conflicting political decisions. Following unification of the student movement, an effort was made to compensate for the Socialist Union of Polish Students lack of political activity through the propagandistic nature of teaching sociopolitical subjects. This placed the staff in the position of a "fire-brigade," opposed to the students, and lowered its prestige. Conflict grew between the staff and students on the acceptance of Marxism and its identification with the bureaucratic-technocratic practices of political life.

The best defense against these practices was honest Marxist academic reflection on sociopolitical and economic phenomena. Marxist methodology and the Marxist theory of social development at that time appeared--in contrast to

"Marxism from the front pages of newspapers"--as a useful tool for the recognition and interpretation of reality. In defending the academic nature of these subjects, most of the staff were introducing theoretical fragments and disseminating the latest studies from the realm of Marxist political theory. This did not take place without dropping into learnedness, which was to have constituted a natural--though, of course, not the best--defense against the "propaganda of success" being imposed.

After September 1980, all these weaknesses were disputed among students. "Reformers" were immediately found, who began to tell students about the new model of social political sciences "freed of ideology," which had shaken off Marxism in favor of other methodological and ideological orientations.

During the strike of Lodz students, these advisors worked for the practical elimination of teaching those subjects. They were successful only in having some demands included in the so-called Lodz agreements. Solutions that, with the good will of both parties, actually could promote good citizenship training, were also found. On the other hand, with time, other solutions proved dysfunctional for the upbringing process, particularly because of the broadened interpretation advanced by political opponents whose goals were to drive Marxism from school.

Thus, the system for teaching about the mechanisms of social life, which can be acquired honestly only within the framework of a certain cohesive block of economic, philosophic and political science subjects, was destroyed.

In its place appeared dozens of detailed subjects that frequently lacked adequate educational values or academic traditions. The number of hours for these subjects was reduced substantially. So-called humanizing subjects that frequently could only indirectly shape student knowledge of the complex mechanisms of political life, were introduced. Faculty councils began to decide the dimensions and nature of these subjects. Paradoxes appeared. For example, in one university the faculty council of the mathematics department decided that political economy was superfluous to the education of a mathematician. In resonse to this affront, the faculty council of the economics department determined that mathematical subjects were no longer necessary for training an economist. Elsewhere, the law department decided to eliminate political economy from its program of studies.

Under the slogan of "freedom from ideology," efforts were made last spring to hire as instructors for teaching sociopolitical subjects those who were academic teachers or had no teaching qualifications. Most often they were Committee for the Defense of the Workers, and Confederation for an Independent Poland activists, who were advisors of central or local elements of Solidarity. Academic splendor increased their dignity as political advisors, while the schools were to become a testing ground for trying out the capacity of anti-state slogans.

State Awareness

The decisions of 13 December 1981 created conditions for a peaceful resolution of a system of good citizenship education for students and a compact model of

sociopolitical subjects based on Marxist principles. This cannot be a "before-August" model or the one pressed between August and December.

Good citizenship education should above all be state education. The level of the future Polish intelligentsia's awareness of the state is far removed from that of such groups in other European countries. This weakens the natural, ancillary role that the intelligentsia ought to fill in relation to the people, the state and the working class. This results from a historical, not infrequently contrary, treatment of the state and nation category in our country. This phenomenon deepened as a result of the post-August political experience. At any rate, it merits separate consideration.

The new model of sociopolitical subjects ought to facilitate furnishing students with honest theoretical knowledge about the complex mechanisms of social life, as well as an elementary knowledge of economic laws and politics. Above all the model should be based on clear, univocal axiological principles resulting from the elemental values and standards of Marxist thought and the socialist system--principles that teach the observance of basic rules of social life, of everyday honesty and priority for organizational attitudes. The transmission of these values does not interfere with student philosophic pluralism, because they also find themselves in the social teaching orbit of the Catholic church.

The propagation of these values is not an easy task. The myth of high consumption and easy development inherited after the 1970's and the deceptive day-to-day recipes for rebuilding and healing sociostate structures--something propagated among students in the last 2 years--created a misunderstanding and even an indisposition toward fundamental social values on which modern industrial societies developed. Values, from which citizen obligations toward the state, workplace, and environment emerge directly, are not universally regarded by students as a basic regulator of civic manners--and that also when they are found in the axiological catalogue of Marxism or in the social teaching of the Catholic church.

The new sociopolitical programs should also give rise to reflection on the subject of the external conditioning of Polish statehood and Polish socialism. The post-August months proved that within the framework of the overly rich galaxy of ideas offered, frequently self-proclaimed as socialistic, under Polish conditions have a utopian, antistate and reactionary character.

Reform Directions

The minister of higher schooling, science and technology called the Central Sociopolitical Sciences Teaching-Upbringing Group as an advisory organ for preparing the new model of good citizenship education. The plan being discussed assumes that 300 to 360 hours should be devoted to sociopolitical subjects.

These subjects should have clearly defined cognitive, ideological and citizenship functions. They should be presented in the framework of a compact system of three blocks of obligatory subjects: economic, philosophical and political science subjects, differentiated by types of schools and student fields (of

study). It would be necessary in each block to isolate the leading disciplines (political economy, Marxist philosophy and political science). Sociological subjects are a debatable matter.

Historical reflection should occupy an important place in this system; e.g., in the form of a separate subject (Polish political history from 1918 to 1980), a as well as knowledge about the outside world (international political relations). Discussions are continuing on the scope and sequence of these subjects.

From the critical analysis of experiences following the Lodz agreement, it appears that these subjects should be based on centralized programs but such a framework should fill no more than two-thirds of the time assigned (for studies). The remaining hours would be allocated to schools for their use, in this way considering the particular needs of various types of schools and fields of study. With 5 year studies, optional problems from the theory of culture, esthetics and ethics are anticipated.

The Teaching Staff Decides

This new model of teaching requires staffs of a high teaching level and socialist citizenship commitment. Both criteria should be equally considered in conducting verifications and in selecting staff. Staff is spread throughout the country and represents a strongly differentiated theoretical level, various political experiences and methodological skills. Moreover, in small centers, it comes upon real barriers hampering the natural development of learning. The minister had all this in mind last fall, when he presented a plan to the authorities for creating a departmental institute to improve social science teacher-training staffs. This proposal was approved by the PZPR Central Committee's Commission for Science and Education in January. Early creation of such an institute would strengthen academic standing and ideological-upbringing functioning of those subjects constituting an important element in the student training in good citizenship.

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10433
CSO: 2600/491

ZSMP MEMBERS DISCUSS WAYS TO MOTIVATE YOUTH

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19-21 Mar 82 pp 1, 4, 5

[Interview with Jan Gabor, Presidium member of the ZG [Main Board] of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth, chairman of the ZSMP ZZ [Plant Board] at the NZPS "Podhale" [Nowy Targ "Podhale" Leather Industry Works], Dr Kr Dr Krzysztof Janik, secretary, ZG ZSMP, Malgorzata Piatek, secretary, ZW [Voivodship Board], ZSMP in Wroclaw and Dr Sylwester Wrobel, adjunct at Silesian University, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz from the SZTANDAR MLODYCH editorial staff; at the 4 March 1982 ZSMP First Ideological Conference; for an earlier interview on this topic see JPRS 80394, 24 March 1982, No 1992 of this series, pp 22-30]

> [Text] A discussion participated in by Jan Gabor, Presidium member, ZG ZSMP, chairman, ZZ ZSMP, NZPS "Podhale," Dr Krzysztof Janik, secretary, ZG ZSMP, Malgorzata Piatek, secretary, ZW ZSMP in Wroclaw and Dr Sylwester Wrobel, adjunct at Silesian University. Ryszard Naleszkiewicz represented the editorial staff of SZTANDAR MLODYCH.

We published the first discussion in this series in the 12 Feb 1982 issue.

[Ryszard Naleszkiewicz] The ZG plenary meeting, devoted to the ideological aspect of the ZSMP, is approaching. However, it seems that today a major problem is to answer the basic question: What should be done to draw out the youth from the state of apathy and stagnation into which they have fallen? How are they to be convinced of the need for them to participate in saving the country, how are they to be activated positively? If we say that the solution here is ideological instruction, training and propaganda, we arrive at the least risky conclusion. For we are dealing today primarily with the moral-ideological crisis that arose from the great disparity that exists between the beautiful and irresistible theory of socialism and its difficult, unsatisfactory practice in reality in our country.

[Krzysztof Janik] From the outset you posit a thesis, as if you wished to close the discussion. It is a thesis that is correct, to a great extent. At the same time you ask how to activate the youth. However, we must first ascertain why we are in our current situation. I think that in order to activate the youth, we must fulfill several conditions. We must read the current

situation accurately. We must make the proper diagnosis. Then we must develop a vision of Poland in the future and of our Union that is both realistic and attractive. This will be the primary purpose of the Plenum. Further, the evaluation of our current situation--the so-called diagnosis--must consist in large part of the feelings of our members, their impressions and their frustrated and unfilfilled hopes. Perhaps the evaluation at the Main Board level will then be a wiser one.

[Malgorzata Piatek] No so much wiser, as more comprehensive.

[K. Janik] Of course. Then, on the basis of this diagnosis, we must try to create a vision of the Poland in which our generation would like to live. Although we must demand such a vision from the party, it is primarily for our own use that we must first create one ourselves. Only then can we begin to act to implement it. For example, I think that the Union should quickly prepare a program for equalizing urban and rural working and living conditions.

[Ryszard Naleszkiewicz] Other youth unions have undertaken such sweeping programs with lofty claims and they were flops. A "program for equalizing conditions" is very legitimate, as you have said. It is so legitimate, that if the ZSMP announces it, it is obvious that it will not execute it. Such equalization needs billions for investments in culture, clubs, theaters and books. You are becoming carried away with a lofty slogan, over which they will later reckon with you.

[K. Janik] I did not make myself clear. I am speaking of a program of Union activities on this matter. Of course we must shun overly pompous claims so that later we will not be forced to reckon with something we cannot do. Besides, acting is not only sending workers out to rural areas to help; it is also a way of thinking, it is summarizing ideas for others and exhorting and struggling with authorities at all levels. The issue of equalizing educational opportunities for youth from various backgrounds....

[Ryszard Naleszkiewicz] But this will again take place "at the top." The ZSMP leadership will demand sweeping solutions from the party and the government, for it will not establish schools itself, nor will it pay teachers or act as a substitute for the ministry.

[K. Janik] But we are in a position to do something. The idea of a "library for young people" in large factories crosses my mind, the idea of making this universal.

[Ryszard Naleszkiewicz] There was such a library--the NOWA WIES book clubs--and it did not work out. There was no paper, no funds and orders were not implemented. And all of the ministers of culture recognized that it was a marvelous idea, to which they gave their support.

[K. Janik] This does not mean that we should not try. However, it is possible to give real help to young people in a simpler way. For example, by securing literature for children that would please their parents. Perhaps we could begin to print tales in WALKA MLODYCH. I shall have to think about this. Besides, thinking about forms is not my job alone.

[Sylwester Wrobel] This is a major weakness of our youth newspaper. The ZSMP, like its predecessors, focuses primarily on making revisions. The youth organization receives prepared folk material that is already set up and ready for "polishing." The ZHP [Polish Scout Union] receives it for 7-year olds and 8-year olds, and you do for the teenagers. Meanwhile, the problem of preparing people for social life really begins at birth. According to psychologists, a child acquires his basic character traits from birth until age three. Thus, the character of a 7-year old is already essentially formed, as are his temperament and personality traits. The problem is always the same: parents who are ill-prepared for life prepare their offspring poorly for it. We are dealing with a definite duplication of generations. The Union does not influence the family during the child's early developmental years. The Union does not exercise influence on the parents.

[Ryszard Naleszkiewicz] The thesis of the duplication of generations is as catastrophic as the vicious circle. It is a wonder that despite such theories their world is somewhat different today than it was during the paleolithic period.

[S. Wrobel] There is a certain beauty in your rancour, but it cannot change research. Changes in upbringing can be accelerated, however, by influencing parents. This does not mean only social influence. It is good that there are loans for young married couples and leaves from work for these couples and the like. However, the problem of teaching young parents how to bring up their very young children is a more important problem. Hence, the idea of publishing tales in WALKA MLODYCH is for me a vital issue!

[M. Piatek] In my opinion, what we consider should lead from the question of how to activate the young. We place too much emphasis on negation and passivity. Meanwhile, now as never before young people have the opportunity to shape their fortunes independently in the future. Today there is no wise man in Poland who can predict what will happen here in 5 or 10 years. Hundreds of plans and concepts collide with each other. In general, however, no vision exists.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] Then, in your opinion, is there a gap for the Union to fill, as long as it is done quickly?

[M. Piatek] Only as a political force--we should not aim too far into the future. We must emerge with a very concrete program of activities for the present. We must demonstrate that it is possible to act now. During the past 16 months the youth have undergone an accelerated political education; views have become radicalized in terms of demands. Loans and housing for young married couples are being demanded. We should transform this activism which makes demands into creative activism. Sooner or later people will have to realize that 36 million people will not be going to the West for "seasonal labor," to earn dollars. Whether we like it or not, we will simply have to exist in our reality. We must show young people that the way in which one arranges one's immediate surroundings and the mechanisms operative within these surroundings depend upon their activism.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] There is much idealism and a great deal of generality in this statement. The demands that "they must," "they should" and "we must" neither solve anything nor activate anyone.

[M. Piatek] Let me attempt an example. Our Union plays somewhat of a dual role in the economic reform. First, there is the necessity of supporting the reform as objectively indispensable for the country and, consequently, for all. The alternative of returning to old patterns of acting does not exist. Our second role consists of defending the young against the consequences of reform as we support it. They are the weakest economically, and thus are hit hardest by price increases; they are the least experienced workers, and the first to be laid off. Consequently, we must demonstrate the place of the generation in the reform in practice, at the same time struggling against those mechanisms of reform that are antisocial in their effects. This is bringing home in practice what "socialist" means. We break our necks to get small cooperatives, single-family housing and "patronage" housing, but we must realize that these are merely emergency measures, desperate attempts to alleviate current tensions. Only a socialist program of housing construction can really resolve the issue in full.

We must make young people aware that socialism is not based exclusively upon the relationship to ownership of the means of production, but is embodied primarily in the exchange of goods, in distribution of the products of labor. In today's enterprise, operating on the basis of the three "S's," [independence, self-government, self-financing, T.N.], the sense of the word "socialist" for me is embodied in the possibility of affecting the distribution of profit, product prices and the like. Today's priorities are housing and protection of those who are weakest--young married couples and pensioners. If the union in a plant is effective regarding these matters, young people will become active, because they will be brought to trust.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] I repeat, the thesis of this discussion is how to make them want to become active.

[M. Piatek] We do this by creating the mechanisms of young people's participation in the distribution of manufactured goods.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] That tells me little. What mechanisms?

[M. Piatek] The mechanisms of self-governing action in plants.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] Ah, the key word. For the mechanism to act, it must be set in motion. Meanwhile, the majority of young people do not wish to join.

[M. Piatek] That is not true. It is enough that a part does not want to join. It is enough to demonstrate that it is possible to struggle effectively. Then the rest will come out of self-interest. They will clash to the bitter end. We must act similarly at the levels of the local self-government. Here also, actions taken in the sphere of goods distribution should direct funds primarily toward public construction for those who are eking out a living, for young married couples.

[Jan Gabor] The example of my city, Nowy Targ, shows how very unsocialized we still are. It is a city of great contrasts. Next to the magnificent villas of millionaire-parvenus from America, we literally have poverty. Meanwhile, young people see--we have founded our own youth cooperative--that we are struggling against difficulties, small brickworks are idle, and alongside them condescendingly stand the great, empty, magnificent houses, closed with a flimsy latch and protected by our laws. They see that the social means for creating goods--bricks, cement and wood--have been wasted here. In our opinion, the most important canons of the socialist distribution of goods have been broken. Such is the practical lesson of socialist ideology.

Other contradictions are on the increase today. Rural areas continue to receive guarantees of the inviolability of land and of the expansion of farms to 100 hectares. However, there is a shortage of construction sites for our cooperative, as there is throughout the city. The current land law is a disaster. If a new one is introduced, people will really have no place to live. This is a field for the political action of the Union.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] However, specialists maintain that in order to live one must first have something to eat. Private farms provide the cheapest and quickest production.

We are beginning to get away from the central issues. Meanwhile we need an answer to the questions, "what are we to do?" and "how are we to do it?" We cannot provide a conclusive definition for everything. This would be detrimental, for life is changing too fast. However, we must have one primary ideological concept, based on which we could at least answer what we firmly oppose. What we support is something we can implement in hundreds of ways.

[J. Gabor] The practical lesson of socialism is most important. It is in the enterprise that affects the distribution of goods that the socialization of young people takes place. At our plant, the NZPS "Podhale," according to the first version of the plan the head of the social commission allocated 300,000 zlotys for credits for young married couples. We brought him around to our priority, convincing him that the 100 young married couples we have must be the first to receive credits. So 600,000 zlotys were allocated. He became convinced by social arguments--for we were not struggling for Union members alone. This is how ideology is tested in practical action.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] As long as young people are told that this is how ideology is tested in practice.

[K. Janik] The party, our Union and several other institutions make it their business to speak of and implement such things.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] That sounds optimistic.

[K. Janik] Perhaps, even too optimistic. I refer to Malgorzata's [Piatek] statement. Her reasoning is logically correct. In practice, several factors must be added--e.g., the emotional factor. The truth is such that the emotions are not with us. In many cases, they are against us. Today's reality is not readily adaptable to ideology. Private stores, boutiques, new prices, the housing situation and the like.

[S. Wrobel] During the past 16 months, young people have asked thousands of questions which have gone unanswered. Emotions are against us, but if we are the first to answer these questions, they will be with us.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] Is this not overly simplified, mathematically calculated optimism? Mathematics, for the most part, falls short where emotions are concerned.

[S. Wrobel] Let me give an example. It is number 5 in the notebook "Correctives From History." It appeared during a conference of the aktiv and then vanished. It is being read not only by people from the organization. Our generation feels a real need to learn about current events. In giving answers to difficult questions, we lend ourselves credibility. This gives us a chance to express our ideology.

[M. Piatek] We cannot silence people; we may not cloud their emotions. We will have to assail, to struggle with the bureaucracy, but we must reach young people by showing them that this is possible, that their doubts regarding reality and their risks taken in the name of positive change are purposeful and sensible.

[K. Janik] Let us return to the doubts of the discussion leader that by formulating programs we can assume the burden of unexecuted tasks, that without governmental decisions nothing can be done. This is not true. The mess in Poland today has its advantages. Many things are possible, if one really wants them. There are no impossible tasks, there are only people who do not know how to execute them.

[S. Wrobel] Let us not exaggerate this slogan! One must have the means!

[R. Naleszkiewicz] The ZMP [Polish Youth Union] and the ZMS [Union of Socialist Youth] in turn were led down a blind alley by using the motto "Things are so bad that we can do anything," and the ZSMP may reach the same point. First you publish something, advertise, exhort, mobilize people and inflame them, then the lack of a possibility empties their heads of the hogwash.

[K. Janik] I relate this motto to the local situation, to the small matters in life which are the most burdensome, the efficient resolution of which is the most readily and most keenly evident. Large-scale, total policy often is made quietly, with compromise and without being advertised. But there is the example of the notebooks from "Correctives From History."

There are so many things, formerly impossible, to be resolved today that one does not have room in his head for all of them. But we must give over such thinking to the circles, directing it outside the Union, toward general social goals.

Speaking in general of a vision of the future activity of the Union, we must set it up so that it fits the level of the circle, so that it activates it and is attractive to it.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] All of your predecessor organizations spoke constantly of activating their basic cells, circles and operational groups. Programs, books, the work of the circle and slogans were devised--e.g., "the circle--a collective of friends" and the like. And the entire time in our organizations the circle was not the basic element but the weakest one.

[M. Piatek] Much has changed of late. People and circles have become seasoned both in political struggle and in battling against the adversities of their material fortunes. The number of circles has been reduced, but those that remain are activated more readily than they once were. They need only be persuaded that they can be activated, that their work is both effective and necessary. We do not wish to activate them from above toward priority goals. We wish to help them prove themselves.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] If the circle, then the plant organization as well. I posit the thesis: as is the party locally, so are the ZSMP circle and the plant organization. Today the party is experiencing times that are harder than those your Union is experiencing; it is more under attack and it is responsible for much more.

[K. Janik] Your thesis is correct. However, another thesis is likewise correct: as the ZSMP is today and will be tomorrow, so will be the future of the party.

[S. Wrobel] Youth organizations are a natural source of recruitment for the party. Thus, motivation and habits are carried from the youth organization into the party.

[J. Gabor] There are many people today both in the ZSMP and in the party. Thus, the motivation and inspiration flow in both directions, not only from the party to the organization, but in the other direction as well. I speak in the party about young people in the same way as I do in our Union, if not more severely. The unfortunately, small group of people that sits within both organizations is a great opportunity for the PZPR.

[M. Piatek] The party is too general a designation. A young person does not evaluate the party on the basis of the resolutions of its Central Committee or even its voivodship committee. He shapes his opinion of the party on the basis of observation of "his own" POP [primary party organization], his immediate organization, which unfortunately is too often very weak politically, ideologically and organizationally. The radicalism of young people must also be directed toward moving the party forward so that it ultimately becomes the avantgarde of the working class. This is difficult; resistance and schematicized thinking must be overcome.

[S. Wrobel] If it were merely a question of schematicized thinking! We find ourselves in a closed circle. Marx said that man is the product of the totality of social relations. On the other hand, as is the man, so are the social relations. And so the circle closes. To tell the truth, one does not know how to break it. Like other political organizations, the youth organization has only the possibility of reaching in the direction of shaping the man. It is

considerably harder with social relations. Older people who were once educated traditionally cannot create new people.

[J. Gabor] Formed by being wounded?

[S. Wrobel] Do not interrupt. We are dealing here with the mechanism of duplication. The generation of the 1960's will go through life with a definite political disadvantage and mode of thinking. The next generation, 15 years later, brought up on mistakes, may represent another style of thinking.

[J. Gabor] I do not agree. We are always designating the generational boundaries and we are unable to get out of the vicious circle.

[S. Wrobel] Then are there no generations?

[J. Gabor] There are, but I do not agree with the vicious circle idea and the idea of duplication.

[S. Wrobel] That is not my own invention, it....

[J. Gabor] Let me finish. It is not only doctors who have a patent on being right! My grandfathers were brought up before the war. They had a different approach--until the end of his life my grandfather listened to Radio Free Europe and Voice of America--and he did not influence my world view. According to you, I should be opposed to communism, and I am a party member. What does this do to your vicious circle? My father also has a somewhat different approach to reality than I do. Thus, the circle is not closed--each generation goes somewhat further. Your circle can be broken; it is a question of where we, the young people, are to strike to destroy it completely.

[S. Wrobel] I do not maintain that, as the next generation, we are not developing at all. However, I do think that the mistakes being made today will be avoided in the next generation. It will not occur in the generation that has endured the crisis and that has had it somehow "imprinted" upon its consciousness.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] Are you an adherent of the "corrupted by the crisis" theory?

[S. Wrobel] Yes, in a certain sense I am.

[J. Gabor] He believes that at the age of 20 one is already so "imprinted," and that he cannot change. Meanwhile I believe that one can always change.

[S. Wrobel] Do not trivialize the issue. I merely stated that a man does not change his once-formed character traits as long as he lives. If you were stubborn at age three, then despite training to the contrary this trait will remain with you forever.

[M. Piatek] I agree with [Jan] Gabor. The coformation of generations in a mutual way is a constant occurrence. The wisdom of the party, in my opinion,

should consist today of perceiving the opportunity for change within itself in this newly formed young generation. It is a generation that is undergoing an accelerated political education, a generation that is radicalized and has a negative stance. In order to become the avantgarde, the party must learn to make use of opposition for its positive development. Today there is already talk of support for certain party moves and decisions. However, the party must realize that this support is conditional, has the underpinnings of a lack of confidence and is very timid. However, the lack of confidence is also an opportunity for the party. Because of it, those who will not know how to manifest daily that they are communists will fall away--those who, immediately after elections, sit comfortably at a desk, stroking reality, to put on a front.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] According to you, an active party member who is also a ZSMP member cannot have the ambition of "pacifying" his field of operation and of resolving all conflicts. Is he to solve some problems and observe others?

[M. Piatek] Of course. This tendency should run from the party ranks up to the top, totally changing its working style.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] What if the channels become blocked? What if active party workers at the upper levels equivocate and do not permit information to be transmitted upward, suppressing it?

[M. Piatek] The impatience and doubt of young people are an opportunity here.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] You are idealizing. It is enough to do what was done after Gierek. It is enough to say: you are the generation of great opportunity, we offer or will offer it to you; the propaganda blares forth, and nothing happens or the opposite happens.

[M. Piatek] There is no chance for such methods to succeed today.

[K. Janik] Society likes some moves of the party leadership, but the party ranks are asleep.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] Are the ZSMP ranks not asleep?

[K. Janik] They are waking up. They have reflexes and twitches. I do not wish to criticize the party, since I consider myself first a member.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] Then are you not to criticize it in the press?

[K. Janik] Perhaps I even have the duty to do so--to offer positive, constructive criticism. I believe that party organizations today are a half-step behind us. I do not say this out of a fetish for youth or the ZSMP. After the announcement of martial law, we are practically the only organization that has not silenced its members, but on the contrary, ordered them to speak. We ordered them to speak as though nothing had happened. The discussion "what sort of Poland--what sort of Union" represents this kind of talk. If we have a great many new proposals today, it is not due to loans or housing. New members know that they have a forum for speaking openly in the ZSMP. They know that here one can stand up and say what he thinks of the party, the

commissioner and the gmina manager. One can speak openly. We do not let someone who wants to speak tear his hair out. On the other hand, party members are dull, lifeless and as if in a state of fright. Of course, this is not so everywhere, but it is generally true.

[M. Piatek] You have no idea of the kind of pressure our ZSMP functioning activ is under today. Members debate and want to settle accounts.

[K. Janik] Our people are so prone to disagreements that I do not know, for example, whether I will still be Main Board secretary after this plenum. I have the feeling that they are keeping a watchful eye on me. That is how it should be. It is a new political quality, one that we must carefully protect.

[J. Gabor] That is interesting. Today the chairman is applauded; tomorrow there is no chairman.

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The above discussion was conducted during the first ZSMP Ideological Conference 4 March 1982. Activists and party members participated. Its intensity, freedom, critical nature heat and, finally, the desire expressed for change make it an optimistic phenomenon. There will be no summaries, no evaluations. This discussion must be continued. It is a discussion between the youth and the party, between organizations and generations. The vicious circle of inability and stagnation should be broken and from it a creative ferment born of active protest against all of the manifestations of social life that led to August 1980, and against all of the types of activism that ended 13 December 1981.

Would that this discussion were carried over into all youth environments. For, as General Jaruzelski stated at the Seventh Plenum: "This is their country. It will be the sort of country, only the sort of country that they themselves build with their work."

I add--it will also be that sort of party, a party to which many belong today and about which they wish to say, "our" party.

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HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS SPEAK ON POLAND'S NEEDS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 8, 10 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Barbara Moroz: "Glue on Their Hands"]

[Text] In high schools, everything seems normal. There are slippers, bells, weak tea during long recesses, teachers pressing on with course plans because of perennial backlogs. At times there are strange phone calls from the inspectorate to the principal's office. The principal cringes at the phone, removes the receiver from his ear and extends it toward the corridor so that the inspector himself can hear the hellbent din there. On both ends, a sigh of relief follows--on the inspector's side, because there is calm in his subordinate unit; on the principal's side, because no one is going to meddle in the truly difficult and truly responsible job of upbringing.

What has happened? Noise and colorful sweaters in the school corridor mean that the school is operating normally. If there is calm, everybody becomes upright. Until recently, however, what everybody is nervous about today, passed for the pinnacle of high school student manners.

But it is 1982, martial law, and somehow everything is coming apart in the students' heads and hearts. Let's talk.

I ask the students how they wanted to talk, with or without a teacher? I recommend with the teacher, for then the students will speak the way they should.

They are not speaking "the way they should." They have too many doubts, questions, regrets and objections. About a dozen of us are seated in the school library. Two students bring in some tea--the students, a diluted brew in porcelain mugs; for me, steeped Turkish style in a glass. The school is located on the outskirts of Lodz.

[Student] At first, it did not really get through to me what martial law was all about. It was only later, after the incident at the Wjek mine, when stiff sentences started coming down on the Solidarity activists who were preparing strikes after 13 December.

"Now there is criticism of Solidarity, but for us that 16-month period represented something new, something important, something that awakened our hopes."

[Moroz] "Do you understand the danger that the incessant strikes and self-perpetuating chaos brought with them?"

[Student] "The blame was not all Solidarity's."

"Most of all, I am troubled by the recurrence of crises," a boy with glasses says with forethought. "I feel disheartened and embittered."

[Moroz] "This may sound repetitive, but don't you think that the solution to our problems lies in highly dependable, honest work?"

[A voice] "My parents have worked honestly and dependably all their lives."

[Moroz] "And what of that?"

[Boy] "And, at the same time, the country was going downhill."

[A boy in a sweater] "My folks made it. They have an apartment and a small Fiat--not much, I guess, for several decades of work. What prospects do I have? An apartment in 20 years?"

[Moroz] "What conclusion do you draw from this?"

[Boy] "I am going to leave here as soon as there is an opportunity."

There is uproar and agitation in the hall. There are comments: You want to have it easy, old man, too easy. Have you at least considered that your children would be unlikely to speak Polish?

From this I conclude that the others intend to remain in Poland.

[Moroz] "What does the country need most?"

[The boy with glasses] "All the time, I keep thinking about that, all the time." He rubs his forehead with his hand. "Perhaps we could elect the top officials ourselves?"

[A student sitting next to him] "And keep them in check...."

[Moroz] "What would be important for you, just yourselves?"

They reflect awhile.

"We would like to have some sort of organization--one that would not be manipulated from the top, with no mandated topics and campaigns, none of that much ridiculed leaf-raking. Scouting? Yes, scouting has its own merits. But even there, the head leaders hold fulltime government positions."

"There is the KZMP [Communist Union of Polish Youth], too," someone says. Everybody looks at a youth in a brown suit, until now silent.

"Well, Greg, tell us, what do you all do? There are three of you in the school."

"What are you driving at?" The boy shifts in his chair and clears his throat. "I am not going to recite the statute to you, am I? In general, we are after the good of man, man's physical as well as spiritual good."

[Voices] "That's noble, but how do you reach these ideals?"

[Grzegorz] "We are discussing this right now. We have meetings with activists from the former KZMP." [Probably the Communist Youth Union of Poland, active 1922-1938]

[Moroz] "But even among you are those gentlemen in suits who know everything best."

[Grzegorz] "We do not want them to be there. We are expecting our own convention."

"Listen," a boy named Krzysztof says. Everyone falls silent and turns in his direction; apparently he is respected among his schoolmates. "It is worth our while to depart from everyday matters for a bit and refer to science. Some generalizations apply. Undoubtedly, all political formations followed one another in a particular sequence. It should, therefore, be recognized that a time will come for communism. It is worthwhile for a person to see a great idea in it and to pursue its actualization. One should not become discouraged and impatient because errors are being committed. Historical processes take more than a little time."

"Doesn't that put you off?" someone asks.

"I am prepared for that," Krzysztof responds.

Ideals...the young people fall silent. They certainly would like to believe in something. For the time being, however, doubts prevail.

"What is the point of talking about communism, when there is so much trouble here with socialism," someone sums it up.

"Well, no," a youth near the wall retorts. "All in all, I cannot imagine that capitalism could be restored in Poland. Why cannot Poles, however, adjust to socialism?"

The question hangs in the air. I leave the group convinced that these young people, so badly lost in reality, should at least be talked to. I am reaffirmed of this belief by Grzegorz Matszak, Ph.D. in sociology and acting chief of the science and education department at the PZPR Lodz Committee. Recently, at his own initiative, he met with high school students and debated with them for 5 hours. What did he achieve? Their initial attacks on him, in the form "you" or "they," changed by the end of their conversation to the form "it needs," as in "this needs to be done" and "that needs to be done." Yet few are willing to join such discussions. School principals are not too eager for them, since schools are supposed to keep calm, and young people should study, not debate. On the other hand, it would be better, perhaps, if young people debated rather than pasted up leaflets. And, once they do that....

There is nothing to hide; this occurs in the schools as well. What is to be done then? In one school, the principal conducted an embarrassing bag and hand check in search of glue used to paste up a leaflet. That was her only interest: to find and punish the culprit.

An example from a Warsaw high school is well known. A student put up a leaflet calling on his schoolmates to honor the memory of miners from the Wujek mine. (This happened on the morning of 16 February). The janitor caught him. The principal called the police. The student was taken away in a patrol car. In effect, when the students congregated in silence in the corridor during a long recess, it was no longer clear whether it was to honor the miners or to support their friend.

A climate of discipline should dominate in schools. Yet it should not be accompanied by fear, suspicion and denunciations that arouse unhealthy associations with the 1950's, seemingly an irredeemable period.

The conversations have confirmed that ostentatious actions do not occur in those schools where the young people's trust in the faculty and staff has not been undermined. Signs of protest happen where the principal enjoys neither trust nor prestige, while the faculty reveal their mutual antagonisms or, worse, exploit young people to settle their own accounts. Occasionally, putting up a leaflet is not only a political gesture but also an expression of revolt against the situation prevailing at school or (what certain students have suggested) a desire to discredit the school's supervisory staff in the eyes of their superiors. Each case should be analyzed separately and carefully in order to draw conclusions, pedagogically sound conclusions.

[I am at] a high school in downtown Warsaw. Several neatly dressed boys and one girl from junior and senior classes ask, "We can speak frankly but how much of that are you going to get printed?"

[Moroz] "Do you think that the authorities will soon be able to accomplish anything in this country without your participation? Should they not, therefore, at least be informed of your views and attitudes, undisguised and unembellished?

[Students] "Currently propaganda is very often primitive. In the evaluations of the last few months, what is white is nearly always credited to the authorities; what is black, as a rule is imputed to Solidarity. We all know that things were not that simple. The results of this propaganda approach may well prove contrary to the intentions. We frequently have no trust in what the press, television and radio report."

[Moroz] "You are, however, not at all poorly informed about what is going on. Where do you get your information?"

The students smile. "There are ways to get that."

"Well, I think it is a fad," a tall blond youth says. He is the one who calmly and convincingly tried to prove to his schoolmates a few minutes before what benefits had been brought about by martial law.

"It is a fad--not to read newspapers and, in general, to be 'counter.' Less strong individuals, even if they think otherwise, lack courage to oppose it. However, what benefit can there be for people in this country to be 'anti?' Just look at the international aspects of our situation. Sure, if Poland were located where Albania is, then...."

"I understand, you are chiefly concerned with our relations with the Soviet Union," a boy facing the blond youth says. "I recognize them. I simply want to be thoroughly convinced that these are truly partnership relations, especially in economic matters. Words are empty; we know they can signify something completely opposite in meaning. Today, one can be convinced by facts alone."

[Author] I repeat the question I used in Lodz. "What is it that Poland needs most?"

"Work," the boy who supported martial law replies without hesitation. "People must start respecting work. There used to be too much of the belief that the state should provide because one is owed it."

"We have had a taste of democracy," others say. "You could say anything, read and debate anything and hold meetings. There was an intellectual liveliness. For Poles, it is necessary for living. You can hardly imagine that it will not return at some point. And then another crisis is likely."

None in this group wants to leave Poland for good--for 3 years, at best. They want to work awhile and return, bringing some hard currency to the country. Of course, they caution, going to the FRG to wash the dishes is out of the question. It would be far below their self-respect.

I do not think they would want Poland to turn from socialism. They emphasize that fundamentals should be known better (what Marxism-Leninism is actually, considering that these notions are liberally used in the press), that principles should be much more compatible with life and, first of all, that what is good for Poland and for Poles should develop. The fact that a given truth is contained in a doctrine cannot determine its validity. For example, where does PZPR's leading role stem? What is its real--not pedantic--substantiation? others ask.

Who are they, to hold discussions? Last January they were invited to write a question on their cards, a question pervading their minds, that they would like to have answered. Except for a set of questions about college study, all other questions referred to politics.

They had a presentation by a Polish army colonel. When he referred to the army as having clean hands, all of the students, as if ordered, began to examine their hands attentively--all of them, at once. It was a seemingly innocuous joke, but, considering martial law, the principal sweated in fright.

Discussions are supposed to be held during [preparatory instruction in social science] PNOS, but the teacher is not always able to answer the "why"

questions that have long penetrated their minds. Moreover, it is a regular school subject for which grades are given. It is never quite clear whether one gets a grade for knowledge or for orthodox beliefs.

All in all, this is a crisis of authority; only what one gains for himself can be accepted. Knowledge externally imposed is accepted distrustfully. Students want to reach their own conclusions, by analyzing the facts.

I was told a lot about this by two girls from a Warsaw high school. One can get by in school by maneuvering, they affirmed. It pays to cringe in front of the teachers, crib, be absent on a test day. Sometimes this yields better results than honest, thorough work. A smile followed. This is what life is like--life, in which hypocrisy is their major fear.

Those were only conversations, several dozen of them, a journalist's raw material with no pretense of a generalization, barely signalling the issues that are perhaps worth reflecting about for a moment.

There is one irrefutable truth for the author: The stubborn search for the glue with which the leaflet had been pasted, rather than seeking why it had been placed there, proves at best the stupidity and shortsightedness exhibited toward those to whom the baton of the generations must soon be passed.

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KATOWICE VOIVODSHIP PARTY PLENUM HELD

Executive Board Report

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 26-28 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] The political and organizing activities of the voivodship party organizations and the tasks of the party members in the implementation of the PZPR Central Committee Seventh Plenum resolution were the subject of Thursday's deliberations of the voivodship party echelon in Katowice, which were conducted by comrade Prof Zbigniew Messner, member of the Central Committee Political Bureau and secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee. The following were present: members of the PZPR Central Committee Political Bureau, Central Committee secretary comrade Stefan Olszowski and comrade Jerzy Romanik, miner in the Siemianowice Mine, members of the Central Committee of the Katowice voivodship, members of the Polish People's Army, first secretaries of town, town-gmina and gmina party echelons, and the political aktiv.

In opening the deliberations, comrade Zbigniew Messner stated that the Voivodship Committee's plenary meeting had been preceded by broad party consultation during 16 regional conferences of the aktiv, in which close to 2,000 comrades participated. The proposals and opinions submitted by them were used in preparing the Voivodship Committee Executive Board report, which formulates the most important directions of party activity.

The report was then presented to those assembled by the secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, comrade Lucjan Gajda.

Voivodship Committee (KW) Executive Board Report

The report of the KW Executive Board states that each member of the PZPR--a communist, is responsible for implementing the most important task, which is that of leading the country out of the crisis, restoring economic balance, social order and conditions favoring the rebuilding of the working people's complete confidence in the party, and achieving fully, by the party, its leading role in society.

Comrade Lucjan Gajda then discussed the proposals which ensued out of the processes that led to the threat of civil war, as the result of the actions of the counterrevolutionary forces, and then to the proclamation of martial law.

Emphasizing that the great majority of the working people, in our voivodship also, accepted with understanding and in a practical manner supported the decision and the undertaking of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON], the speaker pointed to the increasingly better work of the workforces, especially the miners, the improvement in public safety and order, and society's ever-broader expression of deep appreciation for the patriotic mission of the soldiers of the Polish People's Army who make up the operational groups in the towns and gminas. The progressing normalization is making it possible for the party to work towards national accord. That, after all, is the essence of the party's leading role in society.

Every party echelon and organization today has a basic task to fulfill: to acquaint each member with the Seventh Plenum documents, to induce him to fully familiarize himself with the texts of the basic program documents of the Ninth Party Congress, and then to implement the designated tasks. They must be translated into tasks and duties for every echelon and organization, every party member. And this is what many party organizations are now doing, seeking the most appropriate forms. Their experience must be shared by everyone.

Modesty, devotion to ideology, and an uncompromising stance, a service-motivated approach to the interests of the working class and the socialist state, readiness to defend the party's good name and the state's political-system reasons--these party member obligations must always occupy the center of our attention. We must remember all of this as we begin in our party to discuss the draft of the PZPR Central Committee's Ideological Program Declaration. This discussion must based on a thorough familiarity with the Ninth Congress Resolution, the resolutions of the Central Committee's Fourth and Sixth Plenums, comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech at the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum and the resolution passed at that Plenum, and, above all, the PZPR Statute. Only such a thorough and comprehensive discussion on the draft declaration can fulfill its task and contribute to the fully aware and lasting acceptance of "what we are fighting for, where we are heading". It should lead to the achievement of organizational and ideological unity in the party and to the full conformity of words with deed.

Every party member should, first of all, be in the parent primary party organization (POP) and it is his duty to fulfill the party tasks entrusted to him by that organization. That is where the principles of intraparty democracy must be developed. In the party as a whole we must particularly cultivate such characteristics of party consciousness as constructive criticism, and constructive dissatisfaction with results achieved in the past, which for a communist are the starting point for further accomplishment.

Our party has nothing to hide from society, and, above all, from the working class. This is particularly important in the Katowice voivodship. Here we are dealing with the largest and also the most experienced working class, its main macro-industrial branches--the miners and the steelworkers. It is high time that we restored the proper meaning to these assertions. The party echelons and organizations must act openly, closely, and actually directly, with the working class, and be subject to its control and evaluation on a continual basis. The party's role of serving this class in itself assumes that the intraparty life will be open.

The KW Executive Board report gave a great deal of attention to the molding and the importance of intraparty information.

The report then devoted a considerable amount of attention to party activities in the Katowice journalist circles, as a result of which many accurate commentaries, rapid and purposeful information, has been appearing in the columns of the newspapers. The Voivodship Committee will hasten to supply the journalist community with essential and organizational assistance, giving it the indispensable information and appropriate sources.

The implementation of party education and training tasks, especially in the area of educating society in patriotism and publicizing the principles of applying economic reform, must have its proper place in ideological activities. In all party activities and in the mass media we must show the role, place and responsibility of the working class in the socialist state as the genuine master of the country.

After a discussion of concrete actions in the cultural and scientific community, where the party organization and PZPR members face serious tasks, the Executive Board report indicated some particularly large tasks for party members employed in education and schooling. The disintegration of scientific and education communities requires that the party organization intensify its political work among the party members themselves as well as among the nonparty people, particularly among the youth, where the ideological and moral devastation is especially great.

The tasks, after the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum, were released to the press. Therefore, the party organizations and echelons and all party members know what is most important for them at this time.

Finally, the PZPR KW Executive Board report in Katowice states: "We must be equal to the difficult duties. But we are not beginning from anew. The reconstruction of the party has actually already begun. We must all be convinced that our party can and must be quickly reborn. We have all the conditions necessary to do this. The rest depends on our party work and on every PZPR party member, a communist, on each of us who can and must earn the right to be called a communist".

Discussion

The problems presented in the KW Executive Board report were developed in a discussion. The following comrades took the floor: Andrzej Tomczewski, member of the KW Executive Board, employee of the Katowice Iron and Steel Works; Stanislaw Wojtek, editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA; Aniela Mroz, KW member, first secretary of the Department Party Organization (OOP) in the Siemianowice Hard Coal Mine (KWK); Henryk Badura, KW Executive Board member, first secretary of the Plant Committee (KZ) in the Lenin KWK in Myslowice; Boguslaw Kabala, KW member, director of the Stanislaw Staszic General High School IV in Sosnowiec; Zbigniew Krzyzanowski, KW member, member of the City Committee (KM) in Zabrze; Roman Grebosz, KW member, manager of the KW Information Department in Katowice; Anna Musiolik, KW member, director of the Vocational Schools' Group [ZSZ], Jastrzebie; Andrzej Uhorski, KW member, KM secretary in Gliwice; Joanna Skrzypczak, KW Executive Board member, employee of the Mining Supply Enterprise [PZG]; Boleslaw Skotnicki, KM first secretary in Bytom; Stanislaw Horak, KW Executive Board member, writer; Stefan Gancarek, vice chairman of the Voivodship Party Control Commission (WKKP); Anna Marciniak, Central Committee member, vice president of the

Agricultural Production Cooperative (RSP) in Pietrowice Wielkie; Leszek Ogieglo, Candidate Member of the Central Committee, first secretary of the College Committee (KU) at the Silesian University; and Stefan Pyzalski, KW member, employee of the Bobrek Iron and Steel Works in Bytom. The remaining expressions of opinion were recorded in the minutes.

The basic thread of the discussion were intraparty matters. The speakers concentrated principally on methods of consolidating and strengthening party organizations, methods of stimulating the basic elements to action. It was stressed that the publication in the press of the tasks of the party organizations and echelons, ensuing from the documents of the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum, and particularly the specifying of the dates by which these tasks are to be implemented, will assist in activating and planning the party work, and will also facilitate full control over the work.

In the opinion of the speakers, the discussion which is beginning in the party organizations on the draft PZPR Ideological Program Declaration, "What we are fighting for, where we are heading", will assist in improving the ideological knowledge of the party membership. In later columns of this paper we will return to the matters brought up in the discussion.

The floor was then taken by comrade Stefan Olszowski, who replied to the questions put forth by the discussants and talked about the present directions of party work (The speech appears on page 3) [See below].

Decisions

During the deliberations, comrade Zbigniew Messner reported to the members of the Plenum that the KW Executive Board at its meeting on the 25th of this month [March] decided, in accordance with the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum resolution, to dissolve the Marxist-Leninist Seminar at the Voivodship Center for Ideological Training. The Executive Board expressed its deep appreciation for the party and political commitment of the members of the former Seminar during the period that was difficult for the party.

"Now", the KW Executive Board document says, "operating conditions have changed, as the decisions of the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum have shown in strongly emphasizing the urgency of joint action within the framework of the PZPR statute passed at the Ninth Party Congress and the conscious growth of party discipline."

In the organizational portion, the Plenum accepted the request of comrade Jozef Piszczek that he be relieved of his duties as member of the Executive Board and KW secretary due to his appointment by the chairman of the Polish People's Republic Council of Minister to the position of deputy governor of the Katowice voivodship. The Plenum thanked comrade J. Piszczek for his many years of productive party work. Next, the Plenum elected, by secret vote, as secretary for ideological upbringing affairs in the KW, comrade Jan Zielinski, past member of the KW Executive Board, first secretary of the KM in Sosnowiec. Of 94 members of the KW Plenum voting, 88 voted in favor of his candidacy. Comrade J. Zielinski, born in 1935, has a master's degree in philology and is a journalist. Before going into party work, he was editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA. He is a member of the POP in the WANDA Knitwear Goods Plant (ZPD) [at Sosnowiec].

The Plenum also made some changes in the managers of some KW departments. Comrade Andrzej Kolacz, born in 1944, master's degree in law, prosecutor in the Regional Prosecutor's Office in Dabrowa Gornicza, became manager of the Administrative Department. Comrade Zygmunt Lebda-Wyborny, born in 1948, doctor of economic science, adjunct and first secretary of the College Committee (KU) of the Economic Academy, was chosen as manager of the Science and Education Department. Comrade Eugeniusz Michalik, born in 1945, master's degree in economics, deputy director for technical economic affairs of the Economic Academy, was appointed manager of the General Department. The function of manager of the KW Economic Department was entrusted to comrade Zygmunt Urbanek, born in 1941, master's degree in construction engineering and assistant manager of this department. The position of manager of the Coal Department went to comrade Roman Janas, born in 1944, university education, KM secretary in Chorzow from 1963 to 1981, worked in the Barbara-Chorzow Mine, last as a shift foreman.

The KW Plenum appointed the following Voivodship Committee commission--the Women's Commission, composed of female representatives of all socio-occupational circles.

The KW Plenum passed a resolution which binds all party echelons and organizations, PZPR KW departments, and the management of the party newspaper, TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, to implement the schedule of the tasks of the party echelon and organization that forms the integral part of this resolution.

In conclusion, comrade Zbigniew Messner took the floor, stating that the opinions expressed during the deliberations unequivocally define the duties of the Katowice voivodship party members in the implementation of the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum resolution. The now-indispensable process of consolidation and activation is taking place in party organizations and echelons. It is essential that all of the party aktiv, all those who understand the need to increase the militancy, strength and authority of the PZPR, take part in further activities.

The Plenum was adjourned with the singing of the "Internationale".

Stefan Olszowski's Speech

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 26-28 Mar 82 p 3

[Speech by Stefan Olszowski, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at 25 March 1982 Voivodship Committee Plenum in Katowice: "We Must Return to the Resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress, Which Opened a New Chapter in Party Life, Full of Deep Democratism and Hope"

[Text] Martial Law Put a Halt to Overt Counter-Revolutionary Propaganda

Martial law created a new situation as regards information and propaganda. Martial law put a halt to the political opponent's overt counter-revolutionary propaganda. This permitted the party, the government, and even earlier, the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON] to take the political initiative. Naturally, the imposition of martial law carries with it some indispensable restrictions in the functioning of the mass media. The principle of party direction of mass media information has been restored. Titles which advertise the viewpoints of the anti-socialist opposition, including the SOLIDARNOSC [NSZZ Solidarity organ] press, have been eliminated from the press market. We should bear in mind, however, that despite the

fact that the cadre and censorship rigors have been intensified, and that order has been restored to the functioning of the mass media, we do not have a news-propaganda monopoly. After 13 December, the anti-communist broadcasts originating in the West and directed against Poland have increased. Without any exaggeration, it can be said that a news war and an economic war has been declared against Poland, and especially against the Polish legal authority. We stand up to both these challenges. We will deal with the economic challenge thanks to the support of the socialist countries, and particularly the Soviet Union's economic assistance. We must repel the news and propaganda agression totally by our own forces.

The propaganda attack against Poland, against socialism, against the legal, socialist rule, is repelled on two planes: in the sphere of social awareness, the awareness of the citizens, and also on the international platform.

Let us Strengthen the Patriotic Concern for the Socialist State

The main directions of our work are linked with the basic ideas which PZPR Central Committee first secretary comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski embodied in his speeches, both on 13 December and in the Sejm speech of 25 January, as well as in the speech at the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee. They derive also from the resolutions of this Plenum and other party documents. We should, in all news and propaganda institutions, and also in all our party activities, regularly return to these speeches, translate their main theses into everyday language, and make sure that they reach every citizen.

Martial law was imposed as a legal, constitutional practice, by a legal authority and legal constitutional means. This is extremely important. The legality of our actions gives us a basis for rejecting the attacks of the governments of certain western countries against our leadership. The Hungarians, after the 1956 events and after suppressing the counter-revolution, fought for 4 years for recognition of their government. We have completely avoided such a prospect. First, because the imposition of martial law was our wholly sovereign decision, and second, because it was conducted entirely by legal means, by the legal organs of our state.

Martial law gives us an opportunity to accomplish a specific civic re-education, to strengthen social discipline and general order. There can never be too much of this. The last several months have shown the damage that neglect in the civic upbringing of our youth can bring, and how much in this field still remains to be done. How long martial law lasts will depend on the degree to which the aims of the authority and society are similar in concerted action towards the normalization of economic and social life. This is, as a matter of fact, the only criteria for abolishing martial law.

Important also is the support and renewal of all those theses that were the program achievements of the Ninth Party Congress. The party did a great deal of work before the Ninth Congress, however, during the time of the Congress it went into it more deeply and codified it from the theoretical and political standpoint. And this was the reason for the violent attack of the forces connected with the Solidarity leadership or those manipulating Solidarity. We remember the "hunger marches", the strikes, the blocking of the Warsaw traffic circle, the attempt to organize rallies on the

premises of the Committee for Radio and Television, where Bujak tried to draw the Warsaw hooligans, and finally, the so-called "days without a press". All of this made the popularization and dissemination of the ideas of the Ninth Congress very difficult. That is why we should return to them. The Ninth Congress is a very important party achievement. It functioned in the spirit of honest democratism and shaped the correct party line.

Therefore, we must return to the matters of the Ninth Congress, to its adherence to principles and to its deep democratism. This is the best activity by which to strengthen the party's ideological and political unity and to popularize its ideas.

And against this background we should also show the need for effective application of economic reform as a condition for bringing Poland out of the crisis and overcoming the conservatism of thinking and acting.

A matter of special importance is particularly the strengthening of patriotic concern for the socialist state. It is that, after all, which was most endangered by the incredible, inane and irresponsible activity of the Solidarity leaders. And, certainly, the state is the greatest achievement of our society, of our nation. That is why the enemies made its most brutal attack against its institutions. They wanted to replace a governed Poland with a "self-governed" Poland, and in the future, certainly, with a non-governed [anarchic] Poland.

There is also a need to constantly cultivate knowledge on the political and social reasons deriving for Poland from our alliances with the socialist countries, and particularly with the Soviet Union. These are reasons of class and reasons of Poland's security and its prestige in the world. This is particularly important now when the West is promoting the thesis that the Yalta-Potsdam order should be changed. Without Yalta and Potsdam there would be no postwar peace in Europe and there would be no ethnically just and safe Polish borders.

We are in the Midst of an Irreversible Historical Process

Comrades! Under the pressure of the course of the unusually dramatic events taking place between the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and 13 December, in the consciousness of a portion of the society, and what is worse, also a portion of the members of our party, it is as if the meaning of this historically important political event had been erased. I have here in mind the deep, democratic turn that was made in the Polish United Workers Party at the Ninth Congress, as a result of an examination of causes and the condition before August 1980, in accordance with the critical evaluations of the working class and its will to renew its own party.

Let me remind you that the Ninth Extraordinary Congress took place under conditions that were really exceptional, during the course of a continually deepening socio-political crisis and a developing economic crisis, thus in the heat of a sharp political battle, and at the same time, the difficulty of counteracting the avalanche of material adversities. And despite this, at the Ninth Congress our party was able to express the determined will of its class, working core and all of its forces operating with the interests of Poland and Marxist ideals in mind, assuming the duty of standing up to the confrontational, anti-socialist activities and the challenge to the real, dramatic, critical political and economic circumstances.

The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Party Congress thus objectively was an important turning point in the history of our party and doubtless in the history of our socialist Fatherland. Despite the temporary change in the political situation in the country after 13 December of last year [1981], the main points of the Congress' program decisions retain their historical importance, just as the Leninist, formative and democratic changes, made in our party's statute, are not subject to any tactical or situational considerations.

The Ninth Congress irrevocably closed one chapter in the life of our party and opened another one--new, democratic, and full of hope. This means also, that the party, in leading society and fighting to make this ideological, political and moral leadership enduring, along with the entire nation crossed the threshold of a new epoch in Poland's development. This fact will not be changed by the extent of actual delinquencies and the intensity of the deformation of life in the past, nor by the enormity of economic difficulties, nor by the fact that sharp conflicts are still present today in our society. This is aided by the awareness of the patriotic goals established by our situation today. This is furthered also by the fact of the imposition of martial law in the defense of socialism and the interest of Poland, the Polish nation and the Polish state.

Many struggles and a vast amount of work awaits. But one thing is sure: We have found ourselves in the midst of an irreversible historical process, whose main direction is indicated by the idea of socialism, i.e., social justice. But its basic goal today is the restoration of the role of the subject, consequently, the role of the main causative force--to the working class in the party and society, and on the other hand, to the patriotic and progressive forces in the life of the entire nation.

This pertains to our internal life, in the country, and Poland's role in international life, in Europe and in the world. This direction of aims, this necessity to restore to the nation and to Poland the full role of the subject, has a determining, historical importance. Our country, our Fatherland, our state, can never be the object of manipulation or any kind of internal forces, inspired by non-Polish interests, or any external forces which, just as in 1939 so now, attempt to use it as a playing card in the game for their own interests at our cost. A vivid example of these kinds of unconcealed desires is the ruthless aggressive and restrictional policy of the Reagan administration toward the Poles.

We are building our hopes primarily on work, strenuous work, from the foundations, in the sweat of our brows, but also on the devotion to democracy and justice, the sense of dignity and obligation to our own society. These ideals, these desires of the Poles, will be focused and will be more and more clearly and strongly expressed by the idea of socialism. It, too, grew on Polish soil and has its roots there. It was at this idea, after all, that, in essense, the political thoughts of Joachim Lelewel, Edward Dembowski, Stanislaw Worcell, Rev Piotr Sciegenny and Ludwik Warynski, were aimed. This idea was a link between the battle for national liberation and the battle for the social liberation of the people, the workers, peasants, all kinds of Polish downtrodden poor. And today it is our own key to the future, forged and tempered by the conditions of the development of Polish history, and shaped by the awareness that there is no road in the development of mankind that would be more just. This road can and should be constantly improved and straightened out. But

today it runs through the country, here, along the Wisla [River], between the Polish fields and Polish towns. That is why it is ours, our own.

We Must be a Party of Action

In this spirit of patriotic and democratic aspirations the deliberations took place and the main outlines of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress program were shaped. The delegates, as well as the members of the new Central Committee, were elected in accordance with the unrestricted will of the party members.

The basic decisions of the Ninth Congress program resolution continue to be, as the Seventh Plenum confirmed, the beacon for our party. We must be a party of action, all of its people, the basic organizations, the echelons, and finally, the party as a whole. Marxism-Leninism is the ideological binder of the entire party. But this, of course, is not enough. The party always proclaimed this. During the successive crises we found that there had been ideological neglect, upon which we quickly announced that this neglect had been corrected. During the 1970's, the victory of Marxism in the consciousness of the nation had been proclaimed almost triumphantly, in the humanitites also. Next, the discussion group, "Experience and the Future" [DiP], announced that the "PZPR had ceased to be a political party and had neither an ideology or a program".

Actually, the Ninth Congress strongly and straightforwardly emphasized the neglect of ideological work during the 1970's. As a result, the disintegration on the ideological front was relatively advanced. A number of theoreticians, who up to that time had considered themselves to be Marxists, left the party. The party's position was expressed in some periodicals, educational institutions and in some institutions of the ideological front. The Ninth Congress rebuffed the attack on the Marxist-Leninist character of our party, and this was an attack that was hard to compare with any other in the last decades. Pressures to social-democratize the party were overruled. However, this danger has not been completely averted. There is still a danger that the opponents of Marxism, who lost at the opening gun, will pretend to be Marxists, to make out Marxism to be a spell, rigorously washing out its creative substance. And so it is important that Marxist be in our party, and in our activity, a serious ideology and not just an empty declaration. We must develop Marxism as a science, study it as a science and develop it. I think we have a great deal to do on this issue, in radio and television also.

What should be done to popularize socialist ideas, and particularly Marxism-Leninism, more widely in the party and in all of society? During the next few weeks a discussion will develop in the party as a whole on the draft Central Committee Ideological Program Declaration, "What we are fighting for, where we are heading". This Ideological Program Declaration refers to such fundamental matters as our origins, the experience gained in our party's struggle, the most important program goals, and finally, the matter of the relationship to the socialist state and the shape of our party itself. We must take this discussion far out into the society, particularly to the youth. We must translate the language of the party discussion into a society-wide discussion. We want to renew the outlook on the party, on its role, on its capabilities and on its functioning. This will have a very great importance for stabilizing the situation in the country. The period of the struggle for stabilization now awaits us. It will no longer be characterized by the kinds of tensions we lived through

last year. But it will require political contact at the lowest possible level, in the workplaces, the village, the primary party organizations, the youth organizations, the Rural Housewives' Circles, in a word to all the cells in our life. This will be a long-duration, intellectual effort. In going in this direction, in activating discussion on the Central Committee's Ideological Program Declaration, we will bring order to the minds of people.

We have spoken out at the Congress in favor of the openness of political life, while aware of the fact that the rebuilding and strengthening of social confidence in the authorities and the party will be possible only if social democracy, whose substance is the principle of democracy, is restored. On the one hand, this is assisted by the deep reform of the central system of managing the state and the country's economy, but also by the implementation of the right of the working people to participate directly in governing the state and managing the national economy. On this issue, the Ninth Compress left no doubt. It was decided that democratic mechanisms of socio-political life would function: genuine workers' self-government, social, town, cooperative and territorial self-government, that is, a socialist self-government, which must be based on legal-statutory, lawful, principles. A Congress resolution instructs that a new electoral law for the Sejm and the People's Councils be prepared. Sejm laws on workers' [pracowniczy] self-government, rural self-government, People's Councils, trade unions--on the one hand--and on the other hand, elevating to the highest levels the principle of lawfulness, also in the same meaning, as attested by the appointment of a Constitutional Tribunal and a Tribunal of State, constitute proof of the real aims and directions in the implementation of goals established in the Congress' resolution.

The party then and now wishes to cherish above all else the principle that the Polish socialist state must be strong and competent, able to govern, but above all, that it must be democratic in its essence.

We Have a Consistent Concept of the Party's Role in the Socialist State

Our party has in a determined manner stated in the Congress resolution that its service activity in regards to society must be focused on the full implementation of the principles of equality and social justice, democracy, lawfulness, and civic rights and freedoms. That work is the source of strength and national prosperity and the social security of all classes and social groups. The PZPR regards the principle of social justice and equality as the most important value of socialist ideology. The party implements its leading role in society and its managing role in the state within the framework of the Constitution and laws. The Ninth Congress created, therefore, a consistent concept of the party's role in the socialist state, and our own model of socialist democracy, and also the socialist state.

It is based primarily on raising the rank of the Polish People's Republic Sejm and creating genuine conditions for its fulfillment of its constitutional role, particularly in the sphere of establishing directions for the state's socio-economic development, in the field of control over the actions of other organs of authority, and the staffing of the leading organs of state administration. This is implemented by the plan, for example, to appoint a Socio-Economic Council [RSG].

The proper status of the People's Councils will also be aimed at restoring the correct relationship between the legislative authority and the executive authority. Their authority must be expanded insofar as the management function in their own area is concerned, which means that they will have a decisive influence on filling positions and creating the material conditions for the development of regions. The important substance of their activity is contained also in the principle of self-government, which is reinforced by the development of workers' self-government in the light of economic reform and also the new legal regulations.

The formation of genuine workers' self-government not only gives expression to the aspirations of the working class to co-manage and co-govern, but it is also an extremely important element in the legal-system structure of our state.

There can be no social democracy without the participation of authentic trade unions, independent, governed by internal statutes, functioning autonomously, however within the framework of socialist legal order, in the interests of the working people and in the interests of their state.

What is important, is that our model of a socialist state must be based on democracy, as expressed by the development of self-government and the restoration of the proper superiority of the elected authorities over the executive authorities.

The party is aware that acting most closely within the limits of the laws in effect, striving to co-create, through all people of good will, conditions for the development of democracy and a socialist economy, we can achieve these social goals and political tasks only with the cooperation of all patriotic forces, with our closest political allies, the United Peasant Party (ZSL) and the Democratic Party (SD), and also with groups of non-Party people, with religious organizations which, like the Catholic Church, play a large role in the life of society. And this is the source of the idea of a front of social and national rebirth.

Therefore, the most vital matters, whose importance remains unvariable, include the consolidation, on this plane, of a strong and democratic socialist state, a joint work of all its citizens, regardless of their affiliation and outlook on life--which will be the result of social and patriotic ties.

Despite the difficulties, notwithstanding the counter-revolutionary actions of anti-socialist circles, which we are restricting and combating, the party's aim to consolidate the principles of socialist democracy, to develop it, to give it the characteristics of real and full authenticity, does not lessen but will grow. The workers' party rejects the reactionary thesis that the more social equality, the less individual freedom there must be. We take the position that socialism is the most real expression of democracy, since in equalizing the rights and duties, it gives, in exchange, an equal opportunity for people to develop, and it rejects all privileges except the privilege to work for society, for our own nation. Socialism and democracy are two sides of this same goal for humanity.

The party itself, at the Ninth Congress, gave proof of its democratism. We are already forgetting, or perhaps some are ignoring it, that the party statute, in consolidating the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, expanded that portion which in the past had been weakened, namely, the democratism.

Fervent striving to create statutory guarantees against the possibility of repeating old mistakes and the deformation of the party's political life, led to victory for this principle It is shown, for example, in the severity of the ideological and moral criteria binding on a PZPR member, the absolute supremacy of elected echelons and bodies over executive authorities and party apparatus, in the principle of joint action by authorities, and also in the electoral system.

Not official decisions, but political practice, the activeness of the primary party organizations, determines the correctness of party functioning. But party law, the PZPR Statute, forms the basis for democratism, which does not weaken but actually enhances the strength, unity of action and authority of the elected authorities. It enhances effectiveness, based on conscious discipline, which is the basis of democratic centralism on workers' wisdom and Marxist political thought and gives a tremendous opportunity to affect the course of the party line, makes it possible to control the correctness of its development.

The importance of the Ninth Congress Resolution was appreciated by society, despite the fact that the Congress took place under extremely difficult, actually almost confrontational, political conditions, in the face of social divisions and developing anti-socialist activities. Society had very great hopes in the Ninth Congress.

These expectations and hopes, in spite of the political activity of the anti-socialist forces and sources of foreign diversion, clearly show that Poland's society regarded the matter of the party, its program and aims, as a condition for positive transformations in the state and in the nation's social life.

This very important statement of fact should give all of those who fight the party from the position of enemies or counter-revolutionaries, food for thought as to whether they are ignoring it from the position of managerial pragmatism. This matter was covered by comrade W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the Seventh Plenum, when he said, "The immutable principle of socialist construction is the leading role of the party; no nation yet has built or defended socialism, without the Marxist-Leninist party."

Let us say here, recalling the cascading development of political events, after the Ninth Congress until 13 December, that the Congress' deliberations, opening up the possibility of the party's regaining social confidence, became a signal for our enemies to accelerate their anti-socialist activities, aimed at stifling national hopes, undermining party influence, and distracting social and national thoughts away from our correct and democratic proposals.

Today, although with resistance, the situation in Poland is changing. Social attitudes are becoming stabilized and positive stimuli are appearing in economic activity. But this still does not mean victory. There are still many concerns before us, many craters that have to be filled, and a lot of evil that must be removed.

That is why the task of reviving the economy and putting it into full motion, giving it a faster rhythm, is advancing to the forefront of today's matters. But this requires an awareness of several events.

First--we have in our country not only political forces but interest groups, ordinary groups of dishonest, incompetent or lazy people who do not want to comply with social interests or show an enthusiasm for hard work, to be orderly, or to seek new ways of development. And this is indispensable, for otherwise there can be no economic reform or enterprise independence, and the economic crisis will not be overcome. We must go on the attack against the almost cliquish groups, and we must resist stupidity. We must open the road for responsible work for the young people, and in this work, youth will be a party ally.

Second--the economic policy of the 1970's resulted in an unusually high degree of dependence of the Polish economy on the West. It made the country unusually susceptible to the imperialist policies of the political diversion circles. Our losses mounted each day, and as a result, we not only lost our field of economic maneuver, but what is most important, a considerable part of our political sovereignty.

Third--in this situation, the only solution for Poland, as always in our postwar history, was the friendly assistance of the USSR and the countries in the socialist camp. This is revealed, as a result of the recent talks of the party-state Polish delegation in Moscow, in the immediate increase in deliveries of raw materials, components, and other means indispensable in order to maintain, and then develop, production.

This is good. This is Poland's main opportunity today. We must enter intelligently into the system of the division of labor and cooperation within the CEMA in order to protect our country in the future against the economic, political and propaganda activity directed against us.

But this cannot be the only way of transforming and redirecting our economy, its production systems and directions of development. We cannot live too long off the charity of our neighbors. We have objective potentials of our own, internal solutions in the future, and we must utilize them.

Fourth--the necessity for a thorough reorientation of our industry and the entire economy must be based above all on the broad development of those fields which can use our own, Polish, raw materials. Our country, in comparison with others, is not wealthy in this field, but still it is in a more favorable situation than many others. If the loss of an important part of economic independence is the result of past mistakes, then our work in the future should be devoted to recovering this independence.

That is why all the patriotic forces of Polish science, all of the ingeniousness of the engineers and technicians, inventors, innovators and production organizers, should be concentrated now and in the future on the main national task: the development of a system of using our own raw materials resources, on their technological utilization, and on the development of those fields of chemistry, metallurgy, and the appropriate branches of the processing industry which should use Polish coal, sulfur, salt, and copper, iron and lead ores. In the agricultural economy, however, concentration should be on the task of actually feeding the nation and on the development of production that will again in the future restore our position as an exporter of food in Europe, and in our country, ensure supplies of raw materials to the processing and food industries, and also, for example, to the light industry--textile and leather.

Principles of the Democratic Social Policy of the PZPR

Comrades! First of all, let us overcome our own mistakes, develop our own capabilities, our own resources, and make use of everything that we have.

He who today has a mouth full of platitudes about freedom and independence, on human rights, on liberty, and knowingly forgets the most important words, about creation, national wisdom, about the forces of history, about duty, and finally, about sweat and blood in work on the development of the home economy, really does not work in the name of Poland. He simply has nothing in common with our most vital national and social interests.

Many times in the past we have loftily talked right through the most important events in history, and then ran out of strength to do the work. But, of course, not all and not always. I will recall here an exceptional, in some sense, but not the only figure in our history, Rev Stanislaw Staszic, one of the most distinguished thinkers and publicists who had an important influence on the May 3rd Constitution uprising, this most beautiful dying gesture of our pre-partitioned state. Stanislaw Staszic never ceased his self-sacrificing service to the nation. He made a major contribution to the development of Polish science. We are grateful to him first of all for the results of geological and raw materials research, which we lacked until then. It is he who contributed to the development of the Old Polish Industrial District and the establishment of the Mining Academy School in Kielce and the University in Warsaw. It is he who built the graduation towers in Ciechocinek to utilize the salt resources and it is he who discovered the coal deposits in Dabrowa Gornicza. Was he less of a patriot than those who bore weapons? Does his memory deserve less respect, although he also committed errors in political assessments, when at the same time the results of his work still survive? Our national need, our country, again calls for such patriotism, growing out of the civic injunction to work and to act in behalf of the Fatherland. Let us vie with another to see who can do more to save and develop this legacy that we inherited from such people. And this legacy, precisely, is Poland.

The patriotism of work counts for most of all today, for everything depends on it--family survival, the reduction of zones of poverty and the development of zones of social abundance, the development of the industrial economy and agriculture, social peace, and the country's future.

Our party's Ninth Congress program line indicates just such a direction of today's actions, the substance of future social and national goals, and therefore it shapes the vision of necessary joint work and a program of transformations, which will serve the working people, and strengthen the socialist system of a sovereign Polish People's Republic.

In concrete, real dimensions, these tasks must assist in the implementation of long-range democratic social policy, defined by our party in the Ninth Congress Resolution. It is the result of the conformity of the feelings of the primary party organizations and the party's highest forum--the Congress. Let us remind ourselves that this line is determined by principles such as:

--remuneration according to work results, and therefore the rejection of other unearned forms of income and ways of enriching oneself;

--making it possible for every working family to achieve at least the social minimum, thus going on the attack against want and poverty;

--striving to ensure every family independent housing, thus placing the welfare of this basic social unit at the forefront of the party's activities, as being interested in the development of its living conditions, and its moral, material and cultural development;

--guaranteeing health care, comprehensive medical and socio-occupational rehabilitation and suitable working and rest conditions, thus shifting from the technocratic aim to maximize production at any cost to ensuring that the individual really has a leading place in politics, in activity, in the system of utilizing the results of social work;

--implementing an equal start in life for the young generation from all regions, occupational circles and social groups, thus undertaking a task of historical importance, making educational, cultural and civilizational policy more realistic;

--open and fair proportions of incomes, thus combating all methods of special privilege, if the work is to be regarded as equal, and evaluated according to actual measures of justice and social usefulness.

Thus, how fresh, how truthfully and lastingly, all of these social, political, systems and national issues which the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress undertook and included in its program, appear.

9295
CSO: 2600: 513

TANK OFFICER SCHOOL COMMANDER DISCUSSES CAREER, IDEALS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 13, 28 Mar 82 p 3

[Interview with Brigadier Gen Zdzislaw Gluszczyk, commandant of the Tank Officer School (WSOW Panc) [located in Poznan] by Tadeusz Oziemkowski: "How Does One Become a General?"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] How does one become a general and commandant of the Military Academy?

[Answer] At first, one must graduate from a military academy (I graduated from a tank officer academy in 1955) and then successively commanded a platoon, a company, a batallion, a regiment and a division.

[Question] The education that you, Citizen General, have received is not restricted to tank officer academy alone, is it?

[Answer] Certainly, it is not. Had I stopped at that, my knowledge would have sufficed at the most up to the battalion level. Somehow "on my way" between successive positions I graduated at first from the Officer Improvement Course and then from the Academy of General Staff followed by a Military Academy in the USSR.

[Question] For the shortest period of time, you were in command...

[Answer] For only a few months, I was the chief of staff of a division. For 2 years, I was in command of a tank platoon and for the same length of time I was the chief of staff of a tank regiment.

[Question] And for the longest period of time...

[Answer] I was a division commander for 4 years.

[Question] Has the life you are living been an easy one?

[Answer] I would not say that, because it has been a difficult life. I belong to the generation of Polish Youth Union members. I was 16 when I joined this organization and I was faithful to it until I joined the ranks of the Party 4 years later, in 1954. I went to the military academy during the

years when "it was not the high school diploma, but sheer will..." that mattered.

[Question] And you were tremendously successful?

[Answer] I graduated from the academy with honors and got a diploma with a red band. However, I should not be confused with my elder brother who graduated from the tank officer academy several years before me first in his class. The name Gluszczyk on the board of the distinguished in the Tradition Hall of the academy is his.

[Question] However, let us get back to the topic "Life of an Officer."

[Answer] As I said, it was not easy. Despite everything, I have no reasons to complain, since time and time again I have had considerable success. When I commanded a company, my small unit took first place in the unit twice in the course of 3 years. When I assumed command of a battalion, it was among the best in the Pomeranian Military District. When I was a regiment commander, my regiment was twice distinguished in the orders of the Minister of National Defense for outstanding performance in training, discipline and military order. It was the same at the division level.

[Question] From that we can infer that Citizen General has been very lucky?

[Answer] You do not owe success to luck, but to hard work. If a person puts in much effort, it sooner or later bears fruit. I have had opportunities to become persuaded of that more than once. At the same time, it is real trouble if a person is not aware of the problems that pile up around him.

[Question] Has it been easy to achieve envisaged goals?

[Answer] Each time I assumed a successively higher position, I aimed for different goals. In the process, I made sure that the goals were realistic, that they pertained to the most essential needs of the small unit or unit. Once I established the goals, I tried persistently to carry them out. I did not pay particular attention to the input of my personal time it would take to implement these goals. I must add that the results have always been good as I expected. Also, I never expected a particular reward for carrying out this or that task successfully. This was my duty as a soldier.

[Question] However, the time has come to be promoted to the rank of general.

[Answer] I received my general's epaulets when I was 45. I am saying sincerely that I did not anticipate that, but I was tremendously satisfied. My satisfaction was even greater when I visited my mother for the first time in my new uniform, a woman almost 80 years old. She was moved to tears.

[Question] Have you as the commander of this tank officer academy established certain objectives to be achieved?

[Answer] Certainly. Permanent modernization of weaponry and materiel, including tanks, requires a systematic adjustment of firing ranges and tactical

training grounds to provide adequate training conditions. We also have to modify the training program, and this requires considerable effort. Besides, we have worked out a realistic program to improve the living conditions of cadets. We will have to put in much effort to implement this program rapidly and with good results.

[Question] Do the cadets take their concerns to the commander?

[Answer] Quite often and not through official channels. I would not be exaggerating if I said that they respect and trust me. My primary concern is with their personal and family problems. I think that no family problem is complex enough to defy a successful solution of some kind. Recently, a fourth year cadet, married and the father of two children, visited me. He presented his problems to me in a sincere and open way. He was granted financial aid and an official leave to visit his family, despite martial law.

[Question] What is your idea of the good cadet?

[Answer] A commander--and this is what each cadet will become--must like the army, then the army will like the commander. One should live the life of a soldier every day. This will bear fruit in difficult moments. The cadet as a future officer must tirelessly work to shape his character. He can never restrict himself to just the knowledge he has gained in the academy. He must meet current and constantly increasing requirements and keep pace with the best. Besides, he must be honest and reliable in discharging his daily duties in everyday life. From this, we can expect results sooner or later.

[Question] Do you as a commandant have time for private life?

[Answer] I am an ordinary man. Recently, I celebrated the silver anniversary of my happy marriage. I have two grown children. My son is a precision equipment technician, my daughter, a student graduating from the school of medicine next year.

[Question] On behalf of our readers, I thank you, Citizen General, for this interesting interview and wish you further success in professional and life training of young cadets.

9761
CSO: 2600/514

CHEMICAL UNIT TRAINING EXERCISE DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Mar 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Cadet Cpl Krzysztof Wroblewski: "Intensive Training Continues on the Ranges and Training Grounds : Chemical Reconnaissance Specialists"]

[Text] The chemical unit. The regular military day begins. Today, 1st Lt Andrzej Soltysek's training subunit is being drilled at the base's center of tactical training. The purpose of the training is to acquaint the cadets with the activity of the chemical reconnaissance specialists on the contamination observation post, and with the methods of determining the parameters of nuclear blasts.

The training, under the supervision of the first lieutenant, is carried out by Platoon Cadet Leszek Bartowiak. For him, this is a certain way of proving his teaching abilities which he gained during his studies at the Officers' Training School of the Army's Chemical Division. "During today's exercises, we will train in the tactics of the army's chemical division by drill," says Cadet Bartkowiak.

The cadets are divided into groups for more effective training. At the head of each group is a squad leader. Among these are experienced soldiers of the third-year class, corporals Bogdan Pyrczak and Adam Szpak. In their gas masks and protective clothing, the soldiers resemble astronauts. Moving through military exercises in such attire demands top physical condition.

What elements are the soldiers working on in today's exercises? The most important is becoming acquainted with the instruments for determining the parameters of nuclear blasts, and for detecting and analyzing contamination. Operation of chemical radiation gauges, automatic signaling devices and other equipment, and instruments of modern military technology, require top-notch specialists. Platoon cadet Bartkowiak will devote today's exercises to this subject. For this, what he has learned himself earlier will now pay off.

Not only the cadre running the exercises must have the appropriate amount of theoretical knowledge. Theoretical knowledge is required of the cadets also, as in determining the place and type of nuclear blast, and is necessary for effective observation of the meteorological conditions and other phenomena accompanying a nuclear blast.

Soldiers must be familiar with the equipment of the chemical reconnaissance specialist post, its use, and above all how to choose the optimum location for its deployment.

"The observation post i located near the area of the nuclear strike", emphasizes Lieutenant Soltysek. The job of the chemical reconnaissance specialists is a difficult and responsible one. Its essence lies in making information about the effects of a nuclear explosion known to all military, and above all to the staff, as quickly as possible."

The cadets know this--they try to perform the required exercises exactly and quickly under conditions as close to the requirements of the modern battlefield as possible. These are not the first exercises in which the superiors explain to the soldiers that only constant training can guarantee top fighting readiness. The constant repetition of simple actions will seem to the outside observer to be excessive. However, only in this way can perfection be achieved.

The soldiers set up the contamination observation post. To this purpose, they prepare the appropriately selected site with regard to the technology, they install the equipment--in accordance with the principles of military action. All this must be done within the designated time. This is not always possible on their first attempt.

Frozen ground creates difficulties in setting up the post. Much time is also taken to prepare the equipment for use. In this case, the advice of the leader of the subunit, and of the experienced third-year soldiers, is very helpful. During the break, the cadets can discuss their mistakes with their friends, but the superiors, who carefully observe each element of today's training, see the mistakes most clearly.

The exercises should bring concrete results and it is to this end that Bartkowiak consistently strives. In a certain sense, he too is being tested--on his abilities as a leader and instructor.

Hour after hour is spent on this training. The exercises near their end. The last part consists of test questions. The questions vary--they concern theory and practice. For most of the cadets, everything is clear. There are some, however, who have not completely mastered the lesson material. The recommendation of the superiors is that the squad leaders must work further with these cadets individually.

Sergeants Cichal and Budzynski are singled out for exemplary execution of the exercises.

9915
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MEDICAL MEASURES AGAINST PHOSPHOROORGANIC COMPOUNDS DISCUSSED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 12, Dec 81 pp 1-4

[Article by Col (Prof dr habilitatus) Tadeusz Boszkiewicz: "Forms of Medical Aid for Injuries from Phosphoroorganic Compounds"]

> [Text] Phosphoroorganic compounds belong to the most dangerous combat toxic agents. They include V-series gases, soman, sarin and tabun as well as numerous insecticides. The danger results from their highest toxicity of all toxic agents; their ability to penetrate an organism in every way including the skin, thus making it difficult to protect oneself from them; the lack of color and odor and the ability to injure in an unnoticeable way; great durability, fulminating development and the threat of death in 5 to 10 minutes without the proper aid. These data indicate that phosphoroorganic compounds can lead to massive mortality.

Phosphoroorganic compounds disturb enzyme balance, primarily in the area of nerve endings. The enzyme reacting with the most sensitivity to them is cholinesterase. This leads to the improper transmission of impulses in the so-called synapses and to a vital influence on the function of the vegetative and central nervous system.

Technical as well as medical measures are used for direct protection against injuries from phosphoroorganic compounds. Technical measures include collective ones such as bunkers and shelters and individual ones such as gas masks and protective clothing. By medical measures, we mean preventive measures, medical aid as well as treatment.

The detection of injuries from phosphoroorganic compounds is based on laboratory detection of cholinesterase in the blood. A drop in the enzyme indicates injury, while its increase indicates effective treatment.

Injury Clinic

All phosphoroorganic compounds give practically the same clinical picture of injuries. Above all, it [the clinical picture] depends on the dose amount and the means by which the toxic agent entered the organism. Inhalation injuries

may be light, medium or heavy, depending on the concentration of vapors and aerosols of toxic agents in the air, on exposure and on the condition of the organism.

Light injuries occur in concentrations of 0.001 to 1.00001 ml per liter of air and after short exposure. The first symptom is pain under the sternum. After 5 to 7 minutes, the pupils contract to a diameter of 1 to 2 mm; they do not dilate in the dark and vision becomes impaired. At the same time, headaches and weakness appear; heart activity slows or accelerates; nausea and nervous agitation set in. These symptoms persist for 2 to 5 days [24-hour periods]; after this, idiopathic healing takes place. Such injured persons do not require hospitalization but only outpatient treatment.

Medium injuries distinguish themselves above all by bronchial constriction and by asthma. Difficulty in breathing, excessive salivation, vomiting, stomach pains and diarrhea may be observed. Muscle spasms appear and tendon reflexes intensify; psychic arousal, fear, headache, disturbed thinking, insomnia and nightmares occur. At first, the general condition is serious; after 2 to 3 days there is improvement. For 1 to 2 weeks, a state of nervous tension persists; headaches occur. In the area of the heart, pulse arterial blood pressure fluctuations take place; insomnia occurs, as do unpleasant hallucinations and weakness. Hospitalization is required because it is never known whether spasms and suffocation will occur.

Serious injuries take on a convulsive-paralytic form. Three stages may be distinguished during the clinical course of the injury. The first one manifests itself by a rapid worsening of the general condition. This is expressed by contraction of the pupils, breathing disorders, constriction of the bronchi, shortness of breath and increased salivation. The following symptoms appear: psychomotor stimulation, dizziness, fear, disturbed awareness and speech as well as staggering, twitching of particular muscles, spasmodic stomach pains, vomiting and diarrhea. The pulse rate is accelerated, while the arterial blood pressure is elevated. Among the most dangerous symptoms are spasms, cyanosis and choking to the point of losing consciousness, as well as coma.

The most dangerous is the fulminating form of serious injury. The injured person usually loses consciousness immediately, followed by spasms, paralysis and, after 5 to 15 minutes, death.

Certain characteristic symptoms may be observed in the course of cutaneous injuries--combined and oral. Cutaneous injuries occur when the toxic agent enters the organism as a liquid, droplets or aerosols in heavy concentrations. The most dangerous, in this case, are V-series gases, which are very rapidly absorbed--in 10 to 30 minutes. The first symptom of injury is spasms in the area of absorption. Subsequently, other muscles are overcome by spasms. The use of gas mask prevents pupil constriction. However, a transcutaneous form of injury is, as a rule, considered dangerous. In combined injuries, the toxic agent reaches the wound in droplets or with contaminated fragments. One of the first symptoms is muscle spasms in the wound. The most dangerous wounds are extensive ones and those that have undergone necrotic changes.

However, these wounds do not differ from ordinary wounds. Oral injuries occur from consuming contaminated food and water. In 2 to 5 minutes, stomach pains, nausea, vomiting, diarrhea and salivation usually appear. Following this, rapid absorption of the toxic agent takes place as well as general injury (without pupil contraction if the toxic agent were not inhaled). The prognosis is always serious in the case of cutaneous, combined and oral injuries because the amount that entered the system cannot be determined.

Treatment with Antidotes

In connection with the hazard created by phosphoroorganic compounds, many studies were conducted in order to find proper antidotes. In general, these antidotes are divided into 1) cholinolytics and 2) cholinesterase-reactivating substances. Cholinolytics are functional antidotes that block symptoms of stimulation of cholinergic systems. Cholinesterase-reactivating substances are detoxifying antidotes that react chemically with phosphoroorganic compounds; as a result, they restore cholinesterase activity following its blockage or do not permit its blockage if they are used preventively before the phosphoroorganic compounds can produce an effect.

Atropine, above all, belongs to the cholinolytics. Its functioning depends on combining with cholinergic systems of synapses, blocking them and preventing the action of the accumulated acetylcholine. That is why atropine tolerates the muscarine like action of phosphoroorganic compounds very well and, if administered in time, it saves lives in injuries from 1 to 2 lethal doses. Unfortunately, atropine has a weak effect on the elimination of the nicotine like central action of phosphoroorganic compounds, even after large doses of this drug. A 0.1 solution of atropine sulfate in 1-ml ampules is administered (1 ml of the solution contains 1 mg of atropine).

Ordinary curative doses are ineffective in injuries from phosphoroorganic compounds and they must be repeated. In light injuries, the administration of 1 mg subcutaneously 3 to 4 times during a 24-hour period suffices; in medium injuries, 2 to 4 mg are given and repeated, with 1 to 2 mg every half-hour until the general condition improves or symptoms of atropine overdosing appear. In serious injuries, during the spasmodic stage 4 to 6 mg are introduced, with 1 to 2 mg given every 3 to 8 minutes until the spasms disappear or symptoms of atropine overdosing appear. During the first days, atropine dosage may reach 100 to 200 mg. With large doses of atropine, the possibility of overdosing should be taken into account, the symptoms are: dryness of the mouth, dilation of the pupils, thirst, hoarseness, tachycardia, psychoses, disoreintation, anxiety and delirium. The contraindication for use is usually tachycardia, which can change into auricular fibrillation.

In order to compensate for the weak effect of atropine on nicotinelike central symptoms of injuries from phosphoroorganic compounds, cholinolytics that have a central effect are used. In Soviet literature, this includes afin, taren and tsiklozhil. Afin is produced in disposable syringes for injection subcutaneously and intramuscularly in doses of 1 to 3 ml, repeated with 1 to 2 ml doses. Taren is administered in 1-ml amputes and 0.2g-tablets. Tsiklozhil is administered as a 3 percent solution subcutaneously in 0.5-ml doses.

Cholinolytics are most effective when administered prior to symptoms of serious injury. Other well-known cholinolytics may also be used, such as metamizyl, benzacyne, arpenal, aprofen and scopolamine. The use of tranquilizers such as seducsen (diazepam) and phenothiasine derivatives such as dinesine is recommended.

Cholinesterase-reactivating substances are capable of bonding phosphoroorganic compounds in the organism, separating their molecules from cholinesterase and restoring enzyme activity. Hydroxameacids and oximes belongs to cholinesterase reactors. Among the most effective are 2-PAM, dipiroxym, propane dibromide (TMB-4), isonitrozyne and obidoxym. The administration of cholinesterase reactors considerably increases therapeutic action in serious injury from phosphoroorganic compounds. These substances also demonstrate a certain cholinolytic effect and in particular improve breathing. During their use, blood tests should be performed for sholinesterase content and observation of enzyme activity. Cholinesterase-reactivating agents should be used in conjunction with cholinolytics because cholinesterase reactivation proceeds relatively slowly and gradually.

All antidotes are most effective if administered prophylactically and as a composite, as, for example, the combination of atropine and prozerine and of cholinesterase reactivator. In the Soviet civil defense system, taren in 0.2-g tablets is a substance that should be administered 30 to 60 minutes before the danger signal. Protection lasts for 4 to 6 hours.

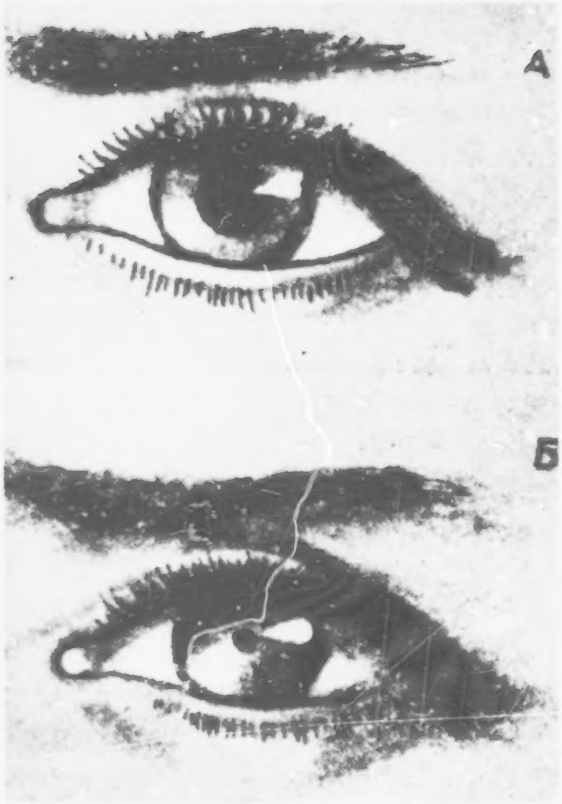

Fig. 1. A--pupil in a normal state, B--pupil contraction resulting from the action of phosphoroorganic compounds.

Fig. 2. Mask for a person with head injuries.

Symptomatic Treatment

With injuries, particularly serious ones, symptomatic treatment is important, above all, the treatment of hypoxia and the restoration of or assistance in breathing. Artificial respiration has a particular purpose. Manual methods have little effect because of contraction of the bronchi and a large amount of secretion in the bronchial tree. What does matter is the use of the mouth-to-mouth and mouth-to-nose methods of artificial respiration with the aid of proper apparatus. The mouth-esophagus tube is of great importance. The disadvantage of this type of artificial respiration is that it can be used only after moving the contaminated person from the site of the chemical injury and removing the gas mask. An important role is also played by the following cardiovascular drugs: anticonvulsion drugs, diastolic drugs, sedatives, antidotes as well as drugs preventing pulmonary complications.

Prevention and Medical Aid during Evacuation

Protective measures may prevent injury entirely or may considerably diminish its effect. Medical aid must take place concurrently with protective measures, particularly individual measures. From the medical point of view, this includes antidotes in personal medical kits (individual radition-protection packs) and decontamination agents in individual antichemical packs. Rescue teams are equipped with these. Medical first aid at the site of injury from phosphoroorganic compounds is significant since the life of the injured person depends on the speed of administration and the use of proper procedures.

Principal functions include measures preventing the penetration of toxic agents inside the organism, the early use of antidotes and evactuation of the injured. Medical first aid, in this case, has the character of self-aid and mutual aid as well as premedical aid rendered by medical squads.

The extent of medical first aid is medical treatment of the face and removal of the remainder of the toxin from mucous membrandes, skin and clothing. A 2 percent solution of sodium bicarbonate (baking soda), physiological salt solution and water are best suited for flushing the conjunctival eye sac. Following this, a gas mask is put on or replaced if inappropriate of defective. Rescuers should have a supply of gas masks. There are even special masks for head injury victims. Later, an antidote is injected with a disposable syringe from personal medical kits (individual radiation-protection packs) in the form of atropine (Soviet afin). The next procedure is partial medical measures on the exposed parts of the body with the aid of decontaminants from individual antichemical packs. In case of their shortage, the following may be used to disinfect the skin: a 10 percent solution of sodium bicarbonate (baking soda), 2 percent lye solutions, mild solution of ammonia, or soap and water.

Evacuation from the site of chemical injury should take place in such a way so as to prevent secondary injury. In case of vomiting, the gas mask should be removed and cleaned. In case of breathing disorders, after the injured person is removed from the contaminated zone, the gas mask and contaminated clothing are removed, and artificial respiration is administered.

In the case of combined injuries, the wound is dressed with decontaminants from the individual antichemical packs; a personal dressing is applied to the wound. In the case of bilateral injuries, gastric lavage is performed without a probe by having the injured person drink 0.5 to 1 liter of water and causing a vomiting reflex. Premedical aid is based on evacuating injured persons and administering medical first aid. As a rule, premedical first aid would be administered at the center of massive losses. Because of this, it must be limited in character. Premedical first aid may be given, to its full extent, outside the contaminated area and when the number of injuries is slight. The most important measures are the administering or repeating of antidotes with a wide-ranging effect: 1 to 2 ampules of atropine, 1 ampule of 2-PAM, TMB-4 or toxogonine and the application of artificial respiration and oxygen. In the case of a massive influx of injured persons, medical first aid would be given on a limited scale, mainly to maintain vital life signs.

A regular post would regulate the flow of injured persons. In principle, it would direct the injured to the site of partial, specialized treatment. This is also the site of medical classification into the following groups: 1) persons with light injuries who can be given medical first aid only during the next phase of evacuation (if possible, they will again be given antidotes and directed toward evacuation); 2) those seriously injured, requiring professional, medical aid as indicated by their life signs; 3) those with medium imjuries. The necessity is not excluded of separating those who are in agony and in a deep coma to whom symptomatic treatment will be given. During classification, there is little possibility for determining the extent of clothing contamination; thus, taking into account the great toxicity of phosphoroorganic compounds and their lack of a characteristic odor, everyone would be subjected to partial, special treatment; i.e., treatment involving the exposed parts of the body. They would be treated with decontaminants from the individual antichemical packs or from all-purpose anti-chemical packs that contain dry decontaminants. Those who are seriously affected would have their clothing and gas mask removed and be directed to the admission and classification section of the medical site for emergency aid. The slightly injured would be evacuated in gas masks until the next phase.

The usual extent of professional, medical first aid involves emergency treatment and postponable treatment. Emergency treatment includes the use of a complex of antidotes--i.e., cholinolytics (atropine, afin); a cholinesterase-reactivating agent (dipiroxym) and, if necessary, seducsen in doses according to body weight; oxygen artificial respiration and a repeat of antidotes for the seriously injured; cardiovascular measures; anticonvulsion drugs and sedatives in the case of spasms despite a three-time injection of antidotes as well as gastric lavage; and the administration of an absorbing agent in the case of oral injuries. Treatment that can be delayed includes administering oxygen to those with medium injuries, washing contaminated wounds with a 2 percent solution of sodium bicarbonate and the injecting antibiotics into the seriously injured in order to prevent choking lung inflammation.

Within the framework of qualified medical aid, medical classification is in the foreground at the classification site. The medical teams would divide the injured into those with light, medium and serious injuries. Those with light injuries would be directed to a special treatment station while the seriously injured, especially those in convulsions, would be brought to the admission and classification room for the injured or to an antishock unit for revival and antidotes.

The further procedure of administering first aid follows.

Those with light injuries would be injected with antidotes at the classification site or in the waiting area of the special treatment station. Next, they would undergo full medical treatment [opracowanie]. Then they would be directed to an evacuation room or to a convalescent unit.

The seriously injured in a convulsion, should have their clothing removed before being brought into enclosed quarters. In the admission and classification room or in the waiting area of the special treatment station, they would be given antidotes (cholinolytics and a cholinesterase-reactivating substance), seducsen and symptomatic measures (oxygen, cordials, sedatives, etc.). After the general condition improves, the victim would be sent to a special treatment station and later placed in a hospital ward. Intensive treatment is continued with antidotes and symptomatic measures for 1 to 2 days. In the case of respiratory disorders, artificial respiration, intubation and controlled breathing are employed. All seriously injured persons are given antibiotics in order to prevent choking lung inflammation.

In a certain group of injured persons, considerable psychic disturbances may occur; they should be placed in an isolation cell for the mentally disturbed. The disturbances may result from the action of toxic agents and overdosing of cholinolytics, particularly, atropine. In the first instance, evidence of injury from phosphoroorganic compounds will be pupil contraction, salivation and muscle spasms. In order to eliminate these symptoms, antidotes, sedatives and relaxants should be given. In the case of overdosing with cholinolytics psycho-motor disturbances, delieium, hallucinations, pupil dilation, dryness of the mouth, tachycyrdia, and dryness and redness of the skin will occur. In order to eliminate these symptoms, limunal, barbamid and medinal are used, and in serious cases pilocarpine and acetylocholine.

In combined injuries, after bringing the injured person out of a serious condition, primary surgical treatment of the wound would be performed and then the victim evacuated to an internal or toxicological hospital.

Specialized aid would be given in the hospital. Its extent would depend on the condition of the injured person and on previous treatment. The use of antidotes would be continued; cholinolytics or cholinesterase-reactivating substances would be used, depending on the indications. Most often, this would be a cycle supporting previous treatment. Symptomatic measures would be used concurrently. Should psychic disturbances continue, such as fear, disorientation, hallucinations and insomnia, sedatives would be suggested. Antidepressants are indispensable during depression. Primary attention would

focused on the state of respiratory and cardiovascular organs. Oxygen and antibiotics are invaluable. Some victims would be sent to a neurological hospital.

The prevention and treatment of injuries from phosphoroorganic compounds constitute a complex problem, one not totally clear in terms of merit or organization. The effectiveness of treatment id quite high if the removal of toxic substances, the administration of antidotes and the support of vital life functions are carried out without delay at the site of the accident and continued during the stages of medical evacuation as well as under conditions of stationary treatment. Of vital significance in these procedures is the proper preparation of the community in giving first aid and in the use of emergency or standard preventive measures against chemical weapons.

9853
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DEFECTS IN PROCESS OF ADMITTING PARTY MEMBERS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Apr 82 pp 2-6

[Unsigned article: "High Political, Moral and Professional Qualities - Essential Criteria for Continuing To Strengthen the Ranks of the Party"]

[Text] The plenary session of the RCP Central Committee on 31 March of this year discussed problems of maximum significance for the country's economic and social development and for the continued strengthening of the party's leading role, which reflect the multilateral activities of the party organs and organizations, the state organs and the organs of workers democracy in all sectors for the purpose of firmly carrying out the historic decisions of the 12th RCP Congress.

The broad speech presented in the plenary session by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the discussions that took place regarding the reports that were presented (regarding the economic-financial situation for the overall national economy, stemming from a review of 1981; the achievement of the program to produce electrical energy during the current five year plan and the development of Romania's energy base by 1990; the results of the census of domestic animals of 1 February 1982 and certain measures to improve self-management and territorial self-supply; the work to increase and strengthen the ranks of the party; the manner in which the party's cadres policy was expressed last year; the concern for the solution of the workers' proposals, reports, complaints and requests; and the party's and state's international activities in 1981) and the unanimity with which the decisions were adopted that are designed to lead to gaining new and significant successes in all the fields that were dealth with place this plenary session among the outstanding moments of the country's political and social-economic affairs. These are also distinguished by the powerful dynamism that they give to the sustained efforts to eliminate shortcomings and overcome all difficulties and to directly move our nation along the path brightly outlined by the Romanian Communist Party's Revolutionary Program for Struggle.

In this framework, the examination of the report regarding the strength, composition and organizational structure of the party on 31 December 1981 powerfully pointed out the sustained concern of the party organs and organizations to implement the decisions of the 12th Congress, the March 1981 RCP Central Committee plenary session and the directives of the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, regarding the numerical and qualitative growth of the ranks of our communist party.

A Powerful Attractive Force Among the Broad Masses of the People

As was the evaluation of the plenary session, the special prestige that our party enjoys among the broad ranks of the people and its powerful political influence among their ranks have also caused, last year, numerous workers to express their firm desire to enroll in its ranks in order to make their contribution in an organized manner to the fulfillment of the noble goals written on its revolutionary banner, which express, in a practical sense, the vital interests of the entire nation. In this regard, it is worth noting that fact that, under conditions of a considerable increase in exigencies regarding the moral-political and professional qualities of those who have requested to become party members, during 1981 141,460 workers were received into the party, or approximately 9,000 more than in the previous year, with 86 percent of them coming from the ranks of the workers and peasants.

On 31 December 1981, the strength of the Romanian Communist Party was 3,150,812 party members, with 75.03 percent of the total number of communists carrying out their activities in the area of material production (see cover number IV).

The fact that 20.31 percent of the adult population and 30.44 percent of the people employed in industry, agriculture and the other fields of economic and social affairs belong to the Romanian Communist Party demonstrate its powerful organizational force and the full adherence of all the people and all the workers - Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities - to its domestic and foreign policies and their indissoluable unity around the party and the secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu - the most beloved son of our nation and a prominent personality of contemporary political affairs.

"We can state," comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his speech at the recent Central Committee plenary session, "that we have a powerful, well-organized party with a good structure from all points of view, a young party also from a physical point of view, so to speak, and also young with regards to its revolutionary concept about the world and life. It is a party with an updated revolutionary concept that looks forward and it is firm in eliminating everything that no longer corresponds to the progress for ensuring the move forward to communism."

In agreement with the consistent guidelines of the higher party leadership regarding the strengthening of the party's revolutionary class nature and the development of a powerful workers nucleus within its ranks, the party organs and organizations have ensured the acceptance of over 100,000 workers into the party during last year, which contributed to increasing their percentage in the party from 54.62 percent, at the end of 1980, to 55.14 percent. Priority was given to strengthening the party organizations in those industrial branches with a decisive role in the country's continuing progress.

As the plenary session established, the party organs and organizations will continue to be directed towards the priority acceptance into the party of highly qualified workers from all the branches of the national economy, with these workers coming to represent, this year, 55 to 65 percent of the total number of workers that will be accepted into the party and special attention being given to increasing the percentage of party members among the total numbers of personnel in machine-building, electronics and chemical industries, in construction sites, in forestry economy and in the new industrial enterprises, as well as in the smelting, forging, treatment and tooling sections and shops.

For the purpose of raising the leading role of the party organizations in agriculture to a higher level - with agriculture being a basic branch of the national economy, the county party committees gave greater attention to strengthening the ranks of the base organizations in the villages. The plenary session noted that, although it has not reached a satisfactory situation, the trend of year-to-year decreases in the number of party members in the villages was stopped. At the same time, the fact should be noted that while goods results were obtained in Teleorman, Olt, Bistrita-Nasaud, Suceava, Ialomita and Vaslui counties in carrying out political-organizational work to strengthen the party organizations in rural areas, with peasants representing between 25 and 28 percent of the total numbers received into the party, in other counties, such as Arad, Bihor, Constanta, Covasna, Galati, Harghita, Iasi, Mures, Tulcea, Timis, Sibiu and Brasov, consistency and perseverence were not shown, with the percentage of peasants in the total number of those received into the party being much below the level established by the party leadership. As has been directed, those county party committees that did not adhere to this level in 1981 will establish appropriate actions in a meeting with their aktivs during the first semester of this year in order to substantially improve the work of strengtening the ranks of the party organizations in the villages. Beginning with the need to continue to increase the role of political-organizational work among the ranks of the peasantry, who are involved in the process of a profound revolution in agriculture, the plenary session asked the party organizations in the rural areas to continue to ensure that peasants will represent a minimum of 15 percent of the total number of those who are accepted into party, and in those counties where the number of people employed in agriculture is greater, peasants will represent at least 25 percent of the new party members.

Keeping in mind the role of the intelligentsia in the country's economic-social affairs, in 1981 19,361 intellectuals were received into the party - engineers, technicians, teaching faculty, specialists with higher training and students - who are making special contributions to carrying out the party's decisions and the country's laws in the groups to which they belong.

In light of the directives of the party leadership regarding the intensification of political-organizational work among the ranks of women, so that by the 13th RCP Congress their percentage in the party will reach 34-35 percent, the

party organs and organizations took the necessary measures by receiving 65,000 women into the party in 1981, which led to an increase in their percentage in the total number of party members from 28.71 percent in 1980 to 29.62 percent in 1981. In a number of counties, including Olt, Suceava, Neamt, Arges, Botosani, Dolj and so forth, the percentage of women in the total number of those received into the party was between 50 and 56 percent. In other counties, such as Gorj, Brasov, Caras-Severin, Giurgiu, Galati, Covasna and Iasi, because of a poorer activity the percentage of women given the title of communist was below the national average. In order to increase the percentage of women in the party, the Central Committee plenary session established that this year women will represent a minimum of 50 percent of the total number of people received into the party.

The concerns of the party organs and organizations for rejuvenating the ranks of the party with young people resulted in the fact that over 71 percent of the party members accepted in 1981 come from the Union of Communist Youth. In order to maintain a stable balance in the groups of party members according to age groupings, it was decided that this year at least 70 percent of those received into the party will come from the ranks of the Union of Communist Youth.

According to the evaluations made by the plenary session, the nationality composition of the party corresponds to the nationality structure in our country, which eloquently expresses the justness of the party's nationality policy of equal rights for all workers, regardless of their nationality.

The High Title of Communist - Given to the Best of the Best Workers

The steadfast carrying out of the program documents adopted by the 12th RCP Congress, the decisions of the Central Committee and the directives of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu requires raising the political and organizational activities of all party organs and organizations to an ever higher level in order, first of all, to permanently strengthen the ranks of the party from a qualitative point of view. For the purpose of attaining this fundamental objective, the Central Committee plenary session directed the county, municipal, city and town party committees and the party committees and base organization bureaus in enterprises, institutes and agricultural units to give priority in the future to the moral-political and professional qualities of those received into the party, ensuring that the high title of communist is given only to those workers who, through all their activities, prove that they are decisively fighting to implement our party's and state's policies and are consistently militating for the rational use of material resources, the conservation of fuels and energy, the strengthening of technological discipline, the growth of the efficiency of economic activities and the strict adherence to the norms of social behavior.

As was stressed in the plenary session, each time it is found that some party party members are lightly recommending the acceptance of certain inappropriate elements into the party, it is necessary for these base organization bureaus

to place these party members into discussion at the general assemblies, which will call them to task for violating statutory provisions. This must be since, as has happened last year in Teleorman, Vilcea, Dimbovita, Hunedoara, Prahova and Suceava counties and Bucharest municipality, some base organizations, showing their superficiality and lack of responsibility, accepted people into the party who did not merit this honor. Furthermore, the fact must be stressed that precisely because of the poor exigency expressed in some counties in the work of accepting people into the party, as well as the shortcomings in political-educational activities, the behaviors of certain party members showed traits foreign to communist morals - the failure to carry out professional obligations and tasks entrusted to them, the failure to consider the norms of party discipline, dishonest acts, tendencies marked by favoritism, unworthy behavior in the family and society and the practicing of mystical and obscurantist rituals, which resulted in their exclusion from the party. The review and guidance exercised by the local party organs and the party committees and base organization bureaus in enterprises, institutes and agricultural units sometimes had a formal nature and did not pursue with the necessary exigency the manner in which the base organizations tried to resolve especially important problems, such as: the strengthening of organizational affairs, the proper preparation and execution of general assemblies, the improvement of educational activities, the integration of newly accepted party members in the sphere of concerns of these organizations, the strict adherence of all communists to statutory provisions and the prevention of violations of party discipline and socialist legalities.

The plenary session asked the party organs and organizations to give increased attention to raising the political-ideological level of communists by enrichening the content of party education and by furthering the knowledge of party documents, the country's laws and the exceptionally significant theoretical and practical guidelines and directives issued by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party.

Similarly, after the conclusion of those actions to complete the high school studies for those party members up to age 50 who had not completed their general education, it is necessary to continue with the concerns to improve party members' professional and general cultural training, in this regard supporting the efforts of the more than 21,000 communists who are taking evening courses or correspondence courses in higher education and the more than 86,000 communists enrolled in specialized high schools.

For the purpose of precisely carrying out the party leadership's guidelines regarding the strengthening of work to receive people into the party, the Central Committee plenary session of 31 March 1982, decided upon a group of political, organizational and educational measures of special significance, including: the introduction of the requirement for the participation of the secretaries of the party base organizations in the meetings of the Union of Communist Youth organizations that discuss recommendations for accepting people into the party; the establishment, as a norm in accepting people into

the party, of hearings each year in the general assemblies of the base organizations regarding certain reports made by those communists who have the obligation of being involved with new party party so that they can be integrated as quickly as possible into the affairs and work of these organizations; the introduction of the rule that, at the beginning of each year, there will be an analysis based on certain reports presented by the secretaries of the base organizations of the activities carried out for the qualitative and numerical strengthening of these organizations; the organization, during the first semester of the year and conducted by the bureaus of the county, municipal and city party committees, of certain exchanges of experience in the party organizations having the best results in the work of accepting people into the party; on the occasion of instructing the newly elected party organs, the holding of seminars on the instructions regarding accepting people into the party and initiating certain methodical discussions in this regard, actions headed by the members of the bureaus of the county party committees and other responsible activists, and so forth.

The making of certain sustained efforts during this year by the party organs and organizations for raising the activities for accepting new people into the party to a qualitatively higher level and the increase in exigency regarding the professional, political and moral qualities of those asking to receive the high title of communist constitute the certain guarantee for increasing their leading role in society and carrying out the inspiring objectives established by the 12th RCP Congress.

8724
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NOTES ON BEHAVIOR OF PARTY OFFICIALS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Apr 82 pp 86-91

[Unsigned article: "Although the General Assembly Did Not Meet, Nonetheless, a Non-existent Decision To Receive Someone Into the Party Was Confirmed"]

[Text] During the time that he held the position of secretary of the No 2 base organization within the framework of the Calarasi County Construction-Assembly Trust [CCCAT], in Calarasi municipality, Ion Zaharcu bureaucratically drew up a plan that contained, on a monthly basis, the names of those persons who were to be given the title of communist.

What would happed if one month he did not succeed in fulfilling the "plan"? Ion Zaharcu told us: "In the following month, we would automatically accept two members into the party." Since the date was approaching when he had to hold the committee meeting in which the decisions of the general assembly for accepting people into the party would be examined, and organization No 2 had not received anyone into the party that month, Ion Zaharcu went to work so as "not to be criticized." He quickly called comrade Vasile Zangorescu and told him: "Give me a recommendation for accepting the electrician Gheorghe Platarescu into the party!" He wrote up the recommendation and gave it to him. He then called the secretary of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY] organization, comrade Constantin Radulescu (since Platarescu was a member of the UCY) and asked him to give a recommendation on behalf of the UCY organization. Radulescu quickly wrote one, without omitting the statement that the recommendation was issued after discussions that were held in the meeting of the UCY organization (a meeting that had not taken place), where the secretary of the base organization was also supposedly present. With these concocted documents, I. Zaharcu presented a folder for approval by the bureau of the base organization, receiving approval to recommend him to the general assembly for acceptance into the party. But, the general assembly did not take place. Despite this, in the folder a false statement appeared, written by Zaharcu, which stated that those who spoke agreed with Platarescu's acceptance into the party and that the communists voted unanimously to accept him into the party. Then, upon a typical request the assembly's "decision" was made, the "Solemn Pledge" was entered into the file and Gheorghe Platarescu was presented to the party committee for confirmation of the general assembly's decision.

Unfortunately, superficialty also reigned within the party committee. Its secretary, comrade Ion Burcea, as well as other members of the committee, easily passed over the contents of the file that was presented, confirming the general assembly's decision to accept Platarescu into the party. At the same time, Gheorghe Platarescu, helping this farce along, kept his mouth shut, accepting his party membership through dishonest means.

Actually, it would have been easy enough for the party committee and the delegate from the municipal committee, comrade Vasile Ichim, to find out that not a single member or activist from the Calarasi Municipal Party Committee had participated in the pretend general assembly and that the "Solemn Pledge" had not been signed by Gheorghe Platarescu. There were indicators that should have increased their vigilence. But, this did not happen.

This false situation was barely discovered at the municipal party committee by the chief of the sector for statutory affairs, documentation and party member records, comrade Vasile Dragomir, who immediately notified the former secretary for organizational affairs at the municipal committee, comrade Ilie Iosif. So that they would not be held responsible, they preferred not to inform the Calarasi County Party Committee, but to obtain a withdrawal of the decision to admit Gheorghe Platarescu into the party from the secretariat of the municipal committee and to place Ion Zaharcu in discussion before the party committee at the CCCAT, with a proposal to remove the secretary of the base organization from his position and sanction him with a "vote of censure".

The measures that were proposed prove that even at the level of the municipal party committee there was no appreciation for the seriousness of the violations that had been committed. And, in the end, they were not applied, being rejected by the party committee at the CCCAT and replaced - this is unbelievable - with the unanimously taken decision to sanction Zaharcu with a "reprimand". And, all this took place in the presence of comrade Vasile Ichim, an activist from the municipal party committee who proved that he was not capable of getting the committee members to understand that a very serious violation had occurred.

A tolerant spirit was also shown by the municipal committee: after receiving the investigation and sanctions file, the former secretary of the municipal party committee, comrade Ilie Iosif, instead of placing this case in discussion before the municipal committee's secretariat, it stated that it agreed with the "reprimand" and maintaining Ion Zaharcu in his position as secretary of the base organization.

Unfortunately, things did not stop here. Just several weeks later, we find Gheorghe Platarescu among the ranks of party members. How was this possible? Ion Zaharcu, with the agreement of Ion Burcea, who was then secretary of the party committee at the trust, recommended to Gheorghe Platarescu that he request acceptance into the party. From this point, the operations were carried

out in the following manner: Zaharcu removed the bureau's recommendation, the autobiography and the "Solemn Pledge" from the file and placed them in the new file. A new recommendation was requested from party member Vasile Zangorescu and, on behalf of the UCY, Constantin Radulescu. The first was turned over immediately. The second one came several days later. Despite the fact that the UCY organization's recommendation had still not been received, the base organization bureau gave its approval to recommend Gheorghe Platarescu to the general assembly for acceptance into the party. A week later, Constantin Radulescu came forward with the requested recommendation, a recommendation that once again had not been discussed in the assembly of the UCY organization. Neither the autobiography, the recommendations nor tje recommenation of the bureau mentioned a word about what had happened previously, about the false statements that had been made, about the sanctions that had been issued and about the fact that Gheorghe Platarescu had also been dishonest when he accepted party membership by means outside the statutes. Thus, the general assembly, following the request of the bureau, voted for Gheorghe Platarescu's acceptance into the party. The party committee's confirmation of the decision was carried out without any problems. Although everyone knew, no one said anything about the violations that had taken place. Later, the municipal party committee secretariat decided upon the completion and issuing of party documents.

Notified of these serious violations of statutory provisions, the Calarasi County Party Committee required the municipal party committee to exclude Ion Zaharcu from the party for the wrongs that had been committed and to exclude Gheorghe Platarescu from the party for insincerity towards the party. Similarly, it sanctioned Ion Burcea with a "vote of censure with a warning" and excluded him from the CCCAT, while Constantin Radulescu was punished with a "vote of censure with a warning" because he issued a recommendation in the name of the UCY organization.

The following were also sanctioned with a "vote of censure": Mircea Istrate, the former deputy-secretary of the CCCAT party committee, Ilie Iosif, the former secretary of the municipal party committee, and Vasile Dragomir and Vasile Ichim, activists of the municipal party committee. A "reprimand" was given to Lucian Muntean, an activist at the municipal party committee.

This case was broadly discussed with the entire party aktiv in the county. Certainly, this measure was welcomed. Nonetheless, because of what happened the bureau of the Calarasi County Party Committee must draw certain conclusions regarding the quality and efficiency of its own review activities. This is so because, without a doubt, a systematic concern for the precise adherence to statutory provisions regarding accepting people into the party and a more careful guidance of those activities dedicated to strengthening the ranks of the party organizations would have been capable of avoiding the commission of such serious violations of the norms for accepting people into the party.

Among Those Who Made Mistakes, One is Sanctioned Mildly, While Others Are Completely Overlooked

It was long ago proven that the success of the work of any party and state activist directly depends upon the unaltered maintenance of his moral profile, the exemplary behavior of activists under all circumstances, the placing of general interests above all others and the implacable struggle against any tendencies of abuse and dishonesty.

The movement into directions opposite to these requirements brings about serious damage. This is the conclusion that also comes out of what happened with Dumitru Cotofana, the former secretary of the Vagiulesti Town Party Committee in Gorj County. In 1981, he took pigs for his own use from the agricultural production cooperative and intervened so that other acquaintances of his could make purchases based on.... estimates of weight without weighing the animals. For some of the sessions organized at the town-level, he showed up late, with the people being required to wait for him. Sometimes he also came to work late. Especially serious is the fact that countless times he appeared before the people, particularly at the agricultural production cooperative, after he had consumed an excessive amount of alcoholic beverages. Although helped by the county party committee bureau, he continued to use a defective style in working with people, to neglect the application of certain party and state decisions and to favor his relatives and friends in procuring certain goods from the production cooperative and so forth.

For all this, the county party committee took the step of removing him from his positions as secretary of the town party committee and mayor. This was a measure that was required, naturally, by the seriousness of the deeds that had been committed. And, nonetheless, they required much more firmness and exigency regarding the former mayor.

We cannot omit the fact that the former secretary of the town party committee did everything within the sight of other communists, and especially some within the agricultural production cooperative. It was necessary, therefore, to examine the case in all its implications, also taking a firm attitude towards all those who, in one way or another, favored the deviations of the person removed from office. Just as there should also be a need felt to analyze the quality of the work to guide and review the party activists who went into this town and the organizer from the country party committee for the unified agroindustrial council that also covered the town of Vagiulesti, and the causes that allowed these shortcomings to go on for a long period of time.

Advantage Was Taken of an Approval, One Valid, However, for Another Situation

A group headed by a secretary of the Brasov County Party Committee investigated violations reported in connection with the manner in which certain privately-owned apartments were allotted on Traian Vuia street in Brasov.

The review showed the fact that, initially, this group of 30 privately-owned apartments was to be built by the Brasov Construction Trust for a residents association of 21 workers from different professions, including workers, within the Trust, as well as 9 personnel with diverse leadership positions in other institutions. Later, the local organs withdrew approval for this residents association, with the apartments being allocated to the Brasov Construction Trust.

Unfortunately, in this new situation the structure of the residents association was maintained, with the listing of those who were to become the owners of the new housing units being approved by the trust's workers council and with the listing being endorsed by the former first vice president in the name of the executive committee of the county people's council. In these circumstances, it is clear that they did not fully adhere to the legal provisions since the nine people from outside of the construction trust should have had the approval of the collective leadership organs of the units where these people worked.

It is clear to see the ease with which the approval of the executive committee of the county people's council was considered valid for both totally different situations, ignoring an entire system of approval by the workers councils for the people who were to be allocated housing units. Just as there is also an absence of any type of review on the part of the party organs and this shows up in all its consequences. Furthermore, this was noticed during the entire construction period, which also led to a failure to adhere to the general work estimates.

On the basis of the conclusions of the investigation, the county party committee secretariat also established the necessary measures that applied party sanctions to those responsible for these serious violations.

It is also good that those who, for their own good, were inclined to not respect the general estimates were required, as was decided, to contribute to the recovery of the amount of money above the estimates, while those who should have carried out the preventative review at the construction trust and did not carry it out were also sanctioned.

It would have been opportune and necessary, however, to also adopt other measures that would ensure the prevention of the appearance of such illegalities and to exercise a systematic, preventative review designed to increase the responsibility of those called upon to see to the adherence to legalities.

What the Mayor Should Have Done and What He Did

To hold the positions of secretary of the town party committee and mayor means, implicitly, dedicating youself, body and soul, to the work of improving the town and militating firmly so that party and state activities will take place

under the best possible conditions. It is a proven fact that the prestige of this type of personnel is built precisely upon the firm application of party and state decisions, upon their service to the people's interests and upon avoiding any deviations from the principles and norms of communist work and life and socialist ethics and equity.

Those who lose sight of such important requirements sooner or later encounter the contempt of the citizens. This is what happened with Constantin Cioclov, the former secretary of the Poroina Mare Town Party Committee in Mehedinti County. Although helped numerous times in order to improve his work style and methods, he continued to neglect the proper preparation of plenary sessions of the town committee, sessions of the people's councils, the party committee bureau and the executive bureau of the people's councils, and the general assemblies of the base organizations, which negatively reflected upon the activities in diverse fields, especially in agriculture. Production was much below planned levels, the administration of the town left much to be desired and so forth.

If he was not fully responsible for the fulfillment of his tasks, what was the secretary of the town party committee and mayor doing? In abusing his position, he required the president of the production cooperative involved in the acquisition and sale of goods to sell him 50 kg of sugar, which generated an inappropriate atmosphere in the town. He tolerated the situation where the former vice president of the executive bureau of the people's council, Dragos Gorunescu, held, together with his father, an area of land for their use larger than that allowed according to the Agricultural Production Cooperative Statute, while the wife of the vice president, the coordinating director of the town schools, was unjustifiably and without approval absent from the school.

As can be seen, under the administration of the mayor sufficiently serious shortcomings sprung up and developed. Naturally, the county party committee secretariat decided to remove him and Dragos Gorunescu from their positions, as well as Mihai Ghitulescu, the president at the production cooperative involved in the acquisition and sale of goods.

...And the Cider Clouded Their Minds, Causing Them to Honor Thievry

At the Tirgu Mures Complex for the Sale of Agricultural Products, a unit belonging to the County State Agricultural Enterprise Trust, people pursuing money profited fully from the superficiality expressed in their work as personnel having responsible positions, creating an original system for siphoning off public property.

The source? Apples that had been depreciated prior to their sale in sales units (and they were careful to create a certain stock level so that the delays in sales would bring about an increase in the amounts of fruit that could not be sold and whose sole destination was the production of cider and brandy).

The conditions? The production itself of cider and brandy from apples by violating legal norms that prohibit the processing of beverages in any commercial complex and require these items to be turned over to specialized units. In the Tirgu Mures Complex for the Sale of Agricultural Products, however, in an abusive manner they produced cider and brandy from depreciated fruits. And, not with the knowledge of the entire group, but out of the sight of the people in a locality approximately 50 km from the center of the county, in the town of Nades where the technician Ion Uricaru was involved in distilling marcs in boilers in the town, with the evidence held showing such advantages that those involved could not quite keep quiet.

Thus, compared to the efficiency calculated in a comparative check made by the competent organs, the amount of brandy registered by the clandestine producers was 7,255 liters short, worth 387,515 lei, in other words, this sum of money was divided in a brotherly manner (or, better put, like thieves) between those entrusted with all the prerogatives of management and administration. Six of the accomplices - Ion Uricaru, Ioan Cozma, Florentina Sintean, Balasz Szilagyi, Iuliana Ferenczi and Viorica Jovna - felt the impact of the law, receiving criminal sentences and, as is normal, for these deeds they were placed in discussion before the workers' assembly, yielding graphic conclusions for the entire collective. In his position as director of the unit, Milica Giurea should have shown firmness in applying and adhering to the provisions of normative acts and ensured a rigor record keeping on goods, a correct materials use and a combativeness towards the shortcomings shown in the activities of certain members of the collective. But, he did not demonstrate the indispensable qualities of a leader and the communists severely criticized him, sanctioning him with a "vote of censure". At the same time, the Mures County Party Committee secretariat recommended that he be removed from his job, a measure that was carried out.

Naturally, the measures taken are equal to the deeds. The question that arises is: How was it that such a favorable climate for the activities of certain people seeking fortunes was created and maintained? Perhaps activists from the county party committee and the municipal committee did not come to this unit? If they did come, how did they express their presence in the party organization and the collective? Similarly, were reviews organized there by state organs? What type of activities were they if such violations occurred in this unit? These are questions that must be promptly, effectively answered on the basis of broadening analysis of all those who have tasks to guide and review the activities of this unit. And, the conclusions on this analysis must be worked with the entire party aktiv of the county party committee, in all localities and in all economic-social units in Mures.

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ROLE OF PARTY ORGANIZER IN AGROINDUSTRIAL COUNCIL

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Apr 82 pp 13-19

[Unsigned article: "The Organizer for the Unified Agroindustrial Council - A Party and State Activist"]

[Text] By establishing unified councils, instituting the position of organizer of the county party committee and setting up the coordinating bureaus for party political-organizational activities an organizational framework was created appropriate for the closer unification of the efforts of the party organizations, communists and all workers in the fulfillment of the objectives given to agriculture by the party, as well as for the more judicious use of the land and the entire technical potential. It is an incontestable reality that, due to this original organizational forumla, management, guidance and review have been brougth much closer to the basic units, they have taken on a much more specific nature and, implicitly, they have increased their political and social efficiency.

According to the concept of the party leadership and comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the party organizer-president of the unified state and cooperatist agroindustrial council is a party and state activist having the task of coordinating all party work in agricultural and industrial units and educational, cultural and health units and so forth, and activities of mass and public organizations. It is also understood that the party organizer is directly concerned for the fulfillment of economic and social-public tasks in the towns, villages and production units within the jurisdiction of the council. He has responsibilities both along political and party lines and along economic lines, especially in the management of agriculture.

An Individual Style of Work

Keeping in mind the fact that he is carrying out his activities within a new framework, the essential problem is for him to create his own individual style of work that corresponds to the specific situations in which he is working, as well as to the large and complex attributes with which he is invested.

In most places, the party organizers draw up their weekly work plans. Certainly, it is a positive fact that the organizers take care to carry out an orderly activity. For a party organizer, whose sphere of attributes contains especially important attributes, a very large circle of concerns and a relatively wide-

spread jurisdiction, planning his work for only a week is absolutely insufficient. This means practically working without any perspective. The weekly work plan must be understood, however, as a page, we could say as a component, of a work plan for a much longer period of time, for a month or even a quarter. The weekly plan represents the specifics, a detail of this plan. Otherwise, there is a risk that the party organizers will be purely and simply overwhelmed by the flow of current activities and daily tasks, which - it is true - are many in number and not at all easy.

For example, now, each party organizer must have clearly defined, through his work program, what specific actions will be undertaken along party lines and administrative-economic lines, not just to ensure the carrying out of the spring agricultural campaign under good conditions, but also so that all later work will be carried out within the established timeframes and at the highest qualitative parameters in order to create a certain base for a rich harvest this year.

This means that the plan will contain specific measures referring to the organization of seeding work and, then, the maintenance of the crops, and to the precise responsibilities for the members of the executive bureau of the council and the coordinating bureau and for the other comrades in the party aktiv and the specialists in such a manner that not only will all the agricultural units in the council be convered, but also all the farms and brigades.

For the zootechnical sectors, special measures must be outlined in light of the tasks set forth by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the conference with the zootechnical personnel and at the 31 March 1982 plenary session of the RCP Central Committee, and we especially have in mind the introduction of a new and more economical concept in the feeding of livestock, the provision of competent cadres who are moved by the spirit of responsibility in this sector, the correct application of the new regulations regarding material incentives for those persons who care for livestock and the modernization of livestock housing in order to achieve a zootechny of high productivity.

Then, since we are talking about the party organizer's work plan, certainly the plan must have measures of an organizational nature that will refer to the training of the aktiv, the bureaus of the town committees, the secretaries and deputy secretaries of the party committees in the agricultural production cooperatives and the state agricultural enterprises, and all the secretaries of the base organizations.

All the problems related to the proper flow of agricultural work must be discussed with the greatest responsibility in the plenary sessions of the party committees and in the assemblies of the base organizations, which are called to give precise tasks to each communist.

Finally, this plan must also absolutely include measures that involve the contribution of mass propaganda and cultural-educational work and the precise

objectives of the cultural centers, the village libraries, the radio stations and the wall and street bulletins. In the plan it is necessary it note when training will take place for agitators, propagandists, teaching faculties and all intellectuals in the villages because, as is known, during the rush periods no citizen from the town can remain outside of the agricultural campaign.

What is essential is to ensure such a planning of activities that all crops, certainly in the order of priorities, will be seeded, as was directed by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the 31 March plenary session of the RCP Central Committee, by 15-20 April. "Everyone must be taken out of the offices, all offices closed, meetings eliminated and personnel moved out to practical activities!", stressed the secertary general of the party. And, the party organizer must ensure taking all the measures to this end.

Such a manner of work is important for at least two considerations: first, because the party organizer clearly determines the actions that will be undertaken by him and the unified council; second, the town party committees, the people's councils, the party committees in the agricultural units and all the propaganda resources also receive guidance, which ensures that all activities within the council will be based on much more rigorous bases.

The party organizer, in his position as president of the unified agroindustrial council, must meet at least once each week with the permanent staff of the council and with other technical cadres in order to understand in detail what problems have come up in the process of fulfilling the plan and, depending upon these problems, he can decide upon the measures that are required in order to ensure the normal carrying out of economic activities. Similarly, he must establish such a system of links so that at least once each week he will meet with the secretaries of the town committees and the party committees in the state agricultural enterprises and agricultural production cooperatives, with these people actually representing his basic help in guiding the party work in the council.

A party organizer who has understood well his job has meetings at least once each month with all the secretaries of the base organizations in order to understand not only the specific problems that crop up in their activities, but also how the secretaries go about in resolving them, their ability to judge and evaluate things and the initiative that they show or do not show.

Finally, it is necessary for the party organizer to maintain a close tie with the leadership cadres in the mass and public organizations, with the presidents of the trade union councils, the secretaries of the committees of the Union of Communist Youth organizations, the presidents of the women's committees and commissions and the presidents of the committees of the socialist unit and democracy organizations, with whom he must meet at least once each month in order to give them the necessary guidance and review their activities. Certainly, all these meetings will be efficient if they are organized on the basis of judicious scheduling, each time setting the purpose and subject of the discussions so as to avoid any improvization.

Organically Integrated In The Fundamental Economic Problems

The position of president of the unified state and cooperatist agroindustrial council requires the party organizer to intimately understand the major problems that crop up today in the state agricultural enterprises, the agricultural mechanization stations and the agricultural production cooperatives in general in the development of agriculture. In connection with this, the following aspect is graphic. In some unified agroindustrial councils, the component units record great differences in the level of production, and the party organizers-presidents of the unified councils do not firmly and consistently intervene and do not ensure the mobilization of human and material forces in order to put to use all internal resources. For example, in the Vladila Unified Agroindustrial Council in Olt County, although the conditions are the same, the Studina Agricultural Cooperative last year obtained 5,302 kg of corn per hectare while the Redea Agricultural Production Cooperative obtained only 2,442 kg. And this while using irrigation! But, the party organizer, as evaluated by the secretariat of the county party committee, carried out a disorganized activity, with low results and efficiency. Right in the middle of the agricultural campaign, the party organizer was consuming a large portion of his time holding all types of report sessions at the unified council's headquarters.

The party organizer is called upon to place himself in the front ranks of the struggle to develop the revolutionary spirit in all areas and to promote a powerful mass opinion against self-satisfaction and the tendency to lead a calm, easy life and against those who say they are satisfied with minimum results. The party organizer must be the nucleus of all actions, the one who is first involved, proving himself to be tireless in the struggle to fulfill economic objectives. Working with tenacity, the party organizers have the duty to do everything so that, by uniting the forces in the unified council as much as possible, any difficulty can be overcome, declaring open war against shortcomings, shortfalls and the tendency to find all kinds of explanations and justifications for them.

Unfortunately, in some unified councils in Calarasi, Ialomita, Timis and Arges counties, the party organizers tried to discover all kinds of justifications and "objective" reasons for the poor harvests that were obtained instead of looking at their own shortcomings, serious violations of discipline and violations of regulations regarding optimum crop densities, carrying out work on-time, applying organic fertilizers and so forth.

One of the fundamental attributes of the party organizer is to carry out a permanent review each day of the fulfillment of party and state decisions. The reason itself for creating this position was to provide a powerful instrument that could help to better organize forces for the purpose of getting results out of party and state decisions. And, in those places where the party and state decisions are left behind in desk draws or are applied in a distorted manner, we can rightly ask whether the party organizer did or did not carry out one of his essential duties.

For example, at the Mihail Kogalniceanu Unified Agroindustrial Council in Tulcea County, the party organizer had created a work system of carrying out a review especially by using the intermediary of the permanent staff of the council and the presidents and chief engineers in the agricultural units. Rarely did he go out into the fields, into the cooperatives, to the farms and brigades to see for himself how work was progressing and how the people were working to implement party decisions. For that reason, not by chance, the data and reports that he had were almost always in flagrant contradiction to the reality in the units. It is easy to understand the number of inconsistencies in his directives, the discrepancies that existed between the established measures and the extremely pressing requirements of life. For that reason, the measure taken by the bureau of the Tulcea County Party Committee was a natural one for removing the party organizer from his office, an organizer who had made a habit of living more and more on the information furnished by others.

The role of the party organizer is not to make certain lightning inspections in the party organizations and agricultural units, but to exercise a thorough, methodical review of their activities, systematically helping the party aktiv and the best cadres in the unified councils. And, when it is found that some units are encountering difficulties, that there are leaderships in the agricultural production cooperatives that are moving more slowly in carrying out their attributes and that some cadres are tempted to move along paths that countervene legal norms, then he must spend more time, to review and to help, in other words, to use all his skill and experience.

There are, however, party organizers who run from here to there all day long without having a precise concept, a clear perspective and well-defined goals. It is normal, then, that at the end of a workday or a week or a period of work this type of party organizer will not be in a position to report that he carried out a unified activity, that he pursued something specific and that he managed to obtain certain specific results.

Along this line of thinking of the judicious organization of reviews, it must be said, however, that in some places there is still much to be desired in the manner in which the understanding and application of decisions and laws are organized. There is also the totally unjustified neglect of the good system where, immediately after the appearance of a law or the adoption of a decision, there will be a discussion, processing and mastery of these laws and decisions and, later, a follow-up on their implementation, systematically listening to reports in connection with the status of carrying out a decision or measure. The party organizer does not have to wait for special directives in order to ensure the study and application of a party or state decision within the council. He not only has the right, but also the obligation, by the nature of his position as an organizer, to initiate such measures so that immediately after a decision or law has been adopted every single citizen will be helped to understand its actual meaning and significance. And more than that, the organizer will design such political and organizational measures, naturally, together with the town committees and those in the agricultural enterprises and production cooperatives, so as to immediately implement the law or decision.

The party organizer must be the finest defender of the law and be inflexible regarding deviations from party and state deviations. Only when a violation is given an energetic rebuff right from its incipient stages do shortcomings not grow in size and get nipped in the bud. Last fall, at Insula Mare a Brailei, under the eyes of the party organizer, the leadership cadres of the state agricultural enterprise worked outside the framework of the law, being allowed to adopt all kinds of organizational measures that removed them from their direct, specific responsibilities for production. Nor did the party organizer intervene when the chiefs of certain production units in the enterprise decided to set fire to the cornstalk stubble that had not yet been collected after the combines had harvested the corn.

At the Odoreu and Valea Vinului unified agroindustrial councils in Satu Mare County, the party organizers-presidents of these councils did not report the erroneous manner, one outside the framework of the law, in which salary payments were made in the agricultural cooperatives last fall. There, the principle used for standardizing and paying wages was haggling and narrow, local interests and not the amount of production that had been obtained, as is stipulated in the Agricultural Production Cooperative Statute, in the salary law and in the party leadership's directives.

The facts point out that among the ranks of certain party organizers there has been evidence of an atmosphere of self-satisfaction and tolerance towards shortcomings, with some of them becoming accustomed to this some much that they can no longer conceive that there is room for improvement in their activities. A party organizer who overlooks serious shortcomings means he is one who does not possess the ability to discover them in time and that he is not capable of contributing to their elimination. Such a person does not have the qualities necessary to be a party activist, in other words, he is not appropriate for the job of party organizer.

The party organizer is, in fact, the representative of the county party committee in the unified agroindustrial council. Through him, the county committee must have the possibility of daily being able to get an exact picture of the flow of all activities in the council. Clearly, the county committee also has other opportunities to get information, but the organizer represents one of the main channels through which information permanently flows into the county committee. For that reason, there is great significance in this information being true and expressing correctly the realities, and never in hiding shortcomings, errors and failures.

It is incomprehensible why some party organizers prefer to forward to the county committees certain reports, data and figures that embellish the situation in the field, and, sometimes, flagrant shortfalls are purely and simply transformed into successes and plan overfulfillments. At the Zaval Agricultural Production Cooperative in the Macesu Unified Agroindustrial Council in Dolj County, for example, approximately one month after it was reported that the corn harvest had been completed and the tabulations had been concluded, nearly 100 hectares were still being harvested out in the fields. The management of the land improvement worksite in Alesd, in Bihor

County, last year falsely reported that it had cleared more than 200 additional hectares in the fields, undeservingly receiving over one million lei. An end must be put to such phenomena because they purely and simply cultivate dishonesty and insincerity. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, such attitudes are incompatible not only with the qualities of a party activist, but also with those of a party member and, for that reason, everywhere such cases have existed they must be discussed very seriously, learning the maximum number of lessons and taking the most drastic measures against the guilty parties.

Ensuring Intense Internal Party Affairs

The job of party organizer and instructor of the county committee requires the person charged with these responsibilities to be closely concerned with the normal carrying out of party affairs in all party organs and organizations within the jurisdiction of the unified agroindustrial council.

The strengthening of discipline, the adherence to democratic norms and collective leadership, the good planning of work, the powerful use of communists by assigning specific tasks to all of them, their party education and, especially, the growth of the ability of the base organizations to mobilize the workers to fulfill economic and social objectives are problems that have priority in the permanent cirlce of concerns of each party organizer.

As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has stressed numerous times, this dual role produces two groups of concerns that are harmoniously combined: the president of the unified state and cooperatist agroindustrial council and the organizer of the county party committee. We are not talking about carrying out one job to the detriment of the other, nor neglecting the first in favor of the second. When out in the field, either in agricultural units or in party organizations, the organizer must not forget that at all times he has the responsibility for the proper flow of agricultural production and party work.

Furthermore, the organizer, as an instructor of the county party committee, must ensure the review and guidance of all party organizations within the jurisdiction of the council, including those organizations in schools, dispensaries, hospitals and other economic-social units, being concerned with all facets of party work, including organizational work and propaganda and mass cultural-educational work.

The reality is that some party organizers give second priority to the problems of political and party organizational work and to the guidance and review of party organizations. Naturally, no one will contest the top priority of economic tasks and those in agriculture. There can be no discussion that these tasks should not always be top priority. But, this does not at all mean neglecting party work, not being concerned about the work style of the party committees and bureaus and not following-up on how organizational activities and internal party affairs are being carried out.

For example, in Mures County, last year 15,000 cattle and 30,000 pigs were taken out of the livestock herds because of deaths and necessary slaughtering, with the average milk production being more than 500 liters below the planned level at the agricultural production cooperative and more than 1,100 liters below at the state agricultural enterprise. Normally the organizers should have brought about analyses in the assemblies of the base organizations in order to discuss the existing situation in a critical and self-critical spirit and to adopt the necessary measures. Despite all this, the base organizations in the Iernut, Singeorgiu de Padure, Ungheni and Zau de Cimpie councils put minor, insignificant subjects on the agendas of their assemblies last year and when, in the end, subjects of a broader interest were scheduled the reports and discussions were filled with generalities, data and figures. Many times, party organizers participated in these types of analyses, but either they did not go to them early enough to help prepare the analyses or they did not succeed in contributing to correcting the existing situation through their presence. In other words, they were there, they listened and they left.

As is know, last year the party leadership decided to create the coordinating bureaus of political-party organizational activities within the unified councils (with the party organizer holding the position of secretary of this bureau). These are organisms that will permanently be concerned about uniting the efforts of the communists and guiding them in a single direction: the accentuated increase of crop and animal production, the complete fulfillment of the production plan and the organization and achievement of the agricultural campaigns under good conditions.

And, precisely in these areas a series of coordinating bureaus made a sufficiently poor showing. One shortcoming of many of the coordinating bureaus lies in the fact that they neglected the problems of party organizational work, the work style of the party committees and bureaus of base organizations and the manner in which internal party affairs were carried out. Last year, for example, the coordinating bureau in the Vinga Unified Agroindustrial Council in Arad County did not examine a single problem related to internal party affairs. In the tasks established by the party leadership, it is true that the acceptance of people into the party, the maintenance of records on party members, the payment and depositing of dues, the election of leadership organs and the application of disciplinary measures will continue to remain attributes of the county, municipal, city and town party committees. But, this does not mean that the coordinating bureaus will not be concerned for the strengthening of the ranks of the base organizations, the party education of new party members and all communists, the firming-up of party discipline and the strengthening of the spirit of order and responsibility in all party organizations in the council.

According to the attributes given to them, they do not have statutory rights, in the sense that they cannot confirm or invalidate decisions to accept people into the party or party sanctions, they do not hold records on party members, accept payments of dues and so forth. However, they must be concerned for the flow of activities in these fields because it is inconceivable that they

would pursue the growth of the role of party organizers in the management of economic and social affairs and just neglect such important aspects as the strengthening of discipline and exigency in the carrying out of party decisions or the qualitative improvement of the ranks of the party organizations.

One main task of the party organizers is the permanent follow-up of the manner in which the party organization structures operate within the jurisdiction of the unified state and cooperatist agroindustrial councils. Out party's concept is known regarding the fact that the norms of party affairs and the methods and forms of activities are not given out once and for all. Under these conditions, the party organizer is called upon to permanently study the realities in his area of operation, to promptly report irregularities and outdated organizational forms that may appear and to effectively take action within the limits of his attributes in order to ensure that the organizational structures of party and public work are permanently adequate for current needs.

As is known, the Decision of the RCP Central Committee regarding the structure of party organizations in enterprises, institutes, housing developments and villages states that in party organizations that have under 100 members just one base organization per agricultural production cooperative is created, and within it, depending upon the needs, the members can create party groups in the villages, farms, brigades, schools and so forth. The meaning of these provisions is precisely that of providing an organizational framework in those base organizations with a larger number of members that will permit the carrying out of permanent party affairs in the production subunits as well - brigades, farms, different sectors - or in other units, such as: schools, production cooperatives, sectors for the acquisition and sale of goods, dispensaries and so forth.

The right to create party groups in villages belongs to the town committees and the party committees in the state agricultural enterprises, the agricultural mechanization stations and the agricultural production cooperative. And, the party organizers have the task of seeing that these groups will be created in accordance with the norms listed in the RCP Central Committee decision and, especially, of giving their full support so that these groups will be viable and permanently operate.

In the 3 years that have passed since the creation of the job of organizer of the county party committee for the unified state and cooperatist agroindustrial council, positive experiences have accumulated whose results are visible everywhere.

Beginning with the priority objectives of carrying out the new agricultural revolution, the growth of combativeness, the consolidation of discipline and firmness and the growth of competency are basic requirements in the work of each organizer, indispensible qualities without which these activists cannot successfully achieve their great tasks during the current period.

That is why it is necessary for all the county committees to conduct a thorough analysis of the manner in which the party organizers have worked to date, to also bring to the surface, certainly, the good experiences that have been shaped and, especially, to pause on the shortcomings and on the gaps in their work style in order to know precisely how to work in the future for the purpose of having a radical improvement in their work methods. With this done, all the party organizers will be able to fully discharge the great responsibilities entrusted to them under the best possible conditions.

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DEFECTS IN MEDICAL EDUCATION DISCUSSED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 5 Feb 82 p 8

/Interview with Dr Simion Purice by Liviu Timbuş; date and place not given/

/Text/ Prof Dr Simion Purice was born in Piatra Neamt in 1922 and is a licentiate of the Faculty of Medicine in Bucharest. He was the pupil and collaborator of Professors Mihai Ciuca, Daniel Danielopolu, Costel Nicolau, Bazil Theodorescu, Ionescu-Mihaiesti and Ion Bruckner. He succeeded the last in the post of director of the Institute of Internal Medicine in Bucharest. He had specialized training in Paris, Hamburg, Cologne, Dusseldorf and Berlin (FRG). He is the author of 184 works published here and abroad and the coauthor of 5 treatises on internal medicine. In the capacity of chief editor, he runs the periodical MEDICINE INTERNE, and he is a collaborator of the specialized publications MEDIZINISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT and LEBER UND DARM (FRG). At present, he holds the post of chief of the Colentina Clinic of Internal Medicine.

/Question/ You had the privilege, dear Comrade Professor, of being the pupil and collaborator of eminent representatives of the national school of medicine. Is the avowed taste for laboratory research the result of this fruitful postgraduate period?

/Answer/ Direct scientific research engrossed me as far back as in the years of college. Later, as you said, I had the chance to collaborate in this fascinating activity with great clinicians. Professors Daniel Danielopolu, Mihai Ciuca, Ion Nasta, Ionescu-Mihaiesti and Ion Bruckner were also active researchers, people who enriched significantly, through their own research, the legacy of the medical sciences. As a matter of fact, I have always felt that only scientific research fulfills the medical act. The true man of science must be a creator, not just a mere doer, not just the instrumented beneficiary of the work of others. The great clinicians, almost without exception, augmented the medical legacy through original discoveries and inventions. I too am striving to follow in the footsteps of such illustrious predecessors--as far as possible, of course. Laboratory research requires valuable hours that I now must steal from the hours of class or of medical consultation. When this is not possible, I content myself with encouraging the work of others and especially of the young ones, of the enthusiastic minds. New ideas, even if they are those of very young people without scientific certificates, captivate me immediately.

/Question/ In this way, we suspect, was the collaboration with Dr Mihai Leontopol not also established?

/Answer/ I first heard about the Leontopol treatment through the periodical FLACARA. The method and the therapeutic concept obviously attracted my attention through their absolute novelty. The opportunity for collaboration arose a year and a half ago when a young engineer with an extremely serious ailment--seminoma (a tumor of the testis) with hepatic and pulmonary metastasis--came to our clinic. We treated him with the well-known standard means, but as the disease advanced, we decided to send him to Paris, to Dr Mathe's clinic. There the patient was subjected to a severe treatment with cytostatics. But as the ailment continued to worsen, Professor Mathe sent him back to the country, but not before telephoning me and advising me to send an ambulance to the airport, because--the colleague in Paris said--the patient had only a very short time to live. Then we decided to apply Leontopol's treatment to the patient. And a miracle occurred! The patient began to recover, the metastasis in the lungs disappeared, the liver became normal, and after a few months the patient became a normal, healthy man again. By chance, I met him at the very top of Ceahlau Mountain and then by the sea. Occasionally, he also visits me here, at the institute.

/Question/ Other cases?

/Answer/ I also collaborated with Dr Leontopol on the treatment of cases of pulmonary neoplasm, but after a temporary improvement the ailment returned. True, they were extremely serious cases. Some 3 months ago, I sent to him for treatment a patient with an intraoperative neoplasm of the pancreas. Thus far, from a clinical viewpoint, the results are good. The patient has not come back to the clinic, and when the patient no longers needs the doctor, it means that he feels well.

/Question/ Is it possible to formulate a conclusion?

/Answer/ The cases are much too few--and I am referring just to those that I was able to examine personally--for me to commit myself to a conclusion. I feel that Dr Leontopol's method is a completely new way in cancer therapy, that it deserves the full attention of the specialists and that, in particular, it involves multidisciplinary research--reasons why I feel that Dr Leontopol must benefit from all the conditions for performing further the research needed.

/Question/ What is the role of preventive medicine at the present time?

/Answer/ Enormous. Enormous, but, unfortunately, very little is being done in this regard. We hope nonetheless that things may change. A clear direction was indicated recently in an article signed by Comrade Minister Eugen Proca. It is thus pointed out that, in the future, within the medical assistance for the population, preventive medical activity will have a place as a concern of major importance. It is very good if things will go that way, because now, and especially in the case of serious illnesses, the patient turns to the doctor much too late most of the time. This is the time when we doctors circle around the bed without being able to intervene any longer to entirely eliminate the illness. At such times, the incurable patient constitutes a bitter reproach addressed to the doctors and to modern medical science. In this situation, in fact, we are practicing internal medicine on lost cases. At the same time, I should also remark that in medical education itself the study of preventive medicine is split up artificially between the departments of hygiene and of internal medicine. I then mention that there are countries where inoscopy has become a routine test, which means infinitely more chances of early detection of a neoplasm of the rectum, intestines, esophagus, stomach and lungs. We are currently doing endoscopies here at the institute, they are also being done at the Fundeni Hospital and

the Vitan Polyclinic, they are also being done in a few places in the country, but this is extremely little. We should have apparatus and specialists in this field in each county hospital. I would even propose the founding of a methodological center that would deal particularly with the methods of medical prophylaxis.

/Question/ What diseases do you have in mind?

/Answer/ Along with cancer, that terrible curse of our century, it is possible to note an alarming proliferation of hepatitis and hepatic cirrhosis. They are the consequences of the wave of epidemic viral hepatitis that also raged in our country immediately after the war. In the case of chronic hepatitis, with a certain degree of reversibility, the patient can benefit from a combined treatment and if the ailment is "caught" in time, it is cured or, at any rate, the patient can lead a relatively normal life. Unfortunately, the patient usually shows up much too late and then the ailment evolves inexorably toward cirrhosis. I propose that in the case of the routine tests there also be the hepatic biopsy, which can be achieved either through a blind puncture or through endoscopy.

/Question/ Is the epidemic of epidemic hepatitis the only cause that explains the spread of the two illnesses?

/Answer/ The liver ailment has a diverse and complicated etiology. Stress, excessive food and drink, and fatigue are just a few of the factors that cause its onset. However, I would like to mention to the general public the danger that, especially now, there is in aggressive medical investigations and in pollution with drugs.

/Question/ What is meant by aggressive investigations?

/Answer/ A collagen ailment, for instance, which is in fact an autoimmune illness, can be detected very simply by means of serodiagnosis. But no, the patients are advised to have pulmonary and renal x-rays, biopsies are requested from them--that is, severe investigations that can upset the immunoformative system of the organism. Scintigrams and, again, x-rays and fluoroscopies are requested for the detection of rheumatism. I have encountered patients who came to a consultation with 50-100 x-rays. Or take the case of hepatitis. Chronic hepatitis is a stabilized illness--that is, a relatively slight ailment. Well, nevertheless, countless colleagues prescribe complicated, sophisticated treatments, bombard the patient with cytostatics, with anti-inflammatories and corticoids. There is used for the same purpose plasmaphoresis, a costly method, one that was introduced very recently into the clinics because it also requires specialized training. The drawing of blood cannot always have favorable consequences. Then, too many tranquilizers, too many anesthetics and drugs that hinder the work of the liver and thus create a setting favorable to the appearance of hepatitis and cirrhosis, are used. I would not want it understood by this that I am an opponent of the modern methods of investigation and treatment. They represent a great achievement of the human mind, but when they tend to dominate the toil of the doctor, they can become a two-edged sword.

/Question/ Along this line of thinking, do you perhaps also have in mind the current specialization and subspecialization of internal medicine?

/Answer/ Undoubtedly, a stricter compartmentation of the knowledge of internal medicine has yielded many advantages. But, at the same time, in its turn, excessive specialization can be detrimental to the medical act. An ailing organ must be judged in

the general context of the organism. This is precisely why, at a given time, the breakup of internal medicine into specialties and subspecialties can narrow the horizon of the diagnostician. The cardiologist, the hepatologist, the nephrologist, the gastroenterologist, the lung specialist thus become narrow, limited craftsmen, like the worker who has learned to make a single part and has no idea of the whole assembly being manufactured. The chase after specialization is, I believe, also a consequence of the way in which the internal-medicine course is now taught in college. I feel that it is a very bad sign that, starting with the 4th year, the internal-medicine course is taught by a different professor every year. In the past, one and the same teacher taught the students in all 3 years. Only on this basis was it possible to found the brilliant schools of internal medicine whose disappearance represents a serious loss for the health assistance in Romania. Until not long ago, in Bucharest there were the school of internal medicine headed by Dr Nicolae Lupu and that of Bazil Theodorescu and Daniel Danielopolu. In Cluj, the school of Iuliu Hatieganu and Ion Goia had distinguished itself, followed by that of Prof Octavian Fodor. In Iasi, Professor Enescu succeeded Professor Badaru in the department of internal medicine.

/Question/ Are these the only gaps in the current university and postgraduate medical education?

/Answer/ I read the broad group discussion organized on this subject by your periodical and I endorse in many respects the ideas and suggestions expressed on that occasion. I will remark first that the 3-year period of probation has proved to be an incorrect method. The graduate is obliged to stroll through various departments and to be specialized in county hospitals, where he does not always have to learn new things. I was able to note personally that after only 6 months the students in the period of probation know less medicine than they knew in college. The isolation of the graduate from the big university medical centers can only have bad consequences. It may be necessary to return to the competitive examination for internship--and this even in the 5th year of college. The young graduates and even the older doctors should maintain constant contact with the university centers. Even our institute of internal medicine should have a role in this regard. It should become a true methodological center for the medical personnel throughout the country. It would also have, among other things, the mission of holding advanced training courses, of establishing schemes of investigation and treatment, and of tackling research subjects with various hospital units in the country. Finally, I will venture to observe that the young doctors participate to a very slight degree in the international scientific discussions. Few are sent to study abroad and also few participate in the summer colloquiums and seminars that are organized in various European countries.

These are thus a few observations and a few proposals and suggestions for a better organization of medical education and of health care in general. I dwelled more on shortcomings and I believe that it is good that I did so. It is an easy, fine and useful thing to speak about successes, about victories, but it is more important--as the secretary general of our party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, has recommended to us countless times--for us to openly admit our shortcomings, subject them to public discussion, deal frankly with the mistakes, do everything to correct them, to improve our work. An acknowledged mistake also has every likelihood of being corrected.

12105
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WRITER ATTACKED FOR CRITICIZING BARBU, PREDA

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 5 Feb 82 pp 16-17

[Article by Ilie Purcaru in the column "Lucid Mind"; "Necessary Clarifications"]

[Text] The attempt to accredit at any cost the theory of "camps" in literature, visible in several passages appearing recently in some periodicals, has a lack of spontaneity that makes it suspect. The solution used--with a curious simultaneity under different signatures--is the dissemination, contrary to all evidence, of the idea of the existence of an Eugen Barbu group, which would monopolize all the channels of information and, evidently, all the material and nonmaterial benefits of Romanian literature. The most prudent formula does not exhibit ostentatious lists but only suggests them. The least prudent places the Manichean division into the Barbu group and the rest of the world under the guise of opposite literary positions. This is so in the interview given by Norman Manea to FAMILIA, an interview with which we dealt in a past issue of our periodical. This is also so in an article by Alex. Stefanescu in CONVORBIRI LITERARE, with which, again, our periodical dealt, and which even gives a list of names that begins, naturally, with Eugen Barbu. Although we are reviving the discussion about these passages, we are doing it in order to try to clear things up even better for their presumptive readers. Because the reader without access to the more intimate aspects of literary life--and without the time needed to verify some assertions--runs bang into this slogan--the Barbu group--offered insistently by the above-mentioned signers, for purposes that remain foreign to him. The signer in CONVORBIRI, for instance, ignores any literary and structural differences of those recruited involuntarily into the respective group, only to offer a list of writers at whose top there is E. Barbu. Reconstructed by us (because it does not also give the names of those charged but suggests them by means of transparent allusions), N. M.'s list, in FAMILIA, also begins with Barbu. The new element that this latter list brings is that it insists on putting the respective writers in opposition to Marin Preda--posthumously. If we add that the antinomic list in CONVORBIRI LITERARE begins with the name of the author of "Morometilor," we discover that, after the death of the great writer, the revival of a Marin Preda-Eugen Barbu conflict, more precisely the nostalgia of it, is attempted. Otherwise, what purpose would there have been in attacking the page of homage devoted by LUCEAFARUL to the memory of M. Preda--a page, N. M. says, full of invective against the deceased--when one of those who eulogized Marin Preda on that page was, in the first place, Eugen Barbu! But such passages--I already said--do not fit the evidence, are not considered obliged to it. With the goal being to divide the overall image of Romanian literature, even the dead are called from the grave in order to attain it.

In actual fact, what do the respective passages intend? It is hard for us to imagine that they would tend to solve problems of literary history and criticism, as the passage in CONVORBIRI tries to give the illusion, because elementary criteria of literary history and criticism are dismissed offhandedly. The slighting of great works and important writers, of a major idea for Romanian literature like "traditionalism," like the confusion sowed around "modernism," shows us that the signer of that article is far from the problems that, innocently or not, he discusses. Consequently, what do such remarks intend? More visibly in N. M., these archangelic descents intend to paint the picture of acquirers of material values and literary glory, of monopolizers of the mass-media channels. Here is N. M.'s beautiful contribution in FAMILIA: "For several years, some (what else can we call them?) 'colleagues'--namely, precisely those most pampered by means of all the loudspeakers and press columns with a wide audience, authors who are not doing too badly either in terms of the share of the benefits and honorariums" and so on and so on. For the moment, we are overlooking the fact that the public knows, euphemistically speaking, next to nothing about Norman Manea's work, but it reads the prose of Eugen Barbu and Ion Lancranjan in printings on the order of hundreds of thousands of copies, that it bought out in record time a book like "Elegii Politice" /Political Elegies/ by Ion Gheorghe, a great event of the '81 poetic year. But let us see what "monopoly" and what "honors" are in question. Ion Lancranjan, for example, has not appeared on television for about 10 years. His name does not blanket either the radio broadcasts or the pages of the periodicals, where, as in the case of FAMILIA, he is rather ill-treated. I. Lancranjan is not even a pensioner of the Union of Writers, as is his younger and indignant colleague from FAMILIA. Regarding the fact that I. Lancranjan occasionally publishes articles, we believe that N. M. should be, at this point, somewhat more lenient. We believe that Ion Lancranjan still has the right to publish, from time to time, in a press whose language he knows. Should we also add that Ion Gheorghe, another "pampered" one in N. M.'s view, does not have any honorary position, which, as a matter of fact, he has never requested? That he does not jostle his way into the television lights or onto the radio waves or into the uproar of the press ballyhoo? That he has not even gotten the literary prizes that are his due, considering the dimensions of his work? That his only passion is writing and that the second pursuit of his life is editorial talk with young poets and the launching of them? What remains of the idea of a "monopoly" that N. M. attributes to these writers and others?

Beyond the general confusion (of notions, of ideas, of aspects of literary history, of esthetics) in the article in CONVORBIRI LITERARE, there too the goal is to establish the same stifling image: that of writers because of whom others cannot succeed. To allay any doubt, we quote: they (the writers charged by Al. St.) "dominate the period, in the sense that /their human presence/ /printed in boldface/ (our emphasis) causes the literary presence of the others and even their own literary presence to be overshadowed." The nonsense is total! If he wanted somehow to make literary history, the signer should have concerned himself with authorial appearances, with works, the only things that make literature. But even going into a territory that is not one of the written work, Al. St. should have been honest and referred to the facts. He did not do so. Why? Is silence not really an act of eloquence, as critic Prof N. Manolescu said? Because one who denounces a list and then is silent is hiding something: another list. Perhaps those who have the monopoly over the mass-media presence, the committees and assemblies, the juries, the literary prizes, the pensions and so on, are elsewhere--regarding which the previous speaker is silent.

When will we cease--as Adrian Paunescu also said in the last issue of our periodical--with these extraliterary and, we may add, even extraterritorial habits and conduct, concerning ourselves with authors and with books?

PS: In CONVORBIRI LITERARE, No 1 (145), January of this year, Corneliu Sturzu, the chief editor of the periodical, offered us a "few clarifications" regarding the literary investigation about the eighth decade, initiated by the Iasi publication. A timely initiative, under the condition in which, through the confusion advanced, the opinions put in the pages of the periodical (belonging to Al. St. and others) provoked the justified responses in SCINTEIA, SAPTAMINA, FLACARA and LUCEAFARUL. And yet, in fact, the "clarifications" increase the confusion of the criteria, of the esthetic and political choices. What is the chief editor of CONVORBIRI affirming and what is he denying? What is the literary choice of the periodical that he runs? In the absence of such delimitations, a periodical, any periodical, becomes a drawer collecting papers carried by all the winds. But perhaps the "few clarifications" do not belong to Chief Editor Corneliu Sturzu but to writer Corneliu Sturzu. In this case, the writer, for the confusion that he sowed, should have been corrected amicably by Chief Editor Corneliu Sturzu.

12105
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DISPUTE OVER WORDING OF SERBIA'S LC STATUTE AIRED

Review of Controversy

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1628, 14 Mar 82 pp 20-21

[Article by Stevan Niksic]

[Text] Why do representatives of the League of Communists of Vojvodina dispute a formulation in the draft statute of the Serbian LC that states that the League of Communists of Serbia is a unified organization of the working class and the working people in the Socialist Republic of Serbia?

"The League of Communists of Serbia is the leading revolutionary ideological and political, and unified organization of the working class and the working people in Serbia." That is the first sentence of the general principles contained in the draft statute of the Serbia LC. At first glance, judging from the elements from which it is composed, which are typical for this type of LC statutory document, it could be said that this is a completely commonplace sentence, particularly since identical introductory sentences, or ones containing the same elements, are found in some other LC republic organization draft statutes, which have been approved recently (such as in the statutes of the Slovenian and Macedonian LC organizations). It has turned out, however, that this sentence, or more precisely the part that states that the Serbian LC "is a unified organization," has become a point of contention. Judging from the debate so far about statutory changes in the LCY, in which an abundance of proposals and suggestions have been offered, while many polemic sparks have been struck, this newest dispute about the introductory sentence of the basic principles of the Draft Statute of the Serbian LC is in no way exceptional. Yet in recent days it has drawn the attention of political circles, because in it all the things said several months ago in the course of several days of debate at the 18th and 19th Plenums of the Serbian LC Central Committee, relating to the relationship between the republic and its provinces, are brought up again. The debate was completed with conclusions ("On the Tasks of the Serbian LC in Implementing the Constitution and in the Further Building and Strengthening of Unity in the Socialist Republic of Serbia"). These conclusions raised hopes that some old quarrels and misunderstandings would be overcome, and that new disputes of the same kind about the debatable points that had been cleared up would no longer be possible.

As Slavko Veselinov brought out at the session of the Serbian LC Central Committee's Statute Commission, "The Serbian LC is not and cannot be indicated in the statute as a unified organization." He defended his viewpoint stubbornly and stuck with it to the end, despite the fact that many participants in the session by their arguments showed that his viewpoint was devoid of foundation or sense. In the end, he was the only one who voted for his proposal, that is, he was the only one who voted against the proposed draft statute and the formulation of the Serbian LC as a unified organization.

Slavko Veselinov is, incidently, the president of the Vojvodina LC Statute Commission. In a discussion we held with his last week (see below), he unequivocally confirmed that in opposing the indicated formulation, "he did not express merely his own opinion, but the opinion of the Vojvodina LC's agency."

"There is Nothing Controversial"

It is interesting to note that once Slavko Veselinov, in the Commission for Organizational and Statutory Questions for the Preparation of the 12th LCY Congress, offered the proposal that in the provinces, instead of province LC conferences as heretofore, they should hold congressess, just like the republics, as the highest party forums. His proposal provoked many unfavorable reactions, including some at the 18th Plenum of the Serbian LC Central Committee mentioned above. At that time Veselinov came out onto the podium and explained that he had offered that proposal "in his own name only" and that agencies of the Vojvodina League of Communists were not behind it.

Since we are talking about positions of forums and agencies of the LCY, it is also worth noting that the Vojvodina LC Province Committee, at its September session, 3 days before the Serbian LC Central Committee session, did indeed d ispute whether the Serbian LC was a unified organization. Then, after the degate at the Serbian LC Central Committee session, they unanimously approved conclusions that very precisely and clearly stated something different. Among other things, those conclusions state that the Vojvodina and Kosovo LC organizations are "component parts of the Serbian LC," and they stress the "unity of the Serbian LC as a whole, and the independence and responsibility of the Kosovo and Vojvodina LC organizations," and call for the strengthening of "unity and community in Serbia and in the country as a whole."

Pavle Brankovic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee's Statutory Commission, was asked to document the "misunderstanding" about the formulation of a "unified organization." He responded: "I would assert that after the 18th and 19th Plenums of the Serbian LC Central Committee, there are no disputable questions regarding the relationship between the republic and the provinces. Through democratic dialogue, based on the facts, that has been absolutely cleared up, at a session of the authorized forum. Honestly, as a man and a communist, I do not know what further problems could be discussed. Incidently, for me the independence of the provinces was not in dispute even before that, and I have always striven to promote that in my position."

Brankovic continued,"I do not think that everyone has to think the same way as I do, but if someone still regards something that we have cleared up jointly to be an open question, then that person either does not know, is poorly informed, or is suffering a delusion about that question. I do not know what else I could say about that, and therefore I do not want to talk about it any more."

"I will maintain my position and assert, as I repeated at the commission session several times, that the Serbian LC Statute as a whole, including all the changes made in it and the additions to it, is in harmony with the LCY Statute, and that it does not contain a single decision that in principle of in its details runs contrary to the standards of the LCY Statute."

Why a Longer Term in Office?

The Serbian LC draft statute prepared by the Statutory Commission and to be presented for public discussion, probably at the coming Serbian LC Central Committee Plenum, contains many other decisions along with this disputed formulation on the "unified Serbian LC," which doubtless will attract attention, since they differ from the decisions found in the statutes of the other republic and province organizations. It is primarily a matter of the term in office for positions in the League of Communists, which according to the LCY Statute, every republic and province LC organization can determine independently. The Serbian LC Statutory Commission has offered alternative proposals on the length of service. According to the new proposal, based on the possibility foreseen in the LCY Statute, the length of service in agencies of the Serbian LC would be determined by a decision of the Serbian LC Central Committee. According to another proposal, the term in office of the Central Committee president would in principle be set at 1 year, and that of the secretary, at 2 years. The terms in office of opstina committee presidents, presidents of interopstina committees and city committees of the LCY, and of the secretaries of these agencies, would be set at 2 years, with the possibility, as an exception, of a repeated term in some cases.

"The length of term is truly significant, but it is still only one of the numerous questions included in Comrade Tito's initiative for strengthening collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility. By this type of proposal, we are not retreating from the truly significant and essential elements of Comrade Tito's initiative. We only consider that his idea must be adapted to fit current conditions and experiences of the Serbian LC. We will see whether things will continue to be the same, for practice will show us what is the best in that regard. If it turns out that we were not right, but those of a different opinion were right, then we will make our corrections. If that were the key question, and the implementing of the principles of collective labor depended on it, then it would be the simplest thing. But as you see, our commission proposed many possibilities because we believe it is best to have a democratic debate after which, at a congress, the best decision can be adopted."

Thus the Statutory Commission supported alternatives for various proposals about which differing opinions have been heard, because it considered that the membership had to express itself about them. In so doing the commission did not, however, foresee an alternative to the formulation that the Serbian LC is "a unified organization," and the democratic debate on that has been conducted... and completed.

Interview With Veselinov

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1628, 14 Mar 82 pp 20-21

[Interview with Slavko Veselinov conducted by Stevan Niksic; date and place not given]

[Veselinov] ...The topic here is concretely the position that states that the League of Communists of Serbia is "a unified political organization." My comment is that that type of formulation is not based on the LCY Statute and the conclusions of the Serbian LC Central Committee that were adopted at the 19th Plenum. Thirdly, it does not correspond to the constitutional position of the League of Communists. I insisted that that which comes from the LCY Statute, and that is the basis of the statutes of the Serbian and Vojvodina LC organizations, must be applied throughout the text of the Serbian LC Statute, conscientiously applying the provisions about relationships within the Serbian LC.

We are talking about differences in interpreting provisions of the LCY Statute concerning relationships between the republic LC and the LC organizations of the provinces, and their application in the life of the Serbian LC. To be specific, it is one thing to speak of the unity and uniformity of the Serbian LC as a whole, but it is another question as to whether the Serbian LC is a unified political organization. We must assure the unity of the LC in every basic and opstina organization in the Province LC, in the Serbian LC, and in the LCY, but it is another question as to whether the LC of the republic or a province, as a part of the total LCY, can be alled "A unified political organization."

[Question] How do you interpret the fact that the same formulation (that the LC is "a unified political organizatin") was put into draft statutes of several other republic organizations of the LCY?

[Veselinov] That cannot be of any significance for regulating relationships in the Serbian LC. The point of departure must be the Statute of the LCY. It says that the LCY is a unified political organization, and it regulates the nature of the republic and province LC organizations. It is stated that the republic and province LC organizations are independent, equal and equally responsible organizations. They are independent when we are talking about implementing mutually determined policies in agencies and forums of the LCY. Thus they can function independently only on the basis of mutually established LCY policy. The statute also stipulates that all republic and province LC organizations are equal in implementing policies, and they are equally responsible for such implementation.

From this follow relationships that are to be applied in a suitable manner in the Serbian LC.

[Question] Is what you are presenting here and which you advocated at the session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Statutory Commission your own perception, or is it the position of Vojvodina LC agencies?

[Veselinov] These are the positions of the agencies of the Vojvodina LC. The province committee did not express itself about these concrete formulations, but from what was said at the 25th Plenum of the Vojvodina LC Province Committee, these clearly follow. In the Vojvodina LC Commission for Statutory Questions, we were not able to take concrete positions so far, because the public discussion of the Vojvodina LC Draft Statute is only about to begin.

[Question] Does that mean that between the statutes of the Serbian and the Vojvodina LC there could be differences in fundamental questions that regulate the position and nature of these organizations within the framework of the LCY as a unified organization?

[Veselinov] Yes. For now there are such differences in the drafts of these documents, but they will have to be reconciled with the LCY Statute. Of course, all of our statutes stem from that of the LCY, and after the 12th Congress, when the LCY Statute will be adopted, all statutes of republic and province LC organizations will have to be brought into harmony with the central statute.

As I see the general provisions of the LCY Statute, one of those two statutes certainly is not in accord with it, when we talk of the relationships between the province OC organization and its status in the Serbian LC.

I think, incidently, that that question was well stated in the conclusions of the 19th Plenum of the Serbian LC Central Committee. In the fourth chapter, it tells precisely what the province LC organizations are within the Serbian LC. In those conclusions, it does not say that the Serbian LC is a unified organization. I think that at its Plenums (the 18th and 19th) the Serbian LC Central Committee really did a great deal to overcome that situation. Specifically, before those sessions and in the course of the sessions, a question arose making the point that it was one thing when we talk about the LCY, where the LCs negotiate and coordinate their opinions, building unified positions. Relationships in the Serbian LC are, however, another question, where decisions are approved by a majority of votes. I think that that reflects the different perception of relationships in the Serbian LC as viewed by the province organizations, and that it does not correspond to actual relationships.

Since we are already talking about all these questions, I would like to say that they are important and therefore, they draw great attention. Yet at this moment there are much more serious problems that the League of Communists and our working people are encountering. I am thinking primarily about the implementation of our stabilization policy and the functioning of our system. So I do not support exaggerating and inflating these problems in connection with the statute; rather, I advocate constructive debate and a democratic dialogue.

12131
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'POLITIKA' EDITORIALIST DJUKIC INTERVIEWED

Belgrade OMLADINSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 6 Mar 82 p 10

[Interview with Slavoljub Djukic, POLITIKA editorialist, by Branko Krilovic; date and place not given]

> [Text] "Personally I am hit the hardest by certain dramatic situations, such as are experienced by essentially every collective, which once decided the fates of individuals. I cannot accept verbal violence, immoderation and vengeful attitudes, in which no thought is given to the means used to bring people to their knees, particularly regarding political means." This quote from Slavoljub Djukic, whose commentaries we regard as a model of that journalistic genre, can in our opinion be used to show how this conversation with him in the best way supplements the dossier on journalists and journalism at present.

[Question] Recently the journalist has become a "hot item," he has attained a certain type of popularity. Are we, however, talking about a popularity that is not innocent, which at times presupposes unpleasantries and various types of bravery?

[Answer] Truly, journalism gets a high price, particularly political journalism. It is not at all by chance that precisely the reviews, which have a heightened feel for the reader, are beginning to promote the political text.

I hope that we have destroyed the delusion about "involved journalism." For a long time that meant boring contributions, full of phrases and sermonizing, which left the readers totally indifferent. I always considered that involvement, besides the struggle for truth and fundamental social values, must be communicative and must find its erflection in the public.

I agree that this kind of journalism presupposes unpleasantries, but that is absolutely logical. It is impossible without risk to function effectively in public, to criticize, to have the ambition to change habits and increase the responsibility fo social tasks. It is not only a matter of journalism. Essentially every task that is done honestly presupposes certain unpleasantries. Yet often we point only at journalism.

In general, I am not pleased by the journalists' constant bewailing of their fate and creating a cafe myth about journalism. How do we perceive our calling? We want freely to express our opinion, to criticize, to name names of everything and everybody, while at the same time we live our journalistic lives. The risk is figured into the journalist's profession.

[Question] Considering the growing concern about the press, can one speak of the growing might of the journalist and journalism?

[Answer] I would not only cite the growing might of the press. The soc iety has opened up, and so have public tribunes. If that were not so, then the press as well would be unable to open up. For all of us, the events in Kosovo have been an enormous unwanted lecture. We saw the fatal consequences when we hide the truth.

For the past 25 years I have followed closely, as a reporter or commentator, nearly all the major events in the country. With joy I can, for example, note that the content of sessions of the highest forums have been changing. There are no more monotonous meetings. And the reports from even these gatherings are being read because of their variety and criticial deliberations. That will become even more the case when all of us who work for the press stop trying to deal in teh bureaucratic weighting of public debate, determining our coverage on the basis of who is speaking, rather than what is being said.

An Attempt At Muzzling

[Question] Does this euphoria about the press perhaps say that the errors in other spheres have culminated, these dilemnas that surround us in society, in the economy?

[Answer] By the very fact that public organs by their nature take a critical look at everything, it is normal that there is talk about the journalist's work. It is a shame that this conversation is not broader, to include the readers as well, instead of developing exclusively at sessions of political forums.

Yet certain things prevent that. First, there is the impression that this has become the main social theme for debate. In one editorial I said that in recent months the newspapers have been full of their own themes, of writing about journalists. I could draw the conclusion that the press is our main problem. And since, of course, that is not the case, despite the fact that some things need to be said about the press's shortcomings, the impression created among the public is one of pressure on the press, and attempts to muzzle it. For moral reasons, people then side with the press, even though they have rebukes they would like to send in its direction. Therefore, it seems to me that the press has even greater support right after massive criticism. It is also striking that as time passes, the circle gradually begins to close around the public organs that are published in Belgrade. It turns out that the problems of the press are really the problems of the so-called "Belgrade press," and this in turn always engenders

additional interpretations here in Yugoslavia, which can have broader political implications. It did not pass unnoticed when the debates about public organs for practical purposes ended after the session and the evaluations of the highest Serbian political forums.

As the question suggests, does press criticism seek to push the burning problems of society out of the limelight? I cannot believe that in a politicized society such as ours, there are people who would be able to think that it is that easy to throw dust in the public's eyes. The attitudes of citizens depend on their actual situations: how they live, how well they eat, whether they can satisfy their basic needs, what the prospects are for their children, etc., not to mention market instability and shortages of goods. A press that would fail to be objective in that regard would lose its dignity and respect, just as would influential institutions.

[Question] A journalist naturally functions as a free "shooter," as someone who can point a finger when others cannot. Have you ever felt yourself to be in that role?

[Answer] I strive to write about topics that are in the center of public attention, to explain certain occurrences or point out the things I regard not to be good. The degree to which I succeed in doing that is another question.

[Question] The readers of POLITIKA, a numerous, broad group, await you with excitement and respect in he newspapers, in the column where your running commentary is printed. Certainly you don't always come out before that reading audience with the same feelings. Are you sometimes repentant, or less happy that you are being published?

[Answer] If I had infinite time, I would keep on writing my texts. Any time I read what I have written, I find some weaknesses. That is the basic r eason why I constantly put off, not to say avoid, publishing my essays in a collection, although I have had a number of offers. Speaking honestly, when I subsequently read what I have already published, there are few contributions that completely satisfy me. In every text, however, no matter when it appeared, I found what I would call my moral and political definition. When I make compromises, I try not to betray my basic position. Therefore I am not ashamed about what I have written in various situations. There is superficiality, things unsaid, or insufficient objectivity, but my convictions, formed during the war and in the immediate postwar years, are always there. At least I hope they are present in everything I do and try to accomplish.

Everything by the Same Measure

[Question] Some hypothesize that uproars and journalistic sensations are cleverly manipulated: when some economic banditry affair flares up, there always appear, or there are promoted, excessive, socially burning situations on the other side, so that people forget the theft and the economic crimes

in order to focus public attention on esthetic, ideological and verbal sins. Do we frequently have these "changes of topic," or instances where we quickly forget the bankrupt guilty parties while we long remember "rampant" artistic freedoms?

[Answer] Your question itself contains a small editorial. No matter how accurate your observations are, I do not think that everything is devised to avoid certain responsibilities. I have never been able to understand or accept sensitivity to public words the moment they leave the straight and narrow track, while at the same time they find justification for notorious social failures. As soon as there is relatively direct talk about responsibilities, that is immediately legitimized as civil democracy. Yet when certain excesses appear in the cultural sphere, then that is tantamount to undermining the social foundations. I don't think we should be indifferent and not react when art, historiography or the press bring basic social values into question. But the same measures should be used everywhere, in the economy, the functioning of governmental and political institutions, when the idea of self-management is betrayed, when power and personnel policy is monopolized, when key legal measures are hastily passed, when enormous amounts of capital are invested in failing industries, etc. It is good that in criticizing the press, for the first time we are being completely concrete about specific papers. That offers hope for overcoming generalized criticism. Yet at the same time, that gives all of us the right to speak about shortcomings in all other areas of life.

Finally, not a single society has fallen into difficulty because of excesses in art, but rather, because it ignored the social position of its citizens. There are fresh examples in the world. Therefore, above all our criticism must be directed against that which threatens the basic values of society--self-management, democracy and the social security of the people. Also, I cannot understand the frequent warnings that "we have too much criticism, which has turned into criticism for its own sake." We can talk of appropriate and inappropriate criticism, from positions that will define our society or the opposite. If I love this society, if I have tied my fate to it, it is natural for me to criticize its practical deformities. In the final analysis, what happens is the fault of us all.

[Question] You said that you love your profession. Nevertheless, have you had demoralizing, shaking moments in it at any time?

[Answer] I lose my courage, so to speak, every time I sit down to write. I am never sure if I will succeed in saying convincingly and effectively everything about which I want to write. But at the same time, that drives me to increased effort.

Otherwise, the most difficult times come in certain dramatic situations, which nearly every collective experiences, which once used to decide the fates of individual people. I cannot become reconciled to verbal violence, immoderation and vengeful attitudes, in which no thought is given to the means used to bring people to their knees, particularly political means. Then a man would prefer to live in a cave. However, time puts everything in its place, and only with distance in time can a man perceive what a great thing it is to preserve his integrity, his dignity and his personal honesty.

Political Accusations

[Question] Do you have any unpublished texts?

[Answer] Every journalist has unpublished texts, but usually the longer a man is in the profession, the fewer there are. In recent years, and for quite a few of them, everything I have written has been published in its entirety. Thus I don't have any justification for everything I have written or have not written. I have my measures, and I stick with them, regardless of advice. I am not an adherent of lambasting texts that give cause for all sorts of attacks on journalists or restrictions of public media. But I am also against overly cautious writing, morbid fear and all sorts of "pepper sprinkling." I am sorry that my text, written about 1974 or 1975, in which I protested against the ban on publishing the book "The Red King," was not published. If I had been more persistent, that too would have been published. However, I do not subscribe to pressure, for the simple reason that the responsibility of the editor is greater than that of the contributor for everything that appears in the newspapers. Thus I cannot complain that my texts have been shortened in editing. On the contrary! But there is something else. Much that I have written (and nearly every forenoon I write) ends up torn up in the wastebasket, either because I am dissatisfied with it or for other reasons.

[Question] It is a frequent habit here in Yugoslavia for people to declare they are defending "higher goals," "wider social values," with their positions. What is your experience with people who turn all sorts of reproaches into reproaches directed at the state itself, at the system?

[Answer] Unfortunately, we have never been spared from them, in a lesser or greater degree. Completely innocent criticism, which is extremely well-intentioned, frequently is given heavy political weight. A single mistaken text can cause a newspaper to be branded as liberal. Criticism of the disjointedness of a collective and frequent misunderstood formation of organizations of associated labor can be judged to be an attack on the Law on Associated Labor. Requests for testing certain economic measures are often greeted as an attack on the self-management and economic system. In this context, I recently asked the question as to how a man would feel if he were to express such an evaluation, if to him were attributed one of the pronouncements that we have in abundance?

Where does this come from? I cannot believe that some of the people who are constantly invoking what they call "higher goals" see things that the majority of their fellow citizens do not see. Yet many of these political accusations are seen as an easy way to gag people, to show one's own loyalty, or to incapacitate the debate on concrete responsibility for various failures. More than that, certain influential people equate an attack on their own bureaucratic positions with an attack on the system. They protect their own poor work by branding criticism of it as an attack on the party.

In that regard, we must seriously think about the fact that in recent times, in an alarming fashion, we have been talking about the expansion of the enemy and the opposition. Certainly, it is dangerous to underestimate the enemy, but at the same time it is equally dangerous to overestimate him, because that creates an inaccurate impression of the weaknesses of our society and of the actual attitude in the Yugoslav community. Judging from the amount we hear about the enemy, an uninformed person could think that a foe was peering around every corner. I think that Franc Setinc accurately noted on one occasion that our weaknesses are truly our greatest enemy, and that they create the conditions for the operations of those who are against the interests of the country: "Sometimes we are our own enemy." Thus the main problem is in us, in our unreadiness to implement what is otherwise widely accepted. At the top of our lungs we talk about the dangers of nationalism, but we do not want to see that supporting regionalism and emphasizing some of our unique features to a ridiculous point, including everything in which we differ, gives great encouragement to nationalism under the cloak of reasonable respect for national feelings. If something does not change in that regard, the thing we least want can happen—nationalism could be legalized as normal behavior.

Without Drama

[Question] The youth press has recently taken quite a few cuffs. Is there reason for that? What do you think of your younger colleagues in general?

[Answer] The youth press, as y u called it, has a long tradition among us. or example, STUDENT is one of the oldest Yugoslav newspapers. As long as I can remember, there have always been "problems" with the youth press, not only for the past 2 months. I am glad to read the youth press because it brings me to think. I would like to see some of these young journalists on my staff. I would remind you that an entire generation, which today dominates our press, attended the school of the youth press. Unfortunately, that has not been the case for 10 years and more. That is not good for the youth press, which should be constantly renewed with fresh personnel, nor for "the big press" (a rather unfortunate label), which would welcome the temperament, freshness and spirit of the youth newspapers.

I frequently disagree with articles in the youth press, but I disagree even more with those who make a drama out of it and want to drive everything into set patterns. From those who are not ready to enter into public debate with opinions they disagree with, we could at least expect tolerance and belief in good intentions.

What do I think about my young colleagues? It seems that I readily find a common language with them, and I have become friendly with many of them. Some of them will make brilliant journalistic careers. Experience indicates that their work in large part depends on the atmosphere at the editorial offices. I would like to see them do more to create "a new atmosphere" themselves, and have them conform less to the status quo. Although I find the antiquated role of advisor unpleasant, I would like to say something else. I would like to assure all those who enter journalism that patient and honest work pays, and that speculative penetrations into journalism are usually of short duration.

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PREMATURE CRITIC OF KOSOVO HAPPENINGS EULOGIZED

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Mar 82 p 7

[Article by Slavoljub Djukic: "A Late Story"]

[Text] Every journalist bears a certain professional and moral debt that he has not satisfied. One may view in this light the story of Jovo Sotra, whose name was mentioned at the last meeting of the Serbian Assembly, which was devoted to the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

The fate of Jovo Sotra comprises the drama of an irreconcilable man, with simple virtues and, one could say, touching errors, who believed that in life it is enough to think sincerely and speak openly. In addition, his case is a politically and socially instructive story for all times, about a mechanism for suppressing the truth, and a courage that no one was able to deny about the power of people in authority, who know how to crush a man when he opposes their views, and the isolation of a person who dares to report well-known unpleasant truths before it is time.

Sotra participated in World War II from 1941 on. He was among the Serbian activists in Kosovo who truly understood the errors in the past of their own nation, and believed that different relations would emerge in Kosovo after the Brion plenum. As a member of the Provincial Committee and a delegate of the Chamber of Nationalities of the Yugoslav Assembly, he carried his share of the burden, which was not a small one.

The life of this man began to be more complicated on the last day of 1971, when he sent a report to the highest forums and political figures of Yugoslavia and Serbia on "some current issues regarding the political situation in Kosovo." This was a text that was well reasoned and organized, 22 pages long, with unusual frankness, but also a pronounced understanding of ethnic sensitivity. In contrast to some recent public statements, which were burdened with emotions and ethnic biases, Sotra's report suggests a dispassionate study, which could not bear up under political improvisation and careerist adaptation.

He began his text, which was written a decade ago, with the observation that "in recent years, instead of a real joint struggle to increase equality, one type of chauvinism has in fact been replaced by another." In regard to this,

through several facts, which we can scarcely believe, Sotra already then described everything that is now being discussed loudly: the emergence of Albanian nationalism, the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, the suppression of the nature and consequences of the 1968 demonstrations, the slogan "Kosovo a republic" and the chauvinistic centers at the University, the awarding of selected positions to outspoken nationalists and discrimination in the employment of members of different nationalities, the negative aspects of cooperation with Albania and the power of the provincial leadership.... This report even discusses something that is often kept quiet even today: the role of certain officials of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality in covering up the truth, or, as Sotra wrote, comrades "among the Serbs and Montenegrins who are known to argue according to the wishes of the leadership."

Sotra's text, better than any other, refutes the assertion that no one knew what was going on in Kosovo. It was known, but the desire and conditions for us to face the truth did not exist.

Sotra wrote [about this] in 1971, 1973, and 1976. His report was known to the highest party forums; however, they took the word of the provincial leadership which depicted the situation in Kosovo differently, and called Jovo Sotra and others like him "continual proponents of a counterline that is part of the sinister hostile forces."

When hope was lost that Sotra would withdraw in self-criticism, a meeting of the provincial committee of the Kosovo LC held on 20 June 1973, which was attended by the Kosovo party officials [who served] in the forums of Serbia and Yugoslavia, discussed the "Jovo Sotra case." After the discussion, a report was issued, which deserves to be cited at length for its harsh realism:

"The provincial committee has come to the united assessment and conclusion that the report by Comrade Jova Sotra suffers from false, arbitrary, and subjective allegations and ideologically and politically unacceptable views and positions, which are contrary to the policy and practice of the LC and the views of the provincial committee of the Kosovo LC.

Through ideologically unacceptable, false, and distorted views and insinuations about the situation in Kosovo, Comrade Jovo Sotra has expressed profound distrust of the provincial committee and of some personnel from all the nationalities; this was in essence objectively aimed at disinforming LC agencies, and aimed against ideological and political unity in the Kosovo LC and the provincial committee.

Recently, on several occasions, in the absence of any personal initiative from Comrade Jovo Sotra, talks were conducted with him and he was offered assistance and an opportunity to make a critical review of the views and allegations in his report.... Comrade Sotra, however, has not only not taken a constructive and self-critical approach to reviewing the views and ideological-political positions stated in his report; he has instead stubbornly continued to persist in them, and has intensified and exacerbated some of them even more, thus expressing profound disagreement and his doubt of the constructiveness and correctness of the positions of the provincial committee of the Kosovo LC."

Jovo Sotra was unanimously expelled from the provincial committee. His Pristina party organization, however, did not expel him from the party, as is, after all, the usual practice in such circumstances. He remained a member of the Chamber of Nationalities of the Yugoslav Assembly until the end of his term. He had trouble looking for work in Belgrade with a master's degree in economic sciences, because he was accompanied by negative recommendations from Kosovo. Later he was the director of the Commercial Association for Cooling Devices of Yugoslavia.

We met last year. He did not speak too much, as injured people usually do. He thought about rehabilitation, although, as an experienced man, he knew how many difficulties would be entailed. A man of whom it is later asserted that he was right simply cannot be right, because in that case a question naturally arises in regard to the number of people who believed that he was not right, even those who are now saying what Sotra said 10 years ago.

We parted after agreeing that first of all I would read his text, and that we would get in touch again. Business postponed this meeting. One morning in November last year I received a telephone call from his brother, who requested that we intercede so that POLITIKA, which was coming out with a reduced number of pages during a newsprint shortage, would publish a paid obituary. That much could be done for Jovo Sotra, who died unexpectedly at the age of 56, leaving behind him a powerful document of lasting value, about a political and human integrity that was manipulated and coldly sacrificed under the pressure of bureaucratic power.

After all of this, what is left is for us to think about ourselves in light of such a fate, [to think about] how much we have overlooked and are [still] overlooking in making it possible for certain powers to put themselves above common sense, sincere human involvement, and social needs, which become reality only if one is guided by the truth, and not by the needs of narrow interests.

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21 May 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2013

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21 May 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2013

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE REVIEWS WORK OF PEOPLE'S MILITIA

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 24 Mar 82 pp 1, 3

[National Conference-Seminar on the Activities of the People's Militia: "The Main Thing Now Is To Achieve High Work Intensification and Efficiency"]

[Text] The 12th party congress formulated tremendous tasks in all areas of our social development, including the improvement of social relations and the strengthening of socialist law and order. In answer to these requirements, a national conference-seminar on the People's Militia was held at the G. Dimitrov Higher Economic School on 15 and 16 March 1982. The conference was inaugurated by Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, minister of internal affairs. It was attended by Col Gen Velko Palin, head of the Military-Administrative Department of the BCP Central Committee, Prof Kostadin Lyutov, prosecutor general of the Bulgarian People's Republic, Lt Gen Dimitur Kapitanov, deputy prosecutor general of the Bulgarian People's Republic and prosecutor of the armed forces, MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] deputy ministers, the first secretary of the MVR permanent commission, the chiefs of the okrug MVR administrations and their deputies in charge of the People's Militia, and heads of departments, rayon managements and other officials of People's Militia units in Sofia and throughout the country. Also attending were Maj Gen Tikhon M. Shukayev, representing the USSR MVR, Maj Gen Vladimir Iv. Boldirev, deputy chief of the main administration for struggle against crime of the USSR MVR and Col Grigoriy K. Sinilov, chief of the MVR Central Scientific Research Laboratory in the USSR.

A report on the activities of the People's Militia in the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th BCP Congress and the tasks at the present stage was delivered by Maj Gen Ivan Dimitrov, deputy minister of internal affairs and director of the People's Militia. He stressed that the supreme party forum had formulated a clear, broad and realistic program for the socioeconomic and cultural development of our country during the Eighth Five-Year Plan and through 1990, and defined the basic tasks in all directions of social activities, including those facing the MVR organs. These tasks, which were concretized at the MVR National Conference, held on 1 July 1981, defined the basic directions for improving the organization of the work and upgrading the effectiveness of the People's Militia. "The instructions of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, our party's general secretary, issued in his statement at the conference are of immeasurable importance to us, particularly the three main directions in the future work of the MVR organs he formulated: the use of a political approach, the

application of contemporary achievements of scientific and technical progress and the enhancement of cadre standards."

The deputy minister went on to emphasize the great role of the resolutions of the BCP Central Committee Politburo of 1974 and 1979, on the basis of which the legal, organizational and ideological-educational work was improved and the party, state, economic and public organs and organizations were mobilized for the solution of problems related to strengthening the socialist law and order.

The speaker traced the positive changes which had taken place in the selection, professional training and ideological and political growth of cadres, improvements in the style and methods of management and administration, accelerated technical rearmament of the People's Militia, improvements in information-analytical, planning and control activities, and expansion of cooperation and integration with the organs of the MVR in the USSR. He stressed that all of this has had a substantial impact on the activities of the People's Militia and its contribution to the successful implementation of the party's policy in the economic and social areas in the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

After making a brief survey of the international and domestic circumstances, Maj Gen Ivan Dimitrov outlined the main problems and the ways for their solution and for the full implementation of the stipulations of the 12th BCP Congress.

Improving Socialist Law and Order

The Bulgarian People's Republic is among the countries with the lowest crime coefficient. As was emphasized in the report to the 12th BCP Congress, the country has reached the status of "developed legal state." The organs of the People's Militia have made a proper contribution to this success. During the Seventh 5-Year Plan, positive results were reached in the struggle against crime. The number of crimes and criminals declined. The percentage of crimes committed by repeaters and minors dropped and crime detection improved. A strong public order and reliable protection were ensured in mass political, cultural, sports and other events, many of which of national and international nature. These successes continued during the first year of the Eighth 5Year Plan as well.

At the present stage, however, the task of changing our attitude toward problems of socialist law and order and discipline, and ensuring the effective protection of the individual and the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens, and asserting the principles and norms of the socialist way of life becomes particularly urgent. Bearing in mind that the People's Militia has acquired practical experience and that its possibilities have increased greatly, the logical conclusion is that such accomplishments are no longer satisfactory and that they are merely the beginning of useful activities in the future.

The effectiveness of preventive work remains unsatisfactory. Crime originating factors such as drunkenness, idleness and domestic quarrels, which are the foundations of the most severe crimes against individuals, are not being

investigated sufficiently and no systematic and persistent struggle is being waged for their neutralizing. The People's Militia is underestimating reporting activities. Interaction with the DOT [Voluntary Units of the Working People] in training and controlling detachments, problems of individual preventive work and control of criminals is insufficient. The organizational and methodical aid given to centers for educational work and prevention councils is inadequate. The ties with comrade courts are weak. It is alarming that a certain percentage of crimes are committed in public places, precisely where the patrolling services are concentrated. This proves that unit commanders and chiefs have weakened their control and that the problems of the comprehensive use of the system of uniform deployment have not been entirely resolved. In most okrug centers the organization of mixed patrols between the People's Militia and the DOT is taking place sluggishly and timidly. Most frequently independent DOT detachments are ignored and not assisted by duty units.

Crimes committed by young people are a problem of major social significance. Something better is to be desired in improving the detection of severe crimes and crimes the statute of limitations for which has not expired. In the future, work on resolving the commission of heavy crimes will be considered one of the most important indicators of the activities of the managing personnel.

Detection based on "hot" tracks remains insufficiently effective.

What direction should be taken in the further efforts to make the struggle against crime and the preservation of public order consistent with the stricter requirements?

Preventive activities can and must play the main role. The solution of this problem calls for upgrading the skill and activeness of the protective personnel, the patrolling service and, particularly, the rayon inspectors. Interaction between individual People's Militia services and other MVR units must be improved and the work of children's education rooms must become more effective.

A greater efficiency must be achieved in the patrol-post service, which must become a model of neatness, professional skill, organization and standards.

The main thing now is to assign the forces to specific patrols and sections and to apply the brigade organization of labor under our working conditions as well.

We must improve the work of the operative duty units and upgrade their effectiveness in carrying out the initial investigations and in taking the operative investigation steps. Particular attention must be paid to expert activities and signaling-protection equipment.

Comprehensive Protection of the Economy

This was the second basic problem discussed by Maj Gen Ivan Dimitrov.

At the 1 July 1981 National Conference, Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, minister of internal affairs, emphasized that the People's Militia must prevent and block

encroachments on socialist property, detect the reasons and conditions which trigger and parallel them, and to take and suggest to the respective units within the social system measures for their elimination.

Considerable successes were achieved in this direction in the Seventh 5-Year Plan. Extensive work was done in implementing Council of Ministers Letter No 52 and many other party and government documents.

It is unquestionable, however, that the managements of many okrug administrations do not deal sufficiently profoundly, consistently and systematically with economic protection problems. The reasons and conditions which contribute to thefts, illegal acquisitions and other crimes are not being detected promptly. The proper organization for the detection of economic crimes at their very origin has not been created. A great deal of time is still being lost and considerable forces are being wasted on petty crimes. The principles of the new economic approach and its mechanism have not become entirely familiar.

This precisely is the direction along which our efforts must be focused now: priority must be given to the extensive study and total mastery of the new economic approach and the mechanism of its application on the part of all employees.

In this connection, we must sum up the experience and improve the forms of economic analysis, which has confirmed its effectiveness in the struggle for the prevention and detection of economic crimes.

The comprehensive approach must be applied boldly and energetically everywhere. This will enable us to enhance even further the social function of the People's Militia and to increase its contribution to strengthening the socialist economy.

The practice of systematically reporting to the corresponding party, state and economic organs must become the permanent work style of okrug and rayon MVR administrations. We must rely even more extensively on the public organs and organizations and the labor collectives.

At the present stage we must intensify the differentiated services provided to the economy, based on the significance and development of the individual economic sectors and subsectors and the extent of the social danger created by criminal encrachments.

The comprehensive protection of the economy can be ensured only by exerting a comprehensive influence and making the most extensive use of science and technology.

Traffic Safety

Improving the effectiveness of ensuring traffic safety was the other basic problem discussed by the deputy minister of internal affairs.

During the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the entire control system was reorganized in accordance with the increased number of motor vehicles and the traffic. The method of long-range planning of ensuring the safety and standards of the traffic was established. The joint activities between People's Militia Directorate and the other organs in charge of resolving such problems was improved. The improved technical facilities of the KAT [Control of Automotive Transport] created conditions for the mastery and control of traffic safety quite successfully. A number of territorial units, such as Pleven, Yambol, Varna, Vidin, Plovdiv, Mikhaylovgrad, Burgas, Turgovishte and Sofia okrugs achieved considerable successes.

However, last year we were quite concerned by the considiton of traffic safety in Pernik, Vratsa and Khaskovo okrugs. We are concerned with accidents caused by drunken drivers.

The BCP Central Committee and the government of the Bulgarian People's Republic have given the MVR adequate rights and possibilities of actively influencing the traffic and ensuring its safety. However, these possibilities have not been entirely studied and mastered.

During the Eighth 5-Year Plan, the number of motor vehicles will continue to increase at an accelerated rate. The fulfillment of the construction program, production specialization and cooperation, the development of international tourism in our country, etc., will result in the even more intensive use of motor vehicles. Consequently, traffic will continue to increase, control over it will become more difficult and the requirements facing the control organs will become stricter.

That is why it is necessary to enhance the role of the KAT organs within the social-governmental traffic safety system by upgrading their initiative in the work of the central, okrug, obshtina and municipal commissions.

The utilization of the control equipment developed on the basis of contemporary scientific achievements, and its mastery by the entire personnel is an exceptionally important reserve in the implementation of current and future tasks. In turn, the personnel must improve the tactics and ways and means of control activities.

The Scientific and Technical Revolution in the Activities of the People's Militia

Maj Gen Ivan Dimitrov discussed in his report the systematic application of the best achievements of scientific and technical revolution in the activities of the People's Militia.

In order to upgrade the effectiveness of preventive work, the achievements of the social sciences, such as criminology, penal law, sociology, social psychology, pedagogy, and others, must be used even more fully.

New and more promising directions must be followed in the area of criminal detection equipment.

In the future, the main criterion in assessing the activities of scientific units and their cadres will be the result of the application of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress by the People's Militia. The speaker then considered the question of improving the style and methods of management and administration.

Our party has always, particularly after the historical April plenum, ascribed great importance to the style and methods of management and administration, as prerequisites for the optimal combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the tremendous advantages of the socialist social system and as a prerequisite for enhancing the role of the subjective factor. These problems have always been kept in sight by the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. They have become particularly topical and urgent in the light of the resolutions of the 12th congress.

The main thing now is for the chiefs of all units and at all levels and the entire officer and sergeant personnel to develop their greater initiative, scope, efficiency and creativity.

Another direction in the work, which characterizes the style and methods of management and administration, and which is of exceptional importance in improving the organization and upgrading the effectiveness of the overall activities of the militia is the intensified study and organized application of positive experience, particularly that of the Soviet militia.

The deputy minister also spoke of improving administrative-penal activities and legal services to the population, the further expansion and strengthening of relations between the People's Militia and the people, and the conduct of ideological and political-educational work in accordance with the resolutions of the 12th congress.

The class-party, patriotic, international and professional education of the personnel, the young employees above all, must be raised to new heights and the socialist way of life in the People's Militia must be asserted and developed. During the Seventh 5-Year Plan, 227 employees were credited with heroic actions. More than 5,000 letters of thanks were addressed to personnel who had carried out their duties as militiamen and citizens honorably. The ranks of excellent and leading workers are increasing and awards are being earned by a greater number of employees.

In conclusion, Maj Gen Ivan Dimitrov expressed his confidence that the leadership of the People's Militia will do everything possible to implement the historical stipulations of the 12th BCP Congress in honor of the centennial of the birth of the immortal Georgi Dimitrov, the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people, and for the sake of reaching better and more lasting results in future activities.

The report submitted by Maj Gen Ivan Dimitrov at the first plenary meeting was heard with great interest. The conclusions, evaluations and recommendations made regarding further improvements in the overall work for implementing the

resolutions of the 12th congress set the tone for analytical, democratic and self-critical statements.

Maj Gen Iliya Asenov, chief of the People's Militia administration of the Sofia City MVR administration, discussed the problem of further improvements in the political approach to the activities of the militia in Sofia. General Asenov stressed that this is an important prerequisite for success. He gave specific examples of the work of the administration on specific problems which were properly resolved thanks to the existing awareness of the great role played by the political approach as an effective means of the education and mobilization of the personnel.

The statement by Prof Kostadin Lyutov, chief prosecutor of the Bulgarian People's Republic, was received with particular attention. He discussed the need to improve interaction among the law enforcement organs in the light of the requirements of the 12th BCP Congress. He pointed out that a steady search must be made for various ways and means of cooperation and for strengthening relations. He pointed out that a great deal has been accomplished so far but the level which must be reached in accordance with the party's resolutions and the respective regulations has not been reached. The chief prosecutor earmarked the directions which must be followed in order to develop the interaction among law enforcement organs.

Col Tsanko Gulubov, deputy chief of the MVR administration of the People's Militia in Pleven Okrug, thoroughly discussed the question of improving relations with the working people under the conditions of a double jurisdiction and the development of socialist democracy. Substantial experience has been acquired which makes the real assessment of achievements and a long-range look at further improvements in the struggle for model public order possible and for including the forces of the entire public and all state organs in the efforts to maintain public order.

Col Leonid Katsamunski, chief of the State People's Militia Crime Administration, drew the attention of the participants in the conference-seminar to some problems of the struggle against crime, the means for detection and, particularly, the role of the chiefs of the criminal services in terms of enhancing the standards of this struggle. A change must be made in the style of their work. They must become the real organizers and educators of the young and inexperienced operative personnel. They must change their approach in evaluating the activities of their subordinates and overcome their fascination with figures.

Col Georgi Silyamov, chief of the Ruse Okrug MVR Administration, discussed the use of public forces in the struggle against economic and criminal delinquencies. He spoke on the implementation of a comprehensive program for struggle against delinquencies and crimes adopted by the Ruse Okrug BCP Committee. He stressed its great importance in terms of involving the entire public and all state organs in the okrug in the efforts to broaden the democratic principles in the struggle for strengthening socialist legality.

The thoughts expressed by Lt Col Ivan Dimov, deputy chief of the Shumen Okrug MVR Militia Administration, were received with a great deal of interest. He stated that an important prerequisite for upgrading work effectiveness is the breaking of some "magic" circles. This means the setting of high organizational standards in the management and administration of militia forces, the creation of conditions in which the load of the personnel can be distributed evenly, the adoption of accurate criteria for assessing the work of the personnel and the search for the most optimal alternatives for intellectualizing and intensifying the activities of militiamen.

Col Atanas Preshelkov, deputy chief of the Blagoevgrad Okrug MVR Militia Administration, shared valuable experience on strengthening discipline and the observance of socialist legality. He described interesting forms of work in this reaspect and the steady creative search conducted by the leading personnel.

Lt Col Yanko Vachev, deputy chief of the Burgas Okrug MVR Militia Administration, discussed the use of Soviet experience in the struggle against delinquencies and for involving the public in the preservation of public order, particularly during the active resort and tourist season.

Major Vladov spoke on the importance of automated operative-detection systems. He pointed out that they are an important factor in improving effectiveness in the struggle against crime.

The extensive statement made by Maj Gen Vladimir Iv. Boldirev on the organization of the detection of severe crimes was heard with great interest. The presentation by Col Grigoriy K. Sinilov on the application of legal-economic studies in the struggle against economic crimes was considered tremendously useful in terms of our practical work.

This completed the first day of work of the national conference-seminar. During the second day the participants had class-group and seminar sessions on various topics. Interesting subjects were discussed and practical assignments were analyzed.

The national conference-seminar concluded its work with a plenary meeting at which Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, minister of internal affairs, delivered an extensive concluding speech. He rated highly the proceedings of the two-day conference-seminar. He pointed out that the ministry's leadership shares entirely the evaluations, conclusions and predictions made by Maj Gen Ivan Dimitrov on further improvements in the activities of the People's Militia in the light of the requirements of the 12th party congress. The main thing now is to reach higher intensification and efficiency on the basis of a modern scientific organization of labor in the units. The available forces and facilities must be used to ensure the most efficient implementation of assignments on the basis of existing political and operative circumstances.

Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov emphasized individual problems of particular importance in terms of making further improvements in the quality and effectiveness of militia work.

Attention must be focused on improving the struggle against severe crime. The constant observation of repeaters and other suspected individuals must be organized; efforts must be made to educate and reeducate individuals released from jail.

The problem of the speed, extent and accuracy of the information received by the units on crimes committed or to be committed must be resolved completely.

Another major problem is that of achieving maximal speed in reacting to signals received from duty units, detection-operative groups, patrol services, the operational personnel and the rayon inspectors. In this respect a great deal remains to be desired in many units, particularly in terms of the operative units on duty and in terms of using the Soviet experience of crime detection based on "hot" traces.

Another major possibility is that of upgrading the quality of investigation at the place of the crime and the initial operative detection, investigation and scientific and technical operations.

The assistance of the public must be always sought in the offensive struggle for law and order. The organization of the work and the professional training of the personnel must be improved.

The comrade minister also discussed extensively the major social and political significance of the struggle against economic crimes, particularly now, under the conditions of the application of the new economic approach and its mechanism. He pointed out the need to enhance the level of operative detection work by economic services, which must be focused on severe concealed encroachments against socialist property. The signaling function must be intensified through profound studies of the reasons and conditions for economic crimes. A number of other unresolved problems remain in terms of Council of Ministers Letter No 52.

The comrade minister also emphasized the requirement of the further strengthening of the scientific approach in the activities of MVR organs. He pointed out the requirement of steadily upgrading the intensification and effectiveness of all activities and the systematic application of the achievements of science and scientific and technical progress.

An important problem which was also extensively discussed by the minister was improvements in providing administrative services to the population.

Finally, Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov expressed his confidence that the stipulations, assessments and tasks formulated at the conference-seminar will be adopted and will become profoundly clear and applied by the personnel.

This marked the conclusion of the People's Militia National Conference-Seminar. The task now is for the views which were expressed and the creative restlessness and spirit to be translated into practical activities by all People's Militia units. They must respond to the trust of the party and the people with even greater work efficiency and implement all resolutions of the 12th party congress.

5003
CSO: 2200/87

SUGGESTED RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NAVAL EXERCISES

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 3, 1982 pp 116-119

[Article by Rear Adm Stefan Damyanov: "Against Oversimplification in Conducting Combat Exercises"]

[Text] The dynamic nature of modern combat operation and the fight against a strong and technically well-armed enemy requires that the sailors be able to hit objects with the first salvo under any situation. Such a task is within the power of a crew having a high level of weapons training and this is a basic element in tactical training. The experience of naval wars has shown that only a skillful combination of fire and maneuver leads to success. This is also confirmed by tactical exercises conducted in peacetime.

Conducted at present the main thing in tactical training is to organize sea exercises well and carry them out effectively, to work out the combined missions and carry out the combat exercises with the actual use of weapons and equipment. This can be achieved when conditions are created that are as close as possible to actual combat for working through and carrying out the missions. Such a situation which forces the commander to act in carrying out combat exercises excludes the possibility of oversimplification and helps him in correctly determining the state of his training and the training level of the personnel.

Ship combat exercises are conducted, as a rule, at sea and against a tactical background corresponding to the problem being worked on by the ship with the actual use of weapons and the requisite designating of enemy actions by specially assigned forces and equipment (ships, aircraft and targets). When these are conducted, all the ship personnel are at their battle stations and command posts and gain practical skills in utilizing the weapons and equipment and in damage control against a specific tactical background. All types of missile, artillery and torpedo firing, bombing, the laying and sweeping of mines are carried out. Control of the ship is learned with damage to the hull, power systems, steering mechanism, with a list, bow or stern trim and reduced buoyancy.

Each combat exercise involving missile, artillery and torpedo firing must be preceded by the necessary number of preparatory attacks (firings). The gunnery problems are carried out together with the ship damage control problems under the conditions where the enemy employs weapons of mass destruction and jamming. A combat exercise is the concluding form and apex of the ship's tactical training. For this

reason the commanders of all ranks must pay particular attention to the preparation, conducting and analysis of this. The leader is obliged to most carefully check the knowledge of the officers on the rules for employing the weapons and equipment, the safety measures, the preparation of inspectors and recording groups and all the preparation of the ship.

The conditions which the leader creates in conducting a combat exercise must be complicated, that is, with the inherent active and surprise actions by the enemy, as this forces the ship commanders to show creativity and initiative and to employ the full combat capability of the weapons, equipment and ship as a whole.

When combat exercises are conducted, the leader and the umpires in no instance should take over for the corresponding commanders or bother them.

A number of examples can be given for well organized and conducted combat exercises. In the unit where Officer Khristakiev serves, there are positive traditions in preparing for and conducting combat exercises. The commanders of the ships and the departments in the commander training system most thoroughly study the rules for the combat employment of weapons and equipment. In group exercises and tactical short quizzes and numerous training drills on trainers and at the command posts, they improve their knowledge and prepare practically to direct the departments and ships in combat.

The combat exercises in this unit are conducted under difficult conditions. A difficult situation is created by Officers Bakalov and Milanov as leaders of combat exercises with their subordinate ships. They have the attacked object put up active resistance and execute complex maneuvers as if avoiding the attack. It is allowed to move ahead in its actions and to create interverence in the operation of the attacking ships' equipment. All of this forces the commanders to constantly analyze the situation, to assess enemy actions, to anticipate its plans, to seek out the most effective command decisions for the given situation and to act as if in a real combat situation. In the unit particular attention is given to the so-called duel situations, that is, the forces playing the part of the enemy are given an opportunity to act with initiative and without limitations.

In the unit of Officer Petrov there is an emphatic desire to conduct the combat exercises under bad weather conditions, that is, with reduced visual and radar visibility and a heavy sea. This greatly impedes the actions of the crews but at the same time provides them with full confidence in the high combat effectiveness of the weapons and equipment assigned to them.

The actions of each crew member contribute to utilizing the full fighting might of the ship. The concept "gunnery training" is sometimes erroneously linked only to specialists of the ship's missile-gunnery and torpedo departments. The equipment operated by the personnel of the other subunits also has a strong influence on the prompt readying of the weapons as well as on the end result of their employment. This applies primarily to the specialists from the control posts and the radiotechnical services which, as is said, are the eyes and ears of the ship. The faster a target is discovered and classified and the data of the systems given the more the probability is increased that the enemy will be destroyed before it can use its weapons.

In a group of ships an exercise was to be conducted in artillery firing at a small fast target in poor visibility. The radar crews were late in detecting the target and this did not provide for prompt preparation of the weapons for firing and allowed the enemy to make the first strike against the firing ships. All of this led to the unsatisfactory grade of the combat exercise. This failure caused the unit's commander and the ship commanders to take immediate measures to increase the training level of the radar crews on the ships. This produced positive results in their activities later. In the following combat exercises the ship crews acted better and showed higher combat capability.

Experience shows that the results of ship combat exercises are unsatisfactory if instead of creating a complex situation in conducting them, manifestations of formalism and unjustified oversimplification are permitted. Certain combat exercises are conducted under oversimplified conditions regardless of the fact that at first glance the plans provide for the necessary inputs for damage control, fires and damage to the ship's controls and communications. However, as a rule these are given after the salvo, after the firing or after the launch. In combat a ship will not only attack the enemy but itself will come under enemy combat action. Consequently the drills for sustained holes, for occurring damage and fires and for personnel losses must be given before the salvo and during the firing. Moreover, combat exercises must be conducted with an actual list or improper trim to the ship.

In conducting combat exercises, the observance of the required safety measures make it easier for the commanders to assess the situation and the combat employment of the weapons. They are indispensable. In order to obtain a higher evaluation, individual commanders consciously violate the safety measures. For example, in conducting one of the combat exercises, Officer Yordanov substantially shortened the initial range for initiating an attack and subsequently this almost led to a serious accident.

Those who permit oversimplification for the sake of an evaluation and prestige forget the moral aspect of the question. A valid evaluation always brings moral satisfaction to a sailor, petty officer or officer. A professional-like approach to the carrying out of combat exercises leads to unity in the actions of the crews, it inspires confidence in them in the reliability of their weapons and psychologically prepares the personnel to carry out their duty in wartime.

In order to improve gunnery training, it is particularly important for the command personnel to work on the reports in analyzing the gunnery and tactical indicators and on thoroughly studying and analyzing the obtained results. Only after in relying on the conclusions and generalizations can the commanders take profound decisions which correctly determine the ways to further raise combat readiness. It should not be permitted to turn a merited three into the desired four. It is not correct when figures of individual firing indicators are concealed behind an overall number of points. The commander is obliged to see the errors in the training of the crew behind each low grade with its gunnery indicator and to find the ways to quickly eliminate these.

The flagship specialists play a particular role in correctly conducting combat exercises and in preventing oversimplification. They can prevent the carrying out of a problem and combat exercise if they see that the personnel is not prepared to

actually employ the weapons and equipment. The flagship specialists must always remember that they bear full responsibility for the state of gunnery training for the crews.

The political bodies, the party and Komsomol organizations must also make a contribution to raising the gunnery training of the ships. They are obliged to create a good climate in the subunits, to improve the teamwork of the crews as well as better the quality of each exercise, drill and training. The communists and Komsomol members are obliged to pay particular attention to the mastery of the specialty, to the able and precise performance of functional duties and to cooperation.

During this training year, the Komsomol initiative "A Komsomol Guarantee for the Weapons and Combat Equipment" has become widespread in the Navy. This high patriotic initiative will make its contribution to raising the special and particularly the gunnery training of the ships.

The commanders, the flagship specialists, the communists and Komsomol members are obliged to wage a daily and uncompromising struggle against all sorts of oversimplification and to constantly complicate the tactical situation in conducting the combat exercises. This is the only correct path to raising the combat readiness of the ships and units.

The personnel of our Navy constantly remember the party's appeal to the Bulgarian People's Army and in the future will worthily carry out their patriotic and international duty, they will increase combat readiness in every possible way and vigilantly guard the revolutionary victories of socialism.

10272
CSO: 2200/95

ARMY DAILY REPORTS RETIREMENT OF HIGH RANKING OFFICERS

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Mar 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Major Todor Kenderov: "Devoted Warriors of the Party and of the People"]

[Text] There is a Soviet song whose words run: "Oh how the years fly." Indeed how fast the years pass. Here they are--former members of the international brigade, partisans, political prisoners, concentration camp inmates, supporters of partisans, former lieutenants and senior lieutenants of the newly created Bulgarian People's Army, now generals and colonels with hair that is white or speckled with gray, but with the same fire in their eyes, now transferring into the reserves.

Every parting is sad. But there was something very brisk and very optimistic in the glances of all on that day. They had completely given their youth and creative powers for the freedom of the homeland, for the strengthening of the socialist system and for the construction of the Bulgarian People's Army. Now they leave the military with a feeling of having done their duty to party and people.

On the occasion of the transfer of generals and officers of the BPA into the reserves after having done their military duty to the homeland, a moving ceremony took place at the Central Club of the People's Army yesterday. General of the Army Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of defense; Col-General Velko Palin, director of the Military Administrative Section of the CC of the BCP; Col-General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of defense and chief of staff of the BPA; Col-General Kiril Kosev, head of the Main Political Administration of the Army; deputy ministers of defense; generals and officers were present.

Also present was Col-General Vladimir Yakushin, representative to the BPA of the supreme commander of the unified armed forces of the member countries of the Warsaw Pact.

A decree of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, granting the order "For Military Gallantry and Merit," first class, to generals and officers, active fighters against fascism and capitalism now entering the reserves, was proclaimed, as was an order of the minister of defense conferring on these men various prizes.

Decorations were presented by the minister of defense, General of the Army Dobri Dzhurov, after which he delivered an emotional speech.

You are some of the founders and enthusiastic builders of many years' standing of the BPA; you have worked in its iron structure more than 30 years, said General of the Army Dobri Dzhurov. You linked your youth with the youth of the Army; you came into manhood and developed as military specialists together with the coming into manhood and development of our armed forces.

Subsequently, General of the Army Dobri Dzhurov, stressed that the generals and officers who were retiring were entering the reserves at a time when our entire people has harnessed up its strength to carry out the decisions of the 12th Congress of the BCP. He expressed his confidence that they would meld their efforts and military experience into the completion of these responsible tasks.

Finally, General of the Army Dobri Dzhurov congratulated the generals and officers going into the reserves--in the name of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and personally in the name of the Secretary General of the CC of the BCP Todor Zhivkov, in the name of the Directorate of the Defense Ministry thanked them for their gallant service and expressed his confidence that they will continue to work as inspiredly for the execution of the party's plans for the prosperity of the Bulgarian people, for the flourishing of our homeland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Major-General Storan Gurkov delivered a speech expressing the gratitude of the men who were decorated. He stated that the generals and officers who were going into the reserves would remain warriors of the party and people until their last breath.

After the ceremony, I had the opportunity to speak with some of those who were decorated. These are their excited words:

Col Subi Subev: We entered the BPA at the call of the party and gave it over 30 years. It became our great love and we are grateful to it for all that it gave us.

Col Stoycho Kitanov: Now I remember my days as a senior lieutenant. Then we lacked indispensable experience but the ardor with which we worked can serve as an example for the young.

Col Ivan Tankovski: I am leaving the Bulgarian People's Army with a feeling of duty discharged towards the party and the homeland.

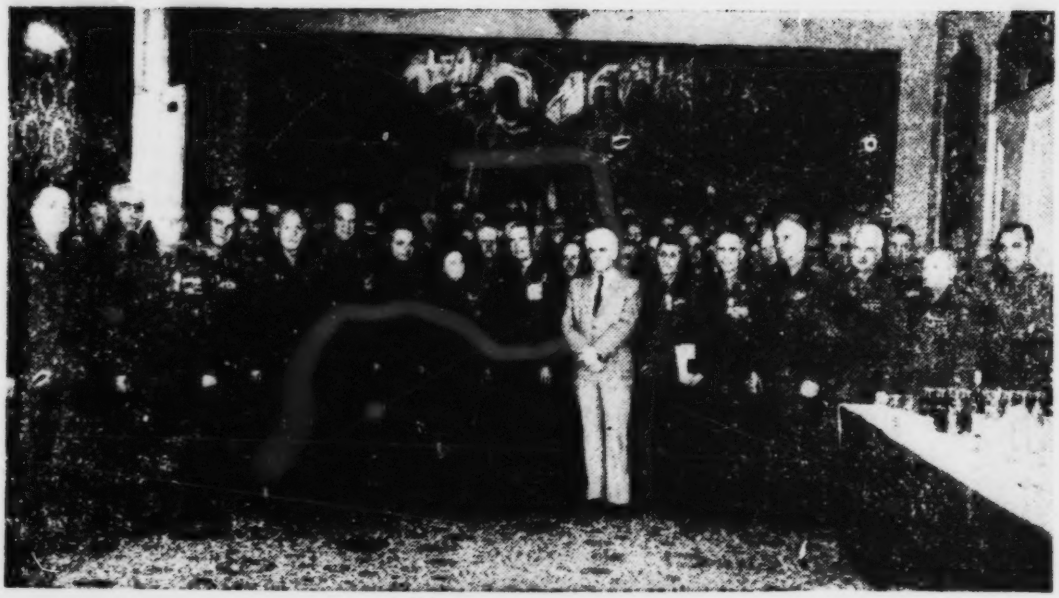

9900
CSO: 2200/89

BRIEFS

WESTERN CHURCH REPRESENTATIVES' VISIT--Prague, 28 Apr (CTK)--The CSSR was recently visited by Neal C. Wilson, president of the U.S. General Conference of the Church of Adventists, and Edwin Ludescher from Switzerland, chairman of the European section of this church, who acquainted themselves with the life of churches in the CSSR. During a reception by Karel Hruza, head of the CSSR Government presidium's secretariat for church affairs, N. C. Wilson expressed appreciation for the fact that Czechoslovakia guarantees full religious freedom and the possibility of religious self-realization even for small churches. At the same time he advocated the churches' involvement in the struggle for maintaining world peace and friendship among nations. Czechoslovakia was also visited by the prominent Anglican Church representative Peter Moore, dean of St. Albans. During his stay he met with representatives of churches in the CSSR and was received by Karel Hruza, head of the CSSR Government presidium's secretariat for church affairs. In the talk, Canon Moore spoke very highly of the great care and large financial contributions earmarked by the Czechoslovak state for the maintenance of church buildings. John Rowland Rich, ambassador of Great Britain to the CSSR, attended the reception. [CTK report: "Visit by Church Representatives"] [Text] [AU301220 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Apr 82 p 2]

CZECH REPUBLIC MINISTER DIES 'SUDDENLY'--Prague, 13 Apr 82 (CTK)--"Comrade Ladislav Hruzik, minister in the government of the Czech Socialist Republic [CSR], died suddenly on Monday, 12 April 1982, at the age of 59." He came from a workers family. After working as a forest worker, he graduated from the agricultural academy in Brno and then held various executive posts in enterprises and ministries. "In May 1968 he was appointed deputy minister, and in 1969 minister of forestry and water economy in the CSR." He was deputy chairman of the council of living environment, chairman of the governmental dislocation commission, and member of the CPCZ Central Committee's Agricultural Commission. He was also bearer of the Order of Labor since 1972. [CTK report: "Comrade L. Hruzik Has Died"] [Summary] [AU151232 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Apr 82 p 1]

CSO: 2400/226

REGULATIONS ON NEW STATE BORDER LAW PUBLISHED

Text of Implementing Regulation

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 11, 29 Mar 82 pp 203-208

[Official text of "Implementing Regulation of 25 March 1982 for the Law on the State Border of the German Democratic Republic (Border Regulation)," signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers. A translation of the official text of the GDR State Border Law of 25 March 1982 is available in FBIS Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, Vol II, No 066, 6 April 1982, pp E 1-E 12]

[Text] On the basis of Article 40 of the Border Law of 25 March 1982 (GBL, Part I No 11, p 197), the following is decreed:

Section I

Designation of Border Areas

Article 1

Border Areas

(1) Border areas, in accordance with Article 8 of the Border Law, consist of:

(a) the protective barrier and the restricted zone vis-a-vis the FRG;
(b) a protective barrier along a coastal sector and a restricted zone along the entire coast; and
(c) a protective barrier against West Berlin.

(2) The course and depth of the border areas as of section 1 are determined by the minister for national defense in concurrence with the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

(3) In the border areas along the GDR state border with Poland and the CSSR, there are no protective barriers, restricted or border zones and no special reporting, registration, entry and stay permits in effect. In those border areas, the members of the border troops of the GDR and their volunteer assistants may exercise the authorizations assigned to them in the Border Law up to a depth of circa 5 km.

(4) If compelling needs require changes in the course or depth of the border areas referred to, they have to be requested by the competent chairman of the bezirk council through the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR from the minister for national defense.

Article 2

Entry and Stay

(1) Entering and staying in the protective barrier or restricted zone requires a permission.

(2) For entering the protective barrier or restricted zone, the entry and transit routes or roads authorized for traffic are to be used, and destinations must be adhered to.

Article 3

Assuming Residence

(1) For taking residence in the protective barriers or restricted zones an admission authorization is required.

(2) Applications for admission authorizations have to be made in writing to the competent council of the city, city-district or community of the future place of residence.

Article 4

(1) Putting up tents and staying overnight in motor vehicles, vans and camping trailers is in principle not permitted in the protective barriers and the restricted zone. Workers may be allowed to stay overnight in vans within localities in the restricted zone by the chief of the competent people's police precinct.

(2) Putting up tents and parking vans and camping trailers in the border zone is permitted only on lots designated by Rostock Bezirk's council but only for citizens who have a valid tent permit.

(3) Rooms or bunks may be let to vacation guests in the border zone only with the permission of the competent council of the city or community.

Article 5

Public Facilities

The permission to set up public facilities, recreation homes and vacation camps is up to the chairman of the kreis or city-district council upon concurrence from the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR.

Article 6

New Construction and Expansions

(1) Setting up and expanding structures, installations and facilities in the border area is permitted unless it interferes with security and order.

(2) Site confirmations or permits for construction investments and authorization for construction measures by the population in the restricted zone, the protective barrier or immediately on the open coast come from the chairman of the competent bezirk council; construction investments and construction measures by the population in the restricted zone require the authorization by the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR. This is not infringed by obtaining declarations of positions in accordance with other legal regulations.

Article 7

Economic Projects

(1) Carrying out projects and the maintenance and repair of installations and facilities are authorized only up to the state border, unless arranged otherwise by international law treaties or legal regulations.

(2) Agricultural, forestry and other economic work in the protective barrier requires permits.

(3) The managers of the agricultural, forestry and other enterprises and the chairmen of the cooperatives are responsible for the long-range planning of projects along the state border, in conformity with the security and order requirements, and for preparing them in such a way that their complex and effective implementation and an optimum utilization of the agricultural and forestry acreages are ensured.

Article 8

(1) Managers of enterprises and facilities and chairmen of the cooperatives who employ labor in the protective barrier, the restricted zone or directly on the open coast have to set down in their labor regulations measures to enforce order in the border areas and supervise their being observed. They have to work together with the protective and security organs for that purpose.

(2) Managers referred to under section 1 have to instruct the people employed in the border areas semiannually, and new workers before they start their work, about order in these areas.

Article 9

Handing Over Real Estate

Real estate no longer needed for measures in protecting the state border is to be handed over to the title-holder, owner or other users. If the title for such real estate lies with the protective and security organs, it must be handed over to the competent kreis council.

Article 10

Establishing Hunting Grounds

No hunting grounds are to be established in the protective barrier. Conditions for game hunting are set down by the minister for national defense.

Article 11

Title-holders, owners or other users of real estate in the border area have the duty to see to it that nothing can get through the state border into the sovereign area of a neighboring state. Animals have to be kept from running across the state border.

Section II

Border Markings

Article 12

Surveying, Marking and Documenting the State Border

(1) The minister for national defense is responsible for maintaining the course and the marking of the state border.

(2) Providing personnel, material and funds for the work in surveying, marking and documentation is up to
(a) the ministry of the interior, for the land border, and
(b) the Sea Hydrographic Service of the GDR, for the sea border and the state border in certain border waterways.

(3) The competent bezirk councils have to secure the production of border markings and their being transported to certain places along the state border, except the auxiliary floating border markings on the seas and in certain border waterways.

(4) Border marking maintenance is up to
(a) the competent local councils for the state borders with Poland and the CSSR;
(b) the ministry of the interior for the other sections of the land border; and
(c) the Sea Hydrographic Service of the GDR for the sea border and certain border waterways.

In exercising this responsibility, account has to be taken of the regulations in the appropriate international law treaties.

(5) The ministry of the interior is responsible for handling the border documentation and keeping it up to date.

Article 13

Protection of Border Signs

(1) Damaging, destroying, changing the location or removing without permission border signs or other signs marking the course of the state border is prohibited.

(2) If through construction measures on roads, streets, or border waterways, or through other necessary measures, the signs referred to in section 1 are in jeopardy and they must temporarily be shifted or removed, the managers of the construction enterprises or facilities have to apply for it to the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR.

(3) If in the course of projects border signs or other signs set up to mark the state border are shifted in their location, damaged or destroyed, the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR must immediately be informed about it.

Article 14

Visibility of Border Signs

(1) Title-holders, owners or other users of real estate along the GDR border with Poland and the CSSR are responsible for keeping free from tall growth
(a) along the dry course of the GDR state border with Poland, a 5-meter strip, and on the shores of the border waterways, a 2-meter strip, and
(b) along the dry course of the GDR state border with the CSSR, a 1-meter strip, and around any other border sign away from the state border line, a circular area with a radius of 1 meter.
Exempt are plantings to solidify the shores and protected trees and shrubs.

(2) The supervision over abiding by the measures as of section 1 is up to the local councils in cooperation with the competent commanding officers of the border troops of the GDR.

Section III

Responsibility of the Local State Organs, Enterprises and Facilities

Article 15

Responsibility of the Local State Organs

(1) The chairmen of the local councils have to ensure close cooperation in the border areas with the border troops of the GDR and the other protective and security organs, and involving the social organizations, associations and citizens in enforcing the measures to ensure security and order.

(2) The local councils are responsible for ensuring the development of the intellecutal-cultural life and the further improvement of the citizens' living and housing conditions while taking account of security and order in the border areas.

(3) The local councils are under the obligation to see to it, in accordance with the demands from the border troops of the GDR and the other protective and security organs, that
(a) the course of the established restricted zones and protective barriers is clearly marked and the streets and roads not open to the public in the restricted zones are blocked,
(b) the streets and roads in the restricted zones are kept under repair or built up, and
(c) the requisite measures are carried out to ensure security and order, recultivate agricultural acreage, and apply herbicides and insecticides along the state border.

Article 16

Reporting Obligation

The managers of state and economic management organs, combines, enterprises and facilities, and the chairmen of cooperatives, irrespective or other reporting procedures established, are under the obligation the inform the nearest precinct of the German People's Police or of the border troops of the GDR about the occurrence or the likely occurrence of events that obviously could affect the sovereign area of a neighboring state. That concerns, in particular,
(a) contagious human or animal diseases that must be reported;
(b) a massive invasion of crop or forest pests;
(c) fires;
(d) air and water pollutions; and
(e) flood and ice emergencies.

Article 17

Announcements

The managers of the state and economic management organs, combines, enterprises and facilities, and the chairmen of the cooperatives and the competent commanding officers or chiefs of the protective and security organs have to announce in an appropriate fashion the provisions about order along the state border in accordance with local conditions.

Section IV

Border Crossing

Article 18

Border Crossing Points

(1) Border crossing goes through the border crossing points listed in the appendix.

(2) The minister for transportation is responsible for establishing, maintaining and furnishing the border crossing points.

Section V

Final Provisions

Article 19

Supplementary Provisions

Legal regulations or military or intra-service provisions are issued by the chiefs of the competent central state organs

Article 20

Taking Effect

This regulation takes effect on 1 May 1982

Appendix to Article 18 of above regulation

Listing of GDR Border Crossing Points

Type and Place of Border Crossing Point	Authorized Traffic
I. To Poland	
1. Street Border Crossings	
1.1 Ahlbeck, Wolgast Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit for citizens of the GDR, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, Romania, CSSR, Hungary, MPR (only as pedestrians, on one-track vehicles or users of the KOM line traffic)
1.2 Linken, Pasewalk Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit for citizens of the GDR, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, CSSR, Romania and MPR and for gooods of the GDR and Poland
1.3 Pomellen (Autobahn)	Two-way traffic and transit for persons and goods
1.4 Schwedt	Two-way traffic and transit for citizens of the GDR, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, CSSR, Romania and MPR and for goods of the GDR and Poland
1.5 Frankfurt/Oder (city bridge)	Two-way traffic and transit for citizens of the GDR, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, CSSR, Romania, MPR
1.6 Frankfurt/Oder (Autobahn)	Two-way traffic and transit for persons and goods
1.7 Wilhelm-Pieck-Stadt Guben	Two-way traffic and transit for citizens of the GDR, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, CSSR, Romania, MPR and for goods of the GDR and Poland
1.8 Forst (Autobahn)	Two-way traffic and transit for persons and goods
1.9 Bad Muskau, Weisswasser Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit for citizens of the GDR, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, CSSR, Romania, MPR
1.10 Goerlitz	Two-way traffic and transit for persons and goods
1.11 Zittau	Two-way traffic and transit for citizens of the GDR, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, CSSR, Romania, MPR and for goods of the GDR and Poland

Type and Place of Border Crossing Point	Authorized Traffic
2. Railroad Border Crossings	
2.1 Tantow, Angermuende Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit for persons and goods
2.2 Grambow, Pasewalk Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit for persons and goods
2.3 Kietz, Seelow Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit for persons and goods
2.4 Frankfurt/Oder	Two-way traffic and transit for persons and goods
2.5 Wilhelm-Pieck Stadt Guben	Two-way traffic and transit for persons and goods
2.6 Forst	Two-way traffic and transit for persons and goods
2.7 Horka, Niesky Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit for good-
2.8 Goerlitz	Two-way traffic and transit for persons and empty freight train traffic
3. Water Crossing Points	
3.1 Wolgast	Passenger navigation for citizens of the GDR, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, CSSR, Romania and MPR on passenger ships of the GDR and Poland
3.2 Karnin, Wolgast Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of goods of the GDR and Poland in inland navigation Transit of GDR vessels through Polish sovereign territory Passenger navigation for citizens of the GDR, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, CSSR, Romania and MPR on passenger ships of the GDR and Poland
3.3 Ueckermuende	Passenger navigation for citizens of the GDR, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, CSSR, Romania and MPR on passenger ships of the GDR and Poland
3.4 Mescherin, Angermuende Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit for goods of the GDR, Poland, CSSR, FRG and West Berlin in inland navigation Transit of Polish vessels through GDR sovereign territory
3.5 Gartz, Angermuende Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of goods of the GDR, Poland, CSSR, FRG and West Berlin in inland navigation Passenger navigation for citizens of the GDR, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, CSSR, Romania and MPR on passenger ships of the GDR and Poland Transit of GDR vessels through Polish sovereign territory
3.6 Hohensaaten, Bad Freienwalde Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit for goods of the GDR, Poland, CSSR, FRG and West Berlin in inland navigation Passenger navigation for citizens of the GDR, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, CSSR, Romania and MPR on passenger ships of the GDR and Poland Transit of Polish vessels through GDR sovereign territory
3.7 Frankfurt/Oder	Passenger navigation for citizens of the GDR, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, CSSR, Romania and MPR on passenger ships of the GDR and Poland
3.8 Eisenhuettenstadt	Two-way traffic and transit for goods of the GDR, Poland, CSSR, FRG and West Berlin in inland navigation Passenger navigation for citizens of the GDR, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, CSSR, Romania and MPR on passenger ships of the GDR and Poland

Type and Place of Border Crossing Point	Authorized Traffic
II. To the CSSR	
1. Street Border Crossings	
1.1 Schoenberg, Oelsnitz Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods
1.2 Oberwiesenthal, Annaberg Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit for citizens of the GDR, CSSR, USSR, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and MPR
1.3 Reitzenhain, Marienberg Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit for citizens of the GDR, CSSR, USSR, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and MPR
1.4 Zinnwald, Dippoldiswalde Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods
1.5 Bahratal, Pirna Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit for citizens of the GDR, CSSR, USSR, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and MPR
1.6 Schmilka, Pirna Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit for persons
1.7 Neugersdorf, Zittau Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit for goods
1.8 Seifhennersdorf, Zittau Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit for persons
2. Railroad Border Crossings	
2.1 Bad Brambach, Oelsnitz Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods
2.2 Bad Schandau, Pirna Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods
2.3 Ebersbach, Loebau Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of goods
2.4 Zittau	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods
3. Water Crossing Points	
3.1 Schoena, Pirna Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of goods in inland navigation Passenger navigation for citizens of the GDR, CSSR, USSR, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and MPR on passenger ships of the GDR and CSSR and two-way traffic of sports-boats
III. To the FRG	
1. Street Border Crossings	
1.1 Selmsdorf, Grevesmuehlen Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods, not to and from West Berlin
1.2 Horst, Hagenow Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods
1.3 Salzwedel	Two-way traffic of persons
1.4 Marienborn (Autobahn)	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods
1.5 Worbis	Two-way traffic of persons
1.6 Wartha, Eisenach Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods
1.7 Meiningen	Two-way traffic of persons
1.8 Eisfeld, Hildburghausen Kreis	Two-way traffic of persons
1.9 Hirschberg (Autobahn)	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods

Type and Place of Border Crossing Point	Authorized Traffic
2. Railroad Border Crossings	
2.1 Herrnburg, Grevesmuehlen Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods, not to and from West Berlin
2.2 Schwanheide, Hagenow Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods
2.3 Oebisfelde, Kloetze Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of persons, not from and to West Berlin, and two-way traffic and transit of goods
2.4 Marienborn, Oschersleben Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods
2.5 Ellrich, Nordhausen Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of goods
2.6 Gerstungen, Eisenach Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods
2.7 Probstzella, Saalfeld Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods
2.8 Gutenfuerst, Plauen Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods
3. Water Crossing Points	
3.1 Cumlosen, Perleberg Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of goods
3.2 Buchhorst, Kloetze Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of goods
IV. Sea Ports	
1. Wismar	Two-way traffic and transit of goods and border crossing by crew members and passengers of maritime vessels
2. Stralsund	Two-way traffic and transit of goods and border crossings by crew members and passengers of maritime vessels Passenger navigation for citizens of the GDR, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, CSSR, Romania and MPR on passenger ships of the GDR and Poland
3. Sassnitz	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods in the ferry traffic with Sweden (Trelleborg) and Denmark (Roenne) Passenger navigation for citizens of the GDR, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, CSSR, Romania and MVR on passenger ships of the GDR and Poland
4. Rostock-Warnemuende	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods in the ferry service with Denmark (Gedser) and border crossings by passengers and crews on sea-going passenger ships
5. Rostock Overseas Port	Two-way traffic and transit of goods and border crossings by crew members and passengers on maritime vessels
V. Airports	
1. Berlin-Schoenefeld	Regular international air traffic and transit for persons and air freight
2. Dresden-Klotzsche	Regular international air traffic and transit for persons and air freight
3. Erfurt	Regular international air traffic and transit for persons and air freight

Type and Place of Border Crossing Points	Authorized Traffic
4. Heringsdorf	Irregular international air traffic with Interflug aircraft
5. Leipzig-Schkeuditz	Regular international air traffic and transit for persons and air freight
VI. To West Berlin	
1. Street Border Crossing Points	
1.1 Berlin, Bornholmer Strasse	Two-way traffic for citizens of the GDR, FRG, persons with permanent residence in West Berlin and diplomats accredited in the GDR
1.2 Berlin, Chausseestrasse	Two-way traffic for citizens of the GDR and persons with permanent residence in West Berlin
1.3 Berlin, Invalidenstrasse	Two-way traffic for citizens of the GDR, persons with permanent residence in West Berlin, and diplomats accredited in the GDR
1.4 Berlin, Friedrich-/Zimmerstrasse	Two-way traffic for persons (except FRG citizens and persons with permanent residence in West Berlin, unless they are diplomats accredited in the GDR)
1.5 Berlin, Heinrich-Heine-Strasse	Two-way traffic for citizens of the GDR and FRG and diplomats accredited in the GDR Two-way traffic of goods
1.6 Berlin, Oberbaumbruecke	Two-way traffic for citizens of the GDR and persons with permanent residence in West Berlin, pedestrians only
1.7 Berlin, Sonnenallee	Two-way traffic for citizens of the GDR and persons with permanent residence in West Berlin
1.8 Schoenefeld, Rudower Chaussee	Two-way traffic for persons with permanent residence in West Berlin and users of the domestic lines of Interflug Transit of persons and air freight between the Berlin-Schoenefeld airport and West Berlin
1.9 Mahlow, Zossen Kreis	Shipments of waste products from West Berlin to the GDR and of building materials from the GDR to West Berlin
1.10 Drewitz (Autobahn)	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods (not from and to the Berlin-Schoenefeld airport)
1.11 Staaken, Nauen Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of persons and goods (not from and to the Berlin-Schoenefeld airport)
2. Railroad Border Crossings	
2.1 Berlin Friedrichstrasse	Two-way traffic and transit of persons Two-way traffic for persons on elevated and subway trains
2.2 Staaken, Nauen Kreis	Transit of persons and two-way traffic and transit of goods
2.3 Griebnitzsee, Potsdam Kreis	Transit for persons (two-way traffic for persons on special trains only)
2.4 Drewitz, Potsdam Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of goods

Type and Place of Border Crossing Points	Authorized Traffic
3. Water Crossing Points	
3.1 Berlin Marschallbruecke	Two-way traffic and transit of goods (not from and to the FRG)
3.2 Berlin Britzer-Zweigkanal	Two-way traffic and transit of goods (not from and to the FRG)
3.3 Berlin Osthafen	Two-way traffic and transit of goods (not from and to the FRG)
3.4 Hennigsdorf, Oranienburg Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of goods (not from and to the FRG)
3.5 Nedlitz, Potsdam Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of goods
3.6 Babelsberger Enge, Potsdam Kreis	Two-way traffic of goods
3.7 Dreilinden, Potsdam Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of goods
3.8 Kleinmachnow, Potsdam Kreis	Two-way traffic and transit of goods

Text of Border Control Order

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 11, 29 Mar 82 pp 208-218

[Official text of "Order of 25 March 1982 on Control in the Border Areas and Waterways of the German Democratic Republic--Border Control Order," signed by Army General Hoffmann, minister for national defense; and Colonel General Dickel, minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police]

[Text] On the basis of Article 40 of the Border Law of 25 March 1982 (GBL, Part I, No 11, p 197) and of Article 19 of the Border Regulation of 25 March 1982 (GBL, Part I, No 11, p 203), in concurrence with the chiefs of the competent central state organs, the following is decreed:

Section I

General Provisions

Article 1

Working in the Restricted Zone

(1) The permission to do agricultural, forestry and other economic work in the restricted zone, as to Article 7 of the Border Regulation, is given by the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR. A permit must normally be requested 4 days before the beginning of the week for which such work is intended.

(2) Working in the restricted zone, outside self-contained localities, is in principle allowed between sunrise and sundown. Exceptions require authorization from the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR.

(3) Bringing draft and any other kind of vehicles and working tools into the restricted zone is permitted to the extent that the work done there calls for it. Vehicles and motorized labor devices have to be parked after the halting or terminating of the projects on regular parking lots, normally outside the restricted zone, secured from unauthorized use, made available by managers of enterprises or facilities in concurrence with the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR.

(4) Growing tall agricultural or forestry cultures, establishing grazing areas as well as placing straw and hay silos in the restricted zone requires authorization from the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR. For the grazing animals in the restricted zone, enclosures have to be set up from which they cannot break out.

Article 2

Sports Diving and Below-Surface Work

(1) In the border waterways in the restricted zone, diving with diving equipment of all sorts and taking photographs and films below the water surface is, in principle, not permitted.

(2) In sea water outside the border zone, diving with diving equipment, including diving suits, is permitted only in areas authorized by the bezirk chief of Rostock's German People's Police and with registered diving equipment.

(3) Exceptions for the provisions under sections 1 and 2 may be authorized by the chief of the competent bezirk authority of the German People's Police.

(4) The provisions of sections 1 and 2 do not apply to below-surface projects carried out by state organs and the enterprises assigned to them. Starting below-surface projects is predicated on authorization from the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR. Instant measures needed to rescue human lives, stopping and fighting against disasters, and eliminating other perils and disturbances may be carried out without previous authorization from the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR. They have to be reported to him at once.

Article 3

Photo, Film and Television Recording

(1) Photo, film and television recording and other pictorial representations and broadcasting in the restricted zone and of military objects, border crossing points and other control facilities in the border area must be authorized by the main press department of the ministry for national defense. In principle, the permission has to be requested at least 2 weeks ahead of time.

(2) Private photography and movie-making in the restricted zone are allowed inside localities. Military objects, border crossing points and border security installations may not be recorded.

Article 4

Surveying and Topography

Surveying and topography and making sketches in the restricted zone require authorization from the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR.

Article 5

(1) Sports-firing of live ammunition is not permitted in the restricted zone.

(2) Hunting and sports-firing of live ammunition in the protective barrier zone must be authorized by the chief of the competent People's Police kreis precinct. Applications for it must be made at least 2 weeks ahead of time.

(3) Depositing and storing hunting and sports weapons and live ammunition is, in principle, forbidden in the restricted and protective barrier zones. When a permission is given in terms of section 2, a brief storage of hunting and sports weapons and live ammunition may be authorized in the restricted zone.

(4) When hunts are held, one may not shoot in the direction of the restricted zone or the state border. The pursuit of game into the restricted zone or the sovereign territory of a neighboring state is not permitted.

Article 6

Explosives

Storing and maintaining explosives in the restricted zone is in principle forbidden. Exceptions are decided on by the chief of the competent bezirk authority of the German People's Police.

Article 7

Public Events

(1) Permission is required for public events in the restricted and protective barrier zones and the seas of the GDR.

(2) The permission has to be requested in writing by the sponsor or his deputy at least 2 weeks ahead of time, unless other legal regulations set down a longer period,
(a) from the locally authorized German People's Police precinct for public events in the restricted and protective barrier zones, and
(b) from the Rostock German People's Police bezirk authority for events out at sea.

(3) The permission as of section 1 does not extend to events exempted from permit requirements in other legal regulations.

Article 8

Measures in Air Space Violations

In carrying out measures in the case of air space violations as to Article 28 of the Border Law, signals and signs are given as specified in Appendix I

Section II

Order in the Border Area with the FRG

Permission to Stay

Article 9

Citizens who, in terms of Article 3 in the Border Regulation, received an entry permit get an authorization stamped into their personal identification card application authorizing their stay in the restricted or protective barrier zone. That permission is kept specific in terms of place and time.

Article 10

(1) Citizens who either reside outside the border area and hold a regular job in the border area, or who reside in the restricted zone but have their regular job in the protective barrier zone, upon the request from the managers of enterprises and facilities and chairmen of cooperatives, for their being able to get to their jobs, get a permit entered on their personal identification card by the people's police kreis precinct responsible for their places of work. That arrangement also applies to pupils 14 years and older. That permission is kept specific in terms of place and time.

(2) The managers and chairmen referred to in section 1 must immediately inform the competent people's police kreis precinct when jobs are terminated or other reasons no longer exist which led to entering the permit on personal indentification cards.

Article 11

(1) Citizens who either reside outside the border area and wish to enter the border area temporarily for occupational or personal reasons, or reside in the restricted zone and wish to enter the protective barrier zone temporarily for occupational or personal reasons, must have a pass.

(2) Passes for entering the border area for occupational reasons have to be applied for by the managers of the enterprises and facilities and the chairmen of the cooperatives and social organizations for the persons employed with them, or by their deputies, in writing, to the German People's Police precinct responsible for the area in which such a facility is located. The managers or chairmen entrust the passes to the persons thereby admitted only as long as they do in fact work in that capacity.

(3) Entry passes for the border area for personal reasons have to be requested by the citizens residing in the border area from the German People's Police precincts in charge of their places of residence for the persons wishing to enter, in writing.

(4) Entry passes for the border area for the purpose of staying in a sanatorium or recreation home, or in hotels of the GDR travel bureau, are to be applied for at the German People's Police precinct assigned to the residential area of the traveler presenting the reservation or the travel check.

Article 12

Reporting Obligation

(1) Citizens entering the border area are under the obligation
(a) when they stay in the protective barrier zone for more than 12 hours, immediately after their entry,
(b) and in the restricted zone within 12 hours after their entry, provided they stay longer than 12 hours,
to report in to the competent registry of the competent sector agent of the German People's Police, and to report out before their departure.

(2) Entry into the house register has to be made at once, regardless of the length of the stay. For the entry, the permit to stay in the border area has to be presented.

(3) The landlord of citizens staying with him and under the obligation to report in, in accordance with section 1, has to fulfil the subsidiary reporting obligation in conformity with the reporting obligation provisions.

Article 13

Staying in the Protective Barrier Zone

(1) In the protective barrier zone, citizens are, in principle, allowed to stay outside of localities, parts of localities and separate farms only from sunrise to sundown.

(2) Citizens residing in the protective barrier zone may use streets and roads open to traffic even at times other than referred to in section 1.

(3) The entry and exit of citizens with permanent jobs in the protective barrier zone at times other than referred to in section 1 are to be applied for by the managers of enterprises and facilities and the chairmen of cooperatives at the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR.

Article 14

Regulations for the Border Waterways

(1) At the border waterways, as to Article 6 of the Border Law, fishing and swimming is permitted at spots designated by the competent commanding officers of the border troops of the GDR.

(2) Using boats is, in principle, forbidden. Exempt are fishing vessels, inland navigation craft, vessels of the GDR waterway repair bureau and the waterway control office, of the water management office and vessels authorized by international law treaties carrying their appropriate documents.

(3) Fishing requires a border fishing certificate made out by the deputy for internal affairs under the chairman of the competent bezirk council upon concurrence from the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR. The border fishing certificate may entail specific fishing quotas.

(4) Places of anchorage for fishing vessels, vessels of the GDR waterway repair bureau and the waterway control office and of the water management offices in the protective barrier zone are assigned by the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR. Vessels have to be secured by the title-holders, owners and other users in such a way that an unauthorized use of them becomes impossible.

(5) Fishing boats must be registered with the competent bezirk council and get license plates.

Article 15

Carrying Out Projects and Measures as Agreed Among States

(1) Projects and measures along the state border, in particular
(a) controlling the course and the markings along the state border and the maintenance and repair of the markings,
(b) the maintenance and reinforcing of border waterways,
(c) the operation, control and maintenance of water management installations and facilities and the removal of water from the border waterways,
(d) the construction and maintenance of traffic installations and facilities,
(e) the conducting of forestry projects,
(f) pest control and
(g) fishing,
and the border crossings, linked with all that, of GDR or FRG citizens are subject to international law treaties and the agreements concluded with reference to them.

(2) The competent GDR organs or their agents, to ensure the projects and measures referred to under section 1, have to arrange in good time for the requisite concurrence from the competent commanding officers of the border troops of the GDR.

Section III

Regulations for the Border Area with West Berlin

Permission to Stay

Article 16

Citizens who, in accordance with Article 3 of the Border Regulation, received an entry permit, will get a permit entered on their personal identity document when they register with the police that authorizes their stay in the border area (protective barrier zone). The permission is kept specific in terms of place and time.

Article 17

(1) Citizens residing outside the border area with permanent jobs in the border area, upon application from managers of enterprises and facilities or chairmen of cooperatives, receive streamlined certificates from the internal affairs departments of the kreis or city-district councils in their place of work, permitting them to enter enterprises in the border area via established access routes. The same holds true for pupils 14 years and older, residing outside the border area but attending schools or being instructed in enterprises located in the border area.

(2) Such a certificate expires with the expiration of the permit or the termination of the job or the school attendance.

(3) Managers of enterprises and facilities and chairmen of cooperatives are under the obligation to withdraw invalid certificates at once and hand them over to the competent internal affairs departments under the kreis or city-district councils. The competent people's police kreis precincts or people's police inspectorates have to be informed by the internal affairs departments of the termination of jobs or school attendance.

Article 18

Article 11 applies to citizens residing outside the border area who wish to enter the border area temporarily for occupational or personal reasons.

Article 19

Reporting Obligation

(1) Citizens entering the border area within Potsdam Bezirk are under the obligation to report in at once, if they stay longer than 12 hours, at the competent registry or the German People's Police sector agent and report out before they depart.

(2) The entry in the house registry has to be made at once, regardless of the length of the stay. When they are recorded, they have to present the permit required for staying in the border area.

(3) A landlord has to fulfil the subsidiary reporting obligation in accordance with the reporting obligation regulations for citizens who stay with him and are under reporting obligation as to section 1.

Article 20

Regulations for Border Waterways

(1) Fishing and swimming is prohibited in border waterways in accordance with Article 6 of the Border Law. The use of boats is, in principle, forbidden. Exempt are fishing vessels and internal navigation vessels, vessels of the GDR waterway repair bureau and the waterway control office, vessels of water management and vessels handling border-crossing traffic, provided they carry the requisite documents.

(2) Carrying out water management and hydrotechnical projects in the border area, pursuant to agreement from the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR, is permitted.

(3) Fishing in the border waterways within Potsdam Bezirk requires a border fishing permit made out by the deputy for internal affairs under the chairman of the bezirk council pursuant to agreement from the competent commanding officer of the border troops of the GDR. That permit may specify particular quotas.

(4) On the waterways within the municipal area of the capital of the GDR, Berlin, fishing and passenger navigation are forbidden.

(5) The exit, entry and transit of boats on border waterways are, in principle, permitted only from sunrise to one hour before sundown and are subject to special traffic regulations. Boats are allowed to move in the harbors of the border waterways only in the time between sunrise and sundown.

Section IV

Control over the Border Area on the GDR Coast and Seas

Article 21

The base line coordinates pursuant to Article 2 section 5 of the Border Law are laid down in Appendix 2.

Article 22

Protective Barrier

(1) The protective barrier of the state border between the GDR and the FRG goes up to Steinbeck (Grevesmuehlen Kreis).

(2) A permanent or temporary stay in the protective barrier zone is governed by the regulations in Articles 9 through 13.

Article 23

The coastal border zone (Appendix 3) runs from Voigtshagen (Grevesmuehlen Kreis) along the coast to Altwarp (Ueckermuende Kreis) including the islands of Poel, Ruegen, Hiddensee, Usedom, the peninsulas Wustrow, Darss and the internal lakes as to Appendix 4.

Article 24

Reporting Obligation

(1) Persons who temporarily, yet longer than 2 days, stay on border zone real estate or houseboats, must report within 24 hours to the competent German People's Police registry, and report out when they leave. Persons who stay in FDGB vacation homes or guesthouses and those of state organs, combines, enterprises, cooperatives or social organizations, are exempt from that reporting obligation.

(2) A landlord has the subsidiary reporting obligation, putsuant to the reporting obligation provisions, for persons staying on his real estate who are under reporting obligation pursuant to section 1.

Article 25

Vehicular Traffic Out at Sea

(1) Coastal fishing vessels and coast-guard vessels of the German Red Cross of the GDR, as well as sports-boats* may navigate the seas outside the border zone, if technically certified and registered. Persons aboard must have a permit for navigating the seas outside the border zone. As logbooks one uses the printed forms issued by the German People's Police. They are to be applied for from the German People's Police precinct in charge of the area where the vessels are moored.

(2) Navigating ths seas with vessels of the state control organs and facilities and technical vehicles outside the border zone calls for sailing orders in writing. Such orders are to be issued by the person in charge in any organ, enterprise or facility. Persons not members of the crews are in principle not allowed to go along. The permission to go along may in justified exceptional cases be granted by the chiefs of the organs, enterprises or facilities concerned. Personal data must be recorded in the sailing orders.

(3) The crews of vessels of the VEB passenger line "Weisse Flotte" [White Fleet] including the Mitropa personnel must have permits to go out to sea beyond the border zone.

(4) Navigating the seas in sports-boats is, in principle, allowed only between sunrise and sundown. Exceptions are determined by the chief of the Rostock German People's Police bezirk authority.

(5) Other floating bodies (e.g. life preservers, air mattresses, floats and other floatable objects) may not move off the coastline, between sunrise and sundown, for more than 150 meters. Such floating objects are not authorized in waters beyond protective barrier zones in accordance with Article 22 section 1.

(6) The chief of the coastal border brigade may bar sports-boats and other floatable bodies from entering certain areas of the seas.

(7) The routes and courses of vessels of the VEB passenger line "Weisse Flotte" out at sea beyond the border zone must be authorized by the chief of the coastal border brigade.

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*Sports-boats in terms of this order are water vehicles exclusively meant or used for sports or recreational purposes, excepting those handling commercial passenger transport.

(8) If vessels of the VEB "Weisse Flotte" passenger line are chartered for the seas beyond the border zone by a third party, the charterer has to authorize the boarding of persons other than the crew in accordance with section 2. Reporting in and out is done in accordance with Article 29 section 2.

(9) GDR vessels may stay within the area of the sea border with the FRG up to Gross-Kluetz-Hoeved, subject to the permission from the chief of the coastal border brigade.

Article 26

Permissions

(1) Permissions for the sailing of sports-boats, as to Article 25 section 1, are to be applied for by the competent social organizations or, with their approval, by their owners from the German People's Police precinct in charge of the sport-boat's moorage area.

(2) Permissions for crews of coastal fishing vessels and coast-guard vessels, as of Article 25 section 1, and for crews of the VEB "Weisse Flotte" passenger line including Mitropa personnel, as of Article 25 section 3, are to be applied for by the manager of the enterprise or facility from the internal affairs department of the kreis council in charge of the vessels' moorage areas.

(3) Permissions as of Article 25 section 2 are granted by the managers of the organs, enterprises or facilities upon concurrence with the kreis council, internal affairs department, in charge of the vessels' moorage area. They may also apply to group listings.

(4) The permits granted as to sections 2 and 3 must be withdrawn by the managers of organs, enterprises or facilities as soon as they expire or job contracts end. Permits as to section 2 must be returned in such cases to the competent kreis council, internal affairs department; it must be informed of the cancelation of permits as to section 3.

Article

Moorage

Coastal fishing vessels and coast-guard vessels and sports-boats may be stationed at moorage along the open coast as determined by the bezirk council upon agreement from the chief of the coastal border brigade. Title-holders, owners or other users have to secure them at moorage in such a way that their unauthorized use becomes impossible.

Article 28

Water Vehicle Registration

(1) Registration of coastal fishing vessels and of coast-guard vessels and sports-boats intended to navigate the seas beyond the border zone must be requested from the German People's Police precinct in charge of the vessels' moorage area.

(2) The license number issued by the German People's Police and the moorage designation have to be attached to the vehicles and must be clearly visible.

Article 29

(1) The captains of fishing vessels or sports-boats stationed at moorage along the open coast have to report in and out by telephone, 12 hours before sailing and immediately after their return, to passport control. When they report out, they have to submit:
--the name or license number of the vessel,
--the time of departure,
--destination and intended moorage places,
--personal data and permit numbers of persons aboard, and
--the expected time of return.

(2) Captains of vessels as to Article 25 sections 1 to 3, which are not stationed at moorage along the open coast, when they depart from inland waterways or return to inland waterways, to and from the border area, have to report out or report back to the competent control point by presenting their permits.

Section V

Border Area Control Along the GDR/Polish/CSSR Border

Article 30

Commercial and Recreational Fishing

(1) Commercial and recreational fishing along the border with Poland and the CSSR is permitted up to the state border. This must not interfere with navigation.

(2) Commercial and recreational fishing along the border is permitted between sunrise and sundown. Stationary traps must be kept 50 meters off the state border. Recreational fishing along the border is permitted only from land.

Article 31

Sports-boat Traffic on the Oder

(1) In principle, sports-boat traffic on the Oder is permitted between 1 April and 31 October each day from sunrise to sundown from km 542.4 to km 704.1, and on the western Oder from km 0.0 to km 17.7.

(2) Depending on navigation conditions, the period set down in section 1 may be modified by the waterways control office of the GDR in concurrence with the GDR/Polish border authorities.

(3) Sports-boats may use the border waterways in their entire breadth. At their stern or bow, they have to hoist their national flag. All persons aboard have to have the personal and navigation documents on them which legal regulations in effect demand of them.

(4) Events to be sponsored along the border waterways require permission from the German People's Police. Application for it has to be made at least 6 weeks before the scheduled date of the event to the German People's Police authority in Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk. A permission is granted in concurrence with the GDR border authorities. Sports events must not interfere with navigation.

(5) The GDR chief border authorities can temporarily forbid sports-boat traffic on border waterways.

(6) Treaties under international law in the field of inland navigation apply to the passage of sports-boats through the Polish waterways to the sea waters of the GDR.*

Article 32

Fishing Vessels and Sports-boats

(1) Commercial fishing vessels have to be registered with the competent bezirk council. After their registration they receive a license plate to be attached visibly to the fishing vessels.

(2) Fishing vessels and sports-boats must be stationed and moored at their own territorial shore in the border waterway area, and only at specified and marked moorage points. Their title-holders, owners or other users have to secure them in such a way that an unauthorized use of them becomes impossible.

(3) For fishing vessels and sports-boats to lie alongside the Polish shore is, in principle, not permitted. If such vessels or the persons aboard are forced to land on the Polish shore and enter the shore, the competent local Polish border and control organs must be informed at once.

Article 33

Projects and Services on the Sovereign Territories of Neighboring States

(1) GDR citizens who, under international law, have contracted for projects or services near the common state border with Poland or the CSSR must have a border certificate.

(2) That border certificate authorizes projects or services on the sovereign territory of Poland at a distance of 150 meters, and on the sovereign territory of the CSSR, at a distance of 5 km, from the common state border. If necessary, the distances may be lengthened. In such a case, the managers of enterprises and services, to carry out their projects and services, must
(a) enter the required distance in the border certificate, under "remarks," for the Polish territory; or
(b) get the permission from the GDR border authorities, for the CSSR territory.

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*In effect at present is the GDR-Polish cooperation agreement on inland navigation, of 25 November 1971 (GBL, Part II, 1972, No 9, p 120).

(3) Border crossing to carry out projects or services in principle is done via the border crossing points by means of established border crossing documents. If in particular instances, the border is to be crossed elsewhere, the GDR border authorities have to authorize it.

(4) Projects or services are allowed to be carried out between sunrise and sundown. If it is necessary to extend the time frame for such projects or services, the competent GDR border authorities and, in most urgent cases, the nearest headquarters of the border troops of the GDR, have to be informed about it.

(5) The provisions of sections 2 through 4 do not apply to persons handling the traffic at delivery and receiving railroad junctions, railroad service personnel and the members of the border and passport control and customs.

(6) The managers or enterprises or services whose members are assigned to projects or services are responsible for issuing, authorizing and withdrawing border certificates. The forms needed for border certificates are made available to the managers of enterprises and services, upon their request, by the competent people's police kreis precincts.

(7) A border certificate is valid for one year but may be extended for another 6 months. When it expires or the project or service is terminated, the border certificate has to be turned back in.

Section VI

Foreign Warships on the Seas of the GDR

Article 34

Entry Permit

(1) The request to enter the sea waters, as to Article 15 of the Border Law, has to be made at least 30 days before the intended entry. The request has to include:
(a) the purpose of the visit,
(b) the length of the visit,
(c) numbers, classes and names of ships,
(d) main measures (displacement, length, width, draught),
(e) name and rank of commander (formation chief), and
(f) port to be visited.

(2) If possible, even when the entry is requested, data as to Appendix 5 ought to be included.

(3) While staying in the sea waters, foreign warships need pay no dues (including customs dues), except for services rendered them.

Article 35

Naval Garrison Commander and Liaison Officer

(1) The naval garrison commander or, on his orders, the liaison officer has to assist the foreign commander (formation chief) as long as he is around, briefing him, in particular, on GDR legal regulations and other provisions.

(2) The foreign commander (formation chief) is under the obligation to submit to the naval garrison commander or liaison officer the data as specified in Appendix 5, unless they were already previously submitted.

Article 36

Forbidden Acts

(1) While they are present, the foreign warships are not allowed to enter areas blocked to navigation.

(2) Crews are forbidden to engage, in particular, in the following activities:
(a) Research, surveying and plumbing;
(b) making photographic or other recording, drawings, sketches, port area descriptions or traffic or military installations descriptions;
(c) traffic with armed cutters or escorts and maritime maneuvers with armed crews and the dispatch of amphibious units;
(d) the use and testing of weapons (except the firing of salutes);
(e) searchlight exercises;
(f) placing and clearing of mines;
(g) testing the use of chemical agents, such as smoke-screens;
(h) under-water detonations,
(i) starting or receiving aircraft, the floating of balloons;
(k) working with radar equipment and other radio and hydroacoustic devices (except for navigational guidance while in motion);
(l) catching any sort of fish or other sea animals;
(m) polluting the water with oil or other substances; and
(n) any military activities that do not conform with the purpose of the visit.

(3) Upon the request from the commander (formation chief) of the foreign warship, the naval garrison commander may authorize:
(a) The use of communications equipment for communicating with the ship's homeland;
(b) under-water projects for the inspection or repair of the ship; and
(c) the use of cutters, escorts and other water vehicles of the foreign warships.

Article 37

Going Ashore

(1) To go ashore, crews need the permission from the naval garrison commander.

(2) Going ashore is, in principle, permitted only in the given garrison area and by observing regulations in force. Departing beyond the garrison area requires permission from the naval garrison commander.

Article 38

Boarding and Leaving Foreign Warships

(1) Boarding or leaving foreign warships by persons not members of the crew are subject to permission from the naval garrison commander.

(2) Embassy or consular personnel of the state to which the foreign warship belongs are under the provisions applying to them.

Article 39

Breaking Off a Visit

(1) If a foreign warship or its crew violates or fails to observe the legal regulations or provisions of the GDR, the naval garrison commander has to bring that law violation to the attention of the commander (formation chief).

(2) Foreign warships ignoring such reminders may be asked to leave the territorial waters.

(3) Under extraordinary circumstances, foreign warships may be given the order at any time to leave the territorial waters within a definite time frame.

Article 40

Passage

To the passage through territorial waters, the regulations of Articles 34, 36 and 39 apply accordingly.

Article 41

Escort Vessels

The regulations of this section apply likewise to naval escort vessels.

Section VII

Landing or Overflight of Official Aircraft or Civil Aircraft Carrying Important Military Cargo

Article 42

Definitions

(1) Official aircraft are all military, customs or police aircraft and other aircraft intended or used for official purposes.

(2) Civil aircraft carrying important military cargo are aircraft including in their cargo toops, explosives, ammunition or combat equipment.

Article 43

Landing or Overflight Rights

(1) The request to be permitted to land or overflight by aircraft as of Article 42, has to be submitted, as of Article 16 section 5 of the Border Law, at least 10 days prior to the intended flight. The following data have to be included in the request:
(a) The state to which the aircraft belongs,
(b) the type of aircraft it is,
(c) its national insignias and registration markings,
(d) the weaponry of the aircraft,
(e) the purpose of the flight and destination,
(f) the number of persons aboard,
(g) the type and volume of its cargo,
(h) the date of the flight,
(i) the name, first name and citizenship of the pilot,
(k) the place and time of the intended border overflight for the entry and exit to and from the national territory of the GDR, and
(l) the times for landing and take-off, in case a stop is intended in the GDR.

(2) In justified exceptional instances, the request may be abridged and the requestion period may be reduced.

(3) The permission granted by the ministry for foreign affairs is valid only for the day for which it was requested.

(4) Changes in the details of the request as to section 1 may be transmitted to control towers up to 1 hour prior to the intended flight. Under such circumstances, no changes are permitted regarding the nationality and arms of the aircraft and the purpose of the flight.

(5) If the flight is not possible for the day for which permission was granted, a permission must be requested once more at least 24 hours prior to the intended flight.

(6) The entry or overflight permission has no bearing on reporting flights to control towers.

Article 44

Flight Routes and Altitudes

(1) For flights, the flight routes and altitudes assigned in accordance with the flight plan in effect must be maintained, and control tower instructions have to be obeyed.

(2) When an aircraft violates the stipulations of section 1, measures against it may be taken as of Article 28 of the Border Law.

Section VIII

Penalties

Article 45

(1) A reprimand or a fine between M 10 and M 500 may be given to an any person who deliberately or negligently
(a) damages, destroys, alters or maliciously removes or changes the location of signs or installations for marking, defining and securing the state border or border areas;
(b) fails to observe the reporting, registration, entry and stop-over provisions set down for the border area, gives false information to obtain the requisite permission, or abuses the permission granted;
(c) takes, without authorization, photographic, film, television and radio recordings or makes surveys, sketches or topographic studies in the protective barrier zone or, without authorization, photographs, films or otherwise pictorially represents military objects, border security installations, border crossing points or other control installations in the border area;
(d) carries out or has carried out, without permission, projects in the protective barrier zone that are subject to permission;
(e) violates the reporting obligation for the departure and entry of water vehicles;
(f) dives with diving equipment without permission or outside authorized locations;
(g) violates the registration obligation for water vehicles and fails to observe the provisions for sports-boats and their stationing at assigned points of moorage;
(h) fails to observe the orders of the protective and security organs for maintaining security and order in the border areas;
(i) parks vehicles and motorized working tools without securing them from unauthorized use in the border area;
(k) infringes the regulations on getting permission for holding events in the border area;
(l) lets rooms or beds to vacation guests in the border zone without a permission from authorized state organs;
(m) puts up a tent without permission in the protective barrier or restricted zone, spends the night in motor vehicles, vans or camping trailers or outside of assigned lots in the border zone, or sets up vans, camping trailers or tents without a valid permit;
(n) fails to observe the fishing, recreational fishing and swimming proscriptions and the provisions on the use of other floating bodies,
(o) fails to observe the provisions on hunting and shooting sports and on depositing and storing hunting and sports weapons and live ammunition and explosives in the border area; or
(p) fails to observe the duty to keep border signs clear.

(2) A fine up to M 1,000 may be levied if a deliberate act in terms of section 1
(a) was repeated within 2 years and given a disciplinary fine before;
(b) caused considerable damage; or
(c) seriously interfered with security and order in the border area.

(3) In instances of minor infringements as to section 1, the authorized members of the German People's Police or the competent associates of the local councils are authorized to levy reprimands with fines up to between M 1 and M 20.

(4) Objects used to commit an infringement of order may, along with other fines or independently, without regard to the property relations or the claims of third parties, be confiscated without compensation. Permissions granted may be withdrawn.

(5) Fines are levied, in accordance with any given competencies, by the chiefs of the German People's Police precincts or the deputy kreis council chairman in charge of the field in question.

(6) To the penalty procedures and the setting of fines there applies the law of 12 January 1968 on fighting against order violations--OWG--(GBL, Part I, No 3, p 101).

Section IX

Final Provisions

Article 46

This order goes into effect on 1 May 1982.

Appendix 1: Re: Article 8 of Above Order

Signals and Signs and Actions in Catching Air Space Violators by Means of Aircraft

I

No.	Aircraft Signals and Signs	Significance	Responding Sign by Air Space Violator	Significance
1	2	3	4	5
1.	At daytime: Alternate aileron flapping from a position normally to the left of the air space violator. After confirmation of signal, flat horizontal curve, normally to the left, toward the desired course. At night: As during the daytime, with irregularly repeated switching on and off of position lights	You are caught. Follow me	Aircraft at daytime: Alternate aileron flapping, and does follow At night: As during daytime, with irregularly repeated switching on and off of position lights Helicopters, day and night: Irregularly repeated plane modification and repeated switching on and off of position lights, and does follow	Understood. I shall follow

1	2	3	4	5

Footnotes:

(1) Weather conditions or the terrain may make it necessary for the aircraft to give its signals from a position to the right of the air space violator and for the subsequent curve to be flown to the right.

(2) If the air space violator cannot keep up with the speed of the intercepting aircraft, the interceptor will carry out repeated curves at 2X180° and operate its wings when passing the air space violator.

2.	At day and night: Sudden climb by 90° or more away from the air space violator, without crossing the flight path of the violator	You may pass	Aircraft at day and night: Alternate aileron flapping Helicopter at day and night: Giving signal of no. 1 for helicopters	Understood. I shall follow
	At day: Circling flight, opening landing-gear and overflying runway in landing direction or, if air space violator is a helicopter, overflying landing spot	Come down in the airport	Aircraft at day: Put out landing-gear, follow the aircraft and, after overflying the runway, come down	Understood, I shall follow
	At night: As during the daytime, with extra searchlights on the ground switched on		At night: As during the daytime, with extra searchlights on the ground, if available, switched on Helicopter, day and night: Follow the interceptor and come down, with searchlights on the ground, if available, kept switched on.	

II

No.	Air Space Violator's Signals and Signs	Significance	Responding Signs from Intercepting Aircraft	Significance
1	2	3	4	5
4.	Aircraft at day: Pull in landing-gear when overflying runway at altitudes between 300 and 600 meters above airport elevation and passing into circling flight	The airport you have chosen is unsuitable	Day and night: Pull in landing gear and give signal as of no. 1 if air space violator is to follow to an alternate airport	Understood, follow me

1	2	3	4	5
	At night: As during daytime, with ground searchlights blinking off and on, or, if no such searchligts are available, blinking lights with some other devices		At night; Pull in landing-gear and signal as of no. 2, if air space violator is allowed to proceed	Understood. You may proceed.
5.	Aircraft, day and night: Regularly switching on and off of all lights available but so that they will be distinguished from blinking lights	Cannot comply with instructions	Day and night: Signaling as of no. 2	Understood
6.	Aircraft and helicopters, day and night: Irregular switching off and on of all available lights	Emergency	Day and night: Signaling as of no. 2	Understood

Appendix 2: Re: Article 21 of Above Order

The base line of the sea border is defined by the course of the coast line and the intersections between the coordinates at the following spots:

		Latitude	Longitude
1.	GDR/FRG state border along coastline up to	53°57'30"	10°54'18"
2.	Gross-Kluetz-Hoeved	54°00'58"	11°10'50"
3.	Peninsula Wustrow along coastline up to	54°05'40"	11°33'13"
4.	Darsser Ort	54°29'00"	12°30'48"
5.	Bernsteininsel (Darsser Ort)	54°29'27"	12°32'06"
6.	Dornbusch (Insel Hiddensee)	54°36'28"	13°08'05"
7.	Rehbergort along coastline up to	54°38'42"	13°13'27"
8.	Kap Arkona	54°41'12"	13°25'45"
9.	Ranzow along coastline up to	54°35'11"	13°38'21"
10.	Kollicker Ort	54°33'49"	13°40'51"
11.	Nordperd	54°20'33"	13°46'06"
12.	Greifswalder Oie	54°15'00"	13°55'34"
13.	Peenemuender Haken along coastline up to	54°10'05"	13°48'56"
14.	Polish state border	53°55'46"	14°13'42"

Appendix 3: Re: Article 23 of Above Order

Course of the coastal boundary zone

Excluding Klein Voigtshagen in Dassow community--including Doenkendorf of Kalkhorst community, except Boerkenhagen;
along the Karlkhorst/Grundshagen/Kluetz road--including Grundshagen, excluding Kluetz--along the Kluetz/Damshagen road--excluding Damshagen--along the Damshagen/Gramkow road--excluding Gantenbeck and Hohenkirchen--including Wohlenberg and Niendorf; along the Gramkow/Wismar road--excluding Wismar city-district;

from road fork F105/F192 along F105--excluding town of Neubukow--including the districts of Spriehusen, Buschmuehlen and Malpendorf of the town of Neubukow--excluding the towns of Kroepelin, Bad Doberan and all places along F105 to the western boundary of the fair grounds of Rostock/Schutow--excluding existing and planned new construction areas of the city of Rostock--including Rostock's overseas port;

along Autobahn overseas port/F105 to F105 along F105--excluding Bentwisch, Moenchhagen, Roevershagen and Gelbensande--including village of Koerkwitz up to western entrance to Ribnitz Damgarten--excluding Ribnitz Damgarten;

along southern shore of Saaler Bodden, Bodstedter Bodden, Barther Bodden and Grabow to--excluding Wendisch Langendorf, excluding Hohendorf;

along the Hohendorf/Stralsund road--excluding Prohn--including Klein Dammitz, Parow and Kramerhof--excluding Stralsund city-district;

along the southern shore of Strelasund and Greifswalder Bodden--excluding Struck;

along the western shore of Peenestrom to Karnin;

along the southern shore of Kleines Haff and Neuwarper See to the Polish state border.

Appendix 4: Re: Article 23 of Above Order

Inland Lakes in the Coastal Border Zone

1. Wismar Bay to intersection Hoehe Hohen Wischendorf Huk--Timmendorf/harbor
2. Salzhaff to intersection Kieler Ort (southern tip)--Langenwerder Island--Poel Island (Golwitz)
3. The lower Warnow including Breitling
4. Saaler Bodden
5. Bodstedter Bodden
6. Barther Bodden
7. Grabow including connection with Kubitzer Bodden to intersection Pramort--southern shore of island Grosser Werder--Kleiner Werder--Bock (northern tip)--Hiddensee Island (southern tip of Gellen)
8. Kubitzer Bodden
9. Prohner Wiek
10. Strelasund
11. Schaproder Bodden including Udarser Wiek
12. Vitter Bodden to intersection Bessiner Haken (southern tip) and Bug (southern tip)
13. Rassower Bodden including Wieker Bodden
14. Breetzer Bodden
15. Breeger Bodden
16. Lebbiner Bodden
17. Grosser and Kleiner Jasmunder Bodden
18. Ruegischer Bodden including Having and Hagensche Wiek
19. Greifswalder Bodden to height of Peenemuender Haken--Ruden--Thiessow
20. Achterwasser
21. Krumminer Wiek
22. Peenestrom
23. Oder Haff up to Polish state border

Appendix 5: Re: Article 34 of Above Order

Data on Foreign Warships

Nationality Flag Type

Name Designation

Rank of Commanding Officer (Chief of Formation)

Number of Officers

Number of NCO's and crew members

Purpose of Entry

Last Port Visited by Ship
Duration of Visit Entered
Departed

Major Elements Tonnage
Length
Width
Draught

Armaments
(number/caliber) Artillery
Torpedoes
Barrage
Rockets
Rocket Artillery

Aircraft Number Type

Radios
(tye/number) Transmitters Receivers

Passenger List

Type and Volume of Cargo

Sanitary Condition
--of the ship
--of the crew
--of the port visited last

Port

Commander

Date

(Note: The form is made out in the language of the country to which the ship is native and in German)

5885
C50:2300/257

BRIEFS

GST PRE-CONGRESS MEETINGS--Berlin (ADN)--On Saturday [24 April] another nine bezirk delegates conferences of the Society for Sport and Technology [GST] took place in preparation for the Seventh Congress of the GST. In order to prepare the future draftees well for their service in the National People's Army [NVA] and in the border troops, the functionaries and the trainers want above all to further improve the scientific organization, the proficient preparation and strict implementation of the premilitary training. This was decided at the conferences of the GST bezirk organizations of Dresden, Erfurt, Halle, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Neubrandenburg and Potsdam as well as of the Wismut area organization. The delegates promised to universally strengthen and always reliably protect their worker-peasant state under the tested leadership of the SED and together with the FDJ. At the bezirk delegates conference in Dresden Maj Gen Kurt Kraemer, deputy chairman of the GST Central Executive Committee, reaffirmed the commitment of the socialist defense organization to contribute toward communist education of the young generation in particular by a premilitary training and military sports activity meeting high demands. "The unity of political-ideological education, premilitary training and physical fitness must be the basic principle of the preparation of future army members everywhere. The core of our entire work has been and will remain the political-ideological work," Maj Gen Kraemer said. Proceeding from the decisions of the 10th SED Congress and from the GDR military service law, he called for winning more and more reservists of the NVA to pass on their experiences, their military knowledge and skill in the GST to the future soldiers as trainers. [Text] [AU271328 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Apr 82 p 2]

CSO: 2300/265

TOLERANCE TOWARD HUNGARIAN DISSIDENTS SUBJECT TO RECALL

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 16 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Paul Lendvai]

[Text] Budapest/Vienna--In the well-cared-for house that is No 3 Galamb Street in the center of Budapest, a young architect is running the only Samizdat shop in Hungary, i.e. an improvised bookstore where typed, photocopied, and--for a while now--also printed leaflets and booklets are sold without the permission of the communist government. There are all kinds of things for sale. Beneath an enormous picture of Lenin, there are, randomly placed, photocopied translations of the original United Nations report about the suppression of the Hungarian uprising in November of 1956, the Jewish question in Hungary, the situation of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, various translations of scientific treatises on communism published only in the West. The price is a forint per page. The shop opened in February of 1981; however, political literature is sold only on Tuesdays between 8 and 10 pm.

"So far I have sold 120,000 pages. Now there is a real underground publisher, whose hallmark is AB, who has brought out four different publications this spring. The money from the sales is spent on running the shop." The owner of the apartment and store, Laszlo Rajk, calmly explains how his bookshop operates. The good-looking black-haired architect, who is almost 6 feet tall, obviously enjoys a very special position in the country. He is the son of the interior and later foreign minister of the same name who was executed in 1949 as an "imperialist Titoist spy and traitor." The elder Rajk's rehabilitation and finally his posthumous burial on 6 October 1956 constituted the actual prelude to the revolt. Ten thousand people saw the then 7-year-old son holding his mother's hand at the macabre event. During the Stalin era his mother was also imprisoned, and little Laci was raised in a special home along with the children of other purged functionaries. Today, streets are named for his father. The 33-year-old son completed his university studies in the field of architecture in 1972 and subsequently attended McGill University in Montreal. Today he is working both as an architect for a large state-owned enterprise as well as a successful stage designer.

So far, Rajk has only suffered some financial disadvantages because of his involvement; his name may not be mentioned on television and in movies. "Others

are much worse off. They have been dismissed because of their underground writings or blacklisted. Some are able to earn a living only as poorly paid temporary help." Rajk explains why the regime has up to now not had the police intervene and has not arrested any critics of the system: this tolerance contributes to the "positive image of Kadarization" in the West.

In his opinion, which is shared by other prominent critics of the system, it would be totally misguided to confuse the undeniable modernization of the economic system--that is, the acceptance of new forms of private and group initiative--with a loosening of political chains or cultural liberalization. The fact that political freedom is so limited, says Rajk, is not due to the leadership's fear of Moscow, but to the conviction that it cannot afford any risky political experiments.

Rajk does not attempt to dramatize the significance of Hungarian dissidents. He does not argue with the statement that the so-called hard core consists of at most 200 to 300 intellectuals. Many of them are the sons and daughters of former communist officials, and some are part of the humanistic and technocratic intelligentsia.

What do the other Hungarians think of this phenomenon? The leading politicians and spokesmen for the system claim in virtually identical statements that young Rajk is being manipulated by sinister and irresponsible forces and that the entire movement has been able to obtain a minimum of significance only because of the publicity provided by the Hungarian-language broadcasts of Radio Free Europe. One also meets critics and people, who by no means toe the party line, who believe that the young dissidents are only hurting the cause of the "small freedoms" and are providing grist for the mills of the dogmatists in Budapest and in those Eastern block capitals that are watching even the limited experiments to Hungary with tremendous distrust.

The dissident movement appears to mean nothing whatever to the Hungarian masses. After close to 3 weeks of traveling around the country and after meeting numerous workers, peasants, lower-ranking functionaries, and intellectuals in the capital, the observer is of the opinion that leftwing opposition to the system has found little echo.

The explosive nature of Hungarian nationalism is a different matter. Here one must make careful distinctions, since the fate of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania or Slovakia is a cause that is championed by celebrities such as Gyula Illyes, the country's greatest living poet, and many other writers and scientists. It is characteristic of the Kadar regime to be unwilling to share power, but at the same time to resort cleverly and sometimes cynically only to political means to split the actual or potential opposition, to isolate it or to win it over. Critics of the system admit openly that this tactic has by no means failed.

The monthly VALOSAG recently published a rather long essay by Gyorgy Konrad, a writer known also in the West, whom many Western journalists and anti-Soviet

leftists consider to be persecuted by the regime. Other literary figures, too, who level extremely harsh attacks against Kadarism in Western newspapers live in the capital without being molested. A little while ago a director in whose apartment an event of the "flying university" had taken place was awarded a coveted prize for his latest movie.

On the other hand, the secret police know exactly who are the 60 to 100 people who regularly visit Rajk's apartment or are active elsewhere in the underground scene. This is tolerance that is subject to recall, which is, incidentally, also true of the numerically much larger Catholic grassroots groups and the 30 to 40 priests who speak out against the pro-regime bishops and especially against Cardinal Lekai. Since there is no substitute social service for conscientious objectors, the latter are tried in the courts, and the advocates of conscientious objection are administratively persecuted by the authorities. It is entirely possible that the Christian pacifists and not the leftwing opposition will bring about the first noteworthy test of will in the last phase of the Kadar era.

9873
CSO: 2300/243

IMPLICATIONS OF SEVENTH PZPR PLENUM DISCUSSED

PM011625 Paris LE FIGARO in French 26 Feb 82 p 4

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Jaruzelski Emerges Strengthened From Plenum Debate"]

[Text] Warsaw--If the least that can be expected from a Central Committee meeting is that it should respect the medical motto of "Above All, Doing No Harm," the Seventh Plenum will have satisfied the Poles' hopes. Is that not much? Is it a great deal? If this result is compared with the fears which people might have had just 2 or 3 weeks ago of seeing the neo-Stalinists prevailing at this plenum in the wake of the proclamation of martial law, it is undoubtedly a great deal.

But if it is compared with the urgent need for the Party finally to offer the country a practical program for overcoming the crisis there is certainly reason to be disappointed.

General Jaruzelski's long speech was probably one of the worst he has ever delivered--confused, badly constructed, giving way to surprising trivialities in the mouth of a man devoted to defending the purity of the language. Despite that this plenum's work produced a number of tangible results which, although not very spectacular, are nonetheless extremely important for the future.

They can be presented as follows:

1--The neo-Stalinists' offensive has been halted: This is no small matter. The first plenum after the declaration of martial law constituted the dogmatists' only political chance. They have wasted it. One Central Committee member did present a motion calling for an examination of the Party leadership's behavior, but it was rejected by a very big majority. The "hard-liners" of course made a show of fighting.

But, very fortunately for Poland, all this was merely the swan song of neo-Stalinists without any practical influence.

2--Strengthening of the centrist reformist line: General Jaruzelski cited an appropriate statement by Kosciuszko: "This is a time in which a great deal

must be sacrificed to save everything." Indeed that sums up his action. "Martial law," he added, "is not a goal in itself.... It does not mean the reforms are being frozen. We are confirming that in our action. It is only in the essential calm conditions that the planned reforms can be implemented and laws introduced which are the foundation of the development and consolidation of socialist democracy. Despite all the difficulties we are determined to continue along this path. The socialist renewal line cannot be abandoned, nor can there be any regression."

He also specified that the social crisis of conscience cannot be overcome "with the help of the forces of order" and that "practical political solutions" are needed. That objective can only be attained by national reconciliation.

In this respect the country's leader stressed the fact that "the party confirms the offer of national accord with all its strength" and that he "intends to propose the establishment of partnership relations with all the social forces" because "martial law will pass but Poland will remain. Its problems will remain and they can only be solved by all forces, each showing respect and tolerance toward the others."

This appeal, the general indicated, is addressed mainly to the Church: This assurance comes at a particularly appropriate time since the Church started its own plenum, in other words its Episcopate conference, yesterday and is continuing it today. "It is in the higher interests of the nation and the state to gradually and patiently reduce the differences and to extend the field of mutual understanding" between the government and the Church, the country's leader stated.

3--Assertion of General Jaruzelski's authority: The way in which this plenum has gone will enable the Polish leader to go to Moscow on Monday with increased, and this time undisputed, authority. He certainly needed that. Thus he will be able more clearly to defend his "centrist" policy of combatting all extremists and implementing real reforms, but in the framework of the socialist system.

Thus the way has been paved for more practical and dynamic action by the general and his friends. Indeed, the country is still waiting with the utmost impatience for practical measures and the implementation of a political program. Time is running short. In this respect the Seventh Plenum has not yet made any new contribution, and that can be regarded as tragic.

The Sejm session which opens today and will be continued tomorrow will bring more tangible measures showing the Government's desire for reforms. But essentially it will be necessary to await General Jaruzelski's return from Moscow and the eighth Central Committee plenum to see Poland finally enter a new stage in its development more resolutely.

CSO: 3100/614

APPOINTMENT OF UNIATE CLERIC TO CURIA AROUSES CONCERN OF ORTHODOX

Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 22 Mar 82 p 10

[Article by Nicolette Franck: "An Important Appointment--A Romanian Uniate in the Roman Curia"]

[Excerpts] The Bysantine rite of the Romanian Catholic Church, also called the Greco-Roman rite or the Uniate rite, is prohibited in the Socialist Republic of Romania, just as it had been in the People's Republic of Romania since 1948. Thus, it is all the more significant that the Pope has appointed a Romanian Uniate, Monsignor Traian Crisan, to be secretary of the congregation on the saints. This is the first time that a Romanian has attained such a high rank in the Roman Curia. At the time of the appointment and the elevation of Msgr. Crisan to the rank of archbishop, Pope John Paul II stressed his great concern for the Romanians and for the martyr church of the Uniates in Romania.

Romania, a Latin country, is, nevertheless, Orthodox, and this is its only link with the Slavs who surround it. The Uniate Church was once a state church. Born at the end of the 17th century by the conversion of the Romanian dioceses in Transylvania, a province which belonged, at that time, to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Uniate Church played an essential role in the rebirth of the Romanian national sentiment beginning in the 18th century. It was the mainspring of the establishment of Romania in the 19th century and of the "Greater Romania" movement in the 20th century. Thanks to the Uniate Church, the first schools in the Romanian language were created and the priests learned, at Rome, the Latin origins of their nation.

However, the Uniate Church was welcomed with gnashing of teeth by the Romanian Orthodox Church, in the eyes of which the conversion of the Orthodox in Transylvania had been obtained by pressure exerted by Austria. With the help of time and on the order of the very liberal Romanian Constitution of 1923, the Uniate Church became a state church, occupying second place, right after the Orthodox Church. Not only did the Uniates not give up their Catholic faith but many Romanians from regions other than Transylvania converted to Catholicism. At the end of World War II, the Uniate Church had 1,750,000 members.

When the Communists gained power, they hastened to denounce, on 19 July 1948, the concordat ratified by Romania on 10 June 1929. While Stalin was suppressing the Uniate Church in the Ukraine, the government in Romania was limiting it considerably. It was able to suppress it without difficulty. It happened in 1948 and the Patriarch Justin of the Romanian Orthodox Church, to whom the Uniates were given, body and soul, was pleased with the act "which made any interference of the Papacy in the affairs of the Romanian People's Republic absolutely impossible". Since then, the Uniate Church, with its many martyrs, clergy and lay people, which has remained living in the hearts of most of its faithful, has always been and still is the main obstacle to the credibility of the so-called "independent" Romanian foreign policy. Jean Paul II has just reminded the Romanian authorities of this fact, by naming a Romanian Uniate to such an important position in the Roman Curia.

He told the representatives of the Uniate Church in exile who came to Rome for the installation of Msgr. Crisan (including Msgr. Vasile Cristea, from Rome; Msg. Cozma, from Paris; Msgr. Cherman, from Brussels, etc.) that "the Holy See has followed and still follows, with special concern, the situation of the Eastern Rite community, in its joys and in its many and sad trials... this apostolic see does not cease to hope and to work so that it can live, with recognition and in peace, according to its joys and in its many and sad trials... this apostolic see does not cease to hope and to work so that it can live, with recognition and in peace, according to its right based on the principle of religious freedom, guaranteed by modern constitutions and confirmed in international documents.... I have confidence in its resonance and in the acceptance of this principle by all men of good will, especially in the different Christian communities in Romania."

We asked Msgr Crisan, a native of the diocese of Clug-Gherla, who has been living in Rome since 1939, to tell us what, in his opinion, was the significance of the appointment of a Romanian to the high position of secretary of a congregation. He told us:"

"Continuing on the path of Paul VI, John Paul II wants to 'internationalize' the Roman Curia, the offices which help to govern the universal Church. When the position as secretary of the sacred congregation on the saints became vacant, the Pope thought, in my opinion, that the time had come to make a gesture marking his esteem and his concern for a church violently suppressed, in 1948, by the government, with the more than obvious collaboration of the authorities of the Romanian Orthodox Church. The Romanian government and its Orthodox Church have been insisting that the Pope ratify the 'spontaneous' passage, as they call it, of the Greek Catholics to Orthodoxy. No Pope can do this because it is a question of violence inflicted upon Eastern Rite Catholics; a number of their bishops, priests and faithful died in jails or as a result of their imprisonment. All the survivors of the persecutions have been forced to declare themselves Orthodox. But their are many who still consider themselves Uniate and live their faith in the catacombs. In my appointment, Pope John Paul II has given a concrete sign of his concern for the Church which is surviving despite everything, which has never had one of her sons in such a high position, and a sign of friendship for the Romanian people and the

Romanian nation. I believe that this is how the dynamism of the gesture of the Pope should be understood."

The reaction in Romania? "This sign of friendship for the Romanian people", Msgr Crisan responds," was considered by the Romanian Patriarch in Bucharest as a 'provocation', an 'interference in the internal affairs of the Romanian nation," etc. and that is why he asked the assistance of President Ceausescu, just as in the 'problem' of Jesus the religious authorities had asked the intervention of Pontius Pilate because, they said, Christ was opposing Caesar!"

"This is what happened, "Msgr. Crisan concluded, "when a 'Vlach' was promoted in the Eternal City."

After the appointment of Msgr. Crisan, a "Uniate" bishop, to a high position in the Roman Curia, the following moves were made: the synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church, on the one hand, asked Patriarch Justin to lodge a protest to the Pope against "the interference of the Holy See," which was considered to be contrary to the ecumenical spirit, and, on the other hand, the synod addressed a telegram to President Ceausescu, condemning the action of the Pope "aiming at dividing the Romanian Orthodox Church." On his part, the patriarch violently criticized the desire expressed by the Pope to see the "Uniate" Church be permitted in Romania once again.

For Patriarch Justin, this Church no longer exists and the appointment of Msgr. Crisan has only provoked new religious tensions in Transylvania (the province where most of the Uniates come from), but has also called into question "the efforts undertaken by the Romanian Orthodox Church for a Catholic-Orthodox dialogue."

However, this is not the opinion of all the Romanian Orthodox clergy, as a letter addressed to the Patriarch by five priests, members of the committee (created several years ago for the protection of the rights of believers in Romania) shows. These priests demand the recognition of the Uniate Church in Romania as a "sister Church". Charging their hierarchy with a certain "servility", they also ask for the restoration of religious education, the authorization of pilgrimages, the access of the Church to the mass media, the re-establishment of a Christian youth organization as well as a lay organization.

The response to this letter was not slow in coming; all the signers were arrested immediately and charged with being "anarchists" and "unfaithful to the Orthodox Church." That is ecumenism (and freedom of religion), Romanian-style.

END

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24 May 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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REACTIONS OF EUROPEAN YOUTH GROUPS TO POLISH EVENTS SCORED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16-18 Apr 82 p 7

[Article by Henryk Kalina: "The Inclination To Preach"]

[Text] One of the aspects in the big game being played, at least formally, around Polish affairs, has turned out to be the relationships among the youth organizations on our continent. This situation, in which expression of an opinion on our matters has become something of a fashion, exists despite the fact that the actual threat to all Europeans, without exception, has been increasing at a tremendous rate for a period much longer than that which began with 13 December 1981.

It is sufficient to recall that in the foreign policy of the United States and some of their NATO allies, the advocates of a cold war, those who want to cancel out the Helsinki gains, are again taking the lead. As a result of the arms race, the introduction of new lethal technologies and weapons, i.e., factors ensuing from the decisions of the US administration and NATO organs, the danger of the explosion of a new arms conflict is increasing. The results would be incalculable, particularly in Europe, i.e., on land that is far from the seat of the Washington military-industrial complex. Hence the Commission for Joint International Contacts in the Polish Youth and Student Unions has expressed the position that "all attempts at moralization and mentorship in relation to our country by some western politicians are being regarded as incompatible with the principles that are binding in international relations".

Unfortunately, these kinds of opinions and attitudes, directed at a sovereign Polish state which has the full right to determine its own fate, have appeared and are appearing in declarations of some youth and student organizations with whom Polish organizations have traditionally closely cooperated. This is still one more form of interference in Poland's internal affairs. The youth movement in our country notes it with regret.

The circle of organizations passing resolutions, acting on different measures, or issuing declarations through their spokesmen, is undoubtedly differentiated. The most extreme positions have been taken by the conservative and Christian Democratic youth groups, as well as their international headquarters, operating on the all-youth and student plane. Particularly those who have the closest contacts with different groups of persons in the West, calling themselves "representatives of Polish youth". The tone of their declarations is very aggressive, often actually provocative.

Some national committees in West European countries have also expressed an opinion--in a more nuanced way. In this group of positions--beside the opinions of such countries as France, Holland and Norway, where there was a considerable reaction--I would call particular attention to the declaration by the British Youth Council on the matter of Poland. Despite the verbal declaration that the "Council is attempting to create good relations among youth of many countries and is dedicated to the further development of detente", there was a clear meddling in our internal affairs. Aside from the already stereotypical pattern of accusations, a "defense" appeared here of the Independent Association of Students (NZS) organization. The same organization that in its foreign activities spoke out really openly in a manner that was not in conformity with the Polish reason of state. It established contacts with rightist, conservative, anti-Polish groups, anticipating "benefits" from them. It also revealed a particular kind of attraction to the openly Trotskyist groups, such as the National Union of French Students (UNEF) "Dijon" in France. NZS also participated in the attempts to break up the progressive world student movement, and the formation of an organization competitive with the International Students Union.

It developed, finally, that some unions of a social-democratic profile also passed "Polish" resolutions. Among this circle, young social-democrats from Sweden, members of the Social Democratic Youth Association of Sweden (SSU), were particularly active, which I would attribute to the presence in that country of a numerous "new" organization from the last few years.

It should also be admitted that a number of organizations treat Polish affairs in a more complex way, since they criticize the policy of interference, practiced by the Reagan administration, including the application of economic sanctions to our country. Some critical voices have also appeared on the tendency to exploit the situation in our country for armaments escalation.

But taking everything as a whole, there is the danger that with the help of the "Polish card", some of the West European youth movements will exert a negative influence on the further development of cooperation on the entire continent, especially within the framework of meetings of the working organs of the European Youth Structure. Fortunately, there is still time to consider this and to refrain from undertakings that would be damaging to a genuine dialogue of young generations of Europeans from all states, without exception, despite their ideological, political or philosophical differences. This willingness to talk and cooperate with all forces in the international youth and student movement, ready to actively work in behalf of detente and disarmament, has been expressed in the already cited declaration of the Polish Commission. The condition: that the sovereignty of all participants in the international dialogue, their equality, be respected and that the principle of non-interference in internal affairs be recognized.

These principles apply also to the dialogue with youth organizations of the FRG. The more so since it is that youth that began with particular intensity to express their opinion on Poland, and meddle in our internal affairs. Their representatives consider themselves to be the most qualified to moralize, even though them themselves did nothing, or were not able to do anything, for the actual normalization of relations between our countries.

The speeches of the Junge Union, a Christian-Democratic Union (CDU) youth organization, were especially presumptious. Its chairman, a 33-year-old deputy to the Bundestag, Mathias Wissman, was known from his past hypocritical declarations of "friendship" for Poland. Today he has shown his true colors, demanding that all forms of economic cooperation and credit services for our country be stopped, favoring only charitable assistance "which, however, should in no case proceed directly through the state". Is the highly touted "Christian compassion" to be expressed through sanctions and by humiliating the Poles?

The chairman of the Union of German Catholic Youth (BDKJ), Josef Homberg, currently also the head of the FRG Federal Youth Council (OBJR), also tried to "play" the philosophical and denominational affairs. Appealing for the "restoration of human rights", he also willingly submitted a declaration and suggestions to the Catholic Church in Poland. And not for the purpose of recognizing its religious mission.

It is apparent, however, that the inclination to give Poland some kind of "lesson" is typical also of other FRG youth organizations, regardless of whether, in internal politics, they take the same or opposing positions. But they know that moralizing serves the interests of the FRG, its distracts attention from obligations to Poland, which even during the period of the most intensive detente, were not fulfilled. It is important also to present Bonn in the most favorable moral and political position, to erase in public opinion, particularly in the awareness of the youth, everything that was wrong in the past, which from the German side led to a mortal threat to Poland and Europe.

This, of course, takes on various forms. I would include the "anti-Reagan" resolution by the Young Socialists (JUSO), an organization comprising the youth portion of SPD, in the refined forms. It puts what is happening in Poland and El Salvador on the same plane. The position taken by the Bremen City and National Youth Council, is much sharper, actually vulgar and primitive in its tone. As the monthly DEUTSCHE JUGEND, a reliable publication devoted to the politics of the youth in the FRG and already known earlier from articles handling the problem of the cooperation of youth organizations of our countries, reports in its June 1982 issue, that the following was said in Bremen: "All of this reminds us of the assumption of authority by the fascists in 1933". What insolence, or actual ignorance of history! The thought occurs, who, and from where, suggested such a connection to the young people, and for what purpose. The matter is made even more interesting by the fact that Bremen is a union country, ruled by social democrats, and progressive organizations set the tone in its National Youth Council.

Some unions in the FRG (for example, those connected with the "Falken" social-democracy or those close to the FDP Young Democrats) combine their attacks on Poland with broader "analyses". In these documents, along with statements that are undeniable true, are some very odd assessments. The PZPR has become the object of particularly vicious attacks, its role in Polish society, while the position on "Solidarity" is one of total lack of criticism.

In this context, however, I would like to call attention to a significant portion of a resolution from the Young Democrats (Junge Demokraten) Congress, dated March 1982. It states that one of the reasons that Solidarity gained importance was

the "diminishing, within the framework of the policy of detente, fear of German retaliation". It would be hard to more clearly reveal--consciously or involuntarily--what the FRG linked its hopes to with the development of the situation in Poland prior to 13 December 1981. It was anticipated that the young generation in the Polish People's Republic, "numb" to the actual danger, deprived of the awareness, growing with every generation, of the existence of actual, long-range danger, will be more susceptible to manipulation.

Anyway, the Federal Youth Council (DBJR) resolution dated 14 January 1982, which constitutes open interference in the internal affairs of the Polish youth movement, does not hide this fact. What else could have been referred to in the speculations on the "hopes" around "the increasingly more open structure of the Polish youth movement"?

We know that in the politics of the FRG, where youth policy is part of state policy, it was expected that all kinds of diversities of goals (so says the DBJR resolution) among Polish youth in relation to the Polish reason of state, the relationship to the far-reaching political goals of the FRG, would be exploited. Meanwhile, on the matter of "German unity", there is full agreement between the government and the opposition. It was anticipated that lack of coordination in activity and the diversity of Polish partners will make it possible, as occurred in the case of the Independent Association of Students, to win each detail, each nuance, and even an attempt to "buy" people.

There was also the hope that fascination with the advantages of a "youth exchange" will allow the representatives of the Polish youth to forget about the matters which they were persistently reminded of at every occasion: the evidences of the conflict of the FRG's politico-legal practice with the provisions of the 7 December 1970 agreement on the bases for the normalization of relations. We are referring particularly to the matter of school textbooks, where especially in the area of history and geography a great deal of information appears that does not conform with the joint instructions of the textbook commission, and the borders do not represent the real world, but the fiction of Germany of 31 December 1937. The same pertains to other signs of the FRG's legal aggression towards the Polish People's Republic.

However, if anyone had or has any illusions in this matter he must be disappointed. The youth organizations, regardless of what various moralizers say, will, just as before, defend the Polish reason of state. It is in this way, in accordance with the declaration of the Commission for Joint International Contacts in the Polish Youth and Student Unions, that they can best serve in respecting the traditions and strenthening and developing the cooperation of the youth in Europe.

9295
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'ZYCIE WARSZAWY'ENVISIONS FRONT OF NATIONAL ACCORD

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Wlodzimierz Malinowski: "About a Front of National Accord--Doubts and Expectations"]

[Text] The slogan of the Front of National Accord(FPN) embodies several meanings. Each of them is tied to our imagination, feelings and expectations. Each has a different meaning to the potential partners who will be active in the new social and political situation of our country. However, I'm afraid that many of the participants who support the FPN idea see in it a new panacea for all the shortcomings of our social life.

In actuality, an understanding always amounts to an agreement concerning common goals. It does not solve everything, all the problems and controversies, it solves only those matters which may (or must) be accomplished by working together. Therefore, an understanding will depend on several objective and subjective factors. Among others it will depend on a degree of:

--Social "compulsion" relative to the political subjects which enter into an understanding [there must be a demonstrated need for an understanding];

--a realization of objective "necessity" by the participants in the potential understanding;

--a proper direction of separate (parochial) activities, programs of the individual members towards resolving of matters most essential to the nation.

In other words there will be no understanding unless the potential partners become actual representatives of social needs and interests.

When we speak of an understanding we have in mind a relationship between equal partners. An absence of such equality, an inability of any particular participant in an understanding to express their needs or conditions in the defined, essential areas of social activity, would be a prima faciae evidence of a lack of understanding. It is possible, of course, to have an understanding on specific matters in which the participating partners [trade unions, youth organizations, social organizations and self-governing bodies] are just as strong as the political parties. However, even under such conditions the

very characteristics of an understanding give the strongest partners a larger share of benefits and possibilities. Therefore, a national understanding becomes a question of bringing to life, to the sphere of policy decisions, all the social organizations and groupings who accept the most important national values and aims. I don't believe that it will be possible to get away from this line of thinking if we formulate the concept of the Front as a "platform for discussion and understanding." In the first place, the need for participation in such front by partners with a crystallized identity and strength will exclude any possibility to treat the FPN as the only, or even the principal discussion platform for presentation and discussion of social needs and demands.

We should note that the cooperation of strong partners, those with a crystallized identity, reflects on their progress towards achievement--above all--of their own objectives or interpretations. In other words the [Communist] Party and [other] political parties as well as other organizations of similar character or aspirations, will influence their members to accept their own political outlook in applying the aims and means of implementation. The stronger the party the easier it will be for it to gain support for their own aism within the ranks of social organizations. In this manner it is possible for some social organizations to defacto represent the point of view of a particular political grouping. Simultaneously, in unimportant matters which are of no interest to the "big partner," it may actually come to a honest discussion and to an actual formulation of a program and direction of activity.

The danger depicted above is not a figment of imagination. History of the National Unity Front [FJN] bears witness to it.

There Are Two Possibilities

--The FPN will be bound by a strictly defined understanding and narrowly defined obligations concerning matters which pertain to the entire nation;

--The FPN will become a political superstructure for all social organizations which do not have the character of a political party, but which legally perform various political functions.

In the first model the basis of a political make-up is the recognition, by the state, of the structure within which, and in relation to which all the participants in the understanding are active. In this, the state is nether a guarantor of the understanding (although such hopes are being formulated), nor is it a member or participant in the understanding (as it was, for example, in 1981, within the well recalled format: State - Church - Solidarity). A socialist state can only be a guarantor of the rule of the working class. Under such conditions the construction of the Front must stipulate, and recognize, the existence of matters, questions or problems in which the Front cannot intervene; matters which by their very nature belong to the sphere of the Party and the political party decisions. Under these circumstances the Front would concern itself with the remaining decisions.

In those "remaining" matters the Front would have the authority to define conditions to solve social problems in a manner binding on all other social and political forces. Furthermore, the political structure and the structure of the Front's sphere of "influences" would be the reverse of the "pyramid" of influences and political structures of actual political parties. While the political parties would concentrate on national social and political activity of a general nature the FPN should concentrate on local and specific matters relevant to social centers, gminas [parishes], cities and settlements. Currently such activity is being conducted by the Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth (OKON). On this scale the FPN would emerge as a decisive social force capable of achieving political decisions.

Within the context of the above described model, the FPN would make determinations and decisions only in certain matters and would not take part in state organization. It would have its own identity which would not be derived from any of the powers inherent to its component organizations. It would also organize its own social activity and become a politically neutral organization.

The second model is--to a certain degree--a complement to the first one. It is based on somewhat different assumptions. The political foundation of its make up is the differentiation between partners and other organizations with a strictly political character and all other social initiatives and organizations. In this it is stipulated that activity of all social organizations is not only an accepted fact but also a fundamental necessity. However, as we so well know, a solution to any given social problem depends on the formation of a corresponding political mechanism and also on a political guarantee of successful operation.

Every social organization is subject to political stimulation and they all significantly influence the social reaction of the principal political actors--the political parties. The model of FPN functioning, which I have proposed, would insure for all social initiatives and organizations a forum and a political "shield" for their daily activity while, at the same time, presenting to the major political forces a realistic partner in discussions and decision making processes. It would assure realistic conditions of socio-political partnership to partners which have a need for each other, and it would present them with a real discussion forum. It would also create favorable conditions for political integration of all forms and phenomena of social activity, guarantee a political representation for all social initiatives and organizations in those cases where they are not "at odds with the rules of the game" within a socialist regime.

The FPN would become an equal partner to political organizations in solving all political problems of nation-wide interest; political parties would become an equal partner to the FPN in solving all local and regional problems. Moreover, the very character of such partnership would cause the FPN to acquire its own political basis and social identity. It is, therefore, possible that within the FPN elements and institutions certain ties could be formed and a feeling of loyalty to the Front would emerge among its members, and what is more important--among its activists.

This Is Not a Panacea

Of course, the proposed solutions may evoke many doubts. However, I believe that in order for the FPN to become a permanent factor of our social and political life we must accurately define the conditions under which it will be active, its spheres of activity and its capabilities to mobilize public support. If we regard the Front as a panacea or use its concept to mask all our political shortcomings and insufficiencies (one hears: "We need the Front because things are going badly." Does that mean that the moment things go well we will no longer need the Front?), then it would be far better not to get involved in it at all. Under those conditions the Front would become only an illusion, a temporary device for the political process, a means to play up to the people--then such Front would become a factor of additional moral devastation and one more disappointment.

Is then the FPN possible? Do the dangers presented here make its formation to be nothing more than a deception? I would like to be an optimist. I believe that if we heed these warnings and publicize them widely, explain their meaning, then it will become possible for us to accept a view of the Front which will insure its success.

The Front Is Needed

It is needed because millions of our citizens do not belong to and would rather not be associated to political parties or other organizations which exert any real influence on politics. Those millions of citizens have at their disposal a tremendous potential for social activity and participation. Existence of a forum for their activity, the question of their participation in social or political activity is a matter which we cannot delay any longer.

Thus, the FPN is a social necessity. But it has to be a real front, a front which is ware of its own social limitations and possibilities. As a Front it will not become a substitute for the state or the politics but a real political partner and a true collaborator in the process of social changes.

9511
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NEW VOCATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM PROPOSAL DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 April 82 p 3

[Text] A discussion about a need for a change in our educational system has been going on for years. Although schools look forward to having a break from various reforms so that they can concentrate on teaching, most probably they can expect another radical reform. A need for this new reform lies in imperfections of Poland's existing school system and in its alienation, in many ways, from society's needs, economic necessity, and developments in culture, science and technology. What will be a model of the future school system? Only one thing is certain. The model should not duplicate present weaknesses, and it must better prepare children for life. We apologize for this cliche, but we do need a better education to prepare children for the life in the 21st century. We do not know when the rebuilding of our school system will begin. But since in the Sejm [Polish Parliament] and elsewhere there has been much talk about a need for a new bill of national education in the next few years, it is clear that there exists a concept of the future school system at least in outline form.

It seems useful, then, to present existing proposals as well as those which will emerge in the future. What follows is a discussion of one of the proposals, which we believe is controversial but worth looking into because it reflects a multiplicity of possible solutions. First of all, this proposal makes one consider the role and place of liberal arts education, for the importance of vocational education cannot be questioned. It also forces one to consider the relationships which should exist among schools of various levels, and the future of university education which depends for its stature on the stature of student applicants.

"He is fit to go only to a vocational school" is the worst reference that a grade school graduate might receive. Unfortunately, this stereotype, operating in the social consciousness, has its grounds.

Vocational schools, a responsibility of 19 government agencies, have suffered from neglect and limited expenditures, and they have all but gone under.

So far all efforts to raise the status of vocational training have been temporary and transitional. These efforts have included a requirement of financial assistance to vocational schools by enterprises, increased allocations of machines and raw materials for school shops, and a proposal for a change from 2-year to 3-year vocational schools. Among new, long-term proposals, worth

looking into, are "guidelines for vocational education," devised by Professor Tadeusz W. Nowacki, director of the Institute of Vocational Training. According to the guidelines, the whole school system must be radically changed, not just vocational education.

Professor Nowacki has proposed a change from the existing grade school education, based only on memorizing facts, into the 8-year "polytechnic school of work." This new kind of school would emphasize practical training. As early as the first grade, students would have to take a course called "Learning and Working," and in the seventh and eighth grades every student would take three practical training courses a year as part of the vocational orientation program.

The next stage would be a 4-year vocational school at high school level, with approximately 120 programs which would provide students with basic vocational training. Each program would be divided into narrow specializations. Thus grade school graduates would have a very wide selection of courses to choose from. Specializations offered by the programs would include such traditional vocations as lathe operator or locksmith, as well as brand new ones such as administrative assistant, bank clerk, dormitory counsellor, beautician, or hotel clerk.

The school curriculum would focus on practical training in a selected vocation. Every year the number of liberal arts classes and theory courses would diminish, while practical training would increase. For example, first-year students would have classes 4 days a week and practical training 1 day a week, but fourth-year students would have 3 days of practical training, 1 day of theory and 1 day of other coursework.

Students and graduates of various kinds of schools would have an opportunity to supplement their education and practical training by taking various extracurricular courses. There would be 3-year vocational schools for graduates who displayed special abilities, interests or skills while holding a job.

In the proposed system, most graduates of the vocational schools at high school level would have definite job skills, for traditional high schools as well as artistic and experimental schools would exist only sporadically.

Moreover, the new school system would open up to our society a new road to advancement: not through earning ever new diplomas, as it has been the case so far, but through raising job skills in the vocation one has been trained for.

Having graduated from high school, everyone interested in applying to a university would be required to work for 2 years in one's vocation. During that time, young people would be registered in centers of continuing education where they would study for university entrance exams under the guidance of experienced teachers. Such centers would organize home study courses from the point of view of requirements at various universities.

A full implementation of this proposed system would be dependent on "the right of every citizen to 12 years of state-supported education and the requirement of 10 years of mandatory education." Hence, for example, if someone takes 10

years to complete 8 years of grade school, then he would still have 2 years from his "educational allocation" left, and he would be able to use those years to enroll in a long-term training program away from his job, in a high school for adults, or in a folk or open university.

As this general overview shows, Professor Nowacki's proposal would revolutionize the Polish school system by bringing it closer to the needs of the society and the economy, and to school models throughout the world. Everywhere schools primarily teach a vocation, and in the United States or Sweden, for example, there are no liberal arts schools comparable to ours.

Professor Nowacki has proposed a remedy for the ailing vocational schools. The necessity of rebuilding this segment of the school system cannot be questioned. But should the proposed changes go that far? Is the proposed program not another extreme? To be sure, the model of liberal arts education, which has been pushed in our country, has failed. To be sure, grade school education is one-dimensional and based on memorization, and the curriculum is overloaded. High schools have become almost a natural, mass-scale extension of grade schools, but at the same time they are far from the traditional classical lycee. A considerable number of high school graduates, who find out that university entrance exams are too difficult a barrier for them, are people without a vocation or specific skills, and hence they are socially useless. If one looks at their situation, then the proposed model, in which high schools are to teach students marketable skills, seems truly attractive.

On the other hand, the vision of the vocation-oriented school system is almost nightmarish. Humanities courses, which are already scarce, would have to be further reduced in the 12-year school program. It will be simply necessary to limit the coverage of history, Polish and other subjects. Would not this offer an easy way to remove humanistic and intellectual ideals from the school program? We are already complaining that our young people do not know Polish history.

Moreover, according to Professor Nowacki's proposal, every 15-year-old would have to make a decision about his or her career or vocation, which is the most important decision in one's life. One might guess that in many or maybe even most instances such a decision would not be always the most thoughtful one.

The failure of the 10-year school experiment has probably taught us to be careful in approaching educational novelties. Despite official enthusiasm, the 10-year school experiment produced fears in society that it would result in a befuddled generation of half-wits. Now we can also expect a similar reaction, based on fears that the reformed schools would be producing a befuddled generation of dumb-witted drudges.

Therefore we wish to invite our readers to consider together what should be the model of our school system. Many people have their own experiences, thoughts, and observations, worth sharing with others, especially with people who will decide about the future shape of the Polish school system.

9852
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PZPR ACTIVITIES AT RADOM ENGINEERING SCHOOL DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 3 Mar 82 pp 16, 17

[Article by Magdalena Wasio: "The Daily Routine at the Radom Higher School of Engineering"]

[Text] We all know about what happened during the heavy battle fought by our comrades in Radom at the Higher School of Engineering [WSI], a battle whose ultimate objective was to preserve the socialist character of this institution. Like other institutions of higher education around the country, the Radom WSI is now open and classes are back in session. Life is starting to get back to normal, even though martial law has introduced some special rigors of a disciplinary nature. But the term "normal" does not mean that things are just like they used to be.

A lot of things need to be changed. This is especially true in the case of working methods. I knew from the conversations I had had at the Vovivodship Committee offices in Radom that the comrades at WSI were aware of this. But what are they doing to make sure that the need for change is transformed into something more than just a perception, to make sure that this need for change is addressed in a substantive way as a part of the daily agenda? This is the question that was on my mind as I knocked on the door of the PZPR School Committee of the Radom WSI.

The three secretaries of the school organization, Wojciech Czerwiec, Andrzej Kalotka, and Andrzej Firkowski, stress that the most important task of the moment is to give young people a chance not only to carry on with their studies, but also to engage in public service activities. There is a double meaning to their use of the term young people, that is, they are referring both to student body attending classes and also to younger members of the faculty staff.

"During the strike," says comrade Czerwiec, "the attitudes of not only the faculty, but also the student body were defined in clearcut terms. Generally speaking, it should be said that while the strike was going on the student body did a better job of passing the test than did members of the faculty. Anyway, the latter were responsible for instigating this strike. The young people at the school put up a long resistance to, among other things, the NZS [Independent Students Association] 'assault' mounted from other schools. We witnessed many positive examples of the stand taken by our young people, including both those who belong to the [PZPR] organization and those who do not.

"In the course of reopening the school we first of all had to solve the problem of what to do about the faculty. After the screening process [weryfikacja] was taken care of, we wound up replacing around 85 percent of the school's administrative staff. Most institute directors are now young people who have permanent ties with Radom. These are the people to whom we are flashing the green light. On the other hand, the attitudes displayed by a majority of the independent research workers did not live up--to put it mildly--to our expectations. We removed these people from administrative positions, but we let them carry on wit their substantive work, i.e., providing advanced training for young members of the faculty, cooperation with industry, research work, and so on. We will be keeping a very close watch on how they perform these various tasks.

"In any event, the declaration of martial law is helping to make it more likely that order can be restored in various areas of school life. I would say that some of the natural and normal rules that ought to be enforced in a school have been reinstated, e.g., discipline, punctuality when it comes to accumulating credits for coursework, taking exams, and graduation, and so on. Anyway, during the period just before the strike we were witness to anarchy and the blurring of standards and jurisdictions. In order to perform such simple functions that are a natural part of the educational process, such as a written test for example, one sometimes had to spend several days in negotiations with lecturers and students. This had nothing in common with the principle of student self-government. This led to a sharp drop in the quality of education. The current tightening up of disciplinary measures is undoubtedly a source of discontent on the part of a large portion of the student body. Still, they will have to accept this situation and knuckle under to the rigors of the academic process."

"In trying to get things back to normal here at WSI," says comrade Kalotka, "we were confronted with the problem of putting together a platform of social and political action for the student body. The SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] had been suspended, and this was formerly the most popular organization with students. In our opinion, a resurgence of politically inspired activism in this organization, if it is reinstated, will be very difficult. We came to the conclusion that we could not wait. So, we decided to clear the way for party members to play a more active and more visible role as participants in student activities programs."

"We thought this over for a long time," added comrade Firkowski. "It should be remembered that during the strike this small group of students, which indeed numbered no more than 30, was regarded as the black sheep of the family. And in spite of this they still did not turn in their party membership cards. Their outlook on life is a critical, skeptical one, but they are first and foremost young people, full of energy, and they have already passed their first trial by fire. So, the preliminary diagnosis was that we should go ahead. Now comes the following question. Namely, what kinds of opportunities exist that would permit these party members to play a more active role? And it was at this point that the problem arose as to what kind of organizational framework should be set up. Student party members used to belong to party organizations attached to faculties, where they were decidely in the minority, and they

often lacked the 'stick-to-itiveness' it takes to get their views across within these faculties. This has got to change. For this reason also, the school basic party organization concluded that it is necessary to set up a school-wide party organization for students. And this in fact is what was done. We are having our first meeting of this organization today, and we are looking forward to hearing what people have to say at this meeting."

"The action program of the students party organization is a very important issue," says comrade Czerwiec, "insofar as we want to have this organization exert a real influence on the school as a whole. We, of course, have a preliminary plan for such an action program, since, if we did not, we would not have even come forward with a proposal like this. We were thinking that this organization should address itself first and foremost to dealing with student problems--social and human services problems, educational problems.

Even trivial problems. As we all know, lives are often ruined over trifles. Party members ought to address themselves to these seemingly minor problems; in so doing it will be easier for them to gain popularity among the student body. Of course, the question remains as to what should be done in the political action area. As of right now, we believe that party members are not ready to engage in ideological debates or to mount an ideological offensive. At today's meeting we should also give a hearing to how they feel about all this and what they think needs to be done in this area.

"There are various possible ways of dealing with this problem. For example, the party organization could assemble a group of a few dozen people and run them through an intensive training program in political science, propaganda, and even psychology. Such a group might be able to play a very important role. We ourselves know how we fared during the strike. We experienced bouts of depression on more than one occasion during this period. But even then there were always a few comrades around who would take a firm stand and then the rest follow."

"Over the long run," says comrade Kalotka, "the school-wide student party organization will become a natural link in the process whereby university students are recruited into the party. The party has to be transformed into a dynamic organization. Based on past experience, we know that it is not now a dynamic organization. Our reflexes are not quick enough, we are not militant enough, we are internally disorganized, and we do not show enough discipline in the course of fulfilling the tasks which we set for ourselves. This has got to change. Now more than ever we have to take a harder look at the political realities of the situation in which we are operating. Many people are keeping quiet, many are vacillating, and some are fed up. A party whose ranks include any of these kinds of people will never be a vanguard party. But this is a separate problem, and anyway it is now time for the meeting of the student party organization to be called to order...."

He walked with me on our way to the meeting. He was slender, tall, and wore glasses. A student and party member. At one point he said: "The party has lost the students for a long time to come. What is in store for them after they graduate? The whole burden of putting all of this right is going to fall on our shoulders."

He was right in much of what he said, I thought, but what conclusions will they draw from all this as far as they themselves are concerned?

The meeting was attended by 25 people. The participants were a little bit surprised by the fact that, in addition to the two secretaries of the school organization, comrade Grabowska, secretary of the Voivodship PZPR Committee, was also attending the meeting. And yet, after some brief introductory remarks by the first secretary of the school committee, comrade Czerwiec, a lively debate got under way.

Social problems were at the top of the discussion period agenda. In the very first statement made on this subject the view was expressed that maybe it would be better if the school-wide party organization did not concern itself directly with these problems. Why? Since the prevailing opinion is that whoever manages to take care of such problems will personally be the greatest beneficiary. This statement had a bitter ring to it having been expressed so matter-of-factly by a very young person. And so the party organization is not supposed to intervene in this area of activity at all? And yet it has to get involved in these matters, but it should do so through the social affairs committees set up in the faculties at the instance of the school-wide party organization. The same approach should be taken to the launching of an initiative for the reactivation of the residents councils in the student dormitories. The discussion of these two matters was followed up by a host of others, i.e., loans for married students, the feasibility of reactivating a club and renovating its equipment, a proposal to set up a radio station and get it on the air as soon as possible, since there is a great need for information, organizing tutorial assistance programs for younger students, making vacant spaces in dormitories available to unmarried students, and so on.

A separate category of problems revolved around how students felt about the strict disciplinary rules now being enforced at the school. What bothers them the most? The monitoring of lecturers while students are in class; the keeping of parent-teacher correspondence notebooks, which are considered to be a ridiculous practice at the university level; the fact that only one door per building is left unlocked. But the biggest complaint was over the fact that the summer semester had been extended to run through June, July, and August. "Who wants to study during the summer," they asked.

However, the discussion period was not dominated by these matters. It was pointed out that to focus exclusively on social services activities would greatly limit the overall scope of the party organization's activities. This is because life dictates that a party organization should address itself to difficult political and ideological problems. At the same time, everyone agreed, the organization lacked what it takes to make a case for its point of view. What follows are some of the statements made concerning this important problem.

"There are many things which we are not able to explain to our fellow students, especially when it comes to those things which are taking place 'at the top.' We do not have any arguments of our own to bring forward during debates; we are being drowned out by arguments advanced by 'Radio Free Europe.'"

"Many people are saying that the party does not want to listen. And we ourselves do not know enough about what is going on. Why don't we have access to information reports being circulated within the party? After all, there are bulletins and special reports on certain subjects, but none of this ever reaches us. Sincerity by itself is of no help when what you need for a debate are facts, facts, and more facts."

"We know that prior to the Lodz strike students were being trained intensively by 'Solidarity.' And what is happening with us? I doubt that there is a single candidate member of the PZPR who has a thorough knowledge of the party statute. We ought to stop and think about what kind of training we should be getting, since without such training we are not going to accomplish much of anything, not even if we do an excellent job of settling all kinds of personal problems."

I think that it was a good thing that the Voivodship Committee secretary, comrade Grabowska, took part in the meeting. I believe that if the demands voiced by these young people had simply been relayed to her in report form, she would not have had any idea of the emotional fervor, degree of commitment, or even the certain sense of helplessness exhibited by this group of party youth. Those who really do believe that the party has lost out with university students for a long time to come contradict this contention with their own attitudes and sense of commitment. They need help, a lot of help, even though from time to time they also need to be addressed with a few sharp words. And this is exactly what they heard from comrade Grabowska in reply to the question "who wants to study during the summer?"

"If necessary, students will attend classes through June, July, and August. This if the price of university strikes."

In her extemporaneous remarks comrade Grabowska offered the assistance of the Voivodship Committee in dealing with certain kinds of problems. Above all, as she pointed out, she was greatly pleased by that part of the discussion period in which comments were made about the need for information and training. The Voivodship Committee has information and propaganda materials. All that is needed is a systematic effort to obtain these materials. It has been too soon since the school was reopened, and this is why this matter has been overlooked by both sides. She also suggested that consideration should be given to drawing up a list of subjects that are of special concern to the student community, and the school party organization and the Voivodship Committee would then try to bring in specialists who would lecture on these subjects and with whom it would be possible to talk things over.

Assurances were also given that assistance would be forthcoming in dealing with troublesome social and human services problems of the student community.

The school-wide student party organization of the Radom WSI was duly constituted at the party meeting held this day, that is, on 4 February 1982. A discussion was held on the overall objectives of the organization. It was decided that a detailed action program would be drawn up in the near future. What will be the fate of this party organization and what kinds of activities will

it be engaged in in the future? How many of its goals will be realized and how many not? Will they be as energetic and strong as they would like to be? And might it come to pass that this group of young people will form the nucleus of the youth organization that is sooner or later bound to start functioning at this school? Time will have to pass before there can be any answers to these questions. We made appointments to come back in a couple of months for followup meetings, and by that time it will be possible to examine the first lessons learned from the organization's substantive action program.

11813
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ZIELONA GORA PARTY PLENUM HELD

Voivodship Plenum Meeting

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 8 Feb 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ewa Tworowska, Stanislaw Fertlinski and Zdzislaw Grzyb: "Administration Efficacy in the Shaping of Voivodship Reality"]

[Text] Last Friday, for the first time since 13 December, when martial law was introduced in our country, the PZPR Voivodship Committee assembled at a plenary session in Zielona Gora. The deliberations of the voivodship party echelon took place, therefore, under new political circumstances and following important decisions, which today are already of political significance, of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] which put an end to the process of socialist disintegration in the nation.

"The period in which we must live and work today," stated KW [Voivodship Committee] First Secretary Jerzy Dabrowski, "requires maximum effort from all of us because matters of the greatest importance for the country and for our party are being decided now."

At the same time, he sincerely thanked the party aktiv and all those rank and file members of the PZPR who, during this eventful period, demonstrated energy, self-sacrifice and readiness to perform party and civic duties.

The following participated in the deliberations of KW: head of the Central Committee Economic Section, Stanislaw Gebala; plenipotentiary of the Central Committee Politbureau, Mieczyslaw Szymanski; chairman of WRN [Military National Council], Henry Stawski; the governor of Zielona Gora, Zbigniew Cyganik and members of the central party authorities from Zielona Gora Voivodship.

After going through the order of the day for the deliberations and the selection of a resolutions and motions committee, the KW plenum proceeded to discuss the fundamental question.

In accordance with the decision of the previous plenary session, the implementation of tasks of the state administration, which result from government operational programs in the area of the most important socioeconomic problems of the voivodship, was examined and evaluated.

These issues were presented by the governor of Zielona Gora, Zbigniew Cyganik, who, at the same time, described the goals and directions of activity of subordinate, administrative and managerial units.

In presenting the economic situation of the voivodship, he stated that industrial production in 1981 was smaller by 10 billion zlotys; i.e. 15 percent less than that of the preceding year. Twenty-eight percent fewer residential units were turned over for occupancy than had been projected; the procurement of slaughter cattle decreased 18 percent and that of milk--6 percent. The monetary income of the population increased by over 32 percent. The crowning point of the process of destabilization and deterioration of the economy was the infamous strike in Lubogora, which resulted, among other things, in 180 pairs of footwear not reaching the market, as well as 170 shirts, 130,000 pairs of hosiery, thousands of meters of fabrics, furniture and household products, and 130 apartments not being turned over to those waiting for them.

It was not until martial law that elementary possibilities of economic functioning and normalization of life were created. The principal attention of the martial law administration is concentrated on assuring the peaceful functioning of the production sphere, assuring bearable living conditions for residents and protection of the interests of the poorest classes. The supply of food is and remains a painful issue. A determined battle was declared on indolence, human incompetence and manifestations of speculation and wastefulness of products and materials. The protection of consumer interests requires the doubling of efforts for the conscientious fixing of prices on products and services. Despite all kinds of difficulties, the large production potential ought to be used more efficiently. Conditions and possibilities for this do exist; however, it depends to a large degree on the people and especially on managerial cadres. It is possible to overcome many problems with our own efforts, if only in the area of activating the production of spare parts for machinery and also by means of better utilization of local raw materials, byproducts and recycled material. Great opportunities for the enrichment of the market with sought-after products exist if this road is followed.

The procurement of agricultural products is not proceeding well. Estimates reveal that last year [1981], private farmers collected 180,000 tons of grain and of this amount they committed themselves, in the form of contracts, to sell tons to the state. Barely 15,200 tons of grain were purchased, while during this time 35,000 tons of bread, 47,600 tons of fodder and 8,600 tons of sowable material were supplied to rural areas. This simple account demonstrates that farmers received six times more grain and grain products than they themselves had sold.

Voivodship authorities are undertaking various activities in order to stimulate agricultural production in this difficult situation of market shortages and shortages of industrial supplies which are indispensable for rural areas. However, it is obvious that agriculture will not receive large supplies. Therefore, we must make use, as efficiently as possible, of what is available; i.e. land and machinery. The administration will do everything possible on its part in order to fulfill completely the tasks outlined in the government operational program for agriculture and rural areas.

Next, the governor presented a complex of housing construction problems as well as those pertaining to the housing and communal economy. The housing situation in some cities is simply dramatic. Three to four years ago, 3,000 new housing units were made available for occupancy annually. Last year, only half of that amount was made available. Under difficult financial conditions of the state, private construction ought to be develped rapidly. Assistance from the authorities for prospective builders will be comprehensive. What is available should be divid d up more fairly, current repairs ought to be expanded, rapid decapitalization of housing funds should not be allowed to take place. In the communal economy, all of the attention will be concentrated on the implementation of tasks arising from operational programs and which will primarily deal with water, heat and gas supplies. The program of preschool care and improvement of teaching conditions in elementary schools will be implemented consistently. In 1981, the number of places in kindergartens rose by over 2,500. This year [1982], the construction of 14 additional kindergartens will be completed which ought to guarantee the positive fulfillment of social needs in this field.

After an extensive outline of the administration's tasks in the introduction of economic reform, the governor stated, among other things, that the mistakes of the past and the destruction of the economy in the past months caused our possibilities to be much smaller than in previous years; that we will not be able to fulfill many justified expectations and even modest aspirations. However, we can make our life easier, eliminate many burdens and overcome difficulties more quickly through increased labor and social discipline, mutual goodwill and willingness to render mutual assistance. Unfortunately, we are constantly dealing, both on an individual and on a collective scale, with squandering our common good and disrespect for common property. In work establishments, how often it is that we think in specific terms, with only our own interest in mind. For this reason, the putting into operation of such needed investments as bakeries, boilerrooms and water intakes has been delayed.

Martial law lay bare many imperfections in the functioning of the economy and of the administration. By the concept of decentralization, how often it is that we erroneously understand solely organizational changes and this on the central level. We forget about independent thinking and actions; about seeking out our own, best possible solutions and about responsibility. Legal and administrative regulations as well as carried out personnel changes will not alter this. The collective awareness of the necessity for better work and actions is indispensable.

The general responsibility of the Civil Service is, in accordance with the legal order in force, to protect the observance of the law.

We must eliminate numerous shortcomings and weaknesses and this also pertains to many public utility institutions and to economic administration. Knowledge, modesty, quick action, goodwill, the right kind of political attitude--these are some of the traits indispensable for the proper functioning of the Civil Service.

The first person to speak in the discussion was Augustyn Szerszen, a farmer from the village of Szczaniec. A part of his presentation was devoted to the social conditions of the villagers. The state pays a great deal of attention

to these problems in the city and in work establishments. However, in rural areas, in the opinion of the discussant, these matters are always waiting for radical solutions, if only such things as the guaranteeing of places for children in kindergartens and surrounding older and lonely people with social care. In referring to the report paper, he [the farmer] presented examples of wastefulness and inefficiency, the consequences of which are borne by farmers. While repairing roads, work crews from local road enterprises at the same time, damage drainage installations. Now it is necessary to build them anew. Therefore, he claimed that administrative departments should strengthen their control over enterprises which carry out any and all work in rural areas.

"From the first days of martial law, we have involved our party aktiv in helping to activate the work of primary party organizations [POP]," said Jan Straszewski, first secretary of KM [City Committee] in Nowa Sol, in his pronouncement. At the present time, the most important matter in party work is to establish a bond with the work force in places of employment. The Regional Party Work Center [ROPP] appears to be very helpful in this activity. In speaking about the work of the administration, he gave a reminder that the average citizen evaluates the authorities on the basis of how they handle his personal matters. Any and all transgressions in the area of citizen/official department [relations] have a negative influence on this evaluation. For example, the delay in the distribution of ration cards for rationed articles was blamed by the people not on administrative officials but on the authorities.

The next person to speak was Bogumila Maciag, member of the Executive Board of the PZPR KW. She took up the matter of the obligation to carry on work for the duration of martial law. The "bluebirds" [free loaders], well known to employment departments of local government bureaus, should be directed to urban cleaning operations. There is no one to clean streets, to remove garbage or to take care of graves at communal cemeteries. Persons who are notorious in avoiding work should be forced to do it. The next subject to be presented was the passing of the Teacher's Charter at the last session of the Sejm. Comrade B. Maciag feels that increasing the salaries of teachers to the average wage level of the engineering-technical cadre is justified. After all, it is the teachers who mold new generations of future citizens as well as society. Up to now, this occupation was not highly regarded among young people vying for a student's record of courses taken [indeks]. That is why the young teaching cadre bear little resemblance to their older colleagues who are greatly committed to teaching.

The next speaker was Jan Zakrzewski, president of the Voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles [WZKR] in Zielona Gora. In connection with the approach of spring work in the fields, he proposed the resumption of the activity of agricultural circles and organizations. He turned to the KW plenum for support of this proposal. The decision in regard to new principles of financing the activity of agricultural circles also requires acceleration. So far, there have been no executive orders. for example, in the matter of crediting and setting prices for services. In regard to this last matter, the farmers have many reservations.

The next discussion participant was Edward Makos, secretary of KZ PZPR [Plant Committee of the Polish United Workers Party] in the Construction Combine [KB]

of Zielona Gora. He touched upon the subject of economic reform in the field of construction. As early as last August, workers at the KB were concerned about the lack of interest on the part of the proper services in the plant and the preparedness of the enterprise to introduce economic reform. In the meantime, many irregularities have to be straightened out in this area of the economy. Only the executors are blamed for the improper implementation of investments while, after all, the final outcome depends, to the same degree, on the investor, planner or supervisor. A serious mistake is the lack of any kind of advance planning in the area of construction and this, after all, is essential for the proper implementation of investments. Each of the construction enterprises should know at least a year in advance what and where it will build during the following year. Presently, the executors are paying for planning mistakes. An additional difficulty in construction work is the lack of basic tools. A Construction Workers' Charter was passed, but its introduction was postponed no one knows for how long. At present, this ministry is deprived of all financial incentives with which it could exert an influence on workers and on the engineering-technical cadre.

Bogdan Keller--director of the Communal and Residential Management Enterprise [PGKiM] in Gubin, presented a proposal of reexamination of the drafted changes in the structure of the enterprises of this ministry.

The next discussant was Zenon Sibilski, the first secretary of the PZPR KM in Zary. He described the state of implementation of all kinds of investments in his town as highly dissatisfactory. There is no indication that it will improve in the immediate future. Instead, the speaker devoted the main portion of his presentation to the managerial cadre. At present, the influence of party echelons on the heads and directors of enterprises is diminishing completely. Recently, an evaluation of these people was conducted. As it turned out, there is no pattern according to which persons holding managerial positions would be evaluated. In the classification of each of the persons, something different was taken into consideration. Many representatives of the managerial cadre ought to be replaced but there are problems with finding replacements. Young people are totally unprepared to carry out managerial functions. There is also a lack of a full definition of who is supposed to appoint and recall whom; where the rights of the currently suspended self-government end and where those of the charter organs begin. The practice that has prevailed up to now indicates that persons occupying management posts, as a result of winning in competition, are there totally by accident and are unprepared to carry out their new role. In conclusion, Z. Sibilski emphasized the weak bond between the voivodship and the local administration. Some of the voivodship services offer inadequate assistance to local workers.

Jozef Lang, from the rural commune of Nowogrod Bobrzanski engaged in polemics with one of the preceding speakers on the issue of the activity of the GS [Rural Commune Cooperative] in this rural commune. In speaking of reserves in agriculture, he felt that it was necessary to return to traditional methods of land cultivation if only in the area of using natural fertilizers.

The manager of the Economic Department of the PZPR Central Committee who participated in the deliberations, Stanislaw Gebala, devoted his presentation to the internal and external conditions which affect the normalization of economic

life and discussed the immediate and long-term anticrisis activities undertaken by the government. The success of all the plans depends, to a large extent, on party activity and on their recapture of social trust. Organizations and echelons must take on and solve with great consistency the vital issues concerning residents, those issues which appear to be minor but which, as a whole, affect the strengthening of party authority and the building of social understanding. It is not always the big problems which decide about social atmosphere on a work establishment and community scale but the small ones which remain unsolved for years. This should be remembered in daily political work.

"The enemy--political reaction," said, among other things, S. Gebala, "has not laid down its arms; it has not been done away with. It is taking up and will continue to take up destructive action; it will sow mistrust in our program; it will provoke and undermine. It should not be forgotten that calm cannot be allowed to put us to sleep; cannot demobilize us. That is why ideological-political party activity cannot grow weak. The sources of Poland's crisis and the ruinous calculations of political opposition should be made known; we should talk about what it is that we are fighting for and what our plans are." These matters will also be the topic of discussion at the upcoming session of the Central Committee at which an evaluation will be conducted of the situation within the party and tasks will be outlined for the strengtheing of its ideological-political unity.

The chairman of the resolution and proposals committee, Tadeusz Roksela, presented a draft of the resolution of the plenum. The resolution was passed unanimously (the text is published on page 1).

In the organizational portion of the deliberations, without the participation of guests, a series of internal party matters was looked into.

The KW secretary Zbigniew Nieminski presented a report on the implementation of proposals and resolutions presented during the previous session, on 14 November of last year [1981]. There were 14 of them [proposals and resolutions], most of which dealt with the social and political problems which appeared during the period of strike intensity in the voivodship. The voivodship echelon solved them as they occurred; others, as for example, the modification of party structure in the PGR's [State Farms] are implemented in stages. Reported economic matters are taken care of with similar consistency.

In the following point of deliberations, in accordance with the decision of the previous KW plenum, the chairman of WKKP [Voivodship Party Control Committee], Kazimierz Waskiewicz, gave an extensive report on the activity of the Voivodship Party Control Committee for the period from 1 June of last year. We announced the results of its work in our "GAZETA" [GAZETA LUBUSKA] in the publication regarding the plenary session of WKKP in the issue from 27 January of this year [1982].

Next, changes in the membership of the Voivodship Committee were carried out. The following KW members were recalled: H. Rosinska from Bobrowko and J. Cholewinski from Sulechow as well as Z. Paruszewski from Kozuchow.

Those gathered approved the plan of work for the Voivodship and Executive Committee of KW for the first quarter of this year [1982].

The plenary deliberations of the Voivodship Committee were preceded by the session of the KW Executive Board. Personnel matters were discussed at this session which were then presented for deliberation of the plenum and current problems of the political activity of the voivodship echelon were also discussed.

Plenum Resolution

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 8 Feb 82 p 1

[Text] The difficult economic situation dictates searching for various ways out in terms of solving basic social welfare and community needs of the residents of our voivodship. This places specific responsibilities on the Civil Service, on the management of enterprises and institutions and on the socio-political aktiv, such as the concentration of attention on effectively providing for the basic needs of citizens, the proper handling of these matters, enforcement of public law and order, as well as the reanimation of the economy of the voivodship. This requires constant improvement of the functioning of the voivodship Civil Service, as well as that of its local units and thereby setting high standards for its employees.

In the light of the report presented by the governor of Zielona Gora and the discussion content, the plenum regards the following as the most crucial problems in the socioeconomic development of the voivodship:

In the area of providing for the social welfare needs of the residents of the voivodship of Zielona Gora:

--The undertaking by the Civil Service of effective activity which would support the political work of party organizations for the benefit of activating existing reserves in the sphere of agriculture and its production for the improvement of the food market. In particular, this pertains to milk, dairy products, baked goods, fruits and vegetables as well as potatoes. These activities ought to be accelerated through proper land cultivation and management of farm buildings regardless of the forms of their ownership. The plenum recommends that party organizations in rural areas and in agricultural institutions reexamine the possibilities of agricultural production growth and of improving production operations in rural areas.

--The merging of the key industry, of cooperatives and small production in the utilization of local raw material-material reserves; improvement of the market by means of sought after, nonfood products and articles.

--Increasing the efficiency of trade operations in terms of obtaining goods and counteracting occurrences of speculation and improvement of client services.

--The prompt undertaking, by created plant teams and voivodship organs for production costs and prices, of the inspection and control of the level of fixed prices and the quality of products and services for the purpose of protecting citizens from unjustified increases in the cost of living.

--In taking note of the proposed sieze of housing construction presented by the governor, the KW plenum turns to party organizations of construction and housing cooperative enterprises for consideration of the possibility of building a greater number of apartments but, at the same time, taking into account local funds.

--The effective solving by the management and social committees of living conditions of the work force and the implementation of proposals resulting from the inspection of safety and health conditions at work; the development of initiatives for collective nourishment of work crews and their families; making it possible to obtain food supplies; organizing rest for the work force and their families and offering assistance to retirees and pensioners. Party organizations should take up action in the direction of the proper use of the social and housing fund for the purpose of coming to the aid of the employees.

In the field of economic functioning of the voivodship:

--The KW plenum obliges the governor to introduce, during the first quarter of this year [1982], the reorganization of subordinate units in accordance with the assumptions of economic reform.

--The effective solution of employment problems; guaranteeing of financial and credit priorities for construction development from the population's own funds, for agricultural needs, for housing construction, health services and environmental protection facilities.

--Consistent implementation of proposals resulting from the inspection of administrative buildings that has been done so far. In the case of the elimination of an association [union], to conduct a subsequent review of the space vacated from the point of view of using it for social welfare needs.

For the purpose of describing the further development of services and to strengthen the business potential, the plenum recommends that a joint session of the Executive Board of the PZPR KW and of the Presidium of the WK SD [Voivodship Committee of the Democratic Party] be held.

The present socioeconomic and political situation presents to the party the task of exerting particular concern for the development of the young generation. In order to work out the directions of party activity and of the Civil Service in this area, the KW will still try to hold its plenary session during the first quarter of this year.

The KW plenum obliges the governor and his office to examine all the proposals presented in today's session and to incorporate them, in accordance with existing possibilities and needs, in the implementation of the socioeconomic program of the voivodship for the current calendar year.

The plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee turns to party organizations, to party members and all the residents of the voivodship for the practical support of the activities undertaken by the Civil Service and the economic administration, which serve the improvement of the living conditions of the residents of our voivodship.

Plenum of KW PZPR in Zielona Gora

Zielona Gora, February 1982

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POZNAN VOIVODSHIP PLENUM ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Poznan Plenum Coverage

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26-28 Mar 82 pp 1, 3

[Report on PZPR Voivodship Committee (KW) Plenum prepared by Miroslaw Idziorek, Zbigniew Koscielak and Janusz Truszczynski: "The Party Authenticates the Ideals of Socialism]

[Text] Tasks in the field of consolidating the party in the Poznan voivodship after the PZPR Central Committee's Seventh Plenum from the standpoint of organization and political ideology, and building social authority and credibility--those were the leading subjects in the deliberations of the plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Poznan. The materials which served as the basis for discussion and consideration were prepared through broad consultation with the voivodship's party aktiv.

The deliberations, in which the director of the Department of Science and Education in the Central Committee, Eugeniusz Duraczynski, and the National Defense Committee (KOK) plenipotentiary for the Poznan voivodship, Brig Gen (pilot) Michal Polech, participated, were opened by the PZPR KW first secretary in Poznan, Edward Skrzypczak, who came to the hall from the hospital where he is convalescing after an accident.

Referring to the subject of the deliberations, Edward Skrzypczak said that it was determined by the content of the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum resolution and the draft ideological-program declaration of the party. During the discussion on the purport of the declaration, E. Skrzyczak said, we want to tell the working people what we are fighting for as a party, and where we are heading. We are concerned, first of all, about a Poland that is socialist and fair to everyone. The important task now facing the party is also the inclusion of all its active forces in the implementation of economic reform which will provide the conditions for overcoming the crisis. To be equal to the difficult tasks which face the party will require unity and the personal commitment of its members in surmounting the difficulties. In speaking about the need for unity, the KW first secretary noted that in the Poznan community also, some negative phenomena stood in the path, and here and there documents appeared which the authors did not have the nerve to sign.

Edward Skrzypczak sincerely thanked those who during his recovery wished him return to health. He gave separate thanks also to the health service employees for their care, assistance and kindness.

The chairmanship of the deliberations was then taken over by Jan Mielcarek, PZPR KW secretary, who also delivered the introduction to the discussion.

The speaker reminded that the period from 1980 to 13 December of last year was characterized by attacks on the party and our allies, lack of political consideration and common sense, and the unbalancing of the economy. The party emerged from this period weakened but not crushed. Today we are able to immediately proceed to put into practice the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum. In this context, the speaker referred to the discussion now taking place on the draft declaration, "What we are Fighting For, Where we are Heading". This discussion is very necessary for the party and we can expect it to bring many suggestions and comments which will enhance the present content of the declaration.

In describing his attitude as to the future of the trade unions, the party, J. Mielcarek said, takes the position that working people should have an autonomous and independent union movement which recognizes the principles of the Polish People's Republic's political system and the leading role of the PZPR. The results of the discussion on the trade unions will depend to a large degree on the attitude, commitment and preparation on the part of party members to participate in this social debate. The most important tasks in whose implementation party organizations and their members must actively take part include support for the Civic Committee for National Rebirth [OKON] and the development of a partnership cooperation with the youth, based on concrete activities and not on words.

The subjects contained in the introduction to the discussion and in the KW Executive Board report delivered to the Plenum participants earlier, were then developed in a discussion.

Twenty-one comrades took part in the discussion. The starting point of their remarks was the substance of the deliberations and the resolution of the PZPR Central Committee's Seventh Plenum, and the subject under consideration was the political situation of the voivodship party organization, the attitudes of party members in this difficult period, and the hierarchy of tasks and duties facing them.

The thesis of the consolidation of the Polish United Workers' Party kept repeating itself in these opinions. There was no talk at the Seventh Plenum about breaking up the party rank-and-file, however the road to continue the advance was clearly defined, as comrade Tadeusz Pisarski, among others, stated, and the road may be narrow, it may be bumpy and winding, but it is a two-way road. Dangers continue to threaten, albeit to a lesser degree. They are talked about at meetings. There are too many people who are waiting, tired, while what is needed at this moment, as never before, is energetic activity, an alliance of courage with judgment. We must firmly fight against the artificial divisions into town and village, "we" and "they", against the phenomenon of emphasizing the requirements that apply only to others, and not to ourselves.

After December 1981, attitudes and emotions of different shades arose in some of the party members. From frustration to victory fanfare. Both are equally damaging. We know, after all, that the struggle continues. On the political, ideological and economic plane. The more so since all types of personnel contests are superfluous, because personnel changes alone cannot pull us out of the crisis, and the sowing of unnecessary unrest is also damaging.

But in talking about unity, said comrade Andrzej Kubacki, let us not forget about sincere and open discussion. Only this can and must save us in the future from mistakes and slips. Every talk must, of course, be carried on with full respect for statutory principles. After discussion, it is necessary to maintain discipline in implementing the resolutions that were passed.

Thus, an identical theme kept repeating itself during the plenary discussion: We cannot fall into a state of appeasement, and martial law is not a protective umbrella for party activities (comrade Stanislaw Kosmowski spoke of this). We must counteract the phenomenon of silent party meetings. Responsibility for this lies with the party aktiv. In presenting subjects which derive from the deepest interests, it should try to evoke a discussion: courageous, to the point, and concrete. Without encouragement and cheering from above.

--An evaluation of the Party, is, above all, an evaluation of every one of us. It would be useful if it were done, said comrade Wlodzimierz Kokocinski, before others pass judgment on us. To do this, we need to know as much as possible about the echelons, the members of the party organizations, their attitudes, the intellectual requirements in relation to the community. In this context, a proposal was made that a document, a type of report on the state of the voivodship party organization, be prepared. The old-town neighborhood party organization in Poznan already has such a report. It is, in the opinion of the speaker, a mine of information on this organization which may turn out to be very helpful in formulating current and future proposals.

Comrade Zbigniew Pacholski mentioned this individual evaluation in different words, but touching upon the essence of this same problem.--The last many months also made us think about our own activities and participation in events. These activities were just as stormy as the times and this is most natural in relation to a party member. We should not come down from this revolutionary "high", for renewal, as it is broadly understood, is social property. The only mistake would be if we were to go to extremes--from the sublime to the ridiculous. In cases of ideological devastation, the best prescription--no one yet has thought of a better one--is war with passivity, fault-finding, i.e., asocial attitudes. This war is conducted not from behind a desk, behind echelon doors, but on the first line, among the people. In this context, the duty also falls on the mass media, in the sense that news must be transmitted rapidly, straightforwardly, and widely.

Criticism also appeared in the discussion as regards cases of incompetent action on the part of the administration. A large number of sound, necessary and socially comprehensible laws and orders have been issued recently. The matter of enforcing them, however, leaves much to be desired. And who is to do this? --asked comrade Stanislaw Kalkus. Certainly not the party, but the people who are responsible for this by virtue of the duties they perform. But it is true also that the blame for the incompetence of the authorities is directed at the party. There is an apparent misconception here on the part of those who do not approve of the party's activities. --The discussion that is taking place now in the party as a whole is really a responsible conversation about Poland's road to socialism, comrade Wlodzimierz Danecki said, with all of the political and economic realities of the present period taken into account.

--In most Polish families, women, mothers, have a determining influence on the upbringing of the children, on the family atmosphere in the home, Krystyna Beresniewicz, chairman of the Voivodship Board of League of Polish Women (LKP), stated. --Also in typical "women's" workplaces and feminized occupations the ideological influence often predetermines the attitudes of the women in the workplace and in the home. We must create conditions for partnership cooperation of the plant LKP circles with party organizations and act in such a way that the joint labor of overcoming the shortages caused by the crisis will bring positive, perceptible results, as quickly as possible.

A good deal of time in the plenary discussion was devoted to matters of the young generation, rightly emphasizing the already frequently confirmed fact that without the young people, without the partnership cooperation of the youth organizations, there can be no thought either about a regeneration of party strength or effectively bringing the country out of the economic crisis (after all, 50 percent of the production workers are young people). Assisting the youth in their striving for intellectual and vocational development, for promotions, and above all, satisfying the social and welfare needs of young families, must be a planned, honestly implemented party task. The young people were mentioned also in characterizing the party organizations in the villages. The membership is inevitably aging, said comrade Karol Pacuszka, and what is disturbing, there are no suitable activities which would prepare recruitment of new members from among the youth belonging to youth organizations. And the strength of the party always is and should be youth.

The PZPR Central Committee Department of Education and Science director, E. Duraczynski, also took the floor in the discussion, stating that when, during the deliberations, the party, the unity of its rank-and-file membership, and the more important tasks of the organization are mentioned, the thoughts are not only about what to do, but also about how to attain the intended goals.

The PZPR Central Committee's Seventh Plenum ended a certain phase of the discussion about our party, confirmed the basic values and achievements of the Ninth Congress, documented the will to continue the work of improving the Republic. and defined the ideological and organizational criteria of party unity. The bridge between the basic assumptions of the Ninth Congress program and the current questions pertaining to our modernity, came to be the draft declaration of ideology, "What we are Fighting For, Where we are Heading". Our party, the speaker said, is regaining the ability to interpret what exists now, what is happening, and what can happen. The main line of battle now is the winning of the workers and peasants, and the battle for the youth.

Referring to the sentence from Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech, also cited in the discussion, that "the PZPR must be the same but not the same", comrade E. Duraczynski particularly emphasized the meaning of the adjective "united", and the undertaking by the party of work at the foundation--organic work. A full reply to this, how to understand this characteristic of the rebirth of the party, will be made in the discussion on the draft ideology-program declaration of the PZPR.

The members of the plenum were then familiarized with the proposal of the resolution, presented by the KW secretary, Maciej Olejniczak, which constituted the achievement of the deliberations. Its programmatic text was accepted unanimously (we are publishing the resolution separately).

At the proposal of the KW Executive Board, the plenum appointed a Women's Commission, in which the female comrades who are members and candidate members of the Voivodship Committee, and party activists of women's organizations, will be active. The full composition of this new KW problem commission will be presented at the next plenary meeting.

A team was also appointed to gather and prepare suggestions and proposals from the partywide discussion on the draft declaration "What we are Fighting For, Where we are Heading".

The KW secretary, Jan Mielcarek, summarized the plenary deliberations, stressing once more all of its most important points.--We must declare unconditional war against all evil, wherever it originates, war against all human injustice. This is one of the conditions for recovering credibility for our party, said comrade Mielcarek, a party which came through the difficult period of a great test undefeated.

The plenum adjourned with the singing of the "Internationale".

Executive Board Theses

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26-28 Mar 82 p 3

[Article: "The Party's Values and Aspirations"; Theses of the PZPR Voivodship Committee (KW) Executive Board Report at the KW Plenum in Poznan]

[Text] Past experience has dramatically confirmed the truth, that violation of the party's ties with the working class, with the working masses and with all of society, strikes at the foundations of the leading role of the PZPR. These ties must stand for a consistent party struggle to win for its program the broadest masses of society, above all, the working class and the peasantry, and to jointly provide conditions in which not only every party member, but every citizen, will feel that he is the creator of this program, seeing his place in its implementation.

Political work must be the duty of every PZPR member, not only within the framework of a party organization, but also among nonparty members. It is indispensable to form groups from the workers' aktiv to conduct direct political work, daily, at work posts, production units, in party groups and shop organizations. The PZPR organization should operate openly, cooperating with other political and social organizations, and with all those who accept socialist ideals and the political system's principles.

Party organizations, all PZPR members, should regularly use the materials from the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. They contain the considerations and the discussion of the whole party on the directions and form of socialist renewal, on the program for overcoming the crisis, and the conditions that the party must fulfill in order to regain credibility, respect and authority in society. This must be accompanied by the conviction that the object is not to create new programs but to become thoroughly familiar with the substance of the program accepted at the Congress, and to implement it with absolute consistency.

The material for consideration is the draft ideological-program declaration, "What we are Fighting For, Where we are Heading", which was presented at the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum for general discussion. Its final ideological form and programmatic substance depends on the entire party. We must answer the question as to how to integrate party goals and tasks with the interests of the working class and all people of labor.

Only by presenting matters squarely and clearly, by showing the problems frankly, can we rebuild the party's leading role in society and restore its role as the vanguard of the working class and win people over to its goals. We are concerned particularly with restoring the party's influence over the young people, but not by the "good uncle" method, who promises a great deal and then his role is finished, but by being a partner to the young generation, stern in judgments, friendly in counsel, and helpful in satisfying vital needs and ambitions.

The so-called "accountability process" must be brought to completion consistently. It is proceeding in accordance with the letter of the law. At the same time, it is also important for the party now to free itself of the people who joined its ranks with the idea of making a career for themselves, to satisfy their often exaggerated ambitions, an easy and convenient life, or simply for ill-gotten gains. We must also free ourselves of those whose ties with the party are not based on Marxist-Leninist ideology, and who by their activity do damage to the party, and weaken its ability to fight for socialist ideals. In some communities, the process of restoring party discipline, correct organization of party life and overcoming passiveness, negation and fault-finding, is still too slow.

In order for the party to be strong and function effectively,it must be unified ideologically, political and organizationally. That is the basic direction of activity of all party elements. We must find out to what degree the phenomenon of opportunism occurred, i.e., the understanding and agreements with the counter-revolutionary and extremal forces of "Solidarity", the smearing and paralyzing of the party's mobility and militancy in the struggle with the forces that are enemies of the party and socialism, and what kind of harm was done by the departure from the statutory principles and the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and also the falling away of the party from the needs, aims and aspirations of the party masses and the working class.

The need to consolidate democratic centralism, emphasized at the PZPR Central Committee's Seventh Plenum, is not aimed at weakening sincere party discussion. It is only to assist in the process of surmounting internal party divisions, purging it of social-democratic, Christian Democratic Party, and other influences which weaken the party.

Cadre policy is an important instrument in the party's leadership role--the development of a system of criteria for selecting management cadres and a broad cadre base, which would make it possible to include the participation of the PZPR members and members of the other political parties and nonparty people, in directing and managing the national economy. The main cadre criteria are high qualifications, ability and professional experience, moral attitude, and a political stance that is in agreement with the principles of the political system.

One of the extremely important currents in propaganda-explanatory activity, including the means of public communication--press, radio and television--is complete, straightforward information on the state of our economy, on the actual work results. We will have to make many, sometimes painful, sacrifices, for a number of months and maybe even years. Society must know the truth about this, and we must all know the premises for coming out of the crisis; and we must particularly be aware that parochial interests, an uncontrolled, economically unjustified increase in prices and thriftless management, above all, hurts us and lowers society's standard of living.

With reference to the vital traditions, in the Poznan voivodship society, of civic responsibility, self-government, good organization and respect for human labor, the idea of national accord is being implemented. At present, this idea is being implemented by the Committees of National Rebirth (KON). The first Civic Committee for National Salvation (OKON) in Poland was formed in Poznan, in Jezyce. Today there are 50 OKON's in the Poznan voivodship, and in addition, almost 40 initiative groups are functioning, which will transform themselves into Committees of National Rebirth.

One of the important tasks of the party echelons and the entire party in the towns and gminas should be the increasing and strengthening of the authority of the people's councils and the local organs of state administration. The party organizations, together with the teams of councillors, should take part in the discussion on the draft law on people's councils. The reactivation of neighborhood people's councils and neighborhood administration organs in Poznan is a separate problem.

The fundamental plane of interparty cooperation are the permanent joint-action commissions of the PZPR, ZSL and SD, both on the voivodship level as well as in the towns and gminas. Operating in the presently complex conditions, they undertake the matters of reconstructing the country's economy, acting to ensure social order and restoration of authority to the government. In so doing, they are a guarantee of the socialist process of renewal and the development of socialist democracy.

An extremely important task for the party is that of stimulating the workforces in applying economic reform. The party organizations must utilize the results and experience of the teams for matters of reform, for matters of prices, and social and economic commissions, in the area of catching mistakes in the systems solutions that are being applied, which could endanger the social goals that economic reform is envisaging.

The most important matter of the party echelons and organization in the village is that of removing, as quickly as possible, all causes and sources of dissatisfaction, irritation and dispute, which, as a result of unfeelingness, bureaucracy, negligence or inertia, are aggravating the atmosphere of social life in the village and are discouraging the farmers and the agricultural employees, and weakening their motivation for honest and productive work.

We must create a true partnership relationship between the party and the youth. Openness, truth, rational premises of dialogue--these are the basic arguments in work with youth. The slogan "nothing about youth without youth" must be the direction of the party's activities in the interests of the young generation.

Plenum Resolution

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26-28 Mar 82 p 3

[Text] PZPR Voivodship Committee Resolution

We are facing important and difficult political, social and economic tasks. We have before us the great task of uniting all patriotic social forces for the implementation of our program for extricating ourselves from the crisis, a program laid down at the party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress. Further work awaits us in the deep ideological-moral rebirth, in the purging of our party ballast of people who are not observing the Ninth Congress' resolutions and the party's statute. Our opponents are exploiting the complex and complicated situation in our country. That is why our voivodship organization, just as the party in the entire country, must take a broad ideological offensive, must begin a great battle, on which the highest values are staked: socialism and fatherland.

1. The basic duty of all party echelons and organizations, as well as individual party members, is to preserve unity of activity in the implementation of the resolutions and decisions of the Ninth Congress and PZPR Central Committee plena. Organizational cohesion and unity of party activity, and consistent observance of Marxist-Leninist principles, has been and will remain the key to solving the entire crisis situation in our country. Therefore, violation of the principle of unity is activity which strikes directly at the party, and thus at socialism in Poland. To preserve unity of activity, a clear and unequivocal determination of the position of every party member towards the PZPR Congress and Central Committee plenary resolutions must be made. An expression of attitude on the decisions to impose martial law is also required. All party echelons and organizations will conduct explanatory talks with members who are not observing the statute and avoiding the implementation of the party's resolutions, and will take the necessary organizational action in regards to these members.

2. In order to efficiently and effectively implement the decisions of the Ninth Congress and the Central Committee plenary resolutions, they must be translated into practical terms and tasks for all party echelons and organizations and for every individual party member. This means universal, maximum party activation and aggressiveness. There is no place in the party for attitudes of the "nothing depends on me anyway" type, because this is a return to deception and passiveness, and passiveness in a party member today means ideological sabotage. The primary party organizations have a decisive role here, for they determine the militancy and the quality of the party's activity.

3. Let us do everything to become a party of social understanding and conciliation. The areas of activity in behalf of understanding are primarily the Civic Committees of National Rebirth (OKON). It is in them, in direct contact with people and their everyday problems, in the just, honest and patient solving of these problems, that sooner or later the idea of social understanding will be fulfilled. It is the duty of party members to assist in the formation of Civic Committees [i.e., OKON's] and to work dedicatedly in them. At the workplaces, social understanding will be implemented in the shop and in production and social activity.

4. No party organization and no party member may remain indifferent to how economic reform is being applied in his workplace. Whether economic efficiency indicators are improving and by how much, what the ratios of wages to labor input are, whether the principle of the conservation of raw materials, other materials, and fuels, are being implemented and how, whether conditions have been provided for the development of new technical ideas, rationalization, and organizational progress.

5. There can be no absence of party members where people are being ill-treated, where the effects of shortages are most keenly felt. Let us do everything so that help will be given to those earning the least, the families with many children, the ill and the infirm, to create better conditions for the young people to establish themselves, for the young married couples. May intelligent and sensible work, sensitivity to the problems of others, justice, integrity, uncompromising opposition to duplicity and enrichment at the expense of others, be the next bridge on the road to national conciliation.

6. The party is being reborn. We want to regain full credibility. We want to permanently strengthen the ties with the working class, with all working people. We want to conquer the towering problems of our country. Our credentials will be the ideological-program declaration "What we are Fighting For, Where we are Heading". May our entire voivodship party organization develop a discussion on this document. May this discussion become a large party exchange of thoughts, reflections on the historical importance of the road which we must now map out for many future generations.

7. The question of youth, their upbringing in the spirit of socialism, creative participation in the life of the country, guaranteeing to them conditions for a an adequate life, is an extremely difficult problem on which the party's attention should constantly be concentrated. We are decidedly in favor of increasing youth's participation in socio-political life, the broad inclusion of youth in cadre policy, and full safe-guarding of the rights of youth while at the same time holding them jointly responsible for the fate of the country.

8. We are the continuators of a century-old tradition of workers' struggles for work liberation, for national freedom. All party echelons in our voivodship organization have already prepared their own programs of observance of the 100th anniversary of the workers' movement in the Poznan voivodship. Let us see to it that the beautiful, although complex and not free from error, traditions of the struggle for justice, dignity and freedom, become an enduring component of our national consciousness.

9. In a few weeks we will observe the 1 May workers' class holiday. May this be a day of great manifestation, the unshakable will for understanding, militancy and strength of the working class, the ability of its party to lead, and also the striving for the rebirth of the party and the entire nation.

PZPR KW in Poznan

9295
CSO: 2600/530

NEW TYPES OF MILITARY TRAINING EQUIPMENT DESCRIBED

Warsaw WOJSKOWY PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 12, Dec 81 pp 568-571

[Article by Lt Col Tadeusz Szafarz]

[Text] Modern combat equipment is characterized by high degrees of complexity, operational speed and accuracy, and functional efficiency. However, it is also very costly. It is costly both to manufacture and to operate. In order to be able to handle this equipment skillfully it is necessary to undergo long periods of training and develop good work habits and quick reaction times that are responsive to a given combat situation. Both for these reasons and also, in some cases, for reasons of trainee safety it becomes necessary to produce and promote the large-scale use of various kinds of training equipment.

The term training equipment is very broad. It might just as well apply to a common firing-range target hoist or to complex mechanical trainers and simulators. The degree of complexity displayed by training equipment often matches that of real combat equipment. Specially designed training apparatuses have been used successfully in our armed forces for many years now. This equipment includes both simple training aids as well as more complex aids, e.g., air-situation simulators.

In September 1981 a wide range of domestically manufactured or newly developed training equipment was put on display at the Polish exhibit at the Interallied Exhibition of Military Training Equipment and Aids. This display showed off the record of achievement that has been racked up in this field in Poland over the past few years in terms of research and development and the promotion of inventions and innovations.

The combat training disciplines that were represented included artillery and tactical training, chemical and reconnaissance training, and training programs for national air defense and air force personnel. However, there were no displays of naval training equipment or of tank and motor vehicle trainer units. There was a relatively large number of exhibits of battlefield simulation systems and marksmanship training aids whose operation was demonstrated under training-ground conditions.

There were two exhibits that attracted a great deal of interest. Namely, the SN-79 air-control simulator system and the subsystem (PIS-NO) used for the

individualized training of radar navigator-ground controllers, both of which were developed by the Air Force Technology Engineering Institute. These systems are electronic devices of state-of-the-art design which incorporate a wide range of computer technology applications. They are yielding major training and economic dividends, and, accordingly, they should be given wider publicity.

The SN-79 Simulator

The SN-79 air-control simulator system is designed for the individualized and group training of ground air-control personnel and control and reporting system crews. By interacting with radar systems it makes it possible to simulate the flight paths of fighter aircraft that are being vectored to targets per orders given by the navigator trainee and generate a visual display of real-time flight parameters of the vectored aircraft, the overall air situation and data on the altitude of air targets.

Ground-control personnel can be trained in the acquisition and vectoring of fighter aircraft that are to be guided to targets flying at low, medium, high, and stratospheric altitudes. At the same time, multiple fighters can be vectored to multiple air targets with variable course headings, speeds and altitudes. The acquisition and vectoring process can take place in various kinds of radioelectronic jamming environments of varying intensities. The training of crews manning the control and reporting system encompasses skills associated with the acquisition of air targets against a background of noise generated by their own receiving equipment and the plotting of their coordinates, the identification of air target characteristics (formation composition, nationality, maneuver patterns and so on), the classification of targets in a complex air situation, identification of the mode and intensity of radioelectronic jamming and the operation of electronic countermeasures systems and also systems used for the control of reception-path amplification.

The standard configuration of the SN-79 system consists of the following modules: a central processing unit and flight parameter display unit (Photo 1), an ISR-03 radar-signal simulator, and a ZEW radio-signal simulator. The modular design of both the hardware and the software makes it possible to set up simpler equipment layouts designed for the individualized training of command post personnel. Only two persons (operators) are needed to operate the standard version of the SN-79 system.

Before the actual training session gets underway a control tape is fed into the simulator on which the prescribed training scenario is recorded. A floppy disk is inserted into the unit after these data have been processed. The training session begins with the recall and display of the preprogrammed air-attack scenario on the radarscopes. After analyzing the simulated air situation, the operator-navigator makes decisions on the armaments and so on of the fighter aircraft slated for commitment. He will then proceed to make other decisions concerning the takeoff (or departure from airborne standby stations) of the fighters and the command and control of the vectored aircraft.

The commands relayed by the navigator-operator to the pilot-operators are identicial to those given during a real controlled-intercept operation. The

pilot operators enter the commands they have received into the SN-79 simulator while at the same time observing the parameters of the simulated flight paths of the vectored aircraft that are illuminated on the monitor screens (Photo 2). The navigation-control operators file reports as required.

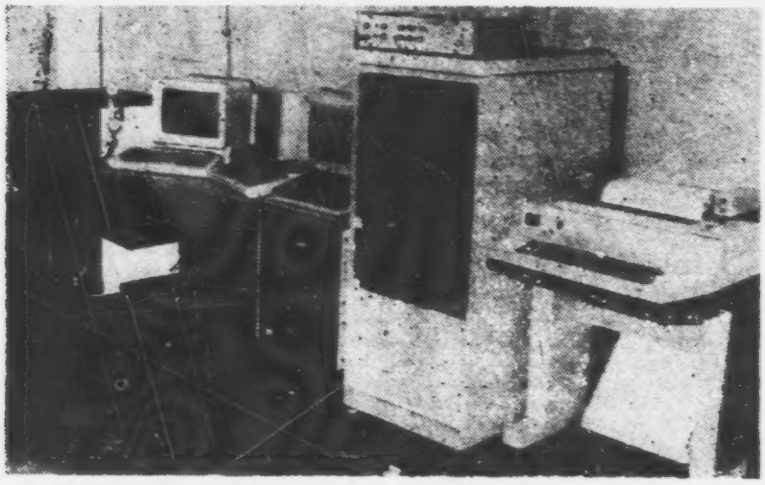

Photo 1.

Some of the components of the SN-79 air control simulator system (central processor module and flight parameters display module) from left: 7905 control unit, MERA 7910 monitor screens, MDE-400 floppy disk, MERA-400 minicomputer, MKSR-400 dot-character printer with keyboard.

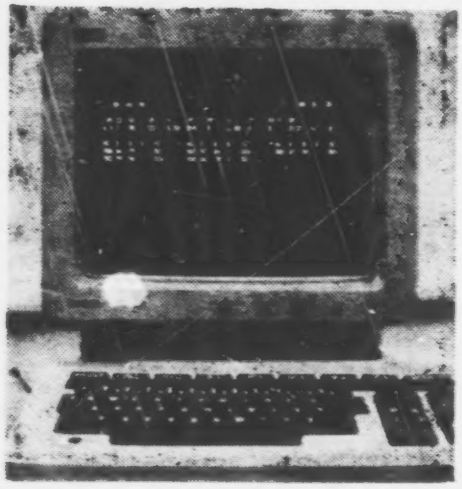

Photo 2.

A MERA 7910 monitor screen for the display of flight parameters; the data that can be called up on the screen include parameters such as the pilot index, type of aircraft, flight time, engine power rating, types of maneuvers, course heading, pitch, yaw, "fighter-target" coordinates, Mach speed, ground speed, rate of climb, fuel status.

Data on target positions are complemented by data on the current positions of the fighter aircraft being guided to these targets, and the overall air situation is displayed on the radarscopes. The training session can be terminated at any time regardless of the air situation that is being simulated.

Here are some of the more important tactical-technical data on the SN-79: maximum number of aircraft whose flight parameters can be tracked simultaneously--4, duration of simulated air situation--8 hours, maximum number of simulated air objects--200, maximum number of simultaneously simulated air objects--60. The ZEW radio communications simulator system makes it possible to open radio communications in one of eight channels operating in a simplex, duosimplex or duplex mode.

The SN-79 simulator is highly reliable owing to the use of medium-scale integrated circuits and thanks to the sound structural design of mechanical components. The system's very favorable operating characteristics are attributable to the fact that all of the working modules, appropriate testing devices, and the expanded system used to monitor the operation of the simulator's working software package are more readily accessible. The modular design of the hardware and software makes it possible to expand the simulator, a feature which in turn facilitates its modification for the purpose of meeting other training needs resulting from the introduction of new weapon systems into the armed forces.

The PIS-NO Subsystem

The subsystem used for the individualized training of navigators (PIS-NO) is a component of the IKS-80 flight-control simulator. This simulator is a unit consisting of electronic systems and computer programs that simulate the systems, equipment, and working processes and procedures of real radar systems used to vector aircraft intercepting air targets, air-control systems in an airfield air-traffic-control zone and aircraft controlled-approach systems. The PIS-NO subsystem (Photo 3) is designed for the training air-traffic controllers. It can be used to provide training in the following subject areas: the correct interpretation of radar display data and audiovisual control of aircraft, navigational assistance for aircraft flying within an airfield's air-traffic control zone, the simulation of air-traffic crisis situations, and rating the skill levels of radar navigator-operators.

The PIS-NO subsystem consists of four basic components: central processing, data processing and control systems, a training instructor station, a radar navigator-operator trainee station, and an assistant instructor station. The hardware of the subsystem is built around SS and MS integrated circuits manufactured in Poland and other CEMA countries.

A unique radar display method has been incorporated into the PIS-NO subsystem based on the synthesis of a digital radar signal. This permits the flexible variation of the configuration and rate of displayed data without any of the restrictions associated with quantitative performance characteristics.

In contrast to designs used for similar training apparatuses the principal functions of the "pseudopilot" in the PIS-NO subsystem have been taken over by a computer program that performs pilot functions (a pilot model), while simple

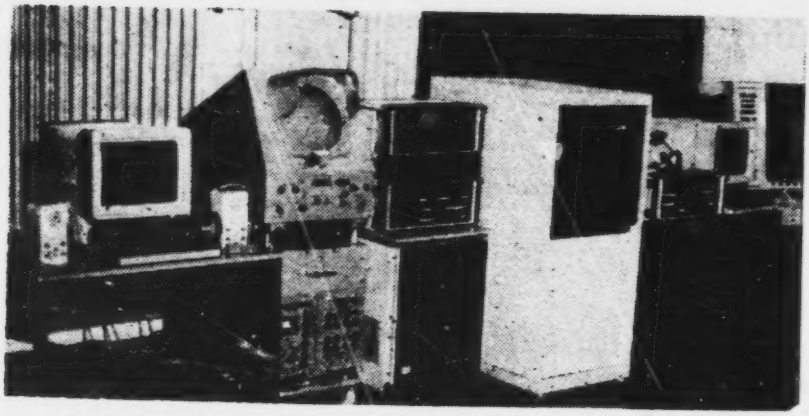

The PIS-NO subsystem; shown from the left are: the assistant instructor's station, the radar navigator-operator trainee station, the simulation and data processing system, the training instructor's station.

manual functions (entering commands into the computer) are performed by an assistant instructor. The computerized pilot model transforms the prescribed air-control commands into aircraft flight parameters while making allowances for its current flight status and conditions.

Here, then, are some of the more important tactical-technical data on the PIS-NO subsystem:

--the radarscopes can simulate and display 30 moving air objects while giving a complete readout on flight-engineering performance characteristics;

--20 moving air objects while giving a partial readout on flight-engineering performance characteristics;
--5 auxiliary, nonmoving cursors with assigned position coordinates;
--reflections of local terrain features;
--active radar signals;
--internal reception path noise;
--wideband active jamming signals.

The radar signal-generating system makes it possible to simulate 16 objects at a time, which in turn permits the generation of several hundred air objects within the radar sets coverage area. The range of simulated aircraft performance characteristics corresponds to four classes of modern military aircraft, i.e., training aircraft, subsonic fighters, supersonic fighters, and transport aircraft.

The simulation and display of signals on the scope screens can be initiated by the instructor at any time during the exercise in keeping with a scenario

prepared in advance or extemporaneously. The displayed situation can be stored for any length of time or erased partially or completely.

One PIS-NO subsystem can accommodate from one to three navigator-trainee duty stations. The subsystem's warmup time, measured from the moment the power is switched on, is no more than 5 minutes. The subsystem can be serviced by one electronic engineer or electronic technician who has received training in the operation of computers or radarscopes.

Some of the advances of the PIS-NO subsystem that should be mentioned are the substantial reductions in fuel consumption and the reduced wear and tear on aircraft and radar equipment used during the training process, the increase in the capacity of training centers, the feasibility of simulating complex air situations which cannot be created full-scale during peacetime and so on.

Simulated Battlefield Devices Control System

The operation of a radio remote-controlled battlefield-simulation system (Photo 4 [not reproduced]) was demonstrated during this exhibition. This system can be used on tactical exercise fields and at proving grounds. It permits the independent control of 60 groups of simulated fire devices; each of these groups may consist of any number of clusters of battlefield-simulation devices that are to be activated simultaneously. Commands are sent to these clusters by pressing appropriate buttons on the control console. Individual clusters can be controlled separately.

This system consists of a control console, radio reception boosters, encoding tape cartridges, and reception booster shipping crates. The reception boosters interact directly with the following devices: a hoist for light and heavy combat figures (6 MIS and 11 MIS) and a 45 MIS booster. These devices make it possible to control simulations of machinegun fire (electrical and pneumatic), artillery fire, ATGM fire, and the simulated launchings of tactical missiles. The system's control range in open terrain is 3 km. The system functions properly in temperatures ranging from -20 degrees C to +80 degrees C and the power output does not exceed 1 watt. A digital coding system is used together with a coded channel selector system. The transmitter power rating is more than 0.5 W, and the receiver unit sensitivity is less than 2 μV.

The 57-mm Dummy-Projectile Round

The exhibition also featured the demonstration firing of a live round with a dummy projectile from a 57-mm antiaircraft gun that was specially developed in order to permit the training of 57-mm AA gun crews on exercise fields adjacent to barracks areas. These rounds can also be used during exercises involving joint operations of different armed forces branches, exhibition firings, the testing of gun working parts and so on.

The gun does need to undergo special preparations in order to fire 57-mm dummy-projectile rounds. All that is required is to remove the muzzle brake from the gun barrel, since the gun could be damaged if it is fired with the muzzle brake in place. The functions performed while the gun is being loaded, fired and reloaded are also identical to those performed when firing rounds with live warheads.

The recoil action of moving parts when firing 57-mm dummy-projectile rounds is approximately identical to recoil action when firing live rounds. After leaving the barrel, the dummy projectile breaks up, and the casing fragments and cast-iron filings with which it is filled shoot out to a distance of 100 meters from the barrel muzzle, as a result of which it is possible to fire the gun in relatively confined exercise fields.

The dummy-projectile round is based on a simple design. The shell casing is made by means of the pressurized plastic injection molding process. The cartridge is 522 mm long, the powder charge weighs 1.2 kg, the cartridge weighs 4.6 kg, and the projectile weighs 1.29 kg. [Photos 5 and 6 not reproduced]

The IRL-28 Simulator

The IRL-78 (Photo 7) aircraft roentgen meter was certainly one of the most interesting exhibits. It falls into that category of electrical simulators that is hooked up directly to an instrument used to measure terrain radioactive contamination levels. Other simulators have to be operated manually, but the IRL-78 simulator is an automated programmed instrument. The package of simulated readouts is programmed before the start of a training session.

Photo 7. The IRL-78 aviation roentgen meter simulator

Among the other simulators used to date in direct instrument hookup modes the IRL-78 is distinguished by its great versatility and the fidelity with which it reproduces real-life measurement conditions. The programs that have been developed make it possible to run quick and comprehensive tests on equipment and--as part of the personnel training process--develop a set of habits and reflexes that are conducive to the flawless operation of specialized radioactive contamination reconnaissance devices.

This simulator works by using the signals originating in a standard oscillator that are fed into the programming system. This is a state-of-the-art device in terms of its design, as it consists solely of TTL-series integrated

circuits with no tuning components or moving parts. The simulation time is 3.64 minutes. The simulator has 10 programs. It can operate properly in temperatures ranging from -40 degrees C to +50 degrees C. Its dimensions are 75x275x475 mm and it weighs 45 kg.

Photo 8.

This towed-target winch together with the hit signaling device is used for the in-flight reeling out and reeling in of a 3-km-long tow line with attached target sock. The signaling device is used to measure the distance by which a projectile misses the center of the target. The scores are recorded automatically onto a tape or are transmitted to the ground by radio. The equipment was designed to be operated by relatively high-speed jet aircraft.

The radar display video tape recorder (Photo 9) is used to convert radar signals displayed on a type-P scope and accompanying audio signals. The signals are recorded on MTU-50 magnetic tape and then played back. This system makes it possible to record air situations displayed on radarscopes as well as the commands and reports given in response to a given air situation.

This system can be installed in radar stations as a permanent fixture. It consists of silicon transistors and domestically manufactured UCA- and UCY-series integrated circuits. Its dimensions are 440x440x180 mm and it weighs about 20 kg. A test series will go into production in 1982.

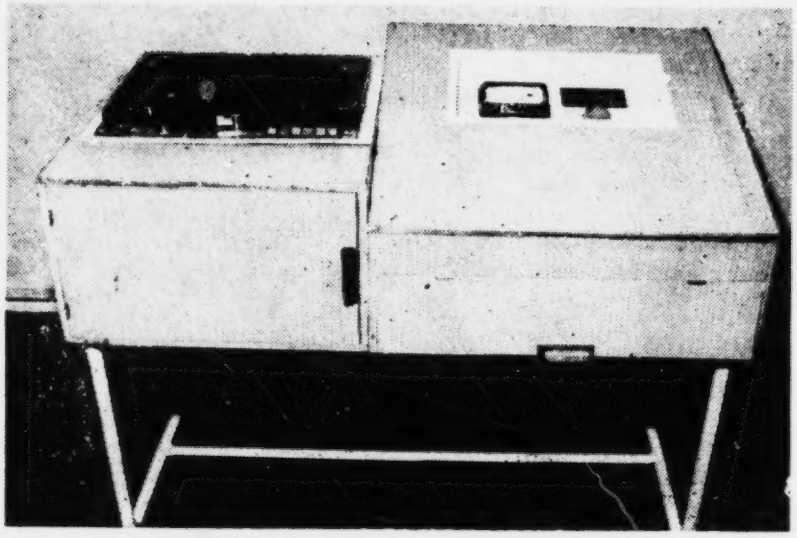

Photo 9.

The MRZR-1 radar display video tape recorder

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CSO: 2600/408

COMBAT ACTIVITY IN URBAN AREA DISCUSSED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH in Polish No 3, Mar 82 pp 22-25

[Article by Col Stefan Wiejak]

[Text] Unlike military activities under field conditions combat activities in urban areas will be characterized by dispersal--small subunits will battle over individual buildings or other strong points.*

A city may be divided into urban centers of compact and dispersed building development. Compact development occurs in old cities. Here, buildings are generally longstanding, with thick walls of brick or concrete. Streets are narrow and winding, converging at the center of town. Major transportation arteries intersect or radiate from a central point. In cities having compact development, the infantry as a rule advances on foot, since the possibilities of utilizing tanks and combat infantry vehicles are limited. Dispersed development is a characteristic of new cities. Buildings are tall, located parallel to streets or at various angles, with a certain distance separating them. The height of buildings varies: There are 5-, 9-, 11- and 16-story buildings, against the background of which dominate skyscrapers of 35 stories or more. Here there are wide streets and, a greater number of public squares, parks and stadiums than in cities having compact development. Both building construction and the transportation network affect the character of combat activities within the circumference of cities. The system of modern roads has radically changed the appearance of cities. Here, advancing subunits have greater possibilities to utilize tanks and combat infantry vehicles as well as to advance faster.

Highly industrialized areas (city districts) have a distinct character. This includes industrial, mining and port districts. Their characteristic building development includes all types of factory shops, blast furnaces, steel mills,

*Editor's note: The author presents his views on the makeup and role of assault groups, as well as on organization of an advance in an urban area. We believe that this article may serve as a basis for discussion about urban area combat. For example, we shall be happy to publish an article on the concrete activities of assault groups or on the organization of battalion level exercises in an assault on a city.

electric power plants, warehouses, storehouses and developed underground construction (factory rooms, storehouses, sewerage systems, shelters and the like). There are many elevators, railroad stations and a compact network of track, bridges, viaducts and roadbeds here. All of this equipment and all of these structures are found in close proximity with various types of old and new buildings. Conducting an advance in such areas will be extremely complicated due to the limited possibilities for using tanks and combat infantry vehicles. Individual structures will be taken subunit forces and assault groups which, taking advantage of the open space between plants or structures, will attack an opponent on the defensive from the rear, while at the same time blocking his exit from the structures he is defending and neutralizing him with artillery fire.

Walled building development facilitates the enemy's organizing a strong defense within a short time. Emplacements and strong points will be linked by a firing system, and weapons will be located on the various stories of buildings, enabling the enemy to organize multilevel fire. Primary, alternate and supplementary firing positions are selected for all weapons in case of limited visibility (smoke, dust). The system of city building development and the transportation network likewise have a negative effect on the firing and maneuvering of capabilities subunits in defense.

The barrier system in conjunction with the firing system determines the endurance of an urban defense; great importance is attached to the construction of barricades, both inside and outside of buildings. In addition to barricades, wire barriers, portable barriers, mines (both stationary and movable), pit and mobile units may be used. Doors and windows on the ground floor (in cellars) will be secured with netting or grates against grenades thrown at them.

It is expected that an urban opponent will fight with special persistence and doggedness. Taking advantage of opportune conditions, he will make surprise counterattacks inside and outside of buildings, usually using a small number of forces. A counterattack from position is most effectively repulsed since it is a limited maneuver.

An urban battle will be very persistent and will abound in complex and changing situations. It will be conducted at close range. Thus, an advancing subunit is faced with the necessity of capturing powerful emplacements and strong points. The above-mentioned characteristics of urban battle have the effect of reducing the rate of advance, which may reach 200 meters or so per hour.

Generally it may be stated that an advance on a city will be characterized by:

--Limited capabilities of observation and fire delivery;
--limited possibilities for using tanks and combat infantry vehicles·
--the necessity of conducting an advance on foot;
--difficulties occurring in command and coordinated action;
--persistence in battles and changeability of situation;
--a low rate of advance;
--the necessity of creating an atypical combat grouping (assault groups);
--the greater use of small-arms ammunition and hand grenades for achieving the same results as in field conditions

Subunit Combat Grouping

The organizational structure of infantry subunits and their armaments enables them to conduct an advance on a city without the need to create units and assault groups. The following factors argue for conducting an advance in the typical subunit table-of-organization composition:

--The great fire power of available weapons, the possibility of conducting maneuvers, eas of command;
--the basic method of capturing a city and conducting battle in it is a movement to contact;
--the Typical grouping favors subduing a field-type defense of the enemy organized in the suburbs;
--any changes weaken the teamwork of garrisons, squads and platoons and complicate coordinated action;
--an excessively builtup structure on a horizontal plane (the creation of too large a number of elements of a combat grouping) complicates command;
--any changes mean a loss of time, enabling the defense forces to become better prepared for conducting the defense.

During an advance on the enemy by direct contact, surprise attack must be used to fight the battle on the outskirts of the city or in the suburbs in an unchanged grouping. In anticipation of struggles over strongly defended structures such as old forts, industrial plants, mines, ports, electric power plants and railroad stations, an assault group may be organized using the second echelon or company reserves. Assault units are created using an infantry battalion or a reinforced tank company. If the company is used as a basis of an assault group, the platoon may be an attack subgroup or a covering subgroup. The following is the typical composition of a platoon assault group:

--The attack subgroup composed of an infantry squad plus one or two rocket flamethrowers;
--the fire subgroup composed of one or two tanks, one or two guns, a mortar platoon, three hand antitank howitzers and two combat infantry vehicles;
--the covering subgroup composed of an infantry squad, one tank and one combat infantry vehicle;
--the mine-clearing subgroup--assigned combat engineers and a mine-clearing tank;
--the command subgroup composed of: The platoon commander, together with an observer and liaison personnel for the particular subgroups;
--depending on the need, a smokescreen subgroup may be organized.

The typical composition of a company assault group is the following:

--One or two assault subgroups, each composed of a reinforced infantry platoon;
--a fire subgroup composed of a mortar platoon, one or two tank platoons, part of the combat infantry vehicles;
--the support artillery composed of an artillery battery;
--the covering subgroup composed of an infantry platoon;
--the mine-clearing subgroup composed of an infantry squad, a squad of combat engineers, two to four chemical-warfare specialists and a mine-clearing tank;
--the medical-supplies subgroup;
--the command subgroup.

Movement to Contact in the Typical Grouping

Before attacking an urban area, the artillery and the air force should conduct preparation fire and set up smokescreens.

During its approach to the target of an assault, the infantry should be redeployed in combat infantry vehicles at a distance of 50 to 70 meters behind the tanks; on the other hand, when they have approached the enemy and are within the range of hand antitank weapons, they should attack on foot. Tanks and combat infantry vehicles reinforcing the infantry assault by firing from place should neutralize the opponent's weapons. When the infantry has reached a distance of 200 to 300 meters from the target of the assault, the task of the artillery will consist of shifting fire to strong points inside the defense, to reserves and to enemy artillery.

During the preparation fire of the advance, combat engineers should make a passageway through the enemy's engineer-constructed barriers.

Platoons (squads) covering each other should break into buildings (or each subunit should break into a different building) and seize the ground floor. Then part of the force should blockade basements and attack the upper stories via the stairs or openings in the ceilings of rooms, destroying the enemy by fire from automatic weapons and grenades. After the building is seized, it should be searched from the basement tothe attic to mop up remaining enemy groups.

Tanks and combat infantry vehicles should be redeployed along streets several tens of meters behind the infantry, so that buildings may be mopped up from tank destroyers.

Due to the limited capabilities of tanks and combat infantry vehicles for fire delivery at targets located on the upper stories of tall buildings, the need arises for systematically dividing fire vertically and toward the target. Tanks and combat infantry vehicles which are closer to the enemy should fight against targets located around buildings and in buildings on the lower stories; meanwhile tanks and combat infantry vehicles found in the second line or the second echelon should destroy targets located on the upper stories.

In areas with tall, narrow buildings and strongly fortified barricades, the use of a shallow but resolute enveloping movement will be characteristic. In an assault within a building, a vertical movement may likewise be used. This consists of a simultaneous assault from below, from the basement and the ground floor up, or an assault from above, through the attic and upper floors.

Every structure or building seized should be prepared for defense. At the same time, it will be the assault position for an assault on another structure. A further advance will consist of subsequent assaults made by the infantry on individual structures in coordinated action with tanks and combat engineers, with the use of reinforcement artillery and mortar fire.

As a rule, urban counterattacks are repelled from place from firing positions occupied in the seized structures.

The Advance of an Assault Group

The advance of an assault group may take place in the following way: The artillery and the air force neutralize the enemy at strong points, and then the weapons of the assault group destroy automatic weapons' emplacements and break through house walls or barricades, making passageways. The infantry takes an assault position near the target of the assault. At the end of the preparation fire of the advance, it fires at windows, doors, attics and embrasures, as well as at targets located in other places.

Under artillery covering fire, the mine-clearing group (the attack group unaided) makes passageways through engineer-constructed barriers and openings in the walls of buildings with the use of explosives. At a signal from the assault group commander, in one move the infantry advances to the target of the assault, throws grenades at the enemy through windows, doors and openings in walls, delivering fire from individual weapons, and then forces its way into the building. If the building is attacked by two assault groups (subgroups), their actions should be coordinated. For example, first one assault group (subgroup) forces its way into the building and blockades the basement and entry to the upper stories, and then the second assault group does the same. Having seized the building, the infantry should, above all not permit the enemy to exit from the basement. For this purpose, traps are set near basement exits or it is laid waste with the use of explosives.

In the event of the enemy's persistent defense, rocket-type flamethrowers may be used. These burn active firing points or set fire to the entire structure.

The fire subgroup (group) reinforces the combat of assault groups, destroys enemy weapons in an assaulted structure, neutralizes weapons in neighboring buildings and repels enemy counterattacks. The fire subgroup should avoid movement along wide and long streets. For the purpose of approaching the target of attack, it should make use of yards, parks, gardens, alleys and openings in walls.

Existing barricades in an urban area are penetrated by artillery and tank fire, together with the simultaneous movement of the infantry from the flanks and rear of the enemy defense, for the purpose of unblocking streets and enabling tank and combat infantry vehicle activity.

The covering subgroup provides cover for assault (attack) subgroups while they are attacking and struggling to seize the interior of a building. It destroys a counterattacking enemy and the enemy defending itself in neighboring buildings. The covering subgroup points out targets to tanks and combat infantry vehicles and provides cover for them against tank destroyers.

After a structure is seized, action is immediately taken to fortify it and adapt it to defense from all sides, since the enemy most often will launch a counterattack within a short time using forces garrisoned in the closest buildings or reserves (second echelon). The opponent may launch a counterattack on the inside or outside of a building. The assault group repels a counterattack from position, utilizing seized buildings as well as vantage points and connecting trenches outside buildings.

In the event that it is discovered that the enemy has retreated, the assault group embarks on a pursuit through yards, openings in walls, basements, squares, gardens and parks, making impossible the enemy's defense of successive buildings.

Having completed its task, the assault group acts in compliance with additional tasks received from the battalion commander.

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CLUJ-NAPOCA STUDENTS SURVEYED ON RELIGIOUS VIEWS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 7, 5 Apr 82 pp 17-19, 44

/Article by Achim Mihu: "The Requirements of an Atheistic Education Based on Knowledge of the Religious Phenomenon"/

/Text/ In recent decades, a relatively large number of articles, studies and books about atheistic education and the critical interpretation of illusory, unscientific views have been written in our country. Without denying the merits in the treatment of some aspects, we feel that in the majority of them they have not devoted satisfactory attention to knowing the real dimensions of the mystical phenomenon and of the state of atheism. Often, they have stayed on a speculative level and, not rarely, have devoted attention to matters that, although interesting and even topical, do not have a notable relevance for the states of affairs in our country.

In our opinion, ossified, dogmatized interpretations and formulations regarding the state of religiosity, the actual causes of its continuation, the relationships between science and religion, the content of atheism and so on existed and still exist in this field, owing to the fact that a concrete accent has not always been put on obtaining exact, extensive and deep knowledge. In what follows, on the basis of data and findings resulting from concrete sociological investigations, we will dwell on aspects that attract attention in connection with the need to carry out atheistic education on the basis of sound knowledge of its object. This necessity results not from speculative reasons (even if the speculation is done with good intentions) but from the reason of putting in realistic terms the matter of the effectiveness of the work of atheistic education.

Naturally, the ideas in this article and the way in which some problems are viewed and some conclusions are expressed do not pretend to be infallible and thus absolute and indisputable.

Atheistic education of the masses represents a basic component of the educational process in our society. Utilizing the formative vocation of the dialectical-materialistic outlook on the world and life and placing at its foundation everything advanced that mankind has created in the field of knowledge, such an education seeks to eliminate the illusions about the existence of a supernatural force, to implant

convictions about the materiality of the world. Viewing from this perspective, the great accomplishments in the field of cultivating the traits that define the makeup of the new man are noticeable.

The old and new sociological research that we did allows us to state that the values of the scientific world outlook constitute traits of the revolutionary consciousness, of the advanced attitude of the masses. Naturally, the premises from which atheistic education starts are not abstract but take into account real individuals, their concrete living conditions, their specific, differentiated mode of thinking. The persistent efforts to promote socialist culture and civilization are meant to contribute to the disappearance of the "gaps" between the material condition and the spiritual condition of the people. However, individuals with backward manifestations, with doubts about the explanations given by science to less investigated "zones," with distorted representations regarding the processes and phenomena in nature, society and thought, are encountered in our society. The existence of such individuals in different social strata and of the most varied ages and the persistence of unscientific views in some people constitute a phenomenon that can no longer be doubted. The work of education would be useless if it no longer had an object. While elementary good sense may be able to stop at recognizing this phenomenon as something that exists purely and simply, science, in contrast, through the specific character of its standards, requires rigorous determinations. It must answer the question of how extensive religiosity is and, eventually, must indicate the variation of this state according to certain criteria (age, sex, area of residence, profession and so on).

How necessary the answer to such problems is results, we believe, from the following example. In the case in which religion has a wholly insignificant place in the life and consciousness of the people, it is possible to speak of the presence of only religious remnants, and the ideological activity (and even the political activity) will devote peripheral attention to it. In contrast, if religiosity has dimensions beyond the value of the insignificant, then it must be viewed seriously, and it is normal for the educational and ideological work to be "calibrated" to this reality. Sometimes, it being felt that the expansion of the range of methods and forms of education and the intensification of the work, noted in reports and statements, are leading automatically to high effectiveness, it comes to be asserted that the state of religiosity is low or very low. However, knowledge of the respective state cannot and must not be replaced with an idyllic image that is sometimes asserted by the analyses without a critical and self-critical spirit that are made at various levels and sectors of our social life. In this field too, there is the real possibility, about which the secretary general of the party spoke in November of last year, that some, either out of ignorance or in order to distort certain states of affairs, may present unreal information and reports.

In connection with the state of religiosity in our country, we have on hand a few sociological investigations. Because they do not refer to the whole country and to all age and professional categories, they have a certain degree of bias. However, we consider it proper to say that it would be inefficient and unrealistic for us to wait until we have surveyed the whole country from the intended viewpoint and, only after that, to make the results known.

The information and data that we have on hand include age strata with a rather wide area of inclusion of the population of our country. If we view these strata in a logical connection, suggesting their conditioning, one should note, in particular,

the role of the families with children who are students (probably also pupils). Since all categories of families (from rural and urban areas, peasants, workers, intellectuals and so on) are present, through their children, in higher education, we can say that the data on this stratum have a wide degree of representativeness. Asked about their parents, a significant percentage of the students included in the sample for an opinion poll conducted at the end of last year[1] stated that they share nonatheistic views. From an investigation made among the pupils in several school units in the city of Bistrita,[2] it follows that part of them have distorted views, and others, although stating that science tells the truth about the world, declared that nonetheless they also think about a divine creator.

The registering of the categories of individuals over a long period--that is, from adolescence to adult age--and not just over a short span of time (pupils and students), permits the conclusion that we are not facing a situation in which the "fire" must be contained by firefighting measures, but a situation that presupposes the concerted and consistent action of all the factors, of the forms and methods of atheistic education.

In knowing the dimensions of the phenomenon tackled, the determination of its evolution is of particular importance. Naturally, it indicates changes within the consciousness of the people and, to a certain extent, successes or shortcomings in atheistic education. Regarding this matter, we are in the possession of data referring to the situation in the student environment, in which only decreases are not always registered.

With good reason, one of the theses usually endorsed by philosophers is that "religion is basically opposed to science."[3] In a recently published volume on the problems of atheistic education there is a chapter titled "The Radical Opposition Between Science and Religion."[4] If we view this thesis just from a theoretical angle, there are grounds that make us say that it is in keeping with reason, with knowledge. Science operates with truths or seeks to obtain them, while religion has as component elements ideas and beliefs which do not represent true, verifiable reflections on nature, society and man or which reflect reality in a distorted, fanciful way. Owing to this fact, science and religion not only cannot merge with one another but, moreover, are mutually opposed.

The respective philosophical thesis is viewed as having a particular practical value in the work of atheistic education. If there is an opposition between science and religion, then, logically, it follows that the popularization of science represents the main antidote for backward mentalities. Starting from some data, we decided to verify the thesis of the opposition between the two forms of human spirituality. We asked the subjects to give their opinion about the degree of reflection of reality that science, religion, philosophy and morals achieve. We assumed that if such an opposition exists, then those who feel that science offers the truth will not say at the same time that religion also represents a reflection of reality with value as truth.

The results of the research done in 1974 and of that in November 1981 confirm thee presence of an opposition between the responses given to the questions about science and those about religion only in the case of atheists. In contrast, it does not exist in the mind of nonatheists. In 1974, for example, out of the total of 271 persons who stated that religion offers the truth about man, 236 attributed to science

at the same time value as true knowledge. Last year's research reveals that nearly all of those who said that religion has value as truth assert, at the same time, that science also reflects the truth.

The fact that in the mind of nonatheists the awareness of the opposition between science and religion is veiled cannot be viewed merely as something interesting, possibly unexplainable or without theoretical relevance and, in particular, without importance in the field of atheistic education. The attitude of not taking it into consideration is foreign to the ethics of science and contrary to the Marxist philosophical outlook's openness to the new.

In our opinion, there are at least a few ways to interpret the nonconfirmation of the opposition between science and religion in the case of nonatheists. First, it could be said that, precisely because they are nonatheists, the nonatheists are not aware of the opposition to which we referred. If we want them to become atheists, then we must raise them to the level of awareness of this opposition by drawing them closer to science, by raising their level of general and scientific education. In the case of the research done by us, we do not consider such an interpretation valid. It cannot be said that the students were not and are not in continual and wide contact with the successes of science. Second, we ought to view the matter of the awareness of the opposition between science and religion not merely as an indifferent juxtaposition of them. Their relationship must be brought out from a viewpoint that may go beyond science's disposedness proper. Such a function can be fulfilled by the dialectical-materialistic philosophy, which, with skill and tact, must give an atheistic significance or direction to the results of science. Of course, it must not turn out that the Marxist philosophy is superimposed on science or turns its back on science. Only in connection with science can it successfully fulfill its functions of atheistic education. This is precisely why--we believe--this education is called "scientific" (therefore from science) "materialistic" (therefore from philosophy).

The existence of a certain "gap" between atheistic education and the philosophy taught in the institutes of science and higher education follows because, in the research done in 1974 and 1981, many of those who exhibited a religious mentality are not aware of the opposition between religion and the Marxist philosophy. In addition to this, we could consider that a distorted attitude and, in general, a distorted mentality are not automatically amenable to science. In any case, the problem has to be viewed and studied (especially) with the utmost care. It would be fitting if, instead of endlessly repeating the thesis of the opposition between science and religion, the philosophy and sociology studies would approach it more analytically and not from dogma to reality but from reality to theory. Some contemporary religions no longer have, in principle, the same nihilistic, rigid, dogmatic attitude toward science or, at least, toward some sciences or toward some scientific discoveries. This, for instance, the case with the Seventh Day Adventists: "The tendency to use the achievements of scientific and technical progress to substantiate its "rightness" and the pragmatic attitude toward science represent characteristic traits of Adventism."[5]

In our opinion, the absence of an opposition between science and religion in the consciousness of nonatheists (in the research taken into account, of course, although we assume that the fact has a much more general character) constitutes a meaningful result of the sociological investigation both for understanding the state of religiosity and for carrying out atheistic education. In the first case, we ought to

eliminate any theoretical ultraconservatism and not consider that, inevitably, where there is science and where the people adopt it religion no longer finds any place to survive. In our opinion, it is not excluded but is wholly possible that in certain cases and periods a rise in the level of scientific education may lead not to a decline in the state of religiosity but to the preservation of its earlier level. In the second case, in carrying out the work of atheistic education it must be borne in mind that to bet everything on a single card--that is, on the spread of science--cannot be a practice always crowned with complete success. Science has a very great educational importance, but it is not the only condition for the combating of religious mentalities.

In dealing with religion, such subjects as the following seem obsessive: religion as a social phenomenon; humanism and religion; criticism of theological doctrines referring to the essence and role of religion; the social role of religion in different historical stages; socialism and religion; man and the forces of nature; what religion is and how it appeared; and so on. It would be useful to also study the theoretical internal structure of this form of social consciousness in order to be able to know how the zones of ideas and beliefs are divided up, in the order of importance, and what changes occur at this level as a result of the passage of time and, implicitly, of contemporary or very recent social changes. Knowledge of this aspect of the problem seems to us extremely important in the sense of adequating and concretizing the atheistic education carried out by philosophy, the natural sciences and the sociohuman sciences.

In order to find the zones of influence within the religious consciousness and their weight, we composed questions for a questionnaire from the main "arguments" of an etiological, cosmological, teleological, ontological, axiological, empirical, epistemological and anthropological order in favor of religion mentioned in the specialized literature. The analysis of the data obtained poses more problems.

First, it is a question of the weight of the axiological "argument" in the structure of the zones of influence of the religious consciousness. Although it is subordinate to the general axiology (the problem of choice, the definition of value), it nonetheless has a particular character, involving the field of morals. This result is not odd. It correlates with other data of the investigations in 1974 and 1981. Asked if religion does or does not have value as truth or practical utility in three fields--that is, those of nature, society and man--the highest percentage of the responses in favor of religion in both pieces of research occurred in the section on knowledge of man and improvement of him. Some data referring to the causes of the state of religiosity also support the same finding. The empirical "argument" also has a significant weight.

Second, there is posed the problem of how suitable the philosophy textbook in secondary education, the university courses of the same nature, and ideological education of all types are for the task of answering and combating the two "arguments" that hold the top spots in the metaphysical structure of the religious consciousness. In our opinion, in the above-mentioned means of education the socially necessary attention is not devoted at all to the moral problems of man. At the same time, while a whole series of sensible things are said about the origin of religion in the part of the philosophy textbooks and courses on historical materialism, in contrast, the matter of the continuity and persistence of religion over the course of time and in all societies to the present is not, in fact, treated. The references to the

relationship between socialism and religion take into account, in particular, the party's and socialist state's position on religion.

Along the same line of thinking, we ought to say that even the epistemological "argument" does not get the necessary response in the philosophy textbooks and courses. True, many things are said about science in them, but next to nothing is said about the delicate and human process of scientific knowledge and creation. The references to the psychology of creation are practically nonexistent. In our opinion, it would be advisable for the teaching works used to teach philosophy in secondary school and college, without ignoring the general structure of the discipline, to devote special space and concern to the subjects where now the phenomenon of "good conductibility of a religious mentality" is clearly more conspicuous. The philosophy textbooks and courses must not be made up according to some apparently absolute recipes. It is very well known that Marx felt that the essence of philosophy lies in its connection with the practical requirements of the material and spiritual activities. By absolutizing a certain "recipe" for the structure of the Marxist philosophy according to chapters and problems and not taking into consideration the requirements of reality, one can arrive at serious errors of a theoretical and practical order.

In the research done, we had in mind another aspect of the structure of the religious phenomenon. It is a question of the presence of important, relatively distinct aspects of this phenomenon. We took into consideration the gnoseological dimension consisting mainly of recognizing or not recognizing the value of truth in religious ideas, we asked the subjects to give their opinion on the praxiological or transformative disposedness of religion, its metaphysical content (the indicated "arguments") interested us, we had in mind the matter of the explanation of the religious phenomenon and the attitude of those who exhibit a religious mentality. The research confirmed the existence of these aspects and revealed their relative independence from one another or, in other words, their mutual irreducibility, with the phenomenon appearing on all planes and in unequal proportions. This is, for instance, the situation with the attitudinal dimension. We obtained the data needed for circumscribing it (the research in 1981) with the help of the answers to the question: in your relations with other people, how do you proceed? The response-variants, with their statistical weights, were: if the one with whom I have a certain relation (of marriage, of kinship, of friendship, of work and so on) is not religious, I try to convince him to be, 2.24 percent; if he is not an atheist, I try to be, 20.33 percent; he can believe what he wants, 77.44 percent.

This field of the structure of the religious phenomenon compels us to consider not only at the level of journalism, studies or books the fact that the phenomenon is extremely complex. Being spread over so many dimensions (moreover, we suspect that those indicated do not include all of them), we feel that the propagation of science must be intensified. But we would not be realistic if we believed that merely by means of this the belief in the supernatural could exhibit a marked decline. Usually, when the matter of the factors, forms and methods of atheistic education is discussed in our country, there are taken into account the school, political and ideological education, the activity in the field of culture and art, the means of mass communication and information, the dissemination of scientific and technical knowledge. There are omitted, in this way, the means that could influence the praxiological dimension and, in a certain sense, the attitudinal one.

Let us refer to a few cases. Correlating the degree of religiosity with the grades obtained by students, we found that to a lesser extent those with high grades are

nonatheists. Hence it could be concluded that, in a way, the whole process of exigently and responsibly raising the student's level of professional training can have consequences with an atheistic character. Professional satisfaction seems to be a good atheism-conducting element. In the variant of an open-ended response to the question referring to the causes of the maintenance of religion in our country, opinions relevant to the matter to which we are referring were written down. In this regard, we note just one response: "Communist morals are very human, but their principles do not always apply. In what should people believe?"

In view of the weight of the problems of man and of the moral problems in the composition of the religious phenomenon, as well as the praxiological and attitudinal dimension of the latter, we suggest that the practical, continual and nonconcessive observance of a high human morality represents a means of atheistic education of at least the same importance and effectiveness as the work of scientific-materialistic education. Of course, there is not posed, in this case, the problem of continually repeating the provisions of the Code of the Principles and Norms of Communist Work and Life and of Socialist Ethics and Equity, but of breathing new life into them in the world of everyday social relations. Under any circumstances, each person--and especially the party members--must conform exigently and freely to them by virtue of the imperatives of his own conscience. Only by also taking into consideration this aspect does atheistic education become indeed scientific-materialistic and, at the same time, revolutionary-humanistic education.

In connection with the causes of the maintenance of the belief in a divine force we will refer only to some aspects based to a certain extent on the data from the research done.

First, we asked the subjects to state their opinion on the main causes. They were given nine possibilities of responses formulated on the basis of the specialized literature (they reflect largely what is usually said about the explanation of the existence of religion under socialism) and an open-ended variant (where they could write down what they wanted). Combining these responses into just a few groups, we obtained the following situation: the force of tradition and customs, 75.80 percent; the influence of the family, relatives and friends, 20.01 percent; religious explanations, 24.14 percent; the activity of clergymen and religious institutions, 28.27 percent; inadequacy in the field of the work of atheistic education, 15.57 percent; causes indicated by the subjects, 2.38 percent.

The percentage attained by the force of traditions and customs is, naturally, something to think about. Is it a question of a real attempt to explain the maintenance of religion or a self-justification? At any rate, we feel that the problems of traditions and customs must be viewed carefully and elucidated theoretically, with attention and skill. What is their value? Observing certain traditions and customs does not automatically mean acceptance of all traditions and customs. In our opinion, this field, which constitutes an object of research for sociology and social anthropology, has been almost completely underrated in our sociohuman sciences. At the same time, it has not been assimilated, either, by the lessons on historical materialism that are taught to pupils and students. Let us recognize openly that the references to this matter are peripheral and unconvincing for the subject under discussion, that the structures of certain teaching and educational means have become an obstacle in the way of a more vigorous affirmation of socially validated requirements.

Second, starting from the investigations made by some researchers, as well as from those to which we also referred, we tried to determine the influence that the family has on the mentality of young people. The problem is not at all simple. It seems that the family influences the religious state through the profession of the father and the mother. Students with parents who are farmers, laborers and skilled workers are more exposed to these mentalities. It is quite astonishing that the same thing, not exactly to the same extent, can be said about the professions of doctor and teacher. Both of these professions, through their specific character, involving direct contact with people, can be a source of religious influence not only for family members but also for others. The parents' religion too favors the religious mentality. The best media for this mentality are the neo-Protestant and Protestant religions. Out of the number of subjects who were taken into consideration in the research in 1981, 29.96 percent of them feel that the parents influence them. Of the parents, to a more significant extent, the mother proves to be, more than the father, a persuasive factor for religious mentalities.

We would like to also refer to a more general aspect. The problem that is often posed in connection with the relationship between socialism and religion is the following: does religion under socialism have an objective basis or not? Most of the time, the response is, explicitly or implicitly, negative. Under socialism it is said that religion does not have objective causes, with the exploitative social classes being eliminated. Naturally, the immediate consequence of this viewpoint is that the explanations of the maintenance of religion under socialism are of a subjective nature. A derived consequence of it is the absolutizing connection of the maintenance of religion with the deficiencies in atheistic education.

As is known, Marx said that "the religious reflex of the real world cannot, in general, disappear except when the relations of everyday practical life represent in a current way clear and rational relations of the people with one another and with nature. The process of social life--that is, the process of material production--cannot dispel the bank of mystical fog that covers its face except when it, a product of people associated by free consent, is under their conscious and methodical control. For this purpose, however, there must be a material base for society--that is, a number of material conditions of existence, which, in their turn, are the natural product of long and difficult historical development." The achievement of these premises even under the conditions of socialism is a long, extremely complex and not at all easy (moreover, unexpectedly hard) process. At the same time, we consider it proper to say that Marx did not picture the current state and potentiality of weaponry and the current arms race or the deterioration of man's relations with nature. At present, mankind is going through a world crisis, and the evolution of socialism is and can be marked at times by errors, economic and even social difficulties. All these things can have repercussions, in unsuspected forms and intensities, on the life and consciousness of the people and, consequently, on the state of religiosity.

The category of the subjective factors (tradition, customs, the influence of the family, gaps in general and, especially, scientific education and so on) has a significant weight in the causation of the state of religiosity in our country. At the same time, and above all, it would not be right if we were to bow down before the idea that the state of religiosity, among other things, reflects inevitably a certain situation on an existential plane. In principle, there are no obstacles that would stop the social consciousness of the people from being in advance of certain negative objective conditions, be they hangovers or new phenomena. In this regard--as Comrade

Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out--it is necessary to eliminate the shortcomings in the political and educational activity, to decisively combat obscurantism, to raise to levels of maximum exactingness and effectiveness the entire work of scientific-materialistic and revolutionary-humanistic education.

FOOTNOTES

1. The research was performed under the aegis of the party committee of the Cluj-Napoca University Center. Some 18 teaching personnel from the departments of social sciences, and the dean's offices and the party committees and bureaus in colleges and institutes, made their contribution to collecting the data. The sample represented 10.85 percent of the available student population (about 15,000 students). The automatic data processing was done with the aid of the computer center at "Babes-Bolyai" University.

2. Ana Pop, "Reason and Affectivity Must Be Involved to the Same Extent," in "Educatia Materialist-Stiintifica a Elevilor si Studentilor" /Scientific-Materialistic Education of Pupils and Students/, 1981, pp 24-30, a supplement published by REVISTA DE PEDAGOGIE.

3. "Dictionar de Filozofie" /Dictionary of Philosophy/, Politica Publishing House, 1978, p 594.

4. "Educatia Materialist-Stiintifica si Umanist-Revolutionara" /Scientific-Materialistic and Revolutionary-Humanistic Education/, lectures, a collection of texts, Didactica and Pedagogica Publishing House, 1980, pp 22 et seqq.

5. V. N. Lentin, "The Seventh Day Adventists and Science," in "Influenta Vietii Sociale Asupra Religiei" /The Influence of Social Life on Religion/, a documentary notebook, No 15, 1980, "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy.

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ROLE OF PEDAGOGICAL RESEARCH IN IMPROVING EDUCATION OF YOUTH

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 3, 5 Feb 82 pp 14-16, 37

/Article by Reader Dr Ioan Jinga, school inspector general for Bucharest municipality: "What Do Schools Expect of Pedagogical Research in Improving Education of Youth?"/

/Text/ The last few decades have marked a period of profound changes in education and instruction. Romanian schools have undergone a radical and regular renovation chiefly aimed at their social mission and their best possible correlation with the present and future needs of socialist society. The RCP has mobilized all of society's progressive forces to form the fully developed personality and the new human nature, but the schools have been given the main responsibility.

Accordingly the schools' mission is far broader than it was in the years before the socialist revolution, although there are also opinions to the effect that the role of educational institutions has been diminished by the expansion of the mass media and other educational influences available to society. And the fact that a quarter of the Romanian population is actually attending schools and that practically the entire population is covered by constant education, including the "third age-group," also indicates that the schools as main institutions of education, instruction and culture are playing a growing role in preparing the young generations (and not them alone) for work and life.

But the highly urgent problem that arises is that of finding the best ways of rationalizing the process of education and instruction in such a way that as many pupils as possible will be well qualified under the conditions of mass education and their theoretical, practical and general-cultural training will enable them to integrate effectively in a useful social activity and and use their aptitudes and talents in various extraprofessional activities for the full development of each one's sense of responsibility.

It is generally known what the educators must do in order to rationalize education and enhance its formative-indoctrinational effectiveness. Pedagogic research, the technical publications and publishing houses, and the improvement courses have done a great deal to place education and instruction on a scientific basis and to publicize the research findings and good results. Meanwhile the guidance and control organs have made a greater effort to interest teachers in the problems of modernizing education.

In practice, however, the new conception of education (based on the idea of "constant education") despite its constructive implications (but often inconvenient ones for educators) has not gone very far beyond discussions and some modest attempts. It is the fault, if we may call it that, both of the schools (especially the inertia that still persists among the teachers and their resistance to changes) and of pedagogical research, which avoids some of the more complicated problems facing teachers and does not make a consistent enough effort to provide models and solutions of operational value. And even the research results corroborated by experience are assimilated but slowly because they require a greater expenditure of energy (intellectual and physical) on the part of educators, and an effort to think that some do not attempt sufficiently and others cannot make.

And so the questions naturally arise, "What must we do" in research and education and what do the schools expect of pedagogical research? Unquestionably a great deal, but with the qualification that while listing new expectations and demands upon scientific research education itself must more promptly accept and much more widely apply the previous results of Romanian as well as foreign research and adapt the latter to the particular conditions of the Romanian schools.

In a series that we consider determined by priorities, we think scientific research must first provide the decision-makers with better methods for:

Selection, Training and Improvement of Teachers

This is a current requirement for all levels of education, but especially for secondary and higher education. Since secondary education, for example, is predominantly industrial (It is known that 90 percent of the high-school pupils are to be enrolled in industrial high schools by the end of 1985), we can no longer tolerate general cultural professors in those institutions who have no technological training in keeping with the curricula of the schools wherein they are teaching, nor any engineers or other specialists with no teaching aptitude or psychopedagogical disciplines. Then by what criteria are the future high-school professors to be trained and selected (regardless of their specialties, and how will they be subsequently improved as to subject matter and teaching methods?

The same questions apply to educators and teachers, who are still trained in a "traditional" way although the last few decades have brought major changes in both preschool and primary education: Preschool education is an integral part of the educational system, taking over some of the instructive-educational tasks of primary education, mathematics is taught in the modern way in grades 1-4, practical application has been emphasized throughout the educational process, etc.

On the basis of studies and experiments to examine the professional behavior of the graduates of pedagogical high schools in the light of the current demands upon the educating and teaching function, the subject institutes could provide the decision-making authorities with measures for reorganizing the educational plans and school programs and for improving the educational process as a whole, in accordance with the new functions of those categories of educators.

For the same purpose, the problem of improving the system for selecting teachers in higher education for purposes of training personnel for preuniversity education should be reconsidered, as well as the need of developing a pedagogy of higher education in general and technical education in particular, naturally in collaboration with the universities themselves and especially with the departments of pedagogy and psychology.

Accordingly we regard training teachers for all kinds of schools as the primary problem of pedagogical research, since the quality of teacher training decisively determines the quality of the training of preschool children, pupils, students, the labor force and the individual as a Man.

Of course the problems of training and improving teachers, which are outlined here in a general way, must be developed on the basis of the findings and the conclusions drawn in the "field" by the central and local control organs and on the basis of the discussions between the researchers themselves and the schoolmen on all levels of education.

Higher Standards for School Training

Under conditions of compulsory 10-year general education (and 12-year in the future) complete advancement of the pupils is sometimes viewed with suspicion and provokes many discussions among educators, parents and the public. Some feel that repeating cannot be eliminated in primary education or curtailed in gymnasium and high-school education without making concessions in the quality of the pupils' training and "closing the eyes" to deficiencies in that training. The problem is certainly not a simple one, or soluble under conditions of traditional education, wherein the teacher or professor applied the same pedagogic "treatment" to all pupils. The new situation primarily requires a new conception of teaching-learning and the relationship of the educator to the educated, as well as a new didactic strategy shifting the emphasis from the informative to the formative and from treatment "en bloc" to individual treatment according to the pupil's psychophysical characteristics, the level of his training at a given point, his pace and capacity for learning, his interest in his education, his family conditions, etc. This new situation also calls for more intensive and efficient use of the modern facilities for study with which the schools are equipped and of the psychopedagogic research results, especially those in the field of human learning and scholastic learning in particular.

Scientific research should publicize these results and adapt them to the various cycles of education and scholastic disciplines, organizing pilot educational units to test new ways and means of instruction and new tools for evaluating the effectiveness of instructive-educational work.

It may be said that this has been started. The Institute of Pedagogical Research, the School Inspectorate of Bucharest Municipality and the Teachers Fund established educational units (on various levels) last year to regularly apply the main research results in order to rationalize the instructive-educational process. These schools will gradually become standard units primarily for exchanges of experience, pedagogical procedure and improvement programs. The present problem is that of expanding, diversifying and intensifying this collaboration between research and school practice in order to make it a coordinated system characterized by a continuous and (especially) tangible effort toward improvement.

Many schools wishing to rationalize the instructive-educational process are taking a number of initiatives and conducting experiments, some of which are of certain value while others are still debatable from the standpoint of didactic effectiveness or even counterindicated. They are trying to organize teaching-learning activity more efficiently than in the ordinary classroom (for example, in rooms for disciplines or in "specialized halls" for grades 1-4), to find ways of grouping school youth and organizing the lessons to obtain maximum results with all categories of pupils (allowing

for their actual potentials of course), to use visual propaganda to accomplish teaching objectives, etc. Such initiatives are going on in the schools of all counties, and interesting discussions of this subject were held in Timisoara at the beginning of January, in the course of the improvement effort organized by the Ministry of Education and Instruction with the school inspectors general throughout Romania.

It may be said that didactic innovations have been adopted in practice ahead of scientific research. This is no bad thing in view of the huge creative potential that the schools have, but it presents a problem because research should "descend" to scholastic realities, it should be more familiar with these initiatives, and it should analyze them and decide upon their pedagogic suitability and efficiency as well as the resulting economic effects.

The same problem arises in finding better ways of rationalizing indoctrinational work with preschool children and pupils and with all youth in the educational units. In this connection, the session of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee on 22 January 1982 approved some measures to improve political indoctrination in schools and to develop the role of the party organizations and organs and heighten the responsibility of all youth and children's organizations in order to radically improve the revolutionary communist indoctrination and education of the young generation for life and work.

Actually there are serious shortcomings in this field that have been criticized repeatedly but persist because the educators do not invariably have a methodological "arsenal" to permanently resolve the educational problems confronting them in their daily activity. Education by work and for work, practical education, patriotic education and atheist education, despite the progress made, are marked by a certain routine character and do not always have the expected effectiveness, leading us to believe that it is not a wquestion of the educators' good intentions alone but also of their professional competence in the measures taken to mold the new human nature.

To the best of our knowledge, the Institute of Pedagogical Research has a program organized for two main purposes, (1) research on the structure and evolution of the formation of communist awareness and the process of communist education, and (2) research on rationalization of sociomoral and socioprofessional development, socialization and integration of the personality and on organizational and educational methods for increasing the efficiency of the productive, economic and social activity of the workers' and educational collectives.

It is important for these studies to provide educators with models of practical, effective action and appropriate tools.

Content of Education Correlated with Socioeconomic Evolution

Another major aim of pedagogical research is to integrate education with production and research, and this also presents a number of problems in connection with better correlation of society's manpower requirements with youth's aptitudes and wishes, changing the attitudes of parents, professors and enterprise managers toward production procedures, and finding better ways of inculcating the knowledge and habits essential to the occupational training of the future graduates in view of the constant changes taking place in the production process due to the impact of science upon manufacturing technologies and to scientific organization of production and labor.

Previous experience has proved that practical instruction in compact periods (merged procedure) produces better results. But this form of organization does not fully meet the requirements of the pupils' advance theoretical training, nor those for correlating the programs in the basic disciplines with the technological ones. To be sure an intensive scientific study allowing for all parameters of organization of the educational process and providing optimal ways of alternating theoretical with practical instruction would be welcome.

I consider it no less important to find more inspired means of harmonizing the aspects of education as completely as possible, for we cannot overlook the fact that the cultural and general-human side of the future worker is somewhat indistinct, although it is our duty to train people with a high level of culture and knowledge who think variously, flexibly and creatively and who can perform but also manage, think for themselves, and play an active part in all civic affairs.

In another connection, we expect research to provide new ways of improving the content of education, programs and textbooks, which do not yet entirely meet the requirements of life and of economic, scientific and cultural development. There is still a considerable gap between the values they impart and those essential to a useful social activity and between individual aspirations and the needs of society. If such correlations are to be achieved, the content of education (viewed in the light of constant education and therefore involving all elements of its system) must provide for consistent accomplishment of the aims of education, which aims are determined in their turn by the political, social and cultural aims.

The authors of the programs and textbooks (from preschool to university education) too readily overlook the fact that instruction and education go on throughout people's whole lifetimes, that such changes are taking place in the realm of knowledge that training of the encyclopedic type is practically out of the question, and that it is becoming urgently necessary to relieve the programs of redundant, useless elements and to supplement the disciplines by individual study, retraining or other forms of instruction in or out of school according to the requirements of the occupation performed and the interests of each in the light of his own aptitudes and wishes.

Modular education, whereby the content of school programs is organized according to "modules of disciplines" that can be combined according to need by removing some and adding others, has been discussed for a long time and would best meet the present demands of multiqualification and evolution of the process of scientific knowledge. But this method of organizing the content of education has received only a very limited application in practice because, among other things, pedagogical research has not yet provided any methods of modular organization of school programs for various subjects of education, just as the programs and textbooks contain only quite haphazard guidance as to the criteria for optimal selection and use of information and for organizing individual study and the task of learning in general, although self-teaching is gaining more and more ground and supporters under conditions of constant education.

Teachers training itself should be reconsidered in this light, with emphasis upon the educators' contact with the world of work and the modern occupations and upon the efforts to familiarize them with the new content education is to have and with the idea that they themselves should participate in the process of renovating the programs and textbooks.*

*"Educational Programs and Constant Education," coordinated by L. d'Hainaut and published recently by the Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House under UNESCO sponsorship, contains many useful suggestions for researchers and particularly points out the urgency of this problem.

It is planned to generalize high-school education with an increase in the proportion of evening studies up to 30 percent. Under those circumstances the wish of many evening pupils and professors for textbooks containing the methods and techniques of intellectual work, as well as those for evaluation and self-evaluation of the effectiveness of instructive-educational activity, should not be disregarded.

Scientific research could be of more help (by involving the schools in studies and experiments) in finding better methods for multiqualification in keeping with the requirements of an increasingly pronounced occupational mobility and also for familiarizing pupils with the mechanism of workers self-management and self-administration, since they are problems that must be treated more seriously in gymnasiums and high schools in collaboration with the enterprises wherein the pupils acquire production experience.

The need for pupils to participate on research teams with professors and other specialists in solving problems confronting the economy leads us to suggest development of a scientific research methodology that will be accessible to pupils in the higher grades, although even the professors could benefit by it.

Research should make a greater effort to integrate the new mass media in the educational process. It is true that the Institute of Pedagogic Research has organized a laboratory for multimedia means wherein the efficient use of such modern educational means is demonstrated, and various schools are trying to introduce and use them on a broader scale. But the most efficient ways of doing this have not yet been found, so that expanded use of the new teaching technologies will be resisted by the teachers, who resort to them primarily in case of inspections and then quite awkwardly.

That is the state of application of the more recent theories of teaching and differentiated and individualized teaching activities and other current aspects of modern education, about which the teachers know something but not enough to apply them efficiently in current practice.

Management of Units of Education and Instruction

In everyday school practice, the qualitative leap society expects in the all-around training of the young generations according to the present and future requirements of socioeconomic development depends on the way the units of education and instruction are managed.

In the course of time a number of improvements in the selection of teachers for administrative work made it possible for directors and deputy directors to be professors with good political-ideological and specialized backgrounds, but they were less knowledgeable about efficient methods and principles of management. And the works published in Romania about scientific management of education and schools are generally based upon practical experience (by no means negligible) and study of the technical literature on management of economic units.

School managers expect pedagogical research to provide solutions to their daily problems and especially methods of scientific organization of the work to obtain the best results with the existing material resources and the employed specialists. But the directors still do not know enough about working on a team, making the most use of the organizational framework created by collective management and making decisions within that framework, organizing and maintaining efficient control, keeping records and

checking fulfillment of the assigned tasks. They have difficulties in evaluating the teachers' work, usually doing it empirically although the results of instruction and education depend to a great extent upon the quality of the control and guidance. The school managers very readily accept the professors' explanations and justifications in the absence of any clear formulas for differentiated organization of teaching and learning according to the situation and each pupil's individual traits.

The same problem arises in connection with evaluation of the results obtained by pupils. At the suggestion of the Ministry of Education and Instruction the Institute of Pedagogical Research recently prepared compulsory minimum standards of knowledge according to cycles of education, which standards are to be tested and applied if they are borne out by practical experience.

But evaluation of youth's training cannot be confined solely to the knowledge acquired. Therefore the studies must be continued so that administrative and teaching school personnel can be provided with the necessary tools to measure and evaluate the other components of the pupils' training such as habits, behavior, aptitudes (especially occupational) etc.

The Romanian technical literature is particularly inadequate as regards regional management of education, including school inspections. The methods of planning, performing and exploiting a school inspection are very diverse, but in general the inspectors lack an adequate conceptual and methodological background. This is another field to which pedagogical research must make its contribution, thus helping to clarify and resolve some problems vital to education as a whole.

Concept of "Effectiveness of Education"

As a corollary of the foregoing considerations the meaning of the concept of "effectiveness of education" requires more precise clarification, going beyond general and often ambiguous pronouncements to specify, from the operational standpoint, just when an instructive-educational activity can be considered effective and how this can be measured.

So that the effectiveness of school activity will not be evaluated unilaterally, according to the percentage of promotions alone, the Ministry of Education and Instruction has devised a "system of indicators" calculated according to the planned levels: state of teaching in cycles, losses of pupils and the unschooled, fulfillment of the scholarship plan, the commodity output plan, prizes won in the competitions in disciplines and trades, state of discipline among pupils and teachers, teachers' participation in retraining (attendance, graduation), hiring of graduates of the first and second stages of high school in production, pupils' participation in patriotic work, number of pupils in the applied-technical circles, pupils in the artistic circles and units, value of the output produced through integration (including that for self-equipment), pupils enrolled in the vacation programs, value obtained from collection of medicinal plants, bottles, jugs, waste paper, scrap iron and the other recoverable and reusable materials.

It is the duty of pedagogical research to consider the ideas basic to this form of overall evaluation of the effectiveness of school activities and to check the application of the said indicators in order to rule later on the criteria upon which a more detailed system of indicators could be based that would permit an exhaustive evaluation of the effectiveness of the instructive-educational activity performed by each

educator, by the school unit, and on the regional and national levels. It is also necessary to to specify some "instruments" for measuring and evaluating the effectiveness of education, instruments to be available to the teachers and the managers in the guidance system as well.

These are a few of the many considerations now confronting Romanian schools on various levels and their guidance and control organs. Such urgent problems are awaiting suggestions and solutions from pedagogic research that will enhance the quality and effectiveness of education as a whole as a major means of training the labor force and forming the new man.

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PARTY VIEWS ON STATE, SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 3, 5 Feb 82 pp 24-26

/Article by Ladislau Lorincz/

/Text/ The new developmental stage of Romanian socialist society inaugurated by the 12th Party Congress opened up new prospects for intensified socialist democracy, improved uniform planning and management of all fields of social activity, and intensified workers self-management and self-administration. All this naturally requires further democratization of the state organization, institutionalization and efficient operation of the forms of social management with the participation of the broad masses. The party's and state's unremitting efforts toward socioeconomic development and improved social and production relations have brought about radical changes in Romanian society. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in November 1981, "Romania has become a powerful socialist state with a modern industry and an advanced agriculture in full development and improvement."

The socialist state's exercise, through its organs and bodies, of some important functions in organization and development of the socioeconomic processes is an objective requirement for the best fulfillment of the complex tasks of the present stage.

But enlarging the state's functions in uniform management and organization of all social activity does not mean placing it above society, developing its administrative aspects or "statizing" social relations and processes. On the contrary, it means rapprochement and osmosis between the state and society as a whole. The state's role grows with intensification and improvement of socialist democracy and it is organically involved with the latter and with the forms of workers self-management and self-administration.

As the RCP secretary general said, there must be an increasingly close involvement of the activity of the state organs with the new democratic bodies as they gradually take over a number of functions in planning and management of socioeconomic activity. This provides for true democratization of the state organs and strengthens the masses' role in approving and implementing decisions as well as working class control over the state organs' entire activity.

As the representative of all society, the socialist state reflects and defends the basic interests of the working class as the main force for social progress as well as those of the peasantry and the other social categories. It can be said that in the

present stage of national development the socialist state is the largest political organization of the workers' power, under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party, and the chief instrument with which the fully developed socialist society is being constructed.

Like any social-political phenomenon the socialist state is not fixed once and for all but is subject to profound changes generated by the changes in economic development and in the class structure of society. Thus the functions of the Romanian socialist society, its organizational structure, and its working methods change from one stage of socialist construction to another. At a certain stage the Romanian socialist state could be considered one of dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the present circumstances, as Nicolae Ceausescu says, "In view of the changes that have taken place in Romanian socialist society and the new democratic forms of management, we can say with no fear of error that the idea of dictatorship of the proletariat no longer corresponds to the current historic social realities in Romania."

Upon gaining political power and abolishing exploitation, the proletariat became a leading working class as owner, producer and beneficiary of the national wealth. Such substantive changes have not only theoretical but especially practical implications, being ultimately aimed at the formation (through the alliance of the working class with the other classes and social strata of workers) of a broad social base of political power exercised in the entire people's interest. Under such circumstances all Romanian citizens regardless of nationality, class or social stratum participate in social-political activity, and our existing forms of management of the state and of the whole political system reflect the broadest democracy.

Role and Evolution of State Functions in the Present Stage

As a political instrument of the entire people's power, it is the mission of the Romanian socialist state to implement the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism. A series of management organs and instruments were established in order to implement that strategic objective. Exercise of the state's functions of social organization and management heavily depends upon its ability to convert the socioeconomic and political objectives to legal standards by enacting generally binding rules of behavior.

The basic objectives of the Romanian socialist state and its particular role are implemented by means of the functions determined by the nature and tasks of the state in each stage of its development. Therefore the state's functions are not immutable but evolve with the changes in the social structure. Accordingly a number of functions are modified and transformed as they are taken over and exercised (with another content to be sure) by the democratic bodies of the masses in the course of worker self-management and the masses' participation in all social activities.

No function of the state is established haphazardly or outside its fields of basic activity, nor is any kind of activity of a state nature or implemented through the state organs a function of the state. If we accepted such a view it would mean there are as many functions as activities implemented by the socialist state. What qualifies an activity (or group of activities) as a state function is its fundamental nature. By the time a given stage is over, the content of a given state function has changed, its aspects have been diminished or amplified, and new functions have appeared while others have vanished. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "In the

course of building the fully developed socialist society and creating the conditions for transition to communism, the functions of the state will be changed even further and its internal activity will be concentrated upon organizing production and scientific and cultural affairs."

Among the functions of the Romanian socialist state the economic one plays a particularly important part. The extent and importance of this function are explained by the state's critical role in uniform planning and organization of the national economy and in solving the problems of social activities. Its exercise is based upon the Uniform National Plan, which provides for harmonious development of the productive forces throughout the whole nation, improvement of social relations, and the constant rise of the people's level of civilization and material and cultural living standard. In the exercise of the economic function the state organs try to improve all economic planning and management in industry, agriculture, transportation etc. and also in their sectors and subsectors. The socialist state uses the Uniform National Plan for Socioeconomic Development as a major means of regulating all economic processes, since planning is a basic element of all socioeconomic and political management of the nation.

The particularly complex problems of the current five-year plan naturally require the state organs (ministries, centrals, economic units etc.) to play a more active part in managing all economic activities, organizing production, and eliminating the defects that still persist in some units and even in some ministries. As it was said at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in November 1981, many enterprises and some ministries have not shown themselves prepared to take the firmest measures for rapid solution of the problems of technical-material supply (the first requirement, moreover, for efficient production organization), and that has led to some defects in the regularity of the production process and in construction of some planned production capacities. Many enterprises still harbor an atmosphere of complacency, indiscipline and even disorder, and indifference to promotion of new technology and to good organization and management of economic activity.

Of course these shortcomings, which are due to subjective reasons and defects in the work of some party organizations and state organs, must be rapidly eliminated. And that requires a greater sense of responsibility for task fulfillment on the part of every state organ involved in economic activity, as well as a greater effort to improve general activity in accordance with the requirements of the national economy.

Internally the state also exercises a social function, a cultural-educational and ideological function, and those of defending the revolutionary gains, combatting antisocial phenomena and manifestations, and strengthening law and order. The party's and state's constant efforts to improve the quality of life, the entire people's material and cultural living standard etc. have led to the appearance of a new function, namely the social function. With a comprehensive content constantly improved and amplified by new features, this function is not only established by an analytical, theoretical procedure but is primarily the consequence of continuous and regular activities whereby the state contributes to the constant improvement of the human condition.

Thanks to the evolution of the nature of the state and of the content of its power (liquidation of the exploiting classes, gradual social leveling of society, etc.), there is no longer any function of class repression. To be sure antisocial acts are still committed and laws are violated but it cannot be said that such acts against

law and order are committed from class positions or pursue clearly political purposes against the classes and social categories that hold and exercise power. Now the function of defending socialist gains and combatting antisocial phenomena (ultimately implemented by the method of constraint) is chiefly supported by the increasingly direct participation of the workers' collectives in accomplishing justice and in mobilizing public opinion to prevent antisocial acts, resolutely combat illegal acts, and drastically sanction violators of decisions and laws of the state and social order and discipline. It goes without saying that proper organization and maximum productivity of production activities and human relations require strict observance of the laws of the state and the principles and standards of socialist ethics and justice, but experience shows that some laws and decisions ratified by state organs or local state organs are ignored or even violated by some citizens who disregard elementary standards of discipline at work or in production with sometimes very serious consequences. The great social danger of such antisocial manifestations, many of which are committed out of carelessness, indiscretion or irresponsibility as to fulfillment of tasks and professional and civic obligations or as to management of the national wealth, entails a firm reaction from the state and public opinion and their repression accompanied by the demand for strengthened social control of observance of the laws and prevention of any acts to the detriment of the values protected by society.

On the cultural-educational and ideological levels the state has important functions for intensifying all citizens' socialist awareness and generalizing an increasingly advanced standard of culture and occupational and ideological training. The ideological aspect of this function reflects the party's ideological program, since the state is actually an instrument for implementing party policy.

The program for the nation's all-around development calls for Romania's participation in the international division of labor and the world circulation of values. Of course the international interdependences are contingent upon a climate of peace, security and cooperation among all states of the world. Through its external functions the Romanian socialist state plays an active part in the world arena, militating for ever closer collaboration of the peoples and against the policy of force, dictation and violation of any country's national freedom and independence. In this connection Romania attaches particular importance to consistent development of its relations with all socialist countries, to collaboration and solidarity among the countries building the new order, and to strengthened collaboration and cooperation with the developing countries and unaligned states. Meanwhile socialist Romania acts upon the principles of peaceful coexistence, developing relations with the developed capitalist countries and all states of the world regardless of social order. As Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "The present economic and financial crisis and international discord makes it more necessary than ever for us to intensify collaboration with all states of the world and to take steps to overcome the complex problems and resolve them in the spirit of respect for every nation's independence and interests, on behalf of peaceful collaboration that will provide for all peoples' socioeconomic progress."

Relationship Between Socialist Democracy and the State

In any order, the leading social class exercises its power through a system of particular organs and instruments and by ways and means in keeping with its historic role in society. Socialist democracy is based upon political power in the hands of the working class in alliance with the working peasantry, the intelligentsia and the

other categories of workers, all of whom are in the same position toward the national wealth. Those social relations provide for the workers' equality as to the production means and political power because every citizen is actually assured the right to participate in one way or another in management and in the solution of public problems in all fields of political, economic, social and cultural activity.

It is one of the basic principles of the Romanian socialist state to implement the party's political leadership on the basis of consistent involvement of the masses in making and implementing the decisions in all sectors of social activity. The party policy has always emphasized providing a background favorable to expression of the new and democratic character of the socialist state as the exponent of the people's power and the main means of regulating social relations and building socialism. The socialist state's role in uniform management of all socioeconomic activity is to be developed by its more and more complete integration in society and also by its natural involvement in the development and intensification of socialist democracy.

There is an organic correlation between democracy and the socialist state. The broad, all-inclusive character of workers socialist democracy as a system of social management on the one hand, and the popular, working-class nature of the power and practices of the socialist state on the other ensure the state's complete integration in socialist society and the increasingly broad and intensive involvement of party activity with state and public activity.

On the initiative of Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu an original system, the only one of its kind, has been created in Romania and a new and better form of social planning and management by the masses and the entire people.

In this process of building the socialist democratic system it has become not only possible but also necessary to correlate, combine and involve the state power with the other aspects of political and social power, finally ending the centuries-old alienation of the state and state power from society. Accordingly the exercise of power is no longer a sole attribute of the state, since other components of the system of social organization and management are involved in its mechanism. As part of this democratic system the socialist state is not incorporating or "liquidating" society but functions as a particular form of social power. The state power is subordinated to the people's interests in the service of society as a true people's power. The forums of democracy (institutionalized on the national level in the form of the congresses and their standing organs, sometimes with county affiliates) as well as the organs of workers' self-management in the economic units have considerably extended the workers' representation, participation and responsibility in the implementation of the domestic and foreign policies of the party and the Romanian socialist state.

The increasingly close involvement of the state organs' activity with that of the new democratic bodies facilitates the latter's takeover of some broad functions in efficient planning and management of socioeconomic activity without detracting from the state's important role in uniform management of socioeconomic activity as a whole. The workers' assumption, through the system of workers self-management and self-administration, of some important prerogatives in unit management in turn requires a climate of social discipline, observance of state laws and decisions, and good management of the national wealth. As Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu said, we must bear in mind that in the present stage of construction of the fully developed socialist society it is an objective necessity of progress to base all activity

on the Uniform National Plan. And so the Romanian socialist state and its organs have highly important tasks in the uniform management of society as a whole, requiring firm measures to remedy the defects in planning and in organization and management of economic activity. We must establish order and discipline and heighten the sense of responibility of the state organs in all fields of activity.

Integrating the state in society and involving party activity more and more closely with state and public activity to the improvement and intensification of socialist democracy are certain ways of eliminating the defects in the state organs' activity and enhancing their efficiency.

Combining party activity with state and public activity will bring about the masses' direct participation in adopting and implementing decisions and in strengthening the control of the working class and the masses over the state organs' entire activity in the process of building the fully developed socialist society.

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EVOLUTION OF DEMOGRAPHIC, SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 3, 5 Feb 82 pp 27-29

/Summary of a speech by Roman Moldovan, vice president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, "Evolution of the Social Structure," introducing the discussion "Evolution of the Demographic and Social Structure in Romania" by Prof Dr Ion Dragan, Dr Honorina Cazacu and Dr Oscar Hoffman of the Bucharest Sociological Research Center, whose comments will be published later/

/Text/ The subject "Evolution of the Demographic and Social Structure in Romania" was discussed in the organizations of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy and the journal ERA SOCIALISTA. The introductory speech was delivered by Roman Moldovan, vice president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences. The participants examined the changes that have taken place in the social structure of Romanian society and in the system of social strata and classes during the growth of the working class and the assertion of its leadership in the process of building the fully developed socialist society. They also examined current theoretical and methodological problems in connection with the characteristics of social evolution and mobility and the criteria for defining the social categories and classes, as well as the nature and characteristics of the class contradictions in the new order, the directions in which the social categories and classes and the relations among them are evolving, and the requirements for the party's purposeful guidance and management of those processes.

We are publishing the introductory speech in abridged form, and the comments of the other participants in the discussion are to be published later.

As we know the party wants the social sciences to participate more directly and efficiaently in the preparation of extensive theoretical surveys that will generalize Romanian experience, suggest alternative strategies, and explain the nature and value of Romania's experience with socialist construction.

Study of Romania's social and class structure is a major subject for sociologists and other specialists and personnel. The Sociological Research Center and other research units take a regular interest in this field. Problems like the structure and evolution of the changes in the working class in the years of socialist construction and revolution have been studied for many years, as well as the quantitative and qualitative changes in the structure of the working class under the influence of political, cultural and educational factors, evolution of the rural social structure, social

mobility and its forms and trends, evolution of social communities such as urban and rural ones and the family, particular effects of education and culture and the technical-scientific revolution upon the social and class structure, changes in social status and some social roles as indicators of changes in the class structure, characteristics of the new contradictions appearing in the course of changes in the social structure, characteristics of social leveling, etc. The efforts of the Sociological Research Center are still concentrated on this major problem, with special emphasis upon relationships between the technical-scientific revolution and the evolution of the working class, the transition to workers' self-management and its effect upon the social and class structure, changes in the ranks of the intelligentsia, present forms of social and class mobility, characteristics of reproduction of the various population categories in the present stage, etc. But we feel the social sciences in general and sociology in particular have made too little effort to forecast the theoretical and practical patterns to which the strategy for directing the changes in the national social structure conforms. Without further argument to show the importance of that procedure, we shall present a few opinions based on theoretical interpretation of a wealth of factual findings of many investigations made by the Bucharest Sociological Research Center.

The changes in the social structure are a component part of the changes that have taken place throughout socialist society, and their evolution can be analyzed only in the light of each socialist country's own policy and practice and its conditions, resources, options, aspirations, traditions and current experience. We used a model called "the model of possible alternatives with options for certain desirable and accessible values" for the sociological analysis of Romania's social activity and experience and of the strategy for changing the social structure. The social structure objectively requires many possible evolutionary trends. There is no single accessible way to the future. Of these alternatives the most desirable ones are selected that best suit our options. Of course the social range of possible and necessary actions is objectively determined by our situation, the general laws governing social changes, and the basic aims of policy. The strategy is formed by selecting some of these general objective possibilities according to the promoted values and norms.

The model of possible alternatives according to values calls for analysis of the evolution of the social structure in the light of the purpose of the system and the "feed-back" operating between the societal macrosystem and the social structure. We must plan how we want the nation's new social structure to appear in the future and base the practical courses of action on that.

Discussion of the proposed model involves many practical problems such as the value criteria for evaluating the change in the social structure, the social mechanisms for blocking the undesirable alternatives and promoting (encouraging or even creating) the desirable ones, the alternative strategies for accomplishing the selected objective, the criteria for evaluating the desirable and accessible optimum, etc.

Since Romania has begun a new stage of development characterized by the increasingly pronounced predominance of the intensive, qualitative aspects, the significance of the transition of the changes in the social structure to the qualitative stage should be analyzed specifically. We think the transition to a new, qualitative stage in the evolution of the social structure means that in general the processes of growth of the social categories and classes are essentially finished as far as the socialist type of social structure is concerned. The proportions of the classes will not change significantly.* This means that social mobility will no longer take the form

*This point was disputed by other participants in the discussion. Their view will be presented in the next number of the journal.

primarily of passage from one class to another (class mobility between generations) but other forms requiring primary consideration such as mobility within the social categories and classes, mobility between generations, etc.

We consider it essential in this respect to use the theory and method of social and class self-reproduction. More and more emphasis will be placed on improving the present class structure in such respects as changes in the particular structure of each social category or class through improvement of training, social experience, relations among occupations, the nature of the labor demands (by increasing the cognitive demands at the expense of physical labor) etc., greater social cohesion among the social categories and classes, and improvement of each social category's performance (especially by consolidating self-management and social responsibility). Modification of the institutional system of Romanian society from the standpoint of transition to the qualitative stage of evolution of the social structure (greater role of the enterprises as a socializing factor, greater importance of social control through moral standards as opposed to legal ones, etc.) must be studied in greater depth.

The contradictions characteristic of the present stage of evolution of the class structure present a major problem. The quantitative processes of growth of the working class and some groups of the intelligentsia especially and of numerical decrease in other classes (the peasantry) have led to the formation of a class configuration limited to the respective stage. Transition to a new qualitative stage means resolving those contradictions and other new ones as well. Among the contradictions that must be resolved we note, for example, those between the new social status of the workers that have recently joined the working class and the latter's functional requirements (capacity for actual performance of the roles), between the objective situation and the maturity of the class consciousness, and between the labor demands and training. More attention should be given to the new contradictions resulting from the process of building the fully developed socialist society with a maximum effort to overcome Romania's situation as an economically developing country. In general we think the problem of social and class contradictions should be examined more carefully.

Historical experience tells us that the development of socialist society is not a linear process free of contradictions, difficulties, malfunctions, occasional social and political tensions, and complicated situations. If they are not promptly resolved, some of the contradictions that remain or appear under socialism (between the level and nature of the productive forces and some aspects or elements of economic relations, between the level of the productive forces and the economic, political and administrative forms and methods of organization and management, between the economic base and some aspects or features of the superstructure, and between social groups and classes) can become antagonistic and cause disturbances or even upheavals. Ignoring the fact that the law of unity and conflict of opposites is still operative (albeit in particular forms) in socialism is a nondialectical position with some of the most serious consequences for social development. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "Experience and all social development show that even in the period of socialist construction some contradictions still persist or contradictions can still arise that may take serious forms and lead to serious social disturbances if they are not understood and no action is taken to eliminate them. As long as social categories and classes with interests of their own exist, even if they are not antagonistic, there will be major or minor contradictions that can be complicated if they are neglected." Of course the conflict between the old and the new is and will remain a dialectical regularity of development of the new social order.

The conceptual system of analysis and the factors for change in the social structure have been subjects of some of our studies, and the new problems also required a suitable conceptual system. For this purpose we recommend a system composed of four conceptual "blocs": (1) the basic concepts (social subsystem and its structure), (2) the concepts concerning the evolution of the social structure (social destructuring and restructuring, social and occupatuonal mobility, successive studies of the structure, molds of the structure, models of the stages, social framework and mechanism, class status, congruence and incongruence of status, social adjustment and integration, reconversion of status, and social transition), (3) concepts of the current processes in the social structure (social leveling between and within communities and the subordinate concepts, social differentiation and diversification, mechanisms and factors in the evolution of the social structure, contradictions and regularities of social leveling and the processes subordinate to it, social self-reproduction, circulation in the social framework, etc.) and (4) concepts concerning future trends in the social structure (a single working people, a uniform society etc. We suggest that the Academy of Social and Political Sciences arrange an interdisciplinary methodological discussion of the conceptual systems and the indicators for analyzing the class structure in Romania. The predominance of qualitative changes in the social evolution calls for enhancement of the conceptual and methodological system used in research and in making forecasts.

From the standpoint of the problem under analysis, the present stage of Romania's development is characterized by the interaction of different social and historical significance. Yet there is a discrepancy in the action of some factors such as, for example, the overlapping of the current technical-scientific revolution with other factors pertaining to different historical periods: Industrialization began about two centuries earlier in the economically advanced countries, and urbanization was a direct result of industrialization in those countries. The overlapping of those factors of different historical significance combines some effects in a single result that frequently does not occur in their separate operation and annihilates even the favorable potentials of some while aggravating the bad effects of others. The interaction of these factors creates some particular difficulties and contradictions that have not been adequately analyzed (Some persons' direct shift from villages to an advanced industrial environment of automation and the lack of any preliminary socialization in the industrial environment of the mechanization stage create difficulties in adjustment and integration in the new industrial environment of automation, and due to the technological gap between agriculture and industry the flow of social mobility from village to city causes great difficulties in social integration).

The qualitative, social-political and social-psychological factors changing the social structure (participation in management, the technical-scientific revolution, development of socialist social awareness, and basing all social relations on the principles of socialist ethics and justice). A growing importance of superstructural factors (social awareness, the system of aspirations, motivations, standards and values, and social feelings) and of those concerning human relations calls for a reorientation of research toward the less studied fields such as way of life, social awareness, system of standards and human relations. Analysis of the evolution of the classes must be supplemented with new dimensions requiring a broader view of classes seen as communities of experience with cultural models of their own, life styles, a particular psychology etc. The vast problems of self-management from the standpoint of class structure require more attention in this connection. The leadership of the working class is the result of a long and complex historical process. An individual's membership in the working class does not automatically fit him to perform the

series of roles required to exercise the function of social management. The qualitative changes the working class and the other categories are undergoing directly affect their members' ability to participate effectively in management functions.

A system of institutions has been created in Romania that will not only permit but also encourage and demand the masses' extensive participation in the management of all levels of society. This system does not function independently. Our studies proved that the changes that have taken place in the social classes in the way of improvement of class relations and the particular structure of each class directly affect the operation of the institutional system of self-participation. A hypothesis we formulated mentions that as the activity performed by workers demands more cognitive intellectual aptitudes (demand for thought, ability to evaluate the work situation and make decisions, etc.) there is a greater availability for participation in management and mastery of social-public roles. This hypothesis received a first verification in the studies made, and our studies also threw a new light upon the relationship between the occupational and participative roles.

Many problems still require more careful and detailed analysis. One of them is social leveling as a regular feature of the evolution of the social structure. We are stressing a few points in connection with the nature and scope of leveling, its stages, its characteristics as a macrosocial process, and its direct and indirect functions. Leveling does not cover in its scope all the existing differences in society. The homogeneous communist society will not be (nor can it be) an amorphous state of undifferentiated individuals. Some differences cannot be eliminated (the natural ones depending on age, individual ability, geographic features etc.) while others should not be. The scope of social leveling includes only the social differences among human groups that involve social inequalities and essential social differences. Social leveling is no end in itself but an essential factor in promoting the basic aim of party and state policy, namely the achievement of a socialist and communist civilization of free and fully developed people with individualities of their own.

To that end we recommend taking into consideration (a) the direct functions of leveling, namely elimination of all social inequalities and the essential social differences among the various human groups, gradual achievement of equality of the socialist type and later the communist type, creation of a new institutional system based upon the eventual disappearance of the state, the party and the other institutions dependent upon the existence of the classes, and formation of a new social structure (expressed by the concept of "a single working people") and (b) the indirect functions of leveling, expressing the very purpose of achieving its direct functions (creating conditions for the free and all-around development and fulfillment of the individual, encouragement of creative participation in social management, free choice of an occupation and consequent development of creative work, provision for better living conditions with resulting encouragement of creativeness in the field of cultural values, formation of alternative life styles, and provision for a new kind of human satisfaction).

As social leveling advances it permits a new kind of social diversification. Disappearance of the differences created by the stratified class structure encourages the appearance of new kinds of social diversification and differentiation as to occupations, aspirations and preferences, use of spare time, social-public activities, living conditions, and opportunities for development. We feel the constructive social function of social diversification has been underrated at times, as well as its role in promoting progress and encouraging activity. Among the functions of

diversification we note implementation of the socialist principle of social (not economic alone) distribution of compensation according to merit (socialist justice), assurance of living conditions in keeping with the individuals' abilities and aspirations, performance of a variety of activities to meet a variety of social (direct) needs, stimulation of interest through compensation according to work, satisfaction from social recognition of merits and abilities, encouragement of creative public activity, and practical demonstration of the superiority of the socialist way of life permitting development of individual personalities.

Achievement of a functionally optimal social differentiation is a problem of major practical importance. Social imbalances in either direction (overemphasis or underemphasis) can cause dissatisfaction and aggravate social contradictions. Analysis of the specific relations in the system of social differentiations has been neglected by the sociologists (and not by them alone).

The dynamic balance between leveling and differentiation tends to strengthen social cohesion. We do not think the differentiation according to strata within each social category and the effects of that differentiation upon social activism have been sufficiently investigated. The social classes have been studied as relatively distinct (homogenous) units in their mutual relations rather than as units with intensive internal differentiations. For example some subgroups have not been analyzed realistically enough, especially those characterized by mixed status (peasants and workers) or some service sectors (trade, artisan cooperatives, health) wherein social distortions of the correct ratios between incomes and training, work and incomes, work and actual contributions etc. can (and do) appear. Those distortions can aggravate some contradictions or generate new ones. More emphasis should be placed on the relationship between the social structure and the regulatory structure of society, the processes associated with the contradictions and difficulties chracteristic of the evolution of social awareness, and the particular relationships between the class situation and class awareness and between membership in a class and participation in the alternative life styles of that class.

We feel more emphasis should also be placed, in analysis of the evolution of the social structure, on the stratification of incomes, trends in the evolution of consumption, both the material and the social-psychological aspects of those social processes, and particularly the structure of the rural population and especially the agricultural one (a distorted pyramid according to age groups of that population and an imbalance in the structure according to sexes). Moreover the irreducible potentials of the rural environment have been underrated, making for mechanical imitation of the models of urban life in the villages regardless of the fact that the agrarian structures must be further consolidated and diversified on the basis of what modern science and technology have to offer and also in keeping with the constructive traditions and current necessities.

We also note that little consideration has been given to the findings of some valuable studies in rural and agrarian sociology revealing and evaluating the phenomena a aging and feminization of the agricultural labor force. Processes like the technical-scientific revolution and the development of education, science and culture accentuate the differentiation and diversification of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. How far is this diversification not only correct but also desirable? At what pace and on what basis should action be taken to reduce some differences. What kinds of differences are characteristic of a given stage? How can the differentiations be directed to obtain the functional optimum of society to the people's better satisfaction? Those questions require intensive theoretical and specific studies.

The effectiveness of a "subject" analysis of the evolution of the class structure is also demonstrated by the capacity of the theory to formulate conclusions fit to be implemented in social activity. I should like to make a few points in this connection.

In the present stage one can speak of the the "new wave" of workers as distinguished from the "old" one that had to be recruited from the peasantry. The "new wave" brings its members into the working class directly from their school desks, and they are becoming the chief source for recruitment of new workers. This new situation has not been analyzed with the necessary maximum of realism. On the one hand, it must be determined how far these workers, still without social experience, with a class awareness just beginning to form, and even with a limited exerience with life, are meeting the heavy demands of participation in performance of the functions of the working class. On the other hand, it must also be determined whether the jobs entirely correspond to this new situation: People with superior training and a high standard of aspirations and motivations expect far more, professionally and institutionally, from jobs, from job relations and from their immediate supervisors.

The new conditions are making a qualitative change in the purpose of the workers' occupational training in accordance with the demands of the new technological environment created by information technology and requiring a high type of professional thinking as well as a sound scholastic preparation. The importance is even more striking of the efforts to establish a new kind of contact between schools and enterprises that will permit integration in work and socialization in the new social-cultural environment created by electronic automation to begin during the period of schooling.

Qualitative changes are being made in the so-called "services sector." In the first place it cannot be analyzed en bloc (the third sector) any longer but evolves differently according to the historical perspectives and social functions of its components. A new classification into the third, fourth and fifth sectors is increasingly justified.

The growing development of the services sector associated with production, processing, dissemination and implementation of knowledge is becoming increasingly characteristic of the new economic structure, making it necessary to shift those services to the category of productive activities. In correlation with this revision, the position and function of the social sciences in the evolution of the social structure must be reconsidered, since they are expected to become a main force for social progress, the institutions for spending spare time must be developed as well as the leisure industries, some social functions connected with organization of spare time must be progressively taken over by enterprises, etc. A new function of education is emerging in the form of training people to make creative and cultural-social use of their leisure time.

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ROLE OF LITERATURE IN EXPRESSING SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT

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/Article by Francisc Pacurariu: "The Literary Work As an Expression of Social Commitment"/

/Text/ The discussions of the theoretical problems of literature are becoming increasingly extensive and profound. One of the major gains of these discussions is consideration of the literary work in its organic unity as the result of a particular process of knowledge implemented by means of true artistic expression.

It has also become quite clear in our time that literature and art are not mere kaleidoscopes of exotic reactions to the stimuli of reality nor expressions of a sensory knowledge of a primitive kind, but embodiments of a whole mode of knowledge. As austere a physicist as Heisenberg declared quite rightly that "While science explains something and makes it intelligible, art should represent, illuminate and clarify the basis of human life." In supplementing an increasingly abstract representation of the mathematical type that science obtains by deciphering some minute systems of the physical and chemical processes of reality, art and literature humanize that reality, bring out its complicated connections with man's life, and accordingly provide an optimistic, encouraging view of man's mission and position in the infinite universe.

By the very nature of his activity the writer concentrates on observing, studying, understanding and interpreting the period in which he lives or at least the human reality that it generates.

The Danish philosopher Piet Hein, who is proud of being a specialist in theoretical physics as well, expressed the opinion in a prestigious UNESCO journal that "Art (including literature) is the function of self-expression, while science and technology, the creators of the bases of our present world, are human activities with important results to express. In other words... the one is capable of expressing itself but has nothing to say, while the other has something to say but does not know how to express itself."

The dissociation is spiritual but insecure because literature (and art in general) is not only a result of expression but also a way of constructing images or models of reality and discovering or creating intelligible, coherent and significant patterns

of it. David Dickson, an English mathematician interested in relations between art and science, proposed a much more convincing formula to the effect that while "science is an internal, abstract arrangement of phenomena viewed from outside, art has a suuplementary role, providing the external and concrete arrangement of the phenomena viewed from within, that is subjectively."

The metamorphoses of literature in our era were sometimes seen as ultimately expressing a reduction of the literary work to a verbal structure, to a semantic system with a purely linguistic reality and no perception of the area of meanings of another kind.

Actually the true writers have never been more convinced than they are in these years of their mission of writing poetry, novels or plays while trying to discover (with brilliant successes or tragic failures) the forms that can best embody in a convincing and discriminating way the complicated meanings, often unclear and difficult to formulate, of the whole mass of subjects, motives, ideas and intuitions that they feel pulsing within them, which are the most telling and important results of their epistemological procedure.

It has sometimes been considered difficult to speak of an epistemological procedure or an effort to know when art and literature exist mainly on the level of a sensory perception of reality, relying more upon the confused voices of intuition than upon the clear play of the concepts of reason. But knowledge is actually acquired by a dialectical process combining in a contradictory unity sensory and rational knowledge, empirical and theoretical perception of reality and its fixation in images or concepts, evidencing a complicated and very contradictory dynamism, and accordingly reflecting the very dynamism and contradictory nature of reality.

Both science and art proceed from the basic theoretical assumption that nature itself is ordered and that this order can be revealed, formulated and transmitted by an appropiate coding system, since it is an essential mission of knowledge to discover the right code for a given situation or a particular experience. Like the scientist, the writer tries to discover the right code to decipher the material resulting from his explorations, abstracting from it the aspects he needs in order to translate his formal interpretation into an intelligible, aesthetically valid language. Therefore it is quite natural that for the epistemology of today science and art supplement each other in the common process of creating order in our experience of nature, society or subjective reality. Man's demiurgic effort to attach human significance to reality, to construct a humanized model of reality and to create a convincing image of a world for men has been transmitted chiefly through philosophy and art.

The inner nucleus from which the power of suggestion of artistic construction emanates and which sets the main directions of crystallization of that construction chiefly consists of such an act of knowledge. The difference between the artistic models constructed upon the relationship between subject and object and between man, existence and reality by poetry and by prose lies mainly in the fact that prose conveys the subject's perception of the connections (hitherto unclear) existing in objective reality, in the world and in others, while lyric poetry plumbs the wealth of the subject's reactions in relation to his own reality or the surrounding reality.

It is on this level that the author's view of man and existence, which is the very nucleus of the most profound suggestions of the work, takes shape and artistic form. This view (being only implicit in the authentic works, without explicit didactic

formulas) expresses the author's profound conception, which is close to the philosophical one but expressed in artistic images and in "tangible matter," as Maiorescu said, and not in concepts. It is this intuitive-rational view, embodying the most important results themselves of the particular artistic knowledge, that constitutes the ideological perspective of the work and gives utterance, in other words, to an essentially optimistic conception of man and his creative, Promethean mission in the world (found in all the great works of Romanian literature) or, on the contrary, to a pessimistic view of the aimlessness of existence. In our era this difference in views has received a highly significant emphasis, since one can speak of a literature of uncertainty of knowlege and existence, of dissolution of the personality, and of disappearance of personages into a strange fog concealing the significance of attitudes and facts, and a literature of man's greatness and his difficult and complicated struggle to rise to the "rule of freedom" and full assumption of his creative role, a mode illustrated by the best works of current Romanian literature.

Clearly the novel has much less effective means of investigating social phenomena and aspects than sociology has. A documentary film that is well made (and not cast in the prefabricated molds of an antiquated idyllism) will present the work of a factory or a farm more convincingly than the longest novel. Man's emotions and the obscure underlying processes or those generating options are revealed by modern psychology or neuropsychiatry with more adequate means than those available to the novelist. But all those disciplines together cannot perceive the living human reality in its entirety and in its many shifts and relationships. Therefore the novel cannot attain true effectiveness unless it remains on its particular level, trying to perfect its ability to present the truth of some lives by a suitable play of viewpoints, temporal levels, intersections of sequences and methods of reporting and by a difficult effort to construct a distinctive reality out of the acquired elements by the sole medium of communication available to it, namely the word, and trying to bring to expression the image of our era in constructions apparently focused upon individual cases and upon experiences of heroes with naturally limited possibilities of knowing the many faces of times extremely rich in new processes and phenomena and in significant human problems and experiences but actually capable of suggesting, by the very power of their artistic radiation, a feeling of totality of life, that is a message that is at once aesthetic, ontological, ethical, educational and political, and consequently integrated in an extremely effective area of great human experiences.

In supplementing science literature performs as it were an epistemological role of arranging specific and subjective configurations of reality in forms and significant aesthetic structures. As it has often been pointed out, art at least has the power to enrich sensibility and thought by suggesting a certain view of man and the universe to them and to broaden and intensify emotional perception. Furthermore, the writer selects the significant aspects for his work by a complex process of abstraction and generalization after a close and complicated exploration of reality and embodies in the organic unity of a formal structure, guided not only by his creative instinct but also by his view of the world and man. His basic objective, most often pursued unconsciously but with the certainty with which cranes find the nest in spring that they left in fall, is to create a partial image of life, of a fragment of life that can suggest the feeling of the totality of life.

The truly great creations have this capacity, difficult to analyze, of making a fragment of existence suggest the totality of life and the profound movement of its essential meanings. It is in this ability to transform the fragmentary and the relative into totality that the mystery of the great creation lies, just as the intensity

of the effort required to start it explains its difficulties. The difficulty is probably aggravated by the complexity of the mass of problems, realities, ideas and subjects offered by our era, when mankind is at a crossroads (to employ the title of a report on the future with a wide response in public opinion), since the complex processes themselves of the growing development of human activity (sometimes thrown off balance by the harmful trends originating in the nature of imperialism or in the inequitable relations established between the economically developed countries and the developing ones) have created a huge knot of difficult problems. They range from the declining reserves of raw materials and energy sources and the problems of demography, food production and pollution to the terrible dangers caused by armament and accumulation of huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons capable of throwing our planet into a fantastic cataclysm.

Unquestionably the world of today is accumulating a mass, unprecedented in history, of creative energy and destructive forces, of unrest and hopes, of amazing possibilities for progress and for terrible disasters, and of evolutionary processes and backward trends. And thanks to the important development of the contemporary feeling that history is not a senseless play of unknown forces but a result of human efforts, as well as the information explosion that constantly presents us with the implacable interdependence of contemporary phenomena, these realities no longer concern only a limited group of "elite beings" but affect the lives of individuals as well as the daily concerns and future plans of hundreds of millions of peoples. The "rebellion of the masses" considered by Ortega y Gasset a few decades ago to be an alarming penetration of politics, social conflicts and cultural affairs by the mass-man (that is an average man considered devoid of individuality and capacity for personal option) actually led to a historically unprecedented development of the sense of responsibility for mankind's fate, for the modern world's problems, and for progress to the future.

This is apparent in any corner of the world, and the phenomenon has a particular power to gain ground in the countries integrated in the process of rational and purposeful construction of the future.

This reality is expressed in modern literature by a vigorous and healthy return to human truth and to the actively involved consciousness of the writer who wants to write works illuminated by the brilliance of major creation flowing from a profound, comprehensive and enterprising knowledge of the realities of the time wherein we live, work and dream and who realizes that tepid, rose-colored and superficial works have never succeeded in expressing moving truths capable of stirring and elevating the consciouness.

It can only be fertile on the creative level for the writer and artist to try to perceive the relation between man as subject and the surrounding objective reality and to understand the "mechanism" of the mutual transformation of reality and man through his Promethean ability not only to adjust to nature and the social environment but also to act in order to mold and change them.

Accordingly the reality that literature presents is not static and fixed but full of motion, dynamism, clashes between various human tendencies (caused by psychic conflicts or attractions, by real or imagined conflicts of interests and different degrees of awareness, and by innumerable other problems posed by people's existence in society) and changes in environment, society and human relations due to the great changes made by the practical consequences of the technical-scientific revolution,

by the shifting social structures, by the rapid process of industrialization in many countries, by urbanization and by change in people's way of life and work and their whole life style. Meanwhile, as he perceives the definitive processes and real problems of life, in which he participates, and the nature of the necessary changes and the difficulties that can arise in the course of them, the writer is not only a receiver (even though this receiver is considered active and capable of shaping the received material) but is also changed himself by the influence of the whole course of realities integrated and processed in his consciousness before he objectivizes them in artistic expression, just as he exerts, through his creativeness, an active influence upon the consciousness and consequently upon the reality reflected in its true evolution.

When the writer concentrates on the essential purpose of his creative activity he participates in a live and dynamic process of changing the world, life and people not only in the sense that in writing a work characterized by the whole complicated truth of life he exerts an influence on the consciousness that receives it, but also in the concrete sense of a creative contribution to modification of reality.

Hence the writer's heavy responsibility when he seeks the echo of an era in the consciousness of the people who are building it and artistically expresses the human aspects and ontological realities of the historical process of changing the real but also those of the contradictions that arise within it and characteristics of the possible discrepancies between society's plans and their so ramified and complicated practical implementation.

If he is to be able to comprise and embody, in works sustained by truth, the human realities and the shifts in the very structure of society, with important consequences for people's way of life and the relations among them, as well as the changes that take place in the consciousness, the changed attitude toward work and the product of personal activity, the growth and development of the people capable of controlling and directing the whole vast process of society or a sector of it, and the possible temporary discrepancies, the writer must be imbued with a great sense of responsibility and an equally great capacity for honest, creative and free thought.

To properly perform the important role art and literature should have as "mental productive forces" in accomplishing the great goals set by Romanian society, it is urgently necessary to renounce any tendency toward perfunctory routine and false idealizing. The writer must assume his serious responsibilities in interpretation of the evolution of reality and in knowledge of the problems presented by that evolution in the real daily life of the people who are accomplishing it by their creative work. Success depends upon comprehension of the social phenomena in the close connection and mutual influence between the component elements of the vast effort of social construction.

In its most profound sense literature is an act of restoration of the unity between man as a concrete, existing being and the world and between "the one" and "the other" by revealing the true, undisguised reality to people, the lines of force that unite them with the world, the ways in which they weaken or acquire additional strength, and the existential experiences or shocks that can drive a man to alienation or solitude or, on the contrary, can transform the solitary man into a solidary one (as Camus said). The statement refers especially to a novel, "that activity of the mind that has never separated the inseparable" and can shape the true unity of the real,

"neither the pure objectivity of science nor the pure subjectivity of the first lyric revolt, but the reality seen through an ego, a synthesis between ego and the world, between unconsciousness and consciousness, between sensibility and intellect" (Ernesto Sabato).

In all the great works with which it has enriched life, literature has implemented mankind's thought and sensibility and its aspiration to contribute to the effort "to envisage the greatness of the human being and to understand the historical development of the species, its unchecked progress, its always certain victory over the unreason of the isolated individual, its mastery of all that seems superhuman, and its hard but successful struggle with nature until it ultimately acquires free, human self-awareness, until it clearly understands the unity between man and nature, and until it creates, freely and by its own activity, a new world based upon purely human life relations...." (Engels).

This effort is one of the most difficult ones undertaken by the human mind, since it cannot be advanced except in a particular socioeconomic context and therefore in a certain stage of man's self-improvement through work and of his difficult ascent, full of obstacles but unflagging, toward the total man by partially and fragmentarily anticipating his traits, qualities, attitudes and consciousness.

Comprehension and true and convincing artistic embodiment of this "real movement" in living personages and events require in every period of history (which is itself "the existence of living individuals," as Marx and Engels said) methods and instruments for exploration that are constantly new and suited to the investigated material and to the potential for artistic expression and aesthetic construction necessary to transform it convincingly (or, more accurately, to convey it with the means characteristic of aesthetic expression) and consequently in a way that can maintain or ensure its reality.

Use of bold, innovating forms of expression opening up broader horizons and capable of suggesting the problems of this complex area and the versatile man of these times is an objective necessity for fulfillment of literature's major role in the series of efforts of all Romanian society to rise to a new quality of life and its activities.

Accordingly the basic requirement for the rise of Romanian literature to a new qualitative level of fulfillment of its mission is directly dependent upon the difficult, courageous effort to interpret the real problems of the society and people of today, with their customs and psychology, and the ability to express them in new, original and authentic aesthetic constructions that are suited to their nature and complexity and can embody them without interference (resulting from the form of expression itself) with their natural, authentic pulsation wherein their very truth resides.

The most lasting triumphs of current Romanian literature are embodied in the works of great substance and fine tone that reveal the real, organic and natural receptiveness of contemporary man's existence to the past and future, that is to the entirety of historically crystallized human problems basic to the present reality, and to the horizon of the future as we perceive it from the crossroads where mankind stands. The human authenticity of life presented by the literary work is not achieved by designating strange human geographies but only by accepting man's real position at present, at the intersection between the past, which has presented us with a given series of problems, the present, which is shaping us with its rhythms (with the changes made in contemporary man's condition, in his existential problems, in his way of

living, knowing reality, and understanding the world and its complex interdependences, and in his particular reactions to the pulsation of the eternal passions and to the pressure of the new dreams, anxieties and ideals), and the future, which is revealed to us with increasing clarity and is taking more and more intelligible form.

It is this perception of the real dimensions of the present that makes it possible to construct artistic models of reality (models in the current scientific sense) that can suggest the entirety of life.

This range of ideas also includes the problem of the extra-aesthetic, educational, ethical and political values of literature and especially of the novel. The relation between the autonomy and the heteromania of art was basic to an old dispute whose development illustrates the fundamental aspect itself of the evolution of modern Romanian literary criticism. From this standpoint Tudor Vianu was unquestionably justified in saying in his "Aesthetics" that "The gradual differentiation of the social content made art a separate activity that can be supported by heteronomous factors of social experience but is no longer identified with them." The extra-aesthetic values lend no value to a work of art, and the most laudable ethical, political or educational intentions will never succeed in transforming a work that is meritorious in those respects into a work of art unless it is achieved on aesthetic grounds. There is no question that the content of subjects and ideas (the "signified," to employ a term very frequently used in modern poetics) qualifies as a work of art only by virtue of an artistic conception and an aesthetic expression (whether we call it "signifying" to use Barthes' term, or whether we retain the traditional term of the old poetics, "artistic form").

But it is equally true that a purely formal experiment, devoid of substantive significance and the content of information, subjects and ideas that compose it, does not qualify as an aesthetic value and is only a mere intention foreign to the realm of the aesthetic. The two terms for the heterogeneous structure which is the work of art, the signified and the signifying, content and form, or substance and expression, form an inseparable unity generated by the very process of giving birth to the work and consubstantial with the movement toward a work. The truth of this idea, basic to any modern poetics or aesthetics, could be demonstrated both by the failures of some attempts to pass off as "works of art" laudable efforts to expound ideas of ethical, political or religious propaganda without any creative spirit or art, and by the futile and terrible experiments in presenting unconvincing and quite ephemeral exercises in formal construction in a vacuum as supreme modes of art.

As a uniform system composed of a heterogeneous content of subjects, information and ideas and aesthetically realized by means of a verbal discourse capable of exploiting it significantly, the literary work performs far-reaching social functions.

The very serious undertaking of such a mission means joining the living, constantly renewed and refreshed stream of the most noble traditions of Romanian literature, which from Miron Costin and Neculce to Rebreanu, Sadoveanu, Camil Petrescu or Arghezi has known no higher aim than to militate passionately for improvement of society and man by the only particular means with which art can fruitfully fulfill that mission, that is by creating aesthetic structures that can elevate a fragmentary, relative image of reality to the radiance that transfigures it to a vision of the totality of life and an expression of its essential truths.

A major literature in this land of the Carpathians and the Danube, that is a literature expressing the fundamental aims and missions of our existence in history and our capacity for projecting our essential problems on the mythological level, can feed only upon the most profound, far-reaching and pressing realities of life and of the Romanian spirit of today. In other words, it should mean a basic harmony with the essential reality of the time in which we live, the time in which (by progressive processes and also by upheavals, unrest and restructuring of a patriarchal way of life with many picturesque, archaic features and others of Balkan backwardness) a new way of life for this people is being born, for the time being in full genesis with many puzzles but with the promise of future fulfillment. The traits of this new character are not to be explained by the policies of Burebista's Dacians nor by those of the priest of Miorita, although it will undoubtedly bear their stamp and memory, ennobled by the ideals of new times and the enhancing perspective of history. They can be interpreted solely in the light of the real life of this time and its people, the life of the plants, the fields, the big worksites, the laboratories and research institutes, and the active centers of Romanian society, by discovering in real people and in their actual life with its lights and shades and its joys and tragedies the characteristic features of our time and its phenomena, human relations and reactions out of which, by complicated processes, a new kind of existence is being devised and a new way of thinking and expressing the relationship between the individual and society and between man and the time in which he lives and the history in which he is or is not integrated.

Of course this broad and enterprising survey also requires, as a necessity, a critical view of the destructive phenomena, of the harmful tendencies aroused in some just by their new position in the world or nostalgia for vanished situations, of the obsolete or even monstrous forms of the relations between some people and the power entrusted them, of the contradiction between the humanist phraseology used by others and the selfish ends they pursue, and of the present forms of corruption and inhumanity.

The writer's true, sincere and creative harmony with Romanian society and with the present and future of this people and this land, in other words improvement of his activity to meet the demands of the present stage of development and maturity, calls for an outlook envisaging the real, vital stuff of actual lives inspired by the aspiration to truth, to justice, to the beautiful, that is the sincere, simple and natural, and to human greatness.

5186
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YOUTH PUBLICATIONS DESCRIBE CONDITIONS IN PRISTINA

Secondary Schoolers in Forefront

Belgrade OMLADINSKE in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Natasa Markovic: "Life With the Irredentists"]

[Text] Will the tragic Kosovo spring be repeated?

Judging by what happened on 11 and 12 March in Pristina, Podujevo, Suva Reka and Vucitrn on the anniversary of the first counterrevolutionary demonstrations, the irredentists are longing for that.

Although the enemy announced this year's demonstrations with rumors circulating through the marketplace, though he even ordered that children not be sent to elementary school, the official reports were to the contrary.

Officials in Pristina assured us that "they held the political situation firmly in their own hands, that they had driven the enemy onto the defensive and into a corner, after a number of their leaders had been arrested and following the unceasing sociopolitical effort last year." It was their assessment that the enemy was unable to raise up his head that far, that he would not dare to celebrate his destructive anniversary in any manner whatsoever.

Similar assurances were also uttered by the Kosovo leaders to Sergej Krajger and Dobrosav Vidic last week. Petar Kostic went a bit further in his optimistic assessments in stating to newsmen in an interview that the demonstrators would not dare to go out into the streets, that they would not dare repeat the Kosovo spring, and if it did happen--they (the provincial leaders) should not only be replaced, but also arrested!?

Events have refuted him.

We are convinced that no one in his right mind and with a feel for political reality will call upon Petar Kostic to keep his promise and submit his resignation, "only" because the most recent unpleasant events caused by a "handful" of demonstrators surprised him. But a very essential question is whether Petar Kostic, as has been suggested to him these past several days, will issue an official denial and thus push yet another stone of distrust on

those who practice the newsman's profession. When it comes to reporting from Kosovo, there has been plenty over the last year.

For all the risk of being biased, the author of this article feels it would take flagrant irresponsibility concerning public expression to invent such a striking and explicit statement as the one attributed to Petar Kostic. We doubt that newsmen who have proven over many years that they are protectors of their professional integrity would allow themselves that luxury of irresponsibility. Insistence on that fact in this article may well seem to someone like an excessive defense of one's profession. However, this is just one tiny detail about how schizophrenic pictures are still being created concerning the political situation in Kosovo. Usually their images do not coincide in the political mirror.

The assessments arriving from the province are much rosier than those coming from other information centers or from other republics, though, of course, not all. The political ball, like the cuckoo egg, is not uncommonly passed on to the newsmen; and a search is made for their malicious intentions. This is also confirmed by the most recent statements from Kosovo; once again the newsmen have been accused, when they made rough estimates of the number of participants in the most recent demonstrations, of having seen more of them than there actually were and of thus having played into the hands of the enemy!?

The Conflict Has Been Shifted

We hope that the time to come will be an unbiased judge. The nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia, at least so they demonstrated after the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, have enough political patience to have waited a year for differentiation between party members and other citizens. No one wants to resolve anything with harsh methods, but it would be risky to tolerate any cover-up of what is happening in Kosovo. It would be dangerous for any of us in any part of the country not to understand our own historic responsibility for suppressing the enemy in Kosovo. This is not a local wound, but a wound of Yugoslav society that has its teeth in the country's security. Every attempt of the bureaucracy to reach a settlement with the local bureaucracy, after the old practice "each in his own house" would this time cause inestimable consequences. Certainly we do not mean by this to dispute that the greatest responsibility for the situation in the province has to be borne by the party members and working people within it.

It is no wonder, then, that the delegates of the Serbian Assembly talked in their last session last week, for the first time in 15 years, about the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and put questions which were not exactly pleasant. Asserting that the situation in Kosovo is a more difficult problem than either stabilization or the balance of payments, Srboljub Kostic, a delegate in the Chamber of Associated Labor, asked why a policy of procrastination was being tolerated, Nikola Jankovic noted that "it seems we are courting the counterrevolution but we ought to say more clearly that everything that has happened is a consequence of a poorly conducted policy." And then, what is meant by the most recent declarations of the Kosovo leadership that the "situation is complicated," is this an indication of our inability to defeat the enemy.

Will the enemy be strong enough to shatter this at present distorted political mirror? Time will tell. We therefore feel that it is an important, but not essential question whether the newsmen who have been reporting from the scene overlooked 100 demonstrators. The essential thing, in the judgment of the author of this article, who saw this year's demonstrations in Pristina, is that the demonstrators did dare to come out into the streets in spite of the enormous number of members of the state security service and the army, which was also on the alert, all of which indicates that the enemy is not shrinking from his dirty warfare and intention, that he has proclaimed himself to be alive, seeking new support from the people, the working class and youth. It is also essential that the demonstrators did not manage to win over the workers or any sizable number of university and secondary students to join them! Nor, however, should we overlook that they did manage, with demonstrations that were more peaceful than brutal, to cast still another "explosive charge" of unrest and uncertainty on the part of the population. To give them the message that at least for now life with the irredentists must be taken for granted in Kosovo!

A Night of Suspense

We rightly declared the evening of 10 March and the morning of 11 March to be a time of suspense. Many citizens were wondering and guessing whether the irredentists and Albanian chauvinists would come out into the streets. We received contradictory reports. Pristina on those days recalled a captured city, there was a police patrol at every 50 meters. Everything appeared to be peaceful.

Just after 0900 hours on 11 March the students began to gather on the hill around the dormitories. About 500 of them set out for the city, shouting the well-known slogans from last year's demonstrations--"Kosovo a Republic," "Long Live Enver Hoxha," "Unity," and others. Quite a few students were also in front of the entrance to the nearby student dining hall, and without guessing how many there were, there were certainly more than 100. Strong police security had been set up around that entire area. The guardians of law and order did not intervene. Policemen did move toward them without intervening, and this group of demonstrators began to withdraw without resistance along Istarska Street toward the settlement called Muhadzer Mahala.

Around noontime heaps of leaflets were thrown from two FIAT cars at an overpass in another part of Pristina. When we stopped the car in order to see what the leaflets said, we saw that they were false. These were pieces of white paper, format A-4, which were blowing along the road. At noontime the center of the city was overflowing with secondary school children, who were taking part in the corso in an almost holiday disposition in groups of as many as 50 each. Ten minutes later two groups of secondary school children, each numbering several hundred, joined in regular ranks of three in front of the building of the Kosovo Provincial Assembly, shouting slogans. Someone threw a pebble at members of the police. By accident or intention, they intervened with tear gas. Force was not used at any point. We later learned that even the tear gas was unplanned.

The news of these events spread quickly through the city. Parents were mainly rushing excitedly to the schools to pick up their children; all the schools had been let out around noontime. Certain workers who had attempted to leave their factories were prevented from doing so. In certain work organizations the workers were collectively driven home at the end of the shift. Many private stores did not open. It was noted that the stores, otherwise well-stocked, had a poor assortment that day. About noontime all the telephone lines went dead, we were told in the Grand Hotel that there was "interference in the lines" at precisely that time, that not a single number outside Pristina could be reached, and it was difficult even in the city itself.

In the evening several thousand secondary school and university students walked in the corso of Pristina in straight and orderly rows, wearing black and red scarves around their neck and badges bearing the image of Enver Hoxha on their windbreakers. Though the corso was already overflowing at about 1800 hours, the security forces on duty told the participants to disperse. However, the Pristina promenade, a favorite meeting place of young people, remained full until 2100 hours and in an almost holiday atmosphere. There were more young people on the promenade than on the previous nights. About 1900 hours a cordon of police was set up on both sides of the main street, on the curb. The secondary and university students calmly continued their promenade.

From time to time, at uniform intervals, shouts, whistling and hissing in unison were heard from the participants in the corso. All of this was directed practically into the faces of members of the security force, also young, and among them were quite a few reservists that evening. The security forces looked calmly on at this provocative challenging of the representatives of authority. Even this time they did not intervene with the use of force. Only after 2100 hours did the corso begin to dwindle and the young people went away home. Something similar was repeated in Vucitrn, Suva Reka and Podujevo.

Seduced or Saturated

The children in Pristina no longer play cowboy and Indians, Partisans and Germans, but demonstrators and police, and here they jokingly refer to the men in blue uniforms as "delegates of all the republics and provinces." The boys here have their local heroes, everything depends on which side their parents are on. From the early years, this we were able to see for ourselves in certain houses, both Serbian and Albanian, the children here begin to play with real pistols. They do not hear as often as other children the classic fairy tales about good and bad people. They have hardly begun to talk when the iron law of this area begins to apply to them, people are first recognized and set apart on the basis of their nationality. An outsider who does not have ethnic prejudices is dumbfounded when he realizes that after a day or two of being in this environment even he begins to fight against this temptation. From the day nursery the Albanians do not mix with the Serbian and Montenegrin children, and it was with good reason that they boasted in the Provincial Conference of Women that they would demand that the children in day nurseries belonging to the different nationalities be brought together at least during play and at meals.

Whether we want to admit it or not, the irredentists have sown their seeds of enmity in Kosovo. And that is the most dangerous traits which they have left behind them, many of the best comrades, neighbors, Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins bearing an equal ethnic burden, have relented in the face of this evil. New trenches of mistrust and suspense have come to divide one from the other. You need not ask them anything, many do not even want to say what they think, it is enough just to listen to their children.

We saw 10-year-old boys and girls gather in groups on street corners and shout: "Albanians, Serbs, Turks, Join Together for a Better Future."

A person reporting from Kosovo is perforce the witness of a sad truth: The secondary school children, the smooth-cheeked boys and girls who are truly convinced they are fighting for the freedom of their people, are the strongest weapons of the Irredenta!? If only that were so! But it is unfreedom that lies on the other side of the irredentist illusions! That is why it was a wise thing, though there are those who think differently and demanded different behavior, that the clubs and guns were not sent against those children. To what point will this patience endure, will the enemy be satisfied with peaceful demonstrations, or will he send these innocent (seduced or saturated) children into a bloody skirmish. That would be a great tragedy not only for Kosovo, but also for Yugoslavia. A new question for a more thorough debate is how the enemy managed to rally the young people, to make of them the principal "heroes" of the day on the Kosovo political scene, to show confidence in them. Is it possible that the heroes of the counterrevolution are being sought mainly in the schools and at the university? That is the way it appears, but it would be a major historical mistake not to go further than the appearance.

It would be politically impermissible in this most up-to-date report from Kosovo to pass over in silence the fact that the party members and progressive forces in the province, who are especially numerous among the Albanians, are at the enemy's throat on an everyday basis. An almost exhausting sociopolitical effort is taking place in the province, recalling those well-known times of SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia]. The press has reported that several provincial and opstina officials were with the demonstrators, that they attempted to tear their banner bearing the words "Kosovo a Republic." Certain differences were noted among the activists as well as among the officials: some were for reconciliation and maintaining the status quo situation, while others feel that without deep incisions and correction of shortcomings on which the enemy built his policy, no lasting settlement of accounts with them can be expected. There are yet others who wink one eye at the nationalists and the other at Yugoslav patriotism. The latter are referred to as Trojan horses, people who seem to be concerned only about their personal positions and posts and who very easily band together and seek support with like-minded brothers from the other fraternal republics.

How perfidiously the policy of the irredentists and Albanian chauvinists has been conceived can also be seen from the datum that they have managed rather successfully to isolate progressive Albanians from the people, calling them "traitors." They are being supported, probably unwillingly, even by many party members by virtue of their opportunism, silence and wait-and-see

attitude. "Don't be hasty" has become almost ingrained as popular wisdom through various historical circumstances in Kosovo. We are aware of that, but in this case it is difficult for us not to put an unpleasant question: Can the Yugoslav revolution give way under the pressure of this historic legacy and under the blow of the counterrevolution? On the other wide the irredentists have been almost public in glorifying many dismissed officials and arrested leaders as "heroes." Certain former officials are even publicly threatening the present ones!? The irredentists have even instilled disquiet in progressive Albanian homes, threatening their members. It would be tragic, and there are such tendencies, for all Albanians to be proclaimed enemies of Yugoslavia. A university professor, a party activist, was not the only one to tell us:

"I am ashamed of what has happened. It is always unpleasant for me to have to meet my friends and comrades from the other republics."

Perhaps this anxiety was best expressed by a mother, an educated woman with a refined feeling for those times when the Yugoslav revolution has gone through various trials, when along with the enemy the "wave of the purge" also caught innocent people. As we were leaving her house, her last words to us were these:

"It is not important about us. We will fight, it will not be easy, but I am certain that the irredentists and chauvinists will not win this dirty war. My fear is for my children. I am beside myself with fear that tomorrow they might be branded as a people hostile to Yugoslavia only because they are Albanian."

Sympathy for Albanian System

Zagreb POLET in Serbo-Croatian 24 Mar 82 p 11

[Article by Kresimir Meler: "Kosovo: From Close Up"]

[Text] At the entrance to Pristina we were stopped by an armed police patrol. After checking our documents, they let us pass, and we entered Pristina.

The hostile activity of Albanian irredentists is noticeable everywhere.

Quite a few walls have been partly painted over with white paint. Traces of nationalistic slogans.

At about 1100 hours we passed the Student Center. We heard shouts from the settlement. We managed to distinguish: "Enver Hoxha," "Down with the traitors." We heard cries and whistles. The police soon appeared. They blocked the entrances to the student dormitories and moved toward the demonstrators. Many other policemen arrived, fully armed. All traffic was restricted to the main streets.

Some of the students hastily dispersed and then quickly reappeared at other places.

Somewhat later a group of some 500 demonstrators, coming from the direction of the Student Center, tried to break through to the center of the city.

Cordons of police prevented them. Here and there the police used clubs. Tear gas was used only when other means were of no avail. The evening was awaited with trepidation. It was thought that the daytime demonstrations were only a test.

In the evening some 70 or 80 young people were in the corso. They whistled and let out some unarticulated cries (a la "Last cries from the savannah"). There are in any case many people at this Pristina promenade, mostly young people. There are also elderly people with canes. What they have in common is that a majority are wearing black-red clothing and white skullcaps?

They join the ones making the noise, and the group grows to some 150 demonstrators.

Suddenly the police begin to surround the demonstrators. The latter quickly begin to disperse "heroically." Some of them vanish in the side streets.

Nevertheless, there are also those who behave very aggressively and throw things at the police.

Again the clubs came into play, and these "heroes" disperse. Some pass by, some the police arrest.

I meet a small group which the police have let go.

I ask for a light so as to allay their distrust. They ask where I am from? I tell them. One of them says to me:

"You are lucky!"

I talked with two young women.

One said to me: What do you think about what is happening here? Without waiting for an answer, she went on:

"We have to win. We have to achieve a better social system, equality, like they have in Albania."

A second young woman: "They do not have injustices like this in Albania, shortages, social differences. It would be worth dying for those ideals." An older Albanian man broke into the conversation: "Why do you trust him, how do you know who he is, perhaps he is an agent."

As he said this he thrust his hand into his pocket. Pretty well frightened, I left this group.

Along the way I fell to thinking. It is really improbable the way young people can be so indoctrinated. To the limit (if not beyond) of fanaticism.

About the wonderful Albanian system in which you can end up in some "labor camp" even because of your dreams.

It was not just the police dispersing the demonstrators. I also had occasion to see them being effectively opposed by university students and workers as well. Surprised, the demonstrators dispersed in a moment.

The story of an incident in Vucitrn is passed from hand to hand, not without ridicule of the "frightening demonstrators": It seems that an old peasant, an Albanian, literally beat up a demonstrator. He must truly have been horrified.

There were frequent cases of this kind of resistance of the public to the demonstrators, though our press (who knows why) hardly mentions it at all.

Even without the demonstrations the irredentists in Kosovo are creating many problems.

There are frequent attacks on the homes of Serbs and Montenegrins, as well as on members of the Albanian nationalities who have dared to oppose the irredentists. Recently a woman was seriously wounded while she was sitting in her home. The people guilty of the crime fled. Attacks on peacable and innocent passersby are nothing unusual. Not even in broad daylight. There have also been attempts to set fire to individual dwellings.

It does not pay to frame any conclusions at this point. The general impression is that the demonstrations nevertheless did surprise certain responsible comrades (though they were announced).

Just a few days before the demonstrations Petar Kostic, secretary of the Presidium of the Kosovo Provincial Conference of the League of Communists, said in an interview with NIN: "Should the enemy at this point manage to conduct any sizable demonstration I think that all of us in positions of leadership should not only submit our resignations, but we should in fact be dismissed and arrested because of negligent performance of duty." These and similar assessments to the effect that the enemy has been beheaded, that the "organized socialist forces hold the situation firmly in their hands and that only petty little outbreaks are possible" will have to be revised by all appearances.

It is interesting that the Pristina newspaper JEDINSTVO asserts that 1,000 demonstrators participated in the demonstrations, while at the same time it makes the comment that no great numbers were involved.

If we take this remark as accurate (though the number of 2,000 demonstrators is also bandied about), we wonder how many people would have to demonstrate for the action by the irredentists to be "large-scale."

Much greater concern ought to be aroused by the fact that the demonstrations were irreproachably organized. Every observer could see that the irredentists were operating from several places in the city and that this was synchronized. The enemy had obviously thoroughly practiced the tactic of dispersal and rapid

reassembly. This method of operation, of peaceful demonstration, is also surprising. However, these peaceful demonstrators can alter their behavior at any moment.

Mostly young people were involved in the demonstrations, which shows that there are many oversights in the effort to bring them up (in the face of numerous assertions to the contrary). Figures according to which most of the criminal charges were filed following last year's demonstrations against university and secondary school students prove the fact that the greatest indoctrination affected those attending educational centers.

It does not take many words to say what happened and why.

The enemy is very persistent. He wants to maintain continuity of his activities at any price. The ultimate goal of these activities is to arouse ethnic enmity.

Young people were again in the front ranks in the recent demonstrations. No longer can there be or should there be any talk about their being led astray or being uninformed.

Nor should yet another mistaken assessment of the situation be allowed, a covering up of the problems and diversion of attention somewhere else. Especially not after the assessment of the Kosovo Provincial Conference of the League of Communists to the effect "that it is not impossible that the hostile activity might continue with various methods and means."

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25 May 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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EFFORTS TO COMBAT FALSIFICATIONS OF DOCUMENTS

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 4 Oct-Dec 81 pp 80-91

[Article by Estref Myftari: "About Some Matters of the Struggle Against the Falsifications of Documents"]

[Text] In our country, after the victory of the people's revolution, crime has been and continues to be one of the aspects of the class struggle under the conditions of the fierce imperialist and revisionist encirclement. The class struggle, as the party teaches us, has a general objective character which should always be taken into consideration in the study of the social phenomena in which crime holds a particular place. The hostile and evilminded activity carried out through the falsification of documents is one of the acute forms of crime.

In the relationships between the people, and between the latter and the state institutions and the socialist social organizations there are, as it is known, a great number of written documents of various kinds such as economic and financial documents, identification documents, personal documents and so forth, which are increasing in proportion to the increase and perfection of these relationships. But, in many cases, these documents are falsified by hostile and evilminded elements in order to achieve their purposes. Their efforts to falsify documents are observed, especially, in the crimes against the state, in the appropriation of socialist property, in the exercise of duty and so forth.

Penal acts in regard to the falsification of documents are, generally, becoming fewer, as a result of the struggle developed against them in the general framework of the struggle against crime. The expertise on crime has also played an important role in this struggle. This fact is shown not only in a more rapid criminal expertise of documents in penal proceedings, but also in the raising to a higher scientific level of investigations and judgment of these matters in general.

In regard to falsification of documents, as seen from a criminal aspect, some issues arise, whose handling, as a whole, would result, however little, in a better organization of the struggle against crimes.

1.--

Falsifications of documents are acts of a particular social danger, because, they affect important state and social interests; therefore, heavy sanctions are stipulated against them in the Penal Code. In the classification of penal acts carried out in this Code, the falsifications of documents do not constitute a separate group; they are stipulated in certain articles and, concretely, in articles 76, 110, 121, 166, 201 and 212 and in various chapters, as independent entities which, according to the target towards which they are directed, are divided according to the degree of social danger, that is, into crimes and into penal infractions. These penal acts have some common elements, especially, in regard to the objective aspect.

Article 76 of the Penal Code refers to the aspect of the falsification of state currency, of state obligatory notes and of foreign currencies.

In practice, the cases specified in Article 110 of the Penal Code occur most often; this article deals with falsification through the presentation, in official documents, of circumstances or of data which are known to be lies and with the drafting and producing of documents which also are known to be false. At the same time, the falsification of documents of the citizens, which are in the files of an institution, enterprise or organization, is also covered.

The term, official documents, means the documents issued or given by an institution, enterprise or organization and which contain necessary elements such as the title, the number, the date and place of issue or of the drafting, the content, the signature of the responsible person and, when it is required, even the seal of the institution, enterprise or organization. These elements constitute those things which, in juridical literature, are usually called requisites of official documents. The absence of one of these necessary elements makes the document lose the character of an official document.

The documents of the citizens, which are in the files of an institution, enterprise or organization, according to this provision, are statements made by private individuals, recording their statements on certain situations in favor or in disfavor of another person. They can also be various reports by which certain persons acknowledge or do not acknowledge certain facts in favor or in disfavor of other persons and of various other documents.

Falsifications in these documents can be carried out through various methods or means and can consist of the alteration of one or of several requisites of the document; but, they constitute an aspect of penal acts, for which, the determining of the method and of the means used for falsification, through crime lab examination, along with other circumstances, serves to evaluate the level of the social danger posed by the author of the falsification, which differs from one case to another.

Apart from the cases when they are encountered as the only form of the presentation of criminal acts, falsifications are widely used as suitable means for perpetrating many other criminal acts, especially, acts against the state and for the appropriation of socialist property. In the latter cases, the author of the falsification is responsible for the criminal act that he has committed,

regardless of whether he commits it by means of the falsification of documents or by other means.

Regardless of whether they constitute in dependent entities or are used as means for perpetrating other penal acts, from an objective aspect, falsifications of documents are achieved through similar methods falsifying documents, completely or partially. The documents, which are completely falsified, are drafted again by imitating a standard original document. Thus, for example, banknotes, identification papers and so forth are falsified. In regard to partial falsifications, changes are made in the data of the documents by "improving" them in favor of the authors, while, the entire documents remain authentical. These kinds of falsification of documents are more common and are more often encountered in the work of the organs of investigation, of courts and of the crime labs, thus, becoming a direct target of technical and graphic examinations.

In conclusion, about this issue, we deem it necessary, relying on the data of the objective aspect of the forms of penal acts of the falsification of documents and of other acts, where these falsifications serve to perpetrate hostile or malevolent activity, to define the concept of the falsification of documents by relying on their common elements. Therefore, the falsification of documents means the presentation of the false circumstances in them, or the failure to present certain circumstances which exist in reality, by working on the authentic documents with various technical methods, erasing, enlarging and supplementing or creating new fictitious documents.

On the basis of these requirements, it is possible to set up a method for the examination of falsified documents.

2.--

A document is the reflection of a definite thought expressed in writing. From this point of view, documents can be written by hand, typed with a typewriter, printed or with photographs and other forms. On the basis of the purpose of preparation, documents are divided into identification documents such as, for example, identification papers, passports, certificates of vital statistics, and so forth; into economic and financial documents such as, for example, incoming papers, dispatch papers, bank vouchers and payment vouchers, payment invoices and so forth; and into personal documents such as certificates of proficiency, school certificates, statements, booklets and letters of correspondence and so forth. While, on the basis of the manner of handling, documents are divided into official documents issued by the responsible government organs, social organizations and so forth, and into documents prepared by the persons themselves.

This classification of documents has its own importance in the various aspects of the examination of documents, while, in the procedural aspect, it is important that any kind of document, prepared in any kind of manner and regardless of the form of its handling must prove a fact or an event of juridical importance. Under these conditions, documents can be either material evidence or written evidence.

In practice, it is of interest to know when documents are material evidence and when they are written evidence. To make this distinction, we must be guided by the definition of the concept of material evidence in general, which must be understood, and by the documents of material evidence, in particular, which, under the conditions covered by the law, can serve as a source of information in regard to the facts and circumstances on the basis of which the penal acts and offenders are discovered. In this light and according to the definition of the provision of Article 27 of the Code of Penal Procedure, the documents which have served as a means for the execution of the penal act, which bear the imprint of the penal act and which have been the object of the criminal activity, as well as the documents which constitute the profit gained from the penal act or the compensation given or promised to be given for the execution of the penal act, all must be considered as material evidence.

The document of material evidence, in various cases, can have not only one of these signs, but also several signs jointly. Thus, for example, a document can have served not only as a means for the execution of the penal act, but also as the very object of the criminal activities, such as, for example, stolen identification papers falsified for the purpose of being used by another person.

While all other documents, whose content confirms the facts which are important in the case and, consequently, together with the materials of the case, are documents of evidence according to Article 30 of the KPP [Code of Penal Procedure], or, as they are often called in practice, written evidence. As such, we consider the written statements on the various investigative and juridical activities, the various official letters, the testimonies, the receipts, the characteristics of the cadre, and so forth. But, these kinds of documents can also be considered material evidence in the case when they contain the above mentioned characteristics of documents of material evidence, according to the provision of Article 27 of the Code of Penal Procedure.

Different views have been expressed in our juridical literature in connection with the classification of documents into documents of material evidence and documents of written evidence. Thus, some authors think that documents are distinguished by the importance they represent for the case; therefore, these documents which present an importance for the case are material evidence, while, the other documents are written evidence. Other authors find the distinction in the subjects that formulate these documents, that is, if the document is drafted by an investigator, a prosecutor or a judge; therefore, it is written evidence; otherwise, the document is material evidence. Another group of authors, in order to make a distinction between documents of material evidence and documents of written evidence go by whether the document is original or falsified; when the document is original, then, it constitutes written evidence; when the document is falsified, it constitutes material evidence. Finally, there is another opinion that the distinction between documents of material evidence and documents of written evidence consists in their content: when they are examined according to their content, they constitute written evidence; while, when they are considered as objects, regardless of their content, they constitute material evidence.

The distinction between documents of material evidence and documents of written evidence, in our opinion, has nothing to do with the proving power from the procedural point of view, because, it is known that the value of every piece of evidence is a result of the concrete circumstances of the case, and the comparison with the totality of the other data which have been collected during the investigation and judgment; however, this distinction is connected with the ways in which they are acquired and handled. The documents of material evidence are obtained through the investigative and court activities of observation, monitoring and confiscation, describing them in an appropriate written statement made on this occasion; while, other documents, the written evidence, are either drafted by an investigator or a judge, or obtained by the state and social organs or by the citizens without the requirement for a special investigative action. The documents of material evidence, different from the documents of written evidence, are joined to the case by a special decision. They accompany the case and are preserved until the termination of the case; and, there is an instruction in the final decision telling what to do with them. When it is impossible to combine the documents of material evidence with the case, for example, when they are voluminous and badly damaged, they are represented by photographs, which on this occasion, have the value of derived material evidence.

The separation of the documents of material evidence from the case must also be carried out by special decision.

The distinction between documents of material evidence and documents of written evidence is also important from a criminal aspect, because, it is only documents of material evidence which can be examined. The determining of the sphere of the documents of material evidence, based on the requirements of the provision of Article 27 of the Code of Penal Procedure, which also become the objects of crime lab expertise, with this quality, is important because of the fact that through their examination it is possible to solve some problems which are important for the case.

3.--

The various documents are in general submitted to the administrative control of the special government organs for the purpose of verification to know if they really belong to their bearers and users, if they are valid at the time at which they are checked and if they have been issued by the responsible organs. This control is carried out by simple methods: by comparing the document with the person himself; by comparing the generalities of the document with the data of the exterior presentation of the person; by asking questions of verification about the content of the document; by examining the content of the document; and by comparing the seal and signature with the standard models and so forth. When, during the verification of the document, there is a doubt that changes and other subsequent operations have been carried out on the document, or that the document is not original in totality, then, the document is submitted for observation and examination by the crime lab.

The documents of material evidence become objects of the criminalistics expertise when there is a doubt that they have served as means for executing a penal act (for example, the economic and financial documents of material and

In addition to the restoration of the damaged text, the restoration of documents also is a permanent task assigned to the crime lab in these cases. This restoration is carried out not only in order to assist in the discovery of the text, but also to preserve the documents so they can be kept as material evidence.

In cases of examination of documents damaged by burning, special research works are carried out to determine the type of paper or, better, the type of fiber used (cotton, linen, processed pulp, unprocessed pulp and so forth), the filler of the paper (various types of cellulose with short or long fiber, sulfites, sulfates, sodium carbonate, kaolin, silicates and so forth); to determine the type of ink used for writing the text of the document (ink with a ferrogallic acid base, ink with a carbon base, nigrosine-based ink, and so forth); and finally, to determine the fuel used (gasoline, alcohol, kerosene, and so forth). These examinations are carried out through chemical and criminological methods.

5. The examination of typed documents has some characteristics. This examination is carried out in three stages: first, there is the determining of the type and make of the typewriter; second, there is the identification of the concrete typewriter used for the typing, and third, the final stage, is the determining of the author who has done the typing. In order to achieve the purpose, both the expressions of the spoken language and those of the typist, twisted together, are used. However, this determining is not categorical. The typing of the typist is analyzed together with the group and individual make.

Of course, those are some tasks of a general character set forth before the crime lab in the cases of the examination of documents which are falsified and damaged; while, the concrete tasks are assigned according to the case, depending on the concrete circumstances, on the method used for the falsification, and on the level of the falsification and damage to the document.

4.--

One of the basic requirements in the observation of documents of material evidence is their preservation in the state in which they were seized by the court and investigative organs. But, during the observation and crime lab examination of documents, in the different stages of the investigative and juridical process and of the crime lab's work, changes and damages can be caused to documents. Therefore, documents must be kept and handled with great care. This concern must be increased, especially, during the stage of the criminologist's expertise, when the documents are submitted to complex examinations. Some general rules in regard to the handling of documents can be formulated from the generalization of experience gained in this field.

The documents are photographed in the conditions that they are presented, then, later on, the different methods of observation and examination can be applied to them.

At the beginning of the examination, the content and requisites of the documents are studied. This moment is quite important not only in order to learn about the writing of documents, but also to know their purposes; these data

monetary value which have been used for the appropriation of socialist property) or for concealing the traces of the penal act (for example, the faded, burned and torn documents after the act of appropriation), as well as, when they can help to clarify the circumstances of the case (for example, the documents which have been found in the place of the event).

In all these cases, according to the kind of falsification executed on the document, therefore, in conformity with the extent of the changes made in its content, or with the extent of damages when it is a case of damaged documents, the following issues are solved through technical and crime lab examinations.

1. When we have to deal with complete falsifications of manuscripts and signatures, it is possible to determine the fact of falsification and the concrete manner used, in a given case, through examination by crime labs. The settlement of this issue has a great practical importance, especially, in regard to determining the circle of the people among whom we must look for the author of this falsification, as well as to obtain comparative samples. In addition to this, in these cases, another matter assigned for solution is the determination of the author of the falsification. The identification of the author of a falsified text or of a signature relies on the general and individual characteristics of the personal writing displayed during the execution of the falsified text or signature. In the cases of falsification of these parts of documents through technical imitation, the issue of identification is not presented because the author does not display the original graphic material. This matter is solved mainly through the route of investigations.

2. When we have complete falsifications of seals and stamps, in addition to determining the fact of falsification and the concrete manner used for falsifying, sometimes, the matter of determining the means can also be presented in order to determine whether or not they are used for preparing the falsified seal and stamp. The examination, in these cases, deals with the remains of materials and other traces left on these means, as a result of their use for making the falsified seals and stamps.

3. In the falsifications of parts of documents, the general task of the crime lab, along with discovering the fact of falsification and the concrete method used for falsifying, such as, for example, mechanical or chemical erasing, extension, drafting or finishing of a document with detached parts, also is to determine the content of the initial text. In many cases, this is the main task and, sometimes, the only task assigned for solution. While, the establishment of the author of the falsification can be assigned only in these cases when he [the author] makes new annotations on the documents by using, for this purpose, his own handwriting or a falsified handwriting.

The establishment of whether or not specific means have been used for a given case of partial falsification can be assigned only when these means are found on the persons who are suspected to be considered as defendants.

4. In regard to damaged documents, the task of the crime lab is to discover the content of the initial text which has been damaged and covered with stains, tears or burns, because, it is understood that the determining of the fact of the damage and of the manner used for damaging the document are obvious.

are used to complete the framework of the circumstances of the case. Also, for this purpose, during the expertise, it is necessary to have documents of the same type as those which are being examined in order to compare them and to see in which parts of them there have been changes.

After this preparatory stage, it is possible to move directly to the execution of the various methods of examination. For the purpose of preserving the original aspect of the document, in this stage of examination, methods which do not affect the text and the paper of the document, are used in order not to cause any change to the former aspect of the document. However, in practice, sometimes, it is absolutely necessary to apply methods which damage the existing content of the document when it is necessary to discover its initial content. This action is carried out only when it is allowed by the investigator or the court that has called for the expertise.

It is not allowed to make new notes or folds on the documents of material evidence which are submitted for examination, because, later on, they can be mixed up with the writings or folds made by the authors of the falsifications.

Before applying the various methods for the examination of documents of material evidence, tests are carried out on experimental models which are prepared by the expert himself and made as similar as possible to the conditions existing in the documents submitted for expertise. The preparation of these experimental models can be made by the expert himself, or the expert can ask for similar documents; the damage of experimental documents does not matter.

The results achieved during an examination are verified in regard to their accuracy through experiments carried out on other parts of documents. This rule is implemented, especially, during the examination of the document's paper when there is a suspicion that the falsification has been carried out by using chemical methods or by completing the documents with other parts.

The final correct opinion on the presence or absence of falsification and of the method used for falsification appears after the application of all possible methods of examination on the given case.

The final act includes the description of the methods used during the examination, the results achieved and, finally, the conclusion formulated.

It is only when suitable documents are available, in the required quantity, that the criminologist undertakes their examination; otherwise, it is necessary to ask for additional materials.

The execution of these rules during the observation and criminological examination of documents is valuable not only for their preservation in their original condition, but also for achieving better results in the expertise.

5.--

The act of technical expertise of documents is the crowning of the work achieved by the criminologistics expert. This act is divided into three main parts:

The introductory part, which includes a short presentation of the circumstances under which the need to carry out an expertise was born, sets forth the matters which should be solved and the materials sent for expertising. A detailed presentation of the materials at the disposal of an expert has a practical importance, because, it is on the basis of these materials that his subsequent conclusions will be judged and assessed.

The examination is done in two phases: the separate examination of the objects and the comparative examination of them.

In the first phase, all the methods used for the examination of documents are described and all the results achieved in every one of them are recorded. From here also arises the methodical requirement that the act of expertise show not only the results of the examination, but also the entire process which has been carried out. However, this does not mean that all the marks discovered during the examination are described. In fact, only the marks needed for identification are described.

In the majority of the cases, examinations of documents are done through experimental work, just as many kinds of criminologistics expertises are done in general. This is one of the characteristics of the criminological expertise, which is different from the other kinds of expertises. Therefore, in order to have an analytical picture of the expert's work in the act of expertise, it is necessary that, in the examination part, we describe the experiments which have been carried out, bringing into the open the following moments: the purpose of the experiment, the order of the activities which have been carried out, the results achieved, the conditions which have been changed in order to render difficult the achievement of these results and, finally, the manner of fixing (in photography and in other means) these results.

A detailed description of the methods of examination and of experiments is executed not only for the purpose of training the expert in the execution of scientific methods of expertise, but also for the purpose of creating opportunities for the investigator and the court to correctly evaluate the results of these examinations and, in the case of a repeat expertise, to be able to reproduce them accurately.

The conformities with or possible differences between the identifying marks of the objects, which are compared, are described in the second phase, the phase of the comparative examination.

The final part, or the conclusions of the expertise, is the deduction of the results achieved after the execution of all possible methods of examination in regard to the case in question.

Logical relationships must exist between the examination part and the conclusions of the act of expertise; if the conclusions are not based on this part and do not come as a result of it, then, they cannot be accepted as evidence.

According to the case, the conclusions are formulated as possible or as categorial. There are different opinions in connection with the value as evidence of possible conclusions of the expertise.[1] As this issue has been

1. In regard to this, see the Second Criminalistics Conference.

discussed many times in our juridical literature, we will treat only one aspect of it, precisely, the aspect which deals with the value of the possible conclusions when they are used correctly and in totality with the other evidence administered in regard to this issue.

Our practice of many years in criminal expertise has accepted the issuance of opinions based on probability. This fact has opened the path for further investigations of the case and has shown what kinds of investigative activities should be undertaken so as to establish relationships between facts and happenings and to seek new facts. For example, in the case of the examination of a document, in connection with a written statement on the reception of some materials, the criminalistics expert, examining the signature of the receiver of the materials who refused to admit to having signed the document, found out that the signature was not original, but that it was falsified, and that imitation had been used as a method of falsification. Of course, in this case, the author of the falsification could not have been determined through methods of criminalistics expertise. However, this conclusion enabled the investigator of this case to reinforce his conviction that the denial of the defendant who, in this case, was the receiver of the materials according to the statement in question, was correct. Exonerating this person as the author of the falsification, the investigations were orientated towards other persons and, concretely, towards the storeman who had prepared a fictitious statement, on the occasion of an inventory in order to conceal discrepancies in the storehouse and, for this purpose, had falsified the signature of K.B. by imitating it. Therefore, although, in this case, only a possible conclusion was reached, nevertheless, it was correctly used and, combined with the other evidences, it served both to exonerate an innocent person from penal responsibility and to discover the real author of the falsification.[2]

A special problem in connection with the interpretation and evaluation of the possible conclusions of the criminalistics expertise, is presented by the cases of examination of falsified signatures, when the falsification and the methods used for falsification are discovered, but the author of the falsification cannot be determined, by the expert. In this case, the conclusion includes both the possible author of the falsification and the person whose signature is being examined, because, he might have purposely changed his signature. The determination of signature falsified by the person himself or by another person cannot be made, many times, through the methods for examination of signatures which have been devised up to now; therefore, it is understandable that, in these cases, the expert's conclusion must be interpreted in a broad sense and the list of authors who might have done the falsification must include the person whose signature is written.

In this way, the expert's conclusions, correctly analyzed and linked with all the other evidence and circumstances of the case, can enable the cases to be resolved in an objective manner.

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2. Act of expertise No 91 of 24 May 1976 of LQK.

An incorrect attitude towards the value as evidence of possible conclusions is as harmful as an uncritical attitude toward categorical conclusions. The conviction that an idea is correct and sound, regardless of whether it is formulated in a categorical or probable manner, must emerge from the entire examination of the expertise that has been carried out, and its evaluation in regard to the concrete case must come later.

6.--

The entire work of our party and of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the struggle against crime, aims, first of all, at preventing penal acts. The preventive struggle is linked both with the measures which the party and the government take for the maximum limitation of the conditions which help the rise and development of crimes in general and with the special tasks for the complete and objective investigation of penal acts, with the aim that their concrete causes be discovered.

It is also in this light that one should consider the tasks of the organs of the court, of the prosecutor's office and of the investigator's office, in the struggle against the falsification of documents, as one of the typical, varied manifestations of penal acts. Among these tasks, the main ones are:

The rapid, complete and thorough discovery and investigation of penal acts, for whose execution falsified documents have been utilized;

The discovery of the things which have enabled the author to prepare and perpetuate falsified documents;

The execution of technical and scientific criminalistics methods and means for discovering, determining and examining falsified documents.

Every penal act, regardless of its nature, leaves many invisible traces which can be discovered only through technical and scientific criminalistics methods and means. The utilization, on a wide level, of criminalistics methods and means not only in the laboratory by specialists, but also in everyday work by investigators and courts, increases the quality of investigations and of judgments and makes it possible for them to be more and more developed on scientific bases.

In practical work, the confirmation of the fact of whether or not we are facing the implementation of a criminal act through the falsification of documents is often a difficult task. For this, a great help, along with the other forms provided by criminalistics expertise. Despite improvements in the direction of a wider use of the results of criminalistics expertise in this field, as resulting from the experience of judgment, of investigations and of the crime lab, there are still shortcomings and weaknesses linked mainly with the collection of materials and with their dispatching for expertizing. In many cases, the investigator and the court sent, for the purpose of comparison, experimental models, neglecting the models which are free, especially, in regard to handwritings and signatures. There also are cases when the signatures of suspected persons, signatures which are written on the statements

of their questionnaires at the investigator's office, are sent as models for the purpose of comparison; this fact renders difficult the implementation of the criminalistics expertise. And, when free models are sent, they have not always been actual--written at a time as near as possible to the date of document which is being studied. There are other cases when only signatures are sent, as free models, leaving aside the handwriting of the persons, whose signatures are being studied, or of the other persons with whom they will be compared. Therefore, according to the case and in conformity with the document, which has become the object of expertise, and the matters submitted to be solved, experimental models prepared under similar conditions and with similar means as those of the documents of objects for expertise, as well as the free models which are completed in time before and after the date of the completion of the document which is being expertized--are sent for expertise.

A preliminary and thorough study of falsified documents is not always done by all investigators. Thus, the criminalistics experts, during the study of these documents, also observe other falsifications about which they have reported, regardless of the questions laid down in the decision on the determining of the expertise. Therefore, the expansion of the study of documents of material evidence in the penal case would provide a better execution of the tasks in this field in order to carry out a discovery work at a higher level.

Also in the drafting of decisions on the determining of expertises, in some cases, one can still observe shortcomings and gaps both in regard to the individuality of the objects of expertise and the assignment of the issues which must be solved, whose solution would improve the quality of the criminalistics expertise, along with the qualitative improvement of the investigation and judgment of the penal cases in general.

In reducing penal acts regarding the falsification of documents, it would be important on the part of the state organs to improve some measures of technical and organizational nature in connection with the production, completion, and administration of various documents and, especially, of economic and financial documents.

The economic and financial documents are often printed on transparent and colored paper of poor quality. For this reason, they are easily damaged and pave the way for falsification and, sometimes, they become useless for the expertise. Therefore, for documents in general, it would be better to use paper of high quality and, for the more important documents, to execute stamping of the protective net more widely. The blocks of these documents, after having every copy numbered, must be handled and given the same consideration as all other documents of value. They must be handed over to responsible persons in the accounting office and a receipt must be obtained. Their consumption must be verified for every sheet and physical numbering. The canceled sheets must be kept in the block as all the sheets which are not used; and the blocks in reserve must be stored in safe places.

In many documents, especially, shipping papers, receipts, payrolls, bills, files, invoices and so forth, which are more often the objects of criminalistics expertise, have a small space for signatures; this fact limits the

possibility that a person will write down his full name, surname and so forth. The creation of conditions for the purpose of writing signatures has its importance, too; it should not happen, as sometimes it does happen, that a person writes his signature standing, with his hand on the window sill, without resting his arm on something and so forth. For this reason, the person, who writes his signature in this manner, underestimates it and simplifies it into some graphic elements without any identification value. It must be established that as a rule, a person should write his signature in the form of a text, that is, his full name and surname and this will put an end to bad writing of most complicated signatures. Seen from this aspect, the regulation approved by Decision No 64 of the Council of Ministers on 26 December 1966, Article 15, notes: "The act of receiving wages by a worker for his work is certified by his own signature...."; this must be interpreted in a wider sense, that is, that by his signature one must understand that he must write his full name and surname. Also, in the document model where the word "signature" is written, it must be written "name, surname and signature." When documents are made in many copies with carbon paper, every copy of the document must be signed by hand.

A greater care must be shown for the completion of these documents for a more exact implementation of the regulations established for this purpose. They must be completed with ink or copying pencil; the content of every column must be written clearly; the uncompleted column must be drawn before and after the figures of the parts (pieces, kilograms); the equals sign must be put to the sums of leks; the total sum must also be written in letters; and no rectification of the content of these documents must be allowed, especially, of the content of quantities, units and values.

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CSO: 2100/58

STRUCTURE, FUNCTION OF 'PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIONS' ANALYZED

'Democratic Centralism' Concept

Bonn DAS PARLAMENT in German Vol 32 No 16, 24 Apr 82 p 14

[Article by Heinrich Oberreuter: "Supreme Organs Without Leeway—Idea and Reality of Socialist Representative Bodies"]

[Text] If one takes Lenin at his word, there can be no such thing as "socialist parliamentarism." Although he cannot visualize a democracy without representative bodies, "we can and we must visualize them without parliamentarism provided that we do not intend our criticism of bourgeois society to be taken as empty words." And so, none of the criteria normally used to define free parliamentarism exists in the socialist systems. Representative bodies in these states are not chosen on the basis of election processes which could by any stretch of the imagination be called free; nor are they invested with any powers that might provide them with a modicum of autonomy or permit them to become an independent force within the governmental apparatus; nor still do the concepts of freedom of the deputies themselves correspond to liberal, parliamentary principles. Marx, Engels and Lenin viewed parliamentarism as a form of domination specific to bourgeois society and parliaments as such as instruments of domination of the ruling class. "In parliament, there is only chatter which serves the purpose of misleading the 'lower classes,'" Lenin said, adding that the actual affairs of state are conducted behind the scenes, a procedure that is to be hidden from view by this "chatter" addressed to the public. In that sense, the neo-Marxist critique of parliamentarism in our day is by no means original.

Parliamentarism is only recognized as an essentially useful instrument to help bring about revolutionary transformation. The leftwing communists looked upon parliaments as basically alienating and corrupting institutions. Others, who did not share this view, looked upon them as offering an opportunity to act and to agitate with the aim of reaching the revolutionary goal. Marx himself had recognized the special importance of the communication function early on. Engels and Lenin argued that this stage for agitation be used for the purposes of enlightenment and self-portrayal and that the techniques inherent in parliamentarism be turned into tools that would hasten its own abolition.

A Useful Instrument

As we know, the theoretical alternative is the idea of Soviets which, however, cannot be easily reconciled with parliamentary principles. In socialist practice, even the contents of this ideal concept have gotten lost. It was not the base that was strengthened but the center. The alternative between proletarian democracy and proletarian dictatorship was decided in favor of dictatorship. The leadership role of the party is dominant in its relationship to the representative bodies and has always—as it still does—put the realization of true popular sovereignty in question.

The constitutions of all socialist states specify that the people—the working class—is the sovereign. This limitation—which applies throughout—provides clear proof of the class character of the socialist state. This limitation has always made it possible to keep persons out of the circle of the sovereign arbitrarily and to take away their rights. Though there is some talk at present of a "state of the whole people," this does not mean an abandonment of the principles of the class struggle but is indicative of the logical conclusion that none but the working class will be represented once the former "exploiter classes" have been subdued and eliminated.

The Party Is Dominant

At the same time, popular sovereignty which is tightly circumscribed sociologically is not given free rein politically, either. That is because Marxism-Leninism extends the privilege of being an uncompromisingly revolutionary class only to the proletariat and raises its right to leadership to the level of a constitutional principle. The communist party is cast in the role of the "avant-garde" which claims the title to leadership and authority in the state for itself. Any potential contention between the popular will and the will of the party runs afoul of this claim to leadership and is dissolved by it. In this way, the sovereingty of the working class is systematically reduced to the sovereignty of the communist party. These interrelationships apply to "socialist parliamentarism" as such. They emerge with particular clarity in the constitution of the GDR which states on the one hand in Article 47, 2: "The sovereignty of the working class, accomplished on the basis of democratic centralism, is the primary principle supporting the structure of the state." Article 1, on the other hand, which serves as the basis of the system, states that the GDR is "the political organization of the working population ...led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party." "Democratic centralism," as the decisive ordering principle of the state and of society, ensures the SED's claim to leadership and the exercise of power, the more so since the tensions between its democratic and its centralist elements have long since both in fact and in theory been nullified in favor of hierarchical subordination and strict party discipline. And so Article 47 of the GDR constitution states with the utmost brevity that popular sovereignty is implemented through the unbridled leadership role of the communist party acting as the avant-garde of the working class.

This then is a resumé of the elementary conditions under which representative bodies exist in socialist systems. Now since popular sovereignty is nullified a priori by the communist party's right to leadership, the decisive question then is what the relationship between the popular representation and that party really is. Since the parliament can hardly be accorded greater freedom of action than the people, viewed as the ideal sovereign, the parliament in effect receives just as small a share of the real power as the people itself. The constitutional provisions applicable to this matter are very clear—albeit not in their actual wording but in their interpretation in conjunction with Marxist government theory and constitutional law. Article 108 of the Soviet constitution refers to the Supreme Soviet as "the highest government organ of the USSR." Article 48 of the GDR constitution states in equally plain language: "The People's Chamber is the highest government organ of the German Democratic Republic. In its plenary sessions, it decides on the basic questions of state policy." What does this mean in actual fact ?

Prescribed Line

One is almost tempted to say that this constitutes parliamentarism of a high, so as not to say, superior order, since the postulation of a "supreme" body would seem to include the setting of clear priorities. But right here we are faced with a rather sizable problem in constitutional theory or even a fundamental difference to constitutional theory as interpreted in the liberal democracies. This type of priority leaves no room for separation of powers, for checks and balances; for the control and restriction of power through the establishment of diverse centers of power, independent by and of themselves. This is something entirely different from the modifications of mechanistic concepts of the separation of powers as can be observed in most present-day parliamentary systems of government which have nonetheless retained the core principle of guaranteeing freedom. The socialist systems, on the other hand, discard this principle consciously as a matter of course. The GDR constitution even goes so far as to underscore (in Article 48, 2) "the principle of the unity of decision-making and implementation." All it does thereby is to follow the prescribed classic line which goes back to Marx himself.

The Commune Model

Marxist-Leninist government theory traces the concentration of all state power in the representational bodies back to the model of the Paris Commune which is said to have been "not a parliamentary body but a working, legislative body which implemented the laws it passed," according to Engels. Not only the GDR constitution but those of all other socialist states draw on this model.

But the abandonment of the separation of power does not make the parliament strong but rather opens the way to an assault on its original powers. It serves to justify, for example, the wide-ranging jurisdictional activities in which other state organs, particularly the government apparatus, are

engaged in all these countries. As long as it is stipulated that all these state organs are subordinate to the "sovereign will of the people," the legislative activity by the government apparatus, for instance, is considered an "inalienable activity." Since popular sovereignty culminates in the workers party's right to leadership which adapts the entire state apparatus and the executive branch to its own use anyway, these "supreme organs of state power" are anything but powerful. The leadership role exercised by the Marxist-Leninist party actually does not permit them to raise any claims to power themselves.

Misleading Comparisons

Given the structure of the system, controversies are unlikely to arise; but if they do, they are resolved by means of a subtle differentiation between "governmental" and "political" authority. Those endowed with governmental authority are the parliamentary bodies while political power rests with the party and this in turn assigns to it the superior, leading role.

To compare this to the prudery of political parties in the pluralist democracies is totally misleading, since the circumstances are entirely different: there is open political competition; there is no identity between the state and society and there are ways of differentiating and delimiting specific political spheres. Such comparisons also tend to overlook completely the communication and bridge-building functions of the political parties as between the state and society in a modern democracy. They also overlook the illegitimacy of an unbridled party state as well as the freedom of the opposition and the adherence of the ruling majority of the moment to political principle which defines government as a revokable, controlled trust limited in time and a condition that must be acceptable not only to the majority but for all citizens. There is more than a mere difference in degree between the major or even dominant role political parties tend to play in an essentially open and competitive political process and the dictatorship exercised by a workers party in the Leninist sense and within the framework of its execution of iimutable historical laws. As for the relationship between the party and the popular representation, Lenin's statement still holds: "No political or organizational matter of any consequence... may be decided by any government body without guidance from our party's central committee."

Thus, the role to be played by the supposedly supreme constitutional body is determined by the freedom of action the party, which holds a monopoly on policy, is willing to grant. The basic difference between a democratic parliament and a socialist representative body is inherent in this "depolitization" which is built into the system.

Mandate "from Above"

Socialist representative bodies only serve to implement the tasks defined by the party. Beyond that, it is their duty offensively to influence the

people along the lines of these policies. This conforms to a brief statement of functional responsibilities in the socialist camp according to which the representative bodies have a decisive role to play in the implementation of democratic socialism which is another way of saying that they are responsible for strict uniformity and adherence to the hierachical principle (as opposed to pluralism and participation).

While there may sometimes be technological and economic strictures which lead to careful and, in any event, informal challenges to sacrosanct, ideological dogma, the basic precepts have not changed to this day. According to Klaus Sorgenicht, for example, one of the GDR's leading constituional experts, socialist democracy is not perfected by an improvement in transparence or an increase in controversial co-determination. In his view, it is important to "keep the citizenry well informed at all times, to explain the intentions of the local authorities throughout the country in order to have them understand the decisions made by the government bodies." Deputies and people's representatives are called upon to "organize work throughout the country jointly with the people and to mobilize economic reserves." For another thing, "every deputy must be provided with convincing information and background material and their substantive and professional expertise must be put to even more intensive use in the fulfillment of plan goals." This type of popular representation does not get its inspiration "from below" or even from the representative body itself. It is a job decreed "from above" in the sense of the previously mentioned functional model and the power flow demanded by Lenin.

Token Power

Bonn DAS PARLAMENT in German Vol 32 No 16, 24 Apr 82 p 14

[Article by Helmut Loelhoeffel: "No Spontaneous Debates Take Place—The People's Chamber of the GDR"]

[Text] When Herbert Fechner, a deputy of the GDR People's Chamber, looks out of his office window in the East Berlin "Palace of the Republic" he can see a one-meter high golden cross atop the dome across the street. But the Christian symbol does not bother communist Fechner. "It does not disturb me," he says. In fact, he is amused by the fact that here in the heart of East Berlin the powerful state and the powerless church are co-existing in such close promximity.

68 year-old SED politician Fechner, who was lord mayor of East Berlin from 1967 to 1974, has been a member of the People's Chamber for 15 years. Since 1981, he has been one of the "directly elected" East Berlin deputies as a result of a unilateral decision taken by the GDR to let all Berlin deputies occupy seats in parliament—in contrast to West Berlin deputies in the Bundestag. When Fechner was forced to give up the mayor's post in 1974, he became chairman of the interparliamentary group of the People's Chamber and this job distinguishes him from the 500 other deputies. He has his own

office; he travels a lot and maintains contact with parliamentarians all over the world. He represents the GDR in the Interparliamentary Union whose 1980 conference in East Berlin he chaired.

Herbert Fechner, one could say, is the only "professional parliamentarian" in the GDR. Most of the others—insofar as they are not functionaries of the state apparatus or the SED—work at their jobs in industrial plants, agricultural cooperatives, schools or hospitals. They have their own profession to attend to. From time to time, they meet with the voters and are called to East Berlin 10 times a year at most to take part in committee meetings or plenary sessions. The activities of a People's Chamber deputy bear no comparison to those of Western parliamentarians.

An Organ of Consent

The GDR constitution calls the People's Chamber the "supreme organ of state power." Within the context of socialist democracy as understood in the GDR, it may be justified to rank it in this manner even if the GDR is dominated by the SED. But in actual fact, the People's Chamber is quite meaningless in political terms. It cannot make decisions on any alternatives and is not required to work out compromises, nor is it empowered to amend legislative proposals or personnel assignments. It can merely put its stamp of approval on them.

All resolutions—with very few exceptions—are passed unanimously; mostly without debate. Sessions take place two to five times a year and last a very few hours. When People's Chamber president Horst Sindermann (who is a very high-ranking SED functionary) calls for a vote, he always asks whether there are any nays or abstentions but most of the time he does not even look up and while he is still in the process of saying "unanimously adopted" the applause of the deputies has already begun. There was a noteworthy exception back in 1972 when the law on terminating pregnancies at the end of 3 months was up for a vote: Several members of the CDU fraction voted against it.

The People's Chamber is not an organ of power but an organ of consent. Although it formally lists nine fractions the strength of which is rigidly laid down and cannot be altered through elections, they are of no practical significance. They pursue no specific or independent policies and carry no political weight. The strongest fraction according to the established formula is that of the SED with its 127 members. It is followed by the FDGB with 68 and the four "bloc parties" (CDU, DBD, LDPD and NDPD) with 52 members each. The FDJ has 40 members; the DFD has 35 and the KB has 22 members. Since almost all the People's Chamber deputies representing the four mass organizations are members of the SED, the "leading party of the working class" provides at least 260 or in any event more than half of all the deputies.

Voter's Choice Out of the Question

To be sure, the People's Chamber deputies are required to give a regular accounting to their voters throughout their 5-year term of office and they can in fact be dismissed for "serious violations" of their duties. But in practice, it is out of the question for the voters from below to oppose the principle of democratic centralism imposed from above. Deputies are called upon to act in their election district, if someone needs a bigger apartment or cannot cope with the bureaucracy or runs into some other everyday problem. It is not so much the job of GDR representatives to participate in the decision-making process as to see to the implementation of these decisions.

There are 338 men and 162 women in the People's Chamber elected on 14 June 1981. 99.21 of all voters participated in the election; 99.86 percent of those voted yes. Compared to the Bundestag, the 32.4 percent proportion of women is fairly high although it went down by 1.2 percent as against the 1976 election. Given the scant political influence exercised by the People's Chamber, however, the statement often made by GDR officials that women "have more to say" there than in the FRG need not be taken too seriously. Here are some more People's Chamber statistics: 47.2 percent of the deputies are classified as workers; 10.4 percent as peasants; 17.8 percent as white-collar and 23 percent as "members of the intelligentsia." One must add, however, that the occupations listed are those the deputies were trained for and not those they necessarily pursue at present. All 26 members of the SED Politburo, for example, are members of the People's Chamber and so are most of the 30 government ministers with practically all of them classified as workers.

Verbatim Transcripts

Compared to the Bonn parliament, the People's Chamber presents a strange sight. The deputies sit there listening to the speakers in silence and many note down what is being said (although the full text of speeches can be found in all the newspapers next day). There is no in-between applause; no one gets up from his seat during the meeting or leaves the hall; there are no spontaneous debates and there are rarely any interruptions. In fact, only one person twice availed himself of this parliamentary prerogative during the past 10 years and that was Erich Honecker, the Secretary General of the SED.

As everywhere in the GDR, the leading role of the party is neither denied, nor covered up in the People's Chamber, whose function it is to give its consent to legislative proposals and personnel appointments decided upon beforehand by the SED. It is no exaggeration—in fact it is justified—to call the People's Chamber of the GDR the "people's representation of the SED."

One of the 500 deputies is natural scientist Sieglinde Metten. Like Herbert Fechner, she has been a member of the People's Chamber for 15 years; but she does not belong to the SED but the LDPD. She does not seem to have any problems with the role she is playing in this organ of consent. To explain why she wanted to continue serving as a deputy, she said that her party maintained "friendly ties to the SED" at an election meeting in an old people's home. There was, she said, hardly anyone who could object to the SED's social and peace policies. "We just don't need an opposition," Sieglinde Metten concluded.

9478
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YOUTH DISTRUST OF PARTY RHETORIC DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Alicja Matynia-Bonik: "Youth Don't Trust Promises"]

[Text] In the Polish Optical Plants [PZO] in Warsaw, youth constitute nearly half of the personnel. They are the future of the plant, the hope of Poland optics and, at the same time, the concern of the older generation. In the agelong generational conflict, the elders today are morally more at fault. Aware of this, they are trying to seek out new ways in which to make amends to their heirs.

I spoke with several young workers of the PZO. One of them, Jan Pludzianowski, a 30-year-old metalworker, is virtually always perplexed. In the District Committee group, where he is an executive member, he is told that he thinks like a youth and not like a party member. On the other hand, when he speaks with his friends at the plant, he is taunted that he does not understand and thinks like an active party member. Jan Pludzianowski knows that this is not a compliment.

A divergence of opinions? It is, rather, the younger generation's lack of faith in the outlook described in promises. The young working generations are the 20 to 30-year-olds to whom a stabilized life has been promised; but this life moves farther and farther into the distant future after the end of the crisis. Therefore, they feel bitter and rebellious. In Jan Pludzianowski's opinion, the youth left the party not so much because of ideological reasons as from a lack of corroboration of this ideology with life. The party would like to see the youth once more involved in the solution of all problems, full of belief in a better future, aware, of course, of the repudiations that the crisis years bring with them. For the time being, however, rebelliousness and distrust dominate the attitude of the youth. Prosperity was promised them and they believe in it. In the meantime, long years of hard life are awaiting them.

A day does not go by in which the first secretary of the KZ [Plant Committee], Zenon Zapala, does not write in his notebook--full of urgent matters--of another new housing intervention. Since the activities of the professional unions were suspended, workers come to the KZ Party with all their complaints about living conditions. Requests for help in renting an apartment are most frequent. And, most often, these are by young men, like Pludzianowski, who live with a wife

and two children sheltered under their in-laws' roof. Piotr Wasiak, a machinery metalworker, lives together with his wife and two children in a single miserable room. And how many, many others there are. Before martial law, some friends intended to strike on behalf of Wasiak. He is one of the finest skilled workmen; a disciplined worker and a decorated, committed party member. "How can it be that there isn't a cooperative apartment for such a person?" asked his friends. "So who gets to take advantage of them?" From the point of view of those waiting for an apartment, even the construction of the metro seems premature. Apartments should be built first [in order] to solve the problem finally.

The factory organization, the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], is sponsoring the construction of three blocks [of building] at Goclaw Airport. These apartments have already been all but taken away from them. The housing cooperative became independent in the new year and tried to get rid of all of its sponsors. The memory of the fight for retention of the sponsorship elicits agitation to this day. Jan Pludzianowski says that people continually recall how a delegation of "3" sought an intervention at the Central Committee, and "5"--to Secretary Kociolek... This defense of youths' interests raised the influence of the youth organization.

Andrzej Zalewski, a 25-year-old tool metalworker, a non-party man and member of the ZSMP, points to the following lack of results in this area. He urges the youth to organize a cooperative association for the construction of single-family houses but, as before, the area under [the authority of] this building trade has not been drawn out. Furthermore, will the youth be able to afford it? Besides the input of their own physical labor, [there is] the purchase of materials and the repayment of the huge credit, indispensable to the realization of such an investment. "And who, ultimately, will assure us," he asks, "that the property rights to this building will not be taken away after a few years?" There were many such varied actions that met the youth halfway, but then the situation changed and new ideas incompatible with the earlier determinations emerged.

Youths, by their nature and the prerogative of their age, are more daring, reckless and prone to a greater emotional involvement. This same Zalewski tried to explain why the youth have joined "Solidarity" in such great numbers. "This is not only an expression of protest against the distortions perpetrated by the leadership of the party and the government, this is not only a revolt against falseness, it is also a chance to display one's feelings. [a chance] for resolution, for verification..."

Others confirmed these observations. Youths follow on a leash unwillingly.

A willingness to do legitimate work and, simultaneously, to live out a consumer's approach to life, which the youth are often accused of, are the two sides of truth about today's generation of youth. As Wojciech Jakubowski, the 30-year-old chairman of the ZSMP Plant Board and party member, from the electronics technology plant, says, "The youth didn't come up with this attitude of consumption on their own. For many years there were a great deal of promises for a better and easier life, but [the concept of] honest work was not taught. 'I'm the future of the nation; otherwise, however, I've got nothing but troubles' some of my friends answer nowadays when I propose to them that they join our organization," Jakubowski says bitterly,

Certain kinds of hustlers and crafty types were formed in the youth movement. Zdislaw Kamionowski, a 30-year-old warehouse manager and party member, says that it [the movement] promoted those who were not familiar with a work environment by assigning them to a variety of positions of authority in the young peoples' organization. There aren't many who are active in leadership and have come from the factories. It is not surprising, then, that there is no understanding or commonality of interests. A worker's idea is often more sound than the polished words of an official whose career began immediately after his studies.

There is a lack of respect for the worker's labor. There isn't any even at the plant. The system of pay promotes this. At the worker's position, the prospect of attaining a higher salaried group stops at a certain point. Therefore, the desire for acquiring qualifications and rising through the occupation ranks is lost. That is why "golden hands" [i.e., highly skilled workers], among others, are not increasing. The youths from the PZO consider a change in this situation to be indispensable and relevant to economic reform.

Not only a proper salary scale, but also appropriate work training in vocational and technical schools would promote respect for work. Each of the young people who spoke with me recalled how he stood at the workbench for the first time and fell into the "madness of ignorance of the practical." The old cadre, absorbed in their own business and their desires to earn higher wages, don't pay much attention to the youngsters, whose theory does not always agree with practice. The problem of youths' adaptation has been extremely important and urgent for years. And not only from the viewpoint of the humanization of work.

How to win over the youth and revive their enthusiasm? Using the example of his plant, Jan Pludzianowski has ascertained that his generation is very divided. Some are possessed by a distrust of the success of any kind of activity and it is difficult to talk to them nowadays. Some are indecisive, taciturn hiding in the hope of what will be next. But there are also those in whom, in spite of all the adversities, glows a spark of faith and a desire for action. A total of 215 members remained in the youth organization; 100 left.

"We would like to ask Secretary Zapala to meet with us." says the ZSMP chairman, Wojciech Jakubowski, "and jointly reflect how to revive the youth movement on our plant premises, convince the suspicious that there's no use dodging since the country should depend chiefly on them in order to extricate itself from this crisis as quickly as possible. This will decide the quality of their lives."

"Not everything in our work before was wrong. It isn't true that our patriotism was only for show," says Zdzislaw Kamionowski.

"We want a return to some of the work structures," says Chairman Jakubowski. "Ideological instruction in the old style doesn't hold. The authorities, full of errors and causes for deviation from party ideology, and without ideological, elucidating work, also shouldn't count on a change in the youths' attitude toward a reform of reality. To tell the truth, even though resented by the youth, is less harmful than every disguised lie."

The opinions of the Central Committee party secretary on the topic of the younger generation were similar to those expressed by the concerned [parties] themselves.

"We did everything," says First Secretary Zenon Zapala, "so that the youth could have fun and go to camp, but a lack of proper ideological upbringing arose. It was a language of slogans and not hard facts. Now, in order to regain influence over the younger generation, hard facts must be employed. Without a prospect of remedying the housing situation for the young people, without assuring them of professional advancement, we will not win them over to our cause."

"Because they know," adds Secretary Andrzej Krzeminski, "that the burden of getting out of this crisis falls on their backs in the first place. We will leave, but they will remain with their families and the problems of their living standard, unprepared for this situation."

"The party didn't educate them. and we, their parents, didn't educate them either, though we did raise them," Secretary Marian Rabong admits. "This was the fashion in life. The job of working with the youth from the ground up is waiting for us [now]. But we must be accepted by them for there to be any results."

"First of all, we must begin not with a wide policy, but by drawing them in to our work," Secretary Krzeminski. "Help them but, at the same time, charge them with appropriate tasks so that they feel trustworthy."

"We can do a lot here," says Secretary Zapala, "though questions concerning the younger generation must be solved on a broad scale, and there must be nationwide laws, which everyone abides by, that would create a definite, substantial and credible prospect."

The secretary is right. The youth nowadays do not trust promises.

9891
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'SZTANDAR MLODYCH' JOURNALIST COMMENTS ON KAUNDA-BOTHA MEETING

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 3 May 82 p 5

[Aritlce by Wiktor Weggi: "A Meeting with Implied Meanings"]

[Text] On the border between Botswana and the Republic of South Africa there was a meeting on Friday [30 April 1982] between the president of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda, and the head of the government in Pretoria, Pieter Botha. As noted by the Western [press] agencies, the subject of the one-day "summit" was, primarily, the problems concerning Namibia and race discrimination in the Republic of South Africa.

The lack of further reporting, permits only the making of a hypothesis. There is no doubt that this was an event of great importance even if because of the fact that such a meeting took place at all. Zambia belongs to the group of so-called front-line states (consisting also of Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe), which for years have been demanding a just solution of the Namibian question. Until now, the front-line states have not had direct talks with Pretoria since they do not have diplomatic relations with it [Pretoria]. Therefore, if President Kaunda agreed to meet personally with Premier Botha this can mean that perhaps either he received the agreement of the other African states for this step or else he is acting on his own.

The first variant, which seems to me the most probable, can then mean that the front-line states are prepared to enter into a certain compromise on the Namibian question with Pretoria, for it is difficult to believe that Botha has written off Namibia. On the other hand, if that is the way things are, this signifies a very dangerous evolution of events in South Africa, and, above all, departure from the assumption that the only legal representative of the Namibian nation is the Southwest African Peoples' Organization [SWAPO]. Such an approach to the problems, as a result, would be tantamount to a toning down of the demands of the front-line states with regard to Pretoria on holding universal and democratic elections under the supervision of the UN, and, as a result, a government of future, independent Namibia would be formed.

The second variant, which has many grounds, suggests in turn that among the front-line states a split has occurred. Though they all demand the independence of Namibia, they see this independence differently. And that view

is conditioned by the political situation in each of them, as well as by their external ties. Angola would like to see an independent Namibia at its side for the danger of the aggression of the Republic of South Africa against the young republic has not vanished. Mozambique holds the same position. But Tanzania, Zimbabwe, and Zambia have different calculations. Zambia is too strongly economically and politically tied to the West for it to be able to support the socialist road of development of future independent Namibia proposed by the leader of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma. What is worse, it is also to a large degree dependent economically on Pretoria and must reckon with the fact that its radicalism would result in economic countermeasures on the part of the Republic of South Africa. There is then, therefore, such an interpretation of the Kaunda-Botha meeting which assumes a certain softening of the demands of Lusaka in exchange for certain economic benefits on the part of Pretoria, all the more desirable since Zambia at present is experiencing tremendous economic difficulties.

Nevertheless, I do not believe that Kaunda betrayed the Namibian issue. This would bring him more harm than benefit. Divided by territorial disputes and different political orientations, Africa is homogeneous with regard to the problem of Namibia and racial discrimination in the Republic of South Africa. An express severance from this community of views would have to end for Zambia with its isolation from the African community, which it certainly does not desire.

CSO: 2600/586

PRIORITY AREAS FOR EDUCATIONAL REFORM OUTLINED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 11 Apr 82 pp 1, 7

[Article by Maria Rybarczyk: "Quo Vadis Education?"]

[Text] This is not the first time we are asking this question; however, I believe that today it is more important and more topical than ever before. Why? After the strong upheavals and often dramatic struggles over the content and direction of the renewal that started in August 1980, actions of benefit to the renewal are now being undertaken in our country. The renewal has extended to many fields of life: old, compromised economic mechanisms have been overthrown, we wish to develop production relations differently and to structure contacts of the authorities and society, social relations and interpersonal relations differently. The economic reform that is taking place contains the nucleus of these changes, not only in the production sphere, but also in the sphere of the attitudes and behavior of individuals and entire groups. The reconstruction of the entire Polish reality, in which all of society is participating, is taking place practically right before our eyes.

It is readily perceived that education has been put on the back burner and remains in the shadow of the great transformations in this complex process. However, without an efficiently functioning school system, without the improved, modern organization of the school, the permanent, successful improvement of social reality is out of the question. Everything depends on people, on their awareness, their attitudes, their knowledge and the need to improve this reality. Consequently, not only should education be a part of all these changes, it should precede them, since its function, whether we like it or not, is always to prepare people for present and future professional and social roles. Education is that field of social life that is to prepare the future. This being the case, it must have as accurate a vision as possible of its own future and its own actions. This view was presented in a Sejm resolution dated 26 January 1982 that raises the issue of the reform.

Today many emergency measures favorable to education are being undertaken in the school system. What we are lacking, however, is clearly and concretely defined goals and tasks to give direction to the everyday work of thousands of schools, teachers, the school administration and academic employees. It is not enough merely to perfect the current school system to enable it to cope with contemporary requirements. Professor B. Suchodolski was right when he wrote in RZECZPOSPOLITA: "We are plagued with various shortages today. However--it is true, if unpopular--what we lack most today is not goods but ideas.

We are lacking in ideas for organizing the real life of the people. We should undertake efforts to define them. They should inspire human life in three large areas: in the field of work, in the area of human coexistence and in the sphere of culture broadly understood."

Ideas are also lacking in education. To be sure, it is not without blame in this--or rather, its many representatives are not without blame. Not all are convinced of the need for reform. To some degree, the unfavorable experiences of the 1970's cast a shadow on this issue. Most of society, pedagogues included, was not enamored of that reform and did not accept the 10-year school plan. The introduction of the 10-year school could not but arouse many justifiable reservations, since it was too hasty, too feverish and did not deal with realities.

The post-August process of the total negation of everything, not only mistakes and perversions, increased this aversion to all types of reform. Given these circumstances, many groups received the decision to withdraw the structural reform with enthusiasm as the abandonment of any intention to reform education.

This view still remains current, and today many people react petulantly to any proposal for change that attempts to deal with more than the business of the day. These people believe that the school should be left in peace, that it should cease being tyrannized with announcements of reform; that for the school system to be effective, it is enough for it to fulfill its daily obligations well.

This view is one of the more serious barriers standing in the way of changes in education today. It is more difficult to overcome than all of the many shortages of a material and organizational nature in the school system. For every endeavor to change reality can succeed if it finds acceptance among those implementing it, if they, the rank-and-file implementors identify with the role and concepts of reform.

Consequently, this barrier must be broken through in the social consciousness. Academic authorities play a major role in this, especially representatives of the pedagogical sciences. What is needed is not only a general awareness of the necessity of the renewal, of the restructuring of the school system, but also the conviction that our present educational system is obsolete and incapable of coping with the requirements of the times in which we live. It must be reformed, and reformed in such a way that it enters the mainstream of changes in the country affecting all fields of life and becomes a basic tool for getting us out of the crisis.

Not everyone is totally aware of this fact. Not everyone--and this is nothing new--associates the development of the country and its success with the development of education, with its effective operation.

The question arises: Where should we begin to make the basic changes to transform the Polish educational system into a thoroughly modern system that responds to the ambitions and aspirations of an educated society? What should be done to make this a system that is both adapted to current sociopolitical conditions

ans sees far into the future? What should be changed in the education and upbringing process to provide people with a greater sense of responsibility for work and production quality in self-governing enterprises? How should we train people to act innovatively, how should we teach cooperation and self-government and the use of rights and privileges, not their abuse? How are we to inculcate ideas of solid, honest work and coexistence among people, and, ultimately, how are we to prepare people to take part in their culture and to effect their own self-realization?

Although it will not be easy to answer these questions, we must try. Where shall we begin?

I believe that we should begin by casting off the stereotypical thinking that says the reform is a structure and programs. Discussions and solutions until now have all been encumbered with this mistaken idea. The result has been that they have concluded usually with the addition of a class, with a change in form and not content or the essence of the educational-upbringing process. Consequently, we should now guard against this error, excluding all discussion and action on the question of structure from the agenda. This is a less crucial issue that is secondary to the reform now underway. It is not a question of how many years we will train, but how we will be educated.

An honest, in-depth, objective analysis of the past should be the point of departure for considerations of the future makeup of education. Mistakes that were made in the past must be eliminated in the future. But there were also many undeniable achievements in the past; there were values that must be preserved. For example, there were values embodied in the educational ideal of a universal, timeless character, of relevance to us and still current.

This "remembrance of things past" carries an extremely valuable trump card: it means we need not begin our reform of education from zero. The foundation of our school system, although not free of shortcomings and afflictions, is nonetheless strong and affords the possibility of being renewed. This is very important, for it is in some measure a guarantee that attempts made to change things will succeed and can begin, not with haste, but fairly quickly.

Around what sort of tasks should these changes be concentrated? What problems in the reform program should be given priority treatment? Although there are many, I believe that several are the most important and mark out the route we are to follow.

First, we must make the educational system a just system, equally available to all young people at all educational levels. This is a basic principle of socialist schooling, raised to its fullest height in the concept of the 10-year school. Unfortunately, this idea has not succeeded; on the contrary, despite all attempts and a tremendous organizational effort, the 1970's were marked by the process of the further differentiation in the conditions offering the young their start. Our present system is glaringly unjust, for it gives young people from large cities a greater opportunity to move ahead through education, to the neglect of rural areas. It is enough to call to mind the statistics of the low index of peasant youth in higher schools, or the index of the social composition in liberal arts secondary schools. The machinery of socially negative

selection is in operation at the threshold of primary school, since not all children acquire a preschool preparation of equal value. Thus, in future concepts of reform we must remove the barriers jeopardizing an equal start for children from the educational road through all levels, from preschool up to the university. The questions of how to do this and what solutions are indispensable are questions to be answered at length.

Second, of equal importance is the question: What sort of person do we want to develop and for just what sort of reality, tasks and social roles? While a clearcut vision of upbringing goals does exist, we cannot limit ourselves to general statements alone. A more precise definition is needed of the sort of person and citizen we need and of the kinds of moral, professional and social values this person should possess in order for him to be happy and for others to live in harmony with him? What sort of man of our times do we wish to mold? This is an important question, since this man will implement the program of national renewal and social progress; he will direct the new economy. This person likewise will take active part in the political and social life of the country, he will have ambitions to participate broadly in culture. With what skills and competencies should he be endowed to fulfill these tasks? How should we train individuals in order to equip them not only with knowledge but with qualities of innovativeness and the skill to transform reality?

Third, the problems thus stated lead to questions concerning the level and quality of education more than the type of education. This is very likely one of the most important, most difficult problems to solve in contemporary schooling. It is difficult primarily because we must reorient ourselves to another style and to other methods of teaching-upbringing work. This means reorienting the thinking and action of teachers and breaking down stereotypes. The current school's methods are outdated. It functions primarily to reproduce knowledge, to commit it to memory. This is an ancient method of education, offering no guarantee of training a person to measure up to our times. This system does not inculcate independent thought and action and it does not form creative attitudes. Consequently, how are we to reorganize the didactic process to develop activism and independence, to teach problem solving and the conscious awareness of alternative behavior. Far-reaching changes must be made on content, programs and methods of education and upbringing. The question is, what sort of changes should these be in order for the principle of the multifaceted development of the student personality not to be merely theoretical?

Fourth, the trend toward universal secondary education is good. However, in the future reform concept, the character of this education should be defined precisely. Obviously, it is not a question of keeping students in school a year more or a year less, which was the crux of the argument over the 10-year school. It is to be another kind of education, conceived as a whole, for an entire generation of Poles. It is to be free from the errors of the present system, which establishes a dual system of education at the secondary level. We have two tracks, one bound by narrow professionalism and the other, a general verbal track, divorced from life and preparing one for nothing. It is high time to break away from this distinction of the better and the worse, from the "vocational track" and the "academic track," which is simply a solution with harmful consequences. Dualism in education serves to broaden the gap in opportunity for children from various social strata as they get their start in school.

The question of the character secondary education is to have and the categories into which it is to be divided to make it of equal value to all must be settled.

Fifth, the socialist school is to be a secular school, a school open to ideological dialogue. How necessary is it that its upbringing program be adapted both to the changed principles of the organization and functioning of the socialist state and to the pluralist character of Polish society? What should the principle of pluralism mean within the school?

Sixth, the school cannot operate in isolation from life, from its surroundings and from many institutions and organizations. It is not the only teaching-upbringing organization. Thus, a future concept of national education should be examined as a whole, in the broad context of the interdependence of the school system and the entire sector of extracurricular education--factories, institutions and organizations. The upbringing front will be mutual and effective if its every participant finds within it a concrete, clearly defined role for himself. The makeup of this mechanism of interdependence is a basic question.

On a somewhat different plane, the very formal contacts of the school and the community today must be enlivened. That is, community activity on behalf of and cooperation with the school must be activated. The plan to appoint social councils in education is a first step toward such solutions, but it should not be the only step. I believe that society must attain the right of control over education. However, there is the question of how to insure society this control without depriving the school of its right to autonomous pedagogical work. What model of contact between the school and the community, between the school and society, should be adopted to be of benefit to both sides?

Seventh, the system of educational management needs considerable revision. All measures taken in this sphere of operations should amount to placing schools on a system on self-government, on rank-and-file initiative. Conditions must be created granting teacher's groups great independence, enabling innovative, creative activity to be liberated. Here lies the secret of the qualitative regeneration of the school.

Eighth, it is the human being that determines the success of every endeavor, especially one so ambitious as reform. Thus, we must consider what sort of teacher we want in this school. It is a question not only of merit or ethical qualifications, but likewise (and perhaps primarily)--since this is a matter of great interest today--of the scope of the teacher's freedom, his right to independence in teaching-upbringing work and his right to introduce his own plans and ideas and to have a part in deciding the style of schoolwork.

We realize that we have not broached every problem to be considered in discussions of the future makeup of education. We have pointed out several problems that we feel are important enough to generate discussion. We strongly encourage all to engage in such discussion--representatives of the academic world, teachers, theoreticians and practitioners, social and political activists, representatives of management and of culture. Would that discussions of this kind were the beginning of work on the concept of reform, which we treat as the opportunity for renewal in education.

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DEPUTY PREMIER RAKOWSKI'S FORMER WIFE INTERVIEWED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 6 May 82 p 11

/Interview with Wanda Wilkomirska by Dr Leonard von Leszczynski: "Turning Around and Going Away: This Was the Final Possible Protest—Wanda Wilkomirska About Her Emigration—Why Germany?—Bridges to Poland"/

> /Text/ Wanda Wilkomirska, a Polish violinist of world renown who was married to Deputy Premier Rakowski until 1981, has been living in the West since early this year. She granted the following interview in Wiesbaden prior to leaving on a concert tour of Australia.

/Question/ When did you leave Poland ?

/Answer/ I left Poland on 14 February, on Valentine's Day; but I had reached my decision earlier. When I left Poland I knew I would not come back. In the meantime, I have given a number of concerts—in Germany, in England, Ireland and in the United States.

/Question/ How did you reach your decision to stay in the West and why do you wish to live in Germany or rather, in Wiesbaden ?

/Answer/ The answer is self-evident because there is a state of war in Poland at present. It was too much. I had stopped identifying with my own country. It really was too much. Economic conditions might be bad; there might be queues in front of the stores; there might be other problems—still I would not leave my country. I am not responsible for the crisis Poland is now in. Every government puts the blame on every government that preceded it. But, all things considered, everyone is responsible for this situation. I am, too. We must bear the responsibility together: for the poor state of the economy, for the poor workmanship. We must accept the consequences for the fact that we were so well off in the early seventies. We were given licenses: Coca-Cola, Marlboro, our own homes and all the credits. I can accept the responsibility for that. But I cannot identify with what is going on in Poland now and what began on 12 December 1981. I am referring to the 12th because that was the day I arrived at Warsaw airport on my way back from Paris.

That morning, I had said goodbye to the West and returned to a country in which I would subsequently live for several weeks in a state of deep psychological depression. And that was the reason for my decision. Then there were the mass arrests of all my close friends—people who were arrested for no reason at all. I can understand criminals being arrested or real counter-revolutionaries. That is probably the same everywhere. I will always condemn the arrest of people whose political convictions differ from the official ones; or arrests because of strikes. At any rate, I left.

But I really was part of the struggle in Poland. I belonged to everything one should belong to. I signed all sorts of petitions and protests. But I knew even then that it was just a gesture that would have no bearing on events. It was a psychological gesture both for the government and for the oppressed. But it was important for a few people to get together who were not afraid and were willing to take the risk of being arrested. These few people knew that this gesture was important for those who were being held in the internment camps and who were thinking: "My God, is it all over already ? Will we never again be able to carry our head high ? Will fear and lies rule from now on ?"

Over the past 1½ years, we had gotten used to such freedom of opinion that our papers became very, very interesting all of a sudden. And then, just as suddenly, we are seeing lies on the television screen and reading them in the newspapers which even those who are putting them out do not believe. The young soldiers in Polish uniforms are not occupiers wearing foreign uniforms. They are Polish soldiers, young Poles who are doing their military service which is something they cannot get out of. They might well be school chums of my sons or the sons of women I went to school with. I simply could not bear this atmosphere. My struggle at this time in my country prompted my decision to turn around and go away. It was the greatest decision I have made in my life. But I want to stress once again that I did not turn my back on my country but on the government.

My stay in Wiesbaden is an accident. I had very many offers. A friendly remark was recently made to me in Australia. Someone said that every country would be happy to offer citizenship to me. But what for ? I do not intend to change my citizenship. I will remain a Pole. But there is always the possibility that things may suddenly change. At my age, one should never say "never" or "always."

The Germans are our closest neighbors. Germany is very close; its cultural life is similar to ours. But I feel at home everywhere. I am old cosmopolite. I do a lot of traveling, I speak many languages, I have many friends. Just now, I returned from a 3-week tour to America; tomorrow I will be going to Australia for 2 months. I have many friends there, too. I could work anywhere; I get offers from everywhere. But unfortunately these are mostly from different cultures. I am not referring to art or music; that is a language I can use wherever I go. But here in Germany everyday life is the same—the same eating habits, holidays, life in general that I have been used to since childhood.

In addition to that, the Germans are those who are most interested in what happens in Poland. Here in Germany, I can get the most news about Poland. There is far more news here than in the United States or in England for example. When I was in America recently, I myself was the biggest news from Poland. Here in Wiesbaden, I have asked the authorities to issue me an alien's passport. Wiesbaden is a very beautiful city. The pace is leisurely; there is no industry here and the air is good. My rheumatism has disappeared altogether. My European agent, Heiko Hermes, also makes his home here and at the moment, strangely enough, my son Artur and his family are also living here while waiting for their visas for Australia. He picked this city because most of our friends from Warsaw live here. He wrote to me that half of Saska Kepa (a Warsaw residential district) was waiting for him at the Frankfurt railroad station when he arrived. Wiesbaden—that is important for me—is also close to Frankfurt which has the most functional airport in Europe. Those are some of the reasons why I am here.

[Question] Could your decision as well as that of your 24 year-old son Artur have a negative effect on the career of your former husband, Mieczyslaw Rakowski ? And what about your 28 year-old son Wlodzimierz ?

[Answer] Artur has been in Germany for a number of months and I for only two. As you can see, my husband still enjoys the confidence of his superiors. I do not see our decisions as having an adverse effect on my husband. That also applies to my entire family in Poland. It has not been discriminated against in any way. No one bears any responsibility for an adult who can make his own decisions. I thought about it a lot before. I did not want anyone to get in trouble because of me. I am very happy to see that this has not happened.

My son Wlodzimierz is in Spain at present; he has been studying foreign languages in Barcelona for the past 2 years. He carries a Polish passport and has not returned to Poland because he wants to finish his studies. He has great linguistic talent. At the moment, he is studying Chinese and Japanese; he already speaks six languages. He must make his own decision about returning to Poland. He has strong bonds to Poland.

[Question] How do you feel about the decisions your sons have made ?

[Answer] I fed the children, I took care of them when they were small. When they chose their professions, I did not pressure them. Maybe that was not right of me. My sons chose their own professions and the result has been disastrous. Wlodzimierz has a degree in sociology of which he never made any use. Artur studied journalism but will never be a working journalist. He found out very quickly that one has to write half the truth as a journalist or one must write things one does not want to write and one cannot write what one would like. Artur decided long ago to go to the West although he knew he would have to accept a lower station in life. He will have to do hard physical labor and start from scratch.

[Question] Are you still in touch with Rakowski ?

[Answer] We were officially divorced in May 1981. We are still on friendly terms. There is no reason for it to be otherwise. A marriage breaks up; it happens all over the world.

[Question] Who is at Mieczyslaw Rakowski's side now ?

[Answer] He has been together with Elzbieta Kempinska for a long time. As a matter of fact, she is a member of Solidarity, a talented actress and she used to be a close friend of mine.

[Question] Could you give a brief character portrait of Mieczyslaw Rakowski ?

[Answer] I must admit that the last few months have made me lose my self-possession. It now occurs to me that I did not know this man well at all. For years I thought he was not so terribly attached to his political career. During the past few years I got the feeling that this was not so.

He is a person with a leadership instinct—which is something one can neither buy, nor learn. He is a person who gathers people around him. He has great powers of conviction. This power often had an effect on me. Even as a young man—I married him when he was 25—he put this power of conviction of his to use. My family who had always been opposed to political conditions in Poland would often provide me with a whole string of arguments against him and his political attitudes. But when I later came home, still influenced by their talk, he would convince me with a single telling argument. There is something about him that convinces people which is very important for a politician. He is very skillful in adapting to conditions favorable to him. For this reason he also changes friends often.

[Question] You come from a family belonging to the old Polish nobility. Had there been evidence of artistic talent in your family before ?

[Answer] On my father's side there is a tradition of artistic talent. Alfred Wilkomirski, my father, was a violinist responsible for two generations of musicians. Karzimierz, Maria and Michal, who are children from his first marriage, are all well-known professional musicians. When my father was widowed, he married for a second time. My mother had been his pupil. If one goes back further, one finds a few artists in my family, a few generals, a marshal and so on.

My father prepared me intensively for a musical career. I had to learn languages; I had to play the piano; I had to dance. As a young girl, I was busier than busy. From childhood, my father forced me to practice for hours. I wanted to spare my own children all that. I wanted them to play soccer, to ride horses and that provided them with a happy childhood.

[Question] You are a world famous violinist. For years, you have been working continuously. You have played on all five continents. How many concerts have you given in all ?

[Answer] Since 1960 I have kept a diary where I have entered all my concerts. I have noted down the date, the city, the program and the dress I wore. Don't make such a funny face. No one wants to see an artist twice in the same dress. I also put down the partner I played with and the pieces I played as encores. I am sorry to say I left these notes behind in Warsaw. I bought a new notebook here. Since February, I have given nine concerts and have had one recording session. In Australia, I will give 28 concerts. So you can see how many dresses I must take along.

I can just about guess how many concerts I have given thus far altogether. The first concert with an orchestra in a large hall I gave in 1945. For 32 years, I have been giving concerts—the most in one year were 163. Normally, I give 80 concerts a year. I would say I have given about 2,500 all in all. You say that I am a workhorse; but it is important to prepare a new repertoire and to take part in competitions. In Poland, for example, I never turned down an engagement, even in small towns or villages. Now I have had to send many letters of cancellation to Poland. I wanted the people to hear from me personally why I was not coming.

I think this is the way it must be done. I will surely have an opportunity to play in Poland again some day. Many Polish artists have stayed here in the West and have then returned to Poland in triumph. I do not want to burn my bridges behind me. Poland is my homeland which I love. I know, if they let me in—and they will certainly let me in but it will be more difficult to get out again—I will stand there before my public and my public and I will stand there for a long time and we will all cry. That is how it is going to be.

[Question] What are your plans for the coming year ? I have heard it said that you will turn to teaching.

[Answer] At present, I am living in a hotel out of my suitcase. I have one suitcase in Wiesbaden and another in London. After I come back from Australia, I will stay in Wiesbaden for 10 days and then give a benefit concert in Frankfurt. Then I will get a visa and go to Paris for 2 weeks. I have been invited to participate as a member of the jury in the Menuhin competition. Then I will fly to Canada where I will take part in a competition at Ottawa. And then I may be fortunate enough to return to Wiesbaden for a few days before flying to Australia again for a few concerts and a competition in Adelaide. In September, I will be here in Wiesbaden to get settled and hang all my dresses into the closet. In November will be the 100th anniversary of the birth of Karol Szymanowski and I will give four concerts with the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington in his honor. After that, there are a few concerts in Switzerland and that is it. Here in Germany, I have been offered a professorship at a music academy—the kind of offer I did not accept until now. But now I will probably take it.

[Question] You are going to give a charity concert in Frankfurt on 6 June the proceeds of which will go for the purchase of baby food and medicines for a children's hospital in Gdansk. This project has the support of Hilmar Hoffmann, the head of the Frankfurt cultural department; the director of the opera, Vitali and of Siegfried Mannhardt, a Frankfurt businessman. What are your reasons for taking part ?

[Answer] Your question is a bit childish. If someone came to me and asked me to contribute DM 50,000, I would not do so because I don't have the money. But if I can contribute my talents and if the money is raised in this way, then I will do it of course. The Polish children really need help and medical supplies. Every bit of medicine is worth its weight in gold in Poland.

At this point I would like to say with great emotion that I am delighted with the German people (no, strike that—just say: the Germans) for helping the Poles. This goes beyond all imagination. The thousands of packages being sent from Germany to Poland and the fact that the postal department does not charge for them—those are very significant matters. That one will not forget for a long time to come—just as long as one cannot forget the horrible things that happened in the past. This generation is doing a great deal to expunge the memory of what the other generation did. And if I am now frequently asked why I live in Germany, I say that I do because that is the way it is here now.

[Question] Can we come back to politics. What do you think of the political and economic situation in Poland ? What chances are there of overcoming the problems ?

[Answer] I don't know; I am not a politician, I am a violinist. If I did know, I would stay in Poland and do something. But I really don't know. We are in debt to everyone and as poor as churchmice. We have no reserves any more. The simplest thing would be for the people to start working and producing again. But you need materials for that. The Polish people are not properly fed; there is not enough fat, meat, sugar and vitamins. The people are weak and tire easily. There is not enough energy; all winter, we froze. Transportation is in a terrible state. One cannot buy any shoes. The shoemakers are not working because they cannot get leather. It is a vicious circle. I don't know how one could help. But I do know we cannot be saved by cancelling our debts or if some billionaire said he had paid them all for us. But none of our creditors will do that because none has any sympathy for the people who are running the country now. But then why should our creditors support the government ? After all, no one can support a government that is in a state of war against its own people.

[Question] What is your comment on the emigration of many intellectuals from Poland ?

[Answer] There is a tradition in that. In difficult times, our culture used to blossom abroad. I don't want to draw any analogies but I would just re-

mind you of Chopin, Mickiewicz and others. No one voluntarily leaves his country and goes into exile. Every Pole wants to live in a street where everyone else speaks Polish. He wants to live among people who have sung the same songs he did in kindergarten. But I can really understand the people who do leave. Writers cannot publish what they have written; composers could do as they pleased until now; they could experiment and take part in competitions. These people will probably leave now. Other artists, like film director Andrzjei Wajda for example, may go back because where else would they have such opportunities as in their own country ?

To get back to the composers once more. They are not badly off because where else would they get paid in advance for a piece they have not even written as yet. The writers are worst off. What do they do ? They do their writing in Poland and get published abroad. Unfortunately many intellectuals have to sign loyalty declarations now. Many things are banned. This piece is not being performed and that piece is not published. One can imagine that this will lead to an exodus.

[Question] Under what conditions would you return to Poland ?

[Answer] Several conditions would have to be satisfied. The first would be a change in the system. But I don't know whether democracy is a real possibility under Polish conditions. I don't think my generation will still live to see it happen. As far as going to Poland is concerned, I would have to be sure of getting out again. If that were the case, I would buy a ticket for Warsaw right away.

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BARCIKOWSKI MEETS WITH YOUTH GROUP LEADERS

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 8 Apr 82 pp 1,2

[Article by Jozef Szewczyk: "The Most Important Thing Is What We Do Ourselves"]

[Text] On 7 April, Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party], met in Warsaw with the leaders of the following youth organizations: the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], the Polish Scout Union [ZHP], the Rural Youth Union [ZMW], and the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP]. Stanislaw Gabrielski, the head of the Social and Professional Faculty of the PZPR Central Committee, also participated in the meeting.

The meeting was devoted to preparations for the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, the subject of which will be the problems of youth. Stanislaw Gabrielski reported on the work done so far in connection with the preparations for the plenum. Among other things, he stated that the theses for the basic documents, which are now coordinated with the party aktif, had been drawn up. The most important task of the plenum will be to formulate a plan of action for resolving the problems of the younger generation, taking into account the country's present sociopolitical conditions.

The plenum should also provide an answer to the following questions:

-- what the state of awareness of youth is like, the causes and governing factors of this state, and the role of the youth movement in the process of educating young people;

-- what methods can be used to revive the ideological life of young people, youth organizations, and institutions for ideological and moral education;

-- how to make it possible for young people to take action so that they can resolve their own problems by themselves;

-- what the conditions for the intellectual development of young people are like;

-- how to make organized work into a social philosophy, in accordance with the line of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress.

The statements by the leaders of the unions focused on the current problems of their members and the expectations of young people. Here are the most important excerpts from their presentations:

Andrzej Ornat, the commander-in-chief of the ZHP: After the imposition of martial law, our impression is that the organization has become more cohesive. Even the actions to assist flood victims were proof of this.

There was not any verification [of people's political views] in the union, just talks and discussions, in the course of which we managed to win many undecided people over to our side. There are still many such undecided people, however, especially among teachers, who make up a considerable portion of the staff of instructors. Our task, together with the primary party organizations [POP] in the schools, is to win them over both for the ZHP and the PZPR.

Today young people are much more willing to discuss the major problems. They are also much more willing to undertake representation of their group. The discussion during the second National Senior Scout Jamboree particularly demonstrated this.

We have especially occupied ourselves with rural youth, which is over 50 percent of our membership. A great deal needs to be done to equalize their start in life.

Among young people we observe a longing for moral purity, and a need for work on improving human nature, and legal activities.

In preparing for the summer campaign, we are hoping to reach as many young people as possible. We are also counting on receiving assistance from the political education centers of the voivodship committees.

We also want to devote more attention to the increasing alienation of youth, as until now this has been a "no man's land."

Jerzy Jaskiernia, the chairman of the ZSMP Main Board: In spite of the difficult conditions, our organization is carrying out the tasks designated at the Third Extraordinary Congress. A question, however, arises--how to present our interests to the government, and what we should do for ourselves, so that the union is not just the spokesman for the social interests of young people. Youth commissions have been created under the Planning Commission. It is not known why they are exactly the way they are and why there are so many of them. We are going back to the idea of forming a Council of Ministers Youth Committee, in the forum of which it would be possible to coordinate a great deal of work.

The Ninth Plenum is giving rise to hope, but also to a certain risk. [It is giving rise to] hope because young people expect the PZPR to come forward with a realistic government program, and also to define the tasks for young people.

Young people are waiting for indications of a solution to the matters most important to them, not on the basis of the slogan of "another Poland," but rather a realistic assessment of the possibilities.

The risk is connected with the fact that in some cases voivodship committee plenums devoted to youth are held without proper preparation. If a government plan of action is to be prepared, then social consultation is necessary, and there is not much time left.

Like the ZHP, we are treating the summer campaign as a chance to reach large numbers of young people. On this occasion the problem of "social coverage" arises. In chasing after profits, enterprises stop occupying themselves with such matters as vacations, sports, and culture.

We are likewise disturbed by the attitude of the party toward the KZMP [Communist Union of Polish Youth], since the existence of an organization with that name disowns the communists active in the ZSMP, the ZHP, the ZMW, and the SZSP.

Waldemar Swirgon, the chairman of the ZMW National Board: We have to start a discussion of youth by defining class, group, and milieu interests. In some cases we take the discussion up to the level of the entire generation, and then arguing about youth is fruitless.

We are concentrating our activity on the unproductive work of young farmers. Every crisis is characterized by the fact that the stronger ones protect themselves more effectively, while the poorer ones rapidly become poorer. In the situation of self-financing service institutions in the village, the cultural and athletic activity that was financed by the village is dying out.

Our ideology is clear--socialism; and our program is positivistic labor. It is not easy to carry it out, however. For example, we organized numerous groups of farmers for training with modern machines at WOPRs [Voivodship Centers for Agricultural Progress], but even getting fuel for those courses is very difficult. The same thing has happened with machines for young farmers' societies. First of all, the managers have to take care of the contracts associated with the sale.

Before the plenum, we would like to point out many things that are very important for our young people. The cultural and creative movement requires our attention, and not just ours. Its development is the basis for the democratization of national culture. [As for] education--we are developing preparatory courses, and we want to participate in the building of schools with dormitories. We would like to go back to the idea of a traveling film theater.

In regard to the model for the youth movement, I repeat the position of the ZMQ--we are in favor of the creation of noninstitutional forms of cooperation among youth unions. This is necessary so that the ZSMP and the ZMW do not go along opposing lines. The idea of creating a Council of Ministers Youth Committee has been accompanied by too many mistakes, and an attempt has been made to impose its creation on the nation and the rest of the organizations.

Tadeusz Sawic, chairman of the Supreme Council of the SZSP: One cannot speak about the goals of the SZSP without an assessment of the situation in the academic environment. The pluralism of world views, ideology and politics, and the so-called internal emigration, are hidden today. Likewise, the lack of acceptance of socialism has been hidden, along with the lack of motivation for studies, associated with the difficult employment situation. These are facts, however.

After the 3-month suspension, we have set ourselves the goal of initiating social and intellectual activity in our milieu: a discussion of the role and place of the young intelligentsia (and not just the young ones), and how to restore the educational function of the university. In particular, the problem of employment arouses emotions--the free labor market especially arouses concern, for understandable reasons. We want to participate in a discussion of this subject.

We are taking the joint responsibility for representing our milieu, but the party has to take care of the coordination of the youth movement at the universities. At this time, the rectors do this too often.

The presence in the academic environment of the ZHP, AMW, and recently the ZSMP is useful, provided that it does not become a battle for influence at the expense of other organizations. I observe this with concern and warn that things are going to go wrong wherever a battle for influence begins.

Statement by K. Barcikowski

Summing up the statements, K. Barcikowski focused on several basic problems.

Economic reform: "Not everyone appreciates the extent of the economic crisis in Poland. Everything indicates that economic performance in March will not be any better than in February. The decline in national income has continued for 4 years. The price increases did not cause the decline in the standard of living. They only revealed it. It is [only] possible to attain a market equilibrium through increased production and more realistic prices. At present both operations are being implemented. In this situation we should give priority to maintaining wages at the expense of social affairs. Compensation for labor has to be the object of special expenditure by enterprises. Social expenditures have to be approached carefully and rigorously. Instead, the main emphasis in the near future is to be put on straightening out the system of wages, in order to satisfy those who work well and hard.

If the youth unions conclude that the reform is objectionable to them, they will find support from many people. On the other hand, however, the reform has to carry out a task, and it has to set greater demands. Enterprises must therefore also concentrate on the basic task, production, and not occupy themselves with many other affairs. An establishment can utilize its funds for different purposes. If something stands in the way, youth should have a decisive influence on it.

Employment: Last year 750,000 people were shifted over to retirement pensions and educational grants, and 400,000 young people were employed. This year the situation with new job openings will be worse. Young people must know,

however, that we will either shout and sink deeper into the crisis, or start to work. If we manage to organize an authentic movement of engineers and scientists to adapt Polish raw materials for the needs of industry, we will rapidly break down the barriers of the crisis.

The nature of the plenum: It has to be of a political nature. The ideology of the party has not changed; conditions have changed. The younger generations are coming out into the world, while the political battle is continuing. How are we to oppose the activities of hostile powers, such as the United States, which are counting on Polish romanticism, a tradition of conspiracy, and young people's excitement with such matters? For the time being we have to deal with a small number of cases of illegal activity, but 90 percent of these individuals are people under 30. This is an acute problem, especially for activists among young people; and there is no other way out except a political battle for these young people, not through the medium of the television, but through one's presence among young people, in conversations and examples.

The youth movement: We should not mechanically divide up spheres of influence for individual organizations. There will be a battle among the organizations whenever the interests of the leaders gain the upper hand. This would be absurd. It is the leaders that are fighting, not the organizations, and we will either be sensible leaders and resist irritations, or we will hurt each other. In regard to the Council of Ministers Youth Committee, you have to coordinate your positions yourselves.

The Communist Union of Polish Youth [KZMP]: It would be good if the organizations were to make their positions in this matter known. There is no need to create a new organization, but not much is gained by prohibitions. The best thing would be to win these people over to the existing organizations.

In conclusion, K. Barcikowski stated that we are all interested in whether the plenum will yield measurable results. The most important thing, however, will be what we do, both before the plenum and after it.

9909
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PLACE, ROLE OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE ENTERPRISE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 1, 5 Jan 82 pp 43-44

[Article by Vasile Burtea,sociologist at the Brasov Construction Trust]

[Text] The discussions inaugurated in ERA SOCIALISTA No 12/1981 in which mainly sociologists from higher education and research institutes participated are the occasion for directing attention also to the sociologists in the industrial enterprises. This "category" is large enough to become the subject (and object) of reflection, the subject of opinions and explanations connected with their participation and contribution to the better life of each of the enterprises to which they were assigned as well as the position of the leadership factors in the particular units toward the specific nature of sociological activity and to increase the contribution and efficiency of the sociologists' work.

These opinions are based on the experience accumulated daily, from the summer of 1974 until the present, by me and colleagues assigned to several of the large Brasov enterprises, with direct production activity, with numerous worker personnel and with similar sociological problems. For the most part, this article is the product of our discussions and concerns, the product of the common desire to become as useful as possible in our jobs and to put into practice everything we have accumulated through our years of study.

A first problem raised even when a sociologist arrives at an enterprise, a problem which also confronted us, is that the new graduate of college does not meet one "initiate" at the place he was assigned to consult with, from whom to ask help in professional problems, since he is the only employee specializing in sociology. As T. Herseni remarked in his work "The Plant Laboratory," when an engineer arrives at an enterprise he finds other engineers with experience, persons who know the unit and its problems well, a foreman finds foremen, a technician may consult with other technicians, and an economist can enjoy the help of other economists. These "older" employees are an invaluable aid in the young graduate's professional problems and true integrating factors who facilitate his "access" to the integrated and documented life in the enterprise.

But, for the time being, the sociologists cannot enjoy anything like this. Not having predecessors and with no tradition for this activity having existed in the enterprise, many times he does not know what is required of him, what should be done or how to be used.

Of course, in order to "make room for" the profession they are serving, a good many sociologists in the enterprises have proposed (and many have succeeded) to be concerned with problems of strict utility, with immediate application (even rejecting the specifically sociological approach), problems which viewed and interpreted otherwise could be expressed as follows: What methods should be utilized so that one leu spent by the enterprise returns at least 1.05 lei in value or does not return in a smaller value. And yet, their research reports remain in the archives, drawers or files. Why? For the same reasons that an invention or innovation with immediate and much more "palpable" healthy effects has the same fate. (The sociologist, just as the inventor, brings what is new even; in the case of the former it is a matter most times of a new view.)

The results of this situation? The "marginalization" of sociologists in the enterprises and discrediting of the sociologist before the requirements of practice.

There cannot be just one explanation.

The first--and the one with the most substance--explanation for such situations is the status or, more correctly, the lack of status of the sociologist in general and the sociologist in the enterprise in particular--the lack which places the sociologist in the position of "accepted," "tolerated, "indulged." The problem does not represent a socondary, derived aspect but rather, as A.D. Rachieru notes (ERA SOCIALISTA No 16/1981), it is a crucial point. The discussion on sociology without bearing sociologists in mind is headed for failure. The man makes the place holy; so, too, the sociologist with sociology. But not just that. Having the decision-making factors establish the job duties and placing the "call to order" of the sociologists is directly linked with the existence of a status in the job, by which one knows what a sociologist can do and what he cannot, what should be offered to him or refused him, when it is recommended to ask something of him and when it is not.

The lack of experience in this area would be a second explanation but also the mistaken orientation of the specialists (sociologists and psychologists) who are concerned with advanced and retraining of leadership personnel in the production units is another explanation. Hours of sociology and psychology, which, used appropriately, would be of real use both to the leadership personnel as well as to us, the practicing sociologists, are concerned for these courses (by which a portion of the gap left by the lack of status could be filled). For the time being, in these hours, instead of dwelling on the way of utilization and manner of collaboration with the sociologists and psychologists in the enterprises, the ambition is to make sociologists and psychologists out of the directors and heads of jobs participating in these courses--a desirable doomed to failure or distortion, being neither possible or useful, since the persons attending the courses have neither the interest or the time necessary for such performances.

A fourth explanation for the "marginal" position of the sociologist in the enterprise is the critical manner in which the research reports are presented. The idea that this mode of presentation does not represent the sociologist's

"choice" to "injure" persons or jobs gains ground with difficulty. Criticism is not merely the sociologist's job (unanimously recognized), but it is also a working tool for the sociologist, a way of relating to phenomena and disfunctional realities (which have "priority" in the sociologist's view) and not to persons or jobs.

Other explanations (and not of the least importance) are the waste of forces brought by the option of assigning one or two sociologists to an enterprise, an aspect correctly noted by Catalin Zamfir in ERA SOCIALISTA No 18/1981. The existence of county sociology centers (groups) (particularly now, since practicing sociologists have been "baptized" in the enterprise) is a fruitful option, but not in order to become "methodological centers" for guidance or coordination (as was suggested several times), because these kinds of "jobs" are held and can be given to existing sociological r search institutes and centers. A county sociology center, first, would still have to have duties for research into the enterprise's problems but from positions of relative methodological independence carried out in a broader command which also would have the guarantee of carrying them out even in a restrictive view, somehow outside the collectivity investigated.

But this is an option and the present confronts us with sociologists spread out through the enterprises and with problems of integration and efficiency at this level.

Few of those working in the enterprise, among which are also the leadership cadres, can accept the fact that the sociologist, in order for him to be able to carry out his activity, needs (like any other worker) a minimum of materials which are his working "tools." The whole world accepts the fact that any engineer (or somebody else, in another profession) in order to build a machine, a building, a dam and so forth needs a labor force, machinery, materials, tools, without which the job cannot be done. What is more, if one of the components is missing,fulfillment of the task is much harder or impossible, while, with regard to the sociologist, the belief exists that his simple presence should urgently solve all the problems confronting the enterprise for a long time, and if the sociologist does not solve them he is not competent.

One should not lose sight of the fact that a sociologist is nothing more than a person and cannot do anything more than any other worker with similar level of training. Given the greater and greater complexity which work in any sector of activity is taking on, it is getting harder and harder and is occurring less and less frequently for one single person to produce innovative changes in an area. And if this happens, it still is produced after many years of work, of attempts and errors, of achievements and failures.

The sociologist's work should be an organic part of other people's work (keeping its specific nature) in order to contribute to better operation of the whole. The view of or approach to sociologists' activity from "extraordinary" positions is harmful. The results of the sociological labor should be presented periodically to the technical leadership collective of the enterprise or the worker's council by the particular sociologist and not mediated. This is in order to gain knowledge of the weaker or inadequate aspects of his labor and in order to

give all the advice connected with the concept according to which the conclusions and solutions presented were obtained.

Immediate practical application of the proposals and recommendations made is the condition sine qua non for sociological research at the enterprise level. Putting them in a drawer and forgetting them and delaying mean nothing more than dissatisfaction with the person who strove to obtain them, a lack of faith and higher costs.

Counselling work to aid the leadership collective in making decisions should be the true role for a sociologist and it should answer a social order coming from the enterprise's executive organs.

For any of the methods, the sociologist must have available a solid baggage of information which is correct and recent on the problem taken in the study (and study problems are not just the ones which are improperly called "strictly social" ones, but also technical ones which also include a social aspect). For this it is necessary for him to be informed directly from the source, and not mediated. Knowledge of the problems connected with the stage of plan fulfillment, the situation of material-technical supplies, the need for a labor force (quantitative and qualitative), working jobs with a higher degree of danger and crucialproblems of the enterprise and of the workers is imperative. In this regard, the sociologists' participation (not necessarily with a right to vote but as careful and concerned observers) in the worker's council meetings and in other meetings, trade union group meetings, where similar problems are posed, without adding the assiduous presence "in the field," in the sections, shops, job sites and work points is needed, since it means nothing more than knowledge of all the "headache" points and all the shortcomings which require a channeling of the attention and available energies for their solution and to which the sociologist can (and should) make their contribution.

An efficient way to utilize the results of a sociologist's work is their detailed discussion and analysis in the collective with a view to selecting the conclusions which can be applied immediately and establishing the future methodological steps depending on specific possibilities and requirements. Once this has been established, the immediate application of the decisions must be the necessary next step. Only in this way can this work become possible and useful.

Rejecting a priori or passively listening to material cited leads to passivity and a rut, blurring the searches for new solutions and reformulations of the problems.

Another aspect on which we should dwell is the ratio between the number of sociologists in an enterprise and total worker personnel. We know that just the big enterprises have sociologists available, ones with large numbers of worker personnel, most of the time with just one sociologist existing. When a problem requiring rapid solution appears, the work of a single person proves to be inefficient, because the social problems in the enterprises should be solved promptly with regard to all aspects. How could such an enterprise carry out its activity with just one engineer, one foreman, one technician, one economist?

Of course, it is not recommended or possible for the number of sociologists and psychologists to equal the number of those mentioned, but a group of four-six sociologists in one enterprise would carry out much more efficient activity.

From this article we should not understand that clemency and acceptance are being requested for an inefficient sociology and sociologists with a correct orientation but, on the contrary, that for the productivity of their activity the sociologists need the held of the collectives in the enterprises they are part of and, in particular, the leadership organs with executive power.

This help should not mean anything more than the request, collaboration, collective work and possibilities for rapid and exact information.

8071
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FORMATIVE, EDUCATIONAL VALUES IN CONTEMPORARY DRAGATURGY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 1, 5 Jan 82 pp 29-31

[Article by Mircea Ghitelescu]

[Text] There is a specific nature to the reception of dramatic literature compared with literature to be read (which, of course, disappears when the play is read) and which decisively affects the pedagogical reserves of the two types of reception. Because the reception of reading literature has a confidential nature, while dramatic literature--intended most often for a reception mediated by the theatrical play--is a group, public reception. This fact operates nearly automatically for many dramatic authors (one speaks of authors who hear the public's applause while they are writing their play), emphasizing the public trend of the dramatic work even while on the playwright's writing table.

These summary statements seemed necessary to us before asserting that dramatic literature can be much more sensitive to what is understood by "social order" than other literature genres, which, again, explains why in our literature since 1950 no other genre of art has answered more diligently the pedagogic and direct propagandistic needs connected with such diverse aspects of the process of carrying out the socialist revolution in Romania.

More than poetry or prose and perhaps also due to the authority in the era of realism of reflection, dramatic literature in these years has answered almost all the practical problems which have confronted Romanian society in the first years of the socialist revolution, whether it was a matter of dramas of option, of theoretical clarification as in H. Lovinescu's "Smashed Citadel"or Titus Popovici's "Passacaglia, of the optimist tragedies of attachment to the cause of communism, as in Al. Voitin's trilogy "Men in Struggle," of the heroism and sacrifice for d fending the revolutionary achievements in the industrial age, "Fortress of Fire" by Mihail Davidoglu, of the rural drama grafted to the preference for a problem connected with the cooperativization of agriculture (as in "Vlaicu and His Boys" by Lucia Demetrius or, later in "The Stake" by Theodor Manescu), about the nationalization of the means of production or the movement of inventions and innovations as in the comedies of Aurel Baranga, included in the metaphorical level of dislocation of an old world and mentality, without avoiding individual drama interpreted constructively on ethical and social backgrounds ("Simple Coincidences" by Paul Everac), dramas of creation "The Death of an Artist" by Horia Lovinescu), going up to detailed conflicts of the

organization of social life, from the need for qualified cadres in Dobrogea ("Fevers" by Horia Lovinescu) or in the rural environment ("Siciliana" by Aurel Baranga) up to the problematics of certain defects in evaluating man's value in the process of work and life, as in Paul Everac's "Unseen Staff" or other, more recent plays.

What impresses the researcher of the pioneering years of our dramatic literature is the authors' effort to keep the broadest portions from the Romanian revolutionary process in full development in their plays, the effort to discover the contradictions, the specific conflicting states, to fix and preserve the current nature, with its rapid movements and unforeseeable changes in the genre of drama and comedy, which basically equals a daring attempt to establish a new dramaturgy. Without making a final break with dramaturgy between the two world wars, which neither would have been possible because, on one hand, it would mean the utopian interrupting of a spiritual tradition and, on the other hand, because many of the writers between the two world wars (Lucian Blaga, Camil Petrescu, Mircea Stefanescu, Tudor Musatescu) are continuing their activity, building formal models and influencing the writing of the age. It was a question of setting up a specific thematology, new types of conflicts, dramatic situations and characters and, truly, a number of innovative procedures can be attributed to the authors who illustrated this age of pioneering of our dramatury, procedures then taken over, developed, given nuances, processed by following generations concerned with achieving other aesthetic heights. The typologic varieties from the series of the positive hero (the communist struggling in illegality against fascism or in the full socialist revolution, the party or trade union activist, the UTC members, heads of enterprises devoted to their profession, the incorruptible victors in bureaucratic conflicts) as well as the new conflicts, most in the hero register (the representation in various forms of the class struggle, from violent confrontations to eliminate any opposition up to the principled tensions between old and new, the collapse of old mentalities and systems of values, the recovery of certain recent errors now)--all these presented in appropriate dramatic situations in the new dramatic settings (the job site, the plant, the offices) are merely several of these innovations.

Socialist realism, which substantiated the new dramatugy as an aesthetic principle, was basically a neoromanticism (especially through those energetic, unyielding and altruistic heroes). A neoromanticism as a type of sensitivity and an optimistic realism of reflection as a means of expression. Through the best examples, this literature of the "directed reflection" succeded even from the start to impose lasting works but, through mimicry he brought typological and conflicting cliches which no longer corresponded , except through the convention of the true sense of reflection, becoming plays which reflected other plays.

One of the playwrights who succeeded--of course, in an original way--in composing a nearly complete thematic and typologic collection of the trends of Romanian dramatury in the 50's and 60's, in an impressively diffused work, is Paul Everac, prestigious author exactly in the area of the possibilities for dramaturgy of recording "daily" problems of a social community.

The constructive trend and optimism diffused at the philosophical and social level sometimes were demonstrated in a deformed way, especially in the cases of "mass" dramatic literature through an abstract mechanism of the good general intentions which made any discussion of the dramatic conflict useless, with its being replaced with a pretextual, finalized misunderstanding that was well-intended. Plays appeared which lacked even this misunderstanding which was substituted for the true conflict, more appropriate as reporting than as stable literary architecture, with an unforgettable example being Corneliu Marcu's work entitled "A Personality for the Contest."

For the authors of the middle generation of modern dramatic literature, the problem was sharply posed of artistically solving the reflection of positive categories established in social and private life. Among these, Paul Everac is the most inventive in creating "positive conflicts," having available a special art of problematization. The activist's motive, in order to give an example, taken from the prior generation, is colored by affective details beyond the theoretical geometry of codes,whether it is a question of Vlasceanu in "Simple Coincidences" or of Mirea in "The Fifth Swan." Other authors sought an original road, discovering in "sentimentalization"of some principles which seemed barren at first sight the road to authenticity. First, we think of Maria's tragedy in D. R. Popescu's "Osteologic Study," in which the well-known dramatic situation of the tortured communist is haloed by the tragic meditation on death and birth specific to the author. Professor Rebedea in "The Manager" by Al. Sever arrives at at least a theoretical understanding of revolutionary and active altruism through repressed sentimentalism, with antifascist insurgence coming in the picture, a seductive one, of a girl followed by Certainty. Theodor Manescu optimizes sentimental conflicts, projecting them against social-ethical backgrounds ("The Sunken City").

Seeking the road toward authenticity in representation of positive categories, dramatists of the middle generation discovered that the great desirables and principles, those so-called "slogans," are actually concentrated truths worn out by too much use, having become slogan through abuse and literary insufficiency.

In the continually firmer path of modern dramatic literature, we should note the aspiration toward reflexive ature, which was not lacking in the 50's-60's, particularly through Horia Lovinescu, a playwright whose work faces us with a significance alternating between traditional drama ("The Smashed Citadel," "The Death of an Artist," "Petru Rares") and the formulas from the "latest hour" of modern dramaturgy, extistentialist or absurd ("The Place of Life and Death in the Desert of Ash," "The Inn at the Crossroads," "The Man who Lost His Kindness") in a severe play of uneasy classicism made by its own balance. The transition personality between classic and modern, Horia Lovinescu opened the way to some new aesthetic experiences in the direction of the drama of the human condition just as, later, Teodor Mazilu, who developed the fashion of the tragic farce in his "attrocious" satires in such an original way.

In its premiere, the Romanian theater of the absurd in the 70's proposed to change the traditionalist-monotonous appearance of our dramaturgy and to give it a reflexive, if not even philosophical aspect. Although it remained a late form, borrowed from Europe, it still was a good lesson for many contemporary

authors: D. R. Popescu, Marin Sorescu, D. Solomon, Ion Baiesu, Vasile Rebreanu, P. C. Chitic. In exceptional cases, our theater of the absurd even succeeded in overcoming models and in imposing several lasting works: "Caesar, Buffoon of the Pirates" and "Forest With Wood Peas" by D. R. Popescu, "Iona" and "The Sexton" by Marin Sorescu, "Chitimia" and "Forgiveness" by Ion Baiesu and other reference works for our dramaturgy.

In seeking a balance between the theater formulas of foreign inspiration, traditional and experimental inspiration, today it is remarkable to have concern with deepening individual problems. In a long list of plays resulting from the authors' desire to contribute to the formation of the new man, a connection specific to modern Romanian society succeeded with the literature of the human condition of the 20th century. Formally, in most cases, it is a dramaturgy of the "Meter Reader," as Paul Everac says, a dramaturgy which makes ethical and existentialist balances and tells us of the hero's unease against the background of conflicts of self-improvement.

There are very few authors who have not made their contribution in this area, in various absurd-metaphorical formulas (D. R. Popescu: "The Balcony", " Praver for a Disc Jockey," "The Shakespeare Bird" and so forth); hypothetic-realistic and delirious (Paul Everac: "The Meter Reader," "A Moth on the Lamp," "The Fifth Swam"; Horia Lovinescu: "Aut obiography"); legendary-historical (Marin Sorescu, who meditates on the social improvement through a historical metaphor in "The Third Stake") or the comic-absurd (Tudor Popescu).

Of course, in these "problematic" plays, too, the positive categories and the eulogy are clearly included in a reflexive manner: the eulogy of history and the people who currently make history, the eulogy for the people worried by the improvement of society and the individual; but in these plays are present international uncertainties, social insecurity of a humanist and austere society; troubling uncertainty with the cosmos, with the violent contrasts in the world and man's pride in belonging to a national collectivity. In the latter, the eulogy is made of the creative talent of our people, of their heroism of their hard work but also an approach to the problems of world interest because the dramatic characters today cannot be an abstract sign of a human being with all the mysteries freed, with all the questions exhausted, which do nothing more than insure well being and comfort each day, but is doubled by the social and historical being of eternal man, of the interogative being who, as he receives answers to his social, historical,and philosophical questions, discovers other enigmatic territories of his presence in the universe.

Contemporary Romanian dramaturgy, in its continually more conclusive attempt to cover the most varie areas of human experience and knowledge, has not omitted this problem, either.

In a value series, no matter how exacting, there cannot be a lack of a number of actual historical dramas, such as the cycle of Vlad Tepes by Marin Sorescu, incursions into a tragic legendary universe in "The Decapitation" or "The Leordines" by Al. Sever, just as one cannot omit the plays in D. Solomon's ancient trilogy, the serious meditations and parables of D. R. Popescu grafted on the social equity and dignity, the polemic compositions which do not permit dogmas and prefabricated truths which would be substituted for the truth and order of life,

or the parables of social, religious and cosmic insurgence from Suto Andras' trilogy ("A Flag on the Stake," "The Flowers of a Horse Thief," "Cain and Abel"), each of them being important contributions to Romanian artistic thought on themes of universal circulation.

Also, the aspiration of Romanian dramatists to become European writers or writers of the world (often demonstrated by a late attempt to get into synchronization with the European literary fashion) is, in the area of drama, more and more competitive and, without intending to set up a hierarchy or even just a list which is as complete as possible, we should note the tendency to explore certain themes of broader interest, international interest , let us say, in "The Old Engineer" by Al. Sever or Paul Cornel Chitic's "Transfiguration."

As difficult as it was for our dramatists to seek, discover and invent solutions to reflect in their works the positive categories from social and individual life, it was just as difficult to approach certain negative aspects of the age. Whereas critical aspects connected with social or private reality in the first decade of the socialist revolution were the exclusive privilege of satirical comedies or comedies of morals and manners which most times, even in the case they were well written, sent a major problem into the minor key, wellmeaningly and accomodatingly (again, the comedies of Aurel Baranaga are proof; he himself attempted to force the critical limits of comedy), toward the end of the 60's, both current drama as well as historical drama made an important value leap with regard to the critical evaluation of history and modern days as exact as possible.

Undoubtedly in this value leap, which brought a true liberation of literary consciousness from the ballast of ideological inhibitions, there was great importance in the 9th, 10th and 11th party congresses, which modernized the Romanian philosophical view of historical and social phenomena and made an analysis of the development of Romanian society, emphasizing the errors of the beginning stage of the revolutionary process, opening daring prospects in all areas of social life.

Proceeding from these impulses, the authors all at once found themselves facing some unhoped forthematic horizons, discovering, in contrast with the 50's, a dense, violent and rich dramatic material. Along with the other literary genres, dramaturgy became very ambitious in exercising its mission of bearing witness to an era. The revelation of the stock of themes offered by events of the 50's, for the last generation of dramatists, became a school of truth which extended to the writers' attitude toward the immediate reality, too, since, if we were to define a constant of our currentdramatic literature, it would be the obsessive concern with delivering the truth.

Of course, Aurel Baranga was courageous when he wrote "Public Opinion," where he attacked ministers as well Paul Everac in "Underground," where he drew attention to a case of social failure to adapt, as was Tudor Mazilu, who signalled grave social symptoms of moral alienation through mediocrity and subculture, or Marin Sorescu, an expert in historical transparencies. The champion of this period of the explosion of protests against historical mystifications being D. R. Popescu, unmistakable in his passion for the allegorical restoration of certain historical facts. "A Bird On Another Day" is not only the title of a play but also the title of the theme preferred by the author. It also was a matter of "a bird on

another day," of the tragic guilt which did not stop being alive in our consciousness and ask punishment in "The Cat on New Year's Eve" and "An Osteologic Study of a Skeleton of a Horse From an AvarBurial Site in Transylvania," an epic and fresca of what in ordinary terms we call the accomplishment of socialist construction in Romania, but also in the plays by Romulus Guga ("The Night of the Petty Meddlers," "Accidential Middle Ages") or in "The Chair" by Tudor Popescu, plays which reevaluate the often tragic relations between the individual and history.

The heroes of this new age of the dramaturgy of the truth no longer are merely theoretical symbols of a literary doctrine, but beings who they themselves relate to a complex and contradictory reality in drmmatic series of agreements and disagreements. Ethicist works in the formula of a discussion or investigation appeared in considerable quantities but also of varying values; they mainly assumed the task of contributing to the revolutionization of the quality of the human being, to what entered into use with the expression of "formation of the new man," they, too, emphasizing the path toward the reflexivity of contemporary dramaturgy. Even now the social devotion, sacrifice for thejob, the struggle for the production plan have remained positive in altruistic dramas of various scopes, however, on a very particular problem which would facilitate particular-affective communication.

In a relatively short inverval of just 30 years, our dramaturgy has succeeded--and this is of the greatest importance--in establishing its mythology in which are concentrated dramatic nuclei, heroes and situations specific to the trends of Romanian comtemporary society which, however, in order to be received as mythology, must be dedicated through insistence and productivity. Present in all the discussions of problems of modern society, dramaturgy in time made a true leap, culturally and educationally. The immediate effects of this campaign which dramaturgy undertook through the dozens of Romanian theaters are hard to evaluate, but there is no controversy about the fact that through the best examples the answer of dramatic literature to the formative desirable of society is continually more complete.

8071
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BRIEFS

APPOINTMENT IN VRANCEA--Inasmuch as the position of first deputy chairman of the executive committee of the peoples council of Vrancea County has become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Nicolae Tabirca is delegated to fill the position of first deputy chairman of the executive committee of the peoples council of Vrancea County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 44, 24 Apr 82 p 3]

DEPUTY MINISTER REMOVED--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Cornel Burada is removed from his position as deputy minister of transportation and telecommunications. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 44, 24 Apr 82 p 3]

APPOINTMENT IN TIMIS--Inasmuchas one of the positions of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the peoples council of Timis County has become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Elena Pugna is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the peoples council of Timis County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 44, 24 Apr 82 p 4]

INTERIOR MINISTRY PERSONNEL CHANGES--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that: Comrade Major General Vasile Moise is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the interior. Comrade Major General Gheorghe Zagoneanu is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of the Interior. Comrade Major General Vasile Aristotel Stamatoiu is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of the Interior. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 42, 20 Apr 82 p 3]

PEOPLES COUNCILS LAW CHANGES--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Article 55, paragraph 2 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils is modified and will read as follows: "The executive committee or, according to the case, the

executive bureau of the peoples council has one secretary. The secretary of the executive committee of the peoples councils of the counties and of Bucharest Municipality is appointed by presidential decree, at the proposed of the executive committee of the peoples council of the county or of Bucharest Municipality, with the approval of the Committee for Problems of Peoples Councils. The secretary of the committee or, according to the case, of the executive bureau of the peoples council of the municipality, of the sector of Bucharest Municipality, of the city, or of the commune is appointed by decision of the peoples council of the county or Bucharest Municipality, at the proposal of the executive committee or bureau of the respective peoples council." [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 44, 24 Apr 82 p 2]

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WRITER DENIES JUSTNESS OF POET DJOGO'S JAILING

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Apr 82 p 19

[Letter to editor by writer Jovica Acin]

[Text] The article about the most recent joint session of all chambers of the Belgrade City Assembly, published in POLITIKA of 21 April, included a section of the speech by delegate and writer Mira Aleckovic concerning the report on the work of the city's judiciary in 1981 and concerning the circuit public prosecutor's request for the assembly to "declare itself regarding support for the work of the judiciary." The prosecutor's request was based on the fact of public reactions to the trial and sentencing of poet Gojko Djogo.

Aleckovic, reflecting "not only on Djogo but also on similar other incidents in the realm of culture," underlined the need for a "political appraisal in such cases," stating (among other things): "Writers who are communists did not have an opportunity to declare themselves on Djogo's poems, we were simply bypassed." I am secretary of the aktiv of writer-communists of Serbia, but I can and will speak only in my own name, responsible to my own conscience. Inasmuch as Djogo's book has long since been burned up, the opportunity mentioned by Aleckovic has been missed forever. The matter of Djogo's trial was discussed at the sole meeting of the aktiv's secretariat since its election, as part of the preparations for the next electoral session of the aktiv. At that moment, the view prevailed--a view that was unprincipled if humanly comprehensible and motivated by faith in reason and in the possibility of an acquittal at some higher judicial level--that no public moves should be undertaken that could be understood as political pressure with undesirable consequences. After the decision of the higher court was announced, this faith was unfortunately shown to have been misplaced.

I personally felt and continue to feel that the writers' organization itself ought to speak up and declare itself publicly, defending its member or members absolutely "in such instances," ahead of the aktiv and ahead of any "political appraisal" of a literary work or the trial of its author. I am sure that the writers' organization would enjoy the support of writer-communists. On the other hand, it is not up to the aktiv to provide a "political appraisal" of a literary work. I am opposed to that, and I do not

agree that I was elected secretary of the aktiv for that purpose. However, if I have understood rightly, I agree with Aleckovic: the question is a matter of principle. To try a poet for his poems, or a fiction writer for his short stories, faces both writers and communists with the question of the relationship between repression and freedom of creativity in the severest and most urgent way. We need to discuss this question today, and to oppose repression that is incompatible with socialism, if we do not wish to be "bypassed."

My answer, if what is involved is a request for support for the "worthwhile work" of the judiciary in "resolving" an artistic work as an offense, would be an irrevocable and unambiguous NO. I am OPPOSED. For such a "no" and such opposition, the opportunity has never been lost and must not be lost. So far as the elements of the judiciary are concerned, it is up to them to make different use of their opportunity, the opportunity that they are letting slip: to see to it that their mistake in this specific case of the unjust imprisonment of a person for poetry is not perpetuated as irreparable.

CSO: 2800/390

ISLAMIC AGITATION FROM ABROAD REPORTED

Sarajevo PREPOROD in Serbo-Croatian 15 Apr 82 p 6

[Speech by Dr Ahmed Smajlovic, president of the Association of Islamic Elders, at the third meeting of the Assembly of the Islamic Community for Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia]

[Excerpt] In the past period there have been several instances of irresponsible action, [i.e.] self-styled and unauthorized representation of our Islamic community by individuals inside the country, as well as from some of our refugees abroad. [Although] far from our reality, burdened by ignorance of the essence and value of our social order, individuals who are members of the Islamic faith are using the foreign press, radio, television, and special celebrations to bring out untruths about our country, about the position of our religious communities, about Moslems, mosques, and many other things. There are certain Moslems who have been living for a long time in other countries, who belong to so-called intellectualist circles where one would expect both a humanist and scholarly consciousness, objectivity, good will and tolerance, [but] who permit themselves to write untruths about Moslems in Yugoslavia, doing this without personal insight or knowledge, without trustworthy sources or documents, study, or real intention to research. They thereby want to leave among the masses of the uninformed in these countries [where they reside] a negative impression, or to contribute to the fact that confusion will continue in regard to our country, [its] Moslems, mosques, freedom, and all else. These and other such individuals abroad who are trying to proclaim themselves, for various reasons, as protectors of religious life in our country but who from time immemorial have been among those who not only discredit the work of our Islamic community but portray it in a distorted light, are inventing facts or are presenting them erroneously, incompletely, and tendentiously. Thus, for instance, they cite the number of churches, mosques, and synagogues destroyed throughout Yugoslavia, but they do not say who has done this or when. Also, they avoid giving facts on new construction.

CSO: 2800/389

POLITICAL CRIME STATISTICS REPORTED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Apr 82 p 12

[Excerpt] Last year 594 persons were charged with political crimes in Yugoslavia (including 300 in Kosovo, 97 in other republics, and one in Vojvodina linked with the counterrevolutionary actions in Kosovo). This was reported at a meeting of public prosecutors which opened on 21 April in Belgrade. Public Prosecutor Dr Vuko Goce-Gucetic said that the political situation in the country is basically good. Of course, one must continue to watch the very complex situation in Kosovo, but if that situation is not taken into consideration, all other political delinquency has been declining in form and scope. Gucetic said that public prosecutors must not tolerate attacks on socialism under the guise of democracy, but it is also unacceptable to impede democratic expression in the name of socialism. It was reported that of the 594 political cases last year, 300 were in Kosovo, 81 persons were charged with political crimes in Croatia, 53 in Serbia, 50 in Bosnia-Hercegovina, 48 in Macedonia, 26 in Slovenia, 21 in Montenegro, and 15 in Vojvodina. Most were committed by workers (42 percent), followed by students (24 percent), intellectuals (16 percent), and peasants (somewhat more than 7 percent). Also, in 1981 a total of six persons were charged with press violations (one each from Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Kosovo; and two persons from Slovenia). In four cases the distribution of printed material was prohibited (twice in Croatia, once in Bosnia-Hercegovina and once in Montenegro). Although there continue to be damaging and alien views published in the press, this number [of banned publications] has declined drastically, considering that in 1971 in Belgrade alone there were 12 cases in which published material was banned. The [present] cases largely pertain to attempts to rehabilitate the Cominform and the discrediting or false presentation of our revolution and postwar development.

CSO: 2800/389

BRIEFS

POLEMICS OVER MONTENEGRIN BOOK--Vuko Vukadinovic, secretary of the Presidium of the LC Central Committee of Montenegro, was asked: "When speaking about the LC experiences in Montenegro, one cannot evade the manifestations of Albanian nationalism in some Montenegrin areas, nor also the polemics called forth by the book by Spiro Kulisic on the ethnogenesis of the Montenegrin people, can one?" Vukadinovic replied: "The appearances of Albanian nationalism in certain areas in Montenegro have met decisive resistance among Albanians, Montenegrins, and Moslems. Nor has there been any giving in to Montenegrin or Moslem nationalism. The polemics about ethnogenesis are a recent occurrence, so because of this and because they have been carried on with great passion in the daily press, they are remembered most. This is only a fragment of a nationalist legal action of many years, which has been carried on, sometimes openly, sometimes in a hidden way, regarding the Montenegrin culture and nation. The Kulisic book is not the cause but only the occasion [for nationalist manifestations]." [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Apr 82 p 7]

LCY MEMBERSHIP--Young people (under 27 years of age) account for 35.6 percent of the LCY membership. A review of the proportion of party members within the population and the number of employed persons (in the socialized sector) shows sometimes large differences from one [republic, provincial] LC organization to another. This is seen from the following table:

LC	Percentage of LC members within the population	Percentage of LC members within the employed population
SFRY	9.1	22.9
Bosnia-Hercegovina	8.9	32.5
Montenegro	12.4	34.6
Croatia	7.4	18.7
Macedonia	7.2	23.0
Slovenia	6.5	...
Serbia	9.5	28.7
--Not including the provinces	10.1	27.9
--Kosovo	5.6	29.4
--Vojvodina	10.7	30.5

[Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 82 p 11]

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END

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26 May 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2016

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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REGISTRATION PERIOD FOR MILITARY ACADEMIES ANNOUNCED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 9 Apr 82 p 3

[An Announcement of the Ministry of National Defense for Admission of Cadets and Scholarship Holders of the Ministry of National Defense for the School Year 1982-83]

[Text] A. Admission of Cadets to the Military Academies

The military academies will admit young people for the following programs and terms of education:

People's Military Academy Vasil Levski --Veliko Turnovo

1. Commanding officers--4-year term of education: motorized infantry and border troops, tank troops--active service.

2. Commanding engineers--4-year term of education: automotive, engineering, chemical and rear troops.

3. Engineers--5-year term of education: tank troops--technical.

4. Political officers--4-year term of education.

People's Artillery Academy G. Dimitrov --Shumen

1. Commanding officers--4-year term of education; ground artillery, anti-aircraft artillery, artillery-instrumental reconnaissance and cartography.

2. Engineers--5-year term of education: artillery armament, radiotechnical troops--radiolocating stations, radiotechnical troops--automated guiding systems, anti-aircraft technical troops.

3. Political officers--4-year term of education.

People's Air-Force Academy G. Benkovski -Dolna Mitropoliya

1. Commanding officers--5-year term of education (4.8 years for a pilot); pilot, pilot in the Bulgarian civil aviation, airman-navigator, aiming-navigator and staff air force.

2. Engineers-5-year term of education: use and maintenance of the flying machines, use and maintenance of the electrical and automatic equipment of the flying machines, use and maintenance of the radio equipment of the flying machines, communication and radio-technical signaling, aircraft weapon systems.

3. Pilots for the agricultural aviation--3-year term of education.

People's Naval Academy-- N.Y. Vaptsarov --Varna

1. Commanding Engineers--5-year term of education: Captain in the navy, captain in the civil fleet.

2. Engineers--5-year term of education: the ship's power machines and mechanisms--Navy, the ships power machines and mechanisms--civil fleet and radio location.

3. Political officers--5-year term of education.

Those who graduate from the military academies are given the degree (rank) of lieutenant-engineer (lieutenant) and a civil education and qualification in the respective field is recognized.

Young people meeting the following conditions can apply to the military academies: completed high-school education with a minimum aggregate grade 12.00 (GPA from the diploma and the grades in the subjects which are considered in determining the aggregare grade), they should not be older than 23 years, and the applicants for pilots--than 21 years (the age is calculated on 30 September), they should be physically healthy, they should not be married, they should not have been convicted, they should be active members of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union and they should be willing to devote themselves to military service.

The following subject grades from the diploma are included in determining the aggregate grade rating:

--for political officers--Bulgarian history, Bulgarian language and literature;

--for the chemical troops--chemistry and mathematics;

--for all the others--mathematics and physics.

The cadet applicant should fill out personally and submit to the Head of the Military Academy through the local military command (those in service, through their commander of units) the following documents: application form (form approved by the local military command), diploma for completed higher education or a copy of it, autobiography (curriculum vitae), birth certificate, certificate showing no previous conviction, conscription health certificate, pedagogical character from the high school, a contest card, declaration that he will serve the Bulgarian military forces (Bulgarian civil aviation--BGA) water transport and ocean fishing for not less than 10 years, and a document for privilege.

e documents can be submitted in the same order by young people who wish to ly simultaneously to civil VUZ (Higher Educational Establishments) and a ltary academy.

The deadline for submitting the documents is 7 July 1982, but for those who have graduated before 1982 and those in the military service it is 5 June 1982.

Every young man will have the right to apply to only one military academy for all programs according to the order of preferrence.

All cadet applicants must report to the military academy they have applied to not later than 1400 hours (2 pm) on 10 August, and the applicants for pilots and navigators at People's Air-Force Academy G. Benkovski not later than 1400 hours (2 pm) on 26 July 1982.

The cadet applicants take a competitive examination in a special subject and in general culture and political training.

The special subjects for the competitive examinations are as follows:

--for political officers--Bulgarian history, and for the applicants to People's Naval Academy N.Y. Vaptsarov --mathematics;

--for officers in the chemical troops--chemistry;

--for all other majors--mathematics.

The written competitive examinations will be conducted according to curricula and lists of questions for the competitive examinations in the civil higher educational institutions. For admission to the chemical troops--the questionnaire for chemistry for the universities and chemicotechnological higher educational establishments.

The date for conducting the examinations is as follows:

--on 11 August--mathematics;

--on 12 August--history;

--on 13 August--general culture and political knowledge;

--on 14 August--chemistry.

The examinations in People's Air-Forces Academy "G. Benkovski" are only for pilots:

--on 27 July--mathematics;

--on 29 July--general culture and political knowledge.

Cadet applicants in this program have no right to take the competitive examinations with the applicants for the other programs in the academy. The grades they receive can be used in the other programs shown in their documents.

All cadet applicants who successfully pass the examinations will have a physical and psychological checks of their qualities and have a medical examination.

The check of the physical qualities of the applicants will be executed in the following events and norms: not fewer than 6 lift-ups on the horizontal bar, 100 meters dash--not more than 15.5 seconds, 1,000 meters cross-country--not more than 4.10 minutes, swimming 100 meters (only for People's Naval Academy N.Y. Vaptsarov)--not more than 3.00 minutes.

Sport uniform (should be provided by the applicant)

The check of the psychological qualities is executed by special methods developed in the military academies.

The medical examinations will be conducted according to the requirements of the Regulation of diseases and physical handicaps.

The applicants for pilots will have to undergo a special aviomedical examination.

During the competitive examinations in the military academies all applicants are provided with room. Applicants who are in the service travel with military travel documents and receive also food at presenting food certificate.

B. Admission of Cadets to Higher Institute of Physical Education G. Dimitrov

The young people applying for cadets in the Higher Institute for Physical Education G. Dimitrov, program for physical education for the Bulgarian People's Army should meet the requirements for cadets in military academies. They file their application documents in VIF (Higher Institute for Physical Education) "G. Dimitrov" according to the requirements of the Referrence Book for Students-Applicants for 1982-1983. Through the local military command, where they are registered, they send the following documents to the head of AShVSM Chavdar [Athletic School--rest of extension unknown]. Sofia: Application form, curriculum vitae, birth certificate, certificate showing no previous conviction, privilege certificate, copy of a diploma for completed high-school education, and a declaration that they will serve in the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army] not less than 10 years after graduating from the institution.

The documents should be filed in the local military command until 7 July 1982.

The conditions and order for conducting the competitive examinations are stipulated in the Regulation for admission of students in VIF G. Dimitrov for the school year 1982-1983.

People who are in the service and are not to be discharged this year are not allowed to apply.

The young people admitted to the program of physical education in BNA have the same rights and obligations as the other cadets in the military academies.

Those who successfully complete their education will be given the rank lieutenant and will be appointed in the BNA.

C. Admission of Scholarship Holders of MNO [Ministry of National Defense]
Young people meeting the requirements for cadets in the military academies are admitted as scholarship holders of MNO.

Young people are admitted in the following programs:

--medical doctors--in the medical institutes in Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna and Pleven;

--dentistry--in the faculties of dentistry in Sofia and Plovdiv;

--pharmacology--in the pharmaceutical faculty in Sofia;

--physics--in SU [University of Sofia] Kliment Okhridski

--meteorology--in BAN [Bulgarian Academy of Sciences].

The applicants for scholarships file their documents as everybody else in the higher educational establishments according to the rules governing the application for universities. Those who successfully qualify with a grade rate above the determined minimum for the given institute of higher education, after the announcing of the results of the competitive examinations, file an application form in the local military command. Together with the application, they should submit a curriculum vitae, medical certificate from a military hospital--for discharged conscripts, medical conscription certificate--for those who have not been drafted yet, health certificate--for the conscripts, certificate to prove that they have no previous convictions, certificate for their aggregate grade result from the higher educational establishment where they have applied and taken the examinations, and a declaration that they will serve in the BNA for not less than 10 years after they have graduated.

Those admitted as scholarship-students and who have not served their regular term in the military will begin their studies after they have served it.

The scholarship-students of BNA after their graduations are accepted in active service and are appointed as officers in BNA.

Additional information can be obtained by the military academies, local military commands, commanders of units--for the conscripts as well as from the Guide book for student applicants for 1982 year.

9804
CSO: 2200/93

CONTROVERSIAL WRITERS DEFEND PEACE MOVEMENT IN GDR

Stefan Heym Speech

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 10 Apr 82 p 12

[Text of speech by Stefan Hyem, GDR writer, at a peace demonstration in Dortmund, organized by the (West) German Trade Union Federation (DGB): "'The Bar Will Offer No Protection at Atomic High-Noon'--GDR Writer Stefan Heym at the DGB Youth's Peace Demonstration: There Are No Just Wars Because There Are No Just Atom Bombs"]

> [Text] At a peace demonstration of the DGB Youth in Dortmund on Good Friday, together with a benefit concern for the Polish trade union "Solidarnosc", the GDR writer Stefan Heym warned against trying to find methods of waging a nuclear war with calculable risks. The FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU publishes Heym's remarks verbatim.

On that day in May when the war in Europe came to an end, I took my pistol, a Colt 45, and fired all the cartridges into the air. Only later did I reflect on why I had done that, and I came to the conclusion that my feelings at the time must have been: This will not be needed any more. From now on there will be peace, a just and lasting peace, after a just war in which the just cause won.

Who was left who could still want war? The army in whose ranks I had fought, the U.S. Army, which had experienced enough from Normandy to Buchenwald to realize that mankind had escaped the descent into barbarism only by the skin of its teeth? The Soviet Army, which with such great sacrifices had come the long, hard road from Stalingrad to Torgau on the Elbe river where both armies shook hands? Although there might be disagreements between the two victorious powers, I thought, they are both democracies, one bourgeois, the other socialist, and in both the power is vested in the people, and the people do not need war and do not want war.

One may smile at the young man's illusions from the viewpoint of nearly 40 years that have passed since then; but they were not ignoble, and above all, I was not the only one who held them. It was the time when in the United States the humanistic principles and ideas of Franklin Delano Roosevelt were still

alive, and when in the Soviet Union the spirit of love for one's country had proved stronger than the evil spirit of Gulag. It was a time of hope where one thought about socialist reforms in the then U.S. occupied zone, and about democracy in the Soviet occupied one; it was not for nothing that the order established in this zone was at that time called antifascist-democratic and that the nation emerging from it was given the name German Democratic Republic.

It was the time when the saying came into being which is being quoted again today, and even by prominent speakers: Never again shall a war be started from German soil. The only ones who doubted that word at that time were those very fascists who had just been beaten, and I still remember the highranking Wehrmacht officers whom I had to interrogate and who told me sneeringly: You had better be nice to us, you will still need us.

We all know what course history took. The dreams of May blossoms became an atomic nightmare, the world which was supposed to become a rational, humane world, is split into two camps, West and East lie in wait for each other like two ferocious animals and wait for the first sign of weakenss in the other, in order to snap.

It is moot to argue whose fault it is and who first developed the paranoia, the persecution complex which today determines the policies of the atomic superpowers. Was it the West? Was it U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, and Winston Churchill who, for the first time, declared openly in Fulton, Missouri, that peace with the Soviets was not possible? Or was it the fault of Stalin who, already fearing his own people, was not about to trust a competing world power?

And then came the horror of Hiroshima, and the hubris of the American leadership.

But it was forgotten that $E = mc^2$ was a principle of physics and not a secret classified document; and soon enough the two world powers confronted each other with this weapon in their hands, which would not only blow up Silver Gulch in Nevada, or Omsk or Tomsk, but the entire globe.

This is the lunacy with which we live. For decades now, every day, it is atomic high noon, and it is our bad luck that we cannot, like the people in a western, quickly duck behind the bar, while the two cowboys carry out their ritualistic threatening gestures. And with every passing year the matter becomes more dangerous because both adversaries keep enlarging their nuclear arsenal, increasing it and refining it so that they are capable today of totally destroying themselves and us and all life on earth, not just once, not just twice, but about two dozen times over.

Their strategists are now attempting to find methods of waging nuclear war in which only the poor guys behind the bar get it, while they themselves, with honorably smoke-blackened faces, are still standing upright. Yet this will not succeed. A bomb is a bomb, an atom is an atom, and any physicist will confirm that an atom, once out of Pandora's box, cannot just be stuffed back in. No, no one will be left, no marshal, no president, no secretary general, even if in

the beginning they limit themselves to a small tactical nuclear grenade during some running fight near Hannover or Magdeburg; one follows the other, after the tactical nuclear arms come the big strategic ones, and when the scenario has been played out, we shall drift through space, a dead star with a poisoned atmosphere, as a mockery of God's creation. The grotesque part of it are the moral principles with which the whole matter is cloaked--if one can speak about morals at all in connection with such frightful weapons and such frightful plans.

According to this moral understanding, there are good and bad nuclear weapons, just and unjust ones, the kind that serve the preservation of peace, and others which serve the purposes of war. Yet which is the good, humanitarian, just and worthy nuclear weapons: the Pershing II or the SS-20? The Trident submarine, or one of the Whisky class which recently ran aground at the skerries near Stockholm? At the writers' congress late last year, this was exactly the point at issue, and the fronts cut diagonally across the assembly, but not according to East-West lines; there were those who said that the Soviets are for peace, therefore their nuclear bombs are also, and we do not feel threatened by them, and the others who considered Soviet nuclear weapons also as a threat to peace and to their own persons.

I regretted that there were no U.S. writers present at the meeting, one of whom might have stood up and mentioned that Mr Reagan also claims for himself, and his administration, that they are quite enormously for peace, and that their nuclear weapons serve only this purpose. When one hears all this, one must come to the conclusion that no one is threatening anyone, and that we are dealing exclusively with elderly little peace angels and are just about to witness the outbreak of paradisiacal conditions.

Theater of the Absurd

Yet in actuality, there is a real difference, and a serious one, between Soviet and Western nuclear weapons. Namely, no one makes a profit from the Soviet ones.

With the exception of cases of corruption, there are no private persons in any country with true socialism who make profits from industry, and the socialist armament industry, with the exception of their exports, is at any rate a business operating at a loss for which the workers have to pay. Yet it is a known fact that besides private profit, there are also other motives which cause people to act one way or another, and it is also known that even in actually existing socialism, there exist more real interest groups which bear a clear resemblance to the so-called military-industrial complex in the West. Power-personal, organizational, military power is an enormous temptation, and if I can succeed, through threatening with the atom bomb, in keeping the present power structure within my sphere of interest untouched, then I have a motive for nuclear armament which more than balances that of private profit.

There are no longer any just wars. There cannot be, because there are no just atoms bombs. The atom bomb strikes the just and unjust, no matter what noble goals the individual statesman may pursue with it, and what pet name he gives to it. The bomb is death, regardless of the intention for which it is used, offensive of defensive or preventive, and at what point, as a first strike or

second strike or last strike. The bomb is the enemy. No matter who has the say-so about it, the bomb must go if we want to live.

Therefore, the peace movement.

It stems from the great fear of the people and is therefore spontaneous; that is its strength.

Naturally, all sorts of people attach themselves to such an issue arising from, and moving, the masses. Peace, after all, is also a political problem, and what kind of politician would not try to make political hay out of peoples' yearning for peace. You will have noticed that even governments are welcoming this new peace movement with the greatest of sympathy and are providing publicity support--however, it is rarely one's own government doing it, but more often that of the neighboring country, which in turn watches its own autochthonous, home-grown peace movement with a less than favorable eye.

The litmus test for a government's love of peace is its attitude towards nuclear arms opponents in its own country. When the police in the nation's train stations strip young citizens of badges showing the plowman about to forge his sword into a plowshare, then the government of that country is out of step with the words of the prophet Isaiah. When the nation's school authorities distribute books to their school children which contain sentences such as these:

Basic rules of conduct after nuclear detonations are : Drop to the ground immediately, utilizing shelter, especially ditches, dugouts, concrete walls--do not lie crosswise to the shock wave--look for shelter in the shadow zone--close eyes and protect uncovered body parts--avoid the vicinity of flammable material!

And further:

The following offer protection from residual nuclear radiation: Personal protective equipment--technical means and shelters--special measures such as closing of windows and hatches in vehicles, increasing the distance between vehicles, increased marching tempo...

then the government of that country either has no idea of the consequences of a nuclear explosion, or it wants to minimize them. And if a government permits the sale of war toys in the country's stores and increases paramilitary drills for school children, instead of giving favorable consideration to the possibility of substituting service in social areas for service in the armed forces, then this government deprives itself of credibility for its frequent peace-loving assurances--not to mention that old Prussian foot torture, the goose step, which has always been considered the prime symbol of an evil military spirit, and which is practices regularly on one of the most beautiful streets of the nation's capital, and which could easily be abolished as a small token of a peace-loving attitude.

At the aforementioned writers' congress, the Soviet colleague, Colonel Professor Daniil Projektor, a military expert according to his own statements, gave his

official blessing to a demonstration for the removal of all nuclear weapons from the territory of the GDR: because, according to his assurances, there are no nuclear weapons there anyway. When asked later if those were kitchen pots that were given a ride on Karl-Marx-Allee on ceremonial occasions, he admitted that those were indeed booster rockets--but the nuclear warheads were safely in Soviet safekeeping.

As far as is known, the same status exists in the Federal Republic. In the Federal Republic, also, the United States has the finger on the warheads, and the Federal Armed Forces are allowed to tend the booster rockets. Since we can have full confidence that the military on both sides will be able to get the booster rockets and warheads together in time to avoid our standing there with only parade ammunition in case of an emergency, it suggests itself--if we follow comrade Projektor's hint--to demand that, together with the nuclear warheads, the booster rockets also are removed from both the West German and East German states.

It is obvious that no German government can leave the treaty system to which it has been linked for years. But since, as matters stand today, nuclear exchange would begin here in central Europe, it is nevertheless the duty of these governments to help defuse the dangerous situation--i.e., to ban booster rockets and warheads from their territories.

Thus, a nuclear-free Germany! If even only one of the two German governments made this demand and declared its own willingness, the other one would see itself compelled to do the same. And what third government would then want to say no?

Illusions? Dreams?

Perhaps the young man's hope on that day in May, 1945, was not quite so naive, after all. Perhaps it will be possible, if people in East and West cooperate in creating peace, which at that time, like a fleeting first flush of dawn, was recognizable on the horizon.

Rolf Schneider Discussion

Hamburg DER SPEIGEL in German Vol 36 No 16, 19 Apr 82 pp 131, 136

[Article by Rolf Schneider, GDR writer: "The Cadaver Stench Will Stick With Us--GDR Rolf Schneider on the SED and the Peace Movement in His Country"]

[Text] At the moment, events are taking place in the GDR which must deeply distress anyone who out of basic conviction is in sympathy with this state.

Uniformed People's Police approach churchgoers and threaten their jacket sleeves with scissors. Young people lose their places of apprenticeship, are excluded from the Abitur [college admission] or are expelled from the university. The cause of all this authoritarian intolerance is a round cloth patch; it depicts the words of Old Testament prophet Micah that swords be turned into plowshares, and the picture of a man who is recognizably occupied with this task of forging.

The distress mentioned is of several kinds. First of all, one must know that the man on the cloth patch is a Soviet. A sculpture by J.W. Wutschetitsch, he was presented in December 1961 by the USSR to the United Nations Organization in New York. The biblical quote is inscribed on the base; and if the rather agnostic USSR fell back on it, it is because it considered it an axiom which reflected its own foreign policy intentions.

Whoever rages with scissors and dismissal letters from school against that patch commits an anti-Soviet act, in my opinion, the likes of which is prohibited in the GDR and subject to punishment.

The GDR government informed the Saxon State Church that it considers the patch a membership badge of a resistance movement; therefore it declares it prohibited. At least, this was heard recently in an announcement from the pulpit, and why should the State Church of Saxony invent this?

I must ask my country herewith to reconsider the case.

The only thing which might dispose the wearers of the incriminating patch towards opposition is their youthful age. This means it might be a case of generation conflicts which occur periodically, also in the GDR, and which in the past also tended to be linked to something quite superficial. My colleague, Heiner Mueller, came up with a word for it, "substitute wars." Sometimes they were about jazz, then rock music; sometimes it was jeans, or beards, or long hair on men. The GDR lost all of them, only to realize with surprise that neither a certain type of music nor blue pants had been able to shake up the state order of the country, even the least little bit.

True, an article of clothing by the firm of Levi is not an existential thing. What is happening in the GDR at present resembles most closely the conflicts concerning the Junge Gemeinde [Young Community: GDR Protestant church youth activity group] at the beginning of 1953.

At that time, also among other things, it was a matter of wearing a badge: the cross atop the globe. The Junge Gemeinde was suspected of being an agency of enemies of the state. Their members were supposed to dissociate themselves formally from it. He who refused had to expect expulsion from school and university, even incarceration; hundreds of young lives were thus damaged. Then came June of 1953, and the New Course, the Junge Gemeinde was rehabilitated, it was permissible to wear their badge, and very occasionally, it can still be seen today.

The wearers of the patch "Swords into Plowshares" are also mostly young Protestant Christians. Above all, and that is the case in point, they are the adherents of an uncompromising anti-war attitude. The GDR, like the Federal Republic, the Netherlands, Italy, and lately also the United States, has its peace movement; it shares all its characteristics, namely: it is spontaneous, often religiously motivated, and totally unorganized. The latter is its weakness as well as its strength.

It is delicate to deal with it in terms of numbers. The 300,000 in Bonn last October were an impressive crowd; seen as a percentage of the total West German

population, they were a minority. The situation in the GDR is comparable, where the 5,000 demonstrators in Dresden in February of this year also seem impressive only if one does not consider their ratio to the total GDR population.

The Dresden demonstration did take place, however. It was not obstructed by anyone. Up to that time, one could assume that the GDR government tolerated this peace movement in its own country. A mere four weeks later, all this is evidently no longer valid; there are no understandable reasons for it. On my part, I fear that my country is not doing itself a service.

To start with, the applause which the GDR continues to accord to the peace movement in Western countries, will sound somewhat hollow in the future. Recently, a renowned GDR writer stated: "What a gain it would be if agreement to proposals of banning nuclear weapons were also supported by an independent peace movement in the GDR." He did not forget to add that his "hopes in this regard are small." Whereby he proved himself to be what he is also in the literary field: a realist.

I myself confess that my sympathies lie with the independent peace movement in the GDR. This may give me leave to speak about myself for a while.

I am a pacifist. I have always been one. I will not try to explain here how I reconcile this with my marxist ideology, among whose patriarchs ranks, after all, the eminent military theoretician, Friedrich Engels. The problem has become moot in view of the fact that reality in the meantime has caught up with, and agrees with, my convictions. We are living under circumstances of armament technology which turns even a defensive war into sheer nuclear suicide.

I should like to mention two points here:

I am completely convinced of the peaceful intentions of the GDR, the Soviet Union, the socialist countries. If this were not so, I would not wish to continue living in this part of the world. I am equally convinced that the present hardening in foreign policy, the threatening arms race, the gradually lengthening shadows of a new cold war must be blamed on measures by the Reagan administration. The latter can also take credit for the peace movement: without these [measures], it would not exist.

Peace movement and cold war were always linked to each other; one is evidence and a condition of the other. The era of detente did not need Easter marchers. The fight-nuclear-death movement was an answer to the hysterical armament under the military doctrines of containment and roll-back. At that time, thanks to the lack of a nuclear arsenal, a partial survival of mankind in case of a world war was at least still conceivable. Today, at the time of triple or quintuple overkill, this is no longer so.

One result is that the new peace movement in its general tendency, despite many programmatic and personal agreements with the old one, is nevertheless different, that is to say, radically pacifist.

As GDR writer Stephan Hermlin said, "the motto 'create peace without arms,' which captivated large sections of young people, contains the essence of a great utopia,

thus possesses a real core. Although it appears hardly credible that disarmament could take place in other than a simultaneous and balanced manner, the demand of many for unilateral disarmament cannot be overlooked. It has become stronger and cannot simply be ignored."

One should add that the utopia mentioned here is very old in its substance. The idea of undercutting the militancy of an assumed or real opponent through deliberate defenselessness is in essence the secularized Sermon of the Mount. It was surely not coincidental that the new peace movement made its debut at a church congress, that of Hamburg, and neither is the church's backing for the new peace movement in the GDR.

The Hermlin words quoted here were stated at the Berlin meeting for the promotion of peace in December 1981, a remarkable assembly in many respects. It brought together some hundred literati and scientists from East and West, in the captial of the GDR. One talked about the state of this peace, and the need for preventing war. Opinions differed widely.

In the course of the Berlin encounter it was mentioned several times that the participants, with their heterogeneous convictions, did not mean to question each others' "capacity for peace." One stuck to the agreement that the sole purpose of the meeting was the meeting itself, thus dialogue, mutual respect; in the end, a breeze like God's peace wafted through the hall. I took all this as a promise, also for the future, also for the internal life of the GDR.

With its latest actions against the wearers of pacifist badges, my country has unilaterally cancelled this promise. As it was, the meeting by nature and direction did not fit into any of the present cliches of political thinking. Wedged between the Schmidt visit at Lake Werbellin and the beginning of the state of martial law in the People's Republic of Poland, it offered topical cause to be pushed out of private and public awareness as quickly as possible.

By comparison, another quote from GDR communist Stephan Hermlin: "A curious contradiction has arisen between the legitimate right of nations to self-defense for the protection of their integrity and sovereignty, and nuclear defensive measures which from the outset are of a suicidal nature and lead to self-destruction... War, which despite its constantly growing terror still could have the nature of protecting life and morals up to the threshold of the present, I am thinking primarily of the defensive struggle of the anti-Hitler-coalition against fascism, has become absurd. It can no longer, as with Clausewitz, be an instrument for pushing through political intentions; it must be banned."

Nothing can be changed in this description. It is the justification for pacifism in the year 1982, also in the GDR where, on the other hand, one continues to think and act along Clausewitz's ideas of military theory, now even a bit more energetically than before.

Where do we stand? The Berlin encounter, is it as if it had never happened? What about, and what is one's reaction to, the later Lenin's declaration, only recently discovered, that he could not only tolerate but also practice pacifist attitudes?

Recently, a young GDR poet appeared at a public reading and declared he, for his part, wanted to see plowshares turned into weapons. In a GDR school, a teacher is supposed to have denounced pacifism as "demoralization of the troops"; evidently, there was no one around to stuff this fascist expression back into his mouth.

I foresee a series of conflicts in the GDR which will be as useless as tormenting, their only result a great number of destroyed lives; the cadaver stench, which makes for publicity, will stick to us for a long time. For this reason, also, I am tempted to ask my authorities to take up again the dialogue which had been begun with the pacifist forces in our own country. It might be useful. It definitely cannot hurt.

The GDR demonstrates extraordinary military eargerness, for a socialist country. Military parades are a favorite means of self-representation. For this reason it has sometimes been difficult to represent convincingly, outside its borders, the peaceful intentions of the GDR.

It should not be made even more difficult, if you please.

9917
CSO: 2300/239

DUTIES, ACTIVITIES OF MILITARY COMMISSARS DISCUSSED

Main Problems Noted

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 10 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Brig Gen Witold Niedek, plenipotentiary commissar of the National Defense Committee (KOK) for the Koszalin Voivodship: "Soldiers Serving Society"]

[Text] In times when words mean little, when even the purest of intentions are being questioned, even actions undertaken by the military in the defense of the state and the national interest may raise doubts. In order to ensure that these doubts are groundless, it is necessary to look only at the lineage of our army, its class origins and its function. Without this, it will be impossible to understand anything. It will be equally impossible to determine in whose interests a soldier of the People's Army was acting when he--in carrying out his duties under martial law--stood at the crossroads of some of the important communications arteries, stood guard in front of government buildings, protected key production facilities and--on the strength of the law of universal service for the defense of the Polish People's Republic--became a commissar, a plenipotentiary representative of the National Defense Committee (KOK) in various voivodships, cities and gminas.

The introduction of martial law, as reported by city and territorial operational groups (TGO), was--regardless of surprise--accepted by a decisive majority of the population of the Koszalin Voivodship. Furthermore, the older populace accepted the decision of the State Council with a genuine satisfaction because they saw in the army the only force capable of solving the current socioeconomic problems and of eliminating dangers that threatened our socialist renewal.

Martial law initiated the process of a return to normalcy; it protected society from anarchy, chaos and disorganization. This stabilizing process is continuing. However, it encounters--unfortunately--rough going and occasionally a morass even here in the Koszalin Voivodship. From TGO reports, and lately also from field investigations in Szczecinek, appear many disturbing phenomena and problems requiring decisive action.

The first problem is youth affairs. Generally speaking, the youth don't understand the need for, or the causes of, martial law. They see only the

inconvenience, imposed restrictions; they often exaggerate them, using arguments of the widespread [antigovernment] propaganda whose source is well known; the instigating Western wireless media. This state of affairs is the result of inadequate work of the teaching cadres in explaining the situation to youth organizations. Also lacking is an ideological offensive by the Basic Party Organization (POP) in the schools. Youth's frustrations are intensified by the awakened aspirations that cannot be fulfilled, especially in housing. One can still see in the attitudes of the youth results of the destructive activities by the extreme elements of Solidarity. They do not seem to improve because there is no countering activity by the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP). From questions and statements made by the youth it becomes apparent that they expect a ready and plentiful flow of consumer goods, cultural benefits, etc., supplied by the state. They show no interest in where and how the state is supposed to obtain these benefits.

The second problem is the socioeconomic affairs of workers in production enterprises. From conversations that we have conducted in this milieu it appears that the work crews have insufficient knowledge of the program of the Military Council of National Salvation (WRON). Additionally, the capability of the party organizations to translate this program into understandable language of tasks and defined needs, at a given plant or institution, is equally insufficient. This results from a weakness of our educational and propaganda efforts; consequently, the hostile propaganda of our enemies is able to penetrate this gap.

Who is supposed to conduct such political-educational activity? The party, of course, and allied political factions, youth organizations and others are. However, many POP's are very weak and have few members. For example, in the Regional Drainage Enterprise in Czczecinek, of 150 workers, there are only 3 party members. In such a situation the only solution is a recommendation that the requirement for the conduct of these activities be assigned to the plant's managerial cadre.

The third problem can be described as a search for resources within the mechanics and structures of economy management and the direction of the administration. From TGO reports it appears that some economic structures and administrative mechanisms in the voivodship are faulty and that they cause serious delays in our energence from the crisis. A bizarre state of "helplessness" and certain actual difficulties are directly endangering the renewal of our economy and administration.

For example, city mayors and gmina chiefs who are faced with demanding requests do not actually have the respective means, or powers, to carry them out. A mayor, with the exception of the city library, museum and OSIR [expansion unknown], does not have at his disposal any of the enterprises so vital to his city such as the communal economy, housing administration, thermal power plant, city communications or even housing reconstruction/repair enterprises. How can he be expected, under these circumstances, to carry out his fundamental functions?

As another example, three enterprises in Szczecinek are concerned with drainage. They all are located in one area, separated only by fences. Each has its own offices, warehouses and shops. They all do the same work. All the people who work there stress this nonsensical situation; however, no one so far has been able to unify these enterprises. Another nonsensical arrangement is supplying the State Agricultural Machinery Station (POM) in Szczecinek with steel. Steel must be transported from Szczecinek to Czaplinek; there it is sorted and then transported back to Szczecinek. Look at how much time is wasted and how many additional costs are incurred (there are about 40 kilometers between the two towns). Curiously, many people from the administration of that enterprise consider this situation to be normal.

There are many such examples. The real problem is the need to strengthen the economy. There must be certain elements of authority in our voivodship, indeed in our very headquarters, who will be willing to listen to the voices of the working people and undertake decisive actions aimed at the return to orderliness of our economic life. At this time we don't need good intentions or declarations that confirm the status quo. What is needed is a sensible, rational activity because only this, in the eyes of society, will give credence to our actions.

It is the inalienable right of each citizen to work, to live under conditions of law and order, peace, quiet and social justice. This is the purpose of martial law. It is not very popular today to speak of work organization and social discipline, especially under the current circumstances; however, I shall permit myself the luxury of reflecting on these matters. We are used to looking at work discipline through the eyes of a worker or office clerk. Does he come to work on time, does he take time off to go to town during working hours, etc.? For transgressions in these matters one can often, quite justifiably, suffer serious consequences.

Far more seldom do we look at the work discipline of managers and directors. Do they use official vehicles for private purposes? Are they habitually late for work? The same applies to wastefulness, be it incompetence or dishonesty, when it pertains to people in leadership positions. We must never be complacent about this. That kind of activity aims straight at the heart of our socialist order, at social justice. No honest person and no soldier will tolerate such practices of breaking or circumventing the law, using it as a screen behind which one may dip for personal gain, or at the practice of dividing society into those who are better or worse, informed to kept uninformed regarding the higher aims. None of us will accept formation of legal or customary norms giving undeserved privileges to a chosen few. We honor those who are deserving; however, we also accept a principle that to be deserving imposes an obligation on each such person to perform always in an exemplary manner all entrusted duties.

Many other conclusions can be drawn from the work of TGO's. A bad supply situation creates bitterness and dissatisfaction among people, in particular with such articles as shoes, stockings, items of personal hygiene. The most pressing social problem is the lack of housing and very meager prospects for

for its rapid solution. In production plants there is a lack of protective clothing and materials; the compensatory payments, which are made in lieu of them, are also being accepted with dissatisfaction. If we look at the social aspects against this background, we will see a contrast in many plants between the plant working conditions and those of the management: decorative paneling, carpets, soft club chairs, private television in the office, etc.

One would think that, in view of the current difficulties and neglect people who are responsible for factories, for production and work organization would undertake some active measures to improve the situation. I'm thinking of directors, managers, shift leaders and trade masters. Unfortunately, when it comes to these matters the majority of the leadership does not show sufficient concern or energy.

Many matters of public interest can be, and should be, resolved rapidly in order to help people with their daily problems. There is one such matter in Szczecinek--this information comes from discussions with officers and soldiers of TGO's. There is a lack of many food items, in particular blood sausage [black pudding], one reason being that in this city, as in many others, small butcher shops have been eliminated. It appears, however, that in Koszalin Voivodship there are all the necessary conditions and capabilities to produce good quality blood sausage. There are sufficient amounts of the necessary components (animal blood, entrails, grit cereals) to satisfy completely the needs of the local populace for this food article. In fact all that is needed to solve this matter is fast and decisive action by the administration.

I have given some examples. We should not dare to pass by those negative phenomena without trying to do something about them--not if we wish to remain credible, not if we wish to gain public support for the WRON program. A soldier serving the nation fulfills his duties according to constitutional law. This imposes on him the requirement to defend the nation and the interests of the workers. We are, therefore, against all occurrences that do not coincide with the interests of the people: bureaucracy, arrogance and incompetence. Soldiers of TGO's understand this as their duty; that is how they carry it out and how they will continue carrying it out.

Activities, Views

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 3, 4 Apr 82 p 6

[Interview with 2nd Lt Eugeniusz Tomaszewicz, deputy military commissar for Biskupiece Reszelski and Sorkwity Gmina by staff writer, Cadet Corporal Krzysztof Wroblewski: "Commissar about Gmina--Face the Problems"; date and place not given]

> [Text] A certain stereotype of the military commissar can be discerned from press reports: a middle-aged, senior officer. However, this is not always the rule; younger people are also doing this job.

Second Lt Eugeniusz Tomaszewicz is the deputy commissar for the Biskupiec Reszelski City and Gmina and for Sorkwity Gmina. He received his degree (MA) in social sciences from the Jagiellonian University (Krakow) and graduated from the Reserve Officers School of the Political Officers Center in Lodz. He already had some experiences that will form the basis of this interview with a representative of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

[Question] What problem does a commissar encounter in his daily activity?

[Answer] They are just what you would expect--the basic complaint in a city is the housing situation. We have dozens of people who come to us; the majority are newlyweds. The situation of those young families is desperate. The reality is painful--there is virtually no available housing in Biskupiec. We are trying to help the most needy cases. Acting together with the gmina chief, I have made several decisions concerning the most urgent cases.

However, to tell the truth, we cannot help everybody. I'm fully aware of the fact that one of the duties of my office is to pass information. The housing shortage in Biskupiec is not news, nor is it an exception on the national scale. Rather, this disease has infected the whole country.

The alarming reports submitted by the military commissars relative to this subject will result in radical plans to solve the housing problem.

On the other hand, rural problems are more differentiated though not always so pressing. For example, a farmer working 9 hectares of land came in with a request: I should intervene on his behalf at the gmina office, so that he be issued meat ration coupons.

Normally our problems are more serious. Sometimes--if you listen to the farmers--we get involved in solving problems that require a government decision, even as high as the ministerial level, or end up with a court ruling. Nevertheless, we have to maintain that the law is the law and we should not break it or circumvent it. One thing we do is to suggest changes to unrealistic or outdated provisions of the law; however, this can be changed only through a normal, legal process.

To sum it all up, the majority of rural problems consist of legal questions of contested property rights of deeds and titles--consolidation and property deeds to parcels of land. There are also the current matters of the supply of consumer goods to rural areas and the supply of materials needed in farming. This requires dozens of interventions on my part; this also requires speedy and flexible action.

From what I have told you, one may think that the army is duplicating the efforts of the administration; however, this is not the case. The state administration organs are still functioning normally. Our purpose is to assist the administration and to evaluate its effectiveness [and efficiency]. Nevertheless, we do receive those matters that have not been attended to by the

administration or been decided against the--not necessarily very objectively evaluated--best interests of the petitioner.

We review those matters again, together with the gmina authorities. Being the representatives of the army, we try to remain impartial. Where we can help, we do so. However, we do not perform the impossible or the unrealistic, such as a request to assign a tractor to a 3-hectare farm, as the case with one petitioner. We know that the people trust us and we do not wish to lose this precious credit.

It is very difficult to preserve impartiality when one is confronted by an avalanche of problems. It always creates a danger of becoming emotionally involved on someone's behalf. Nevertheless, despite difficulties the army is carrying out its mission; this provides a third force that stabilizes the situation in the small, often complicated, rural society.

[Question] Citizen Lieutenant, how do you see the situation in the realm of cooperation with the youth, so far as the parameters of your work are concerned?

[Answer] I'm young myself; this makes it easy to talk with people of my age group, I have very good contacts with the Rural Youth Union (ZMW) in Sorkwice; the members even invite me frequently to their meetings. I try to help in solving the professional problems of young farmers.

They have a particular problem regarding the regulation of property on the farms that they operate; additionally, they need credit, assignment of farm machinery and fertilizers.

It is against the background of such problems that I look at the rural youth, the very same people on whom we will have to depend and whom we have to inspire, to increase our farm production. They have a chance to overcome the Polish food crisis.

I also try to give the young people answers to the difficult questions relative to martial law. I try to present this question within the context of tasks that the state levies on agriculture.

Thanks to us--the Army—the territorial authorities treat youth more seriously. This is a far-reaching activity that will ensure more than bread alone for Poland.

[Question] Citizen Lieutenant, now that you have been active for several months in "rural" Poland, have you reached any conclusions?

[Answer] There is no such thing as a "profession" of military commissar. I'm performing normal military service except for the fact that I'm working with a civilian population. This makes it difficult, because this means working in a typical nonmilitary milieu. Consider discipline, an element in all military situations. Its absence, or at least a very poor quality [when present] among the civilian populace, makes for very difficult working conditions. I'm not

saying that the discipline should be as high as in the military; however, it would only be for the better if there were some self-discipline [among civilians].

Martial law is a temporary state of affairs. The army will return to the barracks but a trace of our activity here will remain. This should be reflected in changes to some of the provisions of the law, methods of dealing with problems, and this is not all. I'm thinking of discipline that will become--at least we hope that it will--an integral characteristic of the administration.

As for specific conclusions drawn from my experiences, gmina administration must have a greater degree of authority [i.e., independence] and freedom of action. A good example here are the local conditions. Simultaneously gmina administration must be subjected to more frequent, externally based controls.

A man who is not checked for effectiveness or efficiency will fall in a rut. He will perform along the line of least resistance. This phenomenon was observed in the administration during the 1970's. People employed in rural administration must be the best available and highly qualified. This can be facilitated by making the working conditions more attractive.

My current duty will be of great assistance to me in my doctorate studies at the Military Political Academy (WAP). I'm planning to attend it when martial law is terminated. Here, I'm gaining practical knowledge of the society's functioning. This, when compared with theory, will permit me to write a useful doctoral dissertation.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

9511
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MAINTENANCE OF CALM IN ACADEMIC COMMUNITY DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Ilona Morzol]

[Text] In very oversimplified terms, the atmosphere today in the academic community may be characterized as a mix of fatigue and disquiet. Both the cadre and students are exhausted from catching up as a result of the strikes and cleaning up the resultant mess, a task not made easier by the deepening troubles emanating from the lack of investment in schooling and the lack of means, equipment and teaching materials.

In spite of this, following last year's period of loosened discipline, the schools have started to work at full steam. Before the session, schoolwork is done in a more intensive way than usual, even on free Saturdays, often until late in the evening. Under martial law, student life has lost much of its former laxity, which was more than once the subject of social criticism.

After the establishment of obligatory attendance at all classes, students began to attend lectures with much greater frequency than they had for a long time. Since one now has only two chances to take an examination, one must truly put one's shoulder to the wheel in order to maintain his student course record. The new regulations likewise ushered in a range of burdens, such as the severe rigors of dormitory life and the obligation to show identity cards at the entrance of university buildings. The administration and the cadre became obliged to oversee student observance of the new rigors and to worry about what will happen if students refuse to abide by them.

The academic community, sensitive about privileges won earlier in the struggle, will agree unwillingly to their being restricted. On the other hand, martial law has brought the schools an opportunity to regain internal equilibrium after the shocks of the strikes, which to a marked degree paralyzed the life of the school and threatened a large part of the youth with the prospect of studies being prolonged infinitely.

Even before the reopening of classes, here and there at the universities posters appeared that were critical of the essence of martial law and called for a boycott of classes. Some students protested in the dormitories, burning candles in their windows. While these facts should not be considered a serious

threat to the functioning of the universities, they aroused in authorities the concern that they might be a potential spark, capable of reigniting the fire.

Among the higher schools in Lublin, as recently as 1 month ago these facts figured especially importantly at the university, where 11 people were excluded from intramural studies, more than 80 students were threatened with removal from the register of students and several were held for distributing fliers. They also figured in other Lublin schools but on a smaller scale. Before the session began, relative calm was restored at UMCS [Maria Curie-Sklodowska University], chiefly thanks to the appeals of the rector, who commands authority among the cadre and students alike. In the remaining schools, similar appears were made earlier, reminding students of the regulations in force during martial law and of the penalties for their infraction. At the Medical Academy, separate regulations based on the martial law decrees were issued for the teaching cadre and the students. Those involved in public protests are faced with immediate eviction from dormitories.

These are all one-shot measures and, as it were, symptomatic treatment. They cannot be applied indefinitely. Plainly, we must find a way to restore the bonds of professionalism and comradeship in this community. Without them, it would be difficult to imagine normal work and life in the schools.

Reactivating the student movement is pointed to as a means of restoring these bonds. The SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students], which recently resumed its activities, has prepared its program of cultural and social work. In Lublin's "Chatka Zaka," a student cultural center is to be created not only to showcase the creative life of students of all Lublin institutions but also to serve as a location for discussion of relevant subjects of today's young intelligentsia.

While it is difficult to say whether the academic community will be satisfied in the long run with a single organization, for the present every initiative is valuable that creates an opportunity for the integration of the community and the possibility to act for all those who wish to do something positive for it.

However, we cannot expect student organizations to shoulder all of the problems of the academic community and to cope with them in their own sphere. The fact that the atmosphere in schools continues to be tense has its deeper roots in the divisions that appeared in this community before the wave of December strikes and became sharper during them. The basic question being asked in the schools now, in regard to maintaining calm, is the question of how to reach an understanding, how to win over the greatest part of the academic community to reason, given the existing differences of attitudes and views. There is also the question of who is to do this.

Party organizations at many schools are still struggling with the problem of acquiring the authority so indispensable for them . At UMCS, in November and December the organization lost many members. The outside influence of the party on the community is very limited . Regaining this influence today demands very sound action and the concentration of efforts not on seeking out those guilty of failure but on building a positive program for the future.

Thus, the PZPR School Committee at UMCS has made its primary task the moderating of conflicts, the stabilization and consolidation of the community and the creation of an atmosphere and conditions for the development of academic self-government.

A serious task falls to the academic cadre, whose attitudes to a significant degree mold the attitudes of students; they themselves are awaiting honest information and sensible and sober arguments. The cadre does not have to give lectures or instruction or have talks outside their faculties but should conduct direct and honest conversations in dormitories and in clubs--everywhere the life of this community really takes place, everywhere discussion and the exchange of views is possible, every place that is open to arguments of good sense, with which the cadre, the party and the student organization itself should approach the student population.

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CSO: 2600/521

ZSMP, NATIONAL REBIRTH COMMITTEE MEMBERS MEET

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Apr 82 pp 1,2

[Article: "Younger Generation's Responsibility for the Fate of the Country: Nationwide Meeting of ZSMP Activist Members of OKON"]

[Text] The nationwide meeting of ZSMP activists who are members of the Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth (OKON) held on the 13th of this month in Warsaw was devoted to a discussion of the problems related to the participation of members of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) in the movement of national renaissance. Participating in the deliberations was Deputy Minister of National Defense Major General Dr Jozef Baryla, member of WRON [Military Council for National Salvation] and head of the Main Political Board of the Polish Army.

Secretary of the ZSMP Main Board Jerzy Szmajdzinski opened up the discussion by stating that the national renaissance movement, which today has around 100,000 POlish patriots in more than 6,000 OKONs, is the social extension of the goals which the Military Council for National Salvation set for itself and is consistently carrying out.

From the very beginning, ZSMP has supported and accepted the WRON actions as undertakings aimed at saving the country. As everyone knows, the formula of the committees which are in operation or being created does not have any restrictions concerning OKON members' organizational affiliations.

It is first of all a question of their being true representatives with a social-activist passion, of their enjoying moral authority among their peers, and of their representing the moral and ethical features which working people and the country stand so much in need of today.

This implies a specific appeal to the younger generation. It boils down to the idea that the OKON formula of activity coincides completely with the ideological and moral-training goals set before the youth-activists who belong to ZSMP.

The speaker pointed out the desire to authentic organic action not only among ZSMP members. This creates a good foundation for liberating the energy of youth, its knowledge, its qualifications, and its ingenuity for the good of the socialist fatherland. Great issues do not come to birth right away. They are made up of the straightforward building of what appear to be minor little issues. Today many such problems concern young people directly and very painfully.

For this reason the younger generation's participation in OKON activity is creating a great opportunity for young people to become involved in solving broader-scale problems which extend beyond their group interests in the narrow sense. This is also a chance for the younger generation to take up problems in a substantial way and not an instrumental one.

Because the multigroup nature of ZSMP represents an opportunity for participation in the union in the role of spokesman for the generation and not part of it, the national renaissance movement can and should be an important new inspiration for the union, in terms of program activity.

By integrating with members of other youth organizations on this plane, ZSMP members can provide the movement with initiative in moral-training and organizing work to solve problems, so that their social results are positive and verifiable, and in mobilizing all the available untapped reserves to overcome the crisis in an effective way.

The participants at the meeting emphasized in the discussion the great significance of the participation of young people, including ZSMP members, in the activity of OKON. Youth's participation in this social movement confirms the younger generation's sense of responsibility for the fate of the country, which is sometimes questioned. As ZSMP members, it was stated, we have the right and obligation to take part in the building of the future of our socialist state, for example, just by our activity in OKON.

During the meeting many various sorts of initiative and forms of work by young OKON members were presented. They participate, for example, in the work created in the various committees of the youth commissions and the social-welfare commissions. They help in resolving small but important problems related to the everyday life of their group. They take part in discussions on the future of the vocational movement.

An important sphere of interest for young OKON activists concerns the matter of shaping young people's awareness and their moral upbringing. In many committees production issues are also brought up, like the better use of materials and secondary raw materials. It was emphasized that activity which encourages social action in OKON should be an important form of preparation for young representatives to take a future part in the activity of the representation bodies. The further expansion of youth participation in the OKON movement was listed as essential.

Mentioning other voices in the discussion, Gen J. Baryla talked in his address about the problems of the current sociopolitical situation in the country and emphasized in this context the tasks for young OKON activists.

J. Jaskiernia emphasized the importance of the presence and activity of ZSMP members in OKON. They are important in two ways. On the one hand, this is a sort of political act confirming the support which the ZSMP grants to WRON decisions. On the other hand, it aids in the better solving of the groups' concrete problems. The speaker stated that the discussion at the meeting revealed the need to gather experience and knowledge from the activity of the ZSMP members in the committees operating within the various groups.

The exchange of experiential knowledge should also take place in the various voivodships. The young activists of the committees in operation and of those coming into being could help each other by giving help and advice, resolving many human problems on a day-to-day basis. Such a goal will be illuminated and will help the next national Polish meeting of ZSMP activists who are members of OKON, which will be held in a few months.

10790
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RZESZOW PARTY PLENUM REPORT NOTED

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 31 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (reb, si): "Basis of Party Consolidation--Common Goals of Activity and Means of Their Implementation"]

> [Text] The central Committee Seventh Plenum materials continue to be discussed in detail at the organized regional conferences of the aktiv and at the OOP (Departmental Party Organizations) and POP (Primary Party Organizations) meetings. The tasks and most urgent measures relating both to the question of intra-party as well as socioeconomic matters, expressed in these documents, are being translated into the language of practical activities, taking into account the conditions specific to a given community.
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> The problems of consolidating the party rank-and-file, and the restoration of authority and organization ties with the work-forces and inhabitants, have an important place in the Seventh Plenum resolution. Yesterday's, 30 March 1982, plenary meeting of the PZPR KW (Voivodship Committee) meeting in Rzeszow, was devoted to defining the detailed tasks of the echelons and the POP in rebuilding the strength and ideological and political unity of the voivodship party organizations, as well the directions of the propaganda work.

In addition to the members of the voivodship party authorities, the Rzeszow governor, Henryk Ficek, and the chairman of the Voivodship People's Council, Franciszek Kruczynski, participated in the deliberations, which were conducted by the KW first secretary, Franciszek Karp.

The Executive Board report was delivered by the KW party secretary, Jan Kwolek. He stated that the Rzeszow voivodship party organization entered into the period of martial law in a clearly weakened condition. This was caused primarily by the earlier, prolonged, deliberately intensified attack by the extremist "Solidarity" groups and centers of anti-socialist opposition. Those comrades and those organizations who resisted this pressure and who appealed for reason and thought were especially attacked. The accountability wave, which was the natural reflex of the party's self-purging, was exploited by the political opposition in the form of a brutal attack against the party aktiv.

The occupation of the administration buildings in seven gminas of the Rzeszow voivodship, the strikes in the colleges, the preparation for strikes in the schools, and the preparations for a general strike in the plants--these are examples of the sharp offensive of the political opposition. Many party organizations, during the 16-month period from August to December, became, under these circumstances, ideologically disarmed.

As a result of the turn-in of party membership cards by some of the comrades, and also the party rank-and-file purges made by the echelons and the party control commissions, the PZPR voivodship organization, which had over 51,000 members prior to August 1980, now has slightly over 40,000 comrades.

Martial law created a favorable situation for gathering strength in the party, for undertaking activities restoring the correct meaning to the word "socialism", and for developing active party life. The formation, in December of last year, of seven regional party work centers was advantageous, as practice is showing, for the tightening of the ties of the voivodship party authorities with the local elements and party members, and the working people. Without replacing the party committees, they are fulfilling their role and function as an inspirator and coordinator of party actions better and better.

A condition for the success of all activities aimed at strengthening the party's leadership role is the consistent observance in practice of all, without exception, Leninist principles of party life. And here we must remember, emphasized the KW secretary, that the party's large loss of credibility can be gradually regained only through absolute enforcement of the statutory principles in relation to all party members, without exception. Mass ideological-training work will also be organized for the purpose of instilling Marxist-Leninist knowledge.

Efforts in the struggle for people's awareness must be connected with progress in economic activity. Yet last year in the voivodship's industry was marked by an 8.7 percent drop in production. Nor was the 1980 level of production intended for the market attained. The direct cause of the decline in production was the great deterioration in supplies of raw and other materials, fuel and energy. But the continuous strikes, causing a drop in productivity, work discipline, and disruption of coproduction, also had an effect on our economy. Tasks this year are being implemented with these burdens, but in a more quiet atmosphere. Most workplants are fulfilling the plans assumed for the current year regularly and a growth tendency in production from month to month is being observed.

One of the important party tasks at present is to win over the intelligentsia. The party organizations in the Rzeszow academic community have become actively involved in the partywide debate on party and state matters, which was going on before the Ninth Congress. However, after the Congress a decline in party activities in colleges occurred, with the exception of POP in Maria Curie-Sklodowska University branch. The long student strike and the anti-party publications wreaked great havoc in the awareness of the students, particularly the younger ones.

After great effort by the college organizations, the Rzeszow higher schools were properly prepared for beginning lessons again. The college organizations also conducted an evaluation of the managerial cadre of the colleges, departments, institutes and plants. In total, 11 academic teachers in the Rzeszow community were removed from their jobs with students.

The party's next task, stressed the KW secretary, is to regain influence among youth. Only a logical, cohesive party program, created with the participation of all of the youth, can bring about the active involvement of the young people in the building of the country's socialist future.

The idea of national accord is a component part of the PZPR's strategic program and constitutes a permanent element of the Ninth Congress' line. Over 100 Committees of National Salvation (KON) are now functioning in the Rzeszow voivodship and future committees will be formed on the base of almost 100 initiative groups. They are undertaking a number of political and socioeconomic measures, actively supporting the activities being undertaken by the Military Council of National Salvation (WRON).

The way to a genuine consolidation of the party is based on common goals of activity and means of their implementation. In these undertakings, the condition of unity of activities of all members of the party organization in the voivodship must be fulfilled.

Eleven comrades took the floor in the discussion. In many of the expressions it was emphasized that the basic condition for the rebuilding of the POP's and OOP's authority, establishing a common language with the workers' teams, is their constant presence among the workforce, daily concern and interest in the working people's complaints, and effective support in resolving these difficulties.

That is how the PZPR plant organization in the Mielec Transportation Equipment Plant, now numbering 4,000 members, sees its role. Hence, as its first secretary Zbigniew Niziolek said, great importance is attached to social matters, workers' working and living conditions, and the method of applying the assumptions of economic reform, in the activities of the plant and OOP echelons. The representative of the Mielec Transportation and Equipment Plant also pointed to the need for attaching proper importance to training and teaching work, which should be implemented from the foundations.

Referring to tasks pertaining to ideological training in the party, Rajmund Lewicki, BWA (Bureau of Art Exhibitions) director, vice chairman of the KW Culture Commission, said that past deficiencies in this field are due to the fact that proper scientific studies and analyses of the effectiveness of training activity are not being made. The only measure of ideological work thus far, the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist attitudes and political knowledge, has been the number of lectures given and the number of persons in attendance.

Another discussant, KW member, assistant director of the Propaganda and Agitation Department, Adam Rauch, emphasized that the task of disseminating the abc's of Marxism cannot now, in any echelon and organization, be treated as a secondary matter, or be treated timidly. Further on in his expression, he referred to the political clericalism offensive which is now taking place, actions having nothing in common with priestly activities.

Zdzislaw Siewierski, KW Executive Board member, chairman of the ZW (Voivodship Administration) ZSMP (Union of Socialist Polish Youth), spoke about the deficiencies in training and ideological work among the young generation, particularly emphasizing the need to first involve the youth aktiv in this work. It is also important that a new model of ideological upbringing be defined, a model uniting both the efforts of the school, the family, the organizations, as well as the community. The chairman of ZW ZSMP spoke out in favor of a program for building political unity in the youth movement.

Many discussants criticized the past assistance and contacts of the aktiv and members of the voivodship echelon, and also its management, with the lowest party elements. Ryszard Fus, KW Executive Board member, and first secretary of the KM (City Committee) in Lancut, also called attention to this. Many POP or OOP lack strong support, the penetration force, necessary to solve often basic problems in their community. Frequently standing in the path of this, said the ROPP (Regional Party Work Center) manager in Kolbuszowa, Adam Czartoryski, are personal arrangements, bureaucratic complications, and even ill will. This is caused, among other things, by the lack of satisfactory results in putting into effect many suggestions made at party meetings. Yet, to authenticate the party and the authorities, he said, is to show society that all of the justifiable proposals and demands are being, insofar as possible, effectively implemented. This kind of consistency and resoluteness is particularly needed in implementing party resolutions; in past years, many of them remained simply in the form of recorded documents.

Jan Nawloka, KZ (Plant Committee) member, OOP secretary from FRUKTOPOL, and Jozef Kalisz, GS (Gmina Cooperative) in Frysztak, also talked about the complicated conditions in which the primary party organizations must function today. It is very hard to conduct political work in a rural community. People evaluate the party's program mainly in terms of the present reality, i.e., the market situation.

Ryszard Beres, first secretary of POP in the NOWINY editorial office, discussed the conditions under which the newspaper and the editorial team had to function during the past months. He presented the results of a political evaluation conducted on the journalists. A large majority of the members of the NOWINY team passed this most difficult test of ideological and political responsibility and maturity. The first secretary of the POP in our editorial office also described the more important information-publicity undertakings of NOWINY in the implementation of the Seventh Plenum resolution. Speaking about the team's current work problems, he pointed to the lack of reaction, especially recently, to criticism of the press, which, of course, most often follows the wishes of the readers.

A similar theme dominated also in the opinions expressed by writer Jan Lysakowski, member of the KW Executive Board. He expressed concern about the decision to liquidate PROMETEJ [a student's social and cultural problems monthly publication], which has further diminished what is already a very modest publications market in our region.

Bronislaw Galant, deputy commander of the voivodship Citizens Militia (MO), also took part in the discussion. He described the current state of order and security in the Rzeszow voivodship. Speaking about the persons interned from the Rzeszow area, he said that thus far, 77 percent of them have already been released.

At the conclusion of the deliberations, the Plenum approved the program of activities of the party committees and organizations in behalf of rebuilding the party's strength and ideological-political unity in the Rzeszow voivodship. Also, the Plenum relieved Julian Krochmal, chairman of the Voivodship Party Control Commission, of his duties as member of the KW and member of the KW Executive Board, in connection with the provision of the PZPR Statute that a Party Control Commission member cannot hold an elective office in a Committee of this same level.

9295
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BRIEFS

NEW GDANSK UNIVERSITY RECTOR--The minister of science, higher schools and technology has removed Prof Robert Glebocki from his post as rector of Gdansk University and has appointed in his place Prof Bronislaw Rudowicz. Prof Rudowicz completed his studies at the Higher School of Economics in Sopot and acquired the title of doctor and a docent degree. In 1972 the Council of State conferred upon him the title of associate professor, and that of full professor seven years later. At Gdansk University he has served as dean of the Faculty of Transportation Economics for two terms and has been the director of the Institute of Political Economy since the university was founded. Prof Rudowicz is a specialist in political economy, is a well-known and highly regarded academic employee, and a member of numerous national and foreign commissions. He has been singled out for numerous awards for his research and teaching-upbringing achievements. [Excerpts] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 24-25 Apr 82 p 2]

CSO: 2600/601

DETAILS OF KOSOVO 'COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY' GROUPS, LINKS ABROAD

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 6 Apr 82 pp 80-84

[Article by Zivko Milic: "From the Troika to a Network"]

[Text] The weekly DANAS is the first paper in the country to publish exhaustive data on the convicted protagonists of the counterrevolution in Kosovo, which it is doing in this series of installments. Who are these people, how did they grow up, what have they done, how were they organized, how did they carry out the attack, and who--in Yugoslavia and abroad--helped them?

Zivko Milic, our editor and columnist in Belgrade, has read thousands of pages of the unknown documents which served as evidence during the well-known court trials. This is a series of research articles based on real people, events and facts.

The previously unknown information contained in the court verdicts pronounced in SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo and SR [Socialist Republic] Montenegro and Macedonia are being published here for the first time. The convicted persons whose names we mention here have mostly served their sentences, and we do not here weigh those decisions which remain in the exclusive jurisdiction of the courts. In this story about counterrevolutionary crimes and the punishment of society we were primarily interested in the incontestable facts, which in and of themselves tell us so much about the social, political and economic moment, which the domestic and foreign enemies of a unified, socialist, self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia attempted to take advantage of in such a brutal and untruthful way.

Those--either in the country, but especially in certain foreign quarters--who still assert that the counterrevolution in Kosovo is a political tale which has been exaggerated in order to meet certain political and economic requirements will find in this series of installments enough evidence that it was a question of an attempt to overthrow the basic constitutional principles of our community.

Unlawfully ... and forcibly ... and indeed even with weapons.

And how could all this have happened?

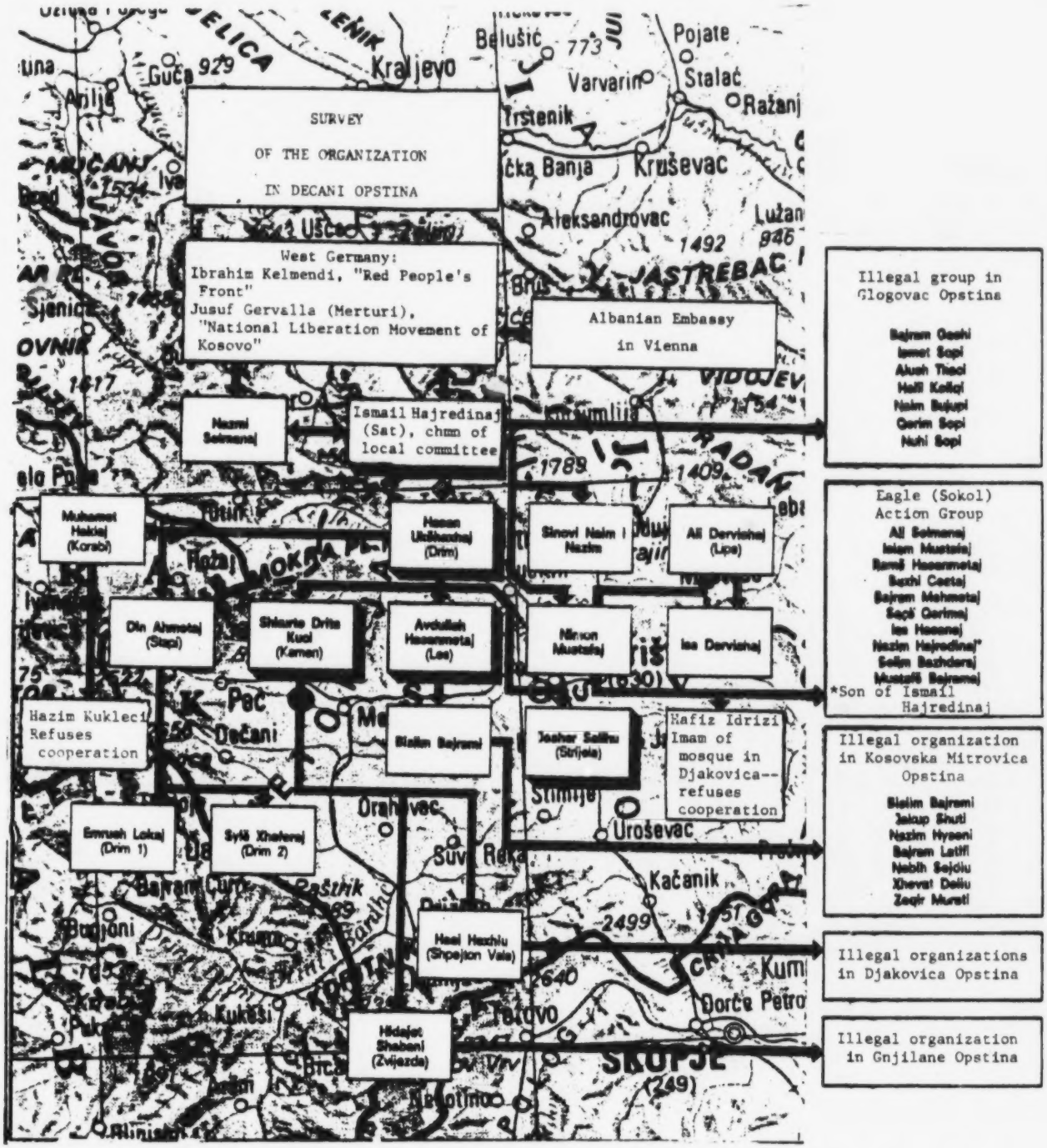
SURVEY
OF THE ORGANIZATION
IN DECANI OPSTINA
West Germany:
Ibrahim Kelmendi, "Red People's Front"
Jusuf Gervalla (Merturi), "National Liberation Movement of Kosovo"
Albanian Embassy in Vienna
Nazmi Selmanaj
Ismail Hajredinaj (Sat), chmn of local committee
Illegal group in Glogovac Opstina
Bajram Geshi
Ismet Sopi
Alush Thaci
Halil Kelloj
Naim Bujupi
Qerim Sopi
Nuhi Sopi
Muhamet Hakiaj (Korabi)
Hasan Ukëlkezhaj (Drim)
Sinovi Naim i Nazim
Ali Dervishaj (Lipa)
Eagle (Sokol) Action Group
Ali Selmanaj
Islam Mustafaj
Ramë Hasanmetaj
Bexhi Ceetaj
Bajram Mehmetaj
Saçë Qerimaj
Ise Hasanaj
Nazim Hajredinaj*
Selim Bazhdarej
Mustafë Bajramaj
*Son of Ismail Hajredinaj
Din Ahmetaj (Stupi)
Shkurte Drita Kuci (Kamen)
Avdullah Hasanmetaj (Lea)
Nikon Mustafaj
Ise Dervishaj
Hazim Kukleci Refuses cooperation
Bislim Bajrami
Jashar Salihu (Strijela)
Hafiz Idrizi Imam of mosque in Djakovica--refuses cooperation
Illegal organization in Kosovska Mitrovica Opstina
Bislim Bajrami
Jakup Shuti
Nazim Hyseni
Bajram Latifi
Nebih Sejdiu
Xhevat Deliu
Zeqir Murati
Emrush Lokaj (Drim 1)
Sytë Xhaferaj (Drim 2)
Hasi Hazhiu (Shpejton Vala)
Illegal organizations in Djakovica Opstina
Hidajet Shabani (Zvijezda)
Illegal organization in Gnjilane Opstina

Here we do not answer that decisive question exclusively with political assessments--they are already very well known and repeated many times--but on the basis of the verdicts we also indicate those oversights which made it possible for such a ramified network to be knitted together and so many young people led astray.

Thus in this series by our Belgrade editor Zivko Milic the terms which have been mentioned so many times in our press, such as the counterrevolution, counterrevolutionary elements and counterrevolutionary organizations, for the first time take on their real content on the basis of real facts.

The graphic survey accompanying this article shows the groups in other opstinas which we will be speaking about in the installments to come. The names of the members of the local committee in Decani are given in the boxes with a wider border, the underground nicknames are given in parentheses, and the arrows show who recruited whom or who attempted to include whom in the counterrevolutionary network.

[First Installment]

> The instructions of those giving orders in West Germany were especially strict concerning the organization of action troikas and special contacts and also on recruitment of new members.

On 5 and 6 August 1981 there were 11 defendants--10 men and 1 woman, 9 teachers and 2 students, before the District Court in Pec, before a panel of judges presided over by Riza Loci. They were all arrested on 10 May except two men brought to justice on 11 May and 4 June 1981.

They were charged under Articles 131 and 136 of the Yugoslav Criminal Code and also the provisions of Articles 135, 114 and 116 of the Criminal Code--that is, criminal responsibility for hostile activity and for entering into association for the sake of hostile activity. Stated in the simplest terms: The accused organized an illegal hostile organization in Decani which attempted to achieve its basic goal by secret activity--the separation of Kosovo and of our territories inhabited by Albanians from our common homeland and their annexation to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. That is the most economical way of saying everything that was spelled out so extensively in the indictment of the District Public Prosecutor's Office in Pec on 20 July 1981.

By the time the indictment was brought, nine of them had been in pretrial custody for 71 days, one of the two others had spent 70 days in prison, and the other 46 days. What happened during the investigation, how did the interrogation and talks with the interrogators go? We did not learn this, since we read only the verdicts--which are public documents--but during the trial, which was also public, it was established that the procedure was normal. None of them made charges of abuse or unlawful pressures, which had occurred in certain other trials. In the trial they all admitted membership in the illegal organization, though in their defense and in the defense of counsel they tried to diminish their responsibility as much as possible.

Who are these people? They are all of Albanian nationality, citizens of the SFRY. The first of the accused, Ismail Hajredinaj (age 39), physical education teacher in the Drita Elementary School in Gramacel, Decani Opstina, father of five children, was unquestionably the one who initiated establishment of the illegal organization, for which he was sentenced to 14 years in prison (under Article 48 of the Criminal Code). After him came his contemporary Hasan Ukehaxhaj, teacher of Albanian language in the Vellezerit Frasheri School Center for Vocational Education in Decani, father of four children; and then Avdullah Hasanmetaj (32), mathematics teacher and apsolvent [student who has completed the course work, but not the final examinations for a degree--translator's note] at the School of Philosophy, Division of Natural Sciences and Mathematics, father of three children, also employed in the same school in Decani, which was also the place of employment for the next accused, the English teacher Jashar Salihu (29), unmarried, and also Muhamet Haklaj, listed 10th in the indictment, a teacher and apsolvent of the School of Natural Sciences and Mathematics.

Four of the five mentioned were thus employed in one and the same school in Decani. Two--the first-accused Ismail Hajredinaj, and the 11th on the indictment, the geography teacher Nimon Mustafaj, the oldest in the group (age 44), father of six children, who was the last to be arrested and received the lightest sentence in the first instance (3 years)--worked in the Gramacel Elementary School in Decani Opstina. The others were employed in varied institutions or places or did not work at all. Thus the youngest of all the accused, Shkurte-Drita Kuci (26), a woman who taught Albanian, was unmarried, and worked in the Xhevdet Doda School Center in Pristina, while Xhavid Hoxha was a geography teacher in the Nexhmedin Nixha School Center in Djakovica.

Of the other three accused one was a professor of English and Anglo-American literature--Din Ahmetaj (35), and the other two were students--Nazmi Selmanaj (28), in his third year at the School of Engineering in Pristina, and Ali Dervishaj (22), in his first year at the School of Philosophy, Department of Philosophy.

It was worthwhile to give all this to show that this is one social category, mainly young educated people who are studying or who have completed their studies in socialist Yugoslavia, most of them teachers or people who should have become teachers. It is interesting, however, that out of this group of 11 people, which, as we shall see, established ties in the illegal organization, all of five were born in the same village, Glodjane, and two in the village Junik, which speaks eloquently about still another cause of the homogenization of the group.

These, then, were the figures in that court drama which we are presenting as it was seen in the courtroom. The origin--which was clear at the very outset--was abroad. That type of linkage is important as one of the dimensions of the 1981 events in Kosovo, but naturally it is still not the sole explanation. Foreign fingers played an important role in encouraging and urging people with a hostile disposition, but primarily from the neighboring People's Socialist Republic of Albania, where a systematic and direct effort was made to set up a network of agents.

Let us begin by reading the truth:

Jusuf Gervalla (Merturi), a RILINDJE newsman who had fled, and Ibrahim Kelmendi, had been working against Yugoslavia for a long time already in Duisburg, West Germany. Both had previously distinguished themselves in the country as separatists and irredentists in the service of Great Albanian goals. Certainly it is not a question of mere individuals, but of people who represent the so-called "National Liberation Movement of Kosovo" and the so-called "People's Red Front" (we will be meeting those organizations frequently hereafter in our series), which managed to operate not only abroad, but also in Kosovo itself and among Albanians settled in other parts of our country.

Those two from those two organizations, which in their goals are as like as peas in a pod and issue the respective newspapers GLASNIK SLOBODE [HERALD OF FREEDOM] (edited by Gervalla) and JEDINSTVO [UNITY] (edited by Kelmendi), which are published in Albanian abroad and illegally distributed in our

country, especially among citizens of Albanian nationality, operated as representatives of the anti-Yugoslav emigre command center and--judging by what was established in the trial in Pec and from the so-called "Program of the National Liberation Movement of Kosovo"--on behalf of certain services of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and its government.

But let us see what this actually looked like.

Without discussing on this occasion how many of the accused in this case were actually typical representatives of the Kosovo Irredenta, the fact remains that as relatively young or aspiring educated people they had displayed all the signs of nationalistic orientation (in 1979 and before) even before they set up the illegal organization. Thus the idea of organizing the Local Committee of the NOPK [National Liberation Movement of Kosovo]--which came as an order from abroad from Kelmendi and Gervalla--fell on fertile soil. On fertile soil although these were mostly employed and well-off individuals who had an almost privileged position in the Kosovo community, since as rural children they had completed or were completing higher educational institutions and had all obtained jobs immediately. These should not be privileges, but compared to the rest of the country it was a certain privilege and advantage. The schools they finished were socialist schools, our schools, and when this large group of accused and convicted persons graduated from them, many returned to their own community to bring up future generations themselves. They were supposed to be giving their pupils much more new knowledge and much more modern conceptions, and to be instilling in them the true values of a socialist self-managing society and of our community consensus. But they ended up in court, having gone wrong.

But in this case our schools were a complete failure, at least insofar as these individuals are involved, and the community in which they lived and worked and brought up children obviously underestimated the force of nationalism, irredentism and separatism. Someone might say that it all began with harmless demonstrations and unimportant errors, but all this still became much much more serious because of the irresponsibility, lack of concern and lack of vigilance of the community.

The court did not investigate how Ismail Hajredinaj came upon the idea of contacting Jusuf Gervalla; they simply knew one another well. In early April 1980 Ismail Hajredinaj sent Nazmi Selmanaj, a student in electronics at the School of Engineering in Pristina, born in 1955, to Duisburg as a carrier of letters and messages for Jusuf Gervalla, a political emigre. The teacher and student came from the same village, and obviously there were no secrets or uncertainties between them concerning their common political convictions. This hostile orientation of theirs was also clear to Gervalla, who received the student Selmanaj cordially and in full confidence.

Gervalla, editor of the periodical we have mentioned GLASNIK SLOBODE, the newspaper of the so-called National Liberation Movement of Kosovo, introduced Selmanaj to Ibrahim Kelmendi, editor of the other emigre newspaper (JEDINSTVO, organ of the so-called "People's Red Front"). Both that newspaper and that organization are based on the ideology of the Albanian Workers Party, with its

full support. The basic goal of all those groups and newspapers has long been well known: separation of SAP Kosovo and other regions of Yugoslavia inhabited by Albanians so that they might be annexed to the Socialist Republic of Albania.

Jusuf Gervalla went right to the point. He gave to the student Selmanaj the bylaws and program of the NOPK and spelled out very precise instructions for establishing the Local Committee in Decani Opstina (under the strictest rules of underground organization). Judging by what was said in the trial, it is obvious that Gervalla was no amateur, but a specialist in special warfare. He was quite familiar with both people and conditions in Decani Opstina and was certain of the names of those he could trust. Five people were to be members of the Local Committee--as he told Selmanaj, so that the latter could pass all this on to Hajredinaj: Ismail Hajredinaj, Nazmi Selmanaj, Nimon Mustafaj, also from the village Glodjane, and also two hodjas, one the imam of the mosque in the village Drenovci and the other from Djakovica.

One instruction was very significant, though a bit unusual: To draw into the illegal organization, which was aided and guided by NSR [People's Socialist Republic] Albania--"the first atheistic state in the world"--Moslem priests, who by the nature of their work have dealings with a great number of people, and they have a particular influence among the religious, and therefore could be used very cynically as a weapon of Great Albanian policy. No, Jusuf Gervalla was not naive, though it later turned out that he had mistakenly evaluated one hodja, who, when they began to recruit him, refused cooperation.

As soon as Nazmi Selmanaj returned to Decani, he passed on in detail all the instructions of Jusuf Gervalla for Ismail Hajredinaj. The instructions were especially strict concerning organization on the principles of action troikas and personal contacts, as well as those on recruitment of new members. All of them together were to gather as much information showing SAP Kosovo and the SFRY in a bad and untruthful light--and to send it on.

Ismail Hajredinaj, who through Selmanaj had acquainted Gervalla with his own counterrevolutionary designs, carried out the instructions immediately. Alone and with those he talked with and his fellow conspirators he studied the bylaws and program of the NOPK as required by Gervalla, and he made contact with Hasan Ukehaxhaj and Din Ahmetaj, in whose house they held the first meeting. In accordance with the instructions of Jusuf Gervalla, they contacted Nimon Mustafaj, whom they familiarized with the bylaws and program of the NOPK and commissioned (which was also requested in West Germany) to contact Hafiz Idrizi, hodja in Djakovica.

The organization began to come to life and to operate, though not exactly with the same members which Jusuf Gervalla in West Germany had imagined and not exactly with the same conception, but still quite similar to his conception and altogether in conformity with it. Not that everything went well. For instance, Nimon Mustafaj traveled to Djakovica in the attempt to recruit the hodja Hafiz Idrizi, but the latter refused everything when he realized what was being proposed to him. This recruitment of hodjas was not altogether to the liking of either Ismail Hajredinaj or Hasan Ukehaxhaj, since they did not

agree to the hodjas as members of a committee which supposedly was operating from Marxist political-ideological viewpoints. Thus the conspirators did not take seriously the ideological mask which the Albanian Irredenta liked to put on. But the recruitment did after all begin, and by July 1980 the first meeting of the Local Committee was held in the house of Ismail Hajredinaj, and on that occasion, after discussing the bylaws and program, underground names were assigned. Hajredinaj became Eagle of Clock, Ukehaxhaj--Drim [a river], Hasanmetaj--Forest, the newly recruited Jashar Salihu--Arrow, and Shkurte-Drita Kuci--Stone. All the members were given the task of obtaining and distributing propaganda material and of increasing the membership. Every member of the committee--as well as the others--had to provide his own contact, who would then go on to form the troika. And then the troika would create a troika, and so on. The way the organization spread is shown by our illustration, from which it is evident who recruited and linked whom all the way to the detection and arrest of that illegal group. Our illustration also shows how the instruction of Jusuf Gervalla was carried out concerning the spreading of the nucleus from Decani Opstina into several other Kosovo opstinas. For example, the contact of Avdullah Hasanmetaj (Bislim Bajrami of Kosovska Mitrovica) was the contact with a separate illegal group in the same city. The same was done by the contacts of Shkurte-Drita Kuci--Hasi Haxhiu in Djakovica, Hidajet Shabani in Gnjilane, while Ismail Hajredinaj's contact--Bajram Gashi--led into Glogovac Opstina.

Of course, the District Court in Pec, like every other court, is not engaged in detecting illegal counterrevolutionary organizations, nor on this occasion did it even investigate to what extent the accused and convicted actually managed to spread the network of their organization. But obviously it did not end with just the names we have mentioned, though it is characteristic of the organizational methods and principles on which the enemy did base his action in Kosovo. As Franjo Herljevic, federal secretary for internal affairs, declared immediately after the March and April events last year, the principle of the troika, the pair or the individual contact are the universal stock in trade of illegal organizations such as the so-called "Red Front" and the so-called "National Liberation Movement of Kosovo." All of this is also confirmed by the written bylaws of those hostile organizations.

The tie of the Local Committee in Decani with organizations abroad continued even after establishment of the illegal group. As soon as the committee was established, Ismail Hajredinaj, its chairman, personally went to West Germany to meet Gervalla, and he was accompanied by his sons Naim and Nazim. He reported there on the work that had been done and proposed what else should be done in Decani and throughout Kosovo. Jusuf Gervalla on the other hand informed Ismail that his committee in Decani had been recognized by NSR Albania and that the contact with the so-called "National Liberation Movement of Kosovo" was being maintained through the Albanian Embassy in Vienna. Of course, most of the conversation was devoted to working out tasks for the future, above all those related to winning over new members and supporters. Hajredinaj also met with one of the chiefs of the so-called "People's Red Front," Ibrahim Kelmendi. Both emigres required that they continue to be sent reports portraying Kosovo and Yugoslavia in a bad light so that anti-Yugoslav and Great Albanian propaganda could be intensified.

After returning to the country Ismail Hajredinaj (in late September 1980) called another meeting of the Local Committee, which was attended by all members except Jashar Salihu, who had gone off to do military service. Hasan Ukehaxhaj became secretary, and Avdullah Hasanmetaj treasurer, the latter very carefully keeping the list of dues that had been paid in the amount of 100 dinars monthly. The third meeting was held in October 1980, again in Hajredinaj's house, where a critical assessment was made of both the committee and the organization. A list was drawn up of new tasks and there was debate about possible new members. Thus Din Ahmetaj--who had previously been nominated a member of the Local Committee--was rejected because of "instability and inconsistency." His nomination was dismissed, and he became an ordinary contact.

A decision was made at the fourth meeting of the Local Committee that Avdullah Hasanmetaj would go to the new meeting in West Germany--the third with Gervalla and Kelmendi; in the interval between the third and fourth meetings of this illegal group Hasanmetaj had served a sentence he received from a judge for misdemeanors. The fact is that this underground group--and we believe that this also occurred in other opstinas in Kosovo--was exceedingly active. That is why Hasanmetaj had been punished (20 days in prison, since hostile propaganda material such as the GLASNIK SLOBODE already mentioned, had turned up in report cards at the Vellezerit Frasheri School Center), but--regardless of the sentence--he had immediately gone off to the fourth meeting of his underground organization, where he reported at length on everything he had learned during his imprisonment. In Decani Opstina at that time, and indeed even before, inscriptions of the names of Montenegrin and Serb heroes had been erased and defaced, hostile slogans had been written, and leaflets and other illegal propaganda materials had been distributed. That is, the "Eagle" Action Group, which was headed by Ali Selmanaj, who was later charged in a second trial, had ties to the Local Committee. But Avdullah Hasanmetaj still did not manage to go to the third meeting with the foreign directors of the operation, since a majority of this underground group were arrested on 10 May, and the leader and members were convicted to prison sentences of 14, 11, 9, 7, 6, 5, 4 and 3 years in the verdict in the first instance. In their defense and the defense of their attorneys Avdylaziz Daci, Mustafa Radoniqi, Gavril Vulevic and Adem Bajra--they all testified that they were not aware of what they were doing, that they did not enter the organization willingly, or they had deliberately been inactive, but that did not greatly mitigate their criminal responsibility. After all, they had all studied the documents of the NOPK and Red Front and were unambiguously informed about what was written there: "The NOPK is," their programmatic document states, "the vanguard of the struggle for the social and national liberation from Yugoslavia and for unification with the parent country, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania." And it was in fact that spirit which they followed.

The trial and verdict in Pec are very important. That trial revealed how and why what we have all judged to be a counterrevolution came to occur in March 1981 in Kosovo and elsewhere. All taken together, it indicates our own shortcomings, but also the planned, organized and systematic operation of the enemy and his basic methods. All of this together proves the linkage between the domestic enemies and the emigre centers and foreign services. This event offers many lessons, but not all the lessons. This is only a part of the truth

about the tragic events in Kosovo. And we will be speaking about other aspects and truths in an analysis of the other trials and investigations. In our next installments we will be speaking about them and the action groups which openly committed various misdeeds.

7045
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ZAGREB PROFESSOR NOTES REVERSION TO 'SCARCITY SOCIETY'

Zagreb POLET in Serbo-Croatian 31 Mar 82 pp 4-5

[Interview with Dr. Josip Zupanov, professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Zagreb, by POLET journalist Renata Pondeljak-Matijevic; date and place not specified: "Saying Goodbye to a Consumer Society"]

[Text] POLET: In the 1970's, economists felt that at the end of the decade Yugoslavia would be classed as an advanced industrial society because per capita income would be between $1500 and $4000. Regardless of this, the question comes up of how much of a role industrial society plays in the culture of our country?

Zupanov: This question is irrelevant today. We are reverting to a scarcity society. A developed industrial society primarily entails development of the tertiary sector, and this means that the primary and secondary sections have to be strong enough to support such a development. Every increase in the number of people employed in the tertiary sector is a real nightmare for our economy, and so we are now saying goodbye to a consumer society, while a post-industrial society is further beyond a consumer society. I recently read, as a reviewer, the manuscript of a new book by Professor Arzensek on alienation, in which he investigates value orientations. It can be seen, for example, that among Yugoslav workers an extrinsic motivational orientation is completely predominant; this means that people do not care about what kind of work they are doing, or whether they can express themselves in their work. On the contrary, what is important to them is how much money they will receive and what they can buy for this money. This extrinsic motivation, which is markedly present in the working class and in other strata as well, will be increased even more now. We are thus moving further away now from a postindustrial society, as galaxies move away from the center of the universe.

POLET: Self-management is by definition more suited to a postindustrial society than a consumer one, but you have just said that we are "saying goodbye" to a consumer society, and that we are not moving toward a postindustrial society, but rather moving away from it. What does this mean for the development of self-management?

Zupanov: Self-management will be developed as a formal mechanism, and thus will not have a significant place in people's daily lives, but will rather

represent the idling of institutions. These institutional forms, however, will not be immune from governmental interventions either, and there will be more and more of them.

Hierarchy and Self-Management, From Top to Bottom

POLET: In addition to the self-management mechanism, an administrative mechanism is also active in our firms. What could be the result of such a combination of horizontal and vertical systems of operation?

Zupanov: This is a type of model organization structure that is known in the West in public administration, and we therefore often call it the public administration model. There are two levels in the organization of this structure: a level for making the major decisions, on which elective bodies work, and a level for carrying them out, which is a classic hierarchial structure. Naturally, the link between these two levels is the director of the enterprise, who is by law a member of the managing board and is at the same time the head of the administrative hierarchy. The main question is whether the hierarchical principle can be included in self-management. I think that it cannot. Wherever there are hierarchical relationships of authority and power, self-managing bodies will not function as they are supposed to; this has at any rate been demonstrated by studies of the distribution of power in firms. The distribution of power is asymmetrical, and the self-managing bodies are strongly influenced by the administrative structure. The direct participation of workers in self-management is especially irreconcilable with the hierarchical principle. We should not be too naive, however, and think that a hierarchy can just be abolished. A hierarchy is associated with the concept of an enterprise and business, and an enterprise is linked to the market economy, so a hierarchy is to some extent inevitable. Nevertheless, we should take the achievements of science in northwestern Europe more into account; I am specifically thinking here of experiments with so-called autonomous groups. These are a completely new form of sociotechnical system that demonstrates that in a certain sense, hierarchies can be abolished, at least partially. This basically means beginning with self-management from the level of work place to the working group, but we are continually proceeding from the level of the enterprise and policy, and ignoring everyday work; it is therefore logical that if people cannot make decisions on what they do every day, how can they make decisions on something more complicated like business policy, investments, and so forth?

POLET: It can often be said that the organization of work in our firms is suitable for capitalist firms, which would mean that Taylorism or the "scientific organization of labor" is at work.

Zupanov: We would be making progress if we adopted Taylor's concept, because we are still in a pre-Taylor phase. We would make great progress in efficiency if we adopted the "scientific" organization of labor. Modern industry, however, is moving farther and farther away from Taylor today. For example, he is unfamiliar with the concept of flexitime, which is playing more and more of a role today in the developed countries, when a person decides himself when it is most convenient for him to work. There is also some flexitime in Yugoslavia, but I believe that it is still considered blasphemous in our country.

The fact that you have come to work at seven in the morning is more important than everything that you have done from seven to two. This is simply more a matter of respect for authority and power. For example, one of our firms ended up without the necessary material, and the workers sat at their places and read detective stories. The head of the shop came with the technical director for an inspection, and one worker sat and continued reading a detective story. After that the head of the shop reprimanded her severely. Why? Not because she wasn't doing anything, because there wasn't anything to do, but because she had not stood up when the technical director came in. Thus, our official exactness has a psychological function; it is supposed to show subordination, submission to the hierarchy, and not to ensure any effectiveness in work.

POLET: Self-management has established on the basis of a political initiative, and not [on the basis of] changes that had arisen because the production forces had prevailed over the existing production relations.

Zupanov: This is a problem in the development of socialism in relatively undeveloped countries. Instead of changing the social situation on the basis of the previously created capitalist industrialization and civilization in general, socialism just has to create the conditions that were created elsewhere by capitalism. This is thus a non-capitalist road to industrialization, as Rudolf Bahro calls it. Our situation is even somewhat more unique, because we introduced self-management "from above," and it did not originate in a mass movement "from below," nor could it have done so. Our prewar working class is small, and the working class at the time of the introduction of self-management consisted mainly of peasants who had come to the factories; they were thus unable to create a socialist self-managing movement "from below." Clearly, this development "from above" led to a forced institutionalization, and to attempts to solve everything by decrees and acts and forgetting about workers' activities; as for spontaneity--even though spontaneity is not the right word here, a workers' movement must always contain a certain dose of spontaneity if it does not want to degenerate.

Dependent on Technology

POLET: Where could a continued unselective and uncreative purchase of technologies and licenses with restrictive clauses take us?

Zupanov: We know where it has taken us, to dependence, and not just a technological dependence, but an economic one as well, because when you buy a technology you also obligate yourself to buy intermediate goods, and you have to pay for them in foreign exchange. Since it is not easy to acquire foreigh exchange with the aid of the products that you produce and that someone has let you produce, the foreign exchange has to be acquired in another manner. How? A foreign capitalist sells a license in two cases; either a new technology is being prepared and he has to sell the old one and get what he can out of it before discarding it, or a new technology, of which the results are still uncertain, is being developed, and a test site is needed to try it out. In any case, this takes us into debt. We are up to our necks in debts now. although there are no precise data on this, because some people cite one figure and

other people cite another. We cannot break into a foreign market with products that we are making under a license from onesome, because the one who sold us the license is already there. We can only break into a foreign market on the basis of their own intelligence, and the purchase of technology discourages domestic work on inventions.

POLET: In Yugoslavia, isn't the initiative in creative research work, and thus also in obtaining patents, in the hands of individuals instead of institutions?

Zupanov: The fact is that in Yugoslavia more inventions are patented by individuals than by institutions. This is approximately the situation that existed in the U.S. in 1888.

I think that the reason for this is that we have not succeeded in institutionalizing research work. In connection with this, I would single out the university. In Yugoslavia it is still primarily a teaching institution; to tell the truth, it is described as a teaching and scientific institution, but by far the greater part of it comprises teaching, rather than scientific work. The problem is that the university is not defined as an institution whose goal is to discover things, to work on innovations. In the West, it is the university that makes the unending spiral of innovations possible, because it is on the basis of this that its work is judged, and not on the basis of the number of students registered, the number of teaching hours, etc. I think that this is one of the reasons for such a situation.

POLET: In your opinion, can the draft law on guided education assist in this?

Zupanov: I do not see any possibility of discussing a reform rationally when such a social situation has been created here, and I will therefore not offer any comments.

POLET: A way out of our technological dependence on the West is being sought in alternative technologies. What does an alternative technology make possible for the country using it?

Zupanov: The idea of alternative technologies is a really good one. In contrast to the simplified viewpoint that the more highly developed a technology is, the fewer the choices, the view is emerging that no matter how highly developed a technology is, there are several equally valuable alternatives. This is apparent in the area of computer technology. Whose technology will be selected often does not depend on the technology itself, but rather on the structure of the organization; if the organization is centralized, a selection will be made that centralizes all of the information. In another case, another selection will be made. It is modern technology that creates the possibility of choice. There are a large number of studies on alternative sociotechnical system, I am thinking of the combination of a technology, the technical and social organization of work, and the social structure. The question arises of which technology is more suitable for the developing countries, in contrast to the highly developed countries, and whether they should be separated from each other at all, in principle.

POLET: What can you say about the position and prospects of the younger generation, in view of the social and economic processes that are underway in Yugoslavia?

Zupanov: The younger generation is encountering and will continue to encounter the problem of unemployment, because it is the problem of those who have never even had a job, not of those who have lost one. If this is any comfort for young people, there will be more and more people losing their jobs now, but at the same time this means that it will be harder and harder for young people to get them. It seems that now the conventional wisdom is telling young people to become stonecutters and pavers, but this only means that if the young people listen to this there will be a saturation of these jobs as well. I think that young people will be in an increasingly more difficult situation, at least for the next few years. I do not see what could be done here. I wonder whether it has occurred that a group of young people have come together. wanting to establish an organization of associated labor themselves, on the basis of a program that they have offered to society for financing? This has not occurred. In other words, young people are in the situation of passively awaiting their fate.

POLET: This idea of a group of young people who would found a firm themselves has some points in common with the idea of developing industry. As far as we know, there are many difficulties facing small scale production.

Zupanov: In the developed industrial countries, for example in Japan, which does not know what a recession is, there are a large number of workers employed as artisans. The small trade industry there, however, operates as a subcontractor to heavy industry and is often automated. It is a significant subcontractor for heavy industry. This will still not work in our country. We either have to open up jobs in the social sector, or open cafes and various vague managerial jobs--these are approximately the prospects for small trade industry in Yugoslavia. Attempts are being made to recoup short term investment funds; this really indicates the uncertainty that exists in regard to the small trade industry. nhis is because there is a gap between the declared policy and the actual one. The light small trade industry is being verbally supported while the actual policy being conducted by the municipalities is restrictive, and the small trades are still a nonsystemic element in our institutional business system.

The Cult of Labor

POLET: In addition to the problem of the unemployment among young people, there is also a problem of some categories' being in short supply. Is the idea of the cult of labor that has been discussed recently connected with this?

Zupanov: It is usually when there is a danger of war that people talk most about peace. Thus we speak about the cult of labor when we want to induce young people by force to engage in certain working occupations. At any rate, this cult of labor is not any invention of ours. There is a certain cult of labor in almost all industrial countries; even in America, rich people work,

because it is felt that an unemployed person is heading toward demoralization. This is on top of the Puritan ethic and Max Weber.

We should not forget that we spoke a great deal about the cult of labor at the beginning of our postwar development. This did not last long, however. Then we became oriented toward a consumer mechanism: you work in order to earn money, and you earn money in order to spend it. Extrinsic motivation prevailed here, and little was said about work as an activity that was suitable for a person. It is quite likely that we are talking about the cult of labor now because this extrinsic motivation is becoming weaker for us; as soon as the standard of living goes back to what it was several years ago, you can no longer tell people to work in order to earn, when people are really earning less and can really spend less. If we cannot opt for extrinsic motivation, then we opt for social and ideological motivation, and this reminds me of what the Chinese used to say: "We work for red flags, and not for green bank notes." In the last 20 years, however, Yugoslavs have been so exclusively oriented toward earnings and consumption that they can now only perceive the cult of labor as a good joke.

POLET: In view of the conditions of production, are we justified in talking about the appearance of a new working class?

Zupanov: This idea of a new working class was originated by Serge Mallet, who felt that mutual occupations were less and less represented in the working class, that these occupations are less and less the ones supporting new production, and that a stratum of technicians, engineers, and other experts is increasingly entering the working class. I do not know whether we can speak of the formation of this new working class in our situation, because this formation would imply a modification of the boundary between physical and intellectual labor. In Yugoslavia, however, this boundary is sharp, and we will not reduce it by forcing a lot of young people to enter manual occupations. This does not modify the boundary, but instead even exacerbates it. We should distinguish the objective and subjective dimensions of this process. Objectively the development of technology and the incorporation of science into production would lead to the trend of the creation of a new working class. A new type of engineer is appearing in Yugoslavia, who does not shrink back from getting his hands dirty with a machine. It is question, however, of the subjective identification of this stratum with the working class. I recall one study in Sweden, in which people were supposed to state which group they belonged to, and thus give a subjective position from which it would be apparent which group they identified themselves with. A surprisingly large number of people in nonmanual occupations identified themselves with the working class. I am not sure of what the results of such a questionnaire would be in Yugoslavia, or whether some clerks and experts would identify themselves with the working class. In fact, it is often stated demagogically--we are the working class, etc., but this should not be understood literally, because I think that there is a social distance between this new stratum that is supposed to represent the new working class, and the real working class, I am not sure whether this process of subjective identification is underway, but objectively, automation by itself leads to work in an office becoming similar to work in a shop, and vice versa.

POLET: Is it possibly because of the social distance that you have just mentioned that there are interhuman relationship problems in our firms?

Zupanov: Status differences should be expected to lead to certain conflicts in communcation. It is known in sociology that the person of higher status has the privilege of initiating communication; the person of lower status is not supposed to initiate communication, but should rather wait for it from below and respond to it. The system of self-management simply does not acknowledge these differences in status, and teaches people to initiate communications. Naturally, the one with higher status is irritated when the one with lower status initiates communication. This is probably not the only source of conflicts, but it probably makes it worse.

Self-Management, Information

POLET: Self-management in firms depends on the possibility of obtaining timely and reliable information. What do you think about this connection between the flow of information and self-management?

Zupanov: I have just read a master's thesis written by a postgraduate student who is employed as the secretary of a management body. He made a change in the system of informing the members of the workers' council, and noted the reactions. It is apparent that his experimental change caused a considerable change in the behavior of the workers at the meetings themselves. There is a possibility that the very development of self-management could be influenced by a better information system. Clearly, the limits within which these changes can be made are another matter. Those who have the power will not allow the information to slip out of their hands. Accordingly, there will be and are efforts to keep this information strictly controlled, and to provide only partial information. I do not think that this is the key to solving all of the problems, but there is undoubtedly some potential for changing human behavior in the area of information. This was eloquently demonstrated by the research of Professor Novosel.

POLET: What can this strict control of information give rise to?

Zupanov: I was speaking here about information within firms. This is a very marked type of control. It seems to me that the control of the mass media is even greater, although it is difficult to tell about that. I see that we are continually arguing over the press. For me, the events in Kosovo were one test. Things happened here in Kosovo that are really unbelievable: pictures of Tito were taken down and pictures of Enver Hoxha were put in textbooks. Such a practice could not have been maintained if there had been the least freedom of information and if one journalist had reported such a scandalous matter. Up until the last moment, however, until the uproar occurred, the news was kept under control.

9909
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SERBIAN ORTHODOX CLERGY RESPOND TO PRESS ALLEGATIONS

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVLJE in Serbo-Croatian 1 Apr 82 pp 3-4

[Article by Dragan Terzic, priest, and letter to the editor by priest-monk Filaret in response to an article entitled "Forced Into a Monastery" by M. Bjelopoljac, published in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, 2 March 1982: "Once Again Concerning the Article 'Forced Into a Monastery'"]

[Text] [Terzic article] Concerning a Flap

An article by Mujo Bjelopoljac entitled "Forced Into a Monastery" was published in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA on 2 March of this year. We read in the article that Dragan and Ljubinka Novakovic of Rudo had taken their daughter Vera to Zica Monastery for her to remain in the monastery as a novice. There would be nothing in that worth writing about in the papers if an alarm had not been raised on this occasion.

By way of introduction to this account the author begins with examining certain religious issues. For years the inhabitants have been disturbed because religion is reviving here once again, he says. And we say: If people are disturbed that religion is reviving, then in what creatures is it reviving if not in the people, since human beings are the bearers of religion. Which means that religion is reviving in the inhabitants, and they are in turn disturbed because religion is reviving. So, both the revival of religion and the feeling of being disturbed are occurring at one and the same time in people. We are obviously dealing here with the well-known fallacy--contradictio in adjecto. But it is still more erroneous to assert that religion is rising from the dead, since to rise from the dead it must first have been buried. And who was it, then, who buried religion so that it might now rise from the dead? As far as we are aware, religion cannot be buried. It may be more discreet or more public. Man is born with religion, and he remains in it, and the question of whether that attitude toward religion is positive or negative is another matter.

The reporter says that this action by the Novakovic's was condemned in the academic high school, and that young people in Rudo were also embittered by that act of Vera's parents. This condemnation and bitterness is worth a bit of discussion and reflection. What is the young people's opinion of the monastery? Monasteries have down through our entire history represented the most

glorious aspects of our people. In them people learned, prayed, wrote and painted. Whenever our cultural past is mentioned, one immediately thinks of the monasteries, since it is from them that the culture came. How is it that young people have received such distorted information about monasteries?

On the other hand young people are not embittered by those parents who in their good or bad upbringing make of their children drug addicts, alcoholics, thieves and burglars! In Belgrade alone more than 1,000 young addicts have been recorded. But this is regarded as more normal than for a young girl to enter a monastery. Young people do not get disturbed and are not embittered when thousands of young people fall into a trance when they hear the song: "Fools Die for Ideals" or when at similar concerts swastikas appear among the young people. But now when a young girl has gone into a monastery to fulfill the monastic ideals, they sound the alarm. Yet if the monasteries have become such sinister places, why do we tolerate their survival? Why do we not tear them down, or turn them into discotheques, warehouses and the like? In some countries this has in fact been done, but it is nothing to be proud of.

The article several times stresses that Vera wanted to study medicine or economics and that now her plans have been destroyed. However, she need not give up her studies when she goes into the monastery. She can study even in the monastery and graduate from the university and devote herself to science. Are there not quite a few women physicians and nurses in the world, including our own country, who are nuns as well? A few years ago a nun--Mother Teresa, received the Nobel Peace Prize. Her monasticism did not hinder her from receiving that highest world recognition. On the contrary, it came as the result of fulfilling the monastic ideals and the lessons of the Gospel.

The teacher Nada Narandzic has declared that she would gladly adopt Vera if they managed to get her out of the monastery and if her parents would not take her. This is truly touching on the part of that teacher. Her love for humanity is worthy of every praise, but is Vera after all the most deprived person we have? Is Vera the one who is in most need of adoption? This teacher might demonstrate her noble sentiment toward some abandoned child without parents who does not have anyone, if that is indeed what she wishes. But in this situation, such pronouncements smack a bit of hypocrisy, of false sympathy, of a hoked-up righteousness.

The newsman also talked with Omer Hota, chairman of the Opstina Conference of the League of Communists. Omer is also concerned about Vera's fate and says: "We know of the Novakovic family that they belong to the sect of zealots, which is rather widespread in Rudo Opstina. These are religious fanatics whom I as a man am altogether unable to understand." A man who has no hearing is altogether unable to understand, say, the music of Mozart. Thus we cannot expect Omer to understand Orthodox spirituality. But we would have to expect of a man who claims to discuss religion at least the most elementary familiarity with this field. Omer unfortunately has failed here. The zealots are not any kind of sect, but Orthodox believers. Every Orthodox adherent who prays to God is called a worshiper (bogomolilac)--zealot (bogomoljac). Logic would have it that all of us worshiper-zealots belong to the sect. The Orthodox Church has in its history also been called a heretic by some, but so far it has never been called a sect, but now Omer comes along and has done so.

Yet there is no need to be so concerned about Vera Novakovic. The Orthodox Church is not an organization built on violence, but an organization of freedom. Vera will remain in the monastery so long as she wishes, and if she expresses a desire to leave the monastery, no one will question her, nor restrain her. Christ did not say: You have to follow me, but: Follow me if you wish.

[Letter of priest-monk Filaret] Open Letter of a Monk

> We have received many letters in which readers say that ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA has aroused religious intolerance. We reject this, since it seems that the editors did not do that intentionally. Nevertheless, we are awaiting an apology.

A certain Mr M. Bjelopoljac wrote an article entitled: "An Event Which Has Disturbed Rudo: Forced Into a Monastery," which was published in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA (No 1217, 2 March 1982).

I was horrified and embittered by the degree of insincerity, maliciousness and shameful passing off of fabricated "information" with which that article abounds.

What actually was it about?

The author of the article, Mr Mujo, flagrantly attacks the honor of the Serbian Orthodox monastery in Zica and thereby publicly and irresponsibly offends the Serbian Orthodox Church itself, whose great contributions and historical, cultural and national integrity of Serbian identity I do not intend to discuss at all on this occasion. If Mujo Bjelopoljac should happen to take an interest in this field, let him address me personally or the monastery in Zica itself, and he will receive numerous thick volumes, those secular, historical and other studies which have been written on this topic. But it seems that Bjelopoljac is interested in something else and that other passions are tormenting him in this case.

In that article the writer informs the public that in the second half of the 20th century, in the heart of his free homeland, socialist Yugoslavia, the Zica Monastery kidnapped Vera Novakovic, who was a junior in the academic high school in Rudo.

He goes on to assert that the working people and citizens of Rudo and vicinity are disturbed that certain young people have gone off to religious schools and Serbian seminaries, since, according to Mujo, religion is again reviving. Orthodoxy is again raising its head. So "young captives" are crying in Serbian monasteries, refusing food, and the religious "fanaticism" of the parents has forcibly dragged the children and "sacrificed" them to God between the thick cold walls of the monastery.

Are we really dealing here with the imagination of an uninformed, frightened and hate-ridden Mr Mujo or a much deeper intention calculated to arouse the

anger of numerous adherents of Orthodoxy, to insult Serbian Orthodox shrines, our monasteries, and thus to deepen the feelings of nausea which lay so painfully in the heart of every Serb, every Yugoslav, and indeed every religious person throughout the world after the events in Kosovo, the setting of fire to the Serbian patriarchate building, and the attack on the lives of our nuns and novices.

Even Comrade Omer Hota, chairman of the Opstina Conference of the League of Communists, is concerned about Vera Novakovic's "imprisonment" in the monastery, as well as by the spirit of the "sect" of zealots in his jurisdiction.

"It is a question," Omer says, "of a religious fanaticism which I cannot grasp at all."

Naturally, Comrade Hota. In these critical times in the country and in the world, when man is increasingly isolated and abandoned, and from time to time also abused, surely we are not going to "blame" the Serbian monasteries for not having furnished you the basic sociological and psychological knowledge about the humanistic development of man as a social and spiritual creature that would be required to understand the love for God, the growth of interest in God and the turning toward Him, since it is obvious that God does not interest you, it is obvious that you do not care about Him.

Nor perhaps about man either. After all, your concern about man is one-sided. You took no pains to understand man, to enter into the essence of the human spirit, so God is not close to you. Especially the Christian God; you see Him as a threat to your or someone's (Vera's, for example) existence.

Nor do you like the clergy, the Orthodox nuns, novices, Serbian priests, monasteries and churches. You do not like them and do not understand them.

After all, all people are brothers, regardless of race, religion or party. Within the walls of those monasteries we have for centuries prayed for the souls of all sinful men, and we will also pray for you, Brother Omer. And in return leave us in peace if you can. Take good care of your young people, since in a sense they are entrusted to you. Save them from punk, fascist symbols, offensive songs and drugs which are being drawn like the devil himself into the veins of the young people entrusted to your care. And he is destroying them, Hota. He is destroying them like a treacherous disease, of which this sinful world of ours is unfortunately full to overflowing. I am sure you read the newspapers. You see all that is going on. And if you are really concerned about Vera and the other young Orthodox adherents, the monastery gates and doors are open to you, and even if you do not cherish God and people, you may come and enjoy the beauty of architecture and fresco painting known throughout the world, work done by simple people who were spiritually turned upside down, people similar to Vera Novakovic. We will answer your insult with the beauty of both deeds and beauty of the soul. You are probably aware that one does not go without the other. Come and talk with Vera, as I myself have done.

I have visited Zica and talked with the novice Vera Novakovic with the blessing of His Reverence Bishop Stefan of Zica. "They have insulted me, father. The girls from Kraljevo and Konarevo brought me newspapers, better if they hadn't. Those are all lies and fabrications. I am here by my own free will and with the blessing of my parents, no one forced me, I want to remain here until the end of my life."

"Why?" I asked.

"I am happy here. They are all so good to me. And then the peace, all the conditions for a man to turn to God with unrestrained love. I want to serve Him. I do not blame Mujo for not understanding that. Though still I do not know why he had to invent all those disgusting lies. That hurts. I think that I have never insulted anyone there. Here life is meaningful, simple, we are like one, we have good members of the clergy, the Mother Superior is good, they are like parents toward me, and we do our job as a task of service."

"Sister Vera, if you do not mind, please tell us what your task of service is?"

There followed a gentle smile on the face of the intelligent girl.

"What my whole life I had in my imagination have come true for me. I am working with the other sisters on iconography. I enjoy that."

Then the smile vanished from her face, though the gentleness still remained in her eyes.

"Please, father, tell everyone and explain to them that I want to follow in the steps of our glorious ancestors, our brave holy women who were nuns. They gave everything to Christ and to His Church, I know that even today they are preserving our shrines with great trouble, sometimes even with guns in their hands. I have read in the newspaper how my sisters were tortured in Kosovo, this made me sad, I was unable to understand how this was possible, nor do I understand even now."

I noticed a tear held back in her large maiden's eye. I also felt bad.

"Father, I feel bad when I think what the Albanian nationalists are doing, the kind of tortures the Serbian nuns are exposed to in one portion of Serbia. As soon as I become spiritually mature and stronger I would like to go down and help my sisters. I would like to go to the defense of our shrine insofar as I know how and am able. And forgive me still another thing. I have been brought up in our faith since I was small. My mother and father raised me in the fear of God and taught me to love Him, to be shy with people and to love them. On one occasion in Cajnic I heard a sermon in which the priest uttered those words of Christ: 'Let the children come unto me, since theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' I felt that this world is not for me, I felt that I belong to the higher goals of serving God. That is why I came here. Forgive me and give me your blessing, father."

I have been reflecting about the article mentioned, about my visit to Zica, about that beautiful young girl of ours, about our spiritual pearl, our spiritual university where the first votive candle of faith in and love for our people was lit. I have reflected on its spiritual and historical values, on the famous Zica assemblies, about our glorious past and future. I can clearly recall Vera's pure love for the monastic vocation, which she is ready for in her 17th year, as she is ready to give her life for Christ and His Church.

And it is not clear to me what Mujo, Hota and ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA want. "Religion," they say, "has returned to Rudo and the vicinity, Orthodoxy is reviving with the Serbs," they go on to say. I did not know that Orthodoxy had ever died with the Serbs, so that now it has to rise from the dead. Perhaps Comrades Omer and Mujo do know that?

Omer and Mujo, forgive me for addressing you directly as I am now doing, but I would like to inform you, since I see that it greatly interests you: religion did not die in Orthodox souls, nor will it ever die. And do not count on it, gentlemen or comrades. Are you not aware that our ancestors were hanged and were impaled for their faith? They kept and preserved the faith and left it in our trust to preserve it. If you did not know that, then certainly you are aware of this: THAT THE ORTHODOX FAITH IS ALSO GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION.

But what are you doing?

You are crucifying on an invisible cross Vera Novakovic, our young novice, you are mistreating her parents, Zica with its seven doors is being slandered. When, gentlemen, have you seen children taken away by the Serbian monasteries (and indeed is that at all possible?), when have you seen them tried in the monasteries, when have you seen anyone castigated and thrown into life imprisonment? You know very well that we all live in a government by law, that we are all subject to the same laws, and can it be possible that minors are kidnapped today in our homeland and shut away in life imprisonment?!

Nor has Vera's mother Ljubinka Novakovic ever been in a monastery, so that still less was she able to flee from it. Nor has Vera's father nor any of his people, gone before the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem. We zealots, Bjelopoljac, we go to Christ's grave and the other notable places of our shrine, to bow our heads and to pray to God in the name of Christ's resurrection and eternal life, to call upon Him to save us and to preserve us from the devil, from evil and from every contemptible person.

Can it be, Comrades, that you did not know that public information deliberately aimed at disturbing the citizenry, at creating hysteria and religious intolerance among our fraternal nationalities must be truthful, objective and verified? Can it be that the editor of ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA had no duty and was unable to simply verify all the shameful and disgusting attacks on Zica, that is, on the Serbian Orthodox Church? Is it right, comrade editor, without verification to strike a blow so unthinkingly and hastily against the original sources of our literacy, culture and spirituality, against the capitols of Serbian history from which have come our first books, schools, print shops, our pictures (frescoes)...?

In conclusion, a social worker, a psychologist, a homeroom teacher or her schoolmates in Rudo, who have talked to her in Zica Monastery and even now maintain contact with her by telephone and correspondence, certainly could have had something authentic to say about Vera's "imprisonment."

7045
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END

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28 May 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2017

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28 May 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2017

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ERRATA: In JPRS 80823 of 17 May 1982, No. 2010 of this series, in the article entitled "Operations of P-12 Air Defense Radar Described," which begins on page 41, the equation on page 42 should appear as follows:

$$r_{max} = \sqrt[4]{\frac{P_i}{P_{Emin}} \cdot \frac{G^2(\alpha, \beta) \cdot \lambda^2 \cdot \sigma}{64\pi^3}}$$

[III - EE - 63]

In the same report, in the article entitled "Mission of Rocket Troop Meteorological Services Detailed," which begins on page 46, the speed of light given in the last sentence of paragraph four should read (300,000 km/s).

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BELGIAN SOURCE DISCUSSES PRISON CAMPS, LACK OF FREEDOM

Brussels LE SOIR in French 15, 16 May 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ydriz Basha i Novosejt, member of the Committee of Intellectuals for A Europe of Freedoms (CIEL): "Curious Albania"]

[Excerpts] The people of Skenderbeg and Mother Theresa, known for their courage and generosity, have had, since 1946, prisons and concentration camps which would stand up well against the Soviet gulags. They have the names Tepelene, Lushnje, Kamze, Fier, Burrel, Gjirokaster, Shkoder, Bulqize, etc. Today more than 70,000 Albanians are in these prisons and concentration camps.

The Albanian Workers Party has taken on the task of building a new Albania which does not recognize private initiative or the right to freedom of thought, of conscience and of religion. Article 16 of the Albanian Constitution prohibits private ownership while, through the application of Article 37, Albania becomes the first and the only atheistic country in the world.

Albania, beacon of true Communism, citadel of Stalinism, did not participate in the Helsinki Conference, or in the Belgrade or Madrid conferences, and has not participated in any international conference. Undoubtedly, the AWP leaders have a curious manner of practicing democracy. In light of the particularly serious economic justification, if it is reasonable to maintain such a policy. This is what Mehmet Shehu asked and it cost him his life.

CSO: 3100/673

SIGNS OF POOR DISCIPLINE, LAXITY IN NAVY

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Apr 82 p2

[Article by Captain Ist Rank Neno Kurdzhaliyski: "Conversation About Discipline"]

[Text] It is a tradition in this unit not to allow serious disciplinary violations and for friendship and friendly mutual aid to prevail in relations among seamen of different conscriptions. Such was the case this year as well. That is why the few violations and an unseemly act committed in the garrison drew the attention of the senior political worker. There was no cause for alarm. However, it is never useless to speak of the observance of regulations and the moral features of the navy seaman, the more so since the ships were entering the period of active training and were dealing with their most important combat training problems. It was a period during which strict discipline, obedience and a high feeling of duty and responsibility were needed more than ever.

The tone was set by the party organization whose secretary is officer Nikov. It initiated a conversation on the role of staff specialists in strengthening the discipline and ensuring the further cohesion among ship companies. The good traditions must be preserved and multiplied. Along with the issuing of assignments, its was suggested that the political department draw a up a letter-appeal to all Komsomol societies, pointing out that for many years the unit had been in a leading position in the navy in terms of discipline. Recent discipline violations were also analyzed.

Party-member commanders were asked to read and interpret the letter-appeal at Komsomol meetings. This started the conversation on discipline in ship's companies. The results exceeded expectations. The Komsomol members not only strictly condemned the violations but themselves exposed many of them and made valuable suggestions. The unanimous opinion was that while serving on shipboard even the most insignificant omissions could have serious consequences.

The Komsomol meeting at the society where Petty Officer Tsenkinski is secretary was particularly active. Officer Khristakiev, who read and explained the appeal, was surprised at the maturity and principle-mindedness with which the small collective discussed the problems. Misconstrued comradeship was criticized sharply. It was pointed out that the best help one can give one's

comrade is to point out to him his weaknesses promptly and to prevent him from committing a bad action rather than to advise him after the fact.

At the meeting attended by officer Dimitrov many Komsomol members suggested that more talks be given on the proper upbringing of the seamen, manifestations of courage and lofty moral and will-power qualities be recalled more frequently and the psychological climate aboard ship be improved steadily. The Komsomol meetings attended by party-member officers Kurtev, Nikov, Bakalov and others were also held in an atmosphere of frank and creative discussions.

The discussions on discipline and strengthening the ships' companies proved that some commanders, personnel in charge of ship party groups and secretaries of Komsomol societies do not pay the necessary attention to individual work with the men, particularly with those who show a tendency to violate rules. There have been cases of violations of ship daily schedules and rules and operational instructions in handling equipment, mechanisms and apparatus. On one ship, two seamen fell ill and were sent to the hospital but their duties were not reassigned to others so that, back on the job, they found the equipment they were in charge of in poor condition. It also turned out that some seamen, while on liberty within the garrison, hire taxicabs and go home. It was only after the discussion that they realized that although they had returned to their units on time they had violated the rules. Some Komsomol-member petty officers were strictly blamed for not being exacting toward their subordinates and sometimes even setting bad examples.

After the discussions the party members at the staff party organization reported to the political department on the Komsomol meetings and the suggestions which were made. The conclusions drawn from such direct contacts between commanders, political workers and staff specialists most personally involved in the matter and the seamen made taking effective steps for strengthening the discipline and observance of regulations and improving educational work aboard the ships possible. This is a strong guarantee that the forthcoming difficult combat training assignments at sea will be carried out well and fruitfully.

5003
CSO: 2200/99

NATO ALLIES COMPETE IN TANK PRODUCTION

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Ilko Nedelchev: "Armored Rivalry"]

[Text] Armament standardization has proved to be one of the most difficult problems facing the NATO members. According to NATO experts, major national differences in weapons systems and military equipment create unnecessary hardships in terms of reciprocal military support and weaken the bloc's power. The Senate Armed Services Committee of the U. S. Congress has determined that the variety of weapons lowers the effectiveness of NATO armed forces by 30-40 percent.

It quickly became clear that Washington is using "standardization" as a pretext for gaining the greatest possible advantages for itself and that it views this sensitive problem through the eyes of the U. S. military-industrial complex of the United States. According to the frank statement of a high military official at the Pentagon, standardization and modernization of NATO armaments are possible only on the basis of American models. This forces the Western European allies to purchase combat equipment from their overseas partner.

The insatiability of the Americans who, on top of everything else, hold dominating positions in terms of nuclear armaments, greatly irritated the arms monopolies in Western Europe. In the course of fierce rivalry the FRG, England and France were able to regain their fame as major producers and exporters of "death goods." The neglecting of their interests put an end to standardization and exacerbated conflicts within NATO. The implementation of the idea of developing NATO's "tank of the future" is a specific illustration of this fact.

It was a question of replacing some 10,000 older-model tanks (M-48, Chieftain and Leopard-1) with a new-type armored vehicle, the offspring of North Atlantic integration. The size of the deal made the military concerns forget any idea of cooperation, for this would have also meant splitting the expected huge profits. Neither intergovernmental agreements nor the decisions of various NATO agencies were able to make the weapon sharks make any concessions. After protracted arguments, the "tank battle" ended in a compromise: "free competition" among producing companies was proclaimed.

It was the American Chrysler and the West German Krause-Mafai companies which won the competition for the best tank. Once again the NATO jury was faced with the difficult question of choosing between the American M-1 and the West German Leopard-2.... While NATO was puzzling over the matter, the tank manufacturers in Munich were producing hundreds of Leopards while 55-ton M-1 tanks were pouring out of Lima, Ohio. In order not to fall behind the Bawarian predators, the latter were named after General Creighton Abrams, a famous tank expert, who had died while serving as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The NATO "standardization" groups were still in session when the Bundeswehr was already receiving the new tanks and shipping the old ones to its allies. Thus, Denmark received 120, Norway 78 and Turkey 77 West German Leopard-1 tanks. The current masters of the Pentagon were also in a hurry, headed by Weinberger, a man of the war industry and, not so long ago, vice president of the powerful industrial corporation which enjoys a good reputation among reactionary Arab regimes. Despite numerous shortcomings, the Chrysler tank was supplied to the Seventh American Army deployed on FRG territory as NATO's main striking force in Central Europe. Seven thousand M-1 Abrams tanks are to be produced by 1988.

All NATO's "standardizers could do was to shrug their shoulders and announce a Solomonic decision: the Budeswehr and some other NATO armed forces would be equipped with the Leopard-2, whilethe American Armed Forces would use the M-1 Abrams. At that point, Uncle Sam displayed astounding generosity by allowing the installation of a 120-mm smooth-bore West German cannon on its tank, starting with the mid-1980s. Why? Because Washington is planning on deploying on FRG territory 204 Pershing-2 medium-range nuclear missiles and 96 Cruise-1 missiles. This way everyone would be satisfied.

It is thus that the joint efforts of the partners in NATO, which closely remind us of the fable about the eagle, the crab and the pike, wrecked the "tank of the future." Actually it is quite unlikely that such a tank can be created, for no partnership can be developed on the basis of rivalry.

5003
CSO: 2200/99

EDITORIAL CALLS FOR BETTER TRAINING IN NAVIGATION FOR COMMANDERS

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 8 Apr 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Navigation Training"]

[Text] The navigation training of ship commanders is not a new question. However, this does not make it any less relevant. Reality makes us go back to it. Years ago, as a result of poor navigational training of the commander, a ship found itself stuck. Damages were caused. This was the bitter consequence of the lack of an adequate feeling of responsibility in carrying out navigation duties by commanders. Justifiably, this commander was deprived by his superior officer of the right to sail the ship.

The ship's regulations make the commander fully responsible "for the safe handling and maneuvering of the ship." In the interest of navigational safety, the commander "must be guided not only by his own experience, knowledge of the theater and data supplied by the navigational combat personnel and technical observation facilities, but systematic personal determination of the ship's position."

The commander's navigational obligations are not limited to navigational safety. Holding the required position, maneuvering in combined navigation, and constant and precise knowledge of one's position in the use of weapons and reliable interaction in the course of the dynamics of naval combat should always be present in the mind of the ship's commander. These important navigation conditions are most closely related to tactics. That is why the high level tactical training of the ship's commander is inconceivable without extensive navigational knowledge. The commander must skillfully combine knowledge of tactics, combat organization and sailing expertise.

Navigational safety and the successful implementation of combat assignments at sea largely determine the professional skill and feeling of responsibility of the ship's commander. He must direct the daily activities and training of the navigation personnel. He must control its combat readiness and guide it in battle. He must try to improve the ship's navigation service.

All of these important statutory obligations of the commander demand of him to be the leading navigator. These are not simply nice-sounding words. They express the concentrated experience of many generations of seamen. This important stipulation has not become irrelevant, as some commanders believe but is becoming

increasingly more urgent and acquiring a new meaning. It is no accident that the new "Regulations on the Organization of Navigational Training" includes a section which regulates the duties of the ship's commander in navigation.

Nor should the stipulation that the commander is the leading navigator be interpreted literally. Without substituting for the navigator and paralyzing his autonomous actions, he must skillfully and promptly supervise navigational activities. He must organize the interaction between the navigator and the officer on duty and the other units in resolving problems at sea. Good traditions in navigational training of ship's commanders has been developed in the unit in which Officer Ispanski serves. Frequent navigation involving intensive combat training calls for the steady improvement of practical sailing skills not only by commanders but by officers on duty as well. This requires most close study of errors and the taking of effective steps to prevent their recurrence.

The navigational training of the ship's commander requires the necessary amount of knowledge and skills needed for the proper execution of statutory obligations. However, knowledge of such obligations and the skill to implement them are two different things. Practical experience indicates that with the proper organization of navigation training and proper appreciation of the importance for every ship commander to master the necessary knowledge and skills could indeed turn him into the leading navigator aboard the ship.

The navigational training of ship's commanders covers two stages: training so that the commander can control the ship's maneuvering by himself and maintaining (improving) this skill. The basic methods for achieving this include individual studies and training under base conditions and practical application of such knowledge and skills at sea.

The unit commander who, in accordance with the regulations must "individually train his direct subordinates on the ship," is responsible for and directs their training as navigators. Even when the unit navigator teaches some classes, the commander must personally formulate the assignments of the ships' commanders. At the end of the training (after the exercise) he must analyze the situation. This is of great educational importance.

Impeccable sailing, successful solution of problems at sea and the precise and decisive handling of the ship in the course of combat exercises, conducted either individually or jointly, are the basic yardstick for the quality of the training of ship's commanders in navigation.

The best ship, the best commander and the best first officer are named on the basis of the results of navigational training, investigations and other measures carried out by the ship's commanders and their assistants. This develops in the commanders the desire to compete and is a good incentive for improving navigational knowledge and practical skills.

Practical experience teaches us that no compromise is allowed in assessing navigational training. It is strictly necessary for the ship's commander to know everything and to be able to do everything according to regulations.

Our navy is developing steadily. The duties of ship's commanders at sea are becoming increasingly complex and more responsible. This calls for paying increasingly systematic attention to their training as navigators by senior commanders, political organs and staffs. This is the best guarantee for the successful implementation of assignments at sea and for sailing without breakdowns under all conditions.

5003
CSO: 2200/91

PERSONNEL, EQUIPMENT MUST BE IN GOOD SHAPE PRIOR TO NAVAL EXERCISES

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 8 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Capt First Rank Dimo Denev: "Before Going Out to Sea"]

[Text] The navy ships have entered the period of active combat training away from their bases. The main objective is for their crews to improve their skills in the use of weapons and technical facilities under realistic conditions of contemporary naval battle. Now, when training activities are increasingly shifting from classrooms and simulators to the sea, particular attention must be paid to preparations immediately preceding a trip to sea.

The experience gained in combat training of the ships in the unit in which Officer Petrov serves and by many other navy units categorically proves that success comes to commanders who carry out thorough advance preparations. They attain the objectives of all exercises at sea with lesser resource outlays and time. It is no accident that a number of navy documents deal with this question. Therefore, why should it be raised again? Because individual commanders, particularly younger ones, who show a certain lack of understanding, consider preliminary preparations on a limited and simplistic basis.

What are the main features of preliminary preparations on which every commander must focus his attention before his ship leaves the base? They are the plan, the equipment and the personnel.

The first mandatory condition for highly effective combat training exercise at sea is its qualitative planning. On the basis of the plan for preparations for the respective training assignment and the results achieved in previous sailing exercises, the commander must define the objectives and the basic problems which must be resolved if they are to be reached. He must then take steps to provide the necessary material and support facilities.

After planning, the efforts must be focused on preparations involving material facilities and the command and rank and file personnel. This mandatorily requires proper organization. Weapons and equipment must be thoroughly checked and regulated so that their parameters may be consistent with operational norms. This will guarantee the further impeccable action and absence of breakdowns at sea. Unfortunately, this is not always done properly. For example, in a recent sea exercise, the ship on which Officer Grozev serves, was allowed to go to sea

with improper material facilities. This was a prerequisite for a breakdown at sea.

The preliminary training of the rank and file personnel is also of great importance. Such training must be essentially practical and focused on exercises with material facilities at the combat positions and classrooms and simulators at the base.

The training of the ship's commander and of all officers and petty officers is of exceptional importance in terms of resolving planned problems properly. The training of the commanders before the sailing calls for concentrating precisely on elements in the respective assignment which is to be carried out at sea. A great variety of methods can be used. This is a question of initiative and creativity on the part of the commander. Particular attention must be paid to the study of navigational conditions and the areas in which the ship will sail and the tactical methods to be applied in the use of weapons and technical facilities. To this effect the personnel is trained at its command centers, with the help of complex simulators, etc. The recent sailing of the ship in which Officer Savov serves is an indicative example of the way inadequate preliminary training of command personnel yields unsatisfactory results. This was the reason for which the organization of the exercise and its results were unsatisfactory and the training objectives were not achieved in full.

The preliminary playout of the plan for the entire exercise is an essential prerequisite for its success. In this case, in addition to testing the individual training of the officers, all the points of the exercise to be covered by the ship (the group of ships) are considered chronologically. Subordinates must be placed under circumstances similar to those in which they will be trained at sea. They must be obliged to make decisions and issue instructions and orders related to ship control (combat facilities) under the specific circumstances which they will encounter at sea. The knowledge of the conditions under which the planned combat exercises and special assignments, and safety measures while using weapons and technical facilities must be tested. In the course of this preliminary practice, it is very important for the commander to bear in mind the weaknesses and shortcomings of previous exercises, their connection with the forthcoming tasks and the steps taken for their prevention.

During the period of preparations, greater attention and more time and help must be allocated for the young officers, petty officers and seamen with little experience in working at sea. The commander must help them properly to define the targets, formulate plans for combat assignments to be carried out, preparations of material facilities and training and exercises with subordinates.

It is also very important for the commander to be able to rely on and capture the attention of the party and Komsomol organizations in order to mobilize the efforts of the personnel for achieving purposeful pre-sailing preparations. The final stage in the work of the commander in the preliminary preparations before going to sea is to organize the socialist competition. He must define the indicators and the methods for encouraging and accounting for the implementation of promises. Such measures must be specific as are the targets and the training features to be mastered at sea.

Let us emphasize in conclusion that only a comprehensive approach to preliminary training could ensure high results in combat training naval exercises, absence of breakdowns and making full use of each mile of sailing.

5003
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SED SOCIOLOGIST CLAIMS 'INTELLECTUAL WORK' INSUFFICIENTLY REWARDED

West German Commentary

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 22 Apr 82 p 2

[Commentary by Karl-Heinz Baum, correspondent, FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU: "Social Differences Relating to Property Are Acceptable Also to GDR--Leading Social Scientist: Meaningful As Impulses for Economic Growth--'Too Much Equalizing in Area of Intellectual Work.'" A Translation of the East Berlin JUNGE WELT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Berlin, 21 April--A leading GDR sociologist has been looking into the "old objective of the communists," which is aimed at overcoming social differences. In the GDR the differences have been eliminated which were the result of one class being exploited by the other one; educational privileges for the minority have been disbanded; the village stopped a long time ago to be the embodiment of cultural, economic and intellectual backwardness. Manfred Loetsch, professor for sociology, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee, stated in East Berlin's youth magazine JUNGE WELT [10 Apr 82] that socialism is setting the "historic goal" of growing into a classless society without social differences.

"Practical experience, however, is now" showing that in the "foreseeable future" the emphasis cannot be on eliminating cooperative ownership of property and soil and capital goods. Cooperative ownership is instrumental in "collective decisions and views," which are the "motivating forces" for economically sensible attitudes.

According to Loetsch, "the same" applies to private ownership of capital goods. In the skilled trades, cooperatives are only meaningful if the work is also organized in a cooperative manner. "To take individual bakeries, for instance, and combine them into cooperatives would not benefit society but only add administrative costs, something that nobody needs, Loetsch declared in JUNGE WELT.

Considering these factors, the sociologist concludes that "social differences in the ownership of capital goods is certainly compatible" with the socialist way of life if it leads to impulses for economic growth. Particularly when it comes to the key word "social differences," the GDR is facing the

complicated task of creating "equality on one hand" and promoting "differences on the other hand." Every individual's accomplishments for society are important; it follows that his "share in society's riches" is also important, Loetsch said. One can only distribute more to everybody if there is an increase in economic power.

With respect to intellectual work in the GDR, there is "almost too much equalization rather than just differentiation." According to the words of the sociologist, the principle of "equal slots--equal salary" no matter how different the performance, cannot inspire anybody to do his best in scientific work. Loetsch, who commented on one of the basic questions of the 10th SED Congress--the socialist way of life--is of the opinion that in the GDR "public moral recognition of intellectual accomplishments" is "...much too low." When looking at the performance principle in socialism, one must also deal with the question, how to punish "incompetency" more effectively.

Differences in the material standard of living are "justified and beneficial to socialism" if they can be attributed to actual differences in performance. In the brown coal industry, for instance, nobody thought that it was unfair that one of the inventors of a certain kind of coke received an income for which a laborer had to work several months. On the other hand, differences in the material standard of living would deserve "social ostracism in every respect" if it were based on a "deformation of the performance principle": in other words, if certain shortage situations are "shamelessly exploited" and combined with "personal acquisitiveness".

SED Sociologist's Discussion

East Berlin JUNGE WELT in German 20 Apr 82 p 6

[Interview with Prof Dr Manfred Loetsch (44), sociologist, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; specialist, research on social structure of socialist society; by Irene Tuengler: "On Fundamental Questions of 10th Party Congress--So That Each Can Give Society His Best, According to His Abilities--Today's Socialist Way of Life and Comprehensive Development of Socialist Personalities"]

[Text] [Question] Everybody feels that he is living as an individual; but how are we then justified to talk about a collective socialist way of life?

[Answer] I believe that every human being not only thinks he is living as an individual, but that in some way he is actually doing it. Everyone has his own interests, needs, likes and he lives accordingly. The way of life of a society, however, is more than the sum total of these millions of individual lifestyles. We must distinguish between several levels. When we talk about the way of life of the socialist society as a whole, we are referring to a way of life in a society where capital goods belong to everybody collectively, where classes and people from various walks of life collectively pursue basic goals, where one class does not usurp the fruits of labor of another one, where the minority does not have political power over the majority. The system of reference for our way of life is the difference when compared to the way of

life of capitalism. The second level is the way of life of classes, walks of life and social groups within society. The way of life of the farmer is apparently different from the way of life of a member of the intelligentsia, for instance. The third level which must be considered when distinguishing between ways of life is the individual one. There are not only innumerable lifestyles; they must exist; uniformity in thinking and attitudes cannot advance society.

[Question] Which factor is primarily responsible for the apparent individual differences?

[Answer] People's way of life is influenced most by education--and closely related to it--the intellectual level of work. As a rule it can be said: The more qualified a person is, the greater the variety is of his intellectual interests and needs, the greater his feeling of social responsibilities and related activities.

[Question] Overcoming social differences is an old objective of the communists....

[Answer] We did not only remove the differences that are connected with the exploitation of one class by another one but also many other differences. Educational privileges for the minority were disbanded. The equality of women was established. Or: The village stopped a long time ago to be the embodiment of cultural, economic, intellectual backwardness. Yes, socialism has the historical goal of growing into a classless society without social differences.

Practical experience, however, shows that for the foreseeable future the emphasis cannot be, for instance, on eliminating cooperative ownership of property, soil and capital goods. Collective decisions and views are encouraged, the motivating forces for economically sensible attitudes. The same applies to private ownership of capital goods. In the skilled trades, cooperatives are only meaningful when the work is also organized in a cooperative manner. To take individual bakeries, for instance, and combine them into cooperatives would not benefit society but only add administrative costs, something that nobody needs. Social differences in the ownership of capital goods are therefore certainly compatible with a social way of life if it leads to impulses for our economic growth.

[Question] When you talk about private ownership, does it not also suggest "income"? What is the relationship in this connection?

[Answer] When the word "social differences" comes up, almost everybody thinks first of money. Also in this respect the GDR is facing the complicated task of creating equality on one hand and promoting differences on the other hand.

In socialism distribution is according to the principle of performance. Each individual is different when it comes to his performance for society; therefore the share of the social wealth also differs. We can only distribute more to everybody if there is an increase in economic power. Scientists and engineers have a particularly big responsibility in this respect. But it is in

this area of complicated intellectual work where there is almost too much equalization rather than just differentiation. The principle: Equal slot--equal salary no matter how different the performance cannot inspire anybody to do his best in scientific work.

Furthermore, I feel that public moral recognition of intellectual accomplishments--compared with top performance in sports--is much too low. When looking at the performance level in socialism, one must also deal with the question, how to punish incompetency more effectively. In material production it is simple: Whoever does not fulfill his norm gets less money. Wherever intellectual work is required, the only thing that is left to us is pointing with our index finger in moral indignation.

[Question] In other words, differences in the material standard of living are justified and beneficial to socialism?

[Answer] As long as they are actually based on differences in performance, yes. Here is an illustration: At one time, in the brown coal industry every worker knew that Prof Rammler from Freiberg, one of the inventors of brown coal high-temperature coke, had an income for which a laborer had to work several months. Nobody thought that it was unfair. On the other hand, differences in the material standard of living that are based on a deformation of the performance principle--shameless exploitation of certain shortage situations in combination with personal acquisititiveness--deserve social ostracism in every respect and have nothing in common with the socialist way of life.

[Question] Another aspect: Is it not a contradiction to educate universally developed personalities on one hand and give early recognition and support to scientific, artistic or athletic talents on the other hand?

[Answer] This contradiction actually exists, but it is a contradiction of life, not a logical absurdity. Our society must solve two problems simultaneously. First of all, it is necessary to give every young person an education which is as balanced, comprehensive and advanced as possible. The socialist way of life would be unthinkable if a new polarization between the technical elite on one hand and the untrained person on the other hand would develop. Education is not only necessary for production and scientific-technical progress but it is valuable in itself as a characteristic of a well-developed personality. The ideal of versatility--this term is certainly preferable to "universality"--is also desirable because of the fact that, according to current estimates, a young worker in the skilled trades, for instance, will have to update his entire technical know-how three to four times during his professional career to meet occupational demands. All we can do today is give him a solid general education as a basis. The other side is: Most of the time we are still too late when recognizing and supporting special, extraordinary intellectual talents. We must no longer neglect extreme and early support of special interests and abilities, beginning with the early schoolyears--even at the price of a certain partiality. Otherwise we will have fewer and fewer top specialists available.

[Question] As far as the characterization of the socialist way of life is concerned, there is one question that arises: What is actually the basis for the concept that work is the most important thing in our way of life?

[Answer] The view is wrong that work is an obligation and an evil and that a person does not begin to live until work is done. In the end, work decides the manner in which everyone develops into a personality--which does not mean that areas outside of work are totally unimportant. Sociology has come up with proof: The more knowledge and ability is required of the individual when he performs his work, the richer his activities are outside his work environment. With this in mind, work determines all the aspects of what we understand under way of life in its broadest sense. Actually, nobody is asked to do more work each day than he did the day before. The important thing is to work more intelligently and more effectively. But we also do not want to close our eyes to the fact that occasionally worktime is wasted or "people are loafing." Here we are again reminded of the socialist performance principle. We have to look at its first sentence before we can talk about distribution, which means: Everyone must do his best according to his abilities.

8991
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REGIME'S THREAT TACTICS AGAINST PACIFIST YOUTH DISCUSSED

Bonn VORWAERTS in German No 17, 22 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Hendrik Bussiek: "The Peace from Above and the Longing from Below--How Is the GDR Reacting to Its Peace Movement?"]

> [Text] The peace movement in the GDR is small but apparently very effective. At least, the official reactions by authorities are an indication that this Western virus is considered extraordinarily contagious. Willingness for military service is being mobilized.

"Well, how is the republic?" the visitor from the West was asking in a somewhat snippy manner. The young GDR citizen gave a witty reply: "I do not know. I have not been in contact with it for a long time." The retreat into privacy, into a niche, by many if not most of the people in the GDR can hardly be expressed more tersely.

A young man: "As far as I am concerned, the topic "GDR" is no longer important," he is no longer interested in the politics of his state--neither in a positive nor in a negative sense. "I am no longer beating my head against the many walls around here."

Both of them, however, are becoming political when it comes to peace in the world: They belong to the peace movement in the GDR which--among other things, thanks to the reaction by the state--has by now passed the embryonic stage.

In the meantime the discussion of war and peace has also spread to the schools in the GDR. Many students are no longer listening quietly when teachers and officers give speeches on this topic, as was the case earlier. Some of the students even argue relentlessly. The teachers are helpless. At one school in the republic the saying "swords into plowshares" was discovered on a table: A very embarrassing state action followed, during which the name of the sinner was revealed. She was forced to wipe away the writing--after all, she only fell for Western propaganda. The demand was directed against GDR policies.

German-German Comments

Wrong. For a long time this student has not been interested in the state either: Therefore her small action could not have been directed against it. The GDR apparatus, however, is increasingly "exposing" members of the GDR peace movement as "enemies of the state," who are controlled by the West. And the West itself is supplying more and more "conclusive" statements.

Recently Dean General Reinhard Gramm of the Protestant Church Office for the Federal Armed Forces, for instance, criticized the West German peace movement; simultaneously, however, he expressed "high regard" for the peace movement in the GDR--excellent ammunition for the propaganda cannons of the apparatus.

And they are placed in position in large numbers. The GDR, which since its foundation saw its legitimation primarily as a peace state, must fear an independent peace movement within its own country, particularly one which is operating independently from the state: Its legitimation is in danger.

But "the litmus test for a government's love of peace is its attitude toward nuclear arms opponents in its own country" (Stefan Heym). If this statement is accurate--and it is accurate--almost all governments in the world are in bad shape with respect to their proclaimed love of peace, including the German--particularly the GDR-German--Government. Heym: "When a government strengthens paramilitary drills for its schoolchildren instead of examining in good faith opportunities for alternate service in the social realm, it takes away the credibility of its frequent assurances of love of peace."

Certainly, Heym did not want to doubt the subjective will to peace of his and other governments, but the actions of the GDR government objectively contradict the will to peace. The sewed-on patch "swords into plowshares," for instance, is being persecuted in an absolutely absurd manner: Members of the People's Police confiscate jackets and parkas with the symbol. The following day the piece of clothing may be picked up again at the police station--without the patch but with a bill from the tailor who removed the symbol. And the wearer is threatened with severe consequences ranging from expulsion to the denial of a training position.

The blame--once again--is placed on the West. To be sure, the Free German Youth recently announced its respect for the motives of wearing the patch, but they could not quietly watch when the symbol was misinterpreted by outsiders, as if the protest was directed against the social system of the GDR. And RADIO GDR stated that whoever was recommending "as a day's work" to recast swords into plowshares, must "be blind or deaf or even worse"--perhaps crazy?

"Attacks on this sign are not only directed against individual young people but the entire church" (churches in Thueringen): After all, the churches themselves introduced this symbol in 1981 on the occasion of the peace decade, because it corresponds to their basic position of a "pacifism of political reason."

Already in November 1981, an appropriate study by the GDR churches opposed the "defamation of pacifism in the name of political realities, the reason of state or other goals." This study should be read by GDR State Security officers, who are suspecting nothing but Western subversion everywhere: It is certainly not possible to prove that the ethic of a "pacifism of political reason," to which GDR churches adhere and which takes a critical view of the Eastern as well as Western security policy, has it origin in the FRG, written--of all things--at the desks of the Protestant church in the FRG" (Reinhard Henkys, Protestant Church in West Berlin).

The GDR churches are indeed involved in "an independent peace activity" (Easter pastoral letter by GDR Bishop Werner Krusche)--of course, independent from the West but also (which is not quite so self-evident) from the state in which they are operating: "The church is not just a reinforcer of the foreign policy of the state" (pastoral letter).

It is a harsh word in a state where all social organizations, including Christian ones, are expected to operate according to the wishes of the authorities and be nothing but transmitters of government policies. To be sure, the GDR church sees itself as a church in socialism, in other words, not in opposition to it; but when the state prohibits an official symbol of the church or even indicates that the wearing of patches resembling the symbol signifies "disregard for laws" and encourages their disregard, the church has no other choice but to go the road of harsh criticism.

Congregations are demanding this position from the church leadership. Since the start of the peace movement in the GDR, churches have been filled to overflowing Sunday after Sunday--particularly young people are coming. They appreciate the free space that is granted to them by the churches: A Christian tradition of thousands of years is again becoming timely. At the same time the church is careful--and with good reason--of becoming the organizational avant-garde of the GDR peace movement. There is simply no large-scale organization, there are no large or small groups that have to confer for hours to issue joint proclamations. As a result it is strong and less vulnerable to attacks by the state.

Just recently the state adopted a new military-service law, which will go into effect on 1 May, because: "As much as we will enjoy scrapping our weapons some day--socialism still needs, peace needs our plowshares and our swords" (Army General Heinz Hoffman, minister for national defense). In accordance with this law, everyday militarization in the GDR will be stepped up, because now all state agencies, from the school to the university and to the plant, have the legal obligation "to prepare the citizen for military service," above all, for "the long-term guarantee of new recruits for military careers" and "voluntary completion of military service."

And if You Are Not Willing to Do Military Service....

The GDR military is not only having headaches because the years with low birth rates are approaching. Lack of enthusiasm for military service is spreading also in the GDR, and it has been going on for some time. In 1978

Hoffman demanded that "illusions and naive ideas about the process of detente" be put aside. In the army general's opinion, young people "frequently" draw the conclusion from the politics of detente that now a possibility should exist "to make a few concessions when it comes to the high demands with respect to the readiness for deployment and military action."

But the number of people who are feeling this way is getting larger rather than smaller: Change through rapprochement.

Sometimes, however, the lack of enthusiasm for military service also has quite profane reasons. One 18-year-old, for instance, had decided to do 3 years of service in the People's Army. "I am just interested in tanks." Later, during registration, when an officer shouted at him, asking how long he wanted to serve, he answered quickly: "18 months"--the obligatory period. Nevertheless, this boorish type is the exception. Normally recruiters are "extremely friendly" (GDR draftee) to strengthen--so they think--the desire to do military service.

Unkindness takes place behind the scenes. Students who want to carry on peace discussions in the classroom undauntedly are threatened with a call to their prospective training site: "Then you might as well kiss your dream job good-bye." And, as a consequence, they prefer to remain silent in the future. But the peace movement in the GDR is growing again, adding a few new supporters.

8991
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PROBLEMS WITH UTILIZATION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES NOTED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian 4 Apr 82 pp 20-30

[Article by Dr Janos Farkas, scientific advisor of the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences]

[Text] J.D. Bernal, natural scientist and world-famous Lenin peace prize winner, wrote somewhere that the sciences must play a strategic and not a tactical role in the practice of social policy. The intensive development of our present social relations should be regarded as that strategic goal which the social sciences must serve. The formation recently of the Hungarian Political Science Society is a sign of this requirement. The intensive phase of economic development and the overall social demand for the further development of social and political relations enlarges the role of the sciences, including that of the social sciences. It is not enough, however, simply to declare this, but we must on one hand seek the course that will make the results of the social sciences accessible to practice; and on the other hand we must continue to develop receptivity to science in the sociopolitical decision-making sphere directly reflecting and serving social practice. Following the principle that everyone can do the most for the sake of social causes in his own area of activity, we shall draft principles, hypotheses, requirements and ideas in our article primarily about and for social research, which we regard of course only as one of the possible modes of approach to the problems.

Trend of Social Sciences To Become Social Organizing Forces

The Marxist idea about the trend of the social sciences to become a direct producer is well known. To become a "direct producer force," however, is possible only in the area of sciences whose results are realized in material products and production procedures. Thus we must take it to mean primarily natural and technical sciences. In the past decade or two, though, there has been a great deal of debate over whether the results of the social sciences may become direct producer forces. If they can, then in what form? We cannot speak of such a form in the case of literature, linguistics, music and similar sciences. Their worth appears in other forms. We must frequently encounter the view that the so-called "hard" social sciences do have this possibility like, for example, economics, sociology, demography, certain branches of psychology, and so forth. The form in which the

become producer forces is attributed to the fact that the research results of the above-mentioned branches of science appear and are made use of in decisions and in the regulation of practical activities. We can agree with this process of thought, but we must modify one essential point.

In my view, we cannot identify the process for utilizing social science results with the process of becoming a direct producer force. The results of these branches of science are not used in material production, and thus they do not become direct material producer forces, rather they exert their effect by becoming a social organizing force in the process of "social production" (I might also say social reproduction). This does not exclude the possibility that the results of social science, combining with the research results of the natural and technical sciences, can also succeed in getting directly into the world of material production. But in the social sciences we must place the main emphasis on the process in which results in the form of "social information" are linked into social production in the broader sense of the word as a social organizing force. In the scientific theoretical literature of the recent past, first hypotheses have appeared on the sciences "becoming a direct social organizing force."

Of course, one can conceive of a point of view which would identify the concept of the social sciences becoming "a social organizing force" with their becoming a "direct producer force." In order to avoid an absence of clarity in theory, however--following the endowments of objective differentiation in sciences and functions--it would be worthwhile in my opinion to differentiate between the concepts of "direct producer force" and "indirect social producer force." Let us leave the first concept for the realization process occurring in material production for the results of natural and technical sciences, and with the second let us mean function occurring when the results of the social sciences are used for social planning in the regulation and control of reproduction processes in various areas of social reality. This is not to speak of the fact that the use of knowledge and methods also exists in indirect forms.

In this article, of course, we shall not extend ourselves to basic research works which primarily serve to expand scientific understanding. At the center of our attention at present is applied research, which must directly serve the social practice of building socialism.

The Functions of the Social Sciences

It is a question in what forms and by what mechanisms the practical utilization is effected of social science results that are ripe for the purpose. To establish the basis of the answer, we must survey our knowledge of the functions of the social sciences. The basic function of social sciences (and in this respect it does not differ from the natural sciences) is cognition. Cognition of social phenomena and processes represents the first and most decisive step in the direction of seeking later to carry out changes in the life of society. The precondition of every kind of purposeful intervention is to know the original, real and internal nature of the objects that we desire to change. Only in possession of the casual relationships will we be capable of setting such goals as will seek to bring the given interrelationships to a new, higher level and a necessary condition.

The cognition of the social processes inevitably goes together with the development of functions that evaluate the sciences studying them. The discovery of casual interrelationships—with the first step—occurs in the form of making judgments of fact. But in society various interests are moving and conflicting. Different life conditions, which are expressed by different--and frequently contradictory—political-ideological-consciousness judgments and conditions, can be found. Since society can never be perfect and complete, no one is ever fully satisfied actually with existing situations and conditions. Great social forces move improvements, and greater perfection should occur in economic, political, social, cultural, and so forth living conditions and possibilities. At the same time, forces that are no smaller oppose, as a result of their interest ties, certain planned social changes.

Therefore the leading organs and bodies of society are raising increasingly higher requirements that specialized experts in the framework of social work distribution should not only form judgments of fact about the phenomena of society they examine, but they should also evaluate these, that is, they should also develop them into value judgments. The judgments of fact regularly made by researchers--as experts, citizens and political beings--regularly include value judgments as well, and even in the selection of their subjects and the making of their hypotheses they go about their work on the basis of values. Thus research is not free of values in any of its phases.

The "critical" function of the social sciences comes about as a result of summing up value judgments. The characteristic of this function amid the relations of socialism is the characteristic that it extends its immanent, inner criticism to the existing situation. For this reason it plays a constructive role in the improvement, development and restructuring of social phenomena nad processes that have lived past their time or are not up to an adequate level. In this way the critical function derives from the cognitive function and leads to the fulfillment of the practical function. The historical development of the functions indicates that in addition to the initial ideological function there is also a development of the function serving sociotechnical and social planning.

Possibilities of the Social Sciences, Its Task in the Service of Practice

At this point I have arrived at the central point of my essay: are the social sciences capable of fulfilling, in addition to their cognitive and critical tasks, also the function of servicing social practice.

Let us review briefly in what forms the social sciences can participate in the reproduction process of the most varied levels of social life and social guidance.

By and large, we can break down these forms to several possibilities of principle and to concrete influence-exerting activities. Of course, the limits among these forms are rather relativ e. The expressions of "service

of the political" or "social practice" do not limit eht utilization of scientific results at the most comprehensive macro-level of society. Policy, however, has the special role of creating those conditions in which even at the lower level of guidance the results of social science research become suitable.

We may mention among the possibilities in principle that the researchers may take on themselves the analysis of various social institutions, give advice to the preparation of the different social programs of the decision makers, take a position in support of planned social changes, directly take part in the making of decisions, and educate with instruction in sciences the representatives in the sphere of practice, politics and decision making. The theoretical and conceptual orientation of the sciences—which assure the scientific understanding of society--can give orientation to politics. Instead of the deliberations that are based on so-called "common sense," they can give the decision makers a general and well-ordered point of view. The social sciences shed light on marco-social conditions; they expose asymmeteries in the realities of various opinions (beliefs); they change ingrained attitudes, modes of thinking both in politics and in public opinion; they can dispel false beliefs; and they can point to the fact that social "events" are not simple but complex.

Among the concrete influence-exerting activities, for example, we can mention the influence on legislation; the effect of development programs on social conditions; the fact that the social sciences afford the representatives of practice new types of information, methods and techniques; they reveal latent (hidden) functions, and the unexpected consequences of a given measures; they develop proposals for the better operation of society and certain of its institutions; they point out the social matrix, interrelations (the context) of a given decision-measure and phenomenon; they critically clarify those preconditions on which policy rests; they make possible the charting and selection of alternatives; they evaluate social action programs, and may evaluate the results of policies; they may study policy itself as a social process; they may perform for policy the functions of persuasion or of participation in actions, and so forth.

Of course, the above-listed influence-exerting forms, the utilization of possibilities, and the functions exist frequently only in principle. In the complicated process between scientific cognition and practical application many contradictory effects and factors emerge. The reason for this is not the lack or the existence of good will on part of the "receiver" but rather objective differences in the interests of the various social groups and work distribution spheres, the interest-determined differences among the social science "proposals," or the multiple meaning of the same concepts in essence. Therefore, we can count only on a certain probability of the utilization of research results.

The question is how to bring together sociopolitical practice and the most varied levels of practice in the decision sphere with social science. The material base for this convergence is latent in the identity of their

differences; in the fact that both spheres are nourished by one and the same social practice. Their theoretical bases and final goals are the same. By virtue of the ideological nature of social science it also has an immanent political substance. But sociopolitical practice, if it does not sink into narrow, daily practicality, builds on the objective laws of society by raising above the particular, and in this it carries in itself the elements and basic requirements of science. All this, however, does not solve automatically anything from the indicated problems. Therefore, let us proceed from the aspect of social sciences in researching the tasks.

The social sciences must participate in the diagnosis of social phenomena, then in their planning and finally in their development. The diagnostic phase is identical with the operation of the traditional cognitive function, and therefore we shall not particularize this sufficiently well-known area of questions. There is a great deal more misunderstanding and lack of clarification around the functions for fulfilling planning and development. On one hand, we must develop a sence of obligation for scientific planning in researchers. On the other hand, we must convince the decision makers that social planning must be "scientific." What does the attributive "scientific" mean here? It means that planning should be rational, comprehensive, deliberative, weighing of alternatives, evaluative of consequences, and ready to use specialized methods and techniques.

In the following we shall emphasize the scientific study of policy from among the tasks of the social sciences according to the views of its cultivators.

Importance of the Scientific Study of Policy

One of the characteristic types of social science research is represented by the approach where researchers investigate policy itself, or they cultivate political science, or participate in the execution of policy. These are indeed possibilities which mean differing roles, but quite common to them is the effort of the researchers to satisfy the following three requirements of principle in their activities that are linked to policy: 1. contextually, their task is to show how every decision is part of a large decision process; 2. in respect to problem orientation, they are called on to come up with goals, trends, conditions, projections, and alternatives; 3. the essence of their diversification requirement is that the methods used should not be limited to a narrow scope but should be extended also to the broader environment of a given problem. These three attributes of principle for the consideration of interrelations, for providing orientation in problems, and for extending methods are indispensable for the research that investigates and studies sociopolitical practice.

We cannot evaluate the role filled by the social sciences in policy until we know more about how the results of scientific work affect practical activity. Of course, researchers are not obligated to know this above, there is no possibility for them to trace these processes. At the same time, within political science research we should urge research tasks

whose results can be used by other researchers in society. It would be well for us to know more about such questions as for example: a) what is the nature of policy as a practical activity; b) what kinds of ideas play a role at all in political decisions (what ideas get there at all); c) what kind of "package" should the final product of intellectual work come in; d) in what kind of ways can researchers take part in politically important work; e) who initiates the relationship and who plays the determining role; f) what kind of role is played by the scientific experts, how does their work come to the decision makers; who is chosen for this kind of role and how; what are the social and ideological values of experts; how should they conceive their work if they want to be useful; g) at what level do the theory, the methods and the knowledge materials of a given branch of science stand in comparison with requirements of a political kind; h) what kind of ideas, values, or what kind of political, economic, historical social and cultural factors influence the decision makers and the decision process?

It presents a great problem that some social scientists do not in reality understand (and of course it is difficult for them to do so) the nature of policy. The consequence of this will be that the concept of the researcher about policy will not be verified by policy. The way in which we conceptualize and carry out our research work projects at present hardly coincides with real requirements. We do not see with sufficient clarity the political features of our own research work and activity, and this is why we suffer so many reverses in social planning.

Therefore, we should see more clearly the more important variable of policy, and how the sciences could contribute to influencing social changes. (In this case the starting and ending points would be represented by the variables of policy and not the variables of science.)

The researcher in society can well serve social planning if--by relying on politological research--he comes to recognize, on one hand, the true nature of political processes; and on the other hand if he only plans and organizes its research methods on their basis. First of all, the nature of the problem must be clarified as it appears in the goals of society's policy. Then establishing the hierarchy of goals follows. And then it is necessary to establish the modes and methods of attaining the goals, taking into account the widest possible scope of their expected consequences. The selection of alternatives can be linked with the evaluation of the social costs. And then follows the information gathering phase. When the political bodies have decided on a series of actions with the use of information, the program evaluation follows, and the linking back of the results into the political process. During this time, they will eliminate unexpected problems and improve the effectiveness of the whole program.

It must be examined where the political model described in the foregoing comes from and how it becomes a part of applied research. What are the conditions under which party and government organs are capable of scientifically based planning? How in practice does the decision-making mechanism operate? How must we study the starting points and our

operations within social science research work in order that we may thereby increase the receptivity of political organs to science? (Of course, in addition to social science results, the decision makers must have technical, ecological, foreign trade and other information in the course of preparing their measures.)

A social scientist who wishes to serve practice, therefore, must be politically oriented. In this connection, he must be able to perceive what is politically possible; what kind of interests are moving in society; that the acceptance of compromises also belongs to the essence of policy; that without the selection of political alternatives, it is not possible to set specific goals since in the absence of basic goals it is not possible to conceive alternatives either; that political power is diffuse and segmented, and therefore frequently rather difficult to identify with the actual decision makers, and as a consequence, policy and decision making does not depend on certain persons but is rather of a cooperative nature; that requirements of rationality and social stability can come in conflict; therefore that in addition to scientific rationality there is also political rationality; and that the final argument is in the hands of the politician; that the scientifically possible or desirable is not certainly so politically; that the social researcher may best hope for his results to be accepted if he also takes into account political possibilities (if, for example, he accepts the principle of gradualism, which derives from the conflict-minimizing function of the political sphere; if he selects the variables of the study in a carefully thought out way; if he recognizes that in the relationship of science and politics, the latter is dominant; if he studies the actual operation of the political process, and so on).

We are given a sense of the objective differences in scientific and political convergence in the following little table; it points out that in respect to goals, problems, basic questions, time, theory, and the final product, differences can be found between these two important social activity forms and institutions:

	Science	Policy
Goal :	to understand society	to act in society
Problem:	born within the scientific branch (by transposition, frequently in reaction to practice)	arises outside of policy, in society
Basic question:	what do we know?	what should we do?
Theory :	it should embrace the largest number of variables	only variables that can be influenced are important
Final Product:	publication of scientific results	practical measures

Therefore, in the knowledge of the nature of policy, social science research, in formulating proposals, will follow not only scientific logic but will also take into account to whom the proposals will be beneficial and to whom harmful; who will finance it; who will introduce it; in what time frame can it be realized; what kind of opposition can be expected and what negative demands need to be counted on.

The scientist who knows the nature of policy will use the categories of policy in the research operation. He will not start with a so-called excessively "big" and "unmanageable" question, and he will not without cause demand big, radical changes. He will study how and in what form the decisions are made. He will take into account what is important to the politicians, the decision makers. He will reckon with the closed nature, the openness, the choice possibilities of the "political area." He will structure his theoretical model in such a way that it will be as simple and strong as possible, that is, controllable and exchangeable, flexible, and with a small number of variables. The demonstrated results should be convincing, particularly if more radical changes are seen as timely. He will develop his proposals in real social time and not in abstract time. In his studies he will not say first of all "what do we know?" but mainly "what must we do?"

The Causes of "Indifference" to Research Results

It is a rather widespread view among scientists that politicians are indifferent to scientific results. This is shown in that many research results are not used by the decision makers. In fact, we cannot idealize the receptivity of the political sphere to science. There are decision makers who regard science only as a prestige symbol: they merely wish to justify, legitimize their decisions with science. Frequently they wait for an automatic solution to problems. Many regard science as important, and still they rarely use scientific knowledge. They only support proposals which are in harmony with their interests and prior--perhaps largely bypassed--organizational and political-ideological values. Sometimes their intellectual background is wanting. At the same time, the practical people complain that in general there is no applicable scientific knowledge. Who is right? Obviously, both situations exist in reality, and there is truth in both positions. I myself am inclined to the view that in the case of results which are regarded as useful by the researchers but are not used by the politicians, these are for the most part, as regarded from the viewpoint of practice, only quasi-useful works --although scientifically varified--because they are not yet ripe for intorudction.

The sphere of decision-preparation and decision making, to be sure, shows receptivity to the outlook of science and moreover to various kinds of measuring techniques and information, but only if these can be fitted into the possibilities of policy and if they have taken into account their ties with policy. Both partners must strive for effective cooperation, but within this cooperation it is primarily social science research that must

adjust more to the nature, requirements and values of policy if it wants its results accepted. The researcher who is serving social practice must not only produce good professional results but must be capable of having these accepted by others, in the given case by the people of practice. This "market research" which takes into account the needs and interests of the "consumers" makes it necessary for the researchers to develop a new type of "convincing" techniques and methods. The institutional-organizational chain still has not been constructed for transforming and using knowledge for decision making.

It would be idealistic to assume that the researcher did his maximum when he became cognizant of something and compiled and published his results in book or monograph. It is hardly conceivable that these results--without the researcher taking a single step on its behalf--will by themselves circulate and penetrate with suggestive power into the brains of the decision maker and become the means for the scientific founding of social institutions. Of course, I am not speaking now of that form of basic research where the goal is nothing more than the understanding and description of some kind of phenomenon. In this essay I am speaking of that form of research which is directed at social practice which we may call either applied or goal-oriented. In the case of the latter kind, the researcher must proceed primarily from the needs and interests of the "consumer," the employer. If he does not do this, he surrenders the transfer process which extends from scientific cognition to practical application. Despite the best of efforts, the paradoxical situation may arise that certain procedural requirements of science may make the practical acceptance of the results more difficult. For example, models which serve many goals are unnecessarily complicated for the needs of decision making; nor is there frequent need for excessively fine methods of measurement; the formalized languages of science (mathematical equations, formulas, complicated specialized terminology, and so forth) make understanding more difficult; the overparticularization of certain results is superfluous for the decision maker who is curious about the larger interrelationships; proposals which are otherwise of an expert nature do not reckon with political relations, and so forth.

When I emphasize the importance of policy and of taking it into account from the viewpoint of social practice, I am of course not thinking of some kind of uncritical and servile compliance. The scientist must not uncritically accept the views of the one who places the order; he cannot permit him to intervene in the research operations; he must protest if he is not given the time for well-grounded work; he must consider that the one who orders does not always know what he wants; he must not put his blessing on erroneous or mistaken practical measures; he cannot accept arbitrary limits set by the decision maker; he cannot take into his work the preconceptions of the politician, the one who orders. From all this we can draw the conclusion that although it is important to perfect knowledge directed at action, it is still impermissible to give up the cultivation of knowledge directed at action, it is still impermissible to give up the cultivation of knowledge for the sake of understanding. In most cases, scientific cognition must maintain its relative autonomy vis-a-vis

political and practical action being relaized over the short term. This may also guarantee that science will not be used for goals of practicality or perhaps manipulation. Only in this way can the scientist remain loyal to serving the long term goals of social planning, and only in ths way can it extend help in the solution of acute problems.

The Limitation of Isolated Scientific Branch Cognition

We must still inspect a very big problem among the impediments to the practical utilization of research results. The essence is that the partial results of the social sciences are isolated from one another whereas social problems are complex. The separation of scientific branches also divides results from one another. Therefore, the political sphere, or the decision maker, frequently does not know what to do with a given research report, because it does not make evident the relationship with other areas and processes of social life. Practical synthesis is, first of all, the task of the political sphere, but it will be able to do this only if the "free valences" or "receptors" of the links between the scientific results as discovered by the social sciences are available to political practice. The scientific branch (discipline) outlook puts its stamp to a decisive degree on the social sciences. Frequently, we leave out of account the historical, political and social contexts. Our research work, therefore, has a scientific branch character to a decisive degree. Our research operations, steps derive from sociology, economics, historical science, and so forth, as from disciplines, even when we would like to do research work that is useful in practice. But because of their isolated and partial character, the disciplinary results do not meet the demands of total reality. The scientific branch approach can come closer to the requirements of totality if research moves from theory to method and then proceeds toward political relations.

Research should start our from previously defined social problem areas and arrive at those methods and results which put the political problem at a higher level. In an outlook and activity that relies exclusively on the scientific branch, the application of methods occurs in the same way as in any "basic" or "nonapplied" research. The final product is "taken home" to the discipline, and it is not even visible to the politicians that a new knowledge was born. If we looked at matters from the perspective of policy a) we would have to change the sequence and nature of research methods and activities, since in this case the goal is to adapt methods to the problems. The problems, however, can and do have many relations and variables which fall outside the horizon of the scientific branch or science "as a whole." The emphasis, therefore, falls on the adaptation of the problem to the method; b) in such a case the final product should become public property and not intellectual private property. Then policy could use the new knowledge for applied goals, and the researcher can and could use them for further specialized scientific and theoretical goals.

If we were to study the fate of social science results in an empirical way, we would find that the so-called "applied research works"--even though they reveal worthwhile results--rarely contain proposals for policy that

applicable in practice. And even if such recommendations are made, they are not applied because policy does not regard them as realistic or they do not even pass into policy's "field of vision." As I have mentioned, the causes of this syndrome are latent on one hand in the sciences and on the other hand in policy. The receptivity of policy to science is also conditioned by variables which fall outside the horizon and scope of the powers of science. At the same time, social life has to be regulated and guided by taking into account many variables which fall outside rationality points of view of the individual specialized sciences.

On the New, Application-Oriented Social Science Research

When we seek to use available scientific knowledge and methods for practical goals, we are speaking of that type of cognition where we want to create knowledge from the start for political-practical considerations. Then the political and practical points of view are built organically into the process of knowledge production. But knowledge production with a scientific branch outlook is born without political considerations. In such a case, we start studying the knowledge only after its "creation": how we might "plant" knowledge produced independently of the political context into the political, social environment, and use it there.

The latter approach undoubtedly contributes to specialized science cognition, but at the same time the chances are slim that it will be used for social planning. The first type of knowledge production, on the other hand, strives directly for political and practical use. In this way, their application chances have increased, but at the same time from the specialized scientific point of view it will not be comprehensive or demonstrated. That is, science must pay a "price" for the direct service of policy and practice as there is also a "price" if research seeks development of the discipline as its goal. Then its practical use will become mediated and potential to such an extent, that in the extreme case, none of its results will pass into social practice.

We have to decide what kind of function we want results to fulfill. In all certaintly, both types of knowledge production have use value: in the first case, science itself develops directly, and in the second policy and social practice receive direct help. Of course, the scientific type of cognition can also exercise an effect on social planning in mediated forms and over the long term. Social needs may also raise problems of such a nature that the theoretical answer will enrich scientific cognition.

In the future, we shall have to concentrate our attention more on that type of cognition and its function which is directed at social practice and policy and not merely at the self-development of discipline. In my view, this type of cognition has not yet adequately achieved its right to existence in Hungarian social science. But let us add that the right to live of both types cannot be disputed. The resolution of their contradictions, in our opinion, is possible through an effort to shape their ratios taking into consideration the needs of society. To avoid misunderstanding, I would like to emphasize that the differentiation I have made does not coincide with the division of basic and applied research that is in use among us.

Thus in my opinion cognitive activity, according to its direction, may be oriented on one hand toward policy, or practice, and on the other hand toward a scientific branch. In the first case, cognition has functions in the direct development of social planning and indirect function in the development of the scientific branch. I would, in fact, call this applied research since it proceeds from practical problems. (In contrast, research which is now termed as "applied" is only "quasi" or "apparent applied" inasmuch as research which is started from the level of a given science can rarely arrive at practice.) We may use the term basic research, on the other hand, when function is directly for the development of the scientific branch. Potentially, this kind of cognition and knowledge may be used in time—with strong mediation, it is possible—in the practice of social planning.

Social science cognition already has a role, of course, in sociopolitical decision. Such, for example, was the role of economics in the reform of the economic mechanism introduced in 1968. The sociological research works and analyses which were made on the life style and the transformation of the village social structure--which were initiatied by the Central Committee Agitation and Propaganda Committee--filled a similar role. At present also it is on a similar recommendation by the party that a study plan on innovative and adaptational readiness of our society is being constructed and coordinated by the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The drafting of the practical requirements and thereupon these useful mechanisms of theoretical answers have been developed since the 1969 publication of science policy guidelines. At the same time, we are still nowhere near where the social sciences will influence to any great extent decisions for regulating social reproduction. Obviously, there never will be such a comprehensive social decision which will be based exclusively on scientific deliberations, but we must correct the "priorities" of the present situation.

Nowadays there is a real social need for scientific results. In all certainty we will be able sooner or later to satisfy these needs in a demanding way. These reflections were written with a desire to contribute to this with observations on the possible and necessary convergence of sociopolitical decisions and social science research. This convergence is at the same time a way to make the social sciences a social organizing force, without which the possibilities are very limited also for the natural and technical sciences to become direct producer forces. Only a leadership system which integrates the social sciences can develop the political and production relatins in such a way that they will be favorable for an economic development nourished on sciences that have become producer forces.

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WIESLAW GORNICKI INTERVIEWED BY SERBO-CROATIAN JOURNALIST

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[Interview with Maj Wieslaw Gornicki by Zoran Petrovic-Pirocanac in Warsaw: "The Political Confession of Wieslaw Gornicki"; date not specified]

> [Text] Maj Wieslaw Gornicki is the only man through whose mouth Gen Jaruzelski, the Polish prime minister, speaks unofficially with the world: one might say that he gives the general's interviews. How did he consent to take this job? How does he assess his boss? How does he look upon the "Grunwald" organization which he accuses of anti-Semitism?

There is no way to get to see Gen Jaruzelski in Warsaw. He is unwavering in his decision not to give interviews to anyone at all. Among the slightly more than 100 newsmen from all over the world who are in Poland at the moment, certainly a majority would like to interview the general. The Americans most of all, but Jaruzelski does not want to speak. In this he is similar, they say, to the late and very popular Cardinal Wyszynski, one of whose principles was to never talk with newsmen.

Jaruzelski has chosen a man who will speak on his behalf for the world public. Wieslaw Gornicki (51), newsman, author of many books, world traveler and reporter, a correspondent in the United States for many years.

Slender, wearing thick glasses, beginning to go bald. A man who likes to show off his knowledge of the West, of the life there, of the pattern of thought, a man who knows how to charm the person he is talking to. A man who at any moment can call upon many American sayings, a man who knows how to disparage the West in Western terms. It is Gornicki's duty--I got the impression during the interview--to put himself entirely at the service of his fellow journalists from abroad. Later he would go into the street from the INTERPRESS building without a word so that Jasmin Krpan could take a few more pictures of him.

Here is how the conversation went between Wieslaw Gornicki and me.

[Question] You have just been promoted to the rank of major. To what do you accredit such rapid advancement? I assume that you would have waited for that considerably longer in a normal situation.

Gornicki: I am a reserve officer. For years I have held the rank of lieutenant, and on 13 December 1981, as you know, I was mobilized. With that rank one automatically obtains a higher military rank in wartime. If that had not happened, of course, I would have waited 4 years for promotion. And in view of the post I hold, I certainly could not have a lower rank. But I am not a professional soldier. When I receive the order to return to civilian life, I will do so.

[Question] Much is being said these days about how they are preparing you to replace the minister Jerzy Urban in the near future as the spokesman of the government, while he would be reassigned to the post of editor in chief of the weekly POLITYKA, which is now being run by Vice Premier Rakowski.

Gornicki (laughs): That is an obvious falsehood. I must tell you that there have been a great many such "pieces of news" about me recently. It is also said that they want to make me a new head of PAP [Polish Press Agency], and then the director of television, and so on. That is a falsehood, and I will not leave this post.

[Question] Nevertheless, marshal law is in effect in Poland, and among other things that means that nothing depends on whether or not you want to leave that post and go to another one. What if you are ordered to be the spokesman of the government instead of Urban?

Gornicki: If I get that post? That is impossible! Urban is there, and he is a very able man, an excellent organizer. I am not referring merely to his excellent sense of humor, but also to the fact that he is very painstaking....

[Question] Let us go back to your present job. Can you describe to me your typical workday?

Gornicki: My workday begins at 1000 hours, and it ends at best at 2300 hours. Over the last 11 days, I have figured out, I have lost 100 hours of sleep. There is something else I can tell you that the foreign newsmen do not know. My boss has a character and habits of his own. He almost never sleeps. His favorite time to work is between 0200 and 0400 hours. As for me, I have two functions. First, I am an adviser to Gen Jaruzelski, but not for press affairs, as is usually thought, but I am simply an adviser. My other function is to maintain liaison with the government press center (since the introduction of marshal law INTERPRESS, author's note). My time, then, is for all practical purposes divided into three parts: reflection, writing and discussion. The discussion is with my colleagues, foreign newsmen. There is no need to tell me that in these activities the least time is left in the day for reflection. I also try to prepare for my boss all the materials so that I might make it possible for him to extricate himself a bit from ordinary daily affairs. I see him daily, which is quite normal. I must say that Gen Jaruzelski has introduced many new things into Poland's political life. One was to create the posts of his advisers. I am not the only adviser; there are also economic advisers. In addition, there is now the office of the secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee, which is concerned with the problems of the party. And there are military advisers as well. Gen Jaruzelski is very modern in that respect. He has organized that staff service in a modern way.

[Question] But he is not modern, it seems, in that he grants no interviews at all....

Gornicki: That is right. So far the general has granted only one interview. One and only one, which was presented simultaneously for Poland and for abroad. That was in October last year, for the American TV network PBS.

[Question] I will make use of yet another rumor to help me to put the next question. I have been told that you are a Jew, but well-informed people have also said that that is not so. The so-called "Jewish problem" has become topical again over the last 15 months. One piece of evidence to support this is the existence of the "Grunwald" organization, which does not have exactly a good opinion about the Jews.

Gornicki: I am glad you asked me that and that you were so direct. I would like to clear up that matter altogether. As for my origin, I really thought that that question had been laid to rest in 1968 once and for all. I have not heard about this for 12 years now. As for "Grunwald," I have the worst possible opinion of it. You can quote this verbatim: I am unequivocal. That organization is made up of people who are mentally unbalanced, and that is the mildest way it can be put. These are people whose views date from 1890. But they should not be underestimated. Nevertheless, the very fact that "Grunwald" exists--is not to our credit. This entire so-called "Jewish problem" is based on the fact that many people still see the Jews, including the polonized Jews, as in some way the cause of our trouble. That is an incurable malady. Do you know why? Simply because there are no Jews. But it should also be said that the right wing of Solidarity, headed by Mr Jurczyk of Szczecin, did everything to promote the revival of anti-Semitism in Poland. For example, on 12 November he publicly stated "that Poland is not being run by Poles, but by Russian Jews with Polish names." That is a stupid and wretched opinion, and it angers the Polish people.

[Question] Does Gen Jaruzelski hold a similar opinion concerning anti-Semitism?

Gornicki: Gen Jaruzelski hates anti-Semites. He despises them. I cannot speak about what he thinks in general about certain matters, but this is something which I can state with confidence.

[Question] Since the introduction of marshal law the activity of many organizations has been frozen. Yesterday, however, "Grunwald" had its first "summit meeting" since back to 13 December 1981. Which means that it can operate publicly?

Gornicki: I feel an aversion toward fanatic nationalists and anti-Semites. I will attempt to simplify the problem a bit more. Within "Grunwald" there are also a certain number of participants in the resistance movement, war veterans; some of them are also members of the organization ZBOWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy]. There are people there whose mentality is petrified in notions about the glory of the homeland. They even have their motto written on an Uhlan (cavalry) saber. These are people, some of whom

fought bravely in the war, in both wars, who have to be reckoned with. Nevertheless, I think that "Grunwald" is not really a big problem in the country.

[Question] You said that you work from 1000 to 2300 hours. What is your monthly income?

Gornicki: Let me explain that my salary as a commentator is 7,100 zlotys. Actually I earn threefold more than that, if we count fees from radio and television. In addition, I am the author of 14 books. My average monthly income was 23,000 zlotys. At the moment I earn 14,100 zlotys, and not a fraction more. I do not have the time to finish my new book, which has been nearly finished for months now.

[Question] Will that new book be related in subject matter to your many trips throughout the world, to the journalistic pieces you have been well known for in Poland?

Gornicki: To tell you truth: a year ago I had already reached the point of being sick of journalism. Yet I had to earn a living, and I resorted to a pseudonym in signing the book. Thus I published a book whose cover price was 40 zlotys, but cost as much as 850 zlotys on the black market. This is something like a Polish Ian Fleming.

[Question] As a newsman you wrote journalistic accounts from everywhere in the world. By and large they were strictly political in nature. You were regarded in Poland as a "franc-tireur." All of a sudden, after 13 December, you emerged in the role of an adviser to Gen Jaruzelski. You must admit, after all, that this was a radical and shocking change of direction in a man's life....

Gornicki: What you say is true. I was a journalist until last October. That is the balance after 32 years of journalism and--I simply got sick of it all. I lost confidence in the written word, in the capability of words to change anything. Aside from that, it is well known that most newsmen who write about politics enter a phase at some point when they themselves want to engage in politics. I am not doing that. You have such examples even in Yugoslavia, and numerous politicians have come from the ranks of one-time journalists. Recently someone said maliciously of the Polish Government that it is a government of former newsmen and generals. To tell the truth, there are now three of us in the government: Mieczyslaw Rakowski as vice premier, Jerzy Urban as spokesman, and I. I have still another explanation for my new job, one more reason: Journalism as a formula is becoming passe all of a sudden. I realize that. That is why I have been involved in other things. For example, in Gdynia, near Gdansk (also well known for shipbuilding, Z. P.), they are now putting on my musical in a theater. It is an excellent thing, not because I wrote it, but because the composer was exceptional. The tickets are sold out into July, and I would gladly invite you to a performance if you had more time. There is one scene in that musical which I am sure would please Yugoslavs particularly. It takes place in the United Nations. There is a session under way which is debating the problems of disarmament. All the representatives of the countries in the world are at their wit's end: They do

not know what to do. Two ambassadors are an exception. One represents the country Computeria; he is 197 cm tall and blond. The other is a representative of the Voluntary Union, he is only 160 cm tall, rumpled, poorly dressed. They are the only ones who carry on the dialogue. The search for new ways of expression, the writing of film scenarios and the like, would not take me far, since I think that I have no marked talent for that. It interests me more to operate in a field in which I am more competent.

[Question] The West European mass media, beginning 13 December 1981, have struck fierce blows against WRON [Military Council for National Salvation]. It has somehow happened that your photographs, taken from the TV screen, have become a symbol of marshal law, that is, a negative symbol. Are you aware of that?

Gornicki: It is certain that I do not bear the principal "blame" for that. As far as such treatment goes, I have been attacked from all sides all my life. My most cherished client, my favorite attacker, dating back to 1954, is Radio Free Europe. I have also been attacked in Poland itself. I can cite you two attackers: the people in "Grunwald" and the Polish weekly TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. This is a Catholic newspaper. Aside from that, I have never been a favorite among my colleagues either: They did not like me particularly. I think the main reason for that was my habit of always saying everything that I really think. It even went so far as my being thrown out of an editorial office last year by newsmen who belonged to Solidarity. What can I say: We have to get used to everything. I appreciate the tactfulness with which you put that question. One Danish newspaper, for example, honored me with the expression: Gornicki is a Polish Goebbels. One has to get used even to that. At this point I will quote Gen Jaruzelski to you. At the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee he quoted Tadeusz Kosciuszko, leader of the uprising at the end of the 18th century: "At times the situation is such that one must sacrifice much in order to rescue everything." That also applies to me; I also adhere to that. Without any beating about the bush I can tell you: were I to suspect the decisions of the government, were I not to believe in its policy, I would leave that very moment. I have done something of the kind in my life twice already: in 1957 and 1967.

[Question] The public is well aware that you have been an intimate friend of Mieczyslaw Rakowski for a number of years now. Does he deserve some of the credit for your now being an adviser to Gen Jaruzelski? If Rakowski was not involved, then who did recommend you?

Gornicki: It is true that we are close friends. We have known each other for all of 7 years now. We are very fond of one another and respect one another. It is true that Rakowski was the man who suggested this post to me. Our positions on most things are always almost identical. The only thing I have against him in the recent past is that he granted an interview to Oriani Fallaci (laughs).

[Question] Probably you have talked about that as old friends. Did you criticize him for that interview?

Gornicki: We have not yet had occasion to meet and talk. Quite recently there have been several important political events: I traveled to Moscow with Gen Jaruzelski, while Rakowski was in Cuba.

[Question] There are many people holding positions in Poland who were born in rich aristocratic families or come from the families of prewar intellectuals. Gen Jaruzelski himself, for example, comes from a rich family of landowners. Is your family line also like that?

Gornicki: No. I can tell you that I come from a very poor worker family. Up to the age of 14 I was not even able to speak Polish properly. That is, I spoke the slang of the suburbs.

[Question] I would like to hear your frank opinion about the so-called party nomenklatura. Over the last 1.5 years the working class has also reacted because of deformations arising out of the way in which the top level of the party functioned. The party rank and file has been especially sensitive to those manifestations, feeling that that first team of the party was the cause of the social crisis. What, then, do you think about the so-called nomenklatura, or about the members of the party establishment?

Gornicki: A so-called nomenklatura exists everywhere in the world, in all systems. Its existence is not in and of itself a problem. The problem lies in who is on that nomenklatura. For example, if it includes a specialist with a university degree in political science, that is better than if the nomenklatura includes only sons of owners of large American concerns. It is obviously bad for people to get on the nomenklatura in Poland because of personal connections rather than because of personal abilities.... I am today convinced that the new head of the personnel department in the PZPR Central Committee, Gen Dziekan, will reform the nomenklatura so that we will not have to be ashamed of it or fear it. Let me clarify this: I personally am not on the nomenklatura, nor do I need that. I also think that you have a poor understanding of the problem. The nomenklatura means a list of cadres in the country, and that comprises 150 percent [sic] of the responsible leaders in Poland. This nomenklatura must exist and function. I am even in favor of its extension. The question is who will be on it? To make it simple for you, this is a cadre pool.

[Question] The polemics between the Communist Party of Italy and the CPSU has aroused the world working class movement. Poland was the reason for this fierce ideological confrontation which is nevertheless waning today....

Gornicki: I have expressed my opinion this January in Copenhagen. I am a member of the World Peace Congress. At the beginning of our January meeting I had harsh words to say about the polemics between the two parties. I think that matters stand this way with the Italian comrades: The opinion they are expressing is such that there can be no discussion of it. The Americans have a saying: No one can be against motherhood and peace. Everyone everywhere wants democracy, freedoms.... I would like for the Italian comrades to hear Jurczyk, the Solidarity leader in Szczecin, when he talks about the people who should be hanged.

[Question] The instigators of a crime in a Warsaw streetcar, in which a policeman was killed, have been arrested. The crime was committed by a 16-year-old boy. What do you think about this?

Gornicki: I know nothing about it. I cannot say anything, that doesn't interest me. If that is the case, I think that it truly was only an incident, and that it has no political importance whatsoever.

[Question] John Paul II was supposed to make another visit to his homeland this year. Marshal law is in effect, and it seems that Gen Jaruzelski will not abolish it soon. This greatly complicates the pope's coming. You are certainly a person who could say whether or not that important visit will take place.

Gornicki: As I was coming to work today, I read on the wall of a church in my neighborhood that the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Black Madonna will last until August 1983. In other words, that is not something we invented. The invitation we sent has not yet been answered. The pope will himself decide when he will visit Poland. It is a question of a celebration which will last a year, and that fact indicates the circumstance that the pope himself is choosing the most suitable moment. (Looks at his watch.) I must go now, but I will tell you that this is the first interview during which I have not been bored.

7045
CSO: 2800/381

INTERVIEW WITH CHAIRMAN OF 'GRUNWALD' ORGANIZATION NOTED

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 345, 10 Apr 82 pp 34-35, 51

[Interview with Bogdan Poreba, film director and leader of the Polish "Grunwald Patriotic Association," by Zoran Petrovic-Pirocanac in Warsaw: "The Political Confession of Bogdan Poreba"; date not specified]

> [Text] Film director Bogdan Poreba is the leader of the Polish "Grunwald Patriotic Assocition," an organization accused of nationalism and anti-Semitism. Why has Solidarity been attacking his association from the outset? Why does he feel that its program is not anti-Semitic and nationalistic?

Even today many Poles do not have a clear idea of what kind of forces stand behind the name "Grunwald Patriotic Association" or about exactly what that organization's aim is. "Grunwald" began to be talked about in March 1981 during the culmination of one of the numerous crises in relations between Solidarity and the Polish Government. Even from that moment the "Patriotic Association" emerged as a fierce opponent of independent and self-managing trade unions.

Those well-versed in Polish events have always warned about ties between "Grunwald" and the current in the PZPR gathered around the "Warsaw" group, the ideological articulator of the dogmatic current in the party.

In its activity "Grunwald" has pushed its "strong trumps" such as advocating the course of suppressing the Polish worker movement that emerged after the signing of the Gdansk Accords.

The members of "Grunwald" often use the term "bridge." They see their role, among other things, in establishing ties with the church; they even see themselves as intermediaries between the church and state.

The mysterious Gen Mieczyslaw Moczar is numbered among those political figures who harbor no sympathy for "Grunwald." The president of ZBOWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] held the post of minister of internal affairs in 1968, and that is the time of the anti-Semitic euphoria, when thousands of Poles of Jewish origin left the country. Anti-Semitism has escalated

several times in postwar Polish history, and it is "Grunwald" that many people accuse for the most recent such events.

The organization took its title from the name of the place near which the Polish king Wladyslaw II defeated the Teutons in 1410 and thereby made it possible for the Jagiellos to expand their state, which was to encompass the zone from the Baltic to the Black [original reads "Red"] Sea. The organization has always extolled Polish history to the skies and actually sees this image of extreme nationalism as one of its most useful weapons in consolidating Polish society, wounded and disunited by crisis in recent years.

Be it also said that there are no reliable data on the number of members or makeup of the membership of "Grunwald," but it can be confidently said that it has brought together a wide range of political orientations reconciled and unified by a fervent nationalism, so that room has been found in it for Catholics, for communists, for a portion of the intelligentsia, and for war veterans.

The founders of the "Grunwald Patriotic Association" certainly could not have chosen a more suitable person to head their organization than Bogdan Poreba. He is considered to be one of the good Polish film directors. His work is mainly made up of films which are markedly patriotic in character. His well-known films are "Polonia Restituta" and "Polonia Rediviva." He is working at the moment on a new patriotic film project. His deputy is also a well-known cultural figure, the actor Richard Filipski. Filipski even tried his hand at directing once, with the film "Zamach stanu" ("Coup d'etat"). This is the story of the putsch by Marshal Pilsudski on 12 May 1926. Those who are very familiar with Polish history have tried to persuade me that Pilsudski's putsch (which in 1926 won the support of the Polish Left) had many features of the maneuver executed by Gen Jaruzelski on 13 December 1981.

At INTERPRESS in Warsaw I insisted that they arrange an interview with Poreba for me. Some of the malicious natives had assured me that this would not be difficult and that "Poreba also has the duty to make as many statements as possible to foreign and domestic newsmen, just like Gornicki." Nevertheless, I did manage to meet him, after the third attempt, in the offices of INTERPRESS, on Victory Square.

[Question] Over this past year there has been quite a bit of talk about your organization, but "Grunwald" has still remained mysterious and rather vague to the general public. Perhaps, then, we might begin with its "identity card"....

Poreba: It is true that no one in Poland is sufficiently familiar with "Grunwald." The situation in the mass media has in this past period been such that not a word of ours, not an interview, has been able to get through to public opinion. They have simply closed off all possibilities. The idea of the Patriotic Association dates back to 1956, but realization of the idea was not allowed at that time: It was said to be nationalistic. Last year, on 8 March, we held a meeting of our members and at the same time arranged commemorative ceremonies for the victims of Stalinism, all those who were victims of unlawful torture and unjust death sentences. The ceremonies were held in the

offices of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Patriotic Association is very diverse in its membership. There are Catholics and party members and war veterans. Anyone may join who wants to realize the goals of the organization which have been mentioned. We are unceasingly repeating one and the same thing: The most important thing to the Poles is the Polish state. Our ancestors fought for the state, and we have also fought. For all of 123 years we have been under the Russians, the Germans and the Austrians. We have paid a high price for that and today we want that state to be ours. It should and must be defended.

[Question] You are criticized for excessive expression of nationalism, excessive emphasis on national history. What do you hope to achieve by that?

Poreba: In Poland's history, especially over the last 50 years, there are many dark passages which need to be elucidated. "Grunwald" sees this as its principal role. Our organization is fighting for the truth, for authentic Polish political thought, which already has a long tradition and which is not sufficiently known. We are unceasingly advocating a fight for Polish history. Our organization came into being in precisely the period when Poland was beginning to burn and when it declared itself in favor of democratization of society, of renewal. You know, it is an old rule: A people which knows its own history does not allow itself to be manipulated. Never. Goebbels once said: You kill a people if you kill its history. So, if you do not know what happened in your history, be it good or bad, you cannot move on to the future. You are like a man with amnesia.

[Question] The patriotism which "Grunwald" advocates takes a dim view of cosmopolitanism, which indeed your members do not hide....

Poreba: The Patriotic Association's war against cosmopolitanism is very important to me personally. The issue is clear: How can I love the world more than my own country? You cannot love people and not love your own mother. The only sincere man is one who is fighting for his country, but in so doing also understands others who have that same sentiment for their own country. Now, this must not be realized at the expense of others. Cosmopolitanism in Poland is a weapon for shattering Polish patriotism. Patriotism in this context is for us a notion of true love, while nationalism is sick. It is nationalism which follows the logic: I love what is mine, but at the expense of others. All men are equal to me, and every one has an inalienable right to love what is his.

[Question] We hear that one of the most serious charges against "Grunwald" is anti-Semitism....

Poreba: Those are out-and-out stupidities and insinuations. For example, I have just mentioned our commemoration of the victims of Stalinism in March 1981. After that event the newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY attacked us for anti-Semitism. Yet we only called attention to those who were killing Polish officers after the war. All those who signed their names to that attack were actually Stalinists. Those are people who were once in the government, who are today out of office, mainly retired, but still very active. They have their people in various institutions, in the newspapers.

[Question] You talk of Liberals and are obviously referring to the intellectuals gathered around Solidarity. According to you, all of them, or a majority, are former Stalinists?

Poreba: I could list for you many such examples along with many details from their biographies which say enough in and of themselves. For example: Adam Michnik. He is young, and I admit that he cannot be held accountable for his parents. Nevertheless, his father was one of the principal fencers after the war. His brother's name is Swedowicz, he lives in Sweden. Their true family name is Szelter. His father changed his last name to Michnik. Back in the fifties Swedowicz worked in a court in which the parties did not have counsel. This was an army court, referred to as the Kapturowy sad, a kind of inquisition. We know that he was 21 at the time, but he condemned people to death in a military uniform. Or, if you carefully examine the list of KOR [Committee for the Defense of the Worker] you would see that the bulk of them are former Stalinists. All of 90 percent of those in KOR are those who caused the commotion in 1976. Or, yet another example: Jerzy Andrzejwski. He is considered a great writer, and even I think he is a good one. But in 1952 he wrote a book in which he literally organized Jewish ideas into a system and fervently advocated socialist realism. When a man does that, he ought to say out of common honesty: "Yes, I did do that, but now I am of a different opinion." He has never done that. There was a man working as secretary in Tygodnik Solidarnosc who in the Stalinist period held a post in the high political command. His name was Artur Hajricz. How is one to believe in the honorable intentions of such a man? It is characters like that who have caused so much trouble and disunited our people. And what is one to say about the great Liberal Karol Malcuzynski, the newsman who in 1950 wrote the book "Behind Him/It They Set Fire to Warsaw," in which he speaks about the 1944 Warsaw Uprising. The author asserted in the book that every command position among the rebels was held by Gestapo people. Actually, this was written in a time when there was a need to demonstrate at all costs that all the participants in the uprising were Anglo-American or Nazi spies.

[Question] I have it on good authority that the people in Solidarity are by no means well disposed toward you and that you in "Grunwald" have also been opponents of the new trade unions?

Poreba: That is not so. We in "Grunwald" are in favor of worker association and solidarity, but we knew that Solidarity was using those former Stalinists as an instrument for taking power, as a tool of forces which do not have honorable intentions. And those are the Americans, the Germans and Israel. There also existed in Solidarity an internal reaction, and it was operating in the other direction. I think that even the workers themselves would sooner or later rise up against them. The agitation of those forces consisted of the effort to create a mythology around those sinister people from the time of Stalin, those who today have only turned their coats inside out.

[Question] What is the function of your newspaper RZECZYWISTOSC (REALITY), and for whom is it actually intended?

Poreba: RZECZYWISTOSC is not our newspaper; I must first clear that up for you. This is a party paper, though a persistent effort is made to pass it off to the public as ours. The "Grunwald Patriotic Association" ought to have its own paper; that is a condition for the normal operation of our organization. We would also like to publish our own books. On 24 December of last year our journal devoted to history and tradition was actually supposed to appear, but the introduction of marshal law postponed all that. Yet we hope that we will soon manage to publish that journal.

[Question] Does "Grunwald" have any vision of ways of emerging from this most serious of Polish society's postwar crises?

Poreba: To answer that question I must mention the fifties in Poland, the period which I call odchylenie prawicowo nacionalne (national turn to the right). Gomulka was at that time in prison, Cardinal Wyszynski as well. This is the period when the Polish communists, who in the war were with the people and had a clear national program, left the true road. That is when even the so-called pro-Tito orientation was subjected to a pogrom. Police totalitarianism began. In "Grunwald" there are many of those who were in prison at that time. Later, when a judgment was rendered concerning that orientation, those who were most to blame shouted: That was done by those others! And they themselves simply changed into Liberals, turned their coats inside out. Those forces have pursued the same goal even from that time: undermining Poland. Even today the most numerous among them are those who would even like to see a civil war here, who do not take international considerations into account and who are constantly involved in manipulation. A stop has to be put to that, and we ourselves will see to achievement of a large portion of Solidarity's demands. Cardinal Wyszynski was himself opposed to breaking up Solidarity and said that he "wanted Solidarity to be Poland." If we carry out the Gdansk Accords in peace, we will become one of the modern states in Europe. We would at the same time be a socialist and democratic country. We would be a bridge between East and West.

7045
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ASPIRATIONS OF YOUNG WORKERS CONSIDERED

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish No 3, 18 Apr 82, pp 3, 16

[Article by Ludwik Luzynski, "Where Are They and What Do They Want?"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

> [Text] /Until recently there was still a great deal of noise about them. They moved within the aureole of those who had accomplished the August events, they were dominant in the strike committees, albeit somewhat more rarely on the negotiating committees, they created the strike guards, and they passed judgment without hestiation upon the suitability of this or that representative of the authorities. In short, they were the subject of those times. At least, that is what was said about them, and a considerable portion of them were piously convinced of this./

Bewitched by the mission which their dramatic development of the history of People's Poland presented them, they failed to perceive that with each passing day their role was becoming markedly smaller. Apparently, everything from August to December seemed to occur spontaneously and naturally, but, beginning some time around the Bydgoszcz events, at first discreetly and then without any camoflage, the core of steering and disposition took control of the movement. Not many perceive this subtle difference, although the period preceding the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR, as well as its debates, have inclined many to reflect on these matters. There have been, to be sure, only a few defections from Solidarity--resignations from functional positions along with criticism of the leaders. A definite majority has continued to remain faithful to the principles inscribed on the strike banners during the summer of 1980, believing limitlessly in the Union leadership, that the struggle deals with nothing more than specifically implementing those principles to the end. If a certain action is distinctly political in nature, then it is interpreted as being in the higher cause of Union interests. It was also in the name of these Union interests that there began the creation of the sections of the workers' guard--where the young workers again had occasion to convince themselves that they had obtained the opportunity to become the defenders of the honor of the workers' cause. What could confront them, what kind of

goal were they pursuing to the end, and to what could they be exposed? But they could no longer know this, for this was within the domains of the gentlemen engaged in discussions in the salons which had blossomed in Warsaw, Gdansk, and Krakow. And they were no longer being invited there.

Subsequently 13 December occurred. Yes, that was a shock for society, for many all the more so in that they had been strongly convinced that the changes which had been initiated in the country during the summer were simply inevitable, for in the opposite case sooner or later we could anticipate a national tragedy, or, in the best case, we would be treated as middlemen. It is precisely among these persons that the young workers have found themselves. As soon as the very next day after 13 December, some of them undertook attempts to strike, and again a portion of them was convinced that this was necessary for the sake of higher goals. They did not admit that, in order to safeguard the fundamental interests of the state and the system, the authorities have had to have recourse to unavoidable means.

The individual consequences are well known. However, we do not know to a sufficient degree what is happening throughout their entire midst. At first glance they seem to have been thunderstruck. One sees them at their places of employment or meets them on the street, but these are not the same as we remember. In contrast to students and secondary-school pupils they have not been enticed by a conspiracy, and there are fewer of them than usual in the party or the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth].

Let us try to reach the reasons for this. For a considerable portion of them the raising of prices turned out to be like a bucket of icewater, despite the compensatory aspects of its results, the relatively well-to-do social groups have maintained themselves with difficulty. But what do the young people have to say about this? To be sure, at the suggestion of the ZSMP, the government has raised the ceiling on credits for young married couples, its principles have been modified, and an unavoidable number of items has been put under such credit, but, on the other hand, not all young people are young marrieds. Their percentage would be higher if there were more housing. Weakened by the strikes, the shaky economy does not often provide the chances for better wages. And so one must rack one's brains in order to go out on one's own, all the more so if there are one or two small, crying children, and, at any rate, it costs a great deal of money just to rent some very modest-sized rooms.

A significant part of them expects a great deal from Solidarity, reckoning that only in its ranks and under its banners can one truly struggle for Poland. All the more so in that legends and myths have already sprung up, and these, as is well known, can maintain their hold on the heart right up to the grave. Nor is there any lack of that counterfeited light-heartedness which demonstrates flaunting and nonchalance.

In my opinion, despite everything, these are symptoms which do not get to the bottom of the matter. The answers and explanations must be sought in affirming that for the second time within a relatively brief time period

their trust has been abused and cheated. During the 1970's they were supposed to be the vanguard of the generation of great opportunity, whereas in the past 16 months they have been told that here now they have mastered history. Previously they were mobilized by the slogan of "another Poland," but lately it has been that of "another Japan." After December 1970 they willingly and en masse engaged in production and social deeds without knowing how apparent a benefit this was bringing to the economy, but after August 1980 they equally willingly began engaging in strikes without bothering to inform themselves as to what a deadly effect they were having on the economy. Their subjective role turned out to be an illusion oin both cases, because in practice, despite assurances, it did not increase but decreased the scale of their participation in the solution of the country's important matters. Today it can already be stated that they formed a good background for the guides and leaders, especially at the time when our own and the foreign television cameras were operating. They expressed their attitude toward the decade of the 1970's in August 1980, placing in Solidarity their hopes as well as their most noble intentions. Imparting to this movement their own most valuable attributes --a love of truth and justice, a desire to serve the country under conditions far-removed from hypocrisy and distortions, with youthful energy and a high skills--they reckoned that at the same time the choice which they had made was truly the best chance for their generation. Admission of defeat does not belong among well-liked activities, and it is certainly not easy when one is made a fool of for the second time. Perhaps it is to frivolous and bold a, like a paraphrased problem in a play, but "how many times finally can one allow oneself to be taken in within the course of a brief life?" one of the young Poznan workers gasped out bitterly in a conversation with me. They are not entirely deluded that this opinion is shared today by all the young workers; a significant portion of them does not even distinguish between the specific benefits which were obtained after August as important and inevitable and what became a menace in this process from the beginning.

On the other hand, I will not conceal my fears as to the future. Before I develop these ideas further, a small digression. Here in the discussions concerning the intelligentsia one must pay heed to the apparent despondency even in the utterances of the Marxists--as to whether it is possible to implement the goals of the system without the participation of the intelligentsia. This maxim gives cause for concern only if it becomes a basic fundamental for the future of Poland, but such a situation appears in prospect only if the attitude of the working class, farmers, and especially that of the young workers, is passed off in silence. Before long it is on their shoulders that the main burdens will be placed concerning the development of the material and social foundations of the people's everyday life under socialist conditions. It is they who will be creating the necessary benefits and things for technical and material progre ss--for the village and for the city. Of course, I am profoundly convinced that the country will be brought out of its crisis all the more rapidly insofar as this process is engaged in by an ever-increasing number of our fellow-countrymen, regardless whether they are young, old, workers,

farmers, or whether they represent the intelligentsia. But I am appalled by the simultaneously repeated, entirely unofficial view that constantly full shop shelves along with a well-functioning economy should be the measure of the post-crisis status. Whoever does not realize teh superficiality of such an opinion has not understood much about what happened in Poland during August 1980.

One hears the opinion today that this generation is already definitely lost for socialism. But if some substitute is offered, then it is only because there is no other choice. If the young people achieve some sort of individual success, then it is in order to achieve something of value for themselves from time to time or to earn some definite material profits. They may also bring up their own descendants in this spirit. The rest may be anticipated; in every case if this opinion were to be realized, these would be serious consequences for us in building socialism. I am of the opinion, and this is confirmed by the preponderance of what has happened between August and December, that, despite everything, the principles of our system have been sufficiently strongly encoded in the mentality of society, as well as among the young people. But then there is a chance that these attitudes may be reversed. Already today in conversations on private occasions young workers are showing signs of something new, and if they do not emphasize this publicly, and, moreover, do not assist it with their own innovations, then this is merely because they are anticipating a greater number of suitable movements equally on the part of the army, the party, and the government. During this time, however, they will look on from the sidelines. This fact, alas, must be taken into consideration, despite the fact that there is a particular need in Poland today for a different type of attitude, but that the party and the authorities are proving daily that they are determined to carry through the process of renewal until they reach a status which is in accord with the expectations of the people. In sum, it will not be easy to reach the consciousness of the working youth, but this must be accomplished if we are serious about the tought of socialism's future in Poland.

What can and must be done? Above all, as it seems to me, become aware of the range of this problem, for it is not obvious everywhere. We know a great deal about young workers, but, up to now, we have come by this knwoledge thanks to a few amateurs who have conducted research in this environment almost in a "homemade" way. Other quite important cores which are capable of performing a certain amount of work in this matter have not had much willingness to be "spotted" with this type of research. Without them, however, it is difficult to have a rational--current and future--policy.

Let us also reach back to the beginnings of People's Poland, and let us find there examples (subsequently not repeated) of a practically subjective treatment of the workers--they felt at that time that they were actually a fundamental force in the new system.

Without overlooking one or the other, we must more equitably and without beaurocratic habits remove the glaring injustices which are visible to the naked eye. Otherwise, we will be abandoned by many young workers: political illiteracy and the loss of historical identity have not yet been sufficiently removed. Lacunae in school education as well as the specific social reality had to produce these and not other results, which our political opponents took advantage of so easily. On the whole, it is valuable to find in the margin the answer to the question of what in the workers' protests has become their original contribution, and what was put in there from the outside. It is a paradox of our postwar history that, while glorying in the world revolution on the one hand, on the other hand, for years we have had to adapt ourselves to a lack of equal chances and preferential points, so that for several years already every year one-fourth of the secondary-school graduates have accepted work which is not in accordance with the profession which they have learned. In this case we should not blame our learned sophists so much; it is more a question of specific decisions. Furthermore, let us look at what blocks are encountered by young efficiency experts at workplaces and how much institutional patronage has remained in the realm of dreams and not because there was a lack of the so-called transforming force but rather because the bureaucracy proved not to capable of defeat. This same reason has delayed in many instances the emergence of young people's work cooperatives and young people's building cooperatives. There are considerably more examples, although for years the ZSMP has been striving to remove these barriers.

Bearing in mind that daily life underscores consciousness, the young workers will be dependent for a long time in their attitude toward the country on the conditions under which they will be living, nor is it any consolation to them that retired persons are even worse off. To be sure, a portion of them have adopted a "gimmee" attitude, but no less a majority is interested in such decisions by the authorities as would create conditions for developing innovations and concepts as well as profiting for a high degree of skills. A well-prepared system of wage payments along with new regulations for a cadre policy should correspond with this. At the conclusion of the matter, as I judge it, is the fundamental principle. The young workers truly do yearn already now to be complete masters of their own country--partly because of teh matter of the post-August period but also because such aspirations have been aroused in them for years, formed in the process of education and the activity of the yough movement. We cannot treat this as a difficulty or become impatient with it, but rather we must find such solutions thanks to which both the country as well as the workers will be benefited. Gor this reason, I think, we should return as rapidly as possible to the ideas of workers' self-governments, in which I detect not only chances at economic reform but, above all, the possibilities of fulfilling the vital aspirations of the young workers.

2384
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WEST GERMAN TRIAL OF ACCUSED YUGOSLAV SECRET SERVICE AGENT

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 3 May 82 p 69

[Article: "Murder on Call"]

[Text] A Frankfurt grand jury is looking into the methods employed by the Yugoslav Secret Service to eliminate undesirable emigrants in the FRG.

When the 34-year-old locksmith Rasim Zenelaj, an exiled Yugoslav of Albanian descent and a coplaintiff in a Frankfurt murder trial, wants to get to his seat in the courtroom he needs help. He is in a wheelchair, paralyzed from the waist down and has to be carried up the stairs.

Among the four defendants is a young woman who is watching the scene, trying not to show any emotion: Zorica Aleksic, a 25-year-old Serb, who 5 years ago put five bullets into the locksmith, using a "Ceska" pistol. "I was only a tool," she said about the bloody deed, "there are really other people behind it."

Frankfurt's public prosecutor has called a number of witnesses, and he wants to use their testimony to document who is really responsible for shooting Zenelaj. During the jury trial, which is to begin all over again this Friday (the first major hearing had to be discontinued because the judge became ill), there will be frequent mention of the Yugoslav Secret Service, the "Sluzba Drzavne Bezbednosti: (SDB) and officials of the Yugoslav consulate general in Frankfurt--once again a spotlight is falling on the underground war between exiled Yugoslavs and Yugoslav Secret Service agents.

The German Criminal Police feels that two Yugoslavs were behind the assassination attempt. They were able to escape arrest by the police on the day of the attack, 14 May 1981:

--Svetozar Mirjacic, 42, called "Tozo" by his contrymen. He was registered at Hesse's state chancellory as first embassy secretary of Frankfurt's consulate general, in charge of customs affairs;

--Rade Surla, 55, a former bank director from Split. He managed the "Sideta Bau" construction firm in Frankfurt and was respected among exiled Croats as "an old partisan fighter."

It was not until Surla's escape (last trace: a hotel bill of more than 363 francs in Strassbourg) that the investigators felt certain that a Secret Service agent had slipped through their fingers--although among the Yugoslavs in Frankfurt there had been rumors about him for a long time. In 1980, for instance, when Nikola Milicevic, an exiled Croat, bled to death in a Frankfurt parking lot after six shots had been fired at him by unknown killers (SPIEGEL 4/1980).

In spring 1981 a rumor was circulated in the "Hajduk Split," a Croatian restaurant, according to which new actions were about to happen. Anonymous voices on the telephone warned Zenelaj, one of the coowners of the restaurant and treasurer of an Albanian emigrants circle, to take part in demonstrations in connection with the Kosovo riots. Zenelaj was annoyed: "If you want to shoot me, go ahead, but do not call me here all the time, you are getting on my nerves."

The calls, the police seems to be certain now, came from the office of Rade Surla's construction firm. It did not remain a secret that the boss received frequent visits from home, at one time a general from Bosnia, at another time a curier from Kosovo; the conferences were always behind closed doors.

Occasionally a Volvo of the Sideta construction company was lent to the Yugoslav consulate general for "special jobs." Occasionally the building contractor was driven to an ominous "green house" in the vicinity of the Rothschildallee, he walked the rest of the way--to the conspiratorial apartment. "The less you know," he told his chauffeur, "the better for you."

In the consulate there were rumors that following the war Surla played an important role in the Yugoslav Security Service. Former confidants told the police that in 1950 he had had a falling-out with President Tito, as a Stalin supporter he had spent some time on the prison island of "Goli Otok" (bare island) and lost his officer's rank.

Others described how Surla had been "kicked out over there after working for 30 years only because he did not want to sign a statement that somebody had embezzled money": According to Criminal Police investigations, Surla had been dismissed in 1971 as director of the investment bank in Split, because under his patronage "black money" was to have flowed "to ministers." Detectives are only speculating that Surla--being an emigrant--may have reestablished contact with the Secret Service to work on his rehabilitation at home. One thing is certain, Surla met regularly with the confidant "Tozo," sometimes in the consulate and sometimes in the "green house."

Discussions supposedly dealt with confidants, with bribes, forged passports, with tapping telephones and murder plots. In the case of Zenelaj, Iso Dautovski also played a part. He had been hired in 1980 by Surla for the Sideta construction firm--according to the Criminal Police he was one of several SDB agents trailing Zenelaj.

Dautovski is said to have found out that the Albanian functionary Zenelaj did not only stay in constant contact with KOSOVO, but that he also had

"a weakness for women." Zorica Aleksic, a female worker from Weiterstadt and a Serb, apparently made her criminal debut in this manner. Dautovski introduced her to Zenelaj and finally gave her, according to available information, the crime weapon including ammunition.

When Zorica Aleksic finally pulled the trigger--at the beginning of an intimate get-together--Zenelaj suffered a cerebrospinal wound. The perpetrator, who was arrested the day of the assassination attempt at the Frankfurt airport, later revealed the details of the plot. When Surla found out that Dautovski was no longer able to flee, he called for his car. Since then DM 300,000 have been missing at the Sideta construction company.

Since then Surla has been seen in the "Slavija" hotel in Belgrade. An international warrant of arrest has been issued, but Interpol Belgrade is not answering.

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2 June 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2018

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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No. 2018

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GYORI DEFENDS PROPAGANDA, ECONOMIC REFORMS, SMALL BUSINESS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Apr 82 p 5

[Interview with Imre Gyori, head of the Central Committee's department of canvassing and propaganda, by Istvan Koncz: "Propagation of Our Socialist Principles"]

> [Text] The 112th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin will be celebrated in a few days not only in the socialist countries but by people of progressive ideology all over the world. This birthday reminds us of the one who consistently carried on the life work of Marx, renewed and in practice implemented the revolutionary principles, of the leader of the first victorious socialist revolution, the farsighted politician, the passionate canvasser and propagandist. At the same time it urges us to examine ourselves: what does the present generation of communists in our country do to spread our socialist principles, how well do they represent the party's policies, how do they use the means of persuasion?
>
> We asked Imre Gyori, director of the Central Committee's department of canvassing and propaganda, for answers to these and similar questions.

[Question] With two years of experience, how do you feel propaganda work contributes to implementing the resolutions of the 12th party congress?

[Answer] The party propaganda's fundamental task, which is valid over the long range, is to create the appropriate conscious conditions for constructive social and economic work in the ranks of the party membership as well as in the broad masses of those outside the party. In harmony with the resolutions of the 12th party congress--which have set the goals of protecting and furthering our historical achievements, preserving the standard of living, solidifying the national economy's equilibrium, establishing the foundations for further growth, and strengthening the socialist characteristics of our society,--canvassing and propaganda work has also become more modern in the last 2 years. It has contributed and is contributing under the changed circumstances to help understand the deeper relationships between the

international situation and our domestic political life, to see clearly, to be receptive to the new problems, to develop the creative energies hidden in man, and to be ready to take action.

[Question] It happens at times nowadays that some people here or there belittle the significance of political work.

[Answer] Not only nowadays. There have always been some people who, when things were going well for them, have said that the facts "speak for themselves," anyway. And when their problems increased, they argued and argue that only financial conditions are needed for the solution. Both are false and onesidedly practicalistic reasonings. The very essence of our revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist ideology is that that it not only explains the world but also helps change it. Change it, which in this country at this time means to create an advanced socialist society on the existing solid socialist foundations. The key--familiarity with the laws of social change--is in our hands, "all" we need to know is how to apply it in the constantly changing world. This requires repeatedly illuminating the basic theoretical questions in the light of the changing specific circumstances, as well as providing creative answers to the new problems with which life presents us. If we do the political work well, then this very great stabilizing force will significantly contribute to balancing our society and our domestic political life. If we do it poorly, then on the other hand it might even conserve the things that can and must be changed. So, in a word it is beautiful, noble, very responsible and not easy work.

[Question] Especially in the present, tense and extremely international situation...

[Answer] At party meetings and other places the foreign policy reports are often begun this way in our country. But in spite of all the complications of the present situation, it is still valid that the socialist world is a definitive factor in the development of events, and that war is not necessarily unavoidable. This is so even if the extremist circles of imperialism resist it. One of the main tasks of propaganda work is to prove this and to form a correct ideology faithful to reality from the avalanche of information engulfing us.

[Question] Does the avalanche of information you mentioned perhaps also cause problems?

[Answer] The abundance of information is a good and necessary thing, but one has to be able to find his way in it. Our people are well informed today. Credit for this belongs not only to our party's open and honest practice of disseminating information, and not only to the tools of mass media, but also to such mass organizations and movements as the people's front, the trade unions, the KISZ [Communist Youth League] or the TIT [Society for the Propagation of Scientific Knowledge]. The country's population has opened the door on the world, and its level of informedness and political sophistication are higher than ever before in our history. This is so natural in our country now that if at times some errors, failures, mistakes or delays

slip into the information mechanism, many people immediately complain about it heatedly. But we still cannot always handle the synthesizing work of uncovering and illuminating the interrelationships.

[Question] At times we receive criticism that we "manipulate" the public opinion by commenting on the news and explaining objectively delivered facts.

[Answer] This is a false accusation. We do not deny and do not hide our socialist obligations and the fact that we want to influence public opinion or that we want to convince the people. We do this with scientific reasoning, with the strength of our socialist principles, by throwing light on society's objective laws of change, by showing reality as it really is, and by convincingly representing our policies. In contrast with this, manipulation is deceptive influencing in bad faith, which on the one hand attempts to make it impossible to find one's way in the avalanche of information, and on the other hand parades in the disguise of false objectivity; it keeps it a secret that it avoids the essential interrelationships by serving bourgeois interests, distorts the facts, or in one word misleads, deceives.

Just one example for this. With huge financial, technological and psychological energy expenditures the capitalist news agencies are broadcasting and [hypnotically] suggesting that false thesis to the world, as if the two "superpowers" alike were conducting the arms race for some kind of expansionistic domination purposes. This interpretation contradicts the facts. In the leading capitalist countries, first of all in the USA the enterprises and institutions which belong to the military-war industrial complex are deriving huge profits from armaments, while it is just a huge burden on the shoulders of the Soviet people.

Peace is necessary as the most elementary precondition for social progress, such as building an advanced socialism in this country. This is the basis of the consistent Soviet peace policy, and of the Soviet Union's endless patience and readiness to negotiate. There is hardly any doubt as to who and what really endangers peace, and as to how much manipulative misleading there is in such imperialist "proposals" as, for example, the so-called "zero-based solution" by Reagan.

[Question] But our public opinion is occupied not only by the fate-determining questions of war and peace but also, for example, by the difficulties which must be faced in a number of socialist countries.

[Answer] The problems of the socialist countries cannot be separated from the fact that the world economic conditions have changed. All countries have to adjust to this. The socialist countries, too, are bearing the negative consequences of this. Moreover, almost all European socialist countries have reached a level of development where the changeover from extensive economic growth to intensive economic operation is unavoidable under the very same world economic circumstances. Out problems are the problems of stepping up to a higher level, of "advancing into a higher grade." Thus they cannot be reduced to the same common denominator with the present crisis of capitalism which is deeper and more severe than at any time since World War II.

Of course, in addition to these objective reasons the subjective errors, wrong judgements, inflexibility or the lack of organization also contribute to the above mentioned difficulties--to varying extents at different locations and at different points of time.

Seeing the problems, our propaganda is a bit timid in proving the superiority of the socialist order. Even though in this country and in most of the fraternal countries the socialist order has achieved historically significant achievements, in spite of the fact that it has not had enough time, chance and opportunity to let all of its advantages fully develop. We must deal more with the internal life of the socialist countries, with their growth, and also with the difficulties resulting from objective and subjective reasons; and with the methods each country tries out to solve the new tasks of building socialsim, in accordance with its own specific circumstances and traditions.

[Question] And how does the bourgeois propaganda speak about our country?

[Answer] Not with a unified voice. There are some objective evaluations which acknowledge our indisputable achievements. But there are also the ones which falsify reality. Most frequently they make things look as if we had achieved our results at the cost of giving up the socialist principles.

[Question] For example, earlier in connection with the household plots, and now with the small enterprises.

[Answer] Yes, even though it is clear to everyone today that the household plot is an organic part of the socialist agriculture. Its existence and success are unimaginable without the common large farming operations because that is its basis; and at the same time it itself strengthens the financial wellbeing of the producer cooperatives and their membership. It contributes to the smooth supplies of the country and also to exports with indispensible production of goods. It does not weaken but strengthens the communal and socialist attitude of our cooperative peasantry. Thus the western propaganda is distorting in its judgement. It is true that a few years ago a part of our domestic public opinion also watched with concern the development of the household plots. Resolving the old and poor attitudes can also be credited to our propaganda work.

The situation nowadays is similar with the economic formations called small enterprises as a collective concept. What is involved here is not, as some people worriedly define it, that this is the "Trojan horse of private enterprise", in which we have secretly returned the capitalist tendencies. We want to strengthen the socialist national economy with these also. They can perform those production and service tasks which are not profitable for the large socialist operations; they can satisfy needs we have so far not been able to satisfy, and by doing so they also improve the general mood of the population.

[Question] But can't they have undesirable side effects?

[Answer] They can, and they probably will, too; we never claimed to be able to see into the future and to see it in every detail. But if we obey the laws and regulations, if social control and awareness formation based on real interests are functioning efficiently, then these phenomena can be limited and repressed.

[Question] Our economic policy is often labeled liberal, with claims of finding capitalist characteristics in it.

[Answer] This is not correct either. Enterprise independence, ability to take the initiative, acceptance of reasonable risks and simply the enterprising spirit, flexible adjustment to the world market conditions, organization and discipline, profitable and efficient work--why would all these be characteristics of capitalism? First of all: socialism is humanity's largest undertaking in history. This cannot be carried to success without the creative initiative ability of people and groups. And on the other hand socialism is built in the different countries under different circumstances and conditions, and on the base of different traditions; we must therefore consider it natural that the various specific solutions are also unique and different. The richness of the solutions enriches the forces of socialism and will probably develop in greater and greater variety. It is true that we are only now learning about truly efficient economic operation, and year by year we are solving more and more difficult assignments at the cost of tremendous efforts, even in spite of our economy's many shortcomings inherited from the past, and of all the burdens deriving from this.

[Question] Most people appreciate that even in these years we endeavor to preserve our present economic and standard-of-living standards, but they do not always consider it a success.

[Answer] Even though many richer and economically better developed capitalist countries are unable to do this. It is true that in recent years we have gotten used to the spectacular percentages in the growth of our national income and production, while now the indicators show low values for reasons well known. Under such circumstances the rate in the rise of the standard of living to which we got used to in the previous time period, cannot be assured. Our main effort that the systematic rise in the standard of living accompany the progress we make in building socialism, can now be realized only under very strict conditions and based only on better and more successful economic operation, with the differences depending on work. We are also forced to concentrate our social policy on a few of the most important goals--to support those living on low retirement pay and those with big families--, and in a series of other issues there can be no thought of as large improvements as before.

[Question] To what does our public opinion react most sensitively?

[Answer] Naturally to the price increases. One of the most serious tasks of our economic policy, canvassing and propaganda work is to make people understand and clearly see that the increase of prices which approximate the world market prices, which express realistic value relationships, and which encourage

economical production and rational consumption, are important conditions of our economic stability and growth. The acceptance of price increases thus far has shown that the people undertand that they are unavoidable, but canvassing and propaganda must also help in this.

[Question] Many people fear for the achievements of our socialist democracy because of the tense international situation and because of our economic problems.

[Answer] Any retreat or freeze would be harmful in just such a situation as this; in this very situation the initiatives of people, communal awareness of the responsibilities, the effectiveness of social control, and growth of the socialist democracy are needed even more. But this does not represent a license for any type antisocial behavior. The majority of the people actively support our policies, see the opportunity for personal prosperity in socialism, appreciate our achievements and is ready to defend them, can differentiate between incentive financial interest and antisocial, egotistic manifestations, and wants order, decency and discipline in every area of social life.

[Question] Do the party's educational programs attract people, and do these generate and satisfy the inquiries? Does for example the mass proliferation of television represent any "competition?"

[Answer] Quite to the contrary. Our experience shows that the press, radio and television only escalate the interests. This is understandable: what people see on the picture tube, and what they hear or read, they want to dig down and learn more about it, and preferably in a form which requires personal intellectual efforts and activity, debating and exchanging opinions. The facts prove that the Marxist-Leninist theory is highly ranked and attractive. Even though for years we have not been trying to increase the numbers, large masses are constantly participating in political training and education.

But our propaganda work must keep up even more closely with the increasing requirements. For example, we must more quickly interpret the answers generated by the social sciences for the newer and newer questions life poses. We must also give more consideration to the openness of our country. Regular political self-education and self-study should become natural and self-generated, for as large a part of our party membership as possible.

[Question] In closing: How do you judge the work of propagandists?

[Answer] They perform a difficult but beautiful party assignment with great willingness to make sacrifices, and most of them to high standards. Seventy percent of them have college or high school degrees, and the appropriate political training. Their perceptiveness towards life's realistic issues, their interest in the changes of reality, being informed, and taking clear and independent positions in theoretical and practical questions are important sources of the success of their work. Several generations are working side by side in this area. The older ones can very profitably invest their knowledge and experience, and the fact that several decades of the history of our present era are personal experiences for them. On the other hand

the younger ones [can very profitably invest] their usually more modern education, their sensitivity to today's problems, and the fact that they are more receptive towards our youth's intellectual frame of reference. Being a propagandist in the broadest sense of the word, that is, to spread our socialist principles convincingly, is not some kind of stand-by job but an honorable obligation of every communist.

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NEW SAMIZDAT PUBLICATIONS INTRODUCED

Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian No 1, 1982 p 4

[Article: "New Samizdat Publication in Hungary: The 'BESZELO'"]

[Text] In October 1981, a new independent (samizdat) publication appeared in Hungary: a 117 page periodical, entitled the "BESZELO" (Mouthpiece). "Our paper--point out the editors in their opening announcement-- is published outside the official organization of the media. Consequently, we do not have an easy-to-operate apparatus at our disposal to facilitate its circulation. The "BESZELO" reaches its readers via circles of friends and by way of professional and ideological collectives." The motives behind, and the goals of this brave undertaking was summed up as follows in the introduction by the editors:

A Preface to Our Paper

They say, there is nothing happening in Hungary. People are happy that they are not bothered with politics; in their spare time they are building family houses, they are raising poultry and are doing amateur work on the side. The intelligentsia has locked itself into the garden of culture, and it is also leaving politics to the politicians. The churches are cooperating with the state. The old-fashioned reactionaries and bourgeois democrats have died out, and the revisionists of the communist movement have never recovered from their 1956 defeat. The regime does show its iron fist from time to time, but after seeing that nobody is getting out of line quickly returns it to its pocket. It does not go beyond occasionally cracking down on a roughneck or a drunkard for disorderly conduct, and when it does, it is cheered on by spectators to strike even harder. Only a handful of opponents have been trying to break the social peace--with little success. This is how it is perceived not only by the leaders of the country, who like to interpret political apathy as active support for their policies, but also by their opponents who cannot seem to repeat it enough that silence is not the same as approval.

Yet, everybody knows--either from personal experience, or from heresay--of exceptions. It is true, that in the last 10 to 15 years there have not been any enterprise-level strikes in Hungary. However, there have been strikes in the smaller villages, at the workshop and industrial unit level. It is

true, that for the most part the press has been kept in line due to self-censorship on the part of the editors and the authors. However, there have been occasions when a periodical released some unpublishable manuscripts, and stood up strongly in defense of its publication policy. It is true, that the churches are led by intimidated people, some of whom have been blackmailed, others bribed. But even the collaboration between the secular authorities and our church leaders has not been able to prevent the establishment of independent religious movements within, and among the churches. It is true, that the results of every election are prearranged behind the scenes, and that all the voters have to do is raise their hands to indicate their approval. But there have also been examples when the membership of a cooperative, a KISZ--party--or trade-union basic organization have rebelled and defeated the official candidates. Then, there are those countless self-sacrificing young people who have been regularly travelling to Romania and Slovakia to gather news about the fate of Hungarians living beyond our borders, and to help them as much as they can--defying the authorities' not always passive disapproval. Or the lonely truth-seekers, who refuse to accept that the regime is stronger....

And still, when we think about our country's general state of affairs, these examples never come to mind. Many of them are stories of local interest, news of which do not spread far by word of mouth. And they are being consistently left out of the reports of the mass media. Thus the average person never sees more than only a very few of the frames that differ from the basic grey color of the mosaics. Not enough to have a clear picture before his eyes. Consequently, even the things that are spread by word of mouth remain undefinable and inexplicable rumors for them.

"In Csepel, a casket was carried around with the sign on it saying: 'Profit Sharing.' Also there, someone put a piece of bread spread with drippings in the hands of the Lenin statue which stands in front of the trust's entrance." (Who? How many of them were there? How long did the demonstration last? Did the police come to the scene? Who knows. Some say, nothing happened. Others say that the whole thing was a carnival prank by the union.) "At the University of Economics they established the FISZ." (Those close to the source know that this abbreviation stands for Independent Youth league. Those best informed, however, also know that it was formed at the Technical University.) "They were circulating leaflets in Miskolc." (From what we hear, they were cheering the Polish workers. But some say that they were being distributed by the Polish guest-workers working in Miskolc themselves. Somebody, however, heard from a witness, that they brought these leaflets from home and used them to wrap things sold on the black market. It is obvious: back there they have even run out of wrapping paper.)

Usually, even the story-teller is uncertain whether or not what he is saying is true. But it is not proper to embarass them by asking a lot of skeptical questions. And most importantly: it is not worth it. The only thing these kinds of rumors are good for, is that while they are being exchanged people can share their unrealizable wishes and their insoluable anxieties; no-one thinks of adjusting his practical behavior to them. The same person who in the morning seems to have all the information about the mass-demonstration

in Csepel may, in the evening, claim without even blinking an eye that what happened in Poland in the summer of 1980, could never happen here.

One must wonder, how many people perceive the perplexed maze of information which they collect in their heads from heresay, from the half-truths and half-lies put out by the means of mass communication--and, of course, from the incomplete announcements of the Western radio stations. If it were possible to conduct an independent opinion poll, in principle, this could be more or less accurately found out. It would, however, be impossible even in principle to find out how people would perceive the facts on the bottom of this maze of confusion if they knew them. Because they do not know them.

But why should we not try to gather these facts and make them available? For now, only to as many people as can be reached with this kind of a simply produced, mimeographed publication.

The "BESZELO" will talk about irregular events: i.e., about cases where an individual or several people together commit a transgression against the traditional rules of communication between the regime and its subjects; resist a humiliating order; stand up for their rights, or put pressure on their superiors.... We would like to look into what makes them abandon their routine behavior. To find out what means the higher authorities are using to put the machinery back on its normal track. How the conflict is taking place between the two sides. And how outsiders react to series of unusual events.... We would like to ensure that these experiences do not get lost, and that people who have been participants or may in the future participate in such stories find out more about one another.

Naturally, we are also going to report on cases which in Hungary are referred to as actions of dissent: some people choose the broad forum of society to renounce the routine of obedience and to demonstrate to as many people as possible that there are opportunities for independent action. But our goal is not to come up with a kind of Dissenters' Herald. What we would like to do to the best of our abilities, is to help the quietly rumbling mass of people below the two loudly quarreling tiny minorities--the opposition and the country's leadership--form a truer picture of themselves.

The editorial office of the BESZELO has no telex-machines, nor can the paper send correspondents with press-cards to the scene. It will only have things to discuss if its readers rush to its assistance. We ask everyone who thinks may have a worthwhile news story to report to find us. Every case is of interest to us, in which a person or several people have acted because they had a right to, and not because they had their superiors approval. We gladly accept finished reports as well as verbal messages. The articles may be published--as it is customary in the press--either under the author's name, under a fictitious name or without name.

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The appearance of the first issue of the "BESZELO" coincided with the 25th anniversary of the 1956 revolution. On this occasion, the paper published a less-known document: "The Development Proposal of the Hungarian Democratic Independence Front." This political program was formulated after the November Soviet invasion, and offered a compromise proposal suggesting ways of preserving and institutionalizing the accomplishments of the revolution, without endangering the main factors of the post-1945 socialist transformation--i.e., the distribution of land, nationalization--and without affecting the foreign policy interests of the Soviet Union. One of the drafters of this document was Istvan Bibo. The paper's other article of historical concern deals with a timely problem that has been perturbing Hungarian public opinion: "The Chronological History of the Hungarian Minority in Czechoslovakia." This chronology sums up the post-war history of the more than half a million Hungarians living in Czechoslovakia in two parts; the first part featured in this issue outlines the era which lasted from 1944 to 1964--the period of total outlawry and of the "Stalinist consolidation."

Future articles of the "BESZELO" will deal with timely Hungarian cases and Eastern European questions. In the spring of 1981, a wave of uneasiness rippled through Budapest's universities. The students--hardly 50 percent of whom are members of the official youth organization, the KISZ--do not have an effective corporate organization, nor do they have a real right to make their voices heard in university affairs. In some Budapest universities, however, the demand to expand student rights has already been heard. The report, entitled "Wavering Rebels" examines how official manipulation has been used to break the determination of student groups inexperienced in discussing politics, who have been disaccustomed from clearly expressing and asserting their own interests.

It was the "BESZELO" which first made public the activities of Hungarian Catholics who "think differently." "Jesus Christ had promised that the gates of hell would not vanquish his Church, but he had not promised that the Hungarian Church would also remain intact; this depends on us"--points out the programmatic article, entitled "To Hungarian Catholics Who Think Differently," which criticizes the relationship between the official leaders of the Church and the state, calling upon the faithful and the Church to take a stand on earthly social issues, to accept responsibility and to work--to stand up against anti-God and anti-human value-destruction and to perform "responsible service"--and to do so because it is also in the interest of the Church. Its critical arguments are confirmed by a conversation between correspondents of the "BESZELO" and a Catholic priest about the situation and the leadership of the Church today.

The new periodical has also reported a case which is unusual even for those who regularly and critically deal with conditions in Hungary: the use of various means of "political psychiatry" against Karoly Jakab, an already retired certified agriculturalist, and a former activist and official of the National Peasant Party and later of the 1956 Petofi Party. After 1949, Jakab was tried and--last time in 1975--sentenced for his opinions on several occasions. In all these cases, psychiatric examinations found Jakab to be perfectly healthy and responsible for his actions. He was indicted once again by the Retsag district attorney's office in 1979, because of some letters he had sent to the council, on the charge of "insulting the authorities," but during the course of the proceedings--once again on the initiative of the prosecution--he was declared insane and incapable of managing his own affairs, and was subsequently sentenced to be given forced medical treatment. The motive behind the prosecution's action was presumably to reduce the annual number of subversion cases (presently about 250 cases per year) published in the official statistics. Following the verdict, Jakab was "treated" once for 3 weeks and once for 2 months in the neurological ward of the Balassagyarmat hospital: among other things, with electroshock. Jakab, who according to psychiatric opinions--as the author of the article, Miklos Haraszti put it--"was suffering from an over-inflated sense of justice," tried in vain to have his case reviewed before official forums, and finally he turned to the "second public" himself. The essay presenting the Jakab case shows how various popular definitions of certain mental illnesses have made it possible, both in the East and in the West, to give psychiatric "explanations" for political nonconformism, and points out that in such cases only the public can provide protection.

The "BESZELO" also talks about a partial strike which occurred at a Kispest construction site; about some minor and more significant manifestations of sympathy toward the Polish social movements--for example, Gabor Demszky's article on SZETA's summer action, which made it possible for some needy Polish children to vacation in Hungary for 2 weeks--, as well as about the irritated and at times outright violent reactions of the authorities upon encountering solidarity with the Polish renewal. The paper's article on Poland talks about the alternatives and chances of continuing the democratization of that society and of further expanding the reforms: it is the text of a Warsaw round-table discussion which the prominent leaders of the Polish opposition had held well before the December military coup, in the editorial office of the independent Warsaw paper "ROBOTNIK."

In conclusion, the "BESZELO" sums up the main outward forms which the "second public" has taken in Hungary. Historian, Miklos Szabo devotes a separate article to reviewing the significance of the recently published Bibo Memorial Volume, pointing out that Istvan Bibo represents the only living heritage of "different thinking" for all branches of Hungarian democratic political thought. There are short articles describing the forums through which the voice of this "second public" can be heard: the Paris-based MAGYAR FUZETEK, which has already published the works of almost 50 authors living in Hungary, and the typed publications circulating in Budapest under the titles, "MAGYAR FIGYELO" and "SZFERA." The paper also presents the catalogue of the Budapest "samizdat-boutique," which contains almost 100 titles; the previous and forthcoming programs of the "Hetfoi Szabadegyetem," operating in private homes, and it reviews SZETA's cultural programs from last year as well as its plans for next year.

9379
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WRITER'S SUPPRESSED SPEECH PUBLISHED AS SAMIZDAT

Munich NEMZETOR in Hungarian 15 Feb 82 p 7

[Speech by Sandor Lezsak: "Does the End Justify the Means?"]

[Text] The following are the author's courageous remarks directed toward a discussion conducted in ELET ES IRODALOM about contemporary Hungarian literature. They were not published. The remarks were delivered at a meeting of the Attila Jozsef Young Writers Circle [FIJAK] at Szentendre on October 30, 1980. Since then, typewritten copies are being disseminated throughout Hungary. We also received the document in this manner, which we print in abridged form.

I am following this discussion with growing anxiety. I put aside the more important documents and continually repeat and transmit objections, but gradually losing my patience, I am again faced with my dilemma: For how long will the directors of our social system--the politicians--keep silent? Without the clash of ideas and active feedback, this summer conversation labeled as a discussion will merely become a collection of "voices from Rodosto"* (Sandor Csoori's expression). Among others, Erzebet Toth also threw the ball into the politicians' court...

Sometimes I feel as though the manner in which the interpreters and executors of political practice relate to the individual resembles the situation in a crowded district Trade Union clinic. The doctor has no time to deal with the patient, and merely dispenses medicine, tranquilizers and a few cliches. The patient is not afforded an opportunity to explain himself, and without knowledge of the nature of his illness, his recovery is made more difficult. I am well aware that there are incurable illnesses and the doctor cannot speak about these. The situation is worsened when the doctor continually administers placebos, or pills imitating medicine, which do not contain an active ingredient: Both he and I are aware of this, yet we continue to treat phantom illnesses, false malaise...

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*[Translator's Note: An allusion to Kelemen Mikes, a young Transylvanian who accompanied Francis Rakoczi II to his exile in Rodosto (Turkey) after the defeat of the Hungarians at the hands of the Hapsburgs (1711). The writings of Mikes, which were in the form of a series of letters to an imaginary individual, were not meant for publication. His "correspondence" is seemingly oblivious to the defeat of the revolutionary forces and is conducted in a light-hearted carefree style.]

A timely example illustrates the point: I (I!) want to assume responsibility for this document; I, Sandor Lezsak, a citizen of the Hungarian Peoples Republic (people's republic!), a resident of Lakitelek who is not denied participation in public affairs. Am I able to do this? No. The editor is responsible for the contents of his journal. We do not undergo a more agonizing spiritual torment than the editor's obligation of "self-censorship." He who has been burned once is not the only one who is overcautious. "Authority" automatically yanks the editor into a state of tetany.

At such times, with even the most flexible guidelines, the editor pulls rigid barbed wire around himself; hearsay, genuine information and circulating gossip turn the wheels of cowardice and fear. As a result of the constant tension which is thus created, he senses danger even near the wire.

To what extent does society, politics and the system trust you? If you finish your course of study, you can get a license: you can endanger the physical well-being of your fellow man. You can acquire a plot of land which you can wreck, you can even let weeds grow in it. You can decide to pay a fine and let your pollutants spill into the river. You can operate machines worth millions, you can oversee the water supply of a hundred thousand people. You can be a mycologist or a surgeon, you can teach children; and weapons are even placed into your hands so you can practice and, if need be, defend this country. And you would!

But you cannot start a private intellectual undertaking; you cannot publicly assume responsibility for your writings and thoughts under criminal law (and even more importantly: with your conscience). For example, you cannot start a journal, even though the risk to society and politics is small. If your undertaking does not conform to and serve the common good and if it does not further a healthy process, you are left to your own devices...

What do I want?

1. Knowledge of the History of the Recent Past. Many have already written that without this one cannot do anything with the present; we only exist like flower seeds strewn on a concrete highway. An anthology of these kinds of similes could be compiled by now, but that would be like lighting candles in the rain.

The possibility of knowledge of the 35 years that have passed since the liberation has ground to a halt with forbidden catchphrases: Imre Nagy, Rakosi, AVH, Petofi Circle, personal cult, collective farm organization, compulsory deliveries, Laszlo Rajk, coalition, trumped-up charges, 1956--the list could go on...I must ignore the fact that a significant portion of the films of the last 3½ decades is stored in fire-proof boxes and in projectionists' collections.

If the possibility of knowing our past conflicts with regulations, I will try to circumvent them. Since one rarely succeeds in gaining access to the restricted materials of libraries and archives, other possibilities remain--books and journals smuggled from the West and western radio stations. I also know

that compared to information obtained from true primary source materials, these are only random and unreliable attempts, and are no better than the pitiful struggles of domestic historiography. I want facts, documents and real knowledge. I want to know, understand and apply everything today that occurred before and after 1945 in Hungary, Europe and the world.

2. I Want to Understand the Present, the True Nature of Our Society. In many respects our information about domestic policies has sunk to the level of "general public whispering." The individual attempts to orient himself, but the terse rulings of the Central Committee are insufficient...

It is not the young generation of writers which is apolitical, but rathers its situation. The shockingly false observation of today that "the golden age of Hungarian literature is over" (Sukosd) is an automatically soothing self-justification (at times I feel it is politically comforting).

It is not over: as a matter of fact, its responsibility today is greater than at any other time in Hungarian history. An accurate comparison made by Illyes is appropriate: "Each country's forward progress is like that of a Roman cart. It has two wheels: one is the public, i.e., the political, the other is the spiritual. When the two work together, all is well. If either one falters, trouble is imminent. What usually happens is that one takes over the job of the other. That is, either politics acts as though it knows better what literature is, or the spiritual life acts as though it knows better what literature or politics is."

3. Occasions and Opportunities Are Necessary for Cooperation. Only in this way can literature and the arts break out of the seeming (and increasingly observable) paralysis of self-torture. In truth, this breaking out already began at the end of the sixties and has since become stronger, except that it does not receive publicity, political influence or formal instruments. While the foul atmosphere of suspicion accompanies efforts to found a journal or a group, while symbolic handshakes are a substitute for dialogue, while the critics are unable to deal with literary experiments in "active resistance," while organizations and businesses disintegrate in bureaucratic red tape, "Literature, as it wallows in its own bitter juices, must learn to put itself beyond lamentation and shameful inventory-taking, and to revolt in the name of life fighting for the right to act" (Sandor Csoori).

The lesson is very difficult. I was elected and am thus a member of the board of directors of the young writers' organization bearing the name of Attila Jozsef (!) [FIJAK] which is linked to the Hungarian Writers Union. (Ed.: It has since been suppressed.) I am convinced that in its present form, with the tools and opportunities now at its disposal, it is unable to function. A recent example: In the spring of this year, we visited a few cities (Nyiregyhaza, Debrecen, Miskolc, Szombathely, Kecskemet, Karcag, Szeged, Pecs...) with the secretary of FIJAK attempting to incorporate those existing and functioning creative groups suitable for collaborating with into a more comprehensive intellectual movement capable of qualitative development. We tried to set up opportunities for meetings (among other things). The result was painfully pathetic.

Since then, for example, the group in Karcag was crippled by local suspicion, and plans for a meeting at Salgotarjan in the fall became snagged in the local labyrinth; the organizer of the Pecs meeting did not even receive the credentials necessary for his work...It is almost laughable how proposals, wishes and intentions raised at general members and board of directors meetings are drowned in the morass of incompetence.

Our work is cut out for us. Beyond the fact that we must learn to act and take advantage of opportunities, it is necessary to force answers from the politician in the context of individual dialogue. We need the response of the politician. Without this, we cannot go further. At most, we will be carried onward by the ROSE-COLORED JEEP (poem of Margit Szecsi).

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CARDINAL DISCIPLINES CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian No 1, 1982 p 3

[Article by Laszlo Kasza: "Cardinal Lekai and Armed Military Service"]

[Text] The constitutions of the Warsaw Pact member states do not permit their citizens to refuse military service for reasons of conscience. If in spite of this they decide to do so, they are sent to prison. In Hungary, paragraph 347 of the Criminal Code states:

"Anyone refusing to perform military service commits a criminal offense which is punishable by 1 to 5 years in prison, and in times of war, by 10 to 15 years in prison, life imprisonment or by death."

During the past 3 decades this paragraph has been applied primarily in the case of two sects, the Jehova's Witnesses and the Nazarenes, whose religion forbids them from performing military service.

During the past year and a half, however, there has been an increase in the number of people refusing military service, especially among those demanding that in the member states of the Warsaw Pact it also be made possible for people objecting to bear arms for reasons of conscience, to perform so-called "social services" (i.e., caring for the sick, taking care of the elderly, etc.). This movement has been the strongest in East Germany, but it has also been significant in Hungary. In both cases, this demand has been voiced by church groups and by groups closely affiliated with the Christian churches. However, while in the GDR the movement has been supported by the leaders of the Evangelical Church, who have even issued a statement calling on the government to allow people to refuse military service, the leaders of the Hungarian Catholic Church have not given it their support. On the contrary, in a speech he delivered on the 125th anniversary of the consecration of the Esztergom Basilika, Cardinal Primate Dr Laszlo Lekai declared:

"As the primate of the country I am concerned to see that some of our excess-prone priests and parishioners have been urging our young people of military age to refuse military service. And they do this by citing the Holy Scriptures and the teachings of the Church, suggesting that our young people's resolute rejection of military service should be inspired directly by their Catholic faith. And we are shocked to hear that there are those who obey

their word. We are appalled to see that both the deceivers and the deceived have so little knowledge of Hungary's past. Could St. Stephen and St. Ladislas have repelled their enemies without arms and without the use of military force? It took hard-fought battles and heroic bloodshed. Why were they using arms such as bows and lances back then? Why? In order to uphold one's right to self-defense, one's right to be strong." (KATOLIKUS SZO 4-11 October 1981)

Cardinal Dr Laszlo Lekai went on to add the following to the opinions he had expressed in the above speech:

"...if the Catholic Church shared the views of the base community, and if there were many Hungarian citizens who refused military service, Hungary would be left without a military defense in today's world. We cannot assume this responsibility." (KATHPRESS, 24 September 1981)

Domestic public opinion has been stunned upon hearing that the country's primate has used the same personalities of our history to justify the necessity of military service in today's Hungary, who centuries ago had been fighting for our country's independence. We have also been reminded by Church circles, that the official position of the Catholic Church on the possibility of refusing armed service, as defined by the 2nd Vatican Council, differs from the views held by Cardinal Lekai.

Point 79 of the 2nd Vatican Council's pastoral constitution, which starts with the words "Gaudium et Spes," states:

"It would seem reasonable to expect laws to be understanding when dealing with people who for reasons of conscience are opposed to taking up arms, but are ready to serve the human community in a peaceful form."

The official interpretation of this conciliar position is as follows:

"The possibility of refusing military service must be recognized by reason of the freedom of the conscience, even if there are those who believe that this is an objectively incorrect attitude. Good faith--if it is genuine and, in addition, is based on reason--must be respected at all times. The specific problem in connection with this is: how to recognize good faith, and furthermore, how to carry out the substitute service through which military service can be replaced by a peaceful undertaking of tasks provided to society in a demanding and valid form.

"Generally, states that have worked out legal measures for dealing with cases involving the refusal of military service, have established two types of institutions. One is the court, or the committee, whose task is to seriously evaluate the decision of the person refusing military service. The other is civilian, in place of military service. The Council expressed a definite preference for this kind of a general solution. There is every hope, that in the future this position will help eliminate the reservations which several Catholic theologians and personalities still maintain regarding the refusal of military service." (Lexicon fur Theologie und Kirche)

Despite the position taken by the head of the Hungarian Catholic Church, there has been an increase--primarily among young catholics and the lower clergy--in the number of people demanding the right to refuse military service. A year and a half ago a group of them turned to Primate Lekai with the request of asking the episcopate to officially speak out--the same way the East German Evangelical Church has done--in favor of making it possible in Hungary also, to substitute social service for armed service. The episcopate refused to discuss the question. (GUARDIAN, 22 December 1981) In fact, Cardinal Lekai has even taken action against the priests who have expressed their support for this demand. Chaplains Laszlo Kovacs of Budapest and Andras Groman of Pomaz have been suspended. The suspension of Laszlo Kovacs was discussed in detail by the Austrian Catholic news service in its reports of 21 and 24 September 1981. In short, this is what happened: Laszlo Kovacs, the chaplain of the Queen of Rosary parish in Budapest, had been involved primarily in curing the souls of young people. On 22 August, he led a youth pilgrimage in Hajos. On the scene he was told that his superiors had forbidden him to hold his planned sermon. The more than 700 pilgrims present, however, demanded that he talk to them. Laszlo Kovacs complied with their request. He chose the message of the "Sermon on the Mount" as the central theme of his preaching. He emphasized that renouncing violence was a truly Christian position.

On 6 September, Laszlo Kovacs was summoned to the archdiocese of Esztergom, where he was subsequently told that he was to be the subject of disciplinary action. The proceedings began immediately. They refused to grant Laszlo Kovacs his request to suspend the hearings for 2 weeks because he had not had a chance to prepare legally for defending his position. In the course of the proceedings it was specifically emphasized that his church superiors considered his position on military service to be one of the causes behind the disciplinary action against him.

On 9 December, Cardinal Dr Laszlo Lekai informed Laszlo Kovacs of the disciplinary verdict in writing. According to that verdict:

1. His right to perform his clerical functions will be suspended for 6 months.

2. Laszlo Kovacs will no longer be allowed to reside within the territorial limits of the Esztergom archdiocese, which means that he must also give up his Budapest residence.

3. He will be transferred to Marianosztra. He will only be allowed to leave the village with the special permission of the parish priest in charge, and only after announcing the purpose of, and the reasons for his trip.

4. Any possible appeal of the verdict must be submitted through his bishop.

5. Any violation of the rules laid down in this order may lead to further punishment.

Laszlo Kovacs' case created a great stir in church circles. Many have denounced the country's primate for his orders. (A reference was made to this in the 4-11 October 1981 issue of KATOLIKUS SZO). Among the people who

disagreed with the order was Andras Gromon, a chaplain from Pomaz. When he openly criticized Cardinal Lekai's ruling, his bishop also suspended his right to continue his pastoral activities. Both orders were approved at the fall conference of the Hungarian episcopate. (UJ EMBER 18 October 1981)

The case of the suspensions, however, has continued to be a subject among the parishioners and the lower clergy. Many have expressed their protest against the course of action taken by the leaders of the Church. Here is a letter addressed to Primate Dr Laszlo Lekai by six priests, which is characteristic of the debate:

"Your Most Reverend Father Cardinal,

"We were shocked to hear that you have suspended chaplain Laszlo Kovacs.

"This suspension has had a great deal to do with the fact, that on several occasions our friend openly spoke out against military service. We were concerned to read Your Reverend's speech in UJ EMBER, in which you branded as deceivers and the enemies of the Church all those who for reasons of conscience have chosen to refuse military service,--saying--that it is in contradiction with the love of the country and of the Church. Furthermore, that this kind of attitude is inconsistent with the Holy Scriptures and the traditions of the Church. We were astounded, that in spite of this, you chose your arguments not from these but from Hungarian history.

"Today, when the camp of non-violence is becoming increasingly larger world wide, Your Reverence has come out opposing point 79 of the 2nd Vatican Council's 'Gaudum et Spes' pastoral constitution, in which the council gave its consent to refuse military service for reasons of conscience.

"It has come to our attention, that rather than triggering opposition, our brother priest, Laszlo Kovacs' speech has elicited a concurrence of opinion on the part of the priests in the Kalocsa archdiocese, who refused to sign a declaration initiated and requested by archepiscopal office director, Geza Kovats, denouncing Laszlo Kovacs. Subsequently, he informed Your Reverence that Laszlo Kovacs' Hajos speech was unanimously denounced.

"We take exception to the fact, furthermore, that because he had criticized Your Reverence's speech and the OBKB [Catholic Committee of the National Peace] declaration published in UJ EMBER, chaplain Andras Gromon of Pomaz was brought before the Church court by Bishop Imre Kisberek and was given a temporary preliminary suspension.

"We believe, that during the present difficult times the Hungarian Episcopate should follow the same road chosen by the Evangelical Church in East Germany under much more difficult conditions.

"At the same time we were pleased to read, that the young people of Austria have expressed their solidarity with those Hungarian, East German and Czechoslovakian youth who have declined to do their military service (see the 18 October 1981 issue of WIENER KIRCHENZEITUNG), and who have been condemned by the official leaders of the Church.

"Our Marxist history books have taught us that the Church was always on the side of the ruling class, that it opposed all sound initiatives and that it provided an ideology for the ruling class. Unfortunately, in many instances this was indeed the case. It seems, that the present Hungarian hierarchy is continuing this tradition by ignoring today's timely problems and by trying to get their representatives out of the way, using medieval methods.

"Today, when even the leaders of the great powers are talking about disarmament, we find it inexplicable that the head of the Hungarian Church would speak out in defense of the military force which they call a reorganized force.

"Taking all of this into account, we are hereby asking you to please rescind the measures taken against our brother priest.

"Your brother priests in Christ: Tamas Horvath, Gyorgy Kocsi, Janos Redey, Gyorgy Szekely, Laszlo Varnai and Jozsef Vincze. On the day of St. Elizabeth." (10 December 1981, KATHPRESS;--10 December DPA;--10 December KNA)

According to reports from Budapest by Western newsmen, it is not just the Catholic Church which is becoming increasingly tougher with people who refuse military service, or demand to be allowed to perform social service in lieu of military duty, but also the various organs of government. (11 January 1982, Reuter;--24 December 1981, Reuter;--22 December 1981, NYT)

Miklos Haraszti, a writer living in Budapest, even mentions some names and cases in connection with this:

"Despite the fact that he was 47 years old, Dr Jozsef Merza, mathematician, was called up for military service. When he refused, he was subjected to psychological examination. His son--also for refusing military service--was sentenced to 5 years in prison. We know of four other cases in which Catholics have been either sent to prison, or put in psychiatric wards." (22 December 1981, GUARDIAN)

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YOUNG WRITER EXPLAINS HIS EMIGRATION

Munich NEMZETOR in Hungarian 15 Feb 82 pp 1-2

[Article by Laszlo Gabor Hajnal:* "He Who Is Fainthearted Betrays His Contemporaries: Why I Emigrated From Hungary"]

[Text] When the plane took off on the afternoon of June 7, 1981, I felt very alone. Sitting somberly amid the crowd of carefree tourists, I meditated on the whys and wherefores of my escape. Though relentless self-examination is not easy, sometimes a balance sheet must be drawn up. Since then, during the tedious hours of refugee camp life, I often wonder whether my colleagues oppressed into "facelessness" were braver because they stayed, or was I the one who acted properly by choosing the fate of the "voluntary exile?" But could I have done otherwise when I was overwhelmed by the most elemental desire of a tormented creature: to live freely and without fear, to shout out the sentences stuck in my throat.

At a gathering toward the end of the sixties, the then renowned Bishop Ravasz was quoted in connection with the events of '56: "Kisses for the wounds, flowers for the graves!" This statement evoked a tremendous catharsis in me, for I was not acquainted with even one of those who had been wounded, nor did I know where the graves of the slain--the executed--lay. This however was not my fault. My older friends rarely spoke of the revolution, and even then it was wrapped in a cloud of mystery. It was not mentioned in the textbooks, and access to primary source materials is impossible, although the right to read is one of the human freedoms. I began to inquire with the naivete of a twenty-year old; I wrote poems, organized demonstrations and in November of 1969, from behind bars, I suddenly realized that to question the past is not a safe undertaking. Fortunately my isolated agonizing did not last long. On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Soviet rule, i.e., "liberation," I received amnesty (and was simultaneously rehabilitated), and in a few months, was allowed to work as a journalist. But not for long!

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*Laszlo Gabor Hajnal is a 33-year old young writer, poet and sociographer; he is a member of the domestically outlawed Attila Jozsef Young Writers Circle and has recently left Hungary as a political refugee. He is presently residing in a West German refugee camp. In 1969 he was sentenced to four years for subversive activities. Later, his writings appeared on the pages of UJ TUKOR, ALFOLD and KRITIKA, among others. He has edited numerous anthologies and has written several screenplays.

While traveling around the country and talking with people, I became increasingly aware that matters were entirely in order only in the communiques drafted for foreigners. The thoughtful domestic observer often sees only Potemkin walls and does not understand how the party can advertise the success of its programs, a feat which it has been unable to prove for decades. Since journalists are obliged to explain and blur the series of mistakes incurred by the workings of political and societal government, I resigned from the newspaper writers guild in 1974, hoping that the disgust I felt at being an accomplice signified the beginning of a time of healing. I became a freelancer, and I honestly believed that the situation would shortly change, that the leaders of the country would finally observe the humanitarian points of the Hungarian Constitution, that democracy would not mean domination, but the assurance of truth and the possibility of declaring it. Although I have written poems, short stories, plays and screenplays. I chose sociography as my primary genre and set out to investigate the somber facts: Why young people burn out early, wander about without faith or hope, and become alcoholic, suicidal and neurotic. As Allen Ginsberg wrote in his poem "Screaming," "I have seen the best of my generation in the ruins of madness..." Similarly, each self-destructive fate pained me; struggling with tears, I listened to wrinkled, countless times defrauded, terribly weary peasants who were forced into agricultural cooperatives under the slogan of "collectivization."

For years I fought with editors, obstinately argued over deleted lines and did not accept the publishing authorities' stipulation: "For each negative, there must be at least one corresponding positive, because the primary duty of the socialist writer is to show the bright side!" A tremendous amount of material did not leave my desk, but I waited patiently and trusted that the peremptory "obligations" of the bureaucrats would not favor literature for long; the truth cannot be trifled with forever. Toward the end of the seventies, the winds of liberalism indeed began to blow gently, the half-and-half standard was no longer a stipulation and the so-called more "jolting" topics were able to see the light of day--in moderation, of course. Many young writers received scholarships and were able to go on foreign study tours, and dozens of different anthologies appeared. But truly creative groups hardly formed, because we were permeated with fear. It can be surmised that my generation carries suspicion within its genes, having inherited this trait from our parents who, during the war and years of the personality cult, learned that one must be careful with words and that the tongue can be a means of transgression. We too suspected others of being "rats" and presumed our friends to be informers. We accused others and we became the accused; all the while we longed for a vox humana and speech without deception with all our hearts, but this remained more or less only a desire as a result of extreme distrust. We did not realize that the method of "divide et impera" was ingeniously used against us.

A turning point came with the organization by the Attila Jozsef Young Writers Circle of a long delayed and finally reluctantly permitted meeting at Lakitelek (May 18-19, 1979), whose participants Tibor Tollas aptly named "the generation of the underground spring." During the conference, I also spoke (excerpts from my speech were carried in the February 1980 issue of NEMZETOR). I emphasized the importance of responsibility and courage in young writers and that the

(cultural) policy has totally succeeded in frightening away the majority of aspiring writers with the cynical Machiavellianism, "We forbid nothing but obstruct everything!" As a result, there is hardly an outspoken sociographer, i.e., factwriter, in this generation; they are uniformly gray and irresolute and do not even dare end their sentences with an exclamation point or a question mark. Yet, according to Andras Suto, "Where else is the writer's daring needed, if not in revealing the commonplace? What could be a more strictly held state secret than a given society's true state of affairs? What else is a writer if not the strangled hope of the crowd of anguished spirits who wait for him to speak also in their names? But at those times, we are brazen cowards."

We all hoped then that something new would begin. We dared to stand up and ask for an accounting of our suppressed history. We believed that this was the end of total silencing of the conscience and prolonged amorality. We were mistaken. At the meeting at Szentendre, the atmosphere was conspicuously chillier and the intelligent, brave opinions expressed by Sanyi Lezsak and Erzsi Toth did not serve to dispel it. We instinctively felt the tightening cordon behind us and that the officials of the Ministry for Cultural Affairs were racking their brains for sanctions against us. No matter!--a few of us gestured--the tornado will at most abrade, but not weaken our lines. After all, the pyramids were also honed in this way. Unfortunately, the more pessimistic ones--as yet only in jest--characterized the future realistically: "This is the kind of free country where the free man can do whatever he is allowed!" And they were right. In March 1981, the activities of the Attila Jozsef Young Writers Circle, around which the "generation of the underground spring" clustered, were suspended.

As soon as the short report in ELET ES IRODALOM disclosed the Ministry's decision, the network which had been presumed to be tightly linked disintegrated. Foolish gloaters stepped forward immediately with, "You see, it's impossible against the wind;" the more cautious said, "Did you hear what happened to the authors of the Bibo memorial book, even though they were noted writers...?" Curious reports began to circulate: So-and-so is being fired from his job, someone else is not getting a scholarship, etc. The rumors achieved their purpose, the weak were toppled in turn by ethical nihilism and the braver ones waited in vain for help. And everyone was open to blackmail of some sort: housing allocations, the admittance of children to the nursery or kindergarten, contracts for previously shelved manuscripts were quickly signed, various advantageous jobs were offered. The politicians of culture expediently tried to reach a compromise with as many young people as possible, and the knights of prosperity quickly realized that battle would not make sense now, if a profit can be gained. Only a few, too few, remained true to their original ideal, but those are deserving of respect who reasoned: if they become faint-hearted, they betray their contemporaries!

During the time I was making a decision, a thousand different emotions whirled within me: I chose to risk the isolation of the immigrant, for if I stayed, I would sooner or later be caught in the current, and it is uncertain whether I would be able to withstand the pressure of power. Being at the mercy of others may force one to do many things, but--as the saying goes--after the age

of Christ, man is responsible for his own integrity and deeds. But we have arrived at the question: am I the loser or perchance, have I won? I do not know yet. For me, the refugee camp is like the caisson of the miner striving from the deep toward the sunlight: a transitional residence between two closed places of differing air pressures. But wherever my road may turn, I stubbornly believe that the representatives of the soul cannot be robbed, their right to think about their country, people and nation cannot be taken away from them and written up as their crime if they are concerned about the Hungarian past, present and future. Again I quote from Andras Suto: "Language is not sacred scripture, but neither is it constrained to any sort of hooliganism!" Yet in a country where every third word is unspeakable, I could serve only as an outlaw.

I hardly packed anything into my suitcase. Before my departure I walked through the streets which were familiar to the point of boredom; while walking, I memorized John Hus' most beautiful prayer: "Search for truth, listen to truth, study truth, love truth, speak truth, guard truth till death!" I stored this moral command and a few ideas to write about later in my mind, since I know that in Hungary, only thoughts are duty-free and do not have to be declared.

9956
CSO: 2500/200

LETTER FROM POLISH INTERNMENT CAMP PUBLISHED

PM011121 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 1 Apr 82 p 5

[Report by "Our Diplomatic Staff": "Polish Prisoners Tell of Martial Law Ordeals"]

[Text] Allegations that prisoners at a Polish internment camp were systematically beaten and made to run a gauntlet of baton-wielding guards on the day marking the third month of martial law reached THE DAILY TELEGRAPH yesterday.

A letter signed "A Prisoner of the General (Jaruzelski)" was dated 16 February 1982, and came from an internment camp at Wierzchowo Pomorskie, in western Poland.

The letter starts: "Right from the beginning this day felt different. Around 10 am the commandant of the internment camp summoned us prisoners to a meeting. The commandant called a few of the internees from Koszalin aside.

"During this meeting Major Gadomski behaved in a very vulgar, offensive and provoking fashion. The prisoners from Koszalin did not react to these insults, apart from Sliwinski, who answered back. His response had an immediate reaction: He was given 7 days' solitary.

"The day was also different in that there was a strengthening of the sentries, i.e., the meals were supervised by two guards, not one." The internees were told "more interesting attractions await you in the afternoon."

"At approximately 6 pm the screws who were on duty that day entered the cells. Behind them stood their colleagues in full battle kit, i.e., long batons, helmets with visors and riot-shields.

"After entering the cells, they demanded the erasing of slogans demanding the unlocking of these cells...so we decided not to provoke the screws and erased the slogans.

"The first assault occurred when the aforementioned Sliwinski was ordered out of Cell 10. Sliwinski assumed that he would be taken to the isolation block, but as he went out of his cell, those inside heard what sounded like a series of blows.

"They heard him cry out: 'Why are you beating me? Oh Jesus!', followed by more slaps and blows. This provoked a reaction from his colleagues: They made a noise by banging metal plates and cups.

"As the guards shout: 'Sons of whores, we'll settle with you, we'll teach you how to behave. Beat them on the head. Walesa's bastards, because of you we can't go home,' they break into Cell seven where those brutally beaten up are dragged into the corridor.

"It is actually here that the real 'attractions' of the evening start. Along the path there are many infuriated prison guards. The first of the emerging internees are kicked, brutally beaten with fists and long batons.

"They are driven along the so-called 'path of health,' a corridor some 30 to 40 metres long, and then a footpath joining the first and fifth block. Those who are beaten while running along the length of this 'path' end up in the isolation block.

"A similar situation took place in Cell 20 where, after shouts in the corridor, inmate Piotr Baumgart reacted by shouting to one of those in charge: 'Sir, what is happening out there?'

"As if in answer, several infuriated guards burst into the cell and among the blows, kicks and slaps could be heard shouts of 'Beat those Walesa-ites, sons of bitches, go to Lech, maybe he'll help you.'

"After the first beatings, Lieut Ambryszewski [?or, Ambryszkiewicz] called out: 'Get into the corridor.' The prisoners saw this order was yet another prelude to the 'path of health.'

"One internee runs along the snow barefoot; another, in his own excrement. All five try to protect their heads from the raining blows. All the while, the guards, sporting Polish eagles on their helmets and lapels, shout, swear and insult them."

The letter then describes how internees had to attend an evening assembly where they were forced to stand to attention in a straight line. Some of them were beaten again for refusing to stand straight.

Later on that night, "after the blood had been wiped off the floor where Julian Jozwiakowski [?or, Jozwiak] had been beaten up, around 9 pm the inmates were warned against singing."

Internees were apparently in the habit of singing Polish national songs and hymns after lights-out.

"At 11 pm the officer of the day ordered internees to be examined by a camp doctor to describe their beatings. This examination took place in the presence of an unknown civilian and a few screws.

"A few of the internees, particularly from the isolation cells, were unable to sleep the following nights unless given sleeping pills and drugs.

"On the next day M. Sadlowski, P. Baumgart and H. Nakieta had severe nausea, sickness and other symptoms of brain damage. Z. Lakomski fainted during the Sunday exercise and later, as brain damage was suspected, was taken to hospital.

"During the 'action' on 13 February, two ambulances arrived in the evening, but were sent away empty.

CSO: 2020/43

'DEFORMITY' OF POLISH LANGUAGE VIEWED

AU151646 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Mar 82 p 4

[Commentary by Michal Struczynski: "So That the Polish Language...."]

[Text] "No other people are less in love with their own language than the Poles." This is how Mikolaj Rej complained in the introduction to his "The Image of Honest Man's Faithful Life." Szymon Szymonowic went even further: "Language is the worst man can do in the way of art." Was the Polish language uncultivated, defective and given to babbling just anything even then?

There must have been something in that because Juliusz Slowacki professed this in his "Beniowski": "I want a supple language to express whatever thoughts one's head produces." As we know, Slowacki the poet was the architect of the special beauty of our language.

Concern for the language and its unique form and expression is like a recurring wave and is something of a constant motif in Polish cultural consciousness. The intensity of that recurring wave has differed in the course of centuries--it has ebbed and flowed--but it has rarely acquired such political intensity as it has now.

This is no commentary ex cathedra, and we do not regard ourselves as being called to determine which of the many external factors have inflicted the greatest damage on our language and continue to threaten it most. On the other hand, convinced that such factors do exist and that it is our social duty to name them, we bring up this issue once again, because our language is our fatherland--one of those fatherlands that are closest to man. That is why it is not a matter of indifference how we love our language.

We have said that this issue is of great political significance. Just as are national historical consciousness, national cultural and artistic heritage, and the culture of moral and political choices, so is a national language (perhaps most of all) a sign of national identity. This is why our attitude toward our language should be more heartfelt and more responsible than a pupil's simple attitude to a subject taught at school.

Let us think about our language as a factor in social rapprochement and accord. Does the language we now use serve such an important cause well?

For many years the language has replaced reality for many people. It has been a screen and a tool for deforming the image of real social and political relations. It has ceased to be a means of communication and has increasingly become an element of some magic ritual. We assert that not only state policy and official propaganda have supported such a process of distortion of our language. The same word and the same concept have been used to express the most varied and contradictory meanings, depending on who used them and on what he wanted to express. Let us just mention the recent vagaries of such concepts as progress, renewal and justice. These concepts have become plasters, chewing gum, blindfolds and missiles in political struggle. They have served every purpose and have therefore become almost empty sounds. Almost every social, vocational and political community has made a great contribution to such distortions of our language and has again justified Szymonowic's sarcastic statement that "language is the worst man can do in the way of art."

The need for renewing our language constitutes, under these conditions, a program of urgent concern and activity. The tasks of schools and artistic institutions that use words are enormous in this regard. But the tasks of all the social forces who want the renewal of our sociopolitical language life now and in the future--a socialist renewal for the good of all our people--are even more enormous and responsible. We have to say outright that it is hard to imagine socialist renewal being successful without a truly successful struggle for our language--for its purity, openness and explicitness.

CSO: 2600/610

PZPR DELEGATE ADDRESS AT INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS NOTED

AU301700 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27-28 Mar 82 p 6

[Report by PAP correspondent K. Mroziewicz: "The 12th Congress of the Indian Communist Party--We Need Enduring Alliance of the Forces of Progress--Speech by the Chairman of the PZPR Delegation"]

[Text] Benares—On 26 March, during the successive session of the 12th Congress of the Indian Communist Party, a speech was made by Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, PZPR Political Bureau candidate member and chairman of the PZPR delegation.

W. Mokrzyszczak extended greetings to the congress from the PZPR and PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski.

He discussed the events in Poland in the past few months and their causes, and dwelt on the results of the countermeasures and on the action program for the next few months. "It is our wish that martial law be over as soon as possible, and that it effectively protects the country in order to overcome the crisis," he said.

The session welcomed with applause that section of W. Mokrzyszczak's speech in which he assured that Poland would not leave the road to socialism and that the party would do all it could to ensure that socialist Poland makes a significant contribution toward strengthening the position of socialism in the world and toward consolidating international peace and cooperation.

W. Mokrzyszczak stressed that the alliance of the forces of peace and progress is now more necessary than ever before. We are ready, he said, to contribute to it and we believe indefatigably that, despite threats, the world will embark upon the road to peace, progress and justice.

He stressed the enormous significance of the help given to Poland by the USSR and other socialist countries, and noted the importance of the understanding and support offered by all Poland's true friends.

CSO: 2600/610

'POLISH ANALYST' CITED ON UNDERGROUND PRESS

PM2915457 Paris LE MATIN in French 27 Apr 82 p 16

[Article by "Polish analyst" in Warsaw not further identified: "Poland: The Fear of Confrontation"]

[Text] The Polish resistance is now entering its second phase. The first was one of taking stock while the population was still in a state of shock. People were tentatively seeking each other out, grouping together by family, friendly and professional affinities. The organizational links established by Solidarity seemed to be broken. Although they survived at grass roots level in the enterprises, Solidarity as a whole was "sliced up" by the proclamation of martial law. Nationwide links had to be reestablished from nothing.

Once the first wave of spontaneous rebellious strikes had subsided, many members sustained themselves with dreams illustrated by the slogan: "The winter is yours, the spring will be ours." People prepared for events rather than trying to plan them. The main clandestine activity during that initial period was publishing. Underground newspapers increased from around 100 at the end of December to 1,700 in mid-March, but most of those publications only produced a few hundred issues. Today some "night newspapers" are running more than 10,000 copies. Production techniques range from ordinary typewriters to sophisticated rotary offset machines, as in the case of the Warsaw weekly MAZOWSZE. The first job of that clandestine press was to publicly proclaim the population's indignation. The ban on traveling inside the country, the paralysis of the telephone network, and the break in contacts considerably limited the amount of news in those publications. That press had scarcely any organizational functions, each clandestine editor merely proposing symbolic protests in one form or another.

A document produced by Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski's office in mid-February expressed satisfaction at that collapse. However, it was premature satisfaction since, despite all its weaknesses, that press has nonetheless helped to encourage resistance. Its distribution networks have gradually become the main means of reestablishing contacts regionally and then nationally.

The trade union has gradually begun to reorganize around the elected leaders who escaped the roundup. That immediately sparked off a lively debate on

the need for such "centralization." That discussion already marked the beginning of the second phase. As always, the organizational problems in fact reflected different assessments of the political situation. For instance, in the Warsaw region, where the debate went furthest, it centered on the subject of centralization or decentralization.

Bujak and Kulerski, chairman and second vice chairman of the region, advocate diffuse resistance with a maximum of decentralization, whose strength would lie in the workers' spontaneous solidarity and high morale.

In this hypothesis the trade union's clandestine regional leadership has no command role but merely provides means or examples for the activities of decentralized groups. Those who advocate these tactics think that, since the resistance would be essentially passive, it would be impossible for repression to hit really hard.

Romaszewski, a member of the trade union's National Commission, however, writes in the clandestine press advocating a strong and flexible underground trade union organization. There would be on the one hand "decentralization" of the enterprise cells and, on the other, centralized technical networks responsible for settling pamphlets and for communications and so forth. At the center there would be a real leadership, regional initially and national as quickly as possible.

In that hypothesis the resistance would move toward increasingly active forms while saving the forces of the enterprise cells for the big battles. The everyday struggle would essentially be waged by the "networks [i.e., nets ["Sieci"]]."

The Threshold of Despair

According to Romaszewski, Bujak's and Kulerski's proposals are based on the idea that 13 December marked the defeat of the "national insurrection" after 15 months of struggle and that a long period of regression is inevitable, during which the main point is to preserve what is left, avoiding forms of active resistance.

Romaszewski thinks that 13 December was merely one lost battle and that it is vital to organize for the next one. The provinces seem divided. In the traditionally militant regions of Gdansk and Wroclaw it is Romaszewski's position which dominates. Krakow, however, supports Bujak, and Poznan is undecided. The discussion is only just beginning.

Recently Workers' Self-Defense Committee [KOR] founder Jacek Kuron, interned in Bialoleka camp, managed to pass out a document in which--without knowing it--he says essentially the same as Romaszewski. That letter made a strong impression.

Despair is the ally of dictators until it reaches the point at which the masses feel they no longer have anything to lose. Now, in Poland the workers are coming dangerously close to that threshold: Their wages are no longer enouch to feed their families. They are having to take their last reserves from their stockings and their savings accounts.

At the same time the men in power are being increasingly open in showing their intention to destroy any vestige of freedom.

The expected announcement of sackings on a massive scale in order to "discipline" workers could provide the spark in the powder keg. Thus the militant grass roots are asking for clear directives. They no longer simply want to collect trade union contributions and distribute the clandestine press. Here and there workers are taking spontaneous initiatives like boycotting "collaborators": Posters are even being put up on the doors of their apartments. For instance, a similar campaign forced Olinski, the director of CEFARM, the state pharmacies, to go to a sanatorium for treatment for his shattered nerves. Some workers are even advocating the use of "violence" against "collaborators." That suggestion was made in a letter to the Warsaw Region leadership.

At a deeper level, those grass roots are demanding the prospect of struggle. Aside from a few small groups of diehards and desperados who want to fight immediately and dream of "armed struggle," the vast majority of members are asking the same question despite 13 December. If it is impossible to strike down this government, how can it be moved?

Those who call for active resistance hope that by channeling the masses' growing pressure in that way they will be able to force the government into a corner and that the Russians will sound the retreat in face of the danger of insurrection. The way of negotiations and compromise would then be open. "However slender it may be, it is the only chance; otherwise a Sovietization worse than that in Czechoslovakia awaits us," according to a document written by one of their supporters.

Even if the advocates of the long-term strategy, backed by ecclesiastical circles, accuse their interlocutors of excessive "despair," they must admit that their hopes for a reasonable solution have been dashed.

Back at the end of March even the most resigned people were beginning to advocate taking action. It is not a question of confrontations. Various spectacular actions are being planned to "restore the masses' confidence." The broadcast by Solidarity's pirate radio is the first illustration. The Government is using them to stir up anxiety. For instance, on 20 March at the Foreign Affairs Institute in Warsaw, Ciosek, the minister responsible for trade unions, no longer had any hesitation in saying that "the Government is aware of the risk of bloody riots in which 10,000 people could perish. But," the minister cried, "the Warsaw Pact will not abandon us. They will come in."

CSO: 3100/660

SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF MILITARY TECHNICAL ACADEMY NOTED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 1, 3 Jan 82 p 19

[Article by Jaroslaw Malyszko: "MTA Invites Industry"]

[Text] Today, we present, and by necessity in a very shortened form, the achievements of the scientists of the Military Technical Academy in several areas of modern technology. Many times this number of achievements could be shown. By observing the work of teams of scientists of this school, several important conclusions can be drawn. MTA is an institution whose cadre represents a high scientific level.

Thanks to this and to good organization, scientific and research processes are proceeding along the right track: theory, experimental confirmation of theory, and application, prototypes of materials, machines, and instruments. This concerns the basic line of interests of the school, the perfecting of the country's defense system, and the applications of the technical expertise of MTA to the national economy.

In the country's present situation we need a stake in the future like never before--trump cards which can once again lead us onto the road of progress. The modern technical thought presented by the scientists of MTA is one of these trumps. The scores of applications and projects prepared for application represent for the national economy a conservation of raw materials, means of production, and energy, improvement of licensing, replacement of imported raw materials and other materials with domestic ones, new and cheaper technologies, and particular equipment whose production is not possible anywhere else in the country.

Utilizing this possibility will not be easy. Experience to date has indicated that industry too seldom shows a sufficient interest in modern technology. Positive examples, such as suspended explosive materials or parabolic springs, unfortunately, are not the rule.

Therefore, in preparing for economic reform, it cannot be forgotten that without creating mechanisms which will stimulate industries to innovate and to introduce modern technology, while it will be possible to escape the poverty at the nadir of this crisis, no development of the country will be possible. We have already squandered many opportunities--let's do everything possible to keep from further wasting our native technological abilities.

Lasers

If it's MTA, it's lasers, if lasers, it's MTA. This association has been part of the social consciousness for many years. The Optoelectronics Institute of MTA not only works out new types of these instruments but also produces them on order of the Omel association, using the money earned for further work.

Laser technology offers tremendous potential in many areas of industry and in medicine. For example, a device made at MTA for microsurgery of the eye is used in the Warsaw Medical Academy for treating certain types of glaucoma. It has saved the sight of many people.

One of the most important achievements of the institute is the "holocamera." This is a device which, using the light of a laser, takes two holograms (spatial pictures) in a very short interval of time. A comparison of these two pictures gives a range of information about the photographed objects: movement and distortion of machines and their parts while in operation, stress, strain, material faults, etc. The camera has been used on the construction of the Petrochemia installation in Plock; research on aviation design is being prepared at the Aviation Institute in Warsaw. This type of research cannot be done in any other way.

Parabolic Springs

Instead of 18 rods, only three, instead of almost 150 kg, not quite 65 kg. These are the parameters of the bus spring developed at MTA's Mechanical Institute. The idea of the new spring is the shape of the rods--instead of 10 or 20 flat rods of various lengths, 3 of them, not flat but of a parabolic profile, suffice. Theoretical calculations indicate that the new springs should be 3-4 times more durable than the traditional ones. If even some buses, trailers, semitrailers and trucks were so equipped, the savings of spring steel could amount to 30,000-35,000 tons annually, which at current prices represents about a billion zlotys. The Polmo association wants to take advantage of this opportunity and is beginning field tests of Autosan buses.

Explosive Materials

It is difficult to imagine work in mines and quarries without the use of explosive materials. Because in such work there is always a danger for the life and health of a person, cost is no object in making this work safer.

This problem was undertaken by the Institute of Explosive Materials at MTA, and soon after it appeared that not only can explosive materials be made considerably safer, but can return, with interest, to the national economy the costs of research. This is because of the development of so-called suspended explosive materials. One of the varieties of this material, first used in strip mining, has been produced by the Pronit plants in Pionki in several-ton amounts. This material is completely unaffected by mechanical stimuli or high temperatures, and the semiliquid form (it is 1/5 water) makes it possible to pump it into blast holes.

The simple technology, low costs, use of domestic raw materials, safety of production and application, and the low concentration of harmful substances after an explosion are the basic advantages of this new material. Other types are being prepared which can be utilized in underground mining of coal and copper.

Infrared

Devices whose operation is based on the utilization of infrared rays are making a hit all over the world. In addition to their military applications and their use in space programs, they are being applied more and more in various areas of industry.

Infrared devices developed at MTA are used in the cement industry (in the study of temperature distributions in rotary furnaces) in foundries, and in mining safety. These devices make it possible to measure a temperature at a great distance from the heat source.

Infrared-ray-emitting devices also make possible the analysis of the chemical compositior of various substances. There is for example an informational series of exhaust analyzers for automobile engines during operation.

The basic element of all these devices is the infrared detector (sensor). Detectors produced at MTA not only serve in a constructed apparatus but are also exported to Western markets. For one detector, which fits in the palm of the hand, we receive as much hard currency as for 10 tons of coal. One dollar for 20 zlotys--you can look long and hard to find that kind of foreign hard currency profit rate in other specialized areas of export.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. p 19, top. Lasers are the mark of MTA. Col Dr Zdzislaw Jankiewicz and Lieut Marek Skurczynski with a prototype of a new device.

2. p 19, middle. The director of the group of liquid crystal technologies Dr Eugeniusz Kruszelnicki-Nowinowski, Wanda Kaniewska, and Urszula Karczmarczyk preparing the next experiment. One of the many achievements of the group is the development of a technique to utilize Polish liquid crystals for displays (calculators, watches, etc.) produced under the Japanese license.

3. p 19, bottom. One of the stages in the production of infrared detectors is the spreading in a vacuum cell of thin layers of semiconductors. Captain Dr Miroslaw Grudzien collects samples of the produced substances.

9915
CSO: 2600/511

BRIEFS

OLSZOWSKI, SOCIALIST AMBASSADORS--Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, met with the ambassadors from the fraternal socialist countries on 19 April. During the meeting he discussed the current problems of ideological work and the key lines of the party's activities in light of the recent national ideological-theoretical conference. [Text] [AU231250 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Apr 82 p 2]

SUSPENSION OF NEWS PROGRAM--Polish Radio reports that beginning 10 May a 10-minute program of topicalities will be broadcast in the second program, as well as on medium wave and VHF, by local radio stations. The aim is to provide rapid political commentary and information for works' radio relay systems. On the other hand, in view of the need for essential repairs and maintenance of technical equipment, we are compelled to suspend the broadcasting of the morning television news as of 10 May. [Excerpt] [LD071934 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 7 May 82]

CSO: 2600/609

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL CRISES, TM SCANDAL RESULT IN PURGES

High Level Purges, Hungarian Satire

Paris LE MATIN in French 14 May 82 p 12

[Article by Bernard Poulet: "Romania: Massive Purges at High Levels of the Party"]

[Excerpts] For several weeks the Romanian government and communist party have been undergoing an unprecedented purge. A minister, several deputy ministers, including some high officials of the Securitate apparatus, have lost their positions. In all, more than a thousand people are affected. At a time when Romania is going through an unprecedented economic crisis, these firings seem to indicate that the power of Nicolae Ceausescu could be contested.

The economic crisis which threatens to make Romania a "second Poland" perhaps has had its first economic consequences. By mid-April, some 250 high party officials, including deputy minister of transportation, Cornel Burada, had been purged and the estimate is that more than a thousand members of the Communist Party and of the government are currently "under investigation."

Even more surprising is the dismissal, announced on 28 April, of Aneta Spornic, minister of education and member of the political bureau [Political Executive Committee] of the Communist Party and of two of her deputies. Mrs Spornic was supposed to be a close friend of Elena Ceausescu, the wife of the president and number two in the regime. Finally, BULETINUL OFICIAL of 20 April (the Romanian official journal) revealed that two generals, Vasile Moisie and Gheorghe Zagoneanu, the deputy minister and the state secretary in the Ministry of the Interior, had been "relieved of their duties."

Thus, in a few weeks, a whole part of the management elite, including members of the all-powerful police apparatus, has been purged.

Why? The first official explanations note the infiltration into the state apparatus of a "transcendental meditation sect," to which several dignitaries were said to have belonged. According to the Ministry of the Interior review PENTRU PATRIE, the goal of the sect was "to overthrow the regime, to get Romania out of the Warsaw Pact and to dominate the world."

Supposedly, this sect was established in Romania 4 years ago and was guided by a certain Nicolae Stoian, whom no one seems to know. In any case, it would be hard to imagine such a large number of Romanian officials engaging in transcendental meditation, even clandestinely.

On the other hand, this purge, unprecedented since the days of Stalin, could be a sign of a crisis deep within the leadership in the face of the unprecedented economic catastrophe which the country is experiencing. Not only has the foreign trade indebtedness of Romania reached $13 million but also, the food problems are becoming dramatic. Last fall, they resulted in a strike in the mines of the Motru Valley. President Ceausescu, who tried to go there, was greeted by a volley of stones. Then we learned about the many letters from workers and peasants who violently denounced the government policy.

The tension became so great that crises at the top were expected. The hold of the "Ceausescu clan" over the state and the party has already been criticized in private conversations in Bucharest. The president and his wife have placed most of the members of their family in positions of high responsibility.

On 29 March, an article in ROMANIA LIBERA sketched a panegyric of the son of the leading family, Nicu Ceausescu, placed in the position of dauphin. "What good fortune to have a son who resembles his father so much," exclaimed the author of the article.

The latest events could indicate that there is something in the wind against the Ceausescu team. Or at least that the regime has made the first move in order to prevent a bad blow.

The wave of purges is also directed against Romanian intellectual circles. Among the victims of the purges one finds the names of Marin Sorescu, prestigious director of the literary review RAMURI and member of the committee of the Writers Union, the art critic Andrei Plesu, and the vice president of the Academy of Sciences [sic], Stefan Milcu. All, in one way or another, had questioned the absolutism of the head of state. Even the famous musician Gheorghe Zamfir, currently on a tour in Switzerland, is said to have received the "advice" not to return home.

Foreign observers in Bucharest think that the purging of intellectual circles might also signal an aggravation of ideological control in preparation for an "ideological congress" this summer.

But the threats in regard to the future of President Ceausescu have already received a type of confirmation in a fraternal country. At a time when personal attacks against socialist leaders are banned from the government press, the organ of the Hungarian Communist Party, NEPSZABADSAG, published, on 13 March, a transparent satire directed against Nicolae Ceausescu. Of course, the Romanian president is not named but the author of the article portrays the president of a "neighboring city" who dreams only of constructing a prestigious past. It is known that Ceausescu has attempted to trace the origins of the Romanian people back to the Dacians and even to the Thracians. "The near-by and distant neighbors (read the Hungarians and the Soviets)," the author says,

"had little reaction since they were accustomed to the extravagances of the aforesaid city. Privately, they expressed the idea that the city would be better off to be concerned about the state of its roads, the clock on the townhall, or, for example, with reimbursing the neighboring town for the 83 kg of paper which it has borrowed." Harsh, the article stresses the cult of the personality carried to such a point that "even favorable weather" is attributed to the president of the city.

It would be surprising if such an article were published without approval from a very high level. Meaning Moscow. In the periods of tension between Moscow and Bucharest, Hungary had always given veiled warnings to the Romanian leaders, on several occasions. This time the little story ends with the downfall of the "president."

Interview With TM 'Guru'

Paris LE MATIN in French 15-16 May 82 p 9

[Article by Irina Bossy and Bernard Poulet: "Romania: The 'Guru' Stoian Is Thunderstruck"]

[Text] LE MATIN contacts the person whom Ceausescu has named as the head of the "plot" directed against him.

According to the Bucharest press a number of Romanian personalities supposedly have been involved in a plot hatched by a transcendental meditation sect (see LE MATIN of 14 May). These revelations were accompanied by a purge which is unprecedented in the high spheres of the Romanian Communist Party and the journal of the Ministry of the Interior accused Nicolae Stoian of being the "guru" of this sect. Yesterday LE MATIN interviewed Stoian who currently lives in Western Europe.

The "guru" of the "transcendental meditation" movement, accused of having plotted in Romania "to overthrow the regime, make Romania withdraw from the Warsaw Pact and to dominate the world," said that he was completely abashed by the Romanian accusations.

A French national of Romanian origin, Nicolae Stoian says that he went to Romania about 6 years ago at the request of a "person who had heard about the movement and wanted to meet him." On this occasion, other Romanians, "no celebrities," wanted to learn about his teachings. "Then," he explains, "we made an official request at the Ministry of Education to obtain authorization for the establishment of a center. We never received a reply and, of course, I never met the minister, Mrs Spornic, who has now been purged, despite her friendship with Elena Ceausescu. The most important person with whom we had contact was Cornel Burada, deputy minister of transportation. But he began taking our course only recently."

Although he recognizes that he had some followers in Romania, including some in positions of responsibility, Stoian denies that there was a "conspiracy." "Some of the people accused in the Romanian press worked with us but most of

them were unknown to us, notably, the two generals from the Ministry of Interior who were just removed."

"It is hard to understand," he explains, "how a group whose purpose is 'the pacifying of the spirit' could plan to overthrow Nicolae Ceausescu. Unless the 'leader' thinks that spiritual peace is 'subversive.'"

Actually, the affair of the "sect" seems like a pretext for a purge, worthy of the great days of Stalinism where the doctors in white shirts were accused of wanting to assassinate the little father of the peoples. Of course, one can suppose that President Ceausescu, really fearing a plot, might have found these private "meditation" sessions suspect but the evidence is very sparse. The Romanian president has used the pretext to proceed to a big purge.

The affair is the latest symptom of the crisis of the Romanian regime. The fact that a good number of responsible communists have felt the need to take refuge in transcendental meditation is, certainly, another symptom of the malady.

CSO: 3100/681

PURGES, DOMESTIC MALAISE DISCUSSED BY BRUSSELS PAPER

Brussels LE SOIR in French 18 May 82 p 3

[Article by Pol Mathil: "A Climate of the End of the Reign in Romania"]

[Excerpts] Although he reigns in a country with an absolute monarchy and holds the presidency of all the existing organs of power, Nicolae Ceausescu prefers trips abroad. It is a paradox but it is not surprising that when he obtains indisputable successes in his diplomacy he only adds to his difficulties at home.

During the past few weeks Ceausescu, the head of a small country, has had a diplomatic itinerary worthy of a superpower. He visited China, North Korea and Greece; he hosted visits by Alexander Haig and the Turkish General Kenan Evren. He sent his private counsellor, Vasile Pungan, to see Begin and express his satisfaction "for the return of the Sinai to Egypt, an important event in the peace process" (he is the only Eastern leader to do this). At the moment when sparks were flying between Berlinguer and Moscow, a delegation from the Romanian Communist Party went to Rome to announce the mutual desire of the Romanian and Italian communists to develop and expand their contacts."

But at home, it is a situation of crisis and malaise. The recent purge which removed 1,000 personalities and militants of the regime (250 of whom are under investigation) is very significant in this regard. The "trigger" is confusing if not absurd. Charged with belonging to or tolerating the "Transcendental Meditation sect," established by a Romanian living in Switzerland, but legal in Romania since 1976, the following were purged: Aneta Spornic, the minister of education who was also a member of the highest party leadership, and her two deputies; the deputy minister of transportation, Cornel Burada; two generals in the militia, Vasile Moisie and Gheorghe Zagoneanu, deputy ministers of the interior; and the vice chairman of the Academy of Sciences, Stefan Milcu, and others.

The affair is much more complex, and not at all transcendental, and, like always in totalitarian countries, the purge reveals only the tip of the iceberg. First of all, it is interesting to note that the principal grievances formulated by the Ministry of the Interior's review in regard to the sect concern its plans to "snatch Romania out of the Warsaw Pact." Thus, it is a question of a clear Soviet warning, given by a faction within the Romanian

government to another faction committed to relative autonomy for Romania. The accusation is very reminiscent of the one which was formulated by Moscow against "Solidarity" in Poland. The confirmation of such an interpretation came from Hungary where the press, for the first time, has attacked not the Romanian policy toward the Hungarian minority in Transylvania (that would not be new) but the head of the Romanian state himself. And, it is highly unlikely that an unusual attack on an Eastern communist leader in the press of a "fraternal country" can be undertaken without the approval of Moscow.

The second aspect is no less interesting. Under the pretext of an "accountability of cadres," which is a common thing in Romania. Ceausescu is trying to abate the muted but perceptible anger resulting from the corruption of power which goes beyond all bounds even when measured by Romanian standards. Ceausescu is hitting high to try to cite the scapegoats responsible for the "Romanian malaise."

This was the framework for Sunday's purge of three deputy ministers, under the charge of "violation of financial laws"--Alexandru Margaritescu from foreign trade, and Enache Sirbu and Adrian Rogojeanu from agriculture and the food industry. Obviously, the Polish example, namely, the downfall of dozens of former party leaders including Edward Gierek, the old "brother and friend" of Ceausescu, prompted the Romanian president to make the first move.

Indeed, there is the scent of the end of the reign in Bucharest. Neither the aberrant cult of the "leader" nor the presence of his entire family in key posts has succeeded in ensuring the invulnerability of power established solely on nepotism. However, despite a disastrous economic and food situation, Ceausescu really does not have to be afraid of a popular revolt. The Romanians are not the Poles, and the historic and social factors are incomparable.

On the other hand, Ceausescu has reasons to fear a palace revolution. Indeed, his "administration," especially, the tendency of the presidential couple to subjugate the intellectuals completely and to arbitrarily manipulate the party apparatus, has established a climate which is more and more likely to destabilize the cadres and cause them anxiety.

For the first time--and this is no coincidence--a group of Romanian intellectuals has drafted a memo on the profound crisis in Romanian society. Ceausescu reacted, according to form, by purging several intellectuals, threatening to dissolve some associations of writers and artists and scheduling for the month of June "the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture," the miracle tool which is supposed to retighten the ideological screw.

The last congress of this type was in 1976.

CSO: 3100/674

ROLE, APPLICATIONS OF PSYCHOLOGY IN CONTEMPORARY LIFE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 1, 5 Jan 82 pp 14-17

/Article by Dr Mielu Zlate, University of Bucharest: "'Psychology and Life' or 'Psychology of Life'?"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics/

/Text/ In contrast to other social and human sciences that are still in the stage of questions about their object, psychology is greatly privileged from this viewpoint, it being an independent science with a well-defined object of study, with more and more fruitful attempts to determine the causal, necessary, thus lawlike relations between the phenomena that it studies, with its own methods of investigation. It is true that some authors are still asking themselves "what psychology is," whether "it is a science or an art," some asserting tautologically that "psychology is what psychologists do," others metaphorically, but extremely suggestively, that "psychology is the science that must be done with art." Of course, the evolution of psychology--as of other sciences--has not been linear and ever upward, but, on the contrary, strewed with difficult moments, which has also caused some authors to speak and write about the "crisis" or the "tragedy" of psychology.

In fact, the existence of a theoretical system that legitimizes psychology as a science and the growing utility and efficiency of the psychological research done in all countries of the world for the purpose of exploring the psychoindividual and psychosocial universe of the people are closely connected with the growth in the number of psychologists and of units in which they perform their practical activity, with the appearance of institutionalized forms (such as the associations of psychologists) and with the multiplication of the national and international psychology publications, conferences, symposiums and congresses. At the same time, perhaps the number of requests that come to psychology from the various social organizations and institutions has increased as an expression of their need to optimize their activity from a psychological viewpoint too.

In past years, psychology gained not only from an "intensive," in-depth viewpoint but also from an "extensive" one. From child psychology, school psychology, the psychology of work, the psychology of art or psychopathology, regarded as traditional,

psychology now has over 30 applicative branches. Social psychology appeared as a result of the growth of the role of interpsychological relations between people, of so-called "group psychology"; organizational psychology, due to the growth of the work of scientific organization and management; psychotechnology, meant to pursue the study of the general relationship between man and industrial products meant for personal, household or social use; flight psychology or space psychology, as a result of the development of the research connected with the conquest of space; and so on.

The development of psychology has always been connected with the practical requirements, with the very development of human society, with the problems with which it is confronted and with which it must cope or to which it must give a suitable answer. This is perfectly valid for Romanian psychology too. Now, perhaps more than ever before, as a result of social processes of maximum importance (intensive urbanization, the acceleration of the demographic rate, the institutionalization of individual and socioeconomic actions and processes), of the development of technical, economic and social progress, and of the impact produced by the scientific and technical revolution on man's life and especially due to its imminent transition to a new phase of its development, even more complex tasks stand before psychology.

However, the following questions are raised: is Romanian psychology prepared to cope with such tasks, requirements and demands and can it make its prompt and effective contribution to solving problems with repercussions both on the plane of individual life and on that of social life? It is hard to give a positive answer to these questions.

One notes a stagnation, if not even a regression, in the activity of the psychologists and in the efficiency of their research. Although, until not long ago, we could have spoken of the existence of a true Romanian psychological school, with internal variations in it (the psychology of learning, in Bucharest; the psychology of the personality, of its ethical and value aspects, in Iasi; experimental psychology and the psychological and pedagogical study of persons with sensory, mental and other deficiencies, in Cluj-Napoca; and psychopathology, in Timisoara), at present, the manifestations of this school are pallid and inconclusive. In addition, although, until not long ago, the efforts were concentrated on empirical, experimental, field research, on the finding of solutions that could have found immediate applicability, today, perhaps with slight exceptions, most psychologists are oriented toward the preparation of textbooks, treatises, works of synthesis (which are also necessary, of course, but which, on the other hand, signify rather a remoteness from the concrete, real problems that await their solution). Although, in past years, a true theoretical and methodological effervescence, a seeking, a self-devising or adaptation of work instruments, a creative rivalry and a feverish, creative and engaging spirit were present, today, one sees the appearance of phenomena of apathy, of erosion of professional motivation, of routinism and even deprofessionalization of psychologists. Such assertions could seem exaggerated to many. In our opinion, they reflect a reality.

However, the analysis, with lucidity and a sense of responsibility, of the causes that led to this situation, and the distinguishing of remedies for rapidly overcoming and eliminating it, seem more important to us than noting what the state of contemporary Romanian psychology is. Regarding the causes, we feel that they involve, on the one hand, the psychologists themselves, their inability or incapacity to understand and assert their profession sufficiently well, to select the problems for

investigation, to make themselves appreciated and accepted, and, on the other hand, those who must support and encourage psychology, must accept, assimilate and apply the results obtained by it, not through words and statements, but through effective organizational measures. We feel that a few explanations are necessary in this regard.

Despite incontestable results that can be neither denied nor doubted, Romanian psychology lost ground in past years because of its remoteness from /life/, from the current, everyday, but burning problems of the human condition and existence. Although it seems paradoxical, this came to pass at the same time as its approach to various applicative fields of social reality, of human activity.

It is known, for instance, that the general public wants answers to apparently simple questions connected with the /formation/ of personality traits, with the /changing/ of behavior, with the /guidance/ of one's own behavior or that of others, with /knowledge/ of practical operating methods and instruments that could be used in this sense. However, on opening a psychology text or book, the people would be more or less disappointed. They will find there much information with a descriptive, explicative and interpretative character about sensations, perceptions, thought, memory and so on, but less information with a formative character about individual or collective human existence, carried on in the most diverse social circumstances and contexts, about the possibility of intervening in order to optimize them.

Perhaps not by chance, in 1926 and then in 1938, Mihai Ralea titled one of his studies and even one of his books "Psihologia si Viata" [Psychology and Life], in which he tried to grasp the need to implement psychology in the most diverse fields of social and economic life (in the scientific organization of labor, in vocational orientation and selection, in the organization of commercial advertising, in pedagogy, medicine, justice and so on). The need to answer concrete problems of life caused perhaps other authors too, years later (in 1969), to take the respective title in order to give it to one of the collective works signed by them. And yet we can ask ourselves why psychology and life, interpreted somewhat separately, apart from one another, and united occasionally by the conjunction "and"--consequently, why psychology /and/ life and not /psychology of life/ [in boldface], which would see to its current problems of maximum importance for the real social existence of the people, for their concrete, individual and collective destiny?

Psychology's relative remoteness from life also came about in another way--namely that of the complicating of the research methodology. Although the modern methodologies of investigation and interpretation of mental functions, processes and activities are extremely elaborate, complicated and pertinent, they tend to empty psychology of content, of substance. Within the framework of such overtechnical methods, man becomes a simple and trivial encoded symbol in formulas, while his feelings, motives and aspirations become "factors" or "variables," and concrete life, with its living, breathing, human problems, is "cast" into tables, diagrams and correlation coefficients. With good reason, such psychology, from which the last bit of life has been extracted, is not just ignored, but, purely and simply, repudiated.

We want to be well understood. We are not against the modern methodologies of research and interpretation of the data collected, but against the excessive and abusive use of them, sometimes as an end in itself, to highlight first the erudition of the author, against the gratuitous use of them to demonstrate in a roundabout,

obscure and complicated way the...obvious itself. We plead for a presentation that is simple but not simplistic; suggestive, graphic and not dry, cold; intelligible and not deliberately filled and complicated with highly specialized technical terms. The problems of human existence and life, however complex they may be, can be detected and assimilated by means of psychology, in order to contribute to the devising of active behaviors within the social organizations and systems.

In the last 15-20 years, we, the psychologists, have made significant efforts in the direction of studying the different forms of human activity--school, production work, spiritual creation--in order to improve their functionality, to increase the efficiency and productivity of those in these fields. The study of human activity, of its psychological structure and functionality, of the conditions for success or failure, of forms of adjustment or maladjustment, resulted not only in the enrichment and diversification of the theoretical knowledge but also in significant practical gains (psychograms and professional monographs were prepared, suitable instruments for diagnosing and measuring the different mental capacities involved in carrying out the different professions were devised, measures for avoiding the accidents due especially to causes of a psychological order were established and so on). Consequently, a Romanian psychologist was justified in asserting that human activity itself should constitute the object of psychology.

Nevertheless, in the study of human activity, we have lost sight, I believe, of the fact that within it, besides the actions, operations and movements that are performed, there are also many mental states that not only accompany and color man's mental experiences and life but also influence the efficiency of his activity. The states of content-discontent, satisfaction-dissatisfaction, the positive, invigorating or negative, depressive ones, those of mental equilibrium and calmness or of nervousness, uneasiness and anxiety, the states of acceptance or those of rejection, of apathy or of enthusiasm and creative effervescence represent not just factors that facilitate or hamper human activity and the performances obtained, but man's concrete life itself. If to them we also add the fact that mental states are extremely "contagious," being transferred from one person to another, from one group to another, we will understand even better their significance for individual and social human existence. However, the research on mental states has not concerned the specialists to a very great extent, and it is all the less possible to talk about the establishment of the psychology of these states.

Significant progress has also been made in the direction of the study of mental functions, but the analysis and interpretation of mental phenomena with a great impact in the realm of existence, and especially of human relations, have lagged behind. Phenomena such as cooperation and mutual assistance, rivalry and competition, interpersonal and group tensions and conflicts, either in a latent state or in a manifest state, those of social fashion or imitation, mentalities and prejudices, attitudes and opinions, conformist or deviant behavior and so on are still dealt with insufficiently. Although social psychology has tried to research them, to delve into them, to decipher their nature, structure and functionality, it has not succeeded, to a sufficient extent, in relating them to the big problems that rack society, in viewing them "from within." For example, they have not been related to the phenomena of political psychology, moral psychology, to the vast problems of the formation of the socialist consciousness of the man of a new type. This explains why some of the important social problems, such as, for instance, those of collective leadership, of worker self-management or of participation have been tackled insufficiently from a psychological or psychosocial perspective too.

Nor have the relations between the psychologists in the departments of higher education or the research institutes and the practicing psychologists always functioned suitably. Rarely have the dialogue and the mutual assistance between them been real and authentic. In fact, the latter, once trained, have been purely and simply "abandoned," left to fend for themselves. The activity of the practicing psychologists, although not always ending in spectacular results, must not be underrated at all. (A number of steps meant to intensify the dialogue to which we referred have been taken within the Association of Psychologists, but they are too recent for us to be able to give our opinion of their effectiveness.)

If to the above we also add some deficiencies of a methodological order (the absolutization of tests as methods of mental diagnosis and the neglecting of the positive aspects of other methods of psychological investigation, the lack of methodological unification of the use of tests) and of an interpersonal or group moral, ethical order, manifested at the level of the whole psychological community (some much too evident interpersonal tensions, some tendencies of supremacy and so on), we will understand even better why the psychologists have not managed to gain respect for their own profession to a sufficient extent.

Undoubtedly, such shortcomings of psychology created a relative gap between the requirements manifested toward it and what it offered or was able to offer at a given time, which has led to the appearance of reactions of mistrust in the possibilities and effectiveness of psychology. Consequently, it is necessary for the psychologists to involve themselves more actively and varyingly in studying the /real/ and /vital/ problems of the people and society, to increase the effectiveness of their own activity.

In my opinion, it is also useful for psychology to incorporate more persistently into itself the /explorative, predictive/ and even /critical/ dimension, revealing with more courage and a spirit of responsibility certain dysfunctionalities of interhuman and group social life. Otherwise, it would condemn itself to being or remaining a sterile, factualistic, illustrative science. However, in this way, psychology will not respond to one of its main tasks, that of helping to bring about changes in the activity and mentality of the people, manifested in acts, in their responsible and competent work in different spheres of social life.

Another category of causes that explain psychology's lagging behind the social requirements is just as varied and complex as the first. In our opinion, they involve: the unfavorable attitudes exhibited toward psychology by some decisionmaking forums or persons; the lack of the proper organizational framework for performing the activity; the inadequacy of the material means of investigation; the poor professionalization of some of those who practice psychology; and the dysfunctionalities appearing in the relations between the psychologists and the beneficiaries of their research. Let us refer briefly to each of them.

Psychology is one of the sociohuman sciences that possess unsuspected formative potentialities. It offers the possibility of knowledge and self-knowledge of the features of some of the mental processes that we experience or of the personality traits that we have and it permits the organization, control and guidance of both one's own behavior and the behavior of others and even of social groups. Experience has shown that through the use of psychological means it is possible to obtain the same effects as in the case of the use of technical, financial and administrative means.

When psychology is defended or praised by psychologists, this seems natural to us. However, when it is encouraged and supported by specialists belonging to other fields, this acquires a special significance. In past years, more and more economists, for example, have grasped the importance of psychology for increasing the efficiency of economic activity. They are for the introduction of psychologists into the structural organization of the enterprises, for the interpretation of the organizational structures of the social organizations from a perspective from which the psychological dimension is not absent, and for the conceiving of the psychological factors that arise in work activity as factors for growth in labor productivity. On the occasion of conferences and advanced training periods or even in the press, teaching personnel in the most diverse specialties denounce the absence of thorough knowledge of psychology in their training as an obstacle, a great difficulty in the activity done with the pupils. Doctors too also realize that the psychologist can be one of their main allies in the action of preventing and curing illnesses. And we believe that this is not the place for us to dwell on other specialists who also feel acutely the need for information with a psychological character. This is why we feel that psychology must be a part of the /general education/ of every person.

Under these conditions, it is hard to understand--as Liviu Filimon also considered in his article "Psychology and Education" in the periodical ERA SOCIALISTA, No 20, 1981--the step, taken by the Ministry of Education and Instruction, of removing psychology as an object of study from secondary education (except for pedagogical and health education). It is not possible to speak of the real self-orientation of the young people for choosing their future profession without knowing their psychological limits, interests, inclinations, aptitudes and possibilities. Just as it would hardly be possible to assert that without suitable knowledge about spiritual life, about the human mind, it would be possible to form in young people a scientific, dialectical-materialistic, atheistic outlook. Just as it is clear that it is not possible to count on the self-education of the young person if he knows next to nothing about the features of will and character, about the psychopedagogical measures capable of strengthening the traits of the personality. The new orientation of education that more directly connects the pupil with life and with production implies more and more acutely the presence of a "minimum" of psychological knowledge.

The idea that no form of human activity, no profession, can be carried out properly and efficiently without the presence of psychological knowledge is already accredited on a world level. Teaching personnel who run technical higher education have understood this, providing in the training of future engineers a concentrated course on the psychology of work, accompanied even by seminars. The same thing could not be said about university education. In our opinion, the knowledge of child psychology and school psychology possessed by future teaching personnel, molders of the human personality, is extremely limited and flimsy because of the small, totally insufficient number of hours devoted to these disciplines. Sometimes, in various departments, we even encounter wholly "original" situations. There is, for example, the teaching of a course on school psychology for the duration of a single semester, not accompanied by a seminar or practical work, with "the promotion of the students on the basis of the activity during the year." The attitude of resistance to providing psychological training to future professionals seems to be unjustified to us. It deprives the young people of the acquisition of knowledge that could help them to organize and optimize their life and existence.

It is known that an activity cannot be achieved at high parameters of efficiency if it is not organized, institutionalized, if it does not have well-defined standards

and regulations, organizational structures. However, what is the status of the profession of psychologist from this perspective? We could answer that it is still ambiguous and uncertain in the sense that, although in certain sectors, in certain social organizations, it is well thought out and well set up, in others such a status is not taken into account, although the psychologists are not absent. The Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications has fully understood the necessity and utility of psychologists in providing traffic safety, in preventing and eliminating accidents, it organizing for itself a network of psychology laboratories not only extensive from a quantitative viewpoint (with branches in the majority of the counties of the country) but also well articulated from a methodological viewpoint (with periodic advanced training for psychologists by means of postgraduate courses). A few other ministries and even some industrial units (the "Republica" Works, the Baneasa IPRS /Enterprise for Radio Parts and Semiconductors/ in Bucharest, the shipyard and the iron and steel combine in Galati, the chemical combine in Fagaras, the Resita ICM /Machine Building Enterprise/ and so on) have also concerned themselves with the organization of psychology laboratories. The same thing cannot be said about other social organizations that have minimized or even denied the importance of psychology and psychologists in the factory, school or clinical field. The practice of "likening" the psychologist to other specialists or professions, the appointment of him to a post of office worker, in the personnel department, and so on are not capable of creating the optimum framework for carrying out an activity of obvious social utility. On the contrary, they limit the activity of the psychologists, lead to insufficient use of the scientific potential of personnel with institutionally certified training, and cause their presence in certain social organizations to be formal. The young psychologists (insofar as they can be called such, since their professionalization through specialized institutes of higher education has not been done for several years) are, depending on the circumstances, sometimes tolerated, sometimes ignored, sometimes negated.

Nor is the research activity benefiting from flexible, efficient organizational structures. In my opinion, the unification of the former Institute of Psychology with that of pedagogical sciences is not capable of providing the framework suited to the performance of psychological research. In this way, the area of the research is narrowed just to the school field, with the other fields of psychology (the psychology of work, medical, forensic, social and organizational, military, and sports psychology, the psychology of art, psychopathology and so on) remaining practically uncovered by specialized research.

In addition, it would be good, I believe, to create the possibility of increasing the means needed for carrying out the activity of the psychologists. Just as a chemist, for example, requires a laboratory and, especially, substances that he may combine in order to prove the existence and importance of chemical reactions, just as a physicist requires apparatus in order to make findings and measurements, and just as a doctor absolutely requires instruments and substances in order to diagnose and, especially, to cure, likewise a psychologist requires a minimum of means in order to be able to perform his activity. More often than not, however, the buildings in which psychological research, experiments, tests and evaluations are done are improperly called laboratories, and the instruments used are limited in number and often rudimentary, some of them having only a teaching and demonstrational value. Although in the field of psychology the inventions of psychological apparatus and instruments for detecting and measuring mental characteristics of man are not absent, the approval and construction of them and the distribution of them to the research and educational

units or to the applicative units have been done slowly. The equipping of the psychology laboratories with modern and sufficient means of research (some of them can be procured even through their own forces, through self-equipping), backed up by the multiplication of the efforts of the psychologists in the direction of unifying the methodology for using them, could help greatly to revitalize the activity of the psychologists, to increase its efficiency.

To this could be added the fact that the existing material means have not always been used, either, with the necessary skill. Just as a scalpel cannot be put in the hand of a nonexpert in order for him to operate with it, likewise a test, a piece of apparatus or any other instrument of mental diagnosis cannot be entrusted to a nonpsychologist in order for him to use it. The compromising of a field, even of a science, by those uninformed and untrained in the mysteries of the respective profession is perhaps the most serious thing. However, unfortunately, this has happened often in psychology. Persons not just insufficiently qualified but, purely and simply, not trained at all have been hired for posts of psychologists. However, the profession of psychologist, like any other in fact, requires competence, specialized training. This is why the development of specially trained personnel for this field and the retraining or reprofessionalization, through postgraduate courses, of those who now work in the field of psychology, but who do not have special psychological training, and of those whose such training is far out-of-date are becoming an urgent necessity. The providing of methodological assistance by the psychology departments and institutes in the different university centers to all those who feel the need for it and request it is also just as useful.

The exploration of the inner, subjective world is, as is known, hard to achieve. The detection of a thought or feeling, of motives, aspirations, ideals--latent or manifest--with a big role in the guidance of individual and group behavior is infinitely more difficult than distinguishing some or others of the physicochemical properties of an object. The fact is overlooked that the human interrelational behavioral plane, along with group psychology (motivated by traditions and customs, mentalities and prejudices, attitudes and opinions, beliefs, imitation, fashion and so on), reveals more reluctantly its own functionality, is more reluctantly subject to research and especially to direct intervention for correction or generalization. The tendency of clients to accept from psychologists just those solutions, suggestions or proposals that are expected, wanted and in agreement with their own intentions, ignoring or eliminating others just as real and effective, has often shown its negative consequences. I would refer to just one example. Contemporary social psychology has demonstrated that thinking and labor are much more productive if they are done in small groups (from 3-4 to at most 10-15 persons), a conclusion also supported by our psychologists. However, to what extent is this finding taken into account in forming the school and university groups? To a very slight extent, of course. With the exception of artistic education, the general tendency is not to decrease but to increase the number of component persons in such groups, a matter that reduces the instructional and educational efficiency. The practice of transforming the psychologists into mere suppliers of data and especially of recipes, a matter that drives them into narrow, routine practicality, is also just as unsuitable.

Another aspect must also be added. Mistrust in psychology is often manifested either by those who have not even heard of it or have extremely limited knowledge of this field or by those who have never applied psychological solutions. Openness to psychology is manifested by those who have encouraged the performance of psychological

research, have supported morally, but also materially, the organization of it, have applied, if only partially, the proposals made. A year ago, SCINTEIA published an article in which there were related the findings and conclusions of a psychologist at the shipyard in Galati resulting from the performance of research, on the initiative and with the aid of the management of the yard, which, once applied, led to significant growth in labor productivity. Such examples could be multiplied.

It is no less true that, in their turn, the psychologists, being aware of the complexity of their object of study, make still timid attempts to study the concrete behavior of the people directly involved in resolving the proposed goals, postpone too much the solving of problems with which they are faced, and exhibit reservations, sometimes extremely exaggerated, toward their own conclusions. Under these conditions, it is natural for a number of "short circuits" to appear on the line of the relations between psychologists and clients.

It is obvious that psychology is not a miraculous science, one that can produce changes overnight, but a science among the other sociohuman sciences, with unsuspected possibilities, but also with significant limits (of an epistemological or methodological order). It is thus necessary that it be understood that only relations of cooperation and mutual support represent the sole way to contribute to the growth of the efficiency of the different social systems.

Under the conditions in which psychology's social value and utility are more and more known and recognized, the mobilization of all the efforts in the direction of restructuring and enriching the research problems of psychology, in its aspiration toward unity, balance and interdisciplinary cooperation and, especially, toward growth in its coefficient of practical efficiency, along with growth in the theoretical and applicative relevance of the research and solutions proposed, represents a major desire. Otherwise, the gap that is beginning to be established will be very hard to make up later.

Romanian psychology possesses sufficient forces, which, properly reactivated and united, could be engaged in the concrete, systematic, responsible and efficient approaching and resolution of the tasks, making their contribution to forming the human personality, to affirming its self-awareness, capable of mastering the external world and its own mental interiority.

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WRITER ACCUSED OF 'DENIGRATING PERSONALITIES' IN WORKS ON INTERWAR PERIOD

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 19 Feb 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Constantin Sorescu]

[Text] "At the same time, we should not forget that we have an obligation toward the party, toward our people for their future and should not make a concession to any kind of nationalism and chauvinism and should firmly combat any attempt which wishes to injure the granite unity of our people and all workers, regardless of nationality. We should not forget that the enemies of socialism, the enemies of the working class always have used chauvinism and anti-Semitism and other forms of stirring up nationalism in order to divide the working class and the progressive forces." Nicolae Ceausescu--from the speech delivered on 26 January 1982 on his birthday.

Z. Ornea, a hard-working literary historian, has proven in his last two books that he has fixed his area of research on the interwar era, included between the end of the World War I and the second world conflagration. "Traditionalism and Modernity in the 20's" and "Commentaries" which appeared consecutively (1980 and 1981) due to the hospitality of the Eminescu Publishing House actually achieve covering the entire period. Studies and articles such as "Maiorescu and the First Generation of Maiorescu followers," a"Democratic Tradition of Romanian Life," "Sadoveanu and Democratic Civics," "Pages From the Antifascist Struggle of Romanian Intellectuals," "Petre Pandrea or Antifascist Militarism" "The Frankness of Memories," all first published in periodicals and gathered with amazing speed in the second volume, bring the research of the era up to the end of 1945.

Z. Ornea's labor demands the respect of clearing up (already) old collection of reading and rereading books not published for five decades or even more and of attempting to give order to the tensions of the era in a unified picture. His subjects for meditation, named on every page of the studies, are nationalism, chauvinism, mysticism, Orthodoxism, Legionarism, terrorism, antirationalism, thracomania (which comprise the negative aspects of the interwar era) and rationalism (which is established as the positive emblem of the era evolved). The principle with which the literary historian wishes to research this complex set of problems is that of the truth, as he openly confesses, in the short article entitled "Utilization of the Literary Heritage" in the second volume:

"To deliver the truth about a creative personality (and about any cultural phenomenon--editor) and to bring out the ideological deficiencies in his work should not mean either excommunication , minimalization or denigration, but a true repayment. We believe even that a diplomatic detour or an ignoring of the real difficulties within a work (and of a phenomenon or an era--editor) is an implicitly or explicitly deforming procedure and through it, denigrating to the minimum." (p 268). Unfortunately, Z. Ornea's last studies are guilty precisely of detouring and ignoring of the real difficulties posed by the interwar era. And what is more: his current method omits, deforms and minimalizes denigratingly certain personalities (starting with Eminescu!) and certain phenomena and philosophical trends starting with rationalism itself, as the defender of which he sets himself up to be. Profiting from the fact that the exegesis of the interwar cultural phenomenon in Romania, unfortunately, still is in an incipient phase, the author of "Traditionalism and Modernity" attempts as an nice proverb goes, to look after number one, more quickly seeking anal - ogies in order to disgrace our modern personalities and magazines while the single concern should be shaping pictures of the era in the light of the truth.

All through the one thousand pages, Z. Ornea rightfully stigmatizes nationalism, chauvinism and terrorism which were demontrated in interwar Romania. We know that our entire left movement in those years and today the communist party came out and are coming out against any kind of nationalism, chauvinism of any tint and the terrorism, regardless of whó practices.Although he is expressly concerned with these phenomena which are to be condemned, Z. Ornea does not find even an appropriate moment to bring them out in all their breadth and diversity.

In the era which Z. Ornea has researched in both his books, all kinds of nationalsims and chauvinisms were demonstrated in the world and within each country. Our communist party, its youth organization, the entire left and democratic intellectuals firmly combatted both the nationalism of Nichifor Crainic as well as the terrorism of Max Goldstein, both the nationalism of Al. Gregorian as well as that of Nae Ionescu, that of George Soimu and Viorel Trifa up to that of C. Dumitrescu-Zapad and Ion Caraion. An honest historian should not omit any one of these in his analysis.

The 20's, to which the historian dedicates nearly 700 pages, begins with a serious terrorist act which the repressive regime had to use as a pretext to arrest the leaders of the communist party (and the entire worker movement in Romania and its abolishment as a political formation). However, Z. Ornea passes over in silence the reproachable terrorist action, pretending he does not know anything about it when he speaks of the trial of Dealul Spirii, although historians of good faith never forget to bring out the incomprehensible nature and evil consequences. We should recall what it is about in order to understand where the researcher's fault lies. On 8 December 1920, a terrorist group, headed by Max Goldstein, acting outside the worker movement, organized an assault on the Senate. In the trial of Dealul Spirii, in which 271 political prisoners appeared, the abovementioned terrorist group also was integrated. More than that, the authorities used it as an "argument" in the attempt to show that our communist party was comprised of "plotting and terrorist groups which were isolated and estranged from national interests" (see M. C. Stanescu, "The Trial of Dealul Spirii and the Reverberation Produced in Domestic and International

Public Opinion" in STUDII. REVISTA DE ISTORIE, Volume 24, No 3, 1971 pp 467-485). But, after perpetrating the attempt begun by Max Goldstein, the provisional committee of the Romanian Socialist Party published a statement which firmly condemned this foreign act of struggle methods of the worker movement in Romania: "In this way, too, we want to show that the socialist party as well as the trade unions decisively condemn acts, which are in contradiction with the documents of scientific socialism and the tactics of worker movements, which struggle against establishments, but not against persons. Such attempts not only cannot be of use to the class struggle of the mass proletarian movement but everywhere they have been committed, they have led to a burden for development of the worker movement" (SOCIALISMUL, XIV, 1920, No 268, 10 December). It is precisely the trial of Dealul Spirii which painfully reflected in what way the terrorist act committed by Max Goldstein's group led to a great "burden" for the development of the worker movement in Romania, particularly since, during the trial, the would-be assassins confirmed the authorities' suppositions, aiding them in their attempt to denigrate the communist party.

What is telling is the definitions which the militants of the worker movement tried to make of the terrorists' principles and action. The accused T. Marin said bluntly: "I do not understand for what reason Max Goldstein's act casts shadows on accusations and why a closeness is being made between him and me. I am a Marxist and I defy the assaults, which are the work of individualist anarchists" (AURORA, II, 1922, No 122, 20 March). A. Dobrogeanu-Gherea adopted the same tone: "There is no tie between the communist concept and the assaults, which we dissapprove." In his deposition, the "witness" C. Radulescu-Motru emphasized that in Romania socialism never had a terrorist nature (AURORA II, 1922, No 176, 29 May). The question is why Z. Ornea, whose scrupulousness is recognized, does not begin his list of the terrorisms committed in Romania in the 20's, in chronological order, with that which was used with a view to eliminating our worker and communist movement? Does he feel it is so insignificant as not to at least want to record it? The diplomatic detour which he blames with such vehemence in this case, as in so many others, has a lot to say. Z. Ornea does with two hands what he is combatting with just one: bringing out just certain terrorist acts and chauvinisms and not mentioning others,as long as the principles of our left and of our communist party demanded and do demand condemnation of all those, he devotes himself to a following worthy of a better cause.

It is interesting that although he wishes to undertake a complex analysis, with the tools of sociology, of the interwar era and, primarily, the 20's, Z. Ornea invokes totally and completely incidentally the left press and that of the communist party. Speaking at every step about nationalism, chauvinism, anti-Semitism, terrorism, mysticism and other negative cultural and political phenomena of the era, he limits himself to bring out the opposition to these made by E. Lovinescu and the SBURATORUL supporters, seeming not to have heard of the campaign led by SOCIALISMUL and TINERETUL SOCIALIST in the first part of the 20's against these scourges, or of the worker self-defense brigades, or of the League Against Terror organized by the united trade unions, or of the TAR (Antiwar Youth), an organization created in 1933 at the recommendation of the RCP CC.

Let us say that a portion of these organization appeared after the end of the 20's, but the other portion placed their bases in that decade so that nobody (not even Z. Ornea) has the right to speak abusively of nationalism, chauvinism, anti-Semitism and terrorism in this period without also speaking of the opposition made to them by the working class and the youth, in a word, our people, without emphasizing their class nature, lack of support for our spiritualtity and origin composed of those who professed it, proven to be non-Romanian, particularly since the communist press and, more broadly, the press of the left spoke out against all these characteristics even while they were being spread.

Nowhere in his massive volume (and neither in thestudies from the second one), does Z. Ornea decipher the class nature of nationalism, although even from the beginning of the era which he analyzes the press of the communist party and its youth organization tried to demonstrate it, incriminating any kind of nationalism: "So our movement has the general nature of attacking the Jewish population. But not only that. This finding can only stop the Jewish nationalists in their places. He sees that their skins are threatenedand think that this is the entire purpose of the attack: tanning their hides. The Jewish nationalists cannot see further than their noses. However, for us, these demonstrations have a much more general purpose: to distract the working class' attention for a moment from their vital problems and later to throw the responsibility for the workers' misery on the Jews and the final goal is to destroy the proletarian awareness among the masses of industrial and agricultural workers" (TINERETUL SOCIALIST XI, No 18, 10 December 1922, in the article entitled "The New Anti-Semite Campaign"). The researcher of the 20's believes that only with well-deserved epithets ("riotous," "hooligans") does he succeed in explaining the appearance of the extreme rightist organizations. The qualifications of the type "diversionary factors at critical moments" (p 66) and "useful tool for diversionary maneuvers" (p 68) do not truly succeed in explaining the notorious National Christian Union, the League for National Christian Defense, the Romanian Action, the Christian Social League, the National Fascis, the Legion of the Archangel Michael, some short-lived, other longer lasting, which acted in the 20's. In vain does Z. Ornea take pride in the fact of the "attempt to give space in a work of literary history to the social-econonic problems" (p 303), since it remains a simple attempt.

It is regrettable not to see and not to clearly express the artificial imitative nature and antiworker nature of the nationalist movement in the 20's and not to analyze them from the Marxist perspective of the phenomenon, particularly since so many left activists denounced them in the analyses which viewed even the middle of the decade which concerned Z. Ornea with such zeal. For example, Tudor Teodorescu-Braniste demonstrated in 1933 that the "anti-Semite movement" which appeared in Romania more than a decade before was an "artificial movement" whose intention was to make a "game for the Romanian bourgeoisie" concerned with finding all kinds of pretexts in order to powerfully hurt the workers: "And,so, in 1924, the anti-Semite movement reappeared from the blue as a pretext for action against the peasant and worker movement. Several dozen or more or less Jewish heads were broken." But these measures for order were not directed against those who broke the approximately Jewish windows and heads. No. These measures for order were directed against the worker and peasant movement. In vain

the leaders of the workers shouted: "We are not guilty of anything. We are working further, among ourselves, for our goals, without fanfare, without provocations! Why are you hitting out at us, when others are provoking?" "The Romanian bourgeoisie pretended it did not hear or see anything. If there was a squabble out on the street? It hit. But not at the ones creating the squabble. Not at the anti-Semites. But at the ones who were organizing and working methodically. At the peasants and workers" (the article entitled "Following Dissolution of the Iron Guard," CUVINTUL LIBER No 7, 23 December 1933).

Z. Ornea seems to know the activity of the "hateful" (p 51) Stelian Popescu, organizer of some "vitriolic and degrading defamatory campaigns" very well (p 55), a person who, toward the end of the decade, was called the "cruel irony" before the head of the department of justice (p 61), the head of UNIVERSULUL LITERAR, the magazine "of gossiping platitudes, with collaborations and collaborators without significance, which kept company with boor jokes that are not funny, and low can cans (p 185) and so forth. The adjectives which the historian places on Stelian Popescu are justified; is there any doubt? However it is suspicious that he did not see that that same Stelian Popescu is, even in the year he was appointed to justice, the hero of an event which once again brought to light the "artificial" nature of anti-Semitism and nationalism in Romania of the 20's, programed and directed from behind the scenes by the bourgeoisie in its totality,. The newspaper of the worker trade unions, VIATA MUNICITOARE, in 1927 excerpted all the conclusions demanded by the following event, related and commented on ironically: "Who does not know that the greatest patriot, the bigger "Jew" eater in the country is Mr Stelian Popescu, minister of justice and owner of the UNIVERSUL newspaper ? In the 1914-1916 period, during the neutrality which was so fruitful for some people, Mr Stelian Popescu's nationalism flung itself between the German marks and tsarist rubles. The politician had risen up about the 'patriot.'Today is another occasion to once again uncover the true feelings of the owner of UNIVERSAL. Before the iron solidarity of the workers who are typographers, employers, helping each other, decided to do the work of the shops from which the workers had left in the shops where there were no strikes. Mr Stelian Popescu, the "Jew" eater chose the Socec shop, whose employers are Mrs Schwartz and Saraga. He forced six workers from his shop to go to work in the shops of Mrs Schwartz and Saraga, where the strike is. The workers refused, and Mr Stelian Popescu conceded to them, for which reason the majority of workers left their jobs. As a result, Mr Stelian Popescu's anti-Semitism immediately was destroyed as soon as the employer interests of Mrs Schwartz and Saraga were touched. This is new proof that the employers, regardless of religion or nationality, are united in defeating any attempt to improve the fate of workers of all nationalities. From this, all workers of all nationalities should see that their interest is to closely unite in order to defend their interests against the appetite for gain of all the employers of all antionalities" (the article entitled "The Nationalism of the Employers," VIATA MUNCITOARE IV, No 15, 4 September 1927, p 1). As a result, to consider--as Z. Ornea does--that the nationalism and anti-Semitism in the interwar Romania have their origin in the race dispute (p 372 and following pages) goes against our historical reality. This same magazine, in the same issue, publishes on page 2 a broad description of the attempts the

employers were making to mutually help each other, regarding the idea of nationality. The workers' magazine, as the phenomenon was in full progress, was drawing conclusions that were superior through objectivity, clarity and good feeling regarding those which Z. Ornea reached. This is the elegant conclusion of VIATA MUNCITOARE: "What should be remembered here is not only the fact that the employers are aiding each other but that Mr Stelian Popescu's anti-Semitism, which is helping the Socec Jewish employers against the Romanian workers, is a farce by which he is trying to mix up the masses' minds." None of this is in Z. Ornea's vision, which derives social-economic contradictions from philosophical-aesthetic ones, arriving at the point of practicing the spiritualism he is trying to avoid under the mantle of a "complex" analysis.

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DISCUSSION OF EVOLUTION OF DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE CONTINUED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 4, 20 Feb 82 pp 31-34

/Discussion by Reader Dr Alexandru Ciora, Bucharest Polytechnic Institute, Reader Dr Virgil Constantinescu, Bucharest University, Alecu Floares, secretary of the Iasi County Party Committee, Maria Fulea, Bucharest Sociological Research Center, Grigore Lucut, Bucharest Sociological Research Center, Reader Dr Laurentiu Pop, Cluj-Napoca Babes-Bolyai University, and Prof Dr Vladimir Trebici, recorded by Ion Iuga and Ion Stanescu/

/Text/ We are publishing an abridgment of the second part of the discussion on "Evolution of the Demographic and Social Structure in Romania" organized by the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy and the journal ERA SOCIALISTA. The first part of the discussion appeared in No 3, 1982 of the journal.

VLADIMIR TREBICI: I want to talk about some aspects of the demographic structure in close connection with the fact that it is the socioeconomic characteristics that have changed essentially in the course of one generation, considering the interval between generations to be 30 years. Between the 1948 census and 1 January 1981 Romania's population increased by 6.4 million persons, or about 200,000 a year. It is sociologically significant that 60 percent of the population as of 1 January 1981 were born after 23 August 1944. What is called the "educational stock" (number of years of schooling per person) increased considerably during this interval, and a corresponding qualitative index was doubled in the period. There were also improvements in urbanization. At present over half the Romanian population is living in cities compared with 23.4 percent in 1949.

The shift in distribution of the active population is interesting. The 1948 figures show that 80 percent of the active population was in the first sector, 9 percent in the second sector, and 11 percent in the third sector. The latest estimate, at the end of 1980, indicates that 30 percent of the total is employed in the first sector, 44 percent in the second sector, and 26 percent in the third sector.

The structural changes in the population according to age and sex indicate "demographic aging," a term introduced in the technical literature years ago with some disagreement. I know economists who refuse to accept the concept even today. To be sure it is a universal process, typical of the developed countries, consisting of

growth of the proportion of the old population from 60 years up accompanied by a decline in the young population (down to 14 years inclusive). On the macrodemographic level this process is reflected by the average and median ages. While the average age of the Romanian population was 26 in the 1912 census, it reached about 26.5 in 1930, 30 in 1948, 32.5 in 1966, and 33 in 1977. The proportion of the elderly population increased rapidly after 1956, so that the population aged 60 and above reached 14 percent in the 1977 census.

Spatial and social mobility on the level of a regional population is a factor that can obstruct, delay or even stop demographic againg. The fact that in the 1977 census only 40 percent of the population of Bucharest was born there is a graphic example of the proportions spatial mobility can take. Out of the population of 1,935,000 persons, a large part (581,000) came from Wallachia, 200,000 from Moldavia, 144,000 from Oltenia, and about 130,000 from Transylvania, Crisana, the Banat and Maramures taken together.

To return to the question of social mobility, I note that within the demographic structure there are some changes important to Romania's socioeconomic development. According to a very recently published reconstruction, the workers were 15 percent of the total active population in 1948, peasants with private farms were 76 percent, and intellectuals and office workers were 5.4 percent, but the subsequent evolution shows spectacular changes: Workers were 20 percent in 1956, 32.6 percent in 1966 and 50.4 percent in 1977. Cooperative farmers were 7.6 percent in 1956, 46 percent in 1966, and now amount to 25 percent of the active population, while the category of intellectuals and office workers has reached 14 percent. These figures apply to the active population. There are differences in the total population depending on how many children a worker has, how many an intellectual or peasant has, etc.

In the 1977 census the average age of workers was 34.5 years and that of cooperative farmers was about 44.

In industry the ratio between the sexes shows a high proportion of men, but the fact that the younger generations of women are better represented indicates that after 20 years there will be a balance not only by ages but also between the sexes. On the other hand a feminization process is found in agriculture, which was also mentioned in the introductory report, but there are some distortions and imbalances between the young and old age groups. The ratios are 100 men to 155 women aged 15-20 years, 100 men to 183 women agaed 35-40 years, and 100 men to 195 women aged 55-60 years.

Leveling was mentioned in the introductory report of the discussion. Of course this problem should be discussed with more deliberation. The studies show that a leveling is taking place as well as a shift of the cultural submodels, and the migration is influencing attitudes and behavior in a number of ways.

But because of the very intensive demographic inertia, it takes 30-40-50 years and more to change the demographic structures, as well as special measures having to do with demographic policy. On the other hand the social as well as the economic structures are changed more readily because of the effects of economic strategy. I suggest that we consider such problems as migration, the rural and urban populations, the social categories, self-reproduction of the social classes and categories, etc. in greater detail in our future discussions.

ALECU FLOARES: I find Vladimir Trebici's comments on the demographic phenomenon in Romania interesting and very significant.

Several years ago in Iasi County an interdisciplinary committee sponsored by the Academy of Social and Political Sciences prepared an optimal model of regional socioeconomic development. A first stage covered the levels of 1985 and the prospects up to the end of the present decade. Efforts are now being made to extend the project in depth as far as the years 2000-2010.

Analysis of the correlations and restrictions between the evolution of the economy and that of the population and its structure on the regional and county levels has a distinct place in the subject matter and the system of indicators. The conclusions drawn so far are based on comparative studies of the evolution of the characteristic regional processes and phenomena and that of the national ones according to the data from the field and the techical literature, the microregional analyses on the levels of the uniform agroindustrial councils and the areas of mutual urban and rural influence, and the statistical records on commuting and instability and the natural increase and migration of the population.

In Iasi Country the evolutionary trends of the demographic indicators are similar to the evolution on the national level. Meanwhile a number of distinctions are made that are largely determined by the distinctive characteristics of the region. In the first place I note that the years following the victory of the revolution for social and national liberation, and especially the last two decades, have been marked by an extensive process of industrialization, the extent of this process being convincingly expressed by the fact that the output in 1981 was about 2 times greater than that of all Romania in 1938. But nearly all of the industrial output (over 85 percent) is produced in Iasi municipality, and the rest of the localities (except Pascani city) are still almost entirely agrarian. Not one of the enterprises in Iasi has a complete economic cycle, and they all depend on suppliers and beneficiaries in other counties or on the foreign market. For the most part they perform operations on a relatively low technical level (generally assembly operations) on the basis of components and assemblies of high technical precision manufactured in units outside the county.

As we know Iasi has a varied and valuable potential for scientific and technological research employing over 2,000 persons and realizing annualy a contract value of about 500 million lei. The Romascon unit for machine tools in Vrancea County, the one for fans in Vaslui County, the one for tool sets in Botosani County etc. were built on the basis of Iasi studies. Spectacular results have been obtained in the field of macromolecular polymers, applied in Bacau, Neamt and Brasov counties and in obtaining robots with four degrees of difficulty, assimilated mostly in Bucharest.

Application of the new economic mechanism and promotion of the net output as the basic indicator have changed the thinking and action of the enterprise managements and the decision-making organs in this field too.

Another characteristic has to do with agriculture, a basic economic sector wherein, to be sure, progress has been made. But let us note that 20 percent of the agricultural area is subject to floods and over 60 percent of it to advanced erosion processes. Due to these conditions, the shortage of water and its uneven distribution during precipitations, as well as failure to promote suitable technologies, the agricultural cooperatives' average yields are below those of other areas and of the national economy as a whole.

As it has been said here, Iasi County's population is characterized by demographic youth. The fact is convincing that out of 755,000 inhabitants recorded in 1980 some 225,000 are in kindergartens and schools and 30,000 are students, so that the school population amounts to one-third, unlike any other county of Romania. Moreover the average age of the working class in Iasi County is not over 30 years because the new jobs are filled mostly with young personnel.

As for the methodology of demographic research, I think the methods and techniques for determing regional population must be reviewed. Besides extrapolation of the recorded levels of fertility, the birth rate, the death rate and the extent of migration, which cannot be considered unilaterally, much more realistic correction coefficients are required, along with abandonment of the principle that the population trends can be estimated only over a long range. The central organs for forecasting and planning must make greater allowance for regional characteristics in locating the new economic capacities, considering the real evolution of the manpower resources and the structure and growth trends of the active population.

Our studies also provide other figures on the proportion of the actually employed population of the county, which amounts to 310,000 persons or only 75 percent of the active population. Out of the total employed population about 100,000 persons are working in agriculture, for an average of only 77 working days. About 102 days are worked per year (or one-third of the available time) if we add to this the activity on plots in use and on private farms.

GRIGORE LUCUT: There is no question that there are relations of interdependence between population growth and economic development, but those relations are highly complex. It is very difficult to modify them, and the laws are very difficult to understand. Actually we must do more in this field with demographic projections and not with forecasts in the true sense of the word, which are unilateral (limited) because they take account of one factor alone (fertility or birth rate) and not of the combined effect of a series of factors (birth rate, industrialization, urbanization, instruction, education, or rise of the cultural level and living standard), for which reason the economic and demographic (demo-economic) theories are very circumspect, especially when we realize that in this field decisions are irreversible and as a rule the effects and errors cannot be corrected or compensated for.

An active demographic policy is necessary when imbalances (in the population, between the population and the natural resources, or in the economic necessities), that is rapid changes, occur like the demographuc "explosion" in some underdeveloped countries due to improved medical care (lowered death rate) superimposed upon an unsatisfactory (in level and growth rate) economic development.

On the other hand any population will reach in its evolution an end point of stable population, a fact which has as its corollary a balance of the age groups and a growing proportion of the older age groups, which is called demographic aging and which has been emphasized in this discussion. It is a natural evolution and does not impugn the "vitality" of the population or the nation. The main objectionable effects (consequences) are the decreasing labor resources and indices of the population's activity and the increasing indices of economic dependence. But it is to be expected that the indices of economic dependence, namely the ratios of the population too young to work (0-15 years) and that over 60 years to the demo-economic population, will go up, while the indices of the population's activity (ratio between the population that is working and the total population) will go down, so that an individual's social burdens will be increased.

The theory that rapid population growth is a controlling factor in development is far from generally accepted. In any case it must be correlated with the natural conditions (extent of natural resources), the financial resources, the historical stage, the level of economic development, etc. and furthermore the conclusion must be viewed with even greater caution when we consider that many (developed) states have achieved economic growth with a declining growth rate of the population, and that too over long periods of time. Very few of the states confronted with a rapid population growth have been able to achieve a satisfactory economic development (faster than that of the population) because, among other things, the costs of supporting a child and qualifying a youth for employment are much higher than in the previous periods. Under these circumstances greater efforts are required in order to bring about intensive economic development and the planned improvement of the welfare and growth of the population all at the same time, to say nothing of overtaxing the health network (specialized) and the school and preschool systems, the disease and death rates, and other factors as well.

ALEXANDRU CIORA: I should like to bring up some aspects of the social structure of the rural population, which has been changed under socialism by the creation and development of the technical-material base of socialism. Under the influence of the new production relations a new social class appeared, the cooperative farmers, whose economic and social-political traits have developed in the same direction as those of the working class, helping to intensify the leveling process throughout society. Some new traits of this class are emerging more and more clearly because of the improvement of socialist relations in production, distribution, exchange and consumption and in social organization and management, the growing cooperation between the state and cooperative sectors, intensified socialist democracy, use of the institutionalized democratic framework, and involvement of all workers in social management. Ignoring those new traits could have perpetuated some forms of agricultural organization and management that would not sufficiently encourage social development. Introduction of an organizational system with the obligation to work for a number of hours a day and guaranteed incomes according to the norms met by that participation will better determine the quality of a cooperative member.

Development of the material base of agriculture has made and will continue to make changes in the labor resources, in the way they are used, and in personnel training. It is a very important and urgent problem. In speaking of this aspect I wish to point out first that the number of personnel with secondary and higher education has has increased, but it is a fact that there are more specialists with higher education than those with secondary education in agriculture, while the reverse is true in all other economic sectors. I do not think agriculture can be an exception to the general rule that there should be several specialists with secondary education to every specialist with higher education.

The unsatisfactory economic results obtained by some agricultural cooperatives directly depend upon their use of labor resources, and this phenomenon must be carefully analyzed. The existing data show that the labor force in agricultural cooperatives has undergone considerable changes. The population employed in these units decreased along with the decline in the population employed in agriculture.

Development of the technical base of agriculture and introduction of large-scale mechanization, chemization and electrification of production lead to professionalization and specialization of the agricultural worker. By its very nature, transformation of agricultural labor to a variant of industrial labor involves transformation of the agricultural worker to a worker with industrial characteristics.

VIRGIL CONSTANTINESCU: In social-political works and in discussions I have attended that were organized by various educational and research institutions, the opinions regularly gravitated around the quantitative or predominatly qualitative aspects, while the qualitative questions of the social structures were treated only indirectly.

The problem in the field of evolution of the population employed in agriculture that Ciora took up here and my studies in several rural localities in various areas of Romania have convinced me that there is not only an alarming process of aging and feminizing of the labor force, which has been mentioned in this discussion, but also one of negative selection of future agricultural workers in the form of the end choice of occupations in this field. These conclusions are based on study of the choices of occupation made by graduates of some general schools in rural areas and also on further investigation at some agroindustrial hugh schools also in various areas of the country. Some of the results of the investigation have been published in some separate studies.

Among the correlations made between indices or indicators of the subject, I also used the one between scholastic performance and choice (or rejection) of agroindustrial occupations on the part of the subjects. The assembled data as well as the content analysis I made indicated an attitude of rejection of possible specialization in any of the agroindustrial occupations on the part of the graduating classes of the rural schools that I investigated. Not one of the prize winners of the investigated schools stayed on to work in agriculture or attended agroindustrial trade schools or high schools.

The pupils who answered the questionnaire gave lower marks in moral prestige to the agricultural occupations. Many of those questioned regarded the status of an agricultural worker as equivalent to that of a man incapable of rising socially and consequently a status undesirable for a general school graduate, who is offered many kinds of professional qualification.

ALECU FLOARES: The problems of the changes in the social structure within some social categories, in addition to the changes in attitude, have the most diverse implications. For one thing, the population of Iasi city has increased by more than 3,5 times under socialism and now comes to 350,000 inhabitants. But when we examine the situation more closely we can see that two-thirds of the specialists working in agriculture, 75 percent of the teachers, 90 percent of the medical personnel and over 50 percent of the office workers functioning in rural areas became city dwellers with no sound economic explanation.

About 35,000 persons are now on various commuting routes, half of whom spend one-third of their lives on transportation means, with bad effects upon their productivity at work, the state of their health and the level of their education.

Spatial mobility has been accompanied by extensive changes in the social structure, in the sense of a numerical increase in working personnel and accordingly in the working class, and by an annual gain in the number of intellectuals and a considerable reduction of the peasantry.

There have been real changes in occupational mobility. About two decades ago there was a spectacular increase in the number and kinds of trades. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate and stabilize them. Continued industrialization requires a better combination of the economic and social requirements. Under these

circumstances the new capacities should be located in the underindustrialized areas with surplus labor forces.

Stabilization of part of the population and consequently of a rural labor force in a suitable age and sex structure (a subject taken up by Virgil Constantinescu) depends upon intensified industrialization of agriculture. I think that is the only way incomes from agriculture can be increased, the material incentive improved, and the fertile potential of the soil enhanced. But in Iasi County's agriculture improvement of the fertile potential requires a greater volume of investments for extensive projects for land improvement and control of erosion and floods, an increased technical inventory, and a supply of seeds and livestock breeds with high biological potentials.

Research in the social sciences can and must be correlated more boldly with practical activity if this purpose is to be served, it must understand the mechanics of the current processes and phenomena, exploit the laws that govern them, and provide alternative solutions.

Leveling was discussed in the introductory report, and Comrade Trebici expressed the opinion that the problem must be examined with more deliberation. I shall also try to contribute some ideas to the discussion.

As we know in a socialist society the leveling process is stimulated both by objective factors, having to do with the evolution, structure, developmental level and technical standard of the production means, and by subjective factors pertaining particularly to the levels of knowledge and awareness, degree of instruction and education, and people's capacity to interpret the "movement" of the social processes and phenomena. Social leveling is based on the process of economic leveling, stimulated in Romania by the measures for rational geographic distribution of the productive forces and for bringing every area up to an intensive activity.

In the Iasi area analysis of the leveling process makes use of a fact that could apply to all areas of Romania, namely that the years of socialist construction have been marked by the numerical and qualitative growth of the working class, the increasing development of the intelligentsia, and the reduction in the numbers of the peasantry. The analyses made show that 84 percent of the present workers are former peasants or sons of peasants who passed qualification courses on the job or graduated from trade schools, technical schools, industrial or theoretical high schools, or postgraduate educational units. The educational stock, that is the number of years of schooling per worker, was 3 times greater in 1980 than in 1950. Thanks to the intensified technical equipment of labor and improved instruction and qualification, the created values and the productivity per worker increased by more than 10 times in the same period. Though uniform in its relation to the production means and in its capacity as owner, producer and beneficiary of the created goods, the working class in this area differs in technical qualifications, degree of instruction and education, contribution to the national income, and salary level from one sector to another and from one enterprise to another within the sectors.

In the last two decades especially, the peasantry has shown a regular reduction in numbers and a qualitative change but also a trend toward aging and feminization, points brought up in our discussion. The qualitative change is apparent not only in the new relation to the production means and the new organization of production and labor, but also in the higher level of instruction and information and some differentiation and specialization in fields.

The intelligentsia of Iasi County, more numerous than in other counties by far, has now been largely raised and educated under socialism, being a product of the rise to culture of the sons of urban and rural workers. The intelligentsia shows some differentiation, due particularly to the nature of the profession and the job. Accordingly we distinguish the technical intelligentsia, working mostly in the production sections and design shops in close proximity to and under the direct influence of the working class, and a large number of intellectuals working in research, including some noteworthy scientists. The atmosphere of creative work and competition wherein the intelligentsia labors recommends this social category as an active participant in the revolutionary process of Romanian society.

These basic social classes and categories display a mobility from one category to another that helps to develop and intensify the leveling process.

LAURENTIU POP: In his treatment of the phenomenon of leveling, Comrade Floares brought up the growing role of the intelligentsia. I think this ground has been too little explored in the technical literature, and often only in a general way. In addition to the increased proportion of the intelligentsia in the social structure, changes are now taking place in its own structure. Some qualifications could be made in this connection about the provenience of some categories of intellectuals directly from the working class, through schooling and experience, who have a double status as workers and intellectuals. This phenomenon is developing particularly within the technical intelligentsia.

Study of the position and role of the intelligentsia in the present stage has several aspects, including amplification of its functions and obligations and its rapprochement with the working class not only through development of competition on the job but also in the sense of the spread of the latter's traits to all society.

From the professional standpoint, the treatment of the problem cannot evade the phenomenon of coordination and combination of intellectual with physical work. This aspect undoubtedly has many social-political implications. It must be pointed out here that the intelligentsia performs its creative role in science, technology and culture not only together with the working class and the masses of workers but also according to their standards.

In the effort to determine the youths' opinion (influenced of course by families and schools) to some extent about the prestige enjoyed by some intellectual professions, we organized an opinion poll on the subject of "The Conception of Work and Life" in four schools in Cluj-Napoca municipality, with a sampling of 600 pupils in a first stage (1977). In 1980 we repeated the poll in the same schools in a second stage. While in 1977 we recorded a great many preferences for research professions (46.9 percent), in 1980 the number of the choices became rational (19 percent). In both stages there was a low percentage for the executive intellextual jobs compared with the research and management jobs (10 percent in 1977 and 26 percent in 1980). The pupils' options for professions involving physical work showed an appreciable gain over the said period (9.8 percent in 1977 and 26 percent in 1980). These few approximate data give an indication of the process of change in the youths' attitudes toward selection of professions.

Humanizing labor, that is gradually eliminating "fragmentation of the total man" caused by division of work into physical and intellectual work, restriction of the

routine character of intellectual and physical work, achievement of an organic tie between knowledge, convictions and attitudes, and confirmation of the masses' experience are factors for humanizing the intellectual's status in Romanian society. The intelligentsia has a heavy responsibility for assimilating information and eliminating phenomena like misinterpretation of facts, incorrect deductions from scientific data, and communication of information of no better quality than the audience's information.

Further integration of the intelligentsia in the productive procedure is part of the process of equalizing physical and intellectual work and of leveling, about which Comrades Dragan, Trebici and Floares have spoken here. Imbuing the intelligentsia with the working class traits enhances its social functions and consolidates their alliance.

VIRGIL CONSTANTINESCU: Along with the processes of industrialization and urban expansion, which intensify the social division of labor, the surpluses for use of the demographic excess in the rural areas are multiplied. Meanwhile cooperativization of agriculture as well as modernization of the first sector's equipment made a large volume of rural manpower available to the other economic sectors and caused a massive shift of workers from the villages to the cities.

Some of these workers made their homes in the cities and, abandoning agricultural production and shaking off the influence of rural culture, became urbanized. But there are a great many persons who work in industrial enterprises or units of the third sector but reside in rural communities and perform activities of an agrarian nature in the time they have left, continuing to enjoy the advantages of family management and remaining holders of private property. For those persons work in the first sector is still a certain source of real incomes and a sure means of gain, as a useful addition to the possibilities for family subsistence and a necessity for some budgetary savings.

But the same persons also perform jobs in industrial units, under the influence of a system of technicized relations that imposes another behavioral structure and another frame of reference upon them, in addition to the pressure of urban culture and the influence of the "artificial" environment in cities, which affects their conduct and essentially changes their characteristic behavior. In one way or another they live two different lives in succession and juxtapose different cultural environments without assimilating either of them entirely. They divorce themselves from the context of the local structures within which they were traditionally placed and from the social class to which they belonged before industrialization, but they are not fully integrated in the working class either.

But in view of the relatively advanced age of those in this group and the fact that they have been agricultural workers for a long time, they are more peasants than industrial workers, with traits characteristic of the rural world and still identified with its frames of reference.

But for the immediate future a considerable increase is expected in the number of industrial workers graduating from full-course trade schools who are young. With a specialized training acquired in the industrial school system and being educated in a predominantly "plant" spirit, they will still live in villages but will be less inclined perform activities in the first sector. They no longer depend upon economic management of the family type, producing goods for self-consumption by their own resources instead of buying agricultural food products on the market.

MARIA FULEA: The social structure includes the representative forms of the social organization in its entirety (types of organization, social environments, macrogroups and microgroups) and their positions in the hierarchy of institutionalized values.

I am not going to discuss here the social, economic and political macroprocesses that have favored and determined the dynamism and extent of the changes in the social structure of the rural population. I shall only point out the rapid rate and impressive proportions of the occupational mobility (of a rising linear type) of the rural population as all areas of Romania are industrialized. The sociological studies that have been made tell us that in general the active population in the rural communities is characterized by an extensive process of occupational mobility corresponding to the social demand for a skilled labor force. For Vaslui County, where I made the sociological study, occupational mobility has usually been of a rising kind but with limited transitional stages.

The presence in the rural communities of the considerable number of working personnel employed in nonagrarian sectors or in state agriculture has caused changes in the social structure of the rural family and household. The demographic size of the household is smaller for households of the agrarian type and larger for those of the mixed and nonagrarian type. The mixed and nonagrarian families are generally composed of nuclei consisting of three or more persons. In this connection I also mention that the increased state allowance for children, among other things, is one of the important causes of the migration of labor resources out of agricultural cooperatives.

The accelerated industrial development of the counties of Romania and the placement and diversification of enterprises in all urban centers have increased the demand for manpower, especially that recruited from rural areas and the agricultural cooperatives. The existence, especially in the previous periods, of some lag in the industrial development of the various areas of the country intensified the migratory movement of the population. We are now seeing a process of progressive reduction of the volume of intercounty migration, with change of residence, and consequently one of maintained and intensified migratory movement within counties, either with or without change of residence. As a direct result of the higher rate of industrialization of the urban areas and centers that used to show a lag in this priority indicator, we have recently seen a process of "remigration" which is a favorable factor for improvement of the quality of the manpower reserve.

Spatial mobility, with or without change of residence, applies to both the male and female labor forces and represents a qualitative leap in the economic, social and political position of working women in our era. The proportion of female working personnel coming from rural areas is gaining steadily.

In the great majority of cases, with the exception of the floating and seasonal type of migratory movement, geographic mobility has meant a rising shift in the occupational status of the respective population.

The process of "movement" of the population through various "states" (origin, education, status) expresses the interdependence between base and superstructure (political, educational and legal) and to a great extent reflects the connection between social existence and social awareness.

What characterizes the Romanian population is its intensive social mobility and pronounced shifting among social categories, groups and classes, a "movement" determined

by the qualitatively superior educational and social status. Study of social mobility brings out the relationship between educational and occupational mobility. The future quality of the labor force in Romanian agriculture in correlation with the superior educational and occupational status heavily depends upon intensive knowledge and modification of those processes.

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ROMANIA

ATTITUDE OF YOUTH TOWARD RELIGION REVEALED IN SURVEY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 4, 20 Feb 82 pp 26-27

/Article by Aurel Olaru, secretary of the Bacau Municipal Party Committee, and Gheorghe Dumitru, sociologist at the Bacau Institute of Higher Education: "Sociological Study of Ways and Means of Scientific-Materialist Education"/

/Text/ As both a social reality and a subjective state, the religious phenomenon is the result of the particular interaction between the individual, the social group and the environment, being a distorted reflection of material reality and social existence based on the erroneous belief that the appearance and development of the natural, social and human processes are the result of the action of a supernatural, transcendental power. As experience shows, religion still retains its capacity to influence the individual and group consciousness to some extent in the present developmental stage of socialist society. The causes of this persistance include incomplete satisfaction of some material and intellectual needs, the conservative capacity characteristic of religious tradition, customs and practices, some gaps in family and school education, and the inefficiency of some collectives and professional media of scientific-materialist and atheist propaganda. It is characteristic of Romania today that the influence and extent of religion is being gradually restricted in the social-occupational categories of workers thanks to the objective social conditions that have been created as well as knowledge and purposeful consideration, in the interest of the individual, of the objective laws operative in society, nature and thought. But the disappearance of religion as a social, psychosocial and individual phenomenon is a long process that will be accomplished, as Marx said "when the relations of actual daily experience will be clear and rational relations among people and between people and nature" (1).

Political-educational efforts to reform mystical-religious attitudes and behavior on the individual or group level as well as throughout society call for proper understanding and scientific explanation of the social and natural phenomena and knowledge of the causes and factors that determine them as well as the objective or subjective conditions under which they appear or persist and their processual evolution is changed. The party and state, while respecting every individual's freedom of conscience, make a sustained political and cultural-educational effort "to eradicate the remnants of the past and backward ideas, attitudes, customs and habits from people's consciousness" (2) in order to free them of mystical-religious ideas and practices and to achieve true freedom and dignity in social and individual experience. The effort to

form the new socialist consciousness allows for the persistance of unscientific ideas and behavior in some categories of people, which obstructs their full development and progress and their active participation in national social-political affairs.

Mastery of the historical and dialectical-materialist conception, formation of atheist convictions and elimination of religious ideas, feelings and attitudes is a long and complicated process requiring competence, tact and scientific ways and means of of scientific-materialist education. Regardless of profession or occupation, education of youth must be suited to the psychosocial characteristics of the groups to which they belong or are referred, their individual characteristics and those of their age, and their levels of understanding and instruction, while routine and uninteresting educational activities must be eliminated.

In the light of those considerations as well as experience with atheist education of youth, the Bacau Municipal Party Committee made a psychosociological study to determine the social and individual manifestations of religious belief in various social-occupational categories of youths in some enterprises and institutions in Bacau municipality. The fact was also considered that the exodus of youths graduating from gymnasium and high-school education in the villages to the cities sometimes brings on an individual psychological state susceptible to mystical-religious influences in the not untroubled process of social-occupational integration and of adjustment to the new conditions of work, study, housing and use of leisure time.

The hypotheses of our study allowed for a declining religious trend from the cognitive, emotional and behavioral standpoints due to the objective conditions in the social, family, school and occupational microgroups in which the youths are brought up. We also proceeded from the finding that the preschool and younger school ages are usually the periods of most intensive religious influence in the individual's life due to the persistance of tradition, the influence of the family environment, the practices of the religious institutions, and the educational deficiencies of the social-cultural factors and the particular psychological makeup of a given subject individual in the stage of forming his convictions and general image of the world. Under the present circumstances the main role in the whole educational process of changing the state of religious belief and instilling the atheist attitude in youth is played by the purposeful factor and the interactions between the individual, the group and society as a whole and between individual values and the values society is promoting by means of the forms of political-educational activity.

On the basis of those hypotheses, we made it the direct aim of our study to determine and identify the religious phenomenon and the state of religious belief in various categories of youth according to certain objective variables (sex, age, occupation, school training, civil status, political affiliation, background etc.), to determine the content and intensity of the religious phenomenon, and to present the dynamics of the formation, evolution and reform of religious belief as well as the methods of forming the scientific-materialist attitude.

The methodology of the study involves two uniform and interdependent principles, one having to do with the general conception of the reality of the religious phenomenon, dialectical and historical materialism, and the other with the scientific methods of determining and analyzing this particular reality of sociology and social psychology. We tried to determine the the attitudes, feelings and behavior of youths upon the occasions of religious events in the social and personal experience. Use of a questionnaire provided us with information and opinions about the elements and content of

religious belief and an opportunity to determine the intensity and scope of the religious phenomenon empirically. Those data were supplemented and ehanced by the methods of social biography and conversation to bring out and determine the psychological, psychosocial and social-cultural elements of individual and collective religious belief and the reasons for religious conversion.

The classified sampling for psychosocial investigation consisted of 253 subjects, including 115 workers, 14 pupils, 10 students, 30 intellectuals and four other categories. The field study was made in July 1981, with the aid of social science teachers, in the following socioeconomic units: the Metallurgical Enterprise, the garment and machine tool enterprises, the County Planning Institute, the Regional Electronic Computer Center, the Institute of Higher Education, Industrial High School No 2, Vasile Alecsandri High School, the Pedagogic High School, and the Tailors Art Cooperative.

We present below the most significant data obtained from analysis of the results of the investigation. It should be pointed out that whenever the questionnaires were filled out and the social biographies were written, special emphasis was placed upon preliminary preparation of the subjects, who were asked to be as frank as possible in their replies and in their statements and opinions. Then their opinions were compared with some objective data, with the actual findings from observation, and with the processing of the raw data.

As to the real religious beliefs of the subjects of the sampling, it was found that both those coming from urban, suburban and rural environments and those belonging to political and public organizations do not believe in supernatural powers or have religious convictions but are accustomed to occasional participation in certain rituals (baptisms, weddings, funerals etc.) because of tradition, custom and the urgings of parents, relatives, friends and colleagues.

Most of the youths have vague ideas and knowledge of mystical-religious phenomena and do not know their nature. But some have a definite idea of the nature and content of religion and are convinced, as they state, that they are "false dogmas," "supernatural phenomena," "man's imaginings" and "scientific and social nonvalues." But we have two replies on record to the effect that religion is "a natural and universal phenomenon" and "an innate tie between the divine structure and the biological structure of man."

From the emotional standpoint, the subjects of the sampling were in very different emotional states during the religious event they were experiencing, namely humility, indifference, boredom, sadness, admiration, piety and fear. The religious and cult events and practices in which some of the youths in the sampling participate are occasioned by deaths, baptisms, marriages, name days and religious holidays because as they say they are traditional and customary, and again, they wish to humor their parents, relatives, colleagues and friends.

In the cases of the youths who answered our questionnaire, the particular experiences resulting in contact and appeal to mystical ideas and practices or supersitions are death of someone close to them, fear of remaining single after a certain age, chronic and incurable diseases, prolonged periods of solitude and isolation, repeated failures and setbacks, heavy pressure from parents with such religious beliefs, etc. Difficult activities and tasks arousing feelings of distrust in their own abilities (whether occupational, personal or social-human) in the youths which they do not understand and cannot resolve alone, as well as job difficulties, misunderstandings

with bosses, key examinations, disappointments in love, and confused and irrational relations between individuals are some of the reported experiences arousing feelings of alienation, isolation and mystical-religious fetishism.

According to the subjects' accounts, unfulfilled personal aspirations are either material (need of a dwelling, a car, etc.) or spiritual-cultural (aspiration to take courses in the desired high-school and higher education or to advance professionally).

The social, political, cultural and educational institutions of which the subjects generally demand more material and spiritual aid are primarily the family, schools, cultural homes, managements of the socioeconomic units, party, UTC /Union of Communist Youth/ and trade-union organizations, health units and mass media. Important events in the youths' lives and activities such as admission to the UTC, coming of age, birthdays, school graduation, hiring in production, etc., if they are not formally and festively celebrated, sometimes make them feel apathetic, dissatisfied and personally useless to the community and also cause attitudes of indifference, suspicion and refuge in an illusory compensatory world. Perpetuation and proper performance of actions like those we mentioned with a high educational value to the individual and microgroup can help to encourage morale and to develop confidence in their own powers and in colleagues, and they can create personal satisfactions and feelings of usefulness to the community and enhance unity and cohesion among the members of the group as well as their capacity for self-estime, communication and mutual understanding.

Most often the reasons the investigated youths resorted to mystical-religious ideas, feelings and practices were influence of parents, believers and religious institutions, poor scientific and cultural-educational preparation of the respective youths aggravated by the power of tradition, inability to understand social, natural and human phenomena correctly, lack of confidence in their own powers and in the members of the community, lack of prompt satisfaction of legitimate needs, and lack of moral and psychological support from the family, the group and the social-cultural environment.

In 70 percent of the cases the youths came in contact with mystical-religious beliefs in the preschool period (ages of three to seven) before attending the courses in elementary education, while the others came to know those phenomena in the lower grades (ages of 7-12). In 67 percent of the cases in the sampling contact with the religious phenomenon was through the intermediary of parents and grandparents. But the process of religious influencing continued after that period of the child's age and mental development until intellectual-cognitive, emotional and behavioral maturity was reached.

Analysis of the other subjective explanations or causes of the tendency toward religious conversion (including traditions and customs, individual mental-behavior structure, fear of the unknown and educational deficiencies) indicates that most of the reasons are outside the individual and due to the impact of the family, cultural and social environments. During participation in religious activities they were indoctrinated with the idea that there is a divine, supernatural power that requires certain practices in individual behavior and in relations with others.

In the discussions that were held the youths said that the religious ideas and practices did not help them with any particular problem in their lives (46 percent). The proportion of youths who read religious books is very low (4.2 percent). Most of the subjects stated that they abandoned mystic and religious attitudes and ideas once they mastered the scientific disciplines and learned the human, social and natural

realities through individual study, school, experience and research. Realizing the harmful and irrational character of those ideas, the youths feel the main role in the effort to restrict and eliminate mystical-religious beliefs is to be played by the respective individual, but also by the group, the parents, the teachers and the party and youth organizations.

According to the investigated youths' statements, the best organizational forms to help them understand and scientifically interpret the phenomena in nature, society and thought are the educational process, the experience of the oldest, the technical-scientific circles, and the individual and collective discussions, in that order. But the youths' participation in the technical, scientific, atheist, artistic and other circles is limited because they spend more of their spare time with their families or in visiting parents, relatives or friends. The youths (pupils, students, workers and intellectuals) are particularly interested by modern audiovisual means (cinema, TV, radio, slides, diagrams, and magnetic tapes), which are highly effective in the educational process and in teaching and explaining material and mental reality.

The results of the study show that among the means of youth's scientific-materialist education special emphasis should be placed on school instruction and the choice of teaching aids and educational methods and means, which should follow the pedagogical and psychological principles of teaching and forming scientific-materialist convictions. There is also a need of more consistent social and psychological assistance from the families, schools, party, trade-union and UTC organizations, cultural institutions, and the managers of every work place in order to satisfy the youths' real and legitimate needs as far as possible, as well as a regular effort to help them understand the problems in their experience and activity.

We think greater efforts are required to improve the psychosocial climate in the working, studying, spare time, recreational and residential groups in order to facilitate mutual acquaintance, understanding and help in the youths' individual relationships.

Educational experience and the results of the studies also made in other areas of Romania show that any program for scientific-materialist education of youth must be regularly organized on the basis of scientific methods suited to the characteristics of the individual and his age, the state of religious belief, and the group characteristics. Previous efforts as well as the replies of many youths to our survey indicate that the most effective and appropriate methods are exchange of experience, individual and collective discussions, scientific explanations, round tables, case studies, individual studies, group discussions and only then the expositions etc. TV, radio, newspapers, cinemas, phonograph records and magnetic tapes are among the most effective educational ways and means, especially for forming scientific-materialist convictions. More extensive and differentiated use of modern communications means enhances the educational effect of the scientific-technical circles, symposiums and the educational process. They are unquestionably forms that can be further exploited in the procedure of instructing and educating the young generation.

We proceed from the premise that scientific-materialist instruction and education of youth is no temporary or occasional effort but a regular one that must be supplemented by political, intellectual, moral and aesthetic indoctrination in order to form the new and fully developed man with a broad general cultural and specialized background.

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YOUTH PERIODICALS RIDICULE OFFICIAL'S STATEMENTS

Forum at Student Center

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 14 Apr 82 p 7

[Commentary by Pero Jojic: "No, We Won't Do It That Way"]

[Text] The "Student Town" cultural center has a fine old tradition of organizing forums at which well-known public and cultural figures participate. Although these forums are well attended, students often obtain very little of what they expected. Talks are often generalized, and subjects so familiar and chewed upon, that there is no point in discussing them in detail. However, there are also very acute issues that deserve attention yet do not fulfill expectations.

Such was again the case in this instance. The students' guest was Sime Kronja, LCY CC deputy executive secretary and chairman of the SAWPY Federal Conference's council for the press, radio, and television; a guest of whom much was expected, and rightly so. The topics, at least, were extremely interesting for students: reporting from Kosovo, the problems of the youth press, and certain disputed interviews. In our opinion, the introductory remarks were lengthy and perhaps unnecessary (the political and economic situation in the world and in Yugoslavia is familiar and clear to all of us), resembling a political seminar for beginners, which--it must be admitted--most of us are not.

Questions in abundance were raised, but it is another matter whether the answers satisfied the questioners (of course, there were also questions that were irresponsibly phrased or shaded).

Comrade Kronja answered the majority of questions in a generalized and vague way, as though students could be "sold a pig in a poke." It therefore happened that the same students would reappear and pose the same questions, seeking a brief, clear response. As was to be expected, the most questions touched on the subject of Kosovo: why had Kosovo been a taboo topic for years (and some people might be trying to keep it that way), why had there been silence on the out-migration of Serbs and Montenegrins, why had reporting on the well-known events been untimely, etc. The answers given to these questions were familiar (the impression remained that Comrade Kronja had come to defend the stands adopted that day by the SAWPY information section, as though someone in the

hall were disputing them). Something new, which we had not known before, was not said (and perhaps does not exist). He tried to rephrase for us some articles in the daily papers, naturally not any disputed ones, so we are of the opinion that the cultural center might organize a retelling of the press every evening (we get the hint: they do not think that we read it).

To the question of whether taboo topics exist in our society, the answer was: "Taboo topics do not exist, but there are strictly confidential reports in the realm of defense, and as such they are necessary." Clearly, the defense mechanism has to exist, but we are of the opinion that prompt and truthful reporting in the best defense (how many times this has been repeated). Should the world press write about our problems while the Federal Assembly in Yugoslavia is crossing swords over whether to let some bit of news reach the public (the summit lacks confidence in the base).

Dissatisfied with the answers given, the students began to pose questions with remarks in a style probably learned from their professors: "you have evaded the question," "be specific," "come to the point." After these remarks had been made, the talk moved onto a slightly different path. The ensuing discussion was slightly more harsh, but also more useful in our opinion, on the part of both students and Comrade Kronja.

Let us say in conclusion that such forums are indisputably useful, but in a somewhat different form. We need no lectures. We ourselves are aware of all problems and difficulties and are prepared to solve them.

We are of the opinion that every guest is welcome in the student milieu, especially a guest who will be able to answer questions in a satisfactory manner--precisely, specifically, without evading the truth.

Remarks on Kosovo

Belgrade OMLADINSKE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 82 p 2

[Open letter to Sime Kronja by Nenad Mincic: "History Does Not Tolerate an Embargo"]

[Text] Comrade Kronja:

A few days ago, at a meeting of the SAWPY information section, you declared (I cite from NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE of 11 April) that the phenomenon of out-migration from Kosovo ought to be viewed "in the context of the international process of migration from undeveloped south to developed north" and that "many Serbs and Montenegrins have relatives residing outside the province," so "their desire to join their kinfolk is entirely natural."

I am assuming that you are well acquainted with the Serbo-Croatian, or Croato-Serbian, language.

How, then, could you proclaim terrorism against the Serb and Montenegrin populations of Kosovo to be tourism and the natural inclination of the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo to creep closer to their kinfolk outside Kosovo?

Why are the highest governmental and party entities in the country concerning themselves with these "family moves?" Shouldn't the tourism of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo be the concern of the Tourist Federation of Serbia alone?

How, Comrade Kronja, could you refer to this massive, panicky flight on the part of two of our constituent peoples as internationalism?

Internationalism is presumably something else: for example, when the Yugoslav communists went off in 1936 to fight for the Spanish republic, to help the Spanish people oppressed by fascism! Internationalism, Comrade Kronja, is the present-day struggle of socialist Yugoslavia to see to it that the peoples of Africa, of Asia, of Europe, all around the world, are masters in their own house; that everyone lives in peace, secure and free, in his own house and under his own sky, regardless of ethnic, religious, or any other affiliation!

Are the Serb and Montenegrin populations in Kosovo provided with what we advocate for all the peoples of the world?

The Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo, Comrade Kronja, have been concerned with tourism for a long time, and seem to have been internationally inclined for an equally long time. How many of those unfortunates, inclined to adventurism, moved out under Carnojevic alone [at the end of the 17th century]? How many since Carnojevic? How many during the last war?

Nonetheless, the out-migration of the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo--or rather (as you think) their tourist travel--did not end with the Ottomans or the fascists. This international process is being brought to a conclusion for all practical purposes, in our own era, in freedom, in a socialist state!

History, Comrade Kronja, is an implacable judge. It overlooks no one, forgets nothing. No one, including you, can stamp an embargo on history.

I ask you: what will history say about the sorrowful fact that in a country in which a communist party is in power, and which passes for a worldwide model of ethnic equality, the Serb and Montenegrin populations from Kosovo had to abandon their hearths?

In just the last decade, more than 100,000 have run away!

Albanian irredentists and fascists drove those people out of Kosovo. Would that it were so that only tourism were in question and not the blackest terrorism, peacetime genocide against persons belonging to these two constituent peoples of ours!

These are not casual appraisals. These are appraisals expressed by delegates in the Assembly of Serbia, 10 days before you greeted and supported this international and tourist moving about!

You, Comrade Kronja, are apparently not bothered by the fact that the banishments from Kosovo have not been brought to a halt. You are bothered by writings on the subject: you even accused the press of "heating up the migration psychosis!"

Mirror, mirror on the wall! The crooked mirror, naturally, is at fault for everything. Accordingly: smash the mirror!

The main thing is to keep silent, to go on snoring peacefully, to be carefree in setting bureaucratic paychecks. And the Kosovo tourists will somehow find their bearings--they have an international gift.

History will proclaim the main and first-rank culprits for what happened in Kosovo to have been all those before whose eyes irredentism billowed and the tragedy of two populations and of the majority of the Albanian population in Kosovo evolved, all those esteemed comrades who knew and saw but buried their heads in the sand like ostriches, concealed the truth, and abused persons who raised their heads and spoke the truth.

You, too, have concealed the truth and cracked the mirror. Even today, you are attempting to conceal the truth and to forbid it to be spoken! The trouble is that you are not alone even today.

Fortunately, you will eventually be isolated. Time will isolate you and put you in your proper place.

I have no doubt that the brotherhood of Albanians, Serbs, and Montenegrins will overpower irredentism and its inciters and helpers outside Yugoslavia. Nor do I doubt that the main weight of the struggle will be borne by the Albanian population in Kosovo. By defending brotherhood with Serbs and Albanians, the Albanians of Kosovo are defending their honor and centuries-old freedom-loving tradition. Do not hinder them, Comrade Kronja, with such statements.

It cannot be excluded that you may go off, tomorrow, to some more important and more responsible position. Perhaps the presidency of the Tourist Federation would suit you best. But perhaps--perhaps it would not be a bad idea, not for your sake but for the sake of those 100,000 people whom you insulted, and for the sake of the millions of people in Yugoslavia whom you attempted to deceive, and for the sake of the decisions of the highest governmental and party leadership entities in Serbia and in Yugoslavia that you disavowed and rejected--I am saying, perhaps it would not be a bad idea for all of these reasons if you were to open a dictionary and look up the meaning of the terms "tourism" and "internationalism."

And then, take a look at the meaning of the word "resignation!"

With best regards.

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END

JPRS 80985

4 June 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2020

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4 June 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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ZSMP DELEGATION VISITS HUNGARY

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Apr 82 p 5

[Article by Grzegorz Lubczyk, permanent correspondent of SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Budapest: "Delegation of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) in Hungary: A New Measure of Collaboration"]

[Text] From the course of the visit made by the delegation of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) led by chairman Jerzy Jaskiernia, to Hungary to meet with KISZ leaders, it is clear that the collaboration of ZSMP with KISZ received many new impulses. This has already been confirmed, if only in a document for the exclusive use of our organization sent as far back as mid-September 1981 from one of the KISZ political training centers.

The third day of the delegation's stay was concerned with particularly industrious and productive citizens. During the visit to the Kobanya pharmaceutical establishments, the KISZ members of this leading producer of medication in Hungary informed us about the great response to the appeal made by their plant organization. On their free Saturdays, youth from similar establishments do civic work, and they earmark earned forints for the purchase of medicines, which get to Poland through the aid of the Hungarian Red Cross.

The significance of the visit is indicated by the fact that Mihaly Korom, member of the Politboro and the secretariat of the Central Committee of MSZMP, received the ZSMP representatives. This was a positive Hungarian-Polish exchange of political and economic experiences. The implementation of economic reform, means of making managerial mechanisms more flexible, with particular consideration of the role of youth in these processes--those are the main threads of the conversation held at the headquarters of the Central Committee of MSZMP.

Jerzy Jaskiernia says: "We were in agreement in our evaluation that, just as it was in Hungary after 1956, so it is in Poland--the main burden for resolving the crisis rests precisely with youth. For they are the group the most predestined to be included in the mechanisms which are changing the face of the economy. But at the same time, the initial phase of reform is generating a number of threats to the young people's situation. In connection with this fact, it is so important to have an exchange of and knowledge of valuable Hungarian experiences in the area of residential construction, methods

to reduce inflationary pressures, credit favoring young families, and also activities supporting the youth organization, which are assured in Hungary by a law on youth, a unique kind of key to their problems.

Tadeusz Pietrzak, ambassador of the Polish People's Republic (PRL) to Hungary, participated in the conversation with Mihaly Korom.

The meeting of the delegation of the Main Board of ZSMP with the Office of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (SFMD) had essential significance. Specific and quite difficult questions were raised.

I again asked Jerzy Jaskiernia his comments: "The more frequent this type of contact is, the greater the opportunity to explain complex Polish phenomena, to disseminate authentic information, and also to polemize what in effect contributes to the neutralization of the anti-Polish campaign unleashed by some Western countries. This is significant because of the upcoming SFMD meeting schedules for June in Prague, where our organization will be presented for the first time and where it will be necessary to consider the interest shown in Polish issues.

For we are endeavoring to strengthen the position of ZSMP in the international youth movement forum, something which can be achieved only by broadening contacts with youth in the Socialist countries as well as with progressive organizations in the capitalist states. These obviously are not new goals; nonetheless, since 13 December 1981 they have been requiring more activity from us than they did previously.

The ZSMP delegation also has advised the active workers of the SFMD leadership about the development of the situation in the Polish youth movement, and about the actions of the commission on joint international contacts of Polish youth and student unions. This is connected with the definition of a formula, a representation of the Polish youth movement at the federation forum. The possibility was brought up of organizing a European debating forum in Poland on the subject of raising youth in the spirit of peace.

In general, it should be said that this was a very successful visit, and that no empty words were uttered. At the conclusion of the official talks, which were presided over for KISZ by Gyorgy Fejti, first secretary of the Central Committee of KISZ, a communique was issued.

Among other things, it states: "Young Hungarians have, with understanding, accepted the decisions of the State Council of the PRL on convening the Military Council for National Salvation and to follow its successive orders with great attention.

The representatives of both youth organizations are resolutely condemning the meddling of imperialist circles in the internal affairs of Poland and the application of political and economic sanctions against Poland."

In turn, we read in the protocol on bilateral collaboration for 1982 that, among other things, regular and frank exchanges of experiences and views between ZSMP and KISZ are indispensable and necessary. G. Fejti has been asked to pay a visit to Poland.

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MINARIK RESURFACES IN INTERVIEW, ATTACKS EXILE

Ostrava NOVA SVOBODA in Czech 17 Apr 82 p 4

[Interview with Major RSDr Pavel Minarik, CSc, staff worker of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, by Jaromir Balla from NOVA SVOBODA and Bogdan Matwikow from Glos Ludu]

[Text] We still remember the year 1976 when our media informed us about the return of a staff worker of our Federal Ministry of the Interior, Pavel Minarik, then a captain, from the Federal Republic of Germany where he had worked for the previous 8 years at the infamous Radio Free Europe. During that time he succeeded in penetrating the secrets of that organization which was managed by the United States Central Intelligence Agency. Minarik got hold of unique documents concerning the activities which this subversive institution directs against the socialist countries and especially against Czechoslovakia.

[Question] Not long ago we had an opportunity to welcome Major Pavel Minarik in Ostrava. We were surprised to find him alive...

[Answer] I am very familiar with the rumors and myths concerning my death, he answered with a smile. I can even offer several versions of these rumors. According to one, I had a traffic accident. According to a second version, I was pushed under a threshing machine in your kraj. According to a third version, I was kidnapped in South Moravia, taken to an Austrian border, and shot. According to still another version, I was shot and killed in the DDR by a certain West German citizen. And I do not know what else is supposed to have happened to me. I take all this with good humor. The old proverb says after all that he who is prematurely buried will survive for many years. But now seriously: I am surprised at time at how our people are willing to believe these rumors, cheap sensationalism, or panic-mongering. Usually this indicates that underlying all these rumors are forces which would like to create unrest in our country and which would like to deprive us of the necessary calm for our peaceful and creative work.

[Question] You know these forces very well. After all, you lived and worked among those people for 8 years. How would you characterize the present activities of Radio Free Europe and similar institutions?

[Answer] Radio Free Europe origingated after the founding of the Committee for Free Europe in 1949. The first broadcast to Czechoslovakia took place in June 1950. At its inception, Radio Free Europe was charged with three tasks: Espionage, subversive propaganda, and terroristic activities. Sometimes the emphasis is on one task, sometimes on another. Basically, however, Radio Free Europe has been carrying out these three types of activities to this day. The importance that the ruling circles of the United States have given to the activities of Radio Free Europe and similar centers is shown by the fact that its initial budget of $50,000 has been increased year after year. In the course of its existence, this "nonprofit" organization cost the American taxpayers more than $0.5 billion. In 1974, U.S. President Richard Nixon asked Milton Eisenhouser, son [sic] of a former American president, to prepare a new plan for Radio Free Europe and its subversive broadcast activities with the aim of "providing Czech listeners with a flood of information they lack." In practice, it meant the expansion of disinformation activities. The end result of this new concept was a merger of two ideological subversive centers--Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty--into a single organization in 1976. To illustrate the extent of its activities it is enough to mention that at its peak this center employed 1,500 people. At present the number of its employees is approximately 1,200.

[Question] At the time you worked at Radio Free Europe, there were two other intelligence officers at the station: Andrzej Czechowicz from Poland and Christo Christov from Bulgaria. Did you know of them and were the activities of all three of you coordinated?

[Answer] Naturally, I knew nothing of their activities. Andrzej Czechowicz returned to Poland in 1971. To state it plainly, his return to Poland was a slap in the face to those Western circles which were under the illusion that their work against the socialist countries had no limits. This occurred at a time when the authorities in the West tried to "clean" the CIA in the eyes of the public and tried to pretend that the CIA had nothing further to do with Radio Free Europe. It was at this time that Czechowicz told his story. Washington immediately activated the hot line to Bonn and prohibited the West German media from reporting on Czechowicz' return. The revelation that Radio Free Europe had been an agency of the CIA was unpleasant to them. At the same time Senator Fulbright characterized Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty as cold war relics. It was interesting that between 1974 and 1976 the Poles employed at Radio Free Europe were disappearing as if they were on an assembly line. I myself remember three or four such cases. The situation was so bad that at one meeting the American director of Radio Free Europe asked the director of the Polish section, Nowak: "Are you still here?"

The Bulgarian intelligence officer Christov worked at the Vienna branch of Radio Free Europe. Thus, I did not know him. I remember Czechowicz from my "stay" at Radio Free Europe.

[Question] Was your work affected after the departure of Czechowicz? Was not security at Radio Free Europe tightened?

[Answer] Yes, it was. To state it more specifically, security was always stressed but was not strictly implemented. After Czechowicz departure, Radio

Free Europe literally witnessed a witchhunt on spies. Everybody was suspicious of everybody else. To tell the truth, such atmosphere has prevailed to this day. Each employee would look at the other as if he were a Soviet agent. And if not a Soviet agent then an agent of another country. After my return home in 1977, the infamous Pavel Tigrid in Paris stated. "Minarik? We knew from the very beginning that he was a spy." It was interesting that 2 years earlier he told me: "Say, should we not be more careful about Volny? I think that he is a plant..."

[Question] Were you ever afraid during your stay in Radio Free Europe?

[Answer] Perhaps I would not call it fear but apprehension--apprehension that I would be discovered before being able to complete my assignment. However, I also experienced fear. It happened shortly after the departure of Czechowicz at the time of the tightened security. I succeeded in getting from a female secretary of a director whose name I will not mention a key from a safe in an office I do not wish to identify. One night I went to that office... The situation was propitious. I entered through the door and opened the safe. The safe was located in the room behind the door. I searched among the documents when I heard fast footsteps in the hall. The door was opened and a watchman looked into the room. I have to admit that I was scared stiff. I was pressed so hard against the wall that I seemed not to breath. The watchman just peered into the room and closed the door. The lump which fell from my throat must have been heard in the basement.

[Question] You worked as a broadcaster and editor. Thus you were in a position to be familiar with the practices at Radio Free Europe. What is the origin of the materials published by Radio Free Europe?

[Answer] Radio Free Europe monitors the broadcasts of Czechoslovak radio stations. Each day up to 200 pages of monitored broadcasts are published. In addition, some 120 periodicals published in Czechoslovakia, including NOVA SVOBODA, are scanned. Great attention is paid especially to kraj newspapers and plant periodicals because in these cases it is possible to separate specific items from the context. Such a specific item is then related to a generally known fact and an added drop of poison subverts the whole thing into disinformation. I will illustrate this in a concrete case: Not long ago, it was decided in the Soviet Union to create associated agricultural facilities at certain industrial plants. The significance of these facilities lies in the fact that the workers can order goods from these facilities during the day, the purchases are scheduled for delivery at the employee's workplace during the shift, and the workers can take their purchases home when they leave. Thus, they do not have to waste time shopping after their working hours. Radio Free Europe commented on the whole thing in the following way: In order to prevent workers' demonstrations it was decided that the workers could purchase meat and other agricultural produce directly at the Arsenal plant in Kiev. This is an illustration of how Radio Free Europax fabricates disinformation. The raison d'etre of the so-called journalists at this center is to author such slanders.

[Question] Given these circumstances, what is the opinion of other West German journalists and the public about the editors of Radio Free Europe?

[Answer] They look at them with disrespect. West German journalists ignore their "colleagues" from Radio Free Europe. They do not consider them journalists. However, they envy them a little because an editor of Radio Free Europe is much better paid than, say, an editor at the Bavarian radio network. What is the opinion of other West German citizens? Older Munichers remember the time when in war-destroyed Munich some kind of a center employing foreigners was established whose only interest was to frequent night clubs and squander money which, in comparison with Germans, they had in abundance. This was a period when nobody at Radio Free Europe thought about the future because the prevailing mood then was an expectation of war which would make it possible for them to stage a glorious return to their homes. At that time Radio Free Europe employed our enemies who worked against us because of principle--people like Firt or Peroutka. They were a type of enemies described by Edmundovich Dzerzhinski as deserving our respect. However, the emigres who came to Radio Free Europe after 1968 have had only one motive--money. Thus, for example, Ota Filip discovered that there was German blood in his veins on account of some of his ancestors and he became a German, a German citizen. But at the same time he likes to represent himself as a Czech writer. Pachman and Jezdinsky joined the Sudeten Germans. Such a situation dictates an attitude toward these people on the part of the new German generation. They look on Radio Free Europe as something which must not be touched even with a 10-foot pole. And they prefer to have nothing to do with it. This is a general view in the West. For example, at the Winter Olympics in Innsbruck in 1976, the so-called editors of Radio Free Europe were expelled. This, I believe, characterizes the situation quite well.

[Question] During your stay in the West you lived among our emigres. You got a good fix on the situation of these emigres. Are the wishes of those who leave for the West fulfilled?

[Answer] I will say the following: Their material aspirations are fulfilled in the case of those who were able to become experts back home at the expense of our socialist state. This does not of course mean that every individual with an academic title from Czechoslovakia is received as an expert and with open arms. However, even for these people it means a separation forever from their native language, their own country and its culture. From my experience, I can testify that all this is not at all easy as is sometimes indicated by the wishful thinking of certain people. I experienced all that myself even though I was certain that I could return home. Another chapter involves the people who stay abroad because of adventurism or in the hope of easy money. One can only smile at such naive expectations. However, this category usually includes people from whom not even our republic benefited. They are the ones used to send postcards to Czechoslovakia from Majorca. This, of course, is one of the least expensive vacations offered by West German travel offices to people with limited funds. Do not make a mistake and be overwhelmed by the fact that Majorca is part of Spain. Not everything which glitters is gold. For example, for a retired person a vacation in Majorca is less expensive than a stay of the same duration in West Germany.

[Question] Could you illustrate this with a concrete example?

[Answer] Not long ago, one of those who went astray returned to Czechoslovakia. He was a third-year student at the Philological Faculty who had left with his friend for Vienna. Once there, his friend persuaded him to stay, To his great surprise, they did not find paradise. They were sent to a refugee camp in Treiskirchen. Today, every emigre in Austria is sent to this camp for a kind of quarantine which lasts, depending on individual circumstance, from 3 to 6 weeks. After their arrival at the camp all their documents were collected from them. New emigres even get financial aid. It is better than nothing but you cannot live on it. I will simplify this account in the following way: If you were stricken in Vienna with a certain disease, then this aid would not even suffice to pay for the daily use of public toilets there. For this reason the refugees try to find work in the vicinity of the camp. And because of the abundance of refugees local farmers hire them for a pittance as seasonal workers. This fact led our student to sober up. He wrote a letter to his parents asking them to help him return home. He also asked the camp authorities to have his documents returned and gave them as a reason his intention to return home. From that moment on he started to experience a life in hell. He was exposed to the most brutal pressures to remain in exile. He was even threatened. He was told that in case of his return he would be arrested by the Czechoslovak authorities. The boy, however, did not back down. Moreover, when his father arrived he persuaded his son that it was possible for him to go home. Well, the boy is back in Czechoslovakia and continues his university studies. He has learned a lesson. Nobody will ever be able to crate any illusions about the West as far as he is concerned.

[Question] Our people have the most varied ideas about the work of intelligence officers. These ideas are, of course, based on spy movies. To what extent does the reality parallel these ideas?

[Answer] To be an intelligence officer means to work as anybody does. The intelligence officer too goes to bed at night and gets up in the morning to go to work. His work is demanding as far as time, nerves, and family understanding are concerned. To tell the truth, when I started to work in this line I too had some idealistic notions as has every average person. By accident I came into contact with people who must remain anonymous but who were and have remained for me examples of communist individuals, men devoted to our cause. I went abroad at the age of 23 and returned when I was 31. During that period I could not do anything for myself. School, education--all that had to wait. Not to speak about family. Before my departure abroad I had only one wish: To be able to return still as a young man in order to be able to live and work in my own country. My wish was met by my superiors. During my stay in the West I witnessed much desperation and hopelessness among our emigres, For those who have engaged in hostile activities against our country no return is possible. Thus the only goal for them is to work to get maximum pay, to hang on to their jobs and to be able to retire. This is the only purpose of life of all those "reformers of socialism" who work for or collaborate with Radio Free Europe today. After all, they have chosen this path voluntarily. Nobody forced them to do so. And history shows that these traitors are exploited by our enemies who also have contempt for them. As an illustration

I should mention the name of former General Sejna. When they needed him they used him. Then they left him to his fate. And he slowly but surely started to lose his mind. He often changes his domicile, suffers from a delusion that he is targeted for assassination. He has become a schizophrenic who has lost his sense of time completely. When it suits them, the Americans call him back and use him as a puppet. In this way he was shown on Austrian television to frighten the Austrian bourgeois by the "Soviet threat." For his fear tactics he used the alleged plans of our general staff and the Warsaw Pact according to which the Soviet and our armies were preparing the "occupation" of Austria. As a second-rate comedian he delivered his prepared script and then was put on ice again.

[Concluding note of the interviewers] There are many more questions on our mind but Major Minarik's schedule is very tight. To those of you who liked his engaging story we can say by way of conclusion that he is writing a book which will make interesting reading. That is guaranteed by the author's name.

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INTERNATIONAL YOUTH COOPERATION STRESSED

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 12 May 82 p 3

[Exerpts from the report of the Socialist Youth Union [SYU] presidium, present by Jan Brunner]

[Text] In its introduction, the report stresses that we are approaching the congress as an organization which, side by side with progressive youth of the world, has since its inception actively participated in the struggle for peace, security and cooperation among nations, social progress, and the rights of the young generation all over the world. Like in other areas of our activity, we have achieved many positive results since the 2nd SYU Congress in the development of foreign relations and foreign operations.

Party Policy Is the Foundation

This is essentially so because we have consistently based our activity, and continue to do so, on the foreign policy of the party, its 15th and 16th Congresses, as well as the 25th and 26th Congresses of the Soviet communists and their peace initiatives. This is so because in our work we have the full support of the CPCZ, because we draw on the experiences of our friends in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, we cooperate with them closely, and in the international arena we proceed in a coordinated fashion with them.

Hand in Hand with the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Union [ALCYU]

The focal point, as well as inspiration for the development of our international activity since the 2nd SYU Congress, has been further development of contacts and fraternal cooperation with the 40 million-member ALCYU.

The level of mutual SYU-ALCYU relations is presently higher than ever before. Besides the tested traditional forms, new highly effective forms are coming to the fore in our cooperation, such as working consultations, exchange of lecturers, patronage over timely fulfillment of cooperation and specialization deliveries, pilgrimages to the historical sites of revolutionary, wartime, and workers class glory, etc.

The greatest and most important joint undertaking since our last congress, was the Friendship Festival of Czechoslovak and Soviet Youth, held in 1979 in all CSSR krajs, with the participation of almost 1,000 Komsomol members.

The focal point in SYU-ALCYU cooperation lies in fraternity contacts at the level of regional, district, and basic organizations. These bring about the greatest involvement of young people in concrete cooperation, and have the greatest political impact on broad strata of the youth.

More Effective Fraternity Contacts

In March 1982, the CPCZ Presidium approved the SYU plan for fraternity contacts for 1982-83. In this connection, we should return to the questions of effectiveness of these contacts, rapid elimination of shortcomings, and highly effective cooperation of SYU and ALCYU regional, district, and basic organizations.

In the implementation of SYU-ALCYU cooperation during 1981-85, we must in ever greater measure apply the uniform, jointly-prepared forms of work in ideological education, bring deeper ideological content into the international student and exchange brigades, rest camps, and organized student tourism.

Increasingly more important is and will continue to be the share of young people in the intensification of the process of socialist economic integration. The SYU must participate in this process through exchanges of young workers and technicians within the movement "From Machine to Machine." All these are forms of not only effective youth participation in future socialist construction but also in education aimed toward a dedicated relationship to work.

On 18 May, the doors of the 19th ALCYU Congress will open. Its deliberations will surely bring much that is new, instructive, and inspirational for our work also.

In developing cooperation with our friends from the GDR, Bulgaria, Cuba, Hungary, Mongolia, Romania, and Poland, we follow the example of the communist and workers parties in these countries. Our principal aim and task which we have set for ourselves in mutual contacts, are anchored in long-term cooperation programs which we evaluate and adjust regularly.

A characteristic trait of our contacts is their substance, working atmosphere, and sincere desire to help each other in our work, as well as in our effort on the international scene. The focal point of our cooperation rests in exchange of experiences and findings in the ideological education activity in youth participation in scientific and technological development, in our active part in specialization and cooperation within the framework of socialist economic integration.

A lasting place in our relations is held by the festivals, and friendship days and months. In addition to the already mentioned Friendship Festival of Czechoslovak and Soviet Youth, we have since the 2nd SYU Congress

successfully organized friendship days of Czechoslovak and Romanian, GDR, Polish, Bulgarian, and Cuban youth, as well as the 2nd Assembly of Students from Socialist Countries in Prague. Since our congress, there has been broad development of international cooperation of our organizations in scientific and technological creativity and youth labor activity. We must, however, still improve our support of these forms of cooperation by means of targeted excursions and fraternity trains organized for our innovators and improvers, leaders of youth collectives, and the whole brigade of socialist labor.

Also important is the cooperation among the publishing houses and editorial offices of youth magazines and newspapers in the form of regular exchanges of editors and materials. Also growing is the number of book titles published, such as "People in the Media," or "Nine Cosmic Days," published by Mlada fronta and Mlada garda. In addition, there is broad cooperation among our fraternal organizations in the area of culture, special interests, theater, film, and artistic creativity.

Assistance to Polish Comrades

With respect to the Polish youth movement where, under the influence of the antisocialist forces, there arose a complicated situation resulting in the dissolution of the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth, we have contact with the Socialist Union of Polish Youth, Socialist Union of Polish Students, Union of Rural Youth, and the Union of Polish Scouts. We will continue to develop contacts with these organizations in the coming period. We will especially concentrate on cooperation with the Socialist Union of Polish Youth, in support of the healthy forces in the Polish youth, student, and children's movements in overcoming the social crisis and its consequences.

Beyond the Shores of Continents

Special attention has been focused on cooperation with youth organizations in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, especially on all-around aid in creating conditions for further development of these organizations. In the past period, we have also intensified our cooperation and solidarity with the Peoples Democratic Republic of Korea. We are also broadening contacts with the youth of Yugoslavia.

Friendship and cooperation knows no geographic boundaries. We have friends and allies on all continents. We are united in the common struggle against imperialism, struggle for peace and social progress on our planet.

The past 5 years has been a period in which the principal positive factor of world development was the strengthening of socialism and the attractiveness of its example.

In an effort to turn back the clock on these inevitable revolutionary changes, and reverse the process of easing tensions, the most revolutionary imperialist circles, headed by the United States administration, have reverted to an international sharpening of the situation. They have unleashed a campaign against the easing of international tensions. They are striving for a

militarization of international relations and for a reversal of the historically-established balance of forces in the world to their advantage.

Preparation for the Assembly of the World Fedration of Democratic Youth [WFDY]

Support for the 16th CPCZ Congress line of the foreign policy of our republic, consistently oriented to foster coexistence among states of different social systems, for the strengthening of cooperation and security on the international scale, for the preservation of lasting and just peace, and for disarmament, all this must be the concern of every honest citizen of our homeland. This also fully applies to the work of our union. With this conviction we approach the preparation for our 3rd Congress, as well as one of the most significant events in the life of progressive youth and student movements since the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students in Havana in 1978, the 11th assembly of the member states of the WFDY. At the invitation of our union, its deliberations will take place in Prague during 3-9 June.

Preparations for the WFDY Assembly are taking place in a complicated international situation. The aggressive imperialist circles of the United States and their allies in NATO, continue their policy of exacerbating tensions in the world, and accelerating the lethally perilous race in the production of nuclear and conventional arms. Only imperialism is to blame for a complicated and tense situation in many areas of the world.

Especially dangerous not only for the European continent but for the whole world is the NATO decision on the deployment in the West European member countries of new American intermediate missiles. This decision is highly dangerous step in the overall strategy of imperialism, aimed at a destabilization of the political and military situation. New American nuclear weapons in Europe threaten not only the very existence of our continent, but expose all mankind to the threat of thermonuclear disaster. Consequently, it is of vital importance not to permit the implementation of this decision.

The United States makes it its policy not only to encircle strategically and militarily the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, but also to create for itself conditions in various parts of the world to suppress by force of arms the national liberation struggle. Imperialism thus pursues a single goal, namely to retard and eventually halt social progress on our planet.

We fully support L.I. Brezhnev's sentiments expressed at the supreme assembly of Soviet communists, when he said: "Our party, our people, and all nations of this planet have no other more pressing international task then to preserve peace."

Million Sign for Peace

It is for this reason that our union, in the interest of peace and progress in the world, cooperates with youth and student organizations of the whole world, regardless of their ideological, political, or religious affiliation. Never before has the world peace movement been as strong, never before has it had countless millions of adherents. And the majority are young people. One

signature could perhaps be ignored, but many millions of signatures of young Komsomol members, along with signatures of our young people on picture post-cards showing their towns and villages from all over Czechoslovakia, addressed to the NATO headquarters in Brussels, are joining in a mighty stream of signatures under the Krefeld Appeal, with signatures under other appeals, to halt production of the neutron weapons, a mighty stream from Holland, Denmark, and other European countries, but signatures also from the United States. Therefore, let us all, regardless of the differences in world outlook, proclaim today our supreme goal--peace for the world.

The SYU has in the past period actively participated in the preparation and attendance of conferences and seminars, the culmination of which was the World Forum of Youth and Students for the Reduction of Tensions, held in Helsinki in January 1981.

The all-European structure of youth and student cooperation established in Budapest in the fall of 1980, has become a platform for a joint approach of broad strata of youth, in an effort to strengthen peace and security, advance mutually beneficial cooperation, and help fulfill the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

The SYU presidium report further noted that we march in solidarity with progressive young people in the capitalist countries in their current struggle under difficult conditions of rising unemployment, for their rights and social changes in their countries. We remain in close contact with our class brothers and allies, young communists, revolutionaries, democrats, and their organizations.

Class View of Cooperation

Broad cooperation, based on internationalist principles, is developing especially with fraternal youth organizations in the FRG, Denmark, Finland, Austria, Greece, Cyprus, Luxemburg, United States, Canada, and Australia. Our contacts with French communists and their youth movement are improving. On the other hand, however, we reject the unprincipled and dubious activity of those youth associations which brazenly flaunt their "different stands." This type of activity has increased considerably since the declaration of a state of emergency in Poland which deterred the open attempts of the counterrevolution to liquidate socialism in that country.

The leadership of the Communist Party of Italy [PCI] has just recently unveiled a theoretical justification of the concept of the so-called third road. In conflict with historical truth and the interests of peace and socialism, it attempted to deny the great progressive role of the victorious struggle of nations and the fraternal parties for a new social system, to deny the international significance of their experiences in building this new system.

Youth organizations operating under the PCI leadership, as well as certain other communist parties, have tried--and this tendency has already manifested itself clearly--to carry the new theoretical position even into the sphere of WFDY activity, We will, of course, resolutely reject any such attempts.

We should remind these forces that the terms "peace," "solidarity," "democracy," and "human rights," have a class character for communists and they must be fought for from class positions.

Broadest Possible Platform

We will continue our cooperation not only with member organizations of the European Committee on National Youth Councils, and the International Union of Socialist Youth, but also with many other regional and international organizations and their member unions. We have found beneficial, for example, such forms of cooperation as bilateral theme-oriented seminars on problems of interest to young people at this time, organized together with the young socialists in the Socialist Party of Germany [SPD], the Federal Youth Circle also in the FRG, the Netherlands Platform for International Youth Activity, the Liberal University Union in the FRG, the National Youth Council in Denmark, and others. Such contacts resulted in, for instance, a meeting of young physicians and agricultural workers from the CSSR and Holland. The position and authority of the SYU in these contacts are the result of activist approaches and uncompromising stands to which we hold. We will also continue to strengthen the SYU position, while effective propagation of socialism and the living conditions for young people in the socialist countries, will be in the forefront of our endeavor.

A characteristic trait of our cooperation with the youth of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, is intensification and improvement of mutual contacts, especially with organizations in countries with a socialist orientation. We continue to enhance relations with youth organizations in Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen, and Afghanistan. Further development was achieved in mutual relations with the "19 July Youth Movement" in Nicaragua. We are in full solidarity with the struggle of progressive revolutionary forces in Central America.

The Role of the SYU Solidarity Fund

Our cooperation with youth and student organizations of all continents makes it possible for us to develop the SYU Solidarity Fund through which we strive to help wherever assistance is needed. In this effort, we work very closely with the central committee of the National Front.

A new form through which we intend to continue to procure financial means for the Solidarity Fund, is direct participation of selected all-plant SYU organizations in raising funds for fraternal youth organizations in the developing countries. As an example, we can cite--and many of you probably read about it on the pages of Mlada fronta, the contribution of the all-plant SYU organization in the United Steel Works in Kladno, in support of the Revolutionary Youth Union of Ethiopia. We are convinced that our organizations will follow this example. Consistent contributions to the SYU Solidarity Fund should be understood as a concrete expression of internationalist convictions of our young generation. We must say frankly that many of our organizations still do not understand this.

New Working Methods and Opportunities

Another important component of our international activity are the international peace camps which not only serve as an instrument of friendship among children of the whole world, but also as a means to propagate our Pioneer Organization and popularize the successes of the socialist countries, as well as a means of implementing the Charter of Childrens Rights.

We envisage opportunities in further broadening of our cooperation in the international context with National Front organizations, such as the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, and the Czechoslovak Union of Women. We also plan to be more active in reaching young people around the world through the Czechoslovak Society for Foreign Relations, as well as societies for friendship with Czechoslovakia in foreign countries of all continents.

Full Support for the International Union of Students [IUS]

The IUS and its member organizations are carrying out the tasks set for them by the 13th IUS Congress, held in Berlin in 1980. There has been further strengthening of IUS unity and cooperation with regional student organizations in Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean region, and the Arab countries.

Attempts to weaken the unity and action capability of the IUS by imperialists and their lackeys in trying to set up a so-called International Student Association, have been exposed as an act directed against the interests of the broad student masses. This attempt was correctly identified as an affair with only one goal, namely to disrupt the unity of the international student movement, cast doubt on the 35-year experience of the IUS, mislead the movement away from an activist program, away from student participation in joint action with the popular masses in the struggle for peace and cooperation, security of nations, and social progress, in short, away from anti-imperialist solidarity.

Prague Opens Its Gates to the WFDY

The deliberations of the supreme organ of the largest and most representative organization of world progressive youth, the WFDY, will take place in Prague in less than a month. The event will be attended by about 800 delegates of member organizations from 130 countries of the world, about 200 representatives of other youth and student organizations of the most diverse ideological and world outlook persuasion, and representatives of the UN and UNESCO. Given the current international situation, it is logical that primary attention of the assembly will be focused on the preservation of world peace, and the role of the young generation in the struggle for this only acceptable alternative for the present and future of our planet. Among the other contemporary problems which will be on the agenda are youth rights, its contribution to the struggle for social progress, and specific problems of individual continents and regions of the world. Part of the deliberations of the 11th WFDY Assembly will be reserved for the supreme organs of affiliated specialized organizations of the federation, such as the International Volunteer Service of Youth

Solidarity and Friendship, the International Bureau of Youth and Student Tourism, and the International Committee for Children and Adolescents.

Our youth movement which is an activist founding member of the WFDY, welcomes the opportunity to host for the second time in our homeland the deliberations of the Federation's supreme organ. We will strive to create the best possible conditions for these deliberations. Our union's delegation to the assembly will act diligently and with initiative, in harmony with today's central committee decision, to ensure that the 11th WFDY assembly become another step forward in strenthening the unity of progressive youth the world over, and its mobilization against all the forces of imperialism and reaction, for peace and progress on our planet.

Important New Initiatives

We are convinced that the 11th WFDY Assembly will set forth the principal tasks of the world progressive youth for the 1980s. Consequently, we anticipate that the peace rally at Lidice which will be held during the festive days, will proclaim a new global campaign of the youth struggle for peace and disarmament. We also hope that the Prague tribunal "Youth Accuses Imperialism" not only brings forth new evidence of imperialism's inhumanity, but also its resolute condemnation.

These goals will be supported by all our young people who will be welcoming the participants of the assembly in their plants, schools, and homes. When they acquaint the visitors with their life in a developed socialist society, their work in the spirit of Gottwald's slogan "build your homeland, you will be strengthening peace," when they express their solidarity with all the boys and girls who care for the cause of peace and social progress, who are struggling against imperialism for a happy tomorrow on our planet.

Let us therefore do everything we can, comrades, to see to it that, in the early days of June, Prague, the capital of our socialist republic, resound with a voice powerful enough to be heard on all continents, a strong resolute voice for peace and progress on our one planet.

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BRIEFS

USSR OFFICIAL'S ACTIVITIES--I. Cherkasov, councilor of the USSR Embassy in the CSSR, on 5 April in Prague visited the secretariat of the PACEM in Terris Association of the Catholic clergy, where he was received by Canonicus Z. Adler, doctor of theology, and J. Hendrich, chapter vicar. The representatives of the patriotic Catholic clergy expressed support for the noble humane aims of the USSR's foreign policy and its further initiatives against a nuclear catastrophe. I. Cherkasov expressed appreciation of these stands and wished the priests rallied in the association successes in peaceful work. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Apr 82 p 2 AU]

SVAZARM MEMBERSHIP INCREASING--The membership base of the SVAZARM [Union for Cooperation with the Army] organization increases on the average by 25,000 new members every year. Almost 86,000 boys and girls under 15 in the Czech lands constitute 14.5 percent of the SVAZARM's membership base. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 May 82 p 2 AU]

NATIONAL SECURITY CORPS--According to Col Dr P. Vano, Slovak deputy minister of interior, almost 75 percent of the members of the CSSR's National Security Corps are CPCZ members and candidate members; 60 percent of them are less than 30 years old; more than 70 percent have a secondary-school education. [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 14 Apr 82 p 7 AU]

CRIME FIGURES DROPPING--According to Lt Col Dr Pavol Vano, Slovak deputy minister of interior, the number of crimes and felonies in the Sixth Five-Year Plan dropped more than 9 percent; this trend continued in 1981. Juvenile and child delinquency toward the end of 1981 amounted to 15.8 percent of total crime figures. Drug addiction among youth is steadily, even if moderately, increasing. [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 17 Apr 82 p 5 AU]

OBZINA GIVES PRESS CONFERENCE--At a press conference held in honor of the upcoming day of the National Security Corps [SNB] in Prague on 7 April, CSSR Interior Minister J. Obzina said, among other things, that "Compared with the preceding decade, we have succeeded in reducing the crime rate by 12 percent," and that despite the increased population "no mass violation of public order had occurred." The SNB has been "successfully ensuring the security of the state borders" despite the 50 million travelers that passed through the border checkpoints. This is a result of the fact that the security apparatus has been built up on "consistently class principles" employing persons with the right qualifications. The present-day SNB consists almost 75 percent of "originally

skilled workers," 12 percent have university-level education and 68 percent graduated from secondary schools. Obzina also spoke about the current tasks, which in the state security sphere consist of intensifying the struggle against foreign intelligence services and against "the so-called eastern departments of the supranational monopolies, which are becoming centers of industrial espionage, of discriminatory measures in the economic sphere and which even dictate to capitalist manufacturers the conditions of cooperation with the socialist countries." The SNB efforts also are concentrating on "safeguarding the economy," in which criminal activities last year led to losses estimated at more than Kcs 2.848 million, Obzina said. [Prague PRACE in Czech 6 Apr 82 p 3 AU]

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YOUTH LEADERS DISCUSS 'FRONTS OF YOUTH ACTIVITY'

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish 14 Mar 82 pp 3, 14, 15

[Panel discussion at the editorial offices of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, participation by leaders of various youth groups and newspaper staff, entitled "We are Seeking Fronts of Youth Activity"]

[Text] Taking part in the discussion on the most urgent matters of youth were: the chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), Jerzy Jaskiernia; the commander-in-chief of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP), Andrzej Ornat; the chairman of the Youth Council of the Polish Army, vice-chairman of ZSMP, Major Tadeusz Rzepecki; the secretary of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union (ZMW), Kazimierz Janik; and from the editorial staff Colonels Jan Ignaczak and Antoni Kazana.

Jan Ignaczak: - I welcome you warmly and thank you for finding a little time to discuss with us the role and place of youth in the continuing revival of Poland, the obligations of leaders of the government and society with regard to youth, the obligations of youth in leading the country out of this severe crisis, and in further political and social development. There is something symbolic in the fact that this discussion is taking place in the editorial office of a weekly newspaper intended for youth, which explores in its columns the grave problems of a patriotic education, disseminates the most beautiful traditions of the Polish arms, popularizes service in the Polish army, which, difficult and responsible, is also indispensable for the safety of the nation. I am convinced that in the process of our lively discussion, we will point out the possibilities of developing the activity of youth in work for the Fatherland.

Antoni Kazana: - It is universally said that the crisis has touched our entire society. The tragedy of youth is part of this. The problem thus arises of what form programs of youth activity should assume in this difficult situation, and what further to do.

On Being an Advocate of the Interests of Youth

Jerzy Jaskiernia: - We agree with the thesis, which does not require discussion, that whatever parameters we take into consideration, the conditions of this crisis situation hit those especially who are on the threshold of their economic life, who have not yet accumulated the basic material goods which make up a particular standard of living.

What can we as a union do? First of all, let's try to instill a trend toward positive action. I am thinking for example about the area of apartment construction. The formula used to date by those in charge of construction, based on working of 1/3, later 1/2 of the investment, today is losing its viability. At the beginning of the 1970's, when there was a shortage of workers, it made sense. Today, the situation is different. Therefore, one of the things we support is the establishment of young people's work cooperatives, several of which have already been started.

Of course, we are against throwing all the responsibility for progress in construction on the shoulders of youth. We want, however, to be a mobilizing factor; our goal is to reach a point where construction workers build apartments, businessmen conduct business, and the youth movement concentrates on its ideological and educational functions.

Antoni Kazana: - We decisively reject everything that brought about the present situation of youth. I think that the echelons of the Union Of Socialist Polish Youth will need greater "driving force" in making its demands. What guarantees can be made in this area?

Jerzy Jaskiernia: - I would say it like this: in the past there was a strong tendency towards manipulation of the youth movement. Propaganda of success was mandatory, as is known, and the youth movement as well was to some degree prevailed upon to perform activities which would confirm the state of affairs desired. A second element--there was not a worked out method of advocacy for the affairs of youth. If at the Third Special Congress of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the young people proposed a concept to the Committee of the Council of Ministers for Affairs of Youth, then regardless of who will discuss this concept and what will be said, let's see in it the possibility of cooperative activity. The entire period since the Third Special Congress of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth has been involved with the search for ways of showing problems to the decision-maker.

Andrzej Ornat: - We are entering the 1980's with a great shortage of material goods and with an enormous amount of experience, unfortunately negative, for youth. In the minds of the young generation, the events of the end of the 1970's were very unfavorable. This has been a difficult experience for the young, and the question must be raised as to the way the youth movement can help in recovering these young people, win them over to the ranks, or at least to influence them. I think that we will be able to convince youth to choose the proper socialist path of reform in Poland based on the most important task of serving the Fatherland, and serving man. The issue is the ideological commitment to work for the Fatherland and also for the community in which we live, the home, street, neighborhood, city--convincing people that what we do well and do together with a mature society contributes to the good of the Fatherland. This is what we want to teach. Only on this foundation of ideological commitment can we assume also the role of advocate of the matters of children and youth relative to our leaders and decision-makers.

The organization which I represent, in dealing with matters of leisure, health, cultural needs, and physical education among children and youth, wants to

combine a broad development along with normal growth. We are seeking fronts of youth activity; we are prompting them on how they should react to the needs of society. And we have results, for example those of our scout alert program. This spontaneous action of every troop, of every boy helping another is a type of commitment, and on this base the organization wants to build the young generation. The state, the party, and the authorities will create conditions for giving people equal opportunities in life. At the same time, it will be necessary to show that together with youth, much can be done. This is very important.

The Importance of Ideological and Educational Activity

Tadeusz Rzepecki: - If I may go back to the 1970's, I have the impression that one of the more significant shortcomings of the period was the weakness of ideological and educational work.

There were slogans and programs from above but the ideological and educational work was superficial. Today, we are feeling the consequences of this situation. I realize that conducting ideological and educational work, teaching methods of Marxist thought, and historical education have not been easy because the theory has found itself in glaring divergence with everyday practice. For this reason, if we want to talk today about the most urgent tasks before the party, the state, and youth organizations, it seems to me that ideological and educational work with youth, and the rebuilding of their consciousness should be counted among them.

Please note that for months after the memorable occurrences in Gdansk in 1980, and the signing of so-called social contracts, youth constantly thought along certain lines, lines of "give me". Certain demands were constantly formulated but I think that there was no discussion on how to put these into action. For this reason, I would be for the propositions made by earlier speakers--that it should be stated clearly that the party forms certain goals and a program, the government creates the conditions to carry them out, youth groups--though, I emphasize not only they--constitute a certain organizational sphere, initiating, and prompting youth to act.

Still, with certain problems such as construction of apartments, family matters, and production, the young simply must manage on their own. Our task is to inform them that everything they want today in their homes and in their families, they must work for themselves. We must state clearly that the only element which will allow us to realize our dreams is work. And who doesn't dream about a comfortable apartment, about a cultured and social life?

In speaking about ideological and educational matters, it is not without satisfaction that I here want to stress that ideological and educational work in the armed forces has always been the apple of the eye of the military administration and also of the administration of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth. The army's attitude toward the tasks set before it in martial law, which concerns both the members of our organization and soldiers outside the Union, confirms the fact that we have conducted this ideological and educational work on a very high level.

I stress this matter because we have before us a range of problems in this area. I would like to call your attention to two problems concerning youth: the development of a historical consciousness (this concerns all youth of school age but not only them), and the need to promote the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism among the young generation, and to develop the ability to utilize the categories of thought of this philosophical system. These are very important matters. We cannot forget about them.

Jerzy Jaskiernia: - In connection with the problems of developing a historical consciousness, I would like to support the initiative which originated at the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, and is currently being carried out, and that is the publication of an edition entitled "Corrections From History".

I think that it would be very difficult to formulate the thesis that ideological and educational attempts were not made at all in the past. It would be impossible, if only because the subject constantly came up and it was said that ideological and educational work is very important, etc. But what happened? It seems to me that a certain separation, maybe not from reality as much as from certain facts. I think that a good consciousness will never be built on the basis of falsifications. Even the most difficult truth must be shown. The young person is able to understand many things, but nothing should be hidden from him.

For the last year and a half, we have observed the phenomenon of certain information reaching many young people for the first time. Why has this been so? In the factory schools, history was not taught. The young person was deprived of the right of historical knowledge, knowledge which would prevent a political opponent's utilizing this lack and spreading propaganda, for provocation of the young.

It seems to me that a great deal of work awaits us in this area. What must be shown is a history without simplification but at the same time a history from which constructive conclusions are drawn, from which pro-socialist, patriotic and international motivations are formed.

There is one more matter which I feel is very important. The decline of ideology of youth organizations did not happen by itself. It occurred, after all, under a worsening social situation which resulted in the interests of the young person moving towards very temporal matters. It seems to me that now a very responsible state program to come up with answers to social problems, a program based on realities and administered by the state, must be undertaken. It would create for the youth organization opportunities to concentrate on ideological and educational goals and show that the organization is intended for discussion and consciousness development. I think, too, that we have identified ideological education too much with political lectures. They are important also but in the proper proportions. More attention should be given to the question of the relationship between the giver and receiver of knowledge. There is subjectivity in reaching the truth. A person usually believes more firmly in what he comes to believe himself with an appropriate number of arguments than what he is told to believe. One of the shortcomings

of many brochures published in recent years is that they contained certain truths already established.

Note comrades that in our country very few young people read any of the Marxist classics in the original. And Marxism is an ideology with a capacity for dissemination. A wide range of youth, western youth as well, are interested in it. In Poland, however, young people often hold to conservative tendencies; there is a kind of fashion for nationalistic myths which theoretically should not be part of a young generation brought up in a socialist state.

The causes of this state of affairs are complicated. If we look through the eyes of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the removal of the unions in 1973 from colleges and high schools (general and technical) had a very negative influence on the ideological and educational staff. Currently, we are returning to these communities but it must be taken into account that this will not show results in ideological activity for at least 2-3 years.

A Dialogue About Poland and the Problems of Poles

Andrzej Ornat: - The decreased effectiveness of ideological and educational work, which should be noted, was caused, among other reasons, by a lack of social justice. If, for example, at troop meetings the need for committed activity of every scout, every instructor, was discussed and in the same troop or in a nearby one, there was someone who could shrewdly manipulate many things, then of course that demoralized the collective. It should be said here, however, that the great majority of the instructors of the Union of Polish Scouts have acted properly, and have correctly understood and carried out their assigned tasks during the last 16 months at the time of the announcement of martial law by the Council of State.

One more point--I think that in the past, in speaking about the need to build a historical consciousness, we have relied too much on the interpretation of facts, and not on the facts themselves. We have not taught youth to draw conclusions; we have simply given a specified interpretation. This is perhaps a warning for today--so that we will not once again go to extremes.

Jan Ignaczak: - It seems to me that there is still one very important question. If we are discussing the ideological commitment of youth, it is with sorrow that we speak about certain undesirable situations in youthful circles and organizations. It seems to me that we should also look at the situation in the party. There, too, were many distressing phenomena. And after all, youth models itself after the older generation which it observes very carefully. Often, youth has observed that the attitudes and behavior of many adults essentially differed from the ideals which they voiced. It seems to me that that is a great evil which still holds the minds of the young. We will have to deal with this; it will be a problem of many years' of educational work.

During the past decade we complained often that youth is not ideological and not active. We lost sight of the fact that there was potential activity present in youth, and we were just not able to reach it. August, 1980, showed

that this potential was enormous. It started in good faith in the name of improving socialism. Later, manipulation led masses of youth astray. It seems to me since we are now richer in experience, since we know that the young, without paying them cheap compliments, are by their very nature ambitious, idealistic, and active, that the question arises of how now, in this most difficult period of the crisis, to act so as to move these immense resources of precious elements, precious feelings in youth and aim at winning them over to helf solve the most urgent matters of Poland and Poles. The fate of the Fatherland continues to hang in the balance and the fact that we are in another week of martial law still does not settle anything, although the greatest evil has been removed.

Kazimierz Janik: - It seems to me that among the many irregularities which appeared in the activity of youth organizations, dealing with educational issues should be counted as essential. First of all, we have not talked about basic matters--about Poland and about how we understand the word Fatherland.

Today, when we examine the political forces in our country, those who are with us and those who are not with us, everyone refers to the same watchword, the Fatherland. It is shocking for me that on many occasions which are not always appropriate, the national hymn is sung in an ostentatious way. I realize that, in the Polish army, respect for national symbols and for the national hymn are taught in a particular way. I feel that in every environment, among children and youth, from the earliest years, patriotic content, understood in the classical and historical way, should be most important in the educational process of every organization.

The next problem is the education of youth through the positive example of heroes. Whether in a conscious or unconscious way, our leaders have been made our heroes, and thus our behavior models. These models crumbled, the heroes often faded away, and all our work, our educational efforts, all this was wiped out, and youth suffered a tragedy. Therefore, it seems to me that we should search elsewhere for new models. I propose that the most convincing models will be found when, going about work positively, starting from the fundamentals, we will seek them out in everyday life, in village life, at work and in the family.

Here we come to the third problem, the family. In my opinion, the family is like a small Poland, a small Fatherland.

But how very often divisions have occurred between what happened in the organization and what happened in the home.

Consistency of education in family, in school, and in the workplace is the foundation of the development of our national consciousness.

An Authentic Social Movement

Andrzej Ornat: - The main objective, as we see it in the administration of the organization, is a strengthened social movement in the scouts so it stands as an example of the activity of the organization. Where the movement came to

be dominated by organizational structures, by instructors who were better at counting money than at inspiring and assisting social activists, the organization simply lost its educational and influence on youth. Therefore, also, in drawing conclusions from the past, we are heading very strongly toward full democratization of life within the unions. The importance of the councils must be appropriate at all levels, from the Supreme Council to the troop and tribe councils, because from childhood, democracy must be taught, however, from age 16 on up, we want to teach, and at the same time develop democratization of life in an environment of adult instructors. Our main task is to attain an educated and well prepared army of instructors of the Polish Scout Union.

Jerzy Jaskiernia: - I think that the course of the Third Special Congress of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the maintenance of unity of the union under conditions when there was much pressure to break it up, showed that ZSMP had many qualities which held it together.

I feel, however, that two factors weakened it.

The first is the theatricality of political life, which appeared in the party and also found its way to the Union.

Secondly, there was no mechanism for the democratic selection of leaders. This does not at all mean that automatically everyone was bad because later it appeared that, when subjected to examination, many were shown innocent of wrongdoing. I think that the basic instrument of breaking this unfortunate process was the introduction of democratic electoral methods.

The third element is criticism. Yesterday there was criticism, today there is criticism and tomorrow there will be criticism from the bottom to the top and vice versa--that's only natural. So I'll be going to the voivodship and someone will say that a certain leader is weak. I ask, "Who elected him? You picked him and you have yourself to blame". The leadership function is changing completely. In the past the directors were responsible for "setting up" a person in office. Now I am a witness to the election and congratulate the winner. Later I announce to the people: this is your man. Get behind him not only during the elections but start working with him the next day. Often, people enjoy elections, their intrigues, underhanded maneuvers; this excites them. The next day, work begins, and the leader they have elected is left alone.

Tadeusz Rzepecki: - I would like to add that ZSMP in the army has become self-sufficient since the Third Congress. Youth councils direct the organization, collegiality is well developed, and the process of democratization is continuing dynamically. You hear certain rumors, and even insinuations, that in the army people join organizations under orders. I would here like to refute these ideas as only 62% of the armed forces are ZSMP members. If one became a member of the organization under orders, there would surely be 90%, or more.

A very significant example is that during martial law, more than 5,000 soldiers of the armed forces, previously not part of the Union, joined the ranks of ZSMP. The characteristic thing is that these are 3rd-year soldiers. When we ask about the motives behind this step, the soldiers say that they feel in accord with this organization, that they see what it is accomplishing.

After the announcement of martial law, in the armed forces, by the decision of the Presidium of the Youth Council of the Polish Army, we started an action called "Let's Talk About the Fatherland". I personally attended many of these meetings. Youth leader members meet with the members of ZSMP and discuss the Fatherland, what should be done for the Fatherland today, what should be done in the future and what tasks face military youth in this regard.

Andrzej Ornat: - At the Seventh Congress of the Polish Scout Union, we adopted a new system of programming work in the organization, not one based on fulfilling successive assignments, as in the past, but instead activity based on a resolution of the ZHP statute describing the ideological and educational character of the organization and the physical and psychological needs of children and youth in particular troops. This in a way forces each instructor to get to know his group. Doing it this way simply stimulates activity.

Kazimierz Janik: - I think that in general the fact that independent unions function is a great opportunity for youth. First of all, this has meaning for stimulating activity. If the program is being built from the bottom up, it expresses the needs, potential and ambition of the young. Then, on one hand, it will have acceptance by youth and on the other hand, if it is concrete and useful for the community it will further social acceptance of the organization. Then it will become an organization of the community, the village, or the city.

In regard to rural youth, it is difficult to formulate certain socio-economic advantages just for them. Such advantages must be proposed for the entire countryside; related to this is the question of social action and the productive potential of the young farmer. I am often in rural areas and I sometimes hear it said that martial law will bring a certain decisiveness into rural society because of the way the army functions. Farmers want to see such resolve especially in agricultural politics spurring on socio-economic activity of the countryside. I emphasize, once again, that a resolute, and more importantly, stable rural political program conducted in the interest of the rural areas can help rural youth to see their social progress, not, as has previously been the case, by escaping the village, but they will see this progress in the village itself, having before them a concrete view of what the future holds for agriculture and for the whole Polish countryside. The Union of Rural Youth will fight for this and will strive for its realization.

I also see great potential in the existence of community youth unions which do not in the least impair the ideological unity of youth. Community organizations, in the present situation, will better and more effectively represent and safeguard the real interests of youth. And so ZMW, similar to the organization in the army, will safeguard the interests of rural youth.

Youth and the Front of National Accord

Jan Ignaczak: - We have strongly criticized the political program conducted with regard to the young in the past ten years. This criticism was correct. It may even have been too mild, and sometimes stronger words may have been warranted.

It seems to me that if we will continue to stand idly by programs which we help to formulate, and later fail to carry out properly, then every program, even the best, will be doomed to failure, or to only partial realization. Therefore, the slogan "from your own law take direction" should become the slogan of the whole youth movement. We must also think about what to do further with the "Everything for Agriculture" program, just as with many other programs. If there is a program "For Youth, With Youth" then this program must of course be carried out, but in a way we must entrust the monitoring of it to youth and give it over to them.

So much for reflection. Now the next matter. There is a great need for social consolidation, a great need to create a Front of National Accord or a Committee for National Salvation. How will particular organizations view this problem, and how will you deal with it in these units and in this new form, which has already begun as the Committee for National Salvation?

Andrzej Ornat: - In speaking about the Front of National Accord, in our work with youth, the premise of the program of the Polish Scout Union is a patriotic education which was an important and inseparable element of the union's work up to December 13, and has been since then. This then is a confirmation of the correctness of the program which is useful to the Fatherland and which is preparing to fulfill a social role. We see the role of our instructors in committees or in the Front of National Accord, in the creation of a wide front of approving people wishing to work for a socialist Poland. There are already examples of this as, for instance, in Poznan where, among the signatories of their Committee for Salvation, are instructors from Council Headquarters and District Headquarters.

From other areas, we are also finding out that not only district commanders but social instructors and teachers are declaring their willingness to unite forces for a socialist Fatherland.

Jerzy Jaskiernia: - Our union expressed support for the ideas of the Front of National Accord in the declaration of the Fifth Plenum of the Main Headquarters, made on December 1 of last year, at a time when this idea was just developing. It reflected the expectations of a considerable number of members of ZSMP.

Nevertheless, I think that the problem is not an easy one. In many Committees for National Salvation, there is already much activity among young members of ZSMP. Considerable evidence of this has been seen, and it has been covered by the press, radio, and television. It seems, however, that in addition to what is happening today, it is necessary to see what will happen in the future. After all, it has become a political fact that the idea of

accord offered by the party in the fall of 1981 was not accepted by everyone. The problem of how to shape the structure of accord, accord with whom and within what limits, is still an open question. I am for the front of socialist accord which means a front with everybody who wants to join their different points of view under a socialist platform. These can be Catholics, other believers, or activists of trade unions; the demand that everyone share the same views cannot be made because this would be repeating the mistake of the past, pretending that people are all alike.

In conclusion, I think a more precise description of the functions and forms of the Committee for National Salvation is needed so we do not commit the same mistakes as we did with the National Unity Front. The point is that it be an instrument allowing a person standing on socialist ground, though he may have a different view of the world, to have the opportunity to really have an influence on the affairs of the country or his own region.

Kazimierz Janik: - Of course when it comes to the aims of the Front of National Accord, I agree with everything said. I only want to add that on December 4, 1981, at the Plenum the Rural Youth Union spoke for the idea of national accord. I realize that every patriot, every person who sees any affair of the Fatherland as a primary concern should deal with it in an explicit matter. The next matter is in what way we will enter the Front of National Accord as individual youth unions. At the same plenum we spoke for the joint action of all youth organizations standing on socialist ground but our support of the idea alone does not mean a simple acceptance.

What we mean is the activity of forces which understand the goals for which the idea of national accord announced by General Jaruzelski was proposed.

I would like to mention one more thought and refer to the goals of the now forming Committees for National Salvation. Youth should be very interested in taking their proper place in these committees.

I would like to state clearly that we cannot expect someone else to bring us together. Our concern is that we find our proper place in the Committees. I would not like to anticipate any particular direction of growth on the Committee for National Salvation, but who knows whether the position of youth in the system of authority will depend on their position in these committees and on their activity. Therefore, I would very much like to assure ourselves the proper place and proper importance in the Committees for National Salvation, showing clearly the designated initiative and activity--and we are doing just this.

Youth Unions and Martial Law

Antoni Kazana: - What are the most urgent tasks before your organization under conditions of martial law?

Jerzy Jaskiernia: I would say that above all martial law does not free us from our responsibility. Some erroneously think that martial law is like the defense of Czestochowa with the idea of barricading themselves in a building and fighting until the last drop of blood is spilled.

Martial law created new rules for a new game. Granted, at first it demanded greater mobilization, even defense, but after all we must get to building something substantial. Martial law does not mean the end of activity but just the opposite. Therefore, when looking at the various efforts of ZSMP, it is very important that martial law does not delay the beginning of economic reform or of anything connected with the mobilization of young people to carry out this reform.

We spoke of this at the Fifth Plenum of the Main Headquarters, and recently the Presidium of the Main Headquarters formulated a very specific, concrete proposal as to what must be done in this area. Economic reform is the process of enterprises becoming independent and the releasing of these economic mechanisms. Reform without the activity of young people will not work.

On one more point, it is a fact that the activity of trade unions has ceased. Social commissions are being created. Many of our units are initiating the creation of these social commissions and what's more we see that social commissions are solving many matters which youth are interested in. The old trade unions, disregarding them, did not fulfill the function of effective advocate or their function was a weakened one. They did, however, work out many routine matters in the social, material, tourist, and sport areas. And suddenly, in the past 10-15 months we have begun to notice gaps. I feel that a youth organization must more boldly enter this area too. I would say further that a very significant question is the creation of new conditions for the construction of an ideological consciousness in youth.

Finally, martial law, it seems, makes possible mobilizing for action. It is true that it is a sorry argument that it took martial law for this but we have experienced that there are plant boards and gmina boards where, only when commissioners appeared and asked what was going on, did they stimulate certain activity. Of course, the point is not that it happened once, only simply that a little order in many units would certainly do us good.

Certain examples of the mess in the administration carried over to social structures; the point is to have clearly designed goals, means to carry them out, tasks, to start certain functions of life. We are counting on the organization being able to fully realize their initiatives and their forms of activity as the rigors of martial law will be relaxed.

Andrzej Ornat: - In the Polish Scout Union, we have acknowledged the fact that the introduction of martial law cannot change the priority of the organization's program of action adopted at the congress. On the contrary, some problems were more sharply defined. Secondly, we cannot wait but must, together with youth, begin activity to develop the consciousness of the demands of martial law, to activate a climate of trust in the Military Council for National Salvation in the efforts of the army as a moral and political force which safeguarded us from a catastrophe in mid-December, 1981.

The third matter, looking more broadly, is the question of schools. The Polish school must regain its instructional and educational value. This is

very important and is related to teacher preparation and to the teacher fulfilling his proper role in the educational process of the school. This is a huge task, not only of the administration, but of the teachers and instructors of ZHP. I include here the work of the officers in the schools.

Tadeusz Rzepecki: - When it comes to ZSMP in the armed forces, then of course we are carrying out the program adopted by the Third Congress and the program adopted at the First Conference of ZSMP in the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic. We are essentially assigning ourselves two goals, the first being the further strengthening of our role in developing the conscious exercies of soldiers' tasks, which we are carrying out under martial law. Here, we are talking about the informational and clarifying efforts as well as work on developing the cohesiveness of the soldiers' ranks, etc.

A second area concerns the problems occurring in soldiers' collectives, communication of these problems by the proper superior, and as much as possible helping to solve them. This is a very important area. I don't have to say that soldiers are performing complicated tasks in a difficult atmosphere. We are also thinking about, and we are close to formulating, a detailed concept of how the members of ZSMP of the armed forces will in the Spring expand their action of helping our socialist Fatherland.

Kazimierz Janik: - It seems that when there is talk about the work of youth unions at the present time, you have to begin with the following thesis. If martial law is to serve to normalize social, political, and economic life, then the activity of youth unions must be as it always has been. That means that it is necessary to organize work in circles and in basic echelons, encouraging their activity. For example, noone will exempt ZMW from showing the truth about the countryside and about agriculture, because this truth will be of use and will lead to more accurate decisions by the authorities. The next matter is that the correct and wise decisions of the authorities must be supported by the activity of youth unions.

Jan Ignaczak: - After listening to the comments of our comrades, I think that I have a right to summarize them in this way: We must do everything possible to shorten the period of martial law, to form a lasting strong basis which will ensure that further development be made appropriate to the aspirations of not only the generation of young people in our country but also to the aspirations on the road of socialist development of our whole society.

Here, I would like to graciously thank you for your participation in this very interesting discussion, so fitting to our situation. In its introductory segment, it was an attempt at a deeper answer to the question of the causes of all these worries which plague all of society and youth, and in its essential, main thrust, it constituted a constructive attempt at answering the questions about what youth organizations will do to get out as quickly as possible from under the troubles and misfortunes which have befallen our country. It seems that in this there has been no success in the age of propaganda. I also do not see an easy optimism but I really do see in this some certitude that we are able to escape from the depths, using the popular description, to emerge dynamically with the program, with guarantees that this program will be fulfilled.

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CSO: 2600/523

CIVIL DEFENSE DEVELOPMENTS IN 1981, 1982 NOTED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 2, Feb 82, pp 1-3

[Text] We have passed the 30-year anniversary of the Civil Defense of the Polish People's Republic. Though this has been an unusually difficult period, we have had numerable positive results in the area of civil defense. All of the organizational units, from the central down to the plant level, have done their job despite a difficult socio-economic situation. The units of civil defense, the organic part of the state administration and national economy, have been able to avoid all destructive and demobilizing influences. This is above all the work of full-time, paid workers and volunteer, social activists for the Civil Defense. Civil defense matters have not been lost sight of. Thanks to this, and to the appreciation for civil defense by working people, last year we conducted a series of educational exercises, the best of which included complex voivodship exercises of civil defense forces in Biala Podlaska and night exersises of the Civil Defense in Sochaczew. Exercises were conducted even in many gmina (parishes) and plants which the crisis has hit particularly hard.

In the whole country, a series of exhibits of military technical equipment and equipment of the national economy, useful for carrying out rescue actions by civil defense forces, was organized. With impact, and with financial economy, an exhibit of the civil defense department of the chemical industry, and of light industry, was organized in Lodz, and in many other places, in honor of the 30th anniversary of the Civil Defense of the Polish people's Republic.

Contrary to appearances, the number of defense shows, displays, and competitions of medical and health teams, and of youth sport/defense teams has not decreased. Basic training of the populace, and of plant teams has been maintained at an average annual level, and only the number of work-release courses in WOSK of the Civil Defense went down, this a result of the known problems in the organization of mass feeding.

Despite a range of difficulties, the plan for supply of military technical equipment and specialized equipment was fulfilled, which in a period of general organizational and supply impossibilities, should be recognized as an achievement of the supply organs of civil defense.

Last year, there was also noted an improvement in the modernization of storehouses of military technical equipment and specialized equipment of civil defense, and in the maintenance of this equipment. This area of our work testifies eloquently that under even the most difficult conditions, we can work effectively. Moreover, modernization work and renovation of defense buildings has continued.

In accordance with the instruction of the head of the Civil Defense of Poland for 1981, the voivodship, gmina and plant civil defense plans were updated. In the framework of the events of the 30th anniversary, a series of meetings was conducted. They had the character of workers' councils. There, problems of defense were discussed, information was exchanged, and the most meritorious civil defense activists and workers were honored.

The past year was characterized by civil defense forces playing a part in rescue operations. Worthy of particular note was the contribution of the members of Civil Defense units an saving people and property from the floods in Jelenia Gora and Elblag voivodships.

As every year, civil defense forces have done various types of social work for cities, villages, and places of work. This work, part of which was done as a requirement of celebrating the 30th anniversary of the Civil Defense, had, to a greater degree than heretofore, a character of action started from the bottom, at the initiative of local people and work crews.

Showing the significance of the past year for the development of civil defense is the fact that the socio-economic crisis brought about a spontaneous, almost instinctive consciousness of the importance of civil defense in part of society. What, up to now, has seemed only a slogan announcing that civil defense "is needed today", became more real. This is similar to many recommendations of civil defense which for various reasons, are not too earnestly or exactly done, or considered in the everyday activity of the administration and the economy. Life has shown that if we do not do everything we are supposed to, and do it well, nothing will be saved, and as a result, there will be moral as well as material losses. Since December 13 of last year, the functioning of civil defense has been subject to the demands of martial law, and to the needs related to this. The legal basis for carrying out the tasks of the Civil Defense in this extraordinary situation is found in Directives 15 and 16, of December 13, 1981, of the Head of the Civil Defense of Poland, concerning the requirement of fulfilling active duty in civil defense during martial law, the tasks arising from this, and the assignment of organizational and mobilizing work of the Civil Defense. In fulfilling the resolutions of the published acts, the competent units of the Civil Defense began to set about the defense of bakeries, food storehouses, and later, other plants and economic sites. As difficulties with travel grew because of the severe snowfall, they participated, along with soldiers of the People's Army of Poland, in clearing roads, railroad tracks, junctions, loading ramps, and service roads leading to warehouses containing flood-control equipment. Part of the Civil Defense forces was placed in a state of alert for flood-control action. Unloading of railroad cars, automotive vehicles, and even delivery of packages to people became part of the work of the members of the units.

Civil defense work in changed conditions made necessary a more intensive effort by the field inspectors of the Civil Defense to aid in the work of units. Therefore, crews of these inspectors continuously monitored the efficient carrying out of martial law tasks by Civil Defense forces. They worked tours of duty, gathered information about snow conditions, about the threat of flood and other difficulties. They organized appropriate efforts according to needs and possibilities.

In 1982, many and various tasks will have to be carried out. First among these is the need to popularize the idea of defense with the objective justification of not only the need for civil defense preparations, but above all with the concrete proof that these tasks can be fulfilled even with the most frugal management of the economy. The main effects of savings can be obtained by improving the organizational structures of the administration and units of civil defense, proper storage and maintenance of equipment, and also by increasing the knowledge of how to use this equipment to best advantage during training and exercises.

The training centers of the Civil Defense staff must give particular attention to improving the instructional qualifications of lecturers and teachers so that every lecture and practical exercise with members of Civil Defense units, with the populace, and with work crews, be conducted at a high level. The quality of civil defense training is taking on significant meaning.

In 1982, one of the important tasks will be preparing and conducting voivodship and inter-voivodship civil defense exercises, and also exercises at lower levels. They should be utilized to the utmost for performing useful work for plants, gmina and cities. There will be a need also to improve the work of civil defense radiation analysis centers.

The strengthening of civil defense places new tasks before science, therefore we must develop scientific research work, involving scientific centers in this.

Important, and very typical in the new year, is the task of safeguarding suspended projects for Civil Defense needs. This task has a close relationship to the demand to save.

With the constant threat of nuclear war, the creation of a united, all-Polish system of detecting nuclear explosions is indispensable. We cannot remain passive to the strategic weapons which NATO are to install in Europe. These same reasons demand the revision of programs of training the populace and work crews. The issue of self-defense should be expanded with concrete methods making possible our survival in the radically difficult conditions of war.

In our tasks for 1982, it is necessary to see the problem of a more complex understanding of civil defense. Consideration of the influence of resolutions about the self-government and the functioning of enterprises is indispensable for the realization of defense tasks in the national economy, which will begin to work under new socio-economic conditions.

Civil defense will continue to be an inseparable part of the activity of the national economy and administration. Civil defense matters must be treated with the same attention as other concerns.

All citizens should participate in carrying out the tasks of the Civil Defense, genuinely and honestly working on the entrusted tasks. The strengthening of civil defense is our common interest, and patriotic duty to the people's Fatherland.

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ATTITUDES OF NAVAL PERSONNEL POLLED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD MORSKI in Polish No 3, Mar 82 pp 3-8

[Article by Comdr (doctor habilitatus) Henryk Adamczyk: "Factors Shaping the Patriotic-Defense Attitudes of Seamen in the Regular Service"]

[Text] On of the basic problems in the process of developing patriotic-defense attitudes of seamen in the regular service is that of evaluating the factors which exert a basic influence on the formation of opinions and convictions concerning aspects of sociopolitical life. To this end, seamen were asked the following question: "What is the basic factor that shapes your opinions and convictions concerning various aspects of sociopolitical life?" The seamen's answers are shown in the table.

Factors Shaping Seamen's Opinions and Convictions

Basic Factors	Answers, percentage
Family	84.8*
Mass media	75.8
Colleagues	46.6
Movies	40.5
Military training lessons	38.1
Novels and popular-science writings	34.3
Military superiors	25.7
Other factors	19.4

*Percentages do not add up to 100. Respondents could underscore any number of factors.

Polls conducted in Navy units showed that the basic source of opinions and convictions for most seamen is the family. Many of the ideological-moral and patriotic-defense attitudes and traits observed should be examined from the standpoint of attitudes representative of the family.[1]

Results show that for 75.8 percent of the seamen polled, the mass media is an

[1]Compare B. Golebiowski: "Dynamika aspiracji. Studium przemian swiadomosci spolecznej mlodziezy polskiej w latach 1945-1975. Wybrane zagadnienia" [Dynamics of Aspirations. A Study of Changes in Social Awareness of Polish Youth During 1945-1975. Selected Problems]. KiW [Book and Knowledge Publishing House], Warsaw, 1977, pp 279-367.

important factor in shaping opinions and convictions. The distribution of statistical quantities does not indicate clear fluctuational tendencies. The exception here are the seamen of intelligentsia origin, who from among the mass media put television in first place--90.4 percent of the responses. It was also observed that these seamen more frequently had negative opinions regarding the role of the trainers in shaping desired attitudes in the trainees.

In view of the statistical indicators of the seamen's opinion on the importance of the mass media as a source of their convictions, the conclusion may be drawn that this must be considered by the commanders to be a basic factor affecting the ideological-moral and patriotic-defense attitudes of our trainees.[2] Skilfull use of this source of ideological knowledge may be a factor in integrating the commanders and seamen on the basis of a certain type of partnership. Entering into a discussion on the subjects dealt with in the mass media, engaging in polemics on the theses they expound, pointing to solutions other than those proposed by the authors of these theses, and the expression, by the seamen, of their own opinions, has greater ideological-training value than glib announcement of even the most valuable information, with no reference to the seamen's own knowledge and experience.

In the studies conducted in the Navy, an indicator was obtained showing that for 46.6 percent of the seamen, one of the basic sources for shaping their convictions, opinions or assessments of sociopolitical manifestations is their colleagues. This stems from the appeal for the seamen of the group which is the subunit (ship's crew) and the strong prestige of the opinion of the social group.[3]

In the seamen collectivity polled, 25.7 percent chose, from among the categories named, the person of the trainer as the factor influencing their convictions, opinions, etc. The veracity of this percentage indicator was compared with another category of response, namely: "military training lessons". This was indispensable, for it was important to eliminate, to the maximum extent possible, subjective factors related to the individual evaluation of the military trainer.

Statistical data reflecting the role of training courses in the system of shaping patriotic-defense attitudes showed large concurrence with the results given above. Of the total polled, 38.1 percent expressed the conviction that changes in the intellectual system, in their patriotic-defense attitudes, are made under the influence of participation in the specialist and political training process.

Considering the discussional nature of interpreting the statistical material obtained, it seems appropriate to treat the empirical data more as an illustration of certain tendencies and phenomena than as an explanation of the problem. It is extremely difficult, to determine, for example, what quantity of percentage indicator

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[2]For more on this subject see: T. Goban-Klas: "Komunikowanie masowe. Zarys problematyki socjologicznej" [Mass Communication. Outline of Sociological Problems]. Center for Journalistic Studies, Krakow, 1978, pp 185-304.

[3]See H. Adamczyk: "Influence of Social Group on Attitudes of its Members", PRZEGLAD MORSKI, 1974, No 7-8, pp 42-51.

of positive responses should be obtained in order to determine whether the training process has achieved the intended training goals. One of the criteria of veracity may be the seamen's behavior at his duty assignment in the subunit or on ship, i.e., his performance of military duties.

However, on the basis of the studies conducted it may be concluded that for the large majority of seamen the military training process, as a source of shaping patriotic-defense opinions and convictions, is not a sole factor, as was reflected also in the relatively low general evaluation of the indoctrination advantages of this process.

In the polls conducted pertaining to the basic factors shaping opinions and convictions on the subject of what is going on today, 40.5 percent of the respondents named movies and 34.3 percent named novels. The role of these factors in developing the seamen's intellect is important. In the socialist army, the importance of efficient circulation of political, scientific, and technical information and cultural values, the source of which may be a movie as well as a good novel, cannot be overestimated. A movie and a literary work exerts influence on a seaman's intellectual development and on the results of his work, and the amount of this influence is dependent on cognitive values and the artistic level of the work.[4]

All of the factors discussed, and many others, often difficult to classify unequivocally, have an effect on the final patriotic-defense attitude; the amount of this influence is determined by various conditions. However, it is generally stressed that the seaman's personal activeness in obtaining knowledge about a subject which concerns him plays a tremendous role in shaping or enhancing the intellectual component of every attitude, and mainly the ideological-moral and patriotic-defense attitude.[5] That is why training methods should always be chosen that are applicable to the training situation. We should always remember that our trainee is not an individual isolated from society, that, exactly to the contrary, he exists in this society as a member of different formal and informal social groups, both in the military as well as outside the military, and that he is under the influence of unsupervised training forces, sometimes even not known by commanders (see figure).

Familiarity, insofar as possible, with all these influences, and, if necessary, counteracting them, is within the scope of military training and makes it necessary to select the most suitable training methods for a given training situation.

Training Proposals and Postulates

In the changing economic and sociopolitical conditions of today's world, youth encounters different conflicting propagandist, ideological, training and institutional influences. Several factors which determine the patriotic-defense attitudes of seamen in the regular service can be named.

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[4]Compare H. Walentynowicz: "Podstawy czytelnictwa powszechnego" [Elements of General Readership]. Ossolineum Press, Wroclaw-Warsaw-Krakow, 1970, p 279.

[5]Compare J. Reykowski: "Z zagadnien psychologii motywacji" [Problems of Motivational Psychology]. WSiP, Warsaw, 1977, p 23-87.

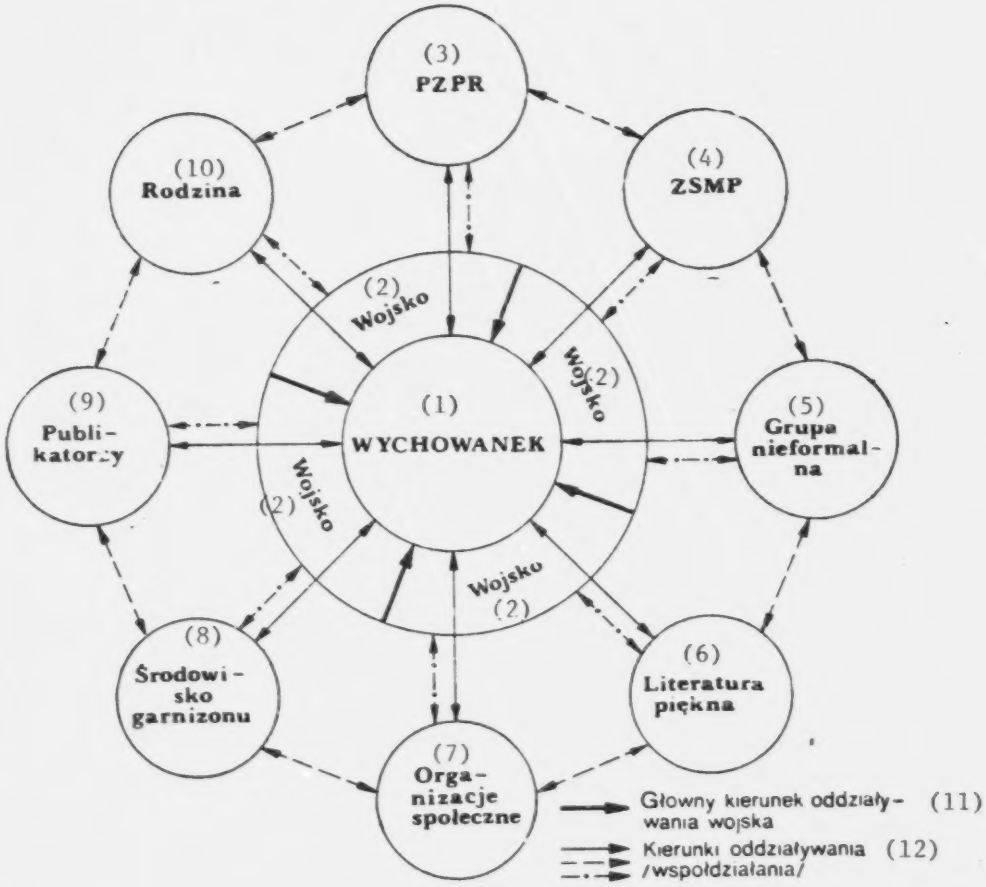

Key:

1. Trainee
2. Armed services
3. Polish United Workers Party
4. Union of Socialist Polish Youth
5. Informal group
6. Novels
7. Social organization
8. Garrison environment
9. Mass media
10. Family
11. Main direction of military influence
12. Directions of influence (participation)

1. Family upbringing based frequently on local traditions and customs shapes the ideological-moral "backbone" in youth, that is, the so-called outer layer of a system of convictions combined with emotions and sentiments. If, in childhood, uniform and strong upbringing influence occurred, then this outer layer may be so strong and durable that even social transformations and the education attained will have a minimal effect on transforming it. Permanent convictions formed on an

emotional base then function autonomously and independent of a change in the conditions in which they were established. Youth believes them to be a private and personal matter and even identifies them with their own personality. That is why this outer layer becomes the core of the seaman's opinions and determines the way in which he assimilates matter inculcated by commanders.

2. The elementary schools, and then the middle school, adapted for scientific, social and historical content, develops new opinions in the trainee, often independent of his previous opinions. That is why information or theories which are objectively conflicting may appear to the trainees to be subjectively conforming, for they do not perceive any disparity between them. When secondary influences are not substantively in agreement with the previous influences, then another layer of opinions may form, of a different substance and permanence, which we will conventionally call an intermediate layer.

3. The personal experience acquired by seamen is rectified by the trainers and the military environment. Some submit to it more or less passively and others actively attempt to change the existing conditions of military life. Thanks to such behavior, seamen constantly create for themselves and for others new situations and problems which must be solved. The personal successes and misfortunes in the lives of the seamen have a great influence on the direction in which their patriotic-defense attitudes are shaped, and they also play an important role in the development of their personal and social aspirations.

In the light of the preferences of military youth as shown in this article, we should particularly stress those problems which in the list of training goals in the military service may be regarded as of outstanding importance. They are:

First: the ideological struggle from the standpoint of the patriotic, internationalist and moral training of youth performing military service in the Navy, has its international dimension. The propaganda apparatus of the United States and other capitalist countries maintains in effect the strategic goals of the struggle with socialism, adapts the tactics of this struggle to a new international situation, conducts regrouping of forces, improves the organizational structure and technical outfitting of propaganda means, and increases financial outlays for diversionary activities.

Second: awareness of the fact that ideological-moral, patriotic and internationalistic training of our youth is an intense and relentless struggle for socialism both in the domestic as well as the international system, should be part of our everyday activity. We are training our seamen to be the defenders of their own fatherland, their own nation, and we are training them also as soldiers of socialism, for our own combined defense policy, The better and the more determinedly we are able to translate the idea of patriotism and internationalism into practical language, the more our military service will be able to play the role of an important factor in integrating the nation around its basic tasks in the building of socialism, in the cause of ensuring the country unfailing security.

Third: the road to the development and shaping of awareness and patriotic-defense attitudes among military youth is shown by PZPR resolutions and directives of the

management of the Ministry of National Defense. In view of the present requirements of the ideological struggle in the patriotic-defense training of seamen, the following should be done:

a) the main emphasis should be placed on objectively and convincingly showing those results and effects for the Polish nation that were produced by People's Poland. And both from the standpoint of today as well as the future;

b) it should be stated that the highest patriotic duty continues to be work in behalf of propagating and strengthening among seamen the conviction that it is necessary to make efforts to strengthen, in every respect, the defense of our fatherland and to respect the obligations of military service;

c) explaining the mutual connections of socialist ideology and our national culture is an important task for commanders and the premise by which it is possible to shape the patriotic and internationalist emotions and the patriotic-defense attitudes of seamen in the regular service.

Fourth: in the process of shaping the patriotic-defense attitudes of seamen more broadly in a more directed way, use should be made of the patriotic-moral values embodied in the state and military symbols requiring particular social respect (emblem, the state flag, military standards, etc.) and also in the text of the "Constitution of the Polish People's Republic", the military service oath, "The Principles of Ethics of a Soldier in People's Poland" and "Customs of Professional Soldiers in the Polish People's Army".

Fifth: results of the polls permit us to say that personal models fulfill an important role in shaping the patriotic-defense and ideological-moral attitudes of seamen. That is why, based on the achievements of recent years, we should enlarge the list of personal models by personages of meritorious revolutionaries, heroes of the Polish People's Army, fighters for national and social liberation and other people of particular merit in work and in military service. The group of figures from the Polish youth movement should also include young soldiers from the period of the front-line and underground battles and the consolidation of people's government and the building of the bases of socialism.

In shaping seamen's patriotic-defense attitudes more and better use should be made of the traditions of peacetime service and work in the Polish People's Army, including publicizing, as models worthy of emulation, figures who have performed exemplary service and good work--peacetime heroes distinguished by being listed in the "Honor Roll of Soldierly Deeds", exemplary commanders, training and discipline leaders, innovators and efficiency experts, various specialists, and reserve seamen, who honestly and conscientiously perform their soldierly and civic duties.

9295
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TARNOBRZEG PARTY PLENUM ON YOUTH HELD

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 30 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Z. Flasza and Z. Dubis: "To Assure Realistic Perspectives of Development for Young Generation"]

[Text] (Own Information)

The work of party echelons and organizations in behalf of the socialist, patriotic education of youth and improving the conditions of their start in life and vocation was the theme of deliberations during yesterday's plenum meeting of KW PZPR [Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party] in Tarnobrzeg. The deliberations, which were opened by the First Secretary of KW PZPR, Janusz Basiak, were attended in addition to the secretaries of basic party echelons, by representatives of the authorities, activists of youth organizations and representatives of various institutions, by: chief of the Socio-Vocational Section of the Central Committee of PZPR, Stanislaw Gabrielski; deputy director of ZHP [Polish Scout Union], Antoni Krysiuk; secretary of the Main Board of ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], Krystyna Swider; and secretary of the National Board of ZMW [Rural Youth Union], Leszek Lesniak.

The report of the executive board was presented by secretary of KW, Tadeusz Jarocki. He stated, inter alia, that without youth participation and without their involvement in the renewal process, solving the most difficult problems of the country will not be possible. In the Tarnobrzeg Province the activity of the youth has particular significance. People under 35 years of age constitute 58 percent of the total province population, while the number of individuals in the 18-34 age bracket exceeds 151,000. There are over 4,100 new marriages each year, and the young couples constitute 42 percent of the nearly 17,000 of those awaiting cooperative housing. Youth also constitute 57 percent of the total employed in the socialized economy of the region and account for 20 percent of vocationally active farmers.

Undertaking of work on arranging and solving many matters should be to simplify the life start of the youth and facilitate their active participation in fulfilling vocational aspirations, rebuilding social life and augmentating the educational and cultural wealth. Amelioration of the difficult situation of youth should facilitate a gradual regaining of their confidence in the

party and the state. This is particularly significant in view of the ruthless struggle that has been taking place for many months over the ideological views of the youth, their accepted system of values and their attitude toward history and current events.

Demagogic arguments and the inexorable forms and methods of influence used by the opponents of socialism have resulted in an ideological breakdown in a significant number of the youth and prepossesed them against that which is socialist and consequently often strengthening their false understanding of issues of the country and the world.

Anti-socialist propaganda activities have been facilitated by the difficult economic situation of the country and indecisive counteraction by the party echelons and organizations, which were too preoccupied with their own affairs and by the youth organizations themselves and their own full-time apparatus that were not able to influence the reanimation of ideological work.

In spite of preventing the open formation of anti-socialist attitudes in the youth, the situation in that area has not significantly improved. Ideological problems are continually lost among the economic and social-domestic issues. The only chance for departure from that impasse is in a rapid increase in the activity of the youth movement. That might not be easy, because one-half of the members of ZSMP have left it, although there still remain in it many young, politically declared people, including 3,720 party members, on whom the process of activizing the organizations must and should be based.

It is also indispensable that the party organizations, their aktiv, and veterans of the workers movement, conduct a dialogue with the youth. Today, more than ever before, creation of an inter-generation bridge, built on pillars of mutual trust and respect, experience and enthusiasm and common concern for the fate of the fatherland, is needed.

Deliberations of yesterday's plenum of KW in Tarnobrzeg were preceded (in January of this year) by a session of the executive board of the KW on the topic of the situation in the youth movement that inaugurated a broad discussion with youth on how to create conditions for the active participation of youth in the vocational, social, and political life of the province.

Discussion has been conducted, in the party committees and by the boards of youth organizations, about the current situation in the youth community the immediate tasks of the party in its work with the youth. Broadly conceived consultations have interested the party aktiv in youth problems and have facilitated comparisons between the evaluations of the work of the province's youth organizations and the realities of particular communities and an understanding of the views of the aktiv on the subject of ways to get out of the crisis that has afflicted the youth movement.

Opinions were also gathered about the most difficult issues facing youth and about their comments on party propositions.

In the discussion that preceded the deliberations of the plenum of the KW, the most frequently raised issues pertained to housing. This is a fundamental

social problem and a political issue as well, since the present rate of construction does not fulfill the prospects for obtaining individual housing.

As stated in the report, this problem should be worked out jointly with the youth that is based upon the availability of local raw materials. Support is needed to give initiatives to establish youth housing cooperatives, especially in small towns and gmina [parishes] where there is no cooperative and communal construction.

Support of these initiatives is an important task of the regional administration, specifically in designating the localization of the construction and in settling formal-legal matters. The following is also indispensable: more efficient assistance by the factories' social services in continuously improving the housing conditions for the work force; and commitment of the administration of the Provincial Office for effective assistance to other forms of construction and to create priorities for single and multi-family private construction. Finally, it was stated that the youth themselves can contribute to the amelioration of the housing problem through the remodeling attics, garrets, and other spaces for housing; however, all the barriers preventing such undertakings need to be eliminated.

It was emphasized that solving the problems of the young people must take place with their active participation, since their own, well organized effort is the fundamental factor that ensures their obtaining changes for the better. Opportunities for such participation will be created by the currently introduced economic reform; however, to fully utilize its positive effects it is imperative that a proper cadre policy be implemented that would give an opportunity for job advancement to those young people who are outstanding in their qualifications and political-moral attitude.

In Tarnobrzeg Province an advantageous situation still remains in regard to the ability to employ the graduates of vocational and higher education schools. Yet, since economic reform will create certain new conditions in the functioning of the job market, the educational authorities must better readjust the directions of youth education to the needs of the local economy.

More attention should be devoted to the rural youth, especially by creating more favorable conditions for their life and work. Presently, 7,650 individual farms in the Tarnobrzeg province are tended by farmers 34 years of age or younger. This comprises about 7 percent of the farms, while 20,170 farms belong to farmers who have passed the age of 64. In this context it was noted that at least 2,000 hectares of land from the PFZ [State Land Fund can be sold off to farmers each year. This represents an opportunity for the young people to choose the profession of the farmer, however they still need assistance and help to buy the land, the means of production, and construction materials.

Presently, the provincial authorities are considering the possibility of setting aside a certain part of their tools and machinery, designating them for the young farmers who are starting out. It was noted that the PGRs [State

Farms], productive cooperatives, and SKRs [Agricultural Circle Cooperatives] ought to play larger roles to activate rural youth.

A lot of attention was devoted in the report to the significance of the school and the teacher in forming awareness in the young generation, and to the role played by the centers for dissemination of culture in the processes of citizen education, all-round development, and the formation of sensitivity and creative imagination in the youth. Concern was expressed over the lack of interest on the part of enterprises in developing cultural activities - this is demonstrated by a significant reduction in financial allotments and by the elimination of some hobby groups and circles. It was recognized as recommendable that youth organizations take over programatic care of these centers in the enterprises and in the countryside. It was emphasized that the youth should feel as managers; that the centers should serve to fulfill the needs and aspirations of the youth.

Sports and tourism were recognized as important fields of youth activities. While the network of available facilities in the province is poorly developed, even that small number of available sports halls, athletic fields, and stadiums is underutilized. The authorities responsible for the development of sports and physical culture in the region must make decisions that are conducive to improving the accessibility of athletic installations to youth. More concern need be given to the development of sports in the countryside. A belief was expressed that much in that area will depend on the initiative and activity of the renewing Rural Youth Union which has rich tradition.

The report outlined all the possibilities of creating conditions in which youth would be able to act independently to satisfy their needs.

The problems and concerns of the young generation were profoundly reflected in the discussion. The debate was open by Eugeniusz Durda, member of KW PZPR, who called attention to the problems of rural youth. The conditions under which young farmers start out are seriously impaired by the difficult economic situation. The scarcity of the equipment and means of agricultural production that is felt by many young people discourages them from undertaking the effort of independent farming. Accordingly, there is need for a greater concern on the part of the administration and the units of agricultural services with the affairs of the young. Improvements are needed in the dispersal system of machinery, in the distribution of the means of production, and in the system of state regulation and recompensation. The speaker devoted a lot of attention to the problems of culture and recreation in the countryside, noting the dangerous tendencies toward the elimination of rural clubs and cultural centers and toward poorer and poorer capabilities to satisfy the cultural needs of rural youth.

Similar problems were addressed by the next speakers: Leszek Buciur, chairman of the ZMW in Lazow; Jan Konieczny, member of the KW PZPR; and Jacek Gardynik, chairman of the Provincial Office of ZMW, who also presented the goals and tasks of ZMW in the rural environment. Edward Trznadel, member of the KW PZPR, spoke on the subject of the profitability of agricultural production on the lands of young farmers. Marta Dubiel, vice-chairwoman of the ZW ZSMP, took up

the problems of education in agricultural schools, especially regarding the practical teaching of the profession and the feasibility of employing the graduates of those schools. Particular attention was paid to the speech by Witold Lasisz, member of the KC PZPR, on the subject of rural youth problems. The work with youth, said the speaker, particularly the party work, should be a sincere dialogue between the activists of the older generation with the young. That dialogue must be conducted based on the facts and realia of today. Another fundamental issue is the creation of opportunities for the full participation of youth in the life of their environment.

Another essential subject in the plenary discussion pertained to problems of socialization in school. Antoni Piedel, member of the KW PZPR Executive, Stefan Dynowski, member of the KW PZPR, took the floor successively on that subject. Although it is often stated that school is responsible for the state of awareness of youth and their feeling of being lost and frustrated, school is merely the reflection of the general situation. Teachers have not been, and are still not properly prepared to teach history and civics. There is a shortage of textbooks and information materials. Instruction in the party organization school has been treated perfunctorily. The educational system of the Tarnobrzeg province suffers from the lack of adequately qualified cadres. Hence, the proposal to establish a secondary teachers school and a division of elementary education. Also discovered, were the unfavorable influences of the reorganization of the youth movement in the past years and the need to create conditions for authentic and independent activity of those organizations that are presently active in schools. Attention was called to the necessity of pooling the efforts of all institutions involved in education, and to solving the problems of the unorganized and the so called difficult youth.

The activities of the squads and tribes of the ZHP were presented by Jacek Czech, scoutmaster of the Tarnobrzeg Council of the ZHP. Andrzej Kalina, member of the KW PZPR, spoke about the problems of socio-vocational adaptation and called attention to the necessity for changes in the cadres policy, and in particular to the appearance in that area of the symptoms of generation conflict, which occur in some environments.

In her comprehensive presentation, Barbara Godzisz, the chairwoman of the ZW ZSMP, presented the problems and expectations of youth that are related to the present socio-political and economic situation. We are [the ZSMP] expecting some concrete decisions, so that the proposals generated by the discussion about youth are not relegated to second place. The ZSMP is tied ideologically to the party and the party should trust the activists of the Union. We [the ZSMP] want to be independent, yet not isolated - stated the speaker, while giving many examples of the initiatives of the Union that found no support, especially from the administration. Mieczyslaw Bednarczyk, the First Secretary of the Factory Committee of PZPR in the foundry "Stalowa Huta", spoke about the failures in the process of bringing up the young generation. Boleslaw Niemczyn, member of the Executive of KW PZPR called attention to the need for utilizing the energy and enthusiasm of youth. Restoring the belief of youth in the possibility of realizing their life plans and aspirations is a prerequisite for that goal. In the opinion of the speaker, more attention should be given to the so called difficult youth.

Stanislaw Gabrielski, the chief of the Socio-Vocational Section of the Central Committee, took the floor last. The speaker characterized the sources of the crisis which has been manifested, among other things, in the state of frustration of the young generation. This state is the result of awakening aspirations which had no backing in reality. Ideological and educational work were also neglected in the past period. Similarly, conclusions about generation changes that took place in the last decade were not fully drawn. The rising generation has entered the productive age well educated and intellectually awakened. The extrication from the crisis and the fight for the awareness of the young generation must be expected to consume many years. The activities in this sphere ought to be preceded by an honest analysis of the origins of the present situation. Delineation of the vision for the future, as outlined in the program for broad reforms in the resolution of the IX Congress of the PZPR, has significant importance in the process of restoring the young belief in the need to act and actively participate in the social life. That program should become a platform for the transformation of the wave of criticisms into creative intellectual movement and into constructive movement of the initiative. The party must support activities arising from the rank and file thus creating conditions for organizational work based upon grass roots. Conditions for social advancement should be created for the young, thus developing their feeling of responsibility for the future fate of the country. The speaker also stressed the necessity for changes in the system of education. Speaking about the situation in the youth movement, Stanislaw Gabrielski particularly emphasized the necessity for creating conditions of fuller autonomy for organizations which strength results from their ideological union with the party. He expressed his approbation for the activists of the ZSMP, ZHP, and ZMW for their stance in the political struggle for the awareness of the young generation. Seven participants in the discussion submitted their presentations for the minutes of the deliberations.

Regarding the activities of the party organizations and echelons, the plenum approved a resolution aimed at the socialist, patriotic upbringing of youth and the improvement in the conditions of their vocational and life starts. Described in the resolution are the tasks of the party echelons and organizations for the improvement of the work and life conditions of youth, as well as the tasks for the youth organizations and the youth themselves. In addition the plenum has committed the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee to see to it, among other things, that all just motions derived from the consultation of the materials submitted, and from the discussion, be put into practice, and that the proposers of the motions be informed of the methods of their implementation, and finally that a timetable for the realization of the resolution be established.

Organizational issues were considered in the next item of the agenda: establishing a commission for the women's affairs at the KW PZPR, the removal of Janusz Bendkowski from the composition of the KW, related to his work transfer to another province, and the selection of the organizational secretary of the Province Committee. Comrade Janusz Basiak, on behalf of the Executive Board, recommended Stanislaw Pawlik, the past director of the State Center of Agricultural Machines, and the ex-chairman of the Voivodship Audit Commission, to serve in that function. No other candidates were nominated. The plenum with four abstentions, opted for an open vote for the position of the Secretary of the Provincial Committee, and then unanimously entrusted that function to Stanislaw Pawlik.

9952
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ACADEMICS DISCUSS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROSPECTS FOR 1980's

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 7, Jul 81 pp 135-154

[Discussion participated in by Prof Dr Habilitatus Michal Dobroczynski, editor-in-chief of SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE; Dr Franciszek Golembski, director of the Department of Socialist Countries, PISM (Polish Institute for International Affairs), Dr Habilitatus Marek Okolski, Docent, Faculty of Economic Sciences, UW [Warsaw University], Docent Dr Habilitatus Bogumil Rychlowski, deputy director of PISM, Dr Janusz Stefanowicz, journalist and Dr Jerzy W. Szeremeta, counselor to the minister in the studies and Programming Department of MSZ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs); Article Signed to Press December 1981]

[Text] Michal Dobroczynski: Thus far, none of the longterm political and economic forecasts of which we are aware have proved entirely true. However, each of the forecasts contains at least two positive elements. First, some points have hit the mark; second, certain dangers and threats stated in the forecasts have become the basis of practical actions taken to ensure that the theoretical dangers anticipated beforehand do not come to pass. In other words, a good forecast has not proved true possibly because it was rational and led to effective counteraction.

I propose that we speak, first of all, of the political aspects of the world's future tied into the international situation, especially the situation in the sphere of political relations among the more important countries and fundamental groups of states. This is linked in particular with aspects of armaments and disarmament issues; however, it is not restricted to issues of conflicts, clashes and glaring antagonisms. This would be the first group of subjects for discussion. In my opinion it is a group of issues that lends itself well to discussion, if a group that is quite unpredictable.

The second direction to consider is that of economics issues: How will the developmental processes of the world economy shape up in the 1980's--what may we expect? The issues here are the trade situation, the power, raw materials and food situation and the problems of cooperation between countries of the world, in particular cooperation between the East and West and North-South relations.

The final part of the discussion should tend in the direction of evaluating the hoped-for evolvement of social relations: In what direction will the

world develop? Will it move more to the right, or in the direction of various types of socialistic solutions? Will social pressure or better organized and informed societies mean that pure economic rationalism will have to yield to social compulsion in various sectors? This problem is partly of an ideological nature, despite its practical importance.

I propose that these be the three major directions of our discussion. It is difficult to isolate them. Most likely, our discussion of the first point, the subject of security and political relations, will find us broaching the other subjects.

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: In the 1980's, East-West relations will undoubtedly continue to be a major element of political relations, especially where world security is concerned. This truth was sometimes questioned in the 1970's, especially when the growing importance of North-South relations was indicated. Nonetheless, in questions of security, peace and war, the character and state of East-West relations will be of decisive significance for the current decade. I am convinced of that.

At the same time we must realize that a certain crucial element of these relations, namely the entire arms and disarmament issue, does not fill one with optimism. The armaments programs that have been undertaken and our knowledge of the time needed to negotiate disarmament understandings indicate that what we would call the consolidation of military detente will not be achieved before the mid-1980's, and perhaps not before the end of the decade. In conjunction with this--let us be logically consistent--the strengthening of military detente could not be considered as a factor of political detente. This raises a number of questions.

First, does this mean the death of political detente? I would like to be optimistic and say that it does not. But in order to say this, I must first answer the following two questions: Does this mean that we must search for elements in support of political detente in other fields? Without a doubt, the optimistic answer to this question is yes. The second question: Is this possible? I think it is, although it is very difficult. The whole time we are faced here with an alternative situation, somewhat forced upon us, in which we cannot achieve substantial military detente and attempt to build political detente on this base, but we must occupy ourselves with a dogged search for elements supportive of political detente in other fields.

This situation will carry over into the 1980's. Due to the fact that the danger in the military sphere may increase, the intensity of our search for alternative solutions must likewise increase. This will be a very difficult task.

Franciszek Golembski: I concur with this line of thinking. At the same time I should like to emphasize that I perceive great difficulties in the 1980's in the very possibility of finding a modus vivendi in political affairs. For they are determined directly and indirectly by the military sphere. To a great extent, the behavior of states on the political plane is the decisive factor here. This influences the creation of political structures linked with

international security or the lack thereof. For this reason, we cannot treat political factors as autonomous, divorced from the development of events and creating qualitatively new structures in international relations. However, the political factor itself, in a specific way, will determine the rate of change on the international arena during the 1980's. By no means will this rate diminish: it will proceed even more rapidly.

Bogumil Rychlowski: It seems to me that the future should not be measured in terms of past experiences. The present is the point of departure for the future. In order to find our points of reference for the future, we must explain the tendencies manifested in the present day.

There is no military detente. The tendency toward it is not evident. What's more, we may say that at the present time the world faces the implementation of a gigantic arms program imposed by the previous American administration and expanded by the Reagan administration. The new administration has not withdrawn any of the former plans; on the contrary, it gives priority treatment to armaments plans, treating the working out of positions on disarmament issues as secondary. Given this situation, we cannot expect the major oppositional force of the United States, the Soviet Union, to abandon what it achieved during the previous decade, namely the balancing of power. For this reason I think that in the 1980's, at least during the first half of the 1980's, if the big package of disarmament proposals presented by the Soviet Union at the 26th CPSU Congress is not adopted, the armaments actions undertaken by one side will force the other side to undertake the challenge.

I envisage that, in the first half of the 1980's, as long as the arms programs already set in motion are implemented, no more significant disarmament settlements will be reached. Even if decisions that are positive in part are undertaken, generally speaking we will still have to deal with the implementation of a stepped-up armaments program. The future fate of the SALT talks will be of vital importance in this regard. The future of these talks is not merely a question of Soviet-American relations, but a problem of worldwide significance. Although the success of the SALT talks has been limited, their breakdown would have catastrophic consequences.

Indeed, from the viewpoint of our deliberations today, the most important issue is to find an answer to the basic question: Will the currently existing balance of power be maintained through the 1980's, or will it be shaken or totally disrupted as a result of the unequal buildup of economic-military potential. Political relations in the entire contemporary world will rest on this.

The balance of power was a factor aiding detente during the previous stage. It can likewise play such a role in the future.

I believe that the military-strategic balance between the USSR and the United States will be maintained during the 1980's. At the same time, their great superiority over other partners of military relations will continue. Hence, during the 1980's, the bipolar system (which is not to be identified with the division of the world into two camps) will continue. Given this situation,

the system of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States and, more broadly, between the East and West, will continue to be a system determining the development of the situation on a worldwide scale.

As we stress the crucial importance of this system, we cannot help seeing that during the present stage the influence of other forces and factors on the world situation is growing and will continue to grow. One proof of this is the processes taking place in the "third world."

Janusz Stefanowicz: The element of will, that is, a particular vision of the interests and hence the foreign policy of the United States, manifested continuously since the end of World War II, and especially intensely at the threshold of the Reagan administration, is of crucial importance to the tension of the armaments spiral. However, in addition to the subjective element of political will, there are also several other elements that bolster the thesis of continuing the arms race. I should like to point out several of these.

First, the constant increase in military potential other than American and Soviet military potential, i.e., Chinese and West German potential, as well as that of other states of Western Europe in the future, increases the negative imbalance of the threat with regard to the Soviet Union. Increasingly, the USSR must take into account several potential directions or sources of danger, while the United States has only the soviets to consider. This asymmetry complicates the establishment of a balance and of a level and point of departure for negotiations on the issue of arms control. As example is the European theater, where the West consciously plays out the argument of the balance of strategic power, only ostensibly unaware of other Soviet considerations. This situation will intensify.

Franciszek Golembski: What will be the direct consequences for the political situation in Europe?

Janusz Stefanowicz: As far as the military situation is concerned, it will be very difficult to reach a common denominator, unless the United States and the Soviet Union come to an understanding on the comprehensive limitation of armaments, that is, they determine the total ceiling for their own armaments, giving their partners the freedom to distribute this potential throughout the worldwide and the European theater. This is an optimistic variant, but one very difficult to carry out.

I return to the main subject of the discussion. A second element of danger likewise exists. In modern times, world powers do not evaluate their military situation in terms of the quantity or the quality of the weapons they possess, but in their susceptibility to a first strike. This is a more complex issue, i.e., the issue of mobile and stationary bases, the number and the return capability of warheads, the height and load of missile flight and radar detection.

The third reason that the arms race will develop is the reiterated "generation gap" in arms technology, where new defensive weapons are being sought in order

to limit the effectiveness of the existing enemy potential and of new offensive weapons, which anticipate the creation of enemy defensive systems.

How does this affect policy? Apart from the problems encountered in finding a balance of power, I envisage yet another negative effect of this state of the arms race on political relations. International detente during the 1970's was based on the breakdown of the so-called strict bipolarism of the modern world and the opening of the road to pluralism. For example, Europe is autonomous and particular states do not have to be the executors of the decisions of the superpowers. The policy of de Gaulle was a prime example of this.

I believe that the quality, the quantity and the costs of the arms race in the 1980's will exclude all remaining countries, even countries like China, from significant participation in the world game of military power. We shall return, as before, to the bipolar system of the 1960's. For countries such as Poland, France and the FRG this may have unfortunate consequences in the political field, since the practical consequence of military bipolarism is political bipolarism: every superpower places its allies in a line, believing that it must ensure itself 95 percent of the decisions made in political matters.

I do not foresee a return to cold war in the literal sense. I do fear a return of the structure of international relations from the cold war period. I fear it all the more since, overlaying armament tendencies, there is the bipolar conservatism of the ruling groups in the superpowers, which are naturally inclined to accept such a structure.

Michal Dobroczynski: Here we have entered a new thematic plane. From what editor Stefanowicz and, in some sense, the other discussants have said it follows that ultimately the element of armaments determines relations between countries and the political situation that exists between the East and West in particular. The arms race, in turn, is dictated to a great degree by the growing lack of confidence resulting from the development of technology and from fears in the face of the changeability of the power structure. It is evident that this technological-strategic factor is, for the present, stronger than active diplomatic efforts aimed at increasing confidence in mutual relations. In other words, perhaps good will, the will to improve relations, will continue, but will the sudden attainment of clear technological superiority cause an about-face in foreign policy?

Marek Okolski: I would like to add a brief comment on this issue. The technological factor may be considered crucial only when it is perceived that fundamentally it, in turn, depends on the economic potential and the effective functioning of socioeconomic systems, upon their capacity to devote a portion of current consumption toward scientific research in the military complex and directly for armaments, as well as to generate new technologies. I would put the issue this way: given the current, extremely high level of military technology, the other partners in the great strategic-political game are falling away since they are not able to meet both conditions for participating in this game--the necessary economic potential and an efficiently functioning socioeconomic system. Consequently, the vital element of mediation, of the

pluralization of conflicts between the major powers and their being restrained by diplomatic means, subsides. Meanwhile, this leads to the present situation you gentlemen have described.

Franciszek Golembski: I would like to turn your attention to a related question that is manifested in the modern world in political categories and is especially in evidence in social categories. It has been spoken of more and more upon the threshold of the 1980's. I am speaking of the so-called communications crisis, its social dimension and the resultant consequences for international life. The partners in contemporary international relations, while making use of the same language (in the general linguistic sense, not on the basis of national differences), have different connotations for this language. This is demonstrated especially vividly during various types of international conferences and meetings. Specific statements are comprehended differently.

This refers not only to East-West relations (during the 1970's, various attempts were made to gain control of this crisis within the framework of the detente process). To a much greater extent, it refers to the plane of North-South relations, where the communications crisis will undoubtedly become more intense during the 1980's.

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: Since, as a result of what we have been saying, things look very black, I will attempt to shine a light in the tunnel. All of this is true, and it will have, if not decisive, then a very great influence on the picture of the world in the 1980's. But fortunately it is not only these things that will shape the world, for neither the great powers nor any one state is actualized only by means of the issue of security--the very important political sphere we have been speaking of thus far.

If there were no other needs emanating from the existence of a state, of a nation, the picture of the future would approach the one we have described. However, if the 1880's continue considerable challenges in many other fields, above all in the economic sphere, we can be somewhat optimistic about the possibility of controlling dangerous political-military tendencies through the joint realization of the other weighty interests that particular states must secure. This requires full blown international cooperation, sometimes with a global scope.

Here I would like to call to mind two questions that can unite the world: the energy problem and the food problem. It has been estimated that human energy needs will increase by 20 percent by the end of the 1980's, and the needs of some population centers will grow still more. This refers to the United States and above all Western Europe and Japan. It is estimated that energy needs there will increase by approximately 70 percent. Among other things, this makes necessary the expansion of capital links, and thereby the development of international cooperation and the creation of political relations to facilitate this cooperation.

I would like to draw this optimistic conclusion from the pressure that will be brought to bear by the energy question on the policy of all states during the 1980's.

Janusz Stefanowicz: But first there will be the intermediate stage characterized by increased competition for this wealth, for access to power sources.

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: This kind of critical need always prompts a large number of fairly simplistic solutions. Economic issues will constitute a plane of animated international relations, but in the final analysis the tendency toward cooperation will win out over a confrontation, for purely practical reasons--because it is a more profitable way out.

Bogumil Rychlowski: This presumes behavioral rationalism in political actions. Meanwhile, experience shows that the resolution of international problems is not always consistent with the principles of rational action. The basis of politics is self-interest. Politics often consists of operating by force and is motivated by particularist rights rather than more general rights.

To return to the main topic, I concur with Editor Stefanowicz that at present there is a growing tendency in the world toward the polarization of power, and not to the creation of many power centers, which would be as if a sign of detente, and which was spoken of a great deal, especially during the mid-1970's. As we observe the situation, we see that, regardless of the asymmetry described here, in spite of everything, the tendency toward the polarization of the modern world is the decisive one. It will dominate and intensify, at least during the stage of the implementation of those armaments programs that have already been set in motion. It is difficult to anticipate that will follow. Most likely, tendencies toward the creation of many power centers will again manifest themselves more clearly.

Polarization is most evident on the global scale, i.e., if we look at the world as a whole, and it reflects the most general trend. If we look at the world more selectively, then alongside a general tendency toward polarization, we observe phenomena indicating that the world is also becoming more differentiated politically. In many concrete situations and events, a major causative role is played by specific causes or circumstances that have no reference to a bipolar system. They are an expression of antagonisms that are as if independent of the antagonisms between the two basic worldwide systems.

Here we can make reference to the example of the Iraq-Iran War that has lasted for many months. I do not think we can say that this war is the result of polarization, i.e., the system of relations between the East and West or between the Soviet Union and the United States. It is the result of an extremely complex mix of local antagonisms: national, religious, of territorial disputes and even of the personal ambitions of the respective leaders.

Thus, in addition to the general tendency toward polarization that dominates in the global structure, at the same time there are processes at work that make the world, in spite of everything, more differentiated and complex. What's more, even within the framework of this bipolar structure, which is a general structure linked above all with the systems of alliances surrounding the United States and the Soviet Union, there is an increasingly more marked tendency toward the differentiation of situations and internal relations. This occurs independently of the concern manifested in both systems over the cohesiveness and content of existing ties.

Hence, documents from the 26th CPSU Congress point to the differentiation in the roads of development that occur within the socialist world. Emphasizing the importance of conformity with mutual developmental regulations, at the same time the 26th CPSU Congress indicates that this development cannot take place in a uniform manner. In conjunction with the variety of situations manifested by particular states, various methods, various solutions and various directions of activity are used. Not only does the CPSU analyze the diversity that occurs, it endorses it. The same phenomenon occurs around the other pole, among capitalist countries. Here the diversity is even greater, more widespread and has a greater scope.

Consequently, the tendency toward bipolarization spoken of by Editor Stefan Stefanowicz is linked to the tendency toward the sharper and sharper differentiation of the modern world. This means that the problems we will encounter during the 1980's will be of a somewhat different character than the problems with which we have dealt in the past.

Marek Okolski: I believe that as a condition for making a forecast of international political relations, we should take into consideration not only political factors, but also other factors that alter political relations and sometimes determine their longterm development.

From what you gentlemen have said it follows that one can use simple reasoning on the basis of the political permises manifested. In the first place, since the East-West axis determines the current worldwide political structure and second, since recently there has been a regress in the detente process, we may conclude that the immediate period, the first half of the 1980's, will shape up unfavorably.

This diagnosis follows exclusively from reasoning based on political premises. The worldwide political factor is relatively the most flexible and is less inert over the short-term than, e.g., the cultural and the economic factors. Since it evolves relatively more rapidly and only apparently autonomously, the political factor serves to alter worldwide relations in other spheres over the long term. Meanwhile, I believe that these conditions further changes in the worldwide political situation. Thus, if we take into account premises of another type, i.e., social, economic and cultural premises, as well as premises connected with the internal dialectic of world development, or even the development of political relations themselves (here I have in mind the antagonism that exists within particular groupings as well as between grouping), this--in my opinion--enables us to draw a forecast that extends somewhat further into the future and likewise to justify why we anticipate certain changes in the sphere of international political relations and not others.

As I look further into the future, my view differs from the views you gentlemen present. I am not an optimist because extrapolitical premises, especially economic arguments, suggest rather that the regress will become more intense. From what does this follow?

Progressive tendencies occur when pluralism and the tendency toward globalization toward mutual imitation in certain processes exists in international

relations. Diversity, with its characteristic tendency toward preserving one's own identity, while at the same time being open to the outside and desiring cooperation, engenders progressive changes out of such contradictory tendencies. Meanwhile, the dichotomies of the antagonistic East-West and North-South structures still remain from the only recently emerged pluralism. In addition to this, internal pressures have appeared to make them stiffen and become isolated from the outside world. Given this situation, what we will probably have to deal with in terms of economic premises will rather be a regress, particularism and the turning inward of particular states or their groupings.

This emanates primarily from the fact that the two basic superpowers have quite longstanding domestic problems, that are perhaps even structural problems. There are clear conservative currents in evidence both in the Soviet Union and in the United States, especially within the sphere of the superstructure, although their foundation is economic in character to a considerable degree. This does not foster a commitment toward resolving external questions whose probable benefits are for some future time. Generally, this leads to bilateral stiffening, and even to preventive measures that worsen the status quo. A second reason for an unfavorable forecast is the worsened trade situation, mainly in the region that is the driving force of the worldwide economy, the highly industrialized capitalist countries, and the lack of signs of the radical and speedy breaking of the impasse in this field. Third, given their privileged position, the highly industrialized capitalist countries will want to minimize their losses or to reap the greatest benefits in the struggle over principles, for the problem of a shortage of power and raw materials really does exist in the current decade. Meanwhile, this will cause an increase of tension along the North-South axis.

Only when conditions favoring a basic technological revolution appear will it be possible, in accordance with Kondratev's concept of long waves, to expect a fundamental technological change that will bring vast new reserves of raw materials, will intensify food production and will change fundamentally the current protectionist and particularist attitude. However, I do not believe that this is to be expected earlier than the end of the current decade or the beginning of the next decade.

Thus, it follows from the premises we are considering that there is an enduring tendency toward particularism in international relations. As a consequence of this tendency, the movement of unaligned countries has practically disintegrated. In light of this, in the very near future there will occur bipolarism at best and multipolarism at worst surrounding these two poles.

Michal Dobroczynski: Very strong arguments for bipolarism exist. They include above all the military factor and in some sense the economic factor that stands behind the military factor as well. For there is no country or even group of countries that can afford the kind of production of military resources that the largest countries can afford, despite many negative social consequences. It is this that caused the bipolarism.

On the other hand, we must realize that bipolarism is in some sense a strategic situation that is convenient for a considerable number of states of the world.

This means: countries are interested in their own security and, well aware of the limits of their own economic potential, they fall into line somewhat to the rear, just as the infantry falls into line behind the tanks. This in no way changes the simple fact that every country has its own special interests as goals and devotes a portion of its ambitions to being independent on the basis of realistic calculations.

In other words, it must be kept in mind that there are certain (sometimes vital) differences between a vast and quite simple strategic system, and a rich system of individualized needs, aspirations and national traits underlying the division into two groupings.

At the same time, there is no question of a return to the situation at the end of the 1940's or the beginning of the 1950's. At that time there was bipolarism, but it was nearly total. At present, and surely throughout the entire new decade, bipolarism has and will have a logical, rational character from the viewpoint of certain premises. However, as Docent Rychlowski observed, it is bipolarism linked with the growing complexity of internal structures and the substantial differentiation of sector interests.

This differentiation has many aspects. It is not only a problem of smaller countries adapting in different ways to the superpowers. It is likewise a question of the implementation of national concepts and internal solutions, of a distinct relationship to the leading power in one's own camp, but also of specific characteristics of policy regarding particular countries on the other side. This is often of vital general significance. If not for the situation and the policies of certain countries of Western Europe, the relationship of the United States to the Soviet Union would certainly be different today. Various conflicts between the United States and the countries of Western Europe have even arisen on this basis. Another example: were it not for the effect of demonstrations in the sphere of social organization, food consumption, cultural needs and the like, certain opinions advanced at the 26th CPSU Congress, although they applauded the Hungarian model of economic solutions, would seem premature. In the area of the mutual influence of various countries--both friendly nations and others--the 1980's will not usher in revolution, but they may be a further step in the direction of the partial coalescence of positions.

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: Obviously the difficulties the future will bring, especially in the economic sphere, will increase the tendency toward egoism and localism. However, we would be wrong if we deduced from this that these egoistically disposed local centers of interest will be self-sufficient. This is not so.

The course of the discussion thus far proves to me that our picture of the world has become so complex of late that we have forgotten, e.g., about the idea of mutual interdependence, strongly promoted during the 1970's, which has taken on a new aspect under the influence of certain tendencies, although it has not disappeared.

Regarding access to power sources, even if some states initially attempt to solve this problem by means of force, they will not have a free hand in such

action and they must take into account the fact that their opponents will be able to hinder their actions quite effectively.

Moreover, let us remember that there are many other spheres in which these various, egoistically disposed centers will not be able to implement their egoistic goals except through cooperation. If, by cooperation, we do not wish to understand harmonious joint action, then at least let us understand it as the necessary ties. Let us take the food issue. In all likelihood, by the end of this century, the price of food products will at least double. World hunger will reach 1.5 billion. This creates a colossal problem that cannot be resolved other than through international cooperation.

The monopoly of the United States on supplying food for the world market will strengthen; the position of developing countries will strengthen, but the position of socialist states as food consumers on this market will likewise strengthen. The single problem discussed above (and there are others) demonstrates that underneath the bipolar political-military cap, relatively well developed ties will have to exist.

I am so stubborn in my return to this subject because for me it is the only "light in the tunnel" during the 1980's.

Marek Okolski: This line of reasoning reveals the source of a dangerous conflict, and not the improvement of the situation. For we may conclude from this that the existing worldwide structure of the division of labor, that is very clearly disadvantageous for certain regions (in the North-South system it is distinctly negative for the South), will be strengthened. If this is so, then on the basis of national particularisms, there will develop a very strong tendency to break down the existing system not economically, but politically. Such inevitabilities exist, but they are of such a nature that they will engender serious new political conflicts.

Bogumil Rychlowski: I agree with Dr Szeremeta, that in the modern world many so-called global problems exist that can be solved only through broad international cooperation. In addition to finding solutions to the fuel, raw materials and food problems, I would likewise include the need to solve problems associated with the restructuring of international relations, and especially the problem of preserving world peace. The category of global problems also includes problems of managing outer space and the world oceans. Experience demonstrates that the very approach to the solution of these problems depends upon the political situation, upon the general state of international relations.

Recently, the new American administration announced that it wishes to reassess the heretofore established proposals of the Conference on the Law of the Sea. That is, it wished to addrsss this issue in a manner different from the previous administration. This is the best proof of the fact that a political approach is of crucial significance. It is for this reason that I maintain that the resolution of all so-called global problems will be contingent upon the general political situation of the contemporary world.

In conjunction with this, I would like to return once again to generalia. We have all agreed here that the bipolar system will remain the dominant system, at least during the first part of the 1980's. Nonetheless, the major poles of this system will have to reconcile themselves to the existence of a world that is more differentiated and more difficult to lead. They will also have to reconcile themselves to situations on which they will have no effect.

Here I would like to depart from such a generalized view. Let us not forget that China will be a vital element in the world situation of the 1980's. I do not mean only China per se, but China in its relations with other partners. Everyone knows that a very complex game is now being played out in the Washington-Tokyo-Peking triangle. In general, the stakes are China on a still broader scale. Depending on what system the China finds itself in during the 1980's (and this is a country with a billion people that manages tremendous resources of various types), this will affect the direction of development of events not only on a regional scale, but on a worldwide scale. I am interested to know what Dr. Szeremeta thinks on the subject of the possibilities of partnership or broad cooperation between China and Japan, and between China, Japan and the United States. Let us not view the world's future from a Europe-centered viewpoint alone.

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: I would like to support this thesis. We make use of the idea of the so-called Atlantic era too often. In the not too distant future, the centers of gravity, and not merely political gravity, will begin to be situated in various regions of the world, and the 1980's will, in some sense, be the beginning of the Pacific era. This is the result of the globalization of would problems and the changes that are occurring in this region.

Janusz Stefanowicz: And do you support Walesa's thesis that Poland can become a second Japan?

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: Yes, without a doubt, but that is a completely different question.

Bogumil Rychlowski: Asia is not only China and Japan. The whole of modern Asia is a mix of strong clashes that can become a source of threatening new conflicts or wars that extend beyond the local framework in the 1980's. The development of the situation in this region can overturn the ideas and forecasts that we formulate here at this table from our traditionally Atlantic point of reference.

Marek Okolski: As Editor Dobroczynski stated, one reason for making forecasts is to put us on our guard.

Michal Dobroczynski: I agree with the direction of the forecasts, but I believe that the 1980's will not bring any fundamental changes.

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: I was speaking of the beginning of an era.

Janusz Stefanowicz: The discussion is as if taking issue with my initial thesis. So that the reader does not have the impression that all this is

canned or embedded in concrete, I would like to present a second line of reasoning.

To continue then, I shall enumerate several very essential factors checking the process of bipolarization, or rather its return, on the international scene.

The first check lies in the military sphere. The increased risk linked with the growth of potential of each side makes this bipolarism very intense, but at the same time of little use in daily politics and diplomacy. To use a metaphor, it is an armored ship with minimal maneuverability, standing at anchor. It must stand in the port, threaten and impress everyone. But at the decisive moment it will set off a blind rocket, like the Aurora.

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: In this situation, the particular technological revolution in the area of conventional arms, especially precision arms, can lead to the creation of many centers.

Janusz Stefanowicz: This is the other side of the coin: a large armored ship and small, active, "irresponsible" gunboats.

The second limiting factor is of a political character. Gentlemen, you have spoken of an obvious phenomenon, i.e., the increased subjectivity of the smaller states both of the Eastern and Western blocs. There is no chance today that Washington will decide whether the deputy premier in Paris will be X or Y--and not only in Paris. Here I would call to mind the "third world" as well. There are people who view bipolarism negatively, seeing it exclusively as synonymous with armaments, tensions and the cold war. But there are also those who say: fine, let us return to our former state of joyous coexistential bipolarism symbolized by Yalta, or an order based on the understanding of the two groups. But this too is impossible. A diemetrical difference exists between the Europe in ashes of those years, when a custodial-type decision was made at Yalta, and the hot lava of the "third world." There is no question today of Yalta on the worldwide scale, even if we wished it for ourselves, even if we believed that it would bring peace to our era. It is out of the question.

The third check consists of certain natural economic interdependencies, which, even if not desired, occur in a manner that is essential for the sector.

The fourth check, for me the most interesting one, is of a sociopolitical nature. One must adopt a Manichean view of the world: there is good in the form of freedom and evil in the form of communism, or vice versa. Between these poles there is nothing. This is how the conservatives, the extreme European right and conservative communist actives in a number of countries reason today. Meanwhile, this is not the reality. Here I would like to express an optimistic opinion, one that is also flattering to Poland. Depending on the ultimate outcome, what is now happening in Poland may determine a trend either toward bipolarism or toward pluralism on a worldwide scale, not on an economic, a political or a military plane, but on an ideological, global plane of vision of the world's future. This is terribly important. In this regard we bear a worldwide burden.

It is known that we will remain within the Warsaw Pact, that we will not create our own nuclear weapons and that we will participate in CEMA. On the other hand, we can inform all conservative forces that the black-and-white world view, the communism-freedom view (or the reverse) is an anachronism that does not fit either today's or tomorrow's world.

Bogumil Rychlowski: What is happening in Poland may be capsulized in the following form: the expansion of our own collective state personality within the framework of the preservation of our systemic identity. This is how it is to be understood.

Janusz Stefanowicz: I agree.

Franciszek Golembski: I agree entirely with Editor Stefanowicz that a return to a bipolar epoch in the strict sense of the word has no meaning, nor is it possible. This follows from the methodological approach as well. One cannot simply extrapolate, transferring current happenings within society mechanically into the future. This method makes it impossible to grant the future a real dimension. History does not repeat itself. There is no returning to certain events that have already happened and that have ended in a certain sense.

I would like to turn to still another matter not spoken of thus far. During the 1970's the concepts of bipolarism and multipolarism were also used to express the idea that the primary actors, the great powers, continued to be the principal regulators of global relations, but at the same time the role of other states and their aspirations toward greater esteem in the international arena clearly began to increase (I am not speaking here of the PRC alone). The following problem derives from this: As a result of the continuing process of gaining independence on the part of particular states, including some developing countries, is there not an increasing danger that some of these states will have their own nuclear weapons in the next 5 to 10 years?

Janusz Stefanowicz: This is like giving 19th century black chieftains guns and then thinking that they will attack the garrisons of the colonial powers.

Franciszek Golembski: But will not the eruption of regional conflicts have a negative significance for the stability of the global structure?

Michal Dobroczynski: I agree that it will have a negative effect. But will it destroy this structure? Can this type of factor affect the basic direction?

Bogumil Rychlowski: Rather it will have local and prestige-wise significance.

Michal Dobroczynski: However, it can have a negative effect on the essence of relations between the great powers.

Franciszek Golembski: If we utilize Dr Szeremeta's concept of "necessary ties" we have reason to be optimistic; a modus vivendi must be found in the sense of finding solutions to common problems, and this pressure of needs will have direct repercussions within the global structure. However, my question is: If these necessary ties turn out to be insufficient, what then?

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: Collapse.

Michal Dobroczynski: Perhaps we should say a few words about issues we have bypassed.

First, a question: Will the 1980's be an epoch of clearcut economic breakdown on a worldwide scale, or a period of relative growth, or in any event an improvement over the situation in the 1970's, or finally (I believe this last alternative to be the most likely one at this time) will it be a decade that continues the trend begun after 1970? If we support the variant of generally slow growth, we must assume structural differences. To be sure, the 1980's will be a period when countries generally will develop at a rate corresponding to their level of advancement: the least developed will grow the fastest, the most developed will grow the slowest and the moderately developed will show moderate growth.

Thus the 1980's, for all three basic groups, will continue the process that was characteristic for the entire postwar period, i.e., the process of an increase in the absolute differences between the three groups and a reduction in the relative differences between these groups. This cannot but have repercussions of a political nature. If we have concluded that technological issues to a great degree lie at the bases of the arms race, and the arms race is the major problem complicating the possibilities of the rapprochement of the great powers, then to some degree the anticipated trends of economic growth will determine the character and the consequences of the arms race and of worldwide political relations.

An analysis of the anticipated changes must be tied in with the social situation of the contemporary would. This must be as clear sighted as possible. The evolvement of this situation is not clear, and they are a great many opinions on the subject of world social changes. I represent the optimistic position, that is, I believe that the world is becoming more just. Whatever has been happening for several decades now for the most part means that the world is shifting in the direction of the growing regard for the rights of the broadest social groups.

Janusz Stefanowica: This refers to the socialist world as well.

Michal Dobroczynski: Yes, I agree. Governments, policy directions and social emphases are changing. Within this complex movement, we should not underestimate neoliberal tendencies that favor productivity over justice. But even what is happening in the policy of Great Britain or the United States is, in fact, only a reaction to a shift toward the left. It is a reaction with clearcut limits that cannot ignore social needs and attitudes.

Here is another example. An indepth look shows that the events that have taken place in Poland after 1979 are nothing more than the shift of the country to the left, and not at all to the right. Perhaps certain pseudoleftist signs are being discarded, but all in all we observe a clear pressure in the direction of democratization and economic-social egalitarianism.

I believe that this phenomenon--apart from the shifts in various directions in the superstructure--apart from the very complex movements in the political sphere that are sometimes hard to evaluate from the viewpoint of social consequences--will likewise be characteristic of the world throughout the 1980's. This is not the result of programs or a personality (although programs and personalities can speed up or slow down change). On the other hand, it is general process associated with the coming to maturity of nations, with the flow of information, with economic progress, an increase in the level of education and access to culture. People now react differently to many issues; they have access to different knowledge and they desire other things than they did formerly. They do not allow themselves to be manipulated so easily as before, even in less developed regions.

The 1980's will not bring about any fundamental reversal of this process, but undoubtedly will continue the basic trend, rarely written of, that in public opinion, in confrontation with a thousand daily events and striking incidents moves into the background, but that inevitably creates new social qualities, new societies.

Marek Okolski: I would like to react to this problem against the background of the longwave trend in the development of the world economy. More or less since the end of the 19th century there has existed a tendency toward permanently including particular societies in the division of labor. The permanency of the ties between them has become intensified following the development of the contemporary phase of development of the world division of labor (i.e., during the period of the past 10 to 30 years) through the necessity of the mutual solving of problems or resolving dangers of a more than local character (e.g., mutual raw materials and food dependence, and in the extra-economic sphere, the threat of ecological disaster or thermonuclear war). At present a permanent economic link encompasses the entire world, its global character emanating from the high level of responsiveness of all economies to the pulsation of the world economy. Consequently, I would view the development of the world economy through the development of the world division of labor, that is, through the process of distributing specualizations among a greater and greater number of organizational units, together with their undertaking of new roles and not consolidating what already is there.

The development of the division of labor was always determined by technological development. It produced a specific, hierarchical partnership system, with a set of economic organizational units or economies creating new technologies, a set of organizational units perfecting and in a certain sense disseminating these technologies among the masses, and a set passively supplying the resources indispensable for the use of these technologies. These poles function until today, although gradually various economies are shifting to higher levels of the division of labor hierarchy.

The contemporary world division of labor does not follow its former lines, i.e., by sector or subsector. Such divisions continue to be particular only to the local scale. At the level of the world economy, specialization to a greater and greater degree is of an inter-subsector nature; in some instances, each pole of the world economy plays a definite role within the framework of a subsector or even a branch. This both strengthens global ties and creates

opportunities for the more rapid adaptation of new production techniques and the adoption of the associated models of organizing and managing economic processes. Consequently, the development of the world economy represents the potential strengthening of developmental processes within the framework of particular national economies.

However, the tendency I have outlined is basically of a secular nature--its course does not run smoothly or with equal intensity in the case of every economic organizational unit. Let us now consider who will achieve the best economic results during the 1980's and whether it is possible to predict the highest growth rate for those who are least developed. Studies of longwave trends in the world economy would uphold this assumption, although, paradoxically, a higher growth rate does not always bring least developed countries closer to the world powers. This is due to a low rate of efficiency, less durability and the poorer quality of manufactured goods. The thesis that lagging economies develop the most rapidly and leading economies developing slowest is admissible to the extent that we do not envisage a crisis. However, if a crisis comes, the economic consequences are the most severe and painful for the weakest partners in the game. A recent example confirming this is the so-called energy crisis following the increase in crude oil prices. In light of this, Prof Dobroczynski's ultimately optimistic assumption concerning the relative, but not the absolute diminishing of gaps in the level of economic development between the two extreme poles of the world economy will not be confirmed if the crisis symptoms from the 1970's do not yield resolutely.

Michal Dobroczynski: And is such a crisis anticipated during the next decade?

Marek Okolski: In the opinion of some research teams, in the 1970's certain domestic goals, especially those of southern countries, were threatened by strong ties with the world economy. For example, economic conditions of international exchange imposed higher costs of development on these countries, making them unable to implement domestic economic goals in full. There is a chance that this situation will improve in the 1980's. It depends upon whether the trade situation in the world economy will improve. The year 1981 is the first year of the cautious sailing forth into deep waters in this field. The further improvement of the situation depends upon the most highly industrialized capitalist countries. If this tendency is strengthened, then on the wave of a generally favorable trade situation and increased economic dynamism there will arise an opportunity for weaker countries to make internal qualitative changes and to move on to a higher level of development.

In answer to the question, will the economic system break down, we must say: this will depend upon whether the permanent foundations of economic prosperity will be created. I said that this depends on the trade situation in highly developed countries. But this does not come about as a deus ex machina. I believe that what could bring about an enduring favorable trade situation would be a change in technology, and especially the introduction of power conserving technology that would enable the use of new, plentiful types of energy in order to conserve traditional energy sources. However, I do not believe that the changes that would give the world economy a strong

developmental impulse will come soon. Consequently, it is highly likely that the 1980's will continue the tendencies of the 1970's.

Jerzy W. Szeremeta: I believe that the end of the 20th century will be a period of unusually stormy changes in terms of ideological issues, similar to the end of the 18th and 19th centuries. At this time there is really no group of states that does not feel the need to search for a new systems model within the framework of the binding sociopolitical structure, the need to redefine its identity. In capitalist countries, it is the birth of the epoch of the informed society. This will necessitate the internal redefinition of these societies.

Recently there has been talk (and rightly so) of the big question marks (for me, positive ones) that the events in Poland have set before the communist movement. For a number of years, developing countries have likewise been searching for their own identity. This will undoubtedly become more intense in the 1980's.

All of this will engender two tendencies. First, these searches, based on certain concrete, material premises, will engender the need for greater concentration on internal problems, which may (but do not have to) work temporarily to eliminate mutual aggression. Obviously, things are not so good in this world that only one side of the coin should exist. By the end of this century, the ideas market will develop considerably, the plane of sharp competition in the ideological sphere will arise encompassing both the defense of old traditions and the search for new solutions in all groups of states. This may be translated (would it were not) into the language of ideological conflicts, political conflicts and, as a result, military conflicts. I cannot say which of these tendencies will win out--hopefully not the second one.

Janusz Stefanowicz: I would like to react as an outsider to what you economists have said. Do you not make material growth an absolute? Let me give two extreme examples--Zambia and Poland. Zambia, rich in raw materials, has had a great opportunity for development for several years. And this has happened, as you know. We know even better what has happened with Poland. It is a fact that despite all of the systems errors unsuccessful investments and the like, Poland today has an industrial base that is significantly greater than it was at the end of the 1960's. On the other hand, its position, both as subjectively felt by Polish society and in the estimation of the world, has dropped dramatically.

This same observation may be transferred to the question of trade situation. Operating only on the basis of an increase in cumulative production, material goods and technological progress proves to e a more and more deceptive measure. Systems questions, the method of management, the utilization of goods and the make-up and functioning of social and political relations are playing a greater and greater role in the process of development. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the more grain a country produced, the richer it was, Today, if the Katowice Iron and Steel Works produced twice as much steel as the entire metallurgical industry in Poland in the 1960's, the general consequences would still be negative.

When you gentlemen speak of the somewhat mechanical divergence between underdeveloped, medium- and highly-developed countries, are you not taking into consideration the purely material factor? Is this not contingent upon psychological and systemic factors?

Michal Dobroczynski: Wehn we speak of economic progress, we must always think of socioeconomic and comprehensive progesss. Econometric models cannot function in a void, divorced from social responses.

What sort of world is today's world? It differs in many respects from the world of the past. Thanks to economic and technical progress, we do not view the world from a position far to the rear, but we compare our own nation's situation with that of other societies, in particular those that are more highly developed. In addition, even every developing country has a pocket of the "good life." This agitates the society, forces it to step up activity, to make the indispensable adaptations, to have the indispensable flexibility and to imitate tried and tested models. Society's impatience is becoming unprecedentedly great.

Societies, regardless of the scale of their accomplishments, no longer have abstract goals in view, but extremely clearcut material models. These models are linked with two aspects of the management process: with the quantity and quality of consumption and with the quality of organization.

Franciszek Golemoski: This becomes apparent in the sphere of social awareness.

Janusz Stefanowicz: Is it possible to extrapolate mechanically the more or less uniform development of particular countries? To take Poland as an example, if someone had looked at Poland in 1973 from a purely materialistic viewpoint, he would have extrapolated that its place in 1983 would be that of the most highly developed socialist country.

Marek Okilski: I think that you are ascribing to the economists a far greater trivialization of developmental questions than they are guilty of. Not all economists overlook the qualitative aspects of economic phenomena. As for me, by economic power I understand not total potential, but management efficiency, the capacity to transform the internal structure and development. In terms of economic potential, India is certainly more powerful than Switzerland, but it is not efficient and it has not produced effective developmental mechanisms.

Bogumil Rychlowski: I believe that we should realize (and we all probably do realize) that the aspirations of particular societies of the modern world are very different.

Janusz Stefanowicz: But there is the tendency toward imitation.

Bogumil Rychlowski: I agree. And I think that one is right to emphasize that the basis of satisfaction of every society is the plenitude of material goods. Everyone aspires to achieve this abundance of material goods.

On the other hand, the universal trend toward revising the notion of progress as heretofore understood is puzzling. Recently, the movement linked with the

so-called quality of life has become more and more animated and more and more widespread. This movement, which aspires toward the attainment of a better quality of life, first appeared in the most highly developed countries, but it is beginning to appear in underdeveloped countries, and not only among those classes that already possess an abundance of material goods.

If we look at Iran, for example, did the rebellion that arose there called the Iranian revolution develop within the classes well supplied with an abundance of material goods? No. Has it swept over this population group? No.

Marek Okolski: It is not a question of the quality of life there, but of cultural origins, of identity.

Bogumil Rychlowski: This also enters into the scope of the quality of life. The notion of the quality of life is common to all peoples of the contemporary world, but it is understood differently by different peoples. For the aspiration toward a better quality of life is also manifested in highly developed countries; in the United States it is expressed in the happening or in the implementation of Rousseauean ideas. The aim toward a different quality of life also occurs in Iran, in China, but in various countries its content varies, and it is not alwasy tied in merely with an abundance of material goods.

Franciszek Golembski: It is linked with various conditions emanating from various scales of values.

Michal Dobroczynski: A certain coalescence of values systems takes place by means of mutual observation and partial imitation.

Bogumil Rychlowski: Of course we may assume that for the hundreds of millions of people who are starving, the issue of material goods is of basic significance.

Michal Dobroczynski: This phenomenon may also occur more strongly in other areas. For example, Japanese consumer tendencies are increasing, and there are distinct materialistic aspirations in evidence in the Chinese society.

Janusz Stefanowicz: I would like to make reference to a basic thesis propounded by our host: that the world is shifting to the left. I do not wish to dispute this idea, but I would like to develop this train of thought.

Bogumil Rychlowski: But what is a shift to the left? Does it mean greater egalitariansim, democratization or something else?

Janusz Stefanowicz: It is the friction of two planes, a little like in an automobile clutch. In the sense of objective socioeconomic processes one can agree with this, if by the words "to the left" we understand greater egalitariansim and the more widespread dissemination of basic, and not merely basic goods--not only strictly material goods but also cultural and consciousness-raising goods. This is simply human progress, regardless of its

scientific definition. And this is one target that faces a specific direction, whether we call it progress or a shift to the left.

However, there is a second target that over a fairly long period can reverse directions, causing friction. This is the target of social and political a awareness, set in place and manipulated by leaders.

It does not have to be the case that social circles that objectively steer toward the left in their material existence must adopt leftist concepts. On the contrary: it is possible to convince them that their achievements are meager because policy and ideology have become too preogressive, or that the use of conservative methods in economic and foreign policy can better lead to the attainment of egalitarian goals.

Michal Dobroczynski: I spoke of this. The official political direction does not have to be overspread with actual social transformations.

On the other hand, it is becoming more and more difficult everywhere to manipulate public opinion, not to speak of ignoring it. The fortunes of the European dictators--Portuguese, Spanish, Greek and others--are conclusive evidence of this. The 1980's will surely strengthen this tendency.

Janusz Stefanowicz: I believe that this shift in the superstructure to the right is now occurring in major centers of the Western world and is being maintained in major centers of the socialist world. Our August events demonstrate the antithetic movement of both targets. The social element wished to go to the left, but the machinery stops it.

Bogumil Rychlowski: The trend toward greater egalitarianism is not particular to today's world. Humanity has aspired to egalitarianism many times, and then has retreated. It seems to me that present trends are another attempt that likewise will necessitate a certain retreat and verification. I would say that in modern times the Chinese cultural revolution was such an attempt, and the most significant mass attempt.

Janusz Stefanowicz: And then the Iranian revolution.

Bogumil Rycholowski: The aspiration toward egalitarianism, and then the retreat, often following tremendous defeats. Humanity aims toward egalitarianism, and then the retreat, often following tremendous defeats. Humanity aims toward egalitarianism in a zigzag fashion, but it still does not have sufficient conditions to implement this aspiration in the dimension people would hope to implement it.

Janusz Stefanowicz: The example of China is an excellent illustration of my thesis. Mao Tse-tung did this within a tremendously conservative ideological framework. Those who now wish to lead China on the road of modern development are doing it within a framework that is more progressive than Maoism. This is the contrast of two planes of development.

What am I getting at? If we have two global tendencies: the global materialistic tendency and social evolution in the direction of greater

egalitarianism, progress and the conscious tendency, both of decisionmakers and a large part of society, toward conservatism--then what does this friction mean for international relations?

The answer is very simple: stagnation. In spite of all the hot spots, in spite of the situations existing in various parts of the world, the natural tendency of decisionmakers will be to preserve international structures in as static a condition as possible.

Michal Dobroczynski: The process moving in the direction of egalitarianism is likewise a process in the direction of democratization. This means an increase in social control over authority, over decisionmakers. This, in turn, means an increase in international security. For this reason, no aggressive decision that is isolated from social moods, or that is arbitrary or voluntaristic has much of a chance under these conditions. If we look at the history of the 20th century we see that every war and conflict has been the consequence of a lack of democracy. Democracy is contingent upon many socioeconomic conditions, it is true. On the other hand, we know no example of a country with an advanced state of democracy that unleashed a world conflict.

Janusz Stefanowicz: United States neutrality at the beginning of both world wars attests to the expediency of Editor Dobroczynski's thesis.

Michal Dobroczynski: Roosevelt had to exaggerate the losses at Pearl Harbor in order to initiate war. In any event, a fanatical group that is not subject to broad social control can engage in conflict considerably more easily. This is one reason that I am of the opinion that the 1980's, will not be a decade of extreme dangers, regardless of any sort of threats associated with the issues of social transformations, armaments, developmental inequalities, an average or an unfavorable trade situation, a food shortage or other sources of tension. This decade should not see a conflict that would embroil the world, shattering civilization's accomplishments. There will be problems, but the developed societies of the East and West will not lose control over events. And the world will again gain experience, wisdom and clairvoyance. New elements of the sought-after mechanism for relieving political, economic and social tensions will appear. However, some sources of frustration will undoubtedly increase.

8536
CSO: 2600/546

BRIEFS

'RADIO SOLIDARITY'S' FOURTH BROADCAST--Warsaw, 9 May (AFP)--The fourth broadcast of the pirate station Radio Solidarity was picked up for about one minute tonight by foreign press agencies based in central Warsaw. A woman announcer called for a 15-minute strike for 13 May and asked listeners to stop whatever they would be doing at noon on that day and remain motionless in place. Her voice was then drowned out by the sound of rhythmic music. Radio Solidarity first broadcast on 12 April, for 8 minutes without jamming. Its second broadcast on 30 April lasted a few minutes but was barely audible. Its 3 May broadcast was drowned out by a music program. It has since scheduled broadcasts for 2100 local time Sunday nights. [Text] [NC092030 Paris AFP in English 2021 GMT 9 May 82]

CSO: 2020/45

ALLEGED 'MISTREATMENT' OF CLERGY, BELIEVERS DENIED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Apr 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Ilie Tanasache]

[Text] We are talking with a man who, according to the American daily newspaper NEW YORK TIMES (of 17 February 1982) was "tortured and kept in chains, hands and feet" by "Romanian police." What was his guilt? According to the same source, "the torture" occurred because of his protest against -- neither more nor less! -- "the religious persecutions in this country." Moreover, for the purpose of lending more authenticity to the too thin allegations, the above-mentioned newspaper also carried the picture of the "mistreated man," and as a supplement to softhearted people, also the picture of his wife.

It is not the first, nor is it the last bag of fabrications being ground in the rotary presses of anglers in troubled waters -- who take their wishes as reality! But let us present to the readers the case of the "victim that survived in the jail." His name is Ioan Teodosiu, he is a cabinet-maker by trade and 28 years old. He was born in Baia de Aries Commune, Alba County. He worked for "Napochim" and "Libertatea" enterprises in Cluj-Napoca. He comes from a family of miners and has six brothers and sisters: Lidia, homemaker, Beniamin, electronics engineer, Iosif, mechanic, Maria, textile worker, David and Vasile, students at the Cluj-Napoca Faculty of Mechanics. The entire family -- and the wife's family -- belong to the Baptist faith. (One of the 14 denominations recognized and protected by the laws of our state). "I have worshipped in this faith," Ioan Teodosiu unquestionably states, " without my having been ever hampered or the community's having any throuble from the authorities."

Is it not clear as daylight? Nevertheless, what does the newspaper that sheds crocodile tears for Ioan Teodosiu want to say? We ask the "mistreated man:"

Tell us how did you endure.... the tortures which were trumpeted abroad?

His wife Ligia, present at the discussion which we had in Sighisoara on 10 March 1982, was quick to reply:

My husband told me that not even the voice was pitched higher at him.

[Question] You were kept for several weeks by the state organs. Why were you under investigation?

[Answer] For transmission of information that was used in the propaganda against our country.

It is an unequivocal answer. We will have the opportunity to dwell in following passages on the nature and authenticity of this information, on alleged persecutions of believers. However, here there is the need for a parenthesis. For many years Ioan Teodosiu was in a very close relationship with a man named Radu Capusan of Cluj-Napoca. The latter, also, was a member of the Baptist community, affected by persecution mania. So deeply ingrained in his mind was this fixed idea that, against evidences, even against his own precepts advocated by the faith which he embraced and which require him not to lie, he was profusely inventing cases of religious persecution which he transmitted to "Free Europe" or to "Christian Solidarity International" (an international Christian organization with headquarters in Zurich). "Institutions" which in this way achieve their rate of hostile propaganda against our country. Normally and naturally, Capusan was cautioned that his activity comes under the Penal Code and cannot be tolerated. Implacable in his sick reasoning, of course the person involved assessed the call to reality again as an act of.... religious persecution and asked to go to the United States of America. And in December 1980 he left this country.

Once Capusan was gone, the freshly "anointed" in his place in the imaginary post of defender of persecuted believers -- namely Ioan Teodosiu -- is simply bombarded with telephone calls from "Free Europe", by his friend who had chosen "freedom," messengers are sent to him, he is asked for telephone interviews (through Capusan, who also acts as the translator of the interviewee's statements!), he is assured that his activity is most highly appreciated in upper circles abroad. One more thing before ending this parenthesis: the "defenders of religious freedom and the liberty of conscience" take a good many liberties, their interest easily goes beyond religious concerns, the sign at the gate being for credulous people, novices like Ioan Teodosiu. Otherwise, how can one explain that he is also asked for information on "what are intellectuals in Romania thinking and how are they doing," "how does the people assess the events in Poland," on the temporary difficulties reported in one or another area. So that even a naive can justly ask himself: "What connection is there between this and the Baptist faith or with the faith of any other religious denomination?" It is clear that the "advocates of the liberty of conscience," used, not guided by conscience, even more, unscrupulously!, the screen of the so-called religious persecutions for much more lay, more practical purposes. But let us act as if we do not know what the proposition involves and let us see what were the facts used in the "mission" of revealing the persecution of believers of all kinds....

In a broadcast of 11 October 1981, based on information also supplied by Ioan Teodosiu, "Free Europe" foamed with rage about the abusive measure of Romanian authorities to relieve five Orthodox priests of their duties. The broadcasts of 8 and 22 November again comment, with impudence and venom, on the "dramatic situation" of the five priests. The reality: Viorel Dumitrescu, one of the "persecuted" persons, a former priest in the Visag parish, Lugoj archpriest district, is dismissed by the parish consistory because: 1. He divorced without the approval of his clerical hierarchs; 2. He contracted a second marriage, contrary to church decrees; 3. His second wife gives birth only 2 months and 6 days after the marriage was contracted.... Another case: Ioan Vinchici, former priest at Paniova, Timis County, was relieved of his duties by the parochial consistory because he divorced his first

wife and committed adultery. Another case: Liviu Negoita, former priest in the Maureni parish, was dismissed by the same consistory for "negligence and disobedience in terms of fulfilling church duties." No need for us to also dwell on the reasons for the "dismissal" (in the version of "Free Europe") of Ambrus Emeric Cernat, of Timis County and Cornel Avramescu, of Hunedoara County, who are members of the clergy and function unhampered in their parishes. However, there is the need for the question: Where is the persecution by the state authorities that, it is known, did not have any involvement, whatsoever, in the assessment of facts such as those mentioned above? After all, the ethical conduct of one or another religious servant is his personal matter, the matter of persons in the hierarchy of the faith involved. It is not the county, town or commune that handle the disputes that occur in this area. Surely, "Free Europe" will not take its impudence as far as to request the intervention of local power in returning to service priests dismissed for violations of ethics! For, this really would start interference in the affairs of religious denominations!....

In his telephone interview on 14 December to an American correspondent, through Radu Capusan, Ioan Teodosiu stated, neither more nor less: "Just last night I received the news from the Falticeni church -- which was amply fined -- that the state organs built a wall through its center to divide it, stating that it was too large." Is it not a scandalous and unprecedented case of religious persecution? Good food for the "knights of justice!" All appears without a crack. The information was given as a last-minute news item, reported the previous night. In that case, can one doubt it?

But let us see what the facts tell. Hence: On 11 April 1974, Victor Croitoru, of Falticeni, requested an authorization for repairing and enlarging his home. The reason: his family consists of seven people and the two rooms, the hall and kitchen are not sufficient. Only 13 days later he received the approval, with the instruction, according to the law, on exactly abiding by the plan. However, Victor Croitoru requested one thing and acted differently: instead of quarters for his large family he proceeded to build a prayerhouse, for 200 worshippers, destined for the members of the Baptist faith. Failure to comply with the building authorization, of course, involves the fine prescribed by law. Also, two court decisions were issued under which the accused Victor Croitoru was required, at his own expense, to demolish the new building, that had nothing in common with the dwelling he wanted to build for the seven persons. Moreover: In October 1980, a delegation of the Union of Christian Baptist Communities that came to the scene "assessed as legal the measures taken by authorities and as illegal the deeds of Victor Croitoru, (the delegation, the author's note) pledging to advise Croitoru to comply with the provisions of the building authorization issued."

Someone stated that "shame dwindles as sin grows." That is how individuals who claim to have been "raised in the fear of the Lord" carry sins galore and not a grain of shame, since they so impudently falsify reality, since they do their utmost to sully it in the mud which is to the liking of their commanditaires. But because no lie, no matter how well it has been concocted, dies of old age, this one, also, did not survive the test of truth.

On 11 Octobe 1981, the same "Free Europe" built -- based on information requested from Ioan Teodosiu -- a violent commentary on the case of Valea Grosilor (a locality near Dej) where the authorities had allegedly disrupted the meeting, trying to remove the

The reality reported under signature by the very pastor of the parishioners of the above-mentioned location: "Regarding the broadcast of "Free Europe," I indicate that the statements are not true but they are slanders against the state authorities, with which I did not have any disagreement. As the pastor of this church for many years, I state that I do not know of the state organs ever having disrupted the religious activity of the Pentecostal faith in any church in this area."

And to conclude this series of undoubtable proofs of the "truths" used in the hostile activity into which, willingly or unwillingly, still various people are sometimes drawn, let us point out only one fact: based on a report supplied also by Ioan Teodosiu, in 1981 "Free Europe" raised a big fuss about occurrences in Badeuti Village, Suceava County. In that village, allegedly, the children of Baptist Ion Lucescu were persecuted, twice consecutively remaining for the second year in the same grade, though they proved to be very good students. Allegedly, the teachers had set the condition for the parents to renounce Baptism if they wanted their children to complete the grade.

The reality investigated at the Badeuti school: 1. The persecuted man (according to "Free Europe") Ion Lucescu is 80 years old; 2. His children, of school age (according to "Free Europe") are between.... 40 and 60 years of age; 3. In the last years, that school never had any case of a pupil's failure to get his remove; 4. Regarding the two abusive teachers (according to "Free Europe") the following can be stated: Gheorghe Gireada ceased teaching at the above school almost 20 years back and Eleonora Varvaroi retired 8 years ago!

In essence, these are the kind of "facts" being used by hostile propaganda against our country in regard to an alleged persecution of various believers or religious communities.

In our discussion in Sighisoara I asked Ioan Teodosiu to assess his deeds himself:

[Question] Do the religious precepts of the faith to which you belong teach you to lie?

[Answer] No, they do not teach us such a thing.

[Question] Well?

[Answer] I express my regret over the activity conducted and the manner in which those abroad used the information which I supplied....

Ioan Teodosiu, also, knows well that regret only does not always remove the blemish caused -- willingly or unwillingly. Moreover, Ioan Teodosiu, faced with the truth, has learned that for a while he was in the tow of some individuals paid to disparage the country, the realities in Romania, even more, to artificially create tension -- individuals summoned at various committees and subcommittees that do nothing else than meddling into the internal affairs of others. "I know that Radu Capusan -- Ioan Teodosiu now states under signature -- "is not hired somewhere in America. However I realized that he has money enough. (He even spoke for half an hour on phone calls with Teodosiu, with paying the bill over there, in America. It would be interesting to know with what money if he does not work anywhere? author's note). He also told me that he visited many states and towns in the U.S. and now has settled

Los Angeles. I believe that he profits from all these things as a result of the activity which I conducted in terms of the information which I supplied to him and which he used as a means of propaganda against our country." These are the perfectly legal reasons -- everyone has the right to set one's house in order, in the spirit of the laws that protect all the citizens, which must be followed by all the citizens! -- for which Ioan Teodosiu was warned, investigated. He himself testifies that for all these he was not "tortured and kept in chains, hands and feet" by the "Romanian police." Moreover, he realizes that he has benefitted from the clemency of our state, whose laws are pervaded by humanism, they try to turn the individual away from the crooked path, urging him to have a dignified, honest comportment, of work and life. Moreover, Ioan Teodosiu expressed his "satisfaction with the Romanian authorities that proved considerable clemency although I violated the country's laws." A participant, willingly or unwillingly, in the campaign to discredit our country, where allegedly "unqualifiable persecutions of believers" are occurring, Ioan Teodosiu has the opportunity, in the middle of his family where he is, to look back at the harm committed, to turn his back on the slanders for which he, too, was a spokesman, to completely sever his relations with the gross profiteers who wanted to create the illusion for him that he represented "a new Messiah for the defense of the liberty of conscience against any interference." Interferences, which, it was fully proved, were only revolting fabrications.

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BILANDZIC QUESTIONS INCREASED NUMBER OF 'YUGOSLAVS'

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 May 82 SEDAM DANA Supplement pp 6-7

[Interview with Dr Dusan Bilandzic, member of the LC Croatia Central Committee and full professor at the School of Political Sciences of Zagreb University, by Salih Zvizdic: "High Tide of People Declaring Themselves To Be Yugoslavs"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Only now that the Kosovo Provincial Bureau of Statistics has a few days ago published the results of the census in that province is it possible to furnish the most precise analysis of the census data concerning demographic developments in Yugoslavia. Among the most interesting changes shown by last year's national population census, the fifth since the war, certainly includes the sizable growth of the number of citizens declaring themselves on the census sheet to be Yugoslavs.

In the third postwar census in 1961, when that possibility was introduced for the first time on the census sheets, 317,124 persons declared themselves to be Yugoslavs. Ten years later, in 1971, there were 273,077 of them on census sheets. Last year, as of 31 March, there were all of 1,216,463 Yugoslavs, or 4.5-fold more than in the previous census.

We asked Vladimir Novak, counselor in the Croatian Republic Bureau for Statistics, to explain briefly how censustakers last year entered the self-declared Yugoslavs on the census sheet?

"Every citizen can take advantage of his constitutional right to declare that he belongs to a particular nationality or ethnic minority, but also the right not to make such a declaration, and in this latter case the censustaker records this answer in the box marked "Did not declare nationality." If a citizen wanted to be entered as a "Yugoslav," the censustaker was required to enter this in the box marked "Did not declare nationality," which means that the individual thereby did not declare which nationality or ethnic minority he belonged to. All inhabitants who did not make that declaration were classified in three subgroups on the basis of these answers: The first consisted of those who did not commit themselves at all in this respect, the second those who declared themselves to be Yugoslavs, and the third who made a declaration on a regional basis (Slavonia, Sumadija, Bosanska Krajina, etc.).

We are publishing an author-edited interview with Dr Dusan Bilandzic, member of the LC Croatia Central Committee and full professor in the School of Political Sciences at Zagreb University, on this demographic phenomenon which is of equal interest to the general public and also to scholars.

[Question] How do you interpret the statistical data on the increase in the number of people declaring themselves to be Yugoslavs in the last population census? And this demographic phenomenon in general?

The Powerlessness of Pure Statistics

[Answer] Pure statistics cannot reveal as they are now presented all the elements of the phenomenon whereby people declare themselves to be Yugoslavs in the ethnic sense. One can frame more or less accurate hypotheses in this respect, but reliable conclusions cannot be drawn. Although we are a markedly multinational community, we unfortunately do not have a single scientific institute that would follow the development of interethnic relations in Yugoslavia. If analyses with any precision are to be furnished concerning the phenomenon of Yugoslavianism, we would have to have a number of additional pieces of information about the people who made that kind of declaration: their previous nationality, political allegiance (member of the League of Communists or not), age group, education, occupation, place of employment and residence, the nationality their ancestors belonged to (parents, for example), and some other things as well.

[Question] But that kind of data can be gathered right from the census sheets.

[Answer] It could, but we do not have it. That is a job which would take quite a bit of work. To illustrate I will give certain census results on Croats in Vojvodina. In 1971 there were about 140,000 of them there, and last year about 110,000. Where did those 30,000 or so people go, that fourth of the population of Croats who were there 10 years ago? Only a complicated analysis could give a reliable answer to that. Certainly I have taken Vojvodina only as an example, but there are quite a few cases of similar uncertainties.

[Question] Recently in an unstructured conversation you mentioned an interesting example in this respect which had been related to you by a colleague at the university.

[Answer] Yes. That is, my colleague Ivan Siber, professor of social psychology, by pure accident recently had three students in an examination who declared themselves to be Yugoslavs in the census. As a man who is professionally concerned with these matters, he asked them to explain to him what led them to do that. The first was a Moslem and said that as a baby in the war he had lost his parents, who had been killed by members of the counterrevolution. He added that this revolution, this country, had taken him up in place of his father and mother, and he had therefore chosen to be a Yugoslav. The second was an authentic Croat from the suburbs of Zagreb who said of himself that he had a Serbian wife and children who had declared themselves to be Yugoslavs, and so as to not break ties with his children, he had opted to be a Yugoslav.

The third was a Serb from Croatia who said of himself that he had given up religion, that he lived in Croatia, that his culture was Croatian, so that it seemed to him most natural to be a Yugoslav.

[Question] Certainly there would be no point in drawing a generalization from that.

[Answer] Absolutely not, there is no question of a generalization! Were one to generalize on the basis of this example, hundreds of thousands of Serbs in Croatia would have good reason to be angry, as would the Croats and Moslems. I mention this only as an illustration of how various emotional elements can affect such choices, elements such as mixed marriages, children, religion; a whole series of emotional ingredients, but also other motives all the way to careerism. Pressure cannot and dare not be put on people in this respect. Fascism and Nazism used atrocities in carrying out their theory of the pure race, and on our own soil the Ustashi and Chetniks also wanted to achieve ethnic purity not only by the rough methods of assimilation, but also by genocide.

The Illusion of a Yugoslav Nationality

[Question] The size of the most numerous nationalities, Serbs and Croats, has dropped from the 1971 Census, and there has been a sizable increase in the number of Yugoslavs. It is interesting that in absolute numbers the largest number of Yugoslavs is in Croatia, where they comprise 8.24 percent of the total population. In Bosnia-Hercegovina they make up 7.91 percent of the total population, and in Vojvodina 8.13 percent. At the same time they comprise 1.39 percent of the population in Slovenia, 0.74 percent in Macedonia, and only 0.2 percent in Kosovo. As though the republics and provinces with a mixed population are "producing" the largest number of Yugoslavs.

[Answer] There is something here which might be called the phenomenon of the "minority nationality." The Croats, say, are a minority nationality in Serbia, including the provinces, and that is true of the Serbs in Croatia. It is a question, then, of a nationality which is in numerical terms a minority in some numerically stronger ethnic community. Such a minority group, regardless of whether it is a nationality or ethnic minority, often seeks its own identification by suppressing what makes it different from the majority nationality and wishes to identify itself with the broader and more global community, cohesive traits are sought, and in this search refuge is taken in the identity of the broader and more global social community. And the broader, more global social community is Yugoslavia, but put the phrase "more global" in quotes.

[Question] Why in quotes?

[Answer] Because the nationality is the global social community to which all the rights of an entire society belong. In an ethnic sense Yugoslavia is not a more global social community than the republic, since the nationality constitutes the global community, and Yugoslavia is their joint state. They seek identification with that kind of community in the belief that it guarantees them a more stable future.

[Question] This suggests the conclusion that they are attempting to take refuge in some future Yugoslav nationality.

[Answer] In the case of those who have decided to be Yugoslavs in the hope that in the near or distant future a Yugoslav nationality would come into being, then it should be said that our entire history offers evidence that this is a mere illusion. There is absolutely no possibility whatsoever of creating a Yugoslav nationality.

[Question] Opinions have been expressed among us, mainly launched by the unitarists, that the nationalities of Yugoslavia are in some way seminationalities.

[Answer] Yes, that is well known, just as one is well aware why such opinions have been launched. In connection with enactment of the amendments to reform the Federation, Kardelj came out sharply against the unitarists and people like them who have been launching the opinion that our nationalities are incomplete, that they are seminationalities, peasant nationalities, and accordingly there is not sufficient basis for forming the position of the republics as states and self-governing communities, which was initiated by the LCY in the amendments. Kardelj said at that time, I am not quoting him, but giving the gist of what he said, that the historical process of shaping the nationalities in Yugoslavia had been completed, that these are today modern nationalities, that there is no difference whatsoever between our nationalities and certain others. This leads to the altogether logical conclusion that the very process of formation of the nationalities is definitively completed. It is nonsense to imagine some new nationality, the Yugoslav nationality.

Against the Nationality and Republics

[Question] There were also individuals among the leaders who wanted to eliminate the nationalities along with the republics.

[Answer] There actually was a notion in certain heads that in the very first phase of socialist Yugoslavia's political and economic structuring that the capitalist historical creations, for example, commodity production and the nationalities, should be eliminated as part of doing away with the bourgeois legacy. That role was to be assumed and performed by the centralized state.

[Question] Can you identify that period more closely?

[Answer] We even had a postwar party congress, the seventh in 1958, at which several delegates proposed formation of a Yugoslav nationality and doing away with the republics. This was an expression of the notion that the state is the principal force in the development of socialism and that the state should among other things also guarantee the withering away of nationalities, and in that process Yugoslavianism would be a bridge in achieving this within the context of that kind of centralized state.

[Question] What sort of response was there to these speeches in the congress?

[Answer] Except for one Slovenian delegate who opposed this view of the nationalities and the republics, there was no response whatsoever to those speeches in the rest of the congress. It was simply that no one took it seriously.

Declared Yugoslavs in the Repbulics and Provinces (rounded off to the nearest thousand)

Region	1971	1981	Share in Total Population in 1981, %	Factor of Increase Over 1971 Census
Bosnia-Hercegovina	44	326	7.91	7.4
Montenegro	11	31	5.35	2.8
Croatia	84	379	8.24	4.5
Macedonia	4	14	0.74	3.5
Slovenia	7	26	1.39	3.7
Serbia proper	76	271	4.77	3.6
Kosovo	1	3	0.20	3.0
Vojvodina	47	167	8.13	3.5
Yugoslavia	247	1,217	5.42	4.3

[Question] At the Eighth LCY Congress in Belgrade there was a quite vocal debate of this issue.

[Answer] Yes, at that time, in 1964, Tito, Kardelj and Vlahovic had very sharply criticized the attempt to negate the nationalities and in general the distorted conception of the role of the state. At that time Tito was to say (I quote): "... There are those who feel that in our socialist social development the nationalities have already lived beyond their time and should die off, which smacks a bit of assimilation and bureaucratic centralization, of unitarianism and dogmatism ... and insofar as there are such people in the League of Communists, there is no place for them in our League, since they are harmful...." Arguing against the unitarian position, Veljko Vlahovic stressed at the same congress: "... The conception that ethnic differences will vanish in Yugoslavia after the triumph of the revolution is not only scientifically untenable, but is a disguise for bureaucratic, unitarist and hegemonistic tendencies...."

[Question] In speaking about the motives which lead people to declare themselves to be Yugoslavs, you mentioned among the causes of this phenomenon that there is also certain criticism of the policy and influence of the LCY. What sort of criticism do you mean?

[Answer] There are, you see, ambivalent reactions here. It is well known that over the last 15 years or so the national factor has been strongly affirmed in our society and the republics and provinces have won full affirmation, which is certainly the result of the policy of the LCY. However, some people sincerely believe that the strong affirmation of the republics and provinces is leading toward a shattering of community consensus, and the salvation they propose is to erase the nationality and to enter in some community model of theirs. Some people think that by declaring themselves in favor of

the Yugoslav nationality they are achieving a hidden identification with party policy, that in this way they are expressing their progressivism, as though the party for certain tactical reasons will not say so, but that is actually what it desires. Some people can also see this as their way of criticizing the LCY policy of affirming the nationalities, the republics and the provinces. They are thus undermining the real community consensus, though in their minds this appears to be a strengthening of community consensus.

[Question] What do you think, how many declared Yugoslavs are there who think that way?

[Answer] I think that this is a sizable group, one which deep down is inclined to unitarianism, since it conceived socialism to be a global society with a highly centralized system. It would be extremely important to obtain figures from research into this phenomenon on how many of these declared Yugoslavs there are in the government from the opstina to the Federation, how many political figures there are among them, how many educated people. This is extremely important, since it is certain that some people who are pushing their Yugoslavianism are also pursuing some personal advantage of their own. Moreover, there is also here the desire to return to some old identity.

[Question] What sort of identity?

[Answer] Well, I am referring, say, to the idea of Yugoslavianism dating back to the Illyrian movement. Or, on the other hand, let us look at certain Dalmatians, in whom there is a note of unitarianism because in fleeing from Italianization they sought a point of support in the interior, and that interior was Croatia, Yugoslavia. Certainly there are quite a few examples, though I stress that these are all suppositions.

The Principle of Choice as a Human Right

[Question] Do you happen to know what in general led to the idea of introducing the possibility of declaring oneself to be a Yugoslav in the population census?

[Answer] I do not know what led people to decide that, but it was most probably a question of the democratic principle that it was a man's human right to say what he pleases about his commitment. In any case, this kind of declaration with respect to nationality cannot withstand scientific criticism. It would be interesting, say, to learn how many such Yugoslavs really think that they are creating a nationality or have already done so. It is hard for me to believe that there are those who think that they are thereby taking a step toward creation of a new Yugoslav nationality, although many of them do think that they are thereby doing a service to our community consensus.

[Question] At the conference of the League of Communists of Belgrade in April 1967 Tito said in speaking about the nationality: "... If our young people want to declare themselves merely to be Yugoslavs, I support them in the idea that this is not a question of some new ethnic feeling, but of a feeling of belonging to our socialist community. On several occasions I have said that

everyone can be what he feels himself to be and that no one has the right to impose any national allegiance on him if he feels himself to be only a citizen of Yugoslavia."

[Answer] You know, Tito was the leader of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia who have committed themselves to living in one state in which the sovereignty belongs to the republics and, as Bakaric says, "the Federation is what the republics agree on." Tito was an exceptional figure whose overall positions in society were such that it was normal for him to speak that way. Accordingly, notwithstanding that Comrade Tito said that to young people, we should be aware that in his entire being and struggle he proved that he was the most consistent in resolving the nationality question in Yugoslavia. I can quote to you what Tito wrote in 1942 in PROLETER, it seems to me it was in Bihac. In that article Tito wrote among other things: "... The phrase 'national liberation struggle' would be just words and even a deception if aside from the general Yugoslav meaning it did not also have its ethnic meaning for each nationality separately, i.e., if aside from the struggle to liberate Yugoslavia, it did not at the same time signify the struggle to liberate the Croats, the Serbs, the Slovenes, the Macedonians, the Skipetars, the Moslems, and so on."

Centralists and Federalists

[Question] Can we assume that the pronounced advocates of bureaucratic centralism in our country may also be pronounced propagators of the Yugoslav nationality?

[Answer] Throughout Yugoslavia's entire postwar period, sometimes more, sometimes less, there has always existed and does now exist a conflict between what I might call the centralists and the federalists. Back in 1957 Kardelj said in his preface to a second edition of his book on development of the Slovenian nationality question: "... On the basis of bureaucratic-centralistic tendencies there also emerge here and there attempts to affirm the old chauvinistic integral Yugoslavianism as well as tendencies to negate the nationalities that exist in order to affirm some new Yugoslav nationality...." Kardelj later called upon the socialist forces to resist the tendencies of hegemony based on the big state and its ideological manifestations with the same determination with which the manifestations of bourgeois nationalism also have to be fought.

[Question] Does that mean that the high tide of declared Yugoslavs may be interpreted as a way as a hindrance to our society's development and in particular to the further affirmation of the nationalities and degovernmentalization?

[Answer] None of these people wants to accept the charge of tearing down society, but every one would be angered by such a charge. I am persuaded that many people do honestly feel this commitment of theirs. On the other hand, there are many people who hold that every affirmation of Yugoslavianism in an ethnic sense is harmful, since this is a way of creating a supernationality by ignoring the nationalities as a good umbrella for those who preach centralism and hegemony. This is the same line of thought on which the opinion arose

that the republics were superfluous to the socialist system, since the state needed only the organization of the Federation, the opstinas and associated labor.

[Question] Do such opinions exist even now?

[Answer] They do, I am aware of them, but it would not be proper to name names here.

[Question] Between 1960 and 1967 you worked as secretary of the Central Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions.

[Answer] Yes. Precisely there in the organization of the trade union center they honored only three levels of social organization, and that the Federation as the point at which the system of social relations is built, the commune as the point at which the common interests are reconciled and realized, and work organizations in which workers' self-management is explored, guided and achieved. In our reflections there was no place for exploring the role of the republics even in the organizational structure of the staff and bodies of the trade unions.

[Question] Finally, how do you interpret the phenomenon of the growth in the number of declared Yugoslavs?

[Answer] I think that the phenomenon of Yugoslavianism in the ethnic sense, especially this sudden growth, indicates that something is not right in society, since otherwise it is not a normal social phenomenon, it cannot be placed in any pure Marxist category. Nor can it in general be dealt with in theoretical terms. Among other things, it is extremely complicated, since it contains an echo of our entire historical development. We know what sort of apocalypses we experienced in fratricidal warfare, we know our bad experiences of the past, prewar and postwar. Among the declared Yugoslavs there are also those who are obsessed by fears, since some are afraid of serious new conflicts, others fear for the future of our community consensus, and still others resolve their own emotional or certain other problems in that way. We should nevertheless say that in essence it is a question of distorting the concept of the nationality as a factor in building our real community consensus.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2021

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10 June 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2021

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HOFFMAN PRESENTS CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS REPORT

Prague PRACE in Czech 16 Apr 82 Supplement pp 3-31

[Report of the Central Council of Trade Unions on Activities Since the Ninth All-Union Congress and on ROH Objectives in the Upcoming Period of the Building of a Mature Socialist Society; presented by Comrade Karel Hoffman, Central Council of Trade Unions chairman; date and place not given]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates, and dear guests:

Five years have passed since the last congress. As provided in the bylaws, the Central Council of Trade Unions [URO] is now appearing before the 10th All-Union Congress respectfully to report on work that has been performed and to propose guidelines for union activity in the upcoming period.

In the course of these 5 years, we have progressed significantly in the building of a developed socialist society in our country, under the leadership of the CPCZ and in fraternal unity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

While the capitalist world has seen a further intensification of a general crisis, with inflation increasing and unemployment approaching 30 million, in socialist Czechoslovakia we have achieved further progress, continued the development of the national economy and increased the living standards of our workers, despite the difficulties which we have had, and will have to overcome.

Unfavorable external circumstances have seriously complicated our efforts. This is a matter mainly of an increasingly tense international situation and the appearance of discriminatory imperialist policies against the countries of the socialist community. Export, import, and credit possibilities have worsened, competition has increased on world markets and the prices of raw materials, energy, and foodstuffs have risen sharply. The new situation was analyzed in detail by the 16th CPCZ Congress and attention was called to the fact that the economic sphere was not fully prepared to cope with this type of problem and obstacles. Planning activities did not keep pace with the changes. There was a lack of success in asserting the requisite turnaround in the implementation of the long-range strategic line directed at an increase in production efficiency, at maximum frugality and the quality of all kinds of work, at an increase in the efficiency and implementation rate of capital investment and at the practical application of science and technology.

For all of these reasons, we did not achieve the planned growth rate of the national income. We had to moderate certain objectives of the social program and back off from others, and we were even forced to introduce modified retail prices. Nevertheless, we succeeded, basically, in fulfilling the social program of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Social consumption and the average worker wage increased, and their social certainty increased. The educational system, science and culture developed further, and the educational level of the population also increased. Social democracy intensified, worker participation increased in production management and in the administration of public affairs. The process of the economic and cultural integration of our peoples and nationalities on the basis of equality and mutual trust progressed.

In the time since the Ninth All-Union Congress, the ROH [Resolutionary Trade Union Movement] has played an active role in the development of a socialist society. It decisively supported the objectives of the 15th CPCZ Congress and worked out its own program on this basis. It focused the multilateral activity of union organs and organizations on the fulfillment of this program. We have still more firmly cemented together the million-strong rangs of unionists and united them around the CPCZ.

On the path of historical revolutionary changes, our people have convinced themselves that the essence of socialism is concern for the welfare of the working man. They have learned that in the contemporary world the only way to achieve this objective is through the intensive development of the national economy, increased production efficiency, high quality of all kinds of work and strict frugality. For this reason, the workers adopted the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress as the only possible point of departure, as a binding policy which it is necessary to realize thoroughly in order to maintain the standard of living which has been achieved, and so that it will be possible to develop this further, while at the same time strengthening the social certainties of the people.

The demanding program for the further building of a developed socialist society which was adopted by the 16th CPCZ Congress presents our congress with an important task. The ROH, as a significant factor in the assertion of society-wide interests, of the justifiable needs and responsibilities of the workers, has been called upon to contribute its enthusiastic part to these building efforts, to play a still more important role in further social progress and even more responsibly to fulfill its irreplaceable mission.

Seven months of political and organizational preparation, of extensive precongress activity, created good preconditions for our discussions and for additional activities after the congress. The results of 5 years of work were evaluated in a productively critical and self-critical atmosphere at annual member meetings, enterprise, union and all-union conferences, at the Czech and Slovak ROH Congresses as well as at nationwide trade union congresses, and valuable suggestions and proposals were presented.

Workers, members of the intelligentsia and other employees evaluated, as actual managers, the results of political, economic, social and cultural development and the reasons for the shortcomings which have so far prevented a more

significant turnaround to intensive economic development and a more comprehensive improvement of working conditions and life for the working person. The meetings of unionists resounded with resolutions to work honorably and to implement thoroughly the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress even in this new, more difficult situation. The entire process of congress preparation, reinforced by the development of labor initiative, once again demonstrated that workers see in the CPCZ policy the best prospects for their lives, the guarantee of their social certainties.

Comrades, the social development outlined by the 16th CPCZ Congress is a continuation of the path along which the party has led the working class and other workers to victory over exploiters, to social liberation and the building of a new life. In this regard we recall the Red Unions, which came into being 60 years ago as firm supporters of the Communist Party. We continue today to develop their revolutionary legacy. The union of the working class and other workers found its expression in 1945 in a unified union movement. This unity belongs among the greatest historical achievements of the Czechoslovak people and had to be fought for, as in other countries, against attempts at sabotage by class enemies and opportunists.

We are well aware that ROH unity and its rich activity can develop further only on the basis of the thorough implementation of CPCZ policy, which fully corresponds to the fundamental interests of the workers of our country.

As documented in detailed written information and in a summary report, we have developed, between the 9th and 10th all-union congresses, consistent efforts at intensifying the comprehensive, balanced fulfillment of basic union functions in accordance with the Leninist concept of the role of unions in the building of a mature socialist society. We have responded to the difficulty and complexity of tasks by stepping up the activity of the basic union organizations and their members, by improving the efficiency of union organs, by exerting a positive influence on all aspects of the working person's life.

We can announce, and this was shown also by the annual member meetings, conferences and congresses, that the objectives set down by the Ninth All-Union Congress by and large have been successfully fulfilled.

Credit for this belongs to the concentrated efforts of union organs, to the dedicated work of the functionary corps of almost 2 million people, and to the great majority of members of our immense organization. To all of them belongs recognition and our sincerest thanks!

The results which have been achieved provide us with still greater possibilities for sharing in the implementation of party policy, for efficiently representing the interests and expressing the needs of workers. We are not denying that there are still many weak points, shortcomings and problems in union work. Some of these tenaciously persist after many years. The precongress preparation again called our attention to them. We must continue in the future to engage them in a decisive struggle and to do everything so that the union movement, which is today stronger, more unified and capable of action, holds its own in these new, more demanding conditions. For the eighties we can set

higher objectives for ourselves and participate, with still greater initiative and more decisively, in the resolution of the societywide tasks established by the party program.

In the report of the Central Committee at the 16th CPCZ Congress, as delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak, it is written "...society expects that the unions will further expand their initiative-taking role and responsibility for joint decisionmaking concerning, and the assurance of, the socioeconomic development of society."

We announce with all responsibility: We will not disappoint this expectation! The ROH accepts the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress as the firm foundation for its own program of activities. It will energetically implement this program, because it wishes to serve, and will do so honorably and consistently, the interests of the working class and of all workers.

We are utilizing fully the accumulated experiences and internal energy of our organization in the interest of the workers, to master successfully the tasks and problems of the contemporary development of socialist society, and to win over millions of unionists to the cause of their implementation.

The objective on which we will focus all of our efforts in the upcoming years may be described as follows: To develop broadly the role and joint responsibility of the ROH for the further development of socialist society, to intensify significantly the active participation of unions in the implementation of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

The achievement of this objective requires that we base our actions in the upcoming period still more consistently on long-standing, proven values and principles, which express and assure the important societywide role and revolutionary mission of socialist unions. We shall base our efforts on historical experience and revolutionary tradition. We will make use of everything which has enriched union activity over past decades and that life has shown to be proper and successful. We will still more decisively strengthen and defend union unity! We will still more firmly fuse the ranks of unionists under the leadership of the CPCZ!

I. Intensification of the Joint Responsibility of Unions for Realizing CPCZ Policy, for Strengthening the Power of the Working Class, for Developing the Political System of Socialism and Increasing the Role of the ROH in Society

Comrades, the more complex external and internal conditions become, the more difficult the tasks we fulfill, then the more responsible is the task of the ROH. If we are to cope successfully with all these tasks in all aspects of social life, then it is essential to mobilize all of the creative force and abilities of the working class and other workers, to strengthen the position of unions in the political system of socialism, tirelessly to seek more efficient procedures at all levels, in all areas and directions of union activity. This must be the essence of a new quality of socialist commitment, of the societywide responsibility and revolutionary awareness of our union organization in the upcoming period.

We, as unionists, fully acknowledge the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class, the CPCZ, in society. For us it is a matter of making party policy close to and understandable to the people, so that every unionist recognizes that it corresponds to his vital interests. Our key task is to exert an influence on workers so that they actively fulfill party policy with this conviction in their daily lives.

The primary social force of revolutionary unions has been and continues to be the working class. Its connection with socialist ownership, its vital interest in the strengthening and development of socialist ownership predisposes it to unifying and expressing the interests of all working people, to occupying a leading position in the realization of socialist ideals. Our fundamental responsibility is to see to it that the working class be able to fully implement and develop its own activity, that it expand its participation in management and administration, in the political, economic and cultural development of the country, and that its working and living conditions continually improve. The creation of a socialist lifestyle and further successes in socialist construction depend on an increase in the consciousness, organizational level, disciplined behavior and collective awareness of the working class.

Above all, from this viewpoint, it is essential to adapt more rapidly and energetically the work of unions, union organs and organizations to the requirements of today, to be concerned more boldly with economic, social and societal problems. Through our activity, we will contribute to strengthening the power of the working class, to strengthening its crucial role in the development of socialist society. The working class is fully justified in evaluating its union organization according to its success in carrying out the implementation of its role in society as the ruling class and primary creator of socialist values.

The ROH will also continue to take steps to strengthen the ties between the working class and cooperative farmers. This link will also be more concretely integrated into the cooperation between the ROH and, above all, the Trade Union of Agricultural Workers, and the Cooperative Farmers Union. We want to strengthen further this cooperation so as to assist in expanding and utilizing the experiences of the working class among cooperative farmers. We will likewise urge workers in industrial sectors to satisfy more fully and in a more quality manner the pressing needs for the development and intensification of large-scale socialist agriculture in the interest of assuring self-sufficiency in foodstuff production.

The program for the further building of a mature socialist society, which is inseparably linked to the development of culture and education, to the application and utilization of science and technology, and to a concern for human health, also requires that union work be directed to intensifying cooperation between the working class and the intelligentsia. Close ties exist between the working class and the intelligentsia, based on their common interests in assuring the political, economic and cultural development of the country.

It is logical that cooperation with the scientific and technical intelligentsia is at the forefront today. Employees of the scientific and technical

intelligentsia form a significant part of our unified union organization. It is most desirable that they find within the ranks of the ROH broad space for the application of their interests and needs, for the development of the closest possible comradely cooperation with the working class and other workers. It is, therefore, the responsibility of trade unions, as well as of basic organizations in factories, research and scientific institutes, to devote increased concern to the work and life of the technical intelligentsia so that scientists and technicians, as well as managerial employees and other members of the intelligentsia come to regard the ROH as their union organization, one which efficiently defends their interests as well.

The ROH brings together in its ranks a majority of the members of the organizations and political parties of the National Front. It plays, therefore, under the leadership of the CPCZ, a significant role in promoting understanding among the classes and social groups of our society, in strengthening the international community of our peoples and nationalities. As a result of its mass and universal character, it has been called upon to contribute significantly to the moral and political unity of the people, to the creation of conditions for the satisfaction of their varied interests, for the application of the rights and freedoms of the citizens of a socialist state.

The needs of the further development of socialist democracy imply a necessity for strengthening the effective role of unionists in the activity of the National Front at all levels. We will continue to intensify comradely cooperation, especially with the Socialist Youth League, with the Cooperative Farmers Union, with scientific and technical societies, with the Womens Union, with the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship, with the Physical Education Union, with the Red Cross and with other organizations which are concerned with the manyfaceted and differentiated interests of our citizens.

Comrades, in assuring the development tasks of a socialist society, as has also been shown during the assessment period, the relationship between unions and the socialist state comes more significantly to the forefront. These relations reflect our common interests. We proceed on the assumption that the socialist state is the embodiment of rule by the working class, that it is the instrument of power of this class, and that it fulfills and organizational role in the implementation of the economic, social and cultural policy of the CPCZ. We consistently govern our actions by the principle that the same class base, the implementation of the same program and policy, and the same basic objectives established by the party presuppose, make possible, and require the constant intensification of cooperation between the organs of the socialist state and socialist unions.

At the same time, we are well aware that the objectively different position of the state and of unions in the political system of socialism also implies a certain division of labor and the attendant responsibility. Life, however, also brings deviations from this principle, manifestations of underestimating the role of unions and of the disruption of positive cooperation and legal union rights. We cannot take these lightly and overlook them. What is important is that such instances can and must be resolved as a matter of course, by means of joint discussions in the spirit of the socialist legal order,

within the framework of socialist social relations. The guarantee of this is the leading and integrating role of the CPCZ. For our part, we will do everything possible to see that the cooperation between state organs and unions develops in the interest of socialism, in the interest of the workers.

The URO sees to it that union organs at all levels down to factory committees fully utilize the rights provided in Czechoslovak jurisprudence, which guarantees them cooperation, joint decisionmaking and even the right of social control. We consider it necessary to criticize the overlooking of the rights of union organs, organizations and workers which is evident in the work of some state and managerial functionaries. Likewise, it is necessary to criticize those union organizations and functionaries which do not utilize their rights, and which do not have enough courage and will to thoroughly implement corrective measures.

In this connection, it is necessary to state that in recent years, since the Seventh URO Plenary Session, it has proven useful for the URO secretariat to engage in regular joint discussions with the presidium of the CSSR Government. A number of successful measures have come from these talks, concerning which ROH members and the public have been informed. An important step in the intensification of cooperation was taken at the discussions which took place the evening prior to the congress. At this meeting, decisions were made concerning a number of serious questions which had been justifiably discussed prior to the congress and which are also contained in the report which has been submitted.

Similar discussions are being held at the republic and branch level, in krajs and okreses. Not all such discussions, however, produce the same kinds of results. A certain generality is apparent in them, mainly through the fault of our functionaries, who do not always place pressing problems on the agenda.

The technique of joint task evaluation and resolution by state and union organs must be utilized far more decisively in the interest of mobilizing social forces and resources. Likewise, it is necessary to implement throughout the enterprise sphere regular discussions of factory and enterprise committees with the management of economic and other organizations.

We attach great significance to the active cooperation of union organs and national committees in krajs and okreses. Okres and kraj union councils should make more decisive efforts at the urgent implementation of joint agreements so as to convince people that they are reacting to their suggestions, that shortcomings are being eliminated and that things are changing for the better. This is mainly a matter of improving transportation for workers, improving the quality of services and of work in stores, improving health care, housing and the overall environment.

Union functionaries who were elected as national committee delegates must also assist more effectively in the development of this cooperation and in the resolution of specific problems. And, obviously, we also place this requirement on those union functionaries who are the delegates of superior representative organs.

In recent years, some legal norms and political resolutions have been adopted which expand the rights of higher union organs and factory committees. We presented to the congress an aggreagate overview of the valid resolutions concerning the position, rights and responsibilities of the factory committees and higher ROH organs. They are all assembled in the laws and other legal regulations, in documents and resolutions of the party, government and URO. This shows that union rights in the CSSR are truly extensive. It is necessary only to utilize them in all of the work of union organs.

This system of regulations and standards, however, has come about at various periods and is quite fragmented. Certain provisions must be brought into line with new conditions, especially in view of the implementation of the Set of Measures to Improve the Planned Management System of the National Economy and the further implementation of socialist democracy. It is likewise necessary to formulate legally the current position of enterprise professional committees and supervisory union organs with regard to the appropriate economic partners. We are also considering the possibility of instituting other legal modifications which are contained in the legal codes of other socialist countries. This concerns, for instance, guarantees for union functionaries who, while asserting societywide interests and the needs of workers, collectives or individuals, are forced to criticize improper bureaucratic procedures by certain managers and shortcomings in administration or organization of work, and thereby find themselves in a complicated situation. It is likewise necessary to institute an appropriate standard and certain justification for higher union organs.

We recommend to the congress that it delegate to URO the working out and approval of appropriate proposals, which will be presented to the CSSR Government and the Federal Assembly.

As the 16th CPCZ Congress emphasized, the work of unions in many areas is irreplaceable and it is not possible to depart from strict standards in its activities. Once again in this regard we recall the well known but not fully appreciated words of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, that unions are a school of management and administration, a school of resource management and of communism. This is a valid and still vital description of the basis and role of the union movement under socialism.

Ever newer generations are learning in the unions to think and interact in a socialist manner, and to realize the common interests of the working class and of other workers.

For this reason, it is our fundamental responsibility to intensify the joint responsibility of the ROH and to increase the activity of unionists in the implementation of CPCZ policy, in the development of the socialist political system, in strengthening the power of the working class, in the defense and fulfillment of worker rights.

II. Developing the Creative Potential of the Working Class and Other Workers to Assure the Economic Development of Society

Comrades, the results which we have achieved since the Ninth All-Union Congress in the economic and social development of society are the fruits of dedicated work and the spread of worker initiatives. It was, above all, worker collectives, socialist work brigades, comprehensive rationalization brigades, and hundreds of thousands of true heroes from a variety of areas and branches who contributed decisively to the fulfillment of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. By fulfilling their socialist commitments they participated in increasing the efficiency and quality of production, and in the conservation of materials, energy and other items within the framework of the unionist billions. The implementation of inventions and improvement suggestions represents an aggregate social benefit of roughly Kcs 36 billion. There was success in enriching the capital stock of the national economy with facilities of society-wide importance. Likewise, the greatest number of apartments in the history of our five-year plans was built.

Clearly also, we must thank from this podium, in your name, the collectives and all of the individuals who contributed with their honorable work to the achievement of such positive results. We would like at the same time to recognize those workers who honorably fulfilled the commitments entered into for the 10th All-Union Congress and who took some initiative in contributing to the implementation of the difficult tasks of the second year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

The assurance of intensive economic growth, and to make it truly efficient and well managed, is now the most pressing, vitally important task which every worker, every unionist must keep in mind.

The ROH has an irreplaceable mission in the mobilization of workers to develop initiatives and socialist competition, in support of efforts to achieve a high level of all work, discipline and order. In the report of the Central Committee presented at the 16th CPCZ Congress by Comrade Gustav Husak, it is emphasized that, "Among the principal tasks of the ROH will continue to be concern for increasing initiative and for fostering socialist competition among workers. The way that initiatives develop among our people will depend to a large extent on the unions. We cannot allow the activity and dedication of workers to be devalued by formalism, by an excess of paperwork and shortcomings in work organization and management."

Those were accurate words. To be honest, we must admit that despite many positive results and exemplary actions in the development of worker initiative, truly many shortcomings turn up in socialist competition. The dedication and efforts of workers could not always be fully evident, and there was a lack of success in overcoming obstacles and shortcomings which meant that we then did not reach all of our established objectives.

To fulfill the current national economic tasks it is essential to proceed concretely and differentially, with a knowledge of the situation in individual sectors, enterprises and factories, in such a way that the current mass

character of the competition movement increases in the requisite quality and needed economic contributions. We will achieve this only in the event that the focal point of competition becomes the implementation of tasks directed at the assertion of the strategic line, i.e., high efficiency, quality and frugality, following through and utilizing scientific and technical progress. Above all, from this viewpoint we will apply Leninist requirements for socialist competition, rigorously evaluate and compare achieved results, publicize and expand the most progressive experiences, develop comradely assistance and cooperation and see to a just material and moral evaluation of the best collectives and individuals.

Let us fully utilize initiative, experience, collective intelligence, the rich creative potential of individuals and collectives, especially in those areas where we have the greatest weaknesses and where the national economy needs these contributions most of all!

Of those tasks to which we directed the attention of trade unions and basic organizations as early as the Seventh URO Plenum in 1979, let us recall once again primarily the conservation of fuel, energy, metals and other materials, an increase in the quality of goods for the domestic and foreign market, a reduction in the range of goods in short supply which we can manufacture from domestic resources and the fulfillment of investment plans. And if we spoke with all seriousness about these tasks 3 years ago, then they are still more pressing today.

We cannot avoid a share of the responsibility for the fact that at many factories one still meets with instances of unbelievably poor management and waste. We do not have to stand for a situation in which both union functionaries and managerial employees pretend not to notice that such issues exist. In every union shop, in every basic organization, in production and at scientific and research workplaces, in every union the comrades should responsibly and quite concretely be concerned with reducing the energy and materials intensiveness of production and construction, with a higher valuation of and better management of fuels, energy, metals, precious raw materials and with working time.

The same applies to increasing the quality of output. Experience confirms that the initiative of collectives and individuals, even when directed at the proper goals, is often expressed formally, because it is not coordinated with the conscious efforts of employees in the reproduction stages. This is a serious warning for factory committees and for higher union organs, which ought to pay more attention to the efficiency of worker initiatives and the outcomes of union work directed at a high product use value, at limiting the production of low-quality goods and at increasing the percentage of technically sophisticated, high-quality products.

At a time when the scope of capital investment is being severely limited, it is especially important to focus worker initiative on maintaining the established schedules for completion of construction projects and on remaining within budgeted costs, as well as on achieving projected outputs. It is likewise necessary to develop initiatives to eliminate shortfalls and to complete smoothly the plan for comprehensive dwelling construction.

The development of worker initiatives and of an increase in the quality of commitments ought to be influenced favorably by the introduction of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy. Therefore it is desirable that every employee master those principles of the Set of Measures which are integrated into the conditions of his enterprise, factory or worksite, and that collectives work in accordance with them. We are asking that trade unions, in conjunction with ministries and VHJs [Economic Production Units], impart the necessary direction to initiatives and competition within specific branches and fields. It is their responsibility to monitor the ways in which the managerial employees are creating the conditions for the development of initiatives, while at the same time assisting factory committees to request the creation of the requisites and to win over work collectives to conscious participation in competition.

A precondition for the success of competition is also the consistent inspection of the fulfillment of commitments. The activity of competing individuals and collectives utilizing progressive experiences and new work techniques ought to become evident in economic performance. And it is necessary to evaluate the level of competition and of commitments according to this performance and according to the efforts which must be made to overcome obstacles to their achievement.

In the entire nonproduction sphere as well, it is a question of asserting the strictest possible management controls and of the rational utilization of material and financial resources. People rightly make an issue of why, for instance, given the slowness and low quality of the assurance of services, their costs and prices rise.

This is a matter of a politically very sensitive issue. We assume that basic organizations urge those unions which include employees who perform all kinds of services to keep these matters continually in the center of their attention and that basic organizations will also concern themselves responsibly with these issues.

The value of socialist commitments and the level of competition is determined by conscientious organizational and educational activity within work collectives, where everyone ought to know the plan tasks, technical and economic standards and earnings possibilities. Competition cannot develop well, however, in situations where a smooth flow of materials has not been assured, or where labor and production organization does not function. This means that in these places as well we must reach the fulfillment of Lenin's requirement of "fewer bombastic phrases, and more simple hard work..."

Among the mechanisms which lead to a unification of the efforts of the final producer and his suppliers, to greater linkage and interconnection between the commitments of various collectives, are joint socialist commitments. If they are well thought out and coordinated in terms of materials and time, they have proven themselves primarily in the timely implementation of large capital investment facilities. We also ought to extend joint socialist commitments to the sphere in which decisions are made concerning the high quality and use value of industrial products, foodstuffs and consumer goods, services and the

like. Trade unions ought to attempt to overcome sectorial and intersectorial barriers, break down the walls of the failure to comprehend and of indifference to the mutual needs of enterprises in supplier and consumer relations, in material-technical supplying, to overcome obstacles of all kinds and more decisively than heretofore introduce the signing of joint commitments.

Worker initiative contributes an incalculable economic effect, but no less important is its educational influence. Competition assists in forming and developing a socialistic relationship to work and to social ownership, leads to conscious work discipline, strengthens collective ties and educates a person to be aware of his responsibility for the performance of the entire collective.

An indispensable role is fulfilled in this regard by competition for the coveted title of Socialist Work Brigade [BSP]. Three million workers today subscribe to the slogan "Work socialistically, live socialistically." This is an immense, transforming force. Many of these brigades are actual examples of a model attitude toward work and the socialist way of life. The practice of joint brigades is contributing a number of new possibilities.

The remarkable performance of these brigades is calling forth the justifiable admiration of society and is worthy of being evaluated here as well, at the 10th All-Union Congress.

There are, however, other collectives as well whose activities do not correspond to the title that has been awarded them of BSP, collectives which are stagnating and are in no way differentiated from average collectives. It is our affair and responsibility that every collective which bears the title of BSP be significantly differentiated from other collectives.

However, not even the potentials of the best BSP collectives are fully utilized. The demanding tasks of the 16th CPCZ Congress require them to use this potential fully now. We welcome the fact that not only union organs but the collectives themselves have comprehended the new guidelines for brigade activity.

Specific suggestions for the further development of the movement may be contributed by the nationwide branch conferences of BSPs where they will be able to exchange experiences and to acquaint themselves with the main objectives of competition in the relevant sector and field.

Because the development of initiatives depends to a large degree on unions, it is essential that trade unions, all union organizations and above all basic organizations devote attention and constant care to this issue.

Comrades, the practical application of scientific and technical progress is of absolutely vital importance for the intensification and further growth of the national economy.

The integration of the scientific and technical revolution and the advantages of socialism is a great revolutionary task. The main responsibility for the application of science and technology in the interest of intensifying production

and the entire national economy rests, of course, with the organizers of production. However, without the participation of people, without the ROH it will not be possible to achieve the desired results in this area either. It is important therefore, that union organizations do more for the utilization of science and technology. It is necessary to mobilize all underutilized resources which exist in the factories and to attempt to see to it that an increase in the technical sophistication of production be linked to improved working conditions, to the elimination of physically exhausting work, to an increase in the professional qualifications of people and to a strengthening of technical discipline.

Likewise it is necessary to multiply the organizational and politically educational work of union organizations within the ranks of the technical intelligentsia. Technical employees, especially in the preproduction stages, substantially influence the final results of efficiency and managerial controls and often hold in their hands the key to high product quality.

Comprehensive rationalization brigades play a large role in the joining up of science with production. We respect their work and we will support and value them even more. We will see to it that union organs assist in the development of rationalization activity in every branch and especially in the engineering industry, so that not even small rationalization measures which might assist in resolving the current shortcomings in workshops and at work sites are left out. It is necessary to expand continually the basis of this meritorious initiative from which will grow new improvers and inventors, especially from the ranks of younger workers.

We are evaluating the initiative of those improvers and inventors who have set themselves the objective of delivering to the national economy during the Seventh Five-Year Plan 45 billion korunas of societywide benefit from utilized suggestions. Employees whose important improvement suggestions, inventions and discoveries lead to a substantial increase in the quality and management of production and to high efficiency, are worthy of the greatest possible support. Union organs are required more decisively to require the elimination of many types of bureaucratic obstacles which often block the application of their creative ideas. Particular responsibility is borne by the central committees of the metal industry, chemical and construction unions, from which come almost 70 percent of all improvement proposals. It is also necessary more consistently to defend the justifiable claims of improvers and inventors and not to put up with breaking the law when evaluating their work.

The closest possible cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CEMA countries in the areas of science, technology, research and production is of priority importance to efforts to set the national economy on the road to intensive development with the aid of scientific and technical progress. That it is possible in this area as well to make greater use of initiatives from collectives of cooperative enterprises has been demonstrated by the first su-cessful steps of international competition in the implementation of joint Czechoslovak-Soviet projects, during the construction of nuclear power plants, the Prague subway, in the exploitation of mineral wealth and the like.

We are convinced that the importance of international competition will increase further, that it will be enriched with new and successful forms and that it will gradually include other important programs in individual branches. Trade unions must devote continual attention to this and support it in as many ways as possible. It is such an important task that it must also be integrated into the plan for the activities of the URO executive organs.

Comrades, the development of a socialist society and socialist democracy is to a decisive degree dependent on the growth of worker participation in management. When worker participation in management increases, they become true managers of common property, their interest increases in fulfilling plan tasks, they begin to be intolerant of disorderly conditions, of irresponsibility and shortcomings in the organization of production. This places great demands on the supervisory managerial employees and on the union organization. It requires patient work with people and their education in social responsibility, in taking an active role in the management of production. V. I. Lenin, at the beginning of socialist construction cautioned that introducing worker participation in management in the political area is "much easier... than in the economic area, but for the success of socialism it is the second of these that is most important." How perceptive and highly relevant these words are even in our current conditions!

The utilization of worker participation in management, which is both one of the main advantages of and a source of socialism's strength, is the more pressing the more complicated are the tasks we are resolving, and the greater the demands being placed on the quality of management and of planning. It is primarily a matter of union organs and organizations becoming qualified, creative and demanding partners of state and economic organs, of utilizing much more efficiently their possibilities and power for the fruitful participation of collectives in the compilation, implementation and control of plan fulfillment, and in the resolution of problems at the workplace.

It is unfortunate that most economic managers persist in undervaluing the role of worker collectives both in the area of plan formulation and in the area of breaking down approved tasks. In accordance with party requests of unions, we have on more than one occasion critically pointed out that planning and administrative organs request plan proposals on such short notice that it is practically impossible to discuss this with work collectives, with BSP, at production conferences and often even at the factory ROH committee.

It is likewise disconcerting that not quite one-half of the factory committees utilize their legal right and adopt an attitude to annual plans, and that their number continues to decline. Moreover, many factory committees uncritically defend requests for supplemental funds and investment, without regard for societywide interests and the underutilized potential which they could mobilize in their own factory. The central committees of trade unions have as their task, in conjunction with ministries and the management VHJs, to increase substantially the quality of assistance available to factory committees and to instruct them to take a more rigorous approach, so that as early as the plan preparation stage the attention of the employees would be oriented toward

qualitative indicators, to resource formation, which at the same time influences the level of compensation and material incentives for the work collective.

The Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System provided the possibility for applying the technique of counterplanning, which we have already been applying for a long time. However, for counterplanning to become a habit and to be effective, the appropriate conditions must be established. It is not possible to count on its being introduced only thanks to what it contributes to funds for collective material incentives, the more so because the current experience of certain collectives which took the initiative in adopting a counterplan demonstrates that the principles of counterplanning are not always respected by higher organs.

It is the responsibility of union organs at every workplace to request from managers that work collectives, BSP, improvers and inventors be aware under what conditions they may adopt higher tasks than in the plan and on what problems they should focus their efforts. Counterplanning produces results only when there has been well-considered organizational and educational work in union shops and brigades, only, that is, when the employees comprehend the direct connection between their job performance and the improved satisfaction of their needs.

We are requesting that the central committees of trade unions discuss with the appropriate sectors those issues which it is essential to resolve, and to do so in such a way that counterplans expand to enterprises and factories as a reliable path to an intensification of production and a broad commitment by collectives to achieving high labor productivity, reducing production costs, and delivering high-quality products.

The necessity of expanding worker participation in plan formulation and implementation requires that we spend some time trying to understand the reasons for the consistently insufficient utilization of production conferences. At probably every session of the URO and when other opportunities have arisen, we have emphasized that the possibilities and influence of production conferences is not being adequately exploited at all times and in all locations. Production conferences, worker suggestions and their efforts to contribute to more efficient management are inseparable components of the development of socialist democracy.

Let us, therefore, discuss modifications jointly with managers, let us stimulate the specific material interest of employees in the resolution of current production shortcomings and in balanced plan fulfillment, both of which correspond to the role of conscientious managers of the type that all unionists should be.

Everything that must be done to improve the quality of production conferences is included in the applicable principles, meaning that we need not think up any new prescriptions. It is a matter of making every production conference the subject of joint and careful preparation by the foreman and the shop steward, so that they may present at the conference the actual problems of the workplace, and so that suggestions submitted by employees may be carefully considered.

This requires that trade union central committees, in conjunction with ministries, regularly concern themselves with the inspection of the implementation of production-conference principles in the area of their influence.

In view of the fact that there were elected at the annual meetings many new shop stewards who do not have experience in the organization of production conferences, and that in addition many foremen are also not well acquainted with the principles of production-conference organization, it will be desirable to find an appropriate method for eliminating this serious gap and reaching a situation in which production conferences fulfill their important function.

Since as early as the Eighth All-Union Congress, we have been speaking of the need for permanent production conferences at the workshop, factory and enterprise levels. This element is lacking even more in the implementation of the improved planned management system for the national economy, which becomes evident from the fact that in certain enterprises the factory and enterprise committees have themselves taken the initiative to organize them. The URO has prepared a proposal of principles for the activities of permanent production conferences and, as we agreed not long ago with the presidium of the CSSR Government, we will proceed with their practical verification after the conference.

When we emphasize the requirement of intensifying worker participation in the management of production, factories and enterprises, factory and enterprise collective agreements cannot be left out. The principles which we have approved jointly with the government are being verified, and the importance of collective agreements is undoubtedly increasing. It is, however, desirable that they gain even more importance for managerial employees, factory committees and higher union organs. They are important documents concerning the assurance of resource formation and allocation according to the merit of individuals and the entire collective. We have, therefore, agreed with the presidium of the CSSR Government that the registration of collective agreements by the appropriate supervisory managerial and union organs be renewed.

We are also approaching trade unions and urging that they consistently observe the principle that wherever there is a factory ROH committee there should also be a currently valid collective agreement. At the same time, we are cautioning that when concluding enterprise or even union collective agreements, the jurisdiction of the factory committees may not be limited, meaning that worker participation may not be limited in joint decisionmaking concerning enterprise-wide issues.

To work and manage consistently, honorably and with initiative, to utilize fully such powerful motive forces of socialism as the conscientious participation of workers in the management of production and in competition-- this is the class interest of the workers, but also a vital interest of members of the intelligentsia, of managerial employees, of all employees. It is a reliable path to a prosperous national economy, to the strengthening of social certainties, to the assurance of peaceful work and the future of our people.

Comrades, worker efforts to increase labor productivity and to efficiently utilize material and labor resources will reach their desired levels only in the event that we value, according to its merit, every socially necessary and well-performed task while at the same time assuring that there will be consequences for lackadaisical or low-quality work. Worker interests are definitely not served when a union organization tolerates underutilized working hours, the disruption of labor discipline, various abuses and a lack of work organization, or when it conducts an arbitrary wage policy.

Despite certain improvements in union activity in the area of compensation which have occurred particularly in recent years, following the issuance of guidelines regarding an increase in the role of union organizations in the area of wages, it must be stated that the influence of union organizations on the fulfillment of this task and the related rationalization and standardization of work has been significantly varied. Many have been successful in making improvements, especially in organizations of the textile, clothing and leatherworking industries, likewise in the chemical, paper and glass industries, in metallurgy and energy generation, in railway transportation and in retail trade. But in a number of organizations of the production and nonproduction spheres, the concern of factory committees for wage issues is still quite insufficient.

Strong leveling tendencies continue to persist. Wages are still on many occasions determined not at all on the basis of demonstrated work performance, but according to deep-rooted relationships and pressures of all sorts. This damages the interests of those who work well and conscientiously and undermines efforts to achieve improved results. In certain organizations, the influence of material incentives is limited by wage restrictions and the performance ceilings which result from them, in the interest of a conflict-free drawing down of wages payable. This then leads to a covering up of underutilized output potential, to the unjustified increase of overtime work, to a weakening of material incentives and employee initiative. If wage increases precede increased labor productivity and resource formation, this has negative consequences not only on our entire economy, but, in the final analysis, also on the level of satisfaction of worker needs.

By agreement with the URO, the CSSR Government has adopted a concrete program for increasing the economic efficiency of the wage system under present conditions. The critical factor, however, will be the success achieved at the factory and enterprise level, given small wage increases, in implementing a thorough differentiation in compensation, increasing the efficiency of premiums and bonuses, and with what kinds of activities the factory ROH committee will participate in the solutions to these problems. Without justified standards, without precise work documentation, without improved calculations, we will not achieve just compensation according to merit. Also, suggestions for the development of initiatives will weaken. Union organizations ought more decisively to demand the elimination of leveling trends and the institution of order in the compensation process, and support the economic leadership so that work according to justified standards becomes commonplace at all workplaces.

It is, however, necessary that work collectives be acquainted with all wage measures. Each change in compensation may be effective only when it has been

discussed with a collective, when the employees understand its importance and discuss it on this basis. This is also the way to avoid unnecessary misunderstandings and conflicts.

Thorough consideration should be given to Soviet experiences with the organization of brigade work forms and compensation, as these were . at the 17th Congress of Soviet Unions by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, L. I. Brezhnev. Certain Czechoslovak collectives are already attempting to make use of the proven aspects of this progressive organization of labor. Those who recall that this technique was once successfully applied in this country will confirm that it is possible to create the necessary preconditions for this. We are approaching union organizations in the factories where this method will be tested and urging them to take the initiative in cooperating on the necessary measures and on winning over workers to this progressive form of labor organization and compensation.

Issues of the rational allocation of workers and the full utilization of their abilities and qualifications are also coming to the forefront in a pressing manner during the Seventh Five-Year Plan. As a result of structural changes in the national economy and rationalization measures in industrial production, construction and in other sectors, the necessity has become clear in certain instances of relocating some employees to other factories or to other specialties. Trade unions must see to it that these workers are provided with the necessary assistance during their incorporation in a new work environment, while learning new tasks, or while obtaining new qualifications, to assure that their abilities are being utilized and that they are not being denied earnings to which they are entitled. It is necessary to resolve very sensitively the problems of placing the young generation of high school and college graduates, ever greater numbers of whom are entering the work force.

We support fully the intentions of the CSSR Government to reduce the numbers of employees in an administrative capacity. Workers are justifiably critical of these increases.

The URO has on more than one occasion criticized the unfavorable developments in this area. It is of the opinion that the reduction of the administrative apparatus could be conducted more rapidly and decisively, even while minimizing negative social consequences and under conditions in which each measure will be discussed previously with the appropriate union organ. Likewise, we have recently discussed these issues with the presidium of the federal government.

There is, by the same token, the related request that there be a simultaneous and demonstrable reduction in the number of various, often completely unnecessary, reports, statistics and decrees which complicate management and are annoyances in the lives of citizens. This presumes that all administrative activity will be noticeably rationalized.

The ROH is proceeding with the assurance of the economic tasks contained in the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress with the awareness that their fulfillment is a precondition for further national economic development, for resource formation,

and for making possible the maintenance and further increase in the living standards of workers and in their social certainties.

We want systematically to intensify the economic function of unions in close conjunction with other basic union functions. At all workplaces and factories, we will create an atmosphere of creativity in the resolution of the most difficult problems and consciously fortify the trust of employees in socialism and in party policy.

III. Improving Concern for the Working and Living Conditions of Workers

Comrades, as stated by the 16th CPCZ Congress, in the recent past we have achieved positive results in improving concern for the working and living conditions of the workers. The congress took note of the important role of the ROH in achieving these results. Union participation has been evident mainly in the systematic reduction in work-related injuries, in expansion of factory catering, in increased facilities for union sponsored recreation and an overall increase in its quality, in an expansion of the network of factory preschool child care facilities and in a number of measures benefiting working women and mothers, in a certain improvement in preventive and curative capabilities at factory health-care facilities, as well as in a strengthening of labor law relationships. No small contribution has also been made by a more conscientious enterprise social policy, founded on comprehensive programs for employee welfare which have been incorporated into collective agreements.

We are, however, convinced that the results could have been still better had these efforts been equal in all directions and been evident in all enterprises and factories. Of the circumstances which often caused significant differences, we call attention to two of the main ones: Many economic organs underestimate issues of the working and living conditions of the collective and do not concern themselves with them systematically and regard comments and requests from union agencies as undesirable burdens. The other important reason is a lack of consistency and insufficient emphasis by union organs and organizations themselves, which do not properly fulfill their mission and do not provide for the defense of the legal rights of workers. This reality, which severely hampers the authority of unions, must definitely be changed.

Enterprise social policy is the most important sphere of concern for employees where the role of unions is indispensable. It is here that the dual role of union organizations is evident on an immediate and daily basis-- in addition to seeing to the development of production, also providing for the improvement of work conditions and employee welfare. Only when both of these aspects of union work are fulfilled in a balanced manner will employees be convinced that the union organization is truly looking out for their well-being. And we do not have a small number of responsibilities in this area; whether it is a matter of improving the working environment, work safety, the elimination of physically exhausting work, the establishment and maintenance of standards of social amenities at new industrial facilities and older operations, or the reduction of the amount of overtime work, monitoring the development of occupational diseases and improving living conditions and the environment in certain krajs of the republic.

Even though we frequently discuss these issues we must admit that the results achieved so far are not what we would have hoped. Among other things, this is true because certain employees in positions of responsibility are lacking in a fundamental comprehension of the importance and urgency of these tasks. Union functionaries have on more than one occasion simply taken note of shortcomings, or have gotten involved in solving them only formally, without the needed results. They are not aware that just as it is impossible to assure the growth of the standard of living without the requisite increase in production, so will the further development of production itself be unsuccessful unless working and living conditions improve in a corresponding manner. Let us recall how difficult it was, for instance, to force a panel of ministers to take up the causes of each fatal accident, and with what benevolence serious violations of work safety regulations are overlooked, even at enterprises which have been suggested for Red Banner awards.

The binding joint responsibility of unions is expressed by their right to social control in the area of safety and health protection at work.

To be sure, through pressure generated by union organs and basic organizations at factories there has been a gradual reduction in workplace injuries, but numerous problems still remain unresolved. The number of so-called risky workplaces is increasing, unfortunately, even in places where new technologies are being introduced.

Positive results are being obtained from annual public inspections of the safety status of work and the application of the techniques of the Soviet pioneer in collective education for work safety, A. D. Basov. We will continue to implement the full introduction of a three-level system, i.e., daily, weekly and monthly inspection of work safety. Safe work requires the education of workers to adhere strictly to technological discipline, to a definite work schedule, to work safety norms and safety standards and to the utilization of preventive work aids. At the same time, attention must be paid to the consistent implementation of directives of the appropriate control agencies. The improvement of the working environment, the gradual shift from safety technology to safe technology, a reduction in the number of risky workplaces and the causes for the occurrence particularly of mass accidents and occupational illnesses, a further substantial restricting of the number of women handling loads above an allowable weight; these are the fundamental tasks in the improvement of occupational safety. It is also necessary to improve the quality of the training of union inspectors of occupational safety.

We are also obligated to express, here at our congress, dissatisfaction with the dilatory resolution of an old problem, the insufficient production of quality personal occupational protective equipment. If the responsible locations would respect the joint measures of the CSSR Government and the URO, and if the enterprises would also put matters in order energetically in terms of the utilization, maintenance and testing of protective equipment, we would have fewer problems today. However, since this is not the case, we have agreed with the federal and republic governments that they will again study the situation in the fulfillment of the relevant resolutions and provide remedies, including

penalties for employees who are responsible for tasks so important for protecting employee health, and at the same time do not fulfill them.

The number of justified employee complaints concerning factory health care is increasing. We expect that the state health administration will deal responsibly with them and that it will direct its efforts at the more rapid completion of a network of factory health-care facilities which could be used by both smaller factories and facilities as well as agricultural organizations, where with rare exceptions factory physicians are not yet assigned. At the same time, it is necessary to increase the sophistication of the existing factory health centers and to stabilize the numbers of factory physicians, who for their part should devote more time to prevention, in the interest of the timely elimination of unfavorable influences from the work environment on the health of employees. Nor can the completion of a system of labor medicine, occupational rehabilitation and the improvement of overall prosthetic care be forgotten.

We are approaching the health-care employee trade union, urging them to lead the fight against overloading physicians with administrative work which often makes them unable to devote the requisite care to their patients, and to request a substantial improvement in diagnostic care and a more sensitive attitude toward the sick. It is necessary to come out more decisively against instances of the extraction of unwarranted privileges for health-care services which continue to crop up, in conflict with medical ethics.

In connection with the alteration of the prices of certain foodstuffs and of public catering, which workers had accepted as economic necessities, we will devote increased attention to the improvement and primarily the expansion of factory catering. This will be aided by the decision that the personal costs of factory catering will no longer be covered from the cultural and social needs fund, but will gradually be shifted to the budget of the relevant economic organization.

It will be necessary rapidly to establish standards for the equipping of enterprises with factory cafeterias and to see to the carrying out of the essential reconstruction of cafeterias and kitchens which do not conform to hygienic regulations. We cannot allow a situation in which, after an investment of hundreds of millions in production space and facilities, the resources are then inconsiderately cut off for essential social amenities and factory cafeterias, or for their modernization and expansion. We expect that the ministries of retail trade of both republics, which so far have indicated little initiative or interest in this area, will also devote systematic attention to factory catering.

With the shift to cooperative, stabilizational enterprise construction, the responsibility of factory and enterprise committees will increase for the allocation of apartments, in which it is necessary to remember above all worker families, families with a number of children, and young married couples. Factory ROH committees should, precisely in this regard, utilize to a greater extent their rights in the area of concern for employee housing, in the compilation of lists for apartment eligibility, while at the same time not avoiding

often unpopular responsibility. Another important task is the inspection of the outfitting and operation of group hostels, training centers and other factory and enterprise housing facilities.

We want to expand further and raise the quality of the recreational services of the ROH in all of their forms. Given the current substantial restriction on investment limits we will, within the framework of union investment, give preference to the construction of additional modern recreational hotels and expand family recreation with children and recreational stays with rehabilitational purposes. We are counting on the sympathy of the CSSR Government and State Planning Commission for this investment activity, which is so necessary for the renewal of strength and the fortification of the health of workers, and which is fully covered by ROH member dues.

We will also obtain additional unutilized facilities of well-equipped factory recreational hotels for the needs of selective recreation. In enterprise recreation, which forms the most mass-oriented basis of the recreational activities of the ROH, it will be a matter in the upcoming period mainly of the more efficient utilization of existing facilities.

In the selection of participants in recreation, especially for trips abroad, it is necessary to more consistently adhere to the viewpoint of merit and to provide concessions to employees from critical branches and to those from oblasts with an inferior environment.

Exceptional child care is characteristic of our socialist order. Unions also take part in various ways in this joint task. In conjunction with the Czech and Slovak Union Councils, the URO will continue in its conscientious support of the expansion and reconstruction of ROH Pioneer camps. Also, enterprise and factory managements should better meet their responsibilities for the construction and maintenance of Pioneer camps. We want to devote systematic attention, in conjunction with the Pioneer Organization of the Socialist Youth League [SSM] to the choice of educational employees, and to the ideologically educational influence in the Pioneer camps of the ROH, to the expansion of touring and of tent camps, to winter Pioneer camps, as well as to suburban recreation for children during the major holidays.

An important instrument for strengthening socialist work relations is the social control of the maintenance of labor law and wage regulations, which is entrusted to union organs. The positive experiences of past years have shown that we may entrust the performance of social control to all okres union councils and to all central, Czech and Slovak trade union committees.

Nor in this socialist society has the defending of the interests and the rights of employees failed to survive, and is today quite a fact of life. Union organs, and especially factory committees, may not tolerate the violation of the labor code and other regulations. Their task is to create an atmosphere which will make impossible the ignoring of the rights of the working person and a bureaucratic approach to his complaints and needs. If we speak of an uncompromising stance to the violation of social and legal standards, it is also necessary to move more decisively against individuals who work lackadaisically

and damage social property and the good name of the worker and of the socialist employee generally. This is also the direction in which we are going to direct the activity of the arbitration commission which has been formed not only to resolve labor disputes but also to lead the collectives which elect them in the direction of respect for the laws, and to the support of everything that contributes to honorable, conscientious work.

In the administration of enterprise social policy, we have in the recent past shifted from comprehensive enterprise programs of employee welfare to plans of professional, personal and social development which are an inseparable part of the economic plans of factories, enterprises, professions and sectors. These plans, just like the collective agreements, are important documents of the cooperation between the economic management and the union organization in the area of employee welfare. It is, therefore, necessary that they be approved by a member meeting or a conference of the basic organization of the ROH.

The Cultural and Social Needs Fund is an important financial resource for the implementation of the measures established in these plans and in the collective agreements. This is a matter of significant, multibillion-loruna resources which must be expended effectively, and particularly so as to serve, over the long term, entire work collectives.

To improve the work environment, to raise the level of labor culture, and to create favorable conditions outside of work, we will continue to develop member initiative in the project "Unionists for Their Own Factories and Republic."

Comrades, the joint responsibility of union organs and organizations for improving the living conditions of employees away from the workplace, at their place of residence, belongs inseparably to a comprehensive concern for employee welfare. This is a matter of very specific problems such as transportation to work, modifications in the work day, the level of services, day-care centers and kindergartens, and the functioning of the commercial network.

We appreciate the fact that republic union councils, in conjunction with the governments of both republics are devoting increased attention to the supplying of the domestic market, to the quality of goods, and to expanding the product mix in various price groups. Every justified employee comment in this area must become a concern of these union organs and organizations, which should resolve matters in cooperation with national committees. The educational and controlling functions of union organizations in retail trade must be directed at honesty in selling, at the uncovering of speculation and of the exploitation of shortages of certain types of goods.

Material resources are not the only factors that determine how we implement our social program or how the needs of people are met. Such factors as interpersonal relationships, attention to the concerns and problems of others, a comradely atmosphere at workplaces and in daily life are also no less important for the contentment of the individual, for his optimistic outlook on life and his determination at work. These attitudes are determined, for instance, by employees of the transportation system, of the communications network, of services, in the stores, health-care facilities, at national committees, but also

the economic managers and last, but not least, we, the union functionaries. Unions are active at all of these workplaces. And none of us should forget this.

Kraj and okres union councils, when putting together, implementing and evaluating programs of joint measures with kraj and okres national committees, should steer clear of any kind of formalism at all, as well as a low degree of rigorousness, and conscientiously strive to improve the living conditions of employees in accordance with the requirements of a socialist life style.

Environmental protection is a joint task of state and economic agencies, of national committees and union organs and organizations. This is a matter of a continually more serious and urgent problem facing the entire society. As unionists, we can prevent much damage which is caused by the discharge of industrial wastes into the atmosphere and the rivers. Neither factory committees nor union organs may continue to proceed with their eyes closed to the fact that their enterprises or factories have been paying stiff fines every year rather than investing efficiently in protective measures. In such instances, the employees are actually harmed doubly; on the one hand, in terms of economic performance and likewise in terms of their health.

Overall concern for employee welfare is influenced today by substantially more complex economic conditions than in past years. Because of this, however, we are not slacking off, but on the contrary are increasing our efforts. The URO and other union organs will more comprehensively concern themselves with problems of the standard of living, with various aspects of the development of working conditions, living costs and the standard of living of individual groups of workers, especially families with larger numbers of children and retirees.

The fundamental way to limit the unfavorable consequences of world economic development on the living standards of Czechoslovak workers is through consistent struggle for greater efficiency in the national economy, for increasing sophistication in planning, administrative and organizational activities, for active worker participation in management, for improved utilization of the work day, and for comprehensive frugality. Significant underutilized capacity exists everywhere, and by mobilizing this we will make it possible to satisfy the growing needs of society, to assure and to raise the quality of the standard of living we have achieved and to develop a comprehensive concern for employee welfare.

IV. Increasing the Ideological and Cultural Sophistication of Employees

Comrades, the demanding tasks of further socialist construction may be fulfilled only on the precondition that the abilities and the will of our members is mobilized to work for the benefit of the entire society. Practice has shown that a higher level of socialist development also places greater demands on the awareness, education and knowledge of employees, on their social responsibility and discipline, on their spirit, conviction and determination.

The Leninist concept of the role of unions as the schools of communism is inseparable from an education linked not only to the productive activities of people, but also to their class-conscious attitude to the building of socialism and to its defense. The seriousness of the educational mission of the ROH is underscored by the fact that the ranks of the working class and of union organizations are being filled by ever younger generations of people, who were born and have grown up under socialism. They do not have, nor can they have had any personal experience of the political and social struggles with capital, and they are forming their class consciousness in the process of the revolutionary changes of our society, in the new historical conditions of socialist construction, in the struggle of the socialist community and other revolutionary forces with contemporary imperialism. This implies a necessity to devote extraordinary attention to ideological work, to increase the sophistication of the mass political, ideological and culturally educational work in the unions.

Under today's conditions, when the ideological battle between capitalism and socialism is intensifying sharply, unions must also increase their participation in the struggle for the consciousness of the working man, provide him with a firmly grounded world view and a clear class orientation to the complexities and conflicts of the contemporary epoch. It is very important to foster and to strengthen the ideals and feelings of socialist ownership and proletarian internationalism in the minds of workers and, above all, the younger generation.

"In the consciousness of the people," Comrade Husak stated at the 16th CPCZ Congress, "is hidden an immense creative force which is capable of mobilizing society to solve even the most complicated tasks."

Increasing the efficiency of the educational activities of unions requires a firm joining of theory with practice, with social relationships and life style, with the resolution of the problems of mature socialism, with the tasks of individual workplaces, with the daily vital activities of employees and with an awareness of their views.

We are focusing our efforts to see to it that unionists have a good knowledge of the documents of the 16th CPCZ Congress, that employees understand the policy of the CPCZ, and especially its economic policy, that they comprehend its scientific bases and the inevitable nature of the building of a mature socialist society.

The task of mass political work, and especially of economic propaganda, is to mobilize employees to the timely and quality fulfillment of labor tasks. We will tirelessly call to mind what it is that determines the development of our society, and that it is possible to divide among ourselves only those values which we have produced by our common work. We will demonstrate that our life is fully dependent on the way in which we work.

It is, therefore, essential to react promptly to all manifestations of amenability to shortcomings in the fulfillment of planned tasks, to manifestations of personal comfort and indifference to social needs and interests, to dishonesty, lackadaisical behavior and low-quality work, to the damaging of socialist property.

Let us admit that educational activity in union organizations still to a great extent suffers from generality and fragmentariness, fails to assert its own urgency, does not force the individual to come forth with his view. On the contrary, it often leaves him in the role of a nonparticipating observer.

Militant agitation is a powerful weapon of revolutionary unions. The current demanding tasks require even more the ability to win over and captivate workers by the force of believable arguments and by the personal example of leading employees and union functionaries.

Our time, our contemporary life is filled with revolutionary ferment, not only in the political, socioeconomic and scientific-technical spheres, but also in the minds of people. He who has not experienced the capitalist order and considers the achievements of socialism as given rarely comprehends the causes of the problems which we must solve or the necessity of sharing in their difficult mastery. This makes the struggle for the consciousness of the individual longer and more tenacious.

This is also a struggle with our own weaknesses, mistakes and shortcomings, with comfort and routine. Under no circumstances can we allow ourselves to be content with a petty bourgeois attitude,with a parasitical morality, with the inconsiderateness and selfishness of certain individuals who want to take whatever they can from society but give as little as possible to it, who recognize only their own rights and want to know nothing about their responsibilities.

We place great emphasis on increasing the social activity of people. There are more than a few honest, dedicated employees who reliably fulfill the tasks assigned to them and who even devote some of their free time to their factory. Many times, however, they stand apart from the other activities of the workplace. They do not speak out against the low-quality, lackadaisical work of others, even though this harms them. While we respect them greatly for their relationship to their work, at the same time we are interested in having them become socially engaged. The task of union organizations is to patiently win over these comrades, to depend on them, to turn public opinion with their assistance against those who simply live off of the performance of others. The principle is still fully applicable which we emphasized at the session of the Ninth All-Union Congress, that the most efficient education of members is their active incorporation into the life of the union organization, which should be the practical school of socialism.

For the formation and strengthening of the socialist consciousness of employees, their morality and relationship to work, we are emphasizing an extraordinary educational task for work collectives. Union shops, BSP, and other collectives are the best educator, a collective teacher which forms the individual, his thoughts, will and interpersonal dealings. For this reason, education in work collectives is becoming the hub of the entire educational work of the ROH.

The recognition of superior performance by the honorary URO award, "For the Development of Socialist Education," assists significantly in the conscientious, planned organization of politically educational and cultural work at union

shops. We will continue this practice even after the 10th All-Union Congress and attempt to further increase the sophistication of political-educational work at union shops and in BSP.

The political and economic education of ROH members plays an important role in the growth of political and economic knowledge. In this regard, we have done more than a little in recent years. We have fulfilled the task set for us by the Ninth All-Union Congress in the area of developing member education. The results which have been achieved, the experiences and growing requirements for economic knowledge among employees is making it possible for us to move on a broad basis from the current less rigorous forms of education in union shops to schools of socialist labor, which are proving themselves. All of the preconditions are in place to assure their further growth in numbers and in sophistication.

Education in union shops, which has included the majority of employees, has fulfilled its mission. This does not mean, however, that we will not persist with educational work in the shops. We want politicoeconomic information to be available here on a regular basis concerning current domestic and foreign political issues. However, it is in the schools of socialist labor that we see the primary and most promising form of member education. Much will depend on the quality and abilities of school administrators and propagandists, and on the way in which the factory ROH committees conduct their preparations.

The ROH is efficiently contributing to a growth in employee education, and is sharing in the development and improvement of the educational and training system, assisting schools in the education of youth, and supporting the study of employees while working. We will foster the interest of members in systematic self-education and encourage them to make use of the possibilities provided them by a socialist society. In cooperation with the Socialist Academy of the CSSR and the Czechoslovak Scientific Technical Society, we will develop still more varied forms of continuing education.

The well-considered education of younger members, and especially of young workers, requires the increased attention of union organs and organizations. We must all be aware of the joint responsibility of union organizations to see to it that young workers are not only professionally, but also politically well prepared for life and work in a socialist society. It is therefore desirable to strengthen the influence of BSP on younger employees and to increase involvement in the cultural content of the free time of young people. At the same time, it is necessary to entrust young, able employees with more responsible tasks in union organizations as well.

An inseparable part of the responsibilities of trade unions is their concern for the way in which the preparation of adolescents is assured for a working profession, for the conditions under which apprenticeship facilities function, for the ways in which the material and social needs of apprentices are met, for the development of many varied forms of initiative, above all the resources of the BSP, for the ways in which the patrons of working youth work. In assuring these tasks we will work more systematically with SSM organizations at factories and training centers.

The education of the younger generation is a matter for the entire ROH, from the URO down to factory and workshop committees and every individual shop steward. We are committed to this by the reality that almost all working youths are organized in the ROH and the fact that unions are actually the largest youth organizations.

The overall educational activity of the unions in relation to their younger members ought to convincingly indicate that we are counting on them and that we are depending on them as the future responsible managers of our socialist homeland.

In the educational work of the unions, we must not forget about working women either, in accordance with the position and role which they occupy in a socialist society and in unions. There is no doubt that it is necessary to increase the number of women in unions, and especially in managerial functions, and to do more to implement a more systematic increase and application of their qualifications and education. It is also necessary to search more energetically for ways to make it possible for working women, and for those who care for a family, to have a rich cultural life and to develop their intellectual interests.

The ROH is creating the broad conditions for a rich cultural life, for the recognition of cultural and artistic values and for artistic creativity itself and the avocational interests of employees. We will strive to see to it that avocational cultural and artistic activity is focused on the intensification of the individual ability to assimilate the best artistic values in such a way as to comprehensively develop one's personality and so that this will be manifested in his daily creative activities, in a deepening of a socialist life style.

An important role falls to the cultural facilities of the ROH, to factory clubs, houses of culture and union libraries. This is an extensive and meritorious activity. The basic requirements for its effectiveness is a high level of ideological and artistic sophistication, the convincing of the greatest possible number of employees to participate in the organization of cultural life, a close relationship to the work collectives of factories, an active contribution to the fulfillment of ROH tasks. Nor can we overlook the requirement of rationality and conservation-consciousness in the utilization of material and financial resources. We will, therefore, place still greater demands on all administrative organs, on the employees and functionaries of cultural facilities.

In cooperation with the Czechoslovak Physical Education Union and with other organizations we will continue to develop varied and attractive physical education activities with the objective of winning over more employees to active recreation and healthy movement. In the broad, volunteer activity of union functionaries we see a guarantee that recreational physical activity will develop in upcoming years as a significant factor in education, especially among the younger ROH members.

Demanding tasks also await the union press. We are still not making sufficient use of this important instrument to influence all organizations, all functionary groups, all of our members. It is essential to expand the circulation of union

newspapers and periodicals so that they reach those who can glean suggestions from them for their own work. We recognize that the editorial offices of the union press and the union publishing house are attempting to increase the educational and politically educational role of newspapers, periodicals and books. The daily, PRACE, even though its profile and level have become more assertive recently should, along with the Slovak daily, PRACA, more immediately and definitively react to the actual tasks of the ROH. The attention devoted to union issues by the party press, especially RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA is a great help to the ROH. We are happy to state that the television and radio as well as the National Front organization's press provide systematic information concerning the work of the ROH.

The fulfillment of the educational function of socialist unions is conditioned by a unity of word and deed, a unity of political-organizational and political-educational work. This requirement is particularly applicable today. If, in the daily struggle for the consciousness of people, we consistently unite efforts toward positive economic results with a concern for the needs and living standards of workers, with their socialist education, then we will be more successful in our work. The participation of each of our citizens will increase in the formation of social resources, in the comprehensive advance of socialism.

V. Strengthening Union Unity, Capacity for Action and Authority

Comrades, intensifying the tasks of the ROH, its position in the political system of society, and the successful fulfillment of individual functions is unthinkable without the continual improvement of the internal life of unions, without intensifying the organizational and administrative activities of union organizations, without developing the activity of basic organizations and members.

Since the Ninth All-Union Congress we have achieved an increase in the activity of the basic organizations and members, an increase in the level and effectiveness of political-organizational work and the development of internal union life in accordance with the bylaws. Greater regularity of member meetings at union shops, in workshop and basic organizations has made it possible for members to take part in decisionmaking on important issues of the work and life of the collective, for them to come forth with their critical comments and suggestions and to contribute to the organization's fulfillment of its tasks. There has also been success in improving the annual plans for activities, which focus the activity of the basic organizations on the main, common objectives of our movement.

The highest union organs-- the URO, the presidium, and the secretariat and URO commissions-- have systematically concerned themselves with the basic tasks of the ROH in all the areas of union responsibility. We have concentrated our attention on the fulfillment of the basic union functions under the most demanding conditions, on improving work techniques, on increasing the implementational capabilities of union, all-union and basic organizations.

The shortcomings which have prompted the justified criticisms of members have been taken up at the 7th, 10th and 12th URO Plenums, and we have adopted, among other things, a complex of measures aimed at improving union work, at the full development of ROH activities as revolutionary, truly socialist unions. In addition, a majority of all-union and union organs, and a significant portion of the basic organizations have carefully discussed the most important issues of union activity.

The question of how in the future we will develop internal union democracy, of how we will implement a Leninist style and techniques of administrative and organizational work, of how we will rid ourselves of formalism, routine and bureaucratic attitudes depend on the fuller utilization of the rich creative activity of our members. The objective is clear: It consists in the unification and focusing of the activity and initiatives of organs, organizations and ROH members on the fulfillment of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

Experience has taught us that good resolutions and proper directives are not enough to improve political-organizational work, if one is unable to implement them in practice. By the same token, experience has taught us that the clumsy, slow and inconsistent implementation of resolutions adopted by the URO and shortcomings in the controlling activities of the executive organs of URO weaken the entire administrative process. Thus, we adopt proper resolutions, but a specific, concrete and consistent approach to their fulfillment is often lacking.

Most of our 1.75 million functionaries are dedicated employees, participate actively in meetings and demonstrate the determination and will to solve problems. The reflection of this activity in an increase in the sophistication of union work is not, however, what we all would wish. The results do not correspond completely to the needs, or to the effort which is expended. This is why we place such emphasis on a fundamental task-- to improve the sophistication of administrative and organizational work, thereby increasing both its efficiency and the tempo of union activity.

In accordance with the course of congress preparation, we can state that the great majority of members place a positive evaluation on the role of ROH, but that many of them hold the view that the unions do not react flexibly enough to new phenomena in the development of society and to the needs of employees, that at times they do not have enough courage and strength to defend their interests. Following the 10th All-Union Congress, we must immediately speed up and intensify the process of improving ROH activities from top to bottom, to the basic organizations. Only in this way will we strengthen the trust of employees in union organizations, only in this way will we stimulate them to initiative taking work and to participation in union life.

A constant task for union organs at all levels remains the strengthening and decisive defense of the unity of revolutionary unions. We are focusing all of our work to this end and will utilize all possibilities for this purpose.

Highly effective for unification of the entire movement are activity plans, aggregated programmatic documents of organizations for a period of a year. To

the extent that some of the activity plans of basic organizations still suffer from excessive generality, to the extent that these plans do not react to problems with which the collective is grappling, then this is caused by the fact that the proper attention has not been devoted to their preparation, to an evaluation of the results of and shortcomings in union work. It is necessary to discuss tasks with work collectives, to draw on the findings and experiences of a broad spectrum of functionaries and members. Only in this way will we assure a substantial improvement in the quality of these project documents.

In the future, the central committees of trade unions should assure that the basic organizations, in addition to the main orientation of the activities of the entire movement, also know the branch tasks, so that they can pay more attention to a specific situation at a factory, in a work collective, or in a union organization.

Okres and kraj union organs are responsible for improving the consideration and assurance of effective assistance to the basic organizations of the ROH in the formulation of activity plans.

Factory committees are to base their efforts on the findings of mass political work, on their awareness of the opinions, attitudes and needs of employees. They are to discuss the concept of the activity plan at a joint session of the ROH factory committee and the factory management before its approval at a member meeting.

The final outcome of union work depends on the activity of the mass of members, on the work of the more than 27,000 basic organizations, 150,000 commissions of factory committees and workshop committees, and of the more than 250,000 union shops. Informal member activity is, however, possible on the condition that it is in accord not only with the objectives and program of the ROH, but also with the activities of its own basic organization. Otherwise the organization is not fulfilling its mission as it should. In particular, member meetings, which form the broadest base for the democratic participation of members in the life of the organization, are often marked by formalism. Many functionaries and members, to be sure, cite this phenomenon critically, but little is being done to eliminate it. It should make us uncomfortable that some functionaries have come to terms with formalism and consider it to be a normal phenomenon.

The fact that since the Ninth All-Union Congress we have succeeded in providing for the regular scheduling of member meetings has created the organizational preconditions for a broader implementation of member rights, for the expression of their opinions and attitudes, for an increase in their participation in the evaluation of activities and in the administration of basic organizations.

This may in no way, however, lead us to the conclusion that everything is in order. The fundamental issue is, you see, the content and sophistication of the meetings, the openness, the constructiveness of the discussions, their degree of influence on union work and on the resolution of economic, social and ideologicopolitical issues at the workplace. And it is precisely in these areas that there are serious shortcomings. The annual member meetings and conferences showed that the meetings do not always reflect the tasks of the workplace, the life and problems of the collective, or the urgency with which it

is necessary to resolve the needs and justified demands of employees. This is undoubtedly also influenced by the fact that factory ROH committees and higher union organs often are not aware of the comments and suggestions of the members and therefore cannot react appropriately to them.

More than one union and other functionary in a position of responsibility has forgotten that it is essential sensitively and in a qualified manner to react to the comments and criticisms of employees. They respond to them in many instances generally and formally. And it is completely unacceptable when some comments go completely unnoticed. Principles for timely and responsible action on employee comments, which are important for higher union organs and for basic organizations, have only very slowly been implemented in practice.

It is, therefore, our responsibility to institute corrective measures, and to assure that union organs and functionaries react properly to the flow of member views, and that they are able to harness and to direct, while at the same time stimulating initiative-taking attitudes by members to the discussion of the main issues of the life of the organization and the workplace.

Union shops have an ever greater importance for the unification of opinions and attitudes of employees and for the resolution of their daily problems. By their very nature, by the informality of the relationships and the common occupational tasks of the members, they create favorable conditions for concrete political, ideologicoeducational, mass-oriented production-related and organizational work, and for the strengthening of internal union democracy. With the gradual implementation of the Set of Measures and the application of counterplanning and khozraschet, the activity of union shops increases in importance. The demands also clearly increase on their organizers, the shop stewards.

At the annual member meetings prior to the 10th All-Union Congress, many able, politically and morally mature members with exemplary work records and natural authority within work collectives were elected to the function of shop steward. We will strive to assure greater stability among these functionaries and to see to an improvement in their preparation for daily, effective, mass-oriented political work. The attention of factory and workshop committees must be devoted to all shop stewards, but especially to those who have first been elected to this function. We will continue to strengthen the position and role of the union shop and the shop steward as the direct representative of the union collective.

The greatest tasks in the improvement of the work of basic organizations await the factory committees and their chairmen in particular. The techniques and style of internal union work and the level of cooperation with the economic leadership influence the work of workshop organizations, individual commissions, union shops and the activity of the member base. Findings from the preceding period have indicated that it is above all desirable that they come to terms with their responsibilities and duties and that they effectively utilize their considerable rights.

We expect that factory committees will increase the sophistication of their mass-oriented political work, that they will intensify their contact with work

collectives, that they will more completely recognize their opinions and comments, and more decisively interpret these to the economic organs.

It is likewise essential to prepare conscientiously joint discussions with factory management in such a way that they fulfill their functions of being a constructive dialog in the interest of the unified resolution of key economic tasks, working conditions, and employee needs. At the same time, it is proper that the director take part in the discussions of serious issues at the factory committee, and that important problems be presented for solution to the management of the workshop, factory or enterprise. This is a reliable way to overcome the lack of activity by certain factory committees.

More efficient and better qualified assistance from higher union organs is supposed to contribute to the development of the activity of factory ROH committees. It is necessary rapidly to put an end to the burdening of ROH factory committee functionaries with nonessential administrative work, with unjustified requests for the compilation of reports and announcements, which the higher organs often substitute for their own systematic fact-finding activity, and which they often do not even use properly.

The greater demands on union work must be more consistently integrated into the preparation and training of functionaries. Union officials should be capable of reacting independently to a situation at a factory, of comprehensively evaluating a situation and the tasks for union work, and of drawing conclusions from this as to the relationship to managerial organs and for its own union activity. Functionary training must be based on a solid theoretical foundation, and must lead them to independent creative thinking, and equip them with the requisite knowledge to perform administrative union work and for daily contact with people.

The ROH has, today, a stable, effective system of functionary preparation, beginning with training at the centers for unionist education in the basic organizations right up through the Antonin Zapotocky Central ROH School and the Frantisek Zupka Slovak Union School. In the programs of functionary training and in the curricula at both schools it is necessary to strengthen not only political, but also professional union preparation, so that functionaries have a comprehensive knowledge of union rights and their duties, so that they are knowledgeable concerning labor law, wage and other regulations, and so that they will always be on top of the tasks which are being resolved in their organizations and in discussions with the economic leadership.

The complexity and scope of the work of ROH organs cannot be dealt with without a permanent union apparatus. Without its activities, it is impossible to imagine the work of a 7-million-member organization and its improvement. The number of functionaries in the union apparatus had a moderately rising tendency during the seventies. After the congress, we intend to study the current systematization and location of the apparatus so that it will be as close as possible to the basic organizations, which are the immediate executors of union tasks.

The effectiveness of the work of the union apparatus does not depend only on the number of its employees, but also on the appropriateness of its structure and on the quality of its work. Even though most comrades work in a dedicated fashion, there are also those who spend very little time in the basic organizations and among people, but rather dream up and circulate unnecessary written directives. It is necessary to state openly that the political and professional preparation of a certain percentage of the employees of the apparatus has not corresponded to the high demands which are placed at the present time on them and especially on the unattached functionaries.

We will increase the quality of the work of the apparatus. This is an important task, but we can never lose sight of the fact that the weight of union work will always rest on the dedicated, voluntary activity of hundreds of thousands of functionaries. We will depend on these people, and we must also assist them in as many ways as possible.

It is our judgment that the results of the elections at the annual member meetings and conferences, and at the all-union and union conferences and congresses, marked a further step in raising the quality of and strengthening the functionary corps. However, it is still necessary to avoid a mechanical and superficial approach to the choice of ROH functionaries and, when recommending them for a position, to link the criterion of political and moral maturity to the requirement for high work performance, ability and authority within the work collective.

The organizational structure of the ROH assists in the balanced fulfillment of its functions. It requires that every union organ consistently and creatively fulfill the task which has been assigned to it. The great rigorousness of the socioeconomic program of the 16th CPCZ Congress logically increases the demands on the work of trade unions which is, from the viewpoint of assuring union participation, absolutely indispensible. Greater demands also stem from the improved planned management system of the national economy. In particular, we are demanding a more active approach to the fulfillment of their tasks by the highest union organs. The URO is once again urgently pointing out the growing significance and responsibility of the trade unions. It is worth a more detailed examination of the experience of unions in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries, where the role of the unions has become sharply evident, while at the same time their position has been strengthened within the entire union structure.

In those branches of the national economy which are ordered and administered along professional lines, we will develop the function of professional and enterprise committees and deepen their activity. Central and republic trade union committees are responsible for seeing to it that these largely new organs fulfill their mission and do not merely become an additional element complicating an already sufficiently complex union mechanism.

Significant tasks are also falling to all-union organs, from which we are requiring a further improvement in their unification, coordination and management activities. Kraj and okres union councils are today equipped so that they

can more decisively carry out their function as the bearer of the political and organizational unity of the unions under kraj and okres conditions. And technical assistance for basic organizations continues to remain an important component of their political-organizational and administrative work. They should systematically monitor, evaluate and take the necessary measures concerning the effectiveness of this assistance.

In any event, the kraj and okres union councils must, in close cooperation with kraj and okres national committees, more decisively and emphatically participate in the comprehensive resolution of issues concerning territorial development, transportation, services, housing, culture and other sectors with the objective of improving the living conditions of employees.

The organizational unity of the ROH is based on the bylaws which define the rights and duties of members, the main tasks and functions of union organs, and the relationships between them. The 10th All-Union Congress will be presented, for its evaluation and approval, with a proposal for individual changes and supplements to the bylaws. We approached these with the awareness that the bylaws approved by the Eighth Congress and modified by the Ninth Congress have basically proven themselves and correspond to the current stage of construction of a mature socialist society. The proposed alterations reflect changes which will occur particularly in the administration and planning of the development of the national economy and its structure.

In addition, we want to emphasize in the bylaws the role of trade unions and their organs, including professional and enterprise committees, in the fulfillment of the main functions of the ROH under the conditions of the individual sectors of the national economy. In conjunction with this, the responsibility of central committees for a unified approach by all union organs should be emphasized.

As we have already mentioned, changes in the resolutions concerning basic organizations are meant to underscore the role of union shops and the position of the shop stewards as the organizers and permanently elected representatives of these collectives.

Additional modifications concern the functions of inspection commissions. This is a matter of strengthening their position so that they can concentrate fully on their main task, the inspection of the management of the appropriate agency, so as to avoid the misuse of union resources and to be sure that the financial resources of the ROH are utilized economically and effectively.

A high level of union organization and discipline in the payment of dues assures the basic organizations and their supervisory organs with sufficient financial resources to carry out all union functions. Union property and the income from member dues continue to grow. This means that we are even more obligated to expend them responsibly. The URO will consistently see to it that the use of dues contributes lasting benefits to the ever wider circle of our members.

The intensity and effectiveness of political-organizational work, the intensification of internal union democracy, the improvement of the organizational structure, greater sophistication in the work of the apparatus and, particularly, an expansion of volunteer activity will all determine the extent to which the sophistication of union work will increase, our success in strengthening the unity and capacity for action of ROH, in increasing union authority among its members, employees and the entire society. This corresponds to the interests of the working class and of all employees and is in accordance with what is expected of us by the CPCZ.

VI. Strengthening Ties of International Solidarity and Class Unity with the International Trade Union Movement

Comrades, it is with dissatisfaction that we must state that in comparison with our previous congress we are now living in a much more complicated international political situation, which is evoking serious fears as to the further development of international relations. World imperialism, in its attempts to gain military superiority over the USSR and the entire socialist community, is stepping up its war preparations and producing ever more destructive weapons with which it is threatening human civilization. The Reagan administration is vehemently asserting the interests of the military-industrial complex, and under the doctrine of limited nuclear war wants to change Europe into an atomic battlefield. American imperialism continues to repress revolutionary, national liberation, and democratic movements and human rights in all parts of the world. At the same time it is boldly attacking the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as revolutionary and democratic forces. It is attempting to ruin the results of detente, to raise international tensions and to place obstacles in the way of peaceful cooperation between countries. It is arrogating unto itself the right to meddle crudely in the domestic affairs of socialist countries with the objective of destabilizing our social order. It is opposing the inalienable right of the Polish people to defend the socialist order in their country from the counterrevolutionary plot which had been established under its patronage.

The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union shows the way to preventing the realization of the dangerous plans of the most reactionary imperialist forces. The peace program of the CPSU, formulated for current conditions at the 26th CPSU Congress was welcomed by progressive people the world over. The Czechoslovak people are also in full accord with it. Further evidence of the untiring peaceful efforts and goodwill of the USSR was provided by L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the 17th Congress of Soviet Unions, and his constructive proposals directed at assuring an agreement on the most pressing issues of disarmament. The principled speech of Comrade Brezhnev strengthened the hopes of mankind for avoiding a nuclear catastrophe.

We have expressed our complete agreement with the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, that to preserve peace and favorable conditions for the building of a socialist society we will do everything in our power, in close conjunction with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. And our greatest interest is in strengthening the security of the CSSR and the entire socialist community. We will attempt to assure the implementation of all peaceful initiatives which

may be jointly worked out and presented by the socialist countries and to see to it that the aggressive imperialist forces do not succeed in overturning the current military-strategic parity and realize their adventurist plans.

Nor for us, unionists, is there anything more important than defending the cause of peace!

The major focus of the international activities of the ROH will continue to be the multilateral development and deepening of ties with unions in the USSR and the other socialist countries, the basis of which are the principles of socialist internationalism, common objectives and interests in the building of socialism, the defense of peace and the security of peoples. We fully support the exhortation of the 17th Congress of Soviet Unions to the workers and unions of the entire world to a common struggle for peace. This congress was an inspiring demonstration of the rich experiences of our Soviet friends in all phases of union activity, which we will make use of in our daily work.

The many forms taken by exchanges of experiences and the cooperation of unions is contributing to the further development and strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries, to the development of the national economies of individual countries and of the entire community. Our enemies are also aware of this, and have not given up their attempts to break down the ties of community among the socialist countries. To achieve its objectives, the counterrevolution utilizes everything, including demagogery, insults, and all kinds of tricks. So-called labor leaders, especially prepared by the imperialist intelligence services, have had, and always have the task of breaking the workers party and the unified revolutionary unions. For them it is a matter of making normal work and daily life impossible, bringing a country to chaos and anarchy, to civil war and back to capitalism.

We will not permit the enemies of socialism to weaken and fragment the unity and cooperation of our countries. They will not even be successful in doing this in the People's Republic of Poland [PRL]. The frustration of the counterrevolutionary plans of antisocialist forces prevented a national catastrophe and created the conditions for a strengthening of the socialist order, legality and the defense of the vital interests of the Polish people. We fully approve of these measures and will continue to support morally and materially those unionists and other forces in the PRL for whom it is a matter of a socialist renewal of the country on the proven principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The ROH, faithful to proletarian internationalism and international union solidarity, has always stood and will continue to stand on the side of progressive unions, national liberation, anti-imperialist and democratic movements in the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We decisively support their struggle against imperialism and reaction, for political, national and economic independence, for democracy and social progress. From our congress we send militant comradely greetings to all who have set themselves in opposition to imperialist domination, to all who are resisting the aggression of the United States, Israel and South Africa. We declare our solidarity with the suffering Salvadoran people and with the Palestinians, who are being denied the right to a bare existence.

We will continue to provide effective, concrete assistance to all those who are forced to do battle with imperialism. This includes the training of cadres in various seminars and courses which we will continue to organize upon the request of fraternal organizations.

We will expand and deepen bilateral relations with the unions of developing countries which have decided on the path of socialist development. We will further activate these ties, especially with unions in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Nicaragua, Angola and Mozambique, so that they may become acquainted with the results and experiences of Czechoslovak workers, with union practice under the conditions of real socialism.

In the same way, we will in the future strengthen our class solidarity and co-operation with unionists in the capitalist countries and support their struggle against unemployment, increasing inflation and their ruthless exploitation by multinational monopolies. We will continue to expand ties with class-conscious, progressive union organizations in Western Europe, and with members of the WFTU.

We are aware that far from everywhere in the world do unionists have the possibility to freely develop their activities as they do in Czechoslovakia and in other socialist countries.

Even in the mature capitalist countries many of our comradely organizations must overcome difficult obstacles daily and defend the union rights and the interests of the people at great risk. In some countries, their legal activity is completely impossible, union functionaries are subjected to brutal repression, are jailed, tortured and killed. Their struggle is our struggle as well, and we experience their heroic struggle with them. We stand faithfully by their side and express to them from the podium of this congress our full support.

Comrades, the ROH plays an active role in the strengthening of the capacity for action of the WFTU and its influence among workers. As the host country, we feel a special responsibility for the activities of the WFTU. We will continue to participate in the work of this class-conscious, democratic and mass-oriented organization, in the publicizing of its objectives, in the development of projects of concrete support for the social struggles of workers on all the continents.

Two months ago there took place in Havana, in the capital city of the first socialist country in the western hemisphere, the 10th World Trade Union Congress. It was a manifestation of the militant capacity for action of the international trade union movement. This most representative of world associations of unionists once again documented the actual possibility of creating a broad based united front of fighters against imperialism, for peace and disarmament, for the rights of workers and for the elimination of exploitation throughout the world.

In the interest of strengthening the active unity in the struggle of workers for understanding, friendship and peace, the ROH is also prepared to develop ties with unions of different ideological orientation and other international

affiliations. We will base these ties, at the same time, on the current level of ties and on the common interest in constructive dialog. How this dialog will develop, however, does not depend wholly on us. We believe that we have on more than one occasion demonstrated goodwill and the effort to find such common ground as corresponds to the interests of all workers.

We want to implement consistently the conclusions of international, world and regional meetings such as, for instance, the European Trade Union Conference, and we are prepared in the future to approach these in a spirit of active participation. We consider the results of last year's Fourth European Trade Union Conference to be especially important. We are convinced that the issues of peace and disarmament, of the development and application of science and technology, of the role of trade unions in developing trade between East and West concern to the same extent trade union organizations of various persuasions and are a good basis for a constructive exchange of views.

This issue is closely connected with our activity within the ILO. We will continue to push for the democratization of the structure of this organization, so that it becomes a forum for the defense of the interests of workers. The international situation demands the improvement of the forms of our activity particularly in branch committees and in other organs of the ILO.

The revolutionary tradition of the Czechoslovak working class movement has always been linked with faithfulness to proletarian internationalism and worker solidarity. We are a firm component of world revolutionary forces. We consider it to be our loftiest responsibility to further strengthen the active unity of the international trade union movement and thereby contribute to new victories in the historical struggle for progress and peace, for the defense of the basic right of the working person, the right to life.

Conclusion

Comrades, on balance, the results of the activities of the ROH in the past 5 years, under the leadership of the CPCZ, have been favorable.

Even though we were aware, 5 years ago, of the difficulty in the further implementation of the general line for the building of a mature socialist society, the reality turned out to be much harsher than we had expected. Thanks to the fact that our organization had the support of the CPCZ, that it was unified and depended on an immense corps of dedicated, volunteer functionaries and members, it always found within itself the strength to come to terms with the tasks which accompanied the more complicated domestic and foreign conditions. At the same time it also drew the needed conclusions from the shortcomings in its own work. Today we can say that the ROH came out of this test of its maturity successfully, that it is a powerful, capable organization, filled with the determination still more decisively to fulfill its mission in socialist society.

Our 10th Congress is an anniversary congress. We are convinced that in the 37-year history of the ROH, it truly ranks among those congresses which have meant significant progress in the work of trade unions and have carved themselves out a place in the modern history of the Czechoslovak revolutionary workers movement.

The broad range of activities between now and the 11th All-Union Congress include the fundamental objectives which we want to achieve and in which we see the contribution of the ROH to the development of the political, economic, social and cultural achievements of our workers, to the realization of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

We propose that in the congress resolution the following objectives be established for the upcoming years:

1. the intensification of the joint responsibility of trade unions for the realization of the policy of the CPCZ, for the strengthening of the power of the working class, for the development of the political system of socialism, and an increase in the role of the ROH in society;

2. the wider development of the creative potential of the working class and of other workers to assure the economic development of society;

3. improvement of the concern for the working and living conditions of the working class and of all working people;

4. an increase in the ideological and cultural sophistication of workers;

5. strengthening of the unity, capability for action, and authority of trade unions;

6. strengthening of the bonds of international solidarity and class community with the international trade union movement in the interest of the victory of peace and social progress.

To fulfill these objectives, to turn them into concrete deeds, will not be easy. It will be difficult work. We are living in a complex time and it will be essential to overcome many difficulties.

Our determination, however, is unwavering. It grows from the awareness that we are struggling for a just cause, for the hopes and the fundamental interests of the working people, for the program of the CPCZ.

We enter the upcoming days with the conviction that the tasks we have outlined for ourselves will be mastered. We are depending on the elan of millions of our members, on the large corps of experienced and dedicated functionaries prepared to overcome any obstacle at all and to give their strength, consciousness and militant heart to the success of our joint enterprise.

We are deeply convinced that in the future as well we will be able to depend upon the trust and assistance of the CPCZ, which is opening with its Marxist-Leninist policy a broad expanse for the development of the tasks of trade unions in a socialist society.

We will enter into future work with the proud awareness that we are linked by unbreakable bonds of friendship and unity with the Soviet Union and its heroic

people. We will derive strength from our cooperation with Soviet trade unions and strengthen our fraternal unity with them.

We will likewise strengthen our international ties with the unions of the other socialist countries in the interest of the further development of the entire socialist community, which stands at the head of the worldwide struggle for understanding among peoples, for progress and peace.

We will approach additional activities with the awareness of our binding international responsibility, with the awareness that we constitute an inseparable component of world revolutionary forces, of a broad front of the progressive international trade union movement.

We will honorably fulfill the expectations of the millions of our members, we will strive even more decisively to strengthen the day-to-day certainties of the working class and of all working people.

To the full extent and over their entire breadth, we will develop the role of trade unions in accordance with their historical mission.

We will work still more decisively for the further expansion of socialism, for the flowering of our socialist homeland.

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CSO: 2400/218

CPCZ WEEKLY ATTACKS POLISH POPE'S IDEAS

AU211251 [Editorial Report] Prague TRIBUNA No 14 in Czech on 7 April on pages 8 and 9 carries the first of two parts of Josef Karola's 3,000-word article "The Idea of So-called Christian Europe in the Plans of Clerical Anticommunism." The articles opens by noting that "political clericalism plays an extraordinarily important role in the global plans of world anti-communism," and--referring to the conclusions of the 1979 Berlin ideological conference of European communist and workers parties--calls the "onslaught of contemporary Catholicism" a "grave political reality that requires the concentrated attention to the Marxist-Leninist theoretical front and the international revolutionary workers movement."

As the author goes on to say, a special place in the "global strategy" of present-day Catholicism is held by the "revived idea of so-called Christian Europe" and, in this context, by the Vatican's Ostpolitik.

Characterizing the Vatican's Ostpolitik, Karola notes that in formulating it, Cardinal Casaroli--whom he regards as its architect--proceeded from the recognition of the socialist countries' growing influence on international life. He goes on to say: "However, one must not infer from this that the Vatican has recognized the 'historical permanency of the socialist system.' It seems rather as if it only, in its own way, took notice of the reality of socialism. Even though the Vatican's original Ostpolitik encountered and still encounters reservations or even resistance on the part of ultraconservative forces (F. J. Strauss, M. Lefebre, representatives of revanchist circles in the FRG, the World Congress of Slovaks and the like reproach it, for example, for having been 'caught in the mesh of the communist governments' political strategy'), this does not mean that it has lost sight of the church's global interests.

"On the contrary, these interests have always been and remain the decisive feature of the Vatican's political activity with respect to the socialist countries, in which it is trying in all possible ways to expand the scope for the local churches beyond the limits of the socialist legal order."

The article then turns to the changes in the Vatican's Ostpolitik under Pope John Paul II. Karola notes the promotion of Cardinal Casaroli to the post of secretary of state, viewing this as an indication of a continuation of the

Vatican's Ostpolitik, but adds: "However, this does not even remotely answer the question that invariably comes to mind in this context, whether Pope John Paul II intends to implement the Vatican's Ostpolitik in its original, more or less realistic form.

"Even today it is beyond any doubt that the sociopolitical beliefs and attitudes of John Paul II have introduced very substantial corrections into the Vatican's Ostpolitik. Their common feature is a pronounced escalation of anticommunism and (which is the other side of the same coin) of clericalist claims.

"It is highly probable that it was precisely the modification of the Vatican's 'Ostpolitik' in the spirit of militant Catholicism that was in the background of the anticipation of those forces of world anticommunism that influenced the election of the successor for the late Pope John Paul I."

To buttress this suspicion, Karola then quotes a passage from Jo Mutterge's book "Where Is Poland Heading," in which the Luxembourg author attributes Wojtyla's election to the influence of Zbigniew Brzezinski on the American cardinals (next to the influence of the West German cardinals Ratzinger and Hoeffner, and the Austrian Cardinal Koenig) and in which he notes "open calls for a tougher policy toward the countries of Eastern Europe" and an "exacerbation of church-state relations in Poland" following the election of the Polish pople." In view of what has by now leaked to the public from behind-the-scenes of the conclave that placed K. Wojtyla at the head of the Catholic Church, it would be absolutely careless to ignore or even belittle the political impact of the revived idea of a 'Christian Europe'," Karola adds.

To illustrate the importance ascribed by the Polish pope to this idea of "Christian Europe," Karola then quotes the pope's 1979 Gnezdo speech in which he described himself as an embodiment of the "spiritual unity of Christian Europe, which merges two great traditions—that of the East and the West," and notes the emphasis placed by him on saints of Slavic origin. In this connection, Karola refers to the "very keen attention" paid by John Paul II to the recent anniversaries of the Polish St Stanis-Laus and the Czech St John of Nepomuk, and says that "their historical picture was drawn in linkage and coordination with the anticommunist campaign in defense of human rights and liberties." He also mentions the pope's recent message devoted to the anniversary of the Slav Apostles St Cyril and St Methodius, and notes that "it became an inspiration for activating clericalist anticommunism and escalating the ideological claims of the Catholic Church."

In the second part of his article, published in TRIBUNA's issue No 15 on 14 April on page 3, Karola first interprets the idea of a spiritual unity of Christian Europe championed by Pope John Paul II as "indirect support for the clericalist designs to unite Europe on Christian foundations," and detects "points of contact" between this idea and the Christian Democratic concept of United Europe propagated by "militant anticommunists" such as Franz Josef Strauss or Otto Habsburg. Karola also notes a contradiction between this idea of the pope and "the repeated declarations of the Catholic Church that it does not want to interfere in political affairs."

Further on in the article, Karola reviews various recent church seminars and conferences devoted to "propagating the idea of Christian Europe," and notes the prominent role played in them by the Polish Episcopate and bishops. In this context he says:

"The expansionist plans of Polish clericalism are a special chapter that deserves more detailed study. Although it is true that some high-ranking representatives of the Catholic Church in Poland had, in their own way, realized the profundity of the danger of the so-called Polish religious-national Messianism (such as, for example, the former Wroclaw Metropolitan Cardinal Boleslaw Kominek had), their warnings have been forgotten, however. Of the present, the revival of this aggressive crusade-like tradition is more typical.

"The Polish Catholic Messianism, resting on the thesis that 'the religious moral system is the basic prerequisite for personal and social order,' does not lay claim to forming the fate of one's own country only, but is also oriented outwards, toward the whole of Europe becoming Christian. For example, the West German Cardinal J. Ratzinger, during the ongoing crisis of the Polish society, expressed himself in the sense that the 'struggle' of the Catholic Church in Poland is 'decisive for the interests of the Catholic Church in the whole of Eastern Europe'....

"Thus the evangelistic mission of the Polish Messianic Catholicism also keeps in mind the external interests of the church; that is, 'converting other nations' or 'defending Catholic nations' against the 'threat of spreading atheism.' There is no doubt about the aggressiveness of these endeavors, abiding by the 'idea of cultural-religious cohesion of Slavs on the basis of Christian pan-Slavism.'

"The Messianism of the concept of 'Christian Europe' is, without doubt, hidden also between the lines of the infamous message addressed by the last year's so-called 'Solidarity' congress to 'workers' of Eastern Europe. It is well-known that this assembly of antisocialist forces had the overt sympathies and spiritual support of the highest church circles at home and abroad.

"The bourgeois press has never been disguising that anticommunist forces would like to make Polish clericalism a springboard for the realization of destabilization plans in the other socialist countries. In this scenario not everything is obvious at first glance, many contexts are disguised and only a certain lapse of time will reveal them.

"Although the program of the 'Christian Europe,' respectively its 'evangelization', is presented as a purely religious affairs, there cannot be the slightest doubt about its political goals. After all, the 'political dimension' of evangelization is foreseen in the same authoritative papal document, the EVANGELII NUNTIANDI, which puts its religious character in the foreground. In accordance with the conclusions of the Second Vatican Council, it imposes on church members evangelization duties in specifically enumerated spheres of social life, among which the political sphere is in the first place."

Summing up, Karola says: "It must be stressed in conclusion that the demand for 'evangelizing Europe' is an important part of the plans of the Catholic Church for ideological and political infiltration. The 'Euro-Christian' concept cannot be separated from phenomena such as the Vatican's endeavor to legalize antistate opposition in socialist countries, its attempts at paralyzing the activity of clergymen expressing their support for the socialist development, and its efforts to activate clergymen and laymen under the slogan of the struggle for 'religious freedom.'

"The stepped up clericalist endeavor to establish some sort of an integrating 'All-European awareness' on the basis of Christianity undeniably dovetails with the global anticommunist strategy. Thereby it contributes to reviving historically obsolete tendencies that undermine the process of normalization on the European continent in the spirit of the final act of the Helsinki conference."

CSO: 2400/250

BRIEFS

CIVIL-RIGHTS ACTIVISTS RELEASED--Vienna, 28 Mar (DPA)--Three civil-rights activists, who have been imprisoned for a long time, have been released in Czechoslovakia. They were part of a group of about 18 members of the civil-rights movement "Charter 77" arrested in May last year and who were recently released from custody. This emerged on Friday from emigrant circles in Vienna. The civil-rights activists were arrested in connection with the apprehension of two French citizens who had allegedly tried to smuggle banned publications and currency into the CSSR. The CSSR authorities accused the civil-rights activists of having known of these "subversive actions". [Text] [LD281154 Hamburg DPA in German 1109 GMT 28 May 82]

AFRICANS ATTEND SEMINAR--A 6-week seminar for trade union functionaries from French-speaking African nations was inaugurated on 26 May at the Neratovice branch of the ROH (Revolutionary Trade Union Movement) Central School. Attending the opening ceremony were Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions V. Kozik, Deputy Director of the Antonin Zapotocky ROH Central School Frantisek Prevorovsky and representatives of the District Trade Union Council from Melnik. [Prague PRACE in Czech 27 May 82 p 3]

CSO: 2400/251

SPECIAL BORDER TROOP ORDERS FOR EMERGENCIES ANALYZED

Munich BAYERNKURIER in German Vol 33 No 16, 17 Apr 82 p 5

[Article by Horst Guenter Tolmein: "'GDR' Border Troops: Guardians of the Border of Shame--The Militarization Marches on"]

[Text] The Border Troops of the 'GDR' are waging war even in peacetime. Once again someone has been shot and presumed killed by the border soldiers: a man who crossed the border fence on 29 March at Bad Sooden-Allendorf.

Yet what is the function of the 'GDR' border soldiers in wartime? It is just this question which is answered in the "Restricted Confidential Document VVS-No G 572 910" of the "Border Troops of the German Democratic Republic, Border Regiment 4." A recent directive of the Ministry for National Defense, so the document states at its beginning, has laid down new stages for establishment of combat readiness: "Accordingly the Border Troops of the German Democratic Republic, upon proclamation of the stage 'Combat Readiness Upon Threat of War' and upon 'Full Combat Readiness' must complete their transition to securing the national borders under wartime conditions." This is straightforward and minces no words, unlike in the West where we speak of a "period of tension" and then, almost shamefaced, of a "V-Condition" or defense condition.

The "Restricted Confidential Document" is free of scruples, second thoughts and regrets. It is also free of any anxiety that the enemy in the West will be able to overrun the border. While the border is assumed to be established for defensive purposes--this is only the case at those points from which an attack is to jump off. The entire document--far removed from any kind of agitation--is focused on the only possible situation in the event of an outbreak of war, namely that the Warsaw Pact would be able to attack the Federal Republic.

The order "Combat Readiness Upon Threat of War" is to be affected in the following four phases: "Movement Readiness of the Border Company With Augmented Combat Readiness = 15 minutes. Occupation of Company Support Position After Assuming Assault Readiness in Position = Additional 50 minutes."

Although it is known that the Bundeswehr has no chemical warfare agents and U.S. forces only limited amounts in Germany, the text states, "Chemical

security in the company support position will be organized and carried out with the goal of promptly warning and protecting troops from the effects of chemical, bacteriological and nuclear weapons." Somewhat further along--almost casually along with the catalog of border company equipment--"Molotov cocktails and irritant gas will be issued appropriate to need on orders of the company commander," indicating that the troops are to be protected from the effects of chemical warfare agents employed by themselves. A deliberate employment of chemical warfare agents would certainly not be remarked in this "Restricted Confidential Document," though it may be possibly disguised under the heading of "irritant gas."

According to the document, Border Troops will scarcely have to reckon with the possibility of assault from NATO forces; artillery fire can be expected, hence the company support position is to provide protection in slit trenches. Observation positions are to be built and camouflaged. Another point is even more important, "The organization, preparation and route march of units of the border company for the capture and defense of a position occupied by the enemy"--i.e., crossing of the border and armed penetration into the Federal Republic.

Here there are a number of goals, and the tasks are spelled out: "the capture, occupation and retention of important bridges, highway and railroad junctions and other important terrain features;" equally important, however, is "the prevention of a partial destruction of dams along rivers or at lakes or reservoirs; significant technical installations of various kinds"--namely in the event that NATO forces attempt to erect barriers to the advance of armored forces, although it is not likely that they will destroy dams at reservoir sites. Other assault objectives include, "...the capture, occupation and retention or the capture and destruction of stationary and mobile radio and electronic installations, observation positions and other important military installations." The document adds, "It can be expected that these installations and positions will be appropriately defended, secured or patrolled by the enemy... Such installations and positions will require comprehensive and repeated reconnaissance up to the point of the capture."

Since the Border Troops alone would not be able to undertake this task, agents of the Military Intelligence Service "MilND) of the National People's Army will be employed. The author of the "Restricted Confidential Document" approaches this topic cautiously and in stilted language: "Objectives of this importance will therefore, with respect to their classification, have to be analysed, promptly recorded and entered into the system of our reconnaissance as possible objectives for specific tasks of this type." The reconnaissance system is illuminated upon inspection of a drawing with the caption, "Variant of a mobile electronic installation of the Bundeswehr (Size 100x200 m)."

No detail is lacking: "3 rod antennae, 7 rods; antennae with lattice towers, generators, stone bunkers 3x4 m (bunk area, equipment area), kennels, searchlight mounts, barrier pole on pedestal mount (screen wire 2.20 m)." Carefully noted is "Installation security: --Daylight: periodic patrols, 1-2 men. --Night: regularly two patrols, each one man with guard dog." How many agents took how long to determine the number of personnel: "approximately

30, including 7 officers, 15 NCO's, 8 privates, 9 trucks (including 5 vans)?" Reconnaissance alone could not have ascertained one point: "Security in event of emergency: one platoon, three squads from prepared positions."

The intention of the "Restricted Confidential Document VVS No. G 572 910, Border Regiment 4" is clear: a surprise attack upon soldiers of the Bundeswehr, who imagine themselves still at peace, even though in a period of tension: "All border companies, upon achieving full combat readiness, must be capable...of carrying out an operation of this complexity when ordered. The order for such an operation can and will only be issued a few hours before its execution for the sake of maintaining security. This means that there will be little time for immediate preparations for those units under such orders. This will require that in basic and advanced training appropriate attention be given to the attack upon a limited objective." From this it is clear that the border soldiers will be expected to overrun and capture objectives up to 6 kilometers west of the inner-German border through "surprise, decisive, bold action."

There are a number of reasons why this could go awry: apart from the military-political situation within which a demoralized military pact--named after the city of Warsaw, where a military government, barely capable of governing, is scarcely able to feed its population--the heavily burdened border guards will be in a bad way. Finicky communist apparatchik officers, whose pedantic German can be sniffed in every line of the instructions for aggression, have calculated the exact weight of the arms, ammunition and equipment of each soldier.

Accordingly we learn that the helmet of the National People's Army weighs 1.5 kg, the gas mask (TSM) 2.8, belt with equipment harness 0.5, field rations 1.3 and a full canteen 0.8 kg. Altogether the "general equipment" weighs some 6.9 kg. The assistant gunner of the light field piece SPG-9 73 mm (Stankovii Protivotankovii Granomet-9) will have crouched through six kilometers of underbrush with a load of 30.8 kg on his back. Even the runner, who is expected to be especially mobile, will have to pack more than half a hundred-weight: assault rifle with bayonet 3.4 kg, 5 loaded magazines 4.1 kg, 720 cartridges M-43 11.7 kg, general equipment 6.9 kg, totalling 26.1 kg. Only the squad leader gets a break: 14.4 kg.

Something else must be kept in mind: A few hours before a surprise attack either during an emergency or in peacetime, the border soldiers will learn that they are suddenly to go off to war--6 kilometers toward the West. What has got to be done in this brief time? The confidential document lists five points: reconnaissance; instructions to troop commanders; creation of the "combat structure of the border company;" issuing of orders by company commanders to platoon leaders down through squad leaders to individual soldiers." As point number one, ahead of all the rest, is listed: "political and ideological preparation of the unit."

The comrades among the Border Troops will be flabbergasted in light of the manifest fact that "the class enemy over there" is clearly still living in a state of peace. As a result it will be necessary to sacrifice the largest

part of the scant time available not for preparations for an assault, but for an ideological preparation. "In the course of this...such changed psychological circumstances as the following must be kept in mind for the political effort:

--lack of actual, individual experience in armed combat;

--urgent need for information;

--possible initial successes on the part of the enemy, effects of enemy fire and reinforced hostile psychological warfare;

--casualties and missing within own ranks and possible interruption of communications;

--combat while temporarily surrounded, in the rear of the enemy and without direct communication with flanking forces..."

The border soldiers will not be exactly enthusiastic--many of them, before induction, will have preferred to watch television from the West rather than their own red-tinted channels. Whether what is recommended for morale-building will be sufficient is a question: "Direct oral agitation and the personal example of troop commanders and communists is the decisive form of political effort under combat conditions." In practice this translates as, "combat conferences, brief meetings of party and FDJ (Free German Youth) rank and file organizations, current situation information; work with the press, unit information bulletins and pamphlets, bulletin board reports (especially at the company supply depot)..." All of this but a few hours before the outbreak of an aggressive war will mean for the individual soldier an inner struggle with his feelings, his impressions and thoughts as well as fear and the effort to overcome it.

The officer in charge of political effort within the border company will already be waiting for news of initial successes so as to be able to turn them to morale-building account, in line with task of: "popularizing the military successes and individual heroism of his own and other units," since these together create "the sense of organization of military life," discipline and political effort being a "sure foundation of a high effectiveness."

Border Regiment 4 with its headquarters is located at Heiligenstadt, 23 km as the crow flies southeast of Goettingen. It is under the control of Border Command South in Erfurt.

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WEST GERMAN REPORTER INTERVIEWS GDR HIGH SCHOOL ELITE STUDENTS

Hamburg ZEIT MAGAZIN in German No 18, 30 Apr 82 pp 3, 46-48, 51

[Report by Marlies Menge, East Berlin correspondent, ZEIT MAGAZIN: "High School Diploma: The Great Prize in the GDR"]

[Text] Now they are sweating again in the high schools over written papers and oral examinations: the high school seniors of 1982. And their worries about getting to study at a university is gradually shaking their carefully cultivated indolence.

This situation in the GDR is not very different from the one in the FRG. Marlies Menge, our East Berlin correspondent, visited a high school class over there, which--as she describes on page 46--was in the middle of final examinations for the secondary-school diploma. Not only the worries but also the difficulties are similar, but while in our case the roadblock is the limit of available space at universities, over there, when it comes to professional choices, doors can be closed to high school students even before they take the final examinations: Whoever is permitted to study medicine or psychology--a subject that is equally desirable--depends more than ever on political involvement and family status. Being a child of a worker is still a privilege when a spot at the university is involved, although here in our country children from that social class usually do not advance that far on the ladder of the school system.

Anyway, it appears that there is nothing new in the East. Looking at it more closely, trying to figure out how many students actually make it to the final secondary-school examination on both sides, one arrives at an intersting result: Whereas here between 30 and 70 percent of the fourth-grade students switch from the elementary school to a secondary school or a comprehensive school and, in turn, 70 percent pass the final examination,

in the GDR only four students out of the entire 10th grade class receive a secondary-school diploma. In other words, many working-class children in the GDR do not make it either.

Another comparison yields different results. East and West German high school students are united in their fear of war and desire for peace. The consequences for them, however, are quite different on both sides: In the FRG one of the most frequently and passionately discussed topics among upperclassmen is the refusal to do military service, approximately 52 percent of high school graduates do not bear arms but prefer to look after disabled people. In the GDR, however, 4 out of 10 high school students want to become career officers. It is a logic which has its champions also here among the older generation; over there, however, it is simply by decree.

The desks have been arranged in a semicircle. I am sitting at the teacher's desk. On top of it is a green plant. In front of me are 18 high school seniors of East Berlin's Friedrich List School. On the right side I notice a beautiful girl with long dark hair, in the middle there is an attractive girl with an asymmetric hairdo and long earrings who is catching my attention; she is dressed like someone in a fashion magazine. And in the left row a young man is grinning at me cheerfully; he is blond and is wearing a plaid shirt. A few of them are wearing blue FDJ shirts.

We went upstairs, through hallways, passing glass cases with red flags and posters with socialist sayings until we reach the music room, which is free of any such decorations. There are only pictures of Beethoven and Shostakovich, photographs of Eisler and Dessau, posters of the Comic Opera. Today the class has its first written final examination, an essay in Russian. Next in line would be a German essay followed by tests in mathematics and also a choice of either biology, chemistry or physics. Finally comes the oral examination, which covers mostly subjects that have been chosen by the examinees themselves. Civics, sports, art education--all these things are behind them.

The principal told me that he had been at this school for 15 years and that nobody had failed during this period. Whoever manages to get accepted by an expanded secondary school, does not fail any longer and he also does not flunk the final examination. Candidates for the final secondary-school examination belong to a privileged group; in the GDR it is even more so than it is anywhere else. Only two students from each 10th-grade class can transfer to the expanded secondary school. Grades and political involvement are the decisive factors. These girls and boys transferred to the expanded secondary school after the 8th grade, the 9th and 10th grades were preparatory classes. Today all students remain in the same school until the 10th grade, and only then two of them are selected for the expanded secondary school. Two others have the opportunity to take vocational training along with preparations for the secondary-school examination. The son of a girlfriend, for instance,

is getting training in the building trades; he will also take the final secondary-school examination, because later in his career he wants to become a construction engineer.

After introducing me, the principal left. He did not want to disturb. The gentleman from the teacher's house who arranged the date for my interview and the homeroom teacher stayed. He is taking notes constantly. It is a Wednesday afternoon; actually it is the afternoon for the FDJ meeting. We are, so to speak, the replacement program. I ask them to spell their names and everybody is to tell me what he wants to be.

Blond Cathrin, Wearing an Arafat Scarf Around Her Neck Wants To Be a Construction Engineer

Frank wants to be a certified engineer for food technology. He is a quiet boy and there is pride in his voice when he says that his father is a telecommunications technician, his mother is working in bookkeeping--in other words, a real workers' son, something that does not happen very often in Pankow where the school is located. Pankow has villas with parents who presumably are ambitious. It is much more difficult there than in the working-class district of Prenzlauer Berg to get into the expanded secondary school. Blond Kathrin, who is wearing an Arafat scarf around her neck, is going to be a construction engineer, and she says it is what she always wanted.

In the GDR, occupational counseling starts early. The young people are finding out early that the study of medicine, pharmacy, psychology for instance, is reserved for a few who are chosen from a selected group. Karin, whose curly hair has been gathered into a fashionable puff on top of her head and who is wearing a handknit red jacket, will study English and Portuguese. Why? "It is something new," she says. In school she had been studying Russian for 8 years and English for 6 years. Wolfgang is going to be a career officer for fiscal economics, and the cheerful blond youth in the plaid shirt will be a career officer in the Border Police. Beate will study business law. Her father is an economist, and it is possible that she will go into business later. Tabea, the girl with the Hebrew name, will become a children's nurse. But she did not have to get a secondary-school diploma for that? That is true, she admits, maybe later she will go into social service; at any rate, she wants to work with people.

Heike originally wanted to study water management. She is particuarly interested in ecological problems, but she was turned down. Now she will study engineering economics in the construction business. Valerie, the girl with the asymmetrical hairdo, will be an interpreter for Russian and French, and curly-haired Ralf, sitting next to her, will be a career officer in the Air Force; he wants to be a pilot. Rene will be a career officer in for support services: "I will have to take care of supplies and food." Tom will be a teacher in athletics and history. Delf wanted to study dentistry, but his request was denied. And now? "First I will join the service and then I will have to see. I have already had talks with the counselor to choose something else, but they only offer me what is left." They are the things that the state needs most: specialists in technology and economics.

Both Carsten and Joerg will study electronics, beautiful Monika will become an educational psychologist, Andre will study information electronics and blond Kerstin will go into medicine.

She and the boy who wanted to study dentistry had taken Latin as an elective. There is a possible choice of 18 subjects, but the school does not offer all of them. But students have to take one of them. Kerstin tells me the title of her WPA paper: "Must We Die of Starvation Some Day?" (WPA - wissenschaftlich-praktische Arbeit [scientific-practical work], is work in a plant or in academe about which an essay has to be written.)

I ask them, who is the spokesperson for the class. A dumb question. Monika explains to me kindly that they do not have anybody like that. "We have an FDJ secretary." It is Monika, a candidate for the study of dream psychology. Her FDJ work certainly did not interfere with the fulfillment of this dream. Her representative is the cheerful blond boy, future officer in the Border Police. "We organize FDJ events. The central council of the FDJ submits a topic for each month, which will then be discussed." During spring vacation they want to take an FDJ trip to Moscow.

'Nobody Attacks Me, but Somehow the Young People Do Not Respond to Me'

Karin, the one with the red knit jacket, is the cultural functionary of the class. She gets theater tickets at a 50-percent discount. "The other day we saw Duerrenmatt's 'The Physicists.'" The class is also entitled to concerts, but only a few take advantage of it. Two in the class play an instrument. FDJ Secretary Monika studied piano for 7 years, then she stopped, and now she is playing only for fun. She likes Bach and Mozart best. Kerstin plays the trumpet in a 60-member Pioneer and FDJ band, which also performs at official functions, for instance, in the Palace of the Republic. On the FDJ blouse is a German Red Cross badge. She is a member. Is it obligatory for future medical students? "No, but they like to see it," Kerstin says. She seems so fragile and one would hardly expect her to play the trumpet.

It seems to be difficult to get the conversation going. I feel like a monologist, addressing an appreciative audience. Nevertheless, these 18 people are very kind. Nobody brands me as a representative of imperialism and attacks me, for instance, because of the NATO double resolution. But somehow these young people do not respond to me. They do not seem to be interested in a discussion with me. They answer the questions, but that is all.

I try more personal questions: "Do you travel with your parents or do you prefer to go with friends?" Andre, who wears light glasses and has an intelligent face, replies: "I travel with my parents, because even during vacation I do not want to do without certain comforts, for instance, the morning toast." He then prepares toast for everybody to make sure that his parents also benefit from his presence. His mother works at the Comic Opera, his father in a repair shop. "He is in the party and on the plant labor union executive board. Still, he always has time for us," Andre says with gratitude; even if he got bad grades his parents would not get angry. What he likes best

is traveling with his grandparents: "They experienced the war and they have so much to tell." Tom plays the adversary: "I prefer to travel with my friends. My mother is always so afraid that I might do something crazy. Last year, for instance, we hitchhiked to Budapest. I feel that I am freer among friends."

'The West Germans Treat Us like Impoverished Clodhoppers'

Would they like to be in contact with West German young people? Karin would like to have contact with foreigners: "With the French, Hungarians..., why should they be West Germans?" And Andre: "They speak the same language as we do, so we cannot even practice a foreign language." He also prefers to talk to foreigners. "For instance, somebody from the USSR. In Pankow there are many embassies." Tom is the only one who does not seem to object to talking to West Germans occasionally. "In Budapest we met a West German in the sauna..." The frustrated dentist corrects: "In the thermal bath!"--"Okay, in the thermal bath. He was one of the 'Greens,' very interesting, although he seemed a little confused. But then he started talking about the--what do they call it: liberal-democratic legal order and that the old nazis should be left alone, then I had enough."

There is a reason for Andre's dislike for West German youths: "Some time ago, two of my cousins visited us occasionally; they treated us like clodhoppers. As if we were impoverished, somewhat like peasants.... I would rather forget about them."

High School Seniors From Duesseldorf Think That Rostock Is in the USSR

I remember what a Rostock acquaintance told me. Recently he got permission to travel in the FRG: In his train compartment were five female high school seniors from Duesseldorf; they did not know where Rostock was; one of them thought it was in the USSR. I ask the Pankow high school seniors, where Inebeck is. "On the North Sea," someone says, "northwest of Hamburg," another one says. At any rate, at least they know that it belongs to the FRG.

Questions about leisure time yield few answers. Lively Beate says: "We celebrate a lot, either here or at home, depending on where we can get a room." Frank, the future food technologist, likes to read utopian novels by Stanislaw Lem; Monika, the future psychologist, reads Jorge Amado; Andre, who hopes to be an electronics specialist, likes to listen to music by Jean Michel Jarre. Almost all of their dreams of the future are related to their occupations. Ralf wants to be a pilot with Interflug after completing 25 years military service. The fiscal economist envisions his career in the following sequence: "First I will complete technical training in chemistry, then I will attend the university and study fiscal economics, subsequently I will get a few weeks of military training--and I will be done!"--"Besides," a third person who wants to be a career officer seems to know, "after completing military service--or even during that time--one can study." Kerstin know what she does not want: "General medicine or child medicine. Perhaps, I will go into surgery." Her classmate Monika says: "At one time I wanted to be a teacher, but then I

thought about the fact that I would only have 1 hour at a time with the children. As a psychologist in a home I will have more opportunities to help." She has already picked out a home: one for children impaired by environmental influences, in Gross-Koeris.

One of the three girls who are absent today is already married. Andre wants to wait with that: "Right now, I will first serve in the army for 3 years, then I am going to study. A marriage includes children and considering the course load--both at the same time is too much." I ask them whether they already have steady girl- or boyfriends. There is silence. Finally Tom says: "I do not have a girlfriend any longer."--"Are you in love?"--"Yes, of course."--"Do you like it or are you suffering?"--"I am suffering but it is beautiful." "The beautiful sorrows of young Tom," one of his friends mock. When I tell my 17-year-old son about it, he says that even in his class hardly anybody would answer truthfully to such questions.

Many Are Joining the Army To Get a Spot at the University

"Are you ever afraid?" I ask. "Afraid? No, afraid of what?" "Well, for instance, afraid of war?" "Yes, but we hope there will not be a war." Then one of the boys says: "We have a tendency not to get depressed but to do something." "But what can you do?"--"After all, four of us will be career officers!" I am thinking to myself, I would not like it if my son told me he was going to join the Federal Armed Forces for 25 years because he was in favor of peace. "Almost all of us signed up with the military for 3 years," Tom says. "Some join only because they want to get a place to study, but they are in the minority. First I wanted to stay only 1 and 1/2 years. I thought that it was really enough. After all, army time is not exactly the most beautiful time...." To make sure that I am not getting any ideas, he added quickly: "Now I am going to stay in for 3 years as well." Non-military social service as an alternative to military duty--something that is supported by some churches--will not be available in the GDR for some time. And certainly not for secondary-school graduates.

"There is an extensive peace movement within the church," I say, "is there somebody here who belongs to the Young Church?" Tabea raises her hand: "I am a Christian. It is the reason why I am not a member of the FDJ." Tabea's father is a pastor. I remember that she is the only one who is only taking vocational training. I asked her whether she experienced any kind of discrimination. She says no. "There were only talks with my parents because of the FDJ." Valerie does not belong to the FDJ either because she is French--which explains her extravagant appearance. Her mother is French, her father is a GDR citizen. She herself is a French citizen. The last time she was in France was at Christmas. In her opinion there are no differences between the young people in the GDR and those in France. "Well, the French must be a little bit crazier," one of her fellow students says sheepishly.

Karin and Cathrin say good-bye: They have to go to the dentist. Gradually the others seem to have had enough too. Suddenly discord is in the air when I ask whether there are any questions they had expected but I did not ask them. One of the future electronics specialists (who did not even take part

in the question-and-answer game) is indignant: Was I of the opinion that they had prepared for the interview with me? That was not the case!

Did anybody stop to think in the morning what he should wear today? "We had to wear our FDJ shirts today," FDJ Secretary Monika, dressed in denim-overalls, says, "because we were writing a Russian paper. When there are tests and examinations the defense is done in festive clothes. (In the GDR titles and examination papers are 'defended.') The FDJ shirt is considered festive clothing."

I am getting tired. The desks are moved back to their normal position, one row after the other. A few of the students extend their hands to say good-bye. Most of them are in a hurry to get home.

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YOUNG GENERATION'S ALIENATION FROM REGIME ANALYZED

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German Vol 37 No 12, 19 Mar 82 p 9

['Politics' feature article by Joachim Nawrocki, datelined West Berlin, March: "Estrangement From the Party--Ever More Young People in the GDR Are Searching for Their Own Way"]

> [Text] Erich Honecker keeps insisting on "constant ideological combat-readiness." However, what the SED has to fear is not the Polish model or an opposition movement, but its own diminishing credibility.

Many details of the speech that SED General Secretary Erich Honecker recently delivered before his Party's kreis [GDR administrative unit] secretaries were not meant for the socialist masses. The SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND disclosed that "other passages dealt with the consolidation of the GDR's defense capability and with the tasks of the armed forces," but it did not reveal exactly what was said. Will the compulsory military service be extended to 2 years?

The economic concerns were likewise mentioned only in passing. Reportedly, Honecker criticized the performance of the GDR economy and announced further price hikes. It remains to be seen whether this is true. However, the SED organ stated--almost verbatim--the party leader's demand "to improve the quality and effectiveness of agitation and propaganda and constantly to maintain ideological watchfulness." How is this supposed to be done if all delicate subjects are passed over in silence?

The SED leadership is confronted with quite a few trouble spots: Poland, militarization and peace movement, restlessness among the young people, a troublesome Protestant Church, economic problems, and--last but not least--the unstable situation in Moscow. The first secretaries of the kreis administrations are the first to notice this. They are the front-line officers of the Party--not quite so removed from the sentiments of the people as are the Politburo and the Central Committee apparatus. They are the ones who are called out if there is dissatisfaction to be faced, waves to be calmed and undesirable sentiments to be opposed. They cannot derive any support from the slogans of the party leadership. The success of the ideological work--which Honecker called the core of the Party's work--is bound up with the success of the local party organization.

The martial law imposed by General Jaruzelski is not much of a relief to the GDR leadership. To be sure, it was unpleasant for the GDR--wedged in between the

ideological opponent in the West and an unfathomable reform communism in the East--to have to sit and wait for the repercussions at home. But for one thing, the SED leadership knew full well that the Polish stirrings would be quelled one way or another (albeit--in its view--too late). And secondly, the Polish flare-up met with very little response in the GDR, at least as far as the older generation was concerned. Since hardly anyone in the GDR believes that civil disobedience, strikes, or pressure on the Party and the state will change anything for the better, the development in Poland was unwelcome, not only to the SED, but also to the majority of the population.

Nevertheless, the events in Poland did leave their mark on the GDR. A trade union protecting the workers' interests even against the state, a party organization whose functionaries are elected by the rank and file rather than appointed from above--these were tempting models indeed! A number of resignations from the GDR trade union FDGB were the first indications of such a trend and the criticism against bureaucratic decisions intensified.

The GDR leadership reacted very quickly. All of a sudden, the press praised the FDGB as an organization that strictly and successfully enforces the rights of the workers vis-a-vis the plant management. Arrogant party and state functionaries were quickly and inconspicuously replaced. The Workers' and Farmers' Inspection Service criticized the fact that complaints and petitions by citizens had not been properly dealt with, that they had been dismissed as "gripes" and that many state leaders were not interested in the "elimination of shortcomings for the benefit of all."

In his speech before the SED kreis secretaries, Honecker even went so far as to demand that in the trade union elections the workers' proposals be given "due consideration," that greater attention be paid to the workers' opinions and that all problems concerning domestic and foreign policy be openly discussed with the people. He stated that the Thaelmann tradition called for "sensitivity vis-a-vis the working people."

Now this would be something entirely new in the history of the SED. While the Party has frequently shown tactical skill, it has never shown and still does not show sensitivity.

As recently as November, Werner Walde, head of the SED's Cottbus Bezirk [GDR administrative unit], stated he regarded the young Christians' demands for a "social peace service" as "actions detrimental to peace, socialism and constitution." The Protestant Church's request for a discussion with National Education Minister Margot Honecker on communist education and freedom of religion was turned down on the basis of the weak argument that such a discussion would infringe on the principle of separation of church and state. The FDJ [Free German Youth] organ JUNGE GENERATION recently stated that a peace movement would be effective only if it proceeded from the realization "that both peace and socialism and imperialism and war are integral units." None of this can be called sensitive.

But it is precisely sensitiveness that the GDR leadership will be needing more and more. For the security apparatus of the GDR, organized opposition and individual resistance are less difficult to deal with than a diffuse, elusive peace movement. The authorities are resorting to isolated arrests and expulsions; the more

vulnerable the object, the harsher the punishment. A young woman who on the "Day of Human Rights" distributed leaflets in Leipzig was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment. A pedestrian in East Berlin who stated in front of West German television cameras that he regarded the obligatory conversion of Westmarks into Intershop coupons as an incapacitation of the citizens was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment.

Such an atmosphere is not conducive to opposition movements. Consequently, true political resistance is a rare occurrence in the GDR. Robert Havemann and his followers are kept under constant surveillance by the State Security Service. Rudolf Bahro is in the West; even though his ideas can be assumed to be accepted by a few individuals in the party apparatus, they do not appear to exert any lasting influence. A number of writers voice concern and criticism, but they do so only in their closed circles or in the West.

Even less likely is a political underground. The "League of Democratic Communists of Germany," which at the beginning of 1978 published a manifesto in DER SPIEGEL, has never been heard of again. The endeavors that reportedly were made in this respect either were carried by lone wolves or they were quickly smashed. The followers of the Stalinist "KPD, Section GDR" that had formed in 1980 were quickly imprisoned. On several occasions, there appeared leaflets in the GDR--advocating free trade unions, democratization, human rights--but these were isolated actions.

The many thousands of political prisoners in the GDR are incarcerated not because of true opposition, but because they submitted applications for emigration, because they attempted to escape, because they copied Biermann songs--or simply because they were too talkative. Thus, according to a joke circulating in the GDR, there is a new state emblem: the goat on a chair--"whoever bleats [colloquial German for griping], sits [colloquial German for doing time, serving a prison sentence]."

Thus the GDR need not be concerned about organized opposition. This fact must not be obscured by the papers containing criticism and background information that occasionally are passed to Western papers from the GDR. The domestic problem the GDR presently is confronted with is the lethargy of the older citizens and the cold accommodation or hotheaded refusal of the younger generation. It is against these manifestations--much more so than against deliberate resistance--that the state has proved powerless. When a rock festival turns into a critical discussion forum, when young people demand--by means of a sit-down strike--establishment of a youth center, when thousands of young people assemble for a peace forum (as was recently the case in Dresden)--in such instances, the helplessness of the SED state is fully apparent.

Confronted with the choice between massive police actions and condonation and concealment, the state frequently looks for a third course: cooptation and ensnarement. The state establishes the youth center desired, but places it under the direction of the FDJ. The functionaries seek forms that correspond to Western models and simulate basic democracy. The socialist competition "Beautify Our Cities and Communities" now calls itself "Citizens' Initiative"--a citizens' initiative launched not by citizens, but by the National Council of the National Front.

These examples have been imitated in other places. Following the example of the "Rock Against Right" events in the Federal Republic, the East Berlin Palace of the Republic in January staged "Rock for Peace." The Protestant Church apparently was able in intensive talks to prevent the unorganized peace movement in the GDR from imitating the traditional Easter marches of the West. Instead, the FDJ now plans to stage an Easter rally in Dresden. The peace movement contents itself with regional meetings.

For it goes without saying that true citizens initiatives are highly unwelcome. When at the beginning of the year the East Berlin clergyman Reiner Eppelmann canvassed signatures for a "Berlin Appeal--Establish Peace Without Arms," he was interrogated by the State Security Service. The FDJ quickly coined a motto of its own: "Peace Must Be Armed." Even the church dissociated itself. Church leaders did not want to back Eppelmann's action; they stated his appeal was not conducive to matter-of-fact talks.

In this respect, the church leaders actually may be right; for whenever the state and the Party sense confrontation, discussion is no longer feasible. The question is whether the GDR leadership is still prepared to engage in matter-of-fact talks with a reserved church. Honecker's promise that Christians would be accorded equal rights in education and vocational training has not been kept. At the end of last year, the Bishop of Magdeburg, Krusche, reported that a high school student who had had herself baptized was called to account by the school's director and expelled. Krusche stated that this was not an isolated case, but a trend.

Nevertheless, the Protestant Church of the GDR continues to look for opportunities to engage in discussions with the state. At the synods it openly discusses its concerns--and this is why Western correspondents are no longer allowed to cover the synods--but it does not want confrontation. In reply to critical questions by young people, the Bishop of Saxony, Hempel, stated at the peace forum in Dresden's Kreuzkirche [Church of the Cross]: "I don't know what else I could do in the name of Christ but talk, talk, talk. I am often sick and tired of my speeches, because they do not change anything, but what else can I do?... Are the Government's vetoes on military service in the social sector and on unarmed service in the reserves of such crucial importance that we are called to take a stand? May God forgive me if I am mistaken. I say: No!"

The Protestant Church in the GDR does not want to be a professing church such as existed in the Third Reich--it does not want to be a church in opposition. Rather, it regards itself as "church in socialism," which preaches the gospel, acts as a go-between and, if need be, exerts a calming influence. It feels called to open its doors to the young people who pursue life goals different from Marxism-Leninism or from the home-in-the-country idyll.

In the GDR, there's nothing that could be compared to the Poland of 1980/81: No rebellious workers, no organizations such as KOR, no trade unions such as Solidarity, no Cardinal such as Wyszinsky. Aspects the party and state leadership must be concerned about are indifference, the much-criticized dawdling, dissatisfaction, ideological emptiness, the "creeping counterrevolution" and--last but not least--the growing intensity of the unorganized peace movement that even the churches can influence only in part.

The fear of war has now taken hold of the GDR population as well. The apocalyptic devil that the SED has conjured up in order the weaken the West's defense preparedness now is smirking back at its creators. "Never before has there been such a threat to world peace" claim the party propagandists. But hardly anyone wants to believe that the blame for this should be placed on the West alone. The Communist ideology has lost its credibility in one crucial point of its doctrine of salvation.

Moreover, the GDR leadership is confronted with a fateful dilemma. If it goes beyond its previous practice, i.e. if it not only hushes up, but also stops and suppresses the unorganized peace movement in its own country, it will irrevocably antagonize the Western peace movement. It could turn about and attack the SS-20 and the manifest militarism that accompanies the GDR citizens from the kindergarten to the veterans' club. But if the GDR leadership leaves alone the young people who oppose military service and armaments, there is the danger that cells may arise (similar to those in Poland), in which a growing number of dissatisfied individuals raise ever new demands: Abolition of military service, zones free from nuclear weapons, reforms in state and society, basic democracy, nonalignment--a great many things would be conceivable.

Short-Winded Tactics

For this reason, the GDR leaders try to ensnare the peace movement, to coopt it and to harness it for their own purposes. Events such as "Rock for Peace" or Werner Walde's claim that "the entire GDR is social peace service" are part of this strategy. And this is why the GDR leadership still tries to come to terms with the Church, as long as the Church is able to get the young people off the street and to discipline them. But for how long will the Church be able to do this?

It is obvious that the tactics employed by the party and state leadership cannot work indefinitely. For the peace movement in the GDR has spontaneously formed and has kept aloof from the so-called social forces primarily because the thoughtful young people do not want to be coopted and organized, because they want to express and do something on their own, something different from the objectives of the SED.

So what the GDR leadership has to fear is not resolute opposition, but an ever-increasing loss of credibility--"ideological softening," as it is called in the party jargon. And in this respect the influences from the West are stronger than those from Poland.

To be sure, the SED, too, realizes that as far as the majority of the people are concerned there is nothing that could be softened up, because ideology never thrived among the people. Nevertheless, the leadership must be concerned about three things: The effects of new modes of thought and perception on the party apparatus, above all on the younger generation--diminishing loyalty vis-a-vis the state, a state which the majority of the people do not love, but which they still accept as an identification object--growing conflicts between the generations.

Since he assumed his duties as head of the Party and the Government, Erich Honecker has tried to balance matters in regard to what the state can do for the citizen. He has placed his hopes on a rising standard of living as a reward for hard work and loyalty; he has granted cultural freedom within the limits he considered tolerable. This policy now is finished.

The end of the policy of doled-out liberties came as a result of the blood-letting that the cultural scene underwent after Biermann's expatriation. The limits of economic growth became fully apparent after the second oil crisis, which prompted the Soviet Union to exact higher payments from its fraternal countries. Many people are now expecting drastic price hikes. The GDR citizens will have to tighten their belts even further.

The change of generations has produced effects of its own. The older generation has seen too much and therefore it is not prepared to hazard all that it has achieved, and until 1961 those who could not make their peace with the SED state had the opportunity to leave. The younger people do not have either: They do not have the need for rest nor do they have the opportunity to change their residence. Since they cannot leave for the West, they behave as though they were there: Jeans, parkas, long hair, rock music, motorbikes, tape recorders--the entire ambience of the young world comes from the West.

Insufficient Discipline

The young people in the West do not want anyone to prescribe to them their ideals and the young people in the GDR are no different. The young people are much less impressionable than their parents who after having been led astray in the Third Reich were looking for new props. And since the young people do not know anything but the GDR, they are probably more interested in trying different things. Or they may be interested in trying the GDR in a different way.

Small wonder that even those subject to military service frequently do not take seriously the state militarism. According to reliable reports, the discipline in the National People's Army is so low that the Soviets have voiced a warning. Probably this is one of the reasons why in the GDR the age bracket for reservists has been raised and why combat groups and civil defense units have been given better equipment and training. The older people appear to be somewhat more reliable than the younger ones, and the militia, more so than the army.

The GDR leadership is confronted with the problem that it does not have--and cannot have--any acceptable answer to the young people's search for orientation. The transparent attempt to link Prussian tradition with GDR socialism has been to no avail. Most of the young people have different value concepts. And they are the only ones who understand the Poles. Poles who traveled in the GDR reported that while adults in the GDR had for the most part shown them icy disapproval, young people overtaking them on their motorbikes had surreptitiously flashed the V-sign.

Only recently, the FDJ leadership instructed its kreis administrations always to be "fully informed on the situation among the young people." JUNGE GENERATION, a paper for functionaries, stated that such information was a prerequisite for "exacting, realistic and differentiated political work among the masses" and that it was necessary to give more consideration to the young people's sentiments. And the journal ELTERNHAUS UND SCHULE asked the educators whether they were "not frequently too lazy or too cowardly" to face contradictions and to take a stand on questionable phenomena. The paper stated that otherwise "measures effecting positive changes" would be impossible.

Naturally, this does not mean that the GDR leadership really wants to humor the young people; it only wants to effect changes along the lines desired. The aforementioned statements do not inspire hope for real change. For at the same time the SED instructs its functionaries to reject "any liberalism" and to oppose "all types of opportunism," for even seemingly small compromises would lead to dangerous consequences in regard to the Party's combat-readiness. However, the demand to scotch at birth oppositionist stirrings cannot eliminate the GDR's internal problems. As the economic difficulties increase and as the young generation grows up, so do the troubles of the SED--slowly, but surely.

8760
CSO: 2300/251

SEJM DEPUTY INTERVIEWED ON HIGHER SCHOOLS LAW

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 3 May 82 p 3

[Interview with Sejm deputy Janusz Stefanowicz by Janusz Rowicki: "Law on Higher Schools--Realities and Hopes"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Academic circles have in various ways been showing their uneasiness over the continuing debate of the draft law on higher schools. Their fears likewise concerned the contents of that law in light of the comparison of the so-called social draft with the amendments presented by the government. Now, that the work of the Sejm Commission on Science and Technological Progress--in which you took an active part as chairman of one of the special subcommission work groups has been concluded, and its version of the draft law has been presented to the Sejm, may I ask whether the delay involved contributed to the change in the character of the law proposed earlier?

[Answer] To a certain extent, the fate of the law on higher schooling is a reflection of the fate of the country. The first draft law (commonly called social) arose as the result of pressure by academic circles and included some provisions of a rather extremist nature. Anyway, this draft was revised. In November 1981, the government presented its draft law, while in March of this year it supplemented it with its own amendments. As a result, the draft law being produced, frequently--according to the Commission--oscillated between the exaggerated hopes of the academic and the student community, and the realities of the overly complicated, tense situation in schools as well as the need for the State to conduct a specified educational policy that is the essence of the minister's function. It was accepted that the powers of a department head should not restrict the autonomy of higher schools but that neither should they be illusory.

The final version of the draft law has a compromise character: the sense of the social draft and basic assumptions pertaining to autonomy and the self-government of schools was retained, while at the same time certain provisions of the draft law will be regulated in higher school statutes because excessive minuteness of detail in the defense of school freedom could turn against the school itself.

I would like to emphasize as strongly as possible the reflecting spirit of the law expressed in article 2, paragraph 3:

"Higher schools govern themselves in their activity by the principles of the freedom of study and art. Consistent with these principles, a multiplicity of study and artistic directions are developed with observances of philosophical differences."

[Question] Information about the work on the law was incomplete which probably explains the reservations concerning the alleged restriction of authority for the Main Council for Science and Higher Schools, and particularly: the relationship of the Main Council--and minister of science, higher schooling and technology.

[Answer] The Main Council will be an elected representative body of the entire sphere of education. Its powers have been substantially expanded for it will be making decisions in matters of defining study directions, training teaching cadres, school development drafts and plans, passing judgment on the principles and deadlines for admissions to higher schools, study directions, cadre policy principles, etc. Speaking of the Main Council's various powers, it is necessary to also mention its power to decide disputes between school authorities and students, and treating it as the final appeal echelon in school employee disciplinary problems. To be sure, it is hard to say how the Main Council, which is not a full-time body, will manage with all of this.

The law anticipates the selection of a rector by the senate or a council of electors, and letting the minister register a protest against the selection by prior agreement with the Main Council. The establishment of the relationships: minister and Main Council is important because it will have a bearing on cooperation between single-person and collective echelons in higher schools.

[Question] What position did the Commission take on the make-up of collective bodies in higher schools?

[Answer] The Commission proclaimed itself in favor of their clearly academic character. From 51 to 66 percent of the make-up of senates and faculty councils will be professors, docents and doctors habilitatus. It is worth noting that rector functions can be performed only by professors. However, young academic employees and students have the right to participate in all decisions connected with school life with the exception of awarding academic degrees.

[Question] What is the situation with respect to the financing of school activities? Is it true that deputy opinions in this matter differed from the department's position?

[Answer] The principle of the financial self-government of higher schools was adopted, which means that schools can freely control any profit they

produce, however, the way and the purpose for which grants-in-aid are used is subject to review. This continues to be a difficult problem, because on the one hand, it concerns a realistic improvement of the school's ability to carry out financial policy, and on the other, it is necessary to consider the operation of overall financial regulations. As a result it is feared that the resolution worked out does not satisfy either the department or the school, something that in practice may lead to disputes.

[Question] Much is said in the academic community about student problems. The tensions which appeared in higher schools several months ago demonstrate that we have to do with the difficult problem of student rights and obligations.

[Answer] The law grants students a high degree of self-government and at the same time specifies their rights and obligations quite clearly. Generally speaking, that portion of the law places emphasis on the maximal development of student individuality. Let us turn attention once more to the problem of philosophical freedom and freedom of academic study that I raised. From the standpoint of an individual student, this is reflected in the right to an individual course of studies and study in many directions provided that he fulfills his obligation in his basic field.

Student organizations and self-governing bodies gain important rights primarily in resolving social problems. The extremely important problem of the procedure for collective student protest and the right of this group to express an opinion has been regulated, as well as the matter of taking action against students who violate regulations and higher school law (a dual-administrative procedure for reviewing problems).

[Question] You raised the most important problems of the draft law about higher schooling that had been prepared. It appears that despite observing the principle of taking compromise resolutions into consideration, particular formulations in that document get a varied acceptance in higher schools. These employ 75 percent of the academic workers in Poland. In large measure, the shape of other laws will depend on them. It is good that a document so long awaited has assumed real shapes.

10433
CSO: 2600/570

SEJM COMMISSIONS DEBATE HIGHER SCHOOLS LAW

Report on Debate

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Apr 82 p 2

[Article by REM: Parliamentary version of the Draft Law on Higher Schools]

[Text] Sejm Commissions on Science and Technological Progress and Legislative work began a debate 24 April on a draft law on higher schools.

Deputies became acquainted with an extensive document containing 239 articles, which was the result of several months of work by deputy groups on individual parts of this draft, which--let us remember--the government presented to the Sejm on 16 November 1981.

A report on the work of the subcommission was delivered by its chairman, deputy Jan Janowski. He called attention to the main problems that from the beginning have caused the most controversy and divergent opinions. In the current version of the plan presented, deputies strove to find such solutions and formulations of individual articles as would satisfy interested parties.

Among others, the role of the Main Council for Science and Higher Schools provided controversy. It was conceived initially as a representative body of all scientific centers. In the present version, bearing in mind that a law on Polish science is to be enacted in the future, the deputies decided that the Main Council will be an organ representative exclusively of the higher school academic community. It was left with the right to make decisions on matters basic to science, while on the other hand, it will only be able to give opinions on matters falling under the ministry's management.

Consistent with the suggestions of the Council of Ministers, the current version of the draft law guarantees the minister the role of the implementer of government policy in relation to higher learning. He would, among others, have the right to register a justified protest against the selection of a rector by a school.

Another controversial matter is the establishment of curricula and programs. There is a proposal to resolve it by having the minister establish

the principles for developing the general outlines of study and instruction plans. The Main Council will evaluate them, and then faculty councils will draw up curricula drafts and programs for senate confirmation.

The definition of school financing principles also provoked a great deal of discussion by deputy groups. These had to be reconciled with the current government financial policy. The minister will have the right to apportion financial and material resources among schools. The deputies proposed that schools be given the right to use funds that they themselves have obtained at their discretion.

That would be the most important difference though actually not the only one in comparison with the final draft. Many detailed questions, for example, were left for resolution in statutes on the school.

Not many changes were made in the draft portion pertaining to studies and students--the current version, for example, guarantees the numerical quantity of student organizations, and establishes the procedure for their registration. An always debatable problem--is the proposal to revise the rights of students to register protests. It provides that in the event of a collective dispute, appropriate school organs as well as the self-government, or student organizations will undertake negotiations. Should these not produce a result in the course of 14 days, the senate or the Main Council will resolve the dispute.

The customary procedure for the preparation of doctoral theses is to be resumed--in doctoral seminars, and so-called doctoral studies which were not satisfactory will be eliminated.

The most extensive portion of the draft law concerns school workers because wording from the Teachers' Charter was included in it. Of the general principles--among others, the division of workers into 3 groups: research, teaching, teaching and research, were retained. The work relationship will be based on: permanent appointment or appointment for an unspecified length of time, as well as on the basis of an agreement about work. Rotational assignments of 8 years, for teaching assistants and senior teaching assistants, and 9 years for adjuncts who have a PhD degree are contemplated. Existing obligatory teaching hours have been retained with the caution, however, that as suitable circumstances arise the government will look into the possibility of lowering them. With respect to the regulation of salaries, on the other hand, the Minister of Science, Higher Schooling and Technology who was present at the session, stated that a separate government order on this problem has been prepared.

The current version of the draft also aims to exclude the excessive establishment of schools. In their internal units, in fact, there is even talk of abolishing branches or converting them into out-of-local-area departments. New higher schools could be set up only by Sejm enacted statute. The proposal to divide schools into two categories has also been abandoned, giving all of them the right to make their own rules and regulations.

Finally, perhaps it would be worthwhile to emphasize the painstaking drafting of the articles on which votes were taken. They describe the tasks and rights of the school, and the guarantees of self-government within the sphere of authority defined by law.

Final Draft of Law

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29 Apr 82 p 2

/Article by Jerzy Godula: "Deputy Marathon"/

/Text/ We have the next, and probably the final draft law on higher schools. It emerged after many hours of parliamentary debate on the report of the Subcommission on Higher Schools which has been functioning since last November. Let us remember that this discussion took place at a joint meeting of the Sejm Commissions on Science and Technological Progress and Legislative Work on Saturday 24 April and Tuesday 27 April.

On Wednesday 28 April, deputies adopted the text of a draft which is to be presented at a Sejm Plenary session. During the course of the deliberations which were conducted by deputies Jan Janowski and Witold Zakrzewski, the commissions indicated that the new law should become effective as of 1 September 1982. Consequently, the new academic year would begin under the provisions of the law and create favorable conditions for the development of school self-government and autonomy.

Members of both commissions decided to appear before the Sejm Presidium with a proposal for the preparation of a resolution by the Sejm that will require the government to conclude its work on executive acts related to the new law by 31 March 1983. The drafts of both acts--consistent with the proposed law--should be presented to the appropriate Sejm commissions before they are signed.

The foregoing deputy initiative--it is worth emphasizing--is to safeguard against the repetition of past practice, wherein legal acts of statute rank had actually not been implemented because appropriate executive regulations had not been issued for years and years.

During the Wednesday deliberations deputies discussed the extensive portion of the law pertaining to school employees. The draft states, among others, that research-teaching employees, teaching employees and research employees are academic teachers. Deputies adopted the principle that research-teaching employees are subject to periodic evaluations of the results of their work that are conducted by appropriate school collegiate organs.

The commissions proclaimed themselves in favor of the employment of persons for the post of docent who possess a doctor habilitatus teaching degree. However, it was left to the Main Council for Science and Higher Schools to define the scientific disciplines in which a person who has only a Doctor's degree but who is identified with outstanding attainments may be employed as docent.

The deputies determined that a research-teaching employee has the right of up to 6 weeks' vacation each year when he has no teaching assignments. Employees preparing a doctoral thesis have the right to a paid furlough not exceeding 6 months, while those working on a doctor habilitatus thesis--12 months.

The draft law creates favorable conditions for the development of the teaching cadre. Among others, it was determined that employees with a doctor habilitatus degree have the right to take advantage of a one-year furlough from teaching work and other school responsibilities after 7 consecutive years of work. This exemption should be used for educational or artistic purposes. It is obvious that employees who take advantage of such a furlough cannot undertake paid employment.

It is not possible to present all of the decisions in the draft law on higher schooling that were adopted. It will suffice to mention that this draft is very extensive--it consists of almost 250 articles. Zbigniew Resich who was present at the session of the commission directing the work on the social aspect of the draft law, stated that the current plan deviates, which is natural, from the social.

10433
CSO: 2600/568

ENGINEER TROOPS CHIEF CITES PAST, PRESENT ACHIEVEMENTS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 16 Apr 82 p 3

[Interview by ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI staff reporter, Cpt Tadeusz Filipek, with Brig Gen Leopold Raznowiecki, Chief Engineering Troops, Ministry of National Defense: "Yesterday and Today of the Engineering Troops." Date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] 16 April is celebrated as the "Combat Engineer Day" in commemoration of events on the Odra and Nysa Luzycka rivers 37 years ago. Comrade General, could you share with our readers your reflections on the glorious past and the rich present of the service and work of combat engineers?

[Answer] We are very proud that in this important battle for Berlin, fought side by side with the heroic Soviet army, the First and Second Field Armies of the Polish Army participated. Included among them were organizations, units and sub-units of engineer troops. Polish combat engineers and bridge units, demonstrating a heroic stance and a full measure of sacrifices and offerings, have masterfully accomplished difficult tasks in insuring an unobstructed crossing of the Odra and Nysa Luzycka rivers and have valorously contributed to the victorious accomplishment of combat activities and operations in Europe.

At that time, from the operational point of view the Odra presented the most important obstacle. The engineer troops secured its crossing under conditions of a strongly developed enemy defense of the western bank and under difficult water and terrain conditions.

It is worth mentioning that the combat engineers were the first soldiers of the Polish Army on the Odra, they were there much earlier than any of the others who participated in the crossing. The 6th Pontoon Battalion, attached to the Second Soviet Tank Army, found itself on the Odra already at the beginning of February [1945], on 27 February the soldiers of that battalion dug in the first Polish border markers at Czelin.

We are also very proud of the fact that, as a result of the Berlin operation, two of our engineer units--1st Combat Engineer Bn of the 1st Infantry Division and the aforementioned 6th Pontoon Bn--took part in the assault on Berlin, and that Polish engineers and bridgemen were witnesses to the planting of the red Soviet and the white and red Polish flags over the capital of the Third Reich.

[Question] In recognition of the service of the engineers, on the first anniversary of the Berlin operation, By General Orders No. 105 of the Chief Headquarters of the Polish Army, dated 4 April 1946, the day 16 April has been set aside as the annual commemorative holiday of the Engineering troops....

[Answer] The establishment of this holiday was an expression of tribute and adoration to all engineering soldiers who, on the battlefields from Lenino to Berlin, wrote a glorious page in the history of our nation and its people's armed forces. Along the battle trail followed by the engineering troops the first was Lenino, where the 1st Combat Engineer Bn (1st Inf Div) received its baptism of fire in securing the crossing over the Mereia river and by securing the action of tanks and infantry in a very difficult terrain. Combat engineers of the 1st Field Army of Polish Army participated next in securing combat positions for battles on the Styr, Turia and Bug rivers in the Wolyn territory. On their native soil the combat engineers took part in battles of Deblin and Pulawy, on the Warek-Magnuszew bridgehead, in battles for the right bank [of the Vistula] at Warsaw-Praga and for Warsaw bridgeheads, among others at Czerniakow where today stands the monument to a combat engineer.

In January 1945 began the Vistula-Odra operation and the first triumph--the liberation of Warsaw. From there the battle trail led across the Pomeranian Wall [Wal Pomorski] and Kolobrzeg to the Odra and Nysa Luzycka rivers, to Havel and across the Hohenzollern Canal to finally end in Berlin.

[Question] The end of combat operations did not signal the end of fighting for the combat engineers. Immediately after the end of hostilities and even still during the war began the second chapter in the history of the combat engineers...

[Answer] From the moment of their entry into our capital, the Polish and Soviet engineers began to build pontoon and fixed bridges, cleared destroyed areas and neutralized mines throughout the city. In addition to an extensive training task units of engineering troops took up the struggle to insure peaceful working conditions for the people en aged in clearing the land from the debris of war: mines and duds. From the effort of the combat engineers came hundreds of thousands of hectares of mine-cleared fields, pastures and roads, thousands of kilometers of highways, tens of thousands of towns, villages and settlements, hundreds of industrial objects, bridges and railroad lines. They contributed to the reconstruction and development of the country in bringing help to the populace during natural disasters and through their participation in numerous construction efforts which multiplied the commonwealth of our socialist fatherland.

While clearing literally the surface of the entire country they have distinguished themselves in clearing the so-called bridgeheads, in particular across the Vistula in the Warmia and Mazury regions (especially in the area of Hitler's headquarters in Gierloza near Kostrzyn), at the Dukielska Pass [Przelecz], in the Lubusk territory and in the Augustowska Wilderness. Up to 1956, the combat engineers removed and deactivated over 17 million mines. The clearing of the land continues to the present times. The total, up to 1981, over 72 million duds and other ordnances were rendered harmless.

This did not pass without sacrifices—in 37 years of mine clearing action 484 combat engineers lost their lives, 795 were wounded. The most disturbing aspect, however, is the careless attitude of children and youth and parental lack of concern. Last year alone there were 23 unfortunate accidents among the civilian population. As a result of careless play or handling of various kinds of ordnances by children 13 persons died and 27 were wounded.

[Question] The active participation of combat engineers in the reconstruction of the destroyed communications infrastructure and community facilities is also well known. They have received special recognition for their bridge construction efforts.

[Answer] By virtue of their equipment and the qualifications of the career cadre and soldiers, combat engineers acting within the framework of their regular training accomplish many tasks as subcontractors of great investments or as independent executors of specialized assignments. Included in this category are demolition projects including the use of high explosives, earthworks and road construction and, above all else, bridge construction. Starting from the end of the war, combat engineers have constructed 741 bridges with a combined length of 30,628 meters.

In 1981 alone, combat engineers constructed, within the framework of their training mission, 30 bridges with a combined length of 1,784 meters. This has contributed in a considerable measure to the interregional communications. The following are among the larger bridges which were constructed by combat engineers to satisfy the needs of the national economy : in Warsaw Military District the bridge over Pilica in Osuchow, length 140 meters and a 133 meter bridge in Sanok. In the Silesian Military District our combat engineers built their largest bridge in Konopnica near Sieradz, length 138 meters; combat engineers from Pomerania built a 115 meter bridge in Drawsk.

Other important tasks which were performed by the combat engineers for the benefit of the national economy during the past year include clearing of windbreaks in western and northern Poland. This permitted us to obtain several thousand tons of very valuable raw-material which is currently very costly.

Another very valuable contribution to the national economy which is made annually by the engineering troops lies in the training, and preparation every year--for the needs of the national economy--of hundreds of highly qualified specialists (operators of earth moving and construction machinery, iple driver operators, bulldozer operators, electricians and explosives handlers). They are needed and valued at many construction sites.

[Question] A mission which is a permanent facet of engineering troops duties is the assistance to civil authorities, and the populace, during the spring and fall floods and protection from ice damage to bridges and other hydrological structures....

[Answer] The largest floods, as regards their size and the extent of damages they inflicted, were the "floods of the century" in 1979 and 1982. The participation of combat engineers in operations involving the rescue of persons and their property and salvaging of state property were particularly noteworthy. The 1979 flood was severe in several regions: On the Warta [river] at Konin, on Vistula at Wyszogrod and at Plock, on the Narew and Bug [rivers] at Ostroleka, Pultusk and Nowy Dwor Mazowiecki. This year's floods included the catastrophic flood of the Vistula in the regions of Plock and Wloclawek, on the Warta in the Konin region and on the Odra in the region of Kostrzyn.

During those two years of disaster, our combat engineers protected 190 objects. They used 1,284 motor vehicles, 55 helicopters, 210 self-propelled ferries and 5 pontoon bridge assemblies. As a result of this activity combat engineers evacuated 53,385 civilians, transported 67,749 people to work, evacuated 45,639 heads of livestock, 4,296 tons of personal possessions and tools, delivered 880 tons of food, 1,934 tons of construction materials, freed 146 kilometers of ice jams and reinforced 170 kilometers of protective dykes. They used 191 tons of high explosives and emplaced 3,890 explosive charges. Their effort amounted to a total of 149,000 working days.

[Question] These actions of our combat engineers are known and valued not only at home but also abroad....

[Answer] Our combat engineers have participated in many mine clearing actions in the Near East [Middle East]. Initially as part of the Special Polish Military D tachment of the United Nations Armed Forces Command, they cleared mines from the sands of Sinai and access roads to the guard posts, later, within the framework of the Polish Military Contingent of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Syria they participated in clearing the mines from Golan Heights. They neutralized high explosive and dangerous materials in the area of the Polish Military Hospital in Ismailia and at the military cemetery. They also brought up water and provisions to the guard posts.

I do not mention here the multifaceted participation of the engineering troops in securing a smooth course of operation in regular training maneuvers of the armies of Warsaw Pact nations.

[Question] What are the possibilities today for troops who have at their disposal the most modern equipment which makes possible full execution of all the tasks assigned to them, tasks connected with engineering security of combat operations?

[Answer] The possibilities of accomplishment of these tasks as compared to the 1950's have grown fivefold on the level of an engineering unit. Thanks to the technical progress in mechanization of engineering work, the required extent of a mission can be accomplished several times faster.

The modern equipment of engineering troops gives the cadre a difficult task of proper organization of training in many specialties, it also demands a correspondingly high level of training, not limited to the traditional training skills of bridge construction or mine warfare.

We are currently training men as high caliber river boat operators, operators and mechanics of heavy machinery for earth moving, road and bridge work, operators and mechanics for wheeled and tracked prime movers, field generator specialists, drilling machinery operators, water purification station personnel, etc.

[Question] What are the principal tasks that will be realized by the engineering troops within the next few months?

[Answer] There is a state of martial law in the country, therefore, our activities must be directed by its requirements. The patriotic duty of service to our fatherland and the contemporary requirements of a modern battlefield force us, above all, to obtain an even greater degree of effectiveness from our engineering equipment. It is a matter of time--speedy accomplishment of the mission--independence of the public transportation net, to make possible for the soldier to move in the most difficult terrain and be able to accomplish his mission in any region.

We are undertaking work aimed at an improvement of the parameters of [our] machinery, to see what are the conditions necessary to increase their effectiveness and efficiency, maneuverability, capability to turn about, reduction of weight, reduction in the number of gages and accessories. We are also concerned with universalization of machinery, elimination of a number of attachments, better adaptability of the equipment to work at night and under other unfavorable conditions, in contaminated areas and in difficult terrain, under various atmospheric and climatic conditions.

While we are perfecting our training process we shall continue, even to a greater degree, to render extensive support to the national economy. In 1982, we shall continue construction and rebuilding of bridges--we have

accepted (for completion) 26 tasks in this area—we will, among others, repair and reconstruct the wooden bridge over the Vistula at Deblin. This bridge, which was seriously damaged in the 1963 flood, requires extensive repair and modernization. I'll admit that we have a personal stake in the retention of this bridge—it is one of two "war bridges" in the nation, i.e., it was constructed during the war, in combat. The second of these bridges is in Wyszogrod, it was saved this year by the soldiers of the Warsaw Combat Engineer Brigade from Kazun.

[Question] What wishes should we pass on to engineering troops on the occasion of their celebration?

[Answer] Further achievements in combat skills training, political and specialist training and many satisfactions that come from achievement of difficult, but honorable missions. Missions which emanate not only from their obligation as soldiers but also those which emerged in connection with the introduction of a state of martial law in the nation.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

9511
CSO: 2600/557

BRIEFS

NEW YOUTH PUBLICATION--A new youth periodical is now available to readers: GAZETA MLODYCH, a ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] publication. The first issue will be dated 28-31 May, and 150,000 copies will be printed. GAZETA MLODYCH will be issued twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays, and will be concerned with all fundamental problems and complaints of the young generation. Although GAZETA MLODYCH is making its first appearance on the mass readers' market, it is already familiar to ZSMP members and activists, since 20 special issues have appeared for intraorganizational use during the last five months. [by r] [Excerpt] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 27 May 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/650

ROLE OF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR IN ENSURING OBSERVANCE OF LAWS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 5, 5 Mar 82 pp 19-21

/Article by Nicolae Popovici, prosecutor general: "The Continual Strengthening of Socialist Legality--a Major Objective of the Activity of the Organs of the Prosecutor's Office"/

> /Text/ Along with continual concern for carrying out the programs for economic and social development, our party and state devote special attention to protecting the basic values of the socialist order, the independence and sovereignty of the homeland, national wealth and the property of all citizens, to strengthening public order and peace. In this context, the basic orientations of the policy of our party and state in the field of preventing and combating negative manifestations constitute a unified whole with a scientific, realistic character, and the activity of preventing and firmly combating acts that present social danger is based on knowing deeply and applying the objective laws that operate in this field, in each stage of construction of the socialist society. This has made it possible to adopt a scientific political and legal strategy, to organize efficient actions for preventing and, as the case may be, relentlessly combating violations of the law.

In orienting the whole activity of prevention, our party, starting from the dialectical connection between the material and spiritual factors, constantly provides for the development of the technical-material base, the improvement of production relations and the continual growth of the standard of living and has in view the changes in the structure of society and the special role of political, ideological, cultural and educational activity. Socialist ownership generates a new type of interhuman relations in which the working people, owners, producers and beneficiaries of the results of their labor, participate within the framework of new relations of collaboration in the general progress of the country. The growing homogenization of society, of the basic social interests, a lawlike consequence of the improvement in socialist production relations, offers the conditions needed for gradually eliminating the causes generating acts that present social danger, in order to prevent violations of the law, negative manifestations. All the instruments and factors that society possesses (the state bodies, the youth and public organizations, the cultural and educational institutions, the system of legal and ethical norms and so on) are involved, under the leadership of the party, in the extensive activity of cultivating and developing respect and support for the law, an advanced attitude in the citizens toward

work and toward civic duties. In this framework, an important role goes to the militant attitude of public opinion, of the work staffs, for stamping out backward mentalities and practices.

A special contribution to forming and perfecting a new model of social conduct comes from the educational factors within our society, the formation of them into a system of bodies and organizations that use specific means and methods to carry out an educational activity of which the raising of the level of general education, of civilized behavior in society, and the precise observance of the laws of our state constitute the main goal.

Starting from the objective requirements for increasing the role of the conscious factor in forming the spiritual makeup of the man of the socialist and communist society, the secretary general of the party has stressed repeatedly the necessity of intensifying the political education, of mobilizing all factors and aspects of this activity. "In the forefront," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "there must stand the political and educational activity of persuading each citizen about the responsibility that he has of firmly respecting the laws of the country, the norms of social cohabitation, the discipline and order of our society. With this end in view, we must do everything so that the citizens, especially the youth of our homeland, know the laws and the principles of cohabitation and respect them, live and work in full agreement with them."

The realistic approach and the matter of organizing on scientific bases the fight to prevent and combat acts that present social danger are characteristic of the political and legal activity of our state. In this regard, in order to protect the basic values of society, the state bodies combine the activity of persuasion with that of compulsion, giving priority to preventing the violation of the laws.

Familiarity by all citizens with the decisions of our party and state, with the content of the laws, represents an important factor in the activity of education. Our society is not content with the presumption that the laws are known, but acts continually and in many forms so that the citizens may effectively assimilate the legal provisions. As has been noted in social practice, however, some laws--which are of particular importance for properly carrying out economic and social activity--are not known to a sufficient extent, although they are published and explained at length in the press, discussed in various forms of political and ideological training, in general assemblies, in work staffs and so on. In some socialist units, the thorough studying of the legal provisions is not provided and the steps needed in order to go directly from knowing the laws to applying them are not taken in time. Such shortcomings are detrimental to the fulfillment of the tasks, help to maintain in the respective units manifestations of bureaucratism and superficiality in applying the laws and decisions of our state.

The activity of popularizing and of assimilating the content of the regulatory acts must not be limited only to knowing the penalties provided by law for not observing one legal provision or another--as also happens in some units--but presupposes, above all, an understanding of the social, political and ethical content of the legal regulations, the exact meaning of them. Expressing the exigencies of the socialist society, the laws of our country have a strong educational character, serve as an effective instrument for influencing civic behavior. While the fear of punishment can lead merely to temporary abstention from violating the law, through the providing of

understanding and freely consented assimilation of the content of the laws an influence is exercised on the consciousness of the persons, which leads to the improvement of the behavior of the citizens toward the protected social values, the activation of their position toward the violation of the legal order. It thus follows that the political and educational activity of explaining the laws of the country must not be limited to formally informing the citizens but must be centered particularly around the content of the regulatory acts, around the establishment of the methods and means of precisely applying them, so that observance of the laws, of order and discipline, asserts itself as a natural civic duty, as a freely consented practice of everyone.

The man of the socialist society is characterized by high moral qualities, incompatible with the egoistic and backward mentalities that can generate acts of indiscipline. The cultivation of traits such as love for the homeland and the party, concern for the protection and development of socialist property, a revolutionary and innovative spirit, an advanced attitude toward work, honesty and correctitude in family life and so on provides the most favorable climate for each citizen to be able to make to the utmost his contribution to the progress of society, to the prosperity of the socialist homeland. In this regard, it is necessary to accentuate the concerns for molding civic behavior, to overcome the routine manifested in the activity of some educational personnel, to apply firm measures for eliminating those influences that still act on the conduct of the persons tempted to commit violations. Under these conditions, the intensification of the complex and multilateral political and educational activity will help more and more to gradually reduce the number of negative manifestations and, implicitly, the infractions. However, the attainment of this objective constitutes an action of a long duration.

The conclusions that have been drawn from an examination of violations of the law, especially those directed against public property, of order and discipline, and of the various negative manifestations connected with a parasitic view of life, bring out the requirement of performing on a higher plane the activities for combating acts that present social danger. The efforts of all the factors involved in preventing infractions and in promptly discovering, investigating, judging and holding responsible the culprits must be concentrated on this goal.

Acting firmly against the violation of legality and the neglecting of official duties, the organs of the prosecutor's office have undertaken, often together with other specialized bodies, many actions of inspection regarding observance of the laws in economic units, on which occasion violations of labor discipline, ignorance of important legal provisions and disregard for labor-protection standards and technological discipline were found. The finding of these shortcomings, the notification of the economic units' managements and the higher bodies, and the taking of steps by them to eliminate the deficiencies found have helped to prevent acts that could have caused significant harm to the respective units.

In accordance with the requirements for the strengthening of socialist legality, it is necessary to increase the role of the organs of the prosecutor's office, which must ensure strict observance of the legal norms--without, of course, taking the place of the bodies on which responsibilities devolve in the sectors of activity inspected. To this end, it is necessary to start from thorough knowledge of the social and economic realities, of the state of legality, and of the data and findings procured in all the work departments of the units of the prosecutor's office. The current requirements for applying the principles of self-administration and

self-financing in the economic activity of each enterprise and the great complexity of the relations in the sphere of material production make it necessary for the organs of the prosecutor's office to accord greater importance to knowing the new economic and financial mechanism, in order to rigorously establish the causes and conditions that permit the commission of infractions or other violations of the law in the economy.

In order to obtain greater efficiency in the actions of inspection, the accent must be put on improving their quality, in the sense of more thorough documentation, of detailed preparation in order to make it possible to discover all violations of the law. The organs of the prosecutor's office have the duty to follow with more exactingness the manner of resolution of the problems raised in the tips given to the managements of the socialist units, so as to ensure the reestablishment of legality and the matter of calling the guilty persons to account.

The exigencies of the current stage of development of our socialist society make absolutely necessary the strengthening of order and discipline in work, a high spirit of responsibility for the continual performance of production with maximum efficiency, the good management, protection and development of socialist property--an asset of the whole populace. These major imperatives are in full agreement with the real necessities for developing our national economy, correspond to society's interests regarding progress, to the goal of continually increasing the well-being of the people. The strengthening of order and discipline in production is an extremely important and topical task of the collective leaderships of the units, which have the duty to firmly punish any manifestation of disorder and nonobservance of the technological standards and the labor-protection standards.

In this context, State Council Decree No 400 of 29 December 1981 is also of particular importance for the organs of the prosecutor's office, whose contribution to ensuring the observance of the laws in economic activity, to strengthening the order and discipline in the economy, must be intensified and achieved with exactingness and firmness. For steadily applying the legal provisions, for establishing a climate of firm discipline and order in all units, there devolves upon the organs of the prosecutor's office, together with the bodies of the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice, the important task of helping the socialist units in the activity of knowing the regulatory provisions that involve the observance of order and discipline in work, of pursuing the strict observance of these provisions, taking, when necessary, the most efficient steps to firmly combat any violations of the legal provisions, including by holding the culprits criminally responsible.

The requirements for normally carrying out the production process must be respected precisely, since the exemplary attainment of all the objectives established by the 12th congress is possible only in a climate of profound order and discipline, of strong involvement in work by all members of our society, of better use of all material and technical resources.

The documents of the party have consistently pointed out that the fight against the manifestation of infractions must be based on the law and carried out in strict compliance with its provisions. In accordance with the principle of the presumption of innocence, the state bodies have the obligation to provide proof, in each particular case, of guilt and of the seriousness of the acts that they investigate.

The observance and application of these principles have important educational and preventive effects, since an effective system of punishment, built on the foundation of norms that exclude the idea of arbitrariness and abuse, which involves the wide masses of people in the dispensing of justice, helps to consolidate the feeling of trust in justice and acts positively on the formation and development of the socialist legal consciousness of the citizens.

The wide participation of the collectivity in the fight for the observance of the laws, for the prevention and combating of infractions and other negative manifestations, represents a major factor of the success in this important social activity. For precisely this reason, there are attracted to the dispensing of justice the wide masses of working people, public opinion, which are working steadily for the maintenance of social order and discipline, for the strict observance of civic duties, and are exhibiting intransigence toward those who have violated the law.

Acting in various forms and methods, participating in the discovery and prosecution of the culprits, in the work of dispensing justice and in the organization of the execution of the penalties applied to the culprits, the collectivity can and is managing to contribute actively and effectively to the strengthening of the legal order. In December 1977, the Romanian Communist Party stressed, in this regard, the necessity of continually improving the framework for direct participation by the collectivity in preparing and applying the laws, in dispensing justice.

In the activity of discovering, prosecuting and punishing negative manifestations there have been some shortcomings, criticized at the Second Congress of People's Councils, where Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, stated that it is not granted that the firmness toward those who violate the laws may be weakened out of the fear of committing abuses. As a result of this criticism, new steps have been taken to increase the effectiveness and militancy manifested in discovering, investigating and judging the culprits and to more firmly punish those who commit serious acts of violence, the parasitic elements, those who defy the norms of social cohabitation, disturb public peace and order, encroach upon public property or that of the citizens.

At the joint plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development in November 1981, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated: "Firm action must be taken against violations and abuses, seeing strictly to the observance of socialist legality, so that no one may be punished unjustly. But with the same severity and strictness it is necessary to see to the punishment of those guilty of violating the laws."

Always having these orientations and instructions in mind, the organs of the prosecutor's office are continually intensifying their efforts and concerns for ensuring strict observance of the laws and of the basic rights of the citizens in such a way that no person may be called to account unless there is unquestionable proof of guilt. On the basis of the same instructions, a goal being pursued, with perseverance and exactingness, is that no violation of socialist legality may go undiscovered and no person may be able to avoid the application of the measures provided by law for the acts committed.

Humanism reflects, above all, concern for the honest citizens of our homeland, who obey the law and participate actively in the general progress. From this viewpoint,

socialist humanism implies, at the same time, a firm, militant attitude toward those who commit infractions, because the protection of personal and collective interests must be provided.

Exhibiting devotion, abnegation and revolutionary spirit, the prosecutors are acting to fulfill, at the level of the current requirements, the tasks mapped out by the leadership of our party and state, increasing the quality and efficiency of the activity for firmly combating any violations of the law, for strengthening the order and discipline in all sectors of activity, and for consistently promoting the principles of socialist ethics and equity.

The creative effervescence characteristic of our party's mode of working also prescribes further for the organs of the prosecutor's office the intensification of the efforts to improve the theoretical and practical instruments for the fight against negative acts of conduct--manifestations incompatible with the moral exigencies of our society--and to raise the social consciousness and the behavior of the citizens to a higher level. The attainment of these important objectives presupposes thorough knowledge of the concrete conditions under which negative acts appear and, on this basis, the scientific organization of the whole activity of preventing and combating them. This major concern constitutes one of the forms in which the organs of the prosecutor's office, acting with abnegation and passion, are expressing their total adherence to the policy of our party, for the economic and social development of the homeland, for the raising of the material and spiritual well-being of the whole populace.

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'FORMALISM,' OTHER DEFECTS IN TEACHING ACTIVITY REVEALED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 5, 5 Mar 82 pp 25-27

/Article by Prof Toma Mares: "Tendencies and Countertendencies in the Education of the School Youth"/

> /Text/ The purpose of education from the earliest age is to help the children, in general the youth, understand the profound phenomena and changes that are occurring in our society, to form their conviction about the necessity of the participation of everyone, according to his own power and capacity, in the social and economic development of the homeland.

Education for school and production is decisive in forming the character traits of the youth, in accentuating their social responsibility, in actively involving them in the life of the country. Extensive experience has been accumulated in this field over the years, with various methods and forms being used and applied.

The education and development of the children, of the youth, in the spirit of revolutionary patriotism represent one of the basic concerns of the school and, of course, of the child and youth organizations. Many activities (discussions, documentary visits, competitions, spoken journals and so on) for knowing the orientations established by the party, the directions of development of our society and the great efforts that the working people in the cities and villages are making in order to raise the country to a high level of civilization are organized with this end in view. The "Tot Inainte" /Ever Onward/ patriotic action, devoted to the most representative social and political events in the life of the party and the people, to the great historical anniversaries and to other remarkable events in the life of the country, is enjoying wide participation.

The involvement of the pupils in the activities of the technical and applicative circles, in the production work in shops and enterprises, represents another important aspect within education. This helps to directly involve the school youth in the general construction effort, to make them aware of the necessity of being trained and developed to be able to participate with their own forces and in a creative way in the general well-being and progress.

A wide framework of actions and events thus exists and considerable experience has also been accumulated. Under these conditions, what are the reasons that cause the general effectiveness of educational activities to not rise, in some cases, to the anticipated level?

The number of pupils with unsuitable results in learning, with reprovable behavior in school and society, who exhibit indifference or a tendency to avoid various activities, is still quite high. This persuades us to dwell on some of the causes that generate, even at this tender age, certain traits that become more pronounced as the years pass.

A primary cause, in our opinion, is that in organizing the various events that involve the political and civic development of the school youth a number of elementary psychopedagogical requirements for adapting the content and form of these activities to the age characteristics of the pupils are not respected sufficiently. Unsuitable procedures and forms that, taken from adults, go beyond the understanding and strain the minds of the children, requiring of them a knowledge and an evaluation of social realities far beyond their level of training and experience of life, are often imposed. In the practice of educational work the same conferences as for adults, with many theoretical ideas, with principles and recommendations, are often held for pupils, without there being the concern, so essential in fact, for seeing what and how much the pupils have gotten from all of this.

Things are also similar with some activities within the "Cintarea Romaniei" /Song of Romania/ National Festival or the "Daciada," which take up much of the free time of the youth. The effectiveness of these events depends on the way in which they are organized, on the proportioning of them, on the attraction of the interest of the pupils by providing a suitable content and as attractive methods of holding them as possible, in as individualized a way as possible, in small groups and in the open air, with much movement and with as wide a horizon of knowledge as possible. It is true that events of their kind are easier to carry out at the level of the whole school, but the forced, mandatory and undifferentiated participation of the pupils generates, especially in the lower grades, misunderstanding and boredom, which have the effect of reducing their interest in such activities.

The majority of the teaching personnel, although aware of the formalism that thus makes way for itself in educational work, continue to act in this way by virtue of inertia and laziness or because it is too hard for them to introduce remedies on the fly. It is true that some teachers and educators have often pointed out such drawbacks, coming with concrete proposals, requesting the help of the bodies with powers in the activity of guidance and decisionmaking. But those called upon to analyze them and take the proper steps often give them little attention and consequently, instead of studying the shortcomings and going thoroughly into the causes that generate them, they resort to simple palliatives, which maintain and sometimes even accentuate the formalism in educational activity.

In the face of such situations, the circle of low educational effectiveness closes, because the formal attitude generates further formalism in its content and forms. In order to be safe from criticism, in order to say that things are going well, it happens that, ultimately, sole attention is devoted to the figures that are reported, thus distorting the real content of the work of education. For example, it was reported that, this year, nearly 75 percent of the pupils in the general schools in Teleorman County are included in the technical and applicative circles and those for subjects. As a result of an inspection made, however, it was possible to find that in the schools in Rosiori, Alexandria and other localities in the county the inclusion of pupils in such circles does not exceed 35 percent.

The schools reported high percentages in order to conform to the parameters set for the county. But these parameters do not take into account the real conditions existing: the inadequacy of the specialized personnel for running the circles with a technical and applicative makeup, the excessive demand on the space of the schools that operate with two and three shifts, the material base available and so on. Nevertheless, the objective conditions do not justify the lack of responsibility of the administrations of schools that have been content, for years in succession, to prepare tables and transmit false figures, instead of acting concretely to train and improve--through the system created at the level of the county--the necessary teaching personnel, to provide the material base by properly using the existing funds.

Similar situations are also encountered with regard to the reports on inclusion of pupils in the mass actions within the "Cintarea Romaniei" National Festival and the "Daciada." If one were to believe the figures reported for all kinds of educational activities--under the conditions in which a pupil normally participates in at most two regular activities--one would come to the paradoxical conclusion that the school population is 2-3 times higher than it really is!

From where does the tendency to prepare such reports come? In our opinion, the cause is that, in general, it starts from the idea that, since the effects of educational work cannot be measured accurately, cannot be standardized according to strict units of measure, the activity of education, as such, cannot be rigorously controlled either.

So that the effectiveness of educational work would not be evaluated only according to the percentage of pupils promoted, the Ministry of Education and Instruction established a system of indicators that was to provide a more complex and more objective judgment.* We feel that this system of indicators has some real advantages, but, in fact, it is also based on quantitative evaluations--which will not completely eliminate reports like those mentioned. We have the conviction that only through a combined effort of the educators, psychologists, sociologists and so on is it possible to find criteria that would stop the tendency toward formalism and more deeply involve each educator in the development of the younger generation.

Another element is the insufficient training of teaching personnel who coordinate the educational work at the level of the school in the capacity of commander-instructors of units or UTC /Union of Communist Youth/ guide-educational directors. What could we really expect from a recent college graduate to whom, even in the first years of the profession of teacher, such responsibilities are entrusted? It is true that the young personnel must be used with much confidence to carry out and coordinate the educational activity in schools, but not before they know well the specific character of the work and gain a little experience. The lack of a minimum of knowledge and experience explains, in nearly every case, the difficulties that recent college graduates encounter in fulfilling educational tasks. Although the party organizations in schools know and understand the often objective difficulties that young teaching personnel encounter in this regard, there is still the tendency for precisely them to be responsible for guiding the educational work--and this often even in educational units that have many teaching personnel.

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* Ioan Jinga, "What Does the School Expect from Pedagogical Research for Raising the Level of Education of the Youth?," ERA SOCIALISTA, No 3, 1982.

As long as the quality of the studying and the necessity of combating mediocrity in learning are discussed as things in themselves, separate from all of their social implications, in the counseling hours, within the child and youth organizations or at various events--as happens in many cases--the pupils will not truly understand that the matter of their currently being trained as well as possible represents an essential condition for their future participation, at levels of high efficiency, in production, in cultural life, on a social and political plane and so on. Only by starting from a wide view, from an engaging interpretation of the training for work and life, is it possible to bring about a change for the better in the pupils' results in learning and in their behavior in school and society.

The erroneous conviction that the educational value of some activities is conditioned by their festive character, by having the number of pupils participating be a big as possible, by increasing their awareness through deliberately spectacular effects, continues to manifest itself in the mentality of educators with duties along the line of guiding the child and youth organizations. But, because in this way attention is devoted mainly to the aspects of form, to the detriment of those of content, the real, basic effectiveness of such events remains unsatisfactory.

The evocation of the historical past of the country, of the people, combined with pointing out the profound changes on a social and economic plane in our days, offers various and highly effective methods for the communist education of the youth. In the welcome and extremely useful actions of evoking the historical past, however, the new, socialist elements in the life of the country are not rarely presented in just a general way. On that occasion, it is also useful to put an accent on the general trends and directions of social progress, correlating them with the concrete elements in the reality of the localities or zones in which the pupils and their families live and work.

It is true that our school youth have been born and have grown up concurrently with our historical present. In consequence, the accomplishments in various fields, the evolution of social and economic development, seem natural, completely self-evident to them. But this is precisely why they are interested very greatly in the meaning, the implications of the revolutionary achievements and changes in our country. The interest of the pupils cannot be attracted by generalities, by the repetition of the same abstract statements that they also hear on the occasion of various political and educational events--and this under the conditions in which each particular pupil himself knows far more concrete aspects of economic and social life, seen "live" or discovered on radio or television, in newspapers and so on. It is not possible to count on educational effectiveness in the activities of this nature except by basing them on the realities of life, not in a formal way but by approaching these realities in depth, revealing their implications, discussing and explaining on the basis of them the processes, the trends in the development of society, of the economy.

Let us not underestimate the pupils! It is known that, in general, children, young people have a great thirst for discovery, for understanding. It is thus all the more incumbent upon the educators to maintain and stimulate such a desire for knowledge. But it must be well understood that, regarding this open interest of the pupils, if things are done in an unsuitable way--without taking into account their level and possibilities of understanding or, on the contrary, by underestimating them or using methods and forms unsuited to their age--they will participate only out of obligation in educational activities, and their concerns will be turned in other directions.

Similar observations can also be made about the scientific-materialistic and atheistic education of the school youth. In nearly all localities in the country, symposiums, roundtables and discussions on these matters are organized and mandatory plans of measures and subjects are established--which is undoubtedly positive. In practice, however, in carrying out these activities, people often resort also to generalities, to the assertion of aspects of principle--they too having an important role, of course--but with too few concrete arguments referring to the manifestations and consequences of religious phenomena in the life of young people and their families and to the forms and methods used to prevent religious influences at various ages. Even in some localities in areas where the degree of religiosity is more marked--that is, where it is all the more necessary to lay stress on scientific-materialistic education and on combating mystical views and customs, starting from realities of life--these matters are approached quite timidly, hesitantly, and in this way the pupils are not helped sufficiently to form and consolidate their atheistic convictions, to themselves take a critical position toward religious ideas and practices.

Consequently, there must be basic changes with regard to the mentality that exists in quite many teaching personnel in connection with the way in which various activities with an educational character in schools must be conceived, organized and carried out. It is not easy to make education effective. For this purpose there must be suitable knowledge and experience, likewise self-sacrifice and passion, as well as many and constant efforts.

It is sometimes asserted that anyone could do the work of education. Is this really so? We cannot agree with such an opinion. In fact, the shortcomings and formalism in the activity of education to which we referred start precisely from this erroneous view. To educate is an art that the one who practices it must do with competence, with passion and with high social responsibility. Above all, the one who does the work of education must himself be very well educated, must be thoroughly trained professionally, on the basis of the newest gains of science, must have the capacity to know in depth the personality of the man in the making, must be aware of the current and future requirements for the development of society.

Ignorance of the child's personality causes an educator to organize actions that suit adults but not pupils. The school youth's participation in various events is sometimes formal precisely because they are not "theirs," the pupils being insufficiently prompted and stimulated to conceive, organize and carry out their own actions.

The tendency to transfer from adult to child the methods of organizing and carrying out the activities is encountered quite frequently. Consequently, even the school festivals, prepared by adults in their own view and understanding, sometimes have the same themes and manner of being held as the productions for the "big ones." The itineraries of tourist trips and excursions are sometimes established by adults in order to conform to their own desires. In addition, the providing of political information to pupils and the circles for political discussions achieved with the pioneers take place, not rarely, like the discussions in the ideological education for teaching personnel. This can only make pupils indifferent toward certain activities initiated by a school or organization. In this way the premises are created so that after graduating from school these young people continue to participate in social and political life as spectators, expecting others to think or even to act for them.

The providing of good psychopedagogical training to teaching personnel seems to be a basic requirement. No matter what his specialty may be, the teacher must be, above

all, a good educator, must know how to work with pupils, must know the psychology of the child, his mode of thinking, in order to be able to establish educational strategies specific to his age.

It is necessary for those who are involved in the training of future teaching personnel to find the best solutions to qualify them not only as good specialists for the transmission of knowledge but also as good educators, capable of forming convictions and aptitudes, of molding the moral and political makeup of the youth. We must recognize that, during university training, the future teaching personnel are not offered the possibility of knowing concrete methods of collaborating with the family, with the child and youth organizations, of carrying out forms of political and educational work included in the school program or in the extracurricular activities.

There has been much discussion recently about the practical psychopedagogical training of future teaching personnel, but it is limited only to 10-12 instances of assisting in classes and to a few teaching lessons, the "new" thing being the fact that a good step taken a few years ago has been abandoned--namely the participation of the students at colleges with a teaching specialty, during summer vacations, in the practical activity at the camps for pioneers and pupils and in the preparation and performance of the actions initiated by the palaces of the pioneers and the heroes of the homeland or by the vacation clubs in various localities.

It is necessary to combat and eliminate definitively the habit of some teaching personnel of waiting for instructions, schemes and plans of "model" activities or the presence of a representative of the guidance and control body who would help to organize and carry out the various political and educational events.

The majority of the teaching personnel who are asked to conduct technical and applicative circles or those for subjects, trips, excursions and so on, about which they received in college just a little general methodical advice, are put in a difficult situation. Because during the period of university studies the teachers were not helped to understand the formative value of extracurricular educational activities, many of them regard as optional their training and advanced training for carrying out political and educational activities as well as possible. Such an attitude toward educational work--which represents, in fact, a foremost professional obligation--is also the result of the way in which some school inspectors carry out their activities of guidance and control, judging the work of the teaching personnel only according to the results obtained in the specialized inspection.

The act of introducing into the advanced-training and retraining programs for teaching personnel some material about the duties and the work that they perform in the capacity of guides of the organizations of heroes of the homeland, the pioneer organizations and the UTC organizations would help greatly to improve their mode of working. In addition, not only should talks about educational work be given but also, through discussions and practical activities, personal experiences in the field of education should be analyzed. Under the current conditions, when a creative spirit is manifesting itself in all fields, it is all the more necessary to go from "saying" to "doing" in the system for advanced training and retraining of teaching personnel.

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'UNPRINCIPLED' LITERARY CRITICISM DEPLORED

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/Article by D. Valentin in the column "Review of Reviews": "An Appeal to Principledness in Criticism"/

/Text/ In the periodical LUCEAFARUL of 20 February of this year, Mihnea Gheorghiu has an article of particular interest regarding the climate of our cultural and artistic life. The matter is an old one and it was often in the center of attention, acquiring, unfortunately, undesirable aspects too, which did nothing but deflect the literary discussion from its main goal: the work and value of the creator of culture.

The article to which we are referring is titled "Intellectual Discipline," involving therefore that important, obligatory condition of any public manifestation in the realm of culture. In its absence--the author indicates--the irregularities are incalculable and they affect profoundly the value system of an entire epoch. "The general public," Mihnea Gheorghiu writes, "notes with astonishment and regret that, especially in the world of the arts, in which chance and improvisation sometimes put genius and imposture on the same pedestal, the moderating and educational role of criticism often abandons its ethical and aesthetic calling, getting entangled in 'drawing-room' arguments (a euphemism, of course) between the personal vanities of the parties and, it goes without saying, to the detriment of the scientific and ideological objectivity to which its social function commits it."

The phenomenon is, in general, familiar. Thus, in criticism, for instance, the analysis of the work was replaced with the analysis of the "case," and the examination of the value proper of works, with the imposition of criteria without any connection to the creative act, which stigmatized both the work and (especially) the one who produced it. But, according to a famous saying, "the writer must write." And so a new kind of writer has made his appearance, one who, because of not being heeded as much as he would like, initiates campaigns of reprisals, personal attacks, calumny. Such an attitude does nothing but alienate the lover of culture from his object, turning him onto the insidious paths of scandal and insinuations of all sorts. And consequently, as Mihnea Gheorghiu notes with good reason, "Through escalation, there arises that journalism in which arbitrariness and violence become rules of conduct in disregard for public interests." It is no wonder that in cultural life there still appear overnight vehement and authoritarian little "associations" that arrogate to themselves the right to have, themselves, the last word. In the absence of that "intellectual discipline" integral to any act of creation or of reception of values,

they adopt the mask of principledness, which nonetheless cannot hide the true face of things. Due to a harmful clan consciousness, the professional writers are affected, they not being in the position of being able to respond to the accusations--ever standard--of moral bankruptcy. The patronage of publications by these "associations" also has negative repercussions on the spirit of the respective periodicals.

It cannot be overlooked that the prestigious periodicals are the only ones in a position to select their contributors according to their competence and their good faith toward the field that they represent publicly. But what really happens in the above-mentioned cases?--we can ask ourselves along with Mihnea Gheorghiu. "Has the repeated appeal to greater civic responsibility lost its effectiveness. It is perhaps worth taking into consideration the replacement and rotation of the personnel in these hierarchies ossified into the system of 'you scratch my back and I will scratch yours,' which do not do credit to an advanced intelligentsia like ours, in which the 'patrons' and the 'representatives' feel ill at ease." Pointing out the importance of creating a healthy cultural climate, the author of the article stresses the role of the intelligentsia in the history of our country, its substantial contribution to the process of emancipating the widest social strata. It was the agent of an evolution that can no longer be stopped. "Consequently," the journalist writes, "let us not allow ourselves to be compromised in the eyes of the other working people by some unprincipled inkslingers, suspect flatters or self-seeking critics, people who live off the world of others and whose professional ethics boil down to 'flattery will get you everywhere' and 'after me the flood' or 'ubi bene ibi patria.'"

The appeal to seriousness, to a consistent and firm attitude toward the harmful practices, the excesses of some of the journalists of today is a logical consequence of the above-mentioned things. Because, Mihnea Gheorghiu asserts in closing, "If the years of each--'out of the nest' or in the 'school of life'--have not been sufficient for him to straighten out the unserious about the purposes of this world and about the requirements of the socialist society (which some often 'salute' perfunctorily in trite phrases), it is the job of the people and their institutions to intervene with more convincing arguments to set them straight. Otherwise, who will do it?"

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ETHNOGRAPHY, FOLKLORE STUDIES OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 5, 5 Mar 82 p 39

/Article by Buia Simion in the column "Review of Reviews": "Ethnography and Folklore Studies on the Hungarian Nationality in Romania"/

/Text/ In issue No 6, 1982, the Bucharest weekly A HET has an extensive interview done by Gyorgy Beke with Jozsef Farago, a well-known researcher of Hungarian folklore in Romania, who has devoted 40 years--of the 60 recently reached--to studying and popularizing the folklore of the Hungarian nationality in Romania. Referring to the scientific traditions of the discipline to which he has devoted himself and pointing out the European level of the studies of precursors like Lajos Gyorgy, Attila S. Szabo and Bela Gunda, he stresses that thorough and systematic research on the folklore of the Hungarian nationality in Romania became possible under the socialist regime through the founding, in 1969, of a specialized institute, which now operates with the status of a section of the Center for Social Sciences within "Babes-Bolyai" University in Cluj-Napoca. Romanian, Hungarian and German ethnographers and folklorists perform continual activity there, in the spirit of comradely cooperation and understanding, with the professional researchers also coordinating the work of a large number of amateur collaborators.

The research on Hungarian folklore in Romania involves mainly folk poetry and music, it being extended step by step to the other specialized fields too. Over the years, it has been concretized in many studies and books, having among their authors authoritative researchers, even known abroad, such as Janos Raduly or Erno Albert, who is present nowadays in bookstores with the volume "Balade Populare din Trei Scaune" /Folk Ballads from Trei Scaune/, In context, Jozsef Farago mentions the collection of "Ethnographic Studies" (NEPISMERETI DOLGOZATOK), which comes out under the editorship of him and Dr Karoly Kos and constitutes an important periodical, an inspiring forum for the Hungarian folklorists and ethnographers in Romania.

The Hungarian folklorists in Transylvania maintain relations of close collaboration with a large number of writers, with the spiritual treasure of the Hungarian peasants also being handed down to posterity through the books of Gyorgy Bozodi and Istvan Horvath and through the collections of a scientific standard done with the collaboration of Andras Suto and Gyula Szabo--the latter being one of the passionate researchers of the folk culture of the Csangos in Moldavia. In addition, the publication of five volumes of Romanian folk ballads in a Hungarian translation, a result of more than a decade of work, is owed to poet Jeno Kiss.

The increased interest in the works of the Hungarian ethnographers and folklorists in Romania--Jozsef Farago feels--is explained by the fact that in Romania, as a result of the great changes during the years of socialism, the preservation of the true values of the masses of Romanian, Hungarian and German people and the other cohabiting nationalities has become a "public cause," a major matter in the cultural policy promoted by the Romanian socialist state. In our socialist order, the unobstructed spiritual development of the various nationalities constitutes a palpable reality that has opened up new horizons for folklore too. In our country--the Cluj researcher observes--folklore no longer constitutes merely a spiritual legacy of the peasantry, but a possession of the Hungarian nationality, a possession of all citizens of our socialist homeland. Knowledge of one's own folklore by each of the cohabiting nationalities in Romania constitutes a basic factor in self-knowledge, and mutual knowledge of the folklore belonging to the other nationalities helps to strengthen the brotherly collaboration and friendship between them. In the spiritual climate in socialist Romania, ethnography and folkloristic research, along with linguistics and the history of literature and the arts, have gained a place of honor among the disciplines that study the specific traits of the Hungarian cohabiting nationality.

We gather from the above-mentioned interview that the activity of the Hungarian folklorists is also know and appreciated on an international level, with special merit going in this regard to the Kriterion Publishing House, which, in the spirit of the cultural policy promoted by our party, stimulates the publication of works of Hungarian folklore and ethnography in Transylvania. Many of these books have come to be known abroad and are enjoying well-deserved prestige. Not by chance, they are also mentioned in the specialized bibliographic publication brought out by UNESCO, a fact that implicitly constitutes recognition of the positive results obtained by the researchers of Hungarian folklore and ethnography in Romania.

An expression of the long cohabitation in this area, of the joint efforts to forge a better life and of the spiritual interdependencies resulting from this cohabitation, Hungarian folklore and ethnography in our homeland have been and are in a process of continual interaction with the folk creation belonging to the Romanian nation and the nationality of German ethnic origin. Naturally, therefore--Jozsef Farago points out out--comparative research on folkloric creation is the order of the day, in view of the fact that without taking into consideration and properly appreciating the spiritual values taken from other peoples it is not possible to achieve thorough knowledge of a people's folklore. "In the course of my career," he says, "in each decade I have undertaken at least one action of extensive joint comparative research on which I have worked together with the Romanian specialists in Cluj and, to some extent, in Bucharest."

At present--as follows from the interview given--the Cluj researcher is preparing an extensive volume of comparative collections of Hungarian and Romanian ballads. Animated by the spirit of brotherly collaboration, the Hungarian folklorists in Romania, together with their Romanian and German colleagues, are performing a vast activity of comparative research, with their joint efforts being rewarded with fruitful results that respond to growing scientific, cultural and educational needs.

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EFFECT OF SOCIAL HOMOGENIZATION ON THE YOUTH

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Jan-Feb 82 pp 99-103

[Article by Liliana Mihut of the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy, Cluj-Napoca]

[Text] I. A basic characteristic of the succession of various moments in the history of social-political thought lies in giving a privileged spot to certain concepts. The situation may be explained not so much through what we generally call style, associating with this a certain dose of gratuity resulting from the obsession with and overbidding on what is new; despite the fact that we speak of concepts which are "in style,"a more careful analysis leads us toward the idea that the frequency of utilizing or approaching them at a given moment is determined more by the share, the value of the reality which it designates in proportion to social existence and awareness.

We feel that this is the case of the concept of social homogenization present in Romania's social-political literature in the last decade and, more especially, in the years following adoption of the party's program, a document which explicitly brings out the coordinates along which the process takes place of the formation of the unified society of all workers. The report presented at the 12th party congress shows that this process is determined by the working and living conditions in the city and village getting closer and closer, by eliminating the basic differences between physical and intellectual work on the basis of development of material production and growth in social labor productivity; the process means the classes and social categories continually get closer with regard to working conditions, tedhnical-vocational horizon and general culture and mode of material and spiritual life.[1] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the anniversary of 60 years since establishment of the Romanian Communist Party, by approaching the problem of homogenization of the socialist nation, stressed that there is particular importance in this framework in providing full equality of rights for all citizens, regardless of nationality.

Social-political literature offers numerous definitions and characterizations of the homogenization process, with the differences being demonstrated both in the elements or levels included in the definition as well as specifying the relations between the factors which determine it and the levels at which it takes place as well as in the treatment of the limits to this process. Among the numerous approaches to the concept, in this framework we mention just two. Oscar Hoffman defines homogenization as being "a staged process of the gradual disappearance

in the social inequalities and of erasing the basic social differences between various types of life communities (classes, strata, territorial communities and so forth) and the basic human activities (physical-intellectual work, work of leadership and execution, agricultural-industrial work)"[2] a definition also picked up in the volume entitled "Social Homogenization in the Socialist Republic of Romania."[3] Elisabeta Traistaru and Ion Traistaru distinguish between economic, social, political and cultural homogenization.[4] Many authors generalize homogenization at the objective and the subjective level.

Also keeping in mind other approaches to the concept, one may evaluate that in general attention has been concentrated on the so-called "objective" aspects and, more important, on the economic aspects, the "subjective" area--identified with awareness and culture--being limited to several significant indicators. In many cases, social homogenization is quartered in the area of the disappearance of the basic differences in the position and role of classes and social categories. In these conditions, we feel that a definition of the concept of social homogenization cannot be considered an exhausted theoretical step and, continuing with what has been mentioned, we feel that later attempts should answer the desire for rigorous approaches to a greater extent and, at the same time, utilizing in particular the data furnished by sociological research, should shape with more clarity the objective-subjective, absolute-relative and functional-nonfunctional relationship in the content of the process analyzed. Proposing to join in on these coordinates, in this article we pay attention not so much to a strict definition of homogenization but to specifying the levels and planes on which it takes place as well as to establishing the homogenization-differentiation-equality relationship.

Feeling that the society system is comprised of three subsystems--economic, social, superstructure-awareness-culture--we shall assimilate the objective on the first two levels and, on the other, the subjective level; we also will specify that, in our opinion, the social subsystem includes the class structure (and, correlated with this, the vocational-occupational structure), the structure by communities of social life (particularly the village-city), the demographic structure, the ethnic structure. As a result, these would be the levels at which we feel that the homogenization process takes place.

II. Undoubtedly, the space for this article requires us to choose one of these levels. We shall dwell on the demographic one, examining it only with regard to the structure by ages; we actually will exceed the demographic view, with attention being concentrated on the sociological aspects of the relations between generations, between young people and adults. In order to fulfill this goal, we shall resort to a secondary analysis of some of the data furnished by the Research Center for Youth Problems and a number of research collectives in Cluj-Napoca, particularly the one which studied, in 1975-1980, the formation and development of the socialist awareness of the youth. We specify that we shall have in mind young people-adult relations in the three environments in which they predominantly are demonstrated: in the family (children-parent relations), in school (professor-pupil) and in the working collective; generally the analysis will follow the structure proposed for the study of levels of homogenization.

1. For a comparison of young people-adults with regard to class structure and occupational structure, it is significant to discover some dominant points in intergenerational mobility. Without going into the details of this problem, we feel it timely to state that the research made in Romania refutes both the theses on the quasi-absolute reproduction by descendants of both the parents' class and occupation as well as those--just as unilateral--on the categorical rejection of this reproduction by the new generations. One of the most significant characteristics lies in the young people's reaching a level of qualification which is just above or equal to that of their parents (generally, the father). So the young qualified and unqualified workers to the greatest extent come from qualified and unqualified workers and peasants; young engineers, in particular, come from intellectuals.[5] Interpreting this fact from a different angle, another research brought out that the sons of workers and peasants are workers especially, while sons of office workers, technicians and intellectuals are students especially, thus, future intellectuals.[6]

We could formulate the conclusion on the existence of certain self-reproducing trends in the case of workers and intellectuals, which is significant for the homogenization process carried out under the conditions of industrial development and rise in the general level of the population's instruction. However, we should not lose sight of the aspect on the peasants' self-reproduction: although the young peasants for the most part come from parents with the same occupation, belonging to the same social class, the number of peasants' sons who practice or who choose a particular occupation is lower in relationship to the future needs, a situation which causes imbalance.

2. The last aspect correlates with the problems of the second level of analysis: the rural-urban relationship (whose characteristics and general trends we shall not treat, however, in this framework). A first statement: for young rural people, more than for adults, the village-city distance is not translated in terms of the inaccessibility of urban life but they obtain its experience more frequently, following different schools or as "commuters." At the same time, one cannot speak of a phenomenon of "rural rejection." An investigation made of some young people from the rural environment showed that they find a number of advantages in the village, linked more importantly with the atmosphere, the relations among the people; compared with the city, the disadvantages are felt to be, in particular, the lack of comfort, difficulties in access to culture and information.[7] The determination of this situation leads us to the following idea: the disadvantages can be counteracted by modernization of the village, the main way to bring rural-urban closer together, a process in which the young people have proven to be interested (as this same investigation showed); the advantages given to the village for a large part may be felt to have the value of the functional difference between rural and urban, with keeping them being desirable and foreseeable.

The analysis of the young people-adult relationship from the perspective of belonging to two environments of residence may be studied more thoroughly by referring to the studies on the village-city migration, under conditions where the maximum coefficient of migration in Romania, as in many other countries, is around the young age group. We are not dwelling on the causes for migration of the rural youth to the city, since--as was found in much research--this fits into

general typology of factors affecting the population's redistribution between village and city: economic, social-cultural, psychological family. Attention should be given to the conclusion that the factors determining migration for the most part are objective ones, referring to the persistence of certain inequalities between village and city; along with these are the subjective elements (the idea that social achievement is identified with getting a better job and a house in the city), which often amplifies the migratory trend.

The problem interesting us in particular is: what are the consequences of the young people's migration from the village to the city from the perspective of homogenization? Although the departure of a large number of young people for the city also has significance for increasing the opportunities for communication between the two environments, as a result of the fact that the migrants keep connections--particularly those with relatives--with the ones left behind, the village mainly is disfavored due to the lack of a large work potential and participation in social life, most able of providing an impetus for the modernization process. Precisely for that reason, concerns shown in Romania in recent years appear justified, concerns with providing a relative stability for the young people in the rural environment, against the backdrop of the urbanization process and within certain necessary limits of migration. On the other hand, the city, although with the arrival of migrants it satisfies the need for a labor force, particularly in the scarce branches, has to overcome certain difficulties in the social-vocational integration of this category. It has been found that, although the young migrants feel the social usefulness of their work to a greater extent and they have a degree of occupation in a productive activity higher than certain categories of city residents, they have a lower level of political knowledge and a more pronounced attachment to religious traditions.[8] We could say that the trend to preserve certain customs , ways of behavior does not have favorable consequences from the perspective of homogenization in all cases, as a general move closer to a higher level.

The fact has been shown that development of the process of rural modernization brings a slowdown in the rate of migration; in turn, this favors the modernization process, with the return of some migrants to their areas of origin being foreseeable, as well as young people being attracted to the new agro-industrial cities.

3. Having demonstrated that motivation plays an important role in the case of young people, we shall examine the perimeter of awareness from this perspective, that is, with regard to value orientations. The value universe of young people includes many components, structured and at specific levels. An investigation made in four Cluj units--two enterprises and two secondary schools--brought out the following order of classifying six groups of values (qualities): 1. moral; 2. vocational; 3. intellectual (the last two, with similar ranking); 4. political; 5. aesthetic and physical; 6. other qualifities.[9] Attitude toward the profession, toward work, representing a component element of the area of moral, shows that the young people place moral-political values in the forefront; this conclusion is an argument for the interest shown in psychological and pedagogical literature for forming value orientations in the young people in these areas.

With regard to comparing young people and adults in this regard, we feel that the most significant data were offered by research on the mutual picture of

parents and young people within the family carried out in 1973 in France, Yugoslavia and Romania on the initiative of the International Federation of Schools , Parents and Educators, enjoying aid from UNESCO. The preliminary report on the research made in Romania[10] showed a relatively high level of convergence of value orientations of the subjects in the two generations, with agreement being greater on general social problems. At the same time, some differences were noted, either in the changed directions of attitudes (agreement-disagreement) or, more frequently, in degree of agreement or disagreement, particularly in work, the criterion for success in life and religion. We shall dwell on the first two elements. Many studies made in the Center for Research for Youth Problems have shown not only the fact that work plays an important part in the value world of those investigated but also that factors of content intrinsic to work are in the forefront. The research we now are concerned with has shown that in the view of success in life the adults emphasize efficiency and place professional activity above anything else,while the young people emphasize the importance of political commitment, integration into the collective but also fulfillment of desires and success in their personal life.

Without proposing to give a detailed treatment of the youth-adult relationship from the cultural perspective, we feel it necessary, analyzing homogenization, to dwell on a much discussed problem in sociological, psychological and pedagogical literature of recent decades: the existence of a "culture" or "subculture" belonging to the young people. We know that the subculture in general--not only the one attributed to young people--is understood as representaing a relatively coherent system within the total system of culture, comprising its own network of values and a characteristic way of life. Sometimes it is felt that the subculture actually represents a counterculture characterized by denial of the system of values and creation of a new culture. Bearing in mind this interpretation of the term, that is, the association with the protest against institutions (as researchers in the GDR proceeded at a bilateral seminar)[11] or with the social disintegration of youth,[12] some authors in the socialist countries have been delimited by its use. Recently, however, other viewpoints also have been expressed. Constantin Schifirnet, in a study included in the volume entitled "The Development of Socialist Awareness in the Young Generation,"[13] asserts, on the basis of determination of homogenity of the choices and cultural aspirations of young people, the existence of a culture specific to them (thus, not a subculture, in order to avoid the idea of opposition or marginality in relationship with culture as a whole) and he identifies it with the existence of their own methods of setting values, of behavior, conversation, tastes, dance and, particularly, music.

Yet we feel that the assertion of the existence of young people's own culture does not enjoy the necessary arguments. Two aspects lead us to this conclusion: on one hand, the cultural options, with even a general, homogenous background existing, differentiate the function of social-vocational category, the residential environment, the family enrironment, sex, civil status; on the other hand, we cannot find in the young people's spiritual universe the specific major coordinates of the culture. On this basis, we believe it is more pertinent to refer to "their own cultural elements," in which we would include the ones already enumerated. A significant aspect, in our opinion, for the absence of a radical difference between these elements and the cultural system as a

whole is the fact that in many cases, after they are experimented with by young people, they are also taken on by adults (even if previously they had shown their disapproval).

A first conclusion of the analysis of the youth-adult relationship from the perspective of homogenization refers to Romania's lack of existence of antagonistic contradictions, of a conflict between generations; however, this does not exclude the manifestation of certain contradictions--functional or nonfunctional--particularly at the microsocial level (for example, with regard to the options for various values, ways of life and so forth).

III. Attempting to discover general conclusions for the theory of social homogenization, we feel first necessary the idea of the dialectical relationship of homogenization-differentiation. Our specialized publications have drawn attention to the need for placing the problem of limits of homogenization, mainly in the sense that keeping or the appearance of differences is not an element of disfunctionality, of stagnation or regression. The party program stresses that in the future of communism, too, "certain specific features will continue to exist, primarily the differences between various categories of workers, in relationship with their role in the production process, in social activity, but they will emphasize even more the democratic nature of the new system, the dialectical unity of the worker personnel."[14]

In this study we have brought out several differences which continue to be demonstrated between generations. It is foreseeable that the differentiation will persist in the future regarding certain aspects of the social division of work, some characteristiics of the rural in relationship with the urban, a number of elements of the way of life as well as particular features of culture, customs, traditions, value orientations for various social groups, including the ethnic groups--aspects which we did not propose treating in this framework. Undoubtedly, at each of these levels the relationship between homogenization and differentiation will be demonstrated in a specific way, with its not being possible to establish a general measure for the share they have; what can be maintained with certainty is that, in each case, homogenization aims at the basic aspects.

Assertion of the perspective of maintaining social differentiation poses another problem, that is, its relationship with equality, with the latter meaning the existence of the same conditions, the same economic, social, political and legal situations for all people and, in its complete form, being associated with communist society. We feel the analysis is timely, especially since it has signaled the need for Romania's sociology to give greater attention to the problem of equality, the relationship between equality and inequality in socialism.[15] We feel that in these steps the utilization of some works treating inequality in capitalism can prove their usefulness, with their offering the opportunity to make a comparison between a basically unequal society and another--socialism--based on equality, but in which elements of inequality remain. Thus, Judah Matras,[16] analyzing mainly American society, feels that sex, race, place of birth, residence, religion, education and occupation bring inequality in wealth and income, in access to goods and services, in style of life, in health and longevity, in participation in the community, in the degree

of freedom. Although the relationship of "cause" is interpreted differently by the dialectical materialist view of social determinism, the assertion of the all-encompassing nature of inequality and its examination at the scale of the entire particular social system should be evaluated. Whereas in socialism the basic factor generating inequality has been eliminated--private ownership of the means of production (which cause the inequality of "wealth")--and the workers have been insured their triple quality as owner-producer-beneficiary, this does not mean that social inequalities have disappeared. Many of the social differences which we mentioned earlier and others can be interpreted in the current stage of Romanian society's development in terms of inequality: between phsycial and intellectual work, between levels of salary (despite the fact that the principle according to which it is given is a single one), between village and city, between sexes, between educational chances and so forth.

Relating the aspects now shown to what we asserted on homogenization shows that this may be defined as a process to eliminate inequalities, but not in the sense of equalitarianism, of a leveling, but under conditions of maintaining the differences. In other words, homogenization refers to the disappearance of basic differences, the ones which generate inequality.

A last aspect we shall treat aims at the area in which homogenization is demonstrated, that is, the problem of whether this process is specific to socialism or not. In the context of the discussion published in VIITORUL SOCIAL No 2, 1974 (to which we referred before), the idea is expressed that homogenization is specific only to socialism, being caused primarily by the elimination of private ownership. More recently, we encountered another viewpoint, according to which the trend to homogenization is demonstrated in modern society in different forms and degrees in all the countries where the process of economic modernization has reached a stage characterized by extending of machine technology, by penetration of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution; in the capitalist countries with an average or advanced level of economic development, this trend is demonstrated in particular by the various social categories coming closer in social and working conditions, without, however, affecting the phenomenon of social polarization.[17] In our opinion, homogenization and polarization are antinomic terms; undoubtedly, having physical and intellectual work and the village and city get closer together also is taking place in the capitalist countries with average or advanced development, in many cases with the processes of these types being more advanced than in Romania, but the areas of ownership and incomes place insurmountable barriers in the path of homogenization, with capitalism, by nature, not able to insure the basic conditions.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party," Bucharest, Political Publishers, 1979, p 55.

2. "Social Homogenization in Romania" in VIITORUL SOCIAL No 2, 1974, a discussion organized by the sociology section of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences in collaboration with the Center for Sociological Research.

3. "Social Homogenization in the Socialist Republic of Romania. Processes and Factors," Bucharest, Academy Publishers, 1977, p 18.

4. Elisabeta Traistaru, Ion Traistaru, "The Homogenization of Romanian Society," Craiova, Scrisul Romanesc Publishers, 1979.

5. Catalin Mamali, "Planned Status and Socio-Vocational Mobility" in the volume entitled "Youth-Integration" of the Research Center for Youth Problems, Cluj Branch, Cluj-Napoca, 1977, p 23.

6. "Attitudes of Youth Toward the Moral-Political Values of Our Society," a Research Report," coordinator G. Basiliade, Research Center for Youth Problems, Bucharest 1980, p 30.

7. Gabriela Cresin, Dionisie Balint, "Youth in the Process of Modernization of the Rural Environment and of Agriculture, a Research Report," Research Center for Youth Problems, Bucharest 1978, p 67.

8. "Development of the Socialist Awareness of the Young Generation(Contributions to a Study of the Problem)", Research Center for Youth Problems, Bucharest 1979, p 75.

9. "Dimensions of Formation and Development of Socialist Awareness in the Youth," branch of the Research Center for Youth Problems, Cluj-Napoca, 1979 p 123.

10. "Mutual Picture of Parents and Children Within the Family," Research Center for Youth Problems, Bucharest 1973.

11. "Youth, a Powerful Social Force," CAIET DOCUMENTAR No 5, 1979, Research Center for Youth Problems, Bucharest p 151.

12. Aculin Cazacu, "Integrating Structures in Relations Between Generation" in the volume entitled "Social Integration of the Youth," Bucharest 1969 p 151.

13. Op. cit., Op 240.

14. "Program of the Romanian Communist Party To Create the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Direct Romania Toward Communism," Bucharest, Political Publishers, 1975, p 151.

15. Achim Mihu, "Values and Limits in Current Romanian Sociology" in ERA SOCIALISTA No 12, 1981.

16. Judah Matras, "Social Inequality, Stratification and Mobility" New Jersey, Prentice Hall,Inc., 1975, p 61.

17. Marin Nedela, Ion Iuga, "The Homogenization Process in Our Country" in ERA SOCIALISTA No 6, 1980.

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ATMOSPHERE IN KOSOVO IN MARCH, APRIL SKETCHED

Belgrade ILLUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1222, 6 Apr 82 pp 22-23

[Article by Stevan Zec]

[Text] On 1 April 1982, the Student Center Administration issued this statement:

"Last night a group of hostile students attempted to cause a hostile provocation. At about 19:40 hours on 31 March 1982, students were eating in the dining hall. Two of them began fighting, and 5-6 other students joined the quarrel, so that chaos ensued in which four tables and several chairs were overturned. Somewhat later, a group of 15 students gathered between the dining hall and House No 1, and began to shout slogans such as "Kosovo is a republic" and "whoever is not with us is a traitor." Intervention by the police immediately dispersed the group, but during that intervention the security forces heard some individuals whistling derisively from the houses, while a glass bottle was thrown from House No 2."

Here is how your reporter saw that same event:

Policemen by the Meter

Slightly before 20:00 on 31 March of this year, a large group of students, coming out of the dining hall after supper in the Pristina Student Center, began to shout and cause an uproar. The group grew very quickly, and then the first hostile slogans were heard. At the same time, all the lights in the student dormitories were turned on. That was a sure sign that irredentism was trying to raise its head.

Not 10 minutes had passed since the first yelling in front of the dining hall, before the entire student quarter was heremetically sealed off by a living wall of blue militia uniforms. The streets surrounding the student center stretch for about 2 kilometers, but the greatest distance between militiamen was 1 meter. They wore helmets on their heads, gas masks on their shoulders, and they carried rifles. Their leaders carried miniature automatic weapons called "pikavac" and they had a radio set with which they were in constant touch with their headquarters. A special detachment

of security forces that was located on the east side was equipped with the latest anti-riot equipment. From the time the militiamen arrived, no one could enter or leave the Student Center without being searched. Passers by could not move within the cordon of militia, but were cordially directed behind the militia's backs. Those passers by who lingered for a time out of curiosity to see what was happening were clearly and loudly sent home to bed, after their identification was checked. Newsmen were permitted to perform their work, to watch, but only from a distance.

Within the circle, the students tried to create confusion. One group of some 50 students sought to move out of the dining hall toward the dorms, while a group just as large came out of the dorm and moved toward the dining hall. These groups always met on the central court. Since supper was finished, it was clear that this was an old, tested tactic for creating disorder. This time, the militiamen did not just stand on the streets, but they began an active intervention, entering the student settlement and preventing more massive gatherings. The security forces would not agree to any dialogue with the students. All who did not have home identification documents were immediately taken in.

The living wall of militiamen remained until nearly midnight, and then they withdrew in part. At that moment four buses arrived with other security forces in civilian clothing. Without a-y warning these people went into the student dorimitories, where the lights were still on in the rooms. A search was made of all the student rooms, and the identity of everyone they encountered was verified. Trucks took away those who did not live in the dorms. At 2:00, already on 1 April, nearly all the lights in the dorms were turned off, perhaps for the first time in the past year. Through the night, a single blue patrol car remained at the crossroads in front of the dining hall.

This Is Psychological War

In the city itself, after on 1 April the sun appeared through the scattered clouds, an atmosphere full of tension appeared. The workers who arrive in Pristina from surrounding places, and then go on foot to their enterprises, were dressed in an unusually festive manner, as though for Sunday outings, even though it was Thursday. Most of them were wearing white caps, while nearly all had absolutely new blue trousers, which they had put on for the first time since they were wrapped at the factory. During the night the streets of Pristina had been washed carefully, so that everything was sparkling and clean, as if for a parade.

From early morning, in front of the stores long lines formed for bread and milk. That always happens when demonstrations are expected. People were waiting patiently as much as 2-3 hours to buy a liter of milk and two or three loaves of bread. At the tobacco shops, no one was buying a single pack of cigarettes, but rather several. They were also buying matches in packages of ten boxes.

At about 9:00, tens of blue trucks and special vehicles for transporting people again headed toward the Student Center, just in case. The militiamen did not surround the Student Center, but were concealed behind nearby buildings.

A group of some 20 construction workers that was cleaning up the area around the university library had done nothing since early morning. They squatted behind a wall and smoked. At "Suncevi Breg," the new construction area in Pristina, work is continuing on a large number of apartments. Yet on 1 April, the eight large cranes there did not move from the beginning of the work shift. Only six workers who were pouring concrete to make a set of steps on the plaza between the hotel "Grand" and the Pristina Yugoslav National Army building threw gravel from one pile to another, never working together at the same time. There had been a large pile of rocks there since 10 March. Rocks the size of large eggs had been brought by trucks on the eve of the 11 March demonstrations, and they had remained there all the time until 1 April.

At the "Grand-Pristina" hotel, several tourist groups from France and the FRG arrived in the last few days of March. They had come to visit the cultural monuments and monasteries in Kosovo. The "Putnik" and "Kompas" tourist agencies had arranged these visits. The foreign tourists were obviously excited by the large number of militiamen, and they hoped that something interesting and exciting would happen. For them, all of this was an adventure, although it was not certain why they had come all the way to Yugoslavia to see it when, in France or the FRG, at least once a week someone demonstrates against something.

Incidently, for about 20 days the militia patrols had been increased. Certainly, the militiamen were no longer all wearing helmets, they continued to move in threes, but already the children of Pristina could discern who was from what Secretariat of Internal Affairs post. Those from the provincial Public Security forces were dressed in overcoats, with "titovka" campaign hats and rifles for weapons, while only the militiamen from the combined federal and republic Secretariat of Internal Affairs forces were wearing helmets and windbreakers, with automatic weapons. On their belts they had small radio sets that were constantly turned on, so that any citizen passing close to them could hear their conversations. The combined militia forces from other parts of Yugoslavia who had come to help their fellows in the provincial Secretariat of Internal Affairs forces no longer stay in Pristina or other large towns in Kosovo; rather, they stay in bivouac outside of towns.

On the main street of Pristina named after Marshal Tito, the day is busy with strollers, while at night it is packed. As in all other places, the strollers show off their new clothes, and many come to be seen and to swap tales awhile.

Red and Black on the Main Street

For more than a year, Pristina's main street has been the barometer of the political mood. At the beginning of this spring, read and black were in vogue, whether for jumpers or for combinations of jackets and shirts, or other items of apparel, such as wollen shawls, which are worn even when it is warn and windless. Since the evening of 11 March this year, the militia patrols have not been on the promenade between 18:00 and 21:00, probably to avoid irritating the strollers, for memories are still fresh with the mass spitting at the feet of militia patrols to the accompaniment of loud "poos".

The cafes and restaurants are still full, even though this spring the prices for such services have increased markedly. In the restaurant of the "Kosovski Bozhur" hotel and the tavern of the "Grand-Pristina" hotel, every evening oriental music with songs in Albanian rings out while the guests drink more tea than alcohol. There are, however, other cafes, also with music, to which Pristina's Serb Montenegrin population and the reserve militiamen go.

In the village of Slatina near Pristina, every evening in a rather large private cafe called "Prolece" (Spring), a loud quartet of young men plays. The repertory is exclusively Serbian and Montenegrin folk songs with newly composed melodies. There are also "kolos," round dances which the guests must participate in.

And while the songs at the "Kosovski Bozhur" hotel often mention the eagle, those at the "Prolece" cafe contain popular references to the falcon. When the music stops, about 22:00, the guests at the "Bozhur" talk quietly or drink their tea, while those at the "Prolece" sing, for their souls and without accompaniment, songs like "From the Vardar river to Mt. Triglav," "Tito Stands in the Canyon and Orders Us," and "Tamo Daleko" (There Far Away-Serbian song of World War I events).

A Serb for Enver Hoxha

It seems that no news can any longer surprise the citizens of Pristina, or even of the entire province. Thus, without wonder they received the news that Gani Veselji had been captured. The president of the opstina conference of the League of Socialist Youth in Klina, he had twice been the commandant of the labor brigade for federal projects. Veselji was arrested because it turned out that he was a member of the top leadership of the so-called Marxist-Leninist Party of Kosovo.

Everything had become possible, so it was no longer any wonder that among four people sentenced (of whom three were Albanians) for supporting the 11 March 1982 demonstrations, there was one young Serbian national who, as officially asserted, before the court admitted that in a crowd he had shouted "Long live Enver Hoxha," and "Kosovo is already a republic," etc.

Reporters asked a question as to how it was possible that only four people had been arrested when in its report to LCY provincial committee had asserted that about 700 peoples had taken part in the last demonstrations, about whom it can no longer be said that they were misled, for rather they were nurtured on hatred for Yugoslavia. Mehmet Malici, the province secretary for internal affairs said that it was the aim of social action not to fill the jails with young people, but rather to lead those young people to the right path.

For a long time there have not been as many reporters in Pristina as in the last weeks of March. The Yugoslav television centers alone sent tens of teams that took pictures either on film or with electronic cameras.

Learning by the experience of 11 March this year, the television teams have tried in a timely fashion to find apartments in the high-rise apartment buildings that overlook the Student Center.

According to official data, after the 11 March demonstrations only four demonstrators were brought before the court, but many more reporters were brought to the police station (three at Podujevo and three at Pristina), just because they publicly carried cameras or tried to take pictures!

'Corrective Measures' for some Voters

The results of the recent elections are regarded as a total defeat for the irredentists. Azem Vlasi, presidnet of the provincial conference of the SAWP, declared in that regard that "the massive reaction of the voters is an expression of the feeling of responsibility of the working people and citizens because of the well-known situation in the province."

The official statement is that only 43 ballots contained hostile slogans even though a total of about 690,000 inhabitants of Kosovo, or 92.3 percent, voted. Azem Vlasi mentioned an incident in a small settlement near Kacanik, where there are only 90 voters. All of them voted, but out of ignorance, after collecting the ballots they destroyed them. As Vlasi stressed, "that was not and cannot be regarded as any sort of hostile act."

As, however, authorities now admit without official confirmation, in many parts of Pristina the voting will have to be redone.

In the spring of 1982, Pristina is no longer supplied with goods as it was last year. Every morning one can notice long lines for milk in front of the stores. Whoever is able to buy products before 7:00 gets them, but later there is nothing to buy. In the shops there is no longer a wide selection of ready-to-wear clothing, or of household appliances, such as there was last year. There are no bananas, no coffee, or detergents in abundance. After a time lag, the shortages have finally reached Kosovo shops. That is understandab le when you realize that official data show large economic losses in Kosovo. In Pristina alone, the last six months of 1981 brought 90 billion old dinars in losses, or half a billion every day.

Only three enterprises in the provincial capital operated without losses. The best was the lignite mine, a daytime digging operation in Dobro Selo. It fell short of its 1981 plan, but it made a profit because of coal price increases. The shortages are also felt at the "Grand-Pristina" hotel, which is officially designated a five-star hotel and placed in the top A category. Yet for fully 10 days it had no hot water. The personnel at the reception desk just shrugged their shoulders, and said, "We are sorry, the boiler is not working because we have no heating oil."

How much does a reserve militiaman in Kosovo cost the social community?

Naturally, such a person is employed somewhere, so his family must receive his personal income. Since his position is vacant, someone has to work in place of him, which means new wages to be paid. The militiaman, however, receives a per diem payment of 450 dinars, and is provided with housing and board which someone must also pay for.

When everything is included, the reservist costs the social community about 5 million dinars a month.

Therefore, no one any longer asks the question as to what will happen when the irredentists in Kosovo start demonstrations again. The real question is what to do if the situation stays as it is. The losses to the Kosovo economy and the financing of extraordinary public security forces whose presence is obviously essential represent a large burden.

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14 June 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2022

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MORE EFFECTIVE WAYS OF TEACHING MARXISM SOUGHT

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 Mar 82 p 9

[Interview with Assistant Undersecretary George Jozsa by Antal Lukacs: "Marxist Ideology--Socialist Intelligentsia"]

[Text] [Question] The professional education taking place at our colleges and universities also serves as the source of the new generation of socialist intelligentsia. In this process, what role does instruction in Marxism-Leninism have?

[Answer] Let us begin by saying that today we must develop a modern higher-education system that will on one hand produce independently thinking creative professionals who are strongly grounded in theory, and on the other hand will prepare them for public service tasks with the mastering of occupational knowledge and skills. In this respect, in addition to the social experience gained as a result of the college or university years, ideopolitical instruction is of outstanding importance, which also includes the teaching of Marxist-Leninist subjects.

[Question] The changes of the past decade, to which the student parliaments at universities have reacted strongly, certainly could not have left the instruction of Marxism-Leninism untouched. What new opinions have arisen in regard to this?

[Answer] It is no secret that much criticism has recently been directed at instruction in Marxism-Leninism, especially on the forum of student parliaments. Not mentioning those one-sided, extreme criticisms which have condemned Marxism due to various ideological errors or behavioral flaws on the part of college students, we must say that the criticisms--with certain exceptions--have for the most part been constructive and realistic.

I find this manifestation of criticism natural, since due to the influence of domestic and international changes in the past few years, the political-ideological and scientific requirements of teaching Marxism have increased greatly. As a consequence, the weaker points of instruction, those in need of change, have surfaced. Thus, I perceive that instruction could not keep pace with the economic, political, cultural and ideological changes that took place in the last 25 years, or the effects of international life and

the change of generations on students and teachers alike. This fault is partially caused by the fact that the theoretical analysis of these changes was often in a previous stage, or had not taken place at all, while instruction can only be based on the already established theoretical results of analysis.

Of course, this situation does not exempt us from the responsibility of modernization, although it is still early to speak of its forms or process. We must not perform hasty, premature modifications, although we must not delay in instituting necessary, considered changes. It is a fact that with the questions, developmental concerns and contradictions of the building of today's socialism, all subjects must receive earlier and more open attention. We must only give sincere answers to the questions of either the age or the students.

The subject of Marxism is considered to be among the ideological subjects in higher education. At the same time, many different subjects are included among the ideological ones. For instance, if no ideological agreement exists between philosophy and, say, history, or between musical esthetics and music history, then the student must decide which teacher he believes. Of course, this is not wrong. In fact, the student must be able to fight these battles on analytical grounds.

I agree that the difference between the so-called "ideological" subjects and the special subjects is relative. The social sciences have a direct ideological context, but the natural sciences also come with their own set of ideological questions. The ideological subjects are at the same time special subjects too. Philosophy would be empty nonsense if it did not join with thorough knowledge of the history of thought and the unique system of philosophical thought and analysis. Accordingly, I find it meaningless in instruction to draw a strict division between specialized and ideological education.

Ideological education is namely the purpose of the whole of higher instruction, in which Marxist subjects have their unique, demonstrated role. If ideological differences appear between Marxist subjects and specialized subjects, then the student will actually accept the viewpoint which is presented more convincingly and with more factual basis on his part. However, these conflicts are not inevitable; as a matter of fact, the teaching of Marxism and special subjects can reinforce each other's influence in ideological formation. I think the deciding factor is the ability of Marxist instruction to integrate new scientific advances and discuss them with the involvement of the students.

[Question] How do college university students judge the teaching of Marxism?

[Answer] During the student parliaments held in the fall, students from many colleges and universities addressed the teaching of Marxism. It became apparent from their critical observations that they expect instruction capable of giving a sincere and convincing explanation for today's

realities. They criticized the fragmented nature of the teaching. They recommended that we should insure a greater possibility for major-related options within the instruction.

The decisive majority of the observations were voiced with the purpose of improving Marxist instruction. Among the recommendations, there was more than one thought-provoking, worthy idea, for which we must say thanks. Not just for this reason, but also for the whole of instruction, I find the opinion of the students especially important. The teaching of Marxism can only become effective in the form of dialogue with the students.

[Question] What conclusions did you and the department you direct reach on the basis of the above?

[Answer] Lenin once said that today's youth reach socialism differently. We have often quoted this thought without considering it adequately. Even in teaching, we must begin with the fact that today's youth grow up in entirely different surroundings. Their experience is quite different from that of earlier generations. Their historical knowledge is also different. Their behavior, their criticism and often their impatience stem from a desire for action, for change. Thus we must prepare our youth, the future intelligentsia of our country, for action and the knowledge of how to act. It is therefore also necessary that they should acquire their ideology, their social viewpoint through their own intellectual power. Marxism is not a complete, finished theory, which has set answers to eveything; it is an open ideology and science which bases its truth and its answers on concrete analysis of concrete situations, and not on preconceived dogma. This is why we must involve the students as partners, as adult, independently thinking, rational persons in the analysis of questions. We do not want to chisel the students' thinking, but rather we want to provide effective aid in the development of independent, logical thought for independent action.

We do not consider Marxism to be the closed collection of final answers, like some kind of crystal ball: it is the indispensable analysis and philosophy necessary for revealing the truth.

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OVARI SPEAKS ON PUBLIC EDUCATION ISSUES

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 5, May 82 pp 3-14

[Report by Politburo member Miklos Ovari, presented at the 7 April 1982 session of the MSZMP Central Committee: "The Situation in Public Education and the Tasks of Its Balanced Development"]

[Text] It was 10 years ago that the Central Committee of our party last held a comprehensive discussion of the situation in public education, and of the tasks for its development. This fact alone warranted, but particularly other reasons and circumstances prompted, that we again have placed this topic on the agenda. For in our public life there are many controversial questions regarding the present functioning of education and the directions of its development; in the background of these questions there are problems that have long awaited solution; at the same time, the requirements of the economy's intensive development present new tasks for education; in the absence of answers there is considerable uncertainty, and even a lack of confidence, among the teachers and the public, regarding education and its management.

The mentioned reasons and circumstances have resulted, particularly in recent years, in that one-sided and exaggerated judgments also have spread, in addition to the justifiable criticisms. Some people question the historical achievements of our education and the results of our teachers' dedicated work. Others believe that education is a suitable target for false views criticizing society.

From all this it obviously follows that it is time to review the experience with implementing the resolution adopted 10 years ago, to examine the present problems of education, and to set the principal directions of further work.

The first conclusion we may draw is that the principles formulated in the 1972 resolution are valid also long-term. The unalterably timely and outstandingly important tásks of socialist education are: to train independently thinking, dedicated, active, initiative and creative personalities; to continuously renew and modernize the content of the education transmitted by the school, and the work methods in education and training; to impart knowledge based on sound general education; to enhance mobility that is desirable from the viewpoint of socialist society's development, and particularly to promote, by social and pedagogical means, further study among the children of blue-collar workers; to preferentially develop elementary schools; and to broaden school democracy.

An important element in the balance of the past 10 years is that on the whole implementation has advanced education: numerical, quantitative growth has been considerable; most of the new curriculums and textbooks that are being introduced are better

than the old ones; teaching methods have advanced; and the elementary school has enjoyed preferential development despite the worsening economic conditions.

State education would have been unable to develop without the teachers' efforts, the work of the state organs (including the councils), the help of the party and social organizations, and the support of the enterprises. However, an important share of the results can be attributed to the changes taking place in entire society, to recognition of what the 12th party congress formulated as follows: education is an integral part of socialist society's development and an important factor of our economic progress.

When we speak with appreciation of the work performed and of its results, we must also mention--with strict objectivity, criticism and self-criticism--the work left undone, the objective stresses in public education, and the shortcomings in implementation. Contrary to the spirit and intent of the 1972 resolution, the efforts to end unnecessary workloads, and to narrow the differences between individual schools, have often led in practice to a lowering of the requirements, to downward equalization. In retrospect we must also establish that there were also delays and confusion in implementing the resolution.

Both our favorable and unfavorable experience confirm that the school, the educational system can be changed only with great circumspection. Educational work must not only be renewed, it also requires stability. The school cannot tolerate extensive or too frequent changes. The measures introduced in recent years to modernize educational work could not be adequately prepared and coordinated already because education and training occasionally were snowed under with too many such measures simultaneously. A few decisions had to be revoked, and their withdrawal was warranted. However, too frequent corrections of the measures aimed at modernizing educational work can lead to further disturbances, and they also undermine respect for the management of education.

State education must now cope with several accumulated problems, each one substantial in itself. Noteworthy among these problems are: the current complete introduction of the new curricula and textbooks; the growth of enrollment; the changeover to a five-day week; and the ensuring of objective conditions to meet the higher requirements.

A primary objective of the political standpoint that the Central Committee is about to adopt, after weighing the needs of society and the possibilities for the development of education, is to set the principal directions and most important tasks in the development of public education, providing thereby a basis for government organs in drafting a substantiated educational development program, for the balanced long-range development of education. Another important purpose of our standpoint is to contribute toward the creation of more tranquil working conditions in education, toward a more balanced social assessment of the schools' work and mission, to the stability of the school as an institution, and toward the clarification of some long-pending questions regarding development.

However, we must clarify not only the purpose of our standpoint, but also its subject and content. Already in the course of the preliminary work we first had to answer the question whether to investigate the long-range development of public education or the possibilities of resolving the present stresses.

In the matter of long-range development--i.e., the first group of questions--investigation of the structure of our educational system and its possible transformation were raised some time ago, thus also in 1972. The conclusion of the debate on this question during the past decade and the results of the investigations can be summed up as follows: At present it would be unwise to decide a radical transformation of our educational system, not even as a long-term objective. Foreign experience also warns that we must proceed cautiously in transforming the educational system. The decisive argument, however, is that the possibilities for the development of public education are by far not exhausted even under the present educational system. Firmer and deeper foundations of general education for every student can be established even within the framework of the present schools. (By general education, of course, we mean education not only in the so-called humanities, but also in the natural and even the technical sciences.)

The present difficulties, problems and functional disturbances--the justifiable complaints regarding the level and quality of education and training--do not stem from the structure of our schools. Even within the framework of our present educational system there are many untapped reserves for more effective, more modern and more successful work in education and training. If we were to disregard this recognized fact, our attention would be diverted from the problems now awaiting solution and the sense of uncertainty within society and among teachers would be perpetuated, whereas what we primarily need now is to consolidate the results achieved to date and reduce the uncertainty. We might add that the professional and scientific debates have not produced a comprehensive and specific concept that could be responsibly offered for adoption.

Today our public education primarily needs greater stability, and therefore it would be unwise to add another very difficult task to the accumulation of problems awaiting solution. Therefore the Central Committe is closing the debate on the structure of the educational system, which has been going on for more than a decade, by adopting a program for the continuous renewal of public education, instead of a long-range structural reform.

Of course, a continuous program of renewal does not mean that we are barring further professional debate on the structure of the educational system. But until professionally substantiated, convincing and unambiguous proposals are presented, we must solve within the framework of the present educational system all the tasks that the changing needs of society and scientific progress raise for education. Thus also in the long-run the eight-grade elementary and subsequent secondary education will be the foundation of our educational system.

If we decide in favor of gradual development, instead of a comprehensive reform, the question arises as to whether we are able to identify the long-range objectives that gradual development must serve.

It is generally recognized that one must not think solely in long-range perspectives, disregarding the present problems and the path into the future; and also that development can become haphazard, or even doomed to failure, if there is no clear objective for the realization of which all this is being done. This applies also to the development of public education. Therefore we need a program of continuous development that takes into account the present tasks as well as our longer-range objectives.

Of course, we are unable to define in every detail the long-range objective in the development of public education, and this is not even necessary. For the program of building a developed socialist society determines the principal directions of social, political, economic and cultural development. In full knowledge of this program, it is possible to identify also the long-range objectives of public education, at least to the extent that self-critical analysis of these objectives, and of the present state of public education, enables us to identify--without the risk of serious mistakes--the tasks that will permit us to proceed toward our long-range objectives.

In accord with the policy guidelines of the 1972 resolution, in the proposed guiding principles we attempt to summarize what basic functions education must perform in the period of building socialism, so that the rising generations will acquire the education and the moral traits that our present and particularly our future tasks demand.

Especially important among the basic functions is the support of certain social-policy aspirations. Firm people's power and national unity forged in the spirit of socialist objectives are the greatest achievement of our social system and the main guaranty of our development. In the interest of preserving and developing them, we are striving to comprehensively unfold socialist democracy. If we do not want socialist democracy in public education to be merely a slogan without content, or an obligation that can be fulfilled only perfunctorily, then we must investigate what specific long-range tasks stem for public education from the requirement of developing socialist democracy.

The assertion of people's power and socialist democracy in public education means first of all that there are no educational monopolies, nor can any develop. For every member of the rising generation we are striving to provide more-equal opportunity to study and develop individual abilities, so that everyone may acquire the knowledge qualifying for the job best suited to his abilities and enable him, in knowledge of the social processes, to help shape his own future and that of the community.

In our educational system there already is a permanent effort--and this will be increasingly true in the future--to provide more equal opportunity for further study and professional advancement, primarily by pedagogical means and through pedagogical solutions.

Our educational system is frequently criticized because progress in the liquidation of inequality in educational opportunities has not been sufficiently tangible and fast enough. It is often denied that schools have any positive role in the liquidation of inequality. Although our schools are characterized by numerous shortcomings also in this respect, the accusation is unfounded that our educational system perpetuates and reproduces the inequalities that still exist in our society. Facts prove that our educational system's persistent effort to reduce educational disadvantages has produced significant results also in recent years. An important development in the democratization of culture has been the practically universal completion of elementary school and the large-scale expansion of secondary education. As a result, the level of education has risen significantly also among strata that earlier were barely educated. For the children of blue-collar workers and of skilled workers in particular, all this has substantially improved their opportunities for

further study and vocational training. Our efforts have not been in vain, and noteworthy proof of this is the fact that the children of semiskilled and unskilled workers have become skilled workers in large numbers. We can also claim credit for stabilizing around 40 percent in higher education the proportion of students from worker-peasant families.

All this does not mean that we can be entirely satisfied with the achieved results. Our primary problem at present, and foreseeably also in the future, is that the school is unable to provide as much help as could be expected and would be feasible, in the case of children whose family environment can offer neither suitable encouragement nor specific assistance for the successful continuation of their studies. Even today a large proportion of these children are over-age when they complete elementary school; those of them who continue their studies find it difficult to stand their ground in secondary school, and their dropout rate is well above the average. A basic education-policy and pedagogical task in the coming years will be to develop more help for children disadvantaged in various ways, and to elaborate expedient pedagogical solutions for such help, on the basis of research and experimentation.

I would like to emphasize, however, that help for disadvantaged students and the efforts to reduce inequality in educational opportunity must not lead in any case to a relaxation of the requirements. The principle of inequality must not counter the differentiated development of abilities, and it does not follow from this that above-average students should be neglected. By the principle of equality we have always meant equal opportunity, and not equal abilities. The desirable solution--the one that the socialist educational system must enhance--is to let every student develop his talents and abilities as fully as possible, within the limits of his natural endowments. Only differentiated pedagogical procedures, and not misinterpreted uniformization and schematic egalitarianism, can help achieve this. Therefore we regard as an important task to provide pedagogical help also for the exceptionally gifted students who are capable of advancing faster than the average student. As mentioned already in 1972, we relate the concept of talent to entire human activity, thus not only to theoretical abilities but to practical skills as well.

The school will be able to meet the requirements of society if it can solve these two tasks--i.e., help for the disadvantaged, and differentiated development of abilities--in their integral unity. The higher the level of a school's intellectual pedagogical work, the more favorable are the conditions for alleviating the effects of disadvantages that are of social origin.

Hence it follows that not only is it necessary to upgrade the substandard schools, but it is also in the interest of society that there be famous, outstanding schools, more than there are at present. This does not violate socialist equality; to the contrary, the example of such schools is an indispensable magnet for entire public education. And there is also a great need for eminent and erudite teachers with above-average knowledge and pedagogical skills, who will train outstanding theoretical and practical experts for socialist society. This of course requires that their work be appreciated not only by their students, but by entire society as well.

We should mention here the discredited false dilemma of a heavy or light workload for students. The two are not necessarily opposites. Unnecessary assignments breed mediocritiy because they make absorbed independent work impossible. A light

workload means that an attempt is made to solve every lesson perfunctorily, with more hours in the classroom, by expanding the textbooks and curricula.

The students' performance depends to a large extent on our success in finding the best methods. In other words, the students' performance depends on the effectiveness of teaching. There still are great reserves in the methods of teaching employed in our schools. We should seek solutions not in lowering the requirements, but in demanding more and better work from the students. For every level of the educational system, therefore, we must set high requirements that demand sound effort. The level of school work, its exacting requirements, order, discipline and organization are the most important factor in training the students to work.

From the viewpoint of future socialist society it is of primary importance that the school prepare the students for gradual adjustment into society. Ideological education is an important element of this. One of the most important tasks of formal education is that it teach the students--in the individual subjects and through entire pedagogical activity, taking into account the characteristics of the students' age--the fundamentals of a scientific world outlook.

With the introduction of the new textbooks, the study of civics has been broadened in elementary and secondary schools. In every subject there is greater emphasis on the requirements of socialist education. At the same time, however, the fact that the programs of the subjects that specifically serve to provide social, political and ideological orientation are often ineffective causes concern. The students' knowledge of history is at a very low level, and especially their knowledge of recent history is sketchy. Of course, it is not solely the school's task to lay the foundation for the students' scientific world outlook. At their highly impressionable age, the students are exposed to a variety of influences. However, the school is able to do the most, through education and training, by synthesizing these various influences, by forming an integrated, scientifically substantiated world outlook.

Another important element in the rising generations' adjustment into society is the gaining of social and political knowledge. The young people of today are more demanding; their interest is keener than that of the earlier generations. Presumably this will be increasingly true in the future. We might add that this broader interest is typical of entire society, of adults as well. The mass media--television in particular--bring into the home daily the most important domestic and foreign events. At the same time the young people are inexperienced and have many questions. Adult society and the school cannot sidestep these questions. But in order to be able to answer the questions, teachers need far more help than they have been receiving up to now in the form of regular briefings and high-level further training. A greater role in this must be assumed also by the party organizations.

The students' smooth adjustment into society depends in many respects also on whether they have opportunity to gain suitable practical experience of public life. The school does provide opportunity for the students to learn and practice good citizenship, social activity, and the application of democracy. The great educational possibilities inherent in the students' independent activity are still unutilized to a significant extent. In the educational process, however, the students' self-reliance and independent activity are still confined within narrow limits. Very

often the students are able to participate only in programs decided and organized from above. Most students do not identify with such programs and attend them only because they are compulsory. In this respect there are many perfunctory elements also in the work of the youth organizations.

Of course, the education of youths and their smoother adjustment into society are not solely the task and responsibility of the school, nor of the social organs. There can be no substitute for the responsible role that the family plays in raising the children, the young people. Family cooperation is indispensable in turning the young people, exposed as they are to the example and influence of their immediate environment, into responsible, work-loving, independently thinking and acting, healthy adults of sound mind. The social organs, and also the mass media, must help to gain as wide understanding and acceptance as possible of the fact that care for the children by society cannot replace any of the functions of the family. In education and training particular attention must be devoted to family upbringing and education in the school.

However, preparation for adjustment into society is not a question of education alone. It is an understandable social requirement that the schools turn out students who will be able to apply their knowledge in jobs that are important and necessary to society. Close coordination of the training of specialists and the needs of society is one of our most difficult tasks. Rapid changes in the life of society, and within this particularly the rapidly changing economic tasks (it is hoped that they will change even more rapidly in the future), make even medium-range planning difficult. The tasks awaiting the graduating specialists include also ones that were barely known or entirely unknown during their school years.

In this situation, then, it is not easy to satisfy the needs of society in accordance with the possibilities of instruction, and to take also individual aptitudes and aspirations into consideration. Therefore we must strive to achieve that the school--every type of school--offer solid knowledge that can be developed further, enabling the students to gain new knowledge independently, and to participate in systematic study and further training after graduation. This will make it easier for graduating students to find their place in the social division of labor, to adjust to the new requirements posed by social, economic and technical development, and to change careers should this become necessary, or if they feel that it is necessary.

All these tasks apply primarily to secondary education, i.e., to the secondary and specialized secondary schools. It is a significant achievement of the past 15 years that continued study at the secondary level has become practically the rule in our country. More and more members of the younger generation are able to complete secondary school. More than 90 percent of the students leaving elementary school are continuing their studies.

We could be satisfied with this result if the dropout rate in secondary education were not still high. As a result, for example, the proportion of secondary-school graduates in the 20 to 29 age group is 65 percent at present. Therefore significant further efforts are necessary to make secondary education universal. Another contradiction of our secondary education is that the preparatory and specialized secondary schools are strictly separate. Changeover from one type of school to another is not easy, and this--in combination also with the early choice of a future career--makes it difficult for young people to find their place in the social division of labor.

During the past decade, the internal proportions of secondary education shifted excessively in favor of specialized education. At present about 80 percent of the students continuing their studies at the secondary level are enrolled in the types of schools that offer specialized education. This shift can be attributed partially to the fact that most children of blue-collar workers continue their studies in specialized secondary schools (their proportion in the three-year schools for the training of skilled workers is about 80 percent, 64 percent in specialized secondary schools, and barely more than 40 percent in high school), and partially to the preference of boys for vocational secondary schools (only one out of seven boys at the secondary level is enrolled in high school). There are numerous indications that this structure generates contradictions in placement and further study. High schools turn out about 70 percent of the students in higher education, whereas this type of school accounts for barely 20 percent of an age group. This influences unfavorably the social structure of the students in higher education, and in many fields also the ratio of male and female students; there are few men in certain intellectual professions. The problem is compounded by the fact that higher education, until very recently, failed to take into consideration the structural peculiarities of enrollment in secondary education, the significant increase in the proportion of students enrolled in specialized secondary schools. The current modification of the requirements for admission to higher education, already make public, will alleviate these problems.

Difficulties requiring urgent solution are arising also in secondary vocational training. Excessive specialization unalterably remains the greatest concern in vocational training. Although some things have been done, during the planning and introduction of the new curricula, to curb excessive specialization and to provide vocational training that better meets the long-range needs of the economy and can serve as the basis for gaining further vocational training, there is still much to be done to develop vocational training that flexibly adapts to the requirements of economic and technical development. Especially lately we are beginning to realize more and more that it was a mistake to divorce the training of technicians from the educational system. The qualification of technicians within the framework of training courses is encountering serious trouble. Also the training of technicians must be regulated in an acceptable manner within the entire system of vocational training, taking into account the special requirements of the individual fields.

The problems and contradictions of secondary education are not of recent origin. The specialists have been seeking solutions for a long time. Studies unambiguously indicate that the secondary school must be retained as a separate level of education also in the distant future. Society and the economy will continue to need specialized secondary schools that simultaneously offer a general education and vocational training, in integral unity. To this end the general subjects in the first two grades of the specialized secondary schools must approximate the subjects taught in high school. This will make it easier to change over from one type of school to another and to make changes in the choice of a future career, and it will partially offset also the drawbacks of having to choose a future career too early.

Of course, there are changes from time to time also in the specialized secondary schools' functions and in the vocational knowledge offered. The requirements of economic development place new demands on the specialized secondary schools as well. The schools will be able to meet these demands only if, instead of overspecialized vocational training, they offer a broad general educational and solid specialized knowledge, and if they strive to develop the ability and willingness to work. A

high level of general education will pay dividends not only in the work process; it will play a growing role also in social activity outside the workplace and in the lifestyle of individuals.

The school for the training of skilled workers will long remain an indispensable element of our educational system. Its gradual development means that on the one hand cooperation between these schools and the enterprises will be reinforced, and on the other hand they will approximate the specialized secondary schools.

According to our party's program declaration, we wish to make universal the continuation of study at the secondary level in our country. Every type of secondary school must be developed, already for demographic reasons. Primarily the needs of higher education warrant the gradual expansion of high-school education. When planning the quotas for enrollment it is necessary to take into consideration that the general education obtainable in high school and the more-practical knowledge that can be acquired on an elective basis mean that graduates can find jobs also at the lower and middle levels of intellectual professions. Our present experience also indicates that an ever-larger proportion of high-school graduates who do not go on to higher education are acquiring vocational qualifications. On the basis of these considerations we will plan a slight increase in the proportion of high-school students.

The balanced development of our educational system in harmony with the needs of society places great demands on the managing organs. All this necessitates the further modernization and improvement of the entire system of educational administration. The modernization and changes launched in the 1970's were progressive on the whole and have had a favorable effect. On the basis of the law governing local councils, integrated administration of elementary and secondary schools by the councils has been achieved, and the right to operate schools has been decentralized. In the central administration of education, the public-administration conditions have been developed for asserting uniform branch responsibility. The purpose of decentralizing administration was to increase a given area's interest in, and direct responsibility for, the maintenance and development of educational institutions. These principles will have to apply also in the future.

In the central state administration of education it will be necessary to reinforce policy guidance, and parallel with it also the ministry's regional inspection, coordinating and organizing work. We propose that the Council of Ministers, in cooperation with the ministries concerned with the administration and development of public education, prepare a long-range program for the development of the educational system. We must ensure the educational system's well-thought-out, continuous and consistent development. We must avoid pitfalls, because they create confusion and anxiety in the schools.

We must also see to it that the development of public education and that of higher education are coordinated. Except for the questions concerning the training and further training of teachers, we will now dwell separately on the situation in higher education and the tasks of its further development, because the Politburo debated more than a year ago a separate proposal regarding the principles for the development of higher education, and this work is already in progress. A coordinated program for the development of public education and of higher education must be ready by the end of 1983.

The managing role of the councils will be indispensable also in the future. At the same time, however, it will be necessary to improve coordination of general supervision and special supervision. The paperwork in special administration has swollen; this not only limits the possibilities of special management, assistance and guidance, but it also places an intolerable bureaucratic burden on the institutions. We must achieve that the centrally set uniform principles and quality requirements for specialized education be realized smoothly also in administration by the councils. In the management of education we must bear extensively in mind that no pedagogical task or change can be realized simply by issuing decrees and directives. In the final outcome everything depends on how we succeed in gaining the support of the teachers and individual schools for the necessary changes. Therefore we must encourage the schools' greater independence and sense of responsibility, and the teaching staff's greater initiative, also by improving the methods, style and professional nature of management. This must be emphasized also because we frequently find that even today the managing organs often perform their supervising, guiding and evaluating activity perfunctorily or too closely. The role of the teaching staff in the preparation of decisions affecting their school must be increased significantly.

Naturally, the greater independence of the schools cannot be imagined without improving the professional managing work of their principals. The tasks that must be solved to this end are indeed very specific. The principals' administrative workload, the overregulation must be reduced perceptibly, and the formation of excessively large schools that pedagogically are practically unmanagable must be avoided. To help principals in the performance of their pedagogical tasks, in making their relations with the councils more meaningful, and in closer cooperation with the institutions of public education, they must receive assistance also in the form of central recommendations, methodological guidance and the direct exchange of experience. These considerations must be taken into account also in cadre work: principals must be selected who are able to manage the pedagogical work of their schools at a high level.

The level of our schools and also the outcome of our present decisions will depend decisively on the teachers. Today teachers are the largest stratum within the intelligentsia: 156,000 kindergarten, elementary-school and secondary-school teachers are educating our youth. This figure is several times their prewar number. They include outstanding personalities and masters of their vocations, just as in the past.

With this we do not wish to conceal something that causes real concern. We are aware that teaching as a profession has declined in social prestige. It is essential to remedy this: by improving the living and working conditions of teachers, and also through greater recognition of their good work. In the schools we frequently encounter phenomena that undermine the teachers' authority. What I have in mind is not the hiring of teachers without qualifications, for they were needed in our schools, and most of them have proven their dedication and suitability. What I have in mind are the teachers who do their work routinely and nondemandingly, who are averse to anything new, to more-modern methods. When speaking of teachers we must accustom ourselves to avoid generalization. As in any profession, also here the yardstick must be the quality and effectiveness of the work performed. It is important that teachers prove themselves primarily in the school, that they regard the education and training of the younger generation as their primary mission. We would

like to see this attitude adopted within the teaching staffs as well as within the councils that manage and supervise the schools. Today we often find that there are numerous considerations for evaluating teachers, but the essential one--the quality of work in education and training--is relegated to the background. We would not like to see teachers withdraw from the public tasks they have been undertaking and performing voluntarily and gladly, because their communities will not be able to dispense with their help also in the future. But a teacher cannot be a good one if he honestly fulfills his public assignments but neglects his main duty: education and training.

Renewal of the content and methods of instruction will be a great test. In the case of individual subjects, a new body of knowledge and new methods, radically different from the earlier customary ones, are being given the schools. This is not an easy undertaking; as yet we are not able to draw valid conclusions from the temporary difficulties and failures. Teachers, too, need time and understanding. And something more: intensive self-training and further training. We must acknowledge with self-criticism that in this respect there have been omissions and delays also in the work of the managing organs. In recent years we were unable to develop a suitable system for the further training of teachers, one that meets the requirements of modernizing the curricula. This failure can be attributed partially to a shortage of funds, partially to a shortage of capacities for further training in higher education. Furthermore, the underlying concepts likewise were not fully mature. We deem it essential to develop as soon as possible a system and the conditions for the further training of teachers on a high level.

It is no less important to solve as soon as possible the pressing problems in teacher education, problems that weigh on our educational system, in terms of both quantity and quality. The baby boom will reach the upper grades of elementary school by the end of the plan period, the middle of this decade. It is estimated that the demand for teachers will increase by 10,000. Among the qualitative requirements it is an unalterably important task--particularly at the universities--to develop teacher training, to ensure that future teachers have stronger sense of vocation, a firm Marxist world outlook, and are dedicated to the cause of socialism.

Among the present tasks special mention must be made of the changeover to a five-day week in education. The educational system is confronted with changeover amidst the introduction of the new curricula. This obviously causes problems, for many things have to be adjusted to the new forms amidst a process already begun. In planning the changeover to the five-day week, therefore, certain difficulties must be anticipated. First of all we must take care to ensure that the daily workload of the students and teachers does not increase significantly. With shorter summer vacations and a slight extension of the school year, it seems we will be able to avoid any significant curtailment of the curriculum. Everything possible must be done to alleviate the teachers' workload and to create a peaceful atmosphere for their work. The experience to date with the preparations indicate that the five-day week can be introduced next fall, in accordance with the original plans. Today there is not much we can say about how the students will spend their free Saturdays, because this will depend primarily on their families, on their parents. What we would like to see, and what we should strive for, is that parents spend more time with their children and include them more closely in the family's work and recreation, because togetherness is an important factor in forming the student's personality. Of course, the youth federations, cultural institutions, the sport and nature clubs, and even the schools will have to play a role.

Changeover to the five-day week in education, just as in industry, does not mean a simple rescheduling of the time spent at work or in school, because it also involves a certain change of lifestyle. The necessary measures must be adopted in due time, carefully thought out, and everything possible must be done to make the changeover a smooth one. We also have to become accustomed to the new work schedule, and this requires both time and patience.

Solution of the timely problems in public education will depend to a large extent on what social environment surrounds the school, and how the families, local communities, plants and institutions support the teachers' work.

The party organizations have a significant role to play in making public education a cause of entire society. Since 1972, the Budapest and megye party committees, and also the jaras and municipal party organs, have continuously placed on their agenda--on several occasions--the most important questions of educational policy. The ideological, political and education-policy briefing of teachers has become standard practice in more and more localities. The level of party work in the schools has been raised, and in practically every megye seat there is now a party committee of teachers. Under their guidance, organizational work has become more systematic, the differences in the level of the local party organizations have narrowed, and closer attention is being devoted to question pertaining to school life.

The party organs and the local party organizations at the schools must explain the Central Committee's policy directives to the government officials, officers of social organizations and teachers on their territory. On the basis of the Central Committee document, the megye party committees and councils must review jointly the situation in public education and the timely tasks in the megye, and they should adopt a standpoint on the questions requiring political decisions. They should gain the active support of the party members and should further strengthen cooperation among the social forces that aid the work of the schools.

We request the party organizations at schools to improve political and ideological work among teachers and students, and to mobilize them--within the given school--for the realization of the objectives of educational policy. Let them create a peaceful atmosphere in the school, strengthen school democracy and aid the work of the youth organizations. Let them support the school principals in maintaining order and discipline, and in developing a high quality of work in education and training.

To sum up what has been said: in the coming years we must focus attention on solving well the most important questions on the agenda. We must ensure that the schools change over smoothly to the five-day week. The already begun renewal of the curricula, and of the content of the schools' educational and training work, must continue. The necessary corrections must be made continuously, on the basis of the experience gained. We must solve the high-level elementary and secondary education of the age groups larger than the previous ones. The managing organs must ensure the conditions necessary for the continuous development and renewal of public education. Care must be taken to ensure also that the schools and the work of the teachers will enjoy the confidence and support of society.

Gradual development of public education must increasingly become a common cause. Let us solve this great task in such a way that the schools will increasingly be able to meet the requirements that future socialist society sets for them.

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HUNGARIAN SAMIZDAT PERIODICAL 'BESZELO' DESCRIBED

[Editorial Report] A number of enterprising Hungarians have banded together to publish a periodical the avowed aim of which is to reveal that things are neither as smooth nor pleasant in Hungary as they seem to the outsider. The title of the periodical, BESZELO, has a double meaning: "Talker" or "Visiting Hours" as in a hospital or jail. The originators of the publication invite anyone who has witnessed or heard of disruptive incidents to submit reports to them anonymously, under a pseudonym or correctly signed.

The first issue of BESZELO is a 117-page mimeographed document measuring about 9 X 14 inches. It publishes the name, address and phone number of the principals involved in its publication. Chief among them are Mikos Haraszti and Janos Kis, long considered intransigent dissidents by Hungarian authorities. Haraszti is author of the book DARABBER, originally banned in Hungary, which revealed how workers were being exploited by the system and the general corruption rampant in factories. The other author-editors are Ferenc Koszeg, Balint Nagy and Gyorgy Petri. The first issue appeared in Budapest in October 1981.

The five-page introduction to this first issue points out that it is "not the aim of the publication to put out an opposition periodical." The goal is rather to make readers aware of "what is happening in the country, what types of persons are prepared to oppose the authorities in pursuit of their human rights, how many are involved in each incident and what their motivation is."

Included in the first issue is a listing of 77 studies or articles which can be purchased simply for the cost of typing at the "Samizdat Boutique" operating out of the home of Laszlo Rajk, son of Laszlo Rajk, Hungary's famous show-trial victim. According to BESZELO, 80,000 pages of samizdat writing have been sold since the "boutique" went into operation over 6 months ago. Boutique operators request the aid of their customers in the form of typing paper, carbons, typewriter ribbon, envelopes and similar supplies.

Boutique offerings cover a wide range of historical, political and sociological topics considered sensitive or controversial by the authorities. Most deal with Hungary, but some are on Poland, Czechoslovakia, Transylvania and even Afghanistan. Besides this listing, the first issue of BESZELO consists of a 5-page introduction plus 12 articles: one of which, "Samizdat Boutique" has already been dealt with in this review.

"The Irresolute Mutineers" describes the annual meeting of the university students parliament as scheduled by the youth organization, KISZ. The meeting nearly got out of hand when those attending proposed establishment of an independent students' organization. What transpired before and during the meeting is revealed, as well as how KISZ succeeded in aborting the movement.

"To Hungarian Catholic Dissidents" is by an author who prefers to remain anonymous. He claims that the authorities have become far more subtle in controlling the church. No longer do they appoint clergy who have lost credibility through involvement with the peace movement. Instead, "they are promoting installation as seminary faculty of priests who have served prison terms for their antiregime attitudes but are so out of touch with the spirit of the times and so conservative that they alienate their students." Behind the apparent placidity of church-state relations, "there is a tremendous crisis all the more dangerous for being unrecognized by all but a few of the clergy." The author feels that many of the clergy have been manipulated through a desire for a comfortable life or outright naivete. Such priests are "undermining the faithful's belief in the Vatican."

"Conversations With a Catholic Priest" relates what happened to seminarians who refused to attend meetings of the peace priest movement. Those who failed to appear were sent on a month's vaction. Later they were permitted to return to school and some were even subsequently secretly ordained. The author reveals which of the higher church officials backed the seminarians and which insisted on collaboration or expulsion.

"How Strikes Are Conducted in Hungary" is an account of a 2-day work stoppage by the 34 members of 4 brigades working at a construction site in Kispest. The action was triggered when an oil stove exploded leaving the men with an unheated dressing room during a snowstorm. Unable to change from their sodden clothing into working gear, they refused to go on the job. An additional grievance was that their only washing facility was a single outdoor pipe. Although 190 workers were employed at the site, the 34 involved in the stoppage made no effort to get the other workers to join them. The author speculates that perhaps the others had more acceptable facilities. The leaders of the stoppage told the superintendent and the trade union committee that they would not work till they had a suitable dressing room. The group refused to negotiate with minor officials. The matter was not settled till the project chief engineer, accompanied by trade union officials appeared on 5 November. The project engineer allegedly said: "Look, men, it's better for all of us if we take care of this among ourselves. Do you know what will happen if you persist? A national scandal: Don't wish that on yourselves. Listen to me. Here wages are paid in forints, not zlotys. We cannot strike here."

An agreement was reached that one of the already completed houses would be converted into dressing and washing facilities provided the workers returned to work the following Monday. No police appeared at any time; no reprisals have been reported, states the author.

"Such Things Can't Happen Here" tells the story of Karoly Jakab, who was committed to psychiatric treatment for "paranoia and an exaggerated sense of justice." Karoly Jakab was formerly county secretary of the Peasant Party,

which was reactivated as the Petofi Party in 1956 and dissolved after the Hungarian revolution. Jakab, himself, made available to BESZELO all the material used in this article, which was researched and written by Haraszti. Jakab, now retired, is a graduate agronomist. His troubles with the authorities began in 1950. He served several prison terms for offenses such as alleged hoarding and writing "insulting letters" to county and local officials. He refused to join the Hungarian Workers' Party and considered dissolution of the Petofi Party in 1956 illegal. This led him to make the ill-advised statement that "the leadership of the Peasant Party never notified me that my mandate had been revoked. Therefore I continue to consider myself the county secretary of this party." On the basis of this statement and the letters he wrote, Jakab was first accused of agitation for which he served 40 days in 1975. When he again ran afoul of the authorities in 1978, apparently for continuing to write letters, the court medical authorities claimed he was paranoid and had him committed to compulsory medical treatment. This consisted of massive doses of Trisedyl [a tranquilizer], Haloperidol [prescribed for psychic agitation, paranoia, hallucinations, epilepsy], Pipolphen, Halidor, Scutamil-C, Prednisolon, Hemorid and Isolanid. Since he continued to be aggressive, he was subjected to 30 rounds of electroshock. Upon his release he continued his "defamatory" letter writing. In 1981, Jakab went to the home of his ex-wife to get a wine press which they used jointly. When she said she could not find the keys, Jakab broke the lock. Thereupon, the ex-wife promptly called Dr Katalin Bacsik, forensic specialist in mental disease in charge of Jakab's treatment. Bacsik had the police take Jakab away, "obviously quite illegally." The author comments: "Of course the case of Karoly Jakab does not mean that Hungary maintains special psychiatric facilities for treating 'politcal aberrations.' The political section of the police does employ special alienists, and we know of cases of incitement in which the persons charged were declared accountable or unaccountable for their actions at the request of the authorities. Still, it seems certain that our country does not regularly resort to political retaliation in the guise of psychiatric treatment as is the case in some neighboring countries. What seems more probable, as in the case of Jakab, is that circumstances favor reducing the impact of certain political cases by having them classed as psychiatric cases. The authorities are attempting to minimize the number of acknowledged political crimes. However, the domestic traditions of psychiatric treatment and its extensive mandate can lead to legal violations of this sort. Karoly Jakab is in need of medical and legal aid. Through his rehabilitation or rescue we could take a modest step toward the desirable separation of these two all too intermarried professions."

"Polish Children at Lake Balaton" reports how the Foundation for the Aid of the Poor, SZETA, managed to get 24 children, offspring of Solidarity activists, for a 2-week stay on Lake Balaton. According to the report, there were more volunteer Hungarian hosts than Polish children. When Szeta attempted to have a thoroughly sterilized report of its action published, the MTI accepted the report but never had it put on the wire.

"Excerpts From the Chronology of the History of the Hungarian Minority in Czechoslovakia" reports what befell the Hungarians in Czechoslovakia from 1944 to 1981. The negative is heavily stressed.

"Warsaw Roundtable Discussion" is the translation of an article published in the 27 August issue of the Polish paper, ROBOTNIK. Participants in the discussion which was held on 1 August 1981 were Ryszard Bugaj, Zbigniew Bujak, Bronislaw Germek, Jacek Jan Litynski, and Jerzy Milewski.

"Twenty-five Years" is the text of a proposal for establishment of the Hungarian Democratic Independence Movement. According to the introductory paragraph, the proposal bears the stamp of Istvan Bibo's thinking and was drawn up before the Soviets crushed the Hungarian revolution. The proposal spells out Hungary's position in maintaining "a friendly, creative relationship with the USSR," its determination to fulfill its obligations as a member of the United Nations. It states that private land ownership may not exceed 40 yokes and that former owners will not be compensated for nationalization of their businesses. Small, private undertakings are to be encouraged and receive the same support as state enterprises. Soviet troops should be withdrawn from Hungary because "their presence gives the impression that Hungary will remain in the socialist camp only under duress." The proposal also calls for freedom of speech, press and assembly and forbids production of fissionable materials in Hungary. Other facets of political and economic life are also addressed in the proposal.

"The Bibo Memorial Book." This article is an appraisal of the reaction to Bibo's thinking of the 77 intellectuals who contributed to the memorial volume Most of the studies, says BESZELO, concern themselves with democracy's chances of survival in today's world and what background traditions and actual possibilities there are for democracy in Hungary. According to BESZELO, the Bibo Memorial Book is a samizdat publication although it was not originally intended as such. The Hungarian publishing house to which it was submitted turned it down. Consequently, it is available only in typewritten form and has had very limited distribution so far. It has become samizdat despite the fact that "most of its contributors not only write for official publications but enjoy full official recognition." Thus, the book is a "review and bridge between political dissidents of the recent past and those of the future."

"Still Lifes of Other Publications." These are profiles of publications such as MAGYAR FUZETEK which is published in Paris and contains writing by Hungarian authors both at home and abroad. MAGYAR FIGYELO is described as "the first typewritten political periodical which appears regularly in Hungary without official sanction." To date FIGYELO has published chiefly documents and articles from other sources. Two full issues were devoted to the Polish situation. The third issue has reported occasions on which "intellectuals came into conflict with the cultural authorities." For example 46 writers and artists of the Kecskemet publication FORRAS are said to have written a letter of protest to Istvan Horvath, first secretary of the party committee of Bacs-Kiskun County and now Minister of Interior, because an article written by Sandor Csoori had been deleted from their already printed publication. Insofar as can be ascertained, FORRAS is concerned chiefly with "the tensions that exist between democratic and national trends. It speaks openly of problems whose lack of resolution divides rather than unifies the two traditions and the exploration of which the authorities forbid from self-interest and the intellectuals avoid from inarticulateness or prudery." SZERA is classed as a typewritten periodical which provides a vehicle for short, unpublished works of young authors. There is no subscription fee for SZERA but it welcomes all support and information. It may be ordered through Gabor Toth, 1074, Dob u. 51, presumably in Budapest.

"Monday Extension Courses" discusses the series of lectures begun 4 years ago and given by well-known speakers in private homes on Monday evenings. The first speaker was Miklos Szabo historian, who lectured for two semesters on the history of the Hungarian party; "he was advised by his supervisor that he would jeopardize his position if he spoke on this topic." Other speakers and their topics have been Gyorgy Dalos, author, on Hungarian literary policy from 1945-1958; Peter Hanak, historian: the middle class from the 1800's to the Liberation; Tibor Hajdu, historian: some little known facts about the 1918-1919 revolution; Laszlo Vekerdi: the biography of certain scientists since 1945; Gaspar Miklos Tamas, philosopher: a comparison of the minority status of Hungarians in Romania between the two wars and at present; Ferenc Janossy, economist: diverse causes of East and West economic crises and solutions; Mihaly Vajda, philospher: world history and the current limited range of democratic forums--the path toward democracy; Gabor Ivanyi, clergyman: why the free churches of Hungary are not free; Andras Hegedus, sociologist: the major contradictions of East European systems. Currently, Janos Kis, philosopher, is continuing his lectures on Western politological literature on Soviet type societies. On alternate Mondays, tape recordings of Istvan Bibo's view on how a democratic and socialist society should be set up are played. Usually over 100 persons, university students or recent graduates, attend the lectures. The authorities are aware of them but apparently rank them as tolerated event. They are arranged by Sandor Szilagyi who should be contacted by persons wishing to speak or who are prepared to offer lecture facilities. The location and topic of upcoming lectures may be obtained by calling any of the following num rs: 165-945, 660-175, 658-217, 183-178, 868-074.

"SZETA's Cultural Events." As the title implies this is a report on SZETA sponsored cultural events. The report notes that SZETA is in need of funds, clothing and volunteers. Its goal continues to be support of the needy. Persons interested in SZETA should contact:

Gabor Havas, Tel:	163-899
Gabor Ivanyi, "	800-613
Gabriella Lengyel	136-591
Magdolna Matolay	144-075
Balint Nagy	165-945
Ottilia Solt	351-086

"Latest Information on Hungarian-Polish Connection." This is a report of a number of incidents involving Hungarian-Polish contacts: In August 1980, an eight-member group intending to go to Poland was held up at the Ferihegy airport and relieved of their passports. No charges were brought against them. Their only crime, says BESZELO, was that they wished to travel together and that they were acquainted with some Polish intellectuals considered members of the opposition. Passports were returned to two of the group, and they were permitted to proceed. This was also the lot of another three persons who were not caught on their first trip but were denied future permission to go to Poland. According to BESZELO, this soon became routine procedure: In February, the economist, Balint Magyar, had his passport withdrawn, because he allegedly had contact with unspecified, dangerous elements in Poland. Magyar subsequently lost his job. Explanation: he had no passport, therefore could not be sent abroad to fulfill his job requirements. At the same time, four other economists and sociologists had their passports revoked on similar grounds. Some of them had gone to Poland on official business; others,

privately. Pal Szalai, a free lance translator, also lost his passport. "This was not because he had protested the Prague trials of 1979 nor because he wrote an article for the Bibo Memorial Book but because he bought a ticket to Warsaw. In July, the passport of Gabor Demszky was revoked. The young journalist, a law-school graduate had been giving talks on his impressions during a two-week visit to Poland. In August, Agnes Hay, film director and Gyorgy Krasso, economist, were turned back when they attempted to take a group of vacationing Polish children on an outing to an amusement park in Czechoslovakia. Both lost their passports. The remainder of this article deals with the extradition from Hungary of a Polish university student and the harassment of Hungarians wearing Solidarity emblems. In regard to the latter, only one case is known in which charges were filed. The emblem was forcibly taken away and its wearer subjected to violence. In response to the victim's charges, the plainclothes policeman said he was acting on the basis of a regulation which states that "using the coat of arms, insignia or emblem of a foreign state or government without authorization is a violation of the law." Comments BESZELO: "We can only rejoice that Budapest police headquarters has recognized Solidarity as a state or state organization."

CSO: 2500/260

'TRYBUNA LUDU' COMMENTARY ON SINAI OCCUPATION COSTS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 May 82 p 6

[Article by Zygmunt Somkowski]

[Text] (From our Correspondent in Beirut) More than a billion dollars a year--that is what it cost Israel to occupy the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula for 15 years. According to figures given by Yoram Aridor, minister of finances, for that period Tel Aviv spent about 17 billion dollars on military installations, economic investments and for the establishment of Israeli settlements.

The largest part of these expenditures was devoted to the construction of military strongholds on the Suez Canal--the so-called Bar Lev line, which was broken and destroyed in the 1973 October war--and to the construction of modern air bases.

The smallest amount was spent on Israeli settlements. The coastal city of Yamit, inclusive of the neighboring small colonies, cost only 115 million dollars, while Ofira, in the south, near Sharm el-Sheik cost 43 million dollars.

Investment in oil exploration was 2.5 billion dollars. This is the only amount which has not been wasted, as it paid for itself and produced surplus earnings in the exploitation of petroleum.

Military establishments have been either abandoned, destroyed or only partly transferred to the new bases that have been erected in the Negev desert. This, however, does not involve any cost to Israel, as these expenditures were assumed by the United States. It is estimated that the cost to the American taxpayer will be about three billion dollars.

Egypt has already begun to benefit from the oil fields developed by Israeli occupation forces. For over 10 years Israel had exploited these resources. Airports were also given over to Egyptian control, although Cairo is only entitled to use them for civilian purposes. Egyptian administration will draw no benefits from the vacated Israeli settlements. The Israeli government decided to return that area to the state in which they found it and ordered destruction and levelling of all the buildings.

The Israeli government has incurred considerable additional costs due to the necessity of compensation payments to the settlers who had to abandon these settlements.

Many a country would have gone bankrupt as a result of such unproductive expenditures. Bankruptcy does not threaten Israel. Funds for these expenditures came from the outside as the United States aid, as aid from certain other Western states and as donations from foreign Zionist organizations.

As a result it is not Israel but the citizens of other countries who pay the cost of Tel Aviv expansionism. This is one of the reasons why Israel is able to continue such policies.

9934
CSO: 2600/618

'TRYBUNA LUDU' COMMENTARY ON SOUTH AFRICAN ISSUES

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 May 82 p 6

[Article by Tadeusz Pasierbinski: "The South of Africa. Playing with Fire"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

> [Text] /The western press again drummed up a detail, trifling in significance, from life in a racist country. This time the authorities of the Republic of South Africa consented to the employment of African women as stewardesses on South African Airlines.../

This type of reporting is supposed to create an impression that the government of Pieter W. Botha "is not that bad" and that it has "an increasingly humanitarian face." In the West, which is linked by numerous and diverse ties to South Africa, it is rather reluctantly being said that /the minor changes in the area of interracial relationships which have been taken by Pretoria, have essentially a tactical character only./ The 4.5 million white minority wants to maintain their domination over the 25 million Native Africans, 2.6 million Metis, and 830,000 Asians, while maintaining the appearance of a certain amount of liberalism. The minority's conviction [is that] the explosion of the "black bomb", i.e., the great racial confrontation, can be avoided by softening apartheid.

It should be remembered that this is the thinking of only the so called englightened whites, who are concentrated around Premier Botha. The wing of the irreconcilable, however, is clearly becoming more and more active, and they intend to preserve white supremacy at any price. Anyone who does not think their way is a tra or. /Thus, the official policy of South Africa appears to be the result of these two main, competing trends./

Tactical differences

Recent evidence of the internal discord within the South African establishment came with the removal of several delegates from the ranks of the National Party which has ruled for 34 years; [these delegates] did not assent to granting limited political rights to the Asiatic and mixed blood populations. Andries Treurnicht, one of the most important figures in the party and in South Africa, was among those removed. Shortly afterwards,

Treurnicht established the Conservative Party of South Africa, thus augmenting the organized forces of the white extremists who have been increasingly more and more visible in their influence. They are reinforced by thousands of white settlers from Rhodesia who left that country after the proclamation of "black" Zimbabwe.

Let us emphasize: /the differnece of opinions in the white camp pertains only to the method through which the whites ought to resist the pressure of "black nationalism." They are linked by their common conviction about the need to maintain the present system and the privileged position of the whites/ (only a few break out from that unified front; for instance, 28 year old Neil Aggett, a white union leader who died in February—probably as a result of torture—in the Johannesburg prison). Even Premier Botha, who appeared a couple of times on TV after the split in the National Party, assured that the changes undertaken "will not be at the expense of the whites..."

This is firmly corroborated by the actions of the South African authorities. Last year, in December, the authorities proclaimed the "independence" of a Bantu state, following Transkei, Bobhuthatswana, and Vhavenda; their objectives were, among other things, to improve the utilization of the local labor force and to mollify "rebellious spirits." In addition, the authorities aimed at weakening the influence within the country of the leading liberation organization, the African National Congress, whose armed Umkhonto units in Sizwe have executed ever bolder military operations (the well-knwon attack last year on the Boortrekkerhogte military complex, near Pretoria).

Betting on power

The government has been utilizing it [these events] as a pretext for building up its military and police potential. Last March, Secretary of Defense, Magnus Malan, proposed mandatory military training for all white males aged 17 to 60 and mandatory service in reserve units for males aged 60 to 65.

/There is an increasing amount of data indicating that Pretoria—while making trifling gestures toward the "liberalization of apartheid"—is committed, above all, to resolving issues from a position of power./ This applies not only to internal policy. After the victory of Ronald Reagan, which was greeted with great delight by South African white extremists, the government of South Africa intensified political and military activities aimed at preventing the proclamation of the form of independence wanted by SWAPO, the Namibian liberation organization recognized by the OAU and the UN, as well as the socialist [Soviet bloc] countries.

The efforts of Pretoria, supported behind the scenes by the U.S. and other western countries, resulted in the termination of last year's Geneva Conference on Namibia. It should be noted that the /new administration in Washington has eliminated the constraints on the sale of equipment and

materials for use by the South African police and army/ who have increased operations against the units of SWAPO and intensifies their attacks on SWAPO bases in the southern regions of Angola.

These attacks, by tieing up the Angolan forces, assist the rebel group, UNITA, and its leader, Jonas Savimbi, who is maintaining a contact with the Americans. Pretoria hopes that Savimbi will be able to establish a "buffer anti-communist country in the south of Angola." LE MONDE is of a different opinion, saying that sooner or later UNITA will devolve into an "ordinary revolutionized ethnic movement (being supported by the Ovimbundu tribe) and SWAPO will win the elections in Namibia."

The government of South Africa intensively supports a victory for the Conservative Turnhalle Democratic Alliance in the announced Namibian plebiscite and advocates the creation of a cabinet which would be responsive to the interests of the 75,000 whites in Namibia (5 years ago there were 100,000). By the same token [the government of South Africa protects] the interests of the whites in South Arrica and in the entire West.

The western "contact group" that is involved in the Namibian issue consists of the U.S., Great Britain, West Germany, France, and Canada, and it dodges and obfuscates. /It pretends to act on behalf of "free Namibia" but in fact, it has the same aims that Pretoria does/ (Savimbi stated on April 5 that he had "positive contacts" with representatives of the western "Five").

For these reasons, it is not surprising that their [the western "Five"] activities are met with negative appraisal in African public opinion, especially in the so called (frontal) countries. SWAPO, which does not limit itself to the spreading of guerilla activities (in April, units approached the "white towns" of Tsumeb and Otavi, about 300 km north of Windhoek) does not even need to be mentioned. Recently [SWAPO] proposed convening a new Geneva conference on Namibia, however, the western countries found that idea "premature..."

Avoiding "fire"

Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere stated recently that /when Namibia is finally independent and South Africa stops using it [Namibia] as the basis for agressive actions against the Angolan state, then there "will be no need for the Cuban forces to remain in Angola."/ Havana and Luanda are of the same opinion, and Luanda has been evidencing a great amount of diplomatic activity aimed toward a just resolution of the Namibian issue. This has been demonstrated by the visit of the Angolan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paulo Jorge, to Bonn, and to Paris (where he met with the American Undersecretary of State, Chester Crocker).

Portugal also shows visible interest in the totality of issues involving Southern Africa. This is demonstrated by visits of President Eanes to Mozambique, Zambia, and Tanzania, at the end of last year, and to Angola, in April.

We also should note the initiative of President Kenneth Kaunda, of Zambia, who last March proposed a meeting with the Premier of South Africa for the purpose of discussing "the future of South Africa." He stated that "Afrikaners are not racist by nature, but are motivated only by fear." He also assured that the leaders of independent black Africa do not intend to "push the white South Afrikaners into the sea," yet will still not compromise on the issue of apartheid.

/If the Whites/—said Kaunda—/will not realize the need to reevaluate their relationship with the black majority, it might result in the escalation of violence./ And in that event, what will occur will be of such magnitude that the French Revolution will appear like a picnic for children; the south of the continent will be engulfed in a fire which will "devour all of us..."

/There is then something to contemplate. Both in Africa and beyond it./

9952
CSO: 2600/616

ARMY-POLICE COOPERATION IN BIALYSTOK CONSIDERED EFFECTIVE

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 6 May 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Maj Adam Glowacki: "Taking the Pulse of the City"]

[Text] The Bialystok Garrison and voivodship city territorially comprise over 200,000 inhabitants. It is not easy to maintain order and social discipline in such a large urban center. It requires the joint efforts of appropriate enforcement agencies to accomplish this. Martial law has overloaded official communication lines connecting the local Internal Military Service [WSW] post with the City Command MO. Close cooperation is accomplishing desired results.

Seeing army-police patrols on the streets is not an isolated phenomenon. In and around the Bialystok city districts they are playing a very useful role. Accounts of the past few days show that they have accomplished uncommonly arduous and responsible labor for the local community. The activities of the WSW and the police have been met with society's approval. However, it does happen that unfriendly and even hostile glances are cast in the direction of intervention patrols. There continue to be those among the citizenry who do not relish the idea of the present orderliness of martial law and trends toward normalization of our country's socio-political situation. We are exposing and paralyzing their movements at almost every step. I do not hide the fact that we have been very effective at this.

Being Vigilant Day and Night

A PKP [Polish State Railroads] station. On the platform WSW soldiers and police are falling in. Passengers are looking in their direction with interest. The men in the patrol are keenly observing the crowd passing by along the platform. Is there someone in this crowd who is undesirable, dangerous, and sought after by the district attorney?

The leader of the patrol, Warrant Officer Jacek Wasilewski, has a lot of experience in hunting down perpetrators of crimes. He says that a steady penetration of the assigned regions of observation always pays off. Recently, for example, tow suspects were detained who, under the title of "PEWEXU," were carrying out illegal currency transactions. This is no isolated incident. These criminals were handed over to men from a specialized police unit dealing with such matters.

In another part of the city we met a mixed patrol of army and police led by Chief Warrant Officer Grzegorz Grzybowski. They had just stopped a car, a "Syrena" model, that was illegally transporting large quantities of meat. These black marketeers tried to make light of the matter by imposing their point of view upon the men at the check point. No luck. After awhile the car changed directions and headed for the City Command MO.

In the WSW detachment, officers have at their disposal accurate data on the dffectiveness of preventive actions being carried out jointly day and night with police agencies. The figures included in these data reflect, like a mirror, the actual state of the observance of martial law in the city. These statistics show that there is a slowing trend in some types of common crimes but an increase in the number of offenses against law and order.

Preventive Measures Are Never Enough

Men from the City Command MO in Bialystok confirm these data. Lt Col MO Janusz Cyndler states that this is undoubtedly the result of close cooperation between his subordinates and soldiers of the WSW. A mixed patrol inspires greater respect and increases its authority in society. Residents of the city have felt time after time that these civilians in army and police uniforms can be counted on, not only in adversity but when it comes time to helping them cope with the most bare essentials of life.

Zofia Weglowska, a resident of Bialystok, is most convinced of this. In a letter to the chief of the WSW Detachment and City MO commandant, she writes: "I am a lone and ailing widow, an annuitant of the III group. I live by muself, and my daughter who takes care of me has two little children and lives some distance from Bialystok. My two sons-in-law are serving in the army now, and that is why I have turned to you for help--I hope I won't be disappointed..." In this case it was only a question of a single intervention, but, it happens that there are people who come up with much greater problems. No one of these people are passed by indifferently by the soldiers and police.

Cooperation between the agencies of WSW and MO is planned, and its goal is to have its fingers continuously on the pulse of the city. For we are working on the assumption that preventive measures are never too great and their effectiveness depends, in great measure, on precisely established concerted actions. These concerted actions most frequently are taken up at conferences by a coordinating team that works under the direction of Lt Col Tadeusz Sawicki from the MO City Command. Cooperative anti-speculation crackdowns constitute much of these actions. In this way, many criminals, burgulars and members of gangs operating within the city and its environs are exposed.

A Lesson Not to Be Forgotten

The Bialystok WSW detachment often plays an inspiring role in these joint actions. It has a strong share in them.

"Last year our detachment took first place in training among similar units of the Warsaw Military District," its chief states. "This is best reflected in the actions practiced by subordinate soldiers, among those who are serving with special distinction are: Wlodzimierz Jankowski, Wojciech Bieganski, Ireneussz Augustyniak and Piotrr Kalinowski. They and their comrades-in-arms affirm on a daily basis that what they have learned they are able to use successfully in public life. Together with their fellow policemen, they constitute an effective force in keeping all of those people who do not have a clear conscience on their toes.

9866
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RESERVATIONS ABOUT TEACHERS' CHARTER EXPRESSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 May 82 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Krasniewski]

[Text] The Teachers' Charter passed by the Sejm in January this year, the fruit of many months of sharp debate, has left the state authorities in a very difficult situation. In order for the new law to meet the expectations of hundreds of thousands of teachers, their employers must publicize numerous rights and changes by issuing a large number of executive legal acts in an extremely short period of time. Only when the last of these has appeared will it be possible to say that the Charter has been implemented and to observe its influence on the development of the educational community and on broad public opinion.

Although it is already May, those who are competent in the matter do not consider that there is any real cause for alarm. All those who wanted to were able to acquaint themselves with the text of the approved law. Everyone involved also realizes that all executive provisions have to be issued by 31 July 1982. Some documents have already appeared.

Nevertheless, I came across a certain amount of disquiet in the schools. In many conversations I asked about the reason for this. I was able to acquaint myself with the opinions of teachers in Nowy Dwor and Jozefow and, indirectly, with that of the reserve managerial cadre in Siedlce voivodship and of the cadre in the Warsaw city section Mokotow. I heard the comments of those who participated in a plenum of the PZPR city section committee of the Warsaw city section Zoliborz concerning education. If one were to try to find a common denominator in all these opinions, the chief cause of the poor atmosphere would appear to be the lack of confidence in the educational authorities.

Praise and Grievances

Teachers generally speak only in superlatives about the Charter. This is particularly true of those with many years', especially 20 years or more, teaching experience.

-- At last we have the chance to achieve a material status equal to that of any comparable profession.

-- At last there will be an end to the years-old division between better and worse pensioners, since the "old file" will be abolished and services will be revalorised.

-- Extra effort will be rewarded in accordance with qualifications, and so on.

Usually, however, this litany of praise, which is limited to the determinants of material status, is followed by a stream of grievances and occasionally sharply worded complaints. The Charter has cost teachers a great deal of energy. Some groups, particularly those in the Teachers' Union (ZNP), are so tired by the community struggle over the final form of the Charter that every suspicion, every piece of information or rumor about attempts to reduce this success, now evokes a sharp reaction directed against their superior authorities.

It is true that members of the ZNP well remember how their colleagues from "Solidarity" tried to frustrate their efforts, artificially prolonged the discussion and discovered ever new obstacles in the attempt to subvert finally the Charter. But they also remember that the draft law submitted to the Sejm by the government omitted a number of important points decided by the ZNP congress and contained others which had not been approved. Thanks to the painstaking work of the Sejm Commission on Education and Upbringing, the final version of the law turned out better than that initially proposed. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Education remains tarnished by the changes which it previously suggested, even though the then minister repudiated authorship of many legal measures. This was the outcome of the coordination of other ministries involved--the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Labour and Wages--but in the situation which prevailed at the time, no one recognized that the government had the right to put forward its own point of view.

And today? The Charter is already a fact of life; but, in the teachers' community, one comes across charges to the effect that guidelines relating to the implementation of some of its provisions have been formulated too generally; there are rumours about suspected tendencies to narrow down the scope of their application and fears of a new wage scale.

It is this last question which arouses the greatest emotion. In September 1983, wages will reach their highest limit. The average wage will then be equal to the average wages of industrial engineering and technical personnel. In relation to this, interested persons were asking: what lies behind this average, what elements of wages will be compared, and how will they be comparable? People want to know, and there is no one willing to tell them. Since no one is willing to explain, this means that the authorities are again up to no good. Most disturbed are pensioners whose pension rates were to have been increased in February but who are still waiting.

Concrete Deadlines

The Ministry of Education and Upbringing seemed to perceive the dangers inherent in the situation in which, given the suspension of all trade-union activity, the ministry has become the chief implementer of the new law. While a number of pertinent Sejm commissions are also involved, their main task is to check on the

compatibility of executive acts with the text of the Charter and not to inform teachers about the course of events. I do not exclude the possibility that, if those concerned were familiar with even a part of the information which the undersigned obtained at the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, there would be far fewer causes for misunderstanding.

The ministry finds itself in a back-breaking situation. Within 6 months, it has to prepare 33 executive orders, resolutions, and directives. These legal acts have to be formulated in such a way that, together with the basic law--to quote the preamble to the Charter--, they pave the way "to further legal regulation of the system of national education". The main document is so formulated that this time there can be no question of good or bad will on the part of the employer. In contrast to the law of 1972 which contained numerous alternative formulations, the law passed in January this year has abandoned this practice. It clearly defines who-what-to whom-when. The Charter, I was assured in the ministry, simply has to be implemented and not interpreted. Specialists are trying to formulate regulations so that there can be no room for interpretation but only for their application.

The law contains specific deadlines for implementation. The ministry is therefore unable to delay anything. But several ministries have to take part in the formulation of practically every executive provision that demands steady and intensive work. For example, the directive which has already been issued concerning the inclusion of employment periods, which entitle teachers to extra payments for length of service (up to 20 percent of the basic salary), was prepared in cooperation with the Minister of Labour and Wages. On the other hand, the order relating to the supervision of teachers has to be accepted by all the ministries involved in running schools.

Thirty-three out of the 102 articles in the Charter contain declarations for the state authorities that oblige them to issue executive acts. Twenty-five such documents have already been drafted; eight are being prepared by specialists from several ministries. The particularly important order concerning the basis for comparison of wage levels between teachers and engineering and technical employees in industry is being prepared by the Ministry of Labour and Wages.

An Unnecessary Barrier

What about the legal acts being prepared by the Ministry of Education and Upbringing?

Every draft is prepared by the relevant department of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, after which it receives initial approavl from top personnel in the ministry. Before it is signed, the draft is sent to two Sejm commissions for approval.

Nevertheless, the law also contains references to rights and benefits defined in such a way that those concerned should receive them from a certain date without the mediation of executive acts. Teachers have already received some of these, for example, extra payments on the occasion of special anniversaries.

But pensioners are still waiting for their increased allowances. If they had known beforehand that this matter is being dealt with by the Ministry of Labour and Wages, and if they had been told that the Social Security Agency is 6 months behind in its work, this would probably not have improved their frame of mind but the barrier dividing the education authorities and the school cadre would not have arisen. The existence of such a barrier was recently confirmed in public by a representative of the top level of the ministry.

What should be added to the above? Probably only that, in the documents shown to me concerning the circulation of draft executive acts, I did not find any information relating to consultation with the teachers' community. Would some form of consultation not diminish the existing barrier?

The question remains of how to fit some form of public consultation into the 3 months remaining. Perhaps the leadership of the education ministry, together with the Sejm deputies, will find a way for the legislative process to proceed with concern for a future as free from conflict as possible.

9993
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CENTRAL COMMITTEE YOUTH COMMISSION MEETING REPORTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz]

[Text] On Wednesday, 28 April 1982, another meeting of the Central Committee Youth Commission took place under the chairmanship of Tadeusz Czechowicz, Political Bureau member and first secretary of the Lodz Voivodship Committee. The meeting was devoted to an evaluation of the preliminary version of the government "Program for the improvement of the living conditions and professional life of young adults." The main theses of the program were presented by Wladyslaw Jablonski, deputy chairman, Council of Ministers Planning Commission.

Jablonski noted, among others, that all programs of this kind are being prepared under particularly difficult economic conditions given that the 1978 national income level will perhaps only be reached in 1990 and the investment capabilities of the national economy are so small that they barely allow to reproduce the durable property. It is obvious, however, that without an active participation of youth in the 15 to 29 age bracket in social and economic life, the coming out of crisis will take even longer. This youth constitutes one-fourth of the population presently, but in 10 years it will shrink to one-fifth. The government program focuses on five major issues: (1) problems of young adults; (2) improvement of education and employment opportunities; (3) improvement of housing; (4) family protection; and (5) starting living conditions of the rural youth. The document envisages various kinds of assistance in these areas with emphasis on a creative participation of those concerned. It is assumed that all financial, social and material assistance will be given first to the best workers and that "youth" itself is not a sufficient qualification for assistance. At the same time, in order to lessen the tensions on the job market and to improve the food situation preference will be given to youth choosing handicrafts, services and private farming, as well as to all kinds of initiatives, such as, for example, a movement of small handicraft cooperatives, etc.

During a lively and open discussion nearly all participants offered criticisms from various aspects of the presented document.

Docent Dr Bronislaw Golebiowski, Warsaw University, stated, among others, that the August protest mainly showed a dissatisfaction of young people with all kinds of bureaucratic attitude and limited opportunities for social activity and innovation in all fields. In present socio-political structures a young man does not have an opportunity to show his abilities and prove his capabilities and managerial talents at an early stage even in the youth movement. It is this movement which should become a sort of reservoir for innovative activity. In addition to construction industry support, which is an indispensable necessity, it is necessary to attempt to open new fields for independent youth activity. Why not give youth organizations sports facilities or entire houses of culture or reactivate well-known initiatives, such as "Bratniak," and reduce the budget of the Central Committee of Physical Culture and Tourism by one half and give the rest to the young?

Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman, Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], presented a systematic and detailed critique of the said document in regard to its theses and some of the specific language used. He stated that talking today about any kind of "improvement of the living conditions of the young adults"--as the title of the government program proclaims--cannot take place and is a camouflage of reality. For in conditions of universal decline of the standard of living talking about "improvement" is a misunderstanding to say the least. The young ought to be told clearly and openly that everyone will suffer from crisis, including the young. At the most, the effects of this decline can be softened for them.

The program contains too many details and matters taken from work plans of other ministries long ago approved for implementation, continued the ZSMP chairman. This document ought to contain only new things which introduce real situational changes for the young. The work methodology on this document was strange as well. For many, many months literally nothing was done. Then suddenly the matter was handled so fast that it is difficult to comprehend it. Suddenly a planning team and commissions were created without defining the participation structure for individual institutions and organizations. The previous meeting of the Central Committee Youth Commission was devoted to housing construction. It was attended by representatives from the ministries involved. Certain conclusions were drawn and decisions made. Why don't we ask them to report on results of their work and how they are going to be implemented?

It is necessary to put less emphasis on programs and more on implementation, stated Mr Jaskiernia.

Col Tadeusz Jemiolo, Central Committee member and commander of the Higher Officers' Radio Technology School at Jelenia Gora, stated that the program under discussion is clearly a result of careful labor. It contains a lot of meaning, many numbers and postulates. So many, in fact, that their full implementation may not be possible. At the same time we must remember that this program ought to conform to the thought categories of the youth themselves. It must be their program as well; so clear and concrete as

to allow the young to look more optimistically into the future. There is a saying today: "the angry young." What else can one expect? They do not have reasons to be satisfied.

Stanislaw Gabrielski, manager, PZPR Central Committee Social and Vocational Department, emphasized that one of the bigger mistakes made lately has been the creation of a social expectation among the young that the coming Central Committee plenary meeting will satisfy their material expectations. This is not true. Only the young themselves by their own work can improve their own standard of living. We are experiencing now a 30-percent decline in the standard of living and the state can not give anymore. It is necessary, however, to create real conditions for the realization of the youth's own activities in all areas of life. Since it is difficult to count on material progress in the near future, it is necessary to create special opportunities in noninvestment fields and in the nonmaterial sphere. It is necessary to affirm the youth's political importance; it is necessary to satisfy their postulates in regard to social justice.

Years ago we created a belief--which is present today and extends to the coming Central Committee plenary meeting, and was actually put forward at the Seventh Central Committee plenary meeting back in 1972--that the state will give everything to the young. Today it is impossible and harmful. We must not make empty promises, we must not flatter the young.

At the same time, while considering the material situation of the young generation we must remember not to deepen the already existing divisions and generational differences. I have encountered already, for example, with clear opposition to cancellation of loan payments for newlyweds by older employees--continued Mr. Gabrielski. Personally, I do not believe in the success of any special programs for the young. All problems of the young must get a comprehensive attention within the frameworks of the normal operation of ministries.

Ryszard Wosinski, deputy commander-in-chief of the Polish Scout Union, focused on the need to make an accounting of all programs and plans undertaken since the Seventh Central Committee plenary meeting. The program presented is not a good basis for a discussion; there is a need for a comprehensive program which will allow the youth to see their place in the society. This document may be a program of the government's actions, but what we need is an indispensable program of political action directed toward the youth. However, these problems are barely touched upon in the document.

Other participants emphasized the need for a comprehensive look at the advancement opportunities of the working young in the framework of the socialized economy. It cannot be that a young person, educated in the ideals of socialist humanism, will see the realizations of his aspirations only in handicrafts and private sector. Opportunities for real advancement, without any formal and apprenticeship-type limitations, must be created for the young person.

Minister T. Jablonski attempted to rebut most of the criticisms expressed. He stated that in some aspects the program introduces new elements which create chances for a real improvement in the situation of the young, although in most cases these are just a preventive measure and protection against excessive regression. The demand to create a political program does not contradict the document presented which is addressed to the authorities and must be very specific. The demands in regard to the changes of the advancement principles merit attention although they will be difficult to carry out.

The discussion was closed by the speech delivered by Tadeusz Czechowicz, chairman, Central Committee Youth Commission. He stated that the present meeting is only a fragment of great debate about youth within the party ranks. The first theses in this regard were submitted to the Central Committee members who already made many interesting comments. Already 10 plenary meetings of voivodship committees have taken place, and the discussion has entered the city and village district levels. The idea is for the organic work in this area to have a grass-roots origin. Despite various points of view and critical voices expressed in the discussion the authors of the government document ought to be commended for a comprehensive approach to the problems of the young. The fact that we have already something to criticize today is some measure of success.

The party must today tell the youth and the entire society the truth and only the truth. It will be necessary to analyze at the meeting of the Council of Ministers what is the share of youth affairs in the state social policy. We must attempt to show a total vision. We must not allow the strengthening of the belief in society that the present young generation is a generation of lost chances. Did the young rebuilding the country after the war have better chances? We must then bring forward a thesis on the chances of the present young generation and present a global program of opportunities for fulfillment of the young's aspirations in many fields.

A great legislative reform process takes place in this country today and it is the youth who ought to be particularly interested in securing through this process healthy economic and social principles and the place in the society. Today in particular the party and youth organizations ought to take leadership positions among the young who are creatively unhappy. This will be difficult in practice. Such people are unconventional; they do not like to follow, but criticize and give hell.

The problems of advancement opportunities must be addressed by these documents. And we are not talking about giving preferences to youth. We show a fighting spirit at the commission meetings, but why do the young not fight at their workplaces for the advancement of their peers? Out of political interest we must create for the young a chance for advancement in key subsectors of economy, industry and creativity. Such attitudes ought to be publicized and given preference.

The Central Committee Youth Commission asks the youth organizations that they present at the next Central Committee plenary meeting concrete ways of

support for a part of this program with these organizations' resources, for example, in such areas as sports, tourism and culture. It is also necessary--despite present difficulties--to consider possibilities for real assistance to the youth movement base, because really in comparison with the other countries in our camp the situation is simply bad.

Prior to the Central Committee plenary meeting on youth problems there will be another meeting of the Central Committee Youth Commission to discuss the ideological and political situation among the young.

8609
CSO: 2600/563

LACK OF PEASANT YOUTH IN HIGHER SCHOOLS DISCUSSED

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish No 4, 25 Apr 82 p 10

[Article by Andrzej Konopko]

[Text] Soon another group of young people will begin the battle over getting into the higher schools. Who will see his name on the list of those accepted for the first year of studies? Will we once again have to look very hard to find people born and raised in rural areas on these lists? We can be almost certain that the answer to this last question will be yes.

In recent years, ministerial quotas for acceptance to studies have been systematically reduced to 52,429 during the current academic year.

There are several reasons for this. The number of young people who are of age to enter academies is lower. Higher schools complain of meager teaching and social facilities (the lack of seminar halls, laboratories, teachers and the like). Finally, there are problems finding employment for graduates in certain humanistic fields. It is worthwhile to point out here that, contrary to current claims, the teaching profession is not included here. Several thousand people are still finding employment each year in elementary education, especially in rural areas. Some barely have a secondary education.

This academic year, there were 226 candidates for every 100 places. This is considerably less than in previous year, e.g., 258 in 1977. It was very difficult to get into higher art schools, medical academies and physical education academies. The competition was less stiff for acceptance to economics schools, higher technical schools and higher pedagogical schools.

Peasant youth represented less than 7 percent of the total number of those accepted for the first year of day school studies. Every 3rd to 5th child of a white collar worker takes advantage of the opportunity for study, while every 15th to 20th child of a working-class family and every 70th to 80th child of a rural family does so. The decline in the number of students of peasant origin (and worker origin as well) has been observed for many years, but thus far no reasonable decision has been undertaken to change this disturbing phenomenon. On the contrary, the so-called Lodz

Agreements signed a year ago step up this process. This makes one wonder why these agreements were signed. Certainly their purpose was not to equalize the representation of youth from rural and working-class communities among those studying at higher schools. The abolishment of equalizing credits for rural and working-class youth was a definite manifestation of state class policy against the young people from these communities. Naturally, such preferential treatment does not solve the problem of equality of opportunity for acceptance to higher schools. However, since the disproportions in the living conditions of various classes and social layers have neither been eliminated nor even fundamentally reduced for decades, are we to expect that this situation will now be rectified? When someone does this, I will no longer insist upon these preferences.

It should be kept in mind that the entrance examination for studies is merely a condensed version of the preparation of young people that takes place in the secondary schools and in the upper grades of the elementary schools (where one finds the so-called selection threshold). Two factors play a basic role here, namely the material and cultural conditions of family life of the future students and the level and quality of the elementary and secondary school. Here one need not discuss the inequality and differences in living conditions of rural and urban youth. These issues have been thoroughly discussed and debated. Regarding the second factor, let us recall that the educational reform was defeated, particularly the reform of structure. Nor were reform proposals on important questions of investment, providing instructional aids and textbooks and improved living conditions for teachers and their social prestige implemented. Rural and small-town youth were especially hard hit.

Peasant children who finish elementary school usually continue their education in vocational schools. Each year over 50 percent of these graduates enter basic vocational schools. They rarely choose general high schools and most young people accepted for the first year of studies come from these high schools. For example, more than 92 percent of the students accepted into medical academies are graduates of general high schools. The percentage of these graduates in universities is not much lower. They also make up the vast majority in such schools as higher pedagogical schools, economics schools and even agricultural schools. It is especially disturbing that even in such schools as the Agricultural University of Warsaw, peasant youth represent less than 17 percent of the total number of those accepted for the first year of studies. At the same time, this is one of the most "peasant-oriented" schools in our country. To their credit, exceptions to this general situation include the Bialystok branch of Warsaw University and Maria Curie-Sklodowska University and the Medical Academy in Lublin. The situation at higher art schools is a special sort of phenomenon. One can literally count on one hand the number of peasant children accepted to such institutions. There are 15 in all (yes--15). But not even one rural child has crossed the threshold of such venerable and recognized institutions as PWST [State Higher School of Dramatics] in Krakow and the Bialystok branch of the Warsaw PWST. Imagine, three representatives of this community have been accepted to ASP [Academy of Fine Arts] in Warsaw and five attend the Krakow ASP.

Let us take a further look at the directions "selected" by rural youth. They represent from 0.7 percent to 4 percent of the total number of those accepted into English and German studies, sociology and political science.

It is no wonder, then, that only 34 people are teaching English language in rural elementary schools (although only 13 of these have the necessary university qualifications to do so). The number of persons teaching German is 37, of which 29 have a higher education.

And so we come to the social consequence of the fact that only a negligible number of peasant youth is accepted for studies. The most dangerous and threatening thing is that a tremendous number of young people born and raised rurally (for which they are not to blame!) is deprived of the chance to participate in the processes of state organizations at levels accessible only to those who have a higher education. In this way, the road of social and professional advancement is cut off to people from rural areas and small towns who are capable, but are deprived of conditions for their intellectual development. In short, we are dealing with a process of the "ossification" of the Polish social structure.

This leads us to the definite conclusion that as long as conditions for education in the rural and urban communities are not equalized (although what is occurring is not exactly discrimination) at the elementary and secondary levels, preferences for candidates for higher study coming from rural, small-town and working-class communities must be maintained. These preferences cannot be limited only to the selection process that occurs when students take the entrance exam, nor can it consist of the mere mechanical allotment of additional credits by virtue of the fact that one comes from a specific community.

However, we already think that due to the great and constantly growing needs of rural areas for qualified teaching cadres, all candidates of peasant extraction who have passed the entrance exam for agricultural academies, medical academies and higher pedagogical schools should be accepted to these schools, regardless of the results attained by other candidates. Various scientific studies show that peasant youth are several times more likely to acknowledge a desire to return to work in the rural community after they complete their studies than graduates who come from other social communities.

The various proposals aimed at increasing the share of peasant youth in higher schools are justified by the interests of the rural areas and the entire country understood over the perspective of time.

8536
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ILLEGAL STUDENT GROUP UNCOVERED IN CHELM

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 23-25 Apr 82 p 5

[Article by Wlodzimierz Syzdek: "Left to Their Own Devices"]

[Text] A few weeks ago we wrote about an illegal group of youths from Starogard Gdanski. Recently five students of post-elementary schools--members of the organization "Poland Struggling for Democracy" (PWoD)--were detained in Chelm Lubelski. What kind of activities did they conduct?

An Unhealthy Climate

After August 1980 a chapter of "Solidarity" was formed that consisted of several thousand members. Some activists of the Union undertook political activities in addition to work on improving living conditions of the working class and the struggle with deviations which took place in the 70's. Leaflets slandering officials and calling to boycott the directives and disregard the law appeared in the city. A series of talks for youths was organized under the slogan of "unfalsifying history." The lectures were given by a J. Adamczuk from Lublin. Young people, who quite often were on a very low level of political knowledge, received negative appraisal of the alliance with the Soviet Union and of the people's rule. Instead, they listened to praises of the activities of Pilsudski and other politicians of the Second Polish Republic which combatted the leftists.

These activities have left their imprint. The youths formed informal groups which put forward rather hazy political goals. The groups were united by the negation of socialism.

It seems that tendencies to form illegal organizations would have stopped when martial law was announced. However, this past January signs of "Poland Struggling" appeared on the streets of the city, and later leaflets calling to resist the authorities and boycott their directives appeared as well.

An investigation conducted by the Main Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia that was headed by Lt Col Jan Solis showed that five 16-year-old

students from secondary schools in Chelm--members of a group called "Poland Struggling for Democracy" (PWoD)--were the authors of the signs and leaflets.

What Did They Really Struggle For?

The five were active participants in the lectures of the "unfalsifier" J. Adamczuk. The initiator of the group was a student of the second class of the Agricultural Schools' Group, Piotr O. He coopted Miroslaw P., Krzysztof P., and Piotr G. from the General High School 2 in Chelm and Jacek W. from the Basic Construction School. The main goal of the group, as shown by the materials of the investigation, was distribution of leaflets in the city. The youths collected paper and printer's ink. They made a printing block on the roll of a washing machine wringer. They used this primitive device to print dozens of leaflets which called for action.

Rightist organizations acting in Poland during the Nazi occupation served as a model for the members of PWoD. Five persons were to constitute a strictly secret leadership without any direct contact with rank and file members. The plans called for expanding the group, assigning propaganda materials and gathering incendiary devices and explosives.

The first action on a larger scale was to have been setting fire to the PZPR Voivodship Committee building by throwing bottles filled with gasoline at it.

During the talks with the representatives of the Main Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia all five emphasized that they had organized a voice to protest against the martial law.

Again Exemplary Students

Like the boys from Starogard Gdanski, the organizers of PWoD were exemplary students.

Three members of the group attended the July Manifesto General High School.

"They did not display any special behavioral problems," says the principal Celina Jarmuszynska. "They attended school regularly, studied well and behaved well. They had special hobbies and interests. Mirek P. was our pride in the area of sports. Piotrek G. was enthusiastic about music."

According to teachers, none of the three boys, who were mathematics-physics majors, showed any special interests in the area of politics and history.

"This does not mean," says the history teacher Grazyna Gieras, "that they did not possess any knowledge on the subject. During civics class we tried to convey to the students knowledge about the early years of the formation of the people's government in our country and its accomplishments. As soon as martial law was announced, the youths were informed about the prohibitions and injunctions that it carried. During the whole period after classes started again it was quiet here."

General High School 2 is attended mainly by rural youth, often commuting from faraway towns. They do not have time for extracurricular activities. In this situation the Union of Socialist Polish Youth or any other social organizations are practically nonexistent in the school.

Is the Judge Right?

The case of the members of PWoD has already been taken to juvenile court. It has been assigned to Judge Julian Zieminski.

"During the talks with the boys," he said, "I tried to find out the motives for their behavior. It turned out that neither their parents at home nor their teachers in school wanted to talk with them about subjects which interested them. Neither did they have any support from political and social organizations. This void was then filled by some activists of 'Solidarity,' historians who had a hostile attitude toward socialism and Western broadcasting stations. Not having any political background, the boys accepted the ideas promulgated by them as true. And that is how the idea of an organization, which took them down the road of collision with the law, was born."

"This Was Only an Adventure."

The decision of the court put the boys in a shelter for juveniles in Dominow, near Lublin, for the time before the trial.

Five nice 16-year-old boys are sitting in the meeting room. They willingly talk about themselves and about their activities.

"We got the name of the organization," Piotr O. said, "from Moczulski and Confederation of an Independent Poland. The idea of producing leaflets was suggested by a college student we knew--a member of the Independent Association of Students in Lublin. We tried to treat it all as play, though. We were just a group of people looking for adventure and fun which we did not have in our city. We had no intention of implementing a specific program. After all, none of us are enemies of the socialist system. They system gave our families a chance for advancement (parents of the majority of the boys come from the workers' environment, some are party members--annotation by W. S.). Now we would like to go back to normal schoolwork and correct all our mistakes."

Similar views were expressed by the other members of the group. They all showed a critical attitude toward their actions and were afraid of the punishment facing them.

What Does the Psychologist Say?

During their stay in the shelter the boys underwent full psychological testing. They showed considerable intelligence, unusual ability to associate facts, but also succeptibility to stresses caused by changes in environment. These abound in Dominow. Every day they come in contact with juvenile

delinquents sentenced for stealing, rapes and assaults. They feel threatened and afraid of them. This is probably not the right kind of companionship for them.

This opinion is shared by the psychologist Czeslaw Zralka.

"These are valuable young people," he said. "They should not be held responsible for their actions. In this case the environment in which they lived was responsible. It was not capable of presenting the right behavioral models and life guideposts. After all, they are not enemies of socialism but only misdirected people. And that is why putting them in the shelter is, in my opinion, an educational error."

What Next?

Soon the court will decide on guilt and punishment of the five members of PWoD. Let's hope that they will not find themselves in a shelter in Dominow where they may be threatened with demoralization and breaking of character. Let's assume that they will go back to Chelm, to their school, and will be under the counselor's care. Who will then help them fill their free time with interesting activities? A young man can go here to the movies or, if he has money, to a cafe. The House of Culture does not organize activities for youths, and schools apparently are not interested in extracurricular activities. Also, nobody conducts systematic ideological-educational activities for young people. After all, interesting discussions and meetings with scientists and political activists could be organized. It is a chance for the Polish Scout Union and for the Union of Socialist Polish Youth to show what they can do, but, as the youths claim, the activities of these organizations in the city are confined to the directors' board rooms. This observation is also confirmed by the empty Union of Socialist Polish Youth bulletin board in the center of the city.

We are not interested in releasing the group of youths under the sign of PWoD from any responsibility for their actions. If, even if it were only for fun, they chose to defy the existing legal order they must suffer the punishment they deserve. But the educational front in Chelm has to draw all the conclusions from the facts presented here.

9959
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STUDENT PASSIVITY, LACK OF COMMUNITY DEPLORED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Apr 82 p 3

[Text] It seems that the status of the student community is not the best. The Independent Association of Students (NZS) was rendered illegal; the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP) was suspended; and the students are sternly learning, because the rules have become stringent, and discussions taking place concerning the future of their movement are, in my opinion, barren. Barren, because they are very very unilateral. It is well that they study unswervingly, but it is bad that they engage only in discussion instead of establishing some type of community.

There is no shortage, among the boyish brotherhood of people, who completely glorify the Independent Association of Students because it has been dissolved, and they totally criticize--frankly they repudiate--the Socialist Union of Polish Students because it is suspended. These two reasons are completely satisfactory. At the same time many claim, perhaps justifiably so, that the community is in need of union organization, which will concern itself with the social interests of the students and organize culture, tourism, etc. To sum it up, it will really be concerned, this is a sacred word, about the student's well being, and just that.

What is the students' reaction to the community? None. That means that I have heard nothing regarding the raising of a specific, real motion anywhere on the matter of reviving the Polish Student Association, because this is to be the organization which guarantees "neutrality," or the forming of an organization with another name to fulfill the appropriate conditions. Is initiative possible? I do not know. I do know that no one has undertaken it seriously.

But perhaps such discussions, instead of action, are simply the student's prescription for life? Something must be done, hence it is best to discuss, and while doing so, to criticize only and not to pick anyone to pieces in order not to bear responsibility for anything--except your own cozy domestic life. That this might actually be a prescription--is at least indicated by the fact, that between August and December significantly more than half of the students quite truly assumed the position of observers. Let the others fight. So it makes no difference for what. It is important to observe curiously.

At this moment, reflection--yet the posture of the observer may bring advantages. The youth observes, learns from the mistakes of others and, thanks to this, does not make the same ones. Perhaps for this reason this posture is ideal for the student community? Unfortunately, I judge that it is not. I could accept this thesis, if not for the fact that, among the students, one more frequently encounters "formalism" rather than real analysis. Only deep analysis of a situation teaches something, even if there is no direct participation in the activities comprising that situation.

"Formalism," on the other hand, locks out the possibilities of knowing. We give it a name and that is the end. Already we know everything. This is good; this is compromised; this is pre-August; and this is post-August. What is there to analyze here? For everything is, once and for all, clear and settled. But if someone has doubts? It means--a block-head. It is difficult to suspect that the block-head had a motive. Even finally if he learns of it, in a clear manner, he may be told that however, in spite of everything, he is a block-head. If there is a lack of courage--at least one can think that way.

The position of observer, I beg your pardon, frankly discredits the student. The student, to be sure, obtains among other things, knowledge through exertion, so that later he and the society in which he lives can benefit from it. This is a fact and not a banality or propaganda. It is so in the whole world. Whoever is destined to work among people studies to be an intellectual. How will he act and reach an understanding with them if he does not learn this during his course of studies?

The condition of the student community is certainly none too good. The community at times seems as if it would like to become self-sustaining. Unfortunately, the studies will come to an end sometime; it will be necessary to depart from the student enclave and seriously engage in the creation of technology that will liberate our country from excessive coproduced imports. A good status will be necessary. But in order to have status it is necessary to train. It is not sufficient to "be wise" and say that everything is "b."

9951
CSO: 2600/577

LETTER TO EDITOR SCORES HIGH SCHOOL EXAM POLICY

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Apr 82 p 3

[Letter by Magdalena Jarkowska, student at the General High School I in Chelm: "Mail 'SM'--Problems with Secondary-School Examination"]

[Text] I would like to voice my own, and the opinions of my colleagues, in presenting the matter of final examinations of next year in the general high schools. The proposal publicized in this matter is very inconvenient for us and adds to our woes. Subjects, which we must pass depending on the class major selected, were forced upon us.

In frequent cases, these subjects clash with the courses of study. Why can we not, as in the past, submit to final examinations in those fields of study which simultaneously coincide with subjects contained in college entrance exams? There are many individuals, and I refer only to them, who while attending classes with a humanities major, intend to study specific subjects. And conversely. This is the result of specifying their interests.

I think that we should not have imposed upon us a course of future studies, and this is indicated actually by the proposed variant of an examination of maturity. I present this as my personal example.

I am attending the third class and majoring in biology-chemistry. While attending secondary school I had no precise interests to influence my decision regarding a future course of studies. I was somewhat interested in biology. During the course of further studies I was introduced to ethnography and I would like to continue my studies in this direction.

In addition to the Polish language, a foreign language, and an additional subject, which in my case would be geography (the entrance examination for ethnography includes history and geography), I would be compelled to choose either biology or mathematics for my final examination--history--if I had been in the humanities-major class.

By passing this one subject could I not have been added to the circle of humanities specialists? I am certain that the educational authorities are concerned about the creation of a system which could contribute to our

training as highly qualified specialists in a given field. I shall not become "the fruit" of this very important foundation, if I am to be compelled to master two such broad fields as biology and history.

Most likely I shall simply have to pursue natural sciences in order to pass the final examination. I shall foresake the ethnography of my dreams and undertake studies in that field which represent a continuation of my secondary school major. However, I do not know whether I will practice the profession selected contrary to my own wishes with willingness, and most important, conscientiously and engagingly.

I request the editorial board to assume an active role in this matter. There is yet some time and certainly it would be possible for you to help us in some manner. We are young and wish to study, but only that which truly is of interest to us.

Please print my letter. Perhaps the youth in other schools will also express themselves on this subject for our mutual benefit.

P.S. I emphasize that I am distinctly concerned with the secondary school group whose coursework differs from the "major" subjects.

9951
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CURRENT PRESS ATTENTION TO YOUTH AFFAIRS SURVEYED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 20 Apr 82 p 2

[Article by az: "In the News Columns--Young People in Crisis"]

[Text] More and more is being written about young people. This is due to the discussion on this subject which is beginning to take place within the framework of a party-wide debate. However, more and more social expectations deal with actual evaluations of the situation among young people. Despite the declarations which continue to be made, looked at objectively, young people are locked inside themselves, they have unresolved problems and, in general, avoid talking about themselves. They are waiting.

Ludwik Luzynski writes about generation problems in WALKA MLODYCH in an article entitled "Where Are They, What Do They Want?" in which we read: "We must look for answers and explanations in the statement that their trust has been misused and breached for the second time in a relatively short period. In the 1970s, they were to have been the avant-garde of a generation of great opportunity, while in the last 16 months they were told that they had mastered history. Previously, they were mobilized by the slogan of "Another Poland," while recently the slogan was "Another Japan." After December 1970, they turned out willingly and in great numbers for production and social actions not knowing the seeming usefulness that brought the economy, while after August 1980 they participated in strikes with equal willingness without realizing how destructively they served our economy. Their subjective role in both cases turned out to be an illusion because, despite assurances to the contrary, in practice, the level of their participation in the resolution of important national problems did not increase but decreased. It can not be said that they provided a good background for chiefs and leaders, particularly when Polish as well as foreign television cameras were in operation. They expressed their relationship to the decade of the '70s in August 1980 by placing their hopes and noblest intentions in "Solidarity". In giving this momement their most valuable attributes--love of truth and justice, willingness to serve the country with youthful energy and high qualifications under conditions far removed from hypocrisy and perversions--they believed that the choice they made this time really was an opportunity for their generation. An admission of defeat is not a pleasant action, and certainly it is not easy when one is made out a fool for the second time. Perhaps that is an overly frivolous and bold statement, but, 'ultimately, how many times can one be taken in during the course of a short lifetime' a young

Poznan worker whom I talked to asked bitterly. They do not delude themselves in the least that this opinion is shared by all young workers. Many of them do not even differentiate in their own minds between what was noble and essential after August and what constituted a threat to that process from the beginning...."

The author makes a rather deep analysis of the situation among young workers and ends the article with a conclusion which can also be expanded to other youth groups:

"Remembering," he writes, "that existence is defined by awareness, young people will for a long time be basing their attitudes about the country on the conditions under which they will be living, and knowing that retirees are worse off than they are will be of no consolation to them. It is true that some of them have adopted a "give me" attitude; nonetheless, the majority are interested in authority decisions that will create conditions for the developing inventiveness and resourcefulness, as well as for the utilization of high qualifications. The wage system and the new cadre policy regulations developed should correspond with that...."

An article by Leszek Jucewicz entitled "Being a Communist" in the fortnightly ZYCIE PARTII commends attention. This is an important subject, which is currently being discussed very widely within the party, especially so in the context of the debate on the political attitudes of party members.

"I have not yet met a mother", the author writes, "who had said of her child: 'I would like him to grow up to be a communist'." Some 30 years have elapsed from the initiation of socialist transformation in our country and the word "communist" has still not attained social acceptance.

Many deforming factors were disseminated in the bourgeoise Poland of landed property by state institutions, right-wing political parties and the Church, factors which have contributed to the current concept of "communist". Property owning classes, exploiting religious feelings, nationalism, backwardness and fear of social revolution, were successful in implanting a frightening, monstrous image of a communist in the consciousness of the masses--of someone who is an enemy of God, the State and the country, who thirsts for blood and power, and is an advocate of force and violence. This kind of picture of a communist, though actually modified and freed of its most absurd features, has survived to this date and has been transmitted from one generation to another, and impacts on people's consciousness of the true image of a communist. However, a basic factor which favors the generational transmission of nonsense and absurdity was and is the anticommunist propaganda which sustains the dehumanized, primitive and vulgar stereotype of a communist.

Next, Leszek Jucewicz tries to provide an answer to the question of: "What does it mean to be a communist?", and formulates four criteria which settle this question in the Leninist sense of that word. They are:

The first criterion: faithfulness to communist ideology and reliance on practical activity under conditions in one's country, on the Marxist-Leninist theory

of social development, and on the experiences of other parties and socialist countries that enrich that theory.

The second criterion: a constant effort to expose the true class image of social reality and persistent counteraction against the deformation of this image by one deception or another.

The third criterion: governing one's self in one's own life and activities by socialist ideas and principles.

The fourth criterion: in every situation and in every case conducting oneself according to the interests of the working class and the socialist state, which constitute a synthesized expression of the interests of all social groups.

Wladyslaw Machejek's article this week in ZYCIE LITERACKIE on the subject of the current situation in Poland, and the prospects for ending martial law, also commands attention. The author refers to questions of national accord which are being transformed in some circles today into an idea of national accommodation.

Just as I am weary of the terms "accommodation" and "renewal" as used by the government and society, I am also weary of the terms "side" and "sides" in government-societal relationships. "Side" in my opinion sanctions a dissenting situation. Both sides are separate from one another like the crust on bread--irrespective of what is the center and what is the crust. Not only does the indivisibility of the nation as a biological and historical creation come into play, but also a state that is operating efficiently. The term "side" is much more depressing than the term "opposition". Please do not confuse opposition with rebellion. The "revolutionary minority" took the leading role more than once in turning-point situations for the nation, created a new State, and took from the past everything that is permanent, everything that the nation had as permanent. Front-line agitators and Red Guards fell away. A nation that is differentiated into classes and politically antagonized, brings eliminated values into the new order, but frequently goes back for certain elements and returns too hastily abandoned fragments to the common nest. Nothing ever ends once and for all, just as we do not know exactly the day or the deed which actually produced the nation. In any event, the indication of relative stability was a balance of forces until the vast majority came to the top.

For many years, there was no political stability in Poland. I am not saying that stability is an ideal, but a minimum is essential. Only a feeling of stability gives even an oppositionist (but not an enemy) a certainty and decisiveness in state activities.

A series of publications this week merit attention. The following can be recommended: "Talks With Internees" from ARGUMENTY, "One Could Hear the Flutter of Wings" about young people in PERSPEKTYWY, "Prospects for Coal Chemistry"--an interview with Dr Obloj in ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, "Should Tailors Sew Boots"--about science in POLITYKA, and also a series of publications in honor of the 112th anniversary of Lenin's birth in KRAJ RAD.

10433
CSO: 2600/527

LETTER TO EDITOR DISCUSSES STUDENT FINANCIAL HARDSHIPS

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 20 Apr 82 p 2

[Letter by Wieslaw Bendkowski: "Have Students Been Forgotten?"]

[Text] The reform of the pricing system initiated nearly 3 months ago has resulted in a substantial worsening of living conditions, particularly of groups poorly protected against its effects. There are increasing indications of the need for taking another look at the material situation of these groups, including the student group.

Based on their source of support, students can be divided into two categories: those who get scholarships and those who are fully supported by their parents. This separation does not of itself as yet tell us anything. The maximum scholarship is currently 2,800 zlotys per month including compensation. A child allowance, etc., may also be added to this.

How is it possible to maintain oneself on this "giddy" sum? To be sure, taking into consideration the obligatory payments for accommodations in a student house (if one is successful in getting a place in one), for canteen meals, etc., essential expenses can be arranged in a way that will somehow suffice. However, we know that some clothing is needed and that outlays for so-called cultural purposes must not be restricted in such a way as perforce takes place in the budgets of average citizens. The new prices of books and their associated consequences have already been written up more than once.

In effect, students have two alternatives: take advantage of the help of their families, or try to supplement their slim pocketbook by getting a job somehwere. However, it turns out that many families are no longer able to finance their studying offspring, something that is one of those easy to foresee side effects of the reform mentioned. Neither does an additional income enter more widely into the reckoning despite the operation of prospering student work cooperatives which are still doing very well financially, because that requires a great deal of time free from school. Meanwhile, schools are making up for the lost months of last year's disturbances, something that is associated with the considerable increase in the number of classroom instruction hours. On the other hand, the obligatory order of studies introduced in consideration of martial law anticipates severe sanctions, including dropping students from the roster for cutting even a small number of classes.

Among those who do not receive scholarships there are many persons who were denied this form of assistance in the face of, so to say, good judgment although of course consistent with the regulations. I know of many such instances. For example, it is the case that, when a student has reached 25 years of age and does not live with his parents nor take advantage of their assistance, he might not get a scholarship even if he can prove this because, for example, he was not employed before he took up his studies. What sage thought up that regulation, and not only that regulation, and for what purpose, it is difficult to figure out.

Last Fall, the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology together with the Socialist Union of Polish Students prepared a thorough reform of the scholarship system. Several versions of material assistance were presented; and, according to opinions of those most interested, that is students, they were acceptable. A tentative effective starting time of March was announced.

May is near at hand. Has this decision also been forgotten?

10433
CSO: 2600/527

BRIEFS

NEW RECTOR--On 24 May, the minister of science, higher schools and technology named Prof Dr Jozef Szymanski as the new rector of Maria Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin. Prof Szymanski was formerly an assistant dean of the Faculty of Humanities at that school. [Text] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 25 May 82 p 2]

CSO: 2600/658

PURGES, HUNGARIAN SATIRICAL ARTICLES DISCUSSED

Paris LE MONDE in French 14 May 82 p 5

[Article by Amber Bousoglou: "Mr Ceausescu's Fleeing Forward"]

[Text] The situation in Romania is constantly deteriorating from both the financial and the political points of view. Just when the economic crisis is worsening (Romanian foreign debt is estimated at US $14 billion), the regime, under the leadership of Mr Ceausescu, is constantly hardening, as several affairs in progress in Bucharest indicate.

Several affairs in progress are making people in Bucharest afraid that the country is on the eve of enormous repression. The strangest of these affairs--the one which is giving rise to the most peculiar rumors--exploded on 28 April with the dismissal of Mrs Aneta Spornic, minister of education and a member of the Executive Committee of the Romanian PC [Communist Party], and of two of her deputy ministers. According to an informed source, it was made clear that those three individuals were relieved of their duties owing to lack of vigilance with regard to a sect denounced a short time earlier by the minister of interior's journal. According to that journal, APARAREA PATRIEI (Defense of the Homeland), the aim of that "transcendental meditation sect" is the infiltration of the Party and the State in order to get Romania to leave the Warsaw Pact.[1]

The sect, which was established in Switzerland by one Nicolas Stoian, of Romanian origin, and by his wife, of Swiss nationality,[2] enjoyed official status in Romania for four years; it even had a place at the Bucharest Psychology Institute where it initiated its followers into mental and physical relaxation through the practice of yoga.

Mrs Spornic and her deputies have not been the only victims of the "transcendentalist plot." The number of officials and intellectuals who have been dismissed from their jobs within the scope of this affair are estimated at about 250. Another 1500 people are said to have been interrogated at length by security organs. Among the prominent victims, let us mention Cornel Burada, deputy minister of transportation, whose only mistake would seem to be being very keen on yoga, and who nowadays finds himself assigned to a locomotive

repair shop. Moreover, it seems that the sect affair has been used to settle scores with a certain number of intellectuals. That was how Milcu Stefan, vice president of the Academy of Sciences, lost his job[3], just as did Marin Sorescu, editor of RAMURI magazine and an elected council member of the Writers' Union, a body which the government would like to break up.

Also, Andrei Plesu, an art critic, was dismissed from the History Institute; he seems to have been criticized for having mocked excesses of Romanian nationalism in an article. Another victim of this purge, but at a distance, is the historian Mircea Eliade, who lives in the United States, and whom Romanian authorities have been trying for a long time to "win back" by publishing some of his books. All of Eliade's works have just been banned following a gesture of his for the benefit of a dissident priest, Father Calciu, who has been imprisoned for several years.

The Uneasiness of Historians

These attacks against intellectual circles are undoubtedly due to the refusal of the Writers' Union's members to name a favorite of Mr Ceausescu's, Eugen Barbu, as president. Mr Barbu, who had the backing of the authorities, was, in fact, beaten in an election by secret ballot. As if by coincidence he had been accused a short time before by Mr Sorescu--the same man who has just been relieved of his responsibilities--of having plagarized the Soviet writer Constantin Paustovski. At the time of the incident, Mr Ceausescu sided wholeheartedly with his protege. This offensive against an institution which still has relatively liberal statutes--the Plastic Arts [painting and sculpture] Union is in the same situation--might be continued next June at the time of the Culture and Educational Congress.

Romanian historians are also very uneasy and are fearful of falling into the clutches of the party's History Institute on the occasion of the abovementioned congress. Although they enjoyed relative independence from the end of Gheorgiu Dej's rule to the beginning of Mr Ceausescu's, things have constantly been going badly for them since 1971. As soon as he had made certain of his power, the present head of the party and the state attempted to polish his public image and to build up his personality cult, undoubtedly in order to make the people forget about increasingly difficult living conditions.

Hungarian Humor

Thus, he decided to endow the inhabitants of his country with prestigious ancestors, and he required the historians to show that there was a homogeneous nation in Romania whose birthplace was in Transylvania while in the neighboring countries (especially in Bulgaria and Hungary) there were only people of different origins. So, Romanians successively learned that they descended from the Romans, then the Dacians, and finally, and lastly, the Thracians, not to mention other falsifications required from historians to show the bravery of the Romanian nation through the centuries.

Do the Soviet leaders feel that Mr Ceausescu is going too far in his passion for the rewriting of history? One might well wonder after the publication on 13 March in the Hungarian party organ, NEPSZABADSAG, of an astonishing satire on Mr Ceausescu's historical claims.

Under the title "Identity," a little-known Hungarian author, Zoltan Galabardi, lampoons (without naming him) the "president" of a city who, in order to keep his citizens under better control, decides to give them the Visigoths as ancestors, which makes the inhabitants of the "Upper City" (Hungary) smile and say to each other: "The president would do better to have the roads and the city hall clock repaired or pay the neighboring commune back the 83 kg of borrowed typing paper." All The Romanian events are transposed into this setting: conferences, festivals, "introduction of beauty into life"--which is to say, sale of smiling portraits of the president--; all the manifestations of the cult of personality are turned into mockery, including the gift of the president's used clothes to the museum of the future (an allusion to the fact that an entire section in the Bucharest Historical Museum is given over to gifts made by the president and Mrs Ceausescu).

"I want to get them to attain world-class standard on a Visigothic scale, and they talk to me about standard of living," answers the "president" of the city when people talk to him about economy and the potato harvest. So he gets hold of some world celebrities to prove his arguments, but the latter fight among themselves and demolish the whole grand structure, "and the president with it."

An illustration accompanied this satire: the portrait of a man whose features recall those of Mr Ceausescu and from whose head ancient warriors and sailing ships are issuing forth.

To lampoon an allied chief of state is hardly customary in the countries of the socialist camp. Therefore, it is undoubtedly a matter of a warning coming, through Hungary, from Moscow itself. The Hungarian minority of Romanian Transylvania has already served as a pretext for the Hungarians when Mr Ceausescu's flirtation with the West was going too far or when he did not want to increase his military credits as the Warsaw Pact desired.

Romania's domestic economic situation is, in fact, getting worse. There is an increasing shortage of food products and prices are continuing to climb; free markets no longer exist: plots must be cultivated in accordance with official instructions and their harvests be delivered to the State, and each head of livestock and poultry has theoretically been registered. Romanians are now entitled to telephone overseas only once every four months. Any additional calls are hit with a tax of 500 lei (which is half of an old age pensioner's monthly payment). The population seems more and more exasperated. The Motu Valley (where the miners threw stones at Mr Ceausescu's helicopter last summer) is still a prohibited area.

The lesson in humility given by NEPSZABADSAG does not seem to have hit home. On 29 March, which was 16 days after the Hungarian article appeared, one Florescu, a writer devoted to Mr Ceausescu, was praising the latter's second son Niku, the heir apparent who is secretary of the communist youth movement, by writing in ROMANIA LIBERA: "What good fortune having a son who is so much like his father." The dynasty is theoretically safe--since one ought to know, for the record, that the eldest son cannot be the heir: his wife is Jewish, and Mrs Ceausescu does not accept her.

How far will blindness lead Nicolas Ceausescu in this flight forward? That is what people are asking in Bucharest, and that is doubtless why several intellectuals have just sent a memorandum on the deepseated crisis of Romanian society to the Central Committee. They are suggesting that the "televised performances" be ended, and that the "overweening style" and useless ceremonial meetings be abandoned. They are also calling for "all honest men involved in the tragic destiny of this country" to openly give their opinions on Romania's condition and on possible remedies. But does the Romanian leadership still include many honest men?

FOOTNOTES

1. In addition, the 20 April issue of the official Romanian newspaper (which has just reached the West) published a decree on the 12th of that month announcing the dismissal of Commanding General Vasile Moisie, deputy minister of interior, and Major Gheorghe Zagoneanu, that ministry's state secretary.

2. At the Geneva headquarters of that "transcendental meditation academy," they say they know nothing about Mr Stoian, who is, in any case, nowhere to be found in Switzerland.

3. It was he who signed the "sect's" authorization to operate at the Bucharest Psychology Institute. That institute seems to have been done away with.

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END

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22 June 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2024

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22 June 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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FEDERAL PRESS OFFICE CHAIRMAN ON ROLE OF THE PRESS

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 4, Mar 82 pp 25-37

[Article by Zdenek Cermak, chairman of the Federal Press and Information Office: "Permanent Validity of Lenin's Ideas Regarding the Role of the Press"]

[Excerpt] Today the news media are again firmly under party control and are helping the party to implement its policy. They again are serving the working class, the interests of socialism and of its further development on a national and international scale. And as Comrade Vasil Bilak said about the news media in his report at the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committe in March of 1980: "On the whole we may say that our news media are functioning from a clear stand in support of socialist class interests, of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, speaking out for the interests and will of our people. The party regards the press, radio and television workers as its support and immediate aktiv."

These words of high praise from the leadership of our party for the sphere of journalism, which truly has become reborn after the years of crisis, simultaneously obligate all journalists to fulfill, conscientiously and with the greatest responsibility, the tasks and duties that are incumbent on them in view of the position they occupy within society and objectively stem from the principal tasks that our entire society must solve in this stage of its development.

What stage is this? This is the stage that lends substance to the general policy of building a developed socialist society, adopted at the 14th congress, and confirmed and developed further at the 15th and 16th congresses. At the 16th CZPCZ Congress, Comrade Gustav Husak characterized this policy as follows: ". . . it is a comprehensive, long-term Marxist-Leninist program of our society's political, economic, social and spiritual development, a program of our country's domestic and foreign policy. It is a part of the fraternal socialist countries' joint effort."

We present this general characterization because it quite clearly reflects the long-term validity of this policy, its main aspects, and finally also its basic domestic and international interrelations. And yet in our propaganda we often overlook this policy, particularly in the course of its implementation through the mass media.

The coming period daily raises specific tasks to which we must respond also in our propaganda. It is essential to explain the nature of these tasks and to gain the workers' support for their fulfillment. But the clarification of the specific or partial tasks must not depart from the long-term tasks of the general policy of building a developed socialist society, elaborated at the individual congresses for five-year periods and, of course, spelled out at the individual sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee between congresses.

What awaits the news media after the 16th Congress was expressed by Comrade Gustav Husak in his congress report with these words: "The main task of the news media will remain providing for public opinion clear standpoints on the basic questions of our domestic and foreign policy. The news media must present on a high political and professional level the prospects of building socialism and must explain truthfully, from a Marxist-Leninist position, the experience of the masses. The news media must likewise explain frankly the causes of the difficulties and shortcomings and must indicate how they can be corrected."

The 16th congress instructed the news media not only to contribute as fully as possible toward an understanding of the congress' policy and the tasks stemming from it, but also to mobilize society for their realization. Economic propaganda in the news media plays a particularly important role. Its place follows logically from the importance of the economy and of its growth, for the development of socialist society. Therefore the CPCZ Central Committee is devoting constant attention to economic propaganda. It is discussed regularly by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's Committe for the Management of Economic Propaganda and Agitation. In 1972, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium adopted an important document entitled "For Raising the Effectiveness of Economic Propaganda and Agitation". It set obligatory tasks for the news media. In October of last year, the CPCZ Central Commmittee Secretariat approved a document entitled "The Timely Tasks of Economic Propaganda in the Mass Media". It established, among other things, ". . . that the sharp rise in the demanding nature of the tasks associated with building a developed socialist society demands a significant increase in the level and effectiveness of economic propaganda as an important link in the party's ideological work. The mass media have an indispensable role in this area."

In agreement with this document, the Federal Press and Information Office (Federalni urad pro tisk a informace; FUTI), which regularly analyzes economic propaganda in the news media for the needs of the party and state organs, notes a quantitative and qualitative growth in economic propaganda on the one hand, but also the far from fully tapped reserves in improving its effectiveness on the other.

It will not be easy and simple to fulfill the mission of being an effective propaganda, agitational and organizing instrument of our party after its 16th congress; it will require of everyone working in this field, and especially of journalists, that they creatively consider and systematically improve their journalistic work, its content and forms.

For example, journalists should approach the explanation of even the seemingly most simple phenomena or problems in our lives, whether economic or political, always with a thorough knowledge of the given problem and with due consideration for the broadest temporal (developmental) and "material" interrelations. Only in this way is it possible to avoid unnecessary mistakes, distortions and vulgarization, and in the final outcome also the low effectiveness of our propaganda. Of course, it is no less important to realize what is to be achieved by specific propaganda and also agitation, and what arguments and forms should be used. This applies especially to material with a critical slant.

Much has already been said about criticism in the news media, especially in conjunction with the evaluation of the news media in the years of crisis, and now in context of using criticism for the fulfillment of the tasks in our economy. Lately the leadership of our party has already spoken out several times, with adherence to principles and quite clearly, on this particularly sensitive question, especially in the freuqent speeches of Comrades G. Husak, V. Bilak, J. Fojtik and

other party leaders. It was emphasized that criticism in the news media must effectively aid the struggle of the new with old in our society and the world in general; that the sharpness of its tone must correspond to the degree and seriousness of the shortcomings or wrongdoings; that it must select a form suitable for the profile of the specific news medium and for the specific social position of the person against whom the criticism is directed; and that, last but not least, the criticism must show the way to correct the criticized shortcomings. Also in this case we can cite the experience of the Federal Press and Information Office that, aomng other things, monitors how our main news media use criticism, specifically in the area of economic propaganda. Here again we see a favorable development since the 16th party congress, but also reserves that are far from fully utilized.

To enable journalists to successfully fulfill more and more demanding tasks, it is certainly necessary to also ensure the essential conditions for their work. We must admit that much has been done in this respect in recent years. I have in mind the financial provisions for journalists and care for their growth, and also the development and modernization of the material and technical base of the news media. This, too, was discussed at the 16th congress.

In their capacity as propagandists, journalists must receive more-effective aid also by strengthening the theoretical foundations of propaganda, as this was discussed truthfully by Comrade Jan Fojtik during a meeting with our foremost journalists, in December of last year: "Without this theoretical foundation, it (meaning propaganda--Z.C.) would be condemned to superficial apologetics of the given practice, or to shallow criticism that easily leads to negativism."

In my opinion, however, all this mentioned aid is only one side of the coin. The other side is the own effort of every journalist, how he approaches his work, how he educates himself, how the less experienced journalist learns from his more experienced colleagues, how he evaluates his articles or broadcasts on the basis of the response from readers or the audience, and also according to the specific "response" of practical events within society, etc. Only the development of both these sides in their organic unity can ensure the greater social effectiveness of our journalism.

We have already mentioned several times the Federal Press and Information Office. This federal central organ of state administration for the press and other news media was established as of 1 January 1981, on the basis of a resolution adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, the federal government, and the supreme legislative organ of the Federal Assembly. Its main task is to assist the Communist Party in providing optimal conditions for the information policy of the news media, especially so far as the uniform implementation and coordination of this policy is concerned, to ensure good publishing conditions for the newspapers and magazines, to organize and coordinate press conferences, seminars and training for journalists, to ensure contact between the state administration and the public, to systematically analyze for the needs of responsible organs the activity of selected newspapers, magazines, and radio and television series. It has also been commissioned to register periodicals significant from the viewpoint of entire society, to ensure the safeguarding of important state interests in the press and other news media, and to decide the importation and circulation of foreign periodicals in Czechoslovakia. Besides this federal office there also exist its counterparts at the republic level, namely the Czech and the Slovak Press and Information Offices, with similar duties within the individual republics. The duties of

FUTI are based also on the experience of its Soviet counterpart, GLAVLIT [Main Administration for Safeguarding Military and State Secrets in the Press] that was established on V. I. Lenin's direct initiative, shortly after the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The activity of the Federal Press and Information Office is not directed against journalists; to the contrary, it is intended to help them in every possible way. At present, for example, FUTI is working on the problem of a so-called data bank that could serve as a qualified source of information for journalists. As a supplementary source of information for this purpose, since January of this year there already exists the FUTI bulletin, published in cooperation with the republic offices as INFORMACNI TYDENIK [INFORMATION WEEKLY]. It is sent essentially to all editorial offices, and to the party and state organs down to the okres party committees and okres national committees, to keep them better informed of the activities of the central state organs, republic organs, and the central committees of the social organizations belonging to the National Front. The bulletin also publishes information about the countries of our friends, particularly about the Soviet Union.

Just as in other cases, also here the time that has elapsed since the struggle between socialism and capitalism confirms Lenin's teaching about the role of the news media in this struggle and proves its validity even today. It's confirmed also by our experience with the work of the communist press, beginning with the first issue of RUDE PRAVO. The scientific foundation and permanent validity of Lenin's teaching were not undermined even by years of deep crisis in our party and society. Here again it was unambiguously confirmed that this crisis had not been caused by observation of Lenin's teachings, by their alleged obsoleteness, as this is being gleefully trumpeted by our class enemies; to the contrary, it was caused by departure from Leninism.

V. I. Lenin creatively developed the Marxist concept of revolutionary working-class journalism, giving us a scientific method for developing journalism further, so that it can always effectively fulfill its role as the communist party's instrument of political power, amidst the changing conditions of socialist revolution in the individual countries and on an international scale.

At present the news media of all countries within the socialist community are fulfilling a most important and most responsible task: to unmask the imperialist warmongers and adventurists, and to arouse world public opinion against them. In a certain sense this is also the struggle for socialism. The news media, guided by Lenin's teaching, are thus fulfilling an immensely responsible revolutionary task in this world class struggle.

1014
CSO: 2400/248

CEAUSESCU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM SPEECH

AU090800 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Jun 82 pp 1-7

[Speech by RCP Secretary-General Nicolae Ceausescu at the RCP Central Committee Plenum "On the current stage of building socialism in our country and on theoretical and ideological questions and the party's political and educational activity," held in Bucharest 1 June 1982]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, the plenary meeting of the party Central Committee is debating theoretical, ideological and political-educational questions of the molding of the new man, conscious builder of socialism and communism. In approaching these questions we should start from the profound revolutionary transformations wrought in the Romanian society, from the big social and national changes, from the changes in the balance of forces in the contemporary international life.

We should analyze, in the spirit of the revolutionary conception of world and life of the scientific socialism and dialectical and historical materialism, the road traversed by our homeland in building the new social system, in the ensuring of the triumph of socialism, the stages of the revolutionary process, as well as Romania's current stage.

We should analyze in particular the development of the production forces, the current stage of the Romanian economy and its place in the world economy.

Likewise, we should analyze the social structure and relations, the ownership of the means of production, the mode of production and distribution of the social product and national income.

We must constantly bear in mind the fact that the way of thinking, the social consciousness, the level of development of science, education and culture are determined by society's material base, the mode of production and distribution of the material goods.

At the same time, the social consciousness, science, education and culture, the ideological and political-educational activity play an important role in the development of the production forces. Both spheres condition each other and, in dialectical unity, ensure the continuous progress of society, the rise in the people's welfare, the consolidation of the homeland's independence and sovereignty. (loud applause)

I. The Role of the Forces of Production and of the Revolutionary Concept of the World and Life in Perfecting the Organizational Framework of Social Life

As is known, mankind's history, and therefore the history of the Romanian people, is the history of the development of the forces of production and of social relations. It is the history of class struggle and of the struggle against foreign oppression and domination, and for national liberation and independent development. It is the history of the constant struggle between the old and the new. At the same time, mankind's history is marked by relations between various peoples and countries and by the rise and fall of certain empires, by the peoples' struggle to defend their own and their national existence.

Several modes of production and social systems have succeeded each other throughout the millenia. In all those systems, the class struggle and its appropriate forms for each stage, and the struggle against foreign oppression and for national liberation, that is, the struggle against social exploitation and national oppression, has constituted the motivating force for revolutionary transformations and mankind's progress.

Each mode of production and social system has its own way of thinking and its own social awareness. After the epoch of primitive communism, from the system of slavery up to capitalism, the dominating classes' concepts of life and the world have always tried to justify their forms of ownership, production and distribution based on the division of society into classes of owners and classes lacking means of production, into oppressors and oppressed. They have always tried to justify the exploitation and oppression of the people's masses.

At the same time, the oppressed classes formulated their own theoretical and ideological concepts of the world and life which, in keeping with each social system, illuminated their road in their revolutionary struggle to eliminate social injustice and to build a new, more just and better society.

As is known, in all social systems up to now there have existed and acted a number of generally valid laws for the overall society which have contributed to the development and assertion of the peoples' and nations' common awareness, and to the general development of science, culture and human awareness. However, those laws have always been used by the exploiting classes for their own aims to strengthen and preserve their domination over the other social classes and over the people's masses.

With the appearance of the workers class on the scene of history, a new revolutionary concept developed regarding the organization of society, social relations and the transition to a system without oppressing classes, a system of social and national justice.

One can state that for the first time it is in the socialist system, especially in communism, that conditions are created for formulating a uniform theoretical and ideological concept of the world and life. However, in socialism, too, and probably in communism as well, the theoretical and ideological concept will constantly change in keeping with the development of the forces of production and the level of scientific knowledge.

The disappearance of social classes, of social and national inequality, and the achievement of a society of social and national equality ensures the material and social basis for a uniform concept of the world and life. However, this possibility must be turned into reality on the basis of socioeconomic development and the revolutionary party's theoretical-ideological activity to eliminate outdated states of affairs, and the theoretical and ideological concepts that developed throughout several social systems. We must constantly bear in mind that the struggle against the outdated concept of the world and life, and the assertion of the materialist-dialectical revolutionary concept, is a long process. The party's educational-political, theoretical and ideological activity is taking place while a fierce struggle between the new concept and old states of affairs is taking place. The revolutionary party, the progressive forces and the workers class--as the society's leading class--must fulfill its historic responsibility under most favorable conditions both in developing the forces of production, in establishing new relations of production and in asserting the revolutionary materialist-dialectical concept of the world and life throughout society.

The constant struggle between what is old and new will continue to exist in communism as well, and will constitute the motivating force for the progress of human society. The dialectical law of the struggle between opposites and contradictions exist in socialism and will, undoubtedly, exist in one or another form in the communist society. Contradictions exist and will continue to appear in any society. They cannot be solved by negating them, but by studying them and understanding the causes that generated them, and, on this basis, by conscious actions aimed at eliminating old states of affairs and boldly promoting what is new. Only thus can one ensure the construction of the communist society. Only thus will mankind be able to achieve a society without oppressors. (loud applause) Completely new in communism is the fact that antagonistic classes, social classes in the old sense of the word, will disappear and conditions will be created to resolve contradictions through the conscious activity of the social forces, of the people, in the interests of the overall society, of social freedom and justice and of the material and cultural well-being of all members of society.

The creation of conditions for asserting the uniform theoretical and ideological concept of the world and life must not be understood in the narrow sense of uniformization, of accepting without question one or another thesis. The assertion of a uniform concept necessarily requires a constant struggle between various theses and concepts on the better organization of the forces of production, social relations and the masses of people's life. Certainly, this will be a struggle based on uniform relations of production and on the development of science, culture and human knowledge that will constantly open up ever new ways and means to improve life and social relations.

It is in the spirit of this revolutionary, materialist-dialectical and historic concept that we must view the development of the Romanian people and the current stage our socialist fatherland is going through.

II. The Knowledge of the Romanian People's Millenary History and Their Struggle for Asserting Their Own Being, for Social and National Freedom and for Independence and Unity--the Foundation of the Ideological Activity and of the Patriotic and Socialist Education of the Masses

Esteemed comrades, the Romanian people's millenary history and in fact the history of all peoples is the history of developing the forces of production, of manufacturing and improving work tools, a fact that led to uniting and organizing people in groups and states up to the centralized state of Dacians under Burebista and then, in keeping with the various epochs, up to the capitalist system and the transition to building the socialist society.

As is known, the Dacian civilization forcefully flourished for hundreds of years. Two years ago we celebrated 2,050 years since the formation of the first centralized Dacian state. However, the joint organization of the Dacian's life had begun many centuries before. For those times, various state formations of the Dacians had an advanced material and cultural life. They maintained relations with other peoples and civilizations in their neighborhood. During the centralized state, along with agriculture, mining developed too, as did the processing of metal and other trades, which reflects the Dacian's high level of civilization. The contacts and cooperation with the Greek and Roman civilizations exerted a powerful influence on the Dacian's way of life and thinking. The very long duration of wars between the Dacians and Romans is proof of the strength and lastingness of the Dacian state and people. The victory won by the Romans opened up a long period of coexistence characterized by an accentuated blending of the Dacian and Roman civilizations. As the documents of that time, archeological research and scientific evidence show, the Dacian-Roman symbiosis was achieved in that time and the formation of a people based on the loftiest virtues of the Dacians and Romans began. That is how the Romanian people came into being. After the withdrawal of the Roman armies in the face of the invasion of migratory people, the new people, in the process of being formed, stayed behind to defend their soil and common interests. Gradually, they proceeded to organize new groupings, voivodships, which waged violent struggles against the invaders to defend their own existence.

Hundreds of years passed during which the community of economic, territorial, cultural and language interests of the Romanian people strengthened. In that period, although with some delay, conditions were created for the transition to a higher organization--the formation of the three Romanian principalities: Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania. As is known, they were born and developed in the struggle against foreign domination and for uniting into a powerful state able to withstand foreign invaders and to ensure their own independent development.

Our people will never forget the struggles waged by Mircea the Old, Stefan the Great and Mihai the Brave, and by so many others who firmly rose against foreign domination, to defend their own being and to assert the identity of the Romanian people.

It is very significant that from the very beginning close relations developed between the three principalities. During Mihai the Brave's time, the awareness of a common origin and the desire to unite into a single state--achieved in fact for a short time, that is true--existed in one form or another. The unification achieved under Mihai the Brave expressed the Romanian people's desire to have their own united state, heralding the formation of a later united national Romanian state in 1918. (loud applause)

There are historians today upholding the theory of a vacuum that allegedly existed in a certain period in the Carpatho-Danubian space. I think they got the right answer to this long ago; first, from more advanced people, from the people of culture of those times who were speaking about the inhabitants and voivodships that existed in the Carpatho-Danubian space--and I think they were more knowledgeable than certain contemporary historians who set themselves up as being omniscient and deny facts, deny what was the result of historical development. The answer was given by Mircea the Old, Stefan the Great, Ioan of Hunedoara, Michael the Brave. Those who defeated Bajazet, who stood up to so many invaders who set up the first centralized Romanian state in Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania. They did not come from alien land, or out of the blue. They were born here and lived here, in this land which they defended with their own lives. (loud, prolonged applause) They continued their common existence on this soil for hundreds upon hundreds of years. They organized, developed and struggled to live freely and independently. That was the time when our people's awareness took shape, the awareness of continuity, of unity of culture and origin of all inhabitants in the three principalities.

The Romanian principalities were formed and developed in very difficult conditions: "They had to fight against the rule or the tendencies for domination of three big empires--the Ottoman empire, the Austro-Hungarian empire and the Tsarist empire--in order to preserve their identity. It goes without saying that those historical circumstances, the long wars that had to be waged against foreign domination, caused a certain lag in economic and social development, being the main obstacles to the formation and development of the Romanians' unitary national state. In those conditions, the people's masses, the heads of the three principalities continuously fought for independent development, for reinforcing the links and common feelings.

All this is illustrated by facts, by the social and national struggles waged throughout centuries and by active participation in international affairs of that time. This is illustrated by the peasant uprising, Tudor Vladimirescu's revolution, the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848--which, in one or another form, spread within all three Romanian principalities--and by the unification of Wallachia and Moldavia and the formation of the Romanian national state in 1859. The feelings of sympathy among the people's masses

in Transylvania and the active position held by the intelligentsia of Transylvania to demonstrate, to gain recognition for the Romanian nature of Transylvania and to achieve unification with the new Romanian national state are very well known. The independence war--the assertion of the Romanian people's will to shake off foreign domination for good--was a new opportunity for the people in Transylvania to show their desire for independence and for being united with the country. These feelings continued to develop and triumphed with the formation of the unitary national state in 1918 as a result of the fall of the Austrian-Hungarian empire, and of the assertion in Alba Iulia by the people's masses in Transylvania of their free desire and determination to become united with the country, with Romania. (loud, prolonged applause) The formation of the unitary national state was the crowning of centuries-old struggles and of the aspirations of Romanians everywhere to have their united independent state and to live freely, in peace and cooperation with their neighbors and with other peoples.

Archeological diggings and historical facts forcefully show that all socio-economic systems known to mankind followed each other on our fatherland's territory throughout millenia.

Historical circumstances linked with the migration of peoples, and then the domination of the great empires in certain periods delayed our people's development and the formation of the united Romanian national state. However, the strength and vitality of the descendants of the "bravest and boldest of Thracians," of the descendants of the Dacians and the Romans were especially obvious at those difficult times. They preserved and developed their specific common features and thus, throughout centuries and based on the unity of origin, language, culture, territory and common economic interests, formed the Romanian people and later the Romanian nation. (loud, prolonged applause)

In their coexistence with neighboring people in ancient times, with various migrating peoples and then with those who settled in this part of Europe in the second half and toward the end of the first millenium, mutual influence and intermingling took place.

Life and facts demonstrate that nomadic people and those who settled in this part of Europe toward the end of the first millenium came upon a higher material and cultural civilization, which they acquired. On the basis of historical facts, we can state that our people was formed throughout centuries in the Carpathian-Danubian area, that each meter of land and each rock speak about the perspiration and bloodshed of our forebearers. At the most difficult times, our forefathers did not leave the soil on which they were born, but, by fraternizing with it, with the mountains and fields, with rivers and stately forests, they firmly held their positions in this area and defended their being and their right to a free existence. (lively and loud applause)

The Dacian-Roman origin and the continuity in this area are basic features of the Romanian people. Establishing the place in history and the origin and continuity in the Carpathian-Danubian area of the Romanian people is the

foundation of any ideological, theoretical and educational-political activity. One cannot speak of socialist patriotic education without being familiar with the past and honoring it, and without knowing the work and struggle of our forefathers. (loud applause) We have a glorious past which represents the most valuable heritage of our people. We are dutybound to raise this valuable heritage up to a new level and enrich it with new material achievements, and to raise our people, our socialist nation, onto new peaks of civilization. (loud, prolonged applause)

History and events have taught us that foreign domination and the existence in our country's proximity of certain empires have, at one point or another, delayed our people's socioeconomic development, and the formation of the Romanian nation and the unitary national state. Those adverse circumstances, however, have not been able to hamper the achievement of the aspirations of the Romanian people, based on their common origin: namely, to surmount any difficulties and to win victory by forming a free and independent nation, by establishing a unitary national state and by the transition to building the socialist society. (loud applause)

From the long and tumultuous history of the Romanian people, one can draw the conclusion of a more general nature that foreign domination and occupation, no matter how long it lasted, cannot hamper the manifestation of a people's common interests, the preservation of its features, the formation of a nation and that of a unitary national state. These are objective laws in the development of any people.

This conclusion has been confirmed forcefully by many peoples who for hundreds of years were under colonial and imperialist domination, and who in the past 30 years have gained their independence and have formed nations and unitary national states. (loud applause)

III. The Forceful Development of the Forces of Production--an Essential Factor of the Victory of Socialism in Romania and of the Progress and Well-Being of All Our People

Esteemed comrades, the formation of the Romanian national state through the unification of Wallachia and Moldavia in 1859 opened up the road to a more forceful development of the forces of production and of our country's transition to capitalist development. An important role was played by the war of independence and the proclamation of Romania's complete independence. However, together with this, foreign monopolies and imperialist countries entered our country, thus acquiring and looting our people's riches and hampering the development of the forces of production and of the Romanian national economy.

Even after the formation of the unitary national state in 1918 the major part of the Romanian economy, beginning with oil, continued to be in the hands of imperialists and foreign monopolies.

On the eve of World War II more than 60 percent of the Romanian economy was in the hands of imperialist corporations and monopolies. For this reason, Romania remained an agrarian country with a poorly developed industry. Under such circumstances, the Romanian economy completely served Hitlerite Germany, and Romania itself was thrown into the antinational war against the Soviet Union, on the side of Hitlerite Germany.

We must never ever forget that the RCP was the only force that rose with great determination against that war and acted toward the unification of all patriotic and antifascist forces, and organized the struggle for pulling out of the war and achieving the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation.

The achievement of the historic act of 23 August 1944 under favorable international conditions determined by the victories of the Soviet and allied armies, and by the peoples' struggle in Europe against German fascism, opened up a new era in our people's millenary history. With all its might, Romania joined the Soviet armies against Hitlerite Germany to completely free the fatherland from Hitlerite-Horthyist domination, and then fought, making great sacrifices for Hungary's and the CSSR's liberation and until the complete crushing of fascism. In the just war waged against fascism, our people demonstrated that they had nothing in common with the military-fascist clique that pushed our country, together with Hitlerite Germany, against the Soviet Union. At the same time, the Romanian people thus asserted their glorious traditions of struggle for independence and for supporting the struggle waged by other peoples against foreign domination and for freedom and independence. (loud, prolonged applause)

The antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social liberation opened up the road to achieving the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution, and for the transition to building socialism. It ensured the necessary conditions for great revolutionary transformations. The Romanian people have recorded, under RCP leadership, epoch-making achievements in the country's general development.

In a short historic period, Romania has traveled several historic stages and has proceeded to building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

In this period of great revolutionary transformations, the capitalist-landowner ownership of the means of production, and class exploitation and oppression were eliminated and a unitary socialist economy in industry and agriculture was achieved based on the working people's common ownership, as the property of all people, and on cooperative ownership of the means of production. The application of the socialist principle of distribution of the social product and national income was ensured in conformity with the principles of the ethics and equity of the new system. On this basis, the forces of production forcefully developed and Romania turned into an industrial-agrarian country with a powerful industry and a developed agriculture in full progress.

Were we to compare Romania's situation in 1938--the year of the most developed economy before World War II--to its situation in 1980, we can note with pride and satisfaction what great achievements our people have recorded, in a historically short period, in their socioeconomic development on the road of socialism, of well-being and the happiness of the entire nation. (loud lively applause)

As I have mentioned, on the eve of World War II, that is after more than 80 years of capitalist development, Romania was a country with a poorly developed industry and a backward agriculture. Almost 80 percent of the people were working in agriculture. Today Romanian industry produces 48 times more than in 1938. But even in comparison with 1950, the year when we started our first 5-year plan, that is, when we actually started to build the socialist society, our country has experienced a forceful socioeconomic development. Taking 1938 as a comparative basis, I will refer to the situation in 1950, 1965 and 1980 so as to better understand the road travelled, the great changes that have taken place, and the material and cultural strength of the Romanian socialist society today.

The Dynamics of Major Growth Indexes of the National Economy

1938 equals 100

	1950	1965	1980
Population	104.6	122	142.3
Active population-fit to work	101.2	117	125
Number of working personnel	150.5	305.1	520.2
Social product	99	410	14 times
National income	99.5	411	14 times
Gross industrial production	147	957	48 times
Gross agricultural production	74	143	258
Per capita national income	95	337	10 times

The above figures demonstrate forcefully, on the basis of facts, the great achievements recorded by the Romanian people in socialist development and in raising the level of civilization and improving the material and cultural living standard. Proceeding from the social product and the per capita national income, we can state that today Romania is fifteen times richer than in 1950. The most telling example in this respect is the situation of fixed assets--which constitutes the basis of the society's development--which are nine times larger than in 1950. Thus what had been achieved throughout centuries of economic development of our people, has been increased nine times over in only 30 years of socialist construction.

The dynamism of our economic development in the years of socialist construction is also expressed through the proximity to the economically developed countries, through the per capita levels of a number of physical products such as: the consumption of primary energy (in terms of pit coal), steel production, cement,

tractors, trucks, freight cars, chemical fertilizers, synthetic yarns and fibers, plastics, synthetic rubber, refrigerators, television sets, radio sets, fabrics, footwear and foodstuffs.

All this forcefully demonstrates the correctness of our party's policy which applies generally valid truths to the concrete conditions in Romania and acts in close relationship with the realities in our country.

Our country's experience has been and is still being discussed. Some theoreticians and economists abroad still issue theses according to which Romania did not do well to pay such great attention to developing the forces of production and especially socialist industry. In the bourgeois-landowner regime, too, there was a thesis--promoted under the influence of imperialist monopolies--according to which Romania should have remained an eminently agrarian country. Some people even stated that the Romanian people have no aptitude for industry and that they should not proceed to industrialization. This thesis made our country stay a poorly developed country with a very low standard of living. If, in proceeding to socialist construction, Romania had not acted to forcefully develop the forces of production and to build a modern industry on the basis of the most modern technology, we would have continued to be a poorly developed country and dependent on industrialized countries.

The forceful development of socialist industry, the distribution of the forces of production and the progress of industry in all counties have constituted and constitute an essential factor for the victory of socialism and for the transition to building the comprehensively developed socialist society, and Romania's advance toward communism. (loud applause) On the basis of the forceful development of the forces of production and of industry, we have been able to ensure the agrarian revolution and the transition of agriculture to socialism, and an increase of three and a half times over in agricultural production compared to that in 1950.

On this basis, deep revolutionary transformations have been achieved in the country's social structure by increasing the workers class and reducing the share of the peasantry from 80 percent to less than 30 percent in 1980.

The development of the forces of production, industrialization and the development of the other economic branches, and the forceful progress of agriculture have constituted essential factors for the flourishing of science, education and culture, and for eliminating illiteracy and achieving a cultural revolution by generalizing the compulsory 10-year education and more forcefully developing the educational-cultural activity among the people's masses. (loud applause)

On this basis a constant improvement of material and cultural well-being has been ensured for all our people. The development of the forces of production and of thie society's technical-material base has ensured an increase of more than four times over, in the past three decades, in the working people's

remuneration, and an increase of 15 times in the sales of goods, a fact that shows that in a number of basic consumer goods the per capita consumption--while our population is growing--has shown very important progress. I will refer only to some figures in order to illustrate the great improvement, in just a few years, of the people's material and cultural living standard, by taking 1950 as a basis:

The Development of the Main Living Standard Indexes

1950 equals 100

	1965	1970	1980
Per capita national income	354	482	11 times
Real remuneration	226	271	418
Net nominal average remuneration	305	382	664
Peasants' incomes from work performed in agricultural production cooperatives and private farms, per active person			
--real	189	202	434
--net nominal	296	342	822
Sales of goods	459	683	15 times

In the 1950-1980 period, while the number of work places showed an increase of more than 5 million, the net nominal average remuneration increased from 330 lei to 2,238 lei per month. At the same time, the peasants' monthly net nominal incomes increased from 167 lei to some 1,400 lei. Per capita sociocultural expenditures increased from 211 lei to some 3,200 lei.

As for the people's consumption, in the 30 years of socialist construction, it showed a per capita increase of 3.7 times in meat; 1.6 times in milk; 4.5 times in eggs; 4 times in sugar and 2 times in vegetables. The fact is especially important that these increases were achieved while the urban population was rapidly increasing--from 3.7 million in 1948 to 11 million inhabitants in 1980.

The level of supplying people with durable goods, especially television sets, refrigerators, automobiles and other items has also increased. In a number of foodstuffs and industrial goods the consumption has reached the level of many developed countries.

In the 1950-1980 period some 4.6 million dwellings were built, which means that some 70 percent of the people of our country benefit from new housing.

The people's health has radically improved. The infant death rate decreased from 142.7 per live births in 1948 to 29.3 in 1980. The average annual growth rate of the population was 1.1 percent, thus placing Romania among the countries with the most rapid demographic growth in Europe. At the same time, the average life span increased from 42 years of age in 1932 to 70 in the 1976-1980 period.

We can state with good reason and on the basis of realities that the socialist system has created proper conditions for the forceful development of the forces of production; for eliminating, in a relatively short period, the backwardness inherited from the bourgeois-landowner system in order to raise Romania onto a higher level of progress and civilization. Life has clearly demonstrated that only by developing the forces of production will we be able to ensure the necessary conditions for improving the people's living standard, and achieving progress in science, education and culture and a higher level of civilization for our overall society. Only thus will we be able to ensure that the fatherland's material and cultural force, its independence and sovereignty are strengthened. (loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades, the implementation of the program on the country's socio-economic development has required sustained efforts by all our people. Year by year we have allocated approximately one-third of the national income--I am referring to the past 15 years--to the socioeconomic development fund. Only on the basis of the sustained efforts made by all our people have we been able to forcefully develop the forces of production and the material-technical base of society. Only thus has been possible to make up for a significant part of the backwardness we inh rited from the old regime and cover some of the distance separating us from developed countries. [sentence as printed]

Today Romania continues to be a developing socialist country. The group of developing countries include 100 nations. Within this group, too, there are fairly large differences between various countries; we can state that there are at least three large categories as far as development level is concerned: countries with a per capita income of up to $400-$500; countries with a per capita income of $1,000-$1,200; and countries with a per capita income of $1,500-$2,000.

In 1950 Romania was in the first group with a per capita income of some $100. Today we are in the third group with a per capita national income of more than $1,500.

As for the developed countries, among which there are also differences, if we compare Romania with the group of medium-developed countries, then in 1950 Romania's per capita income was 15-20 times lower and today it is at most 4-5 times lower. Thus we have narrowed the gap between the developed countries and our fatherland to a great extent. Certainly, there is still a long distance to cover.

However, national income is only one criterion for judging whether a country is a developing or a developed country. We must take into consideration the general, balanced development of the national economy and of the various branches and sectors--industry, agriculture, transportation--and the development of science, education and culture, all of which are particularly important factors in assessing a country's level of development.

Taking into consideration those and other factors, we can state that in many fields Romania has surpassed the characteristics of a developing country. The Romanian socialist society is characterized by comprehensive economic, scientific and cultural development as far as the people's general living standard is concerned. However, irrespective of the efforts made to surpass the characteristics of a developing country from all viewpoints, Romania will always be on the side of and will always act, together with the developing countries and with the countries struggling for their independent economic development. (loud, prolonged applause)

IV. The Basic Target of the Current Stage--The Achievement of a New Quality of Work and Live in the Romanian Socialist Society

1. Strengthening and Modernizing the Material-Technical Base and the Constant Increase in the Economic Efficiency--The Lasting Foundation of the Development of Society and of Improving the People's Well-Being

Esteemed comrades, proceeding from the level of the forces of production and from the fatherland's comprehensive development, the 12th party congress set forth the basic target of achieving a new quality of work and life in all fields.

The provisions of the current 5-year plan are known and therefore I do not now want to refer to them. Through the fulfillment of the current 5-year plan, Romania will travel another important stretch on the road of implementing the party program and will enter a new development stage and it will experience a forceful development of the level of civilization of all our people.

In the current 5-year plan, the decisive role of our economic dynamism depends upon raising labor productivity, continuously increasing the net industrial and agricultural production and the maximum use of Romanian products on the world markets. We will have to vigorously develop science, as a dynamizing factor of socioeconomic progress, and the domestic energy and raw materials base as well as agriculture, as decisive sectors of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring progress toward communism.

Everybody is familiar with the measures taken to attain these goals and with the programs aimed at fulfilling and even exceeding these provisions.

In the long term, the Romanian economy will be based on a modern and powerfully developed industry and a modern and highly efficient agriculture. Romania will continue to be an industrial-agrarian country. On this basis we will develop the forces of production, promote the overall progress of society and raise the people's material and intellectual well-being.

Romania's transition to a new development stage, in the group of countries with an average development, will not change and must not change the basic orientation of the Romanian economy. We must always bear in mind that the

fulfillment of the targets set by the party program and the 12th congress decisions requires the continuous allocation of about 30 percent of the national income to developing the forces of production. Our socialist society, like any other society, must always ensure the necessary means for an enlarged reproduction and high accumulation, which are the basis of developing the forces of production and the country's overall civilization level. At the same time, we must increase the efficiency of accumulation and all investments and raise economic profitability and the national income, the only source for the constant development of the enlarged reproduction and for the continuous increase in all the people's living standard.

Our millenary history, particularly the latest centuries of our fatherland's existence, lead us to the conclusion that, up to the socialist victory, the degree of accumulation and the level of increase in the overall national wealth have determined the progress and creation of the nation and the unitary national state; our people, like all peoples, were able to ensure their socioeconomic development and strengthen their independence and sovereignty only on this basis.

One can assert with complete justification that what is decisive for a people's future is not the high consumption level or the overall national income, but the level of accumulation and the allocation of a significant part of the national income to the country's socioeconomic development.

To consume everything or almost everything means to condemn the country to backwardness and to loss of independence and sovereignty, thus affecting the very future of the country and people.

We must always bear in mind and be fully aware of the fact that only by ensuring a high level of accumulation and enlarged socialist reproduction will we create the necessary conditions for continuously raising the people's material and intellectual well-being. (prolonged applause)

Of course, there is a basic difference between the way in which the capitalist countries have developed and the way in which Romania and other peoples that have recently won their independence are developing. If the capitalist countries have attained a high level of accumulation, this was due to a large extent to the exploitation and oppression of scores of peoples from the colonies. Even the Romanian people have contributed with scores of billions of dollars to the development of the imperialist capitalist countries. Our people and other countries which have embarked, since World War II, on the road of socioeconomic development are achieving progress by relying upon their own forces and work and allocating a significant part of their national income to strengthening the technical-material base. Only thus can we eliminate backwardness, raise the country up to a higher development level and strengthen the fatherland's economic and political independence. (loud, prolonged applause)

Proceeding from these conclusions, it is necessary to continue to work firmly to develop socialist ownership, increase the national wealth and raise the technical and qualitative level of production, labor productivity and economic efficiency.

We must always bear in mind the well-known truth that work is the decisive factor of developing the forces of production and promoting the progress of all societies. Work has played the decisive role in the physical and intellectual development of man. One could say that man himself is a creation of work. It is true that, when society was divided into exploiting and oppressed classes, work was also a means of enriching the few, but it continued to play the decisive role in the overall development of society.

As is well-known, the capitalist society has evolved a more highly developed organization of economic activity, and the formation of an advanced industry, the development of social work and the improvement of the division of labor. This has been a very important element of the overall development of human society. It is true that this society is characterized by private capitalist property and the capitalist distribution of production. Socialism wants to develop the social character of work and to intensify and improve social work and the division of labor in society, thus eliminating private capitalist property, turning it into social ownership of the means of production and also eliminating inequitable distribution and replacing it with the principle of distribution in accordance with one's work and contribution to the overall development of society, namely the principle "no work without break and no bread without work."

Our socialist society has implemented these socialist principles of ownership, work and distribution. The working people, regardless of nationality, are today the owners of the means of production and the entire national wealth and the direct producers and end-users of everything produced in society. (loud applause)

Perhaps it is also necessary to explain more fully the socialist principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work." This principle means that each member of society, within the framework of the division of labor, must place his entire work capacity and knowledge at the service of continuously raising material production and developing science, education and culture. In the current development stage of the socialist society, we must do everything possible to produce as much and as well as possible, at a high qualitative level and with ever lower expenditures, we must ensure the continuous rise of efficiency, net production and national income, the foundation of society's progress and the people's greater well-being.

At the same time, proceeding from the principle of distribution according to work and contribution to the society's general development, we must always aim at attaining an equitable relationship between small and large incomes, maintaining differences and material incentives in work, but also

ensuring the necessary living conditions and the physical and intellectual development of all members of society. This is how our party has acted and continues to act, by establishing a relationship of 1 to 5 between large and small incomes as a remuneration criterion. This principle will be firmly applied in the coming period, until the implementation of the party program's provisions. However, even in the perspective of the transition to building the communist society and ensuring the victory of communism, we must bear in mind that this socialist principle will remain valid for a long time to come.

The principle of communist distribution "from each according to his work, to each according to his needs" must also be properly explained and understood. In communism, too, each citizen will have to give his best, in the established work period, to develop the technical-material base, increase the wealth and ensure society's overall development. The principle "from each according to his ability" must be understood in the sense that each person will continuously raise his professional and technical level and add to his scientific and overall knowledge and will give his best, at his place of work within the social division of labor, to the smooth development of society. At the same time, society--which will have reached a high level of development of the forces of production and the material base--must ensure to all its members the necessary scientifically determined conditions for their physical and intellectual development and for meeting their bodily and spiritual needs.

There is no doubt that, in view of the social division of labor, a certain differentiation and various forms of material and intellectual incentives will exist in the communist society, too, in order to ensure optimum conditions for developing the socioeconomic activity.

In the light of these considerations, it is necessary to eliminate simplistic interpretations that can be found in our society, particularly the desire of some people to take everything from society and give back as little as possible, or even nothing at all. As is well known, nothing like that happens even in nature. When a plant that receives more gives more back to society, it thus rewards it for the care shown to it; while in colonies of bees, the drones are eliminated so that they will not uselessly consume the fruits of the diligence of the bees. We must, therefore, consistently explain the principle "no bread without work and no work without bread." (loud, prolonged applause)

No person can live from someone else's work, nobody can live without work! Work in accordance with everybody's capacity and specialization is an honor and duty for each citizen of our socialist fatherland. Let us ensure that all working people make an active contribution, with all their physical and intellectual ability, to the overall development of the socialist society.

It is necessary to organize our activity in such a way that every able-bodied citizen can participate, within the framework of the social division of labor, in ensuring the development of society and can perform necessary and useful work.

There must be no unemployed in socialism and communism. Unemployment is specific to capitalism, the society based on exploitation and oppression. We must thus organize activity in such a way that all able-bodied citizens can make a contribution to overall development.

2. Developing the Socialist Property and Workers Self-Management--Primary Elements of Building the Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society and Ensuring the Progress Toward Communism

Taking into account the social character of property, work and distribution, it is necessary to clarify certain notions of property, so as to better correlate them to the realities of our socialist society. I believe it is a mistake to identify social property, the property of all the people, with state property. The state is and must not be the owner in the legal meaning of the word; social property belongs to the people. The state is only an instrument in the hands of the workers class, working people, regardless of nationality, and all the people in carrying out the process of socioeconomic development in an organized way. It is necessary to take this into consideration, to bring certain improvements to the notion of property and to strengthen the awareness and powerful manifestation of the working people's capacity as owners.

In this respect, it is necessary to improve the principle of ownership, social organization, and workers self-management and self-administration, so that the working people in a given socioeconomic unit can better exert their capacity as owners of that part of all the people's property entrusted to them for management and development. The working people in a given enterprise must understand that they are the owners of that enterprise and are directly responsible for maintaining, defending and developing the property. They must understand that it is their duty to continuously increase economic efficiency with the available means, thus also ensuring the necessary means for their remuneration and participation in profits, for accumulation and for the development of the forces of production as well as for meeting certain overall requirements of the state and the country's defense.

The state, as the representative of all the people, must exert control over and see to it that the property of all the people is better administered and develops continuously; that there is no waste; and that all units unswervingly fulfill, under increasingly better conditions, their duties as regards self-management, self-administration and continuously raising economic efficiency.

Proceeding from this, we will probably have to consider some direct participation of the working people in developing the basic means, the means of production. In this respect, perhaps we should consider the idea of allocating 70 percent of the fixed assets and basic funds of a given unit as joint property given to the respective collective of working people for administration, management and development, while 30 percent of the basic

means should belong to the working people in the respective unit, on the basis of each one's participation with an appropriate contribution. In view of the experience gained in agricultural and artisans cooperative units, I am thinking that the working people should be able to deposit, as a form of social participation, a certain sum which should not exceed, say, 40,000 or 50,000 lei per person but which should not be less than 10,000 lei either. This should give those who participate in the development fund, and who remain the owners of the deposited sums of money, the opportunity to annually receive a 6-percent interest on their money, in addition to their general rights within the framework of remuneration and participation in profits. In the units with good results, where there are profits in excess of those envisaged, the interest rate may exceed 6 percent, in certain cases. I believe that such a regulation would strengthen the responsibility of the working people in their capacity as owners as well as their concern with the development of economic activity and with self-management and self-administration.

We will also have to continuously strengthen and consolidate the second form of social ownership, namely, the cooperative one. It is necessary to completely eliminate the mentality that this is an inferior form of socialist ownership. Cooperative council ownership of the means of production is in full accordance with socialist principles and must be developed and defended, both in agriculture and in the artisans cooperatives. Here, too, we must improve the spirit of responsibility in self-management and self-administration as well as in defending and developing the cooperative socialist ownership of the working people in each economic unit.

The state's responsibility is to equally defend and develop both forms of socialist ownership, since they are the technical-material base of building socialism and communism. (loud applause)

V. Key Issues of the Scientific Organization and Leadership of Our Socialist Society

1. Continuously Strengthening Socialist Workers Democracy and Improving the Organized Framework for the Participation of the Masses in Leading Society

Esteemed comrades,

The forms of socialist ownership, production and distribution are an expression of the highest workers democracy and of the fact that the working class and working people, regardless of nationality are the organizers of the entire production activity and the true masters of the national wealth. Proceeding from this, it is necessary to act firmly to continuously improve and develop the workers democracy, self-management and self-administration--the most appropriate form, in our country's conditions, for the manifestation of the workers class' role as leading force in society.

We have created a broad framework for the working people's participation in running all fields of activity. It is necessary to increase the role of management councils, in which the working people directly engaged in production amount to at least 30 percent, and to strengthen the role of the general meetings of the owners, producers and end-users in the smooth development of workers self-management. As was decided at the second working people's congress, the general meetings should discuss and adopt decisions on the entire economic-financial activity and the proper administration of each enterprise and should adopt the socioeconomic development plan, the budget of incomes and expenditures as well as mea ures to ensure each unit's development and to increase the working people's incomes and well-being. Proceeding from the fact that the general meeting is the supreme forum of the owners and producers, it is designed to approve the activity of management councils and their composition, including leading cadres, directors, deputy directors and others. Everything possible should be done to ensure that the general meetings and management councils of socioeconomic units fulfill the important role they play in our socioeconomic democracy and in running various fields of activity.

Important tasks are assigned to the national councils, particularly the national council of working people and the national council of agriculture, which cover all economic fields and must ensure the smooth development of the activity of management councils and general meetings, the discussion of basic problems of socioeconomic development, the adoption of economic development plans and the implementation of the state's domestic and foreign policy.

Within the framework of workers democracy, an important role is assigned to the working people's congress and the congress of agricultural workers, each of which consists of about 11,000 direct representatives of the working people in all fields.

Likewise, the congress of education and culture and the national conference of scientists play a very important role in discussing problems in the respective fields and promoting the country's overall development.

A particularly important role in the activity of people's councils and the harmonious development of all counties and towns is assigned to the people's councils congress and the legislative chamber.

All these together represent a unique democratic system, in which the direct representatives of the broad masses decide the country's destiny and the ways and means of unflinchingly implementing the program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensure progress toward communism; they also decide the country's domestic and foreign policy and adopt measures to continuously develop the fatherland and strengthen its unity and material and intellectual force as well as Romania's sovereignty and independence. (loud, prolonged applause)

In the long-term view of our society's development, we will always have to watch over continuously improving the democratic framework of the direct participation by the working people, regardless of nationality, and all the people in running all fields of activity.

We must never forget that socialism is the conscious work of the people and that it is being built with the people and for the people. Therefore, we must do everything possible to ensure the people's direct and democratic participation in leading society. (loud, prolonged applause)

At the same time, it is necessary to harmoniously blend the new bodies and forms of democratic leadership of society with the bodies of the socialist state, proceeding from the fact that the entire activity of the state and all kind of bodies is called upon to ensure the smooth development of socioeconomic life, the peaceful work of the people and the order and calm of all citizens.

2. Increasing the State's Role in Leading the Entire Socioeconomic Activity and Strengthening the Control of the Broad Masses Over State Bodies

The state and all its bodies, which are under the permanent control of the broad people's masses, are called upon to unflinchingly implement the party's domestic and international policy. The state and its bodies are responsible for all their activity before the people and their representatives. Workers in all kinds of state bodies must always be under the control of the broad masses and the people and must account to the people for strictly observing and applying the laws and socialist legality and defending, as the apple of their eyes, social property, the socialist ownership and the country's independence and sovereignty. (loud applause)

We can say that the state is the supreme representative of the owners and producers and the organizer of the common life of all the people and nation. In this respect, we must continuously work to ensure the smooth functioning of all state bodies and all state apparatus cadres and to increase their responsibility in fulfilling in an exemplary way the tasks entrusted to them.

Our socialist state bodies, in close cooperation with the workers democracy bodies, must ensure the balanced development of society and expand the forces of production at a regional level, thus attaining an appropriate relationship between various branches and fields of activity. Particular attention should be paid to planning socioeconomic development, proceeding from the need to blend the responsibility of working people's councils and general meetings that establish the plans for each unit with ensuring appropriate relationships between branches and sectors, so as to make rational use of the available material, financial and human means in order to continuously develop the forces of production and the national wealth and to raise the people's general well-being.

It is necessary to resolutely act to implement measures on regional self-management and self-administration and on increasing the responsibility of local bodies in ensuring proper supplies to the people, in accordance with resources available to society at a given time. We must strengthen the role of people's councils and party-state bodies in ensuring the participation of citizens from each county, town and commune in fulfilling production plans, achieving proper supplies to the people and meeting the general requirements of society and the state. The unflinching implementation of the principles of regional self-management and self-supply is particularly important within the framework of socialist workers democracy for meeting the requirements of the working people in the country's inhabited areas. In a broader sense, regional self-management and self-supply are an important element of strengthening the country's defense capacity and creating conditions for being able to solve problems connected with the good supply, administration and self-management of all towns at all times.

3. The Firm Application of Socialist Legality and of Social Coexistence Norms

In ensuring order, calm and the observance of the laws, an important role is assigned the bodies of the Ministry of Interior and the security and militia bodies. They are called upon always to watch over the unflinching observance of laws and norms of social coexistence. In close cooperation with the working people's democratic bodies and with the broad masses, they must ensure the defense of public property and consistently act against any infringement of social legality and any manifestations against the interests of the working people, society, socialist development and public order and peace. (loud applause) In carrying out their activity the Ministry of Interior bodies are directly accountable to the party, the broad masses and the people for the way in which they fulfill the highly responsible mission entrusted to them.

Like all state bodies, the Ministry of Interior bodies carry out their activities in accordance with the country's laws and bear total responsibility for unflinchingly observing socialist legality.

The prosecutor's office and judicial bodies have the duty to act unfailingly to ensure the observance of laws and to punish all those who violate social coexistence norms of our society's legal order. Our justice has acquired a broad democratic character through the participation of the broad masses and trial councils in the application of the laws; at the same time it is a powerful force in the hands of the working class and broad masses for defending and developing the socialist society.

It is necessary to continuously improve the activity of Ministry of Interior and judicial bodies, by strengthening their links and cooperation with working people's councils and the broad masses. They must discuss widely, within public meetings, various infringements of the law and norms of

coexistence; those who do not observe the law and norms of social coexistence must be brought to the direct attention and discussion of the working people. We must never forget that a number of habits left over from the old social system continue to be manifest and still influence certain people and that, unfortunately, there are still citizens who ignore the laws and social coexistence norms. As our people say, there is no forest without dry rot. It is our duty to ensure that the dry rot does not affect the forest itself; we must defend the norms of social coexistence, develop the principles of social justice and equity and ensure the healthy moral and intellectual development of our people. (loud applause) Each citizen must understand that in the Romanian socialist society everybody must work; there is no room for parasites and lazy people, for violators of the norms of social coexistence, for those who commit excesses or who steal the fruits of other people's work. By virtue of the rights of the working people and the nation, in accordance with the provisions of the law, it is necessary to take most severe measures against those who commit infringements and irregularities or violate the norms of social coexistence. This is a requirement of high workers democracy and a prerequisite for our people to be able to live in tranquillity and to build socialism in accordance with their wishes. (loud, prolonged applause)

It is true that we have had periods when excesses were committed in applying the law. While we try to eliminate all excesses and adopt measures to prevent such excesses from ever being repeated, we do not have the right, in any circumstance, to relax our vigilance and firmness toward those who violate the laws and norms of social coexistence. Even more so, we must show no mercy toward those who go into the service of our country's enemies and betray the interests of the people and the fatherland. (loud applause)

4. Defending the Fatherland, National Independence and Socialist Achievements--The Duty of All the People

Esteemed comrades, the construction of the socialist society is taking place under complex international conditions of the existence of the policy of force, military conflicts and wars and the maintenance of the danger of a world war. In these circumstances, socialist Romania has the duty to take all measures to develop its defense capacity and to organize, train and equip the army so that it can always fulfill its sacred duty to the people to defend their revolutionary achievements, independence and sovereignty. We proceed from the fact that defending the fatherland is the basic duty of all our people. Therefore, it is necessary to develop all forms of military training and defense of the country; to strengthen and develop the activity of workers guards and paramilitary youth; and to organize regional defense where, as I have already said, self-management and self-administration represent a very important factor. Proceeding from this concept, let us continuously strengthen and develop links between the army and people and let us develop a broad cooperation in combat training between the army, on the one hand, and workers guards, paramilitary youth and the broad people's masses, on the other. The army is the armed extension of the people. It must serve the people in all circumstances and defend our revolutionary achievements and the country's independence and sovereignty. (loud, prolonged applause)

At the same time, in accordance with our international commitments, the Romanian Army will always fulfill its defense duties together with the friendly armies against an imperialist attack.

We will develop relations with the armies of other socialist countries and with the armies of independent countries, believing that this is an important factor in defending independence and struggling to prevent a new world war.

As is well known, throughout the centuries, the Romanian Army has always acted only in defense of the people's existence and national independence. There was a single instance in which the dominant classes forced the army to act--against the people's national interests--alongside Hitlerite Germany against the Soviet Union. Our people have drawn all necessary conclusions from this violation of the century-old traditions of the Romanian people and army, which never invaded other peoples; on the contrary, it has granted powerful assistance to the liberation struggle of other nations and peoples. (loud, prolonged applause)

Our army is being molded and educated today in the spirit of high socialist ideals of social and national justice, in the spirit of friendship and cooperation with all states, regardless of social system. The army is training to defend the country's independence in case of aggression and to fulfill its obligations to its alliances in case of an imperialist attack.

I deem it necessary to clearly state at this plenum, before all the people, that the Romanian Army will never participate in an aggressive war and will never deploy itself against other peoples; it will only wage a war in the defense of the fatherland. (loud applause)

History teaches us that each people should see to it that its army does not participate, under any circumstances, in subjugating and oppressing other peoples. This is one of the key prerequisites of the socialist society and socialism in general! We must never forget the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist thesis that a people which oppresses other peoples cannot be free!

5. Socialism--The Conscious Work of All Working People

Looking ahead, we can say that it is necessary to continuously strengthen the state and its bodies so that they can fulfill, in all fields, their organizing role in promoting socioeconomic development, guaranteeing the peaceful work of the people, carrying out the socialist construction, and defending the country's independence and sovereignty. At the same time, we must continuously expand the forms of cooperation between the workers' democratic bodies and state bodies--since they supplement each other and confer an increasingly more democratic character on our socialist society--by ensuring the organized participation of all social groups in running the country.

Socialist-workers democracy is higher than any form of democracy known in history, including bourgeois democracy. It is always necessary to continuously develop socialist-workers democracy as a decisive element in building socialism and communism in Romania. (loud, prolonged applause)

Socialism is the work of the broad masses, the working people and the people. It is being built with the people and for the people. Socialism is the conscious work of the workers class, the broad masses and the people, who are consciously shaping their own history and future in accordance with requirements of social development. We must never forget that what we have attained in the country's socialist development is the result of the self-denying work of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, all working people, regardless of nationality, and all the people. Therefore, in implementing the party program we must do everything possible to ensure the leading role of the working class and the conscious participation of the people in building communism. (loud applause) The working class, the other social classes and groups, the people are the true builders of socialism! Everything we are attaining must meet the people's aspirations and ensure their well-being and happiness. This actually represents the essence of socialist-workers democracy!

That is why, on the 60th anniversary of the party, we raised the question of whether the formulation "the dictatorship of the proletariat" still corresponds to our society's new stage of development. I mentioned at the time that we would have to renounce this notion and replace it with the "state of workers democracy" or another formulation in accordance with the new conditions for the socialist development of the fatherland, for the broad manifestation of revolutionary workers democracy and for all the people's conscious participation in shaping their own future.

6. The Dialectical Relationship Between the Communist Party and the Socialist State

I would also like to refer to the role of the state in our socialist society. The state and its supreme legislative and executive bodies represent the supreme power in our socialist society. The country's laws and decisions, adopted by state bodies in accordance with the law, are compulsory for all citizens.

The party's leading role in our socialist society does not replace the state bodies under any circumstances; it does not and cannot diminish in any way the responsibility of state bodies before the laws and people.

It is necessary to remove any misunderstanding with regard to who occupies the more important place in society--the party or the state. One should not even raise this question.

The state and its bodies cannot be replaced by anybody, hence not even by party bodies.

The state and its bodies are directly responsible for the smooth development of the entire socioeconomic activity and for strengthening socialist order and discipline.

Party bodies must not replace state bodies. On the contrary, they must do everything possible to strengthen the state's role and ensure the proper functioning of state bodies from top to bottom.

Party activists and communists working in state bodies are responsible for their activity before the laws and people. As activists and communists, they must always account for their activity to the party and are always under party control. One does not exclude the other, but they mutually condition each other, in a dialectical way.

Any violation of the country's laws is incompatible with the character of an RCP member.

We proceed from the scientific thesis that the state first arose in a certain stage of social development--when the exploiting classes emerged and society became divided into antagonistic classes--and that it will disappear at a later development stage. Of course, we have enough time to think about how it will disappear.

As for the present and for a long time to come, the state will continue to play an important role in organizing social life and developing the society, including the communist society. The state's nature and forms of activity will change according to the development of the forces of production and the society.

In this respect, it is necessary to make certain clarifications regarding the flags of the country and party.

In accordance with the provisions of the constitution, the sole state flag is the tricolor. It is symbol of the unity, sovereignty and national independence of the Socialist Republic of Romania. (loud, prolonged applause)

The state flag, the tricolor, cannot be replaced by any other banner.

The party flag is the symbol of the party's revolutionary struggle--like the banners of other organizations such as the Union of Communist Youth, the Pioneers, and the fatherland's Falcons. However, the party flag, and even more so any other flag, cannot replace the state flag, the tricolor. The tricolor is the supreme flag for the party and all other organizations, the symbol of the unity of all the people and the independence and sovereignty of the fatherland. (loud, prolonged applause; chants: "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu-the tricolor!")

VI. The Development of the Socialist Nation and the Just Resolution of the Nationality Problem--A Key Prerequisite for Strengthening the Unshakeable Unity of All Working People, Regardless of Nationality, in the Service of Socialist Romania's Flourishing

Dear comrades, in the first part of the speech we discussed the historic distance covered by our people and the struggles waged to form the Romanian nation and the united national state.

As is well known, the nation appeared at a certain development stage of human society. In our socialist society, it has acquired new dimensions and characteristics. The character and role of the nation has been thoroughly changed by the elimination of society's division into antagonistic classes--exploiting and oppressed classes--the creation of socialist society based on friendly classes inspired by the same goals and interests and the uniform development of forces of production, science, education, culture and a new concept about world and life. Our nation has acquired superior features and is developing at a higher level in the process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and advancing toward communism.

The nation, by acquiring new characteristics and traits, will continue to exist as an important factor of international cooperation and peace. This holds for communist societies, too. In this spirit, developing the feeling of national pride and socialist patriotism is a very important element in the struggle for socialism, peace and cooperation in the world.

National pride and socialist patriotism involve the need to value and honor the glorious past of work and struggle and everything that was good in our people's development throughout the centuries. At the same time, we must resolutely identify those actions and states of affairs which did not correspond to our people's spirit. National pride and socialist patriotism are not in opposition to other nations or any nation in particular. Developing the sentiment of national pride must be closely linked with developing the spirit of friendship with other peoples, the spirit of friendship, cooperation and coexistence between the Romanian working people and the working people of various nationalities in our country. In this respect, national pride and socialist patriotism should help strengthen our people's unity and its cooperation with all nations. (loud, prolonged applause)

Throughout history, citizens of other nationalities settled on Romanian territory. Coexistence with them has led to intermingling and mutual understanding. Today working people of Hungarian, German and other nationalities are living on our fatherland's territory. As is known, on more than one occasion the Romanian, Hungarian, German, Serbian and other working people fought together for freedom and justice, knowing that they must rally their ranks against the oppressors, irrespective of their nationality. It is also very well known that the oppressing classes have always tried to stir up enmity among the working people of different nationalities in order to better oppress and subjugate them. Even today certain countries and certain reactionary, imperialist circles use the nationality problem as a means to stir up enmity among people and split them.

Our communist party has always been against the policy of national oppression and has constantly struggled for complete equality of rights among all working people, irrespective of nationality. As soon as the achievement of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, the democratic and socialist revolutions, Romania proceeded to resolve the

nationality problem in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary concept, thus ensuring full equality of rights for all working people irrespective of nationality. This is one of the great achievements of our socialist society which entitles us to be proud and which we must develop. (applause) We are duty bound to continue to do all we can to resolutely apply the principle of full equality of rights, thus ensuring the participation of all working people in leading the socioeconomic activity. Citizens of our fatherland, irrespective of nationality, enjoy the same rights and duties.

We have a common fatherland. Through the joint work of all our people we are building the most humane and just society in the world--a socialist and communist society. Let us do all we can to strengthen the cooperation and unshakable unity of all our people, of all citizens, irrespective of nationality! (loud, prolonged applause) Anyone who tries, in one or another form, to deal a blow to the cooperation and unity of our fatherland's citizens implicitly serves our country's enemies, the enemies of the builders of socialism. (lively applause) Irrespective of our parents' origin, we have a common origin: the fatherland in which we were born; all of us must learn to speak one single language, the language of the dialectical-materialist and historic revolutionary concept. We must learn to love and defend our common fatherland! (loud applause; chants: "Ceausescu-Socialist Republic of Romania") Under all circumstances, all of us must serve the people, the fatherland, the party and the cause of socialism, communism, freedom and independence! Here, in Romania, the working people, irrespective of nationality, and in close unity, must shape, under RCP political leadership, a new and free life based on full equality and fraternity. Let us jointly build communism here! (loud applause)

To ensure cooperation and the organized participation of all citizens in building a new life, well-being and happiness, the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] should ensure the organized participation of all non-party members in political and social activity. Let us do all we can to ensure the complete unity of all working people and all our people within the SDUF. This is a fundamental requirement of our fatherland's firm progress on the road to socialism and communism, of raising Romania to new peaks of progress and civilization, and of strengthening its independence and sovereignty. (applause, cheers; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP")

VII. The Dynamics of Social Structure in Romania and Improving Social Relations

Esteemed comrades, the victory of socialism, the construction of a unitary socialist economy and the forceful development of the forces of production brought about deep changes in the structure of Romanian society and the achievement of new relations based on common interests between the new classes and social groups.

During the years of socialist construction, the working class developed, and new detachments emerged as a result of the creation of new and highly technical productive branches. The level of professional and technical

training improved, as did the workers' awareness. The working class became the most numerous and powerful class in the Romanian socialist society, representing 50 percent of the total active population. All this led to a constant increase in the role of the working class in society and to its honorable fulfillment of its mission as leading class of the entire nation in building communism.

Important changes have taken place in the structure of the peasantry. This class, for centuries, was the main numerical force and the main force in the struggle for our people's and nation's formation and development and for achieving our country's independence.

As a result of the development of the forces of production and the forceful growth of industry and other sectors, the share of the peasantry decreased from some 80 percent to less than 30 percent. The peasantry continues to be the second most important social class, both as concerns its number and its importance in the country's socioeconomic activity. The mechanization of agriculture and introduction of scientific achievements into it has led to an improvement in agricultural and technical knowledge, professional training, and the peasantry's general cultural level.

Due to the forceful development of the forces of production, due to the progress of science, education and culture, the intelligentsia experienced a noteworthy development, especially the technical intelligentsia. It is worth mentioning that today the intelligentsia represents the third social force in the Romanian society and holds a particularly important place in the overall material production process and cultural creativity.

The unity between the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals has risen to a new level, thus constituting a guarantee for the resolute implementation of the party program of raising our fatherland onto new peaks of progress and civilization and of improving the people's material and cultural well-being.

We can state that the current social structure of the Romanian society expresses the development level of the forces of production, the place held by various branches in the material and cultural production process.

In perspective, one can state that for a long time to come the working class and peasantry will be the two major classes of Romanian society. Although the share of the working class will further increase and that of the peasantry decrease within the framework of the active population, in 1990 the peasantry will probably continue to represent at least 20 percent of the active population. The number of technical intellectuals will increase to a certain extent, but, especially, the role of intellectuals in developing the socialist society and implementing the party program will increase.

VIII. The Communist Party--A Vital Center of Society, the Dynamic Force Behind the Creative Energy of All Our People on the Road of Socialism

Esteemed comrades, the great revolutionary transformations in our fatherland are the result of the devoted work performed by the working class, the

peasantry and intelligentsia and all working people, irrespective of nationality, the result of the work performed by all our people who are resolutely implementing the RCP's domestic and foreign policy.

The successes achieved clearly demonstrate our party's just policy of creatively applying general laws to the concrete conditions in Romania.

It is well known that in our country the revolutionary movement developed and the ideas of scientific socialism widely spread with the appearance of the working class on the historical scene. The Romanian socialists actively participated in the most important events in our people's life and in the significant events of the international workers' movement, having been present at the first communist international on the barricades of the Paris commune. As a matter of fact, as is known, the problems of the Romanian principalities especially drew the attention of Marx, who examined a number of events in the 19th century linked with their development and with the policy of the great empires and especially with the policy of the Tsarist empire toward Romania.

The creation in 1893 of the Romanian Social-Democratic Workers Party was an important moment in the political organization of the workers class and in increasing its role in Romania's social and political life. I do not now want to refer to other important events and moments in the activity of the working class before World War I. What is worth stressing is that the appearance and assertion of our socialist, workers, revolutionary movement stems from the life and struggle of the working class and that it was born closely connected with the development of the forces of production and of the workers class in Romania. (loud applause)

The socialist workers movement took an active stand in the struggle against the imperialist World War II; at the same time, it firmly advocated the elimination of foreign domination and the creation of a unitary national state.

Another important moment in the history of the revolutionary workers movement in Romania was the creation of the RCP in 1921. In all class battles against the bourgeois-landowner regime, during World War II and in carrying out the antifascist, anti-imperialist and national revolution for social and national liberation, the RCP played an important role, it organized and led the struggle waged by the people's masses, thus fulfilling its historic mission of leading the working class and the progressive forces in Romania in eliminating the old social system and proceeding to building the socialist society. Now, as we examine the stage the Romanian society has reached, we are entitled to proudly state that our communist party has honorably fulfilled its historic mission, has ensured the leadership of all our people in the tumultuous activity of building the most just and humane society in the world, the socialist society. (loud and lively applause)

The RCP represents the leading political force of all our society. It has won the trust and love of the people's masses and of all people as a result of its serving--without sparing any efforts—the interests of the working class and of the entire nation and as a result of the firm application in practice of the socialist principles and of its constant concern with constantly improving the material and cultural living standard of our people and with strengthening the country's independence and sovereignty. Our party is closely linked with the working class, the peasantry and intelligentsia and with all working people, irrespective of nationality, and with all our people. It has had and has one single goal--the goal of serving the cause of the people, of socialism and of the fatherland's independence. (loud, prolonged applause)

In the current stage of development of the Romanian socialist society, in the process of developing socialist democracy and of improving the democratic framework for the participation of the people's masses in the leadership of all sectors of activity, our party has the noble mission of constituting the organizing and dynamizing of political force of the overall socio-economic activity. It represents and will continue to represent the vital center in the operation of our socialist society.

We must never forget that our party was born and developed among the ranks of revolutionary forces, among the ranks of the working class, the peasantry, the intellectuals, among the ranks of the people and we must not forget that it is the continuer of the most progressive traditions of the struggle for the formation and development of our people, of our nation and the unitary national state and of the struggle for socialism. (loud applause)

Basing its overall activity on the dialectical-materialist, historic revolutionary concept, and on scientific socialism, the party must also draw thorough conclusions from the history of our people and fatherland, from the history of the revolutionary struggle, thus ensuring a constant strengthening of the material and cultural force of our whole nation. Let us never forget that the force of the party lies in its close link with the working class, the peasantry and intelligentsia and with all people and that its domestic and foreign policy must be drawn from the realities of the Romanian society and must satisfy the aspirations of all our people.

The construction of socialism and of the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism must take place together with the masses and with all our people. Everything we achieve must serve the people, their well-being and happiness. The party has not had and will not have any other goal than ensuring a constantly better material and cultural level for our people under conditions of independence and sovereignty, peace and international cooperation.

Although theoretically we believe that the party ought to disappear at a certain stage in the communist development of society, we can state without risk of error that it still has a long life and activity before it. Therefore,

we must continue to pay the necessary attention to strengthening the party, to improving its ideological and political level, to increasing its organizational capability and its unity so that it is able to appropriately fulfill the historic mission it has and will continue to have for a long time throughout the period of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and communism in Romania.

Proceeding from these conclusions, we must not believe that the party's organizational framework and activity will always be the same. From its creation and up to now--especially during the years of socialist construction--the party has gone through many changes in its organization and work style and in the manner in which it fulfills its role as the leading political force of the socialist society's.

The party will continue to represent the vital center of society and the force that activates the creative energy of the people's masses and of all our people. However, we must keep in mind that its functions, role and forms of organization and its activity will undergo changes in keeping with the historic development stages of the Romanian socialist and communist society.

It is obvious that the development of the forces of production at a new level, the achievement of a new work quality, the great increase in the role of science, education and culture as decisive factors for proceeding toward communism, the improvement and constant development of the democratic framework, of socialist workers' democracy, the more and more active and direct participation of the people's masses in leading the various sectors of activity and the conscious shaping by the people of their history will require new targets and will need appropriate changes in the party's function and activity.

We must understand that as any social body, the party must improve in order to be able to fulfill its historic mission of great responsibility in the socialist society, it must be in line with the great social and revolutionary changes. It must always be the force that will ensure the elimination from socioeconomic life of everything that is old and outdated and no longer corresponds to the new conditions and new development stage, and must boldly promote what is new in all sectors of activity. The party must spread the light that will guide the whole nation on the bright road to communism. It is, therefore, necessary that the party should constantly stay young, that it should always be permeated by a revolutionary spirit, a new spirit and that it should draw conclusions from social realities, from the new achievements of science and human knowledge.

We must constantly act to continuously improve the activity of the party organizations and bodies. Let us do all we can so that each party organization fulfills its mission at its work place under favorable conditions and its mission in uniting the forces of the working people and in achieving workers' self-management and self-administration.

As I have mentioned more than once, in their overall activity the communists must serve the interests of the masses and of the people. They do not have and cannot have special rights in the socialist society. However, as revolutionaries who have consciously engaged themselves to act to achieve the ideals of socialism and communism, they must honorably fulfill their duty in all fields of activity. (loud, prolonged applause)

Special attention must be paid to improving responsibility and discipline in resolutely fulfilling the tasks entrusted to them by the party and people. Whatever position they may hold, communists must show high principledness, great responsibility and exactingness; they must act with great determination to implement the country's laws and the party's decisions. Communists must never put up with shortcomings; they must always be intransigent with themselves and with their comrades.

Considering the important role of the party in the Romanian socialist society. it is necessary to constantly develop the party's internal democracy as part and parcel of workers socialist democracy. It is necessary to ensure broad discussion and active participation of the communists in formulating the party's domestic and foreign policies. Only by ensuring broad democracy within the party, the active participation of the party organizations and bodies and of all communists in formulating the party's general policy will we create the necessary conditions for strengthening workers democracy, uniting the people's masses' efforts, and increasing their role in formulating Romania's domestic and foreign policies.

At the same time, let us not forget that we must have a firm attitude toward shortcomings--toward mistakes--and we must decisively combat any violation of the state's laws and decisions; we must strongly develop a critical and self-critical spirit. Let us expose, without fear, shortcomings and mistakes and let us take determined action to eliminate them. The development of criticism and self-criticism and a combative attitude toward violations of laws and decisions is an indivisible part of the party's inner democracy and workers democracy. It is a guarantee for improving and constantly renewing the party's activity and increasing its role as leading political force of the Romanian socialist society. (loud applause)

Our party numbers some 3.2 million members. We can state that at this time the major problem is not attaining a numerical increase, but increasing the quality of party members. We must focus our attention in the future--when admitting the best working people in all fields into the party ranks--on increasing the exactingness toward the statutary requirements to be fulfilled by each party member. We must see that party members--those who will be admitted to the party ranks--properly understand our party's ideological and scientific concept and the duties and obligations they will assume as consistent revolutionary fighters for the triumph of socialism and communism, for the defense, under any circumstances, of the people's supreme interests, of the country's independence and sovereignty.

Special attention must be paid in the future to the party aktiv and to increasing its role in the proper organizations of the party's life and activity and in overall socioeconomic activity. We must especially make sure that a just cadres policy is practiced in keeping with the current requirements of this stage of development. The activists and the party and state cadres must meet professional, technical and political requirements. They must be permeated with a lofty revolutionary spirit, must be good organizers and must be good at implementing party and state policy. Let us pay greater attention to strengthening party control and the control by communists and the masses in the activity and life of party and state cadres. The activity of all party and state activists and cadres must always be in close connection with the party members and with the masses of working people; they must be under their control. Each one must account for and be responsible to the party and the peoples' masses for the manner in which he has carried out the mission entrusted to him. This is one of the important aspects of party democracy and workers democracy and a condition for the party's strength and vitality. It is necessary for us to concern ourselves constantly with improving the professional, technical and scientific level of the party and state cadres and to always ensure the application of the principle of rotation. Let us do all we can to ensure that in all fields there are activists and cadres who enjoy the masses' and people's trust and who are determined to serve the people, socialism, Romania's independence and sovereignty under any circumstances. (loud, prolonged applause)

IX. The Ideological, Theoretical and Educational-Political Activity--A Powerful Force in Uniting All Working People, in Constantly Developing the Forces of Production and Improving Social Relations and the Forms of the Society's Leadership

Esteemed comrades, the forceful development of the forces of production, the changes that have taken place in the structure of social relations as a result of achieving a uniform socialist economy, the victory of socialism and of the transition to building the comprehensively developed socialist society--all this required broad theoretical, ideological and educational-political activity for shaping the new man, the conscious builder of socialism.

In all its theoretical, ideological and educational-political activity, our party bases itself on the revolutionary concept of dialectical and historic materialism and on the progressive ideas of scientific socialism. Our party has proceeded and proceeds from the need of knowing and creatively applying the objective general truths and laws to the concrete conditions in our country. Life, realities and the great achievements recorded by the Romanian people in socioeconomic development and socialist construction clearly demonstrate the correctness of the general policy practiced by our party and the all-conquering force of dialectic and historic materialism and scientific socialism. The practice of socialist construction forcefully and undeniably proves that the construction of socialism must base itself both on general laws and on each people's and each country's economic, social, historical and national realities.

Not taking into account the general laws and principles of socialism can be very harmful and even endanger socialist construction. Likewise, not taking into account realities and the application of certain models and patterns which do not take into consideration those realities can lead to great difficulties and endanger the country's socialist development itself. It is therefore necessary for us to constantly watch over the smooth blending of and dialectic unity between general truths and concrete socioeconomic realities. This will ensure a successful construction of socialism and the implementation of the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. We can state that our party has taken into consideration in its activity both the general laws and the concrete realities of Romanian society.

The great revolutionary changes in our country have also brought about profound changes in the way of thinking, the level of social and political awareness of the working people and broad people's masses. The theoretical, ideological and educational-political activity has played a very important role in arming the party, the workers class, the peasantry and intellectuals and the broad people's masses with a scientific understanding of the realities of the Romanian socialist society and the current international realities. This activity has contributed to improving the general level of knowledge of the working people, broadening their cultural horizon, and shaping the awareness of the new man. The party's theoretical, ideological and educational-political activity, one could say, has turned into a powerful force in uniting the working people's efforts and those of all people building the socialist society. It has exerted a powerful influence in the development of the forces of production and in improving social relations and the forms of our society's leadership.

At the same time, we must state openly that we can note a certain lag in the theoretical, ideological and educational-political activity compared with the development of the forces of production and compared with the changes in the social structure and in the relations of production. One can state that our socialist society's material base has advanced to a greater extent, has developed more than social awareness, than the theoretical, ideological and educational-political activity. This has, undoubtedly, certain negative consequences and we must take action to achieve a better balance between the two sides of social development. Let us turn theoretical, ideological and educational-political activity into a force that will bring about the further development of the forces of production and will improve the social structure and social relations.

X. Let Us Make Room for What Is New in Revolutionary Theoretical Thought, Let Us Act Consciously in the Direction of Improving the New Society

We have examined and drawn a number of conclusions from the practical activity carried out by our party and people in socialist construction. Life has confirmed many laws and general theses regarding socialist construction, but

has also refuted a number of theses, thus making us understand that certain laws and general theses are no longer in keeping with the new development stage of the Romanian socialist society. From this we must draw and have drawn appropriate conclusions.

As is known, we have drawn a number of theoretical, ideological and practical conclusions as regards the democratic leadership of socioeconomic activity by renouncing the concept of a one-person leadership and by introducing democratic leadership bodies, workers councils and the working people's general meetings. We have drawn the conclusion that it is necessary to develop workers democracy and to ensure the participation of the people's masses and all people in society's leadership. This is a sure means of successfully implementing the party program. We have reached the conclusion that socialism and democracy are inseparable, that the socialist society must achieve the highest form of democracy based on the direct participation of the masses in society's leadership.

The new development stage of our society makes it necessary for us to thoroughly examine realities to draw the necessary theoretical and practical conclusions for our future activity. I have referred to a number of problems regarding history, the state and its role in our society, regarding the party and other questions. These questions have to be studied thoroughly in keeping with the experience and practice of socialist construction and with the new development stage of our society.

In this respect it is necessary to pay greater attention to theoretical and ideological activity and to the general application of the experiences gained in socialist construction by resolutely promoting what is new in all sectors. As is known, our party has drawn attention to the workings of the law of dialectics--of the struggle of opposites in socialist and communist societies. As I mentioned in the first part of my speech, we must constantly keep in mind that the law of dialectics forcefully acts also in a socialist society and probably in communism, too. It is, therefore, necessary for us to study, to understand and to note in time the emergence of contradictions and to act to eliminate them. In this respect, we must eliminate everything that is old and no longer suitable and to make room for what is new; we must consciously act in the direction of renewing the society.

I believe it is necessary for us to formulate a comprehensive program of theoretical, ideological and study activity in the spirit of the concept of dialectical materialism. We must examine all domestic and international phenomena and draw appropriate conclusions for our future activity. I think this is of importance for our party's future activity and for socialist construction. At the same time, this is essential for understanding the world revolutionary process, the changes that are taking place in the world and the new problems raised by the progression of other people on the road of socialism, by their elimination of colonial domination and by the establishment of scores of countries struggling to strengthen their independence.

Certain comrades abroad and even some in our country ask the question: Why our party program has formulated the thesis of building the comprehensively developed socialist society while other socialist countries have formulated the thesis of building the developed socialist society. Certainly, the question of formulating a strategic goal is the task of each party. Each party establishes this by proceeding both from general laws and from the given concrete realities. When the 11th party congress adopted the party program, I stressed that we were thinking of establishing the strategic goal of building the comprehensively developed socialist society by taking into account all aspects of social life--the material base, the leadership and development of democracy, the increasingly important role of science, ideological and educational-political activity. We used the term "comprehensively developed" for our future society so as to avoid misunderstandings, to not neglect any aspect of our activity, and to avoid the conclusion that by talking about the developed socialist society we were referring only, or especially, to the development of the material base.

We have also been asked: Why do we not use the thesis of real socialism. Here, too, we proceed from the fact that it is each party's right to describe, in one and another form, the socialism it is building. As far as we are concerned, we believe that the general formulation and the strategic goal of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism is fully in keeping with the principles of scientific socialism. This is all the more so because we are living at a time when more and more people proceed to or speak out for socialism. Each of those peoples act in accordance both with general laws which remain valid and with the concrete realities in the given country. We believe that the thesis formulated by Marx and Lenin according to which the peoples' transition to socialism will take place in a great diversity of conditions and will lead to new forms and practices is still valid and has been fully confirmed by life. Certainly, the transition to socialism in a number of developed capitalist countries and in developing countries will take place in various forms. This will enrich the heritage of revolutionary theory and practice. Were we to use the form "real socialism" for our country, certain comrades might draw the conclusion that we consider our form of socialist construction the absolutely correct and only valid one. This would negate, in one way or another, the realism of other forms of socialist construction that is taking place in a given country is real and in keeping with historic requirements. (loud applause)

Recently we have been witnessing an intensified anticommunist campaign against the socialist countries and socialism generally. Proceeding from certain difficulties and events in some socialist countries, certain circles try to draw conclusions regarding the so-called crisis of socialism; they even go as far as to state that socialism is no longer the only valid alternative to capitalism, a system based on exploitation and the oppression of the people's masses and other peoples.

Unfortunately, even in certain communist parties theses have appeared that question the validity and nature of socialist development in one or another country. These theses have appeared at a time of great international tension, of accentuated global contradictions, of an accentuated world economic crisis. They are a result of the political, social and moral crisis of the capitalist system.

It is true that in the process of socialist construction, along with the great successes recorded, a number of mistakes and excesses have been made. This is well known in our country as well. They have been discussed and debated--I am referring to our country--and the necessary conclusions have been drawn. However, a scientific analysis, on the basis of a dialectical-materialist and historical concept, clearly shows that the socialist countries have achieved tremendous results in a short time. They have thus demonstrated in practice the superiority of socialism as the only system opening for mankind the road to eliminating social and national inequalities and establishing social and national justice. (lively and loud applause) The mistakes and difficulties that emerge in one or another country show that by not taking account of certain general laws and by not taking account of concrete conditions serious problems may arise in socialist development. However, this shows the very necessity of firmly applying socialist principles in keeping with the realities in each country, thus actually demonstrating the validity of the basic principles of scientific socialism. The difficulties that have emerged are not linked to socialism or to too much socialism, but to infringements and mistakes and to the violation of certain basic principles of scientific socialism, to the fact that certain general laws or concrete realities in one or another country were ignored. Thus they stem from the fact that the principles of socialism are not consistently implemented. The logical conclusion that can be drawn is the need to always act, when building a new social system, closely in keeping with the realities in each country, to take into consideration the people's interests, and to always stand alongside the working class and the people.

We are firmly convinced that the difficulties in our country and in other socialist countries will be surmounted, that socialism will forcefully assert its viability and its renewing power. Socialism is the only alternative to the society divided into exploiting and exploited classes. It is the only means for socioeconomic progress and for achieving a better and more just world. (loud, prolonged applause)

I have stressed all this because I want everybody to better understand that it is our duty to improve our activity; to successfully develop our socialist construction by carrying out comprehensive theoretical, ideological, political and educational activity; to arm the party and people with clear prospects; and to contribute to enriching the common heritage of revolutionary theory and practice rejecting the propaganda aimed against socialism and communism and increasing the prestige of socialism and communism in the world. (loud, prolonged applause)

XI. Let Us Always Have Firm Trust in the Lofty Ideals of Socialism and Communism, Let Us Carry Out a Broad Theoretical Activity for Becoming Knowledgeable in History and for Understanding the Laws of the Development Process in Society and Nature

Esteemed comrades, the complex world situation, the difficulties that have appeared in certain socialist countries have led to the appearance of question marks, of confusion and signs of distrust in the prospects for the revolutionary struggle and the struggle waged by the workers class and the peoples. All this is used by reactionary, imperialist circles against the revolutionary workers movement, the socialist countries, and the communist movement. It is used against the struggle for national and social liberation and for independence and peace.

Taking this into account, it is necessary to carry out a broad theoretical and ideological activity and to intensify political-educational activity. This should be done so that all working people may understand the course of events and the fact that within the revolutionary process, including the process of socialist construction, difficulties and failures may emerge. But the communists, the builders of socialism and the revolutionary forces are dutybound to act to eliminate difficulties and to successfully struggle for revolutionary transformations in the world. Hesitations have always appeared in the more difficult moments in history: there have been people who were unable to keep abreast of the revolutionary struggle, who regressed.

Perhaps this is also due to the fact that sometimes we have idealized and termed the development of the socialist society as the absolutely correct one. This gives the wrong impression that socialism presents no difficulties, and cannot present any difficulties or economic crisis. It wrongly suggests that the establishment of the political power of the working class and the progression to socialist construction solve problems automatically and automatically implement socialist principles. Life and reality have demonstrated that such an idyllic presentation of the socialist society, understandable to a certain extent during the struggle against the old social system, is dangerous and harmful. The construction of the socialist society is taking place in certain economic, social and historic conditions, including the existence of imperialism. Therefore, the difficulties inherent in building the new social system must be surmounted.

As I have mentioned on other occasions, too, the road on which we have embarked, leading to the lofty peaks of communism, is not at all easy. Many difficulties have to be surmounted and, proceeding toward those lofty peaks, it is necessary for us to be ready for any sacrifices, to act with great determination and boldness to conquer those peaks. Even if certain people stop halfway, feel dizzy and fall, lacking the courage to climb higher toward the bright peaks of communism, we must always firmly trust the lofty ideals of socialism and communism, we must act to choose the best means of making mankind's golden dream come true--communism! (loud, prolonged applause)

As I have mentioned before in this connection, it is necessary to proceed to formulating certain theoretical and ideological works on the current stage of the Romanian society and on the prospects of implementing the party program. We have to pay special attention to the problems of the society's leadership, to developing revolutionary workers democracy and the most appropriate forms for the masses' participation in the society's leadership, and to achieving the most democratic society in the world. It is necessary to write a number of works on problems regarding socialist economy, the action of economic laws in socialism, the new economic mechanism and strengthening workers' self-management and self-administration.

It is also necessary to intensify the writing of the Romanian people's history in the spirit of the historic and dialectic-materialist concept by depicting--on the basis of information, documents and reality--the life, work and struggle of the people beginning with ancient times and going up to the years of socialist construction. We must have a unitary history that will appropriately depict each economic and social development stage, each historic period, the social struggles and the political activity and that will describe--in the light of reality based on facts and documents--the role of social classes, of the people, of the various leaders of our state and of political, scientific and cultural figures. In this concept of a unitary history, the history of the Romanian people must also include the history of the revolutionary workers movement, of the Social Democratic Workers Party and the RCP. There cannot be two histories: one of the people and one of the party. Our people have one single history, and the activity carried out by the RCP and by other parties in various periods is an indivisible part of the fatherland's history. We have to unite the forces in the field of history in a single national history institute that will also include the society of historical sciences.

At the same time, it is necessary to unify our museums so that we have one single central museum of national history that will contain all important documents. The museums in other centers should carry documents referring to the given area and certain copies of documents that are in the national museum.

Since writing the Romanian people's history takes a long time and will need a great amount of work, it is necessary to proceed to editing certain widely circulating history works, both in Romanian and in international languages. In certain countries, including certain socialist countries, a number of historic events which are directly linked to our people are presented in an unrealistic, sometimes even distorted, manner. Therefore, it is necessary to organize joint discussions with the historians of the respective countries, proceeding from the need to clarify and present problems in the spirit of historical truth and to stress those moments and events designed to contribute to strengthening cooperation and friendship among peoples and in the policy of solidarity and peace. (loud applause)

As for the history of the RCP and of the revolutionary workers movement, as I have mentioned, it must be part and parcel of our national history. Writing one or another special work on that subject would contribute to the history of the Romanian people by depicting certain events that cannot be included in the national history in great detail.

I want to be well understood, comrades. We must understand that our party does not stand apart from the nation and the people, that our nation has one single history, that our party was born in social struggle and within the framework of the people's history; its history is the history of our nation and, thus, the history of our nation is the only history that should depict the overall development process of our people. (loud applause)

I believe that our former idea of having two histories, one being a history of the party, is a vestige of the old concept of the Third International according to which the communist parties have their own history--that this history must not necessarily take into consideration national interests and sometimes may even neglect them. We must completely eliminate this past idea that was very negative for our party and people! (loud applause)

It is also necessary to write a world history in which we will depict also certain questions of the history of the international workers movement and the national liberation struggle. At the same time, taking into consideration the great revolutionary transformations in the world, it is necessary to write works on those changes and the new international balance of forces. We must do this by stressing especially the elimination of colonialism and the development of scores and scores of independent states, the increased struggles by peoples to strengthen their independence and to completely master their destinies and organize their lives as they desire, without any outside interference. It is all the more necessary to write such works since some circles at an international level show a tendency to ignore and minimize the importance of the national liberation struggle and since according to them the formation of nations would not be of very great importance under current conditions; these are, in fact, concepts promoted formerly by imperialism and which serve the plans of domination and oppression by the great imperialist countries.

At the same time, we have to proceed to writing scientific and philosophic works on the origin of the world and society. We must supply answers based on the historic and dialectical-materialist concept to metaphysical concepts in the world. Respecting and guaranteeing religious freedoms must not be understood as the communists' accepting religious and idealistic concepts of the world. Proceeding from the achievements of science and of human knowledge, communists are guided by the scientific concept of the world and society. They cannot accept the theories about the existence of some supernatural forces which have guided and still guide the universe.

This is true all the more so today when the basic sciences such as chemistry, physics, biology, genetics and other sciences have given new answers to the problems of knowing the universe and the world's material nature and development. Under such conditions it is all the less understandable that certain

retrograde and mystic concepts can still appear and can still capture some people--unfortunately even some communists. I am stressing this because it is necessary for us to draw all necessary conclusions about certain shortcomings in our ideological, political and educational activity. It is necessary to act so that such states of affairs cannot be repeated under any circumstances. It is, therefore, necessary--by using the achievements of science and of the historic, dialectical-materialist philosophy--to arm the communists and the working people and to carry out extensive activity so that they acquire a scientific understanding of the origin of the world, of society and the laws that govern the universe.

Let us especially expose the mystic activity of certain religious sects which are used as an instrument by the imperialist reactionary circles and by some fascist circles and crooks who want to divert mankind's attention from the basic problems of the present-day world and want to use this means for diversion and for espionage against other countries.

At the same time, our political-educational activity must firmly combat and expose any nationalist, chauvinist, racist and anti-semitic manifestations and any attempt to stir enmity among the working people of various nationalities, especially among the youth. We must not forget that, especially under difficult international circumstances, imperialist reactionary circles and fascism resorted to such concepts to promote their policy of domination and oppression of peoples.

XII. Central Tasks in the Ideological, Political and Cultural-Educational Activity and in the Development of Literary-Artistic Creation

Our ideological, political and educational activity should always proceed from and be based on the noble ideas of scientific socialism and revolutionary humanism. Our political and educational activity should give priority to developing love for the country, people and the cause of socialism and enhancing revolutionary patriotism. At the same time, we should instill in the working people the spirit of friendship and cooperation in the struggle for a new social system, a better and more just society, socialism, communism, peace and national independence.

Particular attention should be paid to educating the younger generation. We must bear in mind that reactionary circles have singled out the youth, which is less experienced, as a subject to be influenced and to set at loggerheads, so as to use it for their policy of domination and oppression. Let us educate our fatherland's youth, regardless of nationality, in the spirit of brotherhood and friendship; let us ensure that our youth masters the most noble ideals and the latest achievements of science and human knowledge. The youth must learn and master all valuable achievements in all fields of science and culture. Let us blend teaching with work, and train our youth for life and work, for continuing the socialist and communist construction and for raising our socialist fatherland onto higher peaks of progress and civilization. (loud, prolonged applause)

In our educational activity of molding the new man and educating the youth, a particular role devolves on schools and all grades of education. Beginning with preschool education and up to university education, the children and youth must be raised and educated in the spirit of love for the fatherland, devotion to socialism and to the party and work, by arming it with the latest achievements of science and human knowledge. All school grades must shape a bold, passionate and revolutionary youth, ready to make any sacrifice for the interests of the fatherland and socialism, for defending the country's independence and for peace. (loud applause)

A very important role in the educational, cultural and artistic activity of molding the new man devolves on the council of socialist culture and education and all art and culture bodies and institutions. They must thoroughly organize the entire cultural mass activity, including entertainment, and install into it a revolutionary and combative spirit, so that it can contribute to developing the high moral traits of all members of the socialist society.

The "Song to Romania" festival has turned into a powerful cultural-artistic movement of the broad people's masses. We attained wonderful results: the working people and the broad masses in towns and villages are the creators, participants and direct end-users of the mass cultural-artistic activity. The "Song to Romania" national festival has clearly highlighted the creative talent and force specific to our people. It is necessary to continuously improve the contents of the "Song to Romania" national festival, to increasingly expand its mass character and to perpetuate the forms of mass artistic-cultural creation. Within the "Song to Romania" national festival we must ensure the continuity of the wonderful traditions of the Romanian people who, throughout the centuries, have been the creator of wonderful doinas [Romanian folk songs] and ballads, folk culture and art--of unique beauty, patriotism and humanism. (loud applause) Let us better use the houses of culture, workers clubs and cultural institutions to organize the political and cultural-educational work and carry out continuous educational activity.

Important tasks are assigned to the movie industry and theaters. We have a number of positive results in this field. It is necessary, however, to pay more attention to the contents of films and theatrical plays and to their educational message. The cinema and theater are important means of educating the revolutionary consciousness of the working people and youth and we must ensure that they commendably fulfill their role in society.

In the cultural-educational activity of molding the new man, a very important role is played by literature, music and the plastic arts. One can say that our literature has reached a high level. Much is being published and written. We also have musical creations and plastic art works of great value. All this makes a significant contribution to the cultural-educational activity of raising the consciousness of the broad masses. However, we must say that the working people expect more literary works with a rich content, works that should depict the work, life and achievements of our people. We need a

literature with a more combative, patriotic and revolutionary spirit, thoroughly permeated by the high ideals of socialist humanism and the notion of social and national justice. This literature should instill in the consciousness of adults and youth the feeling of love for the fatherland, socialism and the party. The only source of inspiration must be our people's life and work. As I said on other occasions, too, we must drink water only from the fresh spring bursting out of the earth full of the sweat and blood of our forefathers; only this spring gives life and inspiration. One should not hurry to drink from jugs of stale water in which one may also find drops of poison from retrograde and foreign concepts, whose purpose is to lull to sleep the patriotic and revolutionary awareness of the creators, the broad masses and the people. The literary-artistic creation in our fatherland must be original, patriotic and humanist. Only thus can it meet the requirements of our people and also contribute to enriching world culture and art. It is not imitation and uniformity that make a true artistic-literary creation, but diversity and the rendering of each people's specific characteristics. As I said on other occasions, too, a literature with a high educational content must powerfully reflect each writer's personality and originality. The diversity of artistic styles and manners must never be mistaken for tolerance toward those concepts and mentalities that are foreign to our socialist society's ideals. We need poems, music and plastic arts that reflect the reality and life and immortalize our people's heroic work and creation. (loud and prolonged applause) Literature, music and art must be an integral part of the great saga of our people, who are consciously building socialism and communism, and it must give new dimensions and broad perspective to our people.

The press, radio and television must also fulfill, under better conditions, their role in shaping socialist consciousness, promoting political-cultural education and molding the new man. They must show more combativeness and revolutionary spirit and powerfully reflect our people's work and achievements in socialist construction, they must firmly combat retrograde concepts and states of affairs and any violation of social laws and norms. And they must work to continuously strengthen the unity of all the people within the socialist democracy and unity front, under the RCP's leadership.

The entire theoretical, ideological, political, educational and cultural-artistic mass activity must always proceed under the political leadership of the party and its bodies and organizations. The communists working in these fields are dutybound to firmly act to guide the ideological, political and educational activity toward implementing the party program, the materialist-dialectical concept, the principles of socialism and revolutionary humanism and the party's domestic and foreign policies. Party bodies and organizations are dutybound to thoroughly organize this activity and ensure its permanent political-ideological guidance. It is necessary to ensure that the entire theoretical, ideological, political, educational and cultural-artistic activity should increasingly develop the spirit of responsibility and the determination of the masses and all the people to unflinchingly implement the party program and the domestic and foreign policies of

socialist Romania. Let us ensure that ideological, political and educational activity becomes a powerful force that determines the greater development of our socialist society, raises our people onto higher peaks of civilization and increasingly strengthens Romania's independence and sovereignty. (loud, prolonged applause)

XIII. The Great Revolutionary Changes in the World, the Characteristic Features of the Current International Situation

Dear comrades and friends,

In order to better understand the complex problems of the new development stage of Romanian society, we must take into account the great revolutionary changes that have occurred at the world level and the characteristic features of the present international situation. In doing so we proceed from the fact that there is a close dialectical unity between our fatherland's domestic and foreign policies, which actually condition each other. One can say that events have fully proved the general conclusions of the party program and the guidelines established by the 12th congress concerning international life.

Particularly serious tensions have been reached in international relations, leading to an increased danger of new military conflicts, including the outbreak of a new world war. Two completely opposed trends are evident today in international life: on the one hand, the imperialist policy of force and diktat, of preserving the redivision of spheres of influence and accentuating the arms race; on the other hand, the ever more powerful orientation toward a new policy which aims at putting an end to the use and threat of force, to diktat, to spheres of influence and the arms race and at ensuring the independent development of peoples and their cooperation based on the principles of equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, and noninterference in domestic affairs.

One could say that we are living in a very complex period of the international life. The old balance of forces established after World War II no longer corresponds to the new international realities. Colonialism has been practically eliminated and scores of independent states have emerged. Together with other small and average countries they represent an important force of the international life. New states and groups of states demand a more important role in international life and want to assert their independence. The balance based on military blocs no longer corresponds to current historic realities. Old contradictions have accentuated at the world level and new socioeconomic contradictions have emerged.

The contradiction between socialism and capitalism continues to be apparent, in one form or another, although it must be stressed that there is a better understanding of the need for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. A new contradiction which is becoming increasingly sharper as a result of the world's division into developed and developing countries, into rich and poor ones, has emerged parallel to the one mentioned

beforehand. All attempts to reach certain understandings on the need to eliminate underdevelopment and attain a new international economic order thus far have not led to the expected results. On the contrary, the gaps between rich and poor have deepened in this period. This has led to the accentuation of this contradiction. One can state that it has become one of the basic contradictions of our period.

We are actually living in a period of readjustment of the balance of power and the world balance between various states and groups of states. One could say that this new balance will be based on a greater diversity of the centers of power and will better take into account the role of developing and non-aligned countries. For this new balance of power and equilibrium to be viable, it must be based on principles of equality, respect for independence and noninterference in domestic affairs of other peoples.

The seriousness of the current international situation is also determined by the accentuation of the world economic crisis, which is like a high-intensity storm practically ungulfing all states. The effects of this crisis are also accentuated by the policy of high interest rates, which creates huge obstacles to the development of economic activities and increasingly worsens the situation in developing countries.

The great increase in unemployment in the developed capitalist countries highlights the crisis of the capitalist system. It shows the system's instability and lack of prospects. It powerfully affects the working masses and the entire society and sharpens the moral and political crisis of capitalism.

A huge negative influence on international life, the economic crisis and world instability is being exerted by the arms race, which has reached a level that can no longer be borne by any people. Military expenditures are expected to reach about $600 billion this year. The accumulation of new weapons, including nuclear ones, increases the danger of a catastrophic world confrontation.

There are a number of conflicts and military confrontations in the world, and one can say that new ones appear almost every year.

More than ever before all this requires unity in the efforts of peoples to put an end to international tension, halt the course toward confrontation and war, and resume and continue the policy of detente and respect for national independence and peace.

Life and events prove that it is easy to start a conflict and to provoke a state of tension in one or another place in the world, but that it is much more difficult to halt and resolve them. It is, therefore, necessary to do everything possible to no longer resort to military means and force in resolving various differences between states, but to act to put an end to the current conflicts and resolve them through negotiations. No matter how long the negotiations may last, it is much better to choose the peaceful way of negotiations to resolve them, this being in the interest of the respective countries and of the cause of peace and detente.

In this spirit, it is necessary to intensify efforts for an overall peace in the Middle East, which should lead to Israel's withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967 and the resolution of the problem of the Palestinian people, on the basis of their right to self-determination and the creation of an independent Palestinian state.

The establishment of peace in the Middle East must ensure the independence and integrity of all states in that area. Romania considers it necessary to organize an international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all interested states, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the only representative of the Palestinian people.

It is also necessary to do everything possible to stop the war between Iraq and Iran and to resolve all problems between the two states through negotiations.

In the same spirit, it is necessary to resolve all current conflicts or contentious problems between states.

Taking into account the many existing problems, it is necessary to create a special body within the United Nations which should act to organize negotiations and resolve interstate problems only in this way. States which will not appeal to this body or will ignore its activity should be considered as the aggressors.

1. The Vital Issue of International Life--Halting the Arms Race, Attaining Disarmament and Ensuring Peace

The main current issue of the international life is the struggle to halt the arms race, proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear, and ensure lasting peace in the world. Armaments have reached such a level that a new world war could cause incalculable destruction and endanger the existence of mankind itself, the highest creation of nature. It is all the more obvious, as has been asserted at various international bodies and conferences, particularly of scientists, that a new nuclear war would have no winners or losers; mankind would be destroyed. Therefore, it is necessary for all peoples to pool their efforts to halt the course toward disaster and to ensure peace.

Romania firmly speaks out for immediately halting the arms race, freezing military expenditures at this year's level and gradually proceeding to their reduction by at least 10 percent until 1985.

We believe it necessary to renounce actions of force and military maneuvers and exercises of any kind at state borders. The organization of such military actions does not show a desire for peace but rather an orientation toward military confrontation.

We firmly advocate a disarmament which should secure a balance of power at the lowest possible level. We welcomed the proposals made by USSR President Leonid Ilich Brezhnev on reducing nuclear weapons. We also welcomed the proposals made by U.S. President Reagan in connection with the start of negotiations on reducing strategic nuclear weapons. We welcome the understanding reached between these two countries on starting talks on strategic weapons this month. Of course, there are differences between the USSR and U.S. proposals, but we consider that all proposals should be taken into consideration and that one should begin negotiations in order to reach a joint agreement.

We are particularly worried about the deployment and development of medium-range missiles in Europe, which can endanger the life and existence of all European peoples. Before it is too late, we must halt the deployment of the new missiles, bring about the withdrawal and destruction of existing ones and ensure a Europe free of nuclear weapons. In view of the danger to the very existence of all European peoples, it is necessary for all European states to participate in negotiations and reach an appropriate agreement. We deem it necessary to take into account the desire of European peoples to live in peace and devote their forces to socioeconomic development. (loud applause)

Romania firmly speaks out for security and cooperation in Europe and for a united Europe, based on diversity and respect for each country's social system. We consider it necessary to do everything possible to ensure that, when it resumes, the Madrid meeting on European cooperation and security should conclude with ever better results, lead to the convening of a special conference on disarmament and trust in Europe, and ensure the continuity of meetings and conferences begun in Helsinki.

The European peoples have many common problems. They must use the framework of meetings on cooperation and security to jointly discuss the questions of strengthening trust and cooperation and ensuring the peace and independence of peoples in Europe and throughout the world.

Romania attaches great importance to cooperation and collaboration between Balkan countries. We believe that we must find new ways and means to expand meetings and cooperation and to proceed to organizing a high level conference on turning the Balkans into an area of peaceful cooperation, without nuclear weapons.

We highly assess the peace movements and manifestations in Europe and throughout the world. The Romanian people have forcefully engaged in these manifestations, with the conviction that they are very important for halting the arms race, saving mankind from a nuclear catastrophe and ensuring peace in the world. We believe that all mankind is faced today with the problem of choosing between war and peace. Nothing justifies or can justify the policy of arms and war. It is necessary to tell the peoples the truth and to show the greatest responsibility for the fate of the peoples and mankind. Everything possible should be done to ensure peace. (loud, prolonged applause)

The June UN session on disarmament is called upon to adopt concrete measures and to bring about a resolute transition to disarmament, primarily nuclear. Let us proceed to disarmament while the first nuclear bombs have not yet fallen! When they start falling, it will be too late.

We believe that the socialist countries have a great responsibility and must jointly act along with all other peoples to bring about disarmament and peace.

The Grand National Assembly granted a mandate to the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania which will participate in the special UN session on disarmament. This mandate reflects our people's desire to responsibly act and cooperate with all peoples to reach an agreement among all states for a transition to taking disarmament measures, primarily nuclear ones, and for attaining lasting peace in the world.

We appeal to all states and peoples to ignore all other considerations, to overcome obstacles and to decide to halt the arms race and primarily to bring about nuclear disarmament. We are living in a period in which peace is the key issue. Let us do everything to ensure peace for mankind! (loud, prolonged applause)

2. An Ardent Imperative Requirement--To Eliminate Underdevelopment, To Build a New International Economic Order and To Ensure the Equal Participation of All States in International Political Life

Another problem concerning mankind is underdevelopment and the struggle for a new international economic order. The existence of rich and poor countries is the result of imperialist and colonialist policies. The elimination of colonial domination as such is only one side of the decolonization process. It is necessary to take further action to achieve a complete solution that will bring about the elimination of underdevelopment, the accelerated socioeconomic progress of poor countries, the establishment of a new international economic order based on equity and mutually advantageous economic exchanges, thus ensuring the access, under advantageous conditions, of the developing countries to modern technology. Without eliminating underdevelopment and achieving a new international economic order--a problem that concerns two-thirds of mankind--it is difficult to talk about world economic stability and a world of peaceful cooperation.

There is a close interdependence between the problem of disarmament and that of the new international economic order. The cessation of the arms race and the transition to cutting back military spending would create conditions for allocating the necessary means--financial and material--to help solve the grave problems linked with the situation of poor countries. This would exert a forceful influence on the overall world economy and would favor international exchanges and political and economic stability.

As a developing country, Romania will act in close unity with the other developing countries and will do all it can to contribute to strengthening their solidarity and unity in the struggle for achieving the new world economic order.

To solve the existing complex problems in the world arena, it is necessary to ensure the actively participation of all states. It is especially necessary for the small and medium-sized countries, for the nonaligned and developing countries to participate actively since they are vitally interested in a democratic solution to problems and in a new policy that will ensure the independence and security of each nation.

An important role devolves on the United Nations and other international organizations since they offer the necessary organizational framework for the participation of all peoples in resolving international problems. It is necessary to observe the UN decisions. It is necessary to improve the United Nations so as to ensure the fulfillment of its functions in resolving problems by negotiations, in ensuring cooperation among all countries, irrespective of social system, and in achieving a lasting peace in the world.

XIV. Romania Will Continue To Promote an Active Policy of Cooperation and Friendship With the Socialist Countries, With the Developing Countries, With All Countries in the World, Irrespective of Social System

An important role in the international arena is played by the socialist countries. Romania firmly acts to develop cooperation with all the socialist countries, to strengthen their solidarity and to surmount existing differences. Life has demonstrated that contradictions and divergencies can also emerge between socialist countries.

What we must keep in mind is not to ignore them, but to solve them by negotiations, by taking into consideration the need to strengthen cooperation and unity among socialist countries and the need to increase their role in the international arena, as well as the prestige of socialism throughout the world. We believe that socialism creates conditions for such a solution of problems and we are firmly convinced that it is possible. We must ensure broad cooperation and unity among socialist countries based on respect for independence, equality and non-interference in internal affairs. Relations among socialist countries must constitute a model of mutual respect and mutually advantageous cooperation. They must set an example for the relations of all countries in the world.

Within the framework of these relations, an important role is played by economic cooperation, and in the case of the socialist member countries by CEMA. Taking into account the share of socialist countries in the world economy, we can state that they have the possibility today to solve many of the problems of socioeconomic development and socialist construction, and to improve their peoples' well-being. Certainly, the socialist countries are not able to avoid the international division of labor. Life has refuted the

thesis on the existence in the world of a capitalist world economy and an opposed socialist world economy which are developing side by side. One can state that there exists a single and increasingly interdependent world economy. The economy of the socialist countries, as well as the economy of the capitalist countries are part and parcel of the world economy. And the problems that emerge in the world economy, including the economic crisis, is reflected in one form or another in those countries. We must admit the existing interdependence within the international division of labor, among countries with different economies and social systems. We must admit that active and broad cooperation among all countries in the world in the spirit of equality and mutual advantage is a factor of basic importance for the peoples' general progress, for security and peace.

Proceeding from this, Romania believes that it is necessary to somewhat improve CEMA activity, so that mutually advantageous cooperation and collaboration will permit the member countries to jointly resolve--in conformity with the statute provisions and with those of other documents--a number of problems in socioeconomic development and the successful construction of socialism. We believe that we have reached such a stage of CEMA activity that it is necessary--and this is an objective necessity--to improve its activity and broaden multilateral cooperation in all fields among the member countries by unswervingly proceeding to ensure the independent development of each national economy.

As I have mentioned, Romania pays great attention to its relations with the developing countries in the belief that those countries represent an important factor in the world economy and politics, and that they play and will play an increasingly greater role throughout the international arena. We, therefore, believe that it is necessary to strengthen solidarity and cooperation among those countries, and to overcome certain differences and misunderstandings among them which, undoubtedly, are vestiges of imperialist and colonial domination. It is necessary for all developing countries to act by means of negotiations alone to resolve various disputes, strengthen their unity and solidarity, and strengthen their broad cooperation with a view to their rapid socioeconomic development. It must be said that today the developing countries have many possibilities to resolve, with united efforts, many of the problems of their socioeconomic development.

Romania highly appreciates the role played by the nonaligned movement in resolving the complex problems of the international situation and in the struggle for independence, for stopping the arms race and for peace.

Proceeding from the realities of the present-day world and from the existence of countries with different social systems, Romania takes firm action, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence, to develop relations with the developed capitalist countries and with all countries, irrespective of social system. We believe that expanding cooperation and participating in the international division of labor is an objective necessity for all nations.

In this spirit it is necessary to renounce any discriminating economic measures and the policy of economic sanctions against some countries and groups of countries. In the interest of surmounting the world economic crisis, it is necessary to renounce high interest rates and to set reasonable interest rates that do not exceed 8 percent. Credits must be an instrument of economic cooperation, of stability and socioeconomic development in all countries.

Life and events have forcefully and undeniably demonstrated that the development of relations of peaceful cooperation among all world countries can be achieved only on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, renunciation of the use or threat of force, respect for each people's right to free development--without any outside interference--and each nation's right to the social system it desires. (loud applause)

XV. We Will Constantly Strengthen Solidarity With the Communist Parties, With All Revolutionary and Progressive Forces in the Struggle for Achieving the Basic Aspirations for Peace and Progress of Mankind

Esteemed comrades, in the spirit of traditional international solidarity, our party is developing broad relations with all communist and workers parties, and will continue to act to strengthen solidarity in their joint struggle proceeding from the fact that under current international circumstances, cooperation among communist and workers parties is an important factor in the struggle for peace and social progress.

Taking into consideration the diversity of conditions in which the communist and workers parties are carrying out their activity, there are a number of different opinions regarding certain problems. We believe that solidarity and cooperation must be achieved on the basis of the principles of full equality, and respect for each party's right to formulate its political line in keeping with the realities in the given country. It is necessary to take into consideration that each party is carrying out its activity in an independent manner, and is responsible only to its own workers class and people for what action it has taken to defend their interests. The new unity must proceed from this reality and must ensure broad international cooperation on basic problems of the present-day world.

As I have mentioned, the transition of one or another people toward socialism is being achieved and will be achieved in conformity with the social realities in each country. There is no model for building socialism. General laws are applied differently in various countries and stages of socioeconomic development. Proceeding from those principles, one cannot deny the socialist nature of one or another country. Socialism in one country cannot be opposed to that in other countries, or to the socialism that will be built in the future. The diversity of ways to proceed to socialism, to building the new social system and to applying general laws to the specific conditions in each country gives new scope and offers new prospects for the world's socialist development, and enriches the heritage of revolutionary practice and theory.

More than ever before, we believe that it is necessary to do everything to surmount differences, to stop any blaming and any interference in the activity of one or another party. It is necessary to act with the greatest responsibility in the direction of developing cooperation, of achieving a new solidarity and unity in the struggle for peace, independence and socialism. (loud, lively applause)

At the same time, our party has broad relations with the socialist and social-democratic parties, proceeding from the need to strengthen the unity of the workers movement and of all forces advocating the socialist transformation of the world. There are, of course, differences of opinion on certain problems. But there are also many problems of common interest on which the communist, socialist and social-democratic parties can and must take joint action especially with regard to the basic problem of stopping the arms race, of achieving peace, complete cooperation is necessary. Our party will constantly act to strengthen cooperation with the socialists and social-democrats, proceeding from the need to achieve conciliation in the future that will lead to a new unity of the working class and of the forces advocating socialism. We have hailed and do hail the options toward socialism in a number of countries. We believe that any step taken in that direction must be supported since it is in keeping with the development of human society and with the need to achieve a better and more just world.

At the same time, our party is developing broad cooperation and solidarity with the national liberation movements, and with the ruling parties in countries that have shaken off imperialist domination and are struggling to strengthen their independence. Our party is also developing cooperation with democratic parties in all countries. We proceed from the need for constant contacts with all democratic parties in the belief that this is in the interests of cooperation among peoples, and of resuming and developing the policy of detente and the struggle for disarmament and peace.

Under the current international circumstances, the role of the masses and of peoples in the international arena is increasing even more. It is, therefore, necessary for us to broadly develop solidarity and cooperation with peoples everywhere. Through their struggle, the masses and the peoples may determined the cessation of the arms race and ensure a new, democratic policy, respect for national independence and a policy of peace and international cooperation. We are fully convinced that the peoples, anti-imperialist and progressive forces everywhere have the necessary power to stop tension in the international arena and to stop the arms race, in order to ensure the triumph of reason and peace. The future belongs to a better and more just world, to social and national equality and to respect for each people's right to free and independent development. (loud, prolonged applause)

In keeping with the supreme interests of our people, of the cause of social progress, detente, national independence and peace, our party and state will spare no effort to contribute to achieving the aspirations of all mankind: to live in peace and build a better and more just life. (loud, prolonged applause; chants: "Ceausescu and the people")

Esteemed comrades, the discussion at the Central Committee and throughout the party of the theoretical and ideological problems, of the educational-political activity of shaping the new man, must bring about a better understanding of the stage the Romanian socialist society is going through. It must lead to intensified efforts by the party and all people to resolutely implement the party program and the 12th congress decisions. We must give priority to improving our leadership, to better organizing work, increasing the sense of responsibility and strengthening discipline and order in all sectors of activity.

We must focus our attention on resolutely fulfilling the 1981-1985 5-year plan by channeling all forces in the direction of improving the quality and technical level of production, increasing labor productivity, cutting back material expenditure and increasing economic efficiency. Special attention must be paid to implementing the programs on developing energy and raw material sources, and the programs on agriculture, so as to properly meet the requirements of the national economy from own resources, constantly improve proper supplies to the people and accentuate regional self-supply and self-management.

Discussing ideological problems, the educational-political activity and mass cultural work, we must pay special attention to achieving proper international cooperation and a foreign trade based on complete equality. We must pay special attention to achieving an increase in exports so as to create the necessary conditions for imports of raw and other materials needed by the national economy, and for paying back credits and achieving an even balance of payments.

The theoretical, ideological, political, educational and cultural activity must increase social awareness and lead to an ever higher cultural level of our fatherland's citizens. This activity must increase the degree of conscious participation of the working people--irrespective of nationality--and of all our people in implementing the party program and consciously shaping the communist future, in raising our fatherland onto new peaks of progress and civilization, in achieving our people's material and cultural well-being, in strengthening the force and unity of all our people within the SDUF--under RCP leadership--and in strengthening our fatherland's economic and cultural potential and Romania's independence and sovereignty.

(Applause and loud, prolonged cheers; long chants: "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu-RCP!" strongly united, all participants in the plenum give long ovations to the RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

CSO: 2700/290

PREMIER DASCALESCU ADDRESSES RCP PLENUM

AU081228 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Jun 82 p 2

[Speech by Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu at the 1-2 June expanded plenum of the RCP Central Committee]

[Text] Much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu,

Esteemed comrades, I am convinced that the contemporary history of our fatherland will mark this Central Committee plenum, which is discussing theoretical and ideological issues and the political-educational activity of molding the new man as an event of the greatest political importance and significance.

The exceptional value of this event is primarily due to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech, which is a brilliant theoretical summary of the practical revolutionary experience of our party and the international communist and workers movement.

This speech is a programmatic document which--on the solid foundation of the creative and scientific policy of our party--lays down the basic long-term principles of our overall activity and gives new perspective to the bolder tackling of Romania's development goals, in accordance with requirements of the current stage.

Reiterating the humanist nature of the entire party policy, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech places man--the true owner of the national wealth, the creator of material assets and intellectual values of our society and the main end-user of the results of our fatherland's progress along the road of socialism--at the center of all concerns with improving the social and political life.

The militant and revolutionary spirit, the principled and realist boldness and the clarity and objectivity with which the party-state leader's speech broaches the basic issues of the social, political and ideological life of our country and contemporary world in their ceaseless social progress, the new contradictions that have emerged at the world level as well as the lasting

realist solutions proposed derive from the clear, brilliant and profound thinking and from the great personality of our party's secretary general, who makes a priceless principled contribution to the development of the revolutionary theory.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative to submit these cardinal political, ideological and educational problems of the fatherland's continuous development to the discussion of such a high representative forum as our plenum again proves the great theoretical capacity of our party and secretary general to find clear scientific answers to key aspects and factors on which the faster socialist development of our society depends.

Indeed, the clarification of the current stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and of the ways and means to continuously strengthen all the people's property and the broad democratic framework in which they are exerting their leading role in society as well as the assertion of the need to continuously increase the role of the party and state prove the party's fidelity toward the universally valid truths of the socialist revolution and construction and its consistent concern with applying general laws to particular national-historical conditions prevailing in Romania. Therefore, I fully endorse the theses, ideals, assessments and conclusions included in this document, and I express my firm resolution to fully contribute to implementing all measures adopted by the party Central Committee plenum.

Comrades,

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech pays particular attention to strengthening the role of the socialist state in the current stage of our society's development. Being directly engaged in implementing the political line established by the party in the field of economy, science, culture, education, health protection and all fields of social life, the state and its institutions and bodies have to resolve tasks of great scope and complexity in this period.

As the speech rightfully stresses, the main task of our socialist state's bodies is to ensure, in close cooperation with the bodies of the workers democracy and on the basis of judicious planning, the balanced development of the national economy, the attainment of an appropriate relationship between various fields and sectors and the increase of the forces of production, in order to increase the national wealth and raise all the people's overall well-being. This means that the unflinching implementation of this year's plan tasks--particularly in attaining item-specified production; developing the raw material base, primarily coal and oil; markedly reducing the consumption of raw and other materials, energy and fuel, so that all units strictly observe established norms and even make substantial savings; and fulfilling all export tasks--should become a daily concern of the government, which must devote all its attention, capacity and resolute efforts to this task.

Proceeding from its prerogatives as laid down in the country's constitution, the government is called upon to take appropriate measures to ensure that economic activity proceeds smoothly and to take consistent action to properly organize work in all enterprises, ensure the observance of production and technological discipline and train and improve manpower--key factors in the maximum utilization and functioning of all installations, machines and equipment.

In this highly responsible process, we are dutybound to fully utilize the limitless capacity available to our socialist democracy institutions to draft and apply appropriate measures so that the society can harmoniously organize and better utilize its material and human resources and establish equitable relations of cooperation and mutual assistance in work and life.

It is a real fact that, from the initiative and with the direct participation of the party secretary general, a broad democratic framework from top to bottom was created in our country, a framework which is unique in its way and which allows the workers class to fully exert their role as leading class in the society and all working people to participate in taking decisions and in the entire social life. Consequently, the government has the obligation to always see to it that all our socialist democracy bodies--the collective management bodies, the general meetings of the working people and the higher forum of workers self-management--efficiently function in accordance with prerogatives given by the law, thus fulfilling their important role in our society.

At the same time, as you stressed esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the government's task is to take appropriate measures to provide competent cadres to all fields of state activity--cadres of high political and moral integrity, with a high ideological level, profoundly attached to the party and capable of fulfilling on time all party-state decisions in their field of activity.

An important conclusion in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech to the plenum is of particular interest to the government, namely the imperative need to resolutely work to introduce a revolutionary spirit of combativeness and intolerance toward shortcomings, deficiencies and excesses in the work and behavior of cadres employed by state institutions, ministries, centrals and scientific, cultural and educational institutions.

It should be clear to the entire government that it must concentrate its main efforts upon establishing a propitious climate for strict observance of legality and discipline and ensuring a high spirit of order and responsibility in all sectors and at all levels, in the work of the collective management bodies of ministries, centrals, enterprises, local state administration bodies and all apparatus workers, regardless of their position.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has often drawn attention, a prerequisite for success in task fulfillment is the exertion of firm, exacting, operative, efficient and direct control in basic units. When I say this, I do not mean a formal and bureaucratic control at random, but a control which should lead to uncovering shortcomings and finding appropriate solutions for the commendable development of the activity.

Hence, in its concern with improving the style of leadership, the government will strengthen its organization and control prerogatives, so that the Council of Ministers can directly participate in directly resolving problems that appear in ministries, centrals and production enterprises, thus systematically controlling the activity of ministries and central institutions, attending the meetings of their collective management bodies and general meetings, actively participating in their efforts and assisting them to better organize their affairs and increase the efficiency of their work.

We want to immediately implement your recommendation to ensure that each government member and each worker in the central state apparatus should feel dutybound to firmly contribute to overcoming difficulties, eliminating shortcomings and properly fulfilling the tasks devolving upon economic units or subordinated institutions.

The guiding idea is that each government member should be an example of prompt, conscious and competent fulfillment of the great responsibilities entrusted to him. A better system of organizing and unfolding activities, a more rigorous control of and systematic reports on activities should become the strict working style of the government and its members, since we are convinced that, on this basis, we will succeed in raising the work quality of the supreme body of state administration to the level of high exigencies recently laid down by the higher party leadership.

The broad and powerful democratic system, which we were called upon to continuously strengthen by endowing it with an ever more lasting content, does not exclude strict order. On the contrary, it implies it. Each working man, each citizen and, all the more so, all responsible cadres in the state and economic fields should unflinchingly observe party-state decisions and the country's laws.

Proceeding from the recommendations made by the party secretary general, it is necessary for militia, security, justice and prosecutor's office bodies to also increase their contribution to ensuring public order and tranquillity and strictly observing the laws. They must show intransigence toward any attempt to violate our socialist legality and the legal norms which are equally compulsory for all members of our collectivity and society, regardless of their place in the social hierarchy. Through our actions we aim at making clear to all state bodies and their cadres that all men are equal before the law, state discipline and order. Everybody must bear the consequence of their violation of the law.

In this context, the state bodies, cultural institutions and state educational cadres should closely correlate their efforts with those of trade union, youth and women organizations belonging to the government and all bodies belonging to the socialist democracy and unity front in order to jointly carry out efficient preventive actions and to form and develop a powerful mass opinion against tendencies to evade the law and against any violations of party-state decisions and social coexistence norms.

General speaking, it is necessary to better utilize our well-structured framework characterized by the presence in the government of leading cadres of the main mass and public organizations of our country. Their participation in the decisions we adopt is a wonderful opportunity not only to quickly disseminate them among the masses but also to powerfully mobilize these organizations and unite their efforts in the common struggle to implement the measures adopted.

The attainment of this requirement will be made easier by the fact that we will immediately proceed to implement in our daily practice the task of placing the entire state apparatus and its workers under the close scrutiny of the masses, whom they are actually dutybound to serve faithfully and with devotion, the supreme duty of each state aktivist being--as the party secretary general clearly said--to wholeheartedly serve the people, the supreme and sovereign master of the country's entire national wealth.

In its capacity as organizer of the life of all the people and nation, the state and its bodies are naturally called upon to watch not only the proper activity of central institutions but also the development of the local economy, the proper administration and improvement of towns, the better utilization of resources, the regional self-administration and self-management, the proper functioning of educational, art and cultural institutions and the commendable development of the entire socioeconomic life in counties, municipalities and towns.

In its working style, the government will establish the practice of periodically meeting with leading cadres of local state administration bodies to jointly examine the way in which party-state decisions are being implemented at a regional level and to jointly adopt the necessary measures to carry them out.

Esteemed comrades, the phenomena which are occurring in international life and which were brilliantly presented in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech, have acquired a particular urgency and left a powerful imprint upon relations between states.

We all feel great patriotic pride in noting now, almost 3 years after the 12th congress, that the orientations and assessments made then on international events, the development of contradictions between the main groups of states, the confrontations of ideas, the intensification of the struggle

of peoples from poor countries for their political and social emancipation and the need to establish a new world economic order have been fully confirmed by events that have occurred in this period.

The time will pass, but the theses, concepts and ideas of great theoretical and perspective value will stay deeply rooted in the thesaurus of universal social and political thinking as an overwhelming contribution of the creative and original position of great scientific realism of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

The huge authority enjoyed throughout the world by Romanian foreign policy and its creator, the country's president, is a stimulant for the government to steadily work to implement the recommendations and assessments on recent changes in the world balance of forces in the practice of its international relations, thus strengthening and diversifying cooperation with all socialist states and expanding contacts with developing and nonaligned countries and other states, regardless of their social system.

We will continue to work perseveringly to increase Romania's participation in the world exchange of values, on mutually advantageous bases, and in the common struggle of peace-loving states.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recent initiatives gave an even more powerful impetus to the struggle for peace, disarmament--primarily nuclear--security, detente and understanding among peoples. These initiatives made known throughout the world the Romanian people's resolute and passionate desire to shape their own destiny in peace and security, confident in their fatherland's happy future.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech, a programmatic document of great theoretical, ideological and political value, sets very important tasks for the government and the entire state apparatus.

I again fully endorse the valuable orientations and recommendations included in the speech and I would like to assure the Central Committee plenum and you much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu that the government will do everything possible to fulfill all its tasks, thus contributing enriching the ideological and cultural life of the fatherland and powerfully asserting the revolutionary spirit, party combativeness and principled position in the field of political-educational activity and in the entirety of intellectual creation.

CSO: 2700/290

ANDREI SPEECH AT RCP PLENUM

AU081140 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Jun 82 p 3

[Speech by Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei to the 2 June RCP Central Committee plenum held in Bucharest]

[Text] Much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, esteemed comrades, I also want to stress the particular importance of the proceedings of the current plenum which is discussing, on the basis of the noteworthy report by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the major questions of the current stage and the prospects of socialist construction in our fatherland. It is the merit of the party secretary general to note and to draw the party's and people's attention, in a timely manner, to the problems raised by the country's socioeconomic development, and to formulate under new and concrete conditions answers meeting the requirements of implementing the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism.

Now, as so many times in the past, the answers supplied by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the new problems regarding both our fatherland's development and developments in the international arena stem from the scientific analysis and thorough knowledge of the life and aspirations of the Romanian people and of all world peoples, and from the fervent pursuit and comprehensive knowledge of the current Romanian problems in close connection with world problems. These answers are permeated with love and devotion toward the people, with trust, and with his capability to understand what is historically necessary and to do what is humanly possible in order to ensure the advance of our free and sovereign fatherland on the road to economic and social progress, so as to contribute to implementing the aspirations for peace and well-being of all mankind.

Strongly anchoring Romania's image in peoples' awareness as an active and constructive factor constantly, fully engaged in the process of seeking positive solutions to the complex and pressing problems raised by the current international situation, and to deciphering the direction of development of the present-day world, Romania's fruitful presence in all struggles for peace, disarmament, cooperation and international security is in close and

indestructible connection with and bears the seal of the deeds and thoughts of the president of socialist Romania and the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech impresses one by its clarity of assessing the very complex and contradictory development of the current international situation, and once again confirms the capability of the party secretary general to reveal the meaning and major development trends of international relations, and to offer just and realistic solutions. Developing the assessments--confirmed by life--made at the 12th congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stresses the fact that the old balance established in the wake of World War II based on the carcass of military blocs is no longer in keeping with the social, national, economic and political realities of the present-day world. He also stresses that at present, on a world level, a process of reestablishing the balance of forces and of achieving a new balance is taking place as a result of the deepgoing revolutionary, national and social transformations, a balance that is being rebuilt on a broader diversity of centers of power, and that is especially built on the basis of the more forceful assertion of countries struggling for strengthening national independence and sovereignty, on the basis of the increasingly active participation by small and medium-sized countries and the increased role of progressive and democratic forces, of the people's masses in resolving the problems confronting mankind.

Of great theoretical and practical importance for the revolutionary struggle is the stress placed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on the fact that at world level, along with the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, the contradictions between rich and poor countries are constantly developing and becoming more serious.

Under such circumstances, the conclusion drawn by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the 12th party congress regarding the gigantic struggle that is taking place at world level between the diametrically opposed tendencies is of even greater importance. In the present-day world, this struggle represents the major proof of the struggle between what is old and new, and it is waged in multiple forms--political, economic, military and ideological. Thus the importance of the ideological struggle for the assertion of the ideas of socialism and communism, for defending and promoting the peoples' aspirations for freedom, democracy, equality and progress, is constantly increasing. The accentuation of the imperialist policy of force and domination is coupled with the revival of promoting certain retrograde theories and doctrines which are antihuman, are against people, try to discredit socialism, slander national liberation movements. Slander anti-imperialist, progressive and democratic movements and try to revive old reactionary and anticommunist concepts going as far as attempting to rehabilitate and justify colonialism and neocolonialism and to protect the activity of certain extreme rightist groupings and organizations, some of which are neofascist in nature. The same forces whose activity is essentially aimed at confiscating their own

peoples' democracy and freedoms, and who have pushed scores of millions of people into the ranks of the jobless, falsify the real content of human rights and carry out noisy and demagogic activity against the ideas of socialism. They capitalize on the mistakes and difficulties in one or another socialist country, and draw general conclusions on socialism generally, thus trying to avert the attention of the people's masses from the serious socioeconomic problems they are confronting and to shake their conviction that socialism is the only alternative to a capitalist society based on exploitation and domination. Reviving problems left by colonial domination, those forces open disputes between recently freed countries. They promote the idea of renouncing national independence and sovereignty, and accepting the dictatorship of multinational companies and interference in the internal affairs of small, medium-sized and developing countries.

Very aggressive and harmful is the propaganda placed in the service of the military-industrial complex that is trying to justify to the people the policy of force and arming, primarily nuclear arming; and the increase in military expenditure which is an unbearable burden for all world peoples, deeply affects, distorts and hampers socioeconomic development and contributes to deepening the world economic crisis.

The asserting of the peoples' will and the fulfillment of their aspirations for independence, democracy and progress imperatively requires an intensified struggle against such old and reactionary concepts, the firm rejection of the policy of force, confrontation and armament and any forms of pressure, domination and interference in the internal affairs of other peoples.

In thoroughly examining the very complex development of the current international situation, in his exceptional plenum speech, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu outlined the basic and decisive factor for mankind's peace and progress--respect for national independence, for each people's inalienable right to freely choose their socioeconomic development road, without any outside interference. In the mind of the world peoples, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's name is inseparably linked with promoting and defending each nation's inalienable right to live protected from any aggression or threat, with the firm and consistent position of rejecting pressure, diktat and any form of interference in the domestic affairs of a people, and with placing respect for national independence at the foundation of current international relations. The systematic assertion of the need to respect those principles, and consistently promoting them in the international arena, does not proceed from an exclusively legal concern but from a profound understanding of the fact that the necessarily democratic future organization of interstate relations has to be constantly in keeping with a unanimously acceptable political and moral code which should materialize in the content and mechanism of international cooperation.

Proceeding from an improvement in people's awareness and in their role in international life, the speech delivered at the plenum and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's overall foreign policy concept is permeated with a boundless trust in the wisdom and capability of peoples to bring about the necessary changes, to make them possible and to implement them. The current development of events once again confirms, with the undeniable power of facts, the increasingly firm progressive role played by the

peoples and public opinion in determining the course of events. The big peace and disarmament demonstrations which are taking place in Europe and in countries on other continents exert a recognized influence on the government's determination to proceed to negotiations to stop the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles, and to withdraw and destroy existing ones and achieve a Europe free from nuclear weapons.

In this spirit, of great importance is Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's stress on the need to resolve the pressing problems of peace, disarmament and cooperation in Europe, and of building a Europe in which European countries, irrespective of their social system, will be able to cooperate in peace, understanding and security on a completely equal footing and with respect for national independence and sovereignty. Also of great importance is his stress to act determinedly to conclude the Madrid meeting with positive results, and to continue to struggle for turning the Balkans into an area of peace, trust and cooperation, and an area without nuclear weapons.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech bestows new power on the mandate given to the Grand National Assembly delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the upcoming UN General Assembly special session devoted to disarmament, whose proceedings already are the focus of world public opinion.

In response to the most powerful imperative of the current time to defend peace against war, to avoid and extinguish any conflict between countries, in his speech Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has given a new and forceful scope to the appeal to reason, and to resolving all interstate conflicts by peaceful means, by proposing the creation within the United Nations of a body that will act in the direction of resolying problems by negotiations, and any state that would not appeal to that body or would not take into consideration that body's activity should be viewed as an aggressor.

Along the same line, to strengthen international legality, the power of law and the authority of international understandings, the secretary general's speech stresses the need to strengthen the role and contribution of the United Nations in resolving world problems and strengthening peace and security in the world, and the need to respect and apply the resolutions of that international forum.

In his speech, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu once again demonstrated the urgency of resolving one of the basic problems of mankind--eliminating underdevelopment and building a new international economic order. We can state with good reason that the activity that is being carried out at an international level to achieve this desire is widely marked by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concept, whose ideas have become essential points on the platform of the forces struggling for a just and equitable new economic order.

Esteemed comrades, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's new and excellent speech arms all of us with a clear vision of the current situation and future development, with a clear position based on the dialectical-materialist and historic concept toward the essential problems of our fatherland's development on the road to socialism and communism, and toward the complex problems of the present-day world. It is our honorable duty to struggle with determination to implement the theses of particular theoretical and practical value included in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech. It is also our duty to struggle to defend and promote our people's interests and to firmly and in a principled manner combat--without tolerating any compromise--antisocial and anticommunist actions and attempts to slander socialist Romania's relations, to falsify our people's history. Let us act to implement the party's and state's domestic and foreign policy.

By actively responding to the appeal of the party secretary general I understand struggling to eliminate shortcomings in my overall activity and to try to enrich my theoretical, political and ideological horizon, to apply and resolutely follow in my overall activity the ideas and comprehensive theses included in the excellent speech Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has given.

Here, too, in front of the Central Committee plenum and before Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, I want to express the solemn pledge of the communists and of all working people in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in our country's diplomatic missions to promote with revolutionary and patriotic determination our party's and state's foreign policy, and to contribute to the defense of promoting the Romanian people's interests, to developing Romania's bilateral relations with all socialist countries, with the developing countries and the other countries, and to struggling for lessening international tension and resuming the policy of peace, detente, national independence and cooperation among nations.

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MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS IN BEHAVIOR OF YOUTH

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Jan-Feb 82 pp 104-107

[Article by Ioana Petre and Maria Bacanaru of the Center for Sociological Research]

[Text] Creating an ideal for life and seeking to reach it through continued efforts, through sacrifice and work are a definitive feature of all human beings. However, in our opinion, the creation and shaping of certain ideals and aspirations in life have as a focal center the professional ideal. Along with the other conducts of the ideal for life (moral, aesthetic, political ideals) this is a basic motivational factor for all the social behavior of individuals, including young people, as a definitive source of activity, of orientation and, in the end, of social integration.

In this regard, we have proposed to see how young people, particularly the rural young people, think, whether they work in agriculture or nonagricultural sectors, what the content and level of their social-professional aspirations are, what the motivational sypports are which lead them toward one behavior or another. The several conclusions we shall show are based on the results of sociological investigations made between 1977-1980 in rural locations from Buzau, Dimbovita, Mures, Tulcea (Danube Delta) and Vaslui Counties, with the following characteristics: [See Tables a. and b.]

We must stress that the rural young people's aspirations were established and are continually experiencing changes depending on the three big social processes which are being carried out in the rural locations in a more advanced or incipient degree: urbanization (or, perhaps more correctly, modernization), industrialization and the process of disseminating information. Of course, by urbanization we do not mean just the changes in material life and in behavior but also the appearance of new forms of thinking, new value systems which develop as there is a progressive move from the traditional rural culture to the one with powerful urban marks. With regard to the broad dissemination of information in the rural environment, we are referring to the fact that information in the broad sense of the word among the rural population as a whole and perhaps more emphatically among the young people takes on an increasingly greater spread through mass means of communication to which more and more individuals have access (press, movies, radio, television), through the broader and broader contacts of the rural with the urban (including through the commuting). Nor should we omit the important role of the school in extending

a. Structure of Pattern According to Age Group and Occupation

1. Ocupatia	2. Total N	2. Total %	3. Grupa de virstă 15–19 ani N	15–19 ani %	20–24 ani N	20–24 ani %	25–30 ani N	25–30 ani %
4. Tărani cooperatori	43	7,1	20	3,3	12	2,0	11	1,8
5. Tărani individuali	7	1,2	–	–	–	–	7	1,2
6. Muncitori agricoli	70	11,5	16	2,56	29	4,8	25	4,1
7. Muncitori in industrie şi alte sect. neagricole	194	31,9	49	8,1	77	12,6	68	11,2
8. Tehnicieni, maiştri	61	10,0	2	0,4	19	3,0	40	6,5
9. Funcţionari, invăţători, educatori, alte cadre cu studii medii	77	12,7	10	1,6	32	5,3	35	5,8
10. Cadre cu studii superioare	75	12,3	–	–	8	1,3	67	11,0
11. Casnice	45	7,4	10	1,6	3	0,5	32	5,3
12. Alte	36	5,9	15	2,5	10	1,6	11	1,8
13. Total	608	100,0	122	29,2	190	31,1	296	48,7

Key:

1. Occupation
2. Total (N=number)
3. Age Group(__-_years)
4. Cooperative peasants
5. Individual peasants
6. Agricultural workers
7. Workers in industry, other nonagricultural sectors
8. Technicians, foremen
9. Office workers, instructors, educators, other cadres with secondary studies
10. Cadres with higher studies
11. Housewives
12. Others
13. Total

b. Grouping of Pattern According to Sex and Age

1. Sex	2. Total N	2. Total %	3. Grupa de virstă 15–19 ani N	15–19 ani %	20–24 ani N	20–24 ani %	25–30 ani N	25–30 ani %
4. M	295	48,5	60	9,9	91	14,9	144	23,7
5. F	313	51,5	62	10,3	99	16,2	152	25,0
6. Total	608	100,0	122	20,2	190	31,1	296	48,7

Key:

1. Sex
2. Total (N=number)
3. Age Group (___-____ years)
4. M=male
5. F=female
6. Total

the level of information. It is precisely this spectacular extension of the opportunities for the young rural population to get informed which has led to a corresponding broadening of the limits of the field of aspiration, the field of decision-making and actions, but in particular the field of aspirations. The latter aspects partially also explains the reason for which the young rural people's level of aspirations (professional, cultural) almost always is over the specific opportunities of satisfaction at local and sometimes even zonal level.

Since the spread of occupations (both at the level of aspirations and the actual options) is extremely broad, we do not feel it is necessary to put this into concrete form. However, it is necessary to bring out the quasigeneral option of the young people for the trades which require a high qualification, particularly a qualification through various types of schools. Unfortunately, the option for qualified trades is carried out in particular in favor of the nonagricultural areas, particularly industry and, to a much smaller extent, agriculture. The absence of coincidence between the aspirations, options, and young people's professional decisions, on one hand, and the needs and real social-economic opportunities of the rural zones and locations, on the other, has led to the appearance of certain demographic and social-economic imbalances in the rural environment. The aging of the agricultural work force and even of the rural population in some zones (the Danube Delta, for example) and the fact that it is mostly women have become, why not say it, acute. The reasons for these situations are many and complex and must be sought both in the psychosocial as well as economic area (the content of agricultural activities, the context of work and the results). Perhaps, also added to this should be the fact that many times neither the activity of school or professional orientation taking place in the rural sehools and, in general, in favor of agricultural activities (not only in the schools but also in the press, radio, television and so forth) has been at the level of current and future social-economic demands.

In order to take successful action at the level of education and formation of the young personality, it is necessary to know the motivational supports for its options and behaviors. In this regard we show the results of an opinion survey made among more than 600 young people from rural areas (working in production, either rural or urban) regarding the motivation for selecting their current profession, the motivation for any wish to change it and, finally, with regard to motivation for the wish for professional advanced training.

a. Why did you select your current occupation? In order of frequency of answers, the motivations are organized as follows: 1. well-paid trade; 2. aptitudes, inclinations for the trade chosen; 3. wish to continue professional training within the same occupational profile in college or post-secondary school schools in evening or correspondence courses; 6. a nice and easy trade; 7. the express wish of the family; 8. professional tradition in the family; 9. I found a job here; 10. by chance, without special motivation; 11. other reasons.

b. Why do you want to change your current occupation? A variety of answers, also in the order of frequency, were given by 22.5 percent of the young people surveyed, persons who expressed their intention to chan their current occupation. These varieties are: 1. he is paid poorly compared with other occupations;

2. it is below his own abilities; 3. practicing this occupation does not offer me too great opportunities for advancement in the professional hierarchy; 4. it does not offer me too much satisfaction; 5. it is hard and tiring; 6. it is not interesting; 7. it does not offer me the opportunity to be original, creative, inventive; 8. it is not what I wanted, but at the start I did not have any other opportunity; 9. it does not have high prestige; 10. other reasons.

c. Would you want to raise your level of qualification? If so, why? The componence of the h gh level of professional aspirations of young people from rural communities, the wish for professional advanced training complete the picture of this social category of great importance for insuring the viability itself of the village. More than half of the young people included in the pattern state that they want to complete their professional training and raise their level of qualification. Along with the school paths for raising the level of qualification (secondary, post-secondary school and higher education) other forms also are noted,ways considered to be necessary with a view to continued training in the profession chosen. Among the latter we can list the following: the study of specialized literature, participation in a number of informative courses or training organized on the job, the intention to participate in certain exams and contests to gradually raise the level of employment in the current occupation. The motivation for the desire for professional advanced training, in order of frequency of answers, is as follows: 1. today any profession requires that you learn; 2. the specific nature of the profession the requirement to progress; 3. the social duty to be up to date with what is new; 4. the prestige of being a competent specialist; 5. love of the profession he is practicing; 6. pleasure with continually improving yourself; 7. the competition with those around you; 8. the need to collaborate at the same level of competence.

Commenting on the motivations for work and profession, two overall evaluations are required:

The desire to surpass one's own condition as a young person from rural area professionally (as well as at other levels of life) is present in a particularly rich area in meaning and significance both with regard to total projection as well as the differentiated one on the social-vocational future, on the states of finality of the entire development and evolutional process of the young people's personalities.

Among the motivations for establishing options and making the decisions for training for a certain profession and for practicing it and for the later reorientation of the first choice, a particularly significant share is held, along with the so-called "actual material motivation," by the young people's conviction that the trade for which they trained and are practicing is the ideal one, in conformity with their own inclinations and aptitudes. However, from here we also have the fact that the role of factors outside the individual (school, family and so forth) in selecting a profession is much less than it should be. This conclusion was also confirmed by the answers to the questions expressly referring to the factors which brought the young person to choose his profession. The partially positive, partially negative effect of this reduction in the

influence of factors outside the individual is that of increasing the degree of independence in the young people's actions and decision-making, even before gaining material independence.

Along with the professional aspirations linked with the job, a particularly important role in the stability of young people in the rural areas, in the social-economic and cultural structures is played by residential aspirations. Here it is a question of the young people's wish to live and work in a location which is supplied as best as possible social-culturally and technical-municipally, one in which they can benefit to the greatest possible extent from the facilities of a cultural, social-political and family life close to the level and diversity existing in the urban areas. The rural young people's residential aspirations and demands fully converge with the trend of broad and multilateral modernization which currently characterize almost all Romania's rural communities.

The space built--the residence where the rural young people as well as workers spend about one-third of their lives as members of a collective group and consumers of material and cultural goods--is an active polyvalent framework in the social integration of the labor force with a view to its stability. In the opinions of the 500 subjects surveyed we noted new aspirations for rural residential comfort which they desire and carry out with broad openings toward functionality.

Continually improving functionality both of the production structures (industrial and agricultural) as well as of the residential (houses and their annexes) weighs in favor of the rural environment and the young people's options regarding the need to activate the process of planning and modernization of the village (32 percent compared with the 18 percent opposed). The same favorable trend also is noted in connection with the selection of residence between village and city (35 percent prefer living in the village). Of the 297 answers formulated for the question of whether the village young people would still leave in case residential comfort and jobs existed, 40.6 percent answered "no," 20.1 percent felt that they would while 39 percent said that they "don't know" or they did not answer.

However, the functionality of these structures is just at its beginning, with effects to be felt in the near future.

The organization and systematization of the territory, starting with the space, should not be conceived as a foreseeable action concerning either just the social function, that is, the hearth and village population--or just its occupational mechanisms, that is, the culture systems in their adherence with the potential of the land or just the nonagricultural activities which penetrate more deeply in the village's existence. With the goal being a reshaping which affects the production aspects and social structures of the rural area, the organization and systematization of the territory embrace the entire social and economic-territorial reality of the Romanian village. Creating a framework for complex action with new strength at all levels, the territorial organization and systematization should exceed the narrow framework characteristic of some researchers of the village as well as of those populating it, of seeing the actual village just the actual hearth while the economic part from outside it or the

population viewed exclusively in its demographic departments as well as economic and cultural departments, more or less broken from the total ensemble of rural realities. Both the job as the area of economic assertion as well as the residence as the medium for social and cultural demonstration of the village people, including the young people, should enter into its objective.

Making a synthesis, we remember the importance of these motivational factors in the behavior of the rural young people, whose achievement stimulates the positive desire for the professional success of young people from the villages and, through this, facilitates the timely integration into the community which assimilates them to the mutual advantage of the social group and the individual.

8071
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INTEGRATION OF YOUTH IN INDUSTRIAL BRANCHES

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Jan-Feb 82 pp 108-113

[Article by Dr Ioan Neacsu and Dr Dumitru Cristea of the University of Bucharest]

[Text] 1. Socialist Romania is going through a stage marked by profound revolutionary changes, by qualitative restructuring demonstrated both at the level of the content of economic activities and the mechanisms which regulate these activities both as well as on the social-human level in the mode of participation of the workers in economic, social-political and cultural life. It is the stage for implementing the "basic orientations of our society's development, of raising planning and the scientific leadership of economic-social life and the development of socialist democracy to a qualitatively new step and of the steadfast implementation of the program to create the multilaterally developed socialist society and direct Romania toward communism."[1]

Joining of the two levels--the technical-economic and the social-human--poses problems of great complexity, for the treatment of which sociological and psychosociological research is called on to make important contribution; for the strict substantiation of decisions at all levels, sociological research has the role of being a veritable feedback which insures the leadership and planning activity continue to be appropriate for the real particular features of the specific social-economic processes.

In this regard, we propose to approach certain phenomena linked with professional mobility and the trend toward polyqualification, as they are being demonstrated in several industrial branches, whose considerable importance for our economy is stressed in all the party and state documents: the mining, petroleum and construction industries.

In this regard, as a phenomenon specific to modern agrarian-industrial activity with high rates of development, mobility generates a number of transformations and changes in the space distribution of the labor force, in the structure of certain "professional competences"* and in the assimilation and exercising of them by the participants in economic-production processes. These changes may be demonstrated both at the enterprise level and of certain limited economic zones as well as the overall national economy level.[2]

We shall distinguish several main subdivisions in professional mobility:
A. Structural mobility, which expresses the changes occurring in the specific nature of the professions, more exactly, in the content of the "professional competences"as a result of the development of the production forces. This form of professional mobility takes on greater and greater values as a result of emphasizing the interconditioning between science-technology-production.

B. Functional mobility reflects the process of spatial distribution and redistribution of the labor force as well as its orientation in relationship with the range of professional competences available at the national economic level. We can distinguish the following within functional mobility: a. mobility as a partially planned and directed process at the macroeconomic level, carried out in certain periods and certain economic or geographic sectors through strategies of planning and rational distribution of the labor force. This type of mobility is determined on a priority basis by objective factors of a necessary nature and affects positively the development and efficiency of the national economy; b. fluctuation, a spontaneous and uncontrolled expression of mobility, caused for the most part by subjective factors and with a less positive effect on functionality and the efficiency of the economic units.

As a process caused by the intersection between the ensemble of objective conditions of activity and the subjective factors of the labor force (motivation, level of aspiration, axiological orientations, way of life and so forth), fluctuation represents an indicator of the greatest importance in diagnosing the functionality of economic systems and in evaluating the efficiency of certain organizational and political measures aimed at economic activity.

3. Methodological aspects. The basic hypothesis for research is that the option for a certain job and a certain profession is dependent not only on the professional aspirations and specific content of the work but also on the young people's option for a certain "way of life."[3] In this regard, professional mobility may be interpreted not only as an expression of the young people's options in proportion to a certain axiological set--professional, cultural, political-ideological values--but also as a potential path for modifying the way of life and seeking to change the socioprofessional space of the activity.

The analysis we are making aims at an important category of the labor force--young people between 16-30 who are doing their activity in two types of enterprises--without a lack of labor force (A in the tables) and with a lack of labor force (B)--belong to the three economic branches mentioned: mining (M), petroleum (P) and construction (C).*

The experimental group included around 1,600 young people with an average age of 23, among which 65 percent came from enterprises belonging to category B and 35 percent from enterprises in category A. The distribution of the pattern by branches is as follows: 45 percent of the subjects from the coal extraction and nonferrous metals industry (six enterprises), 20 percent from the petroleum industry (four extraction wells) and 35 percent from construction (seven construction sites).

For the investigation of the pattern, a set of instruments was used which comprised the questionnaires, scale of attitudes and interviewing cards. Processing of the data was done with the aid of computers, with the results obtained and their interpretation to be presented in the following.[4]

The analysis aims at the two manin coordinates of professional mobility:[5] a. actual mobility, understood as the movement of the labor force in an enterprise already carried out and b. latent mobility, potential, defined as a process in a state of "intention" in the behavior of the young workers.[6]

The need for a study of the causes and results of potential mobility is demanded not only from diagnostic considerations and evaluation of certain disfunctions which appear at the level of economic units (particularly those with a deficit of labor force) but also from those of finding certain methods and means for preventing the process of the move from the latent into the actual state as well as identification of those secondary factors which may become primary ones in a circular process of labor force fluctuation.

The analysis was oriented on a priority basis in the direction of testing the following working hypotheses:

a. In the enterprises characterized by a high fluctuation, an unsatisfactory psychosocial atmosphere is created, one which affects the collective's ability to cope with the production tasks, with a high degree of absenteeism, indiscipline, low morale and other negative phenomena, with direct effects on the efficiency of the particular economic unit.

b. The permanent effort to provide the necessary labor force--under conditions of a permanent fluctuation--clearly brings a rejection of the criteria for a quality selection of cadres, a fact which will being an even greater fluctuation in the future as a result of the failure of these cadres to integrate professionally. Training of the new labor force requires permanent expenses which, in these conditions, will not be amortized; at the same time, a high level of professional training cannot be achieved in relationship with a numerous category of the labor force, one which is heterogenous from the viewpoint of basic aptitude, a fact which affects productivity and the efficiency of the particular activities.

c. Under these conditions, there is a tendency to form a circuit of self-maintenance of the fluctuation, even when eliminating some primary causative factors is successful by having them be substituted by certain secondary factors. Thus, a vicious circle is formed, the overcoming of which requires a special effort from the leadership of the economic units as well as from specialists in social-human problems (psychosociologists, personnel-education inspectors).

4. Tendencies demonstrated in the professional mobility of the labor force.

On the basis of data we have available, we shall attempt to bring out the factors and causes which decisively determine the fluctuation of the young labor force in the three economic sectors analyzed.

Through certain questions in the questionnaire the subjects were requested to indicate what branch of activity the last enterprise they worked at was part of, with the fact of whether this was the first job also resulting from the answer. The statistical data are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Branch of the Last Enterprise Worked At (in %)

1. Ramura	2. Specificul întreprinderii	3. Răspunsuri *					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
4. MINERIT	A	54,0	16,0	6,2	8,8	0,4	8,6
	B	57,0	14,3	6,6	8,7	2,3	10,5
	7. MEDIA A+B	55,5	15,1	6,4	8,8	1,3	9,6
5. PETROL	A	49,1	18,0	10,6	7,3	3,2	10,5
	B	46,5	10,6	10,6	16,2	3,2	12,2
	7. MEDIA A+B	47,8	14,3	10,6	11,7	3,2	11,3
6. CONSTRUCȚII	A	58,4	—	22,9	12,9	0,5	4,9
	B	52,0	1,0	21,7	11,0	3,8	9,9
	7. MEDIA A+B	55,2	0,5	22,3	11,9	2,1	7,4

Key:

1. Branch
2. Specific type of enterprise
3. Answers
4. Mining
5. Petroleum
6. Construction
7. Average A + B

* The variations of answers were: 1. This is the first enterprise I worked at; 2. The extraction industry; 3. Construction; 4. Other industrial branches; 5. Agricultural branches; 6. Other branches.

An analysis of these data shows that an appreciable percentage of the young work force present in the enterprises researched worked previously in other economic units (around 45-50 percent), thus, in a prior stage, being a fluctuating labor force. From this viewpoint, one does not observe significant differences between the three industrial branches or between the enterprises in category A or B (without a lack of and with a lack of labor force).

These differences, however, become visible if we analyze the latent fluctuation, that is, the tendency toward fluctatuion generated by the current attitude of the subjects researched. The statistical data which show these trends are presented in Table 2.

Thus we find a significant difference in the level of latent fluctuation between the enterprises in categories A and B, a situation more clearly seen if we bear in mind the indicators of total latent fluctuation (see Table 3, column 3). The existence of a more emphatic fluctuation in the units which already have a lack

of labor force validates our hypothesis according to which in situations of this kind a causal circle is created, one which deepens and preserves the negative effects of the fluctuation, beyond the initial causes which gave rise to it. In outline form, the phenomenon may be represented in this way:

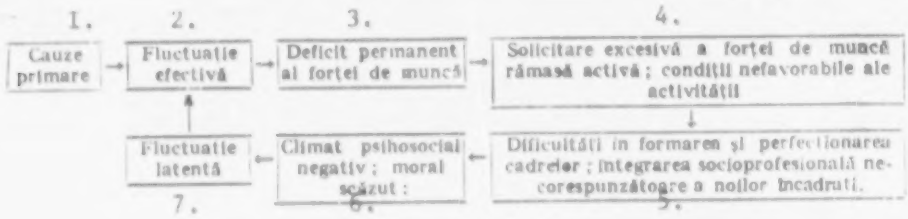

Key:

1. Primary causes
2. Actual fluctuation
3. Permanent lack of labor force
4. Excessive demand on labor force remaining active; unfavorable conditions of activity
5. Difficulties in formation, training of cadres; inappropriate social-professional integration of newly employed
6. Negative psychosocial climate; low morale
7. Latent fluctuation

Table 2: Wish to Leave Present Enterprise (in %)

1. Ramura	2. Specificul întreprin.	3. Răspunsuri *					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
4. MINERIT	A	61,3	9,5	6,2	1,4	6,2	12,8
	B	52,5	16,7	4,7	4,5	12,4	8,4
	7. Media A+B	56,9	13,1	5,4	2,9	9,3	10,6
5. PETROL	A	63,9	8,1	6,7	1,6	14,7	5,7
	B	62,3	8,8	6,0	2,3	11,1	9,3
	7. Media A+B	63,1	8,4	6,3	1,8	12,9	7,5
6. CONSTRUCŢII	A	71,3	5,6	2,2	3,3	8,7	8,4
	B	58,2	12,0	5,1	4,1	11,7	8,2
	7. Media A+B	64,8	8,8	3,7	3,7	10,3	8,3

Key:

1. Branch
2. Specific type of enterprise
3. Answers
4. Mining
5. Petroleum
6. Construction
7. Average A + B

* Variations in answers were: 1. I do not want to leave the enterprise; 2. Yes, and I know the enterprise where I want to get a job and I have a firm promise of employment; 3. Yes, and I know the enterprise where I want to get a job but I do not have any promise for employment from it; 4. Yes, and I heard about an enterprise which needs people; 5. Yes, but I do not know what kind of enterprise to head for; 6. I have not thought about this.

One observes that following completion of one stage in which certain primary conditions have brought on the appearance of the phenomenon of fluctuation, they are kept even under conditions of eliminating the primary causes, through the negative effects it brought on. In order to overcome this vicious circle it is necessary to work out a unified psychosocial strategy which, depending on the particular economic features, would permit an improving action at the level of each component of those mentioned above; clearly, the intervention will be centered on a priority basis on the primary causes for the fluctuation.

Clearly, this phenomenon can also affect the attitude of the young subjects, employed for the first time in production activity, a fact which can have serious consequences for their social-professional integration as well as for their level of professional aspiration and stability on the job. The research data verify this supposition, with the indicators of latent fluctuation in the category of young people employed on their first job showing this kind of trend (see Table 3, column 4).

In the enterprises with a lack of labor force (particularly in the mining and construction branches), the latent fluctuation is considerably lower than that of the units with a lack of labor force, where nearly double the values are recorded and they herald the continuing maintenance of a high rate of real fluctuation. We must mention that some subjective and individual characteristics of the labor force cannot be invoked as the basic generating factor of fluctuation--as the tendency exists with certain decision-making factors in the particular enterprises--precisely due to the fact that similar values also are met in the young people working for the first time in an economic unit.

Finding themselves in such a situation, the enterprise leaders must direct their attention to some objective factors--working conditions, employment and salary, organization of production activity and, in particular, the orientation and selection of cadres. In our opinion and observations, the enterprises where the greatest fluctuation is found also conduct the most improper cadre policy, one which we can qualify as "according to the circumstances": without a future strategy existing for stabilizing the labor force, attempts are made through the system of continuous and unselective employment to cover immediate gaps.

The fact that an important factor in explaining the fluctuation is the activity of school orientation and professional orientation which is inappropriate is brought out by the appreciable proportion of subjects who want to change their profession (see Table 3, column 5). This trend may be brought on both by the actual (thus, tardy) finding of certain incompatibilities between the demands of the profession and individual opportunities, just as it also may be a question of the dissatisfactions resulting in the context of practicing a trade for which they were trained. An analysis of the factors participating in the professional orientation and integration of the young people may offer relevant data in this direction.

Investigating this aspect, one of the questions on the questionnaire requires an answer about the influences which the young person received during his professional initiation period (information, counseling and so forth).

Of the statistical values obtained (see Table 4) one sees that the most significant percentages in the process of professionalorientation and integration of the subjects questioned are distributed as follows: parents (with a share of 20-30 percent), colleagues (around 30 percent), foremen and other technical cadres (19-25 percent), with other factors having insigificant shares (1-4 percent).

Table 3: Trends of Professional Mobility (in %)

Branch	Type	Total latent fluctuation	Latent fluctatuion for category of those employed in first job	Wish to change profession
Mining	A	20.0	22.0	21.7
	B	39.0	43.0	37.2
Petroleum	A	30.0	42.0	38.4
	B	28.0	41.0	28.7
Construction	A	26.0	26.0	27.5
	B	39.0	47.0	31.2

Table 4: Factors Which Influenced Professional Orientation (in %)

1. Ramura	2. Tipul	3. Ponderea factorilor de orientare profesională*								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4. Minerit	A	18,7	31,5	1,4	30,0	1,1	4,0		6,0	10,6
	B	40,7	26,7	1,7	12,9	0,4	2,0	0,2	0,2	13,0
5. Media		29,7	29,1	1,6	21,5	0,7	3,0	0,1	3,1	11,8
6. Petrol	A	30,3	30,3	1,6	25,3	1,6	1,6	—	0,8	7,3
	B	28,3	30,6	2,3	26,4	0,4	4,6	0,9	1,3	4,1
7. Media		29,3	30,5	1,9	25,9	1,0	3,1	0,5	1,1	5,7
8. Construcţii	A	18,5	31,9	1,1	24,2	—	2,2	0,5	0,5	19,0
	B	23,0	26,0	3,3	24,5	0,5	3,0	0,5	1,5	16,9
9. Media		20,8	28,9	2,2	24,3	0,3	2,6	0,5	1,0	17,8

Key:

1. Branch
2. Type
3. Share of factors of professional orientation*
4. Mining
5. Average
6. Petroleum
7. Average
8. Construction
9. Average

* Variations in answers were: 1. parents; 2. colleagues; 3. friends; 4. Technical cadres in enterprises (heads of team, foreman, engineer); 5. personnel-instruction service; 6. UTC organization; 7. trade union organization; 8. Other factors; 9. nobody contributed.

One notes the minimal influence exercised in the young people's period of professional initiation by the organizations and institutions which, by nature, whould play a considerable role in this direction: the UTC and trade union organizations, as well as the personnel-instruction service. As a result, an appreciable proportion of the subjects questioned point out that they received no help in their professional orientation (6-19 percent); as a result it is not surprising that the future fluctuating labor force is to be recruited from these people.

A broad and competent action for school and professional orientation, doubled by an aptitudinal selection depending on the specific nature of the economic units which employ the young people, can lead to a considerable improvement in the situation, to establishing the labor force, to increasing labor productivity, to reducing the number of accidents, optimum social-professional integration and so forth. We well know the positive effects generated by conscientious involvement ofyoung people on the path of a certain profession even from the school years, even under conditions where, later, the particular profession shows its certain "critical points." However, under the conditions in which the action for school and professional orientation in the school is maintained at a minimum level or is lacking, one should not await rapid improvement in the general negative effects of high fluctuation.

An analysis of the statistical data presented in the preceding tables shows a separate situation in the industrial branch of petroleum extraction: here we do not see in one of the aspects investigated too big a difference between the two types of enterprise (without or with a lack of labor force); however, overall, the values of the indicators are relatively high (latent fluctuation-around 30 percent, latent fluctuation for young employees--around 41 percent).

We feel that this situation proves the existence of basic factors affecting the stability of the labor force. The fact should be taken into consideration that the activity in this industrial branch requires high technical nature in the context of rather difficult working conditions (physical effort, climatic conditions, isolation and so forth), which could affect the young people's attitudes and, as a result, the ability of the labor force. Another aspect of this situation may be brought out if we note that the enterprises which do not have a lack of labor force reached this situation by increasing the percentage of unqualified worker personnel (around 23 percent), while the units with a lack of labor force did not succeed in recruiting personnel even from this category (5.5 percent--unqualified personnel). The quality difference in composition of the labor force compensates, thus, for the numerical lack so that, as we showed above, the values of the indicators in the enterprises in category A and B are very close, without this fact meaning a basic solution to the problem of fluctuation, which is maintained at high levels.

The above data show the complexity of factors leading to fluctuation of the labor force, from which we have the need for case studies and working out differential decisions depending on the overall social and economic particular features of the particular units.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the 12th Party Congress," Bucharest, Political Publishers, 1979, p 5.

* By "professional competencies" we mean a series of informational structures, operational and actional, which are at the basis of a range of releted professions. An equal sign should not be placed between the process of forming professional competencies and professional qualification, with the latter involving a broad process of algorythmization and working out efficient habits in a strictly defined area of activity.

2. See V. Cornescu, "Labor Productivity and the Human Factor," Bucharest, Political Publishers, 1977, p 158 and following.

3. Catalin Mamali, "Way of Life and Value Orientation for Youth in Branches With Lack of Labor Force" in "Aspects of the Way of Life and SocioProfessional Integration of Youth," Bucharest, CCPT, 1980, p 28.

* Grouping of economic units into categories of "with lack" and "without lack" of labor force belongs to the particular ministries.

4. Our study represents a sequence from a broader research coordinated by C. Mamali in the Center for Research into Youth Problems in Bucharest.

5. We have in mind all the forms of mobility mentioned, but the analysis centers on fluctuation.

6. N. Radu Radulescu, "Labor Force: Stability-Mobility," Bucharest, Scientific Publishers, 1977, chapter I.

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ROMANIA

USE OF MASS MEDIA IN FORMING CULTURAL HABITS

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Jan-Feb 82 pp 114-118

[Article byCaliopia Radu of the Center for Sociological Research]

[Text] Through the mass media the people broaden their knowledge, accumulate information, data, facts and interpretations and they "learn." Generally, the sociology of mass communications is concerned with studying the effects of identifying the factors and elements which contribute to the process of receiving and gaining knowledge. This aspect, for example, is endorsed by the studies on dependence of this process on the content and form of the message, the personal characteristic features as well as the social and situations features of the receiver (age, studies, occupation), belonging to informal groups, the proportion in which the message corresponds to or is in disagreement with the receiver's expectations and with his interests and attitudes, the degree of attractiveness of the message and so forth.

The process of perception and retention (and forgetting, respectively), must be conceived of as a selective phenomenon regulated to a large extent by all the elements mentioned as well as by the prestige of the source and of the communicator. For that reason a complex and systematicl analysis of all the factors influencing the process of reception and mass communications is needed. We shall try to stress the serious methodological difficulties confronting any attempt to evaluate the way in which the mass media contribute to broadening knowledge, especially psychosociological research of the selective use of the means of mass communications.

Having proposed such a goal, a collection from the Center for Sociology did research in the 8-18 July 1979 period in Vulturu-Vrancea Commune, a place at a beginning stage of urbanization and city planning development. The research included 200 people and was done on the basis of personal interview in a standard type questionnaire. The 200 people are part of the category of those owning at least one means of communication--radio, television, newspapers, magazines.

1. Mass Media Consumption

An analysis of the process of selective use of the means of mass communications in time showed the existence of two types of consumers: irregular, with a moderate consumption of 1-3 days per week, and the regular, with a large consumption of 4-7 days per week. An analysis of the main trends of consumption was

sought (press, radio, television, books and so forth) of the population included in the survey by associating the variable of "quantity of the expo"-sure" to the mass media with social-demographic parameters.

The following resulted from an analysis of the data: Just one-fourth of the population investigated is a regular consumer of the mass media; television enjoys a "quantity of exposure" higher than that of radio, press and books; all the means of communication record a relatively equal consumption (30 percent) for men-women demographic categories, except for the press which has a lower consumption (under 10 percent) for the female population.

Depending on the occupation, some differences in use of radio, television and the press are recorded. For agricultural workers the appeal to the three means of communication is low. Their minimum consumption is recorded for the press, and the maximum is for television (as irregular television viewers). Agricultural workers are the occupational category with the lowest mass media consumption. Office workers state a high consumption of radio and press. People with intellectual professions are big television consumers (regularly watching television are 84.6 percent of them) and also radio (with 53.8 percent being regular radio listeners). Pupils, students, retired persons and housewives also have similar behavior in the use of radio and television.

An analysis of the population depending on the variable of studies shows that overall the "quantity of the exposure," particularly regular mass media consumption, is more restricted to persons with elementary studies, rising in accordance with the rise in degree of schooling.

With regard to age,there does not seem to be a significant difference in the level of behavior of mass media consumption.

The "quantity of the exposure" accumulated in relationship with each of the means of communication studied permitted a classification of these means in the following two categories: a. with a regularly high and relatively constant consump - tion for all the social-demographic categories: television and radio. b. With a regularly low and unequal consumption: press and book learning.

2. Broadening the Knowledge of Rural Population Through Mass Media; Perception of the New

The research has proposed to analyze the rural population's perception of the new at the level of the population in a place in a beginning stage of urbanization, in which the new is the dominant feature of the way of life. It is to be supposed that precisely this climate, as an opening to renewing the population investigated, determines the extent to which the means of mass communications contribute to broad ning the rural population's knowledge in the two areas characteristic of their way of life: work in agriculture and the village in general. Taking into account that it is possible for the interview situation(survey) to have brought a borrowing of information through other sources (direct fact, interpersonal conversations), we cannot consider the answers obtained as reflecting just the rememorization of information about the new as supplied by mass media, with their aiming more recently at remembering information about the new in general. However, even in these conditions, just 90 from the sampling

(45 percent) answered (formulating 108 answers) the first part of the question (thus, offering on the average of 1.2 answers per person). This fact, associated with the large number of those who did not answer (55 percent), suggests the shaping of a moderate level of perception of the new through means of mass communication among the population investigated. Despite this dichotomy in the answers, taking into consideration that the investigation was not based on a direct s udy of the effects but rather on that of the opinion on eventual effects, it is not to be excluded that assimilation of the new through the mass media would have a greater extension, while being made aware of it and verbalizing it would not be achieved to the same extent.

Among the occupational categories, the agricultural workers show greater interest for information on the mechanization of agriculture as dessiminated by the mass media.

"What is new" about the village in general is perceived by 71 percent as coming from the mass media. Systematized development of the villages is a subject which concentrates the interest of the majority of the population investigated probably due to the fact that reality in Vulturu Commune currently is being confronted with the demands of the process of systematic development. We could assert that perception of the new in a certain area by the rural population is conditioned by the preexistence of intense sensitizing of the particular population to the area aimed at. As a result, some of the total perceptions of the new--signaled by the rural residents--are due to persuasion from other sources, such as the direct reality and interpersonal communication, are amplified by the mass media. The latter strengthens the total perception of the new,giving it additional truthfulness and specifying its content and form.

Also, the mass media stimulate curiousity with a view to obtaining new information, directing behavior in this direction and even offering the operational tool (by nature conceptual and behavioral) with a view to satisfying this cultural need.

3. The Main Source of Knowledge

By associating the variable of "main source of knowledge" (television, radio, press, interpersonal conversations) with social-demographic variables, the research intended to describe some aspects of the process of selective use of the means of mass communication as preferred sources for obtaining information and knowledge.

The following result from association with the variable of sex: a. television is the main source of knowledge for 52 percent of the women and 41.5 percent of the men inthe population investigated; b. the radio, as the main source of knowledge, holds approximately an equal place among the two sexes: 29 percent; c. referring to the press, the sexes discriminate significantly: the male population is informed on a priority basis through press lessons in the proportion of 26.4 percent, while the female population--just 7.4 percent.

Association with the variable of age brings out other characteristics: a. the interest in the information supplied by television, as the main source, is maximum for young people and tends to decrease as they get older; b. In exchange,

the radio seems to be a main source for young people to a minimum extent,with the importance of its position as a source of knowledge rising in direct proportion to the subjects' age. In the end, for spectators over 50; c. the press, as the main source of knowledge, is less used than television and radio by all age groups.

The variable of occupation brings the following significant variations in attachment to various sources of knowledge: a. Agricultural workers, the occupational category specific to the rural areas, state in important percentages that the main sources of knowledge are television (44.2 percent) and radio (37.9 percent). The press, however, gets a reduced volume of following: 8.4 percent; b. Television is the priority source of knowledge for all categories of occupations, less for those with intellectual professions, who place the press as the priority source.

Putting the groups of occupations in order in relation with their degree of following to one or another of the sources of knowledge considered shows the following situation:

Television* [in %]		Radio		Press	
1. Retirees,housewives	66.7	1. Agricultural workers	37.9	1. Intellectuals	53.8
2. workers,technicians	51.2	2. Office workers	30.0	2. Office workers	33.0
3. Pupils, students	50.0	3. Workers,technicians	23.2	3. Workers, technicians	23.3
4. agricultural workers	44.2	4. Pupils, students	21.4	4. Pupils,stud.	21.4
5. Intellectuals	38.5	5. Retirees, housewives	13.3	5. Agricultural workers	8.4
6. Office workers	35.5	6. Intellectual professions	7.7	6. Retirees, housewives	6.7

Coming to an understanding about the following three types of concentrations of choices for each source of mass media knwwledge--a. more than 50 percent, high degree of following; b. Between 30-50 percent, average degree of following; c. Under 30 percent, low degree of following--we may infer the following:

Television is a source of knowledge with a high degree of following among retired persons, housewives, workers, technicians, foremen, pupils and students and with an average degree of following among agricultural workers, intellectuals and office workers.

Radio has an average degree of following among agricultural workers, office workers, workers, technicians, foremen and low degree of following among pupils, students, retirees, housewives and persons with intellectual professions.

The press records the greatest variations in following: from the high degree of following among persons with intellectual professions to the lowest degree of following marked by retirees and housewives; all the other occupational categories are in the low zone of this spread of values, bringing low following to the mass means of communication represented by the press.

With regard to interpersonal conversations, one notes their importance as the main source of knowledge for around 10 percent of women aged 40-49, agricultural workers (around 8 percent) and those with elementary studies (around 7 percent).

4. Professionalization of Agricultural Workers Through the Mass Media

Transmissions of knowledge through the mass media may be classified in two big categories: a. offered within formative instruction and b. offered to those outside these institutional cadres, through so-called informal education.

Despite a large number of empirical studies and imposing volume of data on the effects of the mass media, until now no clear picture has been outlined of the area of action, means and directions in which the effects of nonformative knowledge are achieved. A valuable analysis of the learning process through television and pertinent indications on the goals belonging to research oriented toward this process is supplied by the works of Schramm, Lyle and Parker. According to them, for example, it would be necessary to distinguish between the effects of deliberate knowledge, in which the recipient himself intends to broaden his degree of knowledge, that is, to learn and, on the other hand, a receiving of knowledge toward which the recipient heads unintentionally, by chance. Schramm and his collaborators stress that in the mass media in general and in television in particular the second form of perception of knowledge predominates. This learning by chance, still has not been studied closely enough due to methodological difficulties.

In this regard, our research has proposed to approach just one aspect of the informal learning (or nonformative) , that is, the professionalization of agricultural workers through three broadcasts: one on radio --"Radio Program for the Village" and two on television--"Life of the Village" and "Television Lectures for Workers in Agriculture."

The research showed that the "Life of the Village" television broadcast is preferred by 10.4 percent of those in the sampling, with the majority (63.8 percent) being agricultural workers. "RadioProgram for the Villages," substantially behind "Life of the Village," meets just 3.7 percent of the preferred choice. In exchange, the broadcast of "Television Lectures for Workers in Agriculture," whose profile is eminently didactic, recorded insignificant proportions of preferential choice, both for the entire sampling as well as among agricultural workers considered separately.

Regarding the reception of these broadcasts, the situation appears different. "Life of the Village" is followed primarily by retirees and housewives (46.7 percent), by workers, technicians and foremen (44.2 percent), by pupils and students (42.9 percent, by persons with intellectual professions (30.8 percent) and barely fifth by agricultural workers (25.3 percent), followed by office workers (15.0 percent).

"Radio Program for the Villages" has a permanent audience among workers, technicians and foremen (34.9 percent), agricultural workers (23.2 percent) and pupils and students (21.4 percent). Office workers and those with intellectual professions listen rarely or very rarely to this broadcast.

The most frequent viewers of the broadcast "Television Lectures for Workers in Agriculture" are workers, technicians and foremen (32.6 percent), retirees and housewives (33.3 percent). Just 23.2 percent of agricultural workers, for whom the broadcast predominantly is intended for, watch it.

Among other things, the research aimed at to what extent the quantity of "exposure" for television messages in general influence the frequency of viewing. of "LIfe of the Village." The result was that 46.3 percent watch it often and 37 percent watch it rarely of total regular viewers (27 percent). Among the irregular viewers (31 percent), 35.5 percent watch it often and 46.8 percent watch it rarely. We see that regular viewers include more frequently in their viewing "Life of the Village" rather than the irregular ones. As a result, the quantity of television exposure seems to have a positive influence on the viewing of "Life of the Village." (Table 1).

Table 1: Association Between "Quantity of Television Exposure" and Frequency of Viewing of "Life of the Village."

1. Frecventa vizionării		2. Des	3. Rar	4. Foarte rar	5. Niciodată	6. Non-răspunsuri
7. Cantitatea de expunere la TV	200 100,0%	63 31,5	75 37,5	30 15,0	31 15,5	1 0,5
8. 1–3 zile	62 31,0	22 35,5	22 46,8	7 11,3	4 6,5	0 0,0
9. 4–7 zile	54 27,0	25 46,3	20 37,0	5 9,3	4 7,4	0 0,0
10. Non-răspunsuri	84 42,0	16 19,0	26 31,0	18 21,4	23 27,4	1 1,2

Key:

1. Frequency of viewing
2. Often
3. Rarely
4. Very rarely
5. Never
6. No answer
7. Quantity of exposure to television
8. 1-3 days
9. 4-7 days
10. No answer

In turn, the frequency of listening to "Radio Program for the Villages" is lower once the quantity of exposure to television rises, according to data in Table 2.

Table 2: Association Between Variables of "Quantity of Exposure to TV and Listening to "Radio Program for the Villages"

1. Frecventa ascultării		2. Des	3. Rar	4. Foarte rar	5. Niciodată	6. Non-răspunsuri
7. Cantitatea de expunere la TV	200 100,0%	41 20,5	60 30,0	62 31,0	34 17,0	3 1,5
8. 1–3 zile	62 31,0	10 16,1	16 25,8	28 45,2	7 11,3	1 1,6
9. 4–7 zile	54 27,0	14 25,9	21 38,9	11 20,4	8 14,8	0 0,0
10. Non-răspunsuri	84 42,0	17 20,2	23 27,4	23 27,4	19 22,6	2 2,4

Key:

1. Frequency-listening
2. Often
3. Rarely
4. Very rarely
5. Never
6. No answer
7. Quantity of exposure to TV
8. 1-3 days
9. 4-7 days
10. No answer

We may suppose that agricultural workers, the occupational category with the greatest percentage in the sampling, to a large extent determine those trends of exposure to the two messages ("Lfe of the Village" and "Radio Program for the Villages") since the particular trends are specific to them.

5. Satisfying the Need for Knowledge Through the Mass Media

In the investigation the subjects were requested to express the degree to which their need for knowledge was satisfied by one or another of the main means of mass communication: television, radio, newspapers, magazines, movies, books. The answers received are grouped in this way (100 percent compared with total sampling):

a. Television and radio seem to satisfy the need for knowledge of the population investigated to the greatest extent. Newspapers occupy a middle position in this regard. In exchange, magazines, books and movies are at the lower limit of satisfying this need;

b. Television and radio also seem to satisfy the need for knowledge of the two sexes in close proportions. In exchange, newspapers satisfy this need to a larger extent among men than women;

c. Satisfying the need for knowledge is lower in proportion to television and is greater through radio as the rural population investigated gets older. The newspapers satisfy the need for knowledge of the various age groups to a relatively constant degree.

d. People with elementary studies satisfy their need for knowledge mainly and, nearly equally, through television and radio. Subjects with professional and secondary school studies satisfy this need particularly through television. Persons with higher studies and those without studies appeal less than others to television and radio to satisfy their kneed for knowledge;

e. Television and radio satisfy the need for knowledge of all categories of occupations very much--and in similar proportions--except for people with intellectual professions, who state an appropriate degree of satisfaction.

f. Newspapers satisfy the need for knowledge of office workers to a very large extent and only moderately for workers, technicians, foremen, intellectual professions, pupils and students. Agricultural workers, retirees and housewives represent the smallest percentages of those who satisfy their need for knowledge to a very great extent through newspapers.

Means of communication / Degree of satisfaction	Very much	Enough	Little	No answer
Television	47.5	20.5	10.5	21.5
Radio	46.5	29.0	5.0	19.5
Newspapers	19.0	9.0	1.5	70.5
Magazines	1.5	.5	.5	97.5
Movies	0.5	.5	.5	98.5
Books	1.0	--	.5	98.5

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SERBIAN ORTHODOX PATRIARCH INTERVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1637, 16 May 82 pp 17-19

[Interview with Patriarch German of the Serbian Orthodox Church by Svetislav Spasojevic in Belgrade on 7 May 1982: "Every Extremism Is Harmful"]

[Text] This interview was conducted in the Serbian Patriarchate in Belgrade on Friday, 7 May 1982. It lasted slightly longer than 1.5 hours and covered more subject matter, as indeed is usually the case, than the version we are publishing. In response to the remark that his interview with a NIN reporter was his second interview in the last 9 years and that this was an occasion to say a bit more "His Holiness, the Archbishop of Pec, Metropolitan of Belgrade and Karlovci, and Serbian Patriarch, Msgr German" responded with a thought of one of the saints: "Everything is open to me, but not everything is good for me."

Patriarch German's attitude, then, toward the task of the author of this article was not, it might be said, altogether straightforward. He has quite a bit of respect for journalism and journalists, but just as much, or perhaps even more, skepticism.

One more reason why every word is weighed countless times before being uttered is contained in the statement: "I am patriarch and at every moment I must take care what I say. My words and my thoughts are not interpreted as private views, but as the commitment of the Serbian Orthodox Church."

A Safer Path

The introductory part of the interview was devoted to a wide range of topics: Yugoslav journalism, lengthy wars and the dark and mournful years that follow, to hunger, Velika Drenova, a village near Krusevac important to Serbian history and culture.... He reiterated how in that village on the bank of the western Morava, where he "spent the sweetest years of his childhood during the period of those lengthy and glorious wars," he survived thanks to stinging nettles and because he knew the Latin script. They came looking for someone who knew not only Cyrillic, but also the Latin script for the census. In the houses of the well-to-do there would also be a little snack for the census-taker. He crooks his long bony fingers and ticks off the brothers and sisters who did not survive that painful time.

Neither in his movements nor in his appearance is he a man who has passed his 82d birthday. He stresses that he is not a man to be heedless of the world around him nor a man who does not seek better ways and solutions "for himself and for all others who follow him or do not want to do so." He mentions that there are people both in the Church and probably outside it as well who "out of some sort of strange and inexplicable principles do not wish to skirt the chasm, but bull ahead come what may." He, he says, is not that kind of man. It is his inclination, should by some chance he come to a chasm, to retrace his steps and seek a finer, better and safer path.

Here, finally, are also the answers to most of the questions which we put to Patriarch German, which, we hope, will offer the very best picture of the man who has held the first place in the Serbian Orthodox Church since 1958.

[Question] This is the second interview in 9 years which Your Holiness has given to any Yugoslav newsman! Have we journalists been detouring around you, or have you been avoiding us?

[Answer] Put that question to representatives of our press, that is, to the newsmen.

[Question] How would you describe the present relations between the Yugoslav governmental community and the Serbian Orthodox Church? To what extent are those relations actually affected by the fact that the church has been separated from the state?

[Answer] The separation of church from state and of the school from the church does characterize relations between the Yugoslav social community and the Serbian Orthodox Church.

[Question] We live in a very complicated social community. The same is true, if it can be put this way, in the spiritual domain. What sort of relations does the Serbian Orthodox Church have with other faiths in Yugoslavia?

[Answer] The Serbian Orthodox Church is striving and maintaining straightforward relations toward all the other religious communities in Yugoslavia and outside it.

[Question] It is a fact that quite a few temples and churches have been built in Yugoslavia since World War II. In saying this I am, of course, referring to all the faiths. Have you, Your Holiness, had any sort of difficulties in obtaining permits to build churches and other church structures?

[Answer] Unfortunately, we have had difficulties obtaining permits to build churches. They were, in fact, unconquerable difficulties. This especially applies to the cities.

[Question] Now that we are on the subject of what might be called changes, please tell us something more about the renewal of personnel in the Serbian Orthodox Church.

[Answer] The Serbian Orthodox Church renews its personnel through the four seminaries, the School of Theology, the Monastic School. But even today we have not come close to attaining the numbers we had before World War II. During the war we lost half of our priests.

[Question] A major portion of the church budget, about 50 percent, is spent for education. This is certainly a quite substantial amount of money. Aside from the School of Theology in Belgrade, the church also has four seminaries, they are located in Belgrade, Prizren and Sremski Karlovci and at the Krk Monastery. Have you had difficulties recruiting young priests?

[Answer] The Serbian Orthodox Church has had no great difficulties with "recruitment" of young priests, but it has had financial difficulties in supporting and educating them.

The Words of a Patriot

[Question] It is well known that the building of the School of Theology is in a very bad condition. There is talk about building a new building. Have the funds been provided, and when will construction begin?

[Answer] The building of the School of Theology of the Serbian Orthodox Church is truly in a bad condition. It was not even built for its present purpose, and time has also had its way. The intention to build a new building is at present only a desire, since we do not yet have even an approved site. As far as the funds go, we hope that we will have them.

[Question] At the time when the Holy Council of Archpriests of the Serbian Orthodox Church was sitting in May 1981, one of the topics discussed was "... church political affairs...." This had to do with the problems of the Raska-Prizren Episcopate, that is, with the damage and fire of the lodge of the monastery of the Pec Patriarchate and the assault against other church property. You have visited Kosovo since that time. You also gave support to efforts to calm down the situation in Kosovo.

[Answer] Yes, I did visit the Pec Patriarchate and on that occasion spoke as I believe every one of our priests and patriots should speak. After returning from Kosovo we visited the highest authorities of our republic social community, and then the federal authorities; we presented our observations and asked for them to provide protection to our Orthodox congregation there in order to restore peace and calm and to prevent their further exodus from Kosovo. We received assurances and promises that steps would be taken in that direction. Certainly they have already been taken. But unfortunately the Orthodox Serbs are still inclined to move away.

[Question] Recently Ali Sukrija, chairman of the presidium of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo received a delegation of the Serbian Orthodox Church headed by Pavle, bishop of Raska and Prizren. The representatives of the church informed Chairman Sukrija "... about certain damage inflicted on property of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Kosovo...." They also took note that a determined struggle should be waged against those who would destroy the

unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. To what extent, Your Holiness, is the church contributing to overcoming the difficult situation in Kosovo? There are important Serbian monasteries in Kosovo: the Pec Patriarchate, Decani, Gracanica, Banjska.... How do you assess the situation concerning their protection since they also are cultural monuments of very great historic importance?

[Answer] The church has its own methods of operation and always adheres to them, and those are the methods of the Gospel, which are aimed at being of benefit to everyone and of harm to no one. As for personal and property protection, there are specific institutions and authorities in our country designated to deal with those problems. In all of this we have experienced a serious blow, the setting of fire to the old lodge at the monastery of the Pec Patriarchate. They have promised us that the lodge will be rebuilt. Unfortunately, an entire year has passed, and the plans for reconstruction have been prepared, but matters have been left there. Our unity and our solidarity are being tested. The Lord knows whether they will pass the test. The church has patience and is waiting for the promises (read: commitments) to be fulfilled and for the protection of our shrines and our Orthodox congregation in Kosovo to be strengthened to the point where it instills confidence and demonstrates itself to be effective in practice. For its part the church is contributing to this by praying to God and the Serbian saints. And in these specific cases the church has intervened in good time through its supreme representatives and on several occasions with the high representatives of our social community at both the republic and federal levels.

[Question] People in the church have no great liking for extremes of any kind, though they are "... a necessity of the church's existence...." It is a fact that there are two currents within the Serbian Orthodox Church: extremists and moderates. In circles close to the church they are referred to as the "zealots" and the moderates who conduct a policy of church ikonomia, that is, permissiveness, realistic behavior.... The history of the church contains a period, a very lengthy one, and that division did not exist. How is it today?

[Answer] It is not a question here of "division," but of applying the principle of "akrybia" or "ikonomia" in examining and resolving particular general problems. That exists and has existed in all times and in every free society.

An Unhealing Wound

[Question] Last year there was a considerable invigoration of prayer brotherhoods in certain episcopates. Since their religious exclusiveness has created difficulties even within the church itself, what is the official attitude today of the Serbian Orthodox Church toward these brotherhoods?

[Answer] The "invigoration of prayer brotherhoods," i.e., of brotherhoods of the People's Christian Community, occurred after a decision of the Holy Council of Archpriests in its session in May last year, which reads: "Beseech their holinesses of the episcopal archpriesthoods to pay attention to the work of the brotherhood of the Orthodox Christian Community and to work together on this task."

In that decision the council merely wished to take up where the job had been left off before World War II--in 1941. The member of the People's Christian Community, referred to by the people as "zealots" (the prayer brotherhood movement), are not a sect as such within the Serbian Orthodox Church, but only those of its members who distinguish themselves by their zeal in attending church, in performing religious rites, in saying confession, in taking communion, in holding fasts, in short, in fulfilling their religious duties and requirements.

Their organized activity goes back mainly to the time before and after World War I.

Placing a high value on their zeal, and fearing lest they go astray out of ignorance concerning religious matters, the Holy Council of Archpriests organized them into brotherhoods under the name of the "People's Christian Community" and thereby fully legalized them. So, there can be no question of their being "exclusive" at all; it is merely a question of zeal to which the church has given its blessing, while it regards them as its ordinary members.

[Question] To what extent has extremist behavior on the part of individuals either in the religious communities or in the social communities been harmful in the development of relations between church and state on the foundations of the constitution and the Law on the Legal Status of Religious Communities in our country?

[Answer] The church abides by the principles of the Gospel, one of which is this: "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." Thus the church itself is striving to respect the laws of the government which pertain to the church, but it also expects this of government authorities. Any departure from that, just like any extremism from whatever quarter, can be harmful and can spoil relations between church and state.

[Question] It is well known that relations between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Macedonian Orthodox Church have still not been normalized because the Serbian Orthodox Church would not grant autocephalic status to the Macedonian Church. In recent years there have been contacts between delegations of Your and the Macedonian Orthodox Church to improve relations. Will these contacts continue in the future, and can a more rapid normalization of those relations be expected?

[Answer] The church is a divine institution based on faith, love and hope, and any violence in its internal relations is alien to it. Arbitrary or forcible separation of one of its parts from the Serbian Orthodox Church, as a living organism, means a deep pain and unhealing wound. On two occasions an attempt has been made to do something through dialogue, but without success. However, since the problem of granting autocephalic status has been placed on the agenda of the All-Orthodox Great Council, which is being prepared, this is another case which depends on the fundamental position adopted by the Great Council.

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24 June 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2025

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24 June 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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HUNGARY'S POLITICAL EVOLUTION CONTRASTS WITH POLISH EVENTS

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 30/31 May 82 p 6

[Article: "Enlightened Absolutism Instead of Democratic Control--Limited Consensus Under Kadar"]

[Text] Budapest, May--Hungary is the only East bloc state in which there is consensus between the citizens and the government; it does not however extend to all policy areas. This consensus is not the result of a classic democratic process, but rather of an enlightened absolutism. There are no instruments and possibilities of a democratic control of power. During the last few years, some aspects of Hungarian political evolution were the opposite of that in Poland, even though until now a special affinity was thought to exist between the two peoples. In Poland, the problem of power control arose during the 1980/81 period. The subordinates were no longer willing to swallow the promises of those in power without being able to participate in their implementation. In the final analysis, these demands proved to be entirely unacceptable to the communist parties because in their opinion power cannot be shared.

For more than a year those Hungarians who are not forced to represent official thinking were vacillating between admiration for the Poles' courage and grave misgivings about their lack of insight for geopolitical truths east of the European line of demarcation.

Today many of them are reinforced in their belief that more progress can be made by taking the pragmatic-realistic Hungarian path rather than the Polish one and that there is merit in not questioning the basic power structure. They have confidence in the leadership which certainly is concerned with the interests of the population and voluntarily renounce direct participation in the exercise of power. Today there exist possibilities for indirect participation.

A Young Elite in the Ministries

A leading sociologist is of the opinion that only a few years ago the most exciting subjects were being written about in underground publications. Today in contrast, he feels, it is much more moving to read the concepts and ideas being written by young officials and scientific consultants of the

ministries and planning departments. The generation of the 30- to 35-year olds, which has only vague recollections of the year 1956, has adopted a non-dogmatic way of interpreting socioeconomic events. These people are strongly influenced by considerations of profitability. The proposals made by these young people, many of whom are trained economists, tend to lean toward radical reform. Much of what is being written today would have been considered revisionist 10 years ago and would therefore have been condemned. Nowadays these ideas find access to government and party circles and there become the subject of discussion. It is still a long way from there to practical implementation; but a basis for discussion exists.

Reforms: The Lesser Risk

The decisionmaking bodies have a positive attitude toward the quest for reform; for them the question is not so much whether to implement reforms rather than how many and how fast. Joszef Bognar recently told the general assembly of the Academy of Sciences that under present international and internal conditions there would be more risk connected with delaying and omitting reforms than with implementing them. Also, that a reform policy should make itself more strongly felt in the country's organizational and institutional structure. The same meeting was told by Central Committee Secretary for Economic Matters, Politburo member Havasi, that, always observing socialist laws, it would be well to bear in mind Hungary's historic and national reality to a greater extent than had been done to date. New procedures should be searched out, new means and methods tried. A greater role should be played hereafter in attaining economic policy goals by a realistic approach, initiative, creativity and responsibility.

The new Hungarian school of sociology, which has been strongly influenced by the monthly VALOSAG (Reality), does not appear to be blindly proceeding toward a foreseeable 21 August or 13 December. The fact is making itself felt that reforms cannot be forcibly imposed, but that goals can only be attained through slow, gradual implementation of changes. To persuade the leadership and the general public of the advisability of the next planned measures to be taken, the success of steps taken to date must be demonstrable. Good results have been produced by encouraging private initiatives; but this has not necessarily convinced all the skeptics. Skepticism still persists, not only among a part of the public which does not trust these procedures, but also among the Marxist dogmatists. Even the most enlightened new sociologists do not exclude the possibility of a return to orthodox Marxist conditions. But at this moment, and in the current international context, time is on the side of the reformers.

Detailed Perspectives

The term "political reform" is being consciously avoided. However, with the above-mentioned organizational and institutional changes, this perspective is being gradually approached. At present, the emphasis is on changes in working conditions, e.g., participation in electing a factory manager. Inasmuch as in today's Hungarian interpretation of socialism a job must be guaranteed, but not a job of one's choice, labor unions have gained greater

status. They have a voice in reallocating workers from overloaded concerns to those experiencing worker shortages. As a rule, workers' representatives take a rather conservative attitude in such matters. There are attempts to bring about changes in salary policy as well. Considering their training, professionals in industrial enterprises are underpaid in relation to the laborers; the pay ratio between an engineer and an unskilled worker is often 120:100. A new type of communal business, insofar as it would be established on the basis of recommendations made to date, would have greater political impact by providing greater autonomy to the communities.

Democratic power control, which was never highly developed in Hungary, is being replaced by various pressure groups, in the view of the sociologists. It is widely believed that the state cannot and does not want to govern against the interests of the population. Society is no longer split into atoms as was the case under Stalinism; there is once again a whole network of clubs, associations, etc. During the last few years the regime has given due consideration to this fact; but it has of course never been confronted with radical demands.

Isolated, Untouchable Samizdat

It would however be an exaggeration to state that the Hungarian communists had made their peace with all intellectuals. A renowned writer like Gyoergy Konrad lives in isolation, with practically no possibility of being published. While written in temperate language, his criticisms are directed at the most basic principles. For the last 6 months there has been, in the immediate vicinity of the largest hotel for foreigners, a samizdat publishing house which is accessible to one and all. Once a week, underground publications are sold in the apartment of Laszlo Rajk, usually at 1 forint per copy, which just about covers the cost of printing. The number one issue of the publisher's program is the question of Hungarian identity. A landmark personality is the historian Istvan Bibo who in 1945 attempted to lead Hungary toward democracy by way of his Small Farmers' Party. The publishing house also gives Hungarians an opportunity to become familiar with newer ideas of Gyoergy Konrad, Miklos Haraszty and other opposition authors.

Last fall, the UN report about the events of 1956 was a bestseller. Technically, the publishing house has made great strides; individual works are published in 1,000 copies and are printed rather than mimeographed. The operators do not consider themselves as members of the opposition; rather, as representatives of a subculture. Like the free universities, they want to provide information about matters which is either not available to the population or else only as filtered through party politics. Political actions are not a part of the program. No pamphlets are distributed, nor are contacts attempted with workers. However, the contact network extends throughout the country at the intellectual level. Many of the contributors have lost their jobs because they gave public vent to their political views, e.g., in the context of events in Poland.

There are various views as to why the state is tolerating this enterprise. On the one hand, there is no desire to create undue excitement, especially since no mass movement can evolve from this subculture. On the other hand, Laszlo Rajk is just about untouchable as far as the regime is concerned. His father, the former communist functionary and Hungary's foreign minister, was the victim of the Rakosi regime's first show trial and was executed in 1949. It is in Kadar's own best interest not to revive the memories of those times.

9273
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PROFILES OF LOCAL CIVIL DEFENSE LEADERS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 3, 1982 pp 24-25

[Report: "Awarded for Services to the GO na NRB [Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic]"]

[Text] Aleksandur Iliev Uzunov

His responsible positions as mayor of the Shumen conurbation system and chief of Civil Defense demand of Aleksandur Uzunov his entire strength and account for most of his time. He skillfully combines his work in these important directions by determining promptly the tasks which must be carried on that particular day, week, month and year and undertakes their timely solution. As Civil Defense chief he is doing a great deal to popularize the highly humane and patriotic work of the Civil Defense system as an important party and state task. Personal organization and self-discipline are characteristic features of Aleksandur Uzunov's managerial style.

He was particularly active last year, when Shumen was given the great honor of being one of the centers in which the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state would be celebrated. He faced a number of problems but even during those active days and months he did not ignore his obligations as Civil Defense chief. He received steady information from chief of staff Zhelyazkov or other subordinates on the implementation of Civil Defense assignments and the training, classes and exercises he was unable to attend.

Naturally, the city mayor had a great deal to do in connection with the inauguration of the anniversary projects. However, it was precisely during that period that the okrug suffered from a natural disaster. Roads were blocked and a snow storm tore the electric wiring. A number of people remained without shelter and transportation schedules were violated. Civil Defense Chief Aleksandur Uzunov personally visited the stricken areas and saw to it that the victims had food and premises. Under his competent leadership the Civil Defense personnel in the Shumen conurbation system once again proved to be highly trained and conscientious fighters for the protection of the people and the people's property. Aleksandur Uzunov is the bearer of the three classes of the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB" for his active efforts as Civil Defense chief in Shumen and his high civiic feeling of duty.

Dimitur Atanasov Chestimenov

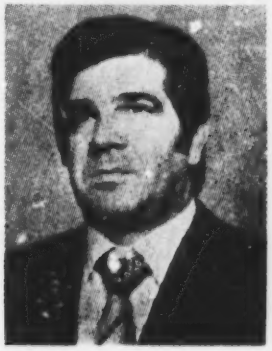

A manager of the okrug Public Health Directorate has many responsible assignments. In addition to ensuring the population's health care in times of peace, he must develop an organization and prepare the medical protection of the same population in an eventual war in which nuclear, chemical or biological weapons may be used! That is why as chief of the Civil Defense okrug medical service, Dr Chestimenov approaches these obligations seriously and responsibly. From the very first days of his service he has worked persistentlly to equip the hospitals and medical support detachments, to organize and train medical units and prepare the population for self- and mutual aid.

A head of the Public Health Directorate in an okrug has extensive opportunities thanks to a well trained medical personnel in hospitals, polyclinics and health services in settlements and enterprises, and the availability of material training facilities. However, the work too is extensive. Doctor Chestimenov involves in this work the okrug health workers, the personnel of the okrug committee and the obshtina Bulgarian Red Cross committees and, with them, the entire Red Cross organization. The job is indeed difficult, bearing in mind that he is also the chairman of the okrug Bulgarian Red Cross Committee. However, this also increases his possibility of directing the efforts of all health workers and sanitary units in training for the protection of the population under critical situations.

Using these opportunities, last year the head of the medical service willingly accepted the challenge of the Smolyan people for competition between medical services, medical support detachments and antiepidemiological units. A tremendous amount of work was undertaken in the okrug under his guidance in connection with this initiative.

A noble competition was launched in which the chief of service invested a great deal of effort and organizational experience. Many health workers became involved in the competition. Extensive competition came from other okrugs but the Khaskovo Okrug medical service came out of the competition honorably. The medical support detachment was in third place and the medical service as a whole was the fifth best in the country.

Dr Chestimenov pays a great deal of attention to the training of mass medical formations. He appoints the physicians in charge of sanitary units, organizes the training-methodical rallies and sees to it that they are well prepared. He has also resolved the problem of practical training of sanitary units in hospitals. He has created conditions for the members of the sanitary units to acquire permanent skills in providing medical aid to casualties and in all possible contamination areas.

Dr Chestimenov maintains very good relations with the okrug Civil Defense staff, providing the necessary help in medical defense training. He prepares himself well for staff training and command-staff exercises in which he displays initiative and a creative approach, submits properly substantiated suggestions to the okrug Civil Defense chief and ensures the implementation of protection measures.

Dr Chestimenov was awarded the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB" for his steady organizational efforts to strengthen the okrug's medical service.

Nedyalko Nenov Arabadzhiev

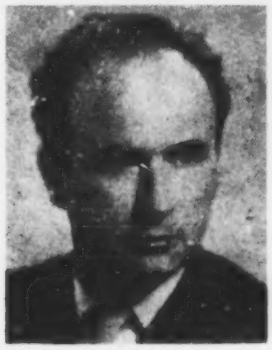

It would be hard to detect a difference in the attitude toward the obligations which Nedyalko Arabadzhiev has as director of the Madara State Enterprise and chief of the project's civil defense. He considers them of equal importance, for which reason he dedicates the necessary forces, ability and creative enthusiasm in resolving the various problems.

Nedyalko Arabadzhiev's strength comes from deep ancestral roots. As the offspring of a poor family of workers and peasants, at the age of 13 he was forced to earn his own living. He left his native Zlatitsa and joined the ranks of the printing workers in Sofia, where he acquired his class training.

As he himself says, he belongs to the happy generation which was able to taste the "charms" of capitalism and the flames of the resistance in which his best friend and roommate--the partisan Nikola Chuchulkov, from Kralev Dol Village, Pernik Okrug, died. He experienced the horrors of the war, the enthusiasm of the victory, the joy of constructive work and the pride which comes from accomplishments. He worked and attended night school, after which he was a correspondence student at the Karl Marks Economics Institute. Both as a worker and manager Nedyalko Arabadzhiev proved to be a disciplined and persistent working person aware of his duties.

He displays the same qualities as chief of the project's Civil Defense, which has been organized on a firm basis. Formations, ready and trained to engage in rescue operations in the case of natural disasters, major production accidents and wartime, have been organized.

Nedyalko Arabadzhiev pays great attention to staff training and command-staff exercises as a tried method for training commanders of formations and chiefs of services. He sees to it that training with formations is carried out under the closest possible circumstances as those encountered in a striken area. This is reflected favorably on the training and increases the mental firmness of the troops.

A major accident happened at the project one evening. The hot water pipe burst and a rather difficult situation developed. The pavement was bursting and boiling water was rapidly flooding shop after shop. Those were the circumstances in which the project's Civil Defense formations joined the struggle for saving the enterprise. Great persistence and dedication were displayed. With cunning and a high civic consciousness, risking his health and life, worker Tsvyatko Krustev was able to plug the opening with his gas-operated lift truck. The rescue operations were under the personal command of Nedyalko Arabadzhiev, the plant's director. The excellent organization of the efforts to upgrade the defense readiness of the project is also the result of good connections between the staff and the administrative management and the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations. The project's Civil Defense chief is largely responsible for the successful work carried out at the Madara State Enterprise in the area of civil defense. In recognition of his services he was awarded the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB" first class.

Georgi Mladenov Dotsin

For the third year the banner of the Vratsa Okrug Civil Defense, awarded to the okrug's champion in preparations for defense has been awarded to the G. Genov Machine Building Combine. At the time that Georgi Dotsin began his work as chief of staff, the project was in the last place in the competition. The first task he assigned himself was to involve personally the combine's management in Civil

Defense problems. In a frank conversation with the director, he did not conceal his ambition to improve the project. He had the strength to do so and his work as member of the okrug staff was helpful as well.

With proper understanding and cooperation, he undertook the training of the formations. The work with the sanitary unit was particularly poor. It was obvious that its members had not been made aware of their responsibility. A long and persistent work and training plan was initiated. Today the unit is the project's champion and in a leading position in the obshtina. Dotsin has applied his experience in work with the other formations. He has realized that practical training is the best way to achieve high-level readiness. He receives valuable aid from the shop chiefs who are well trained. They are in charge of training and keeping records and draft their own plans. Every fighter knows his position and tasks in SNAVR. The forces and facilities are also properly managed.

The project does not have a particularly good training facility. However, the chief of staff always manages to create complex circumstances within the project, making skillful use of the various situations which are the result of abundant snowfalls or other reasons. For example, heavy snowfall threatened to paralyze intracombine transportation. The formations were raised and within a short time the production process was able to function normally. Such was also the case during the reconstruction and modernization period, when the personnel of the accident-rescue detachment did a great deal of useful work.

In the course of the training process particular attention is being paid to interchangeability. All deputy directors and formation commanders can provide any necessary training. This is no accident. The plan of assigning personnel to train in inter-okrug schools is always fulfilled 100 percent. The people know the purpose of their training, for which reason they participate in defense preparations with a feeling of high awareness and responsibility. Nor is it accidental that the combine was the first in the okrug to challenge to competition in honor of the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth. The challenge, which was signed by Dicho Dichev, Civil Defense chief, Slavcho Vutov, the party secretary, Yordanka Tsenova, trade union chairman, Lyudmila Khristova, the Komsomol secretary, and the chief of staff, included major problems related to

training, such as shortening the time for training readiness, 100 percent active participation in the training process, work on stability problems, training plans, propaganda, etc.

Georgi Dotsin, bearer of the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB," is well aware of the many unresolved problems and the fact that it is his permanent duty as party member and Civil Defense worker to do everything possible for the sake of the noble objective of protecting lives.

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MEASURES TO REDUCE FLOOD DAMAGE DISCUSSED

Floods and Defense Readiness

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 3, 1982 pp 6-7

[Text] In recent years, under the leadership of the BCP Central Committee and Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally, the party and the government have raised the standard of the struggle against natural disasters and the protection of human life and the preservation of material values in our country. With Ukase No 265, dated 9 February 1978, the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council entrusted the Civil Defense system, as its second most important activity, the implementation of measures aimed at engaging in rescue and emergency accident repair operations in areas victim of natural disasters or severe industrial accidents. Permanent commissions were set up to organize and manage the struggle against natural disasters. Such commissions were established under the Council of Ministers, in all okrugs and most obshtinas and economic projects.

Formations with increased readiness were set up within the Civil Defense system, whose main assignment in peacetime is to struggle against natural disasters and major industrial accidents.

The party and government decisions and orders on upgrading the effectiveness of the struggle against natural disasters have always been welcomed with pleasure and followed by energetic organizational and performing efforts by the entire Civil Defense system. As a result, considerable practical experience has already been acquired in the prevention and lowering of the harmful consequences of natural disasters. In the spring of 1981 the waters of the Danube River reached an unheard of high level at Vidin--929 centimeters. The dikes and installations along the shore were subjected to a severe test. Under these difficult circumstances, the permanent government commission in charge of organization and management of rescue and emergency accident repair work in cases of natural disasters reacted immediately. Under its leadership, all such commissions in the respective okrugs, obshtinas and national economic projects were promptly brought up to a state of readiness. Specific plans were drawn up for the struggle against floods; guard duty was established in the Civil Defense staffs in the okrugs, obshtinas, municipalities and ational economic projects; the river and the dikes were kept under observation; the Civil Defense formations in charge of the struggle against natural disasters were made ready and the necessary facilities along the vulnerable sections of the dikes were

provided. In accordance with the regulations and instructions issued by the competent superior organs, the Civil Defense, Water Resources DSO [State Economic Trust], the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Komsomol personnel, interacting with Bulgarian People's Army units, were able to prevent a number of adverse consequences from the raising of the waters along the Danube and won their fight.

However, in addition to the experience gained by the permanent commissions and Civil Defense staffs and formations, particular attention should be paid to some other characteristic factors. This applies, first of all, to the active and mostly voluntary involvement of the population, including young people, in the struggle against the flood element.

With a view to exchanging experience in improving the organization of the work, a conference was organized in Vidin attended by the first deputy chairman of okrug people's councils executive committees of okrugs along the Danube, the directors of the Water Resources Economic Enterprise, and representatives of ministries, economic trusts and the National Agroindustrial Union.

It is particularly important to note that during the intensive struggle against the flood, the power of socialist humanism was manifested clearly once again. The people reacted with calm to the disaster, knowing that they are not alone but that they are supported by their comrades and neighbors and that they are the subject of concern on the part of administrative and party organs.

However, are the orders and regulations issued by the administrative organs and the documents on the struggle against natural disasters carried out in full, accurately and within the proper deadlines throughout the country? A moist air front moved over eastern Bulgaria from 17 to 22 August 1979. There was abundant rainfall. A natural disaster situation with serious consequences caused by the flood developed in some parts of Ruse, Turgovishte, Shumen, Tolbukhin, Varna, Silistra, Khaskovo, Yambol, Stara Zagora, Sliven and Burgas okrugs. With Order No 54 of 28 August, the Council of Ministers assigned to the permanent governmental commission on the organization and management of the struggle against natural disasters and major industrial accidents to make an overall investigation and assess the stability and safety of basic hydroengineering installations, such as dams, tayling dumps, water mains, dikes, riverbeds, obstacles, and drainage and sewer systems, warehouses and industrial projects, before the end of the year, and to order the respective departments and executive committees of okrug people's councils to take the necessary preventive measures.

The permanent governmental commission did what was necessary.

However, some administrative and economic managers have still not fully implemented the Council of Ministers order and the instructions of the permanent governmental commission.

Investigations of the implementation of the stipulations of the Council of Ministers order indicated that a number of unresolved problems remain in ensuring the safety of dams and reducing the damaging consequences and harm caused

by eventual accidental spillovers. The work on the operation and maintenance of the small dams of the National Agroindustrial Union has not been improved. A large percentage of the small dams have damaged walls (in Vratsa, Mikhaylovgrad, Plovdiv, Khaskovo and Yambol okrugs, etc.). According to the program for repair and restoration work in potentially dangerous dams, which was approved by the National Agroindustrial Union, five dams were to be built in Vratsa Okrug at a total cost of 498,000 leva in 1981. By 1 December 1981 only 80,000 leva had been used. The repair of dams is being underestimated by performing workers and investors--dam owners. Furthermore, not all dam owners meet the stipulations of the commission investigating the dams, as seen by its records. In a number of areas inadequate work is being done to maintain the riverbeds below the small and large dams. Some of them are covered with vegetation. From others quarry materials are being extracted regardless of the consequences of high water marks in the case of floods; the stipulation that projects must not be built in possible flood areas is being violated.

The maximal volumes of water from heavy precipitation are not taken into consideration in designing and laying out sewer systems. The systems are not regularly maintained and cleaned, as a result of which ground floors of residential and industrial buildings and warehouses are flooded (Ruse, Silistra, Burgas, Tolbukhin and others). Regulations are grossly violated in laying water mains across rivers and dry gullies. Their resistance to floods caused by heavy precipitation is not secured (Stara Zagora Okrug). No protection is secured for underground cables crossing rivers, canals and ravines (Varna Okrug). In some areas regulations governing draining systems are not observed in laying railroad tracks and roads, and building bridges.

What are the basic and most important problems which must be resolved by the Civil Defense system at the present stage in order to ensure the even more efficient struggle against natural disasters, floods in particular? They are the following: strengthening preventive measures and control over the observance of the orders issued by superior authorities and the stipulations of engineering and technical regulations; ensuring the fast information of the population in cases of eventual danger of floods near dikes and along the banks of rivers below dams; training the population to react rapidly to the "danger of flooding" signal; practical Civil Defense training in the evacuation of people and livestock from anticipated flood areas; training the population and the Civil Defense formations in how to act in cases of floods.

In the spirit of the requirements of the 12th party congress, under the guidance of the party organs and organizations, each of these important Civil Defense tasks must be specifically manifested in the activities of state and economic establishments and enterprises and must be planned and carried out as an intrinsic part of economic assignments. This is the only proper means for the implementation of the party's slogan "Action, Action and Only Action!" and in the struggle against floods.

Flood Danger, Causes and Measures

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 3, 1982 pp 8-12

[Interview With Minko Michev and Georgi Stanev by Dimitur Slavov]

[Text] The climatic features, the uneven water flow and the exceptionally rugged terrain in our country have necessitated the building

of a number of hydraulic reclamation systems such as dams, protective dikes, riverbed corrections, and others, which are used in regulating and purposefully directing and utilizing the water masses by the national economy. Currently, Bulgaria has thousands of dams, thousands of kilometers of riverbed corrections and protective dikes, including those along the Danube. Does this create a potential danger of flooding, related to the functioning of the hydraulic reclamation systems? What are the reasons which may lead to such results? What mesures could the competent organs in our country take to prevent such natural disasters?

These problems were discussed by editor Dimitur Slavov with engineer Minko Michev, chief specialist of the Dams unit and specialist engineer Georgi Stanev, of the Dams unit of the Water Resources DSO [State Economic Trust] in Sofia.

Question: Comrade Michev, in connection with the topic of floods discussed by our magazine, could you comment in greater detail on two interrelated problems--the danger and the causes--specifically bearing in mind the hydraulic reclamation installations?

Engineer M. Michev: In most general terms, based on their purpose, the dams may be classified as irrigation, water supply, industrial, power and comprehensive. In our country irrigation dams are managed by the National Agroindustrial Union (NAPS) and, more specifically, the agroindustrial complexes which manage a large number of dams, and the Water Resources DSO, which is also in charge of a certain number of dams.

Bearing in mind the location of the dams, their volume, the valleys below them and the settlements, economic projects, first-class roads and railroad tracks along them, some of the dams of the National Agroindustrial Union are considered potentially dangerous. This automatically changes their grade and makes them targets of greater attention and supervision.

The purpose of the dikes along the Danube and the protective dikes and corrections along the other riverbeds is to prevent the flooding of valuable areas, settlements, farm crops and economic and other projects at high water levels. That is the reason for the attention paid to such hydroengineering systems.

Like most irrigation dams, the dikes along the Danube and the riverbed corrections are earthen. This type of installations is characterized by the fact that here phenomena develop very quickly and any delay in repairing damages may result in major accidents, frequently leading to the destruction of the systems. Naturally, this causes substantial material damages and losses to the national economy and even human casualties are possible.

The reasons for breakdowns along such earthen installations are many and varied. They may be caused by an icebreaker, an earthquake, high waters, strong waves, deformation of the dike embankment or dam wall, landslides along the shores, and

others. The fact that these and other phenomena appear suddenly and can quickly disrupt the stability of the equipment requires steady technical supervision. The reasons I indicated may result in the partial or total destruction of the embankment with all the consequences and damages resulting from the spilling of the water along the riverbed, which this entails.

Question: Our readers would be interested in finding out more about the nature of the so-called high waters. What are the more important measures which are taken to ensure the harmless draining of such waters?

Engineer G. Stanev: High waters are mainly caused by a strong increase in the surface flow as the result of the heavy melting of snows or heavy spring rains. The high waters occur usually in spring or at the beginning of the summer as a result of extensive heavy precipitation, which drastically increases the surface flow. The high waters in spring are characterized by indicators of substantial importance in terms of the operation of dam walls and corrected riverbeds. Thus, for example, spring high waters occur almost simultaneously in all the rivers of a given area, whereas high waters apply to individual rivers or parts of rivers depending on the area of the flood basin subject to precipitation.

Preparations for the harmless draining of springtime high waters begin in the autumn. All installations are surveyed most closely and damages and defects to be corrected are described in a detailed document. All damages are corrected before the winter, for there are few suitable days in spring, before the high waters.

Bearing in mind that in most cases high waters occur unexpectedly, in order for the damages caused along the corrected riverbeds and their installations to be repaired on time, the most necessary emergency reserves of working tools and construction materials must be secured and procured in advance. To this effect warehouses are built along the corrected sections of the riverbeds and at the dams themselves, in which emergency working tools and materials are stockpiled. However, in some areas this requirement is still being treated lightly. This is an important task which, according to our regulations, must be implemented without delay. In this connection, the respective Civil Defense staffs could provide supervision and give valuable assistance.

Practical experience has proved that constant observation and steady protective measures are necessary during the high water period. The purpose is to observe the installations and take prompt measures to prevent damages or, should such nevertheless occur, to eliminate the threat immediately. Considerable experience has been acquired in this respect by Vidin Okrug, where the Water Resources DSO organs are interacting quite efficiently with Civil Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Komsomol.

As the high waters move along constant and safe communications must be maintained between the dam or individual sections along the river and threatened settlements and economic projects and administrative units of the respective okrug center. This considerably improves control efficiency. Considerable success has been achieved in this respect but more remains to be done.

Question: How is control over the dams of the National Agroindustrial Union exercised? In this respect, what is the role of the Bulgarian Civil Defense system?

Engineer M. Michev: Technical control of the dams managed by the National Agroindustrial Union is provided for dams with and without a control-measuring system.

The first group includes all dams of the Water Resources DSO and a small part of the dams of the APK [Agroindustrial Combines]. Here technical control consists of steady observation and measurements, the collection of data on developing phenomena and their periodical study. The results are processed both analytically and graphically and, at the end of the calendar year, are used for drafting the report on the technical and economic operation of the respective dam. The reports are analyzed by expert councils consisting of competent specialists. The expert councils make decisions on the technical condition and engineering safety of the dam and formulate a program for observations and measurements, the operational period and the need for construction and repair work. The decisions are entered in protocols, approved by the Water Resources DSO general director and their implementation becomes mandatory.

The second group includes virtually all APK dams. Here technical control is expressed in terms of technical reviews as follows: in November of every year, for all dams classified as potentially dangerous; every year, for restricted and sealed dams; once every 3 years, for all dams of the National Agroindustrial Union, excluding those of the Water Resources DSO.

The commissions which conduct the examinations include competent specialists from the okrug agroindustrial unions, the Water Resources Economic Enterprise, the okrug Civil Defense staffs, the owners, etc. The results of the investigation are entered in official minutes which also include the decisions made on construction-repair operations, deadlines, and officials in charge. Both the minutes drafted by the expert councils and those reflecting the technical reviews are submitted to the okrug labor safety inspectorates which control the implementation of the decisions.

Furthermore, mandatory special projects are drafted for the dams administered by the Water Resources DSO, which define the potential flooded area should a dam break suddenly. In an emergency situation, fast and purposeful actions, without fuss and confusion, are particularly important. That is why, official instructions were issued in 1975 on drafting an emergency accident plan for the dams administered by the Water Resources DSO and the potentially dangerous dams of the APK.

The accident plan for each dam contains detailed instructions on the measures to be taken in case of accident. It indicates the need and procedure for the organization of an accident group. The purpose is to have at each dam a unit of competent people who can take measures to limit the size of a potential accident and protect the equipment and the projects under emergency circumstances. The accident group is appointed by the chairman of the executive committee of

the okrug people's council, who is also the chief of the okrug's Civil Defense, with an order stipulating the composition of the group and the required transportation and mechanization facilities. The accident plan also calls for building and equipping an emergency warehouse. The circumstances of a potential accident and the ways and means of fighting against them and measures to limit their outbreak are earmarked. They are based on the specific characteristics and location of the individual dams.

The purpose of the accident plan is the following: to program the activities of the accident group under different circumstances, including the specific conditions and ways for the creation and information of the group, its rallying, equipment, etc.; to describe precisely the means of signaling and coordination of activities between the accident group and the various state and public organs and organizations which must participate in activities related to the accident; to regulate the type and amount of materials which must be stored in the emergency warehouse and the enlistment and utilization of transportation and construction machinery according to the type and size of the accident.

The accident plan must be mandatorily coordinated with the permanent okrug commission in charge of the organization and management of the struggle against natural disasters, the Civil Defense staff, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the okrug labor safety inspectorate. The coordinated accident plan must be approved by the chairman of the okrug people's council executive committee and is mandatory for all services and organizations included in the plan. The leader of the accident group is given the absolute right to control operations on the elimination of the accident and his orders are mandatory for all.

Question: Nevertheless, have there been cases of catastrophic floods related to hydroengineering systems? What conclusions could be drawn?

Engineer G. Stanev: The accident at the (Vayont) dam in Italy is a clear example of underestimated systematic observations, measurements, studies and conclusions. In October 1963, nearly 300 million cubic meters of rock and dirt slid into the lake above the dam. This raised a 90-meter high wave which hurled itself against the northern bank of the lake and spilled over the wall. Thousands of tons of water and mud literally swept six settlements off the face of the earth. More than 4,500 people were killed.

Indications of alarming landslides existed but no one had done anything to prevent the accident or to warn on time the population in settlements below the dam.

There was a substantial landslide in Bulgaria as well, at Orsoya Village, Mikhaylovgrad Okrug, not far from the Danube River shore. Despite material losses and damages, thanks to the fast and proper interaction among involved organs and enterprises, such as Civil Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and others, there were no human casualties and the damaget was repaired within a short time.

A number of cases of damages and breakdowns caused by earthquakes have taken place throughout the world. Thus, for example, the wall of the Sheffield Dam in

California broke down almost entirely as a result of the earthquake in 1925. In this case, the interesting feature is that the central part of the wall moved in an almost single piece for about 30 meters down the current.

The earthquakes which took place in our country in 1976 and 1977 caused no damages or breakdowns along the dams.

The conclusions from all this are that there is no cause for alarm only when planned and purposeful preventive activities are carried out to maintain in proper condition all hydraulic engineering and reclamation systems!

Flood Control Preparation

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgaria No 3, 1982 p 12

[Article by Evstah Tsolov]

[Text] When the "cherry-colored waters" began to flow down the Danube River at the end of March 1981, a rather long strip of dikes had to be kept under observation in Vidin Okrug, from Koshava to Archar, as well as the estuaries of the rivers flowing into the Danube.

The okrug staff set up a permanent group which included G. Belichki, representing the Council of Ministers, and Prof Tsacho Tsachev. At one of its meetings the group decided to accept the suggestion made by Oleg Yotov, the organizational secretary of the okrug Komsomol committee to let the Komsomol members participate in the observation of the dikes.

Within a single day the necessary base was made ready under the direct guidance of full-time Komsomol workers within the territories of Vidin and Dunavtsi. The watch began immediately and was very well organized. During the first 3 days full-time Komsomol workers were included, including the okrug committee secretary. The 42-kilometer-long strip was divided into six sectors and controlled from 13 posts, covering two to three kilometers each. Constant radiocommunications were maintained between the individual posts and the okrug Komsomol committee and Civil Defense staffs thanks to the radio stations supplied by the Organization for Military Technical Training of the Population.

Unpleasant surprises were not late in coming. On the second night, 60 dump trucks filled with dirt and a large number of sandbags had to be brought in to plug a hole made by a badger in one of the dikes. The hole was plugged with the help of Komsomol members from the nearby posts. In the area of Post No 2, more than 2,000 sandbags were used to plug the opening and divers were used to determine the precise location of the hole. The young people spent many days and nights closely watching the level of the waters, spots where water had sifted, and breaks in the dikes. At the beginning of each new shift the official in charge of the sector described the problems and sent the Komsomol members to the areas which needed special attention.

Good work was done also by the Ideological Education Work Department, headed by Secretary Sasho Dolumdzhiyski. Special little flags and pennants were issued to those on duty, identifying them as Komsomol members. Newspapers were delivered

to the posts. Special passes and arm bands with the word "Guard" written on them and a Komsomol badge were provided. No outsiders were allowed in the area of the posts. The guard duty was coordinated with the heads of the various enterprises and organized in such a way as not to hinder production activities.

Once the danger of the high waters was over, a national conference of representatives of cities along the Danube was held in Vidin. It was attended by Rafet Sevdaliev, Komsomol Central Committee secretary, G. Belichki, the Council of Ministers representative, Komsomol committee secretaries of okrugs along the Danube, chairmen of okrug people's councils, and representatives of the Civil Defense and Water Resources Economic Enterprise. The okrug Komsomol committee suggested the creation of a national youth brigade to strengthen the dikes. A number of other important problems were considered. We shall focus our attention on the possibilities based on the initiative of the Vidin Okrug Komsomol members. This experience could be useful in other okrugs along the big river.

Properly organized combined activities of Civil Defense staffs and Komsomol committees could considerably facilitate the work of the permanent commissions in charge of the struggle against natural disasters and accidents. Such guard duty could be organized along other rivers should the danger of flooding arise and at so-called potentially dangerous dams. The Vidin experience proved that this is a good practice in the course of which the young people learn a great deal of useful things of great practical value within a short time. This is a good test of the strength and possibilities, conscientiousness and understanding shown by the young people. It creates conditions for the young people to become even more closely involved in Civil Defense. Today, when the entire nation is working to implement the specific decisions and tasks, it is particularly necessary for this huge army of young people to make its contribution to upgrading the level of readiness for the protection of the population and the national economy.

On the other hand, as the experience of the Vidin Komsomol members indicated, other organizations and organs can be involved in such important and responsible assignments, although they may appear to be unrelated to Civil Defense problems. For example, the hiking society supplied tents, overcoats, tarpaulins and lanterns to the watchmen and posts in Vidin; the Organization for the Military Technical Training of the Population supplied radio transmitters and radiotelephones; the Water Resources Economic Enterprise provided the necessary specialized equipment and materials.

The young people can also be of great help in repairing some damages and conducting some repair work along potentially dangerous dams managed by the agro-industrial complexes. Unquestionably, what the Vidin Okrug Komsomol organization has accomplished for the first time is both useful and timely. This initiative must be properly supported elsewhere as well.

What To Do In the Case of Floods

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 3, 1982 p 13

[Text] Should a natural disaster occur, the citizens must above all remain calm and controlled. There should be no panic and activities should be carried

out in an organized and confident fashion, whatever the critical situation; the citizens must be familiar with the Civil Defense signals indicating various types of danger, observe stipulated rules of behavior, participate in rescue operations, and carry out the instructions of the people's councils, the people's militia and the Civil Defense.

In the case of a danger of flooding radio receivers and loudspeakers must be turned on at all times in order to listen to and carry out the orders of the respective organs. Knowledge of the specific rivers, dams, water reservoirs, etc., which may flood, the areas which may be flooded, and the shortest and safest evacuation routes must be known. Personal belongings and most necessary objects, food and personal documents, should evacuation become necessary, must be on hand.

The following actions must be taken if the flood signal is issued:

The citizens must be evacuated along routes indicated in advance to specific safe areas. The cattle and poultry must be taken out of the areas which may be flooded and the active population must participate in the evacuation of material and cultural values;

If buildings cannot be evacuated, the doors of premises in which cattle and poultry are kept must be kept open; the livestock must not be tied down; the highest floors or roofs of the building must be occupied;

People who work in the fields or forests in the vicinity of riverbeds, ravines, and others, must be immediately removed to higher places;

In no case should bridges, pipes or other road installations be used as shelter in torrential precipitations;

In short downpours, travelers by car should stop on the right side of the road and wait for the end of the downpour;

People unfamiliar with the area or located in a flood zone must go to the nearest elevation;

Evacuated citizens who are out of all danger must observe the procedure stipulated by the competent authorities and help most actively the Civil Defense formations in rescue and emergency accident repair work, the building of spillover canals and the strengthening of existing dikes.

Determination of Flooded Areas

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgaria No 3, 1982 pp 14-15

[Article by Docent Candidate of Technical Sciences Engineer Konstantin Mironov]

[Text] The Civil Defense organization and planning of some protective measures are directly related to the preliminary determination of the flooded areas in cases of sudden collapse of dams caused by a nuclear explosion or natural catastrophe.

The present article gives a specific example of the method for the operative, fast and, from the practical viewpoint, sufficiently accurate assessment of flooded areas on the basis of the following prerequisites:

It is assumed that the entire dam collapses suddenly (instantaneously);

The form of the water reservoir is not taken into consideration in the computations because of its insignificant influence on the water spill;

For some of the sectors covered by the computations, the cross sections of the river and the riverbed are considered as having an ideal parabolic, trapezoid, rectangular or triangular shape with fixed hydraulic characteristics;

The basic parameters of the high flood wave are defined for the axis of the current, based on a triangular shape, as a time function.

In order to determine the areas which will be flooded, we must know the height of the flood wave, its speed of movement, time needed for reaching certain cross sections, and the length of time of the wave which goes through them. These basic parameters make it easy to determine the boundaries of the possible flood zones on a large-scale map, which also resolves the problem of determining the potentially flooded areas in the collapse of a specific dam.

1. Formulation of the Problem and Initial Data

The dam at hydraulic junction X has been entirely destroyed as the result of a nuclear strike. We must determine the parameters of the high wave in order to compute the areas which will be flooded within a sector 46 kilometers long (Figure 1).

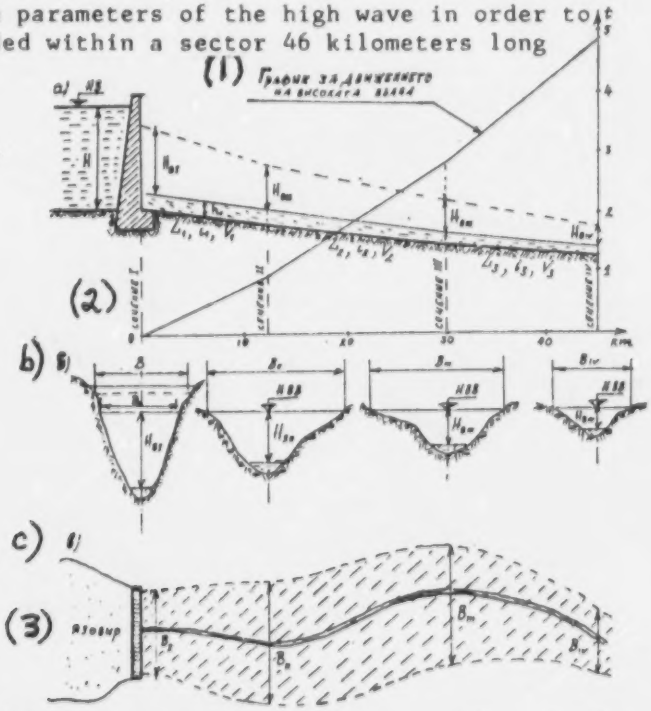

Figure caption: 1. Timetable of the high wave movement; 2; cross section; 3. dam

The water reservoir, the riverbed and the dam have the following characteristics:

- Reservoir volume $W_r = 90\ m^3$;

- Width of the water reservoir at the dam R = 122 m;

- Depth of the water near the dam at the time of its collapse H = 49 m;

- Depth of the river below the dam $h_1 = 4.1$ m;

- The form of the riverbed is parabolic;

- The sector under study may be divided into three computation sections of approximately identical width, depth, gradient and roughness characteristics (L_1 = 12 km, i = 0.0012, V_1 = 12 km/h, L_2 = 18 km, i_2 = 0.001, V_2 = 10 km/h, L_3 = 16 km/, i_3 = 0.00095, V_3 = 8 km/h).

2. Defining the Wave of Parameters in the First Cross Section (at the collapsed dam)

a) The height of the wave H_{B1} may be computed approximately in the formula

$$H_{B1} = 0.67\ H - h_1 = 0{,}67.49 - 4.10 = 28.73\ m$$

b). The length of time of the wave crossing the first section equals the time of the draining of the reservoir and may be computed with the formula

$$T_I = \frac{W_B.A}{3600.\mu.B.H.\sqrt{H}},$$

in which W_B is the volume of the reservoir at the time of collapse of the dam, in cubic meters;

A is the coefficient based on the shape of the reservoir, ranging from one to eight points; 2 - 3 are the figures used in approximate computations;

μ is the coefficient of the form of the cross section of the riverbed. If the shape is triangular it equals 0.4; if the form is trapezoid, it is 0.5; if it is parabolic, 0.6; if it is rectangular, it is 0.9;

B is the width of the reservoir at the dam at the time of its collapse, m;

H is the depth of the water in front of the dam at the time of its collapse, m.

In our case, when A = 2.5 μ = 0.6 we have

$$T_I = \frac{90\,000\,000.2{,}5}{3600.0{,}6.122.49.\sqrt{49}} \quad 2{,}5\ h.$$

3. Determining the Wave Parameters in the Course of its Movement Through the First Sector (between the first and second computed cross sections)

a) The time used by the wave crossing the first sector is:

$$t_1 = \frac{L_1}{V_1} = \frac{12}{12} = 1 \text{ h.}$$

b) The height of the wave in the second cross section is computed on the basis of the relation

$$\frac{t_1}{T_I} = \frac{1}{2,5} = 0,4.$$

On the basis of Table 1 when $t_1/T_I = 0.4$, we compute the relation:

$$\frac{H_{BII}}{H_{BI}} = 0,7,$$

in which $H_{BII} = 0.7 \quad H_{BI} = 0.7 \times 28.73 = 20.11$ m.

c) the time taken by the wave in crossing the second cross section when $t_1/T_I = 0.4$ is determined through the relation T_{II}/T_I as shown in Table 1.

$$\frac{T_{II}}{T_I} = 1,5$$

or

$T_{II} = 1.5\ T_I = 1.5 \times 2.5$ h.

4. Defining the Parameters of the Wave in Motion in the Second Section (between the second and third computed cross section)

a) The time taken by the wave in crossing the second sector is

$$t_2 = \frac{L_2}{V_2} = \frac{18}{10} = 1,8 \text{ h.}$$

b) The following relation is used in determining the height of the wave in the third cross section:

$$\frac{t_3}{T_{II}+t_1}=\frac{1,8}{3,75+1}=0,379.$$

Through interpolation we find from Table 1 the ratio

$$\frac{H_{BIII}}{H_{BII}}=0,715,$$

in which $H_{BIII} = 0.715. \quad H_{BII} = 0.715 \times 20.11 = 14.38.$

c) The time of passing through the third cross section is determined with the help of Table 1 with the relation

$$\frac{T_{III}}{T_{II}}=1,47.$$

consequently $T_{III} = 1.47\ T_{II} = 1.47 \times 3.75 = 5.41$ h.

5. Wave Parameters for the Third Sector and Fourth Cross Section

a) The time needed by the wave to move from the third to the fourth cross section is

$$t_3=\frac{L_3}{V_3}=\frac{16}{8}=2h.$$

Table 1.

t_1/T_1	H_{BII}/H_{BI}	T_{II}/T_I
0.00	1	1
0.1	0.9	1.1
0.25	0.8	1.3
0.4	0.7	1.5
0.55	0.6	1.6
0.7	0.5	1.7
0.95	0.4	1.9
1.25	0.3	2.2
1.5	0.3	2.6
>1.5	0.3	2.6–3

b) The height of the wave in the fourth cross section and the time it takes to cross it are determined according to Table 1 with the ratio

$$\frac{t_3}{T_{III}+t_3}=\frac{2}{5,41+1,8}=0,275,$$
$$\frac{H_{BIV}}{H_{BIII}}=0,783 \text{ и } \frac{T_{IV}}{T_{III}}=1,333,$$

in which $H_{BIV} = 0.783\ H_{BIII} = 0.783 \times 14.38 = 11.29$ m.

$T_{IV} = 1.333\ T_{III} = 1.333 \times 5.41 = 7.21$ h.

Conclusions

The parameters of the high wave can be easily determined on the basis of these values:

1. A diagram of the crossing of the flood wave across the section under consideration (Figure 1).

2. The boundaries of the flooded areas in the area under study with known cross sections of the riverbed (Figure 1 b, c).

Let us note in conclusion that the practical application of this method is reduced to following the simplified block diagram of Figure 2. This method is to be used by Civil Defense engineering-technical cadres. However, the advance knowledge of possible flood areas is directly related to the planning and organizing of the population's defense (dispersal, evacuation, construction of protective installations) and increasing the resistance of national economic projects under critical situations.

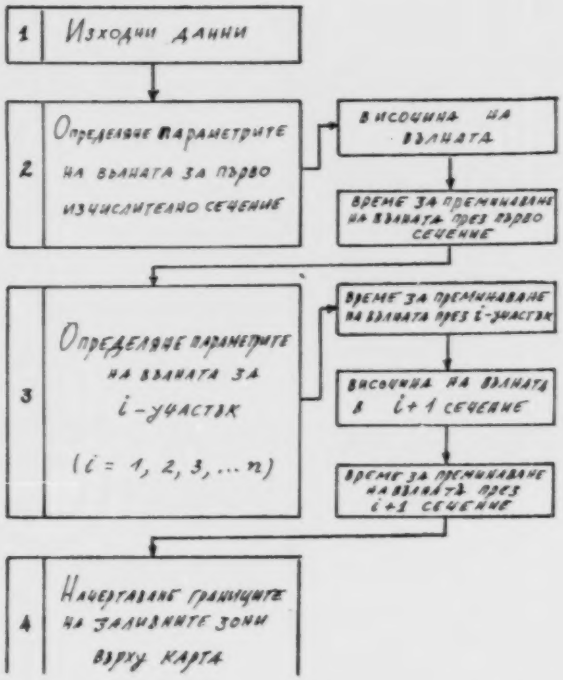

Figure 2.
Figure caption: 1. Initial data; 2. Determination of wave parameters for the first computed cross section; 3. Determination of the wave parameters for i sector (i = 1, 2, 3....n); 4. Earmarking boundaries of flooded areas on map; 5. Wave height; 6. Time of wave crossing of first cross section; 7. Time of wave crossing on small i sector; 8. Wave height at i + 1 cross section; 9. Time of wave crossing i + 1 cross section.

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CSO: 2200/97

PREVENTIVE MEASURES AGAINST CONTAMINATION FROM CHEMICAL WEAPONS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 2 , 1982 p 31

[Article by Miladin Kolev, senior instructor at Kiril i Metodiy University, Veliko Turnovo: "Some Protective Measures in Contaminated Areas"]

[Text] Projects and objects in areas in which nuclear and chemical weapons have been used become contaminated with toxic and radioactive substances. Projects contaminated with liquid toxic substances, radioactive in particular, may remain sources of contamination over considerable periods of time.

The extent and duration of the contamination of the environment with BOV [Chemical Warfare Agents] depend on several factors. The soil, dry grass, bricks, concrete, skin, tissues and wood absorb liquid BOV. Mustard gas can contaminate the surface of a dirt road to a depth of 30 mm. It can reach a depth of 6 mm in unpainted wood and 10 mm in bricks. Most stable BOV dissolve in lacquer and oil linings, asphalt and rubber, for which reason they can become sources of contamination over a long period of time. In painted wooden items the BOV remain on the surface or penetrate two millimeters under the paint. In all cases the depth of BOV penetration into one material or another depends also on the quantity of BOV used and the duration of its application. Under the influence of the toxic substances oil paints become discolored and the material swells, which is a characteristic contamination feature.

Food products and water contaminated with liquid toxic substances such as zarin, mustard gas, lewisite and trichlorotriethylamine are very dangerous. Mustard gas and lewisite penetrate meat products at a depth of two to six centimeters and fruits from 0.5 to two centimeters. Zarin penetrates particularly deeply. For example, powdered sugar and noodles may be contaminated with zarin up to 10-15 centimeters in depth.

The extent and nature of the contamination of the water depend on the physical and chemical characteristics of the BOV, the method of contamination, the size of the water reservoir and the speed of the running water. Stable water reservoirs, wells in particular, can remain contaminated for several weeks and even months, depending on the amount of BOV used.

Mustard gas, lewisite and trichlorotriethylamine appear on the surface of the water as oily spots. However, most of them sink to the bottom of the reservoir. Because of poor solubility and very slow breakdown, they retain their toxicity over considerable periods of time.

Tabun and zarin are more soluble and spread throughout the water reservoir. Zarin and tabun break down naturally at a very slow pace.

The contamination of objects with radioactive substances has its specific characteristics. The radioactive products of a nuclear explosion spread over a vast territory. The extent of radioactive contamination of the area and the size of the contaminated areas depend on the power of the nuclear explosive, the type of explosion, the weather conditions, the topography and the composition of the soil.

In the case of a nuclear strike on the surface or above the ground, the area becomes strongly contaminated not only in the zone of the explosion but in the wake of the radioactive cloud as well. Snow and rain intensify the fall of radioactive matter from the cloud. Under such circumstances radioactive substances can penetrate profoundly into the soil or concentrate in lower areas. The air becomes more strongly contaminated in places without vegetation. Under the influence of the air flow the radioactive dust piles up in lower areas and ravines and remains there. The density of the contamination in these areas is higher after a nuclear explosion and the folds on the ground cannot be used as a reliable protection of people and material values.

The extent of contamination with radioactive substances of food and medical items depends on the protective possibilities of shelters and the premises and packaging in which they are stored. Radioactive substances which fall on food and fodder products may reach a certain depth, which can reach three millimeters in wheat and 10 to 20 centimeters in hay. The water in the open reservoirs also becomes contaminated with radioactive substances which may dissolve in it or not.

Decontamination measures must be taken after a nuclear strike. The difficulties in decontaminating medical equipment call for taking several steps for its protection. Such property should be kept whenever possible in hermetically sealed cases. Bags with bandaging materials must be covered with tarpaulin, put in tents or covered with available materials (lumber, plywood, straw, twigs, etc.). A particularly good protection is achieved by creating an air cushion between the protected items and the cover, using straw, twigs, etc.

The same method can be used in protecting products and other valuables. Food warehouses should be preferably located in closed premises or be covered by wraps. Trucks hauling food products must be covered with tarpaulin. In most cases motor vehicles should be parked under trees or covered with grass, twigs, reeds, etc.

Special safety measures must be observed when Civil Defense formations operate in contaminated areas and clear mass destruction (contamination) areas in order to prevent the penetration of toxic and radioactive substances and bacteria in the organism or on the surface of the body and the equipment. Individuals are protected mainly with the prompt and skillful use of individual protection facilities. Long stays in contaminated areas are not allowed. Such areas must be bypassed when traveling. In cases of rescue and emergency damage repair work

under such circumstances individual radiation control and special medical observation are provided.

People operating in contaminated areas should avoid raising dust or seeking protection from shells and mines in depressions, ravines or holes in the ground. The people should not be allowed to touch contaminated objects, twigs or grass, or to sit or lie down on the ground. It must be remembered that hands and protective gloves may be contaminated, for which reason they should not touch the body or the eyes. In contaminated areas the people must not remove their gas masks, eat, drink, smoke or perform bodily functions.

Water in sources within a contaminated area, snow, or various handy materials must not be used in complete sanitary treatment.

After leaving the contaminated area and after exposure to contaminated objects the clothing must be reviewed by the individual or by someone else. Degasifying substances must be used in order to remove dust or mud from the skin and the equipment.

Constant medical observation and control over the degree of radioactive contamination of people operating in contaminated areas or after disinfection of contaminated objects are mandatory.

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LOCAL CIVIL DEFENSE LEADERS PROFILED

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 2, 1982 pp 26-27

[Report: "Awarded for Services to the Bulgarian People's Republic Civil Defense"]

[Text] Georgi Georgiev Nichev

Last year, Nichev was awarded the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB" [Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic] for his persistence and courage in carrying out his duties as a mechanizer. He has worked for the State Automotive Enterprise in Karnobat since 1974. That year he also joined the Civil Defense. His truck is one of the technical facilities used in the struggle against natural disasters.

Whenever there is a critical situation, Georgi Nichev is usually the first to show up with his Fadroma Loading Machine to help casualties. His childhood as an orphan may be one of the many reasons which have made him so sensitive to human pain. He and his twin brother lost their father at the age of 10. They were sent to boarding school where they grew up surrounded by care and attention. It was there that Georgi discovered his liking for equipment. He took the predraft driver's course and his military service was spent behind a steering wheel.

"I love my profession," Georgi Nichev always emphasizes. His actions confirm the full truth of this statement.

The Karnobat area was hit by a fierce snow storm. The Civil Defense staff of the obshtina people's council was informed by the mayor of Venets Village that about 150 passenger cars, trucks and buses were stuck in the Paviliona sector. Dimitur Radev, first secretary of the obshtina party committee, and Stefan Zhelev, the chairman of the obshtina people's council, organized a caravan of all-terrain trucks and tractors. With Fadroma in the lead, driven by Georgi Nichev, they took off in the direction of Venets Village.

It was as though the blizzard was taking the snow from the fields and piling it up on the highway. Visibility was no more than two meters. The snow rushed through the openings of the vehicle unadapted to such situations. Big drifts appeared. The column had to turn back and find another way. After a stubborn struggle, wet and cold, the people managed to reach Venets Village.

For nearly an entire month, without returning home, Georgi Nichev fought the blizzards near Mudrino, Vulchin, Lozarevo and Chernidsa villages and Sungurlare City. He surmounted great difficulties with his typical self-control, firmness and love of people. He also earned the love and respect of hundreds of women, children and adults who needed help and who received it during those worrisome times. Georgi Nichev, a member of Civil Defense, was among those who contributed the most.

Georgi Petrov Stoyanov

In 1966 Stoyanov became Civil Defense chief of staff in Burgas. Soon afterwards he was assigned to Moscow, where he graduated from the Civil Defense higher officer course. Subsequently, he began actively to apply in his work the knowledge and Soviet experience he had gained. For 10 years, thanks to his efficiency and good organizational qualities, Georgi Stoyanov was able substantially to improve defense preparations in Burgas. During that period the material and technical facilities of the projects were improved, protective installations were built and offices and warehouses were equipped with the necessary

facilities. Civil Defense staffs, services and formations improved their training substantially.

Following the division of Burgas into rayons, Georgi Stoyanov became Civil Defense chief of staff of second (Purvomayski) rayon, which includes all the enterprises in the northern industrial zone of the city. In 2 years, the rayon held six comprehensive project exercises with the help of which the rayon chief of staff contributed to the solution of a number of problems in the various projects, related to improving material facilities, sheltering and evacuation. The complex situation in which the exercises were held helped troops and commanders to gain practical skills for acting in critical situations.

With the support of the rayon's party and administrative leadership, Georgi Stoyanov was able to increase in many enterprise directors and primary party organization secretaries a feeling of responsibility regarding defense readiness. This was reflected on the readiness of the projects. Good Civil Defense successes were achieved at the V. Kolarov Cables Plant, the Spartak Combine, the Pobeda Chocolate Goods Plant, the Marshal Tolbukhin Soap Manufacturing Plant and the Grain Feeds Combine.

The chief of staff pays great attention to the training of the population as well. Two successful exercises were held in sheltering the population of the Zornitsa and Izgrev Complexes. This year a similar exercise will be held at the Slaveykov Complex. With these exercises the chief of staff helps the citizens to learn the skill of sheltering themselves in critical situations and learn how to build radiation-proof shelters. Leaflets were printed to this effect and distributed among the participants.

The chief of staff has involved the active efforts of the evacuation and sheltering commission of the rayon Fatherland Front committee, the party secretaries, all house building councils and house building managers. All of this enhances the level and effectiveness of the exercises.

The reconnaissance section and medical unit of the Vasil Kolarov, in Purvomayski Rayon in the city took first place in last year's competition among reconnaissance sections and medical units. They won the okrug championship as well.

Georgi Stoyanov is not a person to be satisfied with accomplishments. He is steadily working to broaden and to improve his knowledge and demands the same of others. He is principle-minded, exacting and sometimes even strict in his relations with people. He loves order and discipline and is perfectly familiar with his work. He resolves problems easily and vigorously.

He has been the recipient of many awards for his highly conscientious and purposeful efforts. They include the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB," first and second class.

Kuncho Stanev Kunchev

He considers Civil Defense work a vocation which brings him happiness and satisfaction. His dedication to his work, knowledge of assignments and ability to communicate with people make him a loved and respected leader who can teach, show and persuade.

Precision, accuracy and performance are qualities which Kunchev developed in his army career. Long ago, in 1947, he joined the great family of the People's Army. He graduated successfully from the People's Reserve Officer's School and served as senior cadet and subsequently as an officer in various garrisons. He left the army with the rank of major and began work on the other defense front in which he has been for the past 18 years.

Kuncho Kunchev has held a variety of positions in the Civil Defense system. His longest one was inspector in charge of the training of staffs, services and formations of the staff in V. Turnovo. His job was not always easy, particularly at the beginning when the foundations for the service had to be laid. He has contributed a great deal to the implementation of instructions regarding the structure and assignments of services and formations. He has spared no efforts to develop training grounds, classrooms and other training facilities. However, he has always focused his principal attention on the training of the Civil Defense personnel. He has organized and participated in many classes and exercises which have been carried out successfully and have been highly rated by leading organs and services.

Kunchev knows how to combine training assignments with propaganda and agitation. He demands that every exercise be accompanied by a great variety of mass agitation initiatives such as quizzes, ceremonious evenings, and various competitions. Troops and commanders will long remember the hike to Buzludzha, which was organized by the city staff in honor of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of our homeland. Nor will they forget the ceremony on the occasion of the 12th BCP Congress and the 30th anniversary of the Civil Defense. It involved the participation of all the chiefs of staff of projects, commanders of large formations, leading instructors, method workers and others.

Here all interesting initiatives are filmed, after which, if necessary, photographic displays are prepared and exhibited in front of the building of the obshtina people's council. Albums are put together and articles sent to the okrug newspaper are illustrated.

Unquestionably, all of this influences the mobilization of the people and the improvement of formation readiness. Kuncho Kunchev, who has worked for many years in Civil Defense, has made and continues to make his contribution to these efforts, for which he has been awarded the "For Services to the GO na NRB" badge second class.

Vasil Purvanov Stoev

Eighteen years ago Purvanov was a fitter at the Andrey Zhdanov Railroad Cars Plant. He was given the party assignment to become Civil Defense inspector at the obshtina Civil Defense staff in Dryanovo and, 10 years later, Civil Defense chief of staff in the same city. Naturally, there were difficulties at first. However, thanks to his training as a worker and proper methodical and practical guidance provided by the okrug Civil Defense staff and Georgi Tropchev, the city's Civil Defense chief, he quickly mastered his new obligations. Gradually a storehouse was developed and a Civil Defense office which was equipped in accordance with the contemporary requirements for efficient training. Protective installations are under construction.

The chief of staff devotes particular concern to the proper organization of the training process. With the help of specialists, he drafts a schedule before each exercise. The necessary facilities, visual materials and other aids are procured for each class and exercise.

The selection of specialists for the obshtina Civil Defense staff is an important feature of the activities of the chief of staff. He prefers people who are active and loyal to the highly humane assignments of the Civil Defense system. After the selection, they are taught order and discipline and helped to realized accurately their obligations. He regularly attends staff training exercises and final classes with project formations.

His ability to communicate with people greatly helps the chief of staff in the timely solution of a variety of Civil Defense problems. He is able to find a common language with every individual not through coercion but through persuasion and personal example. He is greatly helped in this by his extensive social activities within the party organization and elsewhere. He has worked in the Komsomol for many years and is member of the city BCP committee bureau and the bureau of the okrug Bulgarian Trade Unions committee.

Vasil Purvanov's rich experience and organizational ability help him to keep the Civil Defense staff and formations in a state of constant readiness for action under difficult circumstances. This can be well seen during class work, comprehensive exercises and critical situations. Last winter, which was a hard one, affected many settlements in the obshtina. The troops and commanders of the city formations had to engage in a courageous struggle against the snow. Water supplies and electric power were restored on time. There were no human casualties. The operative group headed by chief of staff Vasil Purvanov was given a high rating by the okrug Civil Defense staff for the successful elimination of the consequences of natural disasters.

Vasil Purvanov and his colleagues spent many tense days and nights as they prepared for the Civil Defense holiday in Dryanovo, organized in honor of the 12th BCP Congress and the 30th anniversary of the Civil Defense system. These efforts were properly rewarded. The formations in the Dryanov conurbation system proved their high degree of readiness.

Vasil Purvanov Stoev has been awarded twice the "For Services to the GO na NRB" badge for the successes achieved by the staff in Civil Defense preparations, for persistence in his work and for his steady dissatisfaction with accomplishments.

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DAILY COMMENTS ON PCI REFORMISM

AU271122 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 May 82 p 6

[Article by Pavol Mestan, doctor of philosophy and candidate of sciences: "On the Positions of Reformism; Where the PCI Leadership Has Landed in Evaluating Socialism"; passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Excerpts] Recently the imperialist bourgeoisie has been trying to make use of the so-called Polish question in its fight against the theory and practice of real socialism, in the fight against the CPSU's leading role in the world revolutionary process. It is also aided in this by a part of the PCI leadership, the revisionist opinions of which were unambiguously formulated in the report submitted by Secretary General Enrico Berlinguer at the joint session of the PCI's Central Committee and Central Control Commission. It was published by the daily L'UNITA on 12 January 1982.

The stances formulated in the report are not new. We encountered them as far back as the preparations for the conference of European and communist parties in Berlin, in 1976; and particularly in the theses for the 15th PCI Congress in spring 1979. Even then Enrico Berlinguer was trying to push through some kind of third road to socialism, which is meant to differ both from the path taken in the past and at present by the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, and from the projects of social-democratic or socialist parties.

The path toward socialism championed by the Italians is not concerned with verbal demagogy, but with a demagogy which can be justly called practical. /It does not express the movement of the Italian proletariat, or manifest the increasing political power of the proletariat and the revolutionary liquidation of the capitalist ownership of production means. Its formulations create the illusion that it is possible to gradually pass, via reforms, from capitalism to socialism. Thus, in its reformist practices, a part of the PCI leadership is not showing its workers class the road forward, but is turning it back from the already seized positions./

On the other hand, part of the PCI leadership rejects the USSR's experience and the remarkable results achieved by the people of this country under their party's leadership. Contrary to facts and to reality, it claims that the "phase of the development of socialism, initiated by the October revolution, has exhausted its motive force." It is thus trying to falsify

the dialectics of the development of socialism both under national, and international conditions. The relationship toward the Soviet Union, toward the experience achieved by it as the first country to take the path toward communism, is the basic criterion of proletarian and socialist internationalism. The PCI leadership's declaration negates the Soviet Union's authority, which it has won through the successes of almost 65 years of its efforts for building the most just social system.

/In their fight against the Soviet Union and the CPSU, certain leading PCI figures are neither original, nor novel. They merely repeat old bourgeois socioreformist theses./ In connection with this we are not surprised at the PCI leadership's declaration on the margin of the situation in present Poland: "That is why we--and, I repeat, not only we--have demanded, and considered feasible, the development of Polish socialism in the democratic and pluralist sense. But this did not materialize."

It did not materialize because those who are regarded as the bearers of "pluralist Polish socialism" have nothing in common with socialism. It did not materialize since the proclamation of the state of emergency has halted the disintegration of the entire social life of socialist Poland and its counterrevolutionary disruption. Political pluralism, aimed at defending the capitalist social system as unchangeable and eternal, is a tool in the fight against real socialism--in the fight against the workers class and its vanguard, the Communist Party. The forces which are meant to realize the counterrevolutionary slogan on pluralism in the socialist countries are determined by anticommunist centers in cooperation with the revisionists, according to the specific conditions in individual countries: In Poland this role was to have been played by so-called free Solidarity trade unions. At the same time pluralism is being combined with the slogan of democracy, which is understood from bourgeois positions: In an abstract and nonclass manner, or more specifically, in a crystallized class manner viewed from bourgeois positions.

But who was it that was so concerned with the developments in Poland taking this direction? Of course, the NATO countries' representatives. They even supported it directly.

Understandanbly, the Socialist International--the "sole defender" of justice and democracy in the world, as it has designated itself--could not but also adopt a stand on the events in Poland. This, too, rested on positions not too distant from those adopted by the NATO states' ministers.

/The bourgeois governments are consistently striving to reach their important goals: To distract attention from the general crisis that is taking place in their countries; to disparage real socialism in the eyes of their own workers class; and to introduce further tension both into the situation in the Polish people's republic, and into the entire socialist community. It seems to them that in this connection it could become easier to operate with theses on the so-called military threat of the Soviet Union, and far simpler to explain the growing expenditures for armament and so forth./

Wherein do the opinions of a part of the PCI leadership differ from these opinions? The answer is unambiguous: In nothing. That is, we again have here a confirmation of the meaning of revisionism for the workers movement.

In its declaration, the PCI leadership speaks of the right of "creative approach" and "creative criticism" in resolving new questions. It is probably no coincidence that in its "creative" criticism it concentrates primarily on the Marxism of the 20th century--on the Leninist doctrine.

With regard to Leninism, E. Berlinguer said time and again that the formulations of article No 5 of the PCI statutes, which refers to Marxism-Leninism, should be replaced as inadequate and as producing the impression of rigidity and isolation by a formulation that would express the party's foundations "more correctly and fully." But in the report mentioned above he goes even further. He leaves the territory of his party and transgresses its borders, adopting in this connection an attitude toward the entire socialist community. He claims: "Instead of the practice which creates new realities and new ideas (in the countries of real socialism--P.M.), they put in the first place ideology, and even some kind of ideological creed, represented by so-called Marxism-Leninism which they understand as an ossified doctrine of an almost metaphysical type....That is why we claim that these societies need a renewal in the democratic sense."

We in Czechoslovakia have some experience with the people who used to present themselves as "creative Marxists" and who preached "socialism with a human face" in the "democratic sense." Wherein lay their "creative contribution" and in what did they differ from the "creative activity" of certain members of the PCI leadership? They, too, denigrated our friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, and strove to prove that the Soviet Union had foisted on us its own experience. They rejected Leninism as a theory which is allegedly quite foreign to our democratic and humanitarian tradition, and is allegedly suitable solely for backward agrarian countries.

/The only thing is that the CPCZ has proved its truly creative approach and its creative application of Lenin's ideas under the specific conditions of our country. The fact that this was no "copying" of the Russian Bolsheviks' experience is clearly expressed by the words used by Klement Gottwald at the Aktiv meeting of functionaries of the CPCZ factory organizations on 4 October 1946.

Thus, if certain Italian communists speak of a right of "creative approach," let us remark that it is a question not of a right, but of the direct duty of every Communist Party. The building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community has confirmed that it is impossible to successfully develop party work if one disregards specific conditions and national traditions, if one fails to take into consideration the trends of development, the domestic and the international situation--in other words, everything that influences the strategy and tactics of a Communist Party in this or that country. /Today, as in the past, Lenin's

words are valid: Namely, that every Communist Party participates in the development of the revolutionary theory; that the revolutionary theory emerges from the sum-total of revolutionary experience and revolutionary thinking of all countries. At the same time the experience of Marxist-Leninist parties in individual countries, tested by practice, shows certain generally valid features./ But it is impossible to mechanically transfer the experience of one country to another. One must search for really new approaches, which would correspond to the specific situation. But by new approaches we do not mean an "enrichment" of Marxism-Leninism with revisionism and reformism, in the way we can witness today in statements made by certain members of the PCI leadership.

/Thus we can ask: Whom does the course taken by the PCI leadership benefit? Definitely not the Italian workers movement, or its fight for socialism--its fight against imperialism. It benefits the anticommunists and the bourgeoisie; it has nothing in common with the revolutionary history and the progressive traditions of this party./

CSO: 2400/278

BRIEFS

YOUTH UNION OFFICIALS--At its 19 May session in Prague, the Czech Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union confirmed the appointment of Miroslav Havranek, secretary of the union's Czech Central Committee, to the post of chairman of the union's university headquarters; it also approved certain cadre changes. Jaroslav Koutny and Vasil Mohorita are the new secretaries of the union's Czech Central Committee. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 May 82 p 2]

CTK ACTIVITIES REVIEWED--The eighth joint session of the CSSR Federal Assembly Chambers' committees for culture and education, held on 20 May in Prague, reviewed the CTK's fulfillment of its basic tasks—the acquisition and dissemination of economic, cultural and sports information. Currently the CTK has 31 reporters and correspondents in 30 countries of the world. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 May 82 p 2]

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM--A 3-day international scientific symposium on laws governing the leading role of the workers class was concluded this Thursday at the CPCZ Central Committee's Higher Political Academy in Prague. The discussion and the deliberations were of great significance for international cooperation in resolving the tasks of the state plan of basic research, which is being worked out by the CPCZ Central Committee's Department of Scientific Communism in the academy. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 May 82 p 2]

CSO: 2400/278

GOALS, MISSIONS OF WORKER MILITIA TRAINING CENTER OUTLINED

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German Vol 26 No 5, May 82 pp 1-2

[Unattributed front-page article on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Central School for Worker's Militia: "Cadre Forge for the Workers Militia"]

[Text] The central training facility for our cadre militia was set up 25 years ago by SED Central Committee decision. That laid the cornerstone for regular political and military training for the cadre of the working class militia. It also established important preconditions for systematically improving the continuity and quality attained meanwhile in the political and military leadership of militia units.

Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of our party's Central Committee, has often underscored the important role of the militia as part of the producing working class in the exercise of power, having proven itself in many situations as its "directly armed organ." Together with the other armed forces in the GDR, it ensures the reliable protection of the workers and farmers power and our revolutionary achievements. From its very first day, the Central School for Worker's Militia has been making its important contribution to it. In the years since then, thousands of militia unit commanders have been graduated, most of them even twice or thrice. It has meanwhile become "their" school. And it has grown in every respect. Not only externally has it changed fundamentally, but mainly with respect to the quality of instruction and in many other factors making for successful training, which also include the accommodations provided for trainees and teachers.

Anyone who has paid attention to the development of our school will be much impressed with the great solicitude it has received from the party and state leadership since it was founded and constantly so. Highlights in our schools' history have not been few. They then also always were milestones in the development of the militia.

Under Party Care

Among the outstanding events was the visit by Comrade Erich Honecker, Politburo candidate at the time and SED Central Committee secretary; in an authoritative speech to the seventh central course for militia commanders, he laid down the school's perspective and its tasks that have remained in effect to this day. Several times he brought a direct influence to bear on important development problems in our school. E. g., he took a personal interest in setting up all the preconditions for a modern training institution that would meet all demands.

The name given to the school was that of the unforgettable Ernst Thaelmann, and that imposes an obligation on it. The party leadership expects of it a training for politically and militarily qualified commanders who can successfully lead the units in their charge and are ready to fulfil any party mission. This mission from the Central Committee has been fulfilled in honors by our leadership, the teachers, party comrades and unaffiliated colleagues, both male and female, at our school. Tasks assigned have been fulfilled faithfully and loyally, conscientiously, with great dedication and diligence and personal devotion.

The Ninth SED Congress decisions introduced an important phase of its development. Having implemented them, the school collective can point to fine results in our school at its 25th anniversary. Suitable modern showcases were set up, visual aids were produced for important subjects in tactics and specialized training and other teaching materials were prepared, and the training grounds were much improved. Many collective obligations and initiatives helped further improve the working and living conditions in the school which eventually also led to great savings in our vital energy sources. With purpose and intensity we are working on other projects.

Commitments, borne by the entire party organization and supported by many unaffiliated colleagues, both male and female, sparked a combative atmosphere. Collective spirit, a sense of responsibility and creativeness find fertile ground there. All initiatives since the Ninth, and especially the 10th, SED Congress have been concrete and accountable tasks of practical utility. And so we have learned more and more to tap new resources for further improving our teaching activity, mainly such as would enter into the rich experiences of the trainees.

Responsible Mission

Trainees are known to be mainly experienced communists, toughened through many years of militia service and with sound political knowledge, a fine general education and rich in the knowledge of their trade. If a teacher instructs such a circle of people, it makes of course high demands on him, on the quality of his instruction, his pedagogical skill and his character, on his life and example as a communist. He in turn has a unique opportunity to enrich his instruction and make teaching, education and training as vivid and relevant as possible; and much here also depends on how skilled he is in tapping the trainees' potential store of experience and knowledge. We have had many good results in this respect.

The key to further improving results is then found mainly in still closer contacts between instructors and trainees, in further perfecting socialist relations between the teacher and the "pupil." That also includes the ability of the teacher to make all delegated comrades completely familiar with the course objective and the substantive emphases of the program as soon as the course begins. That calls for constant close and comradely contacts between school management and the whole teaching staff and the cadre sent to us.

The class mission assigned to the militia calls for extraordinary efforts and achievements from the militiamen, the noncoms and the commanders, especially today. They all know that in view of the growing war danger, due to the imperialist arms buildup and confrontation policy, the all-round strengthening of socialism, and

especially of its defense capability, is the most important guarantee for preserving peace. This conviction by the militia members crystallizes in the effort toward high training results and in ensuring a permanent combat readiness. Just as much, they meet the growing demands of our economy through exemplary achievements. And so the militia members to a special degree underscore the unity of politics, economics and national defense.

A High Level of Development

Each group detailed to our school requires a highly responsible preparation and decision. That also increases the obligation of the teaching staff to shy away from no efforts that will guarantee effective instruction. Not an hour of this precious training time must be wasted.

Evidence in many respects for the level of development obtained comes from the science conferences and colloquies the school has sponsored. These intensive conferences have always been concerned with major aspects in militia leadership activities and, mainly, with how to make the entire training and advanced training process truly effective. Undoubtedly, through such conferences we have been able more rapidly to generalize the experiences of the militia groups for the benefit of all units and convey new insights into our commanders' political and military activities. More than ever it is now necessary, however, systematically to analyze in all units the insights acquired in these conferences and colloquies and to apply them in practice. That is true especially of such crucial questions for the 1981-1985 training period as

--further reducing expenditures for the preparation, organization and conducting of political and combat training while enhancing the results the training is looking for, shown by the units' great fighting strength and combat readiness;
--ensuring a realistic rating of the results obtained from the training process and in the assessment of the units' fighting strength and combat readiness;
--sensibly working with standards and with regard to the tasks and deployment alternatives typical among militia units;
--possibilities for sensible savings in material resources, mainly in fuel, without significantly curtailing the time frames and training objectives as set down for militia units;
--ensuring applicable knowledge about the enemy and constantly deepening the enemy image; and
--organizing the kind of training that conforms with the tasks assigned to the militia units, so that militiamen, noncoms and commanders, tactically behave and conduct themselves correctly in any situation.

Especially through analyzing the third SED Central Committee plenum and the authoritative speech by our secretary general, Comrade Erich Honecker, to the kreis first secretaries in February this year, a successful solution of these matters was tackled with great elan. That our school has important research capacities by which further to improve militia service and training is shown, not last, by its constructive participation in preparing new training programs, a number of authoritative regulations, and in the preparation of the commanders handbooks. Ties between selected militia units and other school elements must become still closer to ensure a still more effective solution of pressing practical issues.

As anywhere else in our life so also at our school, fighting strength and party consolidation inspire progress. The further consolidation of the party's leadership role, under the conditions in our school, comes together with the full unfolding of the Leninist norms of party life, a critical, objective and frank atmosphere, a comradely and at the same time confident cooperation of all the communists and their impact as models. The constantly developing demands made on the school and the impact it has on the work in the militia groups always again produce new test situations. To face them and cope with them is a steady mission for all comrades at school, male and female. Undoubtedly, the service command, the entire school collective, and the party organization and trade union group will take our 25th anniversary for an occasion to work with new elan, with discipline and rigor on rapidly further improving the school's effectiveness, whereby to make a significant contribution to fulfilling the class mission of the working class militia.

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EGON KRENZ REVIEWS BOOK ON HISTORY OF FDJ

East Berlin JUNGE WELT in German Vol 36 No 101, 30 Apr 82 p 3

["On the Birth, Growth and Struggles of Our FDJ"--Review by Egon Krenz, chairman, Free German Youth (FDJ) organization; of book "Geschichte der Freuen Deutschen Jugend" (History of the Free German Youth), published by Neues Leben, East Berlin, 1982, 16 M]

[Text] Our country's historiography has been enriched by a remarkable book. Published under the auspices of the FDJ Central Council, "Geschichte der FDJ" was put out recently by Neues Leben publishing house.

Anyone who picks up this book will look with interest at the documents and pictures it contains and find suspense in reading it. Each page documents how intimately FDJ history has been tied up with the history of the SED and the GDR. "One must seek to come close to the essence of history if one wants to understand the essence of politics"--that is Thaelmann's counsel by which the 10th FDJ Parliament let itself be guided when it decided to publish the history of our socialist youth association as a contribution to the communist education of youth. Anyone who knows of the struggles, victories and defeats of the German workers and young workers movement, of the yearning and dreams of generations of young people for a unified youth organization, of the effort to found the FDJ and of the history of the socialist revolution in our country, will gain courage and confidence for his own life from it.

The knowledge of history provides important building blocks for a firm communist class standpoint. At the age of 18, Karl Marx underscored that thought in a letter to his father, saying one should have to "look at the past and the present with the eagle's eye of thought to gain an awareness of our real position."

This book is a coherent Marxist-Leninist account of the historic roots, the birth and development of the FDJ, and its initiatives and accomplishments. Yet it does not start with the day when it was founded. Already the "Communist League" which had been founded under the leadership by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels was tied

up intimately with the struggle of young people. The leaders of the German workers movement, Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl, Walter Ulbricht and their fellow-combatants always paid much attention to working with youth.

If this edition of the book concludes with the 30th GDR anniversary, that too is highly symbolic: what generations before us fought and suffered for--it has become a reality in our country. The workers and farmers state is, at once, a state of youth.

Through a wealth of facts, the book paints a comprehensive picture, vividly and impressively, of the historic accomplishments of our youth association. They became possible because the FDJ never looked for an easy way out but always opted for pushing ahead. This manner of pushing ahead is what the SED embodies. The critical source for all FDJ successes lies in SED leadership. Oriented to the party's history and resolutions, to the speeches and efforts by the general secretary of the SED Central Committee, Erich Honecker, and relying on reports and information from the veterans of the workers movement, former and current FDJ members, and on long years of scientific research, the authors' collective, headed by Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Jahnke, shows how SED policy enables the young to become active builders of socialism.

The first section, "Toward the FDJ," explains in a compact fashion the revolutionary traditions the FDJ inherited.

The FDJ embodies the legacy of the worker youth movement established by Karl Liebknecht. It carries on the work of the Communist Youth League of Germany that had been led by Thaelmann's KPD Central Committee. The deeds of young social democrats live on in it. It is fulfilling the pledge of the fighters against war and fascism.

This struggle gave rise to important preconditions for turning those conclusions into reality which the KPD had drawn at its conferences in Brussels and Bern: the unification of the workers movement should also heal the split in the youth movement. Even before the fascist beast was crushed in its own cave, the KPD Central Committee, led by Comrade Wilhelm Pieck, had a concept for starting youth activity under the new conditions. When through the liberation of the German people by the Soviet Union in 1945 the chance was offered for a fundamental change in German history, the KPD resolutely championed the creation of a unified anti-fascist-democratic youth movement. The suitable way for it, it recognized, was the cooperation among young communists, social democrats, Christians and other enemies of Hitler, initially on anti-fascist youth commissions.

From the outset the party followed the principle of Leninist youth policy to trust the young generation and assign responsibility to it. Together with KPD chairman Wilhelm Pieck, who was directly in charge of youth activity in the Central Committee secretariat, it was Erich Honecker who gained outstanding personal distinction in the implementation of KPD youth policy as the chairman of the Central Antifascist Youth Commission. Under his direction, the basic rights of the young generation were elaborated to be proclaimed later, at the First FDJ Parliament.

The FDJ was founded on 7 March 1946. That event marks a turning point in the history of the German youth movement. Who of us does not know the snapshot showing Erich Honecker, Paul Verner and Theo Wiechert signing the application to be sent to the Soviet Military Administration of Germany, to get the FDJ authorized. Alongside their signatures were those of Edith Baumann, of the Protestant minister Oswald Hanisch, of Heinz Kessler, of the Catholic vicar Robert Lange, of Rudolf Miessner and other members of the Central Antifascist Youth Commission.

Differing party affiliations, world-outlooks and religious creeds were no obstacles, they found, to heal the cursed split in the youth movement for once and for all. Establishing this youth unity was a heavy defeat for the reactionary forces.

The SED, created in April 1946 at the unification congress when the KPD and SPD merged, reaffirmed its course of giving all-out support to the FDJ.

The unified youth association provided a solid foundation on which the young generation could become a conscious coshaper of its present and future. Millions of young people learned in the FDJ to exercise their right to political codetermination. Alongside the SED, they committed themselves to crushing the political and economic power bases of imperialism and to constructing a new order. On all levels they have ever since been taking part in the exercise of power by the workers class. The FDJ became an essential factor in the political organization of socialist society. The GDR's youth laws of 1950, 1964 and 1974 also became milestones of SED youth policy.

The book persuasively shows the FDJ's contribution to the consolidation of socialism in the GDR and its outstanding share in this process as the new blood and part of the ruling class. Together with the FDGB, the FDJ became one of the initiators of the activists' movement. FDJ members were the ones that set the example for a new attitude toward work--as was convincingly expressed at the first youth activists' congress in Zeitz in 1948.

This FDJ chronicle contains many deeds that have become pages of GDR history. They tell of the reconstruction of the rail link between Rostock and Schwaan and of the "youth village," of the FDJ campaign, "Max Needs Water," and of the first central youth project, the construction of the Sosa "Peace Dam." They report on the youth shock brigades and the movement, "FDJ Members Onto the Tractors." They remind us of the tamers of Oderbruch and the builders of Eisenheuttenstadt. They describe the building of Trattendorf and Boxberg, the Schwedt Petrochemical Combine and Leuna II and KKW Nord. They tell of the drying up of Wische and Rhin-Havelluch, the FDJ student brigades, the "recreation-working camps," of the building of the Friendship Road and of "FDJ Initiative Berlin."

FDJ history is unthinkable without the youth brigades. They lent significant impulses to the development of socialist emulation. In 1959, the Nikolai Mamai youth complex brigade of the Bitterfeld Electrochemical Combine initiated the "work, study and live socialistically" movement.

Through the Eighth SED Congress, the FDJ succeeded in further inspiring youth with the elan for shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR. The FDJ's economic initiatives also always are ideological testing grounds. Steadfast cadres have grown up in our youth association who stand up as functionaries of the party, the state, the economy, in education, culture and science and, not last, in the NVA and the other armed organs.

For 30 years the youth association has been assuming the sponsorship for the armed forces in our country. It supports cadre selection and recruitment and helps organize socialist emulation for boosting the military collectives' fighting strength and coping with military equipment. Together with the GST, the FDJ prepares youth for the honorable duty to protect socialism.

In tense class struggle situations FDJ members have always proven their allegiance to socialism and their readiness to defend it with their lives. All attempts imperialism has made to force the GDR to its knees, soften it up ideologically and isolate it internationally, have failed. That this will always be so is something to which the FDJ is pledged today, too.

The GDR has always been a house of peace. Nothing like that can be said of its imperialist neighbor. Only recall the fact that, in 1950, more than 10,000 young peace fighters of the FRG, who had taken part in the Germany meeting in Berlin, were prevented from returning home and were harassed by Adenauer's police. One year later--in 1951, at the Third World Festival--FDJ members who had followed an invitation from the West Berlin Senat, were brutally beaten up because they had wanted to demonstrate their will to peace. On 11 May 1952, Philipp Mueller in Essen, 21 years old, for actively opposing FRG remilitarization, was shot by police on the open road. And so the history of the FDJ's peace campaign also tells us this: However much imperialist politicians may be talking about peace, what they do is very different.

Instilling socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism in youth is properly underscored as a solid component of FDJ work. From the outset, the FDJ has helped youth get rid of nationalistic and chauvinistic influences and instructed it in terms of peace and international understanding. Thereby it soon acquired the respect and recognition of progressive youth in the world and became a solid component of the international democratic youth movement, the WFDY and the ISL. It has been in the forefront of the struggle for peace, friendship and anti-imperialist solidarity. A worthy contribution was made to it through sponsoring the Third and 10th World Festivals of Youth and Students in Berlin, the GDR capital, in 1951 and 1973 respectively. Also the large youth meetings in our country--the Germany meetings, the Friendship Festivals and the FDJ's organizational conference in 1979--always have been great peace demonstrations by youth.

The FDJ has developed friendly relations with the youth associations of socialist states, especially with the Leninist Comsomol.

As friendship with the Soviet Union was the acid test for truly revolutionary conduct to Ernst Thaelmann, the FDJ also, from the start, championed firm and indestructible friendship with the Soviet Union. Comsomol members in Soviet army uniform assisted the FDJ wherever possible.

Permanent foundations for FDJ-Comsomol friendship were laid in the summer of 1947 with the "peace flight to the East," an FDJ Central Council delegation headed by Erich Honecker. Many Leninist Comsomol experiences have been used in the FDJ. This alliance has become increasingly broader and more substantial.

The "FDJ History" confirms how much our youth association has become the representative of youth interests in all domains of life: in the study of Marxism-Leninism during the FDJ study year as in creating our unified socialist educational system, in appropriating the treasures of world culture and of our national legacy as in the cooperation with artists and creators of culture, in mastering science and technology as in the development of diversified cultural, touristic and--together with the German Gymnastic and Sports League of the GDR--also athletic leisure-time activities. The party mission to direct the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization is something the FDJ fulfils in honors.

A reader of the "FDJ History" is impressed as he senses the great attention and care the SED Central Committee, the Politburo and, above all, its general secretary, Erich Honecker, have always bestowed on the development of the socialist youth association.

There has been no event of historic rank in the history of the FDJ that would not have had something to do with the personal efforts of Comrade Erich Honecker. From 1945 to the founding of the FDJ, he headed the Central Antifascist Youth Commission and from 1946 to 1955 was the chairman of the FDJ Central Council. Later, as Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, he was directly responsible for the party's youth policy. As the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, Comrade Erich Honecker is intimately linked with our FDJ.

The "FDJ History" ends with the thought that "the firm unity between the party and the youth association is the best assurance for that youth will continue to cope with its tasks in the struggle for socialism and peace in the future as well." That is impressively demonstrated by the fact that many FDJ members wish to become SED candidates themselves.

The publication of this work is an important political event in the life of our association. It brings close to us our present socialist situation as the outcome of the revolutionary struggle by former and contemporary generations, and it boosts the pride of FDJ members about belonging to a tradition-rich revolutionary organization which has always stood by the side of the comrades and in the forefront of the struggle for socialism and peace and continues to give all it can for fulfilling the 10th SED Congress resolutions.

Our cordial thanks to the authors' collective headed by Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Jahnke for a work that found attentive and energetic support from the Institute for Marxism-Leninism under the SED Central Committee, to Neues Leben publishing house for the excellent make-up of the book, and to the "Voelkerfreundschaft" printing shop in Dresden.

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IDEOLOGICAL DEMANDS ON TALENTED STUDENTS TO BE RELAXED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 65-66, 3 May 82 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "Critique of Inadequate Encouragement of Young People Talented in Sciences." A translation of the East Berlin FORUM article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Renowned East Berlin economic scientist Professor Juergen Kuczynski has called inadequate the system for encouraging science students, as practiced in GDR universities. In the East Berlin student magazine FORUM (8/82), he wrote that increasing emphasis must be placed on the training of research and talented students so as to be a part of the scientific world standard. In doing so, the main effort in encouraging talented students must be exerted by the professors, who for various reasons are not pursuing this task in an adequate fashion. Among these reasons Kuczynski lists primarily the increasing stagnation of teaching programs in GDR institutions of higher education. Also, he says, "due to the students' immobility" the professors do not have the possibility of attracting those students from other universities whose talent has been proven in their science studies. Nor is there an opportunity to change universities so as to study under an outstandingly capable professor, which "severely limits" the natural selection of talented students. In this context, Kuczynski also criticizes exaggerated ideological demands made on talented students. It would be reasonable, he says, to expect "at least average performance" in political indoctrination of a talented student, just as is the case in other subjects which are not specifically related to his scientific work.

GDR Social Scientist's Critique

East Berlin FORUM in German Vol 36 No 8, Apr 82 pp 8-9

[Article by Juergen Kuczynski, social scientist: "From Talented Students to Distinguished Scientists--The Development of Promotion of the Most Talented Students Since the Renaissance"]

[Text] The term "promotion of the most talented" is of course not applicable to former times; even today we have difficulty, in secondary schools as well as

in universities, to find the most talented for special promotion since it is by no means easy to describe criteria for the most talented. Particularly since the critieria must in part be entirely different for secondary schools, technical schools and universities. "Non-technical" criteria for instance must have much greater weight in secondary schools than in universities. This article will limit itself to promotion of the most talented students at universities; "most talented" will be understood to mean those who are most suitable for development of the sciences.

In 1981 our universities published a book which has many excellent chapters and which we should give to our most talented students as a prize: "Teachers and Scholars, Professors and Students: An Overview of German Universities and Institutions of Higher Education."

Renaissance

We find the following on page 23 of the book, concerning pre-renaissance days: "The standard curriculum in all general studies of the middle ages contained the same subjects which were based everywhere on the same authorities and their text books and which were taught in Latin in the same sequence and with the same methods." We do not know whether in those days there were "most talented students" at the universities; but if so, they were certainly not most talented students in the sciences under those conditions. The great teachers, those of theology and medicine of course, functioned outside the universities and attracted "disciples," true young scientists. Here we find truly outstanding students destined to become teachers themselves, scientific companions of their masters. In England this situation persisted into the renaissance, since the country's two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, remained stagnant and deteriorated. That is why the emerging bourgeoisie founded a "College for Merchants" in London, in which the most talented students were those who appeared most suited for the merchant's trade. The founder of this college, Thomas Gresham, was also the creator of London's stock exchange. In the following 17th century, which brought the flowering of English renaissance sciences, the country's great scholars were mostly located not at the universities, but rather in the academy, the Royal Society, which was frequently at loggerheads with the universities. They had their favorite students whom they encouraged in every possible way, especially if they taught at the universities without in any way influencing the character of those universities. Many of them had court or civil service positions; others were physicians or active merchants or worked for export and colonial trade companies, especially as mathematicians. Mathematics and the art of navigation were closely related in those days.

The universities did not play an important role during the German renaissance either. On page 30, the above-named book says quite correctly: "Among humanism's best representatives in those days were, as a rule, not only meditating scholars, but also individuals who were active in society, functioning as councilors in municipal offices and agencies or in principalities; as tradesmen, municipal councilors, university professors, belligerent theologians, or even specifically political activists who, with pen and sword, took part in the class struggles of an early citizens revolution." Artists

might have been added to the foregoing. Among all of them, university professors, and therefore universities, occupied a low rank order. At the universities, belligerent humanism was eclipsed by quarrelsome theology which contributed little to the development of science and humanism. Scholarly knowledge was often joined by petty fanaticism.

On page 45, our book once again very correctly characterizes the period which followed: "The German universities were firmly incorporated into the absolutist governed small states. Where formerly there were subsidized doctors of medieval general studies having the right to teach everywhere, there now were professors who were civil servants."

And they remained so during the age of enlightenment. We are right in praising the few progressive professors. But they were not characteristic of the universities' image. Leibniz was justified in thinking little of German universities and in considering the academies and "learned societies" as being the cradles of true science.

There could hardly be any question of most talented students and their promotion at the universities during all those centuries. However, there were some exciting or competent true scientists whom the students sought out to learn from.

The Golden Age of the German Bourgeoisie

All that was completely changed by the French Revolution and the subsequent greater self-confidence of the intelligentsia in Germany. There had seldom been such enthusiasm for true science at the universities on German soil as from 1789, the year of Schiller's great initial lecture, until the middle of the 19th century. Jena and Berlin were the first star universities; philosophy was the star science. But all social sciences thrived. And never in the history of mankind were as many brilliant speeches, documents and writings conceived and handed down to us by the most outstanding intellects of the country as during that period. Among the authors were Schiller and Fichte, Schelling and Schleiermacher, Wilhelm von Humboldt and Henrik Steffens and many others. Partly based on the experience of the Greek academies, they developed guidelines for the operation of any university which today we unfortunately remember better in retrospect than in actual practice--such as the necessity for the unity of research and teaching or the necessity for the scientist, in today's terms, to establish a dialectic link between collective differences of opinion and solitude for meditation.

But even there we do not find any mention of promoting the most talented. Why should there be? There has of course always been support, sometimes accidental, of poor people, of school children who came to the attention of their priest, of young students who attracted attention because of their intelligence or their eagerness. But that was support for individual intelligent poor people and not promotion of the most talented. But if we consider promotion of the most talented as intellectual, rather than material encouragement, than it occurred almost automatically by way of the efforts of

university teachers to gain their best students as disciples for their thoughts and for their scientific concepts. And that was just about the way things remained at the German universities until the years of fascism.

This does not mean, of course, that this procedure always led to the selection of the most talented and capable. It amounted to promotion of the most talented from the professor's view. The students had to adhere to his scientific ideas and concepts and in general were not supposed to attract attention to themselves in a political sense. But a relationship similar to that between Plato and Aristotle was quite possible--after all, Aristotle did not found his own academy, with its own philosophical direction, until after Plato's death.

The exact location of encouragement for the most talented was of course not always the lecture, but rather the seminar, often a special seminar, to which only those gained admittance whom the professor considered to be the best. Such seminars or "exercises" also formed the nucleus of schools and science. The students considered themselves an elite among the developing scientists and stuck closely together, encouraged by the teacher in the classroom as well as by discussions among themselves.

The closeness of "student relationships" can be illustrated by an example from my own student days. When I was studying in Heidelberg, I saw myself as a Marxist in the field of political economics and therefore belonged to no established school of thought among the political economists. As a philosophy major however I was an enthusiastic student of neo-Kant professor Rickert, who was always at loggerheads with the other main philosophy teacher, Jaspers. When, for some reason that I do not recall, I was once invited to Jaspers' house for dinner, I wrote a detailed letter to my mother (this was during the worst part of the inflation period) that she must not think that I had turned my back on Rickert--that I had visited Jaspers only for the free food.

The strongest encouragement of the most talented students during the first third of the 20th century existed for students of the natural sciences in Goettingen and for students of the social sciences in Heidelberg, because a number of outstanding professors taught at these universities in their respective fields who attracted a significant number of talented young people from all parts of Germany. Anyone who wished to study at one particular university because of a certain professor became ipso facto a candidate for selection as a most talented student. But the final selection, e.g., for attendance at a special seminar, was made by the professor himself or by his senior assistant, who also was on the lookout for promising disciples for his teacher.

The end of university studies, lasting usually 4 years, rarely 3 and even more rarely 5, which culminated in the conferral of the doctorate, was the start of the real scientific career, either as an assistant or with a practical interim project.

Our Promotion of the Most Talented

After a longer period during which we had to be mostly concerned with training the greatest possible number of scientists coming from all parts of the population, especially the working class, we must today increasingly emphasize the training of research and most talented students in order to have a part in setting the world standard in the sciences.

That is why it is so important that, following the Fifth Universities Conference, we pay special attention to this problem--specifically, to the problem of the professors who are responsible for the selection and promotion of the most talented students, as well as those students themselves. Today there are no more professors at our universities who, as students, experienced spontaneous promotion of the most talented at German universities prior to 1933. Nevertheless, there is still a considerable number of emeriti among us who made their influence felt after 1945 when our universities were not quite, to put it bluntly, stagnant. I myself have held special seminars at the Humboldt University, which included participants from elsewhere and where I surely learned as much as did the participants. We must note also that today we have a number of young professors who are trying to overcome the university management stereotype and who, if they are not too bogged down with all kinds of side functions, know how to attract the best among the students of their university into their circle. But the students' immobility makes it impossible to attract scientifically talented students from other universities. Nor is there an opportunity to change universities because of an individual professor's attractiveness, which severely limits a natural selection of most talented students--therefore also, to a certain extent, a timely identification of outstanding professors.

Our understanding of encouragement for the most talented primarily includes the opportunity for students to devote themselves, after a few normal years of study, to a longer period of study under better financial circumstances and without being limited by the standard science curriculum and to conduct research leading to the completion of their doctoral thesis. The few doctoral theses by research and most talented students which I have seen to date, are not of a higher scientific level than were the best dissertations prior to 1933, measured only by the accumulation of material and original thinking. This despite the fact that the recipients of doctoral degrees prior to 1933 were mostly younger than our research and most talented students. The reason for this may well be the support they had, as well as their selection.

What do we ask of a most talented student in the social sciences? Primarily and to begin with, scientific talent and scientific enthusiasm as well as a deep understanding of historic materialism. Without a real in-depth understanding of historic materialism we can comprehend neither the Arabic culture of the 11th century nor the present-day policies of multi-national conglomerates. But if a student has not yet obtained a "B" grade in his knowledge of the workers' movement, I find this regrettable--but this should under no circumstances prevent a professor who teaches feudal agriculture or ancient Greek philosophy or classical music from selecting him as a most

talented student. We should ask of a most talented student in those subjects which we call societal work that he should make at least average grades, just as he should do so in other subjects not directly connected with his science studies--such as for instance ethics--except of course work ethics, in which he must be outstanding.

All that does not mean that the most talented student does not have a societal task. He certainly does have one--it is a very serious one and by no means easy. It is the following: to try enthusiastically to advance science a small step in the interest of our country and to motivate his fellow students, most talented or not, to work toward the same goal.

In FORUM 3/82 there was an article entitled "Are the Most Talented Students Geniuses?" The answer was correctly negative and we should indeed be gratified if the majority is indeed possessed of talent.

If we want to raise the level of scientific achievement at our universities, we must see to it that talented students are converted to talented scientists, using the FDJ's help also. Support for most talented students by the FDJ does not primarily consist of giving them organizational functions, but rather to support their attempts at promoting a lively interest in scientific work. But the major obstacle to our most talented students consists of the professors who for a variety of reasons are not equal to the task.

At the 1908 SPD party congress in Nuremberg, Rosa Luxemburg talked about the central party school and said: "I could hardly ask for a better elite corps than its students." We too must do everything within our power to enable our party and state leadership to talk within the foreseeable future of our most talented students as an elite corps of the sciences.

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LETTERS TO EDITOR DISCUSS CONTROVERSIES IN EDUCATION

Erroneous Cadre Policy

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 8, 10 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Antoni Kuzdro, director emeritus of the Center for Continuing Education: "The Sources of Crisis in Education"]

[Text] Education experts feel that the main cuase for inefficiency in education services in our country is their overly small share of the distribution of the national income intended for a base and personal services for teachers. They also point out the defective structure of schools, incompetent teaching programs and others.

In the light of such a diagnosis given by experts, it is not possible to explain the high standard of work in all schools right after World War II when budgetary outlays for education and teaching were much lower than currently, the school base was totally destroyed while few teachers found themselves at the bottom of the wage scale. Not negating a certain influence of the most frequently given reasons for the illness of our education and teaching, I wish to present other, more important ones which are not talked about officially. These are: erroneous cadre policy in relation to all executive posts in education; the lack of proper selection of candidates for the teaching profession; poor preparation by colleges of young teachers for the job of teaching and a complete lack of preparation for the work involved in upbringing; detrimentally liberalizing normative acts issued by education authorities as well as thoughtless structural-programmatic reforms of the school system.

The erroneous cadre policy created much damage to our educational system. Actually, there was no rational cadre policy; most of the nominations for executive posts were and are by chance resulting from all sorts of arrangements and passes without taking into account appropriate predispositions and qualifications for the fulfillment of such important functions. Selective action, training and preparation of candidates for executive positions was not being conducted. That is why we had and still have so many incompetent principals, inspectors, visitors and even superintendents who achieve the kind of results from teaching-upbringing activity which we have at present because a poor principal always indicates

a poor school. A pseudoprincipal is capable of destroying the best teaching staff and disrupting the good working atmosphere of the team. Within the school building, where the school which I directed for 30 years was situated; i.e., from the time of its founding until my retirement, there was another school for youth. During the past 30 years, 8 principals have been replaced in this school including: 2 who were dismissed on disciplinary grounds, 3 were dismissed for creating organizational havoc; only the first and third ones, principals by true calling, raised the school to a high standard and advanced to a leading position in the school district. After their departure, their successors destroyed the entire input of the school and, in particular, a staff of marvelous teachers and the financial base.

It is a great shame that in the selection of executive cadres, the principle of successive promotion, which has been proven by experience: outstanding teacher-vice principal, principal, inspector, visitor, superintendent--has been abandoned.

In the United States, the social position of teachers is not high; on the wage scale, it occupies a similar position to ours and yet, the selection for this profession is exceptional. Teaching candidates are required to have the highest I.Q. ranking before entering the various fields of education. Upon completion of a difficult program of studies, the young teacher goes through a 2-year period of student teaching in a school under the guidance of experienced teachers; he then takes a qualifying exam and not until then does he receive the license of a qualified teacher.

In Poland, there is no selection of candidates. Teaching studies [education programs] are taken up by those who did not do well on entrance examinations for other fields of study or who do not feel strong enough to study fields other than teaching. With small exceptions, the weakest material comes to the teaching profession which is evident in school performance. Neglecting to check the predisposition of candidates for teaching before they begin their studies makes it very difficult for colleges to prepare teachers properly for teaching and upbringing activity. Education programs in colleges do not keep pace with life, and the standard of teaching in colleges has become considerably lower; academic titles can not replace knowledge. If preparing teachers for the job of teaching can be presently considered as average and weak, depending on the particular college, then knowledge of upbringing [educational] methods is totally foreign to young teachers.

It is commonly believed that lessons of upbringing, assemblies and school festivities take care of the upbringing process in school. This is a fundamental error in the work of a school. The educational process should last throughout each day after crossing the school threshold through the positive example of all school employees beginning with the custodian and ending with the principal; through efficient lesson organization; by conducting all planned lessons, by maintaining a high standard of lectures as well as by exemplary discipline in the work of teachers and students.

Can an educational talk on the subject of a sense of responsibility bring out effective reflections in the students if the teacher in charge is chronically late for class, if he is not prepared for his lessons, if he often misses his classes and is the cause of disorganization in the life of the school?

In the past 20-year period, education authorities have not helped the schools in obtaining better teaching results. Succeeding normative acts liberalized school requirements regarded for the students in a manner which was contrary to logic. Among these were: the elimination of class repetition as a result of the possibility of being promoted with failing grades; the introduction of the system of repeat exams at all grade levels including the secondary schools and the elimination of the secondary school final from the requirements for secondary school completion and lowering the standard of this most important exam of life to a minimum level of difficulty. The purpose of these harmful decisions on the part of the education authorities was to improve the statistics for educational effectiveness.

In accounting for the succeeding, thoughtless and unsuccessful structural-programmatic school reforms, it should be stated that they started our educational crisis. From the point of view of the 36 years of activity of our school system, it turns out that the best organizational form for schools was the one with which we started after World War II. The introduction, later, of a 4-year general high school and a 5-year technical high school upon the framework of elementary school was the first mistake. Even prolonging elementary school by 1 year did not improve the situation. One of the last examples of thoughtless reform was the establishment of a 3-year vocational high school upon the foundations of elementary school. All of this took place under the slogan: "every worker with a high school education"...but what kind of an education? The case of extension high school [secondary school] final examinations is a sad one. It was the 1960's and a substantial portion of middle and high posts in the entire national economy were occupied by people without an education [high school]. Although, there was an appropriate number of available places in schools for working people at all levels and from all lines of work, the taking of high school final examinations on an extension basis was allowed in masses. This mass production of high school graduates lasted for several years and in several school districts, it turned into specific affairs.

In 1972, despite the total saturation of industry with the middle technical cadre, 2-year technical high schools, so-called, "gierkowki" [named for Gierek] were instituted in all voivodships for the top workers. In reality, those who attended these schools were young people who filfilled party functions in their places of employment and who could have studied in regular schools for working persons.

These were exclusive, totally unnecessary schools and, at the same time, the most expensive schools not only in Poland but in the world. Aside from expenses for their [school] upkeep, each attending student was given a 2-year leave of absence from work, receiving full wages at this time, which amounted to 12,000 or so zlotys per month. All of this took place at the time when several million annuitants, war invalids and pensioners vegetated under pension conditions of 1,500-2,500 zlotys. These schools operated for 9 years.

It is possible to cite many other examples of the improper functioning of our educational system, for example, the disturbing fact that a considerable portion of schools and colleges, instead of properly fulfilling their upbringing function become places of personal strife, intrigues, division and cliques. Under conditions of complete centralization and control, the school has become a bureaucratic, routinized and dehumanized institution. The statistics of points and evaluations have overshadowed the real purpose and meaning of school functioning--the shaping of human personality.

The teaching profession does not occupy a prominent social position in any country of the world. Its social rank and authority and respect cannot be set by an administrative order, a teacher's charter or a jubilee award for, so-called, exceptional work. True professional satisfaction, recognition and gratitude come not from the authorities but from the object of the teacher's efforts--the pupil of student. If we find a trace of our positive personality in the behavior and life's attitudes of our pupils in school and following its completion, then this means that we have achieved our mission, our goal and the greatest satisfaction.

Secondary School Entrance Examinations

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 8, 10 Apr 82 p 6

[Article by Dr Stanislaw Jarmul of the Collective Gmina School in Radzyn Podlaski: "Against Examinations"]

[Text] I read with attention the article by Lechoslaw Gawrecki (POLITYKA 4), in which the author comes out decidedly against entrance examinations to secondary schools.

The matter of entrance examinations to secondary schools should be viewed, however, from a different side. In our school system, very liberal classification and promotional regulations were in force for many years. In the first through fourth grades of elementary school, students were promoted to higher grades regardless of the number of failing grades. In grades five through eight, students were promoted with two and even three failing marks. Entrance exams to secondary schools were eliminated, classification in secondary schools was very liberal and a series of simplifications for secondary school certificate examinations were put into practice.

In this way, we have accustomed students and parents to the obtainment of grade promotions without any effort on the part of the student while schools were evaluated on the basis of the number of students promoted. The result of these practices and simplifications is lamentable. Already from the first grade on, the pupil was promoted without putting in any work. For the first four years, he war promoted regardless of his grades. In grades five to eight, it was already difficult to mobilize and force the student to work while great deficiencies from the earliest grades made the proper mastery of program material impossible in higher grades of elementary school and later in secondary school.

After finishing school, a young person, who was graded and promoted in this way for a number of years, was surprised when he started working that there exists in this world something like responsibilities and demands. In this way, school which was supposed to prepare for life, demoralized instead of teaching by employing various simplifying methods, by waiving requirements and handing out certificates [diplomas] without any work effort from the student. Without the active participation of the student, the most competent teacher cannot assure the proper standard in school. Among factors which contributed to the limiting of student participation in the process of acquiring knowledge were also very liberal classification and promotional regulations. Why should a student feel that he must study when he will be promoted anyway. Only schools were concerned about promotions because they were held accountable for the number of promotions.

There exists a view that such a situation demoralized teachers as well. What sense was there in conscientious work when regardless of the student's performance, they all had to be promoted anyway.

Competition for admission to secondary school on the basis of school records also lost all of its value. There were also instances where schools which gave students a poorer educational preparation--gave out better report cards.

Words of recognition should be directed towards the minister of education and upbringing for introducing a new classification code, which disallows the promotion of a student with unsatisfactory grades and for issuing an order regarding examinations to secondary schools. In order to receive a favorable grade, the student should pay for it with genuine effort and this should continue from the first day in school. In an atmosphere of well organized teacher and student work and with far reaching goodwill towards the student, there is also room for constantly growing requirements. School in Poland, up to now, was in practice, school without any requirements and this gave rise to the well-known, negative teaching and upbringing results.

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INCREASE IN YOUTH ECONOMIC, SOCIAL OPPORTUNITIES DISCUSSED

Youth Cooperatives Deemed Necessary

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16-18 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by W. Mickiewicz, A. Sliwinski: "A Look at Opportunities"]

> [Text] For some time, we have been referring to the young generation. What is the "young generation"? For some, it means only cub scouts, scouts and students, for others, first of all, the many millions of industrial workers.
>
> It seems that such a varied handling of the subject, the throwing into one kettle of completely different types of interests and needs, does not allow a clear perception or definition or anything.

I.

We propose, therefore, the following definition of "young generation": the generation comprising those born in the postwar baby boom, and those near them in age, who are just entering the world of work. A generation defined in this way, comprised of those who are currently 18-35 years old, constitutes over half of those employed in the socialized economy, and together with their families, the clear majority of society.

This generation is already determining the fate of Poland. They form the majority of Poles enjoying in full the rights of citizenship.

But this quantitative factor is not the only reason that this generation is determining the present shape of the country. This can be stated for the following reasons, among others:

--the constitute a definite majority among those employed in key, large industries, and in the most modern industries, mainly in those created in the last 15 years;

--large industries, which have a strong influence on events in the country's political arena, determine the political role of the labor force of these types of enterprises. The ideologists call this the "large-industry working class";

--this generation is dominated by a feeling of frustration, loss of prospects for determining the shape of one's own life, and the life of the country. This is a generation many of whom have revolted and which, through its activity in Solidarity, knows its power to destroy;

--it is characterized by a great mass of everyday problems and in long-term process of education and international contacts, it "obtained" aspirations relative to at least the average expectations of the citizens of the most developed countries.

Objectively, then, through whatever part in work life, through mass response and activity, it dictates the rhythm of life in Poland. This element, demographic and political, does not find--in our opinion--its appropriate role in organizations and institutions of public life, and in planning, directing and governing institutions. For these institutions, the young generation is one of the problems, a problem not more closely defined than the "youth problem." However, we are convinced that it is the foremost problem of today's Poland.

This large number of citizens does not have a proportional standing in the system of organizations and institutions. It constitutes only about 20 percent of the party and, therefore, cannot play anything but a "youth" role. It simply cannot do more, not by virtue of merit, knowledge or political ability, nor regarding electoral mechanisms. The situation in the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party has developed, similar to that in the party, or even more so, to the disadvantage of the young generation. This immediately influenced the composition of deputies and delegates and of the administrating and directing staffs.

Often, complaints about the insufficient consideration of the political problems of the young generation are addressed to the youth movement. In our opinion, this is to put the burden of responsibility on those who have not been prepared to cope with it. The problems of the "young generation" (in our meaning of the term) go beyond, in all respects, the abilities of the yough movement. This is not even to mention that in the 1970's the youth movement was treated not as a mouthpiece of the trends determining the fate of present-day and future Poland, but as a representative of imprecisely defined goals of education.

II.

The political system, and the socioeconomic system, belatedly reacted to the coming of age of the postwar generation. It came to where those coming of age began to produce their own "boom" until all the goals of life and work of more than half the population converged. In addition, all this led to a regression in production and to a lowering of the standard of living. As is known, this crisis touches all Poles. And this "clouds the demographic

aspect" of the present situation of the country. It may again lead to a situation where the problems of this generation will be seen--as they have been up to now--in a "youthful" light.

If, then, by their numbers and their place in giant industries, and as a result of their having rebelled, the young generation has come into the forefront of the country's political life, if they have even more strongly outlined their most pressing problems--those of an apartment, food, education of children--then you cannot offer NOTHING to this generation.

The idea of "offering the young generation a program," some program specially prepared for it, calls to mind the ideas of "help for Poland." While it is true that this help may ease our burden, the real and final solution to Polish matters lies only in Poland. The young generation must work itself up, make up for mistakes and liabilities--it must GET TO WORK.

If so, then the next problem arises: whether the system of mechanisms and institutions which thus far have not been able to utilize the potential energy contained in the "demographic bomb", to use its explosive force constructively, can now (by merely "making youth aware of the problem") accept the pressure of the material and social needs and the pressure of supplying job opportunities.

In our opinion, to rise to this particular situation, the existing political, social and economic systems require modification. It is precisely this specific Polish demographic and political factor of the present crisis that demands such modification.

We feel that the discussion before the Ninth Plenum on the subject of the young generation should make the proposals in this area more concrete.

III.

The line of the proposals should, in our opinion, take into consideration all the realities: on one hand, the continuing crisis and economic lethargy, the bitterness and mistrust of many citizens of People's Poland, and the ideological and political restraint which was created in her by the conscious experience of four crises, i.e., in 1968, 1970, 1976, and 1980. Among these realities, requiring inclusion is that of the young generation's high consumer aspirations. On the other hand, the proposals should be directed toward unleashing the potential and strengths of these many millions of people, strengths springing from the very need to solve the problems of everyday life. Further, the proposed way of solving these problems should create possibilities of utilizing the adaptive abilities and high level of education of youth. Also, anything economic reform can offer demands consideration. Thus, above all, the ability of obtaining from the state a certain distance in particular local problems, which, relieving the state of some of its responsibility, will make it possible to more broadly assume the creation of further regulations which will encourage young people to take responsibility for their own fate, to reduce their expectations from the state, and more.

This line of thought can be described most briefly as follows: If today and in the next 3-4 years, our country remains burdened by debts and by a dependence on highly developed capitalist countries, a dependence putting the brakes on the economy, if inside the country it becomes necessary to break the economic structures so as to reshape them to fit social needs, if it becomes necessary to "squeeze" all the reserves left, and, above all, if it becomes necessary to establish the links of processing with our own soil and with our own raw-material base, to reestablish the bonds which were broken becuase of the permissive political activity conducted earlier--the necessity (besides the existing organizational and technological structures, besides the existing rules of industriousness) of creating conditions for the establishment and development of new economic initiatives, initiatives originating from the "bottom," demands consideration.

Thus, it would be possible, by utilizing one's own knowledge and education, and acting under the pressure of poverty and unemployment, to organize for filling the economic gaps and for utilizing reserves through the initiative and mobility which young people can show. The point is the possibility of uniting, and creating cooperatives and enterprises with a "liquid property," that is, the kind of property in whose growth the state would participate to an increasingly large degree until at a certain level, the state would assume it altogether.

A Poland of "giants," which until recently was to be the vision of the country, the vision of the future for a generation, is sometimes replaced by a Poland of agency stores and of small private shops. Just as the first Poland did not reckon with the complicated needs and limited possibilities of the country, the second is not dealing completely with the needs of today's Poland. Notice only that this picture of Poland, becoming fixed in the minds of a large part of our countrymen, coincides with the processes of concentration of capital, and the creation of large firms combining science, technology and production.

IV.

Throwing out the view of a Poland of giants as well as a Poland of small stores and workshops, we are for a political system making possible a coming together in cooperatives, for a political system enabling the young to create new enterprieses, in whose development the state would participate.

Creating practical opportunities for the young to take their fate into their own hands is, in our opinion, a possible way of stimulating the economy and, at the same time, of utilizing those "thrown out," those "from the lost generation." There is also, we think, a possible "transformation" of the hopelessness into which part of the young generation has fallen (and which, at any cost, it wants to overcome, for example, through emigration), into activity, into a fight to pull the country from the crisis. It is possible, but under the condition that this activity will be directly for one's own needs and those of society.

Will the young generation walk along this road and will it be able to?

The example of creating apartment construction cooperatives indicates that taking matters of one's own economic life into one's own hands is not a foreign concept to this generation. Not only by abandoning the country does it try to solve the problems of its economic life. After all, not only questions of apartments, but of many different problems, for example, employment, attainment of a high standard of living, etc, can be solved with the help of similar regulations.

This requires, as we have already stressed, besides the ways of self-realization existing to date, besides utilization of the potential found in existing enterprises, in existing production cycles, creation of new ways of absorbing economic activity. This is realted to the need to consider the advisability of creating new institutions and regulations, for example, banks: a Bank for the Activation of Production for cities in place of, or in addition to the funds for requalification for those who are to undergo reductions; a Bank for the Economic Use of the Land--for agriculture, etc.

Clearly necessary would be the matter of giving this type of undertaking a legal form. And this, in turn, requires political strength. This strength one can imagine through acceptance and consistent use of the law of "parity," a law which would guarantee the appropriate percentage of young people participating in the party, in electoral organs of the state authorities and in the administration at all levels. This is a mechanical approach. After all, 20-30 percent of the deputies to the Sejm, of the delegates of the People's Councils, in party authorities, or directors in the 30-year age group, will not in itself, solve or arrange anything. Still, if this is combined with the creation of an appropriate commission of the Sejm, with the support, in all this, of the already operating Commission for Youth Affairs of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, if this is linked with the activity of the entire youth movement, then the desired effects would be obtained.

This way of thinking about solving the problems of the young generation, closely linked with overcoming the crisis, demands wider ideological reflection and political consideration, and foreseeing the effects in the area of ownership, in the area of social interests and relationships.

In our opinion, this may give a new impluse, a way of moving the huge mass of society into processes of activation and economy, may give an opportunity--as there was at the beginning of People's Poland--for millions of people to take their fate into their own hands, on the basis of conditions created by the political program of the party through a socialist state.

* * *

This is, of course, only an attempt at presenting the problem, not a formula for solving it. But whether a solution for a problem is found at all depends on how that problem is presented. In our thinking, there are two basic assumptions. First, in the present political and economic situation of Poland, and in her characteristic demographic structure, we cannot GIVE

NOTHING to the young generation. The second assumption is the creation of regulations which enable (through utilizing reserves and filling in the gaps in the economy) one to take on his own shoulders the fight for his own economic well-being, and that of the national economy--on his account and his responsibility, but not through the little agency store and private workshop. For many millions of young adult Poles, a solution along these lines does not exist. This may be a way for some number of individuals, but not for the huge, multimillion-member army of people.

Employment Reform Considered Crucial

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "The Eroded 'Golden Means'"]

> [Text] In the last issue of "Standard of the Young", an interesting article by W. Mickiewicz and A. Sliwinski appeared entitled "A Look at Opportunities." The majority of arguments, both in the area of analysis and of evaluation, must elicit approval. It is different, however, with concrete attampts at solving the problem of motivating young people in work for the country, pulling them out of their sluggishness and lack of initiative.

The authors propose to the young the "creation of new enterprises, in which the state would participate," which would be units with so-called "liquid property, that is, property in whose growth the state would participate to an increasingly large degree, until, at a certain level, the state would assume it altogether."

My comments on this proposition are twofold: detailed and systemic. As for the first, it seems to me doubtful that it would pay someone to commit his own work, capital and abilities, and then at a certain stage of his firm's development, to risk having it nationalized, it seems to me that in the case of such development, the firm's founders would do everything possible to maintain the private business. Psychologically, this is only natural.

From this comes the second comment. I am opposed to small concessions and to a "transitional" political economy. It does bring out the resourcefulness in people and fills the gaps in the market, but it is not this type of upstart of middle-class mentality that socialism is about. We do not raise, educate and try to persuade youth toward certain ideological and moral principles, just to porpose to them officially this type of solution--even in a crisis.

Several formal and psychological barriers exist in today's socioeconomic situation. For years, youth was fed slogans, promises, big productions and proclamations. Coming face to face with reality, becoming independent, was a profound shock--doing differed so greatly from words.

This disparity caused a very severe crisis of trust among the young, a crisis concerning not only the relationships between the authorities and society, but concerning all areas of life, where older people run things and younger people work. There has been increasing talk about a situation similar to a "conflict of generations," which should not occur in Poland. The symptoms, after all, do exist and closing one's eyes to them will not make the causes of the phenomenon go away.

Barriers

We have never before had a young cadre so carefully educated as now. There are 50,000 graduates of higher schools annually; millions have finished some kind of school, and 8 years of general education is mandatory. Despite the educational disporportions, despite the unevenness with which they start life, people today, as in the 1970's, are incomparably more carefully prepared for an independent start than those who rebuilt Poland.

Even during studies, students of technical high schools have been told of "directing people," and future engineers about "the officers of production." A young "changing of the guard" was talked about--that the country need the young, that it was waiting.

However, after finishing studies, life spitefully showed its tongue. True, there was work but given begrudgingly. Great projects awaited, but the positions in them were largely taken. And everywhere only your "paper" counted for getting in, and only then your "work experience." Neither work, nor talent, nor conscience determined wages and reclassification. What did determine and still determines, are the pay schedules. Their base is the fictitious "work experience."

People Born in 1939

The older generation earned its status in conditions different from those at present. People born in 1939 were overcome with the enthusiasm of the first decade of reconstruction and industrialization--the practical success of real socialism. That was the only example in our history when propaganda slogans were in accord with the real needs of the country and the interests of the majority of the young generation of that time. Then the slogan was "social advance," mainly through migration from villages to cities, and also through the requirements of education.

The destroyed, redeveloping country ached for a cadre with any kind of education, and, if not that, then at least with practical abilities. Migration of millions to the cities created there a working class of the first generation for which this was a historical, cultural, and educational advance. And the advance was real, was realized. They waded through it with almost savage toil, in a fight with completely unknown ways of work, in a personal fight to remain in this new, difficult, but attractive world.

Torn from their roots, from rural culture and traditions, they took on everything in the city quickly and superficially. But after years, they created a new society, with peasant hardness and steadfastness in the fight for one's own, and also one promising their children the further right to their own status and a start from the level to which their parents worked up, just as in the village.

Entrenched in Positions

Socialism without crisis, without conflict, egalitarian, was to guarantee mainly stability. And although many times publicists scoffed at our new city dweller, he worked hard at a formal and legal assurance of his economic well-being.

To that end, two emotionally colored ideas were conceived: fluctuation, something bad, and work experience, something good.

The obvious results emerged: young people mainly fluctuate. In a system where pay and the standard of living depends mainly on the number of years of work, and advances of 200-300 zloty occur almost automatically once every 2 years, the young worker would have to work 10 years to obtain 2,000 to 3,000 zlotys more in pay. And that is at all work levels, and also in piecework, where experience affects pay, where additional pay for years of service allows older people to observe with sympathy the young working hard to earn as much as they do during a standstill.

Young people thus often change work mainly to obtain a considerable raise in transferring. This is their only change of quickly obtaining a life style similar to that which was promised them in the process of ecucation. All the better ones are bought crudely.

But does it pay to work to a certain time. You have to pass the magic 10 years, so you do not lose your vacation time, and so your sick leave is paid in full. Later, benefits accrue for service, and status automatically begins to rise. Then, you look wiht a different eye at those who exceed the norms, who want reform, change improvement. Every change threatens what has been already gained, and the older a person is, the less he desires reforms.

From this, every new pay schedule or group contract is filled with conditions rewarding work experience. At present, it is involved in all reclassification to higher positions. The rule of seniority, however, assures the removal from reclassification of those with fluctuation, those from the outside. This leads to the continuation of schemes and cliques--it's known that you can always make a deal with your own.

A formal and legal system programmed in this way guarantees a maximum retention of positions gained, guaranteed status and little stability. A system programmed in this way also is directed mainly, and almost exclusively, against youth--it puts them "in their place", it beats out of their hot heads most of the fantasies which were promised them in school, home, college.

What is this opportunity?

Again, unfortunately, it is necessary to look to examples from the highly developed countries. Not entirely, of course. Not in matters of unemployment, in inequalities in systems and fortunes, but in the way the cadre manages in a truly modern industry.

The most efficient Western enterprises, in their activity, and in their competitiveness, are programmed internally for constant change. Some even have positions of assistants to directors for change and modernization.

Personnel workers, who come under such directors, perform completely differently than in Poland. They devote almost all of their time to improving and doing dynamic evaluations based on scientific systems of research and criteria. They register not only scientific and research, achievements and improvements not only reward people for them, but search for "holes in the works." Even the smallest irregularity is subjected to analysis, to a "brainstorm" for improving the process of production. The person who does this is immediately caught, trained, improved, made more independent and utilized further.

And neither a paper nor a diploma counts here, but abilities and talent. In Japan, for example, individual plants with the most talented workers train people on the premises and advance them to the highest positions. But only insofar as the credentials given them are good in the given concern only--in the case of a job change, they start from scratch. A different plant may not honor their qualifications. But that too is only theory. Every firm will hire away a really skilled worker from the competition. Then, even assurance against fluctuation does not account for much.

In regard to the most useful group of employees, fluctuation is considered a desirable asset. The United States especially is famous for hiring the most famous European specialists. In this case, the more firms you have worked for, the better you are considered, and the greater your worht to the next firm.

With workers it is different. Every industry wants to keep them for themselves as long as possible. And not only by offering higher wages. That depends mainly on the quality of work. What keeps them is housing built with the help of the firm, social benefits, etc., and finally, changes in the organization of production. The Swedes, for example, to avoid a decline in quality and efficiency on the production line, introduced a "star" system, where every worker does, not one or two, but dozens of jobs. Then he is, to a greater degree, the maker of the whole product, and he also is less bored from standing in one place.

Of course, humanitarian concerns are not the motive for this process. The point is maximum profit, optimal utilization of human resource, its potential, talent. That is why in the West today, the problem of unemployment of 50-year-olds is occurring. They have been exploited, and now they can be cast aside. There is also the fact that in exactly

this kind of system, without slogans of "great opportunities," the highest paid positions, highest wages and standard of living are obtained at age 30-40. Thirty-year-old administrators, department heads and directors of firms in their twenties, are nothing unusual. This is a utilization of a simple phenomenon: at this age a person is physically and mentally most effective.

Scrap the Old?

Certainly not. The socialist system should differ from the capitalist system in practice by the lack of an exploitative relationship of the economy to the worker. That is the way it is today. Not only does it not exploit him, but it does not even use him to the fullest. Thanks to an almost feudal, formal relationship to the young, beginning workers, in Poland you cannot become a master more quickly than by going through the long period of apprenticeship and journeyman training. You cannot become one of the independent people living from payday to payday without problems with their own apartment, television and automatic washer.

In speaking about the situation of youth, we should, in my opinion, aim at a general change of our labor legislation. The requirements of work experience, when making any kind of decision about advancement or reclassification, must be completely done away with. Measureable results of work, the financial picture of the enterprise or institution, and mainly the talents and potential of the worker should determine these matters.

The system of filling the higher positions should be based on professional competence and on... ideological ability. Yes, on ideological ability, on the ability to translate the rules of socialist humanism into the language of the everyday worker's reality. OUr socialism depends in practice on the lowest rungs of management, on the interpretation of bosses, directors, managers, and self-governing bodies. It is based on the division of produced goods according to the rule that the one deserving of them is the person who needs them the most, who has the least and who works well at his position. A socialist director pays through the nose for an engineer; inventors do the same for a good manager. A good, much lower paid worker will be sent with his family to Zlote Piaski at the firm's expense, a place in the nursery will be given to the baby of a single mother, and company housing will be given to young people with few assets.

The higher paid workers should be able to afford paying for their standard of living, their wider choice of consumer goods while the others should be afforded the feeling of human dignity, the conviction that what belongs to the firm is theirs because it comes from their work.

Revoking the idea of "work experience" will give young people, I am convinced, real possibilities for a start in life. This will change the structure of wages. The highest wages will come in the most productive part of life. In an economy based, after the reform, on laws of the marketplace, young, able workers will replace the administrative personnel themselves, that is, if they are better.

And what about the older workers?

Here a system of legal protection, insuring mainly against layoffs, but not against a lowering of wages, will have to come into operation. In our system, we cannot allow the release of older people who have worked long and hard. But higher pay for poorer work is also immoral.

I see here great potential in an appropriately designed pension-annuity system. Pensions above all should be calculated and reevaluated relative to the current average wage. By basing persions on the two highest annual real wages, retirement for older people will improve their social status. When someone was an important director for several years, and later his earnings were considerably lower, the pension should have today's purchasing power. In this situation retirement means a very obvious economic improvement. In such a case, the saying "he worked for a well-deserved rest" regains its real sense. At the same time, this will free older, tired people from their tight hold on, an blocking of, positions. Of course, this will occur only when the amount of pensions will be, not two-thirds of the wages, but eight-tenths or 100 percent.

The Eroding "Golden Mean"

Much is said about youht in times of crisis. Much also is done for them: the much advertised loans for young married couples, coupons for basic goods, priority on waiting lists for cooperative apartments and youth patronage for apartment construction. The hard work of administration, the tons of propaganda publications and... things are getting worse and worse. Today, the dramatic effort to build 200,000 apartments in 1982 continues. At this pace, it is frightening to think of the prospects for the waiting millions and their offspring because there is no restriction on having children. This reminds one of trying to prop up a falling building with sticks.

I think that the time has arrived for a systemic changes, for changes in thinking, which are all the easier because they will begin with the revolution in social thinking which economic reform will bring about.

Because of investment in heavy industry, mechanization, etc., agriculture was consistently short of resources. For the sake of production, education and health care were stifled. To avoid a reluctance to work by the most productive and highest placed people, age 40-50, the whole sphere of interests of the coming generations were covered by propaganda. Holes were quickly patched up when there was a threat of an outburst or when one already had occurred. There was not enough imagination for systemic changes.

Arrangement of matters of advancement, the realization of a start for the best workers--not only for the youngest--will give youth opportunities. If what psychologists say is true, if courage aggressiveness, competence and energy really are traits of the young, if young people are better

prepared professionally than older people, they will manage, based on the elimination of legal barriers to their advancement, the scores of barriers to their self-sufficiency, for example, in private construction or in the work of youth construction unions, of restrictions against acquiring material and equipment. If self-sufficiency is allowed, initiative will be spurred and it will be possible to solve much more quickly and much less expensively these problems, which on a large scale, seem insoluble.

Under capitalism, one speaks with hatred of hyenas who make fortunes mainly during periods of crisis. These are most often speculators, cheaters and frauds.

You might think that the young, the ones who are the least responsible for our crisis are gaining the most. Let us free their initiative in their own affairs and in the way they manage their lives here and now.

More than half of those working in the socialist economy are young. If they really help each other, we all gain.

It seems to me still that the further use of a social and economic "golden mean" is impossible. It has eroded.

9915
CSO: 2600/541

SOCIOLOGIST DISCUSSES RELIGION AMONG YOUTH

Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 28 Apr 82 pp 6-7

/Interview with Dr Ion Mihail Popescu, Bucharest Sociology Center, by Florian Popa-Micsan/

/Text/ /Question/ You are the head of a collective at the Sociology Center that has made an extensive study of the religious phenomenon under present conditions. What were your objectives?

/Answer/ Thorough knowledge of the religious phenomenon and its most accurate measurement in order to efficiently combat obscurantism, mysticism and religious fanaticism; clarification of some psychosocial mechanisms of the attitudes, behavior and religious convictions; and formulation of suggestions for reinforcing atheist education, especially among youth.

/Question/ In what areas and localities did you make the study?

/Answer/ In more than 150 localities in Maramures, Satu-Mare, Bihor, Prahova, Brasov, Neamt, Tulcea, Salaj, Gorj, Giurgiu, Calarasi, Caras-Severin and Bistrita-Nasaud counties and in the Ilfov agricultural region. The research teams were composed of teachers and researchers from Bucharest University and of students in the Philosophy and History Section of the Department of Philosophy and History and, in addition to them, party and state activists in every county as well as teachers and specialists in various fields in the areas and localities studied. The selective survey based on a questionnaire covered over 12,000 informants (youths between 17 and 37 years) chosen according to criteria which you of course know. The data were collected and partly processed between 1975 and 1981, during the students' practical experience included in the education plans, so that research, education and social-political experience were suitably integrated.

/Question/ A study of the religious phenomenon is a difficult undertaking. A wide variety of research methods and techniques must be used. How was your investigation distinguished in this respect?

/Answer/ Perhaps by the use of a composite and pluralistic methodological program wherein every technique (from observation techniques to content analysis) is given an

equal methodological value so that the information acquired by one procedure can be checked and compared with that obtained by another in order to make the conclusions as reliable as possible in the last analysis.

/Question/ It goes without saying that it is not enough to study the believer's psychology alone in order to determine the socioeconomic causes of religious belief? What have you actually discovered by your investigation of the religious phenomenon?

/Answer/ Significant decreases in the number of believers in the "traditional" religions, especially the Orthodox, Roman-Catholic, Mohammedan, Judaic and Armeno-Gregorian religions and the Ancient Rite, less significant decreases in the number of members of the Protestant denominations (Reformed, Evangelical CA /expansion unknown/, Evangelical SP /expansion unknown/ and Unitarian), and significant increases in the number of members of the neo-Protestant denominations (Baptist, Seventh-Day Adventist, Christian According to the Gospel, and Pentecostal). Less educated and less qualified persons in the older age groups predominate among the believers, finding in religious organizations the illusory hope of reward and compensation. Meanwhile an intensive secularization of the world and society is going on, primarily due to socialist construction and revolution and evidenced particularly by eminently secular attitudes, convictions and behavior in large groups of youth, by the formation of large schools of nonreligious opinion among rural youth, and by a divine absenteeism (as Lucian Blaga would say) apparent in nearly all categories of the population.

/Question/ What did the field studies reveal about the neo-Protestant denominations?

/Answer/ Two opposite trends: an attraction to institutions of education, instruction and culture, characterizing the Baptists and Seventh-Day Adventists, and a fear of education, instruction and culture like the horror vacui of medieval philosophies, characterizing the Christian According to the Gospel and Pentecostal denominations. The latter believe that too much learning is harmful and that observance of religious norms requires only minimal knowledge imparted not by schools but by the church.

/Question/ The state of religious belief is different today than it was, say, 20 or 30 years ago. New religions are appearing, as well as proselyting campaigns among youth. How dangerous are those campaigns?

/Answer/ You are probably thinking particularly of the unauthorized religious groups on Romanian territory. It is known that they are organized in small and medium groups and rarely in large ones and that they operate secretly, using subtle means of clandestine persuasion, pressure and repression that are not just religious. Such groups (Jehovah's Witnesses, Adventists, Reformists, Pentecostal Dissidents, Nazarenes, God's Army, Betanists, Universalists et al.) are not legally recognized because their creeds and organizational charters do not meet the legal requirements for recognition, and they violate the standards of social coexistence and public morality. In recent years the mass communications media have repeatedly informed public opinion of violations not only of public order but also of good will among people and religious organizations.

/Question/ You included institutions of higher education in the study. What is the state of religious belief among the students?

/Answer/ An applied study at the Bucharest University Center in 1978 included 28 departments in eight institutes of higher education (the University, the Polytechnic

Institute, the Nicolae Balcescu Institute of Agronomy, the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy, the Institute of Constructions, the Academy of Economic Studies, the Cyprian Porumbescu Conservatory and the Nicolae Grigorescu Institute of Plastic Arts), with a sampling of 1,800 students, all of whom were born since 23 August 1944. "Small samplings" on the criteria of "micro-samplings" were taken in every county if institutes of higher education were operating in its localities, so that your question is justified. But there is no state of religious belief among the students in the strict sense of the term. There are no religious students outside of a number that is practically negligible statistically. There are religious attitudes, due to defective awareness, the power of persuasion of parents or religious groups, or other causes. Students from neo-Protestant families (especially Baptist and Seventh-Day Adventist families) are exceptions. Through a strange "contagion of the holy," they seek their main satisfactions in the institutions of higher education for medicine and pharmacy, for example, or art, law, agronomy or constructions and find their "friends" or "girl friends" in the other departments. But in the main the students have atheistic (often eminently secular) attitudes, behavior and convictions. The participation of groups of students in special religious ceremonies (weddings, christenings or funerals) is only rarely for religious reasons.

/Question/ A book by a "witch" made a great stir last year. Does it explain the interest, including that of youths, in divination, astrology, prophecies and other such forms of religious obscurantism?

/Answer/ All localities in the areas studied contain a kind of religious baggage reflected in the interest of some youths or groups of youths in elementary forms of religious experience and in forms of mysticism and obscurantism instituted as parascientific and parareligious forms. The have an interest and confidence in astrology, fortunetelling, divination in coffee, palmistry, fortunetelling with cowry shells and beans, spells, charms, and other primitive exorcisms, to say nothing of attending rituals of religious establishments and wearing religious insignia made in a para-aesthetic style. Although such manifestations do not always indicate rejection of the historical and dialectical-materialist ideology concerning the world and life and only rarely reflect firm religious convictions, they must be combatted as resolutely as professed religious convictions because they do not necessarily represent remnants of attitudes that are disappearing on a macrosocial scale but symptoms that may recur at a lower cultural level and in the presence of some weaknesses in the effort to combat mysticism, obscurantism and religious fanaticism. It was believed for a long time that this religious baggage is to be explained solely by the attitudes of its bearers and that it is not a matter for the sciences, thus giving free rein to some marginal elements of society who battened on the need of novelty and the hope of reward through an illusory compensation that was entertained by large categories of the population to make undeserved profits from such primitive religious practices and from the sale of articles of that kind.

/Question/ What proposals have you made to improve atheist education?

/Answer/ Quite a few. But they cannot be summarized or systematized right here and now. Essentially they concern long-term measures for continuing improvement of all fields of social activity, from legislation regulating general legal control of religions to improvement of the education plans and analytical programs. The principle of "educating the educators" is quite valid in a socialist society in Romania's present stage of development. But it must not be forgotten that "Falsehood must be proven false in itself and not by the fact that its opposite is true," as Lenin says, quoting Hegel.

5186
CSO: 2700/287

DETAILS ON KOSOVO 'COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY' GROUPS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 13, 20 Apr 82

[Second and third installments of series by Zivko Milic: "Dossier of the Counterrevolution in Kosovo"]

[13 Apr 82 pp 81-84]

[Text] People With Two Faces

At first glance the trojkas, local committees made up of teachers and university or secondary school students do not give the impression of any particular force in terms of the number of members, adherents and followers. They had few production workers or farmers, and more idle, fledgling and unseasoned people with education. There were few political hypocrites among them, people with one secret face that is hidden, though there were some of those as well. Since they were operating in settlements, in communities, and usually in school faculties and student bodies, in places where sociopolitical organizations exist, which also implies an elaborate system of social self-protection, including a security service, it is very easy to underestimate them.

What, for example, could the underground organization (local committee) of Ismail Hajredinaj do in Decani?

On 7 October 1980 many street signs in the town were painted over. Of course, that part of the bilingual street names written in Serbo-Croatian was blotted out. Someone did this at night, and his message was more than clear. Just a few weeks later it happened again. Again the street names in Serbo-Croatian were painted over, while the names in Albanian were left unless the streets bore the names of national heroes of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality. Then both versions were obliterated.

So that there would be no mistake, the hand of the nationalists defaced the streets of Decani on the eve of 28 November 1980, a national holiday of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Not only did the irredenta celebrate its own holiday in that way, but it also insulted our own holiday, Republic Day, 29 November. The chauvinistic underground--all this was discussed--is still and increasingly bothered by the heroes of the revolution, who shed their own blood for the community of Yugoslavs, for the brotherhood and unity of our nationalities and ethnic minorities.

So that there might be no confusion as to who the "heroes" were who had in this way repudiated the heroes, that very same day someone wrote on the walls of the "Vellezerit Frasheri" School Center for Vocational Education in Decani: Long Live the Albanian Workers Party! Enver Hoxha! Down With Revisionism!

Both language versions, both scripts, were painted over on the plaque in the street named after the national hero Petar Prlja. However, this eruption of nationalistic enmity did not surprise the disturbed and frightened citizenry of Decani of all nationalities. Two days before the bust of the hero had disappeared from its pedestal in the grounds of the elementary school in Irznic, which was also named after him.

The next day the citizens of Decani read nothing in the newspapers about everything that had happened. There was no debate in the Socialist Alliance and youth organization or in local communities about the shady work of the adherents of the underground organizations "Red Front" and "National Liberation Movement of Kosovo," which was obvious, at least from the slogans which they had scrawled all over the town. Perhaps the provincial press truly cannot and need not record every outbreak, every slogan which appears in some little town or village? Perhaps they really did not know who were all the people behind those irredentist acts?

Perhaps it was enough for this to be known to law enforcement agencies and the political leadership?

If one seeks an answer to these questions, in the spirit and logic of a self-managing society, then it is unthinkable that the citizens, organized through self-management, could conduct a political campaign against a masked enemy without being familiar with the forms and methods they were combating, his strategy and tactics. Social self-protection simply cannot be effective if those conducting it, the working people and citizens, do not know who they are protecting themselves from and who they are fighting.

Today--1.5 years later--they know a great deal more in Decani. They know that the local committee of the NOPK [National Liberation Movement of Kosovo] of Ismail Hajredinaj, connected through Nimon Mustafaj with Ali Selmanaj, a university student from Glodjane (30), along one of the lines of its activity gathered together a group of followers who carried out these acts in 1980. Bajram Mehmetaj (29), Sace Qerimaj (29) and Isa Hasanaj (43), all farmers from the village Junik and Glodjane in Decani Opstina, and the village Rakoc in Djakovica Opstina, removed the bust of Petar Prlja from the grounds of the school in Irznic at about 2300 hours on 26 November 1980 and hid it in a hole on the Irznic--Glodjane road.

During a public discussion held 25 August 1981 it was in fact discovered who painted the sign--these were all by and large minors, pupils at the vocational education school, whose names we are not giving for that very reason. In February 1981 S. K. and M. B. established the youth group Shgiponja (Eagle), which then carried out many other tasks.

The fanaticism of these misguided children, who were altogether unable to fully realize what someone had persuaded them to do was surpassed in the court by the testimony of Bajram Mehmetaj, one of the three who removed the bust of the national hero Petar Prlja:

"Petar Prlja wanted to kill one of my relatives, and I wanted to take revenge."

All of them, both the farmers and the schoolchildren, were actually directed (whether they were conscious of it or not) by the local committee of the "National Liberation Movement" and by its chairman Ismail Hajredinaj--through the trojka members Ali Selmanaj, a university student, and Islam Mustafaj (22), a student at the school of agriculture, who of the entire group were given the heaviest sentences by the court in the first instance. Connections based on proximity (most were from the same village) and kinship were used to involve people in underground activity.

At this point we will discuss another branch and connection of the Decani organization, one extending into another opstina. The connection, as we showed in the diagram published in our last issue, was Bajram Gashi (23), employed until his arrest as a policeman in the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Djakovica, who was at the same time a student at the Junior Postsecondary School of Pedagogy in the same town (department of Albanian language and literature).

His "case" is more than interesting. This is an obviously enterprising individual who was studying at the university while still working, but it is also a case of political hypocrisy in a very dangerous job of a custodian of law and order which he secretly wished to destroy, undermine and replace.

Back in late 1979 and in the first half of 1980 Gashi met and became a friend of Ismail Hajredinaj, leader (founder) and chairman of the Decani local committee, a teacher of physical education. Gashi had great attractions for Hajredinaj, since he worked in the Secretariat for Internal Affairs. He began to give him illegal emigre and other anti-Yugoslav literature. When he came to trust him sufficiently, he sent him out to recruit others.

In September 1980, in accordance with the precise instructions of Hajredinaj, who had familiarized him with the method of organization into trojkas, Gashi established the hostile underground group--the local committee of the "Red Front"--near the village Lapusnik at a place called Saiste, this time in Glogovac Opstina, in which he included people to whom he had been giving illegal literature over the previous 2 months and whom he had prepared for enrollment in the organization.

It has not been made clear why the local committee of the NOPK established a local committee of the "Red Front" through Bajram Gashi in Glogovac Opstina, but one can guess.

But the form and name of the hostile points of support are not so important. At the founding meeting Gashi handed out the title of chairman to Alush Thaci (26), a university student from Lapusnik, who went by the code name Bregu

(Hill), while he retained for himself the post of secretary (Skifteri--Falcon).

The committee's third member was Ismet Sopi, also of Lapusnik, a teacher at the elementary school in Orlat, who had the pseudonym Shpetim (Rescue), and he took over the tasks of treasurer (collecting and keeping accounts of dues). Qerim Sopi (54), the oldest member of the group, a farmer, who had finished 2 years of elementary school (pseudonym Flaka--Flame), Nuhi Sopi (39), a worker in the slaughterhouse at Kosovo Polje, with the secret nickname Koci, Naim Bujupi (34), a teacher in Orlat, and Halil Kuliqi (30), a university student, made up the rest of the members of the group organized by Gashi's leading trojka.

They operated according to the same principles as the group in Decani, but briefly, since the leader Bajram Gashi was arrested immediately thereafter, while the others were discovered only after the March and April events in 1981, after the demonstrations and disorders brought about in Glogovac. Perhaps precisely because he was a policeman, because he worked in an environment in which his true political face could not go unnoticed, he was thwarted in his work quite early.

By contrast with a majority of the accused who were before the courts during 1981 and 1982, Gashi did not attempt to mitigate his guilt in his defense. While a majority said that they had been persuaded to take part in the illegal organizations and activities, unaware that they were operating against the constitutional system, that they were organizers and leaders, Bajram Gashi had no regrets and admitted all the allegations in the indictment.

According to his testimony before the court, he began his hostile activity as soon as he read the Communist Manifesto in which Marx says that every border defined by a war causes a new war. He spoke about the Prizren League, whose task, he thought, was to win the rights of the Albanian people which had not been realized even by the revolution.

He went on to speak of the Berlin Congress, about Isa Boletini, Azem Bejta, and even about Miladin Popovic in just the same way as they are spoken of in Albanian propaganda broadcast by Radio Tirana whose "line of argument" aimed at Kosovo and Albanian citizens in the SFRY strives to prove the "historic necessity" of breaking up the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia and to encourage Kosovo separatism.

It is difficult to judge whether Bajram Gashi was a victim or instrument of that propaganda. Probably he was both.

"We are not demanding," he declared, "that the Serbs, Montenegrins and others leave Kosovo, but rather we want to live together, but not as an ethnic minority. I and the others will go to the end and punishment will have no effect on us at all."

The members of the illegal group which Gashi recruited and established even when he was still a policeman, continued to operate when he was already in

custody awaiting trial and just a few months later went out into the streets of Glogovac shouting "Kosovo a Republic." As members of the "Red Front," whose leadership was sitting abroad, they also--like their leader Bajram Gashi in the courtroom--maintained their discipline in spite of everything within the limits of the tactical phase of their movement.

The newspaper of their illegal organization BASHKIMI (UNITY), according to a quotation during the trial, spoke unambiguously about the strategic objective in its appeals for a struggle "with the pen and the gun for liberation" of Kosovo and for merger with the parent country, socialist Albania, for "liberation from the barbarous occupier, Yugoslavia," and so on, and so on. The ears and souls of Bajram Gashi and his followers were filled in the name of those goals with Great Albanian spirit, aspirations and deceptions.

Certainly the case of Bajram Gashi and the others also indicates our own mistakes and oversights--when we fully interpret their history, clearly, in terms of the class, science and the facts.

Having traveled the road along which the trojka system in Decani Opstina created a separate organization in Glogovac Opstina, let us move on to the Decani--Kosovska Mitrovica connection (the latter still went by that name at the time). Again the connection was the local committee in Decani--from Ismail Hajredinaj to Hasan Ukehaxhaj, from him to Avdullah Hasanmetaj--and finally to Bislim Bajrami (32), the key man in our new episode, which shows how the underground network spreads with disproportionate speed.

Bajrami is a machine technician, he lives in Mitrovica, and he works in a factory of the Trepca Mining, Metallurgical and Chemical Combine in Srbica. "Red Front" and the "National Liberation Movement of Kosovo," then, made inroads from Decani (and who knows from what other directions) toward the most highly developed center in Kosovo, the industrial area of Mitrovica, to establish its own underground points there or to link up with those that already existed. Persuaded by Avdullah Hasanmetaj, Bajrami (Besnik--Devoted) established his trojka according to the well-known formula in July 1980; it consisted of himself, Ismail Smakiqi (25), a student in the school of engineering who lacked only final examinations to graduate and was a teacher in the Silvira Tomazini School Center in Kosovska Mitrovica (pseudonym Fisnik--Noble), and Jakup Rexhepi (26), a lawyer employed in an institution for old-age and disability insurance (nickname Guri).

They received and adopted bylaws, they read the underground press, they paid their dues, they did everything done by the other similar illegal groups, and above all they recruited new members, again on the principle of closed trojkas.

Nevertheless, as established at the trial in the District Court in Kosovska Mitrovica on 12 June 1981, broader and fuller knowledge is being gained about how the domestic and external enemy operated in Kosovo. It is becoming clear that it made its way painfully, slowly, that it had defeats in its efforts, that it encountered resistance first of all from the Albanians themselves, who were the only ones addressed, but they refused to accept its goals and its ideology. For example, in the defendant's box in Kosovska Mitrovica there

were only three members of the trojka, those who had committed themselves to expanding an enlarging their organization, as the bylaws called upon them to do, while in the trial there were just as many witnesses, precisely those whom Bajrami, Smakiqi and Rexhepi had not only attempted to win over, but had even--prematurely as it turned out--assigned secret nicknames.

We are also discovering why the dues were paid and what they were spent for: Bislim Bajrami, who was the treasurer, would turn the money over to Avdullah Hasanmetaj in Decani. He was aware, it seems, that it was primarily intended to obtain weapons and only thereafter to aid the families of the poor members of the organizations and those arrested for their illegal dirty work.

According to the testimony of one witness, who was a participant in a similar organization, he and the members of the illegal group might know the members of the local committee, but they would not know the names of the members or the place of operation of the central committee. That central committee--the main leadership--is still an unconfirmed hypothesis in all the trials held in 1981, insofar as it might be some point of leadership within the country and within SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo. The facts established at present and the testimony of members of the illegal organizations indicate that all the detected links and channels lead abroad, to diplomatic missions of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, or directly to Tirana, and there there really is a central committee.

It is not out of the way in this case, which occurred in Kosovska Mitrovica, a workers' city which today bears Tito's name, to present the basic argument used in defense of the principal defendant. In the end his trojka was a tiny minority among the tens of thousands of Albanian workers who are creating and producing, self-managing and defending our community consensus and the achievements of our revolution, and that still would have been the case if there had been 100-fold more of them. The working class in Mitrovica, the strongest attachment of the working class in Kosovo, affected by the inherited backwardness and difficult economic problems of the present, has been proving its faith in the correctness of the strategy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia--the strategy of self-management and community consensus.

Bislim Bajrami, however, testified in court:

"I do not agree with the social system in Yugoslavia, with the social inequities, the informality [familijarnost], with the economic crimes. If this is self-management socialism, it would be better for it not to exist, and I think these injustices would be corrected if Kosovo were proclaimed a republic."

Nor can the working class of Yugoslavia as a whole reconcile itself to the deformations and shortcomings Bislim Bajrami cannot put up with. What makes him different is the idea of Kosovo, forcibly wrenched from the SFRY, dropping out of that system of self-management to be hitched up to the yoke of Stalinist bureaucratic omnipotence. Where Bajrami sees the cause of the evil, the workers of Mitrovica, among whom the trojka remained isolated, see the method and their class weapon to overcome and eradicate this.

It was quite by accident that we began our researches in Decani, and we might have started from any other opstina, city, or village in the province, or even from outside it. We might have started with one conspirator, like Salih Salihu (22), for example, a university student from Podujevo, who in February 1980 established an illegal organization with six members in that same town, giving it the name "Back on Its Feet" (Perseri ne kembe) and gave a nickname to each member, drafted rules of order, and did all of this under the persuasion of Selatin Shal, a farmer from Podujevo, who was thereby obviously extending the chain of illegal trojkas. We still would have come to the same results--to sizable established forms of organization and methods of indoctrination, recruitment, and gradual involvement of candidates in various actions. The members of the group in Podujevo, which Salihu gathered and led, later on raised up young people, schoolchildren, university students, and certain working people against the forces of order and security, encouraging violence in the context of the broader offensive of the counterrevolutionary forces in Kosovo.

The same was done by the points and trojkas of the broader organization or by individuals in Vucitrn, Glogovac, Kacanik, Pec, Urosevac, Ljipljan, Istok and other parts of the province.

The enemy systematically, persistently and aggressively sought a base and point of support wherever he was allowed--either by a lack of vigilance or the passivity of the responsible authorities. One of the places of greatest strategic importance to him, one which he intended to conquer and to some extent did so, was the university in Pristina. That will be the topic of the next installment.

[20 Apr 82 pp 80-84]

[Text] It Began in Room 310

"I swear on the anger of the Albanians and the Albanian flag that I will fight unceasingly for unification of Albanian areas." Those are the words composed on the spot by Bajram Kosumi and uttered by all those present in Room 310 of Dormitory No 3 in Pristina, which was the room of Gani Vllahia, still a student attending classes at that time in the school of economics in Pristina, but who later finished everything but his final examinations. That was one evening in January 1980. There were six of them--Musli Kosumi, Gani Maxhuni, Fahri Ymeri, Halit Osmani and Bajram Kosumi (22), the youngest of them (all the rest were 25 and 26) and the only philosophy student among the economists.

They knew each other very well and had long been friends, but that evening they did what had been proposed by Gani Maxhuni back in November 1979--to establish an illegal group and to expand and strengthen it by winning over new trojkas. Maxhuni and Musli Kosumi, the oldest, were the principal speakers, and they talked about the upcoming celebration of 28 November, the day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. They actually conducted a kind of intimate secret ceremonies. Then the discussion began about Stalin's good points and bad points. Maxhuni said that Stalin was a true revolutionary who followed the road of Marx, Engels and Lenin, while Musli Kosumi thought the

opposite: for him Stalin was a revisionist. And the others presented their views as well, but in the end they agreed that they should operate and should create an illegal group that would fight for the annexation of Kosovo by NSR [People's Socialist Republic] Albania.

The idea of the group was realized, as we have said, in January 1980 in the room of Gani Vllahia. The oath meant that traitors among them would be punished most severely, that they all had to abide by the rules of underground operation, that no one was to ask where the illegal propaganda material was coming from nor who gave it to them, nor where it went afterward. It was agreed that each of them would organize a trojka of like-minded people.

Bajram Kosumi drafted a program consisting of five points--ideological edification of the members; furnishing political materials and literature and their distribution; winning over new followers; the fight against Slavicization; and annexation of SAP Kosovo and all the Albanian areas to NSR Albania. As it was established in the trial held 28, 29 and 30 August 1981, this program meant this: following the TV and radiobroadcasts of Tirana, distributing and reading the party materials of the Albanian Workers Party, the illegal newspapers "Voice of Freedom" and "Unity" (published abroad by the "National Liberation Movement of Kosovo" and the "People's Red Front," respectively), studying the works of Enver Hoxha, above all his book "Self-Management--Capitalist Theory and Practice," copying poems and texts glorifying the Kosovo irredentists, enflaming nationalistic sentiments and romanticism (the irredenta ever has its latter-day "heroes"), criticizing the situation in Kosovo and glorifying everything said and done in NSR Albania, disciplined maintenance of contacts through which propaganda material was received from abroad (West Germany, Austria and Albania) and used, indoctrination and recruitment of new members, and their linkage through the system of trojkas, followup and assessment of activity, of the loyalty of every member on assigned missions (in the acts of writing slogans, distributing leaflets, etc.), rousing anti-Yugoslav, especially anti-Serb and anti-Montenegrin, sentiments, boycotting the Serbo-Croatian language, spreading historical myths and the Great Albanian spirit, exerting pressure on the non-Albanian population in the province, activity directed toward destroying the community consensus of the nationalities and ethnic minorities in the SFRY, and activity toward achievement of the ultimate goal.

How many underground cells like Kosumi's were there in January 1980 and later at Pristina University? It is difficult to say, but certainly it was not the only one, nor was it the first that was established there. It is not always possible to establish this from the court record, which contains the testimony of the accused and their counsel, the witnesses and the facts established in evidentiary proceedings. Nor can one even say with certainty who was the real organizer and chief of the group established in Room 310. Was it Gani Maxhuni, the one who furnished the formal initiative, or someone else perhaps not detected even yet? Before the meeting in which they were to decide to establish the underground group--in November 1979--when they talked about Stalin--Halit Osmani, one of the six, made the contact between Bajrum Kosumi and Hajredin Hajredini, a university student from Struga, so that he might talk to him about the "unequal and difficult position" of Albanians in Yugoslavia and about underdeveloped Kosovo. Did that Hajredini contact Kosumi, or Kosumi him,

or was some third party, from the same group or outside it, the long arm of some other underground cell? Someone was pulling the strings, that is certain.

Or let us examine the case of Merxhan Avdili, who was tried with this same group and who, it was stated in the court, had been involved in hostile activity since back in 1978 during his first year at the university. Through his roommate Sahit Osmani Avdili had been receiving material which Osmani's brother Halit brought from Austria and Germany and received from the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade. That Albanian propaganda ("Letter of the Albanian Workers Party Addressed to the Chinese Government," pamphlets of Mahmut Shehu and Ramiz Alija, magazines and literary publications) was sufficient to prepare Avdili to become a new link for the trojka of Bajram Kosumi, chairman of the illegal sextet of the "Red Front" from Room 310. B. Kosumi also roomed at one time with Avdili and had connections with many students in the dormitories at Pristina University. The very fact that the six members of the underground group were tried before the District Court in Pristina with another 10 or so university students, past and present, indicates that many rooms in the student dormitories were connected not only by corridors, but the enemy's systematic, conspiratorial and carefully planned activity also streamed through the walls of the dormitories.

The network was obviously organized in response to a uniform directive issued by a single center and governed by the same principles. Almost all the underground organizations discovered in SAP Kosovo were very similar or identical in the way they were organized and the way the system of trojkas was connected, in the rules of conspiracy, the program of activities, the method of action, and the goals, and what adaptations there were to the particular situation were inessential. They all distributed and covered the same literature. The members of the groups in the nuclei were given pseudonyms, and there was both criticism and self-criticism in the meetings. Thus Bajram Kosumi (Andreja) was praised on one occasion since he had done good work and in the trojka system had successfully recruited people of like mind, while the work of Halit Osmani (Kovaci) and Gani Vllahia (Shkrepi) was on one occasion given a bad mark. Nevertheless, all three, together with Musli Kosumi (Bardhi), Fahri Ymeri (Aliu) and Gani Maxhuni celebrated 28 November, the day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, for the second time in 1980. They met in Xhevat Kastrati's home in Pristina.

Let us refresh our memories: this was the winter of 1979/1980; Tito at that time was battling his grave illness and then death. The international situation had suddenly deteriorated, especially with the events in Afghanistan. All the internal and external enemies were preparing feverishly for action. Kosumi's cell at Pristina University, the one created in Room 310, and those others which were not discovered behaved relatively cautiously at that time. When it was proposed in the group that Tito's picture be removed in the dormitory and that the state flag of the SFRY be torn, someone said that this would be moving too fast, and the idea was abandoned. The principal task of the group at that moment was ideological improvement, and they were not to undertake actions which would give them away. Someone was providing the direction, preparing what happened a year later--in March and April 1981.

At that time there were many professors and instructors from Tirana teaching at Pristina University. No one saw anything dangerous about large numbers of people listening to Radio Tirana and watching Albanian television. "Red Front" was working at full capacity--through the secret organization and through its organ, which, as Bajram Kosumi told Merxhan Avdili after he had read BASHKIMI (UNITY), No 3, was working to raise the consciousness of the people, which would bring about the "revolution." Thus a Great Albanian separatist conspiracy was dug in at the university.

The demonstrations and disorders of the students which began on 11 March 1981 flared up on 26 March and reached their peak on 1 and 2 April. They were planned as a kind of fuse which was supposed to cause explosions and conflicts all over the province (which in fact they did). They served as signals for the other illegal counterrevolutionary organizations to go into action.

There is no doubt that the methodological model used on this occasion comes from the arsenal of special warfare, also referred to as indirect warfare. In the first phase this model calls for indoctrination and firm organization of the nucleus, which has direction in terms of ideology, politics and action and which is capable of disciplined performance of tasks assigned it. Through its underground subversive activity and infiltration it destroys the tissue of the existing order, seeks out its weak points, and so on. When the time is right, this illegal organization, without making known its true goals, demands, identity, leaders' names, nor even its existence, utilizes or artificially creates and accentuates some problem or pretext that arouses the political and emotional reaction to social groups and masses and identifies itself with it. These may be major events, but they also may be insignificant, examples of injustice, social and economic shortcomings, incidents, accidents--cases that cause resentment. An illegal organization carrying out special warfare takes the sign from its leadership in focusing on that kind of situation or phenomenon and uses it to gain allies and followers. Through its disciplined members it operates from within a large body or segment of society and puts demands which suit the pretext or are related to it, and it then radicalizes them and instills them in the masses in that radicalized form. If it succeeds in accomplishing this phase, it moves on to the next phase--it emerges as a movement and puts new and broader demands--usually unacceptable--which no longer have any relation to the pretext--deepening the crisis and striving to cause open conflicts and bloodshed, sharp polarization, and the largest possible upheavals. If it also gets through that phase, it is only then that it emerges with its minimal and then its full-fledged demands, and at a suitable moment emerges from the dark with its true face and leaders onto the national and international scene and moves unrestrainedly toward its ultimate goal, of course with the help of factors outside the country.

It is this scenario for indirect, special warfare that was attempted in Kosovo against the SFRY. To avoid repeating everything that is already well known concerning these events, here is what happened at the local level--at Pristina University, which served as the impetus for the broader unrest and counterrevolutionary activity in the province.

We are back again in Dormitory No 3 and in that notorious Room 310. More than a year has passed since the six-member underground group of Bajram Kosumi was established in that room in January 1980. It is 10 March 1981. In the evening, about 2000 hours. The day is coming to an end, and it seems that nothing more of any moment could happen that day for Pristina and the university. Nor for Kosovo, which was preparing for rest.

There are now new people in the room--people later accused and convicted--Gani Koci (24), a student at the Junior Postsecondary School of Pedagogy, Januz Januzi (24), a fourth-year law student, Ramadan Dobra (24), also a lawyer, as was Kadri Kryeziu (24) in the fourth year, and then Murat Musliu (24), also in the pedagogical school, Selim Geci (23), a chemistry student in the division of the natural sciences, and Bedri Deliu (24), a fourth-year law student. Most of them were from villages in Srbica Opstina--Polac, Ljubidze, Krusevci, Likovo, Lause, and Rezala, and one from Pagarusa in Orahovac Opstina.

Gani Koci had invited them to his room, not for the first time. In what student dormitory do the young men and women not gather to talk a bit, to joke, to play instruments or sing? This time, however, it was only to the first glance that they seemed to be having fun. Drinking tea, the people gathered took up the topic which was started by the inventive Koci, who obviously enjoyed a reputation among them--What should be done in connection with the bad food in the dormitory dining hall? One word followed another, and they agreed that the next day, 11 March, they would request a conference with the administration. And if they did not reach agreement with it that they would "cause trouble," interrupt the serving of food, destroy the dining room's furniture and win over the other students to join them in a demonstration.

Though it did involve vandalism, the agreement did not at first suggest anything more than yet another student disorder. In what country in the world have the students been altogether satisfied with the food, with scholarships and housing conditions? But this idea still was not the fruit of youthful impetuosity. This is why: it was agreed in the meeting that the action would begin the next day, 11 March, at precisely 1900 hours, and all those present, who were joined during the evening by certain other students (Hamdi Zymberi) committed themselves to involving as many students as possible in the action, and each of them was given certain tasks. That same night and the next morning about 30 or so students had already been informed in detail about the plan of action: not only, that is, that they would make "trouble" in the restaurant, but also about what would follow. The planned conference with the dining hall manager, to whom they intended to put demands for improvement of service, had no other purpose at all except to disguise what they intended to do in any case. Sometime during the day Gani Koci, organizer of the action, was informed that the serving of food had been speeded up in the dining hall, since another self-service line had been opened. At a brief meeting just before 1900 hours in Room 310 a check was made on the preparations that had been made, and then they all met in front of the dining hall. Some 20 or so of them went into the office asking to speak with the manager, while the others stood in the lines and sat at the tables. The manager, not dreaming what was being prepared, had started to say that everything would be done to improve the way the food was served when Kadri Kryeziu turned over the first table.

As though in response to a signal there began a breaking of chairs, windows and dishware, and a turning over of tables. The group did exactly what Januz Januzi had proposed the previous evening when the outbreak was being prepared. As those students arrived who were informed of the plan and also those who were coming normally for supper, a sizable group was created in front of the restaurant, which was blocked off.

There were slogans to be heard:

"We Want Better Service!"

"Bread!"

Gani Koci's group, carrying out the planned assignment, left the demolished dining hall and went outside where other students were standing, among them, certainly, members of the illegal group of Bajram Kosumi, also an organized detachment of the counterrevolutionary organization in the dormitory. More aggressive slogans were shouted:

"Down With the Bourgeoisie!"

"Unity!"

"We Want Our Comrades Released From Prison!"

Even these slogans uttered in the first minutes after the action began contained its political and action program, and one could decipher as well the entire political situation at the university and establish the strong and organized presence of the enemy. Whereas the slogan "We Want Better Service!" was related to the allegedly legal pretext of the demonstration, the next one--"Bread!"--contained a general social demand with quite broad Kosovo overtones. The third slogan--"Down With the Bourgeoisie!"--was actually an accusation of the social system, based as to its theory on the thesis of Enver Hoxha and the Albanian Workers Party--that Yugoslav self-management is a form of government by the bourgeoisie. The fourth demand--"Unity!"--contained a call (but also pressure) for a rallying around the counterrevolutionary forces in the name of nationalistic Great Albanian visions. In the fifth slogan--"We Want Our Comrades Released From Prison!"--which directly demanded legal legitimacy for counterrevolutionary action, the students declared themselves to be protagonists of the continuity of the irredenta.

To many people at the time this kind of reading of the slogans mentioned seemed forced, but the events which followed were to confirm it. There was no room for illusions, since on 11 March the students, in a crowd in which well-organized groups conscious of what they wanted to achieve were operating, cleared the way for the counterrevolution.

Hamdi Zymberi had a club in his hand. The crowd in the Student Center and the reading room continued demolishing things, and then it went into the street, calling to the other students and citizens to join it. Several instructors who had arrived, after being informed what was happening around the dormitories, tried to bring the leaders to their senses and persuade them to

disperse. No one listened. Ali Lajci, absolvent [student who has finished classwork but not final examinations for a degree] in Albanian literature at the school of philosophy, climbed up on a power substation and shouted:

"Just look at the energy and youthful blood, just see what a power it is--march on!"

Then he vanishes, melts into the multitude, shouts slogans (only to emerge again in the role of a leader 15 days later in the disorders brought about on 26 March 1981). The column moved toward the building of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, slogans were shouted, and stones were thrown at the arriving policemen, who stopped them at the intersection of Srem Street and Ramiz Sadiku Street, and then broke them up into several groups. It was already late, and the demonstrators withdrew toward the dormitories in small groups. Pristina and its citizens were aroused and astounded.

Political bodies were meeting that evening in the city. But what was later learned from the official communications was only the news of the disorder, which, though certainly it was to be condemned, was nothing other than an arrogant expression of student dissatisfaction with living and working conditions which hostile forces had attempted to abuse, without major success. It all left the impression that this was a not very important episode in the rather lengthy chronicle of the irredenta. Certainly there were even at that time people in the political leadership of Kosovo who saw this event as an insolent hint of the enemy's open offensive.

It turned out that that is exactly what was involved, that this was an introductory action in which the domestic enemy was testing his own strength but at the same time testing to see how the political, government and self-management structures of the province, the republic, the Federation, the university and the city would react, to see what sort of means would be used in suppressing the provocation, what sort of information would appear in the media and what sort of political, psychological and propaganda effects the entire action would achieve. The enemy used limited forces for this first of its operations--a detachment of one or two small underground student groups. It did not, then, risk too much and counted on recruiting new followers after the action, which indeed was joined by students who until that point had not been organized.

In the middle of the night there was excitement in front of the dormitories and in the dormitory rooms, and singing was heard. Gani Koci and his group were analyzing the work that had been done. He was able to establish that the mission had been carried out 100 percent. A signal had been given to all the underground organizations all over Kosovo, including those organized among Albanian citizens living outside the province.

Not a single leader of the demonstration on 11 March 1981 had been arrested at that time. The demonstrations were to be repeated on a broader scale, with a great deal of violence and brutality--on 26 March, and then on 1 and 2 April, when criminal charges would be filed against the leaders. Up until 26 March they were still regarded as erring individuals recruited by the enemy who

would sooner or later go on to the right road in our open self-managing society, in which there truly is no authentically revolutionary and democratic vision of a socialist Kosovo for which they, together with the equal nationalities and ethnic minorities, cannot fight for and win legally, as citizens, as Albanians and as self-managers, building rather than destroying. On the basis of what happened on 11 March they probably never would have been tried, except perhaps by a judge for misdemeanors.

But that democratic and humane approach was accompanied by opportunism and liberalism--and in some cases even by bad faith, a disguised nationalistic, Great Albanian motivation of influential individuals or their aspiration to take advantage of the irredenta as a means of consolidating group and personal power, as an instrument of bureaucratic pressure on the broader community, as an element of manipulation; they were accompanied by blindness or at least by an incomprehensible shortsightedness.

Just 2 weeks later the demonstrators on 11 March became rioters in the fierce disorders and some again on 1 and 2 April, when there were also the "first" slogans and demands:

"Trepca Is Working for Others!"

"Unification of the Albanian Areas!"

"We Are Not Yugoslavs, But Albanians!"

"Kosovo a Republic!"

"A Republic, a Constitution, by Force if Necessary!"

No longer were those slogans heard only at Pristina University, but they were heard in many towns of the province as well. The price of opportunism had to be paid. It was none other than Enver Hoxha who raised his head out of the harmless demand for a better way of serving food in the student dining hall.

In the trial of members of the group of Bajram Kosumi, Gani Koci and Ali Lajci, it was brought to light that the accused had been indoctrinated with the ideology of the Albanian Workers Party, with pamphlets from "Voice of Freedom," "Unity," "Voice of Kosovo"--issued abroad by Ibrahim Kelemendi ("Red Front") and Jusuf Gervalla ("National Liberation Movement of Kosovo"). Hamdi Zymberi not only heard but even taped lectures on social and political affairs of SAP Kosovo and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania which were delivered in dormitory rooms and private apartments. Bajram Kosumi received from the Albanian Dimitri Patituci, who lives in Italy, Enver Hoxha's book "Self-Management--Capitalist Theory and Practice," and read it aloud in his group. Merxhan Avdili obtained Hoxha's "Meetings With Stalin." Fahri Ymeri read Hoxha's "Imperialism and Revolution." Gani Koci did Hoxha's "Theory and Practice of Revolution." His "The Khrushchevists" was also read. The books went from hand to hand, and they copied the poem of Agim Gjakova "Handfuls of Earth, Handfuls of Blood, Handfuls of Revolution" and the song about Isa Boletini.

It now seems to us improbable that the works of Enver Hoxha could have been read (moreover out loud) among our students, even though they be gathered in underground organizations, and that they be seriously debated and that these young people should adopt it as their own view of the world, of socialist self-managing Yugoslavia, of the position of Albanians in Yugoslavia, of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

When Radio Tirana was at one time broadcasting excerpts from Enver Hoxha's book "Self-Management--Capitalist Theory and Practice" as well as from his book "The Khrushchevists," and when the first copies of these scribblings, printed and translated into several languages in Tirana, were distributed in the world, it was the assessment in our services responsible for monitoring and analyzing hostile propaganda that these were works of an ingrained Stalinist on a very low theoretical level, that they were crude pieces of tendentious writing which did not deserve serious Marxist criticism and which, as in fact was confirmed, would not have any impact in the world of Marxist thought.

Our own pens, those in Kosovo in particular, were silent or only exceptionally and superficially addressed the slander and attacks which Enver Hoxha and the Albanian state were constantly launching--from the assault of Stalin and the Cominform on the SFRY in 1948 and up until the present day, with all the capabilities of its radio antennas and its small, but persistent propaganda apparatus. There was no discussion of those books at Pristina University, there were no assessments in the press, nor were any sort of public or internal discussions organized.

The Pristina students--a fair number of them--as we have seen, read them as books of wisdom. We have paid more attention to efforts to prevent that literature from being brought in illegally and distributed in our country and in Kosovo than to an ideological-political showdown with its apology for the Stalinist reality of Albania. At Pristina University--and indeed throughout the educational system--there was no adequate Marxist education of young people which would have made them resistant to the nationalistic Great Albanian lie being foisted off by Tirana. The demonstrations and disorders in the evening and during the night of 11 March 1981, which were planned by the group of Gani Koci in Room 310, were not, then, a spontaneous and isolated action at all, but an introduction, prepared for a long time in terms of political ideology and organization, to the broader, offensive and open action and challenge of the counterrevolution. Though seemingly local, that episode announced that something more dangerous would soon emerge from the underground over the entire territory of the province.

We do not know when, how and from whom the Albanian diplomats in Belgrade learned directly and indirectly about the events in Pristina on 11 March, nor how they informed Tirana. We know for certain, however, that they had a full report on this 10 days later from a person with the pseudonym Begatimi, who on 21 March simply went to the Albanian Embassy, which in any case he visited frequently (we know of nine visits).

This was a first-hand report. Begatimi is actually Gani Krasniqi (32), a bookkeeper at Feronikl in Pristina--one of those who were on the scene on

11 March, in the crowd. He himself shouted slogans, threw rocks at the police and members of the security service, broke windows and dented automobiles, and destroyed public and private property.

Gani Krasniqi, it was established in the trial, was often in communication with Albanian diplomats, in person and by telephone, from whom he received anti-Yugoslav literature, instructions for work with like-minded individuals, for organizing trips to Albania, so that he even had a pseudonym in the embassy. When he first met the Albanian diplomat Ilija Rovi, Krasniqi delved deeply into the origin of his seemingly non-Albanian name, which sounded somehow Slavic, while his own--Gani--is altogether Albanian and means prosperity, that is--Begatimi. It was that word that became his underground nickname. It is difficult to establish what he told the foreign diplomats about the events on 11 March, but it is known that his appraisals were altogether favorable. That is, he first exchanged opinions on this and presented a detailed analysis to his own group, which aside from him consisted of Hysni Thaci (26), a fourth-year student at the school of economics, and Jakup Krasniqi (31), a history teacher at the Ramiz Sadiku Center for Secondary Specialized Education in Srbica. This kind of analysis, as we know, was also made by the group of Gani Koci, and probably by all the other underground cells in Pristina as well.

In his indictment on 6 August 1981 the representative of the District Public Prosecutor's Office did not even charge them for association on behalf of counterrevolutionary destruction of the social system, nor did he insist on the formal existence of the trojka. Gani Krasniqi and Hysni Thaci met and became friends at the school of economics, where Gani, a parttime student, was preparing and taking examinations, so that they even lived in the same room. Back in the 1977/78 academic year they read a great deal of smuggled literature and anti-Yugoslav materials and were enthusiastic about its content; Xhafer Kastrati and others participated as well, and they were later joined by Jakup Krasniqi.

Gani Krasniqi was obsessed with ideas of Great Albania, and every time when he returned from the Albanian Embassy he would bring magazines, books, speeches and documents of the Albanian Workers Party. At the beginning of 1978--on instructions from the secretary of the Embassy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania--he selected 22 persons and with them established a group that would visit Albania. The embassy specifically required that the group include Albanians from different parts of SAP Kosovo and the SFRY inclined toward Albania. Gani Krasniqi performed this task with Hysni Hoti, whom the embassy recommended to him as a reliable collaborator. Thus Hoti was one of the travelers who set off for Tirana on 15 February 1978.

In Albania the group was received with marked cordiality, and it behaved like a delegation which had come from some country with ethnic oppression. Either this was not known in Pristina, as it appears, or it was ignored. In any case Gani Krasniqi used the occasion to send propaganda material from Albania to addresses previously collected of emigres and their organizations in West Germany, Austria and Switzerland; later that material constantly arrived for Kosovo through legal and illegal channels.

He gave the literature and material, but also exchanged them, to Jakup Krasniqi, a teacher; they were not related, nor even from the same village and opstina, but the latter was a reliable person who thought along the same lines. Did the two of them make up a trojka with Hysni Thaci? It was established in the court that trojkas were discussed as a form of underground organization at at least one meeting held in the room of Gani Krasniqi and Hysni Thaci when Hasan Dyla and Arif Kabashi came and when Dyla was explaining how the trojkas were supposed to operate. That was a long time ago--24 or 25 November 1978. Dyla also turned up from time to time on other occasions in the activity of that group, carrying leaflets and material for copying and the like. Everything indicates that the trojka nevertheless did exist and was connected to the system.

Gani Krasniqi went continuously to the Albanian Embassy, made telephone calls, gave reports, which indicates that he felt or had the impression that he could be bold and was not taking risks. In 1979 he organized another trip to Albania, certainly under instructions of Albanian diplomats once again. They did not want as guests just any Albanians, but indoctrinated Albanians who would operate in their own milieu when they returned and become part of the underground network.

Gani Krasniqi testified in court that he traveled as a tourist, as a nephew visiting his uncle, Limani Krasniqi, who lives in Albania. He felt that there was nothing hostile or counterrevolutionary in any of his activity. The facts and testimony of witnesses and the codefendants refuted him. What he actually said at the Albanian mission in Belgrade on 21 March 1981 was confirmed by the witness Fejzullah Berisha, who was in the Albanian Embassy with him and attended the meeting with Ilija Rovi, an Albanian diplomat. Another witness, Ibrahim Thaci, testified as to what Gani Krasniqi actually did and how he behaved in NSR Albania, in the Arberia Hotel, and spoke about his contacts with Halit Berisha, Gojarda Cerga, Pavle Konga, and others.

Gani and Jakup Krasniqi and Hysni Thaci, who were charged and convicted, did not repent in the trial or public hearing on 19 August. What is more, Jakup Krasniqi, a history teacher, addressing the panel of judges in which aside from the presiding judge and two lay judges, who were of Albanian nationality, there was also a judge and lay judge with Slavic last names, he declared that this was not his court, nor a court which could try him, an Albanian. Certainly his criterion was not the class criterion, but the Great Albanian and purely nationalistic criterion.

Topics of the Next Installment:

The secret organizations of Great Albanian conspirators discovered in SR Macedonia were operating in Tetovo and Gostivar villages in conformity with the proclaimed goal--unification of all areas settled by Albanians in the SFRY and their annexation to NSR Albania; one of the several illegal groups in Pristina, which was led by Naim Shala (26), a lawyer employed in the storage battery factory, also dedicated to that goal his "Communist Organization for the Unification of Albanian Territory"; after 11 March 1981 the counterrevolutionary

underground undertook larger actions out in the open--on 26 March and 1 and 2 April--all over the province, with clear slogans....

Correction:

In the first installment of our series (DANAS, No 7, 6 April) an error was made in saying that the underground organization in Kosovska Mitrovica Opstina consisted of the following: Bislim Bajrami, Jakup Shuti, Nazim Hyseni, Bajram Latifi, Nebih Sejdiju, Xhevat Deliu, Zeqir Murati. These were actually people convicted as a group because of counterrevolutionary activity in Vucitrn. Actually the underground group in Kosovska Mitrovica was made up of Bislim Bajrami, Ismail Smakiqi and Jakup Rexhepi. We call upon our readers to take this correction into account.

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CSO: 2800/395

REGULATIONS ON COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian 30 Dec 81 pp 1813-1818

[Regulations issued by Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense, in Belgrade on 28 December 1981]

[Text] I. General Provisions

Article 1

These regulations shall regulate aspects of compulsory military service pertaining to the keeping of military records on military registrants, the calling up of military registrants to do compulsory military service, medical and other examinations, and the psychological testing of inductees in order to evaluate fitness for military service, the establishment and procedure of recruitment commissions; the conditions and procedure for selection of cadets of the reserve commissioned officers school from among draftees, the time and manner of induction of registrants to do military service, the procedure for ascertaining the status of sole breadwinner, postponement and interruption of required military service, the discharge of soldiers from the Yugoslav People's Army, definition of organizations in which time spent in courses and other forms of professional military training is credited to the military registrant as military training and the competencies of the organs of military districts and other military organs in enforcing the particular provisions of the Law on Compulsory Military Service.

Article 2

The competent organ of the military district and organizational units within the Federal Secretariat for National Defense whose jurisdiction includes the affairs of required military service may in conformity with the provision of Article 4, Paragraph 2, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service, communicate directly with the opstina agency competent for affairs of required military service in order to have a direct insight into fulfillment of plans for recruitment and replenishment of the Armed Forces of the SFRY and other plans related to required military service and into the performance of tasks related to those plans.

II. Military Records on Military Registrants

Article 3

Military registrants shall be entered in the military records in accordance with Article 71, Paragraph 4, and in relation to Article 12, Paragraph 2, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service, at the beginning of the calendar year in which they reach age 17.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article military registrants who for whatever reason have not been entered in the military records in the calendar year in which they reached age 17 shall be entered in the military records.

Article 4

Military records shall be kept in the Armed Forces of the SFRY by the following:

1) by the local organ of the military district--concerning reserve commissioned officers and reserve military employees;

2) by commands, staffs, units and institutions of the Armed Forces of the SFRY--concerning those subject to military service who are doing military service with them and concerning those subject to military service assigned to them in their war orders.

Article 5

A military registrant who loses his military registration book or in some other way is left without his military registration book must report the loss or disappearance of the military registration book to the competent agency for issuing the military registration book designated in Article 73 of the Law on Compulsory Military Service within 8 days from the date when he learned of the disappearance of the military registration book. That body shall issue the military registrant a new military registration book after evidence is submitted that the missing military registration has been advertised as invalid in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

Article 6

The competent agency of the sociopolitical community to which the military registrant has turned over his military registration book because of his departure abroad shall issue to that military registrant a certificate to the effect that he has satisfied his obligation as to required military service.

Article 7

A person subject to military service who has become an active noncommissioned officer, active commissioned officer or active military employee shall turn over his military registration book to the military unit or institution in

which he was informed of his promotion to the rank of active noncommissioned officer, commissioned officer or active military employee. That unit or institution shall deliver the military registration book together with the notice of promotion within 15 days to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community which has that person in its military records.

Article 8

A person subject to military service whose military obligation has expired shall retain his military registration book in order to prove the termination of his military obligation.

The military registration book of a deceased military registrant shall be retained by his family.

Article 9

The form of the military registration book has been printed along with these regulations and constitutes an integral part of them.

III. The Calling Up of Inductees and Reserve Personnel To Perform Certain Duties Related To Discharging the Military Service Requirement

Article 10

The agency of the sociopolitical community competent to keep military records shall call up the inductee or person in the reserves in the context of Article 67 of the Law on Compulsory Military Service in order to discharge the military service requirement.

The individual summons shall be used to call up an inductee to do his required period of military service or to call up a person in the reserves for a military exercise or other form of professional military training. An inductee or person in the reserves shall be called up to perform other duties related to discharging the military service requirement by an individual summons, by a general summons, or by an individual and a general summons.

The individual summons to the inductee or person in the reserves shall be delivered in written form and shall contain the information specified by the federal law regulating administrative procedure.

The general summons may be issued over the radio, in the press, over television, in posters or other means of informing the public.

Article 11

The individual summons to an inductee or person in the reserves to perform duties related to the discharge of the military service requirement, other than the summons for mobilization or mobilization drill, shall be served in the manner regulated by the federal law governing administrative procedure.

Article 12

If the person called is prevented by illness or other justifiable reason from reporting at the place and time designated in the summons related to performance of military service, immediately upon receipt of the summons he must so inform the competent agency which issued the summons, and if the reason for his incapacity occurred later, he shall do so immediately upon learning of that reason.

Article 13

A person who has applied for release from the nationality of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall not be called up for military service until a decision has been made on that application, unless the person being called up to do his required military service is an inductee reaching age 27 in that calendar year.

IV. Medical and Other Examinations and Psychological Testing of Inductees and Recruitment

Article 14

The organ of the military district at the second level, upon the proposal of the local organ of the military district, shall designate the military medical institutions or organizations of associated labor in the field of health where medical and other examinations or psychological testing shall be done, taking as its point of departure that these examinations and tests should he done efficiently and at the lowest cost of resources and time.

Article 15

The local organ of the military district shall conclude a contract pursuant to the decision of the organ of the military district at the second level referred to in Article 14 of these regulations with the organization of associated labor in the health field concerning conduct of the medical and other examinations and the psychological testing of inductees.

Article 16

The competent agency of the sociopolitical community shall summon and send inductees for medical and other examinations and psychological testing and recruitment in accordance with the schedule of those examinations and the recruitment plan.

An inductee who returns to the country from a visit abroad and reports to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community for recruitment shall be sent for induction within 15 days from the date of his reporting.

The cadet of a military school for active noncommissioned officers, commissioned officers or military employees and the student of a law enforcement school shall not be called up for medical and other examinations and

psychological testing and recruiting except in the case when he is required to do his period of military service after that status has terminated.

Article 17

The recruitment commission shall be established by the commanding officer of the local organ of the military district.

The title of the recruitment commission shall also contain the title of the local organ of the military district which established the recruitment commission. If the local organ of the military district has established two or more recruitment commissions for its area, it shall number the recruitment commissions in order.

Article 18

The membership of the recruitment commission shall be determined in conformity with Article 16 of the Law on Compulsory Military Service.

A physician who is a member of a recruitment commission shall as a rule be a person on active military duty. If there is not a sufficient number of physicians in active military service, a physician in the reserves may be appointed to membership in the recruitment commission, first of all a reserve officer during a military training session.

If there are not enough physicians and other persons serving in the local organ of the military district to make up the membership of the recruitment commission, the necessary number of those persons shall be designated by the organ of the military district at the second level.

The chairman of the recruitment commission shall direct the work of the recruitment commission.

Article 19

The recruitment commission shall induct the recruits which the competent agency of the sociopolitical community has sent for recruitment in accordance with the recruitment plan.

The recruitment commission may induct recruits even though they are not present on the basis of medical and other documentation unless the inductee is to be found unfit for military service.

As an exception to Paragraph 2 of this article, the recruitment commission can find the inductee unfit for military service even when he is absent, if the medical documentation and written reports of the competent agency of the sociopolitical community show that the inductee was unable to come for recruitment because he had become seriously ill or because of his physical defects.

Article 20

The recruitment commission shall induct the recruit on the basis of the finding of medical and other examinations and psychological testing done previously, the criteria prescribed for evaluating the physical fitness of the registrants for military service, the recruitment plan and the conditions prescribed for determining the arms and services in which the recruit shall do his period of military service.

The recruitment commission may respect the recruit's wishes expressed at the time of induction with respect to designation of the arm or service in which he shall do his military service if this conforms to the criteria for evaluation of the physical fitness of military registrants for military service, the conditions for designating arms and services in which the recruit shall do his military service and the plan for staffing the Yugoslav People's Army.

Article 21

The recruitment commission may in exceptional cases alter the arm or service under the conditions prescribed in Article 19 of the Law on Compulsory Military Service.

Article 22

An inductee who has been found temporarily unfit for military service and applies to be sent for another assessment of his fitness for military service and submits medical documentation on improvement of his state of health may be sent for evaluation of his fitness for military service in accordance with the schedule of medical and other examinations and testing and in accordance with the recruitment plan.

Article 23

As a rule the decision on reexamination of individuals, as referred to in Article 9, Paragraphs 1 and 2, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service, shall be made by the commanding officer of the local organ of the military district.

As an exception to Paragraph 1 of this article, the decision on reexamination of individuals may be made by the following: the commanding officer of the organ of the military district at the second level, the commanding officer of the organizational unit in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense whose jurisdiction extends over the affairs of the military service requirement, and the commanding officer of the organizational unit in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense whose jurisdiction extends over medical affairs.

The commanding officer referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall deliver the decision on reexamination of individuals to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community, and the competent officer referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article to the competent local organ of the military district.

The competent military medical commission shall perform the reexamination and issue the evaluation of fitness for military service of individuals referred to in Article 9 of the Law on Compulsory Military Service.

V. Procedure for Determination of the Status of Sole Breadwinner

Article 24

The status of sole breadwinner of a family shall be determined at the request of an inductee who has been served a summons to serve or complete his period of military service or on the request of a soldier.

The request referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be submitted to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community.

A soldier may submit his request for recognition of the status of sole breadwinner of his family to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community directly or through the military unit or military institution in which he is serving.

Article 25

The decision according a soldier the status of sole breadwinner of his family shall also be delivered to the military unit or institution in which the soldier is serving.

VI. The Sending of Recruits To Do Their Military Service

Article 26

Recruits shall be sent to do their military service on the basis of a command of the federal secretary for national defense and the plan for staffing the Yugoslav People's Army with recruits.

If a recruit whose military service was interrupted because of temporary unfitness for military service (Article 33, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 2, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service) is found fit in a subsequent induction or is put in the category of limited fitness for military service before the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 27, he shall be sent to complete his military service, if possible to a unit of the same arm or service in which he first did his military service.

The competent agency of the sociopolitical community may deliver to recruits in advance a notice as to when they will be called up to do or complete their military service.

Article 27

A person whose schooling as a cadet in a military school for active noncommissioned officers, commissioned officers or military employees was interrupted for whatever reason shall be issued a certificate by that military

school concerning the time spent in the military school, and it shall inform the competent agency of the sociopolitical community of his discharge from the military school within 15 days from the date of the discharge.

The person referred to Paragraph 1 of this article who has not discharged the obligation to do compulsory military service in the context of the provision of Article 39, Paragraph 2, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service, may be sent to do or complete his military service immediately after interruption of schooling in the military school if he is fit or has limited fitness for military service and if he has reached age 18.

The person referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article shall be sent to do or complete his period of military service in the military unit or institution designated by the organ of the military district at the second level in whose territory the military school is located.

The military school shall inform the agency competent for keeping military records that the person referred to in Paragraph 3 of this article has been sent to do military service within a period of 15 days from the date when that person was sent.

A person who after interruption of schooling in a military school for active noncommissioned officers, commissioned officers or military employees is sent to do or complete his required military service shall as a rule be assigned to that arm or service which conforms to his schooling in the military school if that schooling has lasted longer than 6 months.

VII. Selection of Cadets for Reserve Commissioned Officers Schools

Article 28

A recruit who has completed secondary, junior postsecondary or senior postsecondary education may be selected a cadet in a reserve commissioned officers school unless he has been convicted--and the verdict became final--of a crime against the foundations of the social system of socialist self-management and security of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or a crime committed out of desire for gain or other dishonorable motives or for any crime whatsoever involving an unsuspended prison sentence, or has been punished for a misdemeanor involving grave breaches of public order or morality, and unless criminal proceedings are being conducted against him for a crime which is automatically prosecuted.

As an exception, if the needs to staff the armed forces so require and if in the area of the sociopolitical community there are not enough recruits with the schooling stated in Paragraph 1 of this article, a recruit who has finished elementary school may also be selected as a cadet for a reserve commissioned officers school.

Article 29

A soldier who has at least 9 months left before the end of his required military service may be selected as a cadet for a reserve commissioned officers school and sent to serve the remainder of his military service in that school under the conditions prescribed for selection of recruits to be cadets of reserve commissioned officers schools (Article 27, Paragraph 3, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service, and Article 28 of these regulations).

Article 30

Recruits which have expressed a desire to be reserve officers, those who have graduated from the respective school with the best success and those which are younger shall have preference in selection of cadets for reserve commissioned officers schools.

Article 31

The competent agency of the sociopolitical community, in the context of Article 27, Paragraph 2, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service, shall deliver to the local organ of the military district a list of nominations for cadets in reserve commissioned officers schools no later than 3 months before they are to be sent to the reserve commissioned officers school.

The local organ of the military district shall establish a commission for selection of candidates for reserve commissioned officers schools.

A representative of the assembly of the sociopolitical community from whose jurisdiction recruits nominated for cadets in reserve commissioned officers schools may participate in the proceedings of the commission for selecting cadets for reserve commissioned officers. schools according to the decision of the competent agency of that assembly.

The local organ of the military district shall inform the competent agency of the sociopolitical community concerning selection of individual cadets for reserve commissioned officers schools.

Article 32

The nomination of a soldier to complete his military service in a reserve commissioned officers school, in the context of Article 27, Paragraph 3, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service, shall be delivered by the commanding officer of the regiment or equivalent or higher officer to the local organ of the military district where the soldier's records are kept.

Article 33

The cadet of a reserve commissioned officers school who does not complete the first part of schooling in the school successfully shall be discharged from the school and sent to complete his period of military service in an appropriate military unit or military institution according to the assignment of the

organ of the military district at the second level in whose jurisdiction the school is located.

The cadet of a reserve commissioned officers school who has not completed the second part of schooling in the military unit or military institution successfully, after his period of required military service has expired, shall be discharged by the military unit or military institution from the Yugoslav People's Army with that rank of a reserve noncommissioned officer which he acquired during schooling, which it shall report to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community which has him in its military records.

Article 34

A cadet of a reserve commissioned officers school who is discharged from schooling because of temporary incapacity or unfitness for military service shall be discharged from the Yugoslav People's Army.

VIII. Postponement of Military Service

Article 35

Military service may be postponed in the context of Article 32 of the Law on Compulsory Military Service at the inductee's request in the following cases:

1) if his presence is necessary to resolve the housing problem of his household during the time for which he requests postponement of his military service;

2) if because of serious illness or a serious injury he has been unable to finish secondary school before the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 21;

3) if he has returned from abroad to do his military service and has been unable to take care of his family up to the day appointed for his being inducted into the Yugoslav People's Army;

4) if in his family household there is no other member capable of gainful employment, and farm work needs to be done which cannot be postponed and which cannot be performed in his absence without considerable loss to the household;

5) if he has no longer than 1 year left before graduation from a junior or senior postsecondary school;

6) if he has been informed that in a competition or through some other manner he has been permanently employed;

7) if he has established the employment relation for a designated period of time as a trainee--until completion of his training period;

8) if in the common household there are only members of the household requiring the aid and care of another person for the everyday needs of life.

Article 36

The request for postponement of military service or postponement of completion of military service shall be submitted to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community.

The decision granting the request for postponement of military service shall contain among other things the day, month and year until which military service is being postponed.

Article 37

The applicant for postponement of military service or completion of military service shall not be inducted to serve military service until a decision is made on his request, unless the applicant reaches age 27 in that year.

IX. Interruption of Military Service

Article 38

A decision to interrupt military service shall be made in the form of a decision or ruling on interruption of military service in the case of a soldier who has served the first portion of his required military service (Article 33, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 1, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service), which shall be entered in his military registration book and other military records.

X. Discharge of a Soldier From the Yugoslav People's Army

Article 39

A soldier who has served his required military service or whose military service has been interrupted shall be discharged from the Yugoslav People's Army by the military unit or institution in which he is serving on the day when he completes his period of military service or when his military service is interrupted.

Upon discharge from the Yugoslav People's Army the soldier shall be presented his military registration book and health book, in which the reason for and date of his discharge from the Yugoslav People's Army shall be entered.

The provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article shall also apply to a cadet of a military school for active noncommissioned officers, commissioned officers or military employees whose shooling in a military school has been interrupted if he had discharged his obligation to do military service before his schooling was interrupted.

XI. Service in the Reserves

Article 40

Persons in the reserves shall be given credit as time spent in military training for the time which under the conditions stated in Article 52, Paragraphs 2, 4 and 5, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service they spend in courses and other forms of professional military training conducted in organizations of the amateur radio operators federation, the aeronautics federation, the rowing federation, the rifleman's federation, the scouting federation, the Partizan federation for physical fitness, the mountaineering federation, the skiing federation, the federation for underwater activities, the sailing federation, the swimming federation, the motorboating federation and in lifeguard services.

Article 41

A person who has been transferred to the reserves in the context of Article 37 of the Law on Compulsory Military Service, after his military service has been interrupted because of temporary unfitness for military service, shall be sent for medical and other examinations and psychological testing to evaluate his fitness for military service after expiration of the period for which he was found temporarily unfit for military service.

Article 42

Persons in the reserves shall be called up into the Yugoslav People's Army or territorial defense for military training sessions or performance of other duties on the basis of their military service requirement on the basis of the request of the competent military officer.

The unit or institution of the Yugoslav People's Army or territorial defense shall deliver the request referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article to the agency for keeping military records no later than 45 days before the date designated for the person in the reserves to report to the unit or institution of the SFRY Armed Forces.

XII. Final Provisions

Article 43

The Military Service Regulations (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 62, 1974) shall cease to be valid on the day when these regulations take effect.

Article 44

These regulations shall take effect on 1 January 1982.

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EQUAL REPRESENTATION IN OFFICER CORPS DISCUSSED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1222, 6 Apr 82 pp 14-16

[Round table discussion organized by ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA]

[Text] The following were participants in the discussion:

Lt Col Milan Cajetinac, representative of the Political Administration of the SSNO [Federal Secretariat for National Defense];

Lt Col Petar Bjelajac, representative of the Personnel Administration of the SSNO;

Lt Col Zelimir Kordik, representative of the RV i PVO [Air Force and Air Defense];

Lt Col Stefan Kostovski, representative of the RV i PVO;

Frigate Capt Milos Radulovic, representative of the RM [Navy];

Maj Vaso Kozomara, representative of the KoV [Ground Forces] Academy;

Dragan Radulovic, second-year cadet at the KoV Academy;

Branko Djurica, Mihajlo Dajmak and Zefirino Grasi of the editorial staff.

These past days, during the competition for enrollment of cadets in the military academies of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], it was noted that many high school graduates even do not know that there is such a competition, much less what the conditions are for entering it. There are even certain regions of our country which do not have a single cadet in military academies.

That was the reason why ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA organized a round table discussion and invited representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army, people concerned with these matters, and attempted to learn from them why certain nationalities and ethnic minorities are showing less interest in the military vocation.

Lt Col Bjelajac: Last year coincided with the end of the medium-term plan for development from 1976 to 1981, so that at that time we conducted broad discussions on staffing military schools in that period. A rather broad analysis was made. We noted that in the period from 1976 to 1979 there was increased interest in the military calling, but then it fell off sharply. However, none of this jeopardized enrollment in military schools. But it is significant that there are certain regions (Serbia proper, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia) where there is greater interest in the uniform.

So, our discussion should not be regarded as a debate of whether the military schools can be filled or not, since the schools have been filled with good candidates. The ethnic composition of the body of cadets is another matter, since we are mindful of the constitutional obligation that all nationalities and ethnic minorities be equally represented in the YPA officer corps. During the past 5-year period we managed to steadily improve the proportions in the ethnic composition. However, it cannot be said that we achieved altogether satisfactory results. There are not enough Slovenes, for example, in military schools.

"The Restrictions Are Not Significant"

[Question] Are there also certain other republics or provinces where there is less interest in the military schools?

Lt Col Bjelajac: According to the most recent figures, there are fewer people in the military academies from SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia and SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo. This does not apply to the secondary military schools, which exist in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, and which are also open so that pupils from communities which are not adequately represented will be assembled in them.

At the military academies, for example, there is not a single candidate from 14 opstinas in Croatia and all of 16 opstinas in Slovenia.

[Question] You have probably studied the reasons for this situation, so that you could tell us something about that?

Lt Col Bjelajac: One of the assessments, if you like, is this: In our society there is a declining interest in the more difficult occupations. Fewer young men are interested in mining, in metallurgy. There is somehow a greater leaning toward the social services, toward office work and pencil work.

The pattern is similar in the armed forces. Military occupations, at least in our judgment, are among those which can be put on a par with the most difficult production occupations. After all, an officer's career necessitates maximum physical and mental efforts. And then there are also certain other specific features that do not exist in civilian life. These are the transfers, that is, the impossibility of serving in the area one comes from. Young men today are less and less willing to make that sacrifice. Gone are those days of SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia] when people went where they were ordered to go, by decree, and no one asked where or why. Today everyone

want to plan his own future. Though in our military organization practically everyone can work out the direction of his movement and promotion, the details cannot be foreseen. Postings and positions cannot be planned....

And then there are also certain other restrictions, though we feel that they are secondary. These are the relations in the armed forces, subordination, certain restrictions on personal freedom which do not exist in civilian life; everything that goes under the head of military discipline. There are restrictions, for instance, on travel, military personnel cannot go abroad any time they like. We were mindful of all this when we made the analysis. We examined the backgrounds (ethnic, social and family) of those who showed less interest in the military calling. Then we looked into their financial situation, how many brothers and sisters they had, how well educated their parents were, and so on.

We came to the conclusion that the children of well-off parents choose our profession less frequently, just as do the children of better-educated parents. And then in families with fewer children there is also less interest in the uniform.

[Question] Do officers' children want to follow in their fathers' footsteps?

Lt Col Bjelajac: We did not study that specifically. However, there are quite a few of those whose parents are young pensioners, and we can draw the indirect conclusion from that that these are mostly the children of military people.

Low Level of Prior Knowledge in Candidates From Kosovo

[Question] At a recent conference on enrollment of young people in military schools Gen Dane Petkovski said: "In the effort to guarantee the most proportionate ethnic representation in the military schools, candidates are enrolled who have a slightly poorer record in previous schooling and poorer results in psychological testing. Because of the low level of prior knowledge in their previous schooling, it is these candidates who tend to be discharged from school, which disrupts the ethnic distribution that already existed and which was at least to some extent achieved at the beginning." Would you like to explain this in a bit more detail?

Lt Col Bjelajac: The secondary schools, specifically those in Belgrade, enroll the highest number of candidates from Kosovo, Albanians. Yet obstacles have arisen in their familiarity with the language, and we were forced to introduce preparatory instruction, which lasts 1 year. Thus their schooling takes 5 years. After all, a year is spent studying the language, mathematics, physics, chemistry, everything we have concluded that they know less well than students from other elementary schools.

We have had difficulties here, since the attrition rate is highest for students of Albanian nationality. Either they did not get through the preparatory year, or they got through it somehow, but they still did not manage to fit into the regular curriculum.

[Question] What has the YPA done to make the military schools better known, to increase the interest of the "deficient" nationalities and ethnic minorities?

Maj Kozomara: I could say what we have done. The Ground Forces Academy is a school open to all citizens of the SFRY and the best information about it is provided on the spot. That is why pupils often come and talk with the cadets. However, considerably more could be done in this direction.

Our cadets take part in athletics and cultural events, they meet young people, so that this is another way in which young people learn more about the military vocation. And then we organize meetings with young people, we go to them and give lectures. We also publish the newspaper ADAKEMAC, which we send to all secondary schools in Yugoslavia. However, I think that this newspaper does not reach the right reader. I think it gets no further than the principal of the school and ends up in his drawer or wastebasket.

We feel that the competition administered by the Personnel Administration of the SSNO should be broadened. After all, there are cases when a candidate comes to a military academy and after a time sees that it is not what he expected or perhaps imagined and wished for. I therefore think that during the competitions the candidate should be brought closer to the living and working conditions and in particular should be given explanations as to what is expected of him when they finish school. After all, some young people drop out of school, they have taken the place of someone who would have graduated from the academy.

That is why when we receive calls from national defense secretariats in opstinas and groups of opstinas, we send out cadets and officers to talk with the students. People from SR Slovenia and SR Croatia are especially active in this regard, and I think it is important that we send out people who are native to those regions.

Young People Are Not Informed

[Question] Isn't what we might call the liberalization of young people's life somewhat out of step in the armed forces and civilian life? That is, isn't that liberalization proceeding more slowly in the armed forces, which by the nature of its organization is committed to discipline, restrictions and the like?

Lt Col Kordik: The military profession needs to be demystified. Here is what I am talking about. I think that the methods of the past are out of date. Society is now richer by many professions which are becoming increasingly open. Yet we are still at the level of the competition, at the same level of familiarity with the military vocation that existed in the past. The soldier's life is portrayed only from one angle. By and large his image is confined to whether he is exemplary, to the success of the unit which he commands, and we read or view reports from exercise grounds, journalistic pieces on military training.

However, the life of officers, cadets or students in secondary military schools amounts to more than that. There are very few articles or programs which show the cadets as athletes, poets, painters.... Why??? We need to demystify a life that seems closed off to the young man and indeed to his parents. After all, the life of a cadet is not a life of uniformity, a restricted life, though it might appear so to some people.

Which means that we have to bring our public relations up to date. We cannot say of our young people that they are liberal, that they look on life in terms of fun and games, in terms of material goods and advantages. That is perhaps a secondary motivation in adolescents. The primary motivation in a mature person is love for his calling. But unfortunately this primary motivation in our profession (honor, valor and bravery) comes down to that secondary vocation: how much is the pay, is there housing, can one go abroad?...

Mention has been made here of the efforts we are making in the academy, but they are only a part of the general public efforts which are needed. In every community the profession of the military officer needs to be demystified.

Lt Col Cajetinac: I think that the central issue is how our efforts in public relations reach the person for whom they are intended.

For instance, the Personnel Administration has organized a competition. The Political Administration has printed up advertising material, posters and the like. All of this is sent to the commands of army regions, military districts, national defense secretariats in the opstinas. But that is the end of the line as far as the local community or school is concerned.

There have been occasions when pupils have not even seen the poster or announcement of the competition. What happened to that poster? It has been found stowed away in a drawer of some school official or official of the local community.

Health: Hindrances for the School

[Question] And what is the youth organization doing in this area?

Lt Col Cajetinac: This was discussed recently in a meeting of the presidium of the Yugoslav Conference of the SSO [Socialist Youth League]. At the highest level in Yugoslavia, and that meeting was attended by representatives of all the republics and provinces, and a resolution was adopted that it was through the youth organization that the local community would be reached.

[Question] The federal and republic conferences of the SSO will adopt or have already adopted positions [to that effect]. However, the primary youth organization should inform members that the competition exists for the military academies and schools. What are they doing in this regard?

Lt Col Kostovski: I have visited Hercegovina and Kosovo, and certain youth organizations, in spite of the competition which was advertised and in spite of the advertising over television and in the daily press, did not even know that military schools exist.

Every school ought to inform young people of the competition, should inform the seniors, people in the first and second grade of pupils in schools for targeted education, and even juniors. However, it goes no further than the poster which reaches certain schools. I say "certain," since of the 12 opstinas which I visited in Hercegovina, 12 school principals asked me when the competition had been announced?

And then in Kosovo the year before last we had a very poor response (60 candidates), but since the criteria for the Marshal Tito High School are very strict, we ended up with only 2 capable pupils.

After that I made a visit there, and in 7 days more than 8,000 young people saw the film "Tito Among the Airmen." All of 600 excellent students made applications. However, the criteria are very strict in the academies and schools training specialists for the Air Force and Air Defense. It would be better than a good result if there are 200 able pilots out of 1,000 candidates. There are areas in which certain diseases are frequent. For instance, we are aware that we will not get a single pilot from certain regions. After all, we will accept five candidates for the Marshal Tito High School, two will finish, and one of them will not finish the Air Force Academy.

And then during schooling we also put them in categories, though all were enrolled to fly supersonic planes: subsonic warplanes, helicopters, transports and general air force specialists. And the smallest group is that of supersonic pilots, which is what we wanted. Precisely because of state of health.

The same is the case in schools and academies for the air force technical service. If, say, we accept 20 out of 60 applications in Kosovo, the question is how many of them will finish the second year? They do not know mathematics. Thus we do not have a single aeronautical engineer from Kosovo.

So, lack of response is not the only problem.

Different in the Navy

[Question] Is the situation the same in the Navy in view of the specific nature of this branch of the armed forces?

Frigate Capt Radulovic: Lt Col Bjelajac presented observations common to all the military academies and secondary military schools. We do, of course, have certain specific features. For instance, in our schools there is a high level of response from SR Croatia, which is not the case with the other military academies. This is probably because all our schools are in towns located in that republic, because the bases where navy officers are posted are confined to the sea and coastal towns.

However, even we have not been able to guarantee representation of the republics and nationalities in the schools. It is interesting that in all the other schools there are too many candidates from SR Serbia, but we have too few people from Serbia proper. I was born in Belgrade, and it was different in my time. There were 10 of us from Belgrade among the 36 in our class. We

now have a shortage not only of people from Belgrade, but also people from Serbia, as well as Slovenes, Albanians and Hungarians....

In spite of the popularity which we all more or less unofficially attribute to the Navy (the sea, ships, the uniform....), we still need young people, and their conceptions have changed. What awaits a naval officer is high responsibility and little free time, and that is not attractive to young people.

[Question] Are the restrictions on what we might call civil rights discouraging factors?

Lt Col Bjelajac: There are fewer and fewer of these restrictions. It is a question of a specific type of life and work.

[Question] Probably the second-year cadet from the Ground Forces Academy can tell us more about that?

Cadet Radulovic: I think that travel abroad is not an obstacle. That applies, of course, to someone who loves the profession. I had visited several European countries before I came to the academy. That means nothing to me, nor probably to others. After all, love was the main thing that brought us to the academy. I don't know if you could find any cadet in my class who came out of material motives. In my opinion, that is even a drawback for some people. When a future career as an officer is mentioned, people say: You will have a good salary, you will not pay for your schooling, you will have a place to live, you won't work so hard.... I think that puts some people off.

[Question] Perhaps it would be interesting to learn what things are being studied in military academies, what other subjects are there besides professional military subjects?

Cadet Radulovic: There are quite a few subjects which come under the heading of general education: foreign language, sociology, Marxist philosophy, mathematics. And the level of that mathematics is comparable to what is being studied in schools of electrical engineering and mechanical engineering. And then there are opportunities to engage in many activities: literature, fine arts, athletics, music, folklore.... Our basketball team, for example, won the championship last year in its league, which includes Belgrade University.

Aside from that, no one can graduate from our academy without knowing how to drive a car, how to ski, how to dance....

Lt Col Bjelajac: Now, there are few films about the military schools, and those that exist are outdated. Nor do I think there are enough pamphlets.

There has been discussion of that at the highest levels in the republics and provinces and in the Federation. Now the emphasis has to be in the opstinas, in the schools, in the local community. It was in fact pointed out at the conference that opstina national defense councils must have a particular role.

It was said that the councils ought to know how many active officers they have, how many in the reserves, how many cadets in military schools, how many candidates and people interested. If they do not have all that, then it is clear that they are not performing their function to the fullest. And some, it is obvious, are not working as they should. After all, if they were doing the job they should, we would not have the situation where there is not a single cadet from 16 opstinas in Slovenia.

I would just like to add: it is not a question of a crisis of the military profession or a crisis of response in applications for military schools. We just have to make it possible for the best people to go to the military schools.

There Is No Deviation From the Quota System

[Question] So, it is obvious that the reason for this lies in the quota system. Since when has it been applied?

Lt Col Bjelajac: This has been the practice throughout the entire postwar period. Indeed the constitution provides that all the republics and provinces must be equally represented on a per capita basis in the armed forces.

[Question] In a case when there is not a high level of interest among certain nationalities and ethnic minorities, is it a better solution to lower the standards, as is done, or to choose the best even though it would disrupt the quota system?

Lt Col Bjelajac: In practice, when we are choosing cadets, we make up a ranking by republics and provinces, and then by nationalities. In this way the equality of all ethnic groups is guaranteed.

Were we to make up a single list, then we would not have a single cadet from certain communities. In this case we guarantee equality, though some have a poorer record. This is a necessity, and there is no departure from it. After all, the subsequent administration of personnel policy, all the way to the very top levels, depends on the kind of base that is created in the schools.

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CSO: 2800/398

SERBIAN ORTHODOX CLERGY APPEAL FOR PROTECTION IN KOSOVO

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVLJE in Serbo-Croatian 15 May 82 pp 1-4

[Appeal signed by Serbian priests and monks: "Appeal for Protection of the Serbian Population and Its Shrines in Kosovo"]

[Text] The signatories of this APPEAL for Protection of the Serbian Population and Its Shrines in Kosovo and Metohija are the following Serbian priests and monks:

On Good Friday, 16/3 April 1982

(There follow 21 signatures of priests and monks from Belgrade, Sabac, Valjevo, Novi Sad, Zemun, Ub, Prizren, Kotor, Ljubljana, Tuzla, Tamnava, Velika Plana, and the Orahovica, Devic, Celije, Ovcar and Pokajnica monasteries.)

The appeal has been sent to the SFRY State Presidency, the Presidency of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, the Assembly of SR Serbia, and the Holy Synod of Archpriests for the Holy Council of Archpriests. The text has been sent to all major Belgrade newspapers.

We the undersigned orthodox Serbian priests and monks, aware of our responsibility before God and history, are compelled by our conscience to raise our voice to protect the spiritual and biological existence of the Serbian people in Kosovo and Metohija.

The Serbian Church has been reproached because its voice has not so far been heard in public on this issue. Many on the other hand feel that it even lacks "the competency" to speak on matters of this kind. There will certainly be those who will say of this appeal that it originates with "presumptuous people" and comes from a place which "lacks jurisdiction."

The truth is that the church, taught by its 1,000 years of experience, knows that there is a time for patient silence and a time to speak. And that sometimes its silence is more eloquent than any speech (events have indicated that its silence today has been of precisely that nature and that perhaps the fact

that it has not been heard so far is in itself an eloquent datum concerning its position). And as for its and our "incompetency," that is another of the strange misunderstandings of our time! The church, which is woven organically into the historical and spiritual existence of this people, before Kosovo, during Kosovo and after Kosovo right up to the present day, onto whose living flesh every blow intended for the Serbian people falls first (the Pec Patriarchate is the most recent proof of this)--can its destiny and the destiny of its people be resolved without it and bypassing it? We are conscious of that fact and also of the seriousness of the historic moment, a moment when, it seems, silence would be equivalent to approval or, still more, to the crime of betrayal of our people, and we have therefore decided on this modest word addressed to the competent people and to all truth-loving men. After all, it seems to us that everything that has been undertaken to solve the problems of Kosovo has not been sufficient to what has actually been happening in Kosovo, nor has it been sufficient to the seriousness of the problem itself, nor has it been historically farsighted, and as such it can have unforeseen and tragic consequences for all of us: Serbs, Albanians and Yugoslavs in general.

We would like to emphasize first of all that we cannot escape the impression that over the issue of Kosovo there has been in our time an intentional or unintentional replacement of the real problem by secondary or imagined problems. We are convinced, however, that until the real essence of the Kosovo problem is brought out, there can be no true and fair solution for the two peoples, the Serbian and Albanian, whom history and destiny have placed one to the other, as in the past, so in the present and in the future. Things have to be called by their right names out of a respect for our own dignity and also out of a concern for our destiny under God's sun, but also out of respect for another nationality, whatever it might be, and out of a concern for its future and destiny and concern for mutual life with it in the same space.

It will perhaps be said that viewed in these terms Kosovo is a "myth" or even a "negative myth" of the Serbs, but that is only for people blind to an examination of the soul of the Serbian people and its historical existence. One thing should be clear to all and everyone for yesterday, today and tomorrow: the Serbian people has no more cherished word than the word "Kosovo," nor a more valuable reality, nor a greater shrine, past, present and future, than the reality and shrine of Kosovo. For Serbs the question of Kosovo is not a mere biological issue, or an issue solely of a "region," "province" or "republic." It is something incomparably greater and more than that. "The Serbian cause," in the words of the exceedingly wise Serbian woman Isidora Sekulic, "does not consist of bread and schools and a government, but it is Kosovo; and Kosovo is a grave, a grave in which everything is buried; and resurrection once again is through the grave. There is no resurrection without death." The question of Kosovo is the question of the spiritual, cultural and historical identity of the Serbian people. Kosovo was the first truth and reality for this people after Saint Sava where the entire people expressed itself and arrived at its collective completeness and integrity. There is no Serb who has not thought, spoken and written about Kosovo, lamented it and been reborn thereby. They cannot even be listed: the books, speeches, poems, works, laments, hopes and joys about Kosovo. That is why for us this is not a matter of statistics. Over the 700 years of its existence, its real presence in our

present and future, with our Pec Patriarchate, with Decani, Gracanica, with the Kosovo martyrs and the Serbian Kosovo pledge and commitment, Kosovo is our memory, our hearth, the focus of our existence. And to take away a peoples' memory signifies its murder and its spiritual destruction. Everyone should be aware of this, including the Albanians who have been our neighbors for centuries. The Jewish people, out of the indispensable need of survival among the living and through the miracle of its uninterrupted memory, even against historical logic, is returning after a surfeit of suffering to its Jersusalem after 2,000 years. In a similar way the Serbian people has been fighting its Battle of Kosovo up to the present day, fighting for specifically that memory of its identity, for its meaningful presence and survival in this space right from 1389 to today. And when it seemed that the battle had finally been won, all of a sudden Kosovo is ceasing to be ours, and we are ceasing to be what we are! And that without a war, in peace and freedom! At a time when numerous other peoples are returning to their native places after several centuries of absence, the Serbian people is extinguishing what has been its hearth for many centuries and is fleeing from it! Why?

We are putting a difficult and painful question, horrified by what is happening in front of our eyes: What are those infernal and irrational forces which have been successful in doing in a few decades spent in a peace that was paid for with streams of blood what Turkish enslavement was unable to do in five centuries?! The fact that the Battle of Kosovo has lasted from 1389 up to the present day is a sign that the Serbian people in Kosovo has not yet surrendered and that Kosovo has been ours even up until the present day. But today? And tomorrow?

We understand the difficult sufferings and frequent departures of Serbs moving out of Kosovo and other places and the destruction of the shrines of the people that have occurred from the Battle of Kosovo up to the most recent times. This is the eternal destiny of slaves in all times and places. We also understand the reasons why the Patriarch Arsenius III cried when he was "fleeing day and night with his impoverished people from place to place, like a ship in the middle of the great ocean," and the unceasing "lamentation followed by lamentation, when there was nowhere help could come from." We can also understand the tragic hopelessness of the disoriented and impoverished people in Kosovo and Metohija after the migrations in the 17th and 18th century, especially after the Pec Patriarchate was abolished, when numerous Serbs and Albanians were Islamized under the pressure of Turkish coercion nor are we so very much amazed at the violence of the privileged Albanians and others converted to Islam who after the Serbian migrations settled in Kosovo and Metohija and who, in the language of the people, spilled even the mother's milk of those who remained faithful to their hearth and to their spiritual and ethnic existence. This incidentally was in the spirit of the policy of the "sick man" from the Bosporus: to engender bloodshed among brothers and with converts, voluntary and involuntary, to destroy the last remnants of the cross and the last resistance of the Serbian people in Kosovo.

Of the numerous shocking and characteristic accounts of that period concerning the situation of the Serbs in Kosovo and the crushing results of the sinister Turkish policy toward the Serbs at that time, conducted usually through

Islamized Albanians, we will cite only two. The priest Petar, who was struggling to rebuild the church at Nerodimlje, which had been destroyed, writes with a group of Serbs from Nerodimlje on 4 March 1872: "One Albanian cow is worth more here than all the Christians and all the Christian churches. Our situation is pitiable and cannot be described.... Twice in 2 years we have been afflicted with fires, just so that they can steal our property and carry it away. The old churches are falling down, they cannot be rebuilt.... We cry, but no one hears us, but they even say: I am your canon (= law).... We enter pleas, but no one will take our part, but go on saying: Your rights in Kosovo expired when Lazar died. We hope for something better, but it gets worse and worse."

The moving and extensive testimony of Serafim Ristic, iguman of Decani, from the middle of the last century is similar. On behalf of the oppressed and persecuted people of Pec District the iguman complains to the Turkish sultan of the "acts of terror and abuse by the violent Albanians which have exceeded all measure and if they are not stopped, we will be forced to leave our land, which is steeped with the blood of our ancestors, and move away from the burned ruins of our houses.... After all, even our very shrines are not left alone by the malefactors.... It is known who they are who did this, but it is no use saying so, since we have obtained no benefit from what we have said up to now."

All these events are horrifying, but also explicable in terms of the Turkish enslavement. What is inexplicable and what astounds not only us, but every man of common sense is the fact that almost this very same thing is happening and being done today in the same way to the Serbs in Kosovo. There is no example from the past suffering which has not recurred with the Serbs in Kosovo over the last 20 years, from the threat to lives and property to the burning of the Pec Patriarchate, to the defacing of holy graves, offenses against schoolchildren and monks, the blinding of livestock because it is Serbian. We have all been aware of this, though for a long time it was a prohibited, "taboo" topic, which often some of the bolder ones paid for very dearly. It is not the Serbs who have rebelled in Kosovo, and are now meeting the retribution they deserve, since the atrocities have been committed by those who are most contented and privileged. We are not referring here to the entire Albanian people in Kosovo, but the question is still how the "handfuls of enemies" were able to persecute and drive out 100,000 people in just 10 years or so?

It can be said without any exaggeration that a planned and deliberate genocide is being carried out step by step on the Serbian people in Kosovo! After all, if that is not so, then what is the meaning of the thesis of "ethnically pure Kosovo," which is being implemented at all costs through the uninterrupted and unceasing emigration? Or again, what is the meaning of the word frequently repeated in the villages and hamlets, in the monasteries and churches, and indeed even in the cities themselves: "What are you waiting for? Move out of here, this is ours!" It is understandable that these things should have been said and done in the time of the church, but how is one to explain the fact that the exodus of the Serbs continued not only during the period of the last occupation, but also after the Liberation, especially since 1968 and up until this very day, and what is more, it has intensified since last year! It is

being intensified by the atmosphere that has been created, by the vandalistic methods, on the basis of a long-range program being carried out in a deliberate and organized way, overtly and covertly, before the eyes of the entire world. Neither we nor you are unaware, nor is our general public unaware, that the forcible emigration of our people from Kosovo has at times been assisted even by official authorities in Kosovo, no matter which, so that the Serbian hearths, forcibly extinguished, on which often even blood was shed, could be inhabited by "emigres" from Albania.

It is horrible to even think of the ghastly reality, much less feel it through and through, that the Serbs no longer have the promise of life in their Kosovo, since Kosovo is no longer theirs (though we Serbs have never said that it was only ours). After all, we should not be led astray by the involuted rhetoric and stories: Today the question is being drastically put for the first time that Kosovo is not ours. And in many respects it seems that the Battle of Kosovo which has gone on for centuries will come to an end here in our time--with the third and last exodus of the Serbs, that is, with the final defeat, the most horrible in the history of this people and this country. It will end, in other words, with peaceful and genocidally deliberate eradication, which is so calmly referred to as the "emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo," as though it were a question of tourism, of "moving from the south to the north," and not of trails of blood all over Serbia as a whole and Serbia proper, trails that have been fresh with blood for decades! We wonder in what country in the world, be it friendly or hostile, the Serbs or any of our nationalities or ethnic minorities would have been forcibly expelled and persecuted while we look on so peacefully and discuss "who is responsible for this" or say "we are all responsible," which means that no one is! The suffering of just one human being on the earth causes general indignation and uneasiness in the world and in us, and still the unreckoned and immeasurable suffering of 100,000 emigres and another 250,000 men, women and children who have not emigrated from Kosovo, does this really come down to "discussions" in meetings and commissions, to journalistic reports and debates in the press and on television? What is wrong with us, with this community, and what is wrong with that proud and patriarchal mountain people whose children, young men and adults have been setting fire to churches, vandalizing graveyards, and harrassing and perfidiously murdering their neighbors for centuries?

In the end God is our witness and our conscience, and our people is our witness and judge: We have never wished the Albanians any harm, but we only want to preserve our people and our shrines in Kosovo for our own sake and for their sake. After all, we are very familiar with our way of the cross and we know our bittersweet Kosovo pledge and commitment, and with sincere hearts, together with Marko Miljanov, "We wish the Albanian people every good, let this be known to our God." But our question is this: Who of us dares, and in the name of whom and what, to allow something like Serbian Kosovo to experience its tragic end and demise? Who dares to deprive us so much of our memory and existence? Who is it who dares to take upon himself the responsibility for history for Kosovo being ethnically and spiritually lost in his time? No one other than the one who truly has lost Kosovo, since only he knows what Kosovo is. It is not just a matter of Gracanica, which, according to the Serbian poetess, "Were it possible for it to ascend into the heavens ... so

deeply is it implanted in this earth and in our own selves." But the question is the meaning of Kosovo Polje and its shrines to Pec and Decani, all overflowing with scattered bones and the sacred remains of the saints, those indisputable and most lasting titles which a people has to its land, until that people loses its self-consciousness and ceases to be what it is.

One thing is obvious: He who has moved away from his age-old hearth, to which he had remained faithful even in the most horrifying earlier trials, has, then, felt himself threatened at the very core of his being. That is why we can quite confidently apply to our present situation in Kosovo the words of B. Nusic jotted down in the time of the Turks, at the outset of this century: "The Serbian population in Kosovo feels more and more isolated and abandoned every day."

Disturbed and shaken by this act and this awareness, we the undersigned priests are doing what we can: We are expressing our solidarity with "those who have been persecuted in a just cause and driven" from their and our age-old hearths, and we are raising our voice before our own and the world public in defense of the most elementary human rights of the Kosovo population and the threatened shrines of the Serbian people on its own soil. We go even so far as to call upon the competent agencies of government to present in public and in a responsible way the real reasons why the Serbian people in Kosovo and Metohija has felt itself so unprotected and left to itself and to hostile tyranny and to conscientiously reassess those reasons. All of this in a sincere desire that sober and just ways will be found toward resolution and reason, in order to remove the shame and restore the normal life of us all in our common household.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2027

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GENERAL DIMITROV URGES INTENSE CIVIL DEFENSE TRAINING

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 4, 1982 pp 7-9

[Article by Lt Gen Dobrin Dimitrov, deputy chief of the Bulgarian People's Republic Civil Defense: "Intensified Civil Defense Training"]

[Text] Intensification has become the main way for fulfilling and overfulfilling the plans for our socioeconomic development and strengthening Bulgaria's defense capability at the present stage of development of our socialist society. Intensified civil defense training means the scientific, accelerated and efficient acquisition of knowledge, skills and ability on the part of the trainees and the improvement of their overall preparedness. It is a system of methods, means, technologies and ways to optimize training, based on the latest achievements of science and technology. It ensures the full utilization of existing and the creation of new opportunities and reserves with a view to achieving the highest possible results and increasing labor productivity faster and with lesser labor, material, financial and other outlays.

The intensification of civil defense training is directly related to the enhancement of its effectiveness. Didactic (training) effectiveness is the ratio of the planned training objective to its practical implementation. A type of training which achieves the planned objective in less time and lower resource outlays is considered more effective.

The effectiveness of the training process is influenced by a number of factors, whose optimizing is the essence of training intensification, for which reason they must be properly known. For the sake of convenience in their study, they can be classified into five basic groups:

The first group includes material and technical factors. This applies to the influence of material training facilities on the training process itself. These factors can be optimized in one of two main ways: the expansion and improvement of available material training facilities and their replacement with better quality ones, based on the latest word of scientific and technical progress. Both create conditions for mastering more knowledge and greater skills and abilities and improving training quality and effectiveness within a specific time unit.

The second group includes the organizational-management qualities of the subjective factor. This applies to the overall management of the training

process. Optimal plans and programs are drafted and applied, the organization and management of the training process, based on cybernetics, and the control and accountability systems are improved. The influence of this factor is optimized by organizing educational work on a scientific basis.

The third group includes the mental qualities of the people in the civil defense system. They include mental readiness to participate in the training process; experience, as reflected in the mastered knowledge, skills and abilities; the level of development of cognitive, emotional and will processes; personal abilities, character and temperament; mental status, etc. These factors are optimized in the course of the training process.

The fourth group includes social and sociopsychological factors. In the course of the training process, instructors and students establish a variety of interrelationships, some of which are outside the educational process but follow social and sociopsychological patterns, such as relations within the collective, the clash of opinions, criticism and self-criticism, etc. The influence of these factors is optimized through a system of organizational-managerial, sociological and psychological means.

The fifth group includes the didactic factors: the content of the training process, and the principles, methods, technologies and forms of training, the optimizing of which is also of essential significance in terms of its intensification.

The intensification of civil defense training requires the full mobilization of its internal reserves, such as active interaction between both sides of the process, great cognitive efforts on the part of the trainees, and individualization and differentiation in school work. These are, essentially, the three basic direction in intensification.

The determination of training possibilities is related to the scientific organization of the training process and educational work, which presumes a number of organizational and methodical training measures which, in turn, ensure the effectiveness and existence of favorable conditions for the highly productive work of instructors and students.

The cognitive activities of the trainees can be increased by developing the professional interest of the trainees in their studies, providing that they are consistent with the shaping of harmoniously developed individuals, that the training process provides for a steady feedback (trainee-instructor) and that well planned difficulties, consistent with trainee possibilities are created in the course of acquiring knowledge, abilities and skills.

During the training process knowledge is mastered individually by the trainees and the training process itself affects the individuals differently. This is due to the natural differences among individual and the physical possibilities of the trainees and the level of their social development.

Intensification is assessed with the help of specific criteria, the more important among which are the timely and efficient utilization of the achievements of science and scientific and technical progress, the prompt use

of developments in and related sciences, and the efficient utilization of training time and material and manpower resources.

The main criterion of intensification in civil defense training is the economical achievement of the highest possible efficiency in personnel training within the time stipulated in the curricula. This criterion synthesizes all the others in assessing the intensification in civil defense training.

Leading and command civil defense personnel are trained in civil defense schools, command training exercises, training-methodical rallies, and with individual work. It involves staff training exercises and command-staff and comprehensive exercises. The optimizing of these methods improves training effectiveness, i.e., resolves the problems of its intensification.

The civil defense personnel training courses play a particularly important and responsible role, involving various categories of trainees in terms of profession, social and official position, education, age, sex, etc. This quantitative and qualitative variety requires the use of different approaches to the trainees, the optimizing of existing ones, and the search for and use of new forms of course training and differentiation in curricula and length of training.

The responsibilities and requirements concerning civil defense staffs and services in obshtinas and national economic projects, acting as administrative organs, have increased exceptionally. That is why now the problem of the training of their personnel becomes very important. The basic forms of their training include staff training, and command-staff and comprehensive exercises. In order for the personnel of these staffs and services to develop initiative and speed in operative and tactical thinking, quick thinking and endurance, critical situations must be created for training and exercise purposes. The supplied data must be incomplete and conflicting, the personnel must be asked to make quick decisions, etc.

The training of the formations is of essential significance in the successful implementation of civil defense tasks. The basic training methods in this case are classroom, practical, tactical-drill and tactical-specialized studies and, particularly, tactical and comprehensive exercises. The optimizing of these methods is an exceptional contribution to the intensification of civil defense formation training. We must bear in mind the characteristics of each separate formation and subunit. The struggle for reducing the time needed for each activity must be the starting principle in intensifying the training of civil defense formations and units.

The final objectives in formation training requires that it be based on stricter requirements, with a full load carried by the personnel and the optimal use of technical facilities. In this area chiefs, staffs and commanders have the opportunity to seek and apply new and more effective training ways and means.

Certain characteristics must be taken into consideration in the civil defense training of people not engaged in production work such as, for example, the fact that the trainees are mainly retired, sick and old people who can be

whom it is difficult to assemble in study groups. This, in turn, creates difficulties in the intensification of their training. The situation with school students is different. The schools provide good opportunities for optimizing student training. However, both in the case of the population and the students the consolidation of the acquired knowledge and the development of practical skills and habits take place in the course of their participation in comprehensive civil defense exercises.

Various conditions determine the intensification of civil defense training. One of them is the command-organizational work of chiefs, commanders and staffs. Several factors influence its role, the more important among which are the personal qualities of the chief (commander), the optimizing of the training process and the work on the implementation of planned projects.

The chief's (commander's) individual qualities, such as power of observation, a flexible and quick mind, inventiveness, efficiency, great willpower, ability to work with people, etc. are of essential importance in the structure of his organizational talents.

The civil defense training process has become a complex and dynamic system, which has made planning more complex. The planning organs must be familiar with the requirements of the party and the government, the fundamentals of education and psychology. They must take into consideration the level of training reached by the personnel and the cohesion achieved by the formations, staffs and services, the condition of the training facilities, etc. They must observe specific planning principles, the more important among which are communist party-mindedness and a scientific approach; train the formations in SNAVR [Rescue and Emergency Damage Repair Work]; coordinate the volume of the training material with the available training time and ensure the high level of training of the management organs; ensure the high quality of the training and the optimal utilization of training time, etc.

Second to planning, the organization of the implementation of the training tasks assumes a particularly important role. In this connection, control and assistance are very important. They are also an inseparable part of the command-organizational tasks of chiefs (commanders) and staffs.

The intensification of civil defense training is a complex, vast and insufficiently developed topic, both theoretically and practically. Bearing in mind the very topical nature of this task, which is based on the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress, its implementation requires the highest possible feeling of responsibility on the part of all party organs and organizations, the command personnel, the staffs and services and the scientific and educational potential of the entire Bulgarian civil defense system.

5003
CSO: 2200/110

WEAKNESSES IN FIELD CIVIL DEFENSE TRAINING OUTLINED

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 4, 1982 pp 14-16

[Article by Lt Col (retired) Minko Neychev: "On Some Unresolved Problems in Military Field Camps"]

[Text] Editors' note: The author of this article has taught basic military training for many years (he is former deputy chief in charge of scholastic affairs in military field camps in Sofia Okrug and NVO [Basic Military Training] teacher at the Teachers' Advancement Institute). The following ideas on some unresolved problems of civil defense training in military field camps are based on his personal observations. The editors will willingly publish other views on the questions raised by this author.

Military field training is the last stage in NVO. It plays an important role in pre-military service. Nearly half of the training is related to civil defense. Its main purpose is described in the "Regulation on Military Field Training of Secondary-School Youth" as follows: "To improve the knowledge and skills needed for defending the homeland, the country's civil defence and the medical-sanitary defense of the population, acquired during the 2 years of basic military training." This target is based on the role which mass destruction weapons play in modern warfare, and the training and education requirements related to the use of nuclear missiles.

The required number of training hours is indicative of the significance of civil defense training in NVO and military field exercises. In the 2 years of basic military training civil defense accounts for 20 percent of the time allocated for NVO, totalling 40 percent together with the time allocated for medical-sanitary defense (MSZ), which is a part of civil defense training.

Practice is the main prerequisite which determines the quality of civil defense training in military field camps. The trainees acquire theoretical knowledge in civil defense matters during the 2 years of NVO. That is why civil defense instructors in military field camps must make full use of and interpret the theoretical training of the students, so that the latter may develop lasting practical habits and the skill to act in critical situations. The problem of the practical nature of civil defense training in military field camps is related to the essential features of the training and education process on this subject, which are quality and effectiveness.

Practical experience in student NVO proves that the camps' managements, the reserve officers acting as instructors and the students themselves accurately understand the main tasks and requirements of the various rules on the organization and conduct of military field training and that they work hard to observe them. Consequently, substantial training and education results are achieved in camp training. The students consolidate their theoretical knowledge and practical skills in acting suitably in various striken areas, should mass destruction weapons be used, in natural disasters and in industrial accidents. Unquestionably, we are pleased by all the successes achieved in civil defense training in military field camps.

However, as an old teacher in N.O, despite such positive results, I believe that achievements are still far below possibilities in this respect. Some civil defense instructors lack the suitable methodical ability to use the students' NVO knowledge. Instead of putting this knowledge to a practical test, they cover the theoretical part once again. This prevents them from achieving the basic purpose of military field training as stipula- ted in the "Regulation on the Military Field Training of Secondary School Youth."

For example, in covering the topic "Soldier's Actions in Defense Against Mass Destruction Weapons and Putting Out Fires," instead of emphasizing the nature of activities subsequent to the use of mass destruction weapons and the spontaneous fires they have caused, most of the time is spent in describing the strike features of nuclear weapons, something the students have already covered during their 2 years of NVO.

Some instructors are insufficiently familiar with civil defense materials as a whole. They do not single out and properly interpret the specific and concrete features of a given lesson or exercise, which turns them into a specific topic with a specific training purpose. Occasionally the essential is not distinguished from the nonessential in determining the specific instructive and educational content of a given lesson.

Unfamiliarity with the material on a given topic and inability to separate the essential from the nonessential in a lesson hinder the proper allocation of training time to cover basic problems. This weakness leads to the violation of important pedagogical principles and methods.

In many cases the problem of material support in camp civil defense training is left unsolved. Gas masks, trench tools and simulation facilities are frequently defective, as a result of which the training becomes formalistic.

The proper equipping of civil defense training grounds and their steady maintenance are of great importance in terms of practical training results.

Unfortunately, such tasks are occasionally entrusted to incompetent people, for which reason many of the elements on these grounds (water mains, power systems, wrecked buildings, etc.) related to the practical training of the students are for the sake of appearance only, because of which the instructors are forced to resort to make-believe instructions.

In some cases a formalistic or wrong approach is adopted in the choice of civil defense instructors in military field camps. The standard requirement is that they have chemical training. Although important, this factor is not decisive. We must remember that chemists acting as instructors must also be trained in civil defense and be familiar with new developments in civil defense theory and practice.

Serious weaknesses also exist in preparations for and teaching the lesson "Actions of the section (crew) in conducting SNAVR [Rescue and Emergency Damage Repair Work] in a contaminated area." Its object is to streamline the civil defense training received by the students during the 2 years of basic military training. It includes the use of tactics, medical-sanitary defense, and fire, physical, engineering and other types of training. In turn, this calls for drafting a plan-scenario for the lesson with the participation of instructors in other subjects, medical-sanitary defense in particular.

Sometimes many aspects of a comprehensive topic are covered for the sake of appearance only despite the thorough theoretical and practical instructions given by the deputy chief in charge of scholastic affairs. This is usually due to the unsatisfactory training of the instructors at rallies preceding military field classes. The reserve officers assigned to teach frequently arrive in the camps with a plan which cannot be covered entirely by the civil defense curriculum for military field exercises. This indicates that their own training at training-methodical rallies was not based on that curriculum. That is why well trained civil defense specialists thoroughly familiar with the curriculum and its requirements must address the rallies. In general, special attention must be paid to the training-methodical rallies of reserve officers, for it is precisely there that the basic problems of their theoretical and methodical training are resolved.

Another prerequisite for the elimination of such weaknesses is the effective assistance which must be given to civil defense instructors by the camp's deputy commander in charge of scholastic affairs. It is incorrect to believe that the deputy commander is responsible for the complete civil defense training of the instructors, for he is unable to provide such training through instruction-methodical work.

The coordinated work between the public education councils, on the one hand, and the okrug and rayon civil defense councils, the councils on military-technical training of the population and the camp managements, on the other, is of great importance in the organization and conduct of civil defense training in military field camps.

All of these problems can be resolved. The main thing is for the military field camps to develop a proper style and method in managing this important aspect of the training of the growing generation.

5003
CSO: 2200/110

PROFILES OF CIVIL DEFENSE ORGANIZERS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 4, 1982 pp 26-27

[Report: "Awarded for Services to the GO na NRB [Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic]"]

[Text] Todor Vasilev Petkov

Todor Petkov, who is the bearer of the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB," first, second and third class, went into civil defense in 1969. Since then he has held a variety of positions in the okrug staff. He is presently GO chief of staff at the G. Dimitrov Pumps Economic Combine in Vidin. He gained extensive pedagogical experience and the ability to work with people during his army service. This helps him greatly in his work as chief of staff. His experience, persistence and skillful work with people enhanced the prestige of the civil defense system in the enterprise in a short period of time.

In only 2 years Petkov prepared and held two major exercises, one of which was observed by the chiefs of staff of all okrugs in the country and all okrug GO chiefs and chiefs of staff. Both exercises were held under complex tactical circumstances. Their participants wore gas masks throughout the exercises, something which is difficult to attain. "This is because they are trusted," is Todor Petkov's comment. "It is because here every one is aware of the meaning of discipline, duty and conscientious attitude toward assignments! It is also the result of the all-round support and cooperation which I get from the party and the management regarding GO problems."

Todor Petkov began working at the combine precisely when the State Council Ukase No 265 on civil defense was enacted. The new chief of staff studied the ukase thoroughly and undertook the organization of formations by shop and shift (in the sections). The personnel in charge of peace time activities at the combine were appointed staff specialists and commanders. Today a shop chief is also a formation commander who, along with his production plan carries out all GO assignments. This makes it possible to supervise the course of the training process closely and to know what topics have not been mastered properly and the areas in which the work is lagging.

Todor Petkov pays particular attention to practical training. He tries to develop complex and instructive circumstances and to make the lectures interesting and consistent with modern requirements, so that the personnel can see for themselves the need for proper defense preparations and know the tasks they are being trained to carry out. He is concerned with personnel turnover, which lowers the efficiency of the training process. This shortcoming in the training process is being surmounted with encouragements, praise or exigency. The firm rule here is for commanders and more experienced fighters to help the new comrades and to train them, particularly during practical exercises. For example, last year a fire broke out in one of the shops. Skillfuly, and with proper interaction the members of the fire-fighting crew were able to put it out before the arrival of the city's fire department, thus preventing serious damage.

Thanks to such concern and the increased prestige of the civil defense system, the combine invariably is in one of the leading positions in the okrug in defense preparations. This pleases the chief of staff and encourages him to continue to dedicate all his energy and experience to the enhancement of this highly rewarding and responsible project.

Tsvyatko Tsanev Dragnev

It did not take long for Reserve Colonel Tsvyatko Dragnev, member of the Sofia Civil Defense, to become familiar with the specific characteristics of the work on his new job, to become acquainted with the people, to begin to rely on them, to mobilize them and to involve them in civil defense training. The career of this impeccable cadre officer has been a string of surmounted difficulties and acquired skills and experience. In his native Semkovtsi Village, Veliko Turnovo Okrug, he grew up in a progressive environment and developed as a convinced communist. His military service at the Khristo Botev People's Reserve Officers School, where he learned firm military order and discipline, gave him a new lifetime profession. His duty to the homeland took him everywhere. He is particularly pleased by the fact that in the course of his army career he was able to take a civil defense course in the great land of the soviets.

All of this helps Tsvyatko Dragnev now, as civil defense chief of staff at Plant No 3 of the House Building Combine Economic Trust in Sofia to carry out his assignments well and on time. It so happened that he laid the beginning of the trust's comprehensive civil defense training. He organized formations, set up a staff and drafted charts, tables and plans for building defense installations, all within a relatively short time.

The investigation which was conducted last year at the project by a senior staff proved that these problems had been resolved successfully. The activities of the staff and of some of the formations were given a high rating.

The minutes of the investigation showed that the 1982 training plan was accurate. The project's management is understanding and helps to ensure the prompt solution of GO problems. It was pointed out that Tsvyatko Dragnev's skill in working with the party bureau and the Komsomol and trade union managements contributed to the good results.

Regular supervision of the training process and the struggle to maintain high discipline and effectiveness in training are of essential importance in achieving high-level GO training. Tsvyatko Dragnev knows how to combine the competition among formations with important anniversaries and events. During the last 2 years the competition was linked to the proper welcoming of the 12th BCP Congress and the celebration of the 1300th anniversary of Bulgaria's founding. This year the competition is related to the implementation of the congress' decisions, the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth and the 146th anniversary of the birth of Vasil Levski, the rayon's patron.

On Tsvyatko Dragnev's initiative the combine is engaged in civil defense competition with the Nonferrous Metals Economic Combine in Gara Iskur. The completion of a rayon civil defense training ground is an important project which will be completed under Dragnev's supervision this year. There is no doubt that this bearer of the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB" first class will do everything possible to ensure the solution of this responsible problem as well.

Iliya Khristov Nedev

Looking at this 60-year old stocky man with graying hair one could hardly imagine his inexhaustible energy. Dolna Oryakhovitsa has a population of more than 4,000, but it would be hard to find someone here who does not know or cannot say something nice about him. Why do his fellow-citizens respect

him? Is it because he has been one of the best chairmen of the Fatherland Front organizations in the city for the last 15 years? Is it because he became popular as a member of the REMS during the stormy years of the antifascist struggle and as a Patriotic War veteran and bearer of the Order of Courage second class? Or is it because the people here have become used to seeing him wherever there are difficulties and a pair of strong hands are needed? He is really loved by the people of Dolna Oryakhovitsa for his antifascist activities in the past, his work as an army officer and commander of an anti-aircraft battery and his dedication as civil defense chief of staff of the municipality in which he works, and perhaps because of Iliya Nedev's many other qualities.

For 2 years running the Dolna Oryakhovitsa Civil Defense Staff has been the comprehensive champion in the socialist competition among the okrug's municipalities and within the Gorna Oryakhovitsa conurbation system. Today the challenge banner awarded by the mayor of the Gorna Oryakhovitsa conurbation system in person is prominently exhibited. It will remain here permanently, reminding the citizens of Dolna Oryakhovitsa of the dedicated work of the members of the municipal staff, who frequently spend their days and nights working.

Could one forget those terrible days when will power and courage were tested, 3 years ago, during the downpours? The canal carrying the waters of the Rositsa River broke down and the muddy waters flooded the southern part of the city. Those were difficult days for the civil defense chief of Dolna Oryakhovitsa Municipality. Although soaked, he nevertheless could be found where things were most difficult -- in draining the water from houses, barns and gardens. It was precisely then that the civil defense formations proved their ability to act in a stricken area.

Iliya Khristov Nedev, chief of the civil defense staff of Dolna Oryakhovitsa Municipality was awarded the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB" second class, which is pinned next to his Order of Courage medal from the Patriotic War for his skill in organizing the training of the formations and the courage and dedication shown during the natural disaster.

Slavcho Miladinov Naydenov

Slavcho Naydenov joined the civil defense system in 1956 as voluntary instructor of several mandatory population training groups. Since 1963 he has been GO chief of staff in Razlog Obshtina. Thanks to his persistent and inventive activities and the proper guidance provided by the okrug GO staff he quickly became familiar with defense problems. A few years later Razlog Obshtina became the okrug champion, after which it has always been among the first in the okrug civil defense socialist competition. Slavcho Naydenov has deservedly earned the reputation of good civil defense specialist, for which reason his advice is often sought by many GO chiefs of staff in the okrug.

The leadership of the okrug GO staff appreciates Naydenov's organizational qualities and relies on him in case of need. For several years he has been in charge of organizing civil defense staff training, command staff exercises and civil defense training in the Banya, Belitsa, Yakoruda and Eleshnitsa Obshtinas. Here again he has displayed his rich experience and skill to relate to people. He is everywhere and actively contributes to improving the training of the Razlog Obshtina formations. Under the leadership of Slavcho Bozhanov, chairman of the obshtina people's council executive committee, the chief of staff equipped a classroom in accordance with modern requirements, thus providing favorable conditions for efficient training. Next to it is a special antiradiation shelter used in practical training.

On the instructions of the okrug GO staff, Naydenov organized for the okrug GO chiefs a demonstration on how to recruit personnel for rescue formations. The chief of staff was thanked and presented with a reward for the excellent training of and display given by the formations.

Civil defense in Razlog Obshtina is maintaining high operational standards thanks to the active and dedicated work of its chief of staff. The obshtina management is displaying a high feeling of responsibility for defense training. This was clearly manifested during the obshtina comprehensive civil defense exercise which was carried out last year, in the course of which GO staffs, formations and services and the population displayed their high level of readiness.

Slavcho naydenov points out that the proper guidance and leadership of the obshtina party committee deserve great credit for the good civil defense achievements of the Razlog conurbation system. He also emphasizes that a great deal of credit is also due to Slavcho Bozhanov, the chairman of the obshtina people's council executive committee, who never distinguishes between protection and socioeconomic problems.

Slavcho Naydenov has received many certificates and awards for his active and purposeful efforts in defense preparations. However, he particularly values the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB."

5003
CSO: 2200/110

SCHOOLS FOR NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS ANNOUNCE ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 4 May 82 p 2

[Announcement of Admission of Cadets to Non-Commissioned Officer Secondary Military Schools for the 1982-1983 Academic Year]

[Text] The G. Oryakhovitsa Georgi Izmirliev Non-Commissioned Officer Secondary Military School [SSVU]

The school admits youths with a complete secondary education for a period of instruction of 2 years and youths with a complete eighth grade for a period of instruction of 3 years in the specialties of the motorized rifle, tank, signal and engineer troops and a period of instruction of 4 years for the specialties of repair mechanics for motor vehicle, tractor and armored equipment and repair mechanics for communications equipment.

The Shumen Non-Commissioned Officers Secondary Military Artillery School [SSVAU]

The school admits cadets in the specialties:

a. Line specialty of ground and antiaircraft artillery with a period of instruction of 2 years for youths with a complete secondary education and 3 years for youths with a complete secondary education and 3 years for youths with a complete eighth grade.

b. Technical specialty of ground and antiaircraft artillery, radar troops, artillery weapons and repair mechanics of tank weapons with a length of instruction of 4 years. Youths are admitted with a complete eighth grade.

Dolna Mitropoliya Non-Commissioned Officers Secondary Air Force School [SSVVU]

The school admits youths with a complete eighth grade in the following specialties:

For the needs of the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army], technician for special equipment, technician for radio equipment and technician for communications and radio-technical support. In the first specialty cadets are also admitted for the needs of the BGA [Bulgarian Civil Aviation]. The period of instruction for all specialties is 4 years.

The Varna Anton Ivanov Warrant Officers Secondary Naval School [MSVMU]

The school admits servicemen in regular service from naval vessels as well as draftees with a complete secondary education in the specialties of ship equipment and mechanisms, naval communications and radio equipment. The period of instruction is 2 years.

The Sofia Maestro G. Atanasov Non-Commissioned Officers Secondary Military Music School [SSVMU]

The school admits youths with a complete eighth grade in the specialty of military band member. The period of instruction is 4 years.

The SSVU train sergeants for the needs of the Bulgarian Armed Forces. The sons of working Bulgarian citizens who are loyal to communist power and our socialist motherland are admitted as cadets in the SSVU.

Candidates for cadets in specialties with a period of instruction of 3 and 4 years must have completed eighth grade and have a minimum number of points of 12.00 reflecting the overall grade on the diploma for a complete education and the grade for Bulgarian language and literature and for mathematics.

The minimum number of points for applying to the SSVMU consists of the overall grade on the diploma for a complete education, the grade in Bulgarian language and literature and in singing.

The applicants must not be older than 16 years of age by 16 September.

Applicants for cadets in the specialties with a 2-year period of instruction must have a complete secondary education and not be older than 21. Youths with a secondary education who are subject to the draft as well as those doing their military service can be admitted for the 2-year course at the G. Oryakhovitsa G. Izmirliev SSVU, the Shumen SSVAU and the Varna A. Ivanov MSVMU.

All applicants for cadets must meet the following conditions: be fond of military service and desire to devote themselves to it, be members of the Komsomol, be physically healthy, have no criminal record or be involved in court proceedings or investigation, they must not be married and be recommended by the commander of the unit (for servicemen in regular service).

Cadet applicants are to submit the following documents through the chiefs of the military districts (for regular servicemen, through the unit commanders) to the chief of the corresponding SSVU or to the chief of the higher military school with authority over the SSVU:

a) A request to the chief of the school indicating the specialty for which application is being made;

b) An autobiography;

c) A diploma or a copy of it for a complete secondary (basic or eighth grade) education;

d) A recommendation from the people's council;

e) A pedagogical recommendation from the school;

f) A form declaration (these can be found at the military districts) signed by the cadet applicant that he promises to serve at least 10 years in the BNA (BGA) after completing the school. For applicants with a complete eighth grade the declaration is signed also by the parents, or if there are no parents, by a guardian;

g) Birth certificate;

h) A certificate showing the criminal record;

i) Any document which would grant preferential treatment.

The documents of regular servicemen allowed to apply to the SSVU along with the health booklet, a copy of the service record showing any imposed penalties and commendations and a service recommendation, are forwarded by the commanders to the military districts from which the youths have been sent for service.

The dates for submitting the documents to the military districts are:

a) Prior to 8 June for those who completed their secondary education prior to 1982 and for regular servicemen;

b) Prior to 7 July for those who completed their secondary education in 1982;

c) Prior to 17 July for those who have completed eighth grade.

Applicants for the technical specialties with a period of instruction of 4 years are to take a written competitive exam in mathematics based on materials studied up to the eighth grade inclusively.

Applicants for the Maestro G. Atanasov SSVMU are to take a competitive exam in solfege and a special subject (wind or percussion instruments) according to the program for admission to secondary music schools.

It is possible to apply simultaneously for all specialties in one or two SSVU. The first group of SSVU includes the D. Mitropoliya SSVVU, the Shumen SSVAU and the Varna Anton Ivanov MSVMU. The second group includes the G. Oryakhovitsa G. Izmirliev SSVU and the Maestro G. Atanasov SSVMU.

Youths who apply to two SSVU send their documents to the first, in indicating in these documents the second school to which they have applied and an application to the second in which they indicate to which SSVU the remaining documents have been forwarded.

The time for the reporting of the candidates and for the taking of exams is as follows:

a. For the first group of SSVU:

1) The reporting of candidates at 1400 hours on 19 August;

2) Written exam from 0800 to 1200 hours on 20 August;

3) Medical exams, rankings and session of admission commissions and announcement of results prior to 23 August.

b. For the second group of SSVU:

1) Reporting of candidates prior to 1400 hours on 1 September;

2) Competitive exam for the SSVMU and for specialties with a period of instruction of 4 years at the G. Izmirliev SSVU from 0800 to 1200 hours on 2 September;

3) Medical examinations, ranking, session of admission commissions and announcing of results prior to 4 September.

Travel and food is at the applicants' expense and lodgings for them are organized by the schools. Applicants who are regular servicemen can travel on military travel documents and may be signed up for mess upon presentation of a mess card.

Applicants for cadets with specialties of 2 and 3 years of instruction do not take a competitive exam and are ranked by the number of grade points which is formed from the following grades:

a) The overall grade on the diploma for a complete secondary (basic eighth grade) education;

b) The grade on the diploma for Bulgarian language and mathematics. For the technical specialties with a 4-year period of instruction the doubled grade from the competitive exam in mathematics is added in.

Applicants for the SSVMU are ranked according to the overall grade shown on the diploma for the complete eighth grade, the grade on the diploma in Bulgarian language and singing, the doubled grade from the competitive exam in solfege and the tripled grade on a special musical instrument.

The accepted cadets will be informed in writing by the military schools. They are obliged to report to the schools prior to 1400 hours on 14 September, while draftees admitted to the Anton Ivanov MSVMU are to report prior to 1400 hours on 24 August. Priority admission for cadets to the SSVU is given to the sons of the active fighters against fascism and capitalism, the sons of servicemen in the BNA who perished during or because of the carrying out of their service duty and of reserve servicemen who have served at least 15 years of regular service in the BNA. Preference is also given to the sons of employees of the Balkan BGA (pilots and technicians) and from the Ministry of Transport (Central Administration) who have at least 10 years of regular service in these departments as well as applicants from the border okrugs in Southern Bulgaria.

Youths who have placed in the republic mathematics contests are admitted without competition (if they meet the other requirements). A civilian secondary education and classification in accord with the curriculum and military service served are granted to those who have completed the SSVU with 3 and 4 years of instruction.

A secondary technical education and served military service are granted to those who have completed a 2-year course of instruction.

Cadets who study for the needs of the BGA, after the completion of school, are appointed to work within the BGA system.

10272
CSO: 2200/103

CPCZ OFFICIAL ON NOMENKLATURA EVALUATIONS

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 9, 26 Apr 82 pp 17, 18

[Article by Vaclav Zazvorka, chief of the personnel division of the West Bohemian Kraj Committee of the CPCZ, Plzen]

[Text] The preparation of the final report concerning the course and outcomes of the comprehensive evaluation by the presidium of the West Bohemian CPCZ kraj committee has marked the end of a period in which party organs and basic organizations evaluated the work of all senior officials and managers included in the personnel lists and functional directories. At the preparation stage itself, the party kraj committee emphasized the necessity for devoting attention especially to the content side of the comprehensive evaluation. This was mainly a matter of using it fully as a component of the overall preparations of the party and society for the proceedings of the Sixteenth CPCZ Congress and the implementation of its resolutions. For this reason the main goal was established as judging the concrete role of those being evaluated, at whatever level they work, in the fulfillment of the tasks of the Sixteenth CPCZ Congress.

Directly after the adoption of measures by the presidium of the CPCZ kraj committee, extensive politically organizational work was undertaken towards the proper conduct of the comprehensive evaluation in the entire kraj party organization. All of the lower party organizations discussed the tasks, and a number of groups came into being composed of chairmen of basic organizations, all-factory and city committees, of okres committee activists, of evaluators and the evaluated. Certain okres committees have introduced questions connected to the comprehensive evaluation into courses at political education houses. Simultaneously, the basic organizations of the CPCZ all-factory committees obtained the tme schedules and primary content criteria.

Cadre and personnel offices played a large role in the preparation and actual course of the comprehensive evaluation. They bore the brunt of the entire project, were in contact with party organs and organizations, assured the timely presentation of evaluation proposals to a party organ, prepared the groundwork for the evaluators, acquainted them with the mission and content focus of the evaluation.

The emphasis which they placed on a proper comprehension of the objectives and mission of the comprehensive evaluation and their conscientious

organizational and contextual preparation created for party organs the requisite atmosphere which was manifested in the very course of the comprehensive evaluation. In addition to focusing the content, they also demanded adherence to time schedules. The result of this attentiveness was the completion of the comprehensive evaluation of nomenklatura cadres in the kraj within the deadline established by the CPCZ Presidium on 31 December 1981.

The results of the comprehensive evaluation in our kraj confirmed that most of the senior officials were up to the tasks set at the last evaluation. The tasks which had been set were not fulfilled by 2.9 percent of the functionaries. The reasons for this lay, above all, in transfers to other workplaces, changes in job description, long term illness, and only exceptionally due to incompetence or lack of interest on the part of the evaluated employee. In these instances, party organs and organizations adopted a personnel solution. For instance, in the Karlovy Vary okres 20 functionaries lost their jobs, and in Tachovsko, 23. In all, throughout the kraj 171 employees were fired in the course of the comprehensive evaluation for failure to fulfill their assigned tasks and the failure to handle their function.

In the course of the evaluation, the evaluators and above all the party organs and organizations devoted increased attention to the ways in which the senior officials, at the workplaces which they managed, implemented party policy in daily practice as well as the conclusions of the Sixteenth CPCZ Congress and the subsequent sessions of its Central Committee and the resolutions of subordinate party organs and basic organizations. In spite of the fact that their responsibility has increased since the last evaluation, there has been a lack of success in many instances in critically evaluating weaknesses in the work of the person being evaluated, in pointing out causes and in finding solutions. It has been stated, for instance, in strictly a general way that a factory has fulfilled, or failed to fulfill the tasks of the Sixth Five Year Plan, but not only some evaluators, but also basic organizations and all-factory committees have not been up to the task of evaluating the specific, individual role of the person being evaluated in these results, especially in managerial and organizational work.

One of the most important components of the comprehensive evaluation has been an evaluation of the political and educational work of cadres. Certain senior officials are still not well enough aware that politically educational work must be judged as an inseparable component of every management action. This became evident when, in a number of evaluation proposals submitted to party organs, an evaluation of these activities was lacking as well as a statement of the results which have been achieved in this area. This part of the evaluation had been restricted to a listing of the party and public functions which had been held, a statement of the level of activity and initiative on the part of workers, and of their incorporation into management and the choice and preparation of underutilized personnel capacities. In these instances, party organs and organizations have stated that at this time there exist a number of weaknesses and considerable underutilized capability, especially in interpersonal dealings, in the resolution of critical shortcomings and of employee comments, in the abdication by

management of their politically educational role, and therefore have returned the proposals for rewriting.

The course and the results of the evaluation have shown that a portion of the senior officials/evaluators persist in adopting quite an apolitical attitude to this evaluation, and consider that the top priority among the persons being evaluated is their ability to fulfill economic and production tasks, etc., while politically educational activity and mass political work is for them a secondary matter. They have the mistaken impression that they, as managerial employees, resolve only plan tasks and that the rest is strictly a matter for party organs and organizations. They do not comprehend that politically educational activity and personnel work is just as important in managerial work as the organization of production technology and the economy. We are concerned, bear in mind, with a unity of political and professional management.

In spite of the above shortcomings it may be stated that the quality of the evaluation improved in comparison with 1976. This was true not only on the part of the evaluators, for whom the adopted principle of conducting the evaluation gradually from the higher functions on down had a positive influence, but also and above all on the part of party organs and the committees of basic organizations. This is confirmed, among other things, by the fact that 56 more functionaries than in 1976 were dismissed from their managerial positions for the nonfulfillment of tasks Critical evaluations were carried out, for instance, at the Karlovy Vary State Farms sectoral enterprise, at the B. Cerkev Ironworks in Hradek u Rokycan, at the Domazlice Okres Agricultural Administration, and at the Forging and Rolling Factories of the Plzen Skoda V.I. Lenin Works, and elsewhers.

At the same time it is necessary to emphasize that the approach of certain evaluators did not change at all from before. We see the reason for this above all in a lack of courage on the part of these senior officials to point out critically shortcomings in the work of the person being evaluated not only at the time of the comprehensive evaluation but in daily practice as well. They prefer to excuse, overlook or to search out various objective causes of a shortcoming out of a fear of generating conflict situations, so as "not to disrupt" interpersonal relationships. Differences in evaluation quality follow also from the fact that certain officials do not work systematically with people and do not regularly evaluate the results of their work, as well as from the fact that some of them have little experience, insufficient personal abilities and temperamental characteristics.

We perceive the greatest shortcomings in the conduct of the comprehensive evaluation to be in the evaluation of the moral and character traits of functionaries. Above all with regard to managerial employees included in the personnel lists of all factory committees and functional directories of basic organizations, these evaluations are on many occassions general and simply uncritical. Only in isolated instances was mention made concerning the people being evaluated of arrogant, uncomradely and inappropriate dealings with subordinates, of an overstepping of their authority, of a failure to hold to the principles of socialist morality, etc.

A number of party organs, organizations and senior officials, then, or so it appears, persist in underestimating the significance of character and moral traits as an inseparable component of the qualificational bases for managerial work under the contemporary conditions of the building of a developed socialist society. In this connection, the words of comrade Gustav Husak at the Sixteenth Party Congress stand out with special urgency, "We convince ourselves daily of how important it is that senior officials be characterized by high political, professional and moral qualities, by a class approach to social phenomena, to internationalism, that they be good organizers, demanding of themselves and of others and that they be of good repute."

In addition to an objective, critical evaluation of the personal role of every evaluated employee in managerial performance and in the implementation of the tasks of party policy, the party organs and organizations, in conjunction with the evaluators, devoted attention to the establishment of concrete and verifiable tasks. Above all, the party organs consistently made sure that they were proceeding on the basis of the needs of individual workplaces, factories, enterprises and organizations for 1981-1985, and that their actions corresponded to the resolutions and conclusions of party conferences and the Sixteenth CPCZ Congress. A total of more than 70,000 work tasks were assigned, 22,000 were aimed at increasing qualifications, and 13,000 were aimed at increasing participation in political work. The intentions of the work tasks are quite varied, but a majority of them are connected with questions of increasing the quality and efficiency of all work, with the conservation of fuels, energy and materials, and the improvement of managerial, educational and personnel work.

In a number of instances, however, above all at the level of all-factory committees and basic organizations, these tasks were assigned only generally, in terms such as "break down the conclusions of the Sixteenth Congress, the kraj and okres conferences to conform to workplace conditions", "increase effectiveness, efficiency and quality", "provide for the conservation of fuel and materials", etc. It has been shown that the concreteness of these tasks corresponds to a great extent to how responsibly and conscientiously the party organs, basic organizations and the managerial leadership in enterprises, factories and institutions break down the resolutions of the congress and conferences, and how they integrate concrete measures into their work plans, above all in reference to the implementation of the economic policy of the party expressed in national economic plans, politically educational and mass political work, etc.

The kraj and okres party committees, the party committee at the operational division of the Czechoslovak State Railways in Plzen and the enterprise committee of the CPCZ at the Plzen Skoda V.I. Lenin Works have all come to terms well with the assignment of concrete tasks. In spite of individual problems and shortcomings in the specificity of the assigned tasks, it is possible to state that the party organizations and organs in the kraj have created, through the establishment of the tasks, positive preconditions for the fulfillment of the resolutions of the Sixteenth CPCZ Congress.

The comprehensive evaluation of nomenklatura cadres in the West Bohemian kraj has contributed to a further increase in the demands on the managerial,

organizational and politically educational activity of managerial and senior officials, on their work activity and initiative. The vast majority of nomenklatura cadres proved themselves capable during the evaluation period of handling their functions and have the preconditions to perform them in the future as well. The outcomes of the comprehensive evaluation, however, should not be overestimated. Experiences from cadre work have indicated that the effectiveness of the results of the evaluation are reduced gradually with the passage of time from the date of the interview and confirmation of a given individual in his or her function. This is especially true where the evaluation is perceived as a one-time project and not as a permanent means for increasing the sophistication of cadres and the quality of management generally. Therefore it is necessary that the evaluators and party organs return regularly to the adopted conclusions, above all where the tasks of the Sixteenth Congress and the Seventh Five Year Plan will not be fulfilled, so that they can once again judge the work of the appropriate managerial employee and supplement the previously assigned tasks with new ones which may lead to an improvement of the situation. These organs and organizations are working properly when they return to these conclusions at the time of control of the fulfillment of the plan for a unified approach to the assurance of the tasks of national economic plans, in their evaluation of professional or youth group activities, etc.

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BEJDA ON ROLE OF CPCZ IDEOLOGY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Vasil Bejda, candidate of CPCZ Central Committee, CPCZ Central Committee division chief: "On the Path of Social Progress; Current Issues of Ideological Work]

[Text] In recent days in Prague a conference took place of division chiefs of the central committees of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries. As a participant in this conference I would like to share some thoughts on certain issues of the ideological struggle, on the difficulties in assuring tasks on the path of social progress, and on problems linked with the acute threat to world peace, all in a spirit of the interpretations and procedures applied at the above conference.

Ideological considerations to an ever greater extent are penetrating all aspects of the building of socialism. In particular, the needs of a further development of the socialist economy place high demands on ideologically educational activity.

Course in the Intensification of the Economy

In the national economy we are facing a complex of for the most part new, complicated tasks which are linked to a full implementation of the political line of the party for an intensification of the economy, for a practical increase in the quality and efficiency of production. We are integrating this line into our lives under conditions where we have at our disposal the same or even more limited resources than in past years and where we must overcome the influences of increased economic discrimination on the part of the imperialist countries. It is even more difficult to achieve deep changes in the thought patterns of managerial employees and the broad spectrum of workers, which under the given conditions represents a critical task for ideologically educational work.

Along with problems and complexities in the assurance of the further growth and dynamism of the socialist economy, certain people are developing skeptical and pessimistic moods. The ones who are giving in to this are forgetting that socialism at the present time is moving into a new, qualitatively higher stage of its development. We are not facing a crisis, as anti-communist propaganda is attempting to suggest to us, but rather the necessity

for solving new problems under different conditions. It is precisely in such a period that everything depends on a realistic analysis of achievements and the elaboration of an optimal program, and on a precise determination of the direction of further endeavors.

The complexity of the current problems of socialist construction and of the current stage of the world revolutionary process demands the thinking through and utilization of more effective and aggressive approaches to ideological influence. An open relationship to the working masses has critical significance, in the sense that we are acquainting them with a material analysis of the situation and winning them over to active support for measures that will lead to changes, organizing their participation in these changes, and developing mass initiative. If we proceed systematically in this fashion, we will be successful in winning their support for unpopular measures as well, such as price measures. On the other hand, any attempt to be tricky, to gloss over problems, the least giving in to an "ostrich policy" will lead to the spread of mistrust, to a weakening of the link between the party and the masses. In a daily application of the Gottwald slogan "With Face To the Masses" we perceive the path as well to the resolution of contemporary economic problems and a guarantee of an effective struggle against all manifestations of opportunism, the path to a further strengthening of the ideologically political unity of our society.

The assurance of multifaceted, often qualitatively new and ever more complex tasks in the development of a mature socialist society is not possible without the constant strengthening of the international unity and solidarity of the socialist countries. Comrade Leonid Breznev clearly expressed this logical necessity of socialist development at the Sixteenth CPCZ Congress: "We must constantly strengthen the unity of fraternal countries, their multilateral ever deeper cooperation in all areas, and in the most rational possible manner join forces and resources in the interest of each of our countries and the entire community". Our party regards these wise words as a fundamental component of a long term program for the building of a mature socialist society, and draws conclusions from them as well for its own ideological work.

The Building of Developed Socialism

In the above context, the following pressing issues of our ideological work come to the fore:

1. Above all is the issue of the creative initiative and activity of the masses, to the development of which ideologically educational work must contribute in a far more substantial manner than heretofore. The activity and initiative-taking participation of workers in the building of a new society is, as is well known, the most valuable type of "capital" which arises in the process of revolutionary changes. The multiplying and developing of this "capital" is today one of the critical conditions for the fulfillment of the tasks of the present time. Our party perceives the foundation of a mass development of activity in a deeping of the socialist relationships of social ownership.

Socialism is evolving during the current development stage above all on its own, collectivist foundations, and for exactly this reason must continue to apply its advantages more demonstratively. Emphasis on a positive role for individualistic, private ownership initiatives is a characteristic toll for impatience, for a skipping of the logical stages in the development of socialism. As the experiences of 1968-69 indicate, this is linked to the danger of a weakening in the socialist economic base and a revival of petty bourgeois moods and attitudes, which may be exploited in the preparation of attempts to destabilize the socialist social order. Only given the existence of dominant relationships based on socialist social ownership can we permit the utilization of small individual production or services to resolve certain economic problems as a supplement to society wide undertakings.

2. A second current problem is related to the criteria of the socio-economic "competition" of socialism and capitalism. Today our country has overcome the unrealiatic, subjectivist approach of announcing the schedules of when and in what areas we will overtake capitalism, for instance in per capita steel production. The resolution of separate tasks does not mean an overall basic forward shift of a society. Even though this approach has been overcome in politics, in ideology it has been having lingering echoes. We are still not doing enough to make clear to our people, and especially to the younger generation which is at its formative stage, the qualitative difference in the values and objectives of socialism and the advantages of life under it, so that they may conscientiously participate in its development. In comparing socialism and capitalism priority should not be given to quantitative, but to qualitative differences and indicators. Such an approach makes it possible better and more convincingly to demonstrate the advantages of socialism. Placing emphasis only on the level of material consumption is manifested in an unhealthy consumerism which is foreign to socialism, in a consumer psychology which overlooks the connection between one's own efforts and compensation for work. Simplified conceptions, on the one hand a schematic comprehension of the growth of material consumption, and on the other hand the announcement of an automatic reduction in retail prices have led to the spread of consumerist tendencies. The CPCZ has learned a lesson from these mistakes, and in its ideologically educational activities it is giving priority to the formation of timely outlooks on life for the socialist individual, and on a deepening of the entire socialist way of life.

3. Thirdly, it is necessary consistently to foster pride amongst our people in their socialist homeland, its progressive traditions and current achievements, and to strengthen a conscientious, creative relationship to the socialist community and intensify socialist internationalist sensibilities. The purpose of this is to stimulate worker activity, and to increase their creative role in the building and defense of their socialist homeland. An improvement in education regarding socialist ownership cannot be successful without the overcoming of pro-western (actually pro-capitalist) tendencies, which are becoming evident in certain groups within our population and which are maintained and spread in all kinds of sophisticated ways by foreign anti-communist propaganda. The events in Poland have once again pointed to the

dangers which can arise from these tendencies. The ideological work of the party must focus its efforts still more on the formation and intensification of the class consciousness, vigilance and militance of our citizens in opposition to the reactionary policies and ideology of imperialism, in whatever ways it may be camouflaged.

Attentiveness to World-View Education

In view of the fact that an active attitude of people towards revolutionary social changes stems from their value orientation, we are devoting extraordinary attention to education in a world view. Our efforts have not been without their problems, but nor have they been without successes. More and more people are assimilating scientific socialism and the moral and ethical orientation of socialist humanism. This is not to the liking of reactionary representatives of religion, especially to those elements of the catholic church hierarchy which, in close conjunction with the Vatican, are attempting to exploit believers for antisocialist activities.

This is a clear example of the fact that imperalism is depending on contemporary clericalism not only as a buttress for obsolete structures and thought patterns, but also as an important instrument for the erosion of socialism. The line of world catholicism is especially dangerous. The Vatican, under the influence of John Paul II, is orienting itself towards an escalation of clerical demands, towards an escalation of anticommunism, and is attempting to strengthen its power political positions. This was confirmed during the March stay of our bishops in Rome. The Pope, insofar as the interpetations of bourgeois journalists may be believed, concerned himself in a speech to them among other things with the question of what means would be feasible for a return to religion, to the bosom of the church, especially for those who have become, in his words, victims of "ideological bamboozle". An interesting remark. Might it be a modern attempt to repeat the legendary crusades against the infidels?

In this context, then, even the modified eastern policy of the Vatican becomes clear, focused as it is on strengthening political clericalism in the socialist countries. By means of a differentiated approach, it wants to create and expand the points of friction between individual countries, to sow mistrust between them, and especially in their relations with the Soviet Union. It is not even possible to underestimate the implementation of the conception of a Christian Europe, of a Christian panslavism, of the model of Polish Catholicism and others, which are to aid in the political penetration of and destructive influence within socialist society.

The Vatican also arrogates to itself the right to be an arbiter on the issue of the defense of human rights and freedoms. It is spreading reports of alleged repression of citizen rights to freedom of religion and of worship in our country. And in order to prove their assertions, they do not hesitate to distort the truth concerning religious life in the CSSR. The Vatican is demanding, more and more, blind obedience on the part of priests and of believers, yet reproaches our socialist state when it expects loyalty to the socialist homeland from citizens regardless of their religion or convictions.

We are often reminded, and not only from anticommunist centers, that we should acknowledge reality, i.e. the existence of religion. According to this interpretation, the respecting of reality is equal to its passive acceptance. We preceive reality in connection with the reshaping of the given state of society in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist teachings. And we want all the more to incorporate believers into this struggle, even if it is only a matter of their involvement in the fulfillment of the tasks of the building of socialism in our country, or their involvement in the struggle for peace, for a reduction in international tensions and the prevention of the threatening nuclear catastrophe. In this, and only in this regard, that is on a basis of socialism, does there exist sufficient space for the existence of a church in our society. For us, it is a matter of the creation of the optimal conditions for the building of our society. In this, we are counting on all the citizens of our state, and what is important to us is their constructive work. By the same token, we do not allow anyone, no matter what their reservations, to retard this building process. This applies fully to catholic clericalism as well.

In Reformist Positions

The class enemy is attempting doggedly to fortify its influence on the way that our people will comprehend not only the various questions of international policy, but also development within the socialist community, and in the international revolutionary movement. It is being supported in this by the current positions of certain communist parties of the Western countries, particularly the Italian communist party, which has consciously gone over to a reformist position.

It is no accident at all that E. Berlinguer and his followers have stood on the side of the class enemy in these complex situations. This was the case as well when in Poland matters led to a decisive action in defense of revolutionary achievements. This was the case as well during the events in Afghanistan or in Cambodia, but also as early as the critical period in our country in 1968-69. The leadership of the Italian communist party has always supported unfriendly campaigns which were unfolded in these situations against socialist countries. These capitulationist attitudes have now escalated so far that with the emphasis on a so-called "new model" of the struggle for socialism, a politico-ideological platform has been formulated which is directed against Leninism andiits practical experiences which have been confirmed in socialist countries. Moreover, it is being unabashedly forced upon the other parties.

The current position of the CPI leadership eloquently demonstrates the nature of the real background of the slogans concerning the need for a so-called new internationalism. They are meant to discredit the role of the CPUSSR and of the Soviet Union in the international revolutionary movement, and to justify neutralism or the direct pronouncement of an anti-Soviet campaign. The other side of the same coin is the attempt to blur the difference between communists and social reformists. That which is supposed to serve the requirement of deepening the capacity for action of the entire workers and democratic movement, is actually an unsuccessful attempt to

justify the fundamental concessions of social democracy. In light of the recent positions of the CPI we are once again clearly aware that the precondition for a more effective joint approach in conjunction with all leftist and democratic forces is not a weakening, but on the contrary a further strengthening of the international unity and cooperativeness of communists based on consistent Marxist-Leninist principles.

On the other hand, the positions of the CPI leadership, but also the leadership of other parties, still more urgently underline the pressing nature of the requirement that the struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for the ideological unity of the international revolutionary movement against all manifestations of revisionism and opportunism be systematically conducted as an ongoing inseparable component of our international ideological struggle. Lenin's observation is again being confirmed, that fertile ground for the activization of revisionism is created above all when qualitatively new problems of socialist construction and the antiimperialist struggle are not resolved. Therefore, the most effective weapon against revisionism is the systematic theoretical elaboration and the active explanation of these problems.

It is well known that the CPI leadership has taken the recent events in the People's Republic of Poland, and the attitude of the CPCZ and other fraternal parties to them as the excuse for bringing to the fore its dispute with Leninism.

It is with great satisfaction that we state that the decisive measures of the past 3 months in conjunction with the announcement of martial law have put a stop to counterrevolution in the People's Republic of Poland. At the same time we are aware that this is only the first step, the essential precondition for the actual resolution.

Relevance of "Lessons"

Our party resolved a situation 12-13 years ago which in many ways was similar to the current situation in Poland. It is therefore logical that we return to the Lessons Drawn from Crisis Development in the Party and in Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress, the conclusions of which are still relevant. As this analysis shows, we were successful in overcoming this society-wide upheaval and successfully to consolidate society above all because the party leadership began again consistently to apply the principles of Marxist-Leninist teachings, to utilize the general laws of socialist development and Leninist principles of the building and defense of socialism.

The renewal of the Marxist-Leninist character of the party was the most critical task. This required first of all the discovery, then the isolation and political defeat of proponents of rightist opportunism who had penetrated the party and its leadership. Our experience again confirmed the Leninist conclusion that a critical condition for the building of a new society is the capability for political action of the party, its activity in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism, its ability to lead the working class and the masses of other workers. A precondition for success in uniting

the broad masses around a positive program of consolidation was the uncovering of the correct bases of the false "friends of the people", their connections with reactionary imperialist centers abroad, and the unmasking of the true intentions of the proponents of rightist opportunism, even though these were concealed by demagogic slogans concerning democratization, humanization, or socialist renewal. Party-oriented militant, unceasing ideological work in this area has contributed to the renewal of the ideologically political unity of the party on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to a renewal of trust in the party and its authority in the ranks of the working class and throughout society.

From an international standpoint, it was important to overcome an artifically evoked mood of antisovietism, to strengthen friendly ties with the socialist community, especially with the Soviet Union. This is still a pressing issue.

It is possible even today to encounter the opinion that in a situation when the Soviet Union is no longer the only mature socialism within the worldwide capitalist encirclement, the responsibility has lessened for other revolutionary forces to support actively the peaceloving policy of the USSR, the spreading of the truth about the land of the Soviets, the decisive struggle against all manifestations of antisovietism. Often this reasoning is used to justify nothing less than unprincipled conduct, the search for progress through compromises with the class enemy. Contemporary developments, however, indicate still more clearly that the greater is the potential of the Soviet Union, the more important its role in world politics, the more substantially it aids all revolutionary, progressive and peaceful forces, the more the reaction unites itself on a platform of antisovietism, the more frantic and angry are the attacks and campaigns against the Soviet Union, and the greater becomes the role of the truth about the Soviet Union and its policy in the worldwide class struggle, its role in the struggle to maintain world peace. In the ideological work of our party, we draw the most consistent conclusions from this. In the uncovering of antisovietism as the central weapon aimed against the entire socialist community, against all forces of progress and peace there lies also the fundamental direction of the ideologically political assistance to revolutionary, democratic, and peaceful forces in the nonsocialist world. It is necessary fully to utilize to this end, in both domestic and external propaganda, the possibilities provided by this year's sixtieth anniversary of the creation of the USSR, and all the immense revolutionary changes which have been achieved in all areas of the life of the Soviet people.

The defense of world peace takes first priority in the current tense international situation. For our ideological work as well, this is a task of the first magnitude. Recent developments, even though the forces of militarism have succeeded in worsening international relations, convince us that it is possible to achieve successes in the struggle for peace. The "somersaults" of the principal representatives of the current administration in the USA are also evidence of this. Haig is no longer holding to his statement that issues are more important than peace, and Reagan himself has forsaken his openly warlike terminology and is attempting to appear in the role of head "peacemaker".

This does not mean, however, that American imperialism has given up on its plans to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union, and its attempts to achieve world military dominance. Proof of this, among other things, is their stubborn rejection of all peace and disarmament initiatives of the Soviet Union, even though it proposes unilateral steps towards a reduction in tensions. A typical example is the rejection of a Soviet proposal for a moratorium and even an offer for a unilateral Soviet reduction in the numbers of medium range nuclear weapons in Europe. It is therefore impossible to slack off in the ideological, propagandistic support of the peaceful initiatives of the socialist community, in effective assistance to all forces fighting against the danger of military, thermonuclear catastrophe which is being prepared by the imperialist reaction.

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OBZINA ON CRIME UNDER SOCIALISM

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[Article by Jaromir Obzina, CPCZ Central Committee member, CSSR Minister of the Interior]

[Text] There are clear qualitative differences in crime under capitalism and under socialism. Much has changed in the course of the building of socialism in the fight against crime. The professional criminal underworld has been eliminated. Basically by political means and judicial penalties open counterrevolutionary attempts to liquidate socialism in the CSSR have been smashed. We are obliged, however, to seek the answer to the question of why under socialism crime exists and what are its causes. We are aware that without a deeper knowledge of its causes and conditions socialist society cannot carry on an effective fight against it.

Facts indicate that even under socialism crime is an aggregate social phenomenon of an antisocial character, i.e. intrinsically foreign to the basis of the communist socio-economic order. We cannot, however, accept the view that under socialism the conditions, surroundings and factors for criminality exist, but in no sense its causes. We consider this assertion to be too self-serving and, moreover, theoretically unproven. If the conception of the security policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state is to be based on scientific findings and not solely on pure political and judicial intuition, it is necessary to determine the causes of criminality, and scientifically confirm them.

Limiting the Extent of Criminality

At the same time, we emphasize that we search for the causes of criminality under socialism not as a purely abstract product of thought, but by means of analyses of the economic, social, political, and spiritual sphere of the life of society, and in such a way that every individual is understood as an aggregation of given social relations along with his or her own biological and psychological characteristics. Therefore we seek a true, objective determination of the causes of crime from the confrontation of our discussions and findings with social reality. If the causes of criminality under socialism lie in the above four basic spheres of social life, i.e. the economic, social, political and spiritual, in close conjunction with the biological and

psychological makeup of each and every person, then individual, specific branches of science are not capable of discovering them. This in no way, however, reduces the significance of the research of these disciplines and their results for the comprehensive study of a complex social phenomenon such as criminality.

When Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels explained the causes of criminality in capitalism, they showed that this social phenomenon is connected with the base of this social order, with its production and social relations--with the private ownership of the means of production, with the exploitation and impoverishment of the working masses, and with their social uncertainty. And even though we fully acknowledge the revolutionary social changes realized after the victory of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must state that these changes did not make it possible to eliminate criminality completely. Until society achieves mature communism, objective social conditions will make it possible only to limit substantially the social danger of crime and its extent, but not to eliminate it.

It is generally known that under socialism, under conditions of the social ownership of the means of production and the planned management of production, distribution, exchange, and consumption, that the socialist production of goods exists objectively along with its related categories: goods, money, the market, supplier-consumer relationships among the branches of the national economy and within these branches, and that the law of value is applicable. These realities are clear to anyone, even though individuals and sometimes even social groups think them through far from completely and underestimate them. It is just these realities that show the magnitude of the period of historical development that we must still defeat in order to reach communism. For the present, however, it is necessary to emphasize that without these economic realities and phenomena the path to communism is not feasible or realistic.

Under socialism there exist 3 forms of ownership: state socialist ownership, the ownership of all the people; cooperative socialist ownership, the ownership of employees merged under the socialist cooperative program, in other words the ownership of socialist social and other social organizations; personal ownership (ownership of the citizens, which has a mainly consumer character and may not be used for any purposes other than the satisfaction of needs).

In addition to these forms of ownership there also exists in our society private ownership, i.e. citizen ownership outside of the framework of socialist social and personal ownership, as a holdover from capitalism. This form of ownership is constitutionally and legally restricted and its utilization is justified to the extent that its misuse for the exploitation of the work of others is made impossible. In includes the individual ownership of land, and other aspects of individual ownership which do not fulfill the conditions of personal ownership and, finally, ownership on the part of nonsocialist organizations (domestic and foreign). The various forms of ownership under socialism and the corresponding forms of possession cannot rule out the

possibility of the nonsocialist use of ownership which under certain conditions may have even a criminal, antijudicial and even an anti-constitutional character.

Social and Class Relations

With regard to the causes of criminality under socialism, social and class realities, problems of class differentiation and efforts to achieve a social homogeneity of society all have their importance. Experiences have convinced us that the fight for social equality (the homogeneity) of society under communism is a demanding, relatively long term process which has its own objective and logical stages. After the victory of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the following tasks are graudally resolved in this area:

--the liquidation of the exploiting classes and the beginning of new classes and groups of a socialist society--the working class, cooperativized farmers, and socialist intelligentsia;

--the overcoming of the basic class differences among the friendly socialist classes;

--the full overcoming and disappearance of fundamental social differences stemming from the old division of labor, and the achievement of the full social equality (homogeneity) of society.

From the foregoing it follows that the "building of a classless society" clearly may not be equated with the achievement of full "social equality of society". There exist in society both class differences and social differences which are mutually related, but not identical. Therefore, historically and in terms of content is it not possible to equate forms of overcoming class differences with forms of overcoming social differences. The distinguishing of class and social differences under socialism is important as well for an accurate perception of the content of the security policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state, and also for a scientific analysis of the causes of crime and other antisocial activities under socialism.

Experiences from practical life under socialism document that under socialism there exist, in addition to class differences, social differences as well. Not even during the building of a developed, mature socialist society do classes change into social groups, but remain as social classes, as the experience of the Soviet Union has confirmed. Clear social differences, both within classes and between them are evident even in socialist society. For example, there are differences in the nature of work, especially between employees engaged primarily in blue collar and those engaged primarily in white collar jobs, and differences between city and country dwellers, and between the city and the country.

Class differences and social differences can be, and under concrete conditions in fact are, the source of various specific needs and interests of members of

a socialist society. There can then become evident, and in some cases do so, as social, as a rule nonantagonistic, conflict. From the basic development trends in the area of class-oriented political relations following the Sixteenth CPCZ Congress, there follows a programmatic requirement for the liquidation of the remains of any kind of counterrevolutionary attempts by antisocialist forces on the one hand, and on the other hand an orientation towards the gradual merging of the working class, the cooperativized farmers and the socialist intelligentsia under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. In our society we are seeing the ripening and culmination of the historical period of class struggle in the concluding phase of the overcoming of the remains of the exploiting classes and the social strata of the old bourgeois society and its relics, while at the same time there is a gradual implementation of the society-wide development of our socialist society in the form of a merger of the working class, the cooperativized farmers and the socialist intelligentsia. As long as the remnants of the exploiting classes and the social strata of the former bourgeois society as well as the negative external influences of contemporary imperialism are not eliminated, both these elements of social development will function in a dialectical unity--the class struggle and the merger of the classes of socialist society. The merger of classes becomes the determining, critical factor in the construction of a mature, developed socialist society. With a view to the class struggle with the remnants of the exploiting classes and social strata of bourgeois society, this is gradually becoming, and will become the determining trend of social development in the evolution of classes and social groups of a socialist society into a homogeneous socialist society. The fulfillment of the program of the communist party leads objectively to the limitation and toning down of asocial, socially unfriendly types of interaction and forms barriers against unfriendly influences. This is a long term process which will be completed upon the achievement of the construction of developed socialism.

Remnants of the Past

The existence of classes, and of class and social inequalities and objective conflicts within socialist society represents, just like the economic area, a potential source of possible causes of criminality. The social unity of that socialist society which actually exists and is strengthen ng itself, does not imply the full overcoming of class or social differences, nor of conflicts, and therefore does not eliminate the possibility of the existence of causes of criminality. This is the case because the social unity of our society may not be equated with the social homogeneity of society under communism. Let us recall once again Lenin's words that from the viewpoint of communism a socialist society is still, especially in the social area, "unjust." The people of socialist countries, of Marxist-Leninist parties and of socialist states may be justifiably proud of the results which have been achieved in socialist construction. At the same time, however, they must be sufficiently critical and not be satisfied with the achieved level of socialist development and its successes, but remain faithful to their revolutionary policies and their objective--communism.

We have pointed out the reasons that we are now in a stage in the development of socialist society when from an economic and social standpoint there may

appear a motivation on the part of individuals and groups in the form of an attempt to satisfy their needs and interests not by work, but by illegal, criminal activities. The political and social spheres of the socialist society are struggling against such activities. They are encouraging, however, the remnants of the past generally and especially of capitalism in the social consciousness. "The primary task," comrade Gustav Husak asserted at the Sixteenth CPCZ Congress, "is to conduct a principled struggle against the various manifestations of petty bourgeois behavior and remnants in the consciousness of the people."

What is to be the basis of this task from the standpoint of the struggle with criminal and other anti-social activity?

Remnants of the past under socialism are the remains, the leftovers of previous socio-economic relations, views, thoughts, morals, and traditions inherited from the old, pre-socialist society. They are the product of social relationships founded on private ownership of the means of production and on corresponding phenomena in the area of the social consciousness. Their existence follows from the reality that under the conditions of socialism the full social homogeneity of society is not achieved. It is, that is, connected with the lack of development, of maturity of socialism in all areas and especially in the area of social consciousness.

An important factor contributing to the retention, maintenance or renovation of these remnants is the existence of contemporary capitalism and its direct and indirect influence on the socialist countries and its efforts to retard their development.

The concept of "remnants of the past under socialism" has a summarizing, aggregating, generalizing character. We express by it objective phenomena and the content of specific forms of social consciousness and the subjective activity of individuals, groups, levels and, in a certain historical stage, even the fragments of classes or the classes themselves which are in conflict with the values of socialism. Remnants of the past can and probably will exist throughout the entire socialist period until the achievement of the full social homogeneity of society.

Overcoming these remnants of the past is one of the essential preconditions for the liquidation of criminality as a mass social phenomenon. There exist a number of "remnants of the past under socialism" which have an objective character and under certain circumstances and conditions may be a reason for criminal or other antisocial activity. At the same time however, there exist a number of other remnants of a subjective character which are impossible to define as an immediate cause of criminality, even though they may abet criminal activity. These include above all remnants in the area of social consciousness. It is, therefore, impossible to designate all remnants of the past as causes of criminality.

However, the existence of remnants and the influences which activate them does not always lead automatically to socially negative phenomena. Negative phenomena result from the appropriate conditions, which may consist of

conflicts and interpersonal relationship, the violation of the standards of socialist coexistence, the character traits of people, an unhealthy moral and psychological atmosphere in collectives, or of an inadequate struggle with negative phenomena. For these reasons the significance increases of the subjective factor in the overcoming of the negative phenomena in socialist society.

The method for mounting a frontal assault against these remnants and the many ailments which form fertile ground for the spread of antisocial thoughts and relationships was indicated by comrade Vasil Bilak, presidium member and CPCZ Central Committee secretary, in RUDE PRAVO on 2 April 1982 with the words, "The very best ideologically educational work will not bring the expected result so long as there will exist shortcomings in the planning, the administration, the organization and inspection of work, in supplying, in services, and a shortage of criticism and self-criticism; in short, as long as there will be cracks which will serve to hold fertile soil for petty bourgeois holdovers." All of this points to an immense amount of unused capacity which exists for social prevention in the struggle with crime. It is, therefore, impossible to agree with views which ignore "remnants of the past under socialism" when studying the causality of criminal and other antisocial activities, as was the case in this country at the time of the social crisis in 1968 and 1969.

It is also impossible, however, to adopt the comfortable and theoretically sterile view, expressed with cheap phrases, that the causes of crime under socialism are only the remnants of capitalism, and to consider this an explanation and proof of the causes of criminal and antisocial activity. It is, certainly, impossible to assume speculatively and consider as given that which must be proven scientifically! And in this area the speculative claim that remnants of the past are the cause of causes of all criminality under socialism is a meager outcome.

Our analysis has been focused on that, within the overall conception of the fight against crime, we are able on the one hand to count realistically on the objective realities in which we find ourselves, and so that we were able on the other hand to depend firmly on those advantages of that social order which we have actually achieved under the leadership of the communist party during the history of the building of socialism. At the same time we must be aware that the fulfillment of our ideals lies along the path of the creative mastery and further development of the legacy of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, an acknowledgement of the laws of social development under socialism and their creative implementation. The theoretical conclusions of V.I. Lenin are still valid for our work, in which he cautioned that "to reshape the basic conditions of economic life, to battle against habits which every small husbandman has had drummed into him for centuries and millenia is a task which, even given the complete overthrow of the exploiting classes, would require long years of intense organizational work." This is also related to our principled and uncompromising struggle with bourgeois and revisionist concepts of criminology.

Overcoming the causes of crime holds promise only in terms of a comprehensive approach to this phenomenon which includes a broad range of economic, social, political, security, educational, and psycho-pedagogical tasks in which the determining role is played by the gradual reshaping of existing social relationships to communist relationships. The content and techniques for resolving a concrete share of these problems in the current historical period have been articulated for us in the tasks of the Sixteenth CPCZ Congress. Only in the successful fulfillment of these tasks can there be a guarantee of further progress in the fight against crime.

9276
CSO: 2400/245

NEW DEPUTY MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE APPOINTED

Budapest MAGYAR MEZOGAZDASAG in Hungarian No 22, 2 Jun 82 p 2

[Text] Dr Laszlo Papocsi was appointed deputy minister of agriculture on the first of June of this year. Born in 1939 in Balassagyarmat, he is a graduate of the University of Veterinary Medicine and a member of the MSZMP. Beginning in 1964, he was employed at the Babolna State Farm. He has had nearly 20 years of on-the-job experience, much of it in executive or managerial positions.

He has achieved notable results in establishing the biological bases for industrial type production systems, laying the ground work and organizational framework for scientific fodder managements.

He is one of the organizers of enterprise integrations including the BCR.

/The collaboration between the Babolna State Farm, the Chinoin and Richter Pharmaceutical firms/ as well as the Fodder Management Association. He is also the initiator of the TETRA poultry raising system and other animal husbandry and feeding systems.

His production organizing activity includes providing services for closed production systems and setting up sales and business partnerships. He has fostered foreign relations and is a member of the WPSA [International Scientific Poultry Society].

He has been active in social and political work at local and district levels. He is a member of the National Veterinary Hygiene Council and member and vice chairman of the Committee of Veterinary Medicine of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Duties of the new deputy ministry will include international business relations, enterprise supervision and commerce. He will head the aforelisted departments within the Ministry of Agriculture and Food.

CSO: 2500

ACHIEVEMENTS, PLANS OF MILITARY TECHNICAL ACADEMY SUMMARIZED

Warsaw WOJSKO LUDOWE in Polish No 4, Apr 82 pp 74-77

[Article by Major General Aleksander Grabowski: "In the Service of the Fatherland and Science"]

[Text] The 30-year history of the "Jaroslaw Dabrowski" Military Technical Academy is an integral part of Poland's economic development and of the modernization, advancement, and improvement of our armed forces. Over all these past years the school has grown into a large-scale scientific research and teaching complex, earned a solid reputation both within the military and in the eyes of the general public, and is especially well known in the scientific community and in industrial circles.

The people associated with our academy, people who represent the school's most valuable capital assets, are keenly aware of what it was like during the pioneering years of the school's construction, years filled with hard work dedicated to its dynamic development and to the attainment of its present configuration.

The first five years of the school's history were spent recruiting faculty, setting up laboratory facilities from the ground up, finalizing teaching methods and curricula, nurturing skills that befit an institution of higher military education, and bringing the educational process into line with the process of instilling military values.

The newly established school focused most of its attention on teacher training problems. This was because most members of the teaching staff were young officers, primarily graduates of civilian schools, engineers who were not familiar with the design of military equipment or with problems associated with its operation and maintenance.

The Soviet specialists sent to the school proved to be a great help in this difficult situation. We gratefully remember generals Leosheni, Ovchinnikow, Semenyuk, Ivanov and Arefiev and colonels Kulesha, Silyaev, and others. A group of well-known Polish professors were also able to offer their cooperation, including inter alia, professors Groszkowski, Pelczynski, Ziemba, Smolenski, Urbanski, Pogorzelski. They provided the young lecturers with instruction in teaching methods, they infected them with the science bug, and

they served as advisers and members of review panels for the school's first masters theses and, later on, doctoral dissertations.

The year 1956 marked the end of the era devoted to meeting the most urgent needs of the new academic center and to the offering of courses that had a strongly professional and specialized orientation. This was a period dedicated to the mobilization of resources and to improving the professional skills of the young faculty.

The latter half of the 1950s and all of the 1960s confronted the school with new tasks and demands. New kinds of technical equipment and armaments were beginning to enter the arsenal of the armed forces. The armed forces look to WAT [the Military Technical Academy] for the specialists they need who are equipped with a solid background of theoretical and general knowledge. The need arose to come up with new technical designs and new methodological approaches. Automation, electronics, and cybernetics began to take on special importance.

For these reasons, WAT launched efforts to engage in basic research work. Laboratory, teaching, and research facilities were expanded. The first habilitation colloquia were held, initially before the councils of other academic institutions and, after appropriate accreditations were achieved, before WAT's own academic council. In the wake of the school's reorganization academic faculties were set up with new areas of specialization, e.g., missile technology, radar and, for the first time in Poland, equipment operation, cybernetics, and applied physics. The scope of the scientific research projects under way began to broaden in pace with the formation of research teams headed up by independent researchers-teachers. The physical expansion of the school moved ahead and the size of the student body increased as new areas of technical specialization were introduced into the armed forces. The scope of the school's basic research effort began to expand at a rapid pace.

In conjunction with the redoubled efforts of faculty members these projects began to produce the desired results. The country's first lasers, analog computers, a technology for the manufacture of thin-walled pipe using the continuous welding process, and work in the area of compressed field theory attracted a great deal of attention, and not just in Poland. The school's prestige was enhanced, and its research teams and their publications received worldwide recognition. The Military Technical Academy started to become increasingly prominent not only within the armed forces, but also in the eyes of the civilian population, especially so in the scientific community.

At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s there was a marked increase in the importance of the role played by highly skilled technicians.

Additional substantive and organizational changes had to be made in our school in order to meet the demands generated by the multidisciplinary advancement of military technology. To this end curriculum plans and programs were modernized, courses were set up for the training of military meteorologists, and a determined effort was made to improve the administration of WAT. The academy

turned into a large-scale, vigorous teaching-research complex, a school on the order of a polytechnic university. The then-commandant, major general Sylwestr Kaliski, made a great contribution to this effort. By virtue of his individuality and dynamism, his perseverance and determination he left a permanent mark in the history of the school.

During the latter half of the 1970s the main focal point of concern was finding ways to improve the system of degree programs. The new degree program model that was developed and steadily put into practice during 1976-1980 offers: a standard masters degree program, a masters degree program for graduates of higher officer schools with technical majors, a correspondence masters degree program for engineers who graduated from WAT in earlier years, various post-graduate degree programs and courses--mainly in the field of military logistics support, a reserve officers candidate school that trains specialists for defense industries, and a well-developed doctoral degree program for full-time and working students. So, this is a multitiered degree program model forming the basis for training specialists with highly developed technical and military skills and providing military engineers with opportunities to continuously enhance and refine their skills.

A key feature of this degree program model is that it also provides for an optimal number of fields of study and areas of specialization while preserving a common theoretical training base for the respective disciplines. In the course of modifying the traditional fields of study and areas of specialization factors which have a critical impact on the futhre advancement of military technology and the organization of the armed forces were taken into account.

The introduction of modern curricula and new disciplines also tends to bring about changes in teaching methodology. The new degree program model calls for students to play a more autonomous and active role in the learning process. Time has been set aside in degree program schedules for guided self-study, thereby reducing the load of tutorial and group class sessions.

Some important evolutionary changes have taken place in the work of the social sciences and economics departments. A high priority has been given to the block of subjects carrying the general heading "Fundamental Principles of Military Education" which is designed to give WAT graduates the training they need to carry on ideological and indoctrination work in military units. The new curricula also acknowledge the need to give students a stronger background not only in economics, but also in history, the knowledge of which is an essential precondition to gaining a proper grasp of current events.

The efficient utilization of scientific research apparatuses, audiovisual media, and television has made it possible to step up the pace of the teaching process. It is largely owing to the fact that the school has been engaged in scientific research work that funds were obtained for equipping laboratories and lecture rooms. The academy attaches a great deal of importance to encouraging student academic interests. Study clubs have stepped up their activities in almost all academic fields. Approximately 10 percent of the total student body, whose academic interests extend beyond the requirements

of their respective degree programs, are members of these clubs. These clubs are an excellent example of independent intellectual inquiry, and they serve to enrich our fund of technical knowledge.

Especially gifted students have been given opportunities to undertake degree programs that are tailored to their individual interests.

The growing load of teaching and indoctrination duties has been paralleled by a corresponding increase in the level of scientific research activity. Much has changed since the early 1960s when our school was known primarily for its work with lasers and analog computers. The pace of work on the scientific research front has increased steadily to the point where it has, so to speak, finally caught up. The school has introduced refinements into its basic research policy, and its research teams have taken on specialized orientations. Owing to its modern laboratory facilities and flexible organizational structure, which makes it possible to consolidate research efforts, WAT has embarked upon comprehensive scientific research projects of a nature that goes beyond basic research and application and development projects. These comprehensive projects entail the advancement of military technology, the development of improved designs for military equipment, the technologies used to manufacture such equipment, and the rules governing its use both in peacetime and on some future battlefield.

For example, projects have been under way that are devoted to the comprehensive study of mechanical vehicles with a view to the improvement of research and computation methods, the optimalization of design parameters, and the selection of the right kinds of fabricating materials. The thrust of this particular kind of project is closely correlated with the requirements of the nation's automotive industry. Cooperation in this area is devoted in particular to research on reducing the toxicity of exhaust gases, research on vehicle tires, the application of hydrokinetic torque converters, suspension dynamics, the incorporation of electronic components into motor vehicles, ways to enhance vehicle reliability and durability, and so on.

We have scored some significant accomplishments in basic and applied research in the field of mechanics. The resonance of non-stationary waves in plastic media, the propagation of shock and explosion waves and their impact on structures, explosion physics, new concepts in the field of quantum mechanics, experimental work on metal fatigue--these are problems of universal interest.

The achievements we have made to date in the realm of scientific research revolve for the most part around the successful solution of a number of scientific and technical problems of key importance to the advancement of military technology and to the growth of the national economy. These achievements have made a significant contribution to the advancement of Polish science and technology. We have also done our part to help enhance Poland's defenses and to upgrade the defensive capabilities of Warsaw Pact armed forces.

The benefits of the scientific research work performed by WAT can be seen in many areas of Polish national life. Electronic automated telephone exchanges of varying capacities, computer systems based on the finite-elements method used for the strength analysis of physical structures, and optimal-skid braking

systems for passenger autos and semitrucks have come into widespread use. Laser technologies have been put to work in military equipment, rangefinders, surgical instruments, plumb bobs used in construction work and in the mining industry, geodetic devices, and industrial robots.

Devices used to locate miners trapped underground, the technology and manufacture of explosives used in surface strip mining, and the development of more sophisticated technologies for the production of infantry firearms have also proved to be extremely useful. Mention should also be made of drill equipment and simulators used for the training of maintenance and operating crews serving with radiotechnical troops, the air force, and armored forces; a four-monitor, interactive graphical computer system; ultrasonic delay lines and subassemblies with acoustic surface waves for radars and infrared radiation sensors and related devices.

Other basic research findings have also found a lasting place in Poland's scientific hall of fame, e.g., basic research on the photoelectric properties of semiconductors, metal fatigue, microwave acoustics, wave propagation and reactions, explosion physics, aeroelasticity, flying object control theory, the dynamics of deformed bodies, large-scale systems theory, and the properties of liquid crystal substances.

In addition to its direct impact on the nation's defenses and the national economy, the intensification of the scientific research effort is going a long way toward upgrading the skills of the research and teaching staff. As a result, a wide range of new equipment has been installed in research and teaching laboratories and the groundwork has been laid for the opening up of new scientific disciplines of the future and, thereby, for the training of new specialists. The teaching, scientific research, and applications and production-oriented activities of a modern school should be closely interrelated, mutually supportive, and mutually complementary.

The scientific achievements of the academy are receiving a great deal of publicity in domestic and foreign publications and in forums dedicated to the promotion of inventions and innovations. WAT's record of scientific accomplishment has been reinforced through the signing of long-term agreements on cooperation with scientific institutions, universities, government ministries, enterprises, and branches of the armed forces.

Wide-ranging foreign contacts have served to strengthen the respected position occupied by WAT in the scientific world. We have entered into agreements with the following branches of the USSR Academy of Sciences: the Lebedev Institute of Physics, the Physics Institute, and the Institute of General and Inorganic Chemistry. An agreement with the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Radio and Electronic Engineering is in the works. In recognition of his great contribution to the advancement of scientific cooperation between our school's research teams and teams of Soviet scholars and to the strengthening of the espirt de corps of our respective armies the Academic Council of WAT has awarded the degree doctor honoris causa to marshal of the Soviet Union, Dmitri Ustinov, and to the Nobel prize winner, academician Saeovov.

by laying the groundwork for the professional scholarly advancement of its own staff members the academy is making it possible for staff members of military institutes and scientific research centers and higher military schools and officers serving in allied armies to pursue doctoral degrees.

In spite of the difficult economic situation of 1980-1981 we have registered a number of new achievements. The results of our efforts during these years are not inferior to those of earlier years, and we accomplished these things thanks to the redoubled efforts of the whole academic community.

By way of summing up the school's 30-year record of accomplishment in the teaching and research fields it is fitting that we should recall just a few of these accomplishments:

Here they are:
-- 11,180 graduates with undergraduate and masters degress in engineering, including students from allied armies;
-- 746 graduates earning PhDs, including foreign students;
-- 76 persons earned the academic title doctor habilitatus;
-- 52 persons earned the title of professor, including 12 persons with the title of full professor;
-- approximately 1,000 scientific theories were developed that were put to practical use in the armed forces, defense industries, and the national economy;
-- nearly 20,000 scholarly articles were published, of which in recent years there has been an increasingly larger number of articles that have appeared in specialized foreign journals;
-- several dozen scholarly books and mongraphs were published (some have been translated into other languages);
-- 531 patents and certificates of protection, including 27 that were granted abroad;
-- 11 national prizes, 73 prizes and honors awarded by the Ministry of National Defense, 11 Polish Academy of Science prizes, and 31 prizes awarded by government ministries.

The present state of the school, its record of achievement in the teaching and scientific research fields, and its prestige and status are grounds for our deriving a sense of justifiable satisfaction from a job well done. The results of our work and service testify to the validity of our chosen ends and means.

The enormous efforts made by faculty members and students, their creativity and dedication have played a role in the fulfillment of the school's development programs. These efforts have been supported by the constant helpfulness and goodwill of the senior staff of the Ministry of National Defense. As a result, we now have at our disposal a diverse and modernly equipped base of scientific facilities, a sound infrastructure of administrative-social and sports-recreation services. We are firmly convinced that the money and effort invested in the founding and development of our school were well spent. We are repaying our debt to the socialist fatherland in the form of the concrete dividends of our work, i.e., a well trained cadre of engineers that is

dedicated to responsible service and numerous scientific developments that are of benefit to the national defense, science, technology, and the national economy. We will continue to serve in this capacity by responding quickly and flexibly to the needs of the armed forces both when it comes to the training of specialists and when it comes to the performance of scientific research work.

Over the next few years the main focus of the school's efforts will be on the efficient fulfillment of the series of tasks assigned by the Ministry of National Defense task force and spelled out in "Premises and Trends Governing the Further Development of WAT During 1981-1985."

In 1981 we adopted a new model for the training of military engineers at WAT. In the course of developing this new model consideration was given to current trends in the advancement of science and technology, especially so in the field of military technology, emerging new trends in the national system of engineering degree programs, and the latest achievements in the field of pedagogy at the university level. This model is responsive to the requirements of the system for the training of engineers in the military.

As was similarly the case in the past, the school's new degree program plans and curricula recognize training in the area of liberal arts disciplines and general technical disciplines to the cornerstone of the engineer training process that should provide graduates with the background they need to work on their own to keep up with the latest achievements in science and technology throughout their careers.

In specialized technical subjects greater consideration has been given to such problems as the effectiveness of combat equipment, technical troubleshooting, equipment reliability, cost effectiveness, and so on. One advantage of the new degree program plans and curricula is the fact that they have been fully integrated with tactical-technical subjects and sociopolitical subjects have been designed so as to better prepare graduates for direct, effective ideological-indoctrination work.

Appreciating the importance of the role played by practicums in the preparation of graduates for work in their first duty assignments, improvements have been made in the system used to schedule these practicums.

It is expected that further refinements will be made in the methods used to encourage students to take a more active approach to their studies, and it is likewise expected that an effort will be made to encourage them to acquire new knowledge on their own, especially through self-study, participation in academic clubs, and the pursuit of independent degree programs. A proper role in the educational process will also be given to the problem-solving method of study backed up by the use of audiovisual and computer equipment. Plans are also being made to introduce advanced kinds of teaching materials over the next few years. Based on the school's wide-ranging program of scientific research work, further improvements will be made in the school's laboratory and proving ground facilities.

The refinement of the educational process will be accompanied by efforts aimed at raising the level of instruction and by increased demands placed on both faculty members and students. This should be manifested by a high level of discipline, which in turn will contribute to the further enhancement of the effectiveness of the educational process.

Relying on the substantial scientific and technical resources at our disposal, we will continue to pursue our scientific research programs. The following programs figure most prominently among the diverse thrusts of this effort: radioelectronic reconnaissance and countermeasures (covering laser, satellite, and thermal technologies); military applications of laser technologies; logistics support systems; data processing systems and their utilization of operations research; military telecommunications systems; development studies and new theoretical studies in the field of rocket and tube-artillery weapons; improvements in the design and operating methods military mechanical vehicles, aircraft, and engineer equipment; optimalization of the design, materials and technologies used in the erection of military engineering installations; new electronic technologies (thermovision, integrated and fiber optics, data imaging using liquid crystals, and so on); defense against mass destruction weapons; topographic and meteorological support for armed forces combat operations. The scope of interdisciplinary work tying together military technology with military science, the social sciences, planning sciences, and so on will be broadened. Wherever possible, full-cycle research and development projects will be undertaken encompassing the phases of basic research, applied research, design and applications work, system production, and controlled operation of pilot systems.

Some increasingly more challenging and more complex tasks are in store for WAT, but, at the same time, these tasks are matched to the highly developed skills and justified aspirations of the school's staff that make their successful fulfillment a foregone conclusion. In the midst of these trying and complex economic and political conditions now facing our country we shall always strive to set an example of supremely dedicated work and service.

11813
CSO: 2600/626

POLISH-SOVIET HIGHER SCHOOL COOPERATION DISCUSSED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Mar 82 p 7

[Article by W.B.]

[Text] For universities in our country scholarly cooperation with foreign universities and scholarly institutions represents a highly important area of activity that serves to broaden the range of contacts with the world academic community and allows for the advantageous pooling of our own scholarly resources with the resources of other centers of learning abroad.

This cooperation began to develop at an especially rapid pace during the 1970s. By 1980 there were almost 50 universities involved in this kind of cooperation working on more than 800 research topics, 620 of which involved cooperation with socialist countries, under the terms of 260 separate agreements on scientific research cooperation.

Institutions of higher education and scholarly institutions in the Soviet Union occupy one of the most prominent places among our various partners engaged in this kind of cooperation. These institutions maintain ties with our universities under the terms of 100 agreements on direct cooperation, and these institutions are also working with each other under the terms of several multilateral research programs that are being sponsored by CEMA and other international programs. On the Polish side there are 44 institutions of higher education which are cooperating with their Soviet counterparts, while on the Soviet side there are more than 70 centers which are taking part in joint research programs. Many of these institutions are bound together by a history of cooperative research going back more than 30 years. Some of these schools are Moscow University, Yerevan University, and the Moscow Institute of Economics. Specifically, Warsaw University and Lodz University are working together with Moscow University in the social sciences field (law, Russian language and literature, political economy, psychology, and pedagogy) and in the exact sciences--high energy physics. Marie Curie-Sklodowska University is carrying on its tradition of succesfful cooperation with Yerevan University in the fields of history and philology.

This cooperation is taking place primarily in the form of scholarly information sharing, reciprocal exchanges of scholars and researchers, the

organization of international scholarly conferences and symposia, and joint publications and research programs.

One of the most interesting of these programs is the one being worked on by scientists from Lodz University, i.e., the so-called Pamir Experiment--a joint study with their Soviet counterparts on the characteristics of cosmic radiation.

This cooperation with Soviet institutions of higher education is now taking on special importance in view of the durability and great effectiveness of these ties that guarantee their continued intensive development in the years to come.

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YOUTH TOURISM PROGRAM WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES NOTED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Apr 82 p 8

[Article by "szan": "Some Travel Tips from 'JUVENTUR'"]

[Text] In June of this year the first groups of young people will be going on trips to socialist countries arranged by JUVENTUR, the Youth Travel Agency of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth. It is expected that this agency will be making travel arrangements for nearly 40,000 persons.

As has traditionally been the case, most of these tourists, i.e., 19,000 persons, will be traveling to Hungary. These trips will span several days and will involve visits to some of that country's most interesting regions. Plans have also been made for recreational trips lasting from 10 to 14 days, mainly to Lake Balaton. Ten-day sailboat cruises on Lake Balaton promise to be a popular attraction.

Bulgaria will be playing host to 6,500 people, most of whom will be going to the Black Sea coast. Also being offered are group tours arranged as part of exchanges between "sister cities" and other tours labeled "Friendship Trains and Cruises." While visiting Bulgaria Polish youth will take part in the traditional Folklore Festival held in Primorsko. Another form of recreational tourism which 500 young Poles will be taking advantage of involves sojourns in tent camps along the coast.

JUVENTUR is also offering trips to: the GDR--multiple-day excursions to Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden and Erfurt, two-week language courses, special-interest tours; Romania--Black Sea vacations; Czechoslovakia--short tourist and recreational trips to such popular spots as Karlovy Vary and Marianske Lazne. In addition, 1,500 school-age youth will be staying in Czechoslovakia as part of summer camp programs.

How much will a JUVENTUR excursion cost? Unfortunately, a young person, unless he or she is able to obtain a subsidy from the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, will be forced to make some substantial financial sacrifices. For example, a 13-day stay at Veronce in Hungary, where tent accomodations and two meals daily are provided, costs--spending money and passport fees not included--16,000 zlotys, while a trip to Slunchev Bryag [Bulgaria] costs 17,000 zlotys. These prices are still lower than those offered by, say,

"Orbis," but the quality of tourist service arrangements are also tailored to meet the capabilities of JUVENTUR clients. Transportation costs have had something to do with this substantial rise in prices.

With the consent of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth Main Board JUVENTUR has placed the union's voivodship branch offices in charge of signing up persons interested in going on any of these tours.

11813
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SZCZERBOWSKI BOOK ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE REVIEWED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 7, Jul 1981 pp 155-157

[Review by Edward Wojcik of book "Rozbrojenie w Skali Strategicznej, Eurostrategicznej i Europejskiej [Disarmament on the Strategic, Eurostrategic, and European Scale] by Zdzislaw Szczerbowski, Ministry of National Defense Publishers, Warsaw, 1981, 263 pages]

[Text] The emphasis placed on the importance and timeliness of disarmament is a truism. All the more so these days--at a time when we are witnessing a significant increase in the tempo of the arms race and a clear impasse in almost all negotiations dedicated to issues of detente and disarmament. Finding a way out of this impasse is contingent upon a number of factors. One of these factors is a thorough knowledge of the issues involved in the arms race and disarmament in terms of both their historical and contemporary backgrounds. As a part of the general trend toward a greater understanding of these matters there is an increasing awareness on the part of individuals, groups, and entire nations of the need to take a resolute stand against the arms race and score a breakthrough in disarmament negotiations.

The present-day machinery of disarmament negotiations consists of a number of elements. In the Polish literature on this subject one encounters a wide range of viewpoints that discuss either the general problems of disarmament or specific disarmament dialogues. The author of this work is probably among one of the first scholar-journalists to make an attempt at analyzing and evaluating the several different disarmament dialogues, their interrelationships, and interdependencies. In this respect this is a pioneering work in Poland.

The introduction to this work comprises a general overview of the following issues: the evolution of the balance of power between East and West and its impact on disarmament talks during individual periods; an outline of the doctrinal premises of U.S. and NATO policies during the postwar years, focusing mainly on the dual political concept of "detente plus disarmament" that was adopted by the North Atlantic pact at the beginning of the 1970s; the efforts of the socialist countries dedicated to disarmament and slowing down the arms buildup. This part of the book also contains a comparative breakdown analyzing the multilateral treaties (agreements) on military detente and arms limitations that were entered into during the period

1957-1979 (a total of eight treaties), bilateral treaties (17 in all), and the basic elements of the presentday disarmament negotiations machinery that was set up during the 1970s. This provides the reader with the essential background needed in order to understand the work's main subject matter.

Chapter I talks about the main problems of SALT III. Chapter II, entitled "Bargaining Chips and Eurostrategic Weapons," deals with both certain region of our continent and also specific weapons (armaments) deployed in Europe that have not yet been the subject of any disarmament negotiations. The book analyzes the origins and evolution of this problem and clearly identifies the forces responsible for this state of affairs. "There are two factors," states the author, "that play a key role in the West's effort both to step up the arms buildup and to exploit disarmament talks for the purpose of gaining military superiority over the socialist countries. Namely, bargaining chips and the eurostrategic arms buildup (the so-called 'gray zone'). The appearance of both of these terms in the western lexicon coincided with the onset of the present stage of disarmament negotiations with the socialist countries. The use of the term 'bargaining chips' is associated with the start of the SALT talks, whereas the term 'eurostrategic weapons' came into use during negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. At the same time, both of these factors eventually came to be interrelated at a certain point in these disarmament talks" (page 97).

The United States and NATO are trying hardest to exploit new types of weapons, weapons which are just now in the basic research stage or in the initial stages of development, as bargaining chips in disarmament negotiations. As a rule, these weapons have not yet gone into production, and even less so have they become a part of operational arsenals. In all of this the West is sort of trying to feel out the other side. Namely, it is insisting that in exchange for a possible future decision to abstain from the production of these new weapons (the bargaining chip) the other side should proceed to offer substantial and unilateral concessions in disarmament talks by, for example, withdrawing weapons that it already has in its arsenal. It should be stressed that the West does not propose to abstain from the development of new weapons systems of its own. It also firmly rejects all proposals made by the other side aimed at imposing a simultaneous ban on the research and development of other types of weapons that would be binding on both sides. In addition, factors of a purely political, economic, and trade nature have also been exploited as bargaining chips.

The American self-guiding cruise missiles and the neutron bomb are by far the most typical and traditional bargaining chip used in disarmament negotiations. The book offers a number of facts on the development of these weapon systems, the costs associated with their development, and numerous examples of how these weapons has been used as a bargaining chip in disarmament negotiations. The consequences of this policy have been detrimental to the United States and NATO and they pose a threat to world peace and the most vital interests of nations. This is because this policy has done nothing but raise the ante in the arms race and made the conduct of disarmament negotiations much more difficult or downright impossible. However, long years of experience in this field have done nothing to dispel the notions of anti-detente forces in the

West. The fact that the United States has once again raised the issue of the neutron bomb--about which the author also has something to say--is an eloquent, but by no means the only example of this kind of behavior.

The second section of chapter II is devoted to a discussion of the deployment of eurostragegic weapons and efforts aimed at curbing this dangerous development. In his discussion of the development of this class of weapons Z. Szczerbowski goes all the way back to 1948 and in so doing presents a straightforward account of the "genesis" of eurostrategic weapons in Europe. "American bombers armed with nuclear bombs appeared in Great Britain as early as 1948. Starting in 1953 the United States started producing the B-47 medium-range strategic bomber" (page 128). Shortly thereafter, these machines were introduced into the arsenal of the American 16th Strategic Air Force wing stationed in Spain and Italy and units stationed in Great Britain. The problem of the stockpiling of both airborne and missile weapon only in this category is discussed in detail together with an account of the current status of these weapons systems in the arsenals of both the NATO countries and the USSR. The author concludes this chapter by giving an account of the Soviet Union's efforts aimed at entering into a dialogue with the West on restricting the growth of and reducing arsenals of eurostrategic weapons. In particular, the author presents a wideranging discussion of the proposals put forward by the USSR on 6 October 1979 and 1 July 1980 and of the western response to these proposals, including in particular the well-known decision of the NATO council of Decmmber 1979 concerning the deployment in Western Europe of a large number of eurostrategic weapons. In describing and analyzing the most important events that have occured in this process the author has tried once again to highlight the first positive reaction of the USA on this score: "In response to a proposal made by Leonid Brezhnev preliminary talks between Soviet and American experts were held in Geneva from 16 October to 17 November 1980." As of now there is not much that could be added to this.

The third chapter deals with the key issues that were addressed during negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, negotiations which got started in Vienna in October 1973. This chaper contains a thorough analysis of the background that led to the opening of these talks (problems of disarmament within the context of European security and fundamental differences between the approaches to this issue taken by the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries and the West, disarmament proposals advanced by Poland, joint initiatives launched by the Warsaw Pact countries, actions taken NATO aimed at expanding the military arsenal in Western Europe, and the successful struggle waged by the forces of peace against the formation of integrated nuclear forces among the member states of the North Atlantic pact). However, the author focuses most of his attention on the decisions arising out of the meeting held to pave the way for the Vienna negotiations and the initial proposals of the negotiating parties that were submitted in November 1973, and he then goes on to discuss in chronological order the successive proposals made by the Warsaw Pact and NATO up to the most recent ones submitted in November 1980. These remarks are set against the general background of the most important events that have occurred in the international arena which have had an impact on the Vienna talks. The

contents of this chapter give an unequivocal reply to the following question, i.e., why have the Vienna negotiations, which have been going on since 1973, so far failed to produce any agreement on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and whose fault is this?

The tabular format of the compariative listing of all of the official proposals made by the negotiating parties is extremely useful and is winning high praise from readers. However, readers may be slightly disappointed by the fact that no attempt is made to assess the future prospects of the Vienna dialogue. All the more so in that the conclusion of the book is devoted almost exclusively to an attempt to present a very general outline of the future outcome of this dialogue on slowing down the growth of and reducing levels of strategic weapons.

The author foresees and logically substantiates two possible approaches by the new U.S. administration to the SALT talks. However, it goes without saying that time will be the best test of the validity of these prognoses.

A general overview of the events leading up to the conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe would have represented a good device for tying together all of the key issues addressed by this book, especially so when presented from the perspective of the Helsinki followup conference in Madrid. This is because the plans for dealing with this problem put forward in this forum represent the first attempt at setting up a European-wide disarmament agency. And the fact that one of these plans was submitted by Poland is the all the more reason for including a discussion of the conferemce on military detente and disarmament in the subject matter addressed by this work. It is not likely that the failure to cite primary source materials (a bibliography) can be explained by the paper shortage, and this undoubtedly detracts from the value of this book--especially for professionals.

11813
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PAPER SATIRIZES ROMANIAN SEARCH FOR IDENTITY

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Mar 82 p 14

[Article by Zoltan Galabardi: "Identity"]

[Text] --I had two beers and a cocktail--said Pongrac Czulager to the pub cashier. --Now give me another beer and two anchovy rings with a toothpick.

He gulped down the anchovies right there, then picked up his beer and rejoined our company. The beer was a sign that he had still another story for us, and we immediately became nervous. We knew that he would again be unwilling to derive the moral of the story. He always left that up to us...

--Ah yes, identity--he began. --That can screw things up too...It all began when ambition grew preponderant in that area. The fact is, they made attempts even before. For instance, they almost managed to pave their main street. They had plans with regard to industry and slipshod construction projects. The renovation of the central transformer came up several times. A small private plane had crashed within their borders. But they were not satisfied with this. From who knows where, they were pervaded by a feeling that they were superior to everyone else.

This feeling of superiority was the main preoccupation of the leading corporate body; after all, why else would the corporate body be the corporate body? Then one day, their president stepped forward with a nearly complete concept.

--We will reshape history!

The members of the corporate body nodded simultaneously and then searched each other's faces for the light of understanding.

--Expensive--said one of them after a long time. --If we consider only the infrastructural factors...

--I said we'll remodel it!--the president said patiently. --That which already exists can be remodeled...

And from that moment, he expected those under his leadership to derive even orthographical considerations from his person.

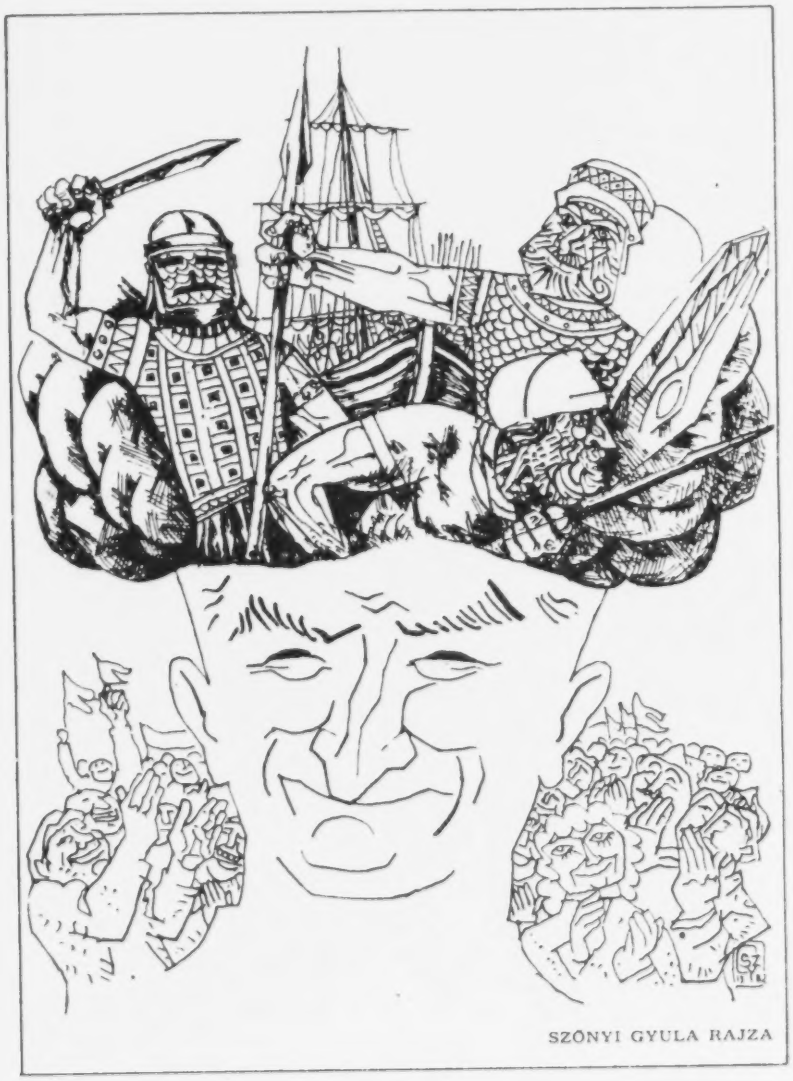

--Could we hear something more specific?-- inquired the designated member of the corporate body.

--The trouble is we exist, but we only exist--said the president. --Our existence is not connected to a background. Herewith this is over. We have a history. We will make good use of it. Because, gentlemen: identity! Understood? Indentity! Nowadays, this sort of thing lends prestige...We will interrogate history and it will answer the way we ask it. And if we have a good ancestry, the present will be aligned to it and the future will be fruitful...I'll explain.

The president started off by saying that their area is fundamentally different from similar ones. Those others cropped up by chance, while they are the descendants of a noble people bearing victorious arms and an advanced culture with a past stretching back thousands of years; in other words, they are their progeny. This is not at all difficult to determine from history; it is entirely a question of attitude and technique.

--We will throw at the face of whoever wants to know that our forerunners reach back directly to the Goths. We will especially throw it at the faces of those who don't care to know! That's right, Goths! Goths in general, Visigoths in particular. These are who we are...

And he immediately embarked on an exhaustive train of thought listing innumerable pieces of evidence pointing to their generally Gothic, specifically Visigothic descent. He first considered the name of the area. /Gath End/. Isn't it obvious that in fact, what is being said is /Goth End/, that is, remnants of the Goths? It's just that "Goth" deteriorated into "Gath" because of the corruption of the language. Isn't it commonly known that the surroundings of this area are conspicuously marshy, laced with streams and lakes? Obviously, since after our ancestors settled, they remodeled the surroundings in this own image. Because they were Watergoths. [Translator's Note: viz (Hung.) = water, Vizigot (Hung.) = "Watergoth", i.e., Visigoth (Eng.)] Observe the inhabitants. Most of them have much more pointed heads than those who live even a few nautical miles away. Likewise, the roofs rise more steeply toward the sky than elsewhere; steepness predominates in domestic folk art, not to mention that a nationwide competition could easily determine whether there exists a man near or far who can spit as sharply as the majority of the local residents...

--The pointed arch, gentlemen, the pointed arch!--said the president, raising his finger toward the sky. --We may as well look at this. This too is totally in the Watergoth style, not some stubby appendage without a historical past. Whoever finds this to be insufficient is a nobody...Now I await your comments.

The corporate body did not overexert itself. If the president has perceived something, surely it must be important. What could there be to quibble about? Trust--this is most important. For a while, after certain sources dried up or thinned out considerably, their only hold was the faith they placed in the president anyway.

--But the Highlanders--said someone, so that there would be at least some discussion, --they...Since the spirit of opposition lives within them...

That's no problem--said the president. --Let there be opposition, it's healthy. Just don't pay attention to it...

Thus establishing things, they saw to the shaping of the new age. The signs marking their territorial boundaries were reworded. /Fort Watergoth/ became its new name and on the maps under their jurisdiction, the old name was changed to this. The majority of the signs in the public domain were altered.

/Goth Street, Watergoth Square, Avenue of the Goths, Gothic Lane, Gothica Alley and Pointed Arch Canyon/ were created. They dug out a few authentic Gothic proper names from the encyclopedia and thus had /Alarik Street, Totila Avenue and Herrgott Square/...

The teaching of history was radically revamped in the schools. During classes, the discussion had to center on the world historical role of the Goths and in particular the Watergoths, their capacity for survival and their culture; that which fell beyond this scope was touched upon only incidentally. The language teachers were motivated under the threat of disciplinary action to point out words of Gothic origin in the local dialect.

The adult population was enlightened by lectures and seminars. Their instruction devolved to the members of the corporate body and they performed industriously, each to his own capability. There were some who after thorough perparation gave an exhaustive lecture, while others just barked at the audience.

--Understand, that along with me, you are Watergoths. This is a great thing, and whoever doesn't believe this is a nobody...

The larger part of the population accepted this pronouncement without a murmur--one because he was receptive to novel ideas, the other because there was no reason not to accept this particular point. The third firmly believed in the president for lack of anything better...Thus, not long after the launching of the campaign, wavering enthusiasm as well as boundless expectation ruled the spirits.

The Highlanders shrugged their shoulders at best, which was not surprising to anyone. After all, they became attached to the area under dubious circumstances; even in former times, their origin was a taboo subject.

Having created this new characteristic, they attempted to make it known in both neighboring and outlying areas. The matter was continually mentioned with emphasis during personal contact, in official correspondence and at administrative conferences. At one of the regional conferences, the local representative made a few foolish remarks, but instead of being self-critical, he reasoned that he spoke according to Watergothic mentality using a few Watergothic expressions; whoever did not understand this had only himself to blame.

The others did not officially react; they were accustomed to strange things happening in that area. Unofficially, however, they whispered things such as the Watergoths would do better to deal with the conditions of their roads, to refine the quality of partnerships, to adjust the clock adorning the tower of their town hall, and the like. And they really ought to return the 83 kilograms of typing paper they once borrowed from the neighboring area when they were destitute. The neigboring area would not even insist that the paper be watermarked, although as much could be expected of any self-respecting Watergoth.

--Blockheads!--announced the president. --They're even jealous! But don't be discouraged! We'll push it even more until the issue is carried past our borders as it deserves to be. Then they'll gape...

They pushed it even more. More seminars, symposia, conferences and whatever. In the local shops, Watergoth-style shoes and clothes made their appearance. It's true the shoes were quickly denationalized after comments were heard from the Highlands to the effect that: Of course it's Watergothic footwear since even from the slightest rain they become waterlogged...Nevertheless, business was superb for the local bazaar owners. Chewing gum, pocket knives and schoolbags bearing the Watergoth logo flooded the market. Adventurous youngsters could buy Goth Dogs at the boat-shaped pavilion. A distinctly festive mood pervaded the atmosphere when the director of the local museum voluntarily stumbled upon an etching from which it was easily ascertainable that its origins lay sometime in the middle of the eighth century. The work, which became known as /Watergoth Life/, presented an idyllic portrait: In his tent decorated with horns and canteens, the pipe-smoking Watergothic paterfamilias watches as his bustling wife, dressed in Watergothic folk apparel, serves him potatoes paprikash as the noonday meal. The environs of the tent are heartwarmingly reminiscent of the area's surroundings, and the Watergoth paterfamilias resembles the president himself.

There was no stopping now. Despite pressing foreign exchange problems, typewriters with Gothic characters were imported, their main infant knitwear products were marketed as /Gothdigans/ and they even convinced their minister to intone /Orate Gothes/ instead of /Orate fratres/ at the appropriate point in the religious service.

Around this time, some moderate friction developed with the Highlanders. But children will be children, and what they think or hear from adults is copied and acted out in their own way. Thus it came to pass that the Highlander children pestered the president's camp with impish taunts such as:

--Watergoth, Watergoth, why don't you kiss the water hog?!

The Highlanders were cautioned to educate their offspring in healthy local patriotism, but to no avail.

--They're just children--they shrugged. --They also happen to be right...

The delay in sweeping success did not serve to dampen the spirits of the standardbearers of Gothism. Gradually, they found it to be self-evident that the aura of this concept shone most brightly around the person of their president. After all, he is the primary person in the area, it was his idea; besides, one must believe in him and there's no turning back. They again set about to rechristen the streets and squares, and more than one public institution adopted the name of the president; at last word, even the weather reports were geared to him: if favorable, it was attributed to the magnetic power he emanated; if unfavorable, the vicissitudes lay with the supply of faith placed in him. The president himself acknowledged that he was already greater than a few simple concepts of constitutional law; he was

the fountainhead, common father, hidden ideal and shining star in one person; thus he far surpassed even the Holy Trinity. As a result, he increasingly turned to the population with appeals, warnings and pronouncements. Before long, the entire capacity of the communications network was tied up by these activities which soon became routine and known to the public as /Thoughts of the President/. There was plenty of thoughts--on the order of the streets, on the necessity of uplifting the soil, on the historical mission of the Watergoths or on sensible nutrition. To the credit of the population, these ideas were digested with a zeal befitting a worthier issue.

The president wished the masses to share in his transformation and he frequently descended into the world of ordinary people to visit public institutions, restaurant establishments and private homes. The cultivation of traditional Watergothic hospitality had already been pronounced as an attribute of the local residents, and as a result, wherever he went, he was served diligently. And he consumed diligently, pretty much depleting the population's already tight food supply.

At one point, the president meditated upon the future, and his meditations proved fruitful. He will place his entire wardrobe including his underwear on the common alter, he said, so it will not be necessary to scrounge for relics piece by piece at great expense for the memorial museum which will need to be established. The population was moved to tears and was not struck by the fact that the donor had to be furnished with a new wardrobe at public expense. A few were resentful that the president's wife followed suit by donating her entire set of kitchen equipment as a relic. Along with the donation, a price list from a western country was enclosed.

At one of the meetings of the corporate body called to assess the preceding events, the president declared the consummate and overwhelming success of the Watergoth concept and deemed it necessary to continue its development in a logical fashion.

--We must break through to the international arena. If our blockheaded neighbors are unable to keep up with us, let us place our trust abroad. To achieve this, however, we must produce something new. What if we were to become standard-keepers?

He waited a bit to allow the corporate members to stare at each other and then at him. He loved moments like this...

--Till now, there have been standards for meters, kilograms and who knows what else. But there isn't a beauty standard. Now there will be! Today, beauty is at least as important as centimeters and deciliters. The entire world will flock to us...

The corporate members sensed the import of the issue; in recognition, elegant little boxes appeared at various spots in the area. The box had two slots, one for foreign and one for domestic coins, and a button on top. If the butt button was pushed after the insertion of the appropriate sum, the president's kindly smiling and only slightly retouched face became visible.

For whatever reason, the world failed to become interested; however, sounds reminiscent of the grinding of teeth were heard with increasing frequency, and not just in the Highlands. Elements less receptive to identity put their heads together, and here and there a few remarks and sighs were heard. It was said, for instance, that instead of researching ancestry, they ought to busy themselves with market research; they cited the example of the neighboring area where young and old alike were integrated into a potato-production system, as a result their standard of living reached an enviable level...

--Beautify!--seethed the president. --I want them to attain world standards climbing the rungs of the Watergoth concept while they toss about potatoes. But I will not retreat! We will deploy science. We'll have the most intelligent doctors, aspirants and whoever else brought here, and they will fire the essence of the idea into the public consciousness with the cannons of knowledge...

One of the corporate members inquired somewhat skeptically whether the intellectuals in question would understand the significance of the matter.

--We'll fix that--said the president. --We'll base it on self-interest. We have enough honorary positions, we have plots of land. We've heard that knowledge is a commodity. Thus even from a Marxist point of view, there can be no objections.

The members of the corporate body were dispersed throughout the land to search for and request the participation of learned minds. The preliminary plan called for a large-scale symposium comprised of three acts as follows: 1. /The inspection of the honorary certificates/, 2. /The inspection of the plots of land to be awarded/ and 3. /Lectures, discussions and questions/.

They were able to unearth seven learned persons altogether. The distinguished gentlemen were given a ceremonial reception, accomodations and cocktail parties in their honor. Then it was suggested that they proceed with the program. The first point did not provoke any sort of interest; the scholars instead wished to examine the plots of land. The inspection took place, followed by a barbecue and a Watergoth-style folklore program; afterwards, in the area's largest hall, the lecture series began before the summoned audience. Gothic agricultural techniques. Watergothic fishery, connections between Gothic and Bauhaus architecture and other topics were discussed. Without a doubt, the greatest interest was provoked by the paper of a moderately famous authority introduced with the following title: /Etymologic investigation into the question of whether awareness of Watergothic identity includes the inherent need to kiss water hogs/...

The wording of the topic in this manner was probably the result of imprecise instructions, but even so, when the lecturing scholar answered his own question with a resounding no, the joy of relief spread over the audience.

--Very good!--whispered the president to the approvingly nodding members of the corporate body around him. --This is a breakthrough! Whatever they may say, it's science!

This became the president's most grievous mistake. At the end of the session, the learned minds did not wish to participate in the banquet. Mentioning headaches and reading obligations, they collectively withdrew. They intended to look into the matter of the plots of land. Before long, an argument began about who has a right to which parcel. The arguing developed into talking back, trading insults and finally, a brawl; many swore that a confrontation so vital had not occurred in intellectual life for decades. The president and the corporate body could not appease them by any means, whereupon the scientists, burning with indignation, bolted home and soon afterward took up arms against the area with a mass of disparaging publications. Everyone knew that they were really battling among themselves, but in the meantime the entire Watergoth chain of logic was rattled and then broken apart.

The concept, along with the president, became an impossibility.

In the area, a self-critical mood predominated. The people were ashamed that they allowed such hodge-podge to be nurtured within them and hurriedly freed themselves of the vestiges of the Watergoth age, some secretly and some openly, impelled by a cathartic euphoria. Many took an oath that in the future, they will not use water even for drinking purposes...At the same time, they continually mentioned the name of an outstanding member of the corporate body who was already easily imagined replacing the fading president. It's no wonder: many heard him announce with their own ears that their identity may be found not in some Watergothic mist, but in the enchanting nimbus of Atlantis.

The thrill of expectation ran through the majority of the locals...

Thus did Pongrac Czulager end his tale. Then, instead of telling us the moral, he ordered another beer and sipped it. He always did this to us, and even had the nerve to remark that he doesn't understand why we don't care for his stories...

9956
CSO: 2500/249

BRIEFS

GOVERNMENTAL APPOINTMENT--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Aurel Ioncica is relieved of his position as deputy minister of light industry. Comrade Gheorghe Cazan is appointed deputy minister of light industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 38, 9 Apr 82 p 4]

NEW JOB FOR CETATEANU--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Mihail Ionel Cetateanu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of technical-material supply and control of the management of fixed assets and appointed counsellor to the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 47, 17 May 82 p 4]

REMOVAL OF OFFICIALS--For serious violation of the laws of the state and the decisions of the party in connection with the spending of hard currency funds and the effecting of imports and for failure to observe financial discipline in regard to some investment projects executed abroad, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Alexandru Margaritarescu is removed from his position as minister state secretary, head of the Department of International Economic Cooperation, in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation. Comrades Enache Sirbu and Adrian Rogojeanu are removed from their positions as deputy ministers of agriculture and the food industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 47, 17 May 82 p 4]

REMOVAL OF DEPUTY MINISTER--For serious violation of the provisions of the law and of the foreign trade norms in regard to closing, developing and monitoring the execution of contracts with foreign partners, which resulted in significant losses to the national economy, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Doina Ardare is removed from her position as deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 47, 17 May 82 p 4]

CSO: 2700/293

LIBYAN-YUGOSLAV SYMPOSIUM EXAMINES QADHDHAFI OPUS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1635, 2 May 82 pp 33-35

[Article by Dragan Jovanovic]

[Text] Last week at Belgrade's "Sava" Center, an international scientific symposium was held unnoticed. The gathering was not marked by manifestoes; rather, it was strictly work and scholarship. Perhaps that is why it did not gain much publicity. This reporter did not notice a single one of his colleagues during the 3 days of the Libyan-Yugoslav symposium "The Political, Economic and Social Foundations of the Third Universal Qadhdhafi Theory and Socialist Self-Management." Naturally, that excludes the first day when Zivorad Kovacevic, president of the City Assembly, welcomed the guests and participants....

It was not only the reporters who were missing. There was not much of an audience at all, except for students of the School of Political Sciences, whose Center for International Studies was the organizer of this Libyan-Yugoslav scientific gathering. But there was something to hear. To be precise this was an extraordinary opportunity to become acquainted with the axioms of Libyan "natural socialism" first hand, from works by professors of Garayunis University in Bengasi and El Fateh University in Tripoli. The agreement by the Libyan side to hold this sort of discussion in itself is regarded as a very important thing. This theoretical opening up of Libya for a dialogue with differing viewpoints, which are not based on the Koran, captivated with its honesty, freshness and fervor, but also with the rigidity of a young theory that cared little for its partner in the conversation. Thus the young Libyan professors went as far as to equate Marxism with other sociophilosophical bourgeois theories. The Libyan presentations did not have any understanding for various forms of Marxism within Europe and outside it, about which the host insisted.

For the theorists of "natural socialism," every other socialism is the same as capitalism, because "both capitalism and socialism deviate from the natural laws that God instituted on earth." These words came from Dr Meftaha Ramadan al Ruaimi, whose scholarly paper for this gathering was: "Humanity Had Just Saved Itself from the Evils of Capitalism, When It Fell Into the Claws of Communism" Speaking of Marx and Engels, he added, "By this I do

not want to deny the contributions of socialist theory to smashing extreme individualism and the evils to which this individualism led, the rule of the strong and the notion that the general interest is in conflict with individual interests. But this (Marxist) theory is not without its extremes and exaggerations. We have already said that the individualist theory sacrifices social interests for the interests of the individual, and places them at the service of these interests. In contrast to that, this (Marxist) theory sacrifices the interests of the individual for the sake of social interests. In that regard it exaggerates and does so in a way that snares the freedom of the individual to the degree of promoting control and domination by the state."

Dr Abdel Gamer, as well as others, was to repeat that openly from the podium: "By the emergence of Marxism, the worker's relationships did not change, for the employer is replaced by the state. Because of that incapacity of both capitalism and Marxism to improve the worker's position, our Third Universal Theory has appeared to offer its solutions." And the Third Theory, or more popularly M. Qadhdhafi's "Green Book," would be alongside God the most frequently mentioned item in every serious Libyan statement at this symposium. Then how was this 3-day Libyan-Yugoslave theoretical dialogue at the "Sava" Center even possible?

Useful Recollections

During the short pause for coffee and other refreshments, this question was indirectly but completely answered by Dr Vladimir Stambuk: "If you remember how we rigidly and firmly defended self-management 15 years ago, then it will be much clearer to you." And really, after this reminder, the undersigned found everything much clearer and more acceptable. Even such assertions from the "Green Book" that "the Party is the modern form of dictatorship," "the instrument of power of one segment of the people over the whole," and that the "Party is the tribe of modern times" and also "a sect." Then, the referendum "only represents an avoidance of democracy," it is "really the most cruel and heaviest form of dictatorial power." Further, according to the "Green Book," constitutions are not (natural) laws of society, but rather "a constitution is just the main civil law," and "constitutions represent the visions of instruments of power that change," and with changes the instruments of power "are based on their interests, and not on natural laws."

It would be no worse to cite several lines of democracy and the press, to have some sort of informed perception of the basic tenets of "natural socialism." According to Qadhdhafi, democracy is "the people's control of itself." "An independent man has the absolute right to express his opinion, but in the words of democracy he cannot speak for anyone else. He can only speak for himself."

In the polemics with positions on the party, democracy and the constitution that are formulated in this manner, Yugoslav participants in the "Sava" Center symposium displayed an enviable theoretical elasticity, and a routine academic calm, so that the theoretical dialogue was not only possible, but it was even brought to a conclusion with satisfaction on both sides. The truth of this

statement is stressed by the fact that the next Libyan-Yugoslav meetings of this type were already announced in the farewell talks.

If would not be good if one got the impression from this symposium that only the differences were underlined between Libyan "natural socialism" and Yugoslave socialist self-management. In what, then, were similarities found?

Committees and Conferences

Once again it was necessary to cite the "Green Book."

"Popular conferences and popular committees are the only means to establish a popular democracy. Every other system of government other than the system of popular conferences is undemocratic."

What are the popular conferences and committees of "natural socialism?"

"The people must first be divided into basic popular conferences. Every conference elects its own committee. The committees elected by basic popular conferences elect regional popular conferences. Through the basic popular conferences, the popular masses elect popular committees that will take over the reponsibilities of local government power. In that way, the popular committees will control the work of all state functions and will answer to the basic popular conferences, which determine their makeup and monitor their work. Therefore, both administration and control become popular, and they finally dispose of the already archaic definition of democracy."

"Everything that is considered by the basic popular conferences, the popular committees, trade unions and associations, in transmitted once annually to a general popular congress, which once a year gathers the leading bodies from all the popular conferences, leaders of the popular committees and governing bodies of the trade unions and professional associations. All decisions of the general popular congress are to be carried out through the popular conferences, popular committees, trade unions and associations, where their implementation will be the responsibility of popular committees that in turn answer to the basic popular conferences...."

In this Qadhdhafi model of popular rule, some Yugoslav professors recognized "some of our early forms of popular government," such as the wartime and postwar national liberation councils. Others were reminded of some rudimentary forms of the Yugoslav delegate system.

The economic hypotheses of the Third Universal Theory are also a place where one can find many similarities between "natural socialism" and socialist self-management. Primarily, that is a question of social property, other than the land question, which the Green Book answers in an original way. It says "the land was not created by man but by God, and therefore no man can have the right to own the land." "The land does not belong to anyone, but everyone has the right to use it by working, tilling and tending flocks on it, throughout the course of his entire life and the lives of his descendants...."

And in general, every economic activity of the new Libyan socialist society is a "productive activity to satisfy material needs, and not an unproductive activity for the purpose of profit, accumulating added value that will exceed the fulfillment of those needs. The degree to which Libya adheres to this fundamental position of the Green Book is shown by the fact that the export quota for Libyan crude oil is strictly subordinated to this goal, and they definitely take the future generations into account who should share equally in the distribution of the natural wealth God gave to Libya.

If this commercial-religious attitude has not points of contact with the Yugoslav socialist model whose economy is based on planned market factors, then the Libyan idea of workers as a "partner, not a day laborer," was for some Yugoslav professors quite recognizable in connection with the status of the worker in associated labor. Naturally, the Libyan theoreticians have their position concerning that.

"In all the systems that exist in the world today, despite differing positions concerning ownership, from rightist to leftist, the workers are day laborers for wages. The final solution lies in eliminating hiring, and freeing man from the slavery of wage labor, and returning to natural bases and laws that regulated relations between people before the appearance of classes, various states and human legislation. Those natural rules are natural socialism which is based on equality between people in economic production as well as elsewhere..."

Dr Mohamed Mustafa Sulejman from Bengasi said: "There are basic needs that a man must control." The Green Book describes these needs as essential, and gives such examples as housing, clothing, transportation, food and financial resources. The things that are necessary to satisfy these needs must be freed from domination by others. Housing, for example is "an essential human and family need, and it should not be property of someone else. There is no freedom for a man who lives in someone else's house, whether he pays rent or not," in the words of the Third Universal Theory. Every man should have a house, "even if he is a Bedouin," and the same holds true for a means of transportation.

Questions, Questions....

Friday was the last day of the symposium, and it was devoted to general debate at which answers were to be given to many questions posed by both sides. Here are some of the questions addressed to the Libyan professors: How is it possible to have a harmonious "natural socialist" society without competition? What are individual, and what are private and social needs? What is the relationship between the international economic system and the Libyan concept of social property? How should one perceive the right to the use of natural resources by future generations? How is work organized in production units? How is income distributed in them? Etc., etc.

There were not many new explanations in the Libyan theoreticians' answers. Largely, they repeated the opinions that had been presented on previous days.

The guests from Libya wanted to know, on the last day, such things as: Who makes decisions on the country's social plan? What is the planning concept? Are the working people in associated labor subordinated to state plans? Isn't planning a function of technocrats and aren't the working people manipulated by that?

Yugoslav professors as well failed to offer any new answers. Yugoslav participants included Dr Radoslav Ratkovic, Dr Ljubisav Markovic, Dr Vladimir Raskovic, Dr Branimir Jankovic and others.

Nevertheless, the first round of Libyan-Yugoslav theoretical conversations was successfully concluded. As already said, preparations are being made for new dialogues on new topics, perhaps somewhere in Libya, "in the name of a generous and kind God," as the Islamic greeting goes that the Libyan university professors used to start their speeches.

[Inset, p 34] Orthodox, Catholics and Moslems

One of the questions that the Libyans insisted upon asking was: "What percentage of various religious faiths are there in Yugoslavia?" Stanka Drakic, a specialist from Belgrade, responded as follows:

"Since here in Yugoslavia, according to the Constitution, religion is a private matter, and the church is separated from the state, no special records are kept as to who is a believer and who is not, nor what religion they profess. Of more than 40 religious denominations, the largest numbers are Orthodox, Catholic and Moslems. Estimates can be made on the basis of national origin as to which of these denominations or faiths a person professes. Among Serbs, Macedonians and Montenegrins, those who are believers belong to the Orthodox faith; they account for something more than 50 percent of the Yugoslav population. According to the most recent census in 1981, something more than 6 million are Croats and Slovens, and they are Catholics to the extent that they are believers. There are more than 2 million of Moslem origins, who profess Islam if they are believers. The remaining religious denominations register their members from all nationalities. Thus we can say that about half the religious believers in Yugoslavia are Orthodox Christians, about 30 percent are Catholic Christians, and about 10 percent profess Islam. When among the Moslems we include Moslems of Albanian nationality, then they account for 15 percent of the total population."

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6 JULY 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2028

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NOTICE

Erratum: The series number of two issues of the EAST EUROPE REPORT: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS require correction. The series number of JPRS 81133 of 25 June 1982 should read No. 2026 instead of No. 2023. The series number of JPRS 81186 of 1 July 1982 should read No. 2027 instead of No. 2024.

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6 July 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2028

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CUKO SPEAKS AT TRADE UNION CONGRESS IN TIRANA

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 7 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Lenka Cuko, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party, Greets the 9th Congress of Trade Unions on Behalf of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party]

[Text] Dear comrade delegates,

The entire Albanian people today live with your congress and attentively follow its work, because this is the congress of the heroic working class which stands on the forefront of the work and struggle for the construction of socialism and the defense of the homeland. On this occasion, on behalf of the Central Committee of the party and our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, personally, allow me to bring to you fiery revolutionary greetings and to wish good work and complete success to your congress.

The 9th Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania meets only a short time after the 8th congress of the party, which both in regard to the time it was held and the majestic program it adopted, marks an event of great importance for the whole life of the country.

It will enter the party's history as the congress of the rapid development of the socialist society relying entirely on our own efforts.

The historic decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress and the brilliant prospects that it has opened up to the country have generated new enthusiasm and optimism among the working masses. A new impetus has swept the working class, cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, young people, women and all the people to implement the tasks set forth by the party to further strengthen the socialist order and to fulfill and overfulfill the tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

It is with this fervor, enthusiasm and determination characterizing our working class and all our working people, that you have come to this congress of the trade unions to have your responsible and weighty say in all matters pertaining to the country's life, to show your brilliant achievements, to criticize shortcomings and to exchange experiences in order to give a further impetus to the socialist construction in all fields.

The party has always highly evaluated the work of the trade unions, and has devoted special care to their development and strengthening as broad organizations of the working class and other working people of our country. In its relations with the trade unions the party has been guided by the teachings of great Lenin that, in the conditions of the socialist society and the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is the Communist Party which leads and directs as the conscious and organized vanguard of the working class, whereas the trade unions are its levers, which work and fight for the application of the line and directions of the party.

Socialism cannot be built with the forces of the party only, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us. It is built by the masses, whereas the party leads them and makes them conscious. Hence the irreplaceable role of the trade unions and the other social organizations which link the party with the broad working masses, educate them in its spirit and line, and mobilize them to implement the directives and orientations of the party. Their role and responsibility grow and extend in proportion with the growth and extension of the activity of the party, with the growth and extension of its programs.

From their founding, the trade unions of Albania have continuously been orientated by, sought inspiration and found their strength in the leadership of the party, in its correct Marxist-Leninist line, in the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. On this reliable road they have grown and tempered themselves continually, becoming militant and fighting organizations of the working class, capable of carrying out ever greater undertakings.

In our socialist society, the working class and the working masses, freed from capitalist oppression and exploitation, are the masters of the country. They take part actively in the discussion and solution of the problems of socioeconomic development, the drafting and application of the laws and the state plans, the organization and management of production, the development of education and culture, the strengthening of the defense, the supervision and control of the activity of the administration and management, and in the governing of the entire life of the country. This is a living and concrete expression of our socialist democracy, as genuine democracy for the broad working masses, a confirmation of the fact that the construction of socialism in Albania is the creative deed of the working class and all the working people.

It is the duty of the trade union to constantly raise and strengthen this decisive role of the masses in the construction of socialism, viewing it as a fundamental question of the communist world outlook and of revolutionary theory and practice, as a question that is directly related to the defense and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The trade unions must be more persistent in ensuring that all the norms and practices intended to achieve the role of the working class and of the working masses be implemented to the last; they must oppose everything that contradicts the spirit and principles of socialism and the party's line and directives, mobilizing the working class and all the working people against bureaucratic and liberal distortions.

In this spirit the trade unions must also defend the rights of the working class sanctioned in the laws and embodied in the state plans, which are related to the improvement of working and living conditions, to the correct implementation of the labor code and of the state and social security laws, to the measures for technical security at work, to the social-cultural needs, supplies, health service and so forth.

In a true socialist society the interests of the working class are indivisible from those of the state, because this state expresses and protects the interests of the working people, because its entire policy and activity are interceded for the welfare of the people. If the state loses its proletarian features and is transformed into a dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie, as has occurred in the revisionist countries, fierce class conflicts are bound to emerge between the working people and the state which oppresses and exploits them. In these conditions, the working class finds other ways and means, goes on strikes and stages demonstrations, in order to defend its own interests. This, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, shows clearly that the state power there is no longer in the hands of the workers, that the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism have degenerated. The trade unions of these countries have ceased to represent the interests of the workers and have become appendages of the bureaucratic apparatus of the bourgeoisie in order to beguile the working class and keep it in a state of submission.

When Lenin argued for the role and place of the trade unions in the conditions of socialism, he made it clear from the beginning that they are the school of communism, militant political organizations, which, under the leadership of the party, work and fight for the communist education of the working people. In our country has grown a new working class, educated with lofty revolutionary qualities and virtues, which has responded to the tasks of the party in a fiery patriotic spirit. The trade unions also have made their great and valuable contribution in these achievements.

But in the present conditions, the party demands from the trade unions that they constantly raise the level of their educational effort, both in substance and in form, in order to arm the working masses increasingly better with the communist world outlook and ideals, make them professionally proficient and equip them with a broad culture and lofty moral virtues. They must take special care of the education of the working class and other working masses with the spirit of the people's patriotism, the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the class struggle, that they may always remain consistent revolutionaries and resolute fighters for the cause of socialism and communism.

The trade unions must educate their numerous, loyal and devoted cadres and specialists trained by the party with the spirit of the working class, that they may always bear in mind that they can lead and successfully implement their tasks only through close reliance on the masses, with the spirit of the people's patriotism, and the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the class struggle, that they may always remain consistent revolutionaries and resolute fighters for the cause of socialism and communism.

The trade unions must educate their numerous, loyal and devoted cadres and specialists trained by the party with the spirit of the working class, that they may always bear in mind that they can lead and successfully implement their tasks only through close reliance on the masses and their innovative and revolutionary thinking. They must educate the cadres to be modest, honest and just, they must never become arrogant but remain at all times pupils of the people and, together with the people. They must work and struggle to build and defend socialism.

The work to implement the party's line and policy, to implement its tasks in all fields, the study and mastery of Marxism-Leninism, of the party's and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings in the struggle against vestiges of the old ideologies and bourgeois and revisionist influences--all these have been and remain the most effective ways for the education of the cadres and the masses.

The trade unions must construct their work in such a way as to get as close as possible to the workers. This requires that the spiritual conditions of the masses, their demands and interests, which vary from one group to the next, should be well known, together with the degree of consciousness and the problems preoccupying the masses. Through their differentiated and qualified work, but also with tact and intelligence, the trade unions will further consolidate their links with the working class and all the working masses, they will better take to them the party's word and directives, they will play the role allotted to them by the party as schools for the revolutionary education and mobilization of the masses.

One of the main fields of the activity of the trade unions has been and remains that of production, the mobilization of the working class and all the other working people for the fulfillment of the economic state plan. We have entered now into the second year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, during which industry will develop on a broad front and in all its branches, socialist agriculture will reach a new level of development, socialist relations will be further improved, education, culture and sciences will advance further forward, the moral figure of the new man of our society will be raised higher.

In the conditions when in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, unemployment increases from one year to the other, inflation rises continuously, the cost of living increases not every year but every month and every day, as a consequence of the deep economic crisis into which they have been steeped for many years now, the reality of socialist Albania which knows none of these phenomena, the perspectives the 8th congress of the party and the Seventh Five-Year Plan have opened, speak of the correctness of the line our party has always followed, the stability of our economy, the strength and vitality of the socialist order. Another evidence to this is also the decision of the Council of Ministers on the reduction of prices of several mass consumer goods and the reduction of payments of several public services. This new success is the fruit of the selfless work of the working class and the other working masses, is an expression of the care of the party and the socialist state for the raising of the wellbeing of the people.

This new plan is the first five-year plan which will be carried out relying entirely on our own forces and possibilities. It will be a great test for the party, the people and the working class. There is no doubt that this new test, like all the previous tests we have stood, will be overcome with success. This confidence we have built from the fact that the tasks of this plan are scientifically based and completely attainable, we build this confidence in the patriotism of our people, in their steel unity, their readiness and determination to cope with any difficulty in order to carry out any task.

As always, the working class will remain in the vanguard of the battles for the fulfillment of the tasks of the seventh 5-year period. Its efforts will be decisive. Hence the great and responsible tasks of the trade unions. They are required to make the working class conscious that the plans in industry, agriculture, construction, communications, the service sectors and everywhere else can be fulfilled successfully only with strong scientific and technical discipline at work, educational and professional training, the mobilization of the intellectual potential of specialists and scientists, the development of the innovative thinking of the working people and their revolutionary actions.

In their efforts to mobilize the working class in resolving production problems, the trade unions must cooperate and coordinate their work with the state and economic organs, just as the latter must rely more strongly on the trade unions, improve the organization and management of work and adopt technical, organizational and material measures to resolve production problems, to broaden the way for the initiative and creativity of the masses and to fulfill the state plan without fail.

The party is fully confident that in the struggles to come for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, the working class, the working masses and their militant organization, the trade unions, will remain at the height of their tasks.

Comrades, our people, led by the party, are secure about the present and see their future with confidence and optimism. At the same time they do not forget that in Albania socialism is built in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade and tense international situations, which continue to grow more complicated. The events that develop in the world and around us demonstrate that the imperialist superpowers and their allies, caught in the grip of the economic crisis and locked in fierce rivalry to expand their spheres of influence and to establish their domination in the world, have increased their pressure on the peoples, have stepped up interference in their internal affairs and have embarked on open military adventures. The hotbeds of local wars, the imperialists have kindled, have expanded, just as the imperialists' preparations for new aggressions and global war have increased.

In order to plunder the great wealth of the Middle East and to enslave its peoples, the United States of America as well as the Soviet Union have stepped up their interference, thus making the situation in this zone still

more dangerous. The situation is by no means less grave in Central America due to the brutal interferences of American imperialism, and in South America as a result of the British imperialist aggression against Argentina.

A turbulent and ominous situation continues around Afghanistan, where the Soviet social-imperialists have massed an entire army. The navies of the superpowers have infested the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the other seas with warships, thus creating new threats to the countries which have access to these waters. The armaments race and the trade of arms, as precursors of conflicts and aggressions instigated by imperialism, have assumed colossal proportions.

We must watch these situations carefully, understand them correctly and know how to orient ourselves. Their development, of course, does not depend on us, but they are connected with us in one way or another because they influence the life and work of our people and create difficulties and obstacles on the road of our socialist construction. The imperialists will never relinquish their hostile intentions against our country. They collaborate with their agents within the country to weaken and destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania, to take away from the people their socialist victories and to restore the capitalist yoke and imperialist diktat.

In these circumstances, our valiant and patriotic people maintain and sharpen their vigilance further, unite themselves ever more closely around the party, fight still more persistently for the strengthening of the economy and the all-round development of the country. The plans of the external and internal enemies against socialist Albania have suffered and will always suffer ignominous defeat confronted with the monolithic unity of our people, their determination to defend at the cost of any sacrifice the freedom and independence which they have won with blood, and the victories of our popular revolution. The strength and invincible character of our socialist homeland are founded on reliable factors: on the correct leadership of the party and its Marxist-Leninist line, on the lofty patriotism and revolutionary spirit, on the combat readiness of our entire people, on the strength and stability of our economy.

It is the task of the party, the trade unions and all its other levers to constantly strengthen these factors and to thus make socialist Albania stronger and more invincible.

Our party and socialist state have always followed a principled and consistent foreign policy which serves the defense of the lofty interests of our homeland, the cause of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, the preservation of peace and build-up of security in the world.

Socialist Albania has always stoutly and irreconcilably opposed the superpowers and the other reactionary forces on every occasion and under any circumstances. It has fought resolutely and with all its forces against their hegemony-seeking and expansionist policy, their aggressive actions against the peoples.

Proceeding from the known principles of equality, noninterference in internal affairs, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and mutual benefit, our country has striven to maintain normal relations with all those states which abide by these principles. We have been and are for normal relations of good neighborliness with the countries of the Balkans and the neighboring zone, for bilateral fruitful collaboration in fields of reciprocal interest, we have wanted and want to live in friendship with their peoples.

We have always pursued a similar policy toward neighboring Yugoslavia. But we cannot remain silent when we see that a savage policy of national oppression is pursued against our Albanian brothers in Yugoslavia. Theirs is a shortsighted policy and the sooner it is discontinued the better it will be for the peoples of Yugoslavia themselves. The demands of the population of Kosovo to eliminate inequality and economic backwardness, to develop their national education and culture, to preserve their traditions and customs, to achieve the status of the republic within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation, are just and reasonable.

The foreign policy of our party and state has made our country win the great sympathy of the peoples of the world and a well-deserved prestige in the international arena, as well as numerous friends and well-wishers in all the countries. This is the reason why our people give this policy their powerful backing and all-out support.

Comrades, the AWP Central Committee is confident that the proceedings of your ninth congress will strengthen the Albanian trade unions and raise their work to a higher level. Always guided and inspired by the party's and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, let us increase our mobilization at work, let us put all our efforts into fulfilling and overfulfilling the 1982 plan and the 5-year plan as a whole to make our socialist homeland stronger, more beautiful and more prosperous!

Long live our glorious AWP and the beloved leader of our party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live the heroic working class!

Long live the Albanian trade unions!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

CSO: 2100/66

RITA MARKO ADDRESSES TRADE UNION CONGRESS

AU131625 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 7 Jun 82 pp 1-7

["Report on the Activity of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions and the Tasks of the Trade Unions for the Implementation of the Decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress," delivered by Rita Marko at the Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions in Tirana on 6 June]

[Text] Dear comrades, a fiery militant atmosphere created by the historic decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress prevails throughout the country. Its ideas have become an indivisible part of the entire activity of the working class and of the working masses which are working and struggling for their implementation with inexhaustible energy and militant spirit. The Ninth Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions is meeting in this brilliant internal situation and the working class and the working masses are coming to this congress following a period of effort, struggle, heroism and broad creative activity to further develop the revolution, build socialism and defend the country.

The Eighth AWP Congress was an event of great historic importance. Its decisions mark a new moment in the comprehensive development of our country on the road of socialism. It will remain in the history of our party and of our people as the congress of the rapid construction of socialism relying entirely on our own forces, the congress of the elevation of a scientific standard of production and management, of all-round intensification and of the increased effectiveness of the economy, of the further improvement in the well-being of the masses and of the constant strengthening of the party's leading role in all aspects of the country's life.

The report of the AWP Central Committee delivered at that congress by Comrade Enver Hoxha is a historic document of great theoretical and practical experience, a synthesis and scientific generalization of the glorious 40-year-old (?road) traversed by the party in its struggle for the triumph of the revolution and the construction of socialism. The report profoundly analyzes the great problems of the time and contains generalizations of national and international importance which represent new contributions in the theory and practice of socialism and in the enrichment of the strategy and tactics of the Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary movements of our time.

During the sixth 5-year period, too, our working class has again written glorious pages of heroism in the battles for the constant prosperity and strengthening of socialist Albania. Its lofty qualities: socialist patriotism, the spirit of sacrifice, its creative capability, courage and valor erupted with new vigor. Implementing the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance in the conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement and confronting and overcoming the difficulties created by the hostile and sabotaging activity of the Chinese revisionists, new and magnificent successes were attained which have further strengthened the stability of the socialist economy. The magnificent party-people unity was further tempered in struggle against the internal and external enemies. The leading role of the party and of the working class in every aspect of the country's life was further strengthened, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the alliance between the working class and cooperativist peasantry was further strengthened and our socialist democracy was further developed.

The road traversed by the trade unions under the party's leadership is rich in achievements. In the struggle to build socialism and to defend the country, the trade unions have made and continue to make a valuable contribution in educating the working class, in mobilizing it to fulfill the plan and in extending its participation in the country's administration, that it may remain firmly at the height of its historic mission. The party has appreciated highly the role played by the trade unions in all the victories attained in socialist Albania. Gathering in their ranks the working class and all other working people, the trade unions have been and remain important levers of the party.

Under the constant solicitude of the AWP Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our organization has grown stronger, has raised its militant spirit and has successfully accomplished the important and responsible tasks set forth by the party. The entire path traversed by the Albanian trade unions and their revolutionary activity testify in practice that the source of our strength, the foundation of our successes lie in the party's leadership and in the consistent implementation of its correct Marxist-Leninist line.

Our country's working class finds embodied in the magnificent program approved by the Eighth AWP Congress its aspirations and radical political, economic and social interests. That is why the working class has unanimously and enthusiastically endorsed the great tasks arising from this congress and promises to the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha that it will always preserve its militant spirit aflame and will remain in the front line of the struggle for their implementation.

The Fulfillment of the Seventh Five-Year Plan Requires the Mobilization of All Creative Energies of the Working Class

The directives endorsed by the Eighth AWP Congress for the development of the socialist economy and culture are magnificent. The Seventh Five-Year Plan is a direct continuation of the attainments to date and marks a new and higher stage in the country's unchecked economic and social development on the road of socialism. "Our socialist economy," Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the

congress, "is entering the new 5-year period of its development stable, filled with dynamism and with great possibilities to further develop and expand social production and to increase its effectiveness in all directions."

The dimensions that social production, the national income, investments and constructions, exports and financial resources are expected to assume equal those of three or four 5-year periods taken together in 1950-70. Total social production is expected to increase 34-36 percent over the previous 5-year period, industrial production is expected to increase 36-38 percent and agricultural production 30-32 percent. About 750 important economic, social and cultural projects will be constructed. The well-being of the working people will be guaranteed and increased, purchasing power and real incomes will be increased, housing will be improved and all new manpower will be employed.

This sound situation and brilliant prospects are a clear reflection of the vitality and superiority of our socialist order over the decaying capitalist-revisionist order, which is gripped in the vise of a deep political, economic and social crisis, whose consequences fall on the shoulders of the proletariat and broad working masses. Stagnation, declining output, inflation, rising prices and taxes, insecurity and misery, declining living standards and the decadence of moral values--this is the picture of the bourgeois-revisionist world.

The decision of the Council of Ministers to reduce the retail price of a number of mass consumer commodities and of communal service tariffs, which was made known on the eve of our congress, filled our working class and all the Albanian people with joy. This is another great success of the policy and correct Marxist-Leninist line of our party and a reflection of the strengthening of the economy and of the unstinting efforts of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia to increase production, raise labor productivity, reduce costs and improve quality.

Everything in socialist Albania is done for the good of the working people. The working class and other working masses will respond to the decision of the Council of Ministers with even greater impetus and mobilization at work, with even higher results in all fields of the country's socialist construction.

The attainment of the objectives of the Seventh Five-Year Plan requires that we should struggle with all our energies and frontally fulfill all tasks relying on our own efforts. This principle has always been at the foundation of our party's policy. However, bearing in mind the concrete situations in which we are working and building socialism, that is, without any aid or credits from outside, and bearing in mind also the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, this principle presently assumes particular importance and must guide us in our daily activity in all sectors.

The fulfillment of the plan by every collective under all its headings and in all its indicators is the most concrete reflection of the comprehension and implementation of the principle of self-reliance. This is also proved by the attainments of 1981, when the industrial output was fulfilled and overfulfilled, compared with 1980, at an annual growth rate of 7-8 percent, with the respective rate for agriculture being 7 percent. The tasks set out for transportation, labor productivity in industry and construction and cost reductions were overfulfilled, while the accumulation resources were achieved according to plan. A visible elevation has been observed in the first 5 months of the current year, and this is reflected in the improved fulfillment of plans by all sectors and branches of the economy. Many enterprises have overfulfilled almost all its indicators. The people have been better supplied with necessary industrial and agricultural products. The workers of the "Enver Hoxha" tractor and automobile combine, of the "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine, the construction workers of the Koman hydroelectric power plant, the oil industry of the Marinez field, the miners of Memaliaj and Kalimash, the workers of the "Gogo Nushi" plant in Fier, of the copper wire plant in Shkoder, of the Maliq and Lukove state farms, and many others, have been in the vanguard.

The successes attained increase our confidence that the tasks confronting us are fully feasible. Where must the trade unions concentrate their attention more?

Our country is developing on the basis of a single state plan. Every nonfulfillment in particular sectors or under particular headings or indicators has consequences for the entire economy. From this viewpoint, manifestations of globalism constitute a great obstacle to the rhythmic fulfillment of plans. It is the duty of the trade unions to persuade everyone of this matter that they may understand the damage caused by the failure to fulfill plans in all their indicators. The workers in the engineering industry must center their attention better not only on the fulfillment of plans in terms of value, but also with regard to the quantity, quality and variety of spare parts for agricultural machinery and on the production of machinery and equipment for new projects. This applies also to some factories of the light and food industry producing mass consumer commodities, as well as some other enterprises and sectors where the plans have not been fulfilled in all their economic and financial indicators, headings and variety of production.

We are also confronted with manifestations of globalism in the field of commodity distribution where there is nonfulfillment although production plans have been overfulfilled. This becomes an obstacle to the rhythmic fulfillment of plans by other enterprises due to a lack of supplies. Transportation also frequently becomes an obstacle, failing to meet all contracts and to deliver on time owing to weaknesses in organization, loading and unloading operations and the rational utilization of vehicles. This shows that the idea that plans must be fulfilled by everyone and in all indicators has not been implanted deeply enough in some working people. In these cases, the work of the trade union organizations also suffers from globalism and formalism. It has not been properly concentrated where most needed and where the difficulties are greater.

Our economy has assumed large dimensions, it has become more complex, specialization and concentration have developed and the division of labor has been deepened. Under these conditions, cooperation between enterprises, sectors and branches of the economy assumes particular importance. A great effort has been made in this direction. The construction of numerous new projects such as that of the second furnace [at the Elbasan metallurgical combine], the sugar combine in Maliq, the construction of new mineral enrichment plants, and so forth--all this is a result of such cooperation. However, manifestations of sectoral and departmental spirit and narrow handicraft concepts are still being observed among some enterprise managers and executive council and department heads who, in some cases, fail to understand the importance and need to cooperate to resolve the great problems confronting our developed economy.

The construction of large projects through our own efforts, the reconstruction of numerous enterprises and the introduction of new technical and technological processes cannot be achieved without broad cooperation. These are stipulated in the plans, but what is important is that the tasks of cooperation be implemented precisely and on time, combating the weaknesses and shortcomings observed in meeting contracts. There is also room for improvement in planning in this field. Numerous initiatives are undertaken in the process of fulfilling the plans and these must be better supported with the material base needed and through cooperation. This requires that the problem be properly grasped politically from the viewpoint of the general interest of the economy and not from the narrow shell of the enterprise. The Eighth AWP Congress stressed that the fulfillment of the tasks stipulated in the single and general state plan require that we must struggle side by side, with strong socialist solidarity, in close cooperation and collaboration with each other.

The further independent development of our economy and our progress require that we should center our attention more on some vital key sectors of the economy. One of these is the oil industry, which constitutes great wealth for our country. Its development shows the correctness of the party's line and its great solicitude in strengthening the country's energy base. Our oil workers have always been tireless and are distinguished for their spirit of sacrifice, determination and boldness at work. However, particularly in the present conditions of the world energy crisis, they are required to provide more oil and gas to the homeland. To achieve this, it is essential to further strengthen technical, scientific and labor discipline, to improve extraction methods and to utilize the material-technical base. It is the duty of our organizations in this important sector of the economy to raise revolutionary pride in every worker, to generalize and disseminate the advanced experience that is to be found everywhere, as in the Marinez extraction enterprise, which is an example of the rhythmic fulfillment of plans under all headings and in all indicators, as well as the experience of the rapid drilling teams.

One of the vanguard units of the working class works in the extractive and processing industry, bearing a very heavy burden in the development of our economy. It provides the homeland with chrome, copper, iron-nickel, coal,

steels and a number of other very essential products for the consolidation of our multibranched industry. Numerous problems are confronting the working people of this sector in the new 5-year period. The present stage of development requires the adoption of new extraction methods and systems of exploitation, the degree of mechanization must be raised, quality must be improved, losses reduced and more minerals must be processed in the country. All this will be achieved through a considerable elevation in the educational, cultural and vocational standard of the working people, by strengthening proletarian discipline and the sense of responsibility and by cultivating love for the honorable profession of miner, metallurgist and geologist. The trade union organizations must center their attention more on these problems.

The problems pertaining to exports assume particular importance in present conditions to ensure that imports are fully covered. This is one field in which the country and the economy clash directly with the capitalist-revisionist world, the pressures and influences of its financial and economic crisis, and in which the enemies are mostly trying to hinder and sabotage the development of our socialist economy.

It is up to the trade union organizations to make the working people conscious of the fact that without exports there are no imports and that this requires new ways to be found to increase exports, to achieve a considerable improvement in quality, packaging, labeling and to reduce costs. To fight for the good name of our trademark is a matter of honor. We can penetrate foreign markets only through high quality. The tireless workers of the Ballsh oil refinery, of the Berat textile combine, of the Korce carpet factory and of the Shkoder cigarette factory are rhythmically fulfilling their export plans, are producing goods of high quality, and their products are in demand in foreign markets. Their example must stimulate all those collectives working for exports. We must fight in the same spirit to economize and replace all those commodities that weigh heavily in our imports, such as coking coals, various types of steels, chemical products, cotton and so forth.

The Seventh Five-Year Plan has anticipated high increases in construction. Investments equivalent to those for 10 projects the size of the "Stalin" textile combine will be made for the Koman hydropower plant alone. Our homeland has become a great construction site. Our construction and assembly workers have taken a number of initiatives to further advance work. During the first 5 months they have established a healthy basis from which to fulfill this year's plan. Distinguished in the fulfillment of plans are the construction workers of the Koman hydropower plant, the railroads, metallurgical combines, housing and others.

Let us further advance this spirit of mobilization. Let us struggle everywhere to complete projects on time and with high quality and low costs. Mechanization should be furthered to lighten the work load and to raise productivity. It is not justified for some construction enterprises not to realize their tasks because of deficiencies in domestic materials such as stone, bricks, gravel and cement. The trade union organizations and

construction workers should more seriously engage themselves in activity to minimize weaknesses which are noticed, and they should mobilize themselves with all their energies to fulfill the plan.

We have great tasks for the intensive development of the economy and for raising production's effectiveness in all sectors. Problems such as fully utilizing the productive capacities, raising work productivity, increasing socialist accumulation and profitability, lowering costs and production's expenditure, improving quality and others, are in the hands of the working class and the other working masses.

Our country today has a powerful material and technical base. It has increased 25 times within three decades. Its effective utilization is one of the greatest tasks set in this five-year plan. The reserves in this field are great. If the coefficient of the use of tractors is raised only 10 percent, something which is totally feasible, a volume of work equal to that of Lushnje and Fier machinery and tractor stations will be accomplished. Increasing the coefficient of the use of vehicles attached to the Ministry of Communications by only 2 percent is equivalent to the work of more than 100 trucks. If the mechanical plants achieved a utilization of steel on the same scale as the "Enver Hoxha" tractor combine, then this would result in the economy saving some thousands of tons of steel.

The utilization of these possibilities is a great reserve for realizing the plan. The trade union organizations have the task of better moving on the progressive ideas of workers and specialists to fully utilize the material-technical base we have, and to resolutely struggle against tendencies noticed in some to remain within and to hold reserves in utilizing the productive capacities and in norms of material use.

The whole development of our economy relies on internal accumulation. Thus, alongside other problems related to this major issue, a serious problem is also getting enterprises which have losses out of their backwardness. Workers, trade union organizations and directing organs of some agricultural, fishing, construction, transport and other enterprises should be more preoccupied and should work better to perfect organization and management, to vitalize the economic-financial situation so that they can be changed from enterprises which suck accumulation into profitable enterprises.

Comrade Enver teaches us that qualitative and highly productive work is a decisive factor to ensure the growth of production's effectiveness and to further advance the whole economy. Many tasks result from this. Everywhere we work and produce there is room to strengthen organization, order and discipline, so that work time can be better utilized, productivity can be continually raised, accumulation increased, costs lowered and savings made.

It is not justified that enterprises of the same sector with the same technology and technical equipment should have differences in productivity and quality. It is not acceptable that factories and others of shoes should have a productivity nearly 2 times lower than that of Korce. The secret here lies in conscientious, disciplined and qualified work based on good organization.

Organization is a powerful means by which to advance production and create possibilities to effectively use means, funds, materials and others. Vlore's polyvinyl chloride plant raised itself from its backwardness because, besides ideopolitical work with people, radical measures to perfect organization and management were taken. This was made possible with the active participation of workers and specialists; many incorrect concepts were overcome, optimism was raised and discipline and accounting demands were strengthened.

The problems of socialist organization of work are complex. They are related to the good preparation of work places, regular material-technical supplies, employment of people according to their qualifications, organization and concentration of production according to technological similarities and so forth. These are tasks not only for enterprise directors but also for trade union organizations and all workers. Without these we cannot speak of productivity and effectiveness.

The Eighth AWP Congress has set great objectives for agricultural workers. They are related to the continually better securing of people's food, of raw materials for the food and light industry, increasing exports and others. These tasks will be accomplished through intensification; 90 percent of the increase in general agricultural production will be secured through raising productivity of crops and livestock production.

Fulfilling these great tasks requires tireless work, knowledge and perfected organization by all agricultural workers. The agricultural enterprises should stand in the vanguard and become examples for the cooperatives. It is the task of the workers, specialists and directors of these enterprises to show the way to modern agricultural development by integrating their mobilization with the implementation of scientific knowledge. Today we have many agricultural enterprises, such as those of Maliq, Vrine, and the "17 November" enterprise, which get 48 quintals of wheat per hectare, 72 quintals of corn per hectare, 455 quintals of sugar beets, about 4,000 liters of milk per cow and others. Their example can and should be followed by others. This is also a major objective for the trade union organizations' activity in agricultural enterprises. But to achieve this, it is necessary to minimize the weaknesses and defects which exist, and to work everywhere conscientiously and with discipline, to implement high agrotechnology, to properly utilize the material and technical base, and to widely spread progressive experience especially in the zones of higher intensification.

The working class has always tied its struggle and work for the construction and defense of socialism to its loyal ally, the cooperativist peasantry. This has always been expressed in class solidarity and mutual help for the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture, of the city and countryside, and all zones and regions in our country. The magnificent program which the Eighth AWP Congress approved will further narrow the differences between the city and countryside, and will make our socialist countryside more prosperous.

These objectives will be achieved through the work and effort of the cooperativist peasantry. But an important role will also be played by the working

class through fulfilling the plan's tasks on their own work front, strengthening the ties between industry, agriculture and all other branches and sectors of the economy, and also by giving, as always, their own example in fulfilling tasks. This will also be an important front for the care and work of the trade union organizations and organs. Thus, it is required that they make workers in industry, construction, transport, services and others, conscientious to ensure the necessary means of production, on time, for an intensive agriculture and for the realization of investments and productive communal and vital services in the countryside. Working in this way, we can correctly implement the party's slogan: "Agriculture--a matter of all the people."

The trade unions should be more concerned with further perfecting socialist relations in production. These are related to vitally important fields such as relations of property, distribution, economic management and exchange. They are even more considerable because they are concerned with relations between people and their interests. Greater study and concern for social aspects which are related to them will help us strengthen the positive tendencies of their development, and also to know and prevent negative aspects in time.

During the last five-year plan the party and state devoted great attention to the problems of work organization and remuneration, as vitally important issues of economic development and of the workers' lives. Perfecting work norms is important in this sphere. Many improvements have been made with the active participation of the working class. Today 89 percent of the workers are governed by norms, and work time governed by technical norms has reached about 70 percent, while these indexes were 81 and 57 percent respectively at the previous congress. The average realization of norms is 101 percent and in many work processes they have been revised and replaced with new progressive norms.

An important problem in this field today is the establishment everywhere of well-studied norms on a scientific basis. This is in the interest of society and the workers themselves. It is not at all normal for 30-40 percent of work governed by norms to be taken up by statistical norms. This type of norm hides important reserves, does not comply with the growth of work productivity, impairs the defined ratios of workers' wages and inspires petit-bourgeois tendencies to take more from society than is given to it.

It is the task of the trade unions to more strongly support initiatives to extend technical norms at work, especially in the metallurgical and timber industry, and the communications, communal and other enterprises, where technical norms hold only 47-53 percent of work which is governed by norms. Also serving this aim is the dissemination of advanced experience of the Korce "Petro Papi" instruments plant where over 90 percent of workers are under technical norms, and where the technical-economic indexes are higher than in other enterprises of the mechanical industry; or the experience of the "Stalin" textile combine, which has higher norm standards than other enterprises with similar conditions. Not only norm setters should be concerned with this very important issue, as happens sometimes, but everyone--

directors, specialists and technicians--and they should take responsibility. No delay or lack of concern can be accepted in this, because technical norms are a great force by which to organize workers around the most progressive class elements.

We have great tasks in the revision of norms. They are not unchangeable, because technology and organization are continually improved and the workers' qualifications are continually raised. But the norms cannot be changed according to one or the other's wishes. They are revised according to the rules on the basis of studies within a defined time, when plans are drafted, and always by discussing them with workers. The departments have obligations to be more seriously concerned with the unification of work norms, setting technical norms of work time for all production units which have the same conditions, on a departmental scale.

The realization of norms by all workers is a problem which requires more attention by the trade unions and the state and economic organs. Special work must be done with young workers to raise their qualifications and consciousness and to revitalize their pride in doing the best work. They must be closely helped to assimilate work practices more quickly. The enterprise administrations also have important tasks in strengthening work organization, securing tools, regularly supplying raw and other materials, ensuring workers' transportation and better distributing them in work places according to their qualifications.

The clear prospects which the Eighth AWP Congress opened have created a high revolutionary optimism, have increased enthusiasm and have given a new impetus to socialist emulation. The Koman construction workers will put two, rather than one, turbines into work within the five-year plan; the Valias workers' initiative was answered by miners throughout the whole country by giving about 25,000 tons of minerals above the 5-month plan; the initiative of the Elbasan metallurgists has been turned into a powerful movement in the whole country to save electrical energy, fuels, steel and other materials. Working according to the initiative of the Guri i Kuq miners, new records have been established in mining works of up to 500 gallery meters per month. Today hundreds of drivers and tractor drivers are working for future five-year plans and whole livestock complexes work to obtain 4,000-6,000 liters of milk per cow. Through voluntary work kilometers of canals are opened, reservoirs are constructed, new houses are built, the environment is beautified and agriculture and the villages are helped. This is the massive heroism which gives a new force and content to socialist emulation, which raises all of the working class and workers to realize and overfulfill the economic plans.

These distinguished characteristics of socialist emulation must be intensified and further advanced. Emphasis must be placed on the base, brigade, sector, unit and enterprise where the fate of production is established, and we must achieve bringing all workers into this race. The plan's qualitative indexes should be better placed at the center of socialist emulation, and a serious attitude toward indexes should always be maintained. This aim should be served by comparing results and holding discussions as a powerful

means to know and disseminate advanced experience, to discover and minimize defects, to struggle against bureaucratic delays and hindrances and also manifestations of euphoria and self-satisfaction.

Today more than ever agile and lively work should be done with people in various forms, and through widely and intelligently using moral stimuli to encourage them and raise mobilization for fulfilling tasks everywhere. Every worker in his place of work should be led each day by Comrade Enver Hoxha's suggestion that he should "work with great drive and emulation, with highly responsible feelings, strong proletarian discipline, productivity, quality and the spirit of thrift."

The Intensification of the Technical-Scientific Revolution and the Qualification of Workers--A Necessary Condition To Further Advance Production

The economy's intensive development in the Seventh Five-Year Plan makes it urgently necessary to further intensify the technical-scientific revolution and to raise the workers' educational and technical-professional standard. The present achievements by our wonderful people trained by the party are a powerful base for this. They have designed and constructed many projects from roads, railroads, plants, factories, mines and up to the powerful hydropower plants. They have improved technology and equipment. They have introduced progressive science and agrotechnology in agriculture. They have achieved important successes in all sectors.

The Central Council and other directing organs of the trade unions should pay attention to many problems of the present stage of development of the technical-scientific revolution. First, it is necessary to further increase the masses' participation in it, so that science and technology do not remain the monopoly of certain persons or institutions. Today we have about 150,000 secondary-educated specialists, over 40,000 highly educated specialists and thousands of talented workers and innovators. This is a great force which should be put into motion. Only in this way can science and technology develop and be implemented everywhere we work and produce.

A vital expression of the masses' participation in the technical-scientific revolution is innovation, which has been turned into a powerful movement to bring about considerable changes to technology, equipment, production and organization; to find new ways to rationally utilize raw materials, and to improve the plan's technical-economic indexes.

The creative spirit, the physical and mental abilities of our innovators and technicians have been expressed in the solution of many problems. During the previous five-year plan over 60,000 proposals were put into practice, 964 production lines, units and factories were raised and about 49,000 new articles were produced. Many working collectives have greatly contributed to the achievement of these successes. Thousands of talented innovators have been raised and educated in the heart of these collectives, and they have put all their creative energies to the service of our socialist homeland's progress and prosperity.

This new drive which innovation has gained, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, has become a new trait of our time, should be further advanced. The trade union organizations have the task of paying more attention to the innovation movement and to bringing into it many workers, specialists, young people and women in all sectors and branches.

It is our duty, without underrating the smaller innovations, to better mobilize the creative thinking of the masses in those directions which bring big changes and help in implementing the tasks set out by the Eighth AWP Congress. The involvement of the workers and specialists in improving technological processes and the precise implementation of technical and scientific discipline on their part have been and remain a very important task of the trade unions. The establishment of new lines, units and factories, increased productivity, a considerable improvement in quality, thrift, the rational utilization of machinery, the elimination of waste and defects are important directions on which the innovation movement must direct its attention.

High rates of production growth dictate the need for the complex mechanization of working processes, particularly in sectors like mining, construction, the exploitation of forests, the agricultural and livestock sectors and in those enterprises where artisan methods still prevail. Let us not forget for one single moment that the development of the technical and scientific revolution in socialism serves simultaneously to lighten the work of man and enrich work with more elements of creative mental work. This means that we must see not only the economic side, profitability, in the process of deepening the technical-scientific revolution, but also the other side, the humanitarian and human side.

It is an anacronism that handbarrows are still used in some construction enterprises, that plastering is done by hand and that foundations are dug by hand, at a time when there are great possibilities to use transporters, cranes and plastering pumps. There are just as many possibilities for using cable cars to transport timber in forestry enterprises. Possibilities to increase the use of machinery exist everywhere. All that is needed is a proper understanding and concrete action. The very rapid mechanization of mines at Guri i Kup, Prrenjas, Bulqize and Gjegjan is an example of this.

The trade unions are confronted with the task of further improving their work in listening to and respecting the voice of the masses and of combating bureaucratic procrastinations hindering the implementation of the working class initiatives. This must be done not only in words, but through concrete support of such initiatives by management and departments with the required material and technical base and better organized cooperation, because this helps to advance plans and improve its indicators. The plan must therefore not be considered "taboo," and be used as a pretext to check the revolutionary and innovatory drive of the masses. The difficulties arising must be overcome with persistent efforts and struggle, and by joining and coordinating forces. The further education and qualification of the workers is an essential requirement in further deepening the technical-scientific revolution and in increasing production. Good results have been

attained in this direction with the party's constant solicitude. Compared with 1975 the number of workers with higher and secondary education has doubled, and the number of qualified workers has risen 1.7 times.

Both the need for knowledge and culture is being increasingly felt. The Eighth AWP Congress stressed that our society requires people with broad knowledge and cultural horizon, qualified and competent people capable of leading and organizing, people who are passionate scholars and creators. These requirements constitute a very important front in the activity of the trade unions.

There are still shortcomings in the technical and vocational training of workers. There is formalism in a number of qualification courses, there is insufficient planning, and the benefits are small. Concessions are being made in the degree of qualification and the latter is not always closely related to results at work. There is still insufficient interest by departments, enterprise managers and trade union organizations for the technical and vocational education of the working people, particularly where a high degree of qualification is required and in new enterprises.

It is important to arouse among working people a desire to learn and to qualify, not to assure a higher work category or higher wages, but in order to gain more knowledge and to be able to carry out one's tasks better. Particular solicitude must be shown to young workers and women, because the standard of their qualification is also relatively lower.

Qualification requires particular attention. There are at times manifestations of subjectivism, liberalism and concessions. In order to eliminate these shortcomings, it would be well to carry out the process of qualification in two stages. After being tested by the qualification commission, the worker should work for a period of time to show in practice whether he meets the requirements of the respective degree of qualification or not. It would also be right to lower the degree of qualification of a worker who fails to justify his degree of qualification, fails to carry out his tasks, produces goods of poor quality, fails to maintain the machinery and so forth.

The schools are a strong and irreplaceable base for qualification and education. The schools and the teachers perform an important task and play a particular role in our society. The Eighth AWP Congress appreciated them highly and set out new tasks to further revolutionize the schools. The qualitative elevation of the work done in our schools has become an absolute necessity today and is a problem pertaining to all. The teachers, students, parents, education organs, mass organizations and our entire society are interested in this.

For the schools to better accomplish their mission in training the young generation with profound technical and scientific knowledge, to cope with work and production problems, and to serve the country's all-round progress, the party demands that the standard of the education and work of teachers be further raised, and teaching methods be radically improved. There can be no talk of a qualitative elevation of the work in our schools without this. The

problem is more acute in the full time schools. Despite all their efforts, the education trade unions do not dwell on these matters deeply enough, they fail to analyze and discuss them. The ideopolitical education of teachers, their qualification, the exchange of advanced experience, the stimulation of pride and competition in schools, the establishment of close links with the family, with enterprises, the struggle against alien manifestations like making concessions, interventions for better grades and so forth--all of these are direct tasks of the trade union organizations. The working people themselves must also better understand the importance of schools and benefit as much as possible from them, because without education it is impossible to progress and to successfully meet the tasks with which we are being confronted.

The Ideopolitical Education of the Workers in the Spirit of Socialism--A Responsible Task of the Trade Unions

Under the party's leadership, a working class imbued with communist ideology and virtues has been formed in our country. The trade unions have considered the all-round education of the workers as their fundamental task, and have linked it closely with life and with the effort and struggle to build socialism at all stages of development. Currently, however, when the Eighth AWP Congress has stipulated new and even greater tasks for the country's socioeconomic development at a fast pace, the trade unions are required to raise their work for the ideopolitical education of the workers to a higher level. "The party," Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the congress, "has entrusted the trade unions with great tasks for the ideopolitical, technical and vocational education of the working class, to make it better able to successfully carry out its tasks not only in the field of production, but in all other fields pertaining to the country's life, to participate actively in the administration of state and social work, and to exercise its control as the class in power everywhere and over everyone."

As a result of its experience, the working class is convinced that socialism alone assures it freedom, independence and well-being. But in conditions where the imperialist and revisionist enemies have directed all their attacks against socialism, the question is raised that these beliefs be further strengthened.

Life and our socialist reality itself, the active participation of the working class in the country's revolutionary transformation, play a great role in the creation of the ideological beliefs of the working people. But this is not enough. As the party teaches us, such beliefs may vacillate in the face of various difficulties encountered in the course of socialist construction or in the face of the great pressure of the capitalist and revisionist world, if they do not rest on a firm theoretical base. Profound and firm ideological beliefs are created by mastering Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. The trade unions have worked and continue to work to imbue and temper their members as staunch fighters for the great cause of socialism and the revolution. Comrade Enver's major works like "Imperialism and the Revolution," "Notes on China," "Yugoslav Self-Management--La Capitalist Theory and Practice," "Eurocommunism Is

Anticommunism," "With Stalin," "The Khrushchevites," "When the Party Was Born," "The Anglo-American Danger to Albania," and others, have served the class and revolutionary education of our working people.

Our entire activity is currently centered on mastering the great ideas of the Eighth AWP Congress so that the working class may increasingly better understand its role as the class in power, that it may profoundly master and implement the party's line, that it may live with the situations and understand the dangers threatening our country as a result of the pressure exerted by the bourgeois-revisionist world, that it may sharpen its vigilance and remain at all times in the frontline of the construction and defense of the victories of socialism. All this has raised the political consciousness and militant spirit of the working class and of the working masses, which we see materialized in the fulfillment of tasks better than ever before.

We have at our disposal an entire system of working class education to raise its ideopolitical standard: schools and courses to train worker activists, books, the press and other propaganda media. The libraries, various cultural and artistic institutions, the amateur movement and so forth--all these serve this purpose. It is our task to improve all of them, make them more lively, more interesting and more attractive. The demands of people today are higher. Our organizations must bear this in mind throughout their activity. Serious thinking must be devoted to the quality of our educational work and to the cultural work with the masses. The forms of education should become more interesting, more people should be encouraged to visit the library, to read books, to make the most of entertainment evenings, to participate in excursions, to meet and talk with writers, scientists, veterans and so forth. From this viewpoint, the amateur artistic movement, too, which includes tens of thousands of workers, must be raised to a higher level and consolidate its ideological substance and artistic standard. The great problems of the times must be placed at the center of attention, and campaign-like attitudes in this field must be eliminated.

The development of physical culture and sports is also an integral part of education. Marches, excursions and games have entered the life of the working class. A profound understanding of the importance of physical culture for the health of the working people, increased production and the strengthening of defense is still lacking, however. The extension of the physical culture and sports movement and its further elevation must draw the attention of our organization even more, activities must take place everywhere and everyone must engage in sports.

It is necessary to closely link our education work with life, to make it more specific and effective. We must relinquish the phraseology and formalism that is observed. We must always bear in mind the internal and external political, economic, ideological and moral factors, as well as the varied demands, levels of consciousness and psychological make-up. The effort to create firm beliefs in socialism is not abstract. This effort is made and achieved on concrete terrain and through varied and agile forms, in a manner that is differentiated in accordance with the requirements of various sectors, categories, age groups, sex and individuals.

The ranks of the working class grow annually. The youth are the future of the working class. We must bear this well in mind throughout our activity. We must not consider this as a problem pertaining to the youth organization alone. We must remain close to the young people, with solicitude and warmth, that they may know the past, that they may be proud of the struggle and sacrifices of the people, and of the working class under the party's leadership, to build the new Albania. It is our duty to work continually to educate the youth in the spirit of the class, to constantly raise their technical and vocational knowledge, to continually raise their readiness to participate enthusiastically and unsparingly in all socioeconomic transformations taking place in the country.

Almost half the working class and half the members of our organization are women and young girls, and they represent the majority of the collective in numerous enterprises. They thus represent a great force in the struggle to fulfill the tasks set out by the party. Women have their own specific problems not only as workers, but also as mothers and educators of the young generation. Many of them have not yet attained the required educational and vocational standards. Our organizations must deal with these problems more concretely, coordinating their work with those of the Albanian Women's Union. Let us work on the basis of the successes achieved and of the new socioeconomic conditions created under the party's leadership, to constantly promote the general and complete emancipation of women in our country.

The education of workers living in the countryside deserves particular attention. They are working in the most important and difficult sectors of the economy, and are distinguished by their modesty, spirit of sacrifice, hardiness in the face of difficulties and so forth. But it is also among this category of workers that most cases of absenteeism, nonfulfillment of norms and shortcomings in the utilization of advanced technologies are observed. Knowing these characteristics and shortcomings, the trade union organizations must carry out a more intelligent effort to implant more deeply a socialist psychology of property and work, and further elevate their class consciousness and vocational abilities.

A more qualified effort must be made for the education of the working people in the service sectors, who are in daily contact with the people and serve them tirelessly. It is necessary to bear in mind that the workers in these sectors are spread out, and that the nature of their work does not have the same positive influence that it has in factories and plants, that they are more exposed to the influences of petty bourgeois psychology and so forth. It is therefore necessary to find varied forms of work, both collective and individual, to make their education more effective in the struggle against cases of preferential treatment, of the private exercise of their trade, neglect of common property and so forth.

Throughout their educational work the trade unions always consider the fact that the capitalist-revisionist world exerts an all-round economic, political, ideological and military pressure on our country, which is closely interwoven also with the activity of the internal enemies. Their intention is to liquidate socialist Albania and its victories, because it confronts them and

unmasks the aggressive plans and actions of the imperialists, social imperialists and world reaction, and because it defends the great cause of the revolution and socialism.

The education of the workers in the spirit of the class struggle to constantly strengthen the unity between the party and people, to sharpen their revolutionary watchfulness and to increase their readiness to defend the people's regime and the victories of the revolution against all enemies, assumes particular importance. In these conditions, it is necessary to give priority to direct work with people, so that they may daily live closely with the internal and external situations, are not static, but develop and change. Every worker must view his tasks as being closely linked with these situations and fulfill these tasks responsibly at the place where he works. Let us strengthen our internal front through our common effort, and make socialist Albania stronger and more invincible.

The attitude toward work and socialist property, which are the two great pillars supporting the development of the economy and every aspect of the country's life, its present and its future, is a reflection of the high degree of consciousness of our people. An entire revolution has taken place in the psychology of work and property, which is reflected in the massive heroism of our people and in their readiness to confront all difficulties and overcome all obstacles.

Numerous and inspiring examples of people working with lofty discipline and consciousness wherever the country needs them, endangering their own lives to protect socialist property, are to be found everywhere. The members of the "Qemal Stafa" brigade faced the waters of the river Drin and saved the drilling equipment and other machinery. The snow and storm did not frighten the sheepherders of the "Vlora" state agricultural enterprise, who saved their herds. The lumberjacks and the cooperativists joined hands in Bulshar, Mirdite District, to save the forest from fire. These lofty attitudes toward work and property must be better used by the trade union organizations to educate their members and to strengthen their consciousness, because daily heroism is needed now more than ever to fulfill tasks, to protect machinery, to save raw and other materials, to produce goods of high quality and so forth.

At the same time, manifestations of petty bourgeois psychology must not be underrated. They are observed in cases of violations of discipline, failure to obey time schedules, particularly in the second and third shifts, the inclination to seek light work, the production of poor quality goods, damage to socialist property and so forth. This happens among those workers who are inclined toward their own self-interest, who see their work primarily as a means of earning money and fail to see that unless one gives first to society, unless the country and the economy are strong, personal incomes and needs cannot be met either. The trade union organizations must delve more deeply and must analyze and study these matters. They must uncover the driving motives and inclinations, and must prevent them by making the working people fully conscious that on the basis of the socialist principle of distribution according to work done they are working for themselves as well

as for society. In our country the general interest is not contrary to personal interest.

The work of the trade unions for the education of the workers must also be intensified in the direction of the struggle against the influences of bourgeois and revisionist influences, which have a tendency to make their appearance where they are underrated, where their danger is forgotten. Greater attention must be paid to preventing unworthy behavior in the family and society, to alien manifestations in the way of life and aesthetic taste, to incorrect attitudes toward women and so forth. The new socialist norms are affirmed in the struggle against vestiges of the past and alien bourgeois-revisionist influences. Debates must seethe in the organization and conclusions must be drawn, the spirit of great actions and ideological movements for the class and revolutionary education of members must be kept alive at all times.

It is a permanent task of the trade union organizations to carry out a qualified effort of clarification and persuasion in order to make people conscious about every problem and all situations. It is important that public opinion be raised to a higher level, and that the great force of the collective be better used in the struggle against justifications, sentimentalism and the spirit of concessions. The effectiveness of this effort is further increased when the workers themselves enjoy such conditions of organization, control and account-rendering that constitute a barrier to alien manifestations. The implementation of labor discipline is imparted to people when such discipline is required also on the part of managers and of the comrade alongside whom one is working. A socialist attitude toward common property is implanted when the rules established for its administration are strictly respected, and when a systematic control is carried out by the state and economic organs. From this viewpoint, it is important to understand that education is everyone's task and all of us must therefore think and work for this question.

The education of the workers in the spirit of socialist patriotism, love for the homeland and for the party is a major task of the trade unions. This is of particular importance in training the masses for the country's defense; and all the more so currently when this is dictated by the exacerbated and complicated situations in the world. Under these conditions we must be constantly vigilant, because socialist Albania is surrounded by numerous and savage enemies who have not given up their intentions to deny our people the victories attained with their blood and sacrifice. That is why in our country, young and old, with the party in the lead, remain always ready and unafraid to meet all situations, no matter how difficult they may be.

Implementing the party's directives that "the defense of the homeland is a duty above all duties," the trade unions have taken care to educate the workers in fulfilling their tasks in the field of military-political training, as well as in the field of production, in being exemplary soldiers as well as good workers. The trade unions must work even better in the future to make certain that the working people study the party's military line profoundly, that they be educated and trained on the basis of the military

art of the people's warfare worked out by the party and by Comrade Enver Hoxha. The question of the country's defense, and of being prepared in case of war, must deeply permeate all activity of our trade unions. It must predominate in the mind, heart and consciousness of every worker, and everything must be done in the service of this great idea, every activity, every thought. The country is defended by ideological education, by military tempering and by strengthening its economy.

The active participation of the working class and all the working masses in the country's administration, as the party teaches us, is an absolute and decisive prerequisite to preserve and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to promote socialist construction. This principle has been consistently implemented in our country. The working class has become the master of the country. It enjoys all democratic rights and freedoms, jobs and education are guaranteed. Workers are elected to the highest party and state forums. They have their strong say in all important political, economic and social questions.

All this is a reflection of our socialist democracy, which is a genuine democracy of the working people. As the Eighth AWP Congress stressed, this is not only a historical achievement of the masses of the people, won in struggle and revolution, but at the same time also a need, an essential prerequisite, an internal law of the development of the socialist society and a great driving force of this society. The further deepening and development of socialist democracy requires a resolute struggle against all bureaucratic manifestations.

The party has made the dangers threatening the people's regime and socialism from bureaucracy clear to all of us. Under its leadership, the working class and all working masses have waged a constant struggle against bureaucracy. The results attained are the best proof of the truth of the party's great teaching that where the class speaks, bureaucracy is silent. But this teaching must be borne constantly in mind because bureaucracy is an evil that will not disappear all at once, and we are therefore confronted with its manifestations in such cases when the voice of the masses is not heard, when problems drag on, when there are demands to increase bureaucratic personnel lists, when cadres lose touch with the masses, when apparatuses are overrated and so forth.

The trade unions have fought against such manifestations, but their work has not always been as effective and constant as it should have been. It is even possible that the trade unions themselves fail to escape bureaucratic manifestations and the pressure of administrations. In a number of organizations the links with the masses are weak. There is a spirit of reconciliation with weaknesses, and the voice of the masses is not heard properly. It is important that everyone should understand correctly that struggling against bureaucratic distortions, weaknesses and individual mistakes, the trade unions are struggling to defend their state and to constantly strengthen it.

An effective instrument to struggle against bureaucracy and other manifestations of liberalism and technocracy is the direct control exercised by the

working class and the other working masses under the party's leadership. The working class as a class in power exercises its own control everywhere and over everything in order to implement and defend the party's line, to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to successfully accomplish tasks in all fields of socialist construction. The trade unions have the duty to help this control be continually implemented and to be as effective as possible. In order for this process to be further developed, it is necessary for the trade union organizations to have a more extensive concept of this control, and not to simplify it in only one of its forms; that is, in the worker and peasant control groups. For this aim, we should use debates in the organization's meetings, discussions, criticism, the press and various other forms. Mass control should be especially exercised to protect common property, over administrative activity, and also in the field of services to the people and fulfilling their needs.

The struggle against bureaucracy is better carried out where serious work is done, so that the worker fully knows and implements the state laws. The party teaches us that every worker should know our major laws not simply to protect his own interests, but first to defend the interests of the state and enterprise. It is our organizations' task to explain to workers, firstly, the political, economic and ideological side of the laws, and afterward to educate them to implement these laws. Special care should be taken with laws which are related to accomplishing tasks according to regulations, to protecting and properly administering common socialist property, to strengthening work regulations and discipline, and others.

An important aspect of the struggle against bureaucracy is to establish correct relations between the masses and cadres. Under the party's continual care, thousands of revolutionary cadres have been raised who are closely tied to the masses and who struggle side by side with them to realize their tasks. Everywhere we can find high examples of an active cadre-mass cooperation and the integration of the intellectual capacities of specialists and cadres with the masses' struggle and experience. Live evidence of this are the design and construction of the hydropower complex over the Drin River, the opening of new mines, high productivity in agriculture and the precipitous flourishing of our art and culture.

The main way to strengthen cadre-mass relations is their continual education in the class spirit, having them systematically give accounts before it for major problems and not only for the sake of formality. This creates the need for our organizations to work to perfect these relations, struggling against cases of arrogance and pretentiousness which are alien to our society. Confining work to narrow circles, and failing to inform workers so that they do not participate in discussions and problem solving, do not comply with the masses' line. Everyday life shows us that a lively political life is created when problems are discussed with workers; in this way the masses' inspiration is furthered, the most effective possibilities and solutions are always found, aspects hindering work are better under control, and all tasks are successfully fulfilled.

The trade union organizations, continually living with these problems, should become platforms for the masses' ideas, should further raise their role so that they speak out strongly about everything, should open the way to innovation, heated debates, self-criticism and criticism of weaknesses. Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized at the Eighth AWP Congress: "The aim is that the process of socialist construction will never be changed into a bureaucratic-administrative process, but that it will always be a lively and creative work of the broad working masses led by the party."

Let Us Further Revive the Organizations' Activity and Perfect Work Method and Style

Since their eighth congress and up to today, the Albanian trade unions have grown and strengthened. Among their ranks are 610,000 members. Led by the party, they have carried out a wide and comprehensive activity to educate and mobilize the working class and other workers.

The trade unions have been guided by the party directives and Comrade Enver's teachings in their entire life and activity.

Ensuring the party's leadership remains, also in the future, the only source of inspiration and correct orientation for the trade unions. The directing organs and base organizations must pay special attention to this principled question in order to successfully accomplish tasks set by the party in its eighth congress.

We have always rejected in principle and in practice the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists' anti-Marxist "theories" about the supposed independence of trade unions from political parties. In his own time Lenin emphasized that such theories are either a hypocritical counterrevolutionary mask or a complete manifestation of the lack of awareness. There is and can be no apoliticism in the trade union movement. The living daily reality shows that trade unions both in the capitalist and revisionist countries have placed themselves altogether in the service of the bourgeoisie, and implement the policies of its parties to split the proletariat and undermine its struggle. Not only do we not deny, but on the contrary, we emphasize the sociopolitical character of the trade unions and the necessity for them to be led by the party.

The great tasks emanating from the country's socialist construction require that the trade unions' influence, weight and role as important party levers be further increased. For this, it is of foremost importance that the party directives lead the masses well and mobilize them to implement these directives. To minimize the defects and weaknesses noticed, such as superficiality or one-sidedness, it is necessary to carry out more intensive work which takes into consideration problems preoccupying the district, enterprise, sector or brigade, and the concrete conditions under which the trade union organizations work, thus determining measures and ways to fulfill tasks. This is achieved through more direct communication with workers, miners, metallurgists, tractor drivers, construction workers, teachers and others. Bringing the people's voice, ideas and rich experience into the

party has always been and remains a permanent task of the trade unions. They must not allow cases where things are deemphasized, hidden or confined to narrow circles because these damage the ties between the party and masses, and seriously hinder the solution of problems.

Improvements have been made recently in the trade unions' work method. Their activity has been concentrated in the economy's main sectors and branches. Studies have helped them to better know the situation and to carry out more differentiated work with people. Their work has come closer to the masses. A greater drive and development has been given to initiatives, actions and discussions which discover weaknesses and encourage criticism and self-criticism in the organizations. Further steps have also been taken toward cooperation with other mass organizations and the state and economic organs. Yet, the Central Council and its Presidium should pay more attention to studies and general work to raise the organization's activity to a standard meeting present demands.

To realize the great objectives set by the Eighth AWP Congress, it is necessary to further improve work methods. It is our organizations' task to carry out lively work in various forms to better deal with major problems in their political, economic and social aspects, and to minimize those practices which restrict our work. The organization's meetings should be better evaluated. They should always be carefully prepared so that they will analyze problems preoccupying enterprises and workers, carry out lively discussions, give and demand accounts, disseminate experience and bring forward the merits of each member. But this does not mean that the organization's activity should be limited to meetings alone. Organizational norms should be respected and implemented, but not made inflexible, otherwise formality will take the place of creative and lively work, which in many cases has weakened the organization's strength.

In relation to this we should always take into consideration Comrade Enver's teaching which states that the existence alone of the unit, sector, enterprise and others results in the most varied work forms and means for the activity of every trade union organization. Many workers were continually criticized for not fulfilling norms in some agricultural enterprises, but the results were slight. When the organizations trusted the best activists and vanguard workers with overcoming this situation, they effectively worked with those that were backward, and discussed, analyzed and solved their problems so that most of them became distinguished workers. Thus the organization should not only demand accounts, but should have a deep knowledge of the people and concretely help them. In this way, it will become a beloved hearth for them, where people with an aim meet, where workers' ideas are discussed and free debates are carried out, where various activities are organized and help in compliance with the people's demands and wishes and the problems that preoccupy them. The trade unions' work is, first of all, work with the masses. They have a broad aktiv which helps to achieve this aim. Its elections and preparation continually assumes greater importance. The activists should be the best workers. Their work should speak for itself. They should enjoy the respect and love of their comrades and their words should carry weight. This is an important factor in raising the organization's activity and intensifying its social character.

Further strengthening cooperation with the other mass organizations will play a major role in implementing our tasks. Every organization has its own specific work but they are all united by the single aim to implement the party line and directives. Each mass organization finds its own tasks set out in the decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress, and all of them work together to put into practice the magnificent objectives. For every problem that arises, the organizations work with their members and all of them together raise the masses' revolutionary opinion and take action. This cooperation should be achieved in all spheres at the center and in the districts, but especially at the base.

At the same time, it is important also to strengthen cooperation with the state and economic organs because the trade unions have great tasks in the field of production. The trade union organizations powerfully support the solution of problems laid out by the state organs, which is the basis of their tasks in ideopolitical activity with workers. Despite the continuous improvements that have been made, this cooperation is not at the presently demanded level. This arises from some organizations' weaknesses in which they do not always work to get the workers involved in the enterprise's preoccupations, and likewise some administrations have weaknesses in that they undervalue the trade union organizations' force.

The working man is at the center of the trade unions' attention. Under party leadership, the achievements in fulfilling the workers' material and cultural needs are great. The masses' well-being is continually being raised. Work is ensured for everyone. Education and health are free. There are no taxes. Social security has been developed and extended even into the countryside. Maternity leave has been extended to almost 6 months. Thousands and thousands of apartments have been built for workers, and rent is the equivalent of 1-2 days' pay. Workers enjoy their holidays in rest homes and tourist centers.

Working to implement the party policy also in the social sector, the trade unions have been concerned with utilizing all possibilities that our socialist order has created to raise the masses' well-being. Care for the person, to increasingly better fulfill his needs with regular, organized and cultured services and supplies of high quality in the required time, has always been a permanent preoccupation of our party and socialist state. It is the trade union organizations' task to make the workers in services and food and light industry aware that they should work with more imagination and creativity to serve the people best and to give them more beautiful and cheaper products according to our socialist tastes.

In future, the trade union organizations should increase their efforts to precisely implement the state laws which protect the workers' rights, and they must not accept any breaking of these laws by anyone. They must work better to implement anticipated tasks in the legal provisions and the plan to further improve the work environment, to strengthen protection at work, to strengthen technical security and to educate workers with the spirit of respect for set regulations.

For this, at the beginning of each year, in compliance with the requirements of the labor code and the state's plan, agreements will be made between the enterprise's administration and the trade union committee in which the administration's tasks will be determined to raise the workers' technical-professional level, to improve cultural and artistic work, to physically and militarily cultivate them, and to improve protection at work, technical security and other things. To implement this, accounts will be given now and again by the enterprise's administration to the trade union organization.

Likewise, problems such as continual inefficiency at work, invalidity and the workers' physical and professional rehabilitation should be better pursued by the trade union organizations. Another set measure in this regard determines that the solution of misunderstandings between workers and state social security organs will not only be dealt with administratively, but also by the trade unions, as is done with all other misunderstandings outlined in the labor code.

Raising the quality of the trade unions' work dictates the need to make further improvements in their structure. The aim is that they become closer to the workers according to professions or economic branches, know more deeply the party's set tasks and arising problems, conduct more concrete and differentiated work with people to educate and mobilize them, and bring the masses' voice to the party even more than at present.

For this aim we propose that the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions, which this congress will elect, should create four central councils of the trade unions according to the main economic branches. These are: the industry and mining workers; agricultural workers; construction, communications and communal services workers; and education, culture, health and trade workers.

The creation of trade unions according to economic departments is not simply an organizational change, but will also bring about improvements in content, will create a fuller conception of the trade unions' role as the party's important lever, and a wider conception of their social character. This will bring about further improvements in work methods at the center and base. The activity of the central councils will be conducted under the direction of the General Council, thus not splitting the unity of the trade unions' work. Likewise this will also be done in the districts, where the Council of Trade Unions will also create local councils according to economic branches.

These improvements in the trade unions structure will also be reflected in the changes to the statute which the congress will approve.

The Activity of the Albanian Trade Unions Is Imbued With the Spirit of Proletarian Internationalism

The working class and the Albanian trade unions powerfully support the AWP's and our state's principled foreign policy. The high revolutionary and internationalist spirit which characterizes this policy, the principled

consistency in its implementation, serve socialist construction and the homeland's defense as well as the cause of the revolution, people's liberation and peace in the world.

The development of events in the international arena verifies the correctness of the deep Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present situation made at the Eighth AWP Congress. The deep economic, political and social crisis engulfing the capitalist-revisionist world daily worsens the situation and increases the danger of war.

All the consequences of this crisis weigh upon the working class and working masses: inflation, tax increases, unrestricted price increases, reduction of real wages, reduction of living standards which are accompanied by new bourgeois laws and measures to annul the rights won by the working class after many years of struggle, and to counteract the masses' revolt. The bourgeoisie limits trade union democratic rights and freedoms, limits the right to strike, freezes wages, and seeks new forms and methods to intensify exploitation, even up to a fascist life for the country. The especially widespread unemployment has now become a chronic wound. The United States now has over 10 million unemployed and the EEC countries have 11 million unemployed--figures never reached until now. The same situation exists in the Soviet Union, China, Yugoslavia and in the other capitalist and revisionist countries. The consequences of the crisis fall especially upon the workers of undeveloped countries, where the intervention of the foreign bourgeoisie and multinational companies make capitalist exploitation even more savage.

In order to increase its profits, the bourgeoisie exploits, at the expense of the workers, even the achievements of the technical-scientific revolution, the technicalization and automation of production, which not only intensify work in a merciless way, but also raise the scale of exploitation and throw great working masses into the streets.

But the working class has not accepted and will not accept this situation of exploitation and oppression. Life illustrates its continually increasing political and class awareness. Strikes, actions, demonstrations and other forms of protest are a living reality of the present times in the whole bourgeois-revisionist world. They have now become more massive, clearer in their economic and political demands, and are characterized by a stronger solidarity not only of the working class but of the other oppressed strata.

The working class, as the most revolutionary class, stands in the vanguard not only of the struggle for social liberation to realize its legitimate aspirations, but also of the anti-imperialist liberation movement. At the same time, it is the most active force in the struggle for peace and the prevention of war, against the warmongering policies of the superpowers and other imperialist powers.

The proletarian class struggle unmasks the antiworker and strike-betraying activity and stands of the reformist and revisionist trade unions. These trade unions have today become extremely zealous disseminators of social

demagogy, class cooperation and also other illusions and speculations of bourgeois-revisionist ideology. The many reformist trade union centers in capitalist countries, despite their labels and names, are manipulated by the bourgeoisie and always find a common language when it is a matter of counteracting the proletariat's revolutionary struggle.

With the deepening crisis in capitalist countries, the diversionist role of the worker aristocracy and bureaucratic trade unions, which as a social base of reformism and revisionism have been changed into administrators of the bourgeoisie, is being continually unmasked. This bureaucratic strata has become one of the major hindrances to the development of the class struggle; thus its unmasking and isolation liberates workers from many reformist illusions and helps to raise class awareness and revolutionary action.

The reestablishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries has changed their trade unions into bureaucratic organisms and tools serving the capitalist-revisionist state. Very large disproportions in the ratios between workers' remuneration on the one hand, and that of bureaucrats and technocrats on the other hand, show that a deep differentiation exists in the present bourgeois society of the Soviet Union, and a great gap divides the working class from the new bourgeois strata in power. The last congress of the revisionist Soviet trade unions revealed their complete degeneration, and willingly or unwillingly was obliged to admit the great detachment of the revisionist trade unions from the working class.

The events in Poland are also undeniable evidence of the corruption of the revisionist system. The revisionist course which began at the 20th congress of the revisionist Soviet party, the savage exploitation and oppression of the working class, the Soviet neocolonialist dictates and exploitation and the opening of doors to Western capital resulted in the explosion of the class conflict between workers and the revisionist regime in power. The Polish working class became aware that it is now in the position of an exploited and oppressed class, and thus rose in revolt. But it lacks a leading political force and its revolt was exploited by the Catholic Church and reaction. The outcome of this activity is the so-called independent trade union "Solidarity" which supports capitalist relations, the further political and economic penetration of Western imperialism, and aims to replace Moscow's domination with the yoke of Western imperialism. This is the real reason why it is supported in every way by the governments of imperialist countries, the Vatican, the bosses of American reactionary trade unions like AFL-CIO and others. In this clash of interests of the superpowers and world reaction, it is the interests of the working class and other workers that are trampled and denied.

The continually increasing political class awareness of the proletariat necessitates its organization, cooperation and unity. But unity cannot be achieved through "unitarianism" which is demagogically advertised by the revisionist trade union leaders, especially the Soviets and the World Trade Union Federation which is manipulated by them, nor can it be achieved through reformist and revisionist theories about trade union pluralism which is propagated as the epitome of democracy. True unity can only be

achieved on the basis of proletarian scientific ideology, through the process of the class struggle to fulfill the proletariat's economic and political demands.

The achievement of a healthy class proletarian unity is hindered by the influence and control exerted by the revisionists and reformists upon a large part of the trade union movement. Thus the new revolutionary trade union forces, in attempting to unite the working class, actively work in the heart of existing trade unions where large masses of the proletariat are organized, with the aim of raising the workers' revolutionary activity to defend their vital interests, to detach them from the influence and domination of reformist and revisionist leaders, agents of the bourgeoisie, and to change the trade union organizations into instruments of class struggle against the exploiting order. New revolutionary trade unions are also created where conditions and possibilities permit.

The unity, resistance and revolutionary vigilance of the working class and peoples grow and strengthen in the struggle against the aggressive, hegemonistic and expansionist policies, the exploitation and oppression pursued by American imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and the other imperialist powers. Serving this policy are also the international trade union centers such as the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the European Confederation of Trade Unions and others, which as tools of imperialism and social imperialism, attempt to numb the revolutionary drive of the working class, to spread pacifist illusions and the spirit of class cooperation. The revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle of the working class and people, which is in a position to stop the bloody hand of the imperialist superpowers, is powerfully raised against this warmongering policy and the demagogy spread by modern revisionists.

The working class, working masses and trade unions of our country, educated by the party in the spirit and principles of proletarian internationalism, closely follow the development of events in the world and express their complete solidarity with the revolutionary and liberation struggle of the proletariat and peoples against exploitation and oppression, imperialism and social imperialism to defend their rights to freedom, independence, democracy and social progress.

The workers of our country have warmly greeted the victory of the Iranian people, who with their armed uprising overthrew the shah's barbaric regime and expelled American imperialism; the victory of the people of Zimbabwe, and the overthrow of the pro-American dictatorship in Nicaragua. They resolutely support the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian peoples for the liberation of their territories occupied by the Israeli aggressors and the reestablishment of the Palestinian people's legal rights; the Afghan people's struggle against the Soviet occupiers; the Azanian and Namibian people's struggle against the racist yoke; the spread of the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador and the struggle of all the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America against imperialism, neocolonialism and racism, for national and social liberation and general emancipation.

The Albanian trade unions have increased and further strengthened relations of cooperation, maintaining friendly ties with progressive and revolutionary trade union forces and organizations in many countries. Their evaluations and active support have always been an inspiration to our working class and people in the construction and defense of socialism.

The working class and Albanian trade unions support the party's principled stand for the resolute defense of the rights of our brothers who live on their territories in Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro. Now world public opinion has become acquainted with the Kosovo problem and the just demands of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav leadership, especially the Serbian one, continues to brutally attack the national education and culture of the Albanian population, to offend and trample its best traditions and customs. Albanian workers are discriminated against, fired from work and forced to emigrate.

The blame for this situation lies with the Yugoslav leadership, which has not found the necessary wisdom and coolness to look at situations realistically and to seek just solutions to the problems compatible with the interests of the people of Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

The fact is that the Yugoslav leadership has not stopped to thoroughly consider with cool-headedness and political maturity the AWP's stand toward Yugoslavia in general and events in Kosovo in particular, clearly expressed by Comrade Enver Hoxha in his report to the Eighth AWP Congress.

Socialist Albania, from its foundation and up to today, has always been for peace and security in the Balkans, for freedom and true independence of all its neighbors, including Yugoslavia.

Comrades, the road which we have traversed under the party's guidance, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, is filled with magnificent achievements. Our victories show that there is no task which cannot be realized, no difficulty which cannot be overcome and no bastion which cannot be conquered by the new man in socialist Albania.

The program approved and the historic decisions taken by the Eighth AWP Congress open brilliant prospects to always march forward. With the party at the head, with Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings in our minds and hearts, let us work, comrades, with multiple energies to fulfill the production plans in industry and agriculture, to fulfill tasks in education and culture and to strengthen the defense of our socialist homeland.

Let us resolutely advance with revolutionary spirit to where the party leads us. Let us implement its suggestions, raise our vigilance to make the dictatorship of the proletariat unbreakable, to raise the working class' leading role, and to make our beloved Albania more beautiful, prosperous and strong.

Let us throw ourselves into new battles, where our party calls us, where the homeland needs us, with our forces, our creative ideas and our sacrificing spirit!

Long live our glorious party, its Central Committee led by Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live our heroic working class!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

CSO: 2100/66

UNSATISFACTORY STATE OF MEDICAL SERVICES, CORRUPTION, BUREAUCRACY EXPOSED

Described from Patient's Standpoint

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 21 May 82 pp 2, 7

[Article by Nasko Mandadzhiev, outstanding employee of Ministry of Public Health: "Medicine Untaken. I. Requirements of the People--Master and Patient"]

> [Text] In its new series, "Culture and Society," the newspaper NARODNA KULTURA will consider some of the most timely problems in various spheres of our social life.
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> In this issue we offer you two opinions on our public health problems. Today we discuss the prestige of the medical profession, the conditions under which it is achieved, the price of medical care, and all the barriers, great and small, that hobble the rate of optimum socialist public health care. The two opinions which we offer you, however, are only two of many permissible ones on the basic problem: society's capabilities for safeguarding the health of the individual.
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> Mass prophylaxis, which has been started but which lags behind, must be improved and experimentation with the specific economic mechanism must continue.

It is heartening that recently the "curtain" has been lifted from medical problems for the public. And it is possible that these may be transformed from a narrowly departmental subject into a national one as the principles of socialist democracy command. In the spirit of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress Comrade Todor Zhivkov raised these questions with special incisiveness in his remarkable speech to the October conference in 1981. Conversation was conducted that was devoid of formalism and window-dressing. . .

Without formalism, indeed, because if formalism can be tolerated in other areas, in medicine it is fatal. Because complaints voiced "tête-à-tête," because items of information from here and there about fatal medical mistakes, reports of wire-pulling among medical personnel and resulting letters of protest to the ministry, or else

some retort about the poor standards of polyclinical service do no good. None of this can take the place of an honest and constructive attitude towards our own public health service.

We are satisfied that these matters are clear to the medical authorities. Minister and Academician Radoy Popivanov said the following to the whole staff of the Ministry of Public Health (8 January 1981): "Wider and fuller participation of the public in the implementation of the party's public health policy, in the search for solutions to health care problems must be assured. . ." This is the right attitude towards the question even though criticizing boldly and frankly is not a very pronounced trait of ours.

Accumulation: Facts with a Question Mark

A tendency towards extensiveness, towards purely quantitative development, has made its way not only in the economic sectors, but also in medicine. Up to a certain time this was a necessary process--enough hospitals had to be built, necessary equipment had to be purchased, the necessary number of cadres had to be trained. In 1965 we had 14,000 physicians and 20,000 nurses, while today there are 23,000 and 46,000. Today there are about 400 citizens per physician and we rank sixth in the work in respect of this indicator, but 15 years ago there were 600. During this comparison period hospital and sanatorium beds increased from 70,000 to nearly 100,000, which means that before there were 85 per 10,000 persons, but now there are 120.

However the quantitative growth was not synchronized with qualitative growth. Our medical organization was not to blame for this since as a rule in dialectics, qualitative changes do not come until after quantitative accumulations. In other words, we could not expect great progress with 14,000 physicians and 70,000 beds. But may we not expect it today with almost twice the above two figures? And why are the service and the results deteriorating instead of improving?

For there are other, not at all pretty figures about the people's state of health:

--In 1965-1979 the death rate in the 40- to 50-year age group (the most active and highly skilled group) increased from 2.9 to 3.6 per 1000;

--In the same period the cases of illness in the country increased in number from 7 to 12 million;

--In respect of growth in the birth rate Bulgaria ranks 142nd in the world, but in respect of decrease in infant mortality it ranks 37th. Reaching its lowest level in 1979, this indicator has not declined in subsequent years. For example, 4700 persons, including 1050 infants, died of pneumonia in 1979.

The Gabrovo Model: Pro or Con

Unfortunately there has been no mention in recent years in Ministry of Public Health documents or conferences of the so-called "Gabrovo model of exemplary public health care." It started out well, but why did everything fade away? Perhaps the silence

in this matter is due to the resulting ill successes, or to the failure because of the scale of the undertaking, or else to the rejection of the model as erroneous methodology of previous management personnel. We do not take it upon ourselves to discover which of these reasons is the truth. Let us recall only what a stir the famous first Gabrovo polyclinic made at the time (1972-1974). At last a start was made on the campaigns for which we had waited for so many years: mass detection of persons with heightened risks of falling ill, with signs of early elimination, systematic prophylaxis, and card-indexing of every citizen (so-called screening). The more specialized mass methodologies (automated systems of immunization control and water and food inspection) and the centralized ones (brigade cleanup of hospitals, supply of sterile materials, laundering of linen, telephone orders for scarce medicines, admission of patients by an hourly chart, adoption of standardized medical forms) are all things that only unified socialist public health services can achieve.

Unfortunately, all these campaigns are still in their infancy nearly 10 years after their inception and announcement. And some of them remain only on paper. Why is this so?

Who knows why "full dispensary system" to this day strikes fear in all medical management personnel? Perhaps the fear comes from the great amount of work that has to be done. Interestingly, there is timorous talk again about this problem, even at the recent (constructive and very critically minded) public health forum--the national conference of personnel active in the country's public health service.

That it is not easy is a fact. But it is also a fact that we must not continue one day longer in the present style. For today you can be examined . . . everywhere and by everybody. You can be a patient in any hospital you want. Nobody asks you any more for your outpatient files. Nobody asks you what city you live in. And the last "spontaneous prophylactic examiners" have seen the pointlessness of making entries in files and if they do, they do it in perfunctory and bored fashion. All this is happening at a time when automated, computer-assisted dispensary treatment and prophylaxis predominate throughout the world. . .

All is not lost, however, we hope. The program documents envisage that 80 percent of the population will be covered by the dispensary system in 1985. So there is still time. And we should be prepared to shout "Hurrah" if we achieve at least 50 percent.

When we give up large-scale campaigns, it is logical to give up staff for these purposes, too. This simple thought almost entirely compromised the activity of the (initially) promising Institute of Social Hygiene and Public Health Organization and Administration. This link briefly ranked first on the score sheet of our well-known "institute reorganizations" which, in the event, gave rise to stagnation instead of leading to success. Finally, after a decade of existence the closing down of the institute ensued in 1981.

Perhaps we were too early with the establishment of such a link. Ten years ago we had no basis for modern organization. And now that we are ready for a determined policy towards an intensive health-care system, we should have been opening the institute rather than closing it.

Public Health Service and the Economic Mechanism

The institute would indeed be exceptionally useful today when we are engaged in perhaps the most difficult task from 1944 to date--that of introducing the economic mechanism into the public health service. We are setting about the dismantling of a nearly 300-year-old stereotype--the stereotype of "budgetary public health service." There is no similar attempt in the other socialist countries at present.

We do not have a full complement of economists in public health (every public health institution will now have to have a planning and accounting unit or a specialist). We are starting out without having brought the population under the dispensary system and without having set up the absolutely obligatory information and production control system. Without having yet finished one new undertaking, we are adding another new one to it. But as the minister of public health put it at a conference to take stock of the experiment (5 February, Stara Zagora), "The die is cast, there is no turning back."

It is known that Plovdiv and Stara Zagora okrugs have been experimenting with the mechanism for 6 months with the reservation that not everything in the methodology has been specified. Such a setup might be somewhat risky for the point at issue is not better or worse economic results, but the health and lives of two okrugs. The health care institutions there have not received all the basic (even if incomplete) prescriptive documents. There are still no clear criteria for drawing up indicators.

In brief, the economic mechanism provides that public health services should be financed not only by the state budget, but also from their own sources and from revenues ceded by the state budget. Their own sources are the following: indirect health activities--cosmetic services, elective abortions, issuance of medical certificates etc.; medical services to enterprises which realize revenues from them--insurance, medical aid at sports and cultural events and to tourists; examinations and treatment at specialized institutions of citizens' personal choice; treatment at sanatoriums and health resorts etc. Other types of care will be paid for, too: on-the-job accidents, food poisonings, transportation accidents, and wounds and injuries for which the enterprises or individuals are at fault. The state will no longer, like a good mother, provide free treatment for alcoholics, ruffians, and those at fault for accidents.

We should mention some results taken from the okrug dental polyclinic in Stara Zagora. Eighteen contracts have been concluded with enterprises, with monthly receipts of about 5000 leva. Indirect economic efficiency has been achieved equal to a reduction of 6000 patient visits. At the end of the past year the polyclinic had collected a residual Wage Fund of 45,000 leva. An average salary of 265 leva per dentist was provided.

And here are the counterresults. In order to lower the "temporary disability ratio" (one of the economic criteria), fewer hospital days are granted, i.e., inadequately treated people are sent back to work. In order to guarantee "hospital bed occupancy" (another economic criterion), on the other hand, patients' stay is unwarrantably prolonged or their discharge from the hospital takes place on paper several days after their departure. In order to increase the bed inventory, rooms are

crammed with beds to the utmost. These are only some of the doings in "pursuit of the numbers." They still haven't all shown up. . .

It is known that, of all socialist economic activities, services are the most difficult to organize. There is a basic antagonism operating in them between the social character of the work and the private mode of payment. As a type of service (possibly the highest and most skilled at that), medicine is caught in the repercussions of this conflict, too. Moreover, in its case there is an open opportunity (as in other services) of altering the bookkeeping. Just as in the repair of faucets, the refrigerator or television set, here too the tendency will show up to overcharge (for manipulations) or to economize (on materials). Instead of only palpation of the stomach, an X-ray, massage, enema, injection and pills are recorded. Instead of 12 injections, 19 will be made. Instead of 100 stoves, 95 will be lit in the hospital. Instead of pneumonia, acute bronchitis will be entered in the file. If it is advantageous to increase the examinations, there is nothing to hinder. And if it is disadvantageous, that is easy, too.

The socialist public health system must by no means repeat the shortcomings of the capitalist system although ostensibly it borrows some methods from it. Never will it be permissible to extort the patient's last resources for newer and fictitious treatments. Never will the patient be reduced to the position of a "druggee"--"patched up" with strong medicines, having to maintain an artificial health regimen, and staving off, by all means, an expensive operation that will bankrupt the entire family's finances. But since these dangers run parallel with economic interest, they must be ruled out--intelligently and inviolably.

Happily there are indicators which contrast with the aberrations in economic results. If there is a rise in infant and general mortality, morbidity and the disability rate, everything else will decline. And no bonuses will be paid, but precisely the opposite. But here again the danger of temporary "patchwork" on patients comes into play: in these cases the adverse effects may appear years later when the physician-"economist" is already on pension. That is why we mentioned above that unless a general dispensary system and a constant watch on the people's state of health are established, the economic mechanism will be compromised.

In our opinion, the new system affords an opportunity of considering a few more things: the method of negotiating with enterprises should become the general--instead of an isolated--case. Every service for the patient (and his children) should be billed to his enterprise. This has been found the most modern way throughout the world at present.

Nonetheless, lest "too much play" result, the patient should be compelled to make a minimum payment per visit to the physician or per house call of the physician or ambulance. Then the importunate chronic patients who hang around the polyclinics for entire days will at once cut down their superfluous visits, and unjustified requests for house calls will at once become justified. No more is required here than to put the stotinkas and leva into play. . . Such proposals are all consonant with the new and exceptionally wise precept: entire structures must not be financed by the state, but only specified activities of these structures.

Some organizational forms, unfamiliar to us, are connected with the new mechanism: free choice of physician, creation of special teams to care for seriously ill patients, bringing of one's personal linen to the hospital, introduction of restaurant food service etc. But let us leave these otherwise splendid ideas and dwell on the question of what will happen to the payment, gifts, tips and favors which we now give to the physician, nurse and orderly. Will these continue as concomitants of the new mechanism, or will they lapse?

Gratitude to the Physician--How Much is it Worth?

At the Ministry of Public Health staff meeting (8 January 1981) it was stated, to say the least, that "nearly 25 percent of the refusals at pharmacies in the capital are for subjective reasons; individual signs of corruption on the part of orderlies and certain other health care workers have not been eliminated." And at the national conference with personnel active in health care: ". . . Cases of gross violation of the elementary standards of conduct, of callousness, lack of sympathy, impatient listening to patients, superficial examinations, careless explanations of patient's condition, tactless remarks and even refusal to perform professional duty."

And here are some specific remarks to illustrate the above--we cite the monologue of a physician in attendance in a hospital room: "Are you a friend of Dr. S.? He has no ability, but we'll see about you"; "Be quiet and stop your whining. There's nothing the matter with you, I've told you a thousand times"; "Did you come from Pomorie where they have the beautiful fish? I'll see you now. . ." Physician (to interpreter for the patient, a foreigner): "He won't give up 'Kents,' this friend won't. Ask him why he doesn't have 'Metaxas.'" Retort of female attendant in maternity home: "I'll let you up, but do you have any candy?" "Give me a lev and I'll run over in a jiffy and tell her"; "If you pay, there'll be a bedpan; if you don't, there's the sheet"; "I'll bring you milk, but won't you do something to return the favor?" "I understand you're a knitter. I won't ask you for 20 leva, but will you knit me a sweater?"

But these are petty "thank offerings." Here are larger ones: a certain patient waits 5 months for a bed while another enters the next day. One is seen to by the entire medical staff while nobody looks in on his neighbors. In one place the lev, elsewhere cartons with whisky, hundred-leva notes, high favors to barter with. In one place, noble, solicitous, impartial care; in another, . . .

Under the system corruption is by now corroding even the medical workers most immunized against it: "Everybody is doing it. Shall I be a simpleton?" By now the conviction is spreading that if you don't pay, you won't get quality care. In point of fact, about 50 percent of the care today is paid for. Is this not an organized attempt to bring back private medical practice? Is this not a protest against the medical man's relatively lower pay? Against the fact that there is not enough departmental housing for physicians, not enough holiday homes, modern equipment and instruments?

Medical personnel have always had the feeling that they are the specialists most necessary for life. From the viewpoint of all mankind, however, they have rights equal to all other specialists. This is the socialist way of reasoning. But it is also socialist reasoning that a section physician should get as much as the chief

engineer of an enterprise rather than as much as an ordinary engineer. He has approximately 2000 persons on his back (and conscience). Under these conditions, is the engineer's mental clash with an unfulfilled plan the same as the physician's with a high-percentage death rate?

Under the new economic mechanism perhaps the physician will receive the remuneration due his worth. Let us hope that everything will be specified as it should be in this area. As for private practice, it has some very beneficial advantages if it is to be brought back, just as free choice of physician has some very objectionable shortcomings if it is to be eliminated. Perhaps the truth lies somewhere in the middle. Perhaps it is more beneficial for the physician to have a private practice with the right to bill (as a health care institution does) for his service directly to the enterprise. Free choice of physician is becoming more and more discredited. Antagonism is created between physicians. More and more frequently one encounters the refusal of ordinary physicians to treat a patient under, or send a patient to, "the great specialist". . .

Other new ideas are encountered: ward maids to be paid personally and directly by patients (this is done now in almost all cases). Some nurses should be paid this way too. The right to an official gratuity, expressed in money in cases when the patient is very satisfied with the person treating him, should be introduced.

For the present these are only ideas. In many of them there is something controversial, but at the same time there are some rational things. The future will tell which of them will become established.

One thing is clear, however. We all understand that we must not continue with medicine in this way.

Described from Physician's Standpoint

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 21 May 82 pp 2, 7

[Article by Emi Barukh: "To Have and To Have Not. II. What Physicians Want and What They Offer. The Difficulties of the Physician's Working Day"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Everybody who lived under socialism has the feeling that he possesses his health free of charge just as he possesses his life as a gift. . . But the medical statistics are of a different opinion. Thus in 1980 in our country 57.2 million visits were paid to doctors' offices at outpatient polyclinical establishments, i.e., everyone of the 8,876,600 inhabitants of Bulgaria visited a physician 6.5 times.

. . . So everybody needs a physician—if only to maintain the dynamic equilibrium of a century characterized in respect of its diseases by allergies, road and transportation accidents, and cardiovascular pathology. . .

Medical service in our country is both free and expensive--it has at its disposal buildings, equipment and appliances worth more than 1,100,000,000 leva.

But complacent because of these thousands and millions, we forget, as it were, the little things that make us pay dearly.

For years in a row intradepartmental reports have pointed out a fact that is usually skipped over as unimportant in the overall program for raising the health service standard. /Cleaning up and current disinfection/ in hospitals are performed manually and with primitive appliances. (Throughout the world there are washing machines--extremely necessary for every hospital--which could be produced without any particular difficulties by various branches of our industry.) But this important fact continues to dangle as nobody's concern and to do its damage. During the period 1976-1980 alone hospitals registered 187 epidemic outbursts with 2018 cases and 176 deaths! Analysis has shown that "the bulk of in-hospital infections are due to hygienic failures and to serious infractions of sanitary conditions." Should not such a statistic have compelled us to come to the conclusion that there are no trifles in medicine?

Another statistic which is not recorded in a single yearbook has an even more preposterous ring: instances when surgical intervention could not proceed in the operating room because . . . /there was no laundered linen/. And sheets had to be dried in the physicians' room of the intensive-care ward.

A month ago the second surgical ward of the First Workers Hospital had to summon a team urgently during the night for an operation on a seriously ill female patient. The surgeon on duty had given his instructions and with touching concern was keeping an eye on the patient's condition while waiting for the team to assemble. Half an hour passed; more than an hour passed. The surgical nurse and the anesthetist did not arrive. (Can the taxi drivers in the capital city of sleeping millions know in what part of it the persons most needed at two o'clock in the morning of 8 March will be?) The hospital has at its disposal highly skilled personnel who have taken expensive and difficult training and accumulated irreplaceable experience in a 30-year period of service, but /does not have a car at its disposal/ to pick up an operating team in a hurry. The operation was postponed until morning. In another case such a delay might be fatal.

And so we must seek first from physicians the reasons why infant mortality has not declined since 1979, why the mortality of children from 1 to 14 years of age remains at a higher level than in a number of European countries, and why the death rate among the population in the most active and creative age group (between 40 and 59) has increased.

We promise tips so as not to wait for years to have a telephone installed. We hand out gifts if the thermoregulator for the refrigerator or the 6-volt battery for the "Trabant" reach us; in the option more in demand we reckon the equivalent of the favor in "Troen Leshnik" [Triple Hazelnut] or in "Byalo Konche" [White Colt]. Our living standards are stronger than our principles. For both the thermoregulator and the storage battery are commodities in short supply. . .

But there are physicians. They don't even have to be paid and this remarkable achievement of our time, together with the universal accessibility of health care institutions, makes the selfless labor of the people in white overalls "look easy" in the eyes of many people.

We give hardly a thought /to the conditions under which physicians work/ until perforce we land there. But our duty to medicine begins as early as the delivery room and the micropediatrics ward.

Hardly anyone could blame health care workers for the construction of health care institutions. We, the people "on the other side," were the first to underestimate their importance, for in all cases of necessary economies health care projects were the ones we readily postponed for "later on." Here are some facts for Sofia and the okrug alone.

Quite a few years ago a Leninist subbotnik [a person performing unpaid mass work on social jobs, on days off and overtime, originally on Saturday] collected money to build a free-standing cardiovascular complex. But the disputes over where it should be built--on the site of the Third City Hospital or in Sukhodol--have not yet ended . . .

On 1 June 1979 the first earth was turned for a future pediatrics institute. The site had long since been overgrown with weeds!

Since 1960 there has been discussion of a plan for a Fifth Sofia City Hospital . . . and to this day there is no trace of it.

The Obstetrics and Gynecology Institute of the Medical Academy has been under construction for 12 years, the Pirdol hospital for 15--a sufficiently long time for even the most modern design solutions to become obsolete.

/Builders' organizations/ seek every possible way of dragging out the completion of these projects, which are labor-intensive because of their specifications, the complex inner structural distribution, complex communications and nontraditional installations. This makes impossible easy fulfillment of the plan. All deadlines for the construction of health care institutions are scandalously violated, which results in other violations afterwards--hospitals are put into operation with housekeeping facilities not built. But even we of the mass information media, instead of compelling public evaluation of the flight from responsibility in construction, are satisfied with "more readable" topics like acupuncture or protein therapy.

We have no enterprise that produces nonstandard furniture meeting the specifications of hospitals; there are no elastic stockings for patients suffering from vascular diseases; there are no needles and syringes for one-time use--exceptionally important mainly for the control of hepatitis; frequently there is no catgut or high-quality cement for fillings; there are no transport wheelchairs or equipment to get patients in contact with medical personnel--an anesthesiologist can help in a case of clinical death only if he gets to the patient within three minutes. An average of four minutes alone must elapse before the message, delivered in a breathless run through the corridor by some nurse, reaches the physician; there is no intercom system for the physicians themselves; the supply of materials is irregular, and sometimes expensive and modern equipment stands idle due to the lack of spare parts and impaired coordination.

There are great claims against /the Health-Care Construction Institute/, a specialized and skilled departmental organization in the Medtekhsnabserviz [Medical

Equipment Supply Service] Directorate recently set up in the Ministry of Public Health, which "must not only forecast, plan, deliver and repair all medical equipment, but also introduce an automated system for monitoring the technical parameters and the utilization rate of medical equipment." Probably then the modern castomats, which cost thousands of foreign-exchange leva and cut down many fold the time it takes to cast a prosthesis, will operate only one hour a day and will also fill the orders of those laboratories where to this day--250 years after the Frenchman Pierre Fouchard founded dental prosthetics--casting is done in the same way--by hand, with powder! . . .

When we are not satisfied just to ask for new laboratories, new equipment and new staffs, but make rational use of the existing ones without permitting wasteful practices or confusion, that is precisely what intensification of work and modern organization of labor are.

Whenever we criticize physicians, we must also remember the things that form their work days, determine the atmosphere in the hospital room and increase the percentage of risk in a profession where risks are fatal.

We want them to be a class of gentlemen, but between two operations the surgeon does not even have a chance to smoke a cigarette, being occupied (for the lack of a technical secretary) with a detailed report of the intervention he finished. Physicians do a great deal of writing and this finding has been repeated many times, too, but with no result so far! According to the calculations of the chief physician of the okrug hospital in the capital, 40 percent of the labor of the higher medical cadres goes for unskilled work. I want to repeat this percentage with alarm: 40 percent.

The efficient use of physicians' labor and the provision of two-stage services make it imperative that the ratio of higher to middle-ranking cadres fluctuate between 1:4 and 1:5 in favor of the middle-ranking cadres, without infringing upon the number of orderlies. (At present, this ratio is 1:2.5 and for most of his work day the physician is actually by himself!)

On reaching the age of 60, physicians are obliged to leave the health-care system and they do not even have the right to write a prescription. But this is a considerable contingent of experienced and capable people whose functional fitness should be assessed before their professional file is closed. These specialists, as well as female physicians with children under three years of age, might be given an opportunity to work half a day, for example, in schools where, owing to complex relations with teachers and directors (forbidding children to be taken out of classes other than physical culture and vocational training), giving prophylactic treatment to the rising generation is greatly hampered. The question requires a principled decision also because of another fact--the uneven training of cadres for some public health areas. (According to 1980 statistics, the physician-to-population ratio is 1:407, the dentist-to-population ratio is 1:1834. There are no internist specialists in vascular diseases, while chronic venous insufficiency of the extremities is the second cause of temporary disability. The average age of cardiologists in the capital is 55 years. Who will inherit their experience in 5 years if we automatically exclude them from the health service system at the above-indicated cutoff time?)

We want physicians to be well informed and to possess reliable competence, but we do not give them information about the percentage sugar content of lemonade or the nicotine and tar content of cigarettes. Materia medica information is insufficient. Although pharmaceutical executives are obliged to give notification of the latest drugs they receive, they either do it irregularly or forget this obligation of theirs.

"Meditsina i Fizkultura" [Medicine and Physical Culture] Publishing House also falls short in its duty towards physicians--many pocket publications are needed in particular specialties, written by the best specialists who have a flair for synthesis and can pass on world experience. There are no materia medica manuals in minimum compass for rapid reference, compiled by a team on which there are physicians in addition to pharmacologists.

Thus, torn between various shortages, passes /the physician's work day/, which hardly fits into the unrealistically regulated 8 hours. I believe that this, too, is one of the great misunderstandings about this responsible and strenuous profession. We must not expect full fitness for work after 6 hours in his office, or the possibility of continuing professional education after eight hours of exhausting appointments with patients.

We have mechanically counted the medical profession in the nonproduction sphere because nobody has figured out how to calculate how much it is worth to the state to prolong an engineer's life by ten years or to restore a lathe hand to fitness for work a month ahead of time! Nobody disputes the arduous character and the specific nature of medical work--a great nervous, physical and emotional strain. Despite this, only 10 percent of all medical personnel enjoy organized rest and recreation. In respect of this indicator, health-care workers rank last (!) in comparison with other sectors. . .

This profession, which is not a member of any union of creative people, suffers from yet another misunderstanding. Owing to the complexity of determining the worth of the diverse labor of higher medical personnel, we have automatically placed them within the framework of traditional labor remuneration: 155 to 210 leva (!). Despite the fact that during an intubation (putting the patient into an anesthetized state), for example, the mental strain on the anesthesiologist is comparable to the strain on cosmonauts during takeoff! Despite the fact that the annual subscriptions of a self-respecting specialist who wants to keep abreast of modern achievements in his field amount to about 250 leva! Despite the fact that statistics rank health care workers second in occupational diseases after miners!

Have we not denied these people, who do not even have a right to free medicine, some of the respect due them? How otherwise shall we explain the fact that in the bustle of our workdays it has occurred to us to confer the high title of "Hero of Socialist Labor" to only seven of all the nearly 110,000 medical workers?

Participants in my investigations were professors Evgeni Apostolov, Aleksandur Doychinov, Albert Lukanov, Ivan Popvasiliev, Khristo Petkov, Ivan Sechanov and Khristo Khristozov; physicians Mincho Khandzhiev, Evgeniya Burnarska, Moysey Grasiyani, Venelin Lechev, Valentin Melamed, Aleksandur Nestorov, Mois Nisimov, Stefan Frantsov and Fani Turakova; dentists Mila Petrova and Kiril Raev; and dental technician Ivan Raychev.

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POLEDNIK OUTLINES NATIONAL COMMITTEE TASKS AT 16TH CONGRESS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Apr 82 pp 3-4

[Report of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee presented by Jindrich Polednik at the 6th session of the CPCZ Central Committee: "On Tasks of National Committees after the 16th CPCZ Congress"]

[Text] Comrades, the year since the 16th CPCZ Congress was spent in dedicated work of our party and society in implementing the decisions of the congress. Our people express their profound confidence in the program of the congress, adopted by the entire National Front; they supported it fervently in the elections to the legislative bodies and national committees. Much has been done in our social life, economy, education and culture to achieve the outlined goals. As the 4th session of the CPCZ Central Committee stressed, however, the tasks are increasing in their complexity, which demands that we step up our efforts to fulfill the directives of the congress and for that purpose mobilize all forces and resources of our society.

At our meeting today we are discussing the tasks of our national committees so that this powerful social force may bring even more significant contributions toward implementing the policies of our communist party, so that our national committees are aware of their enormous responsibility in their approach to implementing the decisions outlined by the 16th CPCZ congress, and so that the standard of their work equal the demands of the 1980's. Here we proceed from their revolutionary traditions and from the abundant experience gained since their creation.

The national committees were established as organizations of our people in the struggle against fascism for our national and social liberation. From the beginning their mission was a part of a sharp political struggle for reorganization of the system in the liberated republic between the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the CPCZ, which was supported by the progressive forces of our nations.

Upon the initiative of the communists, the national committees were transformed for the first time during the Slovak National Uprising into new organs of the people's revolutionary power and gradually organized throughout the entire liberated territory. Thus, during the national democratic revolution they developed as mass organs of our working people;

they represented the government of the people in communities and became the pillars of the people's new democratic statehood.

Their role was anchored in the program of the Kosice Government. Unlike the former bureaucratic administration in the service of the bourgeoisie, the national committees became the authentic executors of the will of our people and organizers of a new life and revolutionary changes. They consistently implemented the interests of our working people and provided dedicated assistance in the renewal of our war-torn country.

In February 1948 they performed a crucial role in the critical clash with the bourgeoisie, took a dynamic part in building foundations for socialism and boldly promoted industrialization and the transition of our villages to the system of cooperative mass production. The work of our national committees is indivisibly linked with results in our successful, constructive efforts.

In building a developed socialist society, our national committees are playing an important role in consolidating the power of our people. They demonstrate the unity of the state power and administration in territorial districts and share significantly in the planning of our state policies, their implementation and control. As Comrade Gustav Husak stated in his report to the 16th CPCZ Congress, "through national committees hundreds of thousands of our citizens participate in the administration of their communities, okreses and krajs."

Last year's elections to the representative councils offered another convincing proof that our national committees are closely linked with the life, needs and interests of our citizens. Nearly two-thirds of the 196,469 representatives involved with national committees are industrial and farm workers; the rest are members of the intelligentsia and other social groups. The social distribution of our national committees proves that the foundations of our state constitute a solid union of the workers' class, cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia.

More than 30 percent of the representatives in the national committees are women and almost 40 percent are under 35 years of age; this confirms that women and the ascending young generation have a major share in the administration of our state and social affairs.

The communists, unaffiliated and members of other political parties, nations and nationalities living in the CSSR have joined their efforts in the national committees to fulfill vital tasks in building socialism. Through the national committees they share equally in the administration and control of our state.

The authority of the national committees has grown substantially during the 1970's. Their comprehensive achievement significantly enhanced our success in building a developed socialist society, in satisfying the needs and interests of our citizens, in intensifying social democracy and in consolidating the political and moral unity of our people.

Nevertheless, the scope and demands of the new tasks, the dramatic changes in the internal and external conditions for their implementation as well as the growing needs of our people have posed new tasks for our national committees--as for our party and our society as a whole--and imposed higher demands on their work. For that reason our national committees have an imperative mission to develop further and upgrade the level of their activities, to overcome more expeditiously the existing shortcomings, many weak points and ingrained routine, so that the national committees may better fulfill their societywide role and serve our people.

The demand to expand the share of our national committees in the achievement of the objectives outlined by the 16th CPCZ Congress calls for the following:

--Intensification of the social role of the national committees as local organs of state power in consolidating and developing our socialist system; upgrading of the political and professional standards of state administration; attunement of all of its work with the demands posed by building a developed socialist society in the 1980's;

--Better exploitation of financial and material resources and of local opportunities by our national committees for satisfaction of people's needs; aid to citizens in creating advantageous conditions in housing, services, education and culture, health care and environmental protection;

--More effective participation in converting our economy into an intensive development system; more efficient exploitation of work forces; efficiency of capital investment and rational economy in expenditures of assets; comprehensive economic and social development of territorial areas;

--Further growth of our citizens' participation in the work of the national committees; more intensive role of their elected organs and representatives; better cooperation with social agencies and interest groups and with the organs of the National Front in developing work and social actions of our citizens and in their socialist education.

I. Vital Role in the Implementation of Economic and Social Policies

Comrades, the economy managed by the national committees has become an important factor of the Czechoslovak economy in building socialism. Along with the health and educational systems it operates with more than 1.5 million employees, roughly one-fourth of all citizens engaged in our economy, it shares 24 percent of the total volume of investments and a full one-third in the expenditures of our state budgets. This not only reflects the profound democratism of our social system but also indicates the enormous co-responsibility of our national committees in implementing economic and social policies of our party and state.

It is a well-known fact that in the Seventh Five-Year Plan we must cope with unusually demanding tasks in the economic development in order to achieve an internal and external balance of our national economy. This compels our national committees to devote considerably more attention to the fulfillment

of their economic tasks, to be far more emphatic in enforcing the demands for efficiency and quality in every type of work, to insist rigorously on good stewardship in every sector and to respect steadfastly the social potential in their plans. All their programs and their full economic potential must serve to satisfy the material and spiritual needs of our people.

In the past the economy managed by the national committees has progressed considerably. During the Sixth Five-Year Plan almost 650,000 housing units were built; since 1970, nearly every fourth family had moved into a new, modern apartment. Extensive construction and modernization of schools, day-care centers, kindergartens, health and public facilities, and retail and transport networks continued. Care for children and youth marked further improvement; opportunities for our citizens' enjoyment of sports and cultural events were substantially expanded. Thus, the work of our national committees contributed toward a high standard of living for our people.

Nonetheless, such positive achievement cannot conceal the fact that problems accompanying the development of our national economy are evident also in the activities of our national committees, particularly in capital investment and housing construction, in maintenance and repairs of the housing fund, in the high rate of unfinished construction projects, in the inferior quality of services and so forth. Invested capital is not always efficiently and profitably exploited. Considerable shortcomings appear even in economic organizations of our national committees, in planning, organization and management, in the implementation of economic programs and in the degree of discipline. For that reason demands for thrift, efficiency and more consistent application of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System are fully applicable also to the national committees. Our national committees as well as our entire society are faced with the uncompromising duty to contribute significantly to directing our economy toward intensive development.

First of all, our national committees must put their own material and financial resources to better use so as to fulfill their societywide tasks and to provide for the needs of our citizens. They must be more consistent in their attention to good stewardship when investing their funds.

The 16th CPCZ Congress accentuated the demand that our national committees be more effective in influencing the comprehensive economic and social development of territorial areas. In order to fulfill that task, the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the government adopted principles for expansion of the authority and responsibility of our national committees. On that basis, in the interest of an efficient deployment of investments and work forces, more thorough utilization of the production potential as well as of the natural and social potential of the territory, the kraj national committees in particular must fully assert themselves in district and territorial planning and in adopting prompt and responsible approaches to development concepts proposed by centrally managed organizations. On the other hand, central organs must more expeditiously acquaint the kraj national committees with their objectives and not with the accomplished fact, as frequently done.

It is desirable that in the close cooperation of the national committees with central state and economic organs the funds invested in individual communities be used more efficiently for better coordination of the ministries' plans with the conditions and potential of territorial units, economic efficiency and creation of better living and working conditions for our citizens.

Many years of experience have confirmed that the election programs of the National Front represent comprehensive plans for the development of communities and towns, okreses and krajs. It is to the credit of the civic initiative and organizational efforts of our national committees that Project Z created value amounting to billions and built facilities to serve and benefit our people. Such a program should continue and the election programs of the National Front should be applied to unify the forces and assets of our national committees and of economic, social and interest organizations to fulfill the most vital tasks in their territorial districts and to advance the development of civic actions.

The opportunities for our economic development in the Seventh Five-Year Plan demand that capital investment be focused exclusively on the most urgent needs and that investment funds by used very prudently. The current level of investing cannot be expected to rise. Furthermore, we must anticipate lower investments in the economy of the national committees because their funds must be concentrated in selected areas. This makes it imperative for our national committees to review thoroughly their investment plans for the coming years, assess them most scrupulously and weigh their urgency. Completion of projects already under construction and remodeling and modernization of existing projects are of first priority. New construction may be considered only if it fulfills the most urgent needs of our citizens and vital tasks in the development of our towns and communities. In no instance may it support demands above the needs and beyond the resources of our society.

In planning investment programs there is no place for cheap wheeling-dealing, concessions to various pressures, favoring local interests over social needs, expressions of local patriotism, insufficient deliberation and excessive magnanimity. When dealing with these problems, our party organs must adopt a more critical approach to the communists on the national committees and insist on their unconditional respect for societywide interests.

For More Comfortable Housing

In terms of their economic and political importance and in terms of our people's needs, the problems of housing, housing construction and technical and public facilities in our towns and communities appear in the forefront. These concerns are not new; however, the stringent conditions under which we are implementing the Seventh Five-Year Plan call for fundamental improvement in the efficiency and effectiveness of their fulfillment.

In building socialism, the quality of housing and of housing capacities have improved dramatically, with more than 60 percent of the housing units built after 1945.

The decision of the 16th CPCZ Congress charge that in this 5-year plan central state and economic organs and national committees continue to improve the housing situation of our population and to contribute toward more efficient deployment of work forces and their stabilization by building new housing. In addition to the planned construction of new housing, national committees and all investment and construction organizations must be unconditionally more consistent in comprehensive construction of housing and of technical and public facilities and fundamentally upgrade the quality of completed projects. Analogically, unfinished projects must be completed and the area and technology must be prepared expeditiously for the comprehensive housing construction. Here we must proceed from specific conditions and respect the stipulated limits when covering vital needs.

For that purpose central state organs must balance in their plans the volume of housing construction with necessary technical and public facilities. It is the duty of the ministries of construction to enforce, in cooperation with the national committees, necessary changes in the structure of the capacities of construction production and to adapt economic management plans to the requirements of comprehensive housing construction.

In consideration of housing standards, considerably more flexibility must be allowed for better management and maintenance of existing housing and for the reconstruction and modernization of older apartments and houses. In this sector in general, several shortcomings remain evident. Funds have frequently been spent for maintenance without due consideration; repairs are often delayed, shabby and protracted.

Enterprises of housing economy, rampant bureaucracy and, in certain cases, outdated regulations are to blame for many such shortcomings. Capital investment swallows too many capacities of okres construction enterprises, which are used in part to meet the tasks of Project Z. All this results in a poorly managed apartment and housing fund and in its premature deterioration, which prompts legitimate criticism from our citizens.

To upgrade the quality of housing and to improve the housing management, it is imperative to restructure the whole organization of housing economy administration. Preconditions for its rational organization and management must be set in the plan, economic policies and material incentives to enterprises and individuals; their technological and legal norms must be adjusted and simplified.

It is just as imperative for the national committees together with central state organs and associations of housing and production cooperatives to make drastic changes during the Seventh Five-Year Plan in focusing plans for local construction by enterprises and cooperatives on maintenance and care for the housing and apartment fund and on reconstruction and modernization. The management of the plan and implementation of economic policies must be attuned to these demands. By the same token we must insist that local construction enterprises be furnished with all necessary technical equipment.

Along with the concern of the national committees for gradual reconstruction and modernization of houses, streets and urban centers, it is advisable to promote the interests of our citizens, especially in rebuilding and remodeling individual apartments in towns. More thorough utilization of older housing capacities simultaneously benefits the interests of our society. For that reason organizational, financial and legal provisions must be promptly issued for assignment or, if necessary, for sale of such apartments to citizens or organizations, our national committees must offer more initiative in this direction.

When speaking of housing construction and of the maintenance of the housing fund, we must appreciate that most of our people reside in cooperative apartments and family houses. Therefore, we expect that organs of housing cooperatives will present proposals concerning improvement of housing management, better housing maintenance and comprehensive cooperative construction.

The focus of the activity of the national committees and their organizations is primarily on rational consumption of fuels and energy. In the first place, housing management must strive to improve thermal technology in housing projects, to introduce metering and control equipment, to convert existing boilers to energy conservation and to cut excessive losses of heat. This program is being introduced. Many technical or improvement proposals are still on paper; industrial and construction enterprises, even those managed by the national committees, failed so far to help fulfill such urgent needs more expeditiously. In no case can this be tolerated.

Moreover, the national committees may also promote better exploitation of local resources of energy by building or converting small hydroelectric powerplants, constructing incinerators for communal and industrial refuse and recycling wood waste for fuel.

Rational utilization, primarily of propellants, demands that the national committees pay attention to mass passenger transportation and personal commuting to work and school and that they proceed with deliberation in furnishing other kinds of transportation. By the same token, shortcomings, such as incompetent operation of transport organizations, disregard for schedule, lack of discipline and inferior management, must not lurk behind the restricted consumption of propellants.

Planning of passenger transport, especially in major cities, must be considered seriously. Competent central organs with the national committees must assess improvements in transportation mainly in terms of potential sources of energy, and outline the development of electric and trolley traction not only in general but also in specific terms for individual towns.

Reviews of factory freight transport made by people's control councils have exposed a great deal of waste. The national committees must put their own organizations in order and furthermore must participate far more vigorously in enforcing a rational system of all factory transport.

Better Services to Our Citizens

Comrades, another important task involves fundamental improvement of services rendered to our population and managed primarily by national committees. In his report to the 16th CPCZ Congress Comrade Gustav Husak stressed, "Special attention is due to the development and quality of services. Every responsible worker in that sector must realize that this is not only an economic but also a highly political issue."

In view of such imposing but legitimate demands, the conditions in this sector cannot be regarded as satisfactory. The situation with the repair of shoes, leather goods and garments, with chimney sweeping and with other services, as well as instances of dishonesty, inferior quality and excessively protracted repairs, are targets of public criticism. In many cases our citizens lack easy access to services because of the inconvenient location of shops or because of inconvenient business hours; certain types of repairs are not available.

Our national economy has ample resources and work forces to provide services for the needs of our citizens. The socialist system of services and local production organized in recent years operates many enterprises and workshops, with about 700,000 employees. This sector has not always received due consideration; crucial problems in its development have not been promptly resolved and adopted decisions have not been consistently implemented.

This intolerable situation with services stems mainly from the low standard of their management, which is expensive, bureaucratic and inflexible. The systems of planning, financing and incentives do not fully respect the area of services nor do they impress on their organizations that it is of the highest importance to satisfy the needs of our population. Furthermore, the technical equipment of their enterprises and organizations is not always up to the required standard; problems with supplies of technical material, spare parts, instruments and tools are not always properly resolved.

Many enterprises of the national committees and production cooperatives deviated from their original purpose and are searching for easy profits in cooperation with various types of production in the centrally managed industry--alas, frequently with the tacit approval of the national committees. Organizations of services and the local economy serve our population at only about 25 percent of their capacity. Moreover, various local opportunities to provide for the needs of our citizens are underutilized. As a result, a sizable part of our population depends for services on all kinds of unlicensed hacks.

What can we do to achieve gradual but fundamental improvement of services in accordance with the postulates of the 16th CPCZ Congress? A recent decision by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the measures adopted by the governments offer a reply to this question. They begin with the simplification of the entire system of management and planning; financial, credit and tax policies; preconditions for more flexible management of services; and implementation of more enticing economic incentives expanding these services and reducing their costs, including administration.

The number of applicable indicators of the plan has been drastically cut. Only the share of wages in the output, without material consumption, or, as the case may be, selected specific tasks according to societywide needs will serve as the mandatory indicator on the central level. The management of service enterprises and workshops will be gradually converted to the enterprise and subdivision khozraschot system, which will be strictly observed. The wages of workers in services will be determined by the standard and quality of services rendered to the population.

Charges for services rendered will be consistently based on decisions of the 16th CPCZ Congress on price control, economic and social function of prices and their relation to costs. The best way to raise profitability of service enterprises to an appropriate level is through better stewardship; reduction of excessive operational costs, including administration; and introduction of modern technology and organization of labor.

The key role in the improvement and expansion of services is, and will be, played by public enterprises and service organizations managed by the national committees as well as by production and housing cooperatives. The principal target in improving the services is the radical upgrading of their operations and a substantially higher share of their work for our population.

By the same token, the national committees need to take better advantage of opportunities stemming from the principles approved as long ago as the mid-1960's and to establish small workshops in residential areas, where tradesmen will be more flexible in providing various repairs and other services. Also, wherever feasible, the national committees in more communities should make available workrooms for rent and encourage work at home, such as sewing and repair of clothing and underwear.

Furthermore, the national committees should make more use of their authority to issue permits to citizens for afterwork moonlighting. The national committees were recently granted the authority to issue permits for services, previously reserved to housewives, retired and disabled persons and other workers; the main occupation will be to provide such services in sectors where there is no other feasible solution to remedy the existing situation, due to a workers' shortage.

All these measures along with the introduction of appropriate fiscal and tax regulations must aim at broader stimulation of people's interests and initiative and at utilization of local resources for an improvement of services. At the same time this must never bring foreign elements into our economy; this calls for more expeditious utilization of the available resources, which may contribute to better satisfaction of the needs of our population realistically, promptly and without major investment and capital.

When applying the principles for improving services for pay, a major role is played by the national committees, which are expected to upgrade services to a considerable degree. However, it is also the duty of appropriate central organs to approach the development of services with more determination and

responsibility. Territorial party organs must see to it that the approved principles are enforced correctly, imaginatively and vigorously and that their influence is enhanced and the work of party organizations in this sector improved.

It is desirable to apply principles similar to those regulating the development of services to other sectors, particularly in public dining, where much needs to be improved--the quality of meals, the standard and often also the honesty of the service, and the quality of the environment. However, this concerns the general standard of management and planning, where unnecessary heavyhandedness and rank bureaucracy predominate. It was therefore decided to introduce substantially more flexible methods of management in factory restaurants and cafeterias, based on scrupulous application of the khozrashchot system, which must upgrade the quality of public dining and increase profits as well. We expect our national committees to enforce modern, rational, economical organization of the restaurants, to expand self-service considerably, to increase cooperation among individual organization of types of public dining, including the opportunities for consumers' cooperatives, possibly also of the JZD [unified agricultural cooperatives].

The laws of the national councils on domestic commerce granted the national committees broad legal power and thus made them responsible for the general standard of supplies to our citizens and to commercial operations. Our rank-and-file citizens often have every reason to criticize commercial organizations and the national committees for the distribution of their retail network, for the quality of sales and for store schedules. The national committees must take full advantage of their legal rights and resolve such problems more dynamically. Nonetheless, many problems stem from tasks unfulfilled by the manufacturers and from the standard of operation in commercial organizations, which must be reminded that in order to satisfy our people's needs, they must demonstrate much more initiative and responsibility and cooperate more closely with the national committees.

Municipal and local national committees in particular must enforce more steadfastly and widely their control of commercial organizations and stores for supplies for the population; carefully supervise the standard of supplies, the quality and selection of goods; see to it that the citizens enjoy the opportunity of shopping after work; and expand shopping opportunities in large places of work. The program of civic aktiv for control of the quality and fairness of trade should be developed far more extensively.

We expect that a regular supply, particularly of fruit and vegetables, will be further improved by expanding markets where the producers and private growers sell their products directly to customers. In this respect the national committees must be more energetic in providing the necessary opportunities for programs of organizations of small livestock breeders and gardeners and similar public and interest organizations and other citizens; for that purpose they must make available suitable, otherwise unused lands. The frequently rigid approach of procurement and commercial organizations and national committees must change in order to bring the produce to the consumer as fast as possible.

The collection and recycling of secondary raw materials must not escape our attention. Although this important task was emphasized at the 16th CPCZ Congress, it is still frequently regarded disdainfully. Unlike in other countries, in the CSSR utilization of those raw materials is far below the necessary and feasible level. Public collection organized by the national committees is of vital importance in this situation. Contrary to adopted measures, the achievements thus far failed to meet the full potential. We are wasting about Kcs 1 billion annually. It is therefore desirable to step up our efforts and to enforce more flexible methods and policies of organization in this matter. Moreover, the decision calls for far more thorough organization on the part of the national committees, which must offer more lucrative technical and material conditions for the salvage program.

Environmental Protection

Comrades, free and universally accessible health care is among the greatest advantages that our socialist society offers to our citizens. Over the past 10 years expenditures for health services have doubled and in 1980 they exceeded Kcs 22 billion. The persistent attention of our socialist state, national committees and health service workers ensured our health care reaching a high standard all over our republic without exception, in cities as well as in the countryside.

Despite their incontestable success, our medical services still have untapped assets and must resolve with perseverance the chronic problems that they are facing. In some communities citizens have every right to complain about the excessively long wait for examination by medical specialists and often for treatment in the hospital. Furthermore, they object to the insensitivity toward the patients on the part of some medical workers, to problems with pharmaceutical supplies and to instances of bribery, which are injurious to the reputation of our health services and to the overwhelming majority of their employees, whose dedicated and immensely praiseworthy service to the people's health deserves the highest recognition.

Our national committees must demand that the institutes of national health offer better prophylactic, therapeutic and rehabilitation programs in order to raise even higher the standard of our health services. They must demand that the assets entrusted to them be managed well and that medical workers treat our citizens humanely. They must overcome narrow local interests in building a network of medical facilities, in deploying professional cadres and in procuring and using modern medical technology, which must be centralized primarily in specialized institutes.

Much will depend on the programs planned by the ministries of health, which are fully responsible for the expert management of their branches, for their scientific and technological standard and for guidance of the development of medical services. The organs of the ministries and national committees must pursue in close cooperation a single goal--the health of our people.

Our state spends enormous funds for social welfare. In its improvement, it isappropriate to copy initiative by the national committees, social and

interest organizations, enterprises and cooperatives by merging their capital and their forces for joint construction and possibly even for the joint operation of social, health, preschool and other such facilities.

When providing social welfare, municipal and local national committees in cooperation with citizens' councils and social and interest organizations should proceed vigorously and with initiative to aid families with many children, senior citizens and the disabled, wherever help is needed.

Plans for the social development of workers' collectives should be properly correlated with plans for territorial development. This calls for mutual, comradely cooperation among the national committees, economic organizations and trade-union organs in factories and enterprises, with the objective of improving working and living conditions of our working people and residents of towns and communities.

Environmental protection is increasing in importance among the programs of the national committees. Clean air and water conservation; protection of land, forests, scenery and nature; efficient recycling and harmless disposal of wastes; concern about a proper working environment; housing and recreation--indeed, those are vital issues for our generation and for generations to come.

Our society is spending considerable funds for environmental protection and design, above all for the improvement of living conditions of citizens in areas concentrating on coal mining and the development of power generation and in large industrial centers. The national committees deserve much credit for their accomplishments in beautification of towns and communities and for protection of the scenery and nature.

Nevertheless, the situation demands that they enforce their managing, control and coordinating authority with greater emphasis on the development and operation of their own economy as well as in relation to all industrial, agricultural and other such organizations in their territory. By the same token they must be consistent in enforcing societywide interests, insist on compliance with laws and regulations and strictly prosecute environmental violations.

At the same time it is the duty of the central state organs to demonstrate their concern about the environment, to provide preconditions for its protection in the state plan, to fulfill their adopted tasks diligently and to control their fulfillment in territorial districts.

Our citizens, youth and social and interest organizations deserve full support in their efforts to protect nature; to establish and maintain public parks, recreational areas and playgrounds for children; and to protect water from pollution. Their joint efforts may, and must, improve the environment even without exorbitant investment, resolve many acute problems and prevent damage frequently amounting to many millions.

An important factor in designing the environment involves services for the public, particularly removal of solid household refuse, cleaning and maintenance of local communications. Many national committees have accomplished much in this sector; however, much needs to be improved. This requires above all more well-advised planning for the development of individual sectors, better utilization of the machinery, its modernization and, if possible concentration. Production enterprises must play a far more important role in offering the required mechanization programs and in rendering services and repairs.

At the same time, environmental protection is an issue involving conservation of the sources of nutrition. The national committees in close cooperation with control organs must therefore protect agricultural lands more rigorously, avoid excessive concessions and resist more resolutely pressures for further unjustified expropriation of lands. By the same token they must guarantee that the land be released only if the investor recultivates at his own expenses at least an equal area of uncultivated land. The national committees, with agricultural and other enterprises, social and interest organizations and citizens, have the duty to assist in using every square meter of the land to the best possible advantage.

Solid Unity with the People

Comrades, a significant aspect of the unity of the national committees with our citizens is their mass political and educational work. Its actual effect on the thought and action of our citizens depends mostly on a close connection of educational programs with the solution of urgent economic, social and cultural tasks in a given territory and with the needs of its residents. Our citizens form their attitude to our society and socialism to a great extent according to the standards of the work of this or that national committee, according to the way it deals with the people, according to its concern about the development of their town or community and according to its care for the needs of the residents.

The fundamental mission of our national committees--the vital contact of their representatives and employees with the people--offers them ample opportunities to involve the citizens in honorable activity and to gain their respect for their achievements, to inspire their social involvement and to adopt a new, truly socialist attitude to their town or community and to their socialist fatherland. It is therefore the duty of the national committees to take good advantage of such opportunities, to enhance the patriotic and international sentiments of our people, to develop fraternal relations among our nations and nationalities and to strengthen the friendship, alliance and cooperation with the USSR and other countries of the socialist community.

The national committees must pay constant attention to the socialist education of our young generation, foster its attitudes to work and to social issues and provide opportunities for versatile cultural, sports, recreational and other activities and hobbies. A good job has been done by those national committees that give young people an opportunity to share as

much as possible in decisions on public affairs and to use their initiatives and sense for originality in the organs of national committees and their aktivs. Furthermore, this makes our young generation more responsible for the further development of our communities and towns and for the progress of our whole country.

The national committees participate significantly in implementing the educational and cultural program. Their task is to create, in cooperation with the ministries of education, the cadre, organizational and material opportunities for successful programs for all schools and institutions managed by the national committees.

The okres national committees must be more thorough in their reassessment of the adjustments in the elementary school network. All proposals pertaining to those issues must be discussed with local national committees; it is imperative that these committees learn the views of our citizens and that they weigh carefully all correlations concerning transportation, school dining facilities and afterschool care for children.

Our kraj national committees must pay special attention to revamping the apprentice school system and especially to the organizations of the network of vocational school on the secondary level. The ministries, enterprises and cooperatives along with the national committees should regard the training of young apprentices as one of their most important tasks and provide materials and cadre requirements for the proper operation of their schools.

In the development of the socialist life style, the national committees are using all media of culture to increasingly better advantage. For that purpose a broad spectrum of cultural and educational facilities is available to them. They are to provide adequately for the diverse needs of our working people and to contribute systematically to their education. The national committees must make good use of all social resources and assets also by coordinating the work of other cultural institutions in their area, particularly by integrating their plans for cultural and educational activities.

Furthermore, the national committees are responsible for all cultural events organized in their area. However, it is no secret that in terms of their artistic qualities some activities have an inferior standard, and their social usefulness is often negligible. Some have a negative impact. Therefore the national committees must be much more emphatic in applying their legal prerogative stemming from their right to issue permits and must support more systematically undertakings that enrich the life of their fellow citizens with genuine values and that promote a harmonious development of the personality of socialist man.

Councils for citizens' affairs that help create new socialist traditions deserve credit for their accomplishments. The national committees must offer all material preconditions necessary for their programs.

The protection of our cultural heritage has always figured among our nation's cultural traditions that we continue. Our socialist state is spending considerable funds to preserve our great cultural heritage. Nevertheless, the national committees and landmark preservation organizations must maintain and protect landmarks with a strict observation of economy and with the proper deliberation of the social advantages of our cultural heritage.

In addition, our national committees must promote further development of sports and physical education, coordinate the use of assets and create additional opportunities for their mass development primarily among our young people. An integral part of the work of our national committees involves the fulfillment of the military training of our population.

II. Expanded Authority of Organs of People's Administration

Comrades, over the past years, especially during the 1970's, our country's life underwent major changes stemming from the rapid development of the economy and from extensive housing, public and industrial construction as well as from the dramatic rise of the living standard and from the changing life style of our people.

Among them were profound changes in the structure of our habitation. In 1960 more than 40 percent and in 1980 only 30 percent of citizens of our republic lived in communities of less than 2,000 residents. On the other hand, the share of residents in towns, which was about 50 percent as recently as in 1960, is nearly two-thirds.

In conjunction with the development of habitation, the management of the socio-economic development in individual areas and concurrently the function of the national committees must become more efficient. This calls for further steps in defining the task of individual echelons of the national committees, in consolidating the democratic foundations of their programs and in developing the methods and style of their work.

In terms of the need to build a developed socialist society, of the demand for further democratization of its administration and its closer contact with the people, the basic level of the system of the national committees--the national committees in towns and communities are of the first importance. The whole process of improving the system of the national committees must evolve from this factor. For that reason the 16th CPCZ Congress stressed in particular the task of consolidating the authority of the national committees in towns, central communities and residential settlements.

The progress of our towns over the past years has been remarkable. New central communities and new industrial centers were built. Our socialist society invested enormous capital in the construction and reconstruction of our towns.

A rapid process of concentrating our population in major cities and industrial centers brought many new problems and frequently conflicts. It imposes tremendous demands on the management of capital investment, heat, power and water supplies, better transportation and environmental protection, facilities needed for housing projects and their integration in the life of the towns, and restoration of urban centers.

Much has been done and we have gained valuable experience in dealing with these problems; however, many shortcomings and unresolved problems are still evident. In many towns, concerns about good construction, well-designed urban architecture and proper environmental planning are apparent at first sight, while in other communitits the citizens have every right to complain about the shortcomings in the maintenance of the apartment and housing fund, about the operation of services and retail stores, municipal transportation and dirt. In the forefront appears also the need to develop in detail a concept of urban construction in accordance with the realistic potential of our society.

Along with the need for fundamental improvement of the standards of work and responsibility of the national committees in towns, the time has come to grant the national committees authority that will enable them to cope with their new tasks, to manage the functions of the municipal organism much more efficiently, to coordinate the operations of enterprises and organizations on their territory and to pool their assets, to attend to the affairs of the citizens to the fullest satisfaction--in brief, to give the people better opportunities for feeling contented.

In order to deal with these problems, the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the government adopted fundamental decisions expanding the authority of municipal national committees. Their implementation will enhance the efficiency of the role of our towns in the socioeconomic and cultural development of our country. By the same token, municipal national committees will be allotted a broader field to expand their economy. They will be authorized to organize and manage organizations and facilities required for the needs of our citizens and our towns and to organize regular services for pay, maintenance of the housing and apartment fund, sanitation and transportation in towns. Wherever such programs are centralized inefficiently, the situation must be remedied and such issues returned to the competence of municipal national committees.

The adopted measures enable municipal national committees to proceed more vigourously with territorial planning, to express their definite views concerning the deployment of investments and production programs of factories and cooperatives so long as they are directly connected with satisfaction of the needs of the towns and their residents.

The administration and further development of centers of tourism and balneology, such as the High Tatras, the Krkonose Mountains, Karlovy Vary, Marianske Lazne and Piestany, call for independent solutions on the part of the governments of our republics and pertinent kraj national committees.

The adopted principles for expanded authority of the national committees in towns must be firmly based on legislation and enforced no later than 1 January 1983.

The function of the national committees in settlements poses an especially relevant question for the development of our towns. Over the past years we built hundreds of new, modern settlements, where hundreds of thousands of families, particularly the young ones, are residing. For example, the settlements house more than one-third of the population of Prague, 51 percent of Bratislava, 43 percent of Kladno, 58 percent of Trnava and so on. For that reason we attribute so much importance to turning the settlements into a real home for their residents and stress smooth operation of the services and organization of social programs. These ligitimate problems were reviewed by the 16th CPCZ Congress. Therefore, the national committees must pay more attention to the fulfillment of tasks by investment and construction organizations, plan the deployment and accessibility of services, improve the operation of retail stores, transportation, etc. Citizens' councils in settlements should further this work by promoting in their minidistricts order and cleanliness in and around the buildings; they have funds at their disposal for that purpose.

The governments of our republics should review at their earliest convenience the position and authority of the national committees in large municipal settlements that form independent units so as to resolve the problems of the settlements much more flexibly and efficiently, to establish closer contacts between the administration and the people and to eliminate more expeditiously shortcomings that are the target of legitimate criticism. Furthermore, the CPCZ Central Committee demands that the party officials and social and interest organizations pay due attention to, and are concerned about, the development of social life and political work in settlements.

The problems of urban development are especially densely concentrated in Prague, the capital city of the CSSR. Over the past 10 years we have witnessed the reconstruction and development of Prague, unprecedented in Prague's modern history. The construction of the metro, of new housing projects and of the Palace of Culture; the restoration and reconstruction of historic landmarks; the construction of modern communications systems, sports and other facilities serving the city residents are important steps turning Prague into a really modern socialist metropolis. That gives us every right to feel proud. Nevertheless, we realize that the construction and reconstruction of Prague, the economic development, new needs and demands, along with the changing life style of our people, go hand in hand with serious headaches and enormous problems facing the Prague citizens day after day. Here we must admit that despite all our efforts the results of the work by our national committees fell short of the demands that the municipal organism function smoothly and that the needs of our population be met.

This represents a whole gamut of pressing issues related to new construction projects, municipal transit, medical care, maintenance of the housing and apartment fund, the standard of services, municipal sanitation and urban environment.

With this in view, the current situation calls for reassessment of the efficiency of the measures adopted thus far, for consideration of expanded authority to be granted to the district and local national committees and for determination of the approaches to further development of our capital city and to better satisfaction of the needs of its residents. These questions will be included on the agenda when the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the governments meet soon.

The expansion of Bratislava, the capital city of the SSR, over the recent years has been notable. To improve the quality of life of that city's residents, problems with municipal transit must be resolved, the settlements under construction must be finished, and the historic hub of the city must be preserved. The development and better quality of services, and in particular environmental protection demand special attention. In order to meet these tasks, more specific definition of the authority and responsibility granted to the national committees, including their relations to the suburbs, is called for.

Centers of Work and Life

Comrades, another vital problem in the development of the system of the national committees involves enhancement of the role of local national committees in communities. Over the years of building socialism, the life style and appearance of our communities have become hard to recognize. We exerted considerable efforts and invested enormous funds to overcome gradually the centuries-old differences between the town and the village. At the same time, it is becoming increasingly more evident that due to the historically developed, glaringly different styles of habitation in our country, considerations of economy and utilization prevent us from establishing schools and medical, cultural and other facilities in every community. For that reason, already during the Fifth and Sixth Five-Year Plans housing and public construction was concentrated in selected central communities. The numbers of residents in the smallest villages are gradually declining, particularly the working age residents have been leaving for central communities or towns.

The Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the government approved the principles for improvement of the work of the national committees in central communities, which will soon become legally valid. Accordingly, the authority of the national committees in central communities will be expanded so as to provide better services and to deal with more problems in the life and development of our communities. A part of the agenda of the okres national committees as well as an appropriate part of their staff will be transferred to the national committees of central communities. Their rights regarding organizations managed centrally or by the national committees at higher levels and regarding cooperatives and other organizations have been expanded.

In relation to citizens, the objective is to achieve a situation where the national committee on the basic level deals with their affairs, whether on its own authority or in cooperation with a superior national committee or, as the case may be, with other agencies of the state administration.

It is our objective to turn central communities gradually into a base that provides and offers public services as well as services for a fee to the population of the entire territorial area and is a base for further development of social and cultural life. For that purpose the okres and kraj national committees must provide opportunities in cooperation with appropriate party organs and organizations.

It is important that in communities where local national committees ceased to function, civic initiative and social activity not be discouraged and that citizens' councils and social and interest organizations operate successfully.

The work and responsibility of the kraj and okres national committees in the development of the entire system of the national committees are gaining in importance. Their expanded authority and the transfer of some of their operations to the basic level make it possible and mandatory to enhance greatly the role of the kraj and okres national committees regarding management and control, their essential function in district planning, capital investment, mobilization and thorough exploitation of the resources and assets of their territorial units. Furthermore, in our situation more efficient coordination of the activities of the neighboring communitites, towns and districts is of great value and in the interest of more economical use of their facilities, the collective solution of problems related to services, and the development of social and cultural programs and other issues where it is advantageous and useful to join forces and to coordinate procedures.

For More Efficient Fulfillment of Important Mission

Comrades, in the current socioeconomic development of our society, the broadening tasks of our national committees demand that the democratic character of their activities be intensified, the qualification of their professional management upgraded, their social control consolidated and the unity of national committees with our people strengthened. Therefore, in accordance with the decisions of the 16th CPCZ Congress concerning the development of our socialist state the emphasis is on the challenge to the elected organs--plena, councils, commissions and representatives--that they broaden their role in the entire management and organization of the national committees.

We cannot accept with resignation the fact that the tasks of elected organs are not being properly met in every national committee, that relevant issues are frequently decided by the apparatus or that only a few of them appear on the agenda of plenary sessions and are often treated in a formalistic manner.

Plenary sessions of national committees must deal with, and resolve, problems of fundamental importance to the life and work of our population. They must see to it that as many representatives, commissions and aktivs as possible

share in the planning of the meetings, that the representatives offer specific proposals from their electoral districts, that they scrupulously assess the achievements and search for the most effective methods to resolve the issues. Plenary meetings must achieve a distinctly businesslike character and be held with the broadest possible direct participation of the public, particularly in communities and towns. Moreover, our citizens must be better informed about the adopted measures, and the fulfillment of the decisions must be better organized and controlled.

For a stronger socialist democracy and for better satisfaction of the needs of our people, the cooperation of the national committees with social and interest organizations and with the organs of the National Front must continue. Ample experience in this endeavor exists. Good cooperation, primarily with the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement, has produced a great number of suggestions concerning improvements for the operations of the national committees.

Social and interest organizations, especially ROH [Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement], SSM [Union of Socialist Youth], CSTV [Czechoslovak Physical Education] and CSSZ [Czechoslovak Union of Women], and the organs of the National Front should put their proposals on the agenda of the meetings of the national committees, express their views on the issues under discussion and participate more vigorously in shaping and implementing the economic, social and cultural policies of the national committees.

Along with other state organs, particularly with Public Security, the national committees must be much more effective in protecting the rights and legitimate interests of our citizens. Therefore, plenary sessions of the national committees, especially in communities and towns, must enforce their legal authority and charge Public Security with tasks to protect public order and must be consistent in supervising their fulfillment. They must act more resolutely against any displays of vandalism and hooliganism, against street crime and against any manifestations injurious to our society.

The management, decisionmaking and control activities of the councils of the national committees must become more flexible and operate more skillfully so as to consolidate the role of plenary sessions in order to enhance their responsibility before the general assemblies in planning the sessions and fulfilling their resolutions, to insist on collective decisionmaking and to submit to the general assemblies regular reports on their activities. On the other hand, it is imperative to upgrade their role in the management and control of the performance of the apparatus and organizations managed by the national committees and in coordinating the work and decisionmaking of individual sectors.

For the economic, social and cultural development of the districts, the councils must organize the cooperation of the national committees with centrally managed enterprises as well as with organizations associated with the National Front. The councils must provide more and better opportunities for the work of the commissions of the national committees, strive to amplify their initiative and their control functions. They must see to it that in

their activity the commissions proceed more consistently with the cooperation of our citizens and the experience gained in the control of the achievements of organizations managed by the national committees and other institutions serving the needs of our population.

The citizens' committees have done great work. Their program should further promote the participation of our citizens in public affairs and in the beautification of our villages and towns. The citizens' committees must be more helpful in the upkeep of our communities and towns, in social care for the sick and for senior citizens and in consolidation of public order and socialist coexistence. They have the right to present their suggestions to the councils and other organs of the municipal and local national committees, whose duty it is to study the suggestions of the citizens' councils and to inform them about appropriate decisions. The citizens' committees must closely cooperate with the representatives in order to fulfill their tasks. Only plenary sessions of the national committees and their councils have the authority to assign tasks to the citizens' committees.

The representatives of the national committees play a vital role in rendering the work of elected organs more efficient. The representative is an important political agent acting on behalf of his electorate in the organ of state power, called to express and to protect legitimate needs of his electors and link them with the interests of our society.

The initiative and the dedication of almost 200,000 representatives of the national committees are extremely responsible and important. For that reason, no one has the right to minimize them in any way, much less treat the representatives discourteously, as some employees of the apparatus of the national committees and officials of the management often do.

The decision by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and by the governments concerning the expansion of their rights and consolidation of their position will undoubtedly encourage the work of the representatives and enhance their authority. They were granted, among other things, the right to request information from the representatives of state agencies, enterprises and organizations in their electoral district. In addition, they may forward to those agencies and institutions suggestions, reports and complaints submitted by the citizens and request information concerning the method of the solution of their problems.

The CPCZ Central Committee has the highest regard for the work of the representatives and of thousands of other activists of the national committees. It obligates the party organs and organizations and the communists in the National Front and in economic organizations to provide opportunities systematically for the activities of the representatives, to enhance their authority and to assist them effectively in the fulfillment of their tasks in the organs of the national committees and in their electoral districts.

The committees of people's control and initiative of other commissions and aktivs associated with the national committees, such as commissions in housing enterprises, housing commissions, citizens' control of commerce, etc.,

have a most important role in promoting democratic management and administration. The more diverse their activity, the broader the participation of the representatives, activists and citizens in the decisionmaking and control processes--the greater the trust of our people and the more effective the struggle against various abuses.

Flexibility in the Management and Decisionmaking Is Incompatible with Red Tape

Comrades, the apparatus of the national committees, which performs an important role in their work, must also heed the demands for high personal responsibility, a creative approach, thorough professional qualifications and knowledge of the issues. We highly value workers of the national committees who are fond of their work and aware of their enormous social responsibility. However, numerous, and in most cases justified, comments of our citizens testify that the work of the apparatus of the national committees also includes not rare instances of bureaucratism, procrastination and red tape, indifference, lack of responsibility, insensitivity and arrogance toward the people, as well as cases of graft.

To eradicate such abuses, the elected organs of the national committees on every level must step up their supervision and control over the performance of state administration, over the actions and conduct of the employees of the national committees and their facilities, draw conclusions and penalize the confirmed shortcomings. Moreover, the employees of the national committees must proceed with greater initiative, avoid the slapdash bureaucratic routine, fulfill their assignments with greater vision and responsibility and pay more attention to the suggestions and proposals submitted by our working people. Furthermore, our citizens have every right to demand that the apparatus organize its work more efficiently and that the contact of the citizens with the sectors of the national committees be made easier. The work of the apparatus of the national committees is not just a job but, above all, a mission. Klement Gottwald's words that "people are not for the administration, the administration is for the people" apply to the national committees even today.

Comrades, in his concluding address to the 4th session of the CPCZ Central Committee Comrade Gustav Husak stated, "What we need is a drastic change in the level and efficiency of all administrative work. This is the most important matter that applies to all of our party, from top to bottom, from the central committee to the basic organizations. Therefore, the federal government, the national governments, the ministries, the national committees, general directorates and enterprises must raise high the level of their managing and organizational work along the entire state and economic axis."

Consequently, the responsibility of the governments for the management of the national committees must be emphasized. In the spirit of the principles defined already by the program of the Kosice Government, we proceed from the premise that the national committees should be managed by the governments of the republics, which guide all activity of the national committees, implement uniform state policies in the comprehensive development of the krajs

as well as in matters concerning the development of individual branches managed by the national committees. As emphasized by the 16th CPCZ Congress, the government of the republics must be more efficient in integrating and coordinating the activities of the ministries and other central organs of the state administration with those of the national committees.

The principle of democratic centralism applies to the whole system of the national committees. Views have been expressed from time to time that our current problems could be resolved by a return to greater centralization. We do not agree with such opinions and tendencies. More effective solution of our problem depends on thorough application of the authority and initiative of the national committees and on higher authority of their basic sectors combined systematically with their greater responsibility.

At the same time the ministries and other central organs must demonstrate more responsibility for professional management and guidance in the development of all branches in the jurisdiction of the national committees. The national committees must fulfill their duties primarily by preparing the plan, budgets and concepts for the branches; by supervising the scientific and technological development; and by training the cadres. In cooperation with the national committees, the development in their sectors must be systematically analyzed and initiative proposals of measures for upgrading the level of management along the professional line must be submitted to the government.

The ministries of the interior of the CSR and SSR must achieve considerable improvement in their work. The governments must administer the national committees more efficiently. For that reason, their vital task must be their concern about the work of the national committees, local economy and services, housing economy, legislation and rationalization of the agencies in the state administration as well as thorough coordination of administrative regulations of the national committees. The statute, the organizational procedures, the structure, the deployment of cadres, the methods and style of the work of the ministries must be adapted accordingly. The ministries of the interior of the republics must fully concentrate their programs on the implementation of the decisions of the governments when fulfilling the decisions issued by the CPCZ Central Committee.

There is no lack of proof of the excessive administrative and bureaucratic work in the management of the national committees. The central organs as well as kraj and okres national committees require too many diverse, often redundant written reports and statements.

One of the main causes of this situation is the inordinate amount of announcements and instructions producing a great deal of paperwork, restricting the initiative of our people and often enough hampering sound progress.

The central organs of the state administration frequently issue directives with no consideration of their laborious execution. For example, when preparing their budgets, local and municipal national committees once

completed standard 2-page forms that anyone could understand. Today they must fill out 33 pages of data that even officials and the staff can hardly understand.

We encourage construction of private homes but the building proceedings require a whole series of rulings that the applicant must obtain before construction can start. The national committees introduced a stipulation that the citizens must obtain various permits and certificates, which delays for months or years the final decision concerning the building permit. Even the workers unloading railroad cars in winter cannot get a cup of hot tea without 11 paragraphs of regulations, which tell us, among other things, the definition of a protective beverage, the amount of its serving, the temperature of air at which it may be served, who may brew it, how to supervise the whole affair and how to enter it in the records of protective beverages.

It is absolutely imperative to change this entrenched routine but it will not be easy. The ministries and other central organs, the governments and legislative bodies must play a leading role. Without any further delay regulations must be considerably simplified and made more comprehensive, which is a task more urgent today than ever before. Furthermore, the process of the rationalization of state administration presupposes necessary adjustments in the internal relations of the sectors of the national committees; it must render the work of its apparatus more efficient and better organized and reduce the demands on administrative operations.

The 16th CPCZ Congress put considerable emphasis on the necessity to consolidate socialist authority, which must also be stressed in the activity of the national committees. The national committees on all levels may issue decisions on the rights and duties of organizations and citizens only in total harmony with the laws; they must seek solutions within the law that benefit most the citizen and the organization. For that reason it is unconscionable that violations of law, illegal decisions and unjustified procrastination are encountered in the practice of state administration.

The struggle to consolidate socialist authority and the struggle for efficient and objective administration and decisionmaking processes are among the most meaningful tasks in upgrading the performance of our national committees. Thus, we expect that the kraj and okres national committees will raise the standard of legal aid and supervise compliance with the law in the decisionmaking procedures of local and town national committees. The ministries and central organs of state administration must proceed with greater deliberation when issuing obligatory directives for the national committees and insist on their coordination, unity, lucidity and, particularly, strict observation of laws.

III. Responsibility of the Communists Working in National Committees

Comrades, from the very inception of the national committees, the communist party was very much concerned about their activities because it sees in them one of the main pillars of our socialist system. The 14th, 15th and 16th

congresses of the CPCZ devoted considerable attention to their mission. Over the past years, during the preparations for today's session, the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee discussed the tasks in the development of the national committees and the application of the Set of Measures in their economic management. It dealt with the question of the ways the governments might improve the quality of the management of the national committees and discussed the principles for enhancing the efficiency of the national committees in towns and central communities, as well as the development of services to our population. The party's kraj, municipal, okres and district committees focused their concern on the work of the national committees. All this makes it possible on the threshold of the 1980's to outline for the national committees new vistas and tasks to resolve the economic, social and cultural development of our country and to provide for the needs of our people.

The communists--representatives, officials and employees by whose mediation our party fulfills its leading role--are concerned most of all about a better quality of the work of the national committees and about the further development of their activity. At the same time it must be emphasized that the better work of all national committees is the concern of the whole party, all its organs and organizations, which must follow it with unrelenting attention and systematically strengthen the cadres in this sector.

It is the duty of the party organs to provide better leadership to party representatives so that their activities contribute more to the training of communist representatives for the work of the organs of the national committees, for the exchange of views, for united approaches to the solution of relevant issues and for the development of their activity and operations among the electorate.

It is of essential importance to insist on better achievements of basic achievements of basic CPCZ organs in the apparatus of the national committees so that party members offer an example of an atmosphere of highly challenging work. We must deal above all with problems concerning higher political and professional qualifications of the officials of the national committees and their empathy with the needs of our people. Due attention must be paid to the problem of the different affiliation of communists in individual sectors of the national committees and to the relatively advanced age of CPCZ members. Proper implementation of the party's leading role obligates our party organs and organizations to be far more scrupulous when assessing the achievements of the national committees, to proceed from their own analyses and findings and on that basis to adopt decisions and make resolutions and recommendations.

Territorial party organs and organizations must be very attentive to the performance of the cadres in the sector of the national committees and insist that administrative functions be entrusted to politically involved, qualified workers whose accomplishments have demonstrated their ability. Substantially more advantageous opportunities must be made available for the training and proper placement of the young people, especially for sectors that require expertise and professional qualifications.

Occasionally we encounter cases where, instead of political administration, the party organs or party workers themselves directly intervene in the activity of the national committees or even dominate them. On the other hand, some official of the national committees are trying to hide behind the party organs, mostly in decisions involving unpopular measures. Such cases spawn "alibiism" and irresponsibility, and their consequences undercut the leading role and authority of our party, therefore, they must be eradicated once and for all.

Let us remember that all we are doing in the party work and in the programs of the national committees is done for our people, the criterion of all that work is the benefit that we have brought our people and improvement of their life. This realization must inspire the daily work of the officials and employees of the national committees who implement the decisions of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

Proceeding from the national traditions of our Czech and Slovak people, our communist party always creatively applied the stimulating example of the soviets and even in national committees endeavored to fulfill Lenin's thought that the soviets represent "a power accessible to all, acting right in front of the eyes of the masses, stemming directly from the masses as a direct and immediate organ of the masses of the people and of their will." Today, when a new stage in the activity of the soviets of people's deputies had begun with the adoption of a new constitution of the USSR, we are benefiting from their experience, which represents an abundant source of lessons for the work of our national committees.

Comrades, we are setting great and very challenging tasks before our national committees. Their implementation will depend largely on the governments of our republics, on the federal government and on legislative assemblies; however, the outcome is up to the national committees. The Central Committee of the CPCZ is convinced that all representatives and employees of our national committees will bring their initiative and distinctive contribution to the further development of the programs of our national committees and that the communists will be the first to meet with responsibility and determination their duty to translate into reality the stipulated decisions. Our party organs and organizations must help with distinction in this effort.

The history of the national committees, spanning almost 40 years, is indelibly etched in the consciousness of our people, who are participating with full awareness in the work for the present and for the future of our country. That is the power of our socialist democracy as well as the guarantee that the tasks charted by the 16th CPCZ Congress will be crowned with success.

9004
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INCREASED JURISDICTION OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES DISCUSSED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 May 82 p 1

[Editorial, unsigned: "Authority and Responsibility"]

[Text] In recent decades the entire life of our society has been going through profound changes. While as recently as 20 years ago almost half of our citizens lived in villages and towns less than 2,000 inhabitants, now fully two thirds of the population live in cities.

This pattern of settlement, which is an expression of significant social changes, has required an increase in the efficiency of national committee management at all levels. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which has devoted systematic attention to the national committees from their very beginnings, emphasized at last year's 16th Party Congress the task of strengthening the authority of national committees in cities, suburban housing developments, and central villages.

Many of our cities have become in recent years extensive new focal points of settlement and industrial centers. This has brought a number of desirable elements into their life, but also more than a few tasks and problems in the area of capital investment, the assurance of heat, water and energy for the residents, the development of transportation, trade and services, and especially in the comprehensive outfitting of new suburban housing developments.

To resolve these problems the CPCZ Central Committee and government has adopted basic directives for an expansion of national committee authority. The purpose of these measures is to make it possible for representative organs better to utilize all economic and social conditions for the comprehensive development of cities and for the most multi-faceted possible satisfaction of the needs and interests of their inhabitants. The measures which have been adopted likewise create the conditions for city national committees to be able more efficiently than previously to influence territorial planning, to express themselves concerning the allocation of investment resources and concerning the activists of factories and organizations which are operating on their territory and which have a direct connection with the satisfaction of the needs of the city and its residents.

A number of important questions remain to be resolved concerning the position and authority of the national committees in the large city housing developments which form relatively independent units. These are mainly related to the concern that these developments not remain solely as bedroom communities for the large cities, but that a full-fledged public and social life develop within them, and that their administration be close to the people and that it much more consistently and flexibly resolve the problems and shortcomings which aggravate people's lives.

In recent years there has been a similar substantial strengthening in the role of local national committees in the villages, the appearance of which has likewise changed significantly in the years of socialist construction. Many smaller villages have, after careful preparation, merged into larger territorial and administrative units which provide more favoralbe conditions for the satisfaction of the needs of the rural population.

The recent 6th CPCZ Central Committee session approved principles for the activity of national committees in central villages. The Czech and Slovak national councils have discussed and approved a new law expanding the authority of national committees in these villages. The fundamental purpose of this modification is to make it possible for the needs and affairs of citizens to be handled by national committees at the lower levels and so that these committees may attend to the broadest possible range of issues on their own authority. This will certainly be welcomed by every person who has had to make often many trips to the okres city in order to resolve various routine questions.

All of the measures which have been implemented and prepared to strengthen the authority and thereby as well the important social function of our most broadly based representative committees pursue a single objective: the intensification, in accordance with the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, of the democratic nature of all their activities and the strengthening of their links with the citizenry. Last year's congress resolutions also emphasized that in accordance with the development of our socialist state an increased role will come to the fore in all national committee activities for their elected organs, namely plenary meetings, councils, commissions and other groups and, last but not least, of delegates as well.

It is no secret that the role of these organs has not been appreciated for a long time, to the detriment of the affairs of a number of national committees. Serious questions were decided by the staff and at times even by individual senior officials. This was comfortable for certain delegates, but many others justifiably felt that they were at times standing on the periphery of decisionmaking concerning basic questions of the life and development of villages. Subjectivism in managerial work which is not based on collective wisdom and experiences accumulated over a long period of time, also holds within itself more often than not the danger of making a superficial or a rushed decision.

Hand in hand, therefore, with the strengthening of the authority of local and city national committees there must also be an increase in the quality

of all of their managerial and organizational activity. With increased authority, there is also justifiably expected from elected organs and delegates greater accountability for the consistent implementation of communist party policy under the conditions of specific territorial units.

Elected organs should certainly never fritter away their energy and time on the discussion of inconsequential questions and problems. Issues which are of fundamental importance for the life and development of villages and cities should be included on national committee agendas only after careful and timely preparation assured by councils and national committee staffs. Care should be taken so that discussion of these issues not be attended by delegates weighted down with piles of indiscriminate written documentation, but armed with recommendations from commissions, citizen committees and from the residents of their electoral districts. It should likewise be a rule, as it already is in a number of cities and towns, that plenary meetings take place with the widest possible citizen participation. This, however, does not relieve the national committee of the responsibility for acquainting the remaining citizens with the results of its discussions through the medium of citizen committees and to assure more thorough control of the adopted resolutions.

An important precondition for a systematic strengthening of the links between national committees and citizens is the conscientious development of their cooperation with social and special interest organizations of the National Front. Here as well, it is possible to rely on many valuable experiences. For instance, the annual socialist competitions and brigade activity of citizens would not be conceivable without the initiative-taking participation of National Front organizations.

However, there are also areas which can be improved. For instance, it is not yet common practice for National Front organs and their associated organizations to place their proposals and comments on the agendas of national committees, or regularly to take up a position on questions under discussion. This is, however, an important precondition for their participation in the systematic administration of public affairs, in the creation and control of measures and tasks impinging on the lives of all citizens.

It is equally important that the elected organs of the national committees develop an ever broader and completed informal cooperation with centrally managed enterprises and organizations in the interest of the purposeful economic, social and cultural development of the territorial units in which they operate. Here as well, in addition to a number of valuable results and experiences, there are as yet more than a few areas which can be improved.

As the entire course of the recent 6th CPCZ Central Committee session indicated during its discussions of measures to strengthen the authority of the elected organs of the national committees, these measures may not be implemented on a one-time basis, nor over a short time schedule. In many instances, moreover, such an approach would smack of superficiality.

Nor is it possible, however, to proceed in the implementation of these tasks after they have received their final form in the modification of the legal code. Strengthening the authority of our representative organs presupposes significant changes in the style and technique of their activities on the behalf of the citizens, who the national committees are supposed to serve in their daily work. On the contrary, it is necessary to proceed with these changes immediately and in the manner required by the new, more rigorous demands on the work of all representative committees.

During this process, much will depend on the responsible work of party groups of delegates and on the CPCZ basic organizations functioning within the national committees. Party-oriented groups may no longer be satisfied, as has sometimes happened with deeply ingrained practice, with being aware only from time to time of previously adopted resolutions or decisions.

Their irreplaceable task is none other than to evaluate openly and responsibly the degree and consistency with which, under the conditions of activity of individual national committees, the principles adopted by the 6th CPCZ Central Committee session are being implemented. They are to determine whether the necessary material, financial and personnel measures, the necessary forms and techniques of work which are a precondition for the successful fulfillment of party policy in such crucial areas as state administration are being chosen and implemented in a timely manner and to the requisite extent.

This requires a complete turnaround in a sometimes deeply ingrained approach: instead of the passive acceptance of occasionally even less than important information, what is necessary is the discussion and submission of fundamental proposals for improving the quality of national committee work, and of its organs and staff. Instead of an evaluation of the work of delegate-communists by staff employees, there should be an evaluation of how the often numerous staff of national committees contributes through its work to the fulfillment of the principles outlined by the highest party and state organs, how they create the conditions for the successful activity of the elected organs, for delegates and groups and how they carry out their decisions.

The basic party organizations functioning within national committees are facing similar responsibilities. Whether they will make use of the potential inherent in their increased authority by adopting a responsible approach to all the tasks entrusted to them will depend on their purposeful influence on communists and through them on other employees, activists and citizens.

9276
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TREATMENT OF PRUSSIAN HISTORY IN GDR, FRG ANALYZED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 22 May 82 p 9

['Topic of the Day' feature article by Prof Dr Michael Stuermer, Erlangen University: "To Whom Does the German History Belong?--National-Political Profile in East Berlin." For various references to Dr Ingrid Mittenzwei's Frederick II biography (cited in this discussion) and to other items on GDR historiography on Prussia see translations of an East Berlin SONNTAG article and a Magdeburg VOLKSSTIMME article, published under the heading, "'Objective' Treatment of Prussian History Emphasized," in JPRS 79401, 9 Nov 81, No 1939 of this series, pp 7-13]

[Text] The Germans have found a common point of reference concerning the question about their own heritage. It is Prussia. Looking in the mirror of the Prussian condition, which was left to the divided country, the Germans last year came across the question concerning citizens virtues, the state and its central European location. Nevertheless, the following sentence written by Friedrich Sieburg, novelist and essayist, is still in effect: "Germany is standing at the wailing wall--no Jerusalem will come back to life this way." The partition is reflected in an increased consciousness of danger, the more the arms buildup and the state of siege in Poland are reducing the substance of the policy of detente. Current frictions within the Western Alliance and, as far as opposing interests, technology and scarce energy are concerned, also within the Eastern camp memories of a broken house and the continuing separation of its inhabitants are increasing. The ambiguous trends of neutralism are moving toward a composite formula in the new nationalism of the Left, which is endangering the core of the Atlantic Alliance and surrendering the security of the West.

Prussian Renissance?

A Prussian renaissance is not in sight: That must be kept in mind for the FRG as well as for the Eastern part of Germany. The issue is something else, something current, and Prussia is nothing more than a symbol, a provocation for reflection and a claim to the history, which for such a long time was something that they had had in common, and if it were up to the new German nationalism, it is something that should again be held in common. Because whoever has the history, possibly will also have the future. The GDR, which is taking possession of Prussia's history, could appropriate for itself quite a few other things, and yet it would not be considered a violation of the rights of a foreign country.

That is the way it is, whoever determines ideas and thoughts is also the one who has power over the people. Not deeds are moving people but the words about the deeds. These thoughts expressed by a Greek philosopher 2000 years ago are the law which during the epoch of the ideological civil war will decide on victory and defeat.

The question concerning identity, history and future was and is the driving force behind the attempt to claim Prussia and to determine the essential component of German history for almost 250 years, the absence of which is causing more trouble for the European situation than the existence of Prussia did. Prussia's legacy to German history is as extensive as it is disputed. Hagen Schulze, who teaches contemporary history at the Free University in West Berlin--he wrote the biography of a great Prussian labor leader: "Otto Braun oder Preussens demokratische Sendung" [Otto Braun or Prussia's Democratic Mission]--pointed out not too long ago that the search for Prussia is a "political issue of the first degree." At the same time, the historian Ingrid Mittenzwei, who is riding high in the hierarchy of GDR history--she wrote the biography of a great Prussian king: "Friedrich II"--made the statement that the important thing in this issue is the "ideological class struggle."

Interpretation of History as Politics

Is it also a matter of history? More important, no doubt, is politics, the national claim to sole representation and, as far as the GDR is concerned, its "socialist understanding of heritage." The transformation, however, is remarkable. For a long time the GDR interpreted literally the resolution No 46 of the Allied Control Council--adopted in 1947--concerning the final dissolution of Prussia, and it indicated that it could not find anything in the abolished state other than "oppression of its own people and the conquest of other states" (school history textbook "History 7") and whose turning away from history was legitimate for a revolution from above that despised people: When it says Prussia, the GDR means the entire Germany history. The closer one gets to the party leadership, the more thought is being put into it, not in the service, however, of sciences devoid of value but for a very new and simultaneously old national concept.

Its contour is emerging behind the change of the concept of history since 1978, and to date only Dr Helmut Kohl, opposition leader in the German Bundestag, has accepted the inherent challenge. The time belongs to the past, when the SED eradicated the concept of Germany; a "consistent appropriation of Germany's national history by the GDR" is taking place, "it is concerned with the entire German past."

To come to a point with respect to the thesis: In the process Prussia is nothing more than the strategic sector of a concept of history, which is about to tear down the confines of the self-erected ideological cage of 30 years. It wants the entire German past and its entire interpretation through history and--it is being said candidly and openly--it means all of Germany.

The debate about the German history actually concerns the German nation. Since it is divided, however, and since this division represents a piece of world balance that boes far beyond Central Europe, the question about Prussia, Germany and its history deserves teh attention of its neighbors because it supercedes the limited historical interest. Where is the FRG headed: Karl Jasper's old question will have to find an answer also from this viewpoint.

Loss of History in West Germany

Following a brief boom of a humanistic revival--which, among other things, shaped Hesse's constitution of 1946 and its pathos of history which not long ago was exhorted by Hesse's State High Court--and the discovery of a liberal-democratic dreamland, the year of 1848, a loss of history set in in West Germany, which is still being felt. Theodor W. Adorno put it this way: Memory, time and history were liquidated as irrational remnants. Did German history not lead to Hitler? What could it teach other than that nothing must be repeated. The future seems only wholesome to the degree to which it rejected everything in the past. Between the progressive vision of the beautiful new world and the conservative fascination through efficiency and technocracy, something set in that had been deplored earlier and inconclusively, a "loss of history" (A. Heuss). The fewer historical memories, the better. All beautiful things belonged to the future, all the ugly things to the past.

In the FRG, history found refuge in the feuilleton. In the cirriculum of SPD-governed Laender, the subject was at best tolerated, most of the time, however, it was not the case. In the GDR, on the other hand, history remained a state secret and belongs to the sword. Doubters are doing penance in Bautzen II. "Forward to a socialist Germany!" Walter Ulbricht's paper pathos of 1947 is still in effect, and history never lost the "character of the unrestrained self-praise of the state" (E. Nolte). The details, however, were subject to changes, internal shifts within the East bloc, the relationship with the hated, admired FRG and the growing self-confidence of the second Germany which wants to become the first and only one.

GDR: Partiality and Identity

The "storm on the fortress of science," between 1948 and 1952, the late phase of Stalinism, was followed by the settlement of the principle of individuality, the principle of understanding and the reference to the state of classical historicism. In the meantime the young National People's Army borrowed from Scharnhorst and the SED from "Tradition," the left wing of the German labor movement. History, the question of truth suspended, became the administration of knowledge of the rulers and marking the party line. Peaceful coexistence in world politics, forced through the accessibility of both superpowers to nuclear weapons, meant an intensification of the ideological battle. The principle of partiality retouched, cut off, selected and put together for the SED a rising line of Germany history, thinly punctuated by uprisings and revolts. The ugly remainder, which was quite extensive, was shoved toward the FRG without any regrets. In 1971 a theoretical essay caught attention. It was written by Ernst Engelberg, the grand old man of GDR history. He was feeling out the chance of a Marxist-Leninist "historicism."

Since 1978, however, signs in East Berlin have been increasing that Prussia's history also contained things other than "oppression and conquest." The SED is consistently formulating a total claim to the German history, indeed, a claim to sole representation. For the socialist subjects there was soon occasion for amazement. In the fall of 1978, five segments of a historical instructional program on Prussia's reform period between 1806 and 1813 was broadcast over television, and the actors represented well-known names in Prussian history. When addressing one another, they used names like Stein, Scharnhorst ane Clausewitz, they wanted a revolution from above and praised the Russians as liberators. The fact that NEUES DEUTSCHLAND first criticized the series sharply, recommending that it be banned immediately, and that only a short time later it received considerable praise, is an indication of the existing uncertaintly and the dispute.

The New Line Since 1978: National History and Total Germany

Then a respectable book by Ingrid Mittenzwei was published on a Prussian king whom Erich Honecker called the "Great," when he commented on "current political questions" in the summer of 1980. Since then the king, cast in bronze--a monumental statue--140 years ago by Rauch, is again riding on "Unter den Linden," between Schinkel's guardhouse and Knobelsdorff's carefully restored opera house. But the old horseman will miss the castle, Schlueter's powerful royal building, an immense structure which represented the claim of the House of Brandenburg to be something in the Reich: until the SED razed to the ground the burned-out piece of art, the walls of which were still standing strong.

In 1975 Thomas Muentzer was celebrated as the ancestor and prophet who wanted to give power to the common man during the German Peasants' War 450 years ago. In 1983, however, Dr Martin Luther will be celebrated even more; he challenged the princes to make an end to the bloody nonsense. The first secretary of the state party is the head of the festival committee. Because Luther is at the beginning of that German national culture which the GDR intends to inherit. In 1980 Carl von Clausewitz was celebrated with a selection of his works and an officer's guard at his grave. In Szxony the inventor of porcelain will be glorified this year and August the Strong, Saxony's elector, will also be remembered a little bit.

Since 1978 there has been one program essay after the other, not in dry prose as had been the case previously but to explain the new line to doubting leading functionaries, like Eduard Norden. In the FORUM of the party youth, Frau Ingrid Mittenzwei developed insights into "the two faces of Prussia": For a long time the view had been distorted because of the necessary polemics between the "revolutionary labor movement" and the "reactionary Prussianism." It is all over: "Also in this respect" the important thing is to enter into the inheritance. In 1979 the authoritative interpretation followed. In the June edition of the periodical EINHEIT, the leading ideological organ of the SED, the precursors of the GDR history demanded that Prussia's "positive-progressive aspects" should not be negated. A danger was threatening from the West, because "flexible bourgeois historians, particularly those oriented toward social and cultural history" were developing a different picture of Prussia, and it goes without saying that the purpose was none other than "to justify the current imperialist system of the FRG." Haffner's long

essay, "Prussia Without Legend," made the best-seller list in the West. When the state library of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation was dedicated, the FRG president praised the constitutional state which Prussia had always been. And the Prussian exhibit in the old Gropius building near the wall was being put together. There were things about Prussia that were unacceptable. But "our understanding of the heritage is different"--according to the EINHEIT--is oriented toward comprehending, preserving and cultivating the "historically developed, positive historical values."

'Socialist German Nation'

And that is what happened. Some of the scarce investment funds were made available for the care of monuments. On the market square of Gransee the Queen Luise monument--Fontane readers will remember it--was polished for the Schinkel year. Right now the monument of Prince Louis Ferdinand near Saalfeld, where he died for Prussia in 1806, is being restored with great care. The castle of Rheinsberg in Mark Brandenburg is gleaming in the rococo splendor of Frederick II.

But the objective is not the care of monuments and historical seminar work but politics. It is aiming beyond Prussia, at all of Germany. Walther Schmidt, director of the Institute for the History of the Labor Movement at the SED Central Committee, top administrator of history and very close to state secrets, had already passed the stage of intimations last fall when he used a whole page in SONNTAG to point out that the history of the GDR did not begin in 1945 or 1949. The entire preceding period "of the first complete break with the reactionary past on German soil" is part of it. That is to say, history that goes back "to the times of original society." Removing the limits of time corresponds to removing the limits of space: Schmidt's extensive article was illustrated with a page from the Mendelsche Hausbuch of the Zwoelfbrueder Foundation, Nuernberg, circa 1389. Even the upper, say exploiting classes can find redemption from their eternal historical damnation: All classes and levels of society are to be examined. "Socialism is the legitimate result of the entire process of history. It is a union of contradictions, the dialectic of which must be taken as a whole." In the GDR "the socialist German nation" developed, socialist in character, German by heritage. An "identity" must therefore be constructed, an interesting use of Western terminology, which is to comprise no less than "the entire German history." Through national consciousness, one may conclude, to a nation.

The GDR leadership got involved in an ambiguous game and the conclusion is still open. To date is has not been able to stop or decide the question of its citizens, what its thoughts are about the nation. It betrays little about its inclination, much, however, about the need for national legitimation of a regime, whose founding fathers wore Russian officer's coats. The repercussions are incalculable on the fabric of the Soviet empire. To date the SED has been the most complaint satellite of the hegemonic power, colorless in its national interests and committed to the world civil war. The new czars would not like it at all if the Germany question were to emerge at the western edge of the empire. Before long, the offenseive national ideology of the GDR leadership will again be subjugated to imperial discipline. A

GDR without history and without face is one of the few safe items in the imperial calculation. A new national communism, particularly one that has been saturated as little as the German one, would be a nightmare for Moscow.

The Dilemma of the FRG: State Consciousness Or National Claim

Prussia, the memory of a devastated central Europe and the national question did not come up at an opportune moment for the FRG either. What other explanation could there be for the official silence on the most disputed of all questions that concerns the Germans and their place in Europe? It has been 30 years since the FRG was founded, and more than anything else it needs self-confidence and state consciousness and, in addition, an unequivocal Western definition of its security and its reason of state. Identity can only be established to the degree to which the distance to Bismarck's national state grows and the wounds of the division heal. But there is late news from Prussia and it contains the question about the state and about public affairs and even more about the identity and the German nation. Until today the quadrature of the circle has been to overcome the normative idea of the German national state without losing the consciousness of the nation. The ostpolitik, which began 12 years ago, has been more ambiguous than its opponents realized. Particularly for the Left, it was not so much the final chapter of a national history but, rather, it was a search for a new identity. It is not an insurmountable barrier for the German future, least at all for the GDR.

Prussia was born under the curse of its geography. Correcting the shape of Prussia was the constant hypothesis of European power politics, and it is difficult to place the continuing division of Germany at the end of the 20th century outside this correlation. The FRG will need to insist on the ethics of human and civil rights and a liberal political culture, something that was implied for Europe in the national concept of 1789 and 1848 and which is required by the Basic Law of 1949. Nevertheless, it will also require spirited discussions--which have been neglected for such a long time in favor of important and profitable transactions--on the history of the nation to survive such tensions.

End of the Postwar Period: Where Is the FRG Headed?

The epoch of the postwar period is nearing its end, its structures are aging. Its hopes are dying with its illusions. The question about the nation, however, is reemerging, creating perplexity, hope and fear of the future. Because the division of Germany remains a stability factor of the divided world. But the Germans are being overtaken by their own history. They are beginning to understand that the history that led to Hitler, also continued beyond him and will continue in the future. The basic principles of the European postwar order are being questioned through nationalism and neutralism of the Left. The established precepts which connect the future and the past, will have to be examined and newly confirmed. Because a public policy that ignores history will not survive in the consciousness of its citizens. The Germans are beginning to realize that their history contains more than one draft for the future. Some even remember that man does not live on bread alone.

8991
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'NEPSZABADSAG' INTERVIEWS AFGHAN POLITBURO MEMBER

AU042113 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Jun 82 p 3

[Interview with Dr Anahita Ratebzad, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan by Istvan Zalai--in Budapest, date not given: "The Results Stem From Regaining Trust; Discussion With the President of the Afghan Women's Federation"]

[Text] Dr Anahita Ratebzad, member of the Politburo of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, has made a statement on the armed defense of the Afghan revolution, political consolidation and Kabul's initiatives toward ensuring tranquility in the area to Istvan Zalai, a member of our newspaper's staff. As president of the Afghan Women's Federation, Anahita Ratebzad, the first female doctor of her country, recently paid an official visit to Budapest.

[Question] More than 2 months have gone by since the national conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. How do you appraise now the country's general conditions and the political and military situation?

[Answer] According to the party conference's analysis, our country is going through a difficult time. The revolutionary changes have elicited the resistance of reaction and imperialist forces, which are striving, through terror and force, to unleash a fratricidal war to regain their power. This appraisal remains valid, although the reason for being able to convene the conference was the fact that experiences have shown that the political-military consolidation was making progress and it was feasible to accelerate the process. Signals coming from the most remote corners of the country and the most diverse nationalities and tribes have demonstrated that support for the revolution is growing stronger and the influence of the rebels supported from abroad is subsiding.

In principle, the spring months should favor the rebels, because, with the winter receding, mountain roads and paths become negotiable again, allowing the movements and activity of the rebels to become brisker. However, if we compare this spring with the last, we can safely say that security has improved. The situation is now normal in provinces where there were clashes and uncertainty reigned a year ago.

[Question] To what do you attribute this?

[Answer] This is due to the strengthening and more effective conduct of our armed forces. Obviously, the fact that the counterrevolutionaries have switched to terrorist tactics, following the liquidation of their larger groups and internal bases, has also played a part. However, they did not obtain supporters through their assaults and assassinations, but have alienated people. For instance, it was hardly conceivable for the fact that the rebels, who act in the name of "defending Islam," have set mosques on fire and murdered mullahs who want a normal relationship with the government to remain without its impact. Thus, it is understandable that people believe them considerably less than previously.

Still, I think that the results of the political-military consolidation are due primarily to regaining political trust. This trust was there at the time of the April 1978 revolution, but it was lost almost completely in the Amin era, which was characterized by a despotism of a group expropriating the power and the party's slogans. Extremely hard work has been and--of course--is necessary to enable us to regain it, although there are definite signs that we are on the right path.

Were this not the case, then it would be hardly possible for the formation of a new type of armed forces, local self-defense groups, which--with central support, if needed--can ensure the defense of small individual areas or settlements from the rebels. We can also ascribe to this the fact that so many people, who had left following the fights and under the effect of the misleading propaganda of the rebels, have returned to the country. We can also mention here the fact that several tribes living along the Pakistani border have changed their attitude. In contrast to the previous period, they now prevent the penetration of armed rebels along the secret mountain paths in the areas where they live. Knowing the terrain, only they are able to do so.

[Question] What can this renascent trust be ascribed to?

[Answer] People have become aware of the fact that the party's program is serving their interests, that, truly, the government says what it thinks and does what it says. The land reform has entered a new phase. The peasants are given seeds and tools, and a fair apportionment of water, which is vital for farming, has been initiated.

Not a straight path, but a very circuitous trail leads to the tribes that live in the high mountains. However, whoever wants to climb the mountains has to find that trail. Extremely important is also the fact that respect for the Islamic religion is part of official government policy. The building of new mosques with government money is a sign of that. Of course, there is no doubt that--mainly because of historical backwardness--we are up against many problems. Together with the social reforms, extensive enlightening activity and patient explanation will be needed. It is easier to build new cities, roads and enterprises, but more difficult to change the mentality of people. To be able to proclaim such a program and

implement it in practice, we of course regard--on the basis of our previous bitter experiences--the strengthening of the party's ideological and organizational unity and unity in action as indispensable. That was precisely one of the main tasks of the party conference held 2 months ago.

[Question] You have mentioned the curbing of the rebels. Could that also mean a decline of their external support?

[Answer] No, external pressure, imperialist support for the counterrevolutionary groups has not diminished. Their Pakistani bases exist as before and their numbers have even increased, arms deliveries continue to arrive there and they are trying to enter Afghanistan from there. We have unequivocally signaled on several occasions to our neighbors, Pakistan and Iran, that, in the interests of the security of the area, we want a political solution, a negotiated settlement. In the event of the observation of the sovereignty of Afghanistan and an internationally guaranteed cessation of intervention from abroad, we would initiate negotiations about a withdrawal of the Soviet troops stationed in our country, troops that are helping to defend the revolution. We also told that to the UN representative who visited Kabul. There is a certain amount of progress; Afghan-Pakistani talks could begin in Geneva in the near future. We are interested in a fair settlement and not in maintaining tension.

CSO: 2500/289

AMBASSADOR SUJKA, UN DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE REPRESENTATIVE INTERVIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 May 82 p 6

[Interview with Bogumil Sujka, representative to UN Disarmament Committee by TRYBUNA LUDU staff writer; date and place not given]

[Text] In late April, the UN Disarmament Committee of 40 member countries concluded its spring session which focused largely on preparations for the UN Second Disarmament Special Session slated for June in New York City. A TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent interviewed Poland's representative to the Disarmament Committee, Ambassador Bogumil Sujka, Ph.D., about issues which were raised at the session.

[Question] What issues were discussed at the spring session of the Disarmament Committee? What was the atmosphere of the debate?

[Answer] The Committee agenda included, as usual, a complete ban on nuclear weapons tests; nuclear disarmament; a ban on production, storage, and use of new weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons, a ban on chemical warfare; and a guarantee from nuclear super powers for countries without nuclear weapons. A new item on the agenda was a ban on military use of the space, recommended by the Soviet Union and supported by the most recent session of the UN General Assembly.

The final item on the Committee agenda was a proceedings report for the UN. The Committee proceedings began in an unusual atmosphere due to the events in Poland and their repercussions throughout the world.

Some delegations, especially from the United States and the NATO countries, sought to present the current political situation in the light of the developments in Poland as if this situation had rendered the disarmament talks impossible and created an unfavorable climate for such talks. Those countries maintained that the political climate reportedly makes disarmament impossible, and thus a lack of progress in disarmament talks complicates the political climate.

It must be said firmly and clearly that a great majority of the Committee members opposed that way of thinking. For example, neutral countries called the attitude of the Western delegations a push for a confrontation between

the West and the East, and they refused to participate in it. The neutral countries opposed the attempts to link up a political situation in any part of the globe with the proceedings of the Committee which has been established not to consider the issue of the world's political climate but to conduct specific disarmament negotiations. This attitude prevailed among the Committee members. The Committee then passed on to matter-of-fact and specific negotiations of the items on the agenda.

[Question] Has the session brought any progress in the negotiation process?

[Answer] The relatively short period of time was maximally utilized to bring about a progress. Unfortunately, the pace of the Committee proceedings, especially in terms of what was actually accomplished, left much to be desired. However, a thorough program of disarmament has been prepared, and it is ready to be presented during the Second Disarmament Session.

The second session will hear the Committee's report which objectively spells out the committee's accomplishments as well as those issues which could not be agreed upon, including an explanation why there was no consensus concerning those issues. Having familiarized itself with the problems plaguing the Committee, the session will be able to provide a new impulse for further negotiations and perhaps even a positive solution to some essential issues which have been an object of a controversy.

The preparations for the second session are formally under way in New York, but they are also a topic of informal talks in Geneva. The talks focus on ways to prevent the session from becoming a confrontation rather than a source of a new impulse for disarmament talks. It is difficult to foresee which tendency will eventually win. At any rate, it is expected that the second session will specifically deal with very complex questions. It is also expected that it will maintian the climate which dominated the first disarmament session in 1978.

[Question] What were the repercussions of the Soviet disarmament initiatives presented recently by Leonid Brezhnev?

[Answer] Leonid Brezhnev's recent disarmament proposal and its repercussions should be considered within the context of the policy of the new U.S. administration.

The focus of the United States is on building up its defense potential. By undertaking a production of the neutron bomb and chemical weapons and by increasing defense spending, the United States wants to usher in a new stage in the world's arms race. This is accompanied by propaganda rhetorics of the U.S. administration, initiated by the well-known speech of President Reagan last November. This propaganda rhetorics centers on strengthening the unity of the Western allies, which slackens when faced with the threat of a new stage in the arms race. Second, the propaganda rhetorics is directed towards neutralizing the increased push from the public opinion for disarmament.

After a certain period of near euphoria, brought about by the propaganda rhetorics among the Western allies, including the government circles, came a kind of sobering up. Therefore it is believed in Geneva that the new initiatives of the secretary general of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, came at the right moment, for they point to the dividing line between rhetorics and facts. They show that there can be no real dialogue about disarmament if it is not based on a recognition of facts. The essential element of that recognition includes a disarmament process occurring while security balance is maintained and the security of one of the parties involved is not in danger. A debate on the proposals has thus provided a more realistic view of the disarmament issues. Unlike the propaganda rhetorics, the proposals also provide a true forum for the discussion.

[Question] How do the diplomatic circles at the Geneva Palace of Nations view the development of the Polish situation?

[Answer] The events in Poland, mainly the introduction of martial law, were perceived in the United States as a pretext for an attempt to usher in a new stage in the global confrontation between capitalism and socialism. American statements have indicated that, according to the U.S. administration, social change in the world since World War II must be stopped to protect American interests. Hence the United States and the Western countries had such high hopes centered around the events in Poland since August 1980. They were convinced that the events would eventually lead to the crisis not only of the Polish economy but also of the Polish national structure. Hence they responded with fury when the introduction of martial law interrupted the gradual process of disintegration in Poland. The American delegation sought to use every international forum to meddle in Polish affairs. In Geneva, there were several occasions for just that.

Since the introduction of martial law, Geneva--apart from Madrid--was the major scene of psychological pressure exerted by the U.S. The pressure has since subsided, owing chiefly to the unequivocal recognition of the process of stabilization in Poland, and this very process speaks for itself. In Geneva, we now witness a decline of interest in Polish affairs. Our Western discussants return to those issues less often and more timidly than before. It must be stressed that this evolution is also a result of the decisive counteraction by the Polish foreign service.

9852
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TEXT OF EXECUTIVE PROVISION TO TEACHER'S CHARTER PUBLISHED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 9, 11 Apr 82 p 11

[Text] Teachers are entitled to an allowance for continuous school service, called a longevity allowance, in the amount of one percent of the basic salary, for each year of employment, payable monthly, beginning in the fourth year of employment, on condition that the allowance may not exceed 20 percent of the basic salary.

Teachers who have been employed for over 20 years are entitled to receive a longevity allowance as of 1 January 1982, and other teachers as of 1 September 1983.

The minister of education, in consultation with the minister of labor, wages and social affairs, defines specific cases of crediting for employment periods which entitle a person to receive a longevity allowance.

We print below the full text of the decree of the minister of education of 2 March 1982 pertaining to specific cases of crediting employment periods which entitle teachers to receive longevity allowances, and to the general principles governing the payment of allowances.

By virtue of Article 33, Paragraph 3, of the Law of 26 January 1982--Teacher's Charter (DZIENNIK USTAW [Legal Gazette] No 3, item 19), we decree as follows:

Section 1

1. Periods of continuous employment in a school (schools) are regarded as periods which entitle a teacher to a longevity allowance.

2. Periods mentioned in Paragraph 1 do not include periods of employment in a school (as well as periods of employment previous to employment in that school) in which the employment status:

--expired due to the teacher's leaving,

--was terminated by the school without notice, through the teacher's fault,

--was terminated by the teacher through a notice, with the exception of notice being given because of:

a) the teacher's spouse having moved to another locality in connection with his (her) change of employment,

b) the teacher's having moved to another locality as a result of having contracted marriage with a person living in that locality,

c) having accepted employment in the place of residence or in its vicinity, provided that the teacher was previously employed in another locality or in a distant section of a large city and commuted to work.

3. In determining the periods of employment which are required in order to entitle a person to receive a longevity allowance, periods of a teacher's employment in which his workload was less than one-half of his contractual obligation are not counted.

Section 2

Periods of employment which entitle a person to receive a longevity allowance include also, on conditions defined in Section 1, periods of continuous employment in:

1) organs of school supervision,

2) in non-teaching positions in schools,

3) on the economic and administrative staffs of schools,

4) in subsidiary institutions of an educational and scientific character,

5) in other work places, as long as employment in them has been credited to the teacher for salary purposes as employment providing experience and qualifications which are useful in a teacher's work.

Section 3

Employment periods which entitle a person to receive a longevity allowance include also certain other periods, in conformity with norms defined in a separate order, and especially periods:

1) of employment in political and social organizations, and of leaves from professional work in connection with a teacher's election or appointment to government and social positions--in conformity with norms defined in Guideline No 8 of the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs of 17 June 1975 with regard to crediting periods of employment in political and social organizations, as well as leaves from professional work in connection with an employee's election or appointment to government and social positions, to periods of employment which entitle a person to receive a length-of-service

allowance (OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs No 6, Item 19),

2) of employment in offices and other organizational units which are abolished in connection with a change in the administrative division of our country--in conformity with norms defined in Resolution No 91 of the Council of Ministers of 30 May 1975 with regard to employment of employees of abolished organizations (MONITOR POLSKI No 17, Item 111),

3) of employment in local organs of state administration--in conformity with norms defined in Guideline No 21 of the Minister of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs of 1 December 1975 with regard to crediting periods of employment of certain employees in local organs of state administration to periods of employment which entitle these employees to receive longevity allowances and length-of-service awards.

4) of:

a) having done basic or periodical or professional military service--under conditions defined in regulations pertaining to such services,

b) having undergone student military training--in conformity with norms defined in regulations which pertain to such training,

c) having served in the Citizens' Militia--in conformity with the Law of 31 December 1959 pertaining to the service of members of the Citizens' Militia (a uniform text: DZIENNIK USTAW [Legal Gazette] of 1973, No 23, Item 136), applicable to members of the Citizens' Militia who were discharged from service after 1 January 1973, on condition that the period of employment in the first work place after discharge from service has been credited to a period which entitles a person to receive a longevity allowance for school employment,

5) of unemployment--regardless of length--if the teacher was reinstated in school employment,

6) of [World War II] combat duty and of periods spent in concentration camps--in conformity with norms defined in the Law of 23 October 1975 pertaining to further increase in benefits for veterans and former concentration camp prisoners (DZIENNIK USTAW [Legal Gazette] No 34, Item 186),

7) leaves without pay, granted in accordance with specific regulations which provide for crediting them to periods entitling a person to receive a longevity allowance.

Section 4

1. The continuity of employment is not interrupted by the following periods which, however, are not counted in the period of employment which makes a person eligible for a longevity allowance:

1) leaves without pay, except those mentioned in Section 3, Point 7,

2) interruptions in the employment of women which do not exceed three years and which are caused by the need to take care of a child until the age of four, such interruptions having originated before 1 June 1968,

3) receiving a disability pension or sickness pension, or receiving sickness benefits after the termination of the employment contract, including the three-month period after lapse of eligibility for these benefits,

4) interruptions of employment for other causes, if the period of interruption did not exceed three months.

2. Employment interruption periods which are mentioned in paragraph 1, point 4, do not interrupt the continuity of employment, provided that the teacher resumed his school employment after these interruptions.

Section 5

Part-time teachers are eligible for a longevity allowance in the amount proportionate to their workload as resulting from their employment status.

Section 6

Longevity allowance is paid retroactively at the time of payment of salary:

1) beginning with the first day of a calendar month which follows the month in which a teacher became eligible for the allowance or for a higher rate of the allowance, if eligibility for the allowance occurred during the month,

2) for a given month, if eligibility for the allowance or for a higher rate of of the allowance occurred on the first day of the month.

Longevity allowance is not paid for a month in which a teacher was absent even one day without an excuse.

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MYTHS, REALITIES, INADEQUACIES OF POLISH HIGHER EDUCATION DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 May 82 p 3

[Article by Wojciech Kubicki]

[Text] So many misconceptions have already formed with regard to admission to higher studies and the problem of employment of college graduates that it is increasingly more difficult to separate myths in this area from views which are based on reality. One could call a super-myth the obstinately propagated opinion that allegedly too many people in Poland have been educated in colleges, while nobody defines precisely in proportion to what it is too many. Is it too many in proportion to Poland's population, economic potential and cultural aspirations, or perhaps in comparison with other countries, but if so--is it in relation to Bangladesh or rather France or USSR?

The truth is that we in Poland provide college education to slightly 10 percent of each age-group, including even those who study in extension or evening courses. Meanwhile, in countries with a slightly lower or slightly higher social achievement per one inhabitant, e.g., in USSR and GDR, 20-30 percent of each age group study in college, which is, on the average, exactly twice as many as in our country. A similar comparison can be made with France or FRG, where approximately 25 percent of each age group study in colleges under the resident day instruction system alone. Thus, in proportion to our own demographic and economic potential, and in comparison with other countries, comparisons with which are objectively justified, we educate in colleges too small a percentage of our young generation.

But, of course, there is no smoke without fire, and alarms about the alleged overproduction of educated people are in some way related to reality, though they are based mainly on erroneous interpretations of the latter.

Thus, while generally educating too few people, we educate them it seems, not in fields of specialization which are needed in our country at present. The so-called specialization structure of education at the college level (as well as at the middle vocational level, but this is a topic for a separate discussion) less than adequately reflects our country's economic, scientific, and social needs. Moreover, this structure is very stable, not to say inertial, and resists corrections. To be sure, changing it too

rashly under the influence of extemporaneously defined and often incorrectly estimated needs would be just as unprofitable and, in addition, could have a disastrous effect on the scientific life of the educational institutions themselves. And yet it is possible to achieve a golden mean between these two extremes. To do so is certainly more difficult than to automatically reduce, year after year, the number of those admitted to higher studies, a policy which has been systematically applied for six years now and which has aroused in our society an ever greater and more justified concern. Let us recall but a few figures: in 1975 nearly 72,000 persons were admitted to regular on-campus higher studies (this number does not include educational institutions under the Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Higher School of Social Sciences under the PZPR Central Committee, and also the Lublin Catholic University); thereafter, during the past year, the number of those admitted to higher studies decreased to approximately 60,000, and is to decrease still further during this year--according to what has been announced heretofore--by an additional 2,000 to 3,000. Where will this method of improving the social usefulness of higher education lead us?

Let us put aside, for the time being, until another occasion, a discussion of the problem who, on the basis of thorough research, should formulate--and how and when--predictions as to demand for specialists with degrees in specific fields of study. On the other hand, let us pay more attention to the fact that errors in the specialization structure of college-level education are only a partial result of actions by the administration of higher education and by those ministries which have direct or indirect influence on these matters. Indeed, it is necessary to face the truth and to ascertain that social pressure plays a considerable role here.

Of course, it would be splendid if this social pressure originated from a correct reflection of our country's needs in our social consciousness. Indeed, it often happens so; thus, for example, before our higher education had developed fields of specialization related to electronics and data processing--already under the influence of news from the world and of what one could call "social intuition," young people began to rush into these fields of specialization to such an extent that there were between ten and twenty candidates for each available space. The collapse of our economy and the stagnation of Polish electronics caused, to be sure, in the most recent period, a leveling of this tide and a virtual shortage of properly prepared candidates for admission to these fields of specialization; but, first, this is a transitory and unhealthy deformation of a healthy trend, and, second, this collapse was influenced to a considerable extent by the low level of teaching of mathematics and physics in secondary schools which does not encourage secondary school graduates to test their abilities in fields of specialization in which the results of examinations in these subjects determine their admission to and survival in higher studies. However, in instances of healthy trends occurring in our preference for fields of specialization which offer good opportunities for the future are relatively few. For example, there is a lack of strong emphasis on such specializations, as chemical processing of coal, nuclear power engineering, genetics, and

geophysics--without even mentioning mathematics--for which certainly there is a guaranteed widespread demand in Poland and in the whole world for the next several tens of years.

Simultaneously--and this is increasingly more distressing and harmful--certain fields of specialization continue to be fashionable, being based on illusions and myths which exist in our social consciousness.

In the postwar period a classical example of such a myth and the resulting fashion was music education, subsequently replaced by Mediterranean archeology. These examples are cited endlessly in every discussion about our young people's choice of fields of specialization, but so far these myths have probably never been analyzed thoroughly. There are also other fields of specialization where degree-holding graduates have no idea what to do. These fields have included, among other things, theater arts, but recently, as it turns out--how awful!--horticulture has also been added to them. So it is; the situation has become so bad that there are no jobs for horticulturists, and also for electronics specialists, veterinarians, or economists. A horticulturist still can, if he has great ingenuity, resourcefulness and courage, secure a piece of idle farmland from the State Land Fund, obtain credit, and build planters or even a greenhouse, which, as everybody knows, will shield him from poverty. But what kind of business is an economist to establish? Indeed, I know a certain economist who has taken over a state shoe store on a profit-sharing basis; but precisely this kind of thing is not a solution which could be regarded as the proper utilization of this man's qualifications by him and by society in general. Unless, within less than a score of years, this becomes a state-and-privately owned giant Bata shoe store; but, for various reasons, this is not likely to happen...

Thus, fashion and inertia often push our youth into those fields of study which are perhaps even attractive for the sake of studying but which condemn a person to a later frustration caused by a feeling of disappointment because of the impossibility of finding employment which would correspond to the obtained qualifications.

Here we fall into a trap which has been set by ourselves and by our humanitarian approach to problems of study, work, and life in general. Namely, we think, and this was even once set down in our laws, that the state must provide everybody with employment corresponding to his qualifications. On the other hand, however, this very state does not have, and probably will never have--fortunately--the right to compel a young citizen to major in a field which corresponds strictly to the future needs of our economy, culture, and educational system. A year ago we wrote that it is necessary to make some kind of decision and either to give up the guarantee of employment, which guarantee is often in fact of a purely formal nature and simply unreal, or else to limit strictly admission to fields of study which hold no job prospects for graduates; and that, on the other hand, it is necessary to give preference to fields which most likely will be in demand. But let us remember that progress of science and technology is often so astonishing

that it may render useless some profession which according to present prognoses ought to be given preference in the structure of higher studies.

Much could probably be accomplished in this matter through closer linkage or, let us say outright, financial dependence of higher educational institutions on local regional administration, groups of enterprises, the Polish Academy of Sciences, etc. Let us not delude ourselves, however, that some kinds of ideal solutions will be found; that, for example, it will be possible to quickly eradicate certain myths and fashions which are rooted very deeply in our social consciousness and, who knows, perhaps even in the gentry origin of the intelligentsia stratum in Poland as described by [Prof] Chalasinski, though the contemporary Polish intelligentsia is, after all, mostly of peasant origin. Moreover, we lament too much over these myths and difficulties; maybe we even dramatize too much the temporary lack of jobs for persons who graduated in certain fields of specialization. They say there are no jobs for architects, but in small towns the functions of county and municipal architects are performed as a rule by persons who lack higher or often even secondary education! And so, while dwelling on this example let us note that in this and in many other cases it is certainly not the lack of social need that prevents employment of these people but other circumstances such as the housing shortage, a faulty pay scale which discriminates against persons employed in the so-called countryside, etc.

And, independently of all that, it is probably necessary, through school and all the other means of mass communication, to try to convince our society that higher education is not simply a splendid intellectual adventure after which things will work out somehow, but that it is a preparatory stage which determines the entire adult life of a person; and that post-graduation life is mostly hard and at times can be downright brutal. We are now recalling various truths; let us, then, recall the one that states that the most important thing is to have a good profession. For those who aspire to be graduates of higher educational institutions, it means not so much a good profession as a good head.

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END

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2029

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7 July 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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NEW ROMANIAN BOOK REJECTS HUNGARIAN VIEWS ON TRANSYLVANIA

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 3, Mar 82 pp 179-181

/Review by Ion Bulei of the book "The Story of Transylvania" by Ion Lancranjan, Sport-Tourism Publishing House, Bucharest, 1982, 192 pages/

/Text/ Ion Lancranjan's recent book is a profession of its author's faith and perhaps the most significant one yet stated. In this book he leaves the world of fiction and writes about a real Transylvania, most often as a reporter but sometimes also with the tools of the sociologist or historian. The first part, "Transylvanian Rhapsody," glorifies Transylvania's natural beauty. The second one, "Native Regions" describes the modernization under socialism of some districts formerly untouched by innovations, and the third part, "Patriotism As a Vital Necessity," pleads for the protection of those districts and accomplishments. And finally the last part, "The Story of Transylvania," for which the book is entitled, is a veritable polemic supported by a very convincing historal report and a clear view of the mission of Transylvania and its people in Romanian national affairs.

The book is well written, fraught with pathos, and highly stimulating. It is reminiscent of Alecu Russo's expressive prose or the inspired writing of Octavian Goga. Ion Lancranjan wishes to take the destiny of his native Transylvania upon himself as an author and an intellectual, and he succeeds in doing so. He gives us a conscientious discussion by a man who knows the country and the people from within, who argues from experience, and who feels himself involved and in solidarity with the Transylvanian land and the country.

The last part of I. Lancranjan's book, written as he says in 1980-1982, is outstanding. In fact, it is very clear that the other parts are only a prelude to it. It is from start to finish a scientifically supported rebuttal that firmly rejects half-truths and outmoded historical theories and quite rightly asserts that the Romanians' national history does not need to be created and recreated but to be known, recognized and objectively investigated beyond revisionist or irredentist disputes.

Some truths are essential, namely the permanence and continuity of the Romanians in the Carpathian-Danubian-Black Sea area, the constant majority of Romanians in Transylvania, and the irreversibility of the Great Unification in 1918. The author does not accept any distortion or undermining of these great truths because that would

give rise "under the new circumstances to new forms of irredentism, and irredentism, however subtle and perfidious it may be, can cause nothing but confusion and anger and will lead back to the old quarrels," as in 1940, the author goes on to say, as in that "heavy, prolonged and terrible bloodshed," and as in that "profound and unforgettable injury" (p 128).

Upon referring to history, I. Lancranjan finds that Transylvania has been and is a "place of friendship, a land where other nations (Hungarians, Germans and Szeklers) have come or have been brought by colonization, with whom we Romanians wished to live in a good and useful understanding," but not when "we were wished no longer to exist and to disappear in favor of others" (pp 128-129). The purpose of colonizing Transylvania was "to produce a dispersion" and a "breakage" of Romanian unity that would "cut them off from the Carpathian Mountains and thus stop the natural communication between brothers." The same purpose was served by the oppressors' religious policy, also to "cut off the Romanians in Transylvania from their brothers in the other Romanian districts and to denationalize them by converting them" (p 129). The author opposes the adversaries of Romanian permanence and continuity on those lands who wish to distrort the truth, by pointing out that we Romanians "have always regarded continuity as a natural matter and a permanent part of of our lives" (p 140). Throughout the "millennium" of Hungarian oppression in Transylvania the Romanians were robbed of their lands, their beliefs were persecuted, and their existence was not recognized. They reacted through a Mihai Viteazul, Horea or Avram Iancu. To those who dwell upon the civilizing role of the Hungarians in Transylvania I. Lancranjan replies that it is debatable "who civilized whom, for in the period when the Hungarians went into Transylvania the Romanians had long been Christianized, which is a fact essential to the level of civilization in those times, and they were sedentary and practiced agriculture..." (p 143). It may even be said that "The Hungarian penetration of Transylvania set it back socially and kept it thereafter in an increasingly rigid and reactionary feudal stupor that became more and more unenlightened and blinded by interests and pride" (p 154).

Without denying that the Hungarians and Transylvanian Romanians had their agreements and struggles in common (the common struggle during the Bobilna uprising, the peasants war led by Gheorghe Doja, the rebellion started by Gh. Rackoczi II, etc.), the author calls attention to the "coagulation" of their solidarity at the bottom or the top, since the Hungarian "considered himself the master (or brother of the master) in a country where the Romanian was tolerated" (p 165). It explains why an Avram Iancu could not agree with Kossuth "as long as he recognized no right of the Romanian nation except the 'right' to be Hungarianized and to unite with Hungary" (p 166). Accordingly the Romanians' solidarity (unity) with the Hungarians "was no hard and fast (or final) fact but on the contrary varied with the circumstances under which it was accomplished..." For unity was also desired by the promoters of Hungarianization of all the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary as well as the other nations, upon the backs of whom and through the annihilation of whom they wished and systematically tried to finally fulfill Hungarian chauvinism's golden dream of the "millennary Hungary" (p 172).

The author recalls the year 1918 and the unanimous will of the entire Romanian people in connection with the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was no accident but a historical necessity. He writes about the years between the wars, when "Newspapers in Hungarian and the other minority languages appeared in Romania, there were schools, and freedom of religion and use of the mother tongues was entirely

unrestricted" (p 169), and he mentions the profoundly antifascist, anti-Hitlerite and anti-invader attitude of the Romanian people, which compelled even a dictatorship like Antonescu's to be "humane" to all those of other nationalities in Romania. And they endured in grief in the bloody year of 1940 with its great atrocities in North Transylvania, "as in the times of the barbarian invasions if not even worse, because now 'modern means' were used" (p 133, where he recalls Csaba Ducso's book "Without Mercy" and the terrible massacres at Ip, Treznea and other points). He also writes of the Romanians' contribution to the liberation of Hungary and discusses the life of the Hungarian nationality in Romania since 1944 (It like other nationalities was no longer called a minority "in order to remove any trace of discrimination so that there would no longer be any such problem") (p 175). That nationality was accorded all rights, "instead of the way the Romanians had been treated" so that "there would be no problems" (p 175).

But there are problems, I. Lancranjan finds, because the principles of Hungarian revisionism are being aired persistently even in our times. The author discusses the recurrence of the hallucination of the "millenary Hungary" in contemporary works or in other expressions of opinion, some of which are quite close to us. He quotes the statements made at an important forum held in Budapest in 1966 or at the Helsinki Conference (p 132) and cites examples from some writings of Hungarian colleagues in Romania who speak of "our eastern regions" not meaning those in Moldavia as any Romanian would think but those in Transylvania (p 135) or from those of another one who, in an interview published in Budapest, writes that he was born "in a community 99 percent educated in the spirit of Hungarian culture" (That author was born in Transylvania, where that spirit never existed to any such extent) (pp 175-176). Or he cites extracts from the "The Hungarian Nationality in Romania" (Kriterion Publishing House, 1981) containing historically unverified statements (pp 176-178).

Then I. Lancranjan quotes from books and articles published in Budapest in recent years: from the work "What We Know About Romania" (Kossuth Publishing House, 1979; from an article in LITERATURA (No 1, 1980) discussing the "military occupation" of Transylvania by Romanians in 1918 (p 158); from articles in MAGYAR HIRLAP (25 December 1979) or ACTA ETNOGRAFICA (April 1979) contesting the Romanian people's continuity and qualities (p 163); from another book "This History Belongs to Me" (Magveto Publishing House, Budapest); and from Gyorgy Szaraz' play "Time of Judgment."

The author does not say that all the ideas and theories published in Hungary about Transylvania in relation to Romania are revisionist, but "neither are they scientific or friendly, to say nothing of brotherly" (p 163).

I. Lancranjan firmly rejects the so-called theory of "equal guilt": i.e. in 1848 Hungarian revolutionaries erred but so did the Romanian ones, being almost "nationalists" (but defense of one vital right does not mean nationalism). In 1940-1944 there were horrors in North Transylvania but the same things happened in "South Transylvania," which is totally false. Transylvania was exploited between 1867 and 1918 but also after that, having been exploited and oppressed after its unification with Romania with the difference that it was done for the benefit of others, and that is contradicted by Romania's whole democratic development between the wars. He also rejects the assertion that Transylvania is "a national conglomerate," correctly stating that it is "a part of Romania, from which no oppression could separate it and from which no one is going to separate it from now on" (p 183).

The author's reply to the direct or implied "arguments" of the adversaries of Romanian Transylvania is clearly accompanied by his sincere and unquestionable wish to secure a friendly coexistence between Hungarians and Romanians based upon sincere collaboration and confidence.

"The Story of Transylvania" is a veritable hymn, a song of that ancient Romanian land, written by a man of the people who felt the need to express his love of his native land, his ancestors and his contemporaries. The author's attitude is that of a vigorous consciousness that knows the truth does not prevail by itself.

5186
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CAPKA ON WORK OF CPCZ CONTROL COMMISSION

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 May 82 p 3

[Article by Miroslav Capka, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission: "Consistent Fulfillment of Party Resolutions; CPCZ Control and Audit Commissions Contribute Toward Developing Party Work"]

> [Text] The main attention of the party and of all socialist society is focused on full implementation of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress which expressed the political unity and moral strength of the party, its Marxist-Leninist character and sound organizational and ideologically oriented maturity. The results achieved by our people under the leadership of the party in carrying out the economic and social program of the CPCZ, in spite of difficult external and internal conditions, demonstrate that we are on the right road.

The development of the national economy continues under the combined efforts of laborers, cooperative members and white collar workers. This would be impossible if our party were not united in its ideological orientation and organizationally, if it did not have a clear program, intelligible to the people, whose implementation is a point of honor to every upright and conscientious citizen of our land.

Control activities conducted by party and extra-party control bodies and organizations can, however, be influential and have the necessary effect to fulfill their mission only on condition that they point up not only positive and negative factors but also if they always and specifically lead to effective measures toward rectification wherever we have not yet fully succeeded in making use of all potential resources to accelerate our economic growth.

Consolidating our Forces--Improving Administration

Letters received by the CPCZ Central Committee and Central Control and Audit Commission on these questions uniformly indicate that in many respects we are only at the beginning of a long-term process, the intent of which is nothing more or less than full integration of all internal reserves and attaining the optimal form of economic growth. Many citizens, for example,

are surprised at the differences between the efficiency and quality of work of individuals, collectives and shops, or even entire plants and departments, often having identical production conditions. They wonder why industrial production could achieve higher than average growth rates in the first 3 months of this year, as, for example, those working in the glass, ceramics and porcelain industry, in the rubber, textile and chemical industry, in the petroleum processing industry and in other branches while, on the other hand, heavy and general engineering or the wood processing industry are performing at below 100 percent fulfillment. Why do we have, along with such good industrial organizations as, for example, Sigma Olomouc VHJ [Economic Production Unit], also often many mediocre and even backward plants.

Workers' letters and disclosures are evidence of the growing concern among laborers, cooperative members and white collar workers that consistent implementation of the policies of the 16th Congress is the only way to maintain the high living standards of our citizens. The party Central Committee deeply appreciates this attitude. It is the viewpoint of the good manager who is not and cannot be indifferent about how and where joint property is being managed, whether production resources, raw materials, materials and energy are fully utilized and what kind of work discipline is imposed.

The fact that citizens notice the prime causes of most of our difficulties, mistakes and shortcomings in lower levels of the organization and management of production processes indicates the high political and ideological involvement of the laboring class, cooperative farmers and white collar workers. Their initiative, I would say, is well placed. In many cases no profound analysis is needed to make the diagnosis that certain plants chronically lagged behind those which, as Comrade Leonid Brezhnev said at the March congress of Soviet trade unions "...carried out a battle reconnaissance and occupied the main bridgeheads."

The reconnaissance scout alone--in our case leading industrial and agricultural enterprises--cannot, however, decide the battle. So we must broaden the front of those who march in the first ranks, who show the way, who take the lead in mastering scientific-technical findings and are able to apply them in production as well as in management practices. We must join forces and throw them into the common fray for dynamic growth of labor productivity, for substantial quality improvement of final production and for gaining more positions on world markets.

This, however, presupposes orderliness in relations between suppliers and consumers, between superiors and subordinates, between laborers, foremen and managers, between plants and VHJs, between VHJs and the ministries. It presupposes orderliness in labor standards and consumption. It assumes strict adherence to work time, rules and discipline and consistency in compensating according to quantity, quality and the social significance of labor.

The living standard of every worker should correspond--as called for by the 16th CPCZ Congress--to his contribution to the development of society.

The situation, however, is often quite different. It is no secret to anyone that there are people among us who live grandly at the expense of others and get paid not for the work they do but for going to work. They are rewarded because they know how to excuse themselves often from their responsibilities in all kinds of different ways, they know how to justify everything, they refuse to worry about anything, they make carelessness a virtue and their coworkers--supervisors and technicians alike--somehow put up with this. What liberality with society's assets! In this connection the question arises: What kind of public image is created by party, trade union and youth union organizations at such places of work when they overlook antisocial activity of this kind?

The party and its Central Committee know about our deficiencies better than all the "critics" west of the Sumava forest. They are aware of the discrepancies and difficulties in the various stages of development.

The current stage is partly characterized by the greater emphasis placed on much more efficiency in the manufacturing process based on consistent utilization of domestic resources. The question is not where to get more of this or that but how to make better use of what we have available, what was produced here, what we can influence and upgrade by our own actions. A healthy, economically motiviated rationalism must penetrate the thinking and acting of every individual and above all leading economic managers. That is why our development plans place such emphasis (and not by chance) on raising quality and cost-consciousness, on shifting to a growth-intensive economy, on achieving greater savings and evaluating our asset input more highly. After all, the energy demand alone of our production is still 2 to 2½ times that of industrially developed states.

A powerful and in some places still underestimated tool for achieving our prescribed goals is the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy. By fully applying the Set of Measures within the life of our plants we can help raise personal and collective responsibility in the process of economic decision-making. In fact, the Set of Measures surrounds enterprises and individual places of work with a whole system of economic conditions that form the necessary pressures and material incentives for technical and economic progress. It will keep pressing enterprises to show their ability to supply the market not only in quantity but especially with products of high quality with valuable technical, functional and esthetic standards. The Set of Measures is also directed toward better utilization of material and morale boosting stimuli for developing the initiative and activity of the people. It strives to intensify the principle of compensation according to quality and amount of work by means of income differentiation. At the same time it sets the conditions so that everything that leaves the production line of industrial and agricultural plants will serve consumption and that any nonsocial dealings of plants, individuals or collectives will be reflected in material penalties.

From this comes the responsibility of party organizations and all members and candidates of the party to look more deeply into the problems of economic

development of their plants. They must consider more conscientiously the results of the decision-making and managerial actions of economists who confidently manage work collectives but also have the responsibility of consulting with people, getting them to support the party and render account of their work.

Even here communist standards must not be only a facade with big words. It is a matter of concern. It is a matter of fulfilling the economic and social programs of the party, the conclusions formulated at the 16th Party Congress. Consequently the Central Control and Audit Commission of the CPCZ, together with commissions on all other levels of the party structure, will carry out a check this year in selected plants and enterprises to see how party organizations are exercising their rights of control with a view to meeting the goals of the economic policy of the party and state under conditions of gradual implementation of the Set of Measures. By this means, which is not just a one-time check, we want to help raise the activity of communists during this period marked by a high degree of difficulty and challenge.

Reacting with Sensitivity to Workers' Suggestions

The control and audit commissions of the CPCZ have been active agents for 20 years now in consolidating the ideological and organizational unity of the party. By extensive supervision of compliance with the resolutions of the party congress and Central Committee they contribute to consistent promotion of the leading role of the party, toward adoption of Lenin's style of party work, toward intensifying the ideological and organizational unity of party ranks. Favorable evaluation of their work by the 16th Party Congress and district and kraj conferences is encouraging to the numerous official members of the commissions' aktivs.

But not even we are fully satisfied with the results attained. Even though, for example, exercising the right of control in party organizations has improved, in some of the basic CPCZ organizations there still prevail low standards of evaluating comprehensive fulfillment of the economic plan. The CPCZ basic organizations make little use of the findings of extra-party control bodies. The activity of some supervisors lacks the communist fighting spirit, adherence to principle and greater determination.

It should be considered a warning when communists as well as other citizens draw attention to improper dealings and behavior of certain officials of state, economic and social bodies and organizations. Letters pointing out immodesty, moral deficiencies, the organization of all kinds of celebrations, abuse of positions of trust for personal gain, the payment of unwarranted awards as well as various forms of corruption should give rise to objective investigation and, if necessary, to drawing appropriate conclusions, even to dismissal from office. It is significant that there is a growing number of critical observations about careless discharge of official duties, disturbing working morale and wastefulness.

One such observation was checked out with authority of party agencies by the Federal Ministry of General Engineering in the Povazske Engineering Works in Povazska Bystrica. It turned out that the author of the letter was right when he had pointed out that workers who had been assigned official automobiles did not keep any records of their travel or kilometers driven.

Naturally, there are more cases where social equipment is damaged or robbed, either directly or indirectly, openly or covertly, intentionally or unknowingly and openly misused for personal gain. If we look into these cases thoroughly we ascertain--among other things--that even responsible economists contribute to this situation by their incompetent, inconsistent activity shot through with liberalism. In Povazska Bystrica punitive measures were taken against one of the deputy directors of the enterprise.

How all this affects the activity of party organizations was indicated by a check on compliance with the resolutions of the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee for cadre and personnel work for the purpose of forming cadre reserves. What we found out so far convincingly shows that:

--Working with the people has not yet become an integral part of the management activity of all responsible economists. Here and there a person's superficial knowledge of man carries over, especially his ability and qualification for further special and political growth;

--Economic managers sometimes assume that concern about people's welfare is only the province of party, union or youth organizations, or even better, the cadre and personnel unit of an enterprise;

--Basic party organizations sometimes do not adequately note how managers handle discussions and dealings with subordinates, what approaches they take in managing work collectives and how they influence ideological attitudes toward work, the factory, the party and socialism. Nor do we hide the fact that the staffs of economic managers contain individuals who approach new requirements with old methods or even refuse to consider anything new. So old mistakes are regularly repeated under new guises, a situation the party is working hard to correct.

The growing requirements for cadres also call for a new quality of work with them. It requires party agencies and organizations to evaluate systematically and give general application to experiences gained and on that basis take measures to improve work with cadres. V. I. Lenin noted the essence of this activity when he said that party organizations will "...test and discover true organizers, persons who are level-headed and have practical sense, persons who combine in themselves devotion to socialism and the ability to organize without fuss (or even in spite of confusion and fuss) firm and comradely cooperation among a large number of people within the framework of the Soviet organization. Only such persons should, after repeated and thorough testing, be taken from the most simple tasks to the most difficult and appointed to responsible positions."

Results of a sampling of over 1700 basic organizations and CV [All-Factory Committees] of the CPCZ where control and audit commissions of the CPCZ checked out fulfillment of the resolutions of the CPCZ Central Committee presidium of 6 November 1970 in cadre and personnel work with a view to forming cadre reserves indicate that there is often a lack of imagination, goal-consciousness and systematic and consistent work with people. We are encountering profound underestimation of this area of the party's work. We come across indications of a lack of understanding, of clear-cut subjectivism, of insensitivity, of opportunist approaches in evaluating the work results and ethical profiles of individuals.

Some managers forget the fact that people in every economic organism represent the most rapidly developing, fundamental and decisive component of production forces. The Set of Measures relies on this progression in the human factor as a key component of development of the whole national economy. Consequently, communists and their party organizations cannot reconcile themselves to having management narrowed down to simply organizing closed conferences, issuing all kinds of "ukases" and indulging in paper wars which lose sight of the person with all his positive and negative qualities, with all his merits and deficiencies.

Part of cadre work naturally also includes solicitude and concern about workers' daily problems and difficulties which the hurried pace of life produces. As Comrade Gustav Husak mentioned at the congress of Czechoslovak trade unionists, party and union organizations must be able to back up the legitimate demands of people and help in obtaining them. Such a course can only deepen confidence in the party, all the more so if we are prepared to appreciate positive actions on the job or at the place of residence. This does not mean, however, that we should tolerate displays of insubordination, disorder or poor work morale.

Let Us not Underestimate the Preparation of the New Generation of Workers

Control activity conducted by the CPCZ control and audit commissions with the objective of achieving proper and consistent fulfillment of resolutions of party managerial bodies offers suggestions for further development and direction of party work. Of the large number of problems that confront us I would like to make one more point, the importance of good preparation of our young people for a working career.

The social program of our party, approved by the 16th congress, calls for instituting 10-year school attendance within 2 years. One of the three basic types of educational structures will be an intermediate technical training school where today's boys and girls will get their secondary school education. It is apparent that the speed with which we will be able to carry out our bold plans will depend to a considerable extent on the political and technical preparation of the young people who will take up the jobs held by today's working generation. Technical and political training of the young working shifts, their preparation for life and work under the conditions of a developed socialist society must, therefore, even now become the center of attention of party, state and even economic bodies and

organizations. We checked out at appropriate central offices and institutions the extent of preparation for this radical change in the educational system. I must say that the Central Control and Audit Commission of the CPCZ which took up the problem together with ministers and other supervisory employees did not always ascertain only positive facts.

Some facts, for example, indicate that some of the enterprises are trying, without solid analysis, to limit the cost of equipping and remodeling intermediate technical training centers. We are seriously concerned about the simple notions held by the departments for providing the necessary facilities to educate, instruct and house the trainees. There are industrial and other organizations that still rely only on central resources instead of making efforts to make full use of their own material and cadre resources. Questions of administering the intermediate technical schools remain unresolved. The differing interests of the organizers and school officials are having especially negative effects. Certain difficulties are caused by inadequate qualifications of the pedagogic and training employees.

In this area too, we expect more active involvement by enterprises on intermediate levels of management which, as organizers, ought to be doing more than they are to strengthen the intermediate technical schools with qualified cadres from their own resources. We are also expecting a more deliberative attitude on the question of using the apprentices to perform production tasks of the state plan at the expense of their goal-oriented preparation for their future calling. Up to now there is little interest in various enterprises pooling their resources to build and operate the intermediate technical schools.

Early experiences of their operation uniformly confirm the key position of teachers, masters of technical training and instructors. They are irreplaceable in the educational training program. This is well known, understood and admitted. Certain captains of industrial organizations, however, still lack the understanding that this truth cannot be expressed only in words. Industrial management, after all, also has the responsibility to set up the proper material conditions for their demanding and socially significant work.

The development of intermediate technical training schools is also affected by the standards of work of trade union and, especially, youth union organizations. So we must also devote proper attention to these questions in the CPCZ basic organizations. All the more so since a great deal of formalism prevails in this area. The practice--such as that at Kladensko--where there is an independent party organization in the training center but the employees of the center are organized in trade unions according to departments directly in several organizations of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement], indicates that even in these matters things are not entirely clear. This fragmentation also has a practical impact on the position of individual comrades. The CPCZ Central Committee meeting in Kladno, for instance, properly criticized the case where teachers in the intermediate technical training school under the local management of Libusina pay more for meals than do other employees only because they are considered "outside" customers.

Together with building an organizational network of intermediate technical schools, the CPCZ district committees are also completing an appropriate structure of independent party organizations. Their top priority goal remains the systematic improvement of the quality of party ranks in order to ensure party influence at all levels of the educational and training process.

I believe that we should commend the great efforts of communists which act as a springboard for reaching the goals set up by the party Central Committee in the Document on Further Development of the Czechoslovak Educational Training System adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee presidium on 4 June 1976. By their own example, attitude and actions communists influence the activity of the trainees as well as the teaching staff. They are also preparing conditions so that the best girls and boys might seek membership in the CPCZ.

In spite of these successes we believe that the activity of party organizations in intermediate technical schools must be improved. Their authority would surely benefit if they were better informed about the intentions of leading economic and state bodies and if they were consulted, on a timely basis and in detail, about all important steps concerning the training centers. Likewise, better preparation for reacting to events at home and abroad would be helpful for ideological training activity as well as in persuasiveness of arguments.

Energetic participation of CPCZ control and audit commissions in development of the internal life of party organizations significantly increases their influence in enhancing the role of control in practical party operations. Involving a broad aktiv of members and officials of the commission helps create a favorable climate for resolving specific problems, raises the awareness of personal responsibility and formulates basic party procedures for communists. The findings of control and audit commissions enable party managerial officials to compare them with the results of their own observations. They can generalize them and take effective measures to correct defects. Proper, goal-oriented control activity of the commissions thus leads to overall improvement of party work. It helps consolidate the unity of party ranks and increases the capability of the CPCZ to take action as is required by the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

8491
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MILITARY OFFICER DISCUSSES LASER GYROSCOPE

Prague ATOM in Czech No 4, 1982 pp 6-7

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel Eng Zdenek Zihla, CSc: "The Laser Gyroscope"]

[Text] Proper flight conditions for modern combat aircraft and precise accomplishment of their missions by pilotless aircraft and guided missiles are greatly dependent on the quality of one of the main onboard measuring devices, the gyroscope. Until the early 1960's, when rapid development, design and use of guided missiles, satellites and spacecraft began, the conventional mechanical gyroscope was the kind used in all onboard equipment. Its heavy rotor was rotated electrically or by air pressure, and both rotor and gimbals were equipped with ball bearings. The friction acting on the bearings, the relatively low rotational speed that was achievable, the long spinup time, the presence of moving parts with low reliability and poor resistance to overload, and the considerable weight, dimensions and power requirements were the main obstacles to high quality in mechanical gyroscopes.

The use of new methods of rotor suspension (e.g. in an electrostatic field), together with other modifications such as use of an electromagnetic field to spin the rotor, did produce a considerable improvement in gyroscope precision, but they also increased production quality requirements and raised prices. In addition, they did not completely eliminate all of the other deficiencies described. Gyroscopes of this generation were used, among other things, in the Apollo spacecraft.

Currently the laser gyroscope, which used to be considered a laboratory curiosity, is becoming a major candidate to replace the rotor-type gyroscope. The first successful producers of the laser gyroscope to publish some of their results were the U.S. companies Sperry and Honeywell. Subsequently a number of other corporations also began to design these gyroscopes.

The main advantage of the laser gyroscope is the fact that it has no rotating component, so that its operation is not as affected by overload, it is instantaneously ready for operation, and precision is less dependent on price. However, at the current level of technology it is still difficult to produce laser gyroscopes that meet all requirements.

The operating principle of the laser gyroscope is best described using the example of a laser angular velocity sensor with a passive interferometer.

The sensor consists of a closed circular light guide, a laser radiation source outside the light guide, a semitransparent mirror and a laser radiation detector. The energy emitted by the laser is aimed at the semitransparent mirror, from which part of it is reflected, while the rest is transmitted. This produces two beams moving around the closed light path in opposite directions. After moving around the closed path, the beams return to the mirror and pass from it, via the optical system, to a detector consisting of suitable types of photocells.

When the light guide is not rotating around axis O, both beams travel paths of the same length and return to the mirror at the same time, so that the detector registers their sum without phase shift. When the sensor is rotated around axis O with angular velocity ω in the direction indicated, in a given time interval the mirror is displaced from point A to point B. This means that the paths which the two counterrotating beams must travel differ [in length] and their times of arrival at point B differ by an amount Δt. This time delay results in a phase difference between the two beams. Since the detector consists of sensitive photocells capable of recording the intensity of the sum of the two beams (i.e. an interferometer), the amplitude of the output signal is proportional to the phase difference, which in turn is a function of the angular velocity ω.

The main disadvantage of this simple design is its low sensitivity to small angular velocities. Accordingly, most laser gyroscopes use an active interferometer which measures not the amplitude of the output signal but the displacement of the interference pattern. As can be seen from the schematic representation, when an active interferometer is used, the laser source is part of the light guide. The laser gyroscope contains the laser medium, a cavity and an optical system for interference pattern formation. The cavity consists of three mirrors forming an equilateral triangle. If the gyroscope rotates with an angular velocity ω, as in the previous case the path traveled by the beams will differ, but this will produce in the cavity a change in the frequency (and thus the wavelength) of the beams reaching the optical imaging system via the semitransparent mirror. A change in wavelength means a displacement of the pattern in the interference plane, so that we obtain from the photosensor a signal whose output frequency is proportional to the angular velocity of rotation of the gyroscope.

The Sperry Corporation used this principle to design the small-sized SLIC-7 (Sperry Laser Inertial Cluster), in which laser beams travel in three mutually perpendicular planes. Intended for use in missiles and space exploration, this device actually consists of three gyroscopes with mutually perpendicular sensing axes. The number 7 in the designation indicates the beam path in inches (i.e. 177.8 mm). The entire gyroscope can be packaged in a cylinder 114 mm in diameter and 114 mm long, weighing about 1.8 kg. One factor favoring this design is the fact that in test operation the gyroscope functioned for 20,000 hours (about 2 years) without failure or need for adjustment. This gyroscope is expected to be combined with three accelerometers and a computer in a cylinder 152 mm in diameter and 230 mm long for use. The total weight of this system will be no more than 6.5 kg.

The Honeywell Corporation has been conducting successful flight tests of the LINS (Laser Inertial Navigation System) since 1975; this system has operated for 1,300 hours without failure or adjustment and has achieved a rather high measurement precision. Honeywell has also developed the GG-1300 laser gyroscope, which it is using in the design of a flight navigation system.

Comparison of Gyroscope Characteristics

Type	Sensitivity (deg-hour)	Drift	Spinup time (sec)	Power consumption (watts)
Electromechanical	0.1-0.001	6°/day	20-30	70-100
Laser	0.001	5"/day	0.01-0.03	10-15

The table compares certain typical characteristics of electromechanical and laser gyroscopes. When making this comparison, it should be borne in mind that other modern types of gyroscopes are also being developed and used. We may cite as an example a subminiature gyroscope measuring 45 x 17 mm, containing a rotating mercury sphere in an electrical field. The development of missiles, aircraft and spacecraft is continuing, and their instrumentation must meet new, more stringent requirements. Accordingly, we may expect other, often unconventional, approaches to replacing "classical" gyroscopes in the near future.

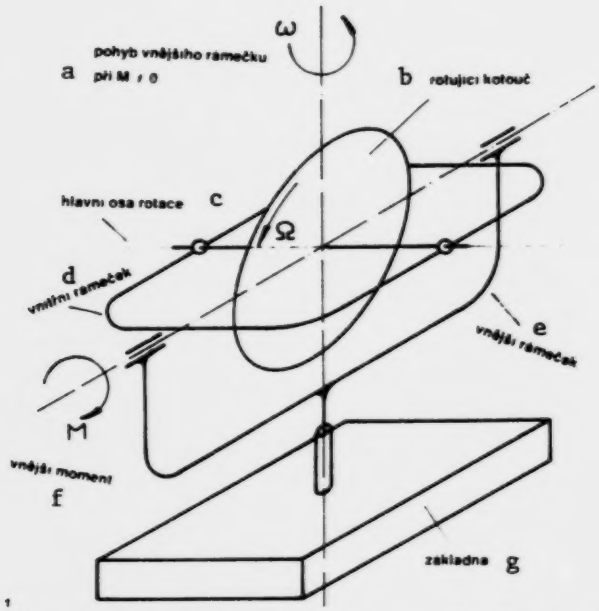

Figure 1. Kinematic diagram of classical gyroscope

Key:
a. Displacement of external gimbal when $M \neq 0$
b. Rotor
c. Main axis of rotation
d. Inner gimbal
e. Outer gimbal
f. External torque
g. Base

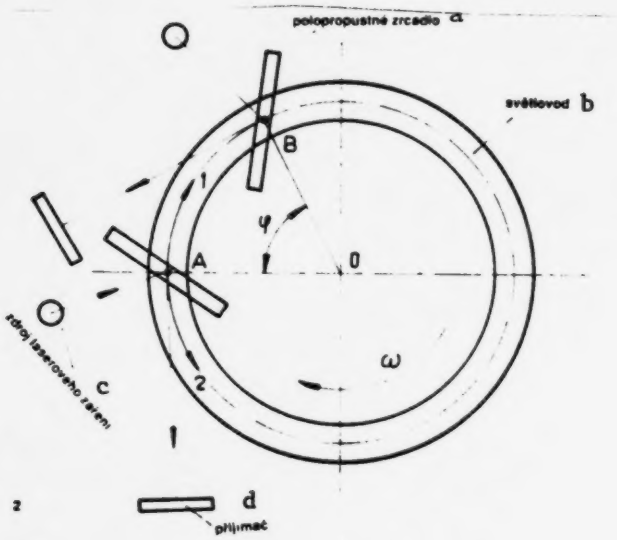

Figure 2. Laser angular velocity sensor with active interferometer

Key: a. Semitransparent mirror
b. Light guide
c. Source of laser radiation
d. Detector

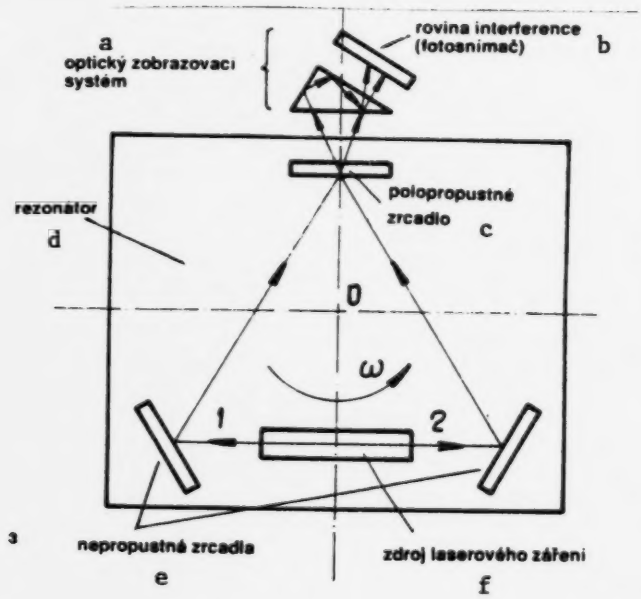

Figure 3. Laser gyroscope with active interferometer

Key: a. Optical imaging system
b. Interference plane (photosensor)
c. Semitransparent mirror
d. Cavity
e. Reflective mirror
f. Source of laser radiation

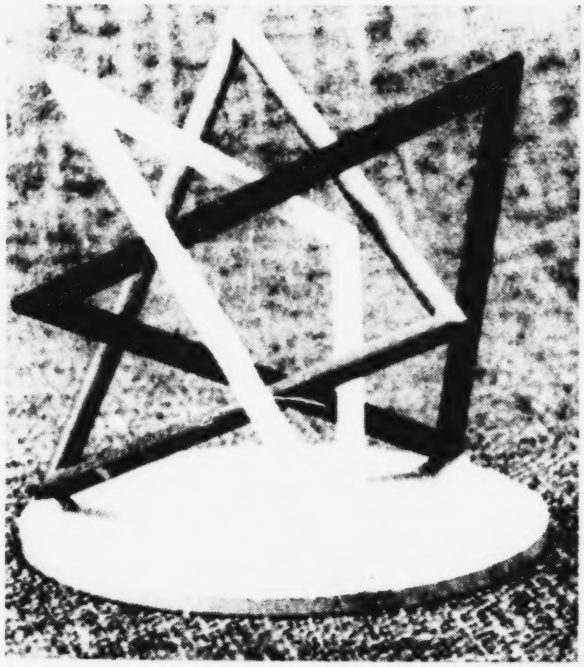

Figure 4. Path of laser beams in SLIC-7 gyroscope

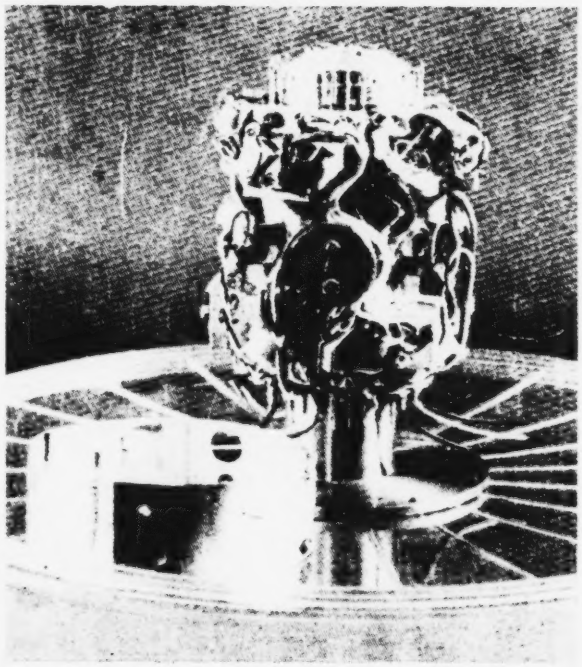

Figure 5. Combination of SLIC-7 gyroscope with accelerometers and computer

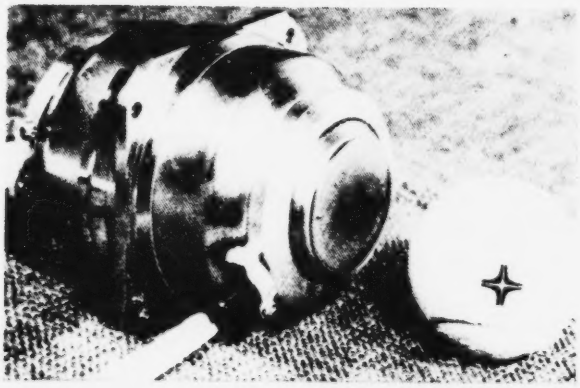

Figure 6. Complete SLIC-7 gyroscope

8480
CSO: 2400/203

DISGRACED FORMER SED FUNCTIONARIES REHABILITATED

West German Reporter's Discussion

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 18 May 82 p 3

[Article by Karl-Heinz Baum, datelined Berlin: "Very Belated Expressions of Gratitude to Former Deviationists--SED Honors Prominent Members of Former Party Opposition, Through Obituaries and Birthday Greetings." A translation of the East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND item cited follows this discussion]

[Text] As the readers of the main SED publication NEUES DEUTSCHLAND turned to page two last Friday, they suddenly encountered the name of an SED comrade who had been considered an unperson for years: Karl Schirdewan, from 1953 through 1958 member of the SED Politburo, and actual GDR leadership. The worker's son, born in 1907 in Koenigsberg (now Kaliningrad) in eastern Prussia, and KPD member since 1925, was relieved of all party functions at the beginning of February 1958 because of "group activity," and was severely reprimanded.

Of course there is not a word about that in the congratulatory address of the SED Central Committee--personally signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker --on the occasion of Schirdewan's 75th birthday. It is not even mentioned that the old communist ever belonged to the Politburo. His life story reads like this in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: "After the liberation of our people by the glorious Soviet Army you were given responsible tasks in the party. From 1953 through 1958 you belonged to the SED Central Committee. As director of the State Records Administration in Potsdam you performed meritoriously." Of course Schirdewan had not been sent off to Potsdam until after the Central Committee verdict.

Nevertheless, Schirdewan, spurned (together with Politburo members Ernst Wollweber, minister for State Security, and Fred Oelssner, head of planning --the group had mainly other ideas than Ulbricht on SED Germany policy) because of opposition to SED chief Walter Ulbricht, can be satisfied with this congratulatory address. There is again a place for him in the SED annals.

The SED leadership had already thought of Karl Schirdewan a few days before his 75th birthday when it again honored him on 1 May 1982 with the National Decoration of Merit in gold. The self-criticism by Schirdewan more than a

year after losing his party functions (he admitted "false attitudes" vis-a-vis Ulbricht and that he had underestimated the "enemy's undermining activity") had not returned him near the center of power under Ulbricht.

The case of Schirdewan can serve as an example of how the SED under Erich Honecker's leadership is trying to make peace with those who fell into disfavor under Ulbricht. It will likely remain a mystery as to whether Honecker, then a Politburo candidate who as commentator and on Ulbricht's orders made known the verdict, wants to make good past injustice.

But the current SED head made it clear just a few months after assuming office that he views a lot of things quite differently from his predecessor Ulbricht. In January 1972, the main SED publication published Honecker's "most cordial congratulations" and "most fraternal regards" on the occasion of Frank Dahlem's 80th birthday. As an Ulbricht opponent, Dahlem was excluded from the Central Committee and the Politburo in May 1953, and even a year later he received "severe criticism" for "political blindness to the activity of imperialist agents and because of an approach to his errors not appropriate to the party."

It is true that Dahlem was already publicly rehabilitated in 1956 in the course of destalinization in the GDR. In 1957, he returned to the Central Committee, and he later became deputy minister for universities and technical schools. But Honecker's congratulations on his 80th birthday expressly stated that Dahlem was "deprived of all social functions on the basis of false accusations." When he died late last year almost as a matter of course he was put to rest in the socialists' memorial place. Five Politburo members paid him the last honors.

Max Fechner, too, GDR justice minister for 4 years (from 1949 through 1953), and after the events of 17 June "unmasked for activity against the republic" (LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG), under Honecker received the highest decoration that the GDR has to offer, the Karl Marx Medal. He was arrested and sentenced to prison term because he had spoken out in favor of not punishing those who had merely called for a strike on 17 June. In 1956, GDR President Wilhelm Pieck pardoned him.

Of course when Fechner died at the end of September 1973--during Honecker's period in office--his imprisonment was glossed over in the SED Central Committee obituary: "From October 1949 through 1953 Max Fechner was minister of justice in the GDR government. In the years that followed Max Fechner worked tirelessly in building socialistm in the GDR." Of course one can also represent years in prison that way. Today there is even a "Max Fechner Street" in Fechner's former place of residence Schoeneiche before the gates of East Berlin.

And Fred Oelssner, from 1950 through 1958 Politburo member, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Commission for Questions of Consumer Goods Production and Population Supply, regained his honor under Honecker. In 1973, he received the Karl Marx Medal. Together with Schirdewan

and Wollweber, Oelssner was excluded from the Central Committee "because of repeated violation of Politburo discipline and his refusal to adapt to the Politburo collective," according to the communique of the 35th session at the beginning of February 1958.

The SED under Honecker chose a special way to restore the honor of Minister for State Security Wilhelm Zaisser, who was removed from all of his offices in 1953. At the beginning of October 1976 reports appeared in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and in the SED paper BERLINER ZEITUNG on the legendary General Gomez in the Spanish Civil War. According to the BERLINER ZEITUNG, German Communist Wilhelm Zaisser fulfilled his duty as internationalist in Spain under this name. "Whether as commander of the 13th Brigade, as advisor to the valiant Fifth Regiment of the Spanish People's Army, or as chief of the basis of the interbrigadists in Albacete, he solved all assigned military tasks with precision and honor."

Of course the reports did not mention that for 3 years Zaisser was minister for State Security and SED Politburo member. Two years later the SED Central Committee published a congratulatory address for the birthday of Zaisser's wife, Elisabeth, who had lost her post an undersecretary in the Ministry for Public Education a few weeks after her husband was deprived of power. The official congratulations read: "After the liberation of our people by the glorious Soviet Army, you returned to your homeland and together with your husband you took an active part in building our new order." Zaisser himself could be honored no more by the party; he died--without having practiced self-criticism--in 1958 as an employee of the East Berlin Dietz publishers.

Of course the families of two former leading SED functionaries are still waiting for the party to find a last work of thanks: For Rudolf Herrnstadt, Politburo candidate from 1950 through 1953 and NEUES DEUTSCHLAND chief editor during this time--he was fired along with Zaisser--, and for Ernst Wollweber, Zaisser's successor as minister for State Security and, together with Schirdewan excluded from the Central Committee "in relation to his violations of the party statute." Wollweber's death notice cited all of the decorations of the of the former head of State Security, which, however, he received while still in active service. In contrast to Schirdewan, Wollweber had never practiced self-criticism.

Rudolf Herrnstadt, who, according to Western reports, had been selected by Zaisser as Ulbricht's successor, later worked in the central archives in Merseburg and published such historical works as "The Rise of Classes--the History of the Class Concept From the Beginnings Until the Eve of the Paris Revolution in July 1830." When he died on 28 August 1966, his widow--probably with top-level approval--included this sentence in the death notice: "He was an upright person."

The fact that there were no more such severe conflicts in the 1960's and 1970's, especially in regard to Germany policy in the SED Politburo, is also an indication that the GDR Unity Party has consolidated and has found its course. In addition, the demarcation course against the FRG is now no longer disputed. If there have been any recent conflicts over that in the SED Politburo, they involved questions related to "how," and not, as earlier, to "whether." This may have made the honors easier for Erich Honecker.

SED Greets Former Functionary

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 May 82 p 2

[Unsigned announcement: "SED Central Committee Greets Comrade Karl Schirdewan"]

[Text] In a letter signed by the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Karl Schirdewan is sent the most cordial greetings and congratulations on the occasion of his 75th birthday. "You can look back on a busy and militant life in the service of the working class. Organized in the Red Youth Front and the German Communist Youth Association, in your early years you had already proven yourself in political work," reads the greeting. "As a member and secretary of the central committee of the German Communist Youth Association, you put all of your energy into the struggle against capitalism and imperialist war. In the period of fascism you took part in the illegal Resistance Movement. Even in the long years of your imprisonment and in the concentration camp you maintained your faith in the victory of our righteous cause.

"After the liberation of our people by the glorious Soviet Army you were given responsible tasks in the party. From 1953 through 1958 you belonged to the SED Central Committee. As director of the State Records Administration in Potsdam you performed meritorously.

"You are still active today as chairman of the Potsdam district committee of the GDR Antifascist Resistance Fighters. In this work you are especially helpful in communist youth education by means of your many years of experience."

In conclusion the letter gives thanks for what was done for the revolutionary cause of the working class, and it wishes him health and personal prosperity.

9746
CSO: 2300/284

ELBLAG PARTY AND TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS DISCUSSED

Party Aktiv Meeting

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 19-20-21 May 82 pp 1,2

[Article by M. D.]

[Text] Miroslaw Milewski, member of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee Political Bureau, met yesterday [18 March 1982] in Elblag with the party aktiv of the [Elblag] Voivodship. The meeting was also attended by Col Jozef Caputa, commissioner from the National Defense Committee, and the Voivode Col Ryszard Urlinski.

Initially, the first secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee Jerzy Prusiecki presented a briefing on the activities undertaken by the voivodship party organization and the socio-economic situation in the region. He stressed that, during the duration of the martial law, the main effort is focused on implementing the tasks specified by the Central Committee and those ensuing from the situation in the voivodship. He also declared that during January and February industrial output declined 8 percent and employment 6 percent compared with a like period last year. To be sure, average wages rose 20 percent, but they are lower than in December 1981. In construction the decline reaches 25 percent. Agriculture continues to experience shortages of fuel, tires, and certain fertilizers and seeds. Grain procurements diverge from expectations and needs.

He was followed by representatives of the aktiv, most of whom offered comments and asked questions relating to a broad range of problems of concern to not only party members but the entire public.

Taking the floor, M. Milewski stressed that the party invariably guides itself by its resolute will to implement closely the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress. It will act thus in the future as well, on allowing for the new conditions shaped by the events of the last few months.

The declaration "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are," whose draft was mentioned by some of those present at the encounter as being too lengthy and insufficiently precise and militant, must in its final shape be a document whose co-authorship should be admitted by every party member. It thus should

contain the quintessence of the opinions and thoughts voiced during the universal discussions which are just beginning now. The Central Committee secretary stated that, during the Political Bureau meeting at which the draft of the declaration was adopted in its current version, Wojciech Jaruzelski emphasized that the final draft of that document may even differ significantly from the current version, because it merely provides the impetus for the discussions.

It is true that the restoration of workers' self-government (samorzady robotnicze)--upon approval by the ministries--is being considered for those plants and enterprises in which the membership of that self-government displays an attitude assuring the maintenance of the proper atmosphere and activities consonant with the directions of socialist renewal. Workers' self-government should become a factor contributing to the introduction of the economic reform. This contribution is needed, because the reform is being introduced under exceptionally unfavorable conditions.

The nature and shape of the future trade unions will be decided by working people through their universal participation in the discussion of this unprecedentedly important problem. All the arguments pro and contra every concept must be considered and the best and optimal solutions selected.

In agriculture, many previously adopted solutions do not meet the past and present expectations of the countryside. The authorities are aware of this. But not everything can be attended to at once, because the backlog is truly enormous. The development of optimal solutions in this field is difficult in the country's current situation. But it must be accomplished.

Replying to a question concerning the relations between the state and the Church, the Central Committee secretary declared that the Church should employ its authority in favor of stabilizing the situation in the country, for which it has a tremendous potential. The forces which the Church represents can and should serve well the consolidation of law and public order and the unification of the nation in joint work for the country's welfare.

The question of the responsibility of former prominent individuals will be examined by the Tribunal of State, whose appointment will probably be decided by the Sejm at its next session before this month is over. The investigation of the KSS KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense, Committee for the Defense of Workers] activists is continuing. Proceedings also have been instituted against those Solidarity activists who caused losses to the economy, not to mention moral and political damage.

Speaking of the situation among teachers, the Central Committee secretary stressed that the verification of the teaching cadres will not be actively conducted. On the other hand, the Central Committee and the government intend to act consistently and systematically to eliminate from that profession individuals who lead the youth to political and ideological wastelands.

As regards the proposed visit of the Pope to Poland, M. Milewski declared that the state did not say "no" to this matter. "The Church and the

Episcopate realize that the current climate is not the best for such a visit. But as for the climate in the future, that will be decided by the evolution of the situation. Certain terms for such a visit must be met."

In conclusion, Miroslaw Milewski pointed out that the decision taken on 13 December [the martial law] should be interpreted as not only a decision that had prevented a civil war and perhaps even war on the European continent, but also as a date initiating a new direction of our country's future development. Referring to the appeal by one of the discussants for doing more for Poland instead of flooding it with talk, the Central Committee secretary said that not only deeds but also words are needed, because others have uttered so many untruths. But one should indeed strive that what is being said should be reflected and embodied in day-by-day deeds.

In the morning hours, M. Milewski met with the leading aktiv of the Voivodship Headquarters of Citizens' Militia [MO]. He thanked all the functionaries of the MO and SB [Security Service] for the efforts they invested in maintaining law and order in the Elblag Voivodship.

Miroslaw Milewski at Aktiv Meeting

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 19-20-21 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

> [Text] As in other regions of this country, in the Elblag Voivodship, too, the party echelons and basic organizations as well as the socio-occupational milieux are conducting a lively discussion of the nature and achievements of the 7th Plenum of the PUWP Central Committee, and particularly of the draft of the declaration "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are." The importance of ideological and economic issues is being emphasized, and the conviction that the existing difficulties can really be surmounted and the party can be reborn and regain broad public confidence is being expressed.
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> Such, too, were the main topics and issues discussed at the Thursday [18 March 82] meeting between the aktiv of the Elblag Voivodship party organization and the Political Bureau member, secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, Miroslaw Milewski. The meeting was also attended by the Elblag Voivode, Col Dr Ryszard Urlinski, and the KOK [National Defense Committee] commissioner Col Pilot Jozef Caputa.

The meeting was opened by first secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee Jerzy Prusiecki, who briefly assessed the current activities of the party and the political, social, and economic situation in the voivodship. He recalled that a recent Voivodship Committee plenum had evaluated party work and the general situation in the voivodship before and after the introduction of the martial law, and outlined current tasks. He stated that the activities of the POP [basic party organizations] have recently become more vigorous,

though not yet sufficiently. That the PUWP is regaining the public's confidence is demonstrated by such facts as, among others, the influx of new party members from among workers and representatives of other occupations and professions. Considerable attention is being devoted to intensifying the activities of youth and public organizations, social work commissions in labor establishments. The importance of the Committees for National Rebirth [KON] which in the Elblag Voivodship number 150, is increasing. Further, J. Prusiecki stated that the course so far of the discussions of the draft of the ideological-program declaration of the PUWP and the future shape of the trade unions, points to the existence of considerable common consensus as regards fundamental issues but many divergences of opinion about details.

Speaking of the economic performance, the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee stated that it is not satisfactory, especially in construction, and that unfavorable economic relations persist, even though some improvement has already been observed in this respect. In agriculture, the plan for milk and livestock procurements is being satisfactorily fulfilled, but grain procurements are not as satisfactory. At present the main efforts in the countryside are being focused on the proper preparation for and conduct of spring field work.

The questions asked of the Central Committee secretary and the comments made during the discussion mentioned, among other things, the obstacles to the economic reform, the insufficient supply of agriculture with means of production as well as with indispensable agricultural implements, the inequal treatment of different sectors of the economy, the lack of coordination between agriculture and the agricultural processing industry, and the occasionally unjustified investments. Emphasis was placed on the need to make accountable those responsible for the crisis and to ensure a patriotic and committed teaching cadre, while the establishment of the Ministry for Prices and Pricing evoked skepticism. The initiators and organizers of the so-called balloon campaign were condemned, as was the diversionary activity of the West against Poland, in which some of the Solidarity activists remaining abroad are taking part. Speaking of the ideological-program declaration "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are," its excessive length and the faulty style of certain of its formulations were pointed out, among other things. Many comments concerned the future activity of trade unions, the relations between the State and the Church, and the need for a thorough verification [of the ideological attitude] of persons holding responsible state, economic and diplomatic posts.

Taking the floor, the secretary of the PUWP Central Committee Miroslaw Milewski discussed, among other things, the reasons for the introduction of the martial law, stressing that it was necessitated by the adventurous steps of the extremist leadership and advisers of Solidarity, as is also demonstrated by the documents seized in the offices of the regional boards and the National Commission of Solidarity. He stated that hostile centers in the West are attempting to sow confusion and anxiety in Poland and instruct and prepare the still uninterned leaders of Solidarity for some future "X-Day."

Certain circles of our youth are susceptible to illusory slogans and resort to the distribution of flyers or even to armed struggle, as evidenced by the killing of the militiaman in Warsaw. The speaker stressed the inadmissibility of the "balloon campaign" in its aspect of menace to aircraft as well.

Speaking of the economic reform, M. Milewski recalled that its need was spelled out by the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress, but the conditions for its introduction are exceptionally difficult. Additional problems in this respect have been caused by the economic restrictions by the United States and other capitalist countries, which precisely accounts for, e.g., the need to re-orient the production of many processing industries, including the food industry. In such a situation, the aid provided us by the socialist countries, and especially the Soviet Union, is becoming tremendously important. The reform exists and will be introduced. A contributing factor in the reform will be the workers' self-governments [samorzady robotnicze] which, upon decision by the concerned ministers, may be established in the plants with the appropriate atmosphere and the right people. But as for the final shape of the future trade union movement, that will be decided by the working class itself. But of a certainty, the new trade unions will have to be based on constructive principles and protect the interests of workers while at the same time supporting the socialist State. Referring to the draft of the ideological-program declaration of the PUWP, the first secretary of the Central Committee emphasized that the final text of that important party and national document will be decided by the debates now under way. He stressed further that the current version of that declaration is not perfect and needs improvement. This was, besides, the intention of the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee in submitting that draft for broad discussion.

Further, M. Milewski discussed at length matters concerning a settlement of accounts with former prominent individuals, claiming that the actual culprits will receive the punishment they deserve. But this matter requires great deliberation so as to avoid injustice to anyone, because, as known, more than one individual has been undeservedly accused of deeds which, as it now turns out, he did not commit or had committed not on the scale previously suggested. Recently, quite a few supposedly "poor people" who, to be sure, did not hold exposed positions but did incommensurately enrich themselves by illegal operations, have been identified. There is a need for an effective fiscal policy such as would, on the one hand, prevent excessive enrichment of a few and, on the other, not blunt human initiative and resourcefulness.

The Central Committee secretary discussed current activities within the party. He stressed that the new style of operation means a return to Leninist principles. The party endeavors to strengthen its ties with the working class and the nation. It is regaining [public] confidence. This is, among others, the purpose of the current [ideological] verification of personnel in state and economic agencies as well as of diplomatic personnel.

Workers on Trade-Union Movement

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 18 Mar 82 p 3

[Interviews with former Solidarity members at an Elblag Plant by G. Baranowski]

[Text] The future of the trade-union movement in our country is one of the most important topics of concern to Poles. Below are the pertinent comments by the employees of ZAMECH [Engineering Works named for General Karol Swierczewski in Elblag] belonging to Solidarity--a trade union that had associated more than 90 percent of the work force at that enterprise. They are: Mchal Wilinski, electrician, PUWP member; Ryszard Lojewski, grinding-machine operator, PUWP member; Miroslao Kraska, welder, ASMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth] member; Zbigniew Fijalkowski, senior foreman, PUWP member; Taduesz Krysiak, deputy chairman, ZSMP Trade Union; and Jan Krol, fitter, non-party.

[Question] In your opinion, which is the most important of the operating principles of the trade union movement as presented in the theses of the Committee for Trade Union Matters under the Council of Ministers?

[Answer] M. Wilinski: It appears that the trade unions should be independent and self-governing but not like what they used to be so far. After all, playing politics is hardly a task for trade unions, which should instead be concerned with working people, with the safety and hygiene of their labor, with their earnings....

R. Lojewski: In my time I took part in a strike at ZAMECH. I belonged to the strike committee, and later I founded Solidarity in my department. But I was concerned with strong, independent trade unions such as would declare "no" in cases of injustice to workers. Later something out of kilter began to happen to these trade unions; for example, the grassroots membership was not consulted on many matters. What happened instead was that Solidarity activists would come and ask us whether we wanted or did not want a strike. People would raise their hands. To protest would mean becoming isolated--such was the psychosis of those times. But I was not interested in such trade unions. Our chief slogan was democracy, and that democracy should be binding on all. I did not like it when forces of the clergy began to dominate our trade unions. Let the clergy struggle for our souls, and let us ourselves struggle for our temporal worker problems. Finally there came [the events in] Radom, then in Gdansk--and the matter became clear. Following 13 December [when martial law was declared] I resigned from the Solidarity branch, though I had founded it myself. I have not betrayed the ideas of the working class but on the contrary I pursue them further. We workers need no playing with politics. As citizens of this country, we wish to co-govern instead of taking over power with the aid of trade unions.

[Question] Thus, trade unions should deal not only with narrowly conceived affairs of workers?

[Answer] Z. Fijalkowski: I did not like it when the fates of entire regions depended on a spark [the initiation of a sparking strike action] in some one plant, when people showed solidarity in supporting actions that often were unjust. We know of such an instance happening in the Zielona Gora Voivodship. The trade union should confine its activities to the sector of industry concerned and give priority to the concerns of the people working within that sector, e.g. the problems of the metalworkers should be solved by metalworkers and not by miners. Their interests may differ, as especially demonstrated by the example of the trade unions of private farmers.

J. Krol: I would like to justify a little the excessive political involvement of certain Solidarity activists. In my opinion, when there is a strong party--although I myself am no longer a member--when the party acts in accordance with its program, in principle the trade unions should not engage in activities outside their by-laws or in political activities. Why did Solidarity become involved too much in politics? A crisis had set in in the party, so that it had begun temporarily to neglect, as it were, certain problems which [by being taken up by Solidarity] constituted an encroachment on the party's scope of activities. This concerned the problem of the economy and it turned out to concern political problems as well. In our conditions, economics could not be separated from politics.

M. Kraska: I believe that it is difficult to separate trade unions from politics. We know why Solidarity had emerged: the workingman had less and less to say. With the formation of Solidarity, all the problems swept under the rug had come home to roost. This does not necessarily mean playing politics. I believe that future trade unions should continue to protect the interests of workers but in some fields--wherever social control is missing--their perspective should be broader and they should signal about problems and obligate those responsible to solve the problems. I would like those future trade unions to bring about a situation in which the law would become not only the law but also justice.

[Question] How can trade unions be protected against falling into the trap of political commitment while at the same time bearing in mind that this need not signify lack of interest in national affairs?

J. Krol: The situation in our country was such that the trade unions had also to engage in politics. After a time, there would have arrived a moment when the unions would no longer have to do so and would cease playing politics.

M. Wilinski: I believe that the striving of certain leading activists of Solidarity to change the system of society was in itself big-game politics.

J. Krol: But I believe that Solidarity would itself purge itself of such individuals without an assist from the military and the militia.

M. Kraska: A trade union ceases to engage in politics when and only when it engages in the affiars of workers, but it shall engage in these latter affairs once the other political problems disappear--such as the vital problem of justice. A trade union should not engage in politics, but what also matters

is that politics should not transcend the state's economy! The best controller, the best criterion of a government is that force which points out in time mistakes. If there is a possibility for publicly pointing out the mistakes of the authorities--the sources of dramatic conflicts will increasingly diminish. It was precisely this role of a controller, a monitor that was taken up by the trade unions, in view of the absence of other institutions that might fulfill this task properly.

M. Wilinski: It should be fulfilled by the party!

[Question] Much is being said about the leading role of the party in society. What should this role be like as regards the trade unions?

M. Wilinski: If we are to say that trade unions should be independent and self-governing, then the party cannot impose its objectives, etc. on them. But the trade unions must acknowledge the leading role of the party, while the party must always act so that the trade unions, in their turn, would have confidence in it.

Z. Fijalkowski: Both the party and the trade unions are based on the working class; that is, their goals are common.

R. Lojewski: In justified cases the party should help the trade unions....

[Question] Should the diversity of trade unions be preserved, or would it be better to have uniform trade unions?

J. Krol: Properly speaking, this should depend on trade-union members themselves; let them decide it themselves. As to whether the trade unions will be regional or sector-oriented, that is up to us alone. This should not be forced upon anyone.

[Question] Perhaps it will help if I cite the statement of Sandor Gaspar, chairman of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) who declared at the recent WFTU Congress in Habana: "Lack of autonomy, criticism, and tolerance under socialist conditions as well--undermines the prestige and attractiveness of trade unions."

Z. Fijalkowski: What does "attractiveness" mean? Does this mean that if I belong to a trade union of electric power workers I will receive free electricity or that if I join a miners' union I will receive a free allotment of coal? The purpose of trade unions should be to protect the interests of all workers rather than of, say, tailors alone or grinding-machine operators alone.

R. Lojewski: What matters is that future trade unions should be effective rather than attractive.

Z. Fijalkowski: Experienced trade unionsits must have a say. I know this from my department. If a meeting with plant management or whoever else had decision-making powers in some matter was arranged, it was attended by the

local Solidarity board, the executive board, the ZMS [Union of Socialist Youth], and only 5 or 6 people [workers]. Thus, the public must be imbued with faith in the possibility of posing crucial problems and resolving these problems by the trade unions. Then trade unions will be attractive.

R. Lojewski: It is necessary for future trade unions to be realistic and not only one-sided in their demands.

J. Krol: All the time we have been speaking of future trade unions, but we already do have trade unions, except that they are suspended....

R. Lojewski: Yes, but they must be wholly reborn, inclusive of their statute. The trade unions that had existed prior to 13 December cannot be reborn in their previous shape. Workers are not interested in big-time politics. People who are ambitions to get elected to the Sejm on the worker's shoulders should look for another donkey to ride on.

J. Krol: In this place I would like to emphasize clearly that the trade unions continue to exist and their future shape will depend above all on their membership, of course, provided that they follow the statutes and the entire legal system. Some institution will have to monitor that observance--perhaps the Constitutional Tribunal, whose task it is to monitor the consonance between laws and the Constitution.

R. Lojewski: The entire work force reasons like we do in its discussions. The opinions differ, but that is why discussion is so greatly needed.

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DETAILS OF BYDGOSZCZ PARTY MEETINGS REPORTED

Executive Board Meeting

Bydgoszc GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 5-6-7 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] The Thursday [4 Mar 82] meeting of the executive board of the Bydgoszcz party KW [Voivodship Committee] focused on two items. First, the members examined and approved the materials for the coming plenary session in March which will deal with the sociopolitical situation among the youth and the tasks ensuing from it.

The second item on the agenda was discussed by the executive board in Jezewa, because the party and sociopolitical problems of that gmina [parish] were of interest to the comrades. The gmina party organization has a membership of 409 regular and candidate members organized in 19 POPs [basic party organizations]. But the structure of that organization is fairly specific considering its rural locale, inasmuch as it is dominated by workers (33 percent) in view of the large number of facilities in that region (PKP [Polish State Railroads] hub, forestry superintendency, SKR [Agricultural Circle Cooperatives], Las [Forestry] Processing Plant, GS [Gmina Cooperative], post office). The remainder of the local population consists 21 percent of farmers, 27 percent of white-collar workers, and 9 percent of others.

Before commencing their deliberations, the comrades split up into five teams which visited the individual plants and institutions and villages and met there with the aktiv of the POPs. The harvest of observations and conclusions was rich and provided the basis for discussions among members of the KW executive board jointly with members of the executive board of the gmina echelons. The comments made pertained in principle to two spheres--the economic and the party-social. The issues considered included the need to activize small farms as well as lands leased by forestry employees, and also to improve the supplies of means of agricultural production and building materials.

The comrades found, on familiarizing themselves with the work of the local echelon, that its methods of party action are characterized by resoluteness, pertinency of the problems considered, and a consistent introduction of the principles of socialist coexistence within the gmina.

The gmina party organization, and especially its echelon, deals with agriculture as a whole, proceeding from the simple premise that the earth must bear fruit. Hence, together with the Gmina Office, land utilization was evaluated and appropriate recommendations were adopted. Within the gmina there occurred no instances of arbitrary encroachment by farmers on PGR [State Farms] and RSP [Agricultural Producer Cooperatives] fields.

A major effect on the positively evolving social climate and the fairly satisfactory economic performance is produced by the good cooperation between the party KG [Gmina Committee] and the ZSL [United Peasants Party]--joint sessions, jointly undertaken measures.

The comrades from the executive board examined the work of party organizations following August 1980 and the martial law declaration. Within some basic party elements the work became less intense (since August [1980] 78 members and candidate members have been deleted from the rolls, including 39 who voluntarily surrendered their party cards), but on the whole the party work during the martial law period has been carried out in accordance with requirements and recommendations. Interviews with every individual party member were commenced and are being continued, and their results will be discussed at a plenary session of the KG.

This was another regular traveling session of the Bydgoszcz Executive Board in the countryside and, as declared by Comrade Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the KW, such an operating procedure is of practical importance, since it enables the members of the board to get on-the-spot knowledge of grassroots problems, contributes to direct contacts, and serves to provide consistent assistance to the POPs in their work.

Plenary Meeting on Youth

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 12-13-14 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] Yesterday [11 March 1982] the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] held a plenary session in Bydgoszcz. The agenda pertained to the sociopolitical situation of the youth and the resulting tasks for the party. The deliberations of the plenum were guided by the first secretary of the PZPR KW, Comrade H. Bednarski. The opening speech was delivered by Comrade J. Zemke, KW secretary. Following the discussions the KW adopted a resolution specifying the party's main directions of action and the duties of party members who belong to youth organizations in Bydgoszcz Voivodship as regards the problems and needs of the young generation.

The participants in the deliberations included a large group of the aktiv of youth organizations. The plenum was attended by representatives of the concerned departments of the PZPR Central Committee, the national leadership of young organizations, voivodship state administration authorities, and the fraternal parties.

The point of departure for the topics considered in the opening speech was an analysis of the current ideological-political situation of the young generation of Poles. It was declared that this situation is to a large extent influenced by the experiences of the 1970s, characterized by an increasingly explicit divergence between ideological assumptions and the social reality; lack of possibilities for translating into reality the awakened higher aspirations; the growing difficulties in making a start in life--owing to the deepening economic crisis and the influence of centers of ideological diversion. Other major negative consequences have been produced by various measures taken against the ideological organizations of the young generation (the consolidation of the youth movement through the formation of federations, the requirement for a mass movement, mistaken or diluted concepts of ideological-educational work).

All this influenced the attitudes of the youth during the period from August 1980 to 13 December 1981, resulting in the loss of a part of the young generation and sometimes even in a sudden unfavorable change in its views.

The introduction of the martial law produced different responses among the youth. Some young people guide themselves by emotions rather than by arguments in favor of the introduction of that law. This results in their passivity or--fortunately only for a small group--even wish to oppose or sometimes to struggle against the socialist system of society. Most of the young generation has, however, accepted the martial law and wishes to devote its strength to the future of the fatherland--as reflected in its responsible attitude toward work and study.

The speech further dealt with the problems of the main elements of the educational process for the young generation, in which the family and school play a special role. As regards the family, strong emphasis was placed on the responsibility of party members for bringing up their children and shaping their ideological personality. The continuing difficult and ideologically complicated situation among the educators does not contribute to a satisfactory course of the educational process and sometimes even causes students to stray and begin doubting. This also applies to higher schools. This imposes important tasks on the school party organizations. Party members and teachers should explain to the youth the nation's contemporary history, especially treating the current situation in a broader historical and international context.

The youth organizations in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship have lost members. The ZSMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth] had 50,345 members in 1980 and 30,500 in 1981. The Polish Scout Union [ZHP] had 100,574 members in 1980 and 61,099 members in 1981. The speech stressed that the ZSMP, the largest organization of working youth, is still in a state of crisis. Some of its elements are passive and, given the complicated situation, some members of the aktiv have been lost. Evident changes for the better have been taking place in the ZSMP after the martial law was introduced. The Union of Rural Youth [ZMW] still exists in the organizational stage and is arduously gaining influence in the countryside. The ZHP, which lost allies among some teachers and parents, is in a difficult situation. The speech suggested taking immediate measures to revive the activities of the Socialist Union of Polish [University] Students [SZSP].

Emphasis was also placed on the fundamental importance of the following issues to the activities of the youth organizations: a creative return to the supreme values of the socialist ideology and Marxist ethics; concern for the basic life and day-to-day problems of the youth; the imposition of the principle that the youth is an authentic cocreator of the whole of social and political life.

Those taking part in the discussions were: K. Gawron, first secretary of the PZPR KG [Gmina Committee] in Zlotniki Kujawskie; S. Sekiecki, deputy superintendent of education and enlightenment; J. Bulawa, teacher from Sepolna Kraj.; A. Lowicki, first secretary of the POP [basic party organization] at the District Transport Center of the Meat Industry Enterprise;; K. Borowa, member of Tuchola KMiG [City and Gmina Party Committee]; J. Graczkowski, commander of the ZHP Bydgoszcz Post; T. Mackiewicz, first secretary of PZPR plant committee in Bydgoszcz ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops]; J. Kromski, deputy chairman of the ZSMP Governing Board; J. Kozdra, commanding officer of the voivodship militia; M. Walkowska, ZSMP activist from Janikowskie Soda Plant; W. Debicki, farmer, member of the Presidium of the ZMW National Board; M. Bernacki, party activist from Pakoc; S. Florczak, voivodship commander of the OHP [Volunteer Labor Brigades]; R. Bethe, chairman, SZSP District Council; L. Czechowicz, physician from Bydgoszcz; J. Langowski member of founding group of the Communist Union of Polish Youth [KZMP] in Bydgoszcz; A. Glowala, first secretary of Swiecie KMiG; T. Gilwa, the Bydgoszcz deputy voivode; J. Kaczmarek, first secretary of the PZPR KG in Osielsk; S. Zielinski, teacher from Bydgoszcz; B. Lewkow, member, Voivodship Historical Commission of the Youth Movement; and W. Swirgon, chairman ZMW National Board.

The participants in the discussion supported the analyses contained in the speech by Comrade J. Zemke and strongly stressed the devastation accomplished by the antisocialist offensive of extreme Solidarity elements in the consciousness of the young generation. They mentioned repeatedly the manipulation of young people through the organization of strikes at schools and in plants. During the martial law period, too, instances of operation of conspirational groups of young people have been occurring--sporadically, to be sure. One such group was unmasked in Znin, where a local teacher cooperated with it. Events of this kind do not represent the outlook of the entire youth since an overwhelming majority of young people are looking for niches of their own and finding them in constructive action to help stabilize the country and lead it out of ideological and economic crisis. This is exemplified by the sacrificial spirit of the young people performing military service and by their attitude at work and study.

Among other things, the discussion mentioned the partnership of the youth in the party's effort to rebuild the ideological and moral values of socialism, including the prestige and dignity of work among the public. Mention was made of the problems encountered by the ZHP in securing the material facilities for scout activities among children. The ZSMP representatives, defending themselves against the reproaches that their union was turning into, so to speak, a trade union of youth, argued that in the present conditions their offensive to solve

the day-to-day problems of youth is in effect a political action integrating and rallying young people around essential and authentic issues important to the entire nation. The speakers who raised this issue demanded that in this matter the declarations should be followed up by concrete decisions by the local administrative authorities. However, some also objected to singling out the youth for special treatment, since the entire nation is experiencing difficulties and hardships should be expected by all. The problem of the youth as an organizational force in resolving the issues of the state and nation was also raised, though exclusively in the context of participation by the youth in the exercise of state and local authority and the need to implement the policy of broader appointment of young people to leadership positions.

Among the many issues discussed, special emphasis was devoted to the problem of regular and higher schools. Concern was expressed about the negative phenomena occurring among many pedagogical teams, especially during 1981. These include: the emergence of sharp political divisions among teachers and attacks by some groups of teachers against what decides the socialist nature of the schools. The deputy superintendent described the numerous measures taken to improve the educational situation. But other speakers thought it necessary to take radical measures, including dismissal of those educators who are responsible for the poor situation in the schools, and reject the obligation of carrying out educational processes in accordance with the constitution of socialist Poland. At the same time, though, the currently unusually difficult and responsible tasks of teachers were pointed out.

In the discussions another view expressed was that a very major reason for the swaying of the ideological foundations of large groups of youth is the shock experienced by young people when their imagination and ideals, including those shaped in the school, collide with the reality of the first job held--with its problems and shortcomings.

The importance of a class-oriented attitude toward the rising generation was stressed in the comment by the candidate member of the Central Committee and chairman of the ZMW National Board, Comrade W. Swirgon. Viewing the young generation as a whole and accepting the generational approach in analyses and syntheses is misleading and relatively unsuitable to the solution of practical problems and undertaking of political struggle. In that struggle, the currently most important issue is the enemy's penetration into the groups and among the young people who still represent a contested field. In this respect, concrete and organic work can and should play a tremendous role.

The KW resolution defines the following as the basic educational duties of the party with respect to youth: the struggle to restore the faith of young people in the truth and honesty of the ideas proclaimed by the party; in social justice; in word as the criterion of material position; in man and the defense of human dignity; and in the humanist values of socialism. The resolution obligates the party organizations and echelons to systematically collaborate with youth organizations upon fully respecting their autonomy. Youth issues will be the topics of meetings by party organizations and plenary sessions of the party echelons. The resolution also specifies the party's obligations to provide various forms of assistance to prepare the aktiv of youth organizations for

ideological work. It contains provisions specifically obligating local administration to take steps to concern itself with the day-to-day problems of youth, including the satisfaction of needs as regards housing and employment. The resolution also specifies the tasks for party organizations at higher schools.

Next, during its discussions, the Voivodship Committee accepted the report, presented by Comrade Z. Zmudzinski, KW secretary, about the party's activities in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship following its plenary session which determined the tasks of party work under martial law, as well as following the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The Commission for Women's Affairs has, in addition, been established under the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

The deliberations ended with the signing of the International.

Bydgoszcz City Committee Meeting

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 16 Mar 82 p 6

[Article by Mak.: "From the Deliberations of the KM PZPR Governing Board"]

> [Text] Several topics were raised at the last session of the Executive Board of the PZPR Bydgoszcz City Committee [KM]. The members familiarized themselves with the issues even earlier, owing to materials transmitted by individual working teams.

A major item on the session's agenda was the evaluation of the performance of the Basic Party Organization [POP] at the Planning and Research Office for Industrial Construction [BPBBP] in Bydgoszcz. The choice fell on that particular POP because it was precisely there that, between 1 September 1980 and the present, nearly one-half of the membership had surrendered their party cards, and currently this POP consists of 34 members and candidate members. The team appointed by the KM to prepare the materials for this evaluation held interviews not only with the leadership of that POP and its current members but also with the BPBBP employees who had resigned from the party. The motives prompting them to make this decision were discussed, and the effect of this occurrence on the course and activities of the party organization as well as on the sociopolitical atmosphere of the BPBBP personnel as a whole were analyzed. The forms and methods of activity of the POP and its officers during the last 15 or so months as well as at present also were discussed.

The KM Executive Board acknowledged that the party chapter itself at BPBBP is best qualified to evaluate these activities for the period in question,which will be done at its next meeting. The representatives of the city echelon declared their intent to take part in that meeting.

Later in the session, the program of action of the PZPR KM following the Seventh Plenum of the party Central Committee was discussed. The program was divided into thematic tasks comprising the following groups of problems: aspects of intraparty and organizational work, ideological-educational work, and the

introduction of the economic reform in labor establishments. Some forms are already being introduced, while others will be introduced in the next few weeks. For example, a series of meetings between the KM leadership and the party members from among individual plant crews has already been commenced. By the end of this month, all teams and problems commissions will have held meetings on the implementation of the provisions of the resolution of the Seventh Plenum. But the most important task in this thematic plane is the development of party discussions at all POPs concerning the draft of the ideological declaration, "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are," which will last until the end of April.

During the session, the schedule for implementing the conclusions of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW], ensuing from the evaluation of the party KM by the KW secretariat, also was discussed. Organizational matters also were attended to.

Voivodship Executive Board Meeting

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 26-27-28 Mar 82 p 2

[Text] This topic hardly requires an explanation. This concerns simply effective action to protect the natural environment, and especially water resources, in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship. This was categorically declared by the executive board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] in Bydgoszcz on examining the report of the Voivodship Office on the state of environmental protection and the investments foreseen for the immediate future to save the region's ecological balance.

The development of industry, urbanization, and the intensification of agriculture, and, above all, man, require usable water that does not poison the human organism. Unfortunately, year after year, the pollution of the waters of the Brda and Wda and their tributaries is increasing. This also concerns the Vistula, the Notec and, unfortunately, a majority of the lakes, especially the Goplo, Ziolo, Rogow, and Tonow lakes as well as the Folusz, Zninsk, and Charzykowskiego lakes.

During 1976-1981 about 1.5 billion zlotys was spent in Bydgoszcz Voivodship on environmental protection facilities, of which about half a billion was for the protection of waters and atmospheric air and the neutralization of [the fallout of pollutants in] precipitation. This year plans exist to spend 264 million zlotys as well as about 200 million zlotys additionally from the water management and environmental protection funds. This is a drop in the sea of needs, because the most indispensable construction and expansion as well as modernization of the municipal and industrial-plant liquid waste treatment facilities requires spending at least 11 billion zlotys in 1978 prices.

In view of these tremendous tasks the Executive Board decided to make environmental protection a fundamental problem. Its resolution will require--this being the postulate of the Executive Board of the Bydgoszcz KW--certain measures concerning coordination and supervision at the central level. This concerns a decisionmaker who, once he is briefed about the situation, could competently determine the priorities of investment and modernization tasks and allot investment outlays on protective facilities simply because they are precisely indispensable there and not somewhere else at the present moment.

The importance of the problem prompted the KW Executive Board to adopt the postulate that it is necessary to draft a comprehensive long-range program for water and environmental protection. This should be done by the Voivodship Office with support from the appropriate elements of the Voivodship Committee. This program should be presented at a WRN [Voivodship People's Council] session upon the initiative of councilmen who are PZPR members, so that it may gain the importance of a document binding upon all.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board discussed not only issues ensuing from the present sociopolitical situation of the voivodship but also the implementation of its own resolutions of 29 October 1981 on matters of party work in education, and of August 1981 concerning the introduction of the party training system during the 1981/1982 school year.

Voivodship Control Commission Meeting

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 29 Mar 82 p 5

[Text] The deliberations of the Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP] in Bydgoszcz, which were directed by the WKKP chairman, Comrade B. Nalezyty, largely dealt with ideological and political problems. The tone was set by two opening addresses: a report on the current tasks of the WKKP and a lecture on the influence of the United States on the present situation in this country. In addition, a report, based on extensive local documentation, was presented on the utilization of the findings of the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] by local party organizations and echelons.

The plenum identified the basic task to be action promoting a consistent observance of the PZPR statute and the strengthening of the ideological and organizational unity of the party ranks; both the WKKP and the local party control commissions should maximally support the party organizations and echelons in the implementation of this task. It was stressed during the discussion that, while the evaluations of the past and humane attitudes should not be abandoned, the focus must be oriented on the tasks of the present day, on rescuing the country from the crisis and resisting the enemies of socialism who, in our country, are not abandoning their struggle. Against them--who scorn no method of attack--the vigilance and cohesiveness of the party ranks are needed. Discussions of the question of how to cope with the tasks facing the party should supersede barren polemics which merely exacerbate ideological relaxation and weaken unity of action. It is indispensable to strengthen democratic centralism, which effectively prevents the party's transformation into a discussion club that can neither take effective decisions nor carry them out to the end.

Among the current problems of the party control commission, special emphasis was placed at the WKKP plenum on: actions to purge the party membership but without encroaching upon the decisions constituting the duty as well as the right of state organizations and echelons; concern for the observance of correct forms and procedures (formal interviews with party members [whose loyalty is being verified] so as not to offend their dignity); unfolding of a broad front of preventive-educational work. The following were included among the basic duties of comrades:

engaging in ideological-educational activity together with party echelons and organizations and providing them with help in the consistent monitoring of the adopted resolutions and conclusions. The necessity of cooperation between the control commission and the party echelons in evaluating the leadership cadres and in developing the cadre policy was also pointed out, as was the need for their participation in the struggle against manifestations of incompetence and irresponsibility in labor establishments and their obligation to show a deep concern for the formation of a well-meaning and responsible attitude of the management toward the problems of working people. These problems also were touched upon in the address delivered by the secretary of the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee], Comrade Z. Zmudzinski.

As regards the findings of the inspection of the interventions by the NIK in the activities of party organizations and echelons, the WKKP deemed that these interventions were only minimally utilized. In this connection, it addressed to the PZPR KW the postulate that this problem be introduced into the field of view of party organizations and echelons and that the POP [basic party organization] at NIK as well as at other state control offices discuss their cooperation with party elements in introducing the control decisions. To the local party control commissions, the WKKP recommended that they continue their analysis of the party's application of the conclusions of the state control agencies and provide aid to the basic organizations and echelons in evaluating the party members with regard to whom the inspection uncovered facts representing glaring violations of the statutory norms and party ethics.

1386
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RESULTS OF 1981 YOUTH SURVEY ON POLISH EVENTS DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 May 82 p 3

[Article by Bohdana Gajdeczkowa: "Youth and Polish Reality"]

[Text] The participation of youth in street incidents, which took place during the first days of May, alarmed public opinion and especially that of parents and teachers. Of particular concern is the fact that the sensitivity, emotions and credulity of youth were exploited for political purposes by opponents of socialism. This cannot be disregarded; the causes, which led to the "rebel ious" state of youth and even children must be sought out and inferences must be made from this for the practice of teaching since there were 14-year olds among those demonstrating.

Within this context, the results of a survey conducted one year ago in the Institute for Youth Research by the Department of Ideological and Moral Upbringing Team under the guidance of Dr Bozena Czyzkowska, may prove interesting.

The survey dealt with the attitude of secondary school graduates, students as well as young people already employed, towards Polish reality in 1981. Although, these results are not representative of youth as a whole and the situation in the country has undergone radical changes as well during the year, nevertheless, the material gathered in this manner reveals certain tendencies in the interpretation of significant political and social events which occur in Poland.

The authors of the aforementioned survey tried to acquaint themselves with opinions about facts, to capture stereotypes and patterns of thinking which function in the awareness of the young generation. The evaluated facts were tied in with the main problems of current social life in Poland; with the substance and causes of the crisis; responsibility for the situation in the country and the process of renewal.

As ascertained by the authors of the survey, over half of those questioned assessed the events of August 1980 as the overcoming of indifference on the part of society and its rebirth. Opinions on the necessity of settling accounts with people charged with committing offenses were dominant; the process of renewal was associated with the replacement of people in high ranking positions.

The responsibility for the crisis in the country was treated in moral categories. Dishonest people are to blame; those who became rich at society's expense. The role of social and political institutions and organizations was not remarked. The dominant view was that the essential shape of the life of our society depends not on the organization of the political system but on the officials, mainly those at the central level and on the personal integrity of leaders who belong to the narrow elite of authority.

The process of renewal was also interpreted in moral categories. The recognition of the types of people for leaders was significantly pronounced--persons who are not weighed down in public opinion. The young people considered the creation of a program for coming out of the crisis (87.9 percent of those polled) as an essential condition for the implementation of the renewal process. In their opinion, only personnel changes guarantee the working out of such a program and its implementation. The program is to serve, above all, the democratization of social relations, the stabilization of life in the country and the gradual surmounting of the economic crisis. For the purpose of achieving this goal, the following are indispensable--according to the number of votes--the attainment of market equilibrium, the reform of the economic system, openness of political life, squaring of accounts with the perpetrators of the crisis, repayment of foreign debts and the creation of effective mechanisms for control of authority.

How are civic attitudes to be expressed so that life in the country may become stabilized as soon as possible? Of those questioned, 88.3 percent felt that a responsible working attitude is the most essential. Law and order were mentioned next, as were respect for public property and sensitivity to human issues. Attitudes which should be fought against included bribery, lack of responsibility for work results, settling matters "over drinks," disregard for public opinion and inefficiency. This is the answer to the widespread depreciation of these values in public life during the 1970's.

The pollsters asked for opinions on the subject of the role of various social forces in the renewal process: that of PZPR, the Church and "Solidarity." Let us remember that this was in the spring of last year [1981]. Although, those answering charged the PZPR with responsibility for the crisis situation, 23.8 percent of those responding had no doubt in their mind that it [PZPR] should be in power in the country; 19.5 percent were for "Solidarity" and 4.9 percent for the Church.

In the opinion of young people, the existing to date institutions and organizations are weighed down with offenses committed by the leaders. Therefore, everything brought in by the wave of renewal is endowed with trust. The one exception is the Sejm. 39.2 percent of those surveyed, recognize it as having the rank of an institution endowed with great social authority. This opinion--according to the authors of the survey--is, most certainly, influenced by radio and TV broadcasts of pronouncements made by Sejm deputies which point to an authentic program of renewal.

How are the authors of the survey trying to characterize the manner of thinking of the young generation which is entering adult life at the start of the 1980's? Among other things, they maintain that the assessment of events taking place at that time was carried out by the young people from the point of view of three principal values: truth, justice and honesty. These values lie at the foundation of the concept of democracy and they also define the goals of the renewal of social life. This is how, in their opinion, youth understands true socialism. That is why, social reality--in their way of thinking--is either just or unjust, which liberates or constrains man.

This moralistic manner of interpretation, according to the authors, is undoubtedly valuable in the sphere of human interrelationships. However, it also constitutes a serious limiting factor in the understanding of the entire process of events, therefore, of objective laws and consequences of history which are independent of human will and actions. Young people absolutize only one area of history--intentional human actions. They do not notice, however, that in creating history, man is, at least to the same extent, created by it and is subject to it.

The manner of evaluating social reality, which proceeds from Catholic ethics, played and continues to play an important role in the settling of accounts with those people who are responsible for the crisis as well as in the nation's program of moral renewal. However, skill in conducting another kind of analysis is also needed--the disclosure of the hidden mechanisms of history and the logic behind errors of postwar events. This area of reflection is, in the opinion of the authors of the survey, foreign to the youth questioned. Their world outlook represents a peculiar synthesis of Catholic humanities and social knowledge with socialist postulates. This combination of elements from contradictory systems leads to the vision of socialism, nearly exclusively, in ethical categories. Meanwhile, social reality is reality of objectively existing contradictions, a conflict of interest which no individual or group morality can eliminate or overcome. Such an individualistic manner of comprehending democracy, justice or freedom may also lead to false perceptions of the situation in which, under slogans of common and respected values, private interests may come into being.

A moral direction in the evaluation of political phenomena by youth is expressed in the relation: ideal model and reality, separated from the mutual relationships of political, economic and cultural processes and, particularly, apart from social mechanisms whose activation would cause the bringing of reality closer together to the model. However, for such an analysis, at least rudimentary knowledge of the proprieties of community [social] life is indispensable which, as indicated by the survey, our youth is lacking.

It is impossible not to agree with the authors of the survey.

And a few additional reflections as a side-note to their remarks. From January of this year [1982], our social life has been undergoing systematic arrangement--this was postulated by those who expressed themselves in the survey.

When the decisions and achievements of the State authorities are summed up, there is no lack of examples, which demonstrate that social expectations in regard to the democratization of our life and the proper functioning of the State body, are being met gradually; that realistic conditions are being created so that the commitments resulting from the social agreement of August 1980 may be kept in full.

One can mention here, at least, the passage by the Sejm of as many as 26 laws pertaining to economic reform, the strengthening of agriculture and the placing in order of matters concerning education and culture. The legislative program of the government encompasses approximately another 50 drafts of laws pertaining to the functioning of the economy, of State administrative organs, social issues, the administration of justice, etc. This is a lot and even though the average citizen does not, as yet, clearly feel the effects of these activities--they are and will continue to be increasingly more apparent in every area of our economy.

However, a question arises as to what the young people, who took part in the disturbances as well as those who did not take part in them, know on this subject. It is easy to toss about an argument regarding the limiting of civil liberties, however, it is more difficult to enter into an objective discussion on the subject of a constructive program of social reform. For demagogic slogans, an incidental fact and superficial understanding are sufficient, however, an intelligent discussion requires authentic knowledge of the present. Is this knowledge provided by schools and how? How many talented teachers are there to take part in persuasive debates and how many are willing to do this?

Much discussion was provoked, at one time, by social issue programs. Gaps in the presentation of our most recent history were pointed out. However, a much more subdued tone was used to talk about the fact that Marxist social knowledge is presented in school--if it is presented--in simplified form, deprived of broader reflection.

Philosophical discussions, problems concerning man's well-being, the meaning of life--in general, there is no time for this during lessons. Don't students talk about these things? Who, then, directs their way of thinking?

More of such questions can be asked. For most teachers, they are not something new. And yet, the school mechanism, apparently, continues to be inefficient if these questions return anew.

Times are difficult; they are often not conducive to educational reflection but the youth of today is growing and it must be armed with rational thinking for the future and about the future. A program which would outline the framework of this future is also needed. It is difficult to live and function without a perspective; at age 20, one wants to have a particularly clear vision of it.

9853
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JASKIERNIA SPEECH AT KOMSOMOL CONGRESS HIGHLIGHTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 20-23 May 82 p 11

[Report on the speech by Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Polish youth delegation to the 19th Congress of Komsomol: "Let's Work for Our Country and Strengthen Friendship of Youth"]

[Text] On behalf of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) the Polish Scout Union (ZHP), the Rural Youth Union (ZMW), and the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP) Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of ZSMP Main Board expressed warm, brotherly greetings to the delegates to the congress.

Taking part in the 19th Congress of Lenin Komsomol we experience this historical moment together with you, said the speakers. We remain deeply affected by the words spoken from this podium by Leonid Brezhnev secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Accomplishments of recent years--presented in a speech made by the First Secretary of the Lenin Komsomol Center Committee Boris Pastukhov--bear witness to new successes of Soviet youth in the task of building communism.

An important role in the communist upbringing of youth is also played by the Lenin pioneer organization which celebrates its 60th anniversary.

Polish youth shall never forget the heroic efforts of Komsomol members performed during the struggle with our common enemy--Nazi Germany. The foundation of our friendship, Polish-Soviet brotherhood in arms was developed during battles with Nazism. There are graves of 600,000 soldiers of the victorious Red Army on Polish soil, the army which together with the people's Polish Army brought freedom to our nation.

As J. Jaskiernia emphasized, the Komsomol congress meets under conditions of worsening international tension. Recently forces of imperialism and reaction, taking advantage of the internal situation in Poland, among others, stepped up their endeavors to weaken the socialist community, workers' revolutionary movement and all the forces of social progress in the world. Well-known armament decisions of USA and NATO countries cause a significant increase in the threat to peace. Countries belonging to the socialist community consistently oppose this policy through peaceful coexistence, detente, and cooperation of countries of various sociopolitical systems.

We fully support, said the speaker, proposals, to contain and limit armaments put forward many times by the leader of the Soviet people Leonid Brezhnev. Of special importance are initiatives presented recently at a meeting in Tashkent, as well as those forwarded from the tribune of our congress.

The problem of insuring the peaceful future for the world will be addressed during sessions of the 11th Meeting of the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Prague. We appreciate the importance of this world forum of progressive youth and we are ready to do whatever it takes to insure success of this meeting.

Next, J. Jaskiernia highlighted the present sociopolitical situation in Poland. Referring to the establishment of martial law in our country, he stated that this decision was necessary in light of actions taken by antisocialist forces. Those forces took advantage of mistakes made in social and economic policy and conducted destructive activities with the support of centers of imperialist sabotage.

In spite of continuing attempts at political destabilization undertaken by counterrevolutionary forces--normalization of life in our country is in progress. In the same time the process of implementing reforms written in the program of the Ninth Special Congress and the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party continues.

In our time, stated chairman of the Polish delegation, the activities of the socialist youth unions benefit from the experience of Soviet Komsomol.

Our youth unions, said J. Jaskiernia, give active support to the leadership of the party and of the government, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish People's Republic, General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski. They mobilize members to take active part in overcoming negative phenomena and results of sociopolitical and economic crisis.

One of the most important premises of overcoming the crisis in Poland is the search for solutions to economic problems and implementation of the economic reform. In the present situation brotherly help and economic cooperation of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community are ever more important to us.

J. Jaskiernia expressed deep gratitude toward delegates to the congress for the help given our country in this difficult hour in the spirit of internationalism.

Springing out of the principle of socialist internationalism awareness of the common interests and shared concern for the stable future of the People's Poland--an important link in the socialist community--strengthens our brotherly friendship and cooperation. An expression of these ties can be found in the agreement on cooperation concluded between the commission on matters of mutual international contacts of Polish youth and student unions and the Central Committee of Lenin Komsomol, signed in April of this year in Warsaw.

The 19th Congress of Lenin Komsomol, concluded J. Jaskiernia, opens a new chapter in the history of this organization. We hope that this chapter will be full of even greater accomplishments for Soviet youth in their intense efforts on behalf of their country and the people.

9959
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'RAZEM' CORRESPONDENT MEETS WITH HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 4, 16 May 82 p 5

[Article by Marian Butrym: "Evidence of Immaturity"]

[Text] In general, the present article was not planned. We had anticipated printing the report of a discussion with a class of seniors at a famous Warsaw high school. The subject of the discussion--as we imagined it--was to be problems of young people's consciousness, their reflections as to their own future, the country's prospects, as well as their opinions on recent events on the streets of our cities, events in which young people played a major role. The discussion did not take place. More precisely, a meeting with young people did take place. It lasted three times longer than we expected, but there was no intellectual exchange of views. However, there was a sharp and, I hope, an honest exchange of statements that revealed a lot of bitterness, phobias, and going astry by 17 year olds, their fears and inclination to complain, pessimism and lack of know-how in thinking for themselves, self-evaluation, making analyses, or of drawing conclusions. I am not furnishing the name of the school because that is of no importance insofar as these observations are concerned.

First

From the beginning, the class divided itself into three unequal parts. Several students took an attitude of total negation of the system, the government and the party, and with great assurance voiced the stereotyped propaganda formulas of extremist "Solidarity" members far removed from deeper reflection, even if only of that, that the division of the world into good and evil, is possible only in a fairy story about the Snow Queen. Everything is very clear, simple and one-dimensional for the authors of such statements, and notionally, boils down to a dogma that everything "Solidarity" did was good, while everything that the government did, is doing and will do is bad. These discussants opted for self-government, although no one was able to explain in detail what was involved in the statute on self-governments and what was determined by negotiations; they were for democracy and pluralism of views, but at the same time interfered with the statements of two pupils who had somewhat different thoughts and opinions. The rest of the class constituted a so-called silent majority (there was a total of 32 young people in the classroom), a class which

reacted in a lively and collective way at certain times during the discussion. Consistent with the general declaration, no one had taken part in any of the street disturbances, though one of the pupils admitted that while returning home from his class in English, he had willy nilly found himself in the range of events.

A most aggressive group of 5 pupils stated that the street disturbances with their rock throwing, the setting of fires and screams are a phenomenon of spontaneous protest by young people, and that this is a form of struggle for a better tomorrow. In answer to the question as to whether a spontaneous gathering of several thousand people on a given day, at a given time and place could be possible, the answer given was that: "everybody talked about it", and someone in the class added: and "mainly Radio Free Europe." I also heard the infantile opinion that the manifestation would have been well-behaved and peaceful but for the excesses provoked by the police whom the demonstrators do not like. In response to the comment that public meetings during a time of martial law are not permitted, and that such a response could have been anticipated, I got the riposte that martial law was introduced needlessly, that the December Radom-Gdansk declarations by "Solidarity" leaders are an organized propaganda fake, and that in general, the government wanted to avoid elections to the Sejm in February 1982. Then followed a clarification of details. It was established that martial law does have legal bases, although no one is happy with its introduction, that of course, the declarations by union organization leaders were true but impossible of realization, that actually there were to be no elections to the Sejm this year because the last ones took place in 1980, and that consistent with the Constitution there was still time for them. The pupil who made the statement, and will be up for his secondary-school certificate examination next year, said that he didn't know precisely what the elections were about but that he had hear something to that effect.

Second

Clarification and identification of the real facts occupied the major portion of the class meeting. During the course of the discussion it became clear that the main quintet of the angry ones had basic gaps in its knowledge of and acquaintance with the realities of social life, not to say anything of history. Particularly so, because it believes uncritically in everything that confirms its values, and unhesitatingly rejects every fact that challenges such values. Also, that in evaluating socio-political phenomena, quintet members presented views that they had heard or been exposed to as if they were their own, or in citing somebody's texts, are unable to defend their propriety. Also, that they are helpless in polemics. A 17 year old talking about events that occurred in 1970, does not even realize that as a (then) 5 year old, he could not have formed his own view or independent opinion.

I heard said: "my parents told me", or in trying to rescue a lost point the use of the meaningless banality: "Everybody knows that". These are the answers of young people in whom bitterness and hope are contrasted with a lack of agreement as to what is happening in the country, and the lack of an elementary understanding about problems of a more general nature. How can a young person make analyses or do an honest accounting of the situation under such conditions?

In speaking of the decisions made at Yalta that do not please him, a senior high school pupil has no idea--as it quickly turned out--of when the Yalta Conference took place, or also who took part in it. Yet, he will have to take an examination on history for his secondary-school certificate. On hearing the sound of the word "socialism", a girl breathes deeply and turns her eyes heavenward but is unable to explain what socialism is, just as she is unable to define the concept of "democracy", something that in reality does not interfere with her ability to use a stereotyped chant about "full democracy" and "totalitarian regime".

The silent majority of the class listened to the ping-pong exchange of statements and reacted only to basic threads. The first reaction was applause for one of two pu;ils who expressed what were more their own opinions which declared that, of course, everyone was for socialism, but for the kind that results from theory. The class also reacted with a protest when one of the aggressive ones tried to justify the burning of red flags.

Later, the intransigence broke down. It became easier and easier to understand one another, and even the angry ones became less and less hostile and mores susceptible to argument. The disorderly exchange of statements began to have some sense. "I've taken a fancy to you" said one pupil, "it is possible to talk to you and to even make one's self understood". Not to have it too sweet, one of the angry ones immediately countered: "But I do not believe you." It is strange that a mature person with an intellectual background who should think, because faith itself is good only at vespers, finds only the timid answer: "Well, yes, but you have to believe someone."

Thirdly

The heart of the meeting came after its conclusion. Several times during the course of the protracted talk, the teacher remarked that it was time to go home, that it was dinner time, that parents, etc... It was then decided that whoever wanted to, or was in a hurry could go. However, no one left. When we had really concluded, there began so-called off-the-cuff comments from which, however, two truths emerged: first, that youth wants talks, discussions and exchanges of views on the most difficult subjects, and secondly, that the noisy single-mindedness advanced by angry ones on the basis of "everyone knows or each one of us thinks that way" is simple utopia and a fig leaf that is supposed to cover anxiety and despair, distrust of official propaganda and helpless uneasiness.

Private conversations outside of an official class forum, without the pressure of remarks by colleagues who are judging one's answers, without fear of being ridiculed, or of someone's wise-crack, ran an entirely different course than the earlier exchange of opinions. Not one of my interlocutors approved of engaging in provocational actions on the streets of our cities. 'Taken-in but good, horses asses, dregs of society...' I heard '--you know, sir, they mean well, but they just don't know how.' Or, there is some kind of general hopelessness, marasm, such manifestations draw youth because it wants something, some kind of change, and martial law was

an enormous shock. Also, a basic thread: "Everything that is taking place in the country is taking place as if it was beyond us, over our heads, while it is we who actually are going to be bearing the main costs of the crisis."

I refer to the statement already cited: "One must believe in someone."

Yes, that is necessary. Actually, this one sentence illustrates the huge dose of overpowering pessimism from which young people are running away, and to whose action they do not wish to submit while seeking the antidote everywhere they can. Do they find support at school? Old upbringing measures which boil down to declarations and commonplace slogans, that are divergent in practice, with an ostentatious theory, that unlearn independent thinking, and that function according to a pattern of: "you must be polite, industrious and honest" have been discredited. And now what?

Lessons on indoctrination which do not educate anybody are not needed in school now, nor is a seeming epidermal peace which is to cover the unrests and indecisions of the young with the cap of simulated unity. The greatest educational danger will be the renunciation of action, and pretense that nothing has taken place in the country for the past dozen or more months, that everything is lovely, and let's get on with the examination. The school needs wise, politically underpinned, honest discussion, conducted by wise instructors prepared for such discussion. I will add, instructors who have credibility in the eyes of their wards, and who do not change their views depending on whose are on top, oscillating their opinions from one side to the other. As a matter of fact, I am ashamed of writing truisms, but sometimes the mention of real truths has the value of a glass of spring water in the desert.

A negative frame of mind is also manifested on the part of some teachers, all the attainments of earlier years are questioned as if nothing positive had taken place in the country during those years. I believe that the tutors of young people must themselves take account of their consciences in order not to sever the threads of mutual communication with young people, because a young person who is left to himself, and angry at the whole world in his helpless rage, naively seeks the causes of the crises and is thus more susceptible to the manipulations of political enemies. Educational opportunism, keeping certain problems secret, and the avoidance of so-called difficult subjects leads to an escalation of tensions at a rapid rate, wilful contrary behavior, protests, psychic panic and to senseless, extremist and rebellious activities.

Fourth

Honestly speaking, I was frightened when I learned that the pupils of a well-known Warsaw high school were anticipating a serious political discussion. This means that no one even tried to have a serious discussion with them, however, I do not wish to draw any far-reaching conclusions as to why. And if someone uses another dripping-of-banality stereotype about the lost generation, I hasten to ask why is this generation losing itself. Because surely it is losing itself, if the only thing that it knows and that reaches it is what is handed to it in pills of truths, half-truths and falsehoods

such as those the oppositionists do not skimp. If in answer to a difficult question, a young person can get a ready, simple--or rather common answer, it is no wonder that he regards it as his own, as real and beyond discussion, especially because he does not find an alternative.

The diagnosis presented by the opposition operates consciously through exaggerations, simplifications and falsehoods, a simple balck-white draft that youth readily believes in, the more so because it wants to believe. Likewise, young people do not willingly subject that diagnosis to critical analysis. It would quickly show the shallowness and political cynicism of the authors of those values in pill form. On the other hand, young people do readily yield to emotions, and frequently to projecting their own dreams, romantic impulses, ambitions and inclinations and to that same self-fulfilling wishing, or so-called craving.

The delicate problem of forming characters and the contest over values cannot be handed over as an uncontested victory because an unwillingness to exercise efforts, or--let me finally state it clearly--lack of educator preparation and know-how, or rather educational failures.

'It is necessary to believe someone' a pupil says, and in his way he has a point, because he knows too little and no one prompts him with anything more so that he can form his own view, own criticism, and independence in expressing opinions. Educational goals will never be achieved if they will be only passing empty talk at indoctrinational lessons. Without honest discussion of political problems it is impossible for one to imagine a revival.

In summary then, we agreed, after the lesson, to be sure, that the rejection in the post-August current of everything that was anarchial, at odds with the nation's interests, and the promotion of the worker movement's stream of changes merits the designation of renewal and that no one wants the recidivism of pre-August conditions. We also agreed that street brawls are senseless and that they conflict with the goals expressed by their participants of the events, among others, the reactions of "Solidarity", because no one, and in any event, very few persons want a renewal of the disturbances, strikes called for any and all cause or without cause, extremist intolerance and anarchy. Also, that the ghrowing of rocks in the course of appeals by the Sejm for national unity is a denial of the great idea.

Only that for young people who want change there has to be a sympathetic, honest and reasonable assistance to enable them to find their own view, their place in a mature society, proper categories of social values and an understanding of the meaning of events. They need discussion, talk, and to discharge their anger and psychic frustrations.

I believe that we would then attain a state in which the young generation would come to their elders with the news that they do indeed, like socialism. That they know how to make it better and propose retirement for their elders.

And then it would be possible to begin quite a sensible conversation.

10433
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POLISH SCOUT UNION COMMANDER INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28-30 May 82 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Ornat, commander-in-chief, Polish Scout Union [ZNP], by Magda Rulska; date and place not given]

[Question] During your last congress, in March 1981, you devised, or rather, returned to such assumptions as a positivistic program, grassroots-level work and the troop as the center of interest. In spite of this, this year some scouts have refused you obedience. How do you sum up the past 14 months?

[Answer] The congress was one of the most important ones in the life of the organization and in the history of the Polish scout movement. The reason that it aroused so much controversy was that we tried to resolve many problems of crucial importance to the union, and we did resolve these problems. The period during which the congress was held was a period of change, a period of reckoning with the past. It was an attempt not only to analyze the mistakes that have been made within the organization but also to cast off faulty training methods in general. From this viewpoint it was certainly a historical Congress, and will be so judged objectively by history.

[Question] What were the concrete results of the congress for the union?

[Answer] We answered the questions--what is scout ideology and what is our upbringing ideal?--without losing sight of our progressive scouting tradition and attempting to link up the experience of the many currents of this movement.

We were explicit in noting our basic principles in a statute, i.e., the patriotic, ideological-upbringing and sociopolitical character of the organization.

At the same time we recognized that our union is to be open to all young people: it is to be secular, honoring the principle of voluntarism and being guided by tolerance.

[Question] Despite the tolerance and openness you speak of, there have been some clashes.

[Answer] Some instructors rejected our upbringing ideal. Meanwhile, we emphasized clearly that this is the socialist ideal emanating from and inspired by the social thought of socialism.

However, let us return once again to the program you have aptly called positivistic. It is truly a program that does not violate the independence of troops, but does point out to scouts how they are to act. An important achievement of the congress was that it created conditions for action, that is, it set up the very organization of the union. We approved the existence of program-methodological movements within the ZHP framework. We wanted these to be communities of instructors, creative individuals, who would consider how the scouting program and method could be enriched.

The congress was criticized, but I believe that as a result of it we have chosen the right path. We did not make a mistake; on the contrary, we have emerged from this difficult year in good shape, having made concrete achievements.

[Question] You say "we have emerged." Forty percent of your people left. Less than 70 percent of the senior scouts remain.

[Answer] Yes, this is true, if you look only at numbers, at statistics. However, it is superficial, sham way of looking at things. Those who left were a fiction. Those who stayed were the real scouts.

[Question] Before last December the Independent Scouting Movement [NRH] was active, the "Malkowski-ites" rejected some of the proposals of the congress and a stormy discussion broke out on the subject of the Scout Oath. I do not know, maybe I am exaggerating, but a split was in the air.

[Answer] The NRH was a minor issue. When less than 1,000 children and instructors break off from a union of 2 million, one cannot speak of a split. I would like very much to believe in the sincerity of intent of the young instructors who created the NRH, but I know full well that Solidarity was the patron of this movement, and that it was promoted by activists who had political ambitions and tried to create a series of adjuncts to this organization, that included the youth organizations. Today it has become clear that this movement arose and developed primarily in Lublin Voivodship, in the region where the first and only school strikes in the country erupted.

Regarding the Scout Oath and the ensuring discussion, this is a normal phenomenon during a time of synthesis. There will always be those whom the result of the discussion does not suit. On the other hand, it is important for us to be able to respect one another. We adopted a text that may be changed by the next congress. And we will certainly return to the issue of the oath at the next congress. Thus, while we entirely approve of discussion, we reject action taken as though what is merely being discussed were already a fait accompli. So far, there is one Scout Oath, accepted by delegates from all communities, and it is this oath that should be taken and accepted by instructors.

[Question] You said that the last congress will be tested by history. I think that this is true, but that it will take place on an ideological level. However, a concrete program has arisen. How is it materializing in troops and tribes?

[Answer] A year has passed. Let us add, a year that has not favored the implementation of the program. We have made a major shift in the manner in which the union operates. Meanwhile, changes in the mentality of instructors are being made somewhat more slowly. Until recently what troops were to do was written down for them from A to Z. Now we tell instructors to do things their own way, as long as what they do complies with our upbringing ideal. We offer them inspiration and methodological materials. This is why many troop leaders have left. Many troops, instead of being independent, are alone.

However, here I must call attention to a positive phenomenon that is occurring on a larger scale than formerly--real work, activity emanating from passion and desire. New scout communities are cropping up. While the number of troops is much smaller today, we have many more good troops. During last year's summer campaign, which was more modest than those of previous years, weak, formless camps were hard to find.

[Question] Until recently it was said that the real Scout movement was merely a return to scouting. It seemed that contact with nature and the glorification of the past are at the height of the dreams of the young people in traditional scout uniforms.

[Answer] If previous generations had also professed this, there would not have been a tradition in general. All of the great scouts were reformers who, beginning with Andrzej Malkowski, introduced something new. The ZHP today serves to animate the student cultural and academic movement, and whether those who are active in it are scouts is not important. The organization is open to all sorts of initiatives; it is in a position to assist those with ideas.

There are those boy and girl scouts who think that our specific character is comprised of working with the Pioneers, knowing topography and the traditional scouting skills and nothing more. Until recently it was popular to call for the creation of forest troops. Today we know that that suffices for only 1 season, 1 year. After that, the young person needs something more. He needs an intellectual adventure; he needs to be tested in various areas of specialization, to show his expertise.

[Question] Hence the extensive development of specializing troops today?

[Answer] Yes, and these are troops created by the young people themselves. It is a fact that among the specialized troops, sightseeing and defense troops which are associated with polytechnical skills, still predominate. However, a new trend is emerging. Today, young people are looking for answers to the questions that are plaguing them. They want to understand what is happening in the country, to discuss issues connected with society, politics and world views.

[Question] Proof of this is the participation of 250,000 students in this year's voluntary Olympiad of Knowledge of Poland and the Contemporary World.

[Answer] Yes. Students in vocational schools played a significant part in this competition. I emphasize this fact because these nonacademic types are really interested in sociopolitical issues.

The difficult Youth Philosophical Knowledge Competition was equally significant. We are the coorganizers of this competition, which is also a contest for those who are well read, ambitious and thinkers.

[Question] Is the stereotype of the scout dying?

[Answer] Yes, when it means a scout who is honest but naive, who worries about physical brawn but does not think very much, who is apolitical and therefore does not discuss what is happening around him. The course taken by the recent, Second National Senior Scout Jamboree showed that this is no longer the case. Young people discussed scout service, the advocacy of youth interests and democracy. The results of this discussion, which was reported in SZTANDAR MLODYCH, attest to the great social commitment and political maturity of scouts, who are secondary school students.

The sense of civic responsibility, difficult national problems and the future of the homeland are the questions being discussed in troops and instructor's circles. Many instructors are participating in the civil labors of national rebirth committees.

At the last meeting of the Senior Scout Council, there was a lively discussion of events that took place in the early part of May. Not only were participants critical of the irresponsible behavior of students, but council members tried to determine the causes of such attitudes held among their contemporaries.

[Question] The date of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee is approaching. It is to be dedicated to youth issues. What do you expect the results of this discussion to be?

[Answer] At the next meeting of the ZHP Supreme Council, to be held at the end of May, we want to answer this question for ourselves: How should the union seek to resolve the problems of school-age youth? We are now diagnosing the situation and the psychic condition of young people. We know that it is a difficult situation, caused by the difficult sociopolitical and economic conditions in Poland.

We know that the scouts can stand as an authority for school age youth to a greater extent than formerly. We want to gain young people for Poland, for socialism. We want to do this in a manner that is appropriate for the scout union, that is, through teamwork, by aiming toward the socialist ideal, which is also the scouting ideal and by demonstrating such concrete values as truth, equality and social justice.

We are awaiting our party's confidence in our method of gaining the youth for the homeland. We await this trust not only from the party central organization but mainly from the primary party organizations,which work daily in cooperation with scout groups. We are counting on the fact that the plenum will be attentive to our experiences. Scouting is 70 years old and it has always brought up good patriots, people of commitment and citizens who are aware.

[Question] Does the positive past history of scouting earn for it a credit balance of trust?

[Answer] We do not await a new program of premises with no real backing. On the other hand, we do expect that conditions will be created for liberating the social activism of young people, including scouts. Often these are still children, but they are also citizens who should know the prospects of our people's state. Our task, the task of scouting instructors, is not only to give them a vision of the future but also to create the motivation for the young people to join in to create this vision themselves out of a sense of conviction. This is how I understand the subjectivity of the generation and also the role we are to play.

8536
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FURTHER INFORMATION, FIGURES ON ENTRANCE EXAMS GIVEN

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by rem: "Entrance Exams to Institutions of Higher Learning in July"]

> [Text] A total of 54.500 places are available. There will be no more changes in decisions concerning enrollment and no more "school president's places." Student ID's for Veterans.

A total of 54,560 places have been made available, with probably less than 100,000 youths competing. Therefore, those who get good grades on their entrance exams will have every chance to be admitted.

Of course, the conditions will vary depending on the chosen field of study. As usual, some schools, especially the universities, will be besieged. Other schools, including technical schools, arrange for additional admissions in September.

Universities will admit 16,000 freshmen, pedagogical schools--5,800, business schools--3,700 technical schools--13,500, agricultural schools--6,500, medical schools--almost 5,400, physical education schools--1,800, art schools--over 1,200, and maritime schools--630 freshmen.

In comparison with last year, the number of admissions to technical and agricultural schools will decrease. It will increase, however, at universities and pedagogical schools. This is dictated by the need for an increase in the educational cadre.

This year the separation in educating future teachers and other students in the fields in which major subjects taught are also required for teaching in high schools will be abolished.

Another important piece of information for the youths is that there will be no more so called "school president's places" and "minister level places." Although 15 percent of places awarded in each school by the authorities are left to dispose of by the school's president and the school's enrollment commission, those places will be given to individual faculties and departments depending on the number of applications, results of exams, cadre needs in the field, and availability of both teaching cadre and space. If then, for example, only 120 persons pass the entrance exam to the pedagogical school and for only two of

them there will be no place, those two places will be added from the pool of 15 percent of places.

The entrance exams are waived for this year's winners of olympics in mathematics, physics, chemistry, technical knowledge, as well as in agricultural knowledge and farming skills who want to enroll in these specific departments.

The entrance exams are also waived for Polish People's Army veterans who completed extended basic service. According to the Main Political Board of the Polish Army, of 3,300 persons who qualified, almost 1,600 chose full-time studies.

This number includes those veterans who before completing basic army service passed an entrance exam but were not admitted due to the lack of place. They may be admitted to the same faculty and in the same school to which they had applied, if they received an honorable discharge from their unit.

Those youths who come from the country and want to enroll in an agricultural school will be admitted without any additional requirements except for passing entrance exams.

All others are bound by the same requirements as in previous years. It is certain, however, that those who get a high passing grade on the entrance exam will receive student ID's. The average grade for major subjects--4.25 (in previous years it was 4.1) guarantees admission to the chosen or related field of study.

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SURVEY ADDRESSES LEVEL OF INFORMATION BY REGIONS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1637, 16 May 82 pp 20-22

[Article by Milan Milosevic]

> [Text] Is it true that frequently we do not know even the most elementary facts about one another? Has the collective consciousness about the whole Yugoslav entity given way to local particularism to a point that causes concern?

At times a single fact, like an X-ray, illuminates the social situation, the state of the spirit and of consciousness. Last week, a passing comment in the Belgrade Television Diary awakened a series of associations on the theme of how we are drifting apart in our ignorance of one another.

The Diary MC mentioned the results of a survey of public opinion at the Center for Political Research and Public Opinion of the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade. Only every fifth person (21 percent of those questioned) in Kosovo knew, for example, where "Sipad," the large Bosnia-Hercegovina collective, was located. Only 25 percent of Slovenes knew that "Obodin" was located in Cetinje, Montenegro, and only 17 percent of those questioned in Croatia could tell where the "Ibilic" manufacturing complex was located.

As the investigators themselves conclude, perhaps recognizing the large economic organizations that typify the economy of individual republics and provinces is not the most dependable indicator of the level of information possessed by the Yugoslav public on important social questions, for such recognition depends on many things, such as the nature of production, marketing, etc. Nevertheless, it is an indicator of some meaning.

Njegos, Gubec, Karadjordje

The collaborators at the Center for Political Research were studying just how well Yugoslavs are informed about important social questions. The sample included 2,500 people. Five categories of citizens between 18 and 65 years of age were question workers, farmers, unemployed, students and housewives. In every republic and province a suitable sample was selected. The testing lasted from 30 March to 20 May 1980, and it was performed by a team consisting of Dr Vladimir Goati, Dr Petar Klinar, Dr Vojislav Kostunica, Dr Zdenko Roter, Dr Slavko Splihal, Dr Niko Tos, Ranka Stanojevic-Rajkovic, Vera Markovic, Mirjana Vasovic and 60 surveyors.

The team tested what is really the most elementary level of knowledge of essential facts and data concerning self-management rights and international politics, but also other peoples and nationalities in the realms of economics, demography, history and culture. The questions aimed at, so to speak, the "symbolic" level.

For example, the participants in one question were asked to name a historical personality from the time before the National Liberation War from each republic and province. The answers from the Yugoslav sample concentrated on personalities through which are reflected the history of individual peoples or republics, for Bosnia and Hercegovina, it is Gavrilo Princip, for Montenegro, Njegos, for Croatia, (Matija) Gubec, for Kosovo, Tsar Lazar and Milos Obilic, for Macedonia, Goce Delcev, for Serbia, Karadjorje, for Vojvodina, Svetozar Miletic.

The researchers conclude that the "lack of information quotient" is relatively high, 55-60 percent. More than half those questioned knew nothing about historical personalities from Montenegro, Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia and Hercegovina. Fully three quarters of the Yugoslav sample were uninformed about historical personalities from Macedonia and Slovenia.

The lowest percentage of positive answers came when personalities from Vojvodina or Kosovo were cited. For example, only 4 percent of Slovenes knew anything about Vojvodina's historical personalities. On the other hand, the level of information about historical personalities from other regions of Yugoslavia is the lowest in Kosovo and Macedonia.

When they knew anything, they generally knew about their own people. The only surprise came among Montenegrins, who in larger percentages knew historical personalities from Serbia than did those questioned in Serbia itself. This situation was repeated with certain other questions. For example, Montenegrins had more knowledge of National Liberation War personalities from Serbia than the Serbs themselves, and the same conclusion can be made when the topic is modern personalities in culture and learning. The Montenegrins in general were the best informed about their own historical personalities, with the percentage of correct answers approaching 91 for "classical" figures, and as high as 96 percent when outstanding National Liberation War participants were involved. Knowledge of wartime figures in general was relatively high, but there again the respondents knew more about their own heroes than about others' heroes. The respondents in Kosovo again had the least knowledge about others.

The level of information was better in the Serbo-Croatian language area than where language barriers were encountered. Nevertheless, those questioned from Croatia had a less than average knowledge about personalities from Serbia, and the reverse. The same relationships are found between Serbia and Bosnia and Hercegovina, and between Slovenia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Serbia and Vojvodina.

Even lower levels of knowledge about personalities from Macedonia and Kosovo were found in Croatia and Slovenia.

Half of the Yugoslavs questioned knew the date when the Serbian uprising began, but they knew less about other (uprisings). The least correct answers came about events in Slovenia and Macedonia during the National Liberation War.

Among Montenegrins, 91 percent knew the date of the uprising in their republic, but only 38 percent knew the corresponding date in Kosovo. A somewhat lower percentage of correct answers was obtained in Slovenia (49 percent) and Macedonia (52 percent). [Translator's note: There is an apparent error in the above text regarding percentages.]

Large levels of ignorance about Yugoslav personalities in learning and culture were recorded in Kosovo (88 percent), Macedonia (73 percent) and Slovenia (60 percent).

Vuk, Presern, Zmaj

In the answers of those questioned the most frequent names were Andric (Bosnia and Hercegovina), Njegos (Montenegro), Krleza (Croatia), Mekuli (Kosovo), Racin (Macedonia), Presern and Cankar (Slovenia), Desanka Maksimovic and Vuk Karadzic (Serbia), and Zmaj (Vojvodina). As you see these are mostly literary figures, and the respondents showed that they were minimally, even indifferently informed about figures in other categories. As the researchers say, they also mentioned a sculptor and several scholars in Croatia (they don't say whom), and stage artists from Bosnia and Hercegovina, Kosovo, Serbia and Macedonia. It may sound ironic, but the political implications of that indication should not be ignored: it appears that the stage, which operates according to market laws, crosses cultural boundaries more readily than "high culture."

The conclusion about the poor level of information among Yugoslavs is strengthened by the fact that the "level of lack of information" in individual republics and provinces climbs in some instances to as high as 89 percent. That must sound like a warning, when we keep in mind that Kosovo is often at the bottom of those curves of mutual knowledge. All of us have difficulty in crossing language barriers and cultural borders. Kosovo "doesn't know" just a little more than the other regions fail to know about Kosovo.

A somewhat more favorable impression comes from the responses of the younger population, which indicates that the schools at least are carrying out some integrative function.

Dr Peter Klinar, a professor at the Department of Political Science in Ljubljana, who processed this culturopolitical segment of the study, points out the necessity to expand the amount of mutual information "at the popular level," but he stresses that it is necessary to transmit deeper information about national histories and contemporary events. He particularly points out the need for informed syntheses about the cultural and political perspectives of numerically smaller peoples. That level of information is weak in all areas, but there is a characteristically poor degree of information between the Slovenes, Macedonians and the people of Kosovo. He remarks that variously developed national consciousness affected the level of informed knowledge, and pointed to examples such as those above to show that according to some data, the best informed citizens regarding their fellow Yugoslav nationalities are in Montenegro, where they know the most facts about other republics and provinces. With some other questions, a somewhat higher degree of public information is found between Slovenia and Croatia.

As an explanation of what happened, but also as a warning, we would cite the fact that the lowest level of international informed knowledge was found in Kosovo.

Dr Petar Klinar noted that the information possessed by people with the least education is critically low.

In its basic message, and also in details, this study has truly turned on the red light to point out the need for more effectively informing people in all Yugoslav republics and provinces, both at a popular level and at a deeper, more serious one. This need is also seen at the economic and culturopolitical levels. The results of this study suggest the conclusion that we are not developing sufficient awareness in all parts of our community, as if our lamp was lighting only narrow circles that do not cross republic borders.

Perhaps this dramatic differentiation is seen better in the segment that studies the level of information about socioeconomic questions. Niko Tos from the Department of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism in Ljubljana concludes. having processed this part of the study, that a large number of those questioned were not informed about the national income by republics and provinces. The question asked precisely whether the national income in the indicated republics and provinces was smaller or larger than the Yugoslav average.

The easiest determination came when Slovenia and Kosovo were in question. Serbia proper caused the most difficulty. Fully 54 percent failed to answer this question, and among those who did there were many who answered that they didn't know, and others who were wrong. In Serbia and Vojvodina there was a high degree of ignorance about the position of the resondents' own republic or province.

Among Slovenes consciousness of their own economic development is well developed, and Montenegrins similarly know of their own backwardness, but for example only a third of those questioned in Croatia gave a correct response about the Croatian national income. In the total sample, only 53 percent of the respondents correctly indicated that Croatia was a republic with a relatively high national product.

In this omnibus study there was no opportunity for more fundamental research about what people regard as the causes for varying economic development, even though such information could be important to assess the political mood. For that reason, in commenting on the study Niko Tos recalled an earlier study of Yugoslav public opinion by the Center for the Study of Public Opinion of the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade and the Department of Sociology, Political Sciences and Journalism in Ljubljana, conducted in 1971.

The question was "What is the basis for Slovenia's higher standard?" The answers given had the following frequency: more efficient work and better organization, 32 percent more industrious people, 25 percent, more modern machinery, 23.8 percent, exploitation of others, 1.5 percent.

The answers obviously revealed something of the collective consciousness, but also of collective delusions. The respondents from Croatia indicated the most important factor to be the organization of labor, while those from Bosnia

and Hercegovina, Macedonia and Vojvodina asserted that the Slovenian standard had leaped forward because they had more modern technology. At that time the Slovenes in fact had older technology than the Yugoslav average.

Nikos Tos also recalled a study of Slovenian public opinion by the Ljubljana department in 1980 using adult citizens of Slovenia as the sample. About 43 percent of those questioned considered that the insufficiently developed republics and provinces should take care of themselves, with the entire Yugoslav community helping them. About 41 percent of the respondents regarded the undeveloped regions to be primarily the concern of the developed republics, while only 3.8 percent circled the answer "let them worry about their own development alone."

Such attitudes suggest that at the time of the poll, there was a high degree of solidarity on this strategically important point. The imperative for the survival of our community certainly calls for nurturing such joint consciousness in those "soaring" spheres where joint consciousness is formed. It is formed in such a way that the values, personalities and history of others are assimilated as our own.

Level of Informed Opinion and Self-Management

A crucial part of the picture on the level of informed public opinion in Yugoslavia concerning important social questions is certainly contained in the segment about information on self-management rights. The respondents declared that they were better informed about self-management decision-making in labor organizations than in local (governmental) organizations, and knew basic organizations better than complex organizations of associated labor, according to the conclusions of Dr Vojislav Kostunica of the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade.

In such questionnaires, individuals try to put themselves in the best light, to show that they are better informed than in fact they are. Thus, for example, the number who considered themselves to be completely informed about self-management decisions ranged from 80 percent in Slovenia to 46 percent in Montenegro and Macedonia.

Verification questions dealt with knowledge of basic principles of the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, and touched upon practical matters, such as the introduction of self-contributions, decisions on distribution of net profit, protection of self-management rights, determination of labor contributions, minimum wages, etc. There were 11 such questions. Only one of them received 60 percent correct answers, while 2 had 50 percent, 5, 40 percent, and 3, 25 percent. In sum, there were 40 percent incorrect answers, 41 percent correct and 19 percent no answers, presenting a less satisfactory picture. The best results were in Slovenia, where on 5 of the 11 questions the highest number of correct answers was received. The poorest results were received in Montenegro and Macedonia.

A step better level of information was noted concerning government: about 38 percent of those questioned stated that they were informed about decisions of

the opstina assemblies right after those decisions were approved, while 29 percent said they were not at all informed and only 16 percent considered that they received information in good time.

The largest number of respondents, about 34 percent, considered that the best way for them to get information about these decisions is through meetings, while half as many expected information from the press, and a minimum number got it from television and local organs.

To the surveyors' question as to whether they attended local community meetings, 40 percent answered that they did not. On a question as to why, the great majority said they could not because of work and personal obligations; there were also other, pessimistic answers of the type "I cannot change anything" or "they will not carry out our decisions."

Many questions are provoked by these statistical questionnaire indications. The investigator can count them himself. Were not at some points the expectations for involvement and the notion of "homo politicus" inadequate for the development of consciousness, material position and complexity of the society?

We should hope that the interests of people and the self-management energy that come from them would open channels for information. On the levels where the degree of informed public opinion is a tool for the ideology of mutuality, there is obviously a need for more collective responsibility and collective consciousness.

As Ranka Stanojevic-Rajkovic, a worker at the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade, concludes, world events are a matter of interest for 87 percent of the adult Yugoslav population. About 45 percent of those questioned said that they were very interested in political events in the world, while only 10 percent showed no interest at all in those occurrences.

For historical reasons and frequently as a matter of fate, we obviously belong to those peoples whose interests are open toward the world. In the same way, fateful reasons exist for much greater interest in the peoples with whom we live in the same community. We know that, but apparently we do not show it.

The best way to become closer friends is to learn to know each other better, in the words of an Italian proverb. Its message obviously deserves more contemplation in our Yugoslav lands.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2030

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2030

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'LISTY' ON CPSU-CPI RIFT

Rome LISTY in Czech No 2, May 82 pp 18-20

[Article by J.P.: A Grave Conflict; On the Polemics between the CPI and the CPSU]

[Text] Behind the tragic events in Poland and the resultant increase in world tensions, as well as behind the increase in prices and the worsening of the political and economic situation at home, an event has remained relatively obscure which in its scope has truly historic significance and will have numerous practical consequences for further world development, I have in mind the polemic between the CPSU, the largest communist party in the world and the executive power in one of the world superpowers, and the Italian Communist Party (CPI), the strongest communist party in the West.

The conflict erupted following the publication of a wide-ranging position paper of the CPI leadership in the daily UNITA on 30 December 1981, under the title "Reflections on the Dramatic Events in Poland." The CPSU adopted a position on this in PRAVDA on 24 January 1982, in which it sharply criticized the CPI document (without, however, giving PRAVDA readers the possibility of getting acquainted with it, which was also the case with the less than numerous readership of RUDE PRAVO, which eagerly reprinted the PRAVDA article and subsequently added to it its own critique of CPI policy, without deeming it desirable, even if only in excerpts, to make it possible to read that which was being attacked; we know this technique too well to become so directly angered by it as the Italian communists, who called it "unfair" and "foreign to Leninist tradition."). On 25 January, UNITA published the full text of the Soviet document and the reply of the CPI on the day after this. There then ensued an entire series of polemics on this theme between additional CPSU and CPI periodicals such as KOMMUNIST and RINASCITA, and a number of interviews with CPI leaders on this issue which will proceed further and, clearly, not end any time soon, but rather spread to other communist parties.

The scope of these documents and the terminology which the arguing parties are using quite clearly dissuades the ordinary citizen from reading them. Many have the impression that this is a matter of some kind of argument concerning dogma with no impact on simple believers or nonbelievers. This is, however, a mistake, because this time it is not a matter of an argument between two versions of a single dogma, but of a political engagement which relates to all of the major problems of our time.

This argument concerns the character of the social system in the USSR and, generally, that of so-called real socialism, the causes of the deep crisis in the countries of Eastern Europe, the foreign policy of the USSR, democracy under socialism, but mainly concerns whether and in what ways the systems of the West and the East may be reformable and, certainly and above all, what conclusions may be drawn from the tragic events in Poland.

It is true that this is not exactly the first time that these problems have been written about and discussed in the CPI press or that positions have been expressed which differ from those which one hears in Moscow and Prague from the official media. It is sufficient to call to mind the so-called Togliatti memorandum from Yalta, the criticism of Soviet military intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and, recently, that in Afghanistan as well in 1980, the refusal to condone the resolution of conflict in the East with political repression, the different position adopted towards the Chinese CP and to the process of European unification, etc., etc. But until January 1982, these polemics had been marked by an attempt not to allow this critical posture to grow into an open rejection of the so-called Soviet model and, especially, by a fear of a schism between the CPI and the CPSU which was considered to be tragic for socialism. The USSR was viewed, you see, by the Italian communists much more critically then before, but still as a country with a socialist system and as the direct recipient of the legacy of the October revolution, and also as the "guarantee" of world peace.

A New Situation

These reservations and limitations have now fallen or are falling one after the other. The break occurred as a direct consequence of the installation of the military dictatorship in Poland on 13 December 1981, which meant the strangling of hopes for a gradual democratization, in which the Italian communists had perceived the single possibility for overcoming the crisis and the hope that socialism could be linked with democracy even in the countries under Soviet hegemony. The destruction of these hopes by a military and police intervention, the authorship of which the CPI clearly recognized to have been in Moscow, had the effect of turning "quantity" into "quality" and of placing us in a new situation.

PRAVDA and RUDE PRAVO, however, are hding the dispute by distorting the CPI positions, meaning that they can create the impression in the uninformed reader that the CPI is in far more radical positions and that it sees the USSR through the same eyes as the USA. They accuse the CPI of "belittling the significance of the October revolution"; the CPI, however, even today does not deny the great historical significance of the October revolution, which it continues to see as a "break" in the old system and the beginning of great social changes in the world, but at the same time it holds that this positive influence has already been "exhausted" and that new impulses for socialism may be expected from elsewhere, above all from the development of the industrially advanced western countries. It certainly would be possible to discuss the issue of why the CPI sees this "exhaustion" of the influence of the October revolution only now and not earlier, for instance after the liquidation of the "Prague Spring" or the repression of the Hungarian revolution in

1956 (as they have been criticized by, for instance, the Italian socialists); for the CPI, this has rather been a process of gradual degeneration in Stalin's time, but with renewed hope of a "return to the roots" following the Twentieth CPSU Congress at the time of Khrushchev's rule, and with a new "return" to dogmatism and to the cult of personality recently. This is related as well to an evaluation of the international policy of the USSR as a political super power which primarily defends its power objectives and which thus often comes into conflict with the objectives of the struggles of other peoples for independence and socialism. CPI documents clearly state that Soviet policy actions such as the armed intervention in Czechoslovakia and in Afghanistan and exaggerated arms production are in clear conflict with the interests of peoples, and therefore must be criticized by the CPI.

CPI documents subject to open criticism the lack of any kind of democracy and possibilities for citizens to participate in decision-making. When PRAVDA takes issues with this thesis by ennumerating how many thousands of delegates are active in "soviets" at various levels and how many meetings and conferences take place, the CPI asks "At which assemblies and meetings, parties or unions or workplaces may a communist who disagrees or a citizen who has a different view express himself on political issues, and where is it possible to write publicly about this?" It is certainly easy to understand why PRAVDA or RUDE PRAVO do not want to publish CPI documents with such heretical questions.

Socialism and Democracy

The same applies to the CPI thesis that "socialism must be a manifestation of the broadest possible true democracy" and that without democracy, in effect, no socialism can exist, even though it is possible to allow for the gradual realization of these principles, but under the conditions that development proceed in the direction of ever broader democracy and under no circumstances in the opposite direction, which is how the CPI perceives development in the USSR and the other countries of Eastern Europe.

In this spirit as well, the CPI rejects the military coup in Poland and the PRAVDA thesis of the danger of "counterrevolution": "The working class and the majority of the people are the only forces which can legitimize socialist power in Poland; to move against them with military force means in no sense to defend socialism, but to work against its ideals and foundation." The CPI views the causes of the Polish crisis in a refusal to call into question the so-called Soviet model of socialism, an unwillingness to allow the introduction of true political pluralism and in adherence to the so-called leading role of the party which is "in and of itself a suspect concept." The CPI places the blame for this crisis quite clearly, on the one hand, on "conservative forces" within Poland and, simultaneously, on the USSR and the neighboring countries of the Warsaw Pact. This amounts to a denial of the official thesis concerning "internal affairs" of Poland, some kind of "western meddling" or the "danger of civil war" which had to be headed off solely by a military regime.

In this regard, the CPI also denies the favorite accusation of "anti-sovietism" leveled at all critics of the Soviet system, and rejects the conception of world development as a "struggle between two camps"; under such conditions whoever criticizes the USSR is placed "objectively" in the other camp, and vice versa. In the same vein, the CPI rejects the very concept of "real socialism," according to which every other idea of socialism is considered to be something that must be rejected as hostile. For this reason, the CPI has already stopped considering itself as a "component" of a unified communist movement grouped "around the USSR," but wishes to maintain quite independent, autonomous relations with all aspects of the workers movement, whether they adhere to communism, socialism or to social democracy. This is one of the most important isues of the polemic: while the USSR wants to "fortify" the unity and the separateness of the communist movement, which it views as a monolithic pyramid with the CPSU at the peak, as a movement which is predestined to play the role of the vanguard of the working class and the liberation movement, and which is inclined only to limited cooperation with other forces, the CPI is in favor of a new differentiation within the international workers movement in the sense that those parties and factions which are for a pluralistic and democratic socialism be allowed to gather in free associations, regardless of their name. This would amount to something like the definitive burial of the division of worker's parties into "reformist" and "revolutionary" which arose after the founding of the Third International and which, out of inertia, has been maintained in some places until today, in spite of the fact that the original arguments concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat and violent revolution have lost their relevance. Similar calls for a "new internationalism" can be heard from the Spanish, Japanese and other communist parties, and a number of parties in the Socialist International are carrying on discussions of this theme. This trend is as yet in an embryonic phase and, not surprisingly, is running up against many of its own conflicts, but Moscow has already let it be known that it considers this trend to be extremely heretical and therefore dangerous.

The Third Path

The most discussions are being called forth in Italy and in Western Europe by the CPI thesis of the need for a "third path" to socialism, i.e., for development which rejects the current so-called "real socialism" as well as western social democracy; the first because it is a denial of the principles of socialism, and the latter as a halt on the path to socialism at the boundaries of capitalist society, limiting itself to isolated reforms of this society. It is then understandable that socialists deny that the "third path" exists precisely in the practice of democratic socialism, i.e., reformism, which has, to be sure, as yet failed to resolve all of the problems of western society, but which still has developmental possibilities without having to use totalitarian methods. This has been the basis of exhortations to the CPI that it "renounce" Leninism and its own past, declare itself in favor of social democracy and join the Socialist International. Even though these criticisms have a certain logic to them, they are still politically naive: it is impossible, certainly, to demand that a large political party voluntarily commit suicide and declare that it had

been mistaken and that others had been correct. Italy is a country of parliamentary democracy and every party which wants to exercise a real influence must have a corresponding real strength. And this can only come from the voters, never from political theorists. This means that the CPI will continue to be a communist party even though its policies call to mind in many respects the policies of certain traditional social democratic parties in several western countries where, bear in mind, these parties are often referred to as "communizing." All of this also belongs to the pluralism which is a component of a democratic system.

Berlinguer, Cossutta, Pasti

These are some of the main thoughts of CPI documents which were published in the first months of this year (we shall return to them again in subsequent issues of LISTY with more extensive excerpts from them). Their publication brought about a polemic not only with the CPSU, but within the CPI itself. A Central Committee session, to be sure, approved the position of the CPI leadership, but one member of this leadership, Armando Cossutta, voted against it and delivered a speech in which he justified his disagreement. The basis of Cossutta's position is that he continues to view the CPSU, in spite of certain reservations, as the "main and decisive force" in the struggle for peace and socialism and therefore rejects everything which could lead to a polemic and schism between the CPI and the CPSU. Cossutta's views have been widely published in UNITA, and are being discussed at party meetings and in the party press, where the right of everyone to a different opinion is being defended, along however with a simultaneous refusal to form any factions at all or to disrupt the principles of democratic centralism. Cossutta remains a member of the CPI leadership, continues to defend his views, but at the same time emphasizes that he is subordinating himself to the wishes of the majority. At a meeting in Perugia, howevever, he admitted to a tactical plan: he will defend his dissenting opinion up until the next party congress (probably in 1983), and then request that prior to the congress there be discussions in the basic organizations of his thesis and that of the CPI leadership, so that in this way it may be "democratically" shown who actually is the "majority" and who the "minority."

Cossutta bases his argument on the view that the position of the CPI leadership came as something of a psychological shock for a portion of the members, for which they were not prepared well enough, and which therefore ran into resistance on the one hand from older dogmatists and on the other hand from a part of the party base which was accustomed to viewing policy only as a struggle of "two camps," and often judges everything from the viewpoint of defending their own material interests. It is estimated that 10-20 percent of the CPI membership does not agree with the position of the leadership, or has reservations or doubts.

The CPSU is intervening in these developments with its accustomed methods: it is supporting various groups which criticize Berlinguer and the CPI leadership for "revisionism" and declare themselves as friends of the USSR. A number of these groups have begun to publish, with Soviet assistance, smaller and larger periodicals such as, for instance, INTERSTAMPA, which appears in

runs of about 10,000 and reprints articles from PRAVDA and the Soviet and Polish press (Bilak and Jakes will certainly find here a forum and grateful readers). A similar role is also being fulfilled by the magazine of the peace movement which was founded by senator Pasti, a former Italian army general and commander of NATO mediterranean forces, who was earlier a strict anticommunist but uncovered in himself after retirement a revolutionary tendency and now criticizes CPI policy "from the left" with, however, the generous financial help of the World Peace Council and Moscow, Prague and Sofia. The Soviet embassy in Rome is very active in the search for authors of "spontaneous letters" which are written to PRAVDA by Italian "true communists" who do not agree with the policy of the leadership and who declare themselves to be "friends of the USSR" (who could forget the letter of the 99 so-called Prague residents and then the "thousands of letters" on the basis of which Soviet tanks came to our country in August 1968; for the time being, however, Berlinguer need not fear this, but he certainly expected it when in 1979 he declared that socialism may be better constructed "under NATO protection" than under that of the Warsaw Pact).

So That Tanks Not Resolve This

For the time being it would not appear that Moscow wants a schism in the CPI and the establishment of a pro-Soviet CP on the model of groups in Spain, Sweden, England and elsewhere. Attempts to date have shown the limited nature of such undertakings, and even those Italian communists who do not agree completely with the position of the leadership reject the rude polemical techniques of the CPSU leaders, meaning that party patriotism is rather siding with Berlinguer. Therefore the tactic is being applied of creating as much pressure as possible within the party for the leadership to brake its criticism of the CPSU and to force it gradually to back off from this line. This policy counts on fatigue among those members who must face criticism from the left and from the right, on a certain amount of attrition among senior functionaries, on personal conflicts within the leadership, and on provocations (in just this situation there appeared in UNITA a letter with accusations against members of the government. The letter, however, turned out to be a forgery which led to the demise of the chief editor, but also to a loss of prestige for Berlinguer, and several readers rightly asked who had "sold" this forgery to the CPI daily at such a critical time, and who had an interest in this scandal).

However, opposition had to have been expected from conservative forces within the CPI, and this is quite normal and in its own way healthy. A similar differentiation process between progressive and conservative forces will clearly be taking place as well in other western communist parties in which this polemic comes up, forcing them to adopt a position. Pavel Auersberg has already intimated to us, on the page of ZIVOT STRANY, that in addition to the CPI the Japanese communist party is on a dangerous course, but in his opinion it is quite isolated. But from whom? Perhaps from the centers in Moscow and Prague, but less from the remaining parties, judging from the discussions which are taking place in the Communist parties of Sweden, Holland, England, Spain, France, Belgium, Mexico and others.

This polemic will, clearly continue. For the time being neither Soviet tanks nor a military junta can put an end to it. And this polemic concerns, basically, making sure that this cannot happen. And that is why it is so important for us.

9276
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ACADEMY FOR MILITARY MEDICINE ESTABLISHED

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN in German Vol 20 No 2, Apr 82 (signed to press 25 Nov 81) pp 50-52

[Address of Army General H. Hoffmann, Minister for National Defense, at opening ceremony (date and place not provided) for the Military Medicine Academy in Bad Saarow]

[Text] With the founding of the Military Medical Academy, we are taking a necessary and important step towards the further development of the Medical Service of the GDR National People's Army (NVA), border troops and civil defense. When we bring to mind that the problems and tasks of the coming years can be solved only if we utilize the achievements of science and technology far more extensively and more courageously than we have done, and strive for even higher efficiency, then this leads to the question of how to achieve this, what steps to take. And these steps, just as the overall goal, must be on a scientific basis.

I believe one can call the founding of our Military Medical Academy such an act, an expression and a result of thorough collective deliberation and search for new answers. This act is marked by the conviction of Friedrich Engels that there can be no progress without the scientific element, without the persistent realization of ideas that have been proven to be correct.

The Military Medical Academy, which we are opening today, shall and will--I have no doubt about this--enable our comrades in the military Medical Service to assure the utmost in medical care, training and continued training of military cadres, scientific work in the service of high combat efficiency and combat readiness of the NVA, even considering the immensely growing demands caused by the revolution in the military field. With the founding of the Military Medical Academy we are creating an important tool for solving future tasks.

At the same time we are putting the finishing touch on that which has been achieved in more than 2 and 1/2 decades by the armed forces of the socialist German state. The historical achievement of our Socialist Unity Party in the establishment of national defense, of the armed forces and their medical service consists in part in the fact that the children of workers and peasants were able to climb to the heights of military medical sciences. The Medical

Service, with its doctors, dentists, pharmacists, medics and nurses, as a military medical organization is a firm part of the NVA. It has the task of guaranteeing the protection of health in the armed forces by carrying out the health policy of our party and thus makes a significant contribution to the increase of the physical and psychological health of members of our armed forces. In addition there is the preparation for meeting the demands of modern war, the care for the injured of possible battles and operations, among them those who have been exposed to nuclear and chemical weapons.

Always based on the high humanistic ideals of Marxism-Leninism and of our party policy, which centers around man, the NVA's Medical Service has fulfilled its mission to the highest degree in all these years by putting military medical theories into practice. Energy, smart ideas, a high degree of combat readiness, devotion and the courage to move ahead characterize the work of its members.

The history of the NVA Medical Service is also the history of close friendship and comradeship-in-arms with the comrades of the glorious Soviet Army and the other socialist brother armies, of productive cooperation between members of the Medical Service of the Warsaw Pact states.

What we were able to gain in the past years, especially in terms of a theoretical foundation and practical experiences, would have been unthinkable without the help and support of Soviet military doctors, without their scientific knowledge and research results, and that of the Soviet Military Service.

Soviet military doctors willingly and patiently helped build up our Military Service, taught our young military doctors the basis of medical care and helped them gain an understanding of the political and ideological position of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, along with medical knowledge.

Perhaps it is a coincidence that we are celebrating this on 7 December 1981. But this is a historical date, because on this date exactly 30 years ago, the first officers of the Medical Service of the then garrisoned People's Police commenced their studies at the S. M. Korow Military Medical Academy in Leningrad. Since then, 120 members of the GDR armed forces have completed their studies or a graduate course at this excellent institution.

For that reason, I especially want to express my cordial gratitude today to the head of the Kirow Academy, Comrade Col Gen Prof Dr Iwanow and his colleagues for years of help.

But also thanks to your help, beloved Soviet comrades-in-arms, the Medical Service of the NVA has become a renowned and respected partner in the alliance. It has proven this more than once during the past years--during joint maneuvers and military exercises and in everyday military life, and through research in the treatment of injuries or in methods of organization in combat.

The Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University in Greifswald also greatly contributed to the good results we have achieved, which are also the result of our party's policy on higher education. More than 1,000 class-conscious military doctors have been trained at the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University's military medical section. Their high quality work in medicine, medic battalions and military hospitals contributes considerably to the combat strength of the NVA, the border troops and security organizations.

The founding of the Military Medical Academy has also been well assured by the Greifswald University. Eighty percent of its leading cadre and the Scientific Council are graduates of its military medical section. The continuous help and support of the vice chancellor and professors of the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University are said to have furthered their development into scientists and professors.

We thank the vice chancellor, Comrade Prof Dr Birnbaum, and ask him to convey our high esteem to all his colleagues.

Of extraordinary importance for the development of the Medical Service was and is the Central State Organization's willingness to include consistently matters concerning national defense into their plans and decisions.

A cordial word of thanks therefore goes to the minister for higher education, Comrade Prof Boehme, for his continuous care and support in the training and education of the new military medical recruits.

The ever closer cooperation between the NVA Medical Service and the other areas in the health field is an expression of the high level of national defense preparedness. This is especially the personal achievement of the Minister of Health, Comrade Col (reserve) Prof Dr Mecklinger. This continuous interest in the progress of the NVA Military Service, his personal contact with the leading cadres and the firm inclusion of national defense concerns in overall health planning are reason for me to express my cordial thanks to Comrade Prof Dr Mecklinger.

An important criterium in judging the level of development in the Medical Service is the level of development of the Organization for Medical Assistance. For that reason, the military hospitals of the NVA as carriers of specialized medical care, in close cooperation with other GDR health institutions, have always received a great deal of attention. Since its founding in 1954, the NVA Central Military Hospital has developed into a renowned medical-scientific institution. Scientific work of international importance has been carried out here in addition to the daily care of patients.

Just to name a few examples: the military guidelines to the "Medical Classification and Treatment of the Injured and Sick in Combat" is the first such document within the Warsaw Pact armies.

The basis for the judgment of fitness and suitability to assure personnel strength of the NVA was further developed.

The science of the functional diagnosis of the ear and organ of equilibrium has been perfected.

New devices for the Medical Service's field medic equipment such as the field oxygen tank and the medical field laboratory, and means of individual medical protection have been developed.

For these scientific results by the comrades of the Central Military Hospital I wish to give special thanks to Comrade Lt Gen Gestewitz who, in addition to his role as scientific director and military commander, has always known how

combine the tasks of highly specialized medical care with creative, personal scientific work. He has contributed much to the fact that we can now build the Military Medical Academy on the basis of the Central Military Hospital.

Today, no serious progress can be achieved any longer in any area of the military without the expert and conscious application of science. Even in GDR national defense, science has become the most important factor and prerequisite for new essential increases in combat strength and combat readiness of our armed forces.

Tasks to be solved in the 1980's are characterized more and more by their complexity. It places higher demands on the cooperation between scientists and those in other fields. As a consequence, the time is ripe for the concentration of scientific potential of the Medical Service for the scientific application to all areas of medicine within national defense and for the achievement of high quality in all military medical work.

We are thinking here, e.g., of the continuous supply of the NVA with uniformly trained military doctors and nurses and the specialized military medical training at our universities and medical academies. The Military Medical Academy must meet this high requirement.

With the formation of the Scientific Council of the Military Medical Academy, which consists of representatives of all branches of military medicine, the concentration process of the scientific capacities within the Medical Service is to be continued. All teaching and research must be even more goal-directed and geared towards the universal medical safeguarding of the NVA during coalition acts in a possible war.

We see the essential tasks of the Military Medical Academy in three directions:

1. The continued training and education of class-conscious socialist military doctors, dentists and pharmacists who are loyally devoted to the Socialist Unity Party and to our worker and peasant state and who will have a decisive voice in the future determination of the quality and effectiveness of the Medical Service.

2. The continuously guaranteed, highly specialized medical care in accordance with the latest achievements in medical science, especially Soviet military medicine.

3. The continued scientific development of the NVA Medical Service under garrison and war conditions through the application of current and appropriate research results.

This celebration today on the eve of the GDR Health Day also wishes to express that the problems of the Medical Service within national defense can be solved only with the cooperation of all those working in the service of our state's health system.

This Day of Health which we are celebrating in the GDR in honor of the great German scientist and researcher Robert Ko h, shall also show that we as soldiers of the Socialist German state feel bound to the humanistic traditions

of the history of our people. Bourgeois scholars and fighters for social progress such as Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland and Rudolf Virchow are part of our tradition just as much as the doctors and comrades of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Roland Daniels, Abraham Jacobi and Louis Kugelmann and the fighters against fascism such as Maxim Zetkin, Erwin Marcusson and Georg Benjamin.

As soldiers of the socialist German state we exert every effort to fulfill the class mission given to us by the Tenth SED Congress and to guarantee a life of peace and social security to our people and brother nations.

We give our personal assurance of this to the party and state leadership of our Republic and to Comrade Erich Honecker.

May the Military Medical Academy develop into a scientific institution of higher learning which will help in the further development of the theoretical foundations of military medicine and the practice of the Medical Service.

To this end I wish much success to the head of the Military Medical Academy, Comrade Lt Gen Gestewitz, and to all his colleagues.

9328
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OFFICIAL DUTIES OF VOLUNTARY POLICE ASSISTANTS SPECIFIED

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 16, 29 Apr 82 pp 343-345

[Official text of "Decree on the Voluntary Assistants of the German People's Police, dated 1 April 1982," effective 1 May 1982; signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers; and Dickel, minister of the interior and chief, German People's Police]

[Text] Article 1

(1) The voluntary assistants of the German People's Police, through their readiness and active participation in ensuring public order and security, help secure the reliable protection of the workers and farmers power.

(2) Voluntary assistants are GDR citizens who gratuitously help the German People's Police actively and fulfil tasks based on this decree. Their activity is a form of the citizens' conscious and active participation in the exercise of their basic rights and duties in coshaping the reliable protection of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

Article 2

(1) GDR citizens can become voluntary assistants if they are 18 years of age, have the requisite political-moral qualifications, are ready to help the German People's Police in solving assigned tasks, and are nominated by the parties and mass organizations affiliated in the National Front of the GDR, the heads of state and economic management organs, the combines, enterprises and institutions, and the work collectives and cooperative boards, or apply for it in person.

(2) GDR citizens confirmed as voluntary assistants by the German People's Police precinct chiefs assume the obligation to support the German People's Police actively in the fulfilment of tasks.

(3) Voluntary assistants are assigned as the need arises and with regard to their knowledge and skills.

(4) Voluntary assistants are released from their duty when the German People's Police rescinds their confirmation.

Article 3

(1) Through their support activity, the voluntary assistants help promote, principally by indoctrination and educational influence, the citizens' legal consciousness and the voluntary respect for socialist legal norms.

(2) While abiding by legal regulations and the authorizations set down in this decree, voluntary assistants can take measures in extent and duration as needed for turning back dangers or eliminating disturbances on behalf of restoring public order and security.

Article 4

For the sake of a high quality and social effectiveness in ensuring public order and security, the German People's Police must support the voluntary assistants in acquiring sound political and technical knowledge and instruct them on the principles of police work as needed for their activity.

Article 5

(1) The voluntary assistants do their work to ensure public order and security under German People's Police leadership and within the scope of the authorizations assigned to them and solve tasks assigned to them independently or in cooperation with members of the German People's Police.

(2) Voluntary assistants are authorized and obligated to
(a) accept reports, suggestions and information to be conveyed to the German People's Police;
(b) introduce immediate measures to avert or eliminate dangers or disturbances threatening the life or health of people and socialist, personal and other property or impinge in other ways on public order and security;
(c) take steps against law violations, especially disorderly conduct, and instruct the citizens about orderly conduct;
(d) hand persons over to the nearest German People's Police precinct or to a member of the German People's Police, when personal data cannot be clearly ascertained in situ or their being handed over is imperative for clarifying facts of a case that seriously jeopardizes public order and security;
(e) temporarily confiscate objects the use of which endangers public order and security or which must be confiscated if only thereby public order and security can be ensured;
(f) ascertain personal data if that is imperative for enforcing further measures; and
(g) assist in the exchange of personal data if citizens credibly register civil law claims agaist other citizens.

(3) Voluntary assistants, above and beyond their authorizations as listed under section 2, if authorized by the German People's Police, also may:
(a) check house sign-out books;
(b) hold office hours for the Sector Agent;
(c) authorize the signing in and signing out of visitors on the basis of legal regulations;

(d) check the permits of persons to enter areas under special controls;
(e) check persons and matters under search and handing such persons or matters over to the nearest German People's Police precinct;
(f) provide traffic instructions based on road, street traffic authorization or sports-boat regulations;
(g) administer theoretical and practical driver's tests for granting driver's permits;
(h) administer chauffeur tests and check vehicles for granting passenger conveyance authorizations;
(i) escort large-size and heavy transports;
(j) handle traffic controls and supervisions, the checking of driver's licenses and permits, documentations on the payment of motor vehicle dues and insurance or certificates or certifications;
(k) check the qualifications of motor vehicle drivers or boat captains and the operational and traffic safety of vehicles and boats;
(l) handle the technical tests of vehicles and boats in accordance with street traffic authorizations or sports-boat regulations and enter the test data in the certifications; and
(m) handle the registration of owners and operators of vehicles and enter changes on vehicle licenses and registrations.

Article 6

In special cases, other authorizations may be assigned to the voluntary assistants by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Article 7

(1) Voluntary assistants get a red arm band with the imprint, "People's Police Assistant," and the emblem of the German People's Police and a personal identification card.

(2) When acting on their own responsibility, voluntary assistants have to identify themselves without being asked to do so.

(3) Voluntary assistants are under the obligation to observe silence about information and facts concerning unauthorized persons that may have resulted from their activity.

Article 8

(1) Tribute is paid in a proper way to outstanding achievements by voluntary assistants in ensuring public order and security.

(2) For special accomplishments, voluntary assistants may receive state distinctions.

Article 9

(1) While active, the voluntary assistants are under legal and insurance protection in accordance with legal regulations.

(2) Expenses incurred by the voluntary assistants in connection with their activity are reimbursed by the German People's Police.

Article 10

Implementing regulations for this decree are issued by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Article 11

(1) This decree goes into effect on 1 May 1982.

(2) Rescinded at the same time is the 16 March 1964 decree on the authorization and activity of voluntary assistants in support of the German People's Police and the NVA border troops (GBL Part II, No 30 p 241).

5885
CSO: 2300/304

KRAKOW PARTY MEETINGS HELD

Party Plenum on Tasks

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 28 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Stefan Cieply and Jacek Balcewicz]

> [Text] (Our own information) Yesterday [27 April 1982] the plenary session of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Krakow Committee [KK] was opened and chaired by the KK secretary, and its agenda dealt with assessing the implementation of the resolutions of the 7th Plenum of the PUWP Central Committee in the light of the current socio-political situation in the Krakow City Voivodship.

But while the topic itself can be considered quite obvious and ordinary. The manner in which the plenary deliberations were conducted deserves preliminary mention. They took place in an atypical and probably more efficient manner that, above all, made it possible to focus subsequent discussion specifically on the actual and realistic problems present in individual communities, labor establishments, or basic organizations. Thus, instead of opening the session with the traditional report, the representatives of various communities were given the floor. It can be stated that they reported on what was happening at their organizations, most often at the grassroots level, as well as on the socio-political situation, the moods, the atmosphere surrounding the discussion of [the Declaration] "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are," the problems encountered in introducing the economic reform--in a word, on all aspects of the current life of the various communities, labor establishments, and party organizations.

Mieczyslaw Dulski, first secretary of the PUWP plant committee at the "Kabel" Cable Plant and the Cable Machinery Factory in Krakow, declared as follows: "In theory, as one of the 104 plants serving as consultants in the introduction of the economic reform, we were very well prepared. But that theoretical preparation had to collide with the hard reality. The conditions for introducing the reform in the cable industry are extremely difficult. There is a shortage of materials, and even the operating programs do not provide the raw materials for their implementation. Four hundred persons took the path of earlier retirement, and they were mostly the best experts, while their replacements are, despite the predicted labor force surplus, not so easy to obtain....

"We do not wish to stand in a queve in front of the empty exchequer of state. We minimize prices and cost in order to maximize profits and allocate them for wages. We are exploring latent potential and initiating labor-saving measures, but we cannot accomplish everything by this means in the absence of a clear and explicit system of incentives. These days it turns out that the pay of a passive worker plus compensation payments is twice as high as the pay of a productive worker who is entitled to compensation payments for himself alone."

Barbara Machal, member of the executive board of the branch party organization at the ENERGOPRZEM [Enterprise for the Construction of Power Stations and Industry] declared: "It should be borne in mind that the human element is the most vital factor in the reform. The reform is also a reform of mental attitudes. Previously, construction placed priority on expensive technologies and material-intensiveness, while the incentive system provided no rewards for truly productive work.... The edge of the economic reform has been blunted by distancing the threat of unemployment.

In construction, the fluctuations remain maximal, and it costs my company 24,000 zlotys each time it hires or dismisses an employee. On the yearly scale, there are some 500 such hirings and dismissals."

The farmer Marian Gryc, first secretary of the POP [basic party organization] in Iwanowice, declared, "Before 13 December it was very difficult for us party members in the countryside; people reproached us for belonging to the party, and yet no one of us had grown rich from it. Somehow, we survived that period. Now our organization has grown stronger and more active. As for the ideological declaration, "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are," we believe it is written in a language that is too difficult for us to understand. Moreover, the declaration should contain guarantees that it will fulfill what it declares."

Stanislaw Korzen, secretary of the PUWP Factory Committee (KF) at the Lenin Iron and Steel Works (HiL) began his speech as follows: "At the moment the situation at the Combine has improved, which does not at all mean that everything is all right. The Refractories Plant, which employs 1,200 people, has a shortage of 400 workers, and the Coke-Chemical Plant has a shortage of 350 workers. There is nothing surprising in that people do not apply for the extremely arduous work with us, because elsewhere they can earn as much for much lighter work. The situation is such that a son can earn as much for much lighter work. The situation is such that a son can earn after 2 years of work as much as his father who has been working for 30 years.

"How can a good ideology and politics of attitude prevail at a plant when a worker is not provided with...proper footgear for his work. Recently, after considerable difficulties and efforts, we were alotted 1,000 pairs. But how can they be distributed among the combine's entire labor force? Raw materials are scarce. At the cold rolling mill we succeeded in saving one kilogram of zinc per ton of galvanized sheets, and it turned out that we can use graphite from the Nitrogen Works in Tarnow in lieu of imported graphite, and domestic lubricants in lieu of imported ones. We do what we can, but we realize that this is not enough. We receive a foreign-exchange allowance for our exports, but for the time being this allowance exists only on paper. I agree that interest must be paid on the principal [of Poland's foreign indebtedness] but the plant needs that foreign exchange in order to produce...."

Stanislaw Spolnik, first secretary of the Krakow-Podgorze PUWP District Committee, said: "Today, there is no place for intuition and nosing out in party work within a public which has become educated. Many believe themselves to be Marxists, but when it comes to formulating definitions helping in the solution of the problems that arise, it turns out that we diverge from the theses of Marxism. We no longer have the time for improvising, and in this field we have barely made a step forward." Stanislaw Spolnik concluded that it is necessary to work out a coherent system of ideological education of the aktiv, elucidate the elementary terms and concepts with which Marxism operates, and elaborate the attitude of the Krakow party echelon concerning the ideological declaration "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are."

As a reportorial duty, let us add that during the first part of yesterday's Plenum the other speakers were: Zdzislaw Bajor, first secretary of the PUWP Gmina Committee in Tokarnia; Irena Grudzinska, teacher at Elementary School No 107; Ryszard Litworski, first secretary of the POP [basic party organization] at the Leg EC [expansion unknown]; Boleslaw Sleczek, first secretary of the PUWP Plant Committee at the KFAP [Krakow Measurement Apparatus Plant]; and Andrzej Kozanecki, first secretary of the PUWP Committee at the Jagiellonian University.

Following the intermission, the report of the Executive Board of the PZPR Krakow Committee on the current socio-political situation in Krakow Voivodship was presented by the Krakow Voivodship secretary Jan Broniek. The report is discussed separately below.

During subsequent discussions, the floor was taken by Janusz Lennik, first POP secretary of the POP at the Institute for the Formation of Environment [IKS], who, referring to the resolutions of the 9th Congress concerning the role of science and the scientific cadre in helping the nation emerge from the crisis, evaluated the condition of the party at scientific institutes as exemplified by the Kowodrze District and criticized the administrative proliferation occurring there as well as the rather dubious growth in autocratic attitudes among the management of these institutes following [the introduction of martial law on] 13 December.

In his turn, Stefan Mazur, a farmer from Wielka Wies, brought up the issue of the weakness of the economic incentives provided for agriculture. Next, Adam Wiernik, secretary of the Environmental Committee of Science, assessed the party's situation at 7 ministerial institutes, their 13 departments, and 5 research and development centers and 2 central laboratories, which taken together employ in Krakow...10,000 scientific workers and administrative workers. That community includes 1,000 party members and it is hard put to find its place in the economic reform, as it lives chiefly in the hope of receiving assignments in the nature of the so-called government program. Comrade Wiernik pointed out that the fabric of science is delicate and appealed for desisting from upsetting too violently the structures evolved in the organization of science. The last person to take party in the discussions was Henryk Nawara from WSP [probably, Wyzsza Szkola Pedagogiczna--Teachers' Training College in Krakow] who, referring to earlier comments concerning the neglect of the political education of youth, drew attention to the fact that the faculty of higher schools are at present among the lowest-paid professional groups, and this--following the principle that existence determines consciousness--affects the educational process.

The Krakow Committee adopted an appropriate resolution.

Below are excerpts from that resolution:

/The PUWP Krakow Committee approves the "Program of Activities of the PUWP Krakow Committee and Tasks of Party Echelons in the Krakow City Voivodship Following the 7th Plenum of the PUWP Central Committee," as adopted and being implemented by the Executive Board of the PUWP Krakow Committee.... The Plenum notes at the same time that the extent of implementation of the tasks continues to differ within different organizations and communities, and hence, as the resolution further states, the Executive Board of the Krakow Committee should primarily focus its attention on all economic, social, and administrative barriers obstructing the introduction of the economic reform, the implementation of the food program, the solution of the problems of educating the youth, and the party's ideological work and its participation in cadre policy..../ [printed in boldface]

/The consistent efforts of the voivodship party organization contribute to a gradual normalization of the political situation in the party and society. Being aware of the occurrence, within certain circles of society, of manifestations of anti-state and anti-party activity, we shall consistently struggle against them while at the same time persistently continuing efforts to win over the broadest circles of working people for creative collaboration in implementing the Resolution of the 9th PUWP Congress and the program, drafted on the basis of that resolution, for surmounting the social and economic crisis..../ [printed in boldface]

/The Krakow Committee at the same time conveys its cordial 1st-of-May greetings to all working people. On this holiday of the proletariat, celebrated on the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Polish worker movement, we shall meet at the rally on the Krakow Market Square to demonstrate our indomitable will to serve the socialist Fatherland and its working class./ [printed in boldface]

Lastly, the Committee approved the nomination of comrade Stanislaw Babinski to the position of director of the Administrative Department of the Krakow Committee and of docent dr habilitatus Julian Wielgosz to the position of director of the Center for Ideological Training.

The session ended with the reading of best wishes on the occasion of the First of May holiday from the PUWP Central Committee for the working world of our region and city on the occasion of the proletarian holiday, followed by the signing of the International.

Executive Board Meeting Report

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 28 Apr 82 p 2

[Text] The socio-political situation in the Krakow City Voivodship is gradually improving despite its great complexity, as stated in the presented report. As the martial-law restrictions are lifted, public organizations, societies, etc. are becoming increasingly active. At the same time, there is no shortage of negative phenomena, of activities directed against the authorities, of flyers and hostile publications inspired chiefly by the KPN [Confederation for Independent

Poland], the NZS [probably, Niezalezne Zrzeszenie Studentow--Independent Association of Students], and the extreme political elements of Solidarity. In addition, moral pressure is being exerted on the party members and independents engaging in political, public, and artistic activities.

The situation is made worse by the economic crisis and the recent price revisions. Unfortunately, owing to the drastic collapse of the economy last year, as well as this year, the Krakow industry's performance is much worse than it was a year ago. In the first quarter of this year output declined by 14 percent and labor productivity by 8 percent, while at the same time the wage fund increased 10 percent and the average wage 17 percent (and at present it amounts to 8,314 zlotys [monthly]). A gradual improvement in the situation can be perceived, though, particularly as reflected in a decrease in the gap between labor productivity and average wage. The main obstacle to the introduction of the economic reform appears to be not so much the delays in the promulgation of certain regulations and laws as the mentality of the managerial cadre and the work force, which are not accustomed to thinking in terms of profit and loss. Reform teams have been appointed in every Krakow enterprise, and the reports on the status of enterprises have in general been accurately prepared, and much was done to streamline organizational structures, but all this is only a beginning. There is an urgent need for a more rational utilization of manpower in production processes, but this is not properly reflected in practice; the decline in industrial employment has been only half as great as the decline in output. Krakow's industry is making certain accomplishments (at, among other plants, the TELPOD [Krakow Electronic Works (production works for telecommunications subassemblies), the HiL [Lenin Iron and Steel Works], and the KFAP [Krakow Measurement Apparatus Factory]) in developing production of surrogates for imported items, but the idea of a fuller utilization of domestic raw and other materials and subassemblies still is not widespread enough. These days, cooperation with the socialist countries assists in alleviating the difficult situation of our economy.

A major factor in the reform should be the wage system of enterprises, which have complete rights to determine wages on their own and, of course, so as to provide incentives, but in reality about 60 percent of the monthly income is not directly linked with wages but is represented by compensation payments, seniority allowances, family allowances, etc. Such a situation must be changed if wages are to be an incentive for better work.

The work force is greatly interested in social services, and recently, in particular, in the vacation leaves for children and young people as well as vacations for adults. The social work commissions operating in the plants have accomplished much.

Unfortunately, the social service funds available to the enterprises have increased only slightly, and hence their proper allocation is of special importance. The role of elements of our party is also to ensure that every plant prepare a list of the most urgent social-work problems requiring solutions this year. For example, signals are coming in to the effect that in many plants safety and hygiene of labor has deteriorated.

In the countryside, it is an essential task to strengthen the party's forces and purify from its ranks persons who remain uncommitted, lack ideology, etc. In

the opinion of participants in the meetings, the mood of the countryside is particularly influenced by the absence of a stable agricultural policy which, in the opinion of farmers, manifests itself in the variability of preferences given to individual crops. Further, there are reservations about the system for rationing foodstuffs for farmers and their families as well as the revisions in the prices of crops, on the one hand, and of services to agriculture, on the other, which exist in an explicit mutual disproportion. There is a continuing shortage of feeds, fertilizers, building materials, and coal, and the new contracting principles and pricing systems are incomprehensible, bureaucratic, and intricate.

Further, the report states that the discussion of the future of trade unions in our country represents an important political campaign. Part of the work force, especially the members of Solidarity, take no official stand on this matter. It can be thought, however, that a majority of the work force stresses the need for the functioning of strong trade unions, supports trade unions organized on the sector principle, and in the discussions does not deny the leading role of the PUWP, though it debates the forms in which that role is to be fulfilled.

A major task of the party is to conduct a dialogue and cooperate with the creative intelligentsia communities within which a substantial percentage of the intelligentsia still persists in the attitude of silence, refusal, and negation. This is, of course, influenced by both the ideological diversion from the West and the propaganda of the extremist elements of Solidarity.

The state of that community requires from the party tolerance, patience, and understanding of the difficult psychical situation of many representatives of the intelligentsia who had been associated with Solidarity and to whom the introduction of martial law was a shock. However, that patience and delicacy should not be regarded as a weakness of the party, such as has even been imputed to us within certain party organizations at the institutions of higher education and artistic communities.

We must demand more of party members than of independents as regards the emergence from the crisis. In particular, we cannot accept a situation in which the party includes as members individuals who occupy conformist and opportunistic attitudes in their communities. The report states: "Whoever does not actively participate in our joint and extremely difficult effort, let him depart, because his attitude is harmfully equivocal."

A most difficult question is that of winning over and regaining for the party's policy the rising generation of Poles. In certain higher educational institutions the influence of party organizations on the directions of action of the administration has been real and positive, for example, at the Jagiellonian University, the Academy of Economics, and the AGH [Academy of Mining and Metallurgy]. Party organizations have contributed many essential comments to the final stage of the work on the decree of higher education and the Polish Academy of Sciences. On the other hand, the commitment of the teaching faculty to discussions with the youth and to explaining the current situation in this country, etc., is insufficient. These young people are under the greatest external political pressures. Hence, political support and aid is needed at present for the university branches of the SZSP [Socialist Association of

Polish Students], which should be reflected in assistance by the POP in removing barriers to the functioning of these branches at higher educational institutions due to the martial law. In secondary education, too, we must attend to the proper upbringing of youth, to influencing cadre selection. The cadres must be made aware that the authorities support the rights of scientists and creative artists to the freedom of scientific research and artistic exploration but at the same time pose political requirements as regards obligations toward the Polish state, toward people employed in the process of the education and upbringing of the youth, as well as regarding the artist's duty toward society.

Following the 7th CC Plenum there has occurred an evident revival of the activities of party echelons and organizations. A broad ideological discussion has commenced within our party. A major contribution to that discussion is the draft of the ideological-program declaration of the PUWP Central Committee, "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are." Despite critical comments, the draft of that declaration has prompted extremely widespread discussion about the party, its program, and the country--the Poland of the present and of the future. That discussion is moreover a testimony of the need for ideology, of the desire for unambiguity, of the longing to rise above the maelstrom of conflicting tendencies.

To sum up:

--It is the duty of the party to bring about a normalization of life in every field. Let us not delude ourselves in thinking this task to be simple. A substantial part of the public still remains mistrustful. This means that new obstacles shall appear on our path during the next few months. But we should not let them cause discouragement or turning aside from the line of the 9th Congress.

--It must be a continuing concern for the party to exercise its guiding role in the state so as never to bring about the tensions and crisis situations which are currently being experienced by everyone, both party members and non-party people.

--The country's emergence from the crisis is closely linked to the situation within the party. The more rapid the strengthening of the party becomes, the more boldly it must assume ties with the entire nation.

--Within our Krakow party organization an aging process is perceivable. Young people enter the party in relatively small numbers. Since we bear the responsibility for the party's future shape as well, we wish to make the rising generation the topic of our next plenary meeting.

1386
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KATOWICE PARTY PLENUM REPORTAGE

Plenum Deliberations

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 7 Sep 81 pp 1, 4

[Article by TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA reporters Aleksandra Chmura, Jerzy Bieronski and Zygmunt Dziubek: "Resolute Initiative and a Willingness to Fight Are Required of Party Members"]

[Text] The plenum of the Katowice PZPR KW [Voivoidship Committee] assessed the current situation and defined the tasks in implementing the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress.

The first working plenary meeting of the PZPR KW after the last Voivodship Program-Election Conference was held in Katowice on Saturday, 5 September. The subject of the meeting was evaluation of the current political and socioeconomic situation in Katowice Voivodship after the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and definition of the tasks in disseminating the party's resolutions. The evaluation was the result of the work and consultation in hundreds of POP and DOP [basic and department party organizations] and was accurately defined at group meetings of members of voivodship echelons and delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress with party activ who are members of city and city-gmina party echelons.

The following members of the Central Committee Political Bureau participated in the deliberations of the Katowice PZPR KW plenum: Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski, secretary of the Central Committee, who took part in the discussion (his speech is published on p 4 [following]); Comrade Zbigniew Messner; and Comrade Jerzy Romanik. Also present were members of city, city-gmina and plant party echelons and workers--party activists and representatives of engineering-technical, scientific and production personnel.

Comrade Andrzej Zabinski, first secretary of the PZPR KW, presented the report of the PZPR KW; which included a synthesis of the evaluations, questions and proposals submitted at Katowice's workplaces and in its cities and gminas as well as the ideas of various groups and issues commissions and the jointly developed positions of the voivodship echelons and aktiv. (The text of the report is published on p 3 [following].)

The following took part in the plenum: Comrade Marian Aksamski, KW member and director of the Siemanowice mine; Comrade Boleslaw Skotnicki, first secretary of the PZPR KM [City Committee] in Bytom; Comrade Stanislaw Horak, member of the KW Executive Board and writer; Comrade Gizela Pawlowska, Central Committee member, KW member and director of ZOZ [Health Care Teams] in Raciborcz; Comrade Grzegorz Opara, member of the CKR [Central Audit Commission], KW member and dispatcher of the DRKP [Regional Directorate of State Railroads] in Tarnowskie Gory; Comrade Jerzy Kestowicz, CKR member, KW member and specialist at the Peace Iron and Steel Works; Comrade Kazimierz Basinski, CKKP [Central Party Control Commission] member, KW member and foreman in ELEKTROMONTAZ No 1 in Katowice; Comrade Mieczyslaw Twardecki, KW alternate member and pump machinist at the Zabrze mine; Comrade Marian Dobros, KW member and first secretary of the PZPR KF [Factory Committee] of the Katowice Iron and Steel Works; Comrade Zbigniew Hanff, member of the Central Committee of the Staszic mine; Comrade Jerzy Gruba, MO [Citizens' Militia] voivodship commander in Katowice; Comrade Janusz Markowicz, KW member and director of work at the Zaglebie KBO [General Construction Combine]; Comrade Eugeniusz Latusek, KW member and first secretary of the PZPR KM in Tarnowskie Gory; Comrade Janusz Wozniak, KW member and Katowice commander of the Council of the Polish Scout Union; Comrade Andrzej Uchorski, KW member and secretary of the PZPR KM in Gliwice; Comrade Adam Szpila, KW member and first secretary of the PZPR KZ [Plant Committee] at the Ziemowit mine; Comrade Division General Czeslaw Piotrowski, minister of mining and power industry; Comrade Leon Letkiewicz, alternate KW member and LWP [Polish People's Army] officer; Comrade Anna Musiolik, KW member and director of schools in Jastrzebie; Comrade Jan Zielinski, member of the KW Executive Board and first secretary of the PZPR KM in Sosnowiec; Comrade Tadeusz Dulik, alternate KW member and foreman at the Jowisz mine; Comrade Andrzej Ciuraszkiewicz, KW member and first secretary of the KM-G [City-Gmina Committee] in Olkusz; Comrade Jan Hajduk, KW member and head electrician at the Florian Iron and Steel Works at Swietochlowice; and Comrade Ryszard Szramek, PZPR KM secretary in Jastrzebie.

Against Anarchization of Life

The main theme of the multithreaded, critical, controversial and at the same time very constructive discussion was to prepare to advance work in all cells of and in the entire voivodship party organization in order to implement the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress. The participants emphasized that the activities of individual party organizations and echelons are still not aggressive and not effective enough. Some party elements and echelons through the extensive participation of their work forces and circles already have managed to advance preparations significantly, for example, to establish worker' self-government, to implement economic reforms, to expand ideological-educational work and training and, in the very near future, to combat effectively political enemies and the anarchization of social and political life. We do not hide the fact, stated the participants, that still many organizations so far have not taken a deep interest in these matters and have not reached out to the work forces concerning the contents of the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress.

Also, among other things, there are many unsettling expectations and anticipations regarding the guidelines and too little self-initiative in undertaking decisions and effective work that are so necessary in some enterprises and circles to resolve matters and economic problems as well as people's problems and complaints. There is an urgent need for active, constructive action by party groups as well as by POPs and OOPs; by plant, city and city-gmina echelons; and by the Central and Voivodship Committees. The participants, evaluating and perceiving the trend of actions of the Political Bureau and Central Committee so clearly expressed in the resolutions of the second and third plenums of the PZPR Central Committee, pointed out the shortcomings in party work that were still numerous and generally increasing in the workplaces. Among other things, they include the dissemination of party information that is still too slow and not always complete, the unsettled accounts with people and tardy decisions, and the lack of a general concept for resolving some problems while others are mired in insignificant details.

Industry in the Face of Reform

In addition to the many problems that were viewed acutely and critically concerning the entire party and country, many exceptionally important matters were also taken up concerning the Katowice region, whose proper assumption and resolution will be of key significance for the entire national economy. In that actual context, the talk was of the necessity, under conditions of increased coal production, of the essential modernization of the old metallurgical industry, which today must be considered within the concepts of the practical implementation of economic reforms. It should constantly be remembered that the mining, power and metallurgical industries--labeled the primary branches of our Polish industry--are exceptionally exploited and highly wornout branches, with technical equipment and machinery that have been ravaged by time. In old and wornout industry--but rewarding for Poland--the living conditions for residents in the most polluted environment (and we do not hide the fact that it continues to be the least protected) cannot even for one moment disappear from the party's field of vision and activity. It would be an unforgivable error--as stated at the plenum--if these matters were not brought up, now that economic reform is being implemented and resolutions of great and even key significance for Poland's future, are being passed.

Today the principal concern of us all is to strengthen the socialist state, law and order, and also security; to protect common and private property; and to guarantee a sense of complete peace and working conditions for the residents of the nation and Katowice Voivodship. Undertaking concrete actions and initiatives in this regard is the responsibility above all of those services and echelons called upon to do so but it also lies within the jurisdiction and basic obligations of all party members and elements as emphasized in the report, documents and discussions of the Katowice PZPR KW plenum.

Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski's Address

Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski, Political Bureau member and secretary of the Central Committee, spoke at the end of the discussion about the problems and questions raised during the discussion; he also presented the main directions of party activities after the Ninth Extraordinary Congress and two working meetings of the Central Committee.

The secretary of the PZPR Central Committee strongly emphasized the need for discussion and critical evaluations of methods and results of party work and even of disputes and quarrels but within the limits designated in the interest of society and the party. The effectiveness of the activity depends not only on the good will or even the skill of the participants and all party members but above all on the difficult internal and external conditions, in the face of which we need the solidarity of the ranks and unity of actions.

The speaker highly praised the political activities of the Katowice organization and party echelons, citing as examples the "days without newspapers," to which there was no response at all, and the activity of the party organization at the Katowice Iron and Steel Works regarding the harmful actions of the factory's Solidarity union.

Today, in view of attempts to transform the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity into a movement of a political and oppositional character, the results that the party obtained in the specific settlements concerning the guiding role of the PZPR in the statute of the union before it was registered is more understandable. The speaker also warned against the disastrous consequences of demands for excessive pay increases, which would lead to inflation and a business slump; he also argued for a gradual process, for introducing work-free Saturdays, which would not deepen the economic chaos in the country. Working on 8 work-free Saturdays is a tardy acknowledgment of the rationale of our argument.

Regarding economic reforms, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee stated that autonomy and self-government of enterprises and initiative will depend initially on the party and its leadership. It is the duty of each party member to participate actively in the implementation of this initiative, even in anticipation of the Sejm's statutes. The third plenum of the Central Committee clearly defined the obligations of party organizations and echelons in creating conditions for activities of workers' self-government in workplaces.

In indicating the most important methods of political work, the speaker turned his attention to the need for resoluteness in counteracting antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces. Arguing the point that the extremists in Solidarity also require extreme responses, he agreed that to some extent one gives rise to and nourishes the other. Nevertheless, he stated with complete resoluteness that the party, as the guiding power of a socialist state, must create conditions for concentrating the strength of the entire society in a common front of reason in order to evoke and release the self-preservation instincts of Poles. He ascertained the need to explain

patiently the reasons for the conflicts and the need to discount the politically inestimable pressure for confrontation by some Solidarity activists, especially those under the banners of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and KPN [Confederation for Independent Poland], and their goals to anarchicize life in Poland and to demolish the authority of the state. The party must warn against the consequences of brandishing the argument of confrontation; we must tell the crazies that enough is enough.

Of course, the vast majority of people are interested in peace and a feeling of security; they certainly will help to neutralize the politicizers and adventurers, and they support the efforts of the party and government aiming to lead the country out of the critical situation. In concern of their own security and the much desired law and order, the people are joining with the forces of reason and constructive action, all the more, in that the fascination with Solidarity is dissolving because of the irresponsibility of some leaders leading this worker movement in a mass on the path of conflict with authority and of attacks on the party and socialist state. The last press conference of this union--transmitted via TV--proves, as properly observed during the conference, that the leaders of this union are not concerned with the interests of the working class. The ease and unconcern with which this movement is willing to strike sow unrest, increase ill will and cause Solidarity's actions to evoke animosity in Poland as well as in the rest of the world. The world fears the consequences of the actions of the counterrevolutionary forces in Poland, it does not understand the insane weakening of statehood for which generations of Poles fought.

Speaking about economic affairs and government actions initiated in this sphere in the Katowice Voivodship, Comrade K. Barcikowski emphasized the need for comprehensive action to break the cursed circle in which our economy finds itself. The solution is to stop the decline in coal production, a problem that also was discussed extensively by the participants in the KW plenum. The speaker argued for the need to increase the prices of coal and energy so that they reflect the increased costs of mining and induce users of this valuable raw material to use it more rationally. Regarding the fate of the old metallurgical plants, which may become unprofitable as a result of the reform, there is--in the speaker's opinion--no cause for alarm because these fields, like other raw material branches, will be encompassed by a state protector.

The ways out of the crisis were delineated in the government program for the next 2 to 3 years. To realize this program, it is necessary to concentrate our efforts. Comrade Barcikowski asserted that we have the means to do so. Poland has not lost any of the wealth of its lands, the national wealth has not decreased, the cadre potential has been reinforced with successive classes of young people, and a change in the difficult payments situation also lies in the range of possibilities. Only Poland's enemies can say that there is another road for us other than that of hard work to stop the fall in production, to produce a larger number of goods for the domestic market and export and to make arrangements for food and fuel needed to carry us through next winter.

To create a climate for such hard work, including rebuilding the technical-economic cadre and engineering positions, is the top-priority task not only for party members but also for trade union associations and all those who have the good of the country at heart.

Andrzej Zabinski's Speech

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 7 Sep 81, pp 3, 4

[Speech by Andrzej Zabinski, first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship KW to a plenary meeting of the KW]

[Text] The report of the Executive Board of the Katowice PZPR KW as delivered by Comrade Andrzej Zabinski, KW first secretary]

Dear comrades, almost 2 months after the Ninth Party Congress we are meeting at the Second Plenary Meeting of the KW.

The Third Plenum of the Central Committee, at which our party's positions on workers' self-government and economic reform were defined, ended 2 days ago.

Since the deliberations ended at the Voivodship Program-Election Conference and the Ninth Party Congress, we have devoted our time to hard party work, whose main purpose was to discuss thoroughly the political contents of the congress resolutions in the party echelons and organizations and to establish a dialog with the greatest possible number of members of the lines of activity of the voivodship party organization. It was not a time of rest as it might appear on the surface but rather a time for constructing a program to strengthen the party internally, to discharge its leading role in the state and its guiding role in society and to provide inspiration to overcome the deep crisis enveloping all areas of national life.

During the precongress campaign and during the congress itself, we realized above all the principles of intraparty democracy that were jointly developed and approved by all, which in practice denoted inspiration and participation in extensive discussions with the party aktiv on the current situation in the country and voivodship, listening to their opinions and comments, furnishing indispensable explanations and information aimed at establishing a common appraisal of the state in which our community finds itself.

Observing the principles of democratic procedures and rules of extensive consultations is time-consuming but necessary and extremely important if we do not wish to repeat mistakes resulting from decisions that were volitional or too hasty. The times are grave and dramatic and impose a heavy burden of responsibility on everyone for the fate of our fatherland. During the past 2 months we have attempted to explain exactly these basic truths to one another. I am thoroughly convinced that it was worthwhile to make this tremendous effort to shape our knowledge and it is necessary to continue to do so.

That is why the KW Executive Board sent a letter to each plenum member about considering the directions and methods of joint actions in the party collective. We make decisions collectively and bear responsibility for them jointly.

The resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress as well as those of the Second and Third Plenums of the Central Committee present us with concrete tasks. This means that today greater resistance to the attacks and pressures of our political enemies is required of party members. Ambiguous attitudes are not acceptable. They render us powerless in activity and surrender the field of advocates of a hostile ideology.

We Proclaim Cooperation with Solidarity But on the Principles Contained in the Understandings Signed over a Year Ago

In the jungle events that occur day after day--and these days much is happening--one could have gotten lost at times. One can also go astray or temporarily succumb to the demagogy of the opponents of socialism. We can forgive ourselves for that. However, we cannot acquiesce to having some party members in our ranks who have viewpoints from politically foreign sources and are acutely alive in some ruling circles of Solidarity. We favor cooperation with that union organization but on the principles contained in the understandings signed over a year ago. Concerning talks, we are waiting for an initiative because we have presented such propositions many times. The party organization has the right and obligation to count on their members to work in trade unions. It is required that they work there in accordance with the statute of the PZPR and the goals of a union movement in a country building socialism.

In the interest of the party as a whole, we require party members to comply unreservedly with the principles of democratic centralism. Above all this means the consistent implementation of decisions made and resolutions passed by the democratically elected Central Committee and its Political Bureau as well as by the PZPR KW and its Executive Board.

Dear comrades, in the period that has passed since the Voivodship Program-Election Conference and the Ninth Party Congress, our political opponents have not given our people's government even a moment of rest. The political battle is intensifying, the attacks on the party and state authorities have increased, anti-Soviet propaganda aimed at our alliance grows stronger, and centers on conflict and tensions are multiplying. Showy, controversial displays persist; a cascade of words pours forth. At the same time disorientated groups of unionists were led into the streets; marches of "hungry" people--people who still do not know what actual hunger is, hunger that fells thousands of deadly exhausted people--were arranged.

Extremists from Solidarity with complete determination implemented the concept of impairing the political effects of the Ninth Congress by increasing economic chaos, aggravating the difficult living conditions and organizing protest actions that prostrated the economy. At the same time, propaganda specialists in the extremist groups of Solidarity continue to try to persuade

the masses that the government can do everything but wants to do nothing, or that it can do nothing to improve the situation because it is powerless and in decline.

At first glance one often does not see the intrinsic, absurd inconsistency of such thinking, just as in the hubbub of propaganda not everyone can perceive immediately the simple falsehood that treats the state at one time as an organ equipped with the miraculous attributes of an all-powerful authority and at another time as a collapsing structure that could be strengthened only by "strong" people from Solidarity, KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] or KPN [Confederation for Independent Poland].

This perfidious game is based on constantly demanding more; simply put, the state must give everything: deliver goods, heat one on cold days. If something is not obtainable in the existing situation, the impotence of the state, the exhaustion of socialism and the decay of our political ideas are proclaimed. Thus the simple conclusion is that it is necessary to take over the government. Those who want to rule promise everything--for example, we will be another Japan although we will not work as hard as the Japanese.

We cannot agree with this, we can no longer remain uncritically silent. If in place of the falsehood about "another Poland," another falsehood about "another Japan" is advocated, then the question must be asked, Where are these fortunate countries located? We must unmask those who build castles in the air and create a vision based on pure delusions. We must unmask those who make believe that we are so superb, important and essential to Europe and the world.

They do not notice that we are creating more anxiety, that we are causing fear, that we are destablizing the European political order and--I am sorry to say--that our begging hand is stretching farther and wider and, of course, the hypocritical friends in the West do not give easily while a true friend often deprives himself.

We Will Never Forget the Sacrifices of Lives and Spilled Blood of Soviet Soldiers

Let us unravel these hostile propaganda mechanisms in Solidarity's activities, as done by Stefan Kisielewski, the liberal Catholic publicist, who called the disdainful promise of wonders and the false assurances concerning an easy and short path to the promised land the upside-down "propaganda of success." If we look carefully at our political adversaries' cards we will see a hodgepodge of cohesionless political views parented by all possible kinds of doctrines and utopias--anarchosyndicalism, Pilsudskiism, Christian democratism, utopian socialism and bourgeois doctrines all bound together by a nationalistic, anticommunist and anti-Soviet ideology. Here is an example: "Let Poland be Poland" proclaim the colorful posters, but the slogan in itself means nothing, of course. Poland must be defined adjectively--socialist or not extracting itself from the crisis or not, sinking in it or straightening out, uninhabited demagogy, full of contradictions separating ourselves from friends, or the support and help found among them.

Poland must exist with someone shoulder to shoulder if it wants to be independent and self-sufficient in the boundaries between the Odra and Bug Rivers. Polish communists remember this and will never forget to defend the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jasztrzebie agreements against the interpretation that aims to transform the trade union into an opposing political party, to dismantle the state's socialist structures, economic as well as socio-political.

In our voivodship we are especially sensitive to the lessons of history. Now, in September, in the month of national remembrance, these words have special meaning. The first shots of World War II were fired here, burying in the ruins the hopes of Poland's bourgeoisie on Western allies and help in the most tragic days of the Polish nation. And let us never forget that we returned to the Odra and Nysa Rivers by the side of the Red Army. We will never forget the sacrifices of lives and spilled blood by the Soviet soldiers, which sealed our new, rightful and secure boundaries, our peaceful life over the past 36 years.

If we lived through 36 years of peace in Europe, I do not hesitate to state that it is because of the exclusive contribution of the consistently peaceful policy of our socialist camp, most of all the position and strength of the Soviet Union, and in the complete cooperation of the socialist countries of which Poland is and will remain a strong element.

Comrades, today we must ponder and agree where in our territory we should thwart the implementation of the insane strategy for national catastrophe that the enemy inflicts on us. Much in national life depends on our work. We say this not in the false pride that is all too often expressed here but in the belief in our responsibility regarding the country's hopes for coal and steel and on the results of our work. Meanwhile tensions brought about by protest actions and warning strikes--like the one of 7 August, which significantly paralyzed the voivodship's economy, exposing the real political intentions of the enemies of socialism--interfere with the proper functioning of the industrial organism.

The voivodship party organization, on the basis of the pronouncement of the Executive Board KW, came out decisively against the strike, accusing Solidarity's Regional Administration of activity harmful to the real interests of the working class and harmful to Poland. The resolution of the Voivodship KKP [Party Control Commission] did not leave a shadow of doubt concerning participation of party members in political strikes. The Solidarity union at the Katowice Iron and Steel Works met with a similar reaction when it called for social conflict, publishing antiparty and anti Soviet texts in the union bulletin and thus evidently striking a blow to basic national interests. The steel mill's party organization, industrial trade unionists and youth organizations positively resisted these hostile actions of Solidarity extremists. Regarding the Silesian-Zaglebie directors, who were often brutally pressured by Solidarity activists, the escalating social pressure and even the physical imprisonment--unprecedented in the annals of the mining industry--of workers by union extremists--those knights of freedom, equality and respect for individual human rights--the unequivocal stand of the premier

at a recent meeting is appreciated. The directors, in their replies broadcast on TV, displayed personal courage and determination and unequivocally called for economic order in the enterprise, for cooperation in the name of improving production results and for execution of accepted obligations.

This is the industrial tradition of this land developed in a tough battle with nature that is hostile to man, with coal, metal and fire. It is a tradition of authentic worker solidarity, of work done in peace and mutual respect. It is foreign to deliberative anarchy, quarrelsome and idel talk. We had no time for it; we had to work hard for a piece of bread and the right to speak in Polish, the right to formulate a worker, socialist program. We paid dearly for it, battling hundreds of years with things German and foreign capital for the right to live in a Polish, peaceful home, and we value it highly.

Among other things, this is the significance of party committee and POP meetings. This is attested to by the reply given recently by industrial branch trade unionists--printers--to those who wanted to deprive us of daily news. The escalation of strike demands from "a week without newspapers" to radio and TV strikes is a phenomenon that politically and socially is exceptionally dangerous. Of course, the extremists in Solidarity do not hesitate to break the lines of communication, deciding the cohesiveness of modern society, especially now in a crisis phase. They want to deprive the party of its voice and allow only themselves this right.

The slogan "days without press," radio and TV also brings forward historical reflections. In the most dramatic periods of our past, the struggle of patriots was always accompanied by the printed word urging them to persevere in loyalty to Poland. The soldiers liberating our land from Nazi occupation had with them, in addition to bullets meant for the Polish enemy, publications accepted by the population with tears and emotions and respected equally with bread. While the artillery still thundered and the front proceeded not far from Katowice, the first newspapers, snatched up eagerly by the residents, were being distributed from the local presses.

The people themselves struck back at the provocative action of "days without press" by buying out increased printings of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, DZIENNIK ZACHODNI and WIECZOR. This is a concrete, measurable proof of the polarization of viewpoints and positions, of the perceptible effects of agitation and explanatory actions carried out by our party echelons and organizations.

Let Us Do Everything Such That the Activities of Each Party Element Are Characterized by a Militant Posture and Unequivocal Involvement

These activities, however, should not shield us from failures in party propaganda work. Above all, information should be improved considerably. Agitation, visual propaganda and the activities of plant mass media should become part of life. More initiative and willingness to fight are needed. Also, the activities of the KW are not aggressive enough in the technical and substantive sense. We must do everything so that the ideological-

educational activities of each party element are characterized by a militant posture and unequivocal involvement.

This also applies to the activities of the press, radio and TV, especially party newspapers. We value highly the stand of many journalists absorbed in difficult moments. However, we cannot close our eyes to attempts to edit newspapers and periodicals as well as radio and TV programs according to the private concepts of some journalists. That is why we are evaluating the work of individual editing, which will help us to draw our own conclusions.

We understand that among journalists the memories of erroenous methods of directing the mass information media are still alive. The infamous "propaganda of success" model also caused no small amount of harm to the press, radio, TV and journalists themselves. Of course, these errors are not merely the result of bad direction by the party on the mass information media but also the result of opportunism of reporters themselves. Thus today we emphasize all the more the right to present in the mass media the whole truth about our problems and activities, of course, from an obligatory socialist position.

To be sure, the press, radio and TV, criticized from various sides and for various reasons, began in the last few weeks to shed light more comprehensively on the changes occurring in Poland, interpreting the facts truthfully. Actually this democratic right of party journalists to express their own views in party newspapers was questioned. The leaders of Solidarity, on radio and TV, supposedly in the name of greater access to radio and TV, are planning subsequent strike actions. They are of a distinctly political nature. Party members are not allowed to participate in them in any way whatsoever. But we do expect decisive, aggressive action from them. They must conform completely to the decisions of the government taken in this matter.

Conrades, we do not change our viewpoints day to day and we do not pretend that there is no clear front of political struggle. We expressed this in the already mentioned pronouncement of the KW Executive Board regarding the political nature of the September strike and responsibility for its organization. Today we are not talking about victory but we are aware that the processes of party consolidation are intensifying and that party echelons and organizations in many areas are counteracting demagogy and anarchy more decisively and boldly. The contents of our letter were received approvingly and many resolutions were passed supporting the position of the Executive Board in its entirety.

Our political potential is great and increasing continually. This is the result of internal changes in the party, the renewal of its leadership elected independently and democratically. The composition of party echelons is being increasingly strengthened and operating more and more effectively, building a foundation for trust and influence. In our activities explaining our goals, the program for social stabilization and the regeneration of internal relations, we are solidifying and becoming increasingly stronger.

The people decide everything concerning their successes and defeats and thus we wish to be active on the extensive consultative teams to prop up our activity in the Issues Commissions, in which members of voivodship echelons, delegates to the KW, party activists and specialists in many areas will participate. A large economic and administrative aktiv group with full responsibility and as a matter of principle is implementing party policy. We must assure these people a sense of certitude and security, conditioning resoluteness in activity.

The time is approaching when everyone must be definite and reply clearly; in these times there is no place for "seasonal," undecided and two-faced people. All our political and organizational activities should be subordinated to developing effective principles of strategy and tactics for a political struggle based on discerning knowledge of the political geography of one's region, on an accurate and credible analysis of the reality in which we live and work. This situation also requires intensive activity in the ideological sphere, that is, in upbringing, culture and education.

We see a negative phenomenon in the weakening of the social patronage by trade unions and workplaces over culture and art, cutting off the working class from the theater, music, film, books and the applied arts because of the passive attitude of some creative and cultural groups and also of the mass information media. In this situation, party organizations working in the sphere of culture and education should intensify ideological-educational work among their members in order to stop ultimately the wave of criticism of the past that produces nothing constructive and to proceed to activities with thoughts about tomorrow. A fundamental evaluation should be made of the attitudes of party artists, culture activists and scientists, expecially those in university faculties of arts, in order to draw just conclusions relative to those who departed from ideological principles. From our side, let us do everything so that art and culture find a deserving place in social life.

A Social Contract Is Realistic When It is Incorporated into Life on the Firm Ground of Socialist Political Principles

A social contract is realistic when it is incorporated into life on the firm ground of socialist political principles, complying with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. All concessions in the political and ideological sphere must be resisted resolutely by communists if they do not want the party to forfeit its leading role in society, which in consequence would impair the basis of a socialist political system.

The science of Marxism-Leninism, the many years of experience of the communist and workers party, acquired in difficult and at times in bloody class struggles, unequivocally confirm the Leninist thesis that all concessions to a political adversary, in the final analysis, must degenerate into an act of capitulation in accordance with the law of dialectics concerning the transition from quantity to quality.

In characterizing the ideological struggle, Vladimir Lenin forcefully emphasized that it comes in many forms and hues; in addition the enemy's tactics do not always or immediately have to be based on openly questioning socialism or the leading role of the party. Many times an enemy does this under the cover of clever demagogy, offering various supposedly optimum solutions guaranteeing pure democracy.

Independent of the campaigns unleashed by the enemy--domestic and foreign sources of propaganda, that were of unheard of and unparalleled in our postwas history, campaigns the intensities of which even exceeded the activities of the opposition forces under the banner of Mikolajczyk's PSL [Polish Peasant Party] in the immediate period after the war--most people favor the socialist form of government in our country, perceiving--despite the errors committed in the last few years--the undeniable achievements of People's Poland, linking their own prospects with Poland's continuous socialist development.

However, all attempts to lead Poland out of the deep sociopolitical crisis, including basic reforms, were resolutely resisted by our enemies. Such was the fate of the government's proposals regarding the resolutions of especially difficult problems. The opportunity to improve supplies to the people in the face of this year's favorable harvests and thus the overall situation of the country disturbed our adversaries so much that they went on a general offensive consistently aimed at delaying and torpedoing the stabilization of economic and social life.

The events of the last few days leave no doubt about this problem. Thus it is necessary to apply ourselves with complete consistency to organizational work in order to supply best the people of our region with basic articles for the winter. This is a strictly political problem that our voivodship party organization cannot pass over with indifference. Each party organization and echelon should not delay submitting an analysis of the status of preparations for winter in their areas.

The Observance of Law and Order by All Citizens Is an Indispensable Condition for the Functioning of the State and Socialist Social Relations

The observance of law and order by all citizens is an indispensable condition for the functioning of the state and socialist social relations. To a great extent this depends on the state of the people's awareness of the law and the activities of the organs called upon to protect legal order. In the period just passed, a number of negative phenomena occurred in the functioning of the law, symptoms of the breakdown of social discipline in various structures of public life. Because of the current destabilization of economic life and constant sociopolitical pressures, asocial elements have a medium for themselves and perceived an immunity that was more extensive than ever before. It is in these circles that the main criminal factors arise and expand: alcoholism and abhorrence to socially useful work.

The attacks on the organs of public order that are repeated in various leaflets, publications and telexes, and the creation of an atmosphere of mistrust

and even enmity toward functionaries of the MO [Citizens' Militia] draw a special response especially from those who live outside the law and whom law and order prevent them from achieving their own goals.

A priority task in restoring order and security for the citizen is to stimulate social trust and support for the just actions of organs of public order. In a normal society no one can be above the law. An equally important task is to activate and improve the activities of all organs of the state administration; department administrators of institutions and enterprises; and organs of internal and social control to pursue properly and implement consistently their legal obligations in the sphere of widely understood law and order. Lately some of these organs and institutions seem to have forgotten their obligations or thought that the militia and public prosecutor would do everything for them. Such a perception especially applies to parasites and to people abusing alcohol, to securing and protecting public property at workplaces and to work discipline.

Against the background of the healthy trend to democratize life, which is accented by the party, many circles and people hostile to us--who are especially anxious to harm the Polish nation, have come out of hiding. Their activities support external enemies. Both parties use all possible means to introduce chaos and anarchy, to intensify the public's factiousness or to destabilize the law and public in order to undertake various destructive activities relative to administrative and government organs, the public prosecutor, the militia and security services.

One of their activities is to compose false reports and to formulate untruthful accusations concerning administrative cadres to keep them in a state of uncertainty and to draw attention from fulfilling production tasks. A frequently used method is to accuse publicly MO and SB [Security Service] organs of illegal activities based allegedly on persecuting and unwarrantedly repressing people for their convictions.

To restore the public's full trust in the just and necessary activities of organs of prosecution, party organizations and the mass media should play an important role. Their role should be based on creating a wide and unified social front to counteract all violations of the law as well as other negative social phenomena that threaten the interests of the state and its citizens.

At the Third Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee much attention was devoted to workers' self-government. The full account of the plenary session, comrades, can be found in the press. Implementing the self-government draft announced by Solidarity would mean the rapid dismantling of the national economy in the sphere of management and removing the public as an entity affecting the determination of goals and methods of management. This in turn will lead to the socialist state losing influence over the economy and the realization of social goals.

The Means of Production Are and Will Remain the Property of the Entire Nation in Accordance with the Principles of Socialism and the Polish Constitution

In accordance with the constitution of the Polish People's Republic, the national wealth and thus the production assets of state enterprises are the property of the entire nation. This is one of the most important political principles. To impair it is to impair the socialist system of our state. Solidarity's view that the only owners and disposers of an enterprise's wealth is the workforce, is not acceptable. According to this, then, the workforce would perform the same role as a capitalist owner or a board of directors of a corporation. And the management goal would be the same--only profits.

The misunderstanding results from the fact that even in ordinary, everyday discussions, it is always assumed that a socialist economy should satisfy as fully as possible the commonly understood social needs--and thus, not only to supply market goods according to a person's financial means and interests but also to supply services in such extensive areas as health care, education, culture and the like. It is actually these areas that assure an equal start in life for all citizens, independent of their social and material positions.

A very important problem is the one concerning responsibility for the operating results of an enterprise. According to Solidarity's draft, an enterprise's self-government is the exclusive decisionmaker. The self-government--actually the council--makes decisions and is responsible only to the workforce. The question then arises, Who must bear the consequences of an enterprise's bad management or insolvency, for example, as a result of bad market conditions? The draft states that the workforce should bear the full effects. But what will happen if the enterprise must be liquidated? In such a case, will the state and thus the whole of society have to bear the cost of bankruptcy, to find new jobs for the workforce of the liquidated enterprise? Who will provide the additional outlays to purchase new assets and pay off debts? What guarantee is there that the problem will not reoccur? There are many such questions.

A problem that in discussions to date has aroused much passion and whose resolution had, it appears, a material effect on the shape of the draft resolution regarding the so-called social enterprises, is the rules for appointing a director. The question arises: Should a director represent the workers' self-government and execute its resolutions or should he also represent the interests of the entire nation? Can Solidarity's proposition assure automatic concordance of the interests of the enterprise's workforce with the social goals of the nation as a whole? Can this concordance be protected only by the tax and credit policies implemented by the state? Will an enterprise's workforce always strive to use an enterprise's assets in accordance with the interests and hierarchy of overall social goals? These and other questions raise many doubts.

Without questioning the right to consult the self-government of a workforce regarding the candidacy of a director, allowing for the possibility of

competition to occur, the right to confirm a director for a given enterprise or institution is a fundamental problem for our party. No governing party can waste cadre initiative or forfeit its own authority in this area because in practice it would mean the surrender of power. Of course, the present system must be perfected, and the resolutions of the Third Plenum of the Central Committee address this.

In adopting a position on the draft resolution regarding the so-called social enterprise, one should consider the conditions and experiences under which it was prepared. Work on it was guided by the goal to assure true self-government for a workforce. This draft also includes a number of effective resolutions such as increasing a council's tenure to 4 years, protecting the jobs of council members after they complete their tenure and the like.

However, the party should resolutely oppose transforming the socialist system, which is based on national ownership, to an anarchosyndicalistic economic system based on group ownership, which was proposed by Solidarity. The fundamental difference between the government's and Solidarity's drafts is ownership of production assets. This problem must be considered from the viewpoint of the social interests of all the people and the political system of People's Poland and not the self-government of an enterprise.

We must chose: Do we want a socialist state realizing all social goals in the name of man and his comprehensive development as the highest value in our society, or do we want a loose federation of groups of producers realizing their own goals, which are not always concurrent with national interests? There is but one answer to this question: The means of production are and will remain the property of the entire nation in accordance with the scientific principles of socialism and our own constitution. It was in this spirit that the Third Plenum of the Central Committee made its reply.

We live in the most industrialized voivodship of the 49 in the country. Above all, we extract coal here, and many other products are produced here without which the national economy could not function. Every disturbance or dimunition of the operating rhythm of the economic mechanism in our region is keenly felt by the entire country, not only by industry but by the people also.

Work Is the Only Solution to the Dramatic Economic Situation

The party is not called upon to supercede the administration of the state and economy administration in its functions, in activities designed to overcome the economic crisis, but in the present situation, regardless of all the political tasks and because of the exceptional situation, the party must apply itself with the greatest concern to improving the sick economy.

This means supporting with all our might initiatives and aspirations for more effective work, for making better use of work time. At the same time it also means counteracting resolutely all those who treat work as a subject of bargaining with the administration, forgetting that the worsening economic situation means increasingly difficult market supply problems. He who states

that exhortation of work is an "old song" and "we will not be duped by it" either acts out of ill will or understands nothing and expresses his ignorance of the realities of socioeconomic life. Of course, there is no other solution to the dramatic economic situation except work. The problem is now to organize it so that it will give society the most needed products.

All of Poland is looking at Katowice Voivodship, waiting for more coal. It is our most important test. Meanwhile, the production of 164 million tons of coal this year, as projected by the Ministry of Mining, will not meet needs. The electric power industry will feel the shortages most severely; the shortages of electric power can immobilize industrial plants and disrupt residential heat supplies.

How can this impasse be resolved? Will work on 8 work-free Saturdays do it? This slogan put forward by Solidarity raises the question, Why was this done only now, irrevocably wasting effects that could have been achieved during the last 8 months? Although it is obvious, we support this slogan. The subject of Saturday work, of course, appeared in January. The government took a position. Also, in a letter addressed to the people, the KW Executive Board justified our reasons, which were resolved in short order to the thesis that we will not take the holidays in view of the country's catastrophic economic situation.

In this letter we also drew attention to the great harm of all strikes and the irresponsible work stoppages initiated by Solidarity, frequently for trivial reasons. That was in January; now in September we feel the effects of the destructive activities that are now disrupting the economy and are very painful, especially where it concerns supplying the market with energy and raw materials. We incurred losses that cannot be made up, and, of course, it could have been otherwise if reason and logic prevailed in January. But could it be that someone was actually anxious to ruin Polish exports of coal? It permitted renewed activation of Western European mining, which in past years was markedly limited, unprofitable mining.

Today, in view of the drastic reduction and in some cases the elimination of Polish coal exports, coal mines in the Ruhr Basin in the FRG, in Northern France and in Belgium that have been inactive for a long time are being activated and coal production is increasing in England and the United States. Is it difficult to believe that the concurrence of these events was by chance? One can only regret that the boom in the capitalist countries in such a vital sector as the coal industry came about at our expense.

For conditions to improve in Poland, the mining industry must operate more efficiently. And significantly better living and working conditions should be created in this industry, for people employed in it. It is not enough to pay better wages; more food and all that is necessary for an equitable life should be supplied by the entire country for Katowice Voivodship, for the miners and their families, for all the hard-working people of this region. It is good that this fact is beginning to be understood in all of Poland. Now this understanding should be translated into action more effectively or, to put it simply, greater food supplies.

Overcoming the shortage of fuels and energy, an elementary condition for stabilizing Poland's economy, can be accomplished by increasing coal production as well as by using it more rationally. It will be necessary to take extensive action without delay and at top priority in the area of modernizing power equipment and creating conditions promoting economical management.

The continually increasing crisis trends in our economy are attested to by the production results of the first 7 months of this year. Compared with the analagous period last year, in our voivodship sales of industrial products decreased by 46 billion zlotys, or 15 percent; production of raw steel, 744,300 tons; production of rolling-mill products, 551,000 tons; the transport of cargo by the DOKP [District Directorate of State Railways], 21.7 percent; and export value, 2.1 billion foreign exchange zlotys, including 1.4 billion foreign exchange zlotys to the II payments area. The incurred deficits cannot be made up. The drop in production was accompanied by an increase in average wages, which in comparison with the 7 months of last year increased, for example, in industrial enterprises by 24 percent; construction, 25 percent; and transportation, 22 percent.

Likewise, financial results are unquestionably the worst in the annals of People's Poland. In the voivodship 450 industrial enterprises incurred losses of almost 54 billion zlotys, including 40 billion zlotys in mining and over 10 billion zlotys in the metallurgical industry. Losses were also incurred by the machinery and chemical industries.

Such is the state of our industry, a seriously sick state. Making it healthy again depends on energetic and effective actions in the direction of stopping further declines in industrial production, which will lead to correct relationships between work productivity and wage increases, restoring production-technological discipline and work discipline and strengthening the authority of management cadres at all levels. The realization of these tasks is an essential condition for persevering through the fall-winter period and also for creating the foundation for successfully introducing economic reforms.

I have presented the main problems of the political and socioeconomic situation in our voivodship. In outlining the current tasks against the background of this situation, I address the KW to formulate its view and position relative to actions that we are now taking and wish to take in the future. Above all the goal is to strengthen the party organizationally and ideologically, to qualify all party echelons and organizations and also each party member regarding the specific situation in which they find themselves at their workplaces and in their circles.

It is the obligation of party echelons and organizations to develop a decisive ideological-political offensive and for all party members to report at least twice yearly on the realization of the tasks given them resulting from the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress and the plenary sessions of the Central Committee. Of special importance are party actions designed to strengthen the ideological unity of the socialist state party, to assure

peace, law and public order as well as stabilization of the economy, which was discussed extensively in the report.

The tasks facing the party's voivodship organization are very difficult. Their realization requires great ideological fortitude and perseverance. But there is no other way to overcome the difficulty and to build an effective dam against the political activities of adversaries attempting to push Poland off the road to socialist development and the consistent realization of our party's program.

I am convinced that today's plenary meeting will represent an important contribution to the creation of a constructive party program of action. But the problems presented in the report of the KW Executive Board and the announced proposals do not completely exhaust today's difficult and complicated problems, which will be considered and creatively enlarged upon during the discussion.

Party Plenum Resolution

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 7 Sep 81 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Resolution of the PZPR KW Plenum"]

[Text] The activities of the voivodship party organization after the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress were evaluated at the PZPR plenum in Katowice. We declare that our party, in drawing conclusions consistently and truthfully from the past and selecting people for its leadership who have the greatest prestige in their circles, earns the respect of the people. Consolidating the party ranks and strengthening the unity of the party is occurring under exceptionally difficult conditions. The strong position of a reborn, purified party is causing a strong reaction among its political enemies. In defiance of logic and common sense, the more consistently we strive to surmount socioeconomic difficulties and pressure and to overcome the crisis, the greater the fury of their attacks on the party.

The primary task of each party organization and each PZPR member is to join efforts in the battle against the enemies of socialism, who no longer even care about keeping up appearances and deceptive demogogy. It is not words but actions that must be the basis for evaluating the open or hidden enemies of the party that hide behind the workers' shoulders in a union organization such as Solidarity was supposed to be and should be.

In this situation we oblige party members who are active in Solidarity to go to battle for the worker and to influence Solidarity's actions so that they are constructive and not destructive in the Katowice Voivodship.

At the Katowice PZPR KW plenum the socioeconomic and political situation in the voivodship was evaluated.

The situation is characterized by:

--An increase in social tensions and people's dissatisfaction with the worsening condition of our economy and the tensions aggravated purposely by extremist groups in Solidarity, whose goal is to discredit the people's leaders, socialism and the guiding role of the party;

--Market difficulties that recently have become more severe, especially in the key area of supplies of meat, bread and cleaning products;

--The worsening economic results in practically all sectors of the economy.

In association with this, we believe that it is necessary to state the following: All party and government initiatives to increase coal production and industrial production, which are in the interest of working people, were not actually understood and supported by Solidarity's ruling circles. Despite this we must work patiently and doggedly to overcome the crisis, to stop the process of destroying the economy and to stop the dismantling of the structure of the people's government.

However, we express full support for any initiative that would lend itself to improving the people's living conditions.

It is the obligation of all party members wherever they are to create conditions to overcome the crisis. There is no more important matter today than to rebuild the economy on healthy foundations based on the economic reforms. The concern here is about the nation's welfare, its day-to-day existence. He who hampers the constructive activities of the party also acts to harm the nation.

The primary field of our party's political activity in the current political situation is to establish a position on the self-government of socialist enterprises under conditions of economic reform.

The PZPR KW plenum recommends that city and plant party organizations take active part in political-organizational activities regarding the formation, functioning and shaping of the socialist character of workers' self-government.

The KW advises groups of PZPR council members--the Voivodship National Council--to create a Commission for Workers' Self-Government Affairs, whose task will be to watch over the functioning and developing of self-government for the workforces of enterprises of Katowice Voivodship.

The KW obligates the Executive Board to evaluate periodically the implementation of the economic reforms and the functioning of self-government for enterprise workforces. The KW requests that Sejm deputies from our voivodship and the entire Sejm of the Polish People's Republic pass a resolution now, in September, relating to trade unions, Workers' Self-Government and State Enterprises. We make an appeal, however, that in the resolution the PZPR, as the guiding party, be guaranteed its rightful authority to initiate cadre policies.

The KW plenum accepts the report of the KW Executive Board that was presented at the plenum and the conclusions, evaluations and presented tasks contained therein and recommends their inclusion in the program of activity for the voivodship echelons.

The plenum recommends that the conclusions announced during the discussions of today's plenum, the contents of the Second and Third Plenums of the PZPR Central Committee and the experiences gained in party work in the period since the Ninth Party Congress be included in the draft program.

At the same time we have decided that:

--The matter of supplies for the people is a subject of special concern for the party's voivodship organization. In view of the fact that traditionally winter supplies were the object of concern of trade unions and that at present functioning Solidarity unions are not taking any action in this direction, we think it would be advisable to initiate concrete actions to mobilize supplies for the residents of Katowice Voivodship. At the same time, we resolve to hold a separate PZPR KW meeting on this matter.

--The KW plenum establishes an issues commission to operate in the KW framework and approves the personnel composition.

--The KW plenum establishes a team to develop a concept for party political work among the people of Katowice Voivodship.

--The KW plenum establishes a team to develop a plan for celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Polish worker movement.

11899
CSO: 2600/664

INTERVIEW OF ALBIN SIWAK BY CZECH TRADE UNION DAILY

AU261845 Prague PRACE in Czech 25 May 82 p 3

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee Politburo member Albin Siwak by M. Sulkova-Zitkova: "Polish Workers for Socialism"--place and date not given]

[Text] [Question] The last session of the Polish Sejm adopted a declaration on national accord. What is the significance of this document and what impact will it have on the activity of the Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth [OKON]?

[Answer] In brief, it is a hand stretched out to all Poles, an offer to participate in joint work. The building of socialism concerns everyone, that means people of various orientations, diverse concepts about life and different levels of awareness. Speaking about this topic, Comrade Jaruzelski stressed that the differences are not decisive, what matters is that these people go with us. I would like to point out that formerly the party also acted in this spirit and that, with its decisions, it keeps pursuing the line of national accord. The significance of the declaration of the Sejm is that of a document that corresponds to our need.

For years now there has been a National Unity Front in Poland. It is adapting its activity to the present situation because additional organizations would like to unite their will and endeavor in a single movement. You know that some former social organizations became fertile soil for hostile activities. However, it is necessary to distinguish from them those that have not taken this road. This also applies to the Church. Many clergymen take a positive attitude to Poland's present needs. Yet there are also Church officials who support the subversive activity of "Solidarity" under the cloak of the defense of man, and literally abuse, against the people, the demands of humaneness. I think that we must view this fact in a historical perspective.

This year we will celebrate in Poland the 100th anniversary of the emergence of the workers' movement. This century has witnessed enormous struggles. Workers were fighting for their human dignity, for an 8-hour working day, for basic social demands and rights. History does not know a single case of the Church supporting this workers' struggle. However, last year and 2 years ago, during the 16 months of "Solidarity's" activities, priests willingly hallowed its every party, every piece of cloth, every slogan. Yet the Church in Poland

has never even hallowed a single genuinely workers' banner! It never took a stand in defense of a jailed worker! And these workers often left behind them large families completely without means. The Church never gave any parcel to such a miserable family. But now some Church officials are willingly distributing parcels being sent from the West for "Solidarity" members, who live literally in luxury compared with the real fighters for workers' rights.

We can see in the light of such a historical comparison how important it is to distinguish even among Church representatives.

[Question] Very important in connection with the present needs and the entire development of the workers' movement in Poland, which you have just spoken about, is the discussion on trade unions. How do you assess this discussion?

[Answer] I travel a lot, meet workers and can say that the overwhelming majority of the workers' class speak about unified trade unions, class-based, branch trade unions. It does not matter whether they are called branch trade unions. What matters is that they associate members within a relatively broad range of a certain profession, we might say along the lines of individual [professional] unions. They should be large trade unions in the sense that the world union should stand for a profession. Meant are naturally socialist trade unions, fully in the sense of the Marxist line. Many such signals can be heard in Polish factories and at other workplaces.

[Question] The discussion about the future trade unions surely contributes to enhancing the working people's ideological maturity. How do you assess this impact of the disussion and where is the discussion particularly strong?

[Answer] Of course, it contributes. I would like to draw attention to yet another fact. The aktiv, that means the trade union cadres, has been reduced to a considerable extent, especially in the branch trade unions. That is a consequence of the long months in which "Solidarity" exerted immense pressure on these cadres, in which they were being held up, beaten, kicked out of their jobs. There were many such cases. Let me mention, for example, the events in Krosno where workers were taken out of the factory on wheelbarrows and publicly baited. Many were driven to suicide. I could cite a number of cases. A large percentage of our trade union cadres has simply been destroyed and the aktiv broken up. People were not able to withstand the terrible onslaught.

All that has an impact on the present discussion. Wherever the cadre base remained intact, the disussions are passionate and strong. These people know what trade unions should be like, they initiate discussions and channel them in the right direction. The discussion is, of course, weaker where we do not have cadres. This sorting out of views is essential and assists the growth of a new trade union aktiv.

[Question] Of great significance for the further development of Polish society is the latest PZPR Central Committee plenum. What course is the implementation of its conclusions taking?

Since Comrade Jaruzelski became first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, all resolution of plenary sessions have been linked with personal responsibility

for their implementation. This applies not only to the eighth plenum but also to the preceding ones--the sixth and seventh. When a plenary session adopts a decision on and sets the responsibility for a certain issue, at the subsequent session it is necessary to say in public how the decision was carried out and, if it was not implemented, why and who is responsible. Comrade Jaruzelski was the first to introduce this concrete responsibility into practice in the leadership of our party.

Now, let me give some more details about the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. It dealt primarily with problems of the national economy, with its development--to be more accurate, with ways of bringing the economy out of the disarray into which it had been dragged. It also adopted resolutions on housing construction and on the party's expurgation. These are important resolutions. At the Ninth Plenum (at the beginning of June, the date has not been fixed yet), specifically-designated people will have to render an account on how the adopted resolutions are implemented in practice. In other words, in these conditions, in this particular enterprise you have to do this and this. If you do not, you will have to publicly render account of your activity. Personal responsibility has become an inseparable part of our party's decisionmaking.

[Question] Comparing the situation prior to the imposition of the state of emergency and today, how would you assess the economic situation?

[Answer] Work in all our factories and enterprises, regardless of the type of production--in places which have sufficient quantity of raw materials--has made progress. However, lack of raw materials persists in many factories. Generally speaking, one might say that the entire national economy is already past an impasse. Even the general public can observe this. More foodstuffs and industrial products can be seen. The number of collectives that understand the essential need for disciplined and useful work, who set an example and demand that others, too, work like themselves is growing day by day. But there are also individuals who, in the spirit of "Solidarity's" slogan "Work at a snail's pace," prolong, in fact, the shortage of goods. Comrade Jaruzelski said at the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in connection with this slogan that he who works like a snail will have to make do with the snail, he will not get anything else.

I would like to say that very soon, on 1 January 1982, we will introduce a new system of remuneration in all branches in support of good work collectives. The new system will provide incentives for better work performance. We want to do away with a situation in which, for example, someone makes 10,000 zlotys a month, has the money guaranteed and can sit the whole month with folded hands doing nothing. We will not allow such things. Let those who work make 10,000 zlotys or perhaps even 15,000 zlotys. But he who works little or poorly will make hardly one-fifth of that sum and, possibly, not even that. And those who want to resemble a snail must make do with the snail.

[Question] In an interview for our paper you stressed the importance of dealing with the problems of young people. Will a PZPR Central Committee Plenum be devoted to this issue?

[Answer] Yes, we promised that and we will live up to the promise. The preparations are in progress. The plenum will be attended, as guests, by young people, representatives of youth organizations from voivodships and factories and from the central leadership in Warsaw. The objective of the plenum is to encompass the problems relevant to the youth. This concerns the job prospects of young people, the full appreciation of the youth, the correct orientation of their education and the use of their qualifications following the completion of their studies or vocational training. It also concerns housing construction for young people. It would be unreasonable to conceal that thousands of newlyweds are renting tiny apartments for enormous sums of money. That is why their life is full of hardship, the private sublease swallows up most of their earnings. The point is that they should have an apartment of their own so that they can have children and simply be a family and not just two young people.

The youth issue encompasses a broad range of problems. It is, above all, winning many young people for socialism. We must frankly admit that a number of teachers have torn the youth away from socialism. We also reproach some parents. There exist such paradoxical situations that the father is a party member, the mother is a party member and the son goes out to the streets to demonstrate. The devil knows why. He has enough to eat, he has clothes to wear, he studies but he wants to riot, to indulge himself. When we then talk to him and ask him why he took to the streets, he does not even know. His friends went, so he went along. This example shows that a young person must be made aware and won over to the cause of socialism. This is naturally a question of cadres, of correct textbooks, of a correct approach and so forth. For all these reasons, the very next PZPR Central Committee plenum will deal with problems of the youth.

[Question] The West is trying to exploit the May disturbances in some Polish cities for its old plan, to interfere in Poland's internal affairs. How do you view this attempt?

[Answer] We have already once digressed to history in the course of this conversation and must do so again. It is no secret that even during World War II the West concentrated all its forces against socialism. It felt a favorable wind in Poland and the mistakes committed later by the party leadership considerably facilitated its position. Already years ago people from the West were being shipped to our coasts. Besides, there were also traitors in our own ranks such as Spasowski, former deputy minister of foreign affairs, or Rurarz, former ambassador to Japan. For a long time subversive activity against Poland has been purposefully combined with incitement against the Soviet Union and has been directed against it. Let us take, for example, a look at the following.

The West often commemorates today Marshal Pilsudski, the former dictator of the Polish state. The 12th of May, when disturbances broke out at several places in Warsaw, is the anniversary of Pilsudski's death as well as of the military putsch in which he seized power. The Church was ready to have a Mass in honor of this anniversary. Let us ask Why?

When Pilsudski died in 1935, the Church threw his corpse out of the Church building. It did not permit his burial in Wawel where prominent statesmen were usually buried, nor did it permit a religious ceremony, not even the bells to toll. It adopted this harsh attitude toward him because he seceded from the Roman Catholic Church and joined the Calvinists. However, now the Church does not mind, nor does "Solidarity." It suits them to eulogize a representative of the bourgeois system because his two anniversaries coincide with the 5-month anniversary of the imposition of the state of emergency in Poland.

Neither the Church nor "Solidarity" mind that on a single day Pilsudski had 420 people, political opponents of his regime, shot! They do not mind that Pilsudski founded the first concentration camp in Europe. It was in Bereza Kartuska and hundreds of workers who demonstrated against the bourgeois government perished there.

The Church and "Solidarity" keep these horrible facts a secret from the people, young people do not know them and, therefore, can be misused. The West is greatly involved in this too. It has not abandoned its attempts to undermine Poland and to attack the Soviet Union via its territory.

[Question] Press agencies reported that instructions for the disturbances were being issued, among other places, in churches. What was the social composition of the rioters?

[Answer] Every person experienced in politics knows that the Western subversionists do not have the slightest scruples. The rioters were children, 15- or 16-year olds from schools. They assembled in churches, from which they departed and to which they returned. The people's religious feelings and religious places were exploited with utter cynicism. Workers did not participate at all in the May disturbances. We would do wrong to the remaining youth if we said that the Polish youth took to the streets. Young people were working or studying in schools and only a negligible handful were in the streets. Nevertheless, we regard the whole issue as a serious problem.

[Question] Interesting in this connection is the decision adopted in your country that schools should discuss with the students their participation in the unrest.

[Answer] Yes, I would expand this a little. It is necessary to talk to the young people but also to their teachers and their parents, to make them realize what an enormous social upsurge the first generation of socialism represented. We have, after all, concrete evidence--the father, a professor, and the mother, a physician, who are of very humble origin, from a poor rural family where there was not enough to eat and no shoes to wear in winter. Were it not for socialism, the father and the mother would be tending cattle and raking manure. Socialism gave them their education but they forget this. And their son goes out into the streets; they did not pass down to him any of the values of socialism.

We realize that a number of teachers are simply not fit for their jobs. They do not want to solve problems from the viewpoint of socialism, they have gone over to the positions of the political enemy. According to them, everything in the West is good and everything in socialism is bad. And that is not true. When a situation such as in our country arises in socialism, then it is not the fault of the system or the idea but the fault of concrete people and errors that

have to be removed. Poles arriving in your country, Czechoslovakia, see your development and that is the point at issue in Poland today: To build a socialism in which even a cleaning woman earns her bread but also enough for clothes and other needs, in which obligations and remuneration are reasonably balanced. Surely, a minister who is responsible for an entire branch deserves to be furnished with the means enabling him to live in dignity, but this must not be 10 or 20 times as much as a hard-working laborer makes. Such differences are naturally striking to the eye.

[Question] How do you assess the present level of relations between the Polish and Czechoslovak working people?

[Answer] Your experiences have a great value for our working people. You went through a difficult period of crisis and have managed to get out of it and to draw conclusions. Many people in our country compare, lively discussions between Czechoslovak and Polish workers are taking place, especially in the border areas. The problems are analyzed with unusual candor and that is valuable. We can learn from your experiences. Of particular importance for Poles is to become acquainted with your country, I have already mentioned this. The main thing is that specially the workers' class of the two countries strengthen ties so that--as far as we are concerned--as many workers as possible can take home and apply these findings from Czechoslovakia.

CSO: 2400/244

STUDENT UNION VIEWS SITUATION IN HIGHER SCHOOLS

AU122196 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 10 May 82 pp 1, 3

[Jerzy Godula report on the 8-9 May plenum of the Socialist Union of Polish Students Supreme Council in Wilga: "Let Us Get Out of the Circle of Impotence" --passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /What is the current situation in the student community? That was an item on the agenda of a plenum of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], which was the first to be held since the organization resumed its activity. The deliberations, chaired by Tadeusz Sawic, Supreme Council chairman, were held on 8-9 May in Wilga, Siedlce Voivodship./

The plenum discussed a report delivered by Tadeusz Sawic on behalf of the Supreme Council Executive Committee of the Socialist Union of Polish Students. (The theses of the report are published on page 3) [Note: See article below]. The report assessed the current situation in the higher schools, presented tasks confronting the organization, as well as the concepts of developing the student movement in the future as discussed in the student community. Moreover, the speaker moved, in line with the statutes, to convene the Fourth Congress of the Socialist Union of Polish Students in November 1982.

/Both council members and many aktivs attending the plenum participated in the discussions. Much attention was paid to the condition of the student community. Under the present conditions, one must not count on the activity of the masses of students. Solutions acceptable at least to small groups of students must be found./ That must be the starting point for drawing up specific activity programs and for invigorating the community. One of the main tasks confronting the union, Zbigniew Wrobel from Katowice said in particular, is to override the passiveness of the community.

/The evaluation of the union's activity recently proved to be highly controversial./ The prestige of the organization is now low, Kazimierz Olejnik from Lodz said. Other speakers, including Zenon Wiertelorz from Opole and Andrzej Florek from Rzeszow, appealed to hold back emotions. As an organization, we have had definite achievements and must continue to multiply them, they said.

/The union still has not recovered in the new situation, but its task is precisely to defend the interests of students and to foster the leftwing stream in the student community./ The utmost must be done to consolidate the organization in schools, particularly in faculties and institutes, Eryk Szafinski from Katowice said. Even before the summer vacations, the union must initiate a discussion on the future of the student movement, Maciej Gierej from Warsaw said.

/Much heed was paid to the material living conditions of students. Scholarships must increase in step with the growing costs of living./ It is essential as soon as possible to draw up a new system for state material assistance to meet the basic needs of students. /It is particularly important to provide appropriate living conditions for student families. The question of providing graduates of higher schools with a start in vocational life, with prospects encouraging them to work well, is also highly important./

Those are the problems that must be regarded as the most topical in the union's activity. At the moment, they are the most essential for the community. We must be bolder than we have been to date in defending the interests of students, Andrzej Orecki from Krakow said. Much time and energy have been dedicated to draw up a scholarship system, but there are no results in sight. The ministry's latest proposals, Grzegorz Onicnimowski from Warsaw said, are incompatible with the principles which should be valid in our state.

/Pronouncedly prevalent in the discussion was the view that the Socialist Union of Polish Students should preserve the features of a political organization./ Grzegorz Kazmierski from Katowice said that students needed to air their political views. Restricted to trade union activity, Marek Kaszuba from Warsaw said, the organization will be weak. This results from the fact that the student community is highly interested in politics, and political activity is a condition for consolidating the organization and boosting its reliability.

/In the resolution adopted at the end, the plenum approved the analysis and the assessment of the situation in the university community presented in the report and enriched in the discussion and endorsed guidelines for the union's immediate activity. The union's Supreme Council came out in favor of national accord and supported the idea of reconciliation proposed in the Sejm./ The resolution emphasized that the idea must as soon as possible be followed by concrete facts meeting the real needs of society. The plenum found that the most important and pressing task was to draw up a strategic plan and to reshape political life so as to break the dramatic barrier of the lack of confidence in the authorities, to rid the atmosphere of apathy and impotence.

/Against that background, the plenum evaluated with concern the events that took place recently in the streets of many cities in our country./ The participation of young people in those events with frequent manifestations of hooliganism, the resolution reads, resulted not only from the deliberate game played by the opponents of socialism endeavoring to foil the chances for stabilization; it also resulted from frustration caused by the lack of clear prospects.

/At the same time, the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students,/ the resolution emphasized, /is against charging the entire student community with unilateral responsibility for those events, against the exaggerated divisions among communities, as well as against anti-intellectual incitement.

/The plenum found it expedient for the Socialist Union of Polish Students, for students, institutions and organizations to take concrete steps aimed at normalizing life in the country and, consequently, at abolishing martial law, at creating conditions favorable for a real dialogue, as well as for continuing the extensive economic and social reforms initiated after August 1980./

A large part of the resolution was devoted to the main programmatic lines and tasks of the Socialist Union of Polish Students for the upcoming months.

/The session participants adopted a decision concerning the system of material assistance to students./ The present system, it was stated in the document, is increasing the disproportion in the living standards of individual groups in the community. What is needed are government decisions specifying the amount of subsidies assigned for material assistance to students. The way in which those subsidies are to be distributed must be accepted by the majority of the university community, no matter who proposes the manner of distribution.

At the same time it was stated that the draft system of state material assistance to students presented by the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Techology was unacceptable because it infringed upon the basic constitutional principles of the socialist state, particularly the principle of social justice and the right to equal educational opportunities for all citizens.

/In a separate decision concerning the act on higher education, the plenum noted that the new act disregarded many postulates raised by the Socialist Union of Polish Students. However, that act was a necessary compromise resulting from various interests and from various ways in which the sides which drafted the legal act had reached common conclusions./ The plenum found it expedient to initiate a discussion in the university community on the real implementation of the act in higher schools, in particular through the participation of the union's representatives in the work of the commissions drafting statutes for higher schools and other executive documents concerning the act.

/In connection with the fact that the governing bodies end their term in December, the Supreme Council resolved to hold the Fourth Congress of the Socialist Union of Polish Students on 4-7 November 1982./ A program team has been set up for the Fourth Congress of the Socialist Union of Polish Students. A decision was adopted on the accountability and election campaign preceding the congress. The election of congress delegates should be completed before 30 October.

/Moreover, the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students adopted decisions concerning programmatic and organizational theses for this year's summer action, activity conditions in student clubs, and principles for the functioning of the organization under martial law.

/The session made changes in the composition of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students./ Moreover, the plenum relieved Wieslaw Debski, at his request, of his duties as Executive Committee member of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students. Foman Grynienko, Marian Redwan and Bogdan Kasperek were elected Executive Committee members of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students.

CSO: 2600/709

THESES OF SZSP EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE REPORT PUBLISHED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 10 May 82 p 3

[Theses presented at 809 May plenum of the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP)]

[Text] The attitudes of students vary from acceptance of the actions of the authorities to active struggle with the authorities and the destruction of the state. The majority of the student community exhibits no activity, for various reasons. "Internal emigration" is a result of conscious choice for only some of the students. For most, it is a reaction to disorientation in changing realities, lack of prospects, and unsolved problems of everyday existence. Many students feel that there are no conditions for any kind of social and political activity during martial law.

In recent days there have occurred illegal demonstrations, which in many cities turned into street clashes. Students also took part in them. As a result, there have been material losses, but above all social losses. We view these events unequivocally: They do not serve to stabilize the situation, do not favor the elimination of the rigors of martial law in favor of political methods of conducting social dialogue, and do not aid in the rebuilding of the democratic institutions of public life.

It is difficult to agree with the attempt to place unilateral blame for these events on the entire student community. Only a group of students participated. One cannot submit general appraisals on such a basis, nor can one create artificial barriers by dividing young Poles into students, workers, and peasants. It must be remembered that we are all responsible for the young generation--people, institutions, systems of upbringing.

Today, our motivation to activity is the complete and painful realization of the needs and problems which must be resolved in Poland. We are convinced that today--no less than before December--we need constructivism, innovation and criticism, features which have taken root in the SZSP. If normalization of the situation and the direction of further reforms, without which we as a country will not emerge from the crisis, are important to us, we must continue our broad political activity. This activity must be bold but judicious, taking account of reality.

We understand the political nature of our organization as involving: the protection of and participation in the formation of vocational and living opportunities for our community, the wider young generation, and the breaking down of the circle of impotence surrounding these questions; the creation of conditions for resuming open official political discussion--since the list of problems facing everyone today is a long one, we must resume this discussion with inevitable risk, but also with awareness of its usefulness; the assistance and implementation of civic initiatives serving schools, the community and society.

The actual political subjectivity of the SZSP is determined by a number of unsettled student affairs. They must quickly be resolved in the interest of the community, but also in the properly understood general social interest. Our organization cannot be a mere transmitter of opinion and cannot merely reflect student views and attitudes. The SZSP must mold values and views within its own community. Otherwise, it will lose its reason for being and will cease to be necessary to its own members and the rest of the student community.

We want to preserve the achievements and the good name of the SZSP. We have original projects and proposals, and also the possibility of programmatic actions. We also have many obstacles and troubles, which is the other side of SZSP reality. We will defend nothing, will solve no problem and will remove no obstacle if we do not make concrete, intensive activity and work our first order of business. We cannot allow strategic solutions in the sutdent movement, although they are very important and necessary, to blind us to the specific problems of everyday student life.

CSO: 2600/710

SOCIALIST UNION OF POLISH YOUTH LEADER INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTARDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16-18 Apr 82 p 4

[Interview with Tadeusz Sawic, chairman of the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP), by Jerzy Godula: "Continuity and Dialog"]

[Text] [Question] History has again taken the course that has made the SZSP the only student organization, just like in the 1970's.

[Answer] This is not true. In colleges, the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] is operational and the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] is trying to function. The Student Instructor Circles of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] also exist.

[Question] That is right, but you will not deny that the SZSP is--now that the NZS [Independent Association of Students] has been dissolved--the largest student organization and the only one that counts.

[Answer] This situation is temporary. Not only those several months between August 1980 and December 1981, but the 1970's as well have proved that the student community is too diversified for a single student organization to suffice. The SZSP virtually never included all students and even if at times it was close to that 'ideal,' a segment of the student community accepted membership in the organization without identifying themselves with its goals or program. We were aware of that, which can be verified by looking at the 'drop' [in membership] following each plenary session and consultative conference of the aktiv.

This lack of identification with the organization's goals on the part of a segment of the SZSP membership revealed itself--in reality, rather than in supposition--in the wake of August 1980. Actual world-view and political diversification of the student community was bound to lead to organizational pluralism under the new, favorable conditions. Organizations began to mushroom, on occasion composed of only a handful of members operating within the bounds of a single academic institution. In effect, it [omission; probably a remote reference to the NZS] constituted a sort of counterbalance to the SZSP with one organization operating for years within a pre-August 1980 formula, therefore a 'regime' one, opposed to the other, 'independent,' therefore 'anti-regime.'

[Question] It follows from what you said that the transformations of the student movement were affected solely by the overall political situation in the country. After August 1980, conditions simply developed that made growth of other organizations possible.

[Answer] That would be an impermissible simplification. Still, it should be noted that the changes in the student movement were a response--a direct response--to concepts in upbringing that were being practically implemented in academic institutions as well as elsewhere, and a response to the inconsiderable doses of independence in decision-making allowed in the political life and political structures in the past. To some extent, it was also a reaction to the inflow of information and fact, piecing together the picture of the country's actual--and dramatic--condition, an image that almost in its entirety differed from that contained in textbooks, handbooks and lectures.

I realize that this novel organizational situation in the student movement resulted, also, from the mistakes the SZSP itself committed. Nevertheless, it must be realized at the same time that new organizations would have arisen even if the SZSP's pre-August activities had been ideal, and even if the SZSP itself had been unimpreachable.

In simple terms, a significant segment of the student community, for various reasons disinclined to go into detail, had ascribed all the evil to the SZSP, as if a student organization could be held responsible for all the student problems that had not been solved and for virtually all errors committed in the policies targeted at youth, including academics, in higher education and culture, science and economy to boot. All told, such criticism was quite exaggerated....

[Question] ...at times, it was outright negation.

[Answer] Similarly, in the wake of August 1980 a segment of the student community were adamant in refusing to perceive that the SZSP, taking into account its membership's aspirations and realities, was changing its style and program of action. This process had begun as early as September 1980--very early in other words--at the SZSP Main Board Plenary Board session at Uniejow. Less than 3 months later, in December, third SZSP congress took place and precisely determined the organization's formula. At that congress, we recognized that our goal was to concentrate on all students who--regardless of their world outlook--were opting for socialism, to reinforce the state and economic, political and social reforms. We recognized that The SZSP, as a political organization, had the right to independently articulate its position on major issues concerning the country, the academic community and student population. We have sedulously availed ourselves of that right.

[Question] Your voice, however, did not always count.

[Answer] What does that mean--it did not count? It would be naive to think that the voice of any one organization should decide and resolve issues. This is not what participation in the political life is all about. In politics, realism is needed, rather than divine inspiration. To be sure, our

boice counted in the sense that it was being taken into account in society's thinking about solutions to particular issues, thus affecting the decisions that were made. We had our share in the work on the bill on higher education and the bill on censorship. We had our input in the creation of a new system for financial assistance to students and for employment of college graduates. There is a long list of similar examples.

[Question] How did SZSP membership respond to the decision to suspend SZSP's activities after the imposition of martial law?

[Answer] I cannot answer this question precisely. Their response varied. A segment of SZSP membership recognized the suspension as a logical and justified move, for why should one student organization be allowed to operate while all others are not? Other SZSP members saw this decision as a chance to uphold a minimum of SZSP's credibility in the student community, reasoning that the organization's suspension meant the SZSP had been a nuisance to the authorities and had not been acting as a yes-man only. Still others accepted the suspension as an act of distrust towards an organization which in the course of intense political strife, consistently defended the ideology of socialism and the established state structure, proclaiming itself in favor of constructive, sensible solutions based on the existing constitutional and legal order.

Still, after the imposition of martial law, the question I was asked the most frequently concerned SZSP leadership's efforts to have the organization recover its pre-suspension status.

[Question] The decision to resume SZSP's activities was made more than a month ago. What are you doing now? What are your intentions?

[Answer] We are fully obligated by the resolutions of the Third SZSP congress. Just as in the past, these resolutions determine principal directions of our activity in the student community. At the same time, of course, we must take into account the accumulated experience and new actualities in the country and in the universities.

[Question] In general, then, you put your stake on continuity.

[Answer] Exactly. Our program must be conducive to actualization of aspirations and to solving current problems in the student community regardless of future determinations about the student movement. This stems from the fact that the SZSP is today the only potential organizer of activity in the student community. We will meet our obligations that result from this realization.

[Question] I agree, but the future profile of the student movement also constitutes a problem now perturbing the student community. I confess that I accepted the decision to resume SZSP activity, among other things, by according the entire community an opportunity to extensively debate the issue. I thought that the union would, if possible, assume the role of organizer of such debate.

[Answer] Of course it will. After all, I said earlier, there is probably no need for me to explain any longer that we are opposed to returning to the pre-August situation. There are just no chances for a single monopolistic student organization to exist.

We believe that the premises for a new model of student movement to crystallize should be, on the one hand, intensified activity in ideology and upbringing along with consolidation of the student left and, on the other hand, evolution of the forms of representation of the student community and defense of its interests. Only this, or rather as much as this, can be said on this issue at this time.

Change in the organization's profile must simply become a topic for discussion in the student community, to be decided by students alone. This discussion will not be easy because the community is disintegrated. Many students are now on 'domestic emigration.'

Still, despite these difficulties, the search for new solutions and for generating dialog in the community is our inalienable obligation.

[Question] Let's return to current tasks of the SZSP.

[Answer] We want, without a doubt, to have our program create opportunities for active participation for the largest possible segment of student youth. We want to offer specified undertakings and initiatives, addressed to the entire community. We are not finding the fact that our goal is to recover, in many cases only to reinforce, the organization's credibility and acceptable. We will work on a 'wide front,' as we always have done.

[Question] What does this mean?

[Answer] This means, as I have said, that we are not giving up on any area of our former activity.

Let us use as an example student's financial conditions during college study and graduates' starting independent life. On behalf of the student community, or rather in the interest of the student community we are carrying on protracted consultations on a new system of scholarships. We do it obviously hoping for concrete results fairly soon. We are about to begin work on organizing volunteer student effort. We conduct up-to-date analyses of conditions under which graduates start their professional careers and we stimulate appropriate ministries for more productive efforts, so that young specialists graduating from colleges do not feel frustrated by the lack of suitable jobs--often only a superficial lack. The same is true with regard to study, instruction, culture, sports, tourism and foreign interface activities.

[Question] Speaking about study, for a long time now we have watched with some concern a loss of faith in study as a value in and by itself. Motivation for acquiring knowledge is being weakened. Yet, in my opinion, acquired knowledge is, despite everything, the only capital, invaluable capital, that

knowledge is, despite everything, the only capital, invaluable capital, that a graduate takes with him out of a college, no matter what his future and his problems with finding a job or getting an apartment.

[Answer] Are you trying to ask what a student organization can do in a similar situation? In all likelihood, not much, because study habits and attitudes toward the acquisition of knowledge are formed earlier, in primary school, or perhaps even before that, within the family.

One things is certain--a student organization must be concerned with curriculum levels and quality of classes. It must provide conditions for the development of student scientific movement and it must participate in the arranging of hands-on professional intership periods to synchronize them with the course of instruction syllabus and requirements of future workplace. In brief, we must take care that the school's instructional or, more broadly, course and research offerings are attractive to the student. Hence our participation in the work of the Sejm commissions developing the bill on higher education.

At the same time, we will fight for such changes in the country that it will simply become worth one's while to study, know and be able to do more. Academic study is, however, a demanding job these days. We believe that results of that job must have some impact on the conditions under which professional careers start, and on the graduates' advancement to independence in life.

[Question] There is one more issue concerning knowledge, in this case, it is social, political knowledge. There is no lack of examples proving that students--not only students, in fact--with appearances of expertise discuss complex economic or social problems and historical events, actually being completely ignorant on these issues. This may sound brutal, but it is the unfortunate truth. In place of substantive information and reasoned argument, one is confronted in such cases with a confession of faith: I know that that is the way it is, or should be, and I will not change my opinion.

[Answer] Unfortunately, I cannot argue with this statement. Much sociological research, including studies conducted by student scientific circles, indicates that the level of knowledge and sociopolitical awareness is actually unsatisfactory in the student community. This, of course, has not come out of nowhere. It is a mathematical result of numerous developments and processes. To mention a few: level of education, attitudes toward officially transmitted knowledge and values, verifiability of prioritized personality models, containment of young people in their own domain and preservation of their dependence and detachment from experiences of normal living.

There are some conclusions to be drawn from that by the SZSP. We certainly have to change SZSP's forms of political work into more effective ones, but we must not abandon them. We need--perhaps even more than we have before--ideological debates, scientific seminars, political action centers, leaflets and publications including the WORKSHOP magazine which presents some of the success and advances in young people's social thinking. We want the SZSP to

attract and focus leftist activities in social sciences and clubs of student journalists who should aid the student community to interpret difficult contemporary problems.

We want to discuss major national issues in a substantive manner, analyzing the past and, on this basis, formulating tentative solutions to current problems as well as offering future visions and scenarios.

[Question] How are these tasks to be accomplished? Is the organization unaffected by the constraints of martial law?

[Answer] These constraints do affect us but they do not render vigorous activity impossible. We are operating to achieve stabilization in the work of academic institutions because that stabilization in its turn provides us--and the entire student community--with a broader field of action.

[Question] To conclude, let me ask about an "inner logic" in the SZSP development. During the past several months, the organization has experienced controversy, divergent views, even ordinary quarrels and announcement of dissent versus adopted resolutions. In fact two trends were clashing. There were those who wanted the SZSP to be a politico-ideological organization, Marxist in character, while others wanted it to combine a formula of a political and a union organization. These two trends coexist even now. Which model do you prefer?

[Answer] Divisions, differences of opinion and controversy are a completely natural phenomenon in the life of any organization. Within the SZSP, the "argument about basic concepts" proceeded, and continues, on several levels: possibilities to combine the political function and allocation of resources when operating in these two areas and the crystallizing of ideological platforms. Inherent in the SZSP "argument about basic concepts" is the question of the future of the union and the student movement in Poland.

As to what model it will be, a statement will be made on this issue by the SZSP Chief Council, and decisions will be made, if needed, by the Fourth SZSP Congress. I will be merely a participant in the discussion.

8795
CSO: 2600/552

COVERAGE OF SCOUT UNION SUPREME COUNCIL PLENUM

Excerpts of Discussion

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 31 May 82 pp 1, 2

Article by Magda Rulska: "Plenary Meeting of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] Supreme Council. Upbringing Cannot Be an Experiment"]

> [Text] Can scouting help youth to find its place in Polish reality of the 1980's? How should it understand its role as the spokesman of children and youth? Generation conflict or a conflict of outlooks? Such were the main questions asked at the meeting of the members of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] Supreme Council, held in Warsaw on May 29 and 30.

The report by the commander-in-chief, Andrzej Ornat, presented the case clearly (theses of this presentation are published on p 2). The psychological condition of youth which includes students, is not good. Lack of faith in participation in social life, isolation in separate groups, engagement in often openly aggressive activities directed toward its own state, authorities and symbols prove the existence of flaws in the educational system. The council's members asked themselves what can be done to help the school-age youth find its place in this obviously complicated reality, to shake off its apathy, bitterness, lack of faith. Is this task commensurate with the strength of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP)? If it is, should not help in extrication from this impasse become a new and basic tenet of its role as a guardian of children's and youth's interests?

Not everybody agreed with such a far-reaching thesis. Too much attention is being given to nonscouts, those who participate in the union with "one foot" only, and to potential members of the organization. We should concentrate on those already in the union. Wojciech Wroblewski from Cracow has pursued this idea in another direction. We are working honestly with the scouts but at the same time we should not permit dismissal of young people, throwing them out of school because they have allowed emotions to take hold of them. Maybe it is a correct propagandistic action but it is not a proper one from the point of view of upbringing. To view this differently, if we do not also accept this kind of responsibility, if we silently accept such practices,

this would lead young people to adopt a passive life style, to ever-increasing isolation, possibly even to aggression.

"It is not so," many council members have protested. We are concerned with the causes of hostile attitudes, not with their results. We should be able to work with youth in a way that helps it in self-upbringing, so that it would be guided by a coherent system of values, not by emotions, the more so because youth feels these values intuitively, it loudly declares its pursuit of truth, justice, democracy. Joint pursuit of these values, openness of the union, its principles and ideals--provided they are clean and convincing, if the ideas match their implementation--would be a method to recruit those who cannot find their place, who have nothing to lean on, who lack authority.

We have a not significant weapon--the scout code. It includes a statement about the need of changing the world for better, about the need of fighting for a just cause, about the necessity of fighting against wrongs afflicting other people. This applies not only to the scouts, this applies to all people. To shun responsibility for the interests of the school youth would mean an impoverishment of the idea of scouting and would result in looking for distant tasks, while ignoring those in the immediate neighborhood.

A question was asked several times during the Saturday discussion whether we are not perhaps dealing with a generation conflict. Youth does not usually trust adults, it charges them for all that has happened in the country, it says: "It was you who have led us to this mess."

Wieslaw Pietruszak from Gorzow said: "I do not think that this is how this division runs. There is no conflict when the deeds match the words, where the upbringing, therefore also also the scounting work, is not just a sham, deception and verbiage." This thesis was seconded by Dariusz Fryczewski: "We are saying that the youth has assemed a 'no' position. But where do we, the instructors, stand? Don't we have among us such individuals who change their views overnight, who often are not able to figure out what is going on? Don't we encounter such individuals who only now have found a firm ground under their feet, who make loud noises--only now there is a true scounting, the previous one was always erring?"

Now Nowy Sacz council commander, Andrzej Guc, added: "The 'war' decisions of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing are a tragedy, they are a slap in the face for the teachers, educators, instructors. What have we actually done in order to prevent the youth from taking to the streets? We must admit that we must take part of the blame for this. Are we to restrict our role to that of the defenders of those who have erred? The motivations were varied. I have a boy, a scout. I know him well, we can probably vouch for him, not as a matter of principle but from a conviction that in this concrete case it would be educationally justified."

All the discussants agreed that the youth can be assisted only through truly educational activities and a responsible position of the adults. They, the instructors, should not "err" any more. "Let's stop upbringing experiments," said Adam Musielewicz. "Let's stop introducing novelties when our

motivation is a temporary euphoria. This does not serve the child, does not help to gain confidence, which is, after all, the foundation of a dialogue with the youngest ones, for their upbringing.

It was agreed that at the same time a myth of only one proper educational method should be discarded--a method to which whole generations, people linked by more or less fashionable views, adhere. We are dealing with the kind of youth that we deserve but it does not mean that we must yield a fight for it. The stick-and-carrot method, which is dominant in Polish education, should not apply to scouting. It has its own method of work; its goals are the same as the goals of the people's state; it has therefore a moral right to request respect and confidence for the scout method and, what is more important, its idea.

The resolution approved by the Supreme Council underlined the necessity of activation of the scout commands and instructors; shaping fighting attitudes, it noted a need for a more uncompromised stand and a will to change everything that is bad in life, organization and society. The resolution states that the instructor must be receptive to the causes and problems of the youth, he must present them honestly and participate in their solution. The resolution makes the scout educators particularly responsible for the care of young people in their milieus, for ensuring that they are protected against the influence of irresponsible individuals who would like to use the youth for their political aims. The resolution states that those who are under detention should be given the necessary assistance after their release from the detention centers; they should be helped in their social adaptation.

Sunday was devoted to the evaluation of the union's work during the year since Seventh Congress of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP). It was a historic congress. The resolutions adopted by it have safeguarded the unity of the union and strengthened the scouting upbringing ideal as well as the social character of this organization. The Polish Scout Union (ZHP) was the target of strong and politically significant pressure by the extremist antisocial groups, which attempted to change the ideological orientation of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP) and to splinter it. In spite of these difficulties the organization survived the past year in good shape. Although its ranks are thinner, those who can reform the union and make it stronger remained.

In a secret ballot the decisive majority of the Supreme Council expressed a vote of confidence in the Presidium of the Supreme Council and the Headquarters of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP).

Thesis of Report

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 31 May 82 p 2

[Text] We are facing a particular kind of duality of youth's attitudes toward socialism. On one side, it identifies it with all that is evil in the history of People's Poland; on the other side, it believes in the need for implementation of the main values of socialism, such as equality, social justice, authentic democracy.

The Polish Scout Union (ZHP) wants to gain youth's allegiance for the fatherland by means of the systematic ideology-upbringing work, not necessarily always stressing that the values that we are following are socialist values. Verbosity should be avoided.

The Polish Scout Union (ZHP) trusts that society, the party and the state would display confidence in the union's methods of influencing the youth. This attitude should be expressed not through declarations but through the necessary help in the union's daily work with children and youth.

The Polish Scout Union (ZHP) wants to remain an union ready to solve the problems of the school-age children and youth, not only scouts' problems. One of the measures of this activity is the representation of the interests of children and youth, which is a particular expression of scout service.

The ideological and programmatic decisions of the Supreme Council meeting will be presented to the Ninth Plenary Meeting of the PZPR Central Committee. The scout instructors must demonstrate the activity and problems of children and youth to the state and party authorities as well as at the forums of other organizations.

9544
CSO: 2600/661

COMMUNICATIONS OFFICER DISCUSSES ROLE, ACTIVITIES

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 7, 8, 9 May 82 p 5

[Interview with Capt Witold Stolarczyk by Bernard Walenski, date and place not given: "We See the Man Under the Uniform"]

/Text/ Captain Witold Stolarczyk is the commander of a signal subunit in one of the units of 10 Sudeten Tank Division named after the Heroes of the Soviet Army. According to his superior, he is an exemplary educator for soldiers.

/Question/ What led you to become an officer?

/Answer/ I graduated from a technical school and certainly could have opted for a job I had received training for. However, the armed forces appealed to me. Ultimately, two factors were responsible for my going to an officer school. Firstly, while receiving vocational training, I lived at a boarding school. I got accustomed to life in a group and could easily imagine my place in a military entity. Secondly, I graduated from school in Lodz and we were offered jobs only in the city or in the immediate vicinity, whereas I wanted a change in climate.

/Question/ Were family traditions a factor?

/Answer/ No. For as many generations as memories of our family go back, I have been the first professional soldier. My father did not serve in the army at all because of an illness.

/Question/ How did a family with so little military background receive your decision?

/Answer/ My mother was horrified. She associated military service with great danger.

/Question/ Is it not so?

/Answer/ For a long time, it was not, at least not in practice.

/Question/ Are you married?

/Answer/ Yes. I have a six-year-old daughter and a four-year-old son. He is fascinated with the army.

/Question/ Does your wife have the fears your mother used to?

/Answer/ The man she married was an officer.

/Question/ But she did not know that 13 December would come about...

/Answer/ Early that day, there was shock and tears. Luckily for me, it was over the phone, because I did not even have the time to say good-bye. It is good that it happened the way it did, because I would not have known what and how to say in such a situation. After a couple of weeks, it became easier.

/Question/ How about the children?

/Answer/ It is the fate of officers' children to be accustomed to a temporary absence of their father. My wife told them I was at the training grounds.

/Question/ Perhaps, they did not believe it, because nowadays even children in day care centers get involved in politics.

/Answer/ As a matter of fact, my daughter heard about "the war." She asked me questions about it during my first visit home.

/Question/ How were these questions worded?

/Answer/ They were naive, but troublesome for me. For example, she asked me about who I was killing at the war and whether Germans were involved...

/Question/ How did you answer?

/Answer/ Well, I told her that shooting and killing are not what this war is about, but rather being on the lookout for rascals and pilferers in order to have quiet everywhere, because when the army is out of force, the rascals are afraid and do not make mischief.

/Question/ Did you convince your daughter?

/Answer/ My daughter--yes.

/Question/ And your enlisted men?

/Answer/ We did not talk to the enlisted men about the rascals, or rather not only about them. Anyway, we did not generally talk much on 13 December. Earlier, there was a systematic and in-depth effort to explain and interpret the new situation in the country after August 1980. Like the majority of our society, the soldiers wanted changes in the country, but they were not blinded, they were not contaminated by the poison of hatred for anything that stands for the state, party or socialism. Being somehow on the sidelines of Polish

events, the enlisted men were aware of the destructive and dangerous work of the leaders of the already open opposition. Therefore, they fulfilled the tasks with which they were charged on 13 December with full confidence in the righteousness of these tasks. This conviction was further reinforced in the following days of December which were not easy for the soldiers for many reasons.

/Question/ Part of those who were soldiers at the time are wearing civilian clothes these days. Others have put on uniforms, the ones whose attitudes brought on the imposition of martial law...

/Answer/ I don't want to generalize. However, on the basis of experience with my own subunit I can assure you that these young people, often entangled in various undertakings, are not enemies of socialist Poland. Nonetheless, they are aware of the fact that their enthusiasm for the program of changes has been skillfully exploited by somebody else to ends absolutely different from those officially declared. However, they came to this realization a little bit too late.

/Question/ Can an officer influence and does he influence in practice the attitudes of soldiers?

/Answer/ This is a duty of the commanding officer. It is his task to give the soldier purely military training while at the same time shape and mold his personality. These two activities must be coupled. For this purpose, the commander must come to know his soldiers intimately, comprehensively and from the very beginning. I do it mainly during sincere one-on-one talks. We talk about everything--personal matters, hobbies, family situation. If the conversation is skillfully managed, the soldier opens up before the officer. An experienced officer is able to draw conclusions from that as how to further approach the soldier. Each one is different, everyone should be assigned his individual duties, depending on his moral and physical predisposition, but in such a way that everybody can fulfill his task well. The attitude of the commanding officer is also important, such as his personal example, military professionalism, discipline, veracity and fair treatment of all soldiers.

/Question/ I would admit that the individual approach to soldiers and simultaneous fair treatment are in conflict in this case. A unit is a group unified by similar uniforms which receives one order rather than a dozen at once.

/Answer/ That is correct, provided however, that the commanding officer must see the young man under the uniform. This is the basis for the most important change in values in our armed forces over the 15 years I have been in the service. No longer is there the anecdotal soulless corporal, no longer is there drill, which is not to say that there is no discipline. However, discipline is ensured by totally different methods. I would say that marked humanization of the armed forces and the service has come about. Nowadays, a different breed of young people comes to the army, which is physically weaker and psychologically more delicate. This had to be reflected in manuals and service regulations, in the entire process of training soldiers. Besides, our armed forces today are a much more democratic institution.

[Question] ...where a corporal can give an order to a captain?

[Answer] Certainly, this is not the essence of democratization.

[Question] Then what is?

[Answer] The right of each enlisted man and officer to take part in decision-making. To be sure, once a decision has been made, the order is mandatory. To elucidate this I should dwell at length on this subject. I will reduce it to the statement that in today's army it is not only the order that matters, but the man has a considerable say regardless of his rank. Factors of social influence, as we call them, mainly party and youth organizations play an important role in democratizing the army.

[Question] I find it difficult to believe that at a party meeting a private first class, for example, criticizes a lieutenant.

[Answer] To be sure, military ranks are a certain barrier to criticism. However, if a soldier refers critically to a certain issue at a party meeting, for us this is identical with criticizing the person, often an officer, in charge of this issue. The environment in the unit, the attitude of the commander towards officers and enlisted men are important. In our unit, these are very good.

[Question] If you were to promote officer schools, which arguments would you use?

[Answer] At first, I would like to get acquainted with candidates, because I would not talk everybody into going to an officer school. If I would, I would primarily say that the armed forces give exceptional growth opportunities to able and ambitious men.

[Question] How come some officers 40-plus years age get promoted to generals, whereas others retire with the rank of captain?

[Answer] It is determined by selection, in the good meaning of this word. The best move up, they take advantage of various privileges and they can indeed become even generals, if they do not let the opportunity that is given to them slip by. On the other hand, family and other considerations often become an impediment in one's career.

[Question] Let us say the calendar has been set back by 15 years and you are taking your high school graduation exams. Would you still make the same choice?

[Answer] Yes, I would still choose an officer school, however I would change my profession.

[Question] Don't you like the signal service?

/Answer/ I would not put it that way. However, this is an exceptionally difficult service, though a very interesting one, because it is constantly modernized. During my time in the service, the equipment pool of communications in the armed forces has been totally replaced.

/Question/ Does the national economy draw benefits from this?

/Answer/ Considerable benefits, I suppose. Every year we release to the economy many well-trained specialists. Radio operators are especially sought after, for example by the PKP /State Polish Railways/ and civil aviation. Radio technicians are also eagerly accepted by service shops upon discharge from the army.

/Question/ If I asked the first soldier I meet in the barracks about Capt Betlej (for the information of our readers, he is a hero of 10 Sudeten Division)--would he be able to tell me something about him?

/Answer/ I cannot vouch for everyone. We attach great importance to soldiers gaining knowledge of heroic traditions of the division and its particular regiments. Our tradition room is a very frequently visited place. We celebrate regimental holidays. We frequently host veterans of our division from the war period. Soldiers know the history of the division, but, as is the case usually, some know it better, others--worse.

/Question/ What wishes can we address to an officer of the Polish Armed Forces on the eve of a holiday such as Victory Day?

/Answer/ Health, because we need a lot of energy and physical fitness. And also quiet, so that the officer be able to improve his skills and train his subordinate enlisted men well. Also--and this is a wish not only for those in the military--the wish that we, people in military uniforms, will never again have to be employed in the country in the capacity we have been since 13 December.

/Question/ Please, accept these wishes.

9761
CSO: 2600/681

RESERVISTS' PRIVILEGES, ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED

Assistance Rendered

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 4 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Major Jerzy Komotajtis, member of the Provincial Military Staff Headquarters in Lublin by staff writer Slawomir Nadlonek: "On Assistance Rendered to the Reservists." Date and place not stated.]

> [Text] As it is well known, the group of third-year class soldiers who served on extended active duty, in excess of the obligatory term of service, have been granted certain privileges authorized by the highest military authorities, as a way of recognizing their exemplary and responsible attitude and activity in defending the country. These privileges include, a priority in employment opportunities of reservists and access to military or civilian higher studies.

We are talking today with Major Jerzy Komotajtis, member of the Provincial Military Staff Headquarters [WSzW] in Lublin, regarding the realization of the promises made to those soldiers--now reservists.

[Question] Let us start with the basic subject. Do the WSzW and the Military Recruitment Stations [WKU] have the detailed information concerning the needs and interests of the reservists who have recently completed their active duty obligation?

[Answer] We do have complete knowledge of the situation in this respect. These soldiers, prior to leaving the military service, expressed their wishes by filling out a so-called questionnaire of needs. There they have precisely stated their requests and intentions. Some of them expressed a desire to return to their old employment. Another group has decided to continue their education in intermediate schools, perhaps in higher military or civilian academies. There also were those who requested assistance in acquiring controlled merchandise (for example furniture, construction materials, etc.). Those questionnaires have been passed on to their respective WKU which are obligated to render assistance to the reservists. To this aim the WKUs have undertaken close collaboration with the voivodship and territorial

authorities. Here in the Lublin voivodship this collaboration functions very well. As to us, we have not encountered any difficulties from the local authorities, administration or places of employment.

/Question/ What is the most common problem with which the reservists come to you?

/Answer/ It has mostly to do with admission, or acceptance to either the old or a new place of employment or an institution of higher learning. There are, of course, other problems. Some of those involve requests for allocation of housing or for assistance to purchase controlled goods.

/Question/ Would you say that the reservists who come to you depart satisfied with the assistance, or advice given to them?

/Answer/ I believe so. Practically all these problems--except for housing which, being especially difficult, demands separate handling--are treated on the spot. Until now, we have not encountered any difficulties, or obstacles from the administration or the places of employment as it pertains to obtaining work for the reservists. From the reservists themselves we had no indications of improper dealing with their requests or efforts. I would like to note that some 70 percent of reservists have returned to their old places of employment.

/Question/ A portion of the reservists, those with intermediate education, have decided to continue their studies in military or civilian institutions of learning...

/Answer/ They have priority in receiving admission. They are relieved from the requirements of entrance examinations in both military and civilian institutions. Of course, they must satisfy the prerequisites such as health, this is a basic requisite for admission to military schools. Those reservists who intend to study, direct their requests to the corresponding WKU which pass them on to the appropriate directors of military studies, the WKUs are obligated to assist them.

/Question/ In what way do you intend to control the practical aspects of granting the rights given to the soldiers of the third-year class group?

/Answer/ We always have, and we shall continue to maintain contact with them through duty channels. They are also well aware of the fact that they can turn to us for assistance in all cases, whenver they need it. They can also count on assistance from the military operational groups. There is no fear that we may forget them. The Army always keeps its word.

Community Activities

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 28 May 82 p 5

/Article by staff correspondent, 2nd Lt Tadeusz Pieklo: "In the Przemysl Garrison" "Reserve Officers--Social Activists."/

/Text/ Reserve officers, banded together in the Union of Former Professional Soldiers /ZBZZ/ in Przemysl, have several accomplishments to their credit. Their efforts are mounting, particularly in the current times. They conduct their socially beneficial activities mostly in places of employment, housing settlements and the area of middle schools of this city on the banks of the San river /Przemysl/.

The Citizens' Committee for Salvation and National Accord /OKOiPN/ was formed in Przemysl at the beginning of February 1982. Among the several dozens of the Committee members were also many reserve officers. They were also among the members of the six sub-committees, made up of the committee, to deal with emerging pressing questions in the area. On their initiative territorial OKOiPN branches were also formed in 14 places of employment and city districts.

Lt Col John Orlos informed us about the activities of the reserve officers in the Przemysl OKOiPN. The officers have participated actively in the preparation of an appeal to the populace and in preparation of the committee activity program. Today, as part of the everyday activity, they take part in dealing with and solving of many of the most burning problems of their regions. For example, in education and child rearing, health and social care services, commerce and utilities, regional economy, environmental protection and adherence to the public law and order.

Today, one may say without exaggeration, that after 3 months of operation, thanks to the efforts and expertise of the reserve officers, many important questions of life of the Przemysl populace have been successfully resolved. The organization of commerce in the city has improved. Distribution of parcels from the Polish Red Cross has been facilitated. The degree of public compliance with law and order measures has grown. Currently the reserve officers--members of the Przemysl OKOiPN--are looking into a matter of a local medical cooperative which, in the opinion of the patients, has established excessive payment rates for specialist visiting services.

Every day brings in dozens of new matters. Despite the fact that during the long years of duty and service their health has deteriorated, the reserve officers are sparing no effort in order to discharge their public duties in the best way possible. However, as it pertains to the housing situation, there is not much that can be accomplished. For many years this situation has been extremely difficult in this thousand year old city on the banks of the San river.

Reserve officers, members of the law enforcement sub-committee, make dozens of visits to places of employment and cooperate systematically with the law enforcement authorities. Others, for instance from the education and child rearing sub-committee, have attended dozens of meetings--to date--with the middle school youth of Przemysl. Of particular note, in this respect, are Col (Reserve) Henryk Glogowski, Col (Reserve) Stanislaw Olichwirowicz and Lt Col (Reserve) Stanislaw Glab.

A month ago, the reserve officers have enthusiastically joined the action sponsored by ZYCIE PRZEMYSKIE (a weekly magazine)--a kindergarten

construction project--conducted by the readers of the magazine. Some years ago such a kindergarten was founded by the readers of ZYCIE PRZEMYSKIE, it is still serving our youngest citizens well. Unfortunately, many children still cannot find space in a kindergarten. The reserve officers campaign their cause at the city hall, to get a good location for the facility they are popularizing the construction idea and to support to awaken public generosity for this wonderful project.

9511
CSO: 2600/682

BRIEFS

BIALA PODLASKA GOVERNOR RESIGNS--The chairman of the Council of Ministers accepted the resignation of Jozef Piela and recalled him from his post as Biala Podlaska governor in connection with his intention to retire. [Text] [AU132056 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 May 82 p 5]

NEW UNDERSECRETARIES OF STATE--The chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Dr Izydor Adamski undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Culture and Art, and Dr Habilitatus Andrzej Dorosz undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Trade. [AU132056 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 May 82 p 4]

FIRES SPREAD IN POLAND--The chief command of the firefighting service has announced that a violent increase in the number of fires has been noticed in the country. There are at least 100 fires every day. In Brodzikow (Olsztyn Voivodship) a spark caused by welding operations ignited a piggery in which 380 piglets were houses. Preliminary estimates value the loss of these piglets at 1,200 thousand zlotys. A private synthetics plant was set on fire by a burning cigarette butt. As a result, raw materials and finished products were destroyed and Aleksander K., 45, suffered serious burns. [Text] [AU132056 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 May 82 p 6]

ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION--The Main Statistical Office's analysis of alcohol consumption in 1981 shows that the consumption of hard drinks in 1981 was much lower than in 1980: the per capita consumption of 100 percent alcohol amounted to 8.4 liters in 1980 and to 6.4 liters in 1981. Adults and young people over 16 each consumed 8.6 liters of pure alcohol in 1981, which was 2.8 liters fewer than in 1980. [AU201536 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 May 82 p 5]

INCREASE IN FIRES--This year there have so far been over 10,000 fires in Poland, which is 23.3 percent more than in the same period last year. Agriculture suffers most from the damage caused by fires and accounts for 36.5 percent of all fires. Of the 36.5 percent in question, 17.5 percent account for fires in houses and 11.5 percent for fires in forests. The damage caused by fires in the first 4 months of this year cost 885 million zlotys. [AU201536 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 May 82 p 2]

STATE FLAG PROFANATION--Andrzej W., age 34, and Jozef K., age 26, who had torn to pieces a State flag while drunk in Krakow and used it to polish their shoes, were sentenced to 12 and to 16 months in prison, respectively. [AU201536 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 May 82 p 5]

CEMETERY DESECRATION IN OLSZTYN--On 14-15 May unknown individuals desecrated 40 graves at the Olsztyn communal cemetery. The most damage was done to the mausoleum of the meritorious Citizens' Militia and Security Service (SB) functionaries. An investigation is underway. [Text] [AU201536 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 May 82 p 5]

ARREST OF LEAFLET DISTRIBUTOR--A Citizens' Militia (MO) patrol arrested Janusz P., a senior assistant of the Physics Department of Wroclaw University and a member of Solidarity, in Wroclaw in the area of Ulica (Street) Legnicka as he was pasting walls with leaflest. He had 300 leaflets on him, some of which were calling for a nationwide protest strike. [AU201536 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 May 82 p 5]

HAVANA RESEARCH CENTER DELEGATION--At the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee's Institute of Basic Marxist-Leninist Problems [IPPM-L], a two-person delegation from the Research Center on Western Europe in Havana visited Poland. Gustavo Mazorra Hernandez, the Western Europe research center's director, and Jerzy Wiatr, the director of the IPPM-L, signed a 5-year agreement on cooperation. [AU231618 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 May 82 p 2]

LOK APPOINTMENTS--In connection with the appointment of Gen of Division Zygmunt Huszcza as chairman of the National Defense League [LOK] main board, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has placed Gen Huszcza at the disposal of the Ministry of National Defense while simultaneously removing him from his previous post as undersecretary of state at the Ministry for Education and Upbringing. On the recommendation of the minister for education and upbringing, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Gen of Division Jan Czapla undersecretary of state in this ministry. [AU231618 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 May 82 p 2]

ZSMP ANTI-ISRAEL RESOLUTION--The Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] has adopted a resolution expressing its firm opposition to and condemnation of Israel's policy of invasion, which is supported by the international forces of imperialism and reaction. The resolution states, i.a.: "We support with all our might the Palestinian people, who, under the leadership of the PLO, are waging a persistent struggle for the full realization of their right to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state. We demand the establishment of a lasting peace in the Near East, one that eliminates the sources of conflict in that region that constitute a threat to world peace. We appeal to all progressive and peace-loving organizations and social movements in the world to render full support to the demands of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, and to resolutely condemn Israeli aggression." [Text] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 18-20 Jun 82 p 2]

CSO: 2600/714

END

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9 July 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2031

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9 July 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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TRADE UNION RESOLUTION ON AGRICULTURE

AU202046 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 10 Jun 82 p 3

[Resolution of the ninth congress of Albanian trade unions on the tasks of the trade union organizations of agricultural workers in implementing the tasks of the Eighth AWP Congress--approved in Tirana on 9 June]

[Text] We, the delegates of the ninth congress of Albanian trade unions representing the agricultural working class, meeting in a special section, inspired by the message of greetings addressed to his congress by the AWP Central Committee, and having acquainted ourselves with the report delivered to the congress by Comrade Rita Marko in the name of the plenum of the Albanian Trade Unions Central Council, declare ourselves to be in full solidarity and steel-like unity around the party and its Central Committee led by Comrade Enver Hoxha. We declare that in the future, too, we will exert all our efforts to successfully fulfill all the objectives set by the ninth congress of the Albanian trade unions and the Eighth AWP Congress for the development, intensification and constant progress of our socialist agriculture, as a primary branch of our people's economy.

In implementing the party's agrarian policy, the agricultural trade unions have intensified their work for ideopolitical education, the elevation of consciousness, and the mobilization and development of the creative thinking of the workers in order to fulfill the tasks set out by the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Implementing the very important task set by the Eighth AWP Congress, the working class in the agricultural enterprises have added to their achievements in 1981 and particularly during the first 5 months of the current year. Increases were attained last year in both agricultural and livestock products. Compared with the previous year, the agricultural enterprises produced more grain, industrial crops, meat, milk, vegetables, fruit and so forth.

The directives for the Seventh Five-Year Plan confront the agricultural workers with important tasks in increasing production. The trade union organizations will, therefore, intensify their geopolitical work with the agricultural workers, that they may profoundly understand and implement the party's important directive concerning the development of agriculture, which is to be achieved relying entirely on our own forces. They will combat manifestations of unilateralism that are observed. They will implant a deep belief in the need

to fulfill the plan under all headings, giving priority to reducing production costs and increasing profitability through the active participation of the working people in carrying out economic and financial analyses in order to eliminate the losses incurred by some enterprises and branches.

1. Particular attention will be devoted everywhere to strongly developing socialist emulation on the basis of studying, generalizing and disseminating advanced experience, this being a great reserve for the fulfillment of tasks. The revolutionary initiatives of working collectives are to be stimulated everywhere, and a serious stand will be adopted toward them. Moral stimuli are to be used everywhere.

The good results and initiatives and pledges of the Maliq and "Clirimi" agricultural enterprises in grain production; of the Vrine agricultural enterprise to achieve this year the corn and sunflower yields planned for 1985; the initiative of the Cerme sector of the "29 November" agricultural enterprise and of the center sector of the "Red Star" agricultural enterprise in Kames to achieve yields of 4,500-5,000 liters of milk per cow; the initiative of the "17 November" agricultural enterprise for the production of vegetables; of the Diber,Berat and Lukove enterprises for the production of fruit, and of the Vlore motor tractor station to fulfill the five-year plan in 4 years and 6 months, are to serve as an example to everyone in fulfilling and overfulfilling the planned tasks in all agricultural enterprises.

2. The directives of the Eighth AWP Congress for the Seventh Five-Year Plan in the agricultural sector will be achieved like never before through intensification. The fact that 90 percent of the increase in total agricultural production will be achieved by increasing yields requires that agriculture be better placed on a scientific base. This means that the trade union organizations must make every effort to further deepen the technical and scientific revolution, and must better support and stimulate the creative thinking of the masses in the scientific organization and management of production, widely implementing advanced experience and technologies and the results of scientific experimentation.

The fulfillment of the tasks on increasing production makes it more essential than ever before to activate the working people and specialists in the scientific treatment of the soil by improving landscaping, drainage, irrigation, fertilization and so forth; to raise its fertility; to improve breeds; to improve work with livestock and its fodder base; to extend horticulture, fill in gaps in the plantations and increase yields; and to transform forestry enterprises into complex economic units.

3. Attaining planned yields at the lowest possible cost, particularly in the production of grain, vegetables, fodder crops and in the production of meat, milk and some industrial crops, as well as increased accumulation, confront the agricultural trade unions with the need to intensify their educational work with the working people, so that they may utilize the material base to the maximum and as effectively as possible, increase mechanization, and strengthen the regimen of thrift and the utilization of raw and ancillary materials in accordance with correct criteria.

The example of the motor tractor stations of the Sarande and Shkoder districts in maintaining and fully utilizing the stock of machinery, and in increasing their load work in order to reduce the time schedules of various operations as an important technological factor in the intensification of agricultural production, is to be followed.

4. In the framework of the general intensification of agriculture, the trade union organizations are confronted with special tasks to give priority to the intensification of agriculture in the most fertile plains of the country. The intensification of production in this area requires raising the level of educational work carried out in order to implant a correct world outlook among the workers, specialists and cadres concerning the great possibilities and reserves existing everywhere to raise yields through a fuller utilization of the existing material and technical base and the scientific implementation of agrotechnical measures.

5. The trade union organizations are to better and more continuously tackle problems pertaining to the technical and vocational qualification of the workers, in order to fully implement the instruction given by the Eighth AWP Congress that our society requires knowledgeable people, with a broad professional horizon, competent technicians, organizers and managers, passionate scholars and creators.

The trade unions must pay particular attention to perfecting the forms for the qualification of the workers and their continual training, so that they may better meet the demands of the current stage of intensive development of our agriculture. Manifestations of formalism and the underrating of this, which are observed in the development of the various forms of qualification and in the courses, must be combatted everywhere.

6. The trade union organizations in the motor tractor stations, soil improvement and water conservancy boards and in the agricultural research institutions must consider their tasks as being fulfilled only when the enterprises and cooperatives where they are serving have fulfilled their agricultural and livestock plans under all headings, carrying out a more scientifically-based effort in the current five-year period. At the same time this requires a more and more responsible systematic follow up of contract relations in order to carry out every work process in good time and with high quality. Periodic checks and comparisons are to be made in order to prevent violations in schedules and nonfulfillment of tasks.

7. The education of the workers in a socialist attitude toward work and property remains a fundamental task of the trade union organizations. They must further raise the consciousness and mobilize all members in fulfilling the tasks for developing agriculture on the road of socialism.

The work of the trade union organizations to constantly strengthen common socialist property, to protect and administer this property, and to properly utilize all material and monetary values in order to increase production and ensure a high degree of economic effectiveness must be further improved. Petty bourgeois concepts and attitudes are to be opposed to prevent damage and misuse of socialist property.

8. All the work of the trade union organizations in the agricultural enterprises and sectors should serve to implement the correct agrarian Marxist-Leninist policy pursued by our party in strengthening and reinforcing the alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry.

9. The trade union organizations should further improve their work methods so that they will better serve the revolutionary class education of the working masses, perfect work organization and management, strengthen proletariat discipline at work, expand and perfect norms, have all agricultural workers realize their norms, better utilize work time and increase its effectiveness.

In order to successfully realize the tasks set by the ninth Albanian trade union congress to implement the decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress, the trade union organizations' work and role as important party levers to educate the workers in a revolutionary way, and mobilize them, must be raised further. This is a major factor in realizing and overfulfilling the plan's objectives to increase agricultural and livestock products.

This resolution should be worked out by September 1982 in the local councils and the trade union organizations of agricultural workers.

[Signed] The Ninth Albanian Trade Union Congress

CSO: 2100/67

TRADE UNION RESOLUTION ON SOCIAL SECTORS

AU221545 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 10 Jun 82 p 4

[Resolution of the Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions on the tasks of the trade union organization of education, culture, health and trade workers in implementing the tasks of the Eighth AWP Congress--approved in Tirana on 9 June]

[Text] Inspired by the great ideas of the Eighth AWP Congress, its clear objectives and secure prospects opened by its historic decision, the workers of education, culture, health and trade have further raised their feelings of responsibility and work with greater mobilization to fulfill the set tasks for continually raising the workers' educational and cultural standard, preserving and strengthening the people's health and comprehensively improving trade services.

The achieved results in these fields are incomparable. But the Eighth AWP Congress and the Central Committee's programmatic greeting addressed to the Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions determined that raising the quality of work was to be a fundamental task in all sectors.

To implement these directives the Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions has directed the trade union organizations and all workers of education, culture, health and trade to concentrate their attention and work in the following directions:

1. To intensify all ideopolitical work with all education, culture, health and trade workers so that the suggestion of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the party to have the working man and the fulfillment of his material and cultural needs at the center of attention will always be implemented everywhere.

2. The trade union organizations of education must devote their attention to implementing the direction of the Eighth AWP Congress to raise the quality of schools, the teaching process' scientific standards, its productivity and efficiency so that it will better meet increasing needs and demands.

The work in schools must be raised to a higher level to furnish the younger generation with contemporary knowledge, better and more quickly embodying in school programs and texts new achievements in science and production. [as printed]

They must better work to prepare pupils for work and life, devoting care to the formation of their practical abilities and technical intuition on the basis of a wider theoretical horizon. To educate and cultivate the younger generation for work and defense, the tie between learning and life and the practice of productive work must be further strengthened.

Better work than at present must be done to further consolidate secondary professional education. Special attention must be paid to agricultural schools and those attended by workers to raise their quality and discipline.

3. Educational problems in schools should be looked at in close connection with the school's own preoccupations. The trade union organizations should become more involved in strengthening discipline, raising the teaching process' scientific standard and qualification and disseminating progressive experience.

Special attention should be paid to perfecting the teacher's moral-political character; raising their ideological and professional standard to widen the cultural and scientific horizon and raise teaching mastery; and struggling against formalism, liberalism and the spirit of being easily satisfied.

4. The trade union organizations of the Ministry of Education and other institutions must strengthen their cooperation with the trade union organizations of the departments in order to train specialists having a secondary and higher education; they must better engage themselves in determining subjects, drafting plans, programs and so forth.

The schools should draw on social ideas and opinion to cultivate pupils, schools and student youth with the healthy characteristics of the educated.

Cooperation must be further improved between the trade union organizations and the organs of education, directories of pedagogic councils and youth organizations in schools so that the pupils' and students' voice--their ideas and observations--on the school's progress will be listened to more closely. Cooperative measures with the trade union organizations in work and production centers must be taken to enrich the school's material base.

5. In all our cultural activity we must take into consideration that strengthening the proletarian party spirit, socialist class spirit and the national characteristics of our culture assumes a special importance and acuteness in the present conditions of the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement.

6. Special attention must be paid to raising the quality of creativity and cultural-artistic activity. Art and culture workers must continually work to raise their ideological, cultural, scientific and professional level.

Artists, writers and all cultural workers must lead an active life amidst the masses to better know life and better reflect current themes and treat large contemporary problems.

7. The trade union organizations in the press sections, publishing houses, radio-television, and cultural-artistic institutions should work to create a warmer, more creative atmosphere everywhere, using various discussions, direct contacts with the masses and fruitful exchange of experience through the most varied forms. The cultural-artistic institutions should continually aid in a qualified way the amateur artistic movement so that its artistic level will be further raised and should not be carried out in campaigns.

The trade union organizations and workers must show greater care to increase their influence to further raise culture in life, rapidly develop culture in villages, acquaint and disseminate scientific knowledge, further develop the amateur artistic movement and so forth.

The workers of cultural institutions should show special care for their work with books, press, artistic and scientific films and other things in order to spread wide and necessary knowledge among the masses, organize technical-scientific information, extend production propaganda, and disseminate progressive experience in every field, ensuring a wider cooperation with the mass organizations, specialists cadres and vanguard workers.

Priority work should be done to enliven cultural-artistic activity in the centers where there is a large group of workers, in the most important sectors such as oil, mines and sawmills where there are more workers living in villages and so forth.

8. More attention should be paid to the workers' free time, holding various cultural-artistic and sports activities, evening meetings to spread the best experience and political and scientific information, and meetings with writers, artists and scientists.

Actions should be taken to create educational and entertaining environments and to construct libraries and museums in enterprises. Continual work must be done to create the best sports terrains to qualitatively raise and place on a more massive scale the physical-cultural and sports movement. The trade union organizations should exercise better control to realize approved state funds to develop culture, sports and so forth.

9. Health workers have important tasks to strengthen and preserve the people's health. Implementing the principle of prevention, special attention should be paid to improving hygienic and sanitary conditions and raising the workers' standard of health knowledge.

Health propaganda should be continually accompanied with concrete actions to create everywhere the most cultured environments.

The trade union organizations should better work to raise the workers' feelings of responsibility for their tasks and to raise everywhere the quality of health services and treatments, to rehabilitate those who are ill with the most progressive methods, to raise on a higher level dental, pharmaceutical and to do other services.

10. Attention should be paid to strengthen preventive measures, extend health services especially in the villages and raise mother and child care and the scientific level of medical services.

11. Health service in the enterprise should be further extended and intensified. Cooperation with the trade union organizations of work and production centers should be further strengthened to further intensify preventive work, showing care for the work environment, technical security and protection at work, to intensify measures to prevent professional illnesses and so forth. These things should lead to considerably lower periodical inefficiency at work.

12. The main task of the trade union organizations of trade is to educate workers to further raise their moral character so that they fully deserve the honorable name "servant of the people." For this, educational work should be built on the basis of deeper knowledge of the situation, psychology and so forth. Alien manifestations should be combatted such as unequal services, unconcern toward property, unattractive behavior with buyers and so forth.

The trade union organizations of the trade sector in their work should devote special attention to contact with the masses to exercise a continual control with the aim of raising the quality of services, knowing and better fulfilling people's demands, improving the culture of services and so forth.

The workers and trade unions organizations of trade which work in the large projects, deep zones, in oil, mining, sawmills and other places should raise their responsibility for cultural services and create the best living conditions for workers.

13. Trade workers should carry out more organized work in cooperation with the other economic organs to prevent low-quality products and the creation of stocks, and to distribute in time necessary goods of quality and variety to the people.

14. Special attention should be paid to the trade of goods in villages to better support the initiatives and measures recently implemented for the further narrowing of the cooperativist plots and the herding together of livestock.

15. To accomplish these tasks, it is important to further enliven the activity of the trade unions in the sectors of education, culture, health and trade. In securing the leading role of the party organizations better, they should further raise their authority and enliven all their work.

Work methods should be improved so that every worker analyzes and implements the party's directives. The trade union organizations should be concerned with major problems, make deep analyses, carry out criticism and self-criticism, spread the best experience and mobilize all workers to realize tasks which develop a strong socialist emulation.

This resolution should be worked out within July 1982 in the local councils and trade union organizations of the education, culture, health and trade sectors.

[Signed] The Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions

CSO: 2100/67

RESOLUTION ON CONSTRUCTION, COMMUNICATIONS, COMMUNAL ECONOMIES

AU211537 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 10 Jun 82 p 4

[Resolution of the Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions on the tasks of the trade union organizations of workers of the construction, communications and communal economies to implement the decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress, approved in Tirana on 9 June]

[Text] Inspired by the historic decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress in steel-like unity with the party and its Central Committee led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, construction, communications and communal workers have achieved good results in the fulfillment of the plan's tasks. The growth of construction was placed on a higher scale, tasks in transport were better realized, and services to the people were further improved.

The directives set by the Eighth AWP Congress to further develop construction, transport and communal services are completely feasible and require the mobilization of all mental and physical capacities of the working class and workers in these sectors in order to realize them.

To implement the directives of the Seventh Five-Year Plan the Ninth Congress of the Albanian Trade Union directs the trade union organizations and all construction, communications and communal workers to concentrate their attention and work in the following major directions:

1. The organizations and workers of the construction, communications and communal economies should intensify their ideopolitical work to better and more deeply understand the great tasks set in this five-year plan, to increase mobilization at work so that the plan will be rhythmically realized in every unit and in all its economic-financial indexes.

2. Construction workers should further raise their feelings of responsibility and should take all necessary measures to further industrialize construction works, to draft national projects which are durable and justify expenditure. They should work for a perfected organization paying particular attention to the concentration of construction works.

They must work to increase socialist awareness at work to raise the quality of industrial works as well as housing. For this reason there must be more discussions arranged, the best experience must be disseminated and work must be intensified to qualify and prepare construction specialists.

Special care must be shown for construction projects in villages to complete them in time with high quality and low costs.

3. Communication workers should concentrate on rationally utilizing all means, giving priority to railroads, to the further and rapid mechanization of loading-unloading, to the better utilization of trailers and capacities of loading.

Responsibility should be raised to save fuels, eliminate useless parallel movements with railways, maintain vehicles, evaluate other means of transport such as wagons, cable transport, shuttle car railways, internal transport in enterprises and so forth.

To fulfill these tasks the trade union organizations should show greater care to know, disseminate and implement the best experience to save fuels and tires, to increase technical readiness and the coefficient of utilization.

They should work to further perfect the moral stature of all transport workers, and especially that of sailors and drivers who travel outside the country, so that they can better face the pressures and influences of the bourgeois-revisionist world.

4. The post-telecommunication workers also have important tasks to further raise the quality of communication services to better answer the people's demands in time.

5. Communal workers should mainly concentrate on raising the quality of services and shortening their time limits. They should work so that discipline, organization and mass control are dominant everywhere. They should better work at various recycling and repair services which are demanded by the people.

More care should be shown for cleanliness, beautifying cities and inhabited centers and especially for hygiene and cleanliness in the countryside, extending the network of roads and waterpipes.

They should better maintain apartments in the city. For this reason, along with their own duties, the trade union communal organizations should work to strengthen cooperation with the mass organizations in the quarters and blocks, so that everywhere the masses' healthy opinion for order, cleanliness, culture and maintenance of the environment and housing will be raised.

6. The trade union organizations of these sectors, led by the party, should further raise the work standard for the workers' ideopolitical, technical-professional, physical and military education. This education should become more concrete and closely tied to the problems which preoccupy the various categories of workers to implant everywhere the class spirit and its ideology.

In educating workers various forms should be used which are compatible with the standards, conditions and tasks of the workers. Care should be shown to wage an uncompromising struggle against petit-bourgeois remnants and alien

concepts and manifestations which do not comply with communist morals or socialist ideology and psychology, against bureaucratic and liberal attitudes, bureaucratic delays and disregard for the workers' opinion. For this they should further strengthen class and mass control from below to qualitatively accomplish all tasks in time.

7. The trade union organizations should continue to explain the party's economic policy, to raise the workers' active participation in drafting and implementing the state plans, to make them aware and mobilize them to work with drive, emulation and an attacking spirit, to develop their creative initiative, revolutionary pride, feelings of high responsibility, to work with strong proletarian discipline, productivity, quality and a high spirit of thrift.

Special attention should be paid to work norms, to extending work governed by technical norms and lowering the number of workers who do not fulfill their norms by 50 percent and so forth.

8. The trade union organizations should encourage and support progressive experience, revolutionary action and initiatives of collectives and individuals to shorten time-limits on the construction of new projects, to increase the time vehicles are in motion, to shorten the time taken in loading and unloading, and to qualitatively fulfill services to the people on time.

The state and economic organs should show more care and more strongly support the workers' initiatives with a material-technical base, with cooperation and experimentation and with organization and control so that they will be implemented and disseminated.

9. The trade unions, state and economic organs should further improve their work to raise the workers' educational and technical-professional standard, especially that of young workers, to assimilate and implement contemporary technical-scientific knowledge.

More concern should be shown to improving work in qualification course and in the schools attended by workers, raising participation in them and the benefits gained from them. The demands of professional and cultural qualification should serve to raise professional capabilities and improve production indexes.

The trade union organizations, led by the party, in cooperation with the state and economic organs, should raise their level of care and better fulfill the needs and demands for creating suitable environments at work and in life, for technical security and protection at work, for supplying workers with collective and individual protective means, for organizing cultural activities and workers' relaxation, for improving health services, food, transport, sleeping facilities and so forth. These problems should be more closely and concretely followed, especially on the large construction sites.

10. They must work to educate workers in respect for the strict implementation of regulations, technical security and use of protective materials, and should more strongly combat instances of unconcern by some administrative workers who

are negligent in these directions. They must increase their concern in the field of state social securities, should properly pursue problems of periodic inefficiency at work, invalidism, physical and professional rehabilitation of workers, and the most correct implementation of social security laws.

11. To fulfill the important and great tasks which the party has set for the trade unions, it is necessary to devote uninterrupted concern to strengthening the organization, revitalizing its life and activity, discussing social problems and debating ideology. The improvement of work methods, based on the party's materials and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings to organize differentiated work with workers and encourage them in action is of foremost importance in this direction.

The trade union organizations should listen more closely to the workers' proposals and ideas, and their voice and experience should be better brought into the party. Criticism and self-criticism of weaknesses and defects at work should be revitalized. Cooperation with the state and economic organs and with the other social organizations should be strengthened to make workers aware of the situations in which we work, and for the construction of socialism based entirely on our own forces.

This resolution will be worked out by July 1982 in the local committees and trade union organizations of the construction, communications and communal economies.

[Signed] The Ninth Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions

CSO: 2100/67

RESOLUTION ON TASKS IN INDUSTRY, MINING

AU191543 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 10 Jun 82 p 3

[Resolution of the Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions on the tasks of the trade unions of the working people in industry and mining for the implementation of the tasks of the Eighth AWP Congress, approved in Tirana on 9 June]

[Text] Inspired by the historic decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress and in steel-like unity around the party and its Central Committee led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the working people in industry and mining have achieved important results in fulfilling the plan. Total industrial production, labor productivity, the cost reduction plan and other economic and financial indicators were fulfilled and overfulfilled in 1981, as well as in the first 5 months of this year.

The directives set out by the Eighth AWP Congress for the rapid and sure development in all branches of industry are fully feasible and require the mobilization of all the mental and physical capabilities of the working people in this sector to be transformed into reality.

To ensure the implementation of the Seventh Five-Year Plan the Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions directs the trade union organizations and all the working people in the heavy and mining industry, the energy sector and light industry and the food industry to concentrate their attention and effort on these major directions:

1. To further raise the work of the trade union organizations to implant among all workers profound beliefs about the absolute necessity to resolutely fulfill all planned tasks under all headings, indicators and sections, this being a major prerequisite for the country's continued socialist construction which relies entirely on our own efforts.

Combatting concepts and practices of globalism, efforts are to be made everywhere to fulfill the planned tasks in a rhythmical way by every worker, brigade, sector, unit and enterprise daily, every 10 days and monthly. Greater efforts must be made in this respect by the working people in the oil, mining and metallurgical sectors.

The aim must be to continually reduce production costs and to calculate these costs accurately in order to raise their effectiveness and to improve financial indicators. Every trade union organization must work to generalize and disseminate the initiative of the "steel of the party" metallurgical combine to constantly reduce costs by making better use of work schedules and by strengthening the regimen of thrift through a 1-2 percent annual reduction of the norms for the utilization of raw materials, fuels, electricity and so forth, particularly in oil, mining, metallurgical and other industries.

The products of these branches of industry form the largest portion of the export plan. The trade union organizations must, therefore, further stimulate the creative and innovative thinking of the working people to produce export goods in good time and according with the quantity and quality required and to reduce imports of raw and other materials, equipment and machinery.

2. The broad development of the industry and mining sector, in which 46 percent of all investments will be made, confronts the trade union organizations with the task of working intensively with their members to raise the effectiveness of production under all headings.

Particular attention is to be devoted to fulfilling the tasks pertaining to increased labor productivity and the rational utilization of working time. Efforts are to be made to raise the degree of mechanization in all enterprises in the industrial sector, particularly in the mining and timber enterprises, to 90 percent by the end of this 5-year period. Mobilization is to be raised, and persistent demands will be made at all levels to fully implement all the technical and organizational measures required to raise labor productivity over 15 percent, in accordance with the initiative of the "Enver Hoxha" Automobile and Tractor Combine and numerous other enterprises. In the mining sector, implementing the initiative of the Prenjas miners, the rate of advancement is to be increased about 60 percent over the current level; in the oil and gas drilling sector and speed achieved by the advanced experience in the area is to be achieved by all, increasing the average drilling speed by about 30 percent over the average attained.

More rapid progress is to be made in introducing technical working norms so that by 1985 over 75 percent of the working time be occupied by technical norms. Social assistance among workers is to be better organized and the state and economic organs are to take all the necessary measures to create normal conditions for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of norms by all workers.

3. A radical improvement in the quality of products must constitute one of the important directions of the work of the trade unions. The working people in the mining sector are to raise their efforts to extract high quality minerals, particularly chrome ore. Workers in the engineering industry are to make responsible efforts to raise the quality of spare parts, equipment and machinery. Working people in the light and food industry are to work with greater imagination to produce new and high quality articles to meet the ever growing demands of the population for consumer commodities.

4. Socialist competition is to be further developed to include all workers in the industry and mining sector in a creative effort to successfully fulfill all the tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. Competitions are to be better organized in teams, units, sectors and enterprises in order to attain the level of the more advanced. Varied forms of stimulation such as comparisons of results and other moral stimuli are to be better used.

The trade union organizations are to stimulate revolutionary initiatives, actions and movements by working people to advance the completion of projects, to save electricity, to ensure rapid progress in mining and drilling operations. To set up new production lines, units and factories and to produce new machinery, equipment and articles. The management of enterprises, the Ministry of Energy, the Ministry of Industry and Mines and the Ministry of Light Industry and the Food industry are to show greater solicitude in strongly supporting such initiatives with the necessary material base, cooperation and experimentation in order to carry them out and disseminate them everywhere.

5. The intensification of production in the industry and mining sector is closely connected with the further deepening of the technical and scientific revolution and the widespread development of the innovatory and rationalizing movement. Their purpose must be to improve existing technologies; the improvement of exploitation systems in the mines to reduce waste by at least 10 percent; efforts must be made in the oil industry to maintain production in all sandy soil fields at a constant level; greater efforts must be made in some sectors of the light and food industry to overcome the present artisan stage of production, to apply new technologies and so forth.

6. Taking into consideration the fact that the level of training does not correspond fully with the growing needs of production, a better studied effort is to be made by the trade union organizations and the state and economic organs to raise the educational and vocational standards of the working people, to master contemporary technical and scientific knowledge and to place them in the service of the development of the economy. In the oil, mining and metallurgical sectors, as well as in the new branches of industry, proper importance is to be attached to training courses, the improvement of programs and texts and to widely practice the system of tutelage in order to train able specialists for these sectors.

7. An importaant and constant duty of the trade union organizations in the industry and mining sector lies in the ideopolitical education of the workers with the party's and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings and in the implementation and defense of the party's line to constantly adopt a proper attitude toward work and socialist property and to increase the participation of the workers in the management of production and the country's administration.

The trade union organizations must constantly and resolutely wage the class struggle against alien concepts and manifestations that are not compatible with the norms of communist morality. They must stand up more resolutely against bureaucratic and liberal attitudes which hinder the voice of the masses and lead to a weakening of the people's regime.

Educational work is to be linked more closely to the problems preoccupying the working people in enterprises, must be better adapted to their characteristics and must be concrete, differentiated and well argued, always taking into consideration the particular situations, age groups, length of service, the interests of the workers, their demands and so forth.

Education must be closely linked up with the development of events and must serve to strengthen the vigilance against external and internal enemies, the increased degree of readiness of the working people for the country's defense and to successfully confront bourgeois and revisionist encirclement.

8. Importance is to be attached to strengthening the trade union organizations and to make their activity more lively. They must better communicate the party's directives to the working people, mobilize them to implement these directions and bring to the party the voice and experience of the masses. Criticism and self-criticism of weaknesses and shortcomings at work must be made more lively. All forms must be used for the education of the working people, particularly to acquaint them precisely with the laws pertaining to the rights and duties of the working people, living conditions, technical security, safeguards at work, the recreation of the working people, and the creation of cultured surroundings and various sociocultural facilities. The cooperation with other mass organizations and with the state and economic organs is to be further intensified.

This resolution is to be worked out within September in the local councils and organizations of the trade unions of the industry and mining workers.

CSO: 2100/67

TRADE UNION AUDITING COMMISSION REPORT PUBLISHED

AU171344 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 8 Jun 82 p 2

[Report on activity of the Central Auditing Commission of the Albanian trade unions, presented by commission chairman Hasan Alimerko at Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions in Tirana on 7 June 1982]

[Text] Comrades, the historic decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress and Comrade Enver Hoxha's programmatic report have created a fiery revolutionary atmosphere throughout the country. Led by the working class, our people are working with new revolutionary fervor and relying entirely on their own efforts to achieve the great tasks stipulated by the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

The working class and the trade unions are coming to this congress with a steel-like unity around the party and its Central Committee, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha. They are ready to undertake new and even greater tasks in the construction of socialism and the country's defense.

The warm greetings message of the AWP Central Committee constitutes another programmatic document for the working class. In this document the trade unions find new inspiration and important tasks in raising the level of their work to implement the historical decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress.

Comrades, the Central Auditing Commission of the trade unions has improved its work method and raised the quality of its control and assistance to a higher level during the period between the two congresses.

The controls exercised and a study of the materials of the Central Council and of the activity of the organization show that under the party's leadership the trade unions have grown, strengthened and vitalized. There has been a qualitative improvement in the work of the leading organs and of the apparatus, assistance for the base has been better organized, the links with the mass of members have been strengthened and agility has been shown in tackling, treatment and resolving of problems.

The trade unions have extended and deepened the range of problems examined in the fields of financial questions, maintenance of property and the examination of the demands and complaints of the working people.

The budgets approved for each year have been met. Compared with 1977, 1981 revenues rose 16 percent over 1977, with an average annual growth rate of 3.8 percent, while expenditure increased 9 percent, thus creating a surplus of income.

Revenues from membership dues, which represent about 80 percent of all revenues have been met and overfulfilled by all district trade union councils.

The constant development and strengthening of the economy has resulted in an increase in the size of the working class. The trade unions have increased their ranks. The number of members of the trade unions in 1981 was over 25 percent higher than in 1977. However, more can be done in some districts to register new workers on time and to plan incomes more precisely.

The approved expenditure funds have well served their purpose, their structure has been improved. And expenditure has taken place on sounder criteria. Thus, funds have been used particularly to raise the qualitative standard of propaganda in various forms of publications, for the education and qualification of trade unions members in the 1-year school, in 3-month courses and various seminars; for recreation centers and so forth. The regimen of thrift has been at the organization's center of attention, particularly in the direction of economic-administrative expenditure.

Thanks to the correct policy pursued by the party and the state, our socialist order is being constantly strengthened and consolidated. The well-being of the working class and working masses has been raised at a time when inflation, rising prices, increased taxation and chronic unemployment strike at the living standards of the workers in all capitalist and revisionist countries.

Acting on the proposal of the AWP Central Committee Politburo, the Council of Ministers announced the decision to reduce some consumer commodity prices and tariffs for communal services. This represents another great victory of the party's policy, a reflection of the constant vitality of our socialist economy and the result of the tireless efforts of the working class and all working people. This is another testimony that our party and state are doing everything for the well-being and happiness of the people.

Our state is expending large sums for the construction, equipment and administration of sociocultural institutions and for improving working conditions. An entire network of institutions and of educational and recreational centers is functioning in our country.

Tens of thousands of workers and young pioneers are spending their annual vacations in the most beautiful and climatically healthy surroundings. Tens of thousands more are spending their weekly vacations there. The conditions in these centers have constantly improved and they have been better equipped and furnished.

In accordance with the directives of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the trade unions are carrying out a great effort to ensure the widespread participation of the working people in improving legislation and the organization of work, they are listening carefully to the voice of the masses and are resolving problems as they arise. The fact that 490,000 working people participated in the meetings to examine the new labor bill, that 96,000 took an active part in the discussions and that 11,000 suggestions were made, some of which were incorporated in the new code in 1980--all this is very significant.

The Central Auditing Commission acquainted itself with the practice of writing letters to central trade union bodies. It considers that the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions has treated the letters as raising important questions and as being a reflection of implementing the line of the masses, of socialist democracy and of listening to the voice of the masses; as forms of direct worker control, of links with the masses and of the confidence that the working people have in the party, the people's regime and the elected organs of the trade unions. These letters have been examined most carefully and have been answered in a timely way. Generalizations have been made and tasks have been drawn for the apparatus and dependent organs of the trade unions, and interventions have been made and tasks have been drawn for the apparatus and dependent organs of the trade unions, and interventions have been made to central departments and institutions to resolve questions that have been raised.

Some of these letters have raised appropriate questions and they have been resolved in favor of the working people, this shows that individual managers and administrative officials should have studied these matters more profoundly and resolved them. At the same time, there have been letters written by individual working people containing demands and complaints that are incompatible with legal provisions.

The trade union organizations and the state and economic organs must more widely ensure a more profound understanding of duties and rights, to acquaint themselves and the workers with legal provisions and ensure their implementation without concessions, and to listen to the voice of the masses and strengthen control against bureaucratic and liberal actions.

Although it has tried to carry out its tasks in accordance with statute provisions during this period, the Central Auditing Commission has also shown shortcomings in its activity, particularly concerning extending and deepening its control and better assisting the work of the organization.

The trade union organization has a large aktiv of auditing commissions consisting of thousands of members both centrally and in the districts. It also has a rich experience which must be more widely used in the future in order to fulfill the tasks entrusted it.

Comrades, the Ninth Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions will provide a further stimulus to the organization's work as a school of communist education. It will further raise its role in mobilizing the working class to successfully fulfill the tasks stipulated by the Eighth AWP Congress, which are clearly reflected in the report delivered by Comrade Rita Marko, a report which we endorse.

The working class will also struggle in the future to further temper the unity around the party. It will constantly sharpen its revolutionary vigilance and will always be ready to defend our socialist country, and the victories it has attained, against the external and internal enemies to make the life of our people more prosperous and happy.

Long live the glorious AWP!

Long live our heroic working class!

Long live Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved leader of our party and people!

CSO: 2100/68

LIST OF LEADING TRADE UNION ORGANS, MEMBERS

AU161645 Tirana PUNA in Albania 10 Jun 82 p 2

[Text] Composition of the leading organs of the Albanian trade unions:

Members of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions:

1. Adem Tukaj
2. Agim Kacemi
3. Aferdita Gjyzeli
4. Aferdita Mahile
5. Athina Meloneshi
6. Ahmet Ckurti
7. Angjelina Preka
8. Arif Gjati
9. Arqile Mehilli
10. Asllan Musai
11. Bajame Mara
12. Bajame Xhelili
13. Behije Lici
14. Bexhet Tilaj
15. Donika Hoxhari
16. Donika Llazari
17. Drane Riolli
18. Drita Demaliaj
19. Dhespina Naqellari
20. Eftimi Lito
21. Elvira Zeneli
22. Faik Cina
23. Faik Hasanllari
24. Farie Salicaj
25. Faredin Hoxha
26. Fatime Limani
27. Fatmira Caka
28. Fathira Zeneli
29. Ferdinand Nenshati
30. Filip Kota
31. Flora Xhaxhiu
32. Florida Marku
33. Flutura Bregu
34. Flutura Celkupa
35. Foni Frasheri
36. Flan Baba
37. Frrok Cupi
38. Geg Kacorri
39. Gezim Laska
40. Gezim Kruja
41. Gjon Bardhi
42. Hajrulla Gruda
43. Hamide Arbana
44. Hasan Bekteshi
45. Hasie Horeshku
46. Haxhi Tafa
47. Idriz Dhrami
48. Ilo Themeli
49. Ismail Meria
50. Ismail Nika
51. Ismete Isai
52. Jorgo Duka
53. Jorgo Dushi
54. Jorgji Babi
55. Josif Minga
56. Kleanthi Koci
57. Kostandin Kola
58. Kristaq Sulovari
59. Kristaq Todri
60. Kudrete Pepa
61. Lavdosh Luari
62. Leandro Zoto

63. Liljana Kareci
64. Liljana Luarasi
65. Liri Babe
66. Lirika Nune
67. Luciana Dervishi
68. Lule Cupi
69. Lumturi Agolli
70. Llesh Lleshi
71. Manushaqe Mandri
72. Margarita Musta
73. Medin Seferi
74. Mehill Nikolla
75. Minella Dalani
76. Miti Nito
77. Muhamet Bila
78. Muhamet Tafaj
79. Muharrem Bejleri
80. Myslym Bogdani
81. Naim Demiri
82. Namik Dokle
83. Nasi Dhamo
84. Nasto Piperi
85. Ndoc Lepuri
86. Nekie Bedo
87. Natasha Beqiri
88. Natasha Jaho
89. Nimet Cani
90. Olimbi Ikonomi
91. Osman Dellinja
92. Panajot Boga
93. Pandora Milaj
94. Perparim Muca
95. Petrit Kotili
96. Petro Nushi
97. Pilo Peristeri
98. Piro Nole
99. Pjeter Gjoni
100. Priamo Bollano
101. Ramiz Mema
102. Raship Hashorva
103. Razie Hyka
104. Reshat Kuka
105. Rexhep Shehu
106. Rina Ndoni
107. Rita Marko
108. Riza Burrja
109. Roza Vata
110. Rozeta Dibra
111. Ruzhdi Pulaha
112. Sabri Uliu
113. Sadie Mavruci
114. Sadik Doko
115. Serafin Papandili
116. Servete Rrabo
117. Simon Shestani
118. Skender Hoxha
119. Sofie Cela
120. Sotir Kocollari
121. Sprio Lengo
122. Spiro Lera
123. Stavri Lepuri
124. Stavri Skendo
125. Strati Marko
126. Sulejman Duka
127. Sulejman Haka
128. Sulejman Skura
129. Shefqet Cela
130. Shejnaze Troshani
131. Sheme Mara
132. Shenasi Zeneli
133. Tatiana Papa
134. Tatiana Shkurti
135. Telisfor Lumezi
136. Thanas Diamanti
137. Thomaidha Xhelili
138. Vangjel Mehilli
139. Vangjel Prifti
140. Vangjel Vengu
141. Vangjeli Lena
142. Vangjeli Totoni
143. Vasil Anagnosti
144. Vasilika Gruzhdani
145. Veronika Preci
146. Viktor Gjika
147. Vito Kapo
148. Violeta Rama
149. Vjollca Kavardari
150. Zace Malaj
151. Zarif Salia
152. Zarife Ternova
153. Zija Xholi
154. Zhani Cifliku
155. Xharrie Ferrici

Candidates of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions:

1. Dallendyshe Fetahu
2. Diamanta Peca
3. Frida Stasi
4. Halil Zeneli
5. Hyrie Aliaj
6. Isa Hitaj
7. Mark Curri
8. Namik Hasani
9. Pavlina Daka
10. Rasim Vata
11. Terpo Rado
12. Thanas Barka
13. Vasil Puci
14. Vera Cepi
15. Veronika Beno
16. Xhafer Dosti

Central Auditing Commission of the Albanian Trade Unions:

1. Gjok Gjini
2. Hamidushe Sulko
3. Ilia Carapuli
4. Kristo Papajani
5. Kristaq Prifti
6. Lek Sinaj
7. Mynyr Moska
8. Qimo Kocani
9. Taqo Lako
10. Vasil Santo
11. Vjollca Tivari

chairman: Qimo Kocani
secretary: Kristaq Prifti

The Presidium of the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions:

1. Dhespina Naqellari
2. Eftimi Lito
3. Faik Cino
4. Farie Salicaj
5. Kleanthi Koci
6. Gjon Bardhi
7. Hasan Bekteshi
8. Idriz Dhrami
9. Kristaq Todri
10. Miti Nito
11. Nimet Cani
12. Osman Dellinja
13. Perparim Muco
14. Rita Marko
15. Riza Burrja
16. Skender Hoxha
17. Sotir Kocollari
18. Spiro Lengo
19. Stavri Skendo
20. Zarif Saliaj
21. Zija Xholi

Rita Marko: President of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions.

Secretaries of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions: Adem Tukaj, Farie Salicaj, Idriz Dhrami, Nimet Cani, Sotir Kocollari and Shenasi Zeneli.

The General Council of the Albanian Trade Unions elected from its midst:

1. The Central Council of Trade Unions for Industry, Mining and Energy with 47 members.

chairman: Faik Cina. secretary: Shenasi Zeneli.

2. The Central Council of Trade Unions for Agriculture, with 32 members.

chairman: Stavri Skendo. secretary: Nimet Cani.

3. The Central Council of Trade Unions for Construction, Communications and Communal Services, with 32 members.

chairman: Hasan Bekteshi. secretary: Farie Salicaj.

4. The Central Council of Trade Unions for Education, Culture, Health and Trade, with 32 members.

chairman: Zija Xholi. secretary: Adem Tukaj.

CSO: 2100/68

BRIEFS

DELEGATIONS TO TRADE UNION CONGRESS--Tirana, 17 Jun (ATA)--The delegation of the Arab Trade Union International Confederation; the delegation of the Metallurgists' Union of Brazil; the delegation of the National Workers' Union of Mali; the delegation of the Worker Assembleista Association of Spain; the delegation of the Trade Union Federation of Palestine; the delegation of the Trade Union Congress of Zimbabwe; the delegation of Revolutionary Workers of Japan; the delegation of the Peasant Confederation of Peru; the delegation of Pan-African Congress of Azania; the delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of Canada; the delegation of Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of Denmark; the delegation of the National Commission for the founding of the Independent Center of Revolutionary Working People of Ecuador; the delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of Britain; the delegation of National Worker Commission of the Dominican Republic and the delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of France, which attended the proceedings of the 9th Congress of TUA [Trade Unions of Albania] left Albania. Present to see the delegations off at the airport were the secretaries of the General Council of the TUA Sotir Kocollari, Adem Tukaj and Shinasi Zeneli. [Text] [AU171148 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 17 Jun 82]

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SPEECHES DELIVERED BY DELEGATES AT DIMITROV CONFERENCE

Ponomarev Speech

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[Speech by Boris Ponomarev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, at the opening plenary session of the international theoretical conference: "Georgi Dimitrov's Cause and Our Present Epoch" on 15 June 1982 at the Sofia Palace of Culture]

[Text] Dear comrades, this representative forum has gathered to celebrate the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov, great son of the Bulgarian people; heroic fighter against fascism and war, one of the most outstanding leaders of the communist movement.

Our meeting is taking place at a historical moment full of responsibility. The international situation is perhaps the most complicated of the entire postwar period. The development of the forces representing social progress continues and is assuming new features. The stream of revolutionary innovation throughout the world is becoming increasingly powerful. At the same time, the threat of a worldwide nuclear conflict is growing and has once again reached a dangerous limit. Tensions have intensified in various parts of the world. This demands from us, communists, from all progressive fighters resolutely to intensify our activities in solving the crucial problems which occupy the hearts and minds of people and above all, to ensure lasting peace for all peoples.

I think that the best way of celebrating and commemorating the great communist Georgi Dimitrov is to focus on the most topical problems of the movement to which he devotes all his intellect talents and energies, to which he wholeheartedly dedicated his entire life.

His heroic duel with fascism at the Leipzig trial will be remembered by history as an exceptionally brilliant example of the behavior of a communist leader under the most difficult circumstances. He transformed the defendant's dock into a revolutionary rostrum, from a defendant he become prosecutor, and he put the Nazis--the organizers of the Reichstag fire--on the pillory.

I had the opportunity of working 10 years with Georgi Dimitrov and to become well acquainted with his ideas and deeds. He was not only a fireless revolutionary but, at the same time, an extraordinary humanitarian.

He was inspired by a feeling of protest against any kind of oppression and injustice.

Care about the interests of working people, concern for his fellow-workers and for comrades from other communist parties--these were essential characteristic features of Dimitrov's work.

Georgi Dimitrov was a charming man--he was the model of a true communist.

Georgi Dimitrov made a tremendous contribution to the development and consolidation of the International Communist Movement. His name is linked with the further development of the political line and organizational forms of the communist movement and with the 7th Comintern Congress. His name is inseparable from the resistance movement and the heroic deeds of the communists in defeating fascism.

Dimitrov was a wise leader of the Bulgarian workers class and its vanguard--the Communist Party--a leader in the Leninist mold. He was the founder of the Bulgarian socialist state, as well.

Georgi Dimitrov's whole life and all his activities represent brilliant examples of service to the workers class, to the class of socialism. He set the example of a political and state leader, for whom patriotism and proletarian internationalism are one and the same. He set an example in communist activity and in making a profound analysis of the essence of Leninism. He set an example of mastering Marxist dialectics.

What is the essence of Dimitrov's ideological heritage for our contemporary epoch? First, Dimitrov was one of the first to sound the alarm, to warn about the threat of a second world war. He was also one of the first to point out the need for peaceloving forces to join forces with a powerful, new factor for peace, such as the Soviet Socialist State.

This experience is particularly topical today, under circumstances when joint actions of the socialist states and of all other peaceloving forces have become the most important prerequisite for preventing nuclear disaster. Together with communists in other countries, the CPSU and Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, our party's secretary general and outstanding political leader of our epoch, are devoting all their efforts to this.

Second, Dimitrov--and this is also very topical--analyzed and developed the idea of a broad antifascist coalition, he thus applied, with particular reference to the conditions in the thirties, the Leninist concept about the

alliance between the workers movement and democratic movements. Dimitrov expressed the tenet of a state's being based on "real people's democracy," on an antifascist democratic government. The vitality of these ideas is confirmed by the approach of communist parties to the questions of a transitional stage in the struggle for true democracy and socialism.

In boldly rejecting outdated methods and forms, in proposing new tenets and new slogans, Dimitrov made an invaluable contribution to the development of a policy based on broad people's alliances.

Third, Georgi Dimitrov devoted great attention to coordinating national specific factors with a consistent internationalist approach. Stressing each communist's obligation to educate the workers and all other working people in a spirit of internationalism, Dimitrov pointed out the necessity of "adjusting" proletarian internationalism "to the climate" of each country, so as to give it the opportunity to become deeply rooted in national soil.

Fourth, as a participant in building socialism in the USSR during one of the most difficult, if not the most difficult, periods of creating the new system, Dimitrov professed unshakable faith in the great strength of this system and in its tremendous constructive opportunities. He considered the defense and preservation of all socialist achievements as a vitally important international duty of every communist and every participant in the liberation movement. On this question, he based himself on common prospects for worldwide development, on the future prospects of the struggle of working people in all countries for peace, democracy and socialism.

When Bulgaria started on the socialist path, Dimitrov worked out a program of social transformation which--while keeping in mind basic laws, tested for the first time in the Soviet Union, and bearing in mind Soviet experience--envisaged the construction of socialism in Bulgaria as determined by the national characteristics of this country and by the new world situation.

I. Today, as during the thirties, in Dimitrov's life time, the increase of the threat of war and the intensification of the aggressive character of imperialism are linked to the development of objective class processes, to the experience of the forces of imperialist reaction and social backwardness, which are trying to stop the progress of history. There is, however, a difference of principle. Under present conditions, in which imperialism possesses nuclear missiles, a similar attempt is likely to lead all mankind to the brink of disaster.

Today the following allusions are being made in the Western press and also in statements of well-known political leaders: the postwar period allegedly has been over for a long time, and we are now living in another "pre-war" period. Such pessimism is being exploited by the "hawks," who are declaring that since a nuclear war is inevitable anyway, they should operate on the

assumption that this war can be "limited" and "won." The CPSU rejects such views as a matter of principle. The CPSU thinks that the conclusion drawn a quarter of a century ago by the communist movement is still valid today: namely, that there are real possibilities to prevent a world war.

It is a well-known fact that, at the price of great efforts, the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the other fraternal countries succeeded in liquidating the military superiority of imperialism and achieving a military balance with the United States and NATO. This is a remarkable historical contribution by real socialism to the struggle for peace and social progress.

The question of preserving the military balance which has been achieved by socialism is an essentially new factor in the strategy of the struggle to prevent world war. This question has now become the focus of a large-scale political and ideological struggle.

Neither the Soviet Union nor its allies are striving to achieve military superiority. Socialism does not need such superiority in order to achieve the goals dictated by its nature. CPSU considers as its historical task preventing imperialism from disrupting the existing arms balance.

The forces which have grown from the national liberation movement, which now possess the means and opportunities of state power, are making a significant contribution to the current anti-war struggle. Despite differences in system and other differences among these countries belonging to the so-called Third World, these countries, rallied in the nonaligned movement, are capable of well-organized and purposeful actions. This is an absolutely new antiwar factor, one that did not exist in Dimitrov's time.

The characteristic of the present balance of forces is that the anti-imperialist area of the international arena is considerably larger than that of the socialist system, while the range of action of the peaceloving forces is even bigger than that.

Changes are taking place in the very bastions of imperialism, changes which are essential for the prospects of preserving peace. The wave of mass demonstrations which flooded numerous countries, including in those countries visited by Reagan during his European tour, one more eloquently showed that the masses are increasingly becoming aware. They are recognizing, under the mask of peaceloving attitudes, the aggressive, adventurous intentions of the U.S. ruling circles and are more and more resolutely insisting upon a really peace-loving policy.

There are many scientists, physicians and politicians among those who are struggling against the endless rearmament and the military threat, who are fully aware of what a nuclear war would mean. They are well oriented not only on technical matters but also on the mechanism used in making political decisions. Scientific workers, engineers and technical specialists directly connected with the arms industry have joined the antiwar movement. All this makes the antiwar demonstrations more effective and more specific.

The question of the principled mutual relations between communists and organizations and movements of another orientation, which represented a serious problem at the time of Georgi Dimitrov, is to be given primary attention. Dimitrov and the communists did resolve this problem at that time, and even resolved it in an optimal manner. Under the new conditions, communists are now striving to master the art of interacting with the various antimilitary forces by overcoming mistrust and competition.

This affects cooperation in antimilitaristic activities, which has to be defended, without crossing over to positions of class conciliation. In addition to this, the communists must deeply and skillfully master the complex military-technological issues and specific characteristics of each international problem. This is a necessary prerequisite for assisting the masses and for making them participate in the antiwar movement.

In that, it is not necessary for communists to "conceal" their affiliations to Marxist-Leninist ideology, or their class view on the course and nature of world developments. The communists, for example, must unmask the imperialists' attempts to drain the antiwar movement of its political essence and, moreover, to use it for anti-Soviet purposes.

The historic mission of the communists is not simply to call for halting the arms race, but also to show who and what are hindering a halt to his arms race. Thus, it is not enough to talk about the need to overcome the division of the world into confronting military blocs and to reject the so-called "bloc approach" in politics. One must take into account the decisive and principled difference between the bloc policy of the United States and NATO, and the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence followed by the socialist countries of the Warsaw Pact. We should not become reconciled to the fact that the responsibility for intensifying the military threat sometimes is attributed to both the imperialist and socialist countries. To do so would mean to deceive the peoples and encourage the arms race, and also to join those who are blowing the trumpet about a "Soviet military threat."

The Soviet public and the working people in our country are a component of the entire antiwar movement. Our contribution to the struggle against the military threat is predetermined by the nature of our social system, and by the Soviet Union's capacities. The CPSU and the Soviet leadership are proceeding from L. I. Brezhnev's statement to the 26th CPSU Congress... "to reply upon a victory in a thermo-nuclear war, is a dangerous madness." (26th CPSU Congress, Reports and Decisions, C., 1981 p 32) In our international activity, our congress assigned a primary task of spreading no efforts to saving the peoples from the threat of a nuclear war. The 26th CPSU Congress peace program for the eighties, the tremendous and tireless work of our party's Central Committee and primarily of L. I. Brezhnev is comprehensively focused on implementing this program. The Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, are waging a selfless and tireless struggle to safeguard world peace. This is a great heroic deed in the name of mankind, and a heroic deed of world and historic importance which deserves maximum support.

What is the characteristic trait of all Soviet initiatives? What are the main ideas of these initiatives? They aim at eliminating military threat in a global, regional and bilateral sense. They also aim at limiting the zones of possible confrontation, and thus to expand the zones of cooperation as a basis of safeguarding and strengthening peace. They also provide for extending the limits of confidence in Europe and in the East, and establishing nuclear-free zones--zones of peace--as well as for limiting military activities on the world oceans.

The Soviet initiatives also include the readiness of our country to discuss any other proposals based on the principle of equality and equal security. They are in keeping with the interests of all peoples and are connected with the everyday needs of working people from all countries. The realization of these initiatives would mean not only a guarantee for peace, but also the release of assets that could be used to reduce the burden of unemployment and inflation in the capitalist countries, as well as to increase aid for the developing countries and raise the standard of living of all peoples.

The Soviet Union is also proceeding from this stand at the UN General Assembly second special disarmament session. The main thing, in our opinion, is to proceed from the phase of words to the phase of deeds. Petitions from all over the world are being submitted to the UN General Assembly special session. The petitions are signed by millions of people. The voice of the people has to be heard. The people's request to halt the arms race and to undertake practical measures to guarantee a lasting peace has to be fulfilled.

You can compare the Soviet peace program with the U.S. foreign political program. If we take away the verbal wrapper, we see that the United States has no program for limiting and halting the arms race. It only has a program for increasing military arsenals in the long run.

Under the influence of the peace-loving policy of the socialist countries and the antiwar movement, the U.S. president was at least forced to agree to talks on limiting and reducing strategic weapons. This is a positive fact.

However, we must look at the general U.S. strategy which was fully revealed in the latest speeches by President Reagan and in the "explications" which Weinberger, Haig and Clark are making almost each week. Once, the former British prime minister, Winston Churchill, left for the United States to deliver a speech in Fulton which marked the declaration of the first "cold war" against the socialist countries. Some 36 years later, a speech was delivered at the British House of Commons proclaiming a "crusade" against communism and the forces of social progress.

This antisocialist and anti-Soviet strategy is being followed in all directions, and it includes:

--A "psychological war," including political and material support for the counterrevolutionary and saboteur's activities against the socialist countries;

--An economic war limiting trade and credit relations, and "economically exhausting" socialism by enforcing an arms race with the latest types of weapons;

--The main and most dangerous component of this strategy, however, is the course toward achieving U.S. and NATO military strategic superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. As is now evident from the directives made public by the U.S. Department of Defense, this course is a preparation for war against the USSR and against the other socialist countries whose goal, as is pointed out in these directives, is to "annihilate socialism as a sociopolitical system."

All this is backed by a military budget of multibillions. This also is backed by the well-known plans on deploying U.S. missiles close to USSR borders, the launching sites of which are already being built here and there.

Comrades, these are plans of war and not peace. They are aggressive plans and not plans on talks or reducing arms. At the Versailles and Bonn meetings, the United States tried to impose this course on its allies.

Imperialism is also to be blamed because the threat of a thermonuclear war originates from it, and also because of its policy of confrontation and interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, as well as its policy of arms race and neocolonialism. Imperialism creates an atmosphere of constant international tension which is favorable for the emergence of so-called conventional wars in which hundreds of thousands of people have perished within the last 30 years. These wars have caused unbelievable damage and suffering to the people. This actually, is the atmosphere of the colonial war which British imperialism is waging against Argentina, and also the Iraqi-Iranian conflict which has become a long war with tens of thousands of absolutely innocent victims.

In this atmosphere and in front of the entire world, gradually and openly the massive Israeli military intervention in Lebanon and a destructive war against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples were prepared and executed. A significant part of the territory of a sovereign state has been occupied. The blood of many innocent citizens is being shed. Thousands of innocent people are being killed. The very existence of Lebanon as an independent state has been put in question. It is no secret to anyone that U.S. imperialism is behind this inhuman aggression of Tel Aviv, which not for the first time is boldly provoking the entire world public. This is the line of Camp David, which aims at turning the Middle East into a military-political U.S. base.

Comrades, the question is, can we foil the misanthropic militaristic strategy of imperialism? We can and we must. The leading circles in the imperialist camp are to be taught the lessons of World War II. Years ago the communists and Georgi Dimitrov warned the warmongers of the war's consequences. What were the lessons? In many countries which were a part of the capitalist

system, there were revolutions as a result of the war, capitalism was liquidated and a world socialist system was organized. The sinister warmongers--the leaders of German and Italian fascism and Japanese imperialism--received the reward they deserved and were forever cursed by mankind.

This time the very crime against mankind--the kindling of a new world war--can and must be prevented. The constant development of the mass antiwar movement, which has real socialism as a reliable support and loyal ally and which relies on its consistent and honest policy--which takes into consideration the interests of all peoples--is a guarantee of the success of the peace-loving forces.

We communists have the great responsibility of activating all peace factors. In our opinion, the following directions of activity must be stressed:

--To bring to the consciousness of everyone the thought of the catastrophic consequences of nuclear war;

--To clarify the reasons for the increased international tension, so that the aggressive course of imperialism can be unmasked, to point out the concrete ways leading toward taming the arms race and decreasing the danger of war, to point out the concrete ways leading toward taming [as published], to clarify the communists' positions on the problems of war and peace, and to explain the socialist countries' foreign policy course;

--To actively oppose the attempts of militarist circles to weaken the antiwar and antimissile movement through anti-Soviet propaganda and lies about the "Soviet military threat";

--To clarify that the task of preserving peace requires united and joint efforts, and that in order to implement it one needs a dialogue among the different fractions and movements, as well as their united or parallel action.

This is how we evaluate the international situation and the tasks stemming from it.

II. Comrades, about 50 years ago, Dimitrov, chained by the German fascists, read his famous speech, full of passionate conviction in the invincibility of social progress. "We communists," he said, "can now say no less decisively than old Galileo 'yet it turns!' the wheel of history turns, it turns forwards... it turns and will continue to turn until the final victory of communism!" (Georgi Dimitrov, Collected Works Vol 9, p 286)

This was said when the sinister shadow of Hitlerite fascism was threatening Europe, and when there was only one country in the entire world--the USSR--over which the sun of socialism was shining. Hundreds of millions of people were moved. Their powerful attack destroyed the foundations of imperialist oppression and pushed mankind toward freedom, independence and socialism. Only some one who is not familiar with the elementary laws of social development can interpret this development as "Moscow's machinations" and the "intrigues of the communists."

On the one hand, "word communism" as the bourgeois press puts it, is charged with an almost magical force and accused in all revolutionary processes and changes throughout the world. On the other hand, one hears about the "decline" of the International Communist Movement. Who now is not developing variations on this theme--the bourgeoisie press, the so-called various Western political scientists, and unfortunately, also some social democrats and individual figures of the communist parties.

Such statements have also been made in the past. However, they always failed, while the communist movement continued to march forward. The problem is, you see, that communism is the real and not the adopted child of history. It was born by the inherent process of the development of communist society. It was and remains the legal heir and successor to the entire revolutionary-liberating struggle of the previous centuries, of everything positive created in the process of developing social thought and the moral search of mankind. [applause]

There is no doubt that the road traveled by the communists was not and in fact could not be straight and smooth. However, the communist movement overcame each trial, became stronger and conquered new positions.

However, there are people who try to deny the achievements of the communist movement and stain real socialism. Do they not remind us of the heroes of Gorki's poem "Song of the Falcon"--the one born to crawl and the other born to fly? Yes, the revolutionary work has always required risks and victims. Yes, there may be some difficulties, mistakes and temporary defeats. However, is it possible for the communists, supported by the great revolutionary achievements of our time, to fail to obtain the recognition of the world? The contribution of the communists rises above the petty, Philistine ideas of the "consumer society" searching for stains on the sun and trying to underestimate the sun's vital role--and the vital role of socialism.

The real socialism is a remarkable achievement of the entire international workers' and liberation movement. Whatever those say who have given in to the pressure of the imperialist propaganda, who hesitate in front of the very great size of the new tasks, and who prefer to avoid the difficulties or smooth them over while solving the problems of our time, and thus cheat history, it is a fact that the real existence of socialism is now the main positive factor of mankind's developing.

The vital interests of the workers' class and all working people in the world's nonsocialist area are closely and directly connected to the existence of real socialism. Therefore, the working people of the nonsocialist part of the world are vitally interested in strengthening and developing real socialism. This means that real socialism is to be really defended by decisively opposing the machinations of imperialism against the socialist world. The entire historic experience confirms that cooperation among the revolutionary forces of the nonsocialist party of the world and the socialist countries is equally necessary for both sides.

Comrades, at the present stage of their development, and despite the very difficult international problems, the socialist community's countries are solving unprecedentedly complex and big tasks. Among them, first of all, is accelerating scientific-technological progress and the organic connection of the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism. What we mean is to better utilize the possibilities of the socialist society for increasing the effectiveness of production, fundamentally improving the entire economic mechanism and directing the economy to the road of intensive development, and thus increase the people's standard of living. In the USSR, these tasks received a concrete and powerful expression in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum and the report of Leonid Brezhnev "On the USSR Supply Program."

The bigger and more complex the tasks, the greater the responsibility of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties, which are responsible not only for the successful development of their countries, but also for maximally utilizing the great advantage of the fraternal unity of the majority of socialist countries. This unity serves as a support and basis in all trials, and allows us to establish the most perfect and flexible international production sharing and labor division among the countries, and thus to create objective possibilities of overcoming the difficulties.

Socialist internationalism is implemented through mutual assistance and support, by utilizing mutual experience, and by correctly and affectively utilizing all the advantages of the socialist community, and not by borrowing some imaginary Soviet "model." Our party has never seen its own experience as some "model" which is to be obligatorily followed by others. The live and multisided process of constructing the new society cannot develop according to a monotonic scheme or pattern. Vladimir Ilich Lenin, the great organizer of our party and socialist state, used to speak about the inevitable variety of forms of transition toward socialism, but warned, however, that this must not become "an attempt at eccentricity." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol 27, p 197)

Comrades, we cannot march toward socialism and communism without constantly relying on the Marxist-Leninist science of social development, and without constantly perfecting and renewing this science on the basis of the new phenomena and tendencies which emerge in practice. This theory cannot be charged by anything--neither by utopian schemes nor pragmatic designs.

Today, the CPSU is implementing a complex program of economic, social, political and spiritual development of Soviet society on its very own socialist basis. The working out and implementing of this program is impossible without the constant development of our theory. The written text of this speech, which all participants in this conference can obtain in their own languages, presents in detail the basic aspects of the theoretic-political developments made by the CPSU in the last 10-15 years on developing and perfecting the socialist society.

The road toward socialism, Lenin used to stress, "will never be straight, it will be incredibly complex..."

The search for the necessary solutions and their practical implementation is a multistage, strenuous and creative process which combines the political and scientific activity of our party's staff, its Central Committee, the Politburo, and Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev personally; the party's guiding, organizing and educating role; the daily work of the Soviet and economic organs, and the working efforts of the tens of millions of Soviet people.

In the activity of the fraternal parties of the nonsocialist part of the world, we also see many new aspects. The conditions of their work have drastically changed in comparison with the conditions before the war and during the first decades after the war. Our evaluation of imperialism at the beginning of the eighties and the social-political transformations in the conditions of the class, liberation struggle are included in the written text of this speech.

What is the conclusion? The conclusion is that the capitalist countries have not only reached a very high degree of ripeness in the material and social--in other words--the objective preconditions of the transition to socialism. Subjective possibilities are being constantly created. The basic and predominant mass of the population there is composed of hired hands. The workers' class is growing as a result of the development of some new professions created by contemporary production. By reaching a new stage of production-technological maturity, the workers' class is also obtaining new means of increasing the effectiveness of its actions. The moods of dissatisfaction and protest are penetrating ever deeper among the various social strata. The activity of the trade unions, the youth and women's organizations, the intelligentsia and religious people is constantly growing. New sociopolitical movements are developing with those already in existence.

One cannot ignore the fact that if today there exists a workers' and communist movement, and that if this movement exists today on front positions and disposes of greater opportunities, this is a result of the great achievements of all revolutionary forces and all forces of progress during the more than 60 years since Great October.

This matter, however, has another side. The bourgeoisie drew conclusions from its defeats and learned many things. It acts today more flexibly and utilizes various manners of preserving and strengthening its domination. Georgi Dimitrov said repeatedly that what the bourgeoisie cannot reach by a frontal attack against the communist movement, it will try to achieve by disintegration from within. Today the class enemy is using this tactic especially broadly and in significantly perfected ways, something which requires exceptional vigilance and the ability to guess, in a timely manner, the sinister anticommunist moves and designs, and foil them.

The communist and other vanguard parties in the three great continents--Asia, Africa and Latin America--are solving complex and varied problems. One witnesses here the struggle for consolidating national independence and against the acts of imperialism and neocolonialism, the struggle against hunger, poverty and regress, the struggle for civil rights and freedoms.

The movement of a great group of newly liberated countries along the road to social transformations has great historic significance. This is a new and powerful factor for mankind's progress. The striving of the vanguard parties of the young countries to rationally utilize the experience of socialism that has already been constructed, and their striving to master Marxist-Leninist science and develop active relations with the communist parties testifies to the dynamics and vitality of the international communist movement, which attracts everything good created by the world revolutionary process.

While evaluating the ideological heritage of Georgi Dimitrov, it is also appropriate to touch upon the subject of the relations between communists and social democrats.

Despite the fundamental ideological-political differences of opinion dividing these two currents of the international workers' movement, the CPSU considers it important and necessary to cooperate with the social democrats, above all in the struggle against the military threat. We do not tend to underestimate the significance of the participation of the socialists, social democrats, and laborites in the struggle against contemporary reaction, racism and apartheid and for democratic and social rights for the working people. However, without the communists it is impossible to achieve fundamental, or even big, social changes. In this context I shall remind you that the documents of the International Communist Movement state that communists are ready to develop cooperation with socialists, social democrats and laborites in the struggle for peace and democracy, and also in the struggle for socialism.

Today the communist movement again has to overcome a difficult road. The social and political conditions in which it acts are changing significantly. However, they include new opportunities for moving forward. Lenin stressed that the party "must take the changes into consideration, to 'use' them, to exploit them if I may say so, and simultaneously, to remain firm, to preserve the old experiences and to preserve the basic things not only in theory, but also in the forms of activity, in the program and in policy principles."

In this light, a correct and serious attitude toward theory and Marxism-Leninism are vitally important for the communist. Then the question arises why have separate opinions and official views appeared in some fraternal parties. And why, despite the fact that they recognize Lenin as a theorist, revolutionary and statesman, do they deny Leninism as an international teaching. The organic essence of Marxism and Leninism is placed under question mark.

It is not necessary here to prove point by point the topicality and vitality of Leninism. I shall only say the following:

Vladimir Ilich Lenin not only applied Marxism to the conditions of his country, but also developed theoretically and solved in practice the cardinal question of worldwide development in the contemporary epoch. Lenin developed the

science of building socialism, and led the Soviet republic for 6 years while implementing this science. Thus, because of Lenin's direct international theoretical and political activity, Marxism obtained a powerful impetus in its development and practical influence on world events during the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism.

Marxism-Leninism arms the revolutionary movement with the science of revolution and socialism. There is no other such science.

There is an important lesson in the entire experience of our movement and in the experience of the revolutionary transformation of the world in our epoch. The victories of the communists are inseparably linked with the principled and creative application of Marxism-Leninism in practice. Furthermore, the defeats, mistakes, weaknesses, failures, delays and lagging behind in development, and even the crises in some communist parties and socialist countries, of course taking into consideration subjective factors, are a result of weak knowledge of Leninism or a retreat from it under the pressure of opportunist advantages, nationalistic passion, lagging behind in the development of theory or changing it by dogmatic interpretation of Lenin's teachings or finally, a result of incorrect or indecisive application of the fundamental ideas and principles of Leninism.

Only Marxist-Leninist science allows one to see in prospective every topical development, opportunistic political design and tactical consideration. Only Marxism-Leninism allows one to see the general, international, significant and basic aspects behind the apparent chaos of events and limitless variety of developments. This is so because Marxist-Leninist theory represents a summary of the international experience. Therefore, comrades, the task of uniting the efforts of the fraternal parties in summarizing the revolutionary experience and developing the theory of scientific communism will never lose its topicality.

Marxism-Leninism has not and cannot grow older. As Georgi Dimitrov used to say, it is needed by communists like bread, air and water.

Precisely thus, the idea of proletarian internationalism has not and will never grow older. "Now there can be no question about the leadership of the communist movement from some common center," declared Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev already at the end of the sixties. "Every party is independently determining its political course. This, however, not only does not exclude, but on the contrary makes it imperative to coordinate their actions in the struggle against the common enemy." If a certain party stresses, as the criterion of its independence, its isolation from the communist movement, and opposes with its course the positions of the other fraternal parties, this means that especially under the present conditions, it is condemning itself to international isolation, and willingly or unwillingly it is joining another international power which opposes socialism and is even hostile to it.

The communists' internationalism organically includes solidarity with all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces, and with all fighters against imperialism and for national independence and social progress. The CPSU, for instance, as well as the other fraternal parties, is developing the broadest relations with other political forces. These are friendly, allied relations with tens of revolutionary-democratic and national-democratic parties, contacts with socialist and social-democratic parties, and relations with representatives of various social organizations and movements of a general-democratic character. We know from experience that joint activity and solidarity do not impose a denial of principles.

It is necessary and possible to strive toward mutual actions with other leftist, democratic, revolutionary and peace-loving forces, but not along the way of self-liquidation of the international communist movement, or self-proclaimed restriction of the prerogatives of that movement in the developed capitalist countries and even in West Europe only.

Comrades! In conclusion I would like to say that the following are the decisive preconditions of increasing the great and irreplaceable role of the communist movement:

--To do everything possible under the concrete conditions in which a party acts, in order to tame the aggressiveness of imperialism and prevent a nuclear war;

--To skillfully construct and perfect the socialist society, decisively defend it and render it international assistance;

--While solving the current tasks, to further conduct a struggle for implementing the urgent requirements of the people, and never to forget the final goal of the communists-revolutionaries;

--While marking the new goals, to conduct a struggle for expanding influence among the masses, to defend and expand everything which has been achieved by socialism, the workers' class and the working people;

--To preserve, develop and enrich with new content fraternal relations among the communist parties, while strengthening the solidarity and mutual activity of all peace-loving, progressive and revolutionary forces of our time;

--To never relinquish the principled and class attitude in the political and ideological struggle under any circumstances;

--Finally, by creatively developing the revolutionary theory, to carefully protect and take into consideration the principles and conclusions of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, which have been tested by life, and to seriously study and objectively enrich the experience of the fraternal parties and other revolutionary forces.

The BCP and the Bulgarian people, under the glorious leadership of secretary general Comrade Todor Zhivkov, following the behest of Georgi Dimitrov, is confidently marching along the road of strengthening and developing socialism and friendship with the USSR, and is making a great contribution to the struggle for strengthening peace. We greet this from the bottom of our hearts.

The communists and their friends and allies are facing complex and difficult tasks. They face a strenuous and tense struggle in the name of peace, stopping the arms race and removing the danger of a nuclear war, in the name of independence and freedom of the peoples, and in the name of democracy and socialism. This struggle requires our total selflessness, mobilization of all forces, mutual understanding and mutual support.

The Soviet communists, closely rallied around the Leninist Central Committee and its Politburo, led by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, will further make all efforts in order to march toward the lofty goals, in the ranks of the communist movement, together and in close unity with the fraternal parties.

Finally, allow me to express our sincere gratitude to the BCP Central Committee and the secretary general of its Central Committee, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, for the invitation to take part in this representative and important conference and for the excellent conditions for our work.

In conclusion, we can say the following: The cause and thought of Georgi Dimitrov are living in the hearts of the new generations of communists, and are inspiring them to a selfless struggle which doubtlessly will be crowned by new victories.

Thank you for your attention! (prolonged and stormy applause)

Axen Speech

AU180917 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jun 82 p 6

[Report on address of Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the International Scientific Conference on the 100th birthday of Georgi Dimitrov in Sofia on 14 June]

[Text] In the 1,300 years of their history the Bulgarian people have made great achievements for world civilization. With the victorious establishment of the socialist society it is making the most important contribution for the progress of mankind. And this decisive turn in history is forever linked with the revolutionary heroism and the genius of Georgi Dimitrov, Hermann Axen stressed in his address at the International Scientific Conference in Sofia.

Filled with deep gratitude for this great leader of the Bulgarian and the International Workers Movement, our delegation conveys the fraternal greetings of the SED Central Committee and its secretary General Comrade Erich Honecker

to the party and people of Dimitrov. We greet the delegations of fraternal parties from all countries whose participation demonstrates anew that the international communist movement is the most influential political force today.

Experiences Are of Great Topicality

Threatened with death by the fascist barbarians in the Reichstag fire trial, Georgi Dimitrov was not only the shining example of an undaunted fighter of the workers class but he also kindled there the signal for worldwide antifascist resistance. His final address before the Supreme Court of the German Reich in Leipzig developed into an inspiring plea for communism, an enthusiastic accusation against the brownshirt arsonists, above all into an enormous appeal which caused the great movement of the struggle against war and fascism in the entirety of peace-loving, progressive mankind.

We are acting entirely in the spirit of Dimitrov, the speaker declared, when we use his great experiences as instruction in the struggle to solve the urgent tasks of our time, above all the most important one--the securing of peace.

The ruling U.S. circles want, he stressed, to stop the further shrinking of their spheres of domination and influence at all cost. Since President Reagan took office they have striven adventurously not only to allow no further losses but also to recover lost ground.

In the present struggle against the confrontation and intensified armament policy of U.S. imperialism, the experiences of the communist world movement and Georgi Dimitrov are particularly topical. Georgi Dimitrov let himself be guided by the principles that it is not enough to only want peace: "For peace one must fight," he wrote. "It is absolutely insufficient to make general propaganda against war."

He tried to unite all democratic and anti-imperialist forces in a broad peace front. In the nuclear age Dimitrov's ideas of broad alliances, of avoiding any narrowness in the peace struggle, of the most comprehensive cooperation of all peace-loving forces against the main enemy of the peoples, against the aggressive and adventurous policy of imperialism is more topical than ever before.

In his address Hermann Axen referred to the fact that the growing breadth of the peace movement as well as the manifoldness of the national and social liberation struggle bring up new questions which must be answered creatively. The number of the problems of worldwide importance which can only be solved by the joint action of the revolutionary main streams of our time is steadily increasing. Never before has the responsibility of the communist and workers parties been greater then today--to serve the peace interests of the peoples by their joint action unselfishly and efficiently and to bridle in time the arsonists of a new war.

As the speaker stressed, Georgi Dimitrov proceeded in his entire work from the inseparable relationship between socialism and peace. He was most deeply convinced that for the workers class throughout the world the connection of peace and socialism with the October Revolution and the existence of the socialist Soviet Union presented itself in a qualitatively new way.

In accordance with this basic principle of proletarian internationalism we German Communists are waging an unswerving struggle at the side of the first socialist state of the world, the head of the SED delegation declared.

We most resolutely oppose views which say that this attitude was right during the time when the Soviet Union had to resist the capitalist embrace alone, but that since world socialism exists today, such an attitude is no longer necessary. We do not believe that such a fundamental question can be approached with the yardsticks of a bookkeeper--is there one or are there several socialist countries which one should be committed to. As Hermann Axen said, it is much more the quality which matters in all cases. This means the class content of the policy which is being pursued by the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries in building the new society and in securing world peace.

The increased political, military and economic strength of the Soviet Union, of the entire socialist community is proving a decisive factor in world politics, especially today.

Full Support for the USSR Initiatives

The SED and our socialist GDR fully support the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress and the recent peace initiatives of Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev. They offer a constructive basis for concrete disarmament measures and for improving the global situation. They provide peace-loving mankind with the certainty of not being helplessly at the mercy of the imperialist danger of war.

Now in the 1980's all countries of our community are--of course with differences in the concrete development stage of the society--facing principally the same task in further shaping the developed socialist society, which is: to more strongly emphasize the superiority of socialism in all decisive fields in all our countries. To meet these tasks, Hermann Axen stressed, it is necessary to take decisive steps toward achieving a leading position in the field of labor productivity in the next period.

As the party congresses of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries have demonstrated, real socialism--despite all growth problems and burdens--has in general now achieved such starting positions that this fundamental task can be brought step by step to the historic solution foreseen by Lenin. The path of the GDR to these aims has been marked by the 10th SED Congress

With the economic strategy of the 1980's. At the same time the SED supports the proposal of Comrade Brezhnev to achieve a higher level of socialist economic integration by collectively working out and constantly consulting on the economic policy of the CEMA countries.

Closely Allied With the Bulgarian People

Georgi Dimitrov, the head of the SED delegation stressed, contributed toward shaping a great part of the history of the close relations between German and Bulgarian communists. As early as the beginning of the 1920's he was linked with the revolutionary German workers movement. Georgi Dimitrov attentively followed the "antifascist action" led by the KPD and Ernst Thaelmann which was to unite all antifascist forces in Germany in order to oppose the threatening fascist danger.

For many years Georgi Dimitrov closely cooperated with comrades Wilhelm Pieck and Wilhelm Florin not only in the presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International. He always paid the utmost attention to the struggle of the KPD against fascism and war and actively supported this struggle. After the liberation of the peoples from fascism by the Soviet Union and with the beginning of the people's revolution in Bulgaria and on the territory of today's GDR, the militant partnership between Georgi Dimitrov and the leaders of the SED, which had been tested for many decades, took a new form.

Today the fraternal cooperation between the SED and the BCP has become daily practice in all fields, and inseparable ties of friendship have developed between the Bulgarian and GDR people.

As Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, declared on his visit to Dimitrov's home country, "The close friendship and unity of action of our parties form the basis of our successes which have been achieved so far and guarantee future successes. Thus...we have fulfilled and will fulfill the firm legacy of the great leaders of the German and Bulgarian workers movement, the unforgettable internationalists Ernst Thaelmann and Georgi Dimitrov."

PCF's Lazard Addresses Conference

AU171425 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jun 82 pp 4, 5

[Statement by Francette Lazard, member of the French Communist Party Politburo, at conference devoted to Dimitrov's birth centenary in Sofia on 15 June]

[Excerpts] Georgi Dimitrov's report at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935, which was based on a detailed and comprehensive analysis, was an essential and concrete step forward for the revolutionaries.

Following the victory over Nazism, the communists immediately faced a historic turning point: the ratio of the forces in favor of reforms had increased. How could one regard the basic political prospects of socialism under these changed

conditions? In 1945-1946 the theoretical analysis and political initiatives which were original attempts to give a meaning to the revolutionary activity multiplied everywhere. Georgi Dimitrov succeeded in showing courage when it was necessary and rejecting everything obsolete that could hinder the movement's progress and he found a way for understanding the new problems and a path toward their solution.

In the existing conditions, the building of socialism in our country and the widespread development of international solidarity go hand in hand. This is because the variety of the paths in this respect is an expression of the entirety, the complex nature and the contradictions of this process of reform that is having such an impact on our era.

This is also because the revolution is at the same time developing as the totality of the most varied national phenomena and as a factor for reforming the world, and this requires a new internationalism that is in keeping with our times. Socialism can only be a result of the actual development of society and of the perception of its contradictions and this presupposes the presence of one essential factor--the participation of the creative initiative of the masses.

In our opinion, it is not enough to adapt or update the existing models of revolutionary activity. The discussion and experiment on the paths toward socialist construction and development could be enriched just because of the variety of its nature. Regardless of the fierce counteroffensive of imperialism, this world movement is evidence of the multilateral and growing striving of the people to search for an original way of their own to build a better society.

That is why we are in solidarity with all forces in the world struggling for peace, progress, justice, freedom, independence and socialism--based on our common goals and on a respect for the existing differences and varieties.

Cuban Delegate's Speech

AU221635 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jun 82 p 6

[Speech by Antonio Perez Herrero, Cuban Communist Party Secretariat member and candidate member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, at International Ideological Conference in Sofia marking the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth, on 16 June 1982]

[Text] On behalf of the Cuban Communist Party we express our gratitude to the BCP for the invitation to participate in this event held on the occasion of Georgi Dimitrov's centennial. This conference is being convened in a prosperous country, in a world characterized by the decisive presence of socialism, and at the time when the most cherished aspirations for the unity of actions of the working people, of the peoples, and of their leading forces are being implemented.

Dimitrov's greatness, which goes beyond the boundaries of his native land and of the era in which he lived, consists of the fact that he understood with exceptional thoroughness the essence and demands of one of the most important and stormy periods of history. This was a time when the peoples saved themselves from the greatest threat to them and resisted fascism. Fascism was the political offspring of the most reactionary circles of imperialism, which, in turn, regarded fascism as an alternative to the expansion of the international communist and revolutionary movement, as a force to be launched against the first workers and peasants state in the world.

In our time, when reaction regards racism and apartheid--whose monstrous nature reminds us of the ideas implemented in concentration camps--as legal forms of administration; at a time when Zionism--which holds in contempt the Arab peoples and attempts to destroy the Palestinian people--reminds us of the Hitlerites who killed millions of Jews; when the oppression institutionalized in Latin America covered Chile with blood and caused the death of Salvador Allende; when thousands of patriots are in prison, causing pain and insecurity; we demand that those who have disappeared should be returned to their families, and the families are calling for this.

The Bulgarian people deeply understood Dimitrov's teaching, and on 9 September 1944 the victory of socialist revolution put a glorious end to the centuries-old struggle for preserving the state, the territorial integrity and culture, for achieving national independence and the victory of democracy, of social progress and socialism under the confident leadership of the communist party and of Georgi Dimitrov.

Recalling today, on the occasion of his centennial, the most important events in Georgi Dimitrov's life and work, his contribution to revolutionary theory and practice and evaluating the thoroughness of his political thought, we are seeing first of all his unshakable approach to the first state of workers and peasants. For Dimitrov yesterday, as it is today for our party and for communists all over the world, internationalism is, above all, determined by our approach to the Soviet Union, and the defense of the Soviet Union is a criterion of true internationalism.

The peoples of Latin America, who have waged a merciless struggle, are now striving with new strength to protect their independence, to eliminate the remnants of colonialism and to liberate the peoples who are still oppressed by oligarchies and by proimperialist regimes. The peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala, with unprecedented heroism are waging that same struggle which yesterday was waged by Nicaragua, Grenada and Cuba and which was victorious. These peoples are making efforts to overcome imperialist aggression, to overcome the epoch of centuries-old, merciless exploitation and, with the help of their true friends, to build a new society.

In recent weeks the attention of the international public was focused on a small archipelago, situated in the South Atlantic, toward which the British fleet had sailed, with unprecedented propaganda haughtiness and anachronistic

arrogance, in order to restore British domination over the Malvinas. The British-Argentinian conflict is not, as the imperialists like to describe it, a purely territorial conflict, but the struggle of the Argentinian people against colonial domination which has been going on for almost 200 years.

Today more than ever, Georgi Dimitrov's lessons and his call for unity are becoming a weapon in the hands of worldwide proletariat and in the hands of the people, an ideological weapon in their struggle to preserve peace and for liberation, despite the insane attempts of those who are trying to turn back history and are dreaming of reviving the nightmare of war and fascism.

The complicated political and military atmosphere today is further affected by the deep economic crisis of capitalism. The consequences of this crisis are felt throughout the world economy, but the most dramatic effects are on the so-called Third World, where millions of people are living under inhuman conditions. Under these difficult circumstances, we communists and revolutionaries are called upon to fulfill our duty and struggle unrelentingly against the common enemy. Under these circumstances the struggle for peace is intertwined with the struggle against backwardness, injustice and starvation, to which the developing countries are subjected.

In the critical and difficult moments through which mankind is living, the unity of action of progressive people throughout the world, of all revolutionary forces and of the glorious international communist movement is more necessary than ever before.

The Cuban Communist Party and all our people will not spare any efforts in the struggle to preserve peace and to build a united front, as large as possible, with all those who are trying to escape nuclear disaster. This indefatiguable struggle for the preservation of thousands of years of human civilization will take a worthy place in the vanguard of the heroic Bulgarian people under the leadership of their communist party and their beloved leader, Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

Cuban Radio Reports Delegate's Speech

PA182209 Havana International Service in Spanish 1800 GMT 16 Jun 82

[Text] Antonio Perez Herrero, Cuban Communist Party Secretariat member, stressed the efficacy of the united front's strategy in preventing a new world catastrophe, while speaking at the international conference entitled Georgi Dimitrov and the contemporary world, which opened in Sofia yesterday on the occasion of the centennial of that Bulgarian patriot's birth. The conference is being attended by delegations from over 130 countries.

After pointing out that the struggle for peace is linked to the struggle against underdevelopment, Perez Herrero reiterated the decision of the Cuban Communist Party and the Cuban people to exert every possible effort to achieve the creation of the broadest possible front among all forces that wish to prevent a new world conflagration.

He also noted that the constant attacks on the Arab nations, Angola, Vietnam, Nicaragua and recently on the Malvinas Islands amount to irrefutable proof of the aggressiveness of the world's reactionary forces.

KWP Delegate's Speech

AU221505 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jun 82 p 3

[Speech by Kim Yong-nam, Politburo member and secretary of the Korean Workers Party (KWP) Central Committee, at the International Theoretical Conference devoted to Georgi Dimitrov's centennial, held 15-17 June 1982 at the Sofia Palace of Culture]

[Excerpt] Imperialism and fascism still remain dangerous aggressive forces which persist in their insolent provocations against the peoples' cause devoted to international peace and security.

After having established themselves in Asia and particularly in Korea, deploying numerous aggressive armed forces, nuclear weapons and other types of means of mass destruction, the U.S. imperialists transformed these countries into absolute colonies, into a springboard of aggression directed against the Korean and Asian peoples. And they are madly preparing themselves to unleash a new war against our country.

The puppet clique of Chon Tu-hwan, under U.S. auspices, established an extreme military-fascist dictatorship in South Korea and is subjecting the South Korean people to barbaric repressive measures.

Because of the U.S. criminal machinations, because of the manipulations of the South Korean puppet clique in connection with establishing "two Koreas," and because of provocative military actions, the danger of an eternal division of the nation and of a new war is increasingly being intensified in our country.

In Europe, too, American imperialism is intending to deploy new medium-range missiles and even produce neutron bombs which are endangering peace and security in Europe.

In his report to the Fourth KWP Congress, reflecting the demands of the epoch and of revolutionary development, Comrade Kim Il-song, our people's great leader, mapped out a strategic plan for the implementation of a broad united front under the banner of anti-imperialism and independence, and for the coordination of actions by the peace-loving peoples of our planet.

Cohesion is the most powerful weapon in the hands of the workers class and of all oppressed peoples. This cohesion is the source of their invincible strength.

Aggression and robbery are the main character traits of imperialism. Its nature cannot change and weaken, so long as the capitalist system itself in

which monopoly capitalism is prevailing, has not been destroyed. If anything changes about imperialists it will not be their aggressive nature, but the methods of their aggression.

In the past the U.S. ruling circles "publicly promised" to withdraw their aggressive troops and their nuclear arms from South Korea, but one day they changed these "commitments" and actively supported the militarist-fascist dictatorial regime of Chon Tu-hwan--this most inveterate oppressor of democracy and of human rights. Judging from this fact, it is quite obvious that their tales about "peace" and the "defense of human rights" are nothing but a perfidious maneuver as regards the people.

All revolutionary peoples in the world must firmly stand on anti-imperialist positions of principle.

Along with this, we must render active support to and solidarity with the peoples struggling against imperialist aggression and interference in defending national independence and sovereignty, while at the same time striving for coordinated actions.

Our party highly appreciates the just activities and efforts of the BCP, headed by the esteemed Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and of the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to guarantee peace and security in Europe and to transform the Balkan Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, into a zone of peace. Our party expresses its support and solidarity to this policy, Kim Yong-nam stated in conclusion.

Under the banner of anti-imperialism, independence and unity, our party will also in the future, as in the past, struggle for a militant cohesion of the socialist states' countries, and for alliance with the nonaligned countries, as well as with the peace-loving forces on the globe, against the policy of imperialist aggression and war, to guarantee peace and security on our planet.

Zimyanin Speech

AU221608 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Jun 82 p 3

[Speech by Mikhayl Zimyanin, CPSU Central Committee secretary, at the International Theoretical Conference on "Georgi Dimitrov's Cause and Our Time" on 17 June 1982 in Sofia]

[Text] Georgi Dimitrov, the Bulgarian people's great son, entered the history of the worldwide revolutionary movement as a remarkable proletarian revolutionary-Leninist and as an ardent patriot, as well as internationalist and a loyal friend of the Soviet Union. All his life was devoted to the struggle for the people's freedom and happiness, to the victory of socialism.

His infinite devotion to the workers class, his bright, thoughtful mind and his inexhaustible revolutionary energy and manly courage, his talent as a politician, organizer and educator of the communists and of the broad working

masses elevated him to a tremendous historical level. As leader of the BCP, and of the Bulgarian workers class, as ardent antifascist and revolutionary herald, as a fearless fighter who transformed the Leipzig trial into a trial against fascism, Georgi Dimitrov was worthily elected to the post of secretary general of the Comintern Executive Committee. His remarkable qualities as one of the outstanding leaders of the International Communist Movement--who devoted his tremendous energies and his wonderful talent as a theoretician, politician and organizer in creating a united antifascist front of the workers class and all working people in the struggle against fascism and war--were manifested in this post. Georgi Dimitrov's report to the Seventh Comintern Congress in 1935 contained a comprehensive analysis and synthesis of the program on the unity of the antifascist front which was embodied in the strategy of the proletariat and of its allies in the antifascist, anti-imperialist struggle.

As secretary general of the Comintern, Georgi Dimitrov did not separate himself even for one moment from the heroic struggle of the BCP for the Bulgarian people's freedom and independence. In the years of hard historical trials for the communists and the workers class in his motherland, Georgi Dimitrov tempered a proletarian party of a new, Leninist type and conducted it along the path of a tense, illegal and armed struggle against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship and against German fascism. This path was crowned by a nation-wide uprising on 9 September 1944 in which the working people in Bulgaria, with the support of the Soviet army, overthrew the regime which was already in decay.

The BCP, headed by Georgi Dimitrov, worked out a plan on the development of socialism in Bulgaria and widely introduced its practical implementation. Bulgaria is a socialist state today with developed industry, collective agriculture and a high level of education, science and culture. The fact that within the last 10 years a second Bulgaria was built, as Comrade Tudor Zhivkov eloquently declared, confirms the stormy upsurge of material and intellectual forces in that country.

The BCP which is headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, outstanding leader of the international communist and workers movement and loyal continuer of Georgi Dimitrov's cause, is following a consistent trend toward further developing the socialist production forces of the country, intensifying the national economy and perfecting the political system of society, as well as a trend toward improving the people's material and cultural standards.

The Soviet and Bulgarian communists not only preserved but also multiplied the deep historical traditions of friendship between our two countries. This friendship is developing with dynamic strength and is assuming new qualitative features from year to year.

At the August 1981 meeting in the Crimea held between Comrades L. I. Brezhnev and Todor Zhivkov, new measures were outlined for intensifying comprehensive cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR, particularly in the economic sector, which are intensifying the socialist economic integration existing between the two countries on the basis of long-term purpose-oriented programs.

We, the communists and all working people in the Soviet Union, are ardently rejoicing at the historical successes of the Bulgarian people, at the fact that Bulgaria is consistently acting as an inseparable part of the worldwide socialist community, which is advancing in the vanguard of mankind's progress, and represents an unshakable support in the peoples' struggle for democracy, national independence and socialism.

The Soviet society's joyful and busy life is proceeding today under the influence of the historical decisions adopted at the 26th CPSU Congress. The Soviet people are implementing the program of building communism worked out by the congress.

At the same time, a beneficial process of further consolidating the fraternal unity of all nations and nationalities in our country is being accomplished, a process of comprehensively drawing closer together on the basis of the principles of Leninist national policy, and consistent implementation of these principles by the CPSU and the Soviet state.

In the Soviet Union, we have achieved the unshakable sociopolitical, ideological and international unity of our society; under the circumstances of this unshakable unity the Soviet people are preparing to welcome the 65th anniversity of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the USSR.

We are proud of the fact that, together with us, the other peoples in the fraternal socialist countries have achieved tremendous successes in building a new life.

This is precisely why the forces of imperialism and reaction exhibit bitter hatred against worldwide socialism, and against the Soviet Union in particular. With their malicious anticommunist and anti-Soviet propaganda war, with their ideological diversions, the aggressive U.S. circles and their lackeys are trying to mask their own hegemonist and militarist attempts, which are aimed at achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union and its allies and tying the European peoples to the nuclear policy of the United States, as well as at transforming these countries into nuclear hostages of the United States and imposing U.S. diktat and the imperialist hegemony over the world.

Recently, the imperialist circles and the Beijing leaders who are echoing them, greatly propagate the thesis about some kind of alleged "crisis" of the social system in the socialist countries. However, it is sufficient to compare the most important indexes on the state and development of economic, social and cultural life in the countries of both global systems to clearly see the inconsistency, the false character of the lies invented by our enemies and by their Beijing helpers.

The wise Leninist policy of peace finds its consistent pursuit and continuation in the creative peace program for the eighties submitted by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, and complemented by him with new important and peace-loving initiatives.

L. I. Brezhnev's message to the participants in the second special U.N. General Assembly session on disarmament is a brilliant, new confirmation of the Soviet Union's concern with the preservation and consolidation of peace, with the prevention of a nuclear disaster. In this message Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev declared that the USSR is assuming the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

This historical decision is complemented by a number of proposals about freezing and stopping the arms race as a first step along the path of their essential limitation and of facilitating universal disarmament.

We look into the future with optimism. The anniversary of Georgi Dimitrov, Bulgaria's great son, gives us the splendid opportunity to confirm to the whole world the readiness of the communists and of all fighters for the cause of peace and freedom to wage a tireless and selfless as well as joint struggle for the noble and humanitarian goals of working mankind--for the ideals of peace and socialism.

Czyrek Addresses Meeting

AU211827 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jun 82 p 7

[PAP Report: "Poland's Experiences Confirm the Present Interest of G. Dimitrov's Ideas--Jozef Czyrek's Speech at the International Theoretical Conference in Sofia"--passaged between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /Sofia (PAP)--Below we publish the text of the speech delivered at the 17 June session of the International Theoretical Conference in Sofia, "Georgi Dimitrov's Work and Our Times," by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, and Polish foreign affairs minister./

The birth centenary of Georgi Dimitrov coincides with the centenary of founding the first socialist party of the Polish workers--the "Great Proletariat." This fact is symbolic. It induces us to give thought to the sources of Marxism in Bulgaria and in Poland, and to its influence on the destinies of our peoples and states.

The Communist Party's Leading Role

/In Georgi Dimitrov's theoretical works and practical activity, a key position belongs to the problem of the Communist Party's role in creating socialism./

The topicality of Dimitrov's ideas has been confirmed against the background of the deep sociopolitical and economic crisis building up in our country for years. Dimitrov's fundamental thesis was the idea that, in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, it was necessary to preserve and consolidate the leading role of the communist party.

Following Lenin, Dimitrov regarded the communist party as a political, ideological and organizational force capable of controlling the difficult processes of socialist construction.

/At the same time Dimitrov strongly emphasized that the leading role had not been granted to the party once and for all. The party must constantly fight for its position, must win and justify the confidence of the workers class and the working people by its correct policy and by uncompromising defense of their interests./

Historical practice has confirmed Dimitrov's idea that a deviation from the universal patterns of building socialism, disregard for the vanguard role of the workers class, and incorrect relations between the state and party leadership--between the party apparatus, on the one hand, and the class and society on the other--result in serious errors and cause enormous harm to the communist movement.

/It was precisely the violation of the PZPR's links with the working people in the seventies that helped the adversaries of socialism take up counter-revolutionary activity./ Launching in theory and practice the so-called all-national policy and the thesis of the nation's moral and political unity signified underestimating class principles, ideological electism and the infiltration of the non-Marxist--social democratic and anarchosyndicalist--concepts of socialism in the workers class.

/While endeavoring to overthrow socialism in Poland, to wrench our country away from the socialist community, and to unleash another campaign against the USSR and the cause of communism, the internal and external enemies took advantage of those weaknesses./ Poland was confronted with the threat of a civil war. The martial law imposed by the constitutional authorities of the Polish People's Republic has impeded the further dismantling of the socialist state and foiled the plans of our adversaries.

/The party bears responsibility for the future, for the destinies of the millions of Poles, for Poland's place in the community of the socialist states and for its security./ Friendship and alliance with the USSR and other fraternal countries are a fundamental condition for the successful development of socialist Poland. Polish patriots are constantly aware of that interdependence. G. Dimitrov's dictum that one's attitude to the Soviet Union and the CPSU is the yardstick of real internationalism has been confirmed.

/How topical for Polish communists is Dimitrov's idea set forth in his speech at the Fifth Bulgarian Communist Party Congress to the effect that the highest wisdom of a communist consists in an honest, sincere and speedy realization of his mistakes, and in finding and eliminating the causes of the mistakes!/ The willingness to remedy the deformations, to accept criticism and to exert self-criticism is evidence of the party's strength, of its uncompromising spirit in the struggle for the interests of the workers class.

The PZPR emerged from the 1980-1981 events with losses, but tempered. However, this does not signify that the opportunist and revisionist trends had been finally overcome. /The Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum found that "opportunism is primarily irresoluteness, the practice of dodging about and adapting submissively to any current situation./ As experience has shown, the opportunist current causes destruction in the ranks of the party, proves to be an objective ally for antisocialist forces, and constitutes a real threat."

The seventh plenum also found that all those who acted outside the party's democratic structures and, while brandishing left-wing phraseology, were trying to change those structures, were also harmful to the party. G. Dimitrov criticized some communists suffering from the "infantile disorders of left-wing communism."

G. Dimitrov, Poland and the Poles

/Each party's tactics should arise from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the specific reality, from society's willingness to materialize the principles of the socialist system, from concrete conditions for the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction existing in each country./ A discriminating treatment of this problem and voluntarism in activity result in isolation and in alienation between the party and the workers class. Under the influence of various illusions and traditions, G. Dimitrov wrote, the people's masses are apt to hesitate and err and, as a result of these errors, to incur serious dangers. The events in Poland have clearly shown how attractive and dangerous to society some slogans--quite misleading and deviating from the path of building socialism--might be when the party detaches itself from the masses and disregards the universal patterns of building a new system.

The Poles, Poland and the Polish workers movement were within the circle of G. Dimitrov's interests almost as long as the latter was active in the International Workers Movement. He always tried to understand the complex Polish problems and to help settle them.

/The birth centenary of Georgi Dimitrov is a good occasion to bring to mind the life and works, the deeds and ideas of that prominent communist, patriot and internationalist. Many problems taken up by him are as topical today as they were then, are appreciated by our contemporaries for their durability and the boldness of practical settlements, and are to a great extent applicable in analyzing the Polish reality in its present shape./

This applies, for example, to the idea of national accord in our country and to the role and place of trade unions. G. Dimitrov, who during World War II and in the postwar period theoretically documented and verified in political practice the historic necessity of a national front, and specified its tasks, was seriously interested in both those issues.

/Dimitrov emphasized that the workers class in a socialist state was not in opposition to the latter, but on the contrary, through its trade unions, should become a decisive social, economic, cultural and political factor in the country. Dimitrov professed the need for the functions of defending the interests of the workers class to be skillfully combined in trade unions with systematic services and work for the benefit of the entire society. This thesis is as topical today as it was then./

As an antifascist and a champion of peace, Dimitrov is particularly near and dear to our party and people.

The Need for Uniting All Forces of Peace

The threat of a war has now increased alarmingly again. Instead of disarmament talks, the United States and its NATO allies are offering the world a new stage of forceful armament; instead of settling conflicts, they are aggravating and provoking new ones, and instead of a dialogue and cooperation--cold-war rhetorics and ruining the achievements of detente.

/It is the duty of our parties before their own societies, it is the duty of the movement as a whole before mankind to protect the world against the catastrophe of war./ Notwithstanding the difficulties experienced, Poland will continue to actively participate in the struggle for peace in the solidarity front of the states of the socialist community and of the entire communist and workers movement. All the objective conditions exist for our triumph: the peaceful strategy pursued by the Soviet Union and its allies, grounded on a material force; the increasingly active commitment of communist parties in the struggle for peace; the spontaneous integration of the masses in the front common to us, and the national liberation movement that is growing stronger year in and year out.

/The course and atmosphere of the second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament show distinctly what forces in the world are for peace, detente and disarmament talks, and what forces are provoking tensions in the world and are responsible for forcing the arms race./ We highly value the Soviet Union's constructive position manifested at the session by Comrade A. Gromyko. The message addressed by Leonid Brezhnev to the UN General Assembly is an extremely important and politically interesting document.

/It is highly important to coordinate our activities and to unite all forces of peace and democracy in the struggle against the imperialist war threat./ In our movement, we must give thought to the possible forms of such cooperation, to rallying our ranks on the principles of international solidarity, and we must take concrete steps in this sphere.

Achievements of Universal Importance

G. Dimitrov's theoretical achievements and ideological heritage are enormous. They belong to the Bulgarian people, their workers class and communist party, but at the same time they are shared by the entire international workers and

communist movement. /Dimitrov's life and work go far beyond the national framework and are of universal significance, because he himself was able to develop and apply the science of Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner, and analyzed the processes and phenomena in sociopolitical life and in the class struggle in in new way. He resolutely opposed schemes and routine, and fought dogmatism in thought and action./

Bilak Speech

AU220909 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jun 82 p 3

["Full text" of speech by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the 16 June session of the International Theoretical Conference in Sofia marking the centenary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov; passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The CPCZ welcomes the convening of this conference on the life and work of the great son of the Bulgarian people and ardent internationalist Georgi Dimitrov. Today we jointly commemorate the 100th anniversary of Dimitrov's birth, an outstanding figure of our century who has become a legend and personification of the struggle against fascism and war and for a lasting peace and whose lifelong work rightly belongs to the entire international revolutionary movement.

When we profess allegiance today to the legacy of Georgi Dimitrov, we do so especially to draw on his work and ideas and to develop the values that are of lasting validity.

Georgi Dimitrov's greatness lay in his grasp of the historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution and in his ability to project this knowledge into his revolutionary activity. He gave all his powers, talent and skills to the struggle for a revolutionary transformation of the world in the spirit of the ideological legacy of the Great October. He was among the most dedicated friends and most passionate defenders of the Soviet Union. His greatest enemies were the enemies of the first land of socialism. He regarded the attitude to the Soviet Union and its Leninist Communist Party as the touchstone of every genuine revolutionary and internationalist. Even today his words are topical that /"The Soviet Union is not an ordinary state--it is the work of the Soviet proletariat and the world revolution. Its true borders pass through the whole world and comprise everything that lives for the workers class and its cause."/

Georgi Dimitrov exerted immense efforts to unite the revolutionary workers movement on the principles of scientific socialism, under the banner of Leninism and proletarian internationalism. He was a man of great erudition and culture who had a perfect command of the Leninist strategy and tactics of class struggle. No matter how complex the changes in the political events were, he was always up to the requirements of the times: being dedicated to

the cause of the workers class, loyal to his communist conviction and critical and self-critical, he did not draw conclusions from wishes but solely from a sober analysis of reality. He creatively applied revolutionary theory.

Georgi Dimitrov proved his extraordinary talent for a political leader of the modern, Leninist type who is capable of combining theoretical thought with political and administrative work in the most responsible posts as a front-ranking official of the BCP and the Communist Internationale.

Georgi Dimitrov is being rightly ranked among the figures who made a significant contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism in the thirties and forties. With his work, at the heart of which was struggle against fascism on the national and international scales--a struggle which he knew very well must result in the liberation of nations that had fallen victim to fascist aggression and in the victory of democratic and socialist revolutions--he demonstrated with exemplary persuasiveness that Marxism-Leninism is a living and invincible doctrine; that it is a guideline for effective revolutionary practice; and a teaching that can inspire and rouse the masses of working people to historical deeds.

There was no discrepancy between Georgi Dimitrov's conviction and deeds, between the principles he championed and his life. It was, therefore, quite logical that a person like Georgi Dimitrov could become the legendary hero of the famous Leipzig trial. Dimitrov knew well the dangerous, insidious and experienced character of imperialism; he knew how perfectly it commands and makes use of the "divide and conquer" method; he knew that it does not shy away from any methods--deception, slander, disorientation, bribery and organization of provocations and murders. The Leipzig trial was an example showing what fascists, the most reactionary agency of imperialism, are capable of. Georgi Dimitrov deserves immortal credit for the fact that the scenario, aimed at compromising communists and justifying mass terror, did not come off. /Owing to Georgi Dimitrov's courageous stance, the provocation of setting the Reichstag on fire was not only exposed, but the trial turned into an accusation of fascism./ The world public was thus able to convince itself right after the founding of the so-called Third Reich that fascism is associated with crime and that communists are the most consistent fighters against fascism. Further developments confirmed this fully.

As secretary general of the Communist Internationale, he issued at its seventh congress in August 1935, in the name of the entire communist movement, the historical appeal to all democratic and progressive forces to set up a broad people's front for the struggle against fascism and for preserving world peace. How instructive and in many respects still relevant is the speech delivered then by Georgi Dimitrov! It is a profound analysis of the emergence and character of fascism, which was begotten by the reactionary forces of world imperialism in an attempt to find a way out of the general crisis of the capitalist system and to halt the social progress triggered by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Georgi Dimitrov correctly proceeded from the assumption that the defense of peace, bourgeois democracy and rights and liberties--no matter how limited--against the fascist threat was in the intrinsic interest of the workers class and one of the important prerequisites for a transition to socialism. Unfortunately, many people refused at that time to seize the outstretched hand. They did not understand that the tactics of the "lesser evil"--the sacrifice of Austria and Czechoslovakia--would not stop fascism in its aggressive crusade but, on the contrary, would encourage it. They did so in the concealed hope that the fascist regime would help them liquidate communism and the Soviet Union.

As in the period when Georgi Dimitrov lived, now, too, imperialism is taking its all on military force. It is the main instrument by means of which it wants to stop or at least to slow down the law-governed development of the world revolutionary process. How many similarities with Dimitrov's period there are! The most reactionary imperialist forces representing the interests of the military-industrial complex would be willing to unleash a nuclear war even at the price of the destruction of Europe and their European allies, if they had the certainty that they would succeed in liquidating the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We are once again facing the world reaction's aggressive, anti-peace strategy, in which the tendency toward confrontation with the forces of socialism and progress prevails. The dangerous war plans of imperialism today pose a threat to the very existence of mankind. All the more urgent is the validity of Dimitrov's legacy to concentrate all forces against this threat, to defend and protect peace. Today, when life on our planet is in jeopardy through the fault of imperialism, it is necessary to advance even further--/to establish the broadest possible front of all forces that can contribute to averting war./ A nuclear war would affect everyone; there would not be any difference between atheists and believers, communists and socialists, soldiers and civilians, citizens of Eastern, Central or Western Europe.

The greater and more complex the tasks facing mankind in the endeavor to preserve peace, the greater becomes the international role and responsibility of communists as the most resolute and most consistent fighters against the danger of a war catastrophe, as the most important political force of our epoch. That is why the international unity and interaction of all communists from all over the world on this cardinal issue is particularly important. Our strategy of peace must be even more effectively pitted against the imperialist strategy of war and aggression. /Also in this struggle for mankind's future in peace, Dimitrov's legacy is a living one. It is even more urgent than ever before./

A situation in which the American President declares with such arrogance and brutality and without any scruples a crusade against the socialist countries, the national liberation movement, communism and progress makes it literally imperative to mobilize as broadly as possible all anti-imperialist, revolutionary and progressive forces. It is essential to unite especially our own

ranks, not to succumb to illusions, not to weaken our vigilance and watchfulness, not to belittle anything in our work and to approach our duties, be it on the national or international scales, with a great sense of responsibility for preserving the human civilization and culture.

We believe that we are acting in the spirit of Georgi Dimitrov's legacy when we demand that our parties, communist and revolutionary workers parties, regardless of where in the world they work, should have the opportunity from time to time to exchange views on issues of joint interest, to assess in a comradely atmosphere experiences from the struggle against imperialism and to adopt measures toward uniting their forces where this is required by the joined struggle against imperialism, reaction of every ilk, racism and Zionism and for peace and social progress. This naturally applies to individual regions as well as to our movement as a whole. In view of the fact that since the last world consultation of fraternal parties, which was held in Moscow in 1969, many significant events have taken place in the world, marked changes have occurred on the political map of the world and a number of new questions has arisen that should be jointly assessed. The CPCZ, like many other parties, believes that /the time is ripe to prepare a new world consultation./ In our opinion, this consultation would play a useful role, especially in enhancing our movement's contribution to the struggle for peace, which is a matter of primary importance.

There sometimes appear objections to the idea of convening an international conference of communist and workers parties, the argument being that at present every party works out its policy independently and is itself fully responsible for it. No one denies this reality and no collective meeting either casts doubt on it, nor does it limit in any way the individual parties' rights. However, we are convinced that proletarian internationalism is inherent to our movement and that it yields the obligation to jointly face up to our enemies' attacks, to help each other and to demonstrate international solidarity in practice. After all, could our movement still exist if the only thing left of the principle of proletarian internationalism were the emphasis on mutual respect and each party's equality and independence and if we failed to see at the same time the immense importance of mutual cooperation, interaction and coresponsibility for the successes and failures in the struggle for implementing our ideals? /Our strength lies in the ideological, political and action unity, and if this strength is to become manifest, it is necessary to wage a constant struggle for the unity, to seek ways that make it alive, ways leading--as Vladimir Ilich Lenin demanded--to "the concrete application of a united international line to the specific features of each country."/

For Dimitrov, internationalism was also tied to high moral qualities. He identified the duty of international solidarity with a courageous fight for the ideas of proletarian internationalism--a fight which does not halt even in the face of a threat of prison and persecution. These moral qualities were particularly prominent in his devotion to the Soviet Union, in the deep intrinsic relationship he felt toward the heroic Soviet people because they had taken upon themselves the role of pioneer of socialism.

For him the relationship toward the Soviet Union was the foundation of full faith in a happier life of the Bulgarian peoples, as well as of his conviction that the ideas of socialism would achieve a final victory. He was both a friend of the Soviet Union, which he admired, and also its citizen--he became one the moment the international proletarian solidarity had wrested him from the hands of Hitlerite fascism after the end of the Leipzig trial when he was unable to return to his fatherland. The Masaryk humanitarian democracy, so greatly praised and presented as an example, at that time did not allow him transit through Czechoslovakia. /He loved the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, and, like our Klement Gottwald, he saw the main criterium of proletarian internationalism in a positive relationship toward the Soviet Union./ Herein, too, lies the topical value of his legacy to the present."

It was and remains valid that without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice. We are repeatedly stressing this great truth. However, we must also realize that if the revolutionary theory is to be a true guideline for revolutionary practice, it must be constantly developed and enriched. The revolutionary theory is a generalized experience of the entire revolutionary movement. We can acquire such experience only at joint meetings, conferences and consultations. There is no reason to avoid frank, comradely discussions. We must strive for an exchange of our parties' experience, which would show us the path forward, strengthen our action ability under the contemporary conditions of the current epoch of mankind's transition to socialism, consolidate our conviction of the final victory of communism, and multiply our strength with healthy optimism.

The name of Georgi Dimitrov is connected with quite a few glorious pages in the history of the CPCZ. As far back as the fifth Komintern congress in 1924, Dimitrov considerably contributed to elaborating the party's Leninist line, particularly in the matter of a united front. Throughout the 'twenties he actively assisted the healthy forces of our party in their fight for a Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary and internationalist orientation, which victoriously asserted itself at the historical Fifth CPCZ Congress in 1929. By his advice and experience, as well as his extensive active political work, he significantly contributed toward organizing the Czechoslovak people's defense against the Hitlerite aggression, and later also the Czechs' and Slovaks' liberation fight against fascism, which grew over into a national and democratic revolution in our fatherland toward the end of the war.

Already prior to the war, Georgi Dimitrov found his way to the prominent public and cultural figures of Czechoslovak life. I need not particularly stress the admiration he won among a large part of our people for his heroic behavior in the Leipzig trial which I have already mentioned. We particularly esteem the deep friendship and comradely cooperation of many years standing between Georgi Dimitrov and Klement Gottwald, prominent figure in our party. Their creative relationship yielded invaluable stimuli for our two parties, for the communist and workers movement.

Together with other leading representatives of the socialist community that was then being established, Dimitrov played a key role in elaborating the concept of the people's democracy as a form of specific approach to the socialist revolution. For the international revolutionary movement this concept became a significant example of the creative application of natural laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism under specific historical and national conditions of individual countries. The realization of this concept in itself represents an expressive argument against the more-or-less artificial theory on taking over a uniform model of building socialism by the countries of people's democracy.

With Georgi Dimitrov are bound the traditions of fraternal relations between the CPCZ and BCP, traditions of firm friendship, alliance and cooperation between the peoples of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the CSSR, which we are developing and deepening today in the interests of the upsurge of our entire community, in the interest of socialism, peace and progress throughout the world.

Our people had to, and did, draw conclusions from the Munich betrayal of Western powers, as well as from the capitulationism of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie and its helpers. Our people entrusted the administration of their affairs to those who had been the most consistent fighters against fascism, and tied the country's destiny to their true friends.

In friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, a reliable foundation was created for building up a new life in which the people became free of exploiters and oppressors--for a life in peace. In the people of the socialist countries our people found sincere friends who rallied into an international social system, who were founding new and truly fraternal relations based on equal rights of free nations.

/The knowledge that peace is indivisibly tied to socialism and that the Soviet Union and other countries of real socialism are guarantees of a peaceful constructive life belongs among the basic components of our people's historic experience./

By means of a socialist revolution, the inevitable conditions for basic social changes were established in our country. This path was successful and we are justly proud of it. The working man became the master of his country. Man's exploitation by man was eliminated; the inequality of the rights of nationalities abolished; poverty, beggary and unemployment, as well as fear of the future eliminated. Industry and banks were nationalized, large estates split up and our rural areas reorganized on socialist foundations. Thus, the nature of our society was radically changed; it is now characterized by a mutual rapprochement and cooperation of all strata of working people. A dignified life for our every citizen has been ensured. A magnificent system of care for man's education, culture and health has been built up. It is on the basis of all these historical social changes that a higher kind of democracy was created--a democracy for the working people. Only the workers

class, which rules in union with the farmers and the intelligentsia--and this is possible only under socialism--establishes a wide scope for true freedom and democracy. And it is only under the conditions of this kind of democracy that man can fully develop his individual rights and freedoms. Democracy outside the rule of the people is imperfect and after all serves the interests of the ruling class, which represents the smaller part of society.

The path of socialist reorganization was not and is not easy. It is a path of fighting, a path on which it is necessary to resolve new and the most difficult tasks and to overcome unfamiliar obstacles and many difficulties. Frequently our shortcomings stemmed from illusions about the easiness of this path. We defeated the domestic bourgeoisie; but we did not always take into account that international imperialism has not given up its efforts to harm us in all kinds of ways and to disintegrate the emerging socialist society. We also lived through a deep crisis. The return to Leninist principles made it possible to successfully overcome that crisis, too.

The significance of the legacy left by Georgi Dimitrov, communist and noble man, is not decreasing with the passing of time; his work and life cannot fall into oblivion. That history of which we are the contemporaries confirms year after year the rich, all-round and truthful nature of the ideas to which he had consecrated his life and subordinated all his work; in his time, under the conditions in which he lived and operated, he consecrated his life and subordinated his work to developing the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and enriching the policy of the communist movement. His work continues to live in his native country, which is implementing this legacy left by this great Bulgarian to his peoples in building socialism and in developing it. His work is alive in the successes of the international workers and communist movement, in the advance and consolidation of the countries of the socialist community.

Georgi Dimitrov lived and worked for his people and for the working people of all countries. He fought for the truth of Marxism-Leninism, for man's happiness. He remained a loyal son of his people, but his work transcends the framework of Bulgaria. /He has simultaneously become the son of the international revolutionary movement./

Zhivkov Speaks

AU221836 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman read on 17 June at the Sofia International Theoretical Conference "The Cause of Georgi Dimitrov and Our Times"--passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Esteemed guests, esteemed comrades,

First of all, I would like to point out that the BCP delegation is taking the floor last because it is the host of this conference, and not because it intends to make a concluding speech.

Our conference approaches its end. During these 3 days the floor has been taken by many comrades, representatives of communist and workers' parties and representatives of the various revolutionary-democratic movements, and the voices of various generations have been heard.

/What united our thoughts and feelings was the deep respect toward Georgi Dimitrov and his revolutionary cause./

The high evaluation of the personality and cause of Georgi Dimitrov fills the Bulgarian communists and the entire working people with logical and noble pride.

Georgi Dimitrov--the remarkable revolutionary of the Leninist type, noted figure of the international communist and workers' movement, uncompromising fighter against fascism and war, and respected secretary general of the Comintern--was a great son of Bulgaria, from the flesh of the Bulgarian workers' class, a talented student of Dimitur Blagoev, the founder of our Marxist-revolutionary party, and a beloved leader of our party during a fateful period of its 90-year history.

Allow me, esteemed guests and comrades, to express the most cordial gratitude of the BCP Central Committee for the moving words about Georgi Dimitrov, our party and our country.

As you know very well, the great historic personalities, in solving the problems of their time, create the ideas and principles which remain as a heritage for their successors and as an immortal treasure. Thus they become contemporaries of the future.

The power of Georgi Dimitrov, as a theoretician and political figure, is in his boundless loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to the proletarian and socialist internationalism. He was a master of the revolutionary movement and had the remarkable skill to discover new forms and approaches for successfully developing the revolutionary energy of the masses, as well as new ways and means coordinated with the objective needs of the time. He knew how to master the lessons of life, to test the correctness of theoretical postulates in the practical activity of the masses, and to propose new solutions, which in the final account enriched the theory itself.

This innovation in the practical and theoretical activity of Georgi Dimitrov is a bright example of the awareness of historic responsibility, which characterizes the activity of the communists, the communists and workers' parties and their leaders. Georgi Dimitrov had the spiritual force and ability to carry such responsibility.

It is enough to recall his merit in the Leninization of the BCP, his great duel with fascism during the Leipzig trial, his great contribution to developing and strengthening the International Communist Movement, and his theoretical and practical activity during the first years of Bulgaria's socialist construction.

Organizing this conference, we proceeded from the conviction that the cause of Georgi Dimitrov and his theoretical contribution, as well as his life as a revolutionary figure, are a source of lessons and dialogue, and a basis for fruitful thoughts, analysis and summaries which can have direct importance for our work and struggle.

Dear guests, comrades, the second half of the thirties, the period in which Dimitrov led the communist international, was a complex and responsible period of human history. Together with his comrades from the leadership of the Comintern, and utilizing the experience and theoretical postulates of the CPSU and a number of other communist parties, he made an exceptionally great contribution to developing a new strategy and tactics for the communist movement.

Our time is different. Significant quantitative and qualitative transformations in the situation of the class forces have taken. Time poses new problems, fateful for mankind's future.

/Obviously, peace and preventing a world thermonuclear war is the focus of all these problems.

Engels and Lenin envisaged that war would become absurd when new weapons capable of destroying entire armies were created. Today such weapon exists. The modern war will not recognize borders or classes. There will be no front and rear, fighting and neutral sides, victors and defeated.

/Consequently, today the question of preventing a thermonuclear catastrophy is the question of questions, which affects all peoples and classes and the very existence of mankind./

Subsequently, today according to our evaluation, this is the most important strategic task of the countries of real socialism, the international communist and workers' movement and all other progressive, peace-loving and democratic forces throughout the world.

To not allow the kindling of a world thermonuclear fire is in our opinion the cardinal problem of the development of the world revolutionary process. The successful construction of socialism and communism is closely connected with peace. The victorious development of the national and social revolutions is also connected with peace. Finally, all mankind's general progress is connected with peace.

The fact that nuclear war is absurd, unfortunately does not mean that there is no danger of such a war. The upsurge of the struggle for peace and this struggle's successes mostly depend on the skill of organizing and mobilizing the forces which oppose war.

In this respect, Georgi Dimitrov is an example and lesson on how to specifically and historically analyze the present, and mark the approaches, tasks and scope of the work according to changing conditions. It is necessary,

as he used to say, "to take into consideration the final situation at every moment and in any given place," to reveal and solve at every stage "the /concrete/ tasks of the revolutionary movement, which /correspond/ to this stage."

/We are not fatalists,/ and do not think that war is inevitable. /On the contrary, we are optimists. We struggle, and we believe that war can be prevented and peace strengthened./ We are deeply convinced /that peaceful coexistence between states with different social system is the only sensible alternative to thermonuclear war, and that this corresponds to the interests of all states and peoples and of all mankind./

At the present stage, do we have enough possibilities to isolate and neutralize the warmongers?

Yes, mankind can prevent a thermonuclear war.

/First./ Those who are pushing the world toward a nuclear war are a negligible minority, and their real goals are so unhuman that they are afraid to publicly express them. Their policy opposes the interests of the workers' class and of other classes and strata as well, and in the final account even the interests of the ruling class.

/Second./ The present policy of the imperialist forces, and first of all of the United States, is absurd and sharply confronts not only the interests of the overwhelming majority of states but of the United States itself.

/Third./ The coordinated and constructive foreign policy of the socialist community is acting against the doomed adventurist policy of imperialism's reactionary circles. Our foreign policy enjoys the support of all peace-loving forces because it aims not only at securing peaceful conditions for building the new society, but also at saving all mankind, the future generations and human civilization.

/Fourth./ History, since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, has consistently confirmed the truth which resounded strongly here; namely, that the communist movement is the most consistent and decisive force in the struggle for peace. Today the world communist and workers' movement is much more powerful and more influential than during the time of Georgi Dimitrov. It develops, searches and discovers new forms of activity and struggle, new forms of association and solidarity, especially in the struggle for preventing a world war.

The general class goals and tasks, as well as mankind's task to prevent a nuclear death, and our status as the most decisive force in the struggle for peace, require from us, communists, to closely rally and coordinate our actions.

/Fifth./ The national-liberation movement, the developing countries and non-aligned countries' movement are today a powerful factor in the general front of the struggle against imperialism, and for peace, democracy and social progress.

In this context I would like to touch upon the /question of the antiwar movements in the capitalist countries./ I fully share the opinion that these movements became a substantial factor of our time.

/The scope of this movement is indicative./ Its scope, as a rule, is unprecedented in the hitherto history of the struggle for peace. In many countries, including the United States, hundreds of thousands of people are participating in marches, demonstrations, meetings and rallies against the nuclear war danger and against the policy of the United States and NATO's militaristic circles.

/The broad and democratic character of this movement is indicative./ Although spontaneous, it engulfs on an equal basis masses of people from different class and social groups, with different educations and opinions, with different party affiliation, and with different religious beliefs.

/The fact that the antiwar movement is to a large degree a youth movement is indicative./ More and more youth of the capitalist countries realize that there cannot be personal happiness if there are no peaceful conditions for a normal human life for all.

/The fact that the communists are among the most active figures of the antiwar movement is indicative./ This is natural--the struggle for peace, which is anti-imperialist in its nature--cannot exist without the most consistent fighters against imperialism. The communists do not aim at imposing their political line on the participants in the movement. In the struggle for peace there is no place for rivalry and isolation of this or that progressive force.

/The fact that the mass antiwar movements developed with special power in the developed capitalist countries is also indicative./ The people there begin to understand that the military danger results from the policy of the present U.S. administration and some of its allies in their own countries.

/The present more or less spontaneous, more or less different, and ever more antiwar movements can obtain even greater significance in international policy and the common struggle for peace./

In this context I would like to mention two important problems, in my opinion, which cannot be ignored because they affect the very essence of the antiwar movements.

/The first problem is that of not allowing the antiwar movement to be divided, and not decreasing and blurring its anti-imperialist direction./

One must decisively reject the attempts to place the United States and the USSR, and NATO and the Warsaw Pact on the same level. The antiwar movement must struggle not against those who are strong, but against those who utilize their power for aggression, wars and adventures. And this is imperialism. This is the present U.S. administration and its allies in other countries. The USSR is the main support of peace. Those who really want to struggle against war must know who their enemies and their friends are.

/The other problem is the attempt to weaken the vigilance of the antiwar forces and weaken their pressure./ Recently, the ruling imperialist circles, obviously alarmed by the awakening of the broad people's masses which they underestimated until recently, began overt maneuvers to deceive public opinion. They donned the peace-loving mask. They issue proposals which ostensibly are in favor of peace and detente, but actually aim against peace, because they strive toward military superiority. Some of President Reagan's recent proposals, for example the so-called "zero option," have such a character.

One of the most important characteristics of our time, in comparison with the period preceding World War II, is the practically /unlimited character of the forces/ interested in preserving and strengthening peace. /The global nature of a thermonuclear catastrophe gives a global character to the struggle for overcoming this danger./

This is the source of our conviction that a possibility exists, favorable for the cause of peace, to mark a /border/ which will leave on one side the military-political leadership of the United States and its most reactionary allies, and on the other, the ever growing front of peace and the anti-military forces and factors, which will include:

--from /a class point of view/--the workers and peasants, the intelligentsia, the small landowners, the middle and even a substantial part of the wealthy bourgeoisie;

--from a /political point of view/--communists and socialists, peasants' and various other parties and unions of the petty bourgeoisie, democratic and liberal parties, and realisticly thinking political and state figures;

--from the /viewpoint of the states/--the socialist community--the most powerful and consistent fortress of peace--the developing countries, and the governments of a number of developed capitalist countries;

--and from the /point of view of the social movements and organizations/--the youth and women's organizations, the trade unions and the environmental protection movements, sportsmen, artists, the creative unions and various clubs of people with similar hobbies and religious organizations.

/In order to preserve peace we need purposeful work for mobilizing all peace-loving forces and factors for the construction of the widest possible front of peace./ The words of Georgi Dimitrov sound very topical in the present situation: "Against fascism and war, we do not need empty words and platonic wishes, but action."

Comrades, it is clear to all that the present adventurist foreign policy of the United States is aimed most of all against the USSR and the other socialist countries. The present leaders of the United States are passionately, blindly and without any sense of reality dreaming of "burying" socialism and "taking revenge" against the Great October and the many other revolutions which changed the political map of the earth.

Simultaneously, spreading the myth of "Soviet threat" and "communist aggression," the United States is unceremoniously hurting the interests of its allies in West Europe and Japan, and the interests of the developing countries. /The U.S. hegemonism, which has never acted so strongly, is the center of this policy. This is a policy which also leads toward increasing the tremors in the capitalist world./

It is well-known that capitalism is experiencing an exceptionally difficult and permanent in its nature crisis--which has an economic, social and moral character.

--The economy of the capitalist countries is engulfed by deep structural crises: raw material, energy and ecological crises.

--The periodic economic crises have become more frequent and their scope has increased. Only during the last decade, there were three such crises which engulfed almost all developed capitalist countries. The development peace of many Western countries significantly decreased.

--A great part of the production capacities of the capitalist countries are not being utilized. Especially affected are many branches like ferrous metallurgy, the textile industry, automobile production and others.

--Unemployment has reached great dimensions--almost 8 percent of the labor force. The situation is even more difficult among the youth. Inflation is constantly growing.

Relations among the capitalist countries are now considerably different than during the years after World War II. The economic, monetary and trade leadership of the United States has decreased. If in 1950, for instance, the scope of U.S. industrial production was twice as large as the production of West Europe and Japan together, then at the beginning of our decade the U.S. share dropped to 29 percent, while West Europe and Japan contribute more than 47 percent of the capitalist world's industrial production.

/The common class interests and the common fear/ of the development and success of socialism are pushing the West European and Japanese bourgeoisie toward allying with the United States, and sometimes compel them to give in to the pressure of the U.S. monopolies, to search for compromises and to strengthen the common antisocialist front.

Simultaneously, however, /the rivalry and competition/ in the economic area are increasing, and this affects the political relations.

/In this situation the attempts of the United States to pull itself out of the crises at the expense of its allies--the other capitalist countries--and the states of the so-called "Third World" become ever more apparent./

The United States is striving to hold down the economic development of West Europe and Japan by various means. It utilizes the mechanism of high interest, applies pressure on NATO's European members and Japan to increase their military expenditures and undertake a greater share in the "defense of the West," and tries to compel them to apply the notorious "sanctions" which aim at curbing the mutually beneficial economic cooperation of the capitalist countries with the socialist states.

The West European and Japanese business and political circles understand this and oppose the United States hesitantly or more boldly.

The attitude of the United States and the leading circles of most of the capitalist countries toward the /issue of detente/ is also different. In West Europe there are also some circles of the monopolist bourgeoisie which are supporting Reagan's policy. However, the opinion that there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence is becoming ever more predominant in the business and political circles of many countries. They are ever more determinedly supporting negotiations on disputed matters and restoring the spirit of detente.

/The contradictions between the United States and the developing countries/ are even deeper. The leading circles cannot become reconciled to the fact that the basic part of the young national states are striving toward political and economic independence, and toward independently disposing of their natural and human resources. These circles declared the revolutionary and national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America "international terrorism," while it is they alone who render overt assistance to military juntas and dictatorial regimes. These circles apply pressure on the progressive governments and are openly threatening them. They conduct an economic policy which hinders the progress of the developing countries and intensifies the poverty and lagging behind of this part of the world, where billions of our brothers are living. Today the debts of the developing countries to the capitalist countries reach the impressive figure of $500 billion.

From all this /it is apparent that the front of the forces which are objectively interested in conducting a struggle against U.S. hegemonism is exceptionally broad./ Without clearing the reactionary circles of other countries, it is our duty to unmask and isolate U.S. imperialism--the main culprit for the huge burden of the arms race and the difficult situation of the developing countries, as well as for the present difficulties of the capitalist countries.

From the rostrum of the British parliament Mr Reagan declared a new "crusade" against socialism. The facts, however, convincingly prove that U.S. imperialism is actually conducting a crusade of much larger scope--a crusade not only against socialism, but also against its own allies, the developing countries, the workers' class, the peasants, intelligentsia, women and youth of the entire world, a crusade against the vital interests of its people--one against all.

Dear guests, dear comrades,

Life irrefutably confirms that the problem of war and peace, as all other cardinal problems of our time, cannot be solved without, and furthermore against, real socialism.

Why? Because in the contemporary world real socialism has consolidated not only huge territories of the globe, but also because it represents a decisive factor of human progress /first/ in the area of economy /second/ in solving the ancient social problems facing mankind, and /third/ in building powerful armed forces.

What stands behind this conclusion?

/First of all the countries of real socialism have succeeded in creating in a short historical period a reliable defensive potential, which imperialism's aggressive forces--whether they want to or not--must take under consideration./

It was not the socialist countries but imperialism, and first of all U.S. imperialism, which began to create military, military-political and economic blocs after World War II.

It was not the socialist but the imperialist countries, and first of all the United States, which began the production of thermonuclear weapons.

The new social system, created by history, had no other choice but to eliminate the advantages of the imperialists in the military area at the expense of much effort and many casualties. The equality in the balance of power, which was reached, and thanks to which the possibility of strengthening world peace and political detente in the seventies was achieved, is an historic victory and a great success of real socialism and the forces of peace.

Bourgeois propaganda is dilligently diverting the attention of millions of people from the great question: Who is stopping the militarists, who is taming them and thus for almost 40 years has guaranteed peaceful life without a world war? /The answer is categorical: this force is, first of all, real socialism, and in first place the USSR!

/In addition to the military potential of real socialism, its economic successes and the economic potential of our countries have exceptional significance./

During the 1950-1980 period the national income of all socialist countries increased 8 times, the volume of their industrial production 14 times, and the capital investments (for the CEMA member-countries) almost 12 times. Despite the fact that due to some logical reasons the peace of our development has decreased in recent years, it is still higher by 2-4 percent.

We do not underestimate the economy of the developed capitalist countries and their economic potential, which was created over centuries through exploitation of their own and foreign nations. These countries have a larger absolute growth of national income than the socialist countries. This is an advantage, but a temporary advantage only.

Some ideologists and politicians in the West maintain and obviously believe that intensifying the arms race will exhaust the economies of the socialist countries and will evoke social tremors and political destabilization in these countries.

We do not argue, the expenditures we are forced to allocate for the goals of our defense are not the best fashion for utilizing the respective part of our national income. If the arms race, imposed by imperialism, did not exist, the socialist countries would have significantly faster and better solved the important problems of the material and cultural well-being of their peoples.

And yet, those who hope that we will not allocate the necessary means for defending our freedom are deceiving themselves. The peoples of the socialist countries, and especially the Soviet Union, paid a very high price during World War II and the struggle against fascism and capitalism, and cannot now afford to weaken the defense of their socialist motherland and world peace.

The economic blockade and economic sanctions, embargo, and so forth, initiated by the developed capitalist countries and first of all the United States, cannot affect the economy of the socialist countries as Mr Reagan imagines. These discriminatory measures are really evoking some difficulties in our countries. However, let nobody cultivate any illusions--the economy of real socialism is capable of overcoming all kinds of embargo restrictions.

The policy of undermining the economic and scientific-technical relations between the capitalist and socialist countries is unrealistic. It contradicts the development tendencies of the world economy. The internationalization of economy and the expansion of the international division of labor and the development of the scientific-technical revolution are objectively imposing the development of mutually beneficial cooperation.

Therefore, we will further struggle for expanding relations and cooperation in the area of economy, and in the areas of science and technology, culture and sport as well.

/In third place, it is not without significance that the socialist countries are successfully solving the basic social problems of their peoples in the contemporary complex political and economic international situation./

It is socialism, such as that which is being constructed in our countries, that implements the ancient dreams of the fighters for social justice and worthy human life.

/The exploitation of man by man has been liquidated once and for all/ in the socialist countries. The situation of each person depends mainly on his work and on his contribution to enlarging the public wealth.

Real socialism has guaranteed and is guaranteeing the /right to work/ to all citizens capable of working. Already during the first years of socialist industrialization and cooperation in agriculture, the open and hidden kinds of unemployment, appearing in various forms, were liquidated.

Under the conditions of socialism, full employment, the organization of labor and labor's wages are free of any /racial, sex, age and other forms of discrimination./ For equal labor: equal wages, equal right of holiday, equal retirement rights and so forth--such is one of the basic principles of socialist lawmaking and practical activity in the area of labor relations.

Socialism opened /broad horizons for education and culture,/ and in a very short historic period not only liquidated illiteracy, which it inherited from the past, but also significantly increased the educational and cultural level of the people.

/Free medical aid/ was a great social acquisition of real socialism. This right is being enjoyed by all members of society, along with the /right to a holiday,/ and conditions for /developing mass physical culture, sports and tourism./

Steadily on a course of developing socialist democracy--direct and representative democracy--our countries are searching for new means and forms of more massively engaging the working people in managing the economy, culture and state affairs.

Comrades, while dealing with the place and role of the socialist countries in the contemporary world, we cannot ignore the principled significance of the question of the /attitude toward the USSR./

Georgi Dimitrov used to stress that the USSR's place in contempotary history is not determined by any subjective considerations and moods, but by objective factors, and first of all by the fact that the USSR was the first to discover and create socialism in a great country; by its exceptionally rich revolutionary experience; by its objectively decisive role in social progress, and by the real assistance it renders to the world revolutionary and democratic forces.

Our evalation is that this definition applies today also.

It is not necessary to go too far back in order to understand that this is so. The CPSU and the Soviet Government are constantly proving their adherence to the cause of peace and are taking steps, including unilateral ones, leading toward strengthening world confidence and security. And [word indistinct] the day before yesterday, on the first day of our conference,

an event of invaluable importance in the peoples' struggle for peace took place; in the message of Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev to the UN General Assembly second special session on disarmament the USSR undertook an obligation not to use nuclear weapons first.

Now the floor belongs to others. Let us hope that the United States and the other nuclear states will respond to the noble gesture. However, there is no doubt that the news about the USSR declaration will resound in the hearts of millions, will enhance the longing for peace and will give a new and powerful impetus to the struggle for peace.

It is our party's opinion that the participants in the theoretical conference devoted to the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov, the great peace fighter, who represents 140 communists, revolutionary-democratic and progressive parties and international democratic organizations, are fully justified in addressing all peoples and all peace-loving forces in the world with the appeal to support the USSR initiative, to demand that all other nuclear states follow this example and renounce being the first to use nuclear weapons, which would practically mean a banning of the use of such weapons on the whole.

It is the tremendous good fortune of mankind that the Soviet Union exists--that this giant of socialist society exists, this country which with its great political prestige and its inexhaustible economic power, with its great cultural life, with its invincible military forces, represents a reliable shield protecting the socialist community and worldwide peace.

We, the Bulgarian Communists, just like in Dimitrov's lifetime and today, still think that the Soviet Union has been and remains the main hope and support, the banner of the great struggle waged by the peoples for peace, freedom, democracy and communism.

Comrades, are there, in the development of the countries where socialist revolution has been victorious, difficulties, shortcomings and problems? Indeed, there are such difficulties, shortcomings and problems, comrades. We are realists and we admit that we have difficulties, due to both subjective and objective reasons. I have dwelled on some of them already.

Starting from the basis, from the principles of our teaching, we are searching for the most efficient solutions to new problems, unprecedented in history, and this is a difficult, complicated and controversial process. Shortcomings are inevitable in such a process and mistakes are possible.

Unfortunately, however, life has shown us that not only are shortcomings and mistakes possible, but also deviations from Marxist-Leninist principles and gross violations of the requirements of general laws, likely to produce situations of crisis and social conflict. In some more difficult cases, they may even affect and threaten socialist achievements as such. This inevitably causes difficulties for the other socialist countries, as well as affecting the entire communist and workers movement.

What is the main element that characterizes real socialism? The main characteristic is that we are proceeding forward, that we are overcoming difficulties and shortcomings, that we are successfully resolving the existing urgent problems and that we are daily increasing the material and cultural prosperity of our new society in the people's interest, in the interest of man.

Real socialism at the present stage of development is far from being the final implementation of our ideal as mapped out by Marx, Engels and Lenin. It has not even yet fully revealed its advantages over capitalism. This is a fact.

It is also a fact, however, that it is precisely this real socialism, and not any other kind of nonexistent socialism, that is developing and improving, that is getting rid of shortcomings, and thus not only comes close to the ideal, but represents its gradual, practical, historical implementation. It is impossible to work and struggle for an ideal by rejecting or underrating the real steps forward accomplished in the process of its practical implementation.

On this basis, we in the People's Republic of Bulgaria are joining together the working people, we are rallying them and solving their problems, we are advancing along the Dimitrov path.

Our socialist society has gone through important stages in its ascending development. Georgi Dimitrov outlined a program for the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism. This was a period of great historical changes, during which tasks of crucial importance were resolved in a creative manner. Now the times have changed. We are building a developed socialist society which is confronting us with subsequent new problems. Bulgaria has changed today. It is an industrial-agrarian country which is developing at high and stable rates of speed. Within only the last decade we created a new, second, Bulgaria, figuratively speaking, as far as the size of economic successes is concerned. We are now entering the period of the eighties, so to speak, with a country that is twice as large as Bulgaria, from the economic point of view. Regardless of the difficulties stemming from the unfavorable political atmosphere and economic situation on an international scale, regardless of our own shortcomings, we not only prevented our people's living standard from deteriorating, but on the contrary, this standard has actually improved.

New theoretical and practical problems are emerging along the path of our development, problems which we are trying to solve in a creative manner.

We are building the material-technical basis of a developed socialist society on the basis of the top achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. In this connection we are developing electronics, robots, and microprocessing technical equipment, as well as biotechnologies and so forth, and we have also introduced large-scale mechanization and automation in production.

--We are implementing intensive priority development in the economy and in other spheres of social life, we are increasing the effectiveness of production, and we are promoting its modernization, reorganization, specialization and concentration in our total national economic sphere.

--We are implementing a new principle of socialist property. In the future the working people in our country will be considered by the state as the owners of production means, but the direct masters of this property are the workers collective. This creates a principally new situation as regards the expansion of activities, the interest of the working people and their concern about management, about increasing the results of their work.

--We are applying a new, practical approach to planning and to socialist labor organization. The state plan is a law, but it is limited to a restricted number of obligatory indexes. The rest of the indexes are achieved through the counterplans which are the cause of the workers collectives.

--We are perfecting the labor remuneration system on the basis of the socialist principle of quality and quantity of labor invested.

--We are further developing our political system and our socialist democracy. It is our goal to find even better solutions to the question of man's progress, for the comprehensive and effective self-realization of the individual, for the expansion of criticism and self-criticism as a moving force of our development, etc. The enhanced role of social organizations and of the state power organs is being intensified. We are perfecting our socialist way of life.

I am only dwelling on a few of the new problems which we are coping with at the present stage of development. As in the past, we are not yielding to difficulties and shortcomings, we are working and will work in the awareness that we have devoted ourselves to the great cause of the people and the future. Our people are aware of this and they are on our side.

In our comprehensive activities we are relying upon the glorious Marxist-Leninist teaching which we are creatively applying to the specific conditions in our country, as Georgi Dimitrov always did and demanded. The entire development of the International Communist Movement--I would even say the worldwide development in the last decades--confirms that Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, but an eternally alive, constantly developing and evolving theory. Lenin himself set a glorious example of creative approach to Marxist theory. However, Lenin corrected certain tenets and conclusions drawn by Marx and Engels, not by denying their significance, but by soundly adopting the positions of Marxism, its theoretical principles, and by brilliantly applying its revolutionary methodology.

Historical experience shows that, under contemporary conditions as well, we can develop our theory not by disregarding Lenin, but by creatively introducing and adopting everything that is new, everything he added to the teaching of Marx and Engels; but we must do this by solidly relying upon the position of Marxism-Leninism.

We can ask ourselves, comrades, what would the world look like if real socialism did not exist?

We are deeply aware of the great historical responsibilities assumed by the countries belonging to the socialist community, responsibilities which not only apply to the new social system and to social progress, but to the destiny of mankind and civilization as a whole. This is precisely why we are doing and will do everything within our power to support and rally all forces in the struggle for mankind's self-defense.

This is precisely why the defense of real socialism must be the primary cause of all revolutionary and peace-loving forces.

This means, esteemed comrades, that whether it pleases certain people or not, real socialism is the main support of peace and social progress at the present stage of human history.

Comrades, the analysis of contemporary reality, of the danger represented by nuclear war, of the forces which are struggling for peace leads us to the following conclusions:

--If in the thirties fascism was the main threat to mankind, and if Georgi Dimitrov determined as a basic political line creating united people's antifascist fronts,

--Now, in the eighties of our century, the main danger threatening mankind is nuclear disaster, whose exponent is American imperialism, above all. And it is the primary task to create a united front, rallying antiwar, peace-loving forces and all those who are aware of the fact that there is no sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence.

This is the main difference between the thirties and the present. This determines the difference in approach, in the forms, goals and scope of action which were valid for the thirties and those which apply to the present-day historical stage of development.

In our opinion many important conclusions can be drawn from these facts.

First of all, neither the existence of a common political platform nor the construction of any common structures likely to assume the leadership of the struggle against nuclear danger, should be permitted as conditions or prerequisites for joint action today.

The peace and disarmament movement must not by any means be regarded as opposition against the policy of the government in a given country. This movement may include ruling politicians and circles, as well as whole governments concerned about the growing tension in the world and interested in eliminating the threat of nuclear disaster.

The struggle must be aimed against those circles which are trying to liquidate military balance between East and West, which are declaring themselves against detente and against the search for ways of alleviating international tension, against those who are conducting a policy of confrontation, blockade and "sanctions."

It is of particular importance that the efforts of all those who are interested in peace should create a favorable climate for a constant dialogue between East and West.

The forms of cooperation and unity of action between different antiwar forces are most varied--from previously coordinated actions and campaigns, forums, and discussions of different problems to united actions or actions which each organization or movement is implementing independently. The territorial scope of these actions is also different, whether it is organized on a global, regional, national or local scale.

Obviously, we must show flexibility and a creative approach: we must, in a Leninist manner, make use of compromises in order to attract and rally allies, and in particular the young people who are very interested in peace today. Nothing should prevent any party, organ, movement, or individual from participating in the struggle for peace. All people who are aware of the danger represented by nuclear war must join the movement.

As to our party and country, I would like to assure you that also in the future we will continue to conduct a consistent policy of peace, understanding and cooperation in the Balkans, Europe and throughout the world. This policy will be conducted along party and state lines, but also along social lines. We will do everything within our power in order to guarantee the success of the peace struggle and we will always be in the front lines of the world's antiwar forces.

Comrades, Georgi Dimitrov was born on the eve of a century which was destined by history to become the century of basic change in the thousands of years of human existence. This century was marked by the Great October Socialist Revolution, by the triumph of socialist ideas, the victories of the international communist and workers movement, and the victory of progressive forces and movements throughout the world.

To work and live in our times is a cause of great happiness. We are best aware of this, we, the leaders of the parties and movements who devoted themselves to the struggles and goals of the workers class, to the struggles and goals of the forces of peace and progress.

We know, of course, that this happiness has a difficult side.

We are aware that this same 20th century has included the most serious and devastating threats that have ever endangered mankind.

This century has known the threat of the nuclear self-destruction of mankind.

Naturally, this threat cannot discourage us. On the contrary, it increases our strength, consolidates our will and rallies our ranks. I believe that also the present conference devoted to one of the greatest architects of the antiwar movement in the past, will be useful to our struggle for peace and disarmament.

This will be a worthy expression of our respect for the personality and cause of Georgi Dimitrov, a bright confirmation of the irreversible significance of his ideas.

If Georgi Dimitrov had lived today and were among us, I do not doubt that he would have appealed to us with his characteristic strength of conviction and passion:

--To rally the militant ranks of the communist and workers movements;

--To consolidate our unity with socialist, national revolutionary and democratic parties and movements;

--To consolidate our links with the masses and indefatigably to expand the front of the forces fighting and working for peace, against war and for social progress.

I wish you all, esteemed comrades, and your parties and movements, new achievements in your difficult but noble work and in your struggle. I wish you new victories on behalf of peace and progress, on behalf of a peaceful future for our world.

Ponomarev Speaks at Meeting

AU221225 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Jun 82 p 2

[Greeting address delivered by Boris Ponomarev, CPSU Central Committee secretary and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at festive meeting devoted to Georgi Dimitrov's centennial on 18 June at the Sofia Palace of Culture]

[Text] Dear friends and comrades,

We have listened with great attention to the inspired address delivered by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Once again the unforgettable image of Georgi Dimitrov, the remarkable revolutionary and loyal Leninist, has come alive and appeared before us in all his greatness.

In the history of mankind, there are people who, like a torch, shine over mankind's development and its hard struggle from the realm of oppression, exploitation and slavery to the realm of freedom. Among these people the

name of Georgi Dimitrov shines with particular brightness. As the great Russian poet said: "I was the slave of proud thoughts and my life passed in only one stormy passion." This passion for Georgi Dimitrov was the struggle for the liberation of Bulgaria and of the workers class in all countries, of all working people from the oppression of capitalism, from the chains of imperialism. Georgi Dimitrov devoted all the passion of his heart and all his stormy energies to the great cause of socialism without sparing himself.

Over four decades ago, when giving instructions to the graduates of the Leninist school, to his young party comrades, Georgi Dimitrov described in his opinion what a true Leninist revolutionary should look like. He must be capable of constantly educating himself wherever he goes; he must learn from the party, from the masses, from Marx and Lenin. He must not be satisfied with the successes achieved and he should never give up when he has failed. He must place the interests of the workers class and of the party above everything else. He must be a man for whom creative Marxism-Leninism must always be the guiding line in all circumstances; he must be a man who is basically alien to dogmatism. He himself was such a man. His party, the BCP, made him so. Firm principlemindedness, unshakable loyalty to socialist ideals, a broad world outlook and high cultural standard, his vigilance as regards the provocations of the enemy, his political and personal courage made Dimitrov one of the most favorite and beloved heroes of the entire worldwide, revolutionary movement.

I had the good fortune to work with Georgi Dimitrov for 10 years, to become closely acquainted with him as a man, to learn about his thoughts and deeds. He was a noble and honest communist. He was a man with an exceptional purposefulness of mind, with revolutionary [word indistinct] At the same time he was cordial, as well as charming in his relations with his comrades and fellow-workers, but he was irreconcilable as regards enemies. He was an ardent patriot of his native land, and at the same time, he was an internationalist, a man capable of deeply understanding and sharing the personal worries and interests of the working people in other countries as if they were his own.

Everyone who had to deal with him could not fail being deeply impressed by the fact that, in analyzing the essential problems of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement, Dimitrov was always thinking about and adopting the criteria of worldwide history, that he suffered for all mankind and longed for the happiness of all working people on the earth. He was a convinced Marxist-Leninist and as such he saw the meaning of his life in the struggle for the cause of the workers class, for socialism and peace. He set a personal example of selfless spirit and indefatigable enthusiasm in waging this struggle.

Georgi Dimitrov's present anniversary has become a remarkable demonstration of the life-confirming strength and the worldwide international plan of the liberation movement of our time. Representatives of 140 communist,

workers, and revolutionary-democratic parties from all parts of the world have arrived in Sofia to celebrate Dimitrov's centennial. This fact convincingly shows how much the communists and all revolutionaries appreciating virtues, such as loyalty to one's duty, loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, internationalism, selflessness in the struggle for the working people's cause, against war, etc., virtues which were embodied by Georgi Dimitrov in all his activities and in his very personality.

This is precisely why speaking about Georgi Dimitrov means not only recalling the glorious pages of the communists' revolutionary struggle. It means speaking about the present day of the worldwide liberation movement, about its essential problems and goals. It means looking into the future, seeing the prospects of development of contemporary society.

The world is facing difficult times today. The source of growing tension is well-known: This is the policy of aggressive imperialist circles which are trying to stop or even to turn back the process of worldwide social innovation with the help of armaments, including nuclear blackmail, and preparations for war. Under these circumstances the cohesion of the socialist countries is assuming an even greater importance. The unshakable will of their Leninist foreign policy, the unity of action and mutual understanding of all fighters for peace, freedom, socialism and for people's independence is also assuming great importance.

These days the attention of the entire worldwide public is focused on the message sent by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, the leader of the CPSU and the Soviet state, to the special UN General Assembly session on disarmament, on the declaration that the Soviet Union is onesidedly assuming the commitment not to be the first to have recourse to the use of nuclear weapons. This is a new confirmation of the tremendous strength of good will on part of our country and its peace-loving intentions. At the same time, this is an appeal to all other nuclear states to follow our example. This is an act of the true peace-loving spirit of socialism and is truly of historical importance; it is the eloquent expression of the unshakable will to do everything to eliminate the danger of war that threatens mankind, as well as to prevent a nuclear disaster. The indivisible character of socialism and peace has once more manifested itself with full strength.

It is quite significant that from Bulgaria, from the motherland of the heroic fighter against war and fascism, the appeal came addressed to all peace-loving forces, to all peoples to support the Soviet Union's initiative and to insist that the other nuclear states should give up the use of nuclear weapons which would actually mean a banning of the use of such weapons.

Georgi Dimitrov's contribution to the struggle to overthrow the monarchist regime in Bulgaria, to the struggle against the capitalist system and for the construction of new Bulgaria, as well as for the consolidation of a new socialist order free of exploitation in the world is truly invaluable. As secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Georgi Dimitrov brilliantly and resolutely revealed his talent as an exceptional, true, national leader, capable of showing the peole the correct path of development at a time of drastic change in their history.

At all stages of his indefatigable activities, Georgi Dimitrov firmly and consistently defended the idea of friendship and cooperation with the CPSU, the party of Lenin. Throughout his conscious life he perseveringly worked to consolidate relations with the CPSU. He called upon us to learn from the CPSU and from Lenin how to build the communist party, how to work with the masses, by rallying them and organizing the struggle against the old, exploiting regime and for socialism. The value of Soviet experience is that this is an experience tested and tempered in extremely hard struggles, which the CPSU had to wage in the 20th century, that this is an experience of remarkable worldwide historical victories.

Dimitrov's international legacy lives and is developing in the ever-strengthening friendship between the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples, in close cooperation between the CPSU and the BCP, which are united by indestructible links of true fraternity. Georgi Dimitrov was deeply convinced that Bulgaria would be capable of achieving real liberation and prosperity only in close unity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the socialist community countries.

The Bulgarian Communists, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the worthy disciple and continuer of Dimitrov's cause, have transformed their country into an industrial-agrarian, socialist state. The development of all economic branches, of progress in science and culture, the improvement of the working people's material well-being, the perfection of socialist democracy--these are the important results along the path followed by socialist Bulgaria.

In fraternal alliance with the socialist states, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is making its brilliant contribution to the worldwide cause of socialism and peace. L. Brezhnev stated as follows: Tested by time and based on the principles of socialist internationalism, based on a profound unanimity of goals and interests between our parties and states, Soviet-Bulgarian friendship is an important link in the indestructible alliance of peoples in the socialist community, a powerful constructive factor in our joint struggle for peace and communism.

The centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth is a particular holiday for the Soviet people. The great son of the Bulgarian people not only was a witness, but an active participant in our country's socialist construction. Remaining an ardent patriot of Bulgaria which he loved with all his heart and for whose happiness he fought, Georgi Dimitrov found his second fatherland on the Soviet territory.

It is well-known that the fascist jury, forced to acquit Georgi Dimitrov in the trial about the Reichstag fire, decided to expel Georgi Dimitrov and send him back to the country whose citizen he was. Mortal danger was threatening Georgi Dimitrov as a result of this. The monarcho-fascist government of Bulgaria deprived him of his citizenship. This is when Georgi Dimitrov was presented with Soviet citizenship by special decree of the USSR Central Executive Committee.

As a citizen of the Soviet country and as a member of our party, Dimitrov most actively participated in the Soviet people's life and devoted himself to various political tasks. He was elected deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet. From December 1937 to November 1945 Dimitrov, as it befitted a revolutionary leader of the Leninist school, loyally carried out the assignments of his constituents, the working people of the ancient Russian town of Kostroma. There Dimitrov set an example how patriotism and internationalism are one and the same thing for a communist-Leninist.

These days Georgi Dimitrov's anniversary is being celebrated throughout the Soviet country. A festive meeting was held in Moscow yesterday. At the initiative of the Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship Society and at the initiative of numerous social and scientific organizations, mass meetings, conferences and exhibitions in museums, libraries and educational institutions are being organized. Throughout several days our television and radio have carried programs devoted to Georgi Dimitrov and to socialist Bulgaria. The Soviet press is publishing a great amount of material about him. New, exceptionally interesting reeditions of speeches, delivered by Georgi Dimitrov to the Comintern Executive Committee, will be published in the forthcoming issues of some periodicals. On the occasion of the anniversary Georgi Dimitrov's works in Russian language will be published in three volumes and a collection of memoirs about him will be issued as well. The Soviet people revere Georgi Dimitrov's memory and respect him as an outstanding leader of the communist movement and as a great friend of the Soviet people.

Permit me to express our infinite gratitude to the BCP Central Committee for calling and holding the international theoretical conference. The participants in this conference will carry back to their countries and to all parts of the world the bright and vitally important ideas of the struggle against military danger and aggression, against the dark forces of reaction, for the great cause of peaceful life and social progress of all mankind.

Dear friends, the best way of expressing our reverence for Georgi Dimitrov's cause and memory is to persist in unshakable loyalty to the cause to which he devoted his life--the cause of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the cause of peace and communism.

Spanish Delegate's Speech

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 20 June on page 3 carries a 900-word report on the speech of Romero Marin, member of the Executive Committee and the Secretariat of the Spanish Communist Party Central Committee, at the 19 June session of Sofia's International Theoretical Conference commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov.

The reported version of Marin's speech deals entirely with historical affairs, in two roughly equal parts. The first views Georgi Dimitrov's theoretical

works and stand during the Leipzig trial as a source of inspiration for the Spanish Communist Party during the civil war. The second part describes the joint activity of Georgi Dimitrov and Dolores Ibarruri in the COMINTERN.

In conclusion Marin discusses the importance of the international brigades in the Spanish Civil War, "whose assistance, however, was unfortunately not enough to bring about a change in the policy of the capitalist governments." The reported version of Marin's speech does not contain any references to any specific international issue or any aspect of the international communist and workers' movement other than in connection with the Spanish Civil War.

Mongolian Delegate Speaks

AU241620 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jun 82 p 6

[Speech by Yumjaagiyn Molomjamts, Politburo member and secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) Central Committee at the International Ideological Conference in Sofia marking the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth, on 16 June 1982]

[Text] The Mongolian Communists and the working people in our country deeply revere Georgi Dimitrov as a loyal Marxist-Leninist, as a consistent proletarian, revolutionary and indefatiguable fighter for the cause of the workers class and communism.

The worldwide progressive forces are preserving the immortal memory of Georgi Dimitrov's name and cause in their hearts. He was a true herald of the antifascist movement and a selfless fighter against fascism and war. The indomitable strength of his communist ideas was confirmed by him at the Leipzig trial, which he transformed into a trial against fascism.

Georgi Dimitrov is widely known as a great theoretician and organizer of the workers movement, as a Leninist figure who was infinitely devoted to the cause of proletarian internationalism.

We must note in particular that Georgi Dimitrov analyzed the historical role and significance of the Soviet Union and of the revolutionary-transforming role of the CPSU for the international communist and workers movement, for the cause of democracy and socialism, with exceptional thoroughness and erudition. Dimitrov constantly fought for the militant unity of the international, worldwide communist and workers movement, rallied around the CPSU, whose theory and practice are the greatest treasury of the worldwide revolutionary movement.

The Seventh Comintern Congress, at which Georgi Dimitrov read his famous report, played a basic role in the scientific synthensis of the revolutionary experience and in working out a new strategy and tactics of the communist parties.

Yumjaagiyn Molomjamts described the great assistance rendered by the Comintern, where Georgi Dimitrov worked as a leader, as regards the basic revolutionary transformation of Mongolia and as regards the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in solving the topical questions of non-capitalist development, for the contribution of the MPRP and the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] in implementing a program of struggle against fascism and capitalism.

In our days, Georgi Dimitrov's ideas preserve their strength and topical importance, the speaker pointed out. Under the conditions of an aggravated international situation, caused by the actions of the reactionary forces of imperialism, when the United States and its allies from the NATO member-countries are trying to disrupt the balance of forces in the world--and especially the military-strategic balance of forces in Europe--to the advantage of imperialism, by trying to obtain military superiority; when the Reagan administration is overtly proclaiming the preparation of war as its basic policy, the role of international solidarity is being further enhanced and the unity of action of all peace-loving anti-imperialist forces is increasingly expanding.

A decisive role has been assigned to the worldwide communist movement in rallying all revolutionary, anti-imperialist and progressive forces of our time in a united front of struggle, in working out a joint platform of action against imperialism. In this context we must point out the erroneous stands of those who are denying the historical role and international importance of real socialism, who are trying to reject Marxism-Leninism as a uniform international theory, who are distorting the peace-loving character of Soviet policy and the policy of the other socialist community member-countries.

Georgi Dimitrov's appeal to communists from all countries and to the international workers class, to all progressive forces, to render comprehensive assistance to the peace-loving Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state is resounding with new force today. All people of good will throughout the world reacted with great joy and with the feeling of universal gratification at Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's message to the second special UN session on disarmament. The new declaration of the Soviet Union to assume the one-sided commitment not to be the first have recourse to nuclear weapons, once more convincingly shows the Soviet Union's unrelenting concern for the preservation of peace and universal security on our planet. The MPRP as well as the other fraternal parties, along with the entire progressive world-wide public, actively declares itself in favor and support of the Soviet peace program for the eighties adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress.

We resolutely denounce the hegemonist policy of the present-day Chinese leaders, which is drawing closer to the aggressive policy of imperialism.

The MPR submitted a proposal to sign a convention on mutual nonaggression and nonuse of force in relations among states in Asia and the Pacific Zone.

It is particularly gratifying for us to note that relations of truly fraternal friendship and close cooperation have been established between the MPRP and the BCP, relations which were founded by Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov.

We are deeply satisfied with the successful development of friendly relations between the MPRP and the BCP, which is solidly based on the Bulgarian-Mongolian friendship and cooperation treaty signed in 1967 between Yu. Tsedenbal and T. Zhivkov.

Expressing our deepest respect for Georgi Dimitrov, the indomitable fighter, the proletarian revolutionary and consistent internationalist, the communists and working people in our country express their feelings of solid friendship and unity with the fraternal Bulgarian people and with their communist party. They express their solidarity with all detachments of the communist and workers movement, and with the revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world, the speaker stated in closing his address.

Romania's Popescu Speaks

AU241436 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jun 82 p 7

[Report on speech by Dimitur Popescu, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee, at International Ideological Conference in Sofia marking the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth on 16 June 1982]

[Text] The RCP and the working people in our country respect Georgi Dimitrov as one of the Bulgarian people's greatest sons, who since his early youth participated in the revolutionary activities of the workers class and of the Bulgarian people, who joined the communist movement and led the BCP in heroic struggles for the freedom of the nation, for overthrowing the regime of exploitation and for the victory of socialist revolution, as well as for the revolutionary, socialist transformation of Bulgaria.

Our party and people appreciate Georgi Dimitrov as an outstanding and courageous fighter against fascism and war, as an eminent figure of the revolutionary, proletarian struggle in our century.

We, the Romanians, feel particularly closely related to Georgi Dimitrov because we highly appreciate his remarkable contribution to the consolidation and development of friendship between our two parties and states.

We are fully justified in stating today that relations between Romania and Bulgaria represent a model for absolutely new relations between two socialist neighborly and friendly countries, which are cooperating with each other, which are assisting each other in full equality and on the basis of mutual respect, in the accelerated development of their socioeconomic progress and in implementing the noble ideals of socialism and communism.

Our party has adopted the approach to the problems of building the new system in the spirit of the general laws of socialism, in conformity with the existing conditions of reality, in conformity with the specific national peculiarities

of our country. Naturally, in the construction of a new society, contradictions, difficulties and shortcomings, even mistakes are likely to arise. In this connection we think that the tendency to neglect the existing contradictions under socialism is as harmful as the opposite tendency to entirely reject socialism and question its resources, as well as its capacity of self-perfection, whenever difficulties arise.

At the present stage of development our party is focusing its attention upon the constant perfection of scientific organization and of social management. We are basing ourselves on the consideration of principle that the state is not an owner of property, but that it has the task to assume the management of the socialist nationwide property. In this context we are steadily strengthening the system of workers self-management, as well as the system of economic cost accounting, as well as a broad organizational system of collective democratic management of all sectors of work.

While we are devoting our efforts to enhancing the leading political role of our party, this party is struggling, together with the masses, for the implementation of the people's vital interests and aspirations.

The present international situation is characterized by great tension. Two totally opposite trends are facing each other in the world: on the one hand, there is the imperialist policy of strength and "dictat" aimed at the preservation and distribution of zones of influence, aimed at exacerbating the arms race; on the other hand, there is the people's will and the will of the progressive forces to conduct a policy of equal rights and of mutual respect among nations, a policy of cooperation and peace. The old balance of forces, established after World War II no longer corresponds to the new international reality. New groups of states and states, many of which were still colonies a short time ago, now quite justifiably demand that they should play a greater role in world politics, they demand to express their opinion independently. The balance based on military blocs no longer corresponds to the present historical reality, the trend to creating a new balance based on changing the centers of strength is now strongly prevailing. The worldwide economic crisis, the policy of discrimination, unjustified sanctions and artificial barriers established by certain capitalist states and applied by them are causing heavy disturbances in cooperation and international trade.

Taking into consideration the fact that the main problem of international life is to stop the arms race and to eliminate the danger of war, Romania declares itself in favor of disarmament, and of nuclear disarmament above all. We declare ourselves in favor of banning the deployment of new missiles in Europe and of withdrawing the already existing ones.

We declare ourselves resolutely in favor of stopping any military conflicts and controversies in order to resolve problems existing among states along peaceful lines only, through negotiations and by observing the independence of each nation.

We think that the liquidation of backwardness and the construction of a new economic and political order is an important and urgent demand of our days as well.

Under the present international circumstances the solidarity of communist and workers parties, based upon the principles of fully equal rights and respect for the independence of each party, for the independent development of each party's political line in accordance with the conditions really existing in the respective country, represents an essential factor for the victory of the struggle for peace and social progress.

Naturally, the transition of one or the other nation along the path of socialism is implemented in the spirit of the principles of scientific socialism in accordance with social reality as it exists and with the specific national characteristic features of each country. We think, however, that socialism in one country should not be compared with socialism in other countries and that the search for new methods of revolutionary changes in society should not be compared with the hitherto achieved experience in building the new system.

Our party devotes constant efforts to the consolidation of cooperation among communists, socialists and social democrats, we are expanding vast cooperation and solidarity with the countries that have freed themselves of imperialist domination, with the national liberation movements and with the progressive forces throughout the world. With their united struggle the peoples are capable of making it possible to ban the arms race and establish peace and international security.

The theoretical conference devoted to the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth is a good opportunity to confirm the ideas of creative scientific socialism, to implement the principled exchange of opinions among participating parties and organizations and to strengthen their unity in the struggle for freedom, socialism, national independence and peace.

Afghanistan's Ziray Speaks

AU241652 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jun 82 p 4

[Speech by Saleh Mohammad Ziray, member of the Politburo and secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) Central Committee, at the International Ideological Conference in Sofia marking the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth, on 16 June 1982]

[Text] Permit me, on behalf of the PDPA Central Committee and on behalf of all militant members of our party, to convey comradely greetings to the BCP, the organizer of this great international conference devoted to "the cause of Georgi Dimitrov and our times," as well as greetings to all communist and workers parties, national liberation movements, and to all friends who are participating in this conference.

The comprehensive practical experience of worldwide development in the present era shows that the creation of a united front against fascism and imperialist war, a front of struggle for national and democratic revolutions, as well as the organization and orientation of all democratic and progressive forces in

the struggle against the common enemy, is a question of great importance. At the same time, the broad theoretical and practical activities of Georgi Dimitrov, the great fighter for the freedom of the workers class and of all working people in Bulgaria, and outstanding leader of the international communist and workers movement, is of tremendous historical significance.

Georgi Dimitrov creatively developed the idea of a united front under specific historical conditions, an idea the correctness of which was fully confirmed by life.

Our own experience, despite the fact that from the historical point of view--and more specifically in connection with establishing a working people's government--it is not so rich, brilliantly confirms the correctness of this great cause represented by Georgi Dimitrov. The national fatherland front of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA] since its very beginning until today has confirmed this truth--such a front is a basic prerequisite in the development of our society toward truly socialist justice.

Relying on the great experience of the worldwide communist and workers movement, on the experience of the CPSU and the national liberation movement, as well as on the specific experience of the Afghan peoples' struggle, the PDPA is deeply convinced that only by uniting all national and patriotic forces and only in alliance and cooperation with the entire anti-imperialist camp--in particular with the forces of peace and socialism headed by the USSR--is it possible to achieve the goals of our revolution.

The victory of a new and higher stage in our practical revolutionary experience raises the question of the establishment of the national fatherland front in the DRA. The national fatherland front is a social and mass organization in our country, and it is the basis of the DRA Government.

At the present stage of our society's development, the construction of the national fatherland front in the DRA is one of the greatest achievements of our national-democratic revolution. This front was established at the initiative of and under the leadership of the PDPA. It joined together for the first time all patriotic national and progressive forces in the country under a national banner for defending the dignity, the armed aggression and intervention of international imperialism--headed by the United States--Chinese hegemonism and the local reactionaries. It united them in building a new society.

Despite the fact that the aggressive strategy of international imperialism and reaction disgracefully collapsed, these forces have not been definitely defeated. We are fully aware of the truth that the bright future of our country to a great extent depends upon the unity of all working people in our society who are participating in the struggle to destroy counterrevolution and to liquidate the undeclared war which was forced upon us by imperialism and reaction. This is one of the chief tasks which the national fatherland front in the DRA, in organizing all national and democratic forces, must play its worthy role in implementing.

By expanding its influence over all society, the national fatherland front in the DRA is extending its mass social basis of political power exercised by the working people. It is no coincidence that the enraged counter-revolution, with the immediate help and under the protection of international imperialism and reaction, with different methods of terror and sowing fear, is trying to destroy this political and social organization and to obstruct its activities. This is why the consolidation of the national fatherland front in the DRA is one of the chief tasks facing us.

The PDPA, which considers disarmament, detente and peace as one of the basic goals of its struggle, is implementing a peace-loving foreign policy in the most comprehensive and resolute manner. The PDPA declares itself in favor of a peaceful settlement of conflicts in our area, consistently working for cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries.

In taking an important place in our country's new political system, the national fatherland front is capable of playing an important role in the basic processes of revolutionary transformation of society, in mobilizing the efforts of all working people around the party, in elevating revolutionary consciousness and in mobilizing this consciousness, so as to improve the active efforts of the working people and their participation in the administration of the country and in social management.

Permit me, before I close this statement on the tremendous practical and theoretical importance of the DRA national fatherland front, as a mass and social basis of the working people's political power, to cite the meaningful words of Georgi Dimitrov, this outstanding leader of the international communist and workers movement: "Neither the workers class nor the peasants alone can save themselves from fascism and reaction, and they cannot ensure a democratic development of their country. They cannot create conditions under which the people take their destinies within their own hands, if they are alone. Only their indestructible, fraternal alliance makes it possible for them to break the chains of political and economic oppression, of spiritual and cultural obscurantism..." And I would like to quote as follows: "This alliance, precisely, is the main guarantee for the final implementation of the fatherland front program."

These meaningful words pronounced by Georgi Dimitrov are of great practical significance for the great cause of the struggle waged by the national fatherland front and the working people in the DRA.

Glory to the heroic son of the Bulgarian people, Georgi Dimitrov, the indefatiguable fighter against fascism and war!

Glory to the continuer of Georgi Dimitrov's ideas and cause--the BCP Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the present-day builders of socialist Bulgaria!

SRV Delegate Greetings

AU241554 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jun 82 p 4

[Report on speech by Vo Chi Cong, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party at the 15 June session of the Sofia International Theoretical Conference commemorating Dimitrov's 100th birthday]

[Text] For the Vietnamese communists and working people as well as for progressive manking, Georgi Dimitrov has always been the ideal of proletarian selflessness and the honest and principled communist, as well as a symbol of the heroic spirit, unprecedented wisdom and revolutionary will of the communists to attack the class enemy. Dimitrov conducted a relentless struggle against the bourgeois ideology, against all kinds of rightist and "leftist" opportunism and against dogmatism and sectarianism, for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and in defense of the USSR--the first socialist state in the world, the hope, support and shining example in the liberation struggle of all working people throughout the world. In the spirit of pure proletarian internationalism, he used to stress that the attitude toward the USSR is a criterion of the internationalism and revolutionary spirit of the Marxist-Leninist parties and political figures. His heroic spirit at the Leipzig trial in 1933 is even today a shining example for the future generations of revolutionary fighters.

Boundlessly loyal to proletarian internationalism, Dimitrov was closely connected with the revolutionary movement in every country. A noted theoretician and, simultaneously, a prominent practical figure of the world communist and workers' movement, especially as secretary general of the Comintern executive committee, Dimitrov constantly guided and inspired the revolutionary movement in all countries for the correct and comprehensive implementation of its international duty to the world revolution.

Dimitrov was the bright banner uniting all revolutionary and progressive forces, as well as the democratic and peace-loving people everywhere--regardless of whether they belonged to an imperialist, colonial or indepedendent country--in a united front, based on a strong union of workers and peasants, who directed their efforts to attacking the common enemy of mankind--fascism. To this day, Dimitrov's postulates on the united front have preserved their topicality and original meaning for us in our struggle against warmongering imperialism and international reaction.

Almost 40 years have passed since the victory in the antifascist struggle. Many changes have taken place in the world since then.

The USSR has become the most powerful socialist country with developed and modern industry, highly mechanized agriculture, developed science and technology and powerful defense, and in many areas of life occupies first place in the world. Having revealed the road toward socialism, today the USSR is revealing the road toward communism.

The other fraternal socialist countries achieved great successes in the construction of socialism. Many of them are successfully constructing the developed socialist society.

The national liberation movement has powerfully developed in all its dimensions and is directing a powerful blow against the last resort of colonialism. After the victory of the national-democratic revolution, many countries select the road toward socialism, skipping the stage of capitalist development.

The struggle of the workers' class in the capitalist countries for democratic and social rights and against monopolistic capital is developing on a great scale and adopting rich forms.

The general picture of world development during the last decades eloquently testifies to the great vitality of socialism. Dimitrov's conclusions on the fact that the entire process of historical development is acting to the advantage of the workers' class proved correct. The efforts of fascists of all kinds and the entire world bourgeoisie to turn the wheel of history back are futile.

The name and cause of Georgi Dimitrov are closely related with the communists, the workers' class and the people of Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh used to say that the great name of Dimitrov is as close to the Vietnamese people as it is to the Bulgarian people. It has always been a symbol of struggle against capitalism and fascism, and a symbol of loyalty toward the eternal principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Today our country is living in peace, but simultaneously has to oppose the Chinese hegemonists and expansionists who have allied with U.S. imperialism, and has to be ready to react against the hostile designs and actions which could develop into aggression on a large scale. Therefore, at the new revolutionary stage, our entire party, people and army must implement two strategic tasks: to successfully construct socialism, and maintain our combat readiness, loyal defender of our motherland--socialist Vietnam. This is a noble mission which the present Vietnamese generation has to fulfill.

While implementing these tasks, our party found valuable lessons in Dimitrov's life.

Like Marx and Engels, Georgi Dimitrov belongs to all progressive mankind. The Bulgarian people can justifiably be proud of their great son, Georgi Dimitrov, who dedicated his entire life to Bulgaria and the international communist and workers' movement.

Marching along the road of Georgi Dimitrov, under the leadership of the glorious BCP led by the esteemed Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the fraternal Bulgarian people are loyally implementing Dimitrov's legacy on "achieving

in 15-20 years what other countries in other conditions achieved in centuries." We sincerely wish the Bulgarian people, under the BCP leadership, new and even greater successes in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress on reaching new peaks in building developed socialism and turning Bulgaria into a prosperous country with happy people.

In his political report at the fifth congress of our party, Comrade Le Duan stressed that relations and comprehensive cooperation with the USSR and the countries of the socialist community are a "principle, strategy and, simultaneously, a revolutionary feeling." Our party and state aim at educating the generations in Vietnam to adhere to this strategy and turn it into a powerful moving force toward the complete victory of our revolutionary cause. In this spirit, we are confident that the close solidarity and cooperation of the Vietnamese people and party with the BCP and the Bulgarian people, whose basis was founded by Georgi Dimitrov and Ho Chi Minh, will remain eternal and powerful.

Italian Delegate Speaks

AU271455 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jun 82 p 8

[Speech by Renato Zanghieri, member of the PCI Directorate and mayor of Bologna, at the International Ideological Conference marking Dimitrov's birth centenary in Sofia 16 June]

[Text] Today the world is involved in a difficult struggle against aggression and the threats of aggression as well as against the nuclear threat, and for peace. Therefore, it would be of great interest to [word indistinct] those moments of tension and struggle for peace which the Communist International survived in the thirties and also the role which Dimitrov and Palmiro Togliatti played at that time. Compared with those years, the present conditions have, of course, deeply changed. This is to be found in the nature of war itself which today has become a war of nuclear annihilation, in the breakdown of the balance of powers and also in the qualitative nature of the peace movement. That is why this experience for you is more an historic one rather than a source for lessons and direct political instructions.

The cooperation and understanding between Dimitrov and Togliatti were particularly close during the seventh congress, during the period of the turning point which was imposed on the line of the international at that time. As is known, Togliatti was assigned to prepare a report on "the preparation for a new world war by the imperialists and the tasks of the communists international." He actively participated in preparing for the congress and afterwards in implementing its directives. Dimitrov dwelt in his report to the congress and afterward on the problems of peace. At that time the Communist International was primarily analyzing the threat of war and the threats directed toward the Soviet Union from the Nazi government.

The overwhelming thesis of the congress was to seek more extensive and flexible relations primarily with the socialist parties. The war was approaching rapidly, and fascism was also spreading to other European countries in addition to Italy and Germany. The Japanese aggression in the Far East had also begun. It was necessary to define the framework of a new struggle--a new orientation toward mobilizing the masses according to possibilities.

The most reactionary variety of fascism was the German one. German fascism was "the main warmonger of the imperialistic war" and "the instigator of the crusade against the Soviet Union."

I repeat that Togliatti was responsible for launching this thesis within the framework of the general formulation given by Dimitrov. "In each country," he said, "the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie become oriented toward war. These elements consider war as the best means, and in certain cases the only means, for coming out of the difficulties created by circles." In contrast, the USSR "has stabilized itself not only in its domestic affairs but also in its international relations." It is "the only stable, firm and reliable force which is in a position to be a mainstay of a policy for the defense of peace."

At this point, one should pose the question: Is it possible to avoid war? Capitalist society cannot produce anything else but war. However, "the struggle for peace is not a desparate struggle." Relying on the strength of the Soviet Union, "this struggle has all the chances for success." This new and unknown assertion appears repeatedly in the Togliatti report. There are some shades, however: "to defend peace," Togliatti said, "as much as possible." He further said: "Nobody can foresee and we cannot foresee how long our struggle for peace will continue. Perhaps a year, perhaps more or perhaps a few months." Incertitude lives along with certitude.

I make no exception of the possibility that some of these formulations perhaps show certain waverings, but it seems to me that the new feeling and assertion that war could be avoided--included in the reports by Dimitrov and Togliatti--are indisputable. This was a basically new element which was not involved in the extensive theoretical foundation which was later formulated in a mature manner by the 20th CPSU Congress.

On the other hand, if there were any waverings and question marks about the true possibility of avoiding conflict. They found an explanation--and I do not say an excuse--in the particularly dangerous international situation in 1935. The war was approaching while it had already begun in some other parts of the world regardless of the positive results achieved in some countries such as France and Great Britain, the mobilization of the forces of peace was still insufficient. Dimitrov stated that sectarianism in the workers' movement was no longer a childhood disease but often took the form of a deep chronic disease. Apparently the Communist International, after a long period of isolation and of really underestimating this danger, understood this only too late. We must also point out that the publication

of this postulate had obviously not been followed by appropriately expanding the relations with other workers' parties and the Catholic masses. In addition, the reverberation of some of Stalin's mistakes had surely harmed the search for contacts and understanding with significant groups of the world public, and simultaneously, the Comintern itself had been infiltrated by some nondemocratic elements.

All this, however, as (Geiorgio Amendola) writes, does not deprive the decisions of the seventh congress of their "liberating effectiveness." The very linking of the Soviet peace policy with the defense of the USSR proclaimed at the seventh congress, which some people wanted to present and condemn as a manifestation of "Stalinism," was due to the world situation when the USSR was encircled and threatened by fascism. It is true that war was not averted but the seventh congress gave an impetus to a new policy of the communist parties which was of primary importance for the victory of the antifascist coalition.

I mentioned in the beginning of my speech that the struggle for peace today is being waged in profoundly different conditions and that it would be antihistorical to apply the theses and formulations of the seventh congress to our time. However, the lessons of our capability to keep up to date, to take into account realistic conditions, to liquidate dogmatic and sectarian remnants and to open the road toward bringing communist parties closer together with the worker's and peace-loving forces still exist. These are lessons that are constantly valid.

PCP's Alvaro Cunhal Address

AU271436 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jun 82 p 5

[Report on speech by Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Communist Party of Portugal, at the 16 June session of the Sofia International Theoretical Conference commemorating Dimitrov's 100th birthday]

[Text] The Marxist-Leninist heritage of Georgi Dimitrov includes principles, experience and lessons which continue to be valid today. It also includes his great example of creativity in the areas of theory and tactics on the basis of analyzing new facts and phenomena of his time.

Many comrades who spoke here stressed Georgi Dimitrov's role in the struggle for peace.

The problem of war and peace was then, as today, a central problem of the peoples. The struggle for preserving peace and against the arms race, the production of the neutron bomb, and the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe is an urgent task of the peoples, and a task of all mankind.

It is unacceptable to place the aggressive and militarist policy of North American imperialism, and the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries on the same scale, as some people do.

In Portugal the struggle for peace takes place through mass events aiming at goals common to all peoples. The immediate toppling of the present reactionary government, conducting elections and forming a government which would adopt a policy in defense of democracy and its achievements, and friendship and cooperation with all peoples throughout the world, is the central and basic goal of the Portuguese peoples struggle.

Georgi Dimitrov defended and developed the basic idea on the vanguard role of the workers' class in the struggle against capitalism and in constructing socialism, and on the need for unity ensuing from this struggle.

This idea always inspired our party's struggle during the time of the fascist dictatorship and after the April 1974 revolution.

Further on, Comrade Alvaro Cunhal dwelled in detail on the present situation in Portugal and the struggle of the Communist Party of Portugal.

Years ago, he said, there were people who predicted the weakening of the party and the deterioration of its basis and influence, despite its decisive contribution to the great democratic transformations of the Portuguese revolution, our convincing consolidation as Marxist-Leninists and our loyalty to proletarian internationalism.

Precisely the opposite took place. There is no other party in Portugal with such influence among the masses and ability to mobilize them. There is no other party with similar growth. Some 3 months after the April 1974 revolution, there were 15,000 party members. Today there are almost 290,000 party members, without counting the 35,000 young communists.

He said further: Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are not only banners. They are the basic factors of our power, unity and influence among the masses. Georgi Dimitrov stressed insistently the decisive importance for the peoples' liberation struggle of the October Revolution and the construction of socialism in the USSR, and subsequently the obligatory need for solidarity with the first state of the workers and peasants.

The world situation has radically changed, but Dimitrov's basic evaluation continues to be valid. The USSR and the other socialist countries continue to be for all revolutionaries, and for all those who aspire to man's equality, not only a firm support of peace and the working people's struggle, but also an inspiring example in constructing the new society.

By this we do not mean copying and imitating. There are no "models" of socialism. We only mean the need to learn from the inexhaustibly rich source of experience and lessons which the process of socialist and communist construction provides. On the other hand, we also mean that all revolutionary forces are obliged to maintain solidarity with the USSR and the other socialist countries, precisely as the USSR and the other socialist countries maintain their solidarity with the other revolutionary forces. The world situation imposes strengthening friendship and cooperation among all revolutionary forces--the socialist countries, the workers' movement in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation movement and the progressive countries. The communist solidarity stressed by Dimitrov was based on proletarian internationalism. Mutual solidarity is the basic principle of proletarian internationalism.

Georgi Dimitrov was a tireless fighter for the unity of the international communist movement. Naturally, today the problem is posed differently than 40 years ago. Reviving a "leading center" or some "leading party" is not on the agenda. However, the task faced by all communists throughout the world is to strengthen friendship and cooperation among the communist and workers' parties on bilateral, multilateral, regional and world bases.

We share the opinion of those comrades who maintained that it is inexplicable in today's world, when the forces of reaction and social-democracy are increasing their organizational structures and strengthening their international cooperation, that the communist parties do not have stable, albeit limited to only some areas and problems, forms of cooperation. On our part, we are ready to participate in exploring the possibilities for this, while preserving our determination and making efforts to realize these possibilities.

We have gathered to celebrate the 100th birthday of Georgi Dimitrov and pay respects to the political genius and heroism of the great revolutionary, patriot and internationalist; to his valuable theoretical contribution to the struggle, as well as to the moral and educational value of his example. We must not forget, however, that the greatness of the revolutionaries was not only a result of their individual qualities, but also a result of the fact that they knew how to learn from the experience of the workers' class and the masses, analyze the political ideas of their era and learn the lessons of the revolutionary forces.

By paying tribute to Georgi Dimitrov, we are also paying tribute to the BCP and its secretary general Comrade Todor Zhivkov, its Central Committee, its members, the Bulgarian workers' class and the Bulgarian people, greeting them on the great successes reached in building the socialist society, and conveying the warm and fighting greetings of the Communist Party of Portugal.

'HORIZONT' Carries Axen Speech

AU301224 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No 26, 1982 pp 8-9

["Excerpts" from an address by Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the international theoretical conference on the centennial of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov in Sofia on 15 June]

[Text] The delegation of the SED Central Committee is happy about this opportunity to celebrate Georgi Dimitrov's birth centennial together with you, dear Bulgarian comrades, and with the authoritative representatives of parties and movements belonging to the three main revolutionary currents. We are glad to celebrate this truly international festive occasion in Georgi Dimitrov's socialist motherland, in the prosperous People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Inspired by deep gratitude for the achievements of this great leader of the Bulgarian and of the international workers movement, our delegation conveys the fraternal greetings of the SED Central Committee and of

Comrade Erich Honecker, our party's secretary general, to Dimitrov's party and people. We greet the delegations of the fraternal parties from all countries, whose participation in this conference once more demonstrates that the international communist movement is the most influential political force of our era.

I

On Georgi Dimitrov's Contribution to History

Together with the communist and workers parties we pay tribute to Georgi Dimitrov as one of the greatest leaders of the Bulgarian and international workers movement. The most extraordinary virtues and talents developed in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat manifested themselves and merged in Dimitrov's deeds and ideas.

The unity of theory and practice was one of Dimitrov's most characteristic features and manifested itself throughout his remarkable achievements at the service of the entire international communist movement. During the trial following the Reichstag fire, Dimitrov, whose life was threatened by the fascist barbarians, not only set a brilliant example as a heroic fighter of the workers' class, but also lit the torch of worldwide antifascist resistance. His closing speech to the Supreme Court of the German Reich in Leipzig became an enthusiastic plea for communism and developed into an inspiring accusation against the brownshirt arsonists, but above all, into a powerful appeal which caused the great movement of the struggle against war and fascism in the entirety of peace-loving, progressive mankind. While Georgi Dimitrov raised the great banner of antifascism and socialist humanitarianism at the Leipzig trial, he provided the workers class and peoples throughout the world with the political and theoretical tools for the struggle against imperialism, fascism and war during his outstanding work as secretary general of the Communist International.

At the seventh Comintern Congress Comrade Dimitrov, in further developing Lenin's theories and the experience of the communist parties as regards the united front under the newly created historical conditions, established that courageous policy of a united national front which inaugurated the new stage in the development of the people's social and national liberation struggles.

This strategic line of the antifascist, united and people's front has been brilliantly confirmed by historical practical experience and is still valid in principal in our present conditions.

The establishment of a worldwide socialist system confirmed Dimitrov's great theoretical forecasts at the seventh Comintern Congress, according to which the struggle for an antifascist national front could contribute to the development of a new type of democratic republics, to the development of antifascist, anti-imperialist republics likely to make a new form of revolutionary transition to socialism possible.

Thus, the BCP, under Georgi Dimitrov's leadership, used the opportunity of the defeat of the fascist aggressor by the glorious Soviet Army in September 1944, for a victorious people's uprising and for the beginning of socialist revolution in Bulgaria. It was precisely Comrade Georgi Dimitrov who worked out the theoretical tenets on the essence and form of a people's democracy as a form of proletarian dictatorship on the basis of this newly acquired experience in revolutionary practice.

II

Important Lessons Taught by Georgi Dimitrov About the Peace Struggle

We are acting entirely in Dimitrov's spirit when we use his great experiences as instruction in the struggle to solve the urgent tasks of our time, above all, the most important one--the securing of peace.

The world has changed fundamentally since the time of Georgi Dimitrov's famous speech at the seventh Comintern Congress. The international balance of forces has radically shifted to the advantage of socialism and to the advantage of the cause of peace and national liberation.

The countries belonging to the developed socialist system are entering a higher stage of social development. The intensive development of the economy is of strategic importance for historical progress toward the goals of the new social system and in the new class struggle against imperialism.

The national liberation movement, despite numerous obstacles, is advancing vigorously. Georgi Dimitrov's tenets on the people's democracy are being increasingly and creatively applied by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their national democratic revolution and, relying on these tenets, the aforementioned countries are choosing the path of socialist development.

The imperialist states, on the other hand, are involved in a new stage of the universal crisis of capitalism, which is characterized by a qualitative exacerbation of all internal and external contradictions of imperialism, and especially by the involvement of the general and cyclical crises. All this is linked to thorough, lasting changes and losses in the positions of imperialism in general and of the United States, in particular.

Being in a historically defensive position imperialism still cannot resign itself to this situation.

The ruling U.S. circles want to prevent at all costs their spheres of domination and influence from shrinking any further. Since President Reagan took office they have striven adventurously not only to allow no further losses, but also to recover lost ground. The U.S. leaders are rejecting peaceful coexistence and detente because they are overtly striving for world domination.

The U.S. administration and the governments of the other NATO member-countries are pursuing the following goals in this respect:

1. Forced intensive rearmament in order to achieve strategic, military superiority over the socialist countries and in order to subject the nationally liberated countries to blackmail, and if they should not succeed in this, to make a military confrontation with real socialism--which means a nuclear war--feasible and victorious for the United States.

The deployment of new U.S. medium-range and cruise missiles in Western Europe, planned for 1983, is aimed at implementing a capacity for a first strike against the Warsaw Pact member-countries and is intended to shift the military-strategic balance and to protect the U.S. territory from retaliatory strikes.

The peace-loving policy of socialism and the peoples' peace struggle have forced the United States to begin negotiations on medium-range missiles and on strategic weapons, as well. However, the proposals the White House has submitted to date clearly reveal the intention to impede efficient international negotiations on the limitation of armaments and on disarmament, to protract such negotiations and to burden them with unacceptable preliminary conditions, and also the intention to take advantage of such conditions in order to accelerate the arms race in the meantime.

2. The CEMA member-countries are supposed to be weakened by a political-ideological diversion and a trade war. As the recent summit meeting of the imperialist powers in Versailles revealed, this diversion includes embargo measures, as well as differentiation tactics and the purposeful exploitation of economic development problems in individual countries. Last, but not least, one of the purposes of the arms race is to hinder the countries of the socialist community in the implementation of the policy aimed at their chief task, and thus, to undermine the international force of attraction of real socialism.

As Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, recently pointed out, the dangers of unpredictable actions on part of the aggressive, imperialist powers are increasing. He mentioned at the same time the importance of the worldwide peace movement, which contains all the elements necessary to curb the dangers threatening world peace represented by the aggressive circles of imperialism and to cooperate with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states in this respect.

In view of the present confrontation with the policy of United States the experience of the communist world movement and of Georgi Dimitrov are particularly topical. Georgi Dimitrov was guided by the principle that it is not sufficient to wish for peace. "We must struggle for peace," he wrote, and he added: "It is quite insufficient merely to conduct propaganda against war in general terms." (Georgi Dimitrov: "The united front of peace struggle," from Dimitrov's Collected Works, Volume 2, Sofia 1976, page 150)

Dimitrov was trying to join together all democratic and anti-imperialist forces in a vast peace front. He pointed out the connections between the struggle for peace and the revolutionary struggle of the workers class. The decisions of the seventh Comintern Congress and the conclusions of the Comintern Executive Committee headed by Georgi Dimitrov on the eve of and during World War II were aimed at a uniform international policy of the workers class, aimed at the preservation of peace, at the establishment of an international front of the peoples' struggle against fascist aggressors and at universal support for the Soviet Union's peace policy.

Dimitrov's ideas on the broad alliance, on the avoidance of any limitedness in the peace struggle, on the broadest possible cooperation of all peace-loving forces against the peoples' greatest enemy, against the aggressive and adventurous policy of imperialism--all these ideas are more topical than ever in this nuclear era.

The present, enormous upsurge of the international peace movement and the active work of the people's forces are expressions of the tremendously increasing concern of people of all classes, strata and continents.

III

Real Socialism--The Main Pillar of the Peace Movement

In all his work Georgi Dimitrov relied upon the relationship of peace and socialism. He was profoundly convinced that the relationship of peace and socialism was also deeply related to the October Revolution and to the existence of a socialist Soviet Union and that this was an entirely new situation for the workers class throughout the world. The construction of the first socialist society and its protection was now one of the most important duties in securing peace and progress. That is why Georgi Dimitrov consistently assumed the task of making the workers class in all countries aware of the fact that the peace policy of the first socialist state was closely related to the newly established relationship between peace and socialism.

Dimitrov always confronted the imperialist slanders against the Soviet Union with the Leninist truth that peace is the more secure, the more powerful socialism becomes. "Under the present circumstances of the international situation, "he wrote in 1937, "there is no and there can be no reliable criterion than the attitude toward the Soviet Union in order to ascertain who is a friend and who is an enemy of the workers class and of socialism, in order to establish who is a supporter and who is an opponent of peace and democracy.... One cannot seriously struggle against the fascist arsonists of a new world conflagration if one does not wholeheartedly support the USSR, this important factor in the preservation of universal peace." (Georgi Dimitrov: "The Soviet Union and the Workers Class in Capitalist Countries," Moscow, 1937 p 14)

In discussing precisely this crucial problem, Georgi Dimitrov and Ernst Thaelmann demonstrated their full unanimity of views. Loyal to this basic principle of proletarian internationalism, we are conducting a persevering struggle side by side with the first socialist state of the world.

Today it is clearer than ever how much the international workers class and how much all mankind owe the Soviet Union, which devotes all its efforts to the securing of peace in the world. In his work Dimitrov confirmed one of the basic truths of our time, namely that the successes of real socialism in the past and today are a source of strength for the workers class and for all peace-loving mankind, a source which strengthens their confidence in their own strength and in their capacity to eradicate the roots of war.

The SED and our socialist GDR fully support the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress and the most recent peace initiatives adopted by Comrade Leonid Ilich Breznhev. These initiatives represent a solid and constructive basis for specific disarmament measures and for a consolidation of the world situation. They reassure peace-loving mankind that it is not helpless in facing the imperialist danger of war.

The increased political, military and economic power of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist community represents a factor of decisive importance in worldwide politics today. It is, above all, due to the power and consistent peace policy of the USSR that a Third World has so far been avoided and that Europe has been enjoying the longest peace period in its history.

The Soviet Union is the strongest mainstay of peace, because it is also the most progressive society in the world. This great truth which Georgi Dimitrov proclaimed with such passionate strength of conviction in front of the fascist henchmen at the Reichstag fire trial has been confirmed a thousand times by the pace and acceleration of social progress and of developed socialism in the USSR.

Comrade Erich Honecker described this logical consistency of facts in the following words:

"In facing what takes place in the capitalist world today, we are filled with great satisfaction at the consolidation of worldwide socialism, at the expansion of its advantages and values. We are fully justified in asserting that on the eve of the 65th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and in the 33d year of the GDR's existence the following facts are true: socialism started on its victorious progress with the advent of the power of workers and peasants in 1917, despite all obstacles and difficulties, and this progress continues relentlessly. Within the span of a brief historical period socialism has accomplished infinitely more for the interests of man, for peace, for employment, for bread, for culture and education, for justice and freedom, for democracy and humanitarianism--much more--than any other social system of the past."

IV

Georgi Dimitrov--Comrade in Arms and Friend of the German Communists

Georgi Dimitrov made a great contribution to the history of close relations between the German and Bulgarian communists. As early as since the beginning of the 20th century he was linked to the movement of the German workers. Since the military fascist regime in Bulgaria forced him to leave the country in 1923, Dimitrov lived abroad until the liberation of Bulgaria, spending many years in Germany as well. From 1929 through 1933 he was the head of the West European Bureau of the Comintern Executive Committee and lived in Berlin.

During this stay in Berlin the fraternal relations between Georgi Dimitrov and the German Communist Party expanded and strengthened and so did his personal relations with Ernst Thaelmann, Whilhelm Pieck, and other workers' leaders. Dimitrov drew important and extensive conclusions from the work of the German Communist Party and from its confrontation with the offensive of the monopolies in the period of the worldwide economic crisis.

On the other hand, he contributed with important advice from his great experience to the struggle of the German Communist Party.

Georgi Dimitrov attentively followed the "antifascist action" conducted by Ernst Thaelmann and the German Communist Party, which was supposed to join together all antifascist forces in Germany in order to meet the threatening danger of fascism. However, the joint action of the workers' class, which was the only one capable of preventing the fascist dictatorship was confronted with the negative attitude of the rightwing Social Democratic Party and trade union leaders. The German Communist Party was forced into the underground. Ernst Thaelmann fell into the hands of the fascists. Only a few days later Georgi Dimitrov was also arrested on 9 March 1933 in Berlin.

The representatives of the German financial and capitalist circles, who with the Reichstag fire trial and the brutal persecution of the German Communist Party tried to legalize the physical destruction of the revolutionary and antifascist fighters and attempted to impede the progress of the forces of democracy and socialism in Europe, failed in their designs.

Georgi Dimitrov victoriously unmasked Hitler's fascism and this found a tremendous response throughout the world. This act of unmasking especially encouraged and inspired the communists and all other antifascists in Germany. During the Leipzig trial, not only the communists, but also the Social Democrats and the Christian working people felt how closely Georgi Dimitrov was linked with the German working people. Standing in the dock of a fascist court of justice, Dimitrov appealed to the German workers class to arise against this predatory, terrorist form of dictatorship, composed of the most reactionary elements of monopolist capitalism and to expand the united front of the workers class beyond the limits of workers alliance by establishing a broad, antifascist front.

As a member of the Comintern Executive Committee Presidium, Georgi Dimitrov not only worked many years in close cooperation with the comrades Wilhelm Pieck and Wilhelm Florin, but he always paid the utmost attention to the struggle of the German Communist Party against fascism and war and actively supported this struggle. After the liberation of the peoples from fascism by the Soviet Union and with the beginning of the people's revolution in Bulgaria and on the territory of today's GDR, the militant partnership between Georgi Dimitrov and the SED leaders, which had been tested for many decades, took on a new form.

Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl visited new Bulgaria in 1948 and agreed on a program of political and economic cooperation which was gradually implemented throughout the years that followed and which constantly expanded. As Georgi Dimitrov stated during the consultations: "Development not only in Germany but throughout Europe will greatly depend upon the development in the Soviet zone of occupation.... The Soviet zone must be regarded as a new Germany and not as the remains of fascist Germany. A different, an entirely new approach must be established as regards this new Germany." The correctness of this forecast has been confirmed by historical developments. Under SED leadership those theories were implemented in the GDR as Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotwohl described in a letter to Georgi Dimitrov on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Reichstag fire:

The roots of fascism have been eradicated once and for all in the GDR, while the united party of the workers class has developed, which is leading the GDR people in a strong alliance with the Soviet Union and with the fraternal socialist countries toward the construction of a developed socialist society.

The peaceful cooperation between the SED and the BCP has become a daily practical experience in all sectors today and the indestructible ties of friendship between the Bulgarian and the GDR peoples have expanded. Important enterprises in the GDR, collectives in industry and agriculture are named after Georgi Dimitrov. School children and pioneers organizations are jointly studying his life and analyzing the effect of his working achievements, and are learning from him as an example of communist and revolutionary virtues.

On 18 June, on the occasion of Georgi Dimitrov's birth centennial, a new exhibition opened in the Leipzig museum which was dedicated to his memory. This exhibition will contribute to the propagation of Dimitrov's experience and of the lessons taught by his struggles.

As Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee secretary general declared during his visit to Georgi Dimitrov's native land: "The close friendship and unity of action of our parties represent the basis of our past and a guarantee for our future successes. This is how.... We have fulfilled and are implementing the indestructible legacy of our unforgettable internationalists--Ernst Thaelmann and Georgi Dimitrov--the great leaders of the Bulgarian and German workers movements." We are loyal to this legacy, in promoting a developed socialist society in our country, the GDR. We are fulfilling this legacy by further consolidating the unity of the worldwide communist movement and the alliance of our socialist countries, united around the Soviet Union. We are acting in the spirit of this legacy, if we do everything within our power to guarantee peace.

CSO: 2200/116

RELIGIOUS OPPRESSION, RESISTANCE CITED

Persecution of Priests

Munich BAYERNKURIER in German 5 Jun 82 p 13

[Unattributed article: "KGB Versus Priests"]

[Text] According to information from a reliable source in Prague, confirmed by others in the provinces, the KGB is presently extending "fraternal assistance" in combating the so-called "underground church" in the CSSR. It is said that special KGB units have been flown in whose task it is to ferret out clandestine religious groups. The sources say that the primary targets are secretly ordained priests.

Czechoslovak authorities have long been worried about the secret activities of Christians throughout the CSSR, which the state refers to as the "underground church." Special units have already been given training courses on "hating the faithful." Special agents have received training in uncovering religious groups among the student population. They have even been employing high-sensitivity listening devices installed in automobiles which are capable of monitoring conversations carried on inside buildings.

In this manner, Czechoslovak security forces have succeeded in seizing a number of underground printing plants producing religious literature. Both priests and laymen arrested in connection with these operations have been sentenced and are presently serving time in jail. Nonetheless, some religious magazines and leaflets are continuing to appear in the underground. The decree of the congregation for the clergy, too, which the Minister for Religious Affairs, Karel Hruza, outlawed because he felt it was directed against the party-line association of priests known as "Pacem in Terris," is making the rounds among the priesthood and the faithful and has, as our Prague source maintains, led to the resignation of priests from the movement. The obvious lack of success of the Czechoslovak security forces in their fight against the "underground church," the sources add, has now led to the call for support by specially trained units from Moscow.

Catholic Activists

Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 5/6 Jun 82 p 9

[Article by Angelus Waldstein-Wartenberg: "A Hard-to-Control Church"]

[Text] There is an anecdote concerning a book entitled "A Night in Taize" which was not seized during a police search because it was assumed to be a love romance or detective story. On the other hand, there is a grotesque detective story that took place last fall in Moravia that might be entitled "A Night in Moravec" where a great number of police searched an old-age home for priests and parish housekeepers. The supposed object of their search were Polish refugees and a clandestine radio transmitter. The search really lasted from noon until late at night. A similar search was conducted at the same time in Kadan in northern Bohemia where nuns belonging to various orders—their average age being about 70—who are "concentrated" in a cloisters there received a going-over complete with watchdogs, searchlights on the rooftops and confiscation of a variety of innocuous private belongings including money which made the entire operation appear more like looting than anything else. All typewriters were seized—the building superintendent getting back his only after pleading for a long time. This made it clear what the purpose of the operation really was: to call a halt to the distribution of religious literature, which also includes mimeogrpahed prayer texts such as the nuns were using in lieu of breviaries and prayer books.

Suspicious Mimeograph Machine

The wave of investigations also included parsonages and private apartments. Although in our country, we cannot imagine a priest without his mimeograph machine that in itself is a crime in Czechoslovakia because it is a possible way of "obstructing state authority over the religious denominations." Monsignor Hlozanka, for example, who used to minister to the former German congregation of Gastorf-on-the-Elbe, was arrested for this reason on 29 October 1981 and sentenced to 20 months in jail in his episcopal see of Litomerice.

The fact that more and more of the faithful are turning to self-help in order to obtain religious texts that are officially unavailable makes the security police uneasy but is not really surprising when one is told that the "satisfaction of religious needs" is subject to state planning. The officially sanctioned annual print run of CESKY KANCIONAL (which corresponds to the Catholic GOTTESLOB in German-speaking countries) is so small that the most urgent need can never be satisfied before the very first shipment has been sold out.

It is said that the "underground literature" thus far uncovered and confiscated already includes some 700 titles; the religious material thus available being of a varied nature, even including three magazines devoted to different groups of readers. One of the magazines, INFORMACE O CIRKVE, is a general information publication dealing with current events; then there is

one for young people called ZKRIZENI (or "Resurrection" and another for the priesthood. The magazines contain translations of appropriate theological writings from abroad along with expositions by Czechoslovak professors of theology (who are not permitted teach, of course) and even of younger researchers like Vaclav Benda (born in 1946) who was one of the first signers of Charta 77, who became one of its spokesmen in 1979 and was sentenced to 4 years in prison that same year.Furthermore, Vaclav Havel, the writer as well as Jiri Dienstbier and other "chartists."

The Slavic Pope

This new-style going-together of civil rights activists of different stripes, including Christians, is the result of developments that bear looking at more closely. It started with the breathing spell in the sixties which the church needed to survive after the Soviets marched into Prague and which lasted somewhat longer for the church because the Communist Party first had to be purged and brought into line again. It was not until 1973 that a new low was reached when four new bishops were installed half of whom took an at least dubious position and accordingly were classified as mere temporary "administrators" of their episcopates by the Vatican. This caused a crisis among the CSSR Catholics who are faithful to Rome, which was not overcome until hopes sprang up that a Slavic Pope from an East Bloc country would be named.

Atheist Propaganda

1977 started with a bang. In the aftermath of the Helsinki Final Act, the Charta appeared and was followed by a number of other documents such as the one bearing No 9 (in June of that year) which dealt with the situation of the Christians; others contained a number of "petitions" based on initiatives like those of 30 priests of the Church of the Bohemian Brethren (in May 1977) and a lay group from Kromeriz which listed 14 demands involving freedom of religion.

There were arrests and prison sentences. Earlier, Hruza had penned a lengthy article entitled "The Socialist State and Religion" which appeared in RUDE PRAVO on 23 February 1977. The article started out with a long discourse on all the funds being made available to the clergy and the upkeep of churches but then came right out and said how the constitutionally guaranteed right to freedom of worship is to be understood—as the exclusive right to atheist propaganda.

Not Noticed in Munich

After a lengthy tug-of-war between Rome and Prague, 1978 finally brought the creation of a Slovak diocese and the final appointment of Bishop Tomasek as head of the Prague diocese, whereby Rome succeeded in strengthening the "real" bishops somewhat. The further upgrading of the now Archbishop of Prague did lend to him and his utterances a bit more weight and more (undesired) resonance even if it did not increase his freedom to maneuver. Austrian President Kirchschlaeger visited him in 1978 and managed to extend

an invitation to him to come to Salzburg. Foreign Minister Genscher did likewise in 1980 but the cardinal's visit to Munich at the time of the Papal visit went almost unnoticed. In the following year, Alfred Dregger, went to Prague but it seemed more like going through the motions and by that time there were some in this country beginning to ask whether the church leader "up at the top" was a true representative of the Czechoslovak civil rights movement, if he could not arrange a breakfast with some dissidents—which of course he was unable to do.

The fact is that multifarious church activities had sprung up in the meantime which communist religious policies had involuntarily helped spawn. There was the Bratislava PRAVDA at the end of 1980 calling attention to the underground church by complaining bitterly about it and there have been repeated official demands directed to the Pope and the bishops of the CSSR simply to outlaw this uncontrollable church. And there is a large number of priests, not permitted to minister to their congegrations, who act as natural and effective intermediaries between the above-ground and the underground clergy—who are not listed officially but do appear in the investigation reports of the secret police.

Hussite Tradition

It seems as though there are three no longer separable groups that are about to form a new Catholic Church in the CSSR—those of the faithful and the priesthood who are known and tolerated; those who are outlawed and those who are not known. All of them are subject to the same persecution for doing anything that is not permissible. Above all, this involves ministering to young people who ask for such ministry and thereby themselves run the risk of forfeiting a professional career.

A new element worth noting is the help that comes from neighboring Poland which acts as an encouragement and there also is the long overdue ecumenic dialogue which is very lively now that all the Christian denominations are in the same boat and that the domestic Church of the Brethren with its Hussite tradition is no longer treated more leniently (to say nothing of the previously vocal Czechoslovak National Church).

'Patriotic' Priests

The few seminarians admitted to the study of theology face a dilemma, if they want to reach their goal without having to relinquish it immediately thereafter. At the start of the winter semester 1980/81, the Bratislava seminarians went on strike protesting against the partonizing attitude of the "peace priests" who hewed the party line. The result was that both the administrative personnel and the faculty was recruited from among the ranks of these "peace priests." The 11 protesting students who were suspended for a year at the time have since been expelled.

The "patriotic, progressive and peace-loving" priests who are members of the "Pacem in Terris" association, on the other hand, enjoy all conceivable freedoms and privileges. Their obeisances toward the party and their behavior in general are tantamount to a denial of their ministry and even of their beliefs. It has repeatedly been said that anyone who attacks or criticizes them attacks the state and its foundations. These churchmen who are already compromised or are capable of being compromised are becoming increasingly isolated, however, particularly in view of a long hoped-for and at long last carefully taken step by the Vatican.

A letter from Rome addressed only to the church in Czechoslovakia does not stand to get much publicity. That is what happened when the Pope sent the cardinal in Prague a letter late last year which dealt with a specifically Bohemian-Franciscan jubilee. The 800th anniversary of the birth of St Francis coincides with the 700th anniversary of the death of St Agnes of the Bohemian ducal house of Przemysl. Like Elizabeth of Thuringia and Hedwig of Andechs, she did good works on behalf of the poor and had connections to St Clara. The letter by Pope John Paul II cannot be published in the CSSR to this day, but it has reached its listeners and their tape recorders as well as printers and readers via broadcasts in Czech and Slovak over Radio Vatican.

Ban from Rome

Now the congregation of the clergy in Rome has published a decree on the very day of the visit of the Czech and Slovak bishops to Rome banning membership in specific unions and political organizations by the clergy "even if these associations to all outward appearances profess to promote human ideals, peace and social progress." There is little doubt that the decree is directed against "Pacem in Terris" in particular. An analysis of the text and a simultaneously published commentary in OSSERVATORE ROMANO makes this clear. Instant dialectics have turned the argument around: the targets, it is being said, are those priests who supported "Charta 77." And, based on an alleged "agreement" between church and state dating from April 1981, the cardinal was made to disinvite all the priests not in possession of a state permit who were to have celebrated the Maundy Thursday services with him.

Well-Frequented Religious Shrines

The language used by the Pope in his address to the five bishops (there should really be 13 according to the number of dioceses) on their visit to Rome was clear with regard to the situation in the CSSR. He made negative reference to the unfilled episcopal sees; the curtailment of education for the priesthood and state control over religious instruction. He viewed as positive the increase in church attendance; the reawakening of religious interest among young people and the unabated adoration of Mary, as evidenced by attendance at places of pilgrimage. John Paul said he had faith in the family and its "natural, religious firmness," in catechesis within the family and the passing-on of the faith in these smallest cells of the community.

A tourist visiting the CSSR will not be able to find these cells very easily unless he has some old-time connections or he is young and can get on the same wavelength after his own fashion. It seems that the renewed vehemence of the persecution of Christians—one cannot call it anything else—does not find the faithful in as isolated a position as it was some years ago. Is there an end in sight of state control over the church in the CSSR then ? Perhaps there is because the era of the no longer controllable church has begun.

Secret Church

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 16 Jun 82 p 5

[Article by "J.Rb.": "Prague's 'European' Fears"]

[Text] From the very outset there has been lively interest in the present Pope in the CSSR—not only among the Catholics but even among the top leadership of the Communist Party. That was already in evidence in 1979, shortly after he was chosen. At that time, the primary question for the Prague regime was "what course will the Vatican adopt ?" That, in fact, was the headline of a piece which appeared in a Slovak atheist magazine. That first question soon turned into critical remarks and even into warnings. During the Pope's trip to Poland, Prague thought it could detect "certain views and statements" that could be used as "anti-communist propaganda" and seemed to portend a tendency to "build up the Vatican into a bastion of anti-communism once again."

'Secret Church' as a Consequence of Religious Oppression

From that point on, the Prague regime's interest in the Pope's words and deeds continued unabated. When he spoke out in favor of human rights and real freedom of worship, Prague said this was an expression of "militant Catholicism." And the party press found reasons for castigating such expressions of "militant Catholicism" in the CSSR as well and is now attacking clericalism in the form of an alleged "secret church," an "underground church." Prague is conveniently forgetting in this connection that this is by no means a real secret church but merely the consequence of oppressive measures directed against church and religious activities in which believers can only engage in secret today. The regime simply overlooks the fact that this fearsome "secret church" would not exist, if there were real freedom of religion and worship. For that matter—as a leading Catholic Prague theologian stated in a letter to the Pope—this church, viewed as a "secret church" by the state church secretariat and the party leadership, looks upon itself as part of the oppressed church and by no means as a "secret church."

But now Prague is worried about something else and that something else is Europe. This is not a new concern. As early as 1979, representatives of the European communist parties met in Berlin to discuss the consequences of the almost complete economic unification of Western Europe and the beginnings

of political unification as well as the strategic goals being pursued and the steps being taken in this direction. Now, TRIBUNA, the weekly for ideology and policy published by the CPCZ central committee, has gone public with this concern. Since this is being done in an ideological publication, it must be assumed that the efforts directed toward a European unification movement that are evident in Western Europe have not gone unnoticed inside the CSSR. This confronts the leaderships of the communist parties of all these countries with the necessity to counter these "counter-revolutionary" tendencies. They perceive a need to call for watchfulness and ideological defense, since they are quite obviously concerned about the threat to political cohesion and a possible attack on the ideological stability on the citizenry of their none-too-stable countries.

The Idea of a Christian Europe

Prague appears to want to counter this "diversion" in a two-part article in TRIBUNA. The title of the article is: The Idea of a So-Called Christian Europe. It assumes that the Polish Pope assumed his pontificate with a twofold aim—to lead the church out of its crisis situation and to make it play a role in a multi-faceted offensive aimed at realizing plans to evangelize the entire world. One specific and, at the same time, priority component of this global strategy worked out at Vatican II is this particular idea of a Christian Europe. The Prague publication goes on to say that Europe has always been at the center of all Vatican planning and that a great deal of attention is being devoted to it today as well in the global scheme of things. The reason for this, the article says, is that the socialist social order began in Europe and is well rooted by now and at the same time represents the greatest obstacle to the realization of the Vatican's plans. Thus, despite all the different views regarding the problems of the so-called European base, the Vatican attaches extremely great importance to the process of evangelizing the world.

The fact that the Pope declared Sts Cyril and Methodius to be patron saints of Europe along with St Benedict is interpreted by Prague to be part of the "anti-communist campaign to defend human rights and freedom" even though it is also construed as an attempt at rapprochement with the Eastern Orthodox Church. Still, the Pope's declaration is considered "a factor contributing to the activation of clerical anti-communism and increased demands on the part of the Catholic Church."

The addresses the Pope made in Gniezno during his visit to Poland, his sermon at a mass there and his address to the Polish bishops are also a source of concern to Prague. TRIBUNA quotes the Pope as saying there that "Christendom must give thought about its contribution to the creation of a spiritual unification of Europe" and that "Europe must turn to Christianity once again, since it is spiritual matrix."

These specific characteristics of the Polish Pope's pontificate are underscored, in Prague's view, by the fact that these ideas and tendencies have assumed "a firm place in the ideological-pastoral activities of the local churches." This was also, it is said, the purpose of a Rome symposium of European bishops held in late 1981 where the keynote address was devoted to "The Joint Responsibility of the Bishops' Conference for the Evangelization of Europe Today and Tomorrow." Prague is also watching the joint efforts of the Polish and the West German church in this direction as for example during a visit of a delegation of the German bishops' conference to Poland in September 1980 when Cardinal Ratzinger took up "tendentious elements of the church idea of history and the present ideological significance of the concept of a Christian Europe," as Prague saw it.

Suspicions of Poland

Not surprisingly, the CPCZ central committee, in its concern for Europe, is particularly suspicious of the Catholic church in Poland. Prague must defend itself against "the expansionist plans of Polish clericalism" harbored, it is said, by "a number of high Catholic church leaders in Poland." These were given support by West German Cardinal Ratzinger who said that the church "struggle" in Poland today was "decisive for the interests of the Catholic church in all of Eastern Europe." Since Prague views these "aggressive plans" of the Polish church as part of the efforts toward a unified Europe, all these statements and projects are said to be of an "aggressive nature" inasmuch as "anti-communist forces are attempting to turn Polish clericalism into a bridgehead for the realization of destabilizing forces in the remaining socialist countries." The Pope himself, it is said, has made mention of this "political dimension."

In conclusion, the Prague weekly for ideology and policy points out that the concept of a Christian Europe cannot be separated from other efforts made by the Vatican such as the call for "anti-state" opposition or its attempts to prohibit activities on the part of members of the clergy who support "socialist development."

The Prague party leadership cannot help but view the efforts toward unification of Europe as a threat—very likely due to a concern about ideological awareness and the position the population takes toward socialist internationalism. This threat is being countered. The striking thing about it is that Prague—and not only Prague— ascribes such importance to the Catholic church.

9478
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NEW SOLIDARITY ACTIVITIES, STRUCTURES NOTED

Vienna PROFIL in German No 22, 1 Jun 82 pp 39-40

[Article by Joana Radzyner: "Power as Result of Powerlessness ?"]

[Text] While the Jaruzelski regime feels that "normalization" has succeeded well enough to lift the last remaining travel restrictions on entering Poland, the population is organizing "passive resistance."

Colonel Wislicki, the military commissar on the Polish state radio and television commission, tells the disbelieving party functionaries over and over again: "We must face the facts: Solidarity—or rather its underground replica—is in the process of reorganizing."

He is angered not so much by the frequent leaflet campaigns and underground publications as by the silent resistance of the population. "We cannot forbid them to go for walks, " he says. "We cannot punish the schoolchildren for remaining silent..."

Now that is something the Polish military rulers have really not been able to do as yet. They have not been able to break an opposition that draws its strength from powerlessness; a movement whose only weapon is a symbol and that relies on "passive resistance"—with millions of Poles boycotting the evening TV news each night by going for a walk.

Be it Warsaw, Gdansk or Lublin, there are no children laughing during school recess. The students sit on the floor in the corridors—silent, dully gazing into the distance.

On the 13th day of each month since 13 December last, when martial law was imposed in Poland, there is a minute of silence at 12 noon. In many metropolitan centers, traffic comes to a standstill and when it gets dark, candles are lit in the windows.

Everything that makes up the "new" kind of everyday life in Poland is given undeniably political weight on special occasions—when a huge crowd leaves the 1 May demonstration to parade past Lech Walesa's apartment and to chant "freedom for Lech, chains for Jaruzelski" in front of his windows; when thousands of people in a number of cities lay wreaths and bouquets of flowers at the foot of 200 year-old statues on the anniversary of the liberal Polish constitution of 3 May 1791; all of this happening under the watchful eyes of

the military patrols and all of them knowing full well that some would be detained and some might be arrested. Next day, the flowers are gone. The militia has dispersed the crowd; the smell of tear gas is still in the air. Nonetheless—even before nightfall, there are new flowers at the foot of the statues. And then someone has scrawled a poem on a Warsaw wall. "We have nothing to eat and nothing to drink," it says. "We no longer have a fatherland. We must fight..."

Of course, none of these more or less spontaneous actions go beyond symbolic protest; but they do bear witness to the existence of a massive opposition front among the populace and to the undiminished presence of the spirit of Solidarity.

The partially successful attempts by Radio Solidarity to broadcast its appeals to the people are more spectacular, in spite of the jamming. And so is the growing information system that has grown up in the underground. Underground publications are now estimated at 1,700 titles—a number comparable only to the years of German occupation.

"An organized, country-wide resistance movement is the only chance Poland has," star dissident Jacek Kuron wrote in mid-February from the Bialoleka internment camp. All activists and functionaries of the free Solidarity labor union agree on this, for that matter. What they cannot agree on are the forms this resistance should take, what its aims should be and what basic strategies should be applied in order to turn it a serious power factor.

Kuron has dropped his opposition to violence and is now calling for the organized preparation of a general strike, saying: "For me, the violent overthrow of the occupation is the least evil today." But Solidarity leader Zbigniew Bujak, operating underground, is calling for self-discipline and common sense. "The only effective form of resistance," he says, "is to work for a decentralized, heterogeneously active, country-wide movement. It is the only kind of movement capable of surviving in a modern police state."

Kuron's belief that it would be possible to overthrow the regime through a collective uprising is termed "naive" by Bujak."The population," he feels, "has come to realize at last that violent confrontation will not solve specific problems." His counter-proposal is to create "alternative" structures of social life—in the underground. He is not only thinking of critical information and publication centers, but also of alternative science and culture. There would be a self-help program with a "committee for social aid" in each parish and a network of "workers' universities" to train union leadership cadres.

"Is a nation in the underground merely a utopian idea," was the question raised by the weekly edition of the Solidarity bulletin MAZOWSZE. The developments of the past few months seem to indicate the opposite.

The "KOS" (committee for social resistance) system has already been institutionalized. Each resistance cell is made up of five confidants from among one's friends each of whom in turn establishes a new cell himself. Operating country-wide, the organization would collect information and pass it along; it would draw up lists of collaborators with the regime and a diary of repressive measures instituted in the workplace; it would organize leaflet campaigns and see to it that the information flow between the individual resistance centers operates properly.

At the factory level, the "TTKZ" (secret provisional factory commission) system has been established where as small as possible a number of trustworthy individuals takes over the functions of the workers council of Solidarity—as a kind of "shadow cabinet." The task of coordinating individual TTKZ activities is entrusted to the "secret provisional coordinating commission" (TTKK).

Power exercised by the powerless, to be sure. Everyday heroes and patriotic desperadoes rally to the fight against the hated regime. As the repressions by the security forces escalate—including random arrests, physical and psychological oppression—so grows apathy and resignation. These are justified and ideologically transcended in the tradition of "positivism" and learning to live with the status quo. Subjected to psychological pressure, people turn into collaborators and police stooges.

The tradition of resistance may be deeply rooted in Poland—every schoolchild knows the names of the heroes and celebrates their moral victories and is equally aware of their great and numerous defeats throughout Polish history.

But the present resistance movement is something new. The occupiers are their own people; the neighbors next-door; the acquaintances of the day before. And this resistance movement has a mass base as never before which makes it stronger and at the same more vulnerable than any previous one. "There is no way of protecting ourselves against infiltration and sabotage," a Solidarity functionary writes in a letter abroad. "The new enemies are operating on the same terrain as we. It is the soil of our common homeland."

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END

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2032

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12 July 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CZECH PAPER NOTES MIECZYSLAW LACH INTERVIEW BY 'TASS'

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 15 June 1982 carries on Page 7 a 220-word CTK Warsaw dispatch entitled "Former Employee About the So-Called Free Europe; It Has Nothing in Common With Journalism." The dispatch reports on an interview given to a TASS correspondent by Mieczyslaw Lach, former Radio Free Europe (RFE) employee, in which he spoke of RFE's "extensive propaganda aggression against Poland, unprecedented since the 1950's" which is being "coordinated essentially by the American Government" as part of actions against detente.

Lach reportedly stated that the RFE employees are "assembling confidential information on important political and economic problems of the socialist countries and trying to enlist agents," and are also maintaining contacts with Western journalists dispatched to socialist states, who are "specially trained in Munich" prior to their departure. The dispatch concludes by citing Lach on RFE as being a "headquarters of antisocialist elements, a tool of U.S. lies and aggressive policy aimed against international detente."

CSO: 2600/304

NEED TO MAKE BETTER USE OF SKILLS OF VETERANS, RETIREES

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Feb 82 pp 58-67

[Article by Kozma Skarco: "The Great Skilled Force Which Must be Properly Valued and Further Activated" passages between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Each category of our population has its respected role and place in society. Great is the respect, especially, for veterans and retirees, these sons of the people who, militating and working according to the teaching of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha, gave their youth and great energies for the happy days which we are enjoying and who, today too find forces in themselves and put them in the service of the party and the people; they refuse to let themselves be defeated by age and fatigue.

The continual increase of average longevity of our people is accompanied by an increased period of activity to the advantage of society. Therefore, under conditions where, in our country, people retire between 50-60 and when the average life span is about 70 years, that is, when the period of retirement lasts 10-20 years, in the internal human resources, on which the party bases the work for implementing its political, ideological, economic and social tasks, it is impossible to ignore the activities of about 160,000 retirees, whose number will increase by 10,000 to 12,000 every year during the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

This important force assumes great social values when it is taken into consideration that the category of veterans and retirees includes, in its bosom, mature people educated in the school of life, with a great work experience, with seniority in the party and in the mass organizations, and with capacities for working and making valuable contribution to the solving of state and economic problems and to the patriotic and revolutionary education of the masses, especially, of the new generation.

The implementation of the great and very important tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan requires that these forces, which keep a revolutionary spirit and a creative soul, be activated more often with a greater number of problems assigned for solution. Veterans and retirees, it was stressed at the Eighth Party Congress, must be valued, encouraged and activated more extensively because, "many among them still possess forces and energies which can and must be engaged in profitable social work, especially, for the education of

The new generation in the rich traditions of the heroic struggle and work of the party and the people and for keeping, developing and perpetuating these traditions" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party," p 104).

Struggling against erroneous underestimating opinions, which we hear sometimes about retirees, and against petit-bourgeois compassionate suggestions "leave them in peace" because "they have worked enough during all their lives," conditions must be created so that all veterans and retirees will make the best contribution possible, especially, in the field where they have most militated in life and, all together, "they will teach" in the school of the patriotic and revolutionary education of workers, especially, of the new generations, and will make their contribution so as to instill in these generations the love for work and for socialist property in order to block the path to all concepts, manifestations, practices, norms and customs, which are foreign to our society, which hamper the implementation of the tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, and which make the communist education of our workers difficult.

/A "Living Book" for the Patriotic and Revolutionary Education of the New Generation/

The veterans of the struggle and work are among those who participated in the democratic and progressive movements, among the first communists who participated in the National Liberation Movement, among those who laid the foundations of the people's government and among those who contributed, with sweat and fatigue to the invigoration and blossoming of our socialist fatherland.

This source, this special steel, prepared and tempered in fierce class battles, is a great social riches for the patriotic and revolutionary education of the people, especially, of those people who have not witnessed the National Liberation War and the first five-year plans of the building of socialism. The work of other veterans and retirees is irreplaceable for achieving the objectives assigned by the party so that "the heroic traditions of the Albanian fighters for freedom and independence, the great heroism of the partisans and the new socialist character, which the party created in our people, be transmitted pure and healthy to the future generations, just as our elders transmitted to us, as an inheritance, the Albanian character, the freedom-loving spirit, courage and confidence in the happy future of the people" (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1974-1975, p 17).

The living impressions preserved by these people, as active participants in wars and in constructive actions and struggle, are of great educational value for those who listen to them or who read their recollections. Much has been said and written about the circumstances under which the Albanian Communist Party was created; but, Comrade Enver Hoxha's work "When the Party Was Born" remains the most important and most interesting document, because, the author, being an active participant in these events, telling them in a simple and pure language and drawing comprehensive conclusions for them, gives us the most complete and most convincing image of this great historic event of our

party and people. The recollections and memories of many veterans, dedicated to the special events of the National Liberation War and to the period after the liberation, also are interesting and convincing. The historiographical work of veterans and reitrees during the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the party was also effective. Through a persistent work, searching through recollections and documents, they greatly contributed to the compiling of the history of the party organizations, of the partisan formations, of the national liberation councils and of the various administrative units; to the drafting of biographies of many martyrs and heroes; and to the supplying of war museums and of those of the period of the building of socialism, with various types of documents.

Nevertheless, facts show that the contribution of many veterans and retirees to the process of the patriotic and revolutionary education of the new generation is not up to the required level everywhere both in regard to the volume and in regard to the effectiveness. Along with the activization of a larger number of veterans and retirees, the main thing that remains is the increase of the political and ideological content of the agitation and propaganda work which they carry out with the masses, with the youth and with the pioneers, so that their talks, meetings, writings and recollections about events, special individuals and martyrs of the war or of the building of socialism will have the greatest possible educational and mobilizing effect.

A greater feeling of responsibility is particularly required in regard to the creation of histories of the National Liberation War, in the districts and combat units, histories of the early years of the building of socialism and of the biographies of the martyrs of the struggle and work in which veterans' contribution is irreplaceable. A faster pace and higher qualitative level of work are especially required for drafting these histories of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War in the districts and of the partisan brigades which still have not been completed. The main thing is that all these kinds of historic writings, because of the great importance they have for the patriotic and revolutionary education of the new generation, must be drafted according to strict scientific bases, in harmony with Marxist-Leninist ideology and with the policy and methodology of our party.

However, the contribution of veterans and retirees is and can be greater in the solving of many current problems dealing with the building of socialism and the strengthening of the defense force of the fatherland. The Eighth Party Congress, through its teaching, guidelines and directives, also supplied the veterans and retirees with new weapons in order to use them in their everyday work, as agitators and propagandists of the party. The most thorough assimilation of the ideas and directives of the congress by veterans and retirees themselves, and their propagandizing and analysis with the people at home, in free gatherings and in meetings of the Democratic Front and of the Youth Organization. For the purpose of creating healthy convictions among all the people and of increasing mobilization for achieving the objectives of the congress, all constitute an important current task for veterans and retirees, setting their work for the patriotic and revolutionary education of the people, especially, of the new generation, on a concrete ground for achieving concrete objectives.

Everyday life suggests to the party organs and the basic party organizations, to veterans and Democratic Front organizations in districts and at the grass-roots that in their work for the greatest possible activation of veterans and retirees and for improving the quality and effectiveness of their social activities, they should take into consideration some issues and solve them more properly.

First, based on the desire and readiness of many veterans and retirees to make their contribution as propagandists and social militants, /the issue has been and remains that of activizing as many of them as possible/ and this must not take place sometimes, rarely and spontaneously, but systematically and in an organized manner, especially, when the question is to keep always alive and fresh the events of the National Liberation War and of the first periods of the building and defense of socialism. This is the only way to satisfy the requests of the pioneers and youth organizations for meetings and talks at historical monuments, in battlefield areas, in places where martyrs and heroes have fallen, and at places where fights against foreign agents have taken place, or where the first foundations of the new projects are laid; the requests of farmers, of city quarters and of economic enterprises for documents and monographs needed for their museums and history; the requests of the commissions set up for the creation of histories of the combat formations of the National Liberation Army in the districts or in the areas, which have not yet been completed; and the requests for the preparation for the publication of the books "Inquenchable Stars" with biographies of martyrs, and so forth.

It must be said that this problem becomes generally more acute, objectively because those who lived these events have advanced in age and the relatively narrow circle of the comrades who have been activized for some times is not in a position, even physically, to respond to these requests, and because these requests increase more and more under the conditions when the specific proportion of the generations which have not lived these events continually increases, in great proportions, in the bosom of the population of the country. And, practice shows that where sectarian and careless attitudes have been avoided, and where we have activated all those who can contribute to the education of workers in the patriotic and revolutionary traditions of our party and people in the past, there the sphere of work of veterans and retirees has been expanded.

In Gjirokaster and Sarande districts, for example, there are veterans and retirees who, although they are 70-80 years old, because they keep themselves in good condition, feel a pleasure instead of a burden when they are asked to write their memoirs, to collect documents and speak to youths and pioneers about the work of the party and the people. A rich experience also exists in some areas of Tirana District. The party bureaus in city quarters demonstrate interest time after time, in the activization of retirees and assigning tasks to everyone according to the needs of the city area and quarter and according to their capacities. They have shown a particular concern for the activization of the communist retirees. In the Area No 1, for example, where 765 communist retirees militate, work has been established so that retirees are activated in the most varied fields. Apart from those who are elected to the

leadership of the party organizations of the city quarters and city areas, many others are activated as propagandists in forms of education, write their memoirs of the war and biographies of the martyrs and contribute to the drafting of the historic events of the basic party organizations of the city areas and quarters.

However, in regard to villages, city quarters, cities or districts, where this kind of work is better carried out, there still exist great reserves which are not used. Thus, while some veterans and retirees are entrusted with two or three tasks, many others are not activated at all. This happens, among other things, because of the fact that there are cases when the range of activities, in which they can be activated, is conceived in a very narrow manner. Thus, one observes a kind of underestimation of the value of propagandizing the glorious and heroic road, such as the National Liberation War, which our people and the party have passed through during the first years after the liberation and during the first stages of the building of socialism. While, for the most recent generations, especially, for the present generation, of great interest are: the road followed by the party for the nationalization of the wealth of the former ruling classes, the implementation of the Agrarian Reform, the creation and development of the cooperative system, the struggle against illiteracy, the measures adopted to protect the people's health, the heroic work which was necessary to drain marshes and construct railroads, the setting up of plants, the training of the first cadres and the confrontation of the difficulties created by the Yugoslav revisionists and, later on, by the Soviet revisionists, and so forth. Through living and historic information on these matters, the new generations will create a more complete image about the road that our party and people have taken, about the fierce class struggle which was developed and about the great and numerous difficulties which had to be overcome in order to make Albania strong and prosperous and the life of our people free and happy, just as they are today.

By activating an increasing number of retirees, if only to help in educating the younger generations in the patriotic and revolutionary traditions of a more distant and nearer past, not only is an important service rendered to the cause of the revolution and the building of socialism in general, but also a service is rendered to this category of our people by keeping them always lively and active with such great issues to which they have devoted entire decades of their lives, and by giving them the opportunity to avoid spending their days in ordinary talks and activities and in doing all the services for their families, which was the main purpose of retirement.

Second, /the propaganda work of veterans and retirees for the education of new generations in the traditions of the past is effective when it is based on correct criteria determined in time by the party./

We stress this, because, although they participated in the events, nevertheless, veterans and retirees need a good preparatory work in order to establish the relationships which really existed between the specific events, about which they will talk or will write, and the situation in general, the role of the various factors, especially, the main and decisive factors, for example, the role of the party and of the communists in the organization and management of that event and, later on, of the special individuals who executed the

the recommendation, the order or directive of the party. The study of the situation in which this or that battle took place, or this or that combat formation was formed, and in which this or that action was executed, or this or that step was taken to counter the blockage, all help to establish correct relationships between the factors, so as to avoid disproportions so that "the handle does not weigh more than the adze" as happens with some oral or written stories. A serious preparation for the person who will speak, report or write about an event or about an individual helps this person to rid himself of subjectivism which carries the danger of investing oneself, the village, the military unit or the collective, where it has participated, with a special role, not a real role, or, let us say, of presenting the war as something easy in which victory is guaranteed without difficulty.

The party teaches us that in their studies, talks and writings about the war and the events of the years of the building of socialism, veterans and retirees must carry out a work with a high ideological and scientific level and must handle events and facts from a position of historical materialism, without any trace of subjectivism, lack of precision and distortion, because, if these things are allowed, they harm the work and cause anxiety to the party and the masses.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's works of recollections such as "With Stalin," "The Krushchevites," "When the Party Was Born," and "The Anglo-American Danger for Albania" are an outstanding example which shows how recollections are written. From these works we learn how we should always adhere to the correct Marxist-Leninist relationships between the people and the individual and between the masses and the leader, and how historic recollections and writings should reflect the reality and be stripped of vagueness, of distortions and of subjectivism, how they should be actual without affecting the historical character, and how they should have an attractive, educational and mobilizing force even though events of the past decades are described in them.

Third, /the activization of veterans and retirees should not be left to spontaneity./

The Committee for Veterans of War and Work, which met in mid January of this year, and which assigned the tasks of this organization in order to implement the tasks of the Eighth Party Congress, expressed its conviction that for the better activization of veterans, especially, of those who have retired, the work of the veterans committees and of the sections and aktivs established by them must be further strengthened. The improvement of the level of work of the members of this organization, because of its aims and targets, requires that, under the leadership of the basic party organizations, the cooperation with other mass organizations, especially, with the Youth and Democratic Front organizations, be strengthened better than it has been so far and that one should live in an active manner with the work and struggle of the masses, especially, of the new generations, for the sake of implementing the guidelines and directives of the party, extracting, from their life and activity, the problems in regard to which the people need to be enlightened and educated.

Spontaneity must be combatted in any case. Practice shows that, in regard to the elucidation of events or of special issues of the history of the war or of the building of socialism, we must not activate, for speaking or for writing, only those people who are "known" and, even less, the person who is suggested by someone in the street; on the contrary, speakers and writers must be chosen according to the importance of the requirement, that is, the person who is more competent. And, the speakers and writers can be chosen by the party committee, the leadership of the veterans organization or of the Democratic Front organization in the district, or the basic party organization or the leadership of the Democratic Front organization in the area or city quarter. Such a centralization and organization of work allows that, in any case, the person can fulfill the task required in the best way possible will be activated. Thus, there are eliminated those cases when somebody speaks "with competence" about things which he has not lived or, even worse, uses the occasion to present himself as a close friend of the martyr or the hero, one of the "initiators," if not the main initiator, of the action which is being discussed. The respect for competence in the activization of veterans and retirees prevents those cases, however rare, when certain people take upon themselves all kinds of writings and "studies," on their own "initiative," with definite purposes and without having been asked and without authorization when these writings are checked and found without any value, they are justified by the claim that the author was moved by a "good purpose."

/With Love for Work and for Socialist Property/

Nature has its own biological laws of development. There comes an age when man begins to lose his forces and cannot manage to give his required labor productivity; therefore, he retires. However, this separation from work, in a larger and more practical sense, must never be a final one. Because, we veterans, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, are not in a position to do physical work, but we are in a position to share worries with the people and to communicate with them. And, this sphere of work and of influence of the retirees is a very large one.

During the Seventh Five-Year Plan, more than 200,000 people will be engaged in work for the first time, mainly in the sphere of production and also in the socio-cultural and service fields. All these new workers will go to work straight from the schools. In our country, the party, the government, the family, the school and the entire society are interested in making them fit for work and in training them to have socialist attitudes toward work, and they are making their contribution toward this goal. And, as a result of the attention given and comprehensive work done, our new generation has always shown great readiness to work where the fatherland needs them and has shown its capacity to fulfill the tasks entrusted to it with skill. Nevertheless, it is not possible to evaluate the fact that, especially, in some cities, there still are young men and young women who hesitate to work in mines, in construction and agriculture and, who, profiting from the good economic situation of their families, wait until they find the work which they have "chosen" or who, even when they are in work relations, do not devote all their possibilities and forces to becoming skilled in their professions or fulfilling their tasks.

Of course, with this category of youths, parents must work harder and better. Veterans and retirees have, among other things, much work to do with these youths and their families; through simple words, full of conviction and authority, they are in a position to create, in them and their families, the conviction about the great need of society for the work of everybody, about the social character of work in our country, and about the respect which workers of all professions enjoy, especially, the workers of the sectors of the people's economy who are playing a determining role in making it an independent and self-acting economy, capable of meeting the difficulties of growth and those difficulties caused by the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist encirclement and blockage. The readiness, which many present day retirees have shown in their time, that is, the readiness to work where the party wanted them and to place the general interest above personal interest or above family interest, is a weapon which increases the force of their word and strips it of moralism. Many examples show that, through the convincing, agitative and formative work of social activists and, among them, of veterans and retirees, many young men and young women, among those who aimed at finding the works of their "choice," changed their concepts and attitudes and went to work where they were needed, for example, in mines, agriculture, construction enterprises, communal services and elsewhere.

On the basis of the fact that it is not sufficient just to work, but you must also have a socialist attitude toward work and toward common property, fulfilling all the tasks that are entrusted to you with high-socialist awareness and, based on the formation of deep ideological convictions that "work and socialist property are two great columns on which the development of the economy of the entire life of the country and, consequently, its present and future are based," (Enver Hozha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party," p 122), many veterans and retirees deal with young people after they have started work.

Veterans and retirees have the opportunity to create a sound opinion about the socialist attitude toward work and common property, that is, about the necessity of the continuing strengthening of these two columns by propagandizing the economic policy of the party and the good things brought to the people by the implementation of this policy, and by propagandizing the revolutionary initiatives such as the recent initiatives of the working class for saving raw materials and work time in the construction of projects and in the production of machinery, the initiatives of the members of the cooperatives for herding the animals of the cooperative yards and other initiatives, by explaining the situation under which the Seventh Five-Year Plan is being fulfilled and by encouraging each worker to give the labor productivity, the production quantity and production quality allowed by the technological process established and required by the fulfillment of the plan of the working collective.

Of course, the entire party and all its levers, the state and economic organs, all the mass organizations, and all the communists and social activists are engaged in the comprehensive work to form and temper our new man--the active and self-conscious builder of socialism. However, because of the respect they

enjoy and the educational capacities they have gained in life, the older people, too, can be greatly influencial among the new workers, within or outside work time, especially, to strengthen the sense of discipline among them, their pride in assimilating their professions in the best way possible and their love for machinery, crops and animals. And, we see that this possibility has been made concrete.

In our country, in addition to the older people who, although they have taken their retirement certificates, continue to carry out useful works on a reduced schedule in the fields of production, science and culture, and in the management of work of the party, of the government and of the mass organizations, thousands and thousands of others, although they have severed their work relationships, are seen at the brigade and unit, are interested in work problems, help the younger people to devote more attention to their professions and help and advise them to produce better work for the sake of honoring themselves, their parents and the collective.

Of course, the maintaining of relationships between a retiree and the enterprise, cooperative or institution, where he has worked until his retirement, might deteriorate in some cases because of various reasons. However, retirees can also exercise their influence on work and production in the framework of the Democratic Front organization, as its social activists. They have the opportunity to be told how and how much the members of the Democratic Front in the area, the city quarter or the village fulfill their tasks in the enterprises or agricultural cooperatives, what attitude they maintain toward work and property and what are the thoughts of the young men and young women who have finished school and according to the case and the necessity, to work with the people individually and also in the bosom of the organization. Those who have worked all their lives with high awareness, have the moral right to require that anyone who does not properly fulfill his tasks and obligations toward society give account.

The long experience of life has made veterans and retirees the assistants of the party in solving many other social problems, The respect and concern of society [for veterans and retirees] encourage and inspire them to find the efforts and to serve society with the possibilities they have until the very end of their lives.

The activization of retirees in the various fields of social work is also prompted in our country, among other things, by human motives. It is proven that a great emptiness is felt by those people who, the day of their retirement, have to interrupt their creative, productive and social activities. This kind of interruption is often accompanied by a rapid decline of physical and health conditions, because, of the placing of organism in a state of passivity.

Of course, to face his tasks as a social activist during the years of the period of retirement, it is necessary for retirees to maintain a high level of political and ideological formation, to have a good knowledge at all times, of party policy, as well as the guidelines, directives and decisions and to be well acquainted with domestic and foreign situations, with the problems and

with the worries existing in the village, city quarter or area. This process of continuing political and ideological education and assimilation, and this acquaintance with the policy and directives of the party and with the situations and problems which arise, is executed by the communist retirees mainly in the bosom of the party organizations; while, other retirees execute them in the bosom of the Democratic Front organizations or of the women's organizations. In this framework, and to facilitate the work for the activization of the communist or noncommunist retirees, under the conditions when the number of communist retirees in the party organizations of the city quarter is increasing and the number of reisdents in blocs and large cities has considerably increased, it is of interest that the party organizations of communist retirees in these cities be organized on the basis of blocs, where the Democratic Front and women's organizations are also established. Thus, they will have the opportunity to guide their work and to know and solve the problems which arise in a better and more correct manner. In the meantime, the initiative of certain party bureaus in the quarters of the capital is valuable; these bureaus, along with the care which they show for implementing the schedules of educational forms by the party organizations in city blocs, have also organized work themes, meetings and confrontations at the city quarter level on the problems presenting a greater interest, problems which concern the retirees of their quarters. This kind of work makes the retirees more capable of correctly receiving and solving the problems assigned by the party.

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SHORTCOMINGS IN RESPONSE OF YOUTH TO TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Feb 82 pp 76-85

[Article by Etemije Zeneli: "Let Us Train and Encourage the Youth to Stand on the First Rows of the Technical and Scientific Revolution"]

[Text] The organization of the Union of Working Youth of Albania under the leadership of the party and according to its teachings, has done and is continually doing good work for the education and comprehensive formation of the youth. Our new generation, tempered politically and ideologically and equipped with education, culture, professional skills and scientific knowledge, is actively participating in the building of socialism of the country, in the defense of the fatherland and in the solving of all the problems which are set forth before our socialist society.

Every phase of our building of socialism places before our new generation new and greater tasks. In the present period, when all workers of our country are mobilized to implement the magnificent program approved by the Eighth Party congress, fully relying on our own forces, our new generation is also facing such tasks which are qualitatively higher than before.

This congress stressed and clarified, among other things, that, in the present conditions, for implementing the tasks, especially, the tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, it is necessary more than ever for the scientific and creative potential of specialists, cadres and all other working masses, where our new generation occupies a particular place, to increase and devote everything to many-sided productive and creative work. It is from this general framework that the organizations of the Union of Working Youth of Albania get their tasks, too; they must educate our youths and encourage in them the passion and love for science and scientific activity and, together with the other levers of the party in schools and in productive activity, to organize and mobilize them for an ever greater massive and effective participation in the innovation movement and the technical and scientific revolution.

To what extent have these tasks been fulfilled until now and what must be improved in the future in order to implement the guidelines assigned by the Eighth Party Congress?

1. Youth must go from school to life better educated and better trained from the technical and vocational aspect

With the continuing solicitude of the party, a colossal work has been done and is being done in our country for the education of youth and for its vocational training and skill development. About 47,500 cadres with higher education and about 131,500 other cadres with middle education of various types were trained from the ranks of the new generation. During the Sixth Five-Year Plan alone, compared to the Fifth Five-Year Plan, the number of youths who attended the middle school increased by 56.7 percent.

The skilled workers and middle and higher specialists, trained by our school, work with zeal and youthful enthusiasm in all fields of the building of socialism and participate actively in innovation movements and the technical and scientific revolution. In Koman and Fierze, at the "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine or at the "Enver Hoxha" autotractor combine, in the machine industry or in geology, in experimental fields or in areas with high yields in agriculture and livestock, and everywhere one works and militates to solve difficult problems and to achieve high targets, together with the specialists, with workers and with the members of the cooperatives who have a long experience, you will find an ever increasing number of youths and young workers, members of the Youth Union, with innovative and creative thoughts and activities.

Nevertheless, as stressed at the Eight Party Congress, "the intensive development of the economy and culture, the ever increasing adaptation of progressive techniques and technology, the tasks assigned for higher yields, better quality, greater profitability and effectiveness in production and, in general, the prospects for the development of the country in the future, all require a further improvement of the educational and cultural level and the mastery of science and technology by our people" (Enver Hoshz, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party," p 130). The implementation of this requirement by our youth, too, therefore, the further improvement of its cultural and educational level and its mastery of science and technology in a most thorough manner, is the basic condition for our youth for progressing with the tempo of the time, especially, for reaching its objective so that, in a better and greater manner, it will stand in the first ranks of the development of our technical and scientific revolution in those directions and on the level required by the fulfillment of the tasks for the present and future development of the country.

Linked with what we said above, important tasks of great responsibility are assigned, especially, to the basic party organizations and to their levers in schools and, through them, to the organizations of the Union of Working Youth of Albania in those institutions, where our youth receives, during a long period its training and in a systematical and comprehensive manner, in order to enter into life in the most prepared manner in all fields.

The quality of the assimilation of knowledge must be a matter of greater concern for the youth committees and organizations, because, despite the noticeable improvements which have been made, although the mass of youths

[illegible] correct understanding about school and an increase of their responsibility toward the mastery of knowledge is being observed, the quality of the assimilation of course work is still not satisfactory everywhere. Of course, the factors which are responsible for these shortcomings and gaps are of different natures, from which the various party levers inside and outside school get their responsibility and tasks. Nevertheless, our organizations of the Union of Working Youth of Albania cannot fail not to see, here, their responsibility. The observation of their activities in schools with a critical eye shows that many youth organizations and forums have shortcomings in the preparation of their educational work for the formation of deep convictions among youths and students about the necessity of assimilating the course work with high quality. Yet all do not understand that the improvement of the quality of work in school demands that school and university youth, too, must increase efforts to assimilate the knowledge presented in school in the best possible manner; this is a guaranty for youths that, after they finish school and deveote their knowledge and efforts to work as workers, technicians and specialists, they will have a great ideological, cultural and scientific formation, will be as skilled as possible professionally, and will be in a position to face the tasks entrusted to them in a competent manner.

The instilling in every youth and student healthy motives for teaching on the basis of revolutionary communist ideals and their serious training to face the present and future requirments for the building of socialism demand that the youth organizations improve their role in regard to the progress of work in schools. Youths and students and their organizations of the Union of Working Youth of Albania have opportunities to give more assistance in improving work quality in schools and, among other things, to express themselves more strongly in regard to the improvement of course work, teaching plans, and textbooks, and to a more complete integration of teaching of science with modern production and to a radical improvement of teaching methods. And, in order that youth organizations will play their role in the best manner possible, it is necessary for them and their members to become a healthy support to the party organizations, to school directorates and to the struggle which is being waged for the best implementation possible of the party directives in the field of education.

The party expects more from our youth organizations in schools, especially, in order to stir up, among young men and young women and youths and students, revolutionary prestige and a healthy spirit so that they will learn to assimilate knowlege and to train themselves for life in the best way possible and in order to create, in them, the deep conviction that the comprehensive training in schools cannot be achieved easily; on the contrary, it can be achieved through labor and sweat and through passion and will power, working with high awareness and great discipline. Our organizations must be seriously concerned when they see that in some of their members, even a few, there exists a liberal spirit or a feeling of satisfaction with little, and when they observe, for example, that grades of five an six prevail in vocational schools and that, as practice shows, the youths who receive such grades, when they begin their lives, lack the necessary orientation in work, will power and skills to overcome the difficulties and, therefore, to fulfill their tasks. They must also develop a decisive struggle against these concepts which have

taken root in certain young men and young women, especially, in the general middle schools, according to which subjects are divided into "diploma" subjects and "second" rate subjects and that, as a consequence, the first are valued and the second are undervalued, as well as against the foreign and bourgeois concept of learning solely in order to insure a good grade so as to increase the average grade, even through intervention; these manifestations are observed, especially, in those people who aim at attending higher schools at all costs.

It is necessary for the educational work of the youth organizations to form, among youths, deep and lasting convictions in regard to the fact that learning is the main task of school youth and not simply to obtain good marks or a diploma but, first of all and mainly, to be trained to respond to the requirements of the present and future development of our society, so as to achieve the objectives of the party for the building of socialism and for strengthening the defense capacity of the fatherland. The youth committees must show a particular concern in their working with the young men and young women in the first years of the middle and higher schools with the purpose of familiarizing them immediately with the educative process and preventing the creation of gaps in the assimilation of subjects. In this direction, good work is being done by the youth committee of the Higher Agricultural Institute in Kamez which, from the beginning of the school year, concentrates its attention in the first years, on two main aims: first, to strengthen the life and activity of the youth organizations so as to place them, from the beginning, on sound work positions and, second, to increase the love of new students for their future professions as agronomists, zootechnicians, veterinarians and agrarian economists. The youth organizations of the middle construction school in Elbasan have amassed good experience in the development of competitions between classes and courses for a qualitative assimilation of knowledge, an experience which the district youth committee will, most probably, extend to other schools in Elbasan.

The propagation of progressive experience of the youth organizations in schools which have not done and are not doing a global and formal work with their members in this field but which stand concretely, in particular cases, in matters of methods and style in the work of youth and students in the process of assimilation of knowledge, remains an important task for all district youth committees and for the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania itself. We stress this, because, practice shows that only calls such as "let us learn more and better" and "let us deepen the assimilation of knowledge" are not enough. The issue must be made more tangible both in the analysis of negative phenomena and of their causes and in the finding of the ways for eliminating them.

It is a fact, for example, that a large number of youth and students are not seriously involved in studies and do not study systematically during the entire school year; while, the anxiety and involvement observed during the examination period cannot make up for those shortcomings in the assimilation of materials created during the year. It is also a fact that, when during the examinations, a good grade is obtained, this does not always represent, for everyone, the real level of assimilation of knowledge. Those differences,

not infrequently stressed, which are often met in the higher school or in production among students or workers who have finished their middle school with similar marks, in general, very good marks, reveal that for a category of youths the marks which they had received in the middle school were fictitious. In life, we meet such cases, for instance, the case of the youths who finished the middle industrial school in Shkoder who, although in their certificates they had fourth and fifth categories, in fact, were not capable of doing, in production, even the work of first and second categories. Or, the case of those youths who finished the middle industrial school in Elbasan and the petroleum school in Patos or the youths of some agricultural schools in Mat and Mirdite who also could not justify in work the level of the grades or categories which they had received in schools. Practice also provides us with cases of higher cadres who, when they finish their faculty, have difficulty responding to the requirements of production.

All these phenomena should be taken into consideration by our organizations of the Union of Working Youth of Albania in schools, both in the evaluation and the examination of the concrete situation linked with the level of the real assimilation of knowledge by youths and students and in the documentation of their educational work in this field.

The Eighth Party Congress assigned to our school the important tasks of instilling the love for science and technology in our school youths and students and creating for them the expressions of an independent research and scientific-experimental work. In regard to this purpose, of great value would be the generalization of the experience gained by the departments of petrography, mineralogy, hydrology, the genetics section, viticulture and so forth in their work with students in this direction. The organizations of the Union of Working Youth of Albania also have their role and place in this matter.

However, for the research-scientific activity to really become an organic part of the life of our school, it is necessary that, first of all, the professors of the departments as well as the other links of education and production be more concerned about this matter, as organizers and directors of the scientific work. The youth organizations, too, can and must increase their influence in this field by expanding the independent scientific activity of their school youths and students outside the educational process, especially, through the invigoration of scientific societies and circles which are managed by them. In some schools such as "Nazmi Rushiti" in Peshkopi, "Gjergj Kastrioti" and "Naim Frasheri" in Durres, "Qemal Stafa" in Tirana and "Irakli Terova" in Korce, and in some faculties such as the Economics Faculty, the Medical Faculty and the Political Sciences Faculty, and the physics branch at the Natural Sciences Faculty and so forth, as a result of the careful work of the youth organizations, scientific circles and societies have functioned properly. In these scientific circles and societies, scientific studies and experiments are carried out, often linked with production enterprises; discussions about various scientific issues are developed; regular information on new developments in science and technology is provided; and so forth. Through this activity, youths expand their knowledge, gain expressions of scientific work, and temper their will, determination and conviction in their forces; these are necessary for scientific activities.

We must generalize this experience better, because, still in many schools and faculties, these circles and societies exist only formally.

The fulfillment of the great tasks set forth before our school today is of a great current and future importance. In the evaluation and fulfillment of these tasks, our youth organizations and other levers of the party must always take into consideration Comrade Enver Hoxha's teaching that today's youth, which is having a more and more solid education is, and, in the future, it will be even more, a vanguard force in the implementation of the technical and scientific revolution.

2. Training must be contiuning, even after finishing school

Assimilation by the school and university youth of deep and firm knowledge and the creation among them, beginning in school, of a practical and creative spirit will help youths, from the moment they go out into life as workers, technicians and specialists, to be widely and very rapidly activated in the innovation movement and the technical and scientific revolution.

The orientation of the work of the school toward this objective has had results. A great part of the army of innovators and rationalizers is composed of youths who have finished various vocational schools and courses. Today, 50 percent of the members of scientific nucleuses and 15-20 percent of the participants in scientific councils of the economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives are youths. They have solved important problems which have been influential in increasing production, improving tecniques and technology, strengthening the system of savings, increasing exports and reducing imports. In many youth organizations, especially, at the "Enver Hoxha" autotractor combine in Tirana, the vehicle workshop in Shkoder, the "Petro Papi" plant in Korce, in the enterprises for the production of various articles in Elbasan and Pogradec and elsewhere, there are many distinguished young men and young women innovators who, as a result of their work, have become examples for the others. The number of the new specialists, who are being activated in solving important technical, technological and agronomical problems, is increasing.

Life is proving that the expansion of the technical and scientific revolution, as an objective factor, has put in motion a great mass of people, including new workers and specialists; it aroused their interest in the assimilation of scientific knowledge and in experimentation in a more thorough manner. Nevertheless, this process must be expanded in order to respond to the fulfillment of the great tasks of the new five-year plan, because, as stressed at the Eighth Party Congress, "now opportunities have been created, along with improvements of rationalizations and innovations, to pass gradually to a wider front of greater improvements and transformations so that they will bring about more radical changes to the advantage of production, of technical equipment, of technological concepts or of the organizational forms, not only in special units and plants, but also in entire branches" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eight Congress of the Albanian Workers Party," p 149).

The army of new workers has its own responsibility in these tasks. In the bosom of the youth organization there is a considerable number of specialists

with middle and higher education and with great skills who, courageously, must participate in the movement of innovations and rationalizations, involve other groups of youths in research and scientific works, and activate them to solve various problems of production. We stress this, because, at a time when innovation has become a characteristic of our time, our attention must be called to the fact that although a great number of young men and young women work in certain plants, workshops and agricultrual cooperatives, although only a limited number participate in scientific nucleuses and councils and, even, these are not all activated in important experimental and innovative work.

Practice shows, and suggests, that the activization of youths in the innovative movement and the development of the technical and scientific revolution must not be abandoned solely to the initiative and desire of everybody. It needs encouragement, organization and management. And, this is the duty, first of all, of the leadership organs of the economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives. For example, at the enterprise for the production of metal products in Shkoder, where production continues to be very much in the artisan stage, youths know the problems of the enterprises in this field, discuss them and, even, express their opinions and show their readiness to participate in their solution, but they lack concrete action and activization. It is a different situation in the machine plant in Stalin City or the workshop for lamps in Vlore, where youths have the conditions for discussing, making innovations and executing them.

Of course, the youth organizations in the economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives are also obliged to play a great role in this matter, both by encouraging and generalizing the good example and by keeping a critical attitude toward those young men and young women who hesitate to become involved in innovative movements and in the technical and scientific revolution, or who do not make efforts to complete the work which has been started. If this was done properly by our organizations, a greater struggle would have been waged against the erroneous attitudes of those cadres who think that, as youths have little work experience, youths are not in a position to be enrolled in the solving of important problems of the technical and scientific revolution; therefore, they suggest that youths "be given some minor tasks just to keep them busy."

There are many examples showing that many young men and young women are enrolled in and make a valuable contribution to research and design works and to scientific experimentation for the production of machines and pieces of equipment for the construction of new plants, for the production of machines for mines and the mechanization of agriculture, for the production of hybrids in agriculture and the new lines in livestock breeding and so forth, especially, in the implementation of the new discoveries of science in large production, where this great and capable force has been evaluated, encouraged and entrusted with concrete tasks. Convincing, in this direction, is the example of the group of designers of machines for the expansion of the production capacity of the Maliq sugar combine, where the average age is 27 years. Good examples also exist in some agricultural enterprises. The youths of the agricultural cooperatives in Plase, Kemishtaj, Lapardha, Cakran

and in other places are encouraged and activated to participate actively in cooperation with specialists of the economy and with the workers of the scientific agricultural institutions in scientific experimentation for the regionalization of the new kinds and varieties of crops, for determining the best schedules for sowing crops and for their rational fertilization and so forth, which have led to a noticeable increase of yields.

The great tasks assigned by the new five-year plan for the further intensification of the economy and for making it rely more strongly on science and progressive technology require the extension and expansion of the entire research, experimental and scientific activity which will be achieved by the most active participation of youth. Great tasks are assigned, especially, to the youth organizations of the plain and coastal areas in which the intensification of agricultural and livestock production will be developed on a priority basis. The systematization and draining of fields according to scientific criteria, the implementation of progressive technology in the cultivation of agricultural crops, the execution of complex mechanization, and the cultivation of new kinds of crops with high quality yields and indicators require a broad experimental work in which our youth must have an important place.

However, correctly evaluating the need for the encouragement of youth and organizing work for a broad involvement of the youth in the implementation of the new discoveries of science in large production, in the innovator movement and in research and scientifc-experimental work, the problem of skills of youths and of their further and continuing training must be handled with the same anxiety, attention, interest and determination. This issue becomes even more acute if we take into consideration the fact that the solution of a number of problems dealing with the intensification of production, with the complete and effective use of production capacities, and with the increase of labor productivity and of production quality require workers with broad culture, with deep knowledges and with high vocational training, while many workers, including many young men and young women, do not possess these qualities at the proper level.

Today, more than 111,000 young men and young women and 160,000 young men and young women cooperative workers participate in the production process; all the opportunities have been created for them to improve their training and to assimilate better and better modern technology and advanced agrotechnology; however, despite efforts to use these opportunities, still one observes disproportions between the higher level of techniques and technology in production and their level of vocational training. This is observed in many branches of our economy, such as the chemical industry, the petroleum industry, metallurgy, the electric industry and the machine industry; this is the result, first of all, of the low educational and technical level of our youths. For example, in the petroleum sector, only 30 percent of workers have an education above the 8-year school; in the mining sector, 12 percent; in geology, 8 percent and so forth. This disproportion is even more emphasized in agriculture, where only 7.5 percent of the members of the cooperatives have amiddle education. And, we must take into consideration that young workers make up a considerable part of the collectives of these sectors.

Disharmony also exists between the individual category of workers and that of the place of work. At the drilling and exploitation enterprise, for example, the average category of workers is 2.7, while that in the workplace it is 3.2. In metallurgy, the average individual category of youths is 2.8, while the category of the workplace is 3.63 and so forth.

The circle of organisms, organs, institutions and of organizations interested in the continuing training of workers, including the young workers, is quite broad; therefore, the coordination of the work of all levers, under the leadership of the party organizations, also constitutes a necessity. Therefore, in this framework, the organizations of the Union of Working Youth of Albania have great tasks, both of a general character and of a specific character.

It is know that, under the care of the party, a system of schools of different profiles, without absence from work, have been created and many courses of training and of specialization at the national level and at the level of the district, and in every enterprise and agricultural cooperative, are functioning. The main point is that all these forms of education and of training must be properly utilized. For this purpose, it is necessary for the youth organizations, under the leadership of the party organizations, to carry out a greater clarifying and convincing work with young men and young women in regard to the need to attend schools and training courses and in regard the proper assimilation of their program in the struggle against those erroneous thoughts among youths who see attendance in schools and courses solely as a means for obtaining a higher category and for getting a higher salary, and not as the road to assimilate new knowledge and to become more skilled in order to do their duty.

The youth organizations must encourage their members to use other training forms. It would be of great value, for example, if our young men and young women would study technical and scientific literature since it is known, that in our country, every year, dozens of such books are published and distributed with a circulation of more than 100,000 copies. It is a fact that for propagandizing and studying these books, a great work is being done, especially, by the youth organizations in Korce, Berat and Shkoder districts. Nevertheless, there is no room for self-satisfaction. In Tirana City, for example, although young men and young women make up 19 percent of workers who are members of libraries, only 5.3 percent of them have taken out technical and scientific books. At the Patos library, only a small number of young men and young women take out such books from the library, at a time when this city has hundreds of new technicians, specialists and engineers.

These data, although partial, show that the organizations of the Union of Working Youth of Albania have not yet been able to execute, everywhere, a healthy and persistent education of our young men and young women in regard to the necessity of continuing study throughout their life; and, they are not finding effective forms to control this study. The experience of the best organizations show us that all opportunities exist to increase youth's interest in technical and scientific books in a noticeable manner and to

convert the young people's study into an important factor for improving their technical level. At the tobacco-cigarettes plant in Shkoder and the "Myslim Peza" agricultural cooperative in Tirana, the number of young men and young women who read technical and scientific books has been greatly increased, because, the youth organizations are entrusting their youths with concrete tasks.

Therefore, the training and activization of youths in innovation movements and in the development of the technical and scientific revolution set forth a number of important and concrete tasks for our working and cooperativist youths and for the new specialists in all fields.

The experience of the best organizations show us that the organization of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, together with the other levers of the party, has the opportunities, through concrete and coordinated measures, to encourage and mobilize the new generation to attend courses and schools with effectiveness, to listen to lectures and discussions, to read books and manuals, to become skilled in order to fulfill the tasks and, in this framework, to participate more broadly and more competently in the innovation movement and in the development of the technical and scientific revolution.

The party teaches us that scientific education is a part of the communist education of youth and that innovation has become a characteristic of our time, among other things, because, it is necessary for everyone everywhere to work according to modern techniques and technology which insure higher indicators of production. And, to master and use these techniques and new technology and all the more, to influence and contribute to their further progress, it is necessary to increase the struggle for a more thorough assimilation of knowledge in school and outside school and for the better implementation of this knowledge in production activities. Our organizations of the Union of Working Youth of Albania find, in this field of struggle and work, their place and role and, under the leadership of the party, they are struggling to better fulfill the tasks entrusted to them.

9150
CSO: 2100/62

CHAPTER 77 DOCUMENT ON RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

Rome LISTY in Czech No 2, May 82 pp 27-28

[Statement signed by Dr Radim Palous, Anna Marvanova and Ladislav Lis, spokesmen of Charter 77, and Vaclav Maly, member of the collective of spokesmen of Chapter 77]

[Text] Document of Charter 77 No 11/82, addressed to CSSR President Dr Gustav Husak, the CSSR Federal Assembly, the CSSR Deputy Prime Minister Dr M. Lucan, and K. Hruza at the Ministry of Culture, Prague.

Protest of Charter 77 against the violation of laws concerning religious life (especially of the Catholic Church).

Repeated government statements as well as a declaration of the presidium of the priestly organization Pacem in Terris allege that the legal position of the Catholic Church within Czechoslovak society has been regulated fairly and that the church's activities always meet the understanding of the state organs which respect the church's mission and the specificity of its work--see speeches delivered by Matej Lucan, deputy prime minister of the Federal Government, and Zdenek Adler, secretary general of Pacem in Terris, in Banska Bystrica on 12 November 1981 and a radio interview (on the World 81 program) on unlimited possibilities for the Catholic Church in the CSSR with Ladislav Pokorny, former dean of the Faculty of Theology in Litomerice.

In contrast to all this, however, we point out certain facts which violate Article 32 of the Czechoslovak Constitution concerning religious freedom and Article 18 and 19 of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (No 120-76 of the Collection of Laws). Generally, one can observe a further escalation of the antireligious campaign. For example, in courses for the health personnel in North Moravian Kraj the instructors emphasize the lack of scientificity of religion. The activity of school principals against religious instruction and the registration and classification of pupils according to their religious beliefs are carried out more and more systematically. The discrimination of citizens for the expression of their religious beliefs persists. The possibilities to publish religious literature are more and more limited. Czech Catholic Charities, the only institution which is allowed to publish on behalf of the Catholic Church, produced a single book on theology and a hymnal in 1981. The only specialized periodical, SPIRITUAL PASTOR, is of a relatively

low level and does not inform its readers of the situation of theological research abroad. The weekly KATOLICKE NOVINY is a tool for propaganda of the state policy and prints more distorted political information than real stories from religious life in Czechoslovakia and abroad. The situation at the Theological Faculty in Litomerice is ever more depressing. The teachers do not have--obviously on purpose--the necessary qualifications and the appointment of professors is for all practical purposes in the hands of the Secretariat for Church Affairs of the Czech Ministry of Culture. Of the 60 registered applicants for the study of theology only slightly over half were admitted in 1981. Among the excuses for rejection were contact with monks, insufficient information about the application or, contrariwise, too much information. In Bratislava 12 theology students were expelled from further study last year. They were identified as the organizers of a hunger strike in October 1980.

A forceful, legally unjustified dispersal and prevention of activity by religious orders in Czechoslovakia in 1950 has not been corrected. On the contrary, persecution of members of the religious orders persists and propaganda aimed against the religious orders is on the increase (see an article by Dr Bohuslav Cizek, "The Role of the Religious Orders in the Politics of the Roman Catholic Church," in BEZPECNOST [Security] of 1 October 1981). There is a growing pressure on priests to join the progovernemnt-sponsored organization Pacem In Terris which, however, is not legalized by the Roman Catholic Church. Criticism of Pacem in Terris is understood as an indirect attack on "socialist coexistence and on the regulation of relations between the state and the churches. Such attacks will be fully answered" (M. Lucan in the abovementioned address). A similar idea was expressed by Partsch, a staff worker at the Secretariat for Religious Affairs, at a meeting of Pacem in Terris in Olomouc in October 1982. More and more young people are being investigated. The same applies to their alleged leaders, held to be instigators. One reason given for these investigations is religious assembly.

In the first place, however, we must raise our voices in defense of those who were and still are being prosecuted and imprisoned for their religious activities. Without exaggeration one can state that 1981 was a year of religious trials. On 24 November 1981 the Kraj Court in Ostrava confirmed a sentence passed by the Okres Court in Olomouc against Catholic priests and laymen Jaroslav Krumpholec, Erantisek Lizna, Josef Vlcek, Josef Adamek and Rudolf Smahel. The real reason for their trial was the publishing and dissemination of religious literature (even though this literature could not in the least be considered as antistate). Both courts, however, based their judgments on Article 118 of the Penal Code concerning unauthorized gainful enterprise (in their testimony, the defendants stated that their activity was not for profit; on the contrary, often it had to be subsidized from their own pockets) in order to hide the real reason for sentencing these people and to give the case the character of an economic crime. Jesuit Father Frantisek Lizna was sentenced on 21 January 1982 to an additional punishment for alleged criminal activity under Article 112 of the Penal Code (harming the interest of the republic abroad). In September, at a trial in Louny, Father Josef Kordik who continued to carry out his pastoral duties because the cancellation of the state permit was not communicated to him through legal channels, received a suspended sentence. In July 1981, Father Jaroslav Duka, a Dominican and a worker at the Skoda Plant, was arrested. In November 1981 he was sentenced to 15 months

when it was proven that he performed on a single occasion a liturgical service without state permit. The Kraj Court confirmed the sentence on 19 February 1982. In connection with the case of Father Duka, the security forces attacked a charity house in Kadan occupied by approximately 80 retired Dominican nuns on 27 October 1981. The police numbering 40, armed and accompanied by dogs, was led by a secretary for religious affairs. The search continued further during the second day. The police confiscated two typewriters, two mimeograph machines for which the house held an official permit, official and samizdat religious material (again without any antistate content) and mimeographed prayer books for everyday prayer. The negative effect of this violent act forced the organs to disseminate disinformation and fabricated reports (they talked about a large number of illegally acquired objects of value, the presence of six Poles, a transmitter, etc). On the same day, a similar action was undertaken by security organs at the home for retired priests in Moravec.

This action was carried out by 120 police and militiamen with dogs. The home is occupied by old retired priests who are being cared for by nuns. Again, religious literature was confiscated. Some of this literature was published through self-help (it would be difficult to classify these cases as samizdats in the conventional sense). In several cases, the police confiscated personal items and Tuzex vouchers which were given to the home legally by the capitular consistory in Brno. Once again, defamations and slander were used. A day later (29 October 1981), searches were conducted at the rectories in Hostka near Litomerice, Steti and Becov near Most Father Radim Hlozanka, the administrator, was arrested. His mimeographing machine and religious literature were confiscated. After 3 months of detention, Father Josef Barta was released in Liberec in February 1981. However, he is being prosecuted while at liberty for disseminating theological essays and conducting seminars for those interested in theology.

The official evaluation of religious literature is being made through the "expert" opinion of Dr Jaroslav Hajek from the Secretariat for Religious Affairs in Prague. In this opinion, for example, any transcription of a legally published biblical text for any reason, including private need, is considered a crime. In such a case Law No 92 of 1949 concerning non-periodic literature or Article 178 of the Penal Code on avoiding control over churches may be applied.

In Slovakia, too, the persecution of priests and laymen is on the rise. The sentencing of priests--Father Anton Zlatohlavy, Father Gabriel Povaly, Father Stefan Javorsku--and of the layman Gunter Rompf demonstrate the overall attitude by state organs toward the activity of the Catholic Church. Other facts characterized by brutality and sadism must be added to the latter. At the end of October, four "unidentified" men took away Stanislav Adamek, a 20-year old son of the condemned Josef Adamek, from his workplace. They took him to the woods near Tisnov where they threatened to kill him, administered a brutal blow to his head and splashed him with butyric acid. They forced him to run in front of their car and twice made an effort to run him over. Then they left and Stanislav Adamek had to walk 20 kilometers at night before reaching a railroad station. Two cases of "suicide"--of Engr Coufal and Pavel Sanda--have remained unexplained or have been insufficiently explained. Such a state of affairs naturally increases the lack of confidence regarding the assurances and festive proclamations by the state organs concerning the creation of a new society in which all will be equal regardless of their origin and faith. What distorts among other things in our country the letter and spirit of the laws and officially adopted agreements and covenants concerning religious freedoms are not always necessarily existing laws but their arbitrary interpretation.

As an illustration we can offer the official commentary to the Czechoslovak Penal Code. The Czechoslovak judicial practice in judging criminal acts is guided not by the overall meaning of all legal documents (the Constitution, covenants, laws, etc), but only by a commentary on this or that article used in the case. As an illustration we can offer commentaries concerning Article 178 (on avoiding control over churches and religious orders) which do not fully conform to Article 18 of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which, after being approved by all pertinent authorities, became law on 23 March 1976. For comparison we list several "commentaries" as they were published in the official guide for interpreting the Penal Law (TRESTNI ZAKON-KOMENTAR, Prague, 1980) pp 607-608, We quote: "Article 178 states: He who plans to avoid or to make more difficult the execution of control over churches and religious orders violates the provisions concerning the economic (underlined by us) security of the churches and religious organizations will be sentenced to 2 years in prison or fined. From the implementing explanations: state control over churches and religious orders is based on the principle that clergymen can execute their duties only if they possess a state permit and only if spiritual, preaching and similar activity carried out by persons who have state approval and took an oath. Furthermore, prior state approval is necessary for each appointment and election to a function whose execution is classified as spiritual or similar activity. From the point of view of responsibility for a criminal act according to Article 178 it does not matter whether the action of the perpetrator is related to the activity of a permitted or prohibited church or religious order. Such a criminal act can also be committed by persons who engage in spiritual activity or who preach but are not clergymen of a church or a religious order or those who engage in activity that interferes with state control over churches and religious orders." As illustration let us recall that there are cases in which the court considered a discussion on a religious topic or joint prayer in a private apartment as a criminal act under Article 178 (justification: This was a "spiritual activity" in which the circumstances prevented state control).

Charter 77 calls the attention of the competent organs to gross violations of the Czechoslovak Constitution, international covenants and agreements in the area of religious freedoms and demands that all cases of illegal religious repression and persecution be remedied. It also demands that Czechoslovak laws in effect which restrict international covenants and human rights be at least accompanied by commentaries and implementing explanations in order to prevent the actual liquidation of religious freedoms guaranteed by our Constitution and covenants and conform to their letter and spirit.

Prague, 10 March 1982

To the attention of Pope John Paul II at the Vatican; Cardinal Frantisek Somasek, Prague; Pacem in Terris organization.

1277
CSO: 2400/288

REQUIREMENTS, CONDITIONS, SUBJECTS OF MILITARY SCHOOLS DISCUSSED

Prague LETECTVI & KOSMONAUTIKA in Czech Nos 16-25, 1981 and No 9, 1982

[No 16, 1981 pp 613-615]

The Gallery of Military Schools

The army of today is an immensely complex organism, in which the impact of the revolution in science and technology is more evident than ever before. Military service as a career comprises hundreds of the most diverse professions. The army needs commanders and political workers qualified to direct the training and education process, pilots able to fly aircraft at three times the speed of sound, and electronics and radar specialists. It also needs rear services workers and technicians, doctors, communications and computer specialists, and highway, railroad and bridge builders. Nor can the army dispense with air traffic controllers, transportation controllers, and hundreds of specialists of other kinds.

In the first article in this series we wish to provide general information about the opportunities for elementary- and secondary-school students to continue their studies in military schools.

Military schools are an integral part of the Czechoslovak educational system and include three forms of study. Military secondary schools are the first form. They are subdivided into military specialized secondary schools, military high schools, and military career specialist schools. Next there are the military colleges for engineering, university-level studies, and economics. And finally there are the so-called temporary forms of training, such as the two-year officer schools, one-year officer schools, and civilian youth courses that are either one-year courses to prepare for the secondary-school final examination or courses for women.

The military schools educate and train highly qualified cadres for the needs of the CSLA [Czechoslovak People's Army]. Hence it follows that the system of military schools is based on the need to provide the political, general, military and professional education required to serve as officer or NCO in the CSLA.

The military schools are selective schools. Applicants are selected from among civilian youths, and servicemen in active service, substitute service or in the reserve. All must meet the following requirements: Czechoslovak citizenship; political, moral and character traits demanded of students of military schools; successful completion of the appropriate level of formal education; good health and

physical fitness; appropriate knowledge and abilities, demonstrated in the admission proceedings, for successful study in a military college or military secondary school.

The education gained at a military school is of equal social value to the education provided by similar levels and types of civilian schools. The certificates and diplomas issued by military schools, and the scientific degrees and scientific-pedagogical titles conferred within the competence of the Ministry of National Defense are valid statewide, similarly as the documents issued by civilian schools and institutions.

The secondary military schools are an integral part of the entire system of military education. They train cadres for the CSLA and comprise two types of schools: military high schools, and military specialized secondary schools; they select their students from among youths completing the eighth or ninth grade of elementary school.

The military high schools have traditions of long standing in providing secondary education for future students of military colleges. The objective of four years of study in a military high school is to prepare students for study at military colleges, particularly at the Trice Hero of the CSSR and Hero of the USSR General of the Army Ludvik Svoboda Ground Forces College (Vysoka vojenska skola pozemniho vojska trojnasobneho hrdiny CSSR a hrdiny SSSR armadniho generala Ludovika Svobody) in Vyskov na Morave; at the CSP [Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship] Military Engineering College (Vysoka vojenska technicka skola ceskoslovensko-sovetskeho pratelstvi) in Liptovsky Mikulas; and, in limited numbers, at the SNP [Slovak National Uprising] Air Force College (Vysoka vojenska letecka skola Slovenskeho narodniho povstani) in Kosice that offers a four-year curriculum for training air force pilots as officer-engineers.

Students completing elementary schools can study at the Jan Zizka z Trocnova Military High Schools in Prague, Moravska Trebov and Opava, and at the SNP Military High School in Banska Bystrica.

The Jan Zizka z Trocnova Military High Schools, and the SNP Military High School offer graduates complete secondary education and prepare them for study at military colleges. Education and instruction are based on the high-school curricula approved by the CSR and SSR ministries of education, with special emphasis on the natural sciences and adapted to the needs of the CSLA. Studies at military high schools take four years and end with a final examination in Czech or Slovak, Russian, mathematics and, according to the student's choice, in civics, physics, chemistry, descriptive geometry or biology and geology.

Should the graduate of a military high school be declared unfit for study at a military college, he has secondary education of full value, qualifying him for a career in the national economy, public administration or culture, pursuant to Section 8, Paragraph 1, of Law No 63/1978 Sb On Measures Pertaining to the System of Elementary and Secondary Schools. On the basis of his acquired education, the graduate of a military high school may continue his studies in a civilian college, provided he meets the requirements for enrollment in the given higher educational institution, as set by the ministries of education.

The military specialized secondary schools (VSOS) offer wide opportunities for elementary-school students wishing to acquire full military specialized secondary

education. This applies primarily to applicants who are interested in various technical and economic branches of study and intend to become professional NCO's. Instruction and education at the VSOS's is based on the curricula that the republic ministries of education approved for specialized secondary schools, adapted to the needs of the CSLA. These schools prepare NCO's in various branches of study and specialties.

The VSOS in Presov trains applicants for duty as technicians in the air force engineering service, the airfield technical service, in radio-engineering support for the air force, and in the air force meteorological service. The VSOS in Liptovsky Mikulas, for duty as officers and technicians in the state air defense system, ground forces air defense system, and radio-engineering troops air defense system. The VSOS in Martin, for duty as officers and technicians in the artillery, army engineer troops, and armament service. The VSOS in Nove Mesto nad Vahom specializes in electrical engineering and trains radio technicians, telecommunications technicians, operations technicians and computer technicians (division into specialties occurs only after the completion of the second year). The VSOS in Zilina trains for duty in the food and forage supply service, equipment service, fuels and lubricants service, and health service. The VSOS in Valasske Mezirici trains officers and technicians for the chemical, railroad and highway troops. The VSOS in Nitra trains technicians for the tank and motor vehicle service. And the Vit Nejedly Military Music School in Roudnice nad Labem trains military musicians. Applicants for admission to VSOS's are selected from among students of the ninth and eighth grades of elementary school who meet cadre requirements and whose state of health guarantees that they will be able to perform military service. However, only those students can be accepted who will be 15 by 15 July of the year in which they complete the eighth grade and will not be older than 16 in the year they start their studies in a military school.

Applicants for admission must undergo entrance examinations that usually are held in March of the calendar year. The written tests are in the native language (Czech or Slovak) and mathematics, and there is a practical examination in physical education to check physical fitness. The scope of the tests corresponds to the material covered during the first semester in the attended grade of elementary school. The curriculum includes general education subjects: the native language, Russian, mathematics, physics, chemistry, and physical education. Furthermore there are social-science subjects that include the history of Czechoslovakia and of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Marxist philosophy, political economy, scientific communism, the Marxist-Leninist teachings on war and the army, and party-political work within the CSLA. This is followed by basic military training with instruction in the military rules and regulations, closed-formation drills, training in the use of firearms, and the study of special military subjects in accordance with the nature and mission of the military school. During the first three years and the first semester of the fourth year, the students are civilians. In the last five months of their fourth year--i.e., from 15 February through 15 July--the students are in substitute military service.

Winter, mid-term and spring vacations are planned for the students each year and are of the same duration as vacations in the civilian secondary schools. The summer vacation is six weeeks. During vacations and on leave to visit parents, students may wear civilian clothes.

VSOS students receive free room and board, clothing and study aids. In addition, they get a monthly allowance of 50 korunas. The allowance of those students who

attain an "excellent" grade for the year is increased to 75 korunas per month during the next school year. While the students are at school, their parents can collect family (educational) allowances and claim income-tax exemptions.

Studies end with a final examination in the native language, Russian, and two special subjects.

The military schools offer opportunities for all-round political, cultural and social self-fulfillment. Useful public work of the students of military colleges, two-year officer schools, military high schools and VSOS's can take place primarily at sponsoring enterprises and schools, in Pioneer and Socialist Youth Union organizations, and within Svazarm [Union for Cooperation with the Army]. Sports activities are organized within the sections of the Dukla Military Athletic Association.

VSOS graduates are trained for duties as NCO specialists within the CSLA. But it may happen that during active service the hospital military committee will reclassify them as unfit for military service for reasons of health. The provisions of Section 9, Paragraph 1, of Law No 63/1978 Sb On Measures Pertaining to the System of Elementary and Secondary Schools apply to VSOS graduates wishing to change to civilian careers in the national economy, public administration and culture. The certificates that a VSOS issues to its graduates is proof of educational qualifications at the level of secondary industrial schools.

Among the military higher educational institutions belong first of all the military colleges that offer university-level education and training. Among them the Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy (Vojenska politicka akademie Klementa Gottwalda) in Bratislava trains, in four years of study, cadres for the political apparatus of the CSLA. The Jan Evangelista Purkyne Military Medical Research and Postgraduate Training Institute (Vojensky lekarsky vyzkumny a doskolovaci ustav Jana Evangelisty Purkyne) in Hradec Kralove trains cadres in general pharmacy in four years of study, dentists in five years of study, and general practitioners in six years of study. The Military Department at Charles University Faculty of Physical Education and Sports (Vojensky odbor pri fakulte telesne vychovy a sportu University Karlovy) in Prague trains physical education officers for the CSLA, in a four-year curriculum.

The military engineering colleges are another type of military higher educational institutions. The SNP Air Force College in Kosice offers namely four-year courses for aviation officers, navigators and pilots, and five-year courses in military engineering, aviation mechanical engineering, and aviation electrical engineering.

The CSP Military Engineering College in Liptovsky Mikulas has four-year curricula for officer-engineers specializing in signals, the state air defense system, and the ground forces air defense system; and five-year military-engineering curricula specializing in the state, ground forces and radar air defense systems.

The General of the Army Ludvik Svoboda Ground Forces College in Vyskov na Morave offers four-year curricula to train officer-engineers for motorized rifle troops and reconnaissance, armor, army engineers and the artillery, a military-engineering curriculum, and a curriculum in military chemistry.

The Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy (Vojenska akademie Antonina Zapotockeho) in Brno offers five-year curricula in armor, motor vehicles, armament engineering, armament electrical engineering, mechanical engineering for army engineer troops, and

also in geodesy and cartography, electronic computers, military communications equipment, the construction of surface and underground military structures, military civil engineering, and military meteorology.

The last in this group of military higher educational institutions is the Military Faculty of the Transportation and Communications College (Vojenska fakulta vysoke skoly dopravy a spoju) in Zilina. It offers five-year military-engineering curricula in the construction and repair of railroads, in the construction and repair of the highway network, in military rail transport and military highway transport.

And who is interested in studying economics can apply for admission to the Hero of the CSSR Jan Sverma Military College of the Rear and Technical Support (Vysoka vojenska skola tyloveho a technickeho zabezpeceni hrdiny CSSR Jana Svermy) in Zilina. The four-year military economics curricula specialize in the supply of fuels and lubricants, food and forage supply, supply of equipment, and finance.

Every applicant for admission to a military college must submit his hand-written application at the okres (district or municipal) military administration, in the locality where he completed secondary school. All applicants undergo admission proceedings at the chosen military college. These admission proceeding usually are held in June and July of the calendar year. The scope of the tests corresponds to the material covered in high school or secondary industrial school. Students selected from among civilian youths perform substitute military service during the first five months of study and thus complete their compulsory military services during their studies. On their request, students of military colleges are accepted to serve as professional soldiers, effective the day following the completion of their substitute service. Simultaneously they are given the rank of master sergeant. During the period of their studies, students of military colleges receive free room and board, clothing (including laundering and mending), items of equipment, study aids, textbooks, and lecture notes. The gross monthly pay of students as professional soldiers is 900 to 1300 korunas during the first four years, and an average of 1500 korunas in the fifth and sixth years.

The rights and obligations of the students are determined by the regulations and curricula. In principle the rights and obligations do not differ from those for students of any civilian higher educational institution.

The graduates of military colleges are awarded titles pursuant to Sections 41-44 and 95 of Law No 39/1980 Sb on Higher Educational Institutions. Thus the graduates of military colleges have the same rights and obligations as graduates of civilian higher educational institutions, especially when it comes to educational qualifications for a civilian job. The education gained at military colleges qualifies their graduates not only for functional positions in the CSLA but also for civilian employment for which higher education is a requirement. They can work in those sectors of public administration, in the national economy, in cultural organs, organizations and institutions, and in other areas of employment where they are able to put to good use not only their special training in military college, but also their organizing ability developed in the CSLA.

Every young officer graduating from a military college who approaches his professional military service with responsibility and proves himself in his assigned duties

has opportunities for rapid advancement in the army in terms of assigned duties and hence also of rank. After five years of practical experience with the troops, the graduates of military colleges are able to undertake two to three years of postgraduate study to further their knowledge as engineers, technicians or economic engineers, which in principle is a prerequisite for gaining higher functions within the CSLA. In other words, this ensures the conditions for advancement in functions and thereby also in rank. The opportunities for advancement and for social self-fulfillment are undeniably greater and faster than for graduates of civilian higher educational institutions.

[No 17, 1981 pp 652-653]

SNP Air Force College, Kosice

The Czechoslovak air force is one of the services of the CSLA. Its assigned mission is, among other things, to protect the air space of our socialist fatherland, in case of combat to provide air cover and support for the ground forces and to defend vital installations, and to fulfill other tasks pertaining to its mission. Successful fulfillment of these tasks in any season and at any time of day, even in bad weather, depends to a considerable extent not only on the proficiency of the flight crews, but also on the reliable preparation of aircraft and aviation engineering support equipment. Flight safety, and thereby the successful completion of a training or combat mission, depends on the reliable operation of aircraft and aviation engineering support equipment, which in its turn is directly related to the responsible, accurate and conscientious work of the aviation personnel on the ground.

In this issue we present the SNP Air Force College in Kosice, which trains cadres with higher education, for the Czechoslovak air force. It is continuing on a higher level the long-standing traditions of the previous military aviation schools that trained an entire series of officer pilots and aviation support specialists, including the first Czechoslovak cosmonaut, Lt Col Engr Vladimir Remek, Hero of the CSSR and USSR.

Since 1973, the Air Force College bears the honorary name of the Slovak National Uprising. For its persistently good results in training new flight personnel and aviation engineering support specialists, the school was awarded the Order of the Red Star, the decoration "For Contributions to Development," the medal of the CPCZ Central Committee commemorating the 30th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army, and the Honorary Badge, Grade 1, of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League, for fostering Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship. The SNP Air Force College also received a number of commendations from the okres and kraj party and state organs.

The SNP Air Force College enrolls students with completed secondary education (i.e., students who have passed their final examination), servicemen and NCO's in active (or substitute) service, and servicemen and NCO's in the reserve. It trains aviation officers with higher education. The four-year curriculum for aviation officer engineers is specialized for pilots of various types of airplanes and helicopters, navigators, staff workers and officers of command posts.

The five-year curriculum in aviation mechanical engineering is specialized into aviation engineering support and airfield engineering support, while the curriculum

in aviation electrical engineering is specialized into aviation engineering support and aviation radio-engineering support.

The question arises as to what is the content of the individual branches of study that can be pursued at the SNP Air Force Academy.

The aviation officer-engineer curriculum for pilots and navigators trains graduates to serve as officer-pilots and navigators with units and formations of the air force. This is a four-year curriculum that from the second year on involves practical flight training in subsonic and supersonic airplanes and in helicopters, in accordance with the students' specialization. Besides social-science, general-education and general-engineering subjects, the curriculum includes special military subjects such as, for example, air navigation, air combat, parachute training, aviation tactics, the theory and design of aviation engines, the theory and design of aircraft, the electronic equipment of airplanes, etc.

The four-year aviation officer-engineer curriculum trains graduates for duty as officers in command and organization functions related to the planning and control of air operations, at air force units and formations. Besides social-science, general-education and general-engineering subjects, the curriculum includes particularly tactical training, air navigation, the theory of command and control, the design and operation of aviation equipment, equipment for the mechanization and automation of command and control, etc.

The five-year aviation-engineering curriculum in mechanical engineering and aviation engineering support is intended to train officers for duties in the operation and repair of aircraft, at air force units and formations. Besides the social-science, general-education and general-engineering subjects, the curriculum includes such special military subjects as aerodynamics, the theory and design of aviation engines and aircraft, the operation, maintenance and repair of airplanes, etc.

The purpose of the five-year aviation-engineering curriculum in mechanical engineering and aviation engineering support is to train highly qualified officers with higher education in airfield engineering support and trained for command and technical functions at aviation engineering formations. For this reason the curriculum includes--besides the social-science, general-education and general-engineering subjects--particularly special military subjects such as automatic control systems, the principles of engineering production, the design, repair and maintenance of motor vehicles, airfield and construction machinery, the construction, maintenance and repair of airfield areas, the organization and control of material and technical supply by means of electronic computers, etc.

The five-year aviation-engineering curriculum in electrical engineering and radio-engineering support trains graduates for duty as officers at aviation units and formations in the area of radio-engineering support of the state air defense aviation. Besides the social-science, general-education and general-engineering subjects, the curriculum includes electronics, radionavigation, radar, the theory and design of ground radio-engineering equipment and signal lights for the support of air operations, the servicing, repair and maintenance of such equipment, etc.

General conditions have been set for admission to a military college, and these apply also to the SNP Air Force College. We have acquainted our readers with these

conditions in the preceding issue of our journal. Because study at a higher educational institution is involved, completed secondary education is a requirements, and the applicant must not be over 24 the year he starts his studies. (If he is applying for admission to the four-year officer-engineer course for pilots, the age limit is 21.)

The application for admission to the SNP Air Force College can be submitted at any (okres, district or municipal) military administration but it is best to submit the application to the military administration on whose territory the applicant completed his secondary education.

All applicants who are recommended for admission to this school must undergo entrance examinations that the commander of the SNP Air Force College usually schedules for the second half of June or the first half of July. In the entrance examinations the applicants are tested in secondary-school mathematics and physics, and also in physical education to check their physical fitness. At the close of the admission proceedings there is a private interview with each applicant. The scope of the knowledge tested in the entrance examinations corresponds to the material covered in high school or secondary industrial school.

Besides meeting the general requirements, applicants for training in any category of flight personnel must present a certificate, confirmed by the Institute of Aviation Medicine (Ustav leteckeho zdravotnictvi) in Prague, that they are fit to undergo flight training. At this point readers wishing to apply should be advised that the organs of the local military administration will first send applicants for preliminary selection to a military hospital that will tentatively determine the applicants' fitness for study at the SNP Air Force College. On the basis of a favorable finding by the military hospital's medical committee, the local military administration will send the applicant at the agreed time to the Institute of Aviation Medicine, for special medical tests that usually require three days. Before sending the applicant for these tests, the organs of the local military administration will explain to the applicant the purpose of the test and what they involve. At the end of the comprehensive medical examination, the medical committee at the Institute of Aviation Medicine determines the applicant's fitness for study to become a pilot and specifies whether he is medically fit to fly supersonic or subsonic airplanes or helicopters.

In the admission proceedings at the SNP Air Force College, preference in admission to the curriculum for pilots is given to those secondary-school graduates who underwent training in the flying clubs of Svazarm that prepare their members for study at this college. It is understandable, of course, that only persons of political conviction who have the necessary moral and character traits can become members of the flying clubs. One of the basic requirements for admission is the applicant's physical fitness to complete flight training in gliders and airplanes. Preference in admission to a Svazarm flying club will be given to those applicants who, after graduation from secondary school and upon the completion of flight training in gliders and airplanes, intend to continue their studies at the SNP Air Force College.

The students' extracurricular activities are an integral part of life at the SNP Air Force College. Whether in useful public work, sports or in education and culture, extracurricular activity always serves primarily to broaden and reinforce the students' knowledge and experience, to satisfy their hobbies and interests. Together

with the education and training process, extracurricular activity helps to finish shaping the prescribed profile, to attain the educational and training objective in preparing the students of the SNP Air Force College for their military professions.

The students' useful public work is a part of their entire training. In accordance with their abilities and study opportunities, the students perform such work at the sponsoring plants and schools, in Pioneer organizations and local committees of the Socialist Youth Union and Svazarm, in the Dukla Military Athletic Association, and in propaganda activity within the college.

For self-fulfillment in sports over and above regular physical education, the SNP Air Force College has developed sports facilities than enable students to engage in any team or individual sport (athletics, soccer, basketball, volleyball, tennis, hockey, etc.) The sports facilities include a modern gymnasium with a refreshment stand. The Department of Physical Education and Sports, in cooperation with the Socialist Youth Union organizations, arranges sports competitions within the college among the student groups and classes. It also holds training courses for umpires and referees, etc. Some of the sport sections successfully represent the college in regular games and competitions outside the school. First-year students receive skiing instruction.

Cultural and educational activity--by virtue of its content, methods and forms, as well as of its educational influence--helps to strengthen ideological and action unity and political morale, and it is also an important means of satisfying the students' interests in their spare time.

The content of such activity is primarily extracurricular education, work with books, films, radio and television, amateur artistic performances, esthetic education, and technical hobbies.

The kraj center of Kosice and the college's student club offer wide opportunities for cultural fulfillment. Various special-interest circles are formed within the club (literature and drama, dancing, fine arts, engineering, marksmanship, etc., in accordance with the students' interests).

The Czechoslovak air force is equipped with the most modern aircraft of world parametera. The airplanes are capable of high speed with very good maneuverability, and the pilots are prepared to carry out their assigned tasks under all flight conditions, day or night and in all kinds of weather. It is the wish of many young men to become pilots, navigators or ground specialists in the air force, and now their desire can become reality.

The next article in this series will acquaint readers with the CSP Military Engineering College in Liptovsky Mikulas.

[No 18, 198] pp 694-695]

CSP Military Engineering College

For good results in training officers for the CSLA, the President of the Republic awarded the CSP Military Engineering College in Liptovsky Mikulas the Order of the Republic, and the Order of the Red Star. In view of the very good results in combat training and political training, the CPCZ Central Committee awarded the college the 25 February commemorative medal, and a medal commemorating the 30th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army. The Central Committee of the SCSP [Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League] permitted the college to use the honorary name of College of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship and awarded it the Honorary Badge, Grade I, of the SCSP. The Socialist Youth Union organizations at the college won on three occasions the challenge banner of the SSM Central Committee as the best SSM organizations at military colleges.

The college offers five-year military-engineering curricula, and four-year curricula for officer-engineers. In the first group belongs the engineering technical service of the state air defense system's special facilities and equipment; the curricula in this group specialize in the latest air defense equipment that includes radar, electronic computers, equipment for the automatic control of operations, etc. Next there is the curriculum for engineers of the radio-engineering (radar) troops, which places emphasis on mastering radar equipment and automatic control systems; the curriculum for engineers of the ground forces air defense system specializes in armament electrical engineering that places emphasis on electrical engineering and electronics.

The second group includes the study of military communications equipment, specifically of wired, radio and special equipment; the state air defense system's special facilities and equipment, namely special electronic, radar and automated equipment, radar complexes and automatic control systems; radio-engineering facilities; and anti-aircraft artillery equipment and automatic control systems.

Whereas the five-year curricula train military engineers with higher education in their specialized branches of study, the four-year curricula give graduates a higher military-engineering education and higher engineering education for the operation of military facilities and equipment.

Also at the CSP Military College, study is based on approved curricula. The first group of subjects comprises the social sciences that, within the system of education and training, form the class-political profile of the graduate on the basis of a scientific world outlook, Marxism (Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, scientific communism, the history of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and of the international communist and labor movements, the principles of military psychology, and political work within the CSLA).

The second group of subjects includes general theoretical subjects (college-level mathematics and physics, Russian, and a foreign language) and general engineering subjects (drafting, the theory of electrical-engineering and radio-engineering circuits, the principles of electronics, electronic components and devices, electromagnetic field theory and vhf engineering, antenna systems, electromagnetic wave

propagation, amplifiers and pulse circuits, receiver and transmitter circuits and systems, electrical-engineering measurements, the power supply of electrical-engineering installations, etc.).

The third group comprises military and specialized military subjects.

Similarly as the other military colleges, the CSP Military College selects and admits the applicants who best meet the general requirements that we have listed in the introductory article in this series.

The admission proceedings for invited applicants usually are scheduled for the second half of July. These include written tests in mathematics and physics, and a practical test in physical education.

At the close of the proceedings there is an individual interview with the applicants, in the course of which the committee gains information about the moral profile, character traits , interests and expectations of each applicant for admission to the college.

The committee then usually tells the applicants whether or not they have met the requirements for admission to the college, and it answers any questions that the applicants might have. The final decision regarding admission is made by the commander of the CSP Military Engineering College.

The admission proceedings are similar at the SNP Air Force College in Kosice and at other military colleges, except that the written tests can differ (other subjects), in accordance with the nature of the school.

Upon entering a military college, students (selected from among civilian youths) are not only students of the college, but also servicemen of the CSLA. After completing five months of substitute service, upon their own request they are accepted as professional soldiers of the CSLA while still students, with the rank of master sergeant, effective the day after the completion of substitute service.

Thereafter the students of military colleges are able to advance in rank, naturally with due consideration for the fulfillment of their curricular and military duties. The rank of second lieutenant may be attained in the case of exceptional study results (in agreement with the regulations governing the course of service for professioanal soldiers), after the completion of the third year in the curricula for officer-engineers, and after the completion of the fourth year in the military-engineering curricula. The other students will be promoted to the rank of sergeant major, if their rating is favorable, as soon as the length of service required in the rank of master sergeant is met. Students are able to visit their familiies regularly. (Married students are entitled to reimbursement of travel fare twice a month to visit their families.) Outside the premises of the school, the students may wear civilian clothes.

If a student does not submit an application for acceptance as a professional soldier, his assignment to substitute service by the kraj military administration will be rescinded pursuant to Section 31, Paragraph 2, of the Defense Law (the same applies if the student is allowed to quit or is expelled). The former student of a military college is then obliged to complete the balance of the full

24 months of military service with units of the CSLA, and in addition he must reimburse the military administration for the costs incurred in conjunction with his studies at the military college.

Talented students of military colleges can participate in scientific work as scientific assistants at departments of their college, and within the framework of the students' scientific and professional activity they can enter competitions for the best scientific or professional report by a student.

During their studies, the students of military colleges gain the comprehensive theoretical knowledge and habits that will be necessary in their future duties. Study at these schools is unquestionably demanding, but instruction employs modern forms and aids (programmed instruction, audiovisual equipment, laboratories, training devices, etc.). Qualified and experienced civilian and military experts provide instruction and training. Comprehensive assistance is provided both individuals and groups, in class as well as after classes.

In the last year, at the end of their studies, the students of military colleges sit for their state examinations, in two or three subjects, in accordance with the type of school. In addition, the students must defend their diploma dissertations.

Successful study at military colleges ends with graduation, promotion to or a commission as lieutenant of the CSLA, and the presentation of an engineering diploma.

Pursuant to Law No 186/1964 Sb (On the System of Education, also known as the Education Law), Law No 63/1978 (On Measures Pertaining to the System of Elementary and Secondary Schools) and Law No 39/1980 Sb (On Higher Educational Institutions), the graduates of all types and kinds of military schools gain qualifications, certificates, diplomas and graduate titles that are valid statewide.

The graduates of military colleges have opprtunity to fully utilize and apply their acquired knowledge and skills in responsible functions to which they are assigned after graduation. For good and excellent results in combat and political training they are assigned to higher functions and are promoted in rank when they meet the specified requirements.

After five years of practical experience with the troops, capable graduates of military colleges are able to participate in postgraduate study, whereby they gain a high level of military education and are trained for higher military functions. Talented professional soldiers have the opportunity to acquire scientific degrees and scientific-pedagogical titles.

No civilian higher educational institution in any profession offers such great opportunities to youths for advancement, personal fulfillment and professional growth. These are incontrovertible facts and arguments.

In the next article in this series on the Gallery of Military Schools, we will acquaint readers with the Air Force Educational Establishment (Vojenske letecke uciliste) in Presov.

[No 19, 1981 pp 734-735]

Air Force Educational Establishment, Presov

The Presov educational establishment that we will be discussing in this issue prepares officers and NCO's for the needs of the Czechoslovak air force, from among graduates of industrial schools and apprentice schools, and students of elementary schools, for the Two-Year Air Force Officer School (Dvouleta dustojnicka skola letecka) that trains helicopter pilots, navigators and aviation engineering service personnel, and also for the VSOSL (Military Specialized Secondary School of the Air Force; Vojenska stredni odborna skola letecka) that trains NCO's in several branches of study and specialties described below.

In the mechanical branch of study the students are trained to become airplane technicians, technicians for the supply of air force materiel, and technicians for the supply of air force munitions and armament.

The electrotechnical branch of study, with emphasis on measuring instruments and automation technology, trains technicians for the special equipment of airplanes, technicians for the electrical equipment of airplanes, air armament technicians, and technicians for the airfield operation service specializing in communications and radio-electronic equipment. Furthermore, technicians for the radio equipment of airplanes, technicians for the radio-engineering equipment of airplanes, technicians for the radio-engineering support of the air force, and technicians for meteorological instruments and equipment.

The graduates of VSOSL become specialists without whom the air force would be unable to function. They service and maintain the engines and airframes of the various types of military aircraft; ensure the checking, maintenance and routine repairing of the special equipment and devices on airplanes, of the testing, measuring and guidance equipment; and ensure flight operations by technical means in poor visibility. In addition to professional training, the Two-Year Air Force Officer School offers its students complete secondary education with final examination, which is equal to the education gained at civilian secondary residence schools for workers. The students of this school are selected from among applicants who are civilian youths, servicemen and NCO's in active (or substitute) service, and servicemen and NCO's in the reserve.

Boys trained in blue-collar and agricultural trades are solicited who are at least 18, but not over 23, in the year they begin their studies. Applicants must have completed elementary school with good grades, which guarantees that they will be able to master the secondary-school curriculum and professional training. They must likewise have the political, moral and character traits that are required especially of students of the Two-Year Air Force Officer School, and they must be physically fit. In addition to the mentioned conditions, students wishing to become helicopter pilots must also present a certificate of their fitness for flight training, confirmed by the Institute of Aviation Medicine in Prague.

Servicemen in active service must submit their hand-written and signed application for admission to the Two-Year Air Force Officer School through official channels, to the commander of their unit. Applicants from among civilian youths and servicemen or NCO's in the reserve must submit their applications for admission to the okres

(or district) military administration, respectively to the municipal military administration in Plzen, Brno, Ostrava and Kosice, where they can also obtain further information that cannot be presented in this article.

The Air Force Educational Establishment holds interviews with selected applicants usually in July. The purpose of the interviews is to determine the motivation for study at the educational establishment, and to check the applicants' prospects of graduating from the military secondary school. In the course of the interviews the applicants are acquainted with the nature of their duties as professional air force pilots and ground specialists, and also with the environment of the Air Force Educational Establishment.

In the course of training and instruction at the Two-Year Air Force Officer School, second-year students studying to become helicopter pilots may request transfer to the navigator curriculum if, for example, they are subsequently found unfit to undergo flight training. Instruction and training at the Air Force Educational Establishment are conducted by experienced air force pilots and civilian specialists. The curricula include general-education subjects (the native language, Russian, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry, and physical education); social-science subjects (the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the history of Czechoslovakia and of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Marxist-Leninist teachings on war and the army, the basic questions of party-political work within the CSLA); the subjects of basic military training (closed-formation drills, military rules and regulations, the use of firearms); and special military subjects geared to the individual branches of study and specializations.

From this review it is evident that studies at the Two-Year Air Force Officer School are demanding and complex, but the modernly equipped classrooms, laboratories and training devices, together with the staff of experienced and well-educated teachers, provide the prerequisites for mastering the given material. The classrooms are equipped in accordance with the latest pedagogical principles, and visual presentation during instruction and training is at the highest possible level. The command and teaching staff of the Air Force Educational Establishment are prepared to share their knowledge and experience, in the classroom as well as in the form of tutoring and consultation. They wish to provide comprehensive assistance to individuals as well as collectives, so that the set objectives of education and training can be fulfilled without failure.

The air force is equipped with the most modern aircraft, and the training, combat and other flight tasks are performed under technically more and more demanding air traffic control. This places increasing pressure on the human factor, i.e., on the air force personnel in various functional assignments, whether in the aviation-engineering service, radio-engineering support of the air force, airfield technical support or flight crews.

The mission of the Air Force Educational Establishment and of the VSOSL is to comprehensively prepare for life and practice at air force units the future professional soldiers, NCO's, highly qualified and politically mature specialists of the aviation-engineering service, airfield operations service, radio-engineering support of the air force, and the meteorological service. Study at this school can be recommended to those boys in the eighth and ninth grades of elementary school who are attracted to aviation and are interested in the system of air traffic control and its support.

VSOSL trains students in the already mentioned branches of study and specializations. The curriculum comprises general-education subjects, social-science subjects, basic military training, and special military subjects in accordance with the mission of the individual branches of study and specializations.

Study of the individual specializations is demanding and complex, but the equipment of the school and its experienced teachers provide optimal conditions for fully mastering the curriculum so that the students gain the knowledge necessary for their future assignments to airfields. Preflight servicing of the aircraft for flying in any weather, winter or summer, day or night, requires no small dedication and self-discipline. Flight safety and the lives of the crew depend primarily on the reliable operation of the aircraft, and this in its turn depends on the work of the air force ground specialists trained in this school.

Applications for admission to VSOSL must be submitted at the okres (district or municipal) military administration at the place of residence. Some of the basic requirements for admission are: Czechoslovak citizenship, the political, moral and character traits expected of students and graduates of this school, the prerequisites for service as a professional soldier, interest in becoming a professional NCO in the air force, successful completion of the eighth or ninth grade of elementary school, physical fitness for study at VSOSL (physical fitness is evaluated by the medical committee of the military hospital), at least age 14 by 15 July of the year in which studies are begun, but not more than age 16, and demonstration in the admission proceedings of the knowledge and abilities necessary for successful completion of VSOSL. Applicants for admission to VSOSL usually undergo the admission proceedings in the month of March. The admission proceedings include written tests in mathematics and the native language, and a practical test in physical education to check physical fitness. The scope of the tests corresponds to the material covered up to the first semester of the attended class of elementary school.

In the course of the admission proceeding the admission committee holds an individual interview with each applicant and, among other things, takes into consideration the applicant's interests and wishes regarding assignment to the individual branches of study and specializations.

VSOS students receive free room and board, clothing and study aids. In addition they get a monthly allowance of 50 korunas, and for those students who attain an excellent rating for the year the monthly allowance is increased to 75 korunas the next year. During the period of their substitute military service, i.e., from 15 February to 15 July in the fourth year (until then they are civilians), students receive a monthly service pay of 90 korunas. During the period of study, a student's parents are entitled to a family allowance and may claim an income-tax exemption for the student. These benefits cease while the student is performing substitute military service.

At the end of the first year of study, the social and professional training of the students of VSOSL includes three weeks at the Zemplinska Sirava summer camp where the students are taught to swim, including the military aspects of swimming. Second-year students receive skiing instruction at the Cergov training and recreational facility of VSOSL. In addition, second-year students are taught social dancing, in cooperation with sponsoring girls' schools. Third-year students specialize in the airfield traffic control service of air force radio-engineering support, and in the air force

meteorological service; and with selected students of other specialization, depending on advancement in studies and good behavior, they receive driver training, in the course of which they acquire Class C driver's licenses. Before the end of the school year, fourth-year students spend four weeks with air force and aviation-engineering units to gain practical experience.

The four years of study at the school end with a final examination in the native language, Russian and two professional subjects depending on the student's specialization. With the final examination, graduates gain complete secondary education equivalent to the education obtained at an industrial secondary school, and also specialized military education. Upon the completion of their studies, graduates become professional soldiers with the rank of sergeant and are assigned to the technical functions for which they have been trained.

The purpose of study at VSOSL is to train NCO's for the air force. The best graduates, the ones with an excellent rating, may be allowed to continue their studies immediately after graduation from VSOSL, at the SNP Air Force College in Kosice, in selected branches of study, in accordance with the needs of the air force and within the quotas set by the Ministry of National Defense. The other graduates are assigned as technical NCO's with the rank of sergeant* to air force and aviation engineering units. At these units the best graduates (depending on the conditions and possibilities) may be assigned to basic officer duties and, if they prove themselves in practice, may apply for permission to take the officer examinations and thus can become professional officers.

After at least two years of practical experience with the troops, graduates may apply for admission to the SNP Air Force College in Kosice. The selection of professional soldiers, and hence also of VSOS graduates, for study at military colleges is organized in accordance with the needs of the air force. The chosen candidates must meet the class and political criteria, must possess the necessary moral and character traits, must be physically fit for study at a military college, and must be below the specified age limit. Furthermore, by passing the required entrance examinations, applicants must provide proof of their ability to study successfully at the SNP Air Force College. Besides the VSOSL and the Two-Year Air Force Officer School, at the Air Force Educational Establishment it is possible to complete also the "one-year officer school" that provides the military professional knowledge that applicants with complete secondary education will need for command and officer functions.

The one-year officer school offers special-purpose and professional training, preparing future professional soldiers for the needs of the Czechoslovak air force.

[No 20, 1981 pp 772-773]

Temporary Forms of Training Officers for the Czechoslovak People's Army

To ensure the needs of the army and to supplement its command personnel, there now are two-year officer schools, one-year officer schools, and one-year courses preparing for secondary-school final examination.

The two-year officer schools, together with the military colleges, supplement the command personnel of the CSLA, helping to rejuvenate it and to improve its class and political structure. They are continuing the revolutionary traditions of the

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*[Correction:] master sergeant

schools for young officers that were set up after February 1948 to train working-class youths. The advantage of study at these schools is that in a relatively short time they offer youths trained in blue-collar and agricultural trades the necessary knowledge and professional training to function as officers in basic command, technical and rear support assignments. These two-year officer schools operate at military educational establishments specialized according to branches of study.

The Air Force Educational Establishment in Presov trains future air force officers as helicopter pilots, navigators and for the air force engineering service. The Military Educational Establishment in Liptovsky Mikulas trains future officer cadres for the ground forces air defense system, state air defense system, and the radio-engineering troops air defense system. The Military Educational Establishment in Zilina trains future officers specializing in motor transport, and the construction and billeting service. The First Czechoslovak Army Corps in the Soviet Union Military Educational Establishment (Vojenske uciliste 1. cs. armadniho sboru v SSSR) in Martin trains future officers for motorized rifle, tank and artillery units, and officers and technicians for the army engineer troops and armament service. The Podjavorin Partisans Military Educational Establishment (Vojenske uciliste Podjavorinskych partyzanu) in Nove Mesto nad Vahem trains future officer and technical cadres for the signal troops. The Military Educational Establishment in Nitra trains officer and technical cadres for the tank and motor vehicle service. And the Military Educational Establishment in Valasske Mezirici trains future cadres for the railroad and highway troops.

The two-year officer schools select and admit applicants from among civilian youths, servicemen and NCO's in active (or substitute) service, and servicemen and NCO's in the reserve who have completed elementary school with good grades, a vocational school or apprentice school, training in a blue-collar or agricultural trade, or who do not have complete secondary education, and who in the year of the commencement of their studies have reached the lower age limit of 18 but have not exceeded the upper age limit of 23. (This applies also to the curriculum for helicopter pilots.)

With the selected applicants the military educational establishments hold admission interviews (but not examinations) in July or August of each year. The purpose of these interviews is to determine the motivation for choosing military service as a profession, and to check the applicants' intellectual and psychic prerequisites for successful completion of the two-year officer school, including the prerequisites for serving as a professional soldier. The curricula of the two-year officer schools include general-education subjects, social-science subjects, basic military training, and special military subjects.

The process of instruction at the two-year officer schools employs modern forms, equipment and aids (programmed instruction, audiovisual aids, laboratories, training devices, etc.). The appropriate training equipment, weapons, and combat means and materiel are available for practical training.

Applicants for admission to the two-year officer schools from among civilian youths undergo substitute military service from 1 September through 31 January of their first year and, on the basis of their written application, are accepted for active service as professional soldiers with the rank of sergeant, as of 1 February.

For the duration of their substitute service, students of the two-year officer schools receive the service pay of a private in active service, i.e., 90 korunas a month. Upon acceptance to serve as professional soldiers, their monthly pay is about 850 korunas the first year, and about 950 korunas in the second year. Married students serving as professional soldiers are entitled to a monthly allowance of 300 korunas for a dependent wife, and 200 korunas for each dependent child.

During their studies, students are entitled to vacations and leave as follows: 7 to 10 days at Christmas and New Year's (winter vacation), 7 days in March (spring vacation), and 30 days of annual leave after completing the first and the second year of study.

The students' daily life at the school is organized by the daily schedule, in accordance with the rules and regulations of the CSLA. Study ends with the secondary-school final examination in the native language, Russian, mathematics, and physics or chemistry and two or three special military subjects. In addition the students must pass the so-called final examination for officers.

The two-year officer school gives its graduates complete secondary education pursuant to Law No 63/1978 Sb (Edict of the CSR Ministry of Education No 17110/71-210, and Edict of the SSR Ministry of Education No 8059/71/11/i), and basic military special education by branches of study.

Graduates of the two-year officer schools have the opportunity to utilize and apply their acquired knowledge and skills in the responsible functions to which they are assigned after graduation. For good and excellent results in combat training and political indoctrination, they are assigned to higher functions. They are rewarded for successful and exemplary work, and promoted when the set conditions are met.

The most capable graduates of the two-year officer schools may, after at least two years of practical experience with the troops, continue their studies at military colleges where they can gain a higher military-engineering education in the given branches of study. CPCZ members and candidates for membership have an opportunity to study at the Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy in Bratislava and obtain there an advanced military-political education. Short-term training courses, organized in accordance with the needs of the duty assignments, are available for the other graduates not interested in continuing their studies at military colleges. No civil profession offers such wide opportunities for self-assertion, rapid personal advancement and functional growth.

The one-year officer schools offer aplicants from among civilian youths the complete secondary specialized military education necessary for service as a professional soldier. The one-year officer schools are special-purpose professionalizing schools that can be employed within the competence of the Ministry of National Defense or the Ministry of the Interior.

This type of school offers newly inducted graduates of civilian secondary schools, who have passed their final examination and are under 24, the opportunity to become professional officers within a shortened period of one year.

One-year officer schools are established at the Air Force Educational Establishment in Presov (for officer-pilots), at the Military Educational Establishment in Liptovsky Mikuls (for the ground forces air defense system) and at certain other military formations.

One-year officer schools differ only in their specialization. At such schools the curriculum is identical in scope and content. It comprises social-science subjects (basic questions of Marxism-Leninism, history of the CPCZ, party-political work in the CSLA, etc.), basic military training (military rules and regulations, closed-formation drills, use of firearms) and specialized military subjects tailored to the individual services of the CSLA and their branches.

The school year begins in September and ends in July with a final examination for officers, in three or four subjects.

Students of the one-year officer schools usually get 7 to 10 days of vacation at Christmas and New Year's, and 30 days leave upon the completion of their studies.

One-year courses to prepare for the secondary-school final examination have been organized beginning with the 1977-1978 school year, for civilian youths who graduated from industrial school or apprentice school and are to study at military colleges.

To qualify for admission to the one-year course preparing for the secondary-school final examination, applicants must be Czechoslovak citizens dedicated to the socialist system, interested in becoming professional soldiers, possessing the class, political and moral traits required for active military service; they must have completed elementary school with good grades and must be trained in a blue-collar or agricultural trade and must have passed the final examination for apprentices; they must have graduated from industrial school or apprentice school and be under 20 years of age; after completing the one-year course preparing for the secondary-school final examination, they must want to continue their studies at a military college.

Only those applicants to the one-year course preparing for the secondary-school final examination are accepted whose prospects of completing the course and continuing in their studies at a military college are good.

Students of the one-year course study the same curriculum as at the secondary residence schools for workers. During their studies the students acquire complete secondary education that ends with the final examination in the native language, Russian, mathematics and physics.

At the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps in the Soviet Union Military Educational Establishment in Martin, students prepare primarily for further study at the General of the Army Ludvik Svoboda Ground Forces College. A limited number of graduates will study at the SNP Air Force College in Kosice to become officer-engineers trained as air force pilots. At the Military Educational Establishment in Liptovsky Mikulas the students of the one-year course prepare to continue their studies at the CSP Military Engineering College in Liptovsky Mikulas, in the four-year officer-engineer curricula specializing in the ground forces air defense system and in service with the signal troops.

The purpose of instruction in the one-year courses preparing for the secondary-school final examination is to broaden the students' general education, raise it to the level of complete secondary education with final examination, and prepare the students for further study at a military college.

Students who complete the one-year course and pass the secondary-school final exam and have been recommended for further study at a military college are admitted to the college as first-year students the next school year, without entrance examinations (but there still is an admission interview).

From the viewpoint of the requirements for admission to military colleges, the graduate of the one-year course preparing for the secondary-school final examination must know the principles of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and must have a basic knowledge of the present policies of the CPCZ. Furthermore he must gain retained knowledge, skills and habits to the extent of the one-year course's curriculum; he must have the right attitude to further study at the military college and to service as a professional soldier; he must attain a positive attitude to constant self-education and master the habits that lead to more effective independent study; he must learn the principles of military conduct and social behavior; and he must also reinforce the traits of a member of socialist society, particularly his sense of responsibility for the results of his own work and that of the military collective.

Organization of the education and training process usually is divided into two preparatory periods, and actual instruction.

Students whose prospects of successfully completing their secondary and college-level studies are not good are advised to transfer to a two-year officer school. If they do not agree to the transfer, they are dismissed from the one-year course preparing for the secondary-school final examination.

During actual instruction, the studies cover the native language and literature, Russian, another foreign language (German or English), the social sciences, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry, physical education, and military training.

Students who successfuly complete the one-year course that ends with the final examination gain an education that is equal to graduating from a secondary school that offers complete secondary education. Proof of this is the certificate of final examination issued by the military educational establishment at which the one-year course was held.

Graduates of the one-year courses are given vacation leave by the commander of the military educational establishment, effective the day they complete their studies. Simultaneously they receive their notice of induction into substitute military service, pursuant to Section 31, Paragraph 1, of the Defense Law. They begin their substitute service as of 1 August, parallel with the commencement of their first year of study at the selected military college.

[No 21, 1981 pp 812-813

Questions and Answers

[Question] In what subjects and when must applicants for admission to the Military Specialized Secondary School of the Air Force take entrance examinations? (Jaroslav S., Prague)

[Answer] In the course of the admission proceedings, applicants for admission to VSOSL take a written test in the official language (Czech or Slovak), and a practical examination in physical education to check their physical fitness.

The scope of the tests is the material covered through midyear in the appropriate grade of elementary school, i.e., the eighth or the ninth grade. The entrance examinations are held usually in the second half of March.

The level of education and knowledge in mathematics and the official language is evaluated on the basis of the grades at midyear and in preceding years in elementary school, and of the grade received on the written test. The written tests are intended to probe the basic knowledge of the applicant for admission to a VSOS, his abilities, imagination, thinking, and suitability for study. An oral examination in mathematics and the official language follows only if the applicant for admission receives a failing grade in the written tests; i.e., if there is a significant difference (of two points) between the grades received in elementary school and the grades scored in the written tests.

At the close of the admission proceedings at VSOSL, the admission committee interviews each applicant. In the course of this interview, the committee takes into consideration the applicant's interests and his wishes regarding assignment to the individual professional careers (specializations). The school of course is not always able to grant the applicants' wishes (for example, regarding assignment to a professional career or specialization), because the admission quotas by specialization are limited. In principle, however, the applicants' wishes are taken into account.

The purpose of the admission proceedings is to determine whether the applicant meets the requirements not only for study at a military school, but also for service as a professional soldier. On the basis of the results of the admission proceedings, the commander of the Air Force Educational Establishment makes the final decision regarding admission, and applicants are informed within 10 days of the admission proceedings whether or not they have been accepted for admission. Applicants who passed the entrance examinations but cannot be admitted to VSOSL because of the limited admission quotas are offered an opportunity to study at another VSOS with similar branches of study.

[Question] What are the principles on the basis of which applicants for admission to VSOS's are selected? In case they are rejected, can they appeal and to whom? (Jan P., Plzen)

[Answer] Similarly as the civilian specialized secondary schools, the VSOS's naturally select and admit the best qualified applicants who, in addition to the set requirements for selection, have demonstrated in the admission proceedings the knowledge and skills for successful study at a VSOS and for service as a professional soldier. In addition, an essential prerequisite for admission is the applicant's interest in completing his studies at the VSOS and in becoming an NCO of the CSLA. Only those applicants may be admitted who have successfully completed the eighth or ninth grade of elementary school and will be 14 on or before the 15th of July in the year they complete the eighth grade, but will not be over 16 the year they begin their studies.

The quotas for admitting applicants to study in VSOS's are set by the Ministry of National Defense, with due consideration for the personnel needs of the individual services and their branches. Similarly as at civilian specialized secondary

schools, the admission committee determines the sequence in which the applicants are to be admitted to the VSOS, on the basis of the entrance examination and interview results.

If an applicant fails in the admission proceedings, his parents are advised of his results within 10 days after the completion of the admission proceedings. Simultaneously the appropriate okres (district or municipal) military administration is informed, and also the director of the elementary school where the applicant is completing his compulsory school attendance.

Within 15 days of receiving the decision of the military educational establishment's commander rejecting their son's application for admission, his parents may appeal to the Ministry of National Defense, stating the grounds for appeal. However, the appeal must be submitted through the military educational establishment where the applicant underwent admission proceedings. The organs of the Ministry of National Defense consider the appeal and sustain the rejection or, in agreement with the school authorities, rescind it. The applicant is advised of the final decision.

The commander of the VSOS calls in the admitted applicants through the local military administration. The school year at VSOS's starts on 1 September.

[Question] As a graduate of a military high school, am I able to study at the Air Force College? (Jiri S., Hradec Kralove)

[Answer] Graduates of the Jan Zizka z Trocnova Military High Schools in Prague, Moravska Trebova and Opava, and of the SNP Military High School in Banska Bystrica are able to study at military colleges in accordance with the needs of our society, i.e., with the needs of the CSLA. They are qualified to study particularly at the General of the Army Ludvik Svoboda Ground Forces College in Vyskov na Morave, and at the CSP Military Engineering College in Liptovsky Mikulas.

In limited numbers, graduates of military high schools are able to study also at the SNP Air Force College in Kosice, in the four-year officer-engineer curriculum for air force pilots. Besides meeting the generally applicable requirements, however, applicants for admission to this branch of study must present a medical certificate, confirmed by the Institute of Aviation Medicine in Prague, of their fitness to undergo flight training.

The choice of branches of study and specializations at both military colleges mentioned in the introductory paragraph of the answer to your question is sufficiently wide to satisfy the talents and interests of all graduates of military high schools, and therefore it is not assumed that they will be allowed to study at other military colleges.

[Question] I would like to study at VSOSL in the 1982-1983 school year. How much vacation and leave will I have during the school year? (Bohuslav H., Ostrava)

[Answer] VSOSL students get 10 days of winter vacation each year (during Christmas and New Year's), 7 days of spring vacation in March, and six weeks of summer vacation in July and August.

In addition, students who are not soldiers may obtain four days of leave twice a year, to visit their parents. On vacation and leave, they may wear civilian clothes.

When going on vacation and leave, students may claim reimbursement of their reduced fares.

[Question] I am in active military service and am interested in attending the Two-Year Officer School of the Air Force. Upon admission to study, will the period of my compulsory active service be shortened and by how much? (Private F. V., x unit)

[Answer] Servicemen in active service who are admitted to a two-year officer school (any such school) and have not been in active service more than 5 months (primarily those servicemen who entered active service on 1 April or later) will be reassigned to substitute service pursuant to Section 31, Paragraph 1, of the Defense Law, retroactively to the day they entered active service.

Servicemen and NCO's with more than 5 but less than 12 months of active service before the commencement of studies at the military school, and who have completed NCO school or a course equivalent to it, are required to complete only 12 months of active service, pursuant to Council of Ministers Decree No 73/1970 Sb.

After completing 5 months of substitute service or 12 months of active service, students of the two-year officer schools are accepted as professional soldiers with the rank of sergeant and full rights and obligations, effective the day after the completion of substitute or active service. Upon the completion of their substitute (or active) services, students of the two-year officer schools are entitled to the financial and material provisions described in the introductory article in this series.

Servicemen and NCO's in active service with more than 5 months of active service before the commencement of studies at the military school, and who have not completed NCO school or a course equivalent to it, must complete the full 24 months of active service.

[Question] If I quit VSOS upon my own request, will my parents have to reimburse the costs of my education? (Zdenek S., Brno)

[Answer] If a student of a VSOS quits on his own decision or the decision of his parents (or legal guardian) for reasons other than medical reason or justifiable reasons beyond his control, or if he is expelled after 5 months from the commencement of his studies, his parents (or legal guardian) will be required to reimburse the costs incurred during his studies at the VSOS. Reimbursement will be demanded pursuant to Section 35 of Council of Ministers Decree No 21/1958 Sb that implements the Defense Law, and the costs will be recovered through the courts if the parents or legal guardian is not willing to pay voluntarily.

[Question] What requirements must I meet to become a professional NCO with an air force technical unit, what military school (or course) must I complete, and what will be the length of my compulsory active service? How long must I pledge to remain in active service? (Corporal A. B., x unit)

[Answer] You can be accepted as a professional NCO of the CSLA if you are a Czechoslovak citizen, have the political convictions and the moral and character traits required of NCO's, are in good health and physically fit, are determined to loyally serve the CSSR, not to spare effort in fulfilling your military duties, to tolerate

the hardships and discomforts of military life, to implement the policies and resolutions of the CPCZ and Czechoslovak government, to honor your military oath and obey the law and the military rules and regulations, and to set an example of honesty, self-discipline and diligence in the performance of your military duties.

Pursuant to Section 1 of the Federal Government's Ordinance of 23 June 1970, the length of compulsory active service may be shortened to 12 months in the case of graduates of NCO schools, or of courses equivalent to them, who have properly completed study in the mentioned schools or courses and undertake to re-enlist or to serve as professional soldiers.

Before the completion of the mentioned period of active service, it is possible to re-enlist or to request acceptance as a professional soldier. If you have no previous military education, you will first be accepted as a re-enlisted serviceman with the rank of sergeant and will be sent to an NCO course. Upon its completion you will be accepted as a professional NCO with the rank of sergeant first class. In other words, your service as a re-enlisted soldier or professional soldier will commence the day of your acceptance, on the basis of your request, after the completion of compulsory active service.

Regarding the further part of your question, we wish to advise that pursuant to Section 25 of the Defense Law (the complete text, as modified and amended by subsequent legislation, SBIRKA ZAKONU CSSR, Part 28, 26 Oct 1978, Law No 121) professional soldiers in the rank of sergeant first class, master sergeant and sergeant major serve until age 45; and in the rank of junior warrant officer, warrant officer and chief warrant officer, until age 50.

When you reach the age limit and do not agree to serve on as a professional soldier, you will be released from active service for having reached the age limit.

[Question] During studies in a two-year officer school, I become a professional soldier after five months. How long must I serve as a professional soldier after completing my studies at the military educational establishment? (Private First Class H.M., x unit)

[Answer] The Defense Law (Law No 121, SBIRKA ZAKONU CSSR, Part 28, 1978) specifies that professional soldiers must serve until they reach the age limit, which varies with rank: age 40 for second lieutenants, lieutenants, first lieutenants and captains; age 45 for majors and lieutenant colonels; and age 50 for colonels.

[No 22, 1981 pp 854-855]

Questions and Answers

[Question] What is the length of studies at military colleges? (Alexander R., Kosice)

[Answer] The education and training process at military colleges lasts four years in the branches of study for officer-engineers, in the economic branches of study, and in the military-engineering branch of military chemistry. The curriculum in military-engineering branches of study is a five-year one (with the exception of military chemistry). The Jan Evangelista Purkyne Military Medical Research and

Postgraduate Training Institute in Hradec Kralove offers a six-year curriculum in general medicine, a five-year curriculum in dentistry, and a four-year curriculum in general pharmacy. The Military Department at Charles University Faculty of Physical Education and Sports in Prague trains physical-education officers of the CSLA in four years. The Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy has a four-year curriculum.

From the above data it is evident that the technical branches of study at military colleges are one year longer than at civilian colleges. This provides the prerequisites for higher quality in achieving the educational objectives, and for better training of the graduates of military colleges for their predetermined duties.

[Question] When and how are the entrance examinations at military colleges organized? (Jaromir M., Brno)

[Answer] The admission proceedings at military colleges are scheduled usually for the second half of June and the first week of July. Applicants for admission to military colleges are informed of the exact dates of the admission proceedings in due time, by the okres (district or municipal) military administrations. At the technically oriented military colleges--CSP Military Engineering College in Liptovsky Mikulas, SNP Air Force College in Kosice, and the military departments of the Transportation and Communications College in Zilina--the written entrance examinations are in mathematics and physics. At the General of the Army Ludovik Svoboda Ground Forces College in Vyskov na Morave the written entrance examination is likewise in mathematics and physics, except in the branch of study specializing in military chemistry where the written examination in physics is replaced by one in chemistry.

At the Jan Sverma Military College of the Rear and Technical Support in Zilina the written entrance examination is in mathematics and Russian. At the Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy in Brno, in mathematics and physics, except in the geodesy and cartography branch of study where there is a written examination also in descriptive geometry.

Among the university-level military colleges, the written entrance examination at Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy in Bratislava is in the native language (Czech or Slovak), Russian and civics. At the Jan Evangelista Purkyne Military Medical Research and Postgraduate Training Institute in Hradec Kralove there is an entrance examination in physics and chemistry (usually in the form of written tests) and an oral examination in biology. At the Military Department of Charles University Faculty of Physical Education and Sports in Prague the entrance examination is in biology and chemistry.

The scope of knowledge tested in the entrance examinations corresponds to the material covered in high school or in industrial secondary schools.

A practical examination in physical education is required to check physical fitness. The usual events in this examination and the scales for grading are as follows: In the 1-km event a time of 3 min 30 sec or better is excellent, 3 min 40 sec is good, and 3 min 55 sec is satisfactory. In the 100-meter sprint a time of 13.5 sec or better is excellent, 14.0 sec is good, and 14.5 sec is satisfactory. In hand-climbing a height of 4 m is excellent, 3 m is good, and 2 m is satisfactory.

At some military colleges the practical examination in physical education is conducted on the basis of acquired credits.

The Military Department at Charles University Faculty of Physical Education and Sports has a practical ability test in light athletics, swimming, sports gymnastics, and sports (basketball, volleyball, handball and soccer). Theoretical knowledge of skiing and skating is tested orally.

The provisions of the Law on Higher Education apply also to military colleges. Applicants for admission with excellent grades in secondary school, and with medals won in the student olympics, may be admitted without an entrance examination in the given subject, but they must participate at least in an admission interview at the given military college.

At the close of the admission proceedings there are individual interviews with the applicants, in which the admission committee of the military college probes the applicant's moral profile, character and other traits, his interests and prospects of successful study at the military college. At the close of the interview the committee usually informs the applicant whether he has met the requirements for admission and answers any questions he may have. However, the final decision regarding admission is made by the commander of the military college.

Applicants who for serious family reasons (illness, etc.) were unable to appear at the scheduled admission proceedings may appear at an alternate date. However, the popular military higher educational institutions, such as the Jan Evangelista Purkyne Military Medical Research and Postgraduate Training Institute in Hradec Kralove or the Military Department at Charles University Faculty of Physical Education and Sport in Prague, do not schedule alternate dates for admission proceedings.

[Question] What level of knowledge and proficiency in mathematics and physics is required in the entrance examinations at military colleges? (Augustin J., Nitra)

[Answer] The entrance examinations in mathematics and physics test the applicant's knowledge, proficiency, ability to conceptualize and logical thinking that are necessary for the study of the general-educational and engineering subjects.

The examination in mathematics tests the applicant's understanding of the logical interrelations of secondary-school mathematics, i.e., of algebra, real numbers, quadratic equations, functions, inequalities, powers and roots, exponential functions, logarithms, series, combinatorial analysis, complex numbers, etc.

This examination requires ability to think logically, proficiency in computations, knowledge of the basic formulae and theorems. Usually 15 mathematical problems have to be solved in the written test.

The written or oral examination in physics requires an understanding of the basic concepts of physics and important physical constants, and of the International System of Units. Among the individual branches of physics, emphasis is placed on a knowledge of mechanics, heat, electricity and magnetism, optics and nuclear physics as studied in secondary schools. Besides the oral and mathematical formulation of the laws of physics, the ability to apply such knowledge to the solution of simple problems in physics is required. The entrance examination in physics requires

the ability to derive the basic relationships in physics; for example, the equation for radial acceleration, the Bernoulli equation, Boyle's law, the connection of resistors and capacitors, the formula for the intensity of the magnetic field at the center of a round conductor, etc.

The written examination in physics is usually in the form of a test in which the applicant has to answer 14 or 15 questions.

Besides the problems in the tests, the applicants are given three or four problems to calculate. What is required in the entrance examination in physics is an understanding of the subject and not merely its formal reproduction, which of course would not be enough for college-level studies.

[Question] I have heard that some military colleges administer psychodiagnostic tests in the admission proceedings. What do these tests investigate? (Vladimir H., Trebic)

[Answer] Psychodiagnostic tests are administered to students of selected military colleges by staff members of the Army Scientific Research Institute of Psychological and Educational Testing (Armadni vedeckovyzkumne pracoviste pro psychologicke a didakticke testy). The tests are administered during the admission proceedings and take about two hours. For maximum objectivity, the tests may not be administered the day the applicants arrive at the military college. The purpose is to obtain, on the basis of proven psychodiagnostic methods, information about the level of general ability and certain personal traits of applicants for admission to military colleges, and thereby also about their prospects of successfully completing their studies.

[Question] I would like to apply for admission to the Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy in Brno, in the five-year military-engineering curriculum specializing in electronic computers. In view of the fact that considerable time has elapsed since I graduated from secondary school, I am concerned whether I will be able to complete my studies at the academy. (Ignac Z., Mlada Boleslav)

[Answer] Instruction and training at the military higher educational institutions are conducted by qualified and experienced specialists. When necessary, comprehensive assistance is provided in the classroom and after classes, to both individuals and groups. Individual or group tutoring is organized, in accordance with the instructors' judgment and the needs of the students.

The process of instruction at all military higher educational institutions employs modern forms, means and aids (programmed instruction, audiovisual aids, laboratories, training devices, etc.). In the extensive libraries and study halls, the students of military higher educational institutions have ample references. A great contribution is the influence of the teaching staff on the guided study of the students.

The conditions for study at the military higher educational institutions are far more favorable than at civilian ones. Both the teaching staff and the command staff, as well as the party and Socialist Youth Union organizations, devote close attention to the students. Therefore it is understandable that under such conditions of study the dropout rate is much lower than at civilian higher educational

institutions, while the quality of higher education and training for the predetermined functions is very good.

The reader's prospects of successfully completing his studies at the Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy will be evaluated by the teaching staff of the school, in the admission proceedings that he will have to undergo. Upon admission to the academy the applicant will have to show the necessary initiative and activity to complete his studies at the military school, and he must be interested in becoming an officer of the CSLA.

[Question] What is meant by "qualifications of a professional soldier"? (Josef S., Strakonice)

[Answer] According to the CPCZ Central Committee's 11 June 1970 Resolution on Cadre and Personnel Work, the qualifications required of professional soldiers are political maturity, class consciousness, the required degree of education and theoretical knowledge, practical experience and particularly work experience, skills and practices, general outlook and intellect, moral traits and personal abilities. An important part of this are the political attitudes, and dedication to socialism, to the Marxist-Leninist policies of the CPCZ, the socialist state and friendship with the Soviet Union.

The consequences of the revolution in science and technology and the unprecedented development of military science place high demands on all-round qualifications for service in the CSLA, and increased demands on the mental and physical training of professional officers.

To serve as a professional soldier in the CSLA requires class and political staunchness, definitely formed moral and psychic traits, profound military-professional and technical knowledge, practical experience, selflessness and initiative.

Modern arms cannot be mastered without knowing the latest advances in science. An important factor is the scope of general, military-professional, technical and political knowledge and practical habits.

[Question] What are the rights and obligations of the professional soldier as a citizen of the CSSR and a member of the CSLA? (Jindrich P., Rokycany)

[Answer] Professional soldiers of the CSLA enjoy the full rights and bear all the obligations of Czechoslovak citizens, as defined in the Constitution and in the constitutional laws of the CSSR. Their rights and obligations stem from the conditions of military service and are defined in laws, in their military oath, and in the military rules and regulations. Their full political, professional and cultural growth is ensured, and they are given opportunity to fulfill their basic civic duties. Being a professional soldier carries the obligation not to spare effort, and to sacrifice one's life if necessary, in the fulfillment of military duties, to consistently implement the policies and resolutions of the CPCZ and federal government, to strictly and fully observe the laws, the military oath and the military rules and regulations, and to help enhance in every possible way the combat effectiveness of the CSLA.

[No 23, 1981 pp 903-904]

Questions and Answers

[Question] I graduated from high school and am interested in becoming a professional servicewoman. To which military schools can I apply, what branches of study do they offer, and what is the course of service? (Blahoslava J., Brno)

[Answer] At present the CSLA offers girls graduating from high school an opportunity to apply for admission to the following branches of study:

Air force ground specialists, trained at the SNP Air Force College in Kosice; operators with the radio-technical troops and communications specialists, trained at a military unit in Prague; radio operators and teletype operators with the records service of the CSLA, trained at the Podjavorin Partisans Military Educational Establishment in Nove Mesto nad Vahom.

Girls may apply for admission who are Czechoslovak citizens, 18 or 19 years old and meet the educational, health and other criteria for enlisting in the CSLA.

Upon admission to the courses for women, girls graduating from high school perform 12 months of active service. Their financial and material provisions for the duration of their studies are the same as for servicemen in active service. The only difference is that the girls' uniforms are made to measure, and they receive extra pay to cover the costs of hairdressing and of supplementing their uniforms.

Study in the courses for women is divided into two periods. In the first period the students receive theoretical and professional training, and at the end of the first period there is a final examination in the general military subjects. The second period offers training to improve skills, at individual work stations of CSLA units and facilities. During their studies the girls are housed in dormitories, free of charge. They also receive free meals, clothing, textbooks and study aids. They are also entitled to monthly service pay that varies with rank: private, 90 korunas; private first class, 120 korunas; corporal, 150 korunas; and sergeant, 180 korunas.

During their studies the students have 10 days of vacation at Christmas and New Year's, 7 days of spring vacation, and 30 days of leave upon the completion of the course for women.

After completing their 12 months of active service, the graduates of these courses are accepted as re-enlisted servicewomen with the rank of sergeant and an obligation to serve 3 more years, or as professional soldiers with the rank of master sergeant and an obligation to serve until reaching the age limit specified in the Defense Law.

Upon graduating from these course for women, the girls are assigned to specific duties with units, formations and facilities of the CSLA. Their starting monthly pay ranges from 2100 to 2400 korunas. In addition to their regular monthly pay, they get an annual allowance of 500 korunas to supplement their uniforms. Depending on the conditions of military service, they get extra hardship pay of 150 korunas per month. In general it can be said that the amount of pay depends on the assigned duties, rank and length of service.

Graduates of the courses for women are entitled to 30 days of regular leave each year, and 10 additional days of short leave that they may use for important family reasons.

Women who become professional soldiers are entitled to housing allocation in the locality where they have assigned to serve. Re-enlisted servicewomen are entitled to housing allocation if they undertake to serve for six more years.

[Question] What opportunities do civilian youths have to study at military secondary schools, and which are these schools? (Jan B., Bratislava)

[Answer] Students of elementary school are able to study at the Jan Zizka z Trocnova Military High Schools in Prague, Moravska Trebova and Opava, and at the SNP Military High School in Banska Bystrica.

All these high schools are four-year selective residence schools that teach their students on the basis of the curricula approved for the natural-science branch of the civilian high schools.

Besides the military high schools, students completing elementary school may study at the VSOS's that operate at the military educational establishments in Martin, Liptovsky Mikulas, Nove Mesto nad Vahom, Zilina, Mezirici, Presov, Nitra and Roudnice nad Labem.

The VSOS's are likewise four-year residence schools. The scope and content of the subjects taught are practically identical with those in the specialized branches of study at civilian specialized secondary schools.

Pursuant to Section 46 of Law No 63/1978 Sb, both types of school are completely equivalent to civilian schools of the same type.

Civilian youths who have finished elementary school with good grades and have been trained in a blue-collar or agricultural trade can study at the two-year officer schools that have been set up at the military educational establishments in Presov, Martin, Liptovsky Mikulas, Nitra, Nove Mesto nad Vahom, Valasske Mezirici and Zilina.

The two-year officer schools offer their graduates complete secondary education with final examination, and basic military professional education in the individual branches of study.

[Question] How extensive were the examinations in physical education in the admission proceedings at the Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy in Brno in 1981? (Petr S., Malacky)

[Answer] To test physical fitness in the admission proceedings at the Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy, the events were pole-climbing and the 1000-meter event. In hand-climbing the grades were excellent for a height of 4 m, good for 3 m, satisfactory for 2 m, and unsatisfactory for less than 2 m. In the 1000-meter event the grades were excellent for a time of 3 min 30 sec or better; good for 3 min 40 sec; satisfactory for up to 3 min 55 sec; and unsatisfactory for over 3 min 55 sec.

[Question] When I complete my studies at military school, how will the course of my service as a professional soldier be regulated? (Jan P., Prague)

[Answer] The course of a professional soldier's service is determined by the service regulations that are based on the Defense Law, and the Law On Certain Service Conditions of Soldiers (the complete text, as modified and amended by subsequent regulations) published in SBIRKA ZAKONU CSSR, Part 28, 26 October 1978.

General provisions regarding military service and relations between soldiers are contained in the Interior Service Regulations of the CSSR Armed Forces, Basic Regulations 1 (Rad vnitrni sluzby ozbrojenych sil CSSR, Zakl-R-1), the Interior Garrison and Guard Duty Regulations of the CSSR Armed Forces, Basic Regulations 2 (Rad posadkove a strazni sluzby ozbrojenych sil CSSR, Zakl-R-2) and the Disciplinary Code of the CSSR Armed Forces, Basic Regulations 3 (Kazensky rad ozbrojenych sil CSSR, Zakl-R-3). These rules determine the responsibilities of the individual levels of command and regulate the lives of the units, formations and facilities.

[Question] If I quit military school, will my parents be obliged to reimburse the military administration for the costs of my education? (Karel S., Pardubice)

If a student is dismissed from military secondary school or from a military college for reasons of health or other reasons beyond his control, according to the assumed obligations he does not have to reimburse the military administration for the costs of his education as a resident student.

However, the situation is different if the student is a graduate of one of the Jan Zizka z Trocnova Military High Schools or of the SNP Military High School who immediately continues his education at a military college. If he quits military college on his own request, or does not apply for service as a professional soldier upon completing his 5 months of substitute military service, pursuant to Section 35, Paragraph 3, of Government Ordinance No 21/1958 Sb, which implements the Defense Law, he is obliged to reimburse the costs of his stay not only at military college but also at the military high school.

If a student of a military high school, VSOS or of the Vit Nejedly Military Music School is dismissed within 5 months from the commencement of his studies, no reimbursement of the costs of his education is required.

If a student of a military high school or VSOS who is a minor quits after the five-month period, on his own decision or the decision of his parents (legal guardian), for reasons other than health (if he becomes unfit for further study in a military school or to become a professional soldier) or other justifiable reasons beyond his control, or if he is expelled, then his parents (or legal guardian) are obliged to reimburse the costs of his study at the military school. Reimbursement is demanded of them pursuant to Section 35 of Government Ordinance No 21/1958 Sb, which implements the Defense Law, and will be recovered through the courts if they do not pay voluntarily.

[Question] What can you tell us about the students' scientific professional activity at military colleges? (Zdenek D., Zatec)

[Answer] The quality of the students' education and training at military colleges is enhanced considerably by the students' scientific professional activity. With their patents, works and inventions, the students of military colleges compete not only within the army and statewide, but also internationally.

The purpose of the students' scientific professional activity is to broaden their theoretical knowledge, to gain the necessary basic practical experience, and to develop the ability to properly use the available scientific and technical literature. The students' scientific professional activity at military colleges helps the students to be better informed and to test their theoretical knowledge in practical activity. That students are doing well in their scientific professional activity at military colleges is evident from the the appreciation of their patents, works and inventions in the national and international competitions. The role of the students' scientific professional activity in the process of education and training at military colleges gains added importance from the viewpoint of fulfilling one of the slogans of today: to attain the necessary connection between science and practice.

[Question] What are the financial, material and health-care provisions for students of military colleges? (Bretislav S., Prostejov)

[Answer] For the entire duration of their studies, students of military colleges receive free room and board, clothing including laundering and mending, items of equipment, textbooks, study aids and lecture notes.

During their period of compulsory active service (or substitute service) students receive service pay. After the completion of their compulsory active service (or substitute service) they receive a monthly salary in accordance with their rank as professional soldiers, plus functional pay depending on which year of studies they are in, and an allowance for length of service. The gross monthly income of military college students as professional soldiers is about 900 korunas the first year, 1000 korunas the second year, 1200 korunas the third year, 1300 korunas the fourth year, and 1500 korunas the fifth and subsequent years.

Students who are undergoing training for duties as flight personnel at the SNP Air Force College in Kosice or at the Air Force Educational Establishment in Presov, for example in the branches of study for air force pilots and navigators, receive an additional monthly allowance from the commencement of flight training, 200 korunas the second year, and 300 korunas the third and fourth years.

Married students of military schools who are professional soldiers are entitled to a monthly allowance of 300 korunas for their dependent wife, and 200 korunas for each dependent child (own or adopted).

As can be seen from the above facts, the material and financial provisions for students of military colleges are such that they are fully self-supporting and essentially do not have to rely for support on their parents or guardian. The material and financial provisions enable even married secondary-school students, usually with families unprovided for, to obtain a higher education.

The comprehensive material, financial and health-care provisions for students of military colleges help to achieve very good and excellent results in the education and training process. At all military higher educational institutions there are

gradually are being developed such conditions for housing and for the education and training process that guarantee not only good instruction, but also the students' good training for their individual occupations.

The grounds of the military schools are equipped with gymnasiums and sport fields to improve the students' physical fitness, and there are also student clubs for the students' cultural and educational activity.

All students of military schools receive health care on a high professional level. Health care comprises an integrated system that includes not only regular medical checkups for the students, but also all the comprehensive measures to maintain and develop the students' health, systematic and demanding care for their living and working conditions, healthy nutrition, uniforms and other equipment, and for the favorable influence of instruction, drills, and the other types of combat and political training upon the students' health, on developing their mental and physical abilities.

[No 24, 1981 pp 938-939]

Questions and Answers

[Question] What can you say about the importance of choosing professional military service as a career? (Miroslav J., Plzen)

[Answer] When evaluating the importance of professional military service it is necessary to emphasize the unique function that the CSLA has in defending the socialist system, in ensuring peaceful coexistence, and in training the young people who are joining the army. Specifically the professional soldiers play a decisive role in fulfilling these functions, and it is no accident that not only the command of the CSLA but also the highest party and government organs are devoting exceptional attention to the education and training of professional soldiers. This is evident from the CPCZ Central Committee's report that CPCZ Central Committee Secretary General and President of the Republic Gustav Husak read at the 16th congress. In it he said, among other things: "We will spare no effort and resources to ensure that our army is a highly modern army, completely dedicated to the party and the people, capable of defending peace and the achievements of socialism, jointly with the Soviet Army and the armies of the Warsaw Pact."

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium has frequently considered the questions of the CSLA, of upgrading the work of its command personnel, the combat and political training of the troops. We can safely say--as it clearly follows from the words of the CPCZ Central Committee's secretary general at the 16th CPCZ Congress--that our army has everything it needs to defend the socialist fatherland, and also to develop as a modern army, to master the modern combat materiel and military art of today, and to strengthen its ties with the Soviet Army and the armies of the Warsaw Pact.

A series of measures pertaining to ideological education and to combat and professional training serve to prepare professional soldiers for the fulfillment of the mentioned objectives. Together with the commanders and chiefs, also the political organs and the party and Socialist Youth Union organizations are intensively participating in this. The military schools have an eminent role in training new professional soldiers.

[Question] What is the mission of the military colleges in the system of military education? [Karel K., Brno)

[Answer] Military colleges, especially the ones that train officers and technical cadres, are the backbone of the system of military education. These include the SNP Air Force College in Kosice. It offers four-year curricula for aviation officer-engineers specializing in staff and command-post duties, and for pilots of various types of aircraft and navigators. The five-year curriculum in aviation mechanical engineering is specialized into aviation engineering support and airfield engineering support, while the curriculum in aviation electrical engineering is specialized into aviation engineering support and aviation radio-engineering support. Then there is the CSP Military Engineering College that has four-year curricula for officer-engineers specializing in signals, the state air defense system, the ground forces air defense system, and the radio-engineering troops air defense system. It also has five-year military-engineering curricula specializing in the state, ground forces and radio-engineering troops air defense systems. The General of the Army Ludvik Svoboda Ground Forces College in Vyskov na Morave offers four-year curricula to train officer-engineers for the motorized rifle troops, armor, reconnaissance, artillery and army engineers, and it also has a four-year military-engineering curriculum in military chemistry.

The curriculum, depending on the type of military college, is divided into social-science, special-military, general-education and general-engineering subjects. The military colleges schedule a five-day school week. Both in the classroom and after classes, the command and teaching staffs give individual students and groups comprehensive assistance in their studies. In comparison with the conditions of study at civilian professional higher educational institutions, the military collectives and their leaderships provide greater assurance that the student of a military college will successfully complete his studies. A great advantage of the military colleges is that their students perform substitute military service during the first five months of study and thus fulfill their compulsory military service. On the basis of their application after completing substitute military service, the students of military colleges are accepted as professional soldiers of the CSLA parallel with their studies, effective the day following the completion of substitute military service. Simultaneously the students are promoted to the rank of master sergeant. During their studies they receive further promotions as NCO's. The best students can attain the rank of second lieutenant. By no means negligible are also the other material and financial provisions which are sufficiently advantageous to make the students entirely self-supporting so that they do not have to rely on their parents for support. Thanks to the favorable material and financial provisions for students of military colleges, even married applicants, with families unprovided for, are able to obtain a higher education.

Interest in studying at a military college can be satisfied in a number of branches of mechanical, electrical, geodetic, construction engineering and many other specializations. The conditions of study at military colleges are very good. Contributing factors are the modern forms, methods and equipment for instruction and training that make study interesting and help students to master the subjects better.

During study at military colleges, the command and teaching staffs give the students comprehensive assistance not only in their studies but also in the solution of their personal problems. One of the main prerequisite for successful study at military colleges is a sincere interest in studying and in becoming a professional soldier.

Graduates of secondary schools from among civilian youths, servicemen and NCO's in active service, and servicemen and NCO's in the reserve can apply for admission if they are Czechoslovak citizens, physically fit and meet also the other criteria for acceptance into the CSLA.

More detailed information can be obtained from the okres (district or municipal) military administrations, military units and military schools.

[Question] The military colleges recently began their 1981-1982 academic year. What is the nature of the education and training process at these schools? (Miroslav K., Ostrava)

[Answer] This is a process of constantly upgrading education and training, and it is going on at all military higher educational institutions, including the ones specializing in engineering, economics and university-level education. Admittedly, this process is not without its problems, but on the basis of the experience of many graduates one can judge how great are the qualitative changes. The command and teaching staffs are better prepared than in the past, there has been significant improvement in the material and financial provisions for the students of military schools, and modern instruction and training equipment is being used. All this converts our military higher education institutions into an education and training base that can better train the command and technical cadres, rear support cadres and political apparatus of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

The present development of modern combat materiel requires that every officer of the army have a higher education and, after the prescribed practical experience, also postgraduate training.

[Question] I will be graduating from military high school this year. At what military higher educational institutions and in what fields of specialization can I continue my studies? (Jan M., Olomouc)

[Answer] In addition to the principal military colleges that we discussed in the answer to the second question in this issue, there are also the military higher educational institutions that provide university-level training, namely the Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy in Bratislava that in a four-year curriculum offers graduates the qualification "political worker with higher education." Then there is the Jan Evangelista Purkyne Military Medical Research and Postgraduate Training Institute in Hradec Kralove with a six-year curriculum in general medicine whose graduates, after basic training in military hospitals, are assigned to independent functions as physicians of military units; with a five-year curriculum in stomatology whose graduates, after basic training in military hospitals, are assigned as dentists to military health installations and military units; and with a four-year curriculum in general pharmacy. After the completion of their basic studies, military pharmacists are assigned to managing and professional functions with the troops and in military medical facilities. Among the technically oriented higher educational institutions, at the Military Faculty of the Transportation and Communications College in Zilina it is possible to pursue such military-engineering branches of study as the construction and repair of railroads, the construction and repair of highways and highway traffic, and military transport (specialized into highway transport and rail transport); these are five-year curricula. The Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy in Brno, which trains highly qualified technical cadres

for the ground forces in five-year curricula, it is possible to study: mechanical engineering specializing in armor and motor vehicles, mechanical engineering for army engineer troops, and armament engineering; electrical engineering specializing in military communications equipment, command and control automation, electronic computers, and armament electrical engineering; geodetic engineering specialized into geodesy and cartography; construction engineering specializing in military structural engineering, and the construction of surface and underground military structures; and meteorological engineering specializing in the military meteorological service.

The economics college, specifically the Jan Sverma Military College of the Rear and Technical Support in Zilina, offers a four-year curriculum for army economists specializing in the supply of fuels and lubricants, food and forage supply, supply of equipment, and finance.

The military institutions at a civilian college, represented by the Military Department at Charles University Faculty of Physical Education and Sports in Prague, help to train physical education cadres for the CSLA. The four-year curriculum specializes in organization and methods of physical education.

[Question] What opportunities for sports do students at military colleges have, and what sports competitions are organized at these schools? (Vladimir H., Trebic)

[Answer] Three types of sports competitions are organized at military colleges. First there are the competitions within the CSLA that include the sports days (competitions) scheduled by the commander of the military college. These competitions are mostly of a long-term nature and ensure the students' all-round physical development. Next there are the army sports games in the posted sports and disciplines. The sports competitions organized by CSTV [Czechoslovak Union of Physical Training] enable the teams and individuals representing a military college to participate in public championship competitions. The purpose of these competitions is to give the outstanding sportsmen of a military college an opportunity to demonstrate and develop their skills and to represent the school in competitions with sportsmen of civilian physical training clubs. However, it should be borne in mind that if a student of a military college does not regard his political, military and professional education and training as his primary and principal duty, if he does not devote the necessary effort to his studies and to acquiring the habits necessary for his future profession, if he violates the military rules and regulations, then he will not necessarily be permitted to engage in sports. Whether or not the student is allowed to participate in these competitions will depend not only on his skills and prerequisites as a sportsman, but also on his study results.

The third type of sports competitions comprises games and competitions sponsored by the the higher educational institutions themselves. These are usually subdivided into the regional championships of the higher educational institutions, university olympics, and world academic games. The purpose of these competitions is to give the best sportsmen of the military colleges an opportunity to participate in the aforementioned competitions, specifically in the posted sports and disciplines.

[No 25, 1981 pp 976-977]

Service in the CSLA the Most Honerable Duty

In the series "The Gallery of Military Schools" we have acquainted the reader with the wide range of opportunities for satisfying the young people's interests and preferences in choosing a career, by studying in military schools.

It would be improper to fail to mention that study at military secondary schools and colleges is demanding, just as at all schools of this type and kind, but it is not insurmountable. The system of discipline and order, and the regimen of military schools are often regarded and interpreted as a certain burden and restriction of the students' leisure time. This interpretation, however, is simply false. All students of military schools not only have time for their demanding studies, but there is also time set aside for sports, cultural activity, social life and leisure time. In their educational work and in the process of education and training, the teaching staffs of military schools are aided by the students' personal traits, their political and moral attitudes, their commitment, honesty and directness, decisiveness and consistency, sound judgement, and also by another very important factor: the "harmony of actions and proclaimed principles."

The system of military schools is based on the fact that service in the CSLA requires a corresponding general, professional, military and political education. The individual levels and types of military schools are organically interlinked, and the military schools offer secondary education, complete secondary education and higher education, as required for the individual duty assignments. In addition, through postgraduate study, the military higher educational institutions broaden and expand the professional education of those professional soldiers who are university or college graduates. Military schools are an integral part of the Czechoslovak educational system, and their activity is governed by the laws of the CSSR, ordinances of the federal government, orders of the President of the CSSR, resolutions of the CPCZ Central Committee and the federal government, and the implementing regulations of the Ministry of National Defense. From these facts it logically follows that the certificates and diplomas of all military schools, their scientific degrees and scientific-pedagogical titles are valid statewide, in the same way as the documents issued by civilian schools and educational institutions.

At all military higher educational institutions there are gradually being developed such conditions for accomodations and for the educational and training process that they are one of the guaranties of the students' good training and instruction. The medical care provided in facilities of the medical service is characterized by a high professional level, efficient organization, and a good supply of medicine and health-care materials. This system includes measures for preventive medical care, for the timely detection and diagnosis of illnesses, and regular supervision of the development of the students' state of health and the results of therapy.

Care for the health of the students of military schools comprises an integrated system that includes not only regular medical checkups for the students and the mentioned high quality of medical care, but also all the comprehensive measures to maintain and develop the students' health, systematic and demanding care for their living and working conditions, healthy nutrition, uniforms and other equipment. Furthermore,

it includes care for the favorable influence of instruction, drills, and of the other types of combat and political training, upon the students' health, on developing their mental and physical abilities. An important factor in forming and safeguarding healthy living conditions is education to develop health discipline, a healthy way of life, and active personal participation in caring for one's health.

The material, financial and health-care provisions for students of military schools aid the attained results in the education and training process and contribute toward increasing interest in studying at military schools.

We all know that the present international political situation is deeply antagonistic. It reflects the conflict between the class interests in peaceful coexistence and the interests of reaction and of the military-industrial complex in the imperialist countries. The peace effort has unquestionably achieved much during the past period. However, the efforts of the countries within the socialist community, and of other forces of progress and democracy in the world, encounter the stiff opposition of the ruling circles of imperialism, especially of the group of military circles within NATO and elsewhere. That these forces still have considerable influence is evidenced by their continued efforts to step up war preparations. Ever greater resources are being spent on arms, military research, and ideological subversion. There are over 22 million people serving in the armies on our planet. More than 60 million people are associated, directly or indirectly, with military activity. In the United States alone there are for every three soldiers four other people, civilians, who somehow are participating in the process of armament.

The program of feverish armament is in collusion with the efforts to revive the cold war, to negotiate international relations from a position of strength, and to utilize many other means for political extortion and to support reactionary regimes, as evident from the events in Chile, Peru, the Middle East and elsewhere.

We cannot regard these and other phenomena complacently. We must multiply our efforts to ensure peace and security, to develop the process of detente and to expand international cooperation. In this peace process the armies of the socialist countries have their unique role, and this explains why also our army, under the direct influence of the CPCZ Central Committee, is getting everything it needs for its mission. Exceptional attention is being devoted particularly to upgrading the political and professional training of officers, to improving their morale, and to the material appreciation of military service.

Some citizens of our country do not realize, or refuse to realize, that the danger of another war has not been removed. The policies of imperialism itself have lately produced abundant proof of their no less aggressive nature. A series of events in the world and concrete facts prove that certain imperialist circles, headed by the new President of the United States, Reagan, have not renounced the use of force in international politics, that they still actually exist, and that the fulfillment of even these most noble objectives is being obstructed by numerous opponents of a relaxation of tensions, by advocates of cold war and feverish armament who would like to turn back the wheel of history. Therefore also the process of detente in international political relations is still being complicated by the continuing militarization of the United States and the NATO countries.

It is no coincidence that CPCZ Central Committee Secretary General Gustav Husak emphasized the following from the rostrum of the 16th CPCZ Congress:

"The Central Committee and the socialist state have devoted great care to the CSLA. We can assure this congress, the entire country and all the people that our army is a reliable defender of our borders and a firm link among the countries of the Warsaw Pact.

"One of our most important tasks is to strengthen and increase the defense capabilities of our country. We will continue to develop the CSLA as an integral part of the Warsaw Pact countries' armed forces. We will spare neither effort nor resources to ensure that our army is a highly modern army, completely dedicated to the party and the people, capable of defending peace and the achievements of socialism, jointly with the Soviet Union and the armies of the other Warsaw Pact countries . . .. In the interest of preserving peace and favorable conditions for the construction of a socialist society, we will do everything we can, in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, to strengthen the security of socialist society, and to prevent the aggressive forces of imperialism from upsetting the present military strategic balance. We will strive to realize all peace initiatives, developed and implemented jointly by the socialist countries that are proving to the entire world that socialism is a decisive force in the struggle of nations for peace and international security."

These words were said because imperialism still remains an exceptionally dangerous opponent, even though it has lost its historical initiative and can no longer control world events. A basic prerequisite for defending the working people's achievements in our country and the other socialist countries, and to continue the policy of the international relaxation of tensions, is to ensure the defense capability of the socialist community that relies firmly on the Soviet Union. Hence it follows that defense capability is a categorically objective requirement and a historical necessity, and that the defense of our socialist fatherland is the concern of every citizen.

[No 9, 1982 p 333]

Opportunities for Graduating Students of Secondary Schools

One of the most important decisions in the life of every young man is his choice of a career, and it is therefore essential that he make this decision very carefully, taking into consideration not only the satisfaction of his personal objectives, interests and talents, but also how they dovetail with the needs of society.

A preliminary survey of the interests of secondary-school students and the number of submitted applications for admission to individual schools indicate that almost every year a significant proportion of the students apply for branches of study that the public regards as attractive. But the facts indicate that a significant number of students will not be able to pursue their chosen studies, from the viewpoint of the needs of society. In this context therefore it will be appropriate to call attention to the opportunities for higher education that the CSLA is offering this year at the SNP Air Force College in Kosice, and at the CSP Military Engineering College in Liptovsky Mikulas. Simultaneously we refer to the information published about these schools in LETECTVI & KOSMONAUTIKA, Nos 17 and 18, 1981.

The SNP Air Force College in Kosice is continuing on a new and higher level the long-standing traditions of the previous aviation schools and trains pilots, navigators and ground specialists for the Czechoslovak air force who, in the branches of study for officer-engineers, gain higher military professional education and higher engineering education in the operation of aircraft and support equipment. The graduates of the military-engineering branches of study gain higher military-engineering education in their branches of study and are trained for individual functions with units and formations of the Czechoslovak air force.

The officer-engineer cadres are trained in the four-year curricula for air force pilots and for aviation officers, while the technical cadres are trained in five-year aviation-engineering curricula in mechanical engineering and electrical engineering.

Beginning with the second year, the four-year officer engineer curriculum for air force pilots involves flight training and is specialized according to jet or transport airplanes and helicopters. The curriculum includes such subjects as air navigation, air combat, parachute training, air tactics, the theory and design of aviation engines, the theory and design of aircraft, the electronic equipment of airplanes, etc.

The four-year aviation officer-engineer curriculum prepares graduates for automated systems of command and control, and as navigators. The curriculum includes tactical training, air navigation, the theory of command and control, the design and operation of air force materiel, the means of mechanizing and automating command and control, etc.

The five-year military-engineering curriculum in aviation mechanical engineering trains graduates for aviation engineering support, airfield engineering support, and technical support. Its subjects are primarily aerodynamics, the theory and design of aviation engines and aircraft, the operation, maintenance and repair of airplanes, hydraulic engines, the design of military motor vehicles, the construction and maintenance of airfields, airfield engineering support, and airfield traffic control.

The five-year military-engineering curriculum in electrical engineering trains graduates for service in aviation-engineering support and radio-engineering support of the air force. The curriculum includes, for example, electronics, radar, the theory and design of ground radio-engineering equipment for air traffic control, the servicing, maintenance and repair of such equipment, the electrical, radio and special radio-electronic equipment of airplanes, and air armament including guns, bombs and missiles.

At the CSP Military Engineering College in Liptovsky Mikulas, similarly as at the preceding school, graduates of the four-year curricula for officer-engineers gain a higher professional military education and a higher engineering education, while graduates of the five-year military-engineering curricula gain a military-engineering education in their branches of study.

Officer cadres are trained in the four-year officer-engineer curricula for the performance of command and basic engineering-technical duties primarily in the following branches of study: officer-engineers for the ground forces air defense system specializing in radio-engineering air defense, anti-aircraft artillery and

radar complexes, and automated command and control systems; officer-engineers of the state air defense system; and officer-engineers for the signal troops.

The five-year military-engineering curricula prepare technical cadres for the engineering service of anti-aircraft equipment, for radar, and for armament engineering.

The graduates of these branches of study are assigned to special engineering-technical functions with troops, at research facilities or at repair and production plants.

The branch of study that trains officer-engineers for the ground forces air defense system aims primarily at mastering the modern generation of air defense equipment that includes anti-aircraft systems for special conditions of combat, radar, electronic computers and equipment, and automatic process control. The orientation is similar of the branch of study specializing in the state air defense system.

The branch of study specializing in radar covers the design, operation and repair of radar equipment and of automated command systems.

The communications branch of study specializes in the operation of long-distance communications equipment, radio communications equipment, and radio-relay communications. The students in this branch of study learn the principles of operation of communications equipment, the individual units and entire systems of equipment, including their technology, repair and maintenance.

So far as the entrance examinations to a military college are concerned, the scope of the examinations corresponds to the material covered in high school or in secondary industrial schools. However, the provisions of the Law on Higher Education apply also to military colleges, and thus an applicant who attained excellent grades in the given subject in secondary school or won a medal in the student olympics does not have to undergo an examination in the given subject.

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WARSAW UNIVERSITY STUDENTS SPEAK ON SELF-GOVERNMENT

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 15, 23 May 82 p 5

[Interview with Warsaw University Students by Wojciech Sierakowski: "There is no way out", interviewer title, and date and place of interview not given]

[Text] We are talking about student self-government (and not only) with Warsaw University students of the Faculty of Journalism and Political Science, and Faculty of Law and Administration.

[QUESTION]: I hear that you students do not like to talk about self-government, because, as the rumor has it, you do not believe in the possibility of its performing its duties. I would like to ask you whether it is true, that there really is no place at school for self-government? However, if there is, what is your concept of it?

[JOZEK]: It is a fact that self-government is a controversial matter, but I would not say that it is one that is not talked about. To be sure not often, but there is talk of it. There was a meeting with the rector recently at which the problem of self-government was heatedly discussed. More precisely, what was involved, was that in speaking of self-government, the former rector proposed reactivation of the old self-government that had been appointed last year. Not everyone was pleased with that proposal.

[QUESTION]: That is strange--students do not support their own self-government?

[JOZEK]: First of all, we did not select it, and secondly, it needs to be said that the preception of that self-government in the [student] community was and is varied. For example, it was reproached with not representing the entire community, it did not reconcile the conflicting interests of two youth organizations nor did it serve all of the students. Besides that, it was one additional level of confrontations and political encounters. This does not entail whether we support self-government or not but rather its objective evaluation. I personally cannot say that it fulfilled the expectations that I associated with such an organization.

[KRZYSZTOF]: I agree with Jozef. Our everyday problems are the same as they were before. We know what it was like before 13 December. A few people belonged to the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], and more to the

Independent Association of Students [NZS], but the entire majority stood aside and looked to see how it would all develop. And no one defended that majority. Hence, if I speak of self-government, then it seems to me that it ought to be concerned first of all about student interests and then perhaps take up political prlblems later. However, basically, I consider that self-government should be non-political, without any formalities. Unfortunately, that one was not like that. That is the reason for my reservations.

[JAREK]: In the context of what happened last year I am completely opposed to politicizing student self-government. I know that it is impossible to completely avoid such a policy, nonetheless I think that a self-government ought to progressively cut itself off from problems associated with politics, and from spectacular typically political activities. What happened during the strike? The strike was directed by the self-government; the self-government actually represented only the strikers despite the fact that less than one-third of the students were striking. The fact that the self-government directed the strike was, to confirm that everybody concurred in the strike demands and all of the chaos that reigned during the strike. And of course that was not true.

However, coming back to the first question. I personally believe that unfortunately, self-government under martial law has no rationale for existence. Because it will not be representing student interests if only for the reason that one-person responsibility was in-roduced, and that precludes collective actions and decisions. If a self-government were to be appointed today it would be rather reminiscent of a starostaof-the-year agenda. On the other hand, I would see a self-government in the future as precisely a non-political organization whose basic task would be the organization of school life, concern for student socio-welfare problems, and the instruction process. I have personally learned how difficult it is to start study at school, when there is a lapse of not less than two weeks after a solemn matriculation before one can get one's hands on the regular course of studies.

[JOZEK]: The old self-government fizzled out because it was the tool of one organization. It is known how it originated. The conflicts which took place internally also communicated themselves to the courtyards of higher schools. The self-government could not fulfill the role for which it was brought into being in that hot atmosphere. There also is no lack of those conflicts today. I believe that self-government can function effectively only when the fear is gone that it will again transform itself into some kind of confrontational arena.

[JAREK]: I do not agree, after all a self-government cannot be amicable or appeasing. There will always be conflicts because they are the dirving force of improvement. There have to be conflicts in the self-government forum, however, self-government should be an organ that resolves rather than heightens conflicts, or that creates divisions in the group as was the case previously.

[MAREK]: All that is fine and dandy, but I doubt that a non-political concept could be realized today. At this point after the dissolution of the NZS, there is much fear that a self-government will again be dominated by one power. Only that this time it would be the SZSP. And it will again come to somebody governing that self-government...

[QUESTION]: Well, so what...it is bad one way and not good the other?

[BEATA]: It is too bad that there is no counterbalance to the only student organization that is functioning. A counterbalance without which there can be no talk of confidence in a self-government.

[KRZYSZTOF]: It appears to me that this is why a new self-government would be regarded by many people as an agenda of the SZA [probably: SZSP]. That is the way it will be viewed in the community. Everyone already suspects some kind of political intention in every activity today. It will probably be the same in the case of the self-government.

[QUESTION]: It looks as if we have fallen into a kind of closed circle. Supposedly it is possible, but actually it is not because people will not believe. How does noe get out of the circle in such a case?

[MAREK]: There is one way out--to calm the situation in the entire country and in the schools. However, it seems to me that we will have to wait a bit longer for that.

[QUESTIONS]: In conversations at other schools I heard that students do not agree with a concept of self-government that turns over only the socio-welfare problems to its members but takes away the right to joint management of the school. How do you view these problems?

[KRZYSZTOF]: It would be ridiculous if we deprived ourselves of the right to joint management. In general, no one negates that. But it seems to me that first it is necessary to tidy up one's own bailiwick and then start in on joint management. I dare say that should be the sequence.

[JAREK]: The statement itself that joint management is the most important and the rest unimportant is demagogy. After all joint management is realized by resolving real problems. Why did the NZS begin to lose significance with time? Precisely, because it failed to undertake socio-welfare activity. The community has had and still has a great need for that activity.

[JOZEK]: That is exactly how it shapes up, two of us are representatives today of the existing quasi self-government. All of this self-government of ours is one big temporarianess. So many problems are lying fallow and we are in no position to encompass everything. What is worse, we hear rumors that this erroneous concept is to be expanded. We talk here of self-government as a real event, that it should represent the entire community, and we spoke of the fact that a counterbalance to the SZSP is necessary. It is true, that this is the way it should be, but why isn't it, why does it support some kind

impermanent organization of the type of our quasi self-government? It is because the authorities are afraid to appoint other student organizations, they do not want us to form that self-government ourselves. This kind of closed circle situation can last quite a while longer.

[KRZYSZTOF]: At last it was stated. We are continually being eyed warily, the entire [student] community is being judged by what are not the best experiences of our organization. After all we have varied viewpoints. Not everyone was in the NZS, and those that were did not constitute a majority. Too bad that the authorities do not understand that...

[QUESTION]: That no longer is pessimism but rather pointing out the "guilty one". In order to say that it is necessary to support that with reasons...

[JOZEK]: The facts speak for themselves. For example, students treat the SZSP as a party transmission belt, but that same party whose spokesman at school allegedly is the SZSP, is taking a long time to decide whether or not to suspend this organization of so socialistic a profile. What does that signify if not distrust?

[JAREK]: We wanted to set up a faculty paper in our faculty. It was to have been of an open profile. We wanted to write about what was happening in the country, at school, and about our problems. We wanted to, but censorship examined everything under a magnifying glass, even those articles were cancelled that touched on the charisma of an academic instructor. Finally, people drifted off to professional newspapers. To be sure, a school paper was established but one can imagine how the community would receive it. Perhaps, those who stayed with it are some kind of maniacs because others simply could not tolerate that suspiciousness.

In general, the problem of student youth subjectivity and objectivity stands out here like murder. And, in general, of the country's youth. The committees of deans for socio-welfare aid that were organized for us, are not our committees because their members are appointed. We have no influence on their activity, not to say anything of any kind of control. Even though students enter into the committee's composition, it is difficult to say that they are our representatives. And that is the basic problem--whether something is going to be organized for us, and also whether we will be permitted to act. It is necessary to be aware of the fact that the community today is passive, people do not want to get involved in anything, nonetheless, this internal escapism must somehow be overcome. And that is possible only be creating an area of subjective and not objective activity.

[KRZYSZTOF]: That is a problem which shackles our discussion about self-government and student organization. In general, the authorities have no confidence in students. It is immaterial whether they are from the SZSP or under some other banner. I daresay we are considered to be some kind of potentially subversive element. I think that even when martial law is ended we will also be under the magnifying glass so that there can be no talk of activities arising from the ranks.

[JAREK]: I am afraid that in a couple of months it will come out that a policy has been established in relation to students in this country that rewards passivity and noninvolvement. I am a member of the SZSP and it is really difficult for me to understand the activity of authorities in relation to that organization. Speaking frankly, the SZSP lost many members not because of its own fault but because of the feeling of that clearly felt suspicion on the part of the authorities.

[QUESTION]: Well, then where is there any place here for self-government?

[BEATA]: Actually, such a place is somehow not to be seen in today's circumstances. However, it could come into being and even be the kind that we are thinking of, however, the situation in the country will have to change. Nothing will change in the schools spontaneously.

[KRZYSZTOF]: A vicious circle. At this moment every self-government will be a quasi self-government. Even if it did come about it would find itself in an uninteresting situation--on the one hand a lack of student acceptance and on the other, the suspicion of the authorities...

[JAREK]: ...and its activists having no ties to the community, will be acting on the basis of their own evaluations of the situation which need not be just at all. Thus, the operation of the self-government can be reduced to those forms that existed previously.

[QUESTION]: It appears that our discussion needs to be captioned... "There is no way out."

[JAREK]: The entire problem boils down to the fact that despite everything some kind of initial effort should be made to activate the community so that people would nevertheless want to act.

[BEATA]: But you can see that they do not want to act in the framework of the existing structures hence that activation is not possible.

[KRZYSZTOF]: In general, I am for self-government, I think that it ought to exist because it is necessary for us students. But there are so many obstacles...I do not see any possibilities today of its functioning in consistent harmony with some community need, or student feelings. It could be otherwise. Why is it not...it would be best to ask someone else. That is my opinion about this.

[From the author]: In accordance with the discussants' wishes, I am not furnishing their [full] names.

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STATISTICAL PROFILE OF YOUNG GENERATION GIVEN

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 May 82 p 3

[Unattributed article: "What Kind of Generation?]

[Text] We are a young society, something that we emphasize with satisfaction on many occasions. This human potential is 18 million people who have not yet passed their 30th year of life on whom, in essence, we link all of our expectations and hopes for improvement of the socioeconomic situation in our country. The answer to questions such as: what will be the development directions of our country; will we emerge quickly from the crisis; and the univocal and dramatic question of what will happen to Poland, will of course depend on no one other than our young people.

We know quite enough about youth (thanks mainly to various studies and polls) to be able to produce its sociological image on paper. We know how much young people earn, how fast they move up, what kind of education they have, when they have children, how many years they have to wait for a place (of their own) to live, and even how many young people suffer from dental caries. There is but one drawback: we know little about what youth really thinks, wants to what is its goal. How often do we talk about youth instead of talking to it!

Work

Before we present the problems that are basic for the young generation, let us recall--despite serious cautions--a series of statistics that describe the position of Polish youth drawn for the most part form the "Report on the conditions under which young people beign their lives and careers" (prepared last year by the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, and a group of social experts).

There are 10.5 million young people (up to 30 years of age who live in cities, while 7.5 million live in the country. There sometimes are too many of them in the great city agglomerates (hence the growing problems with finding work)--and fewer and fewer in villages. Indeed, last year 170 thousand people left the countryside and moved to the city (several tens of thousands less than in past years), but it is difficult to take much pleasure out of that progress, the more so, that out of 3.5 million country youth--1.2 million are so-called dual-specialists who do not necessarily have to associate themselves with agriculture in subsequent years.

Every year a half million graduates of all types of schools start their first jobs. There are jobs for them primarily in agriculture, also in trade, crafts and services. Such are today's needs. We are gradually approaching a point of complete satiation in cadres with high school and higher education. It will be very difficult to get a jobs in management and various kinds of departments and bureaus.

Youth comprises 33 percent of all workers. More than 3 million new jobs were created in the 1970s. During this time 5 million young people undertook their first jobs. They landed primarily in industry, strengthening the ranks of the working class, and particularly of qualified workers (42.6 percent of qualified workers are less than 29 years old).

The socio-occupational adaptation problems of young people are enormous. It is not by chance that the percentage of young people who change jobs reaches as high as 70 percent. This excessive fluctuation of cadres is due on the one hand because of the lack of a proper system of ties between the worker and the employer, and on the other--from a natural tendency of young people to get higher earnings, something that with us is very frequently associated with job change.

How much are young people earning? The average incomes of young families are only 12 percent lower in relation to all families, something that is frequently emphasized as a positive factor forgetting that the needs of the young--from the standpoint of not owning material goods--are substantially higher than those, for example, of their parents. Nonetheless, the pay situation of young people in the 1970s improved considerably in erlation to past decades when the wage disproportions between a young person beginning a job and that, for example, of a worker with 20 years of experience were immense.

However, there is a series of irregularities in the system of rewards that is justly pointed out by young people. For example, it is only at the age of 35 that a young engineer attains the salary of his contemporary who began employment after completing 3 years of vocational school. Advancement possibilities are blocked in the "perpendicular" as well as in the "plane". Already at age 19, a career technician acquires the highest title to be had, while a vorkman attains the occupational title of foreman 1 to 5 years later, a title that is already the peak of his occupational career. Thus, the assumption of a post of authority frequently constitutes the only possibility for increasing earnings. However, of 312 thousand graduates who completed intramural studies in the 1970s, only 17.8 percent are employed in posts of authority.

> The aspirations of young citizens to participate in making decisions about state affairs are a valuable and natural phenomena. Youth combined with idealism and knowledge is a capital that no nation ought to squander. We will further expand the way to responsible functions for young people in state administration, industry and wherever routine and lack of imagination should lose to energy and initiative.

(From an address by W. Jaruzelski
in the Sejm 25 January 1982)

Indeed, by 1990, there will be an increase of 623 thousand graduates of higher schools, and 2 million graduates of secondary schools, something that is gratifying from the standpoint of the general increase in the level of society but, already by 1985, there will be a lack of jobs in the socialized economy for 57.5 thousand graduates of higher schools, and 467.1 thousand graduates of secondary schools.

And, one more fact, this time as if from the opposite side of the phenomenon --154 thousand young people from 18 to 24 years of age are not studying or working.

Life

The problems of the young family are fundamental importance to the future of our country as well as to the young generation. There are 3 million of these families in Poland. Of these, 2 million persons, of whom half are less than 29 years of age are waiting for a flat (of their own)--something which is the most natural as well as the primary need of a family, as well as the greatest dream of young people. These "homeless people" are living under difficult conditions: 3.9 percent of the members of housing cooperatives live in so-called unfit premises, 24.1 percent in overcrowded premises (usually with parents), 12.7 percent rent quarters from strangers, while 3.4 percent live in various boarding-schools, student dormitories, worker hotels, etc. It is assumed that by 1985 cooperatives will have disposed of 550 thousand flats, thus 1 of every 3 persons waiting will get the keys to an individual flat. It is not necessary to broadly demonstrate the connections between a place to live and demography, the number of divorces, or even the psychic health of young people.

It also is not easy for young people to compensate themselves for troubles of a material nature in the area of broadly understood education and culture. And again it is necessary to start from a "rural address". Because the proportions between access t curban and rural young people's education and culture have been seriously shaken. Barely 9.6 percent of first year high school students are of peasant origin, and in general, not quite 20 percent of these select a career field that leads to a secondary-school certificate. As much as 30 percent of peasant children complete an elementary school education. Already, on the threshold of school itself, in the first grade of elementary school, there is manifested what the specialists rate as a difference of 1 to 2 years in preparation.

An alarming situation in the proportions of the social composition of students is only the quintessence of the inequalities arising much earlier. Thus, it is not strange that only every 70th to 80th peasant child among those born in the second half of the 1950s became a student, while every 15th to 20th child of worker families, and every 3rd to5th child of intellectual workers became a student. By way of what is slim comfort, let us add that nearly 70 percent of the students participating in evening school and extra-mural studies come from peasant and worker families.

There also are real threats: every 5th young person ends his education with elementary school, and every 10th child of a given age-group leaves elementary school before completing the last grade. Books are read regularly by 8.1 percent of peasant children, while it is 16 percent for worker children. However, as many as 60 percent of secondary school pupils drink alcohol. The extent of the habitual use of drugs is not actually known by anyone. This is a very difficult new problem of our times. Of those who commit criminal offerses 65 percent are less than 30 years of age. Thus, this is a sad contribution to the picture of the young generation.

Questions

There is more than enough evidence to show that the situation of young people is difficult. However, should we complain and cry over it? No indeed, particularly because we had enough of this type of "youthful tearing of garments" during the period from August 1980 to December 1981.

On the other hand, it is necessary to pose a series of questions headed by the following one: what should be done in order to activate young people t o themselves solve living and working problems? Because no kinds of priorities, loans, or amortized loans--which are only a drop in a sea of needs, very valuable to be sure but they do not resolve anything to conclusion. Young people must enter life without unjustified privileges, but also without encumbrances, and without putting spokes in their wheels.

During the past decade we tried to lead young people by the hand a few steps too far, wooing them with flattery and promises that were not fully covered by the facts. After August 1980 as the days passed, the "generation of great opportunity" became the generation of rebels and disappointed people.

Young people learned by heart the oft-repeated statement about the divergence between the ideals and theory of socialism, and the realities of the Polish People's Republic's reality. They explained everything with it including their own passivity in career and social work, as well as the unexpected activity in work of a political nature, that often was so contrary to the same socialist ideals. By chance, does Polish youth simply not know socialist theory?

What is the state of young people's awareness as to how to rebuild its ideological life, how to improve its intellectual development, and finally how to win it over for the recently publicized (not without good reason) philosophy of organic work?

The PZPR Central Committee plenum dedicated to youth problems which is to take place in the near future should provide answers to these questions, but the elaboration of a program of action, and above all its realization will depend not on the party, or the government but on youth itself.

> The responsibility for the creation of conditions for youth activity and the proper utilization of young cadres rests on the party. The young generation should take over responsibility for today and for the future of the country. Party units and organizations should assist socialist youth organizations and create real conditions for their participation in the execution of authority.
>
> (Resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee)

There is no doubt that it is necessary to improve the qualifying structure of cadres that open up possibilities for the employment of school graduates, as well as to more fully utilize their knowledge and skills. Young people must learn management in practice as well as responsibility, and do so everywhere: at the work place, college and even at school. A separate matter is the problem of housing: here too much depends on inventiveness and the work of the interested parties themselves. Waiting for a place to live of itself, waiting ever longer, gives nothing. Now, it does not even incline one to sympathy.

The generation of today's 20-year olds has to be aware of the fact that it occupies a position very similar to the one in which their contemporaries of a quarter-century earlier found themselves in. Similar, which does not mean--the same, because, of course, it has behind it and at its disposition the entire national output that was elaborated over the post-war years. It must however, take the responsibility for itself for Poland onto its shoulders and into its hands. And that cannot be done with faces as long as a fiddle, by being offended at the entire world, with a "hump of lost opportunities", and all of that "defeatist attitude" which is exceedingly common today.

> We will not be teaching young people importunately. This is their own country. It will be the kind that they themselves will build with their work. Those who are starting their career activity today can add their own gleam to socialism in Poland. That is an enormous responsibility for the future of our entire nation. They need to be supported and helped in this.
>
> (From a report delivered by W. Jaruzelski at the 7th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee)

In conducting the discussion, which we encourage all to participate in, we want to talk about all of the problems that rankle young people, about young people, and with them. It may be that mutually we will dispose of many unknown problems, although assuredly they will not disappear entirely, because the immanent qualities of youth on the one hand are unrest, impetuosity,

susceptibility and even oversensibility, while on the other, enthusiasm and energy. It happens that such a conglomeration becomes an explosive mixture. The events of early May clearly proved that it is not a marginal part of youth that finds itself at a complete ideological cross-roads. Because everything cannot be explained by the prenicious influence of western propaganda, or common hooliganism. However, all of us should be aware of the fact that the hand that reaches for a stone will not attain or build anything, but will destroy.

We constantly reckon, we must reckon on the reflection and common sense of young people. Without its active participation in the work of improving the Republic we are doomed to defeat. Hence, our hopes; for the passion of young hearts, wisdom of young heads and strength of young hands. Will they remain in the sphere of expectations or will they produce action?

10433
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ZSMP MAIN BOARD VICE CHAIRMAN KLIMA INTERVIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 May 82 p 4

[Interview with Jaroslaw Klima, vice chairman, ZSMP Main Board, by Marek Rudnicki; date and place not specified]

[Text] Solving the living conditions problems of the young is one of the most important goals of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP]. The results are of special importance today when there are no trade unions. But even earlier the union successfully overcame obstacles hampering the youth's start in life. How this is being done is the subject of our conversation with Jaroslaw Klima, vice chairman, ZSMP Main Board.

[Question] Many young people believe that they will be able to succeed only when conducive conditions are created. You are trying to prove something totally different. Did you not encounter any barriers in your ZSMP activities?

[Answer] Life forced us to choose this and not another way. Being aware of the fact that the promised conditions for the youth's development were taking too long to be created, and at the same time taking advantage of the resolution passed at the ZSMP Third Congress, we have begun to resolve some of the problems without waiting for the promised opportunities. We began by defining the needs. Consequently, we developed a catalog of problems to be acted upon by, among others, the state. We presented this document to the Ninth Party Congress. Many of our demands found their way later to the party congress resolution. The solution of many other matters is our responsibility.

It can be said, of course, that we should concentrate on political activity and leave the solution of the living conditions problems of the young to the trade unions. For quite some time we have been focusing more on ideological education. This is a value the youth organizations seem to have forgotten. It ought to be restored. At the same time, we also must see the reality of the young people's life. After all, 2 million people wait for apartments; many thousands of farms are empty, waiting to be taken over by the youth; still unresolved is the problem of an equal start in life for the urban and rural youths; the health of the young generation worsens; the upbringing at school leaves a lot to be desired. Thus, there are many problems to be resolved. However, the most important among them is the housing problem. Let us focus on its for a moment to illustrate our overcoming obstacles.

We have known from the start that since this problem was not resolved by the political authorities, we could not solve it either but we could help to do it. Therefore, we made an analysis of barriers that prevented socialization of housing and consequently more construction and presented it to the authorities. On the basis of our document the Council of Ministers Economic Committee in January issued an order nullifying many regulations hampering social initiatives. Our pressure also speeded the work on the construction program for the period until 1990. Due to these activities, we are creating in voivodships youth housing cooperatives and construction associations, which begin work in accordance with the new regulations.

New construction regulations are not all, however. We are fighting for an opportunity to obtain bigger loans; the cost of a cooperative one-family house is nearly 3 million zlotys. The cost can be reduced, no doubt; it is a common knowledge that when a person builds a house himself, every board is utilized, nothing goes to waste. For example, our colleagues in Szczecinek build houses for 500,000 to 600,000 zlotys. Nevertheless, the loans ought to be bigger, amounting to more than 1 million zlotys. We hope that the Ninth Central Committee Plenary Meeting devoted to the youth problems will refer to his problem as a solved one.

Another barrier that we must overcome is the lack of lots. In accordance with earlier regulations lots belong to construction cooperatives, which were established many years ago. However, these cooperatives do not have any investment funds and therefore lots remain empty. New regulations permit the cooperatives to give lots to those with the means to build on them, such as our youth cooperatives. However, they do not do that. Therefore, we are exerting more pressure on local administrations. For another problem, it is a common knowledge that land surveying takes a very long time. Therefore, we have this job done by participants of special courses offered by the ZSMP workers universities. The documentation is later presented to the proper authorities for approval. We do not have to ask that surveying jobs be done for us.

[Question] What have been your other initiatives in addition to those related to the housing construction?

[Answer] First of all, it is necessary to mention new loan regulations for young married couples. The loans have been available for years but we have decided that in the present situation their help was limited due to the small amounts involved.

We prepared a revised project and submitted it to the Council of Ministers. The council went even further than we had suggested; it simplified, among others, criteria to qualify for a loan and introduced a system permitting cancellation of up to 50 percent of the loan. It must be emphasized that in accordance with the new regulations the amount of the loan will increase along with the price increases. It is necessary to emphasize that it is a loan, for many people say that the youth again gets something from the state. This is not a gift, it is a loan. Similar loan systems exist in other countries as well.

The fact that the new loan regulations for young married couples have been already introduced does not change the situation very much. There are no executive orders as yet. It has not been decided yet from which fund the 50-percent cancellation will be covered: social benefits or taxes. After all, it is a big difference for the employees in enterprises. We are still in the process of resolving these problems. In other words, we meet obstacles in every stage.

As to other initiatives by the union, I wish to note only such as the proposal that farmers; children return to villages, introduction of patronage construction in the villages, participation in the preparation of principles of the economic reform from the point of view of young employees, creation of opportunity to acquire another skill at the workers' universities, organizational preparations for employment opportunities in socialist countries, and broadening of opportunities for assistance from the Yough Social Action Fund, commonly referred to as FASM.

[Question] What is the biggest problem for you?

[Answer] It is economic reform, for starters. It appears, for example, that in the individual enterprises the principles of reform are "felt" by a few people only. The young if they are to act in constructive ways must get closer acquainted with the problems of economy.

Moreover, today we are in particular need of good work organization. ZSMP has some experience in this sphere as the organizer of the Young Masters of Technology Competition and the Young Masters of Work Organization Competition. We want to help with these skills. In order for this to happen, however, the young must acquire a broader knowledge. In some areas specialized schools are being established to provide such knowledge. Being an organization of the young people, we also must think about the problem of employment. Last year over 400,000 graduates of various schools became employees of our economy; we expect a similar situation this year. This opportunity was created, however, by the introduction of early retirements. But what happens next? We cannot expect this situation to repeat every year. Therefore, we initiated the establishment of youth labor cooperatives; so far they have been formed in 27 voivodships. They create employment opportunities occasions for utilization of the young people's initiatives and the like and at the same time they create a chance for a solution of local problems, for example, when construction materials are produced.

Often, however, we encounter problems of a different nature; I have in mind bureaucracy. For example, in accordance with a long-time practice the voivodship authorities, which receive proposals for opening a small business, ask local cooperatives' authorities for an opinion. These, however, fearing competition consider the opening of a new business unnecessary. For another example, even more to the point, once we talked with representatives of the planning commission in one of the voivodship offices. They saw no chance for us; they told us of an inability to take any action. Shortly after that encounter, we were approached by our peers, subordinates of the mentioned representatives, who told us the truth. During the next meeting we had concrete arguments. And we found out that there were opportunities.

[Question] From whom do you expect help?

[Answer] We hope that the coming Central Committee plenary meeting along with the ideological problems will present the party concept of engaging the young in solving their own problems--because the young want to get involved. I will give you another example, small but from real life. Every day twelve 60-ton coal freight cars are wasted at the Tarnowskie Gory railroad junction; I am talking about the coal falling off the cars along the rails. So, the young from Tarnowskie Gory establish a cooperative to collect the coal off the ground. Both the state and the young will profit from it, the former by saving additional hundreds of tons of fuel everyday and the latter by earning money. However, in this case our initiative is the only thing required, while in other instances it is not.

Thus, we expect help from the authorities. I wish to emphasize again, however, that we do not wait for it with folded arms. We come with concrete proposals, with what we have prepared already. We only ask for a decision. Frankly speaking, we also hope that as a result of the presently conducted cadre reviews more young people will find themselves in positions of authority, which will create better opportunities for action for us. We try to earn that, for the ideological loyalty I mentioned at the beginning should not be exemplified by words but by concrete work.

8609
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ANOMALIES NOTED IN MACEDONIAN CENSUS FIGURES

General Rundown

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 214, 8 May 82 pp 18-19

[Article by Rajko Djurdjevic: "Some Funny Numbers"]

[Text] It can now be said of the last population census in Macedonia that it was in many respects unusual and different from the previous one. The census has cast in an altogether new light the past period in which there were attempts, persistent, systematic and perfidious, to alter the true state of affairs and the ethnic pattern of that republic.

The population of Macedonia increased by 264,949 over the last 10 years and today stands at 1,912,257. Within that figure there are 1,281,195 Macedonians, 377,726 Albanians, 44,613 Serbs, 39,555 Moslems, 47,223 Gypsies, 86,691 Turks, and the remainder consists of members of other ethnic minorities and groups in Macedonia's ethnic mosaic.

Pressures and Manipulation

In the Macedonian Republic Bureau of Statistics in Skopje its director Boro Pekevski presents the numbers precisely.

"When the dry facts are examined, one cannot at first justify their logic," he says.

For instance, the census in 1953 recorded 203,938 Turks. Just 7 years later, in the new census, there were only 131,481 of them. To be sure, this is the period of the most intensive emigration to Turkey. In the 1971 Census there were 108,552 members of that nationality, and in this census their number has dropped to 86,690. Instead of an increase by some 20,000, which would be according to the rate of natural population growth, their number has decreased by that amount! It obviously is a question of a breakdown of that group and of a loss of its ethnic features.

Some of the Turks passed over into the group of Moslems as a separate ethnic minority. Others merged with the Albanians and Gypsies. The process of Albanianization of the Turks was still more pronounced in the past. The

Irredenta in Kosovo insisted that "these are not Turks," but actually "Illyrians turned into Turks," and who now, in the new Yugoslavia, through a study of their history and culture, have allegedly "realized that they are Albanians--and are returning to their flock...."

And science was unfortunately put at the service of providing the evidence of origin. Thus many Turks in the last census and the ones previous to that were simply Albanianized.

"This was especially pronounced," Boro Pekevski said, "in the Tetovo, Gostivar, Struga and Kicevo regions. As well as in Skopje."

In the last census in Gostivar even the secretary of the committee, who up until that time was a Turk, became an Albanian! The pressures, they say, were so strong that it was even risky to oppose them.

Such pressures have been pretty much suppressed with the good preparations for the present elections. Nevertheless, there have been attempts at manipulation. In one family in Tetovo a girl who found herself alone at home and is a university student in Pristina had her entire family taken down as Albanians. Her father came along and demanded that they be registered as Turks.

A Hodja at the Service of the Census

In the village Slepcane, in the Kumanovo District, the censustaker had just arrived in the local office when the hodja began to shout from the mosque. The head of the local office asked the censustaker to step out, he locked up the office, and went to see "what the hodja wanted."

It is not known exactly what the hodja said to the local people who were gathered, but after that the censustakers found all the gates locked.

There have been both pressures and manipulation in the Albanianization of Turks. Hodjas who came from Kosovo have been playing the principal role in this. In Macedonia many mosques destroyed in the time of the Turks have been rebuilt. It is not unlikely that aside from religious instruction, there has also been quite a bit of political agitation.

In the last census there were 279,871 Albanians. In this one there were 377,726. The increase is slightly more than 36 percent. The natural rate of population growth of 22.6 percent could not account for such an increase. Thus on the basis of the census results there are 15,500 more Albanians who have come from somewhere! The new figures are all the more unreliable insofar as the figures in the last census and previous censuses are used as the basis of computation.

Another interesting experience of the census has to do with the demands of certain Albanians that they be taken down as "Skipetars." Probably they wanted to distinguish themselves from what has been coming from Tirana for years. There have been cases where the parents declared themselves to be "Skipetars," but the children "Albanians."

The Gypsies are a story in themselves. In the last census there were 24,505 of them, almost the same number as in 1953. In the interval the fairly high natural population growth of the Gypsies has mainly been Albanianized under pressure. There are now 43,223 of them, twice as many!

This is a kind of rebirth of this ethnic minority. The results of the census are the fruit of a different mentality, but also of more liberal conditions for declaration of one's nationality.

In the last census there was not a single Gypsy in Debar. Now there are 1,030 of them. In Gostivar there were 219, but now slightly more than 1,500. In Skopje there were 17,086, and there are now 24,000.

The Gypsy here seemed to have popped up out of the ground.

The story is repeated in Kicevo, Ohrid, Struga, Prilep and Tetovo.... Wherever the nationalistic pressures were greater in the past, there are considerably more members of this nationality now that they are expressing themselves more freely.

Torbeshes, Pomaks, Poturs, Gorans....

In the demographic development of the population over the last four censuses the number of Macedonians has been in line with the natural population growth. In 1953 there were 860,699 of them, 7 years later 1,000,854, in the last census 1,142,375, and in this census 1,281,195.

The rate of growth was 22.6 percent in the first census, and dropped in the last census to slightly over 10 percent.

In the ethnic stratification of the population of Macedonia matters are rather confused as to Macedonians who are Moslems. These are referred to as Torbeshes, Pomaks and Poturs in Macedonia, or Gorans in Kosovo.

They have formed an association whose president is Nijazi Limanoski, the well-known Macedonian newsman and journalist. They have even issued their own badge, and the first historical, cultural and scholarly meeting of Macedonians who are Moslems was held in 1970 in the village Rastuse, at Saint Jovan Bigorski Monastery. At that meeting there were several thousand Torbeshes. The tasks were set forth of studying and presenting to the public the authentic ethnosocial values of Macedonians who are Moslems. All out of a desire to prove their true origin.

Nijazi Limanoski has written an entire study of the Torbeshes. He now relates the story with quite a bit of bitterness.

"The Turks made Turks of us, the Albanians made us Albanians, but we are neither the one nor the other. We are Macedonians who are Moslems. Immediately after the Brioni plenum pressure was felt from the Albanian nationalists. They used government power and hiring and money and especially religion to exert pressure.

"They said: 'Whoever declares himself as a Macedonian will not be able to emigrate to Turkey....'"

Many specific examples of earlier assimilation of the Torbeshes are presented in Limanoski's study. Slightly more than 70,000 members of this people have been siphoned off into other ethnic groups since the war. And now the Torbeshes are striving in meetings and scholarly events to distinguish religion from nationality, to prove that they are actually Islamized Macedonians.

Limanoski gets quite excited when he tells how pressure has been exerted in Kosovo toward assimilation of the Gorans, which is what they call the Torbeshes there. This is, he says, a tough people, but the 20,000 Gorans along the Bistrica, he says, are being subjected to great pressure.

On the basis of their regional position, in Limanoski's opinion, the Gorans are like a bone in the throat of the irredenta's plans. They stand like an obstacle in the triangle made up of western Macedonia, Albania and Kosovo. Which makes that area especially important to our entire social community, Limanoski says.

The census took place and has passed, the documents can prove even the opposite of what was taken for proof. According to the words of Boro Pekevski, the Albanian nationalists had their plans even here. A check of certain censuses shows that there have been false declarations as to level of education and (un)employment.

Population of SR [Socialist Republic] Macedonia With Respect to Nationality, Ethnic Minority or Ethnic Group in 1953, 1961, 1971 and 1981

	1953		1961		1971		1981	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
SR Macedonia	1,304,514	100.0	1,406,003	100,0	1,647,308	100.0	1,912,257	100.0
Those Who Stated Their Nationality								
Montenegrins	2,526	0.2	3,414	0.2	3,246	0.2	3,940	0.2
Croats	2,770	0.2	3,801	0.3	3,882	0.2	3,349	0.2
Macedonians	860,699	66.0	1,000,854	71.2	1,142,375	69.3	1,281,195	67.0
Moslems*	1,591	0.1	3,002	0.2	1,248	0.1	39,555	2.1
Slovenes	983	0.1	1,147	0.1	838	0.1	667	0.0
Serbs	35,112	2.7	42,728	0.1	46,465	2.8	44,613	2.3
Albanians	162,524	12.4	183,108	13.0	179,871	17.0	377,726	19.8
Bulgars	920	0.1	3,087	0.2	3,334	0.2	1,984	0.1
Czechs	114	0.0	92	0.0	80	0.0	164	0.0
Italians	41	0.0	57	0.0	48	0.0	96	0.0
Hungarians	207	0.0	252	0.0	229	0.0	281	0.0

Table (continued)

	1953		1961		1971		1981	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Romanians	103	0.0	135	0.0	105	0.0	98	0.0
Ruthenians	127	0.0	124	0.0	59	0.0	24	0.0
Slovaks	20	0.0	64	0.0	46	0.0	67	0.0
Turks	203,938	15.6	131,481	9.4	108,552	6.6	86,691	4.5
Austrians	24	0.0	12	0.0	9	0.0	32	0.0
Greeks	848	0.1	836	0.1	536	0.0	709	0.1
Jews	55	0.0	47	0.0	32	0.0	28	0.0
Germans	136	0.0	94	0.0	77	0.0	288	0.0
Poles	24	0.0	26	0.0	72	0.0	223	0.0
Gypsies	20,462	1.6	20,606	1.5	24,505	1.5	43,223	2.3
Russians	672	0.1	640	0.0	516	0.0	363	0.0
Ukrainians	...	...	...	...	50	0.0	68	0.0
Vlachs	8,668	0.7	8,046	0.6	7,190	0.4	6,392	0.3
Others	1,581	0.1	672	0.0	16,702	1.0	740	0.1
Those Who Did Not State Their Nationality								
Those who did not state their nationality at all (in spite of the SFRY Constitution)	--	--	--	--	414	0.0	508	0.0
Those who declared themselves to be "Yugoslavs"	--	--	1,260	0.1	3,652	0.2	14,240	0.7
Those who made a declaration based on religion	--	--	--	--	684	0.0	956	0.1
Unknown	369	0.0	418	0.0	2,491	0.2	4,037	0.2

* [No explanation given in this text for the note].

Double Entries

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 214, 8 May 82 p 19

[Article by Jovan Popovski: "Where Is the Truth"]

[Text] The figures have not yet been published on the material status of the population, but, judging by certain indications and irresponsible declarations, they will cause confusion with respect to the actual position of a portion of

the population, the population of Albanian nationality above all. It is no secret that members of some nationalities were recorded on the census sheet "en bloc" twice: where they were born and where they live. In this way a false figure has been brought about amounting to several hundred thousand inhabitants in the SFRY. This gave rise to a great expression of surprise in the question: Who had need of that if not foreign propaganda?

For example, a high official of Pristina University was born in a town in Macedonia and was recorded in both places. Other people born in this part of the country, though they have been living for 35 years in Belgrade or Pula with their entire families, are recorded in both places....

What has been learned, though incomplete, is revealing certain other incomprehensible figures which show something altogether different from the state of the facts as we know it. For example, it turns out that among members of the Albanian and Turkish nationalities there are few illiterates, hardly any at all, though it is well known that the situation is just the opposite. One old man even declared that in 1980 he completed the 8-year elementary school, that one employed person in the village is supporting 15 unemployed, that in rural households 98 percent of the population is dependent! It turns out that all the houses are "run down," though they were built even in 1978, that 20 people are living on house plots amounting to only 15 square meters, and so on. But it is a transparent game. Someone needed to increase the number of members of the nationality (indeed one girl who is a university student even declared the entire family to be members of the Albanian nationality when her father was not present, but when the father came he declared that they had always been Turks), to portray the nationality as educated, but employed, and thereby disenfranchised. Thus a scene changer in one Skopje theater, who had no education, said that he had completed secondary technical education. According to the census, one gets the impression that the housing of Albanians is atrocious. How is it possible for one person to cultivate the soil in the village, while the other able-bodied people are not working, since they are not "employed" and they are waiting for that one person to support them?

The census will undoubtedly reveal many other absurdities as well, absurdities which are the fruit of hostile propaganda and of the seduction of a part of the population. For example, in the Gostivar District, for centuries the largest sheep-raising center in this part of the Balkans, supposedly has fewer sheep today than say, in Berovo! Is that the truth? Of course not.

This is being kept quiet. Nor is there talk about how Skopje has suddenly become a large city with 15,000 new inhabitants in just a year! Why are these topics still taboo? The census sheets with inaccurate data should not be allowed to conceal the true state of affairs.

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13 July 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2033

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BRIEFS

SLOVAK PIONEER ORGANIZATION--The 12-13 June All-Slovak Conference of Pioneer Organizations' Worker in Bratislava elected a 45-member Slovak Central Council of the Socialist Youth Union's Pioneer Organization and reelected Anna Kursova chairwoman of the council. The pioneer organization in Slovakia associates almost 590,000 Pioneers and Sparks, which represents almost 88 percent of all children in the respective age groups. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Jun 82 pp 1, 2]

SLOVAK YOUTH ORGANIZATION RESHUFFLE--A session of the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union [SCCSYU] has released Michael Zozulak from the post of the chairman and Andrej Gres from the post of deputy chairman of the SCCSYU in connection with their being entrusted with other tasks. Both were awarded the Socialist Youth Union's honorary membership. The SCCSYU has elected Jozef Durica SCCSYU chairman, Dusan Longauer deputy chairman, and Marian Parkanyi and Mikulas Patlovic were elected SCCSYU secretaries. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Jun 82 p 2 AU]

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' SESSION--A special expanded session of the secretariat of the International Students' Union, chaired by Miroslav Stephan, the union's chairman, was held on 16 June in Prague. It was attended by representatives of student and youth organizations from 23 countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe; and by a PLO delegation, headed by 'Atif abu Bakr, director of the PLO office in the CSSR, and a delegation of Lebanese patriotic forces under Mustafa (Rashid). The session condemned Israel's Zionist aggression and genocide with U.S. approval in Lebanon, adopted an open letter to the students of Palestine and Lebanon, and adopted a declaration on joint actions, including the initiative on immediately convening an international solidarity assembly against Israel's Zionist aggression and on dispatching an international brigade of medical doctors to Lebanon. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 June 82 p 6 AU]

CSO: 2400/302

SED POLITBURO REPORT, KESSLER ADDRESS TO PLENUM PUBLISHED

Verner Delivers Politburo Report

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Jun 82 pp 3-7

[Excerpts from Politburo Report to Fourth SED Central Committee Plenum, presented by Paul Verner, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, in East Berlin, 23 Jun 82]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

The Politburo has performed purposeful and insistent work since the third Central Committee session to successfully accomplish the tasks, explained by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of our party Central Committee, at that session as well as at the conference with the first Kreis secretaries, in implementing the decisions of our 10th party congress in all spheres of social life.

The aim is to further strengthen the GDR all-round in accordance with the increasing demands of the eighties under the conditions of the escalated international class struggle. This is and remains our most important contribution to further strengthening socialism and to the struggle to safeguard peace, which we resolutely wage alongside the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community.

To Foil the Course of Confrontation and Stepped-up Armament

It is important to thwart the adventurous course of confrontation and stepped-up armament pursued by the most aggressive circles of imperialism, above all the United States, and to prevent a dangerous new world conflagration.

In the past few months, our party's international policy has also been determined upon guaranteeing the most favorable external conditions for the construction of socialism, and actively contributing to the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist community. This is all the more urgent because the international situation--as a result of the policy of the most aggressive NATO circles, in particular the United States--has further deteriorated in a manner which gives rise to concern. The recent meeting of the NATO Council in Bonn and the meeting of the heads of state and government of the leading imperialist states in Versailles has confirmed this. The United States and some other NATO states are trying to step up political, economic and military pressure on the socialist community of states.

Against the declared will of millions of people in the NATO states--as expressed by the powerful demonstrations in Bonn, West Berlin, New York and other cities--they adhere to realizing the long-term arms program and the Brussels missile decision. The European NATO states have yielded to U.S. insistence to declare themselves ready for military action outside the NATO sphere, "after consultations and with agreement of interests." Therefore, instead of contributing toward lessening tensions in the world and safeguarding peace, the meetings of Versailles and Bonn confirmed the course of the most aggressive imperialist circles, aimed at escalating international tension, as the political guideline for the NATO states. As always in history, the militant circles of imperialism are seeking a way out of the deepening internal and external crisis of the capitalist system by increasing aggressiveness and adventurism. They are under the illusion of being able to halt and reverse the course of historical development with a policy of confrontation and an arms drive.

This is what determines both the domestic and foreign policy of the United States. Gigantic sums are being sacrificed to this end. The United States is spending some $222 billion this fiscal year for an acceleration of the arms race. In the 1985-86 fiscal year, the United States will spend more than $367 billion, which is more than $1 billion per day. This policy of the U.S. administration is being forced not only on its own people, but will also have to be borne by the peoples of the other NATO states.

Against the resistance of the people and the reservations of some governments of West European countries, the plan remains to station American nuclear-armed medium-range missiles and cruise missiles in Western Europe in 1983. This is designed to create on our continent a nuclear first-strike capability against the Warsaw Pact states. The existing military-strategic balance of power is to be shifted in favor of NATO, in particular in favor of the United States. The United States is expanding the network of its military bases abroad. Maneuvers and demonstrations of military might in the NATO sphere and in other parts of the world, such as the Middle East, the Indian Ocean, the Horn of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, are increasing.

The Reagan administration's objective--to gain military-strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist community--is and remains an absolute miscalculation. The Soviet people and the other peoples of the socialist community will make the necessary efforts and sacrifices to prevent these adventurous plans and preserve the military balance. That is in the interests of socialism and of peacelovers throughout the world.

In the period under review it became sharply apparent that even in the United States broad circles of the population feel uneasy over Reagan's adventurous policy. The movement for the freezing of nuclear arms has become an influential factor in U.S. political life. Public displeasure is growing over the most massive reduction in social services for decades and the lethal consequences of the aggressive military and foreign policy. Leading representatives of the

bourgeoisie oppose Reagan's reckless policy. A number of congressmen, governors, mayors and former highranking government officials, including four former secretaries of state and two former secretaries of defense, have called on Reagan to reduce his arms budget, freeze armaments and ratify Salt II.

Peace Movement Becomes More Powerful Day by Day

A peace movement embracing hundreds of millions in all countries and continents is waging the struggle against the confrontation policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles and for peace, detente, arms limitation and disarmament. This movement unites different political and social forces. They are all inspired by this idea: Europe must not become Euroshima. The world must not be plunged into a nuclear inferno.

Many capitalist countries have seen a powerful upsurge of the mass movement for peace and disarmament. The scale of this movement is unique in the history of the struggle for peace. Thanks to its enormous political and social breadth, it has achieved a new and higher quality. This has become apparent in the powerful peace demonstrations in Western Europe, Japan and the United States since the autumn of 1981.

The farsighted, constructive peace policy of the USSR, GDR and the other states of our socialist community has proved of vital importance for the changing mood of the peoples. The peace program set out at the 26th CPSU congress and the manifold peace initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist states are having a long-term impact. Increasingly they pierce the smokescreen of the imperialist lie about a threat and the imperialist propaganda for arms modernization.

We see that the struggle of the peacelovers has forced the Reagan administration to accept the USSR proposals for the opening of negotiations on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms. Still greater pressure by the people is needed in order to compel the U.S. ruling circles to conduct the negotiations beginning on 29 June in a realistic, constructive and substantive fashion, and not to misuse them as an alibi to gain time for an arms buildup.

We Fully and Entirely Support the New Soviet Initiatives

The course of events in recent months bears out our historical experience that the steady consolidation of our fraternal alliance with the party and land of Lenin, the strength of the socialist community and its constructive policy, and its coordinated action in the world arena are and remain the guarantee for strengthening socialism and safeguarding a lasting peace.

As Comrade Erich Honecker said at his conference with the first Kreis secretaries: "The growing strength of real socialism, the development of its virtues and values, gives us great satisfaction. We can rightly claim that in the 65th year since the great October socialist revolution and the 33d year of the GDR, in spite of all resistance and difficulties, socialism, since its inception as the power of the workers and peasants in 1917, has ceaselessly continued its triumphal march.

Our party and people fully support the new initiatives put forward by Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR supreme Soviet presidium, at the 17th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions and the 19th Congress of the Lenin Komsomol. They are indeed proposals which give further concrete shape to the peace program of the 26th Party Congress, and at the same time take account of and further all positive proposals made in various countries on arms limitation and disarmament.

It was emphasized with due seriousness how acute and urgent is an agreement between the USSR and the United States on the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union is ready to agree to a reciprocal moratorium on the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Desirous of achieving an equitable agreement on a sharp reduction of the nuclear weapons of both sides in Europe, the USSR decided to set a good example, to renounce unilaterally the further deployment of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the USSR and unilaterally to reduce these weapons systems slectively west of the Urals. The reduction of a significant number of these missiles has started.

In his important message to the second special session of the United Nations, Comrade Brezhnev announced the solemn pledge by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. This pledge came into force with its announcement at the UN General Assembly. This Soviet decision is based on the assumption that an equally clear and unmistakable pledge of all other nuclear states is practically tantamount to a ban on the use of nuclear weapons.

As Comrade Gromyko told the UN specisl mission, the Soviet Union rightly opposes American ideas aimed at a unilateral reduction by the USSR. If these U.S. proposals were followed, the United States could not only maintain its strategic potential to a very large extent, but could also continue unhindered its nuclear arms buildup, for example with intercontinental MX missiles, strategic B1 bombers and Trident missiles launchers, These are weapons systems aimed at destabilizing the approximate military balance and turning it into U.S. superiority.

Noted U.S. politicians who are thinking in realistic terms have formed the same view. Former Secretary of State Muskie said that Reagan's proposals undermine the process of disarmament. We attach great importance to the Soviet-American summit meeting suggested by the USSR. It should center on problems of reducing armaments and disarmament. In the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and arms in central Europe and the UN disarmament committee in Geneva, too, the socialist community states proceed from the principle of equality and equal security. The socialist states taking part in these negotiations, including the GDR, have taken repeated initiatives in order to achieve concrete results. Apart from verbal protestations, the Western side has so far made no constructive contribution to the success of these negotiations.

The close cooperation of the states of the socialist community for securing peace, and their interest in a drastic improvement of the international situation, was also reflected at the session of the foreign ministers' committee

of the signatories of the Warsaw Pact. The session was devoted to the concrete realization of the peace and disarmament proposals of the socialist states. At the session the steadfast readiness of the socialist countries to agree to the limitation and reduction of all kinds of weapons on a just and mutual basis was reaffirmed.

GDR--Active Partner in the Struggle for Disarmament

This also governs the attitude of the GDR at the second special session of the United Nations on disarmament. At the beginning of May the Politburo passed the directive for the appearance of the GDR Government delegation at this session. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR council of state, passed a message to Ismat Kittani, president of the second special session of the United Nations. This message reaffirmed that the GDR is a reliable and active partner in the struggle for lasting peace and disarmament. The GDR thinks it is urgently necessary to decude on and implement measures for ending the nuclear arms race.

Dear comrades, in line with the peace strategy of the 10th SED Congress, the GDR has also campaigned in the report period for the comprehensive use of existing possibilities and the opening of new possibilities for developing relations with capitalist countries in the political, economic, scientific-technological and commercial spheres, as well as in the field of culture and in other areas on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The main issue--the preservation and securing of peace--determined our foreign policy toward the FRG in the period of the report. According to the resolutions of our 10th Party Congress, we have always acted in the awareness that the development of normal relations between the GDR and the FRG has considerable significance not only for the two German states, but for the overall situation in Europe, and for an improvement of the political climate.

Lake Werbellin Has Shown: Dialogue Is Useful

An outstanding event in this sense was the meeting of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR council of state, with FRG federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt at Lake Werbellin in December 1981. At this meeting, which attracted worldwide notice, a broad range of problems was discussed.

The Politburo received a report on Comrade Honecker's meeting with federal Chancellor Schmidt and described it as a positive and valuable contribution to the process of detente in Europe. The report confirmed that the dialogue between the leaders of states with different social systems is useful and beneficial for peace, particularly when the international situation is so complex. It became clear that even with different, indeed opposite, positions and interests on fundamental issues, it is possible to agree on the safeguarding of peace if one proceeds with the required sense of responsibility. Thus the Lake Werbellin meeting was eloquent testimony to the vitality of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

In our view the signals given by the meeting of the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and the FRG chancellor remain relevant. In recent months we have acted entirely in their spirit. Together with the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states, new initiatives have been taken to contain the arms race and avert the danger of nuclear war. Likewise the GDR has taken steps to improve bilateral relations with the FRG. The meetings of the general secretary of our party's Central Committee with leading FRG political and business personages have played an important part. In a conversation with Otto Wolff von Amerongen, president of the FRG Association of Chambers of Industry and commerce, during the Leipzig spring fair, it was agreed that the further expansion of GDR-FRG economic relations is advantageous to both sides and contributes to the development of overall relations.

The government of the federal republic also stated that it attaches great importance to the meeting at Lake Werbellin and that it regards the safeguarding of peace as the foremost task of our time.

Both sides affirmed their desire for cooperation, particularly in those questions recorded in the joint communique. We would express our expectation that the FRG Government will adhere to this and that agreement on important questions will not be sacrificed under the pressure of forces who can make nothing of detente and even wish to expunge the term "detente" from international life.

In this connection one must say that the picture is very contradictory. The constant affirmation of the Brussels NATO decision on missiles, the curt rejection of the USSR proposals for a missiles moratorium, the express insistence on the NATO concept of a nuclear first strike and the recent Bonn-Washington agreement on the proposed deployment of six extra U.S. divisions in the federal republic at a time when one should be concerned with force reductions--all this and much else are certainly no contribution to detente.

The point at issue still is that the FRG should respect GDR citzenship
In regard to the frontier in the Elbe sector the time has come to sign the draft protocol of the joint frontier commission of 1978. The so-called "central registration office in Salzgitter," of which every perceptive person says that its existence cannot be justified, is still an obstacle to the settlement of questions in which the FRG side shows interest.

There can be no doubt that the process of normalizing GDR-FRG relations can be carried on only under conditions of peace and on the basis of the treaties which have been concluded with strict regard for the sovereignty and equality of the two German states. All the more is one bound to ask what is meant when Christian democratic union and Christian social union politicians recently said that the treaties could be accepted only on the basis of a "correct interpretation and meaning." He who intends by such nebulous formulations to question the letter and spirit of the treaties should consider in good time what he is shaking and putting in peril.

Our attitude toward GDR-FRG relations is governed by fundamental positions and not by tactical short term considerations. We are guided by the interests of peace and peaceful cooperation of states of different social systems in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence. That has been the case in the past and will remain so. There is no alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence. This was also the tenor of the talks and negotiations Comrade Guenter Mittage had in December 1981 with members of the French Government and leading representatives of the French economy.

Dear comrades, in the period under review the Politburo more than once commented on the situation in the Polish people's republic. Our opinion is known. We could not overlook the fact that, with its transition to the policy of confrontation, imperialism is stepping up its permanent effort to obstruct the development of socialism by political, ideological and economic subversion and to pry individual countries from the socialist community.

With the measures of 13 December 1981, which are entirely an internal affair of people's Poland, the military council for national salvation of Poland has thwarted the plan of the imperialists and counterrevolutionary forces to liquidate socialism in the Polish people's republic. During the visit to Berlin of the party and government delegation led by Comrade Wojciech Juaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker affirmed the GDR's full support for the measures to safeguard the people's power, overcome the political and economic crises and ensure the continued socialist development of people's Poland. The Polish people's republic will always have a reliable friend and loyal ally in the GDR. This was clearly expressed by our party in the Politburo statement on the visit to the GDR of the party and government delegation of the Polish poeple's republic.

Socialist Countries Deepen Cooperation

The traditionally friendly relations between the SED and the CPCZ, between the GDR and the CSSR, were reaffirmed and further developed at the meeting between Comrades Erich Honecker and Gustav Husak. Both sides expressed the determination of our fraternal parties and states to comprehensively contribute to deepening the cooperation among the socialist countries, to strengthening their collaboration within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

The official friendship visit of the GDR part-government delegation under the leadership of Comrade Erich Honecker to the Hungarian people's republic brought to new heights relations between the two peoples.

It made a weighty contribution to further deepening the fraternal cooperation between our parties and states in all fields. At the same time it served the further strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community.

In view of the confrontation and stepped-up arms course of the United States and other NATO states, Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Janos Kadar expressed the resolve of the GDR and of Hungary consistently to promote an improvement of the international situation. They displayed the full fupport of both fraternal states for the Soviet peace initiatives recently submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

The Politburo is confining to attach great importance to the further development of relations with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the people's Democratic Republic of Laos, and the people's Republic of Kampuchea.

We support the proposals of these fraternal states, which are exposed to continuous pressure and attacks by imperialism and other reactionary forces, for consolidating peace and security in that area. The participation of the delegation, led by Comrade Konrad Naumann, in the party congress of the Vietnam Communist Party was marked by solidarity and close cooperation. The party congress has shown that the Vietnamese communists are resolved to continue creating the foundations of socialism in the SRV, doing so under complicated conditions, based on the firm alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community and through a creative application of Marxism-Leninism.

The third congress of the Lao revolutionary people's party, in which a delegation of the SED Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade Inge Lange participated, confirmed the general policy line aimed at deepening socialist development in Laos. The LPRP is placing at the center of its activities the strengthening of the party's fighting strength and mobilizing the multinational Lao people for the accomplishment of future tasks.

Unshakable at the Side of the Arab Peoples

The past months have clearly shown how much the imperialist threat to peace, the arms race and course of confrontation are aimed directly against the basic interests of the liberated states and against peoples still struggling for their independence. This policy entails great dangers for the peaceful construction in many countries with which we have friendly relations. Today, more clearly than ever, everyone can see the close relationship of the peace struggle and anti-imperialist solidarity.

Many countries are the scene of acts of imperialist aggression and are dangerous seats of conflict, such as those in the Middle East, southern Africa and central America.

Once again Israel has begun a large-scale and massive aggression against its neighbor Lebanon. This barbaric Israeli aggression, which is aimed against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, is admittedly intended to choke the Palestinian resistance movement in blood, to rob the Palestinians of their legitimate rights and to annihilate them.

No one can deny that this renewed Israeli aggression is taking place with the consent and support of Washington. It is Washington which arms Israel and which at the beginning of this year signed a strategic military agreement with it. This encouraged Israel to undertake criminal anti-Arab actions. The U.S. veto in the UN Security Council thwarted the resolution on the end to the Israeli aggression.

In the statement of our party's Central Committee, of the State Council and of the GDR Council of Ministers we have strongly condemned this renewed aggression by Israel and have said that the defensive measures undertaken by the Lebanese and Palestinian side have the full solidarity of the GDR.

Israel's renewed aggression against Lebanon--as do all tensions and conflicts in the Middle East created by imperialism--clearly show to what extent guaranteeing the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine is an indispensable precondition to peace and security in the Middle East. Part of this precondition is the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. Israel must give back to the Arabs the land that it has occupied. The Palestinian people have a legitimate right to their own state. The GDR is unshakable at the side of the Arab peoples who are fighting for their inalienable rights and interests.

This attitude dominated the visit of Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO executive committee and supreme commander of the forces of the Palestinian revolution, who was in Berlin this past March at the invitation of Comrade Erich Honecker. This meeting was fresh proof of the close ties of solidarity which link the socialist German worker-peasant state with the just struggle of the peoples for their legitimate rights, for peace and social progress.

International Relations Further Expanded

Also in the past months the international activity of our party was directed toward developing the relations of the GDR with the liberated peoples and states of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In the period under review these relations have grown in breadth and intensity. The treaties of friendship and cooperation concluded by Comrade Erich Honecker during his trips have proved to be a reliable basis for close friendly comradeship and dynamic development.

The many contacts and varied cooperation on national and social levels are growing constantly. The travels of the delegations of the people's chamber, of the foreign minister and of other representatives of the GDR Government to the states in Africa, Asia and Latin America were made in the service of better mutual understanding and cooperation for peace, democracy and progress, against colonialism, neocolonialism and racism.

The visit of a party and state delegation headed by Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the people's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and chairman of the revolutionary council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA] to the GDR and the DRA will develop and deepen their relations in all fields according to plan on the basis of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the two countries signed by Comrades Erich Honecker and Babrak Karmal. A great danger for the peaceful construction of the country, and also for security in the region, emanates from the undeclared war waged by imperialism and other reactionary forces against the DRA. The GDR therefore supports the constructive proposals of the Afghan Government of May 1980 and August 1981 for a political solution to the situation around Afghanistan.

In accordance with the decisions of the 10th SED Congress, efforts were undertaken to further develop the solidarity and cooperation with the forces of democracy, peace and social progress in Latin America, which are most immediately subjected to the imperialist policy of threat and boycott. This attitude of the GDR also found expression during the visit of a party and state delegation from Grenada headed by Maurice Bishop, chairman of the Central Committee

Politburo of the New Jewel Movement and prime minister of the revolutionary people's government of Grenada, which stayed in the GDR at the invitation of Comrade Erich Honecker. The talks between Comrades Erich Honecker and Maurice Bishop took place in the spirit of friendship and solidarity between the SED and the New Jewel Movement, between our state and Grenada. On this occasion the GDR once again expressed its firm affinity and active solidarity with the people of Grenada and all peoples of the Caribbean in the struggle against the attempts at interference by aggressive imperialist circles, and for strengthening national independence and social progress.

Relations with India--this important factor of peace, stability and independence in Asia--have proved their vital force in the past months. The visits at a high level in both directions reflect the rapid development of equal cooperation to the benefit of both sides.

United Action in the Struggle Against Imperialism

The current extremely exacerbated international situation underscores our evaluation, made at the 10th Party Congress, that the effective action of the communist and workers parties, a comprehensive collaboration of all revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces is more necessary than ever. This was also made clear by the regular conference of representatives of 90 communist and workers parties concerning the activities of the journal problems of peace and socialism in Prague, to whose constructive course the activity of a delegation of our Central Committee headed by Comrade Hermann Axen also contributed.

The international theoretical conference on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, the outstanding leader of the Bulgarian and international workers movement, which took place in Sofia from 15 to 17 June and was attended by a SED delegation under the leadership of Comrade Hermann Axen, became a significant political event.

In our country Georgi Dimitrov was appreciated in many ways--at rallies, scientific colloquiums, and exhibitions; in publications, radio and television programs and other ways--as a passionate and undaunted struggler for peace and socialism, against imperialism, fascism and war. His ardent friendship with the Soviet Union, his joint struggle with Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck, with the KPD, against imperialism and fascism have become a revolutionary tradition and historical legacy for us which we will always preserve. Georgi Dimitrov is a standing paragon for us as a courageous and steadfast defender of the cause of the workers class, of peace and social progress at the Leipzig Reichstag fire trial, as a resolute prosecutor of imperialism and fascism.

Dear comrades, central to fashioning our relations with the fraternal parties has been the consolidation of the fraternal alliance with Lenin's party. The collaboration with the other fraternal parties of our community has deepened. Our party attaches great importance to multilateral cooperation in the international and ideological spheres, as well as in the field of the party's organizational work, and is making its contribution to implementing the coordinated policy.

Thus a delegation under the leadership of Comrade Horst Dohlus participated in the conference of the secretaries for party and organizaional matters of the Central Committees of socialist parites in Prague. Central to the deliberations were the increased demands on the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in all social sectors, their constant political and ideological consolidation, as well as the growing demands on the standard of management activity and the further development of a work style linked with the masses.

The Politburo and the Central Committee secretariat have paid great attention to even more effectively fashioning the delegation work and particularly the exchange of experiences with the fraternal parties.

Agreements on the exchange of delegations and experiences for the years 1982-83 were concluded with the Central Committees of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries.

The DKP Consistently Represents the Working People's Interests

It is with great pleasure that we welcomed in our republic in April a delegation of the DKP presidium under the leadership of its Chairman Herbert Mies. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, conducted a comprehensive exchange of views with the DKP comrades which was marked by the traditionally close and cordial affinity of the two parties. In the course of this exchange Comrade Erich Honecker showed our high respect for the DKP's struggle for securing peace and the social and democratic interests of the FRG working people.

Comrade Mies gave a graphic account of the DKP's great efforts to strengthen the peace movement, to work against the implementation of the NATO missile decision, and to mobilize the working people to actively fight the shifting of the burden of the capitalist crisis onto their shoulders. He did this both during the talks with Comrade Honecker and during the numerous friendly meetings which he had with the working people in our country.

Everything that the DKP chairman said during his visit to the GDR opened up to our party members new insights into the complicated conditions under which our fraternal party is working in the FRG. It also impressively demonstrated to them how the working people are treated under capitalist conditions.

In view of all this, Comrade Mies stated, the fact that real socialism in the GDR guarantees economic growth, stability and full employment is all the more important. The cause of peace and socialism is in good hands in the German worker-peasant state.

The visit of Harilaos Florakis, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Comunist Party of Greece, to the GDR reaffirmed the close relations between our two parties which are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the period under review, a delegation of our party headed by Kurt Hager participated in the 24th French Communist Party congress, and another delegation headed by Guenter Schabowski participated in the congress of the Communist Party of India. Other delegations participated in the congresses of the Communist Party of Ireland, the Communist Party of Canada, the Communist Party of Norway, the progressive party of the working people of Cyprus (AKEL), and the Communist Party of Ecuador.

Our party has purposefully developed its relations with the revolutionary, avant-garde parties and the national liberation movements. The meeting between Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, and Sam Nujoma, chairman of SWAPO, in the GDR was a convincing a manifestation of anti-imperialist solidarity.

They resolutely condemned the dangerous attempts of imperialism to expand the confrontation policy to southern Africa with the help of the racist regime. With subversion and threats, blackmail and aggression vis-a-vis Angola, Mozambique and the other progressive states and forces, they want to deprive the peoples of the fruits of their liberation struggle and turn back the wheel of history of the African continent.

In the period under review our party has continued its work aimed at continuing the dialogue and at joint activities with socialist and social-democratic parties. Thus for instance a delegation of the SED Central Committee participated in the "international conference against nuclear arms, for disarmament and nuclear-free zones" in Tokyo from 14 to 16 May 1982 at the invitation of the Socialist Party of Japan.

The 10th FDGB Congress Reflected the Working People's Readiness to Perform

In the period under review, the work of the Politburo in the field of the economy consistently concentrated on further implementing the economic strategy for the 1980's adopted by the 10th SED Congress. What matters is increasing the national economic performance in order to continue the policy of the main task in the unity of economic and social policy. This serves people, this serves the further strengthening of socialism in the GDR and thus the securing of peace.

The 10th FDGB Congress, the strongest class organization of our country, reaffirmed the cohesion of the GDR trade unionists to struggle to implement the political course adopted by the 10th SED Congress to secure peace and to further strengthen the GDR universally.

With its decisions, with the unanimously adopted report of the national executive committee, with the resourceful discussion, with the greetings message to the SED Central Committee and with the declaration of will to struggle for securing and preserving peace, the congress demonstrated the power and political maturity of the biggest class organization of the GDR working people. The 10th FDGB Congress gave an impressive picture of the manifold activity of the trade unions as a school of socialism, as the driving force of socialist competition, and representative of the working people's interests. It demonstrated that the trade unions have become a force on which the socialist state is based.

The 10th FDGB Congress reflects the readiness of our country's working people to continue the constant development of the capacity of our national economy by new deeds in socialist competition, to further improve the working and living conditions, and to consistently continue the unity of economic and social policy.

A special climax of the 10th FDGB Congress was the address of the SED general secretary. It was met with enthusiastic approval and had a decisive influence on the course and results of the congress. This address encouraged the delegates to courageously and bravely do everything that the times demand of them.

To Utilize All Available Potentials For the Policy of the Main Task

The congress proved how the economic strategy for the 1980's founded by the 10th SED Congress determines the work of all trade union executive committees and leaderships. It demonstrated the growing, resourceful and creative work of the members for further developing the economic power of our republic.

Now it is necessary to concentrate all ideological and organizational power on fulfilling the national economic plan for 1982. The productive achievement provided in the plan, the necessary final product for exports, the supply of the population and the development of the domestic national economy must be secured month by month, week by week, day by day.

In the entire party it is better and better understood that, as Comrade Honecker declared in his address to the Kreis first secretaries in February, "a new situation has developed in international economic relations which requires drastic changes and a basically different action." In the successful continuation of the policy of the main task in the 1980's, the main thing is to consistently guarantee intensively expanded reproduction, to produce more and qualitatively better products with a lower expenditure, to increasingly use one's own possibilities and get along with what we have.

During the seminar with the general directors of the combines and party organizers of the Central Committee in Leipzig, convened at the decision of the Central Committee secretariat of our party, they discussed what is necessary in every combine in order to implement the national economic paln of 1982 and to prepare the national economic plan for 1983. Of special importance are the commitments of the general directors of the combines and party organizations of the Central Committee to overfulfill industrial goods production by at least 2 days output. The additional production is to be primarily achieved by better utilization of domestic raw materials and economical use of the available energy, material and industrial material funds, and by increasing labor productivity.

Of great importance are the commitments to give back raw materials, industrial materials and energy resources to the amount of about M1 billion, including 168,000 tons of coke and 20,000 tons rolled steel as well as industrial fittings to the value of over M11 million.

Solid Results in Competition

The Politburo constantly occupied itself with implementing the 1982 national economic plan.

Thanks to the multifacted initiatives of the working people in all sectors of the GDR national economy, a considerable plan lead was achieved in major areas in the socialist competition by the end of May. The annual plan for industrial commodity output was fulfilled by 41.0 percent, and its fulfillment exceeds the total working hours plan of 40.7 percent.

By the end of May, the plan targets were overfulfilled by 100.7 percent. Industrial products valued at M1,245,000,000 were supplied to the population and the national economy, and for exports in excess of the plan.

In industrial commodity production, industrial combines achieved a lead of a total of 0.8 daily outputs. All sectors have exceeded the planned output since the beginning of the year. A 4 percent output increase was achieved as compared with the average daily performance in 1981. The plan for sales of finished products to the population as a whole was overfulfilled. Products valued at M335 million were delivered in excess of the plan.

Of the 133 centrally-managed combines in the industrial sector, 130 have fulfilled or exceeded the plan for industrial commodity output. These comprise the "Schwarze pumpe" gas combine, the Mansfeld Wilhelm Pieck combine in Eisleben, the Schwedt petrochemical combine, the Walter Ulbricht Leuna works, the Piesteritz agrochemical combine, the Fuerstenwalde tire combine, the Carl Zeiss Jena combine, the Erfurt microelectronics combine, the Berlin automation equipment combine, the Erfurt Herbert Warnke transformer equipment combine, the Plauen "Deko" combine and others.

With their great performances, the miners of the coal and power industry have secured continuous supplies of fuel and power to the population and economy. At the same time, it was possible to a considerable extent to replace imported fuels with domestic ones. There has been a lead of 831,000 tons over the plan in raw coal extraction, and a lead of 91 million cubic meters in the production of city gas.

The Politburo has deliberated on the causes of the accident at the "Schwarze pumpe" gas combine, and has drawn conclusions. It primarily points out that in all phases of the production process, the unity of production, performance increase and safety must be safeguarded by all means. The Politburo has expressed its gratitude and recognition to the members of the experts' commission and to all collectives engaged in the reconstruction of the destroyed plant, for their outstanding work.

Production Increased While Fewer Means Were Employed

Of decisive importance for the performance increase in the past few months is that a more intensive use was made of the qualitative factors of economic

growth by means of intensification and rationalization. The improvement of the relationship between input and output is particularly reflected in the fulfillment by 102.7 percent of the plan for net industrial output by 31 May. The fact is particularly important that the planned basic material costs per M100 worth of commodity production were considerably cut. This is tantamount to saving M505 million. In this context, however, the still existing varying results in this field must not be overlooked.

Great efforts were made in socialist competition to better utilize domestic raw materials and to more effectively employ the available quantities of energy, raw materials and materials. It was possible to ensure the increased production with funds that were lower than in the preceding year. It was possible in the first 5 months of this year to reduce the use of liquid fuels in the national economy by 14 percent, and that of hard coal coke by 9 percent. In all probability, the specific employment of rolled steel in the metal processing industry will be reduced by 6 percent in the first half of 1982.

Dear comrades, the plan for the output of construction was fulfilled by 100.6 percent by the end of May. Further progress has been achieved in the building industry in exploiting qualitative production factors. The net output plan was fulfilled by 105.2 percent. The basic material costs per M100 worth of output, were reduced in excess of the plan.

In transportation, the shifting of road transport to the railroads and inland waterways, as well as the measures for a more rational fashioning of delivery and transport relations, have resulted in a more economical use of transportation, in a reduction of specific transport expenses and in saving fuel. The railroads achieved a performance increase of 2.4 percent compared with the same period last year.

By the end of May, investments totaling M11.7 billion were effected in industry, transport, posts and telecommunications, environmental protection and water management. This is 34.8 percent of the investments planned for 1982.

To sum up, it can be underscored that a remarkable economic performance increase has been achieved in the first 5 months of this year. The further successful implementation of the national economic plan requires our daily waging and well managing the struggle for its fulfillment and purposeful overfulfillment in all sectors of our national economy.

To Enhance Effectiveness of Science and Technology

The measures to link the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution occupied a vast amount of time in the Politburo's deliberations. By the end of May, 566 tasks in the state plan for science and technology were fulfilled according to plan, and an additional 43 tasks were fulfilled ahead of plan. This is 26 percent of the tasks planned for this year.

The third Central Committee meeting decided to examine the 20,000 research and development tasks of combines and enterprises, which will be carried out in 1982, and to strictly adjust them to the 5-year plan targets. As a result, considerably greater targets were set to increase the efficiency and quality of production. Thus the production volume of new products, especially the share of top products for exports and for the requirements of our national economy, was increased. Two thirds of the research and development tasks are being carried out in two or less years.

It is now decisive to increase the economic efficiency of technology and science even more. This requires us to utilize the scientific-technological capacities for the major trends of scientific-technical progress in a uniform and concentrated manner.

The comparison of performance rates between combines in the field of science and technology must be increased to achieve top products playing a decisive role in the world market, a higher production, the highest possible increase in labor productivity and a reduction in production costs. Scientific-technological results must always be tested by the effect they have on the national economy when applied in practice. The setting of economic tasks and economic results are the standard by which scientific-technological activity goes.

Research and technology will only then yeild greater economic results when the production volume of new and better quality products is increased more rapidly. Immediately after being introduced into the production process, new products should be produced in such quantities as to enable us to utilize all our export possibilities and to better meet the requirements of our own national economy.

15,000 Robots Now in Operation

To improve the contribution of research and technology, the technological level of the production process must be generally improved. Especially on the basis of a purposeful use of robot-technology for the automation of production, one should seek multiple possibilities for reducing the amount of labor and manpower.

There are more than 15,000 robots in use in our national economy. They have often determined the higher efficiency of technological processes. Considerable reserves can be achieved if the use of robots is thoroughly prepared everywhere from a technological viewpoint.

To save at least 2.5 men per robot, it is necessary to make use of the experience acquired in our national economy and to guarantee everywhere that robot-technology will bring about far-reaching changes in the overall economy and further improvements in the work and living conditions.

Lignite Is More and More Valuable for Us

Our country's energy and fuel supplies were ensured in the past months by making greater use of our own resources and by the most rational use of energy sources.

The role of crude lignite and of its processed products [veredlungsprodukte] has considerably increased. Of great importance for further ensuring stable energy supplies is the pledge by lignite miners to produce an additional 2.8 million tons of crude lignite in excess of plan tasks.

On 16 June 1982 the secretariat decided on directives aimed at stable supplies of fuel and energy for the people and our economy in the winter of 1982-83. Those directives are the basis for the political leadership of all party organizations and the work of the state leaders in the coal and energy sector and in the fields of the national economy who have to achieve important cooperation ventures in this industrial branch. The key question is to ensure an increase in the efficiency of the national economy and smooth energy supplies for the people.

The commissioning of new capacities must by all means be ensured upon schedule. Liquid energy sources, fuel oil, diesel oil and gasoline must be used even more sparingly.

Within the competition initiative: "Measures more precisely, calculate better, reduce costs," the "Walter Ulbricht" Leuna-Werke combine returned an amount of M8 million from collective funds. Together with the return of funds, the "Wilhelm Pieck" Mansfeld VEB combine will directly change the material consumption norms and use them as a basis for drafting the 1983 plan. The most efficient use of raw and other materials will be achieved through more effective enrichment processes.

Greater Speed in Microelectronics

The Politburo has decided on the basic line for further accelerating the development, production process and utilization of microlectronics in the GDR's national economy. It concerns an above average increase in the production of microelectronical components and special technological equipment and the development of new technologies and varieties of components. The time for developing and introducing new components into the production process should be shortened and the production costs should be constantly reduced. The further intensification of quality research work, development and production of electric components in industry and at the academy of sciences has to be ensured by the construction industry and its important suppliers, especially the chemical, glass and ceramics industry and by metallurgy with punctual deliveries that meet the required quality standards.

A fierce class struggle is taking place in this field too. The embargo policy practiced by U.S. imperialism and the countries under its influence aims at hampering the development of microelectronics in the GDR. The only possible answer to this is an increase in our own achievements and deepening cooperation with fraternal countries, especially with the Soviet Union.

A pressing requirement of the national economy is the further development of the secondary raw material economy. A third of the production and urban waste is currently being used as secondary raw materials and being recycled into the production process. On the basis of the new and further development of processes, installations and machines, better scientific-technical solutions for utilizing secondary raw materials ought to be sought. This is valid both for the modernization and development of preparation and processing capacities.

Concentrated Use of All Investment Funds

As a result of the reexamination of all investment projects decreed by the Politburo, a further concentration of investment activity on projects of decisive influence on the national economy, with an essentially shorter implementation period and a higher economic effectiveness, has been achieved. Thus the production increase of the checked projects was boosted by about M1.5 billion. More than three quarters of the projects, up to M5 billion, contained in the 1982 plan will be completed before the end of this year.

Through a strict state order and control, it must be ensured that not a single mark of investment funds is spent outside the projects stipulated in the plan. That is a question of party and state discipline.

Hence the Politburo has stipulated measures for further improving the quality of management and planning of basic assets reproduction in accordance with the requirements of the 1980's. The crux of the matter is to modernize the existing production potential, to raise the effectiveness of plant's self-production of rationalization means, and to closely link capacity planning with the planning of basic assets reproduction.

Better utilization of the existing assets is an important, and at the same time the least expensive, source for production growth. At present the shiftwork utilization rate [tschichtkoeffizient] in industry is 1.346. If we improve the shiftwork utilization rate in the centrally administered combines by merely 2 hundredths, we will get an increase of industrial goods output by M4.5 billion annually with the same basic assets input. Here is a large reserve which must be tapped through increasing multishift work.

Good Work is Worthwhile

Growing labor productivity, excellent quality of products and declining production costs constitute an inseparable unity for decisively improving the input-output ratio in the national economy. Declining costs, especially reduced production expenditures, are increasingly becoming direct prerequisites for boosting production.

Good results will primarily be achieved where the director generals of the combines wage the struggle for higher economic effectiveness of scientific-technical work with the necessary resolution; consistently enforce the state norms systems, limits and quotas for the use of raw materials, materials and energy resources; and uncompromisingly combat any kind of waste, squander and loss.

The Politburo has adopted a number of decisions designed to further perfect management, planning and economic stimulation.

In compliance with the newly adopted principles for working with the bonus fund, those enterprises will have advantages which adopt high plan targets for goods

production, for net production, for raising labor productivity and lowering costs, as well as targets in the export sector, and which fulfill and overfulfill these targets. As before, by far the largest share of the enterprise bonus funds will be used for paying the end-of-the-year bonuses.

The means of the performance fund must be used more purposefully and more effectively for socialist rationalization and for improving the working people's working and living conditions.

The use of the cultural and social fund will be newly regulated in the interest of ensuring a still better and more efficient supply of, and care for, the working people. The responsibility of the managers for the use of every mark of the cultural and social fund for the benefit of the working people, and for preventing any inappropriate use, will be increased. The enterprise trade union leaderships will be given increased control rights.

The new law on the contract system for state-owned enterprises, which will go into effect on 1 July, is of great importance for further strengthening democratic centralism in the field of economic management and planning. It is aimed at consolidating the unity of plan, balance sheet and contract. The economic contract is an active instrument for ensuring the fulfillment of the tasks stipulated by the plan and the balance sheets. Here we proceeded from the principle, confirmed in practice, that punctual plan and contract fulfillment in compliance with stipulated requirements and quality standards is the fundamental condition for high overall economic effectiveness.

160 Improvement Agreements With the Soviet Union

The Politburo regularly discusses basic questions of economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the USSR.

As far as the program of specialization and cooperation of production between the GDR and the USSR until 1990 is concerned, the Politburo can state that the implementation of the arrangements made by Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, and Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, TCPSU Central Committee general secretary, on the main questions of developing the economic relations between our countries has led to an essential expansion and deepening of cooperation with the USSR in all fields of science, technology and production.

Purposeful work is being done on all key points contained in the program of specialization and cooperation. This applies to tasks that are being solved within the framework of existing agreements, as well as to new tasks connected with new agreements or agreements that are being prepared.

At the 30th session of the GDR-USSR Bipartite Government Commission, which was held this month, another eight government agreements and eight ministerial agreements were signed. They include, among others, the agreement on ferry traffic for the further stabilization of export and import goods transport, and the agreement on cooperation in the field of modern plastics production. Thus there are at present between the GDR and the USSR 160 government and ministerial agreements for economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

Of great importance for our economy is our participating in such new projects in the USSR whereby we achieve a long-term guarantee for the supplies needed by our national economy. This includes the GDR's participation in the construction of the Urengoi-Ushgorod gas pipeline.

In accordance with the agreement between Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Leonid Brezhnev reached during the meeting in the Crimea last year, new steps were taken in cooperation with the USSR in the field of consumer goods.

Trade with Fraternal Countries is a Solid Basis for Our Economy

The Politburo has several times examined questions concerning the progress of scientific-technical and economic cooperation with the other countries of the socialist community.

The increasingly forceful development of our foreign trade relations with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries continues to be a decisive basis for implementing our economic and political targets. In the period covered by this report, the annual protocols on goods exchange with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries were signed after comprehensive and thorough negotiations.

Thus, trade with the socialist countries, which represents a 67 percent share in the overall goods exchange of the GDR, continues to be a solid foreign trade basis for the development of our national economy. By the end of May the plan for exports to the USSR was fulfilled 104.4 percent. The planned exports to the other socialist countries showed a 102 percent fulfillment in the first 5 months of 1982.

The Politburo viewed the recent 36th CEMA session in Budapest as an important contribution to further strengthening the unity and closeness of the socialist countries. Cooperation within CEMA gains in importance also in view of the policy of confrontation of the imperialist countries, which aims at sharpening the international situation.

The decisions of the session and the documents that were signed on intensified cooperation in the construction of nuclear power plants, in microelectronics and industrial robots contribute to jointly solving important tasks of the economic development of CEMA countries in the eighties. It is especially important to intensify social production by accelerating scientific-technological progress.

The CEMA session program on coordinating the 1986-90 plans makes it possible to soon begin examining basic questions of economic relations and further deepening cooperation in the next 5-year plan. Thus, it is important to make use of all opportunities in that cooperation to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of our national economy.

It is the Politburo's task to decisively increase especially the production of profitable and highly technical export goods. This makes it necessary for combines, ministries and--in the case of overlapping economic questions--the council of ministers to make the necessary decisions to readjust the production process. This requires vigilance, but also appropriate perseverance.

Housing Construction Characterized by Qualitatively New Traits

Due to efforts by the working people and despite higher costs, it was possible to successfully continue our sociopolitical program. Of primary importance is the implementation of the housing construction program--the core of our sociopolitical program. Some 69,337 dwellings were newly built or modernized in the past months. Thus, housing conditions improved for some 207,000 citizens. Some 1,644 new apartments were commissioned in excess of plan. Some 3,934 nursery places, 7,575 kindergarten places, 709 classrooms in general-education schools and 34 school sports halls were commissioned in new housing areas and in other areas by the end of May. Through the restoration and maintenance of housing, an amount of M1.4 billion was invested in construction work, supported by the people's initiative: "Join-us!" competition.

As up to now, during the period covered by this report the further modernization of the GDR capital was given priority. By the end of May 7,018 new apartments were built in Berlin or modernized, of which 4,739 are new apartments.

The implementation of our housing program, including new construction, modernization and maintenance of buildings will be determined by qualitatively new traits in the eighties. The decisive task consists of making use of the considerable material and financial means, which have been planned for this complex housing project, in such a manner that, together with the improvement of housing conditions, we will also achieve a better relationship between investment and results. To achieve greater efficiency in housing construction, it is necessary to strictly observe the planned investment norms in all districts.

In June this year, the Politburo decided on measures aimed at further implementing the housing construction program up to 1985. They include clear guidelines on how to achieve the best possible sociopolitical efficiency in housing construction with the planned and considerably high material and financial means.

The Bezirk and Kreis leadership should influence, on a party line, the consistent implementation of these measures. The minister for construction has been asked to uniformly supervise how those tasks are fulfilled and to undertake the necessary consultations with the responsible comrades of the Bezirk leadership.

To Rationally Modernize Existing Housing

An important contribution to effectively implementing all planned construction tasks was made by the eighth congress of the union of architects of the GDR which took place on 6 and 7 May this year. It proved the determination and the creative competition between our architects and urban planners to

achieve a favorable relationship between costs and results already in the project form of their construction activity, and to guarantee solid city planning and architectural quality. This also means rationally preserving the existing valuable housing, modernizing it and harmoniously linking buildings under construction with old ones.

Our experience has taught us that if planned construction costs are respected or kept lower, it is possible to achieve greater progress in further improving housing conditions for our citizens, in making our cities and villages look more beautiful, and last but not least in constantly strengthening the economic efficiency of our national economy.

Dear Comrades! In accordance with improved conditions, the people's net income increased 3.3 percent since the beginning of the current year. Compared with the same timespan last year, more goods worth M510 million were sold to the people in the first 5 months of the current year.

More High-Quality Consumer Goods

In the first months of the current year, the Politburo made a number of decisions to ensure people's supplies. The supply of foodstuffs, bread, bakery goods, milk, milk products, children's food, potatoes and other items were constantly ensured. The offer of high fat-content cheese, eggs, sugar and sweets was quantitatively larger than last year. As for delicatessen items, especially coffee, hard liquor and cigarettes, consumption exceeded planned targets.

The development of an increase in the production of consumer goods characterized by solid product quality, durability, high operational efficiency, low repair costs and appealing design are more and more a criterion for further progress in people's supply. For this year the national plan envisages some 4,500 new consumer items worth M17,839 billion for the people and for export purposes. That means 20 percent of the consumer goods production in industry, and M1.7 billion more than in 1981.

New consumer goods worth more than M5 billion were secured in the first 4 months for the people and for export, including the R500 stereo radio recorder, manual vacuum cleaners, electric sewing machines, the A55 and A60 as well as the VA560 and VA860 washing machines, ladies watches and a new range of lighting fixtures.

One must see to increasing the contribution by Bezirk-led combines in order to increase the production of such products in demand as electrical consumer goods, household items, purses and small leather items, do-it-yourself products, garden and leisure utensils, as well as the 1,000 small things. The centrally-led combines, with their considerable possibilities and experience and with their great scientific-technical potential, should effectively contribute to this.

The 12th Peasants Congress was an Expression of Class Unity

In keeping with the 10th Party Congress decision, the 12th peasants congress of the GDR took place in Berlin 13-14 May. A delegation of the Politburo led by Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, participated. The broad political preparation of that congress contributed to deepening the understanding of the party's economic policy in the eighties by agricultural cooperative members and by workers in agriculture, forestry and the food indus-

try. It contributed to promoting their efficiency and to guaranteeing the implementation of economic targets on the basis of tangible measures and tasks, and under changed conditions.

The congress proceedings took place in an optimistic and constructive atmosphere, and demonstrated the unanimous attachment of the agricultural cooperative members and the workers in GDR agriculture, forestry and the food industry to the policy of the party of the workers class. They reflected the strong and unshakable link between the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party and the class of the agricultural cooperative members as the political basis of our socialist country.

The delegates unanimously confirmed the decision of the 12th peasant congress and the draft of the new LPG-law. Both documents are of great importance for further strengthening socialist production conditions in the countryside and for developing the class of agricultural cooperative members and deepening the unity between the workers class and the class of cooperative peasants.

To give general application to the experience gained by the political-ideological and economic activity in preparing the 12th peasant congress of the GDR, the Politburo heard a report by the Schwerin Bezirk leadership. The stance taken by the Politburo in this respect guided all Bezirk leaderships toward the central points in further activity following the Kreis peasant conferences and in the preparation of the congress.

After a thorough preparation of the Bezirk Party Aktiv meeting, annual general meetings and presentation of accountability reports took place in all LPG and VEG [People's Owned Estates]. In 193 Kreis peasant conferences, 51,609 chosen delegates discussed how the greater tasks can be fulfilled by assuming concrete tasks. Councils for the agriculture and food industry were elected at the Kreis peasant conferences. They must especially control how assumed work tasks are fulfilled, must see to the general application of experience and must contribute to overcoming existing differences in results and performance.

Upon a Politburo decision, a meeting of the SED Central Committee, and of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs with women cooperative peasants and workers took place as part and parcel of preparations for the 12th peasants congress.

The achieved degree of mechanization, particularly in plant production requires a more intensive employment of women and girls in modern agricultural technology, as well as their purposeful technical qualification.

It is necessary to do more to facilitate work in the animal production legs where many women are working in conventional animal sheds. The road must be paved to leading posts for young capable college and professional school graduates.

To Higher Yields Through Further Intensification

It is now important in the political work of the party and state leaderships, proceeding from the clear prospects of the class of cooperative peasants and from cooperative property, to comprehensively consolidate the LPGS and to deepen cooperation between plant and animal production.

It is necessary to use the readiness of the cooperative peasants and workers to face the new, higher tasks of the eighties through wise organization and through creative and responsible work, so that the required performance increase is achieved with fewer means. The unity of economic and social policy also has a far-reaching impact in the agricultural sphere, and encourages the cooperative peasants and workers' will to achieve.

On this basis it is necessary to mobilize all forces in the socialist competition in order to fulfill the state procurement plan for milk and slaughtering cattle this year under the complicated conditions.

The yields and performances in plant and animal production must be further enhanced and stabilized on a priority basis through further intensification of production, and the domestic fodder base must be enlarged.

All efforts must be aimed at comprehensively utilizing science and technology, at effectively using each square meter of soil, constantly increasing its fertility, cutting losses and better using all the available fodder. At the same time this requires a highly economical use of power and materials, and an effective operation of fixed assets. The life span of technical equipment must be considerably extended.

The appeal of the youth brigade of the Hamersleben "Wilhelm Pieck" LPG to all mechanizers to compete with their colleages on the basis of specific norms and to save fuel, lubricants and maintenance costs should be supported by all basic branches in the LPGS and VEGS.

The close linkage of modern agricultural science with the experiences and economic ideas of the peasants constitutes a new step toward enhancing the effectiveness which we need now. This is not achieved automatically. We should promote the ideological readiness of the cadres to more strongly face up to the new scientific findings. In addition, systematic work on the part of the state organs is required to implement science and technology.

Demands On Agricultural Science

We have great hopes for agricultural science to create the required lead for a performance increase in plant production and animal husbandry, in technical equipment and technology, animal nutrition, socialist enterprise management and in other fields.

It is in line with fine peasant traditions to calculate wisely. If this is being done by the boards of cooperatives, by the managers and specialists in the LPGS and VEGS, as well as in the state organs, socialist enterprise management will advance. Such cooperatives and state farms possess balanced propor-

tions between labor, assets and enterprise structure. The cooperative peasants and workers accomplish great achievements in socialist competition. Their participation in the thinking, calculating and decisionmaking in the reproduction process; the full assertion of the performance principle; clearcut, organizational forms that are visible at once and which take into consideration the available territorial conditions, as well as a tight economical accountancy--all this will advance us further.

Vast potentials can still be unearthed through managerial work in those cooperatives whose production standard is lagging.

The delegates to the 12th GDR Peasants Congress unanimously advocated promoting production opportunities in the individual private economies of the cooperative peasants and workers. The private economies of the cooperative peasants and the vegetable gardens of the village dwellers are part and parcel of village life. At the same time they are greatly useful to society. This also applies to the activity of members of the union of small gardeners, settlers and small livestock breeders who set new targets for themselves at their fifth association congress in early June.

Fulfilling the 1982 national economic plan requires major efforts in agriculture.

As was demanded in the Politburo resolution of 1 June, purposeful measures must be defined to qualify animal keepers, primarily the milkers. College and technical school cadres from state and scientific institutions and agricultural consultative services must be enlisted to strengthen the LPG leadership where the production standard is still low.

Foot and mouth disease broke out in March in some Kreise of Rostock and Neubrandenburg Bezirke. There is no doubt that its successful control, with relatively low losses of animals, has been the outcome of the protective measures supported by the population with great discipline, quick vaccination of the animal stocks and other prophylactic measures. In doing so, we were supported by Soviet veterinary institutions.

Cooperation Among Plant and Animal Producers Proves Its Worth

The entire course of spring work has confirmed that the change in the organization of labor which was carried out in many cooperatives, the setting up of territorially organized brigades, and the definite assignment of technical equipment and soil have been advantageous for both speed and quality. A closer cooperation among plant and animal producers has also proved to be very useful in this respect.

On the whole, it is necessary to wage an even more vigorous struggle for high cultivation standards and to till the fields in an orderly manner even under difficult weather conditions. It is necessary to carefully replant gaps in the fields caused, for example, by dammed up water, which cannot be prevented. This particularly applies to the northern districts.

On 1 June the Politburo adopted a decision on measures in preparation for the grain and root crop harvest, as well as for the 1982 fall operations. This decision focuses on seeing to it that whatever has been grown is harvested and stored with minimum losses everywhere, and is delivered for sale or further processing or for fodder supplies to the animal stocks.

Students' Training With Great Effectiveness

In the period covered by the report, the activity of the communists and their political influence on the teaching, study, work and research collectives has further increased at the GDR academy of sciences and at the universities, colleges and technical schools. The members of the colleges and technical schools, and of the GDR Academy of Sciences, let themselves be guided by the fact that their activity in strengthening and protecting socialist constitutes their decisive contribution to securing peace. This is reflected in many efforts and pledges to enhance the technical standards, effectiveness and practical impact of teaching and research, and in exacting targets for the continuation of socialist competition. In letters to Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, in public speeches and in daily work the scientists are displaying their great confidence in the proven policy of the party of the workers class.

Great efforts are being undertaken to fundamentally improve the input-output ratio also in scientific work. The competition programs contain measures to further enhance the standard of communist education and of the qualified training of the students, as well as of the young generation of scientists. A particular task now arises for all disciplines to work out the consequences resulting from the party's economic strategy, and to bring them to bear in the education and training process.

The FDJ students' days and the exhibitions of students' performances in 1982 very impressively reflect the progress in the students independent scientific work. These results must be used even more strongly to enhance the standards of the entire education and training process. The comradely collaboration between the college and technical school teachers and the students and their FDJ branches should be further deepened.

Scientific Potentials Concentrated on Key Points

On 11 May 1982 the Politburo approved the concept for admission to college and technical school studies until 1990. Therefore, important decisions have been adopted for the development of colleges and technical schools in the coming decade, for the structure of admissions and on the number of graduates for the national economy until the mid nineties.

The GDR's scientific institutions are successfully using the possibilities, resulting from socialist economic integration, for enhancing the social effectiveness of science and of a college education. The quality and effectiveness of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states are being increased first and foremost through a coordination which centers on key issues, and through the concentration of potentials for mutual advantage.

The GDR college system is making a great contribution to supporitng the developing countries by the training and advanced training of cadres on the basis of international solidarity, of mutually advantageous cooperation, and by dispatching experts.

The verification of research topics by all scientists' collectives after the Third Central Committee session has yielded important results for a more effective fashioning of research at the academy of sciences and at colleges, as well as specific conclusions for conducting the socialist competition. The scientific potential has been focused on solving significant national economic tasks, particularly in the field of microelectronics and robot technology.

In microelectronics, the GDR Academy of Sciences has set itself the task of intensifying research work on basic problems of new fundamental technologies and on new solutions involving components. Research on industrial robots was substantial intensified.

The comrades of the Central Institute for Optics and Spectroscopy have increased the services offered by their institute and are more strongly concentrating on topics of major national economic significance. In the chemistry research field, the comrades have set themselves the task of enhancing the national economic impact of research through more active political-ideological work.

It was possible to achieve good progress in the long-term coordination of basic research with combines and institutions of the national economy as well as in intensifying technical-technological work. A further increase in the efficiency rate of science and technology requires that the GDR Academy of Sciences and the colleges fully meet their specific responsibility for basic research, that they produce new theoretical findings and immediately contribute to the national economic performance development.

It must be ensured through a purposeful guidance of research that the planned results must be supplied in accordance with time and quality requirements, while much better using the available material-technical base, and that they are transmitted to production without any delay.

The critical verification of research targets and the constant comparison of the achieved partial results with social requirements must be continued. Through political-ideological work, the position must be even more strongly developed among all scientists that research work is only completed when its results are being applied, when they codetermine the international standard and yield high social benefits.

Good Results of Research Work

The first year of the central research plan of the Marxist-Leninist social sciences 1981-1985 has been concluded with good results. An essential contribution to these results has been made by projects serving the implementation of economic strategy, acceleration of scientific-technical progress, in the fields of GDR foreign policy and international relations, research into imperialism, and of the struggle against the bourgeois ideology.

We support the endeavors of scientists to make the results of their research increasingly available for management and planning of social processes through research reports, studies and similar elaborations. Numerous works give evidence of the growing effectiveness of social sciences in developing socialist awareness, deepening the understanding of history, and strengthening the pride in our socialist fatherland and the internationalist attitude of our citizens. Such books as "History of the FDJ" and "History of the FDGB" are playing an outstanding part in this respect.

From 18 to 21 May 1982 the fifth conference of the vice presidents for social sciences of the academies of sciences of the socialist countries was held in Berlin. Delegations from 10 socialist countries participated in this meeting. It made an important contribution toward developing the theoretical and ideopolitical work of the Marxist-Leninist social scientists of the socialist countries, and to increasing its effectiveness in the ideological class struggle.

Similarly good results were obtained at the congress of the multilateral commission of socialist countries for problems of cultural theory, literature and arts sciences held 25-30 March 1982 in Berlin.

Education for a Clear-Cut Class Position

The decision of the Central Committee secretariat "for raising the quality of the civics teaching and the political work with the civics teachers after the 10th SED Congress" is of special significance for implementing the decisions of the 10th Party Congress in the public education sector. The task set by the 10th Party Congress to help the young acquire solid knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, and to use it as a compass for their own life, applies especially to civics teaching.

This decision stipulates how the contribution of this teaching subject toward developing an unchangeable revolutionary class position and the firm conviction of the victoriousness of the cause of socialism can be further increased. From this viewpoint the decision is at the same time of fundamental importance for work in all social science subjects of instruction.

The secretaries of the Bezirk and Kreis leaderships of the party have been asked to take measures to ensure a high level and more effective forms of ideopolitical work with the civics teachers. In particular, it must be ensured that topical political problems, the decisions of the party and their implementation in the field be thoroughly explained to the teachers of this subject, by leading functionaries of the party, state and economy.

Upon the decision of the Central Committee secretariat, the central directors conference of the Ministry of Public Education was held 10-12 May 1982 in Karl-Marx-Stradt. Directors and school functionaries discussed the results obtained in further developing the public education system after the 10th Party Congress, and exchanged their experiences. They worked out the requirements which result, after the third session of the Central Committee, for the further political-pedagogical work at the schools and other public education institutions.

Teachers Full of Confidence in the Party's Policy

The conference reflected the teachers great confidence in the party's policy, and demonstrated their determination to make their contribution toward the further universal strengthening of our GDR, and thus toward safeguarding peace, through good, solid work in educating and training the new generation.

The speech of Comrade Margot Honecker, minister of public education, and the discussion speech of Comrade Kurt Hager, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, were received with strong approval and assessed as a working basis for the further implementation, with great initiative, of the decisions of the 10th Party Congress in the field of school policy.

It is the task of the party Kreis leaderships and of the school party organizations, in connection with the conclusion of the current school year and the preparation of the new school year, to ensure that in terms of the standards of the central directors conference, all schools assess what has been specifically achieved, which problems of political-pedagogical work require still greater attention, and which questions must be tackled even more consistently in view of the current and future requirements.

To Link Education More Closely With Practice

An important condition for solving the tasks set for the schools is the constant raising of the militant strength of the school party organization. The further perfecting of communist education necessitates a further development of the responsibility of all basic organizations and of the social forces. Education and training must be linked even more closely with the practice of our social life. At every enterpirse of industry, building industry and agriculture, a high quality of polytechnical teaching must be ensured. The multifarious specific opportunities of the enterpirses, of the scientific, cultural and other societal institutions to exert influence on the education of the young generation must be still better used.

Together with the enterprise managements and trade union leaderships, the comrades in the local state organs are responsible for ensuring the personal and material conditions, including transportation, for students in the preparation for, and implementation of, the 1982-83 school year.

As a result of the growing birth rate in the past few years, the number of preschool children will continue to increase in the coming years. The establishment of the required number of kindergarten places must be ensured in all regions. This should be constantly controlled by the party Kreis leaderships.

Dear Comrades, a thorough analysis of the third Central Committee meeting has touched off varied activities in the field of culture and arts, aimed at further raising the quality and effectiveness of cultural and artistic achievements in the struggle for safeguarding peace, and in shaping the developed socialist society.

It has always been part of the best traditions of progressive German writers and artists to openly take sides in the current struggles, with the weapons of art. With passion and persistency the cultural and arts workers of all sectors are working for peace and disarmament, against the imperialist intensified armament. Thus, lectures of the Writers Association and activities of the cultural league have been held in every Bezirk.

Further improving the intellectual-cultural prerequisites for our high economic performance increase must always be the focus of all cultural and arts institutions. Many proposals submitted during the trade union elections aimed at raising the cultural level of the workers class. Manifold stimuli emanated from the preparation of the workers festivals which will be held in the Neubrandenburg Bezirk in a few days.

Where the decisions of the third Central Committee session were correctly understood, new ways and means are being found, through local initiative and joint efforts, to continue the upswing of intellectual-cultural life.

Many Initiative of the Cultural League

Many initiatives have emanated from the cultural league of the GDR in the period under review. A considerable contribution toward this was made by the new election of its leadership. About 150,000 members participated in about 6,000 election meetings. The 10th National Congress has confirmed that the cultural league members are indefatigably working for a multifaceted intellectual-cultural life of high ideological effectiveness.

The higher standards set by the 10th Party Congress determine the development of arts in our socialist society. They have also marked the delegates conference of the GDR Association of Composers and Musicologists, which was held in February 1982 in Berlin. In their discussions the delegates expressed their strong affinity with the policy of our party. The musicians were able to point out good results of their past work, and determined their future tasks which primarily consist of raising the quality and effectiveness of socialist music.

The "Berlin Days of People's Art" held from 29 April to 2 May in the palace of the republic became a popular festival of optimism and joy of living which produced a strong effect on the masses. More than 4,000 people's artists of the capital provided about 150,000 Berliners and their guests with a great political and artistic experience.

The bestowing of awards on the occasion of Johann Friedrich Boettger's 300th birthday and of Johann Wolfgang Goethe's 150th death anniversary give new evidence of the continuous and creative incorporation of the cultural heritage in our country, a heritage with a living relationship to the tasks of the present.

In all fields of culture and arts, it is necessary to further increase their effectiveness for the development of a socialist personality and awareness, for the promotion of creativeness, pleasure in work and well-being of the working people. Decisive prerequisites for this are the consolidation of ideological positions of the cultural workers and artists, and the deepening of their relations with the socialist reality. In accordance with our time-tested policy of alliance, the Bezirk and Kreis leaderships should further intensify their cooperation with cultural workers and artists.

A Great Accomplishment: New Construction of the Berlin Charite

In the period under review, noteworthy results were achieved in further developing our socialist health and social services, a few days ago the newly constructed Berlin charite [hospital] was opened by Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary. Thus the to-date most important investment project in the GDR higher education and public health sector has been completed.

Many initiatives have been touched off among the health and social services workers by the performance-oriented wage increases for medium-salary medical personnel and other vocational groups, which went into effect in December last year upon the decision of the Politburo.

In medical and social care for the citizens, the promotion of basic medical care, especially by general practicioners, is given first priority. Great attention is devoted to combatting frequently occurring chronic diseases as well as infections diseases. Prophylactic treatment is gaining increased importance as a social task. All endeavors are important which are designed to ensure qualified medical care for the working people at the enterprises, and the elimination of still existing health hazards at the working place.

The joint efforts of public health, enterprises and trade unions to reduce sick leave must be strengthened through the consistent general application of positive experiences. We are greatly interested in improving the level of health care for mothers and children. Care for the elderly and handicapped citizens is of general social concern, as was pointed out at the ninth central delegates conference of people's solidarity, and at the seventh congress of the union of the blind and one-eyed of the GDR in June this year.

The workers in health care and social security are more and more guided by the fact that their responsible activity devoted to life and health can directly contribute to strengthening socialism and to revealing its superiority and humane nature.

The belief is constantly strengthened that by consistently continuing the unity between the economic and social policy in the field of health and social security in the eighties, too, it is necessary to considerably increase efficiency, so as to ensure greater benefits for the health of our citizens on the basis of the comprehensive potential available.

The party leadership has made the necessary decisions on developing physical training and sports. Broad response has been noted as concerns the seventh gymnastics and sports festival and the ninth children and youth Spartakiad of the GDR. The proper planned progress of the preparations for the big national physical training and sports festival is proven by the numerous activities

within the "Spartakiad and relay race '83" of the German gymnastiosand sports federation, by the positive results of the Spartakiad sports competition and those recorded in practice for the sports show of the festival, and by people's sports competitions.

Four Million Working People Practice Sports

Almost 200,000 children and youth participated in winter sports within the Kreis and Bezirk children and youth Spartakiad.

In preparing for the coming summer sports Kreis and Bezirk Spartakiad, we must see that the level of those positive experiences is kept up. Within the framework of the preliminary contests, we must pay special attention to Kreis sports competitions of apprentices.

Within the framework of leisure and recreation sports, more and more working people are making use of sports opportunities in combines and enterprises, in residential areas and during weekends and holiday. The joint sports program of the GDR German gymnastics and sports federation, of the FDGB and FDJ is promoting such efforts in many respects. Last year alone more than 4 million workers, employees, cooperative peasants, intellectuals and other working people participated in that program.

It is especially gratifying to note that the jogging and hiking movement is constantly broadening. Essential impetus has been given to sports activities by the GDR badges program: "Ready for work and for defending the fatherland."

Our sportswomen and sportsmen achieved positive results at the European and world winter sports championships. The GDR was able to maintain its good position within the winter Olympics. However, we have also realized that we have to accelerate the pitch of performance in such disciplines as special ski jumping, cross country skiing and men's speed skating and figure skating.

The 35th peace ride in our capital of Berlin was received with enthusiasm. The extraordinary success scored by our peace drivers within the overall, individual and team rating is the result of purposeful training and an excellently fighting collective.

Within the summer Olympics, the majority of the overall 40 world and European championships for senior and junior sportsmen this year are still to take place. We are firmly convinced that trainers, sports scientists, sports physicians and sports employees will continue to spare no efforts to prepare our national teams for those important international sports competitions.

At the invitation of the GDR National Olympic Committee, Juan Antonio Samaranch, chairman of the International Olympics Committee [ICC], paid a visit to the GDR. The IOC chairman's stay in our republic and his talks with Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the state council, were an opportunity for an intensive exchange of opinions about current issues of the international Olympic movement.

The State Power Has Been Further Strengthened

During the timespan since the third Central Committee meeting, the Politburo and secretariat made a number of decisions aimed at further strengthening our socialist state power. Our worker and peasant state guarantees the political stability of our socialist society. The capability of the bodies of our worker and peasant state to lead the economic and other social processes in a complex manner has improved. This is refelcted by the increased fighting energy of the party and state bodies.

The party elections have especially contributed to strengthening that fighting energy. As is customary with communists, they were held in a sound, party and optimistic atmosphere. It was frankly and critically discussed what concrete responsibilities are devolving on each communist within the state aparatus to ensure the strict implementation of party decisions.

To continue to implement the 10th Party Congress decisions under changed circumstances requires uncompromisingly fighting to implement each task and resolving each problem creatively. This is of special importance for regional planning. Both in solving long-term projects and with regard to the many daily issues, state functions cannot do without the participation of working people and without making use of their proposals.

Progress has undoubtedly been recorded in this respect. However, our people's representatives, their bodies and deputies have not yet exhausted the opportunities to continue to progress in ensuring regional production conditions; in exploring and opening further reserves for increasing the efficiency of enterprises; in securing supplies, transportation means and means of conveyance by strictly respecting the set energy, power and fuel quotas, and in solving the multifaceted communal problems.

All our experience proves that task-related comparisons of performance and a thorough analysis of results can effectively contribute to overcoming mediocrity and to succeeding in applying the best work experience and thus achieve better results with less effort.

Responsibility for an Effective Communal Policy

Multifaceted activities have been carried out in the past months to further improve work by local state bodies in towns and villages. Proceeding from the third Central Committee meeting and from Comrade Erich Honecker's speech to the first Kreis secretaries, the conferences of mayors and state functionaries in several Bezirk discussed conclusions for the activity of people's representatives, their councils and mayors. The tasks thus agreed upon, which were mentioned in letters to our party's Central Committee general secretary, are of great importance. They reflect the great responsibility of the socialist state power in towns and villages for an effective communal policy.

It is necessary to have capable and reliable mayors everywhere who, as representatives of the state power and as trustworthy representatives of the citizens, are accurately fulfilling state tasks together with the deputies, and promoting the activity carried out by citizens. To achieve this, the cadres activity and that of Kreis councils should focus even more on this issue. Our party's

Bezirk and Kreis leaderships should strengthen their influence in local party organizations, party groups of local people's representatives and in basic organizations in the state bodies.

Dear Comrades! The Politburo has heard a report by the GDR general prosecutor on the development and fight against crime in 1981. In guaranteeing legal security and legal protection for our citizens and society against crimes and other violations of the law, our socialist state is characterized by great stability. We view this as a positive result of the struggle waged by our socialist society against crime, and a result of the successful activity carried out by the security and justice bodies in our worker and peasant state.

In further strengthening the socialist legal order, we support all initiatives aimed at guaranteeing legal security and legal protection for our citizens and society against crimes and other violations of the law. We have to take more effective actions to prevent fires, damage or other disruptions of the production process. All leading personnel in combines and enterprises are dutybound to see to this to a great extent.

The new law on social tribunals, which was adopted by the fourth people's assembly session, is of far-reaching importance for our citizens' contribution to strengthening our socialist legal order. On the basis of this law, the rights of the social tribunals are broadened considerably. This will contribute to increasing their influence on safeguarding the citizens' rights and also on the responsible fulfillment of citizens' legal duties toward their fellow citizens and society. It is in keeping with the interests of society if social tribunals pay greater attention to protecting public property and to the observance and application of city and communal regulations.

It is recommended that Kreis leaderships and our party's basic organizations assist the members of social tribunals and all those who are responsible for their support in state bodies, social establishments and enterprises in preparing for 1 January 1983 when this law comes into force.

Secure Protection for Socialist Achievements

In the timespan covered by this report, the party acted, as usual, in accordance with the Leninist principle which stipulates that the struggle for peace and protecting the socialist fatherland are inseparately linked. Socialist national defense has been further strengthened, and the security of our state border has increased. At the end of May the deputies of the people's assembly unanimously endorsed the law of military service in the GDR and the law on the GDR's state border. Both laws have been in force ever since 1 May 1982. They have been clearly approved by the working people, the military, the border guards and the other members of the GDR's defense and security bodies.

On the basis of the most recent military-political and military-scientific notions, on the basis of the demands of the present and of the near future, the legal conditions are ensured so that the working people, so that every citizen may be able to implement his right and duty to defend his peaceful life and his socialist fatherland in a reliable manner.

Both laws represent a further step forward toward a consistent implementation of the foreign, security and military policy adopted at the 10th SED Congress, which is aimed at the people's well-being and at guaranteeing peace. The implementation of this policy guarantees the stability, inviolability and sovereignty of the workers and peasants' power, which is capable of fulfilling all duties necessary to ensure reliable protection of socialist law and order, and which is also capable of bearing its responsibility in the community of the fraternal Warsaw Pact member countries for ensuring peace and security.

A session of the military council of the Warsaw Pact allied armed forces was held in April 1982 in Berlin, the capital of the GDR. In an atmosphere of friendship and in a spirit of close cooperation, as well as mutual understanding, this session expressed the firm resolve of the fraternal countries to constantly and unrelentingly perfect the combat strength and combat readiness of the allied armies, under the present circumstances of a tense international situation, and to do everything within their power to implement this perfection.

People's Army and Border Troops with High Achievements

Loyal to their patriotic and international attitude, the National People's Army [NVA] and the border troops are fulfilling their military duty. Under the tested slogan: "Combat position 10th Party Congress. For a high combat readiness! Everything for the good of the people!" The army personnel and the border troops accomplished outstanding achievements in their political and combat training and in implementing the tasks of military service, as well as of combat service in protecting our state border during the first half of the 1981-82 training year.

As everywhere in our country, the members of the NVA, the border troops and all other protection and security organs in the GDR are struggling to implement the decisions adopted by the Third Central Committee meeting on strict economies and increasing effectiveness in accomplishing tasks. They are devoting all their efforts to achieving the greatest possible increase and improvement of combat strength and combat readiness with the material, technical and financial means available to them. The firm resolve not to burden our country's economy more than necessary, and not only to be a good soldier but also a thrifty and efficient economist at the same time, increasingly determines the thoughts and actions of our military personnel. A broad mass initiative was adopted, for example, in connection with saving gasoline and lubricants, fuel and coal, and in connection with saving electric power and water. Thanks to strict leadership and efficient organization, as well as to consistent use of modern scientific and technical notions, it became possible to go beyond the usual forms of savings, to overcome routine and to introduce basic changes.

An atmosphere of great political activities and resolute struggle for the implementation of party decisions and instructions characterizes party elections within the NVA and among the border guards, as well as among the other GDR protection and security organs. The ideological and organizational unity and cohesion of the party collectives has been further intensified.

To Win Young People For a Military Career!

In implementing the decisions of the 10th Party Congress and of the Third Central Committee meeting, we succeeded in transforming the efforts to win young people for a military career into a nationwide social cause. Relying upon the strength of the party and the FDJ organizations, outstanding work is being accomplished in enterprises and schools in order to encourage them in the decision to embark on this career, and in order to prepare them for this future work involving great responsibility. The military service law demands that we persist in these efforts, as well as further intensify them. It remains one of the militant tasks of party organizations in all spheres to see to it that in the selection, encouragement, confirmation and preparation for this service the principle of reliability and qualification of the candidates for a military career should be applied and constantly observed, and that an unmistakable and solid ideological class position as well as active political work should be the criteria applied to the selection of suitable candidates for a military career. In order to make sure that the decision to embark on a military career, which is highly appreciated by our society, is supported by the necessary professional competence, we expect our comrades serving in the NVA, in border guard troops and in the other GDR protection and security organs to make even greater efforts than before in presenting to our young people a realistic picture of the tasks and duties facing them during military service and in a military career.

The party's particular attention must continue to be focused upon the further, comprehensive development of cadres in the NVA, in the border guards, in the other GDR protection and security organs, as well as in the GDR civil defense organs. This attention must also be applied to a qualitatively new coordination of science and military affairs. It is important that the party's science and higher educational policy be applied to the military sector also so as to implement this policy on a long-term basis to the greatest advantage of improving combat strength and combat readiness. The military higher educational institutions are assigned the task of training officers who will distinguish themselves both by their communist education and by their military competence, as well as to assert themselves as centers of military theoretical work.

Everything that is being accomplished today, and will be accomplished in future in the educational and training sectors, in post-graduate education, as well as in the further development of scientific and research work in the military higher educational institutions, is of great and extensive importance for the future activities of the NVA, the border guards and other GDR protection and security organs, so that they may continue to efficiently transform their expanding tasks in protecting our socialist achievements.

Our army personnel have once again proved this winter that we can always rely on our people's soldiers--in the daily struggle for improving combat strength and combat readiness, as well as in emergency cases of struggle against the forces of nature.

The soldiers are actively supporting the selfless efforts of the miners in the brown coal mines in providing reliable supplies of energy and fuel under difficult climatic conditions. With a lofty sense of responsibility, with selfless

deeds and soldierly skill, they worked side by side with the water economy forces and with civil defense members in protecting numerous citizens and important economic enterprises against the danger caused by the icy floods of the Oder River.

The SED Central Committee expresses its gratitude to all those who helped to avert the danger of the gloods.

The appeal of the 10th SED Congress to young people, calling on them to adopt a communist concept of the purpose of life, found wide response. Thus, the "FDJ assignment 10th Party Congress" which was adopted by the 11th parliament, became a mass movement of youth in our country.

Ardent Youth Protest the Brussels Missile Decision

Following a positive FDJ tradition, over 4 million FDJ members and members of the "Ernst Thaelmann" pioneers organization, as well as young people of all strata, and other citizens demonstrated in favor of the peace policy conducted by the USSR, the GDR and the other socialist states, during the pentecost meeting and the "days of friendship between GDR and CSSR youths." At 3,000 meetings, among which 170 mass rallies took place, the young people demanded the abolition of the Brussels NATO missile decision with eloquent insistence and passionate dedication. These rallies confirmed at the same time the revolutionary unity and unanimity of all generations in our country. On these occasions the young people wholeheartedly expressed their approval of the SED policy which is entirely aimed at the people's well-being and peace, the young people also confirmed their readiness to do everything within their power for the economic consolidation of the GDR and for the defense of socialism. The SED Central Committee [words indistinct] and expressed its gratitude for the work accomplished.

In political discussions with young people on our country's domestic and foreign policy, as well as on the present international situation, it appears that the manner in which we succeed to stimulate our young people's thoughts and feelings in coping with objective demands of our time, is of great importance for the promotion of the young people's will and readiness to become involved in all kinds of achievements. Young people have the wish to assert themselves and to prove their value. They also wish to discuss complicated problems. Therefore it is correct to instruct them, from a party point of view, on the tasks they are facing in connection with the further development of a developed socialist society, and to explain to them why socialism and peace are indissolubly linked to each other.

During the period under review the FDJ published a book entitled: The History of the FDJ." Comrade Erich Honecker received a delegation of the FDJ Central Council on this occasion. He pointed out in this connection that the "FDJ History" that has now been published is of great importance for the communist education of youths. We are convinced that acquaintance with the history of the FDJ will give new impetus to the new FDJ generation for new achievements and for a further development of our socialist revolution.

With great joy we have ascertained that many youth brigades have revised their goals, following the Leipzig seminar of the SED Central Committee, in order to overfulfill the tasks of the 1982 national economic plan by at least two daily production rates, and to contribute to the return of funds to the state. At the same time, the performance comparison of youth brigades under the slogan: "Everyone must achieve good results every day" has proved successful. It is also necessary for all state leading organs to support the initiative of the FDJ and the "Ernst Thaelmann" pioneers organization for additional collection of secondary raw materials.

FDJ Members Face New Tasks on the Natural Gas Pipeline

An increasing number of combines and enterprises have found out that young people are capable of great achievements when they are involved in responsible tasks, such as those assigned by the masters of tomorrow movement in innovation work and on youth projects for the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. At this year's fairs of the masters of tomorrow held in enterprises and Kreis, young innovators are showing numerous interesting achievements. For this reason it is less understandable that in certain combines the achievements and capacities of the young workers, engineers and scientists are not sufficiently used.

The Politburo agreed with the proposal of the FDJ Central Council to transfer the project for the construction of the natural gas pipeline section from the Soviet Union, which has been assigned to our country, to the FDJ as a further major central youth project. In the meantime, the first FDJ delegates have started work in the Soviet Union. We are convinced that the members of the socialist youth organization will worthily distinguish themselves in the construction of the new natural gas pipeline and in the struggle for high effectiveness and great quality. We are also convinced that they will contribute through their excellent work to the intensification of relations of friendship with Lenin's native country and with the Leninist Komsomol. FDJ members have accomplished great achievements in the Berlin FDJ initiative, as well as in the construction of natural gas pipelines within the country.

Youth Law is Being Successfully Implemented

Youths in the rural areas and in agriculture are proving by their deeds that they have responded to the challenge for great achievements and creative work, and that they are ready to contribute to implementing the tasks set by the 12th peasants congress. An increasing number of youths are participating in tasks connected with scientific and technical plans, are establishing youth brigades and are setting up youth complexes for the harvest. They are improving fodder economy and are rationalizing the already existing stables. They are building their own rationalization projects, are taking over care for the technical equipment and are assisting in improving working and living conditions in the rural areas.

We support the efforts of the FDJ and the "Ernst Thaelmann" pioneers organization to involve more young people in agricultural professions.

During the week devoted to youths and sports which took place in May 1982, good results were achieved in implementing the youth law and in fulfilling the tasks assigned by the plans on the promotion of youth. Valuable successes were achieved wherever there was a unity and coordination of great achievements in the sphere of professional work, studies and school work with a high standard of recreational activities for young people.

In this connection, precisely the preparations for the FDJ cultural conference will provide further incentives. It is useful for the cause when the state organs assist the FDGB, the GDR German gymnastics and sports federation, the society for sport and technology, the cultural league and the artists associations, as well as other social forces likely to render comradely support to the FDJ during the preparations for these major cultural political events.

Our young pioneers have achieved good results in implementing their assignment under the slogan: "Pioneers' expedition--always ready!" Those who have most distinguished themselves in this initiative were awarded travel vouchers to the seventh pioneers rally in Dresden. Preparations for this great social event have introduced even greater variety and meaning into pioneer freindships and pioneer groups. The young pioneers are participating with great interest in initiatives for developing their native towns and villages, and for promoting enterprises which have assumed patronage over them. Teachers and educators, veteran workers, propagandists and representatives of patronage brigades, as well as representatives of the armed forces, are discussing topical political issues with them and are helping them to become aware of the development of socialism in the GDR and to follow all events with understanding. The SED party leaderships are also comprehensively supporting such efforts.

Our party can ascertain with satisfaction that the fraternal relations existing between the FDJ and the Leninist Komsomol are steadily being intensified. This was convincingly demonstrated at the 19th Komsomol Congress.

Important Women's Contribution to the Consolidation of the GDR

Under the slogan "women's awareness and contribution to socialism and peace, for the benefit of children and for the people's well-being" the Democratic Women's League [DFD] held elections for leading bodies in the groups, in the Kreise and Bezirke, which lasted until February 1982. During these elections the members of these women's organizations forcefully proved how actively they are participating in the consolidation of our republic, in the preservation of peace, as well as in the accomplishment of multifarious social tasks.

The DFD has succeeded in involving more women from different strata of the population and of different ideological views in the social life of their areas of residence. Since the 10th DFD Congress over 358,000 new members, 80 percent of whom have no party affiliation, have been recruited for the DFD. Of the approximately 141,000 executive board members, 57.6 percent are not affiliated to any party.

The 11th DFD Federal Congress represented a true climax in the life of the DFD. In an atmosphere of political openmindedness, the delegates expressed their readiness to contribute all their efforts consolidating our workers and peasants state.

They expressed the will not to spare any effort in the struggle for the preservation of peace, and to participate in civil defense as well as to actively support their husbands and sons in performing their duties for the protection of the socialist motherland.

Being fully confident in our party's policy, GDR women are ready to improve even more their increased knowledge and talents for the implementation of the main task coordinating economic and social policy.

The Politburo considers that the active support for the DFD leaderships by Bezirk and Kreis leaderships, as well as by the housing block party organizations, has been worthwhile and will be useful in future. We are expecting our party leaderships to actively support the women's organization in its purposeful implementation of the decisions adopted by the 11th Federal Congress.

Wide Scope for Citizens' Industriousness

An extended session of the national front national council was held in January 1982, and launched the citizens initiative under the slogan: "Let us beautify our cities and communities--join in!" This is an action program for the period up to 1985. The hitherto obtained results in this competition show that individual initiatives of the citizens for the maintainance and repair of houses and apartments, the numerous initiatives for improving the housing environment, for guaranteeing security and order, for uncovering material reserves, as well as for utilizing kitchen and food remains, are now producing greater results than during the same period of 1981.

Many citizens from rural areas have assisted the agricultural production cooperatives in planting and cultivating crops, and have greatly contributed to the food supply of the population by efficiently using their own private gardens and plots.

At present some 350,000 members are working in the 17,826 national front committees, including 156,700 communists, 75,000 members of friendly parties, and 118,000 citizens affiliated with no party. Thus the national front has reached its highest organization level to date. Its cooperation with the people's representations and the deputies as well as with the enterprises and social institutions in the field has further improved. The political talk in the house and street communities about questions of peace and of social progress, which occupy the minds of people, has promoted the citizens' initiative for the universal strengthening of the GDR. Their active participation in the intellectual-cultural life and in sports in their housing areas has increased.

Despite all this progress our friends in the national council of the national front of the GDR are not overlooking the still existing unjustified differences

in the level of political work among the masses, differences which frequently exist between neighboring Kreise, cities and local communities. They are orienting toward making the experiences of the best the general standard. The members and candidate members of our party will continue to actively participate in the work of the national front committees so as to help implement our party's policy for the good of the people in all sectors of society. It is the duty of every communist to live up to his responsibility in his housing area and housing community in an exemplary manner, and tactfully and sympathetically to attend to the worries and problems of the citizens.

Our Alliance is Proving Its Worth in Word and Deed

In implementing the decisions of the 10th SED Party Congress the comradely cooperation of the parties and mass organizations united in the democratic bloc has experienced a new upswing. With the democratic peasant party of Germany, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, and the National-Democratic Party of Germany, we have creatively acting alliance partners at our side who in word and deed are making a substantial contribution of their own toward universally strengthening the GDR.

The strong vitality and refulgence of the Marxist-Leninist policy of alliance of our party again found a visible expression in the past few months in the preparation for and implementation of the party congress of the friendly parties--the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, the National-Democratic Party of Germany and the Democratic Peasant Party of Germany. These party congresses demonstrated the strength of our alliance and the high level of our comradely cooperation. All friendly parties are acting in accordance with the decisions of the 10th SED Congress because they are in line with the interests of the entire people.

Jointly we will march further forward and deepen our alliance. Our socialist state needs the creative cooperation of everyone, and will promote every initiative designed to strengthen it.

By consistently continuing the policy close to the people, by persistently supporting the cause of peace, and equipped with the economic strategy of the 10th Party Congress, our party has made its ties with the masses stronger than ever before, and in coping with future tasks it can more and more comprehensively rely on the grown socialist awareness, the higher educational level and the great readiness for achievement of the workers class and all other working people.

In the political leadership activity of the party organizations the ability has grown for better and better utilizing the advantages of the socialist social system for achieving a high performance growth rate and for showing ways to solve problems and tasks that have become ripe for solutions.

In the Bezirk and Kreis leadership meetings for evaluating the Third Central Committee meeting, firm militant positions were adopted. With the militant programs which were adopted at the member meetings for evaluating the Third Central Committee meeting, the basic organizations have effective guiding

instruments for successfully organizing the political struggle for safeguarding peace and for a high performance increase in the national economy in 1982.

Great Tasks of Ideological Work in Every Basic Organization

When dealing with domestic and foreign policy tasks the Politburo and the secretariat have always concerned themselves with the resulting requirements for ideological work.

Today more than ever it is the task of our party to deepen the understanding of our country's citizens for the fact that the safeguarding of peace depends primarily on the political, economic and military strength of socialism, that socialism is always as powerful as we make it by our actions. We must unmask the class nature of the war and boycott policy of U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies, demonstrate the dialectics of the class war and the transition of the peoples from capitalism to socialism with the aid of the daily events in international politics, and give a resolute rebuff to the anticommunist, anti-Soviet lie about an alleged threat. For revealing the secret of how wars are made, the Leninist imperialism-theory is today as topical as ever.

The time since our third meeting has again confirmed the experience that conscious creativeness is a socialist class attitude resulting from conviction. The more frankly the high demands of the time in which we live are discussed with the working people, the more consciously and responsibly will they struggle with the whole weight of their personality to achieve the required high performances.

Of basic importance for our party's ideological activity is the preparation and celebration of the 65th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 60th anniversary of the creation of the USSR. These events will be observed by us as holidays and days of struggle by the international workers class and by all progressive people in the world. In conformity with the decision of the secretariat of 26 May 1982, we will celebrate this jubilee by doing all we can to strengthen the GDR as an indivisible part and parcel of the socialist community and to consolidate friendship and further deepen cooperation with the Soviet Union

World historic developments since the days of the Great October, the historic victories and achievements of the Soviet people, the Soviet Union's tireless efforts toward preserving and ensuring world peace and toward active solidarity with and support for all peoples struggling for national and social freedom, they all clearly refute the malevolent and slanderous attacks on the country and party of Lenin, no matter who has launched them.

Once Again Hundreds of Thousands are Studying in Party Schools

In the timespan covered by this report, the activity by central education establishments, by Bezirk party schools, by Kreis and enterprise schools of Marxism-Leninism and by circles and seminars of the party schoolyear was carried out fully in the sign of an intensive acquisition and promotion of the theoretical and political contents of the 10th Party Congress decisions and in the sign of the speeches by the SED Central Committee general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, at the Third Central Committee meeting and to the Kreis first secretaries.

In the timespan covered by this report, once again the party schools of Bezirk and Kreis leaderships proved in their activity of strengthening the fighting strength of the party organizations and of spreading the Marxist-Leninist theory as establishments for generally applying the best experience of party work. During the now ending schoolyear, almost 100,000 comrades, including a great number of leading members of basic organizations, had the opportunity to become thoroughly acquainted with the 10th Party Congress decisions, their political and theoretical basis and with the tasks aimed at implementing those decisions under the current complicated international circumstances.

In keeping with the Central Committee secretariat decisions, a number of courses, discussions and seminars for cadre training were held in the ideological field, especially for secretaries in charge of agitation and propaganda in Bezirk and Kreis leaderships, as well as for leading cadres in party schools.

In the 1981-82 party schoolyear the 10 subjects, decided on by the Politburo, regarding the domestic and foreign policy of the 10th Party Congress were discussed. That schoolyear proved to be a great contribution to a thorough acquaintance with the ideas of the party congress and as a broad and creative exchange of opinion on the purposeful implementation of its decisions.

Let Us Constantly Draw on the Classics

The ideological education and instruction of party members, the creative study of the works of Marx and Engels and Lenin and the party decisions are and will continue to be of decisive importance for our party's uniform ideological activity and for the daily political dialogue with the working people and for further strengthening the unity among the masses.

In January 1982 the Central Committee secretariat decided on the subject plan for circles and seminars of the 1982-83 party schoolyear and in May on the 1982-83 subject plan for lectures and seminars for leading cadres and party secretaries on basic theoretical issues of party policy in Bezirk and Kreis leaderships.

In keeping with a Central Committee secretariat decision, the first secretaries of Bezirk and Kreis leaderships will open the 1982-83 party schoolyear in September with party Aktiv meetings in Bezirk and Kreis party organizations on such subjects as:

"The ideological-political tasks for further implementing the 10th Party Congress economic strategy." We will abide by the proven principle of constantly consulting the classics of Marxism-Leninism, of studying their teachings and of creatively applying them. In this spirit, the first meeting in all circles and seminars of the 1982-83 party schoolyear will discuss the subject: "Karl Marx--the ingenious founder of the scientific philosophy of life of the workers class. The topicality and vitality of Marxism-Leninism in our times."

This will be the beginning of a comprehensive pursuit of the immortal teachings of Karl Marx in preparation of his 100th death commemoration and his 165th birthday in 1983.

We Honor Marx With Good Deeds

We honor Marx with our action of implementing the 10th Party Congress policy. We honor Marx with our long-term ideological-theoretical projects aimed at spreading the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism among the masses to strengthen the working people's socialist class awareness, to promote their involvement in multilaterally strengthening the GDR and to offensively come to grips with the outward forms of imperialist and bourgeois ideology.

From these tasks there also allways result constantly higher demands on our mass media. The ninth congress of the GDR Association of Journalists in June of this year became a fruitful exchange of experience of our country's journalists about their responsibility for the universal strengthening of the GDR.

It was again confirmed that the GDR journalists are militantly struggling for the interests of our worker-peasant power, and that the press, radio and television are reliable instruments of our socialist state and powerful weapons in the struggle for peace and in the struggle against imperialism.

Dear comrades, in accordance with the decision of the Third SED Central Committee meeting the accountability meetings and new elections of party group organizers and their deputies, the leaderships and department party organizations as well as the leaderships of basic organizations which are not subdivided into department party organizations were held in the period 1 March to 17 April 1982.

On 20 April of this year the Politburo dealt with the results of the party elections. It noted that the party elections impressively reflected the firm unity and cohesion of the party, the unshakeable confidence of the comrades in the Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker.

Economic Strategy Became Main Arena of Party Work

In the 91,990 party groups, 24,537 department party organizations and the 53,071 basic organizations the hitherto achieved results in implementing the decisions of the 10th Party Congress were assessed in an open-minded, businesslike and militant atmosphere; further tasks were adopted for increasing the militant strength of the party, for raising the level of political work among the masses, for strengthening the socialist state power and for ensuring a high increase in economic performance; and the leaderships were newly elected.

The high turnout, which amounted to 92 percent in the party groups and 92.7 percent in the department party organizations and basic organizations, is an expression of the close affinity of the comrades with the party.

The creative, constructive discussion in the course of the party elections', during which nearly 1.3 million comrades took the floor, as well as the more than 250,000 proposals, suggestions and critical remarks that were submitted give evidence of the grown sense of responsibility of the party members for the implementation of the party congress decisions.

In evaluating the party elections in the basic organizations, the Politburo of the SED Central Committee draws attention to the following main results:

It is a primary result of these party elections that our party has been further strengthened, that it is firmly anchored in all spheres of society and that it has gained additional militant experiences for solving the tasks that are ahead. The role of the basic organizations in implementing the overall policy of the party has further increased.

The accountability election meetings were eloquent proof of the fact that the implementation of our party's economic strategy has become the main arena of the entire party work.

With the strength of the party and work collectives, the party elections have created decisive ideological prerequisites for implementing the high pledges made in the letter of the participants of the Leipzig seminar to Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary.

At the accountability election meetings and the members meetings for evaluating the Leipzig seminar, the basic organizations discussed further conclusions for their own party work. On the basis of the militant programs more than 700,000 party assignments were issued which essentially contain political tasks for implementing the party's economic strategy.

Hundreds of thousands of party members performed active ideopolitical work in preparing for and implementing the elections in the mass organizations, and thus essentially contributed toward ensuring that our party's policy was convincingly explained among all classes and strata of our people.

To the leading party organs in the Beairke, Kreise and basic organizations it is recommended that this extensive work of the past few months be thoroughly evaluated and that everything that is useful for offensive and differentiated political work among the masses be made permanent.

Personal Conversations Stimulated Activity

The personal conversations held with 700,000 comrades in preparation for the party elections about their contribution toward implementing the decisions of the 10th Party Congress have noticeably stimulated the political activity of communists, and have more and more become a general necessity for the members and candidate members of the party.

Such vivid individual work should be a constituent part of the leadership activity of all party leadership, so as to even better mobilize the forces of the party collectives for the tasks to be resolved.

As a result of the party elections, our party can rely on a large, politically invigorated Aktiv of elected cadres in the basic organizations. Some 380,813 leadership members, including 77,608 party secretaries, were elected into the party leaderships. They are comrades who have a close trustful relationship with the working people, who are distinguished by unshakeable loyalty to our Marxist-Leninist Party and who have already stood many tests.

The share of the workers in the party leaderships has gone up to 51.6 percent and is a vivid expression of our party's firm anchoring in the workers class and in the working people; 5.4 percent of the newly elected party leadership members are cooperative peasants and 29.6 percent are members of the intelligentsia.

It is the task of the Kreis leaderships to familiarize the newly elected leaderships, especially the comrades who were elected for the first time, without delay and practice-related with the best leadership and work experiences.

The results of the party elections assessed by the Politubro are conspicously reflected in the Pirna SED Kreis leadership's report to the Central Committee secretariat: "About the evaluation of the conference of the Central Committee secretariat with the first secretaries of Kreis leaderships, and about experiences and results of the elections in the SED basic organizations." In the SED Central Committee secretariat's comment on the Pirna Kreis leadership's report it is stressed that the further raising of the quality level of political leadership activity of the Kreis leadership, its collective forward-pushing working style, and its direct aid to the basic organizations will essentially determine the militant positions of communists and the contribution of all working people for strengthening worker-peasant power.

The report by the Pirna Kreis leadership as well as the party elections in general clearly show that the purposeful setting of examples of leadership, and the organization of performance comparisons are decisive leadership methods in the work of the leading party organs and the basic organizations.

The thorough study of the best experiences, performance comparisons and leadership examples should be specifically organized and combined with rigid party control. Only in this manner can nonutilized economic potentials be developed, new motivational forces released and existing differences in performance more quickly overcome.

Much Depends on the Proper Use of Cadres

For implementing the decisions of the 10th Party Congress, much depends on the proper use and qualification of the cadres. The Politburo and the Central Committee secretariat have dealt several times since the third meeting with questions of developing and raising the quality of cadres. Thus, the secretariat has received a report by the minister of construction on experiences in the work with foremen and project managers of the construction combines in implementing the decisions of the 10th Party Congress. In this report the high responsibility of these cadres as leaders of collectives, which are most closely linked with material production, was emphasized.

Good headway in selection, development, quality improvement and distribution of medium level leadership cadres is made by those combines and enterprises which make exact stipulations in cadre programs and constantly control the implementation of the stipulated measures.

On 13 May 1982 the SED Central Committee secretariat endorsed the cadre reserve of the SED Central Committee secretariat for the period 1982-1986. In working with the cadre reserve at all levels it is necessary to develop everywhere cadres according to plan which will cope with the requirements of the 1980's, as well as to ensure the cadre-political structure of the leading organs through careful selection, qualification and placement. This requires the long-term training of cadres which, class-minded and with great engagement, can take over responsible functions.

Further progress has been achieved in the Marxist-Leninist basic and advanced training of the leadership cases, which has resulted in the high-quality leadership activity of the leaderships.

Some 2.2 Million Members and Candidate Members of the SED

The SED Central Committee secretariat dealt with the analysis of the SED members movement in 1981.

The SED has 2,202,277 members and candidate members. In the year of the 10th Party Congress the basic organizations accepted 92,941 comrades as candidate members of the party.

The quality of the social structure of our party was further improved in 1981: 57.7 percent of the members and candidate members are workers. Owing to the admission of 59.294 production workers their share in our Marxist-Leninist party is now 37.5 percent. In the agriculture and forestry sector 1,534 comrades more than last year were accepted in our ranks. The number of members of the intelligentsia in the party increased by 14,543 members and candidate members, that is by 22.3 percent, with the strongest increase in the sectors concerned with preparations for production.

The share of female comrades in our party has further increased; it is now 34 percent. Progress has been made in strengthening the influence of the party in the youth brigades by accepting 12,296 brigade members into the ranks of the party.

Dear comrades, in the period under review which was full of important societal high points in the life of our socialist fatherland, our party was able to gather rich militant experiences.

Since the last meeting of the Central Committee, our party and the GDR people have done a great deal of work toward implementing the decisions of the 10th Party Congress. We are aware of the fact that in the future the solving of domestic and foreign policy tasks will make even higher demands on us. We are facing these demands with optimism and confidence, because we are relying on the great strength of the millions of communists and the firm confidence of the people in our party.

Kessler Address

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Jun 82 p 3

[Excerpts from discussion statement of Col Gen Heinz Kessler, SED Central Committee member, deputy minister for national defense; chief, Political Main Administration, National People's Army (NVA); presented at Fourth SED Central Committee Plenum, East Berlin, 24 Jun 82]

[Text] Dear Comrades! The results of the political education and combat training which have been praised in the Politburo report which I fully approve and the military-economic results of the NVA and the GDR border troops in the period since the third meeting of the Central Committee are an indispensible element of the outstanding achievements of our entire people for further universally strengthening our socialist state.

They demonstrate anew that the socialist armed forces, with their firm affinity with the workers class and all working people from whose ranks they are formed and whose work creates all prerequisites to equip and arm them in accordance with modern conditions, have an inexhaustible source of growing fighting strength and combat readiness.

Proceeding from the decisions of the third meeting of the Central Committee and equipped with the fundamental orientation given by Comrade Erich Honecker, our party's Central Committee general secretary, at the meeting with the Kreis first secretaries, the army members and border soldiers ahve developed exemplary initiatives in socialist competition in order to solve the tasks set by the minister of national defense in his basic orders for the 1981/82 training year.

Their achievements in mastering socialist military tasks, the development of every unit and unit group, even the result of every training hour confirm: successes are achieved where the party leads, where the communists have the confidence of nonparty members and lead them in the struggle for military mastership.

To implant this idea even deeper into the hearts of the members and the candidates and to enable the party collectives even better to meet their responsibility under the conditions of the 1980's was the aim of a meeting of the political main administration with secretaries of basic organizations from all force components of the NVA, border troops and the civil defense of the GDR, as a start for the 1982 party elections.

Party Elections Gave Valuable Impulses

Today we can evaluate that also in our field, as everywhere in our republic, decisive stimuli have emanated from party elections. The basic organizations have consolidated and strengthened politically, ideologically and organizationally in the course of the accountability reports and the elections of the new leaderships. Through the conscious exemplary action of communists they are implementing more and more successfully the leading role of the SED and the NVA and in the border troops of our republic. Here they are guided by the principle

that ideological work has been and will remain the core of party work. In accordance with this, the directive of the minister of national defense on political work in the NVA, which went into force 1 December, stipulates that by convincingly imparting Marxism-Leninism and developing their political-moral and psychological characteristics the army members have to be educated to be passionate strugglers for the ideals of the workers class who are sure of victory and have to exert all their strength to conscientiously fulfill their military commitments.

The communists in the troops and the navy as well as in the leadership organs of the NVA and the GDR border troops are purposefully and untiringly devoted to this task by word and deed. They are doing this in view of the increased peace-endangering machinations of the most aggressive forces of NATO, particularly the United States, which in contrast to all human reason continue to pursue their course of confrontation and to expend billions and billions in mad delusion to militarily overtake the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries. As a justification they use the lie of the threat from the east which has been disproved by life a thousand times but has been polished up and modified again and again. But more and more people on all continents understand: socialism and peace are one. The main thing is to preserve peace against those who through demagogic slogans want to induce us to take weapons out of our hands but who at the same time reach for ever new and more threatening means of mass destruction and who already cooly include the nuclear devastation of Europe in their calculations. Therefore, from the view of historic responsibility being at the side of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, we must make our contribution toward preventing imperialism from ever again achieving military superiority over socialism.

Armed Forces Always Fulfill Their Assignment

Combat training is the main field of military activity of commanders, staffs and political organs, all of whom are communists in the NVA. Its level has a decisive influence on the combat readiness of our armed forces. We can report to the Central Committee of our party:

In the first half of the 1981/82 training year all force components of the NVA, the border troops and the civil defense of the GDR have fulfilled the training tasks which have been ordered. A noticeable performance increase was achieved in important fields of political, operative and combat training. In the NVA this is reflected in the reliable fulfillment of the obligations which emanate from the duty system and combat service.

In the ground forces all units and groups of units can be evaluated in the final reviews as "combat ready." For launchings of antiaircraft missiles under combat conditions the mark "very good" was achieved.

In the groups of units and units of the air forces/air defense the high quality of the action of pilots, the stable achievements of radio troops as well as of antiaircraft missile troops and all protection forces must be stressed.

In the first half of the training year the members of the navy can refer to excellent results in tactical sea training. Numerous military norms were exceeded.

Among the GDR border troops, good training results contributed toward guaranteeing the secure protection of the state border of our republic.

FDJ Unconditionally in the Service for Peace and Socialism

In implementing the principle of the youth policy of our party having confidence in youth and confering responsibility on it the fighting strength of the FDJ organizations as helpers and as the fighting reserve of the party was further strengthened. The outstanding share of the FDJ in the successes of the first half of the 1981-82 training year must be evaluated as a thousandfold promise that the members of the socialist youth organization in the NVA and the border troops of the GDR under the leadership of the party of the workers class will also in the future spare no efforts and unconditionally put all their strength, their youthful elan and their knowledge and skill into the service of defending socialism and peace.

The growing level of combat training confirms the correctness of the path taken on the basis of the 10th SED Congress to pursue the following key points in the development of our armed forces in the 1980's even more consistently and purposefully:

--To further improve the single command as an inseparable unity of political and military leadership, the union of the command with the development of the activity and creative initiative as well as the implicit obedience of army members;

--To improve the quality and the effect on the masses of the ideological work and guarantee the always stable political-moral condition of the leadership organs, troops and naval forces;

--To intensify combat training; to effect the qualification of those liable for basic military service and the reservists who have been called up to master the weapons, weapons systems and other technical combat equipment available in the NVA; rapidly master new technical combat equipment, armament and equipment; and

--To further develop and deepen the cooperation with the Soviet army, in particular with the group of Soviet forces in Germany and the Baltic fleet of the USSR, with the Polish army and the Czechoslovak people's army as well as with the other fraternal armies.

To Better and Better Master Equipment

Proceeding from the military-strategic situation, the legalities of the socialist military structure and the effects of the scientific-technological revolution on our military system, the essence of the present development processes in the NVA is above all to achieve a considerably higher level in mastering

the full scope of combat-,troop control- and protection-technical equipment with which our troops, the fleet and the leadership organs are quipped.

In this context the qualitatively new link of science and national defense becomes more and more obvious.

In the spirit of the decisions of the 10th Party Congress and the 3d Central Committee meeting, the main thing today more than ever before is to solve the tasks of national defense without curtailing military requirements and with just the material and financial expenditure which is absolutely necessary.

Just as the struggle for effectiveness and quality is being waged in the national economy, we in the armed forces are struggling to intensify military activity, to guarantee an increasingly favorable relationship between expenditure and result everywhere, and to implement a high material economy. The efforts undertaken for this purpose range from the increased use of training devices and simulators instead of fuel-intensive combat equipment in training to the more effective implementation of protection processes. Thus--to mention only a few things--inventory, consumption and utilization norms are being revised and measures for optimization of material stocks are being taken. Improved technology and a higher utilization of our own workship capacities make possible more repairs, and the growing demand for spare parts is increasingly being satisfied by restoring old parts. Initiatives in socialist competition like the "best movement," "hit with the first shot," "equipment of best quality" and "lowest gasoline consumption per kilometer" contributed toward achieving a good level of training and at the same time toward dealing in an economic way with time, technology, gasoline and other consumption means.

Thus, we continue along the path which has enabled us in the past training year to deduct a high economic advantage. Among other things the consumption of solid fuels, of electrical energy and water has been further decreased. In additon to this, gasoline consumption has been reduced. New inventory, consumption and utilization norms have resulted in further savings.

Of course also in the military-economic field the things which have been achieved are not everything which can be achieved. Important reserves must still be developed. This makes it necessary to even more purposefully and rapidly apply scientific findings, further qualify the leadership activity at all levels and fully use the readiness for performance, the energy and the creative thoughts and actions of all army members, in particular the ideas and proposals of the innovators.

High commitments for communists in the armed forces and the border troops result from this. They are facing complicated tasks and problems which await us, such as the necessity of even more efficiently using fuel in reliably fulfilling tasks in the duty system, in combat and border service, in combat training and in all other fields of military life.

A Good Military Member Is At the Same Time a Qualified Economist

It is necessary to better and better study the relationship between military necessities and economic requirements, and as a good socialist military member be a qualified economist at the same time.

In this direction, the purposeful work of commanders, political organs and party organizations becomes visible in the commitments and combat programs of army members, border soldiers and civilian employees in socialist competition in which the aims for increasing fighting strength and combat readiness are linked more strongly than ever before with projects for saving energy resources, material and spare parts and measures for better maintaining equipment as well as for determining secondary raw materials.

The struggle for a more qualified dealing with the equipment, strict order and iron military discipline, including plan and financial discipline, is being waged with increasing consistency.

The education work done in this respect has good results and must be increased further. We are proceeding from the fact that any wasted mark or any mark lost due to damage is a mark too much, because it does not serve the assignment for which the people have made it available to us: the implementation of the class assignment set by the 10th Party Congress!

A few weeks ago we started the second half of the training year. There is still much left to be done to fulfill the tasks for 1982 in accordance with their content and in accordance with the set time.

The increased danger of war does not allow us to rest on successes. Every day of peace must also be fought for by high fighting strength and combat readiness of our armed forces. Of course, this situation puts very high demands above all on our professional officers, ensigns and professional noncommissioned officers, demands they are facing with all their strength as military cadres of the party and our socialist state. Together with the temporary soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officers, those liable for basic military service as well as reservists who are in the reserve military service, they are struggling for higher achievements in the service of peace and socialism.

They know that this is highly assessed in our socialist society. And it must be so: The national defense is the work of the workers class and the entire people of the GDR. They have put powerful weapons in our hands. We--the soldiers--justify this confidence by high combat readiness. Our party, its Central Committee with Comrade Erich Honecker at the head, the workers class and our entire people can always rely on us.

CSO: 2300/306

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON YOUTH OPINIONS DISCUSSED

AU271044 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 21-23 May 82 p 3

[Commentary by Piotr Aleksandrowicz: "Coming Up With the Right Diagnosis"]

[Excerpts] From the sociological research on young people carried out during the latter half of the 1970's, a picture emerged of a generation tending toward private ownership and particularly interested in material values. However, the accurate diagnosis of the sociologists did not penetrate the reasons behind the social and political passiveness, and these reasons became understood and known only when young people from the "consumer" generation spontaneously and universally joined in or initiated the formation of Solidarity and "independent" organizations.

In the discussion going on at present on the subject of the young generation, the voice of sociologists and scientific bases for the opinions, statements and conclusions put forward by publicists are missing. My quests for the appropriate investigations ended largely in disappointment.

1. I only managed to get hold of two somewhat more comprehensive reports prepared after August 1980. The first of these, by the Institute for Research on Young People, contains the results of a poll held in March and April last year. The second report was drawn up at the Public Opinion and Program Studies Research Center attached to the Radio Committee. This report was the result of answers by young people to questions asked during opinion polls held throughout Poland (September 1980 to May 1981). Both reports concentrated mainly on appraising and interpreting the current events. Despite all the imperfections in the investigations, it is worth devoting some space to the results obtained.

First: (this is the poll held by the Institute for Research on Young People). Young people put most of the blame for the 1980-81 crisis on the government, the Political Bureau, the authors of the propaganda of success and on E. Gierek and P. Jaroszewicz personally. The authors of the work, Bozena Czyzkowska, Maria Libiszowska and Janusz Gesicki, make the following comment: Our country's political system is regarded as an elitist system, in which it is not the organizations of political life that make the decisions, but only their functionaries, and mainly those of the central level.

Second: The consequence of such a simplified perception as this is the following list of reasons behind the August crisis which young people selected: favoritism, corruption, misuse of one's position, economic disorder and bad work organization. From the possibilities suggested by the authors of the opinion poll, only a small number of young people chose "a false conception of development," "an excessive increase in investment projects" and "mistakes in agricultural policy."

These and other results can be interpreted as follows: Young people do not possess enough sociopolitical knowledge, and they are particularly incapable of making their own deeper interpretation of the phenomena occurring in this sphere of public life. They believe that social processes are being manipulated whichever way one likes. It is the ill will of the decision-makers that counts, not economic conditions, international ties and so on.

Third: The authors of the report based on the results obtained draw attention to the fact that "justice, honesty and truth form in the consciousness of youth the basis of the concept of democracy and are the most important aims of the process of renewal." Therefore, the report is backed almost exclusively on a moral basis.

Fourth: A considerable majority of the young people approached believed that every citizen should join in the process of improving the sociopolitical system. Similar declarations which were made in the 1970's were also recorded; however, they were usually directed "out to space" and had no effect. Last March, 79 percent of the young people said they were ready to undertake activity of their own.

2. Having in mind those results of the investigations which have been implemented, I would like to discuss the statement one frequently comes across that young people were pushed onto the road to "destruction" during the period August 1980-December 1981. (W. Mickiewicz presents this in a particularly interesting article entitled "It Is Obvious and Yet...," which appeared in SZTANDAR MLODYCH 2-4 April 1982.) The participation of young people in the illegal activity carried on after the introduction of martial law is interpreted in a similar way. Writing about the past 16 months, publicists ignore the fact that in taking part in protest actions, for example, young people were faced with a greater dilemma than "to be solidary or not." After analyzing the situation, they often chose what they were convinced was the lesser evil.

3. The Public Opinion and Program Studies Research Center also carried out several opinion polls throughout the country after the introduction of martial law, as if it were the only research center in Poland. In the March poll, 70 percent of the young people who were approached replied "yes" or "I suppose so" to the question of whether introducing martial law was justified. It was stated that the proportion of young people who said martial law was justified is particularly lower in large urban centers and among people who are better educated. However, the lack of a correlation with the ages of the young people who were approached is surprising. In statistical terms, young people aged from 16 to 29 presented views which do not diverge

from the views noted among the population as a whole. This result contradicts the current opinions about the greater political opposition presented by young people.

Nevertheless, important differences were observed in the February 1982 poll. Young people evaluate the social mood and their own prospects more pessimistically than people on the whole. This particularly concerns young people aged 25 to 29. Here, the index of optimism is the lowest.

4. The statement that "there can be no return to the practices of before August 1980" is accepted with great distrust by the young intelligentsia, and not only the technical intelligentsia. There are at least two features which justify this distrust. First, and maybe less important, is the content and shape of the current propaganda. For example, the one-sidedness of the views put forward at discussions on the subject of trade unions is criticized. From the investigations of the Public Opinion and Program Studies Research Center, it emerges that trust in the mass media is still low.

The second feature is putting economic reform into practice. In his article "Winning Over Young People" (SZTANDAR MLODYCH 18 February), R. Naleszkiewicz warns that the economic reform in its present form hits young people the hardest. Yes, this is true. Nevertheless, I believe the stress was placed in the wrong places in this article, for the crucial phrase is "in its present form." A thorough reform would arouse initiative and activity on the part of young people, since the reform's principles would favor knowledge, boldness in making decisions and good, efficient work. These kinds of characteristics are not felt at present.

Young engineers and technicians can understand the necessity for operational programs (but why so many of them?) because of the difficult economic situation. They are also counting on the reintroduction of self-governing bodies. However, they cannot accept many other features--the increase in the number of plenipotentiary offices adopting the function of associations, restricting the independence of enterprises as far as wages and motivational systems are concerned, and maintaining a promotion system differing from what was expected.

And, although they have nothing to lose, they remain in the wings.

One more and more often comes across the statement that was already current in the 1970's: "There is no point in getting involved, since our voice is only heard from time to time and only in social and welfare matters." The conviction is becoming dominant among some of the factory aktivs of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], to say nothing of rank and file members, that any discussion, conclusion or program put forward at the bottom is not even made use of by the higher authorities in this organization.

The fact that the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] has been reinstated, a positive fact no doubt, also comes across a barrier of distrust,

doubt and apathy. It seems that young people expect something more than just a declaration. However, it would be a mistake for young people's sociopolitical organizations to restrict themselves to social and welfare matters, even though the drastic situation with housing, the danger of unemployment and the very low standard of living experienced by young families are the dominant reasons behind our generation's pessimism.

CSO: 2600/708

ZSMP OFFICIAL VIEWS MAY YOUTH RIOTS, POSITIVE ACTIONS

AU121852 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 10 May 82 p 2

[PAP report: "Without Wrongful Simplifications"]

[Excerpts] It would be wrong to assume that all young Poles are given to raising the temperature of our sociopolitical life, to participating in street fights, riots and brawls and in sowing unrest, as shown by the incidents in the first days of May. Unfortunately, such assumptions have been made here and there. It is certain that our young people are not the inspirers and authors of those incidents.

Today too many people seem to have forgotten that young people were the mainspring of August 1980 and of renewal. This mainspring was all the mightier since it was produced by a very sharp awareness of the shortcomings and acts of negligence which had accumulated over many years and which directly affected the young workers' class and families.

Is it possible in light of the 3 May incidents in a number of our cities to agree with the view that most of our young people took the wrong side and attacked public law and order? Your PAP reporter put that question to Janusz Uziemblo, the press spokesman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP].

The entire young generation was labeled in varying ways in the past, J. Uziemblo said. People have always said that the young generation is a generation of lost opportunities, of "great opportunities," and of young rebels and that young people are nihilistic and unwilling to engage in truly productive work. Today people are saying that the young generation is a "generation of internal emigration," or a generation "that has turned its back on everything," and a generation unwilling to take action to promote society's interests.

I do not have to convince anyone that such sayings are gross simplifications which wrong an enormous part of Polish young people. This is because people forget that it is precisely young people who account for over 50 percent of the employees in our economy. These several millions of young people are trying--in our present difficult situation--not only to make ends meet in their personal affairs, but also to perform reliably at their jobs. After

all, we have achieved small progress in stabilizing our economy, but it is still progress, and it is impossible to conceal the fact that this is also to the credit of young people.

Although it is no longer fashionable and necessary today to sum up and publicize various activities and programmatic measures, which is a good thing, I will allow myself to present just a few examples of our young people's positive activities, of which there are many and which are often inspired by the ZSMP. These activities are no longer large-scale campaigns and comprehensive patronages over entire sectors of our economy, as was the case in the past, because conditions are not conducive to them. These activities are represented by apparently small measures, which we treat with all seriousness all the same because they play a very important educational and civic role and encourage the effective solution of the most burning problems of the individual communities in rural areas, enterprises and schools. This is also signal proof that most young people are transforming their attitudes of "let us have it," "we demand it" and "we are entitled to it"--attitudes that take no account of reality--to active attitudes that take it for granted that it is possible to engage in positive work from scratch alone or with others.

In the past few months over 120 youth housing organizations and cooperatives have been set up countrywide, and first results have been achieved especially in Koszalin, Ciechanow, Kielce, Warsaw and Opole Voivodships. We can also see the useful process of establishing increasing numbers of youth labor cooperatives. However, it is with concern that we continue to note the ability of red tape to hinder such initiatives.

I think that the most valuable feature of the ZSMP's achievements in the past few months is the establishment of the ever more lively and genuine dialogue with extensive groups of young people. We work together and together discuss the most crucial problems--not only social, living and material problems. We also discuss the conditions under which one begins his career as a citizen and we ponder the issues that actually concern all of us. This is the nature of the ideological discussion "What kind of Poland--what kind of union," which is also being joined by increasing numbers of unaffiliated young people. Perhaps it is for this reason that there is an increasing interest in the ZSMP program and in the opportunities to join the ZSMP. This is also closely related to the preparations for the PZPR Central Committee plenum on young people. We should think that--in line with the general social interests and young people's needs--this plenum will be able to clearly and intelligibly define the immediate and remote prospects for the entire young generation as well as its civic rights and duties.

CSO: 2600/704

SCIENCE MINISTER DISCUSSES HIGHER SCHOOLS LAW

AU121426 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 10 May 82 p 3

[Report by Jerzy Godula: "The Law and Higher Schools"--passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The text of the law on higher schools, which was passed by the Sejm a few days ago, differs very little from the social draft, Prof Zbigniew Resich said at an 8 May press conference organized by government press spokesman Jerzy Urban.

The chairman [Resich] of the codification commission, which worked intensively from November 1980 to June 1981 in preparing this social draft, asserted, moreover, that the /new law is a definite step forward with respect to the hitherto existing legal state of affairs./ The social draft contained the original classical conception of self-government of higher schools, which has no practical analogue in any country in the world. Due to the attention of the government and Sejm deputies, this model of self-government has been modified to guarantee the state its indispensable influence over cadres, educational programs, school finances, etc.

/The minister of science, higher schools and technology, Dr Benon Miskiewicz, recalled that the government had from the beginning taken the position that the basic draft of the law was the text prepared by the codification commission. The government did not present its own draft, but merely made comments and corrections to the draft prepared by the Resich group. The main line of this draft, i.e., the requirement to develop school self-government, has been preserved./ The changes made have as their goal the assurance of the proper conditions for the functioning of the state within the higher school system.

/The minister was asked many questions by journalists:/

/What is the present situation in higher schools?/ This question can be answered in very general terms, because the situation continues to change from day to day. I am disturbed by the fact, the minister said, that some students and their educators participate in the illegal demonstrations directed against the state. This influences society's views about the academic community and upsets the normal course of work at higher schools.

We have taken many measures to make the academic community realize that such conduct is out of place. We intend to take steps against the persons who violate the rules of martial law and demonstrate their hostile attitude toward the state.

/How do you intend to influence the attitudes of students?/ This is now the top task for the higher school cadre. One is often told that young people are very good people, which is true, but this does not mean that they are fully mature and ready for life. Young people must be made to realize the true role they play in the state.

Up to now the cadre has avoided committing itself to ideological-political training, because the view prevailed that every young man and woman should be responsible alone for developing their attitudes. This is true, but higher schools must supply certain models for contemplation. We must consider in what way--subtly and not administratively--we should influence students' political convictions and attitudes. Personally, I think that the attitudes of university teachers should play the main role in this process. We are faced with a great task of rehabilitating the authority of masters in higher schools because we have lately deviated from the correct comprehension of the role and importance of professors in these schools.

Sociopolitical subjects are an important factor in influencing students' attitudes, and this is why we must raise the standard of these subjects. Students continued to reject them because certain materials were presented in a primitive way.

/Will the scientific cadre be verified?/ We have not planned and do not plan any verification, but we will carry out the traditional review of cadres, which is also known as rotation and which involves evaluating scientific, instructional and educational work. This evaluation will also affect the professors whom we have asked to present their most crucial achievements in the past 2-3 years.

/How does the law treat the issue of student organizations?/ The law guarantees the organizational pluralism of the student movement. The minister registers national organizations and the rector registers school organizations. The appropriate voivodship court dissolves an organization on the motion of the registering body.

/What is the fate of the so-called Lodz Agreements?/ Some of the decisions included in those agreements have been incorporated into the law, some have been implemented or are being implemented, and others have not been implemented because they are in conflict with the lines of the state's development.

/When will the executive regulations concerning this law be issued?/ The Sejm has pledged to issue executive regulations within 6 months from the date on which the law becomes valid, and it will become valid on 1 September. There will be about 40 such regulations.

/These are only examples of the questions asked by the journalists, questions which, as is evident, concerned not only the new law on higher schools, but also general problems of the academic community. SZTANDAR MLODYCH will return to other questions raised during this very useful conference, which was B. Miskiewicz's first meeting with journalists./

CSO: 2600/706

ARMY POLITICAL BOARD FIGURE INTERVIEWED ON MILITARY EDUCATION

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 10 May 82

[Interview with Col Docent Dr Mieczyslaw Wlodarski, deputy chief of military education affairs of the Main Political Board of the Polish Army, by Ireneusz Czyzewski: "One Privilege"]

[Text] [Question] We are talking during a time in which many young people are deciding of their choice of a future career. Among them are those who will enter the army. Are the military academies suffering a shortage of candidates?

[Answer] No, although every year there is some uncertainty as to whether a sufficient number of them will take the examinations and as to whether they will be good enough and pass the exams. Last year was very characteristic in this respect. There was nervousness, the year was full of conflicts, and the authorities were brought into question, but the available places were nonetheless filled.

[Question] It is easy to accept even the worst ones. Have those given student identity cards proved disappointing?

[Answer] We have not noted, as the professional jargon puts it, any decline in student capacity. Although a certain proportion of the people leave. This is always true. It is a natural phenomenon in any group. In this concrete instance, the ones to leave are those who cannot match the requirements of the military academy. After all, the requirements are higher than anywhere else.

[Question] In what way?

[Answer] In that not only grades are important. Please remember that we are giving professional training to officers, and therefore alongside the purely specialized subjects, each of the academy students also acquires military information, which is no less comprehensive. In addition, he is subject to military rigors, and there are a lot of duties and responsibilities attached to that fact. It is understandable that not all of them can meet the requirements.

[Question] What will it be like this year. It is true that today the army is on everyone's lips. Its peace-keeping functions can impress people. That is one side. On the other hand, the martial law situation has brought the army to light a little. It has become more accessible. People have had a chance therefore to see and assess more easily what that sort of service is like, if only in terms of difficulties and responsibilities.

[Answer] If we were to accept the assumption that we attract people by hiding the inconveniences or difficulties of the profession, then such a public display would indeed be awkward for us, but please note that we have never done this. After all, we invite young people to the schools and the academies, to the training grounds, to see the army from all sides. Nor do we prohibit people from writing about the fact, for example, that in the army there is not 8 hours of work but as much as is needed, that sometimes you have to be away from home and family, that there is also night duty, and so on, that overall the army gives just one privilege, satisfaction from a job well done.

[Question] But there is also another current of interest in the army, one which is particularly obvious since martial law was declared. There in speaking of the army one uses descriptions which are not always possible in public references. In addition, it is assessed that young people today are disoriented, that it does not recognize authority, and that it is generally unenthusiastic.

[Answer] Without going into the correctness of the latter assessment, I must admit that recently we have indeed been encountering attempts to devalue army service and the army in general. We are watching them carefully, but it is difficult to expect these actions clearly to reveal negative results right in the area of military training. Besides, I think that this year will be similar to others. Some academies will have many candidates, and others fewer.

[Question] Which ones are the most popular?

[Answer] The military academies: Military Technical Academy (WAT), Military Medical Academy (WAM), and Higher Naval School (WSMW), of course. They are famous for a high level of teaching, for scientific achievements, and so on.

[Question] Does that mean that the level is lower in the other institutions of learning?

[Answer] To use just that phrase does not give us a correct picture, because we are dealing here with a very similar system as in the case of civilian institutions of higher education. After all, there are famous polytechnic schools and academies with leading scientists, but there are also the smaller institutions, like the Higher Schools of Engineering (WSI), and some specialize in certain areas. Therefore, we have WAT, but it is not difficult to find a school like the Higher Antiaircraft Defense Offi-

certs' School (WSOWOPlot) in Koszalin, which is at the forefront, for example in an area like the practical use of rocket systems.

[Question] But you cannot receive a master's degree in engineering in Koszalin, only in Warsaw.

[Answer] Because Koszalin has a completely different training profile. It is different from the WAT in that it is more practical. Otherwise, we would not set up comparable courses for those graduates of the officers' schools who want to continue their studies at WAT.

[Question] Are these differences visible also in the number of the people applying to take the examinations?

[Answer] There are officers' schools like the automotive school in Pila and the aeronautical school in Deblin, where the competition is quite stiff. But there are others, for example, like the Higher Rocket Forces and Artillery Officers' School (WOSWRiA), for which we are seeing the interest to be less. The problem, however, relates to something completely different, because what if, for example, the school in Deblin has two or three people for a single place, since the health of the candidates for service in the air is not the best, and the medical commissions reject many of the applicants. On the other hand, things are altogether different in the case of the Higher Mechanized Forces Officers' School (WSOWZmech) in Wroclaw. There again we can accept people with the not so common leadership skills useful as organizers, people who are capable of making rapid decisions. It is here that the psychophysical criteria are the strictest, and many people cannot meet them.

[Question] But this is not too obvious from the name of the institutions.

[Answer] Your comment is correct, in more instances than this, because today what can you associate military communications with: looking at a film with a telephone with a winch. The same is true of artillery with popular guns. In all, the names have been outgrown, and they do not always portray reality. The army and engineering have gone to the fore, and today at the Higher Officers' Radio Technology School (WOSRt) in Jelenia Gora they are using the newest technology and electronic engineering, with all the sensitive equipment which penetrates outer space. Similarly, in the artillery schools, where the rocketry systems after all are the quintessence of everything which the world has dreamed up today, the situation is the same, but engineering itself, on the other hand, has no cause for excitement, because the most important thing for us is to have a good level of familiarity, to make good use, to repair, and to improve, and in order to be able to do this, it is necessary to go through all the areas of knowledge which are considered avant garde: electronics, automation, cybernetics, and so on. This is what absorbs the students in our institutions of higher education.

[Question] Are they impressed by this? After all, they can get this in a civilian institution.

[Answer] It would be best, if we did not have to impress people, because the thing that counts with us first of all is the motivation factor. A person whose cybernetics is dazzling does not always work out as a leader. He can also not feel good in a uniform, for example, or perhaps he does not get along with people. Therefore, he must be convinced that the military is right for him, understand its essence and requirements. In Poland there are whole regions and groups, the rural areas, for example, where the motivations to a military career are very strong, passed on from one generation to the next. Therefore the most valuable people come to us from there. But we do not close the way to anyone. Anyone can give it a try.

[Question] Let us explain the equivocal nature of the engineer-officer, because it has been creating a good deal of misunderstanding. A young person who goes to the officers' school compares himself to his colleague, a civilian college student. Who will he turn out to be, an engineer or a leader of men?

[Answer] The title corresponds to reality. And this is the reason we do not say to anyone: You will be an engineer who resolves technical problems in a design office. Instead we tell him: You will be a leader. Not because we have dreamed it up this way but because that is the way it is in the army. The officer directs people. He has equipment at his disposal. He is responsible for all that, morally and materially. But in order for him to be able to do that well in a very technically-oriented army, he must also have specialized preparation. That is the reason for the title: engineer.

[Question] Recognized in the civilian economy...

[Answer] People who we have educated, in whom we have made an investment, we are reluctant to give up, and we do so only in sporadic instances justified, for example, by health considerations. Hence, I can say that this is not a title given for nothing. It corresponds to all the criteria generally accepted in this regard, but, except in a small number of cases, in specific specialties. In talks with candidates and applicants, we therefore stress that they are being prepared for the needs of the army, and we require a manly decision.

[Question] Detailed information is needed to make such a decision. Where can a young person obtain such information?

[Answer] There is a special information directory about military training. The educational institutions set up "Open Days." All this information is also available from the Voivodship Military Headquarters and the Military Recruiting Boards. Of course, there is also material in the press which can be read.

10790
CSO: 2600/593

POLAND

MILITARY PILOT SHORTAGE, TRAINING IN AVIATION CLUBS DISCUSSED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish No 4, Apr 82 pp 23-26

[Article by Cpt Edward Wojcik:"Role of Flying Clubs in the System of Recruiting Aviation Candidates; Discussion Article"]

[Text] The recruitment of candidates for military aviation is too complicated an issue to be able to discuss it in one short article. We know that even the most rigid selection is no guarantee against recruiting to the Higher Air Force Officers School (WOSL) candidates who must be released from the institution in the course of their studies, despite the fact that great costs have been incurred to train them. The idea, however, is to see that there be as few such releases as possible.

Leaving to one side the candidates who are graduates of an aviation secondary school and candidates without training in aviation, I would like to take up the matter of the preparation of young people in flying clubs. This organization, which operates throughout the entire country, has the obligation and great possibility of fostering the pilot vocation among young people. At the same time the regional flying clubs are running into a large number of large and small problems which by the nature of things are having an impact on the system of training and upbringing of young people.

We have 41 regional flying clubs in our country with experienced instructors and upbringing personnel and far more than 1,000 aircraft suitable for the training of young people. We have great aviation traditions and considerable sports achievements in this field. How is it then that we are constantly short of suitable candidates for military aviation? This is a difficult question, and I do not know whether anyone would be able to provide a satisfactory answer. Nonetheless, I should like to point out several issues related to the process of the training and preparation of candidates in the flying clubs. One thing sure is that if glider, parachute-jumping, and similar training becomes more popular and fashionable among young people, there will be no shortage of candidates for military aviation.

Return to a Proven System

Back in the 1960's all the candidates for Air Force Officers School were trained in gliders within the framework of the Military Aviation Training program, called the LPW-1, and in aircraft at the LPW-2 camp. These were closed courses of 2 months with military instructors and upbringing staff. These camps had between 2,000 and 2,500 young people. This system, called the pyramid, was based on the assumption that as many candidates as possible should be accepted and that the most capable people with the greatest predisposition for flying would be culled by way of natural selection through the various stages of training.

This was an expensive system, but it had many advantages. After certain people left the aviation leadership, on the wave of criticism of their attitudes and actions, their methods of flight training were eliminated, despite the fact that they had sometimes been good and had proved to work. It was at this time that LPW-1 was withdrawn. What is more, there was even talk that WOSL cadets and people below jet pilot were positions to which any young person could aspire, without any previous flight preparation. With this thought in mind, a group of cadets was referred from the WSOWZ and other schools for training at WOSL. Not many of them became pilots, but that is another problem.

Practice showed that in order to obtain good pilots and other airman specialists, it was necessary to begin training from the earliest years. After years of failure in obtaining the proper number of candidates with good predispositions, the LPW-1 program was reactivated, but it is necessary to wait several years for the effects of LPW-1 training. Besides, this training must be broader in scope than it has been. Several years passed from the time the LPW-1 program was eliminated to the time it was reactivated, and conditions within the Polish Flying Club changed during this period. Before this organization was subordinate to the Ministry of National Defense. Now it is subordinate to the Ministry of Transportation. It is therefore not surprising that the latter minister is not interested in training young people for the military.

Just Plums?

The matter was resolved amicably. For every candidate trained within the framework of the LPW-1 program who signs an agreement to apply to WOSL upon graduation from secondary school, the flying club receives nearly 30,000 zlotys. This year this amount will undoubtedly be greater, owing to the rise in the cost of living, prices on fuel, and so on.

Thirty thousand zlotys is no small sum. Despite this, the flying clubs are not preparing many candidates in all. What is more, people who do not always intend to become military pilots are trained under the auspices of the LPW-1 program. They take the only places when there are those who would like to fly but cannot get into the flying club. They are sent away empty-handed. On the other hand, one sometimes hears the notion

that the military puts too much into training in flying clubs but that not many people trained under the auspices of the LPW-1 program present themselves for the examinations at the WOSL. I think this concept is wrong. It is like taking the raisins out of the cake without paying for the cake and then only offering the price of white cake.

The meager funds from the state budget barely suffice to maintain the equipment, installations, and pay for the permanent employees, and not even always that much. It is not enough for sports aviation to become generally accessible for a larger number of young people to know how to do parachute jumping, to fly gliders or paragliders, to say nothing of airplanes, which are the most expensive to operate.

In this situation the leadership of nearly every flying club is standing on its head to try to arrange for service flights, demonstration flights, and so on. The money obtained in this way makes it possible to continue, to make ends meet. There is not always enough time for the training and upbringing of young people. It is true that there are two flying clubs in the country which wound up over 2 million zlotys apiece in the black. These flying clubs have richer patrons, but they did not train more young people than the other, poorer ones did.

This Is Profitable

As a consequence it is not important who puts in for the training of young people in the flying clubs. If it has already been accepted as a system that the army will pay for LPW-1 training, then at the same time it should be interested in training the largest possible number of candidates. For example, paying for 2,500 candidates trained within the framework of the LPW-1 program it will pay a large amount, but the large number of young people will make it possible to select and screen candidates meeting all the health and psychophysical conditions. This will be a selection which to a great extent will eliminate the release of cadets during the final years of study and also the writing off of pilots right after their arrival in their units. In all, the initial expenditure will prove profitable.

On the other hand, the inclusion of several thousand young people in flight training will make aviation fashionable again. After all, there is no incentive like the example of a member of one's peer group, his stories about flying, flights, and adventure. The regional flying clubs have the base and the personnel. All they need is the funds for training, which are essential to activate a system of universal flight training.

The existing flying club base of equipment and instructors is not free of certain defects and shortcomings.

What Sort of Personnel Do We Have?

It used to be that military upbringing personnel and instructors to a great extent participated in the training of young people (within the framework of the LPW-1 program). The current flying club instructors

to a great extent are young people (the older ones have left for other branches of aviation), who have a foggy notion about military service, especially the pilot-officer's vocation. In addition they have almost no propaganda or review material, no printed information, documentary or fictional films, no good literature. It is a case, to put it briefly, where the matter of promotion is dead. There are neither the forces nor the resources for that purpose. There are not even any leaflets. I will leave it an open question as to who should take up propagandizing. It is true that there are officers in the units who watch over the various regional flying clubs. They manage to talk with young candiates for aviation, and they work with the leadership of the flying clubs. One of them, for example, is Major Jozef Szelag, and then there are Col Magister Romuald Tarnawski and Cpt Pilot Krzysztof Szumelda, but a large share of the officer-upbringing people cannot find a place for themselves in this system. And they do not find the flying club leadership inclined in this direction either. It would be difficult to be surprised. Many of them limit their activity merely to organizing discussions for young people. Nothing else! And mere talk does not accomplish much.

Alongside the LPW-1 program, the regional flying clubs conduct basic training. Up until 1981 training was conducted on the basis of an agreement between the Ministry of Education and Upbringing and the Polish Flying Club (Aeroklub PRL). The Ministry of Education and Upbringing allocated about 12 million zlotys per year for this purpose. In a situation in which many schools lacked textbooks, the education ministry gave up further cooperation. Only individual agreements can be entered into between regional school superintendents and flying clubs. But a large number of young people, about 4,000 per year, have been trained in these camps. Would this be one more blow to the future of flight personnel?

Model-Building -- Unloved Child

The most common system of training undoubtedly is models, but the flying clubs do not have much to brag about in this area either. Most of the model-building workshops operate under the auspices of the Spolem housing cooperatives, the scouts, or other organizations. Some flying clubs treat their model-building sections in a frivolous way. They consider them not to be important and treat them as an undignified area of aviation, but after all it is just through model-building that we can reach the broad ranks of youth, that we can come closer to young boys with the problematics of aviation, to say nothing about the benefits to be derived from the universal spread of polytechnic skills and interests. Small-scale aviation (models) are of almost no interest at all to the military units, and this is a pity.

Because of the previous marginal treatment of flying models, model-building is running into many difficulties. There are no good grades of balsa wood. For 3 years there have been no foreign exchange funds to import equipment: engines, remote steering apparatus, propellers, and the like. All attempts to undertake domestic production have been destroyed. And there is one other matter which is creating the most adverse opinion. People think that the flying clubs have enough equipment, but other people think that there is too little such equipment and that it does not correspond to the current

needs. It is strange that both sides have arguments to support their positions. The first group thinks that the thousand and some aircraft are sufficient to train many thousands of young people. They are right, because, for example, the Zielona Gora Flying Club trained twenty-one pilots and flew more than 300 hours using a single Puchacz glider. The position of the other group is correct in that the equipment which the flying clubs have is of too high a level and is expensive and difficult to operate and repair. There is a great deal of truth in the statement that a basic-training glider should meet four basic conditions: be light, cheap, safe, and easy to repair.

The Bocian and Mucha [Stork, Fly] gliders still being used in the flying clubs are about "finished." The Czaplas [Herons] are listed. The Puchacz [Eagle Owl] offered by industry, although good for check rides, costs about 860,000 zlotys. The old glider equipment will be eliminated for safety reasons. To make this exchange, the Polish Flying Club needs about 45 gliders per year. That industry could supply that many Puchacz is beond dreaming. Besides, the Polish Flying Club could not afford it.

The situation with gliders for ongoing training and competition is far from hopeless. The existing Pirats [Pirates] and Jantars meet all the needs. The fact that gliders of this type are not always properly taken advantage of is another matter. It happens that members of the national flight team treat gliders as being for them, for their own private use.

The good quality of training and recreational gliders does not yet prove that there are no buts. Industry has produced several dozen Pirats and has declined further production of it, without proposing anything instead of it. It has declined production, although the design was good. In a few years it may turn out that here to there will be a gap (probably, as with the gliders for basic training). One does not hear anything about research or production of high-performance carbon textile gliders. To think that Poland not too long ago was a foremost producer of gliders of top grade.

Will There Be New Airplanes?

The situation with airplanes in the flying clubs is not the best. There are great difficulties with spare parts. There is also a shortage of money for repairs. This is the reason we owe great words of recognition to the Production and Repair Plants in Krosno, which repairs domestically-produced airplanes. Certain types of airplanes are already outmoded or are coming to the end of their days. The Polish Flying Club has limited possibilities of buying foreign aircraft, like the Zlin. Industry's proposed PZL-110 Koliber has not found favor, because foreign exchange funds would have to be used for fuel, oil, and even spare parts.

Nonetheless, the agreement recenly signed with the aviation industry is encouraging. The flying club will probably receive two models of light aircraft which will generally meet the conditions of pilot training. We cannot yet provide any information about the details of this matter.

Promise of New Launching Winches

In the Polish Flying Club more and more thought is being given to saving fuel. The concept of using winches is coming back, but owing to the large number of gliders in use, it is not possible to use what we call the gumming machines. The launch winches of 20 years ago still being used in some flying clubs are no longer proving satisfactory. Specialists from the Wroclaw Flying Club have come to the rescue. A group headed by Engineer Andrzej Bachman has made a winch prototype. During a test on a 2-kilometer line a Puchacz was launched 800 meters. Production of winches is currently being set up at Wroclaw Madro. By the end of the year about 20 winches will have been produced. The designers from Wroclaw did not stop there. At the present time a new type of multispool winch and line puller is being developed by them. Because of this the future training of glider pilots will be incomparably cheaper.

Military aviation specialists are not interested in popularizing aviation instruction in the flying clubs at army cost. This is obvious. Despite this, throughout the flying club training system, the pilot preparation systems of training under the auspices of the LPW-1 program and the program for parachute jumpers for the WPD create the least reservations. These systems are based on close cooperation with the army. Some flying club activists with sentiment recall the times when their organization was subordinate to the Ministry of National Defense. At that time they had clearly specified tasks and the funds allocated to them to carry out these tasks. Today they are faced with the difficulties of find the funds and carrying out the tremendous tasks they face.

Will the existing system be changed for the better? It is hard to give a clear answer, but the fact is that the regional flying clubs train far fewer young people than their potential would seem to imply they might. Let it suffice to state that on the average each regional flying club prepares ten applicants, and we are already getting more than 400 candidates for training at Deblin. The army pays for their training, provided they will be willing to enter professional aviation. The complaints about the shortage of candidates for military and civil aviation will not change anything. The best way to propagate professional aviation is popular flight training.

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INTERVIEW WITH RADIO-TV COMMITTEE'S W. LORANC

AU161405 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Apr 82 p 2

[Interview with Wladyslaw Loranc, chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television, by PAP's Hanna Frenkiel; date and place not specified]

[Text] Below we publish excerpts from an interview given to a PAP journalist by Wladyslaw Loranc, chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television.

--It is a fact that the program situation is stabilizing, W. Loranc said, as attested to outwardly by the reinstatement of Polish Radio Program III, which means that we have again four radio and two TV programs as well as the "Polonia" program beamed abroad in 13 languages. An exception to the return to the former schedule will be shorter broadcasting time of local stations, which will continue, which is dictated by the need for discussions on certain conceptual solutions, but in this half-year yet there will be a full return to broadcasts by the local broadcasting stations.

During the past 3 months we have had serious discussions about the shape and format of radio and TV programs, and I hope that the listeners and viewers have noted the results of these discussions, i.e., the more obvious different kinds of radio programs.

Program I is an official program and deals with most serious issues, especially the presently vital most issues such as the dialogue between the state and the citizen. Program II is for a more limited audience and is based on direct contact with the listeners. Program III is addressed primarily to young people and program IV remains a program of music and literature, but with a distinct predominance of music and with reflections on new programmatic assumptions.

As for television we have accepted the assumption that both its programs should complement each other as alternatives. However, a certain assumption became shaped in the establishment of program II and we want to maintain that distinctness. The aim here is to base program II primarily in the potential of the local centers.

I would define the tasks of our Polish Radio and TV programs most generally in this way: They should facilitate two types of dialogue--society itself with itself and the society with authority. I would like particularly to stress the former dialogue because I have the impression that in our public

life we devote much attention to society's dialogue with the authority, but society's dialogue with itself is just as necessary since only in this way will it be possible to more profoundly fathom the origins, forms and results of the crisis.

Having adopted such a general viewpoint, in daily practice we want to concentrate on two large areas of issues. One area is to evaluate the experience in the decade of the 1970's, to attempt to explain the causes of the crisis, and to find ways of overcoming it. The other issue, which should be considered, is connected with the situation in the country between August 1980 and December 1981. This is a problem of vital interest to every Pole who is tormented by the question whether, succumbing to the demogogic rhetoric of those who wanted to catch up with Japan, we did not miss the great opportunity for agreement, for reforms, and for socialist renewal.

Speaking of the role of the Programs Council, Wladyslaw Loranc said: Running radio and television can only be done with the help of the statutory bodies, that is, the methodically functioning committee, the Programs Council, and the Scientific-Technical Council. Following a break of 8 years, the committee has taken up its work again. The reorganization of the Programs Council began in September 1981, when all the decisive political, creative, trade union, social organizations and also religious institutions were invited to participate in it. A positive result appeared to be imminent but because the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity and certain creative unions refused [that invitation], the reinstatement of the law did not succeed. I regard the establishment of the Programs Council as one of the most urgent tasks.

In view of the specific nature of radio and television activities, the importance of the Scientific-Technical Council should be appropriately assessed, for it also has advisory and consultative functions. This council has already been set up and is headed by Prof Ignacy Malecki.

--Under the conditions of martial law, especially in its beginning period, it was obvious that society's attention was directed mainly toward printed matter and news. We are aware of the fact that listeners and viewers are somewhat hungry for artistic programs. This situation will improve very soon, for we are accepting the assumption as a rule that the cultural achievements and activity of the entire country must be presented on radio and television. Our artistic program items will be supplemented to a greater extent than heretofore by foreign programs, obtained through exchange with foreign countries, primarily from the socialist countries.

As of April, we should expect a distinct stabilization of the proportion between the old and new TV shows; however, there will be indispensable certain repeats, if only out of consideration for the new viewers.

The chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs then discussed the role of radio and TV in fostering the high standards of the Polish language. He stated, among other things, that radio, which is satisfied with the present experience in that field, is aware at the same time of its new duties. It seems indispensable to restore this year the Broadcasting Charter

[Karta Mikrofonowa] which has been in effect for years, but was neglected later. I would like to caution that we regard the struggle for the high standards of the language somewhat more broadly than in categories of its formal correctness. It is an attempt to adapt it to the new realities, to tone down its aggressiveness, and even to rid it of slang expressions like those used by young people, for example.

--The state of radio and television technology--W. Loranc continued--is not uniform. We have centers that are well equipped and those whose technical and building facilities are bad. The center in Warsaw at Woronicza Street is being expanded, and radio studios will be handed over for use this year. The financial assistance promised by the government leadership will cover only the most indispensable portion of the requirements associated with maintaining the traffic.

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MARXIST-LENINIST TEACHINGS ON RELIGION REVIEWED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 6, 20 Mar 82 pp 24-26

/Article by Reader Dr Georgeta Florea: "Dialectical-Materialist Conception of Religion"/

/Text/ Nature and Social Function of Religion

Throughout the history of knowledge philosophers and scientists of the most varied persuasions have looked in man and his human universe for the causes of the appearance of religion. A great many of them believed that religion originated in the psycho-intellectual characteristics of the individual, some blaming his helpless fear of natural phenomena and lack of confidence in his own powers and his tendency to anthropomorphize and to think of the world in analogies with himself, or to personify the sun, the moon and other celestial phenomena (here we are thinking particularly of the astral and mythological theories). Quite a few explained the appearance of religion by man's concern about the unknown future, which increased as soon as he began to believe in the independent existence of the soul and its immortality.

The inadequacy of the explanations based on the individual's psycho-intellectual characteristics led other researchers to study society in order to find in its structure the causes of religion. But the resulting theories were often limited to the subjectivist point of view.

Dialectical and historical materialism introduced a new perspective wherein religion is a social phenomenon and a specific-historical product, but not to the exclusion of the important role of some subjective conditions that favored the action of the latter. The Marxist conception demonstrated that religion is no inherent fact innate in the human being and that to be a man does not necessarily mean to be religious. The objective causes of its appearance survived in the nature of social existence as expressions of the degree of development of the productive forces and the type of productive and extraproductive social relations that characterized the primitive order. The world that man could not dominate practically because of underdevelopment of the productive forces and consequently could not understand theoretically was regarded as a sacred world, infinitely superior, fraught with inaccessible mysteries, and not to be investigated.

But sacralization of the world is only the prerequisite of religion, because the feeling for the sacred never generates religious belief by itself. The incipient forms of religious belief are worthy of attention because, as Marx said, they can make it easier to understand the fact that "Man creates religion and religion does not create man." But the essential act that makes a religion of the respective magical beliefs and practices is the duplication and stratification of the world by the primitive mind. It is the point at which the immediate, visible world partly under its control is considered temporary, impure, nonexistent in itself and qualitatively inferior to the invisible world supposed to be above and beyond the perceptible one and ruled by the will and intelligence of supernatural beings.

As Engels said, the psychological mechanism that led the human mind to "a fantastic reflection... wherein the earthly forces took the form of supernatural forces" is the alienation of human nature. The superiority of the explanation provided by the Marxist conception does not lie merely in identifying human alienation as a source of mystification of man's relations with the real world, which had also been perceived by Hegel and was analyzed at least in part by Feuerbach, but in realizing that religion is the product of the social man living in a specific-historical society where he is not permitted to fulfill himself completely and effectively in everyday life and he is channeled toward a fulfillment in fantasy and illusion. By the process of self-alienation the human being, imagined in all its better qualities, detached from its specific-individual existence and transformed to ideas, comes to be regarded as another being, divorced from man, clearly superior, primary, omnipotent, omniscient etc. Engels said in this connection that religion "by its very nature empties man and nature of any content and transfers that content to the phantom of a transcendent God, who then in His turn and by His grace grants man and nature some of His abundance."*

In the Marxist conception belief in the supernatural and the divine is not the product of transfiguration of natural phenomena alone but also of social phenomena, which in certain stages of history are equally strange and inexplicable to man and dominate him to the same extent. In the course of history religion became more and more the product of transfiguration and fetishizing of social relations because exploitation of man by man, inequalities of every kind, the unpredictable action of the social laws, wars, crises etc. multiply the forms of the human being's alienation, which extend to both the exploited and the exploiter.

In the presence of such objective social-historical factors, some of man's psycho-intellectual characteristics can still favor religious mystification of the natural or social world. In addition to those mentioned at the start we note the inherent ability of the human mind to create abstractions and to imagine a fantastic world of unreal ideas that can be regarded as independent entities, man's characteristic tendency to judge the world on the analogy of his acts, which can lead to the belief that the organization of the cosmos, like any human action, presupposes the existence of an intelligence with a demiurgic role, etc.

*F. Engels, "State of England. Thomas Carlyle, 'Past and Present'" in K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works," Vol 1, Political Publishing House, 1960, p 591.

Religion gradually became a highly complex social phenomenon, expanding its functions beyond the believers' consciousness and actively involving itself in their economic, political, legal, moral and artistic affairs. As a social or individual consciousness, religion functions as a pseudocognitive means of understanding the existing world and of predicting the future life. It also performs a function of illusory compensation for the alienated human condition. By virtue of its ethical and sometimes legal components it takes on functions of regulating behavior and converts the desire to improve life to expectation of divine salvation. The religious life is presented as the only possibility for the individual's integration in the community and the only authentic form of protest in eras or periods of cruel social and national oppression etc.

By exercising those functions religion confines people in the illusion of the supremacy of the supernatural forces instead of channeling human efforts toward progressive mastery of the natural world and improvement of the social world. On the basis of the idea that revelation is the only way to truth, it establishes itself as an obstacle to human knowledge. Throughout history protests on religious grounds have never resulted in truly revolutionary plans, because they were not based on the real causes of man's domination by the natural and social forces. Religion cannot paralyze the masses' spirit of revolt and it even stimulates it at times, but it always gives it a content and an objective that make it ineffectual and direct it in ways that even further aggravate the lack of freedom.

Religion Under Socialism. Legal Regulation of Freedom of Conscience in Romania

Abolition of private ownership and exploitation of man by man, establishment and development of productive socialist relations, continued democratization of economic, political and social activity, expansion of the secularizing technical environment due to agricultural industrialization and modernization and to urbanization with its effects upon life styles, and the mass cultural movement that has structured a new scientific-atheist attitude and raised the general cultural level have purposefully reversed the state of religious belief in the new society.

Although the social basis of religion is being gradually eliminated, the religious phenomenon continues to exist under socialism because there are still partial discrepancies among the various sectors of social activity. At some times, as in the worldwide economic crisis, temporary developmental difficulties arise. Contradictions persist and are even aggravated which, by their very existence, disguise the main agreement of the various groups' interests and create false discords. Because economic, legal, moral and other principles are violated, individuals sometimes meet with with injustice and inequity in the microcollectives to which they belong. Such real dysfunctions, with their bad effects on the circumstances of people's daily lives, cannot always be understood by all and cannot invariably be effectively and promptly controlled. They often foster distorted and mystical views of man's relations with society and his historic destiny.

An individual's religious belief is formed by the interaction of objective and subjective causes, some of which occur in common contexts of groups, social categories etc. (like those mentioned above) while others are limited to strictly

personal contexts. This explains why personal tragedies, repeated failures, critical family situations, or requests for material or moral help unanswered in the nearest community can result in a strong feeling of insecurity, loss of confidence in one's own powers, and the belief that such situations can be overcome solely by recourse to religion.

Belief in religion can also be maintained artificially. In some cases the religious belief characteristic of some individuals is not primarily the result of any deliberate adherence but imitation of neighbors' behavior or a reaction to pressure from parents, relatives or friends. In other cases the religious belief of social categories is maintained because most religions stress the idea that only respect for religion ensures any positive morality and irreligion inevitably leads to dehumanization and moral decadence. Under some circumstances religious conversion is the result of aggressive or insidious proselyting, especially but not entirely on the part of members of neo-Protestant denominations.

Religious practices are clearly also encouraged by the power of attraction of the religious rituals to celebrate some important events in people's lives like births, marriages etc., which meet the general need for spectacles and sociability better than the present secular institutions.

For those under its influence religion still has an instrumental character, providing very easy and plausible explanations for the man of little instruction and culture which are also charged with symbols that can satisfy the taste for speculation of other categories of people. It has moral and sometimes also legal standards recommended as the only effective ones for regulating human behavior, and it provides stereotyped, ready-made scenarios, handed down from generation to generation, specifying point by point all that should be done in any given situation. Departure from that pattern is presented as a violation of traditional customs and disrespect. Using such arguments, religions maintain by their propaganda belief in the eternal and general usefulness of religion, and this in great part explains why religion continues at least partially to be an active system with functions of its own although the essential causes that gave rise to it have disappeared.

The humanist-revolutionary ideals characteristic of the socialist order, which attach supreme value to the man as subject of his social and individual destiny, call for priority elimination of the social-human causes that perpetuate religious alienation as well as opposition to the instrumental value that religion claims.

On the principle, confirmed by experience, that the religious phenomenon cannot be eliminated by administrative actions or by acculturation programs of the illuminist kind, the RCP feels that only complete implementation of the new human condition and full development of the personality of the new man will do away with mystical-religious beliefs and the need to resort to religious practices. In the present stage of Romanian society's development, modernization of the productive forces, continuing enhancement of their economic effectiveness, restructuring of industry, accomplishment of a far-reaching agrarian revolution, improvement of all social relations, promotion of the technical-scientific revolution in all activities, consolidation of the scientific and democratic

character of social management and organization, and full sway of ethics and justice based on constantly improved material and social conditions are all alike implicit practical means of liberating people from the influence of religion. In this far-reaching and lengthy process, making a fetish of the tendency of the social consciousness to lag behind social existence and the contrary assumption that establishing new social relations automatically makes religion disappear are both one-sided and result in passive indifference in educational work.

Since the ideological struggle against religion is the entire party's task, qualification as a communist is essentially incompatible with the attitude of concession or adherence to religion. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We base the revolutionary, scientific conception of the world upon social development. To be sure we respect people's beliefs until they come to a scientific understanding of the realities, but we do not wish in any way to maintain the state of backwardness in thought or consciousness..." Scientific-materialist education of the masses is accordingly an aim of the ideological effort to form and develop socialist awareness and to promote revolutionary humanism throughout society.

Of course accomplishment of this aim has nothing in common with restriction of freedom of conscience, and religious belief is not subject to administrative sanction. On the contrary, in accordance with the profoundly democratic nature of Romanian society, the Romanian Constitution provides equal rights for all citizens regardless of nationality, age, sex or religion in all walks of economic, political, legal, social and cultural life. In this way the Romanian government provides through its legislation for fundamental freedom of conscience, but in both its meanings: "Anyone is free to believe or not to believe in a religion" (Article 30).

But the guarantee of freedom of conscience gives no one license to exploit any citizens' religious feelings or to use those problems as a means of social-political diversion or interference in another country's internal affairs. Religions are free to organize and operate provided they observe the principle of the state's supreme authority over all institutions on Romanian territory, including religious ones. In accordance with the principle of its supremacy, the state has the legitimate right to oversee strict observance of socialist legality, to prohibit any antisocial activity or interference of religions in affairs of state, to protect all its citizens' physical and intellectual health, and to provide equal education and instruction for all its members.

Since the Romanian state separates schools from the church, religions cannot open or maintain educational institutions other than those specially intended to train their own personnel. It is also prohibited by law to disseminate religious propaganda outside the religious institutions and the authorized media. Every citizen and every servitor of a religion must obey the laws and help to develop and strengthen the social order.

To regulate relations between religions and the socialist state, the law on their operating conditions was drafted in 1948. Fourteen religions are operating in Romania, namely Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Reformed or Calvinist, Evangelical of the Augustinian Confession, Synodal Presbyterian Evangelical, Unitarian,

Christian of the Old or Lippovan Rite, Gregorian Armenian, Judaic, Mohammedan, Baptist, Seventh Day Adventist, Pentecostal and Christian According to the Gospel. They enjoy full equality regardless of the number of believers, since there is no dominant church or subordinate churches in Romania.

The revolutionary and democratic solution of the minorities problem in Romania is reflected in the fact that according to the Constitution and the Law on Religions the national minorities are entitled to express their particular spiritual traditions and every faith can be organized in conformity with its own national characteristics and with the dogmas on which it is founded, and it can use the believers' mother tongue in all religious activities (in rituals, publications, religious schools, administrative actions etc.).

The state severely sanctions religious hatred, has put a stop to manifestations of discord, and favors a climate of mutual respect.

Religions can organize their theological institutes of higher education as well as their theological seminaries to train their personnel. They can also publish their essential religious books as well as periodicals, theoretical journals and bulletins.

In Romania religions have the necessary resources for their activities, religious homes, rest homes, retirement homes, workshops, stores, ritual slaughterhouses and canteens, etc. They have their own budgets and are subsidized by the state to maintain their historical monuments. Those in Romania maintain relations with international religious organizations and with other churches abroad provided they respect every church's independence and its right to take its own stand on the various internal religious questions. Moreover the Law on Religions prohibits relations of legal or administrative subordination to foreign religious centers.

By virtue of the mutual respect established in relations between religions and the state, a favorable climate has been created in Romania such that every citizen regardless of his religious convictions can contribute to a higher standard of material and cultural civilization. The representatives of the religions belong to the Socialist Unity and Democracy Front, and some of them have been elected deputies to the Grand National Assembly.

The foregoing facts contradict the hostile propaganda of some circles in the West that sometimes unknowingly but most often deliberately make judgments that distort the facts.

The principle of freedom of conscience entails the socialist state's right and duty to take steps both for the nation's continued progressive development and, through its scientific, cultural and educational institutions, for the education and development of a truly free man liberated from the wardship of any mystical-religious faith.

5186
CSO: 2700/300

NEW SLOVENIAN CULTURAL REVIEW PUBLISHES DJOGO POEMS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 82 p 48

[Excerpt] In a few days a full 2 years will have passed since 60 well-known Slovenian cultural workers signed a petition to establish the publication NOVA REVIJA and sent this with a letter to Mitja Ribicic, president of the SAWP Conference of Slovenia. After consideration by a special working group and a public discussion in DELO, the Cankar publishing house has brought out the first issue of NOVA REVIJA, about which it was rumored up to the last minute that it would not get off the ground.

Thus, the review has come out and the editor-in-chief is Tine Hribar, well-known Slovenian philosopher.

The crucial elements...in the initiative of the 60 [petition] signers were the apathy that had existed for several years in publications, the lack of dialogue and polemic, and the danger of Slovenian cultural provincialism. The signers advocate in their programmatic text a pluralism of self-management interests and communication with other cultural areas in Yugoslavia (cooperation with REPUBLIKA [Zagreb], KNJIZEVNOST, and KNJIZEVNA REC has already been agreed upon), as well as keeping up in a dynamic way with the cultural happenings in the world.

In the last part of the text (which opponents of NOVA REVIJA usually overlook) the petitioners say they do not want to form a new group which would compete with the cultural-political institutions in Slovenia. They proclaim the search for work which will be as expressive and independent as possible and which will correspond to the interests of the authors and the present level of artistic and intellectual differentiation. Only in this way, they say, will pluralism of views and dialogue be assured, but not between publications but rather within NOVA REVIJA.

Thus it wants to be new.... Tine Hribar says, "We find ourselves confronted with the creation of a new economic policy, thus, we must also form a new science [znanost] and a new cultural policy."

In leafing through the issue, it is obvious that the main tendencies [aims] have been followed. It contains heretofore unknown poems by Edvard Kocbek whom a large number of Slovenian intellectuals consider an exemplary independent talent, poems by members of the second generation, Joze Udovic, Joze

Snoj, Niko Grafenauer, as well as poems by the Serbian poet Gojko Djogo,... and an interview with Vlado Vodopivc of the pre-war Slovenian literary left which could not be published 2 years ago and which attests to the enclosed nature of the cultural field. In the "Polemic" column Taras Kermauner responds to the attack by Branko Ziherl on Ivan Kreft's book "Sporovi i sukobi" [Controversies and Conflicts]. Ivan Urbancic's book, "Lenjinova 'filozofija' ili o imperijalizmu," translated by Dusan Velickovic and Tine Hribar, is reviewed; Hribar's text was earlier rejected by TELEKS. Another previously rejected text is also included: Rupel's criticism of Lasic's book.... A comparison is also made between the theoretically poor third program on Radio Ljubljana and the [culturally] rich program on Radio Belgrade.

CSO: 2800/413

BRIEFS

REDUCED SENTENCES FOR FRANCISCANS--The Franciscan brothers from Mostar, Ferdo Vlasic and Jozo Krizic, who were sentenced by the Sarajevo supreme court on 18 March 1982 have had their sentences reduced from 8 to 5 1/2 years in the first case and from 5 1/2 to 2 1/2 years in the second case. The brothers are now in the prison in Foca where Brother Jozo Zovko has also been serving a sentence, now reduced from 3 1/2 to 2 years. On 1 June 1982 their lawyers requested the district court in Mostar to re-examine the validity of the verdicts and this court is required by law to forward the request to the Federal Court in Belgrade for settlement. At the same time we have learned that those imprisoned are not permitted to receive or read any religious papers or periodicals and even the Scriptures and their breviaries have been taken from them. [Excerpt] [Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jun 82 p 10]

CSO: 2800/413

END

JPRS 81301

16 July 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2034

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16 July 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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SAFETY MEASURES IN WAR PLANES MAINTENANCE RECOMMENDED

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 5, 1982 pp 28-30

[Article by Reserve Engr-Col Lyubcho Nikolov: "Safety Measures During Work on Aviation Equipment"]

[Text] One of the invariable sections of every regulatory document governing the maintenance of aviation equipment is "Basic Safety Measures During Maintenance Work."

Why is such great attention paid to this question? The first reason is that ignorant or careless maintenance of an aircraft or helicopter can be the cause of a serious accident.

The second reason is that getting aviation equipment ready is a collective job of many aviation specialists--engineers, technicians, mechanics, officers, noncommissioned officers, enlisted men and various specialists in the rear services area. Every one of these must have a good knowledge of the safety measures for the equipment that he services.

The third reason is that nonobservance of safety measures may cause damage to the engine, some parts of the aircraft, individual systems, instruments, even the entire aircraft or helicopter. And this is expensive equipment which cannot always be reconditioned or purchased.

In the event of nonobservance of safety measures an explosion or fire may burst out, which will lead to still greater and irreparable losses. All this affects the combat readiness of an aviation unit to the utmost degree. Therefore, the first and paramount obligation of leading engineering personnel of aviation elements and units is to pay most serious attention to the technical training of pilots, engineers, technicians and mechanics. What is fundamental therein is the study of aviation equipment and its proper maintenance. Safety-measure matters must be studied with great seriousness and thoroughness. Leading engineering personnel and all officials have the standing mission of very seriously making sure of their observance. Only highly qualified specialists must be cleared for work on aviation equipment. The documents for the operation of aviation equipment indicate the cases in which the knowledge of engineering and technical personnel is to be checked: when they come on the job, when they enter upon a new position, and when their work is interrupted for more than 3 months.

What are the areas for observance of safety measures?

During Maintenance of Aviation Equipment

The safety measures which aviation specialists must observe in getting an aircraft or helicopter ready for flight or in periodic servicing are given in the greatest detail in the relevant manuals and in the uniform regulations on the operation of the particular type of aviation equipment. In this article we shall direct attention to only those points, violations of which still occur. Before working on an aircraft (helicopter), one must make certain that it is grounded, that all AZS [circuit breakers] in the cockpit are turned off and that all emergency buttons are closed. A check must be made as to whether safety pins have been put in the cockpit or on other aircraft pyrotechnic devices, in what position the landing-wheels crane has been placed and whether it has been locked. Technicians, mechanics and pilots must not be permitted to enter the aircraft cockpit with tools or other objects in their pockets, for if they fall out without being noticed, jamming of the aircraft controls may occur during flight. Engines must be tested at specified sites with strict observance of instructions. The necessary commands are still not always given nor is care always taken that braking chocks are well placed in front of aircraft wheels; care is not strictly taken that during testing servicemen should not walk through the danger zone in front of or behind the aircraft or into the zone of a helicopter's lifting propeller; nor is care taken that there are no foreign objects in the intake valves and that the concrete in front of them is clear. In order to direct the constant attention of engineering and technical personnel to the airtightness of fuel and hydraulic systems, which represent the main threat of the occurrence of fire during engine testing on the ground or in flight and during work on the aviation armament of aircraft and helicopters, special pointing zones and parking places must be specified for the loading and unloading of weapons, placing of the prescribed flags must be strictly observed, and the necessary commands given. When work is being done on weapons from the outside, there must be nobody in the cockpit. Leaving unfinished a job once started on an aircraft, engine or aircraft systems, or entrusting it to another specialist to finish up, must not be permitted. Such cases have often led to undesirable results. Periodic servicing of the firing mechanisms of explosive gear, catapult, canopy and drop tanks must be performed only with explosives removed. During work in the cockpit strict care must be taken that each specialist switches on only the circuit breakers of his specialty and checks only the systems in his specialty. Care is not always taken to remedy troubles in individual systems only with the current turned off; precautionary measures to prevent the irradiation of personnel during the checking of systems which emit high-frequency (UHF) electromagnetic energy are not always observed. Ground personnel must always work with earphones in order to protect their hearing. Persons with oily clothing or hands must not be permitted near elements of aircraft oxygen equipment. Special attention must be given to cleanliness of fueling hoses and valves.

During Maintenance of Control and Measuring Equipment, Manometers, Various Instruments and Devices

In getting ready for flights or during periodic servicing, the greatest attention must be directed to the serviceability of KIA [kontrolno-izmervatelna aparatura; control and measuring equipment] whereby aircraft systems and apparatuses are

checked. It must be in good working order, the personnel working with it must know it very well, and before it is connected to the aircraft the equipment must, without fail, be tested for self-monitoring, with strict observance of the safety measures given in the instructions. There are many cases of serious injuries from the failure of manometers when a manometer designed for lower pressure was installed to monitor a higher-pressure system. Moreover, for manometers with low-grade accuracy, 3-month checking periods must be observed. Special attention must be paid that no mistake occurs in the installation of oxygen and ordinary manometers. Great attention in the maintenance of aircraft must be paid to the malfunction of hydraulic jacks. To elevate aircraft, only jacks that are in good working order and have had their annual inspection must be used. On this score there are still lapses which may result in human casualties or the breakage of expensive materiel. When an aircraft is elevated, the necessary commands must be given, and the requirement that after elevation jacks must be locked must be observed. There are many lapses in filling aircraft tires. They are not always filled with special devices--reducer valves. Sometimes these are not in good working order or have damaged manometers. Special attention must be given also to letting nitrogen (air) out of shock absorbers, out of hydraulic accumulators and out of other pressurized devices. This must always be done with special devices and never by unscrewing the filling valve. The necessary attention is not paid to the serviceability of braking chocks, carriages and especially the cables on them, the condition of the engine-testing sites and of the steel cables with which the aircraft is lashed down during the testing of afterburning. There are many cases of injuries due to working with broken ladders or rungs poorly tied to the wings of aircraft.

In workshops and laboratories of the unit, where periodic servicing of aircraft and other equipment is performed, safety measures in working with power units must be strictly observed; care must be taken that the hydraulic pump is in good working order; hydraulic systems must be checked, as must the test bench for nozzles, which work under pressure too, the bench for washing filters etc. Often suspended tanks have to be welded in the mechanical workshop of the unit. The necessary safety measures must be strictly observed so that no explosion will occur. The electric installations on laboratory premises, electric motors and apparatuses are not always in good working order and safe. Many machines such as lathes, drills, cutters etc. are not grounded. There are not always signs close to machines on which safety measures have been written out. According to legal provisions, all personnel in these laboratories must be given instructions every 3 months regarding the observance of safety measures at work.

One of the basic safety measures is the constant serviceability of firefighting equipment. Fire is the chief danger during work on aviation equipment. Therefore, strict care must be taken that firefighting equipment is serviceable--that it is constantly in good working order and periodically checked by leading engineering and technical personnel and by duty engineers before flights in accordance with the requirements of instructions. Drills with firefighting groups must be conducted periodically. Care must be taken especially that smoking occurs only in specified places. During the instruction of personnel of aviation units and the service battalion it must be pointed out that in case of fire GSM [fuels and lubricants] can be put out only with fire extinguishers, asbestos cloths, and never with water. And a fire involving an electric installation must be fought only with carbon-dioxide or tetrachloride fire extinguishers.

Leading engineering personnel and officials of the aviation technical unit are obliged to see constantly to the state of health of personnel, strictly forbidding them to wash up after work with ethylated gasoline, which is highly toxic.

During Work with Aircraft-Servicing Equipment

Much of the technical battalion's motorized equipment, which services aircraft at takeoff, during flight or at the sites where aircraft are made ready on the day of advance preparation, also creates the preconditions for accidents. It includes many tractors, APA [airport mobile power units], tank trucks, oil-servicing trucks, oxygen truck, compressed-air truck, heaters, fire trucks and many others. The main condition for preventing accidents during taxiing on the airfield, at takeoff or at the sites is that there should be a well-organized traffic system for these vehicles and that the senior engineer and duty flight service officer should control it, especially at the time of night flights when visibility is reduced and the noise from the engines is very intense.

Aircraft use many special fluids and gases, as well as kerosene, gasoline and oils, many of which are toxic and may cause rashes. Safety measures in working with these fluids and gases are given in the instructions and must be strictly observed.

The personnel manning the oxygen truck must be especially careful. The official who does the loading must, without fail, have white overalls and clean hands, and as a rule a sergeant should be appointed for this purpose.

In loading individual aircraft systems, particular attention must be paid to the marking of the air, nitrogen and oxygen cylinders, with attention paid during their transportation and removal from the vehicles and care also taken to prevent their accidentally being exchanged due to ignorance or, mostly, due to inattention.

Knowledge of Safety Measures by Leading Personnel of Aviation Units and Officials

In order for the campaign for observance of safety measures by performing technical and military personnel while working on aviation equipment to be effective; in order for there to be no accidents, preconditions for accidents or accidents due to their nonobservance; as well as for there to be no material losses or breakdowns of expensive aviation equipment, the safety measures in every area of activity on the airfield in getting aircraft ready and in the conduct of flight must be known perfectly by leading engineering personnel and by officials so that they can constantly check on their observance. This knowledge and these habits must be implanted in leading and in performing personnel as early as their instruction at the Military School, at the same time that they study aviation equipment.

The activity of commanders, deputy commanders for political affairs, deputy commanders for aviation-engineering services of all ranks, of party and Komsomol organizations along these lines must be tremendous.

6474
CSO: 2200/119

MILITARY LOCATIONS IN FRG DISCUSSED

Prague ZAPISNIK in Czech No 10, 1982 pp 6-8

[Report by correspondent Frantisek Vonderka: "Behind the Barbed Wire in Arsbeck There Await 270 Hiroshimas"]

[Text] The bus covered with posters reading "Easter March 1982 Arsbeck" came to fetch us in front of the press center, in the government quarter in Bonn. A group of about 30 reporters had accepted the invitation extended by the organizers of the antiwar march in the Lower Rhine. (On 10 and 11 April, 30,000 persons participated in this march, and throughout the FRG hundreds and thousands of citizens protested against war during the 1982 Easter holidays.) The defenders of peace from the Lower Rhine called their event "a press conference in a bus." The participants of this unusual press conference included reporters from the FRG, West Berlin, Switzerland, the CSSR, Libya and Sweden. An explanation as to why the press conference was being held in a bus came after the first few hundred meters. One of the organizers of the excursion, Georg Vormschlag, briefly welcomed us aboard and then said: "Today in the Lower Rhine we will jointly inspect the cause of the peace movement's constant growth in this part of the FRG. The reason is a single one: in the Lower Rhine there are many military facilities and installations. And not just any kind. These are installations in which an enormous potential of nuclear weapons is accumulated. We wish to show you some of these facilities today."

Georg Vormschlag of the citizens' initiative "Easter March 1982 Arsbeck" acquaints us during the trip with the past and present of the peace movement in the Lower Rhine. He tells us that at the beginning some people ridiculed and failed to understand the drive of the defenders of peace. But today also their eyes are beginning to open. Our guide told us about a farmer who last year hotly opposed the defenders of peace, but this year he himself offered his meadow as a campsite where the participants of the Easter March to Arsbeck could pitch their tents. Other people who previously had been under the influence of the official propaganda about the "Danger from the East" reacted in the same fashion. Today they are thinking differently. Georg Vormschlag told us that of the 50 stores the defenders of peace turned to for permission to put up the propaganda poster for the Easter March to Arsbeck, only one refused permission. Its owner is a staunch supporter of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union].

First Stop

After Dusseldorf our bust left the boring Autobahn for a district road. We are traveling westward, in the direction of Holland. The countryside is rather similar to the Dutch plain. We pass through villages and skirt meadows on which black cattle

Figure 1. Map of the Lower Rhine showing route of the excursion.

Key:

1. Key to symbols
2. Medium-range missiles
3. Short-range missiles
4. Flat-trajectory missiles
5. Anti-aircraft missiles
6. NATO control station
7. Radar post
8. Aircraft carrying nuclear bombs
9. Munitions reloading point
10. War gas storage
11. Underground bunkers
12. Military restricted area
13. Nuclear warheads
14. Neutron warheads

and horses are grazing. The bus stops at the village of Grefrath. From the road one can see a tower with radar discs. This is an important communications complex for communication between units that are equipped with nuclear weapons. As one of our guides tells us, there are in all five such towers in the Lower Rhine. An orange-colored Volkswagen stops next to the bus; in it are policemen in civilian clothes. One of them tells the driver to show his papers and then orders: "No photographs, no filming." He threatens suggestively with his finger a West German reporter who wanted to photograph at least this scene, telling him that his film would be confiscated if he clicked his shutter. After a brief discussion, the policeman in civilian clothes leaves the bus. But the orange-colored Volkswagen accompanied us during the entire trip.

Lower Rhine a Large Military Base

In Hinsbeck, which is barely 20 kilometers from Grefrath, the bus enters a dead-end street called Heisterweg. It is more or less a forest trail that suddenly ends at a gate. Beyond it is a military base from which Nike-Hercules missiles would be fired "in case of necessity." Our guide comments: "The Nike-Hercules bases in the Lower Rhine can be recognized by their wooden guard towers. These are very old bases where Nike-Ajax missiles were deployed previously." At night, Georg Vormschlag tells us, the base in Hinsbeck is lit up like a Christmas tree. This is for reasons of security. Another guide, Dr Julius Pott, adds: "When a person walks along the fence of the base at night, the guards have four different commands. I don't know what they are when the Belgians and Americans are on guard duty, but when the Bundeswehr is on duty the command are: 'Halt, this is the Bundeswehr'; 'Stop or I will shoot'; then follows a warning shot, and finally a direct shot. The soldiers told me that they were trained to shoot first at the target, and then give a warning shot." Last year, at one of the nuclear bases in the Lower Rhine, they found the body of an unidentified male. It is still being kept a secret how this man got on the base and how he lost his life.

270 Hiroshimas

The bus continues its journey. Along the road to Wildenrath we drive by an airfield of the British RAF. The silhouettes of the antiaircraft missiles surrounding the airfield can be seen already from a distance. The airfield is being used by bombers that can carry nuclear weapons. In Herongen we pass an American Army base. On it we see large concrete bunkers, and additional ones are being built diligently. We are slowly approaching Arsbeck. One kilometer from the town we stop at the edge of a pine forest. A few hundred meters from the B 221 highway is the command post of the missile units whose staff is in Geilenkirchen-Teveren. The unit has 36 nuclear missiles of the Pershing 1 A type. That is the official figure. Actually there are 50 missiles, 14 more that are a sort of reserve. At the base in Arsbeck they are practicing a so-called QRA, which stands for Quick Reaction Alert, the highest degree of combat readiness. Our guide comments: "In the Arsbeck QRA combat emplacement the individual companies, with nine Pershing 1 A missiles, alternate. Previously this was done every 14 days, but now they alternate weekly. Simply because the servicemen do not tolerate well the pressure they are under. There have already been accidents.

Our guide tells the story of how a company, transporting three missiles, got lost and strayed into neighboring Holland, instead of arriving at the Arsbeck base. The defenders of peace know this from soldiers who participated in the search for the

lost company. There is also evidence that some servicemen, particularly the Americans, are taking drugs in an effort to reduce the tension.

Our guides then tell us about the system of firing missiles. About the existence of several stages in the preparations for live firing. There are two keys for unlocking each control. One key is held by a member of the Bundeswehr, the other by a member of the United States Army. The 14 missiles that officially do not exist are the Americans' reserve for the case should members of the Bundeswehr refuse to obey the command to turn the key unlocking the launch control when the missile is aimed at a target in the FRG. That such missile targets do exist has been revealed in documents that were published in the United States, much to the Pentagon's displeasure, and from there the information was passed on to the FRG. The documents were photocopies of the logbooks of American bombers that carry nuclear weapons. On the pages of the logbooks are the names of the "targets" and their exact geographic locations. Under "Targets in the FRG" are such place-names as Lubeck, Hamburg, Hannover, ...

We are walking along a forest trail around the base's concrete wall that alternates with a barbed-wire fence. On it are signs warning: "Attention, Deadly Force Authorized." Which means that the guards may use firearms. Another sign forbids taking photographs, under severe penalty.

From the trail one can see the concrete guard tower, several buildings, and twin flagpoles flying the FRG and United States flags. Georg Vormschlag notes: "Usually it is very quiet here. You hear only the birds signing. Now you hear engine noise in the background. Which means that the communications truck has driven out to that hill, which you can see very well from here. The base is just having a QRA, the highest degree of combat readiness. The missiles are on their launching pads, ready to be launched at any time. I hate to think of it, but if they were launched, the missiles would start on their trajectory roughly 200 meters from the place where we are now standing. That is nine missiles, and their destructive power is equal to 270 bombs of the Hiroshima type. A total of 3.6 megatons of TNT, nearly 50 percent more than what was exploded during World War II. That is something so terrible that no one can imagine. And that is only about 25 percent of the destructive power that the Geilenkirchen unit has."

The communications truck is parked on a hill outside the fence, and thus we can go almost up to it. Ten meters from the hill is a line that it is not advisable to cross, as a warning sign reminds us.

In 1983, the Arsbeck unit that now is practicing the highest degree of combat readiness (i.e., all stages of unlocking the launch controls, except the last 48 seconds during which the launching still can be blocked) is to be rearmed with Pershing 2 missiles. For this reason modifications of the approach roads are already being planned; for example, level crossings will be eliminated so that nothing will hold up the missile columns.

At present the missiles are being transported at night or by helicopter. The new road will simplify transportation.

The only thing with which NATO did not reckon is the public resistance that ever louder is refusing to live in the shadow of nuclear missiles. That is why the idea of the Easter March to Arsbeck has met with such response. More and more people realize that only a strong peace movement in the FRG is able to prevent nuclear insanity and to foil the plans that one day would lead to a Euroshima in place of Europe.

1014
CSO: 2400/282

CHARTER 77 REPORT ON CZECHOSLOVAK ECONOMY

Paris L'ALTERNATIVE in French No 16/17, May-Aug 82 pp 21-26

[Unsigned samizdat article by Charter 77 dated February 1982 from Prague, printed by Palach Press, translation into French by L'ALTERNATIVE: "Why?"]

[Text] Czechoslovakia: Economic Crisis

It is to a samizdat analysis, published clandestinely by Charter 77 in Prague at the beginning of the year, that we have turned for a description of developments in the economic situation and of the questions any Czechoslovak citizen facing that situation might ask himself: hence the title "Why?" which we have given the analysis. Starting off from a report on the worsening of the situation, this article describes its causes and advances concrete proposals--calling in particular for a democratic process of informing the people and for the democratic participation of the people--for remedying it.

Why?

A Charter 77 Text

("Information on and questions about certain economic issues relating to the increase in prices of staple foodstuffs.")

On behalf of the signatories of Charter 77, the Charter's spokesmen have received a great amount of information on and a number of questions about certain economic issues relating to the increase in prices of staple foodstuffs. That information and those questions are in connection with questions being asked nowadays by a segment of public opinion. Therefore, we felt it useful to make them known to all those whom they might interest. At the same time, in accordance with Articles 17 and 29 of the Constitution we are presenting them for the attention of the Federal Assembly and are also addressing them to the Congress of the Central Council of Trade Unions which is to meet in the next few days.

The January Increases

The January increase in the prices of meat, meat products, poultry, game, fish (fresh and canned), rice, cigarettes and other tobacco-based products, and wine and certain alcoholic beverages, as well as the general increase in meatless dishes in restaurants are not the first measures to lower the standard of living of the population. Furthermore, because of the constant hidden price increases, a new question must be asked: to what extent are we risking the necessity to raise the prices of other consumer goods again (and thus to lower the standard of living even more), and how can we be confident that, for example, it will be possible to buy meat, and that we will not have to stand in line for staple foodstuffs? A growing number of citizens are gradually realizing how absolutely intolerable certain negative economic manifestations are becoming: the disequilibrium which affects nearly all the basic branches of the economy, the enormous waste, various peices of planning nonsense, and finally, the failure to carry out national production plans. The downward tendency of basic economic trends is continuing, and even apparently at an accelerated rate. For example, real wages were lower in 1979 than in the previous year, and the same goes for 1980. And yet national income was still rising during those years even if not by very much. However, national income stagnated in 1981 (in fact, it grew by only a few tenths of a percent) whereas it should have advanced by 2.7 percent according to the plan.

Why the Waste?

Every realistic person knows that there have been and there will always be shortcomings. But at the same time he asks himself why nowadays those shortcomings are so numerous, so big, and so burdensome, and present in nearly all the main areas of our economy and daily life. For the most part, however, this cannot be explained by the crisis which is affecting capitalist countries or by the general increase in prices of raw materials and energy. We already know the extent to which we waste those last-mentioned items: we use 50 percent more than the average industrial country. Many people wonder why. We supporters of Charter 77 also wonder why. Our questions do not slander or, even less, defame the work of our nation as is asserted by propaganda when any statement is made by unofficial circles. Most of us are involved in the production process ourselves. We personally experience an extremely great variety of problems and for that reason alone we cannot just leave it at that without doing anything. Our "whys" must be understood as an incitement to discuss in constructive fashion certain burning economic questions we face nowadays. By asking these questions, we are making use of economic and civic rights embodied in international pacts which we have ratified. In addition, by doing this we are responding to numerous calls on the part of different party organs, the government, the trade union organization, and their principal leaders who ask workers to express their opinions too concerning the complicated and urgent problems of our way of life, in order for politicians and economists to answer their questions (see the 24 February 1982 issue of RUDE PRAVE). We must no longer be content only to note and list the various serious inadequacies and ills of the Czechoslovak economic system. Their basic causes must be analyzed and proposals must be derived therefrom aiming at effective measures, and indeed, even various changes.

The Powerlessness of Ordinary Citizens

The growing inadequacies appall citizens, and that has negative economic consequences as well; the feeling of powerlessness felt by an ordinary citizen, a worker, faced with the fact that he cannot in any way influence the course of events as far as the economy is concerned, has a great effect on everyone's output, initiative and even profit-sharing. Social antagonisms aggravate the population's discontent as well. Above all else citizens are critical of bribetakers, speculators, and various parasites who profit from shortages in the number of housing accomodations, services, certain goods, etc. An increasing number of voices are being raised against faulty and unqualified management. There of course we are talking about the consequences of the inability of certain ruling bodies to resolve this whole set of inadequacies. One is hearing more and more voices of trade unionists and even party members being raised in that regard. This visible deterioration of economic life, and the drop in the standard of living and real incomes while requirements regarding work remain the same or are increasing, are leading to demoralization, to a declining work ethic, to a decreased sense of responsibility, etc.

The Decline in Efficiency and Profitability

Even if one were to accurately list only the principal inadequacies and deficiencies, the losses and damages which number in the several billion, the disproportions and distortions of our policy and our practices as regards investments--all that would be long and tedious, even if we confined ourselves to matters relating to the implementation of plans, directives, orders, and decrees and if we steered clear of comparing them to the efficiency of investments in the average industrial country. Let us cite a few examples: the imbalance between the planned content and structure of investments, on the one hand, and real production capacities on the other; the excessive staggering and parcelling out of investment actions, with excessive time periods allotted for construction, as well as delays in carrying the investments through to completion; bad coordination of deliveries; the constant decline of deliveries and the sizable increase in estimates with overruns later on. If one analyzes the years 1970-1980, one notices, for example, that in the case of energy construction, estimates rose by 5-6 percent a year, whereas during the same period readjustments of wholesale prices were carried out on two occasions on the supposition that the overall costs of investments were going to fall. On the contrary, during that period the rate of costs increases went up. The observation has been made that the quality of investments on receipt of finished work leaves something to be desired, particularly in the area of housing construction. The utilization of production capacities and the intiiation of trial operations have been chronically behind during the last three years with respect to one-third of the investments. Efficiency and profitability are lower than planned just as payback (via production) of investment costs is quite a bit slower. For a great number of investments the planned volume of production has not been reached. When we do not supply the planned production ourselves, we have to import the necessary raw materials and parts on credit, and to pay for them we have to export even more of other goods originally meant for the domestic market.

Here we are talking quite simply about a chain reaction which will cost us billions of korunas over the duration of the five-year plan.

Delays on Work Sites

It is precisely on the biggest and most significant work sites that certain specific jobs are not being completed within planned deadlines. In the case of certain big construction jobs the set deadlines have been increased even twofold (cf. Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party 1980). After many years people are starting again to say that the average planned construction time in Czechoslovakia will be overrun by a year. New production capacities are put into operation late, building costs are overrun, and the new investment objectives do not reach their planned scope. Thus, out of nine vitally important sites in the western part of Slovakia, the completion of which was anticipated by the plan, only one will be finished. Unfortunately this state of affairs did not affect 1980 only. The present situation in the southern part of Bohemia shows that out of 140 construction projects in the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan, the planned construction time was not exceeded for only eight of them. In the October 1980 reports of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak PC [Communist Party], it was mentioned that we would not be able to render a certain number of target investments operational tional during the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan period--investments which were, however, scheduled by the plan. There are work sites where very little work is done in a year. In 1980 there were 119 construction projects with starting budgets involving 4.4 billion korunas, on which no work has been carried out the whole year. In 1980 there were 300 sites whose average planned cost exceeded 100 million korunas per site and where work had been going on for over 10 years. The production programs of the building industry firms express in value terms the amount of planned construction work, but those programs do not take into consideration the actual resources the firms have at their disposal and their access to basic means of production and to manpower. That comes to the fore afterward with successive breakdowns on the different sites and with management work becoming poorer. Thus, in 1981 the number of construction industry workers per site went below 5. That fact shows that by and large the efficiency of investments is quite low. Why? Because of both habitual basic causes as well as the secondary causes which follow from them. The principal and decisive causes which give rise to this bad state of affairs originate in the quality of the economic machinery and the planning systems and methods themselves. Otherwise it would not be possible for most work sites to be lacking in materials, skills, manpower, etc. in practice. However, we plan nearly everything. It is several authorities, not a single body, which make the decisions concerning my action on a certain scale.

Several Billion Korunas of Losses

That is why one of the basic answers to our question probably will be that it is ridiculous to plan an economy's development without considering the dangers that development conceals, and also one answer will undoubtedly be that it is ridiculous to have a central plan conceived in such a way that the national economy experiences disruptions and losses not only when the plan is

not fulfilled but also when it is. That leads to further questions. Why do we have misguided plans and a bad method of planning? Why are there such large insufficiencies, disorder and shortcomings, spontaneity and chaos in the various branches of the economy? Why have losses numbering several billion korunas been occurring these last few years, losses caused by an insufficient supply of spare parts, by planning excessive stocks, by construction jobs taking so long, and by excessive delays between orders and the estimated delivery dates of materials? Why does one still see such a continuing disproportion between the final fulfillment of production objectives and the various supplies essential for them; why are deliveries substantially late and incomplete, and often made from a stock selection which had not been ordered and which is unsuitable, and in lesser quantity or of lower quality than ordered? Why do suppliers refuse to confirm deliveries for the purchaser so that necessary materials for planned jobs are ensured? Why do machines and plant equipment imported in exchange for hundreds of millions paid in hard currency remain a long time in warehouses without having been installed and without being able to be used, which means that sometimes the time period of the guarantee provided by the foreign supplier is found to have expired?

One-Third of Investments Behind Schedule

Why during the last few years are a third of our investments put into circulation behind schedule? That way production which was being counted on in the plan is irretrievably lost; hence imbalances which, through a chain reaction, have repercussions on other areas of production or necessitate new unplanned imports in exchange for hard currency. Thus, in certain firms two or more times as much is produced during the last 10 days of the month as had been made during the first 20 days. Such recurrent and sudden acceleration of production rates at the end of the trimester or the year increases the costs of production and transportation, often reduces quality, raises the level of work accidents, and sometimes leads to the dehumanization of labor --thus, for example, some women who have children are working in their textile factories on Saturdays or Sundays and holidays, and also the state of health of certain categories of workers, particularly those who work underground, is worsened.

It is not only the spare parts shortage or the late deliveries of materials or semi-finished goods which make normal relations between suppliers and purchasers impossible, but it is also the inadequacy of repair capacity, the neglect in the upkeep of machinery, the excessive use of machinery and therefore the greater possibilities of breakdowns, and, in some cases, the increasingly strict limits on allocated quantities of foreign exchange, as well as the problems of railway transportation, the means of transportation in which long-term investment has been neglected. And all that is occurring on such a scale that the resultant losses amount to several billion and inevitably have repercussions on the standard of living of almost all our citizens.

The Industrialized World Is Moving Faster Than Us

Why have we fallen so far behind industrial countries in the technical field during the last few years? As the minister of heavy engineering industry has himself observed in his sector, the technical quality of our goods is improving more slowly than in the best world producers. Up to now the development of our mechanical engineering industry has not been occurring at a desirable rate in comparison with the fantastic dynamism in that field on the world level. In a whole series of processes our economic development is slower and is behind; in our country, innovations* are introduced more slowly than in the rest of the world; we are also reducing energy expenditure per unit of production more slowly than elsewhere. The minister of finance has already spoken about that. But just being aware that a number of industrial countries use less and at the same time produce more energy per inhabitant is not enough (see the debates of the 26th Congress). According to the statements of the head of the government, the periods of time required by an innovation cycle [the periods of time for modernizing an enterprise] in our country are excessively long in comparison with industrial countries; sometimes it is twice as long. According to HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, Issue No 1, 1982 [economic review], in a number of cases new production capacities are hardly any more efficient, considering the costs, than the previous ones. The fact is that in a whole series of processes of rationalization and modernization the world around us is going faster than us. That is why the minister of finance thinks that the strong criticisms which are arising on that subject are justified.

The Waste of Metals

Why are we behind in the technical area, and why are we constantly falling further behind industrial countries? At the present time our products are a fifth heavier than those of the leading world producers, whereas light weight, is one of the recognized signs of quality in the world today. In addition, with that unnecessarily heavy weight of our products being exported, we are losing metal which could be used in the construction of other machinery. For example, the weight of our cast parts is 20 percent heavier than in the average industrial country, and measurable energy and fuel consumption is 18 percent higher, whereas overall labor productivity is lower. A whole set of mechanical engineering industry firms export their output to capitalist markets at prices which are distinctly lower than those obtained in world markets on the average. That is mainly due to the low technological level of their products. During these last few years our mechanical engineering industry has been failing to accomplish export jobs which add up to billions.

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*In wooden economic parlance this term covers overlapping meanings: either the construction of new industrial units; or the modernization of means of production, which represents a serious problem for Czechoslovakia. During the 1950's and 1960's the country served as an industrial producer for the rebuilding East (and particularly China), and it had to retain already obsolescent facilities in many sectors for a long time, with all the sudden stoppages in production that that involved.

From the standpoint of the modernization of the economy, it would be beneficial to society for replacement of the machinery in service to be speeded up. In our country we do not make enough use of opportunities for recycling machines: their amortization period is about 25 years whereas in other industrial countries it is already shorter than 10 years (source: Council chairman's speech).

The waste of metals reflects an overall lack on terms of economical management. Thus, for the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan, utilization of unnecessary material cost us more than 10 billion. With that amount, we could have built 460,000 Skoda automobiles or 120,000 apartments. That is a kind of difference which could already be having a chain reaction effect on the whole system of equipment and technology resupply. To go back to the head of the government's statement, within the calculation of our production's overall efficiency, our exports, expressed in terms of the relationship between national income and goods produced, are showing a falling trend, particularly in the last few years. This shows that the inadequacy in terms of economical management reduces the value of raw materials, energy, equipment, manpower, and investment by excessive use. We wonder why this is so--why our foreign trade surpluses have been transformed over the course of the last 10 years into high deficits, which is to say into credit, which mortgages the future.

For the years from 1966 to 1970 we still had a 1.7 billion koruna surplus. For the years from 1971 to 1975 there was already a 4.4 billion koruna deficit. And for the years from 1976 to 1980, that deficit had reached 21.1 billion korunas.

The Trade Deficit With Capitalist Countries

The situation is especially serious regarding trade with capitalist countries. During the years 1966-1970, we had a surplus of 1.2 billion. During the years 1971-1975 our deficit in that trade was 4.8 billion korunas and it reached 11.8 billion korunas during the years 1976-1980. But most important of all, running an economy on credit implies, as RUDE PRAVO pointed out on 29 January 1982, not leaving future generations any alternative but indebtedness.

In 1980 the state budget was balanced only by resorting to large loans obtained mostly abroad. The measures taken to correct these negative tendencies in the development of our economy have not produced the expected effect. Growing imbalances have been resolved only by calling up greater and greater amounts of capital, following which the trade balance, in deficit and worsened by stiffer credit terms, has led to a new increase in the balance of payments deficit. In order to finance production in 1980 we had to borrow abroad. We are paying 16-18 percent interest rates for debts contracted in capitalist countries. We are in a situation in which we can no longer ensure our economic development except by new loans in order to get ourselves out of that very situation. But we cannot increase our degree of foreign indebtedness.

That is why we do not even have the opportunity any more to import the necessary feed for our livestock in order to keep up its numbers while producing the necessary quantity of meat.

Why does the non-fulfillment of our export plans during the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan period stem from the inadequate technical level of our means of production and from the inadequate quality of our goods? That is the case especially in our mechanical engineering industry, which provides about half of our exports. In fact, its unrealized export plans and the lower revenues derived from exported machinery were compensated for by exports of coal and other ores as well as exports of various wood products and consumer products, which is to say, by less profitable export products, Why have developments in our country been totally unlike other industrial countries? In those countries it is the more profitable mechanical engineering industry goods which have increased the most within their exports; whereas, in our country, in addition to everything mentioned above, coal, ores and consumer products were lacking in the domestic market.

The Reduction in Our Share of World Trade

Why has our share in world trade diminished, and why is it no more than 0.9 percent of total world trade now (it was 1.5 percent in 1965)? Similarly, our share of world trade in the area of mechanical engineering exports, which was 2.7 percent of the total in 1965, was no more than 1.8 percent in 1978. Why are we still so often manufacturing goods which are so backward in comparison with world-wide quality? Producing such goods amounts to wasting the labor of our people and exporting such goods diminishes esteem for our country's work. It is true that prices of raw materials have risen abroad. But unlike other industrial countries, we have not proved able to sell our products at prices closely correlated with those price rises on world markets, because the technical and economic faatures of our products have remained inferior and their delivery times are still too long, and because provision for spare parts and after-sales services has not been reliable, etc. However, a Czechoslovak ideologist stated not long ago that in 1977, and up until the end of 1979, practically nothing had been changed in that area. Only 2 percent of the goods for export were technologically comparable to world standard. Only 2 percent! In that case what price can we receive for our goods? Can we be surprised then at only receiving half the current market price? No doubt one could ask thousands of questions of this kind. Why are the population's money incomes not matched by desired consumer goods and services? Why does demand always exceed supply, even for both staple foods--meat, good quality vegetables, healthy and nourishing bread, and other types of food essential for a healthy diet--and certain industrial consumer products? Why is it that in our country what is growing most rapidly is the volume of money in circulation and savings account deposits, which are increasing decidedly faster than the corresponding value of the material bases being created? Why has unrealized purchasing power been growing the last few years? We are living at the expense of the future, of future generations and of our children.

Why are the trade unions not keeping watch over all these trends and the other economic processes which have a direct and long-term effect on the value of our wages and real incomes, on the living standards of the different occupational groups and the different age groups of the population? The chairman

of the State Planning Commission has rightly observed that our country's development needs a thoroughgoing rehabilitation. For the past few years it has, in fact, been suffering from chronic infectious ills which are specific to itself. So it is necessary to ask why. It is necessary to investigate the basic primary causes of its ills. Without answers to these questions we will not know how to succeed in carrying out that fundamental rehabilitation that is desired. And the billions will continue to disappear, which will necessarily have repercussions on subsequent developments in our standard of living and, consequently, in retail prices of consumer goods and the prices of services.

Some Questions That Thousands of Citizens Are Asking

We have only asked a few important economic questions at random. We are aware that they are not the most basic questions. The latter for example, have to do with the quality of managerial personnel at all levels of society and the principle of their replacement when required. The most basic questions also revolve around other serious issues: the rebuilding of capital equipment, solutions to a number of ticklish problems concerning the labor force, and gradual changes in an inefficient economic system. Solving them is of course dependent on having a better quality of management and comes in particular through an efficient changeover of leading managers. We have asked some questions that thousands of citizens are asking nowadays. Responsible leaders should be asking them as well. Can we expect exhaustive answers?

Finally, one issue from among a thousand: According to the 4 December 1981 issue of RUDE PRAVO, we are not making use of half or even a third of our real capacity in critical economic resources, which is to say in manpower, production resources, materials, and energy; whereas, it should be possible to produce a national income two-thirds higher from the quantity of economic resources available. Similarly, according to an editorial in HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, Issue No 34/1981, if the principal economic resources were used to their maximum they could provide a national income more than two-thirds higher, even one twice as high.

Enormous Reserves and Enormous Incompetence

Even if some reservations might be expressed concerning these assertions appearing in the official press, they nonetheless confirm the talk of our professional propagandists which gives assurance that our economy has what they call enormous reserves. But, on the other hand, that also bears witness to the enormous incompetence of those who plan and manage our economy and bear responsibility for it, because they are unable to create the conditions necessary for the utilization of all those resources in practice. The job and responsibility of the present leadership team are the following above all: can--and to what extent can--that team utilize those enormous "real and available" economic resources to raise national income and, consequently, the standard of living? No doubt History will be the judge of that. Contemporary critics of our economy, even the more moderate ones, will be judging that team according to its ability to at least not lower the standard

of living--considering the enormous aforementioned potential--while carrying out price increases for goods and services. According to RUDE PRAVO on 9 March 1981, the secretary general of the Czechoslovak Communist Party declared, "It is the Communists most of all who are responsible for the way things develop in the future in our country."

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CONCERN OF YOUTH GROUPS WITH ECONOMIC REFORM NOTED

Meeting of ZSMP Activists

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Zenon Kulej]

[Text] When toward the end of deliberations, Jerzy Jaskiernia, the Chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Yough [ZSMP], spoke of the need to intensify the Union's ideological-educational activity [..."so that no one would say that he joins the organization called FASM (Youth Social Action Fund)], it sounded like a paradox, for earlier discussions concerned primarily the economy, money, and difficult problems of occupational start facing young people. However, that was not out of place, for the purpose of a conference of the chairmen of the key ZSMP Plant Boards, which was held on 15 May in Warsaw, has been exactly to appriase the participation of the Union in the implementation of economic reform.

The ZSMP is under strong mass pressure of its members who expect it to take up vital social and living problems of the young generation. Even in these days of union pluralism the young people have quickly understood that no one will stand up for their generation interests on behalf of the ZSMP. That has been one of the causes of failure of the attecks instigated against the Union. Even though before August the organization was reproached with "overeconomization", it would be however, a mistake today to break away completely with economic problems. The point is only to maintain reasonable proportions, as well as to cease helping administration out in performing its duties which it is called upon to do. The latter problem reappears for many years in ZSMP discussions. Probably it will be some time before it disappears, for even the most pertinent demands cannot be decreed. It all depends on the wisdom of the active party members: whether they will allow themselves to get mixed up in someone else's work or not.

The economic reform that knocks at the gates of the workingplaces will cause yet quite a number of frustrations. Many a director will lose his job, and not a few workers will be surprised to learn that their wages will not rise at all. For it might also happen that the bank will refuse loans and a specter of bankruptcy would face the plant. Losing no time over subtleness, the government plenipotentiary for economic reform, Minister Waldysalw Baka,

has protrayed before the assembled a vision of the coming years. There might be hard times, it will be necessary to tighten the belt, and those who would not understand in timely fashion that the principle of the "three S" requires in the first place thinking and honest work might quickly have enough of the reform.

In such a situation it is high time that everyone does his duty. For many years, the fluctuation in the workforce and its impoper adaptation has been blamed quite often on the ZSMP, said one of the participants in the discussion, Ireneusz Szymarek from the Lodz POLMERINO Plant. After all, there exist services that are responsible for these matters. Since they are being paid and since the matter is important not only for social reasons but also for economic ones, it is time therefore to look at it otherwise. The ZSMP is to remain a political organization, representing youth before the administration; it can always help youth but not act in its place, concluded the discussants.

During discussion, the "old" and the "new" outlook of the ZSMP seemed to alternate at times. Among other things there were uttered complaints (which sounded now like hackneyed commonplaces) against "spokes put in the wheels" of rationalizers, difficulties involved with organization of the Young Masters of Technology Competition and the suggestions put forward that the matter be settled by order of superior authority, etc. In answering, Minister Baka has simply stated that the government will not define in detail, for example, the principles of financing inventiveness--the plant should do it through internal regulation. Otherwise, the orders "from above" would violate the "three S" principle.

"We are only at the threshold of economic reform and a man 'at the bottom' does not yet know what it will bring him." This occurred repeatedly in discussions, among others in a pronouncement of Jaroslaw Jeziroski from the Gdansk Ship Repair Yard. Therefore, the work forces expect to see concrete benefits from the implementation of the reform. Even though no one was saying directly "we want to earn more," this thought could be felt, unspoken, in various pronouncements. A need was stressed in particular, of raising wages of the managerial cadre ("what kind of authority can a foreman have who earns half as much as his subordinate"--said Zbigniew Uszynski, from A. Warski Shipyard in Szczecin).

Turning to the question of wages, Minister Baka pointed out the complexity of the problem. In the first place, one should not expect automatic increases in all sectors of national economy, for this would shake the already anemic market equilibrium. The state will protect those groups that are economically weakest, and indemnify them--we cannot afford more.

All this does not change the fact that in the coming weeks the government will submit to a public discussion a draft of the integrated wage base system in the national economy.

What was the meaning and purpose of the conference?

If we would consider it only as a meeting for discussion and formulation of documents (none were adopted) it would be difficult to answer this question. In my opinion, the sense of this meeting, the first after the program "Young People in Reform" was adopted five months earlier at the 5th Plenum of the ZSMP Main Board, lies in the possibility of an unhampered exchange of experience and opinions, not only from the rostrum but also unofficially. For the chairmen of the plant boards of the ZSMP were to leave Warsaw having received the answer to a question: "What to do now?"

They have heard from Minister Baka's own lips that one should think of the youth organization as a factor participating in the creation of the self-government of the plant (after all, there already exist possibilities to regulate the activity to a self-governing body). They have learned from their colleagues and from representatives of the ZSMP Main Board of numerous initiatives that fully deserve duplication (the meeting was addressed by the deputy chairman of the ZSMP Main Board Jaroslaw Klima, who likewise chaired the meeting, and by ZSMP Main Board Secretary Jerzy Rasilewicz).

So, what is being done locally and in the Main Board? In view of the ZSMP is that the organization--apart from representing its attitude before the administration and defending the interests of youth--should endeavor in the first place to prevent negative results of the implementation of reform. For these results would affect youth in the first place. Several directions of action were mapped out.

a) Realization of Right of Work

In several voivodship boards there have been created committees for the employment of young people, whose purpose is, among others, requalification for a new job. For example, the ZSMP Workers' Universities are to train this year about 280,000 persons desiring to acquire new professions. Using the Vocational Activization Fund, in many voivodships were created ZSMP Youth Labor Cooperatives. The Union also takes part in the organization of trips of the youth for work in USSR, GDR and CSSR. An interesting initiative is also the "banks of available work places," which are so-to-say the embryo of an information system, which should be attached to administration organs within the framework of an active labor exchange.

b) Occupational Promotion

The "Young People in Reform" program exhibits forcefully the problem of cadre policies, and connected with it, the policy of promoting young people. It is being stressed that the announced verification of leading cadres is a favorable moment to base the cadre policy on the young people.

c) Shaping of income.

The ZSMP Main Board took steps toward the change of regulations concerning loans for young married couples, and joined into the social movement of defense of the consumer interests (concentrating attention on prices of

childrens' and teenagers' items that are of special interest to young families). Among others, at the recommendation of the ZSMP Main Board the extent of educational leave was increased to 24 months and the amount of the grant-in-aid was also increased. Finally, as of 1 June 1982 there will be in force new legal FASM regulations, which link more strongly the object of the Fund with social needs of the young people.

Residential construction continues to be one of the sore points of our social and economic policy. The pressure of the youth in this question is especially great, and authorities speak openly of neglect of many years. To exemplify expectations of the activity of the youth in various fields of life, Minister Baka said, among others: We must cross out the notion: "we are waiting for dwellings" and substitute for it: "we are building dwellings." In this very field the ZSMP has nothing to be ashamed of. Patronage is an initiative praised in every respect (there exist at present more than 100 Youth Associations and Housing Construction Cooperatives), and a vast movement is developing for the use of local raw materials for construction. But there are also some that do not approve of patronage: some voivodship authorities and some cooperatives. Jerzy Jaskiernia had this very fact in mind when, toward the end of the discussion, he pointed to the blocking in leading voivodships of decisions, among others to those concerning construction.

Such particularisms are encountered by the ZSMP obviously quite often. One of the attitudes criticized at the conference was that taken by the Voivodship Cooperative Labor Unions toward the newly founded Youth Labor Cooperatives. One sees in them rather a competitor than a partner that should be helped at the start.

Reform does not appeal to everyone. Against it are all those who are afraid to work differently than before. They are afraid of competition based on objective criteria. The young are for reform. Active participation in its implementation is at present one of the most important tasks of the ZSMP in the work places.

Opinion of SZSP Activist

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 20 May 82 p 2

[Article by Pawel Winiarski]

[Text] At present, the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] is the only student organization. Without embarking upon detailed considerations one should state that until resumption of the activity of self-government or until the moment of the creation of some new organization it is exactly SZSP which is qualified to represent the interests of the students as a whole.

Problem number one--to what extent does it fulfill its present role? Did the hitherto existing work methods of this organization undergo sufficient change? Does it form correspond to the new requirements of the difficult period of implementation of economic reform?

The answer to these questions is not always an optimistic one. All too often the matters look different from what we would like them to be. The example of Warsaw University confirms my conviction that teh process of renewal, both political and social, as well as the spirit of reform, reach the university organization much too slowly.

The only conspicuous manifestation of "our times" is an absolute lack of funds. The arrangement of the simplest matter encounters an impassable barrier in the form of the impossibility of getting basic means for carrying out the assigned tasks. The organizational disarray, which is partly due to the provisional character of formal solutions, is also being felt acutely.

In connection with these problems, the "Summer of Action" and the existence of student clubs and other units operating at the SZSP School Council, are very doubtful. The active union workers at the University are expecting to get from the ministry about 1.5 million zlotys for organizing a vacation for the whole student body. This means that upon receiving such a subsidy for vacations, organized by SZSP in one of the greatest of schools, not much more than 300 persons will benefit from it.

Here, it would be proper to ask an essential question--what will be the future of an SZSP that exists solely on the strength of its activity as an organization financed by the state funds. What will happen after the horn of plenty is exhausted?

I am the chief of an athletic club numbering 200 persons and functioning as a specialized unit of the Sports Commission of the SZSP School Council of Warsaw University. The lack of funds is a great danger to us. In the event of failure to realize the planned vacation camps, the whole year's effort of instructors and sportsmen will be wasted.

Perturbed by developments in teh financial situation at the University I decided to visit the School Council's book-keeping and to inquite if there are formal possibilities of introducing the principles of economic reform into the organization's work. I was looked at in great wonder: "the self-financing of SZSP? No, this is impossible". I stated that my club could earn a part of the money through the collection of contributions that pass through the book-keeping. This did not elicit much enthusiasm in my interlocutrix: "the regulations do not envisage such a possibility"--was her answer.

The SZSP as an organization is not supposed to deal with economic matters. This is true, but it does not mean that a certain financial independence is unnecessary. The only argument for material support by the state is one of unprofitableness. Cultural activity brings deficit. But, after all, not every activity and not always. Well planned publishing work, concerts, films, or auctions of works of art can be a source of considerable income. Moreover, the activity of SZSP is not restricted to cultural matters. It also includes sports, rest, study and work. Yes, work. It is not strange that the slogan: "if you want rest--earn it," did not find more adherents at Warsaw University.

My criticism of the Sports Commission was answered by a statement that its chairman does not take money for his work. This is a dubious argument on the part of a worker of the socialist organization. Does it mean that one can bungle for free?

There are still many shortcomings in the work of SZSP in our schools. I have much to reproach our own workers. Burdened by the memory of previous methods of operation (already repeatedly criticized), they became in a sense accustomed to passiveness, to waiting for decisions and guidelines issuing from "above". Surely, it is high time to do away with such a state of affairs. No decisions, even the most inspired ones, would help without the creative collaboration of all the workers and members.

SZSP activity must adapt itself to reality, which after all creates possibility for independent thinking and activity. It is also worth one's while to give some thought to regulations--whether by any chance they do not hamper manifestations of a sound initiative?

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'TRYBUNA LUDU' POLLS EDUCATORS ON YOUTH QUESTION

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Jun 82, pp 1,2

[Discussion: "Responsibility of Educators"]

[Text] In discussions concerning youth, great emphasis has been placed on the problem of the responsibility of educators. Here is what they told TRYBUNA LUDU on this subject:

[Jerzy Morawiec, principal of Elementary School No 23 in Zabrze]: It is obvious that the school is doing moral training and upbringing in the course of teaching and instruction, but it is bad if didactics itself is the focal point of the teacher's attention. It is difficult even to imagine what sharp observers our students are. The teacher's attitude, his personal example, the straightforward nature of his statements during the lessons all show day by day the extent to which each educator's words fit his actions.

The teacher's responsibility for upbringing is undeniably great, but it must be remembered that the teacher and the school must constantly work with the parents in partnership in the upbringing process.

[Dr Jozef Cegla, adjunct of the Institute of Political Sciences, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan]: It is not a simple matter to talk to people 20 or 30 years of age. It never was, but during the period of martial law it is especially difficult. Just undertaking the dialogue is sometimes a real achievement, but such a partnership conversation is the only alternative. Let us not undertake a dialogue which consists of referring here and there to hypotheses about the conflict between the generations, to slogans about "students study!" (just study), or verdicts making only the teachers and parents responsible for the condition of young hearts and minds.

Young people have always carefully observed the attitudes of us, their teachers, educators. They are critical in their assessments of sudden changes in attitudes and views. They do not tolerate peaks and valleys.

The young people with whom I have contact fortunately do not consider internal emigration to be something to be proud of, and they assess the way their teachers are present (intellectually, politically, morally) in public life, because it is not possible to do moral training and teaching for the future without having any influence on that future, by remaining silent.

[Zofia Malecka, member of the Parents' Committee at School No 6 in Warsaw]: I think that for a good teacher-educator to achieve the socially desired effects of his work he should respect his pupils' convictions and change their improper or erroneous views not by mechanically assigning an "F" but by his knowledge, the earnestness of his convictions, and his experience. What has to be done so that all educators will meet such requirements is another problem altogether.

[Jaroslaw Englert, teacher, vocational secondary school, Gdynia]: The school has always been a training ground for citizenship and patriotism. This is the ages old tradition of our education and system of moral training, and we must not underestimate this obligation to the younger generation and to our country.

The lessons on the state, its constitutional foundations, civic responsibilities, the political system, moral standards, the history of our country, and its place in the world must not merely be classes in civil training. Everyone must learn political culture and respect for our national traditions, be they mathematicians, Polish language and literature majors, or vocation teachers.

[Jarek Lubkowski, student at the Post-secondary Electronics Program in Warsaw]: Not too long ago I went for some practical exercises with my classmates to a few plants. I had some really hard work every day along with five others, but the work was interested and had some connection to our major. Besides that, we earned quite a bit, considering we are students. Others, nearly 20 others from our class, still laugh to this very day about their practical experience internships. The foremen and masters sent them off to sleep in a corner every day. Now, after all, this is "moral training," and later people will be saying that young people are bad.

[Tadeusz Rysinski, principal, H. Sawicka General High School IV, Kielce]: Teachers must realize the responsibility they bear for the upbringing of young people and the goals and tasks we face, but they must also want to accomplish these tasks.

The school is not an institution in isolation from social life. After all, we all have an impact on the younger generation, all of us, the family, the home, the environment, organizations, and so on. Therefore there should be no multitrack approach to moral training, because will find out something different in the home, at school, and in his peer group.

The thing is that the teacher cannot be alone. He must be supported by the family, the youth organization, cultural institutions, and so on.

[Jan Tomiczek, district commander, Polish Scout Union, Zywiec]: In our search for models, we often reach out to history, but we must not forget here how much in youth upbringing depends on the attitudes of the educators.

I think that we are generally in danger of a certain routine and rigidity in teaching and upbringing. For this reason, deep knowledge, some relationship to the subject, and skill in entering into close contact with the student are absolutely invaluable and irreplaceable, because they are the determining factor in moral authority and therefore in reaching young people with forceful argument.

In scouting which is continually looking for new forms of moral influence, I think that we are giving greater weight to these matters than the schools do.

[Jadwiga Rozalska, vice principal, Basic Vocational School No 2, Ciechanow]: Under the conditions which existed this school year in our school's upbringing work, we placed the major accent on developing patriotic attitudes. Previous forms of work in this area were expanded, and the content was provided for us by the centenary of the Polish labor movement and the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Polish Workers Party (PPR), which fall now.

Because many of our youngsters come from a rural environment, the upbringing efforts are aimed at developing aesthetic attitudes and an interest in the culture of daily life. We think that such a direction is desirable from the social and civic point of view.

[Zofia Musial, director of the Culinary and Tailoring Schools Group, Bydgoszcz]: Young people are careful observers of everything going on in our daily life. It is absolutely essential to create a uniform moral training and upbringing front, in which there must be the participation of the home, the school, the youth organizations, the work establishment, and the cultural centers. In the school, the educator plays a particularly important role in this process. Therefore, the educator must be a person who is orthodox and patient, one who is aware of the fact that first of all what is going to count with youngsters is his behavior, his knowledge, his attitude, and his ability to get along.

10790
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ACADEMIC DISCUSSES MORAL TRAINING WORK IN HIGHER SCHOOLS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Jun 82 p 4

[Interview with Docent Dr Habilitowany Danuta Gielarowska, Institute for Scientific Policy, Technological Progress, and Higher Education, by Irena Solinska: "In Keeping With the 'Age of the College Student' -- Moral Training Efforts of the Institution of Higher Education"]

> [Text] The moral training of young people, who are nonetheless adults, because that is what college students are, is a very specific area. The rank of this issue and its continual timeliness are inclining the academics to seek better and better pedagogic solutions. Recently the initial targes of "The Concepts of Moral Training in Higher Education Facilities" were presented at a convocation "Higher Education -- Polish Science and Study Under the Conditions of the Economic Reform" by Docent Danuta Gielarowska, of the Institute for Scientific Policy, Technological Progress, and Higher Education.

[Question] So then, what designates the main directions of the moral training, upbringing activity of the institution of higher education? What must be taken into account to produce results?

[Answer] For example, attention must be given to the specific characteristics of the students' age. Among other things, cognitive and emotional needs predominate the college years, along with a feeling of independence and the desire for success. One must also consider the typical attitude towards life: severe criticism linked at the same time to the search for perfect reality, according to Doc Gielarowska. This is at the same time a period when convictions become clearer, the value system becomes stable, and there is a great increase in the person's own activity and independence. It is simply necessary to recognize the aspirations of college students, their life aspirations and desires, the values they recognize, and also the quality of student life.

The specific nature of the academic institution's environment has a great impact on students, and this includes scientific creativity and academic teaching. The influence of personal models is important. I am thinking about famous scholars with moral authority, the scientific and moral climate of the institution.

[Question] For this concept what is the groundwork of moral training and upbringing work in the institutions of higher education?

[Answer] On the one hand, the functions of moral training understood as a social process, through which the society sees to its identity, its permanence, and its development. On the other hand, moral training understood as help in the individual's private development. At the foundation of this concept we find the principle-based notion of the socialist society which says that the person's good is the supreme value.

The knowledge gathered about the person, his world, the existence of lasting values, and so on, require continuity of presentation and solidification in the awareness of the generations. It is therefore the task of upbringing, among other things, to insure this continuity, to present the content which provides for the person's identity and is of importance to his identifying with his own class, nation, and state. These are the foundations of patriotic moral training, of civic and state upbringing. These are also the foundations for ideological, moral, and vocational training.

At the same time, upbringing or moral training must encourage the creation and assimilation of new values and new solutions, must stimulate social development, present the foundation for the young people to develop the ability to assess critically existing reality, and commit them to action on behalf of change. The creative nature of the preparation of the college graduate makes it necessary to present this very function. It provides the basis for the development of a world view and for intellectual upbringing.

[Question] These social functions of moral training and upbringing should be linked to the personal development of every individual.

[Answer] We must note the personality needs of the young person. Upbringing is to help him in value-oriented participating in existing reality. It is therefore important to call attention to the adaptational side of moral training. The basic thing here is help in self-awareness and knowledge of one's own abilities, instruction in learning to take advantage of the personal strong points one has and to manage one's shortcomings.

For students the creative function of upbringing aiding in developing one's own personality and the conditions of one's life is especially suitable. It awakens interest and motivation in these directions.

[Question] Of course, the briefly presented targets for moral training and upbringing work in the college-student group must be reflected in practical expression...

[Answer] First of all, this will be structuring students' attitudes vis-a-vis the fundamental areas of life, especially those in which young people are interested, like the attitude toward ideas and values, the society, the other person, knowledge of culture... It is very difficult to say how to accomplish this, in what way to propose this content to academic groups. The foundation

of upbringing and moral training is and will be the educational level of the institution, the system of values present in the milieu, the institution's quality of prepration, and the responsible partnership between the students and their self-government organization. The role of the college instruction staff, professors and teaching assistants, is fundamental here.

We see certain proposals for practical solutions, such as introducing into the curriculum some electives to expand the group of required sociopolitical subjects, courses with content that meets the students' interests. There is also a new notion of upbringing work based on the self-government, but we shall not be able to talk about the details until the concept which has been presented is completely worked out.

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YOUTH UNIONS HOLD LEADERSHIP MEETINGS

ZSMP Main Board Presidium

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] The Main Board Presidium of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] met on 15 June. Activities of the youth movement on the international scene were discussed.

The Main Board's chairman, Jerzy Jaskiernia, informed the Presidium about the visit of the Polish party-governmental delegation led by Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski to Romania on 4 June. As is known, Jerzy Jaskiernia was one of the members of the Polish delegation. The Main Board's chairman paid particular attention to the youth issue by informing the board about discussions with the administration of the UTC-Communist Youth Union of Romania. The principle of further developing cooperation between ZSMP and UTC was discussed, and it was decided to increase exchanges of journalists writing for the youth press, tourist groups and special delegations.

The Main Board Presidium also heard from participants at the Eleventh WFDY Assembly in Prague. Participation by a delegation of socialist Polish youth unions, which was led by Jerzy Jaskiernia, was highly regarded. The development of the political situation is Poland came up frequently at the assembly. Solidarity with the Polish youth and nation seeking ways by which to get out of the crisis situation was expressed. However, there were some who shoed a lack of knowledge about the development of the situation in Poland, and also an illOwill in its interpretation. In these cases, the Polish delegation came forward with effective arguments.

The assembly sessions at Prague took place in an atmosphere of enormous concern about not only peace and detente but also halting the arms race and avoiding a nuclear catastrophe. The Main Board Presidium declared that the Union of Socialist Polish Youth will act in every way to strengthen WFDY and to encourage the world's youth in their rightful struggle for peace and international cooperation. Reports were also given on the participation by a delegation of socialist Polish youth unions at the Congress of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union in Sofia and the Congress of Young French Communists in Paris, both of which took place at the beginning of the month.

The Main Board administration of ZSMP noted with satisfaction that the Council of Ministers had adopted the program concerning conditions for making a living and professional life for the young generation. It was emphasized that in working out this program, the conclusions and concepts of the Third Extraordinary ZSMP Congress played a fundamental role, as well as the postulates and proposals advanced by the linked organizations on the young generation's conditions of life. The view was expressed that the program constitutes an important event in preparing for the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee with respect to youth; the program's implementation will be the subject of greatest concern on the part of ZSMP youth. This is confirmed by actions undertaken by the organization e.g., youth division of labor, participation in resolving apartment construction problems and removal of difficulties in developing the food economy.

The Main Board Presidium of ZSMP accepted reports prepared at the Main Board's seventh plenary session. These reports will be dedicated to the role of youth intelligence.

SZSP Executive Committee

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16 Jun 82 p 2

[Text] The joint council of the Executive Committee of the SZSP Supreme Council [RN] and the chairmen of district councils, which met on 15 June, was devoted to an evaluation of the situation in the academic community, a discussion about the future of the student movement and, above all, an evaluation of the position of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] prior to the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. Tadeusz Sawic, chairman of the SZSP Supreme Council, chaired the council.

The session confirmed that SZSP performed two functions in the academic community: socio-professional and ideo-educational. In our country's current situation, the question must be answered as to whether it is possible for SZSP to realize both functions through one organization. Council participants were in agreement that SZSP's fundamental responsibility is to defend the values represented by the student movement. It was recognized that many elements of the union's program still have not been implemented in full. And because the program contains a wide array of attractive proposals, a new strategy for implementing it becomes necessary.

It was decided at the council that SZSP will continue to lead discussions concerning the shape of the student movement and community.

Much discussion also was devoted to the problems and difficulties encountered by youth, including academic youth, in such areas as the problem of finding work after graduation and the apartment shortage.

9807
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NEW LAW ON VETERANS' RIGHTS PASSED

Comments of ZBoWiD Official

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 27 May 82 p 4

[Interview with Wlodzimierz Sokorski, chairman of the Main Board of ZBoWiD (Association of Fighters for Liberty and Democracy); by Maris Guzowska, date and place not specified: "From Now On, There Will Be Fewer of Us"]

[Text] The parliament has passed a law on specific rights of veterans. It lays down in detail the rights of those who have taken part in the struggle for national and social liberation of the Motherland, participants of the October Revolution, of the struggle against the forces of reaction and fascism, of the struggle for independence and consolidation of people's power, fighters for preserving the Polish character on territories annexed by invaders, participants of the resistance movement, individuals who were jailed in Hitlerite concentration camps or Hitlerite prisons due to political, national or racial affiliation and also of individuals who carried out underground schooling of children and youth under Hitlerite occupation.

We are having an interview about this law with Wlodzimierz Sokorski, chairman of the Main Board of ZBoWiD.

[Question] Does the adoption of this law by the parliament give full satisfaction, both moral and financial, to the 600,000-strong veteran community?

[Answer] It certainly gives moral and political satisfaction. After many years, the state has decided to reiterate before the entire nation that we owe freedom and independence to this social group, the veterans. They have deserved that high praise from the parliament not only in the past, but at present as well. It is known that veterans have not allowed a split in their ranks, on the contrary, a complete intergration of the veteran community has occurred--soldiers of AL [People's Army], AK [Home Army], Peasant Battalions, soldiers in the West, soldiers of the I and II ARmies, Silesian and Great Polish insurgents. Soldiers of Hubal and legion members have also joined us, creating their own clubs. Complete equality has come to reign as well as respect for the past, regardless of the colors we fought under. The goal of the fight, which is common to all of us has become important.

[Question] There was a time when critical and ironic views began to gain ground to the effect that the more time which separated us from the war, the more and increasingly younger veterans we seemed to have.

[Answer] This is true. However, you should also bear in mind last year's verification, when the youth from the time of occupation, soldiers from the Gray Ranks were admitted to our community. Today they are 45 or 55 years old. Let me mention the establishment of the Warsaw Uprising Cross. It brought about 14,000 insurgents to our ranks. These unfounded critical remarks caused pain. However, from now on there will be fewer and fewer of us.

[Question] I also asked you about financial satisfaction.

[Answer] The law consolidates in one legal act all the current privileges which so far have been found disjointedly in various documents. These are, for example, the rights to retire earlier, to have longer vacations, to purchase living quarters on very favorable terms. The new document envisages new privileges for veterans who are retirees and annuitants. These privileges are very important in the current difficult social and economic situation. The new law envisages a 50-percent reduction in municipal transportation fares, in railway fares and PKS [Polish Automobile Transportation] buses, reductions in telephone fares, free use of the radio and television networks, reductions in rents, electricity gas and piped heat rates and also in registration fees and insurance premiums for cars.

[Question] The veteran's bonus to retirement benefits and aunnuities is the most important privilege...

[Answer] Yes. We fought the hardest to secure it. All veterans--retirees and annuitants will receive a 25-percent bonus to their benefits which is similar in size to the bonus for state decorations. In other words, everyone receiving this bonus is recognized to be a person worthy of a decoration. This is very important in the face of many accusations leveled against veterans for "scrambling for state decorations" in order to increase their retirement benefits. The spread of such opinions is especially unfair to the community of veterans in rural areas--settlers in western territories, for example, received very small retirement benefits. They were almost seen as landowners. The veteran bonus (not lower than 1,250 zlotys) is of great importance for those whose benefits did not exceed 3,000-4,000 zlotys. Can we talk about any extraordinary privileges in this case?

[Question] However, there is talk of that, even within the veteran community.

[Answer] It is true. However, these are the voices of people who have held or are holding high positions in the state administration. They have high salaries or retirement benefits. They do not lack state decorations, which entitle them to a 25-percent bonus to their benefits anyway. Their protests testify to egoism, to unfamiliarity with the condition of the majority of veterans, almost 90 percent of them.

[Question] The law takes effect in January 1983, doesn't it?

[Answer] Yes. It will be as late as January. The day before the Sejm took up this matter I took part in talks with the government on this subject. It was very important for us to see the law take effect in July or October at the latest. We must take into account the fact that many thousands are already unable to take advantage of the law. However, our arguments were not convincing enough in the face of a very difficult situation for the state. The veteran community has accepted with understanding the change in the date the law takes effect to January 1983.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

Text of Law

Warsaw ZA WOLNOSC I LUD in Polish 5 Jun 82 pp 1, 5

["Law on Specific Rights of Veterans adopted on 26 May 1982"]

[Text] With respect and appreciation for the participants of battles for the national and social liberation of the Motherland, for preserving the Polish character and independence of the country, for establishing and consolidating people's power and also taking into consideration the need to provide special care for the community of people who have served the nation and the state, the following is hereby resolved:

Chapter 1

General Provisions

Article 1. The law regulates rights enjoyed by participants of the battles for national and social liberation of the Motherland, fighters for preserving the Polish character on territories annexed by invaders, participants of the Great October Socialist Revolution, of fights against the forces of reaction and fascist movements, of struggle for independence, soldiers of the anti-fascist coalition, participants of the struggle for consolidation of people's power, participants in the resistance movement, individuals who were jailed in Hitlerite concentration camps and prisons due to political, ethnic or racial considerations and by individuals who carried out underground schooling of children and youth under Hitlerite occupation.

Article 2.1. Of those individuals referred to in article 1, those who are Polish citizens and maintain permanent residence in the territory of the People's Republic of Poland are entitled to the rights envisaged by the law, if these individuals are members of the Association of Fighters for Liberty and Democracy or meet the conditions set for being a member of this association.

2. When a reference is made by the present law to veterans, the individuals defined in paragraph 1 are meant.

Article 3.1. Compliance with the conditions for obtaining statutory rights by particular individuals is determined by the Association of Fighters for Liberty and Democracy. It also determines the period when a veteran was active. If there are no data to establish the period of such activity, while the grounds for recognition as a veteran are beyond doubt, the period of such activity is considered to be one month.

2. The definition mentioned in paragraph 1 is the basis for the adjudication of benefits and other rights envisaged by the law.

3. Organs of the Association of Fighters for Liberty and Democracy empowered to rule on matters referred to in paragraph 1 and the conduct of these matters are determined by the Main Board of the Association of Fighters for Liberty and Democracy.

4. The Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs with the consent of the Office for Veterans' Affairs and upon consultation with the Main Board of the Association of Fighters for Liberty and Democracy defines, by an ordinance, the conduct in matters relating to benefits and rights envisaged by the law.

Article 4. The Chairman of the Office for Veterans' Affairs can, in especially well-founded cases, confer rights envisaged by the statute on individuals who do not meet the conditions set in article 2, paragraph 1.

Article 5. The anniversary of the victorious ending of World War II, 9 May of every year, is to be celebrated as Veterans' Day.

Chapter 2

Labor Rights of Veterans Still in the Labor Force

Article 6.1. The period of the veteran's combat activity is included as part of tenure on which the adjudication or size of benefits provided for employees by the enterprise are based.

2. The Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, with the consent of the Office for Veterans' Affairs and upon consulting the Main Board of the Association of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, will establish, by an ordinance, specific regulations and mode of including the period of activity mentioned in paragraph 1 as part of tenure.

Article 7. The leave of absence which veterans still in the labor force are entitled to is extended by 10 working days. This extnesion does not apply if these individuals take advantage of a leave longer than 26 working days a year.

Article 8.1. The cancellation of a labor contract with a veteran during a period of 2 years beofre the age which entitles him to early retirement (article 11) can take place after the consent of the competent organ of state administration has been granted.

2. The regulation in paragraph 1 does not apply to persons holding management positions and presons who meet the conditions set for obtaining retirement benefits.

3. The regulation in paragraph 1 also does not apply to the cancellation of a labor contract without termination and the case when the veteran's professional license is revoked. The enterprise must notify the appropriate provincial organ of the Association of Fighters for Liberty and Democracy of which the employee in question is a member when it cancels a labor contract in this mode.

Chapter 3

Rights to Retirement Benefits

Article 9.1. The veterans who were disabled in wars or in military service and surviving family members are entitled to monetary benefits and other rights envisaged by regulations on providing for disabled war and military veterans and their families.

2. Also entitled to monetary benefits and other rights envisaged by the regulations mentioned in paragraph 1 and in accordance with these regulations are:

1) veterans--prisoners of Hitlerite concentration camps and prisons, if they have been assigned to a disability category due to a disability related to their stay in such camps or prisons.

2) family members surviving veterans--prisoners of Hitlerite concentration camps and prisons who were receiving annuities on the grounds of disabilities referred to in paragraph 1, when they died.

3. Disabilities that developed as a consequence of wounds, contusions and other injuries or diseases, suffered in conjunction with a stay in Hitlerite concentration camps and prisons are considered to be disabilities associated with such a stay.

4. A medical commission for disabilities which includes a physician-representative of the Association of Fighters for Liberty and Democracy establishes the linkage between wounds, contusions and other injuries or diseases associated with a stay in a Hitlerite concentration camp or prison and also the linkage between the disability with a stay in such prisons or camps.

Article 10. The period of active duty of a veteran counts twice towards tenure in the labor force on which annuities and retirement benefits are based.

Article 11.1. Veterans still in the labor force who are not taking advantage of specific rights ensuing from the regulations providing for war and military invalids and their vamilies, can, at their own request, retire after they have turned 55 (for women) or 60 (for men) if they have been in the labor force for the period required to obtain retirement benefits.

2. Veterans receiving disability annuities for labor-related reasons who are out of the labor force are entitled, at their request, to change their annuities for retirement benefits if they meet the conditions set in paragraph 1.

3. The regulations ladi down in paragraphs 1 and 2 also apply to veterans acquiring rights to retirement benefits for reasons other than employment.

4. Regulations on providing for disabled servicemen and their families regarding the suspension of and reduction in annuities do not apply to veterans--disabled servicemen. Principles of suspending and reducing annuities in regard to these individuals are set by an ordinance of the Council of Ministers.

Article 12. Veterans receiving retirement beneifts and annuities but no bonuses for a decoration or an honorary title or for participation in underground schooling are entitled to a veteran's bonus on their annuities or retirement benefits. These bonuses are equal to bonuses for decorations with order or honorary titles envisaged by regulations on comprehensive provision of retirement benefits to employees and their families or by other regulations on retirement benefits.

Article 13.1. Veterans who are not entitled to annuities or retirement benefits on the basis of regulations on providing for the disabled in wars and military service and their families, or on the basis of other regulations, can be granted in exceptional cases:

1) retirement benefits, if they have turned 55 (for women) and 60 (for men);

2) disability annuities, if they have been assigned to a disability category.

2. The regulation in paragraph 1 applies accordingly to family members surviving the death of veterans if they meet the conditions required to qualify for family annuities.

3. An ordinance of the Council of Ministers established specific guidelines, conditions and the process of granting and increasing retirement benefits and annuities referred to in paragraphs 1 and 2, as well as the amount of these benfits, vested bonuses and other benefits.

4. The benefits referred to in paragraphs 1 and 2 are adjudicated by the Chairman of the Office for Veterans' Affairs.

Article 14. The nursing care bonus establsihed by the regulations on comprehensive retirement benefits for employees and their families is granted to veterans upon turning 75 years old.

Article 15. The right to retirement benefits and annuities is established and the benefits are paid out by the Social Security Agency. This agency also pays out benefits granted on the basis of article 13.

Chapter 4

Health Care and Other Social Welfare Entitlements

Article 16.1. Veterans take advantage of special health care.

2. The Minister of Health and Social Welfare, with the consent of the Office for Veteran Affairs and upon consulting the Main Board of the Association of Fighters for Liberty and Democracy, outlines by an ordinance the forms and scope of special health care for veterans.

Article 17. The Minister of Health and Social Welfare will create health spas and medical treatment facilities for veterans and for those requiring special care--nursing homes for veterans.

2. Veterans take advantage as much as possible of priority in admissions to hospitals and health resorts of special and enterprise health care systems.

3. Veterans who have qualified for special or enterprise health care enjoy this right upon retirement as well.

4. Competent ministers outline specific guidelines of granting rights referred to in paragraphs 2 and 3, in ragard to subordinate health care facilities.

Article 18.1. Veterans are entitled to:

1) fare reductions when using municipal transportation,

2) price reductions when purchasing living quarters from the state for ownership

3) priority in receiving a recreation plot from the state,

4) priority in obtaining permission to carry out economic activities envisaged by regulations on operating and organizing artisan shops and also in regulations on carrying out [retail] trade and some other activities by units of non-socialized economy.

5) priority in purchasing machinery and equipment as well as heating fuel, if veterans operate a farm or are involved in other economic activities on their own account and do not hire employees.

2. Besides the rights referred to in paragraph 1, veterans who are retirees, annuitants or disabled are entitled to:

1) a tariff reduction of 50 percent when riding railway trains or buses on the Polish Automobile Transportation network,

2) a reduction in telephone equipment charges and free use of radio and television sets,

3) reductions in electricity, gas and piped heat rates for household use.

3. Disabled veterans are also entitled to a reduction in registration fees and insurance premiums for cars.

4. The Council of Ministers can establish, by an ordinance, rights and reductions for veterans other than those referred to in paragraphs 1 through 3, outlining concurrently the scope, amount and specific guidelines for granting such rights and reductions.

5. Main and central organs of the state administration, responsible for the matters enumerated in paragraphs 1 through 3 due to other regulations will, with the consent of the Office for Veterans' Affairs and upon consulting the Main Board of the Association of Fighters for Liberty and Democracy, establish the scope, amount and specific guidelines for applying the reductions and rights referred to in paragraphs 1 through 3, as prescribed in the above regulations.

Chapter 5

The Veterans' Fund

Article 19.1. The State Veterans' Fund is to be set up, further referred to as "the fund."

2. The Office for Veterans' Affairs is the trustee of the fund.

Article 20.1. Income for the fund is drawn from the subsidies of the state budget and voluntary contributions of individuals and institutions.

2. Specifically, the fund is to provide for:

1) the payment of retirement benefits and annuities referred to in articles 9 and 13 to veterans or family members surviving the veteran, as well as the payment of benefits resulting from article 18,

2) extemporary financial aid to veterans or family members surviving the veterans,

3) the financing of construction of health resorts and other medical facilities designed for veterans,

4) the financing of construction of nursing homes for veterans.

3. The fund can also provide moneys to cover other expenses, specifically, the expenses for publications on the battles for national and social liberation and the resistance movement.

4. The Council of Ministers establishes by an ordinance specific guidelines for setting up and managing the fund.

Chapter 6

Interim and Final Regulations

Article 21. Certifications on the rights of veterans granted on the basis of current regulations remain valid, provided that the period of a veteran's active duty is determined to be one month in the cases referred to in article 3, paragraph 1.

Article 22. The organs of state administration, especially the basic territorial organs of state administration, are charged with rendering consistent assistance to territorial echelons of the Association of Fighters for Liberty and Democracy and of other organizations of former soldiers in carrying out their statutory tasks and programs of activity and also with supporting their socio-political and social activities.

Article 23.1. The law of 23 October 1975 on further increases of benefits for veterans and prisoners of concentration camps (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 34; item 186) becomes invalid.

2. Until executive regulations envisaged by the present law are issued, current regulations will apply, as long as they are not at variance with this law.

Article 24. Matters that have been taken up on the basis of current regulations and remained unresolved until the date the present law takes effect must be settled in accordance with the provisions of the present law.

Article 25. The law takes effect on 1 January 1983.

9761
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POLAND

ACTIVITIES OF REGIONAL CONSCRIPTION COMMISSIONS DESCRIBED

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 13 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Radzislaw Szymanski, deputy commanding officer of the Hrubieszow Military Draft Command, by Sl. Nadlonek: "On the work of draft commissions"; date and place not specified]

> [Text] In four voivodships of our region, the regional conscription commissions are conducting their spring activities. They aim to establish the fitness of male youth born in 1963 for the military service. We are talking today with lieutenant colonel Radzislaw Szymanski, deputy commanding officer of the Hrubieszow Military Conscription Command, about the work and tasks of such commissions.

[Question] What are the main tasks of the regional conscription commissions?

[Answer] In the area under the authority of the Hrubieszow Military Conscription Command two regional conscription commissions have been active for almost a month: in Hrubieszow and in Tomaszow Lubelski. Their principal task is establishing the fitness of males for the military service born in 1963. The above mentioned commissions included three physicians: two civilian and one military. Representatives of the military medical service were included in the work of the conscription commissions for the first time. They know better than their civilian colleagues the needs and requirements of the military, and this should contribute to even more precise classification of the fitness of a young man for the military service.

[Question] Part of the draftees had earlier been prepared for the performance of military service. I have in mind all kinds of specialized courses, among others those for drivers, which were run by the military cost-free.

[Answer] In the Zamosc voivodship we have several trade schools which are training drivers. In our situation there are enough draftees with this specialization. Nevertheless, under the program of pre-military training for youth out of school we are training drivers in the categories B and C. They have an opportunity to improve their qualifications in the military units. I

want to stress that some 90 percent of the males who have improved their qualifications while serving in the military, take up driving in various branches of the national economy after their discharge.

[Question] Not all the males who are fit for military service are eventually drafted. How does the conscription commission decide who and under what conditions one can have his enlistment deferred or can even be transferred to a reserve unit?

[Answer] All the draftees who report to the commission are processed according to the documents they possess. Pursuant to certain regulations deferments can be granted to sole supporters of families and to self-employed farmers. As a rule, we are granting deferments to those individuals who have tried to enroll at an university, but for certain reasons were not admitted. We are giving them another chance to apply for a student status.

[Question] Let us assume that a young man has been drafted by the military, but during his service his status changes, e.g., one of his parents dies or he becomes the sole supporter of his family.

[Answer] In this case he will be granted an early discharge. Such a decision--substantiated by the submitted documents--is made by the head of a state authority in the individual's place of residence. The above mentioned documents are in turn sent to the Military Conscription Commission, and, then to the Voivodeschip Military Staff who makes a judgement. Usually head of the Voivodship Military Staff puts in such cases only the proverbial dot above the letter "i."

[Question] A certain group of youth reports to you, after graduating from trade or high school, declaring their wish to obtain professional training in the military schools.

[Answer] The military traditions are very much alive among the residents of the Zamosc region. So, we do not have any real problems with the recruitment of candidates for military schools. Each year we send many individuals to various types of schools. The trade school graduates favor first of all military technical schools. Those with the secondary school certificates choose mostly military academies and higher officers' schools.

Military schools guarantee young people not only an attractive profession but in addition a comparatively early independence and an easier start in life.

9644
CSO: 2600/680

BRIEFS

RESIGNATION OF DEPUTY--The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania approves the request of Comrade Nicolae Iosif to give up his position as deputy in the Grand National Assembly for the Chisineu-Cris Electoral District No 5 in Arad County. This decision was adopted unanimously by the Grand National Assembly on 21 May 1982. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 49 22 May 82 p 4]

MODIFICATION OF LAW, DECREE--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that the following paragraph, paragraph 2, will be added to Article 1 of Decree No 77/1971 on the organization and operation of the State General Inspectorate for the Quality Control of Products, which became Law No 35/1971, with subsequent modifications: "The State General Inspectorate for the Quality Control of Products is organized and operates as an organ of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania". Article 6 of Law No 15/1972 on the organization and operation of the Central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity, republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 125/1977, is abrogated. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 57, 17 Jun 82 p 2]

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END

JPRS 81316

20 July 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2035

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20 July 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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'LISTY' COMPARES POLISH, CZECHOSLOVAK DEVELOPMENTS

Rome LISTY in Czech No 2, May 82 pp 7-9

[Article by Dalimil: "Poland and Us, IV"]

[Text] One should think about Poland and our country without anger or prejudice in this spring of 1982, more than a quarter century after Soviet tanks shot to pieces the Hungarian attempt at socialism in freedom, just about 15 years from the moment when these same tanks steamrollered the Czechoslovak illusion of socialism in democracy, and 3 months from the day when these same tanks, only this time with crews in Polish uniforms, put an end (at night, as always) to what was so far the longest lasting and, in its way, the most profound attempt to link with socialism the true interests of the working man, such as human individuality. Without anger or prejudice. But how is this possible, when in hopeless powerlessness we again notice how the waves of idealism, the yearning for a truly better, more just, more human life, for life in accord with the traditions of this or that people are shattered by the mute, insensitive dam of Soviet military power, conscious only of itself and defending its imperial interests.

In the sixties in relatively liberal Prague, Poles visiting from Gomulka's Poland would say, "We are your future." Today the question is whether dismal, gray, colorless, silent and terrorized Prague is the future of Warsaw. Just as Prague did in 1969, so now Warsaw today rather looks to Budapest. Jaruzelski is a patriot, no Stalinist, a potential Kadar. So was Husak for many people and undoubtedly for himself, in his own eyes. Like Jaruzelski. If, in 1969, you had shown Husak the Czechoslovakia of 1982 he would have become angry, he would not have believed it, he would have accused you, as only he can (though clearly not he alone) of inveterate animosity and devilish propaganda. But nevertheless, the distance from Prague to Budapest is today stepped off by tens of thousands of Czechoslovaks with their own experiences, and they return with their eyes full of questions: Why didn't it work here? A well-known Western journalist who knows Czechoslovakia well from the past and who recently visited Prague again put the question another way: In Budapest the name Kadar is an expression of a wide-ranging consensus of Hungarians. In Czechoslovakia of the sixties, the name Novotny was mentioned daily as the expression of a consensus with the opposite connotation. The only name today which one does not hear for 2 weeks at a time, which nooone pronounces, from ministers to dissidents, is the name or the word Husak. Why?

The name Jaruzelski had until recently in Poland been a symbol of hope, of that part of them which Poles associate with the nation and the uniform. Even the military coup was presented to them and to the world in this name and with these connotations. Today this same name is for Poles a symbol at the same time of betrayal and political perfidy, and likewise of clear, but quite different hopes: Hopes that the governor in a Polish uniform will prevent the worst, prevent Warsaw from becoming Prague. The problem is that the logic of development after nights such as 21 August or 13 December often turns out to be of another sort. In Prague, that night brought to power the dregs of the political fauna which, in order to maintain themselves in power have enthusiastically assisted in making Czechoslovakia the most colorless, most dreary of the Soviet protectorates. In Poland, this same fauna is clawing its way to power on the backs of soldiers and under the protection of police thugs, because these, rather than bayonets, are, as everywhere, the instruments of normalization. The Polish path to unpronounced names has been going on now for only 3 months. This path is for the most part unknown, because the Polish WRON [Military Council of National Salvation] is like the cape of the sinsiter magician, covering the manipulating fingers in which one day these names will appear. And with these names normalized daily life.

At this point three questions, perhaps four, are appropriate.

The first of these is, why Hungary? In light of the Polish tragedy, we submit for consideration: The Hungarians, on the basis of their own bloody experience, were the first to comprehend that the USSR will never permit in its sphere a division of power, and that a certain nationalization of the Soviet model is possible only with the retention of its fundamental dominant characteristics, i.e., a centralized government through a party and police apparatus both of which, though each separately, are subordinate to Moscow, Only in this way will the USSR be sure of the loyalty of its vassals and permit an expanded role for unions, greater independence for enterprises, a certain form of market mechanism, the limited restoration of individual initiative and even a certain amount of freedom of artistic expression and scientific research. Only with this guarantee, behind this dam of security could a society have been realized which is represented (in contrast to contemporary Czechoslovakia, but not only to it) by intelligent, capable people, whose work brings at least the partial possibility for self-realization, and between whom and a state of the Soviet type bearing the high-flying banner of Hungarian history (to the point of unpleasantness with Russia) and Hungarian tradition there exists almost a relationship of mutual trust.

In Poland, the events of 1956 were handled by what is referred to as "our own forces," and in Czechoslovakia 1956 had almost no impact. There was, therefore, an absence of Hungary's bloody experience, allowing the illusion to persist that the Soviet model can be reformed, that the USSR will allow such reforms whether because it perceives their importance or out of necessity, and that in this way a socialist system can arise which will have all the characteristics of Western democratic socialist tradition without the anathema of the USSR pronounced over it. Both the victors and the vanquished drew their own conclusions from the smashing of the Czechoslovak attempt of 1968. The victors concluded that only the thorough Sovietization

of Czechoslovakia would bring permanent security to its government and again make the CSSR a privileged ally of the USSR. The result is contemporary Czechoslovakia, that wretched, formless mass of dynamite, around which everyone tiptoes so as not to set it off, in the useless hope that grass will grow and the dynamite will somehow evaporate into the atmosphere. Those others, in an attempt "to keep a clear conscience even in defeat" have decided that the destruction of the Czechoslovak spring has its cause in traditional Czech cowardice, caution, lack of political culture, the absence of political leaders, etc., etc., in errors which the political movement made at that time and which brought about, or at least provided the excuse for Soviet intervention. Not to mention the fact that this was a matter of a revolt of intellectuals, while, for instance, in Poland...

What about Poland, then? Poland clearly attempted to avoid the "Czechoslovak" mistakes, clearly mobilized the working class earlier than was the case in 1968 Czechoslovakia, certainly designated the intelligentsia as an assisting organ in the social process (such as, for instance, the brain), made great mention of Polish national tradition, including the tradition of armed resistance to intervention and occupation and the national traditions of the army. On the whole, however, the Polish movement was based on the same illusion with the Hungarian as was the Czechoslovak, an illusion which is in categorical conflict with the Hungarian experience of 1956. And Poland ended up as did Czechoslovakia, perhaps worse, who knows. Let us leave for Czech analysts the errors and shortcomings of the Czech national character as the main causes of the August catastrophe, even though they continue to delve into them in light of the more recent Polish experience, and say to the Poles the following: The channel, the single channel in the dialogue between the government and society in the Czechoslovakia of the period of normalization has been the butcher. A full table, and along with it a cottage, a car, for little work, without his own effort, from state largess, in a world of corruption such as was undreamed of in the Ottoman Empire or the Russian Tsardoms, this has been the price for the quiet of a cemetery. Something similar is hardly possible in contemporary Poland. And so the sole channel in the dialogue with the military or party government (it is still a single police force) remains the church. The events since the end of last year have given it a position which is even more crucial than it had before. The party represents nothing at all, and the army and the police represent only an apparatus for coercion. An agreement is in the air similar to the one drawn between Italian fascism and the Vatican. The problem remains that Italian fascism had the support of a large percentage of the people, including the working class. The Polish working class- and farmer-generals do not have this. On the other hand, they do have the Soviet Union. Polish real socialism of the normalization period is already today being built on these fundamental pillars. Its components will clearly be jointly state and church controlled unions as the organ of dialogue over an empty counter, surrounded by uniformed apparatchiks. And the principal victim will be the intellectuals, the intelligentsia. The Hungarian vision appears, then, to be just as illusory for Poland as for Czechoslovakia. In the final analysis, the Hungarian man in the street has never in history enjoyed such a standard of living and such a measure of freedom as he now has in Kadar's Hungary. And this may not be said in any sense about either Poland or Czechoslovakia.

And what of the USSR? And what is its model, then? The USSR has long had this model for its satellites, and it is not and has never been that of Kadar's Hungary. This model is the GDR. In the GDR, uniform discipline has long been the order of the day, the Soviet model, supplemented by the Prussian tradition (which is not so far removed from the tradition of tsarism, even regarding resources). In this framework there is, finally, a place even for consumption, and for a certain degree of union participation in decision-making at the factory level. But not for liberalism, and democracy is last of all. But this area has never known democracy and there is a question whether the majority actually miss it at all. And beyond the wall is the FRG, which pays a large part of the overhead costs and provides freedom-loving spirits sufficient possibilities, both existential and expressional, whenever it appears that they have had enough of the Prusso-Saxon principality. Here the nationalist idea is sort of a sufficiently colorless Germanness which has survived the failure of the attempt to create an enderatic patriotism, and the dangerous and still ongoing attempt to rehabilitate the Prussian tradition. This corresponds in most of the remaining countries in Soviet Eastern Europe to a dusty Slavicness, the inapplicability of which likewise in its own way plays into the hands of the Hungarians and Romanians.

Does this mean, then, that in the light of the smashing of the Polish reform attempt there is no alternative but to accept the "GDR model" and to attempt to do what we can with it? At the present moment this is clearly the case, and this is also the idea which is today becoming dominant in certain ruling circles in Prague. In the USSR, the militarization of the economy and the Soviet model as a whole will clearly continue even after the change in trimmings, and with this as well the cult of the Prussian tradition (in which, let us not forget, there was even a place for a piece of enlightenment, on the condition that everything was under firm control from above and that everyone knew the meaning of quod licet Iovi...).

The pacification of Central Europe, however, has already been going on for 35 years, and the results so far have not been the best. In this sense, the pacification of Poland is a long-range and clearly unsolvable problem. The resistance of national cultural and political tradition to the violently imposed Russian graft will continue, and the national organisms will continue to reject the implantation of the foreign organism. In this sense, maybe even the USSR would finally make peace with the existence and development of national cultures in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, on the condition that they will not oppose the executive control of every movement from above. Until such time as history answers the question of whether economic development and scientific progress truly lead necessarily along the path of democracy, these are clearly the prospects for the Central and Eastern European region. From the Czechoslovak viewpoint, one would then wish that the control of the spirit by decidedly unenlightened people be at least replaced by more enlightened individuals. As under every absolutism, including its contemporary real socialist variant, it is not a matter of indifference who rules. And as in every absolutism, it is precisely this which is for the most part a matter of historical chance.

9276
CSO: 2400/285

DEFENSE MINISTRY ANNOUNCES CONDITIONS FOR ADMISSION TO MILITARY ACADEMIES

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 29 May 82 p 6

[An Announcement of the Ministry of National Defense for Admission of Cadets and Scholarship Holders of the Ministry of National Defense for the School Year 1982-83]

[Text] A. Admission of Cadets to the Military Academies

The military academies will admit young people for the following programs and terms of education:

People's Military Academy "Vasil Levski"--Veliko Turnovo

1. Commanding officers--4-year term of education: motorized infantry and border troops, tank troops--active service.

2. Commanding engineers--4-year term of education: automotive, engineering, chemical and rear troops.

3. Engineers--5-year term of education: tank troops--technical.

4. Political officers--4-year term of education.

People's Artillery Academy "G. Dimitrov"--Shumen

1. Commanding officers--4-year term of education: ground artillery, anti-aircraft artillery, artillery-instrumental reconnaissance and cartography.

2. Engineers--5-year term of education: artillery armament, radiotechnical troops--radiolocating stations, radiotechnical troops--automated guiding systems, antiaircraft technical troops.

3. Political officers--4-year term of education.

People's Air Force Academy "G. Benkovski"--Dolna Mitropoliya

1. Commanding engineers--5-year term of education (4.8 years for a pilot); pilot in the Bulgarian civil aviation, airman-navigator and staff air force.

2. Engineers--5-year term of education: use and maintenance of the flying machines, use and maintenance of the electrical and automatic equipment of the flying machines, use and maintenance of the radio equipment of the flying machines, communication and radio-technical signaling, aircraft weapon systems.

3. Pilots for the agricultural aviation--3-year term of education.

People's Naval Academy--"N.Y. Vaptsarov"--Varna

1. Commanding engineers--5-year term of education: captain in the navy, captain in the civil fleet.

2. Engineers--5-year term of education: ships' power machines and mechanisms --navy, ships' power machines and mechanisms--civil fleet and radio location.

3. Political officers--5-year term of education.

Those who graduate from the military academies are given the degree (rank) of lieutenant-engineer (lieutenant) and their civil education and qualification in the respective field is recognized.

Young people meeting the following conditions can apply to military academies: they should have completed a high school education with a minimum aggregate grade 12.00 (GPA from the diploma and the grades in the subjects which are taken into consideration in determining the aggregate grade), they should not be older than 23 years, and the applicants for pilots--21 years (the age is calculated on 1 September), they should be physically healthy, they should not be married, they should not have been convicted, they should be active members of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union, and they should be willing to devote themselves to military service.

The following subject grades from the diploma are included in determining the aggregate grade rating:

--for political officers--Bulgarian history, Bulgarian language and literature;
--for chemical troops--chemistry and mathematics;
--for all the other programs--mathematics and physics.

The cadet applicant should personally fill out and submit to the head of the military academy through the local military command (those in service, through their unit commander) the following documents: application form (approved by the local military command), diploma for completed high school education or a copy of it, autobiography (curriculum vitae), birth certificate, certificate showing no previous conviction, conscription health certificate, pedagogical character from high school, a contest card, declaration that he will serve in the Bulgarian military forces (Bulgarian civil aviation--BGA), water transport and ocean fishing for not less than 10 years, and a document for privilege.

These documents can be submitted in the same order by young people who wish to apply simultaneously to civil VUZ (Higher Educational Establishments) and a military academy.

The deadline for submitting the documents is 7 July 1982 but for those who have graduated before 1982 and those in military service, it is 5 June 1982.

Every young man will have the right to apply to only one military academy for all programs according to the order of preference.

All cadet applicants must report to the military academy they have applied to not later than 1400 hours on 10 August, and the applicants for pilots and navigators at the People's Air Force Academy "G. Benkovski", not later than 1400 hours on 26 July 1982.

The cadet applicants take a competitive examination in a special subject and in general culture and political training.

The special subjects for the competitive examinations are as follows:

--for political officers--Bulgarian history, and for the applicants to People's Naval Academy "N.Y. Vaptsarov"--mathematics;
--for officers in the chemical troops--chemistry;
--for all other programs--mathematics.

The written competitive examinations will be conducted according to curricula and lists of questions for the competitive examinations in the civil higher educational institutions. For admission to the chemical troops--the questionnaire for chemistry for the universities and chemicotechnological higher educational establishments.

The dates for conducting the examinations are as follows:

--on 11 August--mathematics;
--on 12 August--history;
--on 13 August--general culture and political knowledge;
--on 14 August--chemistry.

The examinations in People's Air Force Academy "G. Benkovski" are only for pilots:

--on 27 July--mathematics;
--on 29 July--general culture and political knowledge.

Cadet applicants in this program have the right to take the examinations with the applicants for the other programs in the academy. The grades they receive can be used in the other programs shown on their documents.

All cadet applicants who successfully pass the examinations will have physical and psychological checks of their qualifications and also will undergo a medical examination.

The physical abilities of the applicants will be checked in the following events and norms: not fewer than 6 pull-ups on the horizontal bar, not more than 15.5 seconds in the 100 meter dash, not more than 4.10 minutes in the

1,000 meter cross-country, (only for People's Naval Academy "N.Y. Vaptsarov") not more than 3.00 minutes in swimming of 100 meters.

Every applicant should provide his or her own sports attire.

The psychological qualities of the applicants will be checked by special methods developed in the military academies.

The medical examinations will be conducted according to the requirements of the regulation for diseases and physical handicaps.

The applicants for pilots will have to undergo a special aviomedical examination.

During the competitive examinations in the military academies, all applicants are provided with room. Applicants who in the service travel with military travel documents and receive also food at presenting food certificate.

B. Admission of Cadets to Higher Institute of Physical Education "G. Dimitrov"

The young people who apply for cadets in the Higher Institute for Physical Education "G. Dimitrov" in the program of physical education for the Bulgarian People's Army should meet the requirements for cadets in military academies. They file their application documents in VIF (Higher Institute for Physical Education) "G. Dimitrov" according to the requirements of the Reference Book for Students-Applicants for 1982-1983. Through the local military command, where they are registered, they send the following documents to the head of AShVSM "Chavdar" [Athletic School for Young Servicemen] Sofia: application form, curriculum vitae, birth certificate, certificate showing no previous conviction, privilege certificate, copy of a diploma for completed high school education, and a declaration that they will serve in BNA [Bulgarian People's Army] not less than 10 years after graduating from the institution.

The documents should be filed in the local military command until 7 July 1982.

The conditions and order for conducting the examinations are stipulated in the regulation for admission of students to VIF "G. Dimitrov" for the school year 1982-1983.

People who are in the service and are not to be discharged this year are not allowed to apply.

The young people admitted to the program of physical education in BNA have the same rights and obligations as the other cadets in military academies.

Those who successfully complete their education will be given the rank of lieutenant and will be appointed in the BNA.

C. Admission of Scholarship Holders of MNO [Ministry of National Defense]

Young people meeting the requirements for cadets in military academies are admitted as MNO scholarship holders.

Young people are admitted in the following programs:

--medical doctors--in the medical institutes in Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna and Pleven;
--dentistry--in the faculties of dentistry in Sofia and Plovdiv;
--pharmacology--in the pharmaceutical faculty in Sofia;
--physics--in SU [Sofia University] "Kliment Okhridski";
--meteorology--in BAN [Bulgarian Academy of Sciences].

The applicants for scholarships file their documents as everybody else in higher educational establishments according to the rules governing the application for universities. Those who successfully qualify with a grade rate above the determined minimum for the given institute of higher education, after announcing the results of the competitive examinations, file an application form in the local military command. Together with the application, they should submit a curriculum vitae, medical certificate from a military hospital--for discharged conscripts, medical conscription certificate--for those who have not yet been drafted, health certificate--for the conscripts, certificate to prove that they have no previous convictions, certificate for their aggregate grade result from the higher education establishment where they have applied and taken the examinations, and a declaration that they will serve in BNA for not less than 10 years after they have graduated.

Those admitted as scholarship students and who have not served their regular term in the military will begin their studies after they have served it.

The BNA scholarship students are accepted in active service and are appointed as officers in BNA after their graduation.

Additional information can be obtained by the military academies, local military commands, commanders of units (for the conscripts), as well as from the guide book for student applicants for 1982 year.

9804
CSO: 2200/113

NEMETH DISCUSSES ROLE, RESPONSIBILITY OF BASIC ORGANIZATIONS

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 6, Jun 82 pp 5-13

[Article by Karoly Nemeth, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee: "The Place of the Basic Organizations in the Party's Work"; based on remarks delivered at the Prague conference of Central Committee secretaries of the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries]

[Excerpts] Our experience reinforces that universally valid Leninist truth that only that party is able to fulfill the role of leadership and direct successfully the building of socialism which can in its own ranks ensure theoretical, political, organizational, and action unity. Our very first obligation is to strengthen this, protect it and renew it in harmony with the new tasks. Our party's political line and unity are unbroken because it considers the specific conditions of implementing the unchanged socialist goals and principles. We profess that continuing along our main line of direction cannot mean rigidity and conservatism, but exactly the opposite, it requires constant renewal, conforming flexibly to the changing circumstances and regeneration of unity.

We must not interpret party unity in absolute terms, and we must not feel that if it has come into existence, it will be so forever. For each new task we must come to unity again and again, from the Central Committee to the basic organizations. Only this can ensure the party's ability to lead and mobilize the masses for the successful implementation of the next tasks. Protecting the party's unity requires a constant battle against erroneous views and distortions, and requires theoretical and political convincing work where it is applicable, and also organizational bylaws where the situation calls for it. We can lead the masses truly if every party organization and every communist represents with conviction the party's policies, and stands on and acts on its theoretical basis. This is the only way the party's credit can grow, this is how its internal unity and closeness with the masses outside the party can become stronger.

In our experience, the development of the correct position requires that the various views be contrasted in debates in the party's forums. It is a law of our party's life that the membership weighs the theoretical and political questions in a meritorious exchange of ideas. We attribute great significance to creative debate in the basic organizations, where the membership's actual

participation in shaping policy, in working out the tasks, and in making and implementing the decisions can develop. It is important that every party member be able to freely express his opinion and receive answers to his suggestions and observations. Only that debate satisfies the party's interests which actually helps clarify the issues, the right decision and unified action.

We connect freedom of debate with party discipline, which is required of everyone, and with the strict observation of organizational principles and of the correct party framework. It is not only the right but also the obligation of a party member to express his observations, viewpoint, suggestion, reservation and possible opposition in the party's forums. If this is done elsewhere than the appropriate forum, it by all means indicates shortcomings in the party's life and discipline, which weakens unity. The debate also places on the basic organizations the obligation to renew and protect unity. They must wage battle for an exchange of ideas which is indispensable for progress, is helpful and which opens up actual alternatives, and they must take a stand against unproductive, self-serving and divisive verbosity. Our experiences shows that this purpose is not yet fulfilled in all of our party organizations. We are also trying to promote a worthy exchange of ideas by seeing to it that the party members are in possession of the appropriate knowledge and information.

It is indispensable that the majority decision after the debate be followed by unanimous implementation on the basis of party discipline which is mandatory for all communists alike. We cannot make exceptions from the unshakeable principles of the structure of our party's organization ever, anywhere, for anyone. We must touch upon this also in the correlation that views are gaining strength in the international communist movement according to which democratic centralism is no longer suitable for today's--so-called--modern needs. Some people question the right of centralism to life and consider it obsolete. We know of no historical experience which proves this anti-Marxist concept.

We profess that general agreement on the principles and tasks is not enough--the deed is the test of real agreement. Unfortunately, it still happens that in important questions the general agreement is not joined by the specific actions of some basic organizations and some party members. Such an agreement reflects [only] formal unity.

It can be said that there is broad-based agreement in our party, for example, on the issues of distribution on the basis of work done, differentiation in the payment of wages, better utilization of working hours, stronger discipline and thriftiness. And yet, it is a fact that some basic organizations and some communists do not adequately promote the solution of these problems in their own backyards. Therefore, we must also strengthen in the basic organizations the united action manifesting itself in deeds.

From the viewpoints of party unity, the growth of party democracy, identification and correction of errors, and education of the people, our party attributes great significance to criticism and self-criticism.

We encourage our basic organizations to develop conditons under which everyone can make his critical observations without disadvantageous consequences; but at the same time, intrigue must not be given space under the guise of criticism. We have included the protection of those who criticize in our organizational bylaws and made it mandatory to responsibly handle the critic's observations. Our efforts have produced some results, but in this area the improvement in the basic organizations is not satisfactory. Therefore, we must further strengthen the spirit in which the communists take an open stand against absurdities, so that criticism and self-criticism may be real, specific and personal.

We are taking a definite stand against apathy toward errors and against such unprincipled evaluations and differentiations--seen on occasion--when the critical observation and judgment is tailored according to its target. We do not consider such behavior acceptable. Critical identification of the problems and mistakes--regardless of to whose or which organ's work it is aimed--is not only the right of communists but also their obligation.

Our party has never lost sight of the fact that there is no party unity without discipline, but at the same time the everyday level of party unity also affects the membership's disciplinary situation. Therefore, it is an important task of our basic organizations to constatnly labor to strengthen party discipline, which is also one of the important indicators of the maturity of the party's life, and of the level of work done in the basic organizations. Our party has increased the requirements on its members in accepting and openly representing politics. The basic organizations are playing a role which cannot be replaced by anything else in how good the party's disciplinary situation is. Credit is due to the basic organizations also for the overwhelming majority of our party membership living and working according to our moral standards: They fulfill their obligations in an exemplary manner, appropriately exercise their rights, unselfishly serve the public interests and exhibit a modest and disciplined behavior. It is due in part to this that even under the changing and complicated circumstances, there is unity, order and discipline in our party. Even if not in large numbers, nevertheless cases do occur when some party members, including leaders, abuse their power and position, and erode the party's moral stock. The communities of the basic organizations can do much--and this is also their obligation--that no one should be able to harm the party's moral standards without punishment.

Economy is an important area of implementing the party's leadership role. Politics--so Lenin teaches--is concentrated expression of the economy. In this spirit, our party pays particular attention to constructive economic work. The importance of this is underlined by the fact that there is not one single area of our social life whose growth does not depend on the results of economic work. We must also take it into consideration that the foreign conditions of constructive economic work have changed unfavorably, and our economy has reached an intensive stage of growth where it needs more resources. All this also makes new, higher demands on the party's economic directing, organizing and control work, and on the party organizations operating directly in production. We cannot act as if nothing had changed

around us. Our party could not fulfill its role of leadership if it thought that way. A situation has developed to which we must flexibly adjust ourselves, and which requires greater activity, better, higher quality work, courageous and progressive initiative by all party organizations.

Our economic policy which takes on a specific format in the medium-range plan and in the national economy's annual plans, and which has been approved by the 12th Party Congress, also represents an action program for every organization of our party. It is expressed in our national economic plans that economic policy considers the facts of reality, changing circumstances and our opportunities. This means that we are planning more moderate economic growth than in the past, in harmony with our opportunities, for the present five-year plan period. We have made it a goal for ourselves to solidify our results, protect the achieved standard of living and make progress in improving the national economy's equilibrium. Our party organizations have done and are doing much work in the interest of getting the working masses to judge our economic situation realistically, support our efforts and understand that hard work must be done even for more modest results than before.

Just as other socialist countries are doing, this country is also in the process of shifting the economy over onto the track of intensive growth. In many respects, this makes different and qualitatively higher demands on the economic management, on implementation, and--in connection with this--also on the party's work. We must use the available financial and intellectual resources in a better planned manner than before, and with a better degree of efficiency. In each link of the chain of economic activity, as well as in the state and cooperative sectors, increasing the productivity of work, imporving the profitability and international competitiveness of our products are emphasized tasks. We must place technological development, plant and work organizations rational thriftiness, especially with materials and energy, financial and moral incentives, as well as socialist labor competition, in the service of this goal.

We are focusing the economic directing, organizing and controlling work of the party organizations on implementing the efficiency and quality requirements. In this connection, we are placing emphasis on ideology-developing political work because the processes of intensive growth can develop only in possession of the appropriate ideology. It is necessary for leaders and subordinates to realistically judge our economic situation and to adopt our goals as their own, to participate actively and by taking the initiatives in mobilizing the reserves which do in reality exist, often not even requiring additional investments. In identifying these and in improving the indices of the quality of economic operation we intend to give an important role to the production movements of the workers, and to socialist labor competition. We are concentrating the efforts of our party organizations and also encouraging the trade union and youth organs to make increasing efficiency and improving quality the main goals of the labor competition. For this we are requesting the assistance of the socialist brigades, the innovators and the inventors. It is also a constant task of our party organizations to keep track of the political effects of economic measures, of what consequences individual decisions have on the situation of the workers and as a result of this, on their political mood.

The party's economic policy provides the direction for all state organs and economic operating units. The party's directing and control of the economy must also serve to implement this. We do not consider the leadership role the party also has in the economy to be such that the party organization has to make the decision in every question in a given area. If the party organization interferes unnecessarily and in too much detail in the economy's concrete matters, this in our experience leads to problems. Identical and parallel handling of matters weakens the responsibility of the economic management and unnecessarily removes the party's resources from political work. It is important that along with the party organization's political guidance the economic management, the trade union and the youth organization also perform their work in accordance with their own spheres of authority and responsibility.

We also allow no room for such ideas--manifested on occasion--according to which the party should occupy itself with politics and the economic management with the economy. The party organizations, in our opinion, must take a stand in all cases where the party's economic policy and the interests of the national economy stand to be injured. But they must be careful not to take over the tasks and responsibilities of the economic managers. They must concentrate their attention on making sure that the economic activity performed in their area of operation is in harmony with the party's economic policies, and support the progressive efforts of the economic management with all the tools of political work. They must pay much attention to the human factors of production, to cadre work, to training and advanced training.

Our party organizations must independently decide whether in the areas under their authority the measures taken by economic management are in harmony with our economic policy and with society's interests. Identifying and coordinating the various interests is no easy job. It is important for the party organizations to adequately sense the presence of the various interests and their effects, and find a way to coordinate these interests by which they can increase the direct interests of the individual workers and collectives in actions which serve the common interest. For this, it is indispensable that plant democracy should grow, and its forums operate in a meaningful way. Our efforts aimed at broadening and deepening the democracy of the working place, of the plant is closely related to the recognition that when the situation is more difficult, then there is an even greater need for thinking together. No matter how smart and how well prepared the leadership of an area is, it cannot do without the great strength concealed in the properly interpreted--and not only formal--practicing of socialist democracy. The complicated tasks ahead of us in the economy require that as many constructive ideas and progressive initiatives be given life as possible.

The changes in our political, social and economic circumstances, and reinforcement of the relationship between the party and the masses require that the working style, working methods, and the directing and controlling activities of our party be perfected and that the Leninist standards of the party's life be implemented. In this way, we can also avoid the always reappearing dangers of work becoming overbureaucratized, insensitivity toward the problems of the masses and repeating mistakes.

Our party is conducting open and honest politics, its main method is convincing. It considers its own activity to be the self-sacrificing service of the people, and it condemns all manifestation of abuse of power and bossiness. This is a communist style deriving from our principles, and the better it permeates the work of the party organs and organizations, the more successfully we can overcome the tasks before us. We see that the masses understand the problmes and support us in overcoming the difficulties, if we openly and honestly indentify them, if we ask and request their support and attentive opinion.

Maintaining and improving our working methods must never be removed from the agenda. Our Central Committee has recently evaluated its own working methods and obligated the regional party organizations to proceed similarly. Before this year is over, the basic organizations will also review their working methods, and evaluate how well collective leadership, party democracy and party discipline are implemented in their activities, and how good are the activity and action unity of communists. All these also serve to rid the party's work of the elements of formality and of excessive administration and unproductive meetings which draw away the party's attention from political work and which also place a lot of unnecessary burden on the basic organizations. We are paying attention to see that the directing party organs not interfere in minute details in the work of the basic organizations which would also damage their independence and responsibility, and they not overload them with various obligations. We also expect that in most basic organizations there be no free lancers, and the party's work be done on the social basis.

The success of the party's work is determined to a large extent by how well the party's life is organized, and whether the membership meeting, the most important forum of the leadership and communists gathered into the basic organization, fulfills its calling. Our experience shows that the membership meeting is a creative workshop for developing joint thinking and unified action, and cannot be replaced by anything else. Considering also the experience of the fraternal parties, a few years ago we, too, introduced the well-proven system of annual end accounting membership meetings. We couple its preparation with individual discussions covering each member. These exchanges of ideas about timely domestic and foreign political issues, the party's policies, and the party member's work, life and problems represent the outstanding event in the party's life each year. They provide useful experience for the entire party.

Solving the tasks of the basic organizations requires the leadership to be well-functioning bodies in all respects, and the members to be respected communists in the community, and have the appropriate political experience. The secretary of the basic organization fills a key role in insuring that collectivity, equal rights, and personal responsibility consistently prevail in their activities.

The basic organizations carry a great responsibility in the ideological and political education of the party's members and in forging the party's older and younger generations into a unified communist community. We are paying

attention to this also because the ideological-political education of the party's members, among them the new party members, and their fitting into the organization are time-consuming processes; and conscious, unified action can only be the result of this. The behavior and action readiness of the party's members develop according to how well we help them in acquiring the Marxist-Leninist ideology and in learning the historical experiences of the movement, of the party. Only those communist communities which are ideologically and politically solid and which act in unity can fulfill the tasks assigned to them in implementing the policies, spreading and defending our principles. These party organizations are able to follow with attention the political effects of our actions in their areas of operation and to reliably report on these. Knowing the opinion and having the reports of the basic organizations, the party's leadership can accurately evaluate the actual situation and the changes in it, can consider on time the problems ready for solution, and can follow the development of the public's mood. We are paying much attention to making use of the experiences of the basic organizations in preparing the decisions of the higher party organs. We are careful that the information coming from the basic organizations should reflect reality in all aspects.

The level of the work of the party organizations is closely related to the activity of the party organ that directs them. The elected organs play a definitive role in directing, aiding, and controlling the basic organizations. Our principle and practice that an elected organ may be directed only by elected organs, is being implemented. And the job of the apparatus is to prepare decisions as assigned by the elected body, and to help carry them out. The main line of work is designated by the directing party organs by their resolutions, in harmony with the party's policies.

In the focal point of our attention is to create unity of content between directing and practical implementation, that our goals be reached in the front line of the party's work the way we decided on them. But this cannot be examined unilaterally, exclusively from the side of the basic organizations; and the basic organizations cannot be blamed solely for the shortcomings seen in the work they do. We are fighting against the concept according to which things are going well "up above," the problems are generated "down below." Such qualifications are not fair and do not reflect reality because often the weaknesses of implementation can be traced back to the shortcomings in the very work of the directing organs. The activity of the directing party organs is qualified primarily by the level of the work of the basic organizations.

Our party's central organs, the Politburo and the Secretariat regularly place on their agendas questions related to the work of the basic organizations; they have the party organs of the megyes and jaras report on the work they do in directing and assisting the basic organizations. This is how examination of the work of basic organizations active in the major factories, in residential districts, in educational institutions and in artistic life takes place. Regular participation of the members of the central and regional elected organs in the events of the basic organizations, first of all in the membership meetings, is important in the relationship of the higher party organs and the basic organizations.

The Central Committee and its organs also pay much attention to providing direct information to the basic organizations. The TITKARI TAJEKOZTATO [Information from the Secretary] published monthly, and the magazine PARTELET [The Party's Life] fill an important role in this. The departments of the Central Committee aid the work of the basic organizations with methodological guides and timely reasoning material. Meetings of the secretaries of basic organizations are held regularly in our party. They are held combined, or according to the character of the basic organizations, depending on the situation. Their main purpose is to provide information on the resolutions of the leadership organs, developing unified ideology, receiving reports, furnishing mutual information, consultation and exchange of experience.

8584
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'DIE ZEIT' NOTES POLAND'S SITUATION WITHOUT WESTERN AID

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German No 24, 11 Jun 82 p 12

[Article by Peter Bender: "Poland Cannot Get Out of the Quagmire by Itself--Without Western Aid, Almost Certain Catastrophe"]

> [Text] Six months after martial law was imposed, no solution appears in sight in Warsaw. Good intentions are cancelled out by bad practice.

Warsaw, May/June--When Janos Kadar in 1957, and Gustav Husak in 1969, were confronted with a political shambles, they at least had their economy. Hungary and Czechoslovakia were ruined spiritually but not economically. For Wojciech Karuzelski, this escape route is blocked. He cannot offer prosperity in place of freedom--on the contrary: the disappointed social expectations are linked with failed political hopes and have led to redoubled indignation or insurmountable resignation. It is feared by some that social misery and the sense of hopelessness may trigger political unrest.

After the steep price increases in February, not even all items available on ration cards are being bought--according to calculations by the Labor Ministry, about 10 percent are not utilized. In the matter of meat, often the lower quality is more difficult to get than the better; good meat has become extremely expensive.

Starting Again at Zero

The standard of living has fallen by a third, according to official estimates, and it will probably sink further in the near future. By the mid-1980's, Poland is supposed to reach the point where it was at the end of the 1970's (by no means a rosy time!)--but even that is only a chance that will take great effort. At present, the minimum wage, including compensatory payments for price increases, stands at 4,910 zlotys, the minimum pension being somewhat lower. Five thousand zlotys constitute the "social crisis minimum" as calculated by the Labor Ministry, a kind of biological minimum. Of greater political importance than the poorest are the broad masses whose social advancement was curtailed radically. A worker in Gdansk, age 36, with wife and two children, has a good income, an apartment, furniture and

almost enough savings to buy a car. Now, he says, he practically has to start again at zero. Even his good income is not sufficient for the cost of living, and the savings for the car are gradually being eaten up.

The political situation among students can also become explosive. One student answered the question as to the sense and purpose of active opposition by saying: "[Even] if I am not in opposition, I have as little as I have now, while in opposition. The few thousand zlotys I get as a young university graduate--they do not interest me."

And there seems to be no political solution in sight. Independent experts report that the opposition is increasingly better organized and acts with the protection of innumerable "sympathizers"; none of the Solidarity leaders that went underground have been caught; instead, their opinions on the situation make the rounds in the form of illegal writings.

The demonstrations at the beginning and middle of May were the first public proof of strength; the tough police reaction (not everywhere) has probably inspired, rather than dampened, the spirit of resistance, especially among the young. But the urge--and the enjoyment--of showing it to the "powers that be," also moves older people.

At seven thirty in the evening when Polish TV newscasts begin, people go into the streets in some places, stroll demonstratively back and forth, to make clear what they think about TV propaganda. Somehow or other, an appeal was made not to buy newspapers on Wednesdays--and actually, newspaper vendors are reported to be stuck with part of their papers on Wednesdays.

All of this is pointless when it comes to tangible success. In order to understand this Polish refusal, however, one must ask for the reasons rather than the goals. Between August, 1980 (creation of an independent trade union) and December, 1981 (declaration of martial law), something happened in Poland which is no longer reversible. There was almost unrestricted freedom, not for just an instant, as in Hungary in 1956, not just for 6 months, as in Czechoslovakia in 1969. The Poles had become accustomed to conditions in which they could counter state arbitrariness. For the first time in 30 years, they were no longer the object, but the subject of politics. The truth was not only expressed, but also acknowledged. The speeches about the party as vanguard of the working class collapsed, as the working class represented itself, against the party.

Everybody saw that the emperor was naked--and now it is impossible to go back to the claim that he has clothes on. It is impossible to reconcile the masses with the "power" without letting them share in the power. It is impossible to develop the economy, society and public life as long as everything comes from above, nothing from below. However, if one asks the opposition about a concept which transforms this necessity into policy, it becomes evident that there is none, and that is not considered a deficiency: "In history, it has always been that way; at first came the movement, then the concepts and the talents followed."

The opposition remained what it was, a political force, but untamed and unpredictable; and as long as illegality and internment continue, it would be unrealistic and unfair to expect anything else. Judging its possibilities, there is nonviolent refusal for one, which may be useful. Uncontrolled state power can only be kept within its limits if limits are set for it. Only a decisive "No" forces the rulers to compromise--however, one must oneself be ready and capable of compromise.

The other possibility is an uncompromising, or even violent, resistance. It strengthens the "people of concrete," the hawks among the leadership--everybody knows it, but some are evidently no longer disturbed by that, but ready to give battle: "They cannot kill everyone. They cannot ship everyone to Siberia. They cannot lock up everyone." Again a self-confidence is apparent which recalls the illusory feeling of strength with which the leadership of Solidarity brought about disaster last fall.

The government leadership also remained what it was--and this has a connection with 13 December. Jaruzelski's military action had a chance, under two preconditions:

Not only did the opposition groups have to be overruled, but also the party--only this could have given the army credibility as the savior of the nation. This had been proposed, and even today, one meets in Warsaw, but not in influential circles, with the hope for the 18th Brumaire [reference to the French Revolution] and Jaruzelski as its first consul.

Immediately after establishing military rule, a concrete and rapidly implemented program had to follow which proved that freedoms were temporarily suspended in order to make their permanence possible.

Since the first precondition does not exist, the second can only be fulfilled half way, at best. The 13th of December did not only enforce calm, but it also saved the party. The Polish state is reverting into a Communist state; as yet, the party bureaucracy has not regained its power, but ruling without or against it is not possible. Since reform is primarily a question of "cadres," Polish intentions to reform are hindered in the same way as in all Communist countries: the functionaries, especially those of middle rank, who gained their positions through loyalty and not through achievement, dilute, bend and spoil most of it.

Too Weak for Reforms

The decisive question which divides opinions among the leadership and the apparatus is the period from 1980 to 1981. One side knows that it cannot be undone, the other side would like to wipe out even the memory of it. From conviction, one side takes Jaruzelski's declaration of 13 December seriously: "All significant reforms will be continued under conditions of order, objective discussion and discipline." The others believe that both party and leadership are too weak to afford substantial reforms and the "dialogue" with the opposition. One side is almost desperate over the lost chance of a timely Polish model drawing on its own strength; the others

know that they are still in their seats only because this model did not materialize.

The consequence is a policy riddled with contradictions. The government attempts something, the conservatives block it, the apparatus neutralizes its implementation. Good intentions are constantly cancelled out by bad practice.

Reconciliation is being proclaimed, but persecution takes place. Understanding is being sought, but the partner, the people, is treated as if it were not of age. (Probably nothing hurts Jaruzelski more than the inane propaganda, especially on television. What is meant to convince has become a nightly insult to the nation's intelligence.) Good university legislation is passed, but the rector of Warsaw university is pushed out of office. Factories are to administer themselves, but the respective law remains suspended.

The major political problem, the fate of Solidarity, was to be solved through "dialogue"; now it is officially said that Solidarity would not return because more than one trade union is connected with this name. Solidarity has become a myth, a promise for general freedom and prosperity. But whoever uses this argument should grapple all the more energetically with the "pure" question of trade unions; but from the beginning, it was put at the end of the agenda: First, industry must move again and administer itself, then one would see what workers still needed in the way of trade unions.

This sounds as if necessity was being made into a virtue here: what cannot be accomplished politically is to be gained through economic reform, which generally seems to be seen as a panacea. Since the laws of the marketplace and the pressure for initiative demand new thinking and a different type of person than does an 'economy by command,' it is thought that the example of modern economic management would gradually catch on and would also modernize the state and society.

Perhaps a meaningful concept, but effective only in the long term. To date, there are many good plans in Warsaw for the day after tomorrow, but today's problems block the road there. Poland probably has the best government since the 1950's, Parliament is working harder and more efficiently than ever before, and passes good laws for the most part, but that is hardly acknowledged by the country. It is increasingly doubted, or denied, that there are different, even opposing, forces at work at the top: Those who sit at the top are simply "they" who possess power and sinecures.

A Nation Divided

Even at the beginning of 1981, Warsaw used this political conjugation: I want, you want, he wants, we want, you want--why don't they want too? Yet this radical separation from "them" is new; in Poland, the gap between the people and the political establishment had been smaller than in other comparable countries. Above all, there was a broad center, people in important offices, who had preserved an impressive inner and outer

independence. This middle group has now shrunken and threatens to dissolve gradually. Opinions are more polarized, there are fewer people capable of a dialogue with both sides; it is becoming more and more difficult not to take sides.

On the one side, there is "verification": Whoever attracted unpleasant attention, had been denounced, or wanted to retain an important post, must prove his loyalty to the government. Sometimes this is only a matter of form, sometimes personal enmities and "sniffing out attitudes" have a field day. On the other hand, anyone working for the government is considered a collaborator. The opposition is forever composing new lists with the names of "Kollas" [collaborators], and setting up codes of honor and behavior for professional groups, for instance, scientists and journalists. Result: economic pressure from above, moral pressure from below.

The nation is divided, and bridging the gap fails, partly because neither side is capable of it or wants it. Where bridging the gap is still attempted, it does not progress because neither side believes that the other is really ready for the compromise whose necessity most of them realize in theory. But even if the moderates of both sides could come to an agreement--they could not implement it because the hawks in both camps would not permit it.

The church, also, which for a long time had ventured far into the political field as an honest broker, has recently been holding back. Mediation becomes meaningless where an accord seems impossible. Furthermore: the church also is part of the nation, and is caught up in, and weakened by, the polarization of opinions.

Should she mediate or come down on the side of the people? Should she forego her influence and impact in order to survive this time, also, as guardian of Polish civilization, and to have even greater authority later on? Or is the church, as the only independent and impartial body in the nation, obligated to risk her very standing, therefore herself, in order to avoid a national catastrophe?

Ethics of loyalty and responsibility--that is the question not only for the Polish church, but the West also must face it. Nobody conversant with the situation believes that Poland can pull itself out of the quagmire by its own bootstraps. Whatever is begun in Warsaw gets caught up in circles. Relaxing martial law--increased opposition--increased repression. Economic movement only after political advance, but little happens politically as long as the economy is at rock bottom.

If there is any force at all which could break through this [vicious] circle, it is the Western industrial states. More than half of Polish industry needs, directly or indirectly, supplies or spare parts from the West. An economic reform is meaningless, says one church representative, as long as industry is not even working for lack of materials.

Whatever one would like to support politically in Poland--economic recovery is perhaps not the key, but the prerequisite. Whoever thinks differently is carrying out a policy of catastrophe. If the West does not help, Poland remains in the hands of Soviet aid; it is not adequate by far, but it has its political effect, as long as it is the only one. Is that in the West's interest?

The Americans think that Poland is Moscow's problem, since the Soviet system is the cause of the Polish disaster. But this cannot be a European or German viewpoint. Poland is an European country which fell under this system because of Germany's fault--it ought to become evident now whether the decade-long speeches about German responsibility were more than just rhetoric.

But it will not become evident. Even last year, when Solidarity was still in full bloom, we did nothing for economic reasons; since 13 December the condition of martial law allows us to continue doing nothing without having scruples. Poland may drag along for a long time between depressions and repressions, or it may get very dark there, very quickly. That Western aid will save Poland is not at all sure; but that the catastrophe will come without this aid, is almost certain. We should be aware even today that we stood by, doing nothing.

9917
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WARSAW PROVINCE PARTY MEETINGS NOTED

Plenary Meeting on Housing

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Apr 82 p 8

[Article by staff writer Irena Szaczkus: "Plenary Meeting of the Warsaw Capital City Voivodship Committee PZPR--"Housing Is as Important as Food"]

> [Text] In Warsaw and the Capital City Voivodship some 230,000 cooperative members and paidup candidates compete for cooperative housing; 20,000 apartments are needed to house families from technically endangered [condemned] places. It is necessary to add one more figure to complete the housing situation picture the Warsaw urban complex: the current average waiting time for the "keys" is 15 years. An increase in housing construction is as important today as an assurance of feeding the populace of the capital city [Warsaw].

Yesterday [31 March 82], the plenary session of the Warsaw Committee PZPR deliberated the prospects of making up the deficiencies in housing construction. The deliberations, opened by Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, were characterized by a deep interest and objectivity. Many presentations contained solid recommendations.

Where to Build?

To put it simply: any hopes for solution of the housing problem in Warsaw and the Capital City Voivodship met with disappointment. From year to year fewer units are being constructed, the lowest results were achieved in the past year--barely 11,000 apartments in bloc construction. Prospects for this year are not much brighter; it is anticipated that only about 2,000 more keys will be handed over.

Any acceleration of the housing construction rate depends on solution of several immediate and important problems.

Up to 30 percent of new houses today are being put on land that has not been prepared for construction [paving, sewer, water, power and service lines, etc.]. It was under such conditions that the construction of the Hibner housing area

has commenced in Wolonin. The same applies to the Young People's Housing Settlement in Nowy Dwor and the Kopernik housing area in Grodzisk Mazowiecki. This phenomenon is not so rare even in Warsaw. Lack of prepared land and the difficulties with land acquisition are also slowing down construction of single-family housing.

Jerzy Kubiszewski, director of the [Warsaw] Capital City Urban Development Board, has shown that there is a need to increase the completion potential of the engineering enterprises based on creation of a voivodship fund for development of technical infrastructure and as assurance of domestic production of technical equipment for the engineering enterprises.

The important thing is to accelerate the implementation of the already started communal investments which furnish heat to the city (this year's deficit is already 900 glal [billion calories--gigacalories] and also water and sewer services.

How to Build?

This question came back in many presentations. However, possibilities are only theoretical. This is confirmed by simple comparison of three figures: Production capabilities of housing factories are some 1.2 million square meters [m^2] per year, assembly capabilities are 900,000 m^2, while the engineering side can assure only availability of 650,000 m^2 of prepared land. Thus, construction will progress slowly and the results will not be the best possible. The large plate [technology] has failed. The confreres presented many examples of technical difficulties resulting from the application of this, supposedly, modern and effective technology (freezing through the walls, leaking). However, a return to the traditional building methods is not so simple. There is a lack of construction materials, small construction machinery and even the simplest of tools such as trowels, axes and paint brushes. Industry which satisfies the construction industry's needs must adjust its production. It is also necessary to create, or reactivate small production workshops of construction materials.

In the meantime, the construction industry is not only short of standard and hollow bricks, but also other raw materials: reinforcing steel, flooring inserts, insulating materials, thermal insulation, latex paints or even kitchen sinks and nails.

"I deduce therefore," said Janusz Kessler, director of the Plumbing Equipment Combine, "that it will be necessary to budget the needs of the capital city's housing construction for the current and the following years, and to effect an increase in material production through the appropriate ministries."

Other confreres indicated the need to reinforce the cadres of construction enterprises. Albin Siwak, member of the Central Committee Political Bureau, spoke about the improper pay policy of the construction industry. It does not encourage any greater productivity or better quality of work. Many people remain in this profession only until they receive housing [TN: construction workers have a 5 percent guaranteed share of housing they work on]. Comrade Siwak remarked that it would behoove us, within the framework of the educational system, to assign to construction work the multithousand army of people who shirk work. It should also be arranged to have assistance rendered to those inhabitants of the Warsaw complex who wish to build their own houses.

Let Us Not Forget Repairs

During yesterday's deliberations on housing construction efforts, another problem was addressed simultaneously: that of saving old housing resources, they are also part of the city's management area, however they are the property of private citizens. While it is true that certain decisions and resolutions have been made in the past on this subject, nothing has ever come out of it.

Reconstruction needs of the Capital City Voivodship, expressed in zlotys, amount to 20 billion zlotys. The problem lies not only in the funding. For many years there has been nobody to perform these repairs because, in 1974, all construction-repair enterprises were directed to new construction sites. The reconstruction and renovation of old housing demand--as stressed during the deliberations--the development of small- and intermediate-size enterprises created expressly for that purpose.

A concern was voiced in many of the presentations regarding the housing needs of the materially most disadvantaged families, and the newlyweds who often live somewhere "in a corner" and often under extremely difficult conditions.

At the conclusion of the plenary session, which was attended by Marian Wozniak, candidate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee, and by Zbigniew Madej, deputy premier of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Planning Commission, a resolution was adopted which assigns precisely the tasks for party organizations and echelons in connection with the implementation of investment problems in the Warsaw urban complex. As we read in the resolution: "Food and housing are the very foundation of human existence." It is, therefore, imperative not to allow any worsening of the housing situation at this time. It is necessary to greatly increase the number of housing units being delivered for occupancy and to reduce markedly the waiting time on the housing waiting list.

Also included in the resolution were, among others, a requirement for the administrative authorities to present, within the next few months, a method for solving the differences between new housing construction and the management of old housing reconditioning activities. On the other hand, party members (who are council members) will present to the next session of the Capital City Voivodship National Council a concept for creation, at the office of the mayor, of a consultative-advisory body of the Social Council for Housing Construction Affairs.

Executive Board Meeting

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Apr 82 p 8

[Article: "Meeting of the Executive Board of the Warsaw Committee PZPR]

[Text] The Executive Board of the Warsaw PZPR Committee at its 1 April 1982 session discussed assumptions for this year's celebration of the 1 May holiday and evaluated the state of preparedness for these ceremonies. The central observances of the holiday will take place, as before, in Warsaw. Their culmination will be a parade of the working people of the capital city and the voivodship.

The Executive Board of the Warsaw Committee, acting in accordance with the PZPR statutes and the resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee, declared that, in conjunction with the current party tasks, the premises which had earlier permitted activities by clubs and seminars have now expired. This pertains to the Karl Marx Discussion Club, the Party and Worker Issues Marxist-Leninist Seminar and the Warszawa 80 [Warsaw 80] Creative Intelligentsia Party Club.

The Warsaw Committee Executive Board expressed its thanks to those party and nonparty activists from clubs and seminars who undertook an activity to defend the party line, in particular in places of employment. The board also recommended that favorable conditions be created to exploit further this activity in party work.

A work plan for the Warsaw Committee Executive Board was also adopted at this session.

Voivodship Party Position on Housing

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Apr 82 p 5

[Position statement of the Warsaw Committee PZPR issued in Warsaw on 31 March 1982: "Development of Housing Construction"]

> [Text] As previously reported, the Warsaw Committee PZPR, at its 31 March 1982 plenary session discussed the housing problem of the capital city [Warsaw]. Given below is the text of the adopted "Position of the Warsaw Committee PZPR in the Matter of Development of Housing Construction and Social Infrastructure in the Warsaw Urban Complex."

A home--besides food--is the fundamental basis of life for every man. The high housing deficit in Poland makes it impossible to properly formulate the family life of the citizens and in particular that of the younger generation. It is also the cause of occurrences of sharp social conflicts.

The minimum housing requirements for 1981-1985 are estimated, by the Institute for Shaping of the Environment [IKS], to be 2.2 million housing units. In the cooperative system alone some 1.7 million (members and candidates) are waiting with a fully paidup housing premium.

The needs of the Warsaw urban complex are estimated to run 20,000-25,000 apartments annually. Currently the average waiting period for an apartment is 10-15 years, this figure threatens to become even larger with the growing divergence between the existing needs and the number of apartments handed over for occupancy. This particularly affects newlyweds. That period may grow to 20 years. The Warsaw PZPR Committee has assumed a position that the objective imperative of the moment is to prevent--at all cost--any further worsening of the situation in this very difficult and pregnant matter.

Comparison of needs on the national scale, and in the Warsaw complex, with the current plans, potential for achievement and the actual conditions for implementation of these plans, leads to a conclusion that construction of housing is a social problem which cannot be solved by the builders alone. Despite economic difficulties, the extent of needed tasks which have to be performed by each particular branch of the national economy--for the benefit of housing construction--has to be dealt with in the same manner as was done for the agricultural economy. Only then it will be possible to halt the growth of the disparities between the actual needs and the number of homes handed over for occupancy. This would also create favorable conditions for the development of the housing industry, in all its aspects, in a manner responsive to the society.

As it pertains to housing construction, the resolution of the 18th Warsaw Conference, which stipulates construction of 20,000 apartments annually during 1981-1985, was not achieved last year and will not be reached this year.

In 1981, a total of 14,400 apartments were built. Based on this the estimated number of apartments gained by 1985 would be about 70,000 assuming that construction shall progress without changes in technology or structuring. In order to prevent any further deepening of the crisis it would be necessary to construct, every year, some 9,000-12,000 apartments more than now.

The Warsaw Committee, recognizing the political, social and economic implications of solving the capital city's housing situation, regards as absolutely necessary that the waiting time for housing must be shortened. This is to be accomplished by a systematic increase in the number of apartments handed over to occupancy. This is to be done in such a manner that beginning with 1986 this number would be doubled. This would also permit a shortening of the waiting period for housing down to 5-7 years.

Documents presented by the Warsaw Capital City Office in this respect clearly indicate that in the capital urban complex--as a result of shortcomings of the organizational system or mistakes committed by the participants in the investment process--the following inconsistencies are apparent:

--insufficient construction potential and technical infrastructure as compared to a potential for volume construction;

--improper proportions between the size of the assembly and finishing potential of the enterprises and the production potential of housing factories;

--lowered potential in single-family and cast-cement form of construction as well as execution of major renovations in relation to multifamily construction and to the burdening of renovation-repair enterprises with new construction tasks;

--an ever-deepening divergence between the means invested in the industry and their economic effects;

--a divergence, grown out of technological shortcomings, between the number and quality of houses (this includes, for example, the conceptually and organizationally unsolved problem of providing central heat for some 1,000 completed and occupied buildings);

--wrong numerical proportions of workers, both in specific construction specialties and in the relationship between the directly producing and the total numbers of workers;

--disappearance of a sense of personal responsibility for the quality and the amount of work performed by an individual;

--insufficient fulfillment of particular needs of towns located within the Capital City Voivodship and the city limits of Warsaw;

--lowered proportions of associated buildings construction in relation to domicile housing construction.

The Warsaw PZPR Committee wants the respective social level services to submit, for party evaluation, by the end of the first half of 1982, a method for solving these irregularities. It is also necessary to inform the entire populace of the Warsaw complex that activities are being undertaken to insure social control of the situation.

Disagreements, which could be solved locally, are aggravated by nationwide disagreements which demand immediate solution, among them are:

--the proportion of the quantities of various construction materials produced by various branches of the national economy, in particular insulating and thermoinsulating materials, fixtures and finishing materials, wiring and technical housing equipment, etc. in relation to the actual needs resulting from realized housing construction objects;

--giving compulsory priority to capital-intensive, material-intensive and energy-intensive construction technologies at the expense of failing to invest in other types of housing construction which could utilize local raw materials and other construction materials;

--insufficient number of spare parts for heavy construction equipment and means of transportation;

--lack of land for housing construction and a conflict with the rules governing the administration of agricultural lands, particularly within city limits; also needed is a stabilization of land acquisition costs;

--the principles of self-financing of enterprises and the costs of housing construction;

--an unhealthy atmosphere as regards the construction worker's profession as compared to the cadre needs of the construction industry, fanned by the news media and worsened by an inadequate compensation system in relation to the harshness of work.

The Warsaw PZPR Committee acknowledges that in view of the extent of the housing problem all party echelons and organizations, state administration organs, offices and institutions and all the participants in the investment process should define and undertake their respective tasks toward the realization of the objective of satisfying the housing needs of the capital city complex.

I. Mission of Party Echelons and Organizations for Achievement of Correct Housing Conditions in the Warsaw Capital City Voivodship

The Warsaw PZPR Committee commits hereby all party echelons and organizations to treat the housing problem with all seriousness, perceiving in it--besides the economic and social aspects--an equally important and specific political aspect.

In connection with the above, the most important task of the Basic Party Organizations [POP] in economic units, scientific institutions and stations, and in particular in those units which are responsible for the achievement of an improvement in housing conditions, the plenum recommends:

--fostering among workers a sense of responsibility for the improvement of housing conditions in the Warsaw urban complex;

--fostering of an innovative posture among the workers and the management cadre in formulating methods of planning, projecting, investment process organization, execution and utilization of housing resources;

--establishment of periodic analyses and evaluations of sociopolitical phenomena resulting from the methods and speed of improvements achieved in housing conditions;

--inspiration of the management cadre, social and youth organizations, scientific-technical associations toward finding of the modern, socially responsive and latest technological methods in solving the housing problems;

--supervision of implementation of their own resolutions and guidelines in the echelons connected with housing problems as well as the undertaking of cadre-related recommendations with respect to workers, enterprises and institutions.

Additionally, party echelons and organizations should:

--inspire and periodically evaluate the activities of persons and institutions responsible for the implementation of improvements in housing conditions;

--examine and exploit conclusions drawn from social and political phenomena in rural and urban housing settlements;

--foster a favorable climate for initiative and enterprise among the self-governing housing bodies and representative organs.

The Warsaw Committee hereby obligates party echelons and organizations, whose activity is connected with housing construction, to produce an implementation timetable of the tasks assigned by the resolutions of the Eighth Plenum of the Executive Board Warsaw PZPR Committee.

II. Mission of the State Administration Bureaus and Institutions, Housing Construction Enterprises and the Remaining Participants in the Investment Process

The Warsaw Committee PZPR considers that in order to achieve an improvement in the housing situation it will be necessary to:

1. Establish, by the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, the extent of those tasks which have to be achieved by the particular branches of national economy in order to have a full assortment of qualitative and quantitative needs of the housing industry.

2. Have the Ministry of Construction and Building Materials Industry urgently prepare a comprehensive program for a gradual transition from the large-plate technology to other technologies which are competitive from the technical and economic points of view, as well as for an enrichment of the construction materials market.

3. Execution by the Ministry of Construction and Building Materials Industry of a reclassification of housing factories from enterprise investment to central investment category.

4. Establishment, by the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, of a team of experts for the purpose of preparation of a detailed cost-formulation analysis per 1 m^2 of usable floor space in housing construction, using various technologies; to examine influences which play a part in the cost of 1 m^2 of usable floor space in housing construction by taxation of construction enterprises, repayments of credits, amortization of debt and the cost of corrections of technical shortcomings. The team should also propose a set of factual criteria for evaluation of the activities of construction enterprises.

5. Preparation by city authorities of a comprehensive 10-year plan for the development of housing construction, to include a social infrastructure and the management of the existing housing resources in Warsaw and the Capital City Voivodship. This plan should be the result of a perspective socioeconomic development program of the Warsaw urban complex. The plan should include specific undertakings aimed at a solution of the housing problem in the capital city complex.

6. In order to initiate a process of positive changes within the sphere of fulfilling the needs of housing, it is absolutely necessary that, among others, the following problems be addressed immediately by the city authorities:

A. Housing Requirements

It is necessary to verify current estimates and to establish the actual extent of needs for housing.

B. Management of Land

It is necessary to establish the actual capacity of prepared lands and to designate new land which can be used for housing construction without any harm to the social infrastructure, within the bounds of correct special development of urban complexes and the urban architectural form.

Possibilities of joining service locations for several housing units in one place should be exploited.

Newly gained land has to be made available to cooperative investors, newly created housing construction cooperatives, factory housing cooperatives and in particular to those cooperatives which have at their disposal new and energetic solutions in the field of construction materials. A separate source of land reserves lies in the verification of urban standards. The NAW [?Chief Architect of Warsaw] should prepare an "Urban Standard" for Warsaw, this would intensify land utilization and prevent the wasting of lands earmarked for reinforcement of housing settlements.

Also indispensable is the introduction of a land-management system which would preclude speculation with building lots.

C. Technical Infrastructure and Land Preparation

A review of the current technical infrastructure resources is necessary. This should include a listing of actual needs and the proven production potential of the enterprises active in this field.

Also needed is a thorough analysis and search for new systematic solutions to the technical infrastructure problem.

D. Implementation

Introduction of improvements in previously applied technologies. Implementation of new, energy-conserving construction materials and techno-organizational solutions in multifamily and reduced-height housing construction, including single-family, cooperative and factory housing. Development of potential in the existing housing-construction organizations, as well as development of new, small, cooperative organizations and small construction and housing-renovating enterprises. Undertaking of activities aimed toward the fulfillment of the needs of socialized construction enterprises' cadres, to include cadre personnel transfers, introduction of a system of inducements and rewards, however, this is also to include the retention of the system whereby 5 percent of the constructed housing be allocated for occupancy by construction workers. Also, extensive development of schooling for the deficit-producing construction professions and a change in the social climate respective to construction workers.

E. Utilization and Retention of Existing Resources

It is necessary to undertake comprehensive activities aimed at an acceleration of the rate of modernization of urban housing resources in order to prevent any further loss of value of these housing objects and to undertake repairs and renovation of old, privately owned buildings.

Among the fundamental tasks in this context, one must include: Assignment of an increased potential to urban construction enterprises so that total overhaul and modernizing renovations can be accomplished inclusive of replacement of internal furnishings. Development of their own renovating potential by enterprises of housing economy and by housing cooperatives. For this purpose, it is indispensable to recognize total overhaul as an activity on a par with new construction. A purposeful stimulation of small- and intermediate-size construction-repair enterprises, mainly of an artisan character, should be encouraged. In the nearest future, it will be necessary to make up the considerable backlog in the area of repairs of deficiencies in newly constructed housing (technical and construction faults) which is being currently utilized by urban gminas [administrative parish] and a group of cooperatives.

F. New Organizational Forms

A need exists to raise the prestige of investors, general architects and executive [housing] inspectors and to assign to them cadre assistants. It is also necessary to recognize the total equality of all who are engaged in housing construction because they are taking part in solving a very important social problem. Every new construction organizational form should receive support and assistance of all the existing cooperatives and their unions.

New organizational forms of socialized housing construction must be developed and supported (housing-construction cooperatives, house-construction associations, factory housing cooperatives), as well as individual construction efforts, if they are able to realize their investments without involvement of large enterprises, principally by employment of an economic system which involves a large input of labor by the members themselves. Special preference should be given to those cooperatives which will undertake production of selected materials or house-construction items based on locally available raw materials. Formation and development of small housing-construction enterprises, factory housing cooperatives, etc., demands a change in economic-fiscal and credit policies. It is imperative that the 1 percent interest rate be retained for credits to all housing-construction cooperatives. A citizen have a guarantee of the inviolability of his property.

G. Construction Materials

Independently of solutions on a national scale, which should assure satisfaction of the material-technical needs of the housing-construction industry, one has to consider the possibilities of exploiting the free enterprise of production in housing factories, for the purposes of creating a market for construction materials and manufactured components by utilizing the initiative of their workers. It is also necessary to list all producers of construction materials who, for one reason or another went out of business, and then to undertake appropriate action as soon as possible.

It is also necessary to conduct a detailed inventory of byproducts and waste materials and to update the inventory listings of natural raw materials which occur in the Warsaw region with a view to their utilization in the housing-construction process, to make possible activation of small, even privately owned, shops which will manufacture construction materials and to create favorable conditions for their inclusion in the planned economy.

H. Scientific Research and Planning Base

The City Office [Urzad Miasta] should turn to selected project offices, centers of higher learning and scientific-research centers for assistance in solving the housing problem in the capital city urban complex (technical consultation, new organizational and management forms, new technologies, new materials, etc.).

I. Housing Policy

It will be necessary to reach a plateau of social justice in housing policy by making guarantees of open, socially controlled distribution of apartments and building shares. It is indispensable that concrete actions be undertaken toward actual implementation of the rule that one family is entitled to only one apartment. A simple system of apartment exchanges has to be created and implemented. This system must operate smoothly and be based on economic reasons while, at the same time, addressing fully the needs of individuals. Housing policy should prevent speculation in housing and it should preclude anyone from making an undeserved profit.

All the specified tasks should be included in a detailed plan which would specify, by name, persons responsible for its implementation. This plan should be presented by the City Office to the Executive Board of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, by 30 June 1982.

In order to maintain constant control and coordination of all activities aimed at a radical improvement of the housing situation in Warsaw Capital City Voivodship, the Warsaw PZPR Committee is hereby charging those delegates to the Capital City National Council who are PZPR members to make (and support) a motion, during the next session, for the creation of a Social Council for Housing Construction.

The committee is hereby charging the Executive Board to examine any specific recommendations reported during the deliberations at the plenum and also those recommendations which have been reported by the individual subcommittees of the Warsaw Committee with reference to housing construction, social infrastructure or housing policy.

During the next plenum, the Executive Board will inform the Warsaw PZPR Committee of any activities undertaken in this respect.

[Signed and dated]--Warsaw Committee PZPR--Warsaw, 31 March 1982

Plenary Meeting

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Article on the plenum of the Warsaw Committee PZPR: "Program of the 1 May Celebration in the Capital City"]

[Text] [PAP] During its plenary session on 8 April 1982, the Warsaw PZPR Committee adopted assumptions for the program of this year's 1 May celebration in the capital.

The plenary session was chaired by Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, the program concept was presented by Jerzy Mazurek, Warsaw Committee secretary, on behalf of the Executive Board.

This year's workers class holiday--as was stressed during the plenum--will be celebrated under special conditions. Never before, during the postwar period, did the party of the Polish communists face such a serious task as today: The struggle for a full implementation of the principles of social justice, for leading the country out of a grave social and economic crisis--as was indicated during the deliberations--that was the struggle for the fate of Polish socialism, for the achievement of social acceptance and for the gaining of popular support for the program of socialist Poland. Thus, the principal ideological assumption for the 1 May celebration in Warsaw will be a manifestation of the will to carry this struggle to a victorious end--as was stated by the confreres. The leading slogan will, therefore, be the necessity to continue, by the PZPR, the 100-year-old tradition of the Polish workers movement.

The focal point of the 1 May celebration's observance will be a parade of the capital city and Capital City Voivodship population. The route will run from Grzybowski Square, through Krolewska St, Zwyciestwa [Victory] Square, Teatralny [Theater] Square] to Dzherzhynski Square. The choice of this route is connected with workers' traditions of this holiday and of the grand history of the patriotic struggles of Warsaw and the country.

The parade will start at Grzybowski Square which was the scene of workers manifestations even in the times of Poland's partition [18-19 century] and during the interim between the two world wars. The procession will lay wreaths at Victory Square, by the Grave of the Unknown Soldier (a symbol of the road taken by Poles to their free fatherland). A similar ceremony will take place at Theater Square, by the monument to the Heroes of Warsaw--there, respects will be rendered to the 800,000 Warsaw's inhabitants who lost their lives during World War II.

In the 1 May parade, the inhabitants of Warsaw will be joined by the leaders of the party and the state and by the leaders of allied parties.

On the day before the 1 May holiday, representatives of the people will lay wreaths at the Gate of Losses in the Warsaw Citadel and on the monuments of distinguished revolutionaries. Participating in these celebrations will be veterans of workers movements from the entire country. They are traditionally invited to Warsaw for the workers holiday.

In the evening hours a gala concert will be given in the Congress Hall of the Palace of Culture and Learning.

The Warsaw Committee came forth with the initiative to form a Public Committee for Celebration of 1 May in Warsaw. Party and nonparty representatives of the working class, farmers, veterans and combat veterans of the workers movement, soldiers of the Polish armed forces and representatives of the youth movement have all been invited to participate in this committee.

The plenum of the Warsaw PZPR Committee issued an appeal to PZPR members and candidates to suitably celebrate the workers holiday, to make it become an important political moment which will serve toward social unification and national understanding.

Executive Board Meeting on Culture

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Apr 82 p 2

[Article by A.L.: "A Duty to Show Initiative; Party in Culture Centers"]

[Text] At the 8 April meeting of the Executive Board of Warsaw Committee PZPR, the topic of deliberations was the problem of party work in capital city's culture centers.

An opinion was expressed during the deliberations that the heretofore exerted ideopolitical leadership of the Warsaw cultural organizations and centers by party echelons and organizations has been insufficient and ineffective. Criticism was expressed with regard to the leadership role fulfilled by the party within the elements of cultural administration. This state of affairs is the result of errors and shortcomings in party work and in the cultural policies of the party during the period preceeding the crisis of 1980.

The Warsaw Committee Executive Board formulated an opinion that the road to strengthening the party's position in cultural centers leads, above all, through the program initiative which has to be regained by the party. Out of the session came an opinion that the slogan: "For the unity of the [cultural] center" was, unilaterally understood by the political opposition as meaning: "Unity--yes, party--no." In the centers party members have been and are subjected to various pressures, including outright ostracism. The state of martial law left the party's culture centers in an unusually difficult situation, often forcing acceptance of no-choice situations.

The Warsaw Committee Executive Board came to a conclusion that the basic ideopolitical problem in cultural centers is a false interpretation of the true intentions underlying the fundamental reasons for the introduction of martial law. There is a disorientation in these matters, an inability to reach the nonparty people with the party's reasons, which creates favorable conditions for some clearly antisocialist activities by some of the cultural centers' representatives.

During the deliberations, the Warsaw Committee Executive Board reviewed and accepted for implementation the "Warsaw Theater Program for 1982-1983." In the adopted resolution we read: "The state of martial law has imposed a difficult and complicated political situation on the theatrical millieu. Controversial presentations are welcome on the stages of the drama theater. Many of the presentations try to make reference to the country's current situation, dealing superficially with the subject and frequently in a totally unacceptable manner. Social results of such activities are harmful.

"The theater cannot become a place which fuels a charged social atmosphere," we read further in the resolution, "the theater may not foster political agitation which is meddlesome and detrimental to the socialist state, while on the other hand it should also not become subservient to the establishment and flatter the authorities. It may also not become subordinated to its own needs.

"The social duty of the theater is understood to be the fulfillment of the cultural needs of the public, an obligation to perpetuate the cultural traditions of the nation and creation of new, modern cultural values. This obligation," states the document, "is also equated with a need to present and popularize the contemporary Polish dramatic-literary creations as a valid factor in the socialist society's culture.

"The Warsaw Committee Executive Board also regards as an important aspect of theater activities the activities designed for the benefit of children."

It was also stressed in the resolution that there exists a need to organize public debates and discussions on the subject of the role, character and function of the theater's national repertoire and of the contemporary Polish drama-literary creativity. Also noted was a need to organize a contest for original, new works, translations of foreign art and scenic projects.

A separate paragraph in the resolution was devoted to the Capital City Teatr Narodowy [National Theater]. It stated that its stage should assume the character of an all-Polish institution. This was done as a result of historical considerations and of an interest in the stage which encompasses the entire society. In connection with the foregoing, a far-reaching public discussion should be initiated in order to determine its future role, while at the same time insuring for this theater the best possible conditions for artistic development.

Executive Board Meeting on Education

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Apr 82 p 8

[Article: "From the Work of the Warsaw Committee Executive Board; Situation in Educational Circles; Party Work in Educational Institutions"]

[Text] The Executive Board of the Warsaw PZPR Committee held a meeting on 15 April 82. The first point on the agenda was an evaluation, by the Executive Board, of the sociopolitical situation and party work in educational circles. This was not the first time that this subject came up for deliberations. The situation in educational circles and party activities in those organizations are a subject of constant attention of the party echelons. In the course of discussion, it has been accepted that it is indispensable to direct a unilateral effort of party organizations and educational authorities toward creation of a school which would bring up the children ideologically, formulate a proper citizenship posture among children and youth and restore respect and recognition for work.

A need for a systematic professional and methodological refresher education for teachers has been underlined, in particular for the young teachers. Also a need was noted for a methodological assistance and consultation service. It is needed to cultivate the authoritativeness and a high [social] position of teachers in our society. It is also necessary to utilize all the provisions of the "Teachers Charter" as it pertains to the activities of educational authorities and the party organizations.

The Executive Board has expressed its thanks to the party echelons in city districts and city gminas [urban parishes] for the assistance given to the educational outposts and the the party school organizations. It has also recommended further improvements of Party work in educational circles. The board criticized the status of progress in the construction of new educational centers and the state of repair of the active centers. It was recommended that the Office of the Capital City of Warsaw maintain implementation of investments and repairs of educational centers and that the office periodically inform the Warsaw Committee Executive Board of progress in this area.

Next, the board was informed on the sociopolitical situation and party work in the scientific establishments. These establishments are experiencing serious problems brought about by the conditions of the implementation of the country's economic reform. Today, only those units whose research programs contribute usefully to the national economy have a chance for development. They should receive support and assistance in searching for the best solutions and activity profiles, however, weaknesses should not be sheltered. The verification role here should be provided by the economy itself.

In the course of discussion attention was drawn to many problems encountered by party work in this area. It has been recognized as necessary to show more interest in young scientific workers. An important role in this field belongs to youth organizations; their activities should receive support from party echelons and organizations. In view of the importance of these problematics, the Executive Board decided to return to this question during the third quarter of 1982.

The Warsaw Committee Executive Board also became acquainted with the course of preparations for observance of Labor Day.

The Executive Board on Party Work

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Apr 82 p 4

[Interview by staff writer Andrzej Lawniczak with Ryszard Kucharski, member of the PZPR Central Committee, first secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee in the Warsaw Automobile Factory, date and place not given: "Party Echelons Closer to Party Organizations"]

[Text] During a session, which was held not too long ago, the Warsaw PZPR Committee Executive Board examined information pertaining to party work in three major vehicle factories located in Warsaw. This information--according to a press release--was prepared by special teams led by members of the Executive Board.

We are talking more openly on this subject with a member of the PZPR Central Committee, first secretary of the [Warsaw] Automobile Factory PZPR Factory Committee, Comrade Ryszard Kucharski.

[Question] The Executive Board of the Warsaw party echelon is surely taking daily interest in the problems of your work. How come? Is it possible that the current contacts between you and the upper echelons are too weak?

[Answer] I do not think this is the case. One of the purposes of the visit to our factory by a group of comrades from the Warsaw Committee, was, generally speaking, to get closer to the people from the basic party organizations by the people from the so-called party apparatus. In the largest factories, it meant getting closer to the party's workers centers. This does not mean that until now there were no such contacts. However, one gets a different impression, a different evaluation of party organization which is based on sporadic contacts, and an entirely different one based on almost daily contact, you may talk directly to the people and hear their opinions.

This was how the work of the Executive Board team looked to us when they were visiting with us for about 2 weeks. First, the visitors became acquainted with the work of the Factory Committee's Executive Board, next they went to see the Basic Party Organization [POP] people in the foundry, tool room, welding shop, etc. They took part in the meetings, talked with people. They got to know us "from the skin out."

The talks were not limited to party matters. They were also interested at our initiatives aimed at an improvement of the crew's social conditions and factory production problems which are very difficult at the present time.

[Question] And the effect of this work?

[Answer] A report, several pages long, on the activity of the factory organization. Similar evaluative reports were performed on the URSUS Tractor Plant and the WARSAW Iron and Steel Works. At the meeting of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, to which we, the first secretaries of the factory committees were invited, the conclusions of the three teams were consolidated. They provide, in my opinion, a foundation for formulation of an activity program for the entire Warsaw party organization.

[Question] Which of these conclusions do you consider to be most important?

[Answer] I would choose two of them. Anyway this is nothing new for us. We have observed these phenomena for some time now: weak effort by the POP and insufficient knowledge of Marxist-Leninist fundamentals among party members, an overly insignificant degree of economic and political education. This becomes apparent during the meetings and in talks with the people.

[Question] What do you intend to do about it?

[Answer] We are establishing a closer contact with the Warsaw Ideological Training Center [OKI]. Party education cannot be limited to purely economical matters only, although at the present time there exists the greatest need for it. We must come out with the ideological theme more aggressively, in a more intelligent manner; we must reach to the sources of Marxism-Leninism, show its fundamentals. We cannot limit ourselves to interpretations which are "binding on a given level."

[Question] What do you, as first secretary of the Factory Committee, gain from the visit of the Warsaw Committee team?

[Answer] We have been living under constant tension during the last several weeks and months. We lack, at this moment, a summation or a realization of what we have accomplished in recent times. However, it surely is worthwhile to reflect in what we were successful, where we did go forward and where we did stumble...

[Question] All right then, in what were we successful?

[Answer] I believe, and the Warsaw Committee's team concurs, that the social commissions which we have created at the factory on our own initiative, are working well. However, the shortcoming lies in that the effects of this work are not being sufficiently followed by the work crews. Why is it so? Today, the life of the people is hard. The pressure of everyday difficulties are so overwhelming that they deform the point of perception--the objectivity of judgment. For example, one does not perceive the magnitude of the effort made by our factory directorate and the party organization to maintain production here--simply so that people would still have work.

Of course, we did not do it to get praises and applause. This is not the case. We only wish that this large dose of criticism which is saturating the society would not disturb the objectivity of a concerned judgment: People's expectations are one thing, however, these--and no other--are the possibilities.

Executive Board on Health Care

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 May 82 p 8

[Article: "From the Works of the Warsaw Committee's Executive Board; In the Interest of the Health of Mother and Child"]

[Text] The Executive Board of the Warsaw PZPR Committee deliberated on 13 May 1982. On the agenda were the problems of capital city's health services in the areas of mother and child care.

The discussion was based on a detailed analysis of this field prepared by the Social and Self-Government Department of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee. Used in the presentation were materials supplied by the Mother and Child Institute, the Pediatric Institute of the Academy of Medicine, Child Health Center, Capital City Center for Mother and Child and also several doctors-practitioners.

The results of a general evaluation of the status of mother and child and the associated fields of medical practice were not favorable. Despite the tremendous gains experienced during the initial postwar decades, one could observe now, for the several past years, a definite decline in the health centers of our voivodship which provide care for mother and child. This evaluation pertains especially to the medical support base, a lack of doctor-specialist cadre and a shortage of equipment at the health service centers which care for mother and child. In the past, the Warsaw Committee presented their respective findings to the city authorities and to the Ministry of Health and Social Care and also to the Institute of Mother and Child. They were never fully implemented.

The current analysis, confirmed by the Executive Board in the course of a discussion based on the presented documents, was undertaken in the course of implementation of a resolution of the Warsaw Election-Programming Conference. The Executive Board recognized as indispensible the achievement of immediate improvement in this field which is so important to proper biological growth of the future generations.

In connection with the above, it is of utmost importance now to accelerate the rate of repairs of the mother and child health care centers. Extended repair activities preclude normal use of a greater portion of the hospital beds and cause excessive overcrowding in other working installations. A particular example of neglect is the state of repair of the hospital located on Karowa St. Of equal importance is the restoration of order in the educational and employment system for pediatricians and the removal of the, sometimes glaring, inadequacies of equipment in the pediatric centers. Also needed is to furnish necessary assistance for the city's health services from the health services subordinated to other ministries and of those subordinated to the Polish Academy of Sciences.

9511
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SZCZECIN 3-4 MAY YOUTH DEMONSTRATIONS DISCUSSED

Commentary on Disturbances

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 5 May 82 pp 1,3

[Article by Macz]

[Text] On the morning and early afternoon of Tuesday, 4 May, there was talk about yet another "demonstration" at Orzel Bialy Square in Szczecin. However, since peace and order are of utmost importance to us, we thought it was only a rumor circulated by irresponsible people.

We were wrong. In the afternoon, participants in yesterday's riots, dispersed by the militia, began to gather at Orzel Bialy Square. To be sure, there were fewer of them, but once again they placed young people and children in the front line. Once again, the area around the Szczecin cathedral became the place of the clash.

The stones hurled at the militia on Monday had not yet been removed from the streets, when more stones and bricks began to swish in the air. Once again, according to an earlier plan prepared by the underground "headquarters," the cathedral was to become a trap for the militia searching for rioters. Bloodthirsty leaders and instigators of the riots who had not been detained the day before once again pushed people to action. As on Monday, young people took to the streets. According to initial estimates, 95 percent of those involved in the Monday street riots were people under 30 years of age. The statistics are terrifying.

Two hundred and forty-nine people, detained for their especially active participation in the Monday incidents, received a preliminary court hearing. The inspirational and organizational role of the antisocialist and antinationalist opposition has become very clear. When asked about the reasons for their participation in the riots, most of the detainees mechanically recited a memorized formula: It was a mistake and a misunderstanding, I just happened to be there.

For our commentary on the Monday street riots, we chose this title: "The Guilty Ones Cannot Expect Leniency." Yesterday, the deputy voivodship public prosecutor, Stanislaw Baniak, Ph.D., publicly informed the people of Szczecin

that the voivodship as well as Regional Public Prosecutor's Office have begun summary proceedings against individuals involved in the Monday incidents. The first indictments will be ready soon. Under the circumstances, the sanctions will be most stringent. There is no possibility of probation. Sentences for organizing and instigating actions in violation of the law may be up to 15 years in prison.

The Monday incidents had another sad conclusion. According to a statement by the Szczecin health care authorities, 25 rioters needed medical assistance and 3 of them have been hospitalized.

Seventeen militiamen have also been hospitalized, including five in serious condition; 68 militiamen were injured and required medical assistance.

Twenty-seven high school students and 18 college students have been detained for their documented participation in the Monday riots. One of the detainees is under 15 years of age; 27 others have not been gainfully employed in a long time, although they are of age.

On Tuesday, I witnessed a conversation by a group of grade school students. Those youngsters were talking about going to downtown Szczecin because there is something exciting going on there.

It is the responsibility of teachers to join immediately in a widespread action in order to inform the young people about the game they are being involved in, about the danger that lies ahead of them and about the tragedy that their families may face.

This morning the streets of Szczecin were a lamentable sight: leftovers from "barricades," smashed sidewalks, and broken windows. Two hundred and thirty participants in the Tuesday riots have been arrested. We still do not have complete information about the number of people detained for curfew violations. The city commander of the Citizen's Militia, Lt Col (Master's Degree Holder) Marian Kostka says: "It is young people again. At present, 41 youngsters have been detained in our Militia Juvenile Chamber. Today, at 2 pm, the first group will be picked up by parents and school principals and released."

"What time were the incidents over yesterday?"

"At 10 pm. But the unrest at the dormitories of the Szczecin Technical University continued until very late at night."

"To go back to the participation by juveniles. Who are the children detained in the Juvenile Chamber?"

"Students enrolled in Szczecin schools. Some of them had been detained in the chamber before."

"What is your estimate of the damage done to the city?"

"It is considerable. We do not have full estimates yet, but last night, at 11 pm, I had a visit from Mayor Jan Stopya and Deputy Mayor Zdzislaw Pazala, and we all talked about that. We are speechless when we look at the damage done to the landscaping which cost us a lot of effort. It will now cost millions of zlotys to rebuild, restore and renovate."

Parent, Teacher Discussion

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 10 May 82 pp 1,2

[Article by W. Abkowicz]

[Text] We have written a great deal about schools. "What Are Teachers Saying?" "What Are School Superintendents Saying?" "What Are Preceptors Saying?" But let us remember that during recent days the streets were overflowing with children and teenagers after school, when most parents, with the exception of those working in the afternoon, should know the whereabouts of their sons and daughters. It is true that many children will tell their parents one thing and do another. Nevertheless, parents are responsible for their children after they leave school buildings when classes are over.

Meetings to inform and warn parents have been held in most Szczecin schools. In General High School 1, such a meeting took place on Wednesday, 5 May, at 6 pm.

The school is located at Piastowskie Ave, 100 meters from Kosciuszko Square, within the range of the incidents on Monday and Tuesday. The proximity to the scene of the events might have led to student participation in the incidents. But owing to the teachers' realistic appraisal of the situation, the students have not been involved in the riots.

But let us go back to the meeting. At 6 pm, more than 200 parents gather in the school auditorium. As usual, mothers are in the majority. But about 800 people should have been present, since the school has almost 800 students.

Principal Jan Kujawa does not seem relaxed. He opens the meeting by reading three documents: an instruction from the superintendent's office concerning rules which govern the conduct of students and the work of teachers (the instruction sounds very topical now); student-body regulations; and fragments from the martial law decree.

He then suggests that disciplinary problems be discussed by individual preceptors. He especially recommends that parents check whether their children actually attend classes. He reminds the parents that every school is an institution governed by specific principles, including a requirement that time after school be maximally utilized for studying. In this particular case, the underlying motif is a concern about the students' safety. Therefore the principal appeals to the parents, asking them to supervise their children after school just as teachers supervise the children while at school.

The principal concludes by asking if there are any questions. Applauded by the audience, one of the fathers comments: "You have read from the 'documents,' but you have not expressed your own opinion. Do not intimidate children with legalities."

One of the mothers says: "That is true. It is impossible only to punish children and to scream at them."

Dismayed, the principal explains that life in a civilized country is regulated by laws which should be respected. In every school, the law is represented by a list of students' rights and responsibilities. Although it is displayed in a prominent place, not everyone is familiar with it. There is also the reality of martial law. It is necessary to point out all of these laws in a situation when violations of those laws are likely, and the violations may lead to severe consequences for the students. Luckily, not a single student from General High School 1 has been detained.

The principal also explains that the classes were not canceled during the incidents, although tear gas crept into the school building. The teachers agreed that under the circumstances it would be better if the classes went on as scheduled. Only individual students who did not feel well were sent home. The classes have already been running behind schedule because of the December suspension of classes.

The principal has concluded his presentation, and the parents now meet in individual classrooms and the teacher's lounge. I ask one of the women teachers about the students.

She replies: "Not everybody has been honest, not everybody trusts us well enough to tell us what he or she thinks. The attendance was normal. We have relaxed our requirements a little bit, knowing that students in the area of incidents were not able to study. From what we know, the students resisted direct participation. We had to assess the events as they were happening--quickly and correctly."

"So there is a distance between teachers and students. You do not feel close to one another."

"The young people have a negative perception of our whole generation."

Thus, as if the curtain was raised for a brief moment, I caught a glimpse of the essence of the situation, that is, the parents' spontaneous protests against obvious laws and regulations, a lack of respect for the teacher and barriers between the students and the teachers.

It is high time to get seriously to work over those issues. This is the most pressing goal for the educational system during the next months.

The students of the schools in Police [north of Szczecin] did not join the recent youth riots in the streets of Szczecin although, naturally, repercussions of those incidents reached the town.

Teachers from Primary School 3 in Police, Dorota Janik, principal and history teacher, and Magda Szczygielska, Russian teacher, speak about perceptions and attitudes of primary and high school students in the context of the recent incidents:

"We have discussed the recent events with eighth grade students during our social science classes. I have chosen a question and answer format. The students know that they will not earn my respect if they say things only to please me.

"Most students did not approve of the fact that children and young people took part in the incidents. Only adults should have been involved in them, they said. They also agreed with me that the street riots in Szczecin could hardly be called demonstrations, since demonstrations are orderly.

"The students are confused. They hear one thing at home and another at school. At the age of 14 or 15, not every child is capable of reaching one's own conclusion on the basis of conflicting views. Therefore students often rely on false myths maintained by their parents. My students told me that a seventh grade student overheard a group of older boys talking at a bus stop. They were saying: 'We are going to Szczecin today because there will be things going on there. We will throw some stones.'

"Other students said that college students took to the streets because they were threatened to lose their dormitory and they had no place to go. There were also rumors that a mother with a child in a baby carriage, who walked in front of a group of demonstrators, was beaten up by the militia.

"The girls' response was totally different. Unanimously they agreed that a group of hoodlums was responsible for the incidents. They asked what the parents of the stone-throwing boys were doing at the time. They also said that their own parents would have never let them do anything like that.

"We, the teachers, must work full-time for our credibility. During my history lessons I have never avoided difficult questions which are not covered by the textbooks.

"It is very important to gain the students' respect. Let us take, for example, the students' participation in this year's May Day parade. Our students signed up for the parade, yet some of them withdrew under the influence of their parents. Hence we went to Szczecin for the parade only with those students who wanted to go.

"Our Police group was then pelted with coins by youngsters shouting: 'Do you have enough?' And yet supervisors of that unruly group did not intervene. Does this build up respect for teachers?

"Young people tend to do things to spite others. Therefore one cannot create situations which allow for this kind of behavior. Schools cannot be the only place where students learn discipline. Discipline should start at home.

"Parents take almost no interest in their children. Can you imagine that only three parents came to a recent parent-teacher meeting, although their children have quite good grades and no discipline problems? We try to contact parents' employers in order to urge the parents to take more interest in their children. Unfortunately, enterprises are satisfied only with signing lofty agreements about their cooperation with schools.

"It is also unfortunate that parents do not even look into their children's parent-teacher correspondence notebook, although the parents are required to confirm their children's grades with their signature. We are not concerned merely with poor students. Every child must be praised from time to time. If neither of the parents takes interest in their child's progress, then the child's satisfaction from good grades is negligible.

"I would like to quote from a school in Pasewalk in the GDR with which we have established cooperation. German teachers believe that it is important for children to be raised by an entire society. When children act improperly in the street or in a building, everyone reprimands them. Unfortunately, in our country people are completely indifferent to children's behavior. It is a fact.

"It is also important to continue the educational process in high schools. In our school, we even organize disco dancing for upper grade students. We also organize other after-school activities. But there is nothing of the kind in high schools. When our former students come to see us, they tell us how much they enjoyed their primary school, when they had a true studentbody government. Unfortunately, it is true that in high schools too much emphasis is placed on the learning process rather than on discipline."

Reactions of Citizens, Academics

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 10 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] We have witnessed something that forces us to consider and try to assess causes behind the recent incidents. There is no doubt that the young people involved in the disturbance in the streets of Szczecin were deliberately steered and manipulated. But we--parents, teachers, educators, and youth and political activists--should not use this fact to shun our responsibility. Many people of Szczecin agree with us. This is what some of them have told us:

Jozef Osica, deputy director of the Voivodship Volunteer Labor Brigade [OHP]: "For us, OHP counselors, all this is very embarrassing. Fortunately, OHP youth was not involved in the incidents, which means that our educational line is correct and we are capable of supervising our youth. Special recognition goes to directors and counselors in individual enterprises. To prevent such incidents from happening agian, we must use all means to relieve young people from stress.

"In my opinion, we should make the young people aware particularly of the need to maintain order, and we must appeal to their consciousness, which is still rare, especially in schools above the primary school level."

Elzbieta Podracka, retail clerk: "It was chiefly youth. They carried a Solidarity banner, but I wonder whether Solidarity was actually behind all this.

"Everybody wants peace, but one cannot accomplish anything this way. In the street where I live, young people were throwing stones torn out of sidewalks and pavements, and they were devastating flower beds. They seemed to be having fun.

"I believe that everybody wants peace. Everybody would like things to change for the better. But we cannot accomplish anything this way. I think that it is parents who are largely to blame. They should have forbidden their children to leave home."

Aleksandra Kociuba, employee of a LUXPOL store: "Our store is in the very center of the city, on Zamenhof Square, so we witnessed the incidents firsthand. It was quite a shock to us, since each of us has children. We can imagine what would have happened had our children been involved. There are 11 of us in the store, and we are all incensed that riot instigators used children. Blind, confused and bull-headed, the children were manipulated by the instigators. We saw a 20-year old man pass out signs to teenage boys. We saw cars pelted with stones.

"We are speechless in our condemnation of those who instigated young people and children. Those reprehensible incidents should not have happened. It is beyond our comprehension why parents had not supervised their children more closely. After all, everybody knew what was going on. Do the parents of those boys have no influence on them? Are they so overburdened with everyday responsibilities that they cannot look after their children? We ourselves work here until 7:00 pm, but each of us relies on relatives and friends. Even if parents work in the afternoon, somebody should look after their children, especially at a time like that. We hope this will never happen again."

Professor Tadeusz, dr habilitatus, the rector's plenipotentiary for youth affairs at the Pomeranian Medical Academy: "Naturally, I cannot speak for the entire studentbody. I can speak only for that segment of the student community which I am familiar with through my daily contacts. This segment of the studentbody has acted most properly. There is nothing that we should be ashamed of. Our youth represents various views, but they all agree that one should avoid doing things which may hurt the whole society and the country. Everything about those incidents that should be condemned has been condemned by our students, although they are concerned that the student community has unjustly received a lot of bad publicity."

Prof Tomislaw Matyszewski, engineering Ph.D., chairman of the Department of Construction Materials Technology at the Institute of Civil Engineering at the Szczecin Technical University: "Based on my observation, I can say that students had no intention of participating in the recent incidents in our city. The best indication was the fact that they had displayed posters calling for peace and order, warning against provocation, and urging

students to stay with friends and relatives rather than in dormitories. Such posters were everywhere, including our department. I have to point out that class attendance was normal. To be sure, I am glad that order has prevailed, but it is the future that will put those sad incidents in their proper perspective."

Associate Prof Janusz Birkenfeld, engineering Ph.D., chairman of the Department of Shipbuilding Materials Engineering at the Naval Academy: "I find it very difficult to talk about this. I think it is still too early to assess those sad events. But I also think that the academic community should not be blamed for the incidents. I strongly support the academic community. One should realize that there are over 12,000 students at Szczecin institutions of higher learning. It is laudable that an overwhelming majority of those students had a good sense of what was going on and thus displayed great maturity. There was probably a handful of those who yielded to crowd psychosis. But one should look for causes somewhere else, definitely not in the academic community."

9852
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BACKGROUND, TRAINING OF OFFICER CADETS EXPLORED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 18, 2 May 82 pp 6, 7

[Article by Zbigniew Damski: "Is It Easy To Be an Officer Cadet?"]

[Text] Sergeant of officer cadets, Tadeusz Wojcik, a solidly built man with a mustache, does not hesitate for a moment:

"No!"

Well, Wojcik may have special reasons to utter this decisive: "No!" Married for almost 3 years, his wife with an almost 2-year old son are in Bychow, not far from Lublin, 50 kilometers from Poznan. In normal times he went home once a month for 48 hours. Now, since martial law...

"But that's not all..."

Well--what is it then?

"Generally speaking, an officer school has its own special characteristics," Wojcik is thinking out loud, "and it's very different from civilian colleges. In any event, anybody that comes here looking for an easy life will be disappointed. And there are many such people."

I ask directly: and what about him? Is he disappointed or has he "found himself?" He should know by now, after all in a few months--a promotion.

"I found myself," he says, "because that's what I wanted all along. I didn't come here blindly. I simply chose this kind of school and the political faculty because it interested me."

He had time to define his interests. The year of his birth--1957, technical high school(!) where he was active in a youth organization as head of the school's self-government, then he "attacked," without success, the law faculty at Lublin's UMCS [Maria Sklodowska Curie University] and after that he was drafted into basic service in the navy. While running on a sandy dune in Ustka, he decided: an officer school. In June of 1978, he took the entrance examination for the USMW [Higher Naval School]--and a new defeat.

"I wanted to major in politics but that year the entrance examination in mathematics was initiated. Had I know earlier, I would have prepared better, so... Two days later I found myself in Poznan: different uniform but profession and specialty the same..."

Profession? Wojcik had a profession: technician-mechanic. Not bad. In the Truck Factory where he worked before he was drafted his final salary was 6,200 zlotys a month.

"But the work was not easy," he remembers, "I worked in a smithy at an automobile forge with a forging pressure of 2,500 tons. I was handed items, each red hot and weighing 8 to 12 kilograms. I had to throw over 20 tons..."

"But I bet," sergeant of officer cadets Krzysztof Barylak, dark, not too tall, laughs, "that during your shift you didn't drink as much water as I did during mine!"

He explains how much water had to be drunk by a smelter working at a fluidized bed oven at a copper mill: it's hard to believe just how much! But this is the kind of specialty one learns when one attends metallurgical high school in Katowice and receives the diploma of technician of nonferrous metals. Barylak started out for Katowice from his native Szklary, not far from Zabkowice Slaskie. But before he found his way to the Glogow II Copper Mill, he had tried to make it in the Mining and Metallurgy School in Cracow.

"Two months," he says, "but you cannot study in a civilian school without the help of your family. Financial help, that is. But not everyone can afford it. I had to go to work..."

The notorious 5,000 zlotys a month pay. The idea to go to the school of officer cadets was born earlier, but Krzysztof Barylak made it happen in 1978. He was admitted to Wroclaw "engineering school" without having to take the entrance examination: that is the kind of grades he had on his records from the technical high school.

"There was a mixup with the papers, however," he remembers, "and, to my great surprise, I was offered studies here to the "armored school."

Today Barylak is as old as Wojcik: 25. When both of them were making their final lifetime decisions concerning enrollment in the officer cadets school they were mature men, with considerable life experience.

"In comparison with those who come straight from high schools we are almost 'grandfathers'," Barylak interjects. "Among those, however, there are the most dropouts. They come while they are still in the dark, everything they know about the school and their future profession comes from the information booklet 'The Army, College Education, Profession.' That's very little, especially because the booklet glosses over many matters--and this causes many clashes with reality."

"They shouldn't advertise, they should inform," platoon officer cadet Grzegorz Gryguc declares emphatically. "Really: why should a young man attempt to be released after 4 months, why make trouble for yourself and the school?"

Gryguc is attending the third year, even though he is only a year younger than Wojcik and Barylak. As a "civilian" he is a waterworks technician with 2 years of work behind him at the District Waterworks Enterprise in his native Gizycko. When he began looking into higher education, his father, a former guerilla from the Bialystok area suggested: "The army. It's assured bread."

"Anyway, for the usual, full time civilian studies there simply wouldn't be enough money..."

He was not "in the dark" when he went to Poznan. He had a friend there who told him exactly what's what. And when he found out in addition that the school has a great volleyball team...

"And really: here we have pretty good conditions for training and games and our school team is great."

One thing strikes me, however: all three have been educated as technicians--but they have chosen the area of politics. And in the "armored school" which of course is in the area of technology and in which the "commander profile" should have been, in theory, more in tune with their civilian education and interests. But all three agree: "We have not chosen this area accidentally. We came here after we made the decision that our future should be exclusively in the area of politics."

Why? It is stylish to do scientific "motivational studies" but sometimes it is better to replace them with a simple question: What did they know about the job of political officer? Didn't they think perhaps, that this job would be "cleaner, more of a desk job than activities at the exercise fields?

"Maybe I even thought that at one time," Barylak confesses, "but not today. It's not at all an easy job. It requires, perhaps, a special disposition, but also extensive knowledge. I was convinced of that even during my first year of studies: we have much more material to learn than commanding officers and much less free time."

"When I enrolled here I knew it would be hard," sergeant of officer cadets Piotr Goscinski adds. "But I didn't expect this much work and such a variety of subjects..."

Goscinski has special status, even though he is the youngest here (born 1960); he has joined the accelerated program. After the first year the average grades of students were gathered, those with the highest scores were chosen, this was then verified, and those with the highest scores underwent psychological tests and other examinations. And that's how Goscinski started the accelerated course which of course requires more work.

"I came here," Goscinski says, "together with Grzegorz and today I am studying the material of the same year of studies as Tadek [Wojcik] and Krzysztof: the fourth. I completed the whole year."

I voiced my surprise that he still had to observe strict hours of the so-called "independent study period," but it was immediately explained to me that in school the order of the day is sacred. And making all the hours, from reveille to lights out fully productive. This is also one of the causes of frustration for people who came here to study, thinking it would be the way it's done in civilian colleges. Is it easy to get used to this? No. Actually, it's very difficult, but: something for something. This should be remembered, as well as the fact that this is the army.

"One can get used to it, however," Goscinski declares, "even though the 'collision' was quite painful to me, since I came to this school straight from high school."

Why didn't he choose the "artillery school" in Torun, his home town? Well, too close to home. When a man starts out to be independent, this kind of distance is better because it's less tempting.

"I was away from home from my youngest years," Barylak remembers, "technical high school, work: I became independent very early so I was getting used to the rigors with great difficulty. I understand that this is the army, but in school we could use more freedom and independence. After all, these qualities will be required of us in our work--but how are we going to acquire them, when a guy is led by the hand?"

Barylak touched the tender spot: that's just it, independence. They understand military rigors proceeding from the letter of regulations. They understand the necessity of maintaining military order--after all they will soon be requiring it of their subordinates--but they claim that all that could be accomplished easier and faster by allowing people greater independence. Even by requiring it of them! But in the meantime...

"I can't shake the feeling," Wojcik says, "that we are still treated like children."

Overreacting? Perhaps. A man about to have his appendix taken out is absolutely convinced that his illness is the most terrible and requires the most attention and care; for a surgeon this is the simplest, routine operation, and the guy with the appendix--a successive case on the table. An officer cadet, even the student of the fourth year, with the right to live in twos in a dormitory room instead of a general room with a whole bunch of other privileges--is probably to the school cadre the same successive case.

They cite many such examples of being "treated like children." Some of those cases are quite insignificant and others less significant (surely the 2d Lt Leszek Lezanski, youth instructor of the school's political faculty and its graduate 3 years ago, who attentively listened in on our conversations,

remembers them) but the general tone is more or less thus: less punctiliousness, more trust.

"Of course, according to our strength and abilities," the fourth year students declare, "since we are getting ready to 'fly away,' writing our final papers and are about to be promoted..."

The papers pertain to many areas: political science, history, philosophy. Subjects are picked from a list (this is also considered as "leading by the hand"), but it is possible to find satisfaction in writing them and to present the acquired knowledge. 'Principles of Sigismund Freud's Theory of Psychoanalysis,' 'Enactment of the Helsinki Accords in the Light of Successive Meetings in Belgrade and Madrid,' 'Structuring Teaching Material Taking One Subject for Party-political Work As an Example,' 'Reconstruction of Cultural Life in Poznan During the Period from 1945 to 1948'...

But what about tanks?

"We learn about tanks, too," they assure, "all 4 years, because that's how the program in our school is worked out. We shall probably be pretty good specialists in that area when we leave, even though we have fewer classes in this subject than the future commander officers."

Here I found out that the district to which the school belongs, asked its officer cadets and the School Board of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] to do a proposal on the topic: What should be done to improve the school, the teaching process and the program.

"We considered," Wojcik says, "several possibilities: first, one year of the basic military service and then 3 years of school--this would help avoid students leaving the school on their own request, which happens often during the first year. Another possibility was to have the same educational program for both political officers and commanding officers during the first 3 years and specialization during the fourth year. We presented the second proposal with full justification and it was even received favorably."

I am making a mental note: no, children are not usually trusted with such assignments. The same goes for independent assignments in the field operational groups functioning in the voivodship. There were such assignments.

"We probably passed the test," they say, "now the final exam at school is coming very soon. We will pass it too."

And--if I know anything about life--in a few years they will remember the school with affection and perhaps with nostalgia: it was fun!

9959
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SEJM COMMISSION DISCUSSES PROPOSED TEACHER EVALUATIONS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ryszarda Kazimierska: "For the Academic Community. Important Views of the Commission on Science and Technological Progress"]

[Text] ZYCIE WARSZAWY yesterday printed a brief announcement which read as follows: The "Sejm [Parliament] Commission on Science and Technological Progress familiarized itself with the report of the science ministry on the subject of faculty evaluations currently being conducted and adopted an opinion on this matter."

Today, we owe our readers more detailed information on the subject. We will begin from the end, i.e., from the opinion adopted by the Sejm deputies and presented to the minister--Professor Benon Miskiewicz. The opinion reads as follows:

"On 26 May 1982, as a result of numerous interventions and questions raised on the matter of faculty evaluations requested by the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology in a letter dated 14 May 1982, the Commission heard the minister's explanations on the subject. The commission accepted the minister's statement that:

a. addendum to the letter contains only guidelines pertaining to completion of work conducted at the higher schools on the basis of the ministerial decree of November 1979.

b. personnel action taken as a result of faculty evaluations is entirely under the control of the academic authorities.

The Commission appeals to the minister for expedient forwarding of the content of the explanations presented to the commission on the matter of methods, by which such evaluations are being conducted, to the higher schools, and for giving special attention to the uniformity of language used in legal documents being issued so as not to create the impression that such documents are not in accord with the new law on higher schools."

The opinion is a parliamentary opinion. What lies behind it? The anxiety of Sejm deputies. And what causes their anxiety? Well, that is the crux of the matter...

After the Sejm passed the law on higher schools (at a session on 3-4 May of this year), Sejm deputies held meetings in academic communities, asked for opinions and wanted to know how the law passed by them was received by the interested parties (at an emergency session of the commission on 26 May, Sejm delegate Waldemar Michna stated that, among the members of the faculty in Wroclaw, the law was accepted very well; Sejm delegate Hanna Suchocka conveyed a similar opinion from the university center in Poznan). Sejm delegates also held meetings with the students and faculty that were devoted to the need for national understanding in conjunction with the Sejm statement which was adopted on 3 May and appealed to all Poles: "let the general, patriotic movement for national rebirth include the broadest circles of society; let everyone, who is not against the principles proclaimed by us, join us in heart and mind and in thought and action in implementing these principles."

And just then, only a day after 13 May that took on a different form at different schools, the minister's letter dealing with faculty evaluations was received. A specific point in regard to adjuncts caused agitation and unnecessary tensions (the point is that an adjunct who has not obtained his habilitatus degree within 9 years of his academic work and who has no hopes of obtaining a qualifying grade within 2 to 3 years, should be moved to another position or discharged. The ministerial usage of "should" was understood by some rectors as "muse." However, such an imposition of the minister's will would have been contrary to the spirit of the law which was approved by the Sejm and becomes effective on 1 September of this year.

In this situation, Sejm deputies, who are anxious about the repercussions created in the academic centers by the minister's reminder about faculty evaluations, asked Minister Benon Miskiewicz for explanations.

Minister Miskiewicz reminded that on 30 November 1979 all schools were approached with uniform faculty evaluation sheets. Review of the faculty was to be completed by 1 January 1980 but was not completed on this scheduled date. Then the hot summer of 1980 arrived. In the months following August, the matter of faculty evaluations was pushed aside. Nevertheless, some of the schools continued the review of their faculty. For example, in Wroclaw, the evaluations were completed in March of this year. As a result of the review of the faculty, 43 persons will leave the school, including two adjuncts. The Academy of Agriculture in Warsaw has also completed its review of the faculty--several other institutions have done likewise. Others needed to be reminded. The more so, because in April of this year a general review of state personnel was conducted. The minister was thus reminded at the end of April to accelerate the completion of faculty evaluations.

Minister Miskiewicz also explained that the word "should" does not mean "must" but is solely a suggestion for the rector.

We will not report on the Sejm deputies' entire discussion which took place at an ad hoc session of the commission after the plenary session of the Sejm, i.e., in the late evening. Let us only mention that the atmosphere was heated and hectic. We would also like to note the constructive response of Professor Witold Zakrzewski: "if we are to eliminate tensions, we must build brigades of confidence." The deputies from the Commission of Science and Technological Progress, in formulating the aforementioned opinion addressed to Minister Benon Miskiewicz, were guided by this very idea.

9949
CSO: 2600/667

CONTEMPORARY NEOFASCIST MOVEMENTS EXAMINED

Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 26 May 82 and 2 Jun 82

/Article by Mihai Milca in the "Apodictics" section of the column "Political Ideology": "An Ideology Definitively Condemned by History"; Parts I and II/

/26 May 82 p 9/

/Text/ Is fascism now an ended historical phenomenon or, on the contrary, far from having died and been buried along with the past at the end of World War II, is it transmitting its dreadful extensions, the terrible specter of threats and horrors, to our times, constituting an ever possible danger? We must recognize that, no matter how much it may displease us, such a question is unavoidable and painfully and dramatically topical. The term "fascism" was and still is used in a broad way, the adjective "fascist" often being associated with ideological and political manifestations of the most diverse kinds, with political regimes and movements that either claim descent from the experience of Hitlerian National Socialism or Mussolinian Fascism or claim descent from an authoritarian rightwing, conservative tradition, and so on. As Italian researcher Renzo de Felice points out: "To speak of fascism as one of the great historical phenomena of our century is correct, but it must be specified that it does not extend beyond Europe or beyond the period between the two world wars." The phenomenon has typically European roots, was generated by a crisis situation that followed World War I, and has certain historical characteristics. However, it is no less true that, besides all these particular aspects, there is a paradigm, a general typology of fascism, reducible to a certain manner of gaining and exercising power, to a certain form of total domination of society, that is also valid in the case of political movements and regimes that lie beyond the European area and the interwar period.

The recrudescence of neofascist manifestations in a number of capitalist countries in the West draws attention to invariants of the fascist phenomenon, to general conditions, causes and implications depending on which the reactivation of the phenomenon as such necessitates a more careful sociological and historical explanation--the dropping of certain cliches and patterns of thought--that would take into account the evolution of social development and of the political systems in the contemporary world.

From this viewpoint, the thesis of West German researcher Ernst Nolte, according to which fascism died in 1945, the phenomenon thus becoming susceptible to study from a scientific viewpoint, is correct only up to a point. Fascism as a political

phenomenon inherent in a specific stage of development of the capitalist system and of exaggeration of its contradictions goes beyond the limits of a historical interval bounded by the two world wars, both in its nature, in its essence and typical manifestations and in its consequences for the character of our era, for the world in which we live.

There are objective causes and conditions that favor, now as before, the appearance and proliferation of fascist and neofascist manifestations in the West. A society in a crisis or adrift constitutes the most favorable medium for fascism. Even if some manifestations of neofascism seem to indicate in comparison with the traditional variants--Nazi and Mussolinian--some changes of tone and of a tactical order, the strategy and ideology of neofascism do not differ fundamentally, in any way, from those of interwar fascism. The same antidemocratic and antihumanistic penchant, the same virulence against the values of reason and morals, the same intolerance and the same criminal exclusivism of a racist and chauvinistic stamp, the same cult of violence and death, the same predilection for the use of provocation and diversion in current practice, animate both the old and the new fascism. The range of Neo-Nazi and neofascist manifestations is extremely wide: from the attempts at historical "rehabilitation" of Hitlerism and Italian Fascism and the "nostalgic" evocation of them, to the profusion of the terrorist acts against the leftwing forces and of the assaults against the democratic institutions, from the intensification of the manifestations, meetings and demonstrations of the organizations of the former SS-men, to the multiplication of the acts of violence against immigrants or colored workers, from the existence of military dictatorships practicing fascist methods of elimination of political opponents and totalitarian domination, to the interpenetration of the interests of the fascist forces with those of financial and economic circles connected with monopoly capital, from the formation of a "black international" of the neofascist and extreme rightwing movements, to the attempts at a coup d'etat or at destabilizing the constituted political system. Analyzing the methods of infiltration to which the neofascist and extreme rightwing movements resort within the Western democratic political system, Belgian researchers M. Benjamin and J. M. Dethy, in their work "L'Ordre Noir (Les Neo-Nazist et l'Extreme-Droit en Belgique)" (Pierre de Meyere, Editeur Paris, Brussels, 1977), state: "Fascism slips craftily into the ranks of a part of the traditional Right in order to strengthen the conservative action and limit the progressive tendencies. The goal of the extreme Right: to get itself into power by any means, to set up an autocratic, irremovable and plenipotentiary government (for example, Pinochet, Franco, Salazar, the Greek colonels and so on)." The attempt of these movements is based on an empirical mixture of violence and corruption, threat of force, blackmail and shameless demagoguery.

The strategy of the neofascist movements was perfected as far back as in the period immediately following the end of World War II. At a meeting organized in Malmo in 1951, in which representatives of the ultranationalistic and Neo-Nazi movements in several European countries participated, the spokesman of the Italian Social Movement (ISM)--a neofascist organization claiming direct descent from the stock of Mussolinian Fascism--declared: "We cannot take up all the Nazi watchwords. At least for the time being, the racist and anti-Semitic watchwords must be dropped. We must speak only of anticommunism. We must present ourselves merely as anticommunist movements that are fighting to defend Western, Christian culture and so on. This will cause us to be tolerated."

[2 Jun 82 p 9]

[Text] Neofascist propaganda abandoned, at least temporarily, the discredited motifs and slogans, adopting a part of the watchwords of the traditional Right. In fact, the "cold war" constituted the most favorable climate for the "gestation" of the neofascist and Neo-Nazi movements in the period immediately following the war. The anticommunist imprecations come to strengthen a somewhat "renovated" conception in which the conciliation of nationalism with "Atlanticism" and the "new European order" takes place, the latter being counterposed to communism and the socialist countries. "We have turned from the old nationalism to the new patriotism," the leader of the English fascists, Oswald Mosley, declared at one time. In the neofascist ideology, the theme of Pan-Europeanism or of a "unionistic" formula under the aegis of a strong nation acquires predominance along with the readjustment and reconditioning of the old racist ideas. For example, in the pages of a book written at the beginning of the '60's, Mosley militates against the "wide crossbreeding" between the different human races, vehemently demands the defending of the "purity" of the white race, speaking out against mixed marriages, against colored citizens and against immigrants coming from Asia and Africa. In the best fascist tradition, the neofascists of Mosley's type replace the problem of social conflict and contradictions with the national problem and racial conflict. The slogan of a Europe unified under the standard of the anticommunist struggle and opposed to the "dissolvent" influences of national and racial mixtures becomes a leitmotif that no longer leaves any room for doubt about the character of the neofascist movements and the goals pursued by them. In the best spirit of their predecessors in the interwar period, the neofascists turn to rabid criticism of the bourgeois-democratic state and its parliamentary institutions. Declaring themselves unconditional adherents of a formula of authoritarian, dictatorial government, of discretionary methods, the neofascists undermine in every way the normal functioning of the state, trying to discredit the democratic institutions, to artificially create moments of political tension, to activate the reactionary forces and the circles interested in replacing democracy with dictatorship. The Italian neofascists in particular have asserted themselves in recent years as an active factor in destabilizing the political life of the peninsula through the terrorist attacks to which they have devoted themselves: assaults on prominent people, the wrecking of buildings and headquarters of the leftwing parties, kidnappings and assassinations, bank robberies, the placing of bombs in public places, not even having any scruples about trying to organize a coup d'etat in the eventuality of the entry of the communists into the government. The neofascist conception of the state has not abandoned the totalitarian view of the state's preeminence over the individual and society. However, the statolatry typical of Mussolinian Fascism gives way to a more subtle variant of "organic democracy," in fact a disguised dictatorship of the most reactionary political forces in capitalist society. Neofascism relies openly on everything that can trigger and strengthen a state of vague uncertainty, of psychosis. Public opinion is poisoned with the most fanciful, aberrant and frightening rumors and predictions. The neofascists incessantly raise the idea of the communist plot, of the conspiracy against European civilization, intensifying the fear of change of the lower bourgeoisie and the categories of population terrified of the advance of the revolutionary forces. The verified methods of Goebbelsian and Mussolinian fascist propaganda, the circulation of lies, insistently and obsessively repeated, of simplistic pseudodilemmas raised to the rank of existential alternatives, the exaggeration and distortion of the images of real events, the technique of ideological corruption and diversion--all have become the preferred instruments of neofascist propaganda. Neofascist propaganda has brought to perfection not only

camouflage, infiltration and bluff but also the techniques of action, in "daylight," at the level of public opinion, of the traditional parties and the interest groups. The undermining of the bourgeois political system takes place both on the scale of the public consciousness and on the scale of the practices specific to the parliamentary system, all of whose weaknesses are exploited.

At the present time, the neofascist ideology and, in fact, the propaganda of the neofascist movements are showing a more and more marked orientation toward those theories and doctrines that can furnish new, more refined arguments and theses capable of accrediting a "scientific" character, brought up-to-date, to the classic fascist doctrinal foundations by means of latter-day ideological borrowings. In this regard we point to the medley of ideological preconceptions and motifs characteristic of traditional fascism and the modern "acquisitions" of sciences like psychology, biology and others that have found their echo in the conception of the "New Right."

The neofascist ideology and propaganda, despite their composite character and the big racket that they make, profiting from any occasion, despite their limitless intentions of being an influential presence in Western political life, despite the desperate attempts of their leaders and militants, remain a marginal element that represents only a tiny minority of the body politic. Certainly, neofascism can no longer cause, as it would like, an upsetting of the equilibrium and institutions of Western democracy. However, the extreme rightwing, neofascist movements poison the political climate, the field of international relations, and the danger of repeating the terrible experience of Nazi and Fascist totalitarianism, although not imminent, is not totally negligible. In relation to the danger that neofascism represents, the vigilance of the democratic, peace-loving circles must always be sharp.

12105
CSO: 2700/299

ROMANIAN FASCISM CONTRASTED WITH ITALIAM, GERMAN

Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 26 May 82 and 2 Jun 82

[Article by Radu Ioanid in the "Philosopheme" section of the column "Political Ideology": "The General and the Particular in the Analysis of Fascism"; Parts I and II]

[26 May 82 p 9]

[Text] Many theoreticians, including Lucretiu Patrascanu and Miron Constantinescu in Romania, have recommended in their studies that in approaching the problems of fascism one should start from the analysis of the internal factors that generated, influenced and determined the development of the phenomenon.

Among the attempts to analyze, interpret and explain the nature, essence and manifestations of Romanian fascism, however, one notes some that seem either to deny completely the influence of the internal factors or to simplify it. One of the explanations considers Romanian fascism exclusively an imported phenomenon, a fifth column in the service of foreign powers (Germany or Italy), with the fascist ideologists in Romania representing in practice the ideological mouthpiece of the fascism in the respective countries. The other explanation, it too a reductionistic one, probably starts from the definition of fascism given by Dimitrov (who regarded fascism as being "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialistic elements of financial capital"--G. D., "Opere Alese" [Selected Works], Bucharest, 1959, p 416). The definition is correct insofar as it grasps the essence of the exercise of power in a fascist system of government. However, it can be considered incomplete insofar as it does not mention the relative autonomy of the political sphere from the economic sphere, the mediate character of exercise of power within the same fascist system of government.

We feel that there are two key points that, once ignored or evaded, definitely ensure the obtaining of a distorted interpretation of fascism. One of the points refers to the study of the mass basis and social composition of the fascist movement, and the other to the place and role of the lower bourgeoisie in the evolution of the fascist phenomenon, to the lower bourgeoisie's attitude toward fascism and the lower bourgeoisie's manner of relating to it over the course of time.

In December 1937, the "Everything for the Country" Party (one of the titles of the legionary movement) obtained 478,378 votes, representing 15.50 percent of the votes cast in the last "elections" in interwar Romania, and the National Christian Party (Goga and Cuza) obtained 281,167 votes, representing 9.15 percent of all the votes

cast. One fourth of the active electorate of Romania voted for fascism (Emilia and Gavrila Sonea, "Viata Economica si Politica a Romaniei, 1933-1938" /The Economic and Political Life of Romania, 1933-1938/, Bucharest, 1978, p 270).

From what social categories were these nearly half a million voters recruited?

Lucretiu Patrascanu demonstrated statistically the predominance of the lower-bourgeois element within the legionary movement, showing that its theoretical attitude toward capitalism reflected precisely the position of the lower bourgeoisie. "The lower bourgeoisie is not able to build or, theoretically, to support another form of economic organization. At most, it turns its eyes toward the past, toward the medieval guilds. And when it is a question of capitalism, it would like to master it, to exploit it in order to participate substantially in the gains of the upper bourgeoisie in the name of the 'ethnos' or purely and simply in the capacity of a parasite on it. Which truly influences the legionary 'demands' regarding capitalism" (L. P., "Problemele de Baza ale Romaniei" /The Basic Problems of Romania/, Bucharest, 1945, pp 254 et seqq.). Moreover, anyone who tries to achieve a representative statistical analysis of the personnel of the legion will find that a big majority of them belonged to the lower bourgeoisie.

From the extremely vast literature devoted to fascism, which reflects many schools and tendencies of interpretation of the phenomenon, there follow as invariants a number of general traits of it, which, of course, acquire different weights and accents depending on the concrete historical situations in each country taken into account in the period between the two world wars. We are referring to anticommunism, mysticism, chauvinistic and xenophobic nationalism, racism, the cult of the state, of personal elites, of hierarchical authority, to social diversion, which guided the practice of the fascist movements. The analysis of these traits in their individuality and interpenetration can define any type of fascism both in its specificity and in its similarities to other related movements within or outside the country in question.

Anticommunism. Fascism appeared and developed mainly as an anticommunist movement, and the most diverse fascist movements exhibited unanimity in taking this position. While for situational reasons some traits of fascism became fainter at one time or another, the fight against Marxism, socialism and communism was a constant of the fascist conception. Nor was Romanian fascism an exception in this regard, as is illustrated by the positions taken by fascist doctrinaires such as A. C. Cuza, Octavian Goga, C. Z. Codreanu, Mihail Polihroniade, Traian Braileanu, Al. Cantacuzino, Nicolae Rosu, Vasile Marin and so on. In this regard, Traian Braileanu wrote that the legionary struggle "...is directed against communism and only communism" (T. B., "Sociologia si Arta Guvernarii Politice" /Sociology and the Art of Political Government/, Cernauti, 1937, pp 143 et seqq.). Manifesting themselves as anticommunists, the Romanian fascists unequivocally had in mind, in particular, the policy of the RCP and the mass of its sympathizers.

Mysticism. Mysticism constitutes another unmistakable, invariant trait of fascism. We ought to observe that, depending on the various social, historic and cultural situations and contexts, the mysticism of the fascist movements took forms closer to or farther from the prevailing religions and the church. While the Nazi movement, in open conflict with the Catholic Church and the Lutheran Church, manifested a pagan mysticism, with many elements borrowed from German mythology, Romanian fascism and especially the legionary movement had a marked Orthodox hue. It is not a question

here of the adoption of Christian-Orthodox religious norms by a political movement but of what Lucretiu Patrascanu called "the incorporation and subordination of Orthodoxism to the political goals that the legionary movement pursued..." (L. P., op. cit., p 243). This original trait of the legionary movement was illustrated by many legionary leaders, doctrinaires or journalists, such as C. Z. Codreanu, Ion Mota, Nae Ionescu, Traian Braileanu, P. P. Panaitescu, Constantin Noica, Dan Botta and Radu Gyr. However, the Orthodox religion was "amended" by legionarism, which tried to introduce its own "saints" into its body: C. Z. Codreanu, Mota, Marin and Horia Sima. Thus, Constantin Noica felt that the soul of the Romanian nationality was expressed by the legionary movement: "One who does not believe that the nationalities have a soul does not see, does not feel this extraordinary beginning that the legionary movement constitutes" (C. N., "The Soul of the City," BUNA VESTIRE, 24 September 1940). For him C. Z. Codreanu represented a reincarnation of Joan of Arc (C. N., "The Joan of Arc Process," BUNA VESTIRE, 26 September 1940), while Horia Sima--a mediocre and colorless person--gained special virtues in his eyes: "Today we are under a certain grace, Horia Sima does not put taxes on wages, he activates the souls" (C. N., "We Are Under a Certain Grace," BUNA VESTIRE, 4 October 1940).

/2 Jun 82 p 9/

/Text/ Primary, aggressive nationalism, sometimes combined with expansionistic tendencies, constitutes another basic trait of fascism, of its ideology, a trait "...interesting in the sense that it favors the mobilization of the ideas, the sentiments of the lower and middle bourgeoisie. It is therefore a cohesive factor in the sense of the fascist movement in general and contributes to the growth of the prestige of fascism within the bourgeoisie" (Palmiro Togliatti, "Scrieri Alese" /Selected Writings/, Bucharest, 1973, p 13). Fascist nationalism has its roots in the most conservative and traditionalistic currents of political action and thought which preceded it but which never attained the degree of aggressiveness and intolerance of fascism. It presupposes chauvinism, inequality between nations and nationalities, not having anything in common with the progressive nationalism of the young people of the bourgeoisie who fought for national emancipation, with the patriotism of the working class and other social categories. In defining their own nationalism, the Romanian fascists relied on notions like "blood," "race," "the instincts of domination and submission." Regressive and, in most cases, archaic, they maintained an outward and demagogic cult of the ancestors of the Romanian people, considering the ethnos out of touch with social reality, denying its historicity, defining their own nationalism as "an emanation that comes from the very substance of natural things and is materialized in concrete acts" (Nicolae Rosu, "Dialectica Nationalismului" /The Dialectics of Nationalism/, Bucharest, 1941, p 342).

Racism "substantiated" either by means of "Latin supremacy" (in Mussolinian Italy) or by means of the Aryan myth (in Nazi Germany) is also a constant of fascism, playing, in its different variants (including the anti-Semitic one), a "theoretical" role of justification of ethnic supremacy and a practical role of economic and social selection. In Romania, fascist racism was materialized in its anti-Semitic variant, with anti-Semitism constituting one of the strongly visible traits of Romanian fascism. The fascist anti-Semitic diversion in Romania was a form of political struggle that tended avowedly to replace the class struggle with the "race struggle." Thus, for the legionnaires the main problem consisted of the Jews who were present, for evidently diversionistic purposes, neither more nor less than "...in their entirety in the economic field, the ruling class in our state" (Traian Braileanu, "Sociologia si Arta Guvernarii Politice," Cernauti, 1937, p 82).

Fascist elitism implies the cult of the state, of the leaders and of personal elites. The authoritarian state was opposed to the "classic" bourgeois state, whose institutions could constitute an obstacle to the ascension of fascism. For the fascist doctrinaires the individual existed only in a relationship of total submission to the fascist state, to the supreme chief, with the latter's ineligibility being supported as follows: "The capacity of chief is not the accumulation of certain merits. You are chief because you are chief" (Mihail Manoilescu, "Partidul Unic" /The Unique Party/, Bucharest, 1937, p 205). Regarding the fascist elites, they were formed within the fascist party, having to combine austerity, faith and submission. "The fascist party is an order and an army. It is an order through its faith and an army through the unlimited rights that it has over man" (Mihai Manoilescu, op. cit., p 50).

The typically fascist social diversion includes a number of elements that tend to demonstrate that fascism represents the national interests and, simultaneously, those of all the social categories. It unites the ideas of national unity over the classes, the denial of the class struggle, corporatism, the inclinations to get the various specific and contradictory demands, and anti-intellectualism. The Romanian fascists manifested different positions toward the various social categories and classes. The false anticapitalism presupposed in fact simultaneous assurances given to the upper and lower bourgeoisie: "The bourgeoisie has a stable position from an economic viewpoint and promising prospects to gain in legionary Romania" (P. P. Panaitescu, "The Hunger and Thirst for Justice," BUNA VESTIRE, 8 August 1937); "the legionary doctrine provides for the raising of a lower bourgeoisie of well-to-do workers, of artisans and merchants in workshops and stores more than for the protection of large-scale industry based on capitalism" (P. P. Panitescu, "Our Cities," CUVINTUL, 14 December 1940). At the same time, Romanian fascism tried to win over to its side both the peasantry and the working class, avoiding concrete promises, however, through references to dignity, honesty, patience, to the "patron's baton" that every agricultural or industrial worker would have had in his bag. In contrast with Germany and Italy, however, the Romanian fascist parties, being formed mainly as political movements of the lower bourgeoisie, did not manage to attract into their ranks in large numbers members of the most economically disadvantaged social categories.

12105
CSO: 2700/299

BRIEFS

ANNOUNCEMENT FROM CHIEF RABBI--The office of His Eminence the Chief Rabbi announces that he does not take care of requests for assistance which various petitioners present to him. These requests should be directed to the communities in which the petitioner resides and, in the case of dissatisfaction with the resolution, they should be directed to the Assistance Section of the Federation of Jewish Communities. [Text] [Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 1 Jun 82 p 4]

BOBU APPOINTMENT--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Constantin Dascalescu is relieved of his position as chairman of the Council on Economic and Social Organization and Comrade Emil Bobu is appointed chairman of the Council on Economic and Social Organization. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 52, 3 Jun 82 p 2]

ORTHODOX CHURCH OFFICIALS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Bishop-Vicar Gavril Norocel is recognized in the position of bishop of the Diocese of Buzau and Archimandrite Vasile Zainea is recognized in the position of bishop-vicar of the Archidiocese of Iasi. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 54, 9 Jun 82 p 2]

SATU MARE APPOINTMENT--Inasmuch as one of the positions of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Satu Mare County has become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the people's councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Adrian Rogojeanu, director general of the General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry in Satu Mare County, is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Satu Mare County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 54, 9 Jun 82 p 3]

REMOVAL OF POPESCU--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Constantin Popescu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of light industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 54, 9 Jun 82 p 3]

PEOPLE'S COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS--Inasmuch as the positions of chairman of the executive committee of the people's councils of Bacau, Maramures, Prahova, Vaslui and Vrancea counties have become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of

Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the people's councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that: Comrade Ioan Bogdan Baluta is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Bacau County; Comrade George Vaida is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Maramures County; Comrade Cornel Burtica is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's county of Prahova County; Comrade Ion Fratila is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Vaslui County; Comrade Maria Ghitulica is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Vrancea County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 50, 24 May 82 p 2]

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that: Comrade Ion Stefanescu is appointed first deputy chairman of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education; Comrade Neculai-Similache Mantz is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and appointed deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry; Comrade Nicolae Burbulescu is appointed deputy minister of the chemical industry; Comrade Maria Bobu is appointed deputy minister of justice; Comrade Dumitru Apostoiu is appointed chairman of the Legislative Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest VULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 50, 24 May 82 p 2]

CSO: 2700/302

LAW ON POLITICAL CRIMES DISCUSSED, QUESTIONED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 82 pp 10-13

[Article by Jelena Lovric based on interviews of Dr Vuko Gozze Gucetic, former federal public prosecutor, and Prof Zvonimir Separovic: "Do We Judge Too Harshly?"]

[Text] The foreign press occasionally represents us--to meet some needs of its own--sensationalistically as a country with the highest number of what are referred to as "prisoners of conscience" in Europe, that is, of political prisoners who have neither used violence, nor preached it. However, Vuko Gozze Gucetic, until recently the federal public prosecutor (who held that post for 8 years, which gives a certain dignity to his judgments), says that last year was a good year from the standpoint of political crimes, since "except for Kosovo the number of prosecutions was relatively small." Though recently our society has been concerned with what we call hostile activity, there supposedly has not been a great deal of criminal prosecution. Does that mean that for certain reasons--which exactly?--we are exaggerating the dangers of political crimes or that we are not prosecuting them to the extent that we should to judge by the political assessments? Certain authorities--Prof Zvonimir Separovic is an example--assert, however, that the argument that our political crime is insignificant is altogether erroneous, since in a worker, self-managed and socialist state one ought not to expect a large number of political criminals. What is the truth about this sensitive topic, which is wrapped in a kind of mystery, and probably for that reason is also subject to arbitrary interpretations? How much political crime is there in Yugoslavia, and what are its characteristcs?

A Fine Line

Last year 594 Yugoslavs were charged with political crimes, which is about half of 1 percent of all the persons charged. This is 77 percent less than in, say, 1972, but compared to 1980 it represents a slight increase of 7 percent, though in Kosovo alone last year the number of people charged with political crimes was tenfold greater than a year before. But on the other hand the number of persons charged was considerably lower in Croatia, where in 1980 275 persons were charged with political crimes, almost the same number as in Kosovo when the well-known counterrevolutionary events broke out in that province.

We were unable to obtain precise figures on the number of political prisoners. But we can refer to the statement of Vuko Gozze Gucetic that there are relatively few persons in prison for political crimes. The foreign press, to be sure, does say that those estimates are not accurate. However, it forgets at the same time that all sorts of things in our system are classified as political crimes, that up until this year nearly 80 percent of the cases had to do with mild forms of criminality for which suspended sentences are pronounced in great numbers--about a third of the sentences were suspended!--and that these are mostly verbal crimes bordering on misdemeanors and punished by sentences of a month or 2 in jail. However, that ratio has changed considerably this year in view of the assessments of the events in Kosovo and then in view of the penalties pronounced.

Aside from that so to speak systematized political crime, there also exists what might be called untried political crime, that is, crimes which did not set the judicial machinery in motion. It might be recorded, but charges were not filed, and there are also the "dark figures," undetected crime. It is difficult and unrewarding to guess its extent, but it is thought by some that Kosovo is evidence that the numbers are not insignificant. Vuko Gucetic noted 2 or 3 years ago that it is "difficult to believe that in a country with 22 million inhabitants only some 30 people operated in an organized way from hostile positions." That is, only that number were called to account for the most serious crimes. A year later it turned out that those guesses and fears were well-founded, and that a much higher number of hostile elements were operating covertly at that time.

Yet the federal prosecutor at that time has also cautioned that "we should not extend the term 'hostile element' to groupings which objectively are not hostile. We need to differentiate consistently the real enemy from those who are reacting in an inappropriate and politically impermissible way. But we should also initiate criminal prosecution against those whose aim is to destroy the system and constitutional order."

It is rather difficult to draw the fine line here between the real enemy and the person whom justice ought not to lay its hand on. The basic criterion, say the prosecutors, is an assault on the constitutional order. However, the number of political offenders there will be and the question of whether that net will be spread wide so as to include all political opponents or only what is truly aimed against the constitution, the government and the people--ultimately depends on the government, that is, on whoever is in power.

"Yugoslavia has a typically revolutionary criminal law pertaining to political crimes," says Prof Zvonimir Separovic. "Aside from the phraseology (before we had 'crimes against the people and state,' but since 1977 they are referred to as 'crimes against the foundations of the social order of socialist self-management and security of the SFRY'), it has not undergone any sort of essential change, no sort of restriction or moderation, but there has even been an expansion of repression against political crimes."

The Guilt of Those Responsible

Prof Separovic explains that we built up that legislation, which is typical of the socialist countries, and that the countries of so-called real socialism, immediately after the war when there was a need to settle accounts not only with the political enemy, but indeed with the class enemy. That sharp edge of revolutionary legislation was manifested at that time in the large number of death penalties for political crimes, and the confiscation of property for the crime of hostile propaganda dates from that period. Although conditions have changed in the meantime, both penalties--the death penalty and confiscation of property--have remained in our Criminal Code to the present day. Only in 1966 did Prof Bogdan Zlataric, a world authority in the field of criminal law, propose at a scholarly meeting that the death penalty be abolished for political crimes. He said that the time has come to think about amending the code, since such frequent prescription of the death penalty for political crimes leaves the impression that we are an insecure society. Yet times unfavorable to such changes were to come. Until the Brioni Plenum the number of political crimes was dropping steadily, but after that large-scale purge, the number rose once again, escalating thereafter in the years of nationalism and liberalism, and increasing once again in recent years after a brief lull.

"It is absurd that in all these years since the war we have not blunted the sharp edge of revolutionary legislation, as though we are truly insecure," Separovic says. "We are fortunately a healthier society, with less aggression, than many others, and in particular less than we might suppose from laws formulated in this way. Why should we not renounce those provisions, which not only stick out like a sore thumb, but are even invoked from time to time?"

According to the figures furnished us by Prof Separovic, there are few countries in the world which envisage the death penalty for such a large number of political crimes, many countries have abolished it, and some of them which have it, do not invoke it for political crimes. However, Vuko Gucetic recently cited the figure that more than two-thirds of the countries in the world have the death penalty. According to the figures of the United Nations dating from 1980 the death penalty has been abolished in 21 states, and partially--where it has not been pronounced in the last 10 years--in 51 countries. Every year in our country, Gucetic says, there are three or four executions carried out. Prof Zvonimir Separovic believes that only the extreme situations of a state of war or political terrorism with victims could justify the existence of the death penalty in our system. He feels that we have had an "extremely rigorous application of political repression." Last year certain distinguished politicians even protested the severity of the penalties pronounced against participants in the hostile demonstrations in Kosovo. In our country, Separovic mentions, the sentence was 15 years of strict imprisonment even for establishing a communist party. "I know that those ties to a particular bloc might be of use to very dangerous forces, but how, then, is one to punish those who establish a Fascist, Ustasha, Ljoticist or Chetnik party? At the same time we have shown extreme tolerance toward those who lost their positions at the Brioni Plenum precisely because of flagrant violation of human rights, and there was even evidence of genocidal actions in Kosovo."

It has recently been asked whether politicians should be subject to criminal prosecution when their mistaken policy has led to serious situations and political failures. Certainly the question is being put concerning Kosovo, but recently there have been also certain other connotations.

"That has not been our practice in the past," Vuko Gucetic says. "We did not undertake criminal prosecution of either Savka Dabcevic-Kucar or Mika Tripalo, and the same applies now to Mahmut Bakalli and Xhavid Nimani. We have always adhered strictly to legality. Responsibility for the political failures in Kosovo is borne not only by the leaders there, but also by certain others in Serbia, in the other republics and in the Federation, who should have spotted the mistaken policy, but they did nothing to prevent that national euphoria in good time.

Number of Persons Charged With Political Crimes

Republics and Provinces	1980	%	1981	%
Bosnia-Hercegovina	76	13.74	50	8.42
Montenegro	2	0.36	21	3.53
Croatia	275	49.73	81	13.64
Macedonia	9	1.63	48	8.08
Slovenia	71	12.84	26	4.38
Serbia proper	65	11.75	53	8.92
SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Vojvodina	29	5.24	15	2.52
SAP Kosovo	26	4.70	300	50.51
Yugoslavia	555		594	

Ethnic Composition of Persons Charged With Political Crimes

Nationality	1981	%	Nationality	1981	%
Albanians	386	64.98	Slovenes	17	2.86
Croats	78	13.13	Montenegrins	11	1.85
Serbs	72	12.12	Macedonians	2	0.34
Moslems	19	3.20	Others	9	1.52

Incidentally, it is difficult to say and still more difficult to prove whether, which and how those leaders consciously and deliberately acted in that way; more likely it was usually a case of oversights, of a lack of vigilance. And until intent is proven, they cannot be called to account for a political crime, since the essential thing for such a crime is its deliberate hostile intent. We have quite a few mistaken judgments and assessments in Yugoslavia, not just in Kosovo. Could we say along the same line that responsibility for Obrovac should be classified as a political crime?

The "Crime of Thinking"

We do not believe in such a possibility, but not because it would not be possible under the law as formulated, but for certain perhaps still more important

reasons. The formulations in the Criminal Code--as far as political crimes are concerned--are in the opinion of certain legal experts so broad and flexible that they even cast doubt on the principle of lawfulness and legality.

"We unfortunately have a 'crime of thinking' in an extremely ineptly formulated provision concerning hostile propaganda, with very loose formulations like those 'malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country' which bears a heavy penalty of up to 10 years in prison and indeed even confiscation of property. That formulation has not been altered since 1945," we were told by Prof Separovic.

There is no doubt that hostile propaganda is dangerous, but it is probably equally dangerous to society when some secretary or local prosecutor can label a particular opinion as malicious and untruthful simply because it differs from the official view. Malicious portrayal could be defined in a very malicious way. Recently at a conference with republic and provincial prosecutors Vuko Gucetic mentioned that in a very short period of time the Federal Executive Council in one case and the SFRY State Presidency on two occasions called upon the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office to undertake legal steps against certain articles in the press. One paper was blamed for having published certain views of the International Monetary Fund in connection with approval of a loan to Yugoslavia.

"I read that article very carefully three times, but I could not find anything in it which had not been published several times already and which was not generally known," Gucetic said at the time, recommending that in such cases the prosecutor carefully examine every admonition from the highest government bodies and party organs, seek out their views rather than the opinion of individual politicians regardless of their high positions, and then make an independent decision.

Social Composition of Persons Charged With Political Crimes Last Year

Position	1981	%
Workers	249	41.92
University and secondary students	146	24.58
Intellectuals	95	15.99
Farmers	45	7.57
Pensioners	18	3.03
Private entrepreneurs	9	1.51
Other occupations	32	5.39

"If someone criticizes things which are wrong in society, he is actually exercising his democratic right in an aspiration for improvement. The author of such an article should not be subject to criminal prosecution, but if he is in error, it is up to the political structures to call his attention to that. We should not proclaim every stupidity that is written a political crime, but at the same time we should not overlook true political criminality," Gucetic said at the time.

Actually the principle of selection does operate. A large number of charges for political crimes are dismissed. Except for Kosovo, where last year there were very few such charges dismissed (only 2.5 percent), the range is from Montenegro, where one charge in three is dismissed, to Slovenia, where that is the fate of every other charge. The reason for this, the prosecutors say, is the substantial number of unfounded criminal charges filed by individuals and certain agreed views which the prosecutors adhere to in assessing what is subject to criminal prosecution and what possibly should be tried as a misdemeanor. However, Prof Separovic observed that we ought to be more cautious even with this milder form when it comes to political offenses, since there is less guarantee of the protection of human rights concerning them, and that "we are amazingly severe": the possibility of 2 months in prison afforded by the law is no small matter when we realize that this can be pronounced in "proceedings which are actually very informal."

Political repression is always in tune with society; it adapts dynamically to conditions and needs. A law like ours, with loose formulations and a wide range of prescribed penalties, is rather well suited to such requirements. However, this is not always and exclusively a good thing. This dynamic behavior may also lead the very concept of legality into a great temptation, since dynamic interpretation of justice and lawfulness may also instill some uncertainty. The Criminal Code must guarantee reaction in proportion to the danger to society, but there must be an element of certainty with respect to the possibility of serious consequences. The law must guarantee that nothing will happen to the citizen except what has been declared in the provisions of the law, so that it is not left to the free discretion of individuals to decide whether cannon shall be used to fire on chickens or will be trained on the true enemies.

[Box, p 13]

Nonuniformity of Criminal Prosecution

District public prosecutors and their deputies from several sizable towns in all the republics and provinces have been meeting for the past several days in Titograd. They have been analyzing political crimes in their districts and examining the role of public prosecutors in proceedings for detection of crimes and their consequences.

An analysis prepared by the District Public Prosecutor's Office in Split suggests the conclusion that the extent of criminal prosecution of political crimes is quite uneven from district to district. There are no essential differences in the quota of serious political crimes, since the criteria in this case are firm, but the differences are great in the less serious verbal political misdemeanors and outbursts. It was emphasized that differing and even more or less liberalistic conceptions are possible precisely in this field on the part of investigatory agencies and individuals as to whether something should be reported or not. Stress was put, for example, on the criterion for deeming an insult as grounds for criminal prosecution; such criteria are very flexible and depend on the outlook and customs of a particular community. Such conceptions are also deeply ingrained in the personnel of investigatory

agencies, and they serve as the basis for devising criteria governing judgment, which may be more narrow than those in other communities.

It was also stated that the unevenness in the extent of prosecution of political crimes is nothing recent. This problem deserves particular attention since it touches upon the basic rights of citizens and directly concerns the suppression of political delinquency. Examples are given indicating great differences in the number of charges for political crimes from one republic to another and between Yugoslavia as a whole and the republics. For instance, in Kosovo in 1980, a year before the counterrevolutionary demonstrations, there was even a 75-percent drop in the number of charges for political crimes.

In any case political crimes constitute a negligible percentage of the country's entire crime rate, and the same applies to misdemeanors of a political nature.

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2038

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2038

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MOROZOV VIEWS START PROSPECTS, CONTROL ISSUE

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Jul 82 p 2

[Interview with Col Vasiliy Morozov: "The USSR Favors an Honest and Just Agreement"]

[Text] In connection with the talks initiated in Geneva between the USSR and the United States on limiting the strategic armaments of both countries (START), NARODNA ARMIYA asked APN commentator Col Vasiliy Morozov, candidate of military sciences, a few questions which he was kind enough to answer.

[Question] Could the Soviet-American talks on limiting and reducing strategic armaments (START), which began on 29 June, end in quick success or could they take years?

[Answer] The resumption of the SALT process and the reaching of practical agreements on this subject are becoming increasingly acute and urgent, for the development of new types of mass destruction weapons by both sides (unless ended on the basis of an agreement) could remove the grounds for a still possible agreement on limiting, reducing and controlling such weapons.

We know that the Soviet Union has always favored the initiation of talks aimed at drafting such agreements quickly, without delays or strings of any sort. The experience acquired from previous talks -- SALT I and SALT II -- proves that with reciprocal desire and political good will the two countries can surmount any difficulties which are bound to face the participants in the talks, when it will become necessary to take into consideration a number of major strategic and geographic factors which appear to have remained outside the pale of previous talks. For example, during the SALT II talks, despite differences in the structure of the components of the strategic offensive armaments of the parties and other objective difficulties, which were artificially created by the American side as the talks progressed, in the final account it became possible to surmount them and to reach a mutual agreement on concluding the SALT II Treaty. The joint communique, which was issued on the occasion of the conclusion of this historically important document, noted that "the new treaty on limiting strategic offensive armaments and its protocol express a mutually acceptable balance of the interests of the two countries, based on the principles of equality and identical security. These documents make a substantial contribution to the cause of preventing a nuclear war and to the intensification of detente, thereby meeting the interests

not only of the Soviet and American peoples but mankind's hopes for peace as well."

The further course of the SALT process was interrupted for a period of 3 years by the fault of the Carter and Reagan administrations. The SALT II Treaty remains unratified to this day, again by their fault, despite the fact that benefit to the United States is unquestionable. At the time this was quite convincingly stated by U. S. Secretaty of Defense H. Braun who emphasized that in his view the treaty strengthens U. S. security, ensures real armament control and offers opportunities for further progress in this direction. Braun described it as a "secret weapon" which could save billions of dollars and admitted that the SALT II Treaty ensures strategic parity between the USSR and the United States without any need for further rearmament.

As to the duration of the talks, which began on 29 June, it is difficult to prophesize, for this depends on the two parties and on the objective factors related to the talks. As it previously has, the Soviet Union expressed the hope that practical agreements can be reached.

Everyone must realize that the prerequisite which will ensure the success of the START process, including the talks initiated in Geneva, is the preservation of the existing parity in Soviet-American strategic armaments and the gradual reduction in their level.

[Question] Is this not precisely the greatest difficulty?

[Answer] Perhaps the most difficult is the nature of the problems to be discussed and the approach of the American leadership: The impression is created that they would like to use the talks as a screen behind which they could speed up the implementation of the comprehensive "American rearmament" program, the purpose of which is to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and to violate the existing strategic armaments parity.

Quite naturally, a position of this kind hardly contributes to the success of the talks. However, let us hope that the U.S. leadership will have sufficient statesmanlike wisdom and political will to change this approach to START and, jointly with the Soviet Union, will make the necessary effort to reach an honest and just agreement which would harm nobody's interests.

To be successful, the talks must be truly aimed at limiting and reducing strategic armaments rather than becoming a screen behind which the armament race could continue and the existing parity be violated. Secondly, both parties must base their talks on the legitimate interest of mutual security, strictly in accordance with the principles of equality and identical security. Finally, everything positive that already exists must be preserved.

In this connection, we must point out that the opponents of SALT II in the United States, who had worked hard to discredit the treaty, are now calling for "putting an end to the shameful past" and restarting START virtually from scratch. One can only regret that such views were being disseminated on the eve of the current talks, which did not begin from scratch, a great deal of useful work having already been done.

[Question] Is the USSR prepared for "on site" control over the observance of agreements reached?

[Answer] Let us point out first of all that disarmament control is a problem of relations between governments. That is why control must be based on principles of international law as codified in the UN Charter, such as sovereign equality and nonintervention in domestic affairs. No control system can be legitimate unless it is based on these principles. A mandatory prerequisite for control is that no harm come to the security of the countries and that the principles of equality and identical security be observed strictly.

What does previous experience in this area indicate? For example, the concept of "control without disarmament" was launched in the United States as early as the 1940s. This means control over existing weapons. During the subsequent decades control problems were always given first priority in U. S. proposals and were considered the main measure. Meanwhile, as a rule, specific disarmament measures were pushed into the background or else were not included at all in the American proposals, as was the case with the "open skies" plan, which Eisenhower proposed in 1955, etc. Such concepts, which were discarded by reality, were recently resurrected by the Reagan administration which called in 1981 for holding "preliminary" talks on problems of control, separately from specific disarmament steps.

Unlike this American concept of control, which is a self-seeking U. S. aim, the USSR has persistently called for using the control principle as a means of securing agreements reached in the field of disarmament. In the Soviet proposals control has always been most closely related to the process of limiting, reducing and eliminating armaments. The Soviet Union believes that regardless of its tremendous significance control, plays a subordinate role compared with the material steps to be taken to restrict armaments.

Control can only be a structural component of disarmament agreements, a tool in the implementation of agreements. The amount of control and its forms must be consistent with the scale of the practical steps taken in the field of disarmament. Should the amount of control, the rights of the controlling authority and the inspection methods exceed the limit of what must be observed in order to execute the respective agreement control may actually turn into legalized espionage.

Such basic principles must be taken into consideration in discussing the forms of control, whether exercised with domestic technical facilities or with "on site" inspection."

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MEAGER EXISTENCE, POLICE STATE ATMOSPHERE DESCRIBED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 29 May 82 BILDER UND ZEITEN Supplement p 3

[Article by Viktor Meier: "The State Is Ever-Present"]

[Text] At a certain place on the Albanian side of Lake Ohrid, near the Yugoslav border, large springs come out of the hills; forming many small rivulets, they traverse the short distance of level ground toward the lake. These springs are subterranean drains of Lake Prespa, which is located somewhat higher, behind the mountains. Some of the farmers built their houses so as to straddle the streams; they take advantage of the clear, clean water and when the fish move upstream to their breeding grounds, the farmers can catch the tasty Korans, a type of trout that occurs only in Lake Ohrid, in the basements of their houses without having to step outside. Beyond the border, on a rocky platform above the lake, there rises the monastery church devoted to St. Naum, which dates from the 10th century. Until 1926, the church and the neighboring villages on the other side belonged to Albania. Thereafter Ahmed Zogu, the subsequent king, ceded this region--along with the church--to Yugoslavia--in appreciation of the support lent by the Yugoslavs in connection with his seizure of power in Albania.

After our visit to the nearby fishery, a farmer from the village of these basement fishermen invites us to his house. In 1926, after the session of the region, he had been compelled to leave two sisters on the other side of the new border. He participated in the communist "National Liberation War" and now begins--in the style of the popular agitator--to speak of the achievements of the Enver Hodzha regime. He points to the dismal life of former times, when his father--under the customary half- or third- time lease system--had to work for the Bey, the land owner. The family had owned no more than 3 hectares and that had not been sufficient for subsistence. In reply to the question how much land he owns now, he grows somewhat quieter and says: None. But he says that as a member of the collectives he need not worry about anything.

Did he ever see again his two sisters on the other side of the border? Now he grows very quiet; the agitation has come to an end and his eyes fill with tears. No, since the war he has not seen his sisters. Thus for all of his life this man has been fighting and working for the "progress" of the present system, but this system has not even enabled him to see again his two sisters who live only a few kilometers off.

It should be noted that it was not the Yugoslavs who kept the border sealed. Again and again, one is confronted in Albania with the two faces of the system: a guaranteed minimum of the necessities of life for everyone, but next to nothing for the individual and his and her needs. Work involving a 48-hour week and work assignments; average wages of 700 lek, at most 900 lek; inexpensive housing which is allocated provided the individual concerned has the requisite residence permit. The prices: 19 lek for a kilogram of good meat; 8 lek for a kilogram of sugar; 5 lek for a kilogram of flour, but 60 to 90 lek for a kilogram of coffee--and coffee is actually available in Albania, in contrast to other communist states. A bicycle costs 700 lek, i.e. a month's wages. One could say that a bicycle is the maximum material enjoyment an Albanian can afford.

Even motorcycles are sold only to state-owned enterprises and institutions, not to private citizens. A few Albanians have obtained motorcycles from foreign countries. Private automobiles are out of the question. Private homes appear to be obtainable only in the countryside; we were told that the taxes are so high that many people try to get rid of the private homes they built for themselves and to move into a state-owned rental apartment.

It is hard to believe that the Albanians should differ so much from other peoples, that they should voluntarily forego any qualitatively higher individual enjoyment. The Albanian diplomats boarding the plane with us in Rome carried a heavy load of transistor radios, electric shavers, record players and the like. In Kosovo (Yugoslavia), Albanian farmers had explained to us their rejection of the system imposed by Tirana by pointing out that under this system the people were totally dependent on the benevolence or malevolence of the state; the "blood ties," i.e. the clans, had been torn and the people had been deprived of their religion as well; thus they no longer had anything that could give them shelter outside the state. And--they said--there was no point in fooling oneself: those Albanians who try to oppose the strictly regimented system or who dare voice "antisocialist" thoughts are faced with the internment camp, to which one may be committed on the basis of a mere administrative decree, or with imprisonment involving forced labor.

It is difficult for the visitor within 2 weeks to fathom all of the characteristic features of a given system. Generally speaking, we noted that the relations, the daily contact between the rulers and those ruled, between those at the top and those below were by no means cordial. To be sure, the life of the Albanians is not entirely without joy: there are coffee houses, cultural institutions and even a limited internal tourism. The monuments of the past, insofar as they have any architectural or other value, are maintained. But in Albania the relationship between the values that were irradicated from the life of the people and those that have newly been created or transmitted is disproportionate.

In reply to the question why in Albania the communist movement prevailed over the other national forces, one receives an answer that runs more or less along the following lines: during World War II, all of the other movements advocated preservation or re-establishment of the old social and political structures and this was unacceptable to the younger generation and to the intellectuals, but also to the many peasants toiling under the feudal system; the Italians had placed all their hopes on the Beys; only occasionally had they made weak attempts to base their regime on broader segments of the population. That this is true can be seen from the diary of Count Ciano, who under Mussolini was Italy's minister of foreign affairs. Further, one is told that the tribal warriors of the North, who were led by Abbas Kupi, had wanted to get back King Zogu; the "National Front" (Balli Kombetar), which had emerged in the Valona

region, adopted an attitude of wait-and-see; it never gave up its feudal airs; in those times, a young Albanian intellectual was bound to be a leftist; since the South was the socially most emancipated region, it provided the communist movement with the most support. Understandably, the Yugoslav support presently is played down by the Albanian communists; but it was a key factor, especially in connection with the subjugation of the North.

In explanation of the fact that the military is in evidence everywhere in Albania, people point to the 2-year military service: the many draftees, who frequently work in the agricultural sector, must be stationed somewhere, after all. But one also sees police everywhere. Both the police and the military wear simple Chinese-style uniforms without any insignia. The Central Committee building on Tirana's boulevard par excellence, which was built by the Italians, is guarded by a combat-ready detachment. At certain hours, the policemen on Tirana's Main Square outnumber not only the motor vehicles, but also the pedestrians. Necessity or psychosis? "Work, Vigilance, Readiness" reads one of the slogans one sees everywhere, and in official speeches, there is constant reference to "external and internal enemies". One of the arguments against the development of foreign tourism is that it would subject the country to "various influences." But on the other hand there are surprising phenomena as well: every night, a relais transmitter in Tirana broadcasts the "telegiornale," the daily news of the Italian television network and--in addition--1 hour of sports on Sundays.

In January, when the National Assembly "elected" Adil Carcani successor to Minister President Mehmed Shehu, who in December had died by "suicide," there was an unusually great number of policemen in Tirana's streets. Everywhere, the visitor is told that for a Communist suicide is a disgrace and thus Shehu would not be discussed anymore. But there are indications that this was a matter involving power struggles between cliques; probably it was also a matter of attitude toward all the new requirements with which Albania now is confronted. Something has now become clear: the process of cautious "opening"--if one may use this term--has not slowed after Shehu's death; rather, it has continued and--to some extent--even intensified.

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NEED FOR WESTERN TECHNOLOGY STRESSED BY FRANKFURT PAPER

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 7 May 82 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Consequences of the Albanian Detours"]

[Text] Tirana, in May--The 5,000 workers of Tirana's "Enver Hoxha" Machine-Shop almost exclusively produce spare parts for the approximately 150 motor vehicle makes that since World War II--in the course of changing alliances--have been imported to Albania. The key vehicle of this "motorization" is a smallish Soviet agrarian tractor (75 hp) which the Soviets started to turn out after 1948 and for which they had obtained an American license in 1920. In 1981, when Albania broke with the Soviets, the Chinese, who in their turn had obtained a license from the Soviets, took over delivery of the tractor. Today the Albanians make spare parts for this vehicle, which they try to keep running as long as possible.

The history of this tractor appears to be characteristic: After having been supplied by the Soviets with a technology that even then was backward, Albania received from the Chinese what the Soviets 10 years ago had sold to the latter. When the Chinese began to set their sights on Japanese machines, the Albanians had already fallen out with them. In the Berat textile plant, the Chinese shuttles noisily scoot back and forth on the machines; the Albanian engineer says tests are being conducted on how the noise could be somewhat reduced. These products give Albania access to the lower reaches of the international textile market: Fabrics for jeans and simple shirts. Likewise, the Shkodra copper and aluminum wire plant uses Chinese drawing frames--probably licensed by the Soviets. It is only for top grades that the plant uses Italian machines.

Viewed from the mountains above Elbasan, the smoke stacks of the Elbasan steel mill, the only metallurgical enterprise in Albania, look impressive--a promise of progress and industrial development, as it were. The Albanian escort, to whom we addressed a few polite remarks along these lines, grew somber: He said that in this respect, too, the Albanians had been duped by the Chinese; the Albanians had intended to base their new metallurgical enterprises on electricity; consequently, they had begun to build power plants, first in the Mati region and subsequently on the Drin River. The Chinese had said, however, that this was not possible, probably because they were not in a position to supply the requisite technology; they had then abandoned the plant half-finished. So now the stacks were blowing smoke in Elbasan and the Albanians were trying to complete the installations as best they could.

It is striking that aside from the power plants and a few metallurgical enterprises, Albania has not started any major industrial projects since the withdrawal of the Chinese in the second half of the 1970's. This is a reflection of Albania's key economic problem; obviously, it is one of the main reasons for the cautious advances toward the West: The necessity to procure modern technology.

Professor Buda, historian and president of the Academy of Sciences, concedes that while Albania in its development has not followed an erroneous course, there have been unnecessary detours. It is for the legacy of these detours that the country now laboriously produces spare parts. Twice the country has been duped, but there will be no third time, says Buda. This is a statement the visitor hears again and again. One is told the country will now take its time; only after cautious and careful scrutiny would it enter into new economic relations, which then would determine the future structure of the economy.

It appears that on principle the country has opted for the West, but the Albanians do not yet sufficiently know the Western products; they are uncertain as to what and where they should buy. During the period when the country placed its hopes on its "own strength," i.e. after the outbreak of the conflict with China, Albania bought CSSR products. Since 1975, Albania has diversified its foreign trade, partly because it hoped to establish an approximate equilibrium between East and West, with the exception of the superpowers. The East has been participating in this game, probably because it hopes later to be able to reestablish points of contact in Albania. For reasons concerning foreign exchange, the East for a long time even predominated in Albania's foreign trade. At present, the proportion seems to be changing in favor of the West. The Eastern Bloc states (excluding Yugoslavia) now constitute a mere 47 percent of Albania's foreign trade (total volume: a little over $800 million); the trade with these states still is based on clearing in ruble terms. Reportedly, trade with the GDR and Poland has been declining. It appears that after Yugoslavia (exchange volume: approximately 130 million) and Italy (between 70 and 80 million), the CSSR remains Albania's third most important trading partner. We asked whether Albania was satisfied with the quality of the CSSR products; no, we were told, not at all, but payment for these products could be effected through the clearing system. What with an annual export volume of $400 million, opportunities are limited. The Albanian constitution rules out acceptance of credits and assistance.

Nevertheless, the country has begun to orient itself in the direction desired; on principle, it has opted for expansion of exports, i.e. of products that are marketable in the West. We were told that petroleum, petroleum products and petroleum-derived materials (plastics) presently constituted approximately 35 percent of Albanian exports. In Ballsh in Central Albania, near the oil fields, Albania has built a modern oil refinery, which is already capable of producing most of the derivate assortment. The annual output is estimated at approximately 1.8 million tons.

Albania holds that its precious metals offer the best prospects in regard to exports. Albania is the world's third largest producer of chromium; even now, chromium ore and chromium concentrate constitute just under 15 percent of its exports. The country's reserves are extensive. Chromium ore and ferronickel ore are exported--also to the Eastern Bloc--via the port of Durres and then via the Yugoslav port of

Rijeka. In Tirana, one hears the complaint that the Federal Republic has almost entirely discontinued the import of Albanian chromium ore and that this move has produced a highly unfavorable trade balance for Albania, what with $8 million worth of Albanian exports and $38 million worth of imports. Albania is trying to accelerate the expansion of the ferrochromium enrichment and refining installations and of the nickel extraction plants abandoned by the Chinese. Copper can be processed up to the wire-drawing stage; as for aluminum, the two last electrolysis stages must be carried out in Hungary.

For the refinement of its metals, Albania needs electricity. And the country has laid solid foundations to attain this objective; for the construction of power plants, it has at its disposal experienced personnel. According to the plans, five large-scale power plants will be built on the Drin River in North Albania; two of these plants--the plant near Fierza and the one near Vau i Dejes--have been completed. Albania supplies Yugoslavia and Greece with over $30 million worth of electric energy per year. Along bare mountain slopes and the first reservoir, we drive up to the Koman construction site, where the construction work on the 100-meter dam is in full swing. Heavy trucks--built in England and Italy--transport the gravel. The chief engineer impresses by his calm; obviously, this work has already become routine for him. Albania's political vicissitudes are reflected in the origin of the turbines for its various power plants: For the first plants in the Mati region, the Soviet Union had procured turbines in Austria; the aggregates for the second oldest plant in South Albania came from the CSSR, and those for the two completed Drin plants, from China. For Koman, Albania has for the first time ordered French turbines.

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CONTACTS WITH THE WEST, DOMESTIC CHANGES DISCUSSED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Jun 82 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "In Albania Something Is Astir"]

[Text] Tirana--For the international press, Albania has become a fashionable item. Since the Albanian leadership has realized that it could be advantageous, if its standpoints and concerns become known abroad, numerous Western journalists have been allowed to visit the country. Coming into Tirana's Dajti Hotel in the evening, one always runs into a colleague who has just arrived or has returned from a trip across the country. To be sure, a Western journalist cannot move about in Albania without an escort; the country is not ready for this and it also lacks the requisite transportation network. Only in exceptional cases does Albania allow people to enter the country in their own automobiles. However, a foreigner is ill advised to drive a car in Albania; the Albanians are not used to traffic and the visitor driving his or her own automobile is bound to encounter critical situations. As a rule, the foreign journalist is escorted and driven across the country in an automobile of the "Committee for Foreign Relations." But the foreign journalists may freely take solitary walks in Tirana or any other city and--if they please--talk to the people. In doing so, however, they will run into the language barrier and then they will soon be made to feel that for whatever reasons the people are not especially interested in talking to a foreigner.

Again and again, the Albanian escorts emphasize that they do not want to develop any foreign exchange tourism. They feel that this would subject Albania to too many "uncontrollable" influences. They also state that foreign tourists occasionally engage in unacceptable activities and even in "religious propaganda." In fact, the Albanians are well advised to forgo foreign exchange tourism. For this would require sensitivity to the wishes of Western visitors and it would necessitate establishment of the requisite infrastructure. Such adaptation cannot be expected of a country that for so long kept and still keeps its citizens in seclusion. Since Albanian citizens must report to the police any--even innocent--contact with foreigners and since both sides are "cautioned" against contacts, a climate favorable to tourists cannot develop. Thus travel to Albania is likely to remain restricted to interested individuals traveling singly or in groups. For such individuals the existing institutions are sufficient; every larger town has a hotel that provides comfortable overnight accommodation.

In regard to changes in the present conditions, the West cannot expect Albania to

perform miracles. Nevertheless, one can safely say that something is astir. This so-called "little opening" has been initiated by the secretary of the Party, Enver Hoxha, who now is over 74 years old. It appears, however, that Hoxha and his followers want to restrict this "opening" as much as possible; aside from the interest in Western technology and the pleas for understanding for Albania's national problems--including Kosovo--there are as yet no real points of contact. However, Albania has never been as isolated as might have been assumed. There has been substantial development--"parallel", as it were, to the outside world--albeit on a more modest level. In the cities on the coast, television antennas are to receive the domestic, Albanian program; the Italian program comes in by itself.

Albania has a writer of international status--Ismail Kadare. Recently, the press published reports according to which Kadare had been criticized at a plenary session of the Writers' Association on account of his international contacts. A few days after this session, we had supper with Kadare in Tirana and we did not feel we were speaking to a remorseful individual. According to our Albanian escorts, the intent of this Writers' Association plenum, at which Ramiz Alia, the functionary in charge of cultural policy, delivered a speech, was to oppose "schematism"; reportedly, it was stated at the plenum that life in Albania was richer, more complex and difficult and less straight than its descriptions in the works of certain authors. Kadare intimated that he felt encouraged rather than restricted by this plenary session.

Some foreign observers in Tirana have advanced the thesis that Minister President Shehu, who last December allegedly committed suicide--a suicide similar to those of Beriya and Malenkov in the Soviet Union--tried--for power- and tactics-related reasons--to outdo the cautious opening initiated by Enver Hoxha and suddenly presented himself as as great pragmatist. These observers are basing their thesis on the fact that approximately at the time of this discussion Hoxha published a long-withheld manuscript on his relations with the Anglosaxons--a manuscript, the last 30 pages of which contained an unusually strong defense of the policy of isolation. Something must have happened around Shehu, but observers in Tirana have noted that there have been no changes in regard to the more pronounced orientation toward the outside world, which orientation had cautiously been initiated last year. The new minister president, Adil Carcani, who like Hoxha comes from an urban family in Gjiroka and who--in addition to other languages--fluently speaks Italian, embodies the type of the enlightened, realistic functionary.

In other countries--not least in Yugoslavia--people occasionally voice the fear that after the stepping-down of Hoxha--who as yet seems to be firmly in control--pro-Soviet elements may again win the upper hand in Albania, above all in the police and in the military. At present, the defense ministry is headed by Kadri Hasbiu, who generally is considered the "third man" of the regime, ranking above Ramiz Alia, the cultural leader; a veteran, Kadri Hasbiu reportedly is a relative of Shehu's. Surprising developments can never be entirely ruled out in Albania; Shehu's "suicide," immediately after the great unity demonstration at the last party congress, was such a surprise. However, visitors presently do not notice any pro-Soviet influences. Among the functionaries, the prevailing attitude is pro-Western; according to the view commonly held, the West no longer poses any threat to Albania and the "enemy" now is in the East.

There is little cause for the West to rush into onesided shows of goodwill toward Albania. This would only serve to give rise to suspicion in Tirana. As for the

Federal Republic, there is no reason why it should abandon the position according to which the establishment of diplomatic relations cannot be made contingent upon conditions. But if there is a Western country that even today could perform mediation services in Albania, it would be Italy. Albania is trying to make its contacts with the West as direct as possible and in this respect, too, to emancipate itself from Yugoslavia, which--at least in the field of technology--has often played the mediator's role. At times one wishes for the Roman ministries to show a little more boldness and imagination. Geographically, Albania occupies a strategically important spot and for this very reason it merits the attention of the West.

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SHORTAGE OF BABY FOOD CRITICIZED

Sofia STURSHEL in Bulgarian 7 May 82 p 1

[Article by Naiden Iliev: "Out of Love for the Child"]

[Text] The well-informed reader certainly remembers that 3 or 4 years ago in the pharmacies and food stores there were acceptable quantities of several varieties of Humana baby food--out of love of children--and banana pudding which children ate with relish--as did old folks too. But now there is no Humana. Or, to be exact, in the pharmacies there is only Humana-0, which is for premature infants and which remains unsold on the shelves. Statistics show that about 7-8 percent of the babies in the country are premature. The main demand is for Humana-1 for children up to 3 months old. But the Main Pharmaceutical Trust has used its entire foreign currency allotment for Humana-0. Import of other types has been halted for 2 years. It was decided we should use local materials and products. Thus the Lovech factory "Dairy Industry" is beginning production of "humanized" milk, "Baby-0," "Baby-1", etc., which are to replace the imports. But the local product will have a long way to go to replace the imports, which can stand on the shelf unspoiled for 2 years and which have a much higher nutritional value and better flavor. Until recently however "Baby" retained its freshness for only 6 months (now up to 8) but by the time it was produced, shipped to warehouses, and from there to the stores, it was no longer safe for consumption. Last year a large amount of it went off to feed calves in farms. There is no way to avoid a similar situation in the future and so we pay through the nose.

And even though the quality of "Baby" food products is still far from acceptable, "Dairy Industry" will not give the so-called production permit for the import of "Humana." The regulation prescribes that if something is produced in our country, it may not be imported. This is all well and good, and expedient, but in that case the following question inevitably arises: why, even though an abundance of brandy, wine, and cigarettes are produced in our country, are they still imported?

With a need for 2 million cans of banana pudding only 500,000 are imported annually. Foreign currency is not alloted. None is available. This may be true, but then with which supplies of foreign currency are the machines purchased that rust for years on end in the backyards of factories?

Nevertheless, one may accept, up to a point, the lack of variety in imported baby food. But there is not way to explain the insufficient variety of ready-to-eat foods produced by the "Brigada" plant in Asenovgrad. The only thing which can be found in Sofia's stores now are three or four kinds of food for children over 5 months old and apple and pumpkin puree for children over 3 months old. But as we know pumpkin is hard on the stomachs of adults, not to mention nursing infants. Is this a question of foreign currency?

Moreover, along these lines of thought we want to touch briefly on vitamins and medicines.

There is no argument over the fact that our country produces many different preparations and vitamins to improve the health of the children. The question is, do they taste and smell good so that children will take them readily? And, how effective are they? Let us take as an example the vitamin compound "Vikompleks", whose effect is almost the same as when it is not taken--not to mention its flavor. Children won't drink it--naturally. But they snap up the imported Multisanistol, whose import is not permitted by the Medidation Committee of the Ministry of Health and which is not listed in the list of imports of the Main Pharmaceutical Trust. It can be found only in the pharmacies of two or three specialized hospitals.

In the lists of the Main Pharmaceutical Trust there are not even soluble vitamin-aspirins, not to mention other things.

We do not want to be misunderstood--we are far from thinking that baby food, enriched preparations and medicines must be imported. Let us produce them in our country--the main thing is that they be of good quality and variety. But let us not be stingy on importing what is better. The issue here is the health of our children--those who are our future and whom we say we love.

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CIVIC INITIATIVE SHOULD ENLIVEN ECONOMIC REFORM

Rome LISTY in Czech No 2, May 82 pp 1-4

[Article signed by Jindrich]

[Text] The continuing decline of our economy, which cannot be checked by half measures, will probably lead to the revival of cooperation among Czechs and Slovaks soon. And when such a situation occurs, there naturally will be demands for this or that, attention will be paid to scandals that will undoubtedly surface and there will be a tendency to make utopian demands that will solve nothing, etc. The more one was afraid in the past, the more he will try to adopt a radical attitude until it will be possible to progress and check our misery. Hence, it makes sense already to think about the complexity of realistic demands that, when the time comes, our society should present to the authorities. It is also necessary to consider the initiative that must be taken without delay in order to give the necessary weight to these demands.

The text that we publish today is so far only an attempt to reconnoiter the situation and the practical program. Immediately after its reading, you could suggest a number of amendments and other comments. Why, for example, look for new prescriptions for enterprise self-management within a framework of a reformed economic system when we have had them since the Cernik government or, to put it more precisely, since 1969? We are referring to a draft law on enterprises, which even then was the subject of thorough discussion. It would be sufficient to dust off this draft law and update it in some respect. Similarly, we have at our disposal readymade and well-thought-out proposals from the 1968-1969 period concerning the revival of private and cooperative enterprises, whose implementation would have an immediate and salutory effect, especially in the neglected sector of repairs and services. The individuals who drafted these proposals live among us. They also gained important experience from the initial practical realization of their ideas. Why call for a reduction in defense expenditures (an issue difficult to control) when our people have talked of a demand for years: shorten the time of military service by at least half. This would in no way diminish our ability to defend the country, and our national economy would immediately benefit, etc.

For these reasons we ask our readers to consider the text that they will read below first as an inspiration, as a preparatory essay in the right direction. We will also welcome the readers' viewpoints. And perhaps we will succeed in this way to continue the artificially disrupted development of the late 1960's.

The energy shortage in the winter of 1979, which caused a partial interruption of production, was the first serious signal that our economy had reached a crisis situation. Much time has passed, warranting changes. However, we have witnessed merely words and pious wishes. The economic situation has been worsening. Much more dangerous is the fact that in this serious situation not a single sign appeared in our social life to improve or reform things. This only shows that we are not dealing exclusively with an economic crisis. The decay and stagnation have affected our economic, political and cultural life and overall public activity. Under such serious circumstances, it is our duty to offer our citizens and government an analysis of the current situation and propose improvements.

Causes of Decay and Stagnation

1. The maintenance of fixed prices is part of our official economic policy. So far, we have experienced two price increases. The regime is forced, against its own will, to raise prices. Such price increases are introduced surreptitiously under the guise of innovations. This tactic is used with the majority of industrial products as well as food, clothing, shoes and commonplace items. In instances where this tactic cannot be used or would be too conspicuous, there are no goods at all. It is difficult to estimate the rise in the cost of living resulting from these surreptitious price increases. There are no official data. However, the guess is that such price increases represent approximaely 10 percent annually. If we compare this with the rise in wages, which is approximately 2 percent, we find a permanent and significant decrease in our standard of living.

The shortage of products, especially those in great demand, is a natural phenomenon. Many products can be purchased only as a result of a long search, standing in long lines and humiliating bribes. To this one must add an almost scandalous shortage of spare parts on the market and the absence of repair services. Consumer goods, priced in thousands of Kcs, are often unusable because of the impossibility of buying a spare part costing a few Kcs. Buying fever, which now affects consumers because of alarming rumors of planned price increases, shows how easily the market can be deprived of available consumer goods. The purchasing power of our population obviously greatly exceeds the supply of better-quality consumer goods.

2. The situation in housing has somewhat improved in comparison with past years, although it continues to be critical in larger towns. The number of applicants for apartments continues to rise and the waiting period for an apartment is ridiculously long. At the same time, the owners of new cooperative apartments, which constitute a majority of completed housing units, pay rents several times higher than those for apartments in the state housing sector. Characteristically plans anticipate a radical decrease in housing construction.

3. The health sector is one area immediately affected by the deteriorating economic situation because it is the first to suffer reduced social expenditures. A lamentable shortage of hospital beds and drugs, backward medical techniques and methods of treatment, the appointment of unqualified but

politically reliable people to positions of responsibility and jobs requiring high technical qualifications, corruption and the absence of fundamental medical ethics in the case of many physicians--all are a daily reality of our health care. The situation will worsen because we lack hard currency to purchase drugs and modern equipment. There will be less money for medical care.

4. The economic difficulties lead to the reckless plunder of our environment. Economic and investment plans are always favored over maintaining an acceptable environment. This is the case even if the consequence may be an ecological catastrophe. This can be illustrated in the cases of the Low Erzgebirge, in the Most and Ostrava areas, in Prague and other places. The living conditions in these places would in other civilized countries immediately lead to the closing of all harmful production units and in some instances even to the evaluation of the entire population. This does not mean that our standards are less demanding. It only means that thousands of exceptions granted by the government to enterprises are responsible for this state of affairs. Also, fines paid for violating regulations are ridiculously small. At the same time they are factored into costs with the result that the fined enterprises are not penalized.

5. Approximately one-half of our production is earmarked for export. The competitiveness of our products on foreign markets is most decisive for economy. Foreign markets appreciate primarily quality products, service and price. For 10 years the quality of our products has fallen behind not only of Western countries but in many instances also the products of those socialist countries. Material and power use in the manufacture of our products is several times higher than in economically advanced countries. Today, for all practical purposes not a single branch of production can export without problems. Often we are forced to sell below cost. During the era of socialism we have always had difficulty in exporting to advanced countries. What is new today, however, is that we are experiencing difficulties even with our exports to CEMA countries. These countries are not interested in our backward products.

The volume of our exports is decreasing. It is estimated that in 1982 it will be less than one-half of the planned amount. We can import only for the amount earned from exports. Reduce next year's imports to one-half of the planned figure would affect our entire economy. There will be no raw materials, spare parts, advanced technical products and equipment. Temporarily we could deal with such a situation by borrowing money. However, our indebtedness to the Western countries is estimated at $6 billion. Nobody in these countries will grant us additional loans; on the contrary, we must pay growing interest charges.

6. The structure of our economy is inadequate. The orientation toward heavy industry, inherited in the 1950's, means that our per capita energy demand in production is the largest in the world. This is taking place when the world is experiencing the most serious energy crisis. As far as structure, our economy is comparable only to that in the Soviet Union and the United States. No other country except these two can afford such emphasis on heavy industry. The superpowers need heavy engineering for their strategic plans regardless of its economic costs and high energy requirements. Why we have this "superpower" structure of the economy is not clear.

7. Our agriculture has evolved and emphasizes an intensive use of chemicals. Pesticides and artificial fertilizers senselessly damage our land. Soil impaired by the constant use of chemicals ceases to be fertile. This year's bad harvest has occurred when other countries celebrate record yields. Reckless spraying with chemicals increases the volume of harmful elements in our food.

8. At the same time, we have a class of inhabitants who have a vested interest in the regime and are not affected by the problems faced by the rest of society. These people have special access to goods imported from the West, special health care, their own villas and homes, unlimited travel (mainly to the West), their own woods, farms, hunting areas and recreation centers. They are quite apart from average life and its problems. The larger the difference between the standard of living of this privileged class and of an "average" citizen, the more members of the privileged class are drawn to the system.

9. The legal order guarantees security only to those who give up the right to free and critical speech. He who starts to speak independently, stops following the parameters of official ideology and propaganda, loses legal protection. He is subject to repression, which otherwise is forbidden by our legal system. Independent cultural creativity and adult education, loaning and transcribing unofficial publications, public criticism of a situation, either justified or unjustified--all are classified in our legal system as incitement, slander or subversion and as such are punishable according to the pertinent articles of the penal law--up to 10 years in prison. In addition, there is an ever-growing number of cases of physical violence and torture, which have become an approved form of police repression.

10. Material shortages, inequality of citizens, unchecked authority of officials, absence of elementary economic mechanisms, no prospects in life for the underprivileged--all these have given rise to widespread corruption, protectionism and a search for profitable jobs. Nihilism and profiteering predominate. Morally pure action is considered comical childishness. The regime itself prefers, and through its propaganda supports, the consumer society. It tries to purge higher values from the subconscious of the people. It presents the pursuit of material things as the only way of life. On the surface, the citizen is forced since childhood to profess belief in official dogmas even if the reality is long different. The citizen prefers to keep his opinion to himself in order not to come into conflict with the regime. Thus, since childhood he learns how to lie and pretend.

11. The economic management system is based on command central planning. The latter is based on the fact that the center--i.e., the State Planning Commission and the ministries--allocates to the enterprises certain resources--i.e., manpower, materials, equipment, buildings and funds. In return it expects results corresponding to the allocated resources. These results are defined as the enterprise plan. This system of allocation leads to a situation where the enterprise is interested only in getting the highest possible allocation and in being assigned the lowest possible target. The center has an opposite idea: to get the best results with the lowest allocations. A natural economic mechanism based on competition among different producers, the state's interference through taxation, credit and price control with the aim to protect the

interest of the economy as a whole, or the demands of consumers are replaced by struggle between the enterprise and the center over targets. In this struggle the consumer is a bystander because he must be satisfied with whatever he can buy. There is no producer other than the state.

At the same time, under such a system technological development stagnates. In the system of allocated economy the enterprise does not care whether it manufactures new and quality products or outdated and inferior products. It is interested in one thing only--the relationship between the allocation and the plan. This relationship is not at all affected by whether the enterprise introduces new machinery, updates its products or turns out good quality. The enterprise will always have its customers because the latter are directed to it by the central organs and must buy the products. From the point of view of the plan, what is always decisive is the volume but not the quality because the latter cannot be defined and evaluated. This system of management has been unmasked and rejected several times in the past, among others by Polish, Soviet and our own economists during the 1960's. For all practical purposes it has been abandoned in Yugoslavia and Hungary.

Civic Initiative

It is easy to see that a common denominator of these shortcomings is the absence of a dialogue between the regime and citizens. The regime has unlimited power at its disposal in all spheres of social life without being responsible to anybody. The regime always defends its interests, even to the detriment of society. This is a consequence of the apathy of rank-and-file citizens who, during the course of the so-called normalization following 1968, in part allowed themselves to be forced from public affairs and in part voluntarily relinquished any role in them. In return they received relatively good material benefits. Thus the citizens fell for an illusion that one can exchange well-being for freedom. However, such a deal cannot last forever. The absence of freedom will not affect the standard of living immediately but will after a while. In our case this has happened. We are now paying for our indifference toward everything not affecting us or our family immediately. With the coming crisis, the cost of this indifference will be bigger and bigger. If we want to stop the growing crisis, we must get out of our private shell and get involved in public affairs. We either start to behave as free and independent people who themselves want to have a say in their lives or we will lose any prospect for a decent life.

Civic initiative is universal and the only effective medicine for the current and future crises. Each of us must approach the public affairs as if they were his own and act accordingly. Civic initiative has an enormous number of methods and forms. We can start to criticize bad conditions at our workplaces and pillory incompetent managers, complain about shortcomings in the supply system, sign petitions concerning the protection of the environment of our homes, ask for higher wages and ultimately perhaps initiate strikes. One thing is certain: the citizen independently and critically reacts to those phenomena of social life and together with all others similarly affected, defends himself against such phenomena. If he succeeds, it is fine. If he does not succeed, it is also fine because he has entered a game in which the other side must recognize him as one of the players.

This leads to social pressure, which becomes a real political force that any government respects. The regime is forced at all levels and in all spheres to talk to rank-and-file citizens, to retreat in those instances where the pressure is too strong and to reach a compromise where the forces are even. The result is real political life, a dialogue between the regime and citizens.

So far, in the period of normalization, we have not witnessed a strong civic initiative. Over 1,000 citizens participate in the only significant movement of this nature, Charter 77. It is not a big number but shows that independent social activity is possible. The more we have such movements, the more people will participate. This will result in the greater effectiveness of the people, who will feel more secure. The regime will then be forced by the strong existing social movement to react responsible to our increasing problems and to solve them together with our citizens. It will have full opportunity to apply its own experience from management and organizational work, use better the possibilities that the centrally planned economy has at its disposal. It will be forced to introduce new forms of management that are being applied with such success in Hungary in order to be able to face problems that the people would not permit to be circumvented. The program of reform that we are submitting is therefore a program for the revival of a dialogue between the regime and the rank-and-file citizens. We are submitting our proposals in good faith, in the belief that they will benefit the people and the government, because we have in mind the catastrophe that looms at the end of the present crisis. The program also defines the institutional forms in which such a dialogue should take place.

The Reform Program

1. Every citizen has a right and duty to express his opinion on public affairs, at any place and time; he also has a right to propose solutions and, provided others agree, to insist on their implementation. No issue should be taboo. The conditions of life in the home, working conditions, wages and the economic and political situation are all realities with which the citizen lives and which he can and should influence.

2. Every collective activity requires an organization for the participants. Only organized people can achieve their goals. The same applies to public life. For this purpose official institutions and organizations can be established. Insofar as this will not be possible or effective, it will be necessary to create new and unofficial organizations. In either case it will always be necessary to observe two principles of social action: solidarity and discipline. Especially those who become spokesmen or natural leaders of such a movement must be protected even more than the demands that they formulate. Without such protection even the strongest movement or action has no chance to succeed. Such is the historical experience of the more than 100-year workers' movement.

3. The regime must release all political prisoners. It must abolish repressive laws that enable it to prosecute unreliable citizens. It must start to observe basic human rights as it promised when it ratified the UN International Covenant on Civil and Human Rights. The covenant's article 10 states: "Every

citizen has a right to express his own opinion without any limitation; every citizen has a right to freely express his opinion; this right includes freedom to search for, receive and disseminate all information and views in the spoken, written and artistic form or in any other way he chooses." Article 22 states: "every citizen has a right to freely join public organizations which includes the right to establish trade unions and join them in order to protect his own interests."

4. Economic reform is necessary. A decentralization of economic power must become a central point of reform. This includes a strengthening of the jurisdiction of enterprises, reintroduction of economic mechanisms and strengthening the role of the market. The enterprise as a basic economic unit must independently decide personnel policy, technical innovations, and varieties and volume of production. It alone must choose its suppliers and customers, establish its own commercial policy and cooperative agreements and determine investment policy within the framework of the enterprise. Hand in glove with decentralization goes the strengthening of the role of workers in the management of enterprises. Independent enterprises will, according to their own decisions and actions--and this is the opposite of today's situation--run their affairs more or less successfully. Obviously, it will primarily be the result of the pressure that the workers will exert on management whether the individual enterprises will do well. What form the workers will choose to exert pressure on management will depend on concrete application. The optimal form seems to be a parallel existence of management and workers' councils. Such a council would represent the interests of the workers in the successful operation of an enterprise. Management would function as professional personnel hired to run the enterprise. The management's activity would be evaluated in the light of economic results.

The state assures the pursuing and securing of all societal interests. In this respect it is a rival of individuals and enterprises whose interests may differ from the interests of the aggregate society. Thus the state's jurisdiction includes capital construction at above-enterprise level, determination of credits and taxes,and operation of social activity of a nonproductive character, namely, health. education, etc.

In addition to these basic changes in the management system, it will be necessary to adopt quickly national economic measures to improve immediately the standard of living. We have in mind reducing defense expenditures, closing unprofitable operations and transferring their workers to other jobs, reducing the number of administrative personnel especially at the top (where the reform of management would substantially reduce the number of central organs and in some cases eliminate them altogether), eliminating the surreptitious price hikes, increasing expenditures for the health sector, reducing salaries of managers, giving up representation funds and prohibiting luxurious official vehicles.

5. The leading role of the communist party in society is guaranteed by the military power of the Soviet Union. For this reason it would be necessary to respect it. However, one cannot respect the methods and results of this leading role. The present crisis shows that the party alone is unable to solve the complex problems of modern society at the end of the 20th century.

Other citizens must help, regardless whether they are invited by the party to do so or not. For the partnership between the party and other citizens in joint management of public affairs, it will be necessary to create the needed institutional forms and to change the legal system. The nonparty citizens must be organized in independent institutions, which will represent their interests in dealings with party and state organs. An independent trade union organization must exist at every workplace. In the communities it may be more suitable to establish an organization of a temporary character to tackle concrete problems. The new organizations would not only recognize the leading role of the communist party but also assert their right to defend in a dialogue with the party the interests of their own members. The electoral system of the National Front must be reformed. Every candidate who receives a certain number of votes must be included on the ballot alongside the candidates of the National Front. Only in this way can we be sure that the will of the majority will prevail.

Our proposals are not a readymade prescription or directive for action. We do not want to win over or arouse anybody. We only want to share our experience and apprehensions with others. At the same time, we appeal to others to do the same. Let each and everyone of us decide from his own place what is necessary to be done and let him do it. There is nothing more in our proposal. When such actions become a general norm, then our proposals will become superfluous.

1277
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INTERVIEW WITH SOLIDARITY OFFICIAL RYSZARD BATORY

Vienna PROFIL in German No 23, 7 Jun 82 pp 39-41

[Interview with Solidarity official Ryszard Batory* by Wilfried Ahrens; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] "The winter is yours, the spring is ours"--the defiant slogan of Solidarity, which has been driven underground, could be read on the walls of hundreds of houses after the 13th of December. Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands have followed Solidarity's appeals for demonstrations, boycotts and strikes. Is this the "Polish spring" promised by the slogan? After all, since then the number of political prisoners has grown by at least another 2,000.

[Answer] Thank you for saying "prisoners" and not "internees." This "...the spring is ours" was meant to and should mean: After the night of suppression in Jaruzelski's war, Poland will return to a brighter time of justified hope for freedom, self-determination and respect for the dignity of the individual. But as long as this goal is not reached...

[Question] ...in other words a return to Solidarity's chances for influence and results as in the time prior to 13 December...

[Answer] ...spring in Poland is not "Polish spring." It can, if one wants to be optimistic, possibly come in the spring of 1983. The regime still considers itself too strong to really be prepared for the much-implored "national understanding." Obviously it still has too little experience with its own impotence in view of the mounting economic problems and a population driven to hatred. I fear that the worst still lies ahead for Poland.

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* Ryszard Batory, born in 1951, is the most prominent official of the Solidarity independent union who was surprised in the West by Jaruzelski's 13 December military putsch. The Germanics instructor at the Lodz Technical University was foreign affairs expert and security chief for the Solidarity National Commission in Lodz, and since 9 December he had been in the FRG, where he was to acquire electronic equipment to find "bugs" of the National Security Service in union offices. He now lives in Frankfurt.

[Question] How will Solidarity force the regime to take part in a dialog?

[Answer] It has already started. The demonstrations in recent weeks have shown the government that the 13th of December has not suddenly erased the strength of this movement of millions and that this strength is growing. Of course that takes time. After the invasion of the Germans in 1939, it was 5 or 6 months before an effective underground was organized in Poland. This time it may take longer, because the occupation forces are from our own family, so to speak. But the organizational structure exists. The central National Commission meets regularly at a secret place. Regional committees have been organized and are operating.

[Question] Effective underground--that sounds like violence. Is Solidarity seeking violent confrontation? After all, there have already been street battles in Warsaw, Krakow and elsewhere with the Motorized Reserve of the Citizens' Militia [ZOMO].

[Answer] Violent confrontation would be a bloody catastrophe. The Polish people would always get the worst of it. The Solidarity leadership knows that, and, for example, Zbigniew Bujak...

[Question] **...one of the key underground....**

[Answer] ...also emphatically warned of that in his latest flier. It is a matter of showing the undiminished vitality of the democratic movement of the Polish people by means of disciplined nonviolent demonstrations of its own strength. In this regard, the demonstrations on 1 and 13 May, as well as the brief strikes, were a successful attempt to demonstrate strength to the oppressors.

[Question] Does that mean that the bloody confrontations on 3 May, Constitution Day, were not Solidarity's responsibility? At that time mostly youthful demonstrators advanced against ZOMO's tough troops with cobblestones.

[Answer] Here it has been shown that some young persons are not subject to Solidarity's discipline. There is a danger that certain circles in the party and security apparatus may use this fact for provocative acts in order to deliver a destructive blow of terror. There are a number of indications that agents provocateurs were involved in the 3 May confrontations. But that is nothing new. In the case of the confrontations during the so-called intellectuals' rebellion in 1968, as it later turned out, provocative agents in the service of the inflexible wing of the party were involved. Also, on several occasions in 1980 and 1981 specific provocations sabotaged negotiations for an understanding between the union leadership and the government. At time authorized strikes were staged, and at other times, as in Bydgoszcz, it came to beatings by ZOMO. And even after 13 December there were such provocative acts. Remember the explosive blast near Warsaw Clinic in February. One can certainly count on more of that in the future.

[Question] Are there not also people in the Solidarity underground leadership who are pushing for a confrontation? Or have the differences in opinion in

this regard from the time prior to 13 December been resolved in the meantime, perhaps in the same way as the dispute about the blame for the inadequate preparation for the military putsch?

[Answer] Any differences of opinion that may have existed on the course after 13 December have been overcome. In this respect, the successful actions of recent weeks were an important political and ideological signal for both the regime and the population. In regard to the discussion of the largely nonexistent preparations for the event of a military putsch--it was quickly ended by the need to survive and to continue working underground.

[Question] How is it possible that the Solidarity leadership was taken by surprise so spectacularly by Jaruzelski's coup d'etat?

[Answer] Until the night of 12 December key people in the leadership simply believed that they would never do such a thing. They believed the other side when it said that it was prepared for a serious dialog, for honorable agreements. And they were overly confident, in accordance with the motto: There are 10 million of us--let them try.

[Question] But there were isolated preparations to go underground. In your case in Lodz for example...

[Answer] We did make a start, but so it was too on the Baltic coast, in Warsaw, Katowice and Wroclaw.

[Question] What did these preparations involve?

[Answer] The organization was structured in action circles, small groups in the individual enterprises that were to take over the work in an emergency. Of course after 13 December it was clear that these preventive measures were undertaken only halfheartedly. And the people at the middle and lower levels were also overly confident, thinking that all of that was quite unnecessary. Fortunately, it did work in a number of enterprises. Thus, strikes could be organized after the military putsch. Resistance was most effective where there were functioning work groups. We also had hidden some printing machines, but unfortunately not enough.

[Question] How many?

[Answer] You know, 300,000 policemen are roaming around Poland trying to find that out. After all, six weekly newspapers appear regularly from the underground, along with the fliers of course.

[Question] For several weeks now there has even been an underground radio broadcasting station.

[Answer] Do not be surprised if there is an underground television broadcasting station very soon. Technically that is quite possible. A broadcasting station like that is no larger than a video apparatus. To be sure, at the moment that is still a question of money.

[Question] What is in the newspapers and pamphlets, aside from specific actions such as appeals for demonstrations?

[Answer] That is information that does not appear in the regime's censured press--for example, names of prisoners, reports on the conditions in camps and prisons, descriptions of police actions in the enterprises and instructions from lawyers on how one should behave when arrested or when under arrest. In short, it is information and propaganda as in war.

[Question] Instructions for sabotage too?

[Answer] One does not have to write something like that. There are enough people who experienced World War II. The enemy is different, that is all. A typical example was an appeal that was repeated many times: In order that those distributing leaflets can move in safety, everyone on the street should carry bags, large bags, along with full coat pockets and full trunks in their cars. If there are 10,000 people to check every day there can be no effective control.

[Question] Has it worked?

[Answer] That works great. In such cases one can count on this people. It is fun too. Many young people with a complex because they had previously participated neither in the union nor in the Independent Student Federation are now involved. Still, they do risk 3 years in prison. According to a decree by the military regime, even juveniles under 17 can be locked up for that long for distributing leaflets.

[Question] What is to happen now? Will it just be more demonstrations or can one count on larger strike actions?

[Answer] We will experience further demonstrations. The next large ones possibly as early as 13 June. But strike actions, regular large-scale walkouts are excluded. If it were to come to strikes now, ZOMO and the army would not have to storm the factories first as they did after 13 December. This time the military has already occupied the workshop halls and mines.

[Question] The official word is that Polish industry has been militarized. What is that like in practice?

[Answer] Like in the Gulag or in a concentration camp: A soldier or policeman armed with a machine gun stands behind every group of workers and makes sure that they do work. As long as he is watching, they work. But should he turn away for just a moment, no one lifts a finger; in the first 6 weeks a total of 13 tractors were built in the Warsaw Ursus Works. Forced labor is not our thing. Jaruzelski militarized all important industrial enterprises and mining. This is the way that he wants to "normalize" the economy. If that is to work, then he needs 12 million soldiers to watch over 12 million workers. Even a communist general must soon see how absurd and impossible that is. The present martial law in Poland's economy is no solution. The climate in a work camp cannot motivate performance.

[Question] Since 5 April the regime has had the opportunity to consider a sort of minimum program for the return to truly normal conditions and thus for economic recovery as well.

[Answer] Yes, the 10 theses worked out by the "Social Council under the Primate of Poland." In this paper, the conditions for a "social agreement" are realistically formulated to the extent that they proceed from the one indispensable precondition: Whatever the government, on the one side, and the representatives of the society, on the other side, settle on in the future, it must also be accepted by the population. This is possible only if the now bitter and disappointed people can be convinced and guaranteed that their hopes from the time following August 1980 will not remain forever thwarted.

[Question] Specifically, the theses demand: Lifting of martial law, release of political prisoners, safe-conduct for people in the political underground, rehiring of all those fired for political reasons, readmission of suspended academic and artistic associations and, as the most important step, the revival of unions, especially Solidarity. That is a full program. Does it have a chance? At any rate, so far the 10 theses have been officially ignored by the party and the government.

[Answer] Does Jaruzelski have an alternative? Either he takes up this dialog with the nation, which he has managed to unite against himself to the last man and which in Solidarity has a representative and disciplined organization, or he allows the representatives of the Stalinist line, the "hard-liners" in the party and the police apparatus, to take ultimate control.

[Question] Which certainly would be conceivable.

[Answer] Yes, but at what cost! The country is already finished economically, and should it go even further downhill under the increased pressure, then possibly hundreds of thousands would starve to death. Even now hunger-related diseases such as dysentery and hepatitis are increasing by leaps and bounds. The result would be revolts, bloody suppression and mass terror. I know that in principle that does not deter communists, and I also know that there are people in Moscow and Warsaw for whom such a solution would be preferable to a return to even modest forms of pluralism. But even the "hard-liners" are realistic enough to know that even after mass terror and deliberate famine, there is still too much remaining of a nation of 36 million. And there is something else that the Stalinists in Poland and Russia must know: Such a period of night may last 10 or even 20 years, but history has shown that in the long run Poland is not a nation that lets itself be caged. In the end we will achieve what we want. The Polish spring will come, even if it is after the Jaruzelskis have been pensioned.

[Question] It may be that Jaruzelski will soon be ready to talk. The question is whether he can. Moscow...

[Answer] In Moscow they will calculate what is better for the USSR: a gigantic concentration camp called Poland or a neighboring country united

in hope and consensus and largely able to recover through its own efforts. It seems to me that more important for Poland's immediate future than what Moscow now wants and plans is the West's Poland policy.

[Question] You, along with Czeslaw Milosz, Nober Prize winner in literature, philosopher Leszek Kolakowski and other Polish intellectuals living in the West, have been especially critical of the FRG's Poland policy. You warn of a "policy that could remind one of the German-Soviet alliance prior to World War II," and you express concern over "the activity of some German politicians who attempt to play down the violence applied on Moscow's orders against the defenseless Polish people." You oppose further credits to the Polish regime, but you also oppose East-West business in general in accordance with the past pattern, especially the natural gas pipeline deal.

[Answer] Does it not in fact appear that those people in the West, especially in the FRG, will prevail, who want to deal with the Jaruzelski regime as though nothing happened? Preparations are being made to follow up the $27 billion wasted on the Gierek regime during the decade of so-called detente with new credits. As we wrote in our appeal, here a myopic view to economic interests masks all historical and moral perspectives. It is a tragedy how key politicians are also prepared to accept this Soviet aggression without any consequences for their own policy. These people do not understand that in the end they are endangering Western Europe's independence.

[Question] When Herbent Wehner, chairman of the SPD parliamentary group in the German Bundestag, traveled to Warsaw as the first high-ranking Bonn politician for talks with the Jaruzelski regime, he referred to the constraints and laws of practical politics.

[Answer] One need not be a Germanist to know that there is a difference between "real" and "honest."

PHOTO CAPTIONS

p 41. Solidarity official Batory: "We will experience further demonstrations."

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PZPR RZESZOW FIRST SECRETARY KARP INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 21 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Franciszek Karp, First Secretary, PZPR Voivodship Committee in Rzeszow by Wlodzimierz Syzdek; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Rzeszow is a dynamic industrial and academic center. In such environment various trends and positions tend to clash with each other. Comrade secretary, how would you in general characterize the current situation among the Rzeszow youth?

[Answer] We have many young people in Rzeszow Voivodship. Today, 25 high schools and 200 technical high schools and vocational schools are attended by 50,000 students. The schools of higher learning, such as Rzeszow Technical University, the Higher Pedagogical School, the [Rzeszow] branch of Maria-Curie Sklodowska University in Lublin, and others are attended by more than 11,000 students. More than 42,000 persons below age 30 are employed in industry and construction. These are very diversified environments. The outloook of young people depends on the political climate at home and in the environments where they live and work. A tremendous role is played here by the example of the older generation. I must say that the youth today grows in totally different conditions than its predecessors of the interwar and first post-war years in People's Poland. It does not have, then, any direct link with difficult and sometimes tragic periods; it exhibtis great sensitivity and impatience, and it constantly compares ideals with reality. The young observe propaganda activities as well as actions and behavior of their parents, teachers, and social activities. Based on that they make certain judgements, because unfortunately we do not have a cohesive educational system which would combine all institutions responsible for shaping views and actions; the young often stand at the crossroads.

[Question] How are the young influenced by these phenomena?

[Answer] In the 1970's tremendous aspirations were awakened in society; the people were presented with chances of acquiring an apartment quickly and a general growth of the standard of living. Due to credits obtained abroad more was shared than produced in our country. When the time came to pay the debts, and the economic system did not function effectively enough, the reality became too hard to take. The lack of opportunity to realize the ideals of prosperity

quickly and to participate in the decisionmaking process gave birth to apathy and sometimes even to revolt. I must say that in general this was not a revolt against socialism as an ideology of social justice. It was an opposition to bad management of the country. Were it not for the abuses in the realization of the fundamentals of socialism the youth would not have had a reason to be dissatisfied.

[Question] Rebellious attitudes--often justified--are being used by forces opposed to socialism.

[Answer] Naturally, the participation of young people in strikes was overwhelming, but at schools of higher learning, for example, the number of striking students was small in relation to the entire student body. Among strike participants there were mostly first- and second-year students, that is the young with the least life experience and limited knowledge. In most cases they were inspired by older people, thus there were attempts to use them in a direction incompatible with the bases of our political system. Today, the young work better and better, or diligently study in the schools of higher learnings. No doubt, there are among them those who would eagerly return to the period of anarchy. This group consists of people who learned their hatred for the socailist system at home. They do not accept our present situation. However, their influence on [the rest of] our youth is presently minimal. Yet, this does not mean that we can relax with the feeling of self-satisfaction.

[Question] What should be done, then, in the conditions of model and value crisis, to keep the youth from being used by such forces and to win it for the program of the party and socialism?

[Answer] To win the young we must tell them the whole truth about the state of our economy and the ways to get out of the crisis. At the same time it is necessary to create opportunities for them to carry out various forms of social activity; to participate in various areas of life. We must create conditions in which the young will feel needed and equally responsible for the fate of our country. It is necessary to look for new methods and forms of work with the young. Also, in our party work we must offer concrete help to youth organizations and generate more interest in the youth's affairs in various elements of government and economic administration. It is necessary to develop activities for the promotion of better work, utilization of domestic raw materials, and effective development of our agriculture.

[Question] In all of these activities the party rank and file may play an important role.

[Answer] Naturally. Party members, particularly the young, ought to be the instigators of all undertakings and activities. They must strive to unite the young in activities which improve the situation in our country.

[Question] In conditions of economic reform, which has placed the young in a difficult material situation, there are necessary actions by the party, it seems, aimed at helping the young.

[Answer] I do not agree with this opinion. The young have not been placed in a difficult situation by the economic reform, but by tremendous debts to the West and errors in the economic policy of the 1970's. The reform, in turn, is a big chance for the young, because within the framework of independent enterprises there are many opportunities for action, for example, in the area of inventions. The invention movement can be for many young people a chance to improve their material situation. What are we doing as the party to help the young? Above all we are trying to secure the material basis of enterprises so that the young will not lose their place of work. We have seen some effects of that already. For example, due to good performance in the Rzeszow Furniture Factories the management was able to put on sale several suites of furniture from the credit fund for young married couples.

In trade we are trying to secure a proper amount of goods for the young. We are supporting patronage construction and we are encouraging the youth who belong to the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] to work on some free Saturdays so that the additional goods produced this way can be put on sale for the young in other voivodships.

[Question] To undertake actions of this sort, however, the youth should possess proper political knowledge. In your opinion, do the ZSMP and other organizations properly utilize their opportunities in the area of ideological influence on the young?

[Answer] In my opinion the ideological-educational activity among the young, both by the party and youth organizations, is insufficient and not very effective. Today organizational training seminars cannot work. Parties and youth camps at which the young could learn about our revolutionary traditions, exchange their views, and debate, would be a better form to use. Today a particularly valuable form can be an honest discussion of ideological attitudes and behaviors of the organization members. If somebody drinks too much, steals, has conflicts with his family, or performs poorly at work then his own milieu and youth organization ought to criticize such attitudes and at the same time point out positive attitudes. This can have a big educational impact.

[Question] For many years the party policy had been dominated by the model of directing and steering the youth movement. On what basis should the relations between the PZPR and youth organizations be based now?

[Answer] We want the leading role of the party in the youth movement to come from the activities of young members and candidate members both within the party and youth organizations. We want the young party members, who are also members of youth organizations, to affect and influence the prepared program of forms and methods of activity in specific circles, echelons, and entire youth organizations in voivodships, rural communes, or enterprises.

The basic party organizations and party committees ought to make decisions on youth's affairs in close cooperation with the leaderships and memberships of the entire youth organizations. We ought to jointly analyze situations and take actions to solve existing problems. We do not intend to replace or give orders to any youth organizations or interfere with their forms or methods of activity. What we want is to be their friendly prompter and offer our experiences and remarks.

[Question] There is an urgent need now to cultivate among the young our rich traditions of national liberation and revolutionary struggles. Have you developed any forms to utilize them in your everyday work with the young

[Answer] This is one of the most important problems we are working on now. We want to bring about meetings of former youth activists from the interwar and war periods for the purpose of exchanging views and experiences. We will be presenting attitudes and characteristics of these activists and the involvement in the affairs of our country. Until now we have been talking about this subject very little.

[Question] Comrade, years ago you were a functionary of the Polish Youth Union [ZMP]. The crisis of 1956 also forced the young to make ideological and moral choices. How much the problems facing the young today differ from those problems?

[Answer] I was not only a ZMP functionary, but also a member of the Union of Young Fighters [ZWM] and of the Union of Socialist Youth [ZMS]. The previous period significantly differed from the present one mostly because the crisis was not so deep. The country was not in debt, and there were no oppositionary forces. Also, the ideological ferment in the party and society was smaller. The criticisms of various phenomena did not go so far. The hope of getting out of the crisis fast was bigger. And there still was a very committed core of activists both within the party and ZMP which with all might got involved in improving the situation.

In both periods, however, the overcoming of difficulties depended on the attitudes of people and their involvement. That generation of postwar period better understood that the improvement of the situation depended on their own efforts. Today unfortunately too many people hope for a miracle. And yet without involvement on a personal basis by everybody we will not achieve much. Nobody will solve our Polish problems for us. Hence the entire young generation faces big tasks. Its attitude will decide our future. Nevertheless, I believe in the wisdom, prudence, and deep patriotism of the young part of our society.

8609
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PROBLEMS POSED BY MARTIAL LAW STUDY REGULATIONS EXAMINED

University Students Speak

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 5, 23 May 82 pp 3, 6

[Article by Tomasz J. Niemierski: "What Next, Student?"]

> [Text] It would be naive to say that students returning to school after the interruption caused by the imposition of martial law found their schools unchanged or changed only slightly. They no longer saw the blatant bulletin boards of the student organizations and the trade unions and they could no longer stop at the booth with the illegal press and literature. One of the first things that awaited them within the school walls was a meeting with the dean, rector, or military commissar and a lecture on the necessity to impose martial law. Also, they began their lessons under new, very strict, regulations which force them to study more intensively. But they themselves have not changed much. It is not suprising that after a period of "pursuing a study program" they have begun to discuss matters pertaining to their own community. The question "what next" now pertains not just to the next day's lessons, but also to social matters, future work, and an organizational representative.

Regulations

Marzena Mazur (fourth-year organization and management student at Lublin Technical University) is not impressed with the new regulations.

"The students taking university courses," she says, "probably do not see a big difference, but we do... For several weeks during our free Saturdays we worked to make up the time lost due to the November strike and the extended holiday break. So during one week we had as many as 50 compulsory classes, which lasted from 8 am to 8 pm with an hour's break for dinner. But only those ate during that break who had a guaranteed meal in the mess hall. The rest did not eat until evening, for who can afford dinner at a cost of 80 zlotys each day in the cafeteria."

The students in the technical schools truly had it hard for several weeks. They always had to be prepared for their planned lessons and laboratory work and there was no time for preparation when one returned to the dormitory or home no earlier

than about 9 pm. Marzena recalls that after dinner and the evening film she sat down to her studies and did not go to bed until three in the morning. Yet it was necessary to get up early the next day so as not to be late for class. During the session when she had to take five exams in nine days there was really no time at all for sleep.

"We thought at first that compulsory attendance at lectures would not be strictly enforced," she said, "but when seven students were stricken from the rolls for non-attendance we became a little frightened."

Students can now be stricken from the rolls for many reasons. In addition to such reasons as failure to pass examinations or obtain the necessary credits, which always caused a student unpleasantness, he can now also be removed when "current inspection does not show proper advancement in studies".

"That is a very dangerous regulation," says Grzegorz Ciesielski (third-year history student at Maria Curie-Sklodowska University [UMCS] in Lublin). "It is possible that for an unintentional bad grade at some oral examination a student can be dismissed and after all, with the present pressure of classes and the overall lack of time, there is no way in which credit can be given correctly for all types of oral examinations."

Marzena Mazur says that not much has changed at Lublin Technical University relative to attendance at lectures, for even before martial law students attended most of the lectures. At some, even before, attendance was taken, and even oral questioning and grading took place. Now, it is true, all lectures must be attended, but we know this is simply not possible.

"Let us take, for example, a case such as this," says Marzena. "Many students did not obtain mess hall privileges and must provide their own meals. When are they supposed to do their shopping, if classes last from morning until night?"

Under these circumstances it is necessary to cut some classes. But the problem also is that during this two-hour shopping expedition not everything necessary can be obtained. Food, maybe, but shoes or a coat would also be useful.

It is also said that the authors of the regulations intended for the students to complete their studies on schedule, but present conditions in the school are not conducive to this. At UMCS, for example, just as everywhere else, students can remain on school grounds only during classes and during the hours that the libraries are open. On a weekday, of course, this is unimportant for the libraries are open until evening, but on Saturdays and Sundays? These are the only days when one can prepare, for example, to write a master's thesis, for there are no classes at UMCS on Saturdays, yet the library is open only until 2 pm.

The second aim of the new regulation, it may be said, is highly controversial. Everyone knows that the threat of unemployment hangs over the present students. To whom does it matter, therefore, that lawyers and graduates of liberal arts and certain technical courses, complete their studies as quickly as possible? Rather, attemps should be made to have the students qualify for other jobs, change their

majors, and not, at this time, put themselves in the position of having to stand in line for a job. At Warsaw University, for example, many improvements have been made for administrative law students in the Faculty of Law and Administration. After obtaining a diploma, they can begin intramural or correspondence judicial-law courses if they have a grade-point average of at least 3. If their average is 3.5 and they continue their studies in the administration courses, they can, at the same time, take a judicial course. Furthermore, in studying by correpondence, one does not have to take a job! It is apparent, therefore, that the authorities do not want administrators hanging around unemployment offices when there are no positions available. This should have been considered, however, when the administration courses were established and 150 persons were accepted at each university.

What Kind of Organizations?

For a long time after classes were renewed, student organizations were not active. The Independent Association of Students [NZS] had already been suspended (5 January of this year) and the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] and Polish Athleti Union [PZA] continued to be suspended. At present, only SZSP is active.

"The lack of student organizationsdid not matter, for in the beginning everyone had classes from morning until night and nobody thought about them," says Marzena. "All social matters, such as stipends, mess halls, dormitories, were taken care of by the social commissions, and they did this well. There will never again in the school be just one organization to which everyone belongs and which takes care of everything possible. At my school, no more than 100 persons belong to this organization and no new members are joining now."

Grzegorz Ciesielski prefers to evaluate the NZS, of which we had been an active member, more from the standpoint of its successes and service campaigns, such as the self-improvement and informational campaigns and the symposia. He says that he did not endorse the strike regarding Radom because he never knew what the struggle was really about. He says also that NZS unfortunately took over a part of the bad forms of SZSP operation and that the NZS members were not very active. He adds that the decision to dissolve the NZS was the only one open to the authorities. The NZS was entering into contacts with the opponents of socialism in the country and abroad, contacts which were dangerous to the authorities and the system. It frequently attacked the party in its publications and made it difficult for the state authorites to make many decisions.

But who is to take care of the social matters? Are the social commissions to continue to do this?

"That would be intolerable," says Leszek Jaczynski (fourth-year law student at Warsaw University). "Persons working in the social commissions are not students and are not able to understand all of the student problems. Certainly, a different approach to the matter of the size of the stipends will be taken by one of our contemporaries, who shares our problems, than by someone over 30 who has housing, a small Fiat, and a good salary, who cannot know what this means and how much it costs to live in a room-and-board setup. Let the self-governing bodies handle this."

The fact is that the self-governing bodies continue to be suspended and in some communities could not be formed at all. So who? Perhaps delegates. One person could be chosen from each class year, a person in whom the majority had confidence, who would negotiate these problems with the school authorities. This idea does not arouse enthusiasm.

"It would be really hard to find someone like that," says Ciesielski.

"There would be the danger of abuse," adds Miss Mazur.

The delegate would, therefore, be supervised, let us say, by peer courts. Despite this, it would not work, from many standpoints, they believe.

"There could be a delegate, but he would have a somewhat different scope of authority, " says Marzena. "After all, either the students are entitled to a stipend, dormitory or compassionate allowance, or they are not. This award does not rest within the purview of the school authorities--this is controlled by the regulations. Why, then, a self-governing body, organization, or delegate? Let the students go directly to the dean with this. The amount, however, does not always reflect the actual living situation. Sometimes it happens, and not at all infrequently, that the income per capita in the family is truly rather high, but for example, the price of room and board makes it much lower. Who not give someone like this a dormitory assignment? Anyway, it happens the other way around, also. Every day we see students who have declared a very low income per capita, yet they spend a lot of time in expensive coffee houses and are expensively dressed. Here the delegates would come in handy. Only in such exceptional cases, confidence is necessary. A student organization or delegate could also intervene if the school did not grant a student aid despite the fact that he was entitled to it, but I know there are not too many such cases."

Ciesielski is against the formation of large organizations:

"It is impossible at this time for an organization to be established which would include most of the students, or even, for instance, one-third of them", he says.

He advocates small organizations, comprised exclusively of people who are genuinely interested in given problems. Miss Mazur, who agrees with this concept, gives examples: lovers of antiques, music, art, tourism, etc.

Such organizations, which simply put are special-interest clubs or circles, could really catch on among the students. They would not lead to any public activity, would not attempt to obtain new members, etc. They would serve only to satisfy the needs of their few members.

Factors Against Student Apathy

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 5, 23 May 82 p 6

[Article by Jacek Marczynski: "Instead of Recapitulation, or Who Will Find a Way Out of the Impasse"]

[Text] Students today do not want to do anything more than is required of them, and if the stricter study regulations force them to work harder, the more they take that as justification. But the more normalized the situation becomes, the more apparent is the need for an organization-spokesman to defend student rights, an organization-helper that will serve diverse individual interests and assist in developing them. The traditions of cultural, scientific, tourist or sport activities in the community are much too rich and vital to forget about them so quickly.

Who is to do this? If those involved do not want or do not know how to answer this question, then a journalist suggesting a ready solution would feel like an intruder. However, we must call attention to three factors affecting attempts to break through the current inertia:

--The Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] is now commonly spoken of as the only student organization. Yet the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] is also active in the schools and the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] is attempting to enter into this community. There are also the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] Student Instructor Circles. Potentially, they make other forms and methods of activity possible. But if only one organization is perceived, this means simply that the others do not feel strong among the students. And none of these unions now has the support of the majority of the community. And so the question remains: who is to be the spokesman for the students' interests? How are the activities in the social-welfare sphere to be reconciled with the ideological and educational activities? Attempts in past years to give one organization a monopoly did not end successfully. One type of activity usually took place at the expense of another, and the unity of inordinately large memberships was a sham.

--The SZSP is charged with a list of errors, both its own and those made by others. An attempt is being made to hold this organization accountable for all of the so-far unsolved problems, for all of the policies relating to youth in the 1970's--the youth who created this organization--for the policies relating to higher schooling, science, culture and even the economy. After August 1980, SZSP changed its style and program of activity. Not all of these changes persuaded the students, and besides, not all of them were carried out consistently. It is also a fact that during the stormy events that occurred this past year in the student community, SZSP did not always act quickly and effectively. Suspension of SZSP provided an opportunity for minimum credibility in the eyes of those who wanted it to be a contesting organization. It aroused distrust among those who, in a sharp political struggle within the community, aimed at having the SZSP defend the conceptions of socialism and come out in favor of solutions based on existing constitutional and legal order. Suspension of the organization did not bring around either one group or the other to the organization. Moreover, it forces its members to again consider whether they should form a mass organization of a union nature or to concentrate primarily on ideological-training work.

--Student self-governing bodies, despite the fact that they are currently suspended, did not fulfill the expectations vested in them before December 13th, either. In many schools they were not formed at all, because the students were not interested in them, and also where they were formed, they were not very successful. And so the question remains: are they able to assume all of the social and practical matters--distribution of stipends and spaces in the dormitories, problems relating to study procedures, arrangement of lessons and sessions? None of the organizations that are presently active or will possibly be formed in the future will want to relinquish these matters, since they are now basic to the community.

Disentanglement of these three difficult problems, which are not, in any case, new to the schools, will surely help in overcoming the apathy. But certainly it will not overcome it completely. This will happen only when the academic community itself begins a discussion on a model of the student movement. All kinds of solutions imposed from above will not at this time meet with broad acceptance. But who will take on the role of initiator of this discussion?

9295
CSO: 2600/742

BACKGROUND ON MICHNIK; HIS SMUGGLED-OUT REPORT NOTED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German No 10, 8 Mar 82 pp 124-127

[Article: "Adam Michnik: 'More Freedom for Poland.'" DER SPIEGEL (No 10, 8 Mar 82 pp 128-138) publication of Adam Michnik's report was translated in the field and published in FBIS Daily Report/Eastern Europe dated 10 Mar 82 on pp G-18 through G-27.]

> [Text] Arrested 32 times, convicted three times, but not to be squelched or silenced: Adam Michnik, 35, planner of the Polish revolution of 1980/81, now isolated in jail, wrote for SPIEGEL about his thoughts on Poland and the rest of the world after the military junta's takeover of 13 December.

Familiar-sounding harmony between Moscow and Warsaw--the Moscow which for 18 months loosed it shafts of lightning against the Polish "counterrevolution," and that Warsaw which had appeared to be entirely indifferent to the storm.

But now, at the end of party, government and military chief Jaruzelski's visit to Moscow, the joint communique talked about "the determination to stop all efforts to change the social and political order in Poland"--the doom of the "Solidarity" union, the end of the hopes on millions of people in the East bloc that there was a chance of evolution for the pitiful, so-called real existing socialism.

And back in Poland, firebrand Stefan Olszowski went even further: "The time of critics of the regime has gone forever."

The fact that the people currently in power in Poland, contrary to their previous promises that there would be no return to the situation as it existed prior to August 1980, are nevertheless determined to retreat to that desolate past of Soviet communist power structures, sounds convincing in view of their desire for survival. Whether they will accomplish this as desired largely depends upon what they intend to do about those thousand of dissidents whom they have isolated in camps and jails since 13 December 1981.

One of them they will have to keep under arrest indefinitely, or to ship him across the border, or else the Polish revolution will immediately resume gnawing at the system.

In the past they have chased him from the university, beaten him up, arrested him more than 30 times, convicted him 3 times and put him in jail 6 times: Adam Michnik, 35, foremost Polish civil rights advocate, has for the last 14 years been forbidden to exercise a profession. He had been an advance thinker of Polish reform and thus became--much more so than popular hero Lech Walesa--a traumatic enemy image to the reigning communists, and not only in Poland.

In the fall of 1981, the Soviet party paper PRAVDA denounced him and his comrade in arms Jacek Kuron as "antisocialist enemies of the state number 1," East Berlin's party paper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND suspected him of being "the head of an international Zionist conspiracy with the objective of overthrowing socialist state power in Poland."

Even Polish Vice Premier Rakowski, a sober realist, stated categorically last fall in a SPIEGEL interview that "the Michniks and Kurons want to use the 'Solidarity' union to take over power in Poland."

In any case, they had not planned it that way--the regime, with its primitive defensive actions against dissidents drove them into the dynamics of a real revolution.

After his arrest during the night of 13 December Adam Michnik was not, like his colleagues and other intellectuals, interned in the Drawsko Pomorskie isolation camp 450 km northwest of Warsaw. Rather, he was taken to the Bialoleka central prison, located only 10 km north of Warsaw, whose inmates are mostly criminals.

Martial law prisoners have been kept there for almost 3 months in solitary confinement in a separate wing ("intensified punishment"); no contact with other prisoners is permitted and even their daily exercise period in the prison courtyard takes place with no one else present.

Despite constant scrutiny, Michnik wrote a report for SPEIGEL in his cell, which reached us through secret transfer between prisoners in several stages. For all its frankness and openness, it is more of a self-criticial analysis of the Polish opposition than the manifesto of a wild-eyed revolutionist (see p 128).

This critic of the system is not making his initial appearance in SPIEGEL. After Krakow's Cardinal Wojtyla became the new pope, Michnik was not at all euphoric in describing the Polish People's expectations. In early August 1980 he predicted the fall of the Gierek regime and, entirely contrary to statements made by the party propagandists, asked, after "Solidarity" was founded, for patience and political reasonableness between the disorganized state party and the newly organized workers.

Michnik has often taken up political causes without worrying about possible consequences--he will not be permanently identified with any political movement. Churchmen consider him an "honest Marxist and atheist;" party members accuse him of "Trotskyist leanings;" and the students, who still idolize this trained historian, simply think of him as a "Polish rebel."

The closest indication of his convictions is probably a now-famous speech he made in 1969 as a defendant before the Warsaw province court:

"It was my objective to see in our country more justice, more freedom and more equality; to see people in our country live free from fear; to see--if I am permitted to express myself figuratively--the windows of our houses facing the sun. I have neither demands nor desires to ask of the high court."

If he committed a mistake, it was that he did not realize how much the terms "more justice" and "more freedom" went counter to the substance of the regime. From his early childhood on, he had lived in the contradiction between socialist claims and socialist reality.

His father, Ozjasz Szechter, was an old-time communist who spent many years in prison before the war. After the war he worked as a reader in Warsaw's party publishing house "Ksiazka i Wiedza" (Book and Knowledge) and, among other things, translated "Das Kapital" by Karl Marx. His mother, Helena Michnik, was a historian specializing in the middle ages.

As a 15-year-old student at Warsaw's Batory gymnasium, Adam Michnik founded in 1962 together with some friends the "Club of Contradiction Seekers" which held debates in the Old City of Warsaw's cultural center about philosophy and art, sometimes also about politics--this during the limited atmosphere of freedom in post-Stalinist Poland under the Gomulka regime, but under the supervision of the state youth organization. Since Michnik was the most active among the members, the club was soon dubbed "Michnik Club" by the students.

At the same time he was a member of the boy scouts which at the time were a formally independent, but party-loyalist organization. Student Jacek Kuron was his group leader. Michnik remembers: "Kuron said to us: a communist is a man who fights for social justice, for freedom and equality, for socialism. For his beliefs and because of his activities he goes to prison for years, if necessary; when he is set free he continues with his revolutionary work."

Michnik went behind bars for the first time in 1965 when the Polish secret service suspected him of having distributed an "Open Letter to the Party," authored by university assistant professors Kuron and Modzelewski. It was a heavy criticism of the monopolistic bureaucracy of the "nomenclatura."

After Kuron and Modzelewski were sentenced, Michnik organized the "Red Assistance" at the university. He was twice expelled from Warsaw University, where he studied history and also philosophy at courses given by Marxist, and later critic of Marxism, Leszek Kolakowski. His first expulsion came when he shouted, during a performance of "The Celebration of the Dead" by Michiewicz: "Independence without censorship!" After a petition was made, signed by several thousand students, the university was forced to rescind the expulsion.

Michnik was one of the leaders, during the "Polish March" of 1968, of a student uprising against lies and deception by the party. Like his teacher Kolakowsi, he was forced to leave the university and was sentenced to 3 years in prison for "slandering the power of the people."

After he was set free, he worked as a welder in Warsaw's Roza Luxemburg Works, until a works party secretary decided that his influence on young workers was not an appropriate one. To give him an opportunity to earn a living, author Antoni Slonimski, since deceased, hired him as his secretary.

During the liberal cultural climate of the Gierek era Michnik was able to finish his university studies as an extern. He received a grant from the Dominican order and wrote the book "The Church and the Polish Left," since translated into several languages, which dealt with the dream of an alliance between a progressive church and socialism.

Since then Michnik has participated in nearly every protest action or demonstration against civil rights violations because, according to him, "every act of resistance retrieves a piece of freedom and safeguards those values without which a nation cannot survive."

After personal efforts by Jean-Paul Sartre the author received permission in the fall of 1976 to travel to the West--no doubt because of the regime's hope to get rid of its bothersome critic forever.

But Michnik returned 8 months later, having been in contact with Brandt and Boell, Berlinguer and bishops of the Vatican's curia--and landed in jail once more. Being even then a thorn in the side of the pragmatists of an East-West detente, he wrote a letter from his cell to SPIEGEL: "No detente is possible so long as human rights, on which it is based, are not being respected."

Michnik joined the Committee for the Defense of the Worker (KOR), which had been founded by 14 Polish intellectuals. The original objective of the civil rights organization was solely to give aid to those arrested in 1976 during the workers' unrest in Ursus and Radom and to their families.

But later KOR grew within a few months into a center for non-violent resistance against despotism by the authorities and the party bureaucracy. From its ranks came, for the fight for a better Poland, for the first time a united front of workers, peasants, intellectuals and priests, before whose assault the paralyzed power of the state retreated step by step--until General Jaruzelski issued marching orders.

From the KOR's ranks, principally presented by Michnik and Kuron, came the agitation for a new union which was to be independent of the party. Mostly because of this, Michnik and Kuron were once again in jail when in August 1980 labor leader Walesa became a popular hero. They were liberated as a result of the strikers' demands made by the workers of the Gdansk Lenin shipyards.

Unlike practical-minded Kuron, historian Michnik was hardly interested in "Solidarity's" organizational problems and leadership elections. "The union is important; but if Poland is to change, we must convince the entire society of its strength, but also of its responsibilities."

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. p 124. Moscow Guest Jaruzelski, Host Brezhnev (at the arrival ceremony at Moscow airport on 1 March): "All efforts will be stopped"

2. p 125. (top): Critic of the System Michnik: "Public enemy No 1"

3. p 125. (bottom): Critic of the System Kuron: "To Prison for years, if need be"

9273
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RURAL YOUTH UNION LEADER SWIRGON INTERVIEWED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19-20 Jun 82 p 3

/Interview with Waldemar Swirgon, Chairman of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union /ZMW/ by Alicja Matynia-Bonik of ZYCIE WARSZAWY entitled: "It Is Always More Difficult To Change"--date and place not specified/

/Text/ /Question/: Sir, you represent a generation that will bear the consequences of the crisis, a generation upon which responsibility for the country's future will evolve. One can observe the disturbing phenomenon of a lack of faith by part of that generation in the possibility of sensible social and economic solutions. There is a clear negation of that which was, and a distrust of proposed reform and moral rebirth. It is called a lost generation that is blindfoldedly seeking new values. And meanwhile...

/Answer/: I do not agree. Perhaps you are talking about the patrons of Warsaw coffee shops. This type of irresolution has not increased among young people in the countryside after 13 December. Although it is difficult to talk about improvement, the present times are not at all worse for the rural environment that I represent by virtue of my responsibilities. To be sure, there are more doubters. But there are prospects in our country so that young people do not have to leave in order to search for "real" life. It is in our interest to participate in improving the country's situation, because in time we will take over responsibility for the country and will have to govern in it.

/Question/: How then should that opportunity be grasped?

/Answer/: It is necessary in rational presentations on public matters to penetrate to the rational layer, then the defeats will turn out to be less tragic and victories not so near. I regard the concept of "young generation" as too vague. If someone does not want to talk about hard facts, for example, what the worker expects, why the young farmer deserts the land--he talks about the young generation--and the problems become blurred. Thus, I would like to talk about young farmers.

Rural youth is less disordered internally. It is more focused on work and depends primarily on itself and the results of its own work. This is a completely different situation than in other groups. I think that moral rebirth

could come from the countryside. The young people there circulated less in the "wanting" sphere, they grew up with a foundation of true social reality. Today's political conditions have changed. As before, there are too few plows, cookers and rubber boots in the countryside, and--as before, the roads are bad. The principal change is in television news (programs). The countryside's unresolved problems are a barrier which also make it difficult to alter the situation in the city. The countryside is supposed to feed the nation. Thus, the state is responsible for creating work posts in the countryside. Meanwhile, little has changed there during the past year. A new agricultural economics must be proclaimed within the framework of the combined agricultural policy data of the PZPR Central Committee's Political Bureau and the ZSL Supreme Committee's Presidium not only in the interest of the countryside but of society as a whole. Food production requires that needs are planned in accordance with realistic outlays and not just according to estimates and market needs.

A rapid qualitative change in agricultural production cannot come about as the result of routine actions. What is needed are decisions that introduce radical inter-subsector flows into the economy on behalf of industrial equipment for work in the countryside. Faith in the reconstruction of the country can be restored only by facts. The bankruptcy of word propaganda in the form of "green light," "everything for agriculture" etc., was announced in the countryside a long time ago. Attitudes will begin to change if the first positive results appear in agriculture.

/Question/: It is said with unconcealed envy in city circles that the countryside, that is, the generation of young farmers, has gained a great deal during the past year.

/Answer/: Yes, decisions have been made that are very important for the rural population: a statute that protects property; a decision by agricultural schools to accept peasant children if they pass the examination; a more favorable credit policy; the organization of various types of courses for young farmers to make their work in the countryside easier, and raising the status of rural club workers. At one time in the past, when it was said in the countryside that things were better in the city, there was a massive migration to the city. If your informants are convinced that they have been left in a worse situation--then let me say that we have a register of several score thousand farms for takeover that we would like to settle with young people. You can direct anyone who wants to improve his life to me.

/Question/: There are facts that can establish that the leadership of the state is seeking sensible solutions aimed at improving the country's social and economic situation. Whence then this disbelief by the young generation--I use that concept despite your clear objection?

/Answer/: Kadar needed several years to restore faith in socialism and in the possibility of its continuing development. There are no Solomonic solutions for a difficult situation. "Solidarity" has cast doubt on hitherto existing values. It "stole" the party's program which was reflected, among others, in the discussion before the 8th Congress. A program that was formulated but

not then achieved. A part of "Solidarity's" slogans are historical goals of the leftist worker movement, and besides them--"Solidarity" took advantage of the right of every opposition system and promised things that have not been achieved anywhere to this date, and that are also impossible in Poland.

However, that movement propelled the authorities to reforms, it speeded up the elimination of demoralized people, it evoked a change in thinking about the problems of society, the state and socialism.

/Question/: What kind of lessons flow from those experiences for young people, many of whom were attracted by "Solidarity?"

/Answer/: Reality must be accepted realistically. There is no point in organizing an expedition to the promised land, or new Japans. We must make the kind of Poland we have better.

/Question/: "Solidarity" was taking advantage of the feelings of justice and the tendency to rebel against every injustice. This is typical of young people. How should these immanent qualities of young people be utilized this time for building a better future for the country?

/Answer/: The party's plenum will be held soon. It must create practical conditions to allow participation of young people in social life and decision making. It must assure participation in activities designed to lead the country out of the crisis, in wielding power, and in bearing the responsibilities. We are awaiting confirmation of continuing a course of agricultural reforms and the preservation of socialist democracy. Also, of respect for organization independence and the program autonomy of young people's organizations. In ZMW, we are seeking an answer to the question of what socialism means in the countryside. Because not only property ownership conditions, but also work output, social security and the possibility of civic creative develop development on the part of rural residents--must be treated as basic to socialism. The equalization of opportunities is a most important matter. Priorities from assumption itself are immoral. On the other hand, the equalization of differences resulting from the economic situation and living standard of particular groups is, among others, a realization of the principles of socialist democracy.

/Question/: Proposals for the necessity to equalize opportunities for young people and assuring them a better start in life frequently conflict with views that modern youth has a consumer attitude toward life and demands a great deal but does not give very much in return. What do you think about that, Sir?

/Answer/: We have a way of formulating "from wall to wall" evaluations. Youth says; give because we don't have anything. And those who give say: get it yourself. The fact of the matter is, conditions should be created in which it will not be necessary to give anything to the young because they themselves would earn for their own account. For example, in a new statute on the cooperative movement we demand the elimination of the young people's cooperative movement. We are waiting for decisions that would assure relief

in exchange for the organization of work, and service or residence co-operatives. That is practically impossible under the current system. Resolution of these problems is anticipated in the program recently adopted by the Council of Ministers for improving the conditions under which young people start their lives and careers.

/Question/: In that case, what today is most important in the rural youth movement, because you obstinately lead our discussion to it?

/Answer/: We are seeking allies for our cause, we are opposed to those who either out of ignorance, or abuse of the ideological principles of socialism are opposed to us. However, we wish to unite people in the ZMW not so much against others, as against socialist reality: a matter which it is always more difficult to change.

The 3-year and the 6-year plans for the reconstruction and industrialization of the country, primarily the cities and industry, are recalled in numerous discussions in the countryside. It is time to announce a 3-year plan in Poland for the reconstruction and development of Polish agriculture, and for overcoming one of the major economic and social barriers that obstruct the road to socialism in which young Poles are willing to live.

10433
CSO: 2600/727

ARMY ZSMP FIGURE VIEWS NINTH PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29 June 82 p 2

[Interview with Maj Tadeusz Rzepecki, chairman of the Polish Army Youth Council and vice-chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] by Marek Kwiatkowski, PAP journalist: "We Are a Part of the Young Generation"]

> [Text] On the social activity of youth in military uniform and its undertakings in the period preceding the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

[Question] Marek Kwiatkowski: Events of recent months were, for the youth who are fulfilling their military obligation, something of a survival test. As we know, they passed it with honor, fulfilling the tasks that the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON] assigned to them responsibly and with dedication. They distinguished themselves with their patriotic attitude and exemplary discipline. In view of the importance of these tasks, have the organizational life of the military youth and its social activities not become marginal phenomena?

[Answer] Maj Tadeusz Rzepecki: Not in the least. The ZSMP organization in the military, which is comprised of over 60 percent of the youth in the armed forces, undertook many important ideological-training and organizational activities during the past six months. First there was the "Let us Talk About the Fatherland" campaign, initiated by the ZSMP members in uniform, and then there was the union-wide discussion "What Kind of Poland--What Kind of Union?" The result of these undertakings and the postulates submitted at that time, was the appeal made by the Polish Army Youth Council to all soldiers on assuming various social activities under the slogan "Soldierly assistance--socialist Fatherland". During this army-wide action, 660,000 manhours were worked at the initiative of ZSMP, including, for example, 350,000 for agriculture and 50,000 in helping forestry. The total value of the work amounted to 20.5 million zlotys.

It should be emphasized that civilian youth--scouts and ZSMP members in the rural areas--also took part in this action, especially in work serving agriculture. This soldierly deed was important not only from the production standpoint, but it also had an important training aspect. Assistance was given to farmer-combatants and disabled war veterans, older people, those living alone and the incompetent, families of soldiers on military duty, schools and children's homes. This action was taken with the thought that despite difficulties, one must not be passive. The soldiers'

social initiative met with friendliness and help from the commanders and the party-political apparatus of the army. This was also practical verification of the new formula for ZSMP activity in the military on the basis of

[Question] The Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum will undoubtedly be an important event in the life of the party, an event of real meaning for the youth movement. Problems relating to the forthcoming plenum probably arouse interest among the military youth also.

[Answer] For understandable reasons, matters relating to starting a career or a family and job promotions, prospects for the young generation and its role in the life of society, are of interest to the young in uniform. We are a part of the entire young generation and these are our matters also. The period preceding the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum is a period of lively organizational activity in the ZSMP of the army. At numerous meetings and talks, the military community has been familiarized with the situation in the youth movement. Widespread information also pertained to the activities, planned and ongoing, of the party and government on problems concerning the young generation. There were discussions, for example, on new entitlements for soldiers as a result of the Council of Ministers resolution on military service, the minister's order on furloughs for married soldiers, etc. As the facts and intentions in this area were presented, the discussion did not concentrate just on social-welfare problems. In accordance with the intentions of the PZPR Central Committee, we also took an active part in discussions on theses to the Ninth Plenum, entitled "Youth Co-Creates Socialist Poland and the Conditions for its Own Development". Here, also, the discussion was not limited to strictly military problems. Emphasis was given, for example, to the need to intensify efforts in the area of internationalist training and close cooperation here with the school, workplace, youth organization and army. The study of history is an important element in this training. Reference here was made to the activities of the military ZSMP already underway in this area. We are constantly improving our history teaching program and all elements of the union, from the circles to the Youth Council, will participate in its implementation; a movement for clubs interested in the most recent history of Poland is also springing up.

Problems relating to adequate dissemination of Marxist-Leninist knowledge and genuine implementation of socialist principles formed an important part of the talks. The need to restore the value of work, for example, was stressed. Work, its results, and attitude towards it, should be, according to the members of our organization, a deciding factor in the professional advancement of the young--not age, but precisely this criterion.

Many other problems important to the young generation were discussed. These included the future of the trade unions, their place in the country's sociopolitical system, and participation in the building of socialism. The ZSMP soldier-members spoke with concern about the "atomization" of the youth movement in Poland. We see an important element of the strength of socialism in our country in a strong youth movement. We are not concerned here, of course, with a mechanical combining of existing youth organizations, but with opposition to activities which divide youth, which do not serve to unite it.

Naturally, as the discussion revealed, the subjects of interest to ZSMP in the army are the invariable problems of our own surroundings. There is a proposal that after the Ninth Plenum there be prepared a catalog of military-youth problems which should be taken into account in the operations of the national defense ministry. These problems are various: ideological training, connected with military education, social-welfare matters of soldiers in the regular service, the young professional cadre and civilian workers in the army. We would like to submit an outline of such a catalog for discussion during the reporting-electoral campaign in our organization which will begin in August of this year. We are also planning a plenary meeting of the Polish Army Youth Council to be held after the Ninth Central Committee Plenum, to be totally given over to preparing the tasks which will fall to our organization as a result of Central Committee resolutions on youth affairs.

[Question] An important need of the young generation and its organization is the need for independence. What meaning does the word "independence", used earlier in reference to the specific conditions of ZSMP activity in the army, take on?

[Answer] In the new "Principles of ZSMP Army Activity" accepted in November of last year, the concept of independence also has a place. I would also like to remind you of the important changes made recently in the structure of our organization. The youth councils: Polish Army, military district, etc., are statutory bodies. The role of the ZSMP conference in the Armed Forces, which establishes the program and principles of activity, has grown. Those are statutory guarantees of our independence. Its framework, however, is delimited by two facts: as soldiers, we are bound to the principle of one-person command; in the army, we serve the army. Our independence, therefore, is an intra-organizational independence, without which a military youth organization could not be a strong partner of the command and party organizations. For all intents and purposes, there is no important problem in the life of military groups on which we have not expressed ourselves.

[Question] What do the ZSMP army members expect from the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum?

[Answer] Military youth understand the country's situation very well. Hence we are not expecting quick and radical changes or immediate solutions to the problems of the young generation. We expect, however, that the Plenum will be an important stimulus--that it will begin an extended-in-time process of comprehensive activities on matters relating to youth.

9295
CSO: 2600/743

LETTER TO EDITOR SCORES HIGH SCHOOL EXAM POLICY

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Apr 82 p 3

[Letter by Magdalena Jarkowska, student at the General High School in Chelm: "Mail 'SM'--Problems With Secondary-School Examination"]

[Text] I would like to voice my own, and the opinions of my colleagues, in presenting the matter of next year's final examinations in the general high schools. The proposal publicized in this matter is very inconvenient for us and adds to our woes. Subjects, which we must pass depending on the class major selected were forced upon us.

In frequent cases, these subjects clash with the courses of study. Why can we not, as in the past, submit to final examinations in those fields of study which simultaneously coincide with subjects contained in college entrance exams? There are many individuals and I refer only to them, who while attending classes with a humanities major, intend to study specific subjects. And conversely. This is the result of specifying their interests.

I think that we should not have a course of future studies imposed upon us, and this is dedicated actually by the proposed variant of an examination of maturity. I present this as my personal example.

I am attending the third class and majoring in biology-chemistry. While attending secondary school I had no precise interests to influence my decision regarding a future course of studies. I was somewhat interested in biology. During the course of further studies I was introduced to ethnography and I would like to continue my studies in this direction.

In addition to the Polish language, a foreign language, and an additional subject, which in my case would be geography (the entrance examination for ethnography includes history and geography), I would be compelled to choose either biology or mathematics for my final examination--history--if I had been in the humanities-major class.

By passing this one subject could I not have been added to the circle of humanities specialists? I am certain that the educational authorities are concerned about the creation of a system which could contribute to our training as highly qualified specialists in a given field. I shall not become

"the fruit" of this very important foundation, if I am to be compelled to master two such broad fields as biology and history.

Most likely I shall simply have to pursue natural sciences in order to pass the final examination. I shall forsake the ethnography of my dreams and undertake studies in that field which represent a continuation of my secondary school major. However, I do not know whether I will practice the profession selected contrary to my own wishes with willingness, and most important, conscientiously and engagingly.

I request the editorial board to assume an active role in this matter.

There is yet some time and certainly it would be possible for you to help us in some manner. We are young and wish to study, but only that which truly is of interest to us.

Please print my letter. Perhaps the youth in other schools will also express themselves on this subject for our mutual benefit.

P.S. I emphasize that I am distinctly concerned with the secondary school group whose coursework differs from the "major" subjects.

9951
CSO: 2600/577

BRIEFS

RECTOR RESIGNS--An extraordinary Senate meeting took place at the Higher School of Engineering [WSI] in Radom on 9 July. It was announced during the meeting that the minister of science, higher schools and technology has accepted the resignation of Prof (Dr Habiltatus) Michal Hebda from the position of rector of the Kazimierz Pulaski WSI in Radom. Prof Hebda will remain as rector up to 31 July and will continue thereafter as an independent research employee at the Radom WSI. [By bd] [Excerpt] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10-11 Jul 82 p 8]

CSO: 2600/791

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES OF PARTY MEMBERS DEPLORED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jun 82 pp 92-94

[Unsigned article]

[Text] Several letters to the editor received recently report violations by some party members who, disregarding the lofty duties devolving upon them in their capacity as militants of a party that is based on the scientific, revolutionary outlook on the world and life, agree, with quite deplorable levity, to be godparents at money-tree church weddings, get married according to religious rituals, baptize their children according to the same rituals or participate in other mystical activities, and so forth -- attitudes that totally contradict the Party Program and Statute, the Ethical Code, to whose provisions and rules they willingly consented on their joining the party.

Extremely serious is the fact that these mystical practices also are endorsed by some officials who hold leading positions in the party or state in the hierarchy of our society. For instance, recently, Mircea Secrieru, member of the party committee at the Livezeni Mining Enterprise and candidate member in the Petrosani Municipal Party Committee, Hunedoara County, and Adrian Cruceanu, member of the Communal Party Committee, secretary of the Draguseni Communal People's Council, Galati County, sponsored church weddings for young people in the above-mentioned localities. Their moral duplicity is evident, since they deliberately relinquished their duties in their capacity as communists, as people invested with great political and ideological responsibility, they stooped to the status of participants in anachronistic mystical rituals which clearly are incompatible with the progressive beliefs and attitudes that must characterize communists, all the more so those who hold leading positions.

Unfortunately, indulging in the same situation are educators, who, under the very by-laws of their profession, ought to combat mysticism, whatever its aspects of manifestation. Teacher Ion Dinca, of the Hales General School, Tisau Commune, Buzau County, himself, got married at the church, according to all rituals. What impact can the knowledge, the concepts, the ideas which he passes on to students have, when his words differ from his deeds, undoubtedly proving that he is the prisoner of obsolete, mystical concepts and practices?

Further, what political and moral authority can enjoy in the communities of Rosia de Amaradia Commune, Gorj County, Florea Pitoaca, deputy secretary for propaganda affairs of the communal party committee, who, together with other officials of the

commune: Benone Sandu, vice chairman of the Communal People's Council, Nicolae Predoiu, teacher, member in the communal committee of the Union of Communist Youth, Vasile Ciocan, chief accountant of the cooperative for production, procurement and marketing of goods, and others -- all party members -- did not hesitate in promptly answering the invitation from the commune priest to party on "Easter Thursday," inside the church of the above commune? This is how these officials conceive to fulfill their great duties to our society, to the people in the commune, while the economic, social and cultural-educational activity there involves great deficiencies -- the contracting and procurement plan is not completed, the communal library "languishes" in a quite improper building, communal roads are in a run-down state, and so on.

Moreover, quite unnatural also is the lack of firmness in judging such conducts -- which clearly are incompatible with the communist community standards -- when they, finally, are submitted for discussion by the party organs involved. Indeed, after having been notified, the party organs involved also applied disciplinary measures: "reprimand" for Adrian Cruceanu, "censure" for teacher Ion Dinca, and admonition from the secretariat of the Petrosani Municipal Party Committee for Mircea Secrieru.

Do the above party organs consider that the measures which they took in relation to the serious violations that we pointed out can ensure the absolutely necessary climate of ideological firmness, in which such violations of the communist ethical code should no longer be possible? It is more than certain that such sanctions applied with obvious indulgence, from a clearly conciliatory position, only permit the repetition, the proliferation of violations like those deplored above.

As for the occurrences in the Rosia de Amaradia commune, considering the gravity of the violations committed, the secretariat of the Gorj County Party Committee decided on the removal of Florea Pitoaca from the office of deputy secretary of the communal party committee and on discussing his case in the general assembly of the local party organization to which he belongs, for a say on his status as a party member. Moreoover, the local party organizations whose membership include the other officials in the commune who were in the same deplorable situation were advised to decide on the disciplinary measures that should be taken.

11710
CSO: 2700

WEST GERMAN COMMENT ON LIBERALIZED PRESS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 15 Jun 82 p 7

[Article by Carl Stroehm: "Why Not Also Speak About the Weaknesses in Our System?"]

[Text] Two years after Tito's death there is a ghost circulating in communist Yugoslavia, the ghost of liberalism. At first the country reacted with shock to the departure of the old marshal. There was a feeling of inner emptiness--as Stane Dolanc, Tito's party secretary for many long years, put it. Many political functionaries tried to cling to the Tito myth. But the growing economic crisis and the unrest of the Albanians in the Kosovo territory destroyed the illusion that things could go on as before without the "old man."

The ghost of liberalism took root in those very nooks and crannies which had earlier been hidden under Tito's charismatic authority, in journalistic articles, in the press, among the students and among the intellectuals. Yugoslavia is not uniform in this respect. A liberal current can be most strongly felt in Belgrade and Serbia and also in the Slovenian provincial capital, Ljubljana. The climate is probably most conservative and illiberal in Sarajevo, the capital of the Bosnian Republic. There is also little liberalism to be noted in the Croatian metropolis of Zagreb. Here the speaker of the Croatian Parliament, Jure Bilic, even complained that Yugoslavia had formerly been divided into the "liberal" western republics and the "dogmatic" east (Serbia)--and that today it was just the opposite: the east was considered liberal and the west--Croatia--dogmatic.

Traditional Roots from the Time of the Monarchy

The Serbian liberalism of Belgrade has traditional roots which reach far back into the 19th century and to the time of the monarchy. Today Belgrade is liberal in a certain sense--not only because the supreme authority of Tito no longer exists but also because the Serbs as a nation were forced to suffer the loss of their former hegemony within Yugoslavia. Nothing promotes internal liberalism so much as a failure or a defeat--and the high point of this Serbian defeat was the trauma of Kosovo with the realization that the "sacred Serbian soil" at [Amselfeld], the cradle of the Serbian nation, can only be protected from Albania ethnic pressure by maintaining a state of emergency.

Then came the discovery that even Tito, in whom the people had believed so fervently, was only human--as described in the biography by Vladimir Dedijer which stirred up so much dust. Then there was also the discussion about the Yugoslav communist concentration camps--such as the notorious "naked island." So it has come about that a well-known Yugoslav pop group with the descriptive name "Fish Soup" (Riblja corba) is enjoying great success with a song which reflects the world as seen by a considerable portion of the post-Tito generation. The text is more or less as follows: "The great always eat the small. Fools die for ideals. Factories pollute the environment. Idiots rebel and die. It's getting better, some shout. Dead letters on paper. In the East the old fairytales are told. In the West there is nothing new."

Meanwhile the league of old partisans and war veterans demanded that this song of the "Fish Soup" band be forbidden because the old fighters were being described as fools and idiots.

Continuous Criticism of the Communist Party

Even though the "official" Belgrade press has displayed an astonishingly candid and antiauthority style in recent months--journals such as the daily POLITIKA and the weekly NIN are prime examples--it is exceeded by the Belgrade student newspapers. The student papers STUDENT and VIDICI are continuously coming under the criticism of the Communist Party leadership. STUDENT is continually changing its editor-in-chief without changing course on that account. In one of its latest editions, with a massive press run, STUDENT published a criticism of the police never before heard in Yugoslavia, under the headline "Don't Hit Me over the Head, Blue Comrade!" (In Yugoslavia the police wear blue uniforms.)

In connection with the events in Kosovo, STUDENT criticizes the Communist Party and its leadership--officially the League of Communists--for lacking the "competence to react to questions which life has posed." Looking at the Albanian unrest in Kosovo and the action of the regime, the student publication considers that "lies of various kinds have accompanied the Kosovo events from the beginning--delayed, incomplete, watered-down, embellished, hidden and forbidden information."

The question was also posed in STUDENT as to why only "children and youths" have been called to account for the unrest in Kosovo up to now--this is a reference to the Albanian students sentenced to prison--but not one single functionary.

The Belgrade students also express themselves quite candidly in STUDENT on the state of the party. A student of the agriculture faculty, Svjetlana Grubisa, stated with respect to the work in her party cell that they limited themselves to reading material that comes "from on high." During the meeting many party members voted silently for the resolution which came down to them from "above" and then--in the elevator or in the lobby--vigorously attacked this very resolution.

"Few take the floor during the party meetings," the Belgrade student newspaper reports. "Everything is reduced to a vote, a show of hands, without any real desire to achieve anything." The speeches which are given there have the effect of a "narcotic" because they are "much too long" and "stereotyped." Also the students were afraid, "Courage disappears when it is burdened with the pressure of possible consequences."

Alongside the irony and impishness in the Belgrade STUDENT a certain anxiety about life comes repeatedly to light. "For a better future it is best to shut your eyes as early as possible," it says in the paper. And then in an obvious reference to Yugoslav political reality, it is stated that "we must fight the competent people--the incompetent are already with us!"

"Somebody is muddying the waters of ideological purity. But is not perhaps a case of the lamb attacking the wolves?" STUDENT asked in its edition of March 31, thereby unleashing outbreaks of rage among the party functionaries who felt they were then ones affected. Then the student newspaper fearlessly stated, "We are not abandoned to our fate alone--the politicians are keeping us company!" That was a clear reference to interference in student life by political organs.

Another very popular and probably still "fresher" student periodical is called GLAS EKONOMISTA (Voice of the Economists) and is published by students of economic science. Here political criticism is combined with a candid analysis of economic shortcomings in the Yugoslav system. "The people's head is spinning because of the endless rotation in the leadership echelon," was the commentary on the continuous personnel changes at the top of the party and the state.

Another comment on the current situation--there are continuing shortages of soap powder in Yugoslavia--is dealt with in GLAS EKONOMISTA with the words, "With so many dirty things coming to light, the shortage of cleaning materials is justifiable."

The economist's publication--under a title printed significantly in German, "On Criticism of the Masses"--draws attention to the internal status of the contemporary Yugoslav student generation. "Look at yourselves in the mirror," the paper challenges the students. "What do you see? A leached out, spiritually sterile, self-satisfied generation; unmoveable, lazy, faceless, apolitical--an infantile mass which is waiting for everything to be served on a tray."

Does this Serbian student youth have ideals? At Belgrade University, to the extent they think politically, they tend apparently toward the left while at the same time they obviously do not regard the official party as left. But apart from this uproar, there are overtones which cause one to listen. One woman student asks in the economist's newspaper, "Why shouldn't we also hear something about the weaknesses of our system, if there are any, before an open tribunal?"--"I would also invite a clergyman to party meetings. We should listen to him too...Why should we reject him a priori?"

Then the Belgrade woman student confesses her pluralism, "Nothing can be completely uniform (homogeneous) but I believe that a pluralism of interests and the settlement of conflicts lead to a synthesis and thereby to optimal solutions. We must not allow ourselves to degenerate into careerists and petty bourgeois." Then, the woman student concludes, we will reach our ultimate objective--and this means for her not eventually communism or socialism but "a humanistic society."

Solidarity with the Polish People

Yugoslav "liberalism" also developed in no small measure as a result of the Polish events which made a great impression on the student generation in Belgrade and Ljubljana. The Belgrade STUDENT as recently as March 1982 published an interview with the Polish writer on esthetics, Stefan Morawski, who in response to a question on the need for revolutions in history--contrary to standard communist thinking--declared that revolutions were not the only vehicle of progress. Revolutions were by all means to be rejected if they might cause bloodshed.

The most "compact" solidarity with the Polish people was expressed in Slovenia. Four editorial boards of the most important student publications here published a special documentary volume under the symbol of Solidarity with the red and white Polish colors in which the seizure of power by the "Soldateska" of Jaruzelski is very severely criticized. The special Slovenian volume POLJSKA (Poland) contains numerous documents, from the speeches of Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron to the demands of the Social Self-Defense Committee (KOR). Under the heading, "The Latest Stage of Stalinism," the Slovenian author Tomaz Mastnak writes, "A necessary precondition for a successful struggle of the workers for socialism and self-rule as well as against Stalinist dictatorship is the establishment of an autonomous workers organization. The formation of such an autonomous workers organization will take the form of free, independent, self-governing trade unions in all countries of Eastern Europe including the Soviet Union."

Society Is Starting To Move

After making this prophetic declaration, the Yugoslav author recalls the list of sins of the Soviet system--and, in fact, in a form in which they could hardly be found in a "capitalistic," Western publication. "Practically the only argument," writes the Yugoslav, "and the final answer of the Stalinist social system to the outbreak of worker dissatisfaction with the socialist demands on the East European working class was and is military force. Soviet tanks crushed the Berlin workers' uprising in 1953. The last chapter of the Hungarian drama in 1956 was written with Soviet military intervention ...The strike of Soviet workers in Novocherkask in 1962 was drowned in blood by the Soviet Army. The Prague Spring ended in 1968 with the invasion of armed forces of the Warsaw Pact. The workers' unrest on the Polish Baltic Sea coast was, once again, liquidated by tanks. The dissolution of the Stalinist social system in Poland is now to be prevented by a military putsch."

The Yugoslav author then describes the demand that the Polish union, Solidarity, should not make political statements or engage in political activity as a "narrow-minded interpretation of 'economism'" to which even Lenin was opposed. The prohibition of free trade unions would bring about the "militarization" of the factories and loss of rights for the working class.

Such arguments also, of course, necessarily color internal Yugoslav discussion. Yugoslav society itself--which in many ways is quite differently structured from the East Bloc--is starting to move. Whether the blossoms of the communist liberalism of the post-Tito ear will ripen into full bloom, however, remains to be seen.

9827
CSO: 2300/303

MORE DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES WITHIN LCY RANKS URGED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1638, 23 May 82 pp 16-17

[Article by Vladimir Goati: "Opposing the Difficulties Through Democracy"]

[Text] The discussion that we are conducting today about democratic centralism and internal relations within the LCY is at the same time a discussion of the vital issues of the LC and of Yugoslav society as a whole. We are in agreement that our relations within the LC today are not what we would like.

First of all, a large percentage of the LCY's membership, perhaps more than a third of it, is passive; their ideological and political level and their social involvement are unsatisfactory. This is indicated not only by direct experience but also by the results of empirical research recently conducted by the LC in Serbia and Slovenia. Furthermore, the findings of some other research indicate the existence of very strong activist nuclei, which accumulate many social functions and great social power in their own hands.

Another indicator is the content of the work performed by the basic organizations of the LC, which is also unsatisfactory. Many formalisms are present in the work of the OOSK [LC basic organization]; a large part of their activities consists of going over the "materials" composed at higher levels of the party pyramid. For this reason the agendas of the commune OOSK meetings are as much alike as one egg to another, even though these are different organizations. Even when there are independently formulated topics, they mostly have to do with [the OOSK's] own organization or with the immediate area, while discussions of the vital issues of Yugoslav society are completely lacking.

In the third place, Yugoslav society is faced with slow coordination and agreement; this frequently has negative consequences. Although the LC is not an organization that makes operational decisions, such a situation in society, and in the institutions in which decisions are made, indirectly reflects the LC's ability to fulfill its social role and also reflects [the state of] internal relations in the LC. We are witnesses that important party meetings very often conclude with unanimously adopted decisions but that major differences remain even afterward and hamper work in other social institutions.

In the fourth place, our impression is that the information process in the LCY is for the most part one-way, going exclusively from the top to the bottom.

It appears that real, "unvarnished" reports do not go up the ladder of the organization. The lack of such reports weakens the power of the LC organization; appropriate "signals and alarms" are given slowly and thus surprises occur. This is tied to the serious events in Kosovo, about which nothing was known, judging from the statements by public officials. A year after the outbreak of the demonstrations, it can be said with certainty that this was not an instantaneous and skillfully directed action by a few people but rather a process of many years' standing, carefully prepared and aimed at breaking up our country; this process also embraced the fabric of the LC. We should not lightly overlook the fact that this happened behind the back of the LC; we should instead learn a lesson from this, because a party and a society that are unable to learn from events, from the past, If I may paraphrase a well-known thought, are thus condemned to live through the past once more.

These indicators of the state of affairs in the LC have a common denominator: insufficiently developed internal democracy. It is only possible to overcome the existing state of affairs by strengthening democracy. It is possible to achieve this within the framework of the principle of democratic centralism. We have heard opinions in Yugoslavia that instead of democratic centralism we should adopt some other principle for the internal organization of the LC in the question of how a decision is made if no agreement is reached remains unanswered. Democratic centralism did not appear because someone thought that agreement per se was not good and that overruling was a priori desirable. This principle appeared on the basis of a realistic assumption that there could be major differences on issues about which the party would have to make a decision. If such an assumption were realistic with respect to a small, highly homogeneous party of professional revolutionaries, like the Bolshevik Party at the beginning of this century, it is even more realistic for a large organization like today's LCY, which has more than 2 million members.

I would like to point out some measures that would result in strengthening internal democracy in the LC.

First, democratic centralism means full freedom of discussion and also an obligation on the part of the minority to abide by the decisions of the majority. This does not exactly sound original, but in the LC's discussions to date on important social issues, it has often not been known which viewpoint had the support of the majority. Instead of deciding between contradictory standpoints on the issue under discussion, party meetings have concluded by repeating general and indisputable views. Avoiding the determination of the balance of forces between the majority and minority in connection with the issues on the agenda probably has some slight advantages but it also entails serious risks, because everyone goes his own way, the differences accumulate and tensions grow.

Second, a further democratization of the electoral procedure in the LC is both necessary and possible. A considerable amount can be done on this, as the draft LCY statute is still open to public discussion. In order for the LCY to be a factor for democratization in society, it must achieve maximum democracy within its own ranks. I am therefore supporting introduction of the principle of mandatory broad ballots and secret voting in the LCY, from

top to bottom. Some places in the draft LCY statute provide for public voting (art 25 and 70). I looked over about 30 statutes of workers' parties (communist and social democratic parties), both in power and in the opposition, as well as the statutes of about 10 bourgeois parties. Public voting is very rarely found in them; it is virtually nonexistent.

Third, how the LCY Central Committee is elected is of exceptional importance for relations in the LCY. The draft LCY statute provides for having the LCY congress publicly ratify the composition of the LCY Central Committee, which is in fact elected in the republics and provinces. The possibility of disputing the ratification is provided. According to the draft, the proposal is not considered to have been ratified if two-thirds of the members of the LCY congress dispute it. This means that a member of the LCY Central Committee is ratified even if two-thirds, minus one member of the LCY congress, vote against him. Among others, the following questions arise in connection with the proposed solution. First, where is the authority of the LCY congress if a majority in it is not able to prevent the election of a given member of the LCY? Second, how can this be reconciled with the statutory provision that the congress is the highest organ of the LCY? Finally, what kind of authority will be exercised by a member of the LCY Central Committee who is elected to that organ in opposition to the position of a majority of the congress?

I also have a substantive criticism of the method for electing members of the LCY Central Committee as stipulated by the draft LCY statute. The democratic centralism that we all support assumes, not by chance, the election of all party organs, not their ratification. This means that the LCY congress should elect, not ratify, the members of the LCY Central Committee, ensuring appropriate representation of the republic and provincial organizations.

In the fourth place, democracy in the LCY should be strengthened and expanded with elements of direct democracy, which we have so far introduced more readily in other segments of the political system than in the LCY. In some parties in the workers' movement, elements of direct democracy already exist in the form of referendums, the results of which are binding on the party leadership, and in the form of direct elections of the leaders, etc. The strengthening of democracy in the LCY would also be served by making it possible for the entire membership to participate in the debates now in progress in party forums on the major issues of this society and the LCY: stabilization, the concept of national economies, relations within the Serbian LC, etc. Furthermore, it is necessary to encourage theoretical and critical thought, to stimulate debates and a democratic dialogue. So far we have given verbal support for such a dialogue to a greater extent than we have [actually] conducted one.

It is not by chance that I am speaking of the need to strengthen democracy in the LCY and in society. This is a strategy through which the LC has overcome difficulties and met challenges.

9909
CSO: 2800/404

FURTHER DETAILS ON COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY EVENTS IN KOSOVO

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 82 pp 84-88

[Article, installment 8 of "Dossier of the Counterrevolution in Kosovo," by Zivko Milic: "All the Irredenta's People"]

[Text] Readers of "Dossier of the Counterrevolution in Kosovo" have already had a chance to conclude that the irredentists are not--as individuals from the former provincial political leadership have attempted to show--exclusively or mostly people from the edge of society, squeezed and isolated by their primitive nationalistic ideology into the labyrinths of the irredentist underground, an almost lawful, but not essential offshoot and by-product of a society which is developing at a heady pace, a factor which is prospering on the social and economic troubles of the day.

Things in Kosovo are far more complicated. The counterrevolution seized upon a portion of the young generation of educated people, a slice of the Kosovo intelligentsia. The egalitarianism of neighboring socialist Albania and Stalinist dogmas, as well as the simplifications of Enver Hoxha, linked up with Great Albanian nationalism and visions, seized the imagination of a large portion of young people, who had not fitted sufficiently into the self-managing society. It would be an illusion, however, to believe that this linkup of dogma and nationalism did not also penetrate a small portion of the working class, as indicated by details of the explosion of events in April.

We are not writing a tract in political science, but a practical account of the counterrevolution, so here is a graphic example of how this occurred in a basic cell--an organization of associated labor. The scene is the Tefik Canga Wood Combine in Urosevac. Lunch in the workers' dining hall on 3 April 1981. Because of the unrest and disorders which had already taken place and were under way in Pristina and other towns in the province members of territorial defense and the security service had appeared.

Milaim Jashari (age 34), president of the trade union, went out of his office and ran into Rashit Mehmeti (45) of the chair plant in which Milaim is a foreman, who just previously had asked him if he knew that Pristina was in flames.

Milaim--it seems--felt and was himself experiencing the tension that prevailed among the workers.

"This sausage is wormy, comrade president, you can see for yourself. No one should eat it," said one of the workers present.

Rashit Mehmeti also had a question:

"What kind of mistrust of us is this, they are guarding us even while we eat!"

Rashit appeared at first to be also disturbed because armed guards had been posted on the grounds of the plant. As a member of the League of Communists, according to some scheme (of bureaucratic devising) he and Milaim, also a member of the LCY--with the dozens of party members in the collective--should have taken command of the situation at that moment of crisis, which had not broken out suddenly. That was the theory.

"So we Albanians are to eat sausage, and they are to guard us with rifles, is that the way it is? Why were we not told?" Rashit put another question.

Unusual things had been happening on the grounds of the combine even since 0930 hours. Groups had formed which were boycotting work, but at the same time individuals were protesting about the machines standing idle. Osman, director of the chair plant, was being harrassed:

"So this is what you have done and where you have brought us--to these miserable wages!"

The general director explained that the personal incomes could not be increased overnight.

Only a blind man could still fail to see that the spontaneity of these nervy protests was only an appearance, that the talks about disorder and idleness, about low earnings, as well as about improper assignment, were only an excuse for raising the temperature.

The balance of power was also a mere appearance. In a few moments it would become clear that all the members of the League of Communists were not on the right side. The gate was closed, the machines were shut down, it all suggested trouble. Some of the armed men guarding the factory were not members of the work force. They had come from outside.

The opstina committee of the LC [League of Communists] had been informed that there was trouble in the Tefik Canga Combine, that the workers were demanding to speak with representatives of the opstina and the province. At that time Sadik Sadiku (42), a bookkeeper, was in his office typing a speech dictated by Hilmi Hyseni (33), a worker who was to deliver it when the workers went off into town.

"We the workers of the Tefik Canga Combine protest the police power which is massacring our brothers and sisters...."

It was not a matter, then, of sausage. Someone was doing all this in order to involve the Urosevac workers in planned demonstrations. Somewhere around 1200

hours Idriz Asllani, president of the opstina assembly, arrived. Sinan Sahiti, member of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, also arrived in haste.

They were met by shouts and a yelling of well-known slogans.

"We want a republic!"

"Let our comrades out of prison!"

"Down with the bourgeoisie!"

Sadik Bakaj (32) of the equipment department, Zylfi Ratkoceri (29) of the furniture factory, Rashit Mehmeti and Hilmi Hyseni distinguished themselves by the racket they caused, by the questions they put, and by their rejection of even the most reasonable answers.

"In Pristina they are running over children with tanks and engaging in violence! Why allow them to beat the children whom we have raised with wages earned in this combine? Where is our equality?" Rashit Mehmeti addressed his words almost obsessively to Sinan Sahiti, who attempted to make reasonable answers.

"They have tricked you with rumors and lies," Sahiti said.

They answered him with resentment and shouting.

"Why are our machines standing idle?" went the new question.

"We came here to work, but in the dining hall, where we wanted to eat our bread in peace, they guarded us with rifles and said: 'Just you Albanians eat your sausage, and we will guard you!' Why is there no trust in us?"

"We demand that the special forces be taken away!"

Dialogue--not a bit of it. Nor could there have been. The plans that day called for the students and workers to go into the streets of Urosevac not only from Tefik Canga, but also from the welded pipe factory, the Milan Zecar Combine and from Kosovotrans. The students at the secondary technical school had been organized 4 days before by Nexhat Terstena (21), a soccer player on the local Urosevac team and a member of the Kastrioti Society for Culture and Popular Education.

He had held a number of meetings with the students between 30 March and 3 April.

On 3 April, while things were boiling in Tefik Canga, Nexhat had led the pupils into the streets of Urosevac. When they were joined by several individuals, he and Naim Ramadani (22), who worked in the Lozar store, went into the Hivsi Sylejmani Cultural Center and brought out the Albanian flag. Among the new arrivals was Jusuf Lipovica (22), a law student who 2 days before had

participated in the demonstrations in Pristina, and then the medical student Ilaz Husaj, a participant in the Pristina demonstrations on 26 March, Hajrullah Hasani (31), a worker at the Kosovo Thermal Electric Power Plant, also a participant in demonstrations on 2 April in Obilic--all, then, "veterans," who had come with their experience to contribute to the unrest which was to be brought about in Urosevac.

The procession reached the entrance to the welded pipe factory, Kosovotrans, and the Milan Zecar Combine, but except for a few exceptions the workers did not respond. The most significant response was from the Tefik Canga Combine.

Somewhere around 1320 hours, as Rashit Mehmeti told the court, "when a scream of some kind was heard from the direction of the mosque, in the center of town, a group of workers from Tefik Canga opened the gates and joined the procession led by Nexhat Terstena, with his most aggressive and loudest followers. The procession also included trade union president Milaim Jashari, though on the opposite side...."

Because of the violence and opposition to the forces of law and order the demonstrations ended in bloodshed, one death and wounded.

The protest because of the allegedly wormy sausage achieved absolutely nothing as the net result of that tragic day, as though it had not taken place.

The secret trojkas and illegal groups, of that there is no doubt, played an important role in the counterrevolutionary actions. Many who up until that time had been "underground" exposed themselves on that occasion, but some of them have remained hidden even to this day. For example, in Glogovac the "Local Committee" of Bajram Gashi organized the demonstrations on 2 April through Ismet Sopi and Alush Thaci. The next day, 3 April, Ismet Sopi and Naim Bujupi led a group of students onto the Orlovac-Lapusnik Road. Halil Kuliqi made copies of a leaflet calling for demonstrations:

"Brothers and sisters, do not let Red Drenica down," and he distributed them in Glogovac through schoolchildren whom he then led in the demonstrations. The underground groups in Decani also made attempts, mild ones to be sure, which were suppressed by the authorities.

In Istok the demonstrations were instigated on 30 March, obviously under direct instructions from Pristina, since they were prepared by precisely those students who had come to Glogovac from there after the disorders on 11 and 26 March.

Several university students were moving about near the schools, and Fadil Blakaj (21), a university student from the village Kovrage, who had brought with him Nazif Blakaj (44) and Hysni Blakaj (21), his relatives and friends, was observed in the demonstrations. Their aim was also to involve the secondary students (the Ribar Brothers CSUO [secondary targeted education school]), in which they were helped by two teachers of that center: Idriz Blakaj (25), apsolvent [university student who has completed classwork, but not final examinations, for a degree] of the School of Electrical Engineering in Pristina,

and Ismail Rugova, apsolvent of the School of Natural Sciences in Pristina, department of physics.

Pristina University turned out to be the nursery where the irredentist cadres, indoctrinated in a number of secret organizations, were raised.

Back in 1980 in Podujevo, as we have shown in our previous installments, Salih Salihu established a six-member underground group called "Back on Our Feet" (Perseri ne kembe). Later, on 25 March 1981, another underground group of some 20 members was created and known as "Shaban Shala," and again the founder was Salih Salihu. On 29 March yet another secret meeting was held in the home of Sabil Latifi--Salih Salihu again being present--in which the main speaker was Fehmi Berisha, a person already well known for his unlawful activities among university students in Pristina, who had left a trail in several towns where he had maintained contacts, attended meetings and organized underground work. At that meeting Fehmi Berisha, employed in a store in Podujevo, but also a part-time student in the third year at the School of Philosophy, who is 27 years old today, prepared a plan and issued assignments for boycotting classes on 30 March at the Eighth of November Center for Secondary Targeted Education. The next day Fehmi Berisha went to the village Dyz and spent the day writing leaflets, and on 31 March he again gathered a group of four members and set forth the plan for demonstrations on 1 and 2 April in Podujevo.

In that four-member cell were Avdi Latifi (52), cabinetmaker, convicted of murder in 1950 and sentenced to 15 years in prison, of which he served 12; Hamdi Mustafa (28), instructor at the Eighth of November CSUO, a student at the School of Philosophy in Pristina; Salih Salihu (22), a student of the VPS [junior postsecondary school of pedagogy], and Fehmi Berisha. In indoctrinating and instigating the pupils in secondary targeted education they had a great deal of help from Ejup Shala, a teacher at the center for secondary targeted education. This ensured one of the most important prerequisites for the action's success--the presence of the secondary students. And that is precisely what the organizers of the disorders and unrest in Kosovo aimed at as a rule. Secondary students, it was assumed, are a good bait and magnet for their parents, the general public and the workers, while for the forces of law and order and security service they are an unwelcome, delicate and impossible target.

Of course, this still was to bring many pupils and their teachers, as well as others who joined them, before the court. They included Avdyl Rama (22), university student; Nexhat Balaj (33), teacher; Muse Musa (20), secondary student; Fatmir Jusufi (26), electric welder; Halim Avdullahu (43), a worker at Hidroelektra in Rijeka, and certain others.

When the disorders were over, and the destruction and rage had died down, Ejup Shala, the teacher, called upon his students to shave their heads bare as a sign of solidarity with the demonstrators.

"There is nothing better or finer than to join in demonstrations in which the people of Kosovo demands its rights," Ejup said to a student of his, attempting to persuade him to boycott classes.

After the demonstrations in Urosevac Ejup still had something to say to his students. And he said it, rather ambiguously and enigmatically, but cynically and coarsely.

"This shows that the Albanian has never lacked heroism, but only intelligence...."

In all the towns the demonstrations were usually held after the same pattern between 1000 and 1800 hours, reaching their culmination at about 1300 and 1400 hours (when the first shift of secondary students is leaving school, and those on the second shift just going), and the same slogans were shouted and displayed in a disciplined way. The groups and processions broke everything they came upon. Here is a passage from the judgment against those who organized and participated in the disorders in Glogovac:

"... slogans were shouted ... 'Kosovo a republic,' 'We want our comrades out of jail,' 'Down with the Yugoslav bourgeoisie,' 'We want our school to be named after Skender-beg, not Marshal Tito'.... On the critical day, after it had gone on for 2 hours, Enver Dugolli climbed up on an automobile and read a letter containing the following among other things: 'Brothers and sisters, do not let heroic Drenica down,' 'Down with the Yugoslav criminals,' 'Long live the people's party,' 'Long live Albania' ... and then the secondary students went into the city and started for the railroad station. Their aim was to involve the workers of Feronikl and others working in Glogovac.... When the demonstrators returned to the Marshal Tito CSUO, they set up a photograph of Skender-beg at that place. The demonstrators broke the windows of automobiles, stores and houses in the city. The crowd started for Feronikl and along the way were joined by Sejdi Leku, who encouraged the citizenry, saying: 'Forward, comrades, to defend our children from the Nis police, since they will strangle them.' As they approached Feronikl, the security forces intervened with tear gas...."

The actions of individuals also fit into this general picture:

"The demonstrators halted a truck and disarmed the driver; his pistol was taken by Nezir Krasniqi, who fired it into the air...."

"Haki Istoku ... turned over a Volkswagen, and Shefki Piraku also took part, threw stands at policemen, broke store windows...."

"Ramadan Nika ... called upon the bystanders to oppose the authorities of the secretariat for Internal Affairs...."

And so on. Eleven of them, among them 4 secondary students, 1 university student, 1 machine technician, 1 typist, 1 craftsman (cabinetmaker), 2 farmers and 1 worker, the oldest of whom was 38, were punished by prison sentences from 7 to 11 years.

Once the counterrevolution was halted, it seems to have been extremely important to the leadership of the irredenta in Yugoslavia and in Tirana, which was constantly encouraging continued resistance and open action over the radio, to

show itself as being still capable of making itself heard and proving its presence. Those who were the ringleaders and inspiration were especially interested in having demonstrations take place where all expectations had not been fulfilled with respect to intensity and where they had not occurred at all. Thus in Lipljani, after the demonstrations of schoolchildren organized on 2 April by Ismail Bahtiri (22), a university student, and Agim Bilaca (22), a fourth-year student of secondary targeted education, and Naim Keqiku, a secondary student, 1.5 months after 15 May--when our public did not suppose that such outbreaks were still possible--prepared a new action by the irredenta.

The organizers were altogether new people.

On 15 May 1981 in the evening hours, in the village Muhaxherski Babusi, in the home of Sabri Lushi (22), a fourth-year student at the CSUO, there was a meeting of Remzi Lushi (21) from the same village, a university student, Halil Ismajli (20), university students, Bislim Ahmeti (20), secondary student, Milaim Dervisholli (19), secondary student, and the minor N. M. to prepare demonstrations for 21 May. The day before they arranged in the meadows near Sitnica who would do what the next day and which streets they would go down. The "organizers" were all secondary students, led by only one university student from the University of Pristina, Remzi Lushi, who was not even the oldest in the group, but a man who came from the nursery.

The case of Kacanik, where the demonstrations and disorders took place only on 5 May, is interesting, though the songs about that town are still sung and heard among the irredentists in the context of Great Albanian visions and with nostalgia.

"Before these demonstrations," Hysen Shurdhani (26), bookkeeper in the Sar enterprise, declared in the court, "the word went around the town: 'Why doesn't Kacanik rise up?'... This was a form of pressure for the young people of Kacanik to make themselves heard."

Hysen Shurdhani admits that when the demonstrations finally occurred, it was he who shouted the slogan: "Whoever doesn't join is a traitor." Incidentally, he is the coach of a basketball team.

He was joined in the docket as an organizer and participant in the demonstrations by Ekrem Kucuku (24), a second-year student at the School of Economics, a basketball player coached by Shurdhani, and a third person in the group, Naser Tusha (23), a university student, also played basketball.

All three say that that day they were thinking only of basketball.

Of a multitude of about 200-250 people, who demonstrated in Kacanik about half an hour, the law enforcement agencies and public prosecutor singled out these three as the most active. They were joined in the docket by the teacher Xhemail Fici (29), Avdullah Callaku, a student at the School of Philosophy (Albanian language and literature), Fatime Sopaj (19), a secondary schoolgirl, and Ramiz Shehu (30), a chauffeur at the Lepenac Lime Plant. The slogans which they carried and shouted were a copy of the slogans launched previously

all over the province. The court did not ascertain who was the key figure and organizer of this delayed event in Kacanik, for which the citizenry and competent authorities were ready and waiting, and they soon put an end to it.

The tentacles of conspiracy and counterrevolutionary action extended even outside the province. Usually the inspiration came from Pristina. To confirm that we will dwell on the case of Fehmi Berisha, whom we have mentioned, that is, on his trail in Debar (SR [Socialist Republic] Macedonia).

The district court in Skopje pronounced verdicts on 4, 5 and 6 January 1982 against Kastriot Haxhirexhi (21), a medical student, Petrit Bomova (22), a student at the School of Philosophy, Bashkim Mashkulli (25), a philosophy student, and Kazim Kormehmeti (22), a student of economics. They were all born in Debar and lived there, but, as is the case with many university students of Albanian nationality, they were studying in Pristina. The group also included Muharrem Dovolani, a student of the School of Natural Sciences and Mathematics, also of Debar.

They were arrested in July 1981 and taken to Skopje.

In Pristina, where they were attending the university, they lived in one room on the third floor, No 50 Aktas Street, where indeed many Pristina students lived. Here they were regularly visited beginning in 1980 by Fehmi Berisha, who worked in a store and was a part-time student from Podujevo, organizer of the trojkas of the "People's Red Front." In December 1980 the group went to a meeting with Berisha in Podujevo, which was also attended by Ramadan Dibrani, an engineer and teacher in the school center. They discussed the creation of trojkas, the bylaws and program of the underground organization which Fehmi had brought them into. These meetings recurred now in Pristina, now in Podujevo, and then Fehmi Berisha would go to visit and instruct them in Debar itself. Berisha would carry illegal literature, and on one occasion he made contact with Naim Hajredinaj, who turned over to Nuharrem Dovolani no less than 100 copies of the newspaper VESNIK SLOBODE [HERALD OF FREEDOM] (of the People's Red Front), and Nuharrem took a part of them to the student Agron Sela and the rest to members of his own group.

All participated in the March and April student demonstrations in Pristina. Though Fehmi Berisha soon went to jail, Agron Sela fled abroad, and Naim Hajredinaj (the Decani contact) began to hide. Kastriot Haxhirexhi, Petrit Bomova, Bashkim Mashkulli seem to have been wavering. In Debar they recruited a group of young men and during May they were thinking about how to organize demonstrations in their native place. On 16 April 1981 they met in the house of Bashkim Mashkulli. In addition to the organizers, this meeting was attended by Nazim Tozlluku, Hysen Spahiu, Bardhyl Kllobocica, Bajram Mehmeti and Rexhep Kormehmeti (all appeared in the court as witnesses). They pretended that they had come to play soccer on a nearby meadow, but then Kastriot Haxhirexhi, Petrit Bomova and Bashkim Mashkulli--as participants in the events in Pristina--submitted some kind of report, analyzed the course and results of demonstrations in Pristina. After that there was a discussion about organizing demonstrations in Debar. This would have caused reverberations and had political significance in SR Macedonia. After the analysis, which showed that

the plan would have a hard time, they concluded that they would give it up after all, since there was no serious prospect of success whatsoever.

The case of Fehmi Berisha--and of his like--vividly shows how people can be gathered together and brought into the irredenta and counterrevolution by just one man. Fehmi Berisha (sentenced to 15 years in prison) left a trail in three towns--Pristina, Podujevo and Debar. His "cadres," his "pupils" (but also victims) revealed in the court how Berisha awakened an unprecedented nationalistic euphoria in them in an astounding way.... In the notes of one of them, Petrit Bomova, found during a search, there is the following passage:

"We will fertilize Kosovo with the bones of the Serbian king."

A man wonders in vain who is this Serbian king, and who is it who wants to murder the young people of Kosovo?

Wherever nationalism speaks, there is neither logic nor the proper relation to reality. A piece of writing by Kazim Kormehmeti, another student of Fehmi Berisha, which he sent to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, contains this passage:

"I hope that this little piece of paper finds you healthy, with open eyes, vigilant, tireless in your revolutionary work. We here who are related to you in ideology (like a family) are fine, as we have never been.... They did not learn history. But the real 99.99 percent truth about Vesterka (Yugoslavia) is that a strange disease prevails in our country, a disease that is modern in 1981, which is developing and which is more dangerous (for it) than cancer. No cure can be found for that disease regardless of what is undertaken.

"Which means that it is today becoming stronger, but tomorrow it could even destroy the stepmother ... strike her in the heart, so that she could not be saved even by specialists from America and Russia, so that she does not die in bed, nor on her two feet.... We will cut off even those two feet which enslave the Albanians, you are well informed there about the illness of our stepmother.... Though she is still alive, we have begun to dig her grave ... but she is large and takes a great deal of time for work (involving the masses), work which is dangerous and in which there are even victims. There is no wedding without meat."

He sent this letter on 9 May 1981 to the address of his aunt Munire Bakalli, 118 Quemal Staf Street in Tirana. Questioned by the judge as to what his motives were in writing this, Kazim Kormehmeti said precisely this:

"I was present, and what I saw in Pristina and heard (the stepmother's--author's note) action toward the demonstrators in the demonstrations I compared to the murdering of high school and university students in Kragujevac during the occupation...."

However suitable and realistic it may seem to us to say that underground organizations and their leadership within the country and abroad were pulling the strings of the counterrevolutionary action in Kosovo, it is certain that even

they were not always able to completely control their followers. Many underground groups came to nothing, as did individuals they were counting on. Many secret contacts and channels were cut off, many passwords became pointless, and key people were discovered. Quite a few things happened which were not foreseen.

This is also revealed by the bizarre episode which follows, one which was referred to in a trial on 15 February of this year, 1982, in the district court in Skopje. The accused Emrush Sailevski (43), a street vendor of magnetic tapes who usually sets up his place of business in front of the "Napredak" bookstore near the taxi stand in Kumanovo, does not resemble a counterrevolutionary. The father of nine children, a man with a severe physical handicap (which was in fact ascertained in the court), he would play his tapes on the street, gather customers, lovers of folk music, without the municipal inspectorates or policemen asking any questions, though he had no permit. It was felt that he was a poor man, short in stature and hunchbacked to boot, with so many children, and so they looked the other way. What is more, the Kumanovo Opstina Assembly had granted him regular monthly welfare of about 3,000 dinars.

Albanians were, of course, in the majority among his customers. Emrush would sell them tapes at 100 dinars, which was not too expensive, but Sailevski made plenty. That is, he managed to buy empty tapes for 30 to 40 dinars, and he himself would tape what he thought would sell well from the radio and television.

However, back somewhere in the latter half of 1979 Latif Fejzullahu, driver of a taxi van, who had bought a tape from him, noted that on the tape, somewhere in the middle, there was music which also mentioned and glorified Enver Hoxha. Gradually, during 1980 and 1981, these selections of songs of Emrush Sailevski contained more and more titles and content broadcast over Radio Tirana. To be sure, the first two or three songs were as a rule local ones, but as the tape went on, one would find on it more and more frequently those other political songs, and at the end irredentist music. It seems that sales were good after the events in Kosovo in March and April 1981; Emrush Sailevski became bolder and began to tape from the broadcasts of Radio Tirana even articles from ZERI I POPULLIT, and he even sold that there on the street in the middle of Kumanovo. At that time, of course, no one yet knew that Emrush Sailevski was in up to his ears, that on one occasion he had even torn up and thrown down Tito's picture, cursing him for not having given Kosovo a republic during his lifetime, and saying that he was to blame for everything that had happened in Kosovo. Sailevski was also dissatisfied with the "passivity" of Albanians in Macedonia.

"You are not like those there in Kosovo. Here you seem to be like women," he said to his subtenant Demir S.

In Emrush Sailevski's apartment law enforcement agencies confiscated seven tapes whose spoken content, translated from Albanian to Macedonian, was presented in court; it revealed--if it can be so put--the presence of an important topic of nationalistic, irredentist folklore, one which is spreading tendentiously among the people. The motifs in it are not merely the far-off and

grievous past of the Albanian people and the Finns of the overthrown feudal lords and bourgeoisie, but also the injustices and irresponsible acts of the Rankovic group, which still weighs on the minds of certain people of Albanian nationality.... Here are some fragments from Emrush's tapes which refer to this.

"Rexhep says two or three words to them: Are you listening, brother Albanians, are you listening, my brothers? Let us fight for freedom, let us all fight, to defend our homes, old and young, men and women, on their feet, to fight for our freedom...."

"Now I will sing to you about what happened in 1956 about the persecution carried out by Rankovic and his henchmen. In an attack on all of Kosovo, he carried out a campaign of sinister torture and wracked the people, demanding guns and automatic weapons from those who had them and those who didn't. Our sons were left covered with blood in back alleys...."

"Oh, Rankovic, why have you shamed the Yugoslav people, still more Kosovo and Metohija, why have you left mothers brokenhearted, fathers without sons, sisters without brothers. Tito cries out from his office: Why don't you obey, and why are you torturing the Albanian people in Kosmet, for God's sake! Then one day something else happened: UDBA [State Security Administration] struck a blow with the local police and killed two young heroes, Shaban Sadiku, that young lad.... Oh, Rankovic, let the darkness swallow you up, I would drill holes in you with two drill bits, is that what the party taught you? You were not taught by our party, which was in the fight and gave us the right to build our own home...."

In spite of this awkward and inaccurate translation the passages given--(introductions and lyrics)--the topics and motifs of the music--which Emrush Sailevski was passing on without any particular problem until his arrest, indicate above all what we confront and what we have to face up to.

Emrush Sailevski, the little street vendor, is not important. Those who were his customers are important, and still more important is the fact that they existed and are probably still taking goods of this kind, at least through the underground market.

We should not have illusions and we should not forget that in the thinking of some citizens in Kosovo--not just Albanians, but members of all nationalities and ethnic minorities--a poison of hatred, distrust, suspicion, rage, disappointment, anger and desire for revenge has been poured. The law and order that has been restored does not always mean order in people's thinking. Stories about the gold which was carried from Trepca to Belgrade persist, are woven, and remain alive in various versions and contexts, the assertions about exploitation, about inequality, still persist. This can be read even in the court record.

Adem Misimi (28) of Vitina in SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo says:

"We in Kosovo cannot get married, since we do not have a job.... Albanians from Kosovo are better people than Albanians in Macedonia. They are demanding a republic...."

Mete Selmani (55) from the village Simnica in Gostivar Opstina, a driller in a mine, tells his fellow miners, Macedonians, at his work station in the mine Cajla of the "Silika" Work Organization, on 14 April 1981 "that the Vardar River still stinks with Christians, that their daddy is sitting on the throne, and that the Albanians have no daddy, but even these troubles will pass, and everything that this government has done: 'Our time will also come....'"

However, not for a moment should we overlook that the counterrevolution in Kosovo awakened nationalisms of other stripes and flags which are not wasting a single moment to take advantage of every case of negligence and every occasion that offers.

What happened with the irredenta in Kosovo was involuntarily or, it seems, accurately defined (in a statement that was otherwise of hostile content) by Mehdi Ibrahimi (50) from the village Lojane, Kumanovo Opstina, who lives in Skopje and is temporarily unemployed: "Up to now they were followers of Skender-beg, but now they follow Enver Hoxha," he said.

The old Great Albanian obsession, which fed on historical injustices and myths, has assumed a new "Marxist-Leninist" adornment in the "doctrine" and policy of Enver Hoxha, which, of course, has not altered its retrograde essence, its megalomaniac nature, or its baneful effect on the vital interests of the Albanian people.

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MAY 1982 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 May 82 p 4

[Hans-Joachim Braune review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37, No 5, May 1982, signed to press 14 April 1982, pp 449-560: "Clear Position and Creativeness..." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] "Combines in the Struggle for High Achievements"--that is 'The Topic' of the May issue of EINHEIT. It contains documents from the SED Central Committee seminar for the general directors of our modern economic units and the party organizers of the Central Committee, which took place in Leipzig a month ago. The reader is informed in great detail on how the combines are increasing their contributions toward implementing the decisions of the 10th SED Congress.

"What matters now," Guenter Mittag points out in his keynote statements, "is above all the ideological position on the consistent implementation of the party's decisions. Everywhere it is important to make full use of the possibilities available in the GDR in a creative way. This means in particular, however, that each combine must mobilize its own forces. This means to link the well-prepared and swift introduction of new products with modern technologies which in the spirit of socialist rationalization eliminate jobs and improve the working and living conditions as well as considerably decrease the material and energy expenditure and improve the quality of the products."

The contribution to the discussions from 11 combines of the industry and construction sector illustrate how through science and technology an effectiveness considerably higher than ever before must be guaranteed. Reporting the experiences of the best along the entire line of the intensively expanded reproduction, the combines thus contribute to the achievement of high economic results on a broad scale. Thus the performance competition is given new stimuli. It points the way to the elimination of differences in performance between the combines and enterprises. Herein, it was stated in Leipzig, lies our greatest reserve.

From among the many articles in EINHEIT No 5, 1982, let us recommend particularly those by Hans-Joachim Hoffmann ("Goethe's Work and Legacy") and by Vladimir P. Mozhin ("Siberia and the Far East of the Soviet Union: Problems and Prospects of Development").

CSO: 2300/310-P

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

YOUNG GENERATION'S OWN 'PARTICULAR DEVELOPMENTAL PATH' STRESSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 5, May 82 (signed to press 14 Apr 82) pp 517-524

[Article by Prof Dr Klaus Boettcher, director, Wilhelm Pieck Youth College: "Revolutionary Unity of the Generations--Real Socialism's Achievement and Claim"]

> [Text] It takes several generations to bring the historic workers class mission to realization. That also determines the party's relationship to youth. How can the party--by paying attention to the specific characteristics of youth--hand on the positions of the revolutionary workers movement from generation to generation, and which claim arises from it on every communist? Which contribution of its own is the youth association making to the all-round strengthening of the socialist fatherland, by cultivating and preserving revolutionary traditions and by its deeds, through the "FDJ Mission 10th Party Congress," forming and consolidating the unity of the generations?

Without youth, there can be no victory for a revolution. The class-bound education of the growing workers' generation and its taking part in party struggle lend elan, energy and always new capacities to the revolutionary movement. Ever since the workers class was formed, its best representatives--like Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, V. I. Lenin, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thaelmann, Wilhelm Pieck and other outstanding leaders of the German and international workers movement--have always emphatically underscored that the world historic mission of this class can be brought to realization only through the conscious activity of several generations. "The enlightened sector of the workers class comprehends very well," Karl Marx wrote, "that the future of its class and thus the future of humanity depends completely on the education of the growing generation of workers."[1]

Our party members and candidates are dedicated to that noble task and obligation--in socialism relating to all youth. The 10th SED Congress appealed to the young generation in the GDR to appropriate the communists' meaning of life. That call "is becoming more and more the leitmotif of the young generation's thinking and conduct in our country,"[2] Comrade Erich Honecker said at the third Central Committee session. It is an essential factor in consolidating the revolutionary unity of generations in socialism.

The Roots of the Revolutionary Unity of the Generations

Natural as the succession of generationsis, it alone reveals nothing about the relations between them. The key to a dialectical-materialistic understanding of the sequence of generations and the relations between generations lies in material life, mainly in the mode of production. Karl Marx wrote: "History is nothing but a sequence of generations each of which exploits the materials, capital and productive forces handed on by all previous ones, so that it, on the one hand, carries on traditional activity under wholly different circumstances and, on the other hand, modifies the old circumstances by entirely different activity."[3] The formation and development of each new generation mainly is a process of appropriating its material and intellectual-cultural legacy, created by preceding generations and handed on throughout an extended period of joint activity to always several subsequent generations for a basis from which to start with critical judgment, creative further development and augmentation.

Mainly the concrete class and production relations are what determines the manner and speed with which the growing generation appropriates the material and intellectual-cultural values, which chances for doing so it obtains from society, what rapport it develops itself with its heritage, how much ability there is in it to recognize and augment its progressive elements that are worthy to be carried on, and how all this is made to serve society's upward development. As each member of a certain generation belongs to one class or stratum or another, and as youth always forms and develops under specific economic and social circumstances, the sequence and relations of generations are not confined to demographic characteristics but are primarily molded by social characteristics and must therefore be looked at from a class-bound position. The revolutionary struggles of the workers class always had young workers taking part in them. Alongside more experienced comrades, they acquired experience and political maturity. Joint class membership and common class goals consolidated the revolutionary unity of these generations.

The bourgeoisie also has always been educating its new generations in the spirit of preserving its capitalist class interests. It does what it can to weaken the unity of generations among working people and enlist all youth in enforcing its governmental objectives by denying, effacing or belittling class conflicts, which certainly do not by-pass the young generation either. Particularly in recent times we have seen how capitalist countries, through sundry theories and opinions about youth movements and the constant protestations by politicians that they want to talk with youth, seek to attenuate the protests from large sectors of young workers and other youth strata against the armaments madness and escalating social insecurity and deter them from the struggle for peace and social progress. With it, nationalistic and anticommunist lines of tradition are being pushed which never did a young generation any good.

A great achievement of socialism has been to have changed fundamentally the relationship between generations--which means that of all classes and strata with the entire young generation. On the basis of the rule of the workers class and its allies, the prevailing material relations, especially the socialist ownership in the means of production and the resulting identity of basic interests of all, the revolutionary unity of generations can form and be reinforced, the interests of society also conforming with the objective interests of youth. Such interests mainly are:

--the interest in living in peace and social safety, being allied with the USSR and the other socialist countries through solid friendship and cooperation, and exercising internationalist and anti-imperialist solidarity with all progressive forces;
--the interest in creating the prerequisites, through tenacious and creative work, occupational skills and a high personal contribution to the protection of socialism, for serving oneself and one's fatherland;
--the interest in taking part in the further development of socialist democracy while assuming a high responsibility for it; and
--the interest in acquiring great knowledge and the treasures of art and culture and constantly further developing as a personality.

Young people can develop all their abilities, capacities and talents in socialist society and bring them fully to bear on social progress and their own benefit. The young generation is a great societal force in our country. It can help shape socialism on the basis of a program that fully conforms with its current and future interests. Its implementation is the principal precondition for further consolidating the revolutionary unity of generations in socialism. "Because our party has a Marxist-Leninist program, issues tasks for our socialist present that conform with the interest of the working people and can be understood by anyone, and points to assured perspectives for the communist future, the youth places confidence in it and is devoted to its policy. That is why it is in the forefront of those who struggle for our policy. Time and time again new fighters evolve from the ranks of the FDJ who take up our party's revolutionary banner and extend and defend the achievements of the struggle of their fathers and mothers."[4]

Our party, which also through its composition in terms of age-groups is the best guarantor for the revolutionary unity of generations in the GDR, always grants great attention and assistance to the socialist youth association. Its, in principle, class-bound approach to all matters concerning the young generation and its consistent orientation to its political-ideological education in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism are the essential causes for the revolutionary continuity in thought and action that continues from generation to generation.

There is no task of overall social rank from which the party would fail to derive some special challenge to youth. With it, it always stresses the responsibility the communists have in making youth aware of the magnitude of its tasks and in enabling it to deal with them. Party members explain to youth how the universal inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and the construction of the new society were applied creatively and which struggles had to be won and still have to be won. The party charges all communists with the high personal responsibility to set an example for youth through their own work, manner of living and moral integrity. That, in particular, also applies to bringing up one's own children.

New qualitative relations among generations are caused by the qualitatively new social relations in socialism but are not generated automatically. They evolve in a historic process under party leadership and must, due also to the incessant influx of new forces, constantly be reinforced and lifted onto a higher level through target-directed political-ideological work. Through a joint responsibility for using and augmenting the available material and intellectual values of socialist

society and the identity of ideological persuasions, mainly toward the joint goal of establishing the communist society, the unity of generations is solidified. A large sector of the older generation has already gown up, like the younger generation, under socialism, went through the school of the socialist youth association, developed socialist norms for mutual cooperation, and solves the tasks assigned jointly.

It would, of course, be wrong to ignore matters and problems that actually exist in consolidating the unity of generations. That has nothing in common with the persistently overworked notion in capitalist countries of the so-called conflict of generations, which they would like to substitute for the class struggle, assigning to it the rank of a "worldwide phenomenon," a "global problem," or a phenomenon of "here and there, East and West." This "generational conflict" actually is but a conflict between large sectors of the young generation and capitalist reality, a society that does not represent the interests of young people.

The problems we have are different in kind. In his note on the "Youth International," V. I. Lenin pointed out: "It often happens that representatives of the generation of the adults and older people do not know how to approach youth properly which is bound to approach socialism in different ways, not in the ways, the forms and the situation in which their elders did."[5] That is an exceedingly important reminder for working with the growing generation. Certain differences between the older and younger generation are irrefutable. Each passes through its own course of development, has its own historic experiences, conditions and political insights with their strong impact on their personalities, and also pursues its own path toward understanding. These are factors that surely have their influence on certain decisions by any generation. Undoubtedly, specific characteristics of the young generation entail more than differences of opinion about fashions and hair-styles, cultural interests or certain modes of behavior. They are understandable because, after all, youth is a highly dynamic part of society, rejuvenating it constantly. Youth is a time of ripening, of forming one's personality, a time when one seeks answers for especially many questions and makes early and far-reaching decisions, within a few years, that are critical for one's whole life. One has to choose one's occupation, decide on extended service with the NVA, consider starting a family and so forth.

GDR youth has grown up under socialist production relations and for the most part shows much class consciousness, political interest and great trust in SED policy. The degree to which it is politically organized is considerable. More than two-thirds of all young people are FDJ members, one out of three exercising a function there. The educational level has risen noticeably in recent years. Some 85.6 percent of the young people who started vocational training in September 1981 had graduated from 10th grade. That was 15 percent more than in 1970. To want to do something great and surpass previous boundaries is typical, mainly, of youth. We must keep aware of that in our political-ideological work. Without a thorough analysis of the actual developmental status of the young generation and of the matters and problems affecting it, it is hard to help the young people prove their strengths and surpass their boundaries. That includes seeking to understand the motives for their decisions, assisting them comradely and persuasively in correcting their errors, and conveying one's own experiences in such a way that the young people recognize them as good and useful for themselves as for solving present tasks.

Young people especially have many traits that experienced communists and the FDJ will foster as best they can. That includes curiosity, an innovator spirit and a creative zeal in fulfilling ambitious tasks.

Being convinced of its own strength and the ability to become enthusiastic for something fast, and its natural bias and sense of justice, are important factors on which one can build and which one can use for communist education.

Bureaucratism, dull decision-making, routine, and belittling inadequacies in one's work are things young people are most sensitive to. When FDJ members staunchly oppose such defects, this then also expresses a genuine representation of interests. Nor do the party and the youth association ignore that young people also must be helped in making more of some features that among model workers already have become standard procedure, including order, discipline, diligence and accuracy. They also take account of the fact that among a considerable sector of young people there is no sharp perception yet of the path the older generation has passed through, of its hardship in surmounting difficulties. So we sometimes get a rather perfunctory view on hard-won accomplishments that are being taken for granted without any regard for how hard the effort was to achieve them. And it is precisely this lack in experience which the class enemy seeks to exploit in various ways.

Lenin once said is was no calamity to make mistakes when one is young. The main thing was to be brought up in dedication to the workers' cause and under the conditions of proletarian struggle.[6] That is what the FDJ concentrates on in its efforts. "As you yourselves have said for every good reason," Comrade Erich Honecker affirmed at the 11th FDJ Parliament, "the revolutionary experiences of the older generation are of inestimable value to the communist education of youth."[7] The ways and means in which they are conveyed have a great bearing on how these experiences are used by the entire youth and the new working class generation in coping with the tasks at hand.

Facing New Tasks

New and more complicated tasks are facing the FDJ and the entire young generation of the GDR in extending and defending the socialist revolution. Higher demands are made on knowledge, ideological steadfastness and party-mindedness, moral attitudes, patriotic and internationalist conduct, and creative activities by the young people through the significant changes in domestic and external conditions under which the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR proceeds, the further advance of the socialist forces in the revolutionary world process, the new stage in combining the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution, the increased efforts in the struggle against the arms-buildup and confrontation policy of imperialism, and the greater ideological confrontation in which the youth of socialist countries is one of the targets the class enemy has chosen.

The party mission of continuing at a higher level the communist education of all youth, whereby to solidify the revolutionary unity of the generations, is a consequence resulting from the new concrete historic situation also for the activity of the socialist youth association. This requirement implies the special responsibility to make all youth aware of the truly enormous efforts needed for the continued implementation of the SED program objectives throughout the 1980's. Each generation

has its own revolutionary tasks. Representatives of the older generation who were involved in youth projects of the first years, as Sosa, Friedlaender Wiese, Schwedt or Rostock's overseas port, still speak with pride of the revolutionary elan in those years.

With the further advance of the socialist revolution, the character of the highly concrete tasks for society and for the individual has also changed. Implementing the party's economic strategy, primarily coping with scientific-technical progress, poses complicated tasks which, to be solved, require creative thought and high dedication and reliability in every situation and sweat and exertion even today. Revolutionary action always is what the revolutionary movement expects at any given point and what contributes best to realizing the ideals and goals of the workers class in our country and in the world.

A personal everyday dedication to the economic strengthening of socialism and to enhancing its defense capability serves the safeguarding of peace and the solidar support of all progressive forces in the world. The readiness to stand by socialism in any situation and give it all one has expresses revolutionary action. Patiently explaining the connection between a personal contribution to fulfilling the national economic plan and the basic issues of our time develops and strengthens the sense that one is doing something for the great revolutionary cause and helps spot revolutionary action within our seemingly puny everyday efforts. Not last from there arises conscious public activity.

So the FDJ considers it its concern to make all young people aware especially of this connection and activate creative impatience, the striving for extraordinary achievements, for excelling and being successful in the struggle for a sound balance-sheet every day, by assigning tasks that foster innovator spirit and the joy in discovery. Through conscious ordinary conduct, in the work collective, the class standpoint and communist morality, modes of thinking and maxims of life develop and are reinforced as they conform to the communists' sense of life.

The youth organization must pay special attention here to the cultivation and preservation of the revolutionary traditions. "We should like to reinforce the practice that all basic FDJ and pioneer friendship organizations maintain firm contacts with the party veterans, the heroes of the antifascist resistance struggle, the activists of the first hour, and the first generations of FDJ members as well. Their appearance before membership meetings, in political debates, at youth forums and in the FDJ study year is indispensable for vividly preserving the traditions and properly focusing on the goals we have assigned to ourselves now for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society."[8]

The revolutionary traditions are so very important, mainly, because they give the young people a vivid idea of the struggle of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party in years past. This is not a matter of carrying over in an undifferentiated manner the pattern of the struggle of the past to present days, but of handing on knowledge and experiences on how one was able to prevail under the various situations in the class struggle, how the comrades were mobilized toward overcoming hardships, and what the mental attitudes and principles were from which one had come there. Experiences of this kind help us in better understanding what was accomplished as well as the ongoing tasks. Tried and tested

methods of struggle spare the young people mistakes and enable them better to understand the complicated and, in part, not all too obvious manifestations of the class struggle. They motivate young people toward self-education, induce comparisons with characteristics and attitudes of the models, and can also spark the zeal needed for fulfilling tough tasks.

In cultivating and preserving revolutionary traditions, valuable experiences were gathered in recent years in the youth association and the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization. Many youth brigades, nearly one out of every five basic FDJ organizations, and almost two-thirds of all pioneer friendship groups have already been awarded honorifics of revolutionary fighters. FDJ members and pioneers keep up more than 7,200 memorial sites for the revolutionary struggle of the German and international workers movement. More than 5,560 research projects are devoted to the lives of revolutionary fighters and the history of the struggle of the workers class and of the FDJ. There are circa 2,260 "young historians" working teams in the 1980/81 school year at our schools. At topical membership meetings, as in March 1978, entitled "The GDR Youth Fulfils the Legacy of the Revolutionary Fighters," or in April 1979, entitled "The GDR--My Socialist Fatherland," or in April 1980, entitled "Shock Troops in the Struggle," on youth forums and at the "Meeting of Generations" antifascist resistance fighters and party veterans handed on to youth their rich experiences in the struggle and in life.

More has been made of experience exchange among collectives bearing one and the same name of revolutionary models. A more purposeful use is being made of anniversaries of the German and international workers movement and their outstanding representatives in the communist education of the young generation. Tracing the biographies and struggles of their revolutionary models and, above all, personal encounters with them or their kin have a great influence on the personality development of young people. Comparing one's own way of life with that of the model, and personally answering questions such as "would I act the same way today in complicated situations," "do I already know enough to be firm in the defense of our ideals," or "do I always give all I have" release capacities and potentials for increased public activity and foster the development of a party-minded climate in the collectives.

Tracing Our Own Traditions

With the "FDJ Mission 10th Party Congress," issued by the 11th Parliament, the socialist youth association enters a new phase also in cultivating its own best traditions. The critical guideline for the FDJ ever since its founding has been always to stand loyally by the side of the party and to be dedicated to the implementation of its goals under any conditions. The mission for all members, to appropriate the communists' sense of life, and to do everything for the good of the people, is the conclusion youth has drawn from the party's successful balance-sheet on fulfilling its program step by step and from the 10th party congress resolutions oriented to it.

Communists who are steadfast champions of our world-outlook in every situation and do much for socialism also are the young generation's best partners. Such comrades seek exchange with youth by explaining the party resolutions and, as propagandists, the revolutionary working class theory. The communists' model always makes young

people more perceptive in seeing through false counselors who would divert them from our future-oriented tasks. From the communists youth learns a class-bound approach to all social manifestations and learns showing steadfastness and party-mindedness in every situation. Especially in a time of sharpened class conflict with imperialism it is imperative to prepare all young people for it. That calls for knowledge, patience, firm principles, sensitivity, and the ability to listen and react accordingly. It also calls for a firm will to make oneself heard through party-minded arguments where it is necessary, fight with passion for our good cause and frankly display the pride in our party and our state. Generally it is a matter of being in control of basic issues of the class struggle (Who-whom? Who is benefited by something?) and of developing also a certain revolutionary class instinct for political-ideological questions. The more than 290,000 SED members and candidates in the young age-group have a special responsibility; their most important party mission is their active membership in the socialist youth association.

Highly effective for communist education and solidifying the revolutionary unity of generations is the contest for the SED banner of honor with the pictures of Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck on it, which has already been won by more than 10,000 basic FDJ organizations. The contest for the banner induces the FDJ members to deal, among other things, with party theory and its course through history, and to become acquainted with communists that stood in the frontline of the party's struggle; it helps develop a sense of pride in solving new tasks alongside the party.

Cultivating revolutionary traditions has the greatest effect on communist education if it is combined with practical deeds on behalf of socialism. The work collective, mainly the youth brigade, is that community which demonstrates best that everyday diligent and creative work has been and remains the secret of our successes. The motto of the Hans Kiefert youth brigade, "Each every day with a good balance-sheet," in this sense carries on longtime FDJ traditions for economically strengthening the GDR as well as for a higher level communist education of youth. Especially a youth brigade offers excellent qualifications for familiarizing its members with the revolutionary traditions of the workers class.

The socialist norms of the collective, the concrete nature of its tasks, the mutual comradely relations, the consistent fulfillment of obligations assumed, and the sense of fellowship there are important factors for instilling high work morality in all and for coming to grips critically with all those who do not as yet conduct themselves in accordance with social norms and demand more from society than they themselves ar willing to give. Confident cooperation between older and younger brigade members makes sure that proven traditions a given collective has formed can be carried on. This often goes together with the cultivation and preservation of traditions in a given FDJ group, a youth brigade, an enterprise, or a territory. The Georgi Dimitroff youth brigade of the VEB Schwedt paper mill, an "outstanding GDR youth collective," e.g., decided at an FDJ election meeting to set up a brigade traditional showcase. The FDJ executive at the Bergmann-Borsig VEB in Berlin, with exemplary assistance from the party organization, is writing the FDJ history of its tradition-rich enterprise. Pursuant to the orientation of the 11th Parliament, one has started to make important youth projects and high points in FDJ history more of a part of the cultivation of tradition.

Among the most beautiful and most compelling FDJ traditions is the friendship with the Soviet Union and the Leninist Comsomol, which is constantly being developed and reinforced in Thaelmann's spirit. The preparation and analysis of the 19th Comsomol Congress, held in May 1982 in Moscow, and the participation in building the natural gas pipeline on USSR territory are used to familiarize the FDJ members once again with the history and current tasks of our largest and most battle-tested fraternal organization.

Together with the Leninist Comsomol and other youth organizations, the FDJ is making an active contribution to the defense of peace. With the March 1982 membership meeting devoted to the topic, "Peace must be defended--peace must be under arms," where more than two million FDJ members in the basic organizations and groups, often with representatives of the first FDJ generation in attendance, conferred on the personal contribution from each friend to the defense of socialism and the safeguarding of peace, the FDJ worthily carried on a line of tradition that had its beginning in the assumption of the sponsorship for the armed organs 30 years ago. "Against NATO weapons--creating peace" is the slogan under which the youth affiliation is boosting its tradition-rich initiatives in the peace struggle. Through the "FDJ Mission 10th Party Congress," the youth association, with its efforts toward strengthening our socialist fatherland in every way, carries on the revolutionary continuity of its work in the relay race of generations.

FOOTNOTES

1. Karl Marx, "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional Central Council on Particular Questions," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 16, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 194.

2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 3. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Third SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 59.

3. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "The German Ideology," "Werke," Vol 3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1958, p 45.

4. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 60.

5. V. I. Lenin, "Youth International--A Note," "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1968, p 164.

6. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Successes and Difficulties of Soviet Power," "Werke," Vol 29, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 67.

7. Erich Honecker, "Nur der Sozialismus ist in der Lage, die Lebensfragen der Jugend zu loesen, XI. Parlament der Freien Deutschen Jugend" (Only Socialism Can Resolve the Vital Questions of Youth--11th FDJ Parliament), Junge Welt publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 379.

8. Egoin Krenz, "The Responsibility of Youth to Carrying on the Socialist Revolution in the GDR and the Tasks of the FDJ after the 10th SED Congress," Ibid., p 58.

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SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 5, May 82 (signed to press 14 Apr 82) 'Resumes' addendum

Combines in the Struggle for High Achievements

[Summary of 'The Topic' material from the SED Central Committee seminar for combine general directors and CC party organizers, held in Leipzig, 8 April 1982; pp 463-501. The excerpts from the concluding address by Guenter Mittag, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary (pp 463-479), are translated under the heading, "Mittag Addresses Combine Directors on Management Tasks," in a recent issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS. The contributions of the ten combine directors and one VEB party secretary (pp 480-501) are listed below]

> [Text] SED CC seminar for combine general directors and CC party organizers: How do the combines increase their contribution to fulfilling the 10th party congress resolutions in the economic field? The significant presentation by Comrade Guenter Mittag is supplemented by contributions of 11 combines on experiences and ways of successful economic activity aimed at increasing labor productivity, efficiency and quality and based on target-oriented ideological party work.
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> From the Discussion on Experiences and Requirements
>
> Herbert Kroker, general director, Herbert Warnke VEB Forming Equipment Combine, Erfurt: "Organize Peak Performance" (pp 480-482)
>
> Werner Frohn, general director, VEB Petrochemical Combine, Schwedt: "Increased Productivity--Reduced Costs" (pp 482-484)
>
> Wolfgang Biermann, general director, VEB Carl Zeiss Combine, Jena: "Continued Enhancement" (pp 484-486)
>
> Rudolf Winter, general director, Fritz Heckert VEB Machine-Tool Combine, Karl-Marx-Stadt: "Production for the World Market" (pp 486-488)

Erich Mueller, general director, Walter Ulbricht VEB Leuna Works Combine: "Increased Energy Conservation" (pp 488-490)

Herbert Richter, general director, Schwarze Pumpe VEB Gas Combine: "Modernize the Basic Assets" (pp 491-492)

Gert Wohllebe, general director, VEB Combine for Chemical Plant Construction, Leipzig-Grimma: "Safeguard Export Targets" (pp 492-494)

Wolfgang Mueller, general director, VEB Pipe Combine, Riesa: "One's Own Performance Is Decisive" (pp 494-495)

Karlheinz Jentsch, general director, Wilhelm Pieck VEB Mansfeld Combine, Eisleben: "Labor Capacity to Be Effectively Applied" (pp 496-498)

Werner Doberitz, general director, VEB Construction and Assembly Combine for the Chemical Industry, Halle: "Construct to Meet Due Dates and Quality Requirements" (pp 498-500)

Ursula Zschau, party secretary, VEB Cotton Spinning Mills and Twisting Mills, Floeha: "Mobilizing Party Work" (pp 500-501)

Goethe's Work and Legacy

[Summary of Speech by Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, member, SED Central Committee; GDR minister for culture; delivered at the German National Theater, Weimar, 22 March 1982, during ceremonies sponsored by the SED Central Committee and the GDR Council of Ministers on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the poet's death; pp 502-509. A report by East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, quoting extensively from the speech, is translated under the heading, "Culture Minister on Goethe Legacy in 'Socialist National Culture,'" in JPRS 80534, 9 Apr 82, No 1997 of this series, pp 39-43. A translation of a related West German commentary is available under the heading, "Goethe Jubilee Seen as Mixture of Ideology, Nationalism," in JPRS 80766, 10 May 82, No 2008 of this series, pp 15-18]

[Text] Goethe's work and endeavors, his view of the world tending toward materialism, his image of a universally educated and actively engaged man, and his program for a bourgeois-humanistic education and art development continue their impact on our lives and will continue to give future generations inspiration, knowledge and spiritual pleasure. In Goethe's vision of a free people on free soil we find the best the bourgeois class has bequeathed on us as a humanistic legacy. True to the traditions of the revolutionary workers movement, Goethe's work is being appropriated in our country productively and critically and linked with present-day public life.

On the Development of the Class of the Cooperative Farmers

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Kurt Krambach, research program director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 510-516]

> [Text] An analysis of the social development of the class of the cooperative farmers, which also brings out what reserves have to be tapped for the high performance improvement in our agriculture that is required. In connection with the requirements for the reproduction of this class, this article explores the potentials of cooperative property, how through the further shaping of cooperative democracy the LPG's can be consolidated, cooperation be deepened, and the work collectives' own responsibility be heightened.

Siberia and the Far East of the Soviet Union: Problems and Prospects of Development

[Summary of article by Prof Vladimir P. Mozhin, chairman, Council for the Study of Productive Forces, USSR State Planning Commission; pp 525-533]

> [Text] The exploration of the natural resources and the priority economic development in those regions--strategic tasks of the CPSU economic policy. The use of new forms in territorial economic organization under the special conditions of the not very accessible and climatically rough regions of Siberia and the USSR's Far East. Pressure points for further exploration in those regions which are important elements of the unified economic complex of the Soviet Union.

In the Struggle for People's Sovereignty--On the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the Hambach Event

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Asmus, director, history department, Erich Weinert Pedagogical College, Magdeburg; pp 534-539]

> [Text] The Hambach Event was the high point of a new upsurge of the anti-feudal popular movement in Germany between 1930 and 1934. The open challenge against the ruling aristocratic reaction, which for the first time became linked with a democratic alternative in the national framework, reserves an important spot in our history for the Hambach democrats, the article paying tribute to what was progressive and to the limitations in their efforts under objective historic conditions and tasks.

European Community in Capitalist Crisis

[Summary of 'The World of Capitalism Today' feature article by Dr Norbert Lehmann, economist, department chief, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics (IPW); pp 540-547]

> [Text] What has become of the euphoric hopes for "harmonious development" amd "greater stability" that accompanied the founding of the European Communities 25 years ago? The deep cyclical and structural crisis processes and their social consequences, the profound contradictions among the EC states and the increasing conflicts with the imperialist rivals demonstrate the lack of prospects for this state monopoly integration construct.

5885
CSO: 2300/311

PZPR SZCZECIN FIRST SECRETARY MISKIEWICZ INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 23 Jun 82 pp 1,2

[Interview with Stanislaw Miskiewicz, first secretary of the Szczecin Voivodship Committee of PZPR, by Wojciech Jurczak: "Taking a Different View," date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Szczecin and the voivodship are a youthful area; the average age of the population is slight above 30. What are the implications of this fact for the party which directs our life and the young population of this region?

[Answer] We are expecting the young people to take an active role in the activities outlined by the plenums of the PZPR Voivodship Committee which have been held since May of last year, or since the voivodship report and election conference preceding the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. I have in mind the tasks for the difficult year 1982 and the 1983-85 period. How can the crisis tensions in enterprises be overcome? How can the economic reform be implemented efficiently? How is the food economy to be developed? How can the program of housing construction be carried out in the light of social needs and development opportunities of this economic subsector? Work forces, and especially their young segment, of enterprises, must come up with answers to these questions. Taking into account our mistakes in youth-related activities and the moves of our political adversaries, we in the voivodship party organization are convinced that the party and the youth must act hand in hand now. We expect a strong effort primarily in the areas which I enumerated.

[Question] You are one of the youngest first secretaries of a voivodship committee. Perhaps, you have little difficulty understanding the young, the rebellious, the angry....

[Answer] In the 1960's, I was one of the "rebellious" like many others. I wanted to do it better, in a different and, as I thought, more intelligent way...after all, there has always been a conflict between generations. This conflict is still around, moreover, it is exacerbated in this time of crisis. The Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee will come up with a definitive program. The situation is such that the elder generation is offering a program to the youth. It is essential that this outline of activities meet the expectations and be accepted by the youth. The plenum will work out a strategic

concept. It will be up to everybody, the entire society including the youth, to fulfill the tasks. I maintain, as I have in the past, that we have far too few young people in management positions. Nobody gives up his position eagerly. However, young candidates for these positions are not active enough. If you have a different concept of work, if you have interesting, well thoughtout recommendations, you should stand by them, try and experiment with them. Defend what you think is right. The Szczecin Voivodship Committee will embark on training young alternate cadres for management positions in the next course of ideologico-political training. Young people with a college education who express the wish to hold management positions in the future will be admitted to the course.

[Question] Will everybody be given this opportunity?

[Answer] Everybody who is aware of past mistakes and is on the side of socialism in People's Poland, will be.

[Question] Recently, a lot has been said and written about "the generation of opportunity." Many people are burned up by this definition. Numerous facts from real life contradict the negative view of the prospects of youth....

[Answer] When it comes to a general social problem such as the affairs of youth in contemporary Poland, several insinuations are made. From the perspective of enterprise management, everyone would like to have members of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] around who have nothing else on their minds but their jobs and the enterprise. On the other hand, in our families we bring up our children in a way which prevents adequate preparation for independent life. It is often said that young people want too much, too soon. They have an appetite for purchasing color TV sets and automatic washing machines, they desire hi-fi sound equipment. In their family households, the young people take advantage of these very benefits of civilization. Let us not demand that the beginning of independent life be equated with a reduction in the standard [of living] of Neptune-brand TV sets, Frania washing machines and the proverbial "bare floor boards" of a rented living space. The standard at the outset of a career should not be lower than the level of their family household. The frequent view that "one does not qualify for a management position because he is too young" is a misunderstanding. Those who espouse this view forget that at a certain point they started out in management capacities being very young and somebody provided opportunities for them to prove their skills. Our attitude towards the system of upbringing must be changed.

We must counteract the stereotypes that are unfair to young people. They are dangerous. Let us take a different view of the demands and aspirations of youth. Let us reconsider our views, let us ponder their correctness and background. This in and of itself will be a significant step towards bridging the generation gap. It is concrete actions that count. Let us not lightly pass over in silence the unfilfilled resolutions of the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the party and the subsequent resolution passed by the parliament in the 1970's. Such a mistake in treating the young generation cannot occur again. The party, the society and the youth cannot afford it.

[Question] There is a 12,000-strong student community in Szczecin. What can be done to keep the character of Szczecin as a city of young intellectuals, to keep college graduates from leaving the city after receiving diplomas?

[Answer] There are reports of difficulties in finding jobs for college graduates elsewhere in the country. In our voivodship, employment is guaranteed for the graduates of three colleges: the Pomeranian Medical Academy, the Marine Higher School and the Higher Pedagogical School. There are job problems for a group of graduates from some faculties of the Agricultural Academy and Szczecin Technical University. We will solve these problems. Each graduate of these higher schools will be given a job in accordance with his qualifications. Difficulties are associated primarily with the housing shortage. In Szczecin voivodship, we promote development of towns and small settlements. It is becoming necessary to develop food processing, construction enterprises in these centers. There is a shortage of doctors and teachers in the voivodship. The educational system in these fields does not guarantee meeting the needs quickly. In a more remote future, we expect to overcome the impasse. We will feel the negative impact of the cancellation of regional admission quotas in the medical academy. Graduates from other regions will certainly look for jobs closer to their hometowns. We will provide incentives for them to say on in Szczecin voivodship because we need them. I do not mean only financial incentives. Ours is a beautiful region with bright prospects and opportunities. Development of the region is based on the maritime economy, socialized agriculture, food processing and, finally, the riches of nature which make the entire Baltic coastline a recreation area for our country.

[Question] In the course of our interview, you have not offered any recommendations or made any remarks about youth organizations.

[Answer] I believe that everybody can think independently. Youth organizations have their own programs, including political, which are close to the aims and strategy of the party and recognize these aims and strategy. The time for chaperoning has passed.

[Question] In other words, the style is absolutely different now?

[Answer] Not only the style, but also the actions are different—they are concrete, for the youth, with the youth, aimed at solving essential social problems of the younger generation.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

9761
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SOCIO-POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF ACADEMIC COMMUNITY DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 7, 26 May 82 pp 18, 19

[Article by Dr Habilitatus Professor Stanislaw Lojewski, senior research fellow at the Agricultural University of Warsaw: "Causes and Emotions"; passages in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The Higher Schools Group and the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] Commission on Science, Education and Upbringing of the Warsaw PZPR committee has been working for several months on the analysis and evaluation of basic problems pervading the academic community of Warsaw. In the current socio-political situation, the problems of socio-professional and political involvement of the student community should be considered especially important. This article was written in part on the basis of the results of considerations and discussions held by the group.

The issue of socio-political involvement in the student community is but one facet of the ideologico-educational activity among the youth, not necessarily students. The significance of socio-political activity among the youth has not been and is not adequately appreciated by faculty and school party organizations, school administration and faculty. Our adversaries have taken and are still taking advantage of that. They manipulate the emotions, consciousness and behavior of the youth both from inside and outside. Various forms, modes and techniques of this manipulation merit separate analysis.

Victories in battles for coal, food or [salvaging] the entire economy will not make up for the lost battle for the youth. The crisis of social and political consciousness of the youth will not only limit the opportunity of surmounting the current economic crisis; for many years to come, it will decide the future of socialism in our country.

Who Goes to Higher Schools

In order to discuss socio-political involvement in the academic community, and, moreover, the ideologico-educational activity, a political and social outline and evaluation of the student community is needed. This evaluation should not be restricted to an analysis of the state of affairs; rather, it should take into account the opportunities that have not been taken

advantage of. I mean primarily the problems of class and vocational composition of the academic community, especially of the student body. This composition is a significant influence on the attitudes and political divisions in this community. Therefore, we should talk and write both about the dissident groups and political opposition in this community and the social environment which gives rise to them. /Political struggle cannot stop at struggle with [political] views, it must strive to eliminate the socio-economic environment that breeds political opposition./ We must, at this time, touch on the problems of enrollment in higher schools.

The Higher Schools Group and the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] Commission on Science, Education and Upbringing of the Warsaw PZPR committee drew up a topical document in November 1981. Among other things, this paper stated that the system of enrollment in higher schools which has been in effect for many years has failed to achieve envisaged socio-political goals, because it has not ensured the opportunity to receive higher education for the best, and has not brought about an increase in the share of working-class and, above all, peasant youth enrollment. In Warsaw Technical University, the share of youth with these social backgrounds is a mere 18 percent, the shares in various faculties varying within a broad range. Furthermore, /the social composition of the student body does not correspond to the class and strata composition of Polish society/ in communities other than Warsaw.

There is a multitude of reasons for this state of affairs. The situation in the high school system is part of the reason. This system unambiguously emphasizes vocational schools while creating elitist general high schools, especially in large cities. The social composition of student bodies in vocational schools and general high schools, where the bulk of future students are trained, is drastically different.

Young people from more affluenct strata, from intelligentsia and the so-called private initiative types, mainly urbanites and to a large degree women were primarily the ones to find their way to higher schools, especially in the 1970's.

/There are no special financial incentives for young people of working-class and peasant backgrounds to go to higher schools./ At the same time, the system of scholarships in vocational schools, admission quotas in general high schools and at present also the system of admission exams have been and are drawing many gifted young people with working-class and peasant backgrounds away from general high schools.

As the practice of the 1970's revealed, the system of preferential credits now in effect is incommensurable with the actual socio-economic, cultural and organizational differentiation which provides for uneven conditions at the outset of a career, impairing the opportunities of the working-class and peasant youth, especially from small towns and villages. Therefore, more emphasis should be put on the multivariant, multidirectional system of equalizing career opportunities.

Political Divisions

A majority, or about 60 percent of the student body did not participate in the organizational and political activity in higher schools. This "silent majority" merits special concern and care at present. In 1981, it was subjected to a considerable degree of manipulation by the young people--members of the Independent Association of Students [NZS]. An insignificant minority of young people, about 15 percent of the studentbody belonged to the association. About 20 percent of the student body took part in the organizational activity of the Socialist Union of Polish Student [SZSP] in 1981. The minority of students involved in SZSP and NZS activities (I am leaving out lesser organizations) was politically divided, the lines running not only between but also within these organizations. At the end of 1981, a swift and sharp polarization of attitudes occurred.

The course of events in the country and in higher schools since the fall of 1980 has brought out the plurality of [political] views and has led to a deep ideological, political and organizational rift in the student community. This rift was reinforced by political divisions among faculty with negative consequences for upbringing and, most often, with a negative political influence on the attitude of students. Therefore, /the state of political views and attitudes of the cadres must be one of the main determinants of the party tactics in the student community./

The advent and legalization of NZS drew into this organization a segment of youth which, as a rule, took a one-sided negative stance towards the concepts of the socialist state and the policy of the party. This segment with its peculiar social background was increasingly forcefully manipulated by a narrow circle of NZS political leadership connected with Solidarity extremists. In Warsaw, this leadership regarded SZSP as the main ideological adversary in higher schools. It embarked on attempts to discredit SZSP in the community, edging out--and with success in many cases--the representatives of SZSP from collegiate bodies of higher schools and from the newborn student self-governing bodies.

The rift in the student community was exacerbated by strikes in higher schools forced on the students. The strikes were instigated and orchestrated by NZS activists, either with the support of the academic governing bodies elected in 1981 and a large segment of the faculty, or in the face of their failure to counteract. The operation of higher schools came to a halt for many months.

The consciousness and attitudes of the student body reflected the course of events in the country. The students have also contributed to spreading chaos and anarchy in the country, primarily within the academic community. The shortcomings of ideological upbringing rooted in both the educational sphere and in the activity of high schools were revealed. In both cases /the acquisition of knowledge was not accompanied by an adequately efficient shaping of the feeling of civil duty and responsibility./ Emotions rather than rational thinking and activity held sway. Emotional manipulations got an upper hand over persuasions. It was due to the lack of knowledge and

political culture that the needed and well-founded criticism of mistakes in concrete actions of the party was transformed too often into criticizing Marxism, into negating the values of socialism.

Attitude of the Cadres

The imposition of martial law has not changed the socio-political situation in higher schools. As is known, activities of SZSP and NZS were suspended with the decision on imposing martial law. The latter organization was subsequently dissolved by the minister of science, higher schools and technology. Martial law restrictions have limited the opportunities for publicly voicing hostile attitudes and setting up relevant organizational structures. This applies equally to the student community and the cadres.

The silence of the student community, especially of its segment which was most active in 1981 is not to be construed as meaning that this community has suddenly turned apolitical. Actually, it has turned more inward-oriented, reluctant to engage in discussion and careful about going public with its views and attitudes. Additional difficulties are posed by making the role of NZS into a legend and also by existing secret structures in the academic community which are not easily identifiable. Reintroducing the party ideology and the program of the socialist state requires that mistrust and negative emotional disposition of this community be overcome.

Social and political environment in the community of faculty and higher school administrators have also and are still influencing the opportunities and prospects for efficient ideological upbringing in the student community to a large degree.

The lack of interest in pro-socialist ideological indoctrination in higher schools dates back to the 1970's when the authorities of the ministry and administrations of particular higher schools elevated the research function to a number one slot in an artificial way, using the system of promotions and evaluations and the system of funding. /Proper and comprehensive training and upbringing of students as future specialists, the basic function of higher schools, was pushed aside./ This has made an impact on the interests of academic personnel, both faculty and assistants, who opted for either well-paying research assignments from the outside or pursuit of academic degrees and titles at the cost of quality of instruction. Auxiliary services and administrative educational activity were not considered important either.

This process was not only reinforced, but in certain academic communities even reversed by 180 degrees. As a result of elections in 1981, people who had no ideological connection with the party and, moreover, were negatively disposed towards pro-socialist activities, including socialist indoctrination of students, got their say and were installed in leadership positions. In some centers, the indoctrination of enemies of socialism was started under the familiar slogan of plurality in worldview. Abandoning the basic principles of tolerance and, moreover, downright combatting of individuals of Marxist persuasion, harassment of party members among students and faculty resulted from the "plurality of worldview" introduced in many academic communities in 1981.

Administrations of many Warsaw higher schools and a segment of faculty, especially adjuncts, favored the activity of extreme Solidarity elements. Moreover, preferential status was granted to NZS activities, which was especially apparent during the student strike and the functioning of the so-called rectors' caucus, which was dissolved after the imposition of martial law.

In the New Environment

The suspension of trade unions including NSZZ Solidarity and the dissolution of NSZ created a new political situation. However, the old administration of particular higher schools stayed on. Inadequate activity of party organizations in higher schools can bring about the political exploitation of the martial law by our adversaries to their advantage.

Therefore, this issue must be openly addressed not only in particular schools, but in the scope of the entire Warsaw community or the country.

/The Polish higher school must be a socialist higher school./ Education and upbringing of future specialists is its basic function. Ideological and indoctrination function of the school must be performed by all employees of the schools and the ministry with no exceptions. All faculty, not necessarily party members, must carry out this function. Administration of faculties, higher schools and the ministry must create conditions for such activities. The degree of fulfillment of this function must be a basic criterion of evaluation and selection among cadres, including senior administrators. In some schools in Warsaw, this is becoming a basic problem.

Classes in higher schools were resumed after the imposition of martial law in the absence of active student organizations. At the same time, bodies set up by school administrations began operation, the modes of it differing among schools. However, there was no concept for /their management and evolution./ This situation persists despite the reopening of SZSP activities on 13 March of this year. It seems to be no accident that present administrations of some schools have recently developed a special interest in various modes of student self-government, favoring even its eventual introduction to the senate. At the same time, administrations in these schools are paying considerably less attention to the difficult conditions of the activities of the reactivated Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP].

/The recognition of social and political background of ideological and indoctrination activities in the student community must be the point of departure for a positive program which party organizations of higher schools must work out and implement./

The political situation in school and faculty party organizations and the strength of these organizations are the basic conditions for consequential and efficient ideological indoctrination activity in the academic community. In this regard, there are appreciable differences not only among schools but also among faculties of a given school. These organizations came out of the years 1980 and 1981 weakened, and not only in terms of membership. However, recent manifestations of political activity suggest that these organizations in some schools are gaining strength.

9761
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PRESS DISCUSSION OF ILLEGAL YOUTH GROUPS NOTED

Various Organizations Discussed

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 18, 13 Jun 82 p 9

[Article by Wlodzimierz Syzdek: "'Napola' and Other Illegal Organizations" Further information on the group "Poland Struggling for Democracy" can be found in "ILLEGAL STUDENT GROUP UNCOVERED IN CHELM," published in JPRS 81040, 14 Jun 1982, No 2022 of this series, pp 43-46]

[Text] Most recently, public opinion has been shaken by reports of apprehension, by organs of [state] security, of members of illegal youth organizations whose principles and actions envisioned the objective of abolishing the existing social order.

Young boys, most frequently 15-17 year-old students in schools with rich traditions, schools named after heroes of struggles for national liberation, succumbing to the hostile propaganda of Western sabotage centers, banded together in informal groups and openly advocated fratricidal struggle and crime. A question arises whether their activity is a conscious behavior resulting from their convictions, or should it be treated as a youth game, as a quest for adventures and thrills which they could not find in the existing legal organizations. Let us examine the facts in this case.

In the Sphere of Fascist Ideas

January 1981. The culminant phase of lax social discipline and disregard for law. Strikes and anti-government demonstrations are spreading through our country. On the crest of this wave, in Starogard Gdanski, an underground youth organization of some ten to twenty persons comes into being under the name of "Napola." Its program is patterned after Nazi ideology. The majority of the "Napola" members consists of excellent students, coming from worker and intelligentsia families as well as the families of party members, who have not had any disciplinary problems up to that time.

The first objective of the young "conspirators" was to disseminate in the Starogard society, which had experienced so many tragedies in the years of World War II, the most criminal program of genocide in the history of mankind. Impossible? And yet it is true.

In texts being disseminated, the member of "Napola" wrote: "The Nazi flag was not destroyed in Berlin in 1945. Our time will yet arrive. In order to make nazism great again, terror is necessary. We should generate in the masses a feeling of absolute submission and helplessness. Ruthless nazism is a means to this end. It is tantamount to the possibility of killing old people, women, and children. In the future, these principles should be strictly adhered to during the use of mass terror by exploding trotyl and dynamite charges in crowds."

This is not the end of it. The members of "Napola" assumed pseudonyms recalling the names of the Nazi criminals Hess, Goering, and Mueller. They also initiated an action of collecting mementos related to the activity of the fascists. They accumulated a certain quantity of swastika armbands, Nazi eagle emblems, Nazi Party badges and publications. They also made rubber truncheons modeled after the ones used by the Gestapo, and organization uniforms. They needed these accessories, as they later admitted during the interrogation, to start their action "in the year zero, in which nazism will assume power and an era of establishing the new order will begin."

For the time being, however, the members of "Naola" were not implementing their main objective. They limited their activity to painting of swastika and organization signs in the city itself and in cemeteries containing graves of those who had died in the struggle against nazism and monuments of those who had fought for Polish culture and language under German domination. After each action they would send cleverly worded notifications to the authorities. In one of these, they stated simply: "Whatever is communist must disappear from the face of the earth."

A year passed. In January 1982, the leaders and members of this dangerous group were apprehended. They were astonished by the fact that all that had come to light. They feared the punishment threatening them.

This fact also astonished, but for a different reason, the teachers and particularly the principal of the Karol Swierczewski Economic Schools Group, where Mariusz Z.--the leader of "Napola"--was a student. For it turned out that this student had shown a particular interest in history and had, on numerous occasions, publicly condemned Nazi crimes. He had been planning to be an officer in the Polish Army, and his guidance counselors had fully supported his plans. Through their initiative, he had been sent to a special military training camp, gaining a reputation as an exemplary and disciplined participant.

In the same school, systematic educational work involving all students had been carried on daily. During lectures, much had been said about the ordeal of the Polish nation, the struggle for our country's liberation, and respect for those fallen in battles. The young people had frequently visited the school memorial room and gathered materials and documents to supplement the memorial collection. Often they had placed flowers on graves of heroes.

These activities had never evoked any protest from the members of "Napola" who were later apprehended. Why, then, had they founded a group whose program was a criminal one? Neither they nor their parents were able to answer this

question. The court took into consideration the young age of the boys, and the lack of political experience, as well as the contrition which they had shown during the investigation. At present, the majority of them continue to be students in the Starogard schools. However, have they understood completely the harmfulness of their actions?

Fighters For "Democracy"

The yough group "Poland Struggling for Democracy," whose members were students in Chelm secondary schools, and which was uncovered in March of this year, had a shorter life. The young people, under the influence of some education employees with a negative attitude toward our reality, and under the influence of propaganda disseminated by Western radio stations, resolved to initiate activities which were patterned after the programs of the rightist underground organizations which had operated in Poland during the years of the Nazi occupation. They organized underground groups of five which assembled in different places for secret meetings at which successive actions were discussed and "methods of struggle against communism" were outlined. They began their activity by painting all over the city the signs and slogans of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN]. Later, they themselves started producing leaflets calling for a boycott of the martial law, and for actions against it, and slandering the leaders of the party and of the state. The next step was to be an overt action against the authorities. The first action had already been planned: the throwing of gasoline-filled bottles against the building of the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

Who were these boys? They were--just as in Starogard--excellent students, attending mainly the July Manifesto High School; their interests were in fields far removed from politics and history. In school there were daily lectures on the most recent history of our country, and the emphasis was on the need for patriotic behavior under the conditions of the martial law. The members of "Poland Struggling for Democracy" [PWoD], who were apprehended by organs of [state] security, had no clear concept of that real "democracy" for which they "struggled."

These young people have spent many days and night in a detention center. After talks with psychologists and pedagogues, they certainly have come to understand many problems. However, have they understood the harmfulness of their behavior?

The Boys From Krosno

The activity of a seven-person group of boys from Krosno on the Wislok [River], members of an organization named "Young Poland," was to be a protest against the proclamation of the martial law. These people, who came from well-to-do intelligentsia families, were also very anxious to engage in an activity which was aimed at the state authorities. Thus, for many months, adhering strictly to the principles of conspiracy which had been once worked out by "Solidarity," they painted in the city streets many signs calling for armed resistance and impugning the leaders of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] and our political alliances. At the same time, they tried to create an

impression that their movement ranged far and wide. They urged boys of their age as well as grad-school pupils to take part in their activities. They recorded their exploits with great care. Here is a fragment from the diary of the group's leader, Grzegorz K.: "13 December 1981. I listened to Western radio stations. The speaker said that our civil rights had been violated after 37 years. These facts compel me to counteract. 2 March: Painting of "Solidarity" signs. 3 March: Painting of slogans protesting the martial law. 6 March: A decision was made to initiate cooperation with similar organizations in the city. 3 April: The principal spoke about illegal groups. Probably she suspects something."

The content of these notes had been known to the parents of the organization's chronicler for some time. However, they did not take any serious interest in the matter, and did not use their influence to stop that peculiar "game."

Emboldened by impunity, the members of "Young Poland" decided to initiate actions on a larger scale. Side arms, to be used for the action of disarming militiamen and soldiers, were accumulated. Also, plans were made to throw stones at the militia's casino and the building of the PZPR City Committee and to hang "Solidarity" banners throughout the city. Caught in the act, the young people showed their ignorance with regard to the present situation in our country and the basic concepts related to the functioning of our state and to its history.

"If we had known about all that," one of the boys asserted, "each one of us would have stopped to think what he was doing."

The investigation proved that the majority of the members of "Young Poland" lacked proper guidance.

Lessons of History

The last case which we want to present here concerns the Zamojski General High School II in Lublin, where, for several months, activities contrary to the existing principles of our system were conducted among youth. The school, of fine traditions and regarded as elitist, was attended by young people who came mainly from intelligentsia families. The oppositionist history teacher's task was not especially difficult here. With the participation of a group of students, he put together an illegal organization with a nationalistic profile, which soon began to play an important role in the school. Illegal literature and periodicals were distributed, the need to overthrow the existing system by force was publicly preached, and ostentatious observances of the anniversary of regaining of freedom, and of other anniversaries, were organized. History lessons were a tribune for pronouncing hostile views and evaluations concerning matters related to our most recent history. This activity gained strength immediately before the proclamation of the martial law.

After 13 December 1981 this group was not discontinued, despite preventive talks with the group's members. Following these talks, secret study groups for youth were organized; in these, lectures on "true history" were given, and actions of fund-raising for the internees, as well as protest actions, were

initiated. On 3 May, the young people's mass participation in provocative incidents in the central section of Lublin was encouraged. This decision caused suspension of classes for several days and detention of many young people.

Of course, this activity has been condemned by the majority of the students and teachers. But who will calculate how much devastation was wrought in the minds of politically ignorant young people during the months of the existence of the illegal group?

Who Is to Blame?

In the incidents which we have described here, it would be the easiest to look for their causes in the general post-August atmosphere, in the activity of Western radio stations and the influence of illegal literature. And, although there is some truth in it, to leave the matter at that, however, would be an oversimplification, the proverbial head-in-the-sand attitude, and a dangerous dodge; the behavior of these young people, though they represent a very narrow margin [of our society], calls for deeper reflection.

The truth is that students everywhere are influenced by various factors. Certainly, the majority of them want to taste adventure and play at conspiracy, so as to gain notoriety, no matter what the price. This is the right of youth. Suggestions from adults suffice for young people to justify all risk-taking. On the other hand, the fact that the above-described groups patterned their activities after the programs of extreme-right political movements, including the fascist ones, is an accusation of the schools and of the program of the teaching of history.

The school must supply our young people with answers to even the most difficult questions which perplex them. If our young people do not get the answers there, they will seek them elsewhere, and the results are illustrated by the examples given above.

However, there is still another problem. The proper dialogue with our youth must be initiated by properly prepared teachers who identify with the ideals of socialist education. This, however, is already a task for educational authorities. On the other hand, these authorities have not always proved, up to the present time, to be well informed about the situation prevailing in a given school, and have not always taken an interest in the political attitudes of teachers, the activity of youth organizations, etc. At present, everything should be done so that our young people may not only gain indispensable knowledge but also have an outlet for their aspirations and passion for action and their desire to expend their energy in organizations which are active in schools. These organizations, too, must draw the necessary conclusions from the experience of past years, in order that the mistake may not be repeated.

Radom Group Treated Leniently

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish, 11 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by J. S.: "An Act of Clemency With Regard to the Members of an Illegal Organization"]

[Text] (Unofficial information) The Security Service of the Voivodship Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia [MO] in Radom at the beginning of May of this year, uncovered an illegal organization of some ten to twenty persons, which had initially assumed the name of Youth Independence Movement and then operated as Clandestine Youth Organization. The members of the organization, founded toward the end of November of last year, were students in Radom secondary schools; several among them were getting ready for the secondary-school certificate examination this year. One of the more active members of this organization had participated successfully in the finals of four subject contests.

As stated in the organization's charter, its political model was the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], which the members of the Clandestine Youth Organization could join upon recommendation and after attaining the age of 21. In their explanations, the students admitted that their first organizational meeting had been attended by one of the Radom KPN activists, Jacek Jerz, who had offered them "organizational" help.

After the imposition of the martial law, the members of the illegal youth organization had not ceased their activity, disseminating leaflets and posters which were anti-government in content and which slandered the organs of authority and administration as well as the system. The conspirators had prepared these materials themselves by hand-copying, typing, or else by mimeographing. Among the materials found objectionable by the Security Service of the Voivodship Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia [MO] are leaflets and posters which the young people had placed in different parts of the city and had thrown from a train in the vicinity of the Polish State Railroad station.

Shortly after the uncovering of the organization, employees of the Security Service, of the Voivodship Public Prosecutor's Office, and also of the Education and Upbringing Superintendent's Office, held meetings with the parents as well as with the principals and teachers of the secondary schools from which the conspirators had been recruited. During the meetings, discussions were held concerning the activity of the illegal group and the character of the disseminated materials. Emphasis was given to the importance of the problem of proper upbringing of young people by parents and teachers, and to the responsibility of adults in this respect. The parents of the members of the organization pledged themselves to supervision over the boys so as to prevent the latter from initiating activities of a similar type in the future. The representatives of the prosecution organs also gave information about the punitive sanctions provided for activities of this type and defined in the martial-law decree.

The MO Voivodship Headquarters, in consultation with the Voivodship Public Prosecutor's Office and the voivodship political authorities, made a decision to desist from referring the cases to prosecution and courts, on the assumption that punishing young people with still unmolded [political] attitudes is not a proper solution to the problem. On the other hand, broadly conceived preventive measures have been applied.

9577
CSO: 2600/737

EDUCATORS SPEAK ON 1982 SECONDARY SCHOOL GRADUATES

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Zofia Dorywalska: "Secondary School Graduates of 1982--In The Opinion Of The Teachers. What Do They Know; What Kind Of Young People Are They?"]

[Text] Secondary school graduates bid farewell to their schools--almost 180,000 young people. What do they know; what kind of young people are they? They have received their secondary school certificates but an evaluation for maturity still awaits them. An independent life will show them up.

It is still too early for a more complete summation of the results of the final examinations. On the basis of conversations with many teachers of this year's graduates, however, we can share their opinions about these young people, their hopes and concerns.

Among the many thousands of secondary school graduates, there are students of both general high schools and secondary vocational schools. They differ in the type of education but they have the same fundamentals of education in Polish, literature, history, and also the sciences. They have all taken examinations on their general preparation, which open to each of them the same choice of further study and work.

The teachers with whom I conversed unanimously state that the final examination did not disappoint expectations, though the level achieved depends on many conditions. For example, there are schools which for years have been the converging point of very talented youth. Among these are general high schools and technical high schools. There are other schools, however, in which students fight their way through each successive class with difficulty.

Let's hear from the teachers.

If the measure of maturity could be the mastering of the required knowledge in school, there would be basis for optimism. Young people have this knowledge; they often are intellectually developed beyond average levels. This is shown by their part in scholastic competitions and the results achieved in them, and also by our daily mutual contacts. Many teachers

express this opinion but, like Polish teacher Marek Kaczorowski from General High School III in Lodz, they are also filled with apprehension.

From the first grades, students treat knowledge as an implement; they learn what they will need during their higher studies and the rest they often shrug off--a passing mark is enough. There is no room for one's own interests. Perhaps for that reason, the level of written work in Polish of even the best students is average but is lacking a mark of one's own individuality, of one's own considerations based on a wider knowledge of literary texts and on a deeper, more complete knowledge. That doesn't pay off because they still won't have to take an exam in Polish in college.

Such attitudes of young people became sharply drawn especially after 1975, the teachers emphasize, when the pursuit of progress, expressed above all in the standard of living, pushed into the shadows the quality of life, based on other values. A significant part in this situation is played by the family environment--the home, of which the child became more than once a calling card. Thus, the child should have a good certificate, and parents have tried for this, sometimes unscrupulously. The rest was less important. It was best when the student did not disturb, sat quietly, and was not conspicuous.

But the school, introducing an educational system according to which one is "paid" for everything, for example for cleaning classrooms, is not without fault. The student comes to the teacher to have written in his grade book the number of hours dedicated to this activity, though previously it wasn't like that at all.

This does not mean that youth are resistant to difficulties and consistently self-seeking, say the teachers of this year's secondary school graduates, among these Barbara Tetera from the Culinary Technical High School in Lodz. On the contrary, the movement away from the humanities in schools based on the pursuit of what pays off, produces shrewdness but in the long run brings an educational fiasco. The teachers give examples. It happens that the best students drop out after the first year of higher studies, because learning ceases to interest them, and they don't see any prospects ahead of them. They ask whether it is worth it to repeat incompleted classes and lose time. A lack of training in overcoming difficulties is also a cause. During their higher studies, they must be independent and responsible for themselves; they have noone to remind them that they must go to lectures and to other classes...

The school is not an isolated environment. Just like all of society, it is living through a moral crisis, a crisis of attitudes. Youth is very critical, especially relative to adults and teachers. They can be attracted only by concrete activity, the sense of which they can see. This has its significance in social work but not only there. There are many examples showing that youth gladly assumes tasks assigned to them when they know what they have to do and who it will serve.

Teachers realize that they succeed in education when they are able to establish a close contact with students based above all on mutual trust. This is especially difficult to achieve. The unstable situation of secondary schools, especially concerning educational reform initiating liquidation of these schools, introduces in the teachers' environment a threatening atmosphere. This atmosphere is made worse by the low material status of the teacher.

"This has had its effect on the level of educational work, on the authority of the teacher, especially relative to students," points out Jerzy Lasota from the Superintendent's Office of Education and Upbringing. Many of the teachers have heard from students "why do you teach?, it isn't worth it." At the same time, the socio-political tension of recent years shows with particular force the need for a real bond between teachers and students based on a feeling of responsibility for the fate of the youth entrusted to them. This can be achieved if we do not avoid difficult problems. The school must be the place in which different points of view are discussed.

"It has been possible to convince oneself more than once that this is the right way," stresses Marek Kaczorowski, "But you have to show trust. For example, a fourth-year student did not bring me excuses for absence from classes. It was enough that he himself wrote that on that particular day he was not in school for objective reasons. And what happened? The number of excuses dropped to a minimum. Perhaps in this way mature decisions can be reached, and not by force, by orders or restrictions."

Undertaking discussion with youth on the problems bothering them requires of the teacher preparation and thus access to books, the press and other sources of information. Unfortunately, the teacher in this respect is handicapped, especially at present with the high prices of publication. Where then is he to get the substantive arguments so necessary in discussions with youth?

The evaluations on the secondary school certificates will soon be verified during the exams for higher schools. Let's repeat: adult life will treat these young people much more harshly. For this reason, it is important that schools do everything so as not to repeat mistakes, so that they develop and educate an internally richer and more knowledgeable, responsible youth.

9915
CSO: 2600/724

MINISTER MISKIEWICZ DISCUSSES HIGHER EDUCATION

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jun 82 p 3

[Interview with Prof Benon Miskiewicz, Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology by Irena Solinska; date and place not given]

[Text] Polish higher schools are going through a very important period. The present academic year, difficult and unusual, is coming to a close, and during the 1982-83 academic year the new law on higher schools will come into effect. Thus there will be changes designed to raise the status of higher education in the life of the country. This is the topic of our conversation with Prof Benon Miskiewicz, Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology.

[Question] Let us begin with a brief assessment of the present situation....

[Answer] Recently, the situation in higher schools has become more stable. The academic cadre is strongly involved in teaching and research. The students have had to work harder in order to catch up with their studies which had been interrupted by the strikes, chaos, and irregularities in the functioning of the higher schools. Now the spring semester is almost over. I consider it quite an achievement that by slightly extending the academic year the students have been prevented from wasting a whole year.

We are living at a time which can be called a period of searching for new values in all aspects of our life, including higher education. Problems are numerous, so let me mention only some of them.

Until recently, there were no clearecut laws concerning the functioning of higher schools. The martial law decree and special guidelines for higher schools are only transitional laws. To me, it was of utmost importance to conclude a debate about the new law on higher schools. The law has been passed by the Sejm [Polish Parliament] on 4 May. The new law delineates the relationship between the state and higher schools, states the policy of higher schools, and defines the role and scope of their self-government. Thus the new law reflects a new stage in the development of higher education.

The second topical problem involves a comprehensive review of the academic cadre at the higher schools. This review has recently provoked quite an unnecessary outcry. Criticism was directed especially against the evaluation of

ethical, social, and political attitudes of the faculty members, but requirements have been clearly stated. One's activities must fully conform to the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic as well as the laws on higher education. I do not believe that someone who does not meet those requirements can work in the higher education system. Why, then, should one be afraid of such evaluations? During the review, one's teaching and research are also subject to evaluation, and in the case of docents and professors, their input in the training of the academic cadre is also considered.

Having carefully studied the employment policies, we have found out, for example, that not all higher schools have put enough effort into training their own cadre. Quite a number of the faculty members stop at a certain level, usually once they reach the position of an adjunct. But the proper line of development for a faculty member should be from a teaching assistant to an ordinary professor. I do not intend to fire all adjuncts, who have held their positions for over 9 years and thus overextended the time limit prescribed by law. However, if nothing is done about this problem, a segment of the Polish academic cadre may become dead wood, and thus the proper development of our higher education will be jeopardized. We also need to provide positions for new teaching assistants--exceptionally talented young people. Thus we cannot afford to keep inactive faculty members, that is, those who have not been productive in their research.

The review has met with various responses from the academic community. Some say that it is being conducted too rapidly or that it was announced too suddenly. But I wish to remind everyone that according to the old law, which is still in effect, and in accordance with the new bill which has just been passed, such reviews should take place regularly. Some higher schools have ignored this requirement and hence they may have to let many persons go.

[Question] A large portion of the academic community are students. What new developments can they expect in the nearest future?

[Answer] Considerable attention has been devoted to the implementation of a new student financial aid system. There are two proposals: one sponsored by the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], the other sponsored by the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology. They differ both in their approach to the objectives and forms of student financial aid.

The Supreme Council's firm stand is as follows: the state should continue to subsidize higher education within affordable limits. The Ministry's proposal introduces a whole new approach, that is, the state, parents, and students themselves should share the cost of higher education. The instruction and materials necessary in class instruction would continue to be offered free of charge, while students from poor families would receive housing and meal supplements. Other means of support would be available through a financial contract between a student and the state. In other words, cash payments would be available in the form of student loans paid back after graduation.

This proposal is based on educational principles. It is meant to encourage young people to be better students, for if one graduates summa cum laude, the loan will be written off. If one graduates with a very good grade point average, the loan will be reduced by 75 percent, while a good grade point average would mean a 50 percent reduction in loan payments. This system would also teach young people how to save and be economical during the difficult period in the life of our country. So far, student financial aid has been perceived mainly as a reward for the mere fact of being a student.

The Ministry's proposal has been sent to chancellors so that faculty and students, who are familiar with the proposal of the Supreme Council of the SZSP, could express their opinions. If a difference of opinion persists, I plan to suggest that several large industrial producers express their views on the matter, since it is they who directly subsidize the student financial aid.

It is urgent to develop educational methods at higher schools. When we now talk about the basic duties of university teachers, we must especially emphasize their responsibility to guide students and to work with them, so that the students would be protected against consequences of irresponsible actions. I regret to say that at our higher schools there are forces which strive to involve students in such actions. Therefore it is of utmost importance for all university teachers--the true friends of the students and their real educators--to become committed to educating these young people.

We want to bring many of the issues to completion before the new academic year begins, so that we can get out of the way those issues which are a source of either concern or sensationalism in the academic community. We then hope to begin an unequivocal, constructive work as educators, teachers, and researchers. This can occur only when the guidelines for self-government of every higher school are established. I believe that the self-government is to support the chancellor, deans, and department heads so that they can most thoroughly carry out the responsibilities placed upon their schools. By the same token, self-government should not be taken to mean that order can give way to chaos. The higher schools have been requested to submit their statutes defining their identity and unique features. The statutes should be presented for approval as soon as possible.

[Question] The results of the work of some of the higher schools have met with a rather critical response from society. At the same time, there is optimism in talking about the significance of the new law on higher schools, which will allow for a more thorough utilization of the considerable potential of the higher education....

[Answer] Fighting various difficult obstacles, one must strive decisively to raise the status of the higher school. At the same time, we cannot ignore questions such as: Does Poland need so many higher schools? Is the distribution of the schools accruate? Are various problems, including the decentralization of the cadre and equipment, not detrimental to the general well-being of the higher education?

If a higher school is to enjoy a good reputation, it must have its own identity which is determined mainly by the quality of its academic cadre. It is absolutely necessary to raise the prestige of the cadre, especially of the professors. The prestige is also dependent upon the work of the higher schools in various areas, or their ability to perceive what is most important and urgent in the life of a region or the entire country and to respond quickly to those needs. The schools are beginning to face the need to develop new ties with the economy and the national culture and to verify their research interests. The economic reform requires that researchers concentrate on projects which would help get the country out of the present crisis as soon as possible. A certain slump in initiating new ties with the economy should be considered a transitional stage, but at the same time the current situation should mobilize the higher education to seek out new research projects.

We will abandon the previous methods of supervising the higher education, for those methods have not been accepted by the academic community. The Ministry intends to provide inspiration, initiatives, and recommendations. The administrative methods will be limited to the absolutely bare minimum. According to the new law, the institutions of higher learning are state enterprises, hence the state-through the newly-passed law--has the prerogative to influence the main aspects of the functioning of the higher schools. But this prerogative will be executed only through a process of thorough consultation with the interested parties, especially the self-government of the higher schools and the Main Council for Science and Higher Schools.

In order to allow for good relationships with each school, it is necessary in every academic center to hold discussions on the methods of implementing the new law on higher schools. This law is still another evidence of the authorities' appreciation for and deep trust in the academic community. I am glad that a great majority of the schools perceive the law this way. The law guarantees a degree of self-government, it is based on a proposal endorsed by the society, and it limits the prerogatives of the ministries supervising the schools to only those which are necessary to carry out duties written into the Constitution. It is hoped that the academic community, so crucial in developing the culture and influencing the public opinion, will take advantage of the privileges in order to shape a better tomorrow of our country.

9852
CSO: 2600/726

RURAL YOUTH UNION VICE CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Jun 82 p 3

[Interview with Stanislaw Krotoszynski, vice chairman of the Main Board of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] by Bernard Figiel; date and place not specified: "To Change the Countryside and Self"]

[Text] We are talking about rural youth problems with Stanislaw Krotoszynski, vice chairman, Main Board of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW].

[Question] In their utterances, many ZMW activists emphasize that the Union's greatest strength is the independence of its activity. What is it actually based on?

[Answer] In speaking of independence, I have in mind independence in relation to adult political life forms and state institutions. It is not supposed to be an agitational slogan nor a form of political coquetry; independence is a guarantee of the authenticity of the Union.

In undertaking cooperation with the PZPR and ZSL we are open to the influences of both of these parties, however, our goal is the active presentation to them of our ideas and way of thinking. Thus, we achieve our aims of expressing ourselves in our own name without plenipotentiaries or advocates. We appear in defense of the interests of our group and the peasant class' interest.

Without Priority By Virtue of Youth

[Question] Let us return, however, to prosaic reality. There is a mass of unresolved problems in the countryside...

[Answer] One cannot constantly oscillate within the compass of diagnosis and forever shed tears because of the social injustice done to the countryside. The diagnosis is generally known and it is now time for therapy. We know that the political existence of ZMW in the countryside is based on its utility, and that it will be verified by the sensibleness of its activity. Insofar as the gradation of problems with which the countryside struggles is concerned, the most important are the economic ones which the Union itself will not be able to resolve, although it wants to cooperate in their resolution. We initiate forms of socio-economic and vocational action already

verified in the Union. In cooperation with voivodship centers and other partners we raise the level of agricultural education and expertise. We equip all voivodship boards with film projectors purchased with common funds, and last winter films on agricultural subjects were shown in many villages. There are not many ZMW circles that would not undertake socially useful works, including the construction of public buildings, clubs and community centers. First of all, however, we want to come into being as a socio-cultural movement in the countryside.

[Question] What else will the countryside gain from the ZMW's existence?

[Answer] One thing certain is that not one additional tractor, or single sack of fertilizer, or even pitchfork will be obtained as a result of the organization's activity in the countryside. However, it is highly probable that the cooperative work of country youth organized by us, which is currently based on services, will in the future undertake production on an appropriate scale of that which is most needed.

Our main task, however, is filling in the spiritual void in the countryside, pulling it out of its lethargy, organizing youth for social activity for the countryside, the country and itself. We are striving toward having the ZMW become a movement of social service hence, our devotion to organized work. The countryside will benefit from the existence of the ZMW when the ZMW is instrumental in improving life in the countryside, when it brings life to community and village culture centers, playing fields and stadiums.

[Question] Is it really in this that you see the separateness of country youth interests?

[Answer] In essence, yes. This is the result of our union philosophy. First of all it states that generation problems or the problems of the so-called young generation in general are a myth because they do not have an intergroup denominator. Secondly, we oppose the nerve-wracking confrontation of youth's interests with the interests of the rest of society, wherein youth appears almost as a human sub-species. In our opinion, the economic situation of our country prompts a search for ways "on how to help one's self" and not of methods of how to wring out the most. Of course, consistent with its calling, a socialist state ought to protect the weakest including those beginning adulthood, by surrounding them with a social screen. However, that screen should not free them from thinking about themselves and not make state residents and boarders of young people.

We consider a demand for priority in virtue of youth as worthy of sympathy, and for example, that a young farmer should always get a regulated machine without asking about the social utility of such a decision. The task of our union is to do everything so that as many young people as possible will be morally qualified for the kinds of privileges that mark the best social and economic earning capacity. Therefore, if we speak of safeguarding the interests of rural youth, we have in mind nothing more than justice.

[Question] However, those most active continue to leave for the cities. Who should concern himself with agricultural production if youth is on the lookout for easy jobs?

[Answer] That's right. They are after easy jobs. There are two remedies--first, make jobs hard, and second--something we are for--make jobs in agriculture equally easy.

A Decision by Choice

In our opinion, what determines the attractiveness of an agricultural career is primarily the durability of a career prospect, the profitability of farming, and the possibility of benefitting from civilization's attainments in the area in which one lives. The first of these elements clearly requires no investment but the results it creates are enormous. It is exactly what is needed in our difficult times. Moreover, it was politically declared in the manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation [PKWN]. Only the consequences are what matter now. Therefore, we do not understand people who furtively steal away from the problem of constitutional guarantees for family farming. Society must finance the two remaining elements. The briefer the debate on this matter the better, the longer, the worse.

[Question] What is your attitude with respect to the socialized economy?

[Answer] Even during the period of the memorable campaign against State Farms [PGR] and cooperatives, the Union, uniting in the main youth from individual farms, showed caution and realism in this matter. All we recommended was a proposal to treat all sectors equally and to initiate a reform of agriculture that would trigger efficient farming mechanisms and an objective evaluation of the results.

We treat all sectors in agriculture not as coexisting but as complementary, contrasting themselves to modelling ideological discriminants, according to which agriculture was divided into "futuristic" and "assigned for liquidation" groups. On numerous occasions we brought up the subject of the living and working conditions of young people working in socialized sectors pointing out serious neglects in that area, and expressed our desire to cooperate in their liquidation. There is far too much that links rural youth, to go looking for what differentiates it internally.

[Question] In your organization's program of action a great deal of attention is devoted to raising the status of the young farmer family. Why?

[Answer] As it turns out in practice, family upbringing and social functions cannot be replaced even by the best of schools and organizations. We perceive the dominant source of the moral crisis in the depreciation of that fact. In rural circumstances, most of the upbringing responsibilities fall on woman's shoulders, who in addition to them, manages the household as well as works in the field.

The prospect of such a burden prompts fewer and fewer rural girls to remain in the country, and young farmers find it more and more difficult to find a candidate for marriage. Therefore, to the extent it can do so, the Union would ease the lot of a farm woman and help farm girls to acquire an education and qualifications that would prepare them for the role of mother and rural housewife. This is done by ZMW girl councils that, among others, organize rural playgrounds, courses in cooking, styling and sewing, and the rual consumer protection movement.

We Want To Be A Partner

[Question] The 9th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee which is to be dedicated to problems of the young generation is to take place soon. What do you expect after that discussion?

[Answer] One has to tell oneself clearly that the plenum will not resolve all of the aggravated problems of young Poles. That requires time. On the other hand--for me personally--it is essential for the party to state its position relative to--first of all--the diagnosis of what happened: why did the protest by young people take on the dimensions it did after August? Why have so many young people turned away from true socialism? Secondly--an answer to the question of how to turn many young people away from their attitude of confrontation and strife, and to psychologically unblock others to receive realistic arguments. Thirdly--the presentation of ideological and moral arguments that confirm the universal attractiveness of socialist ideals even in today's difficult times. Fourthly--a definition of the principles of the party's policy toward youth organizations so that they do not lose their credibility and can be an effective spokesman of the interests of young people concentrated in them.

10433
CSO: 2600/722

WORK ON TEACHER'S CHARTER EXECUTIVE ACTS UPDATED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 16, 30 May 82 p 10

[Text] Receiving many inquiries concerning the Teacher's Charter executive acts, the Ministry of Education presents the following information on the status of work related to these acts.

The law contains 33 authorizations to issue executive acts, of which 27 will be issued by the Minister of Education, 3 by the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, and 1 regulation will be issued by the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs.

As of 14 May of the current year, the Ministry of Education has prepared 32 drafts of executive provisions, of which the following have been issued: the directive of the Minister of Education concerning specific cases of crediting employment periods which entitle teachers to receive a longevity allowance, and the general principles of payment of allowances, as well as guidelines pertaining to the application of some of the Charter's resolutions.

After inter-Ministry coordination, a draft of a directive of the Minister of Education concerning additional tasks for teachers who are entrusted with executive positions was sent for approval to the Education Commission of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic [PRL]. Within a very short time, after inter-Ministry coordination, the following drafts will be sent for approval to the Education Commission of the Sejm of the PRL: the order of the Minister of Education concerning positions in organs of state administration and in other school supervisory organs which require pedagogical competence; concerning the principles of performing pedagogical supervision and the extent of duties and rights of teachers who perform pedagogical supervision; directives: concerning the implementation of the obligatory workload of teachers also in the evening hours; concerning the granting to teachers permission to accept additional teaching assignments; concerning the housing allowance for teachers; concerning the additional housing space for teachers; concerning the granting of leaves, exemptions, and benefits to teachers for the purpose of study or for other important reasons.

The following draft directives have been prepared for inter-Ministry coordination: concerning the basic conditions which are indispensable for the implementation of instructional, educational, and guidance objectives by schools

and teachers; concerning the norms of employment of teachers-school librarians; concerning reports on instructional and educational activities of a teacher which are implemented within the limits of the basic compensation as well as those for which additional compensation is received; concerning the granting of reductions in the obligatory workload to teachers who are entrusted with executive positions in schools; concerning the obligatory workload of teachers who are not mentioned in Article 42, Paragraph 1; concerning the principles of granting permission for overtime work to some teachers whose obligatory workload has been reduced; concerning the detailed principles, conditions, and procedure of acquiring degrees in fields of professional specialization; concerning the principles of distribution of the special fund for awards for teachers; concerning the awarding of the Honorary Title of "Meritorious Teacher of the Polish People's Republic"; concerning the awarding of the National Education Commission Medal; concerning the activity of disciplinary commissions for teachers.

After inter-departmental coordination in the Ministry of Education, the working team has accepted, and recommended for inter-Ministry coordination, the following draft directives: concerning reports on difficult and burdensome work conditions and the principles of payment of additional compensation by virtue of the above; concerning the principles of compensating for instructional and educational activities performed on off-work days.

Of the remaining four drafts of the Charter's executive acts, which are to be prepared by the Ministry of Education, substantial progress has been made in the work on: the resolution of the Council of Ministers concerning the scale of the basic compensation, extra compensation, compensation for extra hours, and the principles of classifying and granting extra compensation to teachers; the resolution of the Council of Ministers concerning the amount of bank credit available to teachers; the resolution of the Council of Ministers concerning the organization of social services. Drafts of these acts will be prepared by 10 June of the current year.

Work on the definition of the principles of cooperation of the state administration with teachers' professional unions will be undertaken after the restoration of the activity of professional unions.

9577
CSO: 2600/735

PRESS CONFERENCES HIGHLIGHT YOUTH, EDUCATION

Higher Education Minister Miskiewicz

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 23 Jun 82 p 2

[Article: "Problems of Higher Education"]

> [Text] A meeting with Polish and foreign press, devoted to problems of learning and higher education in Poland, took place on 22 June 1982 in the Press Center at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MSZ). Prof Benon Miskiewicz, Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, answered the journalists' questions; Jerzy Urban, the government spokesman, was also present.

Prof Miskiewicz stated that Polish higher schools educated over 417,000 students, 360,00 of whom are in schools which are under the supervision of the Ministry of Science. The minister reminded journalists that the time of student enrollment is coming near. A total of 54,500 freshmen will be admitted. This number is slightly smaller compared to the previous year. The difference could be explained, according to the Minister--by looking at the employment market. For example, this year limits on admissions to higher technical schools were lowered, since there is less demand for engineering cadres.

Speaking of the new law on higher schools, which will go into effect at the beginning of the new academic year, the Minister reminded the journalists that right now, while martial law is in effect, higher schools function on the basis of directives for studies and for work at school, which were prepared for this period.

As far as the inspection of the teaching cadre is concerned, which is taking place in higher schools now, the Minister stated that this inspection pertains to the norms defined in the old, as well as the new law; the main issue here is a determination of the suitability of the cadre in the area of educational and research needs at higher schools. Social and moral attitude of the employees will also be evaluated. As the Minister pointed out, the person disagreeing with the resolutions of the Polish Peoples' Republic's (PRL) Constitution and with binding social norms should not be

allowed to work in the Polish educational system. These issues do not cause any doubts in the academic environment, according to the Minister. However, some doubts are expressed concerning firing employees who do not show any development in the area of their own research activities. If a university teacher does not base his lectures on his own research--there is practically no difference between him and high school teachers. Such employees should be allowed to work in high schools. Those higher schools which systematically conduct this kind of inspection have no need to do it at this point.

Concerning questions pertaining to the social situation of students, the Minister informed the press that a new system of scholarships is being worked out. It is based on the premise that during the time of this crisis students cannot be supported solely by the state. We want to divide this burden equally among the state, students, and their families. Thus, scholarships of various amounts are foreseen, depending on students' resources. The qualifying minimal income of students to receive subsidies will be increased. A system of student loans will also be introduced; the loan will be paid off to the state after completion of the studies. Introduction of a new principle is considered, according to which, if the student graduates with the grade of "excellent" or "very good"--his financial obligations toward the state will be extinguished in full; if the student graduates with the grade of "good"--his debt will be decreased by 75 percent. "We also want," the minister said, "to make commonplace awards of large sums for scholars. The sums will be awarded by faculty senates to the most talented students, in order to ensure for youth the best conditions to acquire knowledge.

Ministers Ciosek, Jablonski

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 24 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jerzy Oseka: "The Government's Point of View--Conditions of a Start in Life for Youth"]

> [Text] A press conference concerning the government program for helping youth get a good start in life (including professional life) was held 23 June 1982. The conference was chaired by the government spokesman Jerzy Urban and included Stanislaw Ciosek, Minister and Secretary of the Socio-Political Committee of the Council of Ministers; Wladyslaw Jablonski, First Lieutenant Chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers; and representatives of the boards of youth organizations.

In his introduction to the discussion, Mr Ciosek emphasized that the Party, as well as the government, is conducting intensive work concerning the start in life for the younger generation. In the past, the demand for consumer goods have significantly increased. This, however, was not connected to the capacity for its fulfillment. This resulted in the present feelings of disappointment and disillusionment, especially among young people. We cannot, therefore, solve the problems of youths--by creating new illusions, such as

building a new Japan or a new Poland. Today we need a program which is based on reality, which would also put an end to pessimistic feelings expressed sometimes. After all, we do have some trump cards.

Mr Jablonski described the accomplishments of the governmental group which prepared a report on the conditions under which young people get a start in life. The report elaborates short and long-range objectives which are based on the controversial principle that youth should be given priority treatment in some areas. However, this principle should not mean that the young people will be given charity. The debt should be returned by youths with their work input. This program is based on a realistic assessment of the economic situation in the country. Another advantage of this program is that it is tied to short- and long-range socio-economic planning. The Council of Ministers has approved the main direction of the program with its emphasis on problems in getting housing, employment, adequate salary, and on the issue of youth participation in self-government activity. Below, we publish selected excerpts of the interesting conversation which developed between the journalists and the invited guests:

[Question] What about the matter of priorities for a young family?

Mr Jablonski: "Nurseries and kindergartens have their place in this plan. Investments which have been started, will be implemented at a quicker pace. Assignment of 30 percent of the general expenditures for these causes will constitute a significant improvement. However, solutions should be sought not only in the area of investments, but also in other areas. Supplying goods for children in 1982 is covered in the operational program. This program is being implemented correctly. Indicators of individual consumption of clothing, shoes, etc., are higher in the program than during the period before the crisis. We see an increase in the supply in the operational plans, as well as in the mechanism of the reform. A significant progress is seen as early as in 1983."

[Question] Little has been said about doing away with formal barriers for promotions for youth and about their participation in governing.

Mr Ciosek: "The government has paid attention to the conditions for the start in life for the youth and material conditions for starting a family, as well as a professional career. Afterwards, general rules of the game apply to the youth as well. The division on talented and less talented, courageous, wise, etc., has to be taken under consideration. Previously, "the key" was applied, but now, the process of democratization is going on and young people have to show what they can do on their own. If, however, there are formal impediments, we will remove them."

[Question] The program mentions easy loans for apartment construction. What specifically does it mean? How much cash does one need to build a house?

Mr. Jablonski: "There is a first draft of regulations concerning these matters. We are concerned with long-term-low-percentage-rate loans. The loans would have to be adjusted to real prices and this is the area beset by

myths and legends. Your own minimal cash input would be 10 percent of the face value. Since getting an apartment is not only a young family's problem, but also the problem of the young people's loved ones, this source should also be tapped. It is not easy to gather cash, and that is why we want to tie income to work efficiency and create chances of additional income."

[Question] Can a young person, burdened by loans for young married couples (for an apartment, for higher studies) manage, won't the loans eat him up?

Mr Urban: "If we want to achieve food self-sufficiency, we have to help with practical activity. Population in rural areas gets older and older, on whom can we count? We need programs helping develop a means of production, a whole set of activities."

Krzysztof Pietraszkiewicz, member of the Executive Committee of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP): "There are doubts concerning projected loans for education. The idea is faulty, it hits the weakest groups. Already today 52 percent of the students in high schools are children of white-collar workers."

Mr Urban: "According to the project, loans for students in higher schools are meant only for the needs over and above the basic needs. The idea behind the project is to divide the cost of living during higher studies among the state, the student, and well-to-do families of students. The principle is probably correct, however, the forms of application should be discussed."

[Question] The program is correct, but, like the loans for young married couples, it could be found difficult to operate. All kinds of limitations may be introduced...

Mr Jablonski: "In practice, coupons have the same value as money. They are simply a reflection of the unbalanced economy. But loans have to find their equivalence in the amount of goods available, otherwise they make no sense. The program explains how to ensure the availability of specific goods for young families. First of all manufacturing has to increase, but right now this is lacking."

Kazimierz Dzienio, Director of a Team in the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers: "The principle of preferential treatment for rural youth in agricultural and educational faculties was adopted. It is enough for them to pass the entrance examination to be admitted. Up to now one-third of the students in the Agricultural University of Warsaw came from Warsaw itself. This is a waste of human potential. Registration according to the new rules will be implemented as soon as the 1983-1984 academic year."

Waldemar Swirgon, Chairman of the National Board of the Rural Union (ZMW): "There has to be a new economic plan for agriculture. Just as, for example, the one for the mining industry, otherwise we will still be dealing with half-measures. A partial solution can be found in the governmental program. We need radical solutions for sub-sector flow on behalf of agriculture. We reject the idea of preferential treatment, an equalizing system is what

is needed. Mr Dzienio spoke about preferential treatments. Unfortunately, registration based on it was not accepted in the educational faculties, where the situation in relation to rural areas is really bad.

We fought for youth cooperatives and we won. Right now, however, they need to be separated from centralized state cooperatives. Bank loans are modern solutions and they should be used to this end. It is impossible to extinguish them depending on the place of employment. However, the state has to ensure implementation of such loans and materials for creating employment in agriculture."

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BRIEFS

FOREIGN CITIZENSHIP--In the last 10 years about 43,000 of our citizens working abroad [in Western Europe] have requested cancellation of their Yugoslav citizenship; about 32,000 of these requests have been granted. It is unfortunately not known how many of the remaining 11,000 whose requests were not granted have acquired foreign citizenship. From 1972 to 1980, 28,266 of the approximately 631,000 Yugoslav citizens working in West Germany received German citizenship. From 1964 to 1980, 10,133 of the approximately 72,000 Yugoslav citizens working in France received French citizenship. Between 1961 and 1980, 9,959 of the approximately 42,000 Yugoslav citizens in Sweden received Swedish citizenship. Of course, a considerable number of these decided to hold dual citizenships in both Yugoslavia and their adopted country. [Excerpt] [Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jun 82 p 23]

'PROTESTS, PRIVILEGES' IN ARMY--At the 12th LCY Congress delegate Lambe Mihajlovski said "We must continue to oppose enemy action in general, but within the army and toward the army especially, by strengthening all parts of our moral-political force...." Specific negative phenomena in society also affect the army and some [of these phenomena] are being tried and consciously brought into our units which can endanger the discipline and moral stability of units, Mihajlovski thinks. [He said that] although it has not become widespread, we note an increased number of cases and forms of protestation and privileges in the army. Regardless of the fact that these are individual cases and so-called small privileges, we believe that this is a very sensitive matter for our army, considering its character, nature, and tradition, as well as the trust which the working class and people feel toward the army. He said, young people are critical when it is a question of various irregularities and weaknesses in society, but at the same time they are "users" of various privileges. They accept the relationship of favoritism among recruits, seek to do their military service in larger garrisons near or in their place of birth, ask to serve in easier branches, and seek assignment to easier duties, using prominent relatives, friends, and other connections for this. [Excerpt] [Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jul 82 p 2]

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END

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4 August 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2040

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4 August 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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SLOVAK TRADE UNION PLENUM: PROBLEMS CONTINUE

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 18 Jun 82 p 3

[Excerpts from a speech delivered by Ladislav Abraham, chairman of the Slovak Trade Union Council, at the 2nd Plenum of the Slovak Trade Union Council]

[Text] The period since the 16th CPCZ Congress has been a period of increased activity of the trade union organs and organizations as well as of functionaries and members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. As with our entire society, the trade unions too have concentrated their efforts toward a responsible detailing and consistent application of the program of the 16h CPCZ Congress and, in Slovakia, also on the fulfillment of the resolutions of the CPSL. In the process of the detailing down and implementation of the Congress program, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement has further strengthened its ideological and organizational unity and its overall ability to act.

This period has also been one of preparation for and the securing of a good progress of annual meetings, conferences and congresses which in turn have evaluated and reviewed the results achieved since the 9th All-Trade Union Congress and the last annual meetings and conferences. At the annual meetings our workers, as stated in a report of the Central Trade Union Council, prepared for the 10th All-Trade Union Congress, have "judged, as good managers, the results of our political, social and cultural development as well as the causes of various shortcomings, which until now have prevented a more pronounced change in the direction of the intensive development of the economy and a more efficient improvement of the conditions of work and life of our working people." It was a period in which we reported our results and accepted new challenging tasks.

A long-range goal accepted at the 10th All-Trade Union Council, namely, "to fully develop the role and co-responsibility of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement to further develop our socialist society, to distinctly improve active participation of the trade unions in implementing the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress," requires from trade union organizations and organs an even more consistent securing of the all-societal role and the revolutionary mission of our socialist trade union.

Demand for Intensification

At the plenary meeting of the Slovak Trade Union Council which took place at the end of January, we discussed in detail the main tasks stemming from the 5th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and a meeting of the CPSL Central Committee. We expressed full support of the trade unions in Slovakia for the tasks of the 1982 state plan because this plan hopes to achieve further economic development and maintain the existing standard of living and social security of our people.

A demand for a more consistent intensification of production and the solution of key economic problems and structural changes to satisfy the needs of our society are the top priorities in this year's plan.

The presidium of the SSR Government and the secretariat of the Slovak Trade Union Council already at fourth their joint meeting in January of this year approved two joint documents spelling out the attitude of state, economic, and trade union organs in Slovakia to secure the most important tasks of economic and social development in Slovakia for 1982, including the development of the movement of inventors and innovators.

Joint effort and united attitude of trade union, state and economic organs in realizing of the goals of economic and social development of our society adopted at the 16th CPCZ Congress and the recent CPSL Congress are also positively expressed this year in further development and improvement of forms permitting the working people to participate in the management of production as well as broadening, and improving the initiative of workers and in socialist competition on the occasion of the 10th All-Trade Union Congress. As proof we point to the adoption of more than 1.3 million individual, over 200,000 collective, over 5,000 all-plant and all-enterprise, and over 2,500 associated socialist pledges.

Out of 239 industrial enterprises and organizations in Slovakia, 144 enterprises promised to reduce material costs to the tune of Kcs 266 million more than called for in the plan. Socialist pledges aimed to save fuel were announced by 161 enterprises. In 131 enterprises pledges were adopted to save 57 million kWh of electric power. Over 50 industrial enterprises and organizations promised to save almost 5,000 hectoliters of fuel.

Many good results are being achieved in the competition among brigades of socialist labor, in organizing associated socialists pledges to improve the quality of finished products, in capital construction and in the efforts to shorten the application time in research-development-production cycle. Good results from associated socialist pledges have been achieved in the VUKOV plant in Presov to accelerate the rate of production and the use of industrial robots and computors.

The inventors' and innovators' movement is effectively helping to improve the efficiency of production, the quality and technical standards of products and in the conservation of raw and other materials, energy, and manpower. The results shown by this movement in 1981 indicate that the goal announced for 1982, to achieve a social benefit stemming from various proposals submitted by

our inventors and innovators worth Kcs 2.3 billion, can be realized. This requires, however, that economic and trade union organs pay more attention to the inventors' and innovators' movement. Sociological research in the inventors' and innovators' movement in the Heavy Engineering Plants in Detva has shown that 48 percent of respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the attention paid by the trade unions to the improvers' movement. Some 60 percent of the respondents criticized shortcomings in the remuneration of proposals for improvement and innovations. The majority of those who were interviewed called for better direction of creative activity of improvers with respect to concrete needs of plants and enterprises and for accelerated evaluation and introduction of practical innovational proposals.

However, when we confront the results and experience from the development of the initiative of our workers with the results of the planned targets and the intensification and efficiency in the national economy we must conclude that we must more effectively deal with problems and shortcomings which reduce the effectiveness of the initiative of our workers and of socialist competition. The causes of these shortcomings vary. This was confirmed by an investigation conducted on the initiative of the Slovak Trade Union Council in over 200 organizations. The investigation demonstrated that we are not doing well in one particular area, emphasized by Comrade Lenart, First Secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, at the recent Slovak Congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, when he stated that this competition should develop in the "main level," namely, be directed toward realizing the strategic policy of achieving high efficiency and quality and full use of scientific and technical progress.

We think that it is absolutely necessary for the Slovak trade unions, in conjunction with individual ministries and central organs of the Slovak state administration, to agree on concrete measures and attitudes concerning public control over the fulfillment of the state plan, socialist pledges, improvers' and innovators movement and collective contracts in the first half of 1982. They should adopt measures which would make it possible for semi-annual public controls to lead to concrete steps regarding further development and utilization of the creative effort of our workers in securing the targets of this year's plan of economic and social development. The adopted measures, regardless of the level of management, must pay consistant attention to the fulfillment of tasks included in the Resolution adopted at the Slovak Congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and in the resolutions of the 10th All-Trade Union Congress concerning the development of the creative effort on the part of our workers in securing economic and social development of society.

New Economic Rules

Renumeration depends on the fulfillment of tasks in the economic sector. Results achieved in the national economy in 1981 and in the first quarter of 1982 show that many branches, production economic units and enterprises, have unsatisfactory wage policies as a result of the overall economic achievements. New economic rules and the application of the existing wage instruments have caused serious problems for numerous organizations. This in turn has lead to a situation in which central organs have adopted certain measures to reduce

the negative impact on wages. Under this situation we are critically evaluating the activities of trade union organs in this sector. In spite of certain positive results in the implementation of the resolution of the Central Trade Union Council's Presidium of 7 January 1981 concerning wages, we must state that the influence of trade union organs and basic organizations in the realization and management of wage policy is insufficient. This is reflected especially in the implementation and control of measures concerning wage policy. We repeatedly call attention to the fact that the trade unions insufficiently use their authority as spelled out in the resolution of the 4th All-Trade Union Congress.

The fulfillment of tasks in rationalization and norm-creative activity is still being approached inconsistently and slowly. Thus the influence of the trade union organs in this sector greatly varies. The sector of technical-economic norms, i.e., consumption of materials, fuel, and energy, quality, reserves and facilities is lagging behind. Without precise norms we cannot plan and manage well. Nor can we compensate correctly.

The improvement of norms is necessary given the present situation under the existing low wage increases. Under such a situation it is difficult to apply consistent differentiation in wages. In spite of this much depends on plant committees to decide on sufficiently effective bonus regulations, premiums, etc. In this respect the trade union organs and basic organizations are obliged to insist on the abolition of equal wages and introduction of some order in the sector of compensation. It is the fact that our wage policy is dominated by equalitarianism.

Equalitarian approach in remuneration has been regretably adopted by many collectives which are satisfied with the existing situation. Afraid of possible punitive steps from managers, they prefer to agree with the existing, even if incorrect, approach toward renumeration.

This practice, however, is also being supported by many functionaries of plant and shop committees of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. They are not prepared to face possible conflicts with managers. Consequently, all suffer.

Organs of individual trade unions together with the central trade union organs, face the task of improving cooperation with the pertinent ministries and other central organs in solving and achieving the tasks in the area of manpower by assigning and placing of university and high school graduates who are entering the job market in ever increasing numbers. In the same way it is necessary to responsibly approach those measures which close down ineffective operations because such a step affects individual members of a working collective. Such measures can be adopted only after a prior approval by the appropriate trade union organ and after a proper notification has been made to employees. At the same time it is necessary, according to existing regulations, to take care or the employees' monetary claims, to discuss the question of new jobs in the same organization with them and assist them in the search for another suitable employment.

We support the comprehensive solution based on the adopted statewide measures and approaches aimed at the slowing down the growth and scope of administration.

Concern with personnel security and his labor safety is the foremost on our minds. In our years of concentrated effort to solve the problems and improve our care in this respect we have achieved many good results which were evaluated at the recent Slovak Congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and at the 10th All-Trade Union Congress.

The results achieved so far do not correspond to the effort and energy spent by state, economic and trade union organs nor the working people themselves. We are especially sorry to see that the number of high-risk workplaces has been reduced only insignificantly, and that there are shortcomings related to workers' safety and that the number of fatal work accidents has not been brought under control.

The 16th CPCZ Congress asked us, among other things, to search for and utilize all reserves in our economy. There is still much to be done with respect to labor accidents, diseases and the overall concern for labor safety and health protection. This is shown by the fact that in our workplaces 80,000 workers are absent every day because of illness and accidents.

In addition to public checks, we have introduced a three-step control to secure the annual planned care to improve labor conditions, observe labor safety rules and a timely and effective elimination of shortcomings. Our experience so far has shown that the major problem is control during the second and third stage. It is jointly up to the leadership of ROH organizations and plant committees to approach this method of management and control in a responsible and consistent way.

Measures adopted by the government and trade union organs have led to a partial improvement in production in the distribution of personal protective equipment. However, the situation has not seen improvement everywhere and not everybody is observing the principles governing the distribution of the protective equipment to our workers. Trade union organs must approach these problems with more resoluteness and consistency.

Further improvement in our concern for better working and living conditions of our workers requires increased attention and further broadening of the scope of institutional meals and other forms of care extended by various organizations. Nevertheless, at present almost 46 percent of our workers eat in plant cafeterias. Trade union organs must, toegether with the managements of enterprises, make sure that the workers of the second and third shifts and those in small and isolated workplaces can also depend on receiving hot meals.

We still have problems connected with placing children of working mothers in pre-school facilities. In accordance with the task adopted at the 10th All-Trade Union Congress, it is necessary that the Slovak committees of individual trade unions and the central trade union organs see to it that there is more participation of enterprises in the building of such facilities, especially through a form of joint effort.

In relation to the tasks determined at the 6th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and the following meeting of the CPSL Central Committee, the kraj and okres trade union council must, in cooperation with national committees,

show more initiative and interest in enlarging and improving services especially in new housing areas and in the countryside, in new forms of services (mobile collection centers, etc.), in reducing delivery deadlines durable goods in the repair service sector as well as modernizing and improving housing maintenance.

However, it will be necessary that okres trade union councils, as well as okres national committees agree on Joint Programs to eliminate concrete shortcomings and the regular control of their fulfillment. Our major task is to tackle jointly and effectively the problem of increasing pre-school facilities, services, trade network, etc., and especially the regular delivery of food during the morning hours. For this goal it will also be necessary to direct the voluntary brigade activity within the framework of the action called "Trade unionists to their plants and the republic" and to organize the assistance to fulfill the election programs of the National Front.

Education in Collectives

The 10th All-Trade Union Congress stated that thanks to a systematic attention by trade union organs and organizations, we have achieved great successes in ideological-educational and cultural work. At the same time, the congress pointed to the need to shift the focus of ideological-educational work towards the working collectives and direct them towards concrete problems existing in individual workplaces.

Further improvement of political and technical qualification of all functionaries and members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement remains the task which we must carry out in a systematic way.

In accordance with a resolution of the 10th All-Trade Union Congress, the trade union organs and organizations will pay great attention to the socialist education of workers, primarily in working collectives of brigades of socialist labor. They will do their best to persuade other collectives to join the schools of socialist labor. They will also try to make trade union organs evaluate the achieved results and the quality and effectiveness of trade union education analytically and completely.

It shows that the most concrete results in trade union education and in the education of members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement are achieved in schools of socialist labor. At present there are 13,000 schools of socialist labor in Slovakia. Thirty-six percent of the overall number of members of brigades of socialist labor are in these schools.

However, it is necessary to state that there are problems in some schools of socialist labor. Not everywhere have we succeeded in relating theoretical knowledge to the solution of concrete tasks or to propagating innovative labor methods and positive experiences. Only a few of these schools exchange their experiences.

With these as well as other shortcomings in mind, the Central Trade Union Council decided to approve changes in the organization and curriculum of schools of socilialist labor. A uniform plan of instruction, based on the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress has been adopted for 1982.

The trade union organs and organizations will pay foremost attention to apprentices and the working youth and their socialist education in the period following the 10th All-Trade Union Congress. It will be necessary to emphasize our work with young people in the working collectives. We must encourage the development of their labor initiative, prepare them for admission to the trade unions and the CPCZ, guide them in the use of their spare time and help them to solve their problems related to work and life.

Another progressive form of youth education is in the form of reserves of brigades of socialist labor which influence the quality of training and labor obligations of apprentices and assist them in making occupational choices. Members of these reserves serve as an example to other students in obtaining a foreman's license, appropriate ability and theoretical training as well as in encouraging them to become politically and publicly involved. Gradually, collectives of brigades of socialist labor in individual plants will become sponsors of these reserves to share their own experience.

Economic propaganda and agitation have an ever growing significance in the educational work of trade unions. In spite of the fact that we have achieved certain improvement in economic propaganda and agitation, we cannot remain satisifed with the way in which its forms and methods are implemented in individual workplaces and in working collectives. We have not yet succeeded in using economic propaganda and agitation to make every worker familiar with the content and details of the plan tasks and to make every worker aware of his own role and the significance of his work for the shop, plant, enterprise and the entire society.

The complexity of conditions and demands of the tasks is ever growing on the national scale, including the trade unions. Improvement of the fulfillment of tasks assigned to the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, and strengthening of the movement's mission and position can be achieved only if we improve intra-trade union life and the ogranizational, managerial and control work and achieve an overall improvement in the level and efficiency of the trade union work.

The 10th All-Trade Union Congress declared that the most important task of trade union organizations will be to make the basic organizations a real school of management and administration, and a place to apply the broadest democracy and to improve the position, tasks and authority of trade unions in relation to state and economic administration of society. It should be an instrument for the active participation of members of the organization in the life of trade unions and a Leninist school for education of the workers. The focus of all this activity must be shifted to trade union sections. For this reason the congress decided to amend the trade union statutes by emphasizing the position and role of the trade union sections and by giving more authority to sections' stewards. At the same time, the congress emphasized the obligation of chairmen of plant committees in their work with sections' stewards.

The plans of activities are the most effective instruments for unifying the entire trade union movement, for improving the level of activity of trade union organs and organizations, and for involving functionaries and members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and encouraging their initiative. These plans are comprehensive program documents of organizations for each annual season and have a distinct political goal.

The constituent meeting of the Central Trade Union Council which took place while the congress was still in session, charged the plant committees with a task to work out draft plans for 1983 activities by 15 October of this year. It is a duty of intermediate and higher trade union organs, especially of okres trade union councils, to dispatch their activs to assit the basic organizations in the details of the results of the 10th All-Trade Union Council, taking into consideration their own conditions and to help them to prepare their own drafts of planned activity. Okres trade union councils, in cooperation with okres and kraj committees of individual trade unions, will form consultation groups which will review the drafts of planned activity, especially of the less effective and most important basic organizations.

Starting with the second half of the year, the basic trade union organizations will evaluate semi-annual fulfillment of socialist pledges, adopted in honor of the 10th All-Trade Union Congress, the results of public control of the fulfillment of these pledges and of collective contracts. In cooperation with the management of the organization, they will agree on how to proceed to fulfill the 1982 economic plans.

Resolute Approach Toward Tasks

It will be necessary to strengthen the resolute, matter-of-fact, critical and self-critical approach toward all tasks in all trade union organizations. The decisive means for achieving these ends must be a more consistent application of the Leninist style of work, a more resolute overcoming of negative tendencies in trade union activity, namely, of formalism, red tape and bureaucratic approach. These will be the basic conditions for a successful and effective fulfillment of the functions of the socialist trade unions. We must not continue to permit useless and redundant meetings. We must show greater responsibility in handling trade union assets and work time of our people. We cannot agree that thousands of workers-functionaries are uselessly called away from the production process.

A consistent injection of rich content into intra-trade union life will improve the work of the entire basic organization and its shop organizations and trade union sections and commissions. This requires the improvement of the work of plant committees, the strengthening of their political and technical involvement in management, the development of workers' initiative, the organization of the socialist competition, the educational activity as well as the planning and improvement of meetings and production discussions and the areas of wages and social benefits.

The Slovak Trade Union Council is at present concerning itself with the coordination of the work of the Slovak committees of individual trade unions, and kraj and okres trade union councils to achieve the tasks set by the 10th All-Trade Union Council and the Slovak Congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. In cooperation with the pertinent Slovak state and ministerial organs, the council will discuss policies and joint measures to fulfill the main tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

We will lend active assistance in reviewing the brigade forms of organization of labor and renumeration in selected organizations of certain trade unions. Together with the kraj trade union councils, we will conduct controls of the Joint Attitudes of Okres Trade Union Councils and Okres National Committees in two okreses in each kraj as far as the improvement of services is concerned. The Slovak Hospitalization Insurance Administration, in cooperation with the Slovak committee of the Trade Union of Health Workers, will examine the level of health care rendered to our workers in the Bratislava hospitals. The plan expects to call for a joint meeting of the chairman of the Slovak Trade Union Council and the ministers of health and of labor and social affairs to evaluate the situation and adopt joint measures to achieve the tasks of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 10th All-Trade Union Congress in the area of social policy in Slovakia.

At a joint meeting of the Presidium of the Slovak Government and the Secretariat of the Slovak Trade Union Council which will take place next July, we will discuss the results and experience stemming from the realization of the Main Joint Tasks of State, Economic and Trade Union Organs in the period following the 5th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and the meeting of the CPSL Central Committee. At this meeting the critical comments of our workers made at annual meetings and conferences will be reviewed. We will agree on joint measures to secure the fulfillment of this year's plan and on the ways to achieve the tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan in the important branches and efficient enterprises.

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CSO: 2400/313

FIVE YEARS OF CHARTER 77

Rome LISTY in Czech No 2, May 82 pp 23-26

[Article on Charter 77 by spokesmen of the charter: "Five Years of Charter 77"]

[Text] The beginning of this year marks the fifth anniversary of the existence and implementation of Charter 77, a citizens' initiative for respecting human rights in the CSSR, a voluntary association of persons of diverse philosophies, faiths, aims and interests joined together in their willingness to work for full implementation of human rights, human dignity and creativity in our society. It originated when, in the fall of 1976 by decree No 120/76 of SBIRKA ZAKONU the provisions of the International Pact on Human Rights were incorporated into the Czechoslovak legal code, provisions which had been prepared in the UN on the basis of the General Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1966, signed by the Czechoslovak government in 1968 and ratified at the end of 1976.

It should be noted that it was precisely the Czechoslovak ratification which, in addition to applying within our republic, contributed to attaining participation of the required number of states to give the pact international validity. Then at the beginning of 1977, 211 Czechoslovak citizens signed the declaration, among them a number of well-known persons in the fields of culture, religion as well as political life, persons who welcomed the fact that the Czechoslovak state had recognized the provisions of the pact as a constituent part of its legal code and at the same time called attention to the fact that heretofore there had been many manifestations in our legislation and especially in practice that were contrary to these provisions. The provisions were directed to appropriate government agencies of the republic as well as to the public at large. They expressed their willingness to work to see that the provisions of the pact would become fully operative and offered their cooperation to responsible state authorities as well as to all those citizens who are not indifferent to these questions.

The name "Charter 77" which they adopted for their association relates to the historic process which recognized respect for human rights, basic liberties and the dignity of man as an integral part of the policy of peace and security as well as cooperation among nations in the Atlantic Charter establishing the antifascist alliance in the fall of 1941, the United Nations

Charter which changed the wartime alliance into the universal organization of the peaceful world order in 1945 and its later development and specification in the final act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in 1975. It is, therefore, an action that fully conforms to Czechoslovak legality. Article 29 of the CSSR constitution entitles every citizen, either individually or together with others, to submit proposals, petitions or grievances to government bodies. The substance of the declaration and the reported actions of Charter 77 are consistent with article 17 on the obligation of socialist legality in the life of society and to conduct themselves according to the legal code in which, as already stated, the state had incorporated the provisions of both pacts which it had ratified and which, furthermore, it had promised to observe consistently by signing the Helsinki Final Act.

The existence and operation of Charter 77 is recognized directly by the Final Act which declares that respect for human rights is one of the conditions of genuine peace, security and cooperation among nations and accords every citizen and inhabitant of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe the right to be aware of their rights and responsibilities in this area (Year of Human and Civil Rights and Liberties) and to proceed accordingly. This also includes the right to decide to what extent their rights are being respected by state authorities and to submit suggestions and proposals either individually or collectively.

This international recognition of the rights of citizens to demand that state authorities respect the rights guaranteed them by international agreement or treaty is a material advance in the development of international law. From an ethical and political point of view the recognition of such action is a contribution toward meeting the goals formulated by the Final Act. Moreover, a direct appeal for such action was signed by the president of the CSSR in his capacity as general secretary of the CPCZ in the concluding document of the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties in July 1976 calling to battle for greater democratization of European cooperation and expressly including adherence to the Pact on Human Rights formulated at the UN by all European states. Also the published declaration of Charter 77 of 1 January 1977 and all other suggestions, proposals and grievances directed to authorized bodies are in accord with the Czechollovak legal code. Article 28 of the constitution guarantees freedom of expression in all sectors of social life, especially freedom of speech and press. Ratification of the pact on civil and political rights includes in this freedom the right to receive and communicate information and ideas of all types without limit. Consequently, even publication of the text of the Charter 77 Declaration of 1 January 1977 as well as other presentations not objectionable with respect to the Czechoslovak legal code are fully consistent with this legal code including also promulgation abroad.

The citizens' initiative tries to conform to the legal code of any state which by its name professes to be socialist. The very fact that such a state considered it compatible with its character to incorporate the provisions of the pact into its legal code shows the absurdity of the notion that efforts to conform to it would be antisocialist. In spite of full compliance with

legality and the principles frequently enunciated by official authorities, Charter 77 from the beginning has met with negative, in fact, hostile reactions from these authorities. Personal transmission of the Charter 77 Declaration of 1 January to the Federal Assembly and government was prevented by extensive and dramatic police action. A number of actions were taken against signers of the declaration limiting their freedom and interfering with their lives. Added to police actions hard to justify legally or in point of fact were job dismissals contrary to the labor code as well as international agreements signed by the Czechoslovak government. Without allowing the public to see the text of the declaration, the information media were mobilized in condemnation and slanders against which the signers of the declaration were unable to defend themselves. With pressure on their livlihood, hundreds of thousands, nay, millions of workers were compelled to vote for resolutions repudiating the text which they knew nothing about. Even the Prosecutor's Office, constitutionally responsible for compliance with the laws, attempted by legally dubious means to support the illegal actions and incitement against those who were acting fully in accord with the law and wanted it to be observed. Nor did the offices to which the declaration and other Charter 77 documents were directed proceed according to the constitution which charges them to handle responsibly and expeditiously any suggestions, proposals or grievances of the citizens.

In spite of the fact that this kind of procedure is not only legitimate and reasonable but also capable of resolving any problems presented by Charter 77 and conforms with the life interests of a substantial portion of society without unnecessary aggravation, dramatization and public disturbance, the state authorities chose to proceed in quite the reverse. Contrary to its own laws and obligations adopted to further the policy of relaxation and peaceful cooperation, the government mobilized vast resources and undertook a series of actions to silence and crush the citizens' iniative requesting adherence to these laws and obligations. One can scarcely reckon how many tens of millions of korunas were dissipated, what amounts of work time were wasted, what tracts of forests were felled for the paper used in the campaign against Charter 77, how much fuel and oil was consumed in police raids to incite, harass and repress the participants while at the same time appealing everywhere to conservation of the resources and assets of our economy. One will scarcely guage the extent and number of illegalities, insults, humiliations, barbarities and injustices inflicted on those who desired only that that which the state authorities had proclaimed as standard principles and international obligations be actually observed. Long years of imprisonment to which dozens of persons were sentenced in trials virtually barred to the public were inflicted on them on the basis of accusations awkwardly contrived and inconsistent with objective judgment are indicative of only a small portion of the number of repressive acts and persecutions. In fact there are even cases of severe physical violence and sacrifice of life.

It can be said, however, that the campaign of provocations developed chiefly in the early months of 1977 and continuing in various forms and with differing intensity did not achieve its aim. The vast resources and expedients mobilized against it were wasted. Charter 77 could not be destroyed. To a certain extent the campaign of incitement popularized it at home and even

throughout the world. The initiative which might have been restricted to a small circle of directly involved persons had officials proceeded legally and in accordance with provisions of the constitution had, because of the irrational reaction of the authorities, become a matter of public knowledge and a political case of the first order. The Charter 77 declaration, inherently not sensational but simply stating what everyone already knew long ago, thanks to the taste of forbidden fruit, began to interest millions of people.

A few hundred of them added their signatures to the original 240, in spite of a barrage of harassment and discriminatory and repressive measures and only a few individuals were persuaded by these measures to withdraw their signatures. Several dozens, however, were forced to go abroad. Thanks to the reaction which the whole campaign against the Charter provoked throughout the world, the international pacifist and progressive public was able to adjudge the character of the charter as lawful, constructive and conforming to the cause of peaceful cooperation in Europe. It is not by chance that sympathy and solidarity with it were expressed from the beginning primarily by those persons, circles, movements and organizations which are at present at the head of the big movements for denuclearization of our continent, genuine disarmament and relaxation of tension and against any kind of attempts to renew the atmosphere of the cold war. It is not the fault of Charter 77 if these same circles, impressed by the persecutions and provocations here harbor doubts about the sincerity of official pronouncements on peace by Czechoslovak authorities. In its presentations Charter 77 pointed this out many times and suggested to state authorities how to refute this or that doubt or argument.

Naturally, subscribers to Charter 77 are grateful to their friends abroad for their sympathy and expressions of solidarity, being guided by honest attempts to contribute to the work of Helsinki and refute the vile slanders, as though Charter 77 were being supported and even directed by some kind of imperialist headquarters. At the same time they are not particularly happy over the fact that the attacks and illegal persecutions against them and other nonconforming citizens are doing a disservice to the name and interests of Czechoslavakia in the world. In their presentations, to which our officials did not respond or only reacted with further police interrogation, shadowings, detentions and confinements, Charter 77 spokesmen repeatedly pointed out the fact that these illegal steps were getting on the agenda of discussions about how obligations of international pacts are being fulfilled, whether at the meeting of participants in KBSE [expansion unknown] in Belgrade in 1977 and in Madrid in 1980 or the International Labor Conference in 1979. At the same time they submitted constructive proposals on how to head off such situations. It is not their fault nor does it please them that at these discussions representatives of our country got into awkward situations and could scarcely defend the name and interests of the republic.

In spite of the fact that 5 years of Charter 77 meant 5 years of persecution, harassment and difficult living for those who supported it, their activism has not been exhausted in resisting these attacks. Their main objective continues to consist of constructive, positive approaches. They are concerned to see that what our leading officials signed and proclaimed in

the area of human and civil rights should be observed here. They submitted a number of specific proofs of this in the form of proposals for legislative and administrative reforms as required by both pacts in article 2 of text. A comprehensive proposal of this kind was submitted by charter spokesman as early as the beginning of 1978. In addition, they submitted suggestions and proposals on problems of labor laws, procedures for acceptance at secondary schools and colleges, implementation of trade union rights, problems of freedom of belief and religious profession, respect for human dignity in correctional institutions, implementation of the economic rights of citizens as consumers and also application of the right to a healthful life environment as promulgated at the UN conference on this subject in 1972. These proposals and suggestions were prepared in a responsible manner with the participation of experts well informed on the subjects. The fact that the only response by authoritative bodies was to ignore the proposals or take police action against Charter 77 spokesmen can with difficulty be considered as disposition of the matter according to article 29 of the constitution nor as a responsible procedure of the addressees regarding problems which touch on the interests of all of society.

So Charter 77 survived 5 years of systematic efforts to destroy it. Thus it demonstrated its vitality as an informal association of persons of diverse lifestyle, interests, opinions and temperaments linked by a common perception and consciousness of social responsibility and a determination to work for human dignity, for those neglected values in the mechanisms of power as well as the consumerist lifestyle into which a large part of our society had been driven by these mechanisms after 1968. This attitude of an active, democratic citizenry, with the will to live by truth is part of our good national strength. Thus it is related to all kinds of diverse groups and currents of nonconformist thinking and artistic, scientific and technical creativity. It carries on dialogs with them which are also developed within itself. Without claiming to speak in the name of anyone other than its subscribers it reflects and tries to encompass the interests and social needs of the silent majority of our society. Overcoming this resignation, arousing the civic consciousness, responsibility and courage of precisely this silent majority remains the constant goal of the Charter 77 fellowship.

This work continues to be positive and constructive in the sense of the initial declaration of 1 Januray 1977. Whoever considers truly serious appeals to fight against poor and inefficient management, the indifference and irresponsibility of leaders but also the apathy of those being led and managed, who are constantly reminded of their impotence, against corruption in all possible sectors of our life, must sooner ar later understand that the appeal to the consciousness of the people can only be of any avail when it is accompanied by specific guarantees of respect for the individuality, dignity, rights and opinions of those being appealed to. A politically mature society which is spoken of so much, will not become a reality nor will it function without truly respecting and guaranteeing the person and the citizen, applicable to all of its members.

This is also the basic lesson of the current stormy developments in our northern neighbors which the Charter 77 community is following with intense

attention and unconcealed sympathy toward those who are struggling for recognition and application of this plain truth in resolving the social crisis of the courageous fraternal Polish nation so close to us.

So Charter 77 continues to live on. Because it continues to be needed in our society, because the problems which it pointed out at its inception have not been resolved and because all the costly, vain attempts to destroy the charter only provided further, more persuasive arguments for its existence and urgency and it is one of the realities of our life at present, the importance of which is indirectly recognized by the initiators and organizers of the incitements against it. It remains important to active democratic civic responsibility, courage and commitment and also to the community, albeit not great, which considers this appeal seriously and on its basis also forms its mutual relations, sympathies and tolerance for respecting the opinions and attitudes of each of its members.

Because it is needed it will live and continue active in spite of all further attempts to suppress it. The same validity applies to its opening declaration and its other documents. In their spirit it will continue to react toward any evidences of restraint on the positive development of our society and will submit its constructive proposals for overcoming them. It will continue to protest against unjust persecution which affects not only its victims and their immediate surroundings but also damages the interests of our society. It will show solidarity with all who anywhere here or abroad are striving for truly humane relations in peace based on liberty and justice for all.

Prague, 7 January 1982
Dr Radim Palous, spokesman Charter 77
Anna Marvanova, spokesman Charter 77
Ladislav Lis, spokesman Charter 77
Dr Bedrich Placak, Dr Jaroslav Sabata, Vaclav Maly

New Spokesmen for Charter 77

Effective this day, Doc Dr Radim Palous, Anna Marvanova and Ladislav Lis will begin as spokesmen for Charter 77 replacing Prof Dr Bedrich Placak, Dr Jaroslav Sabata and Vaclav Maly. All three of the former spokesmen will become members of the Charter 77 Collective of Spokesmen to which is added also Eng Zdenek Pokorny. Twenty more signatories subscribed to the original Charter 77 Declaration. Charter 77 spokesmen Dr Vaclav Benda, Jiri Dienstbier and Eng Rudolf Battek are imprisoned. Prague, 7 January 1982
Signed:
Doc Dr Radim Palous, spokesman, Charter 77
Anna Marvanova, Spokesman, Charter 77
Ladislav Lis, Spokesman, Charter 77
Prof Dr Bedrich Placak
Dr Jaroslav Sabata
Vaclav Maly

Biographies of the New Spokesmen

Radim Palous

Born 6 November 1924 in Prague. Graduated from the philosophy faculty of Charles University where he was awarded the doctorate of philosophy. Subsequently at the natural science faculty of the Pedagogical College in the field of chemistry. He earned the Csc degree in the field of didactics of chemistry. He was admitted as a docent in the field of pedagogics. He has written books and for periodicals at home as well as abroad in the field of analytical chemistry, didactics of chemistry, didactics of technical and instructional resources and philosophy in which he is a student of Prof Jan Patocky. He worked as a college teacher up to January 1977 when he was dismissed by the rector of Charles University for signing Charter 77. At present he is on disability pension. He is a practicing Catholic.
Address: Prague 1 - Mala Strana, Vsehrdova 14, 11800 Prague

Anna Marvanova

Born 18 March 1928 in Bratislava of a laborer's family. She worked 20 years for Czechoslovak Broadcasting as a reporter not only in Prague but also in several African states. In 1970 she left Czechoslovak Broadcasting after which she tried to work as a dishwasher in a restaurant, later delivering newspapers. This work, however, impaired the state of her health to the extent that she had to abandon it. Since 1964 she has been suffering with an incurable spinal cord disease which limits her mobility. From 1948 to 1969 she was a member of the CPCZ which she left after the fall of Alexander Dubcek. She is the mother of three children.
Address: Prague 2 - Zizkov, Jeranymova 2

Ladislav Lis

Born 24 April 1926 in Malky, district of Pisek of a laborer's family. He studied to be a fitter mechanic. At the beginning of the occupation he went through various resistance groups. In 1943 he was accepted as a member of the illegal CPCZ. After the war he held a number of positions in the youth and trade union movements: chairman of the CSM [Czechoslovak Union of Youth], member of the leadership of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and candidate for the CPCZ Central Committee. Because of his nonconformist views he was always at variance with the CPCZ leadership during all this time. He graduated from the university attached to the CPCZ Central Committee. In 1953 he was recalled from his position as chairman of the CSM and in 1961 he was accused of pro-Yugoslav activity. He worked as a construction laborer in Chomutov, later at CKD [Ceskomoravska KolbenDanek] in Prague. After rehabilitation in 1968 he became secretary of the CPCZ Municipal Committee in Prague. In 1969 he was relieved of all his duties and expelled from the CPCZ. In 1970 he completed his studies at the law faculty in Prague.

In 1977 Ladislav Lis signed Charter 77. In 1978 he became a member of VONS [Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Persecuted Individuals]. In the summer of that year he spent 2 months in jail as the result of a fabricated charge on property violation. Prosecution was stopped because of inconclusive

evidence. In April 1979 he was arrested with a VONS group and accused of subversion against the republic according to paragraph 98 of the penal code. After 7 months in jail he was released but prosecution against him did not cease. In 1980 he became a member of the Charter 77 Collective of Spokesmen. He is married, the father of two children. Now he is on a partial disability pension. He works as a household worker in the disability cooperative.
Address: Prague 10, Benesovska 33.

8491
CSO: 2400/286

GYPSY DISCRIMINATION,GROWING CRIME RATE DISCUSSED

Bratislava SLOBODA in Slovak 3 Jun 82 p 7

[Interview with Eng Imrich Farkas, secretary of the SSR government commission for Gypsy population problems: "We Also Are To Be Blamed for the Problem"]

> [Text] There are 208,000 gypsy population in Slovakia which is about half of the population of our capital. There are 110,000 of them in eastern Slovakia alone, and a 15,700 gypsy population in the Rimavska Sobota okres or 16 percent of the entire population of this okres.

[Question] What is the purpose of the commission whose secretary you are?

[Answer] The SSR government commission for gypsy population was set up in January 1969. Its establishment was approved by the SSR government resolution No 51. It represented the continuation of the previous commission gypsy population problems which was established by the SNR [Slovak National Council] presidium in 1965. Our government commission works as an initiative, coordination and control auxiliary organ of the SSR government. As its name indicates, we are interested in the solution of problems which are related to acculturate the gypsy population living on our territory.

[Question] I did not have that in mind, when I asked you the first question. I actually wanted to ask you why it is necessary for such commission to exist in the first place?

[Answer] The gypsies and other socially and culturally backward groups of our population find themselves in such a situation precisely because the previous exploitative societies neglected them completely. Our society has an eminent interest in making up to these backward groups what they missed in the past. This, however, is all the more difficult, the more rapidly our society advances. If we would not pay proper attention to it, the "scissors"--to put it symbolically--would open even more, the differences between the average citizen of this republic and the citizen of gypsy descent, who is not interested in his cultural and social growth, would further increase. Although we have done a lot of work in the last 20-30 years, we have still not reached the level which all of us desire. The truth, however, is that these groups of the population are not able by themselves, by their own power to make up for what they missed in the past. This also is the reply to your question.

[Question] What are the basic means and methods of your work?

[Answer] In the first place I must mention the methodology based on past research and experience. We have thus commissions which methodically direct the work of other ministries, state organs at the KNV [kraj national committees] and ONV [okres national committees] level, mass organizations as well as economic and cooperative organizations. We have available a certain amount of funds which are used to defray expenses related to the acculturation process which, however, cannot be paid from other items of the state budget. These funds are for example used to alleviate the housing situation of gypsy families: the state buys shacks in the gypsy colonies and contributes to securing standard housing for gypsy families either in old-family houses or in larger new houses.

[Question] It is important, however, to pay attention primarily to the Gypsy children. This is where the injustices committed by the previous generations can best be remedied...

[Answer] From the funds mentioned earlier we can contribute to the meals served to the Gypsy children in kindergartens, school cafeterias, to clothing, footwear, to the recreation of Gypsy children, school supplies and so on. In addition, we have at our disposal a government reserve from which, on the basis of the decision of the SSR Government Commission for Problems of Gypsy Population, contributions are made to the national committees to construct or reconstruct buildings for kindergartens, school cafeterias, youth centers and other extracurricular establishments of which there is a shortage in the given area and the Gypsy children thus do not get in. On the other hand it is true that we frequently encounter improper behavior on the part of Gypsies, breach of the public peace, noise, illicit sale of products smuggled from abroad, and we form, on this basis, a stereotype of all our Gypsy fellow-citizens. I would like to add, however, that precisely due to the activity of our commission and of commissions attached to the nationality committee councils at different levels we have achieved significant successes in this area. For example: while only 10.5 percent of Gypsy children of the appropriate age group were enrolled in the kindergartens in 1972, our female teachers were already educating 61 percent of Gypsy children of 3-5 year age group in these establishments last year. Our goal for 1985 is the enrollment of 85 percent of all children. The school attendance of Gypsy children has also improved. There were 216 missed classes per student in the 1971/1972 school year, but only 97 classes last year. Among the 15-year olds only 14 percent of the Gypsies graduated in the 1974/1975 school year, but last year it was already 25.6 percent. Even greater progress can be seen in the fact that in 1974/1975 school year 51 percent of the students from Gypsy families did not get higher than the fifth grade, but in 1981 this ratio declined to only 4.3 percent. I would like to come back to the adults. Only 50 percent of all Gypsies in the productive age worked in 1972, but already 73 percent last year.

[Question] The problems, however, arise also because the socially and culturally stronger groups of our population are frequently not willing to accept those who actively want to join this integration process...

[Answer] Today, we practically no longer deal with cases, where two or three succeeding generations in the same family have worked regularly. These people differ in nothing from the rest. We must say, however, that we often make mistakes, when we are not willing to accept among us those Gypsies who want to integrate with us with all social and cultural habits that are typical of the present times. And I am sad, when I must add that we counter such lack of understanding also among the officials of nationality committees who by their wrong decisions prevent some Gypsies from reaching a higher standard. It happens for example that the parents do not permit their child to sit next to a Gypsy child in school or try to prevent the Gypsy children from taking their meals in school cafeterias. It happens also that the nationality committee does not permit a Gypsy citizen to buy a family house in the village. We come across incomprehensible decisions also in the bigger towns. For example in Kosice, Bardejov, Rimavska Sobota and Levoca they moved the Gypsy citizens into special housing projects and thus created a sort of Gypsy settlement which are socially separated from others and some of these settlements look like Gypsy camps already today--though of a higher standard.

[Question] It is true, however, that the crime rate is growing among the Gypsy population...

[Answer] Despite all measures already mentioned, we constantly witness a rise of the crime rate among the Gypsy population. It is particularly sad that this is true particularly of the juveniles. The measures which should be taken concern particularly various mass organizations, educational establishments, physical education and the like because most of these criminal acts spring from boredom, inactivity, the surplus of leisure time. All of us deal with the problems of school, employment, housing, but nobody pays attention to the problem of leisure on the part of Gypsy population. These are the biggest reserves which we have already uncovered theoretically, but nothing has been done to mobilize them practically. This is partly caused by the unwillingness of others to accept them among ourselves.

10501
CSO: 2400/294

LITERARY, ART WORKS CRITICIZED FOR LACK OF 'REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT'

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 45, 24 Mar 82 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "'No New SED Cultural Policy.'" A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Prof Hans Koch, director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies under the SED Academy of Social Sciences, in view of the stiffer ideological demands made, mainly, on GDR authors, has denied that the SED had a "new cultural policy." Changes in the GDR's cultural policy climate merely indicated "dynamic elements at work within the continuity of SED cultural policy." Koch asserted in this context that "certain works of art and some tendencies in the creation of art" did not "meet" party demands. "Trivialities" sometimes were being "highlighted," or there was some "art with curtains drawn" into which hardly ever a gleam of real life penetrated. In part also the evidence of talent was being found in making texts, pictures or pieces of music so ramiform that they either could no longer be decoded at all or only in a contrary manner--"full of arrogance toward a 'normal sensitivity' with its search for meaning barred by works like that." Furthermore, domestic and foreign policy difficulties were not always being understood as a "challenge to artistic party-mindedness" but sat like "a nightmare on or in many works of that sort."

SED Academician's Critique

East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG in German Vol 28 No 12, 26 Mar 82 'Consultation' supplement pp 1-8

[April contribution to Party Study Year by Prof Dr Hans Koch, director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "The 10th Party Congress on the Cultural Policy of the SED and the Development of Art and Literature." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article by the same author, cited in footnote 7, is published under heading, "Literary Proof Seen for 'German Socialist Nation's Cultural Identity," in JPRS 80439, 30 Mar 82, No 1993 of this series, pp 20-28]

"What could be more beautiful for a teacher who helps young people find their way to live than the awareness that he contributes to the unfolding of the creative capacities inherent in the individual and in all the people and that he helps build a society which for the first time grants the objective foundations for the free and all-round development of the personality of each."[1]

Socialist culture and art are fine "tools" for using these conditions and, indeed, for solving many requirements derived from the "Open Letter to All GDR Pedagogues."

"The cultural policy issued by the ninth party congress, we find, bears good fruit," Erich Honecker affirmed at the 10th party congress.[2] That cultural policy enjoys, especially since the eighth party congress, a lasting continuity coupled with dynamics and steady further development. That connection is most authentically and cogently demonstrated in Kurt Hager's "Contributions to Cultural Policy, Speeches and Essays, 1972-1981."[3]

The challenges of the 1980's of which the 10th party congress spoke, and which the third Central Committee plenum emphatically accentuated, make high demands on cultural development. Cultural policy is an organic element of overall party policy. That holds true also of such cornerstones of foreign and domestic policy as the struggle for peace and for implementing the economic strategy for the 1980's, which makes possible our carrying on the main task under altered economic conditions, i.e. the continuing elevation, step by step, of our material and cultural standard of living.

Coresponsibility in the Peace Struggle

The U.S. confrontation and arms-buildup policy threatens peace as never before since 1945. Peace is imperative to preserve human civilization and culture and human life on our planet. Socialism categorically needs peace to attain its far-reaching [illegible]

Our party--together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states--follows this maxim: "Undeterred and tenacious efforts to safeguard peace and stop the arms race, aimed at defending and expanding political detente, stabilizing it mainly by measures of military detente and disarmament, and making it irreversible."[4]

The ominous NATO resolution to deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe and thereby to change the existing military-strategic equilibrium sparked a broad peace movement transcending ideological differences and antagonisms, social systems and national borders. Writers, artists and scientists play an important role in this thus far broadest social movement. The "Berlin Encounter for Promoting Peace," which took place in the GDR capital in December 1981, was able successfully to stabilize the breadth of this movement--with all its diverse and controversial views--and frustrate any speculation that the GDR and other socialist countries could be pushed out of the peace movement.

In analyzing the 10th party congress at a plenary session of the Arts Academy, Kurt Hager affirmed: "It would be desirable for the writers and artists to sound off still more audibly in the peace struggle. On behalf of the defense of humanism, all creators of culture are called upon to exercise their responsibility in the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence and work for a broad alliance of the

peace forces in Europe and all other continents. Culture and art can make a direct contribution to shaping international relations in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence and, hence, to the safeguarding of peace. GDR creators of culture can illuminate through their own experience the close connection between peace and socialism and between social and cultural progress."[5]

Socialist culture on the whole makes that connection apparent. All education and training in the socialist educational system follows the spirit of preserving and defending peace as the supreme good of mankind, the will to peace and the ideals of friendship among the peoples. No special courses on peace are thus needed because the sum total of all courses teaches us what Lenin put this way: "Ending wars, peace among the peoples, the end of rapacity and violence--that is truly our ideal."[6]

This is not the place to refer to the many spiritual "peace initiatives" that have their place in our intellectual-cultural life.[7] Our arduous efforts in further shaping the developed socialist society in our country are and remain our strongest practical contribution to peace. Precisely this demands of us to take part in coming to terms with the problems in that very broad alliance with representatives of all sorts of ideological, sociopolitical, religious, natural and cultural-philosophic, pacifistic and other persuasions--aggressively, in tactful tolerance and on a high intellectual level.

Withal it should not be ignored that every creative activity, every high-level satisfaction of intellectual-cultural demands, and all the socialist enhancement of the cultural standard of living amount to service to peace--because the well-being of men is the aim. This calls for a clearer awareness of connections often not felt spontaneously.

On the Development of Literature and Art

The 10th SED Congress vividly demonstrated that the GDR is a country rich in art and culture. That is attested to by many new works of literature, the visual arts, theater and television, movies, music, new creations in effective popular art and many other things. The construction of the new Gewandhaus in Leipzig and of the House of Culture in Gera--to give some examples--opens new opportunities for the enjoyment of art and, with it, has given us luminous architectural-artistic structures.

There is reason for pride in that for 1981 alone the list of new literary publications includes, e.g., Bernhard Seeger's "Der Harmonikaspieler" [The Harmonica Player], Helmut Sakowski's "Verflucht und geliebt" [Cursed and Loved], Walter Flegel's "Es gibt kein Niemandsland" [There Is No Such Thing as No Man's Land], Max Walter Schulz' "Die Fliegerin oder Aufhebung einer stummen Legende" [The Aviatrix or the Suspension of a Mute Legend], Gerhard Holtz-Baumert's "Erscheinen Pflicht" [Attendance Mandatory], Erik Neutsch's "Forster in Paris," Hermann Kant's "Zu den Unterlagen" [With Reference to the Documents] and "Der dritte Nagel" [The Third Nail], Guenter Goerlich's "Das Maedchen und der Junge" [The Girl and the Boy], Hermann H. Schulz' "Das Erbe" [The Legacy], Jochen Laabs' "Der Ausbruch" [The Escape], Rainer Kerndl's "Eine undurchsichtige Affaire" [An Opaque Affair] and Bernd Schirmer's "Sindbads Muetze" [Sindbad's Cap]; and that the appearance of

significant autobiographical books continued including Karl Mundstock's "Meine tausend Jahre Jugend" [My Thousand Years of Youth], Walli Nagel's "Das darfst du nicht" [You Must Not Do That], Alexander Abusch's "Der Deckname" [The Pseudonym] and Albert Norden's "Ereignisse und Erlebtes" [Events and Experiences]. That surely is no poor harvest for as brief a period as one year, to which it must be added that any selective listing is by itself unfair, this one, e.g., generally with regard to the wealth of beautiful juvenile literature which keeps cropping up in the GDR, or radio plays. Similar evidence could be adduced from other arts.

The wealth of our artistic culture includes our rich custodianship of our legacy, our being open to the reception of literary and artistic works from all over the world, and the great number of reciprocal guest performances and exhibitions.

Life demonstrates as a perfect lie the enemy's convenient pretense of the "drying up of the GDR's cultural landscape."

The socialist literature and art in our country, the legacy we have appropriated to our socialist purposes, and our rich, consistently humanistic internationalism in taking in cultural values from all over the world, principally from the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, have long become unforgettable components of the socialist German national culture that has formed in recent decades and continues to develop successfully--despite all the enemy's ruckus about a supposed "all-German culture."

One of the fundamental guarantees for it has been and is the policy of alliance between the workers class under Marxist-Leninist leadership and the intelligentsia. Especially since the eighth party congress, through more than one durability test, the strengthened relationship of trust between the creators of literature and art and the SED has been proven. "The close bonds between our party and the writers and creators of art are a precious boon and a basis for the successful further development of our socialist national culture."[8]

The party's art policy efforts are aimed at the blossoming of socialist realism in the whole breadth and variety of its creative potentials that have by no means yet been exhausted. Such an art depends on deep inner ties with the reality of socialism and the life of the people, on the sense of responsibility for socialism. In all types and genres of art, this has long been the chief current in the development of art.

For the sake of its fruitful alliance policy, our party has often enough pointed out that at present by no means all artists are Marxist-Leninists. Not all accept the principles of socialist realism as their own personal artistic creed. In the GDR's cultural life there is room for any artist whose work is committed to peace and humanism, antifascism, international solidarity and real socialism. The example of Johannes Bobrowski has shown what brilliant achievements a writer of Christian persuasion is capable of from those positions.[9]

Two basic statements on the trend of the further development of socialist realism came from the 10th SED Congress.

For one thing: "The central problem for continued artistic progress is and remains the portrayal of the workers class as the leading social force. Socialist realism has room for artistically dealing with the historic experiences in the worldwide class struggle between socialism and imperialism as well as for all manifestations of life in socialism."[10] Our last section will comment on some of the essential implications of that.

And then: "In picking up and responding to questions of our time, of human worth and man's place in society, freedom and responsibility, the claim to happiness and the opportunities for realizing it in socialism lies one of the most remarkable achievements of socialist realism. Socialist culture must and can also find a field for action where it is a matter of surmounting attitudes that are alien to our socialist society."[11]

The 10th party congress brought out how effectively art can contribute to a public sense of identification regarding intellectual claims and moral value judgments. And here, one of its ideological criteria, not last, lies in how serviceable it can be to the education of youth. It helps orienting to those fundamental values in socialism which more and more determine the way of life of society and of the individual. It stirs up toward committing oneself to enforcing such values and making the norms of socialist ethics and morality prevail everywhere. "That includes the fashioning of feelings for truth, goodness and beauty and cultured modes of conduct."[12]

A high demand is to be fulfilled. What matters is to find in literature and art a "source for deeper revelations about our life with its revolutionary breath, its struggles and conflicts and to gain mental, moral and philosophic benefits from it in terms of socialism," receive spiritual stimuli and impulses from it, and face, and cope with, the demands of our age.[13] Certain works of art and some tendencies in the creation of art do not meet these high demands.

Trivialities are sometimes being highlighted, and one finds an "art with curtains drawn" into which hardly ever a gleam of real life penetrates. Sometimes boredom simply predominates or platitudes are presented which deform taste and eventually diminish the quality of artistic needs--by which a strong and legitimate desire for entertainment as such is not to be gainsaid in any way.

Vice versa, sometimes the evidence of talent is found in making texts, pictures or pieces of music so ramiform that they either can no longer be decoded at all or only in a contrary manner--full of arrogance toward a "normal sensitivity" with its search for meaning barred by works like that.

The acute dangers to peace, the complications in the international situation, and also temporary reversals in the worldwide growth process of socialism, ambivalence about today's scientific-technical possibilities as being a curse or a blessing, and the lengthiness, difficulties and obstacles, the dialectical contradictoriness in the construction of socialism in our own country, and mainly also the inordinate intensification in the class struggle: all that is not always being understood as a challenge to artistic party-mindedness but sits like a nightmare on or in many works of that sort. A closer look reveals the excessive degree of attention through which the ideological enemy seeks to get into the act wherever he finds, or thinks he finds, lack of party-mindedness and loss in orientation or perspectives.

For that reason, Margot Honecker asserted: "As one knows, literature especially causes ideological effects. A firm socialist position and a deep ideological and political conviction are indispensable for exercising artistic responsibility. For the GDR does not exist in empty space, and we are building socialism in harsh conflict with imperialism and the reactionary bourgeois ideology in all its varieties. We resolutely rule out any intentions to disseminate hostile ideology dressed up as art opposing real socialism and our party policy."[14]

Party-mindedness, solidarity with the people and socialist substance are and remain the criteria that primarily decide on the value of a work of art. A high aesthetic value is hardly conceivable without an appropriate substance in ideas and ideology. The works and values of our art are charged with bringing an ever more effective influence to bear on our socialist personality formation and the shaping of the socialist way of life. "Through their achievements, the creators of art and culture have a great part in having the values and ideals of socialism determine more and more emphatically the working people's thoughts, feelings and actions."[15]

Economic Strategy and Culture

The economic strategy for the 1980's, as issued by the 10th SED Congress, is the centerpiece of our entire social strategy for the continued shaping of developed socialism in the GDR. Diligent and strenuous efforts toward a significant economic performance improvement mainly decide our further advances. "At the same time, the vitality of all other public domains has ever stronger repercussions on our production growth."[16] That also fully applies to culture. In its more profound analysis of the interactions between various domains and economics and in its setting a new stage for stimulating complex social development (the core of which is and remains the unity of economic and social policy) the 10th SED Congress produced a creditable theoretical performance.

In paraphrasing what it did, the party congress called for making specific and implementing a unified concept for the scientific, educational policy, university and technical school policy, intellectual-cultural, artistic, moral and ideological prerequisites for the needed performance improvement. And this by no means pertains primarily to special programs for specific "production promoting" measures--how important they may be.

"In the 1980's," Erich Honecker affirmed, "growing demands will be made on the quality and effectiveness of our socialist culture and art. They, after all, help release creativeness in men and enhance the joy of working and the well-being of the working people in socialist society. The point is that we must further improve everywhere the intellectual-cultural preconditions for our performance improvement."[17]

In all this, in turn, dealing with modern science and technology, the educational level attained, the moral-ethical and ideological attitudes and many other components have their repercussions on our intellectual-cultural life. They become important elements of men's personal culture, of the intellectual-cultural life of our society.

We can only allude here to a few aspects from the wealth of such interconnections.

We must become aware of the historic dimensions in the strategy issued by the 10th party congress, must instil it, as it were, into our own sense of life.

People who under complicated conditions realize high growth rates through their everyday reliable labor are no worshipers of figures. But for great humane purposes they are doing something enormous that has a scope that can hardly be dreamt of elsewhere today. Considering the international situation, they are truly doing something of global importance.

The social security and safety which, we feel, embrace us lead to an awakening to new horizons, a difficult advance over untraveled paths which in many ways still have to be explored. We may be proud of solid and immovable achievements. But could they be a final destination? They resemble a fine base camp for an assault on still unconquered summits. The "no future" sentiment to which so many young people in the Western world adhere (and this not through their personal fault) may be contrasted by the curiosity about the future and the will for the future we find among us. Our intellectual-cultural life should become more aware of these fields of tension, of which at this point we could merely give a hint.

It would be good to have works of art that plumb more deeply in this sense. Not to plumb the scientific-technical and technological dimensions, but the moral and human qualities needed in view of the great historic challenge.

At the 26th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev said: "Society's growing attention to matters of morality has also found a commensurate response in Soviet art. Interhuman relations at work and in daily life, the complicated internal world of personality and its place on our restless earth--all this is an inexhaustible field for artistic search. Here it must of course be accomplished that topical subjects are not made boring and given poor artistic treatment and that the heroes in such works do not move within a circle of fatuous trivialities, but that they live the life of their country--a life filled with arduous labor and the tenacious struggle for the triumph of justice and the good."[18] Words worthwhile to ponder--for us as well.

Our lofty goals require wholesome people who can commit themselves. Fighters, people are wanted who were impressed with a weighty word by Marx: Provided social conditions like ours, to achieve high purposes through work, "surmounting obstacles as such is an exercise of freedom." Our human purposes, which essentially have to be realized primarily in the economy, are no longer beset by the "semblance of merely external natural necessity." They present themselves "as purposes only posited by the individual himself, which means self-realization of the subject, and so means real freedom, its action, precisely, being work" (Marx).[19] That did not remain an abstract theoretical statement when we came to witness on the rostrum of the 10th party congress the vivid and vibrant appearance of the young cooperative gardener of Dresden, the furnace operator of Riesa, the teacher of Parchim, the microelectronics specialist of Erfurt, the motor mechanic of Rostock, and many others.

"Self-realization of the individual" became a slogan. In literature and art it sometimes appears as the result of some autogenous training in mere sensitivity, of withdrawing into oneself. Yet in the Marxist sense, in the spirit of our worldoutlook, it holds true that it is primarily brought to realization through social labor. Work is no game and no boastful display of what one can do. Truly free

labor "precisely also always is something damned serious and most intensive effort." "Positive creative activity" thus includes, as the moral value criterion, man's attitude toward the thing on which and for which he works, as much as his attitude toward his own "work capabilities," talents and abilities. Marx argued against the psychological elements in Adam Smith's labor theory where labor was seen mainly as a sacrifice, as a curse. Marx did not mind to define labor free of exploitation--the magnitude and difficulty of which he persistently emphasized--by such weighty modifying terms as "real freedom" and "happiness."[20]

The connection between labor and culture, of which we could here give but one hint under one aspect, is immensely multilayered. To learn to use and control this connection ever more completely must amount to a chief trend in the further planned development of our cultural life. That is wholly in line with its repercussion on our economic strategy.

An increasing role is assigned here to elevating socialist labor culture "in all places of work and study," as the party program puts it.[21] The 10th party congress oriented in particular to scientific labor organization, the shaping of the labor environment and the products, healthy and safe working conditions and honest, collegial and cooperative relations among the working people.[22]

The implementation of our great tasks by the workers class and all working people is indissolubly tied to the "broad spread of their creativity at work and during leisure."[23] At this point we shall not comment in any detail on cultural creativeness at work, which expresses itself, e.g., in idea-rich competition initiatives, in innovator work and that of rationalizers and inventors or in the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow. Nor can we go into school education for creative activity and creativity, its being subject to learning and constant training. It is and remains a main trend in all our intellectual-cultural life to provide a broad field of activity for the various creative inclinations and interests--be they artistic, scientific, technical, design or crafts-oriented, in husbandry or gardening or any other field. The needs in the creative inclinations and interests aroused, mainly through the breadth and depth of our secondary education and the requirements in the processes of our socialist intensively expanded reproduction, are visibly in contradiction to their chances of being engaged in, in our public cultural life. (A teacher need only look at his teaching schedule. That shows the most reduced framework for possibly preshaped inclinations and interests. He may consider possibilities for their extension and creative application in public cultural life, and he at least has a superficial idea of what remains to be done). That because of a lack of appropriate cultural opportunities some inclinations fall by the wayside and atrophy is not yet the core of the problem. Rather, what mainly matters is that the elevation of the cultural standarad of living must increasingly be linked with satisfying higher qualitative demands which, not last, include the exercise of creative inclinations and interests. Secondly, the challenge of the 1980's does demand greater attention to everything that can form, foster and stabilize a creative attitude toward life.

The increasing role of science and technology determines the tempo of our economic performance improvement. "The possibilities of the scientific-technical revolution have directly become the main reserve for the performance growth and efficiency of

our economy."[24] That, however, goes hand in hand with qualitatively enhancing the role of science and technology within the totality of our intellectual-cultural life. It does not concern only specific interests for particular specialized fields but the whole attitude toward science and technology as such. And here we urgently have to do away with all pedantry in the attitude toward science and technology. Insouciance and indifference to scientific-technical problems that deeply affect our overall social development are a poor match for the intellectual horizons of educated and cultured people in our society.

And so it is not just a pedagogical mission to stimulate among youth--and why only among youth?--"the love for science and technology, hobby work, research and invention."[25]

Olympic games, fairs, student societies, working teams, and all extracurricular activity offer great reserves for it. The help from technicians is needed, of course, but so is the power of communication by radio, television, newspapers and magazines, "Urania" and the Culture League.

It would be a mistake to place, in instilling "love for science and technology," everything on the interest in things. Science is a strict moral discipline. Scientific work demands the highest demands on oneself. Performance sparks ambitious goals, and high demands separate the wheat from the chaff. There is this remark by Marx that remains true without reservation: "No highway to science exists, and only those have a chance to get to its lofty heights who do not mind the effort to climb its steep paths."[26]

The 10th SED Congress reiterated once again the whole range of our various bonds with all revolutionary, democratic and humanistic traditions. It stressed the significance inherent in the knowledge of the experiences of the past and in experiencing their cultural values. All past achievements, accomplishments and traditions that constitute an objective value to us must consciously be made productive for the revolutionary renewal of forms of social life and human relations. With the development of intellectually and emotionally rich, morally elevated and aesthetically educated personalities and their relations with each other, with the social common-wealth, their state, their fatherland and home, and with nature, a broad range of social tasks and human problems comes into focus, containing and challenging many different types of traditional relations.[27] They should be given their proper illumination, and not only on Sundays and holidays, anniversaries and memorial days. What they mainly need is cultural appropriation on weekdays.

The economic strategy places some particular emphases: Traditions in industriousness, the conscientiousness about quality and high-grade work, pangs of conscience about botch work, waste or laziness, care in the handling of tools and machines, and the striving for high efficiency deserve special attention.

Such fine traditions in German work attitudes have in part become proverbial in other nations. The fact that imperialists and fascists abused them is only a half truth. The other side of it is that the revolutionary worker also always was a good worker, even while he still proved himself through acts of sabotage in the antifascist struggle. Should the pride in work and workers' traditions in our people

not be nurtured more? To them has already been added meanwhile the pride in new traditions as expressed by slogans such as "My hand for my product!" or "Each supplies each with quality," and others. Many opportunities are available for it and, not last, work education without fostering such traditions is still only half of what it takes.

This was a statement to explain our economic strategy: "Our people has important traditions in scientific-technical creativeness. They must be nurtured with the greatest care."[28]

Much remains to be done here--from taking care of technical memorials and museums to traditional showcases, research and popular writings all the way to jubilees and anniversaries. The most immediate chance arises from instruction--and not even primarily from history courses. The fulfilment of this essential cultural task mainly has to be ensured in mathematics, natural science and polytechnical courses; it should start sensibly in domestic and environmental history instruction in the lower grades. To bring out in all such courses not only the logic but also the historicity of the material will meet one of the indispensable elements in the task of conveying the cultural value of labor and the cultural substance of science and technology.

Here we could only deal with a few facts from the broad field relating economic strategy to culture. They constitute no new cultural policy nor any special production-related area within the field of cultural policy as such. They merely indicate dynamic elements at work within the continuity of SED cultural policy.

We are concerned here with an organic element in the overall task, of which Erich Honecker said in his Central Committee report to the 10th party congress: "A rich spiritual life is characteristic of socialism. Not only does the continued shaping of developed socialist society make higher demands on men's performance capacity it also makes possible and encourages the full unfolding of their spiritual needs and capabilities. We are intent on raising the cultural standard of living in harmony with the material because we seek in socialism a meaningful and beautiful existence for all."[29]

FOOTNOTES

1. "Open Letter to All GDR Pedagogues," DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG, No 21, 1981, p 6.

2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des ZK der SED an den X. Parteitag." Berlin, 1981, p 105.

3. Kurt Hager, "Beitraege zur Kulturpolitik. Reden und Aufsaetze von 1972 bis 1981." (Studienbibliothek der marxistisch-leninistischen Kultur- und Kunstwissenschaften), Berlin, 1981, pp 237.

4. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 31.

5. Kurt Hager, op. cit., p 213.

6. V. I. Lenin, "The Question of Peace." "Werke" (Works), Vol 21, p 292.

7. Cf. Hans Koch, "For a New Spiritual Peace Offensive by Our People," SONNTAG, No 43, 1981, p 2, and "Patriotism and Internationalism in Our Literature," EINHEIT, No 1, 1982, pp 62 ff.

8. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 106.

9. Cf. Erich Honecker, "Aus meinem Leben" (From My Life), Berlin, 1980, pp 344-345.

10. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," p 108.

11. Ibid., p 107.

12. Ibid., p 99.

13. Ibid., pp 107-108.

14. Ibid., p 108.

15. Ibid., p 105.

16. Ibid., p 48.

17. Ibid., pp 105-106.

18. L. I. Brezhnev, "26th CPSU Congress--CPSU CC Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Berlin, 1981, p 85.

19. Karl Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," Berlin, 1953, p 505.

20. Ibid., pp 505, 507.

21. SED Program, Berlin, 1976, p 51.

22. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," p 106.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., p 49.

25. Ibid., p 100.

26. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital, Vol I, Preface and postscript of French edition, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 23, p 31.

27. Cf. Kurt Hager, "Answer to Questions on Cultural Policy," "Beitraege . . .," op. cit., pp 201-202.

28. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," p 49.

29. Ibid., p 104.

5885
CSO: 2300/313

PROTESTANT CHURCH SCHOLAR DEMKE TO SUCCEED MAGDEBURG BISHOP KRUSCHE

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 12 Jul 82 p 4

[Article signed "Ws.": "Personalities: Demke To Become Bishop"]

[Text] The theologian from East Berlin, Christoph Demke, who has been secretariat director of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR (BEK) since October 1981, is to be the new bishop of the Magdeburg Protestant Church in the church province of Sachsen. The episcopal election committee has now proposed Demke for a bishopric to the synod of the church, which will convene in October. In September 1983 Demke will become the successor of Magdeburg Bishop Krusche, who has held office since 1968; the latter will be 65 years old on 28 November 1982 and will retire in 1983. Presumably, Krusche will be succeeded as BEK chairman by 53-year-old Johannes Hempel, the bishop of the Sachsen Evangelical-Lutheran Church. The now 47-year-old Christoph Demke is from Bunzlau in Lower Silesia. His father was a pastor and later superintendent in Goerlitz. Demke finished his theological studies at Humboldt University in East Berlin from 1953 to 1958, where he also got his doctorate. In 1963 he was ordained by Bishop Fraenkel in Goerlitz. Since 1961 Demke had been teaching at the East Berlin Protestant language seminary, where in 1974 he was appointed New Testament lecturer of the Church education office. He held this lecturing position until 1977. In 1975 he also became part-time secretary of the BEK Theological Commission, a job which he kept when he became full-time deputy director of the BEK secretariat in 1977. In April 1981 Demke was an unsuccessful candidate for Albrecht Schoenherr's position of Eastern Region bishop of the Berlin-Brandenburg Protestant Church. A two-third majority of the synod members voted against Demke because they believed that the scholar lacked pastoral experience on the parish level.

CSO: 2300/345

BRIEFS

GDR SPY--Gen Heinz Bernard Zorn, 70-year-old former GDR air force chief of staff, who was arrested in Lille on 19 August 1980 and charged with espionage and dealing with foreign powers, has just been released, the Quai D'Orsay announced in Paris. At present the external relations ministry is refusing to say for whom this East German spy--who had not yet been tried--has been exchanged. Negotiations had been going on for a very long time with the GDR authorities and France apparently expressed the intention of "trading" General Zorn for Soviet dissidents. However it seems that a West German national is part of the exchange although it is not yet known how important he is. General Zorn had been arrested by directorate of territorial surveillance officers while carrying military intelligence on tanks and anti-tank weapons. He had arrived in France 2 weeks earlier with an ordinary tourist visa. [Text] [PM010959 Paris LE MONDE in French 24 Jun 82 p 48]

CSO: 3100/839

NEW TRAITS IN COUNCIL, MASS ORGANIZATION MOVEMENTS NOTED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 7, Jul 82 pp 13-16

[Article by Dr Miklos Raft, vice chairman of CC Office of Council: "New Traits in the Cooperation Between the Councils and Our Mass Organizations and Movements"]

[Text] In order to successfully attain our objectives concerning the further development of our system of state control and the strengthening of our socialist democracy we have found it necessary to make certain changes in the division of labor and in the system of interrelationships among the member agencies of our political-state mechanism to further enhance their cooperation as coequals and to help an increasing number of them recognize theircommon interests and goals and coordinate their operations in the interest of achieving those goals.

Our main objective, namely the simultaneous strengthening of the effectiveness of central control and of the independence of local agencies, can only become a reality if the local and district councils invested with independent powers including the function of making responsible decisions establish partnership ties with our social and economic organs, if they cooperate with them and bring their activities into harmony.

The 1971 law on the councils devotes an entire section to regulating the main questions concerning cooperation between the councils and other, non-local agencies. It laid down certain mutual responsibilities pertaining to the tasks involved in prospective joint projects in various areas. For example, in order to achieve a given common goal our councils and social-political agencies are allowed to enter into agreements, and our management organs are required to inform the councils of their investment plans and to consult with the council or the executive committee before making any significant changes having to do with the establishment or functioning of and enterprise or an institution which provides for the needs of the population. At the same time, the council is also required to inform the non-local agencies about the objectives of their activities, and to examine and respond in detail to all recommendations made by our various agencies which affect the population.

The law on the councils provides an appropriate framework and basis for strengthening the cooperation between the councils and our mass organizations

and movements. In practice, there have been several areas already where this has helped to bring about forms and methods that are no longer aimed at maintaining formal ties but at identifying specific goals, tasks of common interest which can be carried out jointly.

The Patriotic People's Front, the trade unions and the Communist Youth League--as partners in the exercising of power--can best enhance their role by taking part in the preparation and rendition of local decisions, and in the organization of their implementation. By cooperation, therefore, we no longer simply mean letting everybody do their own thing, or making certain that the manner of their relationship is made clear; instead, we mean genuine participation by these organs in the local agencies, in corporate work and in the planning and implementation of local tasks.

This is the perception reflected in the directives issued jointly at the end of last year by the Council of Ministers, the Secretariat of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, the Presidium of the National Council of the Trade Unions and the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of KISZ.

The cooperation between the various committees of the Patriotic People's Front and the local councils has been traditionally good and is constantly broadening. Thus, in accordance with the spirit of persuing an open city- and village (management) policy, increasinly greater importance is being given in this cooperation between the local councils and the people's front to the development of settlements, to improving supplies to the population and to the protection of our residential environment. Virtually everywhere, the various committees of the Patriotic People's Front have served as a forum for discussing city- and village-management policy programs and development plans, and they themselves have taken an active role in their development and implementation. In many cases the local councils and people's front committees have joined forces to build a given establishment, public utility service or other projects, and to overcome unforseen obstacles. The people's front committee's have been promoting economic-type cooperation between the local councils and other, non-local agencies and have been playing a leading role in the organization of social work to help settlement development. As a result of this cooperation, social-work campaigns during the past few years have been better planned, attracting an increasing number of socialist brigades and factory collectives.

So far, the relationship between the two organs have been focused mainly on settlement development and on providing the necessary material conditions for such development; it is important that henceforth this relationship be increasingly expanded to the life of the settlement as a whole, including such things as cultural activities, social care, the shaping of our citizens attitudes and the strengthening of public thinking. This can only be achieved if all problems pertaining to settlement growth, supplies to the population and the fulfillment of its needs for various services, and to protecting the environment of settlements and residential areas are looked upon by the local council and the people's front as problems to be dealt with jointly, and if they cooperate in assessing existing needs and creating the necessary conditions (for fulfilling those needs).

Greater attention should be paid to those movements which have already proven themselves to be successful, such as the "One factory--one school", "One socialist brigade--one kindergarten", "Flowery village", etc., movements. It would be expedient to expand these. With the progress of urbanization manual social work alone will become increasingly less adequate, while the importance of making better use of our intellectual resources and the role of volunteer financial contributions by the population will continually grow. A joint effort is needed to find newer forms and methods to facilitate this.

Cooperation agreements between the local councils and people's front committees are signed for 5 years. The specific tasks listed in these contracts are incorporated into the annual work plans of the local councils and executive committees.

The basic tenet which the directives issued to improve cooperation between the trade unions and the local councils are based on is that the workers expect the trade unions to represent their interests. This representation, however, can only be complete if the trade unions take part in the planning of settlement-policy objectives, in determining the priority of tasks and in organizing the implementation of resolutions.

Practice has proven that the goals, principles and work forms of cooperation, as specified in 1976, have been correct. At the same time, there are still many unexplored possibilities. Presently, for example, the work of our local councils and trade union organs is still characterized by ad hoc rather than conscious and continuous cooperation and working relationships. Generally, they have been limited to the joint organization of a few campaigns.

Recently, as one of our joint undertakings, we had to prepare, develop, organize and provide the necessary conditions for implementing some area and settlement-development plans. The trade unions became consciously and actively involved in this work, they gathered the opinions and recommendations of their organized workers, processed and prioritized them, thus using the means of activist work to assist in the preparation of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Most of these firmly based recommendations were incorporated into the councils' plans while the plan objectives were still in the stage of being defined. Most of the trade union's leading bodies agreed with the plans prepared on the basis of this successful cooperation; they helped them to define their own tasks in implementing the plans.

There has been successful cooperation between the local councils and the trade unions in housing construction, primarily in the construction and assignment of workers' dwellings, in the improvement of health-care services, in the expansion and renovation of our institutional network, in the development of transportation and transportation safety and in the promotion of cultural and sports activities. In Budapest there have been a number of trade-union and KISZ-sponsored projects built, and in several megyes operative committees have been set up to coordinate the construction of workers' dwellings and to assign the units already completed; they have assessed and analyzed the situation of certain population segments and have made recommendations for improvements; the social active of the SZMTs [megye trade

union councils] are members of admission committees for housing assignments and childcare institutions; they have organized social work campaigns to upgrade our childcare, social and health-care institutions; in the megyes and in the capitol there are some 10,000 voluntary public price inspectors operating on a regular basis.

These considerable achievements notwithstanding, one can also encounter some negative phenomena. Thus in many areas the work done to improve public education has been of low standard. Efforts are hindred by excessive formalities, plans are not being fulfilled, there are frequent overlaps in organization and even some senseless rivalries. In some places financial means are being squandered. This circumstance further underlines the need for better coordination and expedient utilization of the available material and intellectual resources and for joining forces to create the right conditions to ensure that the existing institutions are properly operated.

Cooperation between the councils and the trade unions helps to improve our workers' living conditions; it promotes collective involvement in the shaping of local political practices as well as increased social collaboration and control. The factory party organizations also help to promote cooperation by offering theory and guidance and by performing coordinating functions.

To enhance the effectiveness of their work the leaders of the local councils and trade union committees regularly consult with one another; the main form of this is reciprocal representation in corporate activities. There is every hope, that with the reorganizationof the inter-trade committees and with the redefinition of their functions institutionalized organizational agencies will also become common phenomena in our cities and large villages, and that as such they will help to further expand the cooperation between the councils and the trade unions.

During the past ten years the cooperation between the local councils and KISZ organizations has yielded significant results in helping to provide better education for our youth and in improving their living and working conditions. The youth-policy resolution of the CC of the MSZMP and later the youth law have produced significant changes in the work of the councils and in the attitude of their leaders and council members. The youth-related tasks of the councils have been expanded which itself has increased the councils' role in the socialist education of our young people. The local councils have taken over several of the KISZ organizations' youth-policy tasks, including such functions as the maintenance of youth establishments.

By setting up youth funds and making more efficient use of central subsidies and local resources to help our youth, the councils have created a more favorable financial basis for our youth policy. The organization of councils has developed a system of organizational, personal and legal guarantees to insure the fulfillment of our youth-policy tasks. Paying greater attention to our youth has become an integral part of the councils' work. Our young people have shown their appreciation for this increased attention by assuming sponsorship over certain establishments of national economic importance by engaging in settlement-developing social work and by participating en masse in (summer) work camps and competitions.

During the past ten years this cooperation between the local councils and KISZ organizations has developed favorably, and much of this success may be attributed to the cooperation agreements signed by the two organs on the basis of our youth policy resolution and medium-range plans. The essence of this cooperation may be further enriched with the help of a more efficient division of labor and better task-coordination, and by eliminating its formal elements. This cooperation is not systematic everywhere; occasionally they take the form of ad hoc meetings in the place of real, everyday working relationships.

According to the provisions of the youth law, the cooperation between the councils and the KISZ will allow the regional KISZ committees in charge of representing and protecting our young people's interests to more fully assert their various rights. The most important of these is that the KISZ committees now have the right of consent in deciding how the financial means earmarked for youth-policy projects are to be utilized in building and closing down youth establishments, in determining their order of operations and their programs and also in organizing (summer) work camps. The essence of this right of consent is that no state organ can make a decision in these matters without the preliminary consent of the KISZ committees.

The right of the KISZ committees to express an opinion is not quite as strictly binding for the councils, but if they choose to disregard the KISZ committees' opinion they must justify their decision in detail. This right to express an opinion pertains primarily to such matters as the medium-range budget and development plan, the appointment and dismissal of the leaders of youth establishments, the compiling of housing-allocation registers and to decisions in other matters which directly concern young people.

The KISZ committees' right to oversee pertains to the implementation of statutory provisions which concern young people; this right allows them to request information from council officials and from the leaders of the specialized agencies of their respective local administrations, who are required to provide the requested information.

The right to intervene is connected with the assertion of a competent KISZ committee's right to oversee. What this means is that the KISZ committees may initiate proceedings with the local agencies against measures which are in volation of the interests and legal rights of young people. And finally, the KISZ's right to initiate entitles the KISZ committees to submit proposals in any matter of public interest which falls within the competence of the local council and which concerns young people, and to propose appropriate actions. These must be examined by the competent local agencies, who must inform the initiating KISZ committee about their decision in detail.

The coordinated and complementary activities of the local councils and other non-local agencies--in addition to our social organs--are also having an increasingly broader effect on our various economic units. It has been proven: high-quality cooperation produces mutual benefits, but its real beneficiary is the population. The main goal of building good partnership relations and of working together is to maintain a good settlement spirit,

to ensure the conditions for a healthy public life and to satisfy the legitimate social needs of our citizens.

At the same time, successful cooperation does not mean that it is conflict-free. There are, and there will always be differences of interests and opinions. Our leading party organizations play a significant role in solving these by establishing a proper priority of interests.

9379
CSO: 2500/307

VICE PREMIER MALINOWSKI: SOLIDARITY WILL HAVE NO FUTURE ROLE

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 4 Jul 82 p 18

[Article by Heikki Vento: "Vice Premier Admits: The Polish Economy Is Still in Decline"]

[Text] Poland's over-a-year-old military government has done what the military always does when it assumes the authority to govern. Citizens' rights have been restricted and thousands arrested. People live in the iron grip of the government.

The moment of truth lies ahead. They have to get the economy to function. Vice Premier and chairman of the Farmers Party Roman Malinowski admits that the recession has deepened during the period of martial law. He is, nevertheless, hopeful that Poland will overcome its greatest difficulties in 2 or 3 years. They will, however, not go back to the Poland that existed before. Poland will be rebuilt.

The events that occurred last 13 December in Poland once again demonstrate the truth of the claim that the military always steps in when the politicians give ground. This is what happened in socialist Poland too.

Regardless of ideals, the military governs with military measures; regardless of the system, military government policy produces the same consequences.

In Poland strikes and the Solidarity trade union movement were banned, they began to maintain a tight grip on the organization and the flow of refugees from the country began.

According to Vice Premier Malinowski, the proclamation of martial law was the only way to save Poland from an even greater crisis.

"Martial law prevented famine and kept citizens from freezing," he said.

4,000 People in Prison Camps

The proclamation of martial law always means the severe restriction of citizens' freedoms. This is the way it is in Poland too.

Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski's government took thousands of Solidarity members into protective custody, among them Solidarity leader Lech Walesa who had risen to the status of national hero.

It has been claimed in the Western press that there are more prisoners in camps than the Polish Government says there are. The government has indeed announced that it has released more prisoners than it had admitted to detaining.

Malinowski admits that about 4,000 are interned at the present time, just as has been estimated in the West.

"Internees are being systematically released. Just recently we released 300 people," he said.

Solidarity Will Not Rise

Malinowski is a big, slow-speaking, even-tempered man with an air of peasant calm. His voice, however, gets louder and his speech becomes faster when he rattles off his views of the Solidarity.

"We will not go back to the kind of practical actions the Solidarity engaged in. It was a struggle for power and even an attempt to change the balance of power in Poland and Europe.

A trade-union-movement government will, however, be approved, but it will have to recognize socialist values. In Malinowski's opinion, a new trade union movement will have to be independent.

The Solidarity will not participate in the government and the new trade union movement will become the mouthpiece for the United Workers Party, which will be more or less a satellite of the government.

Polish workers fought for their right to strike. A right which they did not know how to use properly. The government has banned strikes and, according to the vice premier, strikes will not be permitted until the national economy is in balance. This probably means that Poles will not have the right to strike for years to come, if then.

People Hoping for a Visit by the Pope

In the course of their rough-edged history, the people of Poland have often been disappointed by their rulers and allies. But the people have always had faith in the church and the pope.

In the West they are betting that Pope John Paul II will visit Poland before the year is out. The situation is a source of irritation for the government because a visit might give rise to a public demonstration.

"We will always welcome the pope, but the timing for a proper visit will have to be agreed on between Poland and the Vatican," Malinowski explained in his circumspect reply.

Production Still Dropping

Martial law in Poland has lasted a little over a half a year. The chief aim of the military government is to bring the economy back to normal. The Jaruzelski government has not yet succeeded in doing this.

In 1981 coal production plummeted, but at present mine production is returning to last year's volume.

"Of course industrial production is still in decline. During the past 5 months it has dropped 10 percent."

Malinowski believes that the country will attain its 5-year production volume by the end of the year. A volume that was considerably lower than in previous years because of conditions of social unrest.

Debts Will Not Be Paid for 3 Years

These past few years Poland has lived like a greedy madman who eats more than he earns. The country is up to its ears in debt to both the West and the East.

"We are grateful for the help that has come from the outside. But often this aid comes from those places that want to disguise the constraints they have imposed on Poland," Malinowski said, without specifying from which direction the pressure comes.

Poland will be carrying a huge burden of debts on its back for years to come. Malinowski estimated that the most pressing problems would be resolved in 2 or 3 years time.

"After 1985 Poland will gradually be able to begin to pay back its debts," he predicted.

Poland Modeling Itself on Hungary

In the 1970's Poland's economic structure began to get out of kilter. Heavy industry was developed with the aid of foreign loans and agriculture occupied the position of a stepchild.

The present government intends to reform the economy before civil rights are restored.

Malinowski said that in future some firms will have the right to engage in foreign trade without having to have the government's watchful eye follow every movement and approve every plan, even the smallest of them.

Poland's plans are most closely related to the solutions that have been implemented in Hungary. The vice premier wanted to remind us that the Hungarians actually got their ideas from Polish economists.

Why did Poland not carry out its own ideas, which work particularly well in Hungary?

Changing the economic system in a socialist country presupposes the fact that other comrades have confidence that the country has no intention of leaving the socialist camp.

The Hungarian, Janos Kadar, managed to convince the Soviet Union better than the Poles who govern their unstable country did.

The Polish situation has brought the focal point of the explosion right into Europeans' back yard. The country and its independent people will have to drive down a long and rocky road before the Republic of Poland again stands on its own two feet. In addition to the big powers, the Poles themselves, who are not more enthusiastic workers than they are, also constitute a fly in the ointment. To save the situation, we may note the fact that these people are Polish people, who want to live in a Poland governed by Poles.

11,466
CSO: 3107/148

STATISTICAL OFFICE PUBLICATION ON YOUTH NOTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 9-11 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Kim: "Youth--Facts and Figures"]

[Text] The Main Statistical Office [GUS] has prepared a special publication in which the latest data on the demographic situation, education and professional work, housing conditions, and sociopolitical activity of young Poles is presented. These data concern a significant number of Poles, since more than 18 million of our citizens are under 30 years of age.

Among these 18 million young Poles, 10.5 million live in cities, and 52.6 percent are male. Last year approximately 276,000 men and more than 288,000 women entered into matrimony, and 679,000 children were born. The youth migration continues: almost 139,000 young people moved from the city to the country.

There are 8.4 million children under 15 years of age.

Among the 9.6 million people between the ages of 15 and 29, 306,000 have a higher education, over 2.4 million a secondary education, 2.8 million a basic vocational education, nearly 3.8 million an elementary education, and approximately 200,000 have either no formal education or an incomplete elementary education.

There are 5,285,000 young people employed in the socialized economy, the majority of which are men. In the nonsocialized economy 846,800 people are employed.

Almost 46,000 young people are directors of industrial, construction and municipal economy enterprises and workplaces. More than 50,000 hold the title and position of foreman in the workplace. There are 286,000 young specialists in technical positions, and 129,000 young health care and social welfare specialists.

The worrisome phenomenon of a relatively large number of young people who are unemployed and not studying remains: it turns out that there are around 15,000 such cases.

Arduous trips to school are a problem for many young people. Nearly 6,000 elementary school pupils must travel 4 or more kilometers everyday, as do

several thousand young people attending postelementary schools. A total of about 638,000 students commute to postelementary schools.

There are currently 235,000 young married couples awaiting cooperative housing. There are almost 1.8 million candidate cooperative members, primarily young people.

Young people have become a "pretty good" lobby in representative organs. They hold almost 1,300 seats in voivodship people's councils, and nearly 2,800 seats in city people's councils. Of course, the "lower" the level the more young people fulfill the function of councilor. In gmina people's councils, young people constitute approximately 17 percent of the total number of councilors. We may add that in the eighth Sejm term there were 12 deputies under 30 years of age.

CSO: 2600/790

KRAKOW TEACHERS SPEAK ON HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Marek Rudnicki: "Offended by Reality"]

[Text] I expected that I would encounter a wall of silence; that, under the slightest pretext, my former interlocutors would avoid expressing their own opinions, judgments and reflections. Riding to Krakow, I did not know beforehand to which schools I would be going. I would meet my interlocutors without giving them any warning. Besides, this was exam time--so the one who had a free moment was the one who became the interlocutor. Of those whom I asked [for an interview], not a single one declined. And, at times--it so happened--a conversation planned to be a few minutes would stretch out into a lengthy discussion.

A few days before that Thursday, leaflets had appeared in the schools, undoubtedly originating outside the confines of the schools. The substance varied--from urges for "solidarity with students from the Warsaw schools" (?), through urging participation in the demonstration on the Main Square, up to the petitions, directed at the teachers, [asking for] nonresistance to a protest, the said protest to have consisted of silence during the time of class breaks. And finally, in the afternoon, it went as far as the demonstration "at Adasiek," or the Mickiewicz memorial. It is difficult to estimate how many students took part in it. It is well-known that, out of all the students apprehended, five high school students were detained, of which the council punished three. "We do not wish to diminish the matter," I was told in one of the high schools. "Every detention hurts us. But do not let the example of these five obscure the example of the remaining 12,000...

"What happened in the Krakow schools on May 13 did not come down merely to silent breaks. Both on this day as well as earlier--after all, it was already known what was brewing from the leaflets--talks persisted in the high schools." The students and parents, and Roman Stepien, principal of General High School XII in Nowa Huta, are of the opinion that an educator would have to be without honor if he were not particularly anxious about the physical and psychological safety of his wards. Yes, psychologically as well, because the 48-hour detention brings serious harm to the student's mental state. It was also necessary to meet the parents--even if not to persuade them, then at least to calm tempers by revealing the consequences. Anyway, the principal believes that whenever someone's own child becomes involved, then the entire matter suddenly takes on a different dimension in the parent's view.

Janusz Luty, a history teacher at General High School V, spoke to the students of the classes previous to that Thursday. He has--as his principal, Mieczyslaw Stefanow, states--a difficult grade. Three-fourths of the students heard out his arguments--they did not go to the Square. And, in his opinion, this is already a success, a result of the talks. It will be necessary to speak individually with those who did go. To be sure, it will not be easy--Janusz Luty knows this full well. Since he is, after all, an educator, he must do it.

In General High School II, the educational cadre adopted the following scheme of activities. The principal, Stefan Gul, told me about it. He was resolved to work not with all the youth, but with individual grades. After the initial analysis of the teams, it became evident that there are three or four to which particular attention should be turned. The reason is simple--in each of them is a group of persons which, by its behavior or by its expressed views, negatively influence their remaining classmates. The parents were [thus] called in to school.

"The talks were varied," says the principal, "[ranging] from the highly unpleasant, for example, in which one father asked by what right were we attempting to interfere with the views of his child, to those in which we were thanked. More often than not, parents fail to realize what their children are doing. Regardless, however, of the [level of agitation] at those meetings, they bring about results. Therefore, we propose to influence individuals and act together with the parents; because it will be to no avail if we begin to harangue [the students] in the classes. The point, at the present, is to protect the students today from the consequences of their rash actions."

This conclusion appeared in all of the conversations. It was added immediately, however, that it is not possible to restrict oneself only to this. The discussions with the youth must deal with their [i.e., the youths'] perspectives as well. School children are continually asking about them. These matters are, after all, to one another.

School children are, above everything else, still children. Boleslaw Luba, physics teacher in General High School II, observes this clearly in talks with his students, who have been asking lately about the discotheque and their vacations. Obviously, there are groups that have "grand politics" in their heads. They are not, however, typical. On the occasion of the Day of the Child, high school students made up special newsletters, and during their breaks showed films with Bolek and Lolek, and the Kid Matolek. The teachers are, on the whole, in agreement--this is not "make-believe," but weariness, a temptation in the normal passage of youth.

Dr Teresa Sasinska-Klas, a sociologist from the Institute of Political Science at Jagiellonian University, admittedly does not concur completely with that view, but does not disguise [the fact] that, in a certain sense, she is disappointed with the attitude of the youth. "I thought that they understood all of this more profoundly," she says. "It turns out that many are prompted by a desire to 'experience an adventure.' Many students, though it may have seemed that they are more mature and, in their thinking, more independent of their schoolmates, are like this. I spoke with one of them on May 14 and asked whether he was at the Square. He retorted that he was and 'caught it.' So I asked then, did he not realize earlier what the consequences would be. Why yes, he did realize [them], yet he had to go because 'a good time' had been promised. What does this prove?"

Besides, inherent to such goings-on, in the opinion of Dr Sasinska-Klas, is an inevitable inconsistency. On the one hand, today's youth does not have such perspectives as the preceding generation--the Polish Youth Union [ZMP] members or even those growing up in the 1970's. That lack of perspectives is overwhelming and releases the sense of mistrust or antipathy. On the other hand, young people are made to take part in "good times." So it seems that we have to deal with a generation offended by reality. Their predecessors, after all, got a promise. They--did not. All the more, before these "offended ones" stands the task of rebuilding the country, which they do not realize. Therefore--in searching for a solution--this truth must be demonstrated to the youth. Even brutally. Because whitewashing reality certainly will not constitute a way out.

Teachers know perfectly well--because they stress this themselves--that they must speak with the students about their views. Yet it seems obvious that they [i.e., teachers] fear such talks. They do not even know these views, yet they are unwilling--they emphasize--"to perform miracles." At the same time, they do not conceal the fact that they are waiting for the creation of a program by the authorities, that would give them a base and a point of departure for discussions with the youth about their future. They indicate, likewise unanimously, that just when a total negation of the adult world was reached among the youth, they lacked an ally--a youth organization.

No one has any doubt that they [i.e., the youth organizations] should operate in the schools. But to operate does not mean only to exist. Meanwhile, the youth organizations, in the opinion of my interlocutors, did not learn anything--often formalism still substitutes for sensible work. The result is that the students de facto do not have any place to work out their "youthful ideology." And they must do this themselves.

In the face of such a situation, what can a teacher do? Zofia Rychel, tutor in self-government at General High School II, believes that [they] must begin with focusing the attention of the youth onto something useful. And the point of the matter here is not at all burdening the youth with additional obligations or seeking out formal activities--"instead." The point in creating an opportunity is that it will give them the feeling that they are more closely linked to the school. This is an opportune time for it because--as they say--on May 13 the youth probably realized that they had got mixed up in something. Thus, it was symptomatic of this when they suddenly withdrew into themselves; and it was then culminated by the students' offer to create something for the school. The "Second" [i.e., General High School II] is, after all, in the timely position that in the coming year it will celebrate its 100th anniversary of the school's founding, and the youth are preparing festive celebrations. Yet, simultaneously, they [i.e., the youth and teachers] must candidly and honestly discuss the future.

There was still a third observation, no less important and highly emphasized: in order to fulfill more than two tasks, unity among the educational staff is indispensable; unity in the area of principles. In none of the schools, which I visited, did the teachers dispense with controversy and arguments among themselves. The [level of agitation] in these discussions was repeatedly very high. In no place, however, did they [the disagreements] go beyond the confines

of the teachers' lounge. In no place were they reflected in [the teachers'] work with the students. Perhaps bombastically, yet very succinctly, Janusz Luty expressed the point of view: "We realized that one's country is valued most of all, and other matters [come] only later."

In principle, all three conclusions can be reduced to one--that [the teachers] must talk; talk calmly and without obstinacy in their own teachers' groups as well as with youth groups. Most of all, these latter discussions are particularly important. The youth are not, in spite of the appearance, politically mature. That, which may seem to be an indication of cognizant political activity is, in the considerable majority of events, barely a natural reflex of youthful rebellion, or simply the desire to experience an adventure. The youth must be spoken to, so that they may acquire that maturity. In other words--so that they may understand that taking offense at reality will accomplish nothing. And nothing will be gained.

9891
CSO: 2600/731

BRIEFS

ARMENIAN OFFICIAL ON DISCIPLINE--Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 July 1982 publishes on page 2 under the heading "trust and check" a 1,800-word article by G. Voskanyan, secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee. Voskanyan discusses problems of discipline in the republic's party organizations and ways of eliminating them, citing positive and negative examples. He notes that "formalism and excessive paperwork still exist in the leadership of primary party organizations by a number of Gorkoms and Raykoms," and discusses the need to eliminate "passivity and permissiveness" among communists. The article goes on to outline the Armenian CP Central Committee's views on the need to "step up attention toward violations of our moral norms in all party organizations" and its "good tradition" of holding "detailed discussion of party committees' reports at Central Committee plenums." Voskanyan concludes that "party organizations cannot tolerate those who cannot raise the level of their responsibility for the task entrusted to them, draw the necessary practical conclusions from criticism and reorganize themselves." No further processing planned. [PM151007 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 July 82 p 2]

CSO: 1800/902

PROBLEMS WITH RELIGIOUS SECTS IN TIMISOARA CITED

Bucharest FEMEIA in Romanian Jun 82 pp 4-5

[Report by Vasile Tincu on a roundtable discussion in Timisoara on the subject: "The School and Family Should Show a High Sense of Responsibility for the Future in Instructing and Educating the New Generation"]

[Excerpts] Magdalena Enasel, teacher in the pedagogical secondary school said that socialist society is the only society capable of unburdening man of religious fears and opening wide for him the doors to truth and learning; atheistic-scientific education, the continuing struggle with mysticism and superstitions, with magical and occult practices, are part of the educational program of the entire society and are an absolutely necessary requirement for our progress. It is known that, unfortunately, a number of sects have proliferated in Timisoara, some of them prohibited by the laws of the country. The "philosophy" and practices of these sects are contrary to the meaning of our development and to basic good sense and sometimes they strike brutally at people who allow themselves to be enticed into their darkness.

[Tincu] Obscurantism, belief in supernatural powers, in sorcerers and magic, regardless of the "scientific aura" in which they are clothed today, represent phantasms of darkness in human existence, notorious charlatans and deceivers. How can some people permit themselves to be attracted by them? And, especially, how can they fail to realize the harmful influence which this has on their children?

[Enasel] The matter is not at all simple; in the final analysis, it is a question of ignorance, but also of cowardice and weakness. Resorting to mystical and occult ways of escape, for the solution of difficult problems, remains the tragedy of powerless people, of credulous people without a scientific outlook on the world and life, morally unstable and without confidence in their own forces. In our country, the sects are sad mixtures of ignorant, stultified people, terribly deceived, convinced, by extraordinary lies, that they will be able to conquer incurable diseases, women who "throw" the sins of the world around the phantom of the "holy spirit," individuals threatened and kept in tight reins by unscrupulous people, by the vengeance of a savage and ferocious God. Many "preachers" have proven to be notorious swindlers, who believe more in the good things of this world than in those of the world to come.

The evil should be cut off at the root and we must begin with the family. Children who come from families of sect members have no guiding principles; they are [word indistinct] intellectually, the knowledge which they receive through education is assailed by absurd "inspirations" from the "prophets"; their irresponsible parents take the children to all sorts of "meetings" and "houses of prayer." The school and the family, in cooperation with the mass organizations and the work collectives, must carry on a constant scientific-atheistic activity in order to combat and uproot these mutilating beliefs, using various modern, convincing, means of persuasion. The women's committees and commissions can have a salutary role in this area, because of the direct line which they have to the families. To create a man for the society of today and tomorrow means to equip him with a materialistic view of the world and life, making him a man who is free of the burdens of mysticism and superstition, a person who believes in his own forces and in the "miracles" of work.

CSO: 2700/319

IDEOLOGICAL, ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS CITED BY SWISS SOURCE

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 11 Jun 82 p 6

[Text] Vienna, 9 Jun--Ten days after the temporary end of a rather large purge, Romanian party head Ceausescu has given a program speech before the expanded Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, which essentially is to be seen as a justification of his course. The full text covered seven closely printed newspaper pages. The enormous economic difficulties facing Romania were mentioned only marginally. Instead, the leader emphasized theoretical and ideological questions and dealt with the formation of the new individual who is to build socialism and communism.

At a moment when the inhabitants of the former agrarian nation are admittedly most in need, when numerous foodstuffs are rationed and prison terms threaten the accumulation of even modest reserves, Ceausescu employed the language of the revolution. Education in socialism and communism received priority before the satisfaction of basic needs. Following limitations in daily life, intellectual latitude, not large as it was, seems again subject to greater restrictions. Individual Western observers are already speaking of a return to the intellectual atmosphere of the 1950's.

But Ceausescu does not just want to educate Romanians to be good communists, but also stalwart patriots. The process of making the country more Romanian is being pushed. Characteristic in this regard are his statements on the Romanian national flag, the tricolor. The red flag cannot replace the national flag, which stands as a symbol for the unity of the entire nation, for independence and the sovereignty of the fatherland. The considerations set forth in this relation on the distribution of functions between the party and state organizations (the former leads the society, the latter take responsibility) are less topical than those on the relationship with the minorities living on Romanian territory. The rights of these nationalities are recognized, but Ceausescu left no doubts that the order now prevailing is to be considered the maximum in concessions.

Ceausescu is obviously seeking a uniform Romanian written history. He criticized what he considers an unrealistic and false presentation of a number of events in Romanian history by socialist states as well. The comment is mainly intended for Hungary, but secondarily possibly for the USSR. There

are differences with Hungarian historians and publishers in regard to the continuity of the Romanian population since Roman times, especially in Transylvania. The problems need to be discussed with the historians of these countries. In clarifying the disputes those events should be emphasized that contributed to consolidating the friendship of the peoples. In the context of the speech this can only be understood to mean that Ceausescu expects basic agreement by foreign scientists on the Romanian theory, for elsewhere the Romanian people is characterized as the champion of the revolutionary idea in the country.

In recent months the actual treatment of minorities was characterized by diminishing tolerance. Emigration chances for those of German descent and for Jews were restricted. In the first case it was obviously a reaction to nonrenewal of German export credits. Recently in Hungarian intellectual circles one hears that Bucharest wants to dissolve the Kriterion Publishing House, which for reasons of state is responsible for publishing literature in minority languages and has achieved a certain freedom of operation.

As one might expect, capitalism is also criticized in Ceausescu's complicated reasoning. Seen from his side, more amazing is the comment that socialism also has faults, and that for all too long one has assumed that this system is infallible. An idyllic presentation of socialist society is dangerous and harmful. The way to the "heights of communism" is by no means easy, but it pays not to lose courage and confidence. As Ceausescu sees it, the members of the Transcendental Meditation sect obviously are among those who have lost their courage. According to the official view, in the case of this religious community it is a matter of an instrument of reactionaries and fascists manipulated from outside, with the purpose of distracting humanity from the world's main questions. The first purge in April of about 150 high-ranking officials was primarily directed against adherents of Transcendental Meditation. Since there are obviously also party members in higher positions who sympathize with the sect, the suspicion that a nucleus of opposition has developed within the party is not so far fetched. Ceausescu also restricted religious activity in general. In Romania the recognition of freedom of belief does not mean recognition of religious and idealistic world views. Communists could not accept the existence of supernatural forces. As long as the churches do not engage in social questions, they are granted a certain reprieve in their further existence. A church like the Catholic Church in Poland must be the most terrifying terror for the Romanian party chief. That is why the Catholic Church in Romania has a lot more difficult time than the Orthodox Church, which renounces activity in social policy.

Prominent among the numerous hymns of praise for Ceausescu by the other speakers was that of the national poet Adrian Paunescu. He spoke of a day immediately going down in history and offered that the speech had been no less impressive to him than if he had been informed that Michael the Brave had defeated the Turks. Under an eroding sense for reality ideology is obviously still the cement holding the rulers together, especially when communist teaching is combined with a strong national component.

9746
CSO: 3103/525

EXTENSIVE TRAINING OF AIR FORCE PILOTS STRESSED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by Colonel Stelian Dragnea: "On Aviation Day--The Men of the Blue Sky of the Country"]

[Excerpts] The picture of a military airfield during a night flight is a fascinating one. A training flight, incorporating the ancient aspirations for peace and freedom of the Romanian people. Training based on the principles of the national military doctrine, brilliantly summed up in the Directive of the high commander and carried out with unflinching devotion by those who are the heirs of the pioneers of Romanian and world aviation, Vuia, Vlaicu and Coanda, and of the heroic tradition established by Romanian pilots in battles in World War I and on the anti-Hitlerist front.

A take-off--at night or during the day, in normal or difficult weather conditions--is a synthesis which has distilled the labor of hard days of study and training on the ground.

What can you tell us about the pilots who are being developed now, during this night flight?: we asked Colonel Dumitru Tache, a pilot with a wealth of experience.

The majority have class I training. This means that they can fly in all atmospheric conditions, day and night, and that they are prepared to execute the most difficult missions.

We associate the words of the colonel with a few figures: more than 90 percent of the military pilots have a high level of training and almost one-half of them have higher specialization.

As a pilot with seniority in the Romanian Air Force--beginning with the glider and ending with the most modern type of apparatus with which our aviation units are equipped--I have flown a B.N.-2 (Islander) many times and I can say that it is a gem of a light airplane, constructed by our aeronautics industry, a modern plane, equipped with the necessary apparatus for day and night flights, very much in demand by firms in many countries, including the United States. It is a convincing expression of the concern of our party and state for the development of Romanian aviation--especially in the last 17 years.

The day before, we had seen the aviators in their political-ideological education classes, studying and discussing, with special interest, the report of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the plenum held on 1-2 June of this year, setting tasks for their work and guidelines for action; and we also saw them in the evening at a literary club meeting in the Army House. Some helicopter pilots were also there, as in a common mission, executed together. They have multiple roles in the plan for cooperation with the other branches.

CSO: 2700/320

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO SUDAN'S DEATH--Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 19 June 1982, page 4 and 21 June 1982, page 4 contain condolences on the "sudden death at his post" of Dumitru Ristea, Romanian ambassador to the Sudan, former vice chairman of UCECOM [the Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives]. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2700/320 END

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9 August 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2041

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9 August 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2041

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RESOLUTIONS OF 13TH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY CONGRESS SUMMARIZED

East Berlin LDPD-INFORMATIONEN in German Vol 36 No 6, Jun 82 pp 3-5

[Lead article by Dr Rudolf Agsten, member, Political Committee; and secretary, Central Executive Committee, Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD): "Tasks of Political-Ideological Work After 13th Party Congress: Intellectual Internalization of the Resolutions." The 13th LDPD Congress took place in Weimar, 5-7 April 1982]

[Text] Our 13th party congress has laid down the party tasks for participating in the implementation of the general policy line as issued by the 10th SED Congress for the 1980's in the GDR, aimed at the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace. It has brought out clearly what new and higher demands accrue to the liberal democrats as alliance partners of the workers class and its party and what our party expects of its members. Special attention here was given to the great variety of the members' occupational and public activities and to the concrete opportunities the executive committees have in encouraging them in it.

The Central Executive Committee report to the 13th party congress explained in detail how the LDPD asserts its firm place within the political organization of socialism and thereby meets its overall social responsibility. This it does, for one thing--and this is the only point with which we intend to deal here--in that it works among all its members and citizens close to it on shaping a socialist consciousness and enables them fully to exercise their civic rights and duties and accomplish high achievements for socialist society in their activities on the job and in their home environment. This permanent consciousness-forming function of our party and the liberal democrats' unity of words and deeds, to be effected thereby time and time again, in the struggle for peace and the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR is the primary element that determines our party activities in a decisive sense. Among the variety and complexity of factors affecting our members' socialist consciousness formation and personality development on the whole, the specific contribution made to it by our party remains indispensable. What follows from it was emphasized by our party chairman Dr Manfred Gerlach in the Central Executive Committee report, when he said: "Ideological work pervades, determines and marks all party activity and remains the centerpiece of our party work."

The new and higher requirements for the 1980's do of course also determine the content and style of our political-ideological work. Dr Gerlach commented on that as follows: "One must realize here that the level of these requirements is not solely determined by such objective processes as the shaping of developed socialism in the 1980's or the exacerbation of the international class conflict between socialism and imperialism. On the part of the subject, the addressee and partner of our idelogical work, important changes are taking place as well."

We have to realize that the intellectual demands of men have grown and keep growing. Nearly two-thirds of today's LDPD membership joined our party after the transition period from capitalism to socialism had come to an end. They grew up and were educated under socialist conditions. The fact is that the scientific world-outlook of the workers class has gained ground and keeps gaining more ground also among the liberal democrats. That has been fostered, not last, by our party's own ideological work. It has become our business to continue and deepen that process while keeping it in close touch with life. But then we also must not ignore that the individuals' identification with the world-outlook of the workers class differs from case to case and by no means constitutes a criterion for LDPD membership.

What we are after is to reinforce permanent basic socialist convictions. That mainly means: a deliberate partiality on behalf of the GDR and the irrevocable conviction that our course is correct and socialism is victorious in our era. "The truthfulness of political pledges," our party chairman affirmed, "is shown when in complicated political situations words agree with deeds. If all members occupy such firm positions, it will never happen that adverse manifestations that may at times oppose our development lead to doubt and reservations. The attitude of partiality assumed by the liberal democrats at any time is a yardstick for the quality of our political-ideological work!"

It is, of course, impossible to form, deepen and reinforce basic socialist conviction or a steady loyalty to the workers and farmers power without political knowledge about social processes and interconnections. With respect to this also we must heed a truth confirmed in practice a thousand times: any party functionary who because of his knowledge and abilities has much to offer other members still always also receives a lot. He himself gains new and more advanced knowledge through friendly party debate and through seeking a comprehension of, and a mode to make comprehensible, the social problems of our age.

In the past it could happen that some members quit the party because they had, as it were, "grown beyond the LDPD." Today--actually for quite some years already--such an argument is untenable and, as a rule, an evasion of the responsibility every liberal democrat assumes, according to the 13th party congress resolutions, also, and especially, vis-a-vis the workers class and its party.

Typical of all problems dealt with at the party congress--pertaining to the Central Executive Committee report as well as to the discussion--was that they were always linked with the substance of the political-ideological work our party is committed to. In this, there result five complex issues from the overall message of the party congress, including its declaration of intent, "Our Word and Deed for Peace," that are preeminent in our continuing clarification process:

--A persuasive and penetrating presentation of the values and advantages of socialism. We have quite a few members who think this is such an "obvious and ordinary right of existence" that they sometimes lose sight of the historic superiority of socialism over capitalism that actually connects with it and of the aggressive and antihuman nature of capitalism. In wishing to use the advantages and impulses of our order consciously, we must be conscious of them. That way alone can we constructively participate in perfecting our order.

--The substance of the GDR's economic strategy for the 1980's as indispensable prerequisite for carrying on the policy of the main task, the proven unity between economic and social policy. The essential changes in our reproduction conditions, caused by internal and external factors, make qualitatively new demands on activities at work and in society. We must promote a penetrating process of reconsidering many economic matters all the way to what to do about them in practice.

--Still more extensive qualifications for our members for exercising, reinforcing and defending the people's revolutionary power. The power question remains crucial. That implies still closer links between our ideological work and the solving of concrete state tasks, as we can best apply ourselves to it, and a much greater utilization of the broad field of our political activity within the framework of the National Front. Despite all the advances we have made--particularly also in getting set for the 13th party congress--we are far from having reached our limits. What with all the problems that come with it--the switches first have to be set properly through ideological work.

--Familiarity with all aspects of the socialist peace policy and getting ready for the intensifying conflict with imperialist and opportunistic ideology. Fully comprehending the dialectical connection between the continuing revolutionary world process and the struggle for peace, detente and disarmament, always making the necessary distinctions in view of the enormously increasing gravity in the issue that decides everything, that of war or peace, without at the same time negating opposite ideological positions--therein lies an extremely demanding ideological task. That always comes combined with unmasking the role of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

--Further boosting history propaganda. The 13th party congress documents themselves are a model for approaching the issues of our time from the correct historical standpoint. Progressive traditions from nonproletarian forces offer important clues typically used by our party for forming and reinforcing the socialist national consciousness. Much more than in the past we intend to convey knowledge about our party history as a component of the national history of the GDR. Our party history attests to the success with which the Marxist-Leninist alliance policy of the working class party evolved under our concrete conditions and to the further prospects in store for the LDPD.

There is no compelling rank or sequence to these five complex issues for our political-ideological work after the 13th party congress. They are entwined in many ways. Unmistakable is that an extensive political-ideologial offensive is needed for the far-reaching resolution of the 13th party congress to continue the party initiative, "Alliance Contribution to Economic Growth," by annual personal contributions from all members throughout the entire current Five-Year Plan. This

calls not only for economic expertise but also for firm political standpoints and moral attitudes resulting from basic socialist convictions.

Party functionaries are wont to ask themselves after a political event: What is now most important? With regard to the emphases placed by the 13th party congress on further political-ideological work, the answer would be: Familiarizing oneself and all party members intensively with the 13th party congress documents! The "political-intellectual internalization of the party resolutions," as Dr Gerlach put it in the Central Executive Committee report, is what is wanted, so they can be pondered in their complexity and, with consideration given to local conditions, be made to take hold fast and consistently.

5885
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NATIONAL DEMOCRATS' SUBSIDIARY ROLE REASSERTED AT 12TH CONGRESS

West German Commentary

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 21 May 82) pp 572, 574-575

['Commentaries and Topical Discussions' feature article by Dr Peter Joachim Lapp, editor, East-West Editorial Office, Deutschlandfunk, Cologne: "The National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD)--A GDR Party Without Any Future?--Notes on the 12th NDPD Congress in Leipzig." Translations of the conclusion of NDPD Chairman Prof Heinrich Homann's keynote address cited below and of an East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND report on the congress' concluding session follow this commentary]

[Text] Always around 20 April, Adolf Hitler's birthday, the NDPD convenes at its congresses: the 12th congress was held at Messehalle 7 in Leipzig from 22 to 24 April. The timing is likely to be a coincidence, even though the NDPD still has many former nazis in leadership positions.

Today, the party, in which there are now 91,000 "members of the working strata organized that are allied with the working class" (85,000 at the 11th party congress in 1977), seeks to repress the "quondam" problematics and obliterate the original chief task of the NDPD of reconciling the simple former NSDAP members and the members of the Wehrmacht to Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. The NDPD calls itself a party on close friendly terms with the leading SED that wishes to help shape the socialist society in the GDR. Its point of departure is the "party's agreement with the overall social tasks and goals as formulated by the 10th SED Congress."[1] For that reason, the NDPD, like the other Block parties, forgoes a party program of its own. Substituted for it was a party statute which mainly settles problems in party organization. With Joachim Herrmann, SED politburo member and Central Committee secretary, in attendance, the 12th party congress started with a keynote address by party chairman Prof Dr Heinrich Homann which lasted several hours. Through the further course of the congress, 66 "discussion contributions" were submitted.

For 2 1/2 days, 1,000 delegates and 250 guest delegates had to exercise their patience; most speeches had little substance. Still, they did indicate the focal points in NDPD activities and the party's social composition. Officially, among the 1,000 delegates were:[2]

--251 members of crafts production cooperatives, independent craftsmen, retailers, innkeepers and other tradesmen;
--318 intellectuals from the fields of the economic sciences, the political and social sciences, technology, medicine, pedagogy and art;
--94 employees in industry, agriculture, commerce, transportation and other economic areas;
--18 members of the free professions;
--14 members of LPG's and GPG's;
--289 delegates employed full-time in state organs or the NDPD party apparatus;
--3 students; and
--12 pensioners.

Workers, thus, are no longer at hand at all in the NDPD. Peripherally it was revealed at the party congress that Block parties now admit no workers. Nor are members of the armed organs (with a few exceptions) admitted to the Block parties any longer. There is an "understanding" in the "democratic block of parties and mass organizations" to the effect that all military cadre (primarily the officers) can have none but SED membership. It also was learned that the SED decides on the spot, as it sees fit, on membership admission to the four GDR Block parties.

For the NDPD, the following procedure is in effect: If a citizen indicates he wants to become a member, the NDPD has to get in touch with the industrial or local SED organizations. Normally that is done informally, usually by telephone. The NDPD kreis executive committee then gets in touch with SED kreis headquarters, inquiring from it whether the candidate may be admitted. If the SED expresses reservations or is interested in the candidate itself, the NDPD has to forgo this potential member. In that case the candidate is asked either to join the SED or, if the NDPD already has a good local membership, to make membership application to a different Block party.

So the SED not only controls the Block parties politically and organizationally on the state level through the Central Committee department for "friendly parties," it also handles membership admission on a local basis.

Being so much dependent on the leading SED, the Block parties have trouble, of course, providing evidence for their purported independence. At party congresses of course, that is precisely what they are trying to do. Doing so, the NDPD has long respected two key propositions: (1) The NDPD recognizes the SED's constantly growing leadership role under all prevailing conditions and (2) the friendship of the GDR and NDPD with the Soviet Union is proposed to be permanent.

The alleged independence, at a closer look, comes down to an accurately delineated participation in the fulfilment of the national economic plans. NDPD members and friends have to commit themselves to doing what they can to make improvements in the service and repair sectors, in production, science, teaching and administration. The party executive seeks to motivate, mobilize, and tap the last reserves,[3] all that in service to plan fulfilment. At times, the 12th NDPD Congress felt more like an occupational planning conference than a political party congress. It should not be passed over in silence at this point, however, that there also are NDPD members who are not satisfied with this SED-directed confinement to none but help in the economic field and who want to make more of the leeway available to them,

who, in other words, seek to make the best of the situation and use the "NDPD Block party niche" (here, it seems to me, the statement by G. Gaus of the GDR as a society of niches fully applies).

Granted all skepticism about the Block parties in general and the NDPD in particular, which now has less than ever any real target group, the existence of such marginal parties alongside the leading SED is a "value as such." These are respite and survival zones for now approximately 300,000 citizens who refuse to join the SED with its 2.2 million membership (or cannot join it because of the strata they belong to) and need not become "communists." And something else is comforting as well: For most "national democrats" I met on the periphery of the 12th NDPD Congress, the national question has not been settled.

FOOTNOTES

1. Twelfth NDPD Congress, PRESSEINFORMATION, April 1982, p 1.

2. Twelfth NDPD Congress, BULLETIN 3 (second day, Friday, 23 April 1982), pp 173 f.

3. Twelfth NDPD Congress, BULLETIN 1 (Prof Dr H. Homann's keynote address), pp 56 ff.

NDPD Chairman's Keynote Address

East Berlin DER NATIONALE DEMOKRAT in German No 5/6, May-Jun 82 (signed to press 27 Apr 82) supplement pp 33-39

[Conclusion (section IV) of keynote address presented by Prof Dr Heinrich Homann, chairman, Executive Committee, National Democratic Party of Germany, at 12th NDPD Congress, held at Messehalle 7, Leipzig, 22-24 April 1982: "Our National Democratic Party of Germany--Responsible Comrade-in-Arms in the Continued Shaping of the Developed Socialist Society in Our Country and in the Struggle for Peace: IV. The Party's Political-Ideological Work With the Total Membership--Core of Leadership Activity"]

[Text] Dear Friends!

Our NDPD is a GDR party that is on close friendly terms with the SED. Founded as a petty bourgeois-democratic party during the antifascist-democratic transformation in our country, it has become a social force in the GDR's socialist revolution. It is a political organization for 91,000 members of the working strata allied with the workers class for the purpose of doing everything possible for the all-round strengthening of their socialist state in alliance with and under the leadership of the workers class.

The goal and direction of our party's ideological work are determined by the higher requirements resulting from the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR along the course of the 10th SED Congress. Great tasks are facing it toward further prospects for the alliance and alliance policy. The growing political-moral unity of the people, the consolidation of the comradely cooperation among the parties and mass organization under working class party leadership, and

a high effectiveness of political organization in the socialist society demand of our NDPD a total use of all its possibilities, an investment of all its capacities, and high-level political-ideological work.

The core of our political-ideological work is and remains fostering and fortifying our members' socialist national consciousness which combines socialist patriotism with internationalism.

Socialist national consciousness is our party member's basic conviction that wholly conforms with our era and its demands for fulfilling in a conscious and exemplary manner, on the job and in public life, his civic duties to the all-round strengthening of the workers and farmers power and its secure military protection.

Socialist national consciousness expresses our close friendly ties with the leading workers class and its party and our identification with its policy.

Socialist national consciousness expresses itself in promoting the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community and in our dedication to its coordinated policy and international positions.

Through socialist national consciousness we thus find our party's two key propositions preserved and relevantly applied.

The key propositions are connected with our tried and tested course in recruiting and qualifying members of the strata that are allied with the workers class, citizens of diverse origins and trades, and with distinct experiences in life and consciousness development, to side with social progress, conscious politically organized work for the shaping of socialism, and the struggle for peace.

Our name and goals always have been linked with pledges and actions on behalf of social progress, by which we opted for carrying on the revolutionary transformation in our country and ruled out a return to bourgeois conditions. By understanding what is "national" and what is "democratic" in their inherent interconnections, and both within historic developmental processes, we sorted out in the understanding of our members and affiliates the national from the nationalistic and the democratic from the liberalistic-pluralistic, placing all that within the context of social class struggle.

To be national and democratic to us always meant being antifascist and anti-imperialist. That has been so, that is so, and that is what shows us the implementation of goals, with the establishing of the workers and farmers power in the GDR and the workers class and its allies constituting themselves thereby as a socialist nation, which deeply conforms with the quiddity of our party.

Oriented to the working class image of history, our party has been able, from the outset, to answer the question about the course and goal for working people from nonproletarian strata and provide them with a new view on history and historicity and, hence, with a correct view on their own place past and present.

In dealing with the history of our party, we also deal with the history of our republic; and as the GDR has already its own history, a history which has already become a tradition, our party, having helped write this history, stands within it as part of this tradition. When we look at our road that led to the GDR and at our place in it, yesterday and today, and trace it once again for the older people among us (showing how it started, what became of it, and which distinctions our party earned in it), we also provide for the younger ones, who today give shape to our intentions and goals through still greater responsibility, important lessons and insights. So let us stir the pride in what our party has done and is doing. That helps form party-oriented thinking and action. And thus we shall try to illuminate for those who have grown into socialism what has from the start been independent in our work. That is important for understanding our responsibility, for our responsibility per se. With all this, our party itself stands within a good tradition. Its understanding of history has always been sound and it keeps developing continually. It need not be redefined today. We have always seen historical events and developments as historical conflicts between classes, have recognized what has been historically progressive in our multilayered and mixed heritage, and found established in it that tradition that has continued to our present days--all the way to the GDR.

Already the document of our eighth party congress 20 years ago spelled out our understanding of our heritage and its application as follows: "Our GDR is the legacy in statehood from the best sons and daughters of our people. In it lives the spirit of Thomas Muentzer's peasant armies and of Ulrich von Hutten's "I braved it!" In it lives the worldwide humanism of Luther and Melanchthon, Erasmus, Leibniz and Herder, Lessing, Schiller, Goethe and Humboldt. In it lives the revolutionary world of sounds by Handel, Bach and Mozart and Beethoven's "O ye millions, I embrace ye!" In it lives the spirit of Stein, Arndt and Fichte, of Clausewitz, Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, Bluecher and Schill, York, Jahn and Friesen. In it lives the spirit that made for the 1848 revolution, the spirit of Heine, Herwegh, Freiligrath, Weerth and Buechner and the spirit of the fighters of the 1848/49 revolution."

"Above all," we said even then, "our GDR is the legacy of the best sons and daughters of that class which is its leading force, the German workers class. It is the legacy of the two greatest sons of the German people, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the creative progenitors of Marxism."

Through the victorious revolution in the GDR--led by the SED--the workers class and its allies came to inherit and consummate the progressive traditions from all of German history.

Throughout all phases of its social development, our party has contributed its own to making usable the progressive, chiefly the revolutionary-democratic, traditions to the development of our members' socialist national consciousness. That includes the contributions in which we drew lessons from the early bourgeois revolution of the German Peasants' War of 1525. Much regard was gained by our party's effort to explore the traditions of the struggle by the Prussian reformers and of the German-Russian comradeship-in-arms in the wars of liberation against alien Napoleonic rule. We gained essential insights from the historic assessment of the 1848 revolution. It especially is important to our alliance, its theory and its practical efficacy in that there, after all, petty bourgeois democrats for the first time joined ranks with communists in the struggle against reaction.

As allies of the workers class, we disclosed to ourselves from that perception of history the correct view for any patriots and democrats who, in line with the law of progress and obeying, and acting in accordance with, their conscience took their place by the side of the workers class in the struggle against imperialism, militarism and war, who eventually opposed fascism and put up resistance against it, helped found the Free German National Committee while World War II was still going on, joined its movement, and in its ranks fought for a democratic German republic. Through the victory of the workers class in the struggle for political power and the founding of the GDR, the road was paved for that burst of strength that spilled from all the great and good traditions of the German people to revitalize our country.

Rapport with history is as characteristic of our party as are its own traditions set by its two key propositions. They unalterably belong to our party's political life in our country. Therein lie the roots of our understanding history and our age. That is determined by the requirements for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and for the international class conflict in our days.

This is how the party member asserts himself: self-assured politically, loyal to our party, convinced of its importance to the alliance, of its role in the social development process, and of its tasks in the struggles of our time, and as a close ally of the workers class and its party.

Political-ideological work is and remains the core of any management activity. Higher demands are being made on its level, theoretical depth, power of conviction and reaction capability. Our party friends expect substantial party events. They are becoming increasingly interested in the kind of party life that gives them strength and incentives for coping with their daily tasks at work and for fashioning they way of life as it is possible in socialism, beneficial for their whole personality development and of use to society.

What socialism means to us, what its values and advantages and its capacity of democracy and freedom mean to us, and the reasons why we so resolutely help shape and defend it--all that is a focal point of our party's ideological work. The conviction of socialism's historic superiority over capitalism implies a clear image of imperialism.

Our ideological work must be turned truly into an offensive because the increasing international conflict between socialism and imperialism has led to an escalation of ideological warfare. We must successfully oppose imperialism's ideological warfare, directed from staff echelons with the most up-to-date technical means, and demagogical and insidious as it is. Our members not only want to be acquainted with socialism's strategy and tactics in the class struggle, they also want to know of their place in it and of the personal opportunities they have to engage actively in this struggle and add their own.

Siding with socialism, close ties with our party, optimism about our cause, and the certitude in reaching our goals--all that marks our members' awareness and stance, that are to be molded further, and determines our agitprop requirements. In our party's ideological work, a higher place value is given to economic policy

propaganda. That also holds true for our party press, which must help our party friends gain deeper insights into the scientific nature of our economic policy. The way it is being planned, its ability to predict and cope with new problems, its flexibility throughout all its consistency--that not only explains why our economic dynamics can be sustained at this time but it also convinces our party friends of the need for a growing economic performance and substantiates their militant optimism.

Especially thereby our ideological work also grapples with essentials, i.e., our relationship with the growing leadership role of the workers class and its leadership capability, and it accounts for what we have in common with the SED, for our involvement in the further strengthening and in the exercise of the power of socialism.

Through all that and through many other things our party is doing for cultural policy, history and defense propaganda, we are shaping socialist national consciousness. That is the main trend of our ideological work and determines its substance. What matters is to move those issues into the center the clarification of which serves strengthen our members' partiality and mobilizes and motivates them toward high achievements for the all-round strengthening of the GDR. That also includes developing the style of our ideological work which is marked equally by instruction, information, argumentation and organization. It amounts to ideological work with a still larger range and power of conviction, to maximum public efficacy, to the kind of ideological work that conforms to our proven political principles and our place in the developed socialist society.

Our members are entitled to expect that much of our party. And that makes it our duty, which is increasingly being met by our executive committees. And we have accomplished quite a lot, too. So we are grateful to our 20,000 party friends who prior to our party congress were elected for the executive committees of the basic units, the city-districs, kreis and bezirk committees, and to all voluntary party associates, and especially to the group leaders for our circles and teams of ten. Our full-time associates deserve recognition. Selflessly and firm in principle, they have worked toward reliably fulfilling the tasks assigned to them. Their open-mindedness, dedication and close bonds with all members have done a lot for the good political atmosphere in our party. They created much better conditions for a qualitatively and organizationally secured executive and secretarial activity. We are glad to see so many new party friends that grew up in the party in functions of and on assignment from the party and, consequently, among our delegates.

Our personnel policy has improved. It is and remains a key problem in the management activity of all executive committees and secretariats. Solving this problem still better calls for still greater attention to the selection, training and promotion of party members with a more long-range, systemative and prescient personnel policy work, in line with social policy requirements. That also is one of the essential preconditions for our meeting our alliance contribution.

That way alone can we make sure that the resolutions our 12th party congress is about to take are met everywhere in the party most effectively. Especially the personnel policy requirements for the basic units is what we must keep our eye on. After all, from those basic units we get the cadre the party needs more than ever for fulfilling its tasks on all levels and in all fields of its activity.

Further developing our party's social activity calls for elevating the political-ideological level in our party work incessantly. It comes down to the question of the ability of those who direct and perform that work. In the constant training for party associates, personnel policy and propaganda tasks merge. They want to be coped with in our party.

Party-relevant cadre training mainly also means deepening the knowledge about the content of our central party resolutions. So management activity becomes more expert when it is resolutely oriented to the central party resolutions and through their application the members are motivated and mobilized toward still broader and socially more useful activities. The public demands here raised and our party's further potential in capacity are corroborated especially by the results and experiences in our work these last 5 years.

Our party is strong--politically-ideologically as well as politically-organizationally. Our members' bonds with the party and among one another have become more diversified and effective.

The work with each member and the focus maintained on the whole membership and the effort to involve them in regular political-ideological party work through the variety of forms of our party life, and mainly through the membership meetings and study circles, have advanced our party a goodly stretch.

Boosting party ranks has increased the number of those who want to be our fellow-combatants through political party organization. Year after year there are more citizens who want to get into our party, 2,000 in the first months of this year alone, half of them craftsmen and tradesmen. It remains a management task of significant social weight and interest to use the greater attraction our party has to actually make the great number of those join our ranks who feel attracted to our party for its performance and public reputation.

One-fifth of our membership joined in the last 5 years, i.e., since the 11th party congress. They have found their place and have assumed functions in our party and in public life, proving themselves as our party directs. Our party must gain still more strength to meet its task with still better results.

There are 2,600 basic units in our party--450 more than at the time of our 11th party congress. That makes the management of party work by voluntary organs easier to check and makes ideological work with each and every member more intensive. Above all we have better adapted the territorial structure of our basic units to the state structure, the election districts and residential areas of the National Front. That is of benefit to our party's public efforts. Nearly 80 percent of our membership is now organized in urban basic units. Here we also have chosen the right way for spreading our party's efforts in urban residential areas.

That in no way diminished the importance of our party activity in rural basic units. They, after all, do not only include cooperative farmers but also many craftsmen and tradesmen, members of the various areas of the intelligentsia, including also artists and creators of culture. Great are the social demands made on the numerically mostly small rural basic organizations. Few party members must cope with a lot of things there. And they do so gladly, dedicated to the common cause of the National Front of our GDR.

Taking part in the National Front's political mass activity is to us not one task among many tasks but the basic purpose of our party activity. Its purpose is mainly political-ideological and leads to shaping public life in the residential areas. The citizens' initiative, "More Beautiful Towns and Communities-Join-in!" is to us also an important means for it, its basis being the targets issued for the Five-Year Plan period by the National Council of the National Front of the GDR.

Political mass activity in the true sense of the word has to be organized and performed. Reserves wait to be tapped at an unprecedented range. It surely is an impressive piece of evidence for management work already performed that way by many executive committees that, in conformity with the tasks of local economic plans, and in coordination with the competent National Front commissions, community assignments of our basic units have in many places become standard procedure in the "Join-in!" competition, so that they are in fact already being taken for granted in the annual work programs.

To our party, whose birth and growth are deeply tied up with the idea and concern of the National Front, the further development and increased public effectiveness of the socialist people's movement in the GDR are a firm component of political-ideological work, a concrete testing ground for our party units. Be it on the commissions, the working teams of craftsmen and tradesmen, or Christian circles in the National Front, and even in housing community leaderships--our counsel is wanted everywhere, our deeds are needed, and our participation finds public recognition.

Through the strength of our arguments and this dedication by our members, we help make the political work of the National Front commissions still more substantial and successful in terms of the National Council resolutions. Confident political talks with as many citizens of our country as possible wherever we find them--in their apartments, houses, streets, urban residential areas and communities--are irreplaceable for any profound and action-related understanding of domestic and foreign policy problems and tasks. So we shall help in conducting more such talks.

Summarizing all that which in the period ahead proves politically correct and socially important for the management of party work by our executive committees and secretariats and all that continues to be necessary so as to make the quality of ideological work conform with our high social requirements, we may say:

First: Any further performance improvement of party work must start with new efforts by our management organizations on behalf of our members' personality development so as to further mold socialist national consciousness in order that every politically organized citizen in our republic will do all he can to strengthen the GDR. Our party needs each member, and each member needs his party, the NDPD.

For that, there shall continue to prevail in every party unit an atmosphere of party friendship, a climate of trust and dedication based on the conformity among our goals and tasks. Each party member has all opportunities to exercise his rights and fulfil his duties, yet he himself should see to it that the preconditions for that become more favorable all the time.

Second: We shall fully meet our concerns, tasks and goals only if we include more than ever our entire membership in our political work. All members want to be tied in with the life of our party in such a way that they can comprehend and experience how indispensable our party's own alliance contribution is to the commonweal.

The work of our party units and the dedication of all members require everywhere that perceptible social effect that conforms to the mighty pace of socialist development in our republic. That is a critical and incorruptible quality criterion for all ideological work and its management.

Prudently planned and practiced, set down in terms of priorities and seeking a complex effect, our management activity will always capture each member and exercise an influence of partiality on his personality development. Bringing all members into the political struggle amounts to the central effort of all party organization for bolstering our party's fighting strength.

Third: Further improving the quality and effectiveness of political-ideological work is imperative for involving all members in our party life. The central party resolutions are critical for reaching the necessary level of ideological work and are the basis for all management activity.

Prudently and uniformly applying the central party resolutions while keeping territorial conditions in mind is a basic problem for further improving our party work that all executive committees and secretariats must address with still richer ideas while it also grants its most certain assurance. That will make it possible for us to produce the necessary new performance growth and create conditions that supply new impulses, not only to those who need comradely assistance, but also to those who are more advanced. Handing on good examples, creating new models, turning best achievements into norms for all, and applying effective tools to surmount still existing unjustified disparities in outputs--those are the basic management activity demands.

Fourth: Through the work of the basic units, the party resolutions on membership gain their broadest public effectiveness. The basic units are the party's foundation. Through them, many members experience our alliance and our alliance policy which they themselves produce and practice thousandfold. Strengthening our party's impact thus means to us today more than ever strengthening the basic units. That must be addressed right there and in all next-higher executive committees by management activity. The heart of the party beats in the basic units. There the concrete decisions are made about the effect and range of our political-ideological work through the use and encouragement of the public and vocational dedication and experiences of our members. The basic unit illuminates the political worth of our party friends' deeds and accomplishments and puts their example into effect.

All that and many other particulars show us that the role of the basic units in the life of our party work and the improved quality and scope of our political-ideological efforts keep gaining importance. To make party life attractive and stimulating, mobilizing and motivating for every member, we must mainly pay enough attention to the preparation and the conducting of membership meetings. They have been, are and remain the main form of party life, the supreme executive organ for the basic unit binding on all members.

Fifth: Our challenge is to raise our agitprop onto a level that, in quality and effectiveness, conforms to the criteria objectively given by the challenges of the 1980's. Unshakeable partiality to socialism must inform it as much as a great relevance, realism, and the conviction that our tasks can be solved with its commensurate optimism. Tenacity and consistency are no less important there than is aggressive, informed argumentation. We must critically look at backlogs and deficiencies and remain productively open-minded toward new requirements. Clarity in basics and knowing what things are encourage conscious action on behalf of our republic and of socialism--and that is what counts!

Sixth: Increasing our party's public strength of radiation is the responsibility of our press. Structuring it that way, as a tool of party management, sets criteria for the substance and methods in the work of our journalists as party associates. Much has been accomplished since the 11th party congress in boosting our effectiveness. The columns of our NATIONAL-ZEITUNG, the five regional papers and the journal of our associates attest to that. Through our newspapers and the documents for up-to-date oral agitprop enrich the membership meetings, the study circles and personal political discussions.

We must still more impressively reveal the facts of our life and the positive balance-sheet due to the alliance policy promoted by the workers and farmers state and thus, the prospects in that policy. The history of real socialism provides us with cogent and persuasive arguments for the correctness of our course and for the certitude in our victory.

That is a sound basis for the ideological struggle in the class conflict with imperialism, the struggle for men's hearts and minds. Our agitprop has to be a sharp weapon for our good cause.

That makes a high qualitative demand on the political-ideological work by our executive committees and on all party associates.

Seventh: Strengthening our party ranks raises the number of those who, politically organized and consciously, take part in the shaping of the developed socialist society. They strengthen the alliance and enhance its effectiveness. Recruiting new party members thus becomes a criterion for our ability to meet increasing public requirements.

Truly great is the historic weight of the work ahead of us. This is, after all, a matter of meeting requirements and exercising responsibilities as never before in the history of our party.

We know our tasks are big and tough. Through our 12th party congress we have to focus fully on solving them. We know our goal, we know our way and we are rallying our forces. Filled with optimism, we advance.

The sources of our conviction that the tasks can be solved and that we are winning our struggle lie in the scientific principles of GDR policy. They are due to the SED's leadership and the creative and purposeful application of the universal inevitabilities of socialism, by which the people's trust in the strength of socialism is fortified and all public forces are given free rein for independent action. They spring from the people's creativeness and the effectiveness of our alliance, from what we do too in our party to make the inevitabilities of our age prevail, from what we do in further shaping the developed socialist society. They are provided by the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the cohesion of the socialist community of states.

Our party has always exerted great efforts in recruiting members in strata allied with the workers class, citizens of diverse origins and vocations, and with their own experience in life and consciousness development, to side with social progress and with conscious, politically organized activity in shaping socialism in the struggle for peace.

Our party acts in conformity with historical and social inevitabilities. So it more and more provides its members with the correct view on that the ideals and goals of the workers class include its allies' fundamental interests, and that the historic mission and power of the workers class guarantee their implementation.

That has been our experience throughout the socialist revolution and in our contribution to enforcing its universal inevitabilities. This and only this explains our pledge; this way and in no other way shall we make our contribution in advocating extensively, without reservation, the socialist revolution in the GDR, led by the workers class and its party.

In a few months it will be 30 years since we pledged ourselves to the construction of socialism in the GDR according to plan. What a historic path that has been!

Indeed, our NDPD itself serves as a historic example for the effectiveness of the ideas of peace, democracy and socialism. Our party's pledge to socialism has deepened and matured. And that is linked with our comprehending the vitality of scientific socialism.

We know this: Only socialist society can solve the problems of our age, the issues of human survival.

An ancient dream of mankind is to be fulfilled. We fight for peace and socialism.

That is the pledge of our 12th party congress to the GDR and its leading force, the SED.

We redeem this pledge by what we do for the socialist revolution in our country. The NDPD serves the GDR, its all-round strengthening and reliable protection and its exercising its historic responsibility in the struggle for peace and socialism.

Long live our socialist fatherland!

SED Organ's Report

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Apr 82 pp 1-2

['ND' report from Leipzig: "NDPD Strengthens by Deed the Tested Alliance--12th NDPD Conress Concludes With Election of Executive Bodies--Prof Heinrich Homann Reelected Chairman"]

[Text] The newly elected Central Executive Committee at the 12th NDPD Congress in its concluding session on Saturday in Leipzig reelected Prof Dr Heinrich Homann party chairman, its presidium, which also includes the honorary HDPD chairman Dr Lothar Bolz, and the secretariat. With great enthusiasm the delegates received the congratulations sent them by teletype from Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee.

In his concluding address, Prof Dr Homann underscored that the party congress resolutions constituted a requirement for shaping and fulfilling the NDPD's own contribution to implementing the policy for the good of the people and the safeguarding of peace. Social forces in the GDR place high expectations on NDPD units and members. "We shall always be worthy of the trust and friendship of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party," he asserted in this context. "Nothing and no one will deter us from it. Resolutely and cohesively our party members stand behind it." It was important to guard and reinforce the alliance as a great achievement of our social development. "Proven, and confirmed by our experiences in decades of joint struggle, is the leadership role of the working class party in our country; no one will ever succeed in driving a wedge between us." The party chairman reaffirmed the NDPD's unconditional pledge to our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union.

In a unanimous resolution, the party congress announced: "The NDPD will continue to contribute what it can to the prosperity of our socialist GDR and its all-round strengthening on behalf of socialism, peace and anti-imperialist solidarity." NDPD members, the statement continues, want to be active coshapers and responsible fellow-combatants in shaping the developed socialist society and in the struggle for peace, under the leadership by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, in close friendship with it and through good harmony with all forces in the Democratic Block and the National Front. The NDPD, the statement continues, is fully behind the peace concept of the 10th SED Congress and the historic mission and important contribution by the GDR to the implementation of the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The NDPD intends to concentrate its ideological efforts on behalf of the all-round strengthening of the GDR on achieving the needed economic performance improvements. It referred to the Five-Year Plan and the national economic plans as campaign programs tested by our alliance policy.

The national democrats of the GDR entirely and without reservation endorse the military policy of the SED and the socialist GDR, and they assert: "We have been and will remain coshapers and codefenders of the socialist revolution in our country." The statement defined the attitude toward the power question as the crucial criterion for all NDPD members' ties with socialism, saying: "The promotion and shaping of a socialist national consciousness is and remains the main substance in our party's political-ideological efforts."

In another unanimously adopted solidarity declaration, the delegates documented their unalterable and continuous solidarity with all fighters against imperialism and war, exploitation and suppression.

Discussions on the last day of the congress had concentrated on alliance policy responsibility for repairs, service and direct supply deliveries, which is so important to the implementation of the main task. People's Chamber deputy Heidelies Lange, of PGH Metall Guestrow, had already remarked that everyone would have to think about how to improve the efficiency of his own work. Every good idea should be picked up, examined and, if possible, put into action. Inge Struebing, who owns a refrigeration repairshop in Meissen, talked about effective measures in constantly improving public services. Some 90 percent of all such work was being done right in the customers' apartments, and lectures in the DFD counseling center offered instruction on care and maintenance. Juergen Franke, PGH chairman of the Bad Blankenburg motor vehicle tool plant, pointed out how necessary it was to keep places open for the convenience of the customers.

Upholsterer Claus Stengel of Ilmenau showed by many examples how through socialist cooperation between the purchasing and the delivery cooperative public repairs can be improved and the work of the crafts enterprises be rationalized. Anneliese Kubelka, chairperson of a tailorshop PGH in Muehlhausen, made the point that further increasing labor productivity for the benefit of higher supply services demanded of everyone a standpoint of partiality and new ideas about further improving the cost/benefit ratio.

As the last of a total of 66 discussion speakers, Ambassador Ferdinand Thun, permanent GDR delegate to UNESCO, spoke about the GDR's active contribution to the safeguarding of peace. This is what he said: "The more securely, stably and dynamically the development of our republic proceeds, the more solid and unequivocal the GDR's position alongside the Soviet Union is, and the more perceptibly the political and economic strength, the ideological cohesiveness and the military strength of our state are manifested, the more weight, authority and impact attach to the arguments and proposals we advocate in international negotiations and disputes."

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NAVY COLLEGE COMMANDANT DEFINES TRAINING OBJECTIVES

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 3, 1982 (signed to press 15 Mar 82) pp 116-118

['MT Introduces' feature article: "Karl Liebknecht Officer College of the People's Navy"; Prof Dr W. Nordin, vice admiral, commandant]

[Text] In extending the accounts of teaching institutions in the National People's Army which MILITAERTECHNIK has been coming out with periodically since 1976, we are happy to avail ourselves of the opportunity to present information through an article series about the officer college of the People's Navy as well. This, we hope, will accommodate many young readers interested in the profession of a naval officer and eager to learn more about our military college.

At the Karl Liebknecht Officer College, the top training institution of the People's Navy, the future officers are being prepared in every way for their responsible and, at the same time, beautiful and interesting activity as superior officers, educators and commanders of combat collectives on ships and boats or in units and facilities of the People's Navy. Such service calls for officer personalities who have firm basic socialist convictions and a high class and state consciousness, are boundlessly dedicated to the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party and to the state and army leadership, have great political and technical military knowledge and skill and possess extensive specialized knowledge and facilities in their particular fields of assignment. They must be highly qualified for educating and training their subordinates politically and militarily, excel in solid nautical conduct, strength of will and organizational talent and be in the position to fulfil combat tasks at sea under any conditions and under great physical and psychological stress. Their traits would naturally mainly also include their love for the sea.

The 10th SED Congress formulated the class mission of the National People's Army and the GDR's protective and security organs by saying that they "have to protect the socialist order and the peaceful life of the citizens in the GDR and all states of the socialist community against any assaults from the aggressive forces of imperialism and reaction, and ensure the sovereignty of the GDR, its territorial integrity, the inviolability of its borders and its state security. Shoulder to shoulder with their comrades-in-arms, they must always be ready and able to fulfill this mission."[1]

The class mission so formulated gains special importance under prevailing conditions when influential imperialist circles keep increasing the gravity of the military-political situation and the risk of war. At the 10th SED Congress, the minister for national defense pointed out that the responsibility of the socialist armed forces in the struggle for the survival of mankind never was as great as today and that everything was up to the cadre.[2] In that context, the secretary general of our party, Comrade Erich Honecker, called for "greater demands on the selection of the cadre, their class consciousness, their abilities, their knowledge and skill, and their training and advanced training."[3]

Very high demands arise from this requirement for the activity of the teaching institutions for the GDR armed organs. There was every good reason, therefore, to assert at the 12th delegates conference of the SED organizations in the NVA and the GDR border troops: "The military teaching institutions increasingly stand up as genuine places for communist education and centers for ideological-theoretical and military-scientific work."[4] The 12th delegates conference thought it critical for the education and training of future officers how well graduates were being prepared for leadership, tough army and naval service, and combat.[5]

This makes clear how much responsibility has been assigned to the officer colleges as forges for the cadre in the various arms and services. One can also easily acknowledge thereby the great demands resulting for the substantive and organizational-methodological structure to be given to the educational and training process. After all, the cadre we train today will be tested in their naval service, for all their knowledge, skills and abilities, not only now and tomorrow but long-range as well, beyond the year 2000.

1. A 30-Year Forge for Naval Cadre

A proven principle of our party's prescient military policy lies in perfecting the training system for the cadre in conformity with current and long-range requirements. That is being confirmed by the meanwhile 30 years of successful naval officers training at our teaching institution, one of the oldest in the GDR's armed organs. An account of the officer college of the People's Navy would thus certainly be incomplete, if we failed to mention some essential highlights in its development.

Considering Lenin's remark that the power issue is the decisive issue in any revolution, our party leadership placed coping with that on the agenda once the GDR was founded. When armed police formations were set up to protect our sea boundaries, the first sea police formations also evolved in 1950. To train the officers needed, a sea police officers school was founded in January 1952 in the ancient Hanse city of Stralsund, which is looking forward to its 750th anniversary in 1984. With great elan then communists, antifascists and members of the socialist youth association created the prerequisites, in personnel and material, for training politically reliable and technically skilled officers. As long as armed police formations sufficed for the protection of the socialist accomplishments, the sea police officers school fulfilled its tasks in every respect.

But in the mid-1950's the military-political situation as one knows, changed fundamentally, which urgently required setting up regular armed forces in the GDR. Once the NVA was set up, the requirements for its cadre also increased. Therefore,

by order of the minister for national defense, of 1 July 1956, the sea police officers school was combined with the technical engineering college that had been founded in 1952/53 and restructured into the naval officers school of the GDR armed forces.

Now, the cadre to be trained no longer merely had to be able to operate the ships and boats built in the GDR but also the modern combat equipment received from the Soviet Union and reach as fast as possible the training level of the fraternal socialist fleets in the navies of the Warsaw Pact states' coalition. In 1956 already that required extending the training from 3 to 4 years and, to a large extent, adapting our own training programs to those in the officer colleges of the Soviet Navy. The new demands for more technical and weapons training were, by and large, met by the courses we then had for naval officers, naval engineering officers, communication officers, naval construction engineers and electrical engineers.

Thanks to the continued solicitude from the party and military leadership, the great and selfless assistance from our socialist comrades-in-arms, and the mobilizing strength of leadership by the party organizations, and as the result of the greatest efforts by the teaching staff, the officer candidates and all personnel at the naval officers school, we reached a high level in education and training within a relatively brief period. So we were granted the status of a professional military school as early as in 1958.

Another crucial phase of development was also initiated in our school by the NVA's educational conference in 1968. With the international class struggle intensifying and the revolution in military affairs advancing, higher demands arose for our graduates, from which were derived the necessary prerequisites for converting to college training. After the personnel and material conditions were established, mainly through the needed qualifications for the teaching staff and the preparation of new training programs, our school was granted the status of an officer college on 4 January 1971. Since then our students have graduated in the rank of lieutenant and as certified college engineers.

The rapid development of science and technology and their impact on military affairs require, as already stated, that the training system for our cadre must constantly be perfected. For that reason the necessary measures were taken early in the game to develop the training system further, step by step, with respect to the tasks the NVA will have to solve in the 1980's and later.

That calls for a clear picture of the changes taking place in these years in the technical field and the tactics principles for the assignment of combat equipment resulting from them. At this point, we may merely mention the development of the smaller and medium-size surface vessels of the naval forces.

2. Modern Combat Equipment Calls for Universally Educated Socialist Soldiers' Personalities

Our People's Navy is of course also being systematically modernized on the basis of coordinated plans by the Warsaw Pact states. The secretary general of our party affirmed at the 10th party congress that we were always seeing to it that our armed forces are equipped with modern weapons and new combat equipment and command techniques.[6] That is why in the technical military equipment for the combat ships and

boats of the People's Navy, weapons systems and technical installations also will predominate which are in line with the modern status of Soviet military equipment and with our own developments in military technology.[7]

In this context, the command and teaching staffs at our officer college are aware that coping with the demands resulting from the development briefly alluded to here crucially depends on the officers we are training and educating today at our institution. From this we derive our political responsibility for fully bringing subjectively to bear an improved training for young officers on the objectively given greater possibilities for better fighting strength and combat readiness.

Evidently, a graduate of the 1980's and 1990's, to fulfil his tasks, must absolutely have the qualification level of a graduate engineer. For that reason all officer colleges will start on 1 September 1983 training officers who will graduate with such diplomas. The necessary arrangements for that are already being made.

Naval officer and naval mechanic are the two categories in which we train our officers. When naval officer graduates start their naval service, they will be assigned the command of a combat sector on a combat vessel or on a small torpedo speedboat. Naval mechanics start as engineers on watch in a machine combat sector and then have a variety of chances for advancement.

The training programs are structured accordingly. Social science, general training, mathematics and natural sciences and basic technical training are by and large identical for both categories.

Social science training, which is a decisive basis for communist education, embraces such subjects as Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economics, scientific communism, indoctrination, military pedagogics and psychology, and the history of the workers movement.

General training includes subjects such as seamanship, medical training, military physical training, naval security service and others.

Mathematics, natural science and basic technical training include, to mention but a few subjects, higher mathematics, electronics, electrical engineering, ADP and industrial measuring, control and regulating technology.

The special training in the naval officer's category includes, among other things, navigation, navigational installations, naval tactics, and the deployment and use of various types of weapons. In the naval mechanic's category, it includes the major machine installations and electrical installations on board and the organization of the naval machinery operation.

Both categories also provide training in two foreign languages.

More detail on that will be given in subsequent articles which will deal with the departments at the officer college in particular.

Practice training aboard a combat vessel or the training vessel of the People's Navy marks high points. Every year we call at ports of fraternal navies, always

an unforgettable event for our trainees. Since 1976, the officer college has been using for its practical training the "Wilhelm Pieck" training vessel of the People's Navy, which now leads to longer sea voyages and trips to remote ocean areas. We have gone to the North Sea and the Baltic and called on the ports of Gdynia, Riga and Leningrad, but also to the Atlantic and the European Arctic all the way to Murmansk and the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, calling on ports like Sevastopol, Varna, Constanta and Split. Our trainees have then always creditably represented our GDR in those international waters and friendly ports and made an important contribution in reinforcing our comradeship-in-arms with those friendly navies.

But the officer college of the People's Navy itself provides all prerequisites for theoretically demanding and yet practically relevant training.

The teaching staff is composed of experienced and highly qualified officers and civilian science associates who assist the trainees with words and deeds during and outside of the courses. More than 80 percent of the teaching staff has the first or second academic degree, and some are engaged in correspondence courses, in postgraduate studies or in assistantships. The teaching and command staffs acquired their knowledge at the Friedrich Engels Military Academy, Soviet military academies, or civilian academic institutions in the GDR. Most of them exercised responsible functions on ships and boats or on staffs of formations of the People's Navy before they started teaching.

With more than 70 showcases, laboratories and workshops, the officer college of the People's Navy now has a modern training base that facilitates practice-related training. It also has a planetarium, a computer center, navigation trainers and radar simulators, engine cabins, a naval security simulator, various training complexes for weapons and equipment, modern gymnasiums and arenas, firing ranges and other installations. The "Wilhelm Pieck" training vessel is also, so to speak, part of our training base.

Rich initiatives for constantly expanding and modernizing our training base come from the teaching staff, the trainees and the cadre. Instructors have designed some new showcases. In close cooperation with the trainees or through voluntary mass initiative they worked out the concept on innovator deals.

3. Sensible Leisure Time and Meeting Comrades-in-Arms Are Part of It

There are many opportunities at the officer college and in the city of Stralsund for sensible leisure time activites.

Through science circles for officer candidates the trainees have the opportunity to take part in scientific life directly.

Choirs, choral groups and variety shows, but also photographic and hobby circles are well developed forms for independent cultural activity. When the Workers Festivals were held in Rostock Bezirk in 1980, the choir of a company of trainees that took part in many events, e.g., was celebrated as an "excellent popular art collective of the GDR."

Splendid provisions for leisure-time sports have been made through the sections for sailing, shooting, diving, handball, volleyball, soccer, judo and chess. The trainees are proud that a champion at the Olympic Games in Montreal, Uwe Potteck, emerged from their ranks, he being a trainee at that time.

The 30 years of successful development in our institution have been linked from the outset with the inestimable support received from our Soviet comrades-in-arms. Without it, it would not have been possible in this relatively brief period to cope with modern Soviet military equipment and prepare our new generations of officers for joining forces with the allied Baltic fleets.

An important event in this connection was our institution's "Comradeship-in-Arms Week," held for the first time in 1964, between the anniversary of the glorious Soviet Army on 23 February and the NVA anniversary on 1 March. To this day, it has become a cordial annual meeting and experience exchange between representatives of the Karl Liebknecht Officer College of the People's Navy, the M. V. Frunze Naval Officer College of the USSR, and the "Heroes of the Westerplatte" Officer College of the Polish Navy.

We also maintain close ties with the officer colleges "S. M. Kirov," "V. I. Lenin," "P. S. Nakhimov," and the Military-Political Naval College of the USSR.

On 1 March 1964, at the end of the first week of the Comradeship-in-Arms, a tradition that has meanwhile been taken over by the whole NVA, our institution was awarded the name Karl Liebknecht, which places a great obligation on it. Our trainees express their pride in this in various ways. They feel they are "Liebknecht students," and already during the first year of training, on the day when Karl Liebknecht was assassinated, they take on the vow always to act in his spirit and always to do honor to his name.

Our teaching staff has done and is doing everything to train highly qualified socialist officers personalities, whereby to contribute to enhancing the fighting strength and combat readiness of the People's Navy. By means of analyzing the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress and of the 12th delegates conference of the SED organizations in the NVA and the GDR border troops, and in preparation for the NVA's academic conference, we intend to turn our military training institution more and more into a genuine place for communist education and a center for ideological-theoretical and military science efforts.[8]

FOOTNOTES

1. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Berlin, 1981, pp 126 f.

2. H. Hoffmann, "Soldiers of the People--Steadfast Fighters," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, (A edition), 13 April 1981.

3. E. Honecker, op. cit., p 127.

4. H. Kessler, "Tenth Party Congress Campaign Position! For High Combat Readiness! Everything for the Good of the People!" PARTEIARBEITER, special March issue 1981, p 46.

5. Ibid., p 48.

6. E. Honecker, op. cit., p 127.

7. W. Ehm, "On Some Basic Features in the Development of Fighting Strength and Combat Readiness in the People's Navy," SCHRIFTENREIHE DER OFFIZIERSHOCH-SCHULE DER VOLKSMARINE, No 25, 1981.

8. H. Kessler, op. cit., p 46.

5885
CSO: 2300/323

REGIME STRATEGY TO CO-OPT UNOFFICIAL PEACE MOVEMENT DISCUSSED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 1 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by 'sk,' datelined Berlin, 29 June: "The Christian Peace Movement in the GDR--Hugging Strategy of the SED"]

[Text] Berlin, 29 Jun--As in previous years, the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR has again this year called for "10 Days of Peace" for Christian young people for the fall of 1982. As the Erfurt provost Falcke announced at a meeting of young GDR Protestants in Eisenach, it will take as its theme "Swords into Plow shares."

On Two Tracks

The situation of the Christian peace movement in the GDR has changed recently in that the communist state leadership is now trying to neutralize the forces for peace in the Protestant church through a form of double strategy. On the one hand, the Protestant peace group, whose peace patch symbol "Swords into Plowshares" is banned on the grounds that the symbol is being abused by young people "to manifest opinions hostile to the state and to participate in an illegal political movement," is being opposed just as before; on the other hand, the communist state leadership is clearly making efforts to integrate the peace forces in the Protestant church into the state controlled peace campaign for its own purposes.

Politburo member Kurt Hager outlined this tactic of the SED at the last convention of the "Cultural League of the GDR," saying that in the GDR there was "a peace movement with a million members, involving all social strata and philosophical ideas." As a result, "Marxists, Christians and pacifists" were united in the peace movement in the GDR. For the first time there was an official admission, at least indirectly, that there are also pacifists in the GDR, who are opposed to serving with a weapon, on the side of the East or the West. Hager's statements have been interpreted, at least in sections of the Protestant Church, as a signal that the motives of the Christian peace forces in the GDR are being respected.

Against this background there are visible efforts in the leadership of the Protestant Church to avoid everything that could be construed by the State as a demonstration. The former chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, former bishop Schoenherr, stated last Sunday at a peace meeting of Protestant Christians in East Berlin, which was described as a "peace workshop," that Christians in the GDR

who were committed to peace would now have to move on from the mere demonstration of their feelings, as expressed in the "Swords into Plowshares" symbol, to argumentation. From now on it was a matter of making clear to the politicians that support for peace by Christians in the GDR was not a danger to the state, but something that could be utilized for peace policies.

The Protestant Church in the GDR is also at pains to avoid the impression that the work of its own peace forces has any oppositional character, directed against the state. The phrase "peace movement" is therefore ruled out as a term for the peace work of the Church. Peace work, the explanation runs, is just one dimension of all Christian work. Along the same lines is the strict refusal by the Protestant Church leadership in the GDR to regard its own forces as part of a great peace movement embracing West and East.

The situation of the peace forces in the Protestant Church of the GDR, whose freedom of action is limited anyway, has been complicated by the double strategy of the communist state leadership. The sharp dividing lines between the Christian peace movement, with its "Swords into Plowshares" symbol, and the state peace campaign, which confronts this symbol with the slogan "Peace must be defended, Peace must be armed," are in danger of being wiped out in the face of the communist double strategy.

9581
CSO; 2300/315

FAZ WARSAW CORRESPONDENT NOTES UPCOMING PAPAL VISIT

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 1 Jul 82 p 10

[Article by Jorg Bremer]

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Jun--For the people on the street everything is already clear: the Holy Father is coming to Poland in August. But the more qualified and knowledgeable the person one is talking to, the sooner one sees brows furrowed in doubt. Pressure is being exerted on the Polish government from many sides. The Poles and the Vatican are waiting for a decisive word from this side, but apparently others are as well.

Recent newspaper reports from the Soviet Union have created unease. Even the official Soviet news agency TASS had a comment on the Pope's visit. In these reports usually only the communique of the official Polish news agency PAP is quoted. On 13 June, it had reported from government circles that a trip to Poland by the Pope was being made contingent upon peace in the country. A visit would also have to be thoroughly prepared in conjunction with the government. Soviet reports focus their attention each time on the state of social calm, but commentaries are also being given, in which the Pope is described as a kind of Western agent, even if not in connection with the events in Poland.

Words like this are not repeated in Polish newspapers and on the radio. So the Kremlin's criticism of a papal visit is not known in Poland. This refusal is not really comprehensible, for the Poles had gained the impression that Moscow had accepted the fact that the Church in Poland occupies a position that cannot be wrested from it by the party and the government.

The state of war in Poland seems to have altered something in this situation. Government voices in Warsaw made it abundantly clear that the unpopular "Solidarity" trade union was a child of the Pope, who would certainly reawaken it if he came to Poland. Orthodox party members, grouped around the club of the periodical RZECZYWISTOSC and who often appear in the columns of the army newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, have, since the beginning of the year, constantly made the connection between underground activity and "certain conspiratorial activites" in the churches. Priests were abusing their office when they maintained contact between interned and free trade union representatives. Just 14 days ago, the question was raised in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI whether it was coincidence that demonstrations always originated in the churches. It is true that the criticism was directed only at "certain priests" and the Episcopate was never attacked, nor was the Primate.

Certain tensions, however, seem to have arisen between State and Church in recent weeks at the Catholic University of Lublin, where two social science disciplines are threatened with closure. The government was certainly angry that Glemp invited the Pope and even named a definite date without having first consulted with the authorities. The government, however, suppressed its anger. The population knows very little of these forms of government.

The position of the Church is considered to be undisputed. The faithful trust in its course. They are encouraged in this mainly by their local priests, who make more open public statements than the high Church officials. "We are crossing the Red Sea in the struggle for a free and just Poland," one priest preached to the faithful in the industrial Warsaw suburb of Ursus on the day before the anniversary of the riots in Posen in 1956. As was the case at many masses, prayers were offered for those interned, for the persecuted, for those who had gone into hiding and for those who are protecting them from arrest, which is a punishable offense.

The public is counting solidly on the Pope, and even a few newspapers and magazines are voicing this expectation. The censore had not crossed it out. Public debate is reduced to a single point: If society remains silent and does not rebel against social and political injustices, then in return it expects freedom in church life, unimpeded by state action.

The centenary celebration of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa, who has been honored for 600 years in the Klosterburg, cannot be postponed; the greatest holiday in this anniversary year is on 26 August. It would unthinkable for the Church and the population if the Polish Pope were not to be present on a day like this. Opinion says that the government cannot refuse John Paul II; and the Church cannot be guided by such short-term and secular matters as a state of war, which has, in any case, never been acknowledged. At the same time, the Polish Episcopate, at its last conference of bishops last weekend, once again announced its willingness to work for social understanding.

After Primate Glemp had appeared before the faithful on Corpus Christi with the announcment that the Pope would be cordially welcomed in Poland on 26 August, after the Episcopate had earlier constantly and openly criticized the state of war and had come out in favor of a resumption of the dialog and the release of the internees, the pressure on the government has relaxed noticeably since last weekend. In the final communique from the recent conference of bishops there is no mention of demands on the government, "Solidarity" is not mentioned and no date is set for the papal visit. The conference only confirms that the Supreme Pontiff will come to Poland from the Vatican for the anniversary celebration of Czestochowa. But the celebrations extend over the entire year. In a mass in Stolp at the weekend, the Primate only confirmed that the Pope would come in the near future.

After a 16-day visit to Poland, after a lengthy meeting with Minister for Foreign Affairs Czyrek, Archbishop Poggi returned to Rome. He also made only tentative statements about the possibilities of a papal visit at his departure. He said that negotiations with the authorities were continuing about the conditions for a visit. The Church is currently refraining from making any statement. It would not like to make a decision more difficult for the government, which has come under not only time pressure but also pressure from the Polish public, by pestering the government and vociferous behavior. The Church knows that a particularly critical point in Polish foreign policy is involved.

The relationship between Poland and the Soviet Union has always been problematic. It had cooled noticeably during the renewal phase in Poland. Groups within the party, who allegedly present Moscow's views with particular passion, are by no means in control in Warsaw, so it cannot be said that Moscow is in agreement with everything that General Jaruselski has changed in Poland since 13 December--even if the chairman of the military council was solemnly given an expression of Soviet confidence during his visit to Moscow at the beginning of March. That is a long time ago. Those in power in Warsaw are not only dependent on Moscow for their rule. The country is also tied economically to Moscow, more firmly than ever. That lends special importance to the decision about the papal visit. For then a decision will also be taken about whether the military council and the government are more interested in a reconciliation and understanding with Polish society--or in a tie with the Soviet Union.

9581
CSO: 2300/312

YOUTH GROUPS HOLD PLENARY MEETINGS

ZHP Supreme Council Plenum

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Magda Rulska: "Independence Does Not Mean Solitude"]

[Text] One of the dominant subjects of the discussions currently taking place are the problems of the young Polish generation. The preparations for the 9th plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee which will be devoted to the affairs of young people exercise a great influence here. The Supreme Council of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] deliberated on Saturday, while the 7th plenary meeting of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] took place in Slupsk on Friday.

The date 26 June 1982 will go down to posterity in the history of the Polish Scout Union. Unusually important problems were discussed that day during in-between conference meetings of ZHP highest council authorities: the essence of instructor activity, the role of scout educators in the process of educating the young generation of Poles. The problem of the limits that must not be exceeded in training was also taken up.

Practically every one taking part in that discussion agreed with the main thesis of the introductory report: there cannot be any talk of true scouting without a good instructor cadre that really educates and assists in the self-education process.

What however, needs to be done so that the scout movement is identified with good educators? What should be done so that the instructor can continue to be a scout, that is, a personal model for his charges?

That is a paradox--it is more difficult to remain a troop leader in our union than a council commander--said Wlodzimierz Kuzitowicz. All too often we forget that the training of a cadre is not just the acquisition of knowledge but likewise the acquisition of know-how. Formerly, good instructors developed gradually at the side of a master. That model is not possible now. There are too few "masters," while there is an abundance of bad, showy troops. That is why courses are also necessary but they must be

preceded by a period of practice. Education is not a matter of shaping an alumnus but the creation of development conditions. This verity pertains in equal measure to instructors as well as to children. This is why I am an advocate of a "development spiral"--that permits of various solutions.

We have the impression said Wojciech Wrobleski that we concentrate on detail all too frequently. We discuss what degree or prop, but we do not really know who the instructor really is. We must ask ourselves the question--what is the role of the instructor in the union and in society today. Marial law induced a lack of awareness in the cadre as to what we can do and how, and what is and is not permitted. Thus, it is necessary to clearly define the limits which may not be exceeded, while not forgetting that our obligation is to demonstrate educational justifications both inside as well as outside the ZHP.

A similar view was expressed by Jaroslaw Gorniak:--Various detailed matters can be resolved in councils, and should be based on traditions and the knowledge of individual groups. On the other hand, it is important for us to take action against the intellectual laziness of instructors. Not only the children, we too have our own method of acting and reacting, and we also must improve ourselves.

The problem of--what about the countryside?--came up once more during the discussion. Rural scouting has been struggling for years because of the lack of the right kind of instructors. Guardianship over scouts in the countryside is exercised chiefly by instructors dressed in organizational uniforms. They want to, and they must be appreciated for that--it was said. However, that is only scouting make-believe, a substitute. Should rural children be deprived of it?

This is how Barbara Panas approached this problem: The gap in our union chain is a real one and I do not know how to bridge it. At one time I promoted a scout activist function. At the time they asked what will you and Ornat be? But perhaps it is better to come back to that idea in order not to continue accepting further fiction?

In consequence of its initial deliberations, the Supreme Council adopted new rules and regulations on instructor grades, it formulated assignments with respect to the development of instructor circles, and established principles for granting the honorary title of "Instructor--ZHP senior." A ZHP stipend fund was established.

Before I give an account of the last three hours of Saturday's meeting, I will recall several facts.

In implementing the Conference's decision, on 18 June 1981 the Supreme Council confirmed rules and regulations pertaining to two programmatic-methodical movements along with--Resolution number 8--the A. Malkowski Circles of Scout Instructors [KIHAM] Principles of Agreement. Since that time, there has not been any meeting of the Supreme Council during which the "Malkowski problem" did not come back like a boomerang. The reason for

such reappearances was the decision of the KIHAM Agreement Council [RP] of 13 September and 18 October [1981?] which recommended a different Scout Oath than that adopted by the ZHP Congress. Is the proposal of so important an act in the life of every scout a kind of an indoctrinational experiment? That is something that is being pondered in the union to this date. Is it permissible to violate a rule using an accomplished facts method?

The majority were in agreement with respect to one thing--undoubtedly the next ZHP Congress will have to resolve the problem of the oath, and undoubtedly, however, a broad unionwide discussion on this subject is needed right now. But a Congress resolution and rule is obligatory for all. Inasmuch as the Union is to teach citizenship attitudes it cannot agree to violating law and order in its own ranks. That is, unless the change in the oath, or the use of several oaths simultaneously is to be recognized as a methodical experiment.

Despite the fact that there are many educators among Council members, it turned out that not one of them is able to convince the others what is an educational experiment and what is not.

Other problems have also imposed themselves on the oath problem. Toward the end of 1981 the country was in an uproar. Scout instructor attitudes were not the only ones that were polarizing. During its deliberations in Bydgoszcz, the Supreme Council Presidium was considering a proposal for acceptance of Resolution Nr 18: "The situation in scouting is a reflection of processes taking place in the entire Polish society (...) Discrepancies within the framework of the ZHP cannot but be noticed, but the problems resulting from them must be resolved in a manner appropriate to the organization, democratically, while preserving the nature of the organization defined in the ZHP statute (...) The ZHP Supreme Council is aware that other scout oaths are being used in practice (...) We treat violations as a matter of the conscience of individual instructors. The Supreme Council expresses the conviction that this resolution serves to maintain the unity of the Union, and it will not be condemned at the next congress, and that the problem of the scout oath will definitely be resolved at such congress."

The 13th of December interrupted the work of the ZHP Supreme Council. We could read the following in the resolution adopted that day: We appeal to all instructors who are faithful to the Oath, the Scout Code, and our principles in which the good of the People's Republic is the highest law, to demonstrate full citizenship responsibility..."

This wording repeatedly prejudges the problem. Instructors who do not observe the law place themselves outside the Union--said commander-in-chief Andrzej Ornat on 20 March of this year. He also then expressed the hope (the Supreme Council also adopted the same view) that the KIHAM Agreement Council will understand the situation and will refrain from recommending activities that are contrary to the ZHP statute. In the current circumstances--it was recognized during the March deliberations--such activity must be treated as an attempt to push youth into illegal action.

The answer was a KIHAM Agreement Council announcement on 8 May 1982 upholding its previous position.

On Saturday the Presidium of ZHP's Supreme Council recommended a resolution to the Supreme Council on the dissolution of the A. Malkowski Circles of Scout Instructors, and the suspension of Resolution Nr 8 of 19 June 1981 until further notice.

The Supreme Council's Commission on Scout Instructor Circles and Programmatic-Methodological Movements expressed itself against this proposal. The arguments: lack of proof that KIHAM Agreement Council activity was driving this movement into a position of ideological and political opposition, the efforts to "come to an understanding" between ZHP Headquarters and the KIHAM Agreement Council were inadequate, that it has not been established to this date whether the proposal of new scout oath forms does not also belong within the framework of a training experiment, and that the radical position of the Supreme Council might eventually be harmful. The arguments of the Supreme Council's Presidium were: reviews conducted in 27 KIHAM centers several days earlier showed that many instructors are not familiar with the decisions of the Agreement Council, not everyone familiar with them supports them. It is not true that the new oath is being demanded by organizational "bottoms," that the use of several oaths is antieducational, the KIHAM Agreement Council was driving the movement into a position of ideological and political opposition in ZHP, and not a programmatic-methodological movement, and that at the same time it threatened the unity of ZHP.

Voting for adoption of the resolution were 96 ZHP Supreme Council members. There were 17 against, while 11 members abstained from voting. Five Council members announced that they would have to seek advice in their own circles on the advisability of further participation in the efforts of ZHP's Supreme Council.

It must be emphasized that the ZHP Supreme Council continues to confirm the need for the existence of programmatic-systematic movements within the framework of the union. As heretofore, there is room in ZHP for all KIHAM circles that observe the rules and regulations of the ZHP. The Supreme Council confirms that when appropriate circumstances arise, ZHP authorities will create the possibility for holding a meeting of Circle proxies and conducting elections for a new KIHAM Agreement Council.

ZMW National Board Plenum

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by Jerzy Lissowski]

[Text] In opening the plenum's deliberations, National Board [ZK] Chairman Waldemar Swirgon stated: This is our first working meeting in this group in over 6 months. During the past half-year many changes have taken place in the country's sociopolitical and economic life which obligates us to confirm our loyalty to the union's ideological-programmatic principles.

Taking part in the meeting were: the chief of the PZPR Central Committee Social and Vocational Department Stanislaw Gabrielski, and Kazimierz Glapka, chief of the ZSL Supreme Committee Education and Science Department.

National Board Secretary Miroslaw Piwowarski delivered a program report on behalf of the presidium that was followed by a prolonged discussion.

The discussion touched on almost all of the current problems and complaints of the countryside and agriculture. Most of the statements were of a critical and not infrequently controversial nature that at the same time were characterized by a deep concern to ease rural youth's life start and career.

During the discussion it was stated, among others, that 80 to 90 percent of the unutilized reserves are located in the food economy and outside of agriculture, in industry, in small crafts and in craft services. However, these do not assure a complete supply of basic resources for agricultural production, quickly. At any moment it is necessary to reach for the simplest reserves that do not require either costly investment outlays, or special organizational effort.

It was also said that it is necessary to react energetically to the neglected agricultural schooling of the young farmer group and of agricultural training schools. It is likewise necessary to think about higher level of teaching and sounder treatment of vocational training--which often is limited to--picking up rocks from the fields.

In the course of the discussion, members of the Rural Youth Union's [ZMW] top authorities submitted a dozen or so proposals pertaining, among others to: setting up a Central Settlement Agency in the National Administration [Zarzad Krajowy], establishing priorities for young farmers through reassigning lands and farms taken over by the government, and turning over experimental farms primarily to young farmers.

The ZSL National Board representative demanded that the ZMW not forget about ununionized youth and concern itself more resolutely with minor problems that will augment the number of the organization's sympathizers, and in the final analysis will increase its driving force and numbers.

In his presentation, S. Gabrielski pointed out the great importance and special character of the PZPR Central Committee's 9th Plenum. In contrast to earlier ones, it will not be a routine debate about youth but about the responsibility of the entire society for the education of the youngest generation of Poles; about what needs to be done so that the young would feel they are joint owners of the country, so that they will not become the object but the subject of social life and factual partners of adults.

The resolution adopted by the plenum obligates the union leadership to realize the recommendations contained in the report under the title: "LIFE AND CAREER START OF RURAL YOUTH"--before year's end, organizing an economic council in the ZMW dedicated to defining the forms of rural youth's

participation in overcoming the crisis, requesting the chairman of the Council on Food Economy and Minsiter of Finance for financial support fo the newly created ZMW agricultural center for agricultural progress in Klobukowice [Czestochowa Voivodship].

ZMW Plenum Theses

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Jun 82 p 2

[Article--author not named]

[Text] Lively discussions continue in the Polish countryside on how to effectively safeguard the defense of farmers' socio-vocational interests. The voice of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] cannot be missing in such a discussion. A guarantee of vocational prospects, living conditions and the start of a career constitutes a problem of fundamental significance for the union.

All of us are feeling the results of the crisis. To get out of it there must be national understanding and self-sacrificing work. The crisis--something that sounds paradoxical--simultaneously constitutes an opportunity for rejuvenating the occupation of farmer, and for checking the rate of the outflow of youth from the countryside in view of the lack of jobs in the city. The responsibility for preparing young people for the new situation falls on the ZMW.

Remaining in the countryside is linked with the creation of working conditions that are essential for a young farmer, and concern over the preparation of cadres for agriculture, and improvement of the countryside's infrastructure.

A characteristics quality of ZMW in the future and today is a program of positivistic work which arises out of the union's actual needs, youth, the environment and young people's work. We want to prepare the young for social life through work, to help with education, and to train young people consistenc with their aspirations. The best route for the personal and social promotion of ZMW members lies through learning, knowledge and qualifications. The ZMW must realize this idea with special care.

The responsibility for linking torn social ties rests on the ZMW, hence the union's role in rural and cooperative activity will be an active one. It will also be active in cooperative work with socio-political, and social organizations in the countryside, in creating a climate of neighborly assistance at harvest and dig-up times, concern for children, and solidarity and older people.

The generation exchange in agriculture and the flow of employment to agriculture ought to be directed mainly toward the exploitation and good use of the soil not only in peasant, but also in socialized farming, from State Land Fund [PFZ] and settlement action.

Work posts should be created for rural youth in the countryside, in the commune, and in the cooperative movement. Young people's youth cooperatives established by ZMW encounter a series of bureaucratic obstacles.

It is generally anticipated that the basic problems of the young generation will be touched on at the 9th Plenum of the PZPR's Central Committee. The ZMW awaits a clearcut state social policy, the creation of realistic conditions for stability and life and work prospects. A basic problem for rural and city youth is the resolution of the housing problem, the assurance of social protection for young families, work posts in the city, and the setting up of work shops in agricultural farms.

All of us are working for the country, the countryside and ourselves. Today has become the time for action--for positivistic work. The kind of life we will live and the kind of countryside that we will leave our heirs will depend on such everyday work.

AHP Plenum Theses

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Jun 82 p 2

[Article--author not named: "Theses of the Supreme Council of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP]"]

[Text] A scout instructor ought to be an adviser and guide to youth in this difficult historical period. There would in general be no Scouts without good instructors.

Instructor morality takes on a special significance today--the agreement of attitudes with proclaimed convictions. A measure of the quality of an instructor's work is the observance of the Scout Code and Oath, which are a compound of the most commendable human values and socialist values.

There is a need for improving the quality of the instructor cadre training. It must be educational training which simultaneously provides knowledge and know-how based on practice.

Instructor grades should be a measure of qualifications. They should not so much reflect job rank as much as the instructor's actual skills. The grades must describe his capacity for executing assignments.

Teaching circles are an important union element. They should be a place for the exchange of experiences, work motivation and self-education.

It is necessary to return to the principle of training the instructor cadre within the framework of the ZHP, that is, the "development" of instructors from mother troops and tribes.

ZHP Israel-Lebanon Resolution

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Jun 82 p 2

[Article - author not named: "ZHP Supreme Council Resolution"]

[Text] As scout instructors who draw their work concept from the principles of humanism, the brotherhood of people and justice, we are deeply shocked by Israel's brutal aggression in Lebanon.

We are seized with indignation by the unpunished violation of the borders of a sovereign state, and fear--because of the attempt to physically destroy the Palestinian people, the murder of women and children without any human scruples, an extermination that we know so well from our own national history.

The cynicism of world, but particularly of American reaction, which is supporting the excesses of the Israeli barbarians, and simultaneously instructing Poles how they should resolve their own problems while blackmailing our country in various ways--arouses our disgust and moral condemnation. Palestinian and Lebanese friends! We are with you in these difficult times.

10433
CSO: 2600/734

STUDENT OPPOSITION GROUP LEAFLET CRITICIZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jun 82 p 4

[Commentary by W.D.: "'Moral Code'"]

[Text] Among the leaflets which are still appearing here and there, my attention was caught by one signed by the "Academic Resistance Movement" in Wroclaw, entitled "The Students' Moral Code."

What are the "duties" demanded of students by their unknown colleagues? Well, it is the duty of every student to undertake "activity in the resistance movement." At the same time, students are forbidden to participate in the work of organizations which support martial law; this prohibition includes cooperation with the press, radio and television.

But what if someone has convictions which differ from those of the authors of this peculiar "code"? What if someone feels that the "resistance movement" is aimed against the interests of students themselves (for it opposes their own state), that only their personal participation in social life provides a chance to shorten the time remaining before the crisis is overcome? This is where the tolerance and democratic beliefs of the organizers of the "Academic Resistance Movement" come to an end. Students cannot be permitted to hold views different from those of the founders of the "Academic Resistance Movement." And what if someone dared to? He would be "taught a lesson."

So those who do not comply with the "code" should be boycotted, and if students do not want to boycott, then the establishment (by whom, I wonder?) of a "Students' Disciplinary College" would be proclaimed.

What kind of punishments are to be administered by this "college"? At first a warning. If this does not help, then a person's close friends and acquaintances will be informed of the fact that that person has dared to hold his own views. In addition, the authors of the "code" threaten to notify school authorities (?!). If these measures also do not help, "compulsory leaving by the student" is threatened (how, I wonder, perhaps by force?). A not further defined "executive group" is to punish this student.

The authors of this scandalous "code" tolerate only their own oppositionist views, which attests to their...deep democratic beliefs, which are undoubtedly voiced in other leaflets. If they meet someone along their way who, for example, seeks the future of Poland in order and harmony and in the continuation of reform, their tolerance ends, and the pointed struggle begins. For this is the nature of the opposition--it has a mouthful of platitudes about freedom, as long as it concerns itself, and not other people.

CSO: 2600/815

ZSMP ADOPTS RESOLUTION ON PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 15 Jul 82 p 5

[Unattributed article: "We Must Save the World From the Nightmare of War"]

[Text] On 13 July, the Main Board Presidium of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] adopted a resolution concerning participation in the worldwide campaign for peace and disarmament.

The resolution reads: The world has entered a new phase of dangerous tensions and arms buildups which threaten to explode into global conflict at any moment. The conservative policy course of President Reagan's American administration is characterized by a clear tendency to settle international problems from a position of strength.

This has encouraged the most reactionary political-military circles in many regions of the world, circles which throughout history have more than once sealed a nightmarish fate of war for millions of people. The most recent example of this is the tragedy of the Palestinian people, which is being played out before the eyes of the world. The government of Israel denies the Palestinians the right to their own homeland and is committing genocide against them.

The need exists to utter a resolute "no" to all of those who bring death and destruction to humanity.

The ZSMP Main Board Presidium feels that, in the name of the interest of the Polish nation, which is threatened by complete annihilation from nuclear war, in the name of fundamental human values and in the name of the ideals of socialism, humanism and democracy, Polish youth must energetically join in the global front of the struggle for peace and disarmament against the forces of militarism and war.

In reply to the resolution of the 11th WFDY Assembly concerning the appeal of the 19th Komsomol Congress to the youth of the entire world to proclaim a worldwide youth campaign against the nuclear menace and for peace and disarmament, we join, in the name of all ZSMP members, the world mass youth movement, which has declared itself in favor of a peaceful life for mankind.

The ZSMP Main Board Presidium values the problems of the struggle for peace and disarmament as a special task for the 1980's for Polish youth assembled in the ZSMP.

We ask other socialist Polish youth unions participating in the Commission for Joint International Contacts of Polish Youth and Student Unions to undertake coordinated activity and initiative in this area.

CSO: 2600/809

MILITARY COMMISSIONERS DISCUSS DUTIES, ACTIVITIES

Zielona Gora, Katowice, Warsaw

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 2 Apr 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Capt Tadeusz Filipek: "People Are the Greatest Problem. Statements by Military Commissioners-KOK [National Defense Committee] Plenipotentiaries"]

[Text] As a consequence of martial law imposed 13 December 1981, military commissioners-KOK plenipotentiaries were appointed. Their task consists in providing comprehensive assistance to units of authority and state administration on various levels in the course of restoring law and order, ensuring proper operation of institutions and offices and solving urgent societal and economic problems.

Most military commissioners had acquainted themselves with specific field operations earlier, when field and urban operational groups were active. It is not surprising, therefore, that their work soon began to produce positive results in the form of improved living conditions, resolution of many difficult issues, elimination of the most flagrant signs of waste and ineptness, an expanded campaign against profiteering and fraud, and restoration of safety in the streets of villages, settlements and towns.

Today we allow military commissioners-KOK plenipotentiaries access to the pages of our paper to speak about the shortcomings found in numerous inspections and about the difficulties encountered while performing their duties.

Col Wieslaw Soltyszewski, military commissioner plenipotentiary for Zielona Gora:

The character of our region, typically agricultural and lacking major industrial plants, makes us focus our operations on farm problems, currently the preparations for spring field work. A few days ago we completed a comprehensive inspection, code-named "Spring 82" in the enterprises and plants of the socialized and cooperative sector and in some private farms. The inspection covered 40 gminas in the province. Virtually everything was checked: from the stocks of machinery to warehousing to land use efficiency and farm equipment. The results of this inspection will be sent to the district authority in the

next few days. Meantime, we intend to arrange meetings with all those interested in agricultural problems. At those meetings, we will present our conclusions from the inspection and administrative measures likely to be applied.

There are many issues to raise. For instance, there is the "thriftiness" of the management in the gmina cooperative in Trzebiel, where considerable quantities of pesticides piled up in storage for 12 years. No one makes use of them, no one is allowed to transfer them, the pesticides simply sit there and go to waste. Similarly, we had to involve the NIK [Supreme Auditing Board] units in the situation of the State Farm Chobienice machinery stock in the Trzebiechow Gmina, where farm machinery from virtually the whole enterprise had been hauled to the local SKR [Agricultural Circles' Cooperative] to be hidden from the inspection. It did not work. My officers reported finding a scrap heap of several dozen farm machines. We have many instances of scandalous waste and neglect of property.

In general, however, the status of preparations of the spring season and the course of agrotechnical operations in the province are satisfactory. Were it not for the mentioned examples of indifference in the performance of duty, I would rate the situation in the Zielona Gora Voivodship good. We intend to assist farmers, especially those working under difficult conditions. To this end, we have developed proposals for military participation, primarily that of army technical repair teams, in the preparations for field work and the course of harvesting campaigns.

Major difficulties in my work are, as elsewhere, in handling interpersonal problems. Every day I receive a dozen or so complaints and grievances about plant management and directors: someone was deprived of a bonus, another was fired without close examination of charges against him. We understand that the economic reform does not permit keeping idlers, drunks and pilferers on the job. Often, however, putting a plant in order changes into caring for private interests and personal infighting. We cannot allow that.

Col Czeslaw Piekart, military commissioner-KOK plenipotentiary for Katowice:

Our operation is as varied and multidirectional as the needs of the residents in this large industrial urban center. I would rank recovery of squatter-occupied apartments among the chief topics. We have 900 of those plus another 7,000 apartments for which there are serious doubts whether residency was established in compliance with domicile law or with proper documentation. By last 13 December we managed to evict only about 50 squatter families: currently, we have recovered 160 such apartments in 3 months. Squatter occupants are given substitute accommodations.

We launched a campaign for spring cleaning of the city. Army inspection teams, with city government inspectors, checked every section of the city. We pried into all the nooks. Our conclusions from the inspection were passed on to the ADM [Housing Administration]. A week later we conducted a similar check, this time liberally issuing tickets and reprimands. In a few days, we will visit those sites where superintendents and administrators have been less attentive to their duties.

We are devoting much attention to the new Community Committees for National Rebirth. There are 14 of these in Katowice. We want to initiate direction to useful actions in the communities. We also frequently hold meetings with school-age youth in the belief that they are highly useful for making Polish boys and girls realize what the country expects from them.

We continue a series of meetings with young people employed in local plants, especially where there are no military commissioners. We also try to assist the older plants in which modernization operations are carried out along with regular production. These encounter the greatest difficulties in selling their products. Among them is the Silesia Steelworks, where we recently conducted a comprehensive inspection, substantially contributing to the solution of many essential problems of the work force and the plant.

How do people rate us? Good is my guess; at any rate, they respond to us agreeably and with trust. This is evidenced by the stacks of applications and grievances every day. We strive to help them all but we do not supersede local administration authorities. We operate, above all, in an advisory and stimulative role, only rarely reaching for broader powers, and then exclusively in cases of violations of the law and flagrant injustice or ineptness of officials.

The only complaint that we all have is the lack of time. If our health and energies allowed, we would stay day and night solving human afflictions concerning families and apartments, trade, services and health, upbringing and transportation. I would never have thought that a large city could have so many problems.

Maj Kazimierz Debski, military commissioner-KOK plenipotentiary for downtown Warsaw:

In downtown Warsaw, I am in a much better situation than my colleagues in the other sections of the city because there are no agricultural areas, as on the outskirts, and detached family home settlements are few. There are other problems. The downtown area continues to be regarded by most Warsaw residents, not to mention new arrivals, as the showpiece of the city, the area where one goes shopping and sightseeing. In part, this is correct, because the downtown actually is the city's showplace. This is why we put so much effort for the spring cleaning campaign not to bypass the downtown. We are also trying to improve the organization of supply and the operation of trade and services. Organization is our concern, since supply in the downtown area is no better than elsewhere in the city. If there are more products in the stores, this is to be credited to all those who devoted most of their attention to the improved organization of supply and labor. Our added problem is the large number of national institutions but this issue requires special treatment.

Difficult problems do not exist because, once the essential point is understood, an apparent difficulty ceases to be a problem. Yet there are serious matters that are downright impossible to solve now, among other things, housing construction in the downtown area. Both people and buildings are aging but

there is no place to erect new buildings. At the same time, we receive increasing numbers of applications from those willing to reside and work in the downtown area. There are also numerous complaints about crumbling walls, cracked sewer pipes and underheated apartments. Many of these are indeed justified: in numerous cases instant action should be taken. However, handling capacities of our PGM [emergency residential repair] teams permit work mainly in real emergencies.

As in any self-respecting downtown section of a great city, we also have our slums in which con men, pimps, thieves and profiteers carry on, more or less conflicting with the law. Such areas include the rear of Constitution Square and a section of older buildings on Polna, Sniadeckich and Noakowskiego Streets. In those locations, we conduct frequent inspections, randomly checking renters and their overnight "guests." We attempt, not always successfully, to eliminate profiteering and black marketing and to ensure security for law-abiding residents.

In brief, we have much to do. We know, however, that our actions are necessary to restore equilibrium in the country. That is why we spare no effort and time to do our duty as best we can, which is what the nation expects from us.

Activities in Nowy Sacz

Warsaw GRANICA in Polish No 4, 4 Apr 82 pp 4-5

[Article by Krzysztof Niemiec: "Whom To Promote, Whom To Dismiss?"]

[Text] Commissioners-plenipotentiaries of the National Defense Committee appeared in the offices of state administration both on the central and local level, in institutions and work establishments, at the moment that martial law was announced. Today, after their 2-month-long activity, it is worth reflecting about the usefulness of their presence for the economy and society's life and to consider what problems they are solving and what phenomena they are combatting.

The range of reactions to martial law can be said to extend from unequivocal support to attempts at organizing protest actions. Without prejudging how many people persisted in either of these extremes and how many with anxiety and hope awaited the developments, one thing should be underscored: in the most difficult moments and days, employees in hundreds of industrial plants found matter-of-fact providers of information and partners in the none other than military commissioners.

The urban operational group active in Nowy Sacz commanded by commissioner Lt Col Tadeusz Markiewicz includes Lt Col Franciszek Rolka, Lt Col Kazimierz Kij, Maj Jan Gasiorowski and Maj Zdzislaw Zolkos, almost all of them from the WOP [border protection corps]. After the imposition of martial law, they all agreed, there was a dramatic drop in the number of issues and calls for intervention submitted to the city office. But the door hardly ever closes in the room where applicants are received by the military operational group. Residents' requests, complaints and comments are taken chiefly on Tuesdays

and Thursdays. Although the group has been active for over 2 months, from 80 to 120 persons show up on those days.

Why do they come to the army group? Undoubtedly, on the one hand this is due to a distinct drop in the prestige of regular offices; on the other hand, it is the constantly increasing confidence in the people in uniform who are trying as best they can in every way to be equal to society's expectation for honest and, most important, rapid solutions to urgent problems. In many cities, military operational groups have become recognized as the only entity capable of solving issues that in many cases have persisted for years. That these hopes were justified is attested to by numerous examples. Up to now, the group has completed or is in the course of completing nearly 1,000 problems of varied caliber. These are in many instances "trifles," formerly impossible to handle, caused by the unwillingness or lack of proper information provided to applicants by regular officials of the state administration.

The army group applies an iron rule: no case is to be put off till later--all must be dealt with immediately. The case of Pawel Wojtarowicz, an 80-year-old retiree in failing health, may serve as an example.

On 10 February, officials received a stirring letter signed by the old man's neighbors. It turned out that early in 1981 in exchange for personal care, Mr Wojtarowicz registered in his small, 15-square-meter efficiency a young woman, Teresa P., who had lived in another town. Teresa P. performed her duties properly for the first month. Then, unexpectedly for the owner of the apartment, she brought in two young children and later, on 15 May 1981, her husband. The old man's protests did not help; soon the couple turned his apartment into a hangout for drunks. Pawal Wojtarowicz was repeatedly locked in the bathroom and tied to a closet. He was threatened with the removal of his refrigerator, couch and rug. His neighbors referred this matter many times to appropriate authorities but the latter never reacted. Slawomir P. jeered at everyone, certain that he could get away with anything.

Faced with evident lawlessness, the operational group made the only correct decision: to evict the P. family from Pawel Wojtarowicz's apartment. Unfortunately, the eviction was not carried out on the first designated date because at the last moment the prosecutor objected to the article of law on the basis of which the eviction notice had been issued. But the military group did not give up. Fundamental principles of social justice demanded that the rights of an 80-year-old man be defended. The eviction was ultimately carried out.

The problems examined by the group kept rising in importance. The group members became familiar enough with the matters of their region to be able to decode many patterns entrenched over the years. They monitored nearly all aspects of the functioning of the town and adjacent rural precincts. They developed guidelines to be implemented under a precise schedule. Now, as I was observing their work, the time came for a strict settling of accounts. Some people had to leave, others were promoted in many plants.

Especially absorbing for urban operational groups are such issues as improving operating efficiency of various administrative levels, services and supply of first-order goods to the population and streamlined organization of work and labor discipline.

Combatting profiteering is, unfortunately, a steady activity for the operational groups. We found its examples in Nowy Sacz as well. Goods worth over 100,000 zlotys were uncovered in a clothes store, among them men's suits reduced from 6,000 zlotys to 500 zlotys. For whom had they been kept hidden? A converce method was applied in another store. Sheepskin coats, officially priced at 4,500 zlotys each (whoever heard of such prices in 1982?) were to be sold for 45,000 zlotys each. There is no need to assure that proper consequences were drawn with respect to the guilty parties.

Despite its new management's efforts, the Provincial Joint Hospital still occasions constant intercessions. The post-inspection recommendations are not being implemented as a member of the urban operational group, a medical doctor, would like them. Although the time is past when the press quoted references like "I will pray to God not to end up in your hospital," there is still much to be done, in the field of interpersonal relations, for one. Situations cannot be permitted in which a superior is hounded only because he is exacting of his subordinates, as for example, the former manager of the hospital shop, Jozef Wilk.

There was a time when the town government ambitiously tried to increase the area of the province capital. This was pursued so eagerly that many fundamental needs of the town went neglected, such as completion of repairs on the rail station continuing for years.

The group devotes much attention to the problems of children and youth. In the rural precinct of Poreba, which belongs to the town, there is a primary school attended by 200 children, erected in part by social volunteer effort. The group had to intervene there on several occasions. There were problems with milk for the children, for example. Milk was delivered only nine times to the school last January, although it was delivered daily to the local store.

Every year, aside from regular waste paper collection drives, school-age youth participated in collection of recyclable waste. Last year the students collected 1,400 kilograms of scrap. The principal appealed for 9 months to the scrap collection unit to have the metal removed, without success. People were laughing about it, saying that the kids had cleaned the households from metal scrap only to mess up their own sports grounds. It took the military operational group to handle the issue. Next year, however, will the children let themselves be persuaded to collect scrap? Perhaps they will, if threatened with the lowering of a grade, though it is interesting in which subject--will it be civic education?

It would be untrue to state that the military representatives' operations are an unbroken string of success, brilliant advances in combatting injustice. That, indeed, is what society expects, but the old habits, difficult to

overcome, keep hovering damningly above those expectations. Contained in them are distaste for any action, the customary "passing the buck" and an unmasked belief that one has to bide one's time till the military go. Fortunately, people thinking in those terms are being pushed to the periphery of living by the realities themselves.

Urban operational groups are attempting to inculcate the new ways. These ways are stricter, with a greater infusion of the sense of duty and less of the routine of sociability. More exactitude, less leniency: this is going on without loud cheering but at a good, steady pace.

Widzew Section of Lodz

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 14, 4 Apr 82

[Interview with Lt Cdr Tadeusz Krzeminski, military commissioner for the Widzew section of Lodz, by Krzysztof Rozycki: "Our Work Is Accepted"]

[Text] [Question] What authority does a military commissioner have and what are his duties?

[Answer] Our main task is to supervise the daily work of the local administration. We do not attempt to substitute for administrative officials in their duties. The district office for Widzew is functioning normally, while we only occassionally, as if by "reflex action," make efforts to correct certain perceived shortcomings, directing the administration's attention to those matters that, in our opinion, seem to need special concern. We intervene directly only when necessary.

[Question] In a situation where life offers so many difficulties and restrictions, the solution of even minor problems causes a lot of trouble and generates conflicts and misunderstandings. In this connection, how is the cooperation between military commissioners and the administration getting along?

[Answer] Wherever they work, people are people and have their vices and virtues. Consequently, there are numerous problems. These problems are being solved, however, by the manager of particular plants and units on their own or, ultimately, by the district chief, whose activities we are trying not to restrain. Actually, there is no need for that because the first secretary of the district party committee, Comrade Miroslaw Czesny, and the district chief, Edward Jablonka, are doing their best to have the best possible situation in the Widzew section.

[Question] Citizen Commander, in your capacity as commissioner you are simultaneously chief of the local operational group. What are its main tasks?

[Answer] The operation group active in the Widzew area is relatively small. It includes six career military officers of various specialties (physician, quartermaster, billeting and construction specialist) and three reserve officers, members of the Union of Former Professional Soldiers.

Our main line of operation centers on the numerous plants in our section. There are 52 plants in Widzew, 10 with their own National Defense Committee plenipotentiaries. We must cover the remaining 42. Add here the self-government bodies in residential neighborhoods, schools, and social and youth organizations. In effect, there is much work.

[Question] Up to now, what has been solved in Widzew thanks to the commissioner and his subordinates?

[Answer] We have handled a good many problems, though we still have much to do. We inspected stocks of machinery (both their condition and utilization) at several plants, most importantly at agricultural plants where equipment had been allowed to go to waste totally. We have handled the problem of supply and operation of (chiefly grocery) trade establishments on work-free Saturdays so that people returning from work on those days would not have to spend too much time shopping. We have streamlined the distribution of bread and milk and we have improved the store supply of meat and processed meats, although this was accomplished more in terms of quantity than quality. We are greatly concerned with improvement in the sanitary conditions of trade establishments and nonproduction rooms for plant work forces. In this area, improvement is particularly notable. We accelerated the completion of several residential buildings, although we encountered numerous problems in this field. For example, several days ago we had 280 applicants for two available apartments.

We also mediate in conflicts between plants; e.g., recently we succeeded in engineering the conclusion of an agreement between a foundry in Podkanow and the Lodz Construction Materials Central Board. Thanks to our mediation, the PSM Widzew Weszt and the Heating Network and Municipal Economy Plants have come to terms, which immediately produced tangible results in the improved heating in the Wilcza Street and Golebia Street area. We were able to speed up the startup of construction on the Widzew-East route and we were given a confirmation that it would be completed on 15 July 1982 (the section extending to Tunelowa Street). We received similar assurances on a nursery in the Widzew-East residential development.

[Question] What has been done in the area of welfare and social care?

[Answer] First of all, we make efforts to aid elderly and handicapped persons, mostly through medical assistance and allotments of heating fuel and food.

[Question] What is the current status of activity of sociopolitical organization in Widzew?

[Answer] This is where we have more problems than elsewhere. It was particularly difficult to energize youth, though now our collaboration with the ZHP (Polish Scout Union) and ZSMP (Union of Socialist Polish Youth) is increasingly good, as evidenced by such ZHP activities as assistance to the elderly or collection of donations for flood victims. Plant party organizations are more and more noticeable. Also, citizens' Committees for National

Salvation have been created--five in housing developments and two in factories--which endeavor to support the measures of the Military Council For National Salvation.

[Question] Currently, are there any matters particularly difficult to handle?

[Answer] Yes, there are quite a few. This is particularly true with regard to housing construction; e.g., the unresolved issue with family homes in Stoki. We have many problems with improper utilization and maintenance of machines in work plants.

Certain problems could be solved only regionally or nationally. Locally, we limit ourselves to apprising appropriate authorities about the need to improve the situation in a particular area.

[Question] With that multitude of issues, do you have time for your private life, Citizen Commander?

[Answer] Indeed, there is precious little time; we average 12 hours per day, plus 24-hour on-call periods (every third day), briefings and meetings.

[Question] Do the activities of military operational groups enjoy the approval of society?

[Answer] Most assuredly they do. The work that we accomplish daily is being accepted. Our society knows that we are people from outside, whose perception of many problems is keener and response more enterprising. Moreover, consider that we have "clean hands," which is not without importance either.

[Question] Thank you for this conversation. I wish you much success.

Poznan Voivodship

Poznan GAZET POZNANSKA in Polish 7 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview by W. Rogalewicz with Brig Gen Piotr Przybyszewski, new KOK plenipotentiary for Poznan Voivodship: "We Do Not Want to Substitute for Anyone--We Want to Help"]

[Text] [Question] Brig Gen Piotr Przybyszewski, commandant of the Higher Officer School for Quartermaster Service [WSOSK], became the new KOK plenipotentiary in Poznan. He replaced Brig Gen (pilot) Michal Polech, who returned to his position as deputy commander of the air force.

General Przybyszewski has long ties with the Wielkopolska region. He began to serve in the Polish People's Army in 1946 in various command and quartermaster positions. He has been WSOSK commandant for 5 years.

[Question] As KOK plenipotentiary, what matters do you consider most important in your first day on the job?

[Answer] The guideline for all actions of mine and of the groups that I command is provided by the Ninth PZPR Congress resolutions, determinations made by the Seventh CC Plenum and missions defined in the Sejm message of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski.

In general, we will monitor compliance and enforcement of the law and efficient and equitable settling of human issues by offices and institutions. We will also ensure that the institutions operate legitimately and efficiently and contribute to economic and social stabilization in the province.

[Question] Field operations groups and military commissioners have won admiration and trust.

[Answer] We are pleased by that. Frequently, however, trifling matters are brought for us to deal with. Still, we know that a matter of this kind is important for a particular person who expects help, so we try to refer such persons to the right address and help wherever assistance is needed.

At this juncture, I would like to mention the basic principle of our actions: we do not intend to, and we will not, substitute for anyone. We want to aid the administration or other institutions. Yet we are not there to relieve anyone of his duties and responsibilities.

[Question] General, what do you expect of the Wielkopolska community?

[Answer] I expect cooperation, understanding and joint action for the benefit of the province. We are all creators of material and cultural goods. No one will produce those goods if we do not. I would like every citizen to put in as much of himself as he expects from the authorities. I would also want everyone to stop regarding the ideas of shared responsibility for the country's fate as an empty slogan.

I have become acquainted with the citizens of Poznan Voivodship at their very best. I value their respect for the law and hard work. I believe that we will find a way to communicate.

[Question] Thank you for this conversation.

Bialystok Voivodship, Pruszkow

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 15 Apr 82 pp 1, 4

[Interview by Capt Tadeusz Filipek with Col (academy graduate) Leon Siemionczyk, voivodship military commissioner and KOK plenipotentiary in Bialystok, and with Capt Lechoslaw Zapart, military commissioner and KOK plenipotentiary in Pruszkow]

[Text] The problems are as numerous and diversified as human personalities. It is our duty to take steps contributing to their solution. The nation is expecting action from us--decisive, consistent and in many cases uncompromising action, Lt Col Zdzislaw Radomski, military commissioner in a Warsaw area locality, said in a conversation.

This comment largely reflects the essence of the work of military commissioners-KOK plenipotentiaries. On the one hand, they are facing difficult, in many cases apparently unresolvable, human problems. On the other hand, they are stimulated to attempt their solutuion by society's trust in the man in army uniform, expressed verbally or often by a friendly display. Other interviewees refer to them today too.

[Answer from Leon Siemionczyk]

I want to offer several observations on my 4 months on the job as military commissioner. I had become acquainted with the Bialystok region and its problems earlier, as chief of the Bialystok WSzW [Provincial Military Staff Headquarters] but I have never been so intimately familiar with them as now. Additionally aiding me in my job as commissioner is the fact that people know me and my team and realize that they can always count on our help or at least on our understanding of their position, especially understanding, since we are unable to solve all problems.

Let me note here that among the public there still recurs distrust toward administration officials representing authority. Improprieties in the functioning of state offices over the years make people continue to regard the faces behind the desks, even the new faces today, with mistrust and hesitation. People prefer to come to our office, even with some trivial matters; e.g., getting a wedding suit. We are visited by 20 to 100 applicants daily. Regulations frequently prevent us from complying with their requests. In such cases, we offer explanations, persuasion and substitute solutions. However, we deal with every issue sensitively, which nearly always works. Though an applicant's request is not fulfilled, the applicant leaves our office satisfied. We have some examples proving that an identical line of reasoning fails if advanced by an administration official. In my opinion, nothing short of in-depth screening of personnel in local administration units identifying persons who are enterprising, management-oriented and sensitive to human issues can help overcome the stalemate and restore society's trust in all bodies of authority.

Another problem is the failure of work forces in plants and enterprises to comprehend the essence of economic reform. I frequently hear the comment that "somehow we will muddle through" and "should anything go wrong, we will get credits from the state." Yet that "somehow" does not develop. Banks will not provide funding for idlers and bear the costs of poor work organization. It is an error, to articulate the points of economic reform in overly scientific language, presenting generally simple matters in difficult, incomprehensible formulations. The lack of express interpretation is the reason why plant managers hardly know any more than their subordinates about the three S's.

Finally, the third issue is undeveloped land, class V and VI, of which we have nearly 3,000 hectares in the voivodship. Private farmers do not want to take that land even when offered free because there are no hands to work it; the Bialystok rural population is aging and rural areas are becoming depopulated. Declarations of assistance to private farmers are of no avail here. Will the command system work, applied to the state farms?

Farming and food sector matters are keeping all interested parties awake at night. There is a lot to accomplish; e.g., to improve the technical condition of farming machinery. Inspections conducted under the Spring 82 campaign evidenced ostensibly 80 percent of all machines in the voivodship as being in the working condition. However, while in the Mitejczyce state farm everything possible was done to have all the machines ready for field work, at Wasilkow barely 40 percent of the equipment was passably prepared for the season. A similar situation prevails in live animal purchasing and grain contracting, with even more varied performance, at 14 percent to 80 percent.

There is still much to be done. At least the managerial teams in state farms and combined farm units were equipped successfully. These days, they no longer sit behind their desks, more often setting out to see with their own eyes the condition of their plants in the field.

[Answer from Capt Lechoslaw Zapart] The housing economy in Pruszkow is a serious problem for us. At least 1,200 recommendations and requests for apartments should be immediately given affirmative consideration; however, housing construction is lagging, as everywhere. In June and July, new apartment buildings will be completed in the Nowa Wies residential settlement but even those will not solve the problem. Furthermore, 72 families are waiting to be moved out of houses slated for demolition, and 76 evictions have been recommended, due to divorce decrees, among other things.

An additional problem is created by sqautters; for instance, a family with a young child from Grodzisk illegally occupied an apartment. What would Warsaw's president do if people from Gdansk descended on his city and illegally took possession of houses scheduled for demolition? The authorities in Pruszkow decreed an eviction but the woman keeps coming and crying that her family is in very difficult conditions with the child. For the time being, we let them stay to look for a substitute accommodations, but there are more cases of this kind and we do not always let ourselves be persuaded by difficult conditions.

Many cases involve senile, sick, lonely persons requiring care and assistance. We thoroughly review their petitions and initiate action in social and youth organizations like PCK [Polish Red Cross], ZHP [Polish Scout Union] and ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Association]. Owing to city chief Andrzej Rokita's personal involvement, senior citizen clubs will be established in residential communities of the Pruszkow Housing Cooperative, along the lines of houses of peaceful old age where people can get together, have some tea, watch TV, perhaps have a meal. The first of such clubs is already in operation and is enjoyed by the town's senior citizens.

It is no mean feat to keep the older buildings clean. Still, the spring cleaning campaign covered all the town of Pruszkow perhaps more intensely than in Warsaw. We assigned all Sanepid [Sanitary Epidemiological Control Commission] employees to inspections, and we had the Ochota urban operations group come, aided by militia, ORMO [Workers Detachment of the Citizens' Militia Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia] and fire department personnel. It is premature to report on the results of those inspections because this two-day action

ends tonight. Spot-check reports indicate, however, that there will be some fines and referrals to administrative penalty collegia boards. Once the inspection is terminated, we will discuss the shortcomings together with representatives of the services involved. We will set deadlines for removal of defects and we will conduct another check. I am convinced that by joint action we can put our house in order.

Is our work useful? The facts speak for themselves. We have many applicants, some more, some less cultured persons with some important issues and others not so important. All of them, however, want to talk to the commissioner, occasionally with regular officials but only if the commissioner is present because that will make a response to the applicant's request believable. This confidence in the army uniform is pleasing because it is an expression of the prestige and respect for all of the army, recognition of the army's devotion and selflessness in the service to socialist Poland.

Central Section of Krakow

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 15 Apr 82 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Bogumila Pieczonkowa with KOK plenipotentiary, Maj Stanislaw Koczwara: "Hundreds of Citizens Sent in Hundreds of Letters"]

[Text] The "institution" of KOK plenipotentiary enjoys appreciation and popularity in Krakow's downtown section. According to Major Koczwara, we must help one another.

Beginning last December, the door to the reception room literally never closes on the days of duty of Maj Stanislaw Koczwara, the KOK plenipotentiary assigned to the downtown section city office, and Maj Bohdan Terpilowski, performing with him these duties, new for army people. Young people, older persons and the elderly all come, frequently as whole families. There are young couples and parents with their children. On certain days, there are more than 60 citizens. Everyone is listened to and no one is told to come the next day. The issues that they are concerned about--also those referred to in letters or by telephone--are carefully filed and passed on to appropriate authorities, bodies, offices or institutions to obtain--during allotted time--a response whether they can be handled or not. If an affirmative decision is made, its prompt implementation is subject to meticulous checks.

[Question] What has helped your so-to-speak two-man "institution" to acquire so much popularity and trust, Major Koczwara? What makes people visit you, write letters, telephone?

[Answer] Our primary task is political activity. We have direct contact, by visiting, with more than 200 workplaces--e.g., design offices--not covered by military plenipotentiaries. We also frequently visit construction sites downtown. The army enjoys some prestige. Our army experience comes in handy. Military service is a real lesson of living and work. Simply speaking, in field exercises or in the barracks one experiences good times and bad times alike. Under such conditions, bonds of heartfelt friendship develop in which

mutual understanding and assistance in difficult human matters, including personal matters, are of great importance. This army experience of mutual understanding and assistance is what we are transplanting where we have been charged with new duties. Since last December hundreds of citizens have visited us on our three, most recently two, duty days per week. We have received hundreds of letters. Overall, this represents more than a thousand human issues, not counting telephone conversations.

[Question] What matters have people addressed to you?

[Answer] During the initial period we operated under the principle of emergency duty hours. Because martial law was imposed, communication was interrupted between many families, no travel or use of mail and telephone was allowed. This was especially felt by separated families residing far apart, in which there were sick and elderly persons, others suffering from sudden adversities, or couples living apart and expecting a child. In such circumstances, anxious and despairing citizens reported to us. We tried to help them learn about their relatives' fate. Using our military communications and aided by the KDMO (City District Committee of the Citizens' Militia) communication systems, we mediated in the acquisition and transmittal of information on citizens' families. During that emergency period we rescued people, especially the elderly, lonely and sick persons who even earlier had to cope with particular hardships in getting their shopping done because of inadequate supply, people who needed medical assistance, nursing and, at all times, a good, friendly word and kindness. As a result of martial law, those people had become increasingly isolated, helpless and threatened in their existence. We attempted in many ways--with the participation of various offices and institutions--to provide assistance, support and a boost to their spirits, reminding them that they were not alone in the world. As certain restrictions of martial law were lifted, the number of problems for immediate handling kept dwindling, which is not to say that we had fewer applicants. Just as in the army one works round the clock when necessary, here too we are unlikely to count the hours that we work.

[Question] Now, with nearly 4 months on the job, do you have any insight into people's most acute problems.

[Answer] As we have learned, not inadequate supply nor high prices but poor housing conditions are most acutely felt. They involve 70 percent of the cases referred to us. Many of these, nearly 20 percent, are complaints brought mostly by older persons against their families, roommates, occasionally neighbors, for harassment, abuse and ill-treatment. Ten percent of all cases referred to us are related with the shortcomings of municipal management, housing defects, requests for repairs and proper maintenance by janitors. Citizens are given a clearcut answer whether a request can be settled. It is inadmissible for citizens to waste their time and ruin their nerves and health. Above all, a specific answer is due. An affirmative decision in itself does not solve a problem, however, for each case must be disposed of on deadline. Therefore we monitor the implementation of decisions.

[Question] Are there any possibilities for providing relief in the hardest housing cases?

[Answer] We see several ways of alleviating the situation. Owing to the elimination of industrial associations, various offices, institutions and plants could be transferred from the residential buildings that they occupy. Those houses should be restored to residential use. Also, some institutions utilize their offices only several hours or one hour a week. Such institutions should be assigned buildings for joint use. Joint use of office rooms is surely possible once it is agreed who will be using an office when. Such freed buildings would increase the number of available apartments. Tenants have been removed from some houses for repairs where PGM [Housing Economy Enterprise] is unable to start work because of insufficient production capacities. In many cases, this continues for years. These houses are standing unused as well. In all such cases, people living under disheartening housing conditions would gladly contribute their time and money to repair and remodel such buildings in order to get a place of their own. Houses earmarked for demolition for sites for new investment projects could likewise be put to temporary use. Because of a freeze on those projects, their completion deadlines have been moved several years. Those empty buildings could be used transitionally by allowing those persons on cooperative housing waiting lists to reside in them. Work establishments should become involved in repairs and remodeling, effectively aiding in this manner their employees and their families experiencing difficult living conditions. We must aid one another. After the last war many unusually difficult problems were successfully solved by the joint effort of society. Let us revert to that glorious, notable tradition.

[Question] Among other matters, are there also some exceptionally difficult to settle?

[Answer] Yes, those are complaints of defenseless, weary and sick elderly persons about harassment and mistreatment by their closest relatives. Decrees and others will not help. Older persons frequently do not want to press charges against their relatives with the militia and the courts. They fear revenge. The militia and courts require evidence and witnesses, who are usually hard to provide. Few persons willingly become involved in someone else's business, fearing, amother other things, some consequences on the part of those against whom they are to testify, for the most part people from the fringe of society. No authority or institution is entitled to interfere in family matters. Our assistance, too, is limited, where we have no possibility to interfere in family matters.

[Question] Recently, you have instituted a novelty in your on-duty hours that has been met with particular acceptance.

[Answer] We were on call along with representatives of party and downtown section authorities, the Section Committee for National Consensus, courts, prosecutor's office and chiefs of section offices. Thus, the citizens--of whom there were more than several dozen--who had come during that on-call

period were able immediately to receive competent, binding responses on their cases plus information on the manner and deadline of their handling. Let me emphasize that our cooperation with the section administrative authorities and various institutions including the medical service and PCK is good.

[Question] In your activity, human issues are focused as if in a lens. Have you drawn some conclusions?

[Answer] Yes, among others is the conclusion about the need to change many outdated regulations, resolutions, even laws. This applies to regulations in housing sector, apartment allotment and others, also in the economic domain. For example, we are noting tremendous wastage on construction sites, with regulations that allow, to put it mildly, for considerable writeoffs for loss of materials. We are in the process of developing a list of such issues, which should be taken up by appropriate authorities for regulation so that the service to man becomes better in our country and so that our societal life and economy are sooner eased.

Olsztyn Voivodship and City

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20 Apr 82 pp 1, 5

[Interview by Warrant Officer Z.B. Pazdowski, with Col (academy graduate) Hernyk Swiecicki, KOK plenipotentiary for Olsztyn Voivodship and Col (academy graduate, engineer) Jan Turkan, KOK plenipotentiary for Olsztyn: "Many Issues Still Need to Be Settled"]

[Text] For several weeks we have been meeting them outside their local army bases. They are working in the field: in cities, gminas housing developments, institutions and work establishments. They do not count the hours that they have worked handling hundreds of issues, frequently common human afflictions. They are in all those places where a festering problem needs urgent solutions, where evil must be immediately eradicated and indifference combatted.

[Answer from Henryk Swiecicki]

I want to comment in a few sentences on the Spring 82 campaign, concluded several days ago, whose main goal was to collect data on the status of preparations of agriculture for field work. I acquainted the executive board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Olsztyn with the results of our inspections, conducted by 24 teams. Along with army officers, those partipating in the check were representatives of the agricultural sector, agrarian service and scientific workers in the Agricultural-Technical Academy. We checked 147 PGRs, SKRs, POMs and PGRyb (State Fish Farms) plant cultivation stations, RSPS [Agricultural Producer Cooperatives] and 44 gmina cooperatives of Farmers' Self-Help and 95 percent of the farms owned by private farmers.

In general, the preparations for the spring farming season, recently delayed by snow, hail and cold, presented no problems in most of the farms inspected, although there must be some concern over instances of mismanagement, neglect,

plain sloppiness or inept organization. In the gminas that we inspected, 9,612 hectares were uncultivated or poorly developed fields, meadows and pastures. In the Skandawa state farm alone, there are 1,000 hectares of unutilized meadows. Chief reasons for this are scarcity of reclamation and regulation of water levels and a lack of flood protection devices in lakes and rivers.

The availability of seed for spring grains is satisfactory in the Olsztyn Voivodship; there are even some surpluses; e.g., in Bartoszyce and Kolno Gminas. There is a general shortage, however, even in the seed centers, of clover, lupin and bird-foot trefoil. Deliveries of seed are inadequate in alfalfa, sunflower and many vegetables. The mineral fertilizer supply amounts to 64 percent of the year's estimate.

Supplies of plant protection agents, especially basic pesticides, are uneven, amounting to 13 to 50 percent in the gminas of Kwity, Janowiec Koscielny, Janow, Bisztynek and Bartoszycle, while in Reszel, Szczytno, Grunwald, Pasym and Swietajno the figures are 90 to 100 percent. Moreover, it has been determined that basic pesticides are available in certain warehouses--except that they are already expired. We have found 2,865 kg of solid pesticides and 5,524 kg of liquid pesticides that can no longer be used.

Concern is certainly being raised by the current conditions of state contracting from farmers. Only 15.6 percent of grain and 11.3 percent of potatoes have been contracted for in the gminas of Stawiguda, Lidzbark Warminski, Kolno, Ketrzyn, Pasym and Bisztynek. In Jedwabno, Korsze, Kozlowo, Szczytno and Nidzica, the situation is much better.

We also determined a decrease in fish production in the state fish farms, resulting from neglect of fish diseases and improper utilization and maintenance of breeding ponds. Furthermore, improper operation of agrarian service was recorded in 10 gminas, including failure to provide organized protection over decaying farms and young farmers who take over farms.

[Answer from Col (academy graduate engineer) Jan Turkan, KOK plenipotentiary in Olsztyn City] I have been handling my present duties since 23 November 1981, when urban operations groups were appointed, first as commander of one such group (MGO) and since 13 December 1981 as KOK plenipotentiary. Two plenipotentiaries were appointed for Olsztyn, so I frequently collaborate with Lt Col Henryk Blonka, M.Sc. My duties include problems in municipal economy, housing and transportation.

I have been encountering a multitude of problems since beginning. On some days, I receive 60 to 70 citizens with complaints and grievances. Some matters cannot always be solved by the city office. Many complaints were ready for court review, others could be resolved if both adversaries displayed some good will. Most cases concerned housing problems and complaints about poor performance of ADM [Residential Buildings Administration] and frequently underheated apartments.

I wish to underscore good collaboration of KOK plenipotentiaries with the management of the city office in Olsztyn. The authorities properly responded to our recommendations and stipulations. I note with satisfaction the decreases in administration officials' organizational inertia, observable virtually every week. Supervisors are becoming more exacting toward their subordinates; there is more independence in managerial positions; and decision-making and implementation are becoming more energetic. Instances where memos were sent from section to section only one door apart belong to the past.

Offices and institutions have adjusted their business hours to the needs of the citizens. Structurally, offices have been reduced as well, by combining certain sections dealing with related problems. I still see the need to introduce specific changes in the regulations that frequently contradict, allow fairly arbitrary interpretation of directives or permit downright confusion along with unpleasant clashes and conflicts.

We are pleased with successful solutions to many housing problems in the Olsztyn community, including 62 apartment allotment cases, 116 recommendations for housing repairs and many other distressing nuisances.

City of Olsztyn

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Apr 82 p 4

[Interview with Col (academy graduate) Jan Turkan, military commissioner in Olsztyn, by Cpl Ens Krzysztof Wroblewski: "Many Issues Still Need to Be Settled"]

[Question] Citizen Colonel, for some time you have been in intimate daily contact with the city. Have you had enough time and stamina to become familiar with all of its problems? To what extent are those problems specific to Olsztyn and to what extent can they be attributed to other towns as well?

[Answer] My job centers on managing a team in which everyone deals with a specified area in the functioning of the city. This fact mandates us to be familiar with the problems that my coworkers must solve. Still, I cannot be familiar with every issue.

In some towns, military commissioners are operating under what is termed a territorial breakdown by city section or settlement. This solution could have been applied to Olsztyn as well. After prolonged debate we concluded that a division by branch is better. So far, experience has affirmed our concept. Personally, I am in charge of sociopolitical problems, the municipal housing sector and the functioning of urban transit.

Certain anomalies in the administrative structure are visible not only in Olsztyn but in other voivodship towns. I am referring to the city president's powers in relation to enterprises operating within the Olsztyn city area and having in their title the appellation "voivodship." Although their

operational range centers on city territory for the most part, the president's powers with respect to those enterprises are illusory.

What, then, is the city president's role in this unsalutary setting? He is merely a mailbox accepting the residents' complaints and grievances. Residents come to the president with specific issues concerning, for instance, urban transit, unaware that as the city's authority he has no executive power in this regard. This situation must be remedied; for this purpose, voivodship authorities are being alerted.

[Question] What is the situation in housing management? I have heard that you--jointly with the city authorities--have reached explicit conclusions and postulates.

[Answer] The army's and city authorities' efforts are geared toward eliminating Olsztyn's pathological housing situation. There are many examples, reflecting the imperfections of our residential domicile law and human dishonesty. In Olsztyn, 10,000 persons are residing at room-and-board rental places or are renting apartments. They are the target of illegal manipulations by owners possessing several apartments, in some cases.

Apartments are rented, for the most part, by young couples. They pay high prices for opportunities to have apartments, which generally disappear once a baby is born. A resolute demand for vacating the premises follows, often put into effect by force or harassment. We have numerous instances of such activities on Thursdays, when we hear housing problems. It cannot be permitted for a single family to own three detached houses, of which one is registered as the property of a 5-year-old son. To ignore such situations is to debilitate society's cohesiveness and to undermine the existence of those on whom we most count to overcome the socioeconomic crisis--youth. What have we done to find a way out of this difficult situation? We checked more than 13,000 allotted apartments. In 1,100 cases, people residing there did not deserve to be there at all--because they had no allotment or because they had not been authorized to move in.

We have drafted amendments to domicile law, stating that one family--rather than one person--should occupy a single apartment. We also suggest legalizing eviction of single persons occupying apartments larger than two rooms plus kitchen to smaller dwelling units.

It is necessary to eliminate other improprieties. For instance, a person who receives credit for the construction of a single-family home while occupying an allotted apartment should be obligated in the credit agreement to vacate the apartment as soon as the home is completed. Persons becoming owners of cooperative apartments are required to sign such a clause. Why should it not be extended to users of allotted apartments who are building villas for themselves?

In Olsztyn, 4,000 families are waiting for apartments. If our proposals are accepted, apartments will become available for 40 percent of those on the waiting lists. If things are handled routinely, the needs of only a few

dozen will be met. Amendments to the domicile law are a necessity, as said all over Poland, not ourselves and city authorities alone. My objective is to emphasize actual improprieties and to demonstrate the advantages gained from updating the law, as illustrated by the housing situation in Olsztyn.

[Question] Let us consider the recent past. The army was supposed to help make the winter more tolerable. How did Olsztyn survive that winter?

[Answer] There were no major problems. For example, snow removal was better than in previous years although we used only 400 tons of salt. Normally, 2,500 tons of salt is used. This contributed to the protection of natural environment. We achieved such favorable results by dividing Olsztyn streets into segments, which we assigned to individual plants, schools and institutions and imposed on them the obligation to clean.

There were no difficulties, either, in the city's heating system and fuel. This is not to say that the system operated flawlessly--most resident's complaints came in this area.

[Question] What is the commissioner's weekly work schedule?

[Answer] We work 6 days a week. On Mondays and Thursdays we receive residents' complaints and grievances, averaging 60 per day. They are mostly concerned with interpersonal relations in the family and on the job. People come with highly personal issues at times; e.g., a mother pleads for her do-nothing, hard-drinking son to be taken to the army to "be set straight," a wife wants her husband forced to pay child support. There are numerous complaints about the operation of state institutions--trade and medical service.

The remainder of our time is spent on field work--every week we run a specified action. Recently, I have been dealing with farming, though I am city commissioner. A group of Olsztyn residents as well as persons from other towns, Zielona Gora for one, are owners of farms in Olsztyn Voivodship. In many cases, these farms are large; e.g., a Zielona Gora resident is formally in possession of a 60-hectare farm.

The owners of those land holdings work in the city, where they receive their ration cards and compensation. Their land is either leased or lying fallow. Their farm buildings are rented for high rates to tourists from France or FRG. Indisputably, this means that the agricultural potential of those farms is not used to the full. We intend to talk to the formal owners to convince them that every hectare of land should be purposefully utilized for society's benefit.

We are also investigating whether fox-breeding farms are suitably located. Most frequently, they operate without permits in areas attractive to tourists and they generate considerable environmental pollution. An interesting aspect to this issue is the transfer of meat--often through illegal channels--from socialized economy units to those farms.

Moreover, we are active in schools and work establishments. Workers complain about poor working conditions and improper interpersonal relations--there are frequent instances of what is known as getting even because some people conceive of martial law as a return to pre-August 1980 times.

People raise the issue of settling accounts. We assure them that this will be carried on to the end.

A separate item is our party meetings in POP (Basic Party Organization) and PZPR plant committees. Some party units need lengthy explanations of their role and tasks under martial law. They require stimuli to engage in effective party work.

In schools, we are conducting a campaign to make youth realize the essence of martial law and we provide inspiration for the founding of ZSMP circles.

We have been getting positive results in our activity owing to the dedicated effort of a numerous team of officers and soldiers. This smoothly functioning team ensures our control over the problems besetting a large city under martial law. Lt Cols Jozef Stopyra, Konstanty Duniak, Mieczyslaw Janas, Kazimierz Dac, Stanislaw Sypniewski and Leon Sadowski are a staff of exceptionally conscientious people, performing their duty--day and night--in proper, soldierly fashion.

Soldiers in their final, third year of service also distinguished themselves by their attitudes. They are reservists now but a recollection of their actions will remain in our memories and in those of Olsztyn residents. The best among those soldiers were Lance Corporals Ryszard Napora, Damian Kania and Andrzej Schonbach and Cpl Adam Jachimiak.

[Question] Thank you for this conversation.

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PARATROOPER TRAINING AT KROSNO AEROCLUB DISCUSSED

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish 20 Jun 82 pp 4-5

[Article by Henryk Kucharski: "Through Krosno to the Red Berets"]

[Text] From 1956 the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Aeroclub has given initial instruction to candidates for the Airborne Troops [WPD]. Since 1964 this instruction has taken place in Krosno. In 1981 commando candidates executed more than 50,000 parachute jumps. Behind this figure is concealed much earnest effort by the organizers of the training, especially the parachute instructors, and no little work and emotion on the part of the candidates for service in the Red Berets.

In May we visited the Subcarpathian Aeroclub--Parachute Training Center. A successive team of future WPD soldiers diligently participated in intensive work. The instruction in Krosno lasts from April to October, for 12-day tours. Recruits from the entire nation go there assigned by the Army Recruitment Stations. Volunteers are frequently found among the, mostly, 19-year-old youths. In terms of numbers, graduates of basic technical schools decidedly predominate. There are also high school graduates and an insignificant number of elementary school graduates. In general they are already employed. They have all been given medical examinations fitting for the difficult--but attractive to young, competent, and brave men--service in the WPD.

For a certain period of time we had the occasion to observe their work in the Krosno "commando pre-school," where not only initial parachute instruction, but also the initial elimination, for a demanding military service takes place.

After arriving at Krosno the recruits receive military field uniforms and, obviously, red berets. They are quartered at the local training ground. They sleep in rooms for 10 or so people, in bunk beds--as in the army. The food--good--is served in a cafeteria, also on the spot. The first days of their stay are spent in theoretical and practical instruction, at the so-called parachute training ground, in technical devices. Physical exercises follow the lessons.

Theoretical lessons include lectures on the construction and utilization of parachutes, theory and technology parachute jumping, and the organization of assault landings.

At the parachute training ground they are drilled on such devices as, among others, a tri-level take off (jumps from 1, 1 and 1/2-, and 2 meters), a trapeze with a parachute harness, a parachute ramp (on which the commando candidates practice downhill slides on an extended line which ends with a jump), rhenium rings, and so forth. In the An-2 fuselages on the training ground, thev practice entering the cabin of an airplane, taking their places in it, and how to vacate it. Lessons on the ground are completed by learning how to pack and unpack a parachute in the field.

The training, acquisition of new skills, and getting used to the thought of the first jump into the airy abyss last for a week. Every day one can see the future commandos' progress, and the daily growing emotions connected with their first parachute jump. There remains only an introductory flight in a pot-bellied An-2--for the majority it it their first airplane flight--and on the 8th day the moment comes when the decision must be made: will I or will I not be a soldier in the Airborne Troops. For on that day the parachute jumps begin.

A military assignment to Krosno commits a recruit to completing the parachute course. That is an order which must be followed. But each of the students must independently make the decision to jump with a parachute, and each of them has the right to refuse to jump from an airplane.

There are occurrences of refusals to jump, even at the last minute, when a potential commando with parachutes on his back and shoulders is already flying in an airplane. However, these are very rare. A few others are not allowed to jump because of insufficient progress in mastering theory and drills on the devices or because of the vicissitudes of fate, for example, an unexpected illness. On the whole, however, these are rare occurrences, not exceeding 10 percent of the student body. The remainder, in other words, the decided majority, make appropriate progress during the instruction and do not "fall apart" before jumping from the airplane.

Thus as was said, on the eighth day the course participants enter an An-2 airplane in full parachute gear--main parachute on the back, reserve parachute on the chest, and protective helmet on the head. The door closes, the airplane takes off, 10 concentrated faces accompanied by an instructor for a flight of a few minutes to an altitude of 600-800 meters await the moment important for each beginning paratrooper, the moment of the first jump. Some try to joke, but each experiences these minutes in his own way. A lesser or greater feeling of fear stares each in the face. But, after all, each of the future commandos has decided to be brave. And courage is nothing else but the conquering of fear. Thus it is necessary to conquer fear. For who of the young men would not like to be brave? Each would like to. And now the moment of demonstrating courage has come.

The door of the airplane opens. A rush of air bursts into their midst. Below is the large, green, grassy area of the airfield. To each jumper the instructor attaches the parachute line to the airplane and then with a gesture urges him to jump. The paratrooper--for so each of the students can already be called--stands in the door and after a moment resolutely, in the manner learned, pushes away from the airplane. In 3 seconds a man is rushing toward the earth at a speed of 200 kilometers an hour, and the line attached to the airplane causes the parachute to open without any help from the jumper. In a rather violent manner the previous falling speed is checked. The large, round, white or khaki-colored canopy of a SD-1M landing parachute (of Polish production) opens.

The fear before the jump has vanished, and there is great joy from conquering one's misgivings, from the slow, majestic flight toward the ground. There remains only the landing--face to the wind, feet together, knees slightly bent (the instructors' directions are recalled)--and a big smile of joy spreads across a young face.

"I have completed the first jump! I will be a commando! I have earned the red beret of a soldier of the Airborne Troops!" The next 2 jumps from an airplane in the next 2 days are also a highly emotional experience, but already different from that during the first jump. Now it is simply the result of a decision made earlier.

On the 12th day the future commandos turn in their military uniforms and red berets. They are again civilians, but now with the experience of initial parachute pre-schooling. They return to their homes where they will be able to boast of completing the course in Krosno and their first jumps from an airplane. In a few months they will go into the army. If they doggedly persevere, they will be soldiers in the famous 6th Pomeranian Airborne Division. Still awaiting them are much study and varied exercises. For it is not easy to be a true commando. As was already said, this is service for the most competent and the bravest. A successful examination in the "commando pre-school" in Krosno, however, is a good beginning on the road to achieving that goal.

The students' satisfactory progress in Krosno would not be possible without the intensive work of the cadre of the Subcarpathian Aeroclub--Parachute Training Center. Thus we will name at least those who directly instruct and contribute to the successful results of the schooling: the head of the parachute training Stefan Chmura; the instructors--Zenon Brongiel, Jan Czernicki, Janusz Foszcz, Leszek Gumul, Stanislaw Maciejewski, Wieslaw Skwara, Tadeusz Wesolowski, Tadeusz Wieczorek, Jozef Matuszewski from the Wroclaw Aeroclub, and Wladyslaw Urbus from the Lodz Aeroclub; the parachute packers--Jerzy Kordecki, Boguslaw Pelczar, Leszek Urbanik, Zbigniew Tarnowski, Wieslaw Tomasik, Andrzej Tomkowicz, Juliusz Waclawski, Maciej Zajchowski; and others.

Photographs:

1. A paratrooper's jump from an An-2 airplane.

2. Exercises at the parachute training ground: on trapezes with a parachute harness...

3. ...on a rhenium ring...

4. ...on the parachute ramp...

5. ...and on the gyroscope rotary ring.

6. Before the jumper enters the airplane, the instructor checks the parachute one more time.

7. After the jumps. Now only putting the parachutes into the bags is necessary.

Photographs on the cover show recruits waiting for their turn to jump and the next group of future commandos on their way to the airplane.

Photographs: B. Koszewski (4), H. Kucharski (2), and archives.

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2600/761

BRIEFS

NEW RECTOR--Prof (Dr Habilitatus) Jan Sajkiewicz, former prorector for teaching affairs at the Radom Higher School of Engineering, has become the new rector of that school. [By bd] [Excerpt] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Jul 82 p 2]

WOZNIAK, YOUNG WORKERS--A consultative meeting of the Voivodship Committee Secretary with a group of working youth from the largest industrial plants in the region took place at the PZPR Warsaw Committee on 12 July. Proposals for cooperation between Union of Socialist Polish Youth boards and party committees in the implementation of the most urgent socioeconomic tasks were presented at the meeting, which was conducted by Marian Wozniak, candidate Political Bureau member, Central Committee Secretary and First Secretary of the PZPR Warsaw Committee. The necessity of broadening the inclusion of youth in the process of improving the functioning of the state was stressed in the discussion. The natural dynamism of youth, its innovative approach, especially in technology, to the organization of workplaces in contemporary fashion and the building of effective administrative structures, are all conducive to this process. [Excerpt] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jul 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/802

DOMESTIC, FOREIGN PROBLEMS TREATED IN RCP PLENUM

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Jun 82 p 7

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Causescu Seeks To Blame Others"]

[Text] At the last big "ideology plenum" of the expanded communist Central Committee at the beginning of June in Bucharest the Breath of fate brushed Romanian author Paunescu: this day, he proclaimed after Ceausescu's programmatic speech, has "already become a part of history" and the speech of the president awakened sensations in him like the memory of Mihail Viteazul's victory over the Turks nearly 300 years ago.

In his speech before the expanded plenum of the Central Committee, Ceausescu had in fact called for a large military review: with the exception of foreign debts and the practical inability of the country to pay, he had hardly left any aspect of history and life in Romania today unmentioned. He had also elucidated in great detail the international situation and the great efforts by Romania for peace.

In the view of many observers the so-called "ideology plenum" in Bucharest meant a further increase in the course of accelerated objectives which has always been identified with Ceausescu's name. While just a few weeks ago the party agitators in the country were speaking of "errors" which had previously been made and which an effort was now being made to correct, the Romanians were now hearing from their leader's mouth that the way to communism is not without difficulties, but one cannot come to a halt half way down the road. There is no need of any kind to alter the basic orientation of economic policy--and this will not be done, either.

Ceausescu moved quickly to mobilize nationalistic emotions in respect to all critics of his economic policy. He said: "Several theoreticians and economists abroad" challenged the Romanian people's ability to establish industry and wanted to view Romanina in the future, too, as a weak agricultural country. In this connection the Yugoslav newspaper NIN calculated that for years now Romania had invested up to 32 percent of its national income into industry while in the other CEMA countries the average had been only 25 percent. The Romanian leader also said nothing about the fact that the advanced European industrial countries as a group have by no means destroyed their agriculture in spite of industrial development, but rather, on the contrary, have continued to develop it very effectively.

"Difficulties Because of Too Little Socialism"

Ceausescu completely rejected any notion that the present situation in Romania was in some way or other conditioned by the socialist system. He said that on the contrary the difficulties in Romania and also in other socialist countries were not the result of too much socialism, but of too little. Broad aspects of his speech had to do with the search for scapegoats. Ceausescu found them not least in his previous government; he said that it "did not fulfill its tasks," its replacement in no way had the character of a simple rotation. Ceausescu placed all these observations in the context of the historical development of the Romanian people. The appeal to nationalist feelings was seldom so direct.

Since this plenum, Ceausescu has suggested on trips to the western regions of Siebenbuergen close to the border that the time has now come when the national minorities would also have to integrate themselves into the Romanian national somehow. Finally, he kept continuously repeating that everything had been jointly established. Among both the members of the Hungarian and the German minorities the fear has surfaced that the new turn in Ceausescu's policy might introduce a further diminution of national tolerance on the part of the regime. Whether there exists a connection with the difficulties which have been in existence for some time in respect to the emigration of the Romanian-Germans and with obstacles which are getting increasingly greater and which the barely 2 million Hungarians find in the case of contacts with their motherland, is at the moment hard to foresee. There are rumors that the foreign language publishing house "Kriterion" is to be liquidated in the wake of a reduction in the concessions which to date have been granted to the national minorities.

Ceausescu demanded that in school national history must be studied better and more intensively. Without mentioning Hungary he suggested a conference of historians in the event that "certain people" should not be in agreement with the Romanian interpretation of history, especially of Siebenbuergen. He further appeared irritated about "religious phenomena" by which he meant certain sects. This is evidence of the fact that the reports about difficulties with a group called "Transcendental Meditation," which ostensibly was able to become firmly established in the functionary setup, actually did exist.

Since the ideology plenum at the beginning of June Romanian represenatives have been appearing abroad and opposing "defamations" of all kinds. It is "insulting" to represent the Romanian economic policy as wrong or to speak of a "serious supply situation" or to speculate about relationships of relatives between high functionaries and the Ceausescu couple or even to make a problem out of the nonpayment of foreign debts.

"Peace Policy" As a Diversionary Tactic

Rarely in the history of communist countries had there ever been such a massive and unconcerned attempt to disregard realities and to force on the international public a totally different representation of conditions. Romanian citizens who had contact with foreign journalists were openly threatened with

sanctions. The law which requires Romanian citizens to report immediately any contact with a foreigner to the police had never been repealed during the entire Helsinki era. It is once again being rigorously applied. Also diversion with a "peace policy" is being carried on by Ceausescu on a grand scale. Once again the citizens of Romania are supposed to sign a large appeal for peace.

Romanian reality at present is being written not only in Bucharest. The International Monetary Fund must decide soon whether it wants to totally or partially grant the remaining portions, which were blocked last fall, of the credit line issued to Romania--the total amount available is approximately $1.2. A kind of package solution appears to be in the offing in that at the beginning of July in Paris the concluding of a conversion agreement between Romania and the governments of the creditor countries concerning the obligations due in 1981 and 1982 is scheduled. This is approximately $3 billion with a total debt level of between $11 and $14 billion depending on the method of conputation. The agreement will, however, apply only to state or state-guaranteed credits.

Private banks are being put off to a special conference in the fall and are consequently at a disadvantage. Their demands due are said to amount to approximately $900 million in addition. Also there are overdue unpaid bills for goods amounting to about $700 million. Observers now express doubts whether Romania can at all meet, as planned, the conversion agreement which will range over 6 years.

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'SCIENTIFIC ATHEISM' ALONE CANNOT ERADICATE RELIGIOUS VIEWS

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 1 May 82 pp 1, 6

[Article by Serban Cionof: "Humanism and Atheism"]

[Excerpts] We still find today, in various texts and textbooks, a term which, in its time, had vehemence and harmful results, more than one might imagine at first. This term is "scientific-atheism" and we still find it used by men of good will. Animated by the best intentions, they santify it, transforming it, willy-nilly, into a quasi-religious concept, a panacea with universal application, with miraculous, immediate effects, a kind of absolute solution, an indefatigable and infallible remedy.

We know that illuminism, under concrete political, social, cultural, and, last but not least, economic, conditions, placed special emphasis on enlightening minds, on raising the cultural level and the level of civilization of the individual and the social collective. An immense and fully justified effort. But this, we repeat, took place under certain conditions, in certain circumstances and perfectly suited certain moments in the evolution of society. Today we must ask ourself if the simple effort of assimilating and thoroughly studying the values of Romanian and world science and culture, both classic and contemporary, is enough to affirm our revolutionary humanism. What must be done so that the younger generation, which has the highly responsible task of being the bearer and promoter, as a true, powerful social force, of the future of the socialist nation, will think and act in the spirit of our abundant, militant, revolutionary humanism?

Before responding, let us examine this term "scientific atheism" which, fortunately, is beginning to lose its superficial lustre. Is the fact that one does not believe in God or does not admit the existence of God sufficient to eliminate every mystical or religious conviction or attitude? A flagrant contradiction of this idea is the proliferation in the West of anti-humanist and anti-progressive sects, religious groups which set themselves up outside the law. This is a phenomenon which, in my opinion, requires, to a greater extent, a careful and concrete examination on the part of psychologists, sociologists and, last but not least, political scientists.

Certainly, under the conditions of contemporary capitalism and of the crisis in its system, the vehemence with which the most insane precepts of some sects, openly anti-humanist and anti-progressive, are being propagated and put into minds, even in large collectives, should not be surprising.

But why is there this intense activity of proselytizing, even in our country, by some religious groups under conditions in which the statute on religions in our country, ratified by law, absolutely forbids them to do this? Not only their anti-humanist and anti-progressive character but also their anti-patriotic and anti-humanist tendencies are no secret to anyone. Taking advantage of the difficulties which can arise, especially in the case of a young person at the age when his ideals of work and life are being formed and confirmed, and introducing certain circumstances, certain hesitations into the moral plane, in an impermissible and fraudulent manner, these sects are extending their venomous tentacles, attempting to divert the normal course of the life of these young people, to lead them astray toward some waves, to win them over, for base and narrow interests.

Therefore, there is need not only for the dissemination of progressive scientific-cultural knowledge (something which is very necessary) but also for an intense humanistic, revolutionary, moral and political, persistent and concrete, educational work for the establishment and generalization of new relations of collaboration, friendship, confidence and mutual assistance, for the creation of a climate in which the individual, especially the young person, will assert his entire creative capacity.

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THEORY, PRACTICE IN PARTY LEADERSHIP

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 9, 5 May 82 pp 16-20

/Abridged excerpt from a discussion by Ion Bold, Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, Constantin Ciocan, Council for Workers Control of Socioeconomic Activity, Mihai Chiorean, Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, Olivia Clatic, secretary of the Party Committee in Bucharest University Center, Ion Mitran, deputy chief editor of ERA SOCIALISTA, Pavel Nadiu, secretary of the Arad County Party Committee, Marin Nedelea, activist in the Propaganda Section of the RCP Central Committee, Bratu Paun, prorector of Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, Gheorghe Spineanu, director of the Prahova County Party Cabinet, Sergiu Tamas, Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, and Constantin Vlad, director of the Institute of Political Sciences and Study of the Minorities Problem/

/Text/ One of the main conclusions to be drawn from the socialist revolution and construction is the necessity of uniform party manage ment of those processes. In noting this conclusion, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the whole history of Romania's socialist development demonstrates the correctness of the RCP policy in creatively applying the general truths to Romania's particular conditions. The discussion of this subject arranged by the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, and ERA SOCIALISTA is in keeping with the current efforts in the ideological field to examine the processes, ways and means of further improvement of social-political management in the light of current theoretical problems and the practical aspects of party leadership. We are publishing an abridgment of part of the comments made in the course of the discussion.

MIHAI CHIOREAN: The far-reaching process of national economic development and the multiplication and diversification of social-political and cultural-educational aims enrich the forms and content of political management as social and production relations are constantly improved. The emergence and development of a new dialectical relationship between the party as a leading political force, the working class, and the other social classes and categories of Romanian society are clearly reflected in the ways party life and activity are becoming more and more closely involved with the life and work of the entire people. To this end the party documents call for a more thorough study and understanding of the party's basic role and characteristics and an end to conceptions that belonged to other stages and realities.

Like any living organism, the party has undergone and is undergoing new qualitative changes in keeping with the changes in society and in its own organizational and social structures.

As it is constantly improved, the system of party-mass interaction is particularly stimulated by its expanded role as an active and persevering promoter of democracy in all social activity. The last few years have been characterized by fruitful efforts to find effective ways of exercising socialist democracy and of all workers' actual participation, in institutionalized forms, in the act of making and implementing the social-political decision. By reflecting the common interests of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and the entire people, by initiating and promoting various ways and means for the participation of all social classes and all categories of workers in social management, and by providing for the workers' consensus and democratic expression, the party policy clearly reflects the will of the entire people.

MARIN NEDELEA: The theoretical and practical importance of an in-depth analysis of the whole matter of party leadership in the stage of building the fully developed socialist society is more than clear and, in fact, this very discussion proves it. Moreover its creative treatment meets a broader need felt internationally in these times, both in the socialist countries and the nonsocialist world. Experience tells us that the political fact of the communist and labor parties' existence and activity under very diverse conditions and circumstances calls for careful reappraisal of some concepts to which we have become accustomed in the tradition of Marxist political culture.* That is what the party secretary general advises us in pointing out the need of better analysis of the conception of the party and its social role "in the light of the social realities, the revolutionary reforms and social changes that have taken place, and the new stage of Romanian social development."

I should like to make some points here concerning the historical evolution of the RCP's role and characteristics.

Of course the first and most important characteristic of the RCP, peculiar to its entire existence and activity, is that of a revolutionary party. The concept of revolutionary in the Marxist vocabulary primarily meant a party of rejection and overthrow of the bourgeois order. And when the old theory no longer fitted the facts, when revolutionary parties came to lead construction of the new society, some theorists were in a quandary. They wondered if that development was revolutionary and explained by quoting Marx that the respective development would be only socially and not politically revolutionary. But it is clear and experience proves that the evolution of socialist society toward communism is revolutionary in every respect, and that calls for a broader and also dynamic definition of a revolutionary party in keeping with the new fact in order to describe such a party in the stages following acquistion of political power. A number of bourgeois or ultraleftist ideologists and propagandists do not hesitate to exploit the relative lag in the concepts with which the Marxists operate by maintaining that the Communist Party in power is ceasing to be revolutionary and becoming conservative in defense of an allegedly petrified system, and that social upheavals and the overthrow of socialism are needed for

*In the sense of their refinement, enrichment and creative development.

revolutionary progress. Of course an analysis of the evolution and a clear description of the content of the new features of the organization and activity of the party of the working class are needed not only to combat these obviously motivated assertions but also by the whole process of socialist development.

CONSTANTIN VLAD: The theory of the historical evolution of the party's role is based upon that of its historical legitimacy. That role did not spring up overnight of itself but follows from history as, I would say, one of the main features of modern Romanian history. The Communist Party rose to the role of a leading political force because it proved to be the political force that could provide solutions for Romania's development on the paths of progress, socialism and national prosperity. Its political role is the result of the confidence the working class, the workers and the entire people placed in it because of its actions and its consistent promotion of the ideals and values that serve and meet the interests of the entire people.

Even in a historical analysis it should be noted that this conquest of the people and this confidence of the masses in the party are not foregone conclusions beyond which we can view things in complacency and self-satisfaction. This confidence in the party must be and is constantly renewed. Remote or recent history records circumstances where a party's ties with the masses weaken, and that can lead from temporary difficulties to serious crises of a whole society. Therefore I attach particular importance to the RCP's analyses concerning the necessity of constantly renewing and maintaining close ties between the party and the masses, between the party and the people. Those ties permit organizational, political and ideological work to be effective and to make the party's political program a program of purposeful action of the masses.

It naturally follows from this that the relationship between the party and the working class must be analyzed. The working class is the class that openly proclaims its historical mission as a class that will lead the workers to communism under the guidance of its party.

But in contemporary capitalist society the bourgeoisie tries to misrepresent the fact that it is a leading class in society. Its decisive political role is hidden in general forms in the name of the general interest, but the working class has no need to deny or disguise its historical role. Some considerations of major theoretical and practical importance depend upon this fact, and we are still doing little in social-political research to bring out this open assumption of its historical role by the working class as contrasted with the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party leads together with the working class and the entire people, not just in the name of the people and not instead of the people. It is significant that the working class and consequently the workers are in such a large proportion in the party and in the responsible positions in society.

The place of theoretical and ideological activity in implementing the party's leadership is a direction of the party's analysis but also of its political action. Marxism can solve the new problems presented by the evolution of contemporary society and construction of the socialist society, on one condition that experience tells us to consider, namely that the critical and self-critical functions of ideology and social theory are observed in the most authentic spirit in which the RCP promotes them. Problems arise at every step that must be solved, and the function of ideology is to help explain them with its resources.

Socialist ideology must not be limited to any particular aspects under the complex conditions of socialist construction. Marx said that ideology becomes false awareness when we cease to recognize life in a theory. The function of critical examination, as the party requires it in its documents, must be boldly and responsibly developed.

MARIN NEDELEA: The party's class character and its ties with the working class constitute a problem in theory that has been confused both by the libels of the ideological adversaries of socialism and by some communist parties' own mistakes caused in particular by their abstract interpretation of the problem overlooking the real, living working class with its level of awareness and actual needs. In the period after acquisition of power especially, misunderstanding or refusal to accept the principle that the party does not lead or govern in the name of the working class but together with it served to aggravate some contradictions peculiar to those stages and to proliferate some dogmatic principles.

The problem of the relationship between the party and the masses also involves that of the role and position of other social groups of workers. It is well known, for example, that the enemies of socialism deliberately exaggerate the partially inherent contradictions in the political and cultural status of the intelligentsia under socialism in the attempt to establish a discrepancy between the nature of intellectual work and the party's management of society. As we know some of the western communist parties have responded to this problem by recommending particular stands on matters of culture, ideology and philosophy.

The picture of the party itself as an intellectual collective analyzing problems and submitting answers to the judgment of the masses has also been broadened somewhat. Of course the suitability of these particular stands is both a question of their relationship to the particular conditions of time and place and a broader theoretical question. At any rate, it shows that the relationship between the party and the masses is assuming new proportions in our era.

In socialist society the development and progress of social and party democratism (a problem mentioned at the start of the discussion by Mihai Chiorean) provide a broad field for theoretical analysis. Of course the various original methods and results used by the RCP and other communist and labor parties are of particular interest.On this subject we hear both the criticisms of those who reject on principle the idea of developing party leadership, seeing in it an alleged undemocratic, totalitarian evolution, and the criticisms of those who express their fear that some original ways of combining party and state or public activity promoted in Romania could lead, they say, to incorporation of the party in the state and to the disappearance of the differences between them.

To be sure narrow and distorted interpretations of democratism and attitudes disregarding full exploitation of the revolutionary creative potential of the whole system of Romanian party and workers democracy also occur on the internal level, but the essential fact is that the party is committed to consistent promotion of socialist democratism as a prerequisite for exercising its leadership.

The new conditions under which the RCP has operated, the historical lessons of the course it has taken, and the democratism of the new society have brought out another one of its basic features, namely its character as a patriotic national

party, a main exponent of the entire nation's interests, and an active but independent and autonomous detachment of the international communist and labor movement. The Communist Party's rise to the level of a national force necessarily involved its entry into the field of international problems, both on the level of the progressive and democratic labor movement and on that of international relations. The old conception of internationalism had to be corrected radically in order to develop and enrich it in full accord with the requirements of international solidarity as well as those of strict observance of independence, equality of rights, and noninterference in internal affairs.

Called into being by new political realities and new interparty relations, solidarity based on equality and autonomy is not only a principle of interparty relations but an intrinsic characteristic of the RCP in its present stage of development and the actual form taken by the proper relationship between the national and international.

SERGIU TAMAS: The political sciences' capacity for analysis and synthesis is an extremely broad and comprehensive subject involving two main levels of analysis, the level of political practice and exercise of the political will of the working class and the party, and the level of scientific knowledge. The question arises, how far do the results obtained in the social sciences meet expectations and perform their creative function? The secretary general has pointed out that the new demands of social progress require transition from solving the problems that arise in social evolution to formulating new problems and determining the problems of development. It is the mission of scientific knowledge to make an extensive creative effort to find the solutions to overcome the current contradictions of development, and as it has been critically pointed out, the social sciences and especially the political sciences are still largely discussing and explaining the contents of the party decisions. This effort to confirm the correctness of the prepared political policy is of course necessary, but it is inadequate when not supplemented by frank and bold exploration of the new social phenomena and the current contradictions of progress in order to plan new directions of social progress.

In order to meet these expectations the political sciences, and not they alone are faced with the necessity of some renovations from within. Their methodology has proved inadequate to deal with the complexity of contemporary development. One of the factors for internal renovation of the political sciences is more intensive exchange with the results obtained by the other social sciences. The need is felt for greater efforts on the part of the political sciences to orient their studies in the direction of "social design." The socialist and communist ideal is to be implemented in practice through a system of specific institutions that will constitute the "architecture" of the society of tomorrow. The political sciences have heavy obligations to anticipate the architectural image of the society of tomorrow by a more sustained effort to seek original approaches and solutions to the problems of development, which will enhance their function of theoretical analysis and prediction of the course of socialism and communism. Any such subject commitment of the social sciences unquestionably requires comparison of opinions and the courage to maintain new ideas, which are not always supported from the start.

In the first place the evolution of the Romanian political system is still a priority subject for investigation. The mechanism of the political system is

not fixed but subject to changes of various kinds. For example there is an intensive effort to find ways of integrating the party in social activity to make its leadership more effective, and that requires a bold approach to some aspects of the structure and operation of the political system that have been neglected in recent theory, and the highly complex problems of relations between the party and the state are involved in it. But it is a fact that the relationship between government and administration is underemphasized in the theoretical discussions. Some aspects of social administration have been overlooked because the relationships between the various components of the political system have not always been properly understood, and the responsibilities of the bodies engaged in social administration have been consequently impaired. I think such problems arising from the actual evolution of Romanian society should be the subject not only of a general theoretical discussion but also of an effort to design the best structures to perform those functions. Greater social effectiveness requires both a proper long-range orientation and an efficient administrative operation.

ION MITRAN: The comments made so far indicate that the RCP conceives and exercises its leadership in the entirety of the components of that function, that is in the unity of preparation of the general political policy, the political-organizational effort to apply it, the parmanent position of its personnel and members in the midst of life, and a scheduled ideological activity in keeping with social experience and the ideals of the new order. This calls attention to some aspects of the influence of policy and ideology upon the thinking, awareness and way of life of the members of society, or more accurately the impact of political culture upon political practice. By political culture I mean civic and social competence and a capacity and readiness for active and effective participation in the solution of social problems. Moreover awareness of the possibility of effectively influencing decision making, directly or indirectly, plays an essential part in determining the reaction of the masses, psychosocial behavior and social-political attitudes.

Political culture, that individual capacity for joining social activity, that internal factor that expresses and explains people's actions, is instituted and shows results in a far-reaching, lengthy undertaking in the course of which ideological work, as an essential function of party leadership, serves to generate convictions, encourage civic attitudes, and shape the spiritual life of society. Thus the formation and generalization of an advanced, militant awareness and inculcation of political culture in the masses are based upon their mastery of the conception of their political avant-garde, the party.

For the RCP, the convincing quality of socialist ideology is based upon scientific principles, higher political and moral ideals, and the capacity to make realistic and relevant analyses of reality and to combat backward conceptions and outmoded ideas with arguments vitalized by the "test of fire" of experience, with concepts reflecting the changes in the economy, culture, science and international affairs, and with new phenomena and processes some of which are inherently contradictory. Rejecting preconceived theories or "models" and abstract-theoretical hypotheses to be forced upon experience that either evade or ignore the dialectics of social experience, theoretical-ideological activity, in its most diverse forms from the social-political sciences mentioned above by Comrade Tamas to literary-artistic creation, is an important factor for shaping political culture.

Alongside political practice properly speaking, a particular part is played in this process by ideological activity in its specific-institutionalized form of propaganda and the information media as a means of influencing people's awareness and their attitudes toward present or predictable processes and events. There is a clear interaction between establishment of the new order on the material level and gradual promotion of a world of attitudes, generalized states of mind and penetrating ideas based upon the social-political values of Romanian society. In the social-political literature this interaction has been and sometimes still is viewed in an idyllic, one-sided and spontaneous light. It is still believed that as soon as the environment representing the predominant material force of society is of a socialist nature, it also generates its predominant spiritual force ipso facto. But the aim of generalizing the communist way of thought and action is not automatically fulfilled of itself. Alongside the perfectible socialist social reality, it is the mission of ideological work to lend the party members especially but all workers as well the horizons of understanding and consequently of initiative and responsibility that can completely integrate them in the political system of socialist democracy. Social development has become extremely dynamic today, constantly giving rise to new facts and situations, positive and negative, pleasant and unpleasant, which must be more frankly and boldly explained and interpreted. This calls attention to the relationship between generalization of advanced, favorable experience and the occasionally low level of direct opposition to defects, failures and negative ideas, attitudes and behavior.

Since ideological work and the resulting education relate to the masses and public opinion not as inert objects but as living subjects bearing and evidencing convictions and behavior, it is clearly necessary to bring political culture up to the level of political practice and the requirements of the institutional system of socialist democracy. Therefore we should examine, among other things, the causes of defects (some of which have already been noted in the discussion) like the routine tendencies of some meetings of the party or mass organizations, duplication of efforts, consumption of social time to organize and schedule actions at the expense of prompt action properly speaking, and substitution of functions. In the last case, party committees and organizations often assume particular tasks and functions that actually belong to the mass and public organizations.

OLIVIA CLATICI: There is a clear correlation between the development of party leadership in all economic and political activities and the political and ideological level of the party members as a general requirement essential to decision making on the macrosocial level and in every particular field of activity as well.

It sometimes happens that the assignments of political-ideological work lose the concreteness we need by the time they go down through channels to the level where the primary organizations operate. For instance the principles of continuity of the revolutionary process call for constant restructurings, "breaks" and departures from the old qualitative state, while on the level of individual existence we must reconsider the existing data in that light. We know people in our work who have a good theoretical background but who cannot break with the old. Therefore continuity and systematization are required in training personnel, including those in the social sciences. Once you have abandoned your

studies and lost interest in knowing what is new in your field they are difficult to resume. The social sciences have now made important advances which many have not made the necessary effort to assimilate critically and incorporate in their system of training.

We know that education is the field perhaps the most involved in our future. We are providing today for training for 5-10 years ahead. But how will the specialists trained today make out after 10-15 years?

It is evident that personal interest in research and the teachers' scientific authority are considered important now in drafting the teaching plans and programs. I think the order should be reversed, not from the teaching plan drafted by a professor but from the finished product of his work. In the case of polytechnics, for example, we should begin with the qualifications of the engineer we are training. Let us see what he should know for now and for the future and let us determine where, how and what we are giving him in his training in the classes of the faculty and in the production shops.

I brought up these problems in my talk because I do not think there are any fields of work in higher education to be removed from party control. In training specialists in the general fields, for example, we must find ways to specialize, and we must concern ourselves with the student "peaks" and reconsider the conditions for pursuing the doctorate with attendance, which is a period of improvement.

GHEORGHE SPINEANU: It was pointed out in some of the comments in the discussion that in the wole process of creating the material and intellectual conditions for building socialism and communism, political-ideological and cultural-educational activity as a whole is of outstanding importance to party leadership.

The experience of the party organs and organizations shows that the effectiveness of political-educational work directly depends upon the way it is organized and managed and upon the competence and responsibility of the educational elements.

As we know, the councils for political education and socialist culture, which assemble the representatives of all mass and public organizations and institutions with educational functions, were organized on the county, city and communal levels and in the economic units according to the decision of the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in November 1976. To show how operational and efficient these new elements have become and what problems are presented by uniform management of political-educational activity regionally, I shall present some aspects of the experience of the Prahova County RCP Committee in the field of political-ideological work, citing among other things the findings of a study of that subject we have made in the last few years.

In its uniform planning and organization of the work through the annual or quarterly schedules of political-educational activity, the County Party Committee proceeded from the requirements of socioeconomic activity and from the fact that under the current five-year plan the county must produce an industrial output of about 94 billion lei, or 104,000 lei per capita, that the agricultural output will be increased from 3.7 to 9 billion lei and investment projects to the value

of 35 billion lei will be implemented, and that a volume of goods will be delivered for export equivalent to about 19 percent of Romania's total exports. Of course these tasks were assigned in close correlation with the county's material and manpower potential. To provide for the conditions for implementing the economic tasks, strengthening labor discipline, indoctrinating people with a high sense of social responsibility, and developing the opposition to the existing defects are major objectives of the political-ideological work.

Those tasks and objectives are pursued, for example, in connection with the work in oil fields and mines, at construction sites, and in transport, trade and cooperative units. Particular measures must be taken in all fields to raise the political-ideological standard and to enforce the Code of Socialist Ethics and Justice.

Educating and training youth for work and life are regular features of political and cultural-educational work. The schools and party and UTC /Union of Communist Youth/ organizations play a decisive part in this, realizing as they do that there are now over 220,000 pupils and students in the schools and faculties of our county.

These major problems cannot be treated simplistically through formal statements and measures. Their solution requires the combined efforts of all educational elements under the guidance of the party organs and organizations. Analysis of the components of the regional (county) political-educational system and of the interactions and operational mechanism of that system indicates that it is the party's responsibility to manage the entire ideological-educational effort and to unify it in both its idea content and its courses of action.

The experience of the 100 local councils for political education and socialist culture in Prahova County confirms the usefulness of some ways and means they employ to organize and check the operation, such as monthly or quarterly calendars of the political-ideological and cultural actions and demonstrations and organization of weekly operational meetings analyzing the progress of the tasks and joint actions. In some cases, as it has been pointed out in another connection in the course of the discussion, inadequate correlation of the activities can result in certain duplications and overlapping of the work of these councils and that of the propaganda sections or county and municipal committees on socialist culture and education.

PAVEL NADIU: I intend to present some of the Arad County Party Committee's efforts to implement the leadership of the party organizations in the county and to integrate them as fully as possible in socioeconomic activity.

Arad County is undergoing a substantial development against the general background of socialist Romania's economic development. We have taken steps in this direction so that all personnel in the party's activity, beginning with the Bureau of the County Party Committee, will know the economic units and their tasks better and will cooperate with them in the performance of those tasks. As in other counties, all members of the Bureau of the County Party Committee and the Municipal Committee and the other activists are assigned responsibility for some economic units and capacities and the agroindustrial councils in the county for a rather long period. We do not intend this responsibility to be merely entered

somewhere on paper but to be implemented in the units for which they are responsible as a basic practical activity. By participating in the stage of plan preparation in the best possible assignment of the plan tasks according to each unit's potentials and knowing their internal reserves, party personnel can definitely help the economic units attain their indicators. Moreover in the activity in units and in the agroindustrial councils we can know the party personnel better, as well as the management personnel whom we have, and we can know them in actual practical activity.

Accordingly we stress the problems of practical activity in the instruction programs. At least half the time devoted to instruction on the level of the County Party Committee is spent in the economic units in industry and agriculture and in the party organizations.

In connection with the organizational aspects mentioned by Comrade Chiorean at the start of our discussion, in Arad County we intend to correlate the party's organizational structure with the requirements and the changes taking place in the socioeconomic structure of the county. We can state that it harmoniously combines all fields of socioeconomic activity. In the process of numerical and qualitative strengthening of the party organizations, we are pursuing suitable proportions of workers, peasants and workers belonging to the national minorities, with a steadily growing proportion of women.

Due to the processes of social and occupational mobility, a large part of the members of party organizations in villages are now working in units in cities and municipalities. Now we intend to strengthen the rural party organizations so that they will have a decisive voice in agricultural development.

It is apparent from our practical activity that control of the enforcement of party and state decisions is a critical problem for party activity. In the stages following preparation of decisions providing for development of the various sectors of activity (in view of the many problems to be solved in current operations), there is sometimes a risk of overlooking the essential aspect of organization of knowledge of the respective decision on the part of all communists and all workers.

CONSTANTIN CIOCAN: Organization and control of implementation of decisions clearly have a critical part to play in carrying out the political policy, and as it was pointed out at the latest plenums of the Central Committee, there are some serious defects therein. Control is one of the basic components of purposeful management of society and direction of its evolution.

As we know, the process of Romania's socioeconomic development and the stage reached in the second half of the 1960's made it one of the RCP's main concerns to determine the aims and methods of scientific management in the stage of construction of the fully developed socialist society. The documents of the National RCP Conference in December 1967 and July 1972 and those of the 11th RCP Congress started the efforts in this direction, involving study of the theoretical and practical bases of scientific management of Romanian society. In this connection, control serves as a lever not only to correct our actions but also to confirm the correctness of the adopted measures, so that it is an important means of checking the quality of administrative activity, the quality of personnel, and our possibilities of estimating our potential and the quotas we must reach in the developmental process.

The mechanism of control in Romanian society is so stuctured that actually the entire people are involved in its exercise. Social control is institutionalized and organized so that the workers can control, both directly and through representatives, current activities in all fields and on all levels, which lends it a profoundly democratic character. In fact the actions of all components of society are subject to the control of public opinion including the party, which is both the leading force in society and the main factor for influencing, forming and activating public opinion. We could say that essentially control by public opinion in the sense of control by all society is a result of the action of determination and control constantly performed in socoety by the party, state and mass and public organizations.

Workers self-management and self-administration are the latest and also one of the most advanced forms of control exercised by the workers. Transition to workers self-management marks the takeover of some of the state organs' functions by the workers collectives, the expansion of control by the workers in the economic and territorial-administrative units, and their greater responsibility for implementing the tasks assigned them. As we know the workers general assemblies have been granted the right to dismiss personnel elected to the management organs of the various organizations or to the management councils of the state and cooperative socialist units.

In the light of past experience, shortcomings in the activity of the management organs including the central ones must be pointed out with more courage and discernment and lags behind legal or other provisions that would interfere with the efficiency of the socioeconomic mechanism must be reported in time.

BRATU PAUN: On the basis of the RCP's conception that construction of the fully developed socialist society is a long-term revolutionary process, we must also accept the conclusion that the performance of the party's leading role in this stage and the development of its role are also processes in continuous development. I refer particularly to the process of forming its general policy to constantly reflect the people's basic interests.

As it has been pointed out in our discussion, organizing the implementation of the party's policy is a basic aspect of the exercise of its leadership, and we also note that ideological, political and educational activity to form the new man and to form and develop socialist awareness is also an important aspect of it. As a matter of fact these aspects were analyzed in depth in the first part of the discussion.

I think the problems of improving the party's management of society and the need of further improvement in the Romanian political system will have to be specially treated in the future, possibly in another discussion like this one.

The party's constant concern for its own members, for its own quality, and for its internal affairs in order to develop and keep improving its ability to exercise its leadership is itself an aspect of its role in society. Realizing that the tasks increase as we progress in building the new society, the party also develops its capacity to accomplish them. I have in mind here its organizational and political capacity but also improvement of the professional, political and all-around training of the mass of party members and party personnel. I am

also thinking of development of an internal party life that will lead to continuing improvement of the working methods and approach and to intensified party democracy.

ION BOLD: In speaking of development of the party's role in social activity in view of the revolutionary changes society is undergoing, naturally we are not referring solely to "finishings" and "improvements" made in our system but to the fact that the latter is in a process of qualitative change almost as radical and intensive as that in the most feverish stages of the revolution.

This lends a new significance to the concept of the people's moral-political unity around the party, a social unity of the social and national classes and categories alike and a symbiosis of members and nonmembers of the party. The way the party organs and organizations approach the workers is becoming more and more important, as well as their persuasive power, organizational ability and firm opposition to demagogy, outbreaks of mercantilism and careerism, and other attitudes inherited from the old regime.

People's wishes, convictions and ideas are among the most objective realities that the RCP considers in formulating the policies, tasks and objectives of political and organizational work. Such an objective reality as the mass consciousness is becoming increasingly powerful, and the party's closer integration in all areas of social experience and activity conforms to that trend.

General, political, economic and social democratization and opposition to excessive centralism and bureaucracy form the general background against which the party's role in social activity is developing in the present stage. It is from its many ties with the workers of all social categories that the party's vitality is derived, and from those with the entire nation through its roots deeply implanted in all socioeconomic units and all administrative bodies.

The party's integration in social activity gives it its capacity to closely correlate the action of the objective laws under socialism with the purposeful action of the masses in the process of social change.

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SHORTCOMINGS IN PERFORMANCE OF FEMALE GYMNASTS DEPLORED

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 14 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Horia Alexandrescu: "Our Gymnastics at the Moment of Truth"]

[Excerpts] A month ago, in an article which aroused a number of comments and which was called interference in matters which are supposedly the exclusive concern of factors responsible for the fate of Romanian gymnastics, I sounded an alarm, pointing out that in the "internationals" in Rm. Vilcea, a number of mistakes had occurred. Mistakes made, especially, in the composition, organization and training of our female team or teams. We were told then that the "moment of truth" would come in a month, at the national masters championships, for which our gymnasts were in training. And they told us that there was no need to make such a fuss about the failure of the top trio, Cristina Grigoras, Emilia Eberle and Rodica Dunca, to participate in the Rm. Vilcea competitions for the simple reason that the respective competition had been left out of the training plan, on purpose.

And here we are, at the deadline, finding out that the "moment of truth" was not a cause for optimism, as we were promised, but even sadder than we had expected, indicating that the alarm which I sounded last month was perfectly justified. A number of exercises in the Constanta competition showed the precarious training of the competitors. Emilia Eberle appeared in Constanta to be beneath criticism, Rodica Dunca tried to save appearances by talent, and Cristina Grigoras, the case which hurt us the most, risked not only a serious accident but also a drop in morale, which was quite evident. All because of unsatisfactory training, either inadequate or incorrectly devised and implemented, which causes us to have serious doubts about the merits of the respective technicians.

Now, in Constanta, it has become obvious to everyone why Eberle, Dunca and Grigoras were absent from the "internationals," just as it has become clear that there must be basic changes at the team level--both in regard to the composition of the team and in regard to the collective of technicians. We do not think that anyone would be able to dispute the fact that the division of the national team into three groups has created striking differences among the athletes, differences resulting, in an objective manner, from the experience and merits of the teams of trainers.

We prefer not to name names so as not to be accused, once again, of interfering in affairs which do not concern us, although--and it is good to remember this--the way in which the team is composed, organized and trained is a matter of national interest! We hope that the leadership of the National Council of Physical Education and Sports will take firm and, especially, immediate measures.

We should remember that it is not absolutely necessary that the whole "good world" of our gymnastics be located in Deva! This center has been able to stand on its own (and it stands very well) but, in the meantime, Onesti has gone into eclipse requiring a refurbishing of the collective of technicians. The famous center on the Trotus has yielded first place to Sibiu and since Sibiu does not have any better conditions than Onesti, it is clear that the secret is the trainers.

It would be a good idea to revive other centers, which have become covered with the cloak of anonymity, (namely, Galati, Oradea and Ploiesti), and it would be just as opportune, in our opinion, to reconsider the work in Bucharest, Arad, Baia Mare and in all other cities of the country where gymnastics has expanded rapidly but is not completely satisfying the demands of high performance.

Fortunately, there is no lack of talented children. However, tomorrow's stars must be nurtured with much more concern and promoted courageously alongside the current stars of Romanian gymnastics, Lavinia Agache and Ecaterina Szabo. At the same time, even if it is painful, we must have the strength to eliminate atheletes who believe that their names, their past success and just their appearance on the competition stage can assure them a place at the top. In any case, the sorrow will not be any worse than that which we felt when Emilia Eberle received the score of 0 (zero) nor will it be worse than when we come to the conclusion that it is too late to be able to change anything!

Can we, the ones who launched the careers of the wonder children of world gymnastics, cling to our former certainties, tottering around and doing commonplace handstands. Of course not, but we must get back our courage, optimism and complete confidence in our abilities! Let us separate the wheat from the chaff, the values from the pseudo-values and actual work from simulated work! Let us examine the trainers, seeing with what calling cards they came, to what extent they have justified the confidence placed in them, what they have done and what they have not done, drawing the line and making the balance. This balance is not hard to make since everything is clear, so clear that all that is left for the federation--about which we are pleased to say that it is showing, once more, the desire to recover the road to great successes--is to take strict measures. Quickly and firmly, because time is flying and things are not going in our favor!

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NEED FOR DRAMA IN TUNE WITH TIMES

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 9, 5 May 82 pp 11-13

/Article by Andrei Baleanu: "Spirit of the Times in Dramaturgy"/

/Text/ A great theatrical festival entitled "Anthology of Performances of Contemporary Romanian Plays" was held in Cluj-Napoca and some neighboring cities (Zalau, Alba Iulia and Bistrita) at the end of February and the beginning of March 1982. The popular and box-office success, public interest and attendance exceeded any expectations: 25,000 spectators in 8 days. Plays of some of the most representative contemporary writers were performed (Horia Lovinescu and Al. Sever, Dumitru Radu Popescu and Ecaterina Oproiu, Paul Everac and Teodor Mazilu, Tudor Popescu and Paul Cornel Chitic, Fanus Neagu and Dumitru Solomon). And since the productions on the billboard of the festival were selected from the eventful performances of the last few years, the outstanding success of this occasion enables us to draw some conclusions as to the actual significance of an eventful performance or an authentic theatrical event.

It should be noted in the first place that all these works, which the theater itself has designated as anthological (Of course they are not alone and others could be added to them), are characterized by the urgent timeliness of the dramatic discussion. They treat major subjects of our time variously and are very contemporary not only in the date of writing but particularly in the problems and realities that inspire them, in the authors' viewpoints, and in their idea content. This is an essential prerequisite for the reception they enjoy from the public, which reaches tens and even hundreds of performances. The theater is a public art, an art of the forum, and a theatrical performance lives only in its impact upon the contemporaries' consciousness and without that spontaneous, direct and immediate impact it is wasted upon empty halls and irrevocably lost in oblivion. A theatrical event is always a social event as well. Its magnitude depends not only upon the talent invested in its creation and interpretation but particularly upon the power with which it expresses, to repeat an expression of Arthur Miller's, "that which floats in the air," that which preoccupies to the highest degree, that which fascinates or disturbs, and that which polarizes attention and vitally touches people's interests the moment the curtain rises. Yes, the theater breathes only the air of the present, and therein lie both its nobility and, paradoxically enough, its perpetuity!

In their letters to Lassalle about his tragedy "Franz von Sickingen," Engels warned him not to be oblivious of "the real because of the ideal" and Marx advised him not to make his characters "mere disseminators of the spirit of the times." As a matter of fact, no "mere disseminators" could render the true spirit of the times. They could only reproduce its external sound. Occasional, superficial and topical works are ephemeral and have a limited impact. Dramas that express the spirit of the times profoundly, whether they treat current sub- or historical subjects allegorically or in a pedestrian, realistic way, go far beyond the current events that inspired or gave rise to them by virtue of their significance and artistic effect. For example, Brecht's parables placed in an exotic environment or in the remote past, Evghenii Svart's fables for adults, and philosophical plays like Duerrenmatt's "Romulus the Great," Camus' "Caligula," or Sartre's "The Devil and the Good Lord" embrace a whole era and are still fundamental works of this century, analyzing the ways of peace and war, right and wrong, and social and intellectual freedom in conflict with despotism of the fascist kind and transforming them movingly into acts of conscience. In Romania some of the first plays of Horia Lovinescu or Aurel Baranga, attacking sacred myths like elitism and the passiveness of the little man and reflecting a revolution in attitude, have kept their viability and recur in repertoires and critical discussions not only as evidence of past historical periods.

The abandonment of the great social subjects and the theater of ideas in the 1950's and 1960's explains the present repertorial impasse in the western countries, the prolonged silence of most of the famous authors, and the abundance of sterile experiments, occasionally interspersed with simple, human plays whose success is indicative of the general public's requirements. To be sure an important subject is discredited when treated without talent, but it is equally true that a talent wasted on an utterly insignificant subject is itself discredited. In a work of art both form and content have unlimited significance and both must be convincing in a perfect unity that we can separate into its component elements only upon analysis. The content is not external to the value, just as the human and social truth of the work is not external to it. A deceptive view of reality can impair the work of even the most finished stylist (Examples are not lacking in world literature). The successes of Romanian dramaturgy in recent years are not due to the increased proportion of form in relation to content but to treatment of more genuine conflicts sustained by more genuine characters under more genuine circumstances. In that way the Romanian theater has won a greater reception than ever by the public.

Record runs and popularity are won particularly by the original plays that approach contemporary realistic subjects directly. This live, current dramaturgy is in first place among repertoires both in number of premieres and in number of spectators, without requiring artificial "crutches" to support it in competion with foreign plays as it was once believed. But while crutches are not needed it does need a climate of understanding and encouragement, which the authorities in charge of the theatrical movement knew how to create and maintain.

By its controversial nature the theater always involves a struggle or conflict requiring a stand to be taken. It is made to dispel idyllic appearances and to reveal hidden contradictions, even when some try to conveniently overlook them. Two camps always confront each other on the stage, two opposite social types, two political positions or two attitudes requiring a dramatist to take the

responsibility for a choice. The dramatist's creative boldness lies in revealing conflicts smouldering in reality, in discerning and plainly defining the terms of the opposition of the new to the old and the apparent to the true, and in other words in revealing the truth to which a clear path does not always lead. Such plays, with a constructive social function, point to the causes of stagnation and lags, combat deceptive appearances and states of complacency, mobilize consciences and foster a higher ethic. Conflicts resolved beforehand are of no interest to the theater or society, contribute nothing to promotion of the new and bore the audience. A revolutionary theater cannot view things statically or passively but only in the light of their dialectical changes, when the theater itself becomes a factor for social progress and acquires a civic value thereby. The socialist theater is of a critical and therefore dynamic nature, and it refutes in order to affirm. Its critical spirit is a sign not only of artistic vitality but also of vitality of the society, which creates its "antibodies" against mental inertia. A timely play can be an event because it is not limited to repetition of truisms and because it raises questions with which experience confronts us, fosters discussion and solution of those questions, demonstrates the "strategy" of the old morals with their ever "new" mechanisms and subterfuges, and it sometimes constructs, in original artistic terms, an ideal model of human behavior and a "strategy" of the militant hero to perfect society.

Of course the direct social commitment of dramaturgy conflicts with neither the complexity of the characters nor the sinuosity of the plots, but it excludes sophistry and confusion for the sake of confusion and gratuitous verbal gymnastics. In the theater a whole system of characters and relationships, causes and effects and personal, ideological and social determinations must be summed up in 2 or 3 hours, and the spectator cannot turn back the page (as in reading) to review a confused speech or to orient himself in a jumble of incoherent connections. This art demands crystal clarity. Obscure, vague and abstruse plays do not give satisfaction and are rejected by the public. Moreover such works, even when they are formally treating current topics, are confined to such abstract and general terms that they become practically atemporal.

Plays limited to obsolete patterns, hackneyed in the theater and outmoded in experience, are equally untimely even if the "prefabricated" elements of which they are composed have the appearance of verisimilitude. Are there bureaucratic directors? There are. And servile and sycophantic underlings? That species also exists. And so where there is a bureaucratic director, one or more servile underlings, and an innovator who vehemently opposes the defects, the party organization will finally intervene in salutary fashion and there we have a timely play and even a "courageous" one, because it "dares" to defy a director and not a lesser functionary. Such plays are written, circulate through the files of the theaters, and are sometimes performed. Actually they are neither true nor courageous because they utter platitudes, and even on that quite unoriginal ground they convey only external aspects and do not analyze the underlying causes of social evils or find original, striking and revealing images that can lend impact to the treated subject. But it is clear to anyone that the bureaucrats or demagogues of today no longer resemble the simplistic images in some dramatic works. On the contrary, they are men with a very modern appearance, clever, and "anointed with all the oils." They speak foreign languages, travel and sometimes cost society millions in losses out of incompetence, bad faith or carelessness. The fact that a good many superficial plays have been produced on "plant"

and "production" subjects indicates only that the world of material production, althrough it is central to contemporary social activity, has been and still is inadequately and superficially investigated artistically.

It is true that the theater is concerned with man and not with industry or agriculture, and "production subjects" would be a primitive idea from that standpoint. But let us not jump to a wrong conclusion. Efforts and aspirations in connection with labor and the conflicts caused by those efforts belong to the human universe and are of increasing importance in contemporary man's existence. Today they are the main form of the individual's participation in urban life. Man in his capacity as "homo faber" cannot fail to have a leading place on our theatrical scene. Naturally contemporary dramaturgy often seeks its heroes in the labor process, where they spend a large part of their lives and where their individual and social destiny is to a great extent decided. There is a contrast of urgent present concern and also of broad human generality between labor viewed as a mechanical, routine thing and as a form of creativeness and fulfillment of the personality, and it is obviously not included in the above-mentioned pattern. It is a quite frequent error to judge the characters in a drama by the function they are assigned in the script and not by the problems they discuss. Our society does not identify the human value with the function performed: There are faulty directors and faulty doorkeepers and exemplary directors and exemplary doorkeepers.

As we know, from the standpoint of Marxist aesthetics the general is expressed by the particular, but each particular image does not necessarily bear traits "typical" of all instances of the respective category. The dialectics of the general and particular in art have been analyzed in innumerable studies and articles, to the effect that a negative person belonging to any occupation or profession does not automatically reflect upon the whole craft or social function, and we are not about to repeat the arguments here. The fact that a number of dramas or satirical comedies charge persons in management positions with defects, errors or abuses reflects the democratism of Romanian socialist society. It is not whether he is a director, deputy director, chief engineer or whatever that matters, but the spirit in which the drama discusses his exercise of the power with which society has invested him. As a public forum, the theater also becomes a vehicle expressing (in an artistically pointed way) the community's right and duty to demand an accounting of its representatives for their fulfillment of the responsibilities with which they have been entrusted.

The artistic resolution of such conflicts requires an accurate account of the negative phenomena and their causes and a clear verdict on their incompatibility with socialist relations. But sometimes we still hear the conviction that this conclusion should be reinforced on the stage by administrative measures to restore the normal situation. It is not always understood that a play is not a copy of life and that its influence upon reality is not like "taking measures" but like presenting the truth. The theater is not concerned with dismissing unsatisfactory personnel and promoting deserving ones. Its mission is to stimulate independent thinking and not passive expectation of decisions from above. Plays conceived and constructed as if everything were predetermined from the very start for a simple, automatic resolution lull both the militant spirit and the theater audience to sleep. The best dramatic writing in recent years has generally eschewed such predictable and unconvincing finales pervaded by a facile, pedantic and counterfeit optimism. What is truly optimistic is the

unadulterated portrayal of a reality wherein nothing is resolved automatically and the audience is encouraged to abandon his passiveness, to feel responsible for the solution of the crucial problems of its time, to understand the social-historical necessity and to act accordingly.

Under the sign of the "participation theater" more or less formal procedures are often tried. The actors go down into the theater and converse with the audience or are seated in the midst of the public and react "in its name." They are ineffectual procedures because the audience has the feeling that the mechanism is regulated in advance and the move is "enclosed in an envelope" as in chess games by correspondence. A real participation theater presents the audience with the conflicts of life in the form of dilemmas which the audience itself is called upon to help resolve. As contrasted with the theater of the so-called "digestive" type, the audience is not a "consumer" but a partner therein. Refusing to conclude a convenient pact with the public without any mutual demands, the theater intends to produce an impact, to bring about a state of creative dissatisfaction, to launch unaccustomed questions, and to compel revealing answers with new perspectives. In his excellent comedy "Public Opinion" Aurel Baranga offered the audience several alternative endings. What would have happened, for example, if an old friend of his hero Chitlaru, who was about to be dismissed from the editorial board, had not happened to be appointed minister? In real life such events do not always turn out so happily. The play required the audience not merely to accept the conclusion imagined by the author but to consider several hypotheses, to make a choice and to take a stand. For whatever the denoument on the stage may be, the epilogue of a play is always played in the spectators' minds.

That is why I said the theatrical event is always a social event too. It produces both aesthetic satisfactions and changes in the public's thinking and emotional states, with indirect effects upon reality. Can the theater make us better, more sensitive, and more intelligent? Certainly. But the revolutionary theater aspires to go even further, not only to aid in character formation but also to direct characters toward knowledge of the truth by offering clear choices accordingly. The theater has been called an "idea plant," and ideas, as we know, can transform the world.

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YOUTH MUST BE EDUCATED TO APPRECIATE THEATER

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 9, 5 May 82 pp 13-15

/Article by Constantin Schifirnet: "The Theater and the Young Public"/

/Text/ Discussion of the relationship between the young public and the theater naturally involves the problems of the educational and formative influences of the art of the theater.

In Romanian society, which has set out to form a new kind of human personality, primary importance is attached to the theater in improving socialist awareness and in people's spiritual renewal. As a cultural institution it is directly involved in the communist education of all social categories and naturally includes in its content the problems characteristic of the human world of socialist society.

Since socialism is the objective framework for complete fulfillment of the options, aspirations and needs of every social group and category, the young generation makes demands of its own upon the educational elements and consequently upon the theater. There are problems peculiar to the young generation that the theater, like any artistic creation, cannot overlook. The youth of today unquestionably have spiritual needs similar to those of other young generations but they differ in form and intensity.

As we know the youthful years are a critical stage in the formation of socialist awareness, convictions and views about the major problems of life and society. In this period the individual's ideals are formed, his great decisions for the future are made, and his social and political attitudes are crystallized. How are these characteristics of the young generation represented in the creative art of the theater? Although it should be pointed out that dramaturgy as well as the theatrical performances have been more concerned with some aspects of youths' lives, we should note nevertheless that a narrow view of the young generations' problems and a simplistic treatment of some of its troubles still persist. Minor facts and events have been presented that are not significant for the breadth and richness of youths' lives. I might also note the inadequate knowledge and interpretation of the characteristics of youth, as well as the lack of understanding and receptiveness to the new developments in their world. In general

the works intended to present youth abound in superficial characters devoid of authenticity and artistic credibility.

In subject matter, most of the plays and performances are about graduates born in cities and assigned to villages who, after a brief period of adjustment (as in a fairy tale) become the most convinced rural dwellers; about relations between generations that are very simply resolved, when the parents, very demanding and with certain moral principles, finally give way, understand the youths' problems and accept their options; about life at worksites, very romantic and unpredictable (Youths have a spirit of adventure, do they not?), in which, after a few hesitations and troubles, youths are integrated who have failed in college (especially in the theater and foreign languages) and who readily discover that it is possible to live otherwise; and about life and work in plants, where the young man is not very well understood at times during his professional debut (All the rest is perfect) but there is someone who befriends him , and then everything reverts to normal and he participates, with his whole being and whenever he is asked, in all the programs and even fights now for exemplary fulfillment of the plan tasks. That is approximately the obviously superficial picture that the plays and films about youth present to us. But the palette of the young generation is far broader, the range of their feelings, experiences and aspirations is much more diverse, and their attitudes and options are contradictory and sometimes unstable and insufficiently crystallized.

Every generation has its own way of assimilating values and relating to society, and the fact is significant that it knows particular ways of maturing socially and biologically that depend upon the conditions of its own development and education. The present generation of youths no longer accepts a mere listing of the principles and ideals of society and is no longer receptive to abstract truths but wants concrete arguments and clear answers to the complex problems facing it in life and in the process of training and education. Born and bred in the years of socialism, the young generation expresses aspirations and demands stimulated by socialist society itself and displays attitudes and options determined by the problems of Romanian social existence. But it goes without saying that youths' adherence to the high ideals of society does not mean that the youth of today is entirely homogeneous or that its particular convictions and needs are all the same. The new conditions of youth's development, radically different from those of the young generations before the war or in the first years of socialist construction, do not automatically contribute to the formation of its socialist awareness. The very effect of the conflict between old and new, typical of any kind of social organization, can bring about developments in youth's world that are not in keeping with the new communist values and behavior.

The theater is expected to investigate all these problems and to indoctrinate youth in the noble principles of social justice, the consistently humanistic ideals of the working class, and the struggle against oppression, falsehood and hypocrisy.

It is a natural requirement for youth to come in contact with theatrical performances of high artistic merit and a suitable idea content that will reflect its real experience, concerns and aspirations, works that can inspire it and also present advanced human models worthy to be emulated by youth in real life. The

theater's mission, among others, to educate youth in the spirit of truth, social justice, and love of fellow men and to foster patriotic feelings and respect for the Romanian people's glorious traditions. Hence flows the theater's responsibility for youth's patriotic, moral and civic education. By its content but also by its forms of artistic expression the theater can meet the requirements of the young public's indoctrination and of a revolutionary, profoundly humanistic conception as it prepares it to achieve the aims of socialist society.

Nicolae Ceausescu's comment on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the UTC [Union of Communist Youth] also applies to dramaturgy. "Youth needs a literature imbued with high evolutionary and patriotic ideals that will reflect the glorious past of the people's struggle and labor for the victory of socialism and will give youth the bright prospect of the struggle for communism and for the great aspirations and ideals of social and national justice."

The institution of the theater plays a fundamental part in the young public's education for the theater. The changes that take place in the theatrical art's modes of expression are perceived only if the public is educated for the purpose. The theater creates its public. Moreover, I might say that the model or what is called the opinion leader in social psychology is a catalyzing factor in artistic reception. Orientation of preferences, tastes and choices depends, sometimes critically, upon a person's attitude toward a given performance or the general "opinion" of that performance. And it sometimes happens that an artistic innovation will go beyond a certain way of viewing the theater and will introduce new values on the theatrical scene, which values are less readily accepted because the public is not prepared to perceive them. Reception is a highly complex process that does not come about automatically because of the individual's mere presence in the theater. Therefore the real theater includes among its constituent elements indoctrination of the public, and the young public in particular, in the spirit of the new values it is transmitting and of the new modes of artistic expression. In fact there is need of a new artistic sensibility in keeping with the newly created spiritual necessity of theatrical representation. This is another conclusive argument for the theater's educational function.

While conveying ideas and artistic and social messages, the theater educates the public for the purpose of its own self-development as an art and a social act. Moreover when we take up the theater's particular problems, we must view its educational function in interelation with its communicating function. The theatrical art transmits a message in a language based on a code. Theatrical communication unquestionably differs from other kinds of communication especially in its particular language and in the way it transmits an aesthetic and conceptual message. The theater does not replace other means of communication in the sense that it does not transmit ordinary knowledge and information or theoretical, scientific and philosophical knowledge. The originality of a theatrical work lies in the original aesthetic way of transmitting aesthetic messages to express the spiritual needs of the public as well as the educational and ideological requirements of society. Mastery of the theatrical language is indispensable for proper reception of a theatrical performance. As we shall see below, part of the young public looks to the theater for extra-esthetic and extracultural information and is interested in grasping the anecdotes and action and less or not concerned at all with disclosing the proportions of this kind of art.

The public is unanimously accepted as an indispensable element of the theatrical movement, but it is sometimes regarded as a secondary factor. Moreover some commentators speak of the audience's inability to grasp what is peculiar to the theater as a work of art, so that the sole criterion for the public's acceptance of a performance is its success, based primarily on the extent to which a play arouses strong emotions in the audience and less or not at all on the aesthetic values of the theatrical work. Such a one-sided conception reflects a certain contemptuous attitude toward the public and in fact restricts the theater's power to influence the young audience, being reduced to its formal aspects, whereas on the contrary a theatrical performance has an obvious power to influence the audience. This is also due to the fact that while some of the arts, coming from past generations, are treasured in the original form, the theater is reconstructed by each generation and each period in the light of the ideals and aspirations peculiar to the social groups or individuals. Renovation of the theater's means of artistic expression also depends upon the public, especially the young public, because it can impose linguistic formulas upon dramaturgy that are in keeping with the new spiritual requirements of the moment.

Interest in the theater reflects the youths' rising cultural level. The options for this kind of art are based upon a broad cultural horizon. I might speak of changes that have taken place in youths' preferences for theatrical art, and that situation presents the following problem: Are these changes commensurate with the rise in the young generation's cultural level? Do the youths' cultural aspirations correspond to their potentials for reception? How far do the repertoire and the general organization of theatrical activity meet the youths' demands and needs? They are questions that arise when youth's relationship to the theater is analyzed and in which social research is trying to explain the cultural behavior of the present young generation.

That effort includes a number of studies made in recent years by research institutions, including the Research Center for Youth Problems. Such social studies made among the various categories of youths indicate their interest in the theater. The specific studies made by the CCPT /Research Center for Youth Problems/ with a sampling of 2,000 youths, workers, pupils and students in seven counties and Bucharest municipality showed that the theater is one of the cultural activities most frequented by youths. Their interest in the theatrical art includes both performances in theaters and the TV and radio theatrical broadcasts. This distinction is probably to be explained by the need felt by some youths to receive the theater in more attractive and dynamic ways (those who prefer theaters) and by others' lack of adjustment to the conditions of viewing in theaters (those who prefer radio and TV). The influence of the mass communications media on the ways of viewing the theater is powerful and plays an important part in the cultural behavior of some large categories of youths and especially those who have known the theatrical art through TV and radio, a fact due to lack of theaters in the localities where they were born (especially in villages) and also to nonattendance at the theatrical institution.

The structure of interest in the theater in relation to the initial means of contact with the theatrical art has consequences worthy of consideration in connection with the aspirations and preferences for the theater. Thus we shall note, concerning the kind of theater preferred, that the proportion of the investigated youths opting for the musical theater (reviews and varieties) is

higher than that of those preferring the prose theater, the musical kind predominating particularly among youths in industry, industrial high school pupils, and students at the technical faculties. Accordingly for some youths the theater is identified with the theater of entertainment, which is indicative of a simplistic interpretation of this cultural activity as well as inability to strictly distinguish the various cultural genres. Such behavior is also encouraged by the repertoires of some theaters, especially in some areas of Romania, which include many comedies of poor artistic quality. Various correlations of the youths' cultural options with their reasons for attending the theater bring out the relationship between the explanation for attending the theater of instruction and interest in symphonic music and the literature of psychoanalysis, while the respondents who explain attending the theater of entertainment display an interest in light music, literature of adventure, etc.

The main conclusion drawn from the foregoing data is that the option for the theater is part of a cluster of cultural motives and interests that affect its content. The investigated youths' definite preferences for plays and performances are an argument in favor of this assertion. The essential problem we must consider is not so much the extent of youths' attendance of the theater but what explains their interest in that cultural genre. This also confirms an idea mentioned above, namely that the youths pay particular attention to the anecdotes, stories and minor aspects and are not greatly interested in the conceptual message. They usually identify the performance with their interest in the actors who perform, their interest in what happens on the stage being focused on performers. To be sure we cannot overlook their need to identify with a model, which is provided either by an actor or by a character, but mere identification unaccompanied by a critical spirit and cultural attitudes is due to a low level of cultural background and simplistic interpretation of the theater. A discrepancy has arisen between the theater's natural tendency to renovate its modes of expression and some youths' actual ability to perceive the artistic innovations and to grasp the thoughts and intentions of the producers of the theatrical performances. All this indicates that there are gaps in the youths' theatrical education, and hence the necessity of definite measures on the part of the educators to rationalize the whole process of the young generation's intellectual training. The schools still have a vital part to play in the youths' cultural instruction, but we feel the cultural institutions, especially the theatrical ones, also have heavy obligations in this respect.

The young spectator is initiated in the secrets of the theatrical art in many stages according to an instruction methodology. Meetings of the youths with the theatrical collectives are usually arranged for this purpose, but most often they are perfunctory, ineffectual and of no theoretical or practical advantage to the youths or the theatrical people. The theater must be involved in the youths' education on the inside of it, using its personnel and facilities. The youths' initiation in the theater is inconceivable outside the theater where the artistic works are produced and transmitted. Their presence in the auditorium requires acceptance and observance of particular standards of a behavior different from that in everyday life. In the course of this program more use must be made of the educational and instructive values of their preferences and aspirations in their education for the theater, because the present young generation has its own cultural interests that differ in part from those of the adult generation and also from those of the preceding young generations. In this way we think

we could change the theoretical and practical viewpoints in cultural activity in general and consequently in theatrical activity too, that is by abandoning the exclusive use of the young public's cultural orientation in the culture preceding the contemporary one first. Education for the classical theater should proceed from what the youths prefer. It was noted in the above-mentioned investigation that a large part of them display interest in the plays that discuss problems characteristic of their age group. Youth's education for the theater and for attendance of all categories of performances with the idea of knowledge and mastery of the moral, social, political and aesthetic values characteristic of Romanian socialist society would be easier to accomplish by gradually familiarizing youth with the real theater. That requires a knowledge of their actual preferences on the part of the dramatists.

Since youths represent a large part of the theater's public of today and especially of its public of tomorrow, they must be educated for the theater by comprehensive long-term programs in the light of the changes in the theatrical movement and in social experience.

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11 August 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2042

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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FIGHTER PILOT RECALLS EARLY FLIGHT TRAINING

East Berlin FLIEGER-REVUE in German No 6, Jun 82 pp 260-263

[Article by Lt Col (Reserve) Karl-Heinz Maxwitat: "Reminiscences"]

[Text] Publication of this article is occasioned by the just concluded Seventh GST Congress during which past achievements were evaluated and new tasks formulated, and the forthcoming 30th anniversary of the GST.

The meritorious military pilot, Reserve Lieutenant Colonel Karl-Heinz Maxwitat recalls the role played by GST training in his own life, and gives a general estimate of the value of GST training based on his experiences with officer trainees as a flight instructor for the MiG-21.

The altimeter shows 5,500 meters, air speed 500 km/hour. Power is at 85 percent. We are flying straight and level.

"Dive!" says my flying instructor.

Indicate the angle of descent and fix it with a short pressure of the joystick. Now to turn on my back.

To do this, the hand on the joystick makes a slight spinning movement. The horizon is clearly visible. It is made even clearer by the horizontal top of an inversion layer. The slightest deviation from horizontal is recognizable.

Okay, everything in order! This is where I have to pull to turn the MiG-21 into a dive. Initially, we want to pull 2 g (the good old Jak-18 or the Z-42 would have made this turn by themselves by now). Down we go! The variometer appears to be turning somersaults; the hands of the altimeter race around as though they were filmed in stop-motion. I compare the flight path with the indications of the artificial horizon. Now I first need to climb out of my vertical dive. I attain a positive angle of 80 degrees at 600 km groundspeed, then 60 degrees at 800 km groundspeed. Push the throttle forward again. Altitude is down to 3,000 meters. Pullout is to be at 1,500 meters. Speed is 950 km/hour. The Mach number must be noted too, since it now approaches .98. Now we pull out of the dive. The aircraft is once more

speeding along horizontally. Speed 1,000, 100 percent power. Two one-hundredths below the speed of sound. I am to fly the aircraft over the horizon and to put it into a combat turn. A combat turn is a quick turn of 180 degrees with maximum gain of altitude. You have to watch this carefully--note the climbing angle, correct the bank and establish the exact ratio between gain of altitude and turn angle.

I report in after my flight and receive the critique of my flight commander: "The diving turn was correct; the initating parameters were appropriate; but you must not pull out of a dive so abruptly. You must pay greater attention to the rhythm of pulling out. I liked your combat turn. It was smooth; you also reached the exit altitude and thus were ready for the next set of figures. Overall grade for the flight: good. I am now ordering you to do a training flight in which you will make use of what you have just learned!"

I remember my MiG-21 training as if it has been yesterday. I was quite happy about my grade that day and my flight commander's permission to fly solo, because not everything had always gone as smoothly as learning to dive and do a combat turn on the MiG-21. But aerobatics had always been part of the kind of flying which I liked particularly, perhaps because it constitutes a challenge and because of the satisfaction one feels in overcoming the difficulties.

It is no surprise that during the good feeling which comes with success one's thoughts occasionally go back to the beginning of one's life as an aviator. This was the case with me, anyway.

It happened in September 1952 that a GST basic organization was established in Schoenhausen, where I went to school. Motivated by an acquaintance who was serving with the People's Police, by the history classes in my school, where we gained a new perspective of the events of World War II, reinforced also by the political situation of those days (the cold war was getting hotter every day), I had for some time experienced a desire to become active in military matters. To begin with, I applied for firing practice with the GST. Within a short time I had won the silver sharpshooter's medal.

After listening to a classmate who had attended a primary glider course, I decided that I might try this also. I had always been somewhat interested in flying. I still remember especially the Soviet movie "Valery Chkalov" which had made quite an impression on me as a child. Chkalov's test flights and the reaction of his long-distance flight to the United States via the North Pole were impressive--but all that was far away and not attainable for me.

Since young boys seldom enter into an adventure by themselves, I convinced a friend to come along. We applied for glider training. We studied the training manuals with fiery enthusiasm and an old experienced glider pilot gave us a lot of good advice.

Thus equipped and full of anticipation we went to a nearby glider flying field which was said to be located near a windmill hill. We saw the windmill hill

from afar, but no glider pilots. Surely they are on the other side of the hill, we said to ourselves.

In high spirits we marched up on the hill through the sand. Just a few more steps. We should hear something by now--but we heard nothing. Then we could look down on the other side--nothing! Nothing to be seen. The first big disappointment in our incipient aviators' lives. If we had quit then, I believe that would have been the end of everything.

After a short council of war, we decided to call the GST district chairman by telephone from the local restaurant. I have never again seen such an old telephone. A huge ear piece, a microphone with a funnel in a wooden box. A hand crank.

A big hello at the other end of the connection. How many are you? Two! That's better than nothing. We are 14 and we'll be right there. They did come over indeed. They seemed a bunch of optimists or something, but each one a good lad.

The SG-38 was preflighted in a barn. This took a long time; it was almost noon, and one of the comrades arrived with lunch. Slices of bread, 3 centimeters thick, and lots of liver sausage. He called them "sailor boy sandwiches." In those days, thick sandwiches like that were a motivating factor; another reason for staying with it.

The SG-38 was taken up the hill and placed on a plank which had been covered with soft soap. A rubber cord was put in place. The flight instructor prepared for the mandatory training flight. The comrades distributed themselves on both sides of the rubber cords and three of them held the SG by the tail with a short rope.

That was the ground crew.

Commands were screamed. "Ground crew?"

"Ready!"

"Starting crew?"

"Ready!"

I was part of the starting crew.

"Pull!" ordered the flight instructor aboard the SG.

"Run!"

We ran downhill, screaming.

"Start!"

A whooshing sound behind me and the decreased resistance of the rope literally broake the tension. The SG passed over our heads at an altitude of 3-4 meters; the guy wires were whistling and the flight instructor's pants legs were

fluttering in the wind. He landed some 80 meters away.

All day long we went up and down that hill. We were running, pulling, carrying, sweating, taunting, laughing, participating and sharing an experience.

So that's what it was all about? The whole event exerted a strange attraction. I was captured by the fascinating atmosphere, and I still can't escape from it today.

My training as a GST glider pilot started with me waggling the wings at the edge of the slope. The school glider was turned into the wind, and I had to keep the wings level with the aileron control. Later on we even had a stand, on which the glider could be moved in every axis--an ancestor of today's modern flight simulators.

Shortly thereafter I took my first ground slide. The flight instructor fixed the elevator control in such a way that the glider could not lift off. The task in ground sliding is merely to keep the wings level. What a triumph for a flyer: I succeeded in keeping the wings level until the glider stopped. The reward: three stars in my flight log, meaning: no demerits.

This was perhaps the minor, but still very important insight that success in the air must be prepared on the ground. How many times I have had this confirmed--both in a positive as well as in a negative sense.

Our training proceeded slowly in those days. Everything was most extravagant. Landing occurred after only a few seconds' flight and then we would wait for the transport crew. The hill seemed very small then; but after the SG was loaded back on the trailer and the whole load was dragged up the hill, that hill turned into a mountain.

What great expectations we experienced when in the following year we obtained a winch and a bigger starting site! It still meant a lot of hard work. The drag rope had to be pulled by hand and the transport distances were long.

This is when I realized that a pilot spends most of his time on the ground where he works and studies and is busy with things which hardly appear to have anything to do with flying at all. Because of this early insight, nothing could later on make me think otherwise.

I will always remember my first "high altitude flight" too.

Until graduation from the primary glider course one could never fly other than in a straight line and at a maximum altitude of 30 meters aboard the school glider. The idea was to learn how to land. There was no twin-seater training in those days. For that reason the preparation for high altitude flying was particularly exciting.

The day arrived. The limit to which we had gone in primary, about 30 meters altitude, was now the starting point. From that altitude on we were permitted to pull all the way back on the joystick. The SG pitched up sharply and made noises like an old wicker chair being sat on by a 100 kg man. Things on the

ground kept getting smaller. Now I could even see the city in the distance.

A distinct up and down movement of the school glider, which had been previously described by the instructor, indicated that I had reached drag altitude. Well--where was the outer signalman who was to signal disengagement of the tow line? He had been put at the edge of the flying field so he wouldn't be cut off from view by the sled or the fuselage of the glider. That's why he was called outer signalman. But I couldn't see him. Well, time to act on my own! Press! Three hard pulls on the disengagement rope. The SG shuddered. The rope was disengaged.

Now I saw the outer signalman. He indicated that the tow rope had indeed been disengaged. He was so small with his flag that I had at first completely missed seeing him.

It is difficult to describe one's feelings upon seeing the world from 300 meters up in the air for the first time.

I was to fly straight toward some railroad tracks. They too required an intensive search. What I finally saw was the smooth, worn track surfaces.

The instructor had told me to look at the leading edges of the wings to determine the angle of attack and thereby my speed. The sound of the vibrating guy wires were another means of determining it.

Everything appeared to be in order, and I entered my first turn. Then I saw the flying field, noted the yellow landing markers, and that was where I also saw the instructor with a big yellow flag. With it, he indicated my direction of flight and when to initiate a turn. This went on all the time I was circling the field, until the landing.

What a feeling...and what a relief. But to avoid thinking about other things, the same thing was to be repeated immediately!

Today I know that flights of this sort constitute the most significant of experiences. To me they are of equal importance in the life of a flyer with the first solo powered flight or even the first solo flight in a MiG-21.

Such experiences reinforce self-confidence, are a motivating force, promote the passion and the will to continue, even if things become difficult. For myself I can state that this experience contributed to the feasibility of my becoming a military pilot and permitted me to realize it.

But this was only one aspect which was so important for my development. I got a lot out of the atmosphere of the airfield. Everything was done fairly here; everybody took his turn, no one got preferential treatment. Mutual help was the order of the day. And everybody was prepared to give more of himself if the situation demanded it. Whenever defects in attitude occurred, we talked about it in a comradely manner, and much good, friendly advice was given. No subject remained untouched. I remember especially our political discussions about the events of those times. World War II and the time of fascism were recent memories.

It required patience to get rid of some trashy and outmoded thinking. And steadfastness was required not infrequently. I remember the events which accompanied the counter-revolutionary attempted uprising in June 1953. A few provacateurs asked me to take off my GST insignia, since that was all over with anyway. Well, they came to the right party: the insignia stayed right were it was, on my chest.

In the course of history, such experiences may appear minor. For me, they brought out my basic political attitude. They contributed to my always taking the correct position as an officer and a military pilot and to my ability of satisfying the not always easy demands made upon an officer and a functionary of the FDJ and our party.

Life and flying at the GST airfield also required patience, endurance and persistence. And those characteristics are needed by a flyer. There was nothing unusual in going to the airfield every weekend to contribute one's hours in construction work. One accepted the aggravation of serving as an operations officer and watched the others fly. Those things are character building. It took a bit of fortitude when, after hours of work, it was finally your turn to fly and the flying instructor said: "No more flying today! The wind is too strong."

Nor did we question it if a comrade who was about to take an exam was given one or two extra flights, if necessary. And how many times were one's own hopes for a flight dashed by damage to the aircraft or the winch! Anyone who did not lose his patience here soon became totally unflappable. In my own life, I have greatly profited from the things which helped to form my character at the GST airfield. When I for instance was in MiG-21 training, the other comrades of my squadron were way ahead of me in training. If I was nevertheless successful in catching up with them in a relatively short time, this was only because I worked with patience and determination, as I had learned in the GST, giving up a lot of other things to be sure and not miss out on any flying.

Another insight which I had gained already at the GST airfield concerned the famous-infamous details. Once, shortly before taking off, I noted that the tow rope was not lying perfectly straight, but figured I would compensate for that. But when the rope went taut with a jerk because it caught on a frozen mole hill, the wing was torn out of the hands of one of the ground crew and the wing touched the ground. My flight ended before it ever started. Severe punishment: "Grounded!" for the entire day.

And this was the insight I gained: "In aviation there is no such thing as unimportant details!"

Shortly after the aerobatics exercise I described earlier I was a MiG-21 instructor pilot myself for many years and trained many aviation cadets and future officers. As a flight instructor I quickly recognized the significance of GST training for the future military pilot. The former GST flyers were much stronger in their determination to become professionals, in their political steadfastness, endurance, discipline, love of flying and ability.

It soon became obvious who were the ones experienced in organizing an FDJ meeting, competitions and work with the flight information bulletin. They were familiar with the pilot's duties; they knew that every detail was important. They had less trouble with theory and already had some experience in preflighting. In other words, they were familiar with the basic rules and regulations pertaining to aviation which are the same everywhere and must be observed everywhere, be it in flying the "Bocian" glider, the reciprocating engine Z-42 aircraft or the MiG-21. Those who had already benefited from GST training were frequently the first to graduate from the L-29 or L-39 flight simulators. They also continued to make the best progress in their subsequent training. Their entire personality profile enable them to remain at the top of their class.

When the new students arrived I was always interested to learn about their previous training, which GST airfield they came from, who had been their instructors, many of whom I had known personally from my GST days.

I was particularly interested in their career development in the GST, how strongly they were motivated to become career officers and how that motivation came about. Questioning about their flying hours in gliders and in reciprocating engine aircraft already gave me a pretty good idea about their operational readiness and their interest in flying. The impression was completed when we talked about the atmosphere and life at the GST airfield: how important mutual help and friendly criticism had been; whether there was intolerance of deficiencies and breached of discipline; how the FDJ activity was initiated.

What I, for my part, got out of such personal interviews was to find out what new aircraft were available in the GST or what improvements had been made in the conduct of the training, all of which was of great interest to me.

Just as I had gotten started in the GST several decades ago, the majority of our young military pilots started out at a GST airfield, under considerably better conditions than we had with our SG-38. All of us obtained our basic tools from the GST and now contribute to the GDR's military protection with great enthusiasm for our socialist cause.

At the Seventh Congress the GST accepted a new set of important responsibilities.

I am certain that the comrades who are just now preparing to become career officers will fulfill these tasks and I hope that this article in the FLIEGER-REVUE will serve to motivate some of the young men to give it a try, just as in my days the pictures and articles in SPORT UND TECHNIK provided the final motivation for me. The great, unforgettable experience of the GST is still ahead of them.

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WESTERN WRITERS' CRITICISM OF GDR PEACE POLICY REBUTTED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 96, 28 Jun 82 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "Hermann Kant Attacks Guenter Grass." A translation of the East Berlin SONNTAG article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Guenter Grass was criticized by Hermann Kant, president of the GDR Writers Union (SONNTAG, 26/82) for his remarks, at the writers' meeting in The Hague, on the situation of the Christian peace movement in the GDR. Kant stated at the national congress of the GDR Cultural League that Grass had depicted a "phantasm" in his representation: "Suffering columns of oppressed young people, wretched figures from the prisoners' chorus of 'Fidelio', only less melodious." The colleague, "talented as a writer as well as a [graphic] artist," had also wanted to "establish an office for his invention," but since conditions in the GDR require such an institution about as much as Liechtenstein needs a society for rescuing the shipwrecked, he had been "talked out of it." In his speech, Kant put Western authors engaged in the peace movement at a certain distance. Not even the concern for peace was shared equally by those who met or encountered one another. He did not wish to question it, but many a colleague from the West confronts "us like a baptizer of heathens: We can humbly bend down under his pious water, or else it is the axe. Or at least the rod, or ridicule, at a minimum."

Hermann Kant's Critique

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 36 No 26, 27 Jun 82 p 6

[Text of speech by Hermann Kant, president, GDR Writers Union, at the Tenth Congress of the GDR Cultural League, Dresden, June 82: "Peace Is a Key Word"]

[Text] The invitation to speak at the congress differed from similar offers in that it promised a double usefulness. I thought that I could tell the delegates about the work of the Writers Union, about the activities of not only a kindred organization, but an organization which, 30 years ago, grew out of the Cultural League and had been dismissed into independence, so to speak. And I thought, while still holding said invitation in my hands, I could use the opportunity to report to the Cultural League, to which I am obligated as a member of its fraction of the People's Chamber.

Still, if I do not dwell at length on parliamentary or literary affairs, it is because there is something overriding, something higher or more important, or to be precise, that which the often quoted dreams of the writer and the deeds of the politician, no less quoted, have in common. It concerns peace, its imperilment and its defense, its enemies and those who want to protect it. We are concerned with this peace because we have long since understood that it is the prerequisite of all continuity. Our dreams would be vain, our deeds wasted, if we did not succeed in blocking the path of war.

At least, the endangerment of peace is beginning to be balanced by an increase in strength of those who no longer wish to play the role of victim: The fact that it is especially those engaged in cultural work who give direction and impulse to the movement must provide satisfaction to an assembly such as this, but it is probably only in line with the nature of our professions. We seldom contradict when there is talk of sensitivity and even touchiness in conjunction with us and our work--should we act thick-skinned and indifferent in a matter where so much is at stake?

Our involvement is also right because with it, we follow a line of tradition. What today is generally called a peace movement has been around for a long time as a struggle for peace. The latter preceded the former, it smoothed the way for it, but the struggle does not become superfluous because there is the movement. Especially because it is so widespread, troubles (and also troublemakers) do appear. Our experiences within the framework of the initiative of European writers make this very clear, and it is one of the calming and strengthening developments of recent times that one is asked about these experiences by very different kinds of people. Normal autograph hunting gives way more and more to the alert interest of truly engaged people.

The writer who, for instance, returns from The Hague after an encounter with colleagues from 17 other countries is treated as a delegate and a negotiator in whom some hope had been placed. Please note that I am not speaking of my 'neighbors' in the profession or the Union, I am speaking of my neighbors in the house and on the street. "Was it strenuous?" they ask, and "Was it useful? Are you getting somewhere? Will something come of it? Isn't it always the same thing?" they ask, and they say something that sounds like a question, but is a challenge; they say: But you will go on with it?!"

Certainly we go on with it, even if it consumes very much of our time and our strength. For the reckoning is very simple: That which we attempt to think about and to address, would consume even more, would consume us all.

Certainly we go on with it, and especially because some people would prefer that we did not. For instance, in the Bonn WELT, that CIA paper, one could recently read that writers should pay [more] attention to their manuscripts instead of traveling through Europe with their peace circus. Their editors had probably forgotten for the moment what they normally think of our books. Compared to our participation in the cause of peace, they were the lesser evil to them.

We will go on, certainly, and the next stop will be Cologne, to which the GDR Writers Union will send a sizeable delegation tomorrow. And it is already obvious what they will be asked on their return: Was it useful? Are you getting somewhere, or is it always the same thing?

In a certain sense it is always the same, or stays the same: We talk about peace because we do not want war. We put a label to the threat, and listen to other labels. We say disarmament, and others say it too, but differently. We say moratorium, and not even all of them say "Freeze!" to us. But we all say peace, only our ideas of it are not quite the same. Always the same--much like other things without which one does not stay alive: breathe in, breathe out, breathe in, breathe out--always the same, but immensely useful.

From these indications it becomes clear how silly it is, because of the remarkable number of writers involved in the struggle for peace, to suspect a special interest or even a conspiracy of writers. To make it very clear: If there could be such a conspiracy, and if it were capable of curing the world of the arms mania and of bringing it peace, I would participate in it and would not be concerned by the worry wrinkles of friends and enemies, because I would, in the best of conscience, be helping so that friendship or enmity can continue, thus life itself, which also causes us some wrinkles of joy or worry. But there is neither conspiracy nor alliance--it is not for nothing that one speaks of the Berlin encounter and the meeting in The Hague, and as of tomorrow in Cologne, in the best advertising jargon, of "Interlit." (In view of the many "inter," which we also possess, Wolfgang Kohlhaase once said: "Germany. An Inter Fairy Tale.") [Reference to H. Heine's: Germany. A Winter Fairy Tale]

Meetings or encounters with people who have hardly any more in common than a professional preoccupation with language--which, of course, means preoccupation with consciousness--and who are brought together by only one concern: that a nuclear war could part us into oblivion.

So that we have no illusions: Not even this concern is shared equally by those who meet or encounter each other. I do not question it of anyone, but many a colleague from the West confronts us like a baptizer of heathens: We can humbly bend down under his pious water, or else it is the axe. Or at least the rod, or ridicule, at a minimum.

He who dares to stick to his old convictions and even to proclaim them, must be prepared for some scorn. Is it possible he can like his government for wanting peace, just like him? Very funny and laughable, for there is nothing to like about governments.

And the next day you can read in the press: The East Germans (that's us) said that they do not need a peace movement because their government takes care of the matter. Probably it would have been too much trouble to print the opinion that was really stated, [i.e.,] that we could not very well force an opinion on someone who has already held this opinion for a long time, and incidentally, whom we elected to govern us because of this very opinion.

Or you can read in the newspaper that the East German (that's me) said that the peace movement in the GDR is a phantom. But, of course, I did not call the peace movement a figment of the imagination, for I strongly believe in its strong existence--I am certain, for example, that here at this Cultural League congress, I am in the presence of a part of the GDR peace movement, which has been active for a long time. No, I only called a phantasm the description of GDR conditions as depicted by Guenter Grass: Suffering columns of oppressed young people, wretched figures as if from the prisoners' chorus of "Fidelio", only less melodious.

This colleague, talented as a writer as well as a [graphic] artist, even wanted to establish an office for his invention, but since conditions in the GDR require such an institution about as much as Liechtenstein need a society for rescuing the shipwrecked, we talked him out of it.

An episode, certainly, but [stemming] also from the spirit of such encounters and meetings. May I be forgiven the sinful thought, but sometimes I thought in The Hague, and in Berlin at Alexander Square, and before then, in Sofia or Weimar or Hamburg or some place else in the world where the struggle for peace actually showed signs of battle, sometimes I thought: Perhaps it really is simpler to get wars started than to create peace.

But one does not become a writer if one tends towards one's own comfort, and if one does not like difficulties, one must avoid places where opinions are to be debated. And compared to that from which we want to protect each other through our debates, all discomforts and other difficulties disappear.

In case you need this assurance, dear friends: The Writers Union of the GDR, which emerged from the Cultural League 30 years ago and has since produced some of its active members and delegates, has always decided in favor of efforts for peace and will not change its attitude.

Writers, artists, culturally engaged people strive for originality, and in this respect, also, we are not half bad. However, our ambition does not go so far that we proclaim ourselves spokesmen of a "quiet peace movement," nor do we claim to hear the "grass-roots" grow. Only he is capable of true renewal who is also willing to repeat the old truth so long and often that it becomes everyone's truth.

Simple truths which can be couched in simple terms: The Socialist movement is a movement towards peace. No one in our society could profit from a war. Everyone in our society gains from peace. Peace, like "solidarity," is a key word of our language. Peace is a key word of our literature. Peace is the key element of our philosophy.

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CSO: 2300/329

BRIEFS

GDR'S OWN LANGUAGE--The president of the Saxony Academy of Sciences in Leipzig, Prof Werner Bahner, executed a sharp separation between the languages of the FRG and the GDR. The use of the language in politics and especially the socio-political vocabulary, he maintained in a recent speech to cultural functionaries, are an "expression of the class struggle." He described it as a "truism" that new social conditions would be reflected also in vocabulary. It is therefore only natural, according to Bahner, that the German vocabularies directly affected in this way indicate different evolutions in the GDR and the FRG. Numerous new terms or definitions, including their values, have appeared in the past 30 years and have by now become a permanent part of the vocabulary; however, because of the respective social conditions, they are customary only either in the GDR or in the FRG. It is therefore a "presumptuous misassessment" of West German scholars to brand the specific GDR vocabulary as "SED functionary jargon." [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 88-89, 14-15 Jun 82 'iwe-kultur' supplement p 2]

CSO: 2300/358

USES OF HIGH SCHOOL WORLD VIEW TRAINING WEIGHED

Budapest IFJUKOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 5, 82 pp 25-27

[Interview with Dr Pal Bakonyi, deputy director of the National Pedagogical Institute by Tibor Csontos, date and place not specified; entitled "Ideology for Homework?"]

[Text] A five-part public education documentary film series was prepared about its status. Its methods are caught in the crossfires of written debates and pedagological skirmishes. The homework for the course Fundamentals of Ideology is considered a breeze by the majority of high school students and as something which improves one's average. At the same time, ideological instruction is the frequent topic of international conferences. All this is characteristic of school instruction. But another thing: For many teenagers, a person's ideology does not play a role in their judgment of him.

/The purpose of high school is to unravel and make students conscious of the ideological fundamentals of dialectical and historical materialism in such a way that the lessons as well as social experiences lead to a scientific ideology by way of a synthesis (High school disciplinary and instruction plan, 1980)./

[Question] Can ideology be assigned for homework?--we asked Dr Pal Bakonyi, Deputy Director of the National Pedagogical Institute.]

[Answer] --Obviously, ideology as such cannot be given as homework. But answering and solving the questions and problems connected to various aspects of the subject fundamentals of ideology can be assigned.

[Question] /--Rather than independent thought, often only the mechanical repetition of phrases and concepts is required in the fundamentals of ideology classes. The memorized facts do not have any regulating influence on conduct--hence the charges leveled against the teaching of the subject./

[Answer] --Even if it is an exaggeration to speak of "charges", we have not brought the subject of fundamentals of ideology close to the everyday lives of the students in all the schools. Initially, topics such as the relationship between being and consciousness, superstructure and dialectics are alien to the majority. For many, these appear to be only abstract questions. It is difficult to convince them of the practical nature of Marxist-Leninist ideology,

that it resides in human activities, determines and influences our thoughts and guides our conduct. On the basis of past experience, we will publish a new more practical textbook next year. At the same time, the foundations for the instruction of the fundamentals of ideology must be better laid by other courses. After all, the descent of man, the understanding of the world, etc. have been mentioned before in biology, geography, physics, chemistry and history classes but unfortunately, the concepts are not taught in such a way that they remain alive in the student when they come up again in a philosophical context during the fundamentals of ideology classes.

[Question] /--where we are graded on our ideology--say the high school students with a touch of sarcasm./

[Answer] --We don't grade ideology, but rather the efforts of the students to understand and master the subject matter. If this would not be graded, the subject matter would carry no weight. Of course, I well know that the thought behind this sly observation is, "If I don't give a Marxist answer to the question, I will at best receive only a passing grade." Answers deviating from the subject and the principles of the text cannot be "punished" by a poor grade, although our goal is that students understand and learn the tenets of Marxism-Leninism. Faulty answers must be corrected through discussion. The erring student can also receive a good grade if thorough knowledge of the classwork and the textbook is reflected in his reasoning. But I must emphatically point out that this subject in and of itself does not form the ideology of the students. It merely summarizes what the students should more or less know from other subjects.

/"The goal of ideological training...should be that students adopt in their thinking...and in their attitudes, and also independently assert, the fundamental tenets of dialectical and historical materialism...in order to aid them in renouncing harmful views."/

[Question] /--Nevertheless, we are discussing the subject and textbooks of ideology. Can ideology be taught?/

[Answer] --Ideology is composed of a plethora of facts, knowledge, experience, human relations, and the emotions and attitudes connected with them. In this sense, ideology cannot be taught. Everyone--especially the youth--must struggle to attain a world view at the cost of internal and external conflicts. However, schooling provides the necessary knowledge for the scientific ideology of modern man. Schooling shows us how our ideology came into being and which scientific sources nourished it in the past and nourish it today. Schooling teaches us how to judge the most important problems of today on the basis of our ideology. Naturally, the foregoing can and must be taught, and can and must be learned.

[Question] /--What unfavorable symptoms can be observed in the political thinking and ideology of the teenagers?/

[Answer] --The greatest dangers are the unhistorical modes of thought and the lack of historical perspective, and the type of social criticism which does not take into account our progress in the last 35 years. These result in views alien to socialism and muddled, often uncritically accepted opinions. I have heard from teenagers that they are not interested in what has been here for twenty or thirty years; what is important are present-day opportunities available to them. The ideological "weak points" of the youth include the remains of nationalism and the assertion of outdated opinions from a vanished age. An observable although not yet frequent characteristic of the age group is their indifference, withdrawal and resignation to the unalterable nature of the problems of our surroundings or to that "view of history" according to which matters are arranged over one's head. The last is a fairly widespread view among teenagers.

[Question] /--This is referred to in a recently conducted survey which examined role models of high school students. Here it was revealed that the majority of teenagers believe those engaged in politics and public affairs to be dishonorable. What could possibly be lurking behind these views, which were also mentioned by you?/

[Answer] --Many factors, both within and outside school. Beside shortcomings in the instruction of the fundamentals of ideology, there are weaknesses in the teaching of history; for example, we remained silent about the events of the recent past for a long time. Balanced concepts of historical perspective and pedagogy were missing from schools as well as from mass media. In addition it is my observation that more attention is focused on naturally heartening monetary gain than elements of consciousness and ideas in the thinking of some teenagers.

/"The instruction of history in high school...should aid the student's orientation to the present...and should result in the knowledge, comprehension and conscious acceptance of socialism by the students...It is necessary that the students acquire historical consciousness and the capability to observe natural and social phenomena in their own development."/

[Question] /--Where does religion fit into the picture? Is the widespread practice of wearing religious symbols based on belief or simply on fashion?/

[Answer] --I think that crosses worn around the neck or embroidered on clothing do not necessarily reflect religiousness, but they do express something--a desire to stand out rather than religious conviction. They consider religious symbols romantic, as if wearing them involves some risk. It could also be a sign of thoughtless contrariness. Of course, there are also those that are religious, but among high school students, more wear this sort of thing than those who take religion seriously. Participation in organized religion has decreased among the youth, but they would nevertheless like to belong to some kind of community on an emotional basis, where an element of romantic "secrecy" still exists. As if this provides peace in a hectic world...

[Question] /--when the answers to teenagers' questions on ideology should be provided primarily by instructors. But are they trained to form the world view

of the students? Teachers of a particular subject often brush aside this task saying it is enough for them to deliver the regular course work without having to bother with philosophizing./

[Answer] --The teaching of the subject truly causes problems for the instructor. It hasn't even been very long that we've been teaching it or that the deep and thorough understanding of Marxism-Leninism was required in school. Methodological experience is also lacking. It is difficult to reach past the subjects to the philosophical content in such a way that the conduct of life and its practice are influenced and orientation to the politics of everyday life is provided. Hopefully, the training of pedagogues which is on the brink of further development, will aid teachers in better knowing how a particular question could be answered or at least, how to begin to reply.

/"The teaching of literature should further modl their Marxist-Leninist world view so that their convictions are manifested in their activities...The teaching of mathematics...should contribute toward training in a dialectical materialist world view...the teaching of physics should strengthen the dialectical and materialist perspective of the students..."/

[Question] /--It is said of teenagers that they are a generation raised on mass media. How do you see the great and unprecendented effects of television, radio and press from the standpoint of ideology training?/

[Answer] --Television is much criticized because some of its programs remain at the level of posing questions. Because of a valid fear that there are no formulas for the solution of social problems, television is rarely willing to take a stand. The newspapers geared toward the youth could assume a larger role in this. Occasionally they could give a more thorough explanation of a particularly timely ideological question.

[Question] /--Do you consider high school students to be political?/

[Answer] --They are more political than the public generally believes. They do not always politicize the way we would like them to but they are often sharp observers of phenomena. The majority criticize social conditions from a socialist standpoint--although they are not free of illusions or naivete. The solutions they envision are illusory, unhistorical and consist of one-sided moralizing. These phenomena were mentioned at the last KISZ conference. In conclusion, the youth reflects both the good and bad facets of the adult population's consciousness. It is to their advantage that they can start out with a "clean slate" and that their thinking is still minimally influenced by various restrictive interests. Of course, there are disadvantages in that they could easily get mixed up in "ideological advantures" and the voicing of extreme views due to lack of experience.

/"The teaching of high school geography...should aid the formation of the students' Marxist-Leninist world view in a many-faceted way...Let music and voice play an effective role in forming aspects of their intellectual, moral and political ideologies...Art and art history...should develop the dialectical and materialistic perspective of the students."/

DISCUSSION OF YOUTH AFFAIRS IN PRESS NOTED

Upbringing Failures Decried

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Jun 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by a Kielce physician and a Central Committee substitute member, Zbigniew Charczuk: "Views on the Matters of Youth--'The Childhood Shows the Man'"]

> [Text] Youth does not trust our party--as a result of the unpleasant past experiences--and it manifests its attitude with more courage than adults. This is, after all, a striking feature of young people's character; dash, show of courage and vehemence dominate experience and knowledge.

There is only one medicine: we need plenty of patience and we must demonstrate in our daily life the implementation of the resolution of the ninth party congress--building the system of social justice, what the young generation awaits most eagerly. Nothing will convince the youth better than a good example and tangible proofs of the unity of slogans and program with practice.

For the origin of youth's lack of trust in the ruling party, we should look at the attitudes developed in childhood. It is being said that the childhood shows the man. Having been employed for several years as a pediatrician, I can tell a lot about it. Contrary to popular views, the child is an exquisite observer of the surrounding world. We learn from our little patients so much information about the family life.

What are the observations from my own profession? The last several years reveal petty bourgeois trends in upbringing, since consumerism has been society's predominant life style. The party has not countered this trend. The prevailing practice has been confirmed by the sad examples of the party's recently removed leaders.

Too often the children have grown up in their homes in a hypocritical atmosphere--they heard something at school, while at home they encountered something entirely different.

The moral authority of the teacher has dropped. In the past the predominant type was a pedagogue who would rear a young man; now teachers routinely transmit

knowledge. I can recall the postwar period when we were poor but we had wonderful pedagogues. They were generous with the time devoted to their pupils. I remember them with sentiment and pietism. What is the youth's impression of its teachers today? Isn't the quite popular phenomenon of expensive tutoring at high schools a slap at the face of the teaching cadre in the socialist system?

Smaller families are conducive to the formation of the child-egoist. Parents often sacrifice so that their child is not inferior in dress, food, etc. to other children. Quite often schools, even elementary schools resemble style shows. This is approved by society, not excluding the faculty.

Our children are not encouraged to develop an interest in touring, to learn about their country, its history and its national culture. In this respect the well-prepared programs of the Polish Scout Union and the Polishing Touring and Sightseeing Society look somewhat emaciated. Teachers, hunting a second job, do not find time for the upbringing of children in their social surrounding. Ignorance of even their nearest social milieu results in embarrassing consequences: a large proportion of students do not know the architectural monuments of the city where they attend school. This is also true of graduates of the institutions of higher learning of Cracow, Warsaw, Poznan and other cities.

Since infancy, youth has witnessed sociopolitical discussions, both at home and in public places. What is worse, it is politics practiced by the home-grown politicians, as if for their own use. In the old times Stanczyk has proved that Poland has the largest number of physicians. Today, we can assume without proof that the majority is composed of the pseudoeconomists and the same kind of politicians.

These examples tempt one to generalize that the genesis of the confusion, and maybe even frustration of some youth, lies in the absence of an upbringing system. On the other hand, the excessively frequent cases of careerism, violation of law and order, and the absence of justice became identified with socialism (those are the authentic opinions of youth).

The observed discontent of youth, signs of rebellion and antisocialist manifestations are linked with the weakening of social discipline, what has contributed to the drastic deterioration of country's economic situation.

The party is not without blame in this catalog of errors. The opposition takes advantage of this situation, and, utilizing sophisticated propaganda, sets the youth against us.

Youth should know the whole truth about the present crisis and its background. The dialogue with youth should be open, serious and honest. At the same time the young generation should be taught respect for work, social discipline and civic culture.

There is no reason why an elementary-school or high-school pupil cannot earn some money (collecting newspapers for recycling and secondary raw materials in general, herbs, etc.). He will appreciate the meaning of an effort, learn the value of money and learn how to plan his expenses.

Youth in internships should be guided by the best experts in given professions. It should feel that its efforts are properly valued and its work not being wasted.

Our own behavior, in turn, should show the youth that we are counting on its help. I would venture to say that it would not decline to help us. Youth can treat its commitments seriously. What it needs above all are good examples of adults.

In dealing with youth we should devote less time to the theoretical aspects of Marxism. It should learn about the Marxist philosophy in its daily life. We should not shy away from showing mistakes, incorrect decisions and negative examples. The reality of social life should illustrate the process of learning the principles of socialist system, not the other way around. Let us recall our youth. The classes that our memory has recorded best were those in which the teacher has based his theoretical presentation on experiments in the school laboratories. We should provide the children and youth with properly prepared history textbooks. No savings should be made on monographic publications in history. The faculty should have at its disposal well-prepared source material. No self-respecting pedagogue should avoid participation in the program of patriotic upbringing.

I strongly favor expanding the scout movement in the elementary and high schools. The Polish Scout Union has a long tradition. Its motto has always been patriotic virtues and love of the fatherland. Youth learns respect for work, social discipline, honesty, good manners, life free of addictions and, above all, justice. In addition, the scouts propagate sighseeing, study of Polish history, ability of living in a community. The Polish Scout Union should remain under special protection of our party because it is an organization that can effectively shape youth's character.

The best possible patronage should be assured to the youth organizations: the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] and the Socialist Union of Polish Youth [SZSP]. However, I would be against fostering political passions in those organizations; rather I would favor ideological matters and their assistance in preparation for a profession and civic life.

Youth should be assured of the participation in the self-governing bodies. I would invite to the central authorities representatives of youth organizations as observers with an advisory voice. Let them learn and train; they will profit from this. I would place particularly talented individuals in the positions of responsibility, although under the supervision of mature advisors.

Economic Proposals Offered

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by senior foreman at the PREDOM-MESKO Metal Plants in Skarzysko-Kamienna and member of the Central Committee, Ignacy Drabik: "Some Concrete Conclusions"]

> [Text] The sociomaterial situation decisively influences the life of the young generation, especially young families. The

conditions of life of young people should be the basis for decisions about the future of the nation's life. It is the young generation that is burdened with all the economic, social and political drawbacks and complications. Its work motivation and readiness for increased effort and for building a new reality depend on the vision of its future and the possibility of realizing its ambitions and intentions. While examining the situation of young people, we should consider the conditions of family and private life, as well as the sociomaterial conditions at the work place. Some concrete conclusions follow.

The income from work--the only means of support of young employees--is more than 20 percent lower than the average wage in an enterprise. However, the difference in incomes of young employees with 0-10 years of employment and those with over 20 years of employment exceeds 30 percent. The average income of the young employees of PREDOM-MESKO [Metal Plants] in 1981 was equal to the country's 1976 average. To some degree it is a norm, provided that incomes would be supplemented, for instance, by the bonuses for the length of work. The irregularity of this situation lies in the fact that young people with 5 or 7 years' experience are paid less for the same work, sometimes even if it is more difficult and performed in worse conditions (according to the rule: since you are young, stronger and healthier). One should also consider the fact that, for instance, the 40-year-olds have already achieved a certain level of saturation with durable goods; the young ones have more needs since they are beginning to equip their households.

The conclusion is that same work, equal execution of this work, should be paid equally, regardless whether performed by a young worker or one with more experience.

In 1981 exactly 64.8 percent of young families of the PREDOM-MESKO [Metal Plants] employees were deeply in debt. The number of indebted families will rise sharply this year and in the coming years. This situation, considering the rise of prices, will have an alarmingly negative influence on the life of young families. The burden of debts and the involved payments considerably shrink the amount of money needed for every-day expenses. It makes one's material situation mere vegetation. We should expect to have a "demographic saddle" and deterioration of the young generation's health. The cost of many renunciations and excessive efforts would leave its marks in the future.

In conclusion, far-reaching financial assistance should be extended to young families. It should involve interest-free loans for the purchase of durable goods or for payments for apartments; these would be amortized after certain conditions are met.

Only 20 percent of young couples have an independent apartment obtained from a housing cooperative or from their employer; 60 percent do not have any apartments. Given the present recession in the housing industry, that number will rise substantially. The living space of quite a few young families is 5 square meters per person. This is starvation housing. The most acute housing shortage is being felt by youth in the 21-35 age bracket. What will be done to alleviate this situation?

The resources for the development of housing should be unconditionally regrouped and a green light should be given to this sub-sector of the economy. A very valuable initiative that can assuage this trouble spot is the youth patronage of the housing industry. By participating in building a house or an apartment building, a young family enables the professional crew to transfer to other work sectors. It therefore provides a cheap, efficient and reliable labor. One who works for himself does his assignment decisively better. An examination of the quality of the finished apartments would confirm this.

The government must do everything to ensure the implementation of the patronage-type housing construction by youth organizations. A number of unrealistic regulations, stipulations and other legal acts standing in the way of a smooth operation of the building industry should be rescinded. It should be done with the awareness of the mutual advantage that this youth's initiative brings about.

Many critical comments regard the "big slab." This technology is energy-consuming, material-consuming and harmful to health. We should once for all stop throwing money into a bottomless pit; instead buildings that can be constructed with traditional methods--from hollow blocks and brick--should be built. Consequently, it is imperative that we invest in the production of bricks and revive the idle brickworks.

Also the initiatives of the youth housing cooperatives and construction of single-family houses merit much attention. However, the regulations concerning building credits, their repayment period and the allotment of building material needed by the single-family building should be made more realistic. It would help to solve the housing shortage and absorb the population's financial resources; thus the inflation-building excessive amount of money supply will be liquidated. The dominant direction of our discussion, though, should be the solution of the problems of people's living conditions, not the liquidation of the money surplus at the disposal of that population.

SZSP Seminar Reported

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by W. Deb.: "Student Discussions--Youth and Society"]

> [Text] At the Socialist Union of Polish Students discussions are under way on the future of the country and the young generation as well as the objectives of the institutions of higher learning. On 5-6 June these problems were discussed by the participants of the nationwide student seminar, "Youth--Participation in the Joint Administration."

The purpose of this meeting--attended by scholars, student activists and members of scientific circles--was to define the principle directions of the discussion at the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] on the present state and prospects for the Polish political system, listing the most important problems of students, and evaluation of the ideological and political work of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP].

During the discussion on the country's situation, the democratic solutions were pointed out. They would give a chance for the largest possible segment of the society to participate actively in overcoming the crisis. All social forces, including the socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], should create conditions for the unhindered civic initiatives and social activity. The discussion concluded that a major role in leading the country out of the crisis can be played by the plant, university and territorial self-governing bodies.

Much time was devoted to the social problems of the young generation. The enormous difference between the rural and small town youth, on one side, and the big city youth, one the other, was pointed out. The rural youth loses its chance for higher education not at entrance examinations but at an earlier point: in the elementary school and in selecting the high school. The rural and poorer workers' families tend to favor attaining an early financial independence; hence not many youth from such families decide to enroll at full-time high schools. It is still too prevalent that the financial possibilities of the parents decide the careers of their children. Thus, the state's assistance to elementary-school and high-school students is of great importance.

The political work of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] was also discussed. The conclusion was that the union should intensify its upbringing activity; the time devoted to political discussions and talks on the duties of the student body should be increased.

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CSO: 2600/720

ILLEGAL HIGH SCHOOL GROUP UNCOVERED IN BYTOM

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 2 Jun 82 p 3

[Text] They were to locate families of detained persons, to visit their homes and to offer help. The teenagers called themselves an "Independent Youth Movement." Is it absolutely necessary to make a defiant gesture and to declare oneself "independent" in order to help senior citizens, disabled persons and people living alone with everyday shopping and cleaning chores? The Bytom high-school students have no reply to this question.

The showdown occurred at Cafe Tosca--the kind of coffee shop that one may find in any city.

In the coffee shop, a police patrol recovered some interesting materials owned by a 16-year-old High-school student and his 15-year-old friend from an automotive vocational school. The materials included carefully mimeographed copies of typewritten programs and guidelines addressed to the boys' peers and advocating the founding of a widespread movement of independent teenagers.

The first document, called an ideological declaration, explains the goal of the movement "to develop a political program that would reflect aspirations of the Polish youth." This premise is further developed in the guidelines. They describe "security as members' behavior during rallies, street demonstrations and clashes with the authorities.

Like many other similar guidelines, the document recommends that members maintain increased vigilance; walk in groups of three, preferably consisting of one girl and two boys; and during "clashes" with the militia stay cool, sit in a lotus position, and pray. These guidelines carry a heading of the "Independent Youth Movement," which implies that they have actually been developed and written by high-school students. One of the recommendations, for example, is written in student slang; it reads: "When detained, pretend that you are strung out."

A prosecutor's viist to the principal of High School 5, which has long enjoyed an excellent reputation in Bytom, interrupted the school's peace. Named after Jan Smolen, a local hero in the struggle to reclaim Silesia for Poland, the school next year will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the first Polish high school in this area.

The school's scholastic and educational achievements are illustrated by diplomas earned by the students in various disciplines at national competitions and scholastic olympics. Moreover, 60 percent of the school's graduates are accepted for university studies.

Attitudes of the high-school students have been generally perceived as positive, sometimes even excellent. Even during the recent turbulent period, there were no incidents in the school. Principal Jan Mieszko said that in January, when classes were restored after the suspension imposed by martial law, students held meetings and discussions with representatives of the army and the police, but no one noticed anything alarming. To the contrary, in the questions asked by the students during those meetings there was little obtrusiveness, typical of teenagers, or any particular doubtfulness. "This is an exceptionally calm youth," said one of the army officers after a visit to the school.

However, the prosecutor paid a visit solely to this exceptional high school.

"I was absolutely astonished at the news that students started an illegal organization that included 12 students from our school," Mieszko said. "In accordance with the law, 4 students, who are over 17 years of age, have been detained in jail and this is most depressing. Everyone has been concerned about this development but at the same time teachers have been forced to consider more thoroughly where an error was made and when our attention lapsed."

Naturally, the news of the students' "independent movement" and its activities, forbidden by martial law, has electrified the school.

An Air of Conspiracy

Several girls and boys testified for the militia and the prosecutor; they were released. When they came to school, they were surrounded with a special aura of conspiracy. Perceived as heroes, the teenagers nonchalantly described their recent experiences, drawing the attention of their curious peers. During that initial period, the teachers acted in various ways. In class, there were instances of favoring or even adulating those students, until the principal decisively stopped those practices at a meeting of the teachers' council.

"No, I did not introduce any changes in class instruction at that time," Regina Krzeszowska, a history and social sciences teacher, said. She is also a preceptor of the class with the highest number of the "independent" students.

"What can I say about those students? Each is different. A few have poor grades but there are also exceptional students in terms of their grades and previous behavior. Some are sensitive and intelligent and some are conceited and defiant."

Neither a retired miner, a party activist, an overworked doctor, nor an engineer tired of his draft work was able to comprehend the news about their sons and daughters, insisting that it was merely a misunderstanding. They continued to attack the school for allowing such a situation and blamed it for their children's violation of the law.

Two boys, members of the group, are raised by a single parent because the other spouse decided to leave his city, family and country to find a place for himself only in the FGR. Other members received high weekly allowances. They also have driver's licenses and thus were able to use their parents' cars while their parents were at work. Some members own bicycles or stereo systems.

It is difficult to determine why in February 1982 this particular group went to the school physician's apartment for a lesson in the so-called uncensored history. Some of them hardly knew each other. To be sure, they were motivated by a longing for more knowledge of history, stimulated especially by often conflicting interpretations of various events in Polish history.

There were two such meetings. With the adults who hosted the meetings, the students discussed the history of the Piasts and Jagiellonians. When the apartment was searched, the militia found materials indicating that other meetings were planned to provide a particular interpretation of Polish history during the past 50 years.

With considerable enthusiasm, the young people unequivocally approved contact with two activists of the suspended Solidarity movement as well as a proposal to help families of detained persons. The young people combined the process of looking up the addresses of those families with distributing leaflets provided by the two Solidarity members. The leaflets announced "underground" meetings and exhorted the community to become involved in a "resistance movement." In an attempt to provide a formal framework for the group, the young people adopted a name, detailed guidelines and a manifesto addressed to all high-school students, urging them to serve the needy.

The young people twice covered the city, leaving the leaflets in stairwells, on windowsills, in elevators, in front of churches, often in a nearest trash bin. In a statement written for the militia, concerning the leaflet distribution, the young people wrote: "I did it because I did not want to look like somebody who has chickened out." "It did not make much sense, but what would my peers say." "I even considered saying no to the leaflet distribution, but nobody else refused, so why should I stick my neck out?"

During individual conversations, they are very hot-tempered. They maintain that all their activities were carefully considered.

"According to a widespread belief, adults took advantage of the naive youth in order to wash their dirty laundry but it is not true. Moreover, this kind of attitude is simply an insult to us!" This is how Jarek, the unofficial leader of the group, explains his stand. "After all, we are already teenagers, not small children; we have the right to our own views and beliefs, just like everybody else. My brother was trying to convince me that what we were doing did not make any sense, that it was immature, that we would not get away with it. I did not believe him. Now I tend to agree with him. But perhaps I would have done the same again, all of us would. After all, is there anything wrong in trying to help those people who, faced with a specific situation, had nobody else to help them? Everybody supports this kind of work."

Is it really necessary to found the "Independent Youth Movement" with all its trappings in order to help senior citizens, people living alone and disabled persons? Jarek and other members of the group have no reply to this question. They got themselves into trouble. The very name of the group gives them some surprising satisfaction; to people around them it is a source of sensationalism and excitement.

In dealing with the young people from Bytom high schools, the district court in Bytom decided that they need to be supervised by court-appointed guardians or by their parents.

But it is the people, who were most surprised by the whole affair, who seem to need a lesson in discipline.

9852
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YOUTH DEMOGRAPHIC, EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS DISCUSSED

Warsaw RADA NARODOWA GOSPODARKA ADMINISTRACJA in Polish No 10, 14 Jun 82 pp 9, 10

[Article: "Youth '82 and Its Problems"]

[Text] This May during a meeting of the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee, a program draft for the improving our young people's starting out in life and on the job was reviewed. The draft had been drawn up by an intraministerial group composed mainly of specialists from the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs.

This interesting document contained an in-depth analysis of the situation of young people entering out into life. It included a list of the problems that they meet as they stand on the threshhold of their independence! The program listed the many barriers which the young people in our country have to overcome as they begin their jobs, want to start a family, are anxious to find their proper place in social life and to define their role in the changes taking place, as well as to set down their own long-term prospects for life, and this now at a time which is so difficult for the society and the economy.

A Quarter of Society

As was stated at the meeting, Poland is demographically a young country.

Young people, between the ages of 15 and 29 years, make of 9.3 million of the country's more than 36.1 million inhabitants. They represent nearly 25 percent of the entire population.

Young graduates of colleges and secondary schools are better prepared to begin jobs than previous generations. At present, more than 70 percent of all young people are graduates of colleges, general secondary schools, or vocational schools, compared to only 50 percent of the older people. The number of young families is estimated at 3 million.

Each year 300,000 young couples marry, and 700,000 children are born. This is our greatest national treasure, and they are being given a great

deal of attention under crisis conditions in the effort to meet their developmental needs.

The long-term demographic forecast to the year 2000 projects a negligible rise in the total size of the younger generation in our country. The demographers tell us that we should expect a further migration of young people from the country to the city. Hence, there is a need to create in the rural areas those social and material conditions to encourage young people to remain first of all on the farm and also in the local agricultural-food plants, agricultural mechanization, and local administration and services. Providing them with proper conditions depends to a great extent on the efficient operation of the local bodies of state administration.

As was emphasized at the meeting of the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee, the country's economic difficulties have had a particular impact on young people in both material and psychological terms. This applies both to the job sphere and housing situation and to the broadly-conceived sphere of the protection and development of the family.

The committee presented a hypothesis based on two concrete interlocking aspirations. It is a matter of having the provisions contained in the program presented be able to become rooted in life in the broad sense only after an improvement has been made in the national economic situation. This in turn depends to a great extent on the active involvement of the younger generation in the work of stabilizing and revitalizing the country's economy.

How To Train Youth

The conditions for young people's start in life is closely related to the good effects of training and their taking a job. These two matters received joint emphasis during the committee's deliberations. It is a question of having all types of schooling in our country related to the concrete needs of employment. We cannot continue to allow the graduates of the institutions of higher education, the secondary schools, the technical schools, and sometimes even the vocational schools to seek jobs to fit the qualifications acquired.

We should put an end to the old practices of directing youngsters to secondary and college-level institutions out of what is fashionable, because of the urging of parents, or after the example of peers. We must create, in elaborating a forecast of training needs, concrete ways of examining the various phenomena taking place in the national economy and in the economies of the voivodships and regions, and then using them we must tell the secondary schools and colleges what the needed directions of training are.

Aid to young people in their search for a place in life, for example, through the above-mentioned research and the resulting conclusions, should come also, perhaps mainly, from the voivodship offices. It is the local state administration that best knows what sort of trained experts are needed in the voivodship, and in cooperation with neighbors -- and in this matter mutual consultation is worthwhile -- what sort of needs there are in the macroregion made up of several voivodships.

How To Promote Youth

The Sociopolitical Committee emphasized that the creation and bolstering of the incentive role of wages is extremely important in releasing the initiative and enterprise of young employees. Up until now the promotion of young people has been too slow.

Among the 312,000 regular college graduates who finished their studies during the past decade, that is, those not over 35 years of age, 17.8 percent are in management positions, and the figures for men and women are 28.4 percent and only 8.5 percent, respectively. This abnormal policy in promotion policy is also shown by the fact that after 10 years of work on the job, one-third as many engineers reach middle-management levels or higher-management levels than in the group of their older colleagues who graduated earlier. For example, according to the statistics, it is not until age 35 that a young engineer receives the pay of an employee of his same age who has only graduated from a basic vocational school.

Hence, it was decided that the principle should be adopted to take such criteria as professional knowledge, and quality and amount of work. These are to be the basic criteria for vocational advancement, which in the case of capable young people should be rapid and early.

It was decided to create the principle of "open prongs" for wages, in order to eliminate artificial advancement in rank and similar artificial multiplication of positions of managers and their deputies. In this way things will lead to the creation of what are called horizontal paths of advancement, which means increasing earnings by means of a promotion within the framework of the position held.

How To Employ Youth

Much attention during the meeting was devoted to the need to insure that college graduates will have jobs. Because of the current situation in the economy, many graduates are having trouble finding appropriate jobs. This is particularly true in the large cities. Young people are offered the possibility of retraining, through the introduction of added special courses and additional qualifications obtained in courses. The principle has been adopted that a graduate may be referred to any job he wants to do, if it has a social use, regardless of where it is performed: in a socialized work establishment, in trade, services, the

crafts and trades, or on a farm. It has been decided to make more profound efforts to expand priorities to encourage people to take jobs right in the crafts and trades, services, and private agriculture. These three areas of the employment of graduates should be at the focal point of the interest of voivodship and parish [gmina] officials.

As for applicants to the institutions of higher education, beginning this year reliable information is to be presented about the employment opportunities for a graduate of a given major field of study. It is a question of making it possible for the young person to weigh his decision and base it on and awareness of all the elements of the complicated socio-economic situation in the country.

How to Develop Youth

Young people between the ages of 18 and 29 years represent 33.5 percent of all employees, and in the skilled workers group they make up a still larger share, 43 percent of the total. In these months about a half million graduates of the schools will take the first job of their life. It is necessary to create the proper atmosphere for them and to provide for proper relations on the job.

In many cases this socially and economically important matter has been undervalued or ignored in many places of employment. The Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee particularly emphasized the necessity for change for the better in this area. The prevailing relations between the supervisor and the young person beginning work, who does not yet have deeply-instilled habits, sometimes structure his long-range attitude towards his job and the social life going on in the plant. What sort of mechanisms should operate here? This question should be answered in each plant by the supervisors who know how to develop young people, those who treat young people as copartners and colleagues, as they introduce them to their work and their obligations.

You do not "raise" a young person. You do not inject him with an active stance, inventiveness and dedication when management is bad, when the relations between people break down, where there is waste, slovenliness, a mess, or incompetence. Under such conditions, moral training on the job produces the reverse effect, one which is bad for the young person, for his immediate surroundings, the society and the economy.

The committee emphasized that the complexity of the problems of the younger generation requires the creation of appropriate structures for the development of the human personality for the good of the socialist society. There was a call for adopting the principle that the system of planning should include, alongside the projected economic tasks, social goals as well aimed at the better satisfaction of the needs of various social groups, including the younger generation in particular.

After being worked over, the draft of the program will be presented to the Council of Ministers for related decisions to be made.
10790
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PZPR WALBRZYCH FIRST SECRETARY NOWAK INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 12 Jul 82 pp 1,2

[Interview with Jozef Nowak, First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Walbrzych, by Marek J. Szewczyk: "This Generation Is in Favor of Socialism; On Youth Affairs Prior to the PZPR Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] [Question] When the members of the voivodship party organization put you at their head and when later the voivodship reporting and elections conference confirmed the correctness of that selection, the young citizens of the voivodship who constitute a large percentage in Walbrzych Voivodship were very pleased.

[Answer] We are presently dealing with a very different view of young people. The way young people are looking at us is no different. This situation is not new, either in our country or in other countries of the world. We have to realize this and not create new stereotypes to go along with nearly every generation. They are usually harmful in every respect: for one thing, they distort the proper picture of their followers and to a great extent have an impact on the attitudes of others. Stereotypes also unfortunately favor the development of what is called the conflict of the generations.

We are also dealing with increasing concern among the older generation concerning our country's contribution, their own fate, and the effects of several decades of work. The older people are the most active at party meetings. They voice their fears loudly: Can young people bear the burden of everyday labor? And conversely. The younger generation comes into contact with pictures of past reality, mainly those contained in the statements of teachers or in textbooks. unfortunately, certain periods in this composition are very blurred: the Nazi occupation, the activity of ZMP [Polish Youth Union], and the first few years after the war, which after all are very much rooted in our history and have an impact on its further course.

[Question] Is this "blurring" not caused by fear that the past days will be sullied, the fear of admitting their weaknesses?

[Answer] There is an old educators' maxim: As the older generation is, so is youth. But it represents after all a whole range of views on the subject of reality, the past, and the future which are quite varied and often not concretized. Let us not be surprised that the younger generation presents this in a very severe way, that it is waiting for the truth. It wants to find out why one fact or another is sometimes presented to it one way and sometimes another. And why are there subjects that are taboo? Why is it, they ask, that something which is so concrete for older people is not at all concrete for young people?

[Question] Perhaps here the political organizations which have somehow been afraid of activity in contact with the generations are not without blame?

[Answer] They are not afraid of it. For example, at its Third Congress the ZSMP wrote cooperation with the PZPR into its statute. This is a new thing which should be transferred to everyday practice in the wake of the Ninth Party Congress. This new aspect came into being in a specific period. We must remember in inculcating the proposed forms that the Marxist-Leninist principles clearly define the young person's role in the functioning of the socialist state.

[Question] Can the youth organization be a partner of the party?

[Answer] I think that anytime the younger generation is not treated as a partner but is treated paternalistically, then sooner or later it will go in the wrong direction. We now face difficult tasks, because they are getting into the realm of customs. We party activists, youth organization activists, and their members must see to the "structuring of the thinking" of the older people in categories of the younger generation and conversely. If we do not do this, we will always be dealing with having young people take our proposals "with a wink." "They want to buy us off. They want to manipulate us. They want to take advantage of the situation." When we approach young people on the basis of a partnership, then we have the right and the duty to demand that they also understand the complexity and responsibility of that generation which is older than they are, which has given it life, which in the end would like to put its contribution into worthy hands, turn it over with all the baggage of experience, both positive and negative. Why learn from one's own errors, since they have already been committed earlier and paid for dearly?

[Question] Among the basic party organization secretaries there are a lot of young people in their 20's, a lot of 30-year olds. In a conversation one of them said that after being appointed to the voivodship committee he was travelling to Walbrzych with a certain uncomfortable feeling. On the other hand, he knows that when he has a problem which he cannot handle on his own, he can always count on your help and advice...

[Answer] The first secretary -- that of the voivodship committee too -- should have moral authority and also personal authority too. Therefore, he should not shunt people aside. On the other hand, if everyone handled their affairs only through the First Secretary himself, the party machinery would be for nothing, and even a 48-hour day would not suffice for the First Secretary. The secretaries at the lowest levels must operate independently first of all. I am for not leaving alone a person who cannot manage, but for having him come with his doubts, getting advice, and not making a mistake. After all, it is not always possible to correct an error.

[Question] The next plenary session of the party's central committee is coming up, and this time it is devoted to youth, but it is not enough to say that there is a host of problems related to young people. They have to be taken care of as quickly as possible. In many instances the conditions created by our situation, our economic situation, for example, stand in the way. Let me just mention housing construction. This problem cannot be "taken care of" in the course of a year. Walbrzych Voivodship is an excellent example of this.

[Answer] Yes. We are trying nonetheless to resolve this problem jointly with young people. I must say that the young people themselves are demonstrating a great deal of initiative. Walbrzych Voivodship is one of the most needy voivodships in the country in this respect.

Nonetheless, the young people did not go to pieces when they learned about this. The first youth cooperatives and housing construction associations were formed. The young people are taking over what we call naked buildings. This is very encouraging, but these are merely the beginning, small steps on the way to improving the housing situation of Walbrzych families. I cannot imagine a solution to the Walbrzych housing problem without the active involvement of young people, beginning with the fact that they are filling the building schools with people anxious to work in this branch. It is not just a matter of technical schools but mainly of schools that train skilled brick-layers, plasterers, and so on, and ending up with a large proportion of young people in finishing them, the people who are the future users of housing construction. Then it is cheaper, and there is a chance for more. All initiative of this type must be supported by the voivodship administrative and political authorities.

[Question] Housing means the family, its proper development, its desire for life, the possibility of recreation and the rebuilding of strength before the next day's work.

[Answer] It is difficult to say for sure whether in 5 or 10 years we will be able to ease the housing problem to the point where the waiting period will be shortened to, say, 3 years. The solution for today is the more rational management of the housing we have. In Walbrzych Voivodship, one family out of every five lives together with another one. But at the same time there are those who have two apartments. Efforts

have been going on a long time to attempt to resolve this problem on both the voivodship and national scale. In both cases this is merely the preliminary to the beginning. There are people who would like to exchange their large apartments for smaller ones. Unfortunately, the legal situation does not always favor these aspirations. It is not always possible for the parties to follow the letter of the law to the end. Hence, there are many issues which, alongside the most rapid possible resolution of the housing problem by expansion of the construction industry, must be resolved right away. And here I see a great role for the party and for youth organizations. We must have joint, decisive positions in the concern for the proper development of our children and ourselves. Without that, nothing will work.

[Question] Mr Secretary, you have spent many years among young people, but even today many Walbrzych young people are saying: our secretary. Please give an assessment of youth. What is it like? What should it be like?

[Answer] It has a great deal more than we had. It has not known poverty, as my generation did, especially that of people from working-class families with many children. Now many young people are feeling privation. I wish for this generation that the current complicated conditions create in them strength of spirit, that is, both thoughts and attitudes. These young people are in favor of socialism, but they are against distortions of this system. These young people are more critical. They want unequivocal statements about what is wrong and what is not. Much attention must be given to self-development, the formation of their character. We must show the achievements and errors of their parents, grandparents, and forefathers.

[Question] Here and there we run into the statement "lost generation."

[Answer] I said at the beginning of our talk something about stereotypes. I remember from my own youth the way people talked. "Study, Child, or else you will wind up on a PGR [state farm]. This was also a stereotype that comes up in my mind when I hear about the next generation, which is now called "the lost generation." I do not know who created this paranoid idea, whether it was us Poles or our adversaries. I do not think it was us. Which of our generations can be considered lost? I think these are the first indications in the more distant future when the primary notions will be not only that this is not a lost generation but also that it is not only not against socialism but that the current conditions have shaped special generations in the history of our nation, that of our socialist state. Now we are actually a little at the stage -- there may be a great deal of subjectivity in this -- "to be or not to be," in relation to the whole past period of the country. Either all this will be digested and there will be new values created, very concrete positive categories which confirm that practice coincides with Marxist-Leninist theory, or... And what is the other alternative? It would be a tragedy! It should not come to this. It must not. After all, this generation is not one of people committing national suicide. I believe in the younger generation, and I know that each of them can be only an active optimist.

10790
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ZSMP LEADER JASKIERNIA WRITES ON YOUTH, AUTHORITY POSITIONS

Warsaw RADA NARODOWA GOSPODARKA ADMINISTRACJA in Polish No 10, 14 Jun 82 pp 11-12

[Article by Jerzy Jaskiernia: "Youth in Organs of Authority"]

[Text] The Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] as the focus and spokesman of the interests of youth fulfills the duty of being the organ of expression also through its representatives in the central and local organs of authority. In the past, the participation of youth in social, public and political life has been insufficient. Potential comanagers were not playing the part expected of them, they were not a brake for various social deviations, nor were they an innovating force in public, social or political life, in science or in the economy.

Our union, like former youth organizations, did not appreciate the real possibilities of utilizing the creative potential of a broad group of its representatives. It is debatable to what degree, for instance, the ZSMP in past years in practice recommended people for the functions of councilors and deputies and to what extent otherwise chosen people were attributed to the organization. Irrespective of the present evaluation of this matter, there was never enough commitment to effect the right choice and designation of our candidates, to win them over to the cause of the Union and its concerns. Finally, to give the youth representatives the moral and ideological motivation to courageously represent its causes and also to help in situations when the activity of the councilor requires the support of an entire echelon of ZSMP. Instances of abandonment of councilors and deputies in their struggle for just causes are well known.

There is another problem: to what extent the individual elements in the local and central authority have tried to create the conditions in which the social vocation of the young could effectively and efficiently be implemented. The union, through a prescribed system of work with young councilors and deputies, as well as with others who represent youth in all sorts of social organizations, can have an influence on their attitudes and motivations but, of course, much depends on whether the social, organization and political conditions exist for the youth to carry out its mission and to mature into its responsibilities and grow into the roles of comanagers. One could ask: who, in the past was interested in particularly awakened activism and courage on the part of the young councilors and deputies?

What examples did they encounter every day, what manner of people were around them, into what overwhelming mechanisms were they hemmed in? How many examples could we give today of a leader or governor seeing to it especially that young councilors are critical, that they proclaim the truth and fight evil, bureaucracy and injustice?

Search for a New Formula for Action

Directions for the change in the relationship of ZSMP and the representative and self-governing organs were sketched at the III Extraordinary Congress of the ZSMP. It was noted there, among other things, that the participation of youth (including the members of ZSMP) in the actual exercise of authority was very limited and that it had a negligible influence on the solution of the problems of youth. At that time, the view was affirmed that work with the young councilors and deputies should serve to introduce large numbers of young people to the principles and the functioning of the elements of the socialist democracy; that it should enable them to express their own opinions and views, submit comments, recommendations and state their expectations from the state authorities, thru the echelons of the ZSMP as well as thru the members of the ZSMP in the representative organs. This is particularly significant for an ideological-political and educational organization such as ZSMP, it also has a bearing on its strength. On the one hand, it signifies participation of youth in the exercise of power, a lasting place in the system of governing and leading the state, on the other--upbringing for socialist democracy. This process goes on in a parallel fashion and that is the way it should be. For participation in the development and improvement of democracy cannot be treated as a goal postponed for thefuture but constitutes an objective necessity of the present day, an indispensable requirement of social and civic upbringing.

Presently, when we talk so much about the necessity of starting a dialogue between the authorities and society, we wonder in ZSMP what are our chances of fostering this dialogue, organizing it and leading it, among others, through the young councilors and deputies, members of the urban and rural self-government. We want, among other things, to propose a new current of youth activities, a new formula for their presence in the representative organs and in the work environment, education and life. It is also an attempt to equalize the degree of activity which varies on different levels of authority, in different regions and environments. The differences in this activity stem also from individual attitudes to social duties.

The decision to extend the term of the people's councils to 1984 concerns the active as well as the passive councilors, among them those who have ZSMP identity cards. It is not a matter, obviously, of reaching the end of the term with this passive group. It is a matter of filling the extended term with active and effective work, social thought and activity. Thus, in the practice of the activity of the ZSMP and of the elements of state authority, it is necessary to improve cooperation with young councilors and deputies and to create the conditions for their participation in the formulation of programs for the development of particular environments and regions, in exercising social control over the state administrative apparatus and in strengthening the ties with the electorate. Based on such activities there might and should be a rebirth (very important in the present sociopolitical conditions) of the faith of

the young in the authorities and the institutions of the socialist state, the beginning of a dialogue between the young generation and the state.

The plan approved by the Union boils down to five directional activities. They are:

1. completion of an analysis of the number of and an essential evaluation of the presence of young people in organs of central and local authority;

2. creation of the appropriate climate for cooperation of councilors and deputies with echelons of the ZSMP;

3. preparation and dissemination of indispensable instructional methodological materials;

4. entering into everyday direct working contacts with the appropriate institutions and offices;

5. construction of a new formula--with respect to content and organization--for the representation of the concerns of the young.

Youth in the Sejm and in Councils

The cycle of working meetings with a group of young deputies led to the undertaking of concrete actions on the part of the Young Deputies' Group at the Main Board of the ZSMP. It acts according to the principles adopted by it.

It is worth mentioning that in the election to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic on 23 March 1980, 21 members of ZSMP, one member of the Polish Scout Union and one member of SZSP were elected. Ten deputies were under 30 years of age. Changes brought about by filling expired terms has resulted in a group at present of 31 people under the age of 35.

In the above mentioned Young Deputies' Group there are 23 people from various organizations. This confirms the need for such a group as a forum of cooperation, exchange of experiences, and a source of support for new young deputies. The first effects of cooperation are: the submission, in the name of the youth of particular communities, trade groups, and also in the name of the Union, of questions and interpellations by the deputies; worthwhile appearances in commission and Sejm sessions, establishment of contacts with the elements and echelons of the ZSMP. The Main Board of the ZSMP gave the Young Deputies' Group a list of problems to work on. Young deputies are given access to fully prepared studies, motions, opinions and positions as well as knowledge and expertise of the Experts' Group attached to the chairman of the Main Board of the ZSMP.

Among the councilors of the Voivodship People's Councils (WRN) there are 1577 representatives of the youth. This is 23.5 percent of the total number of WRN councilors. On the other hand, among those on the basic-level councils there are 17,477 young councilors, or 17.5 percent of the total. In the personal composition of individual councils, the percentage of participation by the young is very varied, ranging, for example, from 29 percent in Leszno, 28 percent in Chelm, to 9.4 percent in Krakow, 8.4 percent in Gdansk.

The structures that organize the work of the young councilors are the Young Councilors' Groups (ZMR) which are active on the voivodship level in 47 voivodships. An analysis of their work shows that, in spite of differences in the number of councilors and in the length of their service time (some date from 1982), they follow a similar pattern of action. It consists, first of all, of meetings of groups prior to sessions to discuss the session materials, exchange views and prepare concrete motions, or to decide who will do the reporting. Other forms of work include, among others, educational activity of the young councilors (Bydgoszcz Voivodship ZMR), joint duty sessions with the deputies (Czestochowa Voivodship ZMR), activities aimed at the basic level councilors (Leszno Voivodship ZMR), participation in the work of community Front of National Unity committees (Radom Voivodship ZMR), etc. Voivodship Young Councilors' Groups extend, in their activities, beyond the scope of the Voivodship People's Councils, often undertaking tasks suggested by elements and echelons of the ZSMP. Here are some examples: taking advantage of the working time and qualifications of young people (Kielce Voivodship ZMR), socioexistential questions of Volunteer Labor Brigades members (Radom Voivodship ZMR); productivity-oriented activity of young farmers (Wloclawek Voivodship ZMR), practical training of agricultural technical high school students (Zielona Gora Voivodship ZMR). Activity carried out in this manner is a wonderful complement to the work of WRN's which is particularly important in a situation when, during the present term, there has been only one WRN session devoted to questions of youth. And yet it is not hard to come to the conclusion that taking on problems close to the youth community will activate the involvement of the young councilors and that lack of such interest will give rise to passivity and social apathy.

Active Only at the Time of Founding?

It is worthwhile to quote some opinions on the subject of the activity of the young councilors voiced by the voivodship echelons of the ZSMP. Very positive evaluations, stating that the young identified with the activity of the ZSMP, came from Bydgoszcz, Nowy Sacz, Ostroleka. Krakow reported "a generally average, but very active group (under 10 people)"; Jelenia Gora informed us about "the good activity of some 30 percent of the young councilors." The following voivodships informed the Main Board of the ZSMP about weak activity of the young councilors: Kalisz, Katowice, Irosno, Lomza, Olsztyn, Poznan, Rzeszow, Tarnow, Wloclawek, Wroclaw, Zielona Gora. Among the various opinions, we find information about growing activity (Plock, Warsaw, Koszalin) and about steady falling of the activity of young councilors over time (Biala Podlaska). This last statement requires further clarification. Cessation of activity is caused most often by lack of results in affairs undertaken by the young councilors.

Among other causes of the lack of activity, according to the young councilors themselves, are: lack of suitable personality for the function of councilor (low level of knowledge about the social and political role of the councilor, stage fright and inability to present a position--for a great majority of the young councilors this is their first term), a situation in which the group of the group of the young councilors was selected according to wrong principles (the "key" effect), which is connected with the fact that only a small percentage of these councilors are true activists in the ZSMP. Neither is this the most active group of representatives of the young generation. Sometimes the

lack of emotional ties with youth and youth organization is quite evident. Among other causes of this state of affairs, the small number of meetings organized by offices of people's councils the generally lower prestige and significance of people's councils, the complicated social, political and economic situation, conditions of personal life which decrease social activity (a considerable part of the young councilors are farmers and girls--a great number of home, farm and family duties), social stagnation of the entire community, lack of inspiration--are also cited.

This list of conditioning factors for activity was compiled as the result of appraisals carried out by Young Councilors' Groups.

The participation of the ZSMP aktiv (outside the group of councilors) and echelons of ZSMP in the work of organs of people's councils varies greatly throughout the country. There exists the practice of inviting the ZSMP aktiv to participate in the work of WRN organs; this occurs less often on the primary-level people's councils. Instances of bringing problems to the attention of commissions or sessions of people's councils directly by echelons of the ZSMP are also rare. ZSMP Voivodship Boards of Kalisz, Konin, Lomza, Lodz, Nowy Sacz, Olsztyn, Opole, Plock, Radom, Rzeszow have shown some activity in this respect. It is worth pointing out that, in many instances, positive results have been obtained, for example, in the area of the division of budgetary surplus--allocating it to sport and cultural activities, especially meaningful to youth.

Decisions of Recent Days

Guided by the social and political significance of the participation of the young people in people's councils, the Presidium of the Main Board of the ZSMP considered this problem at its meeting of 6 April 1982, with the participation of the deputy chairman of the Council of State, Zdzislaw Tomal, and vice marshall of the Sejm, Piortr Stefanski. Several measures were decided upon, aimed at augmenting the authority of young deputies and councilors in the life of the ZSMP and also at increasing their participation in advocating the concerns of the young. It was decided, among other things, to create a ZSMP Main Board Commission on Young Deputies and Councilors, to work out a set of organizational principles for and the essential scope of the education of councilors and candidate councilors, to work out and launch a concept of small congresses of young councilors as a means of verifying and activating the work of young councilors and their groups, to evaluate the work and to increase the number of meetings between the young councilors and the electorate, especially at the places of work of the young and in school, to work out and publish instructional methodological materials for the activity of the young councilors.

The Main Board Presidium of the ZSMP recommended to the elements and echelons of the ZSMP the popularization of the idea of Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth [KON] and the striving for greater participation in them by the young. The first occasion for a broader exchange of experiences on the subject of the activity of youth in OKON's was the consultation held on 13 April 1982 in Warsaw. Very interesting initiatives were presented, and the need for fomenting this new civic initiative, in form and substance, from below, was stressed.

9947
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DANGERS OF 'MYSTICAL TRADITIONS OF CHRISTIANITY' CITED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 May 82 p 4

[Article by Octavian Chetan]

[Text] The gradual and irreversible shrinking of religion's role in all social areas forcefully marks our era. This marginalization of religion involves a significant decline in authority and influence of religious ideology and institutions in their relationships with broader and broader strata.

"We witness the second day of the victory of atheism" -- a Catholic theologian recently wrote, emphasizing that no theoretical effort, no reflection on man-divinity relations or the status of faith today can be submitted for debate without taking into consideration this preeminence of atheism over religion in the present-day world. "In the final analysis, we must admit that there are often legitimate reasons for denying God."

Confronted with this critical situation, modern Christian religion is attempting a way out of the crisis by various compromise solutions. On the one hand, promoted are a number of trends for "modernization" of religion, actually timid openings toward serious social problems of the international scene, adoption of a language that is appropriate for the sensitivity and cultural standard of modern man, initiation of a dialog -- from far more nuanced fideistic positions -- with modern sciences, briefly, a "modernization" of the dogmatic expression and a "horizontalization" of the religious message, that is the multiplication of the modes of connecting Cristianity to the secularized world.

Hence, an attempt is being made to connect religion to the spiritual climate of a world in which science exerts a decisive influence on the individual's mental attitude, rational arguments are being sought to prove an alleged "perennial character of religion," which, allegedly, could endure under most peaceful and harmonious relations with the efforts and results of natural sciences and social sciences. But the "rationalistic" subterfuges, the entire "quarrel" of "modernization" actually proceeds around the form in which this message is presented, the theologians' discussions strictly focus on its ideological packaging, the limits between which the dogmas can be appropriate for a secularized language. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, for instance, the initiator of one of the more radical orientations of modern Protestantism, openly admits that modern man is heading toward a totally nonreligious era,

that people no longer need divinities to freely lead their lives and that the task of Christianity, for its still surviving for a while, would be to present in a non-religious way, to nonreligious people, the message of the Christian religion.

On the other hand, we are witnessing a massive resort to the mystical traditions of Christianity, to the display of a whole dogmatic arsenal of medieval founts, by which attempts are being made for the "verticalization" of the religious message, its approximation to the most "authentic" sources of religious traditions, as they were established by Christian writers during the period of primary Christianity and the Middle Ages. Hence, it is a matter of an alternative to the extreme-modernistic tendencies of some modern theologians to present religious faith in an apparently rational and lay package. Moreover, resort to the old mystical Christian writings would, in the theologians' concept, be capable of stimulating the process of purification of the substance of dogmas from worldly additions. As a matter of fact, it is an attempt to overcome the crisis by amplifying the irrationalist vein of religion, which is fundamental in the structure of every religious creed. Implicitly, it also is an acknowledgement of the impossibility of "rationalization" and secularization of religion, of its harmonization with the traditional efforts of science.

Revealing in this area is a recent survey "The Problem of the Existence of God Does Not Exist," in which the authoress, Paule Levert, from the positions of a "modern" theology, rejects the thesis, according to which the existence of divinity could constitute the topic of rational tackling. The solution to which she resorts -- a pirouette designed to grant a status of "experience" to religious states -- places the emphasis on the (irrational) communication between the believer and divinity, a communication which also is considered as an "encounter" with the object of the faith and a "witness" to its existence. Furthermore, another orthodox theologian recently regarded as the leading cause of the crisis of religion in our days the lapse in the practice of prayer, considered by him as a favorite means of encounter, communication and communion of the believer with divinity. Hence, his urge for revitalization of religious traditions, of Eastern Christian mysticism: "Without mystical theology, without spirituality, Orthodoxy becomes a surrogate Christianity."

This insistent cultivation of the mystical traditions of the major Christian faiths (Catholicism, Protestantism, Orthodoxy) also involves an attempt at overcoming the crisis by claiming of a doctrinal territory which is mainly employed by the numerous Christian sects that are, more and more frequently, emerging in the foreground of the religious (sometimes also political!) scene in most developed capitalist countries. Their mystical vein is highlighted by ocult beliefs, by black magic, by elements of astrology and alchemy, by cultivation of demonology and of apocryphal biblical texts of apocalyptic inspiration, and the like.

The connecting factor of these orientations is millenarism, that is the mystical belief in the future one-thousand-year reign of the founder of Christianity, a reign which would precede or follow, according to others, a terrifying end of the world and would prepare the last judgement. This millenarism pervades -- in various forms -- all the history of Christianity and even if it was never admitted as such in the official dogmas, it was neither anathemized as heresy, because it was too closely tied to the writings of major Christian mystics.

The terror of "the year 1000" -- fostered by the dominant religious ideology -- marked all the Middle Ages, the period between the 11th and 16th centuries, when much of Europe lived year by year awaiting the horrible apocalyptic event of the end of the world each time announced on the basis of "infallible calculations" by various top theologians. The prospect of the end of the world continued to agitate mystical minds and the imagination of religious fanatics also in the following centuries, though each time their gloomy predictions were belied by the progress of history.

In our century, millenarism is represented chiefly by Neo-Protestant sects (Adventists, Pentecostals, Witnesses of Jehovah, and so on) who do not tire in sowing even today in the minds of their followers terror in face of the imminence (read: an imaginary one) of merciless divine judgement for those indulging in the "futilities" of the world. Let us first point out the difficult situations in which the representatives of these sects find themselves when they have to constantly correct the dates for the occurrence of the apocalypse. While "Seven-Day Adventists," after the failure of the repeated "precise" dates announced for "the end of the world," believe, somehow more prudent, that this event may occur, now, any day, the "Witnesses of Jehovah" further resort to serially "correcting" the old predictions, their last "specifications" focusing on the area of... the years 2900.

The disdain for possessions in this world, advocated by their representatives, is contradicted by their great financial power. In the West, these sects have weekly and monthly publications, radio stations, propaganda material published in many languages, which they disseminate legally and illegally in countries in Europe and other continents.

The antisocial character of this mystical arsenal, worthy of early Middle Ages, is evident. The wait for the end of the world becomes the sole event that gives a meaning to human life. An attitude of passivity is theorized, one which distances the individual from his or her practical endeavors, fostering feelings of wait and resignation, illusion in an unreal world, an attitude which cannot but have inevitable negative effects on the social activity of the individual, on its transforming role. Such urgings become all the more harmful because it is known that we live in an era when the active, transforming role of the individual, through technology, is expanding considerably. In this context to advocate waiting and resignation implicitly signifies to minimize the role of the chief modality of the realization of man, of utilization of his creative capacity, the practical activity for the upgrading of social life, of his living conditions.

Recently, a number of theological orientations changed views in this regard; they advocate an active attitude, but not toward the fulfillment of human individuality, but toward the realization of divine tenets; believers are urged to participate in social life, but only to orient its evolution along the line demanded by the predictions of the Bible. The Lutheran theologian J. Moltmann, the advocate of the so-called "theology of hope," for instance, speaking against the theologies that practice a cult of the Absolute and are indifferent to the conditions prevailing in diverse societies, requires the Christian communities to become constant seats of agitation in all human societies in order to prevent their stabilization and to actively help to change them according to the divine promise of the Christian Kingdom. Paraphrasing Marx's well-known 11th thesis on Feuerbach, Moltmann textually stated that today the theologian no longer can limit himself only to a different

interpretation of the world, of history and of man's fate but is in duty bound to participate in their transformation... in expectation of the final divine transformation of all the world. Hence, only from the perspective of eschatology, the Christians would be justified to promote the historical transformation of the social and political scene. In his turn, the Catholic theologian J. B. Metz, after pointing out the impasse of classical metaphysical theology and stating his support for political theology, emphasizes the need for converting Christian religion into a "theory of praxis, guided by faith." In his concept, also, the critical function of the eschatological outlook must be prominent in the Christian community and the hope in the "divine kingdom" must impulse the contestation of any attempt at specific absolutization of social development.

From the above it follows that the church is concerned with the living conditions of the believers from the perspective of a profoundly distorted outlook on man, as an eternally damned being, who could never elevate himself above his biblical fate. A concept that ties the fulfillment of the human individuality to the end of real history, in expectation of an illusory general physical and spiritual ressurection -- theses which belong to the darkest facets of Christian dogmas and which from the onset eliminate the issues of man's social and historic responsibility. All the more they spotlight the idea that man, as a human and social being with an individual destiny, cannot develop and assert himself under the pressure of millenarian and eschatological dogmas.

From this one can also judge the character, the nature of the interference of the church and mysticism in the state's social scene. Proclaiming the absolute superiority of the dogma, this type of interference aims at subordinating social realities to theological requirements. Actually, the aim is to regain the social status which the church has irremediably lost as a result of the broad secularization of the modern world, attempts are being made to transform some cults, some representatives of these cults into tools of the policy of meddling into the domestic affairs of various countries, against the forces that work for the progressive development of the world. For, as a matter of fact, such an interference, by the nature of things, cannot but be useful to the conservative, reactionary, social forces. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "Religion must not and cannot meddle into politics; any attempt at doing so must be combated because, willing or unwilling, in this way it becomes a tool in the hands of reaction."

That is why the combating of such tendencies and orientations, the disclosure of their mystical substance and their antihuman finality is a paramount command of all rationalist and humanist trends of thought, of progressive forces everywhere.

11710
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YUGOSLAV EMIGRE TERRORIST ACTION IN WEST EUROPE

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jun 82 pp 84-88

[Article by Boris Susa: "Showdown in the Underground"]

> [Text] This feature article tells about the activity of various extremist groups of the political emigre community and was written on the basis of reports of police departments in the West, what has been written in the emigre press, statements by Yugoslavs who have returned from abroad, interrogations of certain terrorists apprehended in our country, and other material.

The trial of the terrorist and spy Miljenko K., an emigre who recently returned from Australia, is soon to begin before the Belgrade District Court. Miljenko K. is a young man (born in 1951), and he emigrated in 1971, as he himself says, "for reasons that were purely adventurist." A year later he was in Australia and at that time he completed the training program for terrorists. During the preliminary investigation Miljenko K. testified:

"... I soon realized that they were nothing but riffraff and that you could lose your life in a moment among them. If you didn't carry out an order, if they heard that you had gossiped about someone in the leadership, if you simply fell into disfavor, if they suspected that you were fighting to take the place of one of the leaders, off with your head...."

Showdowns among these extremist emigre groups occur regularly. As in all Mafia and gangster organizations the reason is usually power and money.... Or you have come to stand in the way of the organization's future plans.

At about 2200 hours on 17 January of this year, a Sunday, Jusuf Gervalla (36), Zeka Kadri (28) and Bardosh Gervalla (34), members of the leadership of the pro-Albanian irredentist organization "Red Front," were slain in a new BMW 316 registered in Germany about 200 meters from where they lived in Untergruppenbach, not far from Heilbron in West Germany.

Jusuf Gervalla and Zeka Kadri had been reporters for Radio-TV Pristina and RILINDJE, and then on several occasions they traveled to Albania, during a celebration and symposium on Skenderbeg they were in Tirana at the same time

as the well-known war criminal and Ballist Dem Pozar, who lives in Turkey (he is the strongest advocate of Hoxha's Albania in Europe). Jusuf Gervalla and Zeka Kadri were received in Tirana by Mehmed Shehu.

When President Tito visited Kosovo in 1979, Jusuf Gervalla and Zeka Kadri organized demonstrations and vandalism: a picture of the president was damaged and then carried through the streets. Slogans like "A Pure Kosovo," "Kosovo a Republic," were written.

When they learned that a warrant had been issued for their arrest, Jusuf Gervalla and Zeka Kadri got in their car and left the country altogether unlawfully. Kadri settled in Switzerland and Jusuf Gervalla in West Germany, where his younger brother Bardosh, a political emigre, had already been living for 7 years.

(The only one arrested in Pristina was Husni, the oldest Gervalla brother, who was sentenced to 3 years of strict imprisonment, while the youngest brother was recently arrested as an organizer and participant in fascist-irredentist demonstrations in March of last year.)

But let us return to the death of the Gervalla brothers and Zeka Kadri: They were slain precisely 30 days after the murder of Mehmed Shehu in Albania.

Shehu's successor was obviously trying to eliminate all the collaborators of his predecessor, just as the latter had eliminated Kozi Dzodze.

The German police established that the Gervalla brothers and Zeka Kadri (the latter had arrived from Switzerland the day before) were obviously waiting for someone they knew: They had weapons, but they did not use them, which is the best indication that they knew the assassins well.

The Gervalla brothers and Zeka Kadri had ceased to be of interest to the higher-ups, since they were collaborators and indeed even favorites of Mehmud Shehu. When we also know (from the German police handling crimes) that the wife of one of the men slain said that the Gervalla brothers had arranged a meeting that night with some friends who were supposed to arrive from some other country, then it is all clear.

After the death of the Gervalla brothers and Zeka Kadri the "Red Front" was taken over by completely unknown people, individuals who are known in emigre circles to have been close collaborators of Albanian diplomats in Belgium and West Germany....

When Loncaric, the king's former adjutant, was strangled in Paris, Milomir Tiodorovic, member of a Chetnik organization, was riddled with bullets in a suburb of Paris 2 days after that crime. By some miracle he survived, and as soon as he left the hospital he applied to return to the country, "even if they hang me there." When he arrived, he declared:

"I knew Loncaric. I had known him since he had returned from Yugoslavia, where he had been infiltrated and then discovered and convicted, and after

serving his sentence he again went abroad. They openly said that they had to silence him once and for all. That is what happened. They strangled him in his hotel room where he was staying temporarily. Since I was also staying there at the time of the crime, there are many things I know. As I was leaving the hotel that night, I saw two Chetniks in the lobby, a certain Gavrilo and another man whose name I don't know. I knew that Gavrilo to be a killer (he had been a sergeant in the prewar army, and during the occupation he received the rank of lieutenant from Draza [Mihailovic]--author's note). When I returned to the hotel sometime after midnight, I saw the police. I learned that Loncaric had been strangled in his room. Of course, I kept silent about everything. The desk clerk said that he, Loncaric, had been visited by two acquaintances and that they had left after an hour.... It was the maid who found Loncaric's body. She had in fact been living with him. After that I got drunk, it was St. Nicholas' Day at a friend's, an emigre, and I probably said that I knew that Gavrilo had knocked off Loncaric. Just 2 days after that they were waiting for me, that same Gavrilo and one other man.... I do not know myself how I survived. They fired 20 bullets into me...."

Recently an Albanian returning from employment abroad (he had worked and lived in Belgium--in Brussels) declared that Musa Hoti, who murdered our diplomatic representative (he also committed a massacre in the Yugoslav Workers' Club in Brussels when Mahmut Visoka and Mesail Memedoski were killed and three others wounded), would never reveal who he got his orders from: "If he did, they would slaughter his whole family."

Brussels, since it is NATO headquarters, is of interest to many intelligence services. Perhaps that is why this city has become a mecca for numerous terrorist-saboteur and espionage organizations of emigres of all stripes, nationalities and ethnic groups. There are Chetnik, Albanian irredentist, Ustasha, Ljoticist and other anti-Yugoslav terrorist centers operating in Brussels....

According to some figures, there are about 20,000 Yugoslavs working and living with their families in Belgium.... Yet it is officially stated that there are 7,128 Yugoslavs employed in Belgium and that half of them are living and working in Brussels. There are about 12,000 Albanians from our country and Turkey in Belgium, and 9,000 live in Brussels.

Enver and Riza Hadri constitute the top leadership of the irredentist terrorist organization "National Resistance of Kosovo," and after he was deported from Spain, Leku, son of Zogu, former king of Albania, has been living there. He and Muharem Barjaktar, a German and indeed English agent, commandant of the Albanian Quisling gendarmerie and Zogu's commandant of the guards, make up the top leadership of the so-called Legality Party. According to what has been written in the emigre press, Leku has been received by the Belgian minister of foreign affairs and ruler, and on that occasion they promised him full support in achieving his aims....

Terrorists of all stripes feel "at home" in Brussels and Belgium since they often have the support of certain newspapers, the police and certain reactionary circles which are very influential in Belgium's government and politics.

Thus Bora Blagojevic, a Chetnik assassin, who has been irrefutably established as the murderer of Goran Kovacic, obtained asylum in Belgium. Up until 1975 he moved about freely in Brussels as head of the "Ravno Gora" Society. But when it was time to elect a new chief of the chapter, who is the one who holds the money, he was eliminated.

Toward the end of that year (a few months after Bora Blagojevic's murder) Milorad Nikodijevic wrote in BELI ORAO [WHITE EAGLE]:

"Dear brothers, I am writing to you to help me, since I am completely incapacitated, and not through my own fault. You know that Bora Blagojevic was killed; I was with him that morning, just before his murder....

"A few days later the same ones fired on me.

"Supposedly because they thought that I knew who the murderer was! So, will it be necessary for that clique gathered around Petal Valic, that corrupt hotel operator who has his finger in every pie, to slaughter all your brothers...."

Petar Valic, founder of the terrorist chapter "Rebirth of Serbia" and owner of the Sarajevo Restaurant, was himself eliminated a month after that.

His murder was followed by those of Miodrag Boskovic and a student named Milicevic, and recently Miodrag Boskovic's brother Milan, who after Miodrag's death had been running his restaurant, which is called "Bosko."

Vladeta Milicevic, chief of the king's former intelligence service, returned to the country in 1965. He was to write:

"Showdowns between the Chetnik emigre community and the emigre community in general were commonplace. It was important to undermine the top leadership in the emigre organization, since then your living is assured, and after that no one can make a move and send you off on some mission. Then you are the one who sends that river of the homeless into missions of some kind against Yugoslavia...."

On 27 August 1981 the Swiss Ministry of Justice and the police issued the following bulletin:

"Last night at about 2300 hours Stanko Nizic (30), night porter at the Kindli Hotel in Zurich, was killed by a revolver bullet fired from point-blank range. The bullet struck Nizic in the forehead. The crime occurred in the early morning hours in the vicinity of the Kindli Hotel, when Stanko Nizic was returning home.

"During the search of Stanko Nizic's home 2 kg of plastic explosive were found, a machine gun and two bazookas. The inquiry established that Stanko Nizic was one of the leaders of a very ramified network of terrorists who were smuggling arms from Switzerland into West Germany and Yugoslavia.

"Stanko Nizic's two closest collaborators, Bozic and Rados, who were in the Kindli Hotel just a few hours before his murder, have disappeared without a trace...."

And on 17 December of last year the Zurich newspaper DER BLICK carried an article:

"After the cold-blooded murder of Stanko Nizic (30), night porter in the Kindli Hotel in Zurich, following a detailed investigation in Switzerland, after a network of Croatian terrorists was broken up, the federal prosecutor's office has arrested 12 Croatian emigres and 2 Swiss accomplices, confiscating on that occasion 120 kg of explosive, several machine guns and hand grenades."

This newspaper has learned from private sources that after Stanko Nizic's murder the police kept a close watch on his close collaborator Franjo Macukic of Zurich. Finally, on 12 December 1981 Franjo Macukic was arrested just as he was about to cross the Swiss-German border with a sizable quantity of arms and ammunition.

The report of the Swiss Ministry of Justice and the police stated on 16 December 1981:

"Several emigrants have been arrested in Zurich, Basel and Solothurn. Those arrested included a Frenchman of Croatian origin and two Swiss citizens. These people were smuggling several hundred kilograms of explosive, machine guns and bazookas from Switzerland into West Germany and Yugoslavia. The Croats have been using Switzerland as their armory in waging an all-out fight for the state they had between 1941 and 1945. Since that time the Croatian emigres have been attempting to extort what they lost through the capitulation of Germany through assassination and bombings of Yugoslav institutions all over Europe."

According to what has been written in the West German press, above all in the newspaper BERLINER MORGENPOST, the Swiss police carried out this action in collaboration with the West German police. After all, according to the information provided by that newspaper, "three members of an Ustasha terrorist organization were arrested in Berlin, and after that the police found and confiscated in several private dwellings in West Berlin pipes containing explosive and hand grenades. It is obvious that preparations were being made for attacks on Yugoslav citizens and institutions."

It is interesting that about that time Bogdan Radica, ideologue of the Ustasha movement, published in an Ustasha periodical which appears abroad a lengthy article on the discord in the Croatian emigre community. Under the title "On the Disunity of the Emigre Community Yesterday and Today" he wrote: "... I could not believe that there were still people in the emigre community who used such weapons as unverified denunciations, personal accusations and obnoxious fabrications. Is it possible that Croatian spitefulness and grudges have reached such a point that what ought to be our national benefit and pride is accused of treason?"

And Zvonimir Greblicki, a Yugoslav who returned from temporary employment in Switzerland, declared:

"It was said of Stanko Nizic that he had embezzled money which he had received to supply the gendarme forces. As a matter of fact, when he began to be involved in smuggling arms and explosives, all of a sudden he began to live very well, but everyone knew how much he earned as the night porter at the Kindli Hotel. Stjepan Bozic, a close collaborator of Stanko Nizic, disappeared without a trace after Nizic's murder.

"The story went around in our circle that Stjepan Bozic had denounced Stanko Nizic to the Swiss police, since supposedly the latter did not want to share with him the money he had embezzled from the business of smuggling arms and explosives. Stanko Nizic had to be silenced, since he knew a great deal about Ustasha terrorist stations all over Europe which he supplied with explosives and arms. Aside from that, it was said, he was deriving the greatest benefit from that business for himself...."

Early this January a French newspaper carried a brief notice that an emigre "identified as Stjepan Bozic" had been murdered. The notice was published without comment.

However, in early January the letters to the editors of the newspaper DANICA included one from someone who signed himself "a staunch Ustasha fighter," who wrote:

"I had to leave Europe, since I had been unfairly accused in a plot concerning the charges against Stanko Nizic. Now I am in South America and I am having a very hard time getting along, but I do not dare to come back to prove what really happened. We have begun even to destroy one another...."

The letter was signed by none other than Josip Rados.

After the arrest of the Ustasha terrorist group "Phoenix" in 1972, the captured terrorists related a great many things about the atmosphere in the emigre community, about relationships and about how they were governed.

There is eloquent evidence about this from the captured notes of the "current historian" of the group, which he had written even before the group was infiltrated into the country, at the time when they were making preparations in Austria for the crossing:

"We talked about Rover (Srecko Rover, Ustasha agent of the UNS [Ustasha Surveillance Service]--author's note), and Adolf said that that man had been stealing a lot of money from the membership, supposedly collecting dues and gifts for the Croatian patriots who had been arrested. Adolf said that all such would be eliminated without any sort of trial, since thievery could not be tolerated. Then Vejsil (Keskic--author's note) said that many Ustasha leaders and high-level Chetniks had taken the national wealth with them from the Independent State of Croatia when they fled and that they were using that wealth now just in order to live well. But, Adolf said, we will change

things. We will not tolerate that, and that is why we can never agree with the old Ustashas."

We also learned this from the same diary:

"That man was supposed to set off with us. He had received money from one of our trusted people in Munich and was supposed to report as soon as possible to our station in Graz. But since he did not come, Adolf reported this to the Reverent Cecelj (assistant chief Ustasha priest in the time of the Independent State of Croatia--author's note), and then the Reverend Cecelj announced that we would have to take care of this, since as a member of the clergy he could not act in such cases. Adolf sent Vejsil on a scouting mission.

"Jure Hinic was with Vejsil and said that he could not go on the mission with us, since this was all foolishness, since other people were sitting in fine homes, had good salaries, and later he was supposed to help their promotion as a dead hero. And as for money, he said that he didn't have any more and that he had spent it all....

"I do not know what happened to J. Hinic after that."

The current "historian" never did learn what happened to Jure Hinic, nor did he ever meet him. However, the press in West Germany noted in early 1973 that Jure Hinic had been killed in a fight with a group of those who shared his views....

That was the end of that emigre. But not the end of his wife, who was living and working in West Germany. We have learned this from a letter which she wrote to the Ustasha periodical NOVA HRVATSKA [NEW CROATIA]:

"I do not know how to go about it, and I call upon the honorable editors to answer me: I have been left without my husband, and now I am constantly being visited by some people who want some money from me which supposedly my husband embezzled from our Croatian Ustasha organization. Believe me, I know nothing about this, and I want you to publish this so that those people will leave me alone."

But she wrote differently in a letter to close relatives in Yugoslavia:

"I do not know what would happen if I returned to Yugoslavia. Believe me, I was not involved in anything, since these men's things were Jure's affairs. Poor man, he paid with his life because they accused him of having embezzled some kind of Ustasha money. I had never heard anything about this, but on one occasion he did tell me he might go back to Yugoslavia with a gendarme group and that after that he would earn plenty of money. I told him to give up that dumb business and that he should look out for himself. I believe that they killed him just because he did not want to go off with them in that shootout against Yugoslavia. Incidentally, he mentioned it once, I know, and I see now that his name has appeared in the Croatian press in West Germany that he was killed there and that he was a war criminal.

"Answer me, my dear, on this sheet of mine as to whether I could come back, since there is nothing keeping me here anymore.

"I assure you that I never did anything bad, and whatever Jure did was his business, and I had nothing to do with that.

"I would like to find out my position as soon as possible and to learn what the authorities in Yugoslavia would do toward me as the wife of the late Jure?"

Jure Hinic's wife never wrote to her relative again. All the attempts of that relative to contact her were unsuccessful. Several letters were returned marked: The addressee is no longer at this address.

Is she at any address?

[Box, p 84]

Murders and Sabotage

Since the liberation various anti-Yugoslav emigre groups have carried out 238 commando terrorist missions in which 98 persons were killed, and more than 340 of them seriously or lightly wounded. In just the period from 1962 members of these terrorist groups and organizations of the anti-Yugoslav emigre community have killed 85 of our citizens, 9 of them our diplomatic employees. At the same time 27 of our diplomatic employees or representatives in our foreign missions were wounded seriously or slightly.

Just to mention some of these anti-Yugoslav organizations: Serbian National Defense, SOPO (Serbian Youth Movement), Ljoticist Corps members, Ravna Gora members, the so-called democratic alternative--the consolidation opposition, the movement for liberation, the HNV (Croatian National Council), the Ustashi, the HRB (Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood), the HOP (Croatian Liberation Movement), the HSS (Croatian Peasant Party), Croatian Struggle, Red People's Front, Liberation Movement of Kosovo, Kosovo People's League, Prizren League, legitimists (Zoguists), Balli Kombtar (Ballists), the Albanian League of the Word of Honor, and the like.... Certainly there are also anti-Yugoslav emigre organizations of Slovenes, Macedonians and Montenegrins, but their number and activity are negligible....

[Box, p 86]

Message

In the emigre newspaper NOVA HRVATSKA (No 2, 1982) a note from the editors appeared under the title "Sabotage Against the Yugoslav Regime" which says that just before that issue was published a message had been received from Croatia from a "previously unknown Croatian Organization for the Free State of Croatia," which had been signed by Zvonimir Hrvatinic and Sabran Kobra.

The message read as follows:

"Through your newspaper we are informing the Croatian and foreign public that we have begun extensive actions toward destruction of Yugoslav government property and other revolutionary actions aimed at weakening and destroying the Yugo-regime and at establishing an independent and democratic state of Croatia.

"The first action planned in 1982 was to damage or destroy a most hated government institution, the Supreme Court of Croatia. The placing of a demolition charge in the building of the court itself would expose our people to excessive danger. That is why other terrorist actions are intended."

[Box, p 87]

Who Is Playing With Fire (excerpt from a statement by Helge Franic (36), who has returned to Yugoslavia from temporary employment abroad)

"For 7 years now I have worked in the Kindli Hotel in Zurich as kitchen help. During that time I did not get involved in political matters, since I kept to my own affairs. But while I was there I did come to know Stanko Nizic, who worked at the hotel desk. I do not know where he came from, but he had made out well. As countrymen we often met, and that was purely platonic, since I had my own man in Yugoslavia. Then in August, I do not remember exactly the date, Stanko Nizic and I met in a small cafe where we each had a glass of juice. On that occasion he informed me that he would probably soon set off for Yugoslavia on an important job and that if I had any messages or wanted to send anything to my people he could take it for me. I told him I did not need that, since I intended soon to return to Yugoslavia on my vacation. On that occasion Stanko asked me whether I had a passport and if I did, would I lend it to the Croatian patriots. I said that I could not lend my passport, since this was my passport and I intended to go to Yugoslavia. He said that I was not a good Croat, but that it was good that he had talked to me, since others would take this attitude of mine as pure hostility! At that point I told him that I had thought that he was here in Switzerland for temporary employment just like me and that he was not involved in politics, and he said: That is how it was at the beginning, but they seized onto me, and I can no longer do anything without them! I told him that what he was doing was no good, since anyone who plays with fire--you know what happens!"

[Box, p 88]

Leaders, Newspapers

Serbian emigre groups: Vlajko Vlahovic--Ljoticists--editor-in-chief of ISKRA; Milorad Vukovic-Bircanin, editor-in-chief of the newspaper BELI ORAO; while the central figure of the Serbian emigre community is Dr Slobodan Draskovic. Then comes the group of the so-called Liberation around the newspaper NASA REC (Tosic) in which Mihajlov and quite recently Milovan Djilas' son Aleksa have been appearing. There are also leaders, big fish and little fish, around the newspapers RAVNOGORAC, SRBOBRAN, OTADZBINA, etc.

Croatian emigre groups: The most important is the HNV (Croatian National Council) whose president is Marko Vidovic, and Mate Mestrovic (son of the sculptor Mestrovic), the Bilandzic brothers and others are also in that group.

Albanian groups: The Prizren League was the most important until Deva's death. A faction of the Balli Kombtar group--Kosovo People's League--is tied up to the Ustashi, and for a time its chief was Mitrovica. The most extreme is the League of the Word of Honor, which is led by Emil Kastrioti (alias Emin Fazlija, a former teacher from Kosovo) and Rasim Zenelaj, and that group has firm ties with the Ustasha Croatian People's Resistance (whose chief was Maks Luburic) and with the Croatian Revolutionary Fraternity and the newspaper NOVA HRVATSKA (Jaksa Kusan). Then there are the "Red Front," Enver Hoxha's system of agents (Jusuf Gervalla and now Ibrahim Helmedi) and the organization of M. Barjaktar (Leka I).

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END

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16 August 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2043

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16 August 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2043

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YUGOSLAVS SEND ROMANIAN REFUGEES TO AUSTRIA

AU201029 Vienna KURIER in German 20 Jul 82 p 14

[Erich Grolig report]

[Summary] "Last year the Yugoslav authorities sent whole truckloads of Romanian refugees illegally across the border to Austria. The majority of the 1,300 Romanians who requested asylum in Austria in 1981 had come to the west in this manner. At the recent talks held between Interior Minister Lanc and his Yugoslav counterpart Stane Dolanc in Klagenfurt this problem was reportedly also discussed." These Romanians who have been sent across the border illegally actually constitute a difficult problem for Austria, especially because most of them have left their country for economic reasons, while overseas immigration countries accept only political refugees. Since Yugoslavia had acted in a similar manner in 1980--then the majority of the 1,023 Romanian refugees registered had also come to Austria illegally from Yugoslavia--Austria was afraid that this practice would be continued again this year.

"At the Klagenfurt talks Belgrade has now reportedly assured Austria that there would be no more operations of that kind." The fact that in the first half of 1982 only 263 Romanian refugees have come to Austria seems to indicate that the Yugoslav side intends to live up to its promises. Why the Yugoslavs have sent the Romanians to Austria is anyone's guess, but in Vienna it is believed that the reason what that Yugoslavia, being the only commjnist country to have recognized the Geneva refugees convention, would actually have been obliged itself to grant the Romanian refugees political asylum, and that so as to save the costs that would be involved it simply sent the refugees to Austria.

CSO: 2300/356

GENERAL URGES SPURRING YOUNG PEOPLE'S 'WILL TO MILITARY TRAINING'

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 24, 15 Feb 82 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Demands 'Effective Military Education' for GDR Young People." A translation of the East Berlin NEUER WEG article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The official SED magazine NEUER WEG (No 3, 1982) has called for increased efforts to strengthen the will to serve in the armed forces and the military preparedness among GDR young people. In many cases, young people still find it hard "to get used to the hardships of military service, to strict discipline, and in general to become part of a military collective" the party magazine stated in its most recent edition. Party organizations must therefore support an "effective socialist military education that includes all young people, develops their class-determined attitudes toward military service and increases their will toward military achievements." More than ever before "the personal communication with young people is to be sought and practised," in order to improve their readiness to "make their best efforts and even sacrifices" for military security.

GDR Major General's Discussion

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 37 No 3, 1982 (signed to press 27 Jan 82) pp 93-95

[Article by Major General Heinz Bilan, deputy commandant, Friedrich Engels Military Academy; chief, Political Department: "Securing Peace Presents New Demands With Regard to Military Education"]

[Text] With its strategies and tactics, the SED works in all aspects of social progress in support of the tasks involving the military protection of socialism. The GDR constitution guarantees the implementation of the highest principles of socialist military and security policy: to take all measures necessary for the effective protection of socialism and peace.

At all times, communists have been and are fighters for peace, against the dangers of imperialist war. They take seriously the statement of the 10th

Party Congress that "the desire for profit is the root of imperialism's aggressive attitudes, internally and externally" and that "great interest in the armaments and consequently the aggressiveness of imperialism...result in a tremendous danger for the future of mankind."

The political-ideological work of the party and with it socialist military education are therefore directed, in the interest of strengthening the GDR defense potential, toward increasing in all citizens, especially in the young people, their conviction of the necessity of protecting the socialist fatherland. It is necessary to strengthen their willingness toward achievement and their readiness to make their best efforts and even sacrifices for the military security of the GDR and for the preservation of peace.

Experience shows that those party organizations that make socialist military education a firm component of their political-ideological work guarantee the best preparation of young people for their responsibilities in relation to the armed services. These organizations lay an effective groundwork for the fulfillment of the particular tasks set by the 10th SED Congress for the NVA and the defense and security organizations in regard to protecting the continuation of the socialist revolution.

Of great importance for the work of party organizations in our field was the evaluation of the third ZK [Central Committee] meeting, especially the statement of comrade Honecker "that never since the end of World War II has world peace been threatened as seriously as it is right now." This means for the continued direction of party work in our field that we should fight in the future with all our strength for the greatest possible and most effective increase in military preparedness. The principle here is: military preparedness was, is and remains the focal point of all party work in the armed forces. An important component of military preparedness and the core of party work is the ideological effort.

For a Firm Class Position

According to the 3rd ZK meeting, ideological work is determined by three factors. First, in keeping with the results of the political and economic development of the GDR, precinct organizations can strengthen the education of party members toward developing pride in socialist achievements, toward love for the socialist homeland. Important arguments in support of this work are provided by the decisions of the 10th Party Congress to continue our principal policies in their economic and socio-political context.

At the same time, precinct organizations strengthen the party members' realization that all success is based on the legal leadership role of the party in the continued progress of the developed socialist society. The leadership role is and remains the most important source of power and strength for the socialist state and the NVA, and also the source of continued successful work.

The close ties between party and population strengthen the confidence in party policies. Party organizations concentrate therefore on explaining in even more comprehensive ways the policies of the party to all citizens, to

members of the armed forces without party affiliation and to all civilian employees. Success in comprehensive political work depends on the ability to answer, aggressively and convincingly and on the basis of a firm class position, all questions concerning the events of our highly competitive times.

Party members will find the basic materials for these answers in the Politburo report to the third ZK meeting, and will point out that the party knows no higher goal than the active defense of peace. The party never underestimates the fact that the conditions for an active struggle for peace are simultaneous military forces and strength against imperialism.

It is clear that the implementation of the leading role of the party makes high demands of, first of all, the party members themselves, of their example in personal thought and action. This is an essential condition for the growth of the party's authority among the population.

Secondly, after the third ZK meeting many efforts were made to improve further a class-oriented attitude toward the Soviet Union and its armed forces, in keeping with Thaelmann's philosphy. In the future the development of comradeship toward the Soviet Army and Navy will have a decisive role in interenationalist education. In this connection it is important to emphasize that there has been no internationalism, and there will be none, without recognition of the pioneer role of the Soviet Union in the struggle for social progress and peace in the world.

To act as comrades-in-arms of the Soviet Union means to understand and support the policies of the Soviet Union, and to oppose vigorously, always and everywhere, any lies and attacks directed against the Soviet Union. In this connection, the party organization thoroughly discussed new proposals, explained at the Third ZK meeting, that were made by the Soviet Union at the Geneva negotiations, and the results of the visit of comrade Brezhnev to the FRG in November 1981 as part of his campaign against the armament and confrontation course of NATO countries.

This discussion is always connected with activities aimed at strengthening the military alliance with the Soviet Army and the other armies of the Warsaw Treaty.

Thirdly, on the basis of the directives of the third ZK meeting, party organizations are focusing their ideological activities on further clarifying the causes of increased tensions in the international situation, on the armament race, and on the tendency of U.S. imperialism toward a policy of massive aggression and confrontation.

Especially in view of the fact that ideological rearmament and preparation for aggression play an ever increasing role in NATO strategy and that the direct attacks by imperialism on the military preparedness of our population and on the political-moral condition of socialist armed forces are on the increase, party organizations must consider it their job to use their own ideological weapons even more effectively and to intensify further on this basis the class-oriented enemy image. The following points must be emphasized:

We are facing an enemy who is led by generals who have sworn full allegiance to the social class aims of monopolistic capitalism;

an enemy who is thoroughly and professionally trained for all kinds of aggression, and is being prepared for a ruthless and brutal way to wage war;

an enemy who ideologically and psychologically has been trained to be anti-communist, who is willing and ready at any time to obey the order of starting a war against socialism, and who will fight without scruples for imperialist class interests on the battlefield.

Systematic Ideological Work

What we need on the precinct level is systematic ideological work aimed at strengthening everywhere the necessary optimism, ideology and class-oriented attitudes that are the conditions for the future implementation of the decisions of the 10th Party Congress and of the military goals set down in the basic military code. Of special value here is a thorough understanding of the qualitatively new internal and external conditions under which the course of domestic and foreign policy and security, as determined by the 10th Party Congress, will be pursued.

Today, especially among many young people, there is a growing willingness to fulfill the honorable duty of assisting in the military protection of our socialist fatherland.

Some of the young people, however, show deficiencies in military knowledge and physical condition. These young people, therefore, have problems initially to get used to the hardships of military service, to strict discipline, and in general to life within a military collective. It therefore remains a true leadership challenge for the party organizations to implement a truly effective socialist military education that includes all young people, to develop their class-oriented attitudes toward military service, and to strengthen their willingness toward military achievement.

An especially effective way to accomplish these goals is to have groups of people with military training and education appear before relatives of members of the armed forces, and especially before young people, and to speak to them, e.g., during propaganda presentations for reservists. It is essential to improve in these presentations the scientific content of military-political propaganda presented in public. This requires that the workers' level of political and educational maturity is taken into greater account.

It is also necessary, more than ever before, to seek and hold personal discussions with young people. Excellent work is done in this connection by party members responsible for finding a sufficient number of army recruits through their work within our national educational institutions. At the same time, however, the potential of the reservists who have completed their military service can be utilized more effectively.

Exemplary in this field is the work of the reservists' collective of the VEB Pentacon Dresden whose activities are guided by the following considerations:

On the basis of their experience and knowledge, reservists are in a good position to explain to young people what it means to be a soldier in a socialist society. Reservists can give factual and truthful information about the requirements made by the NVA of young draftees and future professional military groups.

Party Members Must Set the Example

Steady continuation of socialist military education in the NVA requires that all commanders, political and staff workers, all superiors and educators obtain a comprehensive and exact picture of the young citizens who begin their service in the units and educational institutions of the NVA.

It is especially important that these adults establish close relations from the very first day with the newly drafted members of the armed forces and that, in spite of all the hardships of military requirements and in spite of the strict discipline, they set personal examples to soldiers, non-commissioned officer and officer candidates of socialist behavior in army barracks, and that they demonstrate to them through their personal example as communist party members what it means to be a soldier in socialist society.

In addition, it is necessary to extend these personal relations even more intensively to the homes of the recruits. Proven practices in this connection are, e.g., to invite parents to the oath-taking ceremonies, to have squad leaders or company commanders write personal letters about a recruit's good achievements to his parents, his factory brigades, or his industry collective, and other similar practices.

This year marks the 26th anniversary of the NVA. This anniversary will be observed in keeping with Thaelmann's philosophy by taking new initiatives toward strengthening the military security of our socialist homeland and by remembering the experiences of the Soviet Army during the Great Patriotic War that, in case of war, it is insignificant when a soldier was trained, during a period of tension or relaxation--he must always be victorious in possible future battles.

During party elections, the NVA party collectives are giving account of what they themselves and the armed forces members that are not members of the party and stand under the collectives' leadership have accomplished in implementing the decisions of the 10th Party Congress and the orders of the minister for national defense in regard to a measurable increase in our fighting strength and battle readiness, and on what fields they must further concentrate their work.

By continually striving to fulfill these goals, the members of the armed forces take their place beside all members of the working class and all workers in the country who are aiming for the highest possible results. Through their quality achievements the workers set their example in the struggle for a continued strengthening of the GDR. Soldiers consider it their high honor to make their contributions toward fulfillment of the principal political goal through the systematic pursuit of their class-oriented purposes.

8889
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WORKER MILITIA TRAINING TO STRESS TACTICAL EXERCISES

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German Vol 26, No 6, Jun 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Decisive Examination for Everyone: Tactical Exercises--Always the Climax of Combat Training"]

[Text] In the autumn of this year, new tactical training exercises of combat groups of the worker's class will be conducted. We are convinced that all commanders and collectives will bring honor, by the results of these exercises, to the 30th anniversary of the formation of the combat groups in 1983.

Let us consider previous developments. We see that the combat collectives are striving for the resolute and effective implementation of the tasks specified in the decrees of the Party. The struggle for a rational and high-quality political and combat training is both tangible and visible in the majority of the units. The effective use of material funds is pursued consciously and conservatively. In spite of tight economic conditions, through rigid planning and coordination, all prerequisites for complete success will be created.

If we now go to the last phase of tactical training, we find that a recollection of all previous experiences and knowledge gained in tactical exercises will prove useful. To apply them to the real goals of the units for 1982 will secure a high level of achievement and an organized and disciplined implementation.

In order to help in this endeavor, let us offer several general, pertinent suggestions:

1. The leading party organs must conduct the guidance and aid to party management in the factories and facilities under complete knowledge of the conditions under which the tactical exercises are to run; they must also organize the political-ideological effort. It is important to attain a high level of motivation of all participants in the tactical exercises which takes into account the seriousness of the worsening international class-struggle.

All commanders, especially their deputies for political work, and the secretaries of the party groups of the platoons and all platoon and squad agitators, must give an intensive effort. Their responsibility is great--to guarantee strict discipline, a high level of order and security and revolutionary attentiveness in all situations.

It is of prime importance to secure the exemplary efforts of every communist in performing all combat tasks. This must be expressed in the course of the actions; they must go forward in complicated situations, implement commands with initiative and self-sacrifice and perform every task with a high level of discipline; at every post, in every section of the order of battle, they must stand out, exhibit a high level of combat skills, be quick to observe and act quickly and uncompromisingly in complex combat situations to engage the enemy. As communists they must be ready to use every means to show that the initiative emanates from them and that they determine the actions on the battlefield.

Experiences teach us that in all progress that we have made, the emphasis must still be placed on a fast and correct determination of the real combat situation, the utilization of the needed imagination for the given situation in order to derive correct tactical and combat thinking and actions. Here too, the communists must lead. From the literature on the Great Fatherland War and the numerous combat examples which are illustrated in detail, we should derive our own conduct. The commanders are encouraged to create a realistic combat situation which will show every fighter the relentless laws of armed combat.

2. The commanders or leaders of the duty posts of the German Worker's Party are to direct the tactical exercises. Through a specific preparation of the commanders and by comradely aid and instructions, they must assure that the goals and content-requirements as well as the territorial specifics in the establishment of tactical exercises are followed. The entire process of preparation shall be structured by them so that the commanders continually have secure control of their units during the actions and that they react independently, quickly and selflessly to changing situations. An uninterrupted command of the combat groups must be assured. The tasks must be known to each fighter so that he knows, even in complex situations, what he is to do and how he is to act and thus has the certainty that his selfless actions are entirely in accord with solving the overall objective. This also means not to allow any formalism and lack of discrimination.

Of decisive importance for the aid and instructions by the officers of the German Worker's Party to unit commanders will be how the proven principles are applied to the work of the commander. Well-founded decisions shall be requested by the leader of the tactical exercises to assure that the forces fully utilize their capabilities and that the equipment is used effectively in accord with its tactical and technical parameters. Special attention is due the organization of cooperation. The mastery of this art is decisive for the entire profile of combat actions and thus should be a real part of them.

The content of tactical exercises requires urgent, fast changes in the structure of the order of battle, in the organized regrouping of forces and equipment; all this concealed and surprising for the enemy. It is important how the commanders use their communications means. It is far more important to be sure that such combat actions do not proceed without any losses. A commander must expect this. Thus, he must organize and provide for self-help and mutual aid as well as the specific use of medical forces. The leader of the tactical exercises must take into account these and other points when setting up the tactical exercises and guarantee that all questions of rear security, the effective use of fuel and lubricants, are answered. For example, the expedient selection of areas and objects for the tactical exercises should receive even greater attention. Nowhere and at no time should camouflage be underestimated!

3. For all persons, but especially for the commanders, tactical exercises are a serious examination and thus a great incitement to exhibit their abilities to lead their units to victory. Every commander must be clear about this fundamental requirement. With his fundamental decision, with a clear and unmistakable posing of the problem and with the ability to lead his unit without interruption and to organize the cooperation within the unit, the commander consciously bears the unrestricted, complete responsibility for success or failure. This is an experience confirmed a thousand times over: As the commander leads his unit strictly and with tactical cunning, and motivates his fighters, so will they apply his ideas and commands in combat.

From this great responsibility result the extent, level and content of the preparations. The principles by which the commander must act after receiving a mission, must be mastered in detail. The evaluation of the situation, especially of the enemy and of his own forces and equipment, and the terrain, play a decisive role in this. The art of mastering the command principles paired with tactical abilities cannot be gained in school or nonschool training, rather, a planned and intensive self-study is needed for this.

4. Tactical exercises give convincing evidence about the level and quality of the political and combat training. Thus, the exercise leaders and judges should use such criteria in evaluating the combat effectiveness and readiness of each unit. Any palliations, over or under-evaluations do not help us to estimate correctly the real combat effectiveness of a unit.

Wherever all previous experiences are used and taken into account, where there is a thorough and extensive preparation by the officers of the German Worker's Party and where the commanders have extensive capabilities, where in every situation the actions reflect an effective, uninterrupted political-ideological effort, this is where the tactical exercises will be performed with excellent results.

It is important to prove by the tactical exercises, 1982, each unit of the combat groups of the worker's class has attained a measurable increase in combat effectiveness and readiness in the preceeding training segment. Since there is no upper limit for this, the content of tactical exercises in 1982 requires a high level and a good quality of work by all participants and a well-organized cooperation between them.

9280
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CHURCH RESISTING REGIME'S ATTEMPTS TO SMOTHER PEACE MOVEMENT

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT in German Vol 37 No 27, 2 Jul 82 p 18

['Theology and Church' feature article by Wolf-Dieter Zimmermann: "Peace Movement: Plowshares in Spite of All--The Difficult Path of the GDR Protestant Church--Young Christians' Will to Peace Cannot Be Halted--The SED State Still Intends To Integrate Pacifism"]

[Text] "Swords into Plowshares"--these are the rods printed on the [sleeve] patches that meanwhile have become the symbol of an active peace commitment in East and West. Since November of last year this symbol has become increasingly popular. It was the symbol of the peace decade [10 days] 1981 sponsored by the Protestant churches in the GDR. Since April, however, this symbol may no longer be displayed in public in the GDR, according to a government directive. Not all young people seem to obey, however. Even East Berlin Bishop Forck wore the patch on his clothing on certain occasions.

How did the church react to this challenge? During the youth day festivities in Thuringia (13 June), Chief Church Councilor Dietrich von Frommannshausen said: "Whoever attacks the symbol 'Swords into Plowshares' attacks the church itself." And the Erfurt church dean Heino Falcke told 10,000 assembled young people that the main theme for the peace decade 1982, from 7 to 17 November, will be "Swords into Plowshares."

During the three youth meetings of the Brandenburg church on 22 June, more than 7,000 participants displayed the peace symbol openly.

Coresponsibility for Activities of Young People

This means that--in spite of government intervention--the Protestant churches in GDR have adhered to their independent peace commitment. They have also supported very intentionally the initiative of young people toward an active peace commitment even though the plowshares symbol is not meant to be used as a means of confrontation with the official government peace movement, but rather as a symbol of a religious-biblical action expressing the peace commitment of Christians.

In the beginning of April, the Greifswald church leadership had already stated: "Government measures against the display of the peace symbol must be understood as an attack on the Christian peace movement in our society." All the

different district church synods have recently supported unequivocally the actions of young people in behalf of "non-military peace."

This means that something has happened that in a way must be considered new: the churches have publicly expressed coresponsibility for a movement which--to a certain extent without their doing--has become what it is today: an expression of the possibility of nonmilitary guarantees for peace. The "outer limits" of this movement are still fluctuating. But the churches consider these activities so important that they want to assume coresponsibility for them--at least within their own sphere. In this effort they could not be restrained by a memorandum from Klaus Gysi, state secretary for church affairs, who declared as unacceptable the "production, distribution, and use of patches, glued or sewn on, that interfere with the peace policies of the GDR."

All this began very innocently. The main theme of the peace decade 1981 (8 to 18 November) was: justice, disarmament, peace. The peace decade had been prepared by the Young Christians' work group which, since 1978 already, had participated intensively in the program: "education for peace." In the course of these activities, the group deliberately rejected the "unpolitical Protestantism of the past;" instead, the group asked the question: how does today's Christian become politically responsible? The group supported the thesis that peace can never be attained through a program of security; because peace can never be secured at all, it must always be risked.

Among the official materials distributed for the peace decade was the peace patch. It shows a man who reforges a sword into a plowshare with strong hammer blows. This is the same picture as the one of the sculpture given to the UN by the Soviet Union. It is certainly a non-incriminating symbol, as a commentary of Radio Moscow (May 1982) proves. In this commentary the sculpture is described as follows: "On the base of the sculpture is the Bible quotation: swords into plowshares...Soviet man, cast in bronze, calls on all people to fight against the danger of war, and for peace. The Soviet Union recognizes...in this sculpture its own foreign policy intentions and goals... We believe that it is the order of the day for all people to change swords into plowshares."

With this patch, the Protestant youth did not want to broadcast a practical political slogan, but rather remind people of Christian responsibility for peace. It is obvious that this is the way people first accepted the matter. But later on, it developed that the group of people interested in the Christian peace commitment became stronger and stronger. At the end of January 1982, the East Berlin youth pastor Eppelmann published his "Berlin Appeal" that was publicized--primarily--by Western media. The church administration immediately advised against participation in this action because it was considered controversial.

Soon afterwards, more problems arose: in March there are the annual army physicals, and in April the inductions into the NVA. State authorities were obviously afraid that the Christian peace commitment could lead to an increasing number of draft refusals, and that the number of the so-called

construction soldiers--which for organizational reasons is limited to between 600 and 800--could grow considerably. Government representatives were also worried that gradually the patches could lead to a demonstration of commitment, as it had just happened in Poland. Therefore, rigorous police measures were implemented which prohibited the display of the symbol in public. Even though in February the government had expressed its appreciation to church authorities that, on the occasion of the memorial service for the bombing of Dresden, they had made the Church of the Cross available to young people--almost all of whom came with peace patches on their sleeves--and that therefore a confrontation between these young people and state authorities had been avoided. But this had been the last time that the government had shown sympathy for the church in this matter.

On 7 April, talks were held between church representatives and State Secretary Klaus Gysi. On this occasion, the churches rejected the accusation that they had accepted Western slogans, had opposed the peace policies of the GDR, and had called for a refusal to serve the NVA. At the same time, the church declared that "the government decision opposing the symbol of the peace decade is a restriction of the public witness of the church and of the freedom of faith and conscience."

In this discussion it became completely clear, according to the opinion of the participants, that the government made a "political decision" in this case. The government is, in fact, in a difficult position in view of its military and ideological obligations toward the forces of the Warsaw Pact.

Chief ideologist and Politburo member Kurt Hager stated at the Central directors' conference (May 1982): "The primary task of our educational work is to make people aware, again and again, of the content of the Soviet Union's peace policy...To protect and defend socialism under all conditions is what we believe to be the meaning of education for socialist patriotism."

CDU (East) Chairman Gerald Goetting likewise stated in a conversation: "The present situation makes it necessary that we serve with plowshare and sword." During the Pentecost holidays, the FDJ held a series of so-called peace demonstrations under the slogan: "Everything for the implementation of the Soviet Union's peace proposals." Other institutions made their opinions known. Theological faculties demanded the abolition of the means of mass destruction. The Protestant student group Mittweida advocated a zone free of nuclear weapons in Central Europe. The Weissensee group called for a military guarantee for peace. Thus the basic thesis of GDR policy was widely discussed; it says: individual and state interests meet in the question of peace.

From the point of view of politics, the actions of the church can really not be misunderstood. Church communities have been active in intensive programs of education for peace since 1978--in seminars for adults, during weekend workshops, and in discussion groups. There are also the peace seminars for young people that are held repeatedly at eight different locations, and are usually attended by about 500 participants. This has made it clear that

meanwhile a new "international" consciousness has developed: nuclear threat and damage to the environment do not stop at borders. In today's world nobody can save himself individually. Whoever wants to live must also want to survive. From this realization comes the great interest among GDR youths in an active peace commitment, as well as their rejection of increasing militarization.

The Protestant churches have recognized this longing among young people and have backed their right to peace. They want to assist the people in the GDR in their efforts to walk openly as Christians. At the same time, they reproach "politically relevant groups for not looking seriously enough for non-military ways to guarantee peace"; the politicians are blamed for being afraid of the development of new ideas that might be uncomfortable for them. All this seems to be confirmed by the new military service law and by the increased emphasis on military education and training.

Discussion Beyond Political and Ideological Boundaries

Joachim Garstecki, consultant on peace questions at the GDR Church Federation, supported a philosophy of political pacifism at a youth rally in Thuringia on Sunday. This pacifism is supposed to combine "personal peace commitment and rejection of the use of force with a search for political ways toward a solution international conflicts without the use of force." This philosophy thus deliberately opposes the principal contradiction between imperalist and socialist policies by replacing it with a dialog reaching beyond political and ideological boundaries. Because peace has become indivisible. You cannot simply consider and publicize it as an achievement of the East; you must include--also politically--the West.

The church appears to want to accept here--even though through its own methods and within the ecumenic conditions--the function of trying to open up new roads. This at least is indicated by the preparations for the peace decade 1982 whose theme is: anxiety, confidence, peace. Here the church can count on much sympathy from the population for these activities. A poem published at Pentecost by the newspaper DIE UNION says: "Let us talk today. Let us go back and start the talks from the beginning. Tomorrow, one of us could be dead, silenced, blind, paralyzed..."

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FRG ACCUSED OF MISREPRESENTING GDR LITERATURE

Neubrandenburg FREIE ERDE in German 8 Jun 82 p 4

['Cultural Policy' feature article by Klaus Hoepke, deputy minister for culture: "Literature from Neubrandenburg"]

> [Text] At the bezirk delegates' conference of the Federation of Culture, Klaus Hoepke's final remarks in which he commented on cultural development in our bezirk aroused much interest.
>
> Following our request, he expresses in the following article, which was prepared for the 19th Workers' Festival, some thoughts on the literature of Neubrandenburg Bezirk.

In our belletristic literature there is a definite field of questions and answers that are unthinkable without the contributions made to this field by the writers of Neubrandenburg Bezirk.

If we consider, e.g., as important a literary topic as man's claim to happiness, the realization of this claim and ways toward this realization under socialism, we must inevitably think of Brigitte Reimann's "Franziska Linkerhand," of Margarete Neumann's "Der gruene Salon," "Die Windfloete" and the "Orenburger Tagebuch." We also think immediately of Jobst's trilogy and Wohlgemuth's "Egon" which is alaready in its 24th edition.

Or let's consider another topic that is also very important and decisive for the structure of the literature of our country, especially in the 1970's: the problem of freedom and responsibility. This problem and its treatment in GDR literature could not be discussed, especially in one or the other bezirks outside Neubrandenburg, without paying due attention to the work of Helmut Sakowski, who plays an essential role in the treatment of this topic. This includes the novel "Verflucht und geliebt" [Damned and Loved] of which 85,000 copies were distributed last year, and an additional 30,000 copies are expected to go quickly this year. But I think here especially of his book "Daniel Druskat," which is in its ninth edition this year, and in which--as everybody knows who has read the book--we find a very interesting and challenging discussion that never ceases to hold our interest, the

discussion of the question: who is the better socialist? The one who thinks only of his own narrow collective, of his immediate field of responsibility, or the one who always keeps his eye on the interests of society as a whole? And if Helmut Sakowski jokingly calls Fritz Dallmann a socialist aristocrat, he perhaps want to point out that as a "real man" one can do both, as Fritz did in his own life and as Helmut describes it in his artistic portrayal of Fritz: one can pay attention to the interests of society as a whole and, at the same time, work vigorously in one's own field of responsibility.

On the topic of freedom and responsibility an equally ummistakable and essential contribution was made by Heinz Senkbeil in his stories about the NVA, in his work on freedom and responsibility in our efforts for national defense. He is, with Walter Flegel, among the most prolific among the authors of our country who have written and are writing about the defense of socialism.

Another problematic topic is: how can literature help overcome whatever is alien to socialism?

On this topic there are several publications that have led to controversial discussions. Among these publications is Uwe Saeger's book "Noehr" which was published in Neubrandenburg Bezirk. This book led to comments which, in my opinion, were not without foundation: if something has to be criticized, this criticism has to be handled correctly rather than indirectly, i.e., by describing certain circumstances that result in a certain undercurrent of criticism, as if this was all there was to it.

To these sketchy individual characterizations can be added that Volker Kessling's "Tagebuch eines Erziehers" [Diary of an Educator] has recently found appropriate attention and that additional work in this field has been done by Gerhard Schunke, Christiane and Gerhard Vogel, Hans Schneider, Anita Heiden-Berndt, Liermann, Freitag and others. I also want to point out Guenter Ebert's work in literary criticism and his valuable essays on journalism. All these works have one common characteristic: they contribute to strengthening and further developing the independence of GDR literature.

This is especially important for us in this country because we use art as an ideological weapon, as an instrument for further improvement of our socialist world.

At the same time, this is also important as a rebuttal to imperialist meddling. In connection with the course of global confrontation which the most reactionary and aggressive circles especially of U.S. imperialism started at the end of the seventies, attacks are again being made against our independence under the banner of an allegedly unified German culture and literature. Important FRG politicians have taken part in this attack.

Attempts are made to incorporate GDR literature into FRG literature. The ingredients of this soup that one tries to serve here are primarily authors of our country who at the present time live outside the GDR. Those authors not mentioned are, e.g., Kant and Neutsch, Strittmatter and Sakowski. The list is compiled in a way that it does not include communists. But the communist

authors are exactly the ones who have produced the basic works of GDR literature. Without them, without their accomplishment and work, GDR literature is completely unthinkable. Even the greatest living representative of all literature written in German—Anna Seghers—is not among the authors listed by those who want to incorporate our work into theirs. We are dealing therefore with a concept that disregards the facts that are important to literature today. The concept is thus disqualified.

Finally, the good feature of the books written in Neubrandenburg Bezirk lies in the fact that they have provided additions in quantity and strength to the independent character of our socialist GDR literature. This is what is meant by the political and poetic value of the literary work produced in this bezirk.

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BOOKS ON CULTURAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST SORB MINORITY REVIEWED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 21 May 1982) pp 650-652

["Bleak Prospects for the Sorbs?"--Reviews by Dr Rolf Oschlies, FRG Institute for East and International Studies, Cologne: of Rolf Urban's "Die sorbische Volksgruppe in der Lausitz 1949 - 1977. Ein dokumentarischer Bericht" (The Sorb Minorities in Lausitz 1949-1977. A Documented Report), J. G. Herder Institute, Marburg/Lahn, 1980, 348 pages: and of Kito Lorenc's "Sorbisches Lesebuch--Serbska Citanka (Sorbian Reader), Verlag Philipp Reclam jun, Leipzig 1981, 730 pages, 6.50 DM]

[Text] Two books to which we cannot help but accord a great measure of respect for being scientific or editorial accomplishments, but the contents of which make us rather sad: Do they not signal more or less clearly the unbewailed and mute extinction of a people? We are speaking of the Lausitz Sorbs, the smallest Slavic people, living in the east of the GDR, in the quadrilateral area containing the four cities of Lueben, Guben, Bischofswerda, and Loebau. Kito Lorenc says that Sorbs have been settling here for a thousand years. However, he and Urban adduce exhaustive evidence of the fact that the prospects for a continued Sorb existence are bleak.

There exist no dependable statistics concerning the number of Sorbs in existence. The lowest estimate might be 40,000, and at the most there might be 70,000 of them. And in this respect one must take into consideration a number of existing differences: the Niederlausitz and Cottbus Sorbs have less of an ethnic consciousness than the Upper Sorbs living in the Kamenz area, Catholics are more "Sorbian" that Protestants, and older Sorbs are rooted more strongly in Sorbdom than are the younger ones.

Urban affirmatively quotes the SED politician Hermann Axen, who once said the following: "The Sorbs will remain Sorbs for as long as they themselves want to be Sorbs!" Actually, on paper the GDR government shows a remarkable record of success when compared with the actions of the German National Socialists, who in 1937 erased even the last reminders that there is such a thing as an independent Slavic ethnic group. Today the Sorbs in the GDR have laws of their own guaranteeing their equal-rights status and dealing with kindergartens, schools, publishing houses, newspapers, scientific institutions, artistic performance groups, and so forth.

The fact that all of this has little or no effect is explained by Urban with the aid of an impressive abundance of material, which does not exactly facilitate the reading of his book and which could be reduced to the following formula: The GDR gives something to the Sorbs with one hand, and takes it away with the other! Sorbian ethnic organizations or newspapers are nothing but foreign-language versions of the SED and its press and, being presented in this form, do not get much of a response, not to mention the fact that after centuries of discrimination the Sorbs after the end of the war neither liked to be the favorite child of the new communist masters, nor did that benefit them. And whatever the SED government undertook to do subsequently was actually to their disadvantage. It was out of the question to speak of a closed settlement and language area of the Sorbs after refugees from Poland and Czechoslovakia had been settled there, after the "Black Pump" combined had been constructed near Hoyerswerda, and after compulsory collectivization of agriculture was carried out also in the Sorb villages. Polytechnical development and professionalization of the school system to an ever increasing extent called for a change-over from the use of the Sorbian language to instruction in the German language in the schools so that today even those so-called "expanded Sorbian secondary schools" are actually German schools with secondary Sorbian subjects. A similar situation exists in many other spheres where the Sorbian language has in most instances become an empty shell: The members of the "State Ensemble for Sorbian Ethnic Culture" talk to each other in German, the "Bautzen Sorbian Theatre" has made such excessive linguistic demands on its limited audiences that it had to be converted to the "German-Sorbian Theatre" at the end of 1962. The worst thing, however, is the fact that for a long time the juxtaposition of a placating cultural autonomy and a functional erosion of Sorbian independence has been causing the development of a resigned basic attitude among the Sorbs. Urban quotes many statements such as the following: "I don't get far with the Sorbian language. I can scarecely use it in modern production work, and it can even happen that I get laughed at because of my Sorbian language."

In order to be able to size up the entire tragedy of this recent change in the Sorbian ethnic consciousness, one must read Urban's book along with Lorenc's anthology. The Sorbs today almost voluntarily give up their own language and their own culture for the maintenance of which they had struggled for centuries and for which they had specifically propagandized their German neighbors. It is even still possible to note something akin to such propagandizing in Kito Lorenc's collection: Although bilingual to a considerable extent, it is just the same meant primarily for the German reader and, "if the latter demonstrates good will, he can cure himself of many an intolerant complex," as was written by the Polish Sorbian expert Wilhelm Szewczyk in a critique of Lorenc's SORBISCHES LESEBUCH [Sorbian Reader] (in: Zycie Literatckie No. 3, 28 Feb. 1982, Page 11). This is no doubt correct: the book's size, the low price of DM 6.50, the many beautiful illustrations, the attractive selection of items, and the extensive "Chronological Table of the History of Sorbian Literature" at the end of the book--all of these are, after all, invitations to the German reader finally "to discover" the Sorbs as a civilized people.

Fichte, A. von Humboldt, Herder, and others were interested in the Sorbs and in Sorbian affairs, but apparently such inclination was not shared by too many Germans. This may also explain the apologetic character of many texts which Kito Lorenc had put together from four centuries. It is an acknowledged historical fact that particularly the small Slavic peoples throughout long epochs were busy "proving" that their languages were not at all inferior to others. Thus, the actual founder of Sorbian literature, Micha Frencel (1628-1706) was in good company when he postulated as follows: "There is no reason to be ashamed of the Wend language." However, the fact that especially the Sorbs still seem to feel the need for furnishing such proof accounts for a considerable portion of their tragic situation. Thus, Frido Metsk, the Sorb author born in 1916 and living in Bautzen, has made the following statement: "On the one hand, the enemies of our people (particularly those among the Germans) have either unhesitatingly questioned the existence of such literature or have simply refused to admit that it has any kind of status or value (...). On the other hand, the representatives of the opposing point of view (particularly Slavic friends of the Lausitz area) would have liked nothing better than to praise every written Sorbian line as being an achievement of international literary proportions. In so doing, of course, they appear somewhat ridiculous to a critical public. Each of these two extreme attitudes has found a good many followers also among the Sorbs."

The Sorbian "Reader" is arranged chronologically according to authors, a fact which lends it a fascinating multiformity: treatises next to fables, sermons next to feuilletons, odes next to aphorisms, popular songs next to satires and, in addition, terse but exhaustive references to the authors concerned. Thus comes into being a book which captures the interest of not only those concerned with Slavic affairs.

At the end of the "Reader" one finds texts of Sorb authors of the post-war period, and one notes in them an occasional self-tormenting trend. The "question concerning the specifically Sorbian aspects of our literature" also moves its present-day Nestor, Jurij Brezan (born in 1916). in whose view all the attractive formulas cover up the dangers of "provincialism in Sorbian disguise" or of "German literature in the Sorbian language." And editor Kito Lorenc (born 1938) can be heard as a lyricist and prose-writer with sentences which presumably are supposed to sound optimistic, but which in fact make one feel as if they are a dirge sung at the grave of the Lausitz Sorbs. "Thank God, the Sorbs were neither inclined nor did they have the opportunity to settle down as an idyllic minority having as a background a charming countryside in this, their first fatherland as a tourist attraction, as it were, and thus their authors were saved from having to supply the folkloristic guitar sounds for such dubious, humiliating, and anachronistic undertakings. No, the Sorbs were immediately included in the democratic and socialist reformation of this democratic and socialist country and gave to it a goodly portion of unmistakeable peculiarity (...) For it we surrender our heather forests and fields to the excavators, and we surrender to it our old Struga which we divert into an artificial river bed and which we pollute with our sewage. And we surrender to it our language in our poems, at the same time realizing already now that this can be no language zone capable of doing justice to them."

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CIVIL DEFENSE CHIEF EVALUATES SITUATION SINCE DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 5, May 82 pp 1-7

[Article by Lt Gen Tadeusz Tuczapski, Chief of National Civil Defense: "The Socio-Political Situation and Our Tasks"]

[Text] The year 1981 was fraught with events of such tremendous importance that we still cannot tear our attention away from them. It will most likely be a rather long time to come before we cease living and working in an atmosphere in which we continue to mark time in terms of "before" and "after" 13 December. We now know that were it not for the important and farreaching decisions made on behalf of our nation during the night of 12-13 December of last year the country would have been plunged into disorders whose outcome could not have been foreseen, including bloody civil war. There is simply no one with a vivid enough imagination who would have been able to predict all of the immediate and long-range consequences of this great tragedy that was in store for the Polish people.

For all people who think in realistic terms there can be no doubt but that the declaration of martial law amounted to choice of the lesser evil at a moment when a danger of unimaginably greater proportions had become discernible even to people who were not familiar with the complexities of political life. But attempts are being made to dispute this undeniable fact both by those whom the military and security forces prevented from dismantling the socialist state as well as by those who acted as the ideological, political, and moral patrons of these counterrevolutionary activities and also gave them material support.

The hostile propaganda radio stations inspired by or acting on behalf of these people and the Western press, fustrated in its hopes for a big political sensation, are now trying to convince public opinion that this military intervention was not necessary and that it was aimed at putting a stop to the process of the democratic renewal of political and social life initiated after August 1980.

It goes without saying that for the counterrevolutionary forces organized by the veteran political gamblers from KOR or KPN and for the Solidarity radicals whom they cultivated and trained for political sturggle the declaration of martial law, to put it mildly, was not exactly to their liking. The scenario for taking power and destroying the people's state in Poland, so laboriously and meticulously worked out and approved by its real authors in the West, was in-

terrupted at its most vulnerable point and at a most critical juncture. Plans for breaking the unity and defensive might of the Warsaw Pact and weakening socialism on a worldwide scale were anticipated and brought to nought. The strategy which was supposed to isolate Poland from its fraternal socialist countries and at the same time make it dependent on the capitalist countries suffered a crushing defeat. A potential hotbed of war in Europe was eliminated.

The Military Is the Faithful Servant of the Socialist Fatherland and People

Precisely at that moment when the much awaited time came for the overthrow of the socialist state the soldier of the citizen's army, discharging his assigned duties, was standing at the ready at strategic points in cities and industrial centers, taking charge over traffic along important transportation arteries, mounting a vigilant guard over the headquarters of government agencies, and effectively securing key industrial plants, institutions, and installations which are of critical importance to the discharge of duties performed by the state. On the strength of authority bestowed by the Constitution of the Polish Peoples Republic designated representatives of the career officers corps of the armed forces took over duties as plenipotentiaries--military commissioners of the National Defense Committee in government ministries, voivodships, cities and townships, and in key workplaces. The Polish soldier, giving proof of his faithfulness to his military oath, took an active stand in defense of the most vital interests of the working people, stood guard over law and order in the Republic, and undertook the responsibility of defending the most cherished possession of all Poles--the Polish socialist state, its sovereignty and independence.

Poland was spared from a civil war, the destructive consequences of which would have spanned entire decades. By now there is plenty of evidence to prove that a majority of the population--whose powers of psychological endurance were stretched to the breaking point by the endless strikes and tensions in their everyday lives--greeted the appearance of armed soldiers on the streets of the cities with an accepting spirit of understanding. This does not mean that the public did not raise a number of troublesome questions, that no one was fearful as to where this course of events would lead, or that none of this gave rise to doubts and questions about the future. The same questions are being asked by all of us--soldiers, party members, all citizens, patriots, and everyone else who cherishes the well-being and tranquillity of the Fatherland. We know that all of these expectations and hopes for a better tomorrow are not going to be fulfilled automatically. It will take a lot of hard work, exertion, and many sacrifices in the struggle to lift ourselves up from the depths into which we were cast, to break down psychological barriers, and to restore morality to public life in order to make the day to come better than the day that went before. But there can be no doubt about one thing. Namely, under the burdensome conditions of martial law people have begun to lead their lives in a more well-ordered, safer, and more equitable manner not only with the hope, but also with the certainty of a better future.

Demands Necessitated by a Difficult Economic Situation

The fourth month of 1982 has come and gone. Not enough time has passed in order to allow for more farreaching generalizations about the social, political, and

economic situation or for the advancement of long-range forecasts as to how this situation will evolve in the future. This situation can be summed up briefly. The situation is difficult. Economic affairs are especially complex. This situation is rendered all the more difficult by special circumstances and manifold internal and external factors that are having and will continue to have an impact on our economy in the near future. So, the only way to assess the state of our economy is from the perspective of these abnormal and difficult conditions.

Success depends both on our ability to overcome adversities, as well as on our skill in making the best of every favorable opportunity.

Everybody knows about the communique of the Main Office of Statistics published in the first quarter of this year. It is not all that optimistic, but it offers a glimmer of hope, the proverbial light at the end of the tunnel. The overall decline in industrial output will persist, but the rate of this decline will be slowed down to some extent, especially in manufacturing industries. On the other hand, there has been a substantial improvement in terms of the output of coal, copper, zinc, lead, sulfur. There has been an increase in the output of cement, agricultural machinery and implements, freight cars, and some common consumer goods. Things continue to be difficult in agriculture and in the construction industry. All things considered, though, there are signs of some slight improvement, and by now this counts for a lot. This would mean that we have succeeded in putting a stop to a further aggravation of the crisis and that we have taken the first steps toward the gradual overcoming of this crisis. But we still have a long way to go before we achieve real success. So, in the midst of this crisis which still has us in a stranglehold an ever higher and higher premium must be placed on the skills that are needed to find new stimuli for keeping our economy on the move, the capital stock built up by our people in the form of talent, skills, and knowledge must be made to pay off, and original and constructive proposals and initiatives must be formulated that provide answers to organizational, technological, and functional problems. The fostering of a climate that is conducive to such quests is coming to be an important task for all our professional military personnel, including professional civil defense personnel. The fact that in view of our country's present, complex economic situation not all of our capital construction and technological development projects as spelled out in long-range economic growth plans are able to retain their original status and priority does not mean that we are giving up on the fulfillment of these projects in favor of other ideas. This would be a misconception. While preserving our present assets and while not giving up on the idea of getting started on previously mapped out tasks at an appropriate time, we must first and foremost view the fulfillment of these tasks in terms of currently feasible dimensions and from the standpoint of nationwide needs. We must give a new thrust to our programs, come up with new ideas, and see how these new ideas stack up against the realities of justified priorities.

We are now going through a difficult period, a period that is fraught with anxieties for the future of Poland, but at the same time we are convinced that when it comes to our social and economic development and the strengthening of our defenses we will not stand for half measures or cutrate approaches. In this determination of ours to stand up to the challenge of history there is no room

for improvisation or complacency. We simply realize that there are difficult and rigorous times in store for us. We must reorient ourselves toward new ideas, toward creative and meaningful work, toward political maturity, toward mustering the courage that is needed to embark upon and realize farreaching, ambitious goals dedicated to securing the survival and strength of the state. We have no other choice.

Our Party--the Polish United Workers Party--Is the Underwriter for Charting a New Path for the Country

The recently concluded Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee was an important step along the way toward building a stronger party. This plenum mapped out the course that should be followed in the course of consolidating the party along Marxist-Leninist lines. The decisions which were made at this plenum and the things that were said during the Plenum's discussion period once again called attention not only to the existing threats which the party has perceived, but also to the opportunities that exist for taking resolute action to counter these threats and for validating and rebuilding public confidence in the party.

In order to meet the historic demands of our times it is imperative that an effort should be made to insure the unity and cohesion of the party; we must not fail to win the trust of the people, rebuild the party's credibility, and strengthen its leading role. The country needs an ideologically strong and morally healthy party for the sake of its own strength and welfare. The party has not yet recovered this strength and authority. In the past the party concerned itself with nearly all apsects of national life and government. It took over the duties of the civil service, the trade unions, and social organizations, and in both functional and substantive terms it took the place of institutions and agencies responsible for national affairs. But there was never enough time for making of responsible and reasonable decisions and supervising the process of their implementation. Proper resolutions, decisions, and directives pronounced from high rostrums often ran counter to the dictates of practical life. The will, character, and resolve needed to put these decisions into practice in the life of the nation and people were lacking. The moral countenance and characters of the people responsible at various levels for implementing party policies were also frequent cause for disappointment. The decline of ideological life in the party gave rise to a decline in ethical sensitivity in the public at large. There followed an invasion of petty bourgeois ideals and life styles alien to socialism. The loss of public confidence after August 1980 contributed to an upsurge of antisocialist elements, and it encouraged them to mount an attack on the peoples state, its international position, alliances, and defensive might.

It is downright tragic that a combination of harmful and unpleasant developments in our social life has given rise to such severe expressions of protest, protests which have been so skillfully exploited--this has to be admitted--by our internal and external political adversaries. It is all the more tragic that a not insignificant proportion of the younger generation, including large numbers of those who participated in formal ceremonies to receive their membership cards in the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] and the PZPR, and that now some of these young people, prompted by the insinuations of hostile forces, naive romaticism or blatant political immaturity, are trying once again to turn back

the clock, inflame the dying embers of counterrevolution, encourage voluntaristic and anarchic modes of behavior, undermine the authority of the party, or even organize an underground conspiracy.

The Seventh Plenum reminded us that the party is and must be first and foremost a forum for expressing the most vital interests of the working class, including members of the younger generation in the working class, a party that wages a struggle for a new tomorrow. We realize that in our country there are still isolated realms of absurd behavior that are a source of alarm and irritation to public opinion, that there are enchanted preserves where senselessness and smallmindedness are still the order of the day, that there is waste and extravagance, that there is corruption, nepotism, highhandedness and selfishness. Acting under orders from the Military Council for National Salvation, local operational groups and military operational groups are every day bringing to light hundreds of examples of stupidity, bureaucratism, inefficiency and dishonesty, incompetence in managing the affairs of the people and the state in various areas and in the various ways these duties are discharged in offices, in factories, in the fields of state farms, in stores, and in public utility establishments. The struggle that is being waged against these degradations is therefore a struggle for wide-ranging and intelligent public support, for the active participation of the entire Polish people in the renewal of public life, for full public acceptance of socialism. This is at the same time one of the fundamental prerequisites for the formation of areas of national reconciliation. This is a struggle for political and social harmony. This struggle is in essence dedicated to the principle that all of the country's constructive and patriotic-minded social forces, the allied political parties, social organizations and associations, youth organizations, and the trade union movement should align themselves with the socialist thrust of the renewal movement. Only those who aspire to the creation of a new socialist Poland can become a part of this kind of consensus. Those who are opposed to the socialist state cannot be and will not be a part of this consensus. There are no preconditions for this kind of consensus as long as it is only patriotid motives that will inspire actions taken in the interests of and on behalf of the socialist state and its people. It is our common misfortune that as a result of our progressive economic decline, the paralysis of our governmental institutions, and various activities aimed at sowing the seeds of social discord and carried on openly by the antisocialist opposition up until December of last year certain segments of our society were transformed into passive objects and not active protagonists of change, as result of which their talents, willingness to work, goodwill, and diverse initiatives failed to produce the desired results. Everything depends on us now. We have a historic opportunity which we should not waste.

In Alliance with the countries of the Socialist Community We Are Also Defending the Peace of Our Own Fatherland

We are not alone on the difficult path on which we have embarked. The best proof of this is the visit of the Polish party-government delegation to the USSR. This is because our friendship and fraternity, our cooperation and alliance with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community form the cornerstone of our security and, for that matter, our survival as a nation. This relationship also guarantees that we will find effective solutions to the crisis in which we find ourselves. Poland and the Soviet Union will continue to work

toward the consolidation of the fraternal alliance of countries which belong to the Warsaw Pact, an alliance which insures the security of these countries and provides for cooperation in the struggle for a lasting peace in Europe and throughout the world. The continuation of this cooperation and fraternal collaboration is of fundamental importance to Poland and the entire socialist community, especially so now when the aggressive forces of imperialism are to blame for the fact that the international situation has become much more complicated. Our armed forces and our whole national defense system are making a vital contribution toward the goal of broadening and stepping up internationalist cooperation with the Soviet Army and the other socialist armies. This cooperation is being manifested in joint conferences and consultations and in joint allied exercises of military and civil defense forces which form part of the training process directly geared toward preparing these forces to carry out defense missions in a real defense emergency situation.

Plans have been drawn up to conduct a joint allied, strategic civil defense exercise in August of this year under the direction of the chief of GDR Civil Defense. We are giving a high priority to this undertaking, since coalition exercises are at one and the same time a unique way to testing the preparedness of our civil defense staffs, systems, and organizational structures to carry out complex defense tasks. They are being called upon to give a demonstration of qualitatively superior techniques and modes of operation whose standards will be commensurate with the constant advancement of military science and technology and, as a result of this advancement, with the need to find solutions to ever newer and more difficult problems. Joint exercises provide an excellent forum for sharing mutual accomplishments, for displaying our own theoretical and organizational achievements in the mounting of large-scale rescue operations, in the coordination of diverse forces and assets, in the formulation of situation assessments and analyses, and in the organization of decisionmaking processes.

Working together to carry out missions of this type also makes a noteworthy contribution toward strengthening ties of friendship, ties which guarantee that at moments of supreme danger will have by our sides faithful and tested comrades whom we can count on when we need to and in moments when we are faced with the greatest challenges. This is all the more important as long as the unprecedented anti-Polish campaign unleashed by the imperialist forces persists and does not diminish. It should be expected that this state of affairs will continue for a long time. This is because this is just one feature of the long-range strategy of the United States and NATO to move away from the policy of detente and shift toward a policy of confrontation, somethings which has become a clear priority in the foreign policy of the present American administration.

Under these circumstances the decision by the West to commit itself to a global contest with socialism over Poland, if only for reason having to do with our importance, role, and position within the defense system of the socialist countries, was bound to signify a major escalation of this confrontation. The severity of this confrontation is attested to by the fact that the West has not hesitated to attempt to call into question the validity of the decisions made at Yalta and Potsdam, decisions which are one of the cornerstones of European security and political-territorial order, including the security of Poland, its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Of course, we do not mean by this to conclude that our domestic crisis was a product of the external machinations

of forces opposed to detente or that we are not aware of the fact that this crisis is attributable to major, internal factors arising out of causes of our own making and out of our own neglect. But we would be profoundly mistaken to believe that the forces of aggression and war are not exploiting the situation that has arisen in Poland to open a new front in their anticommunist strategy. There can be no doubting the fact that the primary goal of the West is to discredit socialism as a social and political system, especially the Soviet model of socialism which is suspected of having been replicated in Poland. In so doing they are trying to prove that this model is unsuited to meeting the demands of modern life and that it is utterly unreformable. The success of the socialist renewal movement in Poland, including the economic reform, would undoubtedly be tantamount to a repudiation of these kinds of assertions. This is why they have so persistently pursued various kinds of manipulations. This is why they are raising obstacles and imposing restrictions and sanctions in the area of economic cooperation and trade for the purpose of aggravating our problems, disrupting our economy, mobilizing subversive forces, and recreating an atmosphere marked by turmoil and discontent.

Similar restrictions that have been instituted against the Soviet Union are supposed to, among other things, make it as difficult as possible to furnish Poland with economic aid. Attempts are being made to make the Soviet economy bear the burden of the debts incurred by Poland or to shift the burden of keeping Poland afloat onto the Soviet Union. The stubborn repetition of those insinuations which Poles find so offensive to the effect that we are not masters in our own house, that we are unable to manage our affairs, and that somebody else is making our decisions for us is supposed to promote the intensification of anti-Soviet feelings. At the same time, they are trying to make the point that the entire Warsaw Pact is being weakened by the fact that it has within its ranks a country that is weak, disorganized, and anarchic, a country that is supposed to be Poland, a country in which the other members of the community should have no confidence, a country in which the allies would not be able to place their complete trust. To this end the United States, with the help of a few other countries, is trying to push through various kinds of provocative resolutions aimed against Poland and its allies.

But what they are forgetting about in the West is that Poland is Poland. Our internal problems do nothing to alter the fact that we are a country with a relatively large land area and a relatively large population, that we are endowed with important natural resources and a strong industrial base. We are located in the center of Europe. We possess an advanced infrastructure active in the arts and sciences, and we have our own record of cultural achievements. We boast of a history that goes back a thousand years. We have always pursued an activist foreign policy, and even now, in the midst of a serious crisis, we continue to be an active, noteworthy partner in the struggle to defend peace, international detente, disarmament, and cooperation that is beneficial to all parties. There can be no doubt but that throughout this anti-Polish campaign military issues are being assigned a role of predominant importance. As far back as the end of the 1970s the United States embarked upon a wide-ranging military buildup that was designed to bring it into a position of military-strategic superiority. Apart from the decison of the USA to begin producing the neutron bomb, the most characteristic feature of this policy was the NATO decision to introduce several hundred fundamentally new types of nuclear missile weapons into Europe. This program gave rise to serious reservations on

the part of certain governments and parliaments in the European NATO countries. The decision by NATO to accentuate the confrontational thrust of its policy in response to events in Poland was therefore supposed to make it easier to implement this proposed program by offering proof of the alleged threat posed by the Soviet Union. At this point it is not yet clear whether this militaristic offensive will succeed in exploiting the Polish pretext as grounds for calling a halt to disarmament negotiations. The reason for this is that during the Soviet trade unions congress the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, in the course of adding concrete substance to previously made Soviet proposals concerning reductions in existing nuclear arsenals in Europe, announced that a decision had been made by the Soviet leadership to declare a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in the European regions of the USSR. In keeping with this declaration the number of the aforementioned weapons systems now deployed in this region has been frozen in both quantitative and qualitative terms. A hold has also been placed on the replacement of the old missiles known as SS-4s and SS-5s with new SS-20 missiles. This moratorium will remain in force either until such time as an agreement is reached with the United States on reductions, based on the principle of equality and reciprocal security, in the numbers of intermediate-range nuclear weapons based in Europe and targeted against Europe or until such time as the leaders of the USA, disregarding the security interests of all peoples, go ahead and begin making preparations for the deployment of Pershing-II and cruise missiles in Europe. At the same time, Leonid Brezhnev strongly and openly warned that if the governments of the USA and its NATO allies, disregarding the peaceful aspiration of the peoples of the world, should anyway decide to go ahead and implement their plan for deploying hundreds of new American missiles in Europe capable of destroying targets on Soviet territory, this would give rise to a new strategic situation in the world. The Soviet Union and its allies would then be faced with a real, additional threat. This would then force the Soviet leadership to take the kinds of steps that would place the other side, including the United States and its own territory, in a similar position. No one should forget this. These are strong words that also contain a very strong dose of good will. But, at the same time, they constitute a warning that no one who still retains at least a bare minimum of political common sense can afford to ignore.

Top-Priority Civil Defense Missions for 1982

In the course of performing our civil defense duties we must remember that each and every training year counts as being important when it comes time to draw up the final balance sheet for the progress that has been made toward implementing the long-range program for the advancement and perfection of all civil defense agencies and components in all elements of the country's organizational and functional structures. Objectives and tasks are spelled out in specific terms for each and every year, and these objectives and tasks all have their own unique accents. They add meaningful substance and new values to the overall configuration of our national defense system. This year the training that is being offered as a part of the national civil defense system is taking place in a complex situation and under circumstances that compel us to resort to the use of extraordinary means. It is for this reason also that the missions which have been assigned to us must be viewed against the broad background of the struggle

that has been mounted by the Military Council of National Salvation to overcome the crisis and restore Poland to its proper place in the socialist community, in Europe, and in the world as a whole.

In accordance with the "Guidelines of the Chief of Civil Defense for the Period 1981-1985" we have proposed that the primary goal attending the advancement and improvement of civil defense forces should be to lay a solid groundwork and find practical applications for theoretical premises which ought to be reflected in detailed legislative prescriptions and to achieve the needed level of readiness in order to undertake coordinated rescue-recovery and security operations within the context of the integrated national defense system. This goal will remain essentially the same, and its realization is now more topical than ever. This means that this year our attention should be focused primarily on the further clarification and delineation of issues of a legislative, planning, organizational-operational, trining, and technical nature.

In dealing with matters of a prescriptive and legal nature we must try to come up with more concrete interpretations and effective ways of implementing the series of amendments to the "Law on Mandatory Universal Service in Defense of the PPR." Therefore, some of the tasks which we must address during the current training year include specific programs whose successful fulfillment will have a critical impact on what happens to our civil defense system during the next phase of its development. It is above all important that we should speed up the pace of work on the drafting and enforcement of a resolution of the Council of Ministers on civil defense, a resolution on the powers of the Chief of National Defense and the chiefs of the voivodship and local-level inspectorates, a resolution on civil defense formations, and other legal acts. Work should begin now on bringing the substantive provisions of these acts into line with the general thrust of the legislation that is being enacted in this country.

In the course of translating the training "Guidelines" into specific tasks to be accomplished it is necessary to make a thorough analysis of all of those causes and effects which have emerged into the real world of our social, political, and economic life and which have slowed down or actually prevented progress in our planning and applications-oriented work.

Projects that are planned out should therefore embrace a clearly spelled out premise and thus provide us with a clear interpretation of what it is we want to accomplish in addition to listings of tasks that make allowances for the unique conditions, and actual requirements and capabilities of specific organizational units.

In compiling lists of planned tasks it is especially important that we should identify problems associated with the completion of these tasks within prescribed deadlines by all components and all forces and assets that have a bearing on operational and organizational-functional readiness. The prerequisite sine qua non for this readiness is the proper gearing up of a system of command and control. As has been the case up to this point, not all local civil defense agencies are endowed with suitably organized and trained task forces responsible for dealing with matters of command and control nor have they been equipped with permanent and alternate workplaces that are adequately prepared for this purpose.

It has been noted in many voivodships that the standards of performance in attending to this preparatory work are very low, and this is especially the case in townships and city-townships. The effectiveness of a command and control system, as everyone knows, is dependent first and foremost upon communications, including in particular the system of radio-telephone communications. For the immediately foreseeable future this will be a fairly difficult problem to deal with. We need to look for organizational solutions to this problem. This is a question of seeing to it that radio-telephone communications systems are set up in as short a period of time as possible in order to provide coverage for key regions, while at the same time making provisions for the exploitation of all available systems for the purpose of exercising command and control over rescue operations, for the purpose of sending reports and issuing alerts, and also for the purpose of detecting and analyzing contamination. It is imperative that we should move ahead with work on setting up a centralized, national contamination analysis center which--working in close cooperation with appropriate elements of the military system--would be prepared to execute missions associated with the programming, analysis, and comprehensive evlauation of contamination situations and actual contaminants in an environment marked by the employment of mass destruction weapons.

In recent years we have devoted a great deal of attention to the problem of population evacuation and dispersal. In our circumstances this is one of the most important ways of providing protection for the civilian population given our limited capabilities when it comes to sheltering people in protective structures. We have worked out one of several optimal versions of how to implement this idea. This is an extremely complex operation both from an organizational and technical standpoint as well as from a psychological standpoint. Last year witnessed the completion of the organizational groundwork related to a series of procedures for evacuating civilian populations from cities deemed to be in special danger. It is now necessary to make a thorough study of this problem within the context of everything that has happened and everything that we learned in connection with the declaration of martial law and also in connection with the disastrous flooding in the Plock area.

All of our planning, organizational, and training objectives that were mapped out last year should once again be carefully reconsidered, brought up to date, and coordinated in terms of all of their substantive details with the operational-defense planning system of the voivodship military staffs and with the socioeconomic development plans of ministries, voivodship governments, municipal governmental bodies, townships, and industrial plants. Projects that are completed must be completely in line with the objectives, mechanisms, and strategic premises of the reform of the system of economic management that is being adopted in this country at all levels.

It should be expected that in the course of implementing this reform qualitative transformations are going to take place throughout the system by means of which the state performs its functions and that the basic priorities, performance indicators, and thrusts of the work we do will be subject to change. Radical modifications will also be made in the relationships that exist between central and local organizational components, especially so with reference to enterprises and workplaces. Consequently, the guidelines and underlying assumptions of the

5-year plan for the development of the civil defense system will have to be flexibly adapted to this new situation and these new working conditions in terms of the geographic division of responsibilities. Under these new conditions the central level will only plan an inspirational and supervisory role. The burden of most of the work to be done will be concentrated at the local level.

In connection with the centrally subsidized payment of civil defense costs the chiefs of voivodship inspectorates must now pay careful attention to the development of efficient, cost-effective finance policies when it comes to the planning of training, investment, and procurement programs. Every accounting entry must be strictly justified, serve a useful purpose, and be the product of a general systems-oriented approach to the development of the civil defense system.

The training system is an integral part of civil defense preparedness. The main objective of this training is to prepare governmental agencies, economic institutions, civil defense formations, and the public at large to defend themselves. We are not making any major changes in this system. Generally speaking, the point here is to make sure that this training process is set up in such a way as to be responsive to those transformations which are taking place in the structure of governmental and economic institutions and in the way they discharge their functions. Voivodship and ministry civil defense personnel training centers should continue working on tasks dedicated to instilling a deeper understanding of a refining the skills needed to perform civil defense tasks and provide leadership for subordinate forces during rescue and disaster relief operations. It is necessary to resort to the best form of training on a larger scale, that is, training in the form of coordination exercises. These kinds of exercises make an important contribution to upgrading skills and work habits in exercising command and control over and in the practical performance of tasks in addition to promoting cooperation within subunits and among different subunits. Exercises organized at the voivodship, ministry, and intervoivodship level should play an important role in this regard. Past experience has shown that many valuable lessons have been learned from these exercises that have a bearing on, among other things, preparing the economy to function on a wartime footing, evacuations and the cooperation of neighboring voivodships, and the operation of the public warning and alert system and also the contamination detection system.

Special attention needs to be paid to the Central Civil Defense Personnel Training Center. This center should become a component that has an impact on methodological and substantive training work in the area of civil defense. One major task that we are assigning to this center is that its personnel should embark upon scientific research projects, primarily those which have a bearing on civil defense tactics. This will call for the further advancement of the knowledge and skills of these personnel. We will support the efforts made by these personnel dedicated to their pursuit of academic degrees. This program has already been inaugurated and it should be consistently implemented. We will be going through the current civil defense system training year in the conviction that the goals which have been set will be realized in a manner that is consistent with our expectations, that our knowledge and practical working skills will be enriched with new elements and intellectual values. The planning, research, and training projects undertaken by all civil defense components in

ministries, voivodships, cities, townships, and workplaces should make a contribution to this end. The work that is done with a view to improving the civil defense system must be backed up by the experience and creative ideas of all of its agencies and human resources. The resolutions of the 7th Plenum of our party's Central Committee which mapped out the key tasks facing the party in the struggle to give a socialist stamp to the renewal process and to find solutions to the country's difficult economic predicament should serve to lend impetus to quickening the pace of our efforts. The ideological-political and training tasks that we undertake in the area of civil defense will serve as our contribution as soldiers to the cause of the further reinforcement of the strength and security of our country. As General Jaruzelski said at the plenum: "We must believe in ourselves, in our ability--so often manifested in our history--to lift ourselves up out of disaster and defeat."

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GORZOW PARTY MEETINGS HELD

Meeting on Plant Expansion

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 8 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by ac: "From the Deliberations of the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] Executive Board in Gorzow"]

[Text] Yesterday, 7 April 1982, the Executive Board of the PZPR KW met in Gorzow. During the meeting, which was chaired by Florian Ratajczak, first secretary of the KW, political-organizational plans were approved for the Labor Day 1 May and Victory Day celebration in Grozow Voivodship. Following this, the state of implementation of the Gorzow ZM [Metal Plants] Expansion investment task for producing units for tractors under license was discussed.

As the members of the Executive Board were informed, organizational committees for the Labor Day 1 May and Victory Day celebrations are now being appointed. This year, these celebrations are to be an opportunity for showing the ties of the party with the working class and the entire nation, for demonstrating the party's unity, strength and will to lead Poland out of the crisis, and for showing that our country is and will remain a reliable element of the socialist community, a member of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. The voivodship and the municipal commemorative meeting for 1 May is proposed for 28 April in Gorzow. During the days preceding Labor Day, the members of the Executive Board and the KW will visit the work forces of the plants at their work stations. Open meetings of the POP [Primary Party Organization] will be held, meetings with veterans of the workers movement will take place and lectures will be given pointing out the role of the Polish nation in the victory over the fascist Germans and the role and significance of the Warsaw Pact, there will also be meetings with soldiers of the Polish Army and units of the Soviet Army, occasional commemorative meetings, evening concerts and addresses. It is expected that at this year's 1 May parade there will be no grandstands and decorations will be kept simple. It will proceed through Gorzow along Chrobego St toward Grunwald Square, where the color guards and guard of honor will take their positions. We are reminded that it is the duty of every party member to participate in the parade.

The second part of the deliberations opened with a trip to the construction site. Besides members of the Executive Board, invited representatives of the investor in the installations in Baczyna--the URSUS Tractor Industry Association,

building contractors and administrative authorities along with Gorzow's governor, Stanislaw Nowak, participated in this part of the meeting. At the construction site, participants were familiarized with the rate at which work is being done and with basic problems, the most important of which are the completion of the main production installation as quickly as possible, and its drainage, thereby securing both the hall and the equipment located in it against corrosion, all of which is to occur this year. This year as well, the main feeding station for electrical power is to be completed, the heating system is to be installed, and the groundwork is to be done for mounting machinery next year. According to Stanislaw Stachowiak, director of the Ursus-Gorzow Mechanical Works, these matters are crucial to getting a start on production engineering in 1983 in several intial departments and to completing tasks in 1985. What makes them more important is that at the end of 1982, the warehouses will be storing equipment worth more than a billion zlotys for a new factory. Most of this equipment comes from capitalist countries, so that not only does the guarantee expire, but it also deteriorates when not in use.

It was reported to the members of the Executive Board that in March 1982, ministerial decisions were made concerning the financing of the Baczyna construction project in 1982-1983, resulting in appropriations of approximately 150 million zlotys per year for this purpose. The general contractor, GPBP [probably Gorzow Industrial Construction Enterprise], may rearrange these allocations. Very serious problems have occurred with ensuring Baczyna sanitary sewage and runoff removal, as participants learned during their visit to the site. The construction of collectors which has been going on since 1978, must be completed by mid-1983, and work is only at the halfway mark. Without sewage removal, the startup and utilization of the new plant are impossible. The contractor, GPRI [probably Gorzow Engineering Works Enterprise], is doing everything possible to finish on time, including borrowing equipment from other enterprises. The Mechanical Works in Gorzow has begun working to ensure 1,100 apartments for the work force by creating its own housing cooperative.

After lengthy discussion, the Executive Board of the PZPR KW in Gorzow adopted the position that the coordinated program of work must be uncompromisingly maintained, and that all matters in the area of building investment must be fully explained. The indispensable materials requested by contractors must be guaranteed, and the problem of transporting goods and people must be resolved. All matters related to property settlements with farmers whose land was taken for the investments must also be resolved as soon as possible. It was also proposed that the Executive Board return to this subject in several months.

Participants in the meeting included: Jan Symonik, a plenipotentiary of the KC [Central Committee] BP [Political Bureau] KC Economic Department representative Ludwik Mizera, and the deputy director of the Department of Programming and Modernization Development in the Ministry of the Metallurgy and Engineering Industry, Alojzy Mokrogulski.

Meeting on Employment Policy

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 22 Apr 82 p 1, 2

[Article by jk: "From the Deliberations of the PZPR KW [Executive Board] in Gorzow"]

[Text] Yesterday [21 April 1982] the PZPR KW Executive Board deliberated in Gorzow. Participants were familiarized with the progress being made on preparations for the KW plenum to be held next Monday. This meeting is to be devoted to issues of the shaping and development of socialist awareness of youth. The material presented on this subject includes a long-term program of work with young people and takes into consideration the upbringing functions of the school, the home and the workplace. It defines the relationship of the party to youth organizations and specifies the conditions and forms of youth participation in bringing Poland out of its current socioeconomic situation. It also considers recommendations made in eight regional meetings held recently by the members of the KW leadership with the youth.

A very lively discussion that offered many valuable suggestions ensued over the material presented at yesterday's Executive Board dliberations. Because of the weightiness of these remarks and recommendations and their thematic scope, the Executive Board decided to include them in their entirety in the body of material presented and co make use of them as well as to prepare the draft of the plenum resolution.

Next, the Executive Board members were informed about the employment policy in Grozow Voivodship under economic reform. In the last quarter, the Gorzow labor market was fairly settled, and, surpluses of cadre were brought under control rapidly. However, in many plants there is a tendency to keep on the work force in their previous numbers regardless of production volume and progress. At a later time, bank intervention may help to make this relationship more realistic. Local interventionist efforts within the municipal economy are eliminating the temporary need for people to fill positions.

The Executive Board stated that the employment policy is being conducted properly. The fact that in Gorzow Voivodship there is no shortage of openings, that anyone who wants a job can find one, including this year's graduates, fills one with optimism. Under such conditions, those who are still shirking work must be brought to fulfill their duty, since the labor front is large enough to include them.

Plenary Deliberations on Youth

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 27 Apr 82 p 1, 2

[Article by jand-frab.: "Plenary Deliberations of the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] in Gorzow on the Subject of Youth: Restoring Faith in the Idea of Socialism"]

[Text] Yesterday [26 April 1982] the PZPR KW assembled in Grozow for a plenary meeting. The subject of the deliberations was: "The Shaping and Development of the Socialist Awareness of Youth." In addition to KW members, participants

in the meeting included actives in the youth movement, among them the deputy commander of the ZHP [Polish Scount Union], Scoutmaster Antoni Kusiak and the director of a department in the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] ZG [Main Board], Wlodzimierz Sielewicz. Florian Ratajczak, first secretary of the KW led the plenum.

Opening the deliberations, he stated: "The subject of today's plenum is very complex, especially today, after the ideological havoc that has been created in our country by opportunist forces. Who is to form this awareness? The party aktiv? Or perhaps the authorities? It is a process that requires patience and wisdom. We are aware that the ideological offensive of the entire party is, above all, a struggle for social awareness, and mainly a struggle for the social awareness of the young generation. It is a struggle over gaining the Polish youth, the members of the ZSMP, the ZMW [Rural Youth Union], the XHP, the OHP [Volunteer Labor Brigades] and the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students], of gaining all of Polish youth for the ideals of socialism, for the ideals for which the party is fighting in the process of the moral-political renewal. "

In the name of the Executive Board, KW secretary Antoni Maslo gave a report. He stated that "a basic upbringing duty of the party to the young generation is to struggle to restore their faith in the genuineness and solidarity of the ideas that it promulgates. Essentially it is a question of the socialist awareness of youth, of its confidence in the possibility of implementing socialist ideals under PZPR leadership. We can attain this by returning to basic concepts, truths and traditions. Today, if we are taking a criticial look at the work of youth organizations, and if we are to prepare a long-term program of work with youth, then it is with the awareness that we are not starting at the bottom. We recognize that the basis of this program should be an analysis of previous party experiences--its mistakes as well as its achievements, and the achievements of the Polish educational system and youth organizations. We cannot squander what was good. The opinion is circulating that the party has lost its ideological link with the youth. This is a simplistic view, advanced by the political opposition to prevent the party from entering into a real discussion with the youth. This is why we need rational arguments, not emotions today. The young generation has not rejected the ideological assumptions of the socailist system, but it has rejected all departures from these principles.

"The difficult conditions of getting out of the crisis may not deprive the youth of its inalienable rights: to an equal start regardless of social background, financial status or milieu, the right to an education and cultrual values, to active mutual participation in social and political life and to mutual responsibility for its development and makeup.

"We must never again return to the mistakes of the last decade. We must aim at accompanying material progress with the flowering of humanistic values of man and humanity. In our work with youth, we must restore dignity to ideological upbringing. If the young people demand, and rightly so, that we honor their opinions and right to participate in decisionmaking, then they must participate in solving our tremendous problems just like everyone else," said Antoni Maslo.

The speaker devoted much attention to schools and educational-upbringing institutions, to the family, including the families of party members, who have a special responsibility. There are 83,141 students in Gorzow schools, or more than 18 percent of the regional population. The development of the socio-political situation after August 1980, especially the shift of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity to political positions inimical to socialism has had a negative impact on the atmosphere and manner of functioning of schools. This is expressed in the divisiveness among teachers' groups, and consequently in the severe weakening of upbringing work and the socialist character of the school.

Treating the problems of the youth movement, secretary Maslo made a number of criticial observations. In speaking of the ZHP, he said that the weakness of this organization deriving from its massiveness and the lack of an instructional cadre has become apparent. The ZHP has not found an effective formula for training its ideological-instructional cadre. The August events and the period following have caused the numbers of this union to be reduced considerably. However, the main nucleus of instructors has been kept on.

The ZSMP has suffered a serious jolt. Approximately 4,000 members have left. Many of these have become active in Solidarity. Today the ZSMP, as an organization that cuts across many milieux, numbers more than 21,000 members in our voivodship, of whom 8,000 are active within the rural community. The organization is strengthening its political character. It is time for the party members who are also ZSMP members to become active.

The revived Rural Youth Union [ZMW] is gathering together more and more young people who work in rural areas and in farming, above all private farmers, the major food producers. This organization today numbers approximately 3,000 members.

In conclusion, Antoni Maslo stated that we can say that ideological-upbringing work is a total success when upbringing activities in all basic elements are unified. These elements are the family, the school, youth organizations and the workplace. We cannot arouse any more illusions or make any more promises that are unjustifiable. We must openly tell young people that the Poland of the coming years will not be a country of wealth and plenty; they will be hard years requiring work and self-denial. However, these years should not and must not deprive the young generation of development opportunity, stifle their aspirations or deprive them of their hope for a good professional and social start.

In the discussion, 22 people took the floor. They included both party echelon members and invited guests from youth organizations and milieux.

Zenon Smolinski, a youth activist from Bogdaniec and vice chairman of the ZSMP ZW [Voivodship Board] for rural youth affairs stated that rural farm youth see the actions of specific officials and local authorities as the policy of the party and the state in reality. Thus, it is not easy to convince farmers, especially young farmers, that we are bound by a rational policy, even under existing conditions.

Stanislaw Kielec, chairman of the ZMW Municipal-Gmina Board in Witnica, also spoke of the credibility of the actions of the municipal administration regarding farmers who are just starting out on their own farms. According to the speaker, it is common in the gmina of Witnica for a farmer who has had a tractor less than 5 years to receive another one while a new farmer cannot get one. Kazimierz Klodowski, ZSMP activist from SILWANA [Gorzow Silk Plants], stated that the lack of help for the youth organization by plant party organizations is on the agenda. In the POP [Primary Party Organization] and OOP [District Party Organization], party members who are generally uninformed about the activities of the youth organization, despite this usurp the right to make criticial remakrs about it "for a rainy day."

Czeslaw Gierczynski, a teacher from Pelczyce, member of the PZPR KC [Central Committee], noted the difficulty of defining the very concept of youth. While it is an eternal category, we cannot forget the social aspect of youth problems. He said that most young people are characterized by bewilderment and disorientation. It will not be easy to fill such empty heads with worthwile socialist, patriotic and humanistic contents. They want to attain the Japanse living standard quickly, without making any effort.

Jaroslaw Glowski, a student from the Medical Vocational Studies Program and chairman of the ZSMP Voivodship Council of Schoolage Youth, stated that currently in voivodship schools in most cases there is a move against the needs of youth organizations, but there are such exceptions as the PKP [Polish State Railroads] Basic Vocational School.

The address of Stanislawa Wlosek, KW member, physician from Mysliborz, commanded the attention of all those present. He said that before August, ideological life in the party was gradually disappearing and it was no wonder. The signs of the departure from socialist principles in social life and from rational behavior in economic policy were not allowed to be expressed. Any sort of reflection on what was happening in the party and the nation was looked at askance. This also had an impact on youth organizations. Deeper reflection, both philosophically and in terms of their world outlook and discussions that are stormy but friendly are indispensable for young people and youth organizations. Without this, ideological life in the youth organization will dry up. In the speaker's opinion, one sometimes observes in propaganda an obsessive return to the pre-August 1980 style. Czeslaw Jermanowski, vice chairman of the ZMW ZW, underscored the significance of a material base for cultural activity in rural areas. Piotr Nogiec, ZSMP activist, worker from the Gorzow Metal Plants, stated that the causes of the situation in which youth organizations and youth as well find themselves, go beyond the community of young people. This is why people are not in a position to cope with current difficulties. The help that is given them should be the help of people who are really competent, experienced and tactful. Danuta Lesniewska, commander of the ZHP Voivodship Council in Gorzow called to mind that the task of the scout union is primarily social and patriotic service, often humdrum and ordinary, not showy. The Gorzow scout organization is implementing these tasks, but it continues to suffer from a shortage of instructors, and it is this cadre that will determine the results of ZHP activity. Leonard Naronowicz, KW member, private farmer, noted that by looking at our young people one sees that they are physically attractive. But in our solicitude for their external beauty and nutrition, we have not freed them from household cares, and thereby a sense of responsibility for the good of the home, the school and the state.

Jozef Przekwas, school superintendent of education and upbringing pointed out that if one is doing an analysis of the current state of youth awareness, one must include a question on the subject of school responsibility. On the other hand, the school has implemented all the orders it has received. However, the results thus far are undesirable. Students have been told about ideological commitment and higher values, but no one has worked with them to implement their acquisition of these values. The young people are needed to do folk dances at civic celebrations and anniversaries. Window dressing has been the order of the day. The great disorientation in the teachers' community has also been caused by the ostensibly ambitious policy of "judging our strength in terms of our intentions." The contrast between a directive on the universal 10-year school and the prevailing situation regarding the manner in which the school was equipped has been obvious to thinking people. There have been such contradictions. The Gorzow school system is slowly emerging from the crisis. It is working better; teachers' groups are cooperating with each other.

Stanislaw Nowak, governor of Gorzow, alluded to a recent session of the WRN [Provincial People's Council] concerning the situation of young people. He reported on the efforts of administrative authorities aimed at improving the living standard of young people. He stated that temporarily the housing problem in Gorzow will become more severe, but that there should be no problem in the voivodship for young people who want to work hard to find jobs. Jerzy Prywer, member of the ZSMP ZW, spoke of the harm of social parochialism and of factors that antagonize young people.

Mariusz Guzenda of the OHP Voivodship Command, in calling to mind the upbringing achievements of the OHP, stated that a disturbing phenomenon is occurring in Gorzow: those who wish to earn their professional qualifications and get their start in OHP face an employment shortage. Beata Nowak, a preschool teacher and scout activist, pointed out to the adults assembled that nothing should be imposed on young people tactlessly, without their prior knowledge. In the past few days, several classes were ordered to go to celebrations to fill up the hall. Jerzy Rzecholka, chairman of the ZSMP ZM-G [Municipal-Gmina Board] in Debno, reported on the initiatives that have been implemented by organizations in this community. Lech Kosiorowski, member of the KW Executive Board, noted that in discussing the national situation among youth, our opportunities and our fears, we must remember that both inside and outside our country there are interest groups, milieux and institutions that aim to divide our society. The campaign associated with certain "gifts" from abroad serves this purpose. Interest groups in various cliques also tend to divide the nation. This is where gaps are created between the party and society. We ourselves must eliminate these gaps.

Ryszard Grudzinski, a ZSMP activist from Miedzyrzecz, noted that services under the authority of the governor are torpedoing the initiatives of young people who intend to build their own homes. Katarzyna Szalkowska, a teacher and ZHP team leader, took issue with the often-encountered idea among adults that young people are either angry or emptyheaded. This is not true, she said. However, it is difficult to come to terms with adults, and even with teachers, or to carry on a serious conversation with them because they do not treat us as adults, as equals. Sylwester Kuczynski, commander of the ZHP troop

in Grozow criticized the report, stating that it lacks a satisfactory analysis of the status quo and its causes. Nor does it speak concretely and objectively concerning a material base for such activities as those of the scout organization.

Waldemar Sokol, chairman of the ZSMP ZW, alluded to Stanislaw Wlosek's address, stating that he was in total solidarity with him. He agreed with one of the discussion participants that one sees evidence of egoistic behavior by some member of the political and administrative apparatus. He likewise stated that currently, after several months of misunderstanding, relations with the ZMW are good. Jan Gralinski, chairman of the ZMW ZW Voivodship Board, presented a program of the organization's short-term plans. He also stated that the ZMW wishes to cooperate with all unions for the welfare of rural youth, rural Poland and the country.

Zbigniew Krol, chairman of the Resolutions and Motions Commission, presented a draft of a resolution. It includes tasks for party echelons and organizations, educational-upbringing institutions, youth organizations and the state administration, as well as a statement that the KW recognizes a WRN resolution dated 20 April 1982 as supplementing the results of yesterday's plenum, and he advises party echelons and organizations to implement this resolution. The resolution obliges the Executive Board to make a detailed analysis of recommendations emanating from the plenary discussion. This document was approved unanimously.

Summarizing the deliberations on the subject of youth, Florian Ratajczak, KW first secretary, stated that we must restore the faith of youth in systemic ideals and principles, return to good and accepted moral examples and ensure youth a share in all actions taken in their communities, institutions, schools and places of work. "We must not only speak of patriotism, but educate in the spirit of patriotism. We have nothing to hide," said Comrade Ratajczak. "We are showing reality as it is. It is a complex picture. But Poland is one socialist entity. And it is our fate to live in it and to be concerned over the happiness of man here." He also stated with satisfaction that youth organizations are working together more and more. He offered his best wishes on the occasion of the approaching Labor Day.

Concluding the deliberations, KW secretary Leszek Gocwinski gave a brief report on the activities of the KW Executive Board between the plenary meetings.

The plenum concluded with the singing of the "Internationale."

Plenary Resolution of Youth Developments

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 28 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Resolution of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] in Gorzow on the Shaping and Development of the Socialist Awareness of the Youth of the Gorzow Voivodship]

[Text] The party recognizes the shaping and development of the socialist awareness of youth as one of its most important tasks.

The implementation of this task should lead to rebuilding of the confidence of youth in the policy and practice of the activity of the PZPR.

These tasks should be implemented in a systematic and comprehensive manner by means of laws, The PZPR KW in Gorzow directs the following tasks to be implemented in the near future:

I. In the Work of Party Echelons and Organizations:

1. To make comprehensive analysis of the youth problem in communities relating it to the contents of current party resolutions and documents and to make recommendations for current and future work.

2. To continue giving systematic help to educational-upbringing and cultural institutions and youth and social organizations in their ideological-upbringing activity.

3. In cadre policy, to make possible to a greater degree than formerly professional, social and political advances for persons who excel, are capable and hard working, taking into consideration the recommendations and opinions of youth organizations.

4. To make periodic evaluations of the results of the work of teachers, experts from socialized plants, instructors and teachers working with children and youth, especially party members who are responsible for the work of youth organizations.

5. To give special tutelage and instruction to party organizations active in educational and cultural institutions and youth organizations.

II. In the Work of Educational-Upbringing Institutions:

1. To strengthen the leadership role of party organizations in schools and educational-upbringing institutions.

2. To give more attention to the comprehensive implementation of ideological-upbringing tasks, to be concerned with the effectiveness and permanence of actions taken to shape socialist attitudes of children and youth.

3. To make periodic evaluations of the attitudes of employees in education and to utilize these evaluations in cadre policy and in the system of awards, distinctions and recognitions.

III. In the Work of Youth Organizations:

1. The bolster the socialist character of the activities of youth unions by committing the members of youth organization who are also party members to explain and disseminate party policy.

2. In program activity, to develop a sense of coresponsibility for the country's fortunes. To develop respect for work.

3. To effectively fulfill the role of spokesman for youth affairs, especially in matters of:

--learning, upbringing and professional preparation;

--a successful start in life and the resolution of living and material problems of the young generation.

4. All active party members in youth organizations and their leadership are obliged to participate actively in systematic political training, in all forms in which it is conducted by the PZPR.

5. The leadership of all youth organization echelons should analyze and evaluate the implementation of the resolutions, and direct any resulant recommendations to party organizations and echelons and use them in their own work.

IV. In the Work of the State Administration:

1. The POP's [Primary Party Organizations] working within the state administration are obliged to impart comprehenisve assistance to youth employed in particular units.

2. By their attitude, party members should build the authority due an employee of the state administration.

3. To evaluate the attitude of party members, and to use these evaluations to make promotions.

4. All party organizations operative within the administration are obliged to undergo systematic political training in all of its forms.

The PZPR KW recognizes the WRN resolution dated 20 April 1982 on living, learning and working conditions of youth in Gorzow Voivodship as supplementing the results of today's plenum and orders party echelons and organizations to implement the resolution and to make periodic verification of its execution.

The PZPR KW plenum obliges the KW Executive Borad to make a thorough analysis of the recommendations emanating from the discussion and to implement them according to their jurisdiction. Detailed recommendations will be prepared and transmitted to the interested parties.

PZPR KW in Gorzow

Gorzow, 26 April 1982

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POZNAN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Executive Board 28 May Meeting

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 31 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by ako: "Edward Lukasik Is New First Secretary of KW PZPR [Voivodship Committee] in Poznan: The Executive Board of the Party Voivodship Committee in Session"]

> [Text] Last Friday [28 May 1982] there was a session of the KW PZPR in Poznan. It was attended by Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, deputy member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and the head of the Personnel Department of the PZPR Central Committee, Brig Gen Tadeusz Dziekan. They transmitted the decision of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee to recall Comrade Edward Skrzypkowski from the post of first secretary of the Poznan KW PZPR and appoint to this post Brig Gen Comrade Edward Lukasik. The former first secretary of the KW PZPR in Poznan, Edward Skrzypczak, has moved to a responsible post in industry.

The Executive Board accepted the resignation of Comrade Zbigniew Gabryel from the post of secretary of the KW PZPR, submitted at his own request, in connection with his transition to a post at the Manieczki PGR [State Farm] Combine.

The Executive Board resolved to convene a plenum of the KW PZPR on 2 June of this year, to discuss the topic of reports on the performance of the Executive Board of the KW PZPR as well as current problems of party work and organizational matters.

Next on the agenda, the Executive Board considered an evaluation of the discussions within the Poznan party organizations regarding the draft of the ideological-program declaration, "What Are We Fighting For, What Are Our Goals?"

These discussions were held at most of the basic party organizations, in some socio-occupational communities, and by the problem commissions of the voivodship echelon. Members of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] and SD [Democratic

Party] as well as many nonparty members were invited to take part in many open party meetings. Many of the comments positively assessed the decision of the PZPR Central Committee to submit the draft of the declaration to public discussion so that both party members and the public may be consulted about its contents. On assessing the course of this party and general discussion, it was found that one of its characteristic features was interest in the program contents of the declaration and emotional commitment of many party members. The discussions have of a certainty contributed to the interest in ideological problems and prompted greater activity among many basic elements of the PZPR, chiefly in the worker and rural communities. These discussions also demonstrated the party's recovery of its basic political, social and ideological functions in the individual communities.

Another notable aspect of the discussions was frequent departure from the text of the declaration in the direction of issues relating to the current life of the plants, the countryside and the communities. The recorded lists of comments and recommendations will be extremely helpful in everyday party activities.

The contributions made by the discussions within the party organizations so far point to major differences in views regarding both the form and content of the declaration and its audience. It is generally acknowledged that in the current political and social situation the party needs a document that would define concisely, lucidly and unequivocally the program for socialist construction in People's Poland. But it was noted that in its current version this document still does not provide a plane for undertaking a dialogue with the public, nor does it meet the expectations of party members. It fails to answer concretely three basic questions: What should be done? How should it be done? and, How is contact with the public to be gained? Thus, the current document must be revised on taking into account the comments and recommendations ensuing from the partywide discussions. In its final version, the adopted declaration should be in the nature of a political manifesto of the party addressed to the entire public--it must become a plane integrating all progressive forces in our country. Its practical content should be reduced to the outlining of comprehensive strategic directions of the further development of socialism in Poland.

Edward Skrzypczak's Farewell Statement

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 31 May 82 p 1

> [Text] In connection with my departure from the post of first secretary of the KW PZPR in Poznan, I wish to express my cordial thanks to all party organizations, elements, institutions, labor establishments and citizens of the city of Poznan and the voivodship, for their cooperation, assistance and goodwill.

First Secretary Lukasik Biography

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA 31 May 82 p 1

[Text] Edward Lukasik was born in 1926 in Wilkolazy, Lublin Voivodship, in a worker's family. He has a Master's degree in education. Since 1947 he has been a professional officer in the Polish Army. Currently he holds the post of deputy chief for political affairs--chief of the Political Board of the Air Force.

During the years 1969-1975 he was party committee secretary in the National Air Defense Forces [WOPK]. He also was repeatedly elected delegate to regular congresses of the PZPR.

At the Ninth PZPR Congress he was elected to membership in the Central Committee; in addition, he is a member of the Executive Board of the Poznan KW PZPR.

Poznan Party Plenum

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 3 Jun 82 p 1

[PAP report: "The Plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] in Poznan"]

> [Text] Yesterday the plenum of the KW PZPR was held in Poznan; it was devoted to the discussion of current problems of party work in Poznan Voivodship. Its deliberations, chaired by the first secretary of the KW PZPR in Poznan, Brig Gen Edward Lukasik, were conducted by, among others: Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, deputy member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and the head of the Cadre Department at the PZPR Central Committee, Brig Gen Tadeusz Dziekan.

Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak informed the members of the Voivodship Committee about the reasons behind the decision of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee to recall Edward Skrzypczak from the post of first secretary of the Poznan KW PZPR. His statement was discussed by some 15 persons among the participants. They presented the opinions, comments and feelings of party members and the work force of the labor establishments concerning the decision of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee.

The questions asked and doubts expressed in the course of the discussion were answered by Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak and Tadeusz Dziekan.

The representatives of the central party authorities and plant organizations thanked Edward Skrzypczak for the large amount of work he contributed while exercising the functions of first secretary of the Poznan KW PZPR.

Next, the first secretary of the KW PZPR, Edward Lukasik, presented the main tasks of the Poznan party organization for the immediate future.

Accepting the decision of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee, the plenum adopted in this matter a resolution defining the attitude of the Voivodship Committee.

Party Officials at Local Government Meeting

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 4-5-6 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by rog: "Assessment of the Performance of the Voivodship Administration"]

> [Text] The Voivodship Office in Poznan yesterday was the scene of a party-official conference dealing with the assessment of the activities of state administration in Poznan Voivodship.

The Poznan Vice Governor Romuald Zysnarski spoke about new initiatives and forms of action by the voivodship administration at all levels, drawing special attention to the sphere of contacts between the [voivodship] offices and the citizen. He pointed to the positive accomplishments in this respect, but without concealing that the administration still faces many tasks as regards improving the style of its work, expediting its decisionmaking, and deepening its service role toward citizens.

In the name of the Executive Board of the KW [Voivodship Committee] PZPR, KW Secretary Bronislaw Steplowski rated as good and more efficient the activities of the administration. A decisive majority of officials at all levels exercise their duties correctly. The party does not intend to intervene in their activities, but it will evaluate and monitor them in the spirit of accord with public expectations, the law and the feeling of justice.

The plenipotentiary of the National Defense Committee [KOK], Brig Gen Piotr Przybyszewski, presented recommendations ensuing from observations by territorial observational groups [TGO's] and signals from the citizens. While stressing the overall efficiency of the administrative apparatus of Poznan Voivodship he drew attention to the shortcomings that occur in certain of its elements. He emphasized the necessity of greater consistency in implementing the decisions taken and the need to further strengthen labor discipline and legality--inclusive of absolute respect for the Administrative Procedures Code [KPA].

The discussion touched upon both the issues ensuing from the above-mentioned three assessments and the problems encountered by the administration in its day-to-day work. Among other things, the further settlement of questions of competences and the observance of the principle of publicity and consultation with regard to crucial decisions were postulated. These matters were mentioned in the closing address by Poznan Vice Governor Marian Krol, who stated that it should be of fundamental concern to every employee of the state administration to maximally meet the individual and collective needs of citizens in the spirit of respect for the state and social justice. Service to the public as

a function of government employees should always be borne in mind. Wherever shortcomings still exist and an improper style of work is observed, the situation should be remedied as soon as possible on the basis of broad consultations and public opinion.

The conference was attended by, among others: Brig Gen Edward Lukasik, first secretary of the Poznan KW PZPR; Tadeusz Zajac, chairman of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Voivodship Committee; and Alojzy Bryl, chairman of the SD [Democratic Party] Voivodship Committee.

Lukasik at Meeting, WIEPOFAMA Plant

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 8 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article: "First Secretary of KW [Voivodship Committee] PZPR Among the Work Force of the WIEPOFAMA"]

> [Text] Yesterday [7 June 1982] Brig Gen Edward Lukasik, first secretary of the KW PZPR, met with the work force and party aktiv of the WIEPOFAMA Special-Purpose Machine Tool Factory in Poznan.

After familiarizing himself with the operations of certain factory departments, directly at work stations, the KW first secretary met with the political aktiv of the WIEPOFAMA as well as with representatives of party organizations from jezyce [city-quarter] labor establishments. The meeting was attended by representatives of the local city-quarter party echelon, including the first secretary of the Poznan-Jezyce City-Quarter Party Committee, Janusz Zwozdziak.

The participants in the meeting, which soon turned into a candid party debate concerning the problems of the party and the country, were welcomed by the first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at WIEPOFAMA, Roman Machowicz, who stressed, among other things, the unchanged Marxist nature of the party organization at WIEPOFAMA which perceives its basic aim at present to be the building of party unity and serving as the leading force in the Front of National Accord [FPN].

Gen E. Lukasik, KW first secretary, briefed those present about the current sociopolitical situation in the voivodship, stressing, among other things, the will to continue the political current political line of the voivodship party organization.

The KW first secretary was asked many questions and listened to many postulates concerning various fields of our social life as well as the factory courtyard at WIEPOFAMA. Several of the comments touched upon the issue of the observance of intraparty democracy. The KW PZPR first secretary took a position on all the issues raised.

At the end, the party aktiv at WIEPOFAMA expressed its attitude, which is as follows:

"The party aktiv at WIEPOFAMA responds with great satisfaction to the working meeting with the first secretary of the KW PZPR, Comrade Edward Lukasik. Together with the entire party, our party organization is living through both difficult moments and moments that inspire optimism and faith in the future.

"The recent decisions of the Political Bureau and the form of their implementation moved our work force and party organization. Hence, we value the declaration of the comrade secretary that he will approach the problems of the voivodship and working people in behalf of our interests and in consultation with us. We believe that the visit to the work force at WIEPOFAMA has familiarized the comrade more closely with issues that concern us and whose solutions we expect from the party's actions and personally from you, comrade secretary.

"We, on our part, shall assist you in political work--the party organization at WIEPOFAMA will exert every effort to make your activity a great stride forward on the path of building national agreement and surmounting the crisis in our country."

Party Meeting at Cegielski Works

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 11-12-13 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Kazimierz Marcinkowski: "The Appeal for a Worthy and Calm Commemoration of the Poznan Events of June 1956; PZPR Plant Committee Plenum in Cegielski"; portions within slantlines in boldface]

> [Text] /On Wednesday 9 June, there was a plenum of the PZPR Plant Committee at the H. Cegielski Works, Poznan [HCP], attended by party aktiv from the larger labor establishments of Poznan. The topic of the plenum was the genesis of the crisis and the Poznan events of June 1956. Those taking part in the deliberations of the party meeting included representatives of voivodship and local party and administrative authorities: the first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW], Brig Gen Edward Lukasik; KW PZPR Secretary Maciej Olejniczak; Vice Governor Romuald Zysnarski; the chairman of the Municipal People's Council [MRN], Stanislaw Antczak; and the deputy mayor of Poznan, Zbigniew Kmieciak./

The deliberations were chaired by the first secretary of the HCP Plant Committee, Andrzej Komosinski, who, in his opening remarks, recalled the background and genesis of the June 1956 crisis, the workers demonstration in Poznan, directed not against socialism but against its deformations. We recollect these events primarily in order to infer from them conclusions that would assist in resolving problems of the present and exploring the paths toward the national accord.

Next, Gen Edward Lukasik, first secretary of the KW PZPR, took the floor.

/He declared that, among other things, adopting an unambiguous attitude toward the June 1956 events is an important issue to the entire voivodship party organization. The date of 28 June cannot serve as a pretext for prompting new dangerous tensions and manifesting disapproval of the actions of the authorities. Last year, after years of silence, there occurred a veritable explosion of studies, analyses and reconstructions of the June 1956 events, but it was dominated by a martyrological motif; the emphasis was on recollection and exposition of suffering and attempts were made to exploit this fact in the struggle against the party and the socialist state. But the expectations to produce a conflict between workers and their workers party, to make the then erected memorial a symbol of antagonism between the authorities and society, and the calculated turning away from socialism, must be nullified.

/The events of June 1956 should become a permanent element in public consciousness, as the speaker emphasized. Further comprehensive scientific studies of this topic are needed. We wish to explore in depth the causes of the Polish crises. One thing is certain now: If Polish workers took to the street, it was not in order to combat socialism fight socialism but in order to fight for socialism, for a real presence, in the life of the Polish people, of socialist ideals of social justice, respect for the law, and condemnation of all anarchy, willfulness and distortions of these ideals. Hence, today in Poznan we are against anything that divides us. What is needed is not unity of some against others but unity in striving toward a common goal. That goal had already been defined by Polish workers 100 years ago.

/We particularly need at present accord and unity of action along with the will to repair and to build wisely and patiently. These characteristics are in the blood of workers. Unity of action, calm and patience are indispensable characteristics for labor establishments, for factories. There is no room here for internal emigration, for demonstration of feelings of injury and frustration. Hence the awareness that, in the final analysis, everything depends on the working people will be the basis for building all agreements in our country. If we ask what agreement is meant and between whom, then we are primarily asking about the place which will be occupied in that agreement or accord by the interests of the working class. Such were the concluding remarks of the first secretary of the KW./

Most of the plenum was devoted to comments by Cegielski Works workers who were direct participants in the June 1956 events. They described not only their personal experiences but also the socioeconomic background of the crisis which led workers to take to the street.

Comrade Jozef Jankowski, a man with a 42-year seniority record at the Cegielski Works, had been at the time a member of the delegation which brought the postulates of HCP workers to Warsaw. He spoke of the tremendous pressure brought upon the delegation. "We were aware that if our mission were fruitless then the work force would take to the street." On 28 June, the delegation work force marched to the Poznan Castle, the seat of the presidium of the MNR. By the time it had returned to the plant, the events on Poznan's street went out of control. At that time, however, in 1956, the party organization at Cegielski emerged purified and strengthened from the severe

trial. At present, this process takes its course under more difficult circumstances. Attitudes and views are being swayed and there is lack of an unambiguous partyminded attitude, especially among persons who, in view of the positions they hold in plant management and engineering supervision, have considerable influence on the attitudes and views of the people.

The genesis of the June 1956 events was touched upon in the fervent and deeply personal speech of Comrade Jan Kepa, an employee of the Locomotive and Car Factory (W-3) where the workers' protest had originated 26 years ago. "At that time, taking to the street, we did not realize the full consequences of that step." Even before the Cegielski workers had returned to the factory, the situation had moved out of control and crowd psychology began to reign on the streets. In order to grasp the truth of the impropriety of such forms of protest, the working class had to travel the path of maturation, of arriving at the selection of such forms as would not endanger human life and our common accomplishments. At present, work and work alone is the sole way out of the crisis--provided, however, that what we create jointly with our work will be distributed honestly--so emphasized Comrade Kepa. The success of our efforts will depend on the strengthening and consolidation of the party, on the attitude of every PZPR member, on his decisiveness of his ideological views, and on his identification with the line of action selected at the Ninth PZPR Congress.

The need to explore the whole truth of the Poznan June 1956 was also discussed by Stanislaw Kalkus, a Cegielski worker from W-9 and member of the PZPR Central Committee. Those who had a year ago erected the memorial, which was to symbolize unity, also included some who falsified history. For after all, what is that memorial to commemorate? Had the manifestation ended at 1030, had the Cegielski workers returned to work then, there would have been no need to erect the monument, and there would have been no victims. But today let that monument be indeed a symbol of unity and political common sense of our society.

From among the Cegielski workers the floor was also taken by the veteran of the workers movement Konstanty Murawski, party member for 50 years, ever since the days of the KPP [prewar Communist Party of Poland]. During the June 1956 events he was in the ranks of the Militia [MO]. The comments by this man who became an adult at age 14 when he had begun to work in a factory and who later, like many other workers and their sons, put on a militia uniform, testified to the profound drama of those days when the conflict ensuing from social injustice, from the isolation of the party leadership from the masses of the membership, placed in opposing ranks people who never should and never want to aim weapons against each other. Comrade Murawski stated that at present the most important issue is to rally round the Marxist party--and this means not only party members but the entire public. Similarly, the name of the monument should be associated with unity rather than with division.

Joining the discussion, the first secretary of the KW PZPR, Comrade E. Lukasik, stated that the comments made during the plenum are an important contribution to a fragment of our modern history. They offer an important conclusion:

that forces hostile to socialism always join in workers' protests. In this context, the importance of the decisions which had on 13 December of last year averted a tragedy on an unimaginable scale becomes particularly obvious. Even now, as well, the striving toward a national accord should not overshadow the existence of antisocialist forces supported by foreign inspirers and their funds. The awareness of this fact must be a concomitant of everyday party activities, of the struggle for national accord conducted alongside the struggle against the political enemy.

The Wednesday plenum took a position regarding the commemoration of the 26th anniversary of the Poznan events of June 1956.

/The party aktiv at HCP and the larger labor establishments in Poznan support the initiative of the MRN councilmen from HCP and the Rolling Stock Repair Plant [ZNTK] concerning the establishment of an Interplant Public Committee for Commemorating June 1956, voiced at the 27 May [1982] MRN session, and turns to the voivodship and municipal authorities for assistance in implementing this initiative. It also appeals to the voivodship authorities for the publication of a work dealing with the events of 1956--a publication free of emotion and based on historical facts, in order to spread the truth about these events.

/The aktiv states that the Jednose [Unity] Monument and other tablets commemorating those events which had been erected through common effort on the 25th anniversary of those events, are being exploited by some people to antagonize society against the authorities and the workers party. The party aktiv is opposed to these attitudes and to the actions of those people. The monument and tablets commemorating the events of 1956 should become a permanent symbol of national reconciliation and accord in the striving to fulfill the lofty ideals of socialism for which workers invariably struggle and will continue to struggle, rather than a way of sanctifying hostility and disapproval toward the actions of the authorities.

/The aktiv gathered at the plenum acknowledges the June [1956] actions of the workers of Cegielski and other Poznan labor establishments as a protest and a reminder to all that socialism must be built for and by the working people. Failure to observe this principle leads to deformations.

/The aktiv supports social justice, equal rights for all, an authentic democracy, astute economics, and truth and justice. This is expressed in the program of the Ninth Congress and the Resolution of the Voivodship Program Conference of the PZPR. This is also confirmed by the declaration of the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, and the successive plenary resolutions of the PZPR.

/The party aktiv gathered at the plenum in HCP appeals to all inhabitants of Poznan and the voivodship for a worthy and calm commemoration of the 26th anniversary of the events of June 1956./

The deliberations of the plenum ended by singing "The International."

Executive Board 11 June Meeting

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 14 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by ako: "Intraparty Information; Activities of Regional Party Work Centers (ROPP); Deliberations of the Executive Board of Poznan KW [Voivodship Committee] PZPR"]

[Text] Last Friday [11 June 1982] the Executive Board of the KW PZPR in Poznan held a session.

The Executive Board assessed the performance of the internal information system in the voivodship party organization. It was found that in recent months considerable progress has been made in that field. In the area of Poznan Voivodship, the related activities were based on the editorial, publishing and disseminating facilities of the Information Section of the Propaganda Department, the coordinating activities of the ROPP, and organizational activities directly assigned to basic party echelons.

The section drafts daily several versions of "Information Service of the KW PZPR." In addition to its own materials from the voivodship, it publishes material telexed from the PZPR Central Committee, such as "The Current Economic-Political Situation in the Country," and "Telexed Intraparty Information." Also published are the special "Information Service for Plant Radio Stations" and, as a new publishing project, issues of "Political Documents of the KW PZPR." A permanent and verified form of publication is the BIULETYN KW PZPR [Bulletin of the KW PZPR]. These service publications are complemented with numerous brochures and the separate publications by discrete echelons.

Comments so far indicate that the degree of the saturation of individual basic echelons with information is adequate. The management of these echelons as well as the aktiv directly working with them even report an overabundance of information. But the prompt dissemination of all that information to rank-and-file party members still remains a problem, especially in rural POP's [primary party organizations] and in small POP's and OOP's [branch party organizations] within the municipality of Poznan.

The Executive Board drew attention to the need to attach equally high importance to the functioning of both directions of information transmission, "from the top down" and "from the grassroots to the top." It is exceptionally important to draw proper conclusions from the "grassroots" information and to react swiftly and correctly to it.

The recommendations adopted provide for turning to the central authorities for the allocation of increased material and financial resources serving to streamline and expand the scope of information activities. In addition, it was recommended to the basic party echelons that they develop a broader range of methods of political work, especially at rural organizations and small enterprises, to equalize the level of saturation with intraparty information. The Executive Board resolved to revise the current system for

circulating information within the voivodship party organization. The related proposals will be drafted in the very near future.

As another item on its agenda, the Executive Board familiarized itself with the activities of the ROPP in Poznan Voivodship. Nine ROPP have been established on the area of our voivodship in March 1982. Their experience so far does not warrant a broad assessment of their activities; they still are working to develop their own forms and methods of work, and it is too early to perform an in-depth analysis of their activities so far. Nevertheless, it was recognized that their development should be thoroughly monitored from the very beginning so that early remedial measures may avert eventual mistakes in the future. So far, the activities of these centers are chiefly oriented to provide all kinds of assistance to local echelons--support in the organization of meetings, procurement of lecturers, conduct of information and propaganda activities, provision of instruction in the conduct of documentation, analyses of the topics and frequency of meetings and training sessions.

Next, the Executive Board was informed about the current activities of the Voivodship Party Control Commission.

Lukasik Meeting With School Aktiv

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 17 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] On 12 June of this year the first secretary of KW [Voivodship Committee] PZPR in Poznan, Edward Lukasik, met with the higher school [university and college] presidents and first secretaries of party organizations in Poznan.

During the meeting, current problems of educational and upbringing work were discussed. Considerable attention in the discussion was devoted to problems of material facilities, housing conditions, and financial problems of the higher schools.

CC Secretary Milewski at Youth Meeting

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 17 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by nicz: "A Real Program Is Needed; Miroslaw Milewski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Met With the Poznan Youth Aktiv"]

> [Text] The party organization and youth unions continue their preparations for the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, which will consider issues relating to Polish youth. Throughout the country, meetings of the youth with PZPR Central Committee members are taking place so that the opinions of young people can be presented during the deliberations.

Yesterday [16 June 1982] at the House of the Party, Miroslaw Milewski, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, met with

the youth aktiv of the Poznan Voivodship. Those present included members of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], the Socialist Association of Polish Students [SZSP], boy scouts, representatives of the Wielkopolska Rural Youth Union "Wici" [ZMW "Wici"), and former youth movement activists. The meeting was also attended by: the first secretary of the KW [Voivodship Committee] PZPR, Gen Edward Lukasik; the plenipotentiary of the National Defense Committee [KOK] Gen Piotr Przybyszewski; the Poznan governor, Marian Krol; and the chairman of the meeting, the chairman of the Voivodship Board of the ZSMP, Zefiryn Grabski.

The secretary of the PZPR, Miroslaw Milewski, declared in his opening remarks that the preparations for the plenary deliberations of the Central Committee have long been under way. It is the intention of the party leadership to learn the opinions of discrete youth communities so that the plenum's agenda correspond to social needs and the resolutions adopted satisfy not just the rising generation but the entire society.

The speaker warned, however, against excessive optimism. The plenum is not a miracle worker and cannot solve all the problems of young people that have become ripe over the years. A modest program, not as inflated as in the preceding years but at least realistic, has to be drafted.

The secretary of the Central Committee further declared: "Many resolutions concerning the youth have been adopted in recent years, but they were not implemented. This did not strengthen the credibility of our actions. We responded with great hopes to the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, but the party was not permitted to translate them into reality. It was not possible to bring everyone to reason so as to rescue the country from the crisis through common effort. The decision of 13 December [martial law], which placed a dam in the path of the counterrevolution, was indispensable. This painful decision was adopted not with the object of saving positions; it saved our country from a civil war."

The speaker further presented the current political and social situation of the country; he also discussed the draft of the program for a gradual three-stage emergence of the country from the economic crisis. For this draft to be implemented, the active participation of the rising generation is needed.

In the discussion, the participants in the meeting presented the principal concerns of the rising generation. Wojciech Florczyk, an employee of the HCP [Cegielski Works, Poznan], discussed a variety of issues concerning not only Cegielski's work force but the entire rising generation. He drew special attention to social problems and living conditions as well as to the conditions for getting a start in life. The thorny path of young people toward housing of their own was discussed by Jerzy Pietrzak on the basis of the activities of the Patron's Housing Headquarters in Oborniki. The young farmers, Zenon Kempa of Steszewa and Marek Matysiak of Pobiedziska Gmina, postulated the need to broaden contacts between the central authorities and the urban and gmina public and discussed methods of the distribution of means of production in the countryside.

The discussion participants found that it is necessary to reform cadre policies; they also touched upon aspects of the upbringing of the rising generation and its participation in the administration and comanagement of the country.

The Central Committee secretary thanked the young Poznan people for the candor of their comments during the meeting. Their suggestions shall be transmitted to members of the PZPR Central Committee prior to the deliberations of the plenum.

In the afternoon Miroslaw Milewski, accompanied by the first secretary of the KW PZPR, Gen Edward Lukasik, also met with members of the Presidium of the ZSMP Voivodship Board in Poznan, as well as with the voivodship authorities of the SZSP, Association of Polish Scouts [ZHP], and ZMW "Wici."

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TORUN VOIVODSHIP PARTY MEETINGS HELD

Organizational Decisions

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Poliahs 30 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by TW]

[Text] During the disucssion of the preparations for the celebration of the May holiday, the Executive Board stressed the particular significance of this year's celebration. This year the holiday coincides with the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers movement. In the tradition of previous years, there will be a meeting of politcal authorities with veterans of the workers movement, and the signing of the roll of meritorious citizens. In Torun, the May Day parade will travel through Nowicki St, as it did last year. The Executive Board has appointed as the chairman of the honorary voivodship May Celebration Committee the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee [KW] of the PZPR, Comrade Edmund Heza. The secretaries of the KW, comrades Edwin Puchala and Leon Krysinski, will head the commission for the implementation of the program of celebrations.

During further deliberations, the Executive Board conducted an evaluation of the performance of the consultatory-mediating commission for party organizations active in the Torun party environment and, finding the actions of the commission inconsistant with the PZPR Statute, has decied to dissolve the commission. With regard to the matter of the Rzeczywistosc [Reality] Club and the Sociopolitical Free University [WWSP], a resolution directed to the PZPR Univeristy Committee at the University of Copernicus recommended that the committe conduct an independent evaluation of the political line represented by those clubs. A desideratum stressing the need for a piercing political analysis of the activities of the Dzwignia [Lever] Association was also made during the deliberations.

The Executive Board acknowledged the fact of the dissolution of the Iskra [Spark] Party Forum; the Iskra Club was similarly dissolved. The Executive Board conveyed its appreciation to the members of the forum for their attitude and loyalty to the ideals of the party, and expressed its conviction that they will utilize their knowledge and experience working with the Ideological Department of the KW PZPR and in the implementation of initiatives originating from the various basic units within the party.

Also discussed was the activity of the Grudziadz team of party initiatives. The Executive Board approved the functioning of the team as a commission of the KM [City Committee] PZPR in Grudziadz. In consideration of the needs of the environment, the board requested that city echelons in Grudziadz consider the possibility of establishing an interenvironmental open party club.

The Executive Board, in continuation of the initiatives born during the deliberations of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress, appealed to party members and the community of the Torun voivodship to erect a monument commenorating those who had died in the fight for the consolidation of the people's authority.

The appeal reads: "The Executive Board of the KW PZPR in Torun approved with approbation the initiative of the group of veterans of the labor movement and the party activists, who, on the anniversary of the Polish Workers Party, initiated a collection and the first contribution to the fund for building a monument commemorating those who died in the fight for the consolidation of the people's authority. The Executive Board appeals to the citizens of Torun Voivodship, and especially to party members, for support of that noble initiative.

Audit Commissions' Aktiv Conference

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 30 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by tes]

[Text] A regional working conference of the aktiv of party audit commissions took place yesterday in Torun for the voivodships of Torun, Wloclawek, Olsztyn, Ciechanow, and Elblag. The chairman of the Central Audit Commission, Kazimierz Morawski, participated in the conference. Present also were the First Secretary of the KW [Voivodship Committee] PZPR in Torun, Edmund Heza, and the KW secretary, Leon Krysinski.

The purpose of the conference was to analyze the feasibility of conducting more active party control-audit activities on all levels. The participants in the conference shared their experiences and arrived at the conclusion that besides the control functions, the commissions ought, inter alia, to develop greater preventing activity and assist the party echelons in the implementation of their resolutions. Also pointed out was the need to divide the audit commissions into control teams that would encompass the regional area centers for party work. Such a division has already been conducted in Torun.

Meeting on Trade, Field Work

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 2-3-4 Apr 82 p 2

[Article by T WLAD]

[Text] Yesterday's [1 April 1982] deliberations of the Executive Board of the KW [Voivodships Committee] PZPR in Torun were devoted to several topics, including an evaluation of trade functioning, the preparations of farmers for spring

field work, an analysis of the implementation of suggestions directed to party echelons and the work of the POP [Basic Party Organizations] in health service facilities.

Prior to the meeting, members of the KW Executive Board visited some stores and compared their performance with stores in the neighboring voivodships. Presenting their observations, the members pointed out the existing disproportions significant supplies of vegetable oils and food concentrates that are scarce in Torun Voivodship. There are also certain differences in the method of control of some merchandise. It was concluded that the supply situation could improve in the stores of the voivodship, providing there were better operation of trade enterprises and increased effectiveness in the persons responsible for supplies and sales of unregulated perishable goods. The ineffectualities in the functioning of the internal trade controls were also noted.

The Executive Board heard about the information on farm preparations for the spring field work. Fifty percent of the sowing has been completed. There are also good prognoses for potato producers. Problems remain, however, in the area of equipment and farm machinery. As a result of the lack of tires and batteries there are 990 idle tractors in the state units. Individual farmers are unable to put 600 tractors to work for the same reasons. A suggestion was made to widen the area of activity of Agricultural Circle Cooperatives [SKR] and entrust them with repair and maintenance of equipment belonging to individual farmers.

While evaluating the POP in health services, it was concluded that following a period of stagnation in that 850-member organization, the activity of the POP has increased; nonetheless, further organizational and political assistance is indispensable, especially for those POP that have registered a decrease in membership, i.e., the Kopernik ZOZ [Health Service Team] in Torun, the Voivodship Hospital, the ZOZ in Golubnie-Dobrzyn. It was stressed in the concluding recommendations that the POPs ought to have more influence on the cadres policy of the ZOZ, and create a more effective sense of discipline and professional responsibility.

Meeting on Plant Programs

Bydgoszcz GASETA POMORSKA in Polish 16-17-18 Apr 82 p 2

[Article by T WLAD]

[Text] There are some fields of production on which depend, to a great extent, the fulfillment of the most pressing needs of the country. Numerous key enterprises operate on the basis of operative programs that are capable of determining the most immediate needs in agriculture and feeding, health protection, and the supply of clothing and shoes for children and youth; these programs also involve an important sphere of exports, transport and communal economy. The programs not only focus on the tasks, but also clarify the needs, of enterprises and the feasibility of supplying them with basic raw materials and products.

The last meeting of the KW [Voivodship Committee] PZPR was devoted, among other things, to the evaluation of the procedure, implementation and execution of the operative programs of key industrial enterprises, and also to the issue of participation by the enterprise party organizations in these programs.

The percentile of production that is included in the above-mentioned programs depends on the totality of the activity of an enterprise. The URSUS Mechanical Equipment Works has the highest--100 percent participation of production in the program; the EMA-APATOR [Pomeranian Electric Apparatus Plant] and Towimor [Torun Ship Equipment Works] have 95 percent; the Torun First Aid Supply Works, over 92 percent; AGROMET-UNIA [Agricultural Machinery Factory in Grudziadz]--78 percent; and the Pomeranian Foundary and Glazing Plant, over 75 percent.

Nevertheless, it would appear that in spite of existing agreements on provisions of raw materials and supplies, there are still significant fluctuations in the area of deliveries; for example, in the Torun SPOMASZ [Torun Equipment Works], lack of transmission belts, bearings and engines, prevents forwarding completed machinery to customers. Unfortunately, there are also reservations about the work of plenipotentiaries, who, instead of assisting in the elimination of obstacles and assurance of provisions, attempt to convert their responsibility to the passing down of recommendations and control.

The implementation of economic tasks is tied by necessity to the active cooperation of party organizations. It is the duty of party organizations to properly prepare the work force, to expurgate the issues for the implementation of the reform and to create the atmosphere of work leadership by the party members. An example of such activity was noted in the work of POLCHEM [Torun Inorganic Industry Works]. The party organization of ELANA [Synthetic Textile Works] was acknowledged to devote a lot of attention to propaganda and information activity.

The Executive Board pointed out the need for intensive assistance from the Voivodship Administration and the Voivodship Team for Economic Reform, the necessity of undertaking party initiatives and endeavors that would assure higher productivity, better utilization of productive capacities and the development of motivational factors instrumental in the increase of work efficiency. The Executive Board also resolved to constantly inform the Economic Department of the Central Committee about the problems and experiences in the implementation of the operative programs. In order to facilitate access to sources of supplies, it is necessary to pay closer attention to more correct cooperative linking of enterprises; access to supplies is the fundamental prerequisite of fulfilling current tasks.

The remaining part of the deliberations by the Executive Board was devoted to an evaluation of the preparations of the Torun voivodship for the celebration of the 1 May holiday, and to the next plenary meeting of the KW PZPR which will address the problems of the young generation.

Party Meeting on Tasks

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 22 Apr 82 p 1

[Text] A meeting on the tasks of party work in the current political-social situation took place yesterday [21 April 1982] in Torun. The first secretary of the KW [Voidvodship Committee] PZPR, Comrade Edmund Heza, and the first secretaries of the basic party echelons, as well as the chairmen of the party Control Commission and the Audit Commission participated in the meeting. Particularly stressed were the need for implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress and the Eighth Plenum of the KC [Central Committee] and the continuation of discussion on the ideological declaration "What we are fighting for, where we are going."

Also yesterday [21 April 1982] in Torun, the voivodship Party Control Commission convened a plenary meeting in which participated the first secretary of the KW PZPR, Comrade Edmund Heza and Comrade Wlodzimiera Sak, the director of the Presidium Bureau of the CKKP [Central Party Control Commission]. Representatives of the institutions closely cooperating with the WKKP [Voivodship Party Control Commission] also participated in the meeting.

The deliberations were devoted to discussion on the role of party organizations in implementation of the resolutions of the Seventh Plenum of the KC and to the resulting tasks for the commission of party controls in Torun Voivodship. Other issues addressed include: evaluation of the activity of basic party organizations; the functioning of horizontal structures (critical evaluation); and, cooperation and support for efforts of echelons aiming at the improvement of discipline and the cleansing of party ranks.

In the recent period, the WKKP in Torun has received 49 cases, out of which 31 were directly sent to the voivodship commission. The commission has already reviewed 27 cases; in the 25 cases involving violation of the statutory principles, the commission pronounced a decisiion of explusion from the party ranks.

Party Plenum on Youth

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 26 Apr 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by Jas]

[Text] The consecutive plenum of the KW [Voivodship Committee] PZPR in Torun on Saturday [24 April 1982] was devoted to youth, particularly to the issue of determining directions of action for resolving the most essential problems of the young and of socialist upbringing. Preparations for that important topic (more than one half of Torun Voivodship's population has not yet passed the age of 29) had already begun last October. The proposal to discuss the conditions of life and the occupational start of the younger generation was accepted as early as last October, during a session of the KW PZPR. The discussions took place then in the party echelons and in the party organizations. Fifty various analytical materials were produced as a result of those discussions.

The results of polls and surveys conducted in the voivodship by youth organizations are an additional source of information. The only failure was by the Voivodship Office which was supposed to prepare by 31 December 1981 a report on the conditions of life and the vacational start of youth. Unfortunately, the report is still not ready. A presentation during the plenum by Karol Szczygiel, vice governor of Torun Voivodship, has partially compensated for the lack of the report.

Participating in the plenum's deliberations besides the members of the voivodship echelons of the PZPR were: Gen Zdzislaw Ostrowski, the plenipotentiary of the KOK [National Defense Committee]; Alojzy Tujakowski, the chairman of the WRN [the Voivodship People's Council]; Krystyna Swider, the secretary of the ZG ZSMP [Main Board of the Polish Socialist Youth Union]; secretaries of echelons and selected party organizations, and representatives of youth organizations.

Edmund Heza, the first secretary of the KW PZPR chaired the deliberations; Edwin Puchala, a secretary of the KW, presented on behalf of the Executive Board the introductory report.

In the analysis of issues of upbringing, the report directed particular attention to the functioning of the socialist school. Drastic shortcomings in the so-called local basis and deficits in the qualified teachers cadre (especially in rural areas) prevent schools from reaching the expected results. The weaknesses of the upbringing system include most of all, shortcomings in civic education, historial and internationalist education and in democratic upbringing. Proof of failure was in the emergence of anarchistic youth groups; although they were not numerous, the very fact of their existence must lead to some reflexive thoughts. The weaknesses of the upbringing system, in conjunction with negative social phenomena, and with political and social crises, contributed to a duality of evaluation of both the system and such concepts as the social justice, egalitarianism, and democracy, among our youth.

The conditions of the life and professional start of youth have an equally important influence on the appearnce of these negative phenomena. It is sufficient to say that of the 153,00 of the voivodships' young families, 38,000 lack separate housing. Over 4,000 children await a space in kindergartens and care centers for small children. If we add to this the relatively low salaries of the young and their higher needs, then we receive a picture of the troubles which face our young families. The vocational preparation of youth is very often wasted. The fundamental reason behind frequent job changing is in the practice of employment outside one's learned profession and in nonfulfillment of expectations for advance, work conditions, etc. At the same time, as the study of selected work places indicates, the programs of socio-professional adaptation in the workplace were being formulated intuitively rather than on the basis of real needs. Enterprise management and party ortanizations must draw conclusions from this statement.

The numbers on the percentage of youth representatives who participate in the self-government are meaningless when applied to the realization of the political and social aspirations of youth through inclusion in public life. The numbers are meaningless because what matters is the process of representation, not the

numbers. Actually, the socioexistential commissions in the workplace and the citizens committees of national restoration are a chance for youth to have an impact on the direction in the process of socialistic renewal.

The report included an evaluation of the situation in youth organizations--ZHP, ZSMP, ZMW, and SZSP. Each of these organizations suffered significant losses in their membership. The struggle for political awareness and the consciousness of youth still continues. In the youth enviornment, efforts are still undertaken to create hostility against the party; advantage is being taken of the energy and lack of political experience among youth and is directed against the principles of the system. Therefore, it is most essential that the party retains its influence in every youth millieu. The road to it is through dialogue and discussion, through building of ideological bonds with youth. The party shall fulfill its leading role with regard to youth organizations by the maintenance of and respect for the principles of partnership and self-government.

The report formulated a number of questions. Many questions were provided by the discussion. The following took the floor in discussion (in order): Ignacy Izydorczyk, a school director in Gronow; Hanna Lewandowska, POP Secretary in STOMIL [Grudziadz Rubber Industry Works]; Jerzy Mosakowski, first secretary KG [Gmina Committee] in Obrow; Tadeusz Dabrowski, member of the Executive Board of KW PZPR; Wieslaw Dudzinski, OHP [Volunteer Labor Brigade] Commandant; Zenon Kufel, first secretary of KG in Lasin; Karol Szczygiel, deputy govnor of Torun; Zbigniew Mariak, ZW [Voivodship Board] ZSMP chairman; Andrzej Kowalczyk, secretary of the party committee at the University of Kopernik; Edward Czerniakowski, KM [City Committee] PZPR Secretary in Grudziadz; Henryk Dorski, chairman of ZW TKKS [Society for Promotion of Secular Culture]; Adam Musielewicz, Commandant of the Torun unit of the Polish Scout Union; Gen Zdzislaw Ostrowski, KOK [National Defense Committee] plenipotentiary; Jan Przeczewski, POP Secretary of AUTOWARNAP in Grudziadz.

We shall return to the problems signalized in the discussion and to the content of the passed resolution in another article.

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'PAP' INTERVIEWS YOUTH GROUP OFFICIALS ON NINTH PZPR PLENUM

ZSMP Army Chief Rzepecki

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Jun 82 p4

[Interview with Major Tadeusz Rzepecki, deputy chairman of the ZSMP Main Board and chairman of the Polish Army Youth Council, by Marek Kwiatkowski: "We Are Part of the Younger Generation"]

> [Text] We are talking with Major Rzepecki about the social activity of young people in army uniforms and their undertakings in the period prior to the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The reporter conducting the interview is from the PAP.

[Question] The Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee will undoubtedly be an important event in the life of the party, an event of great significance to the activity of the youth movement. The problematics of the upcoming plenum is also awakening a certain interest among army youth.

[Answer] For understandable reasons, the issues of a start in life and professional advancement, the younger generation's long-range prospects and its role in the life of the society are of interest to young people in uniform. We are part of the whole younger generation, and these issues are also our issues. The period leading up to the Ninth Party Plenum is a period of vibrant organizational activity in the army's ZSMP. During numerous meetings and talks, the military community has been familiarized with the situation in the youth movement. There was also comprehensive information concerning the party and government activity undertaken and planned in the realm of the problematics which have an impact on young people. For example, there was talk about new rights for military personnel resulting from the Council of Ministers resolution on military service, the minister's command on furloughs for married soldiers, and so on. Because of the presentation of the facts and aspirations in this area, the discussion did not focus only on issues of social and living conditions. In keeping with the intent of the PZPR Central Committee, we also took a very active part in the discussion on the

hypotheses underlying the Ninth Plenum. The title is "Young Co-creators of Socialist Poland and Conditions for Their Own Development." Here too the discussion went beyond problems strictly related to the army. For example, emphasis was placed on the need to step up efforts in the realm of patriotic-internationalist moral training and close relationship in this area on the part of the school, the place of employment, the youth organization, and the army. An important element of this moral training is historical education. Reference here was made to the army ZSMP's efforts already made in this area. We are constantly improving our program of historical education in which all ZSMP units will help carry out, from the circles to the youth council. A movement of groups interested in Poland's most recent history is also coming into being in the army.

An important current in the discussions concerned the problems of the proper dissemination of Marxist-Leninist knowledge and the authentic translation of the principles of socialism into reality. For example, the necessity of restoring the value of work was emphasized. It is the opinion of the members of our organization that work, its effects, and the attitude toward it should be a decisive factor in the vocational advancement of young people, rather than age.

[Question] The need for independence is an essential need of the younger generation. What sort of significance does "independence" take on with regard to the specific conditions under which ZSMP operates in the army?

[Answer] Under the new "Principles of Army ZSMP Operation"adopted last November there is also the concept of independence. Here I should also like to mention the recent changes made in the structure of our organization. The youth councils of the army, the military district, and so on are statutory bodies. The ZSMP conference's role in the armed forces has increased, and it establishes the operating principles and program. These are statutory assurances of our independence. On the other hand, the framework of this independence consists of two facts: as soldiers we are bound by the principle of individual leadership. Operating in the army we serve its issues. Our independence therefore is intra-organizational independence, without which the army youth organization could not be a partner of any real profile in party organization and leadership groups. Practically speaking, there is no major issue in the life of the soldier groups on which we would not lend our opinion.

[Question] What sort of expections do army ZSMP members have of the Ninth Party Plenum?

[Answer] Army youth has a great feeling of the situation in the country, so we do not expect rapid, basic changes or the immediate solution of the problems of the younger generation as the result of these sessions. On the other hand, we expect the plenum to be an important impulse to initiate the extended process of comprehensive efforts on youth problems.

SZSP Leader Sawic

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 8 Jul 82 pp 1,2

[Interview with Tadeusz Sawic, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish [College] Students [SZSP], by PAP reporter Wojciech Kazmierczak, prior to the approaching PZPR Central Committee Plenum devoted to problems of the younger generation: "'Gimmee' Attitude Unacceptable"]

[Text] [Question] The community of college students is a most varied group of young people. Can the attitudes of college students towards the country's sociopolitical reality be somehow characterized?

[Answer] There are essential attitudinal differences from one student to another. Actually, this was the way it was before 13 December of last year too. After all, up to the moment that martial law was introduced, SZSP operated in the student community. NZS [National Students Association?] gained a lot of followers. There were also a number of small organizations which often operated on only a single college campus. This organizational pluralism was only external, a very superficial manifestation of the internal differences in the group.

We are presently dealing with the disintegration of the community, the individualism of attitudes, and also political awareness often based on common stereotypes and romantic slogans rather than on comprehensive knowledge of history.

Despite everything that I have said, however, it would be a mistake not to notice that within the student community there is a potential of intellect and energy. On the other hand, it is immobile. Today one of the central problems of the work of the organization and the institution of higher education is how to set that potential in motion for social action.

We need to consider how to get students interested too in what is going on in politics. It is untrue that there is no such interest in the groups of people in that community. A large proportion of students also are fully aware of their needs and interests if only in the material sphere. The barrier we need to break down is the barrier of distrust and passivity. And this is just the task of the student organizations.

Of course, we should not be too optimistic in counting on a drastic increase in activity, although there has been success in breaking through the aversion to organizational structures. After all, even when NZS was in operation, less than 30 percent of the students betrayed a desire to act. Now, objectively, this group of people is bound to be smaller, mainly because of the more severe rigors of college-level studies.

[Question] The tremendous social and living problems seem to be having a significant impact on student attitudes. You are still waiting for a reform in the scholarship system, for a new system of employment for graduates.

[Answer] The living situation for at least part of the students is indeed difficult, but here the thing is not that the community is poor so much as that there are differences here in the material sphere. These sorts of imbalances should be eliminated, if we want to make it easier for people of low material status, youth of rural and workers' families, and young people from small towns to study in institutions of higher education. SZSP has fought for social and living-condition issues and will continue to do so. Let me mention that we have drawn up our own draft on scholarship aid. The main target of it was to introduce more just criteria for allocating state aid for students. On the other hand its implementation did not require any additional extremely great funding from the state. After many difficult discussions, a number of the principles we put forth should be considered in the system developed for material aid. The effect of the joint work by the Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology and the SZSP representatives will be a new draft which is not a complete departure from the ministry's proposed concept of credit but which insures assistance to the poorest and a just allocation of state subsidies.

Everyday problems, the high prices, and the small chances of finding a job to fit one's qualifications even if one's college grades have been good are all things which make life difficult for the student. It is they which sooner create discouragement and frustration than social-activist desires. Against this backdrop, the employment of college graduates is a grave problem. It is our position that the new mechanisms of economic reform create both dangers and opportunities. In the discussion going on concerning the functions of higher education, we are bringing up the need for a connection between the grades earned in the college years and the future place of employment. We must simply create mechanisms in the employment of graduates to make being better in college pay, to create a climate of real study, of serious treatment of student responsibilities.

[Question] What about the law on higher education?

[Answer] The law was passed and will go into effect beginning with the new academic year, but the law will not resolve many questions. It will leave them to the students of the institution. Therefore, the struggle for specific regulations will begin on the campuses. SZSP will try to see that students' interests and opinions are reflected in the statutes drawn up for the institutions of higher education.

[Question] Against this background, what about SZSP? There are fewer of you, about 13 percent of the total community. Of necessity, you are the only student organization. Is this not the time for some changes?

[Answer] I have said many times that we do not want a return to a position of monopoly in the student community. Formally, that is not the way it is. Alongside us, ZMW [Rural Youth Union] and ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] have begun to operate in the community. In fact we are presently the only youth organization with any impact in the student community, but we do not consider this situation final. The SZSP role presently consists of resolving many of the community's concrete problems. Here I have in mind, for example, defending its social interests, the organization of the "Summer-82" drive, aid in helping those taking the preliminary examinations to adapt. We also understand our duty to be to defend the broadly-conceived tradition of the student movement.

In recent incidents SZSP has defended its identity during the past few months. We must look with respect on the attitude of the SZSP activists' groups in the departments and on the campuses. We have also born the costs of being consistent and rational, and one of these has been the decline in our numbers.

When we take into account our experience and the current situation, the question arises as to whether a single student organization can meet such different needs. We should consider whether to reform SZSP or to seek solutions in the creation of other organizations, such as a sociovocational organization alongside an ideological-moral upbringing one.

A student self-government should be another new field of the community's social activism. Discussions on these subjects are going on within SZSP. We are also initiating them in the community. In SZSP we want to bring these discussions to a close and sum them up at the Fourth Congress, which will be held 4-7 November of this year.

Today it is difficult to predict the shape of the student movement. One thing is important. A basic feature of these discussions must be the formulation of goals, and an assessment of the values which a student organization should bear, because the organizational structures are an important but secondary thing. They should be created so as to best serve the execution of goals, functions, and needs. One thing is certain: the future of the student movement should be determined by the students themselves.

[Question] We have more or less specified the background: a frustrated, rather passive community, which is waiting for changes but for the moment has possibilities which are dormant but powerful. What can the state authorities do for these people? What do they expect from the upcoming plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the government program of undertakings regarding the conditions for the younger generation's start in life and on the job?

[Answer] One cannot expect the Plenum to solve all youth's problems as with the touch of a magic wand. We are counting on the party's Central Committee to define the principles of PZPR youth policy. It should also present the major long-range directions of the policy of the party and the state. After all, the discussion about youth is a discussion about the whole Polish society and its future. For this reason, the plenum is important in two dimensions. First, it is related to a general, ideological definition of the vision of socialist Poland, the shape of the state, of those institutions which will meet the aspirations of our society and enhance the effectiveness of our joint efforts. Such a vision, coming from the experience of the programs and proposals formulated during the past 2 years, a very important listing of which is found in the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, is important to young people, and not just for finding the goal of individual actions and activity.

Another dimension is concrete, pragmatic. It is a question of eliminating the barriers, the bureaucratic regulations which make everyday existence and living difficult, and of getting rid of having people beat their heads against the wall. This can be done right away. We must not waste young people's tremendous energy related to the creation of worker cooperatives, service and housing cooperatives, and the like. The government's recently adopted program to improve young people's start in life is creating the hope for a solution of these problems. Now the most important thing is for this hope to be realized.

Today we cannot accept "gimmee"attitudes, because this will not lead anywhere. Some young people manifest this attitude, but many of them realize that this is not right. Therefore, we are waiting for the creation of conditions in which young people themselves can act effectively and independently to solve their own problems. The youth organizations should help them with them.

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FINAL TEXT OF NEW HIGHER SCHOOLS LAW PUBLISHED

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 14, Item 113, 20 May 82 pp 259-280

[Text] Part 1

General Clauses

Chapter 1

The tasks of higher schools and the foundations of their self-government

Article 1

1. Higher schools are state organizational units created for conducting scientific research, education, and the socialist upbringing of students, according to the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic.
2. Higher schools are self-governing communities of university teachers, students, and other school employees.
3. The provisions of this law are applicable to non-state higher schools to the extent prescribed in Article 5.

Article 2

1. Higher schools participate in the task of the comprehensive development of science, culture, and national economy, and educate students to become conscious of their rights and duties as citizens of the socialist state, according to the ideals of humanism and social justice.
2. Higher schools are guided in their activity by the well-being of the Polish People's Republic.
3. Higher schools are guided in their activity by the principles of the freedom of the arts and sciences. The development of the diversity of scientific and artistic directions, accompanied by a respect for differences in world views, is conducted according to those principles.

Article 3

1. Higher schools combine scientific research, education, and the upbringing of youth in their activity.

2. The fundamental tasks of higher schools are in:
1) educating highly qualified experts in all areas of social life and developing their ability to think independently and to function skillfully and creatively;
2) conducting scientific research and developing artistic and professional creativity;
3) educating scientific workers and preparing them for creative, scientific, and didactic work;
4) forming patriotic attitudes toward the perception of civic responsibility and social activity and dedication to truth and justice;
5) educating artists and preparing them for independent, creative work;
6) nurturing, developing, and desseminating all forms of national culture;
7) cooperating in the practical application of the arts and sciences in the totality of social and economic life; and
8) the realization of the idea of the open school and its participation in the process of continuous national education.

3. In addition, higher medical schools participate in providing health care within the framework of the social system of health protection. They establish for themselves the proportions between scientific research, educational needs, and activity in the area of health protection, which shall not interfere with the basic function of the school.

Article 4

1. The entire school community participates in the administration of the self-governing higher school through its elective collegial and one-person organs.
2. The higher school, in particular, has the right to:
1) enact the statute of the school;
2) elect the rector, prorectors, deans, assistant deans, and other one-person organs, and the right to recall them;
3) determine the internal structure and organization of the school according to the principles described in the law;
4) establish plans and programs for research, the fields [of study] and the contents of instruction, to the extent provided by the law;
5) confer academic degrees and submit proposals for conferring academic titles, according to the provisions of the law pertaining to academic titles and degrees;
6) determine admission quotas for individual fields of study, according to the principles set forth in law;
7) manage the possessions and financial resources of the school independently, within the limits delineated in the provisions of the law;
8) appoint persons possessing the appropriate qualifications to positions in the higher school, according to the principles defined in the law;
9) initiate and conduct cooperation with foreign schools and scientific institutions;
10) initiate and conduct cooperation with other higher schools and the scientific, economic, cultural, and administrative units within the country;
11) conduct publishing activities within the organizational framework defined by the statute and control its own printing facilities;
12) conduct social/physical welfare activities according to the needs of employees and students;
13) create the appropriate conditions for employee and student self-government activities and for student, social, employee, and union organizations; and

14) conduct [other] economic and service activities, which do not hinder the school's tasks.
3. Organs of the higher school are appropriate in all matters pertaining to its activity and organization, unless the provisions of the law provide otherwise.
4. Decisions of all organs of the higher school are public, with the exception of decisions protected by regulations about safeguarding state and "office" secrets.
5. Essential decisions pertaining to particular groups within the academic community are made after consulting the opinion of those groups, or their elective representatives.

Article 5

1. The provisions of the law apply to [all] state higher schools, with the exception of higher schools that are under the jurisdiction of the Minister of National Defense and the Minister of Internal Affairs.
2. The state higher theological schools, due to their uniqueness, are also under the dominion of church authorities.
3. The provisions of the law apply to non-state higher schools, unless, because of the schools' different character, their statutes provide otherwise.
4. The provisions of the law do not apply to the higher papal universities and higher clergy seminaries, whose status is regulated by an agreement between the government of the Polish People's Republic and church authorities.

Chapter 2

The principles for establishing and operating higher schools

Article 6

1. Higher schools, hereafter referred to as "schools", are established, abolished, merged, and modified within the means provided by the law.
2. The law on the establishment of schools determines their names, locations, general sphere of activity, and the chief or central organ of the state administration responsible for supervising their operation.
3. The school possesses legal personhood.
4. The appropriate state organs may make decisions pertaining to the operation of schools only in the instances provided in the law.

Article 7

1. The school operates on the basis of the statute enacted by the school's senate, after consulting the opinion of the collegial organs of the organizational units of the school, and the social and political organizations operating in the school.
2. The rector submits the statute to the appropriate minister within the period of one month from the date of its enactment.
3. The appropriate minister may express his objections to the school's statute within the period of 3 months from the date of receiving it.
4. The senate reconciles corrections to the statute with the appropriate minister within 3 months from the date the objection has been lodged. After that period

expires, in the case of absence of agreement, the appropriate minister shall make the final decision on the issue of the statute, with the consent of the Presidium of the Main Council for Science and Higher Schools.
5. The statute goes into effect on the day described within it; the time periods described in para. 2-4 shall be considered in determining that date.

Article 8

1. Instruction in schools is conducted within the framework of the directions of study, which correspond to the fields of science, arts, and scientific, artistic, and professional specialties.
2. The Main Council for Science and Higher Schools determines the names of the fields of study.
3. The basic system of study is the day school. The school may also conduct evening, off-campus, and extension programs, and others, in situations justified by the needs of the national economy.
4. The schools also conduct post-graduate programs and special programs and courses.
5. The senate of the school determines the areas of school activity according to Article 57, para. 2, point 2.

Article 9

1. The schools have the right of conferring the professional titles of Master, Doctor of Medicine, Engineer, and Master of Engineering and other [titles] on their graduates, as defined according to the provisions of Article 94, para. 2.
2. The Main Council for Science and Higher Schools determines the requirements to be fulfilled by the schools authorized to confer the professional titles enumerated in para. 1.

Article 10

1. The school has the right to confer the title of doctor honoris causa on the recommendation of its organizational unit which is authorized to confer the academic degree of doctor habilitatus.
2. The title of doctor honoris causa is conferred by the senate of the school to persons of exceptional merit in the development of science, culture, and social life.
3. The conferral of the title of doctor honoris causa on the citizen of another country is with the consent of the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology and in agreement with the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Article 11

Lectures in the schools are open [to the public] unless the statute of the school provides otherwise.

Article 12

The school guarantees its employees and students the freedom of unrestrained expression of views, of association, and public assembly, according to the principles set forth by the provisions of law.

Article 13

1. The school conducts its own research and takes part in the implementation of research programs in conjunction with other schools, institutions, and units of the national economy, within the framework of the concluded agreements.
2. The school may conclude agreements and compacts with other schools and institutions and dispose of the resulting accumulated income, within the sphere of its operations.

Article 14

1. The school guarantees the unrestrained flow of scientific information and unrestricted access to written work.
2. The printing of the school's own publications, scientific journals, and compact prints takes place on the basis of a publishing plan enacted by the senate.

Article 15

1. The rector secures the maintenance of order and security on the grounds of the school, with the assistance of the school's organs.
2. The rector determines the physical bounds of the school with the acquiescence of the appropriate local organ of state administration at the voivodship level.
3. The organs of public security may enter the school grounds only on the request of the rector or the person authorized by the rector. However, in case of the emergence of a natural disaster of an impending threat to human life, these organs may enter the territory of the school on their own, informing the rector at once of their presence. The organs of public security shall leave the school territory immediately after the cessation of the reasons which justified their encroachment on the school territory.

Chapter 3

The Main Council for Science and Higher Schools

Article 16

1. The Main Council for Science and Higher Schools, hereafter called "the Main Council" is an elected representative body of higher education, possessing decision making advisory rights within the sphere provided by the law.
2. In addition, in their respective fields, the following councils function: the Council for Higher Medical Schools, the Council for Higher Art Schools, and the Council for Higher Physical Culture Schools.
3. The councils enumerated in paragraphs 1 and 2, operate on the basis of regulations enacted by them.
4. The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology provides the administrative support necessary for the functioning of the Main Council, and the appropriate ministers provide those means [of support] for the councils mentioned in para. 2.

Article 17

1. The term for [members of] the Main Council lasts three years.
2. The Main Council consists of 75 members. The Council is composed of:
1) Fifty (50) representatives from the schools under the supervision of the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology;
2) Ten (10) representatives from the schools under the supervision of the Minister of Health and Social Welfare;
3) Five (5) representatives from the schools under the supervision of the Minister of Culture and Art;
4) Three (3) representatives from schools under the supervision of the Main Committee of Physical Culture and Sport; and
5) Two (2) representatives from higher maritime schools.

Article 18

1. Elections to the Main Council are conducted by a secret vote of the electors. The electors are elected at faculty and school meetings of persons possessing the right to elect.
2. The right to elect rests in persons employed at the school in positions of professor and docent, persons holding the academic title of doctor habilitatus, and representatives of the university teachers holding the academic degree of doctor; the number of representatives shall not exceed 1/3 of the total number of persons possessing the right to elect.
3. Persons employed at the schools in the positions of professor and docent, and persons holding the degree of doctor habilitatus have the right to be elected. Persons functioning as rectors or prorectors are not eligible for election.
4. Elections are conducted according to principles determined by the electoral regulations which are enacted by the Main Council.

Article 19

1. The Main Council functions in full complement through its organs.
2. The organs of the Main Council are:
1) the Chairman of the Main Council;
2) the Presidium of the Main Council.
3. The composition of the Presidium of the Main Council is determined by the regulations of the Main Council.

Article 20

1. The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology participates in the meetings of the Main Council.
2. Five representatives of the university teachers who do not possess the right to be elected and one representative from each national student organization participate with an advisory vote in the meetings of the Main Council.
3. A representative of higher military schools and ....[printing omission] [shall] participate in the meetings of the Main Council.
4. Representatives of the Polish Academy of Sciences and scientific institutes may participate in the meetings of the Main Council with an advisory voice.

5. The representatives mentioned in para. 2 are elected according to principles determined by the electoral regulations in Article 18, para. 4.
6. The meetings of the Main Council are convened at least once every six (6) months.

Article 21

1. The Main Council, at the request of the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, makes decisions in the matters of:
1) the main directions of scientific research, education, and the development of cadres in the field of higher education;
2) long range projects and intermittent plans for the development of higher education;
3) plans for projects of scientific research in higher education;
4) granting and withholding the right to confer academic degrees to the organizational units of schools, with the assent of the Central Qualification Commission for Academic Cadres; and
5) fields of study and the principles of their organization.
2. The Main Council advises in the matters of:
1) principles and admission quotas for the first year of studies;
2) principles for the determination of plans of studies and instructional program frameworks;
3) directions and principles of social and cadres policy in higher education;
4) principles of financing the scientific research conducted in schools and the mode of the financial cooperation of schools with other scientific facilities;
5) schemes for the distribution of financial and material resources among the schools;
6) requests pertaining to the establishing, abolishing, merging, and modifying of schools;
7) principles of cooperation of schools with abroad;
8) legislative projects pertaining to higher education and enacted by the Sejm or the Council of Ministers;
9) other issues (than those enumerated in points 1-8) submitted by the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, senates of higher schools, or those that the Council might address on its own initiative.

Article 22

The Main Council forwards to schools an annual report on its activity.

Article 23

The provisions in Article 17, para. 1; 18; 19; 20, para. 1,2,4-6,; 21, para. 2; apply correspondingly to the councils mentioned in Article 16, para. 2.

Chapter 4

The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology

Article 24

1. The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology effectuates national policy in the area of higher education, coordinating the functioning of schools,

and supervises the schools under his jurisdiction to the extent provided by the law.
2. The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology:
1) tenders proposals for establishing, abolishing, merging, or modifying schools;
2) prepares for resolution by the Main Council:
a) projects addressing the main directions of scientific research, education, and the development of cadres in the field of higher education;
b) projects pertaining to long range and intermittent plans for the development of higher education;
c) plans for projects of scientific research in schools; and
d) projects involving the defining of fields of study and the principles of their organization;
3) determines:
a) principles and admission quotas for the first year of studies;
b) principles for the determination of plans of studies and instructional program program frameworks;
c) directions and principles of social and cadres policy in higher education;
d) principles of financing the scientific research conducted in schools and the mode of financial cooperation of schools with other scientific facilities; and
e) principles of cooperation of schools with abroad.
4) conducts the distribution of financial and material resources among schools.
3. The authority of the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, mentioned in para. 2 applies correspondingly to the appropriate ministers with regard to schools under their supervision.

Article 25

1. The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology conducts supervision over conformance with the law with regard to activities of the subordinate schools. For that purpose he may:
1) request explanation from the school's organs in any matter involving school activity;
2) repeal the decisions of the rector and school senate which violate the law.
2. The authority of the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, recited in para. 1 applies correspondingly to the appropriate ministers with regard to schools under their supervision.
3. The decisions made on the basis of para. 1, pt. 2 may be appealed to an administrative court on the terms and in the manner provided by the Administrative Procedure Code.

Part 2

The Structure and Administration of a School

Chapter 1

The organizational units of a school

Article 26

1. The organizational units of a school are established, abolished, merged, and modified according to research, artistic, and didactic upbringing needs, and in

consideration of manpower practicalities. Decisions in those matters are made after consulting the opinion of employees in the involved units.
2. Unless the school statute provides otherwise, the basic organizational unit of the school, with regard to the scientific, artistic, and didactic upbringing activity associated with the main areas of studies, is the faculty.
3. The organizational units of a school may be faculty, extra-faculty inter-faculty, or inter-university. These units may be organizationally tied with the organizational units of the Polish Academy of Sciences, with other institutes, and other scientific, learning, and artistic institutions, and also with administrative units.
4. The Minister of Health and Social Welfare determines the principles of cooperation between the service units of medical academies and the service units of the health care system.

Article 27

The school statute determines the internal structure and organization of the school and the type of its constituent organizational units. The statute may also provide for the establishment of organizational units not contemplated in the law.

Article 28

1. A general field of study institute organizes and conducts research or artistic and didactic upbringing work related to a particular field of study.
2. A specialized institute organizes and conducts research or artistic, and didactic upbringing work related to a particular group of subjects of study or research [or] artistic specialization.
3. A chair organizes and conducts research, artistic, or medical and didactic upbringing work that comprises the subject of a distinct scientific discipline.
4. Clinics, departments, workshops, laboratories, and other organizational units may be created within faculties, institutes, or chairs.

Article 29

1. The appropriate minister creates faculties or extra-faculty organizational units, [based] on a proposal by the rector, that has been evaluated by the senate.
2. The appropriate minister creates inter-school organizational units, [based] on a proposal by the rector of the school which is the seat of the unit. The proposal must be evaluated by the appropriate senates. This type of unit may also be created on the initiative of the appropriate minister, after consulting the opinion of the senates of the appropriate schools.
3. The rector creates organizational units with the department [based] on a proposal from the faculty's dean, accompanied by an evaluation by the faculty council. Decisions in these matters are subject to ratification by the school's senate.

Article 30

Organizational units of an experimental, administrative, or service character, related to a school's basic activity, may also be created. The school rector creates these units within the means at the disposition of the school.

Article 31

The appropriate minister may call into existence an enterprise within a given school and define its tasks in congruence with the school's tasks, acting as the founding organ as interpreted in the law on the establishment of state enterprises.

Article 32

1. Schools have a main library. The library is a school-wide organizational units of basic activity endowed with service, scientific, and didactic responsibilities; it performs the function of a scientific information center and functions as a fully accessible scientific library; it also functions as a link in the national library and scientific information networks.
2. The main library is formed in the manner prescribed in Article 29, para. 1.
3. Schools may also have other libraries, which together with the main library constitute a uniform library-information system for the school. The director of the library supervises the functioning of that system within the parameters established by the school's statutes.

Chapter 2

The organs of schools and the principles and procedures of their creation

Article 33

1. The senate and faculty councils are the collegial organs of a school.
2. The one-person organs of a school are the rector and deans.
3. A faculty council and dean are not appointed in schools consisting of only one faculty. Their functions are performed by a senator and a rector, respectively.

Article 34

The school statute determines the appointment procedure for positions filled by election, observing the following principles:
1) voting in each election is by secret ballot;
2) each voter has the right to nominate candidates, unless the law or statute provides otherwise;
3) an election is concluded when a candidate receives more than 1/2 of the votes, unless the statute demands a qualified majority;
4) the participation of more than 1/2 of the eligible voters is required for a valid election, unless the statute demands a higher number.

Article 35

1. The term of the elective organs of a school beings on September 1, and lasts 3 years, unless the statute provides for a shorter duration, the term always ends on August 31 of the final year of the term.
2. The school statute determines the time and procedure for the creation of the collegial organs of a school in such a manner that the selection of the school's

one-person organs [by the collegial organs] takes place in May of the year of term expiration for the collegial organs.

Article 36

1. The Senate consists of:
1) rector;
2) prorector or prorectors;
3) deans and the directors of scientific institutes functioning outside the faculty;
4) separately elected representatives for each of the following groups:
a) professors, docents, and doctors habilitatus;
b) the remaining university teachers;
c) students;
d) school employees who are not university teachers;
5) one delegated representative for each party organ and political faction functioning within the school; and
6) a representative of the military college.
2. The Senate is composed 51 to 66% of professors, docents, and doctors habilitatus according to the provisions of the school's statute.

Article 37

1. The school statute determines the number of representatives mentioned in Article 36, para. 1, pt. 4, the procedure for their election and recall, and the term of student representatives.
2. The school statute determines the duties of the elected representatives within the functions of the collegial organs of the school and the rigor with which they must fulfill those duties.

Article 38

The Senate representatives who are not professors, docents, and doctors habilitatus have the right to vote on all matters, except those reserved by the provisions of the law, and in particular on the matters of:
1) petitions for conferring academic degrees and titles;
2) petitions for appointment to positions of professor.

Article 39

[The following persons shall] participate in the meetings of the Senate with an advisory voice:
1) the director of the main library;
2) the administrative director and bursar;
3) a representative of each student organization with nationwide scope or other student organizations determined by the school's statute;
4) a representative of each labor union active in the school.

Article 40

The composition of a non-faculty school is determined by its statute, according to principles expressed in the law.

Article 41

1. The rector of the school is elected by the Senate or the electoral college. The school statute determines the organ conducting the election of the rector.
2. The electoral college is composed of electors chosen, according to Article 36, para. 2 by [the following groups] from among their number:
1) professors, docents, and doctors habilitatus employed in the school;
2) other teaching employees employed in the school;
3) students of the school; and
4) other employees of the school.
3. The chairman of the organ conducting the election immediately informs the appropriate minister about the results of the election.
4. With the acquiescence of the Presidium of the Main Council, the appropriate minister may assert a justified objection to the completed election within 14 days of the time of his notification. The appropriate school organ then repeats the elections within the period of 14 days from the time of receiving the objection.
5. The person against whom the objection mentioned in para. 4 has been entered may not be nominated for the repeated elections.
6. The appropriate minister confirms the election of a school's rector.
7. The appropriate minister nominates the first rector of a newly established school.

Article 42

Only a professor or a docent with a doctor habilitatus degree may be the rector of a school; in schools employing more than 10 professors, only a professor may be the rector. The condition of having a degree of doctor habilitatus does not apply to art schools.

Article 43

1. The school statute determines the number of the school's prorectors.
2. The election of prorectors is conducted in a separate meeting by the organ which selected the rector, and at the time determined by the school statute.
3. The rector elect has the exclusive right to nominate candidates for the position of prorector from among the professors, docents, and doctors habilitatus. The provisions for the election of rector apply correspondingly to the election of prorector.
4. The school statute may provide the voters with the right to submit to the rector proposals for candidates for the position of prorector, from among the persons mentioned in para. 3. The rector elect is not bound by these proposals.
5. The election of each prorector is conducted separately.
6. The candidate submitted by the rector for the position of prorector for student affairs receives the approval of the majority of student representatives in the Senate or electoral college.

Article 44

1. The faculty council is composed of:
1) the dean;
2) the assistant dean or assistant deans;

3) the remaining professors, docents and doctors habilitatus employed in the faculty; and
4) representatives (elected in accordance with the school statute) from:
a) other university teachers than those enumerated in pt. 3. employed in the faculty;
b) students in the faculty; and
c) faculty school employees who are not university teachers.
2. The provisions of Article 36, para. 2, and Article 37 and 38 apply correspondingly to the faculty council.
3. Professors and docents emeritus have the right to participate in the deliberations of the faculty council with an advisory voice.

Article 45

A professor, docent, or doctor habilitatus employed in the faculty shall be elected as the dean.

Article 46

The faculty council shall elect a dean in the manner prescribed by the school statute.

Article 47

1. The school statute determines the number of assistant deans.
2. The faculty council elects assistant deans from among professors, docents, and doctors habilitatus proposed by the dean elect. The school statute may provide voters the right to submit proposals of candidates for assistant deans to the dean elect. The dean elect is not bound by those proposals.
3. The candidate submitted by the dean for the position of assistant dean for student affairs receives the approval of the majority of student representatives in the faculty council.

Article 48

The rector, prorector, dean, and assistant deans may be elected to the same post for not more than two consecutive terms.

Article 49

The provisions pertaining to the composition of the faculty council apply correspondingly to the council of a general field of study institute.

Article 50

On the proposal of the faculty council (institute council) the rector appoints the directors of specialized institutes and the heads of chairs, departments and clinics, after consulting the opinion of the school's Senate.

Article 51

1. The school statute determines the composition of the library council and the procedure for its establishment.
2. The director of the main library is the chairman of the library council, unless the school statute provides otherwise.

Article 52

1. The library council elects the director of the main library. The procedure for the election of the library director is determined by the school statute.
2. The director of the main library should possess the qualifications of a senior accredited curator, and also an academic degree and at least 5 years of supervisory work experience in a scientific library. A person with the qualifications of an accredited curator, but not possessing an academic degree, may be elected to the post of director of the main library in exceptional circumstances.

Article 53

A list of the positions within the school is included in the school statute. These positions may not be merged.

Article 54

1. In the event the person holding the office of a one-person organ abdicates the post during its term, an election to fill that position shall be conducted within a period of one month. The term of the replacement position ends on the day of expiration of the term of the predecessor.
2. The school statute determines the election procedure for the vacated position mentioned in para. 1.

Article 55

The school's collegial and one-person organs continue in their functions until the organs for the new term have been formed.

Article 56

1. In the case of gross violation of the duties demanded by the post by the persons holding the positions of a one-person organ in the school, the organ which elected them may also recall them. In the case of a rector elected by the electoral college, the school Senate makes the appropriate request.
2. The recalls mentioned in para. 1 are conducted within one month of the day of being informed of a gross violation of duty. After the elapse of 6 months from the time of the violation, no recall may ensue.
3. In the event of the inactivity of the organ mentioned in para. 1, the recall is carried out by the appropriate minister, with the acquiescence of either the Presidium of the Main Council or the rector of the school, after the concurrence of the Senate. The provisions of para. 2 are appropriately applicable.

Chapter 3

Authority of school organs

Article 57

1. The Senate is the highest organ of a school.
2. The Senate, in particular:
1) enacts the school statute and the regulations of study;
2) determines the general directions of school activity;
3) ratifies the study plans and programs of teaching;
4) performs control over school activities;
5) authorizes the rector to execute agreements with other schools or other institutions and organizational units in the sphere of joint activities;
6) ratifies the material-financial plan for the school and reviews reports of its execution;
7) ratifies the rector's annual report on school activity;
8) defines the magnitude and extent of the economic or service activities of the school, and
9) decides on the matters defined in the law and the school statute.
3. The tasks flowing from para. 2, pt. 3 do not apply to the plans and programs for military and defensive training instruction,,which are determined by a separate procedure.
4. The school statute determines in detail the authority of the Senate.

Article 58

The Senate resolutions are binding on the rector, other school organs, and members of the university community.

Article 59

1. The highest executive organ of the school is its rector.
2. The rector governs the school, and in particular he:
1) represents the school on the outside;
2) convenes the Senate meetings and chairs the deliberations, with the exception of sessions during which is performance is evaluated;
3) is the superior of all school employees;
4) makes the decisions pertaining to the functioning of the school in the areas not reserved for other school organs;
5) conducts immediate supervision over the school administration;
6) assures the observance of law on the school grounds;
7) acts to assure the proper conditions for the functioning of the school;
8) acts to assure satisfaction of the socio-existential, health, and cultural needs of the school's students and employees;
9) makes decisions in the matters of the school's cooperation abroad;
10) delineates the parameters of activity for prorectors; and
11) decides in the matters described in the law and the school statute.

Article 60

The faculty council, in particular:
1) elects and recalls the dean and assistant deans;
2) determines the general directions of faculty activity;
3) presents proposals on the subjects of determining the areas of study and specialties;
4) enacts the projects for study plans and teaching programs;
5) conducts supervision over the activity of the faculty;
6) assigns didactic duties to persons from outside the school;
7) acts to assure the proper conditions and directions for the development of a young research-teaching cadre from the faculty;
8) acts on requests for sabbaticals by the employees and controls their utilization;
9) approves the annual dean's report; and
10) decides in matters reserved by the law and the school statute for the faculty council.

Article 61

The resolutions of the faculty council are binding on the dean and all members of the academic community of the faculty.

Article 62

1. The dean is the executive organ of the faculty.
2. The dean governs the faculty, and in particular he:
1) represents the faculty on the outside;
2) chairs the meetings of the faculty council with the exception of those meetings during which his performance is evaluated;
3) is the superior of all employees of the faculty and the superior and guardian of the students;
4) makes decisions pertaining to the functioning of the faculty in the areas not reserved for other school organs;
5) determines the detailed plan of events conducted in the faculty;
6) conducts immediate supervision over the activities of the faculty;
7) attends to the socio-existential needs of students and the proper consideration to employee needs;
8) delineates the sphere of activity for the assistant deans; and
9) decides matters reserved for the dean by the law and the school statute.

Article 63

The provisions in regard to authorities of the faculty council and dean apply correspondingly to the councils and directors of the [field of study] institutes that are not organizational units of the faculty.

Article 64

The school statute determines the extent of the competence of the councils and directors of institutes other than those mentioned in Article 63, and also the heads of chairs, clinics, departments, and other organizational units of the school.

Article 65

1. The library council and director of the main library are the organs directing the main library of the school.
2. The library council acts jointly with the director of the main library to manage the library and the connected library-information system, according to the principles determined in the school statute.
3. The authority of the library council includes:
1) determination of directions for the library-informational activity, according to the needs of the research and didactic processes of the school;
2) presentation of suggestions pertaining to the structure and organization of the main library and the connected library cadre and speaking on the matters of fulfilling the library positions; and
4) participation in the planning and control of fulfilling the tasks of the school libraries.

Article 66

1. A higher level collegial organ may repeal the resolutions of a lower level collegial organ if they are contrary to the law or statute, or harmful to the welfare of the school.
2. A higher level one-person organ may repeal the decisions of lower level one-person organs if they are contrary to the law or statute, or harmful to the welfare of the school.
3. A one-person organ may suspend the implementation of resolutions by a collegial organ of the same level if they are contrary to the law of statute, or harmful to the welfare of the school, and may submit them for reconsideration by the same collegial organ. In the event the suspended resolutions is re-affirmed, the one-person organ forwards the matter to a collegial organ of a higher instance.

Article 67

1. Decisions of a one-person organ may be appealed to a higher level one-person organ.
2. Decisions of a collegial organ may be appealed to a higher level collegial organ.

Article 68

The sessions of the collegial organs are convened by their chairman, on either his own initiative or on a request of at least 1/5 of the members of the organ, at least 4 times a year.

Article 69

1. The enactments of the collegial organs are passed by an absolute majority of the votes and the quorum consists of 50% of the members, unless the law or statute provide otherwise.
2. The enactments of the Senate concerning the approval and change of the school statute are passed by a 2/3 majority, with a quorum of 2/3 of the members who are entitled to vote.

Article 70

1. The school Senate, and the faculty and institute councils, may establish, through elections, permanent and ad hoc commissions. The tasks and competence of these commissions are determined by the school statute and the provisions of the enacting resolution.
2. The school statute may provide for establishing a rector's college and dean's colleges as the advisory and opinion-giving organs.

Article 71

The collegial organs of the school may appoint peer courts for the purpose of reviewing those matters related to the professional ethics of university teachers, which do not belong to the authority of the disciplinary commissions for the university teachers.

Chapter 4

The School Administration

Article 72

The school administration is predicated on the principle of one-person management, conducted by the rector, with the assistance of prorectors, the administrative director, and the bursar.

Article 73

The school rector, with the approval of the Senate, appoints the administrative director of the school, the bursar, and the heads of the organizational units determined in the statute.

Article 74

1. The administrative director directs the school administration and manages its resources in the areas determined by the provisions of law and the school statute.
2. The administrative director is the immediate superior of the employees of the organizational units of the administration and services of the school.
3. The administrative director, because of his function, is answerable to the school rector and Senate.

Article 75

1. The bursar performs the function of head accountant of the school.
2. The duties and authority of the bursar as the head accountant are regulated by separate rules.

Article 76

The number of posts for the assistants of the administrative director and bursar, and the parameters of their authority and their duties are determined by the school statute.

Article 77

The school's administrative structure is determined by the school statute.

Article 78

The administrative director or the heads of administrative units authorized by him determine the rights and responsibilities of the employees of the school administration, within the framework of the organizational rules of the school.

Article 79

The school administration implements the tasks of the school in the areas of administrative, managerial, and financial functions.

Chapter 5

The principles of the financial functioning of a school.

Article 80

The school conducts its financial management independently.

Article 81

1. The school conducts its financial management autonomously with the resources derived from:
1) central budget endowments for financing didactic upbringing activity, the education of scientific cadres, their scientific research, and the provision of the socio-existential needs of students and employees;
2) income generated from the reimbursement for operations conducted, including: scientific research, activity in the area of improving the cadres education, rental fees for housing, administrative-processing fees, and others;
3) revenues from other sources, obtained from the school's service operations on behalf of the region, national economy, and culture.
2. The school has the right to control the foreign exchange obtained through:
1) the central allotment of the foreign currency plan;
2) its own activities.
3. The Council of Ministers determines the school's share of the foreign currency revenues described in para. 2, pt. 2 by a decree mentioned in Article 85, para. 1.
4. Financial resources, including foreign currency not expended during a given budget year, remain at the disposition of the school.

Article 82

1. The school may accept gifts, bequests, and estates, both national and foreign in origin.
2. The school Senate decides on the matter of the acceptance or rejection of gifts, bequests, and estates.

Article 83

The financial management of the school is conducted on the basis of a material-financial plan, independently determined by the school, and describing the division of tasks and resources for the particular types of activities among the basic organizational units of the school.

Article 84

1. The draft of the material-financial plan of the school, together with the drafts of the financial plans for the units organizationally linked with the school, is presented for approval to the Senate by its rector.
2. The procedure for approval of the school's balance sheet is regulated by separate rules.

Article 85

1. The Council of Ministers determines, by a decree, the particulars of the principles of the financial management of schools, after consulting the opinion of the Main Council.
2. The Minister of Health and Social Welfare, in agreement with the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, determines the principles of financing medical academies with regard to the diagnostic, medical, and rehabilitative activities conducted by these schools.

Part 3

Studies and Students

Chapter 1

Studies

Article 86

1. Only a person with a high school diploma may be admitted to study at a school.
2. The deciding criteria for admission to studies are a meritorious evaluation of the knowledge or the skills and artistic talents of an applicant, or an evaluation of his/her athletic abilities, whichever is required by the profile of studies.
3. Admission to study is conducted through entrance exams. The appropriate minister, in agreement with the Main Council, determines the scope of the entrance exams.
4. The school rector, after consulting the opinion of the Senate and appropriate faculty councils, may adopt a specific examination procedure.
5. The appropriate minister, after consulting the opinion of the Main Council and with the agreement of the supreme organs of national youth organizations, may establish other conditions besides the results of the exam, and take under consideration the financial or environmental differentiations in the applicants' preparation, which may influence admission to studies.

6. The Ministers of Science, Higher Schools and Technology and the Ministers of Education and Upbringing may determine, through a decree, the principles for organizing free forms of assistance for preparation prior to entrance exams for those candidates whose environmental background justifies such assistance.
7. With regard to the winners and finalists of the central level [scholastic] Olympiads, the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, in consultation with the appropriate ministers and the supreme organs of the national youth organizations determines the admission principles that are related to those Olympiads, including exemption from entrance exams. Exemption from entrance exams does not include the competency test for qualifications in the area of study.
8. The determinations mentioned in para. 3 to 5 are made available to the public at least 6 months prior to the deadline for applications to study.

Article 87

The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, in agreement with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, determines the conditions for the admission of foreigners and their study.

Article 88

1. Admission to the first year of study of a person who has commenced his/her studies abroad, includes an entrance exam.
2. The faculty council decides on the admission to advanced years of study of a person who has commenced his/her studies abroad, and may determine the admission of such a person by evaluating his/her knowledge and qualifications.

Article 89

1. Enrollment for study is conducted by the faculty (institute) enrollment commissions, convened by the faculty (field of study institute) council. These commissions also make decisions on matters of admissions to study.
2. The results of entrance exams are public.
3. Decisions of the faculty (institute) enrollment commission may be appealed to the university enrollment commission established by the school Senate, within 14 days of the date of receiving the decision of denial of admission to study.

Article 90

1. Admission to the student body occurs at the moment of matriculation and deposition of a pledge containing the following:
"Aware of my duties as a citizen of the Polish People's Repbulic, I solemnly pledge to:
--persevere in acquiring the knowledge and skills preparatory for working for the benefit of the socialist Fatherland
--respect the dignity of each student and the good name of my school
--treat with respect school employees and observe the principles of fellowship
--observe the rules that are in force in the school."

2. The Senate may supplement the pledge with content derived from the tradition of the school.
3. The provisions of the law pertaining to their rights and duties apply correspondingly to persons admitted to study but, not yet matriculated.

Article 91

1. The appropriate minister determines the framework of the rules of study after consulting the opinion of the Main Council and in agreement with the main organs of national student organizations.
2. The school Senate determines the rules of study in agreement with the school student self-governing body.

Article 92

1. A student may transfer to another school with the permission of the faculty dean of the new school, provided that all conditions contained in the rules and regulations of the school are fulfilled.
2. Besides his/her own basic field of study, a student may study any number of fields of study or any subjects, at any school, providing that all the conditions related to the regime of study are fulfilled.
3. A student may study in an individually established plan and program of study, according to the principles established by the faculty (field of study institute) council.
4. The provision of para. 2 does not contravene Article 86, para. 2 and 3.

Article 93

The dean may remove a student from the students' list in circumstances described in the rules of study. Such removal is appealable to the school rector.

Article 94

1. A school graduate receives a diploma of completion of study. The diploma, besides the description of professional title, may also contain the name of the specialty, the title of thesis/dissertation and its grade, and the results of the final examination.
2. The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, in agreement with the appropriate ministers, determines the types of diplomas and titles and models for diplomas conferred by the school.

Article 95

1. The principles for recognition of diplomas, degrees, and academic titles received abroad that are equivalent to the diplomas, degrees, and academic titles received in the country are determined in international agreements.
2. In the case of the nonexistence of appropriate international agreement provisions, diplomas, degrees and academic titles obtained abroad may be recognized, on the principles of reciprocity, as equivalent to the diplomas, degrees and academic titles conferred in the country and accredited. The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, in agreement with the Main Council, determines, by a decree, the principles of accreditation for diplomas obtained abroad.

Article 96

1. The faculty council may describe the principles and areas of study available and allowed to student auditors.
2. The faculty council also determines the principles for the admission of auditing students into the student body and the accreditation of ther didactic training by the dean.
3. Only a person who has successfully passed an entrance exam may become a student auditor.

Chapter 2

Student's rights and responsibilities

Article 97

Together with the school employees, students create a self-governing academic community; they jointly decide on school matters and jointly are responsible for the fulfillment of the school goals.

Article 98

Students have the right to:
1) develop their own scientific interests and to utilize, for that purpose, the didactic facilities, equipment and resources in the school and the assistance of university teachers and the school's organs;
2) association in scientific circles and participation in the scientific, developmental and implementing work conducted in the school; and
3) associate in political and social organizations according to the principles determined in the law.

Article 99

1. The school's organs have the duty of assuring the material and social conditions indispensable for the realization of the right to education.
2. Students and their unemployed spouses and children, hereinafter called "student families", have the right to financial assistance.
3. The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, in agreement with the Minister of Finance and the supreme organs of national student organizations, shall determine, by a decree, the requirements for and the kinds and magnitude of financial assistance.
4. Students and student families have the right to health protection, including free medical care.
5. The Minister of Health and Social Welfare, in agreement with the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology and the supreme organs of national sutdent organizations, determines the principles of medical care and health protection applicable to students and student families.

Article 100

1. The school organs are vested with the duty to support self-educational activity and undertakings aimed at the development of the personalities and physical culture of students.

2. The school organs create conditions for a student scientific movement and, in particular, provide scientific guardianship and determine the principles of student participation in scientific research, within the scientific movement. The school organs, in agreement with the organs of student self-government, determine the principle of financing the student scientific movement.
3. Students excelling in study are entitled to awards and distinctions. The principles and procedures for bestowing awards and distinctions is determined by the rules of study.

Article 101

A student may accept gainful employment. The work shall not release the student from properly fulfilling his duties to the school.

Article 102

A student who is taking a leave approved by the dean retains all of his student privileges except the right to obtain financial aid. In justifiable cases, the dean, in agreement with the organs of student self-government, may permit the use of these benefits.

Article 103

Shall a collective dispute occur in the school, the proper school organs and student self-government organs or student organizations active in the school are required to undertake negotiations toward its resolution immediately. The dispute shall be resolved through negotiations within 14 days. After the expiration of that term the dispute is settled conclusively by the school Senate or the Main Council.

Article 104

1. A student has the duty to fully utilize the educational opportunities provided by the school.
2. A student is required to conduct himself according to the precepts of the oath and the rules of study.

Article 105

The Council of Ministers determines, by a decree, the principles of carrying out student internships and the resulting responsibilities of students, school organs, and work enterprises, after consulting the opinion of the Main Council and the supreme organs of national student organizations.

Chapter 3

Student's responsibilities

Article 106

1. A student is answerable before disciplinary commissions or the peer courts of the student self-government for violation of provisions of law or the duties described in Article 104, para. 2.

2. The school rector, in concurrence with the chairman of the student self-government peer court, decides whether the matter should be assigned to the disciplinary commission or to the peer court.
3. The school rector or a dean may forward the matter to the peer court of the social organization to which the student belongs, if remedial consideration justifies such an approach.
4. The school rector or a dean may impose the penalty of admonishment for lesser infraction, by-passing the disciplinary commission or peers court. The accused may nevertheless demand initiation of a disciplinary proceeding or a proceeding before the peers court. In such a case, the disciplinary commission or the peer court may impose the penalty of admonishment only.

Article 107

The disciplinary penalties are:
1) reprimand;
2) censure;
3) censure with warning;
4) suspension of entitlement to the specific rights of a student for a period of one year;
5) expulsion from school.

Article 108

The peers court are not authorized to impose the penalty of expulsion from school.

Article 109

A student shall not be penalized by both the disciplinary commission and the peer court of the student self-government for the same infraction.

Article 110

Imposition of penalty in criminal procedures or procedures for lesser transgressions does not preclude initiation of a disciplinary proceeding or a proceeding before the peer court.

Article 111

1. Adjudgment in the disciplinary proceeding is made by disciplinary commissions appointed in the procedure determined by the school statute; the commissions shall consist of research-teaching employees and students appointed for the duration of the terms of school's organs and the organs of student self-government, respectively.
2. The organ of student self-government proposes the student candidates for the disciplinary commissions.
3. The disciplinary commission adjudges through 5 members, two of whom shall be student representatives.

Article 112

1. A disciplinary advocate, appointed from the school employees by the rector, conducts disciplinary investigation.
2. The disciplinary advocate functions as a prosecutor before the disciplinary commission and is bound by the recommendations of rector.

Article 113

The accused student shall have the right to a defense. Only a person chosen by the accused, from the student or university teacher body, may be the defender.

Article 114

The provisions of the disciplinary procedure code correspondingly apply to the summoning and interrogation of the accused, witnesses, and experts, and to the conduct of other proof matters in investigative and disciplinary proceedings.

Article 115

1. Decisions of the disciplinary commission and the peer court shall be appealable.
2. An appeal is filed within 14 days of the date of receiving the decision, with the option to choose either a higher level peer court or a disciplinary appeal commission.

Article 116

1. The appearance before the peer courts and disciplinary commissions is public.
2. The commission may exempt the public appearance requirement in part or in toto, if publicity could offend good morals, or when it is necessary to protect the material interests of the accused, third parties, the school or the provisions on the protection of state and office secrets. Announcement of decisions is public.

Article 117

1. Disciplinary procedure shall be barred after the expiration of 6 months from the date of being informed of the deed or 3 years from the date of its commitment. If the deed constitutes a crime, this period shall parallel the period of limitation on prosecution.
2. The limitation on adjudgment also expires after 1 year from the date of leaving the school.

Article 118
1. Expungement of a disciplinary punishment is automatic after the expiration of 3 years from the announcement date of the decision about punishment.
2. The organ which pronounced the disciplinary judgment may, after the expiration of 1 year, pronounce expungement or pardon of sentence on the request of the offender or the disciplinary advocate. In the case of expulsion from school, punishment expungement or pardon may be granted after the expiration of 2 years.

Article 119

1. The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology determines by a decree, the principles and form of the disciplinary proceeding after consulting the supreme organs of the national student organizations and the Main Council.
2. The principles and form of proceedings before the peer courts of the student self-government and its organization is determined in rules of student self-government. The rules may include corrective measures not contemplated by the law.

Chapter 4

The student self-governing body

Article 120

1. The school's students are organized in the student self-governing body and participate in its activity without regard to their organizational affiliation.
2. The organs of the student self-government function to represent and protect the interests of students.
3. The student self-government functions in school on the basis of self-enacted rules, conformable to the school statute. The rules determine the tasks and the structure of student self-government, and the principles of election to its organs.
4. The student self-government organs may be established in individual years of study, faculties, areas of study, and in student dormitories and villages.

Article 121

1. The organs of student self-government, jointly with the representatives of school organs, decide on matters of financial aid, outstanding scholarship awards, and the distribution of resources earmarked for student purposes.
2. Appropriate organs of the student self-government are the opinion-giving organs in all matters pertaining to the educational and upbringing processes.

Chapter 5

Student organizations and associations

Article 122

1. Students have the right of association in national, local, and university level student organizations and associations, according to principles provided in the law. The number of student organizations is unlimited.
2. The organizations and association active in the school have the right to submit proposals and postulates in matters pertaining to students and school functioning to the rector and Senate of the school.

Article 123

1. Students have the right to establish student organizations of national scope.
2. Students have the right to establish within the school:

1) university level elements of national student organizations;
2) university (faculty) level student organizations and associations;
3) scientific, artistic, and athletic circles;
4) student elements of national or local social organizations and associations;
5) university elements of youth political organizations.

Article 124

1. Student organizations and associations shall comply with the requirement of registration. The registers of these organizations shall be public.
2. The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology is the organ which approves the registers, and maintains the register of national and local student organizations and associations.
3. At the school level, the rector is the proper organ for approval and registration and maintenance of university registers for student organizations and associations.

Article 125

The by-laws of student organizations and associations must conform to the law as a precondition for their registration.

Article 126

1. A voivodship court, on the petition of a registering organ, may declare dissolution of student organization whose activity contravenes provisions of law. The personal jurisdiction of the court is determined by the principal office of the organization.
2. The matters of dissolution of student organizations are adjudged according to provisions of the Civil Procedure Code for non-process proceedings. These matters are exempted from court fees and costs.

Article 127

Student organizations and associations cooperate with school authorities in fulfilling the goals and tasks of the school.

Article 128

The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, in consultation with the supreme organs of national student organizations, determines, by a decree, the procedures for registration and maintenance of the register and the principles of dissolution of student organizations and associations.

Article 129

1. Students have the right to convene meetings and rallies on the school grounds.
2. The organizers of a meeting or a rally have the duty to notify the rector of their intention 24 hours before the meeting or rally. The rector may dispatch his representative to the meeting or rally.
3. The school statute determines the regulations pertaining to the orderliness of meetings and rallies.

4. The organizers [of meetings and rallies] are responsible, before the school organs, for the conduct of meetings and rallies.
5. If the course of a meeting or rally violates the provisions of the Constitution or other laws, the school rector or his representatives may dissolve the meeting or rally after notification of the organizers.

Part 4

School employees

Chapter 1

General provisions

Article 130

1. The school employs academic teachers and other employees in order to perform the tasks described in Article 3, para. 2 and 3, and other tasks related thereto.
2. The academic teachers are:
1) research-teaching employees;
2) teaching employees;
3) research employees.
3. Other school employees are:
1) scientific-technical employees;
2) technical-engineering employees;
3) library and research documentation employees, except those enumerated in Article 131, para. 3.;
4) health service employees;
5) administration-management employees;
6) service, and the remaining employees.

Chapter 2

Research-teaching employees

Article 131

1. Research-teaching employees are the persons employed in the school for the purpose of teaching and conducting scientific or artistic work, and also medical-diagnostic work in medical schools and physical education academies.
2. Research-teaching employees are employed in the positions of:
1) professor;
2) docent;
3) adjunct;
4) senior [teaching] assistant;
5) [teaching] assistant;
6) intern teaching assistant;
3. Research-teaching employees include accredited librarians and accredited research documentation employees who are employed in positions determined in Articles 141 and 142.

Article 132

A person employed in the position of a research-teaching employee shall be of high ethical integrity, with scientific or artistic qualifications, as well as didactic and upbringing skills and qualifications which are appropriate for the field of study and the general sphere of school activity.

Article 133

1. Work results of the research-teaching employees shall be periodically evaluated.
2. The periodic evaluation of the work results of research-teaching employees is conducted by the collegial organs described in the school's statute; the degree of the provision of appropriate resources for the proper and timely realization of the duties of the research-teaching employees shall be considered in the evaluation.
3. The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, in consultation with the Main Council, determines the principles and the form of conducting the evaluation mentioned in para. 1 and 2.
4. Provisions of para. 1 and 2 also apply to the evaluation of the fitness for employment in the positions of [teaching] assistant, senior [teaching] assistant, and adjunct.

Article 134

A person employed in the position of professor shall have the academic title of full or associate professor.

Article 135

1. A person employed in the position of professor shall have an academic degree of doctor habilitatus in the appropriate field and demonstrate achievements in didactic work.
2. The Main Council may describe those disciplines in which a person with an academic degree of doctor in an appropriate field of science and outstanding achievements in practice, may be employed at the post of a docent. In these cases, the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, in agreement with the Main Council and the Central Qualification Commission for Academic Cadres, describes the form of the qualification procedure.
3. In the field of arts, a person who has received an affirmative evaluation in the qualification assessment for the position of docent, may be employed at that position.

Article 136

1. A person who has acquired the academic degree of doctor and demonstrated achievements in didactic and scientific work may be employed in the post of an adjunct.
2. In the field of arts, a person who fulfills the conditions described in Article 135, para. 2 and 3, may also be employed in the position of an adjunct.

Article 137

The Minister of Culture and Art, in agreement with the Council for Higher Art Schools, determines the form of the qualification assessment procedure mentioned in Article 135, para. 3 and Article 136, para. 2.

Article 138

A person employed in the posts of [teaching] assistant or senior [teaching] assistant shall:
1) have a diploma of graduation from school with the title of Master or other equivalent title;
2) have completed one year of [teaching] assistant internship or other appropriate professional internship;
3) demonstrate talent and passion for research and didactic work;

Article 139

1. A person employed in the position of intern assistant shall:
1) have a diploma of graduation from school with the title of Master or other equivalent title;
2) have demonstrated research interests during his/her study and a capacity for further development;
2. In exceptional cases, a student in the final year of study may be employed in the position of intern [teaching] assistant.

Article 140

The appropriate ministers, in agreement with the Main Council, and in consultation with the labor unions, may establish additional prerequisites for a given research-teaching position.

Article 141

Accredited librarians are employed in the position of:
1) senior accredited curator;
2) accredited curator;
3) library adjunct;
4) library assistant;

Article 142

Accredited research documentation employees are employed in the positions of:
1) senior accredited archivist;
2) accredited archivist;
3) research documentation adjunct;
4) research documentation assistant;

Article 143

1. The Council of Ministers, after consulting the opinion of the Main Council, and in agreement with the labor unions, determines, by a decree: the conditions

that the candidates for accredited librarians and accredited research documentation employees shall fulfill; the principles and procedures for taking the State library exams; the state exams on information and research documentation; and the promotion principles for accredited librarians and accredited research documentation employees.
2. The school rector hires for the post of accredited librarian or accredited research documentation employee from the candidacy submitted by the director of the main library and appraised by the library council.

Article 144

1. The responsibilities of a research-teaching employee include, in particular:
1) systematic conducting of scientific research or the development of professional and artistic creativity, and expansion of qualifications;
2) teaching and encouraging curiosity and independence of thinking in students;
3) dissemination of the achievements in scientific theory and practice;
4) participation in the organizational work of the school related to didactics, scientific research, and artistic or medical activity;
2. The responsibilities of a professor, docent, or other research-teaching employee with a degree of doctor habilitatus include the education of the young scientific cadres.
3. The responsibilities of a research-teaching employee who performs a supervisory function in school additionally include the oversight of the creation of proper conditions for work and the scientific and didactic development of the employees under his/her supervision.

Article 145

1. The totality of didactic, upbringing, research, and organizational responsibilities is the determinant of the work volume of research-teaching employees engaged in the positions enumerated in Article 131, para. 2.
2. The head of an organizational unit of the school determines the work timetable mentioned in para. 1.
3. The work volume for the research-teaching employees, mentioned in para. 1 shall include scheduled hours of didactic instruction in an amount determined by the appropriate ministers, in agreement with the Main Council and the labor unions.
4. The mandatory amount of yearly didactic instruction shall be:
1) 210 scheduled hours for the positions of professor and docent;
2) 270 scheduled hours for the positions of adjunct, senior [teaching] assistant, and [teaching] assistant;
5. An intern [teaching] assistant shall participate in the instruction mentioned in para. 3 in the volume of 120 hours yearly.
6. The mandatory work volume for the employees described in Article 141, is 36 hours weekly, and for the employees described in Article 142, 40 hours per week.
7. The mandatory volume of work for the research-teaching employees who perform supervisory functions may be reduced to the extent and in the form determined by the appropriate ministers, in agreement with the Main Council, and with the acquiescence of the labor unions.
8. The Council of Ministers, in consultation with the labor unions, determines, by a decree, the extent of and the principles of reducing the time of work, the types of work included in the didactic instruction, and the principles or remuneration for overtime work.

Article 146

1. A research-teaching employee who has reached the age of 60 may be granted, in a justified case, a 1/2 reduction of the full mandatory volume of didactic instruction.
2. A professor or docent who has reached the age of 65 may be granted a total exemption from didactic and organizational activities.
3. The school rector makes decisions in the matters mentioned in para. 1 and 2 on the petition of the involved university teacher; the petition shall be submitted at least 6 months prior to the beginning of instruction in a given academic year.
4. The reduction in the mandatory volume of didactic instruction, and the exemption from activities, mentioned in para. 1 and 2 shall not diminish the remuneration nor limit any other privilege of a university employee.
5. The research-teaching employees with a reduced mandatory volume of didactic instruction may not accept part-time or overtime work.

Article 147

The Minister of Health and Social Welfare, in agreement with the Council for Higher Medical Schools and the labor unions, determines the character and sphere of medical, prophylactic, and diagnostic (medico-diagnostic services, post-graduate education, specialistic institutional supervision) activity conducted in medical schools on behalf of the health protection system, and the principles of remuneration for these activities.

Article 148

1. The remuneration of a research-teaching employee consists of basic pay and supplementary compensation.
2. The amount of remuneration for research-teaching employees is determined according to principles described in law--the Teacher's Charter--with the following interpretation:
1) it shall be equal to the remuneration of [non-university] school teachers in cases of comparable positions;
2) it shall be correspondingly [to academic qualifications] higher for the positions of professors and docents;
3. The Council of Ministers, in agreement with the labor unions, determines, by a decree, the amount of and the principles for payment of basic compensation, the principles of classification and promotion for research-teaching employees, the kinds and amount of supplements to the basic remuneration and principles of apportionment.
4. A research-teaching employee retains the right to compensation for periods of illness or other justified absence from work.

Article 149

1. Research-teaching employees shall be entitled to a supplement for uninterrupted work in school, called the supplement for years of service, in the amount of 1% of basic pay for each year of work, payable monthly beginning in the fourth year of employment; this supplement may not exceed 2o% of the basic pay.

2. Research-teaching employees employed for over 20 years not later than on Jan. 1, 1983, and the remaining employees not later than on Oct. 1, 1984, qualify for entitlement to the supplement for years of service.
3. The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, in agreement with the Minister of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs, and the labor unions, determines the unique cases of qualifying periods of employment for entitlement to the supplement for years of service.

Article 150

1. A research-teaching employee has the right to 6 weeks of furlough a year during a period that is free from didactic instruction.
2. A research-teaching employee acquires the right to his/her first furlough on the day of assuming employment; in the case employment begins during the academic year, the furlough shall decrease proportionately to the period of employment in that academic year.
3. A university teacher acquires the right to his/her next and successive furloughs on the day of assuming teaching in a given academic year.
4. Should a research-teaching employee be unable to use his/her furlough in its entirety or in part during a period free from didactic instruction because of: inability to work resulting from illness or seclusion caused by a contagious illness; maternity leave; participation in military exercises; or short term military training, such employee shall be entitled to the monetary equivalent of the unused period of furlough, but not more than 6 weeks, providing the dissolution of the work relationship was not precipitated by reasons that cause a loss of the right to furlough.
6. The provisions of para. 5 apply to research-teaching employees who have worked for at least 1 year.
7. Should a research-teaching employee fail to utilize the furlough he/she is entitled to for reasons beyond his/her control, such an employee shall be entitled to a furlough during a period free from didactic instruction.

Article 151

1. A research-teaching employee has the right to a furlough with or without pay, for the purposes of scientific, artistic, or professional education pursuits.
2. A research-teaching employee who is preparing his/her doctoral dissertation has the right to exemption from didactic and other responsibilities in school for a period not exceeding 6 months, providing that the development of the dissertation justifies such an exemption.
3. Professors, docents, and other research-teaching employees with a degree of doctor habilitatus have the right to benefit from a yearly scientific or artistic sabbatical for each 7 year period of employment. The employees who use such a sabbatical may not accept gainful employment for its duration.
4. A research-teaching employee has the right of up to one year of furlough for recovery of health. The principles and the appropriate organs for granting such a furlough are determined by a decree of the Council of Ministers after consulting the opinion of the Main Council and in agreement with labor unions.
5. The Council of Ministers, after consulting the opinion of the Main Council and in agreement with labor unions, determines, by a decree, the principles

and procedure for granting the furloughs contemplated in para. 1 to 4, the maximum duration of furloughs mentioned in para. 1, the principles for computation of the periods justifying entitlement to the furlough contemplated in para. 3, and the organs authorized to pronounce decisions in these matters.

Article 152

1. A research-teaching employee who accepts supplemental employment not exceeding one-half [regular] time has the duty of notifying the school rector of such employment. In justified cases, the rector may voice his objection to such an employment.
2. The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, in agreement with the Main Council and after consulting labor unions, determines the principles for permittng supplemental employment in excess of 1/2 [regular] time.

Article 153

1. A research-teaching employee has the right to a post-graduate education and other forms of professional improvement at the expense of the school.
2. The Council of Ministers, in consultation with labor unions, determines the extent and forms of the assistance devised for the employee mentioned in para. 1.

Article 154

Research-teaching employees are entitled to additional housing space in the form of an extra room. This entitlement applies equally to retired employees. Should the regulations in force contemplate higher rents as a result of an extra room, the research-teaching employees are exempted from paying the additional amount. The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, in agreement with the Minister of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection, determines the principles for assignment of the additional housing space.

Article 155

Research-teaching employees shall be entitled to the rights of creative artists in the area of:
1) protection of author's rights;
2) honorarium for original work performed under a contract;

Article 156

Research-teaching employees and the members of their families have the right to the benefits of retirement stipulated in the provisions for comprehensive retirement benefits for workers and their families, taking into account the provisions of this law.

Article 157

The basis of a retirement or disability pension for a research-teaching employee who qualifies for retirement or disability pension is determined according to principles described in the provisions for comprehensive retirement benefits for

workers and their families; all supplements and awards for professional achievements received in the period used for computation of a pension or annuity shall be included in the basis.

Article 158

1. Research-teaching employees who are entitled to a retirement pension and who have worked for at least 15 years in the school, or those entitled to a disability pension and who have worked for at least 5 years in the school, are entitled to a supplement to their pension in the following amounts:
1) 20%, if the entitled person performed the functions of professor, docent, adjunct, senior accredited curator or accredited curator, senior [teaching] assistant or [teaching] assistant;
2) 10%, if the entitled person performed functions other than those enumerated in pt. 1;
2. The supplement mentioned in para. 1 is allowed regardless of any supplement on account of state decorations.
3. The provisions of para 1 and 2 apply to research-teaching employees who will go on retirement or disability pension after the date this law goes into effect and to those who went on retirement or disability pension before that date.
4. The supplement for research-teaching service is also allowed in the cases of disability pensions based on work accidents and occupational diseases.
5. The Minister of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs, in consultation with the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, determines, by a decree, the work periods that entitle the supplements mentioned in para. 1 and the detailed principles for the granting and computation of those supplements.

Article 159

1. A retirement or disability pension and all the supplements for research-teaching employee may not exceed 100% of the basis.
2. The retirement or disability pensions of research-teaching employees are subject to continuous readjustment as the remuneration of active research-teaching employees increase.

Article 160

1. The employment status of a research-teaching employee is one of the following: a permanent appointment, an appointment for an indeterminate or a specific period, or a labor contract.
2. The initial school employment of a research-teaching employee takes place after the conducting of a contest for the position; the school statute determines the principles and procedures [of such a contest].

Article 161

A professor or docent has a permanent appointment.

Article 162

The employment status of a research-teaching employee for whom the school is a secondary place of work or who is employed part-time is based on a work contract for an indeterminate or specified period.

Article 163

1. In exceptional cases, persons with documented outstanding and creative scientific, artistic, or practical accomplishments acquired outside higher education, but not possessing academic degrees and titles, may be employed in the positions of contracted docent or professor on the proposal of a faculty council.
2. A contracted professor or docent may not assume the functions of rector, dean, or director of an institute, nor participate in the procedure for conferring academic degrees or titles. This limitation does not apply to art schools.
3. The employment status of persons described in para. 1 is based on a work contract for a specified time period.
4. The form of procedure for pre-employment evaluation of the qualifications of persons mentioned in para. 1 is determined by the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, in agreement with the Main Council and the Central Qualification Commission for Academic Cadres.

Article 164

1. Appointment to the position of an intern [teaching] assistant is for one year.
2. Appointment to the positions of [teaching] assistant or senior [teaching] assistant is for 3 years and may be renewed for 5 years. The total period of employment at the positions of [teaching] assistant and senior [teaching] assistant may not exceed 8 years.
3. Employment of senior [teaching] assistants my be further extended for an additional 3 years in fields of study determined by the Main Council.
4. Nomination for the position of an adjunct is for 5 years, and may be renewed for another 4 years.
5. An adjunct who has received a degree of doctor habilitatus is nominated for an indeterminate period.
6. An adjunct with an academic degree of doctor and possessing significant scientific and didactic accomplishments may be appointed to the position of an adjunct for an indeterminate period. The nomination is based on a resolution of the school senate, enacted on a proposal from the faculty council, after consulting the opinion of experts in a given scientific field who are not employed in the school. The proposal of a faculty council shall be submitted one year before the expiration of the last period for appointments.
7. The duration of periods described in para. 1, 2 and 4 is suspended during maternity leave, child care leave, health restoration leave or military service of an employee and for the duration of a furlough related to employment outside the school for the purpose of acquiring practical skills useful in discharging the duties of a research-teaching employee.
8. In exceptional cases, the period for appointment to the positions of [teaching] assistant, senior [teaching] assistant, or adjunct, may be extended until completion of a doctoral or habilitatus procedure, provided that prior to the expiration of the appointment period the doctoral dissertation has received positive reviews, and the habilitatus dissertation has been accepted for publication.

Article 165

1. The appropriate minister shall appoint to the positions of professor or docent on the proposal of the Senate and after consulting the opinion of the faculty council. The decision on appointment to the position of professor shall be made within 3 months from the acquisition of the appropriate academic title, and the decision on appointment to the post of docent shall be made within 3 months from the date of the submission of the proposal.
2. The school rector shall appoint to the positions of research-teaching employees described in Article 131, para. 2, pts. 3 through 6, on the proposal of the dean, evaluated by the faculty council.

Article 166

In the non-state schools, the school statute determines the appropriate organs for the hiring of research-teaching employees, and the form of the procedure in these matters.

Article 167

1. A research-teaching employee may be transferred, with his/her approval or on his/her petition, to another school in the same or different location.
2. The organ responsible for appointment to the new position is the appropriate organ for deciding on the matter of employee transfer, with the approval of the appointing organ of the old position.
3. A research-teaching employee may be required to conduct didactic work in another school in the same locality, in order to make up the mandatory amount of work hours.
4. The transfer of a professor or a docent is preceded by consulting the opinion of the senates of both schools; transfer of other research-teaching employees is preceded by consulting the opinion of the appropriate faculty councils.
5. The research-teaching employee transferred to another location is entitled to settlement assistance in an amount equal to 6 months of recent basic salary and supplements, and reimbursed for moving costs according to principles applicable to state employees which are described in separate rules. The employing school shall provide appropriate housing for the employee.
6. The transferred research-teaching employee who changes his residence is exempted from employment obligations for a period of one month.

Article 168

In the case a school is abolished or modified in such a way that it is impossible for an appointed research-teaching employee to continue in the same position, and the employee does not consent to transfer to an equal position in the same or a different school, institute, or scientific institution, in the same or a different location, the appropriate minister, on petition from such an employee, transfers him/her into inactive status which shall last not longer than 6 months, or, in the alternative, dissolve the employment relationship and disburse a discharge payment in an amount equal to 6 months of basic pay.
2. A research-teaching employee with an inactive status retains entitlement to basic remuneration and to other employment benefits.

3. Should the possibility of employing a research-teaching employee reoccur in the same school and at the same position, the appropriate minister is required to first employ those employees with an inactive status. If the employee declines to accept the offered position, the work relationship terminates at the day of the refusal.

Article 169

1. The employment relationship between a research-teaching employee and the employer terminates:
1) upon request of the employee, submitted at least 3 months prior to the end of the academic year, or with the consent of both parties at anytime;
2) in the case of a permanent dsability to conduct research-teaching work caused by illness and documented by medical evaluation, with maintenance of base pay for three months.
3) in the event of a temporary inability to work caused by an illness; if the duration of the illness exceeds one year, in especially justifiable cases the period of absence from work may be extended over one year, but not more than two years, including leave for health recuperation, provided that a medical panel certifies an improvement in health and a possibility of return to work;
4) at the end of an academic year in which an employee, but not a professor or a docent, has reached retirement age according to the rules of the comprehensive retirement provisions;
5) at the end of an academic year in which an employee serving in the post of professor or docent has reached the age of 70; a professor or docent who has reached the age of 65 or 60, for men and women respectively, may retire on his own request according to the rules of the comprehensive retirement provisions;
6) at the end of an academic year at the request of an employee who has reached the age of 60 and has worked for 30 years in the school or has reached the age of 55 and has worked for 25 years in school, for men and women respectively;
7) when research or didactic performance is in gross contradiction of the fundamental duties of school employees; termination of the employment relationship of an academic teacher who functions as a professor requires consent from the Council of State.
2. The organ entitled to appoint to a given position is the proper organ for rendering the termination decision in the situations described in para. 1. pts. 2 and 3, and for affirmation of the termination in the situations described in para. 1, pts. 1 and 4 to 7.
3. The Minister of Health and Social Welfare determines the principles, procedures and the appropriate organs responsible for medical certification of the illness mentioned in para. 1, 2 and 3.

Article 170

1. The employment relationship of a research-teaching employee terminates by lay in the event of:
1) lawful punishment of dismissal from work through a disciplinary procedure;
2) lawful sentencing depriving [the research-teaching employee] of civil rights or the rights to engage in a given profession;
3) expiration of 3 months of imprisonment;

4) loss of academic title;
5) expiration of the term of employment;
6) expiration of 6 months period of inactive status;
2. Refusal to renew an employment relationship with an adjunct, senior [teaching] assistant, [teaching] assistant, and intern [teaching] assistant is allowed only after a collegial organ indicated in the school statute determines that the employee, at his fault, is not making sufficient progress in his/her professional development or is failing to produce satisfactory results in his/her didactic work. The involved employee shall be notified in writing of such a finding. The employee has the right to appeal the unfavorable evaluation through the procedure indicated in the school statute.
3. Notification from the school rector of non-renewal of the employment relationship shall be transmitted to the involved employee engaged in the post of an adjunct or senior [teaching] assistant not later than 6 months before the beginning of the new academic year, and in the case of an intern [teaching] assistant or [teaching] assistant, not later than 3 months before the expiration date of the appointment.
4. The appointing organ shall approve the termination of employment relationship in the situations mentioned in para. 1.

Article 171

1. The employment relationship involving an adjunct appointed for an indeterminate period may be dissolved after a 12 month notice, effective at the end of the academic year. The provisions of Article 170, para. 2 and 3, are correspondingly applicable.
2. The evaluation of the qualifications of adjuncts employed for an indeterminate period is conducted in the manner indicated in the school statute after each 5 year period of employment.

Chapter 3

Teaching employees

Article 172

The teaching school employees are:
1) the teachers of core subjects;
2) language teachers;
3) physical education teachers;
4) accompanists;
5) the teachers of course on defense and ancillary subjects;
6) the teachers of vocational subjects and practical training in a profession;

Article 173

Teachers of the core subjects and the accompanists are employed in the positions of:
1) senior lecturer;
2) lecturer;
3) junior lecturer;

Article 174

Language teachers are employed in the positions of:
1) senior lecturer;
2) lecturer;
3) lector;
4) intern lector;

Article 175

Teachers of physical education are employed in the positions of:
1) senior lecturer;
2) lecturer;
3) instructor;
4) intern instructor;

Article 176

1. A person employed in the position of senior lecturer or lecturer shall possess at least a diploma of Master or other equivalent diploma. Such a person should have qualifications for independently conducting didactic work in the school.
2. The Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, in agreement with the Main Council, determines the qualifications required for the positions of senior lecturer and lecturer.

Article 177

1. The appropriate minister, in agreement with the Main Council and the labor unions, determines the qualifications required for employment in didactic positions, (with the exception of the employees described in Article 176) and the principles for promotion of teaching employees.
2. The mandatory volume of teaching work is:
1) 300 hours a year for a senior lecturer;
2) 360 hours a year for a lecturer;
3) 540 hours a year for the remaining teaching employees.
3. The volume of didactic work and the principles of remuneration for teaching employees mentioned in Article 172, pt. 6, are determined by the provisions of the law--the Teacher's Charter.

Article 178

1. The school rector appoints to the position of teaching employee; the appointment is for an indeterminate period.
2. Employment for a specific period of time is based upon a labor contract.
3. A proposal for promotion of a teaching employee or for the appointment of such an employee to the post of senior lecturer or lecturer is accompanied by the opinion of the collegial organ described in the school statute.

Article 179

The provisions of Articles: 132; 133; 144, para. 1, pt. 2-4; 145, para. 1-3, 8; 146, para. 1, and 3-5; 148 through 150; 151, para. 1, 2, 4, and 5; 152

through 157; 158, para. 1, pt. 1 shall be correspondingly applicable to the appointed teaching employees in the positions of senior lecturer and lecturer; the foregoing and Article 158, para. 1, pt. 2, shall be applicable to the remaining teaching employees as well as Articles 159; 162; 167; 168; 169, para. 1, pt. 1-4, 6, 7, para. 2, 3; 170, para. 1, pt. 1-3, 5, 6, para. 4; 171, para. 1.

Article 180

The school rector may contract out the conducting of lectures, classes, and other didactic activities. The persons performing these tasks on the basis of such a contract are not entitled to the privileges of university teachers.

Chapter 4

Research employees

Article 181

1. In order to fulfill the research tasks of the school, research employees may be employed in positions corresponding to the positions of teaching employees.
2. The provisions applicable to research-teaching employees, with the exception of Articles 145; 146; 151, para. 2-4; and 163 are also applicable to persons employed in research positions.
3. The provisions for scientific institutes apply to research employees in regard to the areas not regulated in this law.

Chapter 5

Common clauses

Article 182

A university teacher may be awarded:
1) an honorary title of "Meritorious Teacher of the Polish People's Republic";
2) The "National Education Commission Medal";

Article 183

1. The honorary title of "Meritorious Teacher of the Polish People's Republic" may be awarded to deserving university teachers for outstanding accomplishments in didactic and research work over many years.
2. The provisions of Article 50, para. 2, 3, of the law--the Teacher's Charter --are correspondingly applicable.

Article 184

1. The "National Education Commission Medal" shall be awarded to university teachers and other persons for special contributions to education and upbringing.
2. The Minister of Education and Upbringing, on the request of the Minister of

Science, Higher Schools and Technology, awards the "National Education Commission Medal".
3. The provisions of Article 51, para. 3, of the law--the Teacher's Charter--are correspondingly applicable.

Article 185

1. University professors are awarded the "Cavalier Cross of the Order of the Renaissance of Poland" [Polonia Restituta] for 20 years of especially distinguished didactic-upbringing work.
2. The remaining university teachers are awarded:
1) the "Gold Cross of Merit" for 20 years of distinguished didactic-upbringing work;
2) the "Cavalier Cross of the Order of the Renaissance of Poland" for 30 years of especially distinguished didactic-upbringing work.
3. The provisions of para. 1, 2, are applicable to retired and disabled university teachers without regard to the date of their retirement or disability.

Article 186

A school employee whose employment relationship has been terminated because of retirement has the right to a one time payment in the amount of 3 months of the latest salary, providing his/her employment in the school exceeds 10 years.

Article 187

1. Beginning January 1, 1981, an institutional fund, described in the provisions for the principles of creation and distribution of institutional award funds and institutional social and housing funds, shall be established in all schools. The institutional fund for awards is contributed to in the amount of 4% in 1981, and 8.5% in the following years.
2. The special award fund for research and didactic accomplishment by academic teachers, is retained in the amount of 2% of the planned yearly salary fund.
3. The special award fund for employees who are not academic teachers is retained in the amount of 1% of the planned yearly salary fund.
4. The principles for the distribution of the funds mentioned in para. 2 and 3 and the awarding of prizes from these funds is determined by the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, after consulting the opinion of the Main Council and with agreement of labor unions.

Article 188

1. The school employees receive anniversary prizes for many years of service in the amount of:
1) 75% of monthly salary--for 20 years of service;
2) 100% of monthly salary--for 25 years of service;
3) 150% of monthly salary--for 30 years of service;
4) 200% of monthly salary--for 35 years of service;
5) 300% of monthly salary--for 40 years of service;
2. The awards mentioned in para. 1 shall be available not later than January 1, 1983.

Article 189

1. A social fund in the amount of 5% of the anticipated yearly salary fund shall be created for employees of the school.
2. A social fund in the amount of 5% of the retirement and disability fund shall be created for retired and disabled university teachers.
3. A housing fund in the amount of 3% of the anticipated yearly salary fund shall be created for school employees.
4. The provisions mentioned in para. 1-3 shall be implemented not later than January 1, 1984.

Article 190

1. A university teacher who is being employed for the first time immediately after graduation from a higher school receives a one time allowance for settlement in the amount of 2 months of basic salary.
2. The allowance mentioned in para. 1 shall be returned if there is a dissolution of the employment relationship on the request of the employee or at his/her fault, prior to expiration of a 3 year period of employment. In justified cases the school rector, in agreement with labor unions, may release the employee, in full or in part, from the obligation to repay the allowance.

Article 191

Active and retired or disabled school employees and their spouses are entitled to a 50% ticket price discount for railroad travel in conformance with the principles described in other regulations.

Article 192

1. University teachers may be required to perform didactic duties on an overtime basis in special cases, justified by the necessity to fulfill the teaching program. The amount of overtime work may not exceed 1/3, or 2/3 if the employee consents, of the mandatory volume of didactic work.
2. Pregnant women and those nursing a child up to the age of four may not be engaged in overtime work, without their consent.

Article 193

The principles for the employment of foreigners in the position of university teacher, and their rights and duties are determined by a decree by the Council of Ministers, after consulting the opinion of the Main Council and in agreement with labor unions.

Article 194

The school statute determines the forms of the procedure for addressing the matters mentioned in this chapter.

Chapter 6

Disciplinary accountability of university teachers

Article 195

University teachers are disciplinarily accountable for conduct not befitting the dignity of university teachers, for violating the norms of social coexistence, or for gross violation of a teacher's duties.

Article 196

1. The disciplinary penalties administered by disciplinary commissions are:
1) reprimand;
2) censure;
3) censure with loss of the right to perform supervisory functions in the school for a period of one to five years;
4) censure with warning;
5) dismissal from work;
2. For lesser disciplinary infractions the school rector may discipline a university teacher with a written admonishment.
3. On the request of an employee disciplined by reprimand, the disciplinary commission adjudicates the matter through an ordinary proceeding. In such cases the commission may affirm the penalty of reprimand.

Article 197

1. Disciplinary matters for university teachers are adjudicated by:
1) the school disciplinary commissions--in the first instance;
2) the disciplinary commission of the Main Council--at the appellate level;
2. The school disciplinary commission is an elected organ. The school statute determines the procedure for elections.
3. The disciplinary commission of the Main Council is appointed by the Council based on recommendations by the chairman.

Article 198

1. The disciplinary advocates are appointed:
1) by the school rector from the school employees, for adjudication in the first instance;
2) by the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, from the employees of all schools, for appellate adjudication;
2. A disciplinary advocate initiates an investigative procedure on the request of a rector or the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology and is required to inform them of the findings.
3. The decision to drop disciplinary charges and cease the disciplinary proceedings is pronounced by the disciplinary advocate and approved by the school rector or the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology. In cases of the disapproval of a decision by the advocate, the school rector or the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology may assign another disciplinary advocate to reinstate the disciplinary proceedings. A second decision by the disciplinary advocate to drop the charges and cease the investigative proceeding

is not open to disapproval by the rector or the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology.
4. The school Senate or the Main Council may compel a rector or the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology to direct the disciplinary advocate to conduct an investigatory proceeding and present the findings to the senate or Main Council.

Article 199

1. During the investigatory proceeding and after the bringing of disciplinary charges to the disciplinary commission, the commission, on the recommendations of the advocate, may suspend the school employee in his duties, if the seriousness and credibility of the accusations support the suspension, or when the continuation of work duties by the accused is affected by the procedure.
2. After a recommendation for disciplinary action has been submitted to the disciplinary commission, the commission may suspend the employee in his/her duties, without such a recommendation by the advocate.
3. The suspension of an employee from his duties may not exceed a period of 6 months, unless the disciplinary proceeding has been recessed for the duration of a concurring criminal procedure. In such an event, the suspension may extend until the criminal procedure has been juridically completed.
4. The accused is entitled to appeal a decision of suspension to the disciplinary commission of the Main Council.

Article 200

1. The disciplinary commissions for school employees are independent in their adjudication.
2. The initiation of procedures by another organ, or the results of a procedure conducted by another organ do not bar the instituting of a disciplinary procedure against the school employee for the same offense.
3. The disciplinary commissions for school employees are not bound by the pronouncements or decisions of other organs.

Article 201

The accused has the right to receive the assistance of a defender selected from the school employees.

Article 202

1. No disciplinary procedure may be initiated after the expiration of a term of 6 months from the date of the notification of the school organs (mentioned in Article 33, para. 2) about a disciplinary infraction, or after 3 years from the date an offense has been committed.
2. When a disciplinary offense also constitutes a crime, the period of limitation for disciplinary action is identical to the period of limitation for prosecution for that crime.
3. The termination of school employment after an offense has been committed does not bar the initiation of disciplinary proceedings.

Article 203

1. Expunction of disciplinary penalties takes place automatically:
1) after the expiration of 3 years from the date an adjudication resulting in reprimand or censure becomes legally effective;
2) after the expiration of 5 years from the time an adjudication resulting in censure with warning becomes effective;
3) after the expiration of 5 years from the time of completion of the penalty mentioned in Article 196, para. 1, pt. 3;
2. The organ which enunciated the disciplinary penalty may pronounce expunction of the penalty, after the expiration of 2 years from the date the penalty becomes legally effective, on the request of the penalized employee or the disciplinary advocate.
3. The disciplinary penalty of dismissal from work may be expunged by the disciplinary commission of the Main Council, on the request of the penalized employee or the disciplinary advocate, after the expiration of 5 years from the time the penalty becomes legally effective.

Article 204

The Council of Ministers determines, by a decree, the principles and form of the disciplinary proceedings and the execution and expunction of disciplinary penalties, after consulting the opinion of the Main Council and labor unions.

Chapter 7

Other School employees

Article 205

The employees enumerated in Article 130, para. 3 are employed through a work contract. The work contract is executed by the school rector or an organ authorized by him, on the request of the director of the appropriate organizational unit of the school.

Article 206

1. Scientific-technical employees are persons employed in the school for the performance of specialized tasks.
2. The responsibilities of scientific-technical employees include in particular:
1) participation in research work and assistance in scientific exploration;
2) assistance in the preparation for and conducting of didactic work;
3) performing research-service work (experimental, engineering, medical, and other);
3. The responsibilities of scientific-technical employees in the area of patent protection include directing the totality of the work related to the protection of intellectual and inventive property.

Article 207

1. Scientific-technical employees are employed in the school in the positions of:

1) senior specialist or patent advocate;
2) specialist;
3) junior specialist;
2. Persons who possess a diploma of Master, Master of Engineering, Engineer, Doctor of Medicine, or equivalent, and who have demonstrated professional achievement may be employed in the positions of senior specialist or patent advocate.
3. Persons with a diploma of Master, Master of Engineering, Engineer, Doctor of Medicine, or the equivalent, and who have completed an appropriate professional internship may be employed in the position of specialist.
4. Persons with a diploma of Master, Master of Engineering, Engineer, Doctor of Medicine, or the equivalent, may be employed in the position of junior specialist.
5. The Council of Ministers, after consulting the opinion of the Main Council and with the agreement of labor unions, determines the details of the requirements for the positions enumerated in para. 1, the work hours, and the principles of remuneration for research-technical employees.

Article 208

1. Engineering-technical employees are persons employed in the school to assist in scientific research and teaching.
2. The responsibilities of engineering-technical employees include in particular:
1) performing research-service work (experimental, engineering, medical, and other);
2) assisting in the conduct of the didactic programs;
3) performing assistance tasks in scientific research.

Article 209

The Council of Ministers, after consulting the opinion of the Main Council, and in agreement with labor unions, determines the types of positions for engineering-technical employees employed in school, the detailed prerequisites for the positions, the work hours, and the principles of remuneration for work.

Article 210

1. Library service employees are employed in the school in the following positions:
1) curator;
2) senior librarian;
3) librarian;
4) junior librarian;
5) library assistant;
6) senior library warehouser;
7) library warehouser;
2. The archivists of the scientific information service are employed in the school in the positions of:
1) senior archivist;
2) archivist;
3) junior archivist;
4) senior technical archivist;

5) technical archivist;
6) junior technical archivist;
3. Separate provisions shall determine the qualifications required for the positions enumerated in para. 1 and 2, and the principles of hiring and remuneration for persons employed in these positions.

Article 211

The Council of Ministers, after consulting the opinion of the Main Council and in agreement with labor unions, determines the list of positions for employing information workers, the required prerequisites for these positions, the work hours, and the principles of remuneration.

Article 212

1. The Council of Ministers, after consulting the opinion of the Main Council and in agreement with labor unions, establishes a list of positions described in Article 130, para. 3, pt. 5, the qualifications for those positions, work hours, and the details of the principles for hiring and remuneration for those positions.
2. Separate provisions or collective labor agreements shall determine the list of positions for employees described in Article 130, para. 3, pt. 4, 6, the qualifications required for those positions, the details of the principles for hiring and remuneration of those employees, and their social entitlements.

Part 5

Changes in the provisions in force; transitional and final provisions

Article 213

The following changes are hereby made in the law on assembly (DZIENNIK USTAW [Legal Gazette], No. 20, item 89, March 29, 1962, and No. 12, item 115, 1971):
1) Article 4, para. 1, pt. 6, shall be deleted;
2) the present content of Article 3 shall become para. 1 and the following shall be added as para. 2:
"2. The provisions of the law shall not be applicable to on campus student assemblies organized according to the principles of Article 129 of the law on higher education of May 4, 1982."

Article 214

The following shall be added as para. 3 to Article 2 of the law of March 21, 1965, on academic degrees and titles (DZIENNIK USTAW, No. 32, item 192, 1973):
"3. With regard to the organizational units of higher schools, the authority of the Minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology shall be accorded the Main Council for Science and Higher Schools."

Article 215

The words "and the provisions of the law 'Charter of rights and responsibilities of the teacher'", shall be deleted from Article 54, para. 1, of the law of March 31, 1965 on higher military education (DZIENNIK USTAW, No. 32, item 190, 1973).

Article 216

1. The Main Council, the Council for Higher Art Schools, the Council for Higher Medical Schools, and the Council for Higher Physical Education Schools, shall convene within 3 months from the date this law goes into effect.
2. In order to conduct the first elections to the Main Council, the present Main Council for Science, Higher Schools and Technology shall determine the number of electors in proportion to the number of professors and docents with a degree of doctor habilitatus, and other doctors who are employed in individual schools, and determine the procedure for elections according to rules mentioned in Article 18, para. 1 through 3.
3. Only those persons who have the right to be elected may be nominated as candidates for membership in the Main Council.
4. The elections shall be conducted by secret ballot.
5. Until the Main Council, the Council for Higher Medical Schools, the Council for Higher Art Schools, and the Council for Higher Physical Education Schools are convened in their new composition, their functions shall be carried out by the corresponding councils elected on the basis of the current provisions.

Article 217

1. The appropriate school organs shall enact statutes and regulations required by law within 1 year from the date the law goes into effect.
2. Until the new statutes and regulations are enacted, the provisions of the current statutes and regulations shall be in force, providing they are not inconsistent with the new law.
3. In regard to schools that do not have statutes and regulations at the moment the law goes into effect, the matters which are referred by the law to the provisions of statutes and regulations, in the area determined by para. 2, shall be resolved according to the principles established by current practice, providing they do not contravene the provisions of the new law.
4. In case there should be incertitude with regard to the interpretation of the current statutes and regulations or the established practices by the school organs, the school senate shall resolve those inconsistencies.

Article 218

1. The higher schools relegated to the provisions of the Nov. 5, 1958 law on higher education (DZIENNIK USTAW no. 32, item 191, 1973) shall be deemed the higher schools within the meaning of the new law, at the date the law goes into effect.
2. Proposals re the establishment, merger, modification, or dissolution of a school, or re changes in the school's internal structure that were submitted, but not resolved, before the day the new law goes into effect, shall be ruled on and decided according to the principles and procedures of the new law.
3. The independent facilities of a research-teaching character that have been established on the basis of the current provisions prior to the date the new law goes into effect, and the organizational units of schools created on the basis of the provisions for the cooperation of higher schools with the units of socialized economy prior to the date the new law goes into effect, shall operate on the basis of their statutes. The provisions of Article 217, para. 3 and 4, shall be correspondingly applicable to those organizational units of schools.

Article 219

1. Without affecting the provisions of Article 27, the existing school branches shall become either the off-campus school faculties or be eliminated within a period of time that would allow completion of the teaching program.
2. The appropriate minister, in consultation with the Main Council, make decisions on the matters described in para. 1.

Article 220

1. The term of collegial school organs, acting at the time the law goes into effect, shall remain unaffected and their composition adjusted to the provisions of the new law.
2. Those one-person school organs which were installed in office prior to the date the law goes into effect shall carry out their functions to the end of the term for which they were elected or appointed, even if they do not satisfy the requirements of the new law.

Article 221

The current provisions are applicable to disciplinary matters initiated prior to the date the law goes into effect, unless the provisions of the new law are more advantageous to the accused.

Article 222

The persons employed in the position of a docent without an academic degree of doctor habilitatus at the time the law goes into effect, shall retain that position.

Article 223

Students in doctoral programs have the right to complete their study in the current form and retain their previous privileges.

Article 224

1. The provisions of this law govern the employment relationships entered into before the effective date of the law.
2. The employment status of the research-teaching employees performing the functions of intern [teaching] assistant, [teaching] assistant, and senior [teaching] assistant on the basis of the current provisions, shall be converted into an appointment employment status for a specified period, according to provisions of Article 164, para, 1, 3, 7 and 8. The term of employment in the positions described in Article 164, para. 2 and 3, is inclusively computed, taking under consideration the current provisions and the provisions of this law.
3. The employment status of a research-teaching employee serving the function of an adjunct on the basis of the current provisions is conveted on October 1, 1982 into either a permanent appointment employment status (Article 161) or a specified time employment status, depending on the position occupied by the employee.

Article 225

Disputes involving claims based on the employment status of research-teaching employees are controlled by arbitration procedures provided in the Labor Code, regardless of the type of the employment status.

Article 226

Employees who are awarded anniversary prizes on the basis of the current provisions shall retain those prizes until the awards contemplated in Article 188 are introduced.

Article 227

The provisions of Article 159 apply, beginning on January 1, 1983, to the retirement and disability pensions awarded prior to the time the law goes into effect.

Article 228

The provisions of the current executive acts shall remain in force until the new executive provisions contemplated in the law are enacted, unless they are inconsistent with this law.

Article 229

1. The provisions of law (of March 31, 1965) on higher military schools (DZIENNIK USTAW, No. 32, item 190, 1973) shall correspondingly apply to higher schools under the supervision of the Minister of Internal Affairs.
2. The authority of the Minister of National Defense, contemplated in the law mentioned in para. 1, with regard to higher schools under the supervision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, is relegated to the Minister of Internal Affairs, and the authority of the Council of Higher Military Schools shall be relegated to the Council for Higher Education of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Article 230

1. The provisions in Part 4 of this law shall not apply to soldiers in active military service who have been delegated to work outside the military as university teachers in military training programs in schools or in other organizational school units.
2. The soldiers mentioned in para. 1 may be awarded the honorary title of "Meritorious Teacher of the Polish People's Republic" or the "National Education Commission Medal."

Article 231

The term "appropriate minister" used throughout this law shall mean the minister (or the head of a central organ of state administration) who is responsible for supervision over the activities of a given school.

Article 232

The following laws are repealed:
1) the law of November 5, 1958 on higher education (DZIENNIK USTAW No. 32, item 191, 1973);
2) the law of March 29, 1962 on higher arts education (DZIENNIK USTAW No. 6, item 48, 1969; DZIENNIK USTAW No. 12, item 89, 1973);
3) the provisions pertaining to university teachers employed in higher schools, in the law of April 27, 1972—known as the Charter of rights and responsibilities of the teacher (DZIENNIK USTAW No. 16, item 114; No. 12, item 89, 1973; No. 11, item 43, 1977);

Article 233

This law goes into effect on September 1, 1982.

Chairman of the Council of State:
H. Jablonski

Secretary of the Council of State:
E. Duda

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CSO: 2600/647

VIEWS OF POET EMINESCU ON NATIONALITY ISSUE CITED

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 18 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Constantin Sorescu]

[Text] The constant of Eminescu's extensive incursion into the problems of the era is the imperative for development of Romanian society within the limits of respect for the national character, truth, morals and what is beautiful. Eminescu has the courage to brand the psoriasis which at a critical point in national history was threatening the Romanian spirit, along with the Junimists participating through his deeply motivated criticism in safeguarding and ennobling it. He is part of those who, destroying the frame settlements of the feeble spirit and the monstrous personifications of the wicked one, clean up the place and build new, phosphorescent, monumental buildings on their ruins.

It has been said that Eminescu was a fanatic, and some still believe it today and even say it, as "subtly" as possible; that he praised excessively or denigrated without scruples. Which is not true at all. He set for the patrio a code of behavior, whose basic principle is objectivity designated by various synonyms: "The more we love our country and people, the more we shall have to arm our minds with cold impartiality and not overexcite our thinking" ("Literary Conversations," 1 August 1876, p 165 in Volume IX) and "A very warm heart and very cold heart are required of a patriot called on to guide his people and the fanaticism of love of country, the most passionate fanaticism, in no way halts the brain from being cold and directing its activity with certainty, from annihilating the true cause of evil and eradicating it with iron perseverance. Just as a doctor does not combat just the symptoms but the cause of a disease and will advise eliminating the environment in which it was caused, so, too, we shall view the individual of Romanian nationality in his development and, comparing him with the standards of society's physiological laws, we shall show from whence the disorders in the people's economic life should have come -- disorders which made him accessible to foreign economic influence." (Ibid., pp 165-166). Of course, here, Eminescu was expressing the desirable of objectivity with thought of a certain area of Romanian life, but we understand that he was projecting it in its totality.

As a result, nothing unobjective puts its mark on the spiritual portrait which, depending on a thorough knowledge of national history and on the constructions of Romanian collectivity, he designs with the fine ink of independent spirit. Having in his breast a very warm heart and a very cold heart. Eminescu always

writes having in his imagination, before his eyes, the unique and not-to-be-confused figure of our spirituality. Depending on the urgencies of the problems being approached, he brings to the forefront first one, then another of its lines. From "Let Us Make A Congress"("The Federation," 5/16 April 1870) we should recall that the Romanian people are an "old nation" (Volume IX, p 88) whose "soul" is stimulated "to work with all its iron vigor" (ibid.); the Romanians from Transylvania, urged to meet in a broadly-resounding congress, are reminded that in their blood they have "the virtue and di nity of their forefathers" and "the feeling of a citizen of Rome" (p 89). This political manifesto, as the editors of Volume IX call it, concludes with an appeal for preserving the ethnic identity in the spirit of the portrait lines brushed before: "Today we believe that the time has come for us to claim what has been due us for centuries. We are Romanians and we want to remain Romanians and we want equal entitlment for our nation" (p 90).

Several striking features of the same spiritual portrait result from another article in which the poet, pensive with a historical perspective, operates with tactical principles, understanding that the Romanians' political unity in 1876 was still a desirable and that what could be done for the time being was to find a modus vivendi for the Romanians in Transylvania, with his attitude in this regard being that of a true politician, intelligent, with a diplomatic sense, given the gift of argument. In the forefront, the poet this time places the propensity toward unity and homogeneity: "So the ideal for Romanians from all parts of Trajan's Dacia is to maintain the real unity of the ancient language and national church. This is an ideal Dacia, but it is being achieved each day" ("Curierul de Iasi," 17 November 1876, Volume IX, p 252 . Then, with the power of the Romanian spirit, he continues to detach himself from the unfavorable historical circumstances and to boycott them through contemplation: "The native Romanian is supplied with a big dose of coldness and, like the ancient Romanian, admires almost nothing" (ibid., p 252). There is a profound intuition here, one which is closely related to one of Blaga's conclusions on Romanian spirituality.

In a logical consequence, Eminescu comments for a long time and gives examples from moments in the history of Romanian collectivity on the way in which historical vicissitudes can be met and overcome, clearing the spot for a possible collaboration, under a new zodiac, even with its former agents. That is why Eminescu demonstrates the balance which the Romanian spirit established between "material gain" as a " means" and spiritual gain as a "goal," stressing that "what the Romanians want is the freedom of spirit and their awareness in the full understanding of the word" and that "spirit and language," being "nearly identical" while language and nationality were similar;"it is easily seen that the Romanian wants himself, wants his nationality and he wants this fully." (ibid., p 252). Again, it seems to me that Eminescu was anticipating, a century later, Lucian Blaga, who also understood this correct relationship which Romanian collectivity estimates between matter and spirit.

Ancient, vigorous, worthy, consistently themselves, homogenous, bright, active and melancholic, the Romanian people are one of the ones most connected with the womb in which they were conceived. Arguing with Rosler and his descendants,Eminescu expressed many times, I would say, forcefully the continuity of the Carpathians on one side and the other: "Above all we find that the Romanians are

not colonialists anywhere, are not arrivals, nobody's people and that everywhere they live they are independent, a population extremely old, older than all their coinhabitants. Since, if a singular German appears today, one who seeks to bring us from the Danube, we do not question what such a man says, but what he wants." (ibid., p 213).

And with regard to the unscientific disputes connected with our origin, ill-willed or just unilateral, the poet is firm, settling them sharply: "If "Dacians or Romans, Romans or Dacians: Either one, we are Romanians, period. nobody has to teach us what we were or what we should be: we want to be who we are--Romanians." (ibid., p 253). Regarding these vicissitudes, maintaining the identity and homogeneity of a collectivity is achieved by presenting the identity and homogeneity of its language. In the most natural way, Eminescu links the perenniality of the Romanian collectivity with the perenniality of their own language and its extinction with the extinction of that same language. So powerful is the interdependence which the poet sees within the Romanian phenomenon between language and its bearers that he cannot conceive of the flourishing of one of the terms without the flourishing of the other or the death of one without the death of the other: "the Romanian language and nationality will perish simultaneously with the material Romanian, with our extinction through death and without heirs, not through denationalization and abjuration. To persecute our nationality , however does not mean to wipe it out only to offend us and embitter us against the persecutors." ("Curierul de Iasi," 17 November 1876, Volume IX, p 253).

In the end, Eminescu completes the spiritual portrait of Romanian collectivity with the feature of tolerance, which he illustrates with an entire history, appealing to historical data which cannot be doubted by anyone: "And then we feel that nation on earth has more right to request respect than the Romanian because nobody is more tolerant that he is. The only Romanian countries are the ones in which from ancient times each one had the right to bow before any god he wanted and to speak the language he wanted. One cannot find a country in the attempt was not made to make proselytes another law or another language of the coinhabitants: the Huguenots in France, the Moors in Spain, the Poles before the Ruthenians, the Hungarians with the Romanians--all attempts to gain for their circle of ideas the coinhabiting populations and this was through pressure, with force; the Romanian views the Catholic church, so ancient in Moldavia, with an unchanged stoicism and it did not occur to him to force the Catholics to become eastern; the Lippovans flee from Russia and are living unbothered in their cult on the Romanian land, then the Armenians, Calvinists, Protestans, Jews, all are here and they can say whether the Romanian governments ever stopped any church or any Armenian, Protestants or Jewish school. Not one." (ibid., p 253).

Of course, the spiritual portrait which Eminescu gives of the Romanian people is the product of his move through an agitated history. Each historical event he lived through put its mark on his act, giving it new features or emphasizing the old ones, like in a portrait done by the great master which periodically returns to the same face, refreshing the colors and brightening the glance. The poet was certain that even in his era a historical current was shooting through the existence he was painting in words, for example, feeling that the

war to gain independence was a cardinal moment in the exemplary establishment of the Romanian spirit--a moment of solarization: "The ancient Romanians seem to foresee a new phase in their lives, a phase in which the multitude representing us on this spot of land which is ours in the world will inspire in our neighbors respect for our nationality and language and our church and history ("Curierul de Iasi," 1 June 1877, Volume IX, p 389).

8071
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'MYTHICAL' NATURE OF MOSES, OTHER 'PROPHETS' EXAMINED

Bucharest MAGAZIN in Romanian 19 Jun 82 p 9

[Article by Victor Kernbach]

[Text] Even if putting ther terms "myth" and "information" next to each other is surprising, a true relationship between the two exists and the criteria for establishing informational values of the myth affects two views which, in turn, are clearly antagonistic. One of the positions belongs to religious man, for whom the myths of his faith bring a primordial truth originating from the revelation from the beginning or from a later charistmatic cycle, with the believer considering himself (to use a concept of modern information technology) a "terminal" of the channel of communication between the divinity and man; for him, communication is direct or mediated by others (forefathers, priests, prophets). The other position, however, belongs to us, those who investigate myths outside of any religious implications that is, by using a scientific methodology and reference terms from the area of interdisciplinary knowledge (from cosmology and meteorology, from archeology and history to linguistics, from zoology and anthropology to art history and the philosophy of law and so forth).

Of course, in the first situation, the informational value of the myth is a strictly subjective concept and it does not find its help in the reality verified by the human experiment; only in the second can the information we are extracting from the myths become objective and, as such, scientifically usable in its net value.

In the first situation,things do not appear to be differentiable, although in a certain sense they still are. Let us see how. Any true myth, even when tradition attributes the act of receiving the primordial revelation to a prophet, mythical or semi-legendary himself (like Moses, Zarathustra and so forth), is supported for believers on ancestral memory, itself a mythical fact; a pseudomyth, such as, for example, the ones concocted by the founders of certain sects which assume the advantage of charisma before the eyes of their contemporaries, precisely for that reason has a reduced audience, supporting itself not on the believers in the broad sense of the concept as in the old big religions, but on a restricted group of bigots, for whom the double defect of mental immaturity and ignorance is a platform of support for naively authenticating the sect leader's claim. So, if the traditional myth is a folklore fact, in the elaboration of which a string of generations from the pre-alphabet era participated until it was recorded through selective intellectual effort in a scriptural theological mythography, the pseudomyth concocted by a founder of a sect is a particular

fact with a political aspect (sometimes trivial) which in no way represents the collective effort and does not include in it any kind of psychosocial and historical characteristic.

Marginally, one should stress a notorious phenomenon; whereas in the development of scientific knowledge, particularly in the last two centuries, within big religions even theological currents appeared which practice textological criticism of the scriptures (for example, in Christianity, opposing fundamentalist traditionalism, a current of modernism, from which the thesis of the demythification of the New Testament was formed, in an exegesis by the theologist R. Bultmann), in exchange within the sects the pseudomythology at the basis of each one's doctrine strictly preserves its definitively stiff nature which does not yield to any evidence from the great experiment of human knowledge.

But for the objective researcher, any myth is a source of unexpected information. From Genesis, it will not strive to find a version of the birth of the universe but, rather, something else--a cosmological concept of the people of the age of forming that cosmogonic mythology. From certain myths analyzed comparatively, the researcher can find (as so many have done, particularly from J. G. Grazer on) historical data on ancient agricultural ideas (for example, in the great cycle of the god who dies and rises from the dead--Osiris, Baldr and so forth--identifiable with the laws of the succession of seasons). He will find artistic and legal information, he will find philosophical and medical guidelines. What is more, some information can be found even from the sectist pseudomyths if we equate these pseudomyths with some sociological tests produced by authors incidentally.

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'FANATICISM' OF JEHOVAH WITNESSES EXPOSED

Bucharest MAGAZIN in Romanian 19 Jun 82 p 9

[Article by Petre Hladchi-Bucovineanu]

[Text] It is hard to believe and, of course, impossible to accept that parents, being people with full mental capacities, should wish and await the death of their own child with resignation. What was the guilt of the little girl,Lisy, just two and one-half years old, that she should pay for her parents' fanatic bigotry with her life? Seriously ill, the child needed an emergency blood transfusion. A simple intervention of this kind could have saved Lisy from death, but her mother and father, members of "Jehovah Witnesses" sect, opposed this. Any entreaties and explanations to bring them to reality were met by the rigid concepts of the sect and the claimed "divine morals" of it, which do not permit transfusions or other of medicine's saving interventions. This took place in Daliagri,Italy, and the court sentenced the parents to 14 years' imprisonment, for having refused health assistance, the result of which was the death of their child. The prosecutor drew the court's attention to the fact that the exercising of religious freedoms, which bring reaching of respect for the human personality, should be limited due to the constitutional provisions which guarantee each person the right to life.

Beyond this "provocation" addressed to the jury for a strictly professional dispute, with multiple social and humanitarian implications, we believe it remains now for sociologists and other researchers of the phenomenon to analyze how now, in the second half of our century, it is possible for us to encounter people who reject not only medicine but science and life iteself. Unfortunately, this is not an isolated case. Many other children and adolescents have fallen victim to the ignorance of bigoted parentsmade fanatics by obscure and anti-human concepts. The anachronism of the "Jehovah Witnesses" sect , supposedly religious, forbidden in most countries for its plainly antisocial position, for its precepts and abberant practices, has caught many followers throughout the years in its meshes. Weak people, disoriented, not satisfied with realities and the truths demonstrated by science, with the hope for better as promised by the sect leaders, accepted to await that "governing of a thousand years," when the evils of the earth would be erased without labor, without effort. That vicious circle of faith, which combats any earthly governing but which foresees a "divine" governing by the sect, completely similar to the earthly governing, has created

innumerable perplexities. However, matters became clear and the truth came out a long time ago. The body of "governors " of the sect, in Brooklyn, New York, for many years has served interests foreign to progress and humanism, foreign to the wishes of their fellow man for better, sowing enmity and lack of faith among the people and having a backward attitude toward science and progress. In order better to understand the goals sought, we recall that recently this "body" spread a new precept, claimed to be "divine," by which it sustains that the sect's immediate enemies are the "United Nations and communism." So this is the real side of the "religiousness" of the leaders of the "Jehovah Witnesses" group. The body of "governors" also issued a precept according to which blood transfusions mean the loss of everlasting life. But they are far from seeking it, surrounded by doctors, by consultants and specialists, very concerned with their own lives on this earth. The "governors" also claim that everything on our planet belongs to Satan (evil). This assertion has nothing in common with their intimate convictions, with the fact being demonstrated by the immense values they hold, including metallurgical plants, commercial ships, property, a computer center supplied with the most advanced computers.

8071
CSO: 2700/307

THEFT, DAMAGE OF FREIGHT TERMED INFRACTIONS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 65, 15 Jul 82 p 5

[Council of State Decree on the Punishing of Certain Actions Regarding Goods Entrusted to Socialist Units for Transport]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees: Sole article--The following actions which, because of the value of the damages produced and the conditions under which they were perpetrated, were considered as transgressions prior to the date on which the present decreee goes into effect, constitute infractions, subject to the provisions of penal law:

a) the stealing, in any form, of goods entrusted for transport to the railroads or other socialist transport units;

b) the intentional destruction or damage of the goods stipulated in letter a).

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest 9 July 1982
No 260

CSO: 2700/329

POISONINGS FROM MISUSE OF PESTICIDES REVEALED

Bucharest SANATATEA in Romanian Jun 82 p 12

[Article by Dr Liviu Popa, from the Institute of Legal Medicine in Cluj-Napoca Municipality]

[Text] The pesticides, or phytopharmaceutical substances, involve a large group of chemicals which provide chemical protection to plants and help to assure the condition of health, against diseases that are transmissible through insects or other pests.

In the context of their special economic importance in modern agriculture, the use and handling of pesticides in the absence of information and without following the instructions pertaining to protection and contraindications cause many poisonings which sometimes have serious effects on health. In light of the broad use of pesticides in agriculture, fruit and wine growing, forestry, animal husbandry and the food industry, special attention is paid to the utilization of the pesticides that provide the lowest possible remanence level and do not involve harmful effects on humans, plants and animals. Nevertheless, the use of some pesticides resulted in the contamination of environments by their remanence in the ground, waters and food products.

In acute fatal poisonings caused by pesticides the highest incidence results, sequentially, from the following chemical groups: organophosphorics, dinitrophenols, organochlorinated and carbamic pesticides. Surveying the casuistic situation in acute fatal poisonings at the Toxicology Laboratory of the Institute of Legal Medicine in Cluj-Napoca (which serves nine counties) for the last 10 years, in light of the chief group of poisonous substances, it was found that most were produced by pesticides in the form of poisonings that occurred on an accidental, voluntary or other bases. For instance, accidental poisonings occurred as a result of negligence, superficiality, ignorance and lack of knowledge as to the danger involved in pesticides, and also because of storage in households next to foods and alcoholic beverages and thus made easily accessible and often misused, or because of use for other purposes. Out of all poisonings with pesticides, most cases involved children, specifically those aged between 0-5 (16%) and 6-10, a fact that proves improper care and supervision. Moreover, occupational poisonings occurred during preparation, handling and utilization of pesticides, because of violation of individual prophylactic (labor safety) standards.

As for voluntary poisonings, these involved suicide and crimes and resulted from easy procurement of the poison.

Lastly, one must not neglect the influence of alcohol which is one of the contributing factors in both accidental and voluntary poisonings.

Improper storage: location of the storehouse in the middle of the village; construction of the storehouse out of improper materials which permit infiltration of the substances into the soil and contamination of the surrounding materials; inadequate capacity of the storehouse (resulting in peak periods in the need for storage outside the storehouse); storage on private farms, even in food pantries.

Faulty handling: lack of knowledge or training of the warehouseman; incorrect labeling of packages; sloppy handling, with violation of precautionary measures; delivery of products in packages that generate confusion (empty food cans, bottles with labels of alcoholic beverages, of medicines, and so forth).

Careless administration of treatments and improper storage of equipment: storage of machines and apparatus at the homes of the team leader or of workers; use of this equipment for other purposes; preparation of spraying liquids near a river; clearing of the hose of the portable apparatus by direct mouth blowing; application of the treatment on the private farm of the untrained villager; eating without having washed one's hands after having handled the apparatus; sleeping in work clothes; remnants of pesticides dumped any place; lack of warnings on the treated grounds (specifically in orchards and pastureland).

Utilization of pesticides for other purposes: pest control for homes and underwear with extremely poisonous pesticides (parathion); addition of some organophosphoric pesticides to paints for dwellings; painting of floors and fences with DNOC; pest control for domestic animals with pesticides; branding of domestic animals with organophosphoric substances or DNOC, for identification; use for removal of insects in rubbing or application on the body or scalp.

Consequences

Uninformed about the poisonous effect of the substance he handled and ignoring protective clothing, an 18-year-old young man of the Nasaud area was seriously poisoned while spraying his grapes with Dibutox. While preparing his tree spraying solution, a man carelessly used the bucket of a well and this resulted in water contamination with DNOC. The first victim (the one who also sounded the alarm), a tractor driver working on the field who came to the well for a drink of water. Faultily handling an insecticide pump, a worker from a tree spraying team caused an explosion which resulted in the poisonous substance covering his face. He inhaled and ingested it and this was fatal. For the purpose of removing insects from hair, an older sister washed her younger sisters -- aged 3 and 5 -- with a solution of parathion (an organophosphoric insecticide) and this resulted in the tragic death of the little girls because of a grave cutaneous poisoning. For the indentification of animals and fowls, many people use insecticides for branding. The consequence? Cutaneous and respiratory poisoning, the animals "droop" rapidly and consequently their owner must kill them. The consequence.... of the consequence: serious poisoning of all the members of the family because of eating the contaminated meat.

An unfortunate mother helplessly and desperately watched her three children die after she gave them milk to drink from a bottle that had contained parathion and she had forgotten to wash. The poison, ingested in a large dose, acted rapidly, before the villagers managed to take the children to an emergency center. A 15-year-old youngster in Bistrita-Nasaud found a bottle labeled "Syrup" in the pantry. He drank the content which actually was a solution of an organophosphoric insecticide and this triggered a sad end for him. Two brothers in Ocna-Mures (aged 47 and 42) wished to get rid of their coughing and drank the content of a bottle labeled "Expectorant Syrup." The "soothing" liquid was a powerful insecticide. A couple in Josenii Bargaului ate sprayed and unwashed apples and apple pie. They were gravely poisoned and only the wife could be saved.

The price paid for violating mandatory regulations in handling, storing and keeping pesticides is far too high. That is why health education is highly imperative in prevention of poisonings, more than in any other area.

11710
CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

PEOPLES COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS--Inasmuch as the position of first vice chairman of the executive committee of the peoples council of Ialomita County and some positions of vice chairmen of the executive committees of the peoples councils of Arad, Arges and Ialomita counties have become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that: Comrade Gheorghe Goldeanu is delegated to fill the position of first vice chairman of the executive committee of the peoples council of Ialomita County. Comrade Constantin Ciocan is delegated to fill the position of vice chairman of the executive committee of the peoples council of Arad County. Comrade Aurica Petrescu is delegated to fill the position of vice chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Arges County. Comrade Gheorghe Bolohan is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Ialomita County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 65, 15 Jul 82 p 5]

CSO: 2700/329 END

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18 August 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2044

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18 August 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2044

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NEED TO STRENGTHEN, ENFORCE FIRE PREVENTION MEASURES

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 3 Jul 82 p 2

[Announcement from the Fire Protection Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs]

[Excerpts] The drought and high temperatures which have continued for several days have created conditions for the outbreak and spread of fires, which could cause considerable damage to the people's economy. Therefore, it is essential to increase concern for and supervision of the implementation of fire prevention and protection measures. Attention should be concentrated on units of the petroleum and gas extraction and processing industries in which, because of the very nature of the work and the physical and chemical properties of the substances used, violations of the parameters of the technological process or of the established regulations have a serious effect on the lives of individuals and on the people's economy.

In the fuel storage units and in the stations where motor vehicles are supplied with fuel, under conditions of high temperatures vaporization is very great and the danger of fire is greater. Therefore, workers in the fuel depositories, drivers of tank trucks and sellers at distribution points have the task of monitoring the technical condition of the pumps, equipment, lines and electrical installations so that they are in order and so that there will not be any loss of fuel, defects and violations of technical conditions as happened in the fuel storage units in Gjirokaster, etc.

Investigations have revealed that there have been violations of the regulations on the storage of goods in the trade depositories in Lac, Milot and Berat, while in the trade depository in Permet, the electrical installations do not satisfy technical criteria.

Now that we are engaged in the harvesting and threshing of grains, everyone should be giving constant attention to the implementation of measures for protection against fires. But, these measures, in some cases, such as in Likesh in Durres, Dragot in Elbasan, Gjergjovine in Gramsh and Poshnje in Berat, etc., have not been complete and in accordance with established regulations.

CSO: 2100/74

STRUGGLE AGAINST 'FACTIONALISTS' IN PARTY RECALLED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by Thimi Nika: "On the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Extraordinary Party Conference"]

[Excerpts] The Extraordinary Party Conference, which took place 40 years ago, on 28-29 June, in Tirana, constitutes a moment of vital importance in the struggle of our party to protect its steel-like ideological and organizational unity, at all times.

This Conference was held in circumstances which were very critical for the party. The enemy had launched a very fierce attack to crush and annihilate the party. The agent provocateur Ludovik Nikaj made this situation worse. As Comrade Enver wrote in his book "Kur lindi Partia" (Kujtime) [When the Party Was Born (Memoirs)], Nikaj "succeeded in penetrating into the ranks of the party and gave the fascists detailed and very important information on some of the major bases of our party in Tirana." On the basis of this information, the fascist terror and raids were intensified and a number of Communists were arrested and killed, including one of the most devoted members of the party, Qemal Stafa. At the same time, the hostile elements in the party, the factionalists A. Lula and S. Premte, intensified their divisive and sabotaging activity. They and their followers created in the party ranks an anti-party factionalist current with its own political platform and with organizational ties, based on the well-known liquidationist theses in regard to the impossibility of the armed struggle and of work with nationalists and peasants and mistrust of the anti-fascist alliance, especially, the liberating role of the Soviet Union in the struggle, led by the Bolshevik Party, headed by Stalin. Their aim was clear: to poison the pure blood of the party, to destroy the unity within its ranks.

Analyzing the events and circumstances, in order to draw lessons and duties for the future, the Central Committee of the party came to the conclusion, as Comrade Enver has said, that "this situation must be dealt a strong blow, immediately, because, if the poison is allowed to penetrate further, it will completely destroy the body of our young party." Therefore, the decision was made to convoke the Extraordinary Party Conference. There was only one issue on its agenda: the annihilation of the factionalist activity of A. Lula, S. Premte and their followers, in a manner which would strengthen the party and its ideological and organizational unity.

Before the conference, the party and Comrade Enver, in particular, had made a number of attempts to persuade Xhepi, Qorri and their followers, members of the former "Youth Group" to mend their ways and to abandon their factionalist liquidationist activity. But these attempts were unsuccessful because they were aware that they were on the road of treason and they followed it with determination.

At the conference, Comrade Enver exposed the factionalist activity, accusing, in particular, A. Lula and S. Premte and their companions, pointing out their danger to the party, especially in the historic circumstances affecting our country, at a time when the Antifascist National Liberation Movement was rapidly moving toward general revolution. The unity of revolutionary activity and thought was called the main condition of the well-being of the party. In order to ensure this unity and further strengthen the party it was decided to purge the party of the incorrigible factionalists, by expelling them immediately. As Comrade Enver said in the book "When the Party Was Born": "This conference proved that the party would not tolerate and would mercilessly combat any liquidationist factionalist element and activity in its ranks, just as it would mercilessly combat enemies of the people."

Early in July 1942, continuing the work of the Extraordinary Conference, a special meeting of the Central Committee of the Party was organized. At this meeting, on the basis of the analyses and conclusions of the Conference, examining, once more, the transgressions of A. Lula, S. Premte and their followers, the decision was made to exclude them from the party for an unspecified period.

The implementation of the decisions of the Extraordinary Conference and of the meeting of the Central Committee of the Party made our young party grow and become stronger from day to day, tempered its ranks in the struggle, augmented the ranks with new and pure blood, and extended the party throughout Albania.

The history of our party from the Extraordinary Conference up to the present shows the consistency with which it has fought for the unceasing strengthening of its ideological and organizational unity. Our party, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, has not allowed and will never allow the existence of two lines and of factions in the party or the absence of ideological and organizational unity in the party. It has attacked and crushed in time all enemies and traitors who have arisen in its ranks, from the A.Lula and S. Premte group to the hostile groups exposed and attacked during recent years.

The struggle of the party against these hostile groups constitutes a very valuable experience. In order to protect and strengthen party unity, it is necessary, as Comrade Enver has always said, that the political line and the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms contained in the Party Statute be implemented resolutely and in a revolutionary manner.

CSO: 2100/76

EDITORIALS ON DRAFT BILL FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN DECISIONMAKING

Editorial in 'RABOTNICHESKO DELO'

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Jul 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Vivid Expression of Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] The direct participation of the citizens of the Bulgarian People's Republic in the discussion and decision of the more important questions of our socioeconomic and social development is a reflection of our socialist society's natural phenomena and processes; it is a vivid expression of our socialist democracy. These trends are expressed with still greater force in the draft Bill on Consultation with the People, published yesterday in the newspaper OTECHESTVEN FRONT [Fatherland Front], which delineates a new, still more democratic development of our social and legislative practice for further improvement of the political system in our country. It gives concrete formulations for realizing the great goal, set in the report of the 12th Party Congress and in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech to the Ninth Fatherland Front Congress, of continuous development of direct democracy and of immediate participation of the people in the government of the country.

Consultation with the people makes possible, first and foremost, the direct participation of citizens in the discussion and decision of the more important questions within the competence of the National Assembly, the State Council and the people's councils. The new draft bill specifies that this vivid expression of popular democracy is to be conducted in the entire territory of the country, in the territory of the okrug, obshtina, rayon, and inhabited locality or part thereof. The consultation itself will take place by means of a discussion or referendum, with the discussion conducted on draft bills and drafts of other acts of the National Assembly, as well as drafts of the acts of the State Council and of people's councils, while a referendum will be conducted on the adoption of laws or on the decision of other questions within the competence of the National Assembly, as well as on the decision of questions within the competence of the State Council and of the people's councils. All Bulgarian citizens who on the day of a nationwide referendum have the right to vote have the right to participate in the referendum, while Bulgarian citizens who are inhabitants of the inhabited locality in question or who are staying there for any length of time and who on the day of a local referendum have the right to vote have the right to participate in it. When consultation with the people takes place in the form of a discussion, minors may participate in it, too.

The new draft bill indicates precisely and specifically where, when and how proposals for consultation with the people can be made. It explains in detail how the discussions themselves will take place, pointing out that "citizens will express opinions and make suggestions regarding questions introduced for decision by the National Assembly, the State Council or the people's councils." A nationwide discussion is organized by the State Council and the National Council of the Fatherland Front jointly with the central governing bodies of other public organizations, while a local discussion is organized by the executive committee of the people's council or city council and the pertinent governing body of the Fatherland Front jointly with the governing bodies of other public organizations.

The discussion itself takes place at citizens' meetings in inhabited localities or in labor collectives, at meetings of public organizations, through mass information media or in other appropriate ways. Citizens may send their opinions and suggestions regarding the questions discussed both directly to the bodies which are competent to decide them and also express them through mass information media.

Questions regarding the holding of a nationwide and local referendum, regarding a general meeting of the population, who will organize and conduct them and when, occupy a well-defined place in the new draft bill. "Through a referendum," the draft bill says, "citizens directly, independently and definitively decide by voting basic questions within the competence of the National Assembly, of the State Council or of the people's council." The bill indicates the necessary requirements for the voting itself, as well as for correlation of the results thereof. To decide more important questions for an individual inhabited locality or part thereof, a referendum may be conducted by means of a general meeting of the population.

The real value of the draft Bill on Consultation with the People as a vivid expression of socialist democracy is augmented by the nationwide discussion of it, which will continue until 15 September 1982. The newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO [Workers' Cause] is joining in this activity, too. The editors anticipate readers' opinions and will publicize specific suggestions regarding additions to and changes in the new draft Bill on Consultation with the People.

Editorial in 'OTECHESTVEN FRONT'

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 23 Jul 82 p 1

[Editorial: "With the Worldly Wisdom of Millions of People"]

[Text] Yesterday we published the draft of a new Law on Consultation with the People, whereby, by decision of the State Council, popular discussion of it was initiated.

There are at least three criteria which predetermined that this should be left to the largest sociopolitical organization in our country--the Fatherland Front. First, the great importance of this document, which opens up new opportunities for the most active participation of the people in social management. Second, in deciding important questions affecting the vital interests of the people, referenda, in which the Fatherland Front has most abundant experience, will be held. And third, during their proceedings the National Assembly and the people's representatives rely most extensively on Fatherland Front committees and organizations for

the investigation of public opinion. From today until 15 September 1982 all citizens, organizations and labor collectives can express their viewpoints and opinions on the draft bill and make suggestions for additions and improvements. And only thereafter will it be discussed and adopted by the National Assembly and become a law equally binding on all.

The draft bill is a practical step towards fulfillment of the great goal set in the report of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech to the Ninth Fatherland Front Congress about the continuous development of our socialist democracy.

It is not the first time that our people have been called upon to speak out on draft legislation. This is a path already well trodden and deeply connected with the essence of our socialist way of life, with Marxist-Leninist principles of the people's participation in social administration. It is thus that one of the most important features of our democracy--the unity of the interests of the state, of society and of the individual--is clearly to be seen. This is also the solid foundation on which party policy for the further progress of our homeland is built. But in the event it does not apply to a routine advance discussion by the people of a normative document. The experience we have accumulated thus far and the actual practice of building socialism have made it imperative to include in the agenda of our renovated life the establishment of norms and regulations through which the collective thought of millions, the worldly wisdom of the entire people, can be best and most fully preserved.

It is self-evident that neither does it apply to the creation of only a legal mechanism, albeit the best and most perfect. It is a matter of discussion, if we can speak thus, of one of our most political draft bills in its intention, which does not treat of any individual legal, social, economic, cultural or other question, but touches the core of our party policy--the further development of socialist democracy. Therefore the aim now is to create a system for this kind of political work with the people. And not merely a system for work, but the establishment of a qualitatively new link in the chain of our social administration.

What more vivid expression can there be of the strength of our democracy than that the people should say "yes" or "no" on a question that arouses everybody, as is provided for in referenda, for example, whether they be nationwide or local? And citizens by voting will decide directly, independently and definitively basic questions within the competence of the National Assembly, the State Council or the people's council. What higher stage can there be in a democracy than that citizens in nationwide or local discussions, as they are termed in the draft bill, should express their opinions and make suggestions regarding questions introduced for decision in the National Assembly, State Council or people's council? Can there be a stronger expression of democracy than this, namely that now in the discussion of the draft bill the people themselves will determine how they will be consulted in the future and will themselves indicate the procedure and method by which this can best be done? We have reached this new peak of our socialist democracy along the well-trodden April path, spiritually enriched by a growing self-esteem because of the great progress made by our country in building a developed socialist society, taking warning from weaknesses and difficulties, and relying on the rich experience in social administration of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries.

For a long time our democracy has not been exhausted by just the conventional participation of the people in electing the agencies of state authority--the National Assembly, people's councils and city councils, judges and jurors. One of the great achievements of our socialist times is the consistent and mass participation of the people in the practical implementation of their own decisions, as is already done in enterprises and in residential districts. It has even got to the point where in the development of direct democracy some values, until recently mainly economic, have acquired clearly political content. A most dramatic example is the discussion and adoption of counterplans, by means of which working people participate directly in running the national economy. Thus the plan becomes a veritable act of millions of producers of material and spiritual goods. On the other hand, examples abound of the great importance which is attributed to the conurbation systems as a form of state authority and simultaneously of popular self-government.

Let us visualize this graphically. An important question concerning the life of a city, of a village, of a labor collective, a question affecting everybody is decided. If it is assumed that it is a matter only for the leadership, could everybody be convinced of its comprehensive solution? That is why consultation is not and cannot be merely an act of courtesy. As the decisions of the 12th Party Congress point out to us, this means involving all the actually most active working people in the decision of important questions of the all-round development of the country and of individual rayons and conurbation systems. For, political democracy is of value for us only if it expands the opportunities for the socialized-labor and personal initiative and activity of working people, only if it gives full range to the activity of labor collectives and the individual on behalf of the public good and thus for the ever better solution of collective and individual problems. In a certain sense the opportunities for people to participate are enlarged as compared with elections where voting rights are dependent on age limits. In referenda these naturally are retained, but in discussions the right of active participation is given to minor Bulgarian citizens as well.

In the draft bill that is offered for discussion, important functions are assigned to the Fatherland Front. Thus, some of its new functions, assigned by the 12th Party Congress and by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his speech to the Ninth Fatherland Front Congress, are worked out in practice. If we get to the heart of these functions, we shall see that it is a matter of the ever fuller strengthening of the Fatherland Front's position "as social guarantor of the proper functioning, and of the bolstering of the role and importance of, obshtinas, conurbation systems and local agencies of the people's power." And obviously its role in the social administration of the country will thus be elevated higher and higher. The draft bill provides that, apart from state agencies, proposals to the National Assembly and State Council for consultation with the people shall be made both by the National Council of the Fatherland Front and by collective members of the Fatherland Front, viz. the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Central Council of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union and the Administrative Council of the Central Cooperative Union, while proposals to the people's councils shall be made by the local governing bodies of all these organizations, as well as the labor collectives of institutions and economic organizations. The Fatherland Front will clarify beforehand the questions whose discussion and decision by consultation are

impending. The National Council of the Fatherland Front is specified as the State Council's coorganizer, jointly with the central governing bodies of the other public organizations for nationwide discussions. But for local discussions the appropriate governing body of the Fatherland Front and those of the other public organizations shall together do this with the executive committees of the people's councils or city councils. Naturally, the initiators in the wards for the convocation of meetings for all discussions will again be Fatherland Front organizations. The statement is made again that the holding of nationwide referenda shall be organized by the State Council and by the National Council of the Fatherland Front; for local referenda the executive committee of the people's council and the governing body of the Fatherland Front are called upon again to cooperate actively. Consequently the opportunity opens up for Fatherland Front committees and organizations to exhibit creativity in searching for new forms in their political work with the people. On the basis of previous successes in their joint activity with other mass and public organizations, it will be possible to make more frequent use of certain organizational forms characteristic of movements. And as can be expected, new interrelationships will be created, too. The aim is to reach everybody--in the enterprise, in the ward, in the educational institution--and to generate natural activity in everybody by the clear awareness that he is creating rights and assuming the responsibility for their implementation.

Starting today, the newspaper will makes its columns available to readers for opinions, viewpoints and suggestions regarding the draft Bill on Consultation with the People.

6474
CSO: 2200/129

DECREE ON DEPRIVATION OF GDR CITIZENSHIP PUBLISHED

West Germany Commentary

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by 'Ws,' datelined Berlin, 29 June: "Deprivation of Citizenship Regulated--Published in GDR Legal Gazette." A translation of the official text of the GDR decree discussed below follows this commentary]

[Text] The GESETZBLATT DER DDR has now published a "Decree on Questions of GDR Citizenship," signed by Premier Stoph, which goes into effect on 1 July. According to the decree, "GDR citizens who left the GDR without permission before 1 January 1981 and have not moved back to their residences in the GDR" are deprived of their GDR citizenship. This deprivation of GDR citizenship also extends to the "offspring" of these people "if they have a residence outside the GDR which has not been approved by the GDR state organs." In another article, the GDR Council of Ministers' decree ordered that in the case of fugitives who left the GDR without permission before 1 January 1981 "no measures will be taken to assign criminal responsibility for illegal departure from the GDR."

With this decree, naturally never mentioned as of Tuesday [29 June] in the GDR newspapers, the GDR is in compliance with the FRG on the agreement regarding the new regulations of the interest-free overdraft of credits (swing). At that time the GDR government had announced that "entry into the GDR for these people could be applied for and granted in accordance with GDR law." Since this is explicitly a regulation of what is permissible, it is strictly up to the GDR to fix the number of GDR refugees who may return to the GDR even though they left without permission between 1 January 1972 and 1 January 1981. The text of the new decree moreover indicates that only the "illegal departure" from the GDR shall not be subject to prosecution. According to the GDR penal code, punishment for all other offenses will not be waived by the GDR so that especially armed deserters will have to reckon with arrest and conviction if they return to the GDR. The new decree by the Council of Ministers complements a law of October 1972, according to which all GDR fugitives who had left the GDR before 1 January 1972 "under violation of GDR laws" lost their GDR citizenship, with the assurance of no further prosecution of their unlawful departure from the GDR.

Text of Decree

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 22, 22 Jun 82 p 418

[Official text of "Decree of 21 June 1982 on Questions of Citizenship of the German Democratic Republic," signed by Willi Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers]

[Text] Article 1

(1) GDR citizens who left the GDR without permission before 1 January 1981 and have not moved back to their residences in the GDR will be deprived of their GDR citizenship when this decree becomes effective in accordance with Article 13 of the law of 20 February 1967 on GDR citizenship (Citizenship Law) (GBL I No 2 p 3).

(2) With respect to the offspring of persons mentioned in Paragraph 1, their citizenship also changes accordingly, if they maintain their residence outside the GDR without approval of the GDR state organs.

Article 2

In the case of persons mentioned in Article 1, Paragraph 1 no measures will be taken to assign criminal responsibility for illegal departure from the GDR.

Article 3

This decree goes into effect on 1 July 1982.

CSO: 2300/362

STUDENTS' CHOICE OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING SEEN GREATLY RESTRICTED

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 102, 8 Jul 82 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "'Illusory Professional Desires'--Majority of GDR Graduates Have To Learn a Skilled Labor Trade"]

[Text] In the future, it will presumably become even harder for the GDR's young people to learn a profession of their choice. According to East Berlin reports, economic requirements will displace the apprenticeship proportions in certain training vocations. For years there has been a major discrepancy in the GDR between apprenticeship openings and the desired professions of many students. For such trades as cosmetician, consumer goods advertiser and automobile mechanic there are more applicants than available apprenticeships, while for a number of labor trades, especially in material production, there are no applicants. But it is already a fact that in the future "the large majority" of students, including women, will have to learn a skilled labor trade.

Parents and students in the GDR are therefore advised to inform themselves promptly about the possibilities to avoid disappointments in the choice of trade. Concurrently, vocational guidance is to be improved to discourage "illusory professional desires." Presently, about 40 percent of the apprentices in the GDR are trained for industry, 16 percent for the building trade, 11 percent for agriculture, forestry and the food industry, 10 percent for the retail trade and 21 percent for areas in transportation and handicraft.

The chances of getting an apprenticeship in the desired profession are best for GDR students with good to excellent achievements. The enterprises must take into account the following factors when distributing apprenticeships: the personality of the applicant, his motives for choosing the particular profession, his academic achievements in individual courses, his social activities, physical condition and social aspects. Often "connections" also play a role in the distribution of attractive apprenticeships; stories to that effect are time and again heard in the GDR.

What will not change substantially at the moment is the number of secondary school graduates in the GDR. As early as the mid-1970's the number of students at the expanded secondary schools (EOS) that lead to university qualifying degrees decreased to 50,000 and in 1980 was approximately 47,000. According to official East Berlin reports, only those students are picked for the EOS's "who have distinguished themselves through their good academic results, high rates of achievement and willingness, as well as political-moral and character maturity, and who prove their loyalty to our state by their attitudes and social activities." Also in the future, "children of production workers" are to get special consideration for admittance to the EOS'. Moreover, in certain "graduation classes for vocational training" the GDR students have the opportunity to graduate both with an academic and a vocational degree. These graduating classes have over 20,000 students.

CSO: 2300/364

ASSESSMENT OF SED POLITBURO'S KURT HAGER AT AGE 70

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 24 Jul 82 p 4

[Article signed 'Ws': "Kurt Hager at Age 70"]

[Text] Kurt Hager, senior secretary of the SED Central Committee, will be 70 years old today. For more than a quarter of a century the trained editor from Bietigheim/Enz has been the SED's ideologist and culture guardian: in 1955 the resourceful Swabian became the Central Committee secretary responsible for culture and science in the SED party leadership. In all these years, Hager has equally experienced all partyline changes as well as the constant ups and downs between brutal suppression and cautious liberalization in the SED's cultural policy. To Hager, however, this does not mean a lack of principles, but rather party discipline and absolute loyalty toward the decisions reached by the majority in the Politburo, decisions which the guardian of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism may influence but not control. Although full of ideological sternness and relentlessness, even verbally, Hager still shows human compassion. Large is the number of GDR authors and artists who had to suffer greatly under the SED's cultural policy and who nevertheless are not angry with the responsible Central Committee secretary but grateful for the sympathy with which he alleviated their fate. Many "culturally productive people" in the GDR can only think about the future with horror when not "Papa Hager" but presumably some member of the FDJ (Free German Youth) generation will be responsible for the party's cultural policy. In the GDR, Hager is credited with striving for modernization or liberalization of the system; this aspiration, however, is coupled with a continually aggressive and irreconcilable attitude toward the "bourgeois ideology and all its forms." Since 1949 a professor for philosophy at Humboldt University in East Berlin, Hager untiringly preaches total ideological "Abgrenzung' (delimitation). Time and again he stressed the formation of a particular German socialist nation in the GDR, which is to be the only legitimate heir and promoter of everything good, beautiful, humane and progressive in German history.

CSO: 2300/363

PSYCHOLOGIST ON YOUNG PEOPLE'S NEED FOR GREATER INDEPENDENCE

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 12-13 Jun 82 p 12

['We and Our Times' feature interview with Prof Dr Wolfgang Kessel, by Hans Meergans: "Do Our Young People Have It 'Too Good?'"]

[Text] Our interlocutor: Prof Wolfgang Kessel, Ph.D., born 1926, is the director of the Psychology Department at Karl Marx University. In the military during World War II, he started his teaching career in 1949, and then became director of POS (Paedagogische Oberschule = Pedagogical Secondary School) and EOS (Erweiterte Oberschule = Expanded Secondary School). In 1960, he began his studies in educational psychology at Humboldt University. With his dissertation on teacher-student relationship, the degree was conferred on him in 1967; in 1969; he became docent at Karl Marx Univerisity; and since 1977, he has been full professor. Professor Kessel is a member of the administration of the Scientific Council for Psychology at the Ministry for Higher and Vocational Education and also of the administration of the Scientific Council for Education Psychology at the Academy for Pedagogical Sciences. He works moreover as a member of the editorial staff collective of "Constributions to Psychology" and "Pedagogy," and is known among radio-listeners since 1967 from the Radio GDR's "Pedagogical Consultation Hour." Our interlocutor is married and has two children.

"When I was still young we were taught good manner and respect for our parents, but today's young people want to know everything better and always talk big." This was not uttered by the teacher who has his problems with his adolescents, nor by the worried mama for whose little daughter disco visits and loud music have apparently become the essence of life; nor by elderly lady in the street car who waits in vain for that discourteous younster to offer her his seat. It is hard to believe: the above-mentioned maxim with the somewhat bitter after-taste comes from the mouth of the Greek historian Hesiod who lived about 700 B.C. and reproached young people for being "unbelievably

inconsiderate and precocious." This, when one thinks about it, is true. Especially when nowadays, one again and again comes across the view: Our young people have it too good. Is this view right? Is it wrong? Is it both right and wrong? In any case, it has had its influence on people already for two or three thousand years. Reason enough, to talk about it. We asked the Leipzig psychologist, Prof Dr Wolfgang Kessel for information.

[Question] "Our young people have it too good." Whatever the reason, unfortunately we still hear this opinion rather frequently.

[Answer] You are right. We frequently hear from adults that today's young people have it "too good." Does this mean that they ought to have it worse? I believe that this formulation of the question deserves to be taken seriously and it is worthwhile thinkg about it.

Yes, the young people in our country do not have it bad. We fought for that, we wanted that. It was and is our declared goal to assure for our young people a life in happiness, peace and prosperity, yes prosperity also. Our young people have it good: They are given an education in the sciences and arts as no previous generation, and they have opportunities galore to pursue their interests and inclinations. Nobody needs to go hungry and all young people are assured an apprenticeship or a work place. Our boys and girls participate in our society's life; they are asked for their opinions and their views.

[Question] Adults also say occasionally that they had been better, accomplished more, showed greater readiness to put forth efforts than the present generation. Is there any truth in this?

[Answer] It is as incorrect to say that young people today are worse than young people in times past as it would be to say that they are better. There are several reasons for this.

Better or Worse?--The Young People Are Different

Young people today live under completely different social conditions than young people in the past. For this reason alone, the comparison is problematic.

Secondly: How, after all, do we measure "better" or "worse"? Let us assume that it means that previous generations were more polite, more ready to help, more industrious, better educated. I would say that this would simply be a misjudgement which we all too frequently find in history. Later generations always complain about the younger generation. A particularly appropriate example can already be found in Socrates who lived from 470 to 399 B.C.: "Today's young people love luxury. They have bad manners, scorn authority, have no respect for their elders, and chat when they are supposed to be working. Young people no longer get up when older people enter the room. They contradict their parents, chatter when there is company, at the table they gulf down the desserts, cross their legs and tyrranize their teachers."

[Question] This really sounds as if it were spoken in our times.

[Answer] This is surely connected with the fact that older people see themselves in the mirror of the past, especially where positive characteristics are concerned. We tend to forget that when we were young, we were no model children either. This is why I take the position that today's young people are neither "better" nor "worse." The answer can only be: today's youth is different.

[Question] How does this being different show itself?

[Answer] This shows itself first of all in such external forms as fashions, dance-forms, certain interests fof free-time activities, but also in the wishes, ambitions, life-perspectives and in many other things. I am thinking here, for instance, about the critical awareness of the young generation, about the strong need for independence and responsibility. It is easily discernible that these changes emanate from the altered social circumstances. I find that Kurt David expressed this very nicely in his "Diary of a Minor": "We can't be like you were. But we can be as you let us be." In other words: What becomes of our young people, how they develop with all that we treasure in them and also with all that we do not like in them depends to a great extent on the adult generation. It really doesn't do much good to put the blame on the young people, but when we complain about them we must really ask ourselves: What did we do wrong in the education, in the contact with the young people?

And we ought to take something else into consideration: When here and there young people are severely criticized, we ought to check whether what is involved is a one-time experience or whether it is really typical of the majority of young people in our land. It is not good when we indiscriminately talk about "today's young people." There are exemplary well-bred young people and of course also others who cause us worries by their deportment and achievements. But this was the case in the past also.

[Question] But there are certain peculiarities of youth, of the time, in other words, which literature refers to as the "intermediate stage." I guess it is better not to talk, in this context, about "uncouth adolescence" and about "punks."

[Answer] I am very much opposed to refer to young people as "punks" or to youth as "uncouth adolescence". Such expressions discriminate against young people and burden the social relations between young people and adults.

When we talk about the intermediate stage, we mean that the young people are no longer children but are not yet adults either. In this stage between the 12th and 18th year we notice first of all telling bodily changes. The young people "shoot up," a certain bodily disharmony is noticeable. Occasionally, their behavior appears clumsy.

It would however, be a mistake to draw from the bodily development direct and immediate conclusions about the intellectual-emotional development. It is important that we are aware of this fact because it is all too often assumed that young people who in their bodily development are like adults are also already able to meet standards set for adults.

[Question] Social scientists and especially psychologists, sociologists, and educators take the position that in this stage of development conflicts with the adult generation are necessarily the order of the day. Is this so-called generations-conflict really in conformity with the course of nature?

[Answer] No, such conformity with the course of nature does not exist. Whether or not young people live in conflict with the adults depends on circumstances, for instance whether society is friendly or hostile towards young people, whether it offers young people development opportunities or is unable to give it a perspective. This, to begin with, is in general terms.

As regards the concrete individual relationship between young people and adults, there will be the less conflicts and tensions the better the adults understand to get on with young people, to take them seriously, to treat them with respect, and to delegate responsibility to them. Where these principles are disregarded, unpleasant and weighty arguments can indeed occur which in the final analysis can only be disadvantageous for the development of adolescents.

If we take a look at the intellectual development, we discover first of all that the majority of young people possess extensive and well-founded knowledge in the social as well as in the natural sciences. They have a solid polytechnical education. This does not exclude the possibility that teachers at times are still dissatisfied with the students' inadequate knowledge. What we notice in particular is the young people's greater problem-awareness, their openmindedness towards new problems, the increased attention they pay to ideological issues and moral problems. In doing so, they are trying to find their own position from which to judge everything in the world.

Young People, Their Ideals, and Reality.

A further characteristic is the adolescents' increasing readiness and ability to criticize. In spite of the here mentioned positive development tendencies and peculiarities, there are also some problems that can easily cause conflicts: Thus, young people are often inclined towards stereotyped thinking, to schematic transfers, to rash judgements, and to exaggerations. Their criticism is often strongly emotionally colored whereby negative aspects are frequently overrated.

[Question] Don't contradictions between ideal and reality play a role here also?

[Answer] ...matters which young people at times have great difficulty coping with? Here, one must consider that the ideal always lies in the future, that is what one strives for, what one fights for. Hence, there will always have to be a contradiction. But this contradiction must not reach such a point that the young people begin to doubt the reality--a complicated educational problem. On the one hand, the young people need genuine ideals, worthy of all their efforts. On the other hand, we must endeavour to present to young people the reality as it really is: with all its problems, conflicts, and also with its inadequacies. If we present reality without conflicts and unrepresentative of life as it is, we soon lose credibility and therewith education-effectiveness.

Tutelage and Tying-to-Apron-Strings Are Unsuitable Measures

[Question] In this connection, how can we fit in the young people's desire for independence and the sharing of responsibility?

[Answer] I consider this desire one of the most important characteristics of adolescence. Young people want to be asked their views, they want to participate in decisionmaking and they also want to assume responsibility.

One of the most frequent problems leading to stress in the relationship between young people and adults is the constant tutelage and the pettiness of tying the young people to the apron strings of the adults: If we want to educate young people to be independent and responsible in thought and action, we must offer them sufficient opportunities to put independent and responsible conduct to the test. Nice words alone accomplish nothing. In the years of adolescence in particular, the desire to be taken seriously, to be the adults' partner, is very pronounced. And this must be taken into account. Otherwise, there easily exists the danger that young people will try to give expression to their striving for acceptance and recognition by such negative means as smoking, alcohol consumption and snobbish behavior.

[Question] Could you perhaps in summary point out some consequences which could be helpful for education?

[Answer] The first is that we must have an understanding for the pecularities of young people, that we must try to comprehend them. We always must remember that we used too be young.

Demand and Respect--This Must Be a Unity

Markarenko again and again emphasized as the crucial principle of socialist pedagogy: Greatest possible demands on human beings with greatest possible respect for them. I consider this fundamental principle of utmost importance. What it is really all about is the dialectic unity of demand and respect. Merely to make demands without giving the adolescents sufficient respect is contradictory to this principle. Respect for young people is also shown by the way one talks with them. We must set an example of politeness, decent behavior, and socialist interpersonal conduct.

Many questions and problems are of concern to young people: about the development of nature and society, about morals and ethics, about human conflicts and many others. Precisely because of this, they so urgently need adults to talk with. With a view to a thorough grounding in the scientific ideology, this is extraordinarily important. One certainly ought to further deliberate and make suggestions. But what matters in the final analysis is that adults set a living example of the unity of word and deed for the young people. They must feel that we stand totally and completely behind what we are saying. The example set by adults is a great educational force. I return once more to Kurt David's testimony: They cannot be as we say we were, but they can become what we let them become.

9011
CSO: 2300/321

'SZTANDAR MLODYCH' COMMENTATOR EVALUATES NINTH PLENUM

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz]

[Text] The long awaited ninth plenum of the PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party] Central Committee, which was devoted to youth affairs, has completed its proceedings. Not everyone is satisfied with is resolution.

During numerous meetings and discussions, we came into contact with two clearly separate groups of young people. The first, thinking in terms of the past decade, expected the Plenum to offer it concrete benefits. It expected housing privileges, priority in purchases, and the awarding of promotions solely on the grounds of age and qualifications.

The second group sought formal legal autonomy, and demanded the abolition of the elements that have led to the social and economic degradation of young people; it demanded that they be given more serious treatment, in accordance with their place in production and political life, and expected youth organizations to play a stronger role in the state's political system.

The Plenum fulfilled the expectations of this second group. The youth movement obtained assurances that it would have, among other things, a right to supervise decisions on matters crucial to the younger generation, legislative initiative, etc. The Plenum also took a position favoring permanent forms of contact between youth organizations and the party and the state administration, at all levels. The principle of "nothing about us without us" is thus being implemented.

The question of establishing a Council of Ministers Committee on Youth was also settled. To tell the truth, it was not so much settled, since the Ninth [PZPR] Congress had already done this, as brought to a conclusion. It is still only a question of reaching an agreement within the [youth] organizations themselves. The balance on this is two for and two against. It is felt, however, that an agreement on this still cannot be expected...

Another important theme in the Plenum's proceedings was the question of youth's participation in the economic reform. This great undertaking is upsetting old habits, ways of thought, and methods of management. It is

frequently claimed that middle-management personnel are afraid of the reform. Within enterprises, the drastic nature of the changes will create almost revolutionary situations. This is, in fact, a chance for young people. They can break through and reach the highest positions, in which knowledge, courage, competence, and quickness are needed. The key to a real improvement in youth's situation in life thus lies in the success of the reform. It should be stated frankly that the loans for young married couples, [other] loans, and priorities are merely supplementary crisis measures, with very dubious results in terms of education--ad hoc measures. Only an improvement in the performance of the entire economy, a restoration of meaning to the term "market economy," and an increase in labor productivity can stabilize our lives in the long term and create prospects for the future.

Young people's participation in the reform is therefore necessary. We do not need them to participate [just] for the sake of employment; we need youth's emotional involvement and support for the reform, as well as their imagination in using the new mechanisms created by the reform. The reform is a task that affects the entire economic history of the Polish People's Republic. It can either be the monument to a generation, or yet one more unsuccessful, ordinary experiment...

Finally, the third important result of the Ninth Plenum is the spread of the conviction that the conclusion of the proceedings has not ended anything, that the discussion about young people is just beginning, and that the Resolution is not the only result of the Plenum; there will be consequences resulting from their implementation. In addition, requests have been made to have this subject discussed again by the same forum in 2 years.

The Resolution adopted does not "give" anything, but instead opens up possibilities for undertaking initiatives and carrying them out, and achieving an improvement in various fields of life through effective action, through work.

Will young people make use of these new conditions?

9909
CSO: 2600/808

COMMENTARY ON RECENT CONFERENCE OF NINE AFRICAN STATES NOTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 2-4 Jul 82 p 11

[Text] A conference of nine African states--Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe meeting in Luanda [Angola] has ended. The conference focused on the states' economic relations with the Republic of South Africa. The countries are members of the Coordinating Convention for the Development of South African States, founded in 1980, when Zimbabwe declared its independence. Once again, it was emphasized that for obvious reasons the Convention is an economic organization, not a political one, for its members are countries with very different political orientations. However, it was recognized that economy cannot develop in a political vacuum. The member states expressed their concern over their increased economic dependence on the Republic of South Africa. They hope that in the near future Namibia will become an independent state and join the organization as the 10th member country.

To be sure, the independent African states for years have been condemning the racist policy of Pretoria and demanding that international sanctions be imposed against her. But at the same time, they maintain widespread economic ties with the white regime. This is simple required by the economic necessity, and there is no point to blame those countries for their economic exchange with the racists.

Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe have no direct access to the sea, therefore they ship their export goods from ports in the Republic of South Africa. As its closest neighboring country, Pretoria supplies the countries with relatively inexpensive electric energy, food, machines, appliances, and raw materials. Under different circumstances, the black south African countries would have to import those items either from across Africa or from Europe and the United States, which would make the import much more expensive.

The countries which are most dependent on the Republic of South Africa are former British protectorates: Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland. Botswana officially condemns the apartheid, but its economic situation has forced the government to exercise restraint in its attitude towards what is going on in the Republic of South Africa and Namibia. The Republic of South Africa provides water and electricity to Botswana, and it also imports labor force

from Botswana. Swaziland is actually owned by a South African millionaire Carl Todd, owner of 30 mines and the largest landowner in the area, while his fellow South Africans own 45 percent of the farmland in Swaziland. A similar situation exists in Lesotho.

Somewhat looser relations exist between the Republic of South Africa and other countries in southern Africa. In the Republic of South Africa, over 40,000 citizens of Mozambique have found employment, mainly in mines, and they provide Mozambique with about 40 percent of its foreign exchange.

Twenty percent of Zimbabwe's exports go to the Republic of South Africa, and 35 percent of Zimbabwe's imports are from the Republic of South Africa. There is a booming tourist traffic between the two countries, and Prime Minister's Mugabe's government makes good money from the tourism.

Over 40 percent of Zambia's export goes through the ports of the Republic of South Africa. From the Republic of South Africa, Zambia imports food (especially corn), clothing, and industrial equipment. Zambia also uses the Republic of South Africa's railroad system.

Pretoria supplies Zaire with meat, fruit, and vegetables. Over 60 percent of Zambia's copper export and most of its import go through the Republic of South Africa.

Summing up, the export of the Republic of South Africa to the rest of Africa is valued at over 130 billion dollars, which represents a 50 percent increase over 1979. The value of the import is only 40 billion dollars.

The conference in Luanda served only to state the facts, and no measures have been taken. But it could not be otherwise. The economic dependence of black countries in south Africa on the white racist Republic of South Africa is so great that a radical severance of those ties might lead to an economic catastrophe in those countries. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine that the international community would cover the losses resulting from such a catastrophe, since the economic situation of the East and the West is far from good. But a lack of specific solutions concerning the independence of the black south African states does not mean that the meeting in Luanda was pointless. Several agreements on a common transportation system were signed, but this is not most essential. The important point is that the participating countries manifested their willingness to continue to work together in order to accomplish a gradual liberation of those countries from the economic influence of the Republic of South Africa. The countries also warned Pretoria that if it turns the economic exchange into a political statement or makes it dependent on ideology, then the severance may occur earlier than Prime Minister Botha thinks.

9852
CSO: 2600/764

WARSAW AEROCLUB PRESIDENT DISCUSSES ITS ACTIVITIES

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 8, 11 Jul 82 pp 3, 6

[Interview with Prof Dr Jerzy Kuberski, president of the Warsaw Aeroclub, on 21 May, by Henryk Kucharski: "Victory in Spite of Difficulties"; place of interview not given]

> [Text] [Question] To begin our interview we want to convey to you our warmest congratulations for the Warsaw Aeroclub's [AW] victory in the 1981 regional aeroclub competition--we are addressing the president of the AW, Prof Dr Jerzy Kuberski. Let us remind the reader that the competition comprises the entire activity of an aeroclub in a given year--including the aeronautic and modeler activity, flight and parachute jump safety, labor productivity, and economic effects.

[Answer] "I sincerely thank you on my own behalf and on that of all Warsaw's aeronautic sportsmen," answers Prof Dr Kuberski. "Taking first place last year in the regional aeroclub competition gives all of us in the Warsaw Aeroclub immense satisfaction. Especially when one takes into consideration the fact that for several years we have been working under very difficult circumstances. The Goclaw Airport closed down in 1977. Since that time 5 years ago we have housed equipment in a hangar at Goclaw, while conducting part of our activity at Babice, using improvised spaces. I feel that in this situation we selected a good general plan with regard to activity which compensated for the closure of Goclaw and all the difficulties associated with that. We flew as much as possible at Babice. On the other hand, each year during 2 summer months and longer we trained and worked very intensively at Przasnysz. This is a town over 100 kilometers from Warsaw, a fact which caused definite difficulties. However, it determined the commitment of the youth, members, and workers of our aeroclub. The results of that work were evident especially in 1981, although even in the preceding years we did not rest on our laurels. Thus in the name of the Warsaw Aeroclub Administrative Board I am duty bound to most warmly thank above all the AW manager Jozef Grochowski and all the workers, especially the mechanics, for their immensely generous work. Creating the conditions in Przasnysz for organizing the camp and the assistance of the army--technical and in the area of food--testify to the fact that our friends--the soldiers of the WOW [Warsaw Military

District] and the Przasnysz authorities, who have always taken a great interest in our work--share equally in our success."

[Question] Recently the Warsaw Aeroclub moved at last from Goclaw to new buildings and hangars at Babice. Thus can one perhaps speak of better conditions now for the aeroclub's work than in the past 5 years?

[Answer] Indeed our aeroclub moved to new spaces at Babice in the first months of this year. I want to emphasize that thanks to the social work of our members we reduced the cost of the move. That fills one with optimism, all the more so since we are presently living in difficult circumstances. This work, especially the young people's, is meaningful.

[Question] As far as we know, the Babice Airport will not fully replace the former Goclaw Airport for the Warsaw Aeroclub...

[Answer] As the readers of SKRZYDLATA POLSKA know, our flying activity at Babice is limited. For in accordance with that airport's directions, we may fly airplanes only in a circle to an altitude of 300 meters and to designated areas. With regard to gliders, we may fly also only to an altitude of 300 meters and in a circle. We may not fly outside the boundaries of the airport. We can execute parachute jumps only in exceptionally favorable conditions, after receiving permission. Thus our parachute section uses Babice only sporadically.

[Question] Thus what is the general plan for the AW's action in 1982?

[Answer] We are directing our main effort at raising the qualifications of already trained pilots and parachute jumpers. But we are not forgetting about basic training either. Unfortunately, in spite of intensive efforts we are encountering immense difficulty this year in finding a place outside of Warsaw for quartered flight training of young people. Practically speaking, we are forced to base almost all of this year's activity in the air at Babice. Fortunately in this matter we are meeting with understanding and assistance from the rest of the users of the Babice Airport and the air traffic service. Basically we work at Babice on Saturday and Sunday, from morning to evening. Thanks however to the goodwill I mentioned, we will be able to use the airport on some other days of the week also.

[Question] In spite of the undoubted training achievements of the Warsaw Aeroclub in the last years, one has heard less and less about the sports success of Warsaw aviators on the national scene. Did the high aeronautic achievement in Warsaw suffer from lapse of memory?

[Answer] In spite of the AW's success in the 1981 regional aeroclub rivalry, the disappearance of AW competitors from the top ten in the various contests and classifications which are conducted worries me and perhaps the entire aeroclub management. We will try to correct this situation this year. We would like for our representatives to participate in all the national contests, although the number of contests has been significantly limited for economic reasons. All the same, we should prepare ourselves better for

them, since recently they obviously were not our strongest point. How successful we will be is difficult to say, since this is merely a sport. But I am discussing this because I would like to emphasize our interest in competitive sports.

[Question] In addition to the glider, aircraft, and parachute jump activity in the Warsaw Aeroclub, model airplane and hang glider activities are also conducted. What achievements, problems and hopes does the Warsaw Aeroclub have with these two most accessible areas of aviation sports?

[Answer] We have considerable success with model airplane work. On the one hand, it is connected with the wide scope of model airplane work--I have in mind here, among others, the circles active in schools--and with the fact that in an understanding with the Warsaw housing cooperative movement we have jointly started a beautiful workshop. It is located very close to our airport at Babice, in the center of the Wawrzyszew housing area. Toward this goal the cooperative authorities turned over one floor of the housing area's House of Culture and also assisted in furnishing this structure. I feel that it is presently one of the best equipped model shops in the nation. We are also allocating considerable funds for modeler activity. Thus I hope that, among others, thanks to this our modelers will be more and more visible both within the scope of the aeroclub and on the national, even international, scene. I feel that this lies within their capabilities. As for the development of hang gliding, certain organizational changes have taken place. Hang glider work in the AW is still going on at the old workshop base at Goclaw. Unfortunately, the possibilities for executing flights in Warsaw are not great. We execute short sideslips in parks at Azczexliwice and Moczydla and from the talus hill at Siekierki. However, they cannot satisfy hang glider pilots. In connection with that, hang gliding activity is concentrated mainly on trips and camps outside of Warsaw. The aeroclub's services for the hang gliding section consist largely of assistance in purchasing materials and partly in furnishing equipment. On the other hand, everything that concerns hang glider flying is exclusively the personal work of the hang glider pilots and is accumulated through the personal efforts of the hang gliding section. We have an ever growing group of pilots and--what is very important--of hang glider instructors. I feel, therefore, that this year, too, the Warsaw hang glider pilots will raise their qualifications.

[Question] Activity in the new economic conditions keeps many aviation sports activists awake at night. The general cost increase was extremely hard on aeroclubs. How does the largest aeroclub in the nation intend to come to terms with the undoubted economic difficulties?

[Answer] With regard to funds, the budget which we received from the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Aeroclub, I believe, will cover 20-30 percent of our needs. Thus the rest of the funds we must come up with ourselves. We are getting them in various ways. One way is through leasing buildings at Goclaw to different users who will pay us rent, and we will bear the costs of maintaining the buildings. The resulting difference which we acquire we are designating for AW statutory activity. Part of the funds necessary for aeroclub activity we are receiving from patron institutions.

For we have friends who helped us for many years and who are not refusing to assist us this year also. Finally, no less important in our balance book will be the most frugal management of everything we own.

[Question] We are talking on 21 May, the day before the AW members' annual spring flight technology conference. Am I correct in thinking that these matters will also be a subject of tomorrow's meeting?

[Answer] Yes, indeed. Tomorrow's flight technology conference will even be dedicated to these matters. Fewer repairs and better use of equipment, instruments, tools--of everything that is in our hands--will allow us to economize considerably. All the more so since presently some instruments and materials have greatly increased in price. What was once a small sum in the budget is today a very perceptible, sometimes painful, expense. Thus our efforts are aimed at the most sensible economizing.

[Question] How do the authorities of the aeroclub of which you are the president work on a daily basis?

[Answer] In accordance with our plan we are systematically holding meetings of the Presidium of the AW Administrative Board. A meeting of our aeroclub's Administrative Board was held 2 weeks ago. Now we are already preparing for the reporting conference which is to be held in the fall. We keenly observe statutory principles, and we respect our internal democracy and everything that results from our joint assignments. I want to emphasize the great activity of all the members of the AW Presidium and Administrative Board.

[Question] Before the beginning of this year's aviation season a verification of pilots and parachute jumpers was conducted in the Warsaw Aeroclub, as in all the rest of the regional aeroclubs. What are its results?

[Answer] We conducted all the work connected with admitting those who appear in the number of AW members to glider and airplane flights and parachute jumps. The lists of those admitted to this year's season were published. No one has a complaint against us on that score, since the work was conducted fairly and honestly. We had to part only with those colleagues who for years had not observed the statutory principles. Thus they were only those cases where membership in the aeroclub was merely formal and had in fact expired sometimes 2 or 3 years ago.

[Question] The Warsaw Aeroclub is the only aeroclub with an assemblage of 3 million. Is that perhaps why for years it has had an excess--in relation to possibilities--of candidates for aviation training, or is it simply the result of young people's unceasing interest in aviation? Did the AW have more applicants than there are places at the training camps this year also?

[Answer] This year, too, the candidates greatly exceed the number of places at the camps and our training possibilities. One can take delight in the fact that aviation enjoys the young people's interest. It would be worse if this interest were not present. We do not see that happening. Still, as in each aeroclub, we are experiencing an ever growing shortage of equipment, a fact which limits our training possibilities.

[Question] Which shortage of equipment do you feel the most?

[Answer] I think that I am in agreement with the opinion of all aviation activists in Poland if I say that aeroclubs need most of all training equipment in the form of inexpensive gliders, especially two-seaters, and the most inexpensive airplanes possible. The Bocians are close to being finished. The new two-seater Puchacz glider has become amazingly, in my opinion, more expensive. Its high price must influence usage costs and the rise in training costs. As for competitive gliders, I feel that we will hold out for a while, although the alternative Jantara is a very urgent matter for competitive training.

[Question] As you already mentioned, the move to Babice will not assure the Warsaw Aeroclub the possibility of conducting full aviation activity, especially glider and parachute jump activity. Thus how feasible still are plans to build a new air field for the needs of Warsaw's aviation sports?

[Answer] The matter of a replacement airfield, which must be opened at the town of Goclaw, is not only still feasible but is entering into the deciding phase. I will note that when the decision fell to the government about putting Goclaw under a housing development, that decision simultaneously obligated the town's authorities to open an air field. Discussion on that subject, however, lasted for a very long time. The possibility of selecting terrain suitable for an airport within the boundaries of greater Warsaw is relatively small. The locations proposed to us were as a rule very far from the city. And after all, the aeroclub is to remain for Varsovians and is to serve the young people. One has to consider what is possible in terms of their finances and time. If we move the airport very far beyond the city limits, then travel will be longer and costs higher. That is also why the location of a new airport in the area of the town of Marki, with easy travel on the newly constructed Torun Line, is most suitable for us. There is a group of meadows at Marki that can be easily and rather inexpensively prepared for our aviation needs. Together with the president of the PRL Aeroclub, we went to the president of the capital city of Warsaw about making the final decisions in this matter. Of course at present, because of understandable considerations, funds are not an easy matter, but we have a guarantee and an assurance that those who have incurred these responsibilities to us will be able to meet them.

[Question] In what way would the Warsaw Aeroclub with its seat in Babice benefit from a future air field in Marki?

[Answer] Flight training and the entire gliding activity would take place at Marki. Since the distance between Babice and Marki is about 10 kilometers as the crow flies, there would not be a problem with even daily transportation of equipment by air. Parachute jumps would also take place in Marki, since in my opinion the chances for using Babice will decrease. And that is not only because of the limitations which result from the landing approach of passenger airplanes at Okecie Airport, but also because of the growing housing development around Babice. After all, an entire wall of the city is already standing on the north side of the airport, and a very large district is being built on the south side of Babice, too. The airport is already situated

between two large housing areas. The burdens that an airport brings to the inhabitants will also cause various, additional limitations in the aviation activity of those who use Babice. Thus the air field in Marki is very necessary for us.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

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BRIEFS

NEW BYDGOSZCZ RECTOR--The minister of science, higher schools and technology has appointed Prof Dr Hab Eng Jozef Salacinski, director of the Telecommunications Institute at Gdansk Technical University, to the post of rector of the Technical-Agricultural Academy in Bydgoszcz. Prof Salacinski is a well-known specialist in the field of teletransmission [teletransmisja]. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jul-1 Aug 82 p 7]

NEW CZESTOCHOWA RECTOR--The minister of science, higher shcools and technology has appointed a new rector at Czestochowa Technical University. The new rector is Prof Jozef Adam Ledwon. Prof Ledwon is a specialist in surface and subterranean industrial building structures, and in the field of construction in mining areas. [Text] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 5 Aug 82 p 2]

NEW COLLEGIAL ORGANS--The Presidium of the present Main Council for Science, Higher Schools and Technology has examined the consequences arising from the law on higher schools which has been passed by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. As a result of the discussion, it was decided to establish a seven-member Central Electoral Commission, to be chaired by Prof Zbigniew Osinski of Warsaw Technical University. This commission will handle the preparation and conduct of elections to the Main Council for Science and Higher Schools, the Council for Higher Medical Schools and the Council for Higher Physical Education Schools. In accordance with adopted procedure, during the first stage of work, i.e., up to the end of August 1982, the Central Electoral Commission will prepare a draft regulation on elections to these three collegial organs, which have come into existence by virtue of the law on higher schools. It is anticipated that a meeting of the present Main Council for Science, Higher Schools and Technology will be held in September, at which time the draft regulation on elections will be presented. The Central Electoral Commission consists of Prof Zbigniew Osinski of Warsaw Technical University, Prof Zbigniew Drozdowski of the Physical Education Academy in Poznan, Prof Antoni Fajferek of the Academy of Economics in Krakow, Prof Czeslaw Krolikowski of Poznan Technical University, Prof Zbigniew Muszynski of the Agricultural University of Warsaw, Prof Stefan Baszeja of the Academy of Medicine in Warsaw and Prof Romuald Skowronski of Lodz University. [Text] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 2 Aug 82 p 2]

CSO: 2600/828

VIEWS OF FOREIGN HISTORIANS ON MOLDAVIA COMBATTED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 9 Jul 82 pp 1, 15

[Article by Cici Iordache]

[Text] Victor Spinei, still a young man who has not reached 40 (he was born on 26 October 1943), a researcher at the A. D. Xenopol Institute of History and Archeology in Iasi, recently published a basic book in the Scientific and Encyclopaedic Publishing House. Not merely for himself, as a historian, but for our national historiography, for the history of the Romanian nation.

"Moldavia in the 11th-14th Centuries" sheds high-intensity light on the road traveled by Romanian society east of the Carpathians, starting with the first written mentions up to the construction of the independent feudal state.

I was in Iasi and met him at his desk, still busy with the same era,studying and summarizing a volume by Rene Grousset entitlted "L'Empire des Steppes (Attila, Gengis-Khan, Tamerlan), about which he is preparing yet another work. Also referring to Moldavia.

[Question] Why Moldavia, Victor Spinei? Why did the 11-14th centuries attract you from all the history of the province in which you were born, where you studied and remained to work?

[Answer] Simple! I am working in Iasi at the research institute whose reason is to study the history of Moldavia. This is one aspect; the second is that someone had to take the bull by the horns and study this very controversial era which, although it has not been ignored by other of our historians, since special works and even general articles based, however, on areas have appeared, required a study, a monograph intended to answer certain ideas, interpretations and arbitrary hypotheses, erroneous or contradictory, supported persistently and perseveringly in the specialty literature by certain historians, some even ill-intended, against historical reality. On the other hand, a lack was felt in knitting together an overall picture of the era in the entire Romanian space; for other of Romania's regions, monographs already had been written referring to the first half of the 2d century. There is a monograph for Transylvania by Academician Stefan Pascu, one for Maramures, the 14th century, by Radu Popa and also for the 14th century on the Romanian Country there is the monograph, splendidly scientific, by Dinu C. Giurescu. Somehow Moldavia remained an orphan.

[Question] What are those theories of the foreign historians, what do they sustain and with what arguments?

[Answer] First, denying the Dacian-Roman continuity north of the Danube, in the Eastern Carpathian-Nistria area. Reducing the role which the Romanian population had east of the Carpathians, going up to denying their presence in the particular zone, up to the point immediately preceding foundation of the feudal states. They assert the thesis of colonialization with the population coming from Transylvania. Another noxious theory is of those who see in the eastern Carpathian area just the Slavic, Turkish and Mongol populations. Also, some are attempting to accredit the idea that in the so-called "colonial" period Moldavia continually was under the political obedience to other surrounding states. In the context, the origin of formation of the Romanian feudal state is placed exclusively due to the Maramures colonialization. These are old theories, however they have continually been dug up by those interested to imposing their viewpoints, which not always have had scientific reasoning.

[Question] And, more recently, the political ones. We know that the first to assert them and impose them in European historiography was the German historian Robert Roesler in his work "Romanische Studien. Untersuchungen zur Alteren Geschichte Romaniens" ("Romanian Studies. Research into the Ancient History of the Romanians") which appeared in 1871 in Leipzig and which, again as we know, influenced entirepleiads of historians in Europe and across the ocean. In your opinion, can Romanian historians and historiography counteract the effect of these ideas, theses and theories in order to bring historical reality back to its rights?

[Answer] Even at the time when Roesler published his book, Xenopol raised his voice however his arguments were not too well articulated. Then, Parvan, then Dimitrie Onciul, then Iorga and Gheorghe Bratianu, historians of international prestige, with much more powerful arguments. Roesler threw on the scales of judgment his very broad arguments, both historical as well as linguistic, which require particularly broad analyses. Precisely from here we have the large number of those who debated his ideas, ideas which have followers even today, interposing their political goals and motivations. Because this problem of the Romanians' continuity in the northern Danube area has not remained just a scientific problem but it was and has remained a political problem. When Roesler formulated his theses, the act of union had been accomplished, Romanians were on the path to obtaining their state independence, while the Romanians in Transylvania more and more strikingly were asserting their desire for union with their brothers across the mountains. Whereas the political aspect of the Romanians' continuity on the territory of our country no longer can be current, it has remained in discussion in historiography. Insisting on the first part of the first millenium in the work, also having had studies abroad--I did a one-year study at the University of Saarbrucken, Germany--I remained surprised by the fact that a theory contradicted by data of science, by historical reality, still has an audience among certain representatives of historiographers. By telling you this, I am trying to pull the alarm for our historiography and this is not my first gesture in informing the legal forums. Regrettably I have not succeeded in rebuffing those who are hanging on to asserting these theories, although today we have infinitely more powerful arguments than Onciul, Iorga, Gheorghe Bratianu had in their times. I have in mind in particular the digs and archeological discoveries of the last 30 years.

[Question] And, yet, why do you feel we have not succeeded in making the proper rebuffs?

[Answer] Those asserting them publish very much in the languages which circulate internationally in various countries, particularly where there is a historiography of worldwide prestige, such as FRG, France, the United States and the USSR. We publish little or almost nothing in foreign languages. The few works which appear in this area are not doubled by translations or by special editions abroad. Not one of the monographs which I named above--and they really deserve it--also is translated into the widely-circulating languages. Our specialty book, although solidly written, is little known and represented in the libraries of the big world cultural centers; not even in Romanian, with the exception of those published in the Academy Publishers and some in the Kriterion Publishers. Looking for basic works written by Romanians in the big libraries in the FRG, I found very few and with passing summaries.

[Question] Yes, this is a little curious, since we have big libraries--the Academy, the Central State Library and the University Central Library--which have foreign relations sections and an exchange of books with libraries in many countries; we have an institute for cultural relations abroad and we also have the embassies' cultural representatives who could be more concerned, with the proper attention, with propagating and disseminating Romanian history books.

[Answer] And then our presence at international scientific meetings in the area are sporadic, so that the Romanian viewpoints find their way with difficulty.

[Question] Sometimes they find their way to us, the Romanians, with difficulty, too. I am speaking of the people, the citizens, not the specialists. I do not know whether the younger generations or the older ones know the last discoveries and ideas of historical research. For that reason, the party's secretary general had to give express indications, as he did in his speech at the 1-2 June plenum for reevaluating and reconsidering the study of the country's history in the schools and to emphasize the role of knowledge of this in the patriotic education of all citizens.

[Answer] I dare say that little history is being printed here in the country. Take the plans of any publisher and see how many history books are included. I would say, distressingly few.

[Question] Although, since the 9th party congress, in all the party speeches and party's program documents, the secretary general has drawn direct tasks for historians to work out basic works on the eras which have been studied less or which have been interpreted wrong and to reconsider critically the treasury of values of the past in this sector of science, too.

[Answer] The involved forces, in my opinion, are restricted compared with the countries around us. Appointments to the research institutes and branches have not been made for many years. I am almost 40 and still am among the youngest in the institute. This will create some difficulties with time. This hiatus between generations of researchers will have its say in time. The situation is not just in Iasi but the other centers, as well. Assignment of all graduates,

including the top ones and those trained for research who have been channeled along this road since college, in education, with a 3-year required stage, seems to me to be too rigid and detrimental to forming tomorrow's researchers. Torn from this specific work (I am speaking for history), many of those who represented hope give it up only to return after doing the stage. They forget what they have learned and they have all kinds of duties where they work. The years in which they could learn and master the study of paleography, several foreign languages and historical and archeological investigative techniques and methods are irreversibly lost.

[Question] We have moved far, very far from Moldavia of the 11-14th centuries. What does your work propose and demonstrate?

[Answer] The main purpose of the book is to show the role of the Romanian population in the Carpatho-Nistrian area, that is, all of Moldavia from that time. Since written sources are relatively restricted in information, sometimes even wrong in their meaning, I have combined historical information (which still exists) with archeological information, which is much more numerous. We have hundreds of signals of settlements and burial sites which are to be investigated. Actually, the archeological investigation is a productive and inexhaustible field. Given the fact that the Moldavian state was created late following founding of chancellary, the sources are foreign ones for the first centuries of the second millenium. A great part of these sources were discovered along the years and I have appealed to them, of course. Yet, I also found several--eastern and central European--which I succeeded in using in the book. Some Arab analysts (Baibars, an-Nuwairi) and central Europeans (Jochan von Wurtzman) mention the Romanians in the eastern Carpathian area, generally involved in struggles with the surrounding populations. Trifling statements but, end to end, they speak indubitably of the presence of the Romanian population as well as its organization and they show that the origin of the feudal state from the middle of the 14th century did not appear from thin air but from a previous organization. If we were to follow the written sources, we would have to admit that, from the demographic viewpoint, there is a small population; it did not have a large army. The populations of the surrounding states recorded political events of the big wars, attacks of the migrating populations, plunders which generally attracted attention. But the Romanians, being a people for whom the basic occupations were agriculture and raising cows, thus, a sedentary people through excellence, were less capable ofstirring the interest of foreigners, particularly in the states where historiography was developing (Byzantium, in particular).

[Question] So, not nomad animal raisers or continually moving their flocks to the south, toward the Balkans, as some historians have asserted and still assert?

[Answer] Although archeology in Moldavia still has a lot to accomplish--I would say it is barely at the beginnings with regard to the prefeudal era--it still has recorded marked success. As I was saying, already several hundred settlements from the 11-14th centuries have been uncovered through field research, on the surface, while a consistent number of settlements and burial sites already have been investigated methodically by specialists, succeeding in defining both the features of the local population as well as those of the migrating populations. It is interesting to point out that, differing from the native population,

for whom the discoveries prove settlements and burial sites, for the invading steppe groups--just graves, thus strengthening the written sources according to which these nomad populations were living in carts and tents and with no stable settlements.

[Question] Actually you are an archeologist and, as such, you could synthesize and interpret rich material in this regard. Which of the archeological centers supplied you with the most interesting documents?

[Answer] The discoveries from Hlincea-Iasi, Raducaneni, Sendreni Batca Doamnei-Piatra Neamt, Birlalesti, Birlad, Baiceni, Brasauti, Hudum on the territory of our Moldavia as well as those of Orheiul Vechi, Costesti, Cetatea Alba, Hapsca, carried out by specialists from the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldavia. First, one notes the placement of these settlements: in places favorable for agriculture and growing cows. At the same time we should mention the existence of homes, including in their inventory, in particular, tools and objects of household use. Tools, holes for provisions and various carbonized seeds (which could be analyzed) prove that agriculture was a basic occupation. This is the firmest retort for those foreign historians who have asserted that the Romanians adopted agriculture very late due to the influences of the surrounding peoples and that the main occupation was shepherds moving the flocks, with a seminomadic existence. The data I have given as well as some linguistic proof go against these assertions: Romanian agricultural terminology is of Latin origin for the most part. It is not adopted from the surrounding peoples as has been asserted; just some of the names for tools and secondary practices are of Slavic origin. On the other hand, osteologic analyses--material recovered through digs--indicate a diversification of animal breeds which were being raised and not a unilateralization, which could have given basis to the idea of raising animals in flocks, thus justifying the moving of flocks. This was a small number, for current needs, with the two occupations combining harmoniously. This characteristic actually was not zoned but is present all along the history and throughout the Romanian area. By drawing the features of the Romanian nature, this does not in any way mean that we have reduced the contribution of the migrating populations and alogenous groups established between the Carpathians, Danube and Nistru in the work. Differing from western and central Europe, where the big migrations ceased at the end of the first millenium, in the meridi nal zone of eastern Europe these migrations continued vigorously up until the Tatars and the coming of the Mongols (toward the middle of the 18th century), causing big disturbances in the ethnic-demographic aspect and the life and progress of the native population. This also explains the late foundation of the feudal state in this Romanian province and the delay in the progress of society life. As well as the attempts of the powerful surrounding states to seize the territory of the eastern Carpathians. I wanted to point out that the development of Romanian society was not rectilinear but, on the contrary, with certain contortions, even temporary regressions. The territory of Moldavia did not have an identical situation in its totality. The beneficial influences of Byzantium up to the 11th century, through adoption of superior trade techniques, were demonstrated, particularly in meridi nal Moldavia which, in exchange, starting with the second quarter of the particular century, bore a long string of invasions of Turanian tribes (Petchenegs, Cumans) and Mongols.

[Question] How does one explain the fact that the name of Cumania appears on the territory of Moldavia on some maps, reproduced with great frequency in some countries, in too many so-called scientific treatises?

[Answer] The term of Moldavia appears relatively late; in my opinion, it appears toward the middle of the 14th century. Earlier, the name of Wallachia was used for this region (that,is, Romanian Country) just as for the remainder of the area inhabited by Romanians. Actually, the name of Wallachia for Moldavia coexisted for a number of neighbors for a long time, for the entire Middle Ages (for Poland, for example). Also one must mention that the eastern Carpathian regions were given names coming from ethnonymy by some researchers and cartographers (as, for example, Patinakia (from Petchenegs), Brodnic and Cumania, according to the name of the tribes which held military control over certain zones of Moldavia temporarily.

[Question] But where does the name of Moldavia come from?

[Answer] Only a restricted region was hiding under this toponym, one which took the name of the hydronym from the northwestern portion, from the water of the Moldavia which flows into the Siret. It seems the hydrographic reservoir of the Moldavia River was the initial nucleus from which the feudal state was born. It is supposed that the first capital was in the city of Baia, where today relevant archeological digs are being carried out. The term extended--a frequent case in history--also for other portions of the world (from Rome, one arrived at the Romanian Empire, just to give the most famous example).

[Question] If northwestern Moldavia was the nucleus from which the feudal state began with its ages of flourishing and well-known glories, what is the truth and what is the myth in the story of its foundation? Again a territory of controversies, from some historiographers, and of the malicious or tendentious interpretations from some historians.

[Answer] As a concept it appeared in the Moldavian chronicles which combined an ancestral legend connected with the cult of the bison and with certain medieval political realities. "The colonialization" is not just a simple myth. The first prince of the Moldavian feudal state was an insurgent Maramures man against the oppressing Hungarian crown. But, despite this, the colonialization cannot be interpreted as a simple transfer of population from one side of the Carpathians to the other. If Bogdan, who was undesirable for Hungarian rule, could have been able to confront and defeat the armies of Ludwig d'Anjou of Hungary, he would have remained in his areas in Maramures and would not have come to Moldavia. However, in Moldavia there was a state of spirit against the Hungarian attempts to extend its domination to the east of the Carpathians, but Bogdan did nothing but ally himself with these local forces. Establishment of a state cannot be explained except through a secular evolution, an internal evolution of all aspects of life--demographic, economic, cultural.

[Question] But political?

[Answer] Little is known and it is presumed that unions of communities existed which united with time. In this process of establishment of the feudal state,

the local inhabitants had to encounter great external difficulties: the southeastern portion of Moldavia was under the rule of the state created by the Mongols--the Golden Hoarde--while the remainder of the territory was desired by Angevine Hungary, which undertook many expeditions east of the Carpathians, even succeeding for a small territory to enter under its control, even with the aid of certain Romarian elements in Maramures, headed by Dragos, who collaborated with the Hungarian crown.

The territory and the period I selected for the subject of investigation still hold mysteries and I am aware that what I have achieved is not the final point but merely the recording of a current stage of research, which is improvable.

[Question] And one which you can complete and improve on yourself, Victor Spinei. So the normal question follows: what are you working on and what other projects do you have?

[Answer] Currently I am working on the book entitled "Native and Migrant in Southern Moldavia in the 11-13th Centuries," centuries peak in invasions, a book which proposes to develop a ideas which were set forth but developed in the first book and to bring into discussion some original or quasi-original material. Some archeological sources which have not been published and some narrative sources which permit a colored analysis of relations between the native and allogens. Some of the archeological sources are our own discoveries (in Grivita-Birlad, Grozesti-Husi) and others are in collections in the museums in Moldavia and have not been utilized. These themes of the big invasions even today are enjoying great interest in European historiography and proof is the large number of studies on them. At the basis of this concern is a hidden thought which I shall reveal: interesting someone in a problem of European attraction, I could capture a sphere of interest for a problem of Romanian historiography,too. Another project: an edition of Gheorghe Bratianu's remarkable book, "La Mer Noire," in Romanian which appeared in Munich in French, a work which is a broad synthesis of Romanian history in the European context from antiquity up to the Middle Ages. As a historian Bratianu was and is an authority at the international level and it is too bad that his thinking and contributions to our history are being reevaluated so late. His works are of a high scientific level and more current than ever. It is good that one was published last year, with a remarkable preface, by Valeriu Rapeanu, which reinstated his scientific rights. Interesting, from a literary figure and not a historian! Gheorghe Bratianu is one of the greatest specialists in medieval history and nobody treating the subject of this period--and not just the history of Romania but of Byzantium, of the Genoa colonies and other zones--can ignore his works. One must bear mind that some of those who do not share the ideas of our historiography are publishing an impressive quantity of literature and are hardly waiting for us not to make use of and make an exact appeal to the Romanians' works, which have had and have international prestige and following.

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20 August 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2045

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20 August 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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KAPITONOV STRESSES ROLE OF BASIC ORGANIZATIONS AT PRAGUE MEETING

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 7, Jul 82 pp 39-44

[Speech by I. V. Kapitonov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the Prague meeting of Central Committee secretaries: "The Party Basic Organization Is the Political Nucleus of the Collective"]

[Text] The CPSU now has almost 18 million members in 420,000 basic organizations. In the past 15 years the number of basic organizations has increased by more than 80,000. Their number is increasing especially swiftly in the leading producing branches, in scientific and planning organizations and in crucial areas for the development of the socialist economy. The network of party organizations has spread recently in areas where large-scale regional producing complexes have come into being.

I.

The resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress form the basis for the entire activity of our party and, naturally, of the basic organizations. The November (1981) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which debated the 11th Five-Year Plan, was a direct continuation of the work of the congress.

The manifold nature of the economic, political and social life of the country is reflected in the activity of the party basic organizations, determining the broad scale of those questions with which they deal. Realization of the uniform party line always constitutes the backbone of their work amidst the concrete relationships of the various working collectives; this is still their chief task today.

Guidance of the economy is the central task of the entire activity of the party in a socialist society. The chief efforts of the CPSU are directed at ensuring, in the interest of increasing the prosperity of the people, the conversion of the socialist economy to the path of intensive development, achieving an upswing in the efficiency and quality of production.

The basic forces of our party are concentrated in the sphere of material production. There are 175,000 basic party organizations in this sphere; more than 49,000 of these worker in industry, 31,300 work in the construction industry, 23,000 in transportation and almost 48,000 in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. These are the largest party organizations, the chief supports

of party work, uniting three-quarters of the working communists. This is a gigantic force, every effort of which is directed at increasing the influence of the party on economic life as a whole.

The party organizations are participating ever more steadfastly and with ever greater understanding in the solution of basic questions connected with the development of production. Their initiatives are especially clear and widespread in organizing socialist competition into a true mass movement. New initiatives are constantly being born in the basic party organizations, in the working collectives, patriotic initiatives which are aimed at successful fulfillment of the tasks of the annual plans and of the entire Five-year plan. The most valuable of these find approval and support in the Central Committee and the local party organs.

In the present phase of our development, the requirement in first place is that "the economy must be profitable." This means that we should use the gigantic material potential of the country economically. Technical progress, investment policy, planning and the improvement of the economic mechanism are directed to this end. This activity opens a broad field for the basic party organizations in connection with these tasks.

The industrial party organizations are increasingly putting the basic questions of the development of the enterprises in the foreground. They are working out and realizing complex plans for the socioeconomic development of the collectives. A new motif is the solution of problems connected with increasing the productivity of work, with improving the quality of products and with economy measures. This approach prescribes the realization in a uniform spirit of the necessary organizational, technical and mass political measures in every section and shop and in the entire enterprise. The cooperation of production and science is becoming ever closer.

The Central Committee and the local party organs support themselves solidly on the basic organizations in the realization of the agricultural policy of the party, in solving the food question which is a central question of the present Five-year plan. In this area, naturally, the key role falls to the party organizations of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. In the course of the struggle being waged for an upswing in agricultural production, they are strengthening their influence in the areas of management, of educating poeple and of the social processes taking place in the villages.

The party organizations are mobilizing the collectives to make efficient use of the land, of technology, of artificial fertilizer and of the other material resources, to use more effectively those large sums which are being invested in agriculture. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes passed a severe test this winter in animal husbandry. The role of the party organizations in organizing and educating the collectives showed itself especially here. Thousands of communists went to the animal husbandry sites and gave an example of self-sacrificing work.

Naturally, realizing the agricultural policy is not a matter for the village party organizations alone. This is a cause for the entire party, the entire people. We are trying in every way to increase the responsibility of the

party branch organizations connected with agriculture, trying to unite their efforts with the positive aspirations of the kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers.

The great possibilities of the party organizations are appearing in the course of the work being done for the carrying out of the great tasks, possibilities which do not require supplementary expenditures but rather only satisfactory organizational-political work.

If the basic party organizations are to help satisfactorily in the realization of our tasks and plans, if they are to exercise suitable influence on the life and affairs of the working collectives, they must consistently realize their right to supervise administrative activity. The organizational statutes of our party start from the idea that supervision is an important political and organizing function of the basic organizations which is interdependent with the leading role of the party in society. The sense and purpose of such supervision lies in the fact that it should increase the responsibility of the economic leaders for the matters entrusted to them without violating the principle of one-person leadership, without intervening in operational functions and without taking the place of the economic leaders; it should discover and eliminate deficiencies, preserving the interests of the entire party and the entire state in all things at all times.

II.

The basic organizations must strive to weld the party's policy with the living, creative activity of the masses. They have an obligation to cultivate a healthy atmosphere in the collectives, to aid the development of the work and social activity of people with their organizing and educating activity. They should unite people closely together on the basis of their profound ideals, on the basis of comradeliness, mutual aid and an awareness of responsibility for the common cause.

As for the quantitative side, the number of party members in the working collectives is not large, relatively, for us. At the national level, communists make up about 11 percent of the workers. But the strength and influence of this nucleus is determined not merely by the number of communists but rather and primarily by their organizational and ideological-political unity, their ability to influence the masses politically. The party organizations support themselves soldily on the trade unions, on the organizations of the Komsomol, on the popular control groups and on other social organizations; they guide and coordinate their activity and develop the initiative and activity of the workers through them.

Work done among the masses presumes before all else that we care concretely for the needs and requirements of people. For this reason, the Central Committee has directed the basic party organizations to deal responsibly with working, living and recreational conditions, to make very sure that the sums available for social purposes are used according to the plans and within the established time limits.

Close attention is paid to the activity of basic party organizations active in commercial and public eating enterprises and in the welfare sphere.

Increasing the cultured nature of public services is a politically very important task. Recently the party organizations have been reacting more sharply to inattentive behavior in regard to the everyday needs and desires of the workers; they are criticizing in a more principled way manifestations of bureaucratism, insensitiveness and haughtiness. The party and state guiding organs and the mass media are supporting this effort.

The influence of the party organizations in the working collectives is stronger to the extent that they ensure the unity af ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizational and economic work. The ideological work done in the working collectives should be embued with idealism, in close contact with life.

In the course of work done among the masses, we start from the principle that one must speak openly and honestly about both successes and errors. Comrade Brezhnev emphasizes: "It is very important that propaganda not avoid problems, not be afraid of the so-called difficult questions. The policy of our party is clear. And we are ready to answer any question which arises in Soviet men. We must undertake this more courageously, remembering that if we do not talk about these things, then the enemies of our country will try to use them to slander socialism."

The party takes into consideration that the ideological confrontation has sharpened in the international arena under present conditions, the activity of the propaganda tools of the class enemy has increased, they have strengthened their attempts to have a disintegrating effect on the Soviet people. In this connection, we are devoting unflagging attention to the questions of propaganda, we are trying to conduct it effectively and in an offensive way, firmly beating back every ideological diversion, unmaking the hostile fabrications with arguments. The party organizations are educating the workers in the spirit of Soviet patriotism , the friendship of peoples and socialist, proletarian internationalism, implacably opposing bourgeios ideology and every manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism.

III.

The striking power of the party organizations depends directly on the level of work within the party, on relationships within the party. A substantive, sparkling life is characteristic of the majority of the organizations of the CPSU. Their activity is built on the principle of democratic centralism and consistent adherence to Leninist norms. The improvement of work takes place in two main directions, inseparable from one another: One is the ever greater unfolding of democracy within the party, the other is strengthening party discipline, increasing the feeling of responsibility of every communist for his own basic organization and for the entire party. Without touching on every aspect of this great problem sphere, I would like to stress what is most essential.

Before all else, the important role of the party member meetings. Experience shows that the work of the party organizations cannot be truly effective if party member meetings are held irregularly, if party members come to the meetings only to sit through the required hours and listen to previously

designated speakers. Those speaking at the 26th CPSU Congress clearly pointed out that the party member meeting--just like any party committee plenum--is the place where one must debate, seriously and profoundly, every question which goes to the essence.

We consider it one of the key questions of intraparty tasks to increase the vanguard role of the communists, to develop their activity in production and social life. In the final analysis, this also influences to a great degree the influence of the party organizations on the masses, the situation and mood reigning in the working collectives. The CPSU Central Committee has required that action be taken, more severely and more unambiguously, against those who violate party and state discipline, whose behavior is a blot on the name of communist. In the past year, the party organizations in the CPSU have expelled a total of 70,000 people from their ranks. We regard this as a healthy process of purging and strengthening the party.

The basic party organizations exercise a crucial influence on the development of the composition of the CPSU. Selecting replacements for the party is a function of the basic organizations set down in the organizational statutes. We are trying in every way to increase the responsibility of the party organizations for this important cause, for the political tempering of young communists, for bringing them into active party work.

The vanguard representatives of the worker class constitute the chief source for party member replacements. Almost 60 percent of the new members of the CPSU come from among them, We have followed this line unalterably for years. As a result, workers now account for 43.7 percent in the social composition of the party, 56.3 percent together with the kolkhoz members.

I would like to speak separately about the elected leaderships. This is the crucial organizing force in the basic party organizations, setting the tone in work and in the realization of the Leninist principle of collective leadership. A total of 4,56 million people have been elected party officials, the most respected and the most influential.

IV.

As you know, the process of improving the economic guidance system and the entire economic mechanism has been progressing consistently for us in recent years. The ratio of producer and scientific-producer associations in industry increases year by year. They provide almost half of all the industrial products coming to realization.

This circumstance has raised a whole series of questions regarding the organization of party work. The Central Committee studied the work of the party organizations of the Gorkiy auto factory done under the conditions of producer association and propagated the appropriate initiatives. A national conference was held on the same question. The CPSU Central Committee, generalizing the experiences gathered, passed a resolution in 1977 with the title "Concerning Several Questions of the Organizational Structure and Forms

of work of Party Organizations Under the Conditions of the Producer Associations Created in Industry."

In the initial period, the greatest difficulty was caused by coordination of the activity of the party organizations. The collective experience helped to find the efficient organizational form. This form was embodied in the conferences of secretaries of basic party organizations.

In connection with the development of specialization and cooperation in agricultural production and the creation of agroindustrial and other village associations, they began to form secretaries' conferences in rural areas also--similar to those in industry. The secretaries' conference deals actively with propagation of vanguard experiences, the organization of industrial technology and technical supply to the farms, the training and retraining of experts and skilled workers and political questions connected with socialist competition. All this has a positive effect on the economic activity of the association.

The secretaries' conferences, as a form of party work, can also be used in those cases where the activity of the party organizations of enterprises belonging to different branches must be coordinated.

Concerning the improvement of the structure of party organizations, it can be said that this is a task of a permanent character. It is important that this work correspond in full measure with the concrete conditions of the working collectives. Naturally one cannot tolerate unjustified reorganizations. There have been cases where the basic party organizations of parent enterprises and institutions have been united mechanically in the area of a large city or district. This changed the status of the basic organizations, turned them into shop organizations, limited their rights, broke their contacts with the district and city party committees and, in the final analysis, weakened their work.

We faced similar problems with the party organizations of ministries and chief authorities. It turned out that here, in violation of the organizational statutes of the CPSU, the party committees often registered communists who were working in enterprises, organizations or institutions under the chief authority but which had been granted economic independence. In essence, they were artificially attaching a number of party organizations to themselves. This distracted attention and strength from the most important tasks and hindered effective influence on the activity of the apparatus. The CPSU Central Committee and the local party organs have devoted increased attention to structural questions and have drafted measures to eliminate the deficiencies.

V.

The basic organizations stand constantly in the center of the care and attention of the party organs. This helps them to perform and effectively organize work in the general political milieu, to understand those tasks which are being solved at the center and in the localities.

The city and district party committees, which stand closest to them, have the primary role in guiding the basic organizations. Recently the city and district party committees have been given new strength, their cadres have been strengthened, their influence and respect have increased. They support themselves solidly on the basis organizations, offering them manysided aid. The leading workers of the party committees are trying to seek out the party organizations ever more frequently, meeting with the communists and holding briefings for them.

Today, in general, we have cultured, well-prepared communists, willing to take initiative, at the head of the basic organizations. Most of them by far are worthy of their trust, work conscientiously and have respect in the collectives. Almost two-thirds of the party secretaries have higher education or have attended higher education. In recent years the personnel here have tangibly stabilized. About 25 percent of the secretaries are replaced in each reporting or election period, not 60 percent as before.

The education of the secretaries of basic organizations is conducted regularly, in a planned way for us. The city and district party committees hold seminars for them concerning timely questions of party work and to exchange experiences and they hold theoretical and scientific-practical conferences about the problems of party building. Many party secretaries study in the evening universities of Marxism-Leninism.

To sum up, it can be said that in our party life is sparkling, true collectivism has been solidly adopted, there is an atmosphere of demandingness and principle, following with determination the line of a manysided development of democratic principles. All this has a positive effect on the work of every link of the party and on the deeds and mood of men.

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DEBATE ON UNSATISFACTORY STATE OF HEALTH SERVICES CONTINUES

Medical Cadre Salaries

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 9 Jul 82 pp 2, 7

[Article by Dr Genko Genkov, head of Health Center No 24, Inzhstroy DSO [State Economic Trust], First Consolidated Workers Hospital, For related material please see JPRS 81212 of 6 July 1982, No 2028 of this series.]

[Text] I am very pleased that your weekly has raised the important and topical problem of our heal care's future in all its aspects -- material facilities, nature of medical services, and medical cadres and their salaries. Until now all of these problems were considered taboo for all of us. How did the prestige of healers decline? In the 1950s, senior health care comrades claimed that we are "nonproduction cadres," an opinion hard to eradicate to this day. In the 1970s other high-level comrades in the public health service claimed that a patient who lodges a complain against a physician is always right. Now, thanks to the proper course charted at the 12th BCP Congress regarding health care and its problems, we can conduct a calm debate and pour our hearts out.

I have been a physician since 1952, and have practiced in the area of workers health care at the First Consolidated Workers Hospital since 1955. I have headed the health center as a shop physician (except for 1966, when I was assigned to the Ministry of Public Health as chief specialist in workers health care). I have witnessed a variety of trends and currents which have been "for" and "against" workers health care.

Medicine is not a craft or production skill, but an art. For thousands of years it has been known as "ars medica." A physician may examine only two or three patients on a given day, and thanks to his experience, ability and skill mastered through training and practical experience, save the life of a patient. Another physician may diagnose up to 35 subjective and objective conditions and, being more efficient, will be paid more.

In my view, the salaries of medical cadres must be taken out of the new economic mechanism. There are young people who know a great deal and older ones who have become senile. Let therefore, the patients chose their own physician whom they trust and let him be paid according to the rates. This is not a return to private practice, which I oppose. Such payments could be made through the hospital or the polyclinic.

Medical cadres are miserably paid. The standard salary of 155 leva earned by anyone with a higher education is not fair. I have in my unit technical managers with secondary school training who earn 250 leva monthly plus bonuses. Our enterprise's janitors received a 400 leva annual bonus. Why not award enterprise bonuses to the medical cadres as well? Does the physician or the nurse not contribute to higher output? Speaking at a meeting held in our hospital, the chief physician said that a way must be found to pay Yusuf the cook a base salary of 195 leva if we wanted to keep him. Why is it that we, the physicians, do not leave if we do not like our salary? Nowhere else in the world does such an anomaly exist -- garbage collectors to earn more than physicians. I am in touch with Czech colleagues (I took my medical training in Czechoslovakia and have worked there), who find it strange that in our country patients are forbidden to pay medical cadres, something which is legal in Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries and which does not make their health care system any worse than ours. Physicians' salaries in the other socialist countries are comparatively higher.

This is the origin of the question of "tips" offered by some patients. A well-paid person has pride. A poorly paid physician finds it difficult to refuse a fee in cash or in kind. The question is not that he should refuse, for this is the rule and nothing but a rule. The letter by our colleague Dr Ivon Kozhukharova in your newspaper, issue No 26 of 25 June 1982, is entirely accurate. She has poured her heart out. To a greater or lesser extent her fate is the same as that of all physicians in the system.

How to accept the fact that specialization entitles a physician to no more than an additional 15 leva monthly? All of us know what it takes to become a specialist: Long practical experience, one year internship in a specialized institution, more studies and finally, examinations, which today are as hard as those of the entire 6-year medical trainingcourse. Look at the latest issues of ZDRAVEN FRONT and notice the large number of openings for specialists in Sofia. What will happen 5-6 years from now, when physicians of my generation retire? Very few physicians have specialized in recent years, particularly in difficult fields (surgery, internal diseases, pediatrics). The number of even more specialized (II) physicians is even smaller. There are no incentives for the specialists, and few among us are willing to poison our lives with studies for the sake of 15 leva per month.

What about medical books and periodicals? The question was properly raised on how to organize one's budget so that there is some money left for periodicals. Not all hospitals have proper libraries. Every since I have worked in our hospital it has had neither a library nor periodicals. How can we see current medical publications? What about foreign publications? That is why the health care indicators in our country are lower than those in other advanced countries. Those who read and learn more also know more.

Comrade Pavel Vezhinov is right (in the interview he gave to Dr Fani Tsurakova in ORBITA, No 23). He is very sincere and far-sighted in his thoughts and reflections.

Another complex problem is that of the personal or "family" physician. It is proper for people to want to choose their physician. They can choose their

hairdresser, tailor or mechanic but not their physician. How to solve this problem? In a village one has no choice, for there is only one physician. In the city however, at the beginning of the year one could express a preference for a physician within the the polyclinic or hospital which services him and, after being officially assigned to him, would seek medical assistance (house calls or family examinations) paid for according to the legal rate, through the health establishment. I believe that this is similar to the now lost concept of a family doctor, which is regretted by many citizens.

We average one physician per 400 people. However, how many physicians actually practice? How many are directly involved in health care? We have many administrators, chiefs and inspectors but many villages without a physician. That is why we lag behind Switzerland. Furthermore, these chiefs do not assume their positions after 20 years of practice but right after graduation. They have neither the necessary experience nor a concept of what health care is all about. There are requests for information, forms must be filled by the physicians on the slightest pretext, and transcripts of hospital entry records are demanded (numbering in the hundreds of pages, at 12 minutes copy time per page). A great deal of such unnecessary information is used by some collegues holding important positions to write their papers. However, to the best of my knowledge, the Committee for the Unified System and Special Information alone has the right to demand and introduce accountability and report forms. That is how the physician's time is wasted.

There is much talk about reducing paper work but nothing is being done. In 1969 there were 95 different accountability and report forms. Today, in 1982, there are 325. Still on the subject reducing paper work: Is it not sufficient to enter a diagnosis, such as "acute tonsilopharyngitis" in the individual outpatient (or any other) card instead of also describe the patient's subjective and objective condition and even negative findings in order to prove that we have examined other systems and organs? Or else, why should a special form have to be filled, showing that I told the patient to come next Thursday? Is it not sufficient that I have told him to do so, instead of having to put it down so that someone may check on it? We do not trust one-another, and the less we do the more forms we introduce, the more we write and the less we treat. There are notebooks, log books, forms, reports, plans, informations, requests, all sorts of tables, as a result of which we hurry through the examination in about 3 seconds and start describing it, writing and expressing it in letters and figures....but why? So that one may be believed and be checked, for now the truth resides in the notebook and not in the treatment.

That is how the medical worker is devalued. We do this to ourselves. The physician must deal with a number of secondary problems.

We do not have a sufficient number of secondary medical personnel to relieve the physician from paper work. I have one nurse but work for three. Therefore, I have to waste my time in doing less skilled work. The phenomenon is unbiquitous. Three years ago I visited a factory physician in the GDR. My colleague had seven nurses (or other secondary medical personnel), one of One whom did nothing but extract and fill physiotherapy cards. I was envious of my German colleague who enjoyed the great respect of his patients!

I hope that, although hastily, I have been able to outline some thoughts which, I can assure you, are shared by many of my collegues. I believe that you are helping to resolve one of our health care problems, and I hope that such is indeed the case. Your initiative is praiseworthy.

Grateful to Physicians

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 9 Jul 82 pp 2, 7

[Letter by Ana Deyanova Makedonska, senior German-language teacher]

[Text] I value and respect the medical profession. I love physicians, those people who have sworn an oath to care for the most precious possession of man -- his health.

I liked very much the article by Dr Ivon Kozhukharova. It was truthful and bold and a good reflection of reality. This dear physician did not dare to accept the three fresh eggs offered by a thankful granny. When I needed an electrician he came, took 15 minutes to install a socket, asked for 3.50 leva and wrote a receipt for 2.50 (the only worker ever to give me a receipt). What all the articles reveal is that a great disparity exists between salaries for mental and manual work. A friend of mine, a pediatrician, is considered one of the best in her field. She is now retired with a pension of 110 leva. Her rent is 50 leva. She is a healthy woman of 60 and could help many sick children but does not dare to do so, for it is forbidden. How can she subsist on 60 leva, what to buy first? She is a woman of culture but cannot afford the luxury of buying herself a book or going to a concert or a movie. She does not visit others, for she is unable to reciprocate.

I remember that 14 years ago Dr Ilarion Mikhaylovski, the gynecologist, an excellent physician and a lovely person, operated on my best friend. The anesthetist was an acquaintance of mine and a friend of the patient. The surgery was very difficult. After the surgery the anesthetist told me that "Dr Mikhaylovski performed a true act of heroism. Throughout the surgery, which lasted 4 hours, he was in control of the entire team. He was sweating profusely, and he earned the admiration of us all." Dr Mikhaylovski was assigned to a developing country for the sake of friendship among the nations, to train medical cadres and help the population. He fell seriously ill and died soon afterwards, but the woman on whom he operated enjoys good health and the pleasures of life. Such physicians, and there are many of them, deserve our praise and sincere gratitude!

In my view, the Ruse physicians, who hold such responsible positions and are probably worthy members of their profession, are refuting very softly and delicately some of the arguments brought forth by the author of "The Unswallowed Medicine." Let us express "warm thanks and say a warm and good word" on behalf of those who are tirelessly fighting for our health and life!

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CATHOLIC JOURNAL PUBLISHES CRITIQUE OF PACIFISM

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German Vol 22 No 5, May 82 pp 4-6

[Article by Lutz Schmidtchen and Hubertus Guske, chief editor, BEGEGNUNG: "Pacifism: A Path to Peace?--Attempt at an Answer"]

> [Text] "Your weapons are not to be used for attack but, always and everywhere, exclusively for defense, a defense which, God willing, should never make the use of weapons necessary but seeks solely and exclusively the strengthening of justice and peace." (Pope Paul VI, 23 November 1975)

At all times wars have imposed immeasurable suffering on the peoples, and always people are looking for ways to escape such destruction. Not surprising then that the Christian Church, which adopted the peoples' old yearning for peace in a special way, has always been confronted with various ways for overcoming violence and thus also always had to come to grips with pacifist ideas. Sometimes today the Church is being reproached, precipitously and impassioned, also perhaps with a bit of self-serving, it had corrupted itself by its compact with power and turned away from its original tradition of non-violence. That reproach, however, is groundless.

When early church theologians advocated absolute non-violence, that reflected, along with a still alive expectation of a second coming soon, the experience of evident injustice by a Pax Romana, shored up by saber rattling, which in truth only brought slavery and despotism to oppressed peoples and even chased Christians like beasts. But it also contained much resigned acceptance of an imperium felt to be all too omnipotent, in the exercise of power of which Christians did not share anyway and which, on the other hand, had to make any kind of rebellion appear hopeless.

Another evaluation of the military was shown where Christianity embraced Roman citizens and soldiers, even if the loyalty to the commonwealth was disturbed by the fact that it was precisely the army which celebrated the imperial cult most prominently. But even long before the state-church had been formed, in Constantine's legions, Christians also gained victories. Subsequently there was only a tiny minority left that would advocate the idea of strict non-violence, where radical pacifism not only negated military force but, consistently, any form in the exercise of power by the state.

Only such a historic reminiscence can explain why there has never been a serious dialogue between pacifistic groups and the church in its exercise of power. More decisive, if less conspicuous, however, is the clash between opposing philosophic-moral standpoints in this matter. To pacifism, individual motivation and the personal stance are what matters almost exclusively. Thereby one expected either a change of history through the impact of the personal example, or any influence by man on history is denied, wherefore one turns away from the world so as to devote oneself to one's own beatification.

In contrast, the church, even though its arguments and clarity are not always the same, in principle rejects such individualistically foreshortened models and proceeds from a realistic view on history and on the social dimension of human action. And that also is the reason why it does not deny the states the right to morally just defense, one which protects life and freedom, however much it is seeking after peace.

The doctrine of the just war which was developed by medieval theologians must, from the historic vantage point, be understood primarily as an attempt to confine the boundless despotism in feudal power struggles at that time, committing them to the goal of a just peace. Originally then this doctrine was not meant to be a justification of war. Later interpretations of that doctrine, which undermined its actual character more and more--all the way to the mad idea of our days that would wish to justify nuclear war against socialism as a "just war"--express specific social conditions relying on the exploitation and domination of men. Such interpretations show that it is impossible to set down general doctrines that could be realized equally in different situations without any political analysis.

Peace is God's promise and a mission for men. As we pray in the "Confiteor," sin lies not only in doing evil but, first and foremost, in having failed to do good. That is why we have to ask ourselves time and time again how we are facing this mission to protect and build peace. This cannot come down to a moralizing evaluation of principles, let alone to decisions of conscience, but it comes to giving a political answer to the question whether pacificism can be a way today to make peace real. And here, there are three fundamental points then which a critique might attack.

Three Objections Against Pacifism

1. "A peace without weapons remains vulnerable to dangers; its weakness especially incites attack." One need not be a historian to substantiate this elemental truth which Pope Paul VI so formulated in 1978 with a great many examples. The colonial history of the last hundred years alone offers a terribly vivid picture of the extent to which imperialism ruthlessly used its military superiority worldwide to despoil whole continents and destroy thereby the peoples' national and cultural identity. The intention expressed by the Reagan administration in connection with setting up the RDF, to deploy military power still today to enforce selfish economic interests, and the blatant claim to world raw material supplies as the interest sphere of the United States itself, show how contemporary such considerations are.

Power politics so orchestrated does not confine itself here by any means to the official military apparatus. Where not much resistance is expected, one uses bought adventurers as in the past who, unburdened by diplomatic constraint, strike with accustomed brutality. On the Seychelles they thought recently they could do the job by just dropping an aircraft with international mercenaries. The miserable failure of the assault shows the opportunities for military adventurism dwindling. Still the most aggressive imperialist circles seek to attain their old goals by larger efforts. Mercenary armies set up and maintained by the CIA have reached already more strength than many regular armed forces.

2. Pacifism today asserts itself primarily through an individual rejection of military service and in the effort to abolish general conscription. It is being overlooked all too much in this, however, that the alternative for conscription is not the reduction of military potentials but professional armies. Thus it does not mean being polemical if we recall the historic fact that the recruiting of soldiers through general conscription was an important result of bourgeois revolutions and has been in use only for a historically brief period. Previously, for thousands of years, the ruling classes based their power directly and brutally on the privilege to bear arms while the mass of the people was prevented from doing so by the punishment of death. This, as we know, did not make wars less likely or less inhumane.

Today this connection is found in the fact that the most brutal dictatorships, e.g. in Central America, can conduct their war against their own peoples only by relying on professional killers. The military army coup in Chile, made up mainly of professional soldiers, furthermore demonstrated how much an alienation between the population and a special caste of soldiers itself jeopardizes traditional democracies.

The greater availability of professional armies for operations against the people is by no means, however, a factor of domestic policy exclusively. From the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, which in its last phase was accompanied by massive desertions that worried the U.S. military, the biggest military power in the West concluded it could bolster the fighting strength of its units if it were to do without the unreliable parts of them and solely depend on volunteers. And then there is the fact that professional soldiers are highly trained soldiers due to their long years of service, which the military experts in those countries compute directly into combat value. Nor is there any doubt that, in particular, the high unemployment rates keep supplying enough of an influx of volunteers.

Pacifism under such aspects would weaken those countries that would have to pit against such a real threat from strong and highly mechanized units of well trained professional soldiers, as put together in the RDF of the United States and other NATO partners, the vigilance and defense readiness of their peoples.

3. Pacifism detaches military violence from its political context. An abstract condemnation of any use of arms considering only the external military picture would, in a concrete conflict, put aggressors and their victims on the same level. But that is morally simply unacceptable in view of such examples as the U.S. aggression in Vietnam or Israel's, against several Arab countries. And there is yet another aspect in linking military objectives with concrete aims in practical

politics. To enforce an evident injustice, military force is used mainly where other means of coercion fail. For those other means there could hardly be a clearer illustration than the remark by a U.S. cabinet member to the effect that wheat could be more important for dominating the world than the nuclear weapon. This blackmail by hunger, known by the term "food power," is only one of the many means of coercion in an escalation that is topped by total war.

All three points lead to the realization that pacifism cannot indiscriminately be regarded as a way to peace. And then there are topical political experiences to make us wary. The question would have to be raised why ruling political circles and influential media in the FRG so vehemently advocate the spreading of pacifistic ideas in the GDR but rule out and oppose such ideas for their own country. What is behind this apparent contradiction is not hard to spot: They want to weaken the defense capacity of the socialist state but strengthen the military potency of their own capitalist state for the purpose of constant threat and political blackmail. This also again makes clear that pacifism cannot be a class-neutral concept but can under diverse social conditions cause differences, even the contrary. In the FRG or the United States, pacifists powerfully demonstrate against the NATO arms-buildup and, especially, the Reagan administration as alliance partners of other peace forces and so make an important contribution to halting the arms race. In socialist countries, however, which are engaged in a consistent peace and disarmament policy, pacifistic slogans aimed at disarming socialism would not benefit peace, but only imperialism.

How much also leading Catholic circles in the FRG are fighting against pacifism is documented by the so-called peace paper of the central committee of the FRG Catholics of November last year, which can hardly be surpassed in its anti-Soviet agitation. This leadership body of FRG Catholicism loquaciously calls for each FRG citizen's readiness for the armed defense of "our fatherland" that ensured "so much right and freedom" and "such a measure of social security"--as if increasing mass unemployment, inflation and social welfare curtailment were worth defending! But anyone who in the FRG rejects the arms-buildup course for good reasons and therefore refuses to bear arms, according to the Catholics Committee "abets ideas that come down to the destruction of political peace in freedom." The clear text of that: he "disturbs" the peace of capital.

Pacifistic ideas, thus, must always inquire into social and political contexts and cannot offer an action guideline valid for all sides from some "neutral" position.

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GDR REGIME'S WARINESS OF WEST GERMAN PACIFISTS ILLUSTRATED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 27, 5 Jul 82 pp 51,54

[Unattributed article: "GDR: Still Too Little--GDR Leadership Tolerates Peace Demonstrators, But Objects to Western Influences"]

[Text] Careful checks at the Berlin-Friedrichstrasse L-station: The GDR border officials are sorting things out, on the last Sunday in June, among peace friends from the West in the long line of arrivals, and they are spotting some: author Robert Jungk, a Hamburg journalist, two West Berlin adolescents may not enter East Berlin.

There, something unheard-of happens a bit later. Around the Church of Reconciliation in Berlin-Lichtenberg, circa 3,000 young GDR citizens assemble and probe their freedom of opinion. As in Dresden on 13 February, they talk about peace and that "freedom is not just a word." They also sing publicly and frankly about their country:

"Because there still are much too few who take the time to do it people live without dreaming in this age. All the people want to dream, bread alone is not enough. Because there still are much too few who take off the shackles people are living without freedom in this state. All the people want their freedom, bread alone is not enough."

GDR author Stefan Heym demands live TV coverage of the reduction of nuclear missiles in East and West. By their signatures, conscripts ask for a "social peace service" without weapons. In a "peace workshop," the disarmament emblem, "Swords into Plowshares," is embossed by hand stamps on felt, and postcards are sold with anti-war texts on them.

State security, always wary, does not let the printers alone. Courteously, by telephone, that official authority tells the church office the production by the sewing crew, under controversy for months, is illegal. That's all.

Remarkably many GDR limousines are parked around the Church of Reconciliation, occupied each by two remarkably nondescript gentlemen, and next door, through the only two clean windows of a vocational school, cameras and lenses are protruding. Till the peacemongers take action and put a newly painted screen up over the windows with the inscription: "Fotos for Peace."

The state authority which after the Dresden peace meeting in February still had prosecuted and reprimanded the "Plowshare" emblematists, this time did not intervene. For the time being, church demonstrations were still tolerated.

In Eisenach, the High Consistory Dietrich von Frommanshausen explained to 10,000 Protestants on a "Youth Sunday" on 13 June that he who attacked the emblem, "Swords into Plowshares," attacked the church itself. In Burg near Magdeburg, 2,000 young Christians met, a week later, 3,500 in Potsdam, to champion peace and disarmament.

In view of such large crowds at such meetings, the SED leadership switched, having learned, it seems, that confrontation does not always pay and that it may be better to join.

All over the GDR, thousands now have to espouse at demonstrations organized by the state a slogan borrowed from the West: "Against NATO weapons, create peace." To give such compulsory demonstrators a taste for this variety of pacifism, they either get a day off--as at the VEB Energy Combine, Dresden--or 10 East Mark in cash, as in Kreis Grossenhain, Saxony.

Officially, Carl Ordnung, functionary of the communist-controlled World Peace Council, was dispatched to the East Berlin peace forum. From Ordnung, member of the CDU(East) one could tell the new double strategy of the GDR leadership vis-a-vis the peace and disarmament promoters: The true peace mission, to be sure, was being met by the "socialist army," yet "the joint efforts of Marxists, Christians and pacifists" need not hurt--sounds by which Politburo member Kurt Hager had insinuated in June the SED twist toward more tolerance.

That, of course, runs into its boundaries on the border. Full of mistrust, SED members, church leaders and State Security watchdogs note all attempts by peace friends from East and West to help each other, by word or even by deed.

For the time being there are only a few individual champions who are seeking to bring the dream of a mass movement of the two Germanys into reality. At the weekend before last, e.g., 50 members of various leftist FRG groups met in West Berlin who are planning, in the all-German spirit, a "big demonstration" in East and West for 12 September.

The motto of the patriots who, still on the same day, sent their ideas by emissaries to a GDR youth club at Prenzlauer Berg: "Something has started rolling in divided Germany."

What kind of a movement it is, is explained in a 10-page "Manifesto" by wild national and socialist theses, reminding the "workers organizations" of their "power" and ending with a catalogue of demands: for the right of free travel, for the freedom for political prisoners, for independent trade unions in the GDR, and for the right of the German people to decide on its own destiny.

The initiators have not yet queried the people, only been discussing among themselves in all of Germany--through a so-called committee for the defense and realization of democratic rights and freedoms in East and West.

That association, with its home base in Duesseldorf, led by Social Democrat Carla Boulboulee and promoted by the Bochum theology professor Guenter Brakelmann, has special experiences in the defense of freedoms. In 1976, it invited GDR protest singer Wolf Biermann to a concert in Cologne; thereafter, Biermann was not allowed back into the GDR.

Committee fellow-combatant Annette Bahner got into trouble with State Security in 1979 and sat in a GDR prison for some months, and member Uwe Trieschmann, after seeking to recruit GDR peace friends in Karl-Marx-Stadt in January 1982, was sentenced to 5 1/2 years in prison but released in May after an intervention by the FRG government.

During his investigative arrest in Karl-Marx-Stadt, State Security showed itself well informed while questioning the prisoner about all of the committee's operations and leaflets. How plain the statements of faith are by which Trieschmann and his peers endanger themselves and others is indicated by a thesis in their "Berlin Manifesto" which says: "The working people in both parts of Germany place their hopes on the SPD and the DGB trade unions."

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PEACE ACTIVIST'S MALTREATMENT BY SECURITY FORCES DESCRIBED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 26, 28 Jun 82 p 31

[Unattributed article: "GDR: Man in Mourning"]

[Text] By occasionally arresting young members of the opposition, State Security is putting pressure on the peace movement in the GDR.

Slowly the black Lada rolls along the gravestones in Jena's old municipal cemetery and stops before a stone statue almost as tall as a man. Four men get out, grab the statue and its base, shove both onto a two-wheel trailer and cover them up with some checkered canvas. Then the GDR State Security commando with its loot swiftly departs from the graveyard.

When sculptor Michael Blumhagen (23) shortly thereafter searches for the whereabouts of his figure, officialdom gets entangled in contradictions. First the statue, representing a man in mourning, is said to have been "confiscated," later they announce the work had been "stolen" by persons unknown.

There is something the authorities do not suspect: Some daredevils not only watched the four State Security officials but even secretly photographed them in the act at the cemetery and then smuggled their picture documents to the West.

Since the State Security act at that sacred place circa 2 months ago, sculptor Blumhagen, son of the general music director and conductor of the Jena Philharmonic Guenter Blumhagen, has not had an easy time in the GDR. A terse inscription on the base of his work in stone had enraged the State Security: "Matthias Domaschk--12.6.57-12.4.81."

The prehistory: Domaschk, on 10 April last year, had been pulled out of a train going to Berlin by State Security officials and arrested at Jueterbog station. The secret policemen accused that young man of Jena of contacts hostile to the state and placed him under investigative arrest in Gera.

Domaschk did not last. A few hours before he was to be released on 12 April, he was dead. State Security said he had hung himself by his shirt.

Domaschk's friends do not accept that version from State Security. In Gera's cells for persons under investigative arrest there were neither hooks nor window knobs to attach a loop. Domaschk had wanted to get married; for that reason alone, suicide just before being released was inconceivable.

And now Domaschk, who had been active in the clerical peace movement and friendly with literary people critical of the GDR, became a secret symbolic figure for the young opposition in Jena--at the annoyance of the authorities. They would have flowers removed from his grave time and again.

Sculptor Blumhagen who had made the Domaschk monument was punished in a most subtle way. Recently he received, to his surprise, a summons for NVA maneuvers. Normally reservists in the GDR only have to appear on 1 November or 2 May.

Blumhagen, who had taken care of his military service at the age of 18, refused. He rather wanted to come for some "social peace service," which thousands of young people have been clamoring for in vain for a year, or at most serve, as an unarmed "construction soldier," in one of those small units into which the NVA puts its circa 400 objectors to conscription.

Even this modest form of substitute service was barred to Blumhagen: reservists in the GDR were not allowed to object in the first place. Friends wanted to assist the young sculptor and turned to prominent artists, colleagues of his.

At a conference in The Hague in May, European writers had affirmed, so they remembered: "We consider it our duty to help as best we can people persecuted for their advocacy of peace." Even the chairman of the GDR Writers Association, Hermann Kant, who is loyal to the party line, signed that declaration after pronouncing that nothing like that existed in his republic in the first place.

No help has come thus far from Kant, who was given an account of the Blumhagen case. Nor did a petition to state and party chief Erich Honecker do any good. Instead, Tuesday a week ago, State Security officials came to search Blumhagen's apartment in Graitschen near Jena. One day later the sculptor faced the authorities and was arrested.

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PROBLEMS WITH 'NON-PROLETARIAN' HERITAGE EXAMINED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 88/89, 14-15 Jun 82 p 4

[Report from Berlin: Difficulties with 'Non-Proletarian Heritage.'" A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Taking care of the claim of the GDR to being the sole "heir" to all positive achievements in German history creates considerable difficulties in practice, as was granted by the East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG (No 28, 1982). What was particularly "complicated" was the appropriation of achievements by "non-proletarian forces," let alone by those of representatives of the "exploiter classes." For there was no ignoring the fact that such political and cultural legacy had also been exploited by the bourgeoisie and its ideologues for their own ends, which had normally gone hand in hand with "most one-sided appraisals." It made it extremely tough for the workers class to cultivate such achievements because they first would have to be "purged of their abuse." The dissemination and cultivation of these traditions nonetheless were an important contribution to forming a national and historical consciousness in the GDR.

GDR Scholar's Analysis

East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG in German Vol 29 No 23, 11 Jun 82 p 7

['Cultural Policy' feature article by Prof Dr Martin Menzel: "Heritage and Tradition"]

[Text] "What from your fathers you received as heir, acquire if you would possess it." How many generations of pupils might in passed decades have written papers on that subject, which has not necessarily made them feel closer to Goethe's "Faust." If the assignment were given today, FDJ members might well recall to have read in Lenin's speech to youth that he called for a critical appropriation "so that you do not burden your mind with useless junk but enrich it through knowing all facts that are indispensable for a modern educated person."[1] Yet even Lenin leaves no doubt that one has to explore the results and insights of the past to cope with the tasks of communist construction. To us, there is this additional point that in our ideological conflict with the FRG questions of the German past are of a special place value.

The Workers Class Cannot Pick and Choose Its Heritage

What the workers class, when it starts constructing a new social order under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party, must take over from the exploiter society, what it inherits, is nothing it can pick and choose. Men make their history "not as they see fit, not under conditions they choose themselves, but under immediately given and found circumstances handed over to them."[2] The means of production, structures and monuments, the historic urban centers and the proletarian tenement housing, the accomplishments of science, literature, music, painting, and the people with their modes of thought and conduct, in short, the totality of social, political, economic and ideological conditions as they evolved up to the moment of the revolutionary transformation is what the working class finds given as its heritage. It has to come to grips with it; socialism has to be built with the people capitalism left behind.

Yet the working class is not duty bound to cultivate as tradition all it had to take on as its heritage. If Marx writes that the tradition of all dead generations burdens, like a nightmare, the brains of the living,[3] that means right there that we have to distinguish and differentiate in traditions. It goes without saying that the working class will repudiate all traditions serving the preservation and justification of the exploiter order, propagating war and national and racial hatred, and opposing historic progress and humanism.

Workers Movement in Past and Present

The socialist line of tradition includes, first and foremost, the results, achievements and deeds accomplished during the development of the revolutionary workers movement struggling against exploitation and suppression, against fascism and war. They deserve to be held preeminent not only because the working class, led by its Marxist-Leninist party, is the creator and sponsor of the new society but also because that is the development that was, precisely, corrupted and hushed up in the exploiter society.

Familiarizing the growing generations with the work and achievements of Marx, Engels and Lenin, Bebel and Liebknecht, Thaelmann and Dimitroff, and with the deeds of the antifascists who worked closer to home, means developing the love and respect for the achievements of the past. To connect that with the lessons and suggestions for today must be the goal in the socialist preservation of tradition.

Not only the historic distance today's youth has gained from the tough beginnings of 1945 justifies including that period in our cultivating our tradition. As the bourgeoisie denied the creative role of the masses in history, so that we today, due to the lack of documents, cannot possible uncover all those achievements, we have every good reason to reserve the proper place in our own history for the creativeness of the working people. The politician and the statesman thus is as much part of the tradition of socialism as is the activist of the first hour, the Hennecke activists as much as the pioneers in the socialist transformation of agriculture, the outstanding scientists as much as the noted artist.

Progressive Achievements by Non-Proletarian Forces

More intricate is a second aspect of our image of tradition, which deals with what the non-proletarian forces or representatives of the exploiter classes themselves created. The criterion can of course not be here whether such achievements and personalities supported the working class struggle, even though such instances did occur, from the ranks of the petty bourgeois movement, e.g., in the struggle against war or in the cultural field. Socialism pays tribute to such results and testimonials of the past which, in line with their own times, fostered social progress and attested to the creative abilities of people and to achievements and deeds committed to humanism, peace and international understanding.

That in these non-proletarian representatives the existing class antagonisms in society, in the political field, were more or less deliberately ignored and the statements made in the ideological-cultural field normally made the claim to be of universal validity, is something no Marxist will find astonishing. Anyway, that is no obstacle to attending to that heritage. Nor can one ignore that such political and cultural heritage for that very reason was exploited by the ruling exploiter class and its ideologues for their own ends, which normally went hand in hand with most one-sided appraisals, which cannot be blamed on the ones so appraised. But they make it extremely hard for the working class to cultivate these achievements because they first have to be purged of their abuse. As an example one may recall the Prussian reformers who, through a far-reaching distortion of their actual achievement and intent by imperialist reaction and fascism, had to do the fascists' bidding for making youth ready for war and for proving the superiority of the Germanic race, their deeds exploited by movies on holding out.

Contradictory Service to Social Progress

Finally the question would have to be raised whether among the achievements by exposed representatives of the ruling class or persons directly dependent on them there are some that could hold a place in the working class picture of tradition. This involves persons and their achievements in the political field or engaged in the development of the productive forces, the purpose of which was forming or consolidating the exploiter system, the tapping of new money sources or an increase in profits. We are quite aware of the ambiguity of such results. But that does not mean denying to them from the outset that they might objectively have advanced social progress.

The dialectics in the development was such that intentions and results were not always congruent or that a political or economic outcome overshot the original intent. To uncover the circumstances, the causes and conditions under which that is possible, and show the persons so acting with all their contradictions, is a task of Marxist-Leninist historiography disclosing that side of our tradition.

That is not the first and foremost task after the triumph of the working class. Then we first will have to elaborate and interpret our own history instead of writing a detailed biography of Frederick II of Prussia. First we work out a position of principle on the history of the exploiter society of the past which will show it in its essential features. Once the primary task is sufficiently advanced and enough cadre have been trained, then the image of history of the past is refined, supplemented and deepened on the basis of positions already elaborated,

and thereby it is being shown which historic legacy can be part of the lines of tradition of socialism and the workers class.

Disseminating and cultivating these traditions is an important contribution to forming a national and historical consciousness and to communist education. It does not only concern the teachers of history or civics. Our heritage and tradition are not reducible to political history. We also are heirs to what has been produced in the development of the productive forces, in architecture, literature, music and painting. Each special discipline has its own history. Each work of art, each invention, each political act, each insight gained is related to its era; within it stands the creator himself. In also making that clear in the natural sciences, in German instruction, in music and art education, we help deepen our image of history.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Associations," "Werke" (Works), Vol 31, Berlin, 1970, p 277.

2. K. Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 8, Berlin, 1960, p 115.

3. Ibid.

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OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON STATUS OF LEGAL SYSTEM

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Jun 82 p 5

[Interview with Dr. Gyula Borics, undersecretary in the Ministry of Justice by Dezso Pinter: "Dr. Gyula Borics, Undersecretary in the Ministry of Justice, Has the Floor: Legislation and Economy"; date and place not specified]

> [Text] Born in 1927, in the village of Feled, [Dr Borics] first graduated from the Teacher's Academy and taught for two years; beginning in 1950, he was a student at the Eotvos Lorand Scientific University in the department of political science and jurisprudence. Even before receiving his diploma, he became a political worker at the national center of the Teacher's Union; in 1956 he was appointed as a judge. He was a judge for seven years. (For three of these years he was the presiding judge at the circuit court of Bicske.) In 1963 he became a political worker for the Central Committee of the Party, then section head and assistant department head. In this position, he dealt with questions of judicial and state administration. Since June 1, 1980, he is undersecretary in the Ministry of Justice. He is a member of the Academy's public administration committee, the directorship of the Hungarian Jurists' Association and president of the legal qualifying examinations committee.

/In past years, legislation played a large role in the development of public affairs, and we heard much about its results during the last parliamentary session. Our correspondent, Dezso Pinter, inquired first of all about what further stages can be expected on this road from Dr. Gyula Borics, Undersecretary in the Ministry of Justice./

--The development of public affairs and the broadening of democracy is a continuous task. In the past decade, our legislation also did a great deal in its interest. Our socialist legal system has been largely transformed; as a result, the building on modern legal foundations of a socialist society in our country came about. The increased pace of the development of our legal system was brought forth by the proper changes in the directions of our socio-economic life. That is, if we want our law to fulfill its role

effectively, legal provisions in the various stages of development--including future considerations--must be adjusted to social and economic reality and to the new and more advanced requirements for the building of a more advanced socialist society. As a result of this effort, important legal provisions such as the laws regarding councils, administrative procedures, propositions and complaints have appeared. But we must also list in this category provisions strengthening legality, law and order, and public security; the laws regarding the courts and public prosecution, and likewise the contents and procedural regulations of criminal law.

--Today, as a result of the legislative work of the last decade, the most important social and economic relationships and the fundamental rights and obligations of the citizens are organized based on modern and adequate legal provisions. However, the legislative work which serves the development of public affairs will continue in the coming years. It is founded on the government decree which was adopted pursuant to the XII Party Congress and which determined the tasks of legislation--for the near future--on the basis of scientific concepts. Among these, the revision of the law pertaining to elections directly aimes at strengthening democracy, has especially great significance. We expect a significant step forward in the development of public affairs from the newly regulated civil legal procedure which modernizes, expedites and simplifies the procedure of the administration of justice in an important area. From the standpoint of our public affairs, the uniform and comprehensive regulation of land-owning rights is also not without importance--the creation of a Code of Land Ownership Rights will serve this purpose. With the modification of the legal provisions pertaining to cooperatives, we await the further development of the cooperative movement and cooperative democracy. Besides this, we also wish to take steps in the interest of improving the legality of company management. Preparation for the reregulation of the Labor Code is a very important task, as well as the revision of the legal provisions pertaining to family, child and juvenile protection.

[Question] Socialist democracy is receiving a more expanding role in economic life. What possibilities does law have in supporting this tendency?

[Answer] Successful economizing cannot be imagined without the determined and active cooperation of those involved. However, the law can provide only the framework for socialist democracy. Of this type is the forum system of democracy in the workplace (factory) with, for example, its work conferences and the other organized workplace meetings. It is very important that we made the creation of harmony between workshop democracy and management activities the requirement for socialist leadership. We determined the tasks and responsibilities of the leaders in effecting workplace democracy (taking the observations and suggestions of the workers into consideration and when possible implementing them, keeping the workers informed, etc.). However, we must clearly realize that the development of democracy is primarily a political task. Naturally, this does not mean that the law does not have an important role. This role consists of prescribing certain obligations, and on the other hand, the obstruction of violations of democratic prerequisites by its own particular methods, and stopping the disadvantages caused by violation of the law.

[Question] Because of economic changes, obviously the sphere of activity of lawyers has been notified. What tasks does this assign to the training of lawyers?

[Answer] The role of law in economic management has grown; this can be seen in the internal relationships of carious economic agencies. However, the real change in the economic units--primarily in the relationships between companies and cooperatives--came about in the relationships between production and distribution. Instruments of law were also developed to serve economic organization in accordance with the needs of the economy. This was aided primarily by the modification of the Civil Code in 1977. The contracts mediating cooperation between companies are properly differentiated and flexible, and basically, their design is suited to fulfill their function. Naturally, this does not mean that we must not work on the further development of legal instruments.

--The contracts can only execute their tasks properly if the parties properly exercise their rights, i.e., they honorably fulfill their obligations. We must place increased demands on economic agencies with respect to the fulfillment of their obligations. As a result, besides the so-called traditional legal work (that of judges, prosecutors and attorneys), the importance of independent substantive legal counseling has also grown.

--I say this because tasks in the training of lawyers stem from this situation. First of all, the students must become very familiar with and understand the contents, goals and scope of the law, and must master the ability to properly interpret and apply it. Secondly, they must become familiar with economic questions in order that they may orient to them confidently and that they can perform their work in harmony with the interests of the economy.

--However, it must be noted that no university on earth can produce a totally complete person. It cannot be the task of the college to teach the student everything. It must provide the students with theoretical and basic practical knowledge. Self-education in the appropriate field of interest and organized continuing education can follow after the university. We still have much to do in this area.

[Question] At one time, many were concerned about the "aging" of the judiciary. Nowadays, we more often read about the election of young judges in the official records. Are the young judges beginning their work with sufficient practical experience? How would you evaluate the professional preparedness of the judiciary?

[Answer] In past years, a veritable "changing of generations"--as they say--has occurred. Many experienced old judges went into retirement and young ones took their places.

--The judge must command wide-ranging professional expertise and appropriate practical experience. Sentencing is an integral part of exercising state power. Therefore, only individuals who are politically reliable, who work

with a sense of vocation, and who can apply their legal training and professional expertise to practical matters can become members of this organization. The young judges are gradually initiated into the sentencing process: initially, they preside over cases which are simple from the standpoints of fact-finding and application of the law. Later they receive cases which entail difficult judgments. The scope of their vision will gradually expand, their aptitude will develop and they will gain more professional and practical experience. Besides, it is the obligation of the senior and experienced judges to aid their inexperienced colleagues by transmitting their valuable work methods and experiences.

--The overwhelming majority of the young judges are properly trained, capable and conscientious. I consider the professional training of the judiciary--in conjunction with and also independently of the other legal areas--to be good. This is supported by existing knowledge and investigation of the quality of judgments. Naturally, this does not mean that there are no unsuitable or unprecedented decisions regarding the laws, or drawn-out cases--primarily civil suits. Besides proper professional training, the young judges must gain greater experience in handling court procedure and in selecting and evaluating the facts and evidence necessary to arrive at a decision; and we must help in this more effectively. I must say that one must also have a feel and talent for passing judgment.

[Question] The work of experts contributes in large measure to a well-founded judgment. Has the role of the experts changed, and is their work satisfactory?

[Answer] Court-approved experts belong among the most effective aids in the administration of justice. The court hears expert evidence on all questions which require special expertise in bringing judgment. As a result of scientific and technical advances, the court must increasingly rely on the opinions of experts in the interest of uncovering objective truth and handing down just and lawful decisions.

--Science, our economy and social relationships are developing; and in conjunction with this, circumstances have become compounded and complicated many times over. A natural result is that civil suits become more complicated and the court increasingly encounters technical questions where the cooperation of experts is needed.

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TRAINING EXERCISES OF COASTAL DEFENSE UNITS DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 12 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Cpl Wlodzimierz Kaleta: "Soldiers of the Coastal Defense Unit Train with the Greatest Precision and Combat Mastery]

[Text] Water, a golden beach, the soothing murmur of a seaside forest... For most people such an image is associated predominantly with a holiday, a vacation, with summer repose and relaxation after months of intensive work at production machines and conveyer belts. For soldiers of the Coastal Defense Unit the seashore is the year-round training ground on which--working together with the Navy--they perfect their martial skills in daily labor and toil.

It is dark and stuffy in the close spaces of the landing craft. The metal plates heated by the broiling sun burn to the touch. The clang of the engines working in top gear makes any kind of conversation impossible. The soldiers wipe the sweat from their faces and look longingly through the only open hatch on the bow, where Pvt Zbigniew Kowalczyk, a soldier in his second year of service, an excellent shot, one of the best in the sub-unit, is on duty by the machine gun.

The roar of bangalore torpedoes fired from the cutter drowns out everything and eases the tension of the commandos crammed below deck. For the soldiers of the "blue berets," the fence-removal and clearing group's action is an exercise which they are used to. They know their duties by heart. They know that after the firing of the torpedoes, which are to clear a passageway for them through the mine fields placed on the beach, the hatches will open, and the landing will begin.

They have been given this task: to get on the landing craft and, after crossing the sea to the place ordered, get out as quickly as possible onto the beach, seize a bridge-head, and hold it until the first wave of the main forces lands.

The unit commander familiarized the officers with the plan of the exercise. The headquarters chief discussed the different variants of foreseen and possible events in this situation. The chiefs of the various services supplied the necessary information for making the proper decisions. Thus practically speaking, nothing should surprise them.

The noise of a buzzer rings in the ears. At the violent opening of the hatchways a sharp, blinding ray of sunbbursts into the hold. The sub-unit commander shouts his command over the noise of the motor: "Assault landing force--land!"

One after another the soldiers jump into the sea. The water is pleasantly cold. With their weapons above their heads, fighting each instant with the waves that wash onto their faces, they move slowly to the shore.

"Faster, faster!" shouts Lt Marek Komicz, commander of the firing group, as he urges his subordinates on.

That is nothing surprising. In spite of the Air Force's strong bombardment from the air and the fire support of the covering ships, "enemy" nests of resistance unexpectedly come to life on the dunes. And the assualt landing soldiers are an easy target.

At last they have reached the shore. They surge forward, slogging heavily with their legs in the water. The rhythmical rounds of machine guns and hand weapons strike with well-aimed fire into the closest positions of the opponents, who are simulated by targets.

The thick screen facilitates the action of the assault group, which is led to the assault by Lt Przemyslaw Sterne. They run as quickly as possible and one after another surmount the passageway made with the aid of a bangalore torpedo. Their uniforms cling to their skin, their feet sink in the fine sand, and the jackets tightly binding their chests hinder their breathing.

It is most difficult for Cpl Ireneusz Chmielowski, a telegraph operator. In addition to the personal equipment on his back he carries an extra load--the radio equipment. Breathing heavily, he runs while swaying rhythmically to the left and right. Add to that the sweltering heat. The heat pours down from a cloudless sky and drenches the trainees with sweat. The sweat runs into their eyes and, mixed with the sand of the sea, abrades their backs and shoulders. Under these conditions taking just a few meters of beach becomes a difficult problem.

At last they overtake the sand dunes. They surge out and fire at the retreating enemy with long rounds. Thus the most difficult part of the exercise is behind them. They have succeeded. Everything came off according to the plan, quickly and efficiently.

Ths sub-unit commander looks at his watch with satisfaction. Barely three minutes have passed since they disembarked from the landing crafts.

In the meantime the soldiers from Lt Komicz's sub-unit join up with the assault group. The mortar personnel open fire from the shore. They strke with rapid fire along a lateral road farther back on the beach, hindering the opponent from calling for reserves and executing a counterattack.

On the beach there now remain only the combat engineers from the fence-removal group under the command of naval warrant officer Pawel Koziol. They

must widen the passageway by clearing away the barbed wire entanglements and the tank barriers so that heavy materiel can pass through. This takes the most time. The first landing ships are arriving at the shore.

The naval combat engineers hurriedly spread the bangalore torpedoes out, after which they carefully push them onto probable mine fields on both sides of the passageway cleared earlier.

A powerful detonation shakes the air.

The drivers of the amphibious tanks and personnel carriers start their engines. In an instant the acrid smell of gas fills the huge hold. The soldiers of the assault landing force, buttoning their jackets on the run, take their places in the vehicles. The hurriedly closed hatchways clang.

"Hatch down! Assault landing force, land!"

The scraping of engaged gears is heard. With the caterpillars clanking the armored machines crawl out from the hold. For an instant the water covered with ocean waves disappears from the surface. It re-emerges quickly, however, and "charges" to the shore.

The roar of the engines and the powerful bang of explosions break the silence of the seaside training ground. The tanks and armored personnel carriers fire from the water.

From afar, from the shore, the combat vehicles look non-threatening, like toys. But the commanders riding at the head in personnel carriers submerged almost to the turrets known that the success of the assignment depends at this instant on the rapidity of their action and the firing strength of the tank guns and deck weapons. All the more so, since the radio-telegraph operator is sending out a call for rapid support of the infantry defending the landing of the main forces.

What happened on the beach in the meantime? In spite of the barrage fire of the mortar personnel and the rapid initial retreat of the surprised enemy, he managed to recover from the first set-back, concentrated considerably infantry forces supported by tanks, and launched a counterattack, trying to drive the troops defending themselves on the beach into the sea. The enemy's" pressure increased with every minute. It took an all-out effort for the assault landing troops to hold the captured positions.

The explosions from the guns and the significant clatter of deck weapons wrench the air. The powerful detonations, the firing, the smoke, and the clouds of sand blown high by the force of the explosions intensify the grimness of the seaside field of battle.

The battle vehicles come onto the shore with lightning speed, cross the mine field on the passageway made with aid of the bangalore torpedo, push the enemy from the seaside dunes, and provide fire cover for the landing of the main assault landing forces.

The group of naval combat engineers assigned to Lt Sterne and commanded by naval warrant officer Pawel Koziol, quickly managed to broaden the passageway in the mine field to such an extent that the tanks and armored personnel carriers could pass through. With great skill the group cleared away the wire entanglements spread out on the beach and tore down the concrete and wooden tank barriess.

An armored avalanche of commandos is now flowing into the passageway made by the combat engineers. With the greatest speed allowed by the conditions of the terrain and with the caterpillars grinding up the sand, the tanks take the beach, spreading out in a wide stream deep into the opponent's simulated defense.

With lightning speed the fight carries over deep inside the seaside forest. The sounds of battle are ever more distant. The beach is becoming empty.

Farther back, the initially surprised opponent puts up an ever stronger resistance. With each minute, however, the attacking sub-units force their way deeper into the enemy's defense. The attack continually moves foreard. Its tempo does not slow down for a moment.

The mortar personnel commanded by Sr Cpl Officer Cadet Zbigniew Paurowicz join up with the tanks and infantry occupied with destroying the next fortifications. The concert of guns is coming to a grand finale. Speed decides the outcome of the "blue berets'" attack. An armored wedge stops the counter-attackers and then--together with the infantry--cuts deeply into the fortifications, destroying points of resistance deep within the defense.

At last the ships of the last wave efficiently execute a turn and depart from the assault landing area. The beach, ploughed up by the caterpillars, is becoming empty. The sounds of battle, ever quieter, are continually carried farther and farther away from the shore. The soldiers of the Coastal Defense Unit, working together with staff from the assault landing force team, have accomplished their task accurately according to the assignement. Correctly, and with the greatest precision and combat mastery.

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FEATURES OF POLISH FOREIGN POLICY DISCUSSED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 10, Oct 81 (signed to press March 1982) pp 127-140

[Discussion, participated in by: Prof Dr Hab Michal Dobroczynski, editor-in-chief of SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE: Dr Janusz Stefanowicz, journalist; Dr Hab Stanislaw Somma, professor in the Faculty of Law and Administration at Jagiellonian University; Prof Dr Hab Janusz Symonides, director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs [PISM]; and Editor Karol Szyndzielorz, journalist; date and place not specified]

[Text] Michal Dobroczynski: In speaking about Polish foreign policy, about the contemporary nature of this policy, it is necessary to go back to history, for it is out of this history that the roots of the present features grow. I believe that at the beginning it would be well to concentrate on the general conceptions of the nature of Polish foreign policy. This, obviously, we cannot do without interrelation with the country's domestic situation.

In the initial considerations it would also be well to call attention to what distinguishes our policy, what gives it features that are different in comparison with the activities of other European state. On what does the specific nature of Polish foreign policy depend? There is no doubt as to its basic feature: the conformity of crucial lines with the policy of the other socialist states. But we also constantly talk about the characteristic, separate, national goals and features of our policy. This probably pertains to foreign policy also, at least to some degree. From what does this specific nature ensue and on what does it depend?

Further in the discussion we could go on to the matter of preconditions and goals. For example, to such problems as the creation of Polish foreign policy. The program documents from the PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress talk of the need to attract broad classes of society, social organizations of different types, to the process of shaping foreign policy and to its implementation. To what degree is this a desideratum and in what degree is it actually being practiced now? In any case, however, the Congress' approach constitutes a liklihood for the future.

I believe that in the successive portions of the discussion we will not be able to avoid the assumption of a position on matters relating to the main problems of our foreign policy. I have in mind both relations with our closest neighbors, and

especially with the Soviet Union, relations with the West, and finally, perhaps, also our relations with the developing countries. And also the crucial problems of security and cooperation. But I would propose that initially we attempt to characterize, synthetically, if possible, on what the specific nature of Poland depends from the standpoint of its overall foreign relations and the most important features of foreign policy.

Janusz Stefanowicz: Without any national megalomania, even on the contrary--with a certain sense of the troublesomeness of this phenomenon, it must be said that the specific nature of Polish foreign policy, perhaps not so much in its everyday pracical implementation as in its assumptions and goals, depends on an advanced specificity and a differentiation in relationship to another countries, not only socialist, but speaking most generally, to most of the European countries. It has a feature which I would call an exceptional historical depth, the presence of a historical factor in social attitudes and motivations, which directs this policy. Naturally, this historical consciousness is most acute in the east and west direction--Russian-Soviet and German--that is, in the shaping of a relationship to the two largest neighbors and the relation of forces between Poland and them. Since the time that Poland became a modern nation and state, this relation always determined the goals of our foreign policy. I think that in the further course of our discussion we will go on to this subject, which involves many historical burdens and not just the current difficulties and dilemmas.

The second specific feature of Poland ensues from the fact that we are the only active, large European country which politically, militarily, economically and by form of government, belongs to the socialist community, but goes beyond it with its roots and traditions, and cultural and world-outlook connections. I am referring not only to culture in the narrow sense of creativity, but to the total sum of the values which make up the civilization of our nation. It is strongly reflected in Polish foreign policy and every decisionmaker must take this factor into consideration.

The third specific feature depends on the fact that we feel that we are a country in the center of Europe not only because of geographic location but by awareness of the common destinies of this continent, and above all, the threats which have arisen or can arise in relation to Europe.

Finally, the fourth element of the specific nature of Polish foreign policy (of course, the sequence can be changed), depends on the very complicated, entangled transmissions between this policy and domestic relations, and also between national awareness and the requirements of foreign policy. In our country this matter is more complicated than in a number of other countries.

I will not illustrate these points at this time. I want to say only that every sudden effort by Poland or Poles towards some kind of more original, innovatory and bettter arrangement of domestic relations--and especially emphatically the current effort, for it is hard to say the last--must constantly anew affirm, and not undermine, the reliability of the two basic vectors of our foreign policy: security, i.e., the military-political alliance with the Soviet Union, and cooperation, partnership with it and other socialist states. This comes down to the question of whether we are a partner that can be depended upon, not just in economic matters, a partner who is serious and maintains proper continuity in his development.

Karol Szyndzielorz: I will attempt to refer to Editor Stefanowicz's statement on the subject of the specific nature of our foreign policy, its preconditions in the national consciousness. Editor Stefanowicz very delicately expressed the matter of the conflicts, to which we are witness.

The appearance in many enlightened people in Poland of an "insular" mentality, i.e., the treatment of what is happening in Poland as something totally apart from the international context, is disturbing. I am referring here to the treatment of events in Poland as a spontaneous process, talking about Poland as if it were a rudder, a sailor, an ocean, unto itself...

During the discussion that took place during the past months we were attacked as representatives, let us call it that, of the Polish reason of state, or the reason of Polish foreign policy. For, after all, there is no sovereign and independent country that does not have its own foreign policy, striving to implement its interests on the international plane. I say that the same applies to the 1980's, i.e., that Poland's foreign policy should continue to provide external conditions for the tranquil work of our nation. These slogans and tasks are unalterable, but the implementation of them is much more difficult than in the past.

I do not agree with the thesis frequently advanced by certain journalists, who like to take " short cuts" in making their case, that Poland is the sick man of Europe. Nor would I want to repeat the thesis that the crisis in Poland is weakening international detente, the socialist community, and peace. I think that this is a thesis that can be evaluated in many ways. If we believe, and I think that we do, that the process of renewal in Poland is introducing new values to the conception of the socialist platform and new values into the life of our country, if these values are being accepted by the majority of our society, and if they produce a change in how Poland is being looked at, a growth in respect for Poland--perhaps not for all of our efforts, but for making such an attempt--then it seems to me that the statement about the weakening of the socialist camp as a result of the constructive transformation taking place in Poland, changes that follow the Ninth Congress' line, is questionable.

Editor Stefanowicz spoke of the different types of connections between awareness and foreign policy. I would like to remind you of the period when we actually did not have political relations with the Federal Republic of Germany [FRG], but we maintained very good economic relations. Policy, at that time, did not aid the economy, but neither did it, in principle, interfere with it. Why then now immediately say that because we have economic troubles, a decline in production and a shortage of food, that Poland is no longer a reliable partner in an international dialogue?

Chancellor Schmidt, during the recent visit of Polish journalists in the FRG, said that after all the world also has troubles. The crisis in Poland is acute, but this does not mean that this is happening only in our country, that there are no crises in Europe, or in the world. This is a very severe crisis, but not the first and possibly not the last. Finally, to close one's eyes to crisis-producing factors does not mean that sooner or later some hot spots will not appear. I believe that in our central-European region many such examples could be found.

But we should give some thought to where this "insular" mentality in many of my journalist colleagues, many readers and listeners, comes from? I think that this is primarily a kind of escape from reality, a complicated, difficult reality. Many people declare that they are cut off from the world. In international matters this shows itself in the attitude: "Let them leave us alone and we will take care of all of our troubles ourselves." This viewpoint does not appear to be correct. There are, after all, different factors which affect us, beginning with the realities of not only the geopolitical situation but the overall political situation in Europe. Nor does it seem to me that we can examine our foreign policy only in terms of our relations with the Soviet Union, with both German states, or only in the East-West relation. It has more azimuths. Our foreign policy, in the 1960's as well as in the 1970's, from many standpoints outpaced the development of the situation. Now, of course, it is most difficult to keep up with the development of the situation. But nevertheless I would regard our foreign policy as a factor indispensable to the normal functioning of our state, the normal functioning of an independent and sovereign Poland.

Stanislaw Somma: It seems to me that Poland's foreign policy--whether it wants to or not--is standing on a certain threshold, in the face of a turning-point situation. This policy had its good and bad moments. It also had periods in which it was invisible and could not show what it could do. I do not know exactly what went on in Helsinki but it seems to me that Polish policy played a positive role there, that it was an interpreter between two camps, for example in the matter of the third basket. The large role of Polish policy is based on the fact that Poland, which politically belongs to the socialist East, is culturally very strongly tied to Western Europe and in general to the whole European world, so it has to fulfill a positive function in the sense of appearing in the role of interpreter, in facilitating contacts. At this time this role is doubtful.

At the moment our policy on the basis of old patterns can no longer be either attractive or convincing. A condition of its further creative function in the world is that it be "grounded" in Poland. Without this "grounding", without the absorption of everything that historically occurred in Poland, it will not have an adequate convincing force, it will be weak and expressionless.

Where does the crux of the matter lie? By participating in a system of alliances that benefit us, that are indispensable and essential, that guarantee us the permanence of the disposition of forces in central-eastern Europe, we pay the price of a reduction in sovereignty, and society realizes this.

Janusz Symonides: I would agree with the thesis that foreign policy is based also on certain lasting elements, on traditions, on history, and on experience. In our past pronouncements the idea keeps recurring that Poland was for centuries, in a specific way, something on the order of a bridge connecting different parts of Europe as well as different ideologies. To exemplify this, we could go back all the way to the fifteenth century, when the problem of the coexistence of christian and non-christian states appeared in a very dramatic form, when the pagan states were denied the right to exist. Our country at that time called for the recognition of the non-christian nations' right to exist as a state, and what is more, allied itself with the pagans against the Teutonic Order. Poland was thus the champion of what we today call peaceful coexistence.

The call for coexistence with the pagans was tremendously progressive. It is sufficient to point out that the famous Spanish school (Vitoria and Suarez) in issuing identical calls much later, obtained renown and praise in world science. The viewpoints of Pawel Wlodkowic, Stanislaw from Skarbimierz, and later Frycz Modrzewski and the Polish Brothers, were ahead of their time.

Passing from these historical comments to the present, I would support the thesis that the specificity of our situation is based also on the fact that by being in the community of socialist states, in the class and ideological alliance, from the standpoint of relationships and cultural traditions, we belong to a much wider European circle. In this sense, Poland today also is a specific bridge between both parts of Europe.

However, inordinate emphasis on continuity, on historical unalterability, may sometimes lead to erroneous and ahistorical evaluations, to a misunderstanding of motives of conduct in the policy of our own country and others. Class and system changes exert an important influence on foreign policy. Without the class context it is difficult to correctly assess our external relations in the twenty years between the wars and during World War II.

Replying to the question, what are the main goals of Polish foreign policy, it may be said that in the case of a country so horribly afflicted by war and destruction, the struggle for peace, international security and disarmament must be at the forefront. Poland's remarkable activity in actions to build European security and the unity of Europe, so apparent, for example, in the struggle to convoke the CSCE, can be explained by our experiences, our awareness of the fact that the security of Poland is also the function of European security.

A comment as to Poland's place in the world. Editor Szyndzielorz noted that Poland's place is dependent on the functioning of many different external preconditions. Certainly that is so. Our country functions somewhat simultaneously in the community of socialist states, in the region, and in the global system. If a certain weakness appears in a specific element of these systems, that does not have to be interpreted immediately as a total cancellation of Poland's importance. Our country is going through a very difficult period. But the state's position is not determined by economic difficulties, the fact alone that they have occurred, but rather the method and rate at which they are solved.

Michal Dobroczynski: A few more words on the subject of the specific nature of Poland, taking into account the opinions expressed here relating to the geopolitical situation. Without a doubt the matter of security lies at the base of Polish separateness. Doubtless some loudly exposed opinions on this subject are exaggerated, but if they were to be regarded seriously, Poland's situation would not have too many counterparts in the world. There may be, in addition to us, several other countries in such a threatening situation. In any case, this is not a typical case of a state which, in a world dominated by peace, is threatened by loss of independence, freedom, or at least its present borders, under the influence of processes of an internal nature. Therefore, these would be some kind of unusual conditions, some kind of particular features characteristic of our country and its policies. I would like to mention here a matter which, doubtless not accidentally, was emphasized at the very beginning in the CPSU Central Committee's letter to the PZPR

Central Committee. It speaks of a concern about Poland's fate as a free and independent state. I would also differentiate between the concepts of freedom and independence, understanding independence to be sovereignty in the external political sense, in relations with other countries, and freedom to be the unconstrained shaping of the situation inside the country in a way which fully allows for the cultivation and development of national identity, for actions that are in accord with tradition, and national needs and aspirations. The independence of a state and its security would be somewhat like the construction of frames and walls, so that in this interior a life could be shaped which would best correspond with the conceptions of the nation.

These conceptions are, of course, historically variable. They may be regarded as proper or improper, but since they are accepted and wanted by the nation, they must be treated by policy with appropriate gravity and competence. This is simply a certain objective, cultural situation, a national lifestyle. What I am getting at is that if an international situation to some degree surely may and must affect the foreign relations of every state--its foreign policy--then to that degree a part of internal freedom and cultural freedom should be separated and stressed as something that is predominantly autonomous, and not a threat to international relations or to the interests of allies. I mention this in the context of the comments made thus far. From the standpoint of external relations, it is advisable that the state rely on partners that are reliable and internally stable. That is, that the policy of the allied state be accepted and supported, if not by all of its society--for nowhere does this exist--then by a decided majority. What I am concerned with is that we give some thought to the degree of adequacy of political declarations and actions in relation to the genuine social situation. Every state would, of course, like to have as an ally a state that is well-organized, that has a policy that is supported by the nation, genuinely valued. This applies to our country also. That which we have observed in Poland in recent months is not the product of recent months. However, in recent months certain phenomena became evident, formerly concealed attitudes took on spectacular forms, tremendous frustrations were revealed, a disparity between the official line and the attitude of part of the nation. But thanks to this we can begin the serious work aimed at eliminating the cracks in the structure. Thanks to complete and actual information on the condition of the state.

It is essential that the foreign policy of every upright, peaceable state, including Poland, be a credible policy, supported by the broadest masses of the people. That is why everything which serves to integrate official policy with the feelings of society is a just matter and deserves reasonable support.

Janusz Stefanowicz: Professors Dobroczynski and Stomma brought up the important matter of our sovereignty, both from the actual side as well as from the standpoint of its feeling in the social awareness. Professor Dobroczynski said that our allies are anxious that we maintain our internal sovereignty, or identity, specificity and separateness in arranging our internal affairs, as well as our external sovereignty. Professor Stomma spoke of restricting external sovereignty. It could very easily be shown that this external sovereignty is restricted by the universally appearing, in the present day, interdependencies, alliances, etc., but I understand that we are concerned with the particular restriction of sovereignty which, in the national consciousness, ensues from the fact of our alliances with a great power.

Professor Stomma said that the alliance with the Soviet Union is advantageous and necessary to Poland. But the truth is that the advantages of this alliance are emphasized in official pronouncements and propaganda, however in the minds of some Poles it is supposedly economically disadvantageous. Why do I bring up this differentiation? Because an alliance, in order to provide equal rights, does not require, admittedly, that the participants be of equal size and equal potential, of the same rank in the world, but it requires a sense of mutual advantage, a growth of security (a state becomes more secure in the alliance than without it), and improved chances of development. If this feeling of mutual advantage is not there, and only the element of necessity remains, then in the consciousness of society something takes place that is called autosatellization, a necessary state, in which, for example, Nepal finds itself in relation to India, or in which a number of buffer states found themselves in the nineteenth century. Autosatellization leads to satellization, and not just in the social consciousness, for the response of the larger partner is a sense of freedom, or temptation to conduct policy without consideration of the national interests of the other side. In short, there should be restored, in the social consciousness, a genuine understanding of the meaning of the alliance as an important premise of Poland's security and development, and as a weighty instrument of its influence on the course of events in Europe. Poland can only have an influence on the shaping of relations in Central Europe, and above all, on the future of the two German states, when the Soviet Union treats the alliance with Poland as a partnership, i.e., it believes that this alliance it advantageous to it and when Poland regards it to be advantageous, and in view of this Poland's interest should be taken into account in the Soviet Union's power politics.

In the social consciousness the advantage feature is not yet functioning strongly enough.

Could it have been otherwise? It could have been. Had we avoided the coarse propaganda which spoke only about advantages, which provoked a natural reaction in the people, who talked and thought only about the necessity. We could have not varnished the Polish-Soviet past, we could have placed all of our animosities in an objective light and lessened the existing burden, we could have shown that we do not have to be absorbed by Russia, that we do not have to mechanically copy their systems-type models because we have our own characteristic and important cultural, economic and other values, that we will always remain Poles. All of this was neglected in order to ceremonially present the substance and merits of the Polish-Soviet alliance.

Karol Szyndzielorz: It seems to me that the shaping of relations inside the alliance is a continuous process. Actually, I do not know, either from the history of diplomacy or from the present, any alliance which was once and for all shaped as to its program assumptions, arrangement of forces inside the alliance, atmosphere prevailing in the alliance, mutual relations between leaders, which is also not unimportant, etc. We have been witness to the fall of many military groupings, which due to lack of external threat, disintegrated, e.g., CENTO and SEATO.

The treatment of alliances as a static matter is an attitude that intellectually conveys little. I want to remind you that in the hall in which our discussion is taking place we were witnesses, toward the end of the 1950's and during the first half of the 1960's, in a period of great activity of Polish foreign policy and

Polish diplomacy, to the promotion of ideas and conceptions which, from the standpoint of Poland's potential at that time were conceptions for the future, but which also contributed to the modification of the European situation in a direction which we today regard as natural. This realism in our foreign policy contributed to a basic change in the political climate in Europe. I do not know whether this is the matter of some kind of particular mission and role for Poland, for we are arrogating that particular role in Europe for ourselves. And finally in the second half of the 1970's we saw the complete atrophy of the substance of our foreign policy, in favor of an excessively expanded form. In writing and saying that Poland is the ninth industrial power in the world, we had to adapt to that not only the size of the mission built in Geneva, but also the scale of various initiatives. At the same time, the initiatives which were submitted in the second half of the 1970's (from the structural standpoint there was nothing wrong with them) were global in their nature. But if were to evaluate our influence on what was going on in the world, and especially in the international organizations, it must be said that this was an influence, I would say, that was very moderate and that this was an activity that was, as a matter of fact, insipid. Our foreign policy was distinguished more by insipidity of conceptions than by propaganda successes. These were conceptions that did not reflect our actual role in the alliance and in Europe. Not just here at this table do we agree that Europe cannot function in a normal way as a continent of sovereign countries without an active, sovereign Poland, who implements its foreign policy assumptions consistently, with regard first of all for the national interest, but also the broader interest, that is, activity in behalf of detente in Europe as the common denominator. It seems to me, however, that our foreign policy, if we are to talk about it in relation to the 1980's, should be distinguished by much greater modesty, and not only greater realism but also honesty in formulating our intentions. And this applies not only to internal affairs within the framework of the alliance, although I believe that here, too, honesty and openness in stating matters is required, and that bluffing is not needed.

If we look at the policies of recent years and the policies during the 35 years of our existence, the motives which guided these policies, we can say--without flattering ourselves--that first, we are a nation without claustrophobia. We do not have the feeling that we are locked inside our borders. Second, that we are a nation that in the cultural and intellectual sense is open to the world and willing to absorb what it has to offer, and at the same time we are a nation which brings an incredible amount into the European intellectual and cultural achievement. I believe that this is a very important factor.

Janusz Stefanowicz: But you spoke of insularity...

Karol Szyndzielorz: I spoke of insularity in the crisis situation. Despite these crises and difficulties, despite all kinds of tensions, the people feel good in this country. We are not in a cage from which there is not outlet, we are not in a trap in which everything is arranged once and for all and there is simply nothing awaiting us. This openness to the world in our policy and in the thinking of the intellectual elite is also correlated, connected with an insular mentality, which is for me an example of an escape from reality, an escape from inconvenient facts, from situations which will unfold we know not how.

Janusz Symonides: I believe that the question of sovereignty and alliances in foreign policy has become the important fragment of our discussion. Sovereignty can be understood quite variously: formally and factually. From the purely formal point of view it can be said that a state which is not able to conduct its own foreign policy is not sovereign, for then this policy is in a literal sense being conducted by another state, another Ministry of Foreign Affairs and foreign service. A classic example of limited sovereignty are the international protectorates, which appear quite rarely today. But can we speak about a loss of sovereignty when we have our own institutions? It seems we can: in a situation where the goals, which are to be implemented by the policy of a specific state, are not selected independently, and what is more, do not ensue from the national interest and even conflict with it. Passing from this theoretical conclusion to reality, I would like to say that the goals of Polish foreign policy correspond with our national interests. What attests to the fact that these goals are in accord with the national interests? This is demonstrated by the existence of a specific identity in foreign policy.

Naturally, in the allied treaties there is mutuality of interests, a mutuality of rights and duties. The German question may be an example of the alliance's implementation of Poland's interest. All of the allies have complied with the principles established by Poland.

A few words about the concept of alliances. Various alliances may exist: between leaders, parties, classes, nations and between states. These concepts do not necessarily have to converge. It is best if the class alliance is in line with the national interest. In the various discussions which have been taking place recently in Poland, the thesis was expressed that the entire nation should stand behind the class alliance. Actually, the alliance in which we are participating is a national and state alliance, although it was determined by class premises. Some misunderstandings occur from the mixing of two things: goals in foreign policy and motivations in foreign policy. The goal of our foreign policy is to guarantee the security of Poland, to guarantee our borders. This policy was and is a correct and all-national policy. That it is also in its premises determined by class and ideology does not change this fact.

Stanislaw Stomma: A brief polemic with Editor Stefanowicz. You, sir, have proposed the creation of a certain fiction. You say: we must talk our partners into this fiction and in the name of this demand concessions from them.

Well, a reasonable and convincing policy is based on facts. I think that we can all agree that within the framework of necessity different variants for formulating necessary relations are possible. There is a certain variant under which both we will benefit and objectively also our powerful partner. I say objectively because the partner may evaluate this differently and have doubts. Just the fact of our presence inside the block of states may be positively utilized by the partner, but this fact will not add anything in other solutions. We should and must propose a variant that will also bring benefits to this powerful partner. The greater these benefits, the more obvious it will be that Poland is employing more of its own capabilities. Poland's policy should sound genuine. Its effectiveness will then be greater, which may be be profitable also to the partner. This is essential.

In connection with this I ask a question which worried me even when I was concerned with foreign policy in the Sejm. A question that is very fundamental within the framework of allied policy: Within what kinds of limits should Poland have the freedom of maneuver in the international diplomacy game? For if we are to be profitable for the alliance anywhere, it is precisely in foreign policy. To what extent are we to be bound tactically and strategically in the coordination of policy? How much can we do automatically? Or, in view of our cultural ties and possibly our prestige in the western world, can there sometimes be a permissible deviation from joint tactics. I question this. A freedom of tactics corresponding to our traditions, particularly when a moral issue comes into play, appears to be very needed.

The final matter. The functioning of certain concepts, which in my mind have become totally empty, surprises me. Concepts, which maybe once had some kind of meaning, today have none, but are used as pawns on a polemical chessboard. I refer to use of class treaties. What does this mean? What kind of sense does this make? Or: how is the working class supposed to see this? For it sees this totally differently, than you, sir, would like. The most politically difficult at this moment are the workers' circles. So let us not use empty words, which mean nothing today. Unless we put under them our desires, which the working class should have. Let us remove these kinds of conceptual relics from our discussion.

Janusz Symonides: I do not want to start a polemic, although I have no doubts as to the functioning of the "class" or "large social group" concepts in international relations. Can there be situations in which a class or ideological element carries weight in contemporary international relations? Certainly there can. Some really trivial examples can be cited. Such as the relation to nationalization, to supernational corporations, to national liberation and revolutionary movements, etc.

Michal Dobroczynski: Class policy may be understood in two concepts: either as the position of a specific class or as the ideological definition of the policy of a socialist state.

Janusz Symonides: The class concept appears not only in literature but also in the international practice of socialist states, and from that standpoint, at least, it should retain an appropriate place in our considerations.

Michal Dobroczynski: The ideological factor is often earlier than the later political concretization of this state of affairs. History shows, however, that a political alliance does not always follow the acceptance of a specific ideology. The Chinese-Soviet relations are proof of this, as are disputes among many capitalist states.

Insofar as the problem of freedom of maneuver in the foreign policy of the smaller countries is concerned, including Poland, it seems that relatively the smallest space for individualism appears in the strategic-military sector, in the area of this incredibly critical matter which is the security of the state or a group of countries. But foreign policy concerns itself not just with problems relating to security, and on other planes of its functioning, the freedom of maneuver appears much more clearly. In the sphere of foreign economic policy Poland, after all, has for many years shown a tremendous amount of independence, developing

numerous contacts with the West and South. Even our large indebtedness, regardless of whether or not it was proper, is proof that this particular policy could be conducted. In the cultural sector we have conducted and continue to conduct a policy of cultural exchange so unrestrained as seen by few countries in the world. We have saturated our market with products of external culture to a degree that is limited only by the exceptionally sensitive political subjects and the ceiling of our economo-financial capabilities. The policy of scientific exchanges with countries abroad is another sphere of policy where there have been no serious restrictions for years.

The freedom of maneuver, on the whole, appeared more clearly thus far in the sector of bilateral policy than on the multilateral plane. Insofar as multilateral policy is concerned, the margin of freedom is quite small, and may even have decreased in the 1970's. This was confirmed at the large international conferences. Whether the West, East or South, more frequently and clearly these teams coordinated the moves of the particular states in the entire process of multilateral negotiations and decisions. Although some separate features of national interest appeared even there.

Janusz Stefanowicz: I want to refer to the question of freedom or range of maneuver. First of all, I agree with Editor Szyndzielorz that premises of an alliance are not static, nor is the understanding of the fundamental substance of the alliance static, and this is a starting point for me to a certain reasoning. Certainly the basic interest of an ally, and particularly the interest of a great power, is its own security and the security of its allies as a whole. The trouble is that the present concept of security-and along with this the solidarity of the alliance--have been stratified and extended, particularly in the understanding of both large powers. This phenomenon is due to their understanding of economic security and their understanding of the cohesiveness of the alliance as the condition of strategic-political security. Finally there was worked out--not only by the Soviet Union but also by the United States (contrary to appearances, during a certain period to a much larger degree) a concept of ideological security, i.e., a joint, in the allied team, interpretation of ideological orthodoxy and the meaning and scope of the ideological struggle. A crucial matter for consolidating and developing an alliance, giving it as much substance and function as possible, and at the same time maintaining our internal and external sovereignty, i.e., the freedom to solve our own matters, is a conviction about two things. First, that no one in today's world has an effective monopoly on precise ideological prescriptions, applicable for other nations and states. That may have been believed in the 1950's, when new ideological-political teams were in statu nascendi. It turned out with time that separateness is stronger. The other side of this coin is the conviction of the allies that that which in 1956 we called the Polish road to socialism, and today we call renewal, does not mean anti-Sovietness, but on the contrary--it constitutes a higher necessity of the alliance, which must rely on the strength (that is, the solidarity, effectiveness of activity, economic development, etc.) of the participating states.

Janusz Symonides: I think that we should agree with the general thesis that in every military-political alliance, the allies have a smaller field of maneuver in the military area, which is the consequence of the military factor in foreign policy, which is of greater importance. The militarization of foreign policy, the arms race, the desire to safeguard one's security--inevitably discipline the members

of the alliance in the military sphere. In the economic sphere, the freedom is greater, just as it is in scientific and cultural cooperation.

A difficult problem facing alliances is that of adapting to changes occurring in international relations and internal relations. Internal changes, which would surmount specific political, economic and social weaknesses, enhance the state's security, its cohesiveness and strength, may strengthen the entire alliance. The strength of the alliance also depends on the implementation of principles of sovereign equality in the alliance.

Michal Dobroczynski: Perhaps it would be well to develop the subject of the relation of society, or public opinion, to these or other aspects of Polish foreign policy. Whether this pertains to the share and role of our country in many international organizations of the allied type, or activity on other external planes, a great deal of misunderstanding remains. This is linked with the relatively low political culture or knowledge of a considerable part of Polish society of foreign relations. This is not the fault of society. As a matter of fact, it was not adequately informed and appropriately wisely educated in this area, so it had to accept certain patterns or reject them in their entirety. There was no place for weighing of reason, subtlety and nuances. And emptiness is not possible. In place of smooth pro patterns, equally smooth contra patterns appeared. This has its historical basis. As a result we find opinions today that Poland does not have its own foreign policy at all, that it is not an independent state at all, and that almost everything that is created in this country is done on the instructions of others. Perhaps there are not too many such extreme positions, but there are much more that are close to those. And here appears the problem of information on the nature of foreign policy, solid information, not slogans. For if we require that society be realistic in its evaluation of such or other state interests and international events, it must be properly prepared for this. It must have a suitable amount of materials and tools of recognition. And so this is an incredibly important matter, to inform, as objectively, convincingly and precisely as possible, how matters truly are. Avoid insinuations. Attempt to show the crux of the matter. At the right time, not in the face of a crisis, reach into the intellect, and prevent misunderstandings. Such as, for example, the distinct underestimation of the 7 December 1970 treaty, which was, after all, the great result of our independent foreign policy.

Janusz Symonides: It seems that in view of objective factors, there is a situation in which the policy of two or many states may be identical or very close. In presenting such situations, however, we should emphasize that this is determined not just by the attitude or position of another state, but by our own national interest. This is how it should be presented to the mass media.

Karol Szyndzielorz: This is a very difficult dilemma--one of the most difficult of those about which we have talked here. I agree with Professor Dobroczynski that the political culture of our society pertaining to international relations is rather low, although in comparison with other nations it is not at all that low: what had its effect here was simply, regardless of our efforts, our national experience. That is, on the one hand this is a problem of the nation's political culture, and on the other hand it is also a matter of perceiving those meanings that we present in the mass media.

Janusz Stefanowicz: Because Professor Dobroczynski mentioned the 7 December 1970 treaty, I would like to stress that just as alliances vary in their substance, premises and functioning, so also other types of international treaties are not static by dynamic. We cannot compare the situation which we thrust upon the Federal Republic in 1970 with today's circumstances. All of the parameters have changed, including the role of functioning of the treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland. This means that nothing is given once and for all. Or taken away, either. And that is why in important moments in the history of a nation, an accounting should always be taken of the state's foreign policy.

Janusz Symonides: We should give some thought to changes in foreign policy, because certain corrections, despite the unalterability of its fundamental principles, can be made nevertheless.

Karol Szyndzielorz: We must start with the conception.

Michal Dobroczynski: Ending one of the subjects begun--the question of society's relation to our foreign policy in general, and the alliances in particular--I believe that we must take into account all of the elements of Polish historical identity. Including the very specific political culture, different from the culture of some other societies. One of its features is simply the incredible sensitivity or sensibility to even the smallest manifestations of a lack of respect from the outside. On the other hand, we must realize that other societies also, or governments, European or non-European, allied with us or not, may be very touchy as regards their prestige. This requires, on our part, appropriate sensitivity and adaptation. We cannot allow a situation to develop in which ill-feelings and prejudices could seriously complicate mutual understanding.

Foreign policy is a field that is incredibly complicated, multi-stratified and multidirectional. It requires knowledge of complex theories and frequently confidential practical movements. So it would be strange to minimize the role and rank of the specialists who create ideas or convert them into the language of actions. On the other hand, it seems obvious that society will only approve political moves when it understands their meaning, and furthermore, feels that it is a co-author of the decisions. How is this to be achieved in Polish practice? The process of shaping political consciousness and democratization of decisions requires time even in fields that are simpler and also less sensitive, than foreign policy. It is important, however, that the direction of change be as clear as possible, that it not arouse fundamental doubts, that it prevent frustration and unconsidered social reactions. That Poles attain and maintain an unalterable awareness of the sovereignty of their state and the correctness of its foreign policy.

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ZSMP MAIN BOARD OFFICIALS INTERVIEWED

Vice Chairman Klima

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 7 Jun 82 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Jaroslaw Klima, vice chairman, ZSMP Main Board, and ZSMP Voivodship Board in Katowice, by Halina Mamok and Josef Heblinski; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] The Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] has ambitions to represent the interests of the youth. However, the authority of this organization among the young is hardly impressive...

[Answer] ...but it gradually increases again. This can be exemplified by by the fact that the organization's ranks are growing again, particularly in schools. The growth is a little bit lower in enterprises. The reason for that is that not all demands and suggestions which were prepared and submitted by us have been realized.

[Question] Perhaps because of the unavailability of economic and financial opportunities?

[Answer] What do you mean? If you are talking about, for example, socialized construction, that is an opportunity for the young to become personally involved in housing construction, then it is rather difficult to talk about the lack of opportunities. There are, however, still too many bureaucratic barriers which nobody attempts to remove. And yet we could have done that as they do it in Hungary, for we are reforming our economy along similar lines. There, 60 percent of housing construction is being accomplished in the socialized system. We have still too much bureaucracy. Although, of course, we all know that the economic crisis is the major cause of problems faced not just by the young. Yes, the economic crisis.

[Question] Where are the bureaucratic barriers particularly visible? Could you illustrate it by a specific example?

[Answer] Recently we had a talk about housing construction with one of the voivodship offices. It appeared that nothing could be done. After the meeting we were approached by a group of young employees of this office who

told us that during the meeting they were not in a position to make any suggestions. They presented their suggestions to us on a private basis. During the next meeting we presented these proposals to the representatives of the voivodship authorities. They were dazzled and our proposal was accepted.

[Question] The attitude of these young people from the Voivodship Office represents the crux of the matter: You must look for solutions on your own through your members employed in various offices and institutions. Is it in this that lies the penetrating strength of the youth?

[Answer] Exactly. But the problem lies also in the promotion system. Its erroneousness has caused a situation in which 40 percent of young people with high school and college education do not work in their own professions. There are no authentic promotion opportunities for the young, whether upward or laterally; often they are artificially blocked. I believe that the changes will occur after universal introduction of competitive selection for vacancies even for lower positions, including journeyman and group leader.

[Question] Could free competition of skills and knowledge become an authentic promotion route for the young?

[Answer] Most of all competition of competence! It does not matter if the person is old or young. The person must be competent and meet certain criteria, and this is the kind of promotion system we are demanding. We had prepared specific proposals and submitted them to the Commission for Economic Reform. They have been already approved and highly evaluated by Professor Baka, minister for economic reform. However, the promotion system must be based on an incentive system. In accordance with the premises of the economic reform its next step ought to focus on fast preparation and introduction of such a system in every enterprise.

[Question] Let us go back again to the attitudes of the young. It seems that the chance for the young depends on their activity. If they have the knowledge and enough courage they should be able to successfully present and defend their views.

[Answer] It all depends on the attitude and mentality of the management in a given enterprise.

[Question] Perhaps the pluralism in the youth movement is even a greater barrier?

[Answer] I believe that it is necessary to join hands to achieve certain goals. I do not know what the attitude of my colleagues in other unions is, but I think that they hold similar views, because we have already had meetings with the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] and the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] as well as a little bit earlier with the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] during which we jointly agreed on mutual problems to be presented to

the authorities and partners. An interpellation regarding cultural affairs in the villages is one such example. I believe that with time our cooperation will grow. In the federation period, youth organizations were artificially restricted in their spheres of influence. Now there are conditions to view more wisely the influences of youth organizations in various environments. The introduction of the ZSMP in schools does not mean an effort to drive out scouting. We establish circles where there is a need for them. Apparently there is such need in schools, because there are youth groups which want to join political activity and which are impressed by an older colleague who is already a functionary in an enterprise. I believe that this will be a good process, because it is not intended as a competition with other organizations; on the other hand, it would not be bad if it were in some situations.

[Question] What about colleges?

[Answer] There are already examples of first ZSMP groups among students. We cannot say, however, that the ZSMP is growing there. We do not want to create circles from above. It should be a natural process. Artificial divisions of spheres of influence applied to youth organization caused a situation that in the ZSMP there are few college graduates. Often a young engineer hired by an enterprise shortly after joined the party. Sometimes the party was joined by people without any experience in social activity. Some of them were motivated by hope of easier resolution of their living and professional problems. We believe that our presence in high schools will bring about growth of our organization in colleges as well, and then the graduates will be already experienced activists in enterprises. This mechanism ought to secure a natural influx of college graduates to our organization.

[Question] You charged that the young joined the party because it helped to resolve many problems in life. Isn't the situation in your organization similar today? They join because of the loans for young married couples, housing cooperatives, Youth Social Action Fund [FASM], etc.?

[Answer] Before I answer your question I wish to say that we have conducted a study which shows that among the young party members who left the party the number of those who had been recommended to membership by ZSMP circles and who were authentically active in social activities was the smallest. Most of them were those who had been accepted by the party without prior membership in a youth organization. Returning to your question, I do not believe that the young come to us only for material gain, although I have no doubt that some are motivated by that. Motivations of the ZSMP members we have studied show in the first place a desire to learn about the environment and colleagues, and only after these a hope for greater opportunities to represent individual interests in professional and social spheres. Likewise, an entirely critical attitude toward the young's consumerist goals is debatable. Is it wrong when a young person wants overtime to perform a useful job for his enterprise, and at the same time earn additional money

he needs? I think that this is the way it should be. You are young and do not earn as much as an employee with 15 years of seniority, but you want to save for an apartment and furnishings. Then we give you a chance. Hence all these Home and Apartment Building Associations, Youth Labor Cooperatives, and FASM. We have been accused of becoming an organization focusing on living conditions assistance programs. And why not, particularly in the last 2 years, when the Solidarity plant commissions, many of which were controlled by antisocialist forces, engaged in "big politics," struggle with party organizations, and our organization as well, instead of taking care of employee affairs. Filling this void by our organization--let us emphasize here that this was done under pressure from the youth--has been and still is one of the major reasons that we have a genuine 2-million-strong organization. Simply, the young feel that we take care of their affairs.

[Question] But your activity cannot focus primarily on these areas.

[Answer] It cannot, I agree. Therefore, ZSMP work strongly leads toward ideological-political activity, which, after all, was noted in the program of the Third ZSMP Congress.

[Question] Many methods used by the ZSMP in this area have met with criticisms among the young, who treated them as truths without any link to reality.

[Answer] No doubt, such clashes have taken and still take place. However, the ideological-political activity, or building of awareness on socialist bases, also constitutes a weapon against situations in which words are not followed by actions. If we teach a young person who has been recently manipulated by propaganda emanating from the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] and the Committee for the Defense of Workers [KOR] by means of various slogans and programs aiming at undermining the values of our system, we show him fundamental socialist values and thus make him aware of the aims of his activity. First of all, we must teach in schools the basics: that socialism means social justice exemplified by adherence to the socialist ideology, social activism, honesty and being himself. Simply, it is necessary to show that these are not some kind of humdrums.

[Question] But are the young really accepting that as more than humdrums?

[Answer] After attending more than a dozen meetings at schools I do not have that impression. Each of the meetings lasted for several hours, and afterwards many young participants continued to debate precisely the fundamental questions; thus, there is a need for such discussions. Furthermore, a discussion creates the need for sources, broader argumentation, and historical knowledge. The Main Board of the ZSMP publishes every 3 weeks a bulletin called "Makeup Tests in History." In it, we discuss, on the basis of sources not commonly available, those historical facts in which the young are interested the most and which create the most doubts in their minds. This brochure is becoming increasingly sought by teachers as well.

These materials cause reflections about the sources of our failures and errors, but at the same time allow a broader look and help to understand social and historical processes. We add to that internationalist activity. We try to show that we are neither the center of the world nor of Europe. We show, for example, how young people in various countries struggle against armaments. We show that the number of socialist countries in the world is growing and that there is something in socialism which attracts nations in this direction. This creates the basis for reflections among the young.

Furthermore, we consider involvement in the economic reform and the shaping of knowledge of its aims as a political activity as well. Moreover, we learn from the experiences of other countries in educating the youth.

[Question] Soon the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee, devoted to the problems of the young, will take place. What are your reflections on discussions preceding it?

[Answer] Central Committee members from our voivodship are very involved in the discussion. All of them have met more than once with various youth groups. They share our view that the plenum must be exclusively ideological. This is based on what the people are saying. Prior to that, however, it will be necessary to begin resolving problems singled out by them, but this ought to be done by the government, not by the party. Only then we will be able to talk about absolute conditions for the realization of educational goals; in other words, it is necessary to create certain realities on the basis of which it will be possible to rally the youth for concrete goals. Unfortunately, the situation today is such that it is not concrete for the young when they just hear talk: You must more adhere to the ideology and work better, because they immediately ask: What does it mean? Does the greater adherence to ideology mean that I have to compensate for the lack of raw materials by my enthusiasm? Nine demands made at the Second ZSMP Congress were later adopted by Solidarity in Gdansk. There was a similar situation with the demands presented at the Eighth Party Congress. Therefore, the plenum will serve its purpose so long as the concrete talks at the grassroot level find their reflection in the resolution passed at the end of the plenum and in the fulfillment of that resolution.

[Question] You believe, then, that the educational work can be started when the sincerity in the realization of the decisions in regard to the youth's affairs becomes visible?

[Answer] We conduct this work without interruption, however, certain actions must be more visible in life. For example, a view has been circulated that the youth does not care for ideology. I would not say that. In Chorzow, for example, during the dedication of a memorial board commemorating the history of the youth movement, several hundred young participants sang the Internationale right on the street. Without any direction from anybody. Thus, the examples and traditions linger in the young people's minds. But

certainly one has to remember that they are looking for a place for themselves. Many things are changing now. The reform advances. All of these are processes the young have to learn to participate in. And here, undoubtedly, our organization has a great opportunity to help them. Certainly, there is a lot of ideological disarray, but this is not surprising considering the fact that manipulations by various political players aiming at changing the political system in Poland found the young unprepared for critical evaluation of their views, and the economic crisis complemented the arguments of the opponents of socialism. That is why I believe that an effective solving of problems in this sphere must be the starting point for an educational activity.

Chairman Jerzy Jaskiernia

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 25-27 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jerzy Jaskierna, chairman, ZSMP Main Board, by an unidentified PAP reporter; date and place not specified]

> The continuing long-term preparations for the plenum of the PZPR Central Committee to be devoted to the affairs of the young generation as well as the decisions made by the Council of Ministers with regard to the living and professional start of our youth are the main reasons for our interview with Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman, Main Board, ZSMP, by a PAP reporter.

[Question] Did the new developments in our country and the period of preparation for the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee on youth affairs cause any radical modifications or changes in the programatic directions of the ZSMP?

[Answer] In general, it is necessary to stress that the line and directions of our union's activities formulated more than a year ago at the Third Extraordinary ZSMP Congress have proven to be right, and therefore there has been no need for significant program modificacions. Nor has this thesis been undermined by the conditions of martial law. Naturally, one cannot say that nothing has changed since 13 December. We are now looking differently at the ZSMP on ideological-educational and ideological matters as well as on the problems of shaping the political awareness, legal culture and law-abiding awareness of the young. This follows, among others, from conclusions and evaluations of the discussion which has been taking place in the last few months in all spheres of our activity under the slogan: "What kind of Poland, what kind of union." Similar reflections have been expressed by the participants of the First ZSMP Ideological Conference and the Sixth Main Board Plenum. We agreed that regardless of matters related to a more effective presentation of the youth's existential and professional interests we must be more carefully concerned about ideological matters. This is what we are doing now. And this is not an evasive action or escape from

complex social problems, because the realities of the present economic situation are unusually difficult. That we are consistently involved in resolving material problems is exemplified by our patronage of housing construction, establishment of a credit fund for young married couples, and involvement in the improvement of starting conditions for young workers and farmers. The essence of our present work is the harmonious combining of matters concerning both "the soul and the body" and establishment of the right proportions for each.

We believe that any excessive leaning in one direction would be improper; I have in mind a situation in which our union would primarily concentrate on satisfying the social and material needs of the young reaching us from below, or concentrate--as the older activists wish--on shaping the minds of the young and on the ideological-educational matters. Unfortunately, we are still encountering in some circles a simplified view of youth's problems: through the prism of economic affairs. A precise analysis of experiences, including the post-1980 period, shows that equally difficult problems exist in the sphere of youth's participation in government, in self-government, and in subjective treatment of the affairs of young Poles. We believe that this is a very important political sphere which we must be concerned with and we will. This is related to upgrading and giving more significance to ideological training. On the other hand, it is necessary to understand the somewhat impulsive avoidance of these matters by the young. Taught by the experience of recent years, they suspect in such situations a desire to manipulate and direct. We take actions against such sentiments and this is exemplified by the matter-of-factly and honest discussion entitled "What kind of Poland, what kind of union," in which participate not only ZSMP members. I think that the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, which was a result of the realization of the resolution passed at the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress, allowed the breaking of all kinds of resistance and prejudice among the young and it will make more concrete guarantees for consistent and subjective treatment of problems of the young generation.

[Question] How do you understand in your organization the frequently repeated thesis that the solution of problems of the young generation is not possible without its active participation?

[Answer] I think that this thesis is obvious, but I understand the question. When the 1970's were approaching, in order to win the young a sort of philosophy of promises was instituted. There was talk about the generation of great opportunities, about an apartment for every young family, and a car, and color TV set, etc. The young began to believe that the state was the source of all goods and the role of the state was solely to satisfy automatically the needs of the young. Unfortunately, this philosophy has developed strong roots. Today, when the realities speak a brutal language, when it has become clear that awakened exaggerated aspirations cannot be fulfilled, and that even in the 1970's--the alleged prosperity period--we were still trying to make it, there is a need for common realization that

only the work of the society, and the honest work of the young, who after all constitute more than one-half of the entire work force, is the source of goods.

I wish to share with you my complete belief, based on my numerous daily meetings with the young from various environments, that the thesis on the need for organic work is understood by most of the young. We hear wise and justified views: We want good conditions at work, which will be properly organized and justly evaluated; we do not want bureaucracy hampering initiative. I believe that this is a tremendous step on the way to overcoming the consumerist mentality which has been so prevalent until recently.

[Question] What is your reaction on the government program concerning actions to be taken with regard to young people starting their independent private and professional lives? Will the government decisions alone--and there were many of them in the past--be able to change the situation?

[Answer] It must be emphasized that the government program covers only the main directions of activity with regard to the problems of the young generation. Looking at it from a broader perspective and considering it as an unusually important addendum to the total program, which ought to be formulated at the PZPR Central Committee Plenum, we give it a very high mark. This program contains many of our suggestions and it is characterized by a very just philosophy of resolving painful problems not in accordance with the rule that the government gives, but that the government supports by its decisions those directions of the youth's activity which show their readiness for independent solution of certain difficulties. Here I have in mind, for example, the decisions supporting initiatives with regard to the development of housing construction, development of cooperatives for the young, settlement projects for the young, promotional opportunities for the young, and participation of the young in self-government. I also have in mind the promises in the Council of Ministers program which give a real "green light" to a comprehensive policy in regard to the young generation. These are far-reaching promises closely related to personnel matters and lateral and upward promotions, all of which are of very great concern among the young. Naturally, major decisions, announcements and tendencies alone will not suffice. There is a need for actions formulating the control system in such matters and for guarantees that the young will really have conditions for expressing their own needs as well as independent and partnership-type solution of problems. It is necessary to remember that the struggle for the affairs of the young still continues. The easiest situation is on the central level. The lower one goes, the lower is the readiness of the local administration to realize the decisions from above in regard to the problems of the young generation. This phenomenon can also be explained by the universal interest of all environments in self-government. I believe that the just and correct government program requires precise implementation. I recall that there was no control over the realization of decisions taken at the Seventh "Youth" Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in 1972. Today, we cannot

allow that. Hence our proposal to establish the Committee for Youth Affairs at the Council of Ministers. We are glad that this concept--suggested at the Ninth Party Congress--has found a reflection in the theses for discussion before the present Central Committee plenum. Such committee would create an institutionalized guarantee of proper attention to youth affairs and would allow coordination of actions undertaken today in various ministries and institutions.

[Question] What is the most that the ZSMP members expect from the PZPR Central Committee plenum on youth affairs?

[Answer] We can already talk about some fulfilled expectations. Thus, very valuable is the fact that public opinion has been awakened to the problems of the young. I believe that, after all, not everybody was sufficiently aware of the drama experienced by the young generation today. A comparison with the first years after the war--the period 1940-1950--when all of us were poor in general is not a convincing one at all. We cannot deny that we have enriched ourselves by many contrasts and divisions. People's Poland is different today, conditions are different, the world is different. Years ago everybody understood the need for sacrifice. Today--as I have already stated--the consumerist attitude developed among many young and not so young people can still be seen.

I believe that these matters must be settled in view of the experiences since August 1980, transformations undergone in that period, and frequent breakdowns and dramas of the young people. I believe that that the present PZPR Central Committee Plenum must have an ideological dimension as well as encompass all kinds of "happenings" and define the strategy and policy of the party with regard to young people. The party simply must show that its attitude has changed and that there is no return to the pre-August 1980 days, and that its attitude toward young Poles is not a result of a tactical consideration and temporary endearing itself to the youth without whose activity there is no way out of the present crisis.

[Question] What is the present condition--if one can use a term like that--of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth?

[Answer] We are nearly 2-million-strong, which is quite a few if we remember that the crisis has affected us as well. Of particular value to us is the fact we have saved, despite great efforts by our opponents, the unity of the young workers, farmers, and youth from other environments. We are optimistic about more numerous exemplifications of broadening of the cooperative spirit among the young. Since the Third Extraordinary ZSMP Congress the range of our activities has extended to--without any exaggeration--all youth environments, ZSMP initiation circles have been formed in 44 colleges. We will continue to strengthen and broaden our formula of multienvironment organization. Our advantages are as follows: honest recognition of real needs of the young generation; authentic--as never before in the history of the youth movement--independence and democratic

relations; great respect for our representative bodies; and the role of the ZSMP basic elements in the enterprise, village and environment. This independence does not mean loneliness. We work in ideological unity with the PZPR and cooperate more and more effectively with the ZSL and SD, and other youth organizations. It is characteristic of our work that we do not bribe the youth. We tell the young: If you want to be involved, or if you want to quicken the realization of your civic aspirations, join ZSMP and we will create an opportunity for you. We alleviate 9-year-old deficiencies resulting from the ZSMP's lack of representation in high schools and colleges. Our inactivity in these environments weakened the meritoriousness of the union's work; without young intelligentsia and personnel turnover our union was unsuccessful in many areas.

[Question] Most young Poles remain outside socialist youth organizations....

[Answer] True. The reason for that is--I believe--the fact that our entire young generation has not overcome a sort of a moral shock. Overabundance of information, often contradictory, all kind of influence from various forces, and the economic crisis do not foster awakening of the young to activity for themselves or for the country. Many young people still wait unconvinced, unsure if the present bows in their direction are not temporary, dictated by particularist interests. I believe, however, that this attitude will gradually change. We live in a period of crisis, in critical conditions, which are experienced by the young as well. Many circles are affected by pessimism, which, among others, comes from the fact that--as the planners say--we will not be able to get out of the crisis before 1990. We, the young, can shorten this period. This is a fascinating and generational task. The idea is that everybody becomes aware that this task is possible to fulfill by a joint effort provided that proper conditions, including the legal ones, are created for that purpose by the authorities. It is frequently forgotten that we live in a period of socialist renewal, which--characteristically--honestly shows what was wrong and allows for more confidence that the errors will not be repeated, and guarantees that the effects of the joint effort will not be wasted. Therefore, we address our program to ambitious people who want to change reality for the better, united in their struggle, work, in action for themselves, and for the country.

Together with all other members of our union I hope that the PZPR Central Committee plenum on youth problems will be conducted in such a spirit and that it will become the beginning of a great national debate on the young generation; we also hope that it will formulate short- and long-term tasks which will make everybody accountable, including us--ZSMP members.

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GDANSK VOIVODSHIP PARTY MEETINGS NOTED

Preplenum Discussion on Housing

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 8 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Zbigniew Zukowski: "A Dwelling After 40?: On the Eve of the Plenum of the KW PZPR in Gdansk"]

> [Text] This month [June 1982] the Voivodship Committee [KW] of the PZPR in Gdansk will hold a plenum devoted to problems of the youth. The related problems, from ideological-upbringing ones to social and subsistence ones, have multiplied tremendously. It is precisely among the rising generation, and especially in young families, that all the so-called problems of everyday life, ensuing from the persistence of the deepest political-social-economic crisis in the country's postwar history, are at their worst. Among the related issues, the crucial position is held by the unusually urgent problem of separate housing for young people.

In the postwar period, many concepts of housing policy were entertained. That policy was inconsistent and often not in accord with the basic goals of the state's economic policy. Much has been accomplished in this field, but the housing policy still demonstrates many weaknesses. Long since, too, the annual number of new dwellings released for occupancy has been below the targeted figures. In Gdansk Voivodship the housing situation is, to boot, much more difficult than in the country as a whole. For example, the indicator of households per 100 dwellings is 116 for the country as a whole, but in this voivodship it is 123.4. There are 3.10 persons per dwelling for the country as a whole, but in Gdansk Voivodship this indicator is 3.56. The voivodship plan for the 1980s postulates bringing the number of households in 1990 to the level of the nationwide average, that is, to 108 households per 100 dwellings. To achieve this goal, the plan provides for about 107,000 new dwellings during the years 1981-1990, of which 94,000 newly built dwellings (75,000 in multifamily housing plus nearly 19 percent in private housing).

To visualize the situation more fully, these statistics have to be complemented with additional figures. Thus, that 75,000 dwellings in multifamily housing is to include 58,000 cooperative dwellings, 6,000 communal dwellings and 11,000 dwellings for [the personnel of] labor establishments. According to statistics for the end of last year, 116,000 persons are awaiting these dwellings in Gdansk Voivodship; of whom 105,000 are in housing cooperatives (28,000 members and 77,000 candidates meeting the requirements for admission to cooperative membership).

If the assumptions of the plan of housing construction are implemented and the anticipated number of recovered billeted dwellings is realistic, then by 1985 a total of 7,300 families will receive dwellings from the local agencies of state administration, and a total of 21,600 members of housing cooperatives will receive dwellings as well. As for the remainder, they are to receive their dwellings of "so-many" rooms after 1985, while the nearly 50,000-strong throng of candidates will have to wait for theirs until after 1990.

To translate the language of these figures into plain language, this means that nearly 17,000 families cannot expect to receive their own dwellings after a waiting period of more than 10 years. A decisive majority of that group is represented by young families, who thus face very distant prospects of being able to start a desired "hearth" of their own.

The housing problem produces numerous further repercussions. Young people who lack their own apartments have to live "in a corner" with their parents or parents-in-law, which often leads to conflicts and represents an already proverbial cause of the breakdown of quite a few families. The alternative of renting a room or a small apartment for extremely inflated prices entails a drastic decrease in living standards. It is thus hardly surprising that such an unexaggeratedly dramatic situation engenders frustration, discontent and impulses to revolt among many young people.

Of course, efforts are being made to improve this situation. They include, e.g., the voiding of the principle, mandatory until 1980, that some cooperative apartments can also be allocated for the needs of labor establishments and local agencies of state administration. This makes it possible, despite the recession in housing, to increase the number of dwellings available for cooperative applicants, which besides meets public demands. However, measures of this kind are--though positive and praiseworthy--nevertheless a drop in the veritable sea of needs.

More hopeful are other activities of the administrative authorities of Gdansk Voivodship. They include the allocation of space for single-family construction during the 1981-1990 period. Organizing work has also been undertaken by local agencies of state administration, through the provision of preferences for small forms of construction and cooperative construction as well as through the organization of small housing cooperatives. The related initiatives so far have resulted in the recent establishment of 32

different housing cooperatives with 1,900 founding members and a program for building about 900 dwellings by 1985.

The June "Youth" Plenum of the KW PZPR will also discuss these matters. It must be clearly stated that, as ensues from discussions within various youth communities and talks with individuals, most young people are aware of the unusually difficult economic situation and do not expect a miraculous overnight improvement in their situation. Nor do they expect promises that cannot be kept, such as used to be given.

On the other hand, the youth expects broad and authentic support from the region's political-administrative authorities with respect to its initiatives intended to shorten the apartment waiting time. In this field, the goals of the authorities and the youth coincide. The authorities are interested in changing the attitude of passive waiting in a line for the allocation of a dwelling--this being the attitude preferred by the previous housing policy--to an attitude of active participation in the process of procuring one's own dwelling. Such an approach meets the needs of most youth which is interested in the broadening of forms of construction patronage, in building with its own hands modest single-family dwellings, adapting attic dwellings, and settling so-called vacant spaces, as well as in producing building materials for its own needs in, e.g., reactivated small brickworks.

Such activities cannot rapidly resolve the whole problem but, if properly implemented and complemented with such indispensable elements as expansion of the credit system, they can provide significant support to the housing program. Thus what we are dealing with is essentially not isolated "guerrilla" initiatives which cannot realistically succeed, but the development of a broad social movement based on particular initiatives to which the authorities give the green light.

Discussions of this topic include yet another motif. Young people demand clear and full information about the current state and short-term prospects of investments in housing construction, no matter how dramatic that information may be. Young people nowadays are educated and knowledgeable and will not let themselves be dazzled by slogans: They want a candid picture of the situation so as to find their place in it and perceive the actual prospects they face.

No one wants to find himself in the situation of those young families which some months ago "bought" the slogan of the green light for single-family construction and began to build their own houses. Today they are in an unenviable situation. They write letters to editors complaining that, after many months of arduous work and sacrifices, they were literally ruined by the increases in the prices of building materials. Some built their houses only as high as the first floor, and others have only laid the foundations, but they all borrowed up to the hilt, are penniless, and have no prospects for completing the investment of their lives. Their bitterness is hardly surprising.

Executive Board Meeting on Bank Credits

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 14 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by hb: "From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the KW PZPR in Gdansk"]

[Text] Last Friday [11 June 1982] the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee [KW] of the PZPR in Gdansk held a session during which it examined the implementation of the resolution of 10 March 1982 of the plenum of the PZPR Central Committee concerning the need to organize a broad front of economy and savings in every plant in Gdansk Voivodship, which is closely linked to the introduction of the economic reform.

During the discussions attention was drawn to the responsibility--ensuing from the resolutions of the seventh and eighth plenums of the PZPR Central Committee--of all party elements and state administration agencies for a correct and consistent introduction of the reform.

As ensues from data provided by the National Polish Bank [NBP], Gdansk branch, nearly 40 of the approximately 380 Gdansk Voivodship enterprises granted loans by the bank currently lack credit eligibility. Unless these enterprises take urgent steps to break the impasse, then, under the regulations in force, the bank will cease to provide them with credits.

The KW Executive Board stressed the need to take measures to stimulate the proper operation of the principles of the reform, especially in organizations that currently lack credit eligibility, on assigning the leading role in this respect to party organizations and administrative-economic management. Emphasis here was placed on the importance of the coordinative measures of the Voivodship Administration Office and units of the socialized economy to rationalize employment--an indispensable element of the reform.

In its turn, the KW Executive Board has, jointly with the Voivodship Defense Committee [WKO], discussed the role and tasks of the organs of prosecution and administration of justice in strengthening security, order, calm and social discipline. Since martial law was introduced, the number of infractions of the law observed in Gdansk Voivodship has markedly declined. In the period from 1 January to 31 May the Province Prosecutor's Office completed preliminary proceedings in about 6,200 cases, which is a decline of more than 30 percent compared with the situation in the second half of last year.

However, despite the declining crime statistics, speculation continues to be a frequent phenomenon, especially illegal trade in alcohol. The Province Prosecutor's Office currently has filed preliminary proceedings in 35 cases of speculation. Moreover, the so-called internal inspections do not function properly in all the units of the socialized economy, and this contributes to

the upsurge of economic crimes. What is essential, however, is that the organs of the prosecution of crime and administration of justice in Gdansk Voivodship have been exerting greater efforts during the martial-law period to strengthen public order, calm, security and social discipline.

The KW Executive Board has, jointly with the WKO, expressed its appreciation to the Citizens' Militia [MO] and Security Service [SB] as well as to the personnel of the Polish People's Army [LWP] for their active and committed attitude in maintaining calm, public order, and security in Gdansk Voivodship. The need for party organizations and echelons to create an atmosphere favorable to the useful and indispensable activity of the organs for the prosecution of crime and administration of justice was pointed out.

Housing Problems of Young Generation

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 16 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by ztm: "The Party's Tasks in Solving the Problems of the Rising Generation: The KW PZPR Plenum in Gdansk Has Begun Its Deliberations--Tasks of the Party in Solving the Problems of the Young Generation"]

[Text] Today [16 June 1982] the KW [Voivodship Committee of the PZPR] commenced its deliberations in the Round Hall [Sala Okragla] of the Voivodship Administration Office. The plenum was chaired by the first secretary of the KW PZPR, Stanislaw Bejger. He welcomed the visiting member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Kazimierz Barcikowski; member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Jan Labedzki; chairman of the KW of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] Boguslaw Droszcz; chairman of the KW of the Democratic Party [SD] Andrzej Bartel; and the chairman of the Voivodship boards of the youth organizations, Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP], Dalibor Malinowski, and the commandant of the Gdansk Council of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP].

The agenda is topical: the sociopolitical situation among the youth and the party's tasks in solving the problems of the rising generation in Gdansk Voivodship.

At the session the voivodship party organization is also to express its response to the draft of the ideological-program declaration of the PZPR "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are."

The report of the KW PZPR Executive Board was presented by KW Secretary Mieczyslaw Chabowski. He discussed the main problems concerning youth. The report stated that the dissonance between the proclaimed programs and practice, between the opportunities existing under the present system of society and the actual position of youth in public life, have resulted in swaying the faith of the rising generation in the political line of the party. In our voivodship, the manifestations of this crisis occurred in a more acute form, because the disproportions between the development of the industrial sphere and that of the social infrastructure have been tremendous and especially burdensome to young people.

The surmounting of the crisis is not possible without active participation of the youth. Greater presence of young people is indispensable at all levels of party, state, and socioeconomic life. But it is not possible to formally guarantee vacancies in party echelons and self-government bodies. Young people have to earn such positions for themselves by winning public recognition and demonstrating political maturity and professional achievements. The prevalent opinions and views that young people should not advance rapidly in life must be combated. But while a favorable climate for youth should be provided, it should meet high requirements as well. Young people should be granted the credit of confidence and endowed with rights, but at the same time they should fulfill their obligations and their performance should be monitored.

Youth can most effectively represent its interests and make its own generational contribution to the shaping of reality through the mediation of an authentic and strong movement of its own that can draft its own proposals regarding the program for the development of the voivodship and country, propose initiatives, and introduce youth to adult life demonstrating all of its complexity.

Currently a most important task is to provide social services for persons existing in a difficult material situation. This concerns chiefly young people, and especially young families. These matters should be concretely reflected in the social policies of the state and economic administration of the voivodship. They include two particularly essential problems. The first problem is the assurance of absolute enforcement of the constitutional right to work with allowance for the requirements of rational employment. The second problem is housing. In Gdansk Voivodship there are more than 100,000 persons awaiting housing, mostly young people. The waiting time is about 15 years and it tends to grow longer. The current system of the construction and allocation of housing virtually deprives the housing applicants of a chance to personally contribute to shortening the waiting time. The party will support all concrete initiatives of the youth and its organizations with the object of expediting the release of dwellings for occupancy. Such initiatives already are being taken, but their scope is limited. We thus regard it as expedient to implement on a broader scale the ideas of patronage construction. This requires revisions of the legal provisions governing construction and the broadening of the powers of local administrative bodies as well as refinements in their functioning as regards the solution of housing problems.

The program activities oriented toward the youth and its discrete mileux should be adapted to its expectations. The young consumer does not respond to schematic formulas; simplified explanations do not convince him; and he refuses to listen to reports on successes, but he does expect explanations concerning shortcomings. Hence, broadly conceived propaganda activities must meet extremely high requirements.

In shaping socialistically committed attitudes of youth, the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism is indispensable. This can be accomplished solely by bringing youth closer to Marxism through its explicit and clearer exposition. But as for the conclusions ensuing from that exposition, they should be formulated and implemented so that the practice of socialist construction would be a continuing confirmation of that exposition.

Area Youth Employment Possibilities

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 16 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Zbigniew Zukowski: "The Plenum of the KW PZPR Deliberates"]

[Text] Every young person who is completing his studies desires to get a job that would, on the one hand, enable him (and his family if he already has one) to make a decent living and, on the other, enable him to properly utilize the knowledge and expertise he acquired as well as to gain professional advancement in relation to his performance. Does such a lapidary formulation of the program agree with or differ from reality in the Gdansk Voivodship? This question, among others, is facing the participants in today's [16 June 1982] plenum of the KW [Voivodship Committee] of the PZPR in Gdansk, devoted to the main problem of the region's youth.

Let us begin with statistics. In Gdansk Voivodship there are 642,000 occupationally and professionally active persons, of whom 270,000 or 42 percent are young people 15 to 34 years old. This group is complemented each year by graduates of all types of schools who start upon their first jobs. In 1981 these graduates totaled 16,000. In a breakdown by kinds of schools, 7,700 came from elementary schools; 1,300, from academic lyceums [secondary schools]; 3,700, from technicums and vocational secondary schools; 1,300, from postlyceum schools; and 2,000, from higher schools.

Not all the graduates were provided with jobs. Following a trend that had already arisen in the previous years, graduates of elementary and vocational secondary schools as well as of academic lyceums encountered problems in finding employment. In the last few days of 1981, the employment divisions of Gdansk Voivodship had registered 158 job applicants who were graduated from schools in that year. Recent [December 1981] graduates of Gdansk University and also of Gdansk Polytechnic predominated among these applicants. As for the graduates of other schools in the Tri-City [Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot], they had no special problems in finding employment. To be specific--which, we hope, will provide food for thought to those intending to select a specific area of studies--the lowest chances of finding employment for university graduates are in such fields as the law, Russian and Polish philology, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geography, history and, in the case of the Gdansk Polytechnic, architecture, civil engineering, and environmental protection.

The forecast for the current year is even more unfavorable. The "Three 'S'" of the economic reform [samodzielnosc, samorzad, samofinansowanie--autonomy, self-government, self-financing] do not encourage enterprises to increase

employment. Many investment projects have been suspended. And certain branches of production operate at one-half capacity. This situation also obtains in Gdansk Voivodship. A comparison of the job supply and demand for school graduates reported by the labor establishments reveals that this year no jobs will be available for 500 graduates of higher schools and 800 graduates of secondary schools, especially of academic and vocational secondary schools. Once more, the area of study majored in at Gdansk University lead on this fatal list: the humanities, law, and mathematics and physics. For the secondary schools, the fields of most affected are electrical and electronic engineering, hotel and gastronomic trades, and agricultural and transportation trades (especially drivers). On the other hand, there will be far from enough graduates to fill all the jobs available in the group of construction and mechanics' trades.

In connection with such a broad opening of the shears of the "production" of graduates compared with the opportunities for their employment, it is necessary to organize courses for training them in the trades and professions that are currently in demand. As regards the graduates of secondary schools, job opportunities exist for typists, bookkeepers, shipping clerks, teamsters, fitters, lathe operators, welders, masons, plasterers and roofers. As regards the graduates of the Tri-City's higher schools, they can--as ensues from information provided by the Voivodship Administrative Office--find substitute jobs in the ministries of education and health service, especially in medical laboratories, preschool institutions, elementary-school instruction, and school dayrooms.

It is not difficult to sense that to many people this is shocking and disappointing news. If, for example, a newly baked architectural engineer or theoretical physicist is, let us suppose, offered a school-dayroom job, it is difficult to expect of him enthusiasm and acceptance of his fate. Aside from the attendant stresses and the feeling of being cheated in life, this may result in rapid personnel turnover. Of course, the positive effects of a change in place of employment may be publicized, thus enabling the young employee to find a vocation adequate to his qualifications and interests. But generally speaking this is a negative phenomenon. Yet, it is reaching a considerable scale. Suffice it to say that in the category of workers, the share of young people in turnover of personnel reaches as much as 70 percent.

Speaking of this group of problems, special consideration must be given to the situation of young people having a higher educational background. Gdansk Voivodship, which provides employment to more than 47,000 persons with higher-school degrees, ranks fourth in this respect in the country as a whole, after the [Warsaw] Capital, Katowice, and Krakow City voivodships. Some 75 percent in that category are young people up to 35 years old. However, their share in the management of the economy is not commensurate with their qualifications, because they hold barely 18 percent of managerial positions.

Poor earnings at the moment of starting gainful employment, discouraging prospects for advancement, and difficulties in finding an acceptable job

adequate to one's qualifications, prompt more than 21 percent of persons with higher educational background not to work in the professions they majored in. This applies to, e.g., 90 percent (!) of library-science experts and scientific and technical information specialists and 35 percent of the graduates in the areas of the humanities, history and social sciences.

Can we afford as a society to spend hundreds of thousands of zlotys to train e.g., a Polonist or a biologist who subsequently counts paper staplers in some office or sells parsley because no proper position is available for him? This question is not, of course, rhetorical, for beside the considerable material losses there arise losses that are more difficult to measure--disappointment, illwill, and bitterness of individuals who simply were deceived by the mirage of leading a different mode of life, pursuing a different career. Thus the curriculums of the secondary and higher schools must be adapted to the current and anticipated needs of the national economy.

No less necessary appears to be the development and application of mechanisms for the promotion of highly qualified young and capable employees who link their careers and plans in life to the plants they work in. Only a clearly defined and acceptable dependence between the results of performance and remuneration and promotion has a chance to link the interests of people to the enterprises or institutions in which they serve. This also provides the motivation for good and productive work. Unfortunately, as ensues from this brief review of facts, the situation in this respect in Gdansk Voivodship is far from ideal.

NOTE: The figures presented in this article derive from the report of the Voivodship Administrative Office in Gdansk on "Problems of a Start in Life and in Gainful Employment Experienced by the Youth of the Gdansk Voivodship."

Discussions on Resolving Youth Problems

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 17 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by ztm: "Attend to Youth in a New Manner--Plenum of the KW PZPR in Gdansk"; portions within slant lines in boldface]

> [Text] /As we noted previously, yesterday a plenum of the KW [Voivodship Committee] of the PZPR in Gdansk was held in the Round Hall of the Voivodship Administrative Office, with the participation of Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, and Jan Labecki, member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee. The deliberations, which dealt with the current sociopolitical situation among the youth and the party's tasks in solving the problems of the rising generation in Gdansk Voivodship were chaired by the first secretary of the KW, Stanislaw Bejger./

At the meeting, the voivodship party organization also expressed its attitude concerning the draft of the ideological-program declaration of the PZPR, "What We Are Fighting for, What Our Goals Are," and elections to the offices of chairman and deputy chairman of the Commission for the History of the Workers Movement under the KW PZPR in Gdansk were held.

A report from the KW PZPR Executive Board was presented by the secretary of the KW, Mieczyslaw Chabowski. The principal topics of that report were described yesterday [16 June 1982] in WIECZOR WYBRZEZA.

This was followed by a discussion, with the participation of 21 persons: Halina Minkowska, Jan Hawrylowicz, Lech Bednarski, Jacek Szafranski, Andrzej Cieplucha, Stefan Milewski, Kazimierz Sokolowski, Zbigniew Jarceki, Wlodzimierz Lebiedzinski, Ryszard Malek, Donata Seweryn, Adam Pawlak, Zbigniew Miotk, Tadeusz Olszewski, Jozef Lacmanski, Henryk Sobczak, Adam Feldzensztain, Kazimierz Kwidzynski, Joachim Ceynowa, Miroslaw Wielki, Rajmund Kuber. The other participants provided written comments for the written record.

In their comments the participants in the discussion touched upon the crucial problems relating to the role of the rising generation in socialist Poland, the questions of its education and upbringing, and the currently most vital social and subsistence problems. The first comment made was extremely pertinent: The speaker declared that we pay attention to youth when crises arise, especially when it takes to the streets and, too noisily, informs us of its existence and problems. Then fear seizes us and we want to quiet it--but we commit a fundamental educational error by desiring to bribe it with coupons for refrigerators, washing machines, etc. To top it all, we are surprised that the youth is not ideologyminded: it takes what it is given but it does not display the expected obedience. Through such activities, we get as a byproduct the division of society into people of an age that entitles them to benefit from privileges, that is, young people, and people who are not entitled to privileges because they happen to be a month too old. /We should attend to youth, but in a manner different from the one applied previously, because it is not a sudden apparition, it has always been here. We must define the role and place of youth in socialist Poland./ We must develop and implement systems of educational and upbringing activities so that youth, upon entering adult life, would be aware of its possibilities and obligations for implementing its life's goals and career ambitions.

The discussion touched upon mistakes hitherto made in the party's policy in the context of assistance for the ideological work of youth organizations. During the 1980-1981 period the party aktiv was preoccupied with its own problems and provided no assistance to youth organizations. The party too often adopted resolutions that were not consistently implemented. This caused lack of trust and confidence in party and administrative authorities. Party organizations treated the youth movement as something to be used. The leadership of the party organizations often approached the affairs of

youth apodictically, without understanding the need to employ different methods of implementing the tasks of ideological upbringing. The goal was to increase the number of young party members at any price. Owing to the faulty civic and political education practiced until August 1980, a gap has arisen. It is thus hardly surprising that youth operates with superficial and simplified judgments concerning the development of socialism in Poland and is susceptible to the demagogical influence of the enemies.

Youth is an attentive and sensitive observer. This was especially pointed out by participants in the discussions. /Any contradiction between word and deed prompts tremendous distrust among young people. It also makes them distrustful toward the authors of slogans that do not work./ The mistakes committed by the party in the past and the fact that the rising generation will bear the consequences of the present crisis to a greater extent than the others, constitute a major barrier to winning the youth over to making intensified efforts in behalf of the building of socialism in Poland. And the party must rapidly infer from this the proper conclusions and begin the work to create political culture among the youth. /It is necessary to create a system of continuing discussion of: the party program; the program for the renewal; political, moral, and legal guarantees; the need to struggle for socialist ideals and values and against harmful stereotypes of romantic thinking and uncritical admiration of the West./

It is also necessary to maximally utilize the historical interests and patriotism of youth in order to demonstrate to it the need to preserve the continuity of the national tradition and Polish statehood.

One speaker proposed considering the moral values that should characterize the members of youth organizations. For example, should not every new member of the political youth organizations be required to swear an oath containing moral principles, and should not these principles be appended to the statutes of the organizations? /It appears that there exist considerable shortcomings in the system of moral incentives applied in youth organizations./ It is not a coherent system allowing for all elements of the organization and assuring an appropriate gradation of awards, bonuses and distinctions.

A topic that was present in every comment was the social and subsistence problems of the rising generation. Mention was made of the lack of housing, of the long waiting period for one's own "M" [i.e., apartment], which is expected to reach 15-17 years. Possible solutions to this situation also were pointed out. The need to create a broad movement for housing construction was mentioned. When everything depends on the state, young people are left in a helpless position. The few patrons sponsoring housing construction for the youth are only exceptions confirming the rule. A proposal was made for determining the priorities in housing construction, which should solve, in Gdansk Voivodship, some of the housing problems and prompt active participation of young people in building their own housing.

Following the discussion, Zenon Kuligowski, member of the KW Youth Commission, described the findings of a poll concerning the young generation that was conducted prior to the plenum of the KW PZPR.

Next, the floor was taken by Jan Labecki, member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the plant party committee at the Gdansk Shipyard. He stressed that old mistakes should not be repeated by adopting resolutions that have no chance of being implemented. Resolutions should be so formulated as to specify in hierarchic order the needs of the young generation, so that the word given to youth would be kept. This concerns a most important issue--credibility. One should also struggle against the paradox that those who do not appreciate socialism usually are the ones that owe it most. Speaking of the coming Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, which is to deal with the topic of youth, the speaker declared that it should realistically appraise our chances and possibilities. /For the problems of the rising generation cannot be divorced from the problems of the entire nation. Neither should the concept of Marxism-Leninism be abused because many who proclaimed this ideology have departed far from it. This ideology should be demonstrated by good and concrete examples./

The concluding speech at the plenary session was delivered by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. He declared that the issues of youth cannot be limited to the system--party--youth, because the party should be one of the elements in the process of the upbringing of the rising generation. It is thus necessary to draft a program constituting, as it were, a social contract with the young generation. /The crisis can be surmounted not by passivity but by thorough, honest work, and here too the role of the youth has to be defined: is it to wait until it gets something, or is it to labor in order to have something?/ The speaker also pointed to the major problem of the lack of contact between generations. One can speak with the youth only in plain language based on realistic arguments, without emotions. For young people receive advice from all sides on how to live. But as for the party, it provides the youth with little advice and few examples. /But young people must feel that somebody is concerned for their better future, that someone cares for their interests./

As the next item in its deliberations, the plenum of the KW in Gdansk unanimously adopted two resolutions. The first resolution concerns the youth, and the party's tasks in solving the problems of the rising generation. It defines the tasks of party organizations as regards cooperation with the socialist youth unions and it spells out the social and career problems of the rising generation. The second resolution /presents the attitude of the voivodship party organization regarding the draft of the ideological-program declaration of the PZPR: "What We Are Fighting for, What Are Our Goals."/

During the final deliberations, KW Secretary Mieczyslaw Chabowski submitted the proposal of the KW Secretariat concerning the establishment of the

Commission on the History of the Worker Movement. The KW plenum accepted the proposal and appointed Henryk Sliwowski chairman of the commission. Marian Chlebowski was elected the deputy chairman.

The deliberations ended with the singing of "The International."

Partnership, Joint Responsibility with Youth

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 17 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by zuk--maj: "Partnership and Joint Responsibility: Problems of the Rising Generation as the Topic of the Plenum of the KW PZPR in Gdansk"; portions within slant lines in boldface]

> [Text] /With the participation by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, as well as Jan Labecki, member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee, the KW [Voivodship Committee] of the PZPR in Gdansk held a plenum yesterday [16 June 1982]. The agenda contained three items: discussion of the current sociopolitical situation among the youth and the party's tasks in solving the problems of the rising generation of Gdansk Voivodship; presentation of the attitude of the voivodship party organization toward the draft of the declaration "What We Are Fighting for, What Our Goals Are"; and selection of the chairman and deputy chairman of the Commission on the History of the Worker Movement under the KW PZPR in Gdansk.

The deliberations were chaired by the first secretary of the KW, Stanislaw Bejger. They also were attended by Boguslaw Droszcz, chairman of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Voivodship Committee; Andrzej Bartel, chairman of the SD [Democratic Party] Voivodship Committee, and the chairman of the voivodship echelons of youth unions: Jan Hawrylewicz, ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth]; Andrzej Cieplucha, ZHP [Polish Scout Union]; Miroslaw Wielki, ZMW [Rural Youth Union]; and Dalibor Malinowski, SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students].

The report of the Executive Board of the KW PZPR was presented by KW Secretary, Mieczyslaw Chabowski. He stated that an acute political struggle for the youth has been under way for many months. Following August 1980, part of the young generation has been displaying an undermined system of values along with a crisis of confidence in the authorities, accompanied by susceptibility to the arguments of the political enemy, as expressed in extreme cases in participation in demonstrations against the authorities. However, /most youth, and especially worker youth, support socialism and through its labor contributes to surmounting the crisis/.

A joint strategy of educational action must be worked out by the party, the other political parties and the youth associations. In no case should a discrepancy between the proclaimed slogans and actual action be permitted.

The KW secretary stated that the situation is at its most difficult among university students. The small membership of the SZSP limits its influence on the academic community. This is also due to the illwill of some of the students and the teaching faculty toward that organization. An equally difficult situation exists among school youth. Some young workers also are susceptible to antisocialist slogans.

/The educational process must be cohesive and consistently implemented with the cooperation of the school, the labor establishment, the family and the community./ These elements should form a united front instead of representing different and often mutually opposed orientations. A special role here is played by the teaching staff. Teachers who are incapable of implementing the socialist system of education and upbringing should have no influence on the formation of attitudes and convictions among the youth.

The speaker further stated that important tasks are to be accomplished through the cooperation of party organizations with youth associations. The participation of young people in the process of cogoverning should be expanded, and conditions should be provided for the career promotion of young workers according to the principle that honest work alone guarantees personal success and national welfare. It is indispensable to broaden the participation of the youth in the dissemination of culture and improve the conditions for the exercise of sports and recreation.

The socioeconomic crisis has struck the rising generation the hardest of all. Young families encounter difficult conditions of existence. It is a supreme duty of the state to provide them with the indispensable conditions for development, although it should be realized that not all the related needs can be met.

The /housing question/ is urgent. The disproportions between the expectations and possibilities of its resolution have been growing for years. It is indispensable to provide the conditions for the active participation of young people in the process of creating their own housing.

/It is a necessity of the times for the youth associations to arrive at a common consensus on the principal issues./ As for the party, it must convert to regular work with the youth and treat this as its fundamental duty. Of fundamental importance is the effective ideological-educational influencing of the youth. This will be facilitated by, among other things, drawing on the traditions of the Polish workers movement and the achievements of the Polish People's Republic. Lastly, the KW secretary stated that another duty of the party in its work with the youth is to assure complementing its ranks with the best representatives of the rising generation.

The report was followed by a discussion.

Halina Minkowska, secretary of the PZPR plant committee at the Gdansk Harbor Administration, declared that, while tackling the problems of the youth during the current period of crises, the party should not neglect older people and those who need help, for it is precisely these whom the national crisis affects most painfully.

Young people who enter upon adult life must know their chances and prospects. A flexible educational model as well as motivation for honest work also are needed. For it sometimes happens that career advancement is not coupled with social and material advancement. Party activists should meet more often with the youth in labor establishments. If we are honest toward the young generation, we can win it over.

Jan Hawrylewicz, chairman of the ZSMP Voivodship Committee in Gdansk, stated that the Union of Polish Socialist Youth has reorganized itself, and redefined itself as a political organization. The union has from the outset supported the WRON [Military Council of National Rebirth] and the measures intended to rescue the fatherland. Now the time has come for a joint effort and fusion of the younger generation. The ZSMP expects support for its activities from the party and other political parties. It will also draw on inspiration and assistance of the experience of the youth organizations of the socialism-building states. The speaker further stated that we have a program of action and an aktiv, but the problem is that we have not yet succeeded in implementing it at the level of the basic elements of the union--in labor establishments and schools. The strength of the ZSMP lies in the breadth of its membership, which enables it to represent the interests of the entire younger generation.

Lech Bednarski, chairman of the WRN [Voivodship People's Council] in Gdansk, stated that the problems of the rising generation will be of special concern to the people's councils at all levels. The councils will increasingly improve their social functions associated with, among other things, the youth. He declared that it is important that the youth take part in the activities of the people's councils, especially at the lowest levels, e.g., in settlement committees which are dominated by older people and often display lack of constructive initiative.

The problems accepted for discussion by the councilmen even before the current year is over will include problems of housing construction, public health, and agriculture. A report prepared by the Voivodship Administrative Office and the ZSMP will be a document enabling the councilmen to thoroughly analyze the situation in the youth community of our voivodship.

Jacek Szafranski, a worker from the Paris Commune Shipyard, pointed to the often inconsistent actions of the authorities. Young shipyard workers assess positively the efforts of the authorities to bring order into many neglected matters. But why there is no consistency in implementing the duty of work, the struggle against speculation and a credit system for

young married couples, as well as in settling once and for all with all those guilty of leading the country into the crisis? The goals are clear, after all, but their implementation is weak.

Andrzej Cieplucha, commander of the Gdansk ZHP Gdansk Council, stated that we are dealing with a dualism of attitude toward socialism. Many young people have slid into indifference and internal emigration. We have to accomplish concrete work--without high-sounding slogans, pathos and circulars.

In the past it was a mistake to claim that "the young will be the haves." Today Polish youth is regarded as lost. We should stop waiting to be "given." We tell our scouts: you'll get it if you yourself work for it.

The problems needing mention include safeguarding the health of schoolchildren, aspects of the social pathology, and the problem of providing textbooks for every pupil. Another vital issue and necessity is an unequivocal attitude of parents. It cannot be tolerated that the views expressed in the labor establishment differ from those expressed at home in the child's presence.

Zbigniew Jarecki, a private farmer, recalled that quite a few good resolutions were proclaimed in the years past. But what of it when they were not implemented. It will suffice to look up these documents and implement their provisions at present.

He also described the causes of the flight of the youth from rural areas, where social and living conditions are much more difficult than in the cities, artists and writers do not come, and the number of clubrooms and playing fields is decreasing. What of the loans for young married couples, he asked, with which color TV sets can be purchased, when the countryside needs nails and rakes?

Kazimierz Sokolowski, chairman of the ZASPA Housing Cooperative Board stated that the key to answering the question of why the young behave thus and not otherwise is the question of the degree to which their aspirations are met. Recounting his work experiences, he spoke of the problems of housing construction, the rate of constructing dwellings for which people may in the future have to wait nearly 17 years.

A broad movement for housing construction should be established. When everything depends on the state, this makes young people feel helpless. The few patrons of housing construction for the youth only confirm the exceptions to the rule. The speaker suggested that preferences be granted to single-family housing construction, which should concretely solve part of the housing problems in Gdansk Voivodship and contribute broad participation of the youth in building its own housing.

Zbigniew Miotk, voivodship commander of the OHP [Volunteer Labor Brigades], discussed the role of volunteer labor brigades in the system of the upbringing of youth. These brigades are the gathering spot for children from the poorest families, children who are problem students. Each year every 10th child does not complete elementary school. To these young people the OHP offers the only chance for an equal start in life. Yet, now that the economic reform has been introduced, many enterprises have lost interest in these brigades. Thus it is necessary to reform the forms of activity of the OHP. If the brigades are to remain a strong element of the educational system, the state must pay for their upkeep.

The floor in the discussion was also taken by" Stefan Milewski, Ryszard Marek, Tadeusz Olszewski, Henryk Sobczak, Miroslaw Wielki, Wlodzimierz Lebiedzinski, Donata Seweryn, Adam Pawiak, Jozef Lacmanski, Adam Feldzensztain, and Joachim Ceynowa. They discussed various aspects of the process of the education and upbringing of the younger generation and pointed to the multiplicity of social and living problems requiring an urgent solution. They also discussed the problem of social and career advancement and future prospects of the younger generation. Some speakers touched upon most difficult problems of youth organizations in worker, rural, and academic communities.

Then Zenon Kuligowski, a member of the KW Youth Commission, discussed the findings of a poll conducted among the youth prior to the plenum of the KW PZPR.

In addition, some 15 or so comments were included in the minutes of the meeting.

Next to take the floor was Jan Labecki, member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee and secretary of the plant party committee at the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard. He emphasized forcefully that in no case should the repetition of old mistakes be tolerated by adopting resolutions that have no chance of being implemented. A resolution should specify the hierarchy of needs of the rising generation, and it should be worded in terms of time and reality so that it could be implemented. This is the fundamental condition for credibility.

Further, youth should be made aware that the coming Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee cannot be a panacea for all problems, contrary to current opinions and expectations. The problems of the youth should be solved consistently, but in the context of problems of the entire society and with allowance for the possibilities of the state. It is highly important, on the other hand, to provide the youth with the possibility of implementing its initiatives. The youth and its problems are a topic which should receive attention every day rather than, as before, occasionally, on special days.

Toward the end of the discussion the floor was taken by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. He declared that there are hardly any parents who are not concerned that their children might go astray. Likewise, /the party is concerned about shaping appropriate attitudes of the public, including those of the younger generation, and providing it with better living conditions/. The needs are limitless. Kazimierz Barcikowski further stated: "That is why I want to persuade you to draft a plan of action on the voivodship scale with the object of meeting the most urgent needs of the rising generation.

The numerous desiderata voiced are subjectively right. /But the point is to identify those among them that are feasible at present./ Thus, a team could be appointed to draft a plan specifying what we should accomplish this year and what only in the following years. Attention should be focused on this, and this should be the basis for action, instead of multiplying wishful thinking. This is not a novelty: similar plans are signed and realized in the GDR and Hungary. Then finally the youth would know on what to focus and become committed to.

Young people nowadays face a dilemma: should they wait to be given what they need, demand it, or work in order to get it/? The authorities have nothing to distribute except further deficits in the budget, so /needs can be met only through work/. In the beginning, not much can be gotten that way, but it will serve to make a start.

One should speak with the youth in plain language, without emotion, on the soil of realism. Young people nowadays receive advice on how to live from many sides. But we as a party provide the youth with little such advice, and few examples. It is necessary to act so that /young people would feel that someone cares for their interests and acts in behalf of their better future/.

After all, the socially destructive expression "the lost generation" cannot be accepted. /We must delete and root out this expression./ For is a young engineer starting at the threshold of his road of life a representative of the lost generation? This may be a psychological feeling, but it is not a social fact.

The Central Committee secretary said that there is one more highly important problem. /Teachers play a crucial role in upbringing the youth. All who have chosen this profession knew that they would perform it in the socialist school./ If after a time some teachers change their attitude to reality, they either must change their profession (because the schools will remain socialist) or their attitude.

Stefan Milewski, the Gdansk vice governor, presented a draft of the resolution on the party's tasks in solving the problems of the rising generation in the voivodship. The resolution was unanimously accepted. It specifies in detail the tasks of the party organizations in cooperating with the

socialist youth unions and defines a number of important issues associated with the social, career, and life situation of the rising generation.

Concerning the next item on the agenda, Zbigniew Kowalski, member of the KW Executive Board and first secretary of the [University] KZ [Plant Committee] of the Technical University of Gdansk, presented a concise description of the course and conditions of the discussion of the party's ideological-program declaration "What We Are Fighting or, What Our Goals Are" at the party echelons and organizations. The contributions of that discussion transcend greatly the framework of that declaration itself and will be utilized as a factor in preparing the long-range plan for the party's development.

The plenum unanimously adopted a resolution on this issue. (It is being published below.)

As the final item on the agenda, the KW plenum appointed the chairman and deputy chairman of the Commission on the History of the Workers Movement under the KW.

The well-known party activist Henryk Sliwowski became the chairman, while Marian Chlebowski became the deputy chairman.

The deliberations ended with the singing of "The International."

16 June 1982 Plenum Resolution

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 17 Jun 82 p 2

["Resolution of the KW PZPR in Gdansk Concerning the Position of the Voivodship Party Organization Toward the Discussion of the Draft of the PZPR Ideological-Program Declaration 'What We Are or, What Our Goals Are"]

[Text] The PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] in Gdansk, at its meeting on 16 June 1982, has, upon examining the course of the discussion within Gdansk Voivodship party organization concerning the draft of the ideological-program declaration of the PZPR Central Committee "What We Are Fighting or, What Our Goals Are," resolved as follows:

Those taking part in the discussion of the declaration included the branch and basic party organizations active in the seacoast labor establishments, institutions, and administrative offices. Gmina, city-quarter, and urban party echelons devoted special meetings to this topic, discussing the recommendations ensuing from the discussion of the ideological-program declaration of the PZPR Central Committee.

The discussion of the declaration led to a lively response from some party organizations, prompting broad and profound consideration by party members,

as well as by nonparty members, of the role and tasks of the PZPR. The draft of the declaration has become an important document in the life of the Gdansk Voivodship party organization, with discussions that lasted more than 3 months being centered on it.

The Voivodship Committee is critical of those party organizations and communities within which meetings devoted to discussing the declaration were improperly prepared--both organizationally and substantively.

Irrespective of the various critical comments and opinions voiced concerning the form and content of the declaration, it has served to consolidate the party's ranks, precisely define the attitude of party members toward the line of socialist renewal of our sociopolitical life, and focus attention on the efforts and activities being undertaken by the party and its Central Committee to lead the country out of the current crisis. The discussion touched upon the Resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress, stressing the importance of its decisions and the need to implement them consistently.

A decisive majority of the party organizations supported the necessity of revising the document submitted for discussion, so that it would define the party's main objectives and tasks in a manner that is comprehensive, clear and understandable to the whole of the party's membership as well as to nonparty members. At the same time, emphasis was placed on the tremendous importance of the thus edited declaration to the further consolidation of the party's ranks and to rallying the public round the party and its program for surmounting the crisis and further socialistically developing the country.

The plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gdansk expresses its acknowledgments and gratitude to all the party organizations and their members that offered recommendations and comments during the discussion of the draft of the declaration. Their list, which is an integral part of the present resolution, will be transmitted to the Central Committee so that these recommendations and proposals could be utilized when editing the final version of the declaration as well as in the work on the long-range program of the PZPR. At the same time, the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gdansk declares its readiness to take part in the work on formulating the final version of the document meeting the needs specified in the recommendations and proposals submitted with the Gdansk Voivodship party organization in the course of the discussions of the draft of the declaration.

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PZPR VOIVODSHIP FIRST SECRETARIES INTERVIEWED

Kielce First Secretary Lubczynski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Jun 82 p 3

[Interview with Maciej Lubczynski, Central Committee member, first secretary of Kielce Voivodship Committee PZPR, by staff writer Tadeusz Wiacek: "We Are Preparing the Youth for Self-Determination"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Secretary, several years ago you were still a lecturer at the Swietokrzyska [Holy Cross] Technical University...

[Answer] I still have connections with that seat of learning by ties which were initiated in 1968. The Technical University's Basic Party Organization [POP] is my parent party organization.

[Question] It follows then that you were very close to the youth over a period of many years and that you still maintain almost daily contact with them.

[Answer] I like to talk to them on many subjects, quite often not as a member of the Central Committee of a party secretary, but as a senior colleague.

[Question] The mistakes which were made in the 1970's resulted in a crisis of moral, social and ideological attitudes among the youth. What is your opinion in this matter?

[Answer] In the 1970's the youth lived under the influence of two sets of opposing truths: assumptions and realities, theory and practice, official and private attitudes by some parents, educators and activists. High aspirations were developed, possibilities were shown which did not find the final, realistic conditions for fulfillment. Additionally, a lack of clear criteria and proper cadre-selection mechanisms were responsible for closing the avenues of social and professional advancement. There was a failure to achieve the basic program task: strengthening of the rational and honest ties between the young generation and the socialist system. A portion of the youth did not adopt respect for work and the readiness to treat the public good as the highest duty. The young generation became deeply

divided: those whose parents, in their eagerness to achieve great prosperity were losing all moral fiber, and were trying to achieve this prosperity by all available means, and those who by working hard managed to overcome, with great effort, the difficulties of everyday life. Later, between August 1980 and December 1981, other people cheated the youth by a different method. Those very same "political bankrupts" had once again let it be known that they exist, during May, by trying deceptively, masked, to exploit the emotions of some of the young people toward the destruction of all that is Polish and socialist.

[Question] At the Ninth Party Congress, the party affirmed that its fundamental educational duty toward the young generation was the struggle to restore in youth the faith in the straightforwardness of the Marxist-Leninist idea.

[Answer] The party must favor active participation of youth movements in political life by recognizing the fact that the youth movement is the most basic form of the youth's participation in social life. To the party belongs the political inspiration in undertaking, by administrative and authoritative organs, a systematic and comprehensive set of activities aimed at solving the problems of the young generation. This pertains in particular to an equalization of the start of life for rural and urban youth, to open for them the opportunities for education and culture, for a professional start, for the creation of a feeling of shared responsibility for the fate of the nation. Those ideoeducational programs which aim at the future and the understanding of the problems of the youth cannot be the subject of any transistory changes.

[Question] In your opinion, what is the decisive factor in the youth's attitude toward the party?

[Answer] I believe that most young people have an appreciation of the good intentions of the state and political leadership. However, those intentions must be presented in a clear and acceptable form and their implementation must progress in a firm manner.

To a great degree, this is being influenced by the text of the press, radio and television releases which are, today, negatively rated by the youth as being not fully readable. Currently, among the youth, we are dealing with an ignorance of the history of our nation, the state, the workers movement and also the most recent events. Everyone deplores this state of affairs but they hardly do anything about it which would result in a change. The same can be said of the general direction of current party policy. Propaganda slogans do not find a reflection in the actual activities of the basic [party] echelons or the economoadministrative authorities. One may still see many cases where solid work is replaced by an expression of lofty ideas. One may still observe the functioning of a dualism of truths and fundamentals: the theoretical one and the one for private use. There is still a lack of candidness in teachers' educational work, and I

do not mean only those who teach history. The youth and its organizations do not wish to become organs which function at the side of the state and political powers, the youth should be naturally integrated with the authorities based on the principles of mutual fusion and partnership and not by virtue of tolerance and tutelage.

These definitions must show a respective relationship: party--state--youth movement--youth. The young generation should be able to effect control over those socioeconomic policies which pertain to it by utilizing groups of young deputies, councilmen and youth affairs commissions. We should have the courage to allow the youth to become active at all levels of management, to participate in representative organ, not according to some sort of formula, but according to actual possibilities, ideology and a desire to become socially involved.

We must formulate a new, realistic, clear and permanent cadre policy. One of its elements could be the introduction of a statutory rule which would require a 5-year mandatory rotation on each level of economic management. A general system of conflict-free cadre transfers should be instituted. As an example, a system already in existence in other countries would be rather advantageous under our conditions: Simply stated, every 2 years 10 best workers are promoted one step higher--10 worst workers are demoted one step lower. It would behoove us to support talented, ideological people.

[Question] More and more frequently one hears of the need to formulate a grand idea, a program capable engaging the entire youth...

[Answer] The finding of a formula for a mission for the youth generation is regarded by me as a problem superior to all the subjects discussed here. We must present to the youth a solid, realistic and understandable concept of the current economic and sociopolitical situation in the nation. It is only on this basis that we may specify the task ahead for the young generation. It seems to me that these tasks cannot be formulated only on a "macro" scale but that they should also pertain to specific centers and activities of the national economy and basic economic units. We must create conditions by which the youth will come to realize that the country, voivodship, gmina and the workplace will only be what they themselves can make it.

Zamosc First Secretary Kaminski

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Jun 82 p 3

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Kaminski, first secretary of Zamosc Voivodship Committee PZPR, by staff writer Oskar Bramski: "Trust Must Come From Both Sides; Before the Plenary Session of the Central Committee PZPR on the Subject of Youth Affairs"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The party must gain trust among the youth.

[Answer] Yes, but this must be desired by both sides. This is a basic condition. There must be an understanding of the goals and common effort. This means a trust based on a full partnership. In this the youth must accept one fundamental requisite: The leading role in the society is fulfilled by the party.

There is a second condition, with an equally basic meaning, particularly today, this is an understanding on the socioeconomic level: The party does not hand out anything, it only fulfills a political function. Therefore, if one wants something one must work for it. Let us take a look at the employment picture: 40 percent of those who produce the national income are young people who have not passed the 30-year-old mark. This is a very important observation, to the point. It follows that the youth cannot demand any material goods from the party--they must produce those goods themselves. However, what the youth should demand from the party is that the distribution is just, not according to a merit list, but according to the amount of invested work.

[Question] To demand, that is easily said, but how do you implement it? It is true that the party has been proclaiming social justice for years, however, it has been quite different in reality.

[Answer] The creation of such mechanisms is relatively simple. The young generation should be more active and insure that it is more represented everywhere. I shall use the housing situation as an example: It is currently fashionable to form new youth housing cooperatives. There is even a new publication--SZTANDAR MLODZIERZY [Youth's Flag]. Question: Will this result in any more construction materials, prepared land and, therefore, more apartments? I am afraid it will not. It is, therefore, my belief that the already existing cooperatives should be utilized--and that the youth should be visible from this context. They must act, they must become members of representative organs and thus insure that the allocation of housing will not take place behind their backs. Another example: The Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth [OKON]. One does not see in them, at least not in our territory, a representation of the young generation in proportion which would reflect the numbers by which they should be represented. Because the real field of activity for the OKON is to work for the social environment, the immediate surroundings--to take down those barriers which have been growing for years and which have such a frustrating capacity to make life difficult.

[Question] I agree, however, how do you actually get the youth to do anything, to become more active?

[Answer] It is not easy. One way is to use facts and the power of argumentation. This, of course, is all the fault of the policies of the last decade. There were too many promises but few results. The youth adopted a consumer life style. The easiest was to "go West," earn some dollars, and then--back in the country--one could live comfortably for some time. It even looks

good--at first glance. But, let us consider what effect all this will have on Poland over a period of time--we shall be enriching others with our work, not ourselves.

[Question] But such a life style was not originated by the youth.

[Answer] Certainly, but because of this the party must speak in a different way to today's youth. In the first place, the language must be clear and unequivocal. One must speak openly, without concealing facts which may be not too pleasant for us. Sooner or later these facts will out, and this will not gain us any adherents. Therefore, I am for open and courageous propaganda, based on realities, but also a fighting propaganda. After all, our political opponents are not showering us with good deeds, they move forward their heaviest caliber weapons. Thus we must also adopt a decisive and unequivocal stance.

[Question] The party must also create life styles which are completely different from those in practice today.

[Answer] That is another problem with key significance. The ideals of socialism, although they are proclaimed from many pulpits, have faded completely in everyday usage. Especially where they pertain to educational and moral standards. In the party, we have made a choice as to quantity and we forgot all about quality. During the past years, we had admitted some very casual people who cared mostly about themselves, their own interests. It was that very group of people who, while making plans and petty schemes, were responsible in great measure for the loss of the basic values of our system. And now it is because of this that the youth, experiencing social injustice in every form, have become distrustful of us. We must simply begin with ourselves. I say that we do not know how to select people for party membership. Earlier, when the PZPR party card was handed to someone this marked an important day in his life, it also brought with it obligations. That person had to have a wide extent of ideological knowledge and had to accept and observe our norms as his own. There was a sense of responsibility among the comrades who sponsored someone to party ranks. Party members received respect and recognition from their peers. Usually they were good workers and respected colleagues. Later this all began to fade, we were losing our values.

Then came 13 December [1981], which decisively cut those destructive processes which were destroying us, not only our party but the entire society.

[Question] People who enter party ranks are mature people, they already have set views, however, many young and valuable persons are left outside the party.

[Answer] This is principally a field of action for the youth organizations. Every party must have its support base, we--for example--do not have the sort of base that they have in the Soviet Union. There, the educational process

begins very early, there are also certain prerequisites which act to strengthen it. Thus, every Komsomol member must first become a member of the Pioneer organization, and every member of the CPSU first had to be a Komsomol member. They have created there a society educational mechanism which brings them up in the spirit of socialist ideals--very simply and very efficiently. We, to this time, have not been able to create such a cohesive system, we were satisfied with intermediate results. Some circles of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP] can recommend their best activists to the PZPR, however, this is not a frequent occurrence. Often, good ZSMP activists, having attained a certain age, leave the organization and do not become PZPR members. On the other hand, we admit to our ranks those who earlier would not "dirty their hands" with any socialist activity or by belonging to any socialist youth organization.

[Question] Would such a formalization of structures be really beneficial to the party? After all, party organizations can maintain daily intercourse with ZSMP circles.

[Answer] Yes, they can and they ought to. However, this depends a lot on people. It is fine if they can come to a mutual understanding, become partners in the work place, in their own millieu, nevertheless, in real life this is quite different. Some party echelons busy themselves only very sporadically with youth organization affairs, just enough to have--as the saying goes--a good looking set of statistics. Also, the party echelons want to manage a given circle or authority of the ZSMP. The youth will not accept this and the ties, in such cases, become strictly nominal.

It is good, therefore, that the preparations for the plenary session are being conducted from so many sides. I expect this body to adopt directive decisions which will lead to a strategy of action. Whether or not this ever becomes reality, this will depend entirely on the youth.

9511
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LACK OF YOUTH IN CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY DECRIED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16-18 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Jan Jezierski: "Youth and Housing"]

[Text] The discussion at the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee continues. The real problems of youth are talked about candidly, openly and without reservations. Young people are also talking about themselves.

One of the real problems is the matter of housing and housing construction whose complexity in our country primarily concerns young people.

Much has been said and written about construction, most often in generalized terms and through the prism of technology, organization, supply of materials, enterprise structure or Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials [MBiPMB]. In addition, however, a huge slab has hung and is hanging over this like the proverbial apocalypse.

Housing construction is now spoken of in the context of an enormous social problem which must be resolved better than has been the case up to now. And it can be resolved effectively by the interested parties themselves--by young people.

It is with tearful eye that one now recalls the times when young people decided the nature and quality of Polish construction. Where are the days when, for example, the construction of Nowa Huta was entrusted to youth and was an honor for that youth?

Currently, the situation in construction is different and other customs reign in it. As shown by experience, this bad state of affairs must be altered for the good of the economy and the social interest.

A commentary was delivered over Polish Radio at 0650 on the day deliberations began at the 9th Plenum, in which there was talk about these matters. It was suggested that those who were interested should become involved in housing construction. In short--young people. A suggestion was made during this broadcast that there should be somebody representative of young people in the MPiPMB management.

In following the course of discussions at the 9th Plenum and the ideas of the Polish Radio broadcast, it is necessary to support the proposed suggestions and in expanding them to add: Who better than young people feel, understand and recommend an effective resolution of the housing problem in Poland?

While we are about it, can we not ask why, for example, there is no council on youth problems in the MPiPMB as yet, at a time when such a variety of councils, advisory bodies and scientific institutes are operating in it?

Why has no one to this date said more widely and loudly that our construction industry--insofar as cadre and crews are concerned--is growing old! We have the courage to say that our agriculture is aging but somehow we do not notice that in the construction industry. Examples? Herewith a couple of them: The construction industry got rid of vocational schools, and the average age of its management cadre are people who are 45 to 60 years old! Young people are to be found only at construction sites and not in key positions. There is practically no
[ZSMP] group in the MBIPMB itself. The inflow of new cadres to its top department--the Building Trades Department is already...history. And the management of the enterprise? The same thing--its age is above the average.

Does this mean that older people with experience should not be seen in this field of the economy? No, but there should be more "young and fresh blood" in the construction industry beginning with MBiPMB management down to journeyman and construction supervisor positions inclusive.

Nothing bad and thus good can happen if party authorities will accept young people's proposals for change and entrust them with solving the housing problem.

Let the well thought out proposals in this field expressed by youth organizations be accepted with good grace by the government, by voivodes, by managements in construction enterprises, by local party elements and other levels and elements of authority.

During this year's summer activity at one of the ZSMP training camps the following kinds of ideas came up:
"...The complicated ideological-political matters with which our country lives are of secondary importance to us young people. Yes, we see them but we see our lives more practically. We want to live in a common home, in Poland. But in order to live we must have a roof overhead and be able to participate more fully in solving everyday problems. We want to cooperate in earnest, and practically just as did our fathers who were responsible for the country in the first years of the Polish People's Republic.

This evermore common proposal by young people, together with what has already been said at the 9th Central Committee Plenum can, as a starter, be directed toward concrete decisions at the point of youth and housing construction.

And that can only turn out for the good of all of us...

10433
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RURAL YOUTH UNION NATIONAL SECRETARY INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 21 Jun 82 p 3

[Interview with National Board Secretary of Rural Youth Union [ZMW], Leszek Lesniak, by Zofia Zdrojkowska: "Restore Forgotten Values"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] After a hiatus of 6 years the ZMW was reactivated last year. It at once started to take part in the country's difficult problems, which require sensible solutions and deliberate decisions. The scope of the ZMW's activities comprises primarily the countryside, and one of the basic problems on which it will work is the quality of cultural life there, and especially the participation of the youth in that life. Thus would you please describe to us the ideas, forms, and methods of action in that field?

[Answer] In principle, as an organization, so far we have not presented a coherent and broad program as regards cultural activities, but nevertheless we have set ourselves certain goals which we shall strive to attain, aware of the great omissions that have been tolerated in the organization of cultural life in the countryside, and also aware of the difficulties we will have to surmount in that respect.

[Question] Do these omissions include, in your opinion, the absence of a cultural infrastructure in the countryside?

[Answer] Not only and not primarily that. It is a fact that the countryside lacks such an infrastructure and we cannot expect to change this situation rapidly. Hence we believe that the countryside must progress toward self-sufficiency and self-service as regards cultural life. This means that the countryside will have only as much cultural life as it can attend to and organize on its own, through its own ideas, with its own resources and labor based on its own heritage and traditions.

[Question] When you speak of "its own heritage and traditions," do you mean that the cultural policies so far could be reproached with excessive standardization and loss of certain authentic values inherent in different social milieux and groups?

[Answer] Of course. This could be exemplified by the spread of clubrooms (offering television, often color television, and black coffee) in the countryside, with the idea of making it like the cities in this respect and so supposedly raising its cultural level. I would say that we were given such facilities so as to get rid of us and our bother. But the existence of such clubrooms is not any testimony to cultural life in the countryside.

[Question] All mistakes are now customarily ascribed to the last 10 years. Do you share this opinion?

[Answer] The roots of the negative phenomena now present in the countryside --the processes of the bureaucratization of culture and cultural regimentation are to be traced much farther back than to the last decade. But since they reach so far back into the past, one must realize the unpleasant truth that they caused a shift in the values of the rural community and a rise in its negative attitudes toward certain issues and especially toward any public activities. Our union is tackling a difficult task--that of changing attitudes, e.g., creating a new view of the past, new emotional associations and proper understanding of various issues. If this succeeds, even partially, it will be a cause for great rejoicing.

[Question] Have you already encountered a proof of this change in mentality?

[Answer] Recently I was in Wroclaw at the meeting of the ZMW with Minister Wojtecki. I noticed that, despite the difficult situation of our country, the young people reasoned in a businesslike manner, properly appreciating the situation. For example, one boy arose and declared that all decisions concerning the countryside are made outside it, that persons whom these decisions affect have no say in them. And so these young people are beginning to understand something. They want to be present at the birth of decisions which concern them. They want to influence the pertinent documents and resolutions. That is to say, they want to participate in actual life, to be its cocreators.

[Question] In your opinion, what is the essence of the cultural life of the rural youth?

[Answer] Of a certainty it does not consist in a percentile increase of financial outlays on that life, nor in the establishment of new gmina cultural centers and the construction of houses of culture. Because they may be built, but what of it if they remain empty? The point is that the rising generation should believe in the worth of organizing a cultural life for themselves, that that life should become an authentic need and not dead statistics of the existing cultural ensembles, clubrooms and entertainment shows.

[Question] It is worth noting that the generation of our grandfathers participated in such an authentic rural cultural life, without relying on any structures and not needing any clubrooms and houses of culture.

[Answer] Exactly. And interestingly enough, from my observations I conclude that the younger people--who after all represent the core of the union's membership--are looking for examples to follow, looking up to the oldest generation, often even the prewar generation. Hence I believe that we should--even if not by grasping the issue spectacularly, from the standpoint of the union's interests--throw a bridge across one generation and strengthen the alliance between grandchildren and grandparents even if it will be somewhat against fathers--who are regarded as those who spoiled socialism. It is precisely this alliance that will assure the authenticity of cultural life and its organization in forms ensuing from needs rather than from directives. The alliance provides these guarantees, because grandfathers tell gradchildren about their achievements as regards that authenticity. The situation at present is such that we have an overabundance of structures: everyone wants to create rural culture--the state through its administration, the cooperatives, the agricultural circles, the fire departments, the circles of rural housewives, the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP], the People's Sports Union [LZS], and the National Defense League [LOK].

[Question] And their efforts are incompetent, producing inadequate effects?

[Answer] Perhaps not in every case. It is difficult not to appreciate the accomplishments of the fire departments in maintaining musical culture in the countryside, and the activities of housewives' circles as regards so-called culture of consumption [home economics]. These effects are worth noting and worth giving due credit.

[Question] What tasks for itself does the ZMW perceive in these structures?

[Answer] We have leadership aspirations. The union wishes to build a new social front, a front consisting of all these organizations for the sake of--as we say at present, given the country's difficult situation--the survival of cultural and enlightenment life in the countryside, so that it could be developed in the future. For the present, it must survive. At least, what already exists must be protected.

[Question] How do you interpret the exercise of such leadership by the union?

[Answer] We wish to lead through labor competition, meaning that we wish to accomplish many interesting things. If the ZMW displays the most initiative in cultural affairs, the other organizations will voluntarily gravitate toward us. Of course, ZMW circles must also deal with issues which concern not only the score or so of the members of each circle but also everybody else, that is, this to be a program open to the entire countryside. There is no need to decree our leadership on this social front, because it ensues from a natural right; whoever is active a great deal and effectively, becomes the leader.

[Question] The other aforementioned organizations may have similar aspirations. Do not you fear their competition?

[Answer] We shall relinquish the leadership to whichever organization may do better.

[Question] But why do you wish to lead?

[Answer] We don't in everything. For example, in matters of physical culture we will wholeheartedly support the LZS. But insofar as culture is concerned, the moral right in a sense belongs to us because, generally speaking, it is the youth that is the motive power of cultural activities in the countryside. Young people are the creators, co-creators, and consumers of the goods of culture and cultural phenomenon; they are the force whose action today decides the countryside's future.

[Question] Action has to be based on definite values and filled with particular meanings. What values will you be looking for, and what meanings will you prefer?

[Answer] We are precisely attempting to direct the thought of those undertaking to work in behalf of improvements in rural cultural life, toward the idea that they should look for these values precisely in their own community. Looking for these values anywhere else is, as it were, diminishing oneself and admitting to oneself that one's own supposed inferiority. The fascination of the countryside with the city has resulted in the abandonment of many intrinsic and genuine rural values--values that, after, all, are a permanent part of our national heritage. There still exist people who remember that the countryside used to have its own cultural life. It is exactly to such people that we send the rising generation so that it may learn how they valued, e.g., land, or about the great mutual respect that had existed among rural people, between adults, and between younger people toward older people.

The propaganda so far presents the countryside as enmeshed in internal conflict, backward, with neighbors fighting each other over an inch of land. Certain marginal phenomena were blown up to overshadow the picture. But this had not been so in reality, in the countryside. Nowadays cultural activities should be used to restore the same values in another form--the values of respect toward older people, parents, and, in general, mutual respect among people, as well as to restore the natural bonds between man and nature, to change ordinary, destructive attitudes toward nature into attitudes of cooperation.

[Question] Excuse me, but let me say that the present times are not favorable to developing and fostering such feelings. Aggressive attitudes arise. People violate the dignity of others. These days there are among us so many breakdowns, dramas, and tragedies....

[Answer] For this very reason we especially need many cordial gestures, understanding, the readiness to give aid; we need compromises, substitute

actions. Our mistakes all are rooted in that, while the loftiest ideals of humanism were proclaimed, the individual was regarded as a particle of the mass, of the collective. But instead every individual should count and be regarded and treated as a person.

[Question] What do you mean by substitute actions?

[Answer] Escape into the past, a return to and replenishment from the ancient traditions. Attempts to demonstrate the beautiful pages from the annals of the peasant movement, from the history of the countryside and the cooperative movement. Familiarity with that past may prompt us to restore our faith both in the class and in the community. The peasant class is primordial, but it has never been the equal of the other classes, let alone the leading class. We want to restore the value of respect for that class. Whoever leads should respect those whom he leads.

1386
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STUDENT FINANCIAL AID REFORM DISCUSSED

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 22 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Janusz Rowicki: "Money and Deliberation; in the Student's Tin Cup"]

> [Text] It is difficult to pinpoint the causes of the dissatisfaction among students as regards the material benefits they receive, considering that, e.g., last year the state's assistance to students, implemented in various forms, exceeded 2.5 billion zlotys. It is probable that the rise of minor negative moods has been due to the principles of the distribution of allowances, under which aid does not always reach those who need it most. On the other hand, it happens too often--as confirmed by student opinion--that benefits are granted to those whose material situation remains good.

The formalized stipend system undoubtedly provides opportunities for its abuse. The rigid income criteria per family member of a student applying for a stipend prompt bypassing the regulations. When last year this issue had attracted greater interest (because systematic monitoring did not come into question), it turned out that a substantial number of students under-reported their income and simply concealed the actual material status of their parents. The possibilities for wheeling and dealing are large, beginning with the submission of, generally speaking, imprecise data about household income and ending with the omission of information about additional sources of income.

It is characteristic in this connection that student communities generally are well-informed about the material situation of their members but a queerly interpreted sense of loyalty has inhibited their intervention. We are writing of this in the past tense for a basic reason: a reform of the stipend system, introducing numerous and fundamental changes in the forms and principles of the granting of material benefits to students is being prepared.

Essentially, these changes, first of all, assure that aid will reach those who really need it. Secondly, this aid will be of a concrete nature, so

that students will be aware of all forms of material assistance. Let us add here that these principles were not fulfilled by either of the two versions of the reform of the stipend system drafted by the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools, and Technology, although these represented definite progress in comparison with the old principles. What then is envisaged in the new more elaborate draft of changes?

First of all, it gives educational institutions greater powers in deciding how to dispose of their funds, with the decisions to be taken in cooperation with student self-governments.

The principle of the financial autonomy of student hostels is also adopted, meaning that they will be maintained from the rents paid by their inhabitants. The consequences of such a situation are readily seen: neglect, vandalism, and excessive administration--all this will determine the amount of rent to be charged in these hostels. The rents will indeed rise, but a provision will be made for housing stipends which will enable students to afford living not only in dormitories but also in private apartments. An analogous principle will apply to student dining rooms: students will pay the full cost of food at retail prices, but educational institutions will finance from their social fund the operating cost, the rental cost, etc.

Educational institutions will be able to grant fully or partially nonreimbursable housing stipends as well as discounts for use of dining rooms, but in an amount no higher than one-third of the boarding cost. In the event of loan stipends--considering that the new stipend system is chiefly based on them--they may not be granted in amounts exceeding the minimum monthly wage in the socialized sector of the economy. The amounts loaned must be refunded within no later than 10 years from the date of completion of studies, and the loan must begin to be repaid after 5 years from the date of graduation.

But while the positive aspects of such a solution are appreciated, mention must be made of doubts regarding the practical possibilities for getting the graduates to repay the loans. Will the educational institutions cope with this task, especially considering that some debtors may welsh, change their addresses, postpone payment, etc? And one more doubt: given the current limited social budget, can we afford to disburse funds which will be reimbursed to the educational institutions only after many years? Will students--and later graduates--live too much on credit, whether in the form of school loans or the loans for which young married couples are qualified?

Let there be no doubt about one thing: no one is proposing that material assistance for the student youth be curtailed. But hasty decisions and excessive appetites for which the educational institutions will present the bill should be warned against. Fortunately, the draft considered here makes the repayment of loans contingent on the quality of studies. For

example, if the graduate receives a degree cum laude, his entire loan may be annulled, and if his degree is based on merely good grades, half of his debt may be annulled. In this way, the new stipend system may influence an improvement in the level of studies, although that influence should rather not be overestimated.

When introducing the new criteria it should be borne in mind, however, that school financial aid is intended to benefit chiefly the students coming from the poorest families. Omission of this cardinal factor would mean distortion of the assumptions on which social aid for students is based.

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POSITION OF PARTY, GOVERNMENT ON RELIGION, CHURCH, BELIEVERS

Bucharest REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE in Romanian No 3, May-Jun 82 pp 313-321

[Article by Octavian Nestor]

[Text] Irreducible Opposition Between Our Party's Position on World and Life and The Religious Positions

In conformance to the position of our party, based on the principles of dialectical and historical materialism, religion is regarded as a social-historical phenomenon that emerged in a particular stage of social development and will vanish when all the objective and subjective conditions that generated it will disappear.

The emancipation of the masses from any form of spiritual enslavement and alienation, including religious beliefs, signifies, primarily, the freeing of society from oppression and exploitation, the development of new social relations and structures, the building of socialism and communism.

The abolition of capitalist ownership of the means of production and the development of socialist ownership coincided in this country with the creation of the objective premises of emancipation from religion, premises that are being continuously carried through in the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society. In the years of socialist revolution and construction, as a result of the new social conditions, of the development and modernization of productive forces, of upgrading of production and social relation, a new social awareness, socialist awareness, has emerged and is developing, and its essential characteristics include its lay, atheist facet. The revolutionary changes that are taking place in the economy, education, science and culture, the intensive ideological and cultural-educational activity conducted by the party, the consistent promotion of the principles of socialist ethics and equity, of revolutionary humanism have generated fundamental restructuring in the spiritual physiognomy, in the system of values and conduct of working people, the release of a large section of the population from the influence of mystical-religious mental attitudes, prejudices and practices.

Romania's experience fully confirms the thesis of dialectical and historical materialism, according to which the building of the new society, the untiring activity for its multilateral upgrading are the paramount factor of shaping people's minds. In the practice of building socialism and communism people, while transforming nature and social relations, transform themselves. Work, social activity are the decisive factor in the education of the masses.

The successes obtained every day by working people in the conscious process of building a socialist civilization, the overcoming of the difficulties that still appear in these vast constructive processes enhance their trust in their strength in work and creativity. Nicolae Ceausescu stated: "We did not receive anything from the outside on a free basis, nothing dropped from the skies! The stage which we have reached is the expression of the work and confidence with which all working people firmly follow and implement the party policy, an expression of the might and strenght of socialism, of the capacity of the new system to provide the nation with a high level of material and spiritual civilization." [1]

As a complex social phenomenon religion does not disappear spontaneously and also cannot be abolished arbitrarily by administrative measures. Changing the minds of people, equipping them with the progressive outlook on life and society, with the latest knowledge and conclusions of science involve one of the most intricate issues, which, in many aspects, is far harder to resolve than economic development, for instance.

Even though socialism has removed the basic social causes of religion (exploitation, oppression, social inequality), their disappearance did not completely eliminate all the situations and circumstances that create the possibility of the persistence of mystical-religious beliefs and practices. "In the context of gradual disappearance of the social-historical basis of religion, in relation to special sections of people, special categories of individuals, religion not always represents a "remnant," but a form of spiritual existence, which, although it does not conform to the current level of scientific knowledge and ethical requirements of social development, nonetheless has profound roots, with forceful ramifications on the lives of these individuals, on their kind of ethical and social practical behavior." [2]

In our capacity as communists, we further the revolutionary dialectical and historical materialistic philosophy and in all circumstances conduct our activities on the basis of this scientific ideology, which is incompatible with religious, fideist, spiritualist and irrationalist doctrines.

Firm opposition to religious concepts is an essential trait of the ideology of the Romanian Communist Party. Providing a veridical explanation and interpretation, one that is consistently materialistic and scientific, of reality, revealing the false, antiscientific and irrationalist character of religious dogmas on the basis of philosophical arguments founded on data and discoveries of natural and social sciences, dialectical and historical materialism represents the theoretical and methodological basis of scientific atheism. In this light, scientific atheism represents an essential facet, a fundamental component of our position on the world and life.

The irreducible opposition between the ideology of our party and religious beliefs manifests itself multilaterally on all planes (ontologically, gnoseologically, axiologically, praxiologically and anthropologically).

Dialectical and historical materialism based on scientific research, on data corroborated by social-historical practice, holds that the world, in its essence, is material. The idea of the world's materiality, enriched by the recent results of the modern scientific-technical revolution and of social sciences, is opposed to religious representations on divine existence and providence, to any hypotheses on the

existence and action of supernatural forces. Natural and social phenomena are governed by objective laws and to explain them our materialist philosophy does not need any outside addition, any resort to the existence of supernatural causes. The cause of universal being does not occur outside matter, it is not due to a prime impulse, but to the internal contradictions inherent in matter. The materialist position on the self-dynamism characteristic of matter excludes the necessity for a divine force, of spiritual factors that are exterior and anterior to the material world, as maintained by spiritualist, fideist trends. Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "We, communists, know that the world was not created by any kind of divine, superior, force, that no one sits somewhere and controls the development of society, the structuring of people's lives. Daily, hour by hour, science provides new and new irrefutable proofs as to the formation of nature, of man, as to the materiality and infinity of the universe. Practice demonstrates to us that today people grow more and more capable of transforming nature and society, of discovering any secret of nature, of social development." [3]

The materialist concept is permanently developing and growing richer on the basis of the latest gains of human knowledge, becoming a veritable synthesis of the conclusions, data and theses of all sciences. Modern science confirms the materiality and infinity of the Universe, the dialectical progressive development of nature and society.

To religion, as a form of false, distorted and fantastical reflection of natural and social reality, the antiscientific, dogmatic and irrational feature is definitory. Authentic knowledge based on rational forces is replaced by or, in the best case, subordinated to divine revelation.

In the context of the scientific-technical revolution, when scientific conclusions can no longer be simply ignored, religious doctrines no longer reject science, adopt the technique of misinterpreting scientific discoveries, of resurrecting the old thesis on the "dual truth," proclaiming that both science and religion have their specific area of research and, hence, their own truths. Contemporary theology, without negating science, asserts, in one or another way, the priority of religious belief over reason, aiming at subordinating reason and science to religion.

In the area of practical action, the persistence of mystical-religious philosophies hampers people's full assertion in society, pointing out the retrograde-social function of religion. As an overall scientific position on the world, based on the most general laws of of the movement and development of nature, society and thinking, the scientific-materialist concept of our party is a revolutionary method for knowledge and transformation of the surrounding reality, of the relations among people. To the religious, retrograde and conservative ideology that maims human personality, our party opposes revolutionary humanism, based on respect for man and his dignity, regarding man as the supreme being for man and not the expression of any supernatural force. Socialist, revolutionary humanism, opposed to false religious humanism, places man -- the supreme asset of the socialist society -- in the center of all the concern and activity of our party and state.

2. Relations Between Our Socialist State and Religious Institutions

The religious phenomenon cannot be reduced to its ideological dimension. Religion, as a complex social phenomenon, includes in its structure, in addition to religious awareness (religious ideology, psychology and ethics), the religious practices and religious institutions.

The irreducible opposition between the principles of dialectical and historical materialism and religious ideologies does not also involve political opposition between the socialist state and legal religious denominations, existing in our country, between communists and believers. In this regard Nicolae Ceausescu indicated: "We, communists, guided by our scientific position that attests the materiality of the world, vigorously combat superstitions, mysticism, the trends of idealist thinking. At the same time, our party and state policy, all social life is based on respect for the beliefs of people, on freedom of conscience, on free manifestation of faiths within the framework of the state, proceeding from the fact that, regardless of his religious belief, every citizen, every servant of one or another church must respect the laws and serve the cause of building the socialist system in Romania." [4]

The relations between the state and the religious institutions cannot be tackled in an abstract manner, on a general basis, outside tangible sociohistorical determinations. In the Romanian society the relations between the state and religious denominations (between the state and the church) have acquired a new content, as they are generated by the socialist socioeconomic and political structures established in our country. Furthermore, these relations take into consideration the constant broadening of civil freedoms and rights in the context of the enhancement of socialist democracy, the national structure of Romania, the fact that alongside of Romanian working people living and working also are working people of Hungarian, German and other nationalities. Moreover, important factors in shaping relationships between the state and the church involve historical traditions and characteristics, and also the taking into consideration of the role played by religious institutions in the history of our people, the position taken by various denominations in various stages of social development.

The relations between the state and denominations are subordinated to the fundamental tasks with which our people are confronted for socioeconomic and political development.

The Romanian socialist state, as the sovereign holder of power, ensures the unified leadership of all the component factors of the social system, exercising its prerogatives over all institutions in society, including religious institutions.

In Romania, 14 denominations operate freely. [5] Their procedure of organization and operation is regulated by law. To the socialist state, the 14 denominations have equal rights and duties and there no longer are privileged, dominant denominations. An end was put forever to religious persecutions and discriminations against them, as interconfessional fight, religious intolerance and exclusivism are prohibited.

The church does not have the right to meddle into the affairs of the socialist state and especially to conduct an activity that is opposed to this state. Nicolae Ceausescu indicated: "We intend to further ensure, in compliance with the Constitution and the laws of the country, the normal development of the activity of religious denominations. Of course, we did not permit and will not permit in the future either that anyone use these denominations to conduct an activity directed against the people, against socialist construction, against the independence and sovereignty of the country. I consider that, in the main, the religious denominations must concern themselves with their affairs and fully obey the state laws, must support the policy of socialist construction, of overall social development, the policy of peace,

cooperation and detente furthered by this country." [6]

This assessment is extremely timely in the context when internationally attempts are being made to transform some denominations and some members or representatives of denominations into a tool of the policy of interference in the domestic affairs of various countries.

In our country, school is completely separate from the church. The education and instruction of the younger generation are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the socialist state. No church, religious congregation or community may open or maintain educational institutions other than the special schools for training religious personnel.

The ensuring of the free activity of religious denominations recognized by the state involves firm observance of the country's laws by all the citizens of our homeland, regardless of whether they are believers or nonbelievers, by the servants of churches included. The denominations must abide by the basic provisions of our socialist state and society, must observe the country's laws. The religious institutions may organize themselves freely and may operate freely according to their own regulations provided their practices and rituals do not conflict with the Constitution, state security or public order and morality.* Religious faith cannot be a reason for violating the laws, the principles of socialist ethics and equity, that are characteristic of our society.

Our society appreciates the loyal attitude of the religious denominations' representatives vis-avis the domestic and foreign policy of the Romanian state, their participation in the attainment of the goals for the country's socioeconomic development. Consequently, the 14 religious denominations are members of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and representatives of denominations were elected as deputies to the Grand National Assembly.

In its relations with religious denominations, in its attitude toward believers, the socialist state proceeds from the need for ensuring the full unity of all the people in the construction of socialism and communism. All the citizens of our country,

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* Noncompliance with these requirements results in the fact that in our country considered illegal are those sects or anarchic groupings (Jehovah's Witnesses, reformist Adventists, dissident Pentecostalists, Nazarenes and others), who by their sociopolitical ideology and by their antihuman manifestations and practices are hostile to the socialist state. In these sects appearing are phenomena of excessive bigotry, practice of ascetic or aberrant rituals, refusal to exercise civic duties (such as expression of vote, fulfillment of military service, testifying in court, nonacknowledgement of registry certificates, and the like), prohibition of transfusion or other medical services, hostility to science and culture, to progress, refusal and avoidance of involvement in community life, instigation to chauvinistic, antisocial and antistatal acts.

regardless of nationality, language, race or religious creed, having equal rights and duties, work in close unity for implementation of the program for building a multilaterally developed socialist society, for strengthening of the country's sovereignty and independence, for the well-being and happiness of all our people. At the Plenary Session of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, held on 29 June 1981, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out:"The Socialist Democracy and Unity Front is the expression of the broadest democracy, of the representation of all social categories, regardless of creeds. It unites, in a strong symbiosis, communists and noncommunists, people with various philosophical concepts, but with a sole conviction, that of serving their homeland, socialism and communism." [7]

To the socialist state religion is a special matter, one of conscience for each citizen. In this respect, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania (Article 30) proclaims and guarantees the freedom of conscience, under which each is free to share in a religious faith or not to.

Full guarantee of freedom of conscience is a requisite of genuine democracy and is based on the principle of equal rights and duties of all the citizens of our country, regardless of nationality, race, sex or religion (Article 17). Consequently, religious faith or nonfaith ceases to be a reason for discrimination, of restriction of civil rights and freedoms. The socialist state excludes any classification of people upon the criterion of faith or nonfaith, the granting of privileges according to citizens' affiliation to one or another religious body or nonaffiliation to any religious body. It is absolutely inadmissible to make any discrimination among citizens as to their rights, in light of their religious beliefs.

The socialist state does not intervene with administrative, coercive means in matters of conscience of its citizens. This does not mean that the socialist state must not conduct an activity of scientific-materialistic education. Exercising its cultural and educational function, the socialist state is a factor in the development of atheist propaganda, using many means available: the school, cultural institutions, the press, publishing houses, radio and television, the activity of disseminating scientific knowledge, and so on.

The freedom of conscience must not be interpreted unilaterally, only as religious freedom. Freedom of conscience also means freedom of materialist beliefs, of scientific atheist propaganda. Anyone must have full freedom to share in a religion or not to recognize any religion, that is to be an atheist. Simplistic understanding of freedom of conscience can result in the appearance of arbitrary acts by religious bodies, on the one hand, or the impairment of scientific atheist propaganda, on the ground that it would harm the believers' freedom of conscience, on the other hand. The relationship is sometimes misunderstood between our socialist state's policy of ensuring free manifestation of religious denominations, under the law, and the duty of the communist, of the revolutionary to fight for the furtherance of the scientific-materialist outlook on the world and life.

While religion is an individual matter of conscience for each person as a citizen, it must not be regarded as an individual problem in relation to the revolutionary party, that has responsible tasks in the struggle against religious prejudices, for the molding of the socialist, revolutionary awareness of its members, of all working people. The party cannot and must not have an attitude of indifference to

the irresponsibility, ignorance and obscurantism which manifest themselves in the form of religious beliefs. In the words of Nicolae Ceausescu, "one must not confuse our revolutionary policy, the duty of the communist, of the party worker to fight for this position, with our state policy, according to which each person's creed and belief are respected. We must not abandon the activity for the assertion and practical demonstration of the correctness and superiority of our position on the world and life, of the position of scientific socialism, of dialectical and historical materialism."...."freedom for religious beliefs is one thing, and the party's activity for the promotion of the revolutionary philosophy on nature and society is another." [8]

The communists must tackle religious problems as revolutionaries, constantly having in mind that we are guided by a revolutionary, scientific outlook on the world, that springs from the latest scientific advances.

The Statute of the Romanian Communist Party, the duties laid down in the Code of principles and standards of work and life of communists, of socialist ethics and equity prominently place the fundamental duty of each party member to continuously upgrade his political and ideological level, to imbibe dialectical and historical materialism -- the revolutionary outlook on the world and life of the working class, to fight against idealistic theories, mystical prejudices, superstitions, against any manifestation of obscurantism.

It is not immaterial to our party if working people, and especially some of its members, still believe in the existence of supernatural forces, because in fighting against exploitation of man by man the party implicitly also fights against spiritual bondage.

The 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party proceeding from the fact that the persistence of some mystical, retrograde concepts in the minds of some people limits their creative assertion in the community, pointed out the need for promoting a militant attitude against retrograde, mystical-religious ideas, against backward mental attitudes. For the purpose of removing mystical-religious prejudices from people's minds, for the development of a scientific outlook on the world, the party, mass and civic organizations, the educational, cultural and artistic institutions conduct an intensive educational work, are constantly concerned with disseminating scientific knowledge on nature and society. As a result of the activity conducted by the party and state substantive changes have occurred in working people's minds, their political, vocational and cultural-scientific horizons have broadened. The ideas of scientific socialism have penetrated deeply into the minds of the masses; the party policy objectives have been fully endorsed by all the people.

Scientific-materialistic education is an essential facet of shaping and developing socialist awareness, a significant goal of ideological work, which is in compliance with the new nature of socialist relations, with the humanist essence of our system, with the scientific spirit of modern times. This work is not a end in itself, it must be subordinated to the specific tasks of building a multilaterally developed socialist society.

In the party documents emphasis was placed many times on the fact that to remove religious, mystical concepts and prejudices it is necessary to conduct a very

patient, systematic and convincing work, using scientific arguments. Religion cannot be fought by declaration of an open war to religious beliefs and even less by ironies directed against believers and servants of churches. Our party has proved and continues to prove considerable tact in combating religion, it sees to it that ideological methods are used, it avoids offending the feelings of believers and excludes the use of administrative, coercive methods.

The individual of our socialist society takes shape as a multilaterally developed man, capable of profoundly understanding natural phenomena and the changes that take place in society, the new problems posed by the evolution of mankind, of knowingly participating in the progress of society. Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of our party, stated on this matter:"Great responsibilities rest with the party propaganda in the argument-based and convincing explanation of the theses and provisions of the Party Program, of the new advances of scientific knowledge, that corroborate the materiality and infinity of the universe, of matter, the dialectical development of nature and society. Our propaganda must demonstrate that, in opposition to idealist metaphysical philosophy, which conceives the world as a static entity, in an eternal immobility, dialectical and historical materialism is a vital, revolutionary, advanced concept, which not only explains the fundamental laws that generate the continuous transformation of the world, of the organization of people's lives, the uninterrupted progress of human thouhgt, knowledge and practice, but, also, equip people in the struggle for the progressive, revolutionary transformation of the environment and also of their own material and spiritual existence. To conduct a genuinely revolutionary propaganda means to make people ready and stimulate them to work for structuring society on new, superior bases, that conform with the principles of justice and equity, to mobilize them in the fight against obsoleteness, against conservative and retrograde concepts, for bold promotion of the new in social thinking and practice." [9]

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Raport la cel de-al XII-lea Congress al Partidului Comunist Roman" [Report to the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party], Bucharest, Edit. Politica, 1979, p 14.

2. Petru Berar, "Religia in Lumea Contemporana" [Religion in the Contemporary World], Bucharest, Edit. Politica, 1976, pp 234-235.

3. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Address to the Work Meeting at the CC of the RCP held from 5-7 Sep 1979," in "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate," [Romania Along the Road of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society], Vol. 18, Bucharest, Edit. Politica, 1979, pp 683-694.

4. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech Given at the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, 2 June 1976," in "Romania Along the Road of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol. 13, Bucharest, Edit. Politica, 1977, p 96.

5. In our country operate 14 religious denominations whose by-laws are recognized by the state (Orthodox, Roman-Catholic, Reformed, Augustana Evangelical Church, Synodal Presbiterian Evangelical Church, Unitarian, Old Ritualist Christian, Mosaic, Moslem, Armenian-Gregorian, Baptist, Seven-Day Adventist, Pentecostal, Christian by the Gospel).

6. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Interview Granted to the Dutch Weekly NIEWSNET, 16 Oct 1979," in "Romania Along the Road of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 19, Bucharest, Edit. Politica, 1980, p 112.

7. See SCINTEIA, dated 30 June 1981.

8. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Address to the Joint Plenary Session of the CC of the RCP and the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development of Romania, 5 Jul 1979," in "Romania Along the Road of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 18, pp 400-401.

9. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report on the Political-Ideological and Cultural-Educational Activity for Shaping the New Man, Conscious and Devoted Builder of the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and of Communism in Romania," given at the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, 2 June 1976," in "Romania Along the Road of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 13, Bucharest, Edit. Politica, 1977, p 93.

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ATTACKS ON WRITERS UNION DEPLORED BY PALER

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 29 Jul 82 pp 12-13

/Interview with Octavian Paler by Mircea Iorgulescu/

/Text/ /Question/ My dear Octavian Paler, the characters in your books exhibit a twofold urge to confess and to question alike. They question while confessing and confess while questioning. Consequently they are more "voices" than "faces" and I am even tempted to say that actually a same voice is heard everywhere, in "Defense of Galileo" as well as in "Life on a Platform" and in "Imaginary Letters" as well as in "Caminante." To be sure I do not identify the author with the character but neither can I deny this constant presence of confession and interrogation as ways of existing in the world and speaking of the world. How far do confession and interrogation express an attitude of the author himself?

/Answer/ I suffered acutely when I was a student and I lost for good, in a bookstore, the briefcase in which I always carried with pride and fear the manuscripts of my first three books. Today I don't know that the accident wasn't somehow providential. What confessions could I make at the age of 21? Yet I cannot write without confessing. All my literature is a form of confession. Why else would I write if not to say what I am thinking and feeling?

As for interrogation, what am I to say? I began by bovarizing the calm of Greek statues and Goethe, and without wishing to I found myself muttering questions. Then I thought it was natural for that to happen. I do not think we can take the philosophers seriously who say happiness is to be like stones. Only the gods can come out of history. They alone can permit themselves to remain silent. It is our fate to ask ourselves questions. During the war Paul Valery translated Vergil's Bucolics and wrote "The Dialogue of the Tree," an evocation of the birth of a tree. A German officer asked him, "How can you write that way about eternal reality and make no reference to the crucial urgency of our so agitated era?" (The Allies had landed in Italy, Corsica had been freed, and the Soviet offensive had liberated Smolensk and Kiev). Paul Valery replied, "Events bore me. They are the foam of the waves, but the sea is what interests me." I see a subtle irony in Valery's words, the intellect's contempt for the arrogance of power, and I do not think I could do justice to it. I recall readingly somewhere recently about the journey made to Weimar during the war by a group of collaborating

French writers. At one time in Germany their train came to a halt out in the country. Somebody opened a window, and voices outside were suddenly heard speaking French. The writers were intrigued and came out of their compartments to find a group of French prisoners who had stopped work on the railroad track to let the train pass. There were about ten of them, guarded by two armed German soldiers. You can imagine the contrast between the sunken, unshaved faces of the prisoners and their clothes marked KG in white paint and the fine clothing and well-fed bodies of the writers traveling to Weimar. They were ashamed of their privileged position compared with the misery of their compatriots. They tried to engage in a conversation, but they could not respond when the others asked them what they were doing on the train. What could they say? That they were writers on their way to Weimar, making a pilgrimage in Goethe's honor? That art can be above the conflicts, above the assassins and above the victims? That history does not concern it, the history that stands beside the railway with KG on clothes or guards those who wear them with arms in hand? In those embarassing moments the truth was inexorably clear and could be interpreted in only one way. To be sure art can stay in the train, well saven and perfumed. It can shut the window, ask nothing and hear nothing. It can say "I am tired of history and I want to ignore it" and continue the pilgrimage to Weimar in peace. But such trains do not go to Weimar but to nothing.

My "Subjective Mythologies" is in fact the book of a dilemma between the two kinds of sphinxes in the history of culture, the Egyptian sphinx, smiling metaphysically at all our problems, and the Greek sphinx who asked questions. Then I wrote that "Fear and cowardice begin with an answer," but I was deceiving myself. Today I think fear and cowardice begin with a question, because we sometimes evade the question, not the answer, in order to avoid an answer. Or we modify the question in such a way that we can answer it safely with no risk of any consequences. In other words we ask only the questions that suit us. We create the illusion that we are not being evasive, but the sphinx asks us only what we want to be asked. The desertions and compromises then become the result of a more devious process wherein the disease that was vitiating the answer has climbed like a mole to attack the question itself. I am haunted by a sentence of Kafka's, "I do not write as I speak, I do not speak as I think, I do not think as I should like to think, and so on into the depths of darkness." And if what I say does not sound presumptious to you, I dream in the reverse way.

/Question/ And so you believe in the moral effect of interrogation?

/Answer/ Do you know the difference between a knave and one who does not know how to get along except by respecting the truths in which he believes? A knave does not abandon the pole star. He even invokes it and pretends to be guided by it. But he does not always look for it in the sky where it is, but where his interests dictate. Well, the questions help me look for the pole star where I have learned that it is in the heavens. Moreover I am convinced that an author is more subject to the good or bad influence of his books than is believed. He wants to be worthy of them or to live them, and that sometimes changes him. And speaking of fear again, I think I have come to be a little braver. And I have invoked the idea of loving so much that I have come to be convinced that whenever I have not loved something worthy to be loved I have been prevented from doing so.

/Question/ You often polemicize "cordially," but also firmly, and the stated cordiality of your polemics seems to have a polemic purpose. Does it represent you or is it a measure required by the circumstances of our literary life. And what does "literary life" mean to you? Do you think "literary life" does not involve literature or that literature and creation properly speaking are not part of "literary life"?

/Answer/ Quite a few questions for a problem which is already involved enough like that of literary life and which, I hope, is like a labyrinth. No, do not be surprised. I say "I hope" because a labyrinth also has an Ariadne's thread as well as a Minotaur.

Yes, I think the cordiality of my polemics is representative of me. Otherwise I would be only a dilettante among the professional polemicists and would have done better to give it up. Moreover I have always believed in what Heraclitus said, that our fate is our own character.

Speaking of literary life, do you remember what we learned in school about Newton's disc, the disc colored with all shades of the solar spectrum that turned white when it was spun rapidly because the colors disappeared? What would you say if I asked you whether the disc was white or colored? If you say white you are only half right because it only appeared white while it was actually colored with all shades of the rainbow. If you say it was colored it is only half true because it looked white. Probably we should say both, that the disc is actually colored but looks white to us because of its rapid revolutions and therefore is white and colored at the same time, like life, whose complexity probably cannot be reduced to the contrast between light and shade. Enough has been said, you see, by way of simplification to the effect that man is either a beast or the highest dream of nature, instead of saying like Tolstoy that he is both god and pig. Almost the same thing has happened in the case of literary life. Some have wanted to assure us that it is hopelessly unhealthy and others that it is like a Madonna. I do not believe either one. I think the disc is colored and white at the same time.

Now then, I do not contrast literature with literary life. I do not say "It is not literary life that counts, but the books." I do not do so because I consider that contrast both false and harmful. Obviously the books do not depend upon literary life but upon the talent of the authors. But it would be a sad oversight to imagine that a vulnerable literary life would not ultimately hurt the part where we are alone with a blank page, or that lack of unity and fellowship will not ultimately avenge itself upon our solitude. I have already said that it seems we know how to be alone but we do not know very well how to be together.

/Question/ At the National Writers Conference in July 1981 you were elected by a large majority to the Union Management Council, and you are also a member of the Bureau. What do those offices actually mean? Are they privleges or responsibilities? What advantages and obligations have you? And how do you view the opinions of those who regard the union as an outmoded, anachronistic institution and its bodies as products of behind-the-scenes arrangements and so-called electoral maneuvers?

/Answer/ Privileges? Advantages? Let us be serious. I was also a member of the previous council and the previous bureau. And it is one of two things:

Either I am unable to see what advantage or privilege there could be in standing through meetings, or their invocation by those who invoke them is sheer rhetoric, like the story of the elections, which is offensive and funny at the same time when told in those terms. I am almost inclined to believe that I was in the wrong room and did not attend the elections referred to by those who talk that way. Am I as naive as all that? I wonder, and I have often had good reasons to think so, but it is not so... I do not wish to plead my own case /pro domo/ especially since, as far as I am concerned, I have had no electoral fear. Nor do I maintain that all of us who have been elected deserve to be elected, nor that some of those who were not elected did not deserve to be elected more than some of us. But neither do I agree that about 500 writers assembled to perform a farce. I refuse to insult my colleagues that way.

I was perplexed to read the respective accusations when they appeared. I did not like to think they were possible. Why all this fury? Because the results could not satisfy everybody? Wasn't that normal? In the last analysis, democracy is nothing but a misnomer to someone who thinks democracy is not what the majority wants but what he wants. I do not like guerrilla warfare in literary life because I have no inclination for hostilities, nor is it my ambition to lecture anyone on truth. I am content with the honesty to say exactly what I think. Therefore I acknowledge that all this seems very sad to me and I am quite baffled by it. Was it not democratic for the writers to elect their representatives to the council by secret ballot? Is it not democratic for the bodies so elected, according to the standards approved by all, to be considered emanations of all? Isn't that a principle of democracy? Wouldn't it sound entirely strange if a citizen declared he did not recognize the laws of the state when the deputy he wanted was not elected? In short, isn't it strange to state that democracy can sometimes be invoked against itself? At any rate I want to stay far away from the passions that rend literary life because I steadfastly believe that a true intellectual solidarity is possible, and due to a structural defect I cannot understand anyone who is inclined to set fire to the world if it does not please him, although I know that the crusaders seemed willing at times even to sacrifice the holy sepulcher just so that it would not be in the hands of the enemy.

I am not saying that the literary life does not give us reasons enough for bitterness, or that those reasons are to be glossed over. I do not claim that there are no gaps or errors in the union's activity, or that those gaps and errors are to be overlooked. I do not mean to preach any aseptic brotherhood, which is impossible anyway in a community where eternity and the moment are pursued with the same eagerness. But I do not think I have behaved intelligently when, in order to heal our wounds, I have torn off the bandages that covered them and bewailed the literary life only to poison it even further.

In speaking of guild solidarity I am of course not thinking of a caste solidarity, shut within itself and existing for itself. We are or rather we should be together not to isolate ourselves but to meet our readers' expectations. Therefore I interpret fellowship not as a mere professional relationship but as a social value useful in our common effort to enrich the Romanian culture of today. And so I was puzzled to hear the writers themselves defaming the union they belong to and speaking contemptuously of it. I am not discussing here the reasons why a given writer may be dissatisfied with our professional organization, but

I certainly cannot see the advantage of questioning not only the union's defects and errors but the union itself. I do not think anyone has the right to question a public value because of personal dissatisfactions. Therefore if we are to declare ourselves for or against defaming the Writers Union, I do not hesitate. I am against it. Marin Preda's demise has shown us once again a sad truth, that death is the only teacher of appreciation whom we recognize. But why must we perpetually learn to appreciate by regret? We all have need of the union's prestige, including those who may have been inclined at times to scuttle the whole ship. And finally I fail to see why I should apologize for valuing that prestige and the dignity of the idea of a writer.

Let me be entirely frank, but I understand that an insulted man my be impassioned and may even have vindictive impulses. It is difficult to live like the Greek statues with a detached smile no matter what befalls us. We want, do not want and sometimes pay tribute to our passions. What I understand less is a certain kind of silence. Actually how many are there who have leveled diatribes at the union for one reason or another? I have not counted them, but I remember a remark of Napoleon's. He said one man who speaks makes more noise that an army that is silent. And it seems that also applies to us at times. When the regulation structures of the union were attacked, how many felt obligated to go to the defense of the principles? In private, they were innumerable. In public, outside of a few solitary voices including yours, I observed no other attempts to enter into a dialogue to explain matters with full regard for the truth. When some 20 writers, if not even more, were unconscionably defamed in writing, no one took a stand except Adrian Paunescu in an article published in ROMANIA LIBERA. And when Adrian Paunescu was libeled in his turn, no one felt it his duty to intervene. Does this silence seem more moral to you? Does it do no harm? Perhaps the union management also has a duty to break its silence when insults exceed all bounds and when customs whose logic I cannot entirely follow try to sow poison and confusion in literary life. And what did ROMANIA LITERARA do about it as the organ of the Writers Union and consequently obligated to clearly and consistently defend the principles in the charter of the Writers Union?

Forgive me, but I do not believe wisdom stands on two stools.

Yet I am not a pessimist. And despite my solitary nature I have a great need of comradeship. Therefore I am waiting for the moment when the fallout of the literary battles will no longer be toxic.

/Question/ Although in principle name-calling, personal attacks, imputations and abusive language are considered incompatible with the conduct and character of contemporary Romanian journalism, the fact is we often encounter such manifestations and that too on the scale of veritable campaigns. They are usually justified by the right, which no one contests, to free expression of opinion. Does this right conflict with the duty to maintain a civilized tone and to avoid invective and accusations of an unliterary nature?

/Answer/ Not any passion is repugnant to me. Only the confused ones. With that qualification, I admit your insistence embarrasses me. To be sure it is theoretically true that name-calling, personal attacks, imputations and abusive language are, as you say, incompatible with the conduct and character of contemporary Romanian journalism. But if that is so, why do they occur? Why aren't they

discouraged by the managers of the respective publications? I for one do not know what to reply. All I can tell you is that I once wandered into a boxing hall and never went back. I do not like to encounter the supremacy of fists and the heated shouts, although I know something about their role in history. To be frank, I fear the proliferation of a gladiators morality in culture.

But if an aggression can be a viewpoint, its rejection should be a viewpoint too. I have often asked, is it so difficult to see that if one slides down the slope of personal aversions and revenge one crosses the bounds of culture, and that all the advantages can boomerang? That the mud you throw at another may also splatter you some day? That the aspersions you cast upon another can victimize you some day? Or that if you fish in troubled waters you risk fishing in your own shadow some day? I am not one of those who turn the other cheek when struck, but neither do I wish to get even with anyone. I am with all those who love their country and believe in culture and truth. For the rest, each to his own talent and each to his own conscience. Actually, I do not think eternity is a game animal from which every one can tear off a quarter. In fact, eternity means little to me. It is an empty word when you break the water clock in order to imagine it. But I do not want to become pathetic, although I prefer to be pathetic in defending the dignity of the idea of a writer and not in soiling it.

/Question/ I see you are also consistent.

/Answer/ What am I to do? I am 56 and I am frightened by the idea that if I play on words I shall no longer have time to regret what I have mistaken. I used to admire sophists once, but now I no longer have time to demonstrate both that white is white and that white is black. Henceforth it is my sole destiny to say that white is white, provided of course that I see it as white.

/Question/ Since the writer is a public person, is that circumstance without consequences for creation?

/Answer/ Never, I believe. Not even when the writer has fed upon the illusion that he can burn the bridges between himself and the world. Actually the ivory tower about which so much used to be said is only evidence of an arrogant isolation. I should say it is primarily evidence of inability to disregard the world, for in a world that you can ignore there would be no need of a barrier between it and yourself, would there? Therefore I do not think the ivory tower, when it existed, was so much a refuge as a benignant prison. The artist fights in that way, or tries to fight, against his natural tendency to be a public person. And then a man who writes in an ivory tower makes no sense. If he did not want to be a public person and wanted to adhere to that prejudice at any price, a writer would live and die with an empty sheet before him without putting a single word on it. When he writes he is in the street. All that depends on him is whether or not he says what he sees and feels there.

/Question/ What are you working on now?

/Answer/ I am finishing my book "Cordial Polemics," and I am preparing a new novel, "A Pagan's Confession."

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END

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23 August 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2046

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HUNGARIAN HISTORICAL WORKS CRITICIZED BY ROMANIAN REVIEWER

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 5-6, May-June 82 pp 759-760

/Review by Stelian Mindrut of the books "After the Dual Monarchy," by Andras Gergely and Zoltan Szasz, Gondolat Publishing House, Budapest, 1978, 263 pp and "Happy Times. Hungary from 1900 to 1914," by Laszlo Merenyi, Gondolat Publishing House, Budapesta, 1978, 237 pp/

/Text/ The current information explosion makes it urgently necessary to know and make an intensive study of certain specialized fields. The interest taken in the science of history is assuming huge proportions, as evidenced by the revealing statistics from the surveys made by publishing houses. The taste for the muse Clio is expressed and evidenced in various ways, the commonest one coming under the heading of popular history, appearing in the appropriate magazine or in a book of varied appeal and circulated in a large number of copies.

As an indication of and a desire to satisfy a certain taste and propensity, the principle of popular science discredits the familiar existing rigid standards because the historians are becoming convinced that institutionalized and overspecialized history does not satisfy the complaints of the enthusiasts for the past. Now they tend to reflect and study the current demand, which calls for pragmatic writing as contrasted with that set forth in the university halls or published in the subject journals.

Two courses are open to historical research committed to the dialogue with the public: (a) to yield to historical literature, journalism and the mass media or (b) to consider effective ways of regaining the previous respect and interest of the general public. The final option is taking the form of facilitating communication between the historian and the reader by means of popular history and thus building bridges to meet the requirements for historical reading that are set by the social evolution of the respective period.

We consider the initiative and achievement of Hungarian historical research interesting from the foregoing point of view, in the form of the publication of a number of historical monographs to suit the taste of the mass of readers including the two works we are reviewing.

The history of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, its general socioeconomic evolution, the internal and external political climate, the existence and efforts of the subjugated nationalities to assert their right to a free and independent existence, as well as the state of cultural development up to the outbreak of World War I are competently treated by the authors in sections.*

The parts at the beginning of the Gergely-Szasz team's book follow the course of presenting the political activity that preceded and followed the Ausgleich, including analyses and deliberations pro and con, evaluating the usefulness or unsuitability of the enactment of 1867 favorably or unfavorably. Some Austrian and Hungarian personalities involved in drafting the compromise are reviewed, differing opinions and attitudes are expressed concerning the people and events involved, and the interior of the political parties and the social strata and classes of the time are explored, as well as the entire constitutional system. In a word, the zoom-lens inspection into the heart of the society of the time enables us to see the overall socioeconomic and political-cultural picture of the empire up to the threshold of the 20th century.

The discussion of the national and minorities problem in the new state organism begins by explaining the origin of hostility toward the established regime, and then the authors outline the official contradiction accentuated by eliminating the battle from political life, reducing it to the passive stage, and criticizing the law on minorities of 1868. Then they specifically examine the situation of the Transylvanian Romanians, including their "special" situation and the right to vote granted by the authorities (p 60). We are surprised by and think it necessary to point out and "correct" interpretations that do not conform to objective or scientific historiography, namely the treatment of the origin of the Romanian people in Transylvania, which is presented in a way contrary to the position of Romanian Marxist historiography (p 108). We feel that the idea conveyed about dividing the nations into historical and nonhistorical ones in direct reference to the finding of the existence or nonexistence of the national leading class, language and culture seriously impairs the character of truly impartial research (p 110).

Their analysis of foreign policy enables the Gergely-Szasz team to describe the monarchy engaged in the great powers' competition, but with a restricted political role and the task set by the balance and maintenance of the balance of the situation in Europe.

The period of liberal Hungarian rule between 1875 and 1890, the economic progress that was made, the capitalization of the social structure, the organization of the proletariat and the development of the socialist movement, corroborated in the study by the marked decline at the juncture of the 19th and 20th centuries and the increasingly acute differences between the two unequal partners, Austria and Hungary, are regarded by the authors as the apogee of the era, epitomizing the boundless hopes permitted by the dual structure. The phase described coincides with the activation of the Hungarian minorities' economic and political struggle and the redrafted Memorandum and is in accord with other events like the collaboration in 1895, the policy of the Banffy cabinet, and the theoretical efforts to solve the national problem in the first decade of the 20th century by charting the course of the analysis made according to the understanding of the reading public.

*See the studies in SZAZADOK 1, 1966 and 2, 1972 and TORTENELMI SZEMLE 3, 1968 and 1-2, 1976.

The "peaceful interval" between 1900 and 1914 in the history of the conglomeration of peoples is particularized by L. Merenyi's efforts in the book cited in the title of this review. The author proposes and applies the method of research in parallel with a continuing dialogue, the political facts speaking on a twofold level and emphasized by the corollary of expression of the external data.

In his analysis in the chapter on foreign policy the historian concludes that the struggle and competition and the necessity of maintaining and expanding the system of alliances vital to survival as a great power gave rise to the state of conflict in the first decade under consideration and consequently compelled the Monarchy to expand in one area, namely the Balkans. The customs war with Serbia, the annexation of Bosnia in 1908, the attitude toward Russia and the armed Balkan conflicts, as well as dependence upon the German expansionist policy are the guidelines in the external evolution summarized by the author in his discussion based on published and unpublished material. L. Merenyi concludes that internal life in Austria and Hungary deteriorated in this period because of problems related to the strained situation on the eve of the debacle, that is differences between governments and with the cabinets, dissension among the political parties, polemics between Vienna and Budapest concerning the interpretation of the dual system and the trend toward Hungary's banking, military and customs autonomy. The described phase culminated in Hungary in the defeat of the liberal government, the inauguration of the coalition between 1906 and 1910, the advance of the socialist movement, and the demands for the right to vote and democratic freedoms for the minorities. The cultural superstructure evolved in interdependence with the political factor, showing periods of achievement and decadence in concept and manifestation.

Discussion of the national problem takes up an important part of the treatment. The policy of forced Hungarianization is now recognized and criticized, intensification of the Serbian, Romanian and Slovakian national movements is brought out, as well as cooperation among their representatives in the Hungarian parliament and the plans for a theoretical solution of the problem from the point of view of a Franz Ferdinand or Oszkar Jaszi. The researcher dwells upon the Transylvanian Romanian national phenomenon, pointing out and confirming the natural trend toward self-determination, the continuous ties with Romania (p 151), the poet O. Goga's activity and the negotiations between 1910 and 1914 between Tisza and the representatives of the PNR /Romanian National Party/. We consider the effort to investigate the Austrian parliamentary discussions noteworthy, as well as the use of the speeches in the Viennese forum to demonstrate foreign support for the cause of the oppressed minorities in Hungary (p 91). We were unpleasantly surprised to find the statement hazarded about the lack of any distinction between the Hungarian people and their political leaders when the minorities' "antistate policy" is mentioned (p 154). The press in the languages of the subjugated peoples, the parliamentary discussions between 1906 and 1910, and the archival documents from the reserves of the Chairmanship of the Council of Ministers and the Ministry of the Interior, studied with scientific acumen, flatly refute the author's unwarranted theory.

As we come to the chapter on conclusions, we are convinced that these works bespeak enthusiasm and diligence in making the recent past intelligible to the mass of lovers of history. The variety and richness of the illustrative material used are also noteworthy as important factors for visualizing the connections between the text, the period and the present.

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ROLE OF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR IN INSURING LEGALITY OF MILITARY LAWS

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian Jan-Mar 82 pp 69-74

[Article by Bardhyl Shehu: "The Control of the Public Prosectur in Regard to the Legal Aspect of Juridical Administrative Acts in the Armed Forces"; passages between slant lines printed in boldface]

[Text] The activity of the military organs and commands, just as the entire activity of our state apparatus, is a broad and comprehensive activity which serves the building of socialism and the further invigoration of the defense of the country. These organs and commands execute their functions and tasks on the basis of the law and for the implementation of the law, solving their problems in the light of the class struggle and by giving priority to the party policy.

The military organs and commands, relying on the principles of socialist law, as the important links of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and led by the party, accurately execute the juridical acts of the highest organs of the government and of the administration and enact a number of acts on the basis of the law and for the execution of the law.

On the basis of the importance of the implementation of socialist law with accuracy, the prosecutor's control over these organs in the issuance of administrative acts, assumes a great importance because it deals directly with the further invigoration of our people's government, with the proper functioning of our socialist state and of its apparatus, and with the strengthening of socialist law. Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his report to the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party, in his analysis of the work of the juridical organs and of the Prosecutor's Office, among other things, said: "Our legislation has an emphasized class, political, ideological, educational, and administrative character. This character of our legislation must also be taken into consideration in the future in our work in regard to knowing, popularizing, interpreting, and executing the laws. No matter in contradiction with the law under the jurisdiction of these organs must be allowed to pass without being investigated and judged with wisdom, correctness, party-mindedness, and great competency."*

*Enver Hoxha, Report to the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party, Tirana, 1981, p 98-99.

Implementing these party recommendations and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, the further invigoration of the prosecutor's control and its systematical execution on healthy bases help to eliminate violations of the law in the armed forces and serves the strengthening of military preparedness for the defense of the fatherland. As a result of the measures adopted by the party for the further revolutionization of the army, we have had a radical change in the execution of laws and in the issuance of juridical acts, just as in every other field. The correct stipulation of powers and of criteria for the issuance of administrative acts by the military organs and commands has, among other things, helped achieve this.

1. /The activity of the organs, commands and all other links in the armed forces is a commanding executive activity and, consequently, the acts, which they issue, are administrative acts and, as such, are objects of control by the public prosecutor./

Our people's army, as the main armed force of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has the duty, together with the entire armed people, to protect the dictatorship of the working class, the victories of socialism, and the interests of the people, and to guarantee the inviolability of the fatherland at any time and in any circumstance. Our people's army is implementing this duty, considering as a guiding compass the military line of the party, Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, the requirements and recommendations of the Council of Defense and of the people's military art, the laws and decrees, and other acts issued by the highest organs of the government and of the state administration. The system of action and, in general, the entire activity in the armed forces is rigorously established in special acts with a normative character, issued on the basis of and for the execution of the law by these organs themselves; they are presented mainly in the forms of orders, instructions, and regulations. More expanded are the rules and commands which are executed more often, because of the very special nature of the activity of the armed forces. Thus, for every specialty and various services, and tasks for the kinds of arms down to the economic and financial services and tasks. The right to issue acts of this nature is assigned to minister of people's defense and, by his authorization, to the deputy ministers of the people's defense. The same regulation is monitored by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The commands of the military units and sections do not have the right to issue rules; they only issue orders and instructions which must always be in harmony with the powers stipulated by the Ministry of People's Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and approved by the commanding officer and the commissar of the military unit or section. The juridical acts enacted by the military organs and commands have, for the most part, a general character and, in certain cases, some of them have a concrete character which is connected with the objects which are addressed to them. Thus, the acts enacted in the form of regulations, orders or instructions by the minister of people's defense and the minister of internal affairs have, as a rule, a general character. However, there also are cases when the Ministry of People's Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs enact concrete acts which are compulsory for the commands of those military units and sections to whom they have been sent. As acts of a general character, we can mention the regulation on discipline, the regulation on "Internal Life" and others; while, as act of a concrete character, we can mention the acts or orders for the organization of a concrete military exercise and for a special or new regulation linked

with a garrison service, and so forth. The same thing can be said for the acts, mainly in the form of orders, issued by the commands of military units and sections for their subordinate commands of units or sections. From what has been said above, of a special importance for the prosecutor's control are the knowledge and classification of the acts enacted by the military organs and commands and the most correct determining of those juridical administrative acts which, according to the Constitution and the law "on the prosecutor's office," are objects of the prosecutor's control. After this is determined, in the prosecutor's work, it is important to see if the act enacted by the military organs, commands and other links contains the most important elements which the juridical administrative act should have, for example: a juridical character, the expression of the will of the government, issuance by the competent organs and a legal character. The other aspect which should be taken into consideration is whether the juridical administrative act is presented in the form of a decision, order, instruction and regulation. The clarification of these issues makes it possible for the prosecutor to make his decision between the acts in the form of an order, an instruction or a regulation enacted by the competent organ--which are objects of control--and the other acts which, although they have a juridical character, are not objects of this control such as, for example, the orders of transfer of soldiers, the regulation on entering military projects, and so forth.

2. /The limits of prosecutor's control over the juridical administrative acts in the armed forces./

Prosecutor's control in the armed forces cannot be extended to the entire activity and to all actions in the armed forces, just as it cannot be extended to the legal aspects in general and to administrative acts. This is, because, on the one hand, some purely technical matters concerning the military commands are not under the jurisdiction of prosecutor's control and, on the other hand, some actions and activities of the armed forces, reflected in appropriate acts, cannot be objects of control because of their own special nature. Thus, the following cannot be objects of control: acts of an operational character; the acts dealing with the movement and transfer of military forces, military vehicles and various military exercises; acts dealing with the construction, production and utilization of army materials and military technology; acts concerning the organization and management of the forces and means, the organization of the various services and the determining of criteria for the protection of and entry in military projects; and acts referring to the protection and utilization of technical reserves, ammunition, clothing, food and so forth. From this, it follows that in exercising his tasks, the prosecutor must take into consideration the assumption of the control over those juridical acts which are in the field of his control, for example, the acts issued by the MMP [Ministry of People's Defense] and the MPB [Ministry of Internal Affairs] in regard to the implementation of the law on the military service of the citizens, of the decree on the material responsibility of military men and directly in production, and of the decisions of the government on the norms for food and clothing, on machinery, on the administration of socialist property, on wages, "on protection from fire," on defense fortification works, on technical safety in the use of explosive and poisonous materials with very powerful effect, and on the issues of strengthening discipline, improving domestic life in the armed

forces, relations between cadres and masses, and so forth. Additional objects of control are the acts issued by the commands of military units and sections on the basis of and for the implementation of the acts enacted by the MMP and MPB. From what we said, it appears that not every act is an object of control by the prosecutor; and, in particular, acts of an operational character are exempt from control.

Therefore, during his control, the prosecutor must take into consideration the following: the nature of the act, its legal foundation and the purpose for its issuance; the juridical relationships which emerge, change or are ended by it; the operational nature of keeping military secrets; and the territorial or material jurisdiction of the prosecutor's office. Thus, the prosecutor of one district cannot control the acts issued by the military unit or section of another district; also, no control can be exerted from the prosecutor's offices of the districts over the central organs of the MMP and MPB. The Prosecutor General's Office exerts control over these organs. In regard to this issue, one must take into consideration that the district prosecutor's offices, in controlling administrative acts in military units and sections, along with the control of the acts issued by the units or sections of their districts, have the obligation, on the basis of their legal foundation, to examine the acts dispatched by the MMP and MPB in the form of order, instruction or regulation and, in regard to illegal aspects of these acts, they must forward their observations and suggestions to the Prosecutor General's Office.

3. /The method of control of juridical administrative acts by the prosecutor./

So that the prosecutor may exercise his control over the administrative acts issued by the organs and commands of military units and sections and so that he may see their legal foundation, further ideological, political and professional improvement is indispensable, as a basic condition for the expansion and thoroughness of this control. But, along with this ideological and political improvement, the prosecutor have a good knowledge of the legislation in force in the armed forces and the acts enacted by the MMP, the MPB, and the commands of military units and sections. And, so that he may know them, their study must be scheduled. Scheduling and cooperating in these cases and on these issues is an important part of the work method of the prosecutor; without this, the control of administrative acts in the armed forces cannot be carried out with success. Another important moment is the activization and utilization of all sources of information and on the basis of this, the organization of preliminary work such as: a) the draft of the control plan; b) the study and examination of the main legal provisions; c) the study of the organizational structure of the organ; ch) the meeting with the mass of soldiers, cadres and military specialists; d) the meeting with the people's prosecutors and military auxiliary judges; and so forth.

a. Prosecutor's control can be partial in those cases when it is organized on the basis of the verification of a complaint or of concrete information. Practice has shown many cases of this nature.

b. Prosecutor's control is an organized one when it is extended to all acts of one military organ, command, unit or section for definite periods of time. This

form of control is among the most essential and responds to the tasks entrusted to the organ of the prosecutor's office. The prosecutor must be careful during the control of the acts and must foresee the elimination of the consequences caused by the illegal act, working as quickly as possible to reinstate the law which has been violated.

4. /The means of reaction used by the prosecutor in regard to the illegality of administrative acts./

The prosecutor, in implementing his control functions, on the basis of and for the execution of his legal powers in regard to the violation of laws and their reinstatement, uses various means of reaction in which protest plays an important role. The prosecutor's control over administrative acts of a normative character issued by the MMP, MPB, and the commands of military units or sections, when these acts are in contradiction with the law or do not harmonize with the law, must not remain in the verification phase. In these cases, he must use the means of reaction, that is, the protest, which has its source in the Constitution itself and in the law "On the Prosecutor's Office."

The protest is different from the other means of reaction because of the very fact that it opposes the illegality of an act; while, the other means of reaction, such as the presentation, point out violations in the actual activity of the military organs and commands during the execution of the law. The protest is the means used only by the prosecutor and, as such, the law has invested it with a number of juridical consequences stemming from the relationships created, in these cases, between the prosecutor's office and the organ which has perpetrated the illegal act. Thus the obligation to examine the protest within a deadline is created, as well as the suspension of acts if the protest is not examined within the deadline. In the law "On the Prosecutor's Office of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania," in Article 20, it is stipulated that: "The protest is the act by the means of which the prosecutor requests the annulment or modification of illegal decisions and other illegal acts of the ministries and of other central and local organs, of enterprises, institutions, economic and social organizations, of organs of investigation, and of courts.... The ministries and other central and local organs, the enterprises, institutions, the economic and social organizations and military units are obliged to examine the protest of the prosecutor within 15 days from the date of its receipt. The failure to examine the protest within this deadline interrupts the execution of the act...."

In the actual work of prosecutor's offices, in general, the guidelines given in connection with the use of the means of reaction and, especially, of the protest, have been correctly understood and, according to the case, the annulment or modification of the acts have been asked when they have been illegal; also, people have demanded the reinstatement of the law which has been violated. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the fact that our work, as an organ of the prosecutor's office, serves the strengthening of legality and the effective struggle against the violation of the laws, the elimination of violations of the law and their rapid verification become important. It is clear that the protest of acts on the part of the prosecutor is a right which has no limit in time; but, nevertheless, in order to serve and better implement party tasks,

it is necessary for the control to be better planned, activating and utilizing all sources of information in order to attack on time the illegality of a specific act or other violations of the law.

We must take into consideration the fact that, in protesting juridical administrative acts issued by the MMP and the MPB and which operate in all structures of the armed forces, the protest is carried out through the prosecutor general's office. Therefore, the district prosecutor's offices, on the basis of the controls exercised, when they observe illegality in the acts issued by the commands of military units or sections under their jurisdiction, they send their protests directly to these commands. The correct determination of the organ to whom the protest will be addressed has not only a formal or procedural importance, but it is the other important aspect which is connected with the juridical consequences of the protest. Also of importance is the legal documentation of the protest showing the illegality of the act and the consequences which have resulted or which can result from it. In the drafting of the protest, importance must be given to the request for the annulment, modification or abrogation of the act and to the assurance of a reply from the target to which it is directed.

In practice, one may ask the question whether oral commands, which, are numerous in the armed forces, are objects of protest or not? We think that in this case an oral command, although, it communicates or changes established relationships, cannot be an object of protest, as it does not satisfy all the conditions required for the juridical administrative act.

In this case, the prosecutor acts according to the general procedure for the control of violations of the law which have been observed, notifying the military organs and commands by means of presentations.

In regard to what we said, taking into consideration the importance of the legal aspect, especially, of the juridical administrative acts in the armed forces for the strengthening of socialist legality and the defense of the country, a greater involvement is demanded on the part of the workers and organs of the prosecutor's office to ensure the knowledge of legislation in the field of defense; there must also be better organized control and aid in order to prevent any act of juridical administrative illegality in the issuance and execution of the juridical administrative acts by the military organs and commands.

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CSO: 2100/69

FIFTH CONGRESS OF ARTISTS UNION HELD

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 2 Jul 82 pp 1-3

[Report on the Fifth Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Artists: "Balance of Actions and Responsibility"]

[Text] The Fifth Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Artists was held on 29 and 30 June 1982 in Bulgariya Hall. This was not only a report on the significant and vivid organizational-artistic activities, which earned broad social recognition, but also a profound self-evaluation of the place, significance and responsibility of the contemporary Bulgarian artist. This is because today the social position of Bulgarian artists is stronger and more necessary than every before. The attention paid to spiritual activities in Socialist Bulgaria and the emphatic respect and concern for artistic creativity, which are the foundations of our party's cultural policy, call for displaying greater exigency toward the ideological-aesthetic significance of creative results. The entire proceedings of the congress took place in the constructive atmosphere of these requirements.

The opening of the congress was attended by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Georgi Yordanov, Stoyan Mikhaylov and Lyubomir Pavlov, head of the BCP Central Committee culture department, members of the State Council, heads of creative associations, institutes and sociopolitical organizations, writers and journalists. The congress was opened by the oldest member of the board of the Union of Bulgarian Artists, People's Painter Academician Dechko Uzunov.

People's Painter Stoyan Sotirov, who chaired the first session, reported that the congress is also being attended by representatives of similar organizations and associations from Algeria, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Hungary, the FRG and Czechoslovakia.

The memories of Lyudmila Zhivkova and the workers in the plastic arts who have passed away since the last congress were honored with a 1-minute silence.

People's Painter Prof Svetlin Rusev presented the accountability report of the administrative council of the SBKh [Union of Bulgarian Artists] for the period from June 1979 to June 1982, entitled "Development of the April Line and the Plastic Arts" (the full text of the speech is published separately).

The work sessions of the congress continued with statements made by delegates, the presentation of greetings sent by creative organizations and institutes and the warm messages of guests from various parts of the world.

In his statement People's Painter Prof Velicho Minekov summed up the scale and pace of construction characterizing the development of contemporary urban building and architecture combined with the plastic arts. This faced the Bulgarian sculptors not only with major but also new ideological and aesthetic problems. Honored Artist Atanas Neykov spoke of the increased social prestige of the Bulgarian artist and the manifestation of his creative aspirations based on the laws of beauty. He called for the need to expand exhibits in the capital and to create repositories for works of art.

Honored Artist Ivan Radev discussed the increasing popularity of the contribution of the artist to the aesthetic values of objects and the environment. Nezabravka Ivanova recalled in her statement manifestations of the moral nature of the profession of the designer and its problems related to the production of material goods.

Atanas Stoykov noted the exceptionally great opportunities of operative criticism in encouraging certain artistic processes. Honored Artist Boycho Grigorev described a number of still unresolved problems of the material and technical base of the Union of Bulgarian Artists--workshops, rest homes and a club-restaurant--and the possibility of resolving them in the near future. Nadezhda Kuteva, chairman of the AMKh summed up her impressions of the creative exigent climate which has developed in the SBKh and the exceptional trust shown in the young creative workers in the area of protecting the best features of their talent.

Honored Artist Ivan Kirkov discussed the urgent need for a printed organ of the SDKh, which would reflect its overall activities in Sofia and throughout the country. He welcomed the sixth juryless exhibition of paintings, which opened recently at the Shipka Gallery and called for formulating regulations which would make it an annual event. He called for improving the selection of candidates for the Academy of Fine Arts and for formulating stricter criteria. Honored Artist Dimitur Armaudov reminded us again in his statement of the increasing need for a new curriculum to be formulated by the Ministry of Public Education in teaching fine arts in secondary schools.

Honored Artist Dimitur Ostoich noted the pleasing fact of the increased popularity of contemporary Bulgarian graphic arts in a number of countries throughout the world and the possibility in publicizing in advance our events abroad. "Over the past 20 years Bulgarian graphic art has been experiencing a true renaissance," said Dimitur Avramov, who cited interesting facts of the past and present in the area of Bulgarian plastic arts.

Greetings to the congress were presented by Bulgarian creative associations, the Komsomol Central Committee and the Committee for Culture. Col Gen Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, greeted the delegates on behalf of the Bulgarian armed forces. Vladimir Goryainov, secretary of the Union of Soviet Artists, presented the warm greetings of their Soviet colleagues.

The Bulgarian artists were also greeted by guests representing similar creative organizations in Algeria, Vietnam, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, the FRG, Romania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

An "appeal for peace to the artists the world over" was issued on behalf of the congress. A letter of greetings to the BCP Central Committee was adopted with lengthy applause.

In his final speech, People's Artist Prof Svetlin Rusev summed up the great results achieved during the past 3 years and pointed out that each specific manifestation of the Bulgarian artists proves them to be not only creative but active individuals whose dedication enhances the ideological and aesthetic value of the entire Bulgarian culture. "Our congress and our balance were the test of our friends in the eyes of the entire Bulgarian people," he added.

The congress concluded with the election of new leading organs.

A new administrative council and control commission were elected.

At its first meeting, the administrative council reelected People's Artist Prof Svetlin Rusev chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Artists. Sekul Krumov and Dimitur Ostoich were elected first deputy chairmen; Kalina Taseva was elected responsible secretary; Khristo Neykov, Nayden Petkov, Velichko Minekov, Dimitur Mekhandzhiyski and Boris Gendov were elected deputy chairmen.

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ARTISTS UNION ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL REPORTS TO CONGRESS

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 2 Jul 82 pp 1, 3-6

[Report submitted by People's Artist Prof Svetlin Rusev: "Development of the April Line and the Plastic Arts"]

[Text] A balance is a test.

A test is a position.

A position is an opportunity.

The Bulgarian artist is tested through his actions.

The position of the Bulgarian artist represents the content and the life of these actions.

The possibility of the Bulgarian artist is the path--the difficult renaissance path which allows him, as he draws the balance, not only to look at what has been created but to look far ahead, to the future in which today's creative truths will become a moral and spiritual light.

To us this balance has a more special meaning, for before becoming a balance of our actions it is a balance of our responsibilities.

Today we are privileged to speak about the history, the past and the future of our union as a part of the historical balance which is contained, on the one hand, in the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the country, the 90th anniversary of the founding of the party and the 25th anniversary of the April plenum and, on the other, the 90th anniversary of the founding of the first society of artists in Bulgaria and the 50th anniversary of the founding of the society of new artists and the union of societies in Bulgaria. However much we try to limit the time covered in our balance to a recent accountability period, we can never avoid the conscious and subconscious balance drawn by the Bulgarian artist, which begins with the spiritual accumulations of national history and ends with the efforts of the first pioneers who realized that even in one of the most individual types of human activity--art--the true spiritual contribution to the nation will not be an isolated project but a result of the joint efforts of all.

It seems to me that it is precisely today, on the basis of what we have already achieved and the requirements of what we must achieve, that we should see our balance not only as a result but mainly in terms of its historical dynamics.

Those who know how to read the language of the past and are able to live with the fate and trials of their fathers and grandfathers will always have a better understanding of what is happening today. Furthermore, they will always be able to see by looking into the future the meaning of our present efforts and trials.

Everything which our nation has achieved, and everything on which its pride is based, everything which the Bulgarian artist has experienced and achieved is particularly precious to us, for it includes a test--a test related to the historical fate of the nation and has a victorious path followed by the great personalities in Bulgaria, a test which is also the strict experience to be used in the future and a biography of the Bulgarian artist.

After each death and defeat life brought us a new birth, again and again...until, distracted and hurried in our daily life, we are stopped for one minute by the rendering sound of the siren on 2 June, to remember how precious is the tranquillity of waking up in the morning with maternal warmth and the fresh scent of warm bread, how numerous are the sad marches covered by the tribe together with those who wail for the heroes, and how much water has flowed in the rivers bearing the color of bloody sunsets until we could reach the freedom of the sunny smile of a child and the privilege of seeing today the accomplishments of artists as part of the dynamics of the nation.

If battles, victories and defeats have represented the dynamics of history in this balance and exploit, the hearts of the artists have participated in the creation of the spiritual life of the nation, registering like a cardiogram not only that which has been and is, but also that which was before the state was born and that which before being achieved has been understood by the heart.

Now, many, many years after the founding of the Bulgarian state, a time of building and destruction, of enemies and friends departing, leaving us behind, shouts and cries have clashed in the wounded soul of Bulgaria, presented by the icon painters not as the canons of the church but as the crucified truth of the people, with the woodcutters expressing the light which was taken away from the soldiers of Samuil as shining suns on the walls of houses in the Renaissance. The flickering flames of the preserved faith started the fires of the rebellious self-awareness.

Every true Bulgarian artist carries within himself these flames which turned nights into bloody days and made the mornings pitch black.

Despite all of this the people endured. They broke the jails and the light spread in the life of the people. The icons came out of the churches and the monasteries and traveled around the world spreading the glory of Bulgaria with the true faith with which they had been endowed by the painters, filled with hope.

Noted specialists, scientists, museum workers and common people throughout the world could see in the sad eyes of a madonna the scorched Bulgarian earth; they could see through the red color the pain and suffering of slavery. Finally, they could relax in the face of this uniquely Bulgarian green color of spring and the rebel flags on which girls had embroidered the rebellious words "Liberty or Death."

Art has the power not only to preserve life forever but also to reawaken life at another time, in different spiritual and social dimensions.

That is why the dignity and beauty of the Boyana Desislava, the girls painted by Maystora and Dechko Uzunov, and the human truth as painted by Beshkov and Nenko Balkanski travel today like a free child throughout Bulgaria, as the contemporaries of all generations.

A truth painted by the believing soul of the artist remains a universal and permanent truth. It cannot die, because there is no death, there is no end and destruction for a Bulgarian song which has been painted with the colors of pain and hope.

Today the very fact that the artist has the opportunity or, to be more specific, has the freedom to become aware of the most beautiful period of these 1,300 Bulgarian years--the April spring of Bulgaria--is a victory not only for today and not only for us but for all those who were defeated in the past, for all those who perished in the pogroms, for all those who were crucified and burned in the name of the truth, for all those who went into the earth without being able to see the end, for all those who fell, who were insulted and hurt by history--the time of today, the time of self-awareness, which is also a time of victory and retribution.

In the same way in which the success of a painting can redeem endless and fruitless days, loneliness and pain in the studio, and in the way in which giving spirituality to a form justifies the endless efforts of going beyond matter, life today is a reward for the hard, difficult, worthy and victorious road which was covered. Along with everyone, today's descendants of the ancient sculptors, builders and icon painters, the Bulgarian socialist artists of all generations seek in the experience of the past the kind of lasting life when, many years into the future, when the people of today and of tomorrow are no longer there, something good, human, beautiful will be written, invented or sung, feeding the hungry, slaking the thirsty, encouraging the hesitant, awakening the sleeping and showing the way to the daring.

When the people of the future will recall the beginning, I trust that, looking at part of a canvas or a bit of marble, granite or bronze, these people will understand the spirit of today. They will see the people who hurry in the morning, the women who caress life with their eyes, the men who turned night into day in order to build palaces for the people, the children who, despite efforts and the education provided by the adults, remain children. Perhaps the feeling of spring of a canvas will retain forever the feeling of the April spring of Socialist Bulgaria which gave life to the future.

It is perhaps at this point, when we discuss our path and our celebrations, that we should think of the difficult and long road covered by the Bulgarian artist, from the dedication of the icon painters to the dignity and importance of the artist today. The purpose will not be to recall the history of Bulgarian plastic culture in general, because we are an inseparable part, an organic entity, of everything which has been and which is today Bulgarian art. This is because the new members to whom this congress is the first, these adolescents recently accepted into the union, will continue the work of those adolescents who painted the unemployed and hungry, who turned canvases into weapons, who burned with the spirit of their time and before reaching the years of creative maturity, attained the time of the lasting and unshakable classical verities.

This is because these same living classics of Bulgarian culture who are today among us as our colleagues are actually the patriarchs of Bulgarian plastic art culture, used as an example in educating not only artists but above all citizens.

This is because the young Bulgarian artists of tomorrow will be the sons and daughters of today, of today's young, who have reached the age of their art.

This is because the best lessons of today are the dedication, labor, and exploit of the artist--of those strange, lonely people with their sunken chests and feverish eyes, who had no canvas or paints, who took away the bread from their children to paint, who reached every single glimmer of light and truth with the wounded soul of human hope.

This is because the lessons of today were paid for with the stiff and exclusive price of suffering. All those who spend their lives with the truth of the artist are aware of this. Those before us who were crucified between faith in principles and the inner voice of trust in man were aware of this. We were aware of it ourselves, as we began, with the help of a trusting hand, which was more precious than anything else and which we must always be worthy of.

This is because the lessons of today have been paid for with the scarce currency of hope--the hope which visited the lonely Zhendov in his final days, when a simple human greeting was an act of courage; a hope which brought to us the art of these dedicated boys and girls to whom we refer today as classics and who never stopped being fighters; the hope that despite everything, sooner or later, light wins over darkness....

The ways which these lessons-examples followed were strange!

Surrounded by us, Maystora shared his thoughts of Nikola Petrov, Murkvichka and Mitov; later, Dechko Uzunov spoke of Petko Klisurov, Bacho Kol'o and Stefan Ivanov. Those who were slightly older than us exposed us to the lessons of Nikolay Raynov and the national features of Ivan Lazarov; in turn, we described to those younger than us the academy as it existed then, when to be a professor meant to be a Beshkov, Dechko Uzunov, Marko Markov or Iliya Petrov, the time of the first youth exhibit, in which it was considered an act of courage to use red paint or to think like an artist.

We discovered the great generation of the 1930's after we had lived with the illusion that we were bringing something new and different. We realized that others before us had advanced even further ahead and knew as well as we did that in addition to everything else art is a position and that before speaking of mental associations or similar things, Kiril Petrov's canvases painted the rural rich as rulers of their villages and the way the peasants cared for their fields; before trying to introduce color as a youthful discovery we realized that Bencho Obreshkov and Vera Nedkova had given colors their harmonious power; before we could begin to seek the synthesis of form, Kiril Tsonev and Ivan Nenov had reached an understanding of its true manifestation and had adopted it as their own truth. Before we were able to distinguish between the stern truth of form and illustrativeness, Shmirgela's airplanes had passed not only the test of time but withstood a real bombardment, while Nenko Balkanski had turned the human warmth of the unemployed into a political stand....

Before we could understand the meaning of a stand, Stoyan Sotirov had already gone through the truth of art and reached truths the price of which was paid in the currency of jails and concentration camps, and Boris Angelushev, like Bruno Fuk, had turned his drawings into real weapons with which he fought Nazism every single day. Furthermore, at each such encounter we discovered new and previously unknown truths in long-familiar painters and works. Every meeting with Nikola Petrov involved us in the rediscovery of light. However familiar and popular Maystora seemed to us, he gave us new and unexpected sensations even through his most familiar works. For some strange reason we were attracted and awed by Iliya Petrov, while Beshkov was leading us into the infinity of the universe and returning us to his fellow countrymen, who had realized that the road to the stars begins here, on earth, between life and death, here, on this sinful earth on which everyone is doomed to seek the path to light through trials.

The reason for which today, as we look to the future, we go back to the accomplishments of yesterday and to the people who experienced the past as citizens and fighters, is mainly because of the need for the kind of spiritual hygiene which we receive from the past and mainly because of the meaning of today's balance we are drawing, for the sake of what we are today, what the artist is today.

However, we could hardly use standard measures, comparisons and examples in order to attain the importance of the artist to himself and to others today.

Nikola Petrov's sister described how a group of his colleagues went to visit the then minister of education to request, actually to beg for a small aid which would save the life of the greatest poet in the field of Bulgarian plastic arts.

Unfortunately, Nikola Petrov died with his eyes open to hope, as many before and after him had done. The accountability data which you received as referential material for our congress, relating the activities of the union during the past 30 years, shows that increased pensions, scholarships to young artists and aid granted would have been sufficient for the upkeep of an entire

painting school of Nikola Petrovs today. I am not engaging in easy comparisons but rather noting the tremendous change which has taken place in the social situation. In a sense, this is also a general change in terms of the possibilities of the social system and its attitude toward the life and work of creative workers.

However, the real change or, rather, the real conquest, is that today the artist is a socially necessary figure in building our culture in the way that construction workers build homes. From the fine arts, in their most elitist manifestation, to the democratic need for spatial shaping and design, and from advisor and friend of society to its representative in the solution of difficult and responsible matters of building a socialist society, the artist is needed and necessary.

Yes, the artist--the Bulgarian artist and the Union of Bulgarian Artists are needed and are necessary not only simply for the development of culture but in general in building developed socialism.

When we consider what has been achieved in the past 1,300 years and what is being achieved through reciprocal cooperation with the okrugs and through the overall participation of the union in social life, we must become clearly aware of the fact that before galleries and exhibition halls and workshops have been built, before the houses of the Union of Bulgarian Artists have been constructed, before these real holidays dedicated to Bulgarian artists throughout the country have been made possible, something far more important has been achieved. An attitude toward spiritual values, toward the gifts of the arts has been developed. This is not a question of the isolated attitude of one or two managers but of the overall position taken by our party and state and their view concerning the need for the life and work of the artists.

It is no accident that the strategy of our spiritual development was formulated on the highest party and state positions. It is no accident that the achievements and weaknesses and the tasks and problems of the Bulgarian artist were discussed from the highest rostrum of the party congress. That is why, as we discuss the present situation of the union, the status of the artist in terms of objective historical truth, we cannot ignore what was said at the 12th party congress, the stipulations contained in the party's documents or anything which represents the line and policy of the leadership of the party and the state in our country. In this case, the Union of Artists has not simply subordinated its activities to this line or to the essential quality of this line. We are part of it. We participate in its development and implementation. It is part of us, of our aspirations and efforts in the same way that the artist is part of his people--a privileged builder who has the right to speak in the language of art and to say important and essential things which apply not to one or two but to many people and, something equally important, to see the future with the power of a penetration which few possess but which is a part of the overall spiritual life of the nation.

In this sense, the balance drawn at the 12th congress is also a balance of the entire past of our union or, more precisely, of the victory of the principals of development thanks to which the party became not only stronger and healthier but morally and politically purer.

In accepting and approving in their totality the party's accountability report, the theses and the resolution of the 12th congress and the speech of the party's general secretary at the 14th Komsomol Congress as documents which contain and reflect the historical path and quality of the contemporary experience of our party, the Bulgarian artists see in the high assessment of the role of artistic culture and the requirement of enhancing the ideological-artistic level of creative manifestations their specific place and responsibility, based not on individual claims, which may sometimes appear tempting as a literary form, but by the April line, as a management for action, as a qualitative measure of civic, social-creative and purely human involvement. Anyone who has followed and is familiar with the development of Bulgarian plastic arts knows (and, it seems to me, we, the artists, should not forget it) that in no case was there ever a discussion of the warm and caressing springtime sun but of life as an effort and struggle, as an opportunity which is offered to us by our method and is guaranteed by the social system, but which must be mastered and deserved by us. Here again it was not a question of springtime pictures but of a dramatic thawing of the ice, a dramatic clash, of matters of historical meaning and significance as a battle and a victory of what is lasting, new and promising.

Our union and Bulgarian plastic arts reached an exceptional development, concentrated and many faceted like a problem, profound like our attitude toward life, which not even the greatest optimists could imagine.

During the past several congresses our union adopted the practice of submitting along with the main report dealing with the union's problems an accountability report which contains the entire range of activities of the union reflected through figures, concretized in terms of time and nature, ranging from the smallest individual exhibits to the major representative manifestations of the union.

Naturally, digital indicators cannot be typical of activities such as our. However, we are discussing the fact that 1,042 exhibits were held and 66,639 works created, and when our participation resulted in 151 international awards, when more than 600 people have participated in the work of the state commission and the union's juries, when 36,743 questions have been considered, when we think of the path which has been covered, represented by these strange mathematical signs expressing our human creative efforts, we may perhaps not only understand their hidden meaning and life as a synthesis of creative pains and joys but as an irreplaceable commensurability of the future, which in many cases acts as a real balance.

We have in front of us the three reports from the last three congresses. Whatever distinguishes them superficially, other than the color, is their size. The size of the report has doubled between the third and the fifth congresses, although at that time as well we reported the expansion and enrichment of our activities and justifiably spoke of an active and strong creative period. Nevertheless, a profound comparison would reveal that the difference is found not only in the size of the report and the figures but mainly in the quality content in terms of creative activities. Quantity has not simply converted into quality but into quality with far deeper spiritual values. Suffice us in

this respect to imagine the development of the problems of general art exhibits or changes in the quality of monument work to realize that it is actually a question not of an artistic sum total but of the spiritual volume of art.

However, one way or another, that which has been achieved is no longer our exclusive experience but the experience of Bulgarian culture, and even if we are not able to advertise it properly as a domestic item, no one can take it away from us for the simple reason that it has become an organic part of our gains and achievements and of the development of the overall April climate. In this case something else is more essential!

I do not know whether artists at any given time or anywhere else have had so many true friends and admirers, in the literal meaning of the word, as in Bulgaria. This is a friendship which was born, created and made possible only in an April atmosphere, in which the builder is also a bridge and an artist, and the artist is a builder and a teacher.

It is somewhat embarrassing to consider ourselves as making a contribution, like those who are responsible every day for the development of an entire nation. However, since there are so many familiar faces of construction workers, managers and common people with whom we are linked, to a greater or lesser extent, through common daily problems and tasks, I am tempted by the noble idea that we are part of them and that they are part of us--of our concerns, our hopes and our emotions.

If there is anything which is unquestionably part of the activities of the union and which, regardless of all possible stipulations will remain part of it, it is the democratization of artistic life in a strong and vivid manner. This is possible only in an atmosphere of reciprocal tolerance, reciprocal need and understanding of the social and spiritual mission of the artist.

A couple of years ago, together with construction workers and managers, we opened in Razgrad a big general art exhibit. The artists' workshops and the union's house were a gift of the public. Not so long ago Khaskovo was experiencing the holiday atmosphere of a similar event and we were discussing with the people of Sliven the future of design exhibits. Together with the Turgovishte leadership we were concerned with the difficulties which the hard winter had caused in terms of completing the new exhibition hall which was awaiting works dedicated to the children, while today, together with them, we are enjoying the results. Together with the people of Plotdiv we organized an exhibit to promote the aesthetic appearance of the urban environment. Together with the people of Gabrovo we organized the exhibit "Man and Labor," which depicted the image of our contemporaries. The Ruse leaders overcame their reluctance and turned into workshops one of the most beautiful buildings in the city, while the people of Smolyan built an entire palace to house our paintings. With its open-air exhibit "White Birches" Ardino has laid the beginning of a painting gallery. Together with the Tolbukhin leadership we recently discussed the reorganization of the party house into a future one-of-a-kind gallery. Together with the people of Yambol we are turning the okrug into a center of the applied arts; with the people Varna we have undertaken preparations for the new graphic bienale; with the Shumen leaders we have

discussed the difficulties existing within the group of artists, while discussions with Pleven have dealt with organizing an open-air gallery of sculptures. We recently signed a contract with the people of Silistra. The union's creative fund has been literally acting as a construction worker in projects born of such reciprocal efforts, and so on, and so forth. This list may not be infinite but covers a tremendous amount of reciprocal activity with all okrugs, and it is only by enumerating the activities which we organized jointly that we can understand that it is a question not merely of a democratization of the process but of something else of equal importance: we have broadened the geographic spread of the union in such a way that today the spiritual territory of the Bulgarian artist covers the entire Bulgarian land, and the Bulgarian people are the owner of this spiritual territory.

We consider this aspect of our activities not only as something needed and necessary in order to gain an overall understanding of and to implement the national program for aesthetic education but mainly as the basic line in the union's strategy in the implementation of the party's call "More Among the People and Closer to Life."

Here again, to the honor of not only the Bulgarian artist but Bulgarian culture, we have traditions which give us grounds to seek the origins of such activities in the apostolic mission of the artists of the Renaissance, the popular spirit of Maystora and the civic stance held by the new artists and the entire progressive generation of the 1930's.

It is no accident that we ascribe such great importance to the anniversary of the New Artists and to their exhibition. Actually, we celebrate through them the entire progressive spirit of the Bulgarian plastic arts and their high political and civic emotion.

The great Bulgarian artists have always been close to that tradition which was the "live water" in the development of Bulgarian culture.

Maystora developed his bright works among nature and the Shishkovtsi peasants. Kiril Petrov developed his strange national world side by side with his fellow peasants, working at the farm. Zlatyu Boyadzhiev created from life in Brezovo a universe of strange and unexpected visions. Vasil Barakov had the same feeling for the land that the portrait painters had in building a human character, while Stoyan Venev and Funev were as though bits of our native chernozem.

That is why the Bulgarian artists did not find it difficult to go to the front with the soldiers of the First Bulgarian army, to be among the first in the first youth projects and brigades, and to be among the first who came out on the streets with their art after the 9 September victory.

We owe a very great deal to the okrugs, perhaps we are more indebted to them than to anyone else as far as the feeling of the artist that he is needed by his people is concerned.

That is why we infinitely cherish the love of these people who gave us what is most precious and valuable to an artist--their trust.

From this rostrum I would like to thank simply on behalf of all the Bulgarian artists the people who together with us toured workshops, set up the paintings, built galleries, calmed down our passions, these "socialist patrons" whom we consider coauthors of our works in the true meaning of the term.

From the okrug managements to the Central Committee, without any stipulations, we have never had such a real understanding of our problems as part of the overall line followed by our party. At the same time, we have never participated in the implementation of this line as specifically as though it were our own concern and destiny.

Let me tell you at this point that as we followed the April line we enjoyed the total support and trust of the general secretary of our party, from the start, from the first days of the April plenum and the first long meetings held by the union of artists, in which we sought our lost faith and to yesterday, to today, to our current efforts as a creative organization and a union.

In the Central Committee accountability report which comrade T. Zhivkov submitted to the 12th congress, we find the thought that "...the socialist creator is the free poet of his time...."

I do not know whether we can truly imagine today in terms of a culture and a creative process such a valuable freedom and the long path and great efforts which were needed to attain it and the historical period in which we live, in which the free will of the creator is a qualitative characteristic, a characteristic of the time in which he lives. In practice, this means that only he who belongs to his own time, who loves and knows it, can be a free poet, only he who builds it before becoming its poet. In other words, more specifically, he who feels responsible before becoming privileged.

The solution of the problem of creative freedom and free will, so frequently proclaimed in the West, but actually so heavily dependent on commercial, political, economic and other circumstances, cannot be our model despite the glossy advertising in which it is packaged. What is the worth of "freedom" of the creative worker in a society when the society itself is not sociopolitically free?

The idea of freedom in the eyes of the Bulgarian artist includes a high and responsible mission which is too great to allow him to have such freedom outside the party's sociopolitical tasks. It is a historical gain above all of the social and political system, before becoming a creative possession of the individual.

We know where and what the artist was in the past and the great heroism which the great authors of the past needed to be able to protect their art, and the sacrifices and unrealized and buried talents which marked their path.

That is why at such a time we cannot fail to ask ourselves where we were, where we are and where we should be.

Yes, where we should be!

We know more or less what is happening around the world, and let us see any one of these so-called highly civilized countries boast that in no more than 3 months and armed only with love could it build a gallery such as those in Turgovishte or Veliko Turnovo, and that without any organization dozens of thousands of viewers may come (like pilgrims) to see our works. Some of our "concerned friends" who worry about the "freedom of the creative worker" and his "independence" from the socialist system should see the tears of emotion in the eyes of the painters as they heard the excited words of thanks of leaders and common people....

Let some Western art dealers or, more accurately, dealers in painters, see at least once the way the sponsors of galleries hasten to purchase the best exhibits and the way the gallery owners jealously follow them, taking off price lables and replacing them with labels marked "sold" to their own galleries, to realize that there is hardly another country in which the artist is so autonomous and independent and needed as here.

We realize what this means and that it is precisely this freedom that represents our independence!

Yes, the Bulgarian artist is dependent! He is dependent above all on the pain and suffering, the joy and victories of his people. We have accepted this dependence as our historical privilege and are unwilling to trade it on the "free" art market.

Some may find this ideological-topic attachment of the Bulgarian artist hard to explain. Others cannot imagine how, with such a "dependence," the artist has been able to preserve his strength, sincerity and uniqueness.

To the Bulgarian artist this is the natural path crossed by all the greatest names, a path along which today's young have produced their most powerful works.

Yes, the Bulgarian artist is dependent on the love and recognition of the people who brought flowers to our works. This dependence gives him the pride and dignity of his work.

Yes, we are dependent on these people who now are no longer with us--the supporters of the partisans, the old, the women, the children whom we see in yellowed photographs and in the memories and the pain of their relatives and friends....Yes, we are dependent and there is hardly a stronger and more ennobling freedom than this dependence, than the knowledge of and love for the thorny road covered by our national history.

Actually, in addition to everything else which it gave to our art in terms of artistic problems, the democratization of our activities became a true school of patriotic upbringing, naturally without lectures and reports, strong, for it benefited from the lessons of life and struggle.

The Bulgarian Artists Union has gained a unique experience in this area, an experience which is still waiting to be studied. But whatever we may say

Regarding contemporary topics, whatever we may write, the artist carries within himself the real contemporary period as part of his own emotions. Regardless of whether he paints a hero of socialist labor or a landscape, the contemporary topic is above all a matter of attitude and only then of subject and plastic preference.

We also realize that a general art exhibit can contribute a great deal to our culture and that it can turn from a major creative fact into ordinary information regarding major and fateful events and personalities, depending on the path followed by the creator--the search for a generalizing and lasting artistic meaning of a given event and personality, a description of the actions of the characters or a duplication of photographs and other documents which are far more expressive in their original form.

Luckily, the Bulgarian artists lived with the exploit of the Chavdar partisans, the 9 September victory, the sorrow of the women in mourning, with everything which the guerrilla movement in Bulgaria represented, with the rest between battles, the young people who died like heroes, the helpers, who combined the wisdom of age with the youth of the spirit, with the rich opportunities of socialist times, with the name and cost of the hero of Leipzig, with everything which turns the life of the artist into his life stance.

The Bulgarian artists sought in the life of the living, in the traces left by time, in the characters who were once young people, some of them almost children, the lasting truths of the human character, which are found not only today, not only as an expression or condition of a person, but as a quality of human spirituality. More precisely, our aspiration was to reach as artists and as socialist authors the truths which converted the life and destinies of the people into legends and ballads, into a symbol and measure of purity and dedication.

The wealth and variety of contemporary Bulgarian plastic arts is a fact to which we seem to have become accustomed by inertia, the way one becomes accustomed to ordinary daily things, whereas in fact it is a question of things which represent the great yardstick of art. Were we to apply this criterion to our exhibits, we would see that they bring to us not only a large number of different works but also earmark new directions and that each new direction contains new opportunities.

Perhaps the charge, the high emotional and patriotic charge of such exhibits is indicative of the true origins of the creative variety and wealth--a variety which, before turning into a wealth of professional-creative styles, is a wealth of human experience, of the exploits, difficulties and victories of man. In this sense as well a civic and political truth as seen with the heart of the artists becomes a truth of art--a universal truth. Such is our understanding of contemporary topics as a way, a stance and a realization.

However, this truth had its own specific and unique historical dimensions as represented by what our union achieved on the occasion of the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary. At this point we are discussing features which make

our people a nation--achievements and results which are the pride of the contemporary possibilities of developed socialism. It is not merely a question of powerful architectural and sculptural ensembles, the great decorative-monumental works, the spatial museums or the exhibits on the occasion of the anniversary, but the high and previously unknown level of spiritual flames which supported the creative workers during their most difficult and severe trials. This was not merely a case of the National Palace of Culture, Buzludzha Peak, Ilchov Bair in Shumen, Tolbukhin, Kotel or Pernik; as a rule, everywhere, from the studio to the construction site, wherever high accomplishments were pursued, the Bulgarian artists and our union faced severe tests of the overall spiritual, moral-aesthetic and material possibilities of the Union of Bulgarian Artists.

It would be no exaggeration to say that we ourselves were suprised at our own endurance and at the incredible results considering the pitiful material and technical facilities of the union.

If we are looking today for the Bulgarian artist, we find him everywhere, from that peak which marked the founding of the party, where tempests and thunder met, reminding us of the beginning and the difficult road to victory, from the firmly embedded sword of the first Bulgarian ruler, which neither the years of suffering nor violence or pogroms were able to shake loose, from the inspired spiraling flight from the past through the present and the future, to the numerous general, group and individual exhibits, to the daily participation of the artist in the building of developed socialism; from the trademark to the published book, from stage-setting to design, from the operative participation of the young critics to the profound and mature study of our art--in everything and everywhere wherever the light of a spiritual presence was required, the practice and theory of our union staked its own territory.

The dimensions of a real balance, should it become necessary, do not obey the criteria used to determine fixed values. How can we measure the energy with which hundreds of artists participated in the creation of the National Palace of Culture? What yardstick can we apply to the sleepless nights which created the lasting light of the great creative results and, something equally important, how can we determine the pure Renaissance thrusts of the Bulgarian artist?!

Once created, a monument, a painting, a tapestry and even a book such as "The History of Bulgaria," live the life of the nation and become part of it, part of us, of everything which, following strange roads, takes over the spirituality of the people.

In celebrating the 1,300th anniversary, we lived with the history of the nation, we experienced its own experience and its upsurge and fall, its difficulties and its victories.

The Union of Artists made an exceptional contribution to the proper celebration of the anniversary but gained even more in terms of creative and national self-confidence. The experience we acquired offers a base for value assessments which are necessary in terms of our long-range development.

Today we still lack the historical distance which would enable us to encompass entirely and in its dynamics the accomplishments of the Bulgarian plastic arts. On the one hand, true spiritual values are not created once and for all but increase on a lasting and steady basis, for time works in favor of their assertion and enhancement as the spiritual gain of the nation. On the other, the 1,300th anniversary extends and, in terms of the Bulgarian artist, in many respects marks merely the beginning, both specifically and symbolically. Many works are yet to be completed, and the ideas which the completed ones bring with themselves acquire new feelings and thoughts which, in practical terms, means new truths related to dynamics and development.

But whatever stipulation we may formulate, that which the Bulgarian artist has created as part of our contemporary culture is so great and unique not only as a monument to the possibilities of the nation but mainly as an achievement of contemporary spiritual culture, that even considered on the basis of quantity alone it would be difficult to comprehend. And if conclusions are necessary, perhaps one of the basic ones would be that the 1,300th anniversary has mobilized, along with the possibilities of the nation, those of the union and its creative stock, turning from an anniversary of the state to a responsibility and task of every true artist.

The 1,300th anniversary is an occasion for drawing a most important conclusion regarding the speed of development, the tremendous leap which was made by our culture during the period of its April development and, in a certain sense, to assess the true results of a historically unique Bulgarian creative climate, which liberated the creative workers spiritually and naturally raised them to the level of high civic and social responsibilities.

In this sense, the evaluation of what was created by our plastic arts on this occasion also necessarily become an assessment of the tremendous possibilities offered by the development of the April line.

Whatever preparations we made for the anniversary and however hard we worked to celebrate it properly, Bulgarian culture would have been unable to reach the level of freedom, strength, width and depth of manifestation without the spiritual rebirth given to us by the April atmosphere. Furthermore, it would have been unable to reach the roots of our national traditions so deeply and creatively.

Unquestionably, the accomplishments of the artists during that period opened new opportunities and new paths to national and individual self-awareness and, in the final account, opened new doors to the infinite and unreachable human spirituality.

It is perhaps in this sense that one of the most important results in terms of our contemporary development is this door which was opened to us toward the future as a result of the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary.

At the same time, we must not only realistically assess our achievements but also determine their extent and the power with which they reach everyone.

The large number of artistic facts which were "triggered" one way or another by the anniversary celebration needs a comprehensive and profound analysis.

Whereas some facts must be considered with a historical perspective, others have already become part of the way of life of our contemporaries. Whereas some facts need a spiritual age and maturity before they can be accepted, others influence all of us spontaneously. The adoption of a single approach in our practical work would not only equalize manifestations of different levels of importance but would essentially bring about a neglect or rejection of the historical accomplishments of our culture.

Within a relatively short time a large percentage of our people became exposed to many accomplishments of contemporary plastic arts in all their manifestations. However, we should not nurture the illusion that the path to the high achievements of the 1,300th anniversary stops the moment we glance at or acquire an initial information on an event.

In one way or another, time works in favor of the great truths achieved by Bulgarian culture. This is not a question of underestimating the possibility of the people to perceive but of the fact that each new work imposes its own viewpoint and asserts its unique principle of influence. This is an unquestionable mandatory law which applies to any real and original creative work.

Along with everything which we have achieved, we should openly consider some essential weaknesses of our participation in the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary.

First among them were the overloading of the creative cadres, the lack of time during which to reach mature decisions and, therefore, the insufficiently convincing completion of some projects, which brought about conflicting interpretations and explanations. In this respect, the conclusions must be uncompromising if we are seriously concerned with the future of Bulgarian culture.

Secondly, in a number of cases the exceptionally weak and coarse and substandard technical execution lowered the overall ideological-aesthetic impact. Despite the true heroism of our creative stock, in practical terms not everything depended on it and on the authors.

Thirdly, the insufficient clarification of the ideological assignments which were issued in advance greatly delayed and complicated the completion of the works in several cases.

It is obvious that the synthesis must be full and integral so that there would be no discrepancy between what comes out on paper and what is actually accomplished.

Finally, we ourselves, as authors, as commissions or as councils, should base our reviews both on our own self-exigency and in terms of the formulation of stricter and loftier criteria less affected by our personal interests.

In terms of the overall activities of the Union of Bulgarian Artists and particularly in its work on the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary, the State

Commission carried out an exceptionally responsible and serious activity, which involved some of the most prestigeous and powerful representatives of the union.

The commission members were called upon to display a great deal of moral, aesthetic and civic firmness in order to depict the achievements of our culture, surrounded by a huge sea of problems and tasks.

As one of the most active and meaningful manifestations of the socio-governmental principle, the State Commission can boast of a rich past, which enables us to assess its activities in some aspects as a contribution to the development of our culture.

However, some manifestations of the State Commission revealed major weaknesses which may prove to have severe consequences for the authors within our union and the prestige of Bulgarian artists.

Regardless of the time span it covers, the measure of any balance is its content of creative and human accomplishments or, more precisely, it is they that are the true yardstick of time: actions are the only criteria on the basis of which we determine whether a balance is positive or negative. In this sense again, not because we want it or because we must include it in a report, but because the facts, the content of accomplishments of all the units in the union in recent years, give us grounds to march ahead. This means that we have a base, that we have conquered new creative territories.

On the other hand, a movement has a meaning when it goes forward and upward, when it has a clearly realized objective and direction. The implementation of the decisions of the 12th party congress and, particularly, the new tasks which it formulated in the spiritual area in terms of the social effectiveness of culture and the conditions governing its development and the raising of its ideological and artistic standards, the application of the class-party criterion and the new economic approach in accordance with the specifics of culture, and the further establishment of culture as one of the basic factors in the development of the integral and complete member of the socialist society, along with the decisions and conclusions of the Third Congress of Culture and the Fourth Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Artists, all of this, as an objective and a direction, have largely determined the development and will continue to determine to an even greater extent our requirements concerning past and future achievements....

Bearing in mind the intensive socioeconomic and political development of the country, that which was considered to be very good yesterday is only good today and will be insufficient tomorrow. This applies even more to art than to the other areas. Nowhere else is stagnation or inertia more sinister and dangerous in terms of development than in the spiritual area, for here it is a question of the dynamics and development of man--of the most delicate features of his spirituality--which develop, preserve and protect the human features in man.

When we look at this aspect of our activities, it seems to me that we should begin with the simplest facts--the dedication, energy, stress and creative enthusiasm with which we work, regardless of whether we engage in ordinary daily activities or "lofty" creative representations. If every one of us could "report" to himself on the number of hours which he worked yesterday or today, the effort and stress he invested, the extent of his emotional experience, whether or not the holding of an ordinary job has not replaced the unusual emotion which accompanies the creation of durable accomplishments and whether or not a lost working day or hour has not turned into lost months or years affecting the speed of our development, such a report might not turn out to be to our liking. Obviously, it is a question of the power and quality of the spiritual energy which we invest in our work, from socioadministrative management to most artistic creative activities.

If we are to progress, before discussing the major problems and tasks, we should begin with that which we can tear off as a living part of our own body in order to feed our spiritual creative thrust.

This is a question of quality, not only the quality of execution, not only high-level professionalism, which are mandatory for anyone engaged in our craft, but of the quality of perception, sensitivity, spiritual nobility, inner purity and light within the creative worker, which is necessary in creative accomplishments as the supreme qualitative measure of development.

Trite though it may sound, the plastic arts demand the complete giving of oneself. This is possible only to those who have something to give from themselves, such as a unique human spirituality, regardless of the formal plastic style, regardless of whether or not it applies to a delicate feeling for nature in a landscape, the manifestation of as yet unmastered talent or the total classical plasticity of Vaska Emanuilova and Mara Georgieva.

We do not underestimate everything else which is being done in terms of the organization and management of union activities, the more so since we have spent a great deal of time in pursuit of similar illusions. Whatever the case, this entire complex mechanism is in motion, leading to the creation of a complete socially and spiritually self-aware individual through the influence of art.

The processes of our development are of such a nature and characteristic as to give us grounds for conclusions, on the one hand, and in general the possibilities of the social system and, on the other, on the development of the basic characteristics of the principles of party-mindedness in the plastic arts.

Today it is not possible to measure developments in terms of the concept of party-mindedness in general and to apply systems which have been rejected by life in order to promote the live principles on which class-party criteria are based. We cannot search for a random approach to the explanation or interpretation of one phenomenon or another without being familiar with its nature and specifics. We cannot adopt the approach to a work of literature in our search and interpretation of the silent synthetic language of a plastic work

of art or seek in the captivating still lives of Boris Ivanov the political sharpness of Zhendov's drawings.

Furthermore, we must take into consideration in the various types of plastic arts, in the different genres and even in the individual authors within a specific genre and in the way they are perceived and impart their meaning the specific characteristics of a plastic style and the uniqueness of an artistic creation. Any preliminary restriction will lead our culture away from spiritual life and deprive it of the strong and unique authors and accomplishments.

We must clearly realize that the future of our homeland, Comrade Zhivkov stated at the 12th congress, depends on the multiplication of the individual qualities in man and on his continuing self-advancement as a citizen, worker and creator.

Such "self-advancement" is more mandatory than anything else in the case of the creators of spiritual values.

Art is a substance inseparable from the spirituality of the author. Its true manifestation is the inner beauty and morality which the author brings to the public. Unless we follow this path we would eliminate and reject entire sectors which are not graphic (such as applied art and design) as well as authors whose themes are not part of our understanding of the social functions of art.

A theme, a subject may inspire and stimulate a creative workers as easily as ideological involvement may be discredited by an artist who has remained alien to its moral content. This applies to history, the revolutionary past and the revolutionary struggles as well as the requirements of our socialist age.

It seems to me that the time has come to assess the social substance of achievements not only on the basis of what they depict and how they depict it but on the basis of the difficult and unreachable but true content of art which turns it into a weapon of high moral value. In practical terms, this does mean to separate the inner spirituality from its external formal manifestation but to seek their legitimate organic integrity as a spiritual manifestation of human life.

For a long time we have been paying dues to one prejudice or another, whether formally plastic or ideologically topical. If at any given moment or in resolving any given problem we ascribe a certain position and significance to a direct suggestion and to social thinking, we would obviously be deeply shaken not by those who shout loudly and clearly but by those who say important and essential things, even though expressed through no more than a hint.

The plastic arts have their structural laws and unique inner logic and unless we saturate this inner structure with profound and pure thoughts and emotions from the positions of a class affiliation, it would be hardly possible for their external manifestation in terms of form and topic to yield something beyond a beautiful facade, regardless of the colors--domestic or imported--which we have used to decorate it.

In the opposite case, if we were to transfer our domestic interrelationships, passions and prejudices and past and present encrustations to a work of art, we would threaten to put into it destructive forces which are equal to the power and strength of the artist's talent.

It was no accident, to the best of my recollection, that Beshkov had said that a caricature is not drawn with hatred but with love and pain....

It is self-evident that activities such as ours can be fully materialized spiritually through the maximal presence of society in the course of which, using its entire power and force of influence, it reaches and shakes up a larger number of people.

This can be achieved when all the efforts of creative workers, managers and the entire public are focused on the preservation and development of the creative climate as a dialogue between reciprocal feelings.

Those who have not worked in the field of spiritual culture may be the only ones unaware of how frail some accomplishments may be, what great efforts and sacrifices and sleepless nights they require, and how easy it is to lose the unreachable trust which gives wings to the creative worker, which stimulates development, which creates a mutuality between the creator and the people and which, in the final account, creates the spiritual truths of our time.

An author develops when he is aware of what he has achieved and what he has not. Such an awareness is a self-assessment which nothing can replace--even the best criticism and the greatest concern and attention. At this point we face the basic problem of individual creative responsibility, individual creative risk and daring which enables us to attain the real self-confidence which is the result as much of character and talent as it is of the atmosphere and the climate, which are able to withstand any creative surprise, ranging from great success to natural difficulties and failures in the creative process.

The Bulgarian plastic arts are sufficiently powerful and strong not to fear and consideration or discussion of the natural weaknesses of the process. This is the nature of its strength, self-confidence and future.

In our activities successes and results have marched side by side with weaknesses and shortcomings. The more we advance the more mandatorily necessary it becomes to see what we have failed to achieve.

On the one hand, we suffer from serious weaknesses in the overall mastery of possibilities and the ideological-aesthetic evaluation of the entire creative process; on the other, we suffer from the inertia of increasingly swimming with the current, without giving, without investing sufficiently from ourselves or, more precisely, using to an increasing extent the advantages of the climate not in order to ennoble it but in order to promote our own "embellishment." More specifically stated, we do not always maintain a balance among the obligations based on what we have achieved--a balance between privileges and responsibilities. In the third place, something should have been put first, our durable and basic contribution to development is that which create as artists--

its unique ideological-aesthetic quality, power and suggestion. Faced with a white sheet of paper, a canvas, clay or stone, every single one of us becomes a general and a private. Every single one of us is a manager and performer. Whereas with greater or lesser justification responsibility for the general weaknesses in our work may be blamed on individuals, when it is a question of what comes out of our own "personal creative enterprise of the spirit"--everything which has been discussed in a number of party documents issued in recent years and in the statements of Comrade T. Zhivkov, our party's general secretary, ranging from irresponsibility, indifference, carelessness, lack of self-criticism and moral deformation--to verbiage, phrasemongering, dulled ideological and aesthetic exigency and loss of historical perspective--all of this, whether we like it or not, once it has taken place causes open or hidden harm to what we do, ranging from basic mandatory features such as the quality of form to the fine spiritual energies which define the nature of the content.

A technological system can be amended. One missing commodity or another may be produced. Its quality may be improved or developed. However, that which every single one of us does, that which determines the life span of a painting, if I or if my colleague or any colleague is not worthy of it, there would be no mercy or sparing, regardless of whether or not he is a leader in the union or a rank and file member. If not today, tomorrow or somewhat later, the price will have to be paid. But the saddest thing is that the results no longer affect us alone but anyone who is seeking a way and support through the life of the arts.

On the other hand, concern for separating the "wheat from the chaff," excluding the major sieve of our general artistic exhibitions, seems to consist in most cases of providing most general information, which is not always accurate and which sometimes deals with specific events which promote not only our union but our culture in general. I am not specifically referring merely to the role of the critics but to our overall no less responsible participation in the process and above all in the management of the union. However, it is not a disinformation on the complexity and the scale of processes which is sad and dangerous but the fact that we accept, we become indignant and we wait for someone else to begin to put things in order. I have the feeling that sometimes we become a very irresponsible audience while our criteria, efforts and accomplishments are being mistreated. And whereas the older and middle generations find it more difficult to believe in what has been "written and said," I am not entirely convinced that the younger generations have become properly oriented. I do not know what the price of ignoring facts is and what price our art pays for subjective arbitratiness in the evaluations, regardless of whether they are concealed behind ideological firmess and infallibility or snobbish aristocracy or else it assumes most innocent forms, when the subject becomes generally unclear. It was no accident that at the 14th Komsomol Congress Comrade T. Zhivkov again said that "there is no censorship in our country," but that "the party is performing its leading role in directing the artistic and creative process mainly through the leading cadres--party and non-party members--in the creative unions themselves."

Naturally, time interferes and corrects matters. However, that which the climate and the atmosphere bring with themselves and contain, that which they

can give in terms of incentive and hope, that which is possible today, no longer comes tomorrow, and that which we consider an achievement today may not be returned to our culture, even under better conditions. We have paid rather stiff dues and given many spiritual casualties to the past to enjoy the luxury of passing up such opportunities today as contemporary "production."

Some of the most serious problems and weaknesses of the Union of Bulgarian Artists are the results of the achievements themselves and to a great extent are also the causes of unresolved problems.

What do we mean by this?

First. A substantial percentage of union members, mainly those whose possibilities are lesser, continue to consider the unification of the organization not only on the basis of a broad, creative and principle-minded basis but rather on the basis of a subjective qualitative equalization and simplistic understanding of the democratic principle as a "creative equality," manifested in all subsequent possible social creative moral and material degrees of incentive.

However, such trends become particularly twisted in a suitable environment and circumstances allowing their manifestation. In this sense, a large percentage of the efforts and activities of the leadership are used not on creating opportunities for the most talented members but for preserving the conditions and possibilities of the climate.

Second. The broadening of artistic life in the directions of new, different and as yet largely unmastered creative forms has greatly hindered the organization of overall activities as a process, a set of problems and a means of evaluation.

In many respects the organizational-administrative structure was unable to master the scope and complexity of manifestations on the one hand. On the other, that which is being done and which has been accomplished has not been able to find through its entire ideological and aesthetic complexity a suitable place, role and significance in order to turn development into a contribution and an example.

Eventually, all of this could lead to a loss of permanent criteria and guidelines and to the depreciation of some major features at the expense of secondary peripheral phenomena and to a shifting of values, both current and historical.

As though it were the "national rule," usually added to all of this is the inability to complete projects and, therefore, to make full use of the opportunities they offer for ideological-aesthetic suggestions.

Frequently a big exhibit comes and goes in terms of a spiritual accomplishment almost in terms of inauguration, purchases and closing ceremonies. Yet exhibits such as "Land of Botev" and "Kyustendil Spring," or perhaps even a combination of both, could hardly be considered such a spiritual realization.

Third. The growth of the Union of Bulgarian Artists, which has assumed a permanent and needed position in the spiritual life of Socialist Bulgaria, together with the prestige earned by the Bulgarian artist, converted the union within a very short time from a creative organization into a powerful association which participates in the solution of important and responsible governmental and state problems, as a result of which the artist was given not only greater responsibilities but greater social privileges, which were an overall test not only of the creative but the civic and moral qualities and merits of the artist. Here again we are still faced with the need to prove matters ranging from our ideological and aesthetic criteria to civic behavior and responsibility.

Fourth. The new tasks and activities created by life, related to the overall aesthetic development of the way of life, problems of spatial development, design and synthesis required a new type of organizational-creative and administrative structures which were able to develop complex interrelationships within an integral and complete activity, ranging from the creative idea to its materialization in life. Experience proves that most of what the union has achieved has taken a great deal of strength and energy needed to surmount inertia, which ended unsuccessfully in most cases.

Fifth. The great opportunities offered by the social and governmental system and everything which was achieved in the area of cultural management and in creating opportunities for creative activities faced the creative worker with important governmental responsibilities and no less important creative problems regarding the state. In this respect we are as yet to undertake not simply a reciprocal "reeducation" but a development of a maximally functional creative system of interrelationships between the two principles, which will guarantee an even longer life and greater successes of the system itself.

We can draw on a great example in this area.

Anyone more or less familiar with cultural processes knows the extent to which the development of the sociostate principle was the overall April climate and the extent of the personal creative contribution, dedication and efforts of Lyudmila Zhivkova. Her involvement and participation in the management of our culture was short in time but strong in terms of development, self-discipline and mainly realized ideas of cooperation among people. We would be wrong to enumerate these features, for it is not a question of the things which she ideologically inspired, thus making them part of the experience of the Bulgarian nation and culture, but because each one of these broad programs and implementations brought with it a large number of both visible and intangible changes and suggestions which were both the causes and consequences of a development the basis and final objective of which was man himself, his self-knowledge and self-advancement.

With her death Bulgarian culture lost one of those enthusiastically inspired builders to whom building represented essentially action, motion and development.

However, in terms of a loss, perhaps the loss suffered by the Union of Bulgarian Artists was particularly painful and substantial. Lyudmila Zhivkova not only loved the plastic arts but lived with their hidden meaning and life as a manifestation and realization of spiritual self-advancement.

We shall always miss the assertive presence of this viewer and friend, who moved through the exhibition halls, stopped in front of one or another work, touched plastic forms and paintings as though they were treasures, and marched on, together with the artists, along this difficult and unknown road.

Problems of spiritual development have always been complex and difficult. However, if we add to them the development and realization of the young, the complexity and difficulty are compounded, while the risks and surprises become natural. In this respect youth shows the least tolerance for tranquillity and the warmth of comfort and inertia.

No one knows better than the artist that a painting and an author are not created verbally. However, that which a frank conversation can create cannot always be changed by practical work, such as the pain and happiness which temper the character, which trigger doubts or strengthen the faith and, in the final account, which are the companions of lonely birth pains in the studio. An author who can engage in a frank conversation with himself can always hope to find open roads for his development. Conversely, any arrogant critical scorn of the work or of an author not only blocks opportunities for a dialogue but eliminates practical opportunities for development.

In this sense I do not know what is more important to the young today--a discussion on the merits and shortcomings of their works or thoughts on the path and efforts, on the price of the creative freedom in which the young author can paint or build his creative house without side considerations or fear of the sermonizing of the self-proclaimed guardians of ideological and aesthetic purity who shake their finger as the wind blows merely for the sake of being in step with "the time." Unfortunately and fortunately, time in art has nothing in common with the meteorological changes of one set of circumstances or another. This was confirmed by creative practice, which strengthened the lasting spiritual truths and refuted everything which pretended to be socially significant but which actually possessed nothing of what was needed in social development.

A realistic view of relations and possibilities within our Bulgarian culture shows that the latest youth exhibit and mainly the overall participation of young people in artistic life is an indication that Bulgarian culture has gained yet another union of artists which can resolve the major problems of its time independently and responsibly. This determines our requirements and responsibilities, which are to protect development and dynamics in such exhibits not only for the sake of the individual author but above all for the sake of our culture. Culture is nothing without concern and without the help which every talented creative worker must receive.

The youth exhibit was strong because of its intimate warmth and refined plastic style and artistic and reciprocal tolerance among authors (which can only benefit our art). I would like to see this tolerance in the exhibit become the quality of the authors themselves, however substantial internal efforts and sacrifices this may cost them.

Whether we discuss or do not discuss a given phenomenon, time will establish the validity of one principle or another and the authors will have the opportunity to prove and defend themselves or else to fail. However, I think that what the young author needs we could provide as of now--faith, trust and real trials, trials demanded by a strong talent, trials created by the stricter social requirements, trials related to the great civic and creative responsibility and reciprocity and trust in the friend, the colleague, the supporter, trials of tolerance and above readiness for the trials which are brought by praise, recognition or rejection.

Everyone has the right to his preferences, opinions and requirements. However, that which the young Bulgarian artists need--I would say what the future of our art needs--is the historical and creative memory of the development of Bulgarian culture. On the one hand, this is the natural continuity of a social and creative path, the lessons of which were paid for in the past with the exceptionally high price of our overall development and, on the other, the reinterpretation of this path as the personal and collective civic and creative responsibility for the present and the future.

Today the young face not an environment which rejects them or a jury which does not accept them but a jury which thinks about every one of them with a feeling of concern and responsibility. They do not face the rejection experienced by the past generations. Today the young are backed by the entire sociopolitical system with all possible incentives and help in their development. The only thing which the young must struggle against is mainly themselves, their own weaknesses and shortcomings. I do not know which is more difficult--a barrier which faces us or a barrier carried within oneself, within one's own self-exactingness as a criterion and a requirement.

It seems to me that the second task demands and requires something much greater and more difficult to achieve--self-advancement through the discovery and mastery of individual possibilities not through rejection but through creativity and human self-intensification. It is a question of the fact that the young have introduced a great deal of intimate feelings, warmth and mainly a very logical attitude which ranges from the simplicity of a synthetic plastic idea to journalistic frankness, from complex ties of action in terms of space and time to the direct expression of emotion and execution. In simpler terms, the young enriched our art with new authors, and every author brings his own unique truths and new directions to be followed by Bulgarian art. Here again, any mention of a specific line is essentially a rejection of another, and these lines, in their entirely, offer us the real picture of the processes under way.

Nevertheless, those who well remember our development and who struggled, suffered and fought for the free dialogue we have today know how fragile some things can be in the life of the artist and how much concern, trust and force are needed to preserve a creative tolerance and an atmosphere in which demand, criticism and aspiration to achieve greater results become part of the quality of the climate itself. It seems to me that we have reasons to make use of the quality of this atmosphere and to face the young people with a number of definite requirements, ranging from a more convincing view of the plastic structure to its uniquely personal defense or, in other words, in many cases we must

surmount the adoption of an approximation which affects the overall approach and implementation. On the other hand, without depriving them of their internal harmony, it seems to me that a more open and comprehensive view of the rich opportunities offered by the study of life in its true reality can enrich the individual emotions of the young artist and, hence, intangibly individualize even further the artist's plastic style. We could enumerate a great variety of justifiable requirements concerning the lack of refined information, nonexperienced influences in sculpture, graphics, paintings, tapestries, and so on, and so forth. However, this is not what we are discussing. What we are discussing is the difficult path which the young author must cross from the exhibition gallery to the workshop, where the learned lessons he receives from older and younger critics and colleagues will be part of the both tangible and intangible atmosphere which, more than anything else, creates art.

It seems that it was only yesterday, although it was more than 20 years ago, when we walked around the gallery on 1 Gurko in a state of worried anticipation familiar only to those who have ever waited for the decision of a jury. We toured the hall with apprehension as we awaited the decision of the jury judging the first youth exhibit.

We listened to rumors and collected most conflicting information as to whose paintings had been accepted, who was told what, who defended whom, etc.

The members of the jury became more likeable, more intelligent and more talented according to the extent to which they had liked our own works; conversely, they became regressives, malicious, incompetent, and so on, if their thoughts did not coincide with ours.

Many things changed in the overall climate of Bulgarian culture between the first and the most recent youth exhibit.

Our party's April line asserted itself in spiritual life as well as an organic requirement for its development and the type of changes which even the most enthusiastic pioneers could hardly expect took place in the life of the Union of Bulgarian Artists.

Fortunately, at that time we had the faith and trust of those who had taken us to the path of art at the expense of their own suffering. If I may say so, to us, to our generation, this faith with which Stoyan Sotirov, the then chairman of the union, together with his colleagues in the management, with whom he toured the country at that time in search of the future of our art, to us this faith was as precious as the April breath which renovated our entire life.

All of us remember those people, tired from the road and from heated battles and sessions, as they raised the spirit and faith in the future of socialist artistic truths.

The students of Dechko Uzunov, Marko Markov, Funev, Iliya Petrov and Beshkov remember their strange pedagogy which consisted mostly of an anticipation of faith in our youth, whereas on our part there was an almost mystical veneration of what they could do and what they knew.

I recall these things not because they are precious memories but because today, taking into consideration the activities and the problems of the young, actually we find ourselves in the position which was held by our teachers and the people who gave us a hand. That, perhaps, is what make natural the question of whether we are ready to assume this responsibility.

Not so long ago, before the opening of the last youth exhibit, we had the opportunity to view another exhibit, most of which consisted of works created by young people under the difficult circumstances of a reality in which there were no youth exhibits, commissions, congresses and conferences for the young, but trials and firing squads. This was a new exhibit not because of the name of the society but mainly because of the topics treated, new not only at that time but forever.

The exhibit faced us with several inevitable questions.

Why is it that not by inertia but on the basis of facts we keep returning to the lasting truths of a tradition--to values, authors and works which are unshakable in terms of their national spirituality. Actually, we go back to another youth--literally in terms of chronology and symbolic in terms of the example of its art--a youth which lived under conditions which were not simply difficult but hard, a reality which was not sympathetic but cruel. Is the time coincidence with an exceptionally talented generation accidental or are there other reasons which we must consider in a slightly more sober and open manner?

It is not elsewhere or differently but precisely now, when it is clear that the discussion about the young is taking place not for its own sake but for the sake of the future of our spirituality, not at another time but now, it seems to me, that the dialogue with the young must be conducted above all in terms of a strict and merciless monologue with ourselves.

The dialogue in this hall becomes meaningful if it is conducted not in general in terms of age but in terms of youth, in terms of its strength and creative capacity which are developed and achieved only through vitality.

All good recommendations, assessments and statements which we abundantly issue to the youth in terms of their role and place--what they should be, what they should do, and so on and so forth--should perhaps be addressed first of all to ourselves.

The future of the Bulgarian plastic arts lies in the works of the young. We must be grateful for their participation in the artistic process not only because of their high quality but because they proved that the distance covered from the first youth exhibit, with all its trials, peaks and falls, to the present was worth of the efforts of all of those who lived sincerely and purely (which means who suffered) with the life of the Bulgarian socialist culture.

The latest youth exhibit is both a trial and an opportunity for all. I would like to think that whatever storms and winds may blow through the Bulgarian plastic arts, the future will bring us a great victory in this joyous awakening-- the art of the young.

The strength and vitality of a position are determined in terms of its durability in time and the depth and greatness of the ideas it carries. Or, more accurately, it is precisely they which determine its development and significance in time.

In this sense, both the triennial exhibit of realistic paintings and the competition among young painters as well as the great international exhibit on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth and the biannual exhibit in Gabrovo, the international symposium in Burgas and the open-air exhibits have asserted themselves not simply as a firm tradition but as a necessary international territory in which human meaningfulness and lasting artistic problems found their "promised land."

Regardless of how these manifestations will be evaluated, on the one hand, in all cases they have contained the major and profound basic problems facing the planet; on the other, these problems were artistically represented in a new way in a national characteristic and the individual uniqueness of works and authors who consider the possibilities of realism not only in terms of stylistic characteristics but mainly in terms of the worthiness of a position and the quality of the language with which people communicate.

During the time in which the struggle for the salvation of mankind is more topical than ever before, the spiritual content of such activities is, in a certain sense, as much artistic as it is civic in terms of a position, a path, a salvation for the bright and pure aspirations which have accompanied mankind during all historical tempests, in its steady progress forward and upward.

The triannual exhibit of realistic paintings is living and developing with the great and high human aspirations which raised the red flag on 9 May not only as a symbol of the victory over fascism but as the salvation of everything which was most beautiful and which makes human the people on this planet.

It was on the basis of this position, which was a road to mankind, that the Bulgarian plastic arts circumvened the planet, asserting the principles of our socialist humanism.

Never before have we had such rich and varied international activities and so many international distinctions (151). Without speculating on the number of distinctions, the very fact that Bulgarian artists and works have not been ignored is indicative of the level of our participation. If we are to discuss it realistically, this entire international activity broadened the geography of Bulgarian culture and proved that small Bulgaria is creating an art of which any highly civilized country can be proud, an art which is sought the way the thirsty await the salutory breath of air.

For reasons which I find strange, our press is not in the habit of publishing references regarding our artistic manifestations abroad. It is also as though we ourselves consider in a slightly philosophical way the transitory side of positive references and praise. In this case, however, what is important to us is not the individual award or individual positive reference but the overall prestige and authority of our art. We see its power most clearly when Bulgarian representatives participate in major and influential international events.

Regardless of the principles on the basis of which we participated in the tri-annual exhibition (in the past our section was represented by a large number of authors compared with this year), our representation has always been very strong. Furthermore, it was not in the least a matter of indifference to us when the entire international jury unquestionably singled out the Bulgarian section as being among the strongest. Not others but we had to decline some suggestions made by the jury of presenting a greater number of awards to Bulgarian works.

Today the works of Bulgarian artists represent our native culture throughout the world, ranging from Latin America to the Scandinavian countries, from India and Africa to Western Europe, and from the land of the soviet to all socialist countries. Had we been slightly better organized in gathering information on our participation, it would have been as thick as several volumes of "War and Peace" over the past 3 years alone.

They speak in faraway Canada of a level of universal significance reached by our art. I quote: "The creative worker in Bulgaria enjoys great prestige and actively participates in the country's political, economic and social life;" "the creative worker in a Western society plays virtually no role other than his own."

In India: "Superb collection--high-level imagination."

In Peru: "This exhibit is a lesson in technique, precision and the qualities of sensitivity...."

In Belgium: "We think of the art of socialist realism in terms of cliches."

Last year, I personally was able to hear steadily in the course of a Bulgarian exhibit held in Italy and France the words which later Dario Micacci used as a title in his article in UNITA in describing the exhibit: "Bulgarian Paintings--A Discovery."

One of our young colleagues from Munich, enthusiastically returning to his homeland from the open-air exhibit in Turgovishta, wrote a long article which ended as follows: "This is an invitation which in all likelihood the Union of Artists in the FRG would be unable to reciprocate."

Nevertheless, some references regarding our art are understandably particularly precious to us. On the occasion of our exhibit during the days of Bulgarian culture, SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA wrote under the title "National Fate:" "To us all of this is understandable, very understandable, for the fate of the people, the people's characters as depicted by the Bulgarian artists are also our own fates and characters."

It would be hard to define more accurately a historical reciprocity which is indicative of the best features of the relationship between the Union of Bulgarian Artists and the Union of Soviet Artists.

However, regardless of how extensive and rich our international activities are, their basic feature is cooperation with the Union of Artists in the Soviet Union and the unions of artists in the fraternal socialist countries.

Today, when there is hardly a spiritual area such as the plastic arts which, for the sake of its independence, has been so thoroughly destroyed and deprived of meaning, everything--from the imitation of the art to the absurdity of a real destruction--was tried, described and advertised in accordance with the financial possibilities of the "business." In this apocalypse of destruction, the fraternal shoulder of our colleagues has supported us and given us faith during those truly difficult days for every creative worker, when he is faced with the beginning or the end of a new work, when he is full of doubt and seeks support in the light of his hope; it is not a matter of indifference to us that elsewhere, in a fraternal country, our friends and colleagues are seeking their way in those lasting and hard-to-attain verities with which the people's destinies live as a salvation not only of art but of everything that is bright and beautiful which has helped mankind to withstand the trials of time.

Comrades:

Eventually there comes an end to every congress. Every one of us will take with himself everything which this encounter has given him in terms of thoughts and emotions.

However solemn a balance may be, and however true and great the reasons are to turn it into a holiday for anyone who knows how many efforts and hopes, and how much high-quality human energy, have turned into illusions, and how deeply one has to dig in order to reach the small creative truth of hope, and to everyone who knows the price of this acquisition at a time when the trumpeters are proclaiming victory, we should perhaps recall mainly the troops--the hard days and nights turned into day, the bright windows in the emptiness of the darkness, the morning of wakening which has blended the artist's night and day and the scandalized neighbors. Perhaps we should recall the many works, canvases and drawings which were created and destroyed, restarted and rejected once again, bloody from the effort and the pain, again and again showing this unreachable striving toward the peak which can never be reached, and the defeat which, together with the pain, has also brought the truth of man's light.

This difficult trip which brings with itself a great deal of transforming light to the people and far more suffering to those who aspire to reach the peak, this day represents perhaps more than a balance for those who create the art but also for those who live with it as though at home, for those who, together with us, together with you, together with the efforts of the entire union, seek a way to the lasting truths of life.

Regardless of what we discuss today or tomorrow, works and creative accomplishments are the features which speak for us and for this mutuality which goes through the heart of the creative, through a social manifestation which reaches the soul of the people as a movement and a development and which in the final account gives back to the artist his creative wounds and joys interpreted through art as the life and meaning of the people's destiny.

Having filled the universe with our silence, facing one another as a model and an artist, as an audience and a work, as a builder and a poet, we are closer to each other, always together in the trials of the spirit, in the space of the mind which has given us form and color; furthermore, we are also together in the gray daily life, in punishments and rewards meted out by destiny like a road leading to the festivals of the spirit, festivals in which day and night separate darkness from light, seeking the meaning of that fine strip of dawn which carries with itself the hopes and trials of the new day, the fine strip of light which, actually, may be precisely what this balance is....

But a balance which brings light can already be considered a victory....

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GDR RELATIONS WITH CAPITALIST EUROPE EXPLORED

Budapest KULPOLITIKA in Hungarian No 3, 1982 pp 3-12

[Article by Tamas Kocsis, editor in chief of NEUESTE NACHRICTEN - DAILY NEWS: "The German Democratic Republic and Capitalist Europe"]

[Text] Over and above the findings and agreements concerning bilateral relations, the meeting that took place between the leaders of the two German states during West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's visit to the GDR is a very important element of the East-West dialogue also internationally and is "convincing proof of the great force of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems."[1] The communique issued after the meeting also emphasized that ". . . there is no sensible alternative to peaceful and equal cooperation among states. This cooperation must be based on the objectives and principles contained in the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Document." To this the GDR adds that, in accordance with all this, relations between the two German states must be the relations that are customary in the practice of international law between two sovereign, independent and equal states. Besides the immediate interests of the citizens of the GDR and FRG, these relations must also serve peace and all-European detente.

The GDR standpoint that evaluates the Honecker-Schmidt meeting makes clear the position that relations between the two German states occupy in the political conditions in Europe, and in the foreign-policy activity of the GDR as well. Similarly as other documents issued earlier, this standpoint expresses the fact that the GDR bases its foreign-policy activity in relation to the other German state on the same principles as in relation to all other capitalist countries. And, in a wider sense, the GDR leadership clearly stated also on this occasion that the GDR regards (in principle as well as in practice) the fostering of relations with capitalist countries as necessary for its interests, and as the only feasible road under the present international conditions. It follows from the geographic and political conditions of the GDR that this applies with special emphasis to relations with the capitalist countries of Europe.

At the 10th SED Congress held on 11-16 April 1981, on Secretary General Erich Honecker's proposal, the Central Committee summed up the party's most important foreign policy objectives in four points (which the congress adopted as its resolution).[2] These four points are as follows:

1. Purposeful development of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, on the basis of the concluded friendship agreements. A policy of strengthening and increasing the international appeal of socialism, by better exploiting and utilizing its advantages.

2. Consistent activity to secure peace, curb the arms race, defend and expand political detente, strengthening and making it irreversible through measures that promote military detente and disarmament.

3. Active anti-imperialist solidarity with the peoples struggling for national and social liberation. Development of multilateral cooperation with the peoples of Africa and Latin America. Support of the struggle for a new international economic order based on the principle of equality.

4. Consistent efforts to develop relations with capitalist countries based on peaceful coexistence. The strengthening of these relations in order to intensify cooperation in the interests of peace and mutual advantages, and to frustrate the aggressive circles' policy of confrontation.

The last item in this set of tasks generalizes, from both the political and economic viewpoint, the GDR's foreign policy toward the developed capitalist world. The report submitted to the 10th SED Congress emphasizes that the GDR ". . . will continue to implement the Helsinki Final Document as a whole, in all its principal aspects, as a program for strengthening detente," and is confident that this will meet with favorable response on the part of the European capitalist countries which, by their signatures in Helsinki, likewise accepted the mutual obligations and partnership based on equality. The SED standpoint also emphasizes that the GDR ". . . supports every effort to develop relations with all NATO countries that are ready to do likewise" on the basis of equality and equal security, without violating the interests of third countries (for example, of the Warsaw Pact countries).

The GDR's interest in cooperation, based on equality, with the countries of the capitalist world has been obvious since the very formation of the first worker-peasant German state. In Berlin, development of relations with capitalist countries on the basis of the existing realities, including relations with the FRG and other European countries, has always been regarded as an ideological and political axiom of the GDR's international relations.

In 1979, at a scientific conference commemorating the 30th anniversary of the state's foundation, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer explained: in its foreign-policy activity the GDR has always started out from the fact that ". . . the realization of peaceful coexistence is one of the laws that determine the content of socialism's foreign policy . . . Peaceful coexistence is peaceful cooperation among states, with due regard for their lawful interests, and an active commitment to peace."[3]

Peaceful cooperation has always and necessarily comprised many elements. In principle it includes strict observation of sovereign equality, noninterference in domestic affairs, and the assertion of mutual advantages; in practice it means the application of a wide range of contacts between states, of the instruments of cooperation, ranging from trade through scientific and technical relations, to culture, sports and personal contacts between individuals.

The GDR derives the development of its Western European relations basically from the socialist nature of the German state and--inseparably from this--from a special sense of responsibility for European peace, necessary and emphatic on German territory. This directly expresses the national interests of the GDR and helps to create more favorable external conditions for the internal construction of socialism.

The GDR economy's raw material requirements (similar in many respects to those of the Hungarian economy), its dependence on the international division of labor, and its traditional openness (the cenutries-old tradition of the Leipzig Fair is a good example of this) have made it natural that the GDR belongs among those countries (and, for objective reasons, belonged among them already in 1949) whose ties with the world market are far above the average. And although this link to the world market developed--for obvious political and economic-policy reasons, and partially as a result of the extreme discriminatory measures employed against the GDR--primarily in the direction of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the GDR has always sought ways to cooperate with the capitalist world as well.

A clear indication of this is the fact that about 30 percent of the GDR's industrial production was channeled to foreign trade already in 1975 (since then this proportion has been increasing), and during the past decade the growth rate of foreign trade was significantly higher than the growth rates of national income and of the volume of industrial production. In 1950, at a national income of 22.4 billion marks, the GDR's foreign trade totaled 3.7 billion foreign-exchange marks; in 1980, however, already 120.1 billion marks of 173.9-billion national income was realized in export and import[4]. Within this the share of capitalist countries (including the FRG) was not quite 1.0 billion marks in 1950, but nearly 33 billion marks in 1980. The socialist countries' share was about 80 billion foreign-exchange marks (including 75.2 billion for the CEMA countries and 42.6 billion for the Soviet Union); and the share of developing countries was 7.3 billion. The statistics for 1981 show a further 10-percent rise in the total turnover of foreign trade, emphasizing that export to industrialized capitalist countries (including the European capitalist countries) again shows "a significant increase." The report pointed out that last year there was a significant expansion of trade relations specifically with many Western European countries: France, Austria, Sweden and the FRG[5]. Incidentally, other contacts with these countries (meetings with Austria and the FRG at the highest level, and with France at the foreign ministers level) also indicate, among other things, a further expansion of relations.

The more than 30-year history of the GDR proves that the development of the first German worker-peasant state's relations with capitalist Europe has always reflected accurately the comprehensive balance of power between the socialist and the capitalist world systems, and the general situation in Europe. On the other hand, the development of the GDR and its active international behavior--thus its European foreign policy and its narrower capitalist European foreign policy--have themselves become a factor of the balance-of-power system in Europe. Accordingly, the political, economic and other relations of the GDR with the European capitalist countries developed commensurately with how the ruling circles of these countries (primarily of West Germany) have gradually been forced to recognize the existence of the socialist German state and even to cooperate with it, in their own best interest. At the same time the "GDR factor"--within the socialist system of alliance--has itself become a fermentative force, equally in the political, economic, moral and psychological sense. By fostering and strengthening its present relations, the GDR acts as an element that reinforces European cooperation, even in an international situation such that one of its main tendencies is the exact opposite. The steps taken by the United States government to increase international tension could create an extremely tense situation that directly jeopardizes peace, specifically in the Central European area that includes also the GDR.

Scientific research (at the GDR's Foreign Affairs Institute in Potsdam-Babelsberg) distinguishes five stages in the development of relations between the GDR and capitalist Europe: total rejection of the GDR's existence (1949-1955); cracks in the practical application of the principle of the FRG's status of "sole representative" (1955-1961); preparations for the general recognition of the GDR (1961-1970); the GDR's general recognition, development of the system of diplomatic relations (1971-1975); contractual intensification of the system of multilateral relations and cooperation between the GDR and the capitalist countries, based on the principle of peaceful coexistence (from 1975 on)[6].

General recognition of the GDR is one of the most spectacular manifestations of the favorable changes in the international balance of power. Following the contracts and agreements that the GDR concluded with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries (including the establishment of diplomatic relations between Hungary and West Germany); the American, British, French and Soviet four-power agreement on West Berlin (signed on 3 September 1971) which, according to the assessment of the signatories and affected parties, is functioning well even today; and the basic agreement, signed on 21 December 1972, that regulates relations between the GDR and FRG in accordances with the rules of international law--international recognition of the GDR swiftly became general, a clear indication of how artificial were the obstacles raised previously to the GDR's recognition.

Among the countries of Western Europe, Switzerland, Sweden, Austria and (as the first of the NATO countries) Belgium established diplomatic relations with the GDR immediately after the signing of the basic agreement, already in the last days of 1972. Within a short time diplomatic relations were established with, among others, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Finland, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Italy, Great Britain, France, Greece and Turkey. At the end of 1973, the GDR was maintaining diplomatic relations already with 103 countries. Because of the reactionary judgment of the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe that torpedoed the content of the basic agreement, the "permanent mission" status of the GDR diplomatic mission in Bonn and Berlin has been retained to this day; their conversion into embassies is, in the opinion of the GDR leadership, one of the important and solvable political tasks of the 1980's. The archconservative Karlsruhe judgment--it questions the international law nature of the relationship between the two German states, reduces to the level of a "demarcation line" the border between them, maintains the legal fiction of the 1937 "German Reich" and does not recognize separate GDR citizenship--still burdens relations not only between the GDR and FRG, but also between the GDR and many other NATO countries. In 1974, the United States also opened its embassy in Berlin. (The United States and its partners still regard as valid the "four-power status of Berlin." As a fine distinction, the sign on the American diplomatic mission in Berlin reads "United States Embassy to the German Democratic Republic" and not "in the German Democratic Republic," thereby indicating that the embassy's government still regards Berlin as a city of "special status" and thus not an integral part of the GDR. Several other NATO countries of Western Europe are following suit.)

Shortly after establishing diplomatic relations with Italy, France, Finland, Iceland and Austria, the German Democratic Republic concluded also long-term economic cooperation agreements with them. This, too, is related to the fact that in the GDR's balance of trade for 1975 the turnover of commodity trade with the industrialized capitalist countries--mostly European ones--rose to 19.3 billion foreign-exchange marks.[7] By 1975, also military attaches were exchanged with Austria, Belgium, Finland, Italy, Sweden, Cyprus and Switzerland.

Many economic, scientific-technical, cultural, sports, etc. agreements were concluded with the capitalist countries of Western Europe during these years. In 1973, the GDR not only became the 133d member nation of the United Nations, but it also joined the world organization's European regional organizations and institutions. The socialist German state's international situation thus underwent also a qualitative change, and also its role as a stabilizing factor in enhancing European cooperation increased.

A sign of the changing times is that the legal status of the GDR could no longer be questioned during the preparations for the European Conference on Security and Cooperation and at the final conference in Helsinki (although at the time of the 1972-1973 consultations there were some Western, mostly FRG, attempts to prevent the GDR's full-fledged participation). On 1 August 1975, Erich Honecker signed the Helsinki Document in behalf of the GDR, as an equal partner of the 34 other heads of state or heads of government, which not even the West could deny.

In the 1980's the GDR wishes to further expand both its political and economic relations with capitalist countries, in accord with the GDR's comprehensive foreign policy objectives, primarily the strengthening of peace and, inseparably with the former objective, the strengthening of the existing alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. The GDR's relations with the West affect the entire international atmosphere, as the present tense world situation clearly demonstrates. Thus neither the GDR nor the European capitalist countries--mostly member nations of NATO and of the Common Market--can divorce themselves from world politics and its European aspects. In other words, there neither is nor can be any automatism in the development of relations between the GDR and the European capitalist countries in the coming years; and it is likewise certain that the intentions and steps to develop relations will not have equal weight in every one of the capitals involved.

A program of the GDR's political-ideological strategy for building an advanced socialist society was formulated already in 1976, by the 9th SED Congress. (The 10th SED Congress reaffirmed this program that covers all areas, including also foreign policy.)

The GDR's foreign policy toward the capitalist countries of Europe in the second half of the 1970's was determined by an effort to use the political dialogue, the negotiations as well as the agreements, for the purpose of curbing and reversing the trend of confrontation in Europe, and for promoting the socialist countries' peace initiatives (various proposals of the Warsaw Pact, repeated Soviet initiatives, etc.). In its relations with the FRG, the GDR placed special emphasis on acceptance of a principle that is of vital importance to peace on the continent and to world peace; i.e., that war should never again start from German soil, from the territory of either German state.

Since the signing of the Helsinki Final Document, the GDR has concluded about 200 treaties and agreements with other European countries. In its foreign policy the GDR attributes great importance to regular informative and constructive dialogues with these countries.

Oskar Fischer has formulated this policy as follows: ". . . political dialogue between countries is of great importance for developing relations based on peaceful

coexistence. Likewise a regular exchange of political views at the higher and highest levels is not merely one aspect of peaceful relations between states; in the present international situation, it is also an important means of creating mutual trust."[8]

It can be regarded as a political success that the GDR in its relations with the ca-capitalist countries of Europe has been able to hold regular meetings between heads of government and, with increasing frequency, heads of state, and also at the foreign ministers' level.

In the area of economic and scientific-technical relations with the European capitalist countries, there has lately been greater emphasis than in the past on freeing such relations from various old or new forms of discrimination and restrictions that the West introduced as instruments of political and economic pressure, and which often are in conflict with international law. The GDR makes no secret of a fact which, in specific instances, it is willing to express even at the cost of certain economic sacrifices: in all of its international relations the GDR pursues a policy based on complete equality, noninterference, state sovereignty and inviolable integrity.

Some noteworthy elements are reflected in the development of the balance of trade between the GDR and the countries of Western Europe in recent years.[9]

DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, the journal of the GDR Institute of Foreign Affairs, has formulated also as a policy objective the further expansion of economic relations with capitalist countries, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence: "The intergovernmental or joint commissions that are functioning on the basis of the long-term economic, industrial and technical cooperation agreements, and of the trade agreements concluded with the 12 countries of Western Europe, are beneficial to both parties," writes the journal, pointing out that, in the opinion of the GDR, ". . . the possibilities for developing economic cooperation provided by the Helsinki Final Document are far from exhausted."[10]

In developing such relations, the GDR is striving for long-term agreements whenever possible-- i.e., for agreements that offer long-term guaranties for both parties, are concluded or guaranteed by the states, and are based on most-favored-nation treatment; besides billing and payment in Western convertible currencies, also clearing, compensation deals and licensing arrangements should be employed whenever this is in accord with the partners' interests; joint ventures, which are playing an ever greater role in modern foreign trade, should be employed, occasionally even on third markets.

For political, economic, geographic and historical reasons, the GDR is interested in fostering and expanding relations with the capitalist countries of Europe. Consequently, in 1977 the European capitalist countries accounted for 92 percent of the GDR's trade with capitalist countries. (While the turnover has increased, this share has been showing a moderate decline, due to the faster growth of relations between the GDR and Japan, for example.)

In relations between the GDR and FRG in the 1980's, despite West German opposition, the German Democratic Republic intends to further reinforce the practice of applying the rules of international law increasingly, unambiguously and to every area

(separate foreign countries, citizenship, state borders, raising the permanent diplomatic missions to embassy status, etc.). The development of bilateral relations in this manner is closely linked to strengthening European peace. The GDR expressed in this spirit its willingness to expand and intensify cooperation with the FRG, at the Honecker-Schmidt talks on 11-13 December 1981. In Berlin it is regarded as an important foreign-policy result that the joint communique on the talks states: "Relations between the two German states cannot further burden East-West relations."[11] The specific work program adopted for the coming years (efforts to settle border disputes, environmental protection, scientific-technical cooperation, transportation problems, cultural relations, the activity of journalists, and the continuation of political consultations on bilateral and international problems) could serve to utilize more broadly, despite the unquestionably existing differences of opinion, the possibilities inherent in the basic agreement concluded in 1972. There are realistic possibilities that relations between the two German states in the coming years will be characterized not by partial disputes, which incidentally are unavoidable, but by the fruits of a constructive willingness to cooperate.

In commodity trade between the GDR and FRG, the GDR's principal export items are brown-coal briquet, paraffin, various machine tools, electrical and electronic equipment, radios, cameras, household articles, synthetic materials, furniture, books, ready-made clothing, toys, etc.; the FRG's principal export items are coal, machine tools, other machinery, chemicals and light-industry goods.[12] In the Honecker-Schmidt talks, both sides confirmed the further expansion of economic, scientific and technical cooperation in the broadest sense, including modern forms of relations. This is reflected also in the GDR's medium-range plan for 1981-1985 and its 1982 national economic plan.

Economic and trade relations, as well as political relations, between the GDR and West Berlin are affected by the FRG's continuing claim to attempt to govern the city--contrary to the clear provisions of the four-power agreement--and occasionally to try to interfere from there in the life and internal affairs of the GDR. In spite of this, the GDR is willing to foster its existing relations with West Berlin, which will permit real good neighborly relations and will not lead to tensions over a city that lies in the heart of Europe and of the GDR, in practice still has the status of an occupied city and is very sensitive from the viewpoint of the international environment. Complete implementation of the many agreements that more or less function well (mutual deliveries, transport opportunities, visits, etc.) is still being hampered frequently by events and actions that disrupt the normal situation. (In all political matters, the Senate still tries to always contact the GDR through Bonn or the three Western powers.) On the basis of the favorable balance for the 1970's, however, there is at least hope that West Berlin will not become again a troublespot of Europe in the 1980's, a "front city."

Relations between the GDR and France are now regarded as "relations of special significance."[13] Relations between the two countries are characterized by regular meetings on a high (although not yet the highest) level. The scope of relations regulated by agreements include not only economic, scientific and technical relations but also consular relations, for example. In 1975, France joined the ranks of the GDR's trade partners whose turnover is at least 1.0 billion foreign-exchange marks, and the rapid growth rate of the turnover makes the two countries increasingly important markets for each other. The GDR-French cultural agreement, for

example, provides also for the mutual establishment of cultural institutes. On this basis, France probably will be the first capitalist country to operate a cultural institution in Berlin, and the first NATO country in whose capital a GDR cultural institute will open.

Since Kreisky's official visit to the GDR in 1978 and Honecker's trip to Austria in 1980, relations between the GDR and Austria in the political, economic and other areas are among the ones (similarly as Hungarian-Austrian relations) that are frequently cited as good examples of peaceful coexistence. Austria has adopted a positive standpoint even on recognizing separate GDR citizenship, to which the FRG still objects. (See the consular treaty of 24 March 1975.) The turnover of commodity trade between the two countries amounted to only 247 million foreign-exchange marks in 1970, exceeded 1.1 billion marks in 1979, approximated 2.0 billion in 1980 and is continuing to grow at a rapid rate.

Despite the fluctuations in the elements of political relations, economic relations between the GDR and the United Kingdom remain consistently on a relatively high level (in political respects this area is evidently very sensitive).

The GDR's relations with Italy are gradually developing in many areas. The two countries concluded a 10-year economic, industrial and technical cooperation agreement already in 1973, and in 1978 it was supplemented by another intergovernmental agreement. Agreements have been concluded also on the problems of transport, welfare, health care and animal health. The channels of political consultations are functioning more or less regularly, and cultural relations are becoming more and more extensive. Commodity trade between Italy and the GDR surpassed the one-million mark level in 1979 and has been rising ever since.

Since its formation, the GDR has always devoted above-average attention to relations with the Scandinavian countries. Both Honecker and Stoph visited Finland, and President Kekkonen was the first European capitalist statesman to visit the GDR (in 1977). Finland was the first country with which the GDR concluded an agreement on mutual assistance in customs matters (in 1975). The scope of other government-level agreements includes transportation, consular matters, the economy, science and technology, culture, sports, public education, radio and television, etc. For the 1980's, the greatest reserves are seen in trade; in the opinion of both goveernments, the 1980 turnover of 639 million marks is far below the real potential.

This is proved indirectly also by the fact that the GDR-Swedish trade turnover, which is growing at a rapid rate even now and has already exceeded the 2.5-billion-mark level, is several times greater. The ministerial (including repeated foreign-minister) and parliamentary meetings, and the various agreements concluded since 1973 offer a good basis for the development of relations between the two countries in the 1980's, something that both countries not only desire but plan on doing. Relations with Denmark, Norway and Iceland likewise are developing, although not at the fastest rates.

Among the other European capitalist countries, the Benelux countries are politically significant and economically important partners of the GDR. Among the NATO countries, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg were the first ones to establish diplomatic relations with the GDR. Political consultations with all three countries are regular, including repeated meetings at the foreign ministers' level. In 1974,

10-year economic, industrial and technical cooperation agreements were concluded with the three countries, and since then these agreements have been expanded repeatedly. The Netherlands is a "billionaire" trading partner of the GDR since 1974; and Belgium-Luxembourg, since 1979.

In relations between the GDR and Switzerland the political elements, consisting mostly of consultations (the foreign ministers have met several times since 1977), are likewise significant, but the main content of the relations is economic, and their stability is based on the long-term trade and economic agreement concluded in 1975. The value of the trade turnover (together with Lichtenstein) exceeded 1.0 billion marks already in 1973, and in 1980 it was over 2.5 billions. With Cyprus, political cooperation is more significant than the economic relations between the two countries.

The GDR's relations with Portugal, Spain, Greece and Turkey are developingmoderately.

Honecker, the GDR's chief of state, has listed among the most important foreign-policy tasks of the 1980's that "we are developing in the spirit of peace our relations with countries belonging to the capitalist half of the world."[14] And this is also the political program for the future development of relations between the GDR and the capitalist countries of Europe.

FOOTNOTES

1. AUSSENPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ, No 51, 1981.

2. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 12 April 1982.

3. DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 1, 1980.

4. "Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR" [Statistical Yearbook of the GDR], 1981.

5. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 16-17 January 1982.

6. "Aussenpolitik der DDR" [The Foreign Policy of the GDR], Berlin, 1979.

7. "Handbuch der DDR" [Handbook of the GDR], Lepizig, 1979.

8. DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 1, 1980.

9. In 1970, the GDR had a trade turnover of 4.05 billion foreign-exchange marks with the FRG and West Berlin, which was more than the combined trade turnover with all the other capitalist countries. In 1975, the combined trade turnover of seven other Western European countries--in decreasing order: the Netherlands, France, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Belgium and Austria--with the GDR equaled the GDR's 6.4746 billion turnover with the FRG and West Berlin. In 1979, however, the combined turnover of the GDR with six European capitalist countries--in decreasing order: England, France, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Italy and Austria--was more than the GDR's 8.7087 billion foreign-exchange mark turnover with the FRG and West Berlin. The pattern in 1980 developed as follows: The GRD's turnover was 7.3 billion marks with the FRG and 2.8 billion with West Berlin, or a total of 10.1 billion marks. This was now

exceeded by the combined turnover with five other European capitalist countries --in decreasing order these now were: Switzerland with Lichtenstein, France, Austria, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. (In addition, the GDR's export-import turnover with Belgium, including Luxembourg, and with Sweden and Italy was more than 1.0 billion foreign-exchange marks.)

10. DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 11, 1980.

11. AUSSENPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ, No 5, 1981.

12. "Statistisches Jahbuch der DDR," 1981.

13. "Aussenpolitik der DDR," Berlin, 1979.

14. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 31 December 1981.

1014
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'BROAD POLITICAL ALLIANCE' WITH 'BOURGEOIS PACIFISTS' ADVOCATED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 30 No 4, Apr 82 (signed to press 10 Feb 82) pp 492-498

['Remarks and Reports' feature article by Prof Dr Erich Hocke, Friedrich Engels Military Academy, Dresden: "Philosophic Problems of the Struggle Against Imperialist War Ideology"]

[Text] This was the subject of the science conference the Marxist-Leninist philosophy department of the Friedrich Engels Military Academy held in Dresden on 15 October 1981, having invited representatives of all philosophic institutes in the GDR. The object of the science conference was to put up for discussion some specific problems that have to do with an important aspect of our peace strategy, with the ideological issue over the question of human survival--the issue of war or peace.

Once again the 10th SED Congress, as previously also the 26th CPSU Congress, had placed the struggle for peace, detente and disarmament, and against the imperialist course of escalated confrontation, intensified war preparations and a stronger trend toward military force, aggression and counterrevolution, in the center of political strategy and ideological confrontation. So the ideological dispute on the causes of war and of the arms race, and on the conditions for peace and disarmament, has become a central topic in Marxist-Leninist philosophy, which understands itself as an intellectual weapon of the workers class and all working people struggling for their fundamental vital interests. Proceeding from there, the conference also adopted the recommendations from the April 1980 conference of the Scientific Council for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy to strengthen philosophic work on the problems of war and peace and create a forum for the exchange of ideas for all those philosophers who are dealing with these matters at the various institutions in our republic.

In opening the conference, H. Syrbe paid tribute to the practical and theoretical importance of the problems up for discussion and welcomed all attendants, who came from 21 civilian and military institutions.

In discussing the detailed theses presented (E. Hocke, G. Kiessling, W. Scheler), the point was made, on the basis of a situation assessment, that the bourgeoisie, due to its process through history, had developed two opposite basic ideological

positions on war and peace, one pacifist and the other militarist. "Toward the end of the rising phase of the bourgeoisie, in the prevailing ideology the fundamental change took place from humanistic ideas about war and peace to militaristic thinking." In describing the developmental phases of militaristic ideology (war ideology), it is pointed out that to the extent that the bourgeoisie has to react to socialism's practice and ideology of peace the contrasts in the basic ideological positions of the bourgeoisie on war and peace also deepen and a pacifistic countercurrent gains a new content of strength and influence.

When looked at both trends with discrimination, it becomes clear there are numerous transitions and gradations between them, "as these opposite lines not only exclude but also penetrate each other and appear in certain types of combinations." In the turn, engendered by socialism, from the Cold War to detente, the spiritual battle of the pacifist against the militarist line has no doubt played a certain role. Today that dispute not insignificantly affects the struggle for forcing back the imperialist confrontation course and preventing thermonuclear world war. By "imperialist war ideology" the authors mean that "part of the political ideology of the bourgeoisie that forms the preparation and conducting of imperialist predatory wars and wars of conquest, directly based on the ideological-theoretical foundation of imperialist militarism, the antiprogressive use of military violence and of reactionary, unjust imperialist peace. The imperialist war ideology reflects the class interests of the most aggressive forces of the monopoly bourgeoisie and, in particular, articulates the economic and political interests of the military-industrial complex." So the imperialist war ideology is not identical with the totality of the contemporary bourgeois ideas about war and peace.

These theses define the dialectical connection between war policy and war ideology in imperialism; in connection with it, a point is made of the not so rarely found personal identity between leading strategy theoreticians and war ideologists. The chief function of the war ideology today is "to justify the anticommunist crusade against peace and progress and lead it ideologically, and mentally to prepare the greatest crime against humanity--worldwide nuclear war." The war ideology has the task to pervade all public life in the imperialist states with militarist ideas. It is a tool for the ideological suppression of the peace struggle by the workers class and all working people and for activating them in the interest of an aggressive and repressive use of military force. Aggressive circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie by means of the war ideology also oppose those bourgeois ideologists who, obeying the precept of reason, are coming out for peace and against war, for detente and against confrontation.

These theses stress the close connection between imperialist war ideology and the political ideology of contemporary conservatism, but they also point out certain differences. All ideological guidelines of the contemporary imperialist war ideology are marked by an extreme hostility to progress showing up in militant anticommunism and anti-Sovietism propagated with boundless and open and extreme aggressiveness. Typical of the war ideology here is the "postulate of a community," established especially by anticommunist, but also by nationalistic and racist, opposition and distinguished, as being of higher value, from the denigrated enemy (communism, social and national liberation movement, peace movement); the "proclamation of a mission," which is meant to generate a militant anticommunist missionary zeal that includes a pledge to war and violence as decisive means;

"its clearly pronounced activism," which is given an irrational basis; the "elitist elevation of the military" and its "extreme eclecticism" with respect to the whole spectrum of reactionary ideas. For its ideological substantiation the imperialist war ideology prefers subjective-idealistic-theoretical and methodological principles derived today especially from pragmatism and irrationalism.

The theses provide an extensive account of the contents in which the basic anticommunist attitude of the imperialist war ideology crystallizes. The cult of military force and war is its predominant feature. The ideological justifications and manifestations of that essential feature change, depending on the waning strength of imperialism. The modifications in the cult of violence and war range from the glorification of war as the "eternal form of higher human existence" (O. Spengler) to the justification, dressed up through defense demagoguery, of the use of military force against socialism and any sort of social progress. Today the idolatry of violence is expressed mainly in the demands not to let oneself be paralyzed "by the fear of war" (St. T. Possony) and to replace "passive deterrence theory" by "militarily undergirding an active policy" (F. O. Mischke), and in the denigration of detente as a "strategy of cowardice" (G.-K. Kaltenbrunner).

As to peace, its essential characteristic in the imperialist war ideology is the devaluation of peace compared with war as a second-rate phenomenon, the stuffing of the peace concept with reactionary content, and the demagogical use of the peace concept. Peace is understood as an outcome of war and as means for new wars or--while imperialist military power is being praised as a tool for pressure and blackmail--as a condition based on the force of arms and overwhelming military superiority. Reactionary, undemocratic, unjust peace, especially enforced imperialist peace, is being affirmed.

A guiding idea in the war ideology is the anticommunist, mainly anti-Sovietist, lie about the threat. Though it has a relative life of its own--even above and beyond the war ideology--in it, it still finds its most radical form, marked by fanatical anticommunism and frenetic hatred. Along with general contents and symbols, the war ideology also contains ideas, mostly nationalistic ones, that conform to particular basic interests of the most aggressive circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie in one imperialist state or another. In the war ideology of FRG imperialism that is today, especially, the fiction of the survival of the German Reich within the 1937 borders, the denial of GDR citizenship, and the demand to "keep the German question open."

An aggressive confrontation with the imperialist war ideology is an important task of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and, in view of the complex character of the leading ideas in war ideology, calls for close cooperation with economists, sociologists, historians, military scientists and all other social scientists. It also is an indispensable element of politically and morally steeling the members of the socialist armed forces and of reinforcing the ideological defense readiness of all citizens of the socialist state.

In the struggle against imperialist war ideology, the main thing today is to disclose the profound contrast between the inhumanity and irrationality in militaristic ambitions and the humanism and reason in the joint efforts of all peace forces.

The dangers imperialism has created to peace are so great that in the struggle against the imperialist war ideology an extremely broad political alliance also is needed based on the reason and rationality of all who want peace and thus also on what people have intellectually in common.

In their conclusion, the theses state: "Our strongest weapon in the struggle against the imperialist war ideology is the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and its theory on war and peace and on the armed forces. Propagating these views aggressively and militantly and developing them further under the new conditions of struggle calls for close cooperative efforts between the social scientists in the NVA and in all other GDR institutions."

Proceeding from these theses, W. Scheler in his introductory paper concentrated on some questions the discussion of which is of special interest. He emphasized that this year's conference was less concerned with submitting finished results but rather more with discussing some intermediate results, problem positions and hypotheses coming out of ongoing research. His first priority was his presenting his conception of the meaning and importance of the concept of "imperialist war ideology." After describing the development of the militaristic line in bourgeois ideology in the Cold War years--as representatives of which were mentioned in particular Burnham, Strausz-Hupe, Schlamm and Possony--and the temporary easing of that basic position with the turn to dentente, the speaker discussed the imperialist turn to confrontation, its ideological preparation and hysterical escalation. "The militarist line has clearly reemerged and again is seeking supremacy," he said and continued: "So it is, for one thing, the direct connection between imperialist war ideology and confrontation policy which compels us thoroughly to analyze the war ideology and place it in the center of the ideological conflict. If we want to bring down the confrontation policy, which goes hand in hand with open war preparations, we must identify, and concentrate our fire on, the imperialist war ideology as our primary hostile ideological target."

Second, the political sense of distinguishing imperialist war ideology from all other currents in bourgeois thought concerning war, peace and military violence lies in staking out the framework "within which can be found all we have in common spiritually with all forces interested in peace. The distillation of the imperialist war ideology thus is essential for forming an extremely broad political alliance, as the only ideological precondition for it may rate the joint opposition to the imperialist war ideology." Those two points, according to the speaker, mark the main importance in defining the imperialist war ideology, its delineation and its substantive and functional analysis.

Subsequently the speaker took issue with the possible objection that such a fundamental differentiation of bourgeois conceptions was exclusively political yet not ideological. The crucial point of departure is the opposition between materialism and idealism when one thinks about war and peace. But that no longer is identical today with severing Marxist-Leninist thought from non-Marxist thought. With respect to forming a broad anti-war front against the imperialist war party and its militaristic ideology, such an ideological boundary is, to be sure, necessary but not sufficient. Above what separates us ideologically must stand the overriding interest in peace--wholly in line of the demands by L. I. Brezhnev and E. Honecker. What links us with non-militarist bourgeois thought about war and peace must come first, even though ultimately it is idealistic thought. In this,

as the speaker explained, we proceed "from a broad concept of bourgeois pacifism coined by Lenin when he was working on the concept of peaceful coexistence," i.e. in terms of distiguishing between the aggressive-bourgeois and the pacifistic camp within the international bourgeoisie. In that sense then, neither is pacifism confined to absolute pacifism nor is it forgotten that it cannot stand up to any Marxist-Leninist critique.

After treating a whole spectrum of viewswhich make up today's bourgeois pacifism, the speaker made the point "that opposing imperialist war ideology, on the one side, with socialist peace ideology and bourgeois pacifism, on the other, definitely amounts to a basic ideological statement, because what is involved here is the most important thing in contemporary history: the destiny of mankind. For or against nuclear catastrophe, for or against human civilization perishing in a nuclear war--that is in fact one of the crucial ideological questions today." The distinction made conforms to the appraisal of the two opposing tendencies in international development as given by E. Honecker at the 10th SED Congress.

The second point the speaker concentrated on was his description of the contemporary bourgeois war ideology. He pointed to some problems that have arisen in the course of research and emphasized that we have to work further on the analysis of the origin, the ideological principles and philosophic sources and the invariable characteristics as well as the changing variables in history of the imperialist war ideology. He explained in detail his opting for the term "imperialist war ideology" in showing its suitability compared with terms identical in meaning such as "military ideology of imperialism" or "ideology of imperialist militarism." In this connection he also referred to Soviet research results.

Another problem is the development of authoritative representatives of the imperialist war ideology and a detailed analysis of the views they hold on the most important ideologically relevant issues. Here he referred to the suggestive research results on neoconservatism and the research series of IPW. Proceeding from there, he named as today's representatives of the imperialist war ideology R. Strausz-Hupe, W. R. Kintner, St. T. Possony, E. Rostow, R. Reagan, N. Podhoretz, J. Ball, H. Jackson, R. J. Rummel, H. Ruehle, A. Weinstein, W. Safire, S. Huntington, C.-K. Kaltenbrunner, R. Nixon, F. O. Mischke, Z. Brzezinski, J. Schlesinger, G. Wettig, H.-P. Schwarz, M. Woerner and others. The inclusion of politicians conforms with the fact that today's war ideologists anticipated the confrontation policy and some of them also exercise political functions in implementing that conception. Their open hostility to socialism is found in their endeavor to replace the approximate military-strategic equilibrium by imperialist superiority, to eliminate socialism by force through "rationalizing" nuclear war and creating a nuclear first strike capability.

In a third point the speaker concentrated in conclusion on some specific problems in the struggle against imperialist war ideology. He commented on the connection that struggle has with the struggle against anticommunism, explained the role of the problems arising in the outcome of such war in this struggle, and gave his views on the style and method of such struggle. He emphasized that the philosophers' active involvement in the struggle against imperialist war ideology was among the best traditions of the history of philosophy in the GDR and should have to be carried on deliberately. The struggle for peace can of course not be won exclusively

on ideological grounds, and so the speaker affirmed in his conclusion that a war ideology and war policy respecting power only have to be opposed by the real power of the peace forces, the power of their united action and their military power as well.

A total of 17 attendants of the conference engaged in lively and constructive debate. W. Neubert (Berlin) in principle agreed with the theses and the paper and declared that the dramatic situation emphatically demanded proceeding this way from the question of human survival. As Lenin's peaceful coexistence theory was the diametrical opposite to today's war ideology, it was important also to make clear the qualitative difference between the Marxist-Leninist conceptions and the bourgeois-pacifist ones. The form of taking issue with pacifist conceptions, in his view, should have to be a dialogue that takes their distance from the war ideology into account. He also raised the question whether the war ideology was linked only with the most aggressive forces, and he appreciated the ways and means in presenting the connection between war policy and war ideology and the general description of the traits of the war ideologists in the theses and in the paper.

R. Kieser (Dresden) dealt with the problem of the socioeconomic principles of imperialist war ideology and war policy. He endorsed the theses on the role of the military-industrial complex and explained, proceeding from Lenin's analysis of imperialism, from which economic causes the violence of imperialist policy mainly arose today. He referred in this context to the ideological activities by armaments capital itself. He stressed the need to look for the transitions and gradations between pacifist ideology and war ideology.

B.-P. Loewe (Berlin) dealt with the development of the imperialist war ideology since the 1950's, explained the role of the "realistic school," and treated central theoretical invariables under the aspect of seeking to establish "security." He disclosed close connections between that debate and the imperialist war ideology and showed that the traditionalism in the imperialist understanding of security, the preference for military strength and superiority, the slogan, "one world or none," the proclivity toward militarization, and the claim that outspoken anti-communism was not anti-detente are part and parcel of imperialist war ideology.

M. Steinbach (Jena) dealt with the conservative variant of imperialist war ideology and stressed the essential fundamental connection between conservatism and militarism. He made the point that for conservative ideologists war was no socio-economic but essentially an anthropological category while commenting on the line of tradition from Nietzsche to Gehlen, Hornung and Kaltenbrunner. He showed how in the conservative variant of the war ideology matters of social concern had been shifted into the irrational and mythological and that the conservative debate on the "tyranny of values" was aimed against the "tyranny" of peace and ends in a positive evaluation of war. The plaint of the loss of conservative values also meant the plaint of the "adieu from soldiers" (Karst) and of the "lack" of militarism (Weinstein). After describing the development of conservative conceptions, as that of J. Burnham, the speaker pointed out that the conservative-militaristic variant (combined with a conservative critique of the Bundeswehr) was gaining increasing influence on the FRG government.

F. Guenther (Jena) emphasized in his remark the need to come to grips with pacifistic influences, dealt with problems in such confrontation and raised the question of using pacifistic arguments in the ideological diversion of the enemy.

W. Jahn (Dresden) discussed how the cultivation of the tradition in the Bundeswehr helps in its own ways realize the objectives of the imperialist war ideology. Being anticommunist and nationalistic in shape, fostering the traditions of the imperialist German armies of the past, especially of the fascist Wehrmacht, served to motivate FRG army members to fulfil their imperialist class mission. To disguise that aggressive mission, they also included "flexible elements" in their cultivation of traditions. While FRG Minister Apel had announced that conservative elements in the cultivation of traditions would be somewhat turned down, no concrete step in that direction had yet been taken. Instead, opinion manipulation was being increased with purpose.

E. Hocke (Dresden) dealt with historic aspects in the birth and growth of the war ideology and emphasized that the imperialist war ideology was the ultimate and supreme stage in this line of development. Commenting on there being different types of militarism today, he pointed out that there were also different types of war ideology. In their tendency--as shown by the development of the military-bureaucratic dictatorship in China--they were always closely linked with imperialist war policy and war ideology. After dealing with specific problems in the relationship between war policy and war ideology, he returned once more to the problem of differentiating, on which the discussion had touched several times. In connection with that he made the point that a broad political alliance in the struggle against imperialist war policy and war ideology by no means amounted to an uncritical attitude toward bourgeois pacifism. What there was commonly held in this struggle should be emphasized, to be sure, provided the concept of pacifism employed did not differ from that of the theses and the paper.

H. Klein (Berlin) raised the question of an expanded definition of the concept "imperialist war ideology." Proceeding from the inevitable connection between imperialism and opportunism, one should also have to inquire into the military-political activities of right-wing social reformist social democratic ideologues and examine the use made of social-reformist or revisionist distortions of the Marxist-Leninist theory of state and revolution in "justifying" the anticommunist totalitarianism doctrine and the lie of the threat. He finally commented on the role of opportunism today and the ideological and political differentiations within the SPD with respect to the war-peace issue, and he took issue with social democratic spokesmen for the imperialist arms-buildup policy.

F. Rupprecht (Berlin) declared himself in agreement, in principle, with the theses and the paper and offered detailed suggestions for making some provisions more distinct. A more thorough analysis was required, in his view, of the question whether the differentiations in the bourgeois camp were in fact different basic ideological positions or only different ideological currents or trends. In detail he then discussed the role of "danger" and "dread" in connection with the ideological issue-taking over the war-peace issue. He explained how we define the magnitude of danger and opposed the irrationalization of danger by bourgeois philosophy. While he defined "danger" as an objective situation, a category of the class struggle, he stressed that we should have to analyze "dread" in a more differentiated manner as a subjective reaction to danger.

H. Spies (Berlin) commented on the causes for the upsurge of imperialist war ideology in the mid-1970's and emphasized the linkage between war ideology and war policy. Greater attention, in his view, should be given to the connection between the areas that produce and those that disseminate ideology. Finally, he went into detail in discussing the role of war ideology in ideological diversion.

F. Zierold (Berlin) stressed how topical the concern of the conference was and credited the theses, the paper and the discussion with many valuable suggestions for further ideological-theoretical work. Then he devoted himself to problems in the education of the military cadre toward coming to grips with the imperialist war ideology and drew inferences from that for the personal conduct and behavior of the members of the armed forces. His view was that it was worthwhile to examine the role of pacifism in greater detail.

A. Pech (Dresden) treated some aspects of taking issue with the ideological-theoretical justifications for preparing aggressions by the "war pictures" of imperialist ideologues in the FRG. He explained their content and functions, showed how they served the attempts at "rationalizing" nuclear war and unmasked the extreme anticommunism of these "war pictures," which, e.g., called the loss of 25 percent of the population "tolerable." He pointed out that they served to substantiate the war policy ideologically and theoretically and that their dissemination was part of FRG imperialism's ideological war preparation.

In discussing the consequences of war and their importance to the peace struggle, with G. Hoffmann (Loebau) and F. Zierold (Berlin) expressing their ideas, H. Syrbe made the point that they should have to be taken most seriously and that the grave consequences of nuclear war still further increased the responsibility of the socialist armed forces for the protection of socialism and for the saving of humanity.

D. Mueller (Berlin) discussed the views of C. F. von Weizsaecker, whom he called a conservative adherent to detente. His remarks underscored the need for the distinction made in the theses between conservatism and war ideology.

S. Fischer (temporarily in Moscow) discussed the dialectics between struggle and cooperation in peaceful coexistence and pointed out that the dialectics, in principle, applied to all areas, that is to say, to the economic, political and ideological areas in international relations.

In his final remarks, W. Scheler thanked all attendants for their objective, constructive, critical and supportive discussion. He made the point that it had turned out to be correct to put up for discussion even now intermediate results, problem positions and hypotheses and took a position once again in this context on the problem of making distinctions among bourgeois conceptions. He expressed the expectation that conferences of the philosophers dealing with problems of war and peace would in the future be held regularly at philosophic institutions in the GDR.

5885
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ADVANTAGES OF TANK DRIVING SIMULATOR OUTLINED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 20, 1982 (signed to press 10 May 82) p 8

[Article by Lt Col Wilfried Kopenhagen: "Seen at Ernst Thaelmann Officer College: Tele-Drive Simulator in Testing"]

[Text] The Tank and Motor Vehicle Technology Section of the Ernst Thaelmann officer college has repeatedly drawn attention in recent years through innovations allowing for essential improvements in the training in various fields, e.g., the Tankett for electro- and special equipment, with its two large luminous-circuit plans, became the center of the Military Exhibition in Leipzig in the NVA's exhibition hall a few years ago. It is not inconceivable that at the 25th Military Exhibition this year, a new exhibit of the section under the direction of Col Hauschild could be the top attraction. We are referring here to the experimental model of a tele-drive similator which the Section's comrades have built after the already tested model: cooperation between specially trained officers and officer cadets, other members of the Section as well as workers from the people-owned industry. In this particular case, a reservist collective from a people-owned enterprise, the Otto Buchwitz power plant in Dresden, supported the comrades working for Lt Col Willi Drexel.

In general, 14 to 15 percent of the officer cadets of this Section participated on a continuous basis in this work. To be sure, this activity limited their free time somewhat, but it was obvious that the future tank and motor vehicle specialists accepted that gladly for the following advantages: it does not hurt one's intelligence, and it brings one even closer to practical training. It prepares one for the future work in the field and enables one to better solve problems in the future.

But back to the drive-simulator: the call for it had come from the commander of the ground forces, with the objective of increasing the effectiveness of training in tank driving for officer cadets and, of course, to save fueld at the same time.

Objective: Training as Realistically as Possible

The initial consideration was: the trainee is briefed in the simulator on all elements, operational mechanisms and signals even before he gets into the real tank. For that purpose, everything around the driver seat should be

identical to the way it is in the T-55 so that the trainee can repeatedly practice all activities of the tank driver, including how to properly divide his attention. The simulator should also permit training on how to start the engine, which is more complex than starting the engine of a car. The so-called climax was to be the "drive." All this is actually possible with the simulator which was developed and built in a relatively short time and is being tested at present to gain experience for the further training process.

Part of the tele-drive simulator are the gyroscopically mounted driver cab, the control panel, and command post and the projection of the terrain through a camera. In the cab, which is a true copy of that of the T-55, the trainee sees the part of the terrain he is driving through in his periscope. The picture comes from a TV camera above. The camera speed depends on the gear the vehicle is in and on the engine revolutions. Since every move the the trainee is being projected, it is quite possible to "run down" a tree, to "get stuck" in an obstacle or to "slide off" the track. The trainer is able to interrupt any move by the trainee. He is also able to give instant advice when a sequence is not followed correctly, e.g., while starting the engine. This means that all cadets will act uniformly and it avoids possible mistakes when starting up the engine. The trainer communicates with the trainee through the intercom. It is important that the trainee is exposed to a realistic noise simulation in his cab. This corresponds to the position of the foot pedal. Depending on the evenness and condition of the terrain, the cab tilts forward or back. All other activities such as using the clutch, switching, steering or breaking are also observed from the command post.

The Simulator is not Meant to Replace the T-55

In addition, it is possible for the trainee to practice situations which can actually occur in a tank. For example, the trainer can change the temperature of the water or oil or the oil pressure. The trainee must then recognize the situation, report these changes to thetrainer and initiate the necessary measures to be taken.

The original tank is not to be replaced by this simulator. But the simulator represents an important aid for tank driver training independent or weather or time of day or night. First results indicate that: for each trainee, 10 km of driving with the actual tank can be saved for the first practice drive alone (driving in cut-through terrain). In the opinion of experienced trainers, it is also possible to complete some other driving practices in the simulator.

In addition, it has been noted that if the trainee is briefed well in the characteristics of the simulator (e.g. if the operational devices in the tank are not quite as easy to operate than in the simulator), then simulator trainees do as well as those who have completed their first practice drive exclusively in the tank. In addition, trainees who have first practiced in the simulator usually make fewer mistakes on the course. However, shifting was not as precise, but this can be somewhat corrected through a thorough explanation of the differences between simulator and tank.

In a later edition, VOLKSARMEE will give a summary of additional training equipment which has already been built in the Tank and Motor Vehicle Section of the Ernst Thaelmann Officer College, and which are in constant use for training.

9328
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FLIGHT ENGINEERING CHIEF STRESSES MATERIAL ECONOMY IN TRAINING

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 3, 1982 (signed to press 15 Mar 82) pp 113-115

[Interview with Maj Gen E Telle, chief, Flight Engineering Service (date and place not indicated): "Responsible Maintenance Is the Central Issue for Every Mechanic, Technician and Engineer"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Major General! A year has passed since the Tenth SED Congress. What results can our Flight Engineering Service show?

[Answer] For us, as for all NVA members, the defense of peace and, in connection with that, a high degree of combat readiness are decisive for our thinking and acting.

As Comrade Erich Honecker has emphasized at the third session of the SED Central Committee, the international situation has intensified enormously and, since the end of the World War I, world peace has not been threatened as much as it is today. Our comrades know that the causes for this are found primarily in the NATO's arms buildup and its insistence on stationing medium-range weapons in Western Europe.

The flight engineers and technicians are fully aware of the resulting danger for peace. They act accordingly and fulfill their part of the class mission conscientiously. They protect the air space of the GDR and of the socialist community of state reliably by assuring the combat training and the Alert Stand-By System with ever greater effectiveness, quality and safety.

The combat strength and combat readiness of an army are the product of a large number of factors. Of decisive importance among them are a firm class conviction, political-moral condition, combat readiness of combat technology and its perfect mastery. For that reason, most important in their daily training and education is Lenin's realization that without soldiers who act consciously and with initiative, success is impossible in a modern war and even the best weapons system remains ineffective.

With the support of party and Free German Youth organizations, leaders on all levels have succeeded during the past training year in continuously strengthening their people's class-status, in further developing their conscientiousness regarding all work as technology, and in converting everything important for combat into a measurable increase in achievements.

Visible signs of this are the fact that the combat readiness of aircraft and helicopters was guaranteed under all conditions, and an increase in combat readiness and repeat-start preparedness of aircraft for the required time limits was fulfilled, in part even considerably exceeded. Socialist competition, with its mobilizing effect, played a decisive role in this.

The Air Force's modern aircraft technology, which of course plays a decisive part in this combat efficiency and combat readiness, needs a universally trained soldier. It places ever higher demands on his political-moral qualifications, on his overall military and military-technical knowledge and skills.

[Question] You said that combat strength and combat readiness of the socialist Air Force were essentially determined by technical equipment. What developments have taken place during the last years in this connection?

[Answer] The development of the Air Force was, just to name a few types, from the proven Jak-18, Jak-11 and SM-1 to the MiG-15, MiG-21 and Mi-4 to today's third generation aircraft technology. Today our air force has at its disposal, thanks to the continuous support by our party and government, modern vertical-start aircraft and helicopter gunships. These aircraft and helicopters from Soviet production represent a new generation and are the result of rapid developments in recent years in science and technology, especially in the fields of electronics and cybernetics.

Modern radar, navigation and landing systems, laser installations, bord computers, new bord cannons and guided missiles, more efficient engines guided by modern components, flight guidance installations developed in accordance with the newest technology are characteristic for the aircraft mentioned. The testing and the size of the automatic testing and control stations of course also increased. Overall, the degree of automation, the complex character and the blending of the individual specialties of the flight engineering service have increased essentially.

[Question] Renovation and modernization of combat technology is a legitimate process. What do the resulting requirements on mechanics and engineers consist of?

[Answer] Already at the beginning I referred to the fact that the armed combat of personnel and also the most modern and effective weapons systems have only very little combat effectiveness without well trained soldiers who act consciously and with conviction. The flight engineer in combat is therefore a political as well as a military leader. He is educator and at the same time military specialist in his field.

For the expert maintenance and repair of aircraft technology, greater basic and specialized technical knowledge must be demanded from engineers and mechanics. This was taken into account. Today, most officers possess the qualifications of a college-educated engineer. The leading officers in the flight engineering service of a wing have an engineering diploma.

Knowledge and ability of technicians and mechanics also grew continuously, no matter whether the individual works on so-called old technology or is personally reponsible for the latest technology. The extensive knowledge

and skills were, and had to be, gained in schools and were purposefully and systematically strengthened and increased through a strict and varied system of specialized continued training in the field.

The complexity of the equipment of the weapons systems, the inclusion of microelectronics in the most varied systems, for example, require from engineers and technicians responsible for arming aircraft the same knowledge about electronics as from specialists for special electrical equipment or other specialities. In addition to the knowledge, the skills of engineers and the perfection of all activities are of decisive significance because it is important to make the aircraft combat ready in the shortest possible time. For that reason, continuous training of the entire engineering personnel, regardless of their specialties, in arming and rearming, led by experienced specialists, must be carried out.

However, as experience has shown time and again, the constant combat readiness of aircraft technology and the guarantee of technical safety must not be reduced to a purely technical process. The degree to which pilots can fulfill their mission of protecting the air space depends to a decisive degree on the personal political responsibility of each individual for following the maintenance and repair regulations to the letter, on the conscientiousness and supervision of those in charge, on their love for technology, on their inner attitude and conviction towards discipline and order.

[Question] You imply an intrinsic connection between the political and technical ability of specialists and the quality of maintenance. What is typical of this interrelationship? How can this be used optimally in the field?

[Answer] An important criterion for the effectiveness of political-ideological work is the exemplary solving of all engineering-technical tasks of combat readiness and the Alert Stand-By System. This is an essential prerequisite for a high degree of flight safety.

The flight engineering personnel, and here especially aircraft technicians, decide with their actions how well the weapons systems given in their trust are taken care of, maintained and kept in a reliable state. To keep these values up and to maintain this technology in a perpetually combat-ready condition for the defense of our socialist fatherland are demands made on each individual.

I speak consciously of each individual, since the clearly defined individual work of individual engineers is becoming more and more characteristic, based on ever increasing specialization; this means that the participation of the individual in the technical maintenance of modern weapons systems is becoming more and more important.

This also obligates the commanders of technical services to take their responsibility more seriously. They must work on an individual basis with each one of their men and must know the strengths as well as the weaknesses of each individual in order to train him better.

[Question] In your opinion, in what way should the Flight Engineering Service be improved most?

[Answer] It is our main goal to reduce personnel and technology while maintaining flight achievements, i.e., achieve modern economy. The way to achieve this is, just like in the people's economy, a complex mixture of technical, technological and organizational measures.

This includes, e.g., a reduction of the extent of control technologies, based on exact, extensive analyses regarding the reliability of the work of systems and installations of aircraft technology and its influence on flight safety, as well as the experiences and knowledge gained by our Soviet comrades-in-arms over many years; it also includes making optimal use of the logistics system and of the shift system. Connected with this is our goal of fulfilling a maximum of flight time with a flight preparation within the period of validity and of minimizing the time spent on controls, error detection and repairs through additional training of personnel.

New considerations to acquire more of the devices, blocks and aggregates with built-in controls, partially eliminating the need for extensive demontage and montage work, will also save time.

[Question] You just referred to knowledge and experience of the Soviet Air Force. How do our relations with our comrades-in-arms contribute?

[Answer] The proven principle: "To learn from the Soviet Union means to learn how to conquer" applies also to the combat training of engineers and technicians. We work especially closely with our partners of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the representatives of the manufacturers. This friendship has proved itself year after year.

Our Soviet comrades-in-arms are highly experienced in all areas of the engineering service and we find time and again that we achieve the greatest successes wherever we take these experiences and their high standards into consideration in our daily work.

The extent of help given to us is great. It consists of the brotherly exchange of ideas and experiences when preparing for the introduction of new technology, the transmittal of user experiences, the support through testing devices when our own installations and systems break down, and joint error detection. All these measures strengthen our solid position regarding our Soviet comrades-in-arms and in class.

[Question] What new military-economic problems do you face today?

[Answer] That is a very important question which was also widely discussed at the third session of the Central Committee. We must reduce the consumption of energy, raw materials and supplies in order to assure fully our party's strategy for the 1980's.

Economizing on materials is an expression of the socialist way of thinking and acting. Economizing as much as possible in the military can therefore not be viewed as a temporary measure or as the pursuit of individual commanders and specialists, but rather it requires the continuous active cooperation of all.

Most important is saving on fuel and lubricants. This is achieved by, among other things, reducing the time machines run to the minimum possible, by using machines that use less fuel, or through a change-over to electrical machines, by streamlining transport to reduce kilometers, and by preventing leakages. In general, lubricants are to be used for as long as possible before being changed.

Additionally, the machinery is to be used for as long as the manufacturer suggests, and faults of broken down machinery are to be exactly encircled and verified. Instead of exchanging aggregates, devices or entire components, it often suffices to replace individual parts. Even on the regiment level, more repair work is to be done than in the past in order to make equipment ready for use again.

I am also thinking of the most economical use of spare parts and general supplies through periodic checks and repairs and the upkeep of selected parts. The most effective care and maintenance of the technology must be carried out systematically and universally.

Damage and losses of every kind must be prevented at all time. We will succeed in this when all regulations, work protection and safety regulations are strictly observed, errors in operation are prevented and carelessness and routine are avoided. The basis for this is greater military discipline and order, the continuous increase in knowledge and ability--in short, politically conscientious and professional thinking and acting.

[Question] The solution to the problem requires the more extensive use of the creativity of engineers, of all innovators economists. How can this be achieved?

[Answer] The demands, which in the 1980's are also made on the innovators, and military exposition movements, to increase their technical and economic effectiveness and to be even more goal-directed in their use for the strengthening of combat readiness and combat strength of our air force.

The experiences and knowledge of the economists and inventors of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany must be used even more. The potential of innovative work is to be used to become more effective in (1) increasing the effectiveness of combat training and of the Alert Stand-By System, (b) intensifying combat training through the increased development of simulators and training posts with the objective of developing training chains, (3) increasing the reclaiming of individual parts and components. This demand is not only made on the field repair centers, but all reservist training combines of the air force as well.

These are new, higher demands on our innovators, on all members of the Flight Engineering Service. If we combine these with greater use of microelectronic components and more energy-efficient methods, then we will successfully master the economic strategy of the 1980's.

9328
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'TRYBUNA LUDU' COMMENTATOR EVALUATES NINTH PLENUM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Piotr Rzadca: "Inventiveness and Fervor for the Country's Rebirth"]

[Text] They did not coquet the young people. They spoke about their demands and needs, but they also evaluated, fairly and objectively, the party's expectations of them. They did not promise them what they could not deliver. Only those decisions were made that could alleviate the situation, for such are the economic realities. No prospects were revealed that are not realizable within an approachable time frame. They spoke, however, about the fronts of a joint struggle, and about the fact that the crisis must be taken advantage of to make deep reforms to improve the socialist Republic.

The discussions at the plenum covered many subjects. They were critical and self-critical, abundant in concrete proposals and solutions. This was talk about the party's program for the young generation, its actual role in the life of the country, and about the opportunities that the process of socioeconomic transformations, begun by the decisions of the PZPR Ninth Congress, create for this generation.

It will take time to carefully analyze the substance of the Political Bureau's report, the two-day discussion, and the resolution which we are publishing today. This time is needed in order to consider the rich achievement of the plenum and to draw from it all of the concrete proposals for activity, for what is important here is not an action or a campaign but systematic party work with young people.

The plenum's deliberations were preceded by a broad discussion within the party itself, in various social circles, and among the most active part of the young people. This made it possible to accumulate a valuable stock of considerations and proposals, to define the position and direction of activity, to become aware of the aspirations of the young generation and the possibilities of really satisfying it, and it also made it possible to point out what is specifically expected of it. At the same time, there appeared the first initiatives of the young people in matters not only related to living necessities but also assisting in the solving of broader social needs. It may thus be presumed that the plenum's resolution will fall on already prepared ground, since it is a synthesis of viewpoints and proposals of the broad circles of people who are going to implement it.

The achievement of the Ninth Plenum, certainly is the objective evaluation of the young people's mental state and attitudes. The reasons for the frustration of ideological viewpoints, the passivity, the susceptibility to anti-socialist slogans, and the socially unacceptable behavior were revealed. This was perceived in the negative events of sociopolitical life in the past years, in the mistakes made by the party and the authorities, in the inadequacies of the educational work of the family, school, workplaces, and in the weaknesses of the youth movement. The political opposition wanted to use the pro-socialist orientation of the youth, the most active but immature and politically inexperienced youth, against socialism.

An objective, comprehensive analysis of the attitudes of the young people closes the discussion on this subject, and casts aside any extremely laudatory or extremely negative opinions. But above all, it made it possible to outline, during the course of the Ninth Plenum deliberations, a conception of ideological-upbringing work. At the base of this conception lies the party's conviction that the deciding factor shaping the attitudes and viewpoints of the young people is their active participation in the country's life and in the transformations that have been begun. And this is the most valuable advantage of this conception, since education--in the school, in the workplace, or in the youth organization--will not be restricted to verbal teaching of the young, what they should be, but that it will point out to them a specific role in the life of the country, and fields of creative activity, by which they will shape their viewpoints and attitudes on life.

The Ninth Plenum showed the young generation all of today's fronts of struggle and transformation, what we are striving for, what we want to change, which shortcomings must be overcome. It showed concretely what the party is for and what it is against, exactly as the young people categorize this in wanting to know that is worth fighting for in life and what against. This is a program of changes and creation, rejection and construction, denial and affirmation. A struggle with the opponents of socialism for socialist renewal, a struggle for social justice, against all of those who rule it out. A struggle for reforms which will improve our life, against a state of rut, against conservatism and incompetence. Such slogans and goals are particularly far-reaching among the young people, who by their very nature are interested in change and progress.

Thus this is a program of common desires, joint struggle and changes in which the young people are also interested. And so it will surely be accepted by the young when they become more familiar with the position of the Ninth Plenum.

The Ninth Plenum also made decisions which make it really possible for the young people to effectively express their interests, desires and aspirations through youth organizations. They are to obtain the appropriate authority to share in the making of all decisions pertaining to the young people, in the control of the implementation of decisions related to the life and matters of the young, in the initiating of laws. It may be said, therefore, that actual conditions are being created for the voice of the young people to be heard, perceived, and taken into account. This is one of the successive proofs that the young people are being treated as a partner in all which concerns the country's present and future. This may contribute to releasing the creative activity of the young, to broader interest in the country's problems and a desire to participate in their solution.

At the same time it must be said that by this the co-responsibility of the young people themselves grows, the co-reponsibility for everything that is taking place around them and among them. This is a joint responsibility interpreted in political terms. In obtaining broader authority and wider influence on the state's affairs, they will have to exhibit maturity, a sense of responsibility and realism, their own inventiveness and initiative. In speaking out at the discussions, the members of the Central Committee frequently stressed that the young have this maturity and will not disappoint the expectations.

The members of the youth organizations will probably receive the decisions of the plenum with satisfaction. Their most important demands were recognized by the party to be proper and justified, and their activity thus far was fairly evaluated. The Ninth Plenum decisions also observe new, complying with Leninist principles, standards of cooperation between the party and the youth movement, giving this movement an opportunity to be independent and responsible for what it does. They will read in the plenum's documents what the party counts on from them, how much it expects, particularly on the question of obtaining from all the young people active acceptance of the Ninth Congress' program, and support for the changes that are now being made.

The Ninth Plenum concerned itself with problems relating to the young generation, but its decisions have a far greater importance and will surely be so received by public opinion.

In the Plenum's decisions we can see the consistent continuation of the party's Ninth Congress' resolutions--made a year ago--the line of national accord and social reform, the striving for democratization of social life, the efforts to overcome the economic crisis, the attempts to observe the standards of social justice. Now the party has turned to the younger portion of society, on whose efforts and work a great deal depends, but all of the subjects raised at the plenum must interest and concern everyone, since actually they pertain to everyone.

The plenum has ended and now the time has come to consistently put the words into deeds, so as to convert the decisions made into concrete performance decisions, into programs of the daily work of the all party elements and all elements of authority. That is what the young people are anticipating, those who want the plenum's position to be fully implemented in their schools, colleges, villages and workplaces. This will have a decisive influence on restoring the ties between the party and the young generation.

9295
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RELIGION, GERMAN AMBITION CITED AS FACTORS IN YOUTH UNREST

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 23, 18 Jul 82 p5

[Article by Waldemar Budzilo: "It Is We Who Create the Scenario" abridged by the editors]

[Text] The recent street demonstrations, in which employed youth and students, most of them unaware of the purposes of the demonstrations, have been taking part, have been causing teachers and educators a great deal of concern, unrest, and disappointment. It is true that a relatively small proportion of them are involved, but this nonetheless is a sign that part of the work of educators has been for nothing, that people alien to us educators are trying to draw young people into their political rows directed right against the state.

Those people trying to guide the behavior of young people are aware that the motivation for their actions may be emotional states which have built up. Young people are easily provoked to emotional behavior. It is especially determined groups whose hopes have miscarried that are subject to all sorts of appeals for aggressive behavior. This purpose is furthered by all sorts of slogans that are oversimplified and appeal to the senses rather than to reason, such as: "They killed a pregnant woman," "They tortured him to death." Youth is very sensitive to human injustice, and those most often leading them (which means more than manipulating them) avail themselves of information both that is true, properly served up to suit them, and that is, above all, false, dreamed up.

Emotional Behavior

This behavior of young people depends to a great extent on the extent to which they have adopted and accepted certain social standards. The more negative young people's relation to these norms is, the more willingly they violate these norms by their behavior. It is just those people who are trying to exploit youth and use them for antistate and antisocialist activity who realize that they must shape a negative relationship to social standards in youth, raising the right to anarchic freedom to the rank of a basic principle.

The steering of young people in the direction of revolt and aggression can only be effective when a suitable atmosphere has been created. It is created not only by groups of peers but also by people who count in youth circles: teachers, educators, priests, and parents.

Responsibility for Behavior

In most cases adults are responsible for the behavior of young people. They get their models for how they behave from the reality around them and information given them by adults. The strikes and demonstrations of the 16 months before the declaration of martial law did not fail to have an influence on young people's minds. Irresponsibility and lack of social discipline are charges not only against young people but against all those who did not properly carry out the functions entrusted them for taking care of youth.

In guiding the behavior of youth they realize that the authorities cannot apply very drastic measures against young people. They are counting on the fact that gentle treatment of demonstrations and riots will encourage larger groups of young people to follow the example of their peers. Father Drzewiecki at the Wroclaw Cathedral instigated people to demonstrate by giving information about the dispersal of demonstrating youth. The information itself would perhaps not have provided such a result without the appropriate intonation and commentary.

People responsible for riots and unrest created by youth remain concealed and when charged with provoking some incident or another they explain it away as the result of young people's spontaneous reaction. Something can be spontaneous, if it is evoked by an unexpected, unforeseen event, but if somebody appeals to young people to assemble in a given place for a specific purpose, like a demonstration against martial law in Poland, he realizes what sort of results may occur and foresees them, even preparing for them.

Young people going to various sorts of designated points of meeting or assembly initially are merely anxious to satisfy their curiosity. They simply want to be an eye-witness of what is going on. But the people guiding the course of street demonstrations have organizers of various alternatives for the development of the situation. There will be possibly those who will pray and those who are to start throwing rocks, those who are to yell and those who will wave banners. Hence, the demonstrations are more or less prepared for all sorts of eventualities, and each one is considered successful. Young people have been peaceful. Therefore there is a common opinion that there was no intention of provocation. When there are scuffles, youth's uncompromising attitude is praised.

Those who decided to draw young people into the political struggle realized themselves that they had lost the attempt at confrontation in the struggle for power in Poland. They had also lost the battle for a general strike, or a labor boycott among the workers. Therefore, all

Religious feelings play an important role in mobilizing youth to various incidents, because the principles of faith are not subject to a critical assessment and are hence not subject to rational thinking.

The person of the Polish pope is currently playing an important role in structuring young people's feelings. This is a success eagerly counterposed to the crisis, caused by the "communist governments" in Poland. In the hands of people fervent with feelings inimical to socialism, religion has become an important instrument of influence, particularly since the principles of social behavior are to a great extent shaped by the catechists. Young people receive information about what is to be discouraged and what is commendable in the attitudes of the various communities and groups, in their religion lessons.

Young people, who the group of home-grown and foreign trouble-makers are trying to lead are largely socially undisciplined. During the riots in Wroclaw on 13 Jun 1982 the participants attacked the forces of law and order with rocks, bottles, and other life-threatening objects and did not listen to the orders to disperse.

Lack of Discipline

The lack of discipline is coupled with a lack of responsibility. When he throws rocks from several floors up, the pupil is not considering that he may fatally injure not only an innocent bystander but also, for example, one of his peers. He does not realize that he is acting like a murderer.

Young people who are growing up after all want to experience something new and attractive. For this reason they eagerly submit to the urgings of their older experienced colleagues and create a peer group in which various thoughts of great adventure, "fun," and "romps" start to circulate. Often this adventure is tied in with following the bad habits of older generations: smoking cigarets, drinking, sexual encounters, and drugs. The call to take part in street demonstrations against the forces of law and order has the nature of adventure and a certain time of amusement. Despite the dangerousness of the situation, for many pupils, running from the police and taunting them with words of abuse are not products of rational motivation but of the desire for amusement: "Let's see if you can catch me.

In their plans and in their dreams young people have many lofty ideals, but they do not realize that certain external and internal conditions are required, that discipline is necessary, to put it in general terms. And among young people rather frequently there is a lack of self-criticism. And these two phenomena together, on the one hand the expectations and on the other the actual possibilities, create a state of frustration and disillusionment in some of them. The frustration is probably most often the factor which creates the atmosphere of aggression and revolt. "If the world isn't the way I want it, it should be destroyed."

that the antisocialist forces had left in reserve were young people and religious sentiment. People who try to direct youth against the socialist state are to be found both inside the country and abroad. They do not link their activity in a clear way with the anticommunist crusade organized by Reagan, in which the Germans were to assume an honored place, making clear demands of the Poles. It is therefore distressing that it is actually the young residents of towns like Szczecin, Gdansk, and Wroclaw who have been so subject to antisocialist propaganda, not realizing who is being served or who is providing the support.

No Secret

Serious reporters in the West wrote about how "Solidarity" is being infiltrated by foreign intelligence of the most anti-Soviet hue. People who are encouraging youth to antisocialist action are conscious or unconscious propagators of German domination in a future Europe following the [supposed] overthrow of "Communism." Then Poland will be on the fringe of world politics. Those who are inciting youth to take part in the anticommunist crusade must realize that they are acting against the interests of the Polish nation.

Of course, not all young people support the position taken by the demonstrators. Most of them realize the harmfulness of them. The most "radical groups" are largely young people from broken homes or from families in which there is an aggressively anticommunist atmosphere. Their own failure in life and that of those closest to them often make them more subject to antisocialist propaganda, to the statement: "Communism" is to blame for everything. This statement can easily be used to explain everything.

A large group among the demonstrators consists of college students, who are often the brains behind the demonstrations. As experienced, "educated" people, they have the ear of secondary-school pupils. To a great extent, those taking part in the demonstrations are those young people who do not have adequate adult supervision from people responsible for raising them, like parents, boarding-school housemothers, and people involved in taking care of student groups.

Fixing Up Mistakes Made in Bringing Up Youth

It is not easy to fix up the mistakes. A basic role in this area can be played by a realistic program approved by youth for meeting social needs and demands. This must be a program of hope, and not accusations of the sins of the parents. First of all, however, it must be understood by young people and carried out by them in that area which depends on them. Young people must realize that living conditions depend on their participation in structuring them, on their responsibility for the future shape of Poland.

But for such a program to be accepted and carried out by young people, they must be given care. There has to be a daily dialog with them. The educators must know how to make a distinction between those who have become involved in antisocialist agitation and propaganda networks and those who have become so inimical to the socialist state that longer, more careful work is needed to bring them back to their senses and to a real view of the future. Disturbed in their relationships and upset in themselves, at odds with their surroundings, they will not be capable of achieving anything in life. They can easily find themselves on the fringes of life. Care must also be taken to see that young people understand the basic fact that their presence in beautiful, rich Western lands depends on Poland's membership in the socialist camp, and that every change militating against that camp is mainly a bolstering of Germany's position in Europe and hence its revisionist aspirations.

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2047

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STRUGGLE AGAINST CATHOLIC CLERGY ON SCHOOL ISSUE RECALLED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 22 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Iljaz Gogaj: "The Education Congress of 1922"]

[Excerpts] During the period from 1920 to 1924, there was a broad activity in the field of education. Three education congresses were held. One of these forums, which had an influence on the development of education in general was the Education Congress of 1922. During 1922, the conflicts between the Catholic clergy, who wanted to regain hegemony over education, and all the progressive democratic forces, who wanted national education and lay schools, became much sharper.

The partisans of the lay schools considered the existence of private schools, run by the Catholic clergy and subsidized by Rome and the Vatican, to be a serious obstacle. Therefore, they exerted strong pressure on the authorities and forced them to examine the question of the nationalization of private clergy-operated schools and to consider a number of other measures aiming at the laicization and modernization of the schools. These tasks would be examined and resolved by means of a national education congress.

The Congress began its work in Tirana, on 22 July 1922. About 40 outstanding teachers participated; most of them were people who had been tempered in the struggle for the Albanian national school and disciples of the lay school, who through their untiring work had made a considerable contribution to the Albanian national cause.

The organizers of the Congress deserve special credit for their failure to invite representatives of the schools run by the Catholic clergy to attend the proceedings. This was a great challenge to the hierarchy of the Catholic clergy who boasted with arrogance that they had done more than anyone else in the area of education. Thus, the beginning of the proceedings of the Congress aroused nervousness in the hierarchy of Catholicism and strong protests from the clergy, while the teachers in the country and the progressive press welcomed the Congress with enthusiasm.

The Congress made some important decisions which created an opportunity for strengthening the work of the school, for its unification, laicization, and democratization. In the first place, the Congress set forth measures for the

implementation, to the extent possible, of compulsory elementary education and approved the new program for the schools. According to the new program, the school curriculum would include subjects such as morality and civics, agriculture and garden work, and handicrafts. In contrast to the previous program, the new curriculum stressed knowledge of the natural sciences and provided for specific measures in this area. According to the new program, the hours of religious instruction in the higher classes of elementary school would be reduced to 50 percent and this subject would no longer by taught by the clergy. As part of the general history instruction, the program provided for an elementary course in the history of Albania, in accordance with the age of the pupils. Thus, there was an effort to take a stand in regard to the feudal system and to describe the life of the mountaineers.

The new program, which was published, in part, in ARSIMTARI, aroused the uncontrolled anger of the Catholic clergy, who called this program "a chisel with a sharpened point" against the clergy-run schools. Therefore, the Catholic priests launched a fierce campaign of unprincipled attacks against the Education Congress and its achievements and against all the progressive teachers who supported the program of the Congress. In this campaign, the top hierarchy of Catholicism not only trained the priests to attack everything progressive which came out of the new Congress but also obstinately agitated, in every way, to discredit the lay school. This was done by means of the clerical press which did not omit the views of any reactionary philosopher in "documenting" and defending the aims of the Catholic Church.

The well-known reactionary cleric, Gjergj Fishta, proved to be especially aggressive. He lashed out, with rage, against the new educational system, vituperating and using street language, and insulted, in the basest manner, the disciples of the lay school.

The Congress only discussed the issue of the nationalization of the schools of the clergy (but did not make any decision in regard to this), while the Catholic clergy wanted the state to carry on a "healthy" policy, which would not promote the common lay school since it, according to the clergy, was the "factory of the Communists." But, despite the attacks and slanders which the Catholic Church launched against the Education Congress and the laicization of the school in general, the program which the 1922 Congress approved was implemented in all the schools of the country and the Albanian schools were put on a road which was a progressive one for the times. In addition, the people of Shkoder City, Muslims and Catholics, in opposition to the aims of the Catholic clergy, embraced the lay schools. Thus, the Education Congress of 1922 and the further struggle for the laicization of the schools, occupy an important place in the history of the struggle of the Albanian patriots for the development and progress of Albanian national education.

CSO: 2100/77

ARMED FORCES MAGAZINE REVEALS UNSATISFACTORY DISCIPLINE, TRAINING

Iron Military Discipline Advocated

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 7, 1982 pp 3-8

[Lead article: "Iron Military Discipline the Surety of High Success in Training"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Building a developed socialist society in our homeland and protecting it against the encroachments of imperialist forces are inconceivable without conscious and iron discipline. "Winning," wrote V. I. Lenin, "requires a great struggle, requires iron military discipline."

Military discipline is the supreme form of state discipline. According to the Disciplinary Regulations of the Armed Forces of the Bulgarian People's Republic, "It is strict and exact observance by all service personnel in the Armed Forces of the procedure established by the laws and the military regulations."

In contrast to bourgeois armies, discipline in the socialist army is conscious. It is based not on fear of punishment, but on high political consciousness and profound ideological conviction of the personnel and on the right understanding of their patriotic and international duty to defend peace and the cause of socialism.

Socialist military discipline is of tremendous importance for raising the might of the army. It lies at the foundation of the army's fighting efficiency and combat readiness and gives it good organization, flexibility and continuity of control. The state of discipline and personal disciplined behavior are the most solid foundation for achieving high results in training and victory in modern combat. Without discipline, without strict subordination and unquestioning execution of the orders of commanders and chiefs, the army's existence is impossible.

Conscious military discipline magnifies the forces of the troops many fold on the battlefield. It is the basis of soldiers' firmness, stamina and readiness for self-sacrifice.

Its role and importance are tremendous in peacetime, too, and especially in the everyday training process. This is due to a number of circumstances. First, to the complex and troublous present-day international situation. Second, to the

character and requirements of modern war. Third, the character of the present-day international situation and the revolution in warfare have set new requirements and criteria for discipline in the troop training process. That is why new concepts like "time discipline," "alert discipline," "cooperation discipline," "discipline in the servicing and use of weapons and combat materiel" etc. take on great significance. "Now that the decisive role in warfare has fallen to nuclear missiles and the success of their use greatly depends on the skillful and coordinated actions of many people," writes L. I. Brezhnev, "the good organization and faultless performance of every soldier take on exceptional significance. Even isolated instances of the exhibition of laxity and undisciplined behavior can cause serious consequences."

The establishment and maintenance of iron military discipline during combat and political training are dependent on many objective and subjective factors. But the commander with unity of command is of decisive importance in this area. He is most highly trained, has rich experience of the world and the most thorough knowledge of the soldiers' missions and their functional duties and can help them make themselves into worthy defenders of their homeland. Tremendous authority is concentrated in his hands; he has great powers.

"Every commander (chief) must inculcate in his subordinates the spirit of unswerving execution of all the requirements of military discipline, must develop and maintain in them the consciousness of soldierly honor and military duty, must encourage the worthy and strictly punish the lax." (Disciplinary Regulations of the Armed Forces of the Bulgarian People's Republic, Section 5).

/The heart of discipline in the troops, the most solid foundation of strict and precise execution of the requirements of regulations and orders, the maintenance of conscious military discipline in the subunits and the achievement of high results in training is profound ideological conviction and political consciousness, a high sense of responsibility for the defense of the homeland and the socialist community./ "The question of discipline," Comrade T. Zhivkov points out, "is not merely an economic question. In it is evinced the stage which the formation of the socialist personality has reached, the development of his consciousness and responsibility to himself and society and, in final analysis, his attitude towards the socialist system."

That is why commanders, with the active assistance of political workers, party and Komsomol leaders, must give very great care to the ideological molding of soldiers, to forming in them an active view of life and a conscientious attitude towards military duty, and to assuring a unity between words and deeds as a norm of conduct. This is so because discipline is never a burden to the ideologically convinced soldier. He is always ready to execute any mission because he recognizes his military duty and understands the necessity for strict and precise execution of every order and the requirements of regulations, directives, programs and courses.

What is fundamental in the content of the ideological and educational work of forming a scientific world view in the soldiers is thorough study, interpretation and practical execution of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress, the speeches and reports of Comrades L. Brezhnev and T. Zhivkov, current domestic and international events etc. In this connection especially great attention must be paid to overcoming the negative phenomena in army life and to making sure that ideological influence is brought to bear on every soldier every day.

In explanatory work great attention must be paid to revealing to the personnel the political sense and the requirements of regulations and directives, to showing the soldiers what their rights and duties are, to combating everything that predisposes to violations. Many commanders rightly understand this requirement and are making efforts to increase the contribution of ideological work more and more.

In the unit where Officer Vasiliev serves, exercises in Marxist-Leninist and political training, as well as classes in mass-cultural and mass-sports work are skillfully used. According to the plan formulated beforehand, lectures and reports are delivered and meetings with eminent party and economic figures are arranged in order to explain party decisions and the country's progress in building a developed socialist society. Especially great attention is paid to the thorough disclosure of trends in the development of the present-day international situation and the resultant missions for the personnel of raising the combat capability of the troops, maintaining constant combat readiness and strengthening discipline. For this purpose use is made of general political days, individual political work with service personnel and other forms and means of ideological influence. All this has a favorable effect on the everyday activity of the soldiers, mobilizes them and stimulates them in a positive direction. It is no accident that over the space of several years no serious violations have been committed in the unit and a strong military collective has been built that works with a high sense of responsibility for the exemplary execution of every assigned mission.

/The conducting of a regular and high-quality training process with strict observance of the requirements of regulations, directives and orders is an especially important thrust in the activity of commanders to strengthen discipline./ It is imperative that in the very first days of military service the soldier should be placed in a situation where he must observe the allotment of time strictly and exactly and must perform the tasks resulting from the weekly schedule and training programs promptly and in a first-rate manner.

Discipline in the everyday training process is a decisive condition in the effort to achieve lasting and high results in all-round personnel training activity and in their communist indoctrination. "The well-organized training process, conducted in strict conformity with the requirements of regulations, directives and training programs," writes Minister of National Defense, Army General D. Dzhurov, "guarantees a most decisive and lasting influence on the soldiers."

That is why the commanding officers of all grades must make sure that every class, drill and teaching exercise is conducted from start to finish with the observance of iron military discipline in keeping with the requirements of the regulatory documents.

The displaying of good discipline during fire training exercises, during tactical and teaching exercises and during field firing is a requirement dictated by the fact that it is precisely during these that all the personnel participate, a huge amount of weapons and combat materiel is involved, and complex missions are performed under difficult conditions of terrain and weather, under highly dynamic conditions and with total exertion of moral and physical forces. Some commanders wrongly believe that the service and the difficult situation alone discipline soldiers. This is so, but the role of the subjective factor is exceptionally great and decisive in this

situation, too. It is the commander and nobody else who must coordinate the efforts of the participants in the training process so that they proceed under a single will, in strict conformity with the requirements and with the necessary discipline and order.

On the other hand, observance of the requirements of regulations and directives during everyday drill, the procedure for the use of teaching aids, external appearance and comradely relationships create preconditions for personnel to gain solid knowledge, form lasting habits and skills, operate with weapons and combat materiel in exemplary fashion and display initiative and creativity on the battlefield.

In performing these functions, commanders and staffs of all grades must uncompromisingly combat formalism and oversimplification, manifestations of disregard for principles and the whitewashing of weaknesses. Officers Denev, Iliev, Karaivanov, Zlatkov et al. acted rightly who bestowed exceptionally great care on the regular and high-quality conduct of the training process, on the economical and efficient use of every hour and every minute, on the complete coverage of personnel in the instruction process, on ever fuller intensification of soldierly labor, on strict observance of the requirements of courses, regulations and directives. They were guided by the maxim that the soldier must be given everything due him, but he must be required, to the full extent, to perform his functional duties strictly and precisely during training exercises. It must be remembered that a well-organized beginning in training exercises disciplines and internally mobilizes soldiers.

/A key thrust in the activity of commanders to strengthen discipline in the all-round training of troops is the introduction and maintenance of strict, prescribed order,/ which requires them constantly to study the regulations, courses and directives and to create the necessary conditions for this to be done by their subordinates, too. All personnel must delve deeply into their political meaning and become aware that they embody party policy. The main thing, to be sure, in the activity of the commander is to carry on a consistent and active campaign for the precise observance of the requirements of the regulations, courses and directives, to show routine strictness towards his subordinates and to help them without removing them or offending their dignity, by skillfully combining the methods of persuasion and compulsion.

The method of persuasion under no circumstances implies bargaining or wheedling in the commander's activity, nor the giving of advice during the assignment and execution of a particular mission. The method of persuasion must be closely combined with strictness on the part of the commander. Disregard of this connection creates conditions for laxity and leads to serious violations of discipline and failures in training.

The commander must not only teach the soldier that he must be disciplined and achieve high results in training, but must actively bring influence to bear on his consciousness and help it put him in conditions that will in practice inculcate in him a spirit of good discipline.

The training experience of front-ranking units shows that only those military collectives can be disciplined, highly trained and united in which the principles of

of comradely relationships have been inculcated on the basis of regulations, orders and the norms of the moral code of a builder of communism and in which there is high principled strictness and profound respect for people, without lowering his prestige.

Rudeness is not a sign of strictness, but of weak will and lack of authority. The strict commander must not be rude with his subordinates, must not insult them or injure their human dignity. Rudeness can never bring about favorable results. It is a boomerang which crashes on the commander, on discipline, on training, on everything built up brick by brick by the commander and the entire personnel.

Experience shows that in a number of units, like those in which Officers Sotirov, Nikolov, Yordanov et al. serve, much of the military collective's attention is actually paid to upgrading their educational functions and elevating the level of training.

/A powerful weapon in the commanding officer's hands for strengthening discipline is his personal example, his ability to mingle daily with his subordinates./

The commander must be a model of alacrity and discipline. Only such an example creates a desire in subordinates to imitate him. Scores and hundreds of lectures and talks are no substitute for the power of example, of personal influence. Only a convinced person can convince, only an educated person can educate, only a strong character can shape strong characters, only a well-disciplined military man can discipline. Practice shows that a number of unit commanders like Officers Spasov, Stoyanov, Mutafchiev, Panov et al. have actually by their personal example won recognition as good commanders, and their units are highly trained, disciplined, and an example to the rest. These commanders know how to maintain close contacts constantly with their subordinates and study their needs, their necessities, their requirements.

The problems involved in the strengthening of military discipline and troop training are multifaceted in content. They encompass the political and command-and-organizational activity of commanders, staffs and political workers. The activity of the commander in stimulating socialist competition and in working with party and Komsomol organizations, with the noncommissioned officers council, with agencies of the court and prosecutor's office, with junior officers and noncommissioned officers must be taken into consideration. The approach to the solution of questions involving the strengthening of discipline is comprehensive. Only with such an understanding of the problem can all the objective and subjective factors be mobilized to assure that influence is constantly brought to bear on personnel in the campaign to achieve lasting and high results in combat and political training.

The role of the commander as a decisive factor in the strengthening of discipline must constantly be elevated. Work must persistently and systematically be done for his all-round development as a principled, strong-willed and strict commander with high communist morals.

The successful fulfillment of the tasks involved in the strengthening of discipline requires that commanders and political workers during the multifaceted troop training process constantly study how to enhance their special, pedagogical and methods

training, improve their ability to work with every individual and help their subordinates develop as worthy defenders of their socialist homeland. The main field for the performance of this task is the everyday training process, tactical exercises and field firing, where the combat skill of our People's Army is actually forged.

> "At the same time, under no circumstances must one of the basic principles of state and economic activity under socialism be forgotten--the principle of the unity of command. The development of the democratic spirit must be combined with strengthening of the powers and authority of the leader. What is needed is a solicitous and comradely attitude towards, and assistance to our leading cadres, who selflessly, with adherence to principle and with a high sense of responsibility to the party and the people, are serving at the posts entrusted to them."--From the Report of the BCP Central Committee to the 12th Party Congress.

Higher Training Criteria Urged

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 7, 1982 pp 15-20

[Article by Lt Gen Dincho Velev: "Higher Criteria for a Highly Efficient Training Process"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The criteria for judging the training of commanders, staffs and troops, although they have a number of subjective aspects and features, are not something arbitrary, for they have their basis in the requirements of regulations, directives, programs, courses and the norms reflected in the relevant regulatory documents.

To say that 10 years ago we had much higher criteria for judging combat training is inaccurate, to say the least. At that time armament, materiel, combat maneuvering capabilities and the corresponding normative basis of evaluation were different. Consequently, criteria are a variable which changes in line with the dynamics of the revolution in warfare and the abilities of commanders, staffs and soldiers.

Why, given the identical material and technical base and subjective factor, are the criteria for different categories of commanders of different elements not identical?

The criteria for judging combat training are the higher, the more fully and more accurately they reflect the correspondence between the requirements of regulations, programs, courses and norms and the actual degree of training of the individual or combat collective. /It can be seen that the first indispensable condition for high criteria is the given commander's level of combined-arms, special, methodological and pedagogical training and his exacting insistence on instructing and indoctrinating personnel in strict conformity with the requirements of modern combat, in conformity with the principle of learning whatever is necessary for war./ The higher and more effective the command-and-organizational work of commanders and staffs in supervising the training process and the whole of military life, the more the commander is a champion of the New, a creator and methods specialist of combat training for the instruction and indoctrination of his subordinates. Any departure from this

conception predisposes to low criteria and relaxed strictness of a given commander, staff officer or political worker. Let me cite some examples.

In artillery tests conducted with a standard round, Officers Nikov and Ivanov reported that the fire training of their subordinates was good. In firing for the inspecting commission the commanders and their subordinates fired excellently. And both officers showed high skills and know-how in preparing the tank and its armament for firing, in working out the initial data for firing and in reading the angle of site. They fulfilled the conditions of the exercise and the specified norms precisely and in first-rate manner. In their training methods, the "Do as I (the commander) do" method came first. They employed the individual method of instruction in two-thirds of the training time. In one tank-fire training exercise in the company commanded by Officer Ivanov, all commanders instructed their subordinates and improved their individual training. Officer Ivanov observed the actions of one of the gunners for a long time through the eyepiece assembly and gave him an order, "Suspend firing, come stand in my place!" The corporal glued his eye to the eyepiece assembly and observed the commander's actions. It did not take much time for the trainee to grasp his errors. During the break Private Ganev was uneasy and was shaking his head. He still could not meet one of the norms excellently and was studying to master it.

The high criteria of the above-mentioned commanders is a direct reflection of their personal training and strictness, of their serious attitude towards training. Their criteria, their intolerance of deficiencies and their industrious activity to improve training enveloped their subordinates, too.

We kept hearing many glowing reports about Officer Georgiev. They alleged that he personally and his company were excellent shots. In the performance of test firing he got one hit and committed many flagrant violations of requirements, for which he received a poor rating. His subordinates fired still worse. Their training reflected the absence of a serious attitude on the part of trainees towards firing. The low personal training of the commander and his subordinates, the flagrant violations and the unfulfilled requirements of the exercise and the relevant norms predisposed to the conditions and created the low criteria and laxity.

In a number of units the commanders did not know what training exercises were being conducted or where, whether the requirements of modern combat were observed and what problems were being solved. Such commanders hold many conferences and give innumerable "in-depth," "comprehensive" and the like instructions. The staff officers employed this work style, too. The chief of staff did not concern himself sufficiently with the training process, with the training of commanders and the maintenance of established order. It is intolerable that a chief should not know what training exercises are being taken by the subunits for whose training he is responsible. The inadequate personal training of commanders is a reason for improper leadership style. They and their staff officers attend many training exercises, give general instructions and conduct demonstration and methods classes at a low level. An attitude of complacency is created in the unit; combat training exercises are conducted with little effectiveness, insufficient strictness or exertion of the personnel.

In a winter tactical exercise the commanders, staffs and units were operating with a high sense of responsibility. The right decisions were made in a situation simulating combat. The personnel exhibited high moral-and-political and physical stability. Simultaneously with the progress that was made, there were also some deficiencies. Despite the overall progress, scattered deficiencies must not be overlooked or passed over in silence. No. Genuine criteria must both reflect achievements and expose weaknesses. Here is one of the latter--subordinates are not given enough time. Missions come to them late and they cannot carry out the measures that are ordered. Combat is imprecisely and incompletely organized on the terrain. The criteria of the commander and his staff must not encompass solely their personal activity and that of their subordinates. In one degree or another this discloses certain weaknesses in their command-and-organizational work. High criteria must not be confused with pessimism which fails to see progress and exaggerates or fabricates deficiencies.

The preliminary overflight of targets by an aviation subunit and the preparation of initial data for firing by an artillery subunit do not contribute to the instruction of subordinates. For greater instructiveness the direction of the tank company's offensive and, correspondingly, the layout of training targets for field firing were changed just before the attack.

The leader created conditions for training his subordinates in a spirit of independence, creativeness and combat initiative. The commander, however, instead of controlling the platoons in keeping with the changed situation, concerned himself at several times with controlling the fire of individual tanks, thus lowering the results of the coordinated operations.

/Another important factor which affects the level of criteria is military discipline and a high sense of responsibility./ These are exhibited mainly in the precise, first-rate and prompt execution of missions and requirements and the fulfillment of the relevant norms. Mastery of an individual technique in operating with arms and combat material requires above all else thoroughgoing skills, which are acquired in thoroughgoing and strenuous study. Then or almost simultaneously in strenuous separate, full and comprehensive training exercises, the trainees acquire the relevant know-how--the state of training for operating in modern combat.

The tank company commanded by Officer Penev had conducted many tank-fire training exercises. The commander and his subordinates exhibited exceptional diligence and the results were satisfactory. Tested on another target range, they made an unsatisfactory showing.

When we tested the company in all categories of fire training, it turned out that the trainees did not have accurate knowledge of the methods for range determination, the rules for reading ballistic and weather corrections or angle of sight, or the methods for the delivery of fire and for bringing the parameters of tank, stabilizer and armament to the established norms. To the questions asked of the commanders and men of the first and third platoons of the tank company commanded by Officer Simeonov, viz. how the tank gun was pointed--from left to right or from right to left, from bottom to top or from top to bottom when aiming at the target, and how the mechanisms move, two-thirds of the personnel replied incorrectly, i.e. pointing is done from right to left and from top to bottom. Only one-third answered

correctly, but even they could not tell why it was so. As for the second question, viz. how is the weapon zeroed in, have the above requirements been observed or not, have the relevant corrections been made, has the fire been adjusted, what are the present meteorological conditions and what corrections are necessary?--some of the officers made a try, only theoretically, to answer this question. Nobody was able to answer the third question, viz. what is the angle of sight of the given directrix? Due to these training deficiencies the company was not cleared for firing and was assigned additional instruction. When we talk about the criteria of a commander, we must scrutinize not only his personal training, but also his command-and-organizational work: how the commander leads and makes demands of his subordinates in all training topics, in every training question or section of a given discipline. It is there that the foundations of combat training--and especially tactical and fire training--are laid.

There are deputy commanders for technical services who concentrate their attention on the maintenance of equipment, which is proper, but slight the technical training of personnel and their ability to prepare armament and combat materiel for battle. This is an indication that the deputy commander for technical services is only partially fulfilling his prescribed functional duties. This is how matters stood with the preparation of the tank directrix of the training center. The commanders and the inspectors accused the commander of the 2nd tank company of having no sense of responsibility and having low criteria etc. because his company fired poorly. This was true, but it was not the whole story. The firing tanks, floundering in more than half a meter of mud and dragging their hulls over the ground, were late at the final line. Along the paths there were many deep holes, which created more than normally difficult conditions for firing. Besides this, some of the layout of training targets, sited in the forest, was not visible. Changing the layout of training targets was done in 3-5 hours instead of 30 minutes. Consequently, the firing-range crew and responsible chiefs had not fulfilled their prescribed duties. The necessary strictness and criteria had not been exhibited with regard to them.

This interrelationship between various preparations and the fulfillment of a norm is preceded by and dependent upon somebody else's making a different preparation and raises the question of commanders' command-and-organizational work as an indispensable condition for a highly effective, high-quality training process and high results in combat and political training. This exceptionally important condition under no circumstances is a substitute for the role of high professional training as a foundation for high criteria.

Can we speak at all of high criteria of individual commanders who do not have the necessary training? Is it possible under present and under future conditions to say that a commander's training is not that important, but his command-and-organizational work is? Unfortunately, some believe that a commander does not have to know, but as long as he can organize the work of his subordinates, as long as he is strict and has high criteria, everything is all right. Excluding training as a basic factor in determining the quality of command-and-organizational work itself and in determining the strictness and criteria of a given commander is wrong and leads to the most serious consequences. A commander's command-and-organizational qualities, including strictness and the question of criteria, depend exclusively on his personal professional training. Raising the criteria of a commander is,

first and foremost, a question of elevating his personal professional training. Of course, here too there may be individual exceptions when a certain commander is trained, but does not have the necessary command-and-organizational qualities, strictness and high criteria. In these individual cases the reasons may be of a most diverse nature, including physiological. But in no event can an untrained commander be an organizer or display strictness and high criteria. We must not confuse strictness and criteria with loud-mouthed strictness, shouting and other behavior of individual commanders who are ignorant.

An important question for the command-and-organizational work, for the strictness and criteria of every commander and staff officer is /personal, solid preliminary preparation for every class, teaching and training exercise/.

Staff Officer Petrov had to monitor and assist the 1st motorized rifle company in a tactical training exercise. Several days earlier he personally prepared himself thoroughly to inspect. "So, big deal--a tactical and marching drill exercise with a platoon, and such preparation as if you were getting ready for a demonstration exercise before the big brass," one of his colleagues taunted him. "It's a good thing it's a platoon; otherwise, if it was an exercise with an individual soldier in offensive combat, I'd have still more getting ready to do," the staff officer quite justifiably replied.

Before the exercise Officer Petrov went to the company commander and for several hours helped him prepare and organize the exercise. A practice exercise with the company commanders was conducted in the methods room and afterwards on the training ground adjacent to the barracks. In the actual exercise Officer Petrov helped and instructed the company commander. For a long time he helped the 3rd platoon commander, too. In this case Officer Petrov exhibited high criteria and helped the leaders make a high-grade and efficient check on the exercise.

I observed Officers Petrov, Ivanov and Stoyanov in a physical and fire training exercise. They personally demonstrated an exemplary execution to the personnel according to the "Do as I do" method. This had an excellent educative effect on their subordinates and they conscientiously put forth the energy to perform the technique demonstrated by the commander as he did. Consequently, the methods of conducting any exercise depend on the commander's personal command-and-methodological preparation and on his personal criteria.

There are some commanders who do not prepare adequately for impending exercises and overestimate their abilities. Some of them can repeat certain maneuvers with trainees time and again and fail to achieve the specified result--the quality and effectiveness of the exercise will be low. Hence the commander's criteria are determined not only by the state of his overall training, but also by his specific preparation for any exercise he conducts with his subordinates. This affects the indoctrination of his subordinates and the building of high criteria and a sense of responsibility in them. The commander's personal high professional training, example and high criteria infect his subordinates and they begin to imitate him in almost everything.

In the tank company commanded by Officer Ganev there are no accidents, and violations of discipline are negligible. In the firing test with a standard round the

commanders fired first. The engines became noisy from the firing of the very first round and the soldier recorded the excellent results on the blackboard. "The commander fired perfect shots only," the soldier replied proudly to the inspector. "And how are you going to fire?" was the second question. "Like the commander," the trainee replied. The commander's criteria had become his subordinates' criteria--a norm of conduct.

/Criteria involve the formation in officers of command qualities like will-power, decisiveness and the shouldering of responsibility./

The motorized rifle company was engaged in defending a flat elevation. The company commander had organized the defense well. The skilled and knowledgeable officer was evaluated by the inspector in few words. Missions involving organization of the ground by engineer work were assigned. In the morning a check was made and a number of serious deficiencies were found. The missions involving organization of the ground by engineer work were not accomplished despite calculations made according to the norms. The personnel had worked without exerting themselves. No norms were set for each person individually and nobody checked on the fulfillment of quotas. The commanders heard voices that a great deal of work had been done and the men were fatigued. In fact, no "great deal" of work had been done; there had been "a great deal" of soldiering on the job, and with such work there could be no fatigue, either. The basic reason was the commander's inadequate will-power. The officer had an excellent rating, but he himself had not met the trenching norm as cadet or as commander. The qualities of will-power are formed not only in the lecture hall, but in grappling with norms, in the precise, high-quality and prompt execution of assigned missions--in arduous military life. With such execution of missions, we cannot vouch for the company discipline or the commander's Marxist-Leninist world view.

Things were different in the antitank battery commanded by Officer Petkov. After organizing the antitank defense, he went with the officers and master sergeant to the artillery rifle range where one of the inspectors tested them. Crew commander Sergeant Ivanov checked only one of the other crews, made some remarks about camouflage and returned with his subordinates. Everything had been accomplished in the decreed time and the inspector said, "They display personal responsibility and criteria towards their duties even when the commander is not with his subordinates."

The commander's conscientiousness, will-power and sense of responsibility are molded in his subordinates, too.

The importance of the problem of raising the criteria for evaluating the status of BPP [boynata i politicheskata podgotovka; combat and political training] is constantly growing. Bringing them up to the level of modern requirements will sharply raise the quality and efficiency of combat readiness, discipline, the training process and everyday measures of military life in the subunits.

6474
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SELECTION, ROLE OF PEOPLE'S JUDGES EXPLAINED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 13, 21 Jun 82 pp 34, 35

[Article by Josef Marek, chief of a division of the CPCZ Central Committee: "Before the Elections of People's Judges"]

[Text] Before the end of this year all krajs and okreses will elect people's judges, an aktiv of 30,000 politically and socially active citizens who contribute significantly to the democratic character of our judicial system. More than 34 years have passed since the working people's victory in February 1948 which established the foundations for practical implementation of the principle that people not only make the laws but also enforce them. The Constitution of 9 May and Law 319/1948 of Legal Gazette on democratization of the judicial system lay the foundation for a judicial system corresponding to the class foundations of a people's democratic state. This judicial system has been subject to qualitative changes during the course of socialist development. The laws, revised later and establishing the election of people's judges in okres and kraj courts, have in many respects deepened the organizational and jurisdictional principles which are the main pillars of the democratic law on democratization of the judicial system.

The last elections of people's judges were held in 1978. Altogether, 28,892 people's judges were elected; 20,593 in the Czech Socialist Republic and 8,299 in the Slovak Socialist Republic. At that time, the practice of nonsimultaneous elections resulting in uneven office terms of people's judges in individual courts was completely eliminated. Both cadre and age structures were improved and a broad aktiv of experienced, politically and socially involved citizens was established; this aktiv is contributing significantly to all court activities and helping to form the political character and class awareness of young professional judges beginning their career, and helping to enforce legal policy of the party in judicial decisions.

The work of people's judges is not restricted to mere decision-making. Other important missions are: to popularize the activity of judicial bodies; to make it comprehensible to the people; and to contribute to the enforcement of laws in accordance with the needs of society and the legal consciousness of our people. Therefore, education to prevent crime and education in correct interpretation of law are both an intrinsic part of the manifold activity carried out by people's judges. Through their knowledge and experience, the judges can actively enhance enforcement of socialist legality and create a

broad basis for the fight against crime, and an atmosphere of irreconcilability to antisocial phenomena and their causes. This means that the preparation for the elections of people's judges is not any kind of a routine matter, nor can it be one. It should not take place without receiving special attention from party organs and organizations and without active participation of communists in judicial bodies, national committees and the social and interest-group organizations of the National Front.

The period following the 15th CPCZ Congress was very significant for improving the quality of the people's judges' work. The Congress stipulated that the fundamental prerequisite for this would be improved organization and management on the part of the presiding judges of the kraj courts, okres courts and judicial councils. In elaborating the 16th CPCZ Congress resolutions on judicial conditions, plans drafted to further improve the work of people's judges used the positive results achieved by the Ministries of Justice of both the CSR and SSR and set down in the document "Judicial Tasks After the 16th CPCZ Congress," in stipulating the principal objectives and directions for future action.

Evidence obtained from the work of the present body of people's judges indicates that a large majority do not perform their functions formally or mechanically, and that they understand it to be real and not merely formal participation in the administration of socialist justice. Furthermore, they use experience thus gained to actively further crime-prevention educational work in their other public and political activities as well as in their communities. As far as judicial decision-making is concerned, i.e. when the judicial councils are in session, people's judges are most actively involved in litigations regarding labor law disputes, if these relate to their professions or area of experience, and also in criminal cases involving minors and in criminal traffic offenses. The role of people's judges is evident most in civil law cases, both in divorce and child custody cases. The good results achieved in these areas should be taken as a basis for further progress.

The preparations for elections of people's judges necessarily include looking back at the particular contributions each of them has made. That is why the okres and kraj courts are now evaluating the record of the present people's judges so that the list of candidates could be discussed by appropriate party organs in time. These evaluations should pinpoint the best, and especially also those who, for reasons of advanced age or other serious reasons, can no longer perform their functions.

The selection of new candidates is carried out by presiding judges of kraj and okres courts and by a body of trustees of people's judges, and is performed in close cooperation with appropriate National Front organs. The responsibility of party organs, organizations and communists lies mainly in making sure that persons proposed and elected as people's judges should be people who are devoted to socialism and are morally, politically and professionally competent. Persons who are active and involved at work and in the community, demonstrate their political and civic maturity and are actively involved in the policy of the party, are persons who possess the necessary preconditions for wielding the authority of a people's judge.

Committees of local party organizations have their irreplaceable place in the evaluation and selection of future candidates for people's judges. They should not only influence the selection of the candidates to a significant extent but should also deepen the leading role of the party in judicial bodies and supervise the observation of socialist law by placing their members in these responsible positions, assigning them specific tasks and continuing to provide them systematic guidance.

To ensure the success of people's judges, especially those newly elected, political and professional instruction and education is of exceptional importance. Instruction, organized by kraj and okres courts, aktivs and regularly published information designed for people's judges provide basic training. Ministries of Justice of both the CSR and SSR publish the journal NEWS FOR PEOPLE'S JUDGES, where they focus on political and technical preparation, the exchange of experience and provide necessary information. Educational plans focus on providing basic knowledge of judicial problems and legal regulations. Specific emphasis is laid on class awareness in the administration of law and court decision making, and on the requirement that people's judges provide preventive education at worksites, in their communities and in the social organizations of the National Front. Another important task for communists will be to consistently ensure that newly elected people's judges are not just professionally competent but also otherwise fully fit to perform their functions. People's judges will have to learn to apply their knowledge and experience gained in decision-making activities also to other public functions and to effectively relate their activity as judges to their work in aktivs and commissions of national committees, in social organizations of the National Front and in industrial and agricultural enterprises in their communities.

The most recent revision of the labor organization and the role of people's judges has fully proved to work well and provides sufficient opportunities for further increases in operational effectiveness. The extent of their participation in legal decisions has been regulated in such a way that people's judges are usually not invited to court proceedings for more than 12 days in the course of the calendar year. This is in deference to the fact that people's judges fulfill important tasks at their work sites and also serve in other public and political functions.

Newly elected people's judges take the prescribed oath and elect for their term of office a 5-member to 15-member body of trustees--the number determined by the size of the court--to act during the entire term as a consulting body for the presiding judges. These bodies fulfill administrative and supervisory tasks and foster cooperation with the social organizations of the National Front, national committees, enterprises and institutions active in crime-preventive educational activity, and participate in establishing and managing collectives of people's judges in large factories.

For this reason the bodies of trustees are organs of importance which even collect and present suggestions and proposals from people's judges as a whole on the work of individual professional judges. They convey information to the courts' presiding judges about the public response to specific decisions

of the court. Therefore, it is important that party organs and organizations always pay attention to the work of communist people's judges and their activity in the bodies of trustees, that they guide and supervise their activity in order to concentrate the forces of courts, organizations, enterprises, institutions and the entire society against crime, for the enhancement of the socialist life of the citizens and of socialist education.

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STRUCTURE, PROBLEMATIC ASPECTS OF 'SOCIALIST FAMILY' ANALYZED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 4, Apr 82 (signed to press 19 Mar 82) pp 405-416

['Analyses and Reports' feature article by Dr Barbara Hille, consultant, Research Office for Juvenile Problems, Hanover:

"Problem Families in the GDR From the Perspective of German-German Comparisons." (See Footnote 1 for explanatory remarks by the author.) For related information see translations of an East Berlin NEUE ZEIT serialized article published under the heading, "Causes, Consequences of Marriage Failures in GDR Analyzed," in JPRS 80802, 13 May 82, No 2009 of this series, pp 80-83]

[Text] Preface

In both German states the family has considerable influence upon whether and to what extent the growing generation accepts and implements the current and/or preferred "system" norms.

While in Western discussions especially the deviations from the norm and negative developments are frequently interpreted as being symptomatic for the present condition of the system and the terminology used for this purpose is tailored appropriately (e.g., "disadvantaged," "underprivileged," "protest," "conflict"), such problematic concepts are never established or discussed in the GDR. There, the standard is the prescribed "correct" norm which is to be observed and fulfilled--no matter how controversial it may be in its details. Deviations from the norm are therefore interpreted as being "deficiencies," "problem cases" or as partial backwardness. This is also applicable to families and their functions.

In any case, the family in the GDR does not at all function perfectly, measured by requirements made upon it; thus there is an increasing necessity for maining more precise infomation on the actual situation on the basis of scientific, empirical studies and data and on that information base to achieve a stronger systematic influence upon the families.

The emphasis in the following article, which falls within the framework of a larger publication on the subject of "Family and Socialization [i.e., integration into the socialist system] in the GDR"[2], lies in an analysis of

the relevant psychological, medical and sociological findings on the special subject of "problem families."

The following aspects will be touched upon and submitted for discussion:

1. Problems of the German-German comparison with respect to the formulation of special questions;

2. Definition and role model of the socialist family in the GDR;

3. Unusual deportment in children and young people in school, work, organization, leisure time, in relation to their family milieu;

4. Upbringing and living conditions within the families which run counter to the development of a -socialist personality"--and in whose context the term "problem family" is used.

1. General Problems of German-German Comparison

In family research one is generally faced with the problem that on the one hand the family's influence during childhood and adolescences indubitably plays a dominant role, but that on the other hand the empirical proof of specific characteristic contexts and/or cause and effect relationships can usually be furnished in partial aspects with relative precision.

On the onse side there are global theoretical explanations which mostly lack empirical proof. This is true for instance for those psychoanalytic theoretical attempts which one-sidedly accentuate the lasting influence of experiences in early childhood. It is just as true for the overemphasis on close mother/child relationships during the first years of life. Explanations concentrating exclusively on environmental influences are just as fragmentary and imprecise.

On the other side, research into the style of upbringing has been at least partially successful in demonstrating relationships between parents' special attitudes and practices in child rearing and specific types of conduct by the children.[3] For the sake of precision it is necessary to develop relatively narrowly circumscribed theoretical constructs and appropriately strict investigative strategies and instruments. It is true that results obtained to date are by no means unanimously accepted--they are, in fact, quite controversial in part--which is partially due to inexact sample selection and interpretation and to inadequate weighting of interacting influences. In this situation it appears entirely appropriate to concentrate on a broad spectrum of possible early familial influences. This is especially the case for an analysis of results from the GDR and/or for an attempt to find comparable data in them.

In international comparative studies some analogous discriminant variables have emerged which are apparent in GDR investigations also, to wit: Sex, school and occupational qualifications, socioeconomic status of the parents.

These criteria apparently work in comparable systems in similar positive or negative fashion for the attitudes, aspirations and life-styles of young people. Researchers can use them to gain discernible, consistent comparabilities within sub-groups of different populations. From the point of view of psychological research, the following must be elucidated as a principal question in intercultural comparisons: To what extent do stable characteristics exist for psychological structures of people in differing societal and political systems which must be considered system-related? Or, to the contrary, to what extent can we discover system-independent, similar characteristics and types of conduct[4]? According to this, causes and remedies must always be searched for in different directions.

Despite opposing political and societal goals and structural characteristics in the two German states, available youth-sociological and psychological studies(e.g., of choice of occupation, sex-specific socialization) have shown proof of analogous characteristics and special features of human developmental and socialization processes[5]; a GDR-typical socialization can therefore be expected partially or conditionally, if at all.

Adolescence is considered to be the most important phase during which essential social integrative processes are completed. The question is of particular interest for this age group to what extent and in what fashion integrative or disintegrative developments begin to appear--and what their causes are. This question becomes patticularly significant with respect to the GDR, in view of the strenuous efforts, demands and expectations made on the younger generation there.

To what extent have successes been achieved there to develop in the young generation a "Socialist personality" in accordance with general pedagogic objectives--a personality whose main characteristic is that individual and societal interests are one and the same (see the 3rd Youth Law of 1974)? To the extent that the intended frictionless adaptation and integration into the existing system and its aggregate situation of the moment is successful, conflicts and friction as it is often observed in Western society in that age group might hardly occur.

According to available publications and data from the GDR, the importance accorded to familial socialization appears generally to be very great. The family is of particular significance to adolescence despite the variety of public duties, competition with extrafamilial institutions and the great majority of working mothers.

Thus, according to empirical studies, parents appear to be the most important sources of counsel and confidence. They also exert considerable influence upon the youngsters' choice of occupation--despite intensive preparation and influence by the school system in just that area[6].

Conditions are favorable for initiating comparative studies in this area between the two German states[7] inasmuch as both states have the identical history up to 1945, both are highly industrialized societies and (still) speak approximately the same language. This creates the special opportunity of examining and comparing people with an identical cultural history after differing influence over a period of 30 years by two politically, economically

and societally contrasting systems. Added to this is the political relevance of such a research task.

There are however considerable organizational, conceptual and methodological restriction in opposition to that. It is well known that very strict limits are imposed upon direct and open cooperation between scientists of the two states. The international strategy practiced in the West of conducting comparative studies in the form of simultaneous and identical primary investigations in the states concerned cannot to date be initiated with the GDR. As a West German researcher, one must therefore pragmatically start with whatever information has been accumulated and published in the GDR through studies and questionnaires. The one-sided research and publication strategy in use there brings about a difficult situation with respect to available materials, necessitating the search for and use of a host of sources of information.

2. Definition and Role Model of the Socialist Family in the GDR

Subsequent to a common all-German history, to include the family and legislation incident thereto, the GDR has over the last 30 years created a standardized, perfect role model of the "socialist family"--it is based on non-arguable norms; but there attainment meets with difficulties.

To illustrate these discrepancies we will review various publications and the results of different research disciplines, mostly from the 1970-1982 period. In general, they fall into four categories:

--Marxist-Leninist ideology and legislation;

--medical diagnoses;

--criminological data;

--psychological and sociological results concerning educational and training problems and developmental deficiencies; the emphasis of this paper will be on the latter.

We can gain a unequivocal picture of the ideal, or, in their terminology, "normal" socialist family by referring to the text of relevant laws. We can here recognize goals and an ideal-typical concept of the family which in the real world could at best be achieved only partially and gradually. Ideologically and officially the family is accorded an extraordinarily great significance, while at the same time the measures which are meant to support it in the political areas dealing with family, education and work impose severe limitations upon the family and could therefore partially endanger its internal stability. In the GDR Family Code of 20 December 1965, and especially in its preamble, we can read about the essential characteristics of the socialist family in capsule form[8]:

"The family is society's smallest cell. It is based on a marriage entered into for life and on the especially close ties which derive from the emotional relationship between man and woman, mutual love, respect and trust among all members of the family....

New family relationships are created along with the socialist development in the GDR. Creative work free of exploitation; comradely relationships among people based on that work; equal rights for women in all aspects of life and educational opportunities for all citizens are important prerequisites for strengthening the family and for making it enduring and happy. Harmonious relationships in marriage and family have a great influence upon the character building of the growing generation and upon the personal happiness and the joy of living and working of man."

This then presents us with a relatively uniform, harmonious family role model whose characteristics can be summarized as follows:[9]

--the family is considered to be the smallest cell of society and the state;

--the family implements the equal rights status for man and woman;

--the family derives from mutual deep affection among the marriage partners;

--it can come about only by the birth of jointly created children;

--to counter a high divorce rate, efforts are made to create the most stable family constellations possible;

--civil marriage is the only basis officially recognized for a man and a woman living together and is accorded the privilege of legal status.

The characteristic differences between the GDR socialist family as compared to a family in the FRG can be partially recognized in the long-term, thorough implementation of the equal rights principle, in greater emphasis on the societal functions of the family and its responsibilities--also as regards the upbringing of children. For this purpose, even the quality and type of marital and familial relationships, character qualities and interests of the marriage parterns are described in great detail--similar to the catalogue of virtues of the socialist personality which can be found in the Youth Law. Work is considered the center of socialist life, which in turn results in the expectation that all family members old enough to earn a living be employed as a permanently as possible in accordance with economic necessity. This concurrently provides opportunities for enforcing discipline.

Theory, laws and programs of the socialist family are identical. This makes it very difficult for relevant research in the GDR to come up with specific concepts or partial theories which are suitable for empirical confirmation and which would not merely result in demonstrating only the positive familial characteristics time and again. Open discussion of difficulties in conduct and upbringing which are evidently present is being hindered by the pretense of this ideal-typical positive concept of the "family" particularly since deviant behavior, tensions, conflicts and deficiencies are foreign to socialism in principle and in its claims.

In view of this, family and youth research in the GDR is preeminently directed toward the majority of those who permit themselves to be integrated into the existing system and who are the intended beneficiaries of further aid. This makes it all the more difficult to find conclusive information on the subject at hand and to evaluate it.

Also, there are only very few empirical studies and publications in the GDR which specifically and primarily deal with the role of the family[10]. Still, the point of departure for analyses of parental behavior and family conditions is primarily abnormal behavior and deficiencies, or norm-deviant conduct by children and adolescents, primarily observed in the school environment[11].

The problematic nature of deviant behavior is becoming increasingly significant in the GDR in view of mounting crime statistics[12]; especially for children and adolescents. Thus there are indeed undesirable deviations in the GDR, and especially in the younger generation, which require a differential analysis of the familial situation.

In Western research of the last few years those human subjects have attracted great interest whose integration into the existing political, social and economic system poses some problems or fails completely or who go to a critical distance. Especially the so-called "fringe groups," among them criminals, drug addicts, disturbed and homeless persons have become favorite subjects of research.

While the latter groups represent a qualitatively attention-getting portion of the total population and the young generation, they are quantitatively few[13]. The majority, which shows no special behavioral problems, is neglected. Their problems and developmental processes are observed to a lesser degree, even though they primarily represent those majorities without which in the final analysis no system could function.

3. Abnormal Behavior in Children and Adolescents in the GDR

Abnormal behavior is a starting point for family research in the GDR and particularly for an increased interest in research on negative family conditions. The purpose of this is a more effective and goal-directed integration of the family into the socialist educational process in the future to influence it more readily by linking it ever more closely with extrafamilial providers of education.

Among the notable symptoms of deviant behavior which figure in GDR studies, are the following[14]:

--inadequate school work;

--inadequate social development;

--abnormal behavior such as aggressiveness or lack of discipline;

--"sitting down on the job;"

--defensiveness, disinterest, up to total rejection;

--leisure time activity oriented toward Western patterns;

--alcoholism;

--criminality.

Such problem or endangered young people come principally from the following groups:

--school dropouts;

--unskilled or on-the-job-training employees;

--members of endangered or antisocial families ("problem families");

--fringe groups (among them, youth gangs)

--criminals.

The definition and delineation of undesirable development from what is "normal" is difficult in any system. Theoretical (ideal) norms, objective rights, institutional sanctions--and, last but no least, empirical, statistically obtained normal standards just are not established there primarily by law. The penal code defines "deviant behavior" as "behavior against order and security." This includes the endangered ones. In the criminological area there are difficulties in definition and legal delineation in cases involving punishment for "petty transgressions" meted out by societal courts and/or conflict commissions. This results in particular difficulty in establishing criminal statistics as well as comparative analyses, e.g., with the FRG[15].

If we are interested in the order of magnitude of overall deviations from the norm, we can use the following guiding principles: in the population of the GDR about 15 percent of each age group fail to reach the norm in the education and training system by not attaining the usual school objective, i.e., graduation from the 10-year polytechnic secondary school. This provides them with lower chances of development and they are probably more endangered than are other segments of the population. About 2 percent of minors are cared for by the Youth Assistance; about 1 percent lives in institutions; about 1 percent of those of school age are considered disturbed; another 2 percent as requiring remedial education. Among adolescents and young adults about 2 percent are registered each year as having committed punishable offenses.[16] These figures are remarkable in view of the uniform positive educational norms and requirements which are anchored in the ideal type of a socialist personality and which are converted into pedagogic practice in the extrafamilial area in school, youth organizations and work places, partially with the aid of stern punishments.

Among the different variants of deviant behavior, youthful criminality comes in for special scrutiny. From the psychological aspect, it is regarded as a disturbance of the social process of integration[17]. The fact that half of all punishable offenses are committed by adolescents or young adults indicates a lack of social maturity and insight into societal necessities in that age group. In this context we must not restrict ourselves to observing only the special group of youthful criminals, but also the peripheral and/or preceding developmental difficulties, e.g., in disturbed children, school dropouts, job hoppers, loafers, alcoholics.

Thus youth can be considered a phase of life during which crises and conflicts incident to integration, identity determination and life planning can emerge strongly. However, such interpretations are valid there in some cases for psychologists and psychiatrists or physicians[18]--less so for educators and not at all for Marxist-Leninist-oriented theoreticians.

The choice of explanation for behavior which is nevertheless deviant is the so-called residual theory. According to it, deviant behavior is traceable to residues of bourgeois, capitalist attitudes within the GDR population which have resulted from tensions and contradictions between the individual and the capitalist society. Also, there is the subversion theory: it blames Western influences which have a subverting influence especially on young people (Western media, Western consumer goods). It is somewhat difficult to come to terms with those explanations. The concept of a counter-ideology (as used by U.S. authors) is used less and is probably taboo. It assumes that opposing norms are created and reinforced in disadvantaged groups or fringe groups within the framework of the creation of special groups and gangs. These opposing norms can create deviant behavior and criminality. Overall, there exists in the GDR a clear theoretical lack of explanations of deviant behavior, i.e., the difficulty in reconciling Marxist-Leninist dogma with real existing difficulties and contradictions.

In any case, a differentiated listing of special conditions which contain threats and negative influences might be a first step toward a more complex analysis of conditions.

For this purpose, unusual behavior on the part of children and adolescents can be correlated among other things with age-specific socialization phases. The many available individual data can therefore be differentiated as follows:

1. Characteristics of Primary Socialization: e.g., parental deficiencies in upbringing; relationship between the parents themselves; influence by outside persons or institutions like day nurseries or childrens' homes. In this respect school aptitude tests are available which can be used to identify "problem children." In comparing children attending kindergarten with children remaining at home, problems among children in the home, of which there still were many in 1972, were more frequent (e.g., a problem mother who did not enforce discipline; low socioeconomic status[20]); socioeconomic-cultural characteristics of the parents and the circle of acquaintances.

2. Characteristics of Secondary Socialization: performance deficiencies in school, dropping out of school and apprenticeships, low IQ tests.

Failure in school[21] is usually represented within the context of other negative characteristics (e.g., deficient social attitudes and conduct; low socio-political awareness; lack of particiation in social and political activities, etc.)

A negative intensification of this is antisocial behavior which becomes evident in school as well as later at work and in the military. It manifests itself in loafing in school and at work, lack of discipline and lack of respect in school, at work and in the military, in misuse of property and the formation of cliques and aggressive actions during leisure time.

The final component of this is confirmed youth crime[22]. In this context it is emphasized that it is not only external familial characteristics (e.g., a broken family), but rather primarily the internal characteristics of family upbringing which cause deviant and/or ciminal behavior.

Notable also are the individually differentiated biographies, the specific personality characteristics, attitudes and conduct of the juveniles themselves--e.g., clinical findings (physical or psychological incapacitation, illnesses and defects[23]); aggressiveness, attitude toward parents, to his own social status as well as relevant hopes, self images and understanding of norms.

Family-related negative characteristics apparently are weighted more heavily than are compensatory influences e.g., by kindergarten, school or youth organizations. This comes infor relatively widespread discussion in the GDR, thus raising the possibility that the family is being used as a scapegoat[24], while societal factors continue to be ignored. In any case, we may be justified in stating that "the socialist restructuring of the family proceeds more slowly and with greater conflicts than is true of other groups within our society[25]."

4. Unfavorable Upbringing Tendencies and Living Conditions in Families

Officially those families, among others, are considered problematic in which mental aberrations or defects can be diagnosed in the parents, siblings as well as in the research subjects themselves and who are included in counseling and therapy sessions[26].

Werner for instance deals in his study with the problems of socially endangered families from the standpoint of neurotic manifestations in father, mother and siblings and establishes a connection with the specific characteristics of the children or adolescents concerned.

In addition, problematic types of conduct and methods of child rearing on the part of the parents are observed in connection with measures taken by the Youth Aid (see the JUGENDHILFE journal), which must intervene in accordance with paragraphs 50 and 51 of the family statutes in cases of "families with inadequate child rearing and development and/or their children[27]:

Paragraph 50

"The Youth Aid must take certain actions provided by law in case the upbringing, development or health of the child are threatened and even insecure by social aid to the parents. That applies also when the child's economic interests are threatened. Youth Aid may prescribe duties to the parent or the child or take measures toward the upbringing of the latter which may on occasion be conducted outside the parental home. Youth Aid may represent the child in individual cases or may appoint a guardian for the observation of such matters.

Paragraph 51

(1) In cases of severe breaches of parental responsibility by the person in charge of child rearing, his right to do so may be revoked in extreme cases if the child's development is threatened. The decision for such revocation is made by the court upon complaint by the Youth Aid."

This provides for opp rtunities of "reeducating" parents and children. In serious cases the penal code applies. It provides that measures for the prevention and remedy of "punishable violations of educational responsibilities" in accordance with Paragraph 142, Section 1, No 1 are indicated in cases of "continuous neglect with premeditated or neglectful endangering of development" (e.g., deficient nutrition, continuous neglect, abuse, antisocial life style such as loafing).

In such negative cases children are to be placed in childrens' homes after measures by the Youth Aid have remained unsuccessful.

On the other hand, there is a lack of effective peripheral educational aid for endangered children and juveniles.[28] Instead, measures are frequently taken which increase the negative effect (e.g., exclusion from leisure time activities which leads to increased isolation, or negative sanctions by the schools which frequently designate the individual concerned as an outsider). Occasional points of support for special child rearing problems in children up to 3 years of age can be found in the counseling centers for mothers and pregnant women, to the extent that mothers of threatened children use them. Efforts are made to exert influence over juveniles and adults via social and especially occupational relationships, with a key function allocated to the work collective, which must be further developed. In this context there is the recommendation for a strict indoctrination of the family for work[29]. This provides that even within the family circle a better division of tasks should integrate the children into sharing domestic duties, thus creating a timely positive "socialist attitude toward work."

"Problem families" are thus defined in the family statutes as well as in the penal code. But there is no closed psychological or sociological concept concerning the negative factors. Thus all we have to work with is the finding of those individual symptoms which are relevant to overall familial socialization and especially for negative living conditions in the families.

In the foregoing, the emphasis is as a rule generically placed upon the positive factors which are supposed to work in combination to prevent or remedy defective developments[30].

This has given rise to a catalogue of characteristics which are suitable for describing and categorizing families and which can differentiate among variable, positive and negative types of families. They overlap partially with the characteristics and criteria for children reported on above.

Specifically, they include:

Material characteristics

--socioeconomic status

--financial situation

--housing situation

Medical characteristics:

--hygiene

--nutrition

--addiction problems (alcoholism)

Structural characteristics:

--family integrity

--number of children

--working wife

--criminality

Emotional, cultural, educationl characteristics: (i.e., the "familial climate"):

--relationship between the marriage partners

--relationships between parents and children

--emotional ties

--outside interests

--neglect, abuse

--child rearing styles and deficiences (arbitrariness and extremes as described by Glueck and Blueck[31])

--attitude toward school, work, performance (including loafing on the part of the parents).

Among those families which have attracted the attention of or been subject to measures taken by the Youth Aid, negative manifestations among the above cited characteristics occur with the following frequencies and sequence:

The first place is unequivocally occupied by the negative influence of a low social milieu, which is characterized by a low educational and occupational qualification of the parents. Here the transition to an antisocial milieu is partially fluid (e.g., alcoholism, loafing, criminal history).

Also, a great number of children (three or more) has proven negative effects, especially on the state of development of the children in day nurseries and kindergarten, as well as in their school performance.[32] Added to this is the fact that mothers in such families feel that greater demands are made on them by job and family; that they experience more illnesses, complications of pregnancies and births, as well as greater infant mortality[33]. These data militate unequivocally against family policies which specifically aim for families having three or more children.

Additionally, internal turmoil and instability of families exert negative influences upon children which are at least as severe as broken homes (such as those caused by high divorce rates among couples with children[34]). The "familial climate" or the "family atmosphere"[35] discussed above, emotional ties and mutual interest, all of which are considered in their effects upon the development of a "firm political basic attitude," are significantly secondary to socioeconomic or structural characteristics or act in turbulent and unstable families as negative reinforcements.

5. Concluding Remarks

We find that "deviant behavior" primarily appears to be a problem of families having a low socioeconomic status. In case of additional cumulatively acting negative characteristics, these families are classified as being "asocial" or "antisocial."

For "problem families" thus described, when we are dealing with intrafamilial circumstances, we can find analogous cases in both German states. Results agree with Western family research to such an extent that we cannot merely use the concept of a "system-caused conflict." There are however significant differences in extrafamilial conditions. Even the terminology used for their identification is a different one and at the same time contains difference in weighting (see above): while in the GDR there are such designations as "asocial milieu" and "antisocial families," terms like "disadvantaged," "handicapped" or "underprivileged" families are used in the FRG. There is a concomitant difference in the severity or tolerance of countermeasures. But the subject is the same stratum of society.

An overall difficulty for family research in both East and West is posed by the requirement for a more subtle recognition of intrafamilial structures and interactions. In this respect, Western research has found an approach by way of child rearing styles as well as by way of a systematic observation of parent (usually mother) and child interactions, which has hardly been attempted in the GDR, with a few exceptions[36].

Despite the unequivocal results, a restriction primarily upon the families' socioeconomic status appears to be an oversimplification in view of the fact that even in those cases the reactions and resposes of children can be quite varied. Evidently the definitions of problems in terms of deficiences and asocial conduct are too restrictive. Especially for this reason a spotlight is thrown upon the lower social stratum, because manifest problems are represented there to a greater extent and are more easily recognizable. On the other hand, families in an intermediate and higher social and occupational milieu in all modern industrialized states excel by making particularly strenuous efforts for the acquisition and rewards of status, whereby performance and discipline within these families are particularly preferred and practiced. That is all the more true for families in the GDR in view of the considerable demands for performance, even though this set of problems is hardly discussed there. Of special interest would be the hitherto unexplored question of the effects of sublimating conduct upon the children; these effects are probably functioning in the extrafamilial area in a rather inconspicuous and adaptive manner. But the hidden, more subtle differences are not sufficiently dealt with. Because even the quiet, inconspicuous ones can certainly cause problems for themselves and others, albeit different problems from those listed in the catalogues of characteristics. Beyond that, less spectacular deviations from the norm can also create problems over the long term, if for instance they derive from rebellion against a totally adapted parental home. Another subject for investigation would be the extent to which discrepancies occur between behavior in public versus that practiced within the family circle. Finally we might ask whether and to what extent divergent styles of upbringing occur contrastingly within the family and in extrafamilial territory, which is indicated by the noticeable withdrawal and spoiling compensation on the part of many parents.

At most, there is criticism in the GDR to the effect that with increasing affluence of increasingly large parts of the population consumer demand and desires keep increasing out of proportion and that the implementation of such desires takes up so much time in the families that they are increasingly conflicting with social involvement and a positive integration into the GDR's social system.[37] That too would militate against too intensive an observation of families in the lower social strata.

Within the context of investigations and analysis of deficiencies in the GDR, an entire group of additional aspects remains neglected. We will here cite them as a wish list.

Research results are lacking for instance about early childhood and here especially about the role of the parents (especially mothers) as compared to extrafamilial care; Schmidt-Kolmer[38] is partially dealing with this. Nor are there any thorough empirical investigations on the position of women within family, work and organizations and on problems caused by their multiplicity of roles in their effects upon the family as well as in their effects upon sex-related disadvantages on girls within the families. The problems of early marriages and pregnancies would be significant as to its effects upon the young family, apart from the fact of high divorce rates, also with respect to the development of the children in such families.

But even with differentiated investigative efforts the spotlight upon the family must not be worked to death. Otherwise we would have no discussion on the extent to which the undesirable developments can be traced to the deficiencies or errors of the system, e.g., its concept of education which is no ambitious as to be unattainable for the average person ("an all-around, creative, socialist personality").

Negative consequences can be engendered also by exaggerated control, discipline, one-sided information and comprehensive punishment in the extrafamilial area, as well as the preempting of the time of all members of the family by social, political and occupational duties.

Finally, heavy extrafamilial requirements made on both parents cause an overload on small children and to an even greater extent, school children by long daily absences from their homes, which manifests itself especially by lack of concentration and poor performance in school.

In a larger sense, "problem families" can be seen as families which are overtaxed and overloaded by the system--but this is not a conclusion arrived at in the GDR.

One way to avoid putting all the blame on the family is an attempt to create a systematic link between the family and the extrafamilial institutions (starting with day nursery, indergarten, school, childrens' and youth organizations up to the work collective). This experiment of an increasing collectivization of people in all walks of life has not yet been completed in the GDR. In view of psychological insights it must however be doubted whether a permanent public life, permanent commitment and control and continuous integration into groups can be borne by the people concerned without psychological damage (e.g., in the form of neuroses) and accomplished without destroying the family. Rather, it is believed that a balance between individuality and collectivity are indispensable in community life and in the life of the individual. For this purpose, the family in the GDR still offers the only possible haven unless we are dealing with so-called "problem families."

FOOTNOTES

1. I presented this subject in the form of a lecture and invited discussion at a meeting of the Family and Youth Sociology Section of the German Sociological Society in November 1981 in Arnoldsheim. Questions and suggestions made by my colleagues on the occasion have been incorporated into this article.

2. Exact publication title: B. Hille: Family and Socialization in the GDR, Opladen 1982 (will be published in late 1982 by Leske Verlag, Opladen). Many additional literature sources will be contained therein.

3. Among others, in K. Scheewind and H. Lukesch (ed): Family Socialization, Stuttgart 1978.

4. See also: W. Jaide and B. Hille: "On Problems and Opportunities for Intercultural Comparisons of Juveniles In the FRG and GDR." In: W. Jaide and B. Hille (ed.): Youth in Both Berman States, Opladen 1977, pp 9-25.

5. This is indicated, among others, by studies on the choice of occupations by juveniles, which are compared in: B. Hille, "Psychological Aspects of Choice of Occupation in the Two German States." In: B. Hille and B. Roeder (ed.): Contributions to Research on Juveniles, Opaden 1979, pp 11-30; on the subject of choice of occupation and family, the following analysis provides important criteria for comparison: W. Jaide, "Influences on Choice of Occupation by the Milieu." In: Stoll, F. (ed.): Psychology of the 20th Century. Vol XIII: Application in Occupational Life, Zurich 1981, pp 415-453.

6. These results are contained also in the more recent publications of the Central Institute for Juvenile Research in Leipzig, e.g., in W. Friedrich and H. Mueller (ed.): Psychology of 12-22-year-olds, East Berlin, 1980.

7. More detail on this in: B. Hille, "Opportunities for Sociological Comparisons Between the Two German States." In: PSYCHOLOGISCHE RUNDSCHAU, 1981, Vol 3, pp 180-199.

8. GDR Family Code of 20 December 1965 (Legal Gazette Part 1 No 1, p. 2).

9. A detailed overview and analysis on this can be found in B. Hille (see footnote 2 above); reference is made also to F.W. Busch: Family Child Rearing in the GDR's Socialist Pedagogy, Frankfurt/Berlin/Vienna 1980 (unchanged reprint of the same publication of 1972).

10. The following publications from the GDR, in which empirical findings are reported in greater detail, are rather exceptional to date:

    R. Borrmann and H.J. Schille: Preparation of Juveniles for Love, Marriage and Family Life. Theoretical problems, empirical data, pedagogic consequences; East Berlin 1980; O. Kabat vel Job, A. Pinther, M. Reissig: Youth and Family--Family-related Factors in the Personality Development of Juveniles, East Berlin 1981.

11. The following initial, particularly careful empirical studies are noted: H. Loewe: Problems of Inadequate School Performance, East Berlin 1963, 2nd ed. 1971.

    J. Guthke: Determinants of School Performance in Juveniles, in: JUGENDFORSCHUNG, Vol 14, pp 63-87.

    Among other sources, the subject continues to be discussed on a current basis in the journal PAEDAGOGIK.

12. A. Freiburg, "Temporary Increases in the Number of Individual Punishable Offenses--GDR Criminality in 1980," in: DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV 1982 Vol 2, pp 148 and 151.

13. All youth studies performed by various institutions in the FRG are Unanimous in proving this (among them: EMNID in Bielefeld; Institute for Youth Research, Munich; Psydata, Frankfurt); and finally also the studies conducted at the Research Office for Juvenile Problems, Hanover: W. Jaide: "Eighteen Year-Olds Between Reaction and Rebellion, Opladen 1978; by the same author: "The Inconspicuous Normals," in: STIMMEN DER ZEIT, Vol 3, pp 203-210.

14. Most of the publications on the various aspects, mostly available in essay form are listed in greater detail by B. Hille (see footnote 2 above); here we wish to cite particularly: R. Werner: "Problem Families--Family Problems," East Berlin 1978. The journal JUGENDHILFE also contains numerous articles on this subject; it was scrutinized particularly for the period 1970-1981.

15. See also: A. Freiburg: "Problems and Results in Comparative Criminology; General Criminology and Juvenile Criminology in German-German Comparison." In: B. Hille and B. Roeder (ed.): Contributions to Youth Research, Opladen 1979, pp 121-142. By the same authors: Criminality in the GDR: On the Phenomenology of Deviant Behavior in the Socialist German State, Opladen 1981.

16. See also the contributions by G. Freiburg, "On the Problem of Exceptional Students in the FRG, the GDR and Austria" (pp 95-119) and by A. Freiburg (see footnote 15 above) in: B. Hille and B. Roeder (ed.): Contributions to Youth Research. Social-Psychological Findings on the Juvenile Age Group in Both German States, Opladen 1979.

17. H. Dettenborn, "Relationships Within the Psychologically Relevant Determination Complex of Juvenile Criminality", in: PROBLEME UND ERGEBNISSE DER PSYCHOLOGIE, 1971, Vol 39, pp 27-79.

18. Mentioned in: A. Kossakowski (ed.): On the Psychology of Schoolchildren, East Berlin, 1969; A. Kossakowski and K. Otto: Psychological Investigations on the Development of Socialist Personalities, East Berlin 1971; H.D. Schmidt, "The Close Definition of the Definition of the Developmental Psychological Concept of Assimilation," in: ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PSYCHOLOGIE, Vol 3, pp 261-275.

19. See also: G. Helwig, "Development of Theories on Deviant Behavior With Consideration of Social Disadvantage," in: Edition Deutschland-Archiv, The GDR in the Process of Detente: Life Style Under Real Socialism. Cologne 1980, pp 77-87.

20. See footnote 11; a variety of data is contained also in E. Schmidt-Kolmer (ed): On the Influence of Family and Day Nursery on the Development of Children in Early Infancy, East Berlin 1977.

21. Werner (footnote 14 above); G. Kraeupl, "Defective Child Rearing in Families and Juvenile Criminality," in: NEUE JUSTIZ, Vol 34, No 7, pp 303-306; H. Szewczyk and H.U. Jaehnig, "On the Problem of Awareness of Right and Wrong in Antisocial Wrongdoers," in: WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER HUMBOLDT-UNIVERSITAET BERLIN, Legal-Philological Series XXVII, 1978, Nol 1, pp 125-128. Another large quantity of data is contained also in H. Szewczyk: The Alcoholic. Alcoholism and Alcohol Criminality, Jena 1979.

23. M. Borys and H. Krueger, "Causes, Conditions and Processes in the Genesis of Exogenous Psychological Developmental Disturbances in Children," in: PROBLEME UND ERGEBNISSE DER PSYCHOLOGIE, 1978, Vol 67, pp 47-64; H.R. Boettcher: Parents in Retrospect: A Psychological Investigation of Neuroses, East Berlin 1968.

24. See also Helwig (footnote 19).

25. Kraeupl (footnote 22), p 303.

26. Werner (footnote 14).

27. Family Code of the GDR (footnote 8), p 10.

28. Continuing discussions are ongoing about these problems and possibilities of improving educational measures in the journal JUGENDHILFE (e.g., 1971, vols 5, 11, 12; 1973, Vol 12; 1975: Vol 9; 1976: Vol 2; 1979: Vol 1; 1980: Vol 11).

29. Among other sources in S. Graupner, "On the Role and Responsibility of the Family in Child Education," in: JUGENDHILFE 1981, Vol 4, pp 6-14.

30. E.g., in E. Mannschatz, "Objectives in Educational Counseling of Parents" in JUGENDHILFE 1979, Vol 1, pp 6-14.

31. E. Glueck and S. Glueck: Youthful Violators of the Law, Stuttgart 1963.

32. Loewe (footnote 11 above): Schmidt-Kolmer (footnote 20 above).

33. L. Hinze: On the Influence of Occupational Activity and Socio-Familial Conditions on Womens' Health--A Study in Social Medicine. Dissertation, Magdeburg Medical Academy, 1979.

34. Schmidt-Kolmer, among others (footnote 20 above); H. Ahnert reports on extremely negative incidences in: Studies on the Influence of Antisocial Family Conditions Upon the Physical and Psychological Development of Children in the Kalbe (Milde) District; dissertation, Magdeburg Medical Academy, 1969.

35. Several publications and studies by H. Krueger are available on this, which are constantly being cited; it can already be found in condensed form in H. Krueger, "The Influence of Family Conditions on the Personality Development of Children and Juveniles," in: JUGENDHILFE, 1972, Vol 7/8, pp 205-215.

36. H. Krueger: Family Conditions of Personality Development of the Child, With Special Attention to the Development of Social Attitudes; dissertation B. Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena, 1979; E. Littmann and E. Kasielke, "On the Diagnosis of Parental Child Rearing Measures," in: PROBLEME UND ERGEBNISSE DER PSYCHOLOGIE, Special Issue 2, 1970.

37. Among other sources, mentioned by G. Kraeupl (footnote 22 above), p 304.

38. Schmidt-Kolmer (footnote 20 above).

9273
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DEPUTY CIVIL DEFENSE HEAD URGES IMPROVEMENT IN COMMAND ORGANS

East Berlin SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN in German Vol 2 No 3, Mar 82 pp 2-3

[Article by Maj Gen R. Schuetz, deputy commander, GDR Civil Defense: "For Great Effectiveness of Civil Defense Command Organs"]

[Text] In the 25 years of its development, our civil defense has made very substantial progress. This important component of our society and reliable sector of our socialist national defense effort is today an arena for the effective participation of many active citizens, including among them a high percentage of women and girls. Constantly ready for deployment, they have fulfilled their voluntary obligations honorably, often at the cost of high personal sacrifice. Many severe tests have been passed in the areas of disaster control and maritime rescue, in the course of their field exercises and inspections--and not least in their basic and continuing training. All of this gives the full-time and voluntary members a sense of justified pride in their achievements. Much credit for this successful record of growth and expansion of the civil defense organization of the GDR is due to the headquarters and staffs at all levels which have acted as the command organs of their local and regional civil defense directors.

Stability and Effectiveness of Command Organs Have Grown

We can assess the significant growth in stability and effectiveness of our command organs, particularly as a result of the initiative of the 10th party congress and in the course of the translation into action of its far-reaching resolutions. Our staffs are led by politically and professionally trained cadres whose loyalty to our party has been, and continues to be, proved; they have fulfilled their assignments in an exemplary fashion and many of them can point to records of years of experience. This assessment holds true for the overwhelming majority of the members of command organs at all levels.

I would like to point out just a few of the many strides forward in the activity of our command organs, though without making any claim to completness: --there has been good progress in the capacity of our staffs to translate into practical action the directives of the chairmen of local government councils, mayors and plant managers in terms of particular conditions and circumstances. This is mainly the result of the continued implementation of the leading role of the party in command organs and the high efficiency of our training programs. The result is that we now have achieved a unification of political-ideological

and technical planning of civil defense measures and that the earlier occasional separation of the two has now been overcome.

--the majority of our staffs, as a result of long years of cooperative effort and successfully met challenges as well through common training, have evolved into genuine collectives in which each member knows the other in all his strengths--and weaknesses--and each knows and respects the work of the other. This collectivity together, of course, with the consistent demonstration of individual leadership, I regard as an extremely important condition for all success in civil defense.

--our staffs have made very significant advances in mastering the theoretical and practical aspects of the command process. They are today well along toward being able to organize the cooperative efforts of various state and societal sectors, of controlling and processing the flow of information, of judging the situation realistically, of preparing carefully worked out alternative proposals for final decision by the local civil defense director and of assuring the requisite controls for the execution of those decisions. To cite only a few among many others, I would like to mention here the staffs of the cities of Wurzen in Leipzig Bezirk and Meissen in Dresden Bezirk which, since 1981, have given an especially good account of themselves in the preparation and carrying out of complex exercises in their cities. They have mastered the task of coordinating their efforts with those of the various departments of their municipal councils and of achieving the coordination of these sectors with each other, of preparing well thought out proposals for the decision of the civil defense directors and of carrying these decisions out in a thoroughgoing fashion.

This established operational activity of both of these command organs was an important prerequisite for the success of the exercises referred to above. Yet is is also what distinguishes both staffs in their entire range of activity. They have for years been able to maintain a stable personnel strength, have carried out their training regularly and have worked very closely with their municipal departments and societal organizations. In both staffs the deputy major functions as chief of staff.

On the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the founding of the civil defense organization, both staffs were awarded a civil defense distinguished service medal.

We can thus record a generally favorable balance in the evolution of our command organs. At the same time, however, we must all clearly understand that the more rigorous demands of the 1980's for the further development of our civil defense will call for even greater efforts on the part of all of our staffs and demand even greater efficiency of effort.

Constant Perfection of Leadership at All Levels

To assure the preservation of the gains already achieved and to attain the objectively necessary growth of deployment readiness and capability of our civil defense, it is essential that the organization, forms and methods of

leadership at all levels be constantly perfected and to guarantee a higher all round level of efficiency. These are some of the tasks necessary toward these ends:

First. We will focus upon the greater effectiveness of the political-ideological effort. This is and will continue to be the keystone of all our efforts in mobilizing the members of the command organs to peak efficiency. The socialist consciousness of every member is an absolutely necessary prerequisite for the high capability of every command organ. Each chief of staff must be constantly aware of this fact. They must make an even greater effort to carry out effective and credible political-ideological activity together with their deputies or their political officers and all party members. The continuation of the party's leading role in the command organs is decisive to our success in the future.

Second. We will emphasize the development and strengthening of the staffs as socialist leadership collectives. Among other things, this will require:

--party-based, comradely relationships among the members of the staffs, unitary conceptions of the tasks and the paths to their solutions;

--constant and thorough further development of the political and technical competencies of the collective;

--persistent, character-moulding training of the members of the staffs, especially as measured by performance;

--strengthening and maintenance of physical fitness.

Third. The consistency of effort and the operative readiness of the staffs must continue to be strengthened. This will involve:

--the working climate prevailing in a command organ. It must be supportive of criticism and self-criticism, creativity, deployment readiness and the struggle for the solution of even the most complex tasks;

--a precise distribution of functional duties. All members must bear an approximately equal share of the load in accordance with their capacities and skills. The disproportionate load still carried by some members who can always be relied upon and the preoccupation of others with marginal problems must cease;

--the development of each member's capacity to assume temporarily the duties of another. This assumes, of course, that the members of the staff possess the requisite knowledge and experience;

--a tight operational organization, clear and well thought out operational principles and deployment-ready technical equipment.

Fourth. The staff and each of its members must be capable of even more qualified planning of all operations. Without a carefully worked out plan no major operation can be carried out--especially those operations which are linked to the work of other groups of which require the collaboration of

several sectors, as for example, the technical departments of the municipal council. Planning--when carefully worked out--will assure that it is the priority tasks which will determine the activity of the staff. This will rule out double effort, loss of capacity and subjectivism. It will assure the purposeful allocation of manpower and equipment. All of this holds true for operational planning as well as for deployment planning.

The lack of planning is the most dangerous phenomenon at all levels of leadership. For the plan to have some degree of permanence, it must be well worked out and be relevant to the concrete situation or the stage of development.

Fifth. It is important that the chiefs of staff at all levels continue to qualify themselves and project an image of a socialist leadership personality. As in every collective, the smooth functioning of operations of the staff depends essentially upon its leader. It is primarily as the result of the untiring efforts of these leadership personalities at the head of the command organs that we have been successful in achieving the prerequisites for greater leadership effectiveness in accordance with line of development laid down by the party.

It is my belief that our chiefs of staff must learn more effectively how to assure the uninterrupted efforts of the command organs under all situational circumstances, how to educate their coworkers to fulfill their tasks promptly and effectively, to enhance the effectiveness of the staff within the realm of responsibility of the local divil defense director and to organize its cooperative efforts together with the key economic organs or plants as well as the societal organizations.

It appears to me to be urgent, to say something about the relationship of the civil defense director and the chief of staff: this must be an especially close relationship of trust. The chief of staff must be able to put himself inside the thinking of his director and to act accordingly. It is not, of couse, the task of the civil defense director to make decisions on questions of detail--in fact, he does not even have to know of the detail in every instance. He will logically leave the organizational part of the operation, the "everyday work," to his chief of staff and be able to rely with confidence on the work of his command organ and its chief of staff.

Sixth. The further enhancement of the effectiveness of our command organs and the training of staff require greater attention. This must be focused, in the wide range of its possible forms, primarily upon increasing the collective efficiency of the staffs, upon training them in dealing with the solutions to leadership tasks, of developing realistic concepts for possible deployment of the command organ and to enable every member of the staff to carry out his functional or service obligations with the skill of a virtuoso. Great efforts must be made to raise all command organs up to the level of the most advanced. In doing so, we can hope that our periodical will continue to make its important contribution through publicizing positive experiences.

Many other important tasks for raising the effectiveness of our command organs still remain before us.

Just as we have been able to accumulate experience in cities and smaller communities in the course of our command organs evolution into civil defense staffs, so too must we utilize the analogous process in industrial combines, factories and other installations. We see the qualification of chiefs of staffs as a top priority task to which the responsible directors, command organs and other entities must give their utmost attention.

The quality, stability and deployment readiness of our cadre personnel must always demand our highest attention. There must be bolder and generally stronger efforts made to find and employ women in leadership positions.

We look upon guaranteeing order and discipline and the unconditional execution of directives as a permanent responsibility. Finally, the degree to which command organs are supplied with equipment and technology as well as their conscientious maintenance and care play a very important role.

Between the factors that we have indicated here and those many others which could not be cited because of lack of space, there exists a close dialectical relationship in which political-moral qualities and a firm socialist consciousness are the decisive characteristics of every members of a socialist leadership collective.

There are also the very factors which must be at the center of all efforts to raise the effectiveness of the activity of the command organs of our civil defense.

We are certain that in the future every member of a command organ will make his personal contribution toward fulfillment of the demanding tasks set for our civil defense at the 20th congress of the SED.

9879
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SED WARNS AGAINST 'IDEOLOGICALLY MIXED MARRIAGES'

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 11 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Michael Mara, staff member, DER TAGESSPIEGEL: "'Ideologically Mixed Marriages' Are Suspect--GDR Citizens Are to Consider Ideology When Choosing Their Partners." For related information see translations published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: East Berlin EINHEIT article, "Young Generation's Own 'Particular Developmental Path' Stressed," 81425, 2 Aug 82, No 2039, pp 2-10; East Berlin NEUE ZEIT, 'Causes, Consequences of Marriage Failures in GDR Analyzed," 80802, 13 May 82, No 2009, pp 80-83; Hamburg DIE ZEIT, "Young Generation's Alienation From Regime Analyzed," 81023, 10 Jun 82, No 2021, pp 58-64]

[Text] If in the FRG, let us say, a member of the Alternative Party [an anti-establishment environmentalist group] marries a girl he loves who is active in the Junge Union [Young Union, youth group of the Christian Democrats], no one would be troubled, with the exception perhaps of the parents. In the GDR, however, things are different. If a young functionary of the FDJ (Freie Deutsche Jugend--Free German Youth) falls in love with a committed Christian and wants to marry her, then this is not looked upon favorably. He is given a sound lecture because such "ideologically mixed marriages" are suspect in the GDR, especially in functionary circles.

Love Alone Is Not Enough

Therefore young people in the GDR are to pay more attention to "ideological questions" when choosing their partners and marrying them. In recent media reports they have frequently been informed that "love alone" can hardly bestow lasting happiness, that basic interests and views must also coincide. Wherever this is not the case, where there exist, for example, "considerable ideological differences," later disappointments can hardly be ruled out, an SED newspaper has recently warned.

A guidebooklet from the GDR State Publishing House, entitled "Young People in Marriage," stresses that "conformity with the basic questions of the time, the attitude toward our society, are very important" in choosing partners. The "political maturity" of the partners may "differ thoroughly," but there must be "certainty of the ability to understand each other and to arrive at common convictions."

"No one should minimize such questions," the guide goes on to say. "The attitude toward society, life, the struggles of our time" determines the family's life style, influences large and small decisions and "especially the essence and success of child raising." It is therefore "very important," according to the publication, that "one's own political and ideological attitude is strengthened" before marriage "so that a true standard is ascertained for choosing of partners."

Many GDR citizens who want to marry, especially those in higher positions, seem to take to heart the ideological advice on choosing partners. In matrimonial ads, for example, "m.-l. WA" (Marxist-Leninist Weltanschauung) is pointed out ever more frequently. Among those seeking partners with this type of philosophy are army personnel (presumably noncommissioned and commissioned officers), educators, engineers and other college or technical school graduates, as a look at the "Marriage Market" column in the East Berlin WOCHENPOST, for example, shows.

Favorite Topic of Conversation

Nevertheless there is no assurance that GDR citizens who share a common communist philosophy have a more happy and stable marriage than those who do not have the same convictions. Party members get divorced at least as often as those with no party affiliation, and in the highest functionary circles divorces are the usual thing. While the GDR media on principle do not report on these matters, the affairs of prominent people, whatever manages to "leak out," are favorite topics of conversation among the public.

Thus it is public knowledge that the East Berlin SED chief and possible successor to Honecker, Konrad Naumann, some time ago married the director of the Theater of the Palace of the Republic (tip), whose first marriage had been to Hermann Kant, the president of the writers' union. Meanwhile there seems to be trouble brewing in the marriage, and Naumann has allegedly taken up with another artist. For years there has been talk that Erich Honecker is separated from his wife, Margot, the minister for public education. Her brother, Manfred Feist, chief of the Central Committee's Foreign Information Department, is said to have been divorced five times. Examples of this sort abound.

Their Backs Turned on Socialism

By no means does the upbringing of children of prominent GDR personages always proceed smoothly. A great many of them have turned their backs on the socialist fatherland. Others have tried to, e.g. Oleg Wolf, the son of the late president of the GDR Academy of Arts, Konrad Wolf, and nephew of the deputy minister for state security, Markus Wolf (who, incidentally, is married for the third time). Among the functionaries' children are also some who have "flipped out" and have renounced their parents.

The "Marxist-Leninist Weltanschauung" by no means guarantees a stable family, and indeed it cannot possibly do so, since even Communists have weaknesses. This seems to be true also for the prominent people of the GDR.

CSO: 2300/365

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS SPEAK ON YOUTH

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 8, 9 Jun 82 pp 8, 9

[Discussion by Central Committee members: "The Party and Youth"]

> [Text] The preparations for the plenary session on youth of the party's Central Committee evoked widespread discussion. For years there has been a growth in problems connected with various spheres in the life of the younger generation--labor problems and certain problems which seem nearly insoluble. Also taking part in the discussion are members of the Central Committee. Today we are presenting statements by several members of that entire body.

They want to create new things...

Following the period of heated discussions during the years 1980-81, most of the youth have become silent and are waiting. A relative small portion of those who declared themselves to be opponents of the socialist order and the PZPR are conducting activities which support attitudes hostile to the party and to its policies. Likewise a relatively small portion of the youth stand by the party and support its activities. But they have less influence on the "silent majority" than do the extremist opponents of the party. In this silent majority one senses mixed feelings--a little hope but also skepticism that the Central Committee plenum will introduce anything new into the existing situation, but will continue to rely on phrases and promises.

It must be clearly stated that the party's aid for youth organizations—and this is equally true in the field of ideology as well as in assuring that economic conditions will be implemented in independent life—has been insufficient. This manifested itself particularly during the period when the 1980-81 crisis broke out. The youth, brutally awakened from the lethargy of the 1970's by foes who were well-prepared politically and organizationally, were without the advice and practically without the aid of the party. Many persons who had been lecturers and guardians up to that time found themselves under a hail of accusations, often well-founded, concerning the breakdown of party and moral norms. The party activists, busy with their own problems, also frequently left the youth organizations without aid or defenses in the face of attacks by political and ideological opponents.

At the same time, it must be borne in mind that every younger generation wants to struggle and create new things. Under our conditions this struggle must take place with the "old," hence with those phenomena of political, ideological, and economic life which make the start of life difficult for the youth. This is also a struggle with the contradictions and non sequiturs in social life. Taking advantage of this in the matter of creating the new values which the youth has adopted as its own has become a possibility for engaging thoughts and hearts.

We must take maximum advantage of the wave of historical interests and patriotic emotions among the youth to present to it the necessity of preserving the continuity of Polish state sovereignty in a changing political and economic world. A great role should be played here by the historians and political scientists, who must—even at the cost of neglecting their own cultivated fields of specialization—fill in the blank spots in very recent history. For we must bear in mind that the country was saturated during the years 1980-81 with materials from anti-socialist centers, which one-sidedly presented--especially to a youth hungering for historical knowledge--facts which have up to now been insufficiently elucidated by Marxist historians and political scientists. We must with complete esteem but also in accordance with historical truth point out the role which the Catholic Church has played in the history of Poland. Nor in this area must there be any silences or blank spots.

Party members must every day and in every situation take up a principled position with regard to the opponents of socialism, attempting to find methods to convince them of the rightness of our cause on the path of negotiations in reaching an understanding in the name of the highest good, which is the liberty and independence of Poland, as conditioned by its alliances within the framework of the socialist system.

In the relay race or generations of Poles presentday youth bears the obligation of not causing any harm to the national income. This means the obligation of strengthening Polish state sovereignty, multiplying the nation's resources, as well as reinforcing Poland's role and importance in the family of socialist states and the nations of the world.

The superiority of the socialist system over other systems is decided by its humanitarian superiority in the service of man and the nation. The implementation of this depends on all party members regardless of age or position occupied.

Antoni Kwiatkowski
Member of the PZPR Central Committee and
Scientific Worker, Koszalin

Evoke a Sense of Responsibility

The main reason for the formation of the present attitude of the youth toward the party is, above all, the warping of the fundamentals which had been worked out at the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in 1972, which the

youth knew and relied upon. This brought about a breakdown in the system of values, beliefs, and convictions in which the youth had engaged, but then they also ceased to believe and trust in the party's leadership. Furthermore, there was a breakdown in the authority of the party and many of its members who abandoned the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The young party members serving as activists in the youth movement henceforth have felt a barrier on the part of their own contemporaries. It must also be added that many young party members have not withstood the psychological pressure and have given up their party papers. Party functionaries who have been active for many long years in the field of ideology ought to have talks with such young people, explain to them the reasons for the situation which exists in our country, and present arguments in order to oppose the demagoguery which is becoming more widespread among the youth.

A matter affecting the attitude of youth toward the party and the state is the worsening of conditions at the start of life for young persons who are embarking on their independent careers. They are waiting for a specific program for themselves, which, even though it may be difficult, has some genuine prospects for the future.

Such a program should include acts which provide legal norms for such matters as housing construction, maternity leaves and educational allowances, credit policy, establishment of a social minimum, full employment for the graduates of all types of schools, guaranteed rest and recreation periods for children and youths, and status for youth labor cooperatives.

We must also make possible the implementation at all levels of administration and in all areas of initiatives which have been undertaken by youth, such as the following: housing construction (within the framework of the patronage system as well as by cooperatives), untangling bureaucratic red tape at the lowest levels of administration, bringing youth into administration at each plant or institution so that they may acquire a sense of responsibility for the given unit of management or administration, thereby implementing the model of cooperative administration and cooperative management.

A fundamental matter is the employment of youth in accordance with its skills and from the very beginning to engage it in work and responsibility so that these skills may be fully taken advantage of and developed. The next task is to promote young, capable workers regardless of the time spent on the job, age, sex, or organizational membership.

On a scale broader than has been the case heretofore we must profit by the results of efficiency improvements, corrections, plans, and patents, treating them as an advance in the level of a young person, at the same time, assigning a higher rank to all scientific and technical as well as economic associations.

Wlodzimierz Wojciechowski
Deputy member of the Central Committee
Director of the PKS [State
Motor Transport] in Kutno

We must change the attitude

I represent a generation of older people which has been active in the labor movement and which has struggled for many decades, at first for a socialist Poland, and then for its strengthening and development.

For we are filled with dread by the menace to socialism in Poland, by attitudes hostile to socialism, by a fashionable, nonideological approach and passivity which has emerged among school-age youth, whether academic types or workers.

Let us consider the causes of this phenomenon, the errors of the party policy up to now, and mainly the fact that the party must work to bring about an efficaceous change of political attitudes among the youth. This is an extremely important matter for the destiny of Poland, for the youth notwithstanding, socialism will continue to build and develop it.

Within the context of the many matters connected with youth I would like to draw attention to the matter of the escalating antisocialist propaganda and its influences. It must be emphasized that the slogans of its propaganda, shallow and demagogic but threatening for socialism, have penetrated into wide circles, especially those of young people. At the same time only a few competent people, also including party members, have been inclined to undertake an efficaceous struggle against these phenomena.

The party must attain results quickly in this matter. It must begin genuine work on establishing minimum political standards in our society, on a knowledge of the geopolitical realities, on arguments for the Polish reason for being, Poland's actual role in Europe, and against the harmful stereotypes of the eternally dreaming Pole which limit him to a few romantic sighs, uncritically gazing at the West and constantly mistrusting his own neighbors.

These and other important components of social education must be constantly present in the party's ideological work, in the means of mass assignments, in the programs and textbooks of secondary and higher schools, in lectures and readings, as well as in the contents of youth and social educational organizations. Society--and that includes the youth--must learn to communicate with the creditable but also with the difficult moments of its own history, and, what is most important, to attain realistic, useful results, and not only romantic ones, for today and tomorrow.

There is yet another matter which, in the party's long-range policy, must find its own proper dimension. The struggle against the tendencies hostile to socialism will be efficaceous if it is waged by the people themselves. I am thinking of the fact that the party policy must undertake the problem of the intelligentsia, personnel, and, among them, those who form and educate the youth and those who, by right of their profession, influence the formation of widely accepted social information. That group of people must be simply and authentically for socialism in a profound and zealous way, not as a label which can easily be changed.

Alfred Janus
Central Committee member, retired,
from Kazimierz Gorny

Pay Heed to Day-to-Day Matters

The policy conducted after the Ninth PZPR Congress, and especially that undertaken by the Fourth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, was obviously conducive among part of the younger generation in correcting the attitudes and beliefs in the consequences of the party's actions.

We must pay heed to the day-to-day matters of young persons and, above all, to correcting housing conditions in cities and villages by means of justifying the activities of youth labor cooperatives within whose framework older specialists ought to participate, helping the youth by their experience. Within the framework of the credits called for in building and managing the housing, a portion, even as much as half of the credits should be amortized on condition of effective participation by the youth. An absolutely necessary condition of these justifications must be irreproachable plant work.

We must certainly remove the barriers which do not permit young skilled persons, unless they have a lengthy work probation period, to occupy responsible positions. We must safeguard the principles of equal wages according to the quality and quantity of the work performed and not only according to the length of the probationary service.

During the period of adjustment to the economic reforms we must take advantage, to a greater degree, of the activities of the Regional Workers Universities, which have been assigned, among other things to retrain workers.

The assignment of the younger generation must be, above all, to carry out the duties resulting from the following extraordinary goals: the strengthening of our country on socialist principles, the elimination of class divisions as well as group and intellectual divisions among the younger generation. The slogans: fatherland, patriotism, and work must be dedicated to this purpose.

Artur Kwiatkowski
Member, PZPR Central Committee,
Private farmer in the village of
Cewka, Wloclawskie Woj.

Implement Decisions Consistently

Up to now a great deal has been said about youth affairs, and on more than one occasion decisions have been made by the Central Committee Plenum or by the Sejm. However, there has always been a lack of a consistent followup in implementing these plans. For this reason also we must realize that making decisions which will never be implemented is incomprehensible. It leads to a lack of faith and confidence in the party and administrative authorities. In society a model has been created of the crafty citizen who does nothing, has money, and, thanks to it, can get everything he wants. But most young people are working or studying and are living under conditions which are far from prosperous. For this reason we young people anticipate from the Central Committee Plenum the undertaking of genuine decisions, and we are counting on the timely implementation of those which have been made. In this factor there

arises a chance to restore credibility to the activities of the party. The consistent implementation of decisions is a matter of no small importance. If this element falls short, it will be hard for the party to win back the confidence of the young people.

In social matters it would seem that too much has already been said. I cite only a small example testifying to the scale of difficulty with which the youth are grappling in this sphere. And so the young citizen finishes his studies at the age of 23 or 24; then he goes into the military service for a year. At the age of 25 he moves, for example, to Czestochowa, and, after 20 years of work, he receives an apartment. He is already 45 years old. The following question presents itself: when is he to found a family, when will he buy furniture, and, after 5 years, will he have to move to a larger apartment? When each of us realizes his own basic plans for life--it is just about time to retire. However, almost all social matters have already been covered in the "Report on the Conditions of the Start of Life among Plant Youth." It is important that all the initiatives of youth proceeding in the direction of correcting the housing and living situations not remain only in the sphere of dreams. We are concerned with their genuine support not only at the central stage but also in the wojewodctwos, cities, gminas, and villages.

Bogdan Borys
Member of the PZPR Central Committee,
Locksmith Foreman at the B. Bierut Foundry
in Czestochowa

Who Pays the Costs of a Crisis?

Serving as a picture of the role and importance of the younger generation in society is its place in political life, the influence of young people on the political decisions which are undertaken. A special place is occupied by the youth movement. It represents the needs, trends, and aspirations of the younger generation. We must decidedly reject the model of the youth movement which was implemented in the 1970's as an expression of the negative tendencies toward centralizing social structures. Moving into first place in the party's relations with regard to the youth is the Leninist principle of coordination between words and deeds. The party must create the conditions for the de facto independence and self-government of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] along with a partnership-type, subjective treatment of it in sociopolitical life. The party must see in the youth movement its own partner, acknowledge its need to express itself, and create the conditions to make this possible. We must create a system of permanent program discussions with the youth on the contents of the party program. This program should indicate to the younger generation the prospects for socialist Poland as well as the area of the common struggle for socialist ideals and values. The guiding role of the PZPR vis-a-vis the youth movement ought to depend upon ideological inspiration. The party's moral authority is a condition of the efficacy of the actions. The youth movement cannot be administered by the party activists and treated as an instrument. Party units at all levels as well as the basic party organizations must keep up a current knowledge of the

problems of the younger generation and the youth movement, serving to the extent necessary with aid, advice, and political experience.

Attracting young people into its ranks must become a particular concern of the PZPR. We must turn our attention to the shaping up of new forms and methods of political work among the youth of all environments as well as the forms of ideological education. Exclusively qualitative criteria must be employed to decide matters of admission to the party.

As a consequence of the educational divisions, social and legal assurances ought to be made so that young persons can take part in politics. Let us speak out for an increase in the number and role of sets of young delegates to the Sejm of the PRL [People's Republic of Poland] as well as for the complete integration of the ZSMP within the electoral system to the PRL organs of authority. The ZSMP must have an influence on the legislative process by means of delegating its own representatives into the make-up of the sets of legal acts being prepared, mandatory opinions through the units of the youth movement on the plans for new bills, and, finally, on the legislators' initiatives in the organs of authority and the state administration.

Let us acknowledge the Committee of the Council of Ministers on Youth Affairs as an important instrument for the operative solution of the younger generation's problems and, at the same time, an area of continuing common action for unions with differing world-opinion profiles. It ought to introduce these problems into the forum of the other elements of authority.

The younger generation has the right to create guarantees of social justice and renewed credibility; this is its chance, and on it depends, above all, the work and a considerable portion of the obligation to lead the country out of the crisis and develop it further. Above all, it will pay the costs of this process.

Jerzy Trzesniewski
Member of the Central Committee and
secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Factory Committee at
the Warsaw Foundry

2384
CSO: 2600/767

'SZTANDAR MLODYCH' INTERVIEWS FRENCH STUDENT LEADER

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 15 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with Thierry Barbagelata, Secretary of the National French Student Union [UNEF], by Marek Rudzinski: "Your Trump Card Is Culture;" date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] How do you evaluate the possibilities for cooperative work among the National Student Unions in Europe?

[Answer] As is well known, cooperative work among student unions is a reflection of the international political situation. Lately this situation has not been the best, and this can be felt in the student area as well. My union was always dedicated to the idea of international, especially general European, cooperative work, at least to the European Meetings of the National Student Unions, which we initiated together with the ZSP [Polish Student Association] 22 years ago. We came to the present 19th European Meetings full of apprehension that things might reach one of the worst conclusions--that the conference might be broken off. It did not go that far. Discussion was stormy, to be sure, and we did not manage to sign a final communique, but we had the opportunity to exchange views and sustain a dialogue, and that was the main concern, after all. We appreciate the difficulties accumulating before us on the road to next year's meetings, for which we will be the hosts. An important role should be played by the UNEF and the SZSP [Independent Polish Student Association]. The role of the SZSP is particularly important, since Poland's internal situation is used by some people to create international tensions as well as to obstruct student cooperative work. In my opinion, much will depend on your union's taking a constructive approach to Polish students' aspirations.

[Question] I would like to request that you briefly compare your opinions of Poland with what you have seen in our country.

[Answer] On my way here I imagined the situation in Poland to be more dramatic. I can affirm, however, that my picture of the situation was rather close to reality. For the most part I was already familiar with the problems which I encountered here. The UNEF followed the development of events in Poland throughout the whole time with great attention and uneasiness. The imposition of martial law by the authorities of the PRI [Polish People's Republic] was something extraordinarily painful for us. But I would like to emphasize that we consistently take the position which we adopted in August of 1980 that the Poles themselves must solve the internal problems of Poland.

[Question] During your stay in Poland you have had the opportunity to become acquainted with the student milieu. Could you share a few of your reflections from these meetings?

[Answer] My impressions are fragmentary and subjective. Nonetheless, the influence of political events on the students' mood is noticeable. I have spoken both with activists of the SZSP and with non-members. The latter, who represent, after all, the considerable majority, demonstrate an attitude of nonparticipation in public life. It seems to me that this is a position which a large part of the students had adopted much earlier.

The matter of the emergence of a new "independent" student organization came up several times in conversations. But the lack of concrete plans and of real student involvement in its emergence leads me to suppose that for the time being it is a slogan behind which is concealed the desire for more democratization of relations in your schools. I also encountered the opinion that the NSZ [National Student Union], which appeared as an alternative for the pre-August model of the student movement, basically has not fulfilled the hopes pinned on it. The present situation also influences the activity of the SZSP. I know that discussion on the future of the student movement model is under way. Perhaps solutions which will attract the majority of students to the SZSP will emerge from it. I believe that important prerequisites exist for that. I am speaking here above all of the activity of the SZSP in the area of culture. In our country this sphere of activity, which is very important for creating community ties, was done away with at the end of the 1960s, and right now we are trying very hard to reconstruct it.

That is why I feel that basing activity on the infrastructure of the cultural movement and on social-everyday activity, in which the SZSP also has important achievements, can be lasting, and decicive in the student movement. With this, I want to stipulate once more that these are my personal opinions.

9451
CSO: 2600/806

OFFICIAL DISCUSSES ACTIVITIES OF SOCIETY FOR DEFENSE KNOWLEDGE

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 26, 27 Jun 82 pp 8, 9

[Interview by T. Oziemkowski with Col (academy graduate) Mikolaj Plikus, the Chairman of the Main Directorate of the Society for Defense Knowledge: "On the Activity of the TWO in Favor of the Defense Education of Society"]

[Text] [Question] As you know, the Society for Defense Knowledge [TWO] acts as a collaborator in the process of educating society on defense. Today you have an opportunity to speak in a little more detail about the activities of the Society.

[Answer] The Society for Defense Knowledge is an association of unusual usefulness and has actively participated for 10 years in strengthening and developing the defense of the country. Defense education has become a general phenomenon since defense has joined the rankr of nationwide needs, and the defense system of the State has become primary with respect to all other existing systems. It must be stressed that our ranks include several thousand actively functioning professional and reserve officers, and that these active workers, perfectly understanding matters of defense, are trying to cover education in this wide area of society.

[Question] What preceded the 10 years of activity?

[Answer] The Society, established in 1972, has continued the tradition and experience of the Military Science Circles, which had existed since 1960.

[Question] Was there need for change?

[Answer] Obviously. The Military Science Circles were not a public organization and acted mainly in the military community. In contradistinction we have adopted new and considerably broader tasks in the area of defense education for different professional and social communities. Here I must add that this new and broader area of tasks has been dictated by the development of the political and military situation in the world, unfavorable for peace, and thus by the increase in the threat of danger to our country.

[Question] In the initial period the activity of the Society....

[Answer]...was not easy for us. By searching and experimenting we attempted to lay the foundation for more qualitative development in the Society. Among the most important ventures of this period I would number the formation of more

than 100 local units, the approval of lecturers, the development and lively embodiment of the assumptions for lecture activity and the new idea of publishing activity, the organization of specialized courses, elaboration of the statutes and program, and improvement of cooperation between TWO and socio-military administrative and organizational authorities.

[Question] Later, in the most active and especially the most solicitous work of the Society....

[Answer]...were and continue to be institutions, places of employment and organizations involved with the defense of the country.

[Question] Does TWO have a serious publishing output?

[Answer] Yes, without it, it would be difficult for our lecturers to work at all. The first issue of ZESZYTY POPULARNONAUKOWE [Popular Science Notebooks] of this year carries the name "Wiedza obronna" [defense knowledge] and has a decidedly different set of problems. In our bimonthly we write about defense in general, civil defense, military technology and the art of war. It also contains the most interesting items from the history of military science. We recall every anniversary of our Army, its services for the national economy and society, and its share in peaceful missions. In order to complement the written word, we arrange and distribute sets of instructional slides by subject.

[Question] In the beginning we spoke about the general activity of TWO.

[Answer] In the course of 10 years our lecturers have delivered almost 70,000 talks for about 3 million listeners, workers in various institutions and factories, school youth and Reserve Officers Clubs. I would like to emphasize that on the occasion of our anniversary the most worthy active members, including "veterans" from the Military Science Circles, mainly those who had remained true to us, were distinguished for the first time by the recently established medal "For Service to the Society for Defense Knowledge." Among others the distinguished people included: Capt (doctor habilitatus) Zdzislaw Frankowicz, Col (academy graduate) Aleksander Gawryszewski, Col (reserve) Jan Bugalski, Capt (reserve) Jan Laniecki, Col (reserve) Bronislaw Zdunczyk, Col (reserve) Stanislaw Czyzkowski and Maj (reserve) Henryk Karpinski.

[Question] Does the Society have its own patrons?

[Answer] Our activities are supported very sympathetically by various central institutions, mainly: The WP [Polish Army] General Staff, the WP Main Political Directorate, the Inspectorate of Civil Defense of the Country and the commands of the military districts and branches of the Armed Forces, as well as by the commands of the military academies and higher officers schools.

[Question] Could you tell us what the most important tasks, which will face the Society in the very near future, are?

[Answer] In order to improve the TWO activity, we are considering the possibility of shifting from a three-level structure to a two-level structure, based on 49 provincial units. In the area of publishing activity we are planning to publish within the framework of popular scientific libraries small volumes on historical-political subjects. We also want to broaden our publishing activity by including PO [expansion unknown], OC [Civil Defense] instructors, OHP [Volunteer Labor Brigades] instructors and lecturers on military studies.

[Question] At the beginning of the second decade of activity of the Society for Defense Knowledge, we hope that it will serve ever better the matter of the defense of our country. We thank you for your interesting interview.

6806
CSO: 2600/779

SUBMARINE CAPTAIN, OTHER PERSONNEL DISCUSS TRAINING, CAREERS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 26, 27 Jun 82 pp 3, 18

[Article by Zbigniew Damski: "We Submariners ... "]

[Text] The youngest ship commander? At the submarine task group base there is a quick answer: Cwiklak, of course, Navy Captain (engineer) Marek Cwiklak. He has been in command of Ship 294 a full year now; and not too long ago he passed his 30th birthday.

Captain Cwiklak himself--short, stocky and somewhat of a loner--is not completely certain if he is the youngest, and it appears that he attaches little importance to it.

"I became ship commander in the completely normal way," he says. "Step by step, as it should be. I know of more brilliant careers and people who achieved this position in a shorter time period than I ...."

And What Is This 'Normal Way?'

"First one must complete the WSMW [Higher Naval School]," Capt Marek Cwiklak states very seriously. "I completed it in 1972. The class position was good, the rememberences of my years of study--average; perhaps because there were a bit too many different additional but unexpected tasks. I got involved with submarines the same way; my thesis concerned underwater weapons." weapons."

He had a good start, and he managed to get where he wanted and with proper preparation.

"With this preparation, it is a little different," corrected Captain Cwiklak. "At the WSMW there are no separate specializations, for example, 'submarines' or 'destroyers'. One leaves the WSMW with a bag of knowledge which then must be adapted to service on a specific ship and to a specific position. With regard to a submarine and service on it, however, each and every one must learn from the very beginning. Such is the specific of submarines.

"I started as a commander of the communications and observation department: the eyes, ears and voice of a ship. Radio, signal, sonar and radar operators

are the most numerous after the electromechanical combat department. But there are no departments on any ship that are more or less important....

"That lasted 3 years," recalls Captain Cwiklak. "Then I became a ZDO [Ship's Deputy Commander]. Yes, actually on this '294'."

When a ZDO cites his duties it would seem the rest of the ship's crew has nothing to do. Among other things, a ZDO's duties include training and discipline, order, health services, food, the entire ship "bureaucracy" and so forth.

"This lasted a bit over 6 years," Captain Cwiklak states briefly. I was a ZDO during that time before I was designated by order on 1 April 1981 to the position of ship commander. Thus, I have been in command now, as one can easily count, over one year already."

Is That All!

If one would be satisfied with Capt Marek Cwiklak's laconic replies, it would seem that that is all: 10 years after completing school he occupies two consecutive positions in a ship hierarchy, and in the 33rd year of life becomes a OP [submarine] commander. And if it sounds so far as if it was enough simply to live out these 10 years on a ship, and promotion to the position "first after God" will come on its own, somewhat automatically, for serving out the years.

Cwiklak smiles; the "first mechanic," Ensign (engineer) Zbigniew Bajanowski smiles:

"Such numbers mean nothing here! Nothing happens here on its own or for free. One must carefully train ... .

"The first step in an officer's submarine career is to achieve the right to an 'independent watch.' One can be a distinguished commander of a combat department, but without such a right there is no advancement! This means so much that one can entrust the independent watch at sea, under or above water, only to holders of such an authorization--or when, in fact, 'driving' a ship during the sea watch, and we can compete for this only then when a person has the appropriate amount of experience behind him and passes numerous and not at all easy examinations. This is but the beginning because independent watch has additional levels, up to the 'gold' level.

"And then the turn comes to obtain authorization to command a ship independently," explains Captain Cwiklak. "There are classes here also. I obtained such authorization after serving 2 years as ZDO, and I attained class 1 in 1981."

Theoretically, therefore, in as much as he had the authorization, Captain Cwiklak could have become a ship commander in 1977, 5 years after leaving school. He was then somewhat less than 30 years old.

The first mechanic, Ensign Zbigniew Bojanowski, gives the following example of such trust: there are nearly 3,000 different valves on the ship which must be placed in the proper positions for different maneuvers. Of course, not all at once; in a given situation a single person tends just a few of them. But what if he fails to pay attention, does not make the proper turn in time? All well and good if he acknowledges his fault at once, but if he is frightened will he say that he executed the order?

"Then the reason for the ship's improper operation can be in any number of places. If one manges ... ."

Ensign Bojanowski completed school over 5 years ago, and that is all he needed to become a ship's first mechanic. He achieved all the needed authorizations.

"But I would be lying if I said that the mechanisms of a ship hold no secrets for me. It is not enough merely to know how blocks of specific systems operate alone or with one another; one must also know how and which way each conduit and pipe runs."

A listing of the systems itself is enough: diving and surfacing systems, high and low air pressure systems, the hydraulic system which controls the rudders and ballast flaps, the ventilating and water-fuel system, and the drinking water system.

This is but some of them, but each one is complicated in its own way, consisting of numerous devices interconnected with one another in a veritable labyrinth. But each one is equally important. From the simplest valve to the engine frames and to the several hundred storage battery cells, each of which is as big as a closet and weighs 652 kg.

"Practice," concludes Ens Zbigniew Bojanowski, "and the desire to put one's heart into it. There must be a desire to know this ship in order to become familiar with it."

To Get a Feel For It!

To get a feel for a ship means to know how it behaves in all situations, to uncover promptly each improper operation of specific devices. After all, each ship is different, and each has its own caprices.

The commander speaks of Bojanowski later: "He is very thorough, scrupulous, always with a calculator in hand." These attributes--thoroughness, scrupulousness and sens of duty--are emphasized by the commander along with all positive characteristics.

"It cannot be otherwise here. The stake is too high."

"Lt Ryszard Latos has 6 years experience as a ZDO. He assumed this position after leaving another ship where he was the navigation department commander for 6 years. And my officers aboard the 294 have much less experience, an

"I agree," remarks Captain Cwiklak. "But that is only a play on theoretical numbers. In practice a ship commander bears full responsibility for everything: the crew, the ship, for executing all tasks. Thus he must know the ship as much as possible, know the operation at each station, know the people and be able to command them. He must know 'how to sail,' and in order to do this one has to have experienced several serious damage incidents and collision situations. Thus, in principle, he must be learning all the time because at sea and on a submarine one cannot say that 'I now know everything'."

Take this ship. On shore it is inconspicous, but the tip-of-the-iceberg principle applies here: that which is on the surface is but a small part of the whole hidden under water. In absolute numbers, in measurements and mass, these are not imposing numbers (placing everything that is essential in the smallest area possible is a design principle for such ships), but such essential devices are innumerable!

In general a ship must move on and under the water, change speed and direction, find the true route at sea, dive and surface, listen and observe what is happening around it on the surface and in the water, and be capable of communicating with the shore and other ships. The people hermetically sealed in it must breath, eat and satisfy other physiological needs so that they can properly tend the entire mass of equipment together with the basic weapons for which the ship in general was built.

For those who do not get the picture, I will add: there just be two types of propulsion: diesel and electric--together with fuel tanks; a complete vast drainage system with kilometers of pipes; and a electric generating station to provide light in a closed hull and energy for large numbers of complicated electronic equipment. Even an ordinary clock must have a 24-hour face in order to know when it is daytime or when it is nightime.

And now--also roughly speaking--a commander's duties: he must sail the ship out of port, lead the way to the designated sea region, find the enemy on the sly, attack him with torpedoes, hit the target, and return to base whole. It should be remembered here that during this entire time he also is 'game' which the enemy hunts just as diligently from the water and air using the same know-how and equipment that is just as modern.

That is quite a lot, even if one considers that he has a full crew--several dozen supremely trained specialists--to help him. It is true that each one of them does what he is supposed to do, but always on the commander's order; all final decisions are the commander's, and he has the final word.

"Thus I must trust people," says the commander. "Our entire operation is based on this mutual trust. But I also must be certain that I can truly trust this or that person, that he knows his specialty completely and will do everything that he must do conscientiously. But people differ. How I sleep depends who is on watch or 'sailing' on the bridge. Finally, what dreams a commander has! I nap and react instantaneously to any strange noise."

average of 3 years: 2d Lt (magister engineer) Juliusz Tuszynski, navigation department commander; 2d Lt (magister engineer) Wieslaw Wilk, second mechanic and electromotive group commander; 2d Lt (magister engineer) Stanis Stanislaw Kania, underwater weapons department commander.

"But our boatswain already has 20 years of service, all of it on submarines! Only here, on the 294, Staff Boatswain Wojciech Howader has served continually for the past 8 years, and not too long ago he passed his 40th birthday.

"It is actually these people--the cadre of older and experienced noncommissioned officers--that is the 'sala [translation unknown] of the ship, without which, in general, it would be difficult to go to sea," states the commander without bitterness.

"Of course!," explains Capt Marek Cwiklak wholeheartedly. "There is still more to say."

I Have Learned Something From More Than One Of Them!

Senior Botaswain Henryk Nowaczyk, commander of the mechanics group and POP [Primary Party Organization] secretary, has been on this ship 11 years already; the same goes for Submariner Boatswain Kazimierz Semianow, commander of the technical service group. Boatswain Janusz Osczudlowski has been leading the signal operators squad for 10 years; Boatswain Dariusz Koloczynski --the motor squad for 8 years; Boatswain Zbigniew Kakol, the bearded chief of the electricians squad, has 6 years of professional experience behind him; and Boatswain Marcin Damion, chief of the drainers squad and chairman of the ship's SZMP [Polish Union of Socialist Youth], has 5 years. With each of these names, the commander recites an almost sacramental formula: "a good specialist, conscientious, enterprising, good organizor ... "

"... simply put, there is no place on this ship for any other kind. He who does not prove true must leave. I repeat: the stake is too high ..."

And what about the youngest, the basic service sailors?

"The rigors and requirements are the same here for everyone, and everyone must master the underwater craft in his specialty; if he so desires, we will teach him because that is where we are here. But if he does not fit or will attempt somekind of trickery, then off to shore with him!"

They come, as it were, directly from the Center for Training Navy Specialists, but they must learn about submarines from the same essentials. This is something else and different--and somewhat counter to human nature: to be locked up in an exceptionally congested area with the knowledge that overhead and all around there is water ...

"Even mental breakdowns occur," the commander informs. "But they are rare occurrences and are discovered immediately. Most people manage ..."

Among those who manage are Chief Tadeusz Andrzejczuk, commander of the drainers squad; Mat [translation unknown] Jan Ratuszak, commander of the

radio operators squad; Chief Jan Wasiuk, torpedo squadron and a 1982 Navy Master in this specialty; Chief Wladyslaw Brysk, commander of the motormen squad; and Stefan Gwiazda, cook 1st class.

"the problem is that they come and go," concludes the commander.

But We Remain

In the long run--the cadre of professional officers and noncommissioned officers--choose their own specialties. But somewhere at the bottom of such a decision--how much depends on the desire to prove oneself in difficult situations and conditions?

"There are such as those ..."

"One time the rudder was damaged at sea. We tinkered with it all night, but nothing. But how can we return here to the base under haul? It would be a disgrace, a blemish for the rest of my life!

"...and we sailed with the engines themselves," the commander recalls. "It took a little while before I understood what to do, because from the beginning the ship reacted in a completely unexpected way. But it turned out allright; it is just that we had power-plant trouble with a change in speed."

Now they will go to sea--in around a week or so--with young sailors on a training exercise. All other regulation tasks have been completed except for one: the rescue exercise in which Navy rescue ships will also participate.

"I am told that the ship lies at the bottom of the sea, and the rescue ships go to sea. More or less they know the region because the rescue alarm sounds then when our radio station does not answer for 1/2 hour after the last signin. They search, and we help them by releasing the rescue buoys on board which are secured to the ship lying on the seabottom. These buoys contain telephones. When they locate us and make contact, a diver descends and a tube is passed from above, from the deck of the rescue ship, depending on need, through which we can scavenge our ballasts with compressed air and thus surface. In another case, food supplies or medicines can be supplied via rocket launchers.

" ... outside this, these are completely ordinary people. Bojanowski is interested in photography, wedkarstwo [translation unknown] and, as a hobby, tinkering with electronic wonders. The commander, Marek Cwiklak, says, however, that submarines are his hobby, after all he was a 1981 Navy Master in navigation; this year he is a vicemaster. But it hard to believe that 15 years ago he was wearing the railroad student uniform of the Warsaw Railroad Technical School and then worked for a year for the railroad in his native region of Radom.

"But I am not the only one," he adds somewhat casually. My six-year-younger brother, Ireniusz, also completed the same school. Today, Lt (magister) Ireniusz Cwiklak is the first mechanic on another submarine, the ORP ORZEL."

HUMANISM, FRATERNITY OF NATIONAL MINORITY POLICY STRESSED

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 23 Jul 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Corneliu Vadim Tudor]

[Text] One of the secrets of Romanians' resistance in history was admirably summarized by the illustrious journalist Valeriu Braniste, who wrote in DRAPELUL dated 1/14 May 1904: "The Romanian people have asserted themselves as factors of order, eager to rise along the peaceful path, so that in fraternal affection with the co-inhabiting nationalities, respecting each other and mutually observing their rights and freedoms there may be cooperation among all the country's sons, without regard to origin and bygone privileges, in the lofty emulation for the progress and happiness of the common homeland." This made it possible for the Romanians to enter each century with their heads up, reaching the radiant peaks of 1 December 1918 when the Great and Everlasting Unification was achieved. In this glorious, but very difficult, process, the language, nationality and awareness of our organic unity were paramount factors. Touching on nationality, Simion Barnutiu wrote in 1848: "It is in it that we were born, it is our mother; we are men because it reared us; we are free because we move in it; we are alive because we live in it; if we are angered, it soothes our pain with national songs. Through it we talk today to our parents who lived thousands of years back; through it our descendants and posterity thousands of years later will know us." Of course -- and historical elements can forcefully corroborate it -- it never was a matter of nationalism, it was only a weapon for defense against the repressive nationalism of others, there were the instinct and lucid will of a nation threatened with destruction to make its ideals and beliefs into a redoubt, to preserve its identity and ethnic characteristic. One of the forms of denationalization, that was most condemned by the judgement of history, was, as is known, the Law on primary education, promulgated in 1907 by count Albert Apponyi, minister of instruction, a law which advocated that all non-Hungarian schools in Transylvania be converted into centers of education in the spirit of the chauvinism of the dominant oligarchy. Among other things, it provided for learning the language of the state to such a degree that "by the end of the fourth year students be capable of clearly expressing their thought in Hungarian, in writing and orally." (TRANSYLVANIA, Dr. Titus Podea, 1936, bilingual Romanian-English issue). No wonder that consequently, as the quoted author goes on, "tens and hundreds of our schools began to close down, after 1907." However, it was a double-edged law, because the Hungarian population, itself, suffered as a result of its draconian provisions. A noted Hungarian personality, Deme Karoly, took stand against these irrational procedures: "The fact that the state puts up one after

another primary and civilian schools in areas inhabited by nationalities while neglecting the areas inhabited by Hungarians is not a proof that our ministers of instruction are guided by too deep an understanding and broad views of statesmen. For, what meaning does it have, for instance, to put up primary schools in the middle of Romanian masses, so that through them one might win one or two Wallachians over for the Hungarian cause while at the same time leave the native Hungarian masses to linger in ignorance?" ("The Situation of Hungary and the Struggle of European Nations," Cluj, 1913.) Moreover, here are a few statistical guides. Only a little while before the liberation of the Romanian nationality, which occurred in 1918, the situation of injustices in Transylvanian education (an area which was a kind of a vulnerable point of the monstrous Austro-Hungarian dualism), was as follows: 2,971,662 Romanians, hence the overwhelming majority of the entire population, only had four lyceums, two gymnasiums, two normal schools, one school of commerce and 2,296 primary schools. For reciprocity, this situation ought to be compared to that of Hungarians in the unified Romania of the interwar era. Although the Bucharest regime had plenty deficiencies, however, thanks to the traditional Romanian humanism, Romania's Constitution guaranteed for minorities equal rights with citizens of Romanian origin. It is illustrative in this respect that in 1934, the 1,353,675 Hungarians in the kingdom had 17 lyceums, 27 gymnasiums, seven normal schools, five schools of commerce, one agricultural school and 1,139 denominational primary schools. Hence, infinitely more than the Romanians had in the prewar period. Until 1918, the situation of Germans was not brilliant either: they only had 214 primary schools and 15 secondary schools. Compare this situation with the one in 1934, when the German minority had, under the Romanian government, a powerful network of educational units: 417 denominational primary schools, 47 state sections with teaching in German, 44 secondary schools and a state-sponsored German section. During the same period, in 55 primary schools in unified Romania tuition proceeded in the language of the minority ethnic groups which had a smaller membership: Serbians, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Bulgarians, and others. Relatively good also was the situation of other forms of culture in the languages of coinhabiting nationalities. The Hungarians, for instance, kept their eight cultural societies which existed before the world war, to which were added the "Unitarian Society of Literature" (1922), the "Helikon Transylvanian Society" (1926), other institutions for the promotion of Hungarian art and science, and also two academies: a Catholic one, founded in 1928, and a Reformed one, founded in 1932. Telling, in terms of the situation of all coinhabiting nationalities, are the assessments made by the Budapest cultural personality Lajos Gyorgy in 1926: "It is certain that Hungarians in Transylvania today have an as active and intensive cultural life as the one they had in the 16th and 17th centuries, when the center of gravity of Hungarian culture was almost entirely limited to Transylvania." Far be it from us to want to glorify the state of affairs in interwar Romania. We only wished to point out that, although the Bucharest regime was a bourgeois one and had countless limitations (rightfully condemned today by history), the proverbial humanism of Romanians had the strength to surface. This was the situation and historic truth must not be concealed.

It was natural, it was in compliance with the law of historic development that, based on these traditions, the new system established in Romania after 23 August 1944 bring in this area also greater light and humanism, fairness and socialist equity. All the national minority policy furthered by the Romanian Communist Party is based on the principles of socialist humanism and fraternity to serve the same common homeland, of equal rights and free development of all the country's sons. It is a superior

democracy which centers on legislating the right of every individual to fully and harmoniously develop, regardless of his or her nationality, language, age, sex, and religion. It is a democracy of unity and progress, of unshackled freedom which no irredentist mercenary from outside the country's borders can mar. In face of the filthy wave of chauvinistic pulps through which some wandering and very unhappy souls are attempting to deceive history, world public opinion, we shall answer from here by our realities today, by overwhelming statistical data that are fully borne out by practice and even by the sincere invitation to any eager person, to visit our country in order to see with his own eyes the profoundly humane climate in which all the citizens of our homeland live. No one, no matter how dirty his conscience may be, no matter how shrewdly he might manage to misinterpret the great truths, no matter how well he may be paid by reactionary circles abroad, no one, absolutely no one can impair the friendly relations established during the course of centuries among Romanians and the other nationalities. An adverse history punished too severely both us and them so that we cannot backpedal now, we cannot lose the epochal chance which our revolutionary party provided of even more reinforcing our feelings of fraternity and harmony that inspire the more than 22 million citizens of socialist Romania. This is the thunderous voice of history and no sycophant from the outside can cover it with his voice of a troglodyte eunuch, no radio station can jam it, no matter how powerful its goniometric installations may be and no matter how visibly its microphones might turn green from the heaps of dollars they are absorbing. Today Romania is a big, free and united family, and all the irredentist attempts at instigation and division only strengthen it even more in its belief. I wrote all these things under the influence of the special impression which the reading of a book made upon us. The book is "Invatamintul in Limbile Nationalitatilor Conlocuitoare din Romania" [Education in the Languages of Coinhabiting Nationalities in Romania], recently issued by the prestigious Editura Didactica si Pedagogica [Didactic and Pedagogical Printing House]. It is by no means devoid of interest to point out that the survey was prepared by a team of the Office of Education in Languages of Coinhabiting Nationalities in the ministry involved comprised of: Marin Gaspar, Gergely Laszlo (coordinators), Nikolaus Kleininger, Murvai Laszlo and Sorin Teodorescu. Concomitantly also published in Hungarian, German, English, French and Russian, this book is the most comprehensive and accurate radiograph of the updated situation in Romanian education, speaking convincingly, with the axiomatic vigor of facts, statistics and live testimonies, given by teachers from the ranks of coinhabiting nationalities, on the thriving of all types of schools in Romania. Here are only a few figures on this profoundly democratic phenomenon (which are in full compliance with the provisions of the Law on Education and Instruction), as they emerge from the pages of the book: out of the 29,422 kindergartens, general education schools, lyceums and vocational schools that operated in Romania in the 1980-1981 academic year (day classes) in 3,276 (11%) the educational and instructional process developed in the languages of coinhabiting nationalities; out of these units, 2,502 (76.5%) operated in Hungarian, 679 (20.5%) in German and 97 (3%) in Serbian, Slovak, Ukrainian, Chech or Bulgarian; in light of their or their parents' wishes, out of the 485,846 children and youngsters from the ranks of coinhabiting nationalities who were involved in the above academic year, 60% were taught in their maternal language; more than 6,000 students from the ranks of coinhabiting nationalities last year studied in the evening secondary schools in their maternal languages; studying in various university centers were 13,614 students from among the coinhabiting nationalities, including, as one example, 1700 students of Hungarian nationality who studied in Petofy and Andy's language, and so on. We also learn that,

in the spirit of the same policy pursued by our party and state, Romania ensures the training of a great number of foreign students (18,640 in the 1980-1981 academic year), especially from the developing countries. Please compare these truths with those of 1918 and 1934; in the first part of the comparison you will see the extraordinary difference from the policy of our temporary oppressors, and in the second part, the enormous leap which Romania has made, from an anachronistic society to a revolutionary society. Much more could be written about this exceptional book which is both a political and cultural-scientific guide and a guide of ethics of history. Through it, Romanian education, one with very rich and glorious traditions, appears to us today in its entire value dimensions, the fundamental role which it plays in the complex process of building a modern and multilaterally developed Romania. We conclude by reprinting from the introductory page of the book a vibrant and telling passage from the writings of President Nicolae Ceausescu, the untiring promoter of this visionary and widely open policy: "Our homeland offers boundless opportunities for the assertion and full manifestation of every citizen, of fulfillment of the loftiest creative aspirations: it ensures the broadest civil rights and freedoms, full equality to all citizens, regardless of their nationality. Our party and state have ensured the full and definitive solution, in the spirit of scientific socialism, to the national minority problem, a new life for all working people, whether they are of Romanian, Hungarian, German, Jewish or other nationalities."

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AMENDED DECREE ON MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, FOOD INDUSTRY

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 55-56, 10 Jun 82 pp 1-31

[Decree No 298/1979 of the Council of State on Organization and Operation of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry--republication*]

[Excerpts] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

CHAPTER I General Provisions

Article 1. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, in accordance with the law, carries out the unified leadership of the entire agriculture, insures its continual progress and the economic development of the socialist state and cooperative organizations in agriculture.

Also, it provides for development of the food industry under conditions of the superior utilization of vegetable and animal agricultural raw material resources and for increasing and diversifying the production of food goods in agreement with the requirements of the national economy.

Article 2. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry bears the entire responsibility for the unified implementation of party and state policy in the area of agriculture and the food industry and it fulfills the job as coordinating ministry for activity in the area or what takes place in the units under other central or local organs of state administration.

The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry takes measures to integrate the production and economic activity of the state and cooperative agricultural units with a view to utilization of the land fund with maximum efficiency, the technical resources and labor force, which should lead to a more emphatic growth in vegetable and animal production.

Article 3. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry leads, guides and controls the units under it and, as plan holder, is responsible for fulfilling the plan for all its activity.

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* Republication on the basis of Article IX/Decree 100/8 March 1982 published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I, No 27, 15 March 1982, giving new numbering to the Articles. Decree 298/1979 was published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 73, 6 August 1979.

Article 4. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry provides for application of the laws, decrees as well as Council of Ministers decisions in its area of activity.

Article 5. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry collaborates with the other central organs and ministries, as well as with the local organs for the purpose of fulfilling its duties.

In order to provide for the continued growth in production, development and consolidating of the agricultural production cooperatives, the state and cooperative united agroindustrial councils, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry cooperates with the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives.

CHAPTER II Duties

Article 6. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry has the following main duties:

A. Duties in agriculture:

a) It takes measures and is responsible for the rational use of all agricultural lands, regardless of the owner; it provides for carrying out land improvement projects which should lead to bringing back new areas for crops, to improving the categories of use, to increasing the production potential of the entire land fund of Romania; it controls and is responsible for removing lands from vegetable production for other needs of the economy, seeking that this is done with strict respect for the provisions of the law;

b) It establishes the zoning of grain, vegetable, technical crops, vegetable, potato, fodder plant production plus grape and fruit tree plantations and animal breeds and categories, according to the pedoclimate conditions and the social-economic conditions in each zone and microzone; it establishes the territorial distribution of varieties and hybrids for all crops as well as breeds of animals and it seeks and controls respect for these; it works out unified production techniques for all crops, for zootechnics and other agricultural activities and it takes measures and controls the respect for these by all agricultural units;

c) It organizes and is responsible for producing grains, vegetables, technical and fodder crops, vegetables, potatoes, fruits, grapes, meat, milk, eggs, wool and other vegetable and animal agricultural products;

d) It organizes the concentration and specialization of the state agricultural units depending on the zoning of vegetable and animal agricultural production and it guides the profile of the agricultural production cooperatives; it organizes farms and specialized enterprises as well as industrial units, it aids the actions for cooperation and association among the state units and the agricultural production cooperatives; it guides the activity and is responsible for the organization of the state and cooperative agroindustrial unified councils;

e) It takes measures, organizes and is responsible for the development of activities for processing of agricultural production within the agroindustrial united councils, for extending its own industrial activities through cooperation with the industrial enterprises under the ministry and under other ministries and central organs, for building and producing building materials, for extending the services provided and for activities commercializing the agricultural products which would contribute to use of the labor force throughout the year and to rise in incomes;

f) Through the research units under it, it organizes the production of seeds and sowing material, it seeks and is responsible for providing sowing material with seeds for the needs of all agriculture as well as the quality of them;

g) It works out measures to protect crops and standards for phytohealth quarantine; it guides the actions to combat diseases and pests and checks on application of them; it advises on the production and utilization of insecticides, fungicides and pesticides;

h) It organizes and heads the actions for reproduction and selection of animals, in a unified way, for all sectors in agriculture, seeking and being responsible for increasing numbers and improving them;

i) It is responsible for providing a balanced fodder base for all breeds and categories of animals, for which purpose it takes measures to have all units carry out a program for improvement and rational exploitationof natural hayfields and pastures, for establishing an optimum structure for the fodder crops cultivated, for application of the techniques established for them, for harvesting and preserving fodder by insuring quality conditions as well as for their rational administration in feeding the animals, for preparing and improving all industrial subproducts and secondary agricultural products headed for fodder;

j) It carries out the duties of the state veterinary health service and state veterinary health inspectorate and is responsible for preventing and combatting epizooties; it organizes the production of biological materials and advises on the use of biological preparations and veterinary drugs;

k) It establishes systems for tractors, agricultural machinery and equipment needed for mechanizing the agricultural production processes; it takes measures to introduce them into agricultural production, establishing standards of usage, maintenance and their repair;

l) It provides studies and drafts for organization of agricultural territory, for land improvement projects as well as for agricultural construction;

m) It coordinates the geodesic-topographical activity for the entire country, except for that fulfilled by the Ministry of National Defense; it introduces and organizes land surveys for the country's territory;

n) It is responsible for fulfilling the national program for land improvement within the schedules established;

o) It is responsible for organizing the maintenance and operation of land improvement projects in the systems which are in its administration; it fulfills its tasks for protecting the land improvement projects against floods and freezing;

p) It insures and is responsible for establishing the state grain stock, that for kernel vegetables, oleaginous and textile crops through the contracts concluded with the socialist agricultural units and through taking over the proper products for payment, for the projects provided by the stations for mechanization of agriculture as well as through acquisitions from the population's farms; it takes measures and is responsible for the good preservation of the proudcts taken for the state fund and for delivering them with strict respect for the purposes established by the plan and the balance for each product;

r) For the purpose of supplying the population and for providing the necessary quantities for industrialization and semi-industrialization as well as for export, it establishes the state stock for vegetables, potatoes, fruits and grapes through contracting and acquisitions from the socialist units and the population's plots, seeking continued improvement in the quality of products and varieties; it takes measures to obtain and store the fall-winter reserves for vegetables, potatoes, fruits and grapes in the fresh state, industrialized and semi-industrialized;

s) It takes measures and is responsible for establishing and preserving the state reserve of agricultural food products;

t) It organizes wholesale and retail trade of vegetables, potatoes, fruits and domestic grapes, it guides the activity of its own network of warehouses and stores for presentation and sale of agricultural products.

B. Duties in the Food Industry:

a) It insures and is responsible for the continued development of activity for industrialization of agricultural products, diversification of the varieties of food products and improvement in their quality for the purpose of satisfying the population's consumer needs and other requirements of the national economy; it takes measures for specialization of the food industry units in obtaining the products intended for export;

b) It is responsible for super[illegible] utilization of agricultural raw materials, for introducing new techniques, [illegible]ducing specific consumption, for rational use of production capacities, for introducing advanced methods of organization of production and work with a view to increasing labor productivity and the economic efficiency in the industrialization units;

c) It organizes and provides for the takeover of animal and vegetable raw materials for the state stock, for which purpose:

It concludes contracts for taking over vegetable and animal products for the state stock from its goal of activity and is responsible for carrying them out. For this purpose, the Department of the Food Industry takes over from the Central

Union of Cooperatives for Production, Acquisition and Sale of Foods the activity of contracting and taking over for the state stock hogs and sheep;

It seeks and gives aid to the agricultural units with which it concluded contracts for the operational sowing of the areas established for sugar beet, sunflower, soy, flax for oil, tobacco; it checks on application of techniques and is concerned with taking over the entire production obtained under good conditions;

It checks and seeks the existence of animals in each unit with which it has concluded contracts, the obtaining of weight increases, milk production and utilization of products according to the plan and contract provisions;

d) It provides for the development of new industrial capacities for economic utilization of agricultural raw material resources within the united agroindustrial councils; it organizes actions of cooperation and association among the industrial enterprises and the agricultural cooperatives and develops sections of the enterprises along the line of the councils' activity;

e) It checks the slaughtering system for animals in the slaughterhouses, regardless of whom they are under, and is responsible for respecting the legal provisions with regard to slaughtering weight and the number of animals headed for slaughter according to the plan provisions as well as respect for the intention of the products obtained;

f) It organizes, guides and controls fishing in the Black Sea and in the oceans, the industrialization and sale of fish and other sea products, the building and repair of light ships and the necessary equipment for fishing, for the fish industry and the harvesting and utilization of reeds;

g) It coordinates and gives obligatory provisions for the production and delivery of flour, cornmeal, bread products, sugar products and other agroindustrial products obtained by the units under the local organs, it gives them specialized technical assistance and carries out control over the mills' activity;

h) It organizes, guides and coordinates the rational utilization and development of the refrigeration network in Romania;

i) It organizes and guides the activity of its own store network for presenting food goods;

j) It establishes the unified methods for working out, applying and following up on the consumption standards, it issues technical specialized standards which are obligatory for all food goods production units, regardless of whom they are under, and it checks on application of them;

k) It fulfills the job as branch coordinator in the area of food products.

C. Joint Duties:

a) Within the single national plan for social-economic development, it insures the sustained development of all sectors, branches and subbranches in agriculutre

in a unified concept and the industrialization of agricultural products with a view to fulfilling the plan tasks and for obtaining higher quantities of agricultural and food products and for satisfying the population's supply requirements and other needs of the national economy, for which purpose:

It works out studies and programs for the proportions, levels, rates and paths for future development of branches and subbranches in its activity;

It works out annual and long-range draft plans on the basis of its own studies and proposals from the departments, economic general directorates, centrals, county general directorates for agriculture and the food industry and other subordinate units and it collaborates with the central organs in working out draft annual and long-range plans for all activity in its area, insuring the mobilization of all existing resources through the plan;

It insures the diversification of production and continued rise in the qualitative characteristics of the products for the purpose of satisfying the needs of the national economy and increasing their competitiveness on the international market;

Following adoption of laws for approval of the single national plan for social-economic development and the state budget, it establishes the economic and financial plan indicators by subordinate units, whose plan tasks are not separately established by the single national plan for social-economic development;

In accordance with legal standards it determines the need for circulating resources for the subordinate units and supplies them with these resources, with the agreement of the Ministry of Finances;

It organizes the pursual of the indicators belonging to it from the single national plan and the state budget and is responsible for fulfillment of them and it regularly informs the Council of Ministers;

It analyzes the balances and regular reports of the subordinate units and compiles the ones concerning activity for the ministry as a whole;

It compiles and implements the budget of incomes and expenses for the central administration of the ministry and for subordinate units;

It carries out its duties, in accordance with the law, for taxes and prices in its area of activity;

b) It coordinates and guides the research and design activity in the subordinate units and takes measures to supply them with the necessary material-technical resources; it takes necessary measures for integrating research activity with production and instruction and it does this on the basis of programs which insure the solution of priority problems which production needs; it follows up on the results of scientific research and its utilization in production; it is concerned with the introduction of technical, scientific and economic progress in the subordinate units;

c) It organizes the activity of technical documentation specific to its branches and subbranches and provides information for the subordinate units on the

trends of scientific-technical progress nationally and worldwide; it publishes publications and works on production problems, science and technology and organizes propaganda actions specific to the activity it carries out;

d) In accordance with the law, it approves the technical-economic documents for assimilating new very important products and gives its agreement on the types and technical-economic indicators of the complex installations as well as of the machinery and installations which are to be produced in Romania or obtained from abroad and for all activity in its area;

e) It guides the activity of inventions and innovations and is concerned with generalizing the most important achievements; it makes proposals on the problems of standardization; it approves internal standards; it coordinates and controls metrology activity in the subordinate units;

f) Within the limit of its competence it approves technical-economic documents and is responsible for carrying out investment projects and placing projects into operation on schedule; it seeks to reduce the consumption of scarce building materials as well as to reduce specific investments; it organizes, coordinates and is responsible for carrying out construction-assembly projects and installations it is building from its branches and subbranches of activity; it is responsible for carrying out the production of building materials provided in its plan;

g) It works out and makes proposals for the proportions and structure of commercial exchanges for the future; it organizes providing production intended for export, for which purpose it takes measures for the specialization of the units which have favorable conditions for building products at the quality parameters requested on the foreign markets, for supplying them with the material base they need; it diversifies the variety structure, conditions of presentation and packaging; it seeks to prepare and deliver the products intended for export for the purpose of utilizing them under conditions of greater efficiency; it is responsible for fulfilling the export plan;

h) It organizes activity of cooperation in the area of production and commercialization of products, design, execution of projects and technical assistance with other countries and it insures fulfillment of the tasks resulting from this activity; it coorelates the activity of cooperation with export activity, seeking utilization of the products intended for export through actions of cooperation and the production of raw materials for the food industry and for other branches;

i) It organizes and coordinates the activity of economic, technical and scientific collaboration with other ministries and central organs abroad in its branches and subbranches of activity, it provides for application of international conventions and agreements on the activity in its area and it checks on fulfillment of the obligations resulting from them;

j) It is responsible for the activity of organizing the leadership, production and work in the state and cooperative units in its system; it organizes improvement in the information system and insures its application in its area of activity;

k) It guides and coordinates the activity for utilization of products, for material-technical supply, financial-accounting activity and the investment activity of the agricultural production cooperatives and the intercooperative economic associations;

l) It organizes the activity of working out, applying and following up on labor standards for all categories of worker personnel in its area of activity, it organizes the working out of unified labor standards for the economy for the projects for which it has been established that it is the initiator or collaborator; it approves unified standards by branches, subbranches and other activities specific and control their mode of application; it works out labor standards in the socialist agricultural units and follows up on their application;

m) It organizes the compiling of projects for the need for all materials, materials and equipment, whose balance is approved by the Council of Ministers or ministries or other central organs; it is responsible for compiling the material balances by the subordinate units appropriately and it collaborates with other central organs in balancing them in accordance with the tasks from the single national plan for social-economic development and with the needs and possibilities of the national economy; it provides for the supply of materials and equipment for which it is the coordinator, as needed by all ministries, other central organs as well as local organs;

n) It organizes the operation of reservoirs in the administration of units under it through natural fishing and fish breeding; under the conditions provided by law it carries out the coordination-guidance and control of fishing activities, fish breeding and protection of the stock of fish in all fishing reservoirs under it or other central and local organs;

o) It advises on the establishment or development of its own agroindustrial units under the conditions provided by law, as well as units of this profile under other ministries, central and local organs;

p) It organizes the operation of means of transport in the supply of its units, intended for internal and international transportation;

r) It insures application of legal provisions in personnel problems, for which purpose:

It applies unified criteria established for the economy for the selection, training, advanced training and promotion of personnel in its area of activity and checks on execution of them;

It establishes the future need for personnel and takes measures for their training in accordance with the law;

It employs personnel for its own apparatus; it appoints the leadership organs of the centrals and of the other units under it;

It organizes the advanced training of specialized personnel in its units;

It organizes the records for cadres with higher agricultural studies, for the industrialization of agricultural products and is responsible for assigning them. Employment of agricultural and food industry specialists in areas of activity other than the agricultural ones is done only with the prior agreement of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry;

In accordance with the Law on Education and Instruction it is responsible for the organization of specialty instruction in the area of agriculture and the food industry;

s) In accordance with the law, it establishes standards and takes measures for labor protection for the purpose of providing the best working conditions, for preventing labor accidents and professional diseases for the units under it;

t) It participates in working out proposals for improving the elements in the salary system, organizing the compilation of studies for this purpose; it establishes overall measures for the continual improvement in working and living conditions of the personnel; it is responsible for applying legal provisions in the area of salaries and organizes permanent control over the way the elements of the salary system are applied in the units under it;

u) On the basis of and with a view to executing the law, it works out technical standards of a methodological nature for production, planningactivities and for organizing and setting standards for labor, salaries, as well as for any other activities in its area. The technical standards established for products on its listing are also obligatory for the units subordinate to other central or local organs which manufacture similar products;

v) It seeks to reduce production costs and to raise profitability and economic efficiency in the subordinate units;

x) It presents draft standardization acts and other acts provided by law to the Council of Ministers; it advises on draft normative acts and those of another nature worked out by other ministries and central organs and by the executive committees of the county people's councils which concern its area of activity;

y) It carries out legal duties in the activity of the public organizations in its area and aids their activity;

z) It fulfills any other duties provided by law.

CHAPTER III Organization and Operation

Article 7. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry is headed by the ministry's leadership council, which decides on the general problems of the ministry's activity.

The collective leadership of the ministry's operational activity and insuring that the leadership council's decisions are fulfilled are carried out by its executive bureau.

The ministry's leadership council and its executive bureau, organs of a deliberative nature, are organized and operate in accordance with Decree 76/1973 on the Organization of Ministries and Other Central Oggans of State Administration on the Basis of the Principle of Collective Leadership.

The president of the Academy of Agricultural and Silvic Sciences also is part of the leadership council of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry.

Article 8. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry has in its leadership one minister, two ministers-secretaries of state who are members of the government, nine deputy ministers and three state secretaries. One of the ministers-state secretaries also fulfills the job of head of the Department of the Food Industry.

The ministers-state secretaries, deputy ministers and state secretaries are appointed by presidential decree, while their duties are established by the ministry's leadership council.

Article 9. The minister represents the ministry in relations with other organs and organizations in Romania as well as in international relations; in the absence of the minister, these duties are carried out by one of the ministers-state secretaries.

Article 10. Operating within the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry are the council for grains and technical crops, the council for horticulture, the council for the land fund and land improvement, the zooveterinary council and the council for mechanization, as working technical organs in the ministry's collective leadership organs. Highly qualified specialists with long production, research and instructive experience are part of these councils. The number of members and nominal componence are set by the ministry's leadership council.

The councils discuss and present to the ministry's leadership council proposals for their areas of activity on actions and measures which should be taken for the production of seeds, variety of soils and hybrids and their zoning; measures for selection, reproduction and regionalization of animal breeds; animal health protection; establishing and having unified application of techniques in all sectors of agriculture; advising on the tractor and agricultural machinery, equipment and installation system for agriculture and the industry for processing of agricultural products; the introduction of new varieties of chemical products, drugs and biopreparations into production. The council for the land fund and land improvement discusses and approves construction solutions for land improvement projects and agroindustrial construction as well as techniques for carrying out and operating these projects.

Article 11. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry has the following organizational structure:

a) The Department of State Agriculture, which has in its structure:

The directorate for agricultural production; the technical, investments and mechanization directorate; the plan, finance, sales and export directorate; the organizational and control directorate;

b) The Department for the Food Industry, which has in its structure:

The plan, finance and sales directorate; the technical, investment, mechanical-energy directorate; the organization and control directorate;

c) The General Economic Directorate for Horticulture, which has in its structure:

The technical and horticultural product industrialization directorate; the plan, finance, sales and export directorate; the organization and control directorate; the economic production trust for greenhouse vegetables; the economic production trust for field vegetables; the economic production trust for potatoes; the economic production trust for fruit tree growing; the economic production trust for grape growing and winemaking.

The economic production trust in the General Economic Directorate for Horticulture op rate on the basis of worker self-leadership and economic-financial self-management, have a legal personality, and they fulfill duties in directions for production and technical specialized guidance of the ministry for sectors in their profile of activity.

The economic production trusts have headquarters, goal of activity, subordinate units as well as duties as provided in Appendices 1 and 2;

d) The Zooveterinary General Economic Directorate, which has in its structure:

The directorate for animal production; the fodder base directorate; the veterinary health directorate, which has in its componence the State Veterinary Health Inspectorate; the plan, finance, investment and organization directorate;

e) The General Economic Directorate for Mechanization of Agriculture, which has in its structure:

The directorate for mechanization and transport; the directorate for operation of land improvement projects; the technical and industrial production directorate; the plan, finance, organization and control directorate;

f) The General Economic Directorate for Land Improvement and Construction in Agriculture, which has in its structure:

The technical, investment and mechanical-energy directorate; the construction-assembly directorate; the plan, finance and supply-sales directorate;

g) The Directorate for Grains, Technical Crops and Land Fund, which has in its structure:

The state inspectorate for seed and sowing material quality; the state inspectorate for phytohealth quarantine; the inspectorate for the land fund;

h) The technical and investment directorate;

i) The directorate for foreign trade and international economic cooperation;

j) Directorate for planning;

k) Finance-prices directorate;

l) Directorate for organization of production and work;

m) Directorate for personnel, instruction and propaganda;

n) General directorate for technical-material supply;

o) Secretariat-administrative directorate;

p) State inspectorate for agriculture and the food industry.

The general directorate for technical-material supply and the directorate for personnel, instruction and propaganda are assimilated with the technical-economic directorates of the ministries.

The organizational structure by work departments and maximum number of personnel in the ministry apparatus are as provided in Appendices 3, 3A-K.*

Article 12. The directorate for grains, technical crops and land fund is responsible for:

a) Working out and applying the production for each crop in a unified way, for their techniques, for providing seeds, combatting diseases and pests and for obtaining the planned production;

b) Compiling programs for rational management of the land, for increasing arable areas and improvement of the entire country's agricultural land fund as well as land survey.

Article 13. The Zooveterinary General Economic Directorate is resonsible for:

a) Fulfilling the tasks of the single national plan for social-economic development with regard to the numbers, production, taking over and delivery to the state fund and efficiency indicators in the area of animal raising for the entire country;

b) Working out and applying research and production programs for improvement reproduction and nutrition of the animals for all of agriculture in a unified way and techniques for carrying out animal production;

c) Insuring animal health;

d) Solving problems specific to agrozootechnical production in the noncooperativized zones;

e) Providing the necessary fodder base; improving pastures and the processing and good management of all categories of fodder.

Article 14. The directorate for foreign trade and international economic cooperation is responsible for:

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* The appendices have been sent to the concerned institutes.

a) Following up on preparation of production for export;

b) Contracting and delivering production for export;

c) Broadening activities of economic cooperation and international technical-scientific collaboration

Article 15. The state deparmtnet of agriculture is responsible for:

a) Achieving vegetable and animal production under conditions of efficiency as provided by the plan in the subordinate production units, through unified application of the techniques established for all of agriculture by the directorates in the ministry and by providing the material-technical base and using it rationally;

b) Rational development of production capacities, their modernization, integral fulfillment of investment projects as well as use of investment capital and fixed resources supplied to its units with maximum efficiency;

c) Intensification of actions for association and cooperation with the agricultural cooperative units, for better use of existing resources in the two sectors and increasing agricultural production.

Article 10. The department for the food industry is responsible for:

a) Fulfilling the tasks of the single national plan for social-economic development for all the indicators established, as well as working out and applying development programs in tits area of activity;

b) Continued development of production capacities for the industrialization of agricultural products, diversification of varieties and improvement in the quality of the food products needed for domestic consumption and export;

c) Providing raw materials through the centrals and units under it, giving technical aid to the agricultural units which produce them and their superior utilization.

Article 17. The head of the department represents the department in relations with other organs and organizations in Romania and in international relations, according to the competencies established by the ministry's leadership council.

Article 18. The general economic directorate for horticulture coordinates for production, industrialization and utilization of vegetables, potatoes, fruits and grapes in is responsible for them in a unified way for agriculture as a whole, in accordance with the provisions of Law 28/1976.

Article 19. The general economic directorate for the mechanization of agriculture is responsible for:

a) Working out and applying programs for mechanization for agriculture as a whole;

b) It organizes the production of equipment, mechanisms, devices, spare parts which are built by its own units, for building and diversifying the equipment and installations needed for the processing of agricultural products both for the big industrial projects as well as for production capacities or sections of factories which are being created in the united agroindustrial councils--state and cooperative;

c) Operating the areas set up for irrigation, drainage and combatting of erosion in the big systems and local set ups;

d) Giving technical assistance for the operation and maintenance of local arrangements within the agricultural production cooperatives;

e) Transport activity for the ministry as a whole;

f) Together with the general economic directorate for land improvement and construction in agriculture, seeking to carry out the investments in the area of land improvement projects.

Article 20. The general economic directorate for land improvement and construction in agriculture is responsible for:

a) Carrying out land improvement programs through studies, research, design and carrying out of projects for irrigation, drainage, soil erosion fighting both in big as well as local systems;

b) Doing agrozootechnical construction projects and industrialization of agricultural products;

c) Providing studies and designs for land improvement projects as well as for agricultural construction and for the industrialization of less complex agricultural products;

d) Providing technical assistance in the designing and carrying out of land improvement projects in the agricultural production cooperatives;

e) Together with the general economic directorate for the mechanization of agriculture, it seeks to carry out investments in the area of land improvement projects .

Article 21. The state inspectorate for agriculture and the food industry exercises control over application of party and state decisions and normative acts, over the way the programs are carried out for development of agricultural and food production as well as the way the land, material and financial resources and labor force are used.

Article 22. The state agriculture department, the food industry department, the Academy of Agricultural and Silvic Sciences, the general zooveterinary economic directorate, the general economic directorate for horticulture, the general economic directorate for mechanization of agriculture and the general economic directorate for land improvement and construction in agriculture are legal persons, plan holders, have listing for tasks for all indicators separately through the single national plan and are directly responsible for achieving the indicators set.

At the level of the ministry a reserve may be established from the plan holders (departments, general economic directorates and centrals) of up to 3 percent for the indicators approved through the single national plan.

The utilization of the reserve is to be carried out with the ministry's approval for any plan holder within the ministry, with respect for the levels provided for the ministry as a whole for the particultur indicators, informing the State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finances of the changes which have occurred.

Article 23. The general economic directorates operate on the principle of economic-financial self-management and fulfill their duties belonging to the centrals and department in accordance with the law.

Article 24. The departments and general economic directorates provided in Articles 13, 15, 16 and 18-20 are headed by a leadership council and an executive bureau, organs of a deliberative nature which are established and operate in accordance with the provisions of Decree 76/1973 on Leadership of Ministries and Other Central Organs of State Administration on the Basis of the Principle of Collective Leadership.

Article 25. The duties of the leadership councils and of their executive bureaus are set by the ministry's leadership council.

Article 26. The technical-economic councils, in accordance with Decree 78/1973, are organized and operate in the collective leadership organs of the general economic directorates provided in Articles 13 and 18-20.

Article 27. The general directorate for technical-material supply has a legal personality and operates on the principle of economic-financial self-management.

Article 28. The personnel and educational activities are carried out centrally, for the ministry as a whole, by the directorate for personnel, instruction and propaganda.

Article 29. The duties of all departments within the ministry apparatus, in accordance with the law, are established by the regulation for organization and operation which is approved by the ministry's leadership council.

Article 30. The general economic directorates provided in Article 11c), d), e) and f) are headed by one deputy minister who also fills the job of general director.

CHAPTER IV The Connection With Local Organs of State Administration

Article 31. General directorates for agriculture and the food industry are organized for the unified leadership of all agriculture and the activity of industrialization of agricultural products within the counties and Bucharest Municipality. These operate as local specialty organs, being under the Ministry of agriculture and the Food Industry and the executive committee of the people's council of the county and Bucharest Municipality, respectively, in conformity with the

provisions of Law 57/1968 on Organization and Operation of People's Councils.

Article 32. The organization of general directorates for agriculture and the food industry and of the units under them is made on the basis of sturctural standards approved by decree of the Council of State.

Article 33. The technical, consumption and labor standards as well as technologies worked out, in accordance with the law, by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and by the Academy of Agricultural and Silvic Sciences as well as by the subordinate centrals, are obligatory for all units on the territory of that profile.

The general directorates for agriculture and the food industry are responsible for their unified application in accordance with the specific pedoclimatic conditions and social-economic conditions in that particular zone.

The general directorates for agriculture and the food industry, through their specialty units, also are responsible for application of standards and measures for preservation, increasing and improving the land fund, for crop protection, for the quality of seeds and sowing material, for animal selection and veterinary health in all units, regardless of subordination and they give specialized services.

Article 34. The departments, general economic directorates, general directorates, directorates in the ministry and subordinate centrals, as well as the Academy of Agricultural and Silvic Sciences, are required to give aid and specialized guidance to the general directorates for agriculture and the food industry and to consult them in working out and applying directive-type measures as well as in carrying out actions concerning the units in their territorial sphere.

Article 35. Engineers, veterinarians and economists working on the agricultural production cooperatives, as representatives of the state, bear responsibility for application of the technologies established, for organization of production and work, for obtaining vegetable and animal agricultural products and for delivering them to the state fund according to the tasks provided in the single national plan, along with the leadership councils of the agricultural production cooperatives.

Engineers and veterinarians working in the agricultural production cooperatives are paid by the state through the united state and cooperative agroindustrial councils and are responsible to them for fulfilling their tasks. Transfers of agricultural and food industry specialists are carried out once a year, in the fourth quarter, correlated with the assignment of graduates and the start of the agricultural year.

The provisions of paragraph 2 are applied appropriately to the head accountants in the agricultural production cooperatives, who are paid by the state.

CHAPTER V Final Provisions

Article 36. The Academy of Agricultural and Silvic Sciences, the central research institutes and stations together with the general directorates and the directorates in the ministry of the profile work out unified research programs and, on the basis of the results obtained, establish and improve obligatory technologies for all of agriculture continually and they seek their differentiated application in all agricultural units.

The Academy of Agricultural and Silvic Sciences, institutes, central stations and research stations are responsible for the production and for providing all agriculture with the necessary seeds for grains, leguminous plants for grain crops, technical crops, fodder crops, vegetables and potatoes, grape growing and fruit tree growing material and reproduction animals.

The institutes, central stations and research stations under the departments and general economic directorates are under the Academy of Agricultural and Silvic Sciences for research activity, also, and it is responsible for coordinating, guiding and checking on fulfillment of the scientific research programs.

Article 37. On 1 August 1979 the Central for Mechanization of Agriculture and the Production of Equipment for Agriculture and the Food Industry, the Central for Operation of Land Improvement Projects, the Central for Vegetables and Fruit, the trust of enterprises for the production and industrialization of vegetables and fruit, the vineyards and wine central and the trust for research, technological engineering, design and fruit tree production were abolished.

Article 38. On 1 August 1979 the following are established: the research and production institutefor fruit tree growing, with headquarters in the municipality of Pitesti-Maracineni, under the general economic directorate for horticulture in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, by taking over the research and design activity in fruit tree growing from the trust for research, technological engineering, design and fruit tree production, which is abolished.

The institute operates on the basis of the principle of economic-financial self-management, is a legal person, and is organized according to the legal standards for organization and leadership of socialist state units and unified standards for structure approved by Decree 297/1973 on establishment of unified standards for structure for research and design units included in group IV of branches, level II for pay.

Article 39. The design activity of the central for vineyards and wine is taken over by the research institute for utilization of fruit and vegetables, with headquarters in the municipality of Bucharest, under the general economic directorate for horticulture within the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry.

The research institute for utilization of fruit and vegetables changes its name to Research and Design Institute for Utilization and Industrialization of Fruit and Vegetables and completes its goal of activity with the design of constructions for preserving and industrialization of fruit and vegetables as well as for making wine.

Article 40. On 1 August 1979 the trust of enterprises for the production of combined fodder, with headquarters in the municipality of Bucharest, is reorganized under the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry--the general zooveterinary directorate[1]--by dividing the activity of the central for utilization of grains and production of combined fodder, which changes its name into the central for utilization of grains and technical crops and changes its purpose of activity accordingly.

The object of the trust's activity is to produce the necessary combined fodder for fulfilling the program for animal production, it operates on the basis of the principle of economic-financial self-management, is a legal person and is organized according to legal standards for the organization and leadership of economic centrals, with the organizational structure provided for centrals with a separate apparatus, with a reduced volume of activity.

The trust fits into the special degree of organization and group VI of branches.

Article 41. The organizational structure of the central for utilization of grains and technical crops is as provided in Appendix 4.[2]

Article 42. Appendices 1 and 2 to Council of Ministers Decision 178/1974 on Improvement of the Organizational Structure of Centrals, Units Assimilated With Them as Well as Other Units Under the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry are amended and replaced with Appendix 5 to this decree.

The list of research and design units under the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry is provided in Appendix 6,[3] which replaces Chapter XII, Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, in Appendix 1 to Decree 139/1974.

Article 43. The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance, together with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, within 45 days of the date of this decree, will propose amending the plan indicators by holders, with its resultant effects, maintaining budget balance.

Article 44. Appendices 1-6 are an integral part of this decree.

Article 45. Decree 14/1971 on the Establishment, Organization and Operation of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, which became Law 28/1971, republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA No 19, 10 February 1972, with later amendments; Decree 137/1978 on the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry's Taking Over the Organization, Guidance and Coordination of Industrial Activities, Providing of Services and Utilization of the Agricultural Production Cooperatives and Intercooperative Economic Associations, except for Article 3, as well as anyother contrary dispositions are cancelled.

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1. Currently the general zooveterinary economic directorate, conforming with Decree 100/1982.
2. The appendix has been sent to the institutes concerned.
3. The appendix has been sent to the institutes concerned.

Appendix 1: Headquarters, Goal of Activity and Units Under the Economic Production Trusts

Name of Trust	Headquarters Location	Goal of Activity	Subordinate Units
Economic production trust for greenhouse vegetables	Bucharest Mun.	Organizing fulfillment of development programs and plan tasks for vegetable and greenhouse flower production	Research laboratory for greenhouse crops; greenhouse enterprises
Economic production trust for field vegetables	Bucharest Mun.	Organizing fulfillemnt of development programs and plan tasks in vegetable growing in state, cooperative units and population's plots	Research institute for vegetable and flower growing--Vidra; research and vegetable production stations; enterprise for utilization of vegetable seeds and sowing materials
Economic production trust for potatoes	Bucharest Mun.	Organizing fulfillment of development programs and plan tasks for potato crops in state and cooperative units and population's plots	Research and potato production institute, Brasov; starch and glucose enterprise, Tirgu Secuiesc; enterprise for production, industrialization of potatoes, Fagaras.
Economic production trust for fruit tree growing	Bucharest Mun.	Organizing fulfillment of development programs and plan tasks in state and cooperative units and on population's plots	Research and fruit tree growing production institute,Pitesti-Maracineni; stations for fruit tree growing research,production
Economic production trust for grape growing and wine making	Bucharest Mun.	Organizing fulfillment of development programs and plan tasks in area of grape growing and wine making in state and cooperative units and population's plots	Research institute for grppe growing and wine making, Valea Calugareasca; stations for research and production, grape growing and wine making

Appendix 2: Duties of Economic Production Trust for Greenhouse Vegetables

It is directly responsible for all activity of organizing and carrying out the production of vegetables, greenhouse flowers and mushrooms in the socialist state and cooperative units;

It draws up annual and long-range plans for the vegetable, greenhouse flower and mushroom crops in Romania;

It is responsible for all the activity of organizing and carrying out the production of seeds, sowing material for vegetable and greenhouse flower crops from the varieties, types and hybrids established as well as the mycelium for for mushrooms;

It checks on the quality of seeds, sowing material and mycelium for mushrooms in the production units and arecognizes and certifies them;

Together with the Academy of Agricultural and Silvic Sciences and the State Commission for testing and homologation of varieties, it organizes verification under experimental conditions and production conditions and is responsible for introducing the most valuable varieties, hybrids or mushroom stems;

It establishes the need for and coordinates and follows up on the supply with chemical fertilizers, pesticides as well as other materials needed for the production process in all greenhouse and mushroom-growing units;

It establishes the need for imports of seeds, sowing material, mycelium for mushrooms, pesticides, reactive agents, biostimulators, laboratory apparatuses, specific equipment, spare parts and materials, seeking to carry this out;

It establishes the machinery system, together with the general economic directorate, for the mechanization of agriculture, for the mechanization and automation of projects in greenhouses and mushroom growing, seeking the homologation, assimilation and manufacture of appropriate types;

It establishes the need for and distributes quotas approved for fuels, motor fuels and other technological materials for the greenhouse and mushroom-growing units, at the same time taking measures to reduce consumption;

It establishes the need for and seeks supply with tractors, machinery and specific operating installations for greenhouse and mushroom-growing units;

It organizes and is responsible for chemification activity and phytohealth protection for all greenhouse and mushroom-growing units;

It is responsible for organization and carrying out of the production of vegetables, mushrooms and greenhouse flowers for export and carries out their export through the subordinate units;

It organizes production sections for some auxiliary products needed for its own units, such as pots for flowers and sowing material, supports for floral arrangements, specific packaging, machinery and technological equipment;

It is responsible for sales activity for specific products, for this purpose organizing its own sales units;

It participates in the organization of economic associations among the agricultural production cooperatives and state units and is responsible for their activity from the technical and economic viewpoint;

It carries out the technological design for greenhouse and mushroom-growing units;

It is responsible for generalization of research and introduction of technical progress;

It insures improvement in the technical cadres working in greenhouses and mushroom-growing units;

It seeks to fulfill the economic and financial indicators approved by the plan and the state budget and increases in economic efficiency in its own units;

It participates in actions of international cooperation for the production of seeds and sowing material for greenhouse crops and mycelium for mushrooms, the utilization of production of vegetables, flowers and mushrooms as well as the obtaining of documents, technologies and modern equipment.

Duties of the Economic Production Trust for Field Vegetables

It is resonsible for all activity of organizing and obtaining field vegetable production in the soecialist units, regardless of subordination, and the population's plots;

It is responsible for zoning and placing vegetable production only on the fields appropriate for irrigation depending on the pedoclimatic conditions in each county;

It draws up annual and long-range plans for the production of vegetables and flowers;

It works out technologies for each species of vegetable and field flower;

It is responsible for the organization and obtaining of vegetable production for export, for the production from field crops and solariums in the units and specialized farms;

It works out technological designs for the specialized units in vegetable and flower growing;

It coordinates and follows up on the supply with chemical fertilizers, pesticides and other material from in the country and imports needed for the production process for all vegetable and flower growing;

It establishes the machinery system and need for tractors and machinery specific to the crop, together with the general economic directorate for the mechanization

of agriculture, it follows up on the homologation, assimilation and manufacture of machinery and aappropriate tractors;

It is responsible for all activity of producing vegetable and flower seeds from the varieties and hybrids established, in the quantities which cover the requirements of all the agricultural units and individual producers and the creation of a reserve stock and reserves for export;

It provides the biological material with a high production potential and the conditioning and storing of it;

Through its own units and other socialist units, on the basis of a contract, it provides, against cost, the vegetable and flower seeds in conformity with the development program;

It carries out checks on the quality of seeds through the specialists of the trust for the units which produce seeds, regardless of subordination and it recognizes and certifies the crops which produce seeds for field vegetables and flowerss;

It establishes and carries out the importing and exporting of vegetable and flower seeds;

It is responsible for the generalization of research and the introduction of technical progress;

It provides the vocational advanced training for the technical cadres working in vegetable growing;

It seeks to achieve the economic and financial indicators approved by the plan and the state budget and the rise in ecenomic efficiency for its own units;

It provides for the sale of vegetable and flower seed sales through its own units;

Through the enterprise for utilization of seeds for vegetables and sowing materials, it acquires seeds for vegetables, flowers, cuttings and dendrologic material from the population's plots;

It keeps international relations with scientific institutes , organs, having the competence to organize exchanges of scientific information, biological material, documentation and specialization visits under legal conditions;

Together with the Academy of Agricultural and Silvic Sciences and the state commission for testing and homologation of varieties, it organizes verifications under experimentation and production conditions and is responsible for introducing and zoning of the most valuable varieties or hybrids on the territory.

Duties of the Economic Production Trust for Potatoes

It is directly responsible for all the activity of organizing and carrying out potato production in the socialist units, regardless of subordination, as well

as from the population's plots;

It insures the plan fulfillment for sowing and it organizes the application of modern technologies for all units which cultivate potatoes, it checks and follows up on strict respect for them;

It coordinates , seeks supply with chemical fertilizers as provided in the fertilization programs, it provides pesticides in conformity with the program as well as other materials needed for the production process and for all potato production;

Together with the general economic directorate for the mechanization of agriculture, it establishes the need for tractors, agricultural machinery and the equipment specific to potato production;

It is responsible for the production of seed potatoes in quantities which provide for the requirements of all the agricultural units and individual producers, for conditioning and storing them as well as for creating the reserve fund;

It works out technical-economic documents for the goals of development of potato production;

It organizes the cooperation with the units which produce seed potatoes for multiplying the other biological links;

It provides seed potatoes needed for export and carries out the export of them;

It participates in the organization of economic associations and the associations of individual producers in the noncooperativized zone, which it heads from the tedhnical viewpont;

It is responsible for generalization of the results of research and the introduction of technical progress;

It carries out the technological designs for the specialized units in the potato crop;

It exercises quality control over seed potatoes, done by trust specialists, in the production units, regardless of subordination, and it recognizes and certifies the seed potatoes;

It insures the cadre's rise in qualifications, those who work in production, utilization and industrialization of potatoes;

It maintains international relations with scientific institutes and organs, having the competence to organize exchanges of scientific information, biological material, documentation and specialization visits, under conditions of the law;

Through its own units it carries out the transformation of the potato through industrialization into chips (french fries), chips, croquettes, essences, starch and glucose;

Together with the Academy of Agricultural and Silvic Sciences and the State Commission for testing and homologation of varieties, it organizes the checking under experimental and production conditions and is responsible for the introduction and zoning of the most valuable varieties on the territory as well as for their proportion in production.

Duties of the Economic Production Trust for Fruit Tree Growing

It is directly responsible for the entire activity of organizing and carrying out fruit production in the socialist units, regardless of subordination, as well as on the population's plots;

It draws up annual and long-range programs for the development of fruit tree growing and dendrology ;

It is responsible for fulfilling the plan for planting and modernization of orchards, for the organization of application of advanced techniques in fruit tree growing production;

It establishes obligatory technical measures for free tree plantations for all the socialist units, regardless of subordination, as well as from the population's plots and it checks on and seeks respect for them;

Through the stations for fruit tree research and production, it produces the entire need for fruit tree sowing material in conformity with the program for development of fruit tree growing; it utilizes fruit tree growing material, dendrologic and flowering tree material throughout its own sales units;

It exercise quality control over fruit tree and dendrologic sowing material, through specialists of the trust and of subordinate units, and it recognizes and certifies the fruit tree and dendrologic sowing material;

It establishes and carries out the importing and exporting of fruit tree and dendrologic sowing material as well as other varieties of biological material;

It gives technical guidance for the activity of the fruit tree growing economic associations and the activity of the associations which produce fruit trees individually;

It advises on the technical-economic documents worked out by the research and production institutes for fruit tree growing for the goals of development of fruit tree growing and landscaping, being the only organ authorized for this activity;

It coordinates and follows up on the supply with chemical fertilizers, pesticides as well as other materials needed for the production process for all fruit tree growing;

It coordinates and checks on the activity of combatting pests and diseases on the fruit tree plantations, including on the population's plots, in conformity with the provisions of the Law on Fruit Tree Growing;

It follows up on and is responsible for achieving the economic and financial indicators approved by the plan and the state budget and the rise in economic efficiency for its own units;

Together with the general economic directorate for the mechanization of agriculture, it establishes the machinery system for the mechanization of fruit tree growing, it seeks homologation, assimilation and manufacture of the appropriate machinery and tractors as well as supplying the specialized units with them in accordance with the volume of jobs;

It advises on giving credits for establishing and modernizing fruit tree plantations and production credits for fruit tree growing requested by state units, agricultural production cooperatives, intercooperative associations as well as the credits requested by the population's plots for fruit tree growing;

It organizes the protection against frost, freezing andhail by zones and fruit tree regions, providing the necessary technology and materials;

It insures the rise in the technical qualifications of all cadres working in fruit tree growing;

It maintains international relations with scientific institutes and organs, having the competence to organize exchanges of scientific information, biological material, visits for documentation and specialization under legal conditions;

Together with the Academy of Agricultural and Silvic Sciences and the state commission for testing and homologation of varieties, it organizes the verification under experimental and production conditions and is responsible for introduction and zoning by territory of the most valuable varieties as well as their proportion in production.

Duties of the Economic Production Trust for Wine Growing and Wine Making

It draws up annual and long-range plans for development of grape growing and the production of sowing material;

It is responsible for all the activity of organizing and achieving grape production carried out in the socialist agricultural units and the population's plots;

It establishes obligatory measures for establishing and operating grape-growing plantations, the production of sowing material, the structure of varieties for all sectors and it has the right to technical checks on precise application of these provisions by its own specialized personnel and specialized personnel in the grape and wine enterprise;

It advises on standards for the activity of production of wines, alcoholic and nonalcoholic drinks from grapes, cider and wine, steeped drinks and spirits as drawn up by the research institute for grape growing and wine making for all socialist units, taking measures for respect of them;

It establishes varieties and directions of production specific to each defined zone, it seeks respect for them by all grape-growing units, it draws up and

places before the National Office for Grapes and Wine the works on improving the grape-growing areas, giving names of source, completions and changes in the technical standards for application of the Law on Grapes and Wine;

It organizes, controls and is responsible for the production of grape-growing material throughout the country, through its specialists in the research and production stations it carries out recognition of the plantations for shoots-parent plants, and exercises control over the quality of the grape-growing sowing material;

Elite and super-elite sowing material free from viruses are produced in its own units through establishment of plantations or through obtaining parent plants from other producers, areas or recognized vines;

It distributes and insures the utilization of grape-growing sowing material for all sectors;

It is responsible for establishing the mother/father plant plantations in order to improve the current varieties and fulfill the forecasts from the development program for grape growing;

It controls and takes measures for application of obligatory techniques in grape growing and in growing mother/father plants and sowing materials;

It insures the production of sowing material needed for exports and it carries out export through the units under it;

As the only organ, it advises on technical-economic documents for the goals of development and modernization of grape growing and wine making , techniques for the production of sowing material, establishment of grape plantations, the care of the vines and improvement of techniques for obtaining wines, products with a cider and wine base and superior utilization of wine subproducts;

Together with the general economic directorate for the mechanization of agriculture, it establishes the system of machinery, it improves the solutions for mechanization of projects in grape growing and wine making, it organizes the homologation of machinery and equipment, it establishes production shops in its own units for certain auxiliary products such as nutritional pots for the vines, specific packaging, devices, equipment and spare parts;

It carries out checks on the results of research on the farms of its own units and it controls and is responsible for their application in production;

It coordinates, controls and is responsible for the activity of combatting diseases and insects on the grape growing plantations, including the population's plots;

It seeks and is responsible for fulfilling the economic and financial indicators approved by the plan and state budget and for the rise in economic efficiency in its own units;

It provides for the organization of information and annual and periodic instructions for the specialists in grape growing and wine making in the current problems of technology and the economics of grape and wine production and production of sowing material;

It maintains international relations with institutes and scientific organs in the area of grape growing and wine making, having the competence to organize exhcanges of scientific information, biological material, documentation and specialization visits under conditions of the law and to participate in congresses, conferences, and symposiums abroad and to organize these kinds of manifestations in Romania;

Together with the Academy of Agricultural and Silvic Sciences and the state commission for testing and homologation of varieties, it organizes verification under experimental and production conditions and is responsible for introducing the most valuable varieties of grape and parent plant hybrids;

It utilizes specific products through its own sales units;

It insures and takes measures for application of the Law on Grapes and Wine in the grape-wine growing sector, regardless of subordination;

It gives technical guidance for the activity of the grape growing association through the united agroindustrial councils.

[Appendix 5, which was included in BULETINUL OFICIAL, is not included in this translation.]

8071
CSO: 2700/309

LAZY, DRUNKEN 'GYPSY PRINCES' TERRORIZE BUCHAREST

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 16 Jul 82 p 15

[Article by Vasile Baran]

[Text] During my childhood, Gore Tiganu, the village ironmonger, invited the children from there to shoe the horses and cattle, to put tires on the carts, and, in particular, the rare art of making coal which seemed to have come at that very moment from geological eras. With his son, Gogu, I still am friends; when I go back home, after I see my parents, I also go to see him, my former colleague in elementary school. He did not keep his father's shop, where we used to run not to help him but to hang from the horizontal pipe and, more, to play and Gore Tiganu smiled because, from our playing, he ended up with something very serious: iron for the horseshoes warmed up!

On Sundays he would leave us kids alone--me, Gogu, Polina and others, while he would go out to the clearing--a picture, I would say, taken from "Morometii," where Dinu, who could not read, came with a newspaper all inside out to inform us that a train overturned near Sinaia with the king and everyone, because a picture of a train was there.

I have given this introduction so that one understands that there was good friendship among us and the family of gypsies in my village, under the Paringu Mountains, Pojogeni, Gorj County and there was never any race discrimination (neither theoretically nor in practice). We worked together, we laughed together and the boys danced the hora with Polina, pretty and smart, just like any other girl from our parts. I saw Gogu recently, a man in every way, a worker on a jobsite nearby and he looked good, even handsome, like an actor from the film entitled "I Saw Happy Gypsies" or from "Satra."

There are so many films and poems which keep a kind of exotic romanticism, the product of the fantasy of some remarkable creators, among which, if you want, we should mention Pushkin and Loteanu. We like to see films or plays with gypsies; when we enter the theater we know we are going to see something pleasant and different. Even on television, sometimes filled with programs presented by gypsies, we stay and watch and listen with an air of relaxation.

But something unpleasant actually happens when I leave the theater or turn off the television. Something unpleasant hits me each time and then I decided to

write about this terror which did not come from a play, from a memory, from something imagined, but from absolutely real happenings, so real, in fact, because they happen from one day to another.

I think it is a special circumstance that is, I want to say that it could be an isolated case. I live on Apolodor Street, in an apartment house built in the time that Zaharia Stancu, president of the Union of Writers, lived and he, too, had gypsies who enjoyed our love in his works. My unhappiness lies in the fact that the heroes from the works (also see Budai Deleanu with his exceptional "Gypsyiad."), operettas, films and books have disguised themselves into living people and have set up their tent next to our apartment building so we can see them more closely. Of course, in what I am going to tell you I am not talking about gypsies but about some individuals from the gypsies who, far from knowing anything about the tradition of their people, time after time violate the general laws of people living together. More exactly, next to our apartment, a central one right next to the Operetta, there is a building, a kind of boyar's villa where they sleep and wake up and beat each other up and get drunk and then sleep and then wake up and fight again (and, what is more, they yell, terrorizing the entire neighborhood); there are several dozen individuals from the nation of gypsies, saying that they are enjoying their laws, spitting on our laws, the laws of everyone. I look at them: there are boys and girls, men and women, people in full life, full of force, full of vitality (when they crack their skulls, they are perfectly healthy the next day!), who do nothing for the society they live in and the one we all live in. On the contrary. They live in this villa legally (from what they told me at the police station) and I was happy from this viewpoint that they did not break any law. Our laws,which are good with everybody, tell them: "Live here." But I do not think they also told them what they think: "And do what you want." However, they do what they want. Wherever they go, they leave a picture of a cesspool, of a promiscuity which is hard to describe. Many residents of the neighborhood succeeded in moving, in escaping from this terror.

There is such a need for a labor force in so many places in the country but they, "princes of the gypsies," have taken over restaurants and the squares, they play and go on the streets almost naked, continually drunk, they stick out their tongues and accost people who are going home tired after a day of work and at night, after they have awakened and want to drink, they yell, beat each other up, yell and scream, scream and sing, making us tremble.

I do not ask myself where they get the money, how they gain their existence, because we realize: parasites can only live from the work of others, from the work of the working people whom they feel are chosen to support them.

But I do ask myself: Why do they, strong ones so full of physical power, why do they have a status by which it seems they have a legal right to be parasites? What do they want here in the center of Bucharest, in a house which deserves to be lived in by people who sweat, who work to the fill and who need peace and quiet at night or during the day?

And who has the right to act with such leniency toward some individuals who defy the country's work and laws? I saw them on a street nearby selling cartons

of Kents (I recognized some of the ones I am talking about bustling here and there--a policeman was coming) but in the end I understood. The policeman passed by them as if nothing had happened. When I went to talk to him, he said and I quote: "Who has the courage to get involved with them? They knife you! They have their own laws."

Is that really how it should be?

Nobody, no matter what nationality he is, can have his own laws. We all have the laws of our state. And, of them all, the law of laws is this one: No work without bread, no bread without work. Let us apply this, correctly, to everybody we live with.

8071
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REPORT ON ANNUAL MEETING OF LEADERS OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 15 Apr 82 p 5

[Text] The work of the annual meeting of the leadership committee of the FCE [Federation of Jewish Communities] took place in Bucharest for 2 days, on 11 and 12 April 1982.

Presidents of Jewish communities and councils who are not members of the leadership committee, writers, artists, scientists and people in culture took part in the meetings as invited guests.

The Department of Cults was represented by its deputy director Iulian Sorin.

The agenda included: 1. The speech by His Eminence Head Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen, on the activity of the federation in the past year; 2. The administrative-financial report, presented by secretary general Emil Sechter; 3. The report on the activity of the Community of Jews in Bucharest, presented by president of the community, engineer Theodor Blumenfeld; 4. The report on the activity of the section for social assistance, presented by Sami Edelstein, president of the section.

Upon the proposal of His Eminence, those present observed a minute of silence in memory of the two presidents of the community who passed away during this interval: engineer Sami Leibovici, president of the Community of Jews from Brasov, and Dr Paul Friedlander, president of the community from Timisoara.

Beginning on the agenda, the meeting listened to a broad speech given by His Eminence on the multiple aspects of FCE activity and of the local communities. It was a comprehensive analysis of the most varied aspects of this activity, regarding the cult, the Hebrew culture and social assistance, under conditions of complete religious freedom and equality of civic rights which we enjoy in socialist Romania and of the opportunities created for us to assert our membership in the Jewish population and our love for Zion and Jerusalem. The wise and humane policy of the leadership of socialist Romania has made it possible for all those belonging to our religion who wish to participate in rebuilding the Holy Country. That is why we are grateful to this regime, which we insure our complete devotion.

His Eminence presented an impressive balance of FCE achievements in this period and the logical consequence of these achievements: the steadfast rise in its

prestige at home and abroad, although the number of members in the Jewish community in Romania has continued to decrease. Continuing, His Eminence gave concrete guidance for raising activity qualitatively.

Mr Emil Sechter, FCE secretary general, in referring to the speech by His Eminence, showed that the achievements obtained are due for the most part to the competence and firmness with which His Eminence heads FCE matters, his profound patriotism, his broad visions of the opportunities to achieve the well being of our community only within the country in which we live and do our work. Presentation of the administrative-financial situation was followed by a showing of the measures needed in this area.

Mr Theodor Blumenfeld, president of the Community of Jews of Bucharest, presented a complete picture of the situation of this community which truly may be a model of methodical and efficient organization. It is a community which has absolutely all the institutions specific to a Jewish community: synagogues, courses on the Talmud Tora, ritual bath, ritual restaurant, old-age homes, series of conferences for Hebrew information, well-maintained cemeteries and so forth.

Mr Sami Edelstein, president of the section for social assistance of the federation, presented a report on the way in which the section's activity is organized, objective criteria which are strictly respected, the concern of His Eminence that each person assisted receives everything due him and the love with which Mrs Amalia Rosen shows for so many of those helped, those in the homes, those without families and those who cannot help themselves, seeking to provide them not only material assistance in money, food, clothing and drugs, but also moral assistance, giving them a word of comfort, making them feel that they are not alone and abandoned.

Continuing, the following persons spoke, appraising the activity and making interesting proposals: First Rabbis I. M. Marilus, Bucharest; Dr Ernest Neumann, Timisoara; Dr Iolesz Carol, Cluj-Napoca; Rabbi Dafne; Prof Dr Mircea Ioanid, Victor Birladeanu, Profs Haim and David Riemer, all of Bucharest; Dr Simion Caufman, Iasi; attorney Paul Ornstein, Braila; Iosef Epstein, Birlad; Dr Fried Ernest, Oradea; Elias Rorlich and attorney Peter Lozneanu, Dorohoi; Ghidu Brucmaier, Suceava; engineer Iuliu Wenger, Bacau; attorney Iosif Segal, Roman; attorney Leon Iacobsohn Galati; Iacobovits Zoltan, Arad; Saul Rosenzweig, Pitesti; Marcus Brand, Timisoara; Lupu Filip, Ploiesti; Herman Alterescu, Bihusi.

Deputy director Iulian Sorin brought greeting from the Department of Cults and its president Prof Ion Rosianu. He stressed the concern of the institution he represents in solving the problems which appear in the federation's activity, giving assurances that the same attitude will be shown in the future as well. At the same time, he proposed to the community leadership that they cooperate actively with the territorial inspectors from the Department of Cults. The speaker warmly spoke of the activity of His Eminence and gave him best wishes for his future work at the head of the Jewish communities of Romania.

In concluding the meeting, His Eminence gave a general statement of the speeches and appreciated the level of discussions and timeliness of the proposals made, requesting that the community and council presidents intensify their blessed activity helping the communities to maintain a true Jewish life in our communities in Romania.

8071
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OFFICIAL DISCUSSES HOSTILE ACTION IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jul, 1 Aug 82

[Statements by Dusko Zgonjanin, Secretary for International Affairs of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina]

[23 Jul 82, p 3]

[Excerpts] Exploiting the strained international situation, the events in Kosovo, and our economic problems and contradictions, broad subversive-propagandistic action has developed against Yugoslavia, its citizens, peoples, and nationalities in other countries, but especially in some Western countries. There exists in this much disinformation and speculation about the situation in our country, the attitude of the working people and citizens, internationality relations, the chances for mastering the economic and other problems of self-management socialist development, the future fate of Yugoslavia, etc.....

The extremist emigres [in the West] are, at the same time, stubbornly trying to bring their diversionary and terrorist action into Yugoslavia. Because of this there are also efforts to link themselves with the remnants of the old class structures, nationalists, and clericalists.

In fact some religious institutions abroad assist and support them; these institutions, linked with emigre and foreign elements, participate in various anti-Yugoslav actions.

However, there has been strong resistance and condemnation [of this] in all areas and sociopolitical communities. Public hostile action declined in 1981 compared to 1980 and this trend has continued in the first half of 1982.

The public and state security services' measures against enemy action resulted in the fact that in the first half of this year 222 persons were given warnings because of various forms of hostile action and association with the enemy, 23 had their travel documents withdrawn, 19 were prosecuted for infractions of the law, while 7 persons were criminally prosecuted. Thus, there were a total of 270 public hostile actions which is 13 percent less than in the first half of last year.

Despite this favorable situation, there are problems which should be resolved more quickly and effectively. Thus, under the influence of some supporters of hostile action, such as nationalists and clerico-nationalists, remnants of Chetnik and Ustashe ideology, etc.--some more arrogant forms of action are beginning to be noted such as the singing of songs with hostile content, the writing of hostile slogans and symbols, the use of fascist greetings, violation of some articles of the Law on the Legal Position of Religious Communities, etc. Certain young persons from secondary schools are active in these forms of infractions of public order.

The situation regarding protection of social property from fires, damage, and explosives continues to be unsatisfactory. In the first half of this year there were 705 fires in the republic, or 29 more than last year at this time; these claimed the lives of six persons, injured 29, and caused 550 million dinars in damage, or six times more than last year. The most frequent cause of fires is negligence.

[1 Aug 82, p 3]

Although the area for maneuver for enemy action in Bosnia-Hercegovina has been narrowed, nationalists have found allies in the ranks of clerico-nationalists and vice versa. As like-minded persons in the same positions, they are trying to politicize...religious life, violate the Law on the Legal Position of Religious Communities, join with like-minded elements in other areas of Yugoslavia, with fascist emigres and various centers abroad which act in a hostile way against our country.

Hence, the strong orientation of clerico-nationalists to win over young people and to indoctrinate them, the appearance of nationalist and pro-fascist symbols at religious events, the entrance of the religious press into political life, the acceptance of money and other material help from fascist emigres and reactionary circles abroad. Also evident are camoflaged observance of the anniversaries of various criminals among members of the Moslem, Croatian, and Serbian peoples during World War II, the organization of closed parties and celebrations where Chetnik-ism, Ustashe-ism, and pan-Islam-ism, as well as open national chauvinism, are glorified through songs and other manifestations.

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BRIEFS

EMIGRE SHOOTING IN FRG--The 20 June 1982 issue of DANAS (Zagreb, pp 85-88) discusses the case of Rasim Zenelaj, Albanian emigre from Yugoslavia, who was shot on 14 May 1981 in Frankfurt, FRG, by Zorica Aleksic, who, according to the West German press, confessed to police that she had been ordered to kill Zenelaj by the Yugoslav secret service. The DANAS article describes the shooting as a lovers' quarrel, elaborating on Zenelaj's connections with Albanian and Croatian emigre extremists. [Editorial Report]

VANDALISM IN ISTOK OPSTINA--Two days ago Agim Seljman Miranaj and Dzemailj Imer Miranaj caused damage to the fields of the Rasovic family and intimidated and abused an elderly woman in the village of Orno Brdo in Istok Opstina. For this the first was sentenced to 60 days and the second to 30 days in prison. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 82 p 3]

CROP DAMAGE IN KOSOVSKA KAMENICA--The enemy continues to write slogans in many public places in this opstina. In addition, villagers around Kosovska Kamenica are concerned about deliberate damage being done to crops, which has created bad inter-personal and inter-nationality relations. This is especially seen in the area of the Third SAWP branch which is mostly populated with Albanians. Corn and wheat had been cut and refuse thrown on some parts of the fields of Aleksandar Vasic, an old settler. Similar damage was done on the farms of Novica Zivkovic, Goroljub Trajkovic, Marko and Milan Tasic, Vidoje Vasic, Drago Bogdanovic, and others. It was said at the last meeting of the "15 May" local community that serious measures must be taken against those who, for nationalist reasons, are causing damage to the Serbian population here. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jul 82 p 5]

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END

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2048

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FOREIGN MINISTER MLADENOV PAYS TRIBUTE TO LYUDMILA ZHIVKOVA

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Jul 82 p 2

[Speech by Petur Mladenov: "True Daughter of Her People and Her Time]

[Text] Dear comrades:

An impressive cause and a precious name have assembled us here -- the cause and name of the inforgettable Lyudmila Zhivkova. Today, on the 40th anniversary of her birth, we have come to the ringing bells which were brought here from all parts of the world as one of the most touching and and challenging expressions of contemporary humanism and peace -- the Banner of Peace International Assembly, which Lyudmila Zhivkova inspired, started and organized.

Here, from the bas-relief we are inaugurating today, her captivating image will shine -- the image of a remarkable builder of new socialist Bulgaria, noted member of the April generation of party and state leaders, talented scientist and beautiful person. Lyudmila Zhivkova's greatly endowed, vivid, rich and purposeful personality has left a lasting mark in all areas toward which her indomitable energy and tireless seeking spirit were directed.

Lyudmila Zhivkova was a true child of her time. She grew up in the turmoil of our dynamic socialist development, in the struggle for building a communist future and in the strive toward a just and harmonious world of which the greatest and noblest minds of our people, of all mankind, dreamed.

Born and raised in the family of remarkable revolutionaries, from an early age Lyudmila Zhivkova grew up with the ideas of communism, the example of revolutionary exploits and readiness for self-sacrifice. Her application to join the party reads: "I was raised in a family of active communists. The entire lives of my mother Mara Khristova Maleeva and my father Todor Khristov Zhivkov have been part of the struggles of the Bulgarian Communist Party." As a child Lyudmila Zhivkova adopted her parents' maxim for happiness: To serve one's people and party with one's entire dedication and strength. This is the most difficult yet the highest grade of happiness!

Our new socialist school, Pioneer organization and Dimitrov Komsomol played a great role in shaping her personality. In secondary school and as student at the Kliment Okhridski University in Sofia, Lyudmila Zhivkova mastered the broadest possible range of knowledge. She plunged into the attractive world

of science and art and sought and found the directions and areas of creative work through which she could reach her full self-realization.

Very quickly she developed as a scientist, theoretician and researcher in history and art.

As a party and state leader she worked with scope, purposefully and profitably for our most cherished ideals. No time perspective is required to realize that Lyudmila Zhivkova's tempestuous activities were closely linked to the profound renovative historical processes and phenomena in the development of our socialist society. Wherever she worked -- as senior scientific associate at the Institute of Balkan Studies, deputy chairman and chairman of the Committee for Culture, member of the Council of Ministers Bureau, people's representative, BCP Central Committee member and youngest member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of its Commission on Science, Culture and Education -- she displayed her great qualities as a person and scientist, and the breath of her scope and daring as leader of the great Leninist school.

Her contribution as a politician, public figure and statesman was priceless. There was no single significant national project during the last decade in which she did not participate with the full zeal of her youth and the wisdom of her maturity. She contributed tremendously not only to the formulation of the overall plans for our socioeconomic and cultural development but to the tense daily efforts for their practical implementation.

She was profoundly familiar with and valued and popularized the historical experience of the nation and skillfully made it part of the fabric of our present and our future. She sought and found new ways and new solutions. She was able to inspire and encourage the most lively and talented minds of the nation in their implementation.

Her infinite love for the people, for mankind, was specific and effective. It was manifested in numerous initiatives related to the struggle for peace, the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and the salvation of civilization. These were precisely the activities which met with the strongest international response and broadest possible international recognition.

Her spirit recognized no time and space barriers. It encompassed the past, the present and the future, the entire earth, and left us with insights which will be appreciated in the future as well.

Comrades:

Lyudmila Zhivkova's creative life as a scientist, public figure and statesman began as a history student at Sofia University and continued later, when she specialized in art history at Moscow University and in English history. She eagerly absorbed and acquired the wisdom of the ages, the daring of the fighters for freedom and social justice and the cultural achievemens of human civilization. Having acquired solid professional training at home and abroad, within an amazingly short time she proved to be a talented, erudite and productive scientist with a wide range of research interests. The scope

of her analytical and research interests ranged from diplomacy in the first half of the 20th century to the cultural masterpieces of medieval Bulgaria and ancient Thracian culture. She is the author of the original scientific works "Anglo-Turkish Relations, 1933-1939," "On Perfecting Man and Society," "The Kazanluk Tomb," "Tsar Ivan Aleksandur's New Testament," "By the Laws of Beauty," "A Land Known as Bulgaria," and others. They were published both at home and abroad and earned the high praise and recognition of the most prestigious Bulgarian and foreign scientists.

Lyudmila Zhivkova's scientific work is a major contribution to Marxist-Leninist social science and the spiritual treasury of Bulgaria and mankind. In international scientific conferences and congresses she skillfully and convincingly defended the gains and prestige of Bulgarian science. The first international congress on Bulgarian studies -- a most impressive scientific forum dedicated to the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state -- was organized and held under her personal supervision.

Her great interest in history was not due to self-seeking curiosity or a natural need to know. Nothing of the kind! Her inspired philosophical formula of making historical knowledge to serve the present and the future, was that past, present and future were one. The binding link in this triad is tradition, the continuity of everything valuable and progressive achieved in the past, which must be jealously preserved, enriched and developed further. Some of her exceptionally valuable works were on this subject -- reports, articles and speeches, which armed our theory with innovative ideas and interpretations based on a creative class-party Marxist-Leninist analysis.

She studied the Bulgarian historiocultural heritage as the complex synthesis of civilization and as the dynamic interaction of different cultures. She considered the Bulgarian lands the geographic and spiritual crossroads of men and ideas, creativeness and achievements. She saw in the Bulgarian ability to master the most valuable cultural accomplishments of other nations by reshaping and reinterpreting them one of the manifestations of the creative genius, strength and vitality of the nation which had withstood the trials of the centuries and the dramatic vicissitudes of fate. Lyudmila Zhivkova sought the true values of original Bulgarian culture and its real contribution to the progress of mankind. She rejected any manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and national nihilism. She defended the Bulgarian sociocultural heritage and encouraged intensive cultural contacts and cooperation among nations based on friendship, equality and reciprocity. She laid a path to a new unity, a unity between the national and the universal, in the course of which they become reciprocally enriched and ennobled.

The celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state was dominated by these noble ideas. Lyudmila Zhivkova was the heart and the mind of this initiative of unusual nature and scope. Under her personal guidance the celebration became a powerful spiritual impulse which inspired our people to constructive accomplishments crowning the April upsurge of Bulgaria -- the peak of its centuries-old existence.

Lyudmila Zhivkova contributed an exceptional deal to make this celebration the beginning of a new stage in the study and dissemination of the

contribution made by the Bulgarian people to the world treasury and a school for class-party, patriotic and international education.

Comrades:

Infinitely loyal to the ideals of communism, possessing a rich and varied culture and lofty moral values, Lyudmila Zhivkova earned the reputation of noted builder of Bulgarian socialist culture and talented leader on our ideological and cultural front.

The comprehensive upsurge of our socialist culture in the 1970s will remain forever linked with Lyudmila Zhivkova's name and work. Her innovative approach and creative aspiration contributed to the further elaboration and implementation of the party's Leninist April cultural policy, whose greatest success is the organic combination of the socialist ideas and principles with the increasingly broader development of the people's, the individual's creative forces and talents. The fresh creative climate in the society's spiritual activities, the reciprocal respect and trust between the party and the people's intelligentsia, the unity between all generations of creative and cultural workers and their active participation in the implementation of the April cultural policy are our precious gain. This precious gain encompasses Lyudmila Zhivkova's spirit, ideas and accomplishments.

Lyudmila Zhivkova's Marxist-Leninist innovative participation as an innovator in the specific elaboration and practical implementation of the basic directions and tasks of contemporary culture and in enhancing its role in the communist upbringing of the working people and the youth was impressive. Her approach to contemporary culture and work for its development, mainly with a view to shaping the new man as an integral and harmonious socialist personality and as the member of the communist society -- the most progressive, most beautiful and most humane society -- was based on the BCP's programmatic stipulation "Everything in the Name of Man, Everything for the Good of Man."

Lyudmila Zhivkova considered esthetic education an inseparable aspect of communist education. She took a most active part in the elaboration and successful implementation of the comprehensive program for nationwide esthetic education and the long-range comprehensive program for enhancing the role of art and culture in the harmonious development of the individual and society under the circumstances of building mature socialism.

As chairman of the Council of Chairmen of Creative Associations, Lyudmila Zhivkova contributed to the unification the artistic and creative intelligentsia on the basis of an inviolable ideological, class-party and national foundation and to the Marxist-Leninist and professional growth of all creative workers, the young talents in particular.

She displayed an innovative approach in the implementation of the party's decisions on improving the educational system. At the First Public Education Congress Lyudmila Zhivkova substantiated the concept of the role of education in a developed socialist society and its further reorganization in order to implement the party's strategic stipulations on raising and educating the young generation and the unity between education and culture.

Lyudmila Zhivkova deserves exceptional credit for her creative elaboration and pursuit of the April cultural policy during the the further reorganization of the management of cultural processes. She substantiated theoretically the new stage in the development of the socio-state principle, which is a true discovery made by our party in the development and improvement of a profoundly democratic system in the management of spiritual culture. Based on the stipulations of the the 10th, 11th and 12th BCP Congresses, Lyudmila Zhivkova consistently defended the innovative idea of organiccally blending the socio-state principle with the program-target, comprehensive multiplication approach to the management of culture. The principles governing the functions, structure and mechanisms of the "Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activities and Mass Information Media" national complex were formulated under her guidance and close personal participation. This new form of management yielded positive results in resolving the major problems with socioeconomic development raised on the cultural front. We proudly say that her accomplishments in the development of the culture of the developed socialist society are a valuable contribution to the ideological treasury the the BCP and to Marxist-Leninist theory.

In general, Lyudmila Zhivkova's entire comprehensive and rich activities as a leader on the cultural front were innovative, fruitful and promising.

They were innovative because she developed original ideas, initiatives and solutions, while observing the progressive traditions in the development of Bulgarian culture, guided by the April cultural policy of the BCP and taking into consideration the specific spiritual requirements of the present.

They were fruitful because as a result of such initiatives culture became more democratic, the competence of the leadership on the cultural front increased, a movement for nationwide esthetic education arose and developed, the forms of cultural and ideological influence of the individual became richer and more varied, and the international prestige of Bulgarian culture was enhanced.

They were promising because all of her major initiatives were of lasting value and gained an increasing number of supporters in Bulgaria and abroad.

Comrades:

Lyudmila Zhivkova's accomplishments are inseparable from the shaping and implementation of the April foreign policy course of the BCP during the last decade, and the intensifying role played by our country in the struggle of the peoples for peace, independence, democracy and social progress. She deserves unquestionable credit for popularizing the achievements of Bulgarian culture and expanding and enriching spiritual contacts among nations as a prerequisite for acquaintanceship, friendship and cooperation. In a unique way Lyudmila Zhivkova combined zealous socialist patriotism with consistent internationalism. She was a tireless promoter of the victorious development of the world revolutionary process, the unity and cohesion among communist and workers parties, the strengthened friendship among socialist countries, the just cause of the peoples fighting for social and national liberation and the unification of progressive forces under the pure banner of peace.

Most of all, Lyudmila Zhivkova zealously worked on strengthening the life-bringing Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. She did a great deal to publicize Soviet successes in Bulgaria, and Bulgarian successes in the USSR, and for the development of fruitful Bulgarian-Soviet cultural cooperation. Let us mention the Vladimir Il'ich Lenin part of the long-term program on great harmoniously developed personalities, drafted under her guidance and implemented with her active participation. She emphasized that the path followed by our two fraternal peoples is one, and that they will always remain, as she said, "side by side, shoulder to shoulder and heart to heart." She studied Soviet experience profoundly, applied it creatively in our country and actively participated in the creation and work of the interdepartmental Bulgarian-Soviet commission for cultural cooperation. She was loved and highly valued by the Soviet leaders, the makers of Soviet culture and the ordinary Soviet people. In expressing these bright feelings, Comrade Petr Demichev said that "The strengthening of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship became the truly sacred and great project of our peoples, and of the CPSU and the BCP. We shall never forget Lyudmila Zhivkova's contribution to this cause."

Lyudmila Zhivkova invested her heart and soul in broadening our cooperation with the other members of the socialist comity as well, in increasing reciprocal familiarity and the rapprochement between their cultures and in disseminating the tremendous achievements of real socialism throughout the world. She became deservedly famous as an active fighter for peace, understanding and cooperation among all countries and peoples. She reacted to events at large, was happy for every victory won by progressive and peace loving forces and was torn by mankind's worry over the nuclear threat promoted throughout the world by the policies of the reactionary imperialist forces. That is why she dedicated so much of her physical and spiritual strength to the noble cause of strengthening peace and security in the world and the triumph of justice. Lyudmila Zhivkova visited various countries, personally participated and herself initiated major international projects in the interest of peace and progress. The doors of the UN and UNESCO, and the offices of party leaders, presidents, prime ministers and famous men of culture and the arts were hospitably open to her. She never missed an opportunity to promote the cause of peace and international understanding and to spread the truth about real socialism. Lyudmila Zhivkova had the rare gift of conversing calmly, wisely and tactfully and persuading, attracting and rallying people of different classes, races and nationalities of different ideological positions in the name of the great and noble objectives of peace and social progress.

Her guiding principle was the idea that peace is a universal good the preservation of which requires the efforts of all nations and progressive forces and the use of intelligence and constructive dialogue. Lyudmila Zhivkova contributed to the development of broad mutually profitable relations with many countries and to the application of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. She worked inspiredly for understanding and cooperation in the Balkans and for the assertion of socialist Bulgaria as a constructive factor for peace and good neighborly relations in this part of the world.

How can we forget that it was precisely Lyudmila Zhivkova who launched major international initiatives which linked Bulgarian socialist culture with the

progressive culture of the world. She organized numerous exhibitions, concerts, meetings, etc., which offered to the world the wealth and refinement of ancient and modern Bulgarian culture. This enabled millions of people to become familiar with socialist Bulgaria, to talk about it and its achievements, and personally to experience the truth about our life, the life of real socialism.

The now traditional and highly prestigious international Sofia meetings of writers the world over under the slogan "Peace Is the Hope of the Planet" are her work.

It was also she who launched a number of initiatives on the protection of children, the defense of their interests, the use of new opportunities and resources for the sake of the growing generations and the discovery and encouragement of the gifts and talents of the young.

Lyudmila Zhivkova encouraged the steady enhancement of the role of women as full and active participants in building the new world and the comprehensive realization of their abilities in all areas of social development. She firmly believed that more than ever before today mothers have the sacred duty to be the protectors of childhood, peace, beauty and life.

As the head of the Bulgarian delegation to the 34th UN General Assembly, Lyudmila Zhivkova spoke about the consistent policy of peace, good neighbourly relations and cooperation of the Bulgarian People's Republic. This was followed by her remarkable speech "In the Name of the Children on the Planet" and the initiative of organizing international meetings of heads of national commissions on the occasion of the International Year of the Child.

She was the author of the wonderful idea of the Banner of Peace Assembly to which she gave inspiration, meaning and scale. Combining the most profound aspirations of mankind -- the safeguard of peace, care for children and the desire of the people for cooperation, freedom, social justice, creative development and progress -- the Banner of Peace proves the deeply humane nature of socialist Bulgaria's ideology and politics, a Bulgaria whose daughter she was. The very essence of the Banner of Peace Assembly is a manifestation of faith in the infinite opportunities for man's creative development and his thrust toward the future, which can and must be built according to the laws of beauty. The "Unity, Creativity, Beauty" appeal, which Lyudmila Zhivkova drafted, is a rallying call appealing to the conscience of mankind and its responsibility to the future, a future of peace and happiness.

Lyudmila Zhivkova's rich and comprehensive international activities won socialist Bulgaria many friends in all continents and was of great importance in enhancing the prestige of the homeland as a country steadfastly marching in the leading ranks of world progress and in the struggle for peace, a country whose people -- united and cohesive -- are enthusiastically building a developed socialist society. Her activities also enhanced her own prestige as a worthy leader of Bulgarian culture and a creative worker in the vanguard of global cultural progress.

The profound regard and great respect which Lyudmila Zhivkova enjoyed were manifested in the establishment of an international foundation named after her. Noted statesmen, public figures and men of culture from different countries willingly agreed to participate in the implementation of initiatives which would perpetuate and continue her noble accomplishments. The Dimitrov Prize she was awarded posthumously for activities in the support of peace, democracy and social progress throughout the world was an expression of the regards and respect for her on the part of our people and other nations.

Dear comrades:

Lyudmila Zhivkova was not only a great scientist, politician and leader. Above all she was a great person with a clear mind and generous spirit, with high human values. We can also say that she was a great scientist, politician and leader because she was a great person. We remember and will remember her as impeccably honest, principle-minded and exigent, sharing herself with others and advancing with dizzying speed toward the communist future. She was charming. She had the wonderful gift of communicating, pointing out the new, delicately guiding and persuading, uniting and inspiring and leading not by ordering but by acting, choosing for herself the most difficult tasks which others could not bear. Her work stamina was amazing. Her working day extended to 15 hours or even more sometimes. When occasionally we pointed out to her in a comradely way that that was wrong, that she should also rest, she smilingly answered, "What is one to do, human life is so short and there are so many more things to be done."

Lyudmila Zhivkova loved people. She lived with their joys and pains, their aspirations and their emotions. Every day dozens of people came to her with their problems or personal requests, seeking aid or advice. She saw and listened to them sympathized with them, advised and guided them and mercilessly fought those who were indifferent to the fate of others.

Lyudmila Zhivkova was a loyal and reliable friend. Perhaps all of us will remember her with her hand stretched out, delicate and weak but so very strong with the spirit which was concealed in her frail body.

Like all real thinking and acting people Lyudmila Zhivkova was modest in her work and private life. False glitter and noisy stir were profoundly alien to her. She was a loving and caring mother, familiar with the parental concerns and joys which have always been part of the life of Bulgarian women.

Today, one year after her death, we can say that Lyudmila Zhivkova, although so very young, was a complete, gifted and comprehensively developed person. Everything she did was for the sake of man, for the good and happiness of the people. That is why the people presented her with their greatest award -- respect, gratitude and sincere love.

Comrades:

It is not the heroes who chose their age but the age which chooses and creates its heroes. Lyudmila Zhivkova became the heroine of our socialist

time. The trends and requirements governing the development of real socialism became highly synthesized in her ideas and accomplishments.

Lyudmila Zhivkova's deeply humanistic cause, imbued with love of peace and passionate aspiration for contacts among the peoples, has both national and international dimensions.

In her footsteps we must further develop and enrich her cause and remain loyal to its innovative spirit. This means to work with her energy, dedication and determination in fulfilling the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress on building a socialist society, the even greater blossoming of science, culture and education and the glory of our socialist homeland.

Yes, the greatest virtues of the Bulgarian character hammered out in the course of the age-old struggles for freedom, happiness and social progress were combined in her character, although some of them were problably those of the people of our communist future alone. That is what makes her personality so attractive to the young of socialist Bulgaria, who thirst for inspiring examples and want to dedicated themselves to lofty objectives and ideals.

Only 20 days separate us from the second international Banner of Peace Assembly which will open in Sofia. Once again young people from all parts of the globe will come to this monument to express their desire to live in conditions of unity, creativity and beauty, which also means to live in peace. That is precisely why Lyudmila Zhivkova's appeal addressed to the first international Banner of Peace Assembly will sound even more urgent: "The world must no longer live with the horrors of war; mothers should no longer wait for children who will never return; millions of your brothers and sisters, who live with the burden of hunger and exploitation and class, racial and social hatred and injustice must never anymore die before even learning how to write the precious words 'mother' and 'freedom'."

These words are consistent with the appeals of the millions of fighters for peace throughout the earth, who are marching and demonstrating against the arms race, nuclear death and nuclear catastrophe and are demanding a world without wars, a world in which the peoples will develop freely and society and every single individual will advance.

It was for such a world that Lyudmila Zhivkova, our precious, lamented and unforgettable Mila, dreamed, lived, struggled and burned out.

Comrades:

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the National Assembly, the State Council and the Council of Ministers I hereby inaugurate Lyudmila Zhivkova's bas relief.

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GDR'S EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES EXAMINED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 21 May 82) pp 605-613

['Analyses and Reports' feature article by Dr Hans-Joachim Fischer, adjunct lecturer, academic counselor for pedagogy, Oldenburg University: "ABC and Multiplication Table--Weapons in the Class Struggle: On the GDR'S Pedagogical Work in Developing Countries"]

[Text] Although the 1980 Mozambique visit of GDR Public Education Minister Margot Honecker was hardly registered in this country, the second trip to Africa in 1982 to expand departmental cooperation, undertaken by the education minister in January, when she travelled to Ethiopia and Angola, stopping on the way in the People's Republic of Yemen,[1] remained unnoticed even in the narrow specialized FRG literature. So far neither the comparative pedagogy nor the pedagogical GDR-research in the FRG have taken up and discussed the field of GDR international pedagogical relations and the special area of teaching work abroad.[2]

Aside from the wider work in international pedagogical relations conceived as an attempt at an overview, as well as some publications on GDR foreign cultural policy only peripherally including aspects of GDR foreign pedagogical work, currently there is a complete lack of more extensive explanations and critical analyses.[3]

Foreign Pedagogical Work: Clarification of Terms--Regarding Contents

In regard to both the specialized term "GDR international pedagogic relations and foreign pedagogic work" and the contents and subject delineation, here we want only to summarize the definitions provided by us elsewhere:

Included in the broad field "GDR international pedagogic relations" are not only cooperation with the socialist-communist countries, pedagogic relations with the "Western" states and developing countries and general pedagogic contacts abroad, but also the educational program for foreigners, international pedagogic vacation courses and the wide spectrum of international encounters in the GDR (conferences, meetings, seminars, etc.) that in the broadest sense are pedagogically oriented. The term "foreign pedagogic work," on the other hand, includes only GDR pedagogic activities in developing countries.

In the interest of clarity, the term "GDR foreign school work" is avoided, because in the FRG concept of school policy and pedagogics this designation is associated with the existence of the institution "foreign school." The GDR, however, does not have foreign schools comparable with those institutions receiving FRG support in financing, personnel and supplies. Nevertheless, for more than 20 years the GDR has been carrying out foreign pedagogic work in developing countries that is determined by foreign policy considerations and based on the intentions of foreign educational policy; this work covers the total of that area that can be included under educational planning/ educational assistance/instruction aids.

The foreign assignment of GDR teachers occurs either on the basis of existing cooperative agreements at universities and schools primarily in German foreign language instruction or in German language qualifying programs and courses for teachers' continuing education abroad in socialist countries. It also occurs in the framework of bilateral agreements in the sense of educational help/instruction aids or in the function of experts in the areas of educational administration or at cultural centers and comparable GDR installations in developing countries (foreign pedagogic work). The GDR foreign pedagogic work must thereby be seen as part of its cooperation with developing countries in the educational sector, which merely flanks the broad and differentiated system for training, continuing education and consultation for officials in public education, school directors and teachers from developing countries at universities, teachers colleges and vocational schools, as well as institutions for qualifying leading cadre directly in the GDR.[4] The qualification system in the GDR and the pedagogic work abroad as a unit form that potential that in the last decade has made possible the systematic increase in its influence on the development of education and curricular decisions in a number of African countries in particular.

Principal Addressee:

"Socialistically Oriented" Developing Countries

Political, economic and socio-cultural conditions in the so-called socialistically oriented developing countries made their "turning to real socialism objectively necessary" and obligated the socialist states, according to the scope of the GDR ideological justification for foreign pedagogic work in these countries, to "pass on their collective total experiences," that in the GDR as well have been collected in the "dialectical association of educational questions with the goals, contents and requirements of the coming generation's future revolutionary activity."[5] Although it is recognized that the claim to leadership and the consolidation of cadre parties with a Marxist-Leninist orientation in the "nationally liberated countries with a progressive development" are not without problems under the conditions of the dominant role of nonproletarian forces in the social structure, they are unanimously conceded the vanguard position in the progressive development of society. From this point of view one established the construct of a "real chance to solve the general problems of democracy in a national-democratic revolution by way of a socialistorientation."[6] Through anti-imperialist identity of interests and the common social goals

of socialist states and "nationally liberated countries with a progressive development" there is "social development increasingly on the basis of identical ideological positions."[7] From the GDR point of view there is an "objectively new quality in relations,"[8] as is seen in the friendship pacts signed by it in 1979 with Angola, Mozambique, South Yemen (People's Republic of Yemen) and Ethiopia.

In recent years these countries have doubtless been more strongly oriented toward Marxist-Leninist education, as demonstrated by, among other things, their solid participation at the 1981 East Berlin fall conference of the socialist-communist education ministers ("Fourth Conference of Public Education Ministers of Socialist Countries"). In GDR cooperation elements involving ideology, educational policy, pedagogic and school organization add up to "assistance in solving basic educational policy and pedagogic functions, such as developing and carrying out new and socially relevant educational content and goals, elimination of illiteracy, establishing compulsory education, training a new generation of teachers, creating pedagogic research installations and establishing central control and planning of education."[9]

Beginnings or a Place at a Separate Table

In relation to GDR military policy activities and the increase in its weapons deliveries in third world countries, a TIME article[10]--"Here come Europe's Cubans. The Honecker regime offers 'brain rather than bodies'"--points out that the GDR has also been involved in the education sector in Africa since the end of the 1950's. On the whole it seems characteristic for the early GDR foreign pedagogic work in a number of Afro-Arab (among others Egypt, Algeria, Tunesia), Asian-Arab (among others Iraq and Syria) and sub-Saharan countries (among others the former Zanzibar, the former Congo-Brazzaville, Dahomey, Mali, Sudan, Ghana and Guinea) that almost from the beginning the GDR was able to embed these countries in direct ministerial agreements, often even on the basis of cultural agreements, despite the respect that they as third countries are expected to have for the interaction restrictions with the GDR imposed by the threat of FRG sanctions ("Hallstein-Doctrine")--no diplomatic relations, restraint in closing contracts requiring ratification.

Since the signing of the cultural agreement with Guinea in 1958, the first contractual agreement of this type with an African country, the pedagogic relations of the two countries have been maintained in a continuity not always characteristic of GDR scientific-cultural cooperation with developing countries. Discontinuity and interruptions in development in the area of foreign cultural policy led to irritations in many cases, and it is hardly surprising that without exception deficits are shown in the barely half dozen of GDR contributions through international pedagogic relations as a whole considered to be a constituent developmental characteristic in regard to their tendency for continuity. Unmentioned is the in part financially and materially costly involvement in education policy and pedagogics by the GDR in some Afro-Arab and sub-Saharan countries, an involvement that because of changed internal, military and geopolitical (Somalia) or foreign policy

constellations (revocation of the Soviet-Egyptian friendship pact by Egypt) was revised as a result of repressive decisions in the GDR and led to a short-term interruption of pedagogic cooperation as well.

Direction and Changes in Pedagogic Work Abroad: Example Egypt

The first ties between the GDR and Egypt in the area of education go back to the late 1950's. Following the establishment of contractually fixed agreements in the scientific-cultural area,[11] the GDR became involved in the planning and carrying out of mainly proposals with a practical orientation, ranging from general problems of the educational process through special questions involving polytechnical education and the relationship of schooling and occupational education to projects of vocational and adult education. Constantly expanded since 1967 was the group of GDR mathematics-natural science teachers, sports and vocational instructors, educational theoreticians and advisors in the education administration sector active in Egypt.

The signing of numerous interministerial agreements between 1967 and 1975 introduced direct GDR participation in Egyptian efforts to reform education with a series of spectacular projects: The signing of a protocol on the use of GDR teachers and determining material support (1967); cooperation in building a technical school in Cairo-Shubra (1970); an agreement between the Egyptian Education Ministry and the GDR Public Education Ministry on the construction of a model school in Cairo-Heliopolis as a "pilot facility for a future compulsory eight-class school providing general education," according to the Egyptian Education Ministry in 1972; and an agreement by both education ministries on the construction of another experimental school in Medinet Nasr (1975).

The quality and quantity of GDR foreign pedagogic work in Egypt during these years are put in the proper perspective when one establishes that up until the revision of the foreign cultural policy relative to Egypt the GDR involvement in educational policy and pedagogics and sui generis its influence on reform proposals in some areas of Egyptian education was without parallel not only in GDR foreign pedagogic work, but also in the whole of the relations of socialist-communist states with the developing countries in the education area from the 1960's through the mid-1970's.[12]

The consequences (closing of the GDR cultural centers in Cairo and Alexandria in 1977 by order of the Egyptian government and cessation of GDR foreign pedagogic work in Egypt and Somalia, among other places) resulting from the revocation of the Soviet-Egyptian friendship pact by Egypt, as well as through changes in the internal political sector or in the foreign policy orientation of Egypt and a number of other African countries caused the GDR to make in part rigorous corrections in foreign culture policy and foreign pedagogic determinations in the last half of the 1970's.

New Emphasis: Ethiopia and Sub-Saharan Africa

The closer pedagogic cooperation between the GDR and Ethiopia and countries of the sub-Saharan area apparent during the 1977 and 1978 was intensified in the following years on the basis of further departmental agreements.

Preceding the GDR pedagogic cooperation with Ethiopia was the addition of new positions in southern Africa as the result of a long-term foreign policy strategy conceived in the 1960's. Immediately after the formation of the young states in former Portuguese Africa as people's democracies, the GDR, thanks to its reputation as an "anti-imperialistic comrade-in-arms" of the Afro-Marxist revolutionary governments, was already able to extend its influence in these countries by means of a network of political, economic, scientific and cultural contracts and agreements.[13]

Included in the context of a systematic expansion in ideological-political, military, economic, scientific-technical and cultural relations is the intensification of cooperation in all areas of education based on inter-ministerial understandings and several years of work protocols to the agreements on scientific and cultural cooperation with Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau.[14] GDR pedagogic activities in these countries at the beginning of the 1980's are characterized by their broad spectrum, which embraces activity by lecturers in the institutes, instruction by GDR speciality teachers in the mathematics and natural sciences disciplines at secondary schools, and assistance in training and further education of teachers--both directly in the countries and more often in the GDR. The pedagogic activities also include cooperation in education planning and development of curricula and textbooks, extends to career training of youth in the framework of the use of Free German Youth [FDJ] "friendship brigades," and finally takes in some theoretical background and material support for literacy campaigns.[15]

A summary of selected activities in Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau during the period from 1979 to 1981/1982 may serve to illustrate the objectives and intentions, contents and scope of recent GDR foreign pedagogic work[16]:

Ethiopia

--The signing of a contract for support of Ethiopian education by the GDR (October 1978). Activity by pedagogic scientists and teacher specialists from the GDR: 17 beginning in the fall of 1977, another 30 from the beginning of the 1979/1980 school year in teacher training and in developing curricula and textbooks.

--Planning of qualifying courses for school directors and school officials under the leadership of GDR lecturers directly in the country (January 1979).

--Assistance by scientists of the Institute for Tropical Agriculture of Karl Marx University in Leipzig in reorganizing university-level agricultural training (August 1979).

--Delivery of a contribution for the literacy campaign (June 1979); so-called solidarity parcels with teaching and learning materials, as well as school laboratory equipment (October 1979, March 1980); presentation of an extensive exhibition on the GDR education system in 14 administrative regions of the country. In accordance with what has been the customary GDR practice for

years, the exhibits--instruction material for classes 1 through 10, technical equipment and didactic aids--will be turned over as a gift of the government (November 1979); delivery of the complete equipment for physics instruction valued at 1 million marks (August 1980), of kindergarten furnishings (May 1981) and of teaching materials for univeristy training (October 1981).

--Activity by GDR university teachers in mathematics and natural sciences disciplines at the University of Addis Ababa and on the agricultural and medical faculties (November 1979, September 1980).

--Activity by GDR instructors in the German department of the University of Addis Ababa on the basis of a cooperative contract of the Ethiopian university with the Karl Marx University in Leipzig and the Dresden Technical University (January 1981).[17]

Mozambique

--Agreement to send 30 GDR teachers to give instruction in mathematics and the natural sciences (November 1978) in secondary schools in the interior of the country (May 1979).

--Report on the first year of study at the school for training primary school teachers in Maputo, which through significant participation of GDR teachers underwent reform in the formulation of the course system and the contents of the teaching programs. (April 1979).

--Contributions of teaching materials for schools providing general education (November 1979 and for the country's schools for the blind (August 1980).

--Turning over a facility for vocational training in Maputo; guidance and qualifying of native teacher trainers by GDR instructors (June 1980).

--Activity by GDR instructors at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, especially in training secondary school teachers (August 1980).

--Assistance by GDR teachers in developing the contents and technical production of schoolbooks (February 1981).

Angola

--Almost one-third of all members of FDJ brigades having served in developing countries have worked in Angola in the area of technical agriculture with integrated career training (December 1979, June 1979, May 1980, October 1981).

--In accordance with the provisions established in the protocol on scientific-technical cooperation for the 1981-1982 time period, there is a significant increase in the number of GDR specialists--teachers and career instructors, among others--working in Angola (February 1981).

--Installation of the first laboratory with a total of 30 subject classrooms for instruction from the GDR in physics, chemistry and biology (October 1981).

--During her stay in Angola the GDR Public Education Minister visited the university institute for pedagogic sciences in Lubango, and as a gift she presented a physics classroom. Assumption of teaching duties by GDR instructors at the institute in the spring of 1982 (January 1982).

Guinea-Bissau

--Formation of a new teacher training institute in Bissau under the direction and assistance of GDR education planners and teachers (January 1979).

--The fourth training class at the Bra (Bissau) vocational training center was handed skilled worker certificates by GDR instructors and vocational teachers. The vocational training center in Bra was erected and fully equiped by the GDR (October 1980).

--Completion of qualification courses for school directors and teachers lasting several weeks or several months by GDR instructors in the capital city and in provincial cities; return of the first native teachers with university training after completion of a course of study at the Halle Teachers' College (November 1980).

FDJ Brigades: "Ambassadors in Blue Shirts"

Since the 1963 decision by the FDJ central council to send so-called friendship brigades of the GDR state youth association to developing countries and the first brigade mission in Mali in 1964 the association has concentrated mainly on missions on the African continent: Algeria, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Somalia (discontinued) and Tansania; since 1978 in Mozambique, Angola and Sao Tome/Principe (1980), also in the People's Republic of Yemen, and finally in the non-European CEMA partner countries Vietnam and Cuba, as well as for a short time in Chile during the Unidad Popular period.

In 1982, 300 members of the youth association were assigned in 19 brigades in 9 countries, with 5 brigades in Angola alone--in the view of the GDR an "effective form of anti-imperialist solidarity."[18] In recent years the focal point of brigade work--as a rule its hand-picked members are career teachers, master instructors and skilled workers--has been in the establishment of facilities for career training with the simultaneous provision of general educational subject matter as a qualification prerequisite, in the training of engineering teachers, apprentice instructors and skilled workers, in maintenance work for the imported rural trucks and machinery, and in harvest activities, often accompanied by vocational qualification of youthful workers.[19] According to GDR data, through 1981 2,750 apprentices received training as skilled workers in FDJ vocational traning centers in developing countries.

Such numbers seem relatively small, yet they become important when one adds to them the 40,000 foreigners who completed career training directly in the GDR between 1970 and 1980.[20] As is evident from the 1980 publications of the under secretary for career training, 1981/1982 4,000 young foreigners will receive training at GDR vocational training facilities and enterprises.

For years the largest contingent has been that of the Vietnamese, with about 2,500 undergoing training on the basis of an agreement between the governments of the GDR and Vietnam from 22 October 1973, which foresees vocational training for 10,000 Vietnamese in the GDR by the end of 1982.

Polytechnic Training: Specific Difference in GDR Foreign Pedagogic Work

Even in the early phase of GDR foreign pedagogic work the polytechnic training concept in the form of practical model variations appeared to be the innovative pedagogic instrument for the desolate educational system of a number of developing countries in Africa and Asia. The GDR thus acted--as it continues to do--in accordance with a basic pedagogic and economic concern of these countries, their efforts to achieve an early association of instruction with the provision of basic knowledge and skills in production in the framework of productive labor (including manual labor) by the students and integrated with instruction through all stages and in all classes.

The example India: At the beginning of the 1970's a wide range of polytechnic concepts were introduced into the GDR's pedagogic cooperation with India. As in the economic and scientific-technical area, as early as 1964 the GDR was able to bind the previously unorganized forms of cooperative relations in the cultural and educational sectors in official departmental agreements.[21] With its polytechnic variations the GDR complied with a basic demand of the Indian central government in the framework of reorganizing its rural school system: Incorporation of the provision of elementary work techniques into the school subject canon, and that under aspects of practicality and a favorable cost-benefit relationship.

It was under such aspects that in 1971 the acceptance of an aggregate project developed by Indian and GDR education experts to introduce polytechnic training--work experience being understood both as "experience in work" and as "training for work"--as an extensive model-experiment in 1,000 Indian village schools attained relevance in its own right. It is a project that is also valued in GDR literature as further evidence of the international reptation and capacity of the GDR's educational system, allowing the transfer of socialist educational structures and elements into practice in developing countries.[22]

Cultivating the German Language and Literature

Here we must dispense with an extensive explanation of the international system of university vacation courses and summer seminars for foreign Germanists, German teachers and lectureres at universities and teachers' colleges in the GDR. In the meantime this course system, constantly expanded since the end of the 1950's and having a wide range of subjects, and having 1,400 participants from 50 countries in 1981, has become a tradition and is valued by socialist-communist partners and developing countries, but also in the West as one of the most attractive opportunities for further education and qualification within the international vacation programs of the European countries.[23]

The increased inclusion of the socialist and communist states in the GDR's efforts to intensify the teaching of the German language and the cultivation of German literature should not be overlooked. Bilateral agreements on the exchange of German students from socialist foreign countries and GDR students speaking foreign languages characterize these efforts, as does the increase in the number of study places offered for Germanics students from these countries at GDR universitites and the establishment of special qualifying opportunities for German teachers from CEMA partners, among other places at the Institute for the Further Education of Foreign German Teachers in Brandenburg, established in 1978 in association with the Potsdam Teachers' College.

Here it is not possible to go into further details on the importance of the Herder Institute of Karl Marx University in Leipzig for study by foreigners in the GDR. The institute, which in 1981 looked back on 25 years of existence and where so far 17,500 foreigners have attended, prepares foreigners for study at GDR universities and technical schools by means of the acquisition of general and revelant knowledge of the German language.

In view of the overall importance for foreign culture and the GDR's own pretensions in regard to the German language and in cultivating German literature, the work of GDR linguists, lecturers and teachers in the framework of the study of German literature and of foreign language German instruction, as well as the further education of language teachers at universities, cultural centers and programs for continuing education abroad deserves special attention. Again the example India:

If one reviews the focal points of the university relations of both countries, then without doubt the teaching work of GDR instructors in the foreign language section of the Osmania University in Hyderabad comes to the fore. The GDR is responsible for a significant part of the establishment and consolidation of the section's German department, in which since 1973 GDR university teachers have looked after the areas linguistics, methodics, grammar, literature and translation sciences. The section, which with the inclusion of courses of study leading to a diploma for translators and interpreters again expanded the scope of training in 1980, is the only university institution in India going beyond training for German-language specialty teachers and offering qualification opportunities to graduation in Germanics.[24]

An Indian-GDR German research project for compiling a bilingual Hindi dictionary is being followed with interest by the India sciences in German-speaking areas. The standard work, which according to initial plans calling for 50,000 key words will considerably exceed the volume of existing editions, is formulated on the "basis of contemporary language use in India and the GDR." The project, construed as a cooperative undertaking by the Central Hindi Directorate in New Delhi and the Universities of Leipzig and East Berlin, is in its final phase.

Despite the propogation in India of a by no means small number of practical German textbooks from FRG publishing houses, since 1980 a German language

schoolbook has been in development by GDR linguists. It is called "German for Indians," and is meant especially for use at the Hyderabad Foreign Language Institute, in the German language course system of the GDR culture institutes and finally for functions of the "GDR-Returnees Clubs," those meeting places for Indian graduates of GDR universities in part expensively equipped through GDR assistance. As in the case of comparable GDR schoolbooks, the contents of the textbook are oriented toward introducing as subjects the areas state, society, economy, culture and everyday life in the sense of a foreign-oriented self-presentation--"GDR studies."

"GDR studies" and the "Germany studies" of the FRG likewise serve as constituent elements of foreign language German instruction, and that holds true both as an overall principle in the subject canon of German language instruction for foreigners in general and also as a component of the subject of instruction "German as a foreign language."

One can suppose the existence of didactic-methodical, as well as at least partial analogies in content for "GDR studies" and "Germany studies." The proof would have to be furnished by comparative analysis.[26] This is lacking, as is the analytical study of the significance in foreign culture of the GDR's foreign language German instruction and its contents as an ideology transfer.[27] Terra incognita in the FRG's pedagogic GDR research.

FOOTNOTES

1. The People's Republic of Yemen was one of the Arab countries (Iraq, Sudan, Syria and South Yemen), which from May through December 1969 as the first noncommunist states recognized the GDR under international law and established diplomatic relations with it. In part the signing of cultural agreements occurred years before the beginning of diplomatic relations: Iraq in 1959, Sudan in 1967, Syria in 1956, South Yemen in 1969 and Egypt in 1965. Cultural agreements with Ethiopia, Mozambique and Anogla were signed immediately after the establishment of diplomatic relations--that is, 1973 or 1975.

2. Only the Research Post for Foreign Education (FO) under the Professorship for General Pedagogics and Comparative Educational Science of the University of Oldenburg has systematically studied the research area "International Pedagogic Relations and GDR Foreign Pedagogic Work" and, among other things, prepared documentation in the form of a sectional record.

3. Compare Hans-Joachim Fischer, "Internationale paedagogische Beziehungen und paedagogische Auslandsarbeit der DDR" [International Pedagogic Relations and GDR Pedagogic Work Abroad], Paderborn, 1975. Among others Anita M. Mallinckrodt, "Die Selbstdarstellung der beiden deutschen Staaten im Ausland" [The Self-Presentation of Both German States Abroad], Cologne, 1980; Peter Luebbe, "Kulturelle Auslandsbeziehungen der DDR. Das Beispiel Finnland" [GDR Foreign Cultural Relations. The Example Finland], Bonn, 1981; for additional book publications and articles in

periodicals handling GDR foreign pedagogic work in individual areas see: H. J. Fischer, "Zeitschriftenschau: Paedagogik" [Overview of Periodicals: Pedagogics], in DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, Vol 3/1982, p 246 (Note No 6).

4. The total number of students from developing countries in all subjects at GDR universities and technical schools for the period 1970 through 1980 is given as 10,000, and altogether as 18,000 since 1951. In 1981, 8,5000 foreigners were studying at GDR universities and technical schools.

5. Gerhard Huck, "Tendenzen und Probleme der Entwicklung des Bildungswesens national befreiter Staaten" [Tendencies and Problems in the Development of the Educational System of Nationally Liberated States], in PAEDAGOGIK, No 36/1981/10, p 821.

6. Ibid.

7. Reinhard Grimm, among others, "Zusammenarbeit der Mitgliedslaender des RGW mit den Entwicklungslaendern" [Cooperation By CEMA Members With the Developing Countries], in DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 27/1982/2, pp 15-30 (here: p 28).

8. Ibid.

9. Gerhard Huck, "Tendenzen und..." op. cit. (Note No 5).

10. Compare TIME, 21 April 1980.

11. An agreement between the GDR and Egypt on cultural and scientific cooperation was signed in 1965. The repeated changes in Egypt's state designation are not taken into account. In the following, statements and numbers are only indicated through source references in the notes when these are especially important beyond mere documentation for contents disclosure. In all cases the evidence is guaranteed by recorded proof (compare note No 2).

12. An exception is the Soviet influence on Algerian reform efforts in education in the last half of the 1960's.

13. There is a relatively broad range of written material in the FRG on the development of the GDR's political, economic and military relations with the young states in southern Africa. The mainly pedagogic nature of the article allows mention of only a few papers that have appeared in this periodical; among others, Hennig von Loewis of Menar presented a short but compact overview: "Das Engagement der DDR im Portugiesischen Afrika" [GDR Involvement in Portuguese Africa], in DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, Vol 1, 1977, pp 32-42; in regard to the GDR's Africa policy we refer to Johannes Kuppe, "Investitionen, die sich lohnten" [Investments That Were Profitable], Ibid., Vol 4, 1979, pp 347-352, also Hennig von Loewis from Menar, "Machtpolitik suedlich des Sambesi" [Power Politics South of the Sambesi], Ibid., Vol 11, 1980, pp 1161-1171.

14. Compare footnote No 1.

15. At this point it is possible only to indicate the involvement of Cuban teachers in the literacy campaigns in Angola and Ethiopia. Cuba, which has had the most practical experience since its successful literacy campaign in 1961, had 3,500 teachers assigned to the literacy program at the end of 1981 in Angola (400), Ethiopia, Nicaragua (2,000) and in 17 other countries.

16. Following the data in each case in parentheses is the date of the agency or press report. Other focal points in foreign pedagogic work are Algeria, the People's Repbulic of Yemen and since 1980, Afghanistan. GDR foreign owrk in India takes place under different conditions and with different emphasis; compare the section "Polytechnic Training."

17. The involvement of FDJ brigades in Ethiopia, as well as in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau is treated separately.

18. Hartmut Koenig, "Die internationalen Beziehungen der Freien Deutschen Jugend" [The International Relations of Free German Youth], in DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 23/1978/6, p 27.

19. Among others, compare Hilmer Hoenig, "Botschafter im Blauhemd auf drei Kontinenten" [Ambassadors in Blue Shirts on Three Continents], in DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG, No 26/1979/34, p 3.

20. The figures in GDR disclosures on foreigners having completed or now receiving career training in the GDR vary, and in some cases they are contradictory.

21. Until the establishment of diplomatic relations (1972) the GDR's foreign cultural activities in India were handled largely through its commercial agents in Bombay and Calcutta (since 1954), as well as New Delhi and Madras (since 1956), and later through the consulate-general in New Delhi (1970). By 1970 over 100 Indians had already been graduated from GDR universities.

22. Compare, among many others: "Indische Schulen nach DDR-Vorbild" [Indian Schools According to the GDR Model], in DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG, No 17/1970/30, p 6; Dietrich Blandow, "Zur Entwicklung von Elementen der polytechnischen Bildung in Indien" [Regarding the Development of Elements of Polytechnic Training in India], in POLYTECHNISCHE BILDUNG UND ERZIEHUNG, No 15/1973/5, pp 212-217.

23. Since the completion of the first German course in Weimar in 1959 about 12,000 foreigners have made use of the GDR's German language opportunities for further education. On the occassion of the awarding of the Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm Prize (April 1980), the minister for GDR universities and technical schools indicated 20,000 as the number of participants

24. Compare, among others, Rolf Guenther, "Universitaet fuer Sprachen am Rande Hyderabads. DDR-Experten unterstuetzen Deutschunterricht in Indien" [Language University at the Edge of Hyderabad. GDR Experts Support German Instruction in India], in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, No 35/1980/99, p 11 (16-17 April 1980).

25. There are GDR-Returnees Clubs in New Delhi, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Coimbatore and Lucknow.

26. The first investigative findings in "GDR studies" and "Germany studies" will be presented, among other places, in the framework of an inter-university and interdisciplinary research project on the Germany image and the German question in the schoolbooks of both German states.

27. In no way does this determination diminish the analysis of the self-presentation of both German states abroad presented under a broader approach by Anita M. Mallinckrodt. In this regard compare "Die Selbstdarstellung...," op. cit. (Footnote No 3).

9746
CSO: 2300/339

SED ACADEMICIANS' BOOK ON 'SOCIALIST CULTURE' REVIEWED

Neubrandenburg FREIE ERDE in German 14 Jul 82 p 4

["A 'Sparkling' Concept Is Explored"--'Science and Society' feature review by Dr Rudolf Woderich of the collectively authored book "Zur Theorie der Sozialistischen Kultur" (On the Theory of Socialist Culture), published by GDR Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee]

> [Text] "Culture--we can hardly think of a concept that is more sparkling and that defies clearer definitions than this word derived from Latin."
>
> This sentence, prefaced to the book, may appear to be a clever device intending to make the reader more lenient and to dispense in advance with his critical judgment. However, if anybody has ever been put in the position where he had to reflect more carefully about the complex phenomenon of social culture, he will know that this sentence, borrowed from Johann Gottfried Herder, has not completely lost its validity today.
>
> We must also consider that the philosophy of materialist culture, with a good dozen prominent proponents in this country, must still be considered a young discipline of historical materialism. Therefore, any new attempt to give a comprehensive picture of it must be considered a courageous undertaking.

After 17 years, ("Kultur in unserer Zeit" [Culture in Our Time], collectively authored under the direction of Fred Staufenbiel, Berlin 1965) the second comprehensive presentation by theoreticians on culture of the Academy of Social Sciences has now appeared.

In the meantime, important research results were published that had previously been submitted in various individual presentations. The publication reviewed here builds upon those previous studies and in part continues the development of their principles.

The first chapter (Hans Koch) contains extensive materials, in more than 100 pages and to an extent not available so far, on the characteristics and basic functions of human culture. A noteworthy feature of this chapter is the fact that the dialectis of graphic presentation and the acquisition of human capacities--i.e., the problems of social heredity--is here to a large extent a continuation of the work of Alfred Kurella, who developed his theories already in the 1960's based especially on a thorough analysis of Marx's early writings (economic-philosophical manuscripts).

The process and the concept of social heredity are obviously considered topics that are suitable to define more exactly the specific features of culture in contrast to other social processes. On the other hand, the first chapter does not give, in the philosophical sense, a sufficiently productive presentation of the concept of wealth as developed by Marx in his basic studies on the critique of political exonomy--a concept that has always been a rich source for materialist philosophy of culture--("What else is wealth if not the universality of need created by universal exchange?").

The second chapter deals with the characteristics and logical processes inherent in the development of a historically new type of culture, i.e., essentially with the problems of the socialist cultural revolution. Chapter 3 (Culture and Life Style; Helmut Hanke) and chapter 4 (Spiritual Culture in Socialist Society; Christa Ziermann) deal specifically with the presently evolving processes of socialist cultural development, and chapter 5 investigates the challenges and effects of socialist culture in the struggle of ideologies and systems (Wilfried Barthel).

Turned Rightside Up

The book explains with great intensity that socialism develops as a society of producers, that all live on their own work, and that even during leisure time no "helpful spirits" are available--and all this has its effects on the claims and responsibilities made on socialist culture. Socialist culture cannot simply be considered a continuation of narrow and very one-sided ideas developed in the minds of the intellectual exponents of the ruling nonworking classes (e.g., the practice of art as the measure of the cultural level of the working class).

Among the aspects of cultural theory that will be given renewed consideration on the basis of party decisions are: nature and life style, urban culture, culture in human relations and personal culture, questions on the consumption and development of material culture--the last aspect being perhaps the most concentrated expression of a consequential materialist point of view. It is not enough to make verbal assertions, according to well publicised patterns, that this is perhaps the most important part of culture, and then simply to follow, in reverse logic, these same old patterns. Once the topic is raised it will also receive a realistic, practical implementation.

From these premises follow some unusual sounding theses: "In this field (production of high quality products/R.W.) it is, in the end, above all

"industry which decides the cultural level of life, and acts as 'educator' of developed needs and of a better taste."

These and other thoughts in which cultural phenomena and processes have been placed rightside up, so to speak, can give many ideas to functionaries and leaders who have an interest in culture.

To find information on cultural processes in the country, however, will not be quite as easy. Some basic facts are mentioned, but only in direct form. However, the theory of culture can point out that as far back as the 1960's it explained the characteristic qualities and advantages of life in the country, that it is worthwhile to preserve these characteristics which will be fully developed only within socialist structure (Helmut Hanke, "Kultur and Lebensweise im sozialistischen Dorf" [Culture and Life in the Socialist Village], Berlin 1967).

Close to the Everyday Life of the Masses

Throughout the publication, topics are presented with depth and variety, even though to varying degrees. The language is for the most party "graphic" and for practical purposes it can be understood without too much effort. Fortunately, the authors have for the most part avoided idealizing constructions that are far removed from the practical everyday life of the working masses.

Occasionally it would have been desirable to see more emphasis on polemics with practices that even today lack a materialist understanding of cultural processes.

The entire layout of the publication makes clear: a broad, historical-materialist and dialectical concept of culture centered, of course, not around art has spread into all areas. Even though artistic achievements are alluded to throughout the book and even though their effects and social uses are explained, and art is recognized, as a "sensitive way to explore and evaluate social-psychological modds and feelings," artistic culture as a part of the entire spiritual culture can assume, within the scope of this presentation, neither more nor less of a place than it deserves: half of one of five chapters.

For the sake of comparison, it is interesting to note how seldom, or only sporadically, material aspects in the life of society that are dealt with in this publication are also considered, evaluated and emphasized as culturally important in practice. What applies to our world view in general should also apply in this individual case: nothing is more practical than a correct theory. To which might be added: as long as you make it your own.

8889
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LOCAL COUNCILS STRUGGLE TO STREAMLINE ADMINISTRATION

Administrative Dilemmas

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 8 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Mrs Lorant Polgard, Ph.D: "The Dilemmas of Modernizing Our Public Administration"]

[Text] Our clients and local leaders are both aware of the lack of harmony which exists between the demands facing local management and the services it provides.

Although there have been attempts to modernize our administrative and local management (i.e., the development of a client-service system, the establishment of economic-technical supply services, the setting up of inter-regional agencies, the provincial experiment, etc.), they have failed to yield reassuring and universally applicable results that would promote the modernization of our overall system of management. In my opinion, this lack of success, the lagging and the uncertainties of our management reform, and I dare to say: our lack of conception, have been due mainly to problems in local management and administrative efficiency.

During the past three decades, the institutional and management system which represents a significant part of our collective social consumption, has developed on the local level. Its tasks have included the operation of schools, kindergartens, health-care establishments, educational-, athletic- and social institutions. Their quality has had a significant impact on the development of our standard of living and living conditions.

Although our attempts here at home aimed at rationalizing our "productive" economy and correcting its efficiency problems have earned international recognition, virtually nothing has been done to improve the management of our collective social consumer goods and efforts to make it more rational have failed to materialize. Our economic management reform has not yet crossed the threshold of local management, even though a great deal of work needs to be done also in this area.

As one of the unfavorable consequences of our direct control methods, decisions are being made belatedly, at increasingly higher levels, after the

needs have already been met, causing democracy to be pushed into the background. Essentially the same could be said about our present local management.

To what extent and degree is it justified to maintain direct control? It would seem justified, for example, to continue the process of integration presently taking place in the area of health care which in the interest of making the most efficient use of the limited available financial means has been building its network on central hospitals, or in the area of education where centralization efforts are under way to improve the professionalism of management and administration.

In other areas, however, the decision-making authority and the financial resources should be decentralized. This would enhance the efficiency of settlement-maintenance and would improve the demand-sensitive utilization of development resources. This is further underscored by our experience that those communities whose local administrations have been closed down and whose schools have been centralized have lost some of their population-retaining capacity and occasionally have even become deserted. The migration from the villages—which has been usually directed toward the cities—has placed serious added strains on the housing and other communal burdens of our cities, it has had an unfavorable effect on their state of health and has led to a declining sense of residential community responsibility.

The central (capital city, megye) distribution of development resources may permanently eclipse the need to satisfy the just demands of certain social strata and certain areas, and it usually leads to a relaxation in the sharing of social responsibilities. The initiatives of the leaders of local administrations are thus doomed to failure. (Even the press had to be mobilized to salvage Sopron's historic buildings.)

The decentralization of our economic life and the expected increase in the number of small and medium-size factories, further underline the need for an administrative reform.

Our historical and international experiences have shown in the cases of economic difficulties it is first of all the state's administrative expenditures that are cut. These measures can always be presented as "popular and rational" since they lead to a reduction in the bureaucracy.

It is indeed true that these measures also contain some rational elements, since they do bring about a significant decrease in expenditures and in the bureaucracy. They usually neglect the fact, however, that public administration is not just spending money, but that its activities have direct, although not immediately measurable results and effects. Furthermore, public administration, to a great extent, is a service the quality, culture and performance of which is a living standard-derermining factor which also has financial effects. (For example, a lack of professional expertise in administration can adversely affect our citizens' possibilities to make the best use of their free- and working time.)

We know from experience, that the "rationalization" of public administration is usually done mechanically, irrespective of functional changes, and is combined with reductions in force by predetermined percentages without examining whether this will lead to actual savings, or whether these savings are in proportion with the direct or indirect losses that may result. For example, regarding the destruction of the Balaton landscape we may rightfully ask why they gave permission for such dense development, and why they have failed to prevent building without a permit when it was clear that there were no state resources available to provide them with public utilities. The answer, unfortunately, is simple: our public administration had no power to stop it. Similar reasons could be found behind the relaxation of civic discipline in such areas as taxation, public order and public sanitation. In addition to this, the preservation of administrative professionalism has required centralization in areas where decentralization would have been called for, but where staff levels have made it impossible to carry out that function even on an elementary level. There have also been cases, of course, where they have tried to use administrative staff increases, i.e., overstaffing, to make up for lacking professional competence.

The fact, therefore, that our administrative and local management face diverse tasks

--which require significantly different methods of control and management;

--which have different, from the point of view of control and management optimal dimensions and scopes;

--and the efficiency of which is hard to measure, make the methods of modernization extremely complicated.

In order to carry out an effective administrative reform we must first reexamine the extent of our direct controls presently in effect.

Virtue of Necessity

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Valeria Revai: "Virtue Out of Necessity. Administrative Municipal Associations. Conference of Megye Executive Secretaries in Gyula"]

[Text] At the national conference of megye, capital city and municipal council executive secretaries held recently in Gyula, Dr Geza Kilenyi, deputy director of the Institute for State Administration Organization, presented--as the second item on the agenda--some information concerning the forming of administrative associations among the councils. In his opening remarks he pointed out that the law on the councils has made it possible for the councils to agree among each other--if it is more rational and efficient--to perform certain functions by way of jointly established agencies. For a long time the councils chose not to take advantage of this opportunity, but in recent years--as a result of various compelling circumstances--more and

more local councils have taken up themselves to enter into administrative associations with one another.

Since neither the law on the councils, nor its enactment clause gave further guidance or instructions concerning how to expediently go about establishing these associations, the picture is still quite diverse and mixed; it could even be said that those who have undertaken to join an association have done so more or less according to their own ideas. It is little wonder, therefore, that some of the experiments launched in various areas of the country have fundamentally differed from one another. Yet, despite all these differences it is also obvious that it has been worthwhile to undertake the risk of experimentation and the not always problem-free task of trying to coordinate various interests. For these administrative associations have been successful virtually everywhere.

We also get quite a diverse picture of where and who have decided to join forces to carry out a given, or perhaps several special administrative tasks. Dr Geza Kilenyi gave a detailed report about the situation around the country based on the megyes' self-assessment, pointing out that some of the numerical data deserved special attention because they were indicating a trend. Before the creation of the organization of councils there had been 682 notarial districts in the country. With the establishment of the councils in 1950, these were eliminated. As it is well known, one of the fundamental political requirements of that time was for the state to be present everywhere, and this brought with it a process which eventually led to the creation of 2,978 council organizations. It was much later, when it became increasingly clear that this strong fragmentation was one of the most significant hinderences holding up the further development of our public administration, that they began to reduce the number of local councils operating around the country.

There are quite a number of people who, grossly oversimplifying this change, are interpreting this to mean that the council organizations are withdrawing from the villages. However--as Dr Gexa Kilenyi pointed out--we cannot agree with this assessment, since organizational integration does not mean withdrawal! Although it is true that today 1,610 settlements of our country's 3,004 villages have no locally operating councils, the levels of administrative decision making have--as a result of a simultaneously ongoing decentralization of authority--gotten closer to the population.

Eighteen Megyes

As we have already noted, the law on the councils has from the beginning taken into account the possibility that because of the lack of necessary professional competence and due to the small number of certain official cases, it may become necessary--based on the preliminary report by the executive committee of the megye council and on the decision of the local executive committees--to give certain villages regional jurisdiction. So far, 18 megyes have seen the development of some organizational form of regional jurisdiction; only in Komarom megye has this not been tried on a single settlement.

Administrative associations may be broken down into three categories. The first includes those villages and large villages which join solely for the purpose of performing a single type of special administrative task. These have been established in six specialized areas: in construction, in the administration of petty offense cases, in enforcing price-controls for private artisans, in tax-collection work, in the machine accounting of taxes and in performing price authority-related tasks. Great differences can be found, furthermore, in their degree of intensity; most villages have joined to combine forces in carrying out certain specialized tasks concerning technical or construction administration. (Presently, we have 132 such districts; there are villages where only two and two villages have joined, and there are some where villages belonging to a given geographical area or jaras have joined a single organization to carry out their respective tasks.) These first steps in the area of regionalization are still only exploratory; however, in a great many places--using their favorable experiences--they have gone even further, creating so-called complex administrative districts. This, therefore, is the second group of district-types, and presently there are 21 complex districts operating in 5 megyes. Baranya megye, for example, is ahead in this area: there are 11 districts operating in the megye which are engaged in performing construction, price authority-related, industrial, commercial and tax-collection tasks.

The main characteristic of the third type of administrative associations is that it points beyond the legal regulations and the statutory provisions of the law on the councils which are presently in force: in these associations the joint administrative agencies were established by cities and suburban villages. Presently, there are 54 village and large village councils attached to 11 cities, and these associations perform certain official functions in 186 settlements.

Regionalization Has Been Working

After this, Dr Geza Kilenyi proceeded to assess the experiencies of these administrative associations so far. Most of the megyes feel that so far regionalization has worked, since there is ample evidence to show that the administration of official matters has become more professional, better in quality, more prompt and more efficient. Yet, there are also some problems. Several megyes have indicated, for example, that tax-collection work has slowed down somewhat because it has become harder to investigate, and it has made tax-fraud prevention an increasingly more difficult task for the authorities. Some of our villages have other kinds of unfavorable experiences. While the administrator who performs specialized regional tasks fundamentally contributes to improving the quality of work, specialization also has its limits. It often happens, for example, that the specialized administrator's working time is not completely taken up by what he is "licensed" to do, while others are overworked. In spite of this, however--precisely because of this uniquely defined specialization--rational division of labor is quite rare.

One of the things which has not seemed to work out is the practice whereby the villages joined to perform administrative functions insist on keeping

their officially assigned jurisdictions intact. For this suppresses the very benefits which regionalization provides. And while we are discussing minor drawbacks, it would be a mistake not to mention the benefits which may result from these associations. For example, the fact that most of the punitive sanctions brought in petty-offense cases are unquestionably more equitable and have come increasingly to reflect our people's sense of justice. Another important benefit is that our regional administrators for petty offenses cannot be dissuaded by any ties of family or friendship from making legal and stricter decisions. This organizational form is also praised in areas where specialized skills are vital for performing various tasks (i.e., regional price control); it is also definitely worth noting, however, that today the associated villages have an easier time finding a skilled regional technical administrator and also, that they are able to pay them better.

A Multi-Color Palette

To sum it all up: the associations--formed mostly on the initiative of the megye councils' executive committees--have been working successfully, yielding significant benefits, and today our enterprising villages are unanimously pleased with them. One of the reasons for this is that, for example, the number of skilled administrators in the village and great village councils has been increasing every year; the new technics have been gradually gaining ground in a number of specialized areas; in other places--for example, in the settlements around Lake Velence and Lake Balaton--a useful, and more importantly, unified aerial view has evolved, and a growing number of councils can justly feel that they have become the real masters of a given section of their area or lake shore.

Having seen or heard about the above described administrative associations many experts may raise the following question: we have just seen a decentralization wave; does this mean now that centralization is back "in style"? However--stressed Dr Geza Kilenyi--the advantages and drawbacks of centralization and decentralization must not be looked at in isolation from space and time. As a result of regionalization--or if you like, centralization--even those villages have been given primary official jurisdiction which--due to a lack of necessary personnel conditions--would otherwise have never received it. At the same time, regionalization may also mean alienation from the population. This, however, is only a relative alienation, for there are methods that can be worked out to help the population feel only the advantages of joining an association.

As we have already mentioned, the existing state of affairs is quite mixed. On the one hand, this is good because it enables us to weigh a variety of experiences. What we would like today, therefore, is to convince our megye and local councils not to add any more "colors" to the palette. The 11 years that have elapsed since the promulgation of the law on the councils could be viewed as a period of independent actions and experimentations. Regionalization is yet another administrative solution--similar to the cooperation between the councils and the jaras bureaus--which have enabled us to turn necessity into a virtue. Therefore, we have plenty of experiences, and it has also been proven that districts and administrative associations do have a place in today's Hungarian administration. Right now, however, we have reached a phase where it is our central organs' turn to act; summing up these experiences they are the ones to show us in which direction and how to proceed.

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PZPR SLUPSK FIRST SECRETARY WOJCIK INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 31 May 82 pp 1,2

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Wojcik, first secretary, Voivodship PZPR Committee in Slupsk, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "On the Subject of Youth, before the Plenary Session of the PZPR Central Committee"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Comrade, what is your diagnosis of the current situation of the younger generation (in terms of age, the generation of 18- and 35-year olds)? Let us talk about their opportunities.

[Answer] This immediately brings to mind the recent slogan "the generation of great opportunities." Such slogans and promises, seductive to the young, have done much harm and caused bad blood; today we are reaping that harvest. At this time, there is the recognized problem of providing employment to 300,000 young people who, after completing education at a certain level, have the right to work. There is a binding position of concerned ministries, coordinated with the Government Presidium, that all of them will be employed. Of course, this will cause temporary difficulties.

[Question] Under the conditions of economic reform, the control of employment is difficult at best and perhaps impossible.

[Answer] The reform debated at the last plenary session of the Central Committee is an opportunity for the young, exactly opposite to what Western broadcasts are trying to make us believe. They are spreading stories about a lost generation, people without a future. Meanwhile, the young on their own are becoming more interested in the reform. This is no longer a discussion directed by the party or discussion teams. This is a period of psychological changes and it is a positive phenomenon. After all, the young generation will be implementing the reform and will shape the whole country at the turn of the century.

[Question] Meanwhile, the reform affected primarily the young. Price increases hurt most those on the way up. Those who have nothing must buy the basics for their children and for their households. As journalists, we see this every day. Many letters betray the feelings of breakdown and lack of faith in the future. How far does this go? A few days ago, I talked to a few young activists of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) at the

Ursus. The response to my question of what is expected from the Ninth Plenary Session of the Central Committee was a shrug of the shoulders. "Let's see the results, not the debate," they said.

[Answer] This show-me attitude is very dangerous. We should oppose it because it is very destructive. I also encounter such opinions among young people. Recriminations are directed even against retirees, living off their own contributions that they did not build our socialism properly, not the way the young expected, not as promised to them. We ourselves offered it, we convinced them to expect the comfort that is lacking today. Today's disaffection is the result and to a great extent it is justified. The authorities see all this. For instance, credits for young couples have been increased to 150,000 and 75 percent of this sum can be forgiven.

[Question] But there are conflicts at the places of employment....

[Answer] There are. The older employees ask why our social fund should be given to the young for free. They should work, save and buy what they need. There are divisions along these lines among the young themselves. At the Alka Northern Leather Industry Plant in Slupsk, I witnessed conflict between young singles and young marrieds. Some are already settled, some are not. We can see completely, contrary interests. The married ones, already settled, say that just a loudspeaker on the wall brought joy to them, that no company or plant gave them free credit, "and you [the singles] want a TV set, automatic washer and credit forgiveness all at once." The young ones answer that "for us even a Fiat 126p is not a luxury but an everyday domestic tool." One's interests are determined by one's situation in life, not by age. Quite likely, these conflicts can become more acute. But the older generation is not that malevolent; they primarily desire that the young roll up their sleeves and start working efficiently.

[Question] At this time, these frustrations are released in various ways, sometime by participation in street riots.

[Answer] This occurs only on the fringe. Primarly nonworking youth participated, less than 1 percent. The working youth did not play with rough stuff. It is important to provide to the young opportunities for releasing their tensions, give them self-fulfillment at work, organize their time through clubs, culture. Plant clubs are dying because the S factor is at work--S stands for self-financing. It is being decided that club financing is too expensive. This is a serious error and the young themselves must fight for resources so that the hall of culture is full of life. After all, it is for them.

[Question] Not one student club is open in Slupsk....

[Answer] Administratively, they have not been dissolved. Already after the August events, the press expressed concern that student life in Slupsk was very enigmatic. We will pay attention to the current state of affairs. Coming back to the working youth, we are seeing a trend to close kindergartens

at state farms (PGR), also for financial reasons; they are too expensive. Many of them in our area were well equipped. Curiously, the young who are affected, do not protest, do not fight against it.

[Question] What is the housing situation?

[Answer] This is the most difficult problem. Food, cultural and educational problems are easier to deal with. With housing there are academic discussions of what is better, bricks or large blocks; was housing prefabrication helpful or harmful; etc. Our engineers should stop arguing which technology is better and start improving whatever is available. There are a few hundred prefabricating plants. In our voivodship there are two: one in Slupsk producing residential housing and the other in Lebork producing farm buildings. They should be improved and an effort made to lower their production costs. Here, the waiting period for apartments is well over 10 years and applications to housing cooperatives are no longer accepted. The prospects are bad. True, last year we were one of the few voivodships that fulfilled its housing construction plan but that plan had a lower target than had been achieved in previous years. Cement is available. For a change, construction is constrained by availability of steel, whose domestic production has significantly decreased.

[Question] It is necessary to try some other ways....

[Answer] The young have interesting ideas. In our area many small brickyards were abandoned as unprofitable. The Union of Polish Socialist Youth wants to use them as the basis for a brick-producing cooperative. If someone needs bricks, he works for the cooperative and produces a double quantity. He takes the quantity that he planned at cost less his work contribution; the balance is sold by the cooperative at retail prices. We will support construction of single-family housing. Countrywide, residential construction is a serious business. By 1990 we will be building an estimated 400,000 apartments per year. However, there are 300,000 new marriages per year; with 100,000 divorces--which add to the demand for housing--this number of apartment apartments is already too low. By putting small brickyards in operation and freeing social initiative, the construction will become much more prolific.

[Question] However, the most difficult thing when building one's own house is to obtain a lot with access to public roads and utilities.

[Answer] We are developing much land for single-family housing and for "combined" dwellings: duplexes, quadruplexes, etc. The latter is much cheaper. The authorities must provide utilities for this land: water, electricity, gas, heat. The young will support such housing and invest their own work and enthusiasm. Also, we would like to increase the size of building lots to 5, 8 and 10 acres. This would be a great relief for agriculture; on lots like that, people would grow for their own use and more. This could be done along the road to Ustka.

[Question] This voivodship is mostly agricultural. What is the situation of the young in the country?

[Answer] It looks better now. We have noticed the beginning of staying on the land and even of the return of the young to the land. This has been influenced by recent decisions regarding agriculture. Production of basic equipment for private farms has improved--harrows can be bought; they are stored in township cooperatives. Small businesses and crafts help. The young are returning to the land also because of housing. It is very difficult to get an apartment in the city.

[Question] What do you think about the activities of youth organizations?

[Answer] The current popular opinion is very critical but not quite true. Social activists are trying very hard to pull the young out of frustration and apathy, which overwhelmed them. Social activists should not be scolded; paid employees may be. We are trying to help but not to dictate and to program. For instance, the Rural Youth Union (ZMW) is not trying to get on the marquee, it does not attempt grandiose actions. It does basic things and it is active. The Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) is also active. We were a little worried about the conflicts between ZSMP and ZMW in villages but they have come to an understanding. Also, in our only college, the Higher Pedagogical School, the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP) does good work. During the strikes in support of the Radom affair, the then nonparty chairman, Wroblewski (he has joined the party since), defended the party position and together with the activists influenced the students not to join the strike. They fought sharply with the Independent Association of Students for just causes.

[Question] In view of your opinion on the youth, what do you expect from the Ninth Plenary Session of the Central Committee? What do you expect as the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, which will implement those resolutions and for which it will be held responsible?

[Answer] The Republic will be as good as the youth will build it. We must make this building process easier. We must promise nothing in advance: that it will be easier, that it will require less toil and give more pleasure. These kinds of promises have not been fulfilled and the wrath of the young turned against the older generation and against the party. Western diversion took advantage of this and fed the discontent, telling stories of conflict between generations, of the lost generation, etc. Thus, the plenary session of the Central Committee cannot promise anything. At the last council of first secretaries of Voivodship Committees there were chairmen of all youth organizations. Comrade Jaruzelski stated that if we want to help the youth, first we must listen to them, then prompt them and later let them prompt us in matters concerning the youth. And everything is of concern to the young.

[Question] Did you have a plenary session of the Voivodship Committee dedicated to the affairs of the young?

[Answer] No, we do not think this is necessary. We keep up with these problems. We had two executive sessions on this subject and we participate

in the youth organizations. We would have such a plenary session if the young desired it. Besides, the young attend all our plenary sessions and actively participate.

[Question] You have defined what you do not expect from the Ninth Plenary Session. What do you expect?

[Answer] I hope that the young will take an activist approach to the plenary session of the Central Committee. There must emerge a realistic program that will satisfy that generation. I am familiar with the session preparation process but I do not know the final outcome. There ought to be a realistic program for employment and housing construction and a program for work, pay and social conditions for young families.

[Question] I am under the impression that you are an optimist?

[Answer] Yes, I am. Otherwise I could not work here. We will get out of this crisis in less than 3 years. The Polish nation has that peculiar characteristic of being able to mobilize under difficult conditions. When things are better, we often come apart. We close ranks when things are tough. That is what is happening.

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PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPT OF 'EUROPEANISM' DISCUSSED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 8, Aug 81 pp 99-108 [signed to press November 1981]

[Article by Witold Marciszewski, professor in the Faculty of Humanities at the Bialystok Branch of Warsaw University: "Philosophical Aspects of Europeanism"]

[Text] The word "Europeanism" does not occur frequently in Polish, which indicates that the idea expressed by it has not become part of a common awareness in our language. Where it does occur more frequently is in the German language, where it relates to the idea of Europe as a single civilization system which comprises the European communities, in spite of national, political and economic differences that divide them. This idea comes down from Renaissance political thought, in particular that of Machiavelli, developed by the French Enlightenment movement, and enriched by the philosophy of history of the romantic period (F. Guizot), with its apotheosis of freedom and pluralism, as typically European characteristics. If one looks for the earlier, so to say precursory manifestations of this idea, one would find it in the medieval concept of the "sacrum imperium," and in the contrasting civilized and barbarous communities of antiquity.[1]

Europeanism is not only a tradition, but also a far-reaching political program. Every rational program of action rests on consciously and critically accepted premises, both empirical and philosophical. It is worthwhile to give some thought to the assumptions, primarily philosophical, of a certain version of Europeanism.

Problem of Continental Economics

The fact that Europe constitutes rather a compact economic system is being perceived by the specialists and is likewise observable by the educated general public. There is no need to undertake here the analysis of the various aspects of this state, for that subject has accessible literature in the Polish language, and at the same time I would exceed the framework of this essay.[2] On the other hand, it is worthwhile taking a step ahead and tackling a certain problem of a more general nature, which may be described as the problem of continental economics. In this connection two questions should be answered: 1) To what extent, can Europe, as a continent, be economically self-sufficient?, and 2) Whether and in what measure, should one avail oneself of the achievable degree of self-sufficiency, taking into account the good of Europe and other continents?

The answer to the first question would require much empirical data concerning raw-material deposits, possibilities and profitability of various technologies (e.g., nuclear power stations, demographic trends, etc. The analysis of such data is not the object of this article, it is necessary, however, to note this cognitive need, for it must be satisfied if one should give an affirmative answer to the second question, to which answer the present essay is to supply certain elements. The second question is a typical optimization problem, that is, the selection of a most advantageous variant in which the sum of the achieved profits should be greater than in the other variants (even though individual quantities in the optimum variant might be smaller than in other variants: this differentiates optimization from maximalization).[3]

Arguing in favor of the affirmative answer to the second of the above questions, one should in the first place call attention to philosophical arguments, since they, as a rule, interfere in our thinking without our awareness, and at the same time they are among the most controversial ones. The lack of agreement as to practical proceedings may spring from differences in the unconsciously assumed philosophical positions; thus to be aware of them is indispensable for the coordination of actions.

There are two philosophical assumptions that argue in favor of the achievement of a high-degree of economic self-sufficiency, which can be defined as naturalism. This word occurs in philosophy in various, not very accurately defined meanings. Here it will be used in a meaning that is closest to its etymology, as the name for a standpoint which ascribes to nature an essential role in the formation of the society's life and includes nature in a sphere of values higher than usable ones, and therefore does not treat it solely from the viewpoint of struggle and exploitation. The first of these elements finds its expression in a version called geopolitical orientation.

Geopolitical orientation is based on the belief that in the formation of suprastate systems--such as alliances, blocks, economic associations--one should take into account the geographical and physical factors which may have political consequences, as for example, geographical neighborhood, naturalness of frontiers, demographic situation, ethnic configurations, communication routes, raw-materials deposits. Naturalism, which is the basis of this orientation, makes it attach importance in the first place to nature and spatial-material conditions, and only then take into account phenomena from the sphere of ideology, culture, etc.; the latter--being more flexible and susceptible of being influenced, among others, by virtue of self-fulfilling beliefs--may be shaped, in order to adapt them to the hard requirements of natural realities. In other words, social laws are partly derivative in relation to human awareness, and the awareness may be influenced to a greater degree than processes determined by the laws of nature. There is, for example, a social truism that a wrong provokes a rebellion of the wronged ones, but in order for this truism to operate, it is indispensable among "initial conditions" that there be a certain state of awareness--namely, the feeling of wrong--and this, under certain circumstances, cannot be permitted. On the other hand, there are no such circumstances under which we could suspend the biological or physical laws.

Thus, e.g., the geopolitical orientation will incline toward alliances with those states with which our state has no objective conflict of interests and, on the other hand, has frontiers, connections and possibilities of complementing one another which promise mutual favorable results of cooperation in the economic, political or military field. Such arguments should prevail in the opinion of geopoliticians over cultural and ideological differences, or over some historically motivated emotions, if some of these matters would separate us from potential partners.

Axiological Attitude Toward Nature. The second philosophical assumption, which might be called the postulate of respect for nature, is close to the ideas of defenders of the natural environment; in some countries they even form political groupings ("Greens"), well aware of the far-reaching consequences of their attitude. The ecological movement may have motivations of the Malthusian type, i.e., arguments that the interests of the present and future generations are endangered by the uncontrolled increase of such factors as the number of population, consumption of raw materials, pollution of the environment. In accepting these arguments, we should amplify them by a certain element of axiological nature, belonging to the sphere of values of which it is difficult to speak articulately, but it cannot be left unspoken. Therefore, let examples take place of theoretical explanations.

If someone is avoiding the wasting of bread and is using leavings for feeding hogs, then it is a praiseworthy farmer's attitude, which may be equated with the attitude of respect for nature. But there is something more in this attitude, something that makes people save bread even if there were not any economical arguments for doing so. This flows from the spirit of this country where "a crumb of bread is being gathered from the ground out of respect for heaven's bounty" (Norwid).

This attitude of respect is something fundamentally different from a wish to dominate and exploit, which is manifested by man when he talks of a subjugation and conquest of nature. A good example of such respect is that what Tenzing wrote about his ascension of Mount Everest: "I climbed not with conceit and sheer force, as a soldier that attacks an enemy, but with love of a child that clambers onto the knees of his mother."[4]

The philosophical attitude of bonds of nature not only dissuades us from wastefulness and predatory exploitation, but, moreover, which is more important, generates sensitivity to goods that are objectively of greatest value and at the same time are the cheapest economically, for they consume no energy or raw materials. Objectively, of greatest value are those goods which assure what Aristotle and his countrymen called "eudaimonia" and which is a state of all-round proficiency, inward tranquillity and enduring satisfaction--a state of both body and mind. On what goods does the achievement of such a state depend? There are among them the most elemental ones, such as oxygen, verdure, water, sun, movement, physical relaxation, as well as more refined ones: beautiful views and sounds, friendship, love, erotica, a feeling of one's own efficiency, building abstract notional constructions, achievement of intellectual syntheses.

The madness for possession and consumption that swept over the rich part of mankind is psychologically understandable, for these are the easiest ways to satisfy needs that are actually spiritual: the need of domination (for example, through distinguishing oneself by luxury), financial security (bank account), novelty (buying ever new things). In the pursuit of such spiritual gains, men lose many enlivening, sensory pleasures which serve eudaimonia. The entry into this blind alley was perhaps unavoidable at a certain time, for such are the first reactions of a poor wretch who has found himself in a palace. But when poverty becomes a remote past and at the same time the mental culture increases, it becomes possible to have renewed, mentally refined, close relations with nature. Europe has a fair chance to be the first to enter such a "golden age," being a continent which best fulfills the three conditions: a) having been rich for a long time; b) having great traditions of spiritual culture; c) having at its disposal the scientific and technical thought necessary for a transformation of technology, economy, institutions and mentality, to implement rapprochement with nature as a biological foundation of eudaimonia.

Poland, although she does not fulfill to an adequate degree all of the enumerated conditions, also has a chance to find herself in that future European civilization, living in a symbiosis with nature. It would be difficult, however, not to notice how much was done in our country to bring upon us the worst effects of industrial civilization without its benefits. That has been a visible result of the official philosophy, which lacked the thought of material subordination of social life, whereas the doctrine of the class struggle was pieced together with the imitation of the capitalist models of consumption. Consequently, even before it is possible to make up for the successive delays, it is worthwhile to ponder, in each case, whether it is worth cutting down a forest to build a steel plant, and whether pure air is not more valuable than the wonders of motorization--and since it is well known that motorization, even when it is not practical, is of spiritual and therapeutic value, one should give some thought to how to satisfy these needs at a lesser cost.

Economic Autonomy of the Continent and Naturalism. A high degree of economic autonomy and independence of Europe in relation to other continents would result from taking the path of "naturalistic economics," even if such results were not planned. Much more would be achieved if this direction were pursued with a set purpose. Here are different connections of the philosophy of naturalism with the trend toward economic autonomy of the continent.

The chances of economic autonomy and independence would be increased as a result of smaller requirements for energy and raw materials. A change in the model of consumption--instead of intensive consumption of industrial products, a greater emphasis on "consuming" the gifts of nature and cultural goods--would bring about essential savings of energy and raw materials, and thereby Europe would become more capable of satisfying its needs by its own means.

A generalization of geopolitical orientation would incline us toward looking for partners among neighbors from the continent and not overseas. That would enhance industrial cooperation, trade exchange and the exchange of scientific and technological thought within the framework of Europe. The geopolitical orientation has among other things that effect that it makes us come to an

understanding even with a vexatious neighbor instead of having recourse to a remote friend.

The desire for maximally economical management compels us to turn attention to the problems of transport from the point of view of the saving of time and energy of men and machines. Obviously, the shortest the distances and the densest the network of connections, the lowest the costs of transportation. The rather not very large size of our continent and its dense network of connections, together with the easiness of the creation of new connections in case of need thanks to a highly developed technology, point to the profitability of intracontinental exchange. A good illustration of this profitableness is the plan to export of the Soviet natural gas to the FRG through a pipeline. This must be highly profitable for a Western partner, for it has prevailed over doubts resulting from the fact of the dependence on energy deliveries from another military bloc. Apart from the problem of the density of connections and their length, there is still the problem of the type of route. Sea connections which were highly profitable at the time of sailing ships and at the time of cheap crude, are no longer as profitable nowadays, when it is necessary--looking into the future--to take into account shortages of energy: pipelines and electric traction on railroads have a fair chance of winning the competition with tankers.

Because of the pivotal nature of the energy problems, it is necessary to draw attention to the question of optimization of the production and transmission of electric energy. Optimization requires taking into account several factors. On the one hand, large and power plants situated far apart providing power to a vast area, are more profitable than dense network of small local plants. On the other hand, however, the transport of energy for great distances causes energy losses, which would argue in favor of small power plants. To this should be added the need to have reserve equipment in the case of breakdowns, and likewise such multiplication of power sources is cheaper in the case of small plants. As a result, it appears that the optimum average distance to which electric energy is being transmitted is now 100 km, which can be adequately contained within the pale of domestic energy systems. But the expected progress in technology of power transmission should increase the optimum average transmission distance to 1,000 km, and that will be more a continental than a domestic scale.[5] Thus, the development of technologies of the generation and transmission of energy might in the future force a new political solution aimed at continental integration.

The next argument for continental economics for Europe is supplied by the matter of raw materials. The countries of Western Europe owe their economic advances not only to labor and skills but likewise to the access to cheap raw materials in other continents, obtained as a result of colonial conquests. Decolonization brought on the former metropolisses a serious threat in the form of being cut off from sources of raw materials whereas the requirement for them is increasing. The political instability of the "Third World," which is a natural phenomenon, for the incipient statehoods and may still last a long time, creates a permanent uncertainty as regards supply of raw materials, especially in such a critical matter as crude oil. Meanwhile, there exists in Europe a state, the Soviet Union, capable of satisfying a considerable part of the

requirements of Western Europe; this state, however, because of the politico-military division of Europe, is functioning rather in a small degree as a supplier of raw materials for the Western part of the continent. On the other hand, the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe, which had a later start in the area of technology and in optimization of economical systems, could more effectively develop their own technology and economic organisms, given more intensive--and carried on under conditions of mutual confidence--cooperation with countries that had more time to accumulate experience. Looking in this light at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] one may perceive in it a sound geopolitical reflex: it evidences a positive philosophical evolution inside the camp to whose share falls the merit of having initiated the conference.

Europe and Other Continents. The problems of economic integration of Europe and the economic autonomy of our continent are connected with certain questions concerning the relationship of Europe to other continents. Let us start from the eventuality, little probable, but not to be neglected, namely, from the matter of the military threat to Europe from the outside. It is true that for the last several centuries, Europe, apart from the Balkans, has not experienced any invasion or occupation from Asia or Africa, but it had been otherwise in former centuries (as late as in 1683 invaders from Asia besieged Vienna). In recent centuries, the might of Europe and its offensive capability has protected her from invasions, but there is no guarantee that this will always be so.

Taking into account the eventuality of intercontinental conflicts is not the expression of suspiciousness toward neighbors from other continents--it is simply the expression of realism. Realism makes us look at conflicts and tendencies to expansion as among the natural laws of this world. Such realism is not at variance with the readiness to cooperate with the "Third World" in solving its complex problems. At the present moment, Europe, divided into blocs, cannot do much in this field, the more so as its technological thought and material means are being absorbed by armaments, and the clash of influences of the two systems in the regions of the "Third World" is creating new complications in it.

Meanwhile, problems of the "Third World" have all the hallmarks of squaring the circle, which is rarely understood by an average European. Here is an example, not the most drastic one: a feedback between the shortage of energy and the demographic explosion. The energy shortage in many rural areas of the "Third World" compels a family to devote 6 hours for fetching drinking water from some remote storage reservoir, then another 6 hours for gathering firewood, and the rest of the time for pasturing cattle and other farming activities. This can be done only by having very large families, so that for millions of poor rural families having many children as a workforce is a condition of survival. In turn, the high birth rate is creating a colossal economic problem.

Our Europe with its high economic and intellectual potential could through common effort contribute effectively to the elimination of these destructive feedbacks. Is there any chance for this?

The Idea of "European Ecumenism"

Civilizational Ecumenism. The word "ecumenism" (from the Greek oikoumene--that which is inhabited, community) denotes a tendency to restore original community. This term is used most often in relation to a Christian community which in bygone days formed a unity, but for centuries had been divided into various denominations, and which at present is tending to overcome divisions and to again achieve unity. Civilizational or cultural ecumenism is the tendency to overcome divisions or even antagonisms that came into existence within the sole civilization. In this sense, one can speak of "European ecumenism," as a movement aimed at a rapprochement of the two ramifications--Eastern and Western (Latin)--of European civilization.

These are actually two branches and not two different civilizations, for they grew up from the common stem that was the Christianized Roman Empire, inheriting the Hellenistic culture, and which was divided politically in 395 into the Eastern and Western parts. This division was deepened by the fall in the 5th century of the Western state and by a religious schism in the 11th century, which, together with dissimilarity of cultural traditions of the Near East and Western Europe, brought about the formation of the two civilizational regions.

One can meet with a view that these differences are such a deep phenomenon that they bring into question the possibility of mutual understanding. A discussion of such an attitude would be rather a dry dispute, for it is difficult to find a method to measure cultural differences and a formula relating this quantity to the probability of an understanding. The matter should be presented in another way. One should assume philosophically that every rational creature can come to an understanding with another rational creature if both see in it a mutual good. It is not necessary to worry whether that assumption will be fulfilled in every case; the uncertainty involves a risk, but no one says that risk is a sufficient argument for abstaining from action. On the other hand, there is a certainty that if we were to abstain from action we would achieve nothing.

Why do we postulate here a "European ecumenism" and not a "global" one? As a reason for that, it would be sufficient to say that the road to a community of the higher order leads through the union of more fundamental communities. An even more perceptible reason for a "European ecumenism" is that common interest of Europe, is harmonized with the interest of the rest of the world, to which a reference was made above.

How's that?--the opponents may ask. Is it not that the real civilizational community calls into being common interests, but that the interests are to create a civilizational community? This objection is not without foundation, for it happens not infrequently that the consciousness of a common good depends on the earlier existing consciousness of the group community. But there can also be the reverse dependence, and the two directions of dependence become mutually reinforced by virtue of feedback: When people feel themselves to be a community, they have, as a consequence, common interest, which in turn reinforces the group bond, so that the common interest is outlined even more

clearly, and so on. The inference from this feedback is that we are dealing with a plastic matter subject to voluntary forming, and at the same time capable, having once received an impulse, of spontaneous growth.

In this context, one should not fear the concept of myth, which could provide a premise to a conscious cultivation of the myth of Europe as an instrument of "European ecumenism." The world "myth" can arouse opposition but at the same time it is really useful, and therefore it is worthwhile to devote a small digression to it.

In speaking of myth, we do not prejudge whether false beliefs are involved here. In using this word we would rather like to state that the truthfulness or falseness of beliefs is a secondary matter, for uppermost is their function, which consists of producing social bonds. For example, on totemic societies, the role of an integrating bond is fulfilled by the myth of a common origin from an animal ancestor, some place else it will be the myth of a special mission of some nation, of its exceptional attributes, historical mission, etc. The object of a myth is, therefore, that community in relation to which it fulfills its integrating function. It contains the emotion-replete valuations concerning the given group, its past and its neighbors, and thereby it shapes the norms and motivations of the members of that community. It forms, therefore, an essential element of initiation, that is, of those measures which transform individuals in the given group, or those who joined it, into its conscious participants.

In considering myth not from the sociological but from the epistemological viewpoint, we can apply to its cognitive function in substance the same measure that is also applied to ordinary and scientific cognition. In all these types of cognition there is present the factor of the activity of the subject. What occurs in the sensory perception, that is, formation of the image through a creative act of giving it a structure or shape, appears also in any other cognitive act, including an act expressed in myth. It has been aptly formulated by an outstanding physicist and philosopher, C.F. von Weizsacker: The structure is being created when it is being perceived, and it is being perceived when it is being created.[6]

This remark acquires an additional significance when social structures are the object of our perception. Creation of the perceived structure is then not only creation in the sense of a cognitive image, but also the transformation of reality itself. Sociology designates such phenomenon by the name of self-fulfilling prophecy, or, in other cases, self-fulfilling hypotheses. An example, may be provided by real depreciation of some currency in a situation where spenders lose faith in its value. Likewise, a social group grows stronger when it believes in its strength, and it gets more closely united when it believes in being closely united. Myth is called into being to fulfill that very specific role, consisting in that by its avowal, now truthful, it might enhance even more its genuineness. Thus, the myth of Europe, firmly based on its past, should create new facts in the future, the facts of community and cooperation.

The consciousness of historical community as a foundation of present and future European actions was expressed in the Final Act of the Conference on Security

and Cooperation in Europe. In the preamble of this document it is stated that: "The participating states (...), mindful of their common history, and recognizing that the existence of common elements in their traditions and values can aid them in the development of a mutual relationship, and desirous to seek, making full allowance for diversity and separateness of their attitudes and views, the possibilities of combining their efforts to overcome distrust and increase confidence, and solve problems which divide them, and to develop cooperation in the interest of mankind (...), have resolved" (here follows a declaration of principles governing the mutual relationship between participating states).

The Integrating Role of Mathematics in European Civilization. It may be well to use an example to show how one can enhance the myth of Europe in the interest of "European ecumenism." The selected example concerns an important matter, though it is almost unknown to the public at large. It is the role of exact sciences, especially that of mathematics in the European culture.

In mathematics, the expansion of imagination is linked with precise and rigorous thinking--and that is one of the decisive reasons of its importance for civilization. Such facts, as that at least one-half of the graduates of medieval universities, that is, graduates of philosophy and theology preceded by the study of philosophy (besides, there were physicians and lawyers), had a thorough grounding in mathematics, and medieval cathedrals had a complicated number symbolism encoded in their architecture, are very significant in the history of European culture. It is only natural that such a background had produced Copernicus, Galileo, or Kepler.

While cultivating consciously the myth of Europe, true to its historical reality, and which is to further shape the course of history, it is necessary in an immeasurably greater degree to take into account the history of the European thought, and in this history to bring into relief the leading role of mathematics and natural history along with the philosophy that inspired them. In reading the history textbooks for high school and academic youth, a picture of history emerges as a train of conquests, wars and political murders, which is a misleadingly one-sided picture. Only mentions are encountered of great achievements in science which changed the way of thought and life of mankind, and no analysis is made of causal dependences, whereas only due to such an analysis does history become the teacher of life.

If scientific thought were given its proper place in presenting the history of Europe, such an outlook would lessen the exaggeratedly emphasized differences between the East and West of our continent. It is true that in some measure they are culturally complementary regions, and that, for example, the spirit of the Orthodox Church has values unknown to the Latin Church, and the works of Dostoevskiy or Tolstoy contribute fresh trends of thought and emotion to European literature. It is, however, otherwise in scientific matters. In the sphere of scientific thought, the whole of Europe created values of the same type, characteristic of it and qualitatively different from the achievements of Chinese or Hindu science. European science is characterized by a boldness of mind which is capable of becoming detached from the sensory sphere to that of abstract ideas, and triumphantly descending to earth, encompassing

new regions of sensory experience with a theory and advancing technology a step forward.

From among several of the greatest revolutions in science, two occurred in the eastern regions of Europe: one in Polish Warmia in the 16th century due to Copernicus, and the second in Russian Kazan in the 19th century, due to Nikolay Lobachevskiy (the merit of the same discovery belongs also to a Hungarian, Jan Bolyai, who published his results in 1832, 2 years after Lobachevskian geometry demonstrates exactly that boldness of thought characteristic of European mathematics. He initiated a series of important results in geometry, which in fact influenced the further development of mathematics and physics and mathematical logic.

When the myth of Europe as an intellectual community expands, and when in this republic of knowledge an appropriate role is played by mathematics and its philosophical inspirations, in such a perspective the participation of Poland will prove to be especially significant, perhaps even more so than in the field of literature, music, fine arts or technical achievements. As a matter of fact, two of the world's schools of science bear the enduring designation of "Polish": the school of mathematics and closely connected with it, the logicophilosophical school. Thus, the further development of Polish mathematics and concern for the maintenance of its place in the world, and generalization of mathematical science in society are also the elements of the Polish reasons of state. This political concept was used here not metaphorically, but literally. Political position in the world depends on the strength which is represented by the given country. That may be its demographic, economic, diplomatic, or military potential, but it can be also its intellectual potential. The latter is to be reckoned for at least two reasons: In the first place, on it depends to a great extent technical and economic potential, and secondly, it entitles a nation to occupy a position of high standing in the community of Europe, the continent that the tradition of Europeanism teaches us to consider as a great intellectual community.[7]

FOOTNOTES

1. The formation process of the Europeanism idea is presented, among others, in the book by F. Chabod: "Storia dell'idea d'Europa," Bari, 1961. In Polish literature--cf M. Dobroczynski and J. Stefanowicz: Tozsamosc Europy [Identity of Europe], Warsaw, 1979.

   This idea has, naturally, various current versions depending on the place in Europe from which it is being considered. The best known are two outlooks: The Soviet and the French (De Gaulle); but apart from them there are others, for example, the British and the Central European. As to the first one, see, for example, J. Biggs-Davidson: "The European Ideal," SPECTATOR, 1977, vol 239, No 7,779. The interesting exposition of the second of these conceptions is found in the essay of A. Dalmy: "Der Papst der liberalen Okumene," EUROPEISCHE RUNDSCHAU, 1980, VIII, No 1. The title of this essay speaks of the pope because the author of this essay represents John Paul II as an outstanding advocate of European unity, who perceives at

the same time a special role in it of the Central Europe (which the author among others connects with Cracovian origin of the pope). Similar thoughts concerning specificity, mainly economical, of the Central Europe are found in the article entitled: Gibt es 'Osteuropaer?' Und sind sie 'ruckstandig?' Gesprach mit dem Historiker Gyorgy Ranki, PANONIA, MAGAZIN FUR EUROPAISCHE ZUSAMMENARBEIT, 1979, VII, No 3.

2. cf, e.g., M. Dobroczynski and J. Stefanowicz, op. cit.

3. Understood in this way optimization requires an assumption that a certain measurement of values is possible. That problem, which is one of the themes of mathematical decision theory, is outlined for the general public in the book of W. Marciszewski: Poradnik dla niezdecydowanych [Handbook for the Undecided], Wroclaw, 1974, chapters II and III.

4. N. B. Tenzing: Czlowiek Everestu [Man of Everest], Warsaw, 1967, p 15.

5. cf C. Marchetti: From the Primeval Soup to World Government (An address given at the First World Hydrogen Conference),--reprint in the monthly ANTICIPATION (Geneva), 1979, No 23.

6. C. V. von Weizsacker: Einheit der Natur, Munchen 1971. Polish translation edited by Krzysztof Maurin, entitled: Jednosc przyrody [Unity of Nature], Warsaw 1978 (quotation taken from the editorial introduction of Polish translation, p 20).

7. Because of its philosophical connotation, the present essay omits the problem of chances for implementation of European in the current political realities. In this matter, the reader may refer to the article of J. Stefanowicz: Czy ponowny zmierzch Europy? [Is This Another Decline of Europe?], POLITYKA, 27 December 80. While I subcribe to the diagnoses and prognoses contained in it, I wish only to dissociate myself from its title which suggests, as does also the end of the article that potential European unity is at present endangered by various elements--beyond European control--of the world situation. At short range, it would be difficult not to admit the influence of these elements, but in the long run we should not lose sight of another factor, which is the will of Europeans themselves. To value this will is not a utopian voluntarism, since it stems from the sociological law of "self-fulfilling convictions," mentioned before. Since the common will comes into being from integration of aspirations of individuals, one could consider an eventual initiation in our country of a "Euroclub" conceived as an informal group, which would implement three tasks: 1) a selective--from the viewpoint of questions asked--creation of a data bank on European subject matter; 2) using that bank construction of compact and realistic conception of Europe and the role in it of our country; 3) winning for this conception circles represented by members of "Euroclub" and other groups in the country as well as abroad.

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SCOUT UNION COMMANDER INTERVIEWED BY 'PAP'

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 12 Jul 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Andrzej Ornat, scout commander of the Polish Scout Union by Wojciech Kazmierdzak, PAP reporter: "Upbringing—the Most Profitable Investment," date and place not given]

> [Text] A journalist from PAP talks with the Polish Scout Union Commander Andrzej Ornat, about problems of scouting and, generally, about the young generation in the context of the plenary session of the Central Committee devoted to youth.

[Question] Does the scouting movement need the plenary session of the Central Committee, the government program regarding conditions under which the young start their lives and careers, the whole, let us say, hullabaloo about the young and their affairs? After all, the Polish Scout Union is a rather insulated organization as far as its program is concerned. The youth can be brought up under any conditions depending on the situation of the sponsor (the state is scouting's sponsor) the only thing that needs to change is the way one operates....

[Answer] Scouting is an organization of children and youth, any hullabaloo about the youth and its affairs.... [line missing] Especially, if it deals with conditions under which the young generation start their lives and their careers and with the current social, political and moral situation. How could we be indifferent to what some call the crisis of values and what I would describe as the crisis of youth's perspective; how could we be indifferent to prospects of changes in the difficult situation of young Poles, including the youngest ones, the children, who practically do not have any other advocates except their organization? However, it is an essential task of all organizations, including scouting, to make sure that the hullabaloo, the rhetorics and the laudable resolutions are followed by action. It is getting green all over because green lights are being turned on for every cause. It is good to remember that where everybody has the green light, clashes of interests are unavoidable where the possibilities are so limited. What is worse, the youth, taught by the experience of those a little older, considers all the commotion to be just that--hullabaloo and not the beginning of real changes, not an element of a real program. And what good is the best program unless it gains the acceptance of potential beneficiaries?

In this question, I sense an intention of pushing the scouting movement to the sidelines--why scouting should be concerned with problems of the youth, some people think that most of its members are children. For them, children, youngsters in school, that is those who are not working yet, are just objects and not subjects of action. Such an attitude, though not new at all, may have strong negative repercussions later. This attitude feeds the ever active attempts to "cut to size" some organizations: this one is important because it is political, that one is less so because it is educational. Is education possible without politics, without ideological involvement? Or is good politics possible without education? I do not think so. Hence, scouting has always been and continues to be an educational organization and, at the same time, an ideological and political one.

The organization program being insulated--this is simply misunderstanding. The scouting program has never been and is not now insulated. Unless one calls "insulated" the needs, the interests and the expectations of the young. Also, there is nothing insulated about setting ideological and moral standards for scouts. Scouting is open to all but, and this should be emphasized, it is the only youth organization in Poland which in addition to a program, offers a young man a model, a set of ethical, moral and ideological standards with which a young man must comply if he wants to remain with us. Of course, results are not achieved immediately, achievements come gradually by working in the troop and in the patrol. Nobody is born perfect. The scout promise and scout law help. They represent values which are badly needed today not only by the young but also by adults.

Also, I do not agree with the thesis about changing the way one works depending on sponsor's conditions. In my opinion, the success of scouting educational method over a period exceeding 70 years is due to a certain universality of the scouting method and the scouting way of work. They change only when they have to be adjusted to the demands of changing times. They are not subject to passing fashions, they are based on the basic precepts of pedagogy and developmental psychology. It cannot be any other way.

[Question] Let us leave scouting aside for a moment and let us look more broadly at the problems of young generation. What is most important for youth today? What do they expect from the plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee?

[Answer] It is difficult to speak for a whole generation. One may make a mistake. It is easier to say what the young do not expect from the plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee. Certainly they do not expect another vision of magnificent Poland because they are realistic in estimating the chances of bringing such a vision about. Rather, they expect an honest diagnosis of the youth situation not only in the social area but also in the moral and political areas. The superficial opinions and judgments, widely disseminated recently, that the young were lured by the enemy propaganda and foreign social solutions are simply not persuasive. Youth probably expects a clear statement regarding safeguarding by the state of the standard of living of the young. Everybody would like to know what he can count on and what is not in the cards. The first thing that needs to be announced is

a program outlining what improvements can be expected in the living and professional starting conditions for the young generation. This is not just a question of how to allocate the shortages. There is an urgent need for implementing political decisions regarding education in Poland. Quality of education is deteriorating both in the villages and in the cities: the teaching cadre are deplorable, cultural activities by the young or for the young are practically nonexistent and mass sports are neglected. Expectations are high.

[Question] During a time when we must worry about our daily bread, are not such expectations excessive?

[Answer] The young do not expect the Central Committee resolution to suddenly solve all the problems. The thing that matters is how they think. Upbringing is the most profitable investment one can imagine. But, at the same time it cannot be postponed, it cannot wait until things are more plentiful because it is not just another manufacturing plant of prefabricated houses or automatic washers. There is a terrible price to pay for all the half- and quarter-measures as, for instance, the concept of the ten-year shool which was not thought through and was being implemented cheaply.

There is another matter which keeps coming up in any discussion about the youth, especially in any party discussions: this is the matter of the model of Polish youth movement. Despite the fact that the 9th Congress decided this matter unequivocally, we still have to deal with attempts to create just one monolithic organization which would be always "united and ready." But the youth movements which copied the monoparty system have not worked in the past. The youth is not monolithic and must not be forced into such a structure. It is simpler to accept that each organization has its specific tasks to accomplish in its own circles and that what counts are real achievements rather than loud shouts of approval.

[Question] What kind of scouting do you have in 1982? Do you, in the leadership of the Union, have a picture of an average scout? Do you know what he thinks? How he feels? What he needs? What he expects from the organization?

[Answer] Forst of all, scouting in 1982 is not homogeneous. There is no single diagnosis. At the same time, scouting is certainly more genuine than in the past. Many girl scouts and boy scouts have left. On the one hand, this has disappointed us but, on the other, this has impacted favorably the quality of scout activities. The genuine quality of scouting is shown by the return to tradition and, after the phase of fascination with the newly discovered history of scouting and its old experiences. We are moving to the phase of honest evaluation of all achievements of the seventy years of existance and we are reaching for the best methodological and programmatic solutions. Being conscious of the continuity of scouting tradition gives us extra strength to perform everyday chores and to deal with everyday problems. Scouting is more genuine because it approaches honestly the scout law and the scout promise, because it stresses the ideological and moral demands which we place on every member of the organization, including the instructors.

Like everybody else in these difficult times, we learn from our mistakes and we are rather quick. That is why scouting not only claims to be a truly voluntary organization but in fact is one. We are not worried at all that we have lost our monopoly in the post-elementary schools: competition helps us and so far we believe we are winning. We are thinking seriously about involving more rural youth (we have good relations with the Rural Youth Union) and more working youth and students in the scout activities. We have succeeded in sensibly combining politics and upbringing: we do not avoid difficult ideological and political choices facing the young but we do not offer solutions through lectures, talks and rhetoric but rather through action and getting to know the very complexity of reality.

Do we know what an average scout thinks, feels? No, we do not. On the basis of talking, of visiting the troops and the districts, we try to conceptualize. Then we try to "average out," but what we average are impressions not real knowledge. This is a problem that we share with others. For years, no research has been published on the subject of youth, its social status, its awareness and its opinions. This is a subject that should be brought up at the plenary session of the Central Committee. We have a variety of research institutes and the results of their efforts--if they indeed exist--must not be just filed away. It is puzzling that one can buy at a bookstore a book on the youth in the West but unfortunately not on the Polish youth.

[Question] After a period of organizational breakdown and groping for programmatic solutions, the Polish Scout Union as a whole appears to have regained its vigor and prestige among the young. What is the source of this rebirth?

[Answer] It may be premature to talk about the rebirth of scouting, about its regaining social prestige and the prestige among the yount. There are signs that this is happening but we do not want to be too optimistic. It is true, however, that scouting pulled itself together after the crisis. Especially, the troops, patrols and scout groups became stronger and the real upbringing takes place exactly there.

Despite the hard times, we do not promise anything, we do not give away anything: not a token for laundromat, not a free issue of a youth magazine, to the contrary--we have demands. We tell them: whoever said it is easy to be a scout? And it turns out that the same youth that the adults so often judge to be without faith or honor, which is said to be passive and devoid of idealism, joins the scouting movement not because he is bribed with easy promises but encouraged by the prospect of being on a team with people who believe in the same set of values, who have the same manners and perhaps aspire to the same lifestyle. They are encouraged to join by a high standard and by the necessity to improve oneself in matters of morality and ideology. The young desire moral purity, they want a set of non-opportunistic values and they need examples--examples set by adults. How else can they be convinced that it pays to be an honorable, honest man?

8801
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POZNAN 1956 EVENTS AND PZPR PERFORMANCE RECALLED; UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 24 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Jan Brygier: "How the Poznan Events Developed: From the Recollections of Jan Brygier"]

[Text] June 28, 1982 will mark 26 years since the tragic Poznan events. The memory of them is especially painful for those who experienced them personally. I was one of these people.

At that time I was working in the H. Cegielski Metal Industry Works, called the Jozef Stalin Works, in Poznan (in brief, ZISPO).

I went to work for Cegielski's for the third time in my life 7 August 1952. I was chief of the Technical Control Branch in one of the factories. I am a turner by profession. During the occupation, I worked as a loftsman, a machinist and a gear grinder.

A party member since 1927, I participated actively in party work at the plant. After working 1 year at the plant, I was elected to the PZPR Plant Committee and was made a member of the executive board of the PZPR ZISPO Plant Committee.

Thus I found myself at the center of events. What interests me most are the causes of the Poznan events. How they developed is the most important question for me. For 25 years, I have collected information about them. The purpose of this article is to reveal these causes.

The wave of resolutions made at the 3d Plenum and the 22d Congress of the KPZR [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] had a stimulating effect on the populace, including trade unionists. The ZISPO plant newspaper NA STALINOWSKIEJ WARCIE carried the following appeal 30 May 1956:

"To the ZISPO Trade Union Aktiv, the Seventh Plenum of the Central Council of Trade Unions has laid out the major directions and established the basic principles for stepping up the activities of union organizations serving the interests of working people. Since then, many plant councils have greatly improved their work with vital workers' issues. GLOS PRACY and PRZEGLAD ZWIAZKOWY are organizing a mail campaign for the Trade Union Aktiv.

"We would like answers to the following questions:

"1) How do you defend the interests of workers and employees when their guaranteed rights are violated?

2) How do you supervise work force bhp [industrial safety and hygiene] conditions?

3) How is the work force at your plant ensured better and better working conditions?

4) What are you doing or planning to do to encourage competitiveness at work?

5) What inhibits bold actions taken by you to defend work force issues and interests?

I have no answers to the above appeal. However, I do know that for similar actions, 11 June 1956 the secretary of the Factory Committee [KF], comrade Zenon Begier and the chairman of the Plant Council [RZ], comrade Edmund Taszer were called from W-3 (a part of the plant complex) to a meeting of the Plant Committee [KZ] Executive Body to justify their behavior. This mainly concerned a mass meeting organized at W-3 and a letter sent to the Central Committee and the Director General of ZISPO. The recommendations and demands made at the mass meeting and included in the letter concerned: 1) the liquidated progressive bonus and the resultant significant reduction in earnings; 2) the demand to pay out the unjustly withheld wage tax; 3) wage increases for those working by the job and day laborers; 4) procurement of parts needed for production on time to enable work to proceed rhythmically, without a last minute rush; 5) the housing issue was brought up; and, 6) the cost of basic necessities was rising.

Comrade Czeslaw Konczal, a KW [Voivodship Committee] representative, stated that a party member must serve the party. He must always remember with whom, to whom and about what he is speaking. He must work to educate the people, because the situation at ZISPO and throughout the country is very difficult. An attempt is being made to wrest the leadership role away from the party. There is pressure to eliminate production cooperatives. The mass meeting at W-3 did not have a party atmosphere. It was marked by hostile overtones. We will not resolve people's complaints by appealing to the Central Committee. Everybody is jumping up and down. We do not have enough raw materials. What can be done? He promised help from the KW and the KM [Municipal Committee] for the ZISPO party organization for 2 weeks at least.

Things did not quiet down at ZISPO after this meeting. The agitation spread to the other ZISPO plants.

This situation caused the PZPR Plant Committee to call a consultation of the party aktiv 23 June 1956. Comrade Leon Stasiak, first secretary of the PZPR KW in Poznan represented the KW at the meeting.

Comrade Leon Stasiak began by reporting on the current situation in the country. He stated that the government was preparing a balance-sheet of the ground that had been covered and the mistakes that had been made. In concrete terms it was an accounting of the implementation of the 6-year plan and of the impact of the 20th KPZR Congress on the current situation in the country. Generally, we have not raised the living standard of workers. The defense needs of our country were the main reason that the goals envisaged in the six-year plan have not been attained. The imperialists do not recognize our western border on the Odra and Nysa Luzycka; the Peace Movement is not an effective defense. We would have had to change various plans and approve additional investments. The rapid rate of Poland's industrialization has likewise had negative consequences. Many people have migrated from villages to the city.

This has meant a reduction in farm productivity per hectare. The urban housing shortage has become more severe due to the locating of industries in cities and the influx of workers.

Other errors of industrial development include too costly investments, a surplus of office workers and the pushing aside of the aktiv. We are trying to rectify our errors. We are moving to reduce investments and cut administrative costs. We want to increase wages by 5 billion zlotys, that is, by about 30 percent. We are awaiting the Seventh Plenum to take a decisive stand on this.

Comrade first secretary Leon Stasiak concluded his statement and everyone participating in the meeting proceeded to the new cafeteria. Here we encountered a crowd of angry workers. I do not remember whether there were 1,000 of them, or 1,500, or 2,000. People cried out that we should move to the street. Others shouted that a delegation should be elected to go to Warsaw and present the workers demands there, since this was where decisions were made.

After a while I addressed the workers. Then comrade Jan Majchrzychi, first secretary of the ZISPO PZPR Plant Committee spoke to them. Comrade Majchrzycki was a very discreet person, quiet and reflective. After he spoke, the workers calmed down and returned to their jobs.

We returned to the hall and resumed deliberations. We were aware that we had succeeded that day in preventing the workers from going out into the street. However, there was no assurance that this would happen again the next day. We agreed with the workers that Warsaw made the decisions. This is why we approved of the election of a delegation to go to Warsaw. We believed that it was essential for representatives of the directorate, the Enterprise Council and the PZPR KZ to accompany the delegates.

The plants elected their delegates 23 and 24 June 1956. W-3 chose 5 delegates: there were 17 worker delegates, and 27 people in all. I was not a member of the delegation. Comrade Jan Majchrzycki, KZ first secretary, represented the PZPR KZ. The 27-member delegation set out for Warsaw after the KZ PZPR meeting at ZISPO, 25 June 1956. In Warsaw the delegation was

met at the railroad station by a representative of the Main Board of the Metal Workers' Trade Union. He took the delegates to the union headquarters, where a conference was held 26 June 1956 from about 10 to 12. The delegates agreed to approach the Ministry of the Machine Industry together with representatives of the union authorities for the purpose of presenting work force demands. Talks with the minister of the machine industry lasted from 13 hours to 19 hours. Thirteen delegates and representatives of the union authorities and the ministry spoke there.

The discussion resulted in the establishment of a procedure for implementing the most important work force demands. It was also agreed that the ZISPO delegation would be accompanied in its return to Poznan by a group of responsible representatives of the Ministry and the Main Board of the Metal Workers Trade Union to prepare a working, on-the-spot report of work force demands.

Wednesday 27 June 1956, the ZISPO delegation returned by night train to Poznan and went to the plants. On that day, at about 11 o'clock, I was called in to the PZPR Plant Committee. Several members of the KZ Executive Body were there, including first secretary comrade Jan Majchrzycki, chairman of the Enterprise Council comrade Kazimierz Kosmowski and others. We went together to the director general, comrade Trzcionka. There we met minister comrade Roman Fidelski, deputy minister Demidowski, the director of the Wage Department, the director of the Minister's Cabinet, and from the Main Board of the Union of Metal Workers, comrade Bien and the secretary of the union, comrade Czerwinski. Other ZISPO directors also arrived and we held a joint deliberation.

There were to be meetings of all work forces in all ZISPO divisions at 14 hours, in between the first and second shifts. Each of these meetings was to be run by one of the Warsaw people and one of the KZ Executive Body members assisted by the elected work force delegates who had been in Warsaw the previous day.

Just before 14 hours we split up to go to the particular factories. We had agreed to return to the director general's conference hall after the meetings to share opinions. Minister Roman Fidelski went to the most dangerous section in W-3. Comrade Czerwinski went to W-6. I went to W-8. I do not remember who from Warsaw went with me. At W-8, both the first secretary of the PZPR KF and the chairman of the Plant Council were away somewhere letting off steam. The meeting was really being run by W-8 director Antczak. The W-8 meeting presented no special problems.

We waited for a very long time for Minister Fidelski to return. In my opinion, of us all he sensed the danger of the situation most clearly.

After the conference I went home. I do not know whether there were any more deliberations that day or whether any decisions were made.

I was at ZISPO a few minutes past 6 o'clock 28 June 1956. Some of the W-3 workers had already crossed Dzierzynski Street to W-4. The workers were

assembling near the main gate. I realized that the workers were going out into the street. I did not even go to my work station at W-8 but directly to the PZPR KZ. There I met first secretary comrade Jan Majchrzycki and several members of the PZPR KZ Executive Body. I told them: "I am going out into the street with the workers. If I have a chance, I will call you. I will inform you what is going on in town and how I am."

I went out into the street. The workers had already gone. I caught up with them beyond Traugutt Street, somewhere near Pamiatkowa Street. I marched together with the striking workers.

Today, 25 years later it seems to me that there were forces that were anxious to see this kettle called ZISPO get so heated up that it would explode.

I am still struck by the fact that the Poznan events were not a sudden, explosive occurrence. They were organized. The tram drivers said that the trams would stop running at 10 o'clock. The accidents at the ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops] speak for themselves. Thus, not all of the plants went out on strike by force. I saw how taxicabs were stopped and how passengers were forced out of the cars. Who directed the worker masses to come out onto Stalin Square? For what purpose was this done? I saw how comrade Krasko tried to speak and they would not let them. I saw how comrade Franciszek Frackowiak, the city mayor, tried to address the crowd in the castle courtyard, and only a few people listened. Thus, the contention that political and administrative leaders holed themselves up is not entirely true.

Who reported the false information that the Cegielski delegation had been arrested and was being held on Mlynska Street, that the Security Administration [UB] was holding the delegation on Kochanowski Street, and other lies? Who were these people and why did they do this? These are all questions that have not yet been fully answered.

8536
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EXISTENCE OF A 'ROMANIAN FASCISM' DISPUTED

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 9 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Constantin Sorescu]

[Text] Following the two lampoons published by Radu Ioanid entitled "The General and the Particular in the Analysis of Fascism" (inVIATA STUDENTEASCA Nos 21 and 22, Wednesday 26 May and Wednesday 2 June 1982, respectively) I waited a week, two, three for the author to publish a third one in which he would retract several of his previous assertions or at least to "color" them. A wait in vain, for the erratum was not produced.

Because in the crooked equation with which Radu Ioanid wishes to show that no more or no less than a "Romanian fascism" existed in interwar Romania, writers (Octavian Goga), historians of culture and literature (P. P. Panaitescu) and philosophers (Constantin Noica) of the highest value were introduced, not only "professional" but also moral, the historian and literary critic, even when he appears before the readers as an analyst, has the moral duty to intervene in order to reestablish the truth. But let us see what Radu Ioanid wants.

He started out with what he should have finished with: the assertion that, yes, a Romanian fascism existed. This is a first problem of method!

However, let us pass over the methodological scruples and follow his demonstration. He rejects both explanations at the opposite poles which were given to the phenomenon of fascism in Romania (a reticent formula belonging to me!): It was not a "phenomenon of import" and neither what Dimitrov maintained: "the bold terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialistic elements of financial capital." If it is not one or the other, then what is the fascism of interwar Romania? Radu Ioanid wants to show what Z. Ornea also intended: that fascism in interwar Romania is original, that is, Romanian.

Meticulously and orderly, he fixes the two coordinates through an analysis of which one can reach the goal proposed: "We feel that there are two key points which, once they have been ignored or eluded, with certainty insure that a bad interpretation of fascism is obtained. One of the points refers to the study of the mass base and social componence of the fascist movement, while the other—to the place and role of the petit bourgeoisie in the rise of the fascist phenomenon, to the attitude and way that the petit bourgeoisie relates to fascism

throughout time." I was waiting for a demonstration which was just as ambitious as the point of departure. However, Radu Ioanid does not need arguments. To show that a "Romanian fascism" existed and that it had a "mass base" seems to him a trifle which he resolves with a single sentence! He opens the book entitled "The Economic and Political Life of Romania, 1933-1938" (Bucharest, 1978) by Emilia and Gavrila Sonea, to page 270, and he remembers that in December 1937, the "All for the Country" party obtained 478,378 votes, representing 15.5 percent of the votes, while the National Christian Party obtained 281,167 votes, representing 9.15 percent of the same total of votes. He records these figures (which, according to his figuring, make "nearly one-half million" but which actually are up to 750,000 votes!) and, without blinking an eye, he concludes: "One-fourth of the active electorate of Romania voted with fascism." Short and sweet! Without a sociological analysis of the statistics, without expressing any doubt, without other references, without arguments and even leaving the impression that the historians Emilia and Gavrila Sonea were of the same opinion. Radu Ioanid certainly is sure of himself!

Actually, one should not have to tire his eyes except for several dozen pages in this same book in order to become convinced of the contrariness of his conclusion. However, I, who read the book from one end to the other, have to repress the desire to express the conclusion I found at the end of the lesson in order to first summarize the solid analysis which the two historians make of the machination which guided the result of the selections named with diabolical ability. Therefore...

Therefore, about the elections mentioned, on one hand the historic parties were decided to diminish the reputation each enjoyed and to mutually hinder them from winning and, on the other hand, King Carol II wanted to do everything to compromise them, in the wish of establishing "a new political regime under the form of royal dictatorship" (op. cit., p 247). Guided by his court clique, he was trying to oppose the historic parties precisely with the fascist-type organizations, encouraging them and subsidize them. However, it was also the interest of Prime Minister Gh. Tatarascu to bring a false rise in vote in favor of the rightist organizations: "In order to increase his chances even more for keeping himself in power in continuation, the head of the government posed at the same time as a defender of King Carol II under pretext of not allowing himself to be uncovered before the agitations organized by the opposition. In this position, Gh. Tatarascu especially had in mind the Iron Guard, who could obtain the achievement of a joint front of all the right groupings, which would have led not only to endangering of the monarchy's prestige, already deteriorated, but, in particular, to counterbalancing the relationship of forces in disfavor of the National Liberal Party in the coming elections. In the case of such an evolution of the political situation, Gh. Tatarascu was willing to "sacrifice" himself if,of course, the sovereign would have requested this" (idem,,p 243). A "success" in quotes!) for the fascist organizations also would have been profitable for I. Maniu who, however, wanted to "utilize them in the interest of the circles they represented" (idem., p 260). Emilia and Gavrila Sonea for more credibility even quote from "the statement by I. Maniu following conclusion of the pact, in which he stated that through collaboration and giving political credit to the Iron Guard he sought two things which he achieved: "First," I. Maniu said, "to throw Mr Tatarascu into the elections and, second, to bring to the surface those forces which until

then were working underground, hidden, in the dark so we cannot know them" (idem., pp 261-262).

The main consequence of this policy was confusion among the electorate: "The credit given to the Iron Guard as well as the statements by the leader of the National Peasant Party, his refusal to collaborate with the democratic forces in depositing joint lists were acts to encourage the fascist forces, particularly the Iron Guard movement. At the same time, the pact concluded with the Iron Guard produced great disorientation among the masses and considerably hindered the delimiting of democratic forces from the fascist ones, giving credit to the idea adopted by a portion of the masses on the usefulness of cooperating with fascism against the national liberal government" (idem., p 262). Those who have the vaguest idea about the relationship between the leadership of the bourgeois parties and the mass of members understands that in December 1937 that portion of the electorate who gave its votes to the fascist organizations did so because they were requested to do so by the leaders of the National Peasant Party, actually not voting for "Everything for the Country" and the National Christian Party, but,rather , against the national liberal government. In no way does it result from the figures which Radu Ioanid reproduces without any aim that the fascist organizations had as many supporters as the number of votes they had succeeded in "obtaining."

The prompting of the National Peasant Party does not represent the only motivation for the success of the electoral masquarade in December 1937.Emilia and Gavrila Sonea stress the fact that the fascist organizations "used all possible methods in order to overturn the liberal government in the elections and to obtain power" (idem., p 257). The most inoffensive method was dem gogic propaganda: "The leadership of the Iron Guard movement, through demagogic statements, were attempting to put the halo of defenders of the offended and exploited nation on their heads, appealing to the outraged feelings of the masses" (ibidem). With a wealth of detail, Emilia and Gavrila Sonea also describe the "terrorist methods" (p 267 and following) which the Iron Guard used in the election campaign: the formation of "Iron Guard teams which would carry out hostile propaganda," sentencing of "politicians for their anti-Iron Guard atittude" "in secret ," "terrorist demonstrations and threats" of all kinds, "incidents" taking "the voting cards with force," declaring many locations as off limits, putting some residents on the election lists two times even deceased persons and so forth. In the end, they stress that "through the attempts made to fasify the result of the elections, the king intended to go beyond the electoral body, beyond the House and Senate in order to fulfill his political plans" (op. cit., p 269). Which would also happen.Emilia and Gavrila Sonea show that I. Maniu himself represented hthe entire machination which Carol II had put in order in order to facilitate the "victory" of the fascist organizations. The demonstration deserves to be reproduced: "In the speech which I. Maniu gave in Bucharest, he showed that the political situation created was due to the fact that a personel government was ruling in Romania. "For seven years," the leader of the National Peasant Party said, "we have been suffering from a hidden power, from a court clique whose visible and felt head is a woman: Mrs Lupescu." "Long live democracy, down with the dictatorship; down with Mrs Lupescu, long live national dignity" (idem., p 266). The information about the evil role which Elena Lupescu played in maneuvering the Iron Guard organizations even is in the chapter from which Radu Ioanid takesthe two figures: The parliamentary elections of December 1937--a decisive point in changing the orientation and general political life of Romania.

Going directly to the table, to the blind figure, the signer of the article "The General and the Particular in the Analysis of Fascism" eludes what is hidden there. The two historians, whom under compulsion he takes as partners in his thesis according to which fascism in Romania had a "mass base," maintain exactly the opposite: the fascism in interwar Romania did not have a mass nature for the elementary reason that the trick votes, the dead and the terrorized voters or those mislead for a day are not the same thing as fascists. Therefore, there is no question of there being a "Romanian fascism!"

But the ambitious Radu Ioanid wants to argue with what Z. Ornea did not succeed in doing: that "Romanian fascism" had "fascist doctrinarians such as A. C. Cuza, Octavian Goga, C. Z. Codreanu, Mihail Polihroniade, Traian Braileanu, Al. Cantacuzino, Nicolae Rosu, Vasile Marin and so forth" and "leaders, doctrinarians or Iron Guard journalists like C. Z. Codreanu, Ion Mota, Nae Ionescu, Traian Braileanu, P. P. Panaitescu, Constantin Noica, Dan Botta, Radu Gyr." Without any so forth in this last list! Passing through these two lists of names, the trained eye notes the bad faith and imposture. But the untrained eye, that of the ordinary reader of VIATA STUDENTEASCA, the student and high school student? Without any consideration, high-ranking personalities of Romanian culture, philosophy and literature are abusively regimented into an ideology which by far does not absorb the major significance of their cultural work. Can Octavian Goga be placed next to Zilinschi-Brauner? Undoubtedly, he was one of the leaders of the National Crhistian Party, a party of fascist tint , but can one say this to the readers, particular young ones, without stating that the fascism which he professed was a mistake and not a personality trait? Can the poet of Transylvania's suffering be called a "fascist doctrinarian" without at least reproducing a portion of the opinions of the era according to which anti-Semitism was a parody, "unserious" (according to the expression of Tudor Teodorescu-Braniste), unstructured? Without showing that both he as well as p. P. Panaitescu, Constantin Noica and Dan Botta were not terrorists, murderers and bullies? I add one more to all these perplexities: the "scholar" Radu Ioanid believes that by reading Constantin Noica one can reestablish the "particular" nature of "Romanian fascism"? If he wants to demonstrate this, he should appeal to the true leaders and doctrinarians of the fascist organizations in interwar Romania. Even he names Vasile Marin. He names him but he does not quote him. However I shall quote him: "La Garde de Fer est un organisation politique nationaliste, dont l'ideologie est inspiree par un fascisme adopte," Vasile Marin confessed to Charles Maurras in a letter (IDEEA ROMANEASCA II, No 5, 1937, pp 14-15). That same Iron Guard "founder" was the author of the brochure entitled "Creed of a Generation," in which he used Nietzsche to attack liberalism, Spengler to challenge European civilizationand culture and Hegel to storm against "the capricious creator" in history! In the foreword to the brochure, signed by Zilinschi-Brauner as well as in the commentary at its appearance, due to Ion Vasile (in the same issue of IDEEA ROMANEASCA), it is stated firmly that no fascist "doctrine" existed in Romania. The assertion was being made by the most authorized representatives of the fascist organizations and was even being made in the election year whose statistics Radu Ioanid branded as false.

So, if a "Romanian fascism" did not exist, why does Radu Ioanid want to show that it did exist? If the fascism in interwar Romania was not of a mass nature,

why does Radu Ioanid torture himself to scrape together a "mass base" later? If the leaders of the fascist organizations in the same interwar Romania maintain that they did not want and did not have their own "doctrine," why does Radu Ioanid want to form it in 1982? Questions and answers, history and method.

P. S. I cannot help but express two perplexities: "What are the historians really doing if we, who work with tools of aesthetics, have to combat such aberrations? 2) At the same time, what are the specialty magazines doing? We await their viewpoint.

8071
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DEFICIENCIES IN IDEOLOGICAL-EDUCATIONAL SPHERE CITED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10 20 May 82 pp 1-3

[Unsigned article: "A Revolutionary Spirit in All Ideological-Educational Activities"]

[Text] The 12th RCP Congress paid special attention to political-ideological activities and educational work in the light of the defining characteristics and social-economic tasks of the current stage of Romania's multilateral development.

The new historic type of social relations, founded on the public ownership of the means of production and the community of economic, political and cultural interests, the broad democratization of state and public affairs, the creation of numerous organs for direct participation in political affairs, the introduction of the principle of worker self-management and the affirmation of socialist ideology as the dominant ideology in society represent objective and subjective factors that are working in the creation of the people's new moral-political profile, requiring, at the same time, an intensification of political-educational activities and the raising of these activities to new qualitative levels.

Through the content of its ideas and through its giant capacity to influence the awareness of the masses, the party's ideology works as a powerful motive force in social progress and in the revolutionary education of the masses of workers. The programmatic documents and all the activities of the Romanian Communist Party show that man stands in the center of its policies, along with his aspirations for well-being and happiness. Carried out in a programmatic manner and directly guided and led by the party, ideological activities pursue the creation of the new man who has a high awareness, a man characterized by firmness and high political and professional competence.

Conducted under the leadership of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, the recent working session of the RCP Central Committee and the meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP CC of 15 May 1982 analyzed activities in industry and agriculture, establishing appropriate measures for the elimination of shortfalls and shortcomings in each area, for the ever more powerful expression of intensive factors in the development of material production and for the raising of our socialist economy to the level of great

possibilities that it has at its disposal. Raising the level of all of the political-ideological activities of the party organs and organizations, in close connection with production, is an imperative requirement for the purpose of achieving state plan tasks for this year and the entire five year plan under superior conditions of quality and efficiency.

The party is the force that unites the efforts of all the people for the purpose of achieving the economic-social development program, which elaborates, on the basis of generalizing social practices, the scientific concept regarding the progress of socialist society. It is, thus, the fundamental political-ideological factor of society, and in this capacity it develops the scientific materialist-dialectical and historical concept about the world and life on the basis of the newest advances of science, pursuing the continuing and multilateral progress of socialist society. The use of the superiority of socialism is closely connected to the party's activities and to the implementation of the laws of social-economic development under the conditions in our country, in the context of the phenomena and processes characteristic of the contemporary era.

Theoretical-ideological activity begins with the requirements for a critical, open analysis of our own social experience, as well as international experiences, in order to discriminantly incorporate the new values of economic, social, political and human development and the advances of science, and in order to eliminate old, retrograde elements, actively and militantly participating in the exchange of ideas in the contemporary world in the context of developing revolutionary theory and diversifying the paths of social progress. The analysis of the phenomena and changes in socialist Romanian society and in the contemporary world has permited an innovative, open approach to the theoretical and practical problems of social progress, as broadly reflected in the Party Program and in the works of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Major themes, such as the status of the social-economic development of the country during each stage, the dialectics of the general-particular relationship and the objective-subjective relationship in social affairs, the creation and the development of the technical-material base of the new order, the physionomy of the social and class structure of Romania, the broadening of socialist and workers democracy, the role of the nation in the current stage and the resolution of the nationality problem in Romania, the genesis and mechanism of contradictions in socialism, the dynamics and complexity of creating a progressive awareness, the economic-social processes specific to contemporary times and the requirements for applying certain new principles in the relations between communist and workers parties and between countries represent significant contributions in the theoretical generalization of social practices.

Under the aegis of the creative spirit in ideological-educational affairs, there has been an intensification of research work in the social sciences, party propaganda and in social educational activities in general.

Especially during the years that have passed since the Ninth RCP Congress, there has been an effervescence in theoretical thinking through the approach to and the further study of the problems of socialist construction and international

affairs. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, the party "decisively broke with the old, dogmatic and rigid concepts, taking a firm attitude against all those things that no longer correspond to the new economic-social conditions and promoting courageously those things that are new in all fields." This innovative spirit left its powerful impact upon political-ideological activities. And, although significant results have been obtained in the discussion, clarification and mastery of certain political and theoretical problems and in the process of socialist education, there still are shortcomings in the activities for the theoretical and ideological preparation of communists and the workers.

Having evaluated that ideological-educational activities have fallen behind the other achievements of socialist construction, the 12th Party Congress drew up clear guidelines and specific tasks regarding propaganda work, education, literary and artistic creative activities, and the press and radio-television for the purpose of contributing to improving the content and forms of socialist education for the masses, to affirming the ideas of scientific socialism and to better using their transformational forces.

From this point of view, there is special importance in the development of the people's revolutionary thinking as a living and daring thinking that is opposed to any type of isolation and intransigence towards retrograde ideologies, expressing the principles of scientific socialism as creatively applied to the specific conditions in Romania and the contemporary world. Activities in this field are powerfully stimulated by the fact that our party's ideas and theoretical concepts stem from a profound mastery of revolutionary dialectics, from the effort to decipher the objective requirements of social development and from a permanent receptiveness to new phenomena and problems. All this brings new responsibilities regarding theoretical creative activities and ideological activities that are called upon to examine head-on the problems of the current stage and to contribute to clarifying them and to raising the level of the political-ideological training of party members and the working masses.

Research in the social sciences and theoretical activities in general shows, unfortunately, a slowness, a certain timidness and, sometimes, a routine spirit in dealing with the problems facing our socialist society and that are on the "agenda" of the discussions specific to our era. For example, although there is much talk about the existence of contradictions in socialism and about the ways of overcoming them, there is still little attention given to concretely understanding them and their consequences on the level of the people's mentality and behavior and to eliminating negative phenomena in the activities of certain leadership organs and institutes and the awareness and activities of certain personnel and citizens. In order to be well understood, there has not been sufficient attention given to the theoretical and practical problems of the operation of the new economic-financial mechanism, worker self-management, economic self-administration and the carrying out of the new agricultural revolution. Problems of major importance, such as the style and methods of political leadership, the dialectics of developing our society in the future and the different aspects of Romania's experiences in socialist construction, are still not covered satisfactorily in political-ideological work.

In our party's view, ideological and political-educational activities involve a revolutionary theory of dialectical and historical materialism that is designed to help not only in understanding the world, but also in arming the entire party, its militants and all the members of the party with the knowledge necessary to carry out conscious actions for transforming society. Thus, there is the essential requirement for this activity to give greater attention to the real problems of the world and to create from the knowledge and mastery of the party's revolutionary concept an efficient means of continuing to raise the workers' level of thinking and acting, of developing their ability to understand the new and of militating in the revolutionary spirit for applying the new.

The ability of the party's policies and ideology to penetrate the masses depends upon the efforts of the party organs and organizations to improve the forms and means of political-educational work in accord with the requirements of life and in an indissoluable link with social-economic practice. In this sense, the essential criterion for the efficiency of education resides, in the final analysis, in the contribution towards the mobilization and unification of the efforts of all the people for the achievement of the Party Program, the economic-social development plan and each collective's tasks in the current five year plan.

As conrade Nicolae Ceausescu noted at the plenary session of the RCP Central Committee in March, the general development of the country demonstrates the influence that political-educational work exercises in our socialist society, while the existing shortcomings in many fields also show the serious shortfalls in ideological activities in general. Thus, in some party organizations there is still a poor concern for carrying political work in close connection with economic problems and an insufficient care for subordinating political-ideological education, person-to-person political work and written and oral propaganda to the achievement of plan tasks. There also still are tendencies towards formalism and superficiality and a lack of combativeness against violations in production, waste, negligence and indiscipline.

As was stressed at the recent working conference of the RCP Central Committee and the session of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, the social-economic objectives contained in the 1982 plan and for the entire five year plan also involve - in addition to material efforts - the need for them to be permanently sustained by all the party work and by political-educational activities. For that reason, mass political activities and propaganda are called upon to place greater stress upon the study and generalization of positive experiences and advanced initiatives and methods for the fulfillment of tasks to reduce production costs and the consumption of raw materials, energy and fuels under optimum conditions, for the continuing growth of labor productivity and for the improvement of product quality and the raising of their technical-economic performance levels.

By virtue of its revolutionary essence, socialist awareness is above all else a political awareness. The man of our society cannot but be a political man

and a social militant. In the current era, an era not only of certain social-economic and scientific changes, but also of certain political changes and certain broad ideological confrontations, man's thinking and awareness are markedly political.

Sometimes it is felt, erroneously, that the efficiency of propaganda can be measured by the number and frequency of actions that are taken. But, the ability of political work and propaganda to influence lies in its ability to unleash qualitative changes in the way people think and to bring about progressive opinions, convictions, attitudes and behaviors and the creation of a climate of principledness and social optimism.

The climate of affirming advanced ideas in each collective and the formation of a current of receptive, stimulating public opinion in relation to new solutions of high efficiency are expressed as one of the basic conditions for social creativity and is indissolubly linked to professional and political-ideological training and to the mastery of the dialectical materialist concept regarding the world and society.

In comparing the level of ideological affairs to the current requirements and to the growing tasks and responsibilities of the party organs and organizations, the need to give political-ideological work a pronounced combative nature is seen as a current demand.

As an expression of certain limits in development and of certain imperfections, contradictions and inherent immaturities at the level of certain branches or sub-branches of the economy and certain human groupings, there continues to be some negative manifestations in the manner of thinking and behavior in certain members of society - theft from public property, acts of hooliganism, tendencies towards illicit accumulation of wealth, a lack of concern in professional training, poor quality work and mystical-religious practices, including those under the "aegis" of certain illegal sects. Such manifestations require that political-educational activities meet the requirements of each collective and, in the final analysis, each individual so that, on the basis of political and moral truths, it can weaken and eliminate the erroneous convictions of certain citizens and help them to reconsider themselves and self-critically re-evaluate their retrograde, mystical and religious opinions, ideas and convictions.

Our party's and state's position regarding religion and cults is known, but the conditions created for them for a normal, natural activity cannot be confused with the "freedom" to set forth irrational concepts and practices and to cultivate certain anti-social attitudes. Actually, combating any type of retrograde tendencies and orientations and revealing their mystical basis, which in the end are anti-human - as proved by certain attempts to transform some cults into instruments for interfering in the internal affairs of different countries, represent a principled exigency for rationalist, humanist thinking. In our party's view, as comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stresses, "religion should not and cannot get involved in politics; any attempt to do this must be combated, since whether it wants to or not in this way it becomes an instrument in the hands of reactionary elements."

A special role in materialist-scientific education and in the formation of a materialist-dialectical, consistent-atheist philosophical concept is played by the social sciences, which are designed to contribute to the enrichment of the workers' knowledge not only with new explanations stemming from the investigation of social realities, but also, at the same time, offering conclusions and solutions for their practical activities.

Educational actions are even more valuable and efficient when they aim not only at combating certain poisonous phenomena, but also at preventing and eliminating them. In this regard, it is necessary for the party organizations, the Union of Communist Youth organizations and the ideological institutes to report negative phenomena, to include in their work precisely those persons who need help, guidance and correction in their behavior and, in a word, to not neglect the formation of a combative, mass opinion against negative deeds and manifestations.

An ever more important place in the creation of the new man and in raising the level of political-ideological training is held by science and culture. Arming young people and all workers with the new discoveries of science, which demonstrate the material nature of the world and the justness of dialectical materialism, represents a fundamental means for creating socialist awareness. This is, at the same time, an imperative requirement of the contemporary era.

Socialism assimilates at the highest level advanced humanist cultural and artistic values and scientific, rationalist and atheist values, enriching and elevating the spiritual life of the people of our society. The progress of culture and science and the people's mastery of their achievements lead to the enrichment of ideas of socialist awareness and constitute, at the same time, factors for raising the level of political-ideological training to a constantly higher point.

Under the conditions of socialism, culture, both in its relationship to creating new values and to the spread and assimilation of the values that are created, receives new dimensions, finding its principal reason for existing in the social humanist efficiency. In this regard, art and literature are called upon to be clearly structured around a unique nucleus - the new type of man - and to satisfy his specific requirements, requirements stemming from the practice of building the new social order. Socialist culture cannot fulfill its important civic and patriotic mission without permanently exercising its role as a modeller of awareness and without carrying out a sustained political education in the spirit of the high principles of socialist ideology and ethics.

From this point of view, literary-artistic creation, based upon a materialist-dialectical concept, must accurately reflect social-historical reality, actively contributing to the innovative, progessive transformation of society and man.

In revealing the significance of literary-artistic creation in social life, the party feels that, at the same time, increased attention must be given to stimulating and understanding scientific and technical creations and the workers' material creations, which have a decisive role in ensuring the forward movement of society. The "Song of Romania" Festival shows the broad creative scope of the popular masses and stimulates to the highest degree the participation of all those who work in material and spiritual creation. Conceived as a means of ideological-educational activities in all fields, this festival is designed to be an expression of a powerful affirmation of all the workers' will to create and to lift the country to new peaks of progress and civilization.

Placing man at its center and having as its goal the creation of the new man and his multilateral spiritual enrichment, the ideological activities and the political-educational work carried out by the party contribute to the progress and prosperity of the country and to the powerful affirmation of socialist humanism. "As we have better results in raising the ideological level of the communists and the party cadres and the political-educational level of the popular masses, so will there be an increase in the party's power and its leading role, so will there be a strengthening of the unity of all our people under the leadership of the party, and so will we be able to ensure the ever more decisive forward movement of our country," stresses comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

The leading role of the party and the growth of its role, including its ideological, political and educational roles, must be understood not at a general level, but at an actional, specific and efficient level, with this role finding its expression in the militant, combative spirit of each party organization and each communist under all circumstances. The party organizations, their members and the political leadership cadres are a powerful innovative force not only through their attributes and responsibilities in all the sectors of their activities, but also through their ability to resolve, convince, unify and mobilize the broadest and most diverse categories of workers in the practical fulfillment of the party's policies.

The increase in the requirements regarding activities for raising the political-ideological level of the masses is in close relation to the responsible, party spirit within which the party organizations, mass and public organizations and all cultural-educational institutes operate. Precisely for that reason, the party has established a group of measures for the purpose of increasing the responsibilities of all the educational authorities, including the unified management of all political-educational work carried out along party lines, as well as along the lines of the mass and public organizations, ideological institutes, research institutes in the field of social sciences, educational and cultural-educational institutes and means of mass information.

The indissoluble connection of theoretical-ideological activities to the requirements of life and the creative, innovative, militant spirit are

characteristics which the documents of the 12th Congress, the Party Program and the speeches of the secretary general doggedly give to political-educational work. Our socialist society has everything necessary to solve the most complex problems, and the passionate revolutionary spirit which the party cultivates, its indissoluble link with the people and theunshakable unity of the people around the party constitute the factors which guarantee the full committment for fulfilling the objectives established by the 12th Congress.

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NEW DEMANDS PLACED ON ATHEISTIC EDUCATION

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10 20 May 82 pp 16-19

[Article by Dr A. Cernea of Satu Mare, Ana Balasa of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, Dr Ion Batlan of IMF Bucharest and Dr Alexandru Suciu of Brasov: "Materialist-Scientific, Atheistic Education Faced With Certain Increased Requirements"]

[Text] Based upon a revolutionary, materialist-dialectical and historical concept and upon the new advances in knowledge, the political-educational activities carried out by our party are essentially directed towards science and towards arming the people with the most advanced moral and scientific concepts. Materialist-scientific and, stemming from this point, the creation of atheistic convictions in young people and all the workers, and the elimination of backwards mentalities and the state of mystical and obscurantist spiritual tendencies represent a priority task for socialist education. The articles that follow below call attention to certain conclusions resulting from field sociological research regarding atheistic education, and formulate some opinions for the continuing improvement of political-educational activities in this field.

Atheistic Education Between An Illuminist Mentality and Reality

Dr A. Cernea of Satu Mare

The concern for the discussion of the problem regarding overall socialist education activities and, within this framework, atheistic education is of the greatest importance and current relevancy, keeping in mind the dynamics of the social phenomena that are implicated and the increases in knowledge and experience resulting from the development and considerable updating of the framework of interpretation and from the innovative ideas and theses formulated and promoted by our party.

In the context of the series of articles recently published in this regard by ERA SOCIALISTA, we should note the significance of the analysis of the content of the ideas and programs of atheism.* Unfortunately, on this level

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*See: "The Materialist-Scientific Education of the Masses, A Major Dimension of Culture," No 16/1980; "The Place of Materialist-Scientific [continue on next page]

the idea was put forth that the structural change in social awareness and the decisive outlining and affirmation of atheist, unalienated awareness were influenced only by the mission of the educational factors, minimizing or ignoring the decisive formative role of the social system and the objective factors of our own socialist existence. Furthermore, the content and significance of atheism was "pushed" towards the ideas and knowledge in the natural sciences, especially physics, chemistry, biology and so forth - which is a good thing - but it lost sight of the original, Marxist understanding of social existence and the determining role of overal social praxis in the formation of people. The consistent failure to take into consideration the idea content and radically different finality conferred by Marxism to atheism has led to a stretching of the etymological meaning of atheism and, as a result, has reduced its implications to polemics with theist concepts and mysticism, which brings about an attenuation of the content and constructive, positive functions inherent in the revolutionary atheistic spirit.

Paralleling the repudiation of certain outdated, obsolete thesis and certain simplistic interpretations of materialist-dialectical and historical concepts, it is necessary, in my opinion, to reject certain formulas and cliches that have circulated and are still circulating in writings and in activities to popularize science. At the same time, it is necessary to eliminate the illuminist mentality that produces statistics regarding the number of actions, participants and so forth and that generates superficial optimism, the appreciation of religion in textbooks, in works involved in popularization or in speech as a simple form of social awareness or as an ideology torn away from the specific-historical context or from the other manifestations of the spiritual life of groups and individuals, its consideration as the most independent of the economic base and so forth. Corrections and nuances must be brought to all these elements of interpretation. Similarly, it is necessary to intensify concerns to satisfy certain collective and individual perennial needs which have received throughout the centuries a religious "modelling" and thus appear as something specifically religious.

Certainly, we are referring to the needs for solemnity, ceremonies and integration in micro-groups, to the festive celebration of certain moments in the people's lives, but also to deeper aspects that deal with social communication and certain physical characteristics or phenomena, such as, for example, the subject of death as well as other more delicate areas of our own human condition in general. Individually and all of them taken together, these aspects

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Education in the Socialist Culture," No 4/1981; "Permanence and Differenia-tion in the Process of Materialist-Scientific Education," No 18/1981; "Marxist Atheism and Socialist Awareness," No 21/1981; "The Requirements of an Atheistic Education Substantiated on An Understanding of Religious Phenomena," No 7/1982.

require a laborious effort to replace, take over and, especially, initiate and exercise the new social-cultural means and instruments that will satisfy the human needs specific to the new man.

Within this framework, we can note the need to eliminate certain "imprints" left behind by religious spirit and doctrine upon the secular systems of thinking. Among these, alienating consequences are presented by teleologism, ethicism, utopianism, sacralizing tendencies and so forth.

There is special importance in the corrent understanding and judicious use of the specific mechanism of mastering the revolutionary, atheistic concepts. If at the macrosocial level the noted spiritual restructuring takes place gradually within the framework of an historical process, at the individual level we are talking about a sufficiently exact option localized in time, which involves anxieties and sometimes dramatic deliberations which, once they are produced, are difficult to modify. It is without a doubt that the analysis and evaluation of the content and consequences of this situation deserves full attention since there is broad significance in the idea for the need of a better understanding and using of these periods of life, especially in activities with children, with adolescents, working in a differentiated manner with those who were subjected to religious influences, as well as those who were not the object of a mystical education.

The atheistic spiritual profile and the particularities and difficulties in its configuration and unified make-up represent a subject that requires new research, going beyond the level of a simplistic approach and the clear tone in some popularizing works. First of all, the atheistic spirit in fact involves a new spiritual matrix that is structurally different from the mystical-magical, religious matrix. The basic problem of the coherence and strength of the atheistic spirit calls for the building of a totally desacralized and unalienated awareness. The central feature that we can note is the crystalization of a different type of exigency for atheism regarding the quality of social and interhuman relations.

It is clear that the materialistic-dialectical and historical spirituality imposes its superiority of content and message with regards to any of the religious or fideist efforts. At the same time, the fact is well-known and broadly recognized that the limitation and elimination of the role of religious concepts can be nothing but a positive effort, a spiritual and moral restructuring, an effective mastery and generalization of the new concepts about the world and life. Some detractors of Marxism claim that dialectical and historical materialism has the nature and mission of a new religion. But, the dialectical-materialist concept is not a myth, nor a speculative construction, nor a manipulated ideology or a simple political program of a government. On the contrary, it is the most advanced theoretical-cognitive ensemble in our era, one which responds to the commandments of history and modern and contemporary social experience and knowledge and which directs the actions of the broad masses for the building of a new civilization and for the inauguration and affirmation of history itself.

Specific Sociological Research and the Efficiency of Education

Ana Balasa of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy

In recent years, the atheistic education of the workers has been required as an important subject for the theoretical reflection and practical action in the development of the socialist awareness of the masses and in the creation of the human personality. The special complexity of the problem has been shown and some unilateral approaches in practical activities were criticized. It was shown, for example, that there had been an exaggeration of the role of scientific education in the formation of an atheistic concept, rightly arguing that the renunciation of religion is not always a consequence stemming directly from scientific culture and general instruction. There has been stress upon the need for philosophical education and the fact has been stressed that the moral problems of man have been neglected. Similarly, it seems that both in theoretical efforts and in educational actions there has been an attempt to move the stress from the effort to "recover" those who are under the influence of the mystical-religious concepts to those activities for the social prevention of the appearance of these concepts. In the activities to create atheistic convictions, there has been less stress, in my opinion, on the role of the specific social environment in which the people live and of the improvements to the economic and social-political relations and the firm placement, as is mentioned in the Report to the 12th RCP Congress, "of all social affairs on the principles of socialist ethics and equity for the development of new human relations of respect, esteem and assistance between people, relations characteristic of socialist and communist society."

Simiarly, we believe, in agreement with the opinions expressed in the article in ERA SOCIALISTA No 7/1982, that "requirements of an atheistic education must be based upon the understanding of religious phenomena," where a valuable contribution can be made by field sociological research. The sociological investigations carried out by the sociology department at the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy and other educational and research institutes show, for example, the existence not only of gnoseological and psychological factors that facilitate the persistence of religion, but also of certain social factors (dysfunctionalities, errors, abuses, inequalities and so forth). In the process of creating and developing socialist society, all the circumstances favorable to the maintenance of religion were not automatically overcome and, for social research, this remains a still unresolved task in establishing the types of social situations that lead to maintaing religion among the different categories in the population.

The elaboration of strategies for atheistic education, as well as the evaluation of these activities, must also keep in mind, we believe, the cultural context in which the human subjects are placed. It has been found, for example, that within a relatively enclosed geographic and sociocultural space, where secular traditions and customs have been preserved, religious beliefs have also been preserved. In the rural environment, religious awareness and behaviors

are more frequently encountered than in the urban environment, and they are integrated into the traditional forms of the popular culture and, for that reason, are more difficult to dislocate. The village is still subjected to certain customs that have been instituted in true unwritten, but accepted norms. "It is not possible for us not to have a baptism," a non-religious woman from a village in Hateg tells us, "because we cannot be different from the rest." Despite this, in the rural environment in the system of social controls the role of the religious institution and cult members is a secondary one (even less for the neo-Protestant cults). The religious institution no longer represents, even in the village, a reference parameter except for a reduced number of behaviors, usually within the sphere of family life.

The demographic and socioprofessional characteristics of the population group that was investigated and associated with the presence or absence of religion show certain aspects that are much more important than a simple classification. The variation of religious interest as a function of sex is shown in a number of research efforts. A greater degree of religiousity among women (a valid relationship especially within the framework of the traditional cults) does not mean a certain "predisposition," but is especially explainable by virtue of the social status of women, many times still inferior (in degree of a lower level of training, professions inferior to those of men, lower levels of social activism), to which can be added the fact that in the case of women, at least in the rural environment, deviation from the generally accepted norms is more promptly punished. Agricultural workers, housewives and retired persons are categories much more predisposed towards religion. For older persons, religious behaviors show up that signify a stronger adhesion: participation in services, confessions, communion and so forth. We believe that this type of information can be indicators that should be taken into account in elaborating the methodology of atheistic education.

Sociological investigations can supply especially useful information regarding the motivation for religion. Certainly, the maintenance of religion by certain groups in the population is determined, usually, by a complex group of causes. In given social media and in given social situations, one can, however, identify a cause or a principal motivation. Our attention was caught in Hunedoara, Bacau and Suceava counties, especially in rural environments, by the commission of certain cult acts (participation in services, conforming to prescriptions and prohibitions caused by religious celebrations) by non-believers who invoked extra-religious reasons: respect for tradition, the influence of parents and friends, the belief that "there is nothing wrong in this" and so forth. Beyond the inconsistency of these behaviors, the fact also demonstrates a desacralization of certain aspects of the cult. The religious meaning transmitted by the cult members is not received, and the group "does not respond" to the religious message that is received. It is found, however, that in the case of the believers the authentically religious motivations are gradually disappearing. Tradition, the need to communicate and for social contacts, the need to go beyond certain difficulties in one's personal life and the

need for a moral life are the reasons most frequently invoked. All the cults suggest the equivalency between being moral and being religious, transforming morals into a basis for gatherings of believers. In the neo-Protestant Baptist cult in a rural locality in Hunedoara County, we found a relatively large percentage (more than one-third) of religious moral sermons. The themes follow the moral ideals. attitudes toward work, toward neighbors and toward the family and society. It is claimed and repeated that only the believer can have a high moral awareness. Anti-social deeds are selected from comments in the press and they stress ideas that the believers have moral superiority over other people. Similarly, in "song" and prayer books a significant amount is dedicated to moral subjects.

Field sociological research permits showing certain significant relationships between atheist or religious concepts, on one hand, and certain non-religious social attitudes and behaviors on the other hand. The development of the collective spirit and the rejection of individualist, non-committal attitudes are associated to a greater degree with non-religious persons than religious persons, despite the fact that the Christian religious ethic does not reject these values. Subjects that belonged to sects, for example, limit collectivism strictly to the religious group and in proselytizing actions, while in work groups or in their communities the usually cultivate social isolation and self-imposed ostracism.

The results of sociological research show, in the configuration of the systems of values of non-religious persons, the tendency to place certain values on a higher plane, values that represent in a concentrated form the virtues of socialism itself. Public activism, participation in economic, social and political decisions, exercise of democratic rights and freedoms and, in general, involvement in social-political affairs are achieved at a much higher level within the framework of the non-religious population.

The individual's participation is social and political affairs represents, in the final analysis, his degree of integration in society, upon which depends both his actional efficiency and the realization of his own personality. For that reason, it is necessary to carry out a permanent, intense, consistent and patient activity to root out from the awareness of the people the remains of the past and backwards concepts, mentalities, customs and traditions, and to cultivate a new attitude towards work, life and society.

Science, Atheism and Humanism

Dr Ion Batlan of IMF Bucharest

In the broad process of the materialist-scientific education of the masses, science has occupied and is occupying a priority place. By fulfilling cognitive functions through excellence, science represents a systematized grouping and a totality of knowledge crystalized in principles, laws and theories, with whose help this knowledge is presented and reconstructed in the most adequate way possible on a thinking level in an abstract and logical form. Among all the forms of knowledge, science offers the highest degree of objectivity in

the knowledge about man, society and nature. It is one of the "most powerful" factors, as J. Bernal notes, in the formation of the concepts about the world and the convictions and attitudes about the universe, and it gives power to man, increasing the degree of freedom for man. The growth of the role of science and the percentage of its value in the formation and development of social awareness is an expression of the spirit of contemporary civilization and especially socialist civilization.

In the context of the current requirements of education, the principal indicators of the efficiency of activities to spread scientific knowledge are the current relevancy and audience of these activities. Making sure these are objective requires a thorough mastery of the information, the ability to argue and persuade, the avoiding of any vulgarization or insipid scientific popularization and the elimination of outdated information and knowledge that no longer stirs the interest even among the environments previously considered below the cultural level.

This exigency requires the renunciation of the opinion according to which only the scientific disciplines, through themselves, unconditionally determine atheistic convictions. Many of the cultural institutions, even in the large cities, still justify their atheistic educational activities solely through actions to spread scientific knowledge. Certainly, by increasing its truth content, scientific arguments have priority in the broad educational process, but this is not sufficient. In order to satisfy the logical requirement to simultaneously be necessary and sufficient, scientific discourse must taken to its atheistic consequences. It must not be left merely to the objectivist presentation of the newest data offered by the respective science, but rather to interpret this data from the perspective of the statute of man's existence and to attempt to respond to the serious, but constantly present questions in this data regarding his place and role in this world and the meaning of his life. In other words, scientific discourse must double as competent philosophical discourse. Even if we were to report only on the problem of the truth, this cannot be reduced to the value of the truth of knowledge, as science does, but it must include the problem of the nature of truth, its characteristics, the criteria for verification and so forth, which are basic problems in philosophy.

Therefore, on a practical level it is necessary to review that which is called "the ideological content" of scientific speeches and symposia and high school lessons or university lectures, especially in those scientific disciplines which still make concessions to objectivism.

The contemporary philosophy of religion, and in some cases non-Marxist philosophy (Ricoeur is an example), attempts to drill into the depths of the cultural sources of certain religious representations, even if inconsistent solutions are sometimes proposed. If we add to this the attempts of certain religions to modernize, to integrate into their system of ideas new data from science and to get involved in moral or political problems, causing disorder and confusion among the ranks of certain people, then we must understand the need for the educational process to be conceived as an integrating system

within whose structure there will also enter scientific elements from the history of world culture, the history of religions and ethics or esthetics, as well as the knowledge of the causes and characteristics of the contemporary religious phenomenon.

Thus conceived, the educational effort can have the planned efficiency, and can lead to secular, non-religious convictions by combining the scientific effort with other components in the culture.

From such a view it appears necessary, in my opinion, to also reconsider the means of conceiving atheism. The concept does not have to be reduced to its etymological meaning and atheistic education understood merely as a rational effort for demonstrating the non-existence of God. If we were to conceive of it only in this way, then we must consider as justified some of the ironies of the spiritualist thinkers who, seeing atheism merely as a negative concept, state that some of the people of our time can suddenly renounce such demonstrations without affecting them at all.

Atheism, as a theory that is asserted in the materialist-dialectical and historical concept about the world and life, must be conceived as an authentic humanism, and not just on a theoretical plane, but especially in its practical dimensions. As an expression of authentic humanism, atheism cannot be proved except by humanist attitudes on the practical plane and in interhuman relations. Increased attention and respect for all the people's problems, the creation of a climate of friendship and human solidarity in the work collectives and the proliferation of the true positive human model having a penetrating influence upon the members of the collective are established as premises for education in the humanist, atheist spirit. The consequence of the human model and its specific manifestations in the overall educational process are enormous since, as one thinker said, we will never be able to teach people only what we know or only what we want, but we will always be able to teach them by what we are and what we do.

If it were up to us to create a model human as required by the exigencies of our Party Program and the Code of the Norms and Principles of Socialist Ethics and Equity, we would create him not by calling upon the legendary figures of the Prometeus type, for example, as some would do who write on this subject, but as a synthesis integrating what mankind has given and is giving that is good on the plane of reality, and through concrete human models capable of existing and powerfully influencing under the conditions of the new socialist social relations that are favorable to affirming a multilaterally developed personality.

First of all, the current requirements of education call for a review of the statute of the educators along the lines of greater competency and a high responsibility, as well as an irreproachable moral-civic attitude.

Secular Aspects in Folklore Traditions

Dr Alexandru Suciu of Brasov

The activities slated for materialist education are efficient only when they succeed in contributing to the creation of certain firm philosophical and scientific convictions and certain advanced attitudes and behaviors in all the workers, and in bringing about radical transformations in the manner of thinking and acting of all the members of society, in general, and those with mystical-religious mentalities and customs in particular.

The directions in which the secular and atheistic educators must exercise their influences are determined by the principal levels at which religion is manifested. Our research into the status of religion and atheism in Brasov Municipality led us to the finding the following three levels of the status of religion: the ideological level, which includes ideas, concepts and representations about the relations of the believer with the supernatural; the psychological level, which refers to morale and feelings expressed in affections, attitudes, religious beliefs and so forth; and the behavorial level, as expressed through actions, rituals and mystical-religious ceremonies.

These levels of structuring of the status of religion show that materialist-scientific education does not lie solely in making known the phenomena of nature and the causes that generate them, and not merely in transmiting scientific information.

Conceiving materialist-scientific educational activities merely through the theoretical level without taking into account the affective states and the practical behavior of people means dealing with this process in a unilateral manner, losing sight precisely of those components with deep roots in the people's awareness and lives. In referring to the complexities of the people's real, practical lives in relation to the theoretical facet, Petru Panzaru noted: "What impresses most people the most are: birth, love, and death, but birth, love and death not in general and of anyone, but of those who have entered the subtle and deep network of interpersonal relations, first of all of relatives, friendship, camaraderie and mankind."**

The fact that sometimes educational authorities are not closely concerned for the psychological and behavioral facet of religion has negative implications upon the political-educational work for creating and developing the new man. This is so, as our research has also shown, since the religious institutes and the cult members place stress precisely on the affective facet of the human personality, especially within the framework of religious ceremonies, transforming them into powerful means for the religious training of individuals and social groups.

** Petru Panzaru, "The Human Condition From the Point of View of Daily Life," Albatros Publishing House, 1981, p 58.

Furthermore, specialized studies show that the main reason for religion is tradition. Let us merely refer to a more recent research project, and we will mention the conclusion that Petre Datculescu reaches after certain sociological and psychological investigations conducted over a number of years among the ranks of young people. He writes: "Manifestations of religion that are the most important ones among the ranks of young people embrace two distinct forms: intense religiousity of the type of a sect member and the tendencies towards religion and diffused mysticism as expressed, among other ways, by frequenting church ceremonies as an expression of a concession to the tradition of symbolic religious exacerbation of the significance of certain events in the life of the individual and the human microcollective."***

These studies into the causes and motivations of religion reveal the fact that religious institutions and cults have always sought and are now seeking to change the secular significance of the most important events in the life of man, giving them a mystical-religious color.

The building of the new social order in our country and the creation of a modern and dynamic economy have also brought about a certain social mobility and a movement of the rural population into the urban environment. Significant groups of populations from rural areas have moved into the sphere of industrial jobs and services in the urban environment. Such a transfer of labor forces from the village to the city most of the time was not a transfer of traditions and folklore customs. Among the spiritual values of our people that have been created over its history, we could note the customs and traditions of a secular nature referring to the marriage ceremony, which, by virtue of its pomp, solemnity and importance, is most shining, happiest, enjoyable and memorable event in the people's life.

In its capacity as a ceremony, the wedding is the collective manifestation through with the act of marriage is achieved in public life, bringing together the most diverse folklore categories. Throughout the entire wedding, there is a harmonious blending of contrasting elements: comic and tragic, sublime and monumental. The sublime and the monumental are expressed by the dressing of the bride and the sewing of the flag, the tragic is especially expressed by the accepting of forgiveness and the song of the bride, and the wedding speeches, the playing of the chickens and the shouts are filled with humor.

Although the elements and moments of the wedding are different in importance, in scope and in the means of achieving them from one region to another, there nonetheless exist certain common or close aspects which led us to the finding that the folklore and customs in the wedding ceremony in our country contain a vast and rich treasure having an educational content available for all those who are interested in preparing and organizing certain secular presentations

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*** Petre Datculescu, "The Materialist-Scientific Education of Young People," Politica Publishing House, 1980, p 175.

with profound ethical values. For that reason, we feel that in the complex and long-term efforts to create the new man that has a materialist-dialectical concept about the world and a broad scientific and cultural horizon, we must make a rigorous distinction between folklore traditions and secular customs, on one hand, and traditions, customs and practices on a religious nature on the other hand. In this regard, it is necessary to combat the concessive and indifferent attitude towards the perpetuation (openly or disguised) of certain religious traditions, customs and practices by virtue of their identification with history and folklore traditions. At the same time, it is necessary to give increased attention to using the rich folklore customs and traditions referring to the important moments in the people's lives.

This means, in my opinion, that along with combating certain religious customs and practices, we must find some forms and means through which these folklore manifestations and secular customs can be used in authentic cultural-artistic spectacols so as to satisfy the need for ceremonies, a need transmitted through certain old and valuable traditions.

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LACK OF HARMONY BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE IN JOB TRAINING

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10 20 May 82 pp 43-44

[Article by Dr Ion Dragan of Timisoara: "Disharmony Between Theory and Practice in School and Professional Directions"]

[Text] In the field of scholastic and professional directions, in recent years numerous works have been published in Romania. I have in mind the more than 25 professional monographs, as well as other studies, many of which were produced on the basis of concrete research, not to mention the articles that have appeared in different reviews, the symposia, meetings, reporting sessions and conferences organized on such problems.

Unfortunately, however, the achievements in the sphere of pedagogical practices and social practices regarding scholastic and professional directions are not up to these premises and are not theoretically substantiated. If we were to illustrate this statement with significant data, we would have to mention the number of failures each year in the admissions exams in the second stage in high school and in the departments or the places that go unfilled at certain types of high schools and departments (sections), which are filled through examinations that are repeated in the fall.

On the other hand, but in the same regard, there is significance in the shortage of manpower in some sectors of the economy (construction, agriculture, mining and so forth). If the scholastic and professional training directions would be carried out "according to the book," such unnatural phenomena would not have appeared.

What are some of the causes that have generated such a state of affairs that has produced many headaches and shortcomings?

In the natural order of things, I feel that a primary cause lies in the poor training of the authorities that carry out the scholastic and professional training directions, and first of all of the faculty cadres. Paradoxically, although there is a rich literature in this field, it is viewed by the faculty as a useless luxury. And, this is because they do not have a systematic and thorough training, right from the time of their university studies, in the field of scholastic and professional training directions. This training was then acquired through offices, laboratories and specialists, through the

educational process, through children's and youth organizations or through the process when the person was finally removed from his job. Such a labile statute cannot but have the consequences which are seen today.

One great shortcoming that causes harm to scholastic and professional training is the delays in the appearance, usually, of the brochures regarding the high school network and the training plans of the institutes of higher education. What training directions can be prepared by those involved (guidance counselors, parents and so forth) when they do not find out until April, May or sometimes even June which schools (high schools) and departments (sections) will be open in the coming school year? In such a situation, we can no longer talk about scholastic and professional training directions, with the school inspectorates being transformed, in an ad hoc manner, in June into dispatcher offices that assign without any criteria those students who are left without place to go in those schools that are filled up and send them to schools that are not filled up. And, thus - "Whether you want or you do not want, drink, Grigore, you are blessed," - the student arrives at a high school that neither he nor his parents wanted, that was not recommended to him by his counselor and for which he has neither an inclination nor the necessary aptitude. And, the number of such students is not at all insignificant. With such a "training direction," is it a surprise that many students "reconsider" either during the training or after its completion and take other "professional routes" than the ones for which they had been trained?

Similarly, the family creates great difficultires for the scholastic and professional training directions. In general, by not having an appropriate training in this field and being burdened by an acute and damaging subjectivism, parents, instead of supporting and helping the school (and the guidance counselors) in the orientation and guidance of the students, more often create stumbling blocks. The child's aptitudes and inclinations or the requirements of social life do not usually enter into the strategy worked out by the parents. Due to their authority, they thwart the professional orientation and guidance work that is carried out sometimes by the school according very realistic and scientific criteria.

I cannot conclude the list of difficulties that are created in this field to which I have referred without mentioning the enterprises that are supporting schools. In this regard, it seems significant to me to look at the discussion that I had with the director of a building skills high school after I informed him that in a questionnaire regarding scholastic and professional training directions that was circulated in his school over 40 percent of the students preferred professions other than that of a builder, with some of these professions not having the slightest connection with what was being taught in school (bartender, waiter, hairdresser, lawyer, professor of physical education). At this, the director answered "clearly:" "I am not at all surprised by such preferences since the enterprise that supports the school and which also provides material aid officially notified us that it cannot employ any graduates." A similar case was described to me by the director of an agro-industrial high

school, who also added: "Even when the specialized enterprises (the state agricultural enterprises or the agricultural production cooperatives) employ our graduates, they offer them positions for which it was not necessary to take the courses of a specialized high school."

Moving the practice of scholastic and professional training direction out of this impasse is possible and necessary. To this end, I want to point out several of the solutions that could bring about the necessary improvements. Logically and naturally it is necessary to eliminate the difficulties and shortcomings noted above. Thus, in order to have the proper training for the faculty members in this field, I feel that it is necessary to introduce a course in training planning for the teaching faculties. The laboratories and offices that are in universities could complete this course in seminars and practical sessions. The Ministry of Education and Training could similarly publish certain programs, methods and guides for scholastic and professional training directions for faculty members who carry out this activity (and for other persons). The work plan for obtaining grade I could be improved by having subjects on scholastic and professional training directions.

At the level of the school inspectorates, this problem should be given a priority place, systematically organizing conferences, symposia, scientific sessions and exchanges of experiences. In the schools, there should be an abandonment of the episodic and sporadic "attacking" of the problem regarding scholastic and professional directions (usually occurring in May and June) and a move to its inclusion in the system of instructional-educational work at all levels and in all classes (with the accent imposed by the stage or class in which it is carried out). The press, radio and television could create spots and systematic and permanent broadcasts that are dedicated to the orientation and guidance of school-age young people, with a precise audience - for parents, professors, students and children's and youth organizations.

Carried out in this manner, along a broad front and systematically conceived, actions for scholastic and professional training directions could become what is expected of it: one of the basic factors of rationalizing social affairs in our country and the principal means of social integration of the schools.

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27 August 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2049

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27 August 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2049

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OPERATING PROCEDURE FOR JOINT WORK OF CHAMBERS OF ASSEMBLY OF SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 22, 23 Apr 82 pp 653-671

[Operating procedure adopted by the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade on 12 April 1982 and signed by Dragoslav Markovic, president of the SFRY Assembly; Zoran Polic, president of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces; and Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen, president of the Federal Chamber]

[Text] On the basis of Article 288, Subparagraph 7, of the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the SFRY Assembly, in a session of the Federal Chamber on 1 April 1982 and in a session of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces on 12 April 1982, has adopted the following

OPERATING PROCEDURE
for Joint Work of the Chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

I. Introductory Provisions

Article 1

This operating procedure regulates the following:

i. the work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly on matters on which they decide equally;

ii. work in a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly;

iii. exercise of the rights and discharge of the duties of the president and vice president of the SFRY Assembly;

iv. establishment, sphere of activity and procedure of the joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly;

v. conduct of relations between the SFRY Assembly and the SFRY State Presidency related to the joint work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly;

vi. conduct of specific debate in the SFRY Assembly on a report of the Federal Executive Council;

vii. conduct of relations between the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia and the organs of other sociopolitical organizations at the federal level related to the joint work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly;

viii. conduct of collaboration of the SFRY Assembly with the representative bodies of other states and participation of its representatives in the work of various international organizations and missions.

Article 2

The SFRY Assembly shall be in permanent session.

The summer recess of the SFRY Assembly shall last each year from 20 July to 5 September.

The president of the SFRY Assembly may convene a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly even during the summer recess, and the president of a joint working body of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly may convene a session of that working body, if particular needs so demand.

Article 3

The SFRY Assembly, in conformity with the SFRY Constitution, shall be represented by the president of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 4

The SFRY Assembly shall have its own seal.

The seal of the SFRY Assembly shall contain the official seal of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, about which the words "Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" shall be inscribed in all the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia.

II. Work of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly on Matters on Which They Decide Equally

A. Matters on Which the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly Shall Decide Equally

Article 5

The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, in conformity with the SFRY Constitution, shall on an equal footing:

1) elect and dismiss the president and vice president or vice presidents of the SFRY Assembly;

2) elect and dismiss the chairman and members of the Federal Executive Council; appoint and dismiss federal secretaries and other officials and members of collegial bodies in federal agencies as designated by the SFRY Constitution and federal law;

3) elect and dismiss the chief justice and associate justices of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia and the Federal Court; appoint and dismiss the federal public defender of self-management law; appoint and dismiss the federal public prosecutor;

4) elect and dismiss members of the Council of the Federation;

5) ratify international treaties requiring adoption of new republic and provincial laws or amendment of such laws already in effect;

6) enact decisions extending the term of office of delegates in the SFRY Assembly;

7) adopt operating procedure on the joint work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, concerning their joint working bodies and the decision on the organization and work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly.

B. Procedure for Election or Appointment and Dismissal of Federal Officials

1. Election of the President and Vice President of the SFRY Assembly and the Chairmen and Members of Joint Working Bodies of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly

a) Election of the President and Vice President of the SFRY Assembly

Article 6

The Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall nominate a candidate for president of the SFRY Assembly.

A nomination may also be made by any delegate in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly and by any delegate or any delegation in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly. The nomination of the delegate or delegation shall be submitted to the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments for its opinion. The commission is required to furnish its opinion no later than 24 hours before the sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly in which the president of the SFRY Assembly is to be elected. The presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall deliver nominations submitted along with the opinion of the commission to the delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The nominations shall be submitted in writing and must be accompanied by supporting argument.

The nomination must be delivered to delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly before commencement of the sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly in which the president of the SFRY Assembly is to be elected.

The reporter of the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments or other authorized proponent shall have the right to present the case for the nomination in the session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 7

As a rule the election of the president of the SFRY Assembly shall be by open ballot.

Voting shall be by secret ballot if the chamber so decides in advance on the motion of an individual delegate in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly or individual delegate or individual delegation in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 8

If the voting for election of the president of the SFRY Assembly is by secret ballot, the vote shall be taken on paper ballots.

The names of all the nominees must be printed on every ballot, and that in the order in which the nominations were submitted to the president of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly. The nominees are to be numbered in order and the number placed in front of the candidate's name.

All the ballots shall be of the same size, shape and color. The seal of the SFRY Assembly shall be impressed on every ballot.

Article 9

The conduct of the election of the president of the SFRY Assembly shall be directed by the president of the respective chamber of the SFRY Assembly, who shall be aided in his work by delegates elected in a session of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly and by the secretary of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 10

Every delegate shall obtain a ballot.

When he has ascertained that every delegate has received a ballot, the president of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall present an explanation of the voting procedure and shall state the time allowed for filling out the ballot.

The delegate shall vote by circling the number in front of the candidate's name.

Upon expiration of the time allowed for filling out the ballots the president of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall call upon the delegates to turn in the ballots.

Every delegate shall personally deposit the folded ballot in one of the ballot boxes set up, whose number shall be specified by the president of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

One of the delegates elected to aid the president of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly in conduct of the election shall be present at each ballot box.

Article 11

When all the delegates present have voted and the president of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly announces that the voting has been completed, the results of the vote shall be ascertained.

The result of the voting shall be ascertained on the basis of the ballots cast.

The president of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall announce the results of the vote and shall report the total number of delegates voting and how many of them voted for each of the candidates nominated.

Article 12

To be elected president of the SFRY Assembly the candidate must obtain a majority of the votes in a session of each of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly attended by a majority of the delegates.

If the proposed candidate does not receive the necessary majority in one of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the authorized nominating body shall submit a new nomination.

Article 13

The vice president of the SFRY Assembly shall be elected after election of the president of the SFRY Assembly.

The submittal of nominations for election and the election of the vice president of the SFRY Assembly shall be conducted according to the provisions of this operating procedure concerning submittal of nominations for election and concerning election of the president of the SFRY Assembly.

b) Election of the Chairmen and Members of Joint Working Bodies of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly

Article 14

In the first sessions of the respective chambers of the SFRY Assembly, following verification of the election of the delegates in the chambers, the oldest delegate in the chamber, who shall chair the meeting, shall submit nominations for election of the chairman and members of the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments.

Article 15

Nominations for election of members of a joint working body of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall be submitted to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly by the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments.

The Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a nomination for election of the chairman of a joint working body of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly from among the delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 16

The Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments is required to submit to each of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, no later than 24 hours before commencement of the sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly in which the chairman and members of a joint working body of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly is to be elected, nominations for chairman and for members of the joint working body of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly from among the delegates.

When this operating procedure provides that the membership of a joint working body of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall also include scientists and scholars, specialists and public figures, nominations for members of that working body shall contain, aside from nominations for members from among the delegates in the chamber of the SFRY Assembly, also nominations for members from among scholars and scientists, specialists and public figures.

Nominations for the chairmanship or for all or individual members of a joint working body of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall be submitted in writing.

Article 17

The provisions of this operating procedure concerning election of the president of the SFRY Assembly shall be appropriately applied to election of the chairmen and members of joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 18

When this operating procedure provides that the membership of a joint working body of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall also include representatives of particular sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managed organizations and communities at the federal level, the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall inform the chambers of the SFRY Assembly concerning the representatives of those organizations and communities which have been delegated to membership in the joint working body of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

2. Election of the Chairman and Members of the Federal Executive Council

Article 19

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall elect the chairman of the Federal Executive Council on the basis of a nomination submitted by the SFRY State Presidency.

The nomination of a candidate for the chairmanship of the Federal Executive Council shall be submitted in writing and must be supported by argument and delivered to the delegates before commencement of the sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly in which the chairman of the Federal Executive Council is to be elected.

A representative of the SFRY State Presidency may also present the case for the nomination submitted by the SFRY State Presidency in a session of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 20

As a rule voting for election of the chairman of the Federal Executive Council shall be by open ballot. Voting for election of the chairman of the Federal Executive Council shall be by secret ballot if the chamber of the SFRY Assembly so decides in advance on the motion of an individual delegate in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly or an individual delegate or delegation in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly.

If the voting for election of the chairman of the Federal Executive Council is by secret ballot, the voting shall be done according to the revisions of this operating procedure on voting by secret ballot for election of the president of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 21

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall elect the members of the Federal Executive Council on the basis of a slate of candidates submitted by the candidate for chairman of the Federal Executive Council.

The slate of candidates for members of the Federal Executive Council shall be submitted in writing and must be supported by argument and delivered to the delegates before commencement of the sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly in which they are to be elected.

Before the chambers of the SFRY Assembly decide on the slate of candidates referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, that slate shall be examined by the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments, which shall furnish its opinion to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The candidate for chairmanship of the Federal Executive Council shall present the case for the slate of candidates for members of the Federal Executive Council in the meeting of the Commission for Elections and Appointments and in the sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly in which they are to be elected.

Article 22

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly, before undertaking election of members of the Federal Executive Council, shall on the recommendation of the candidate for chairmanship of the Federal Executive Council determine the number of

members of the Federal Executive Council which are to be elected in accordance with the principle of equal representation of the republics and appropriate representation of the autonomous provinces.

Before undertaking to decide on election of the members of the Federal Executive Council, the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall decide on whether they shall vote on the slate of candidates for election of the members of the Federal Executive Council as a whole or separately on the nomination for election of each member of the Federal Executive Council.

Article 23

As a rule the voting for election of members of the Federal Executive Council shall be by open ballot.

The voting for election of members of the Federal Executive Council shall be by secret ballot if the chamber of the SFRY Assembly so decides in advance on the motion of an individual delegate in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly or individual delegate or delegation in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly.

If voting for election of members of the Federal Executive Council is by secret ballot, the voting shall be done according to the provisions of this operating procedure concerning secret ballot in electing the president of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 24

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly, on the nomination of the chairman of the Federal Executive Council, shall elect from among the members of the Federal Executive Council one or more vice chairmen of the Federal Executive Council.

The vote on the vice chairmen of the Federal Executive Council shall be taken according to the provisions of Article 23 of this operating procedure.

Article 25

For election of chairman, vice chairmen and members of the Federal Executive Council candidates must receive a majority of the votes in a session of each of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly attended by a majority of the delegates.

If a candidate for chairman of the Federal Executive Council fails to receive the necessary majority in one of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall so inform the SFRY State Presidency.

If the slate of candidates submitted by the candidate for chairman of the Federal Executive Council on which the chambers of the SFRY Assembly are voting as a whole does not receive the necessary majority in one of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the candidate for chairman of the Federal Executive Council shall submit a new slate of candidates.

If the chambers of the SFRY Assembly decide individually on the slate of nominees referred to in Paragraph 3 of this article, and an individual candidate for membership of the Federal Executive Council does not receive the necessary majority in one of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the candidate for chairman of the Federal Executive Council shall submit a new nomination no later than 24 hours after the vote was taken.

If the slate of candidates for vice chairmen of the Federal Executive Council nominated by the chairman of the Federal Executive Council fails to receive the necessary majority in one of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the chairman of the Federal Executive Council shall submit a new list.

Article 26

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall inform the SFRY State Presidency concerning election of the Federal Executive Council.

3. Appointment of Officials and Members of Collegial Bodies in Certain Federal Agencies

Article 27

Officials and members of collegial bodies in certain federal agencies for which the SFRY Constitution, federal law, this operating procedure or other general act of the SFRY Assembly provides that they shall be appointed by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, shall be appointed on a nomination of the nominating body specified by the SFRY Constitution or federal law or this operating procedure or other general act of the SFRY Assembly.

The nomination shall be submitted in writing and must be supported by argument.

The opinion of the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall be submitted along with the nomination for appointment of officials and members of collegial bodies in certain federal agencies to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, unless that commission is the nominating body.

Officials and members of collegial bodies in certain federal agencies shall be appointed according to the provisions of this operating procedure concerning election of members of the Federal Executive Council.

4. Election of Members of the Council of the Federation

Article 28

Members of the Council of the Federation shall be elected by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly on nomination of the SFRY State Presidency.

Members of the Council of the Federation shall be elected according to the provisions of this operating procedure concerning election of the president of the SFRY Assembly.

5. Election of the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia

Article 29

The chief justice and associate justices of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia shall be elected by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly on a nomination of the SFRY State Presidency.

The chief justice and associate justices of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia shall be elected according to the provisions of this operating procedure concerning election of the president of the SFRY Assembly.

6. Election of the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Federal Court, Appointment of the Federal Public Defender of Self-Management Law, the Federal Public Prosecutor, the Federal Solicitor General and Their Deputies, and Appointment of Other Officials and Collegial Bodies as Specified by Federal Law or Other General Act of the SFRY Assembly

Article 30

The chief justice and associate justices of the Federal Court shall be elected, the federal public prosecutor and federal solicitor general and their deputies appointed, and other officials and collegial bodies as designated by federal law or other general act of the SFRY Assembly appointed by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly on nomination of the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments.

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall appoint the federal public defender of self-management law and his deputy on nomination of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia.

Before election of the justices of the Federal Court and appointment of the federal public defender of self-management law, the federal public prosecutor and the federal solicitor general, the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall specify the number of justices of the Federal Court who are to be elected and the number of deputies of the federal public defender of self-management law, the federal public prosecutor and the federal solicitor general who are to be appointed, if that number has not been specified by federal law or other general act of the SFRY Assembly.

The officials referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article shall be elected or appointed according to the provisions of this operating procedure concerning election of the president of the SFRY Assembly.

7. Appointment of the General Secretary of the SFRY Assembly and Other Officials in the Staff Services of the SFRY Assembly

Article 31

The general secretary of the SFRY Assembly, the deputy general secretary of the SFRY Assembly and other officials in the staff services of the SFRY Assembly shall be appointed by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly on the nomination of the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments.

The officials referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be appointed according to the provisions of this operating procedure on appointment of officials and members of collegial bodies in certain federal agencies.

8. Dismissal and Resignation of Federal Officials

a) Dismissal of Individual Members of the Federal Executive Council

Article 32

When the chairman of the Federal Executive Council submits to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a proposal for dismissal from office of an individual member of the Federal Executive Council, the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall decide on that proposal according to the provisions of this operating procedure concerning election of the members of the Federal Executive Council.

Simultaneously with the proposal for dismissal of an individual member of the Federal Executive Council the chairman of the Federal Executive Council shall also submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a nomination for election of a new member of the Federal Executive Council.

Article 33

When the initiative for dismissal of an individual member of the Federal Executive Council has been supplied by a delegate in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly or a delegate or delegation in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, the president of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall inform the president of the SFRY Assembly concerning that initiative.

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall give notice of the initiative referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article to the president of the other chamber of the SFRY Assembly, to the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments and to the chairman of the Federal Executive Council. The Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall furnish its opinion concerning that initiative, and the chairman of the Federal Executive Council shall communicate his position.

When the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments has given its opinion of an initiative for dismissal of an individual member of the Federal Executive Council, and the chairman of the Federal Executive

Council has communicated his position, the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall inform the delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly concerning that opinion and position.

Article 34

A member of the Federal Executive Council who is the subject of a proposal or initiative for dismissal may present his view of this in sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly in which the decision is being made concerning the proposal or initiative, and if he communicates his position in writing, the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall inform the delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly concerning that position.

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall decide on the initiative for dismissal of an individual member of the Federal Executive Council according to the provisions of this operating procedure concerning election of members of the Federal Executive Council.

b) Dismissal of Other Federal Officials

Article 35

Federal officials elected or appointed according to the provisions of this operating procedure shall be dismissed by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly on proposal of the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments or the proposal of some other authorized nominating body.

The proposal for dismissal of federal officials elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly which has not been submitted by the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall be examined by that commission, which shall submit its opinion concerning it to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

A federal official who is the subject of a proposal for dismissal may present his position concerning that proposal in sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly in which the proposal is being decided on, but if he communicates his position in writing, the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall inform the delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly concerning that position.

Article 36

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall decide on a proposal for dismissal of federal officials according to the provisions of this operating procedure concerning election or appointment of federal officials.

Article 37

In deciding on dismissal of a federal official the chambers of the SFRY Assembly may decide on his replacement until election or appointment of a new federal official.

c) Resignation of Federal Officials

Article 38

When a member of the Federal Executive Council submits his resignation, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall deliver it to the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, to the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments and to the chairman of the Federal Executive Council. The Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall furnish its opinion concerning the resignation, and the chairman of the Federal Executive Council shall communicate his position.

When a resignation is submitted by another federal official, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall deliver it to the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and to the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments, and when the resignation is submitted by a federal official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization who is not a member of the Federal Executive Council, he shall deliver it to the chairman of the Federal Executive Council.

The presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall deliver the resignation, together with the opinion and position referred to in Paragraph 1 and the opinion referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article to the delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 39

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall examine the resignation of a federal official, and they may decide to honor it on the grounds stated in the justification of the resignation.

In examining the resignation of a federal official the chambers of the SFRY Assembly may decide not to honor it if in their judgment there are grounds to ascertain the responsibility of the federal official.

If they decide that grounds exist for establishing the responsibility of the federal official, the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall conduct proceedings for his dismissal.

C. Procedure for Putting a Question of Confidence in the Federal Executive Council and for Submittal of the Collective Resignation of the Federal Executive Council

Article 40

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall decide in conformity with the SFRY Constitution whether they shall take a position concerning confidence in the Federal Executive Council if at least 10 delegates in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly or a delegation in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly puts a question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council.

If one of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly votes a lack of confidence in the Federal Executive Council, the president of that chamber of the SFRY Assembly is required to state in his report the grounds on which the chamber voted a lack of confidence in the Federal Executive Council.

A president of a chamber of the SFRY Assembly to whom a report has been delivered shall immediately call a session of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly to take a position on this question.

Article 41

If the other chamber of the SFRY Assembly concurs in the position of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly which voted a lack of confidence in the Federal Executive Council, the Federal Executive Council shall be dismissed from office.

If the other chamber of the SFRY Assembly does not concur in the position of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly which voted a lack of confidence in the Federal Executive Council, the president of the chamber shall so inform that chamber of the SFRY Assembly concerning the position of the other chamber of the SFRY Assembly and concerning the grounds on which it did not concur in the vote of no confidence.

The president of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly which voted no confidence in the Federal Executive Council shall immediately inform that chamber concerning the position of the other chamber of the SFRY Assembly. That chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall again take up the question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council, and if it persists in the position previously taken, the two chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall hold a joint session to take up this matter.

If even in the session held by both chambers of the SFRY Assembly the chamber of the SFRY Assembly which voted no confidence in the Federal Executive Council persists in its previous position, the Federal Executive Council shall be dismissed from office.

Article 42

If it feels that it is unable to guarantee conduct of the established policy and enforcement of a law, other enactment or general act of the SFRY Assembly whose adoption it is proposing or implementation of the views or proposed measures of the SFRY State Presidency, or if it cannot assume responsibility for performance of its office unless the federal law, other regulation or general act whose adoption it is proposing is enacted, the Federal Executive Council, in conformity with the SFRY Constitution, may put a question of confidence before the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 43

The question of confidence on behalf of the Federal Executive Council shall be put by the chairman of the Federal Executive Council or a member of the Federal Executive Council designated by the Federal Executive Council as its

representative in a session of the competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly before that chamber of the SFRY Assembly concerning which the Federal Executive Council is putting the question of confidence.

The competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall vote on the question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council at the same time as it votes on the matter for which the question of confidence was put. If in the vote on that matter the chamber of the SFRY Assembly adopts a decision opposite to the opinion or proposal of the Federal Executive Council, it shall be assumed that it has at the same time voted no confidence in the Federal Executive Council.

If the competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly votes no confidence in the Federal Executive Council in this manner, the procedure set forth in Articles 40 and 41 of this operating procedure shall be conducted.

Article 44

If the Federal Executive Council submits its collective resignation, the chairman of the Federal Executive Council shall submit it to the president of the SFRY Assembly, who shall send it to the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly. The presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall send that collective resignation to the delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

A collective resignation of the Federal Executive Council shall be deliberated by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly may open debate concerning a collective resignation of the Federal Executive Council.

Article 45

If the chairman of the Federal Executive Council submits his resignation, he shall submit it to the president of the SFRY Assembly, who shall send it to the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly. The presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall send that resignation to the delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The resignation of the chairman of the Federal Executive Council shall be deliberated by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, and they may open debate concerning it.

Article 46

If the Federal Executive Council is submitting a collective resignation, or if the chairman of the Federal Executive Council is submitting a resignation, or if the chambers of the SFRY Assembly vote no confidence in the Federal Executive Council, in conformity with the SFRY Constitution that council shall remain in office until election of a new Federal Executive Council.

D. Procedure for Adoption of Acts on Matters on Which the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly Decide Equally

1. Ratification of International Treaties

Article 47

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall ratify international treaties requiring adoption of new republic and provincial laws or amendment of those in effect on an equal footing by adopting a law ratifying the international treaty.

Article 48

The working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly established by the operating procedures of those chambers shall participate in the proceedings which precede conclusion of international treaties which the chambers of the SFRY Assembly ratify on an equal footing.

The working bodies referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall examine proposals of the basis for conducting negotiations and for conclusion of international treaties which the Federal Executive Council submits, and they shall render an opinion concerning them in reports which they deliver to the Federal Executive Council and to the delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly through the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 49

The Federal Executive Council shall initiate procedure for adoption of a law ratifying an international treaty by submitting the bill of the ratification law.

Aside from the provisions on ratification of the international treaty, on the text of the international treaty which is to be ratified and on the taking of effect of the law ratifying the international treaty, the bill of the law ratifying an international treaty may also contain provisions concerning the meaning of individual expressions in the international treaty, concerning the authorization of specified federal agencies to issue regulations or take measures to enforce the international treaty, as well as other provisions necessary to enforcement of the international treaty.

The bill of the law ratifying an international treaty must be supported by argument.

The substantiation of the bill of the law ratifying an international treaty shall contain the grounds on which ratification of the international treaty is being proposed, an assessment as to whether the international treaty requires enactment of new republic and provincial laws or amendment of those in effect, an assessment as to whether the international treaty envisages federal obligation as to its implementation, as well as an assessment as to whether financial funds will be required to implement the international treaty and the amount of such funds needed.

Article 50

The bill of the law ratifying an international treaty which the chambers of the SFRY Assembly enact on an equal footing shall be delivered simultaneously to delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and to the assemblies of the republics and to the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall see to delivery of the bill of the law ratifying an international treaty as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article to the assemblies of the republics and to the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

The bill of the law ratifying an international treaty as mentioned in Paragraph 1 of this article may not be on the agenda of sessions of chambers of the SFRY Assembly unless the assemblies of all the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces have granted their concurrence.

Article 51

A law ratifying an international treaty which the chambers of the SFRY Assembly enact on an equal footing shall be considered adopted if it has passed in the identical text in both chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

If a law ratifying an international treaty has not passed in the identical text in both chambers of the SFRY Assembly, it shall be removed from the agenda of the sessions of the chambers, and the bill may be returned to the agenda at the two succeeding sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly. If even thereafter the two chambers of the SFRY Assembly do not pass the law ratifying the international treaty, adoption of that law shall be postponed for 3 months.

2. Adoption of Operating Procedure Concerning the Joint Work of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly and the Decision on the Organization and Work of the Staff Services of the SFRY Assembly

Article 52

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall adopt an operating procedure on joint work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly on proposal of the competent joint working body of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The operating procedure on joint work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall be taken up in the form of the draft of the operating procedure and in the form of the proposed version of the operating procedure.

Article 53

The operating procedure concerning joint work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall be considered adopted if it has passed in the identical text in both chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

If the operating procedure concerning joint work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly has not passed in the identical text in both chambers of the SFRY Assembly, it shall be removed from the agenda of the sessions of the chambers, and the proposed version of the operating procedure may be returned to the agenda of the succeeding two sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly. Before it is returned to the agenda, the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall reconcile views concerning the proposed version of the operating procedure in accordance with the procedure set forth by this operating procedure for reconciliation of the views of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly concerning acts on which they decide equally.

If even thereafter the chambers of the SFRY Assembly do not pass the operating procedure concerning joint work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, until its passage the operating procedure shall be applied in the text passed by the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 54

The operating procedure concerning joint work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall be amended and supplemented in accordance with the procedure set forth in this operating procedure for its adoption unless the chambers of the SFRY Assembly decide otherwise.

The operating procedure concerning joint work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall be amended and supplemented by a decision which the chambers of the SFRY Assembly adopt on an equal footing.

Article 55

The decision on the organization and work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly shall be adopted according to the provisions of this operating procedure which pertain to adoption of the operating procedure concerning joint work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

If the decision on the organization and work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly has not passed in the identical text in both chambers of the SFRY Assembly, it shall be removed from the agenda of the sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, and the proposed version of the decision may be returned to the agenda of the two succeeding sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

E. Procedure for Reconciling the Views of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly on the Bill of an Act on Which They Decide Equally and Resolution of Disputes Concerning the Jurisdiction of the Chamber

1. Reconciliation of the Views of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly on the Bill of an Act on Which They Decide Equally

Article 56

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall inform one another concerning views which they have taken in debate on the bill of an act on which they decide equally.

If the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly establish that the bill of an act on which they decide equally has not passed in the identical text in both chambers of the SFRY Assembly, they shall so inform the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

In the case referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall again debate the bill of the act on which they decide equally, and if even after renewed debate they do not pass it in the identical text, the bill of the act shall be removed from the agenda of the session of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 57

On a motion of the proponent the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall return to the agenda of the next session of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly the bill of an act on which they decide equally which has been removed from the agenda of the previous session of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

Before the debate in the session of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly the working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall take up the bill of the act on which they decide equally and shall submit reports to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 58

If even after debate of the report of the working bodies of the chambers the chambers of the SFRY Assembly do not pass the bill of the act on which they decide equally in the identical text, the chambers of the SFRY Assembly may decide to remove it from the agenda of the session of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly or to establish a joint commission of an equal number of members from each of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, commissioning it to draft a proposal for resolving the matter in dispute.

If agreement is not reached in the joint commission, or if one of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly does not adopt the proposal for resolving the matter in dispute which has been submitted by the joint commission, the bill of the act on which a decision is made equally shall be removed from the agenda and shall

be returned to the agenda on the motion of the proponent at the next session of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

The handling of this bill shall be the same as in examining of the bill of the act in the previous session of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

2. Resolving Matters of Dispute Concerning the Jurisdiction of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly

Article 59

If in preparing work programs and work plans of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the sending of the bill of the law, other regulation or general act submitted to the SFRY Assembly to the competent chambers by the president of the SFRY Assembly, or if in proceedings in the chambers, the working bodies of the chambers and the joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a matter of dispute arises as to which chamber of the SFRY Assembly has jurisdiction to enact the law, other regulation or general act, on the motion of the president of the SFRY Assembly, the presidents of the chambers, the chairman of a working body of a chamber or joint working body of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, that matter shall be taken up in joint session by the legislative and legal commissions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 60

The legislative and legal commissions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, after examining the matter in dispute, shall take positions in joint session on that matter and shall report their views and opinions to the president of the SFRY Assembly.

If the legislative and legal commissions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly take the same position in joint session concerning the matter in dispute, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall give notice of this position to the official or working body of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly which instituted proceedings for resolving the matter in dispute and to the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

If the legislative and legal commissions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly do not adopt an identical position concerning the matter in dispute, the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall so inform the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, which shall by agreement establish the manner and procedure for reconciling views concerning the matter in dispute.

III. Work in Joint Session of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly

1. General Provisions

Article 61

The joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall be convened by the president of the SFRY Assembly.

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall also convene a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly when this is requested by the SFRY State Presidency.

Article 62

Along with the summons to the session the delegates shall be delivered the proposed agenda and relevant material on the matters which are proposed for the agenda of the joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, as well as the minutes from the previous session, if this has not previously been delivered to them.

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall give notice of the holding of a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly to the Federal Executive Council and the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, which shall be delivered the proposed agenda of the joint session of the chambers along with the relevant material.

The president of the SFRY Assembly, in delivering material for a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, shall ascertain which material is considered a state secret or is confidential, if material of that nature is being delivered for that session.

Article 63

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall preside over the joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

All delegates have the right and duty to participate in the work of a joint session of chambers of the SFRY Assembly. A delegate who is prevented from attending a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly is required to so inform the president of the SFRY Assembly in good time.

Members of the SFRY State Presidency and the chairman and members of the Federal Executive Council may participate in the work of a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Representatives of sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managed organizations and communities at the federal level, as well as representatives of other bodies, agencies and organizations may be invited to a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 64

The head of another state, members of a delegation of a representative body of another state, the representative of an international organization or other foreign statesman may attend a joint session of chambers of the SFRY Assembly as guests of the SFRY Assembly.

A foreign statesman or representative of an international organization as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may deliver an address in the joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 65

Heads of diplomatic and consular missions may attend a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly on invitation of the president of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 66

Minutes shall be kept on work in a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The general secretary of the SFRY Assembly shall see to the writing of the minutes of the joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 67

The president of the SFRY Assembly may also convene a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly during a state of war or in case of an immediate danger of war if the SFRY Assembly is able to convene.

The manner in which the joint session shall be convened and the manner of the work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly in that session, and also the manner in which the president and vice president of the SFRY Assembly and the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall exercise their rights and discharge their obligations on the basis of Article 309, Paragraph 3, of the SFRY Constitution, shall be regulated in a specific general act which the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall adopt on an equal footing.

2. Proclamation of Election and Announcement of the Composition of the SFRY State Presidency

Article 68

The assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces shall inform the president of the SFRY Assembly whom they have elected a member of the SFRY State Presidency immediately after the election.

The body of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia whose chairman is an ex officio member of the SFRY State Presidency under its bylaws shall inform the president of the SFRY Assembly concerning election of the chairman of that body.

Upon receipt of the notification referred to in Paragraph 1 or 2 of this article, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall send such notification to the delegates and shall call a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 69

Members of the SFRY State Presidency elected in the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces and the chairman of the body of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia made an ex officio member of

the SFRY State Presidency by the bylaws of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, shall also be invited to the joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 70

In the joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly the president of the SFRY Assembly shall first establish who has been elected a member of the SFRY State Presidency by the assembly of each republic and the assembly of each autonomous province.

If it is proclaimed in the joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly that the chairman of the body of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia stated by its bylaws to be an ex officio member of the SFRY State Presidency, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall establish who is the ex officio member of the SFRY State Presidency as chairman of the body of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

After establishing the members of the SFRY State Presidency, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall proclaim and announce the composition of the SFRY State Presidency.

Article 71

After announcing the composition of the SFRY State Presidency, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall call upon the members of the SFRY State Presidency to take a solemn oath in joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The members of the SFRY State Presidency shall take the solemn oath in the text set forth by the SFRY Constitution and shall sign the text of the solemn oath.

Article 72

The proclamation of the election and composition of the SFRY State Presidency shall be published in the official gazette of the SFRY.

IV. Exercise of the Rights and Discharge of the Duties of the President and Vice President of the SFRY Assembly

Article 73

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall elect the president of the SFRY Assembly equally to a term of 1 year from among delegates in the SFRY Assembly.

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall be elected every year from a different republic or autonomous province.

Article 74

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall organize and convene joint sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and shall preside over them, shall take initiative for consideration of individual matters in the jurisdiction of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and together with the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall examine matters of interest to the joint work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall see to enforcement of this operating procedure, to announcements through the publications of the delegations of basic self-managing organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations, to guaranteeing the equality of the written and spoken languages of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia, and to enforcing the principle of public scrutiny in the work of the SFRY Assembly, as well as to exercise of the rights of delegates and delegations in the joint work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly related to performance of their function in the SFRY Assembly, shall call elections for delegates and shall exercise other rights and discharge other duties as set forth in the SFRY Constitution and this operating procedure.

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall sign ukases promulgating laws and other general acts and shall sign general acts as provided by the operating procedures of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall issue rules on internal procedure within the SFRY Assembly related to carrying on cooperation with the representative bodies of other states, rules on the manner in which representatives of the press and other news media shall exercise their rights and discharge their duties, as well as other acts as authorized by this operating procedure or other general acts of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 75

The SFRY Assembly shall have one or more vice presidents who shall be elected from among delegates in the SFRY Assembly for a 1-year term by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly on an equal footing.

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall decide on the number of vice presidents of the SFRY Assembly before undertaking election of the vice president of the SFRY Assembly.

The vice president of the SFRY Assembly may not be reelected to the same post during his term of office as a delegate in the SFRY Assembly.

Article 76

The president and vice president of the SFRY Assembly may not be elected simultaneously from the same republic or autonomous province.

Article 77

The vice president of the SFRY Assembly shall replace the president of the SFRY Assembly should he be absent or incapacitated in the exercise of all the rights and discharge of all the duties set forth by the SFRY Constitution and this operating procedure.

Within the limits of his rights and duties the president of the SFRY Assembly may entrust the performance of certain tasks to the vice president of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 78

Before taking office the president of the SFRY Assembly shall take a solemn oath before the chambers of the SFRY Assembly which shall read as follows:

"I declare that I will perform my duty responsibly and conscientiously and that I will abide by the SFRY Constitution and federal laws, that I will fight to protect the country's sovereignty, independence and integrity and to achieve the power of the working class and all the working people, that I will strive to achieve brotherhood and unity and the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, the development of a socialist self-managing society and achievement of the common interests of the working people and citizens and of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

Before taking office the vice president of the SFRY Assembly shall also take the solemn oath in the same text before the chambers.

Before taking office the chief justice and associate justices of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia shall take a solemn oath before the chambers of the SFRY Assembly in the text set forth in the SFRY Constitution.

Before taking office the chairman and members of the Federal Executive Council shall take a solemn oath before the chambers of the SFRY Assembly which reads as follows:

"I declare that I will perform the duty entrusted to me responsibly and conscientiously and that I will abide by the SFRY Constitution and federal laws, that in my work I will be guided exclusively by the common interests of the working people, the nationalities and ethnic minorities, the republics and autonomous provinces, and by the established policy of the Federation, that I will fight for the country's sovereignty, independence and integrity, for achievement of the power of the working class and all the working people, for achievement of brotherhood and unity and for the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, for development of a socialist self-managing society, and for achievement of the common interests of the working people and citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

Before taking office the chief justice, associate justices and lay judges of the Federal Court shall take a solemn oath before the chambers of the SFRY Assembly reading as follows:

"I declare that in performance of my duty I shall abide by the SFRY Constitution, laws and general self-management acts, that I will perform my duties conscientiously and disinterestedly, that in my work I shall strive for achievement of constitutionality and legality, that I will protect the freedoms and rights of citizens and the self-management position of the working people and self-managing organizations and communities, as well as the social order of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

Other federal officials elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly shall also take a solemn oath in this same text. This solemn oath shall also be taken by supervisory officials in the staff services of the SFRY Assembly appointed by the competent working body in the SFRY Assembly. The solemn oath shall be taken before the president of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 79

The president of the SFRY Assembly, in conformity with the SFRY Constitution, shall together with the vice president of the SFRY Assembly and the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly examine matters related to coordinating and programming the work of the chambers and the working bodies of the chambers in the SFRY Assembly and matters related to parliamentary procedure and shall see to cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with other bodies and organizations at the federal level and in the republics and autonomous provinces and with representative bodies of other states.

In examining the matters referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article representatives of the Federal Executive Council and of individual working bodies of the chambers in the SFRY Assembly shall participate as necessary, and when matters of cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with other bodies and organizations at the federal level and in the republics and autonomous provinces are being considered, representatives of those bodies and organizations and of the Club of Delegates in the SFRY Assembly shall participate.

Article 80

If in the drafting and approval of the work programs and work plans of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and the work programs and work plans of the Federal Executive Council issues arise on which there is a need to coordinate tasks and also the deadlines for their performance, such matters shall be taken up by the president and vice president of the SFRY Assembly and the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly together with representatives of the Federal Executive Council.

Article 81

If in the drafting and approval of work programs and plans of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and the work programs and work plans of the assemblies of the republics and autonomous provinces there is a need to coordinate tasks and also deadlines for their performance, such questions shall be taken up by the president and vice president of the SFRY Assembly and presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly together with the presidents of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

Article 82

The SFRY Assembly shall have a general secretary.

The general secretary of the SFRY Assembly shall provide general direction of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly, shall organize and coordinate the work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly in performance of their tasks and functions and shall see to the uniform functioning of those staff services.

The general secretary of the SFRY Assembly shall aid the president of the SFRY Assembly within the confines of the rights and duties of the president of the SFRY Assembly as set forth by the SFRY Constitution and this operating procedure.

The general secretary of the SFRY Assembly shall have the status of comptroller in carrying out the budget of funds of the SFRY Assembly.

The general secretary of the SFRY Assembly shall be accountable for his work and for the work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, and in performing jobs and tasks for the president of the SFRY Assembly he shall also be accountable to the president of the SFRY Assembly.

The general secretary of the SFRY Assembly shall have a deputy who shall replace him in case he is absent or incapacitated and shall perform other tasks as entrusted to him by the general secretary of the SFRY Assembly.

V. Joint Working Bodies of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly

1. General Provisions

Article 83

The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly shall establish commissions as joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly (hereafter "commissions") to consider matters of common interest to the work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The commission shall be established by this operating procedure, but they may also be established by a specific decision adopted equally by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The decision establishing a standing or ad hoc commission shall also regulate its jurisdiction, composition and authority.

Article 84

A commission shall have a chairman and a specified number of members.

The chairman and members of the commission shall be elected from among delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, concern being paid to equal representation of delegates from the two chambers of the SFRY Assembly. At least one delegate from each republic and autonomous province shall be elected to the membership of every commission.

Sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level may also delegate their representatives to the membership of certain commissions when this is provided by this operating procedure or by the decision establishing the commission.

The members of individual commissions may also be elected from among scholars and scientists, specialists and public figures when this is provided in this operating procedure or the decision establishing the commission.

The number of members of a commission elected from among delegates may not be less than two-thirds of the total number of members of the commission, unless this operating procedure or decision establishing the commission provides otherwise.

Article 85

The chairman of a commission shall be elected from among the delegates who are members of the commission for a term of 1 year, each year from a different republic or autonomous province.

The members of the commission shall be elected to a term of 4 years, unless the decision establishing the commission provides that it shall be shorter or until such time as the specified task is performed.

The chairman and all or individual members of the commission may be dismissed before expiration of the term to which they have been elected and their function is also terminated if the term of office of a delegate in the SFRY Assembly terminates before expiration of the term for which they were elected.

Article 86

A member of a commission has the right and duty to initiate consideration of individual matters within the jurisdiction of the commission, to attend the meeting of the commission, and to participate in its work and in adoption of the commission's positions.

The member of a commission who is prevented from attending a meeting of the commission must so inform the chairman of the commission in good time.

Article 87

The delegate who is a commission member has the right to participate in the work of other joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly with the rights and duties of a member of that body, but without the right to participate in taking the working body's positions.

Aside from the rights and duties to participate in the work of standing commissions of which they are members, delegates shall also participate on the basis of a resolve of the chambers of the SFRY Commission in the work of ad hoc commissions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 88

The chairman of the commission shall organize the commission's work.

The chairman of the commission shall take initiative for consideration of individual matters within the jurisdiction of the commission, shall convene meetings, shall propose the agenda of the meetings and preside over them, shall see that the members of the commission are informed concerning matters within the jurisdiction of the commission, shall cooperate with the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and the chairmen of their working bodies, as well as with the chairmen of other commissions and with officials heading federal administrative agencies and federal organizations, shall see to enforcement of the operating procedure and implementation of the resolves of the commission and shall perform other tasks as defined by this operating procedure or decision establishing the commission.

Article 89

The commission shall elect from among the delegates who are members of the commission a deputy chairman of the commission, who shall replace the chairman should he be incapacitated or absent.

Article 90

The commission shall conduct its work in meetings.

The meetings of the commission shall be called by the chairman of the commission on his own initiative. The chairman of a commission is required to call a meeting if this is requested by the president of the SFRY Assembly, by the president of a chamber of the SFRY Assembly, or if this is proposed by a fifth of the members of the commission, by 10 delegates in each chamber of the SFRY Assembly or by any delegation in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly.

The matters which are being placed on the agenda of the meeting shall also be stated along with the request or proposal for calling a meeting of a commission.

The proposal for calling a meeting of a commission, along with the proposed agenda, shall be sent to the members of the commission no later than 10 days before the day when the meeting of the commission is to be held.

If the chairman of a commission does not call a meeting of the commission when he is required to do so, the meeting shall be called by the president of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 91

A commission may adopt positions if the meeting is attended by a majority of its members, and it shall adopt positions by a majority of the votes of the members present.

In cases when the commission is authorized by this operating procedure to adopt acts, it shall adopt such acts by a majority of the votes of all the members of the commission.

Article 92

The commission shall adopt its own work program and work plan.

The commission shall adopt its work program for 1 year, but it may also enact it for a longer period.

In drafting its work program the commission shall take as its point of departure the tasks and functions in its jurisdiction which are contained in the work programs of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Proposals for incorporation of particular jobs and tasks in the work program of a commission may be submitted by the members of the commission, by the delegates and delegations in the SFRY Assembly, by other working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and by the assemblies of the republics or assemblies of the autonomous provinces, and initiative for incorporation of particular matters in the work program of a commission may also be taken by individual bodies and agencies in sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level.

The commission's work program must be reconciled with the work programs of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The commission's work plan must be coordinated with the commission's work program.

Article 93

In order to study particular matters within its jurisdiction and in order to draft reports and bills of acts which it prepares for the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the commission may establish as its own working bodies subcommissions or working groups. The members of the subcommissions or working groups shall be appointed from among members of the commission and scholars and scientists, specialists and public figures.

The commission may engage scientific and other institutions and individual specialists to prepare acts or to study a particular matter within its jurisdiction if provision has been made for this in the work program of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 94

At the request of a chamber of the SFRY Assembly or the president of the SFRY Assembly or on its own initiative the commission shall submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a report on the particular matters which it has taken under consideration.

The report of the commission shall contain the opinions and views expressed on the matters which have been under consideration in the meeting of the commission.

The chairman of the commission shall sign the commission's report and shall be responsible for its accuracy.

Article 95

When it decides to submit a report or proposal to chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the commission shall designate a reporter who on the basis of the commission's authorization, on his own initiative or on the request of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall make the case for the position or proposal of the commission in a session of a chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

In a session of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly the reporter shall on behalf of the commission take a position concerning matters related to the report or the proposal of the commission, but he may not alter the commission's proposal or withdraw it unless the commission has so authorized him.

If in the course of debate in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a question arises on which the commission has not taken a position or has not rendered its opinion, the reporter may call upon the chambers of the SFRY Assembly to postpone debate of that matter until the commission examines it. Consideration of such a matter shall also be postponed if the chambers of the SFRY Assembly call upon the commission to take a position concerning it.

Article 96

Minutes shall be kept concerning work in a meeting of the commission.

The minutes shall contain the basic information on work in the meeting, on the matters taken up, the opinions expressed and the positions taken by the commission.

The commission's secretary shall see to the keeping of the minutes.

The adopted minutes shall be signed by the chairman and secretary of the commission.

The commission's secretary shall see to the safekeeping of the minutes of the meeting of the commission.

The minutes may be used before the commission's certification with the permission of the commission's chairman.

Article 97

A transcript shall be kept in the meeting of the commission unless the commission decides otherwise.

The transcript shall be used for preparing the minutes and report and for the needs of the commission.

Statements made by participants in the meeting of the commission contained in the transcript shall not be edited by the author or anyone else unless an individual participant in the debate whose statement is contained in the transcript so requests.

The transcript of the meeting of the commission shall be appended to the adapted minutes.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 2 of this article the transcript may also be used for other purposes with permission of the commission.

Article 98

The commission shall cooperate with other commissions and with the working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly on matters of common interest, and it may also hold joint meetings with them.

Article 99

The commission has the right to call upon a representative or spokesman of the Federal Executive Council to attend its meeting in which a proposal of the Federal Executive Council is being taken up, and a representative of a federal administrative agency or federal organization to attend the meeting in which a matter in the jurisdiction of that agency or organization is being taken up.

The representative of spokesman of the Federal Executive Council has the right to participate in the meeting of the commission in consideration of the proposal of the Federal Executive Council.

The representative of a federal administrative agency or federal organization has the right to participate in the meeting of the commission in consideration of matters within the jurisdiction of that agency or organization.

The representative of another sponsor of a proposal being taken up in a meeting shall also have the right to attend the meeting of the commission and to participate in its work.

Article 100

The chairman of a commission shall notify the Federal Executive Council of the meetings of the commission, and when the bill of an act or other proposal submitted by the Federal Executive Council is being taken up in the meeting, it

shall also give notice of that meeting to representatives and spokesmen of that council who are required to attend the meeting of the commission.

The chairman of the commission shall inform federal administrative agencies and federal organizations concerning meetings of the commission in which matters will be taken up which pertain to a field within their jurisdiction so that their representatives may participate in work in those meetings.

Representatives of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations are required to attend a meeting of a commission in which matters are taken up within the jurisdiction of those agencies or organizations.

The representatives of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies and federal organizations do not attend a meeting of the commission in which a proposal or other matter within the jurisdiction of those agencies and organizations is taken up, consideration of that matter shall be postponed. As an exception the commission may decide to take up that matter even if representatives of the sponsors are not present.

Article 101

The commission has the right to conduct inquiries necessary to performance of its task when the competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly has so ordered in its resolve or when this is provided for in the work program of one or both chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The commission may not conduct investigatory and other judicial functions.

After conducting the inquiry, the commission shall submit a report to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

In conducting an inquiry the commission shall have the right to seek from government agencies and self-managing organizations and communities information, data and documents necessary to its work and which those agencies or organizations possess or in their jurisdiction are required to collect and keep a record of.

Article 102

The commission may propose to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly that they call upon the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies and federal organizations to prepare bills, analyses or other material for the needs of the chambers and working bodies of the chambers.

The commission may call upon the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies and federal organizations for reports and clarifications related to matters which are on the agenda of a meeting of the commission and which pertain to matters within the jurisdiction of those agencies and organizations.

The commission may propose to chambers of the SFRY Assembly that they commission self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level, scientific and specialized organizations, or even individual scientists and specialists to prepare analyses or other material to meet the needs of the chambers and the working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 103

If funds have not been furnished for performance of the tasks and functions stated in Articles 101 and 102 of this operating procedure, the commission shall propose to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly the manner in which they are to be furnished.

Article 104

Commissions shall cooperate on matters within their jurisdiction with the corresponding working bodies of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, and, in agreement with them, they may also organize examination and study of the particular matter of common interest.

Article 105

The commission may invite to its meetings representatives of sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level, as well as scientists and scholars, specialists and public figures, in order to present the opinions of those organizations and communities or individuals concerning the matters under consideration in the meeting.

When in a meeting of a commission matters are taken up which are important or of interest to performance of the tasks of sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level, those organizations and communities shall have the right to request of the commission that they present opinions and views concerning those matters in its meeting through their representative.

The commission is required to take a position concerning such a request and give notice of its position to the interested organizations and communities referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article.

Article 106

A commission may adopt an operating procedure concerning its work, but it must adopt it if this is so provided by this operating procedure or the decision establishing the commission.

Article 107

A special remuneration for work on the commission shall be assigned in addition to reimbursement of expenses to members of a commission and of its working bodies who were elected from among scholars and scientists, specialists and public figures, and who are not delegates.

Article 108

Aside from commissions the chambers of the SFRY Assembly may also establish other joint standing or ad hoc working bodies.

The decision to establish a joint standing or ad hoc working body shall state its jurisdiction, its composition and its authority.

Article 109

Standing commissions established by this operating procedure shall have a secretary.

The secretary of the commission shall assist the chairman of the commission in preparing meetings, shall see to preparation of reports and minutes of meetings of the commission, and shall organize and perform other specialized tasks to meet the needs of the commission.

At the request of an individual member of the commission or on his own initiative the secretary of the commission shall furnish specialized opinions related to enforcement of the operating procedure and other specialized opinions necessary to the commission's work.

2. Special Provisions

Article 110

The standing commission shall be the following:

1) Commission for Elections and Appointments,

2) Commission for Constitutional Matters,

3) Administrative Commission,

4) Commission for Information,

5) Commission for Establishing Identical Versions of Texts in the Languages of the Nationalities of Yugoslavia,

6) Commission for Petitions and Proposals.

a) Commission for Elections and Appointments

Article 111

The Commission for Elections and Appointments shall take up general matters of personnel policy and matters related to elections, appointments and dismissals within the jurisdiction of the SFRY Assembly.

In performing those tasks the Commission, in collaboration with agencies and organizations interested in resolving personnel matters, shall prepare and submit proposals to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and shall submit opinions to them related to elections, appoinments and dismissals within the jurisdiction of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 112

Within the framework of tasks in the field of general affairs of personnel policy the commission shall see to implementation of constitutional principles and social standards which pertain to personnel policy in federal agencies and organizations and shall propose to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly measures to realize them.

Article 113

Within the limits of tasks in the field of elections, appointments and dismissals within the jurisdiction of the SFRY Assembly, the commission shall specifically:

i. prepare and submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly bills of acts concerning criteria for election or appointment of federal officials elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly;

ii. prepare and submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly nominations for election or appointment and proposals for dismissal of officials of the SFRY Assembly and its chambers, and also slates of candidates for composition of the working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and the joint working bodies;

iii. examine the proposals of authorized nominating bodies for election and dismissal of members of the Federal Executive Council and for appointment and dismissal of federal secretaries and other officials, chairmen and members of collegial bodies appointed by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly from the standpoint of fulfilling the conditions established for the respective position and application of the procedure established for preparation of nominations for their election and proposals for their dismissal, and shall give its opinion to the chambers concerning those nominations and proposals;

iv. prepare and submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a nomination for election or appointment and dismissal of the chief justice and associate justices of the Federal Court, the federal public prosecutor and his deputies, as well as the chairmen and members of collegial bodies and other officials as designated by law which the chambers of the SFRY Assembly elect or appoint;

v. after obtaining the opinion of the Federal Executive Council submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a nomination for appointment and proposal for dismissal of the governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, the general director of the Federal Bureau for Spatial Planning and his deputy, the general director of the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia and his deputy, as well as other officials appointed by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and who

the law states shall be appointed after the opinion of the Federal Executive Council has been obtained;

vi. appoint and dismiss supervisory personnel on the staff services of the SFRY Assembly for whom this is so provided in a general act of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 114

The Commission for Elections and Appointments shall carry on cooperation with the appropriate bodies of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces concerning all essential matters of personnel policy within federal jurisdiction and matters of election or appointment of officials elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly, shall obtain the proposals and opinions of those bodies concerning elections or appointments and shall see to reconciliation of views related to arrival at a nomination for election or appointment.

Article 115

The Commission for Elections and Appointments shall have a chairman and 19 members.

Seven members shall be elected from among the delegates in each of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the chairman of the commission to be included in that number, and six members shall be delegated by the Federal Council of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia.

b) Commission for Constitutional Matters

Article 116

The Commission for Constitutional Matters shall:

i. monitor implementation of the SFRY Constitution;

ii. take up fundamental issues of a constitutional nature;

iii. examine proposals for amendment of the SFRY Constitution.

The commission shall submit a report containing its opinions and proposals to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly on the matters enumerated in Paragraph 1 of this article.

When the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly decides to undertake to amend the SFRY Constitution, in conformity with the resolves of that chamber, the commission shall prepare the text of a draft of an act to amend the SFRY Constitution, shall monitor the public debate of the draft of the act to amend the SFRY Constitution and shall submit a report to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly on the results of the public debate and shall prepare the text of the proposed version of the act to amend the SFRY Constitution and, if necessary, the text of the proposed version of the constitutional law.

Article 117

The Commission for Constitutional Matters shall have a chairman and 30 members.

The chairman and 15 members of the commission shall be elected from among delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The Federal Executive Council and Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia shall each designate one member of the commission from among the ranks of their members; sociopolitical and other public organizations at the federal level shall delegate five members of the commission on the basis of a prior agreement within the framework of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia; and the other members of the commission shall be elected by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly from among scholars and scientists, specialists and public figures.

Representatives of appropriate bodies of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces may also participate in the work of the commission.

Article 118

The commission shall adopt an operating procedure concerning its work.

c) Administrative Commission

Article 119

The Administrative Commission shall:

i. establish and submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly proposals of regulations on compensation for personal income and other income of delegates and federal officials elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly and also of delegates and officials who have left office, and issue more detailed regulations for their execution within the limits of legal authorization;

ii. participate in preparation of social compacts regulating matters of compensation for personal income and other benefits of delegates and federal officials elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly and furnish an opinion concerning such agreements to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly;

iii. issue individual rulings on compensation for personal income and other benefits of delegates and federal officials elected or apointed by the SFRY Assembly;

iv. fix in conformity with regulations and a social compact the level of per diems, expenses for separation from family, compensation for use of annual vacation, the rights of officials related to the use of publicly owned vehicles and compensation for use of personally owned vehicles on official business, and so on;

v. fix the amount of compensation for expenses and the scales for determination of the special remuneration of members of commissions and their working bodies elected from among scholars and scientists, specialists and public figures;

vi. frame the proposal for providing resources in the federal budget for operation of the SFRY Assembly and its staff services, amend the purpose and amount of funds envisaged in the federal budget to perform the activities of the SFRY Assembly and for its special purposes when so authorized by law;

vii. see to the proper use of resources envisaged in the federal budget for performance of the activities of the SFRY Assembly and for its special purposes and submit a report on this to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly;

viii. adopt acts for application of the bases and scales for personal incomes and for the exercise of other rights of supervisory personnel and the staff services of the SFRY Assembly for whom this has been specified by a general act of the SFRY Assembly and fix their personal incomes.

In addition to the tasks and functions enumerated in Paragraph 1 of this article the Administrative Commission shall:

i. monitor and examine matters related to the organization and work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly and see to the general conditions of their work and improvement of that work;

ii. examine fundamental issues that have a bearing on improvement of the organization and work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly and the makeup of their personnel and submit related proposals to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly;

iii. prepare and submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly the proposed version of a decision on the organization and work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly and issue general acts on the internal organization and work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly and on the organizational chart and tasks in staff services of the SFRY Assembly;

iv. make an evaluation of the contribution of the Work Community to performance of the tasks and functions of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly in order to fix the amount of funds which the workers realize as the income of the Work Community.

In addition to the tasks and functions enumerated under Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article the Administrative Commission shall:

i. ascertain the need for housing and garage or garage spaces as a basis for preparation of a proposal of a portion of the unified program for acquiring apartment buildings, apartments and garages and submit the proposed version of the portion of that unified program to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly;

ii. establish the order of priority for allocation of housing for official purposes and housing for use to meet the needs of officials in the SFRY Assembly and supervisory personnel in the staff services of the SFRY Assembly and to meet the needs of officials in certain federal agencies and organizations;

iii. decide on allocation of housing for official purposes to officials or supervisory personnel; decide on allocation for use of dwellings, garages or garage spaces to officials or supervisory personnel; decide on the granting of consent for exchange of the right of use of housing and garages or garage spaces which have been allocated for use to officials or supervisory personnel; decide on the number of housing units and garages or garage spaces which are to be directly allocated to workers in the Work Community of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly to resolve particular personnel problems; establish standards for equipping housing for official use and decide on the manner of their furnishing; decide on other matters which pertain to construction, acquisition and allocation of housing and garages or garage spaces for the needs of officials or supervisory personnel.

The Administrative Commission shall also perform other tasks and functions as authorized by general acts of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 120

The Administrative Commission shall have a chairman and 13 members which shall be elected from among the delegates.

Seven members shall be elected from among the delegates in each chamber of the SFRY Assembly, including the chairman of the commission in that number.

When in a meeting of the commission matters are taken up concerning the organization and work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly as enumerated in Article 119, Paragraph 2, of this operating procedure, the general secretary of the SFRY Assembly, the secretaries of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and representatives of the Work Community of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly shall participate in the work of the commission.

When in a meeting of the commission housing matters as enumerated in Article 119, Paragraph 3, of this operating procedure are under consideration, one member each from the Council of the Federation, the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia and the Federal Court, the general secretary of the SFRY Assembly and representatives of the Work Community of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly shall take part in the work of the commission.

Article 121

The Administrative Commission shall report to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly on its work and on the acts which it has adopted.

The acts which the commission adopts shall be published in the official gazette of the SFRY.

Article 122

The Administrative Commission shall adopt an operating procedure concerning its work.

d) Commission for Information

Article 123

The Commission for Information shall take up the following:

i. regulation and construction of the foundations of the public system of information and the information system of the Federation;

ii. regulation and improvement of the foundations of public information;

iii. building and improving the information of delegations of basic self-managing organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations concerning matters which are taken up and being decided on in the SFRY Assembly and followup on their implementation;

iv. the manner in which delegates and delegations in the SFRY Assembly are informed;

v. the manner in which the public is informed about the work of the SFRY Assembly;

vi. and other matters pertaining to information which have a bearing on performance of the function of the SFRY Assembly in this domain.

Article 124

The Commission for Information shall have a chairman and 14 members.

The chairman and seven members of the commission shall be elected from among the delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, one member of the commission shall be delegated by the Federal Executive Council, and six members of the commission shall be delegated on the basis of prior agreements within the framework of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia by sociopolitical and other public organizations at the federal level.

Representatives of appropriate bodies of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces may also participate in the work of the commission.

Article 125

The Commission for Information shall adopt an operating procedure concerning its work.

e) Commission for Establishing Identical Versions of Texts in the Languages of the Nationalities of Yugoslavia

Article 126

The Commission for Establishing Identical Versions of Texts in the Languages of the Nationalities of Yugoslavia shall ascertain that the texts of proposed versions of acts under consideration in sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly are identical in the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia as set forth in the republic constitutions.

Article 127

Before beginning debate in a session of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly the commission shall ascertain that the text of the proposed version of the act is identical in the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia which are set forth in the republic constitutions and shall inform the chamber of the SFRY Assembly as to whether the texts of the proposed version of the act under consideration are identical. In the case of acts in the jurisdiction of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, the commission shall also establish whether the text of the draft of an act is identical in the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia which are set forth in republic constitutions.

If in a meeting of a chamber of the SFRY Assembly an amendment is submitted in only one of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia, the chamber of the SFRY Assembly may decide to suspend debate on that amendment until it is established that the text of the amendment is identical in the other languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia.

In this case the chamber of the SFRY Assembly may finally adopt the proposed version of the act of which the amendment is an integral part when it is established that the text is identical in the other languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia.

The commission shall also establish whether the text of acts of the SFRY Assembly in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (the Albanian language and the Hungarian language) are identical with the texts adopted in the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Article 128

The Commission for Establishing Identical Versions of Texts in the Languages of the Nationalities of Yugoslavia shall consist of sections for each of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia set forth by republic constitutions and for the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian ethnic minorities (the Albanian language and the Hungarian language).

Each section shall have four members of which two shall be elected from among the delegates and two from among specialists in the respective language.

The commission shall have a chairman elected from among the delegates.

Article 129

The commission shall adopt an operating procedure to govern its work.

f) Commission for Petitions and Proposals

Article 130

The Commission for Petitions and Proposals shall within the jurisdiction of the SFRY Assembly:

i. examine petitions in which working people and citizens, self-managing organizations and communities and other organizations and agencies of sociopolitical communities furnish initiative for adoption, amendment or supplementation of a law, other regulation or general act within the jurisdiction of the SFRY Assembly unless the operating procedures of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly have stated that petitions of the particular organizations, communities and agencies shall be taken directly under consideration by the competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly;

ii. examine petitions and proposals which the working people and citizens, self-managing organizations and communities and other organizations and agencies of sociopolitical communities submit to the SFRY Assembly and which indicate trends and incidents occurring in the enforcement of laws, other regulations and general acts, and it shall so inform the relevant working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and propose to them that they take particular measures;

iii. examine in conformity with the provisions of this article petitions and proposals which pertain to individual cases;

iv. examine petitions and proposals of working people and citizens, organizations, communities and agencies which raise the question of accountability of officials elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly and at its discretion it may propose to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly that they take appropriate steps;

v. examine in cooperation with the appropriate bodies of other federal agencies and sociopolitical organizations and other interested public organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level petitions and proposals furnishing political and other initiative of general interest or pointing up problems or shortcomings which require that activity be undertaken of broad social importance.

If the commission deems that there is the basis for examining the initiative for adoption, amendment or supplementation of a law or other general act in the jurisdiction of the SFRY Assembly contained in a petition, it shall deliver it to the relevant working body of the competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly. If the relevant working body does not accept the initiative to which the petition pertains, the commission shall so inform the petitioner.

If a petition or proposal pertaining to individual cases raises a matter which pertains to the rights and duties which the SFRY Constitution states that the Federation shall exercise or discharge through federal agencies, and it pertains to the work of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations, the commission shall immediately take up the petition or proposal and shall inform the petitioner or proponent concerning the result. If such a petition or proposal raises a question regulated by a republic or provincial regulation, the commission shall relinquish the petition or proposal to the relevant commission of the assembly of the republic or the assembly of the autonomous province and shall inform the petitioner or proponent of the relinquishment and the reason for the relinquishment.

Article 131

The Commission for Petitions and Proposals shall have a chairman and 12 members. Eight members shall be elected from among the delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, including the chairman of the commission in that number, and five members of the commission shall be delegated on the basis of prior agreement within the framework of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia by sociopolitical and other public organizations at the federal level.

Article 132

The commission shall adopt an operating procedure concerning its work.

VI. Conduct of Relations of the SFRY Assembly With the SFRY State Presidency Related to the Joint Work of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly

Article 133

The SFRY Assembly shall inform the SFRY State Presidency concerning a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and shall deliver to it proposed versions of acts and other materials within its jurisdiction which has a bearing on the work of the SFRY State Presidency.

Article 134

The members of the SFRY State Presidency may attend a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and sessions of the joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and participate in their work.

Article 135

When the SFRY Presidency, in conformity with the SFRY Constitution, informs the SFRY Assembly concerning the status and problems of domestic and foreign policy, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall so inform the president of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 136

When the SFRY State Presidency proposes to the SFRY Assembly that it take up certain matters and adopt decisions, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall deliver that proposal of the SFRY State Presidency to the competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

The SFRY Assembly, in conformity with the SFRY Constitution, may call upon the SFRY State Presidency to set forth views concerning individual matters within its jurisdiction which have a bearing on the work of the SFRY Assembly. When one or both chambers of the SFRY Assembly calls upon the SFRY State Presidency to expound views on certain matters, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall make that request known to the SFRY State Presidency. When in the exercise of its rights and discharge of its duties the SFRY State Presidency places before the SFRY Assembly a question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council, that question shall be taken up according to the provisions of this operating procedure concerning procedure related to putting a question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council.

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall inform the SFRY State Presidency about the decision of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly related to putting a question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council by the SFRY State Presidency.

VII. Conduct of Specific Debate in the SFRY Assembly on a Report of the Federal Executive Council

Article 138

When the Federal Executive Council, in conformity with Amendment V, Subparagraph 2, to the SFRY Constitution, submits to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a report on its work, on the situation in all domains of the life of society, on the conduct of policy and the enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts of the SFRY Assembly and on the guidance and coordination of the work of federal administrative agencies, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall send that report to the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 139

The report of the Federal Executive Council shall be taken up first by the working bodies of the chambers and the joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, and they shall report on this to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

A specific debate shall be conducted on the report of the Federal Executive Council in separate sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly. Representatives of the Federal Executive Council are required in sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, upon the motion of the delegates, to document particular matters contained in the report of the Federal Executive Council.

Consideration of a report of the Federal Executive Council in sessions of chambers of the SFRY Assembly in which the work of the Federal Executive Council is being evaluated may end in the following way:

a. with acceptance of the report of the Federal Executive Council and adoption of resolves stating the obligations of the Federal Executive Council related to its future work;

b. with the putting of a question of confidence in the chairman and members of the Federal Executive Council.

Article 140

If in sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a question of confidence is put in the Federal Executive Council, the provisions of this operating procedure concerning procedure related to the putting of a question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council shall be applied with respect to subsequent procedure.

VIII. Conduct of Relations of the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia and the Organs of Other Sociopolitical Organizations at the Federal Level Related to the Joint Work of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly

Article 141

The SFRY Assembly, its chambers and working bodies and the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia and its working bodies and forms of activity and the organs and bodies of other sociopolitical organizations at the federal level shall act specifically as follows in their mutual relations: submit initiative for incorporation of particular matters in the work programs and work plans and indicate questions in those work programs and work plans in whose consideration and presentation of opinions and proposals they have an immediate interest; submit opinions and proposals on individual matters which they have under consideration; participate in work in sessions through their representatives; establish joint working bodies and carry on other forms of joint work and activity on matters of common interest to the SFRY Assembly and to sociopolitical organizations at the federal level.

Article 142

Delegates in the SFRY Assembly may establish a Club of Delegates.

Delegates in the Club of Delegates shall take up matters of common interest to their work and to the work of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, shall inform one another and exchange opinions on individual matters of the country's domestic and foreign policy as well as on other matters which have been raised by delegates in the Club of Delegates or by the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia.

Article 143

The organization, tasks and operating procedure of the Club of Delegates shall be regulated by the rules of the Club.

Within the SFRY Assembly the material and other conditions shall be furnished for the work of the Club of Delegates.

IX. Conduct of Cooperation of the SFRY Assembly With the Representative Bodies of Other States and Participation of Its Representatives in the Work of Certain International Organizations and Missions

1. Cooperation of the SFRY Assembly With Representative Bodies of Other States

Article 144

Cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with the representative bodies of other states shall be conducted by the sending of delegations, delegates and study groups of the SFRY Assembly, its chambers and the working bodies of the chambers to the representative bodies of other states and by the receiving of delegations, study groups or members of the representative bodies of other states, by exchange of declarations, resolutions or other acts and messages, or by exchange of documentary and informative materials and publications with the representative bodies of other states or other forms of cooperation.

The SFRY Assembly shall cooperate with the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces in the preparation and conduct of programs governing their cooperation with the representative bodies of other states.

Article 145

Cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with the representative bodies of other states shall be conducted on the basis of programs of cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with the representative bodies of other states adopted by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Programs of cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with the representative bodies of other states shall be adopted for each year.

The proposed version of the program of cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with the representative bodies of other states shall be prepared by the Committee of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly for Foreign Policy and the Committee of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly for Foreign Economic Relations and shall be submitted for consideration and adoption to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 146

In conformity with the program of cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with the representative bodies of other states the Committee of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly for Foreign Policy and the Committee of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly for Foreign Economic Relations shall state the goals and tasks of the delegation of the SFRY Assembly which is being sent to the representative body of the other state or which is being established in connection with the visit to the SFRY Assembly of a delegation of a representative body of another state, as well as the makeup of the delegation of the SFRY Assembly. Nomination for the makeup of the delegation of the SFRY Assembly shall be prepared by a joint working group of those committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The members of the delegation of the SFRY Assembly shall be designated from among delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Within 15 days from the date of completion of the visit the delegation of the SFRY Assembly shall submit to the committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article a report on the visit, and if they so resolve--also to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall at the end of every year submit reports on performance of the program of cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with representative bodies of other states.

In connection with consideration of reports of delegations the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, within their respective jurisdictions, may set forth obligations of the Federal Executive Council, federal administrative agencies and federal organizations in connection with performance or monitoring performance of the obligations and tasks set forth in a resolve and pertaining to them and in connection with informing the chambers of the SFRY Assembly concerning this matter.

Article 147

The SFRY Assembly may send to the representative bodies of other states a declaration or resolution which it has adopted and which expresses the general position of the SFRY Assembly or a position on particular matters within the domain of foreign policy, and it may also accept such or similar acts from the representative bodies of other states.

The SFRY Assembly may exchange messages with representative bodies of other states pertaining to individual matters of foreign policy and also informative and other materials important to their mutual cooperation.

All delegates in the SFRY Assembly shall be familiarized in an appropriate way with the acts and other materials referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article and which the representative bodies of other states have sent to the SFRY Assembly.

2. Participation of Representatives of the SFRY Assembly in the Work of the Interparliamentary Union and in Certain International Organizations and Missions

Article 148

Delegates in the SFRY Assembly shall establish the Yugoslav group of the Interparliamentary Union on the principle of voluntary enrollment.

The Yugoslav group of the Interparliamentary Union shall participate in the work of the Interparliamentary Union, shall inform the chambers of the SFRY Assembly concerning its decisions, shall submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly relevant proposals and shall carry on cooperation with the national groups of representative bodies of other states.

Article 149

The Yugoslav group of the Interparliamentary Union shall adopt its rules regulating its organization and tasks and the manner of its work.

Conditions shall be furnished in the SFRY Assembly for the work of the Yugoslav group of the Interparliamentary Union.

Article 150

Delegates in the SFRY Assembly may as representatives of the SFRY Assembly with the status of members of the delegation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia commissioned for particular matters or as observers participate in regular and special sessions of the Organization of the United Nations and its specialized organizations, in international conferences and also as members of government delegations related to certain foreign political missions of broad significance.

The need for participation of delegates from the SFRY Assembly and the makeup of such delegates shall be established by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly on the basis of a proposal of the Committee of the Federal Chamber for Foreign Policy and the Committee of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces for Foreign Economic Relations and after previously conducting consultations and reaching agreements with the competent agencies and organizations at the federal level.

X. Staff Services of the SFRY Assembly

Article 151

Specialized and other matters to meet the needs of the SFRY Assembly, the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the delegates and delegations in performance of their function within the SFRY Assembly shall be performed by the staff services of the SFRY Assembly, whose organization and work shall be regulated by a decision on the organization and work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly adopted by both chambers of the SFRY Assembly on an equal footing.

Article 152

The staff services of the SFRY Assembly are required within the limits of their jurisdiction to furnish and make available material to the delegates and delegations in the SFRY Assembly, to extend to them technical aid in the drafting of proposed versions of laws, other regulations and general acts and other proposals, and also see to providing the technical and other conditions for performance of their function.

XI. Transitional and Final Provisions

Article 153

When this operating procedure takes effect, the Operating Procedure of the SFRY Assembly (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 6, 1975) and the Decision Amending and Supplementing the Operating Procedure of the SFRY Assembly (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 22, 1978), shall cease to be valid except for the provisions pertaining to the president and vice president of the SFRY Assembly, to the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly, to the joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, to cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with the representative bodies of other states, to the general secretary of the SFRY Assembly and staff services of the SFRY Assembly, which shall remain in effect until the date when the newly elected SFRY Assembly is duly constituted.

Article 154

On the day when the newly elected SFRY Assembly is duly constituted the Decision Establishing the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Housing Affairs (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 40, 1981) shall cease to be valid.

Tasks and functions which under the Decision on Conditions and Manner of Allocation of Housing and Garages and Garage Spaces for the Needs of Officials in the SFRY Assembly, Supervisory Personnel and Workers in Staff Services of the SFRY Assembly and for Purposes of Officials in Certain Federal Agencies and Organizations (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 68, 1981) are performed by the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Housing Affairs shall of the date when the newly elected SFRY Constitution is duly constituted be performed by the Administrative Commission of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 155

This operating procedure shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

7045
CSO: 2800/426

OPERATING PROCEDURE OF FEDERAL CHAMBER OF SFRY ASSEMBLY

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 22, 23 Apr 82 pp 671-710

[Operating procedure adopted by the Federal Chamber of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Belgrade on 1 April 1982 and signed by Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen, president of the Federal Chamber]

[Text] On the basis of Article 285, Subparagraph 16, of the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, in a session on 1 April 1982, has adopted the following

OPERATING PROCEDURE
of the Federal Chamber of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

I. Introductory Provisions

Article 1

This operating procedure shall regulate the manner of operation and organization of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly (hereafter the "Chamber").

Article 2

The operating procedure of the Chamber shall contain provisions concerning the following:

a. the rights and duties of the delegations in the Chamber;

b. informing the delegations of basic self-managing organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations on matters being deliberated by the Chamber;

c. the jurisdiction of the Chamber;

d. the organization of the Chamber;

e. programming the work of the Chamber;

f. the acts of the SFRY Assembly within the jurisdiction of the Chamber;

g. the session of the Chamber;

h. procedures in the Chamber;

i. informing the public about the work of the Chamber;

j. use of the written and spoken languages of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia in the work of the Chamber;

k. the Chamber's relations and cooperation with the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly;

l. conduct of the Chamber's relations with the SFRY State Presidency;

m. exercise of the Chamber's rights toward the Federal Executive Council;

n. exercise of the Chamber's rights relative to federal administrative agencies and federal organizations;

o. the Chamber's participation in the work of federal social councils;

p. conduct of the Chamber's relations with the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia;

q. conduct of the Chamber's relations with the Federal Court, the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office, the Federal Solicitor General's Office, the Federal Public Defender of Self-Management Law and the Social Accounting Service;

r. the Chamber's cooperation with sociopolitical and other public organizations and communities and other organizations at the federal level;

s. the Chamber's cooperation with the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces;

t. the staff services of the Chamber.

Article 3

The provisions of the Operating Procedure for Joint Work of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall apply to the joint work of the Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly (hereafter the "Chamber of Republics and Provinces").

Article 4

The Chamber shall regulate the manner of the Chamber's work which is not regulated by this operating procedure in its decision or resolve, in conformity with the provisions of this operating procedure.

Article 5

The work of the Chamber and of its working bodies shall be public.

Article 6

The Chamber shall be in permanent session.

The summer recess of the Chamber shall last each year from 20 July to 5 September.

The president of the Chamber may convene a session of the Chamber even during the summer recess as may the chairman of a working body of the Chamber concerning a meeting of that body if particular needs so require.

II. Rights and Duties of Delegates in the Chamber

Article 7

The delegate in the Chamber (hereafter the "delegate") shall have the rights and duties set forth in the SFRY Constitution, law, this operating procedure and the Operating Procedure for Joint Work of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 8

After verification of credentials the delegate shall state which working body of the Chamber or joint working body he would like to be a member of.

Every delegate shall be a member of a working body of the Chamber.

The delegate may request to be dismissed in a working body of which he is a member and may express a desire to be elected a member of another working body of the Chamber.

Article 9

The delegate has the right and duty to attend sessions of the Chamber and meetings of the working body of the Chamber of which he is a member and to participate in their work.

The delegate has the right to attend a meeting of the working body of the Chamber even though he is not a member of that body and to participate in its work without the right to vote.

Article 10

The delegate who is prevented from attending a session of the Chamber or a meeting of the working body of which he is a member must so inform the Chamber or working body of the Chamber in good time.

Article 11

In the taking of positions on matters on which decisions are being made in the Chamber the delegate shall act in conformity with the guidelines of the self-managing organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations and

the views of their delegations in the republic or autonomous province as well as in conformity with the joint and general public interests and needs, but he shall be independent in his decisionmaking and voting.

The delegate is required to report on the work of the Chamber and on his own work as a delegate to the basic self-managing organization and community and sociopolitical organization which have delegated him or their delegations in the republic or autonomous province and shall be accountable to them for his work.

Article 12

Within the confines of the Chamber's jurisdiction the delegate shall have the following rights and duties:

a. to submit proposals and opinions of delegations which have delegated him and to propose to the Chamber adoption of positions on those proposals and opinions;

b. to participate in drafting the work program of the Chamber and of the working bodies of the Chamber and to propose incorporation of particular matters in those programs;

c. to submit proposed versions of laws, other regulations and general acts and amendments and proposed versions of such acts;

d. to submit proposals and opinions concerning proposals for enactment and concerning drafts of laws, other regulations and general acts;

e. to submit a petition for the rendering of an authentic interpretation of a law which the Chamber has adopted;

f. to propose consideration of conduct of policy in particular domains of the life of society and the enforcement of laws, other regulations and general acts within the jurisdiction of the Chamber;

g. to propose establishment of a policy governing enforcement of laws, other regulations and general acts in the jurisdiction of the Chamber and obligations of the Federal Executive Council, federal administrative agencies and federal organizations related to their enforcement;

h. to propose consideration of matters pertaining to the work of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies and to propose to the Chamber that it call upon the Federal Executive Council or officials heading federal administrative agencies to submit a report on the work of the Federal Executive Council or on their own work and on the work of the federal administrative agency which they head;

i. to submit proposals pertaining to exercise of policy oversight over the work of the Federal Executive Council, federal administrative agencies and federal organizations;

j. to propose consideration of the question of establishing the political responsibility of an official elected or appointed by the Chamber;

k. to propose consideration of matters pertaining to social oversight and to propose measures for exercising social oversight;

l. to put delegate's queries and to seek information and clarification;

m. to propose that an inquiry be conducted on matters within the jurisdiction of the Chamber.

Article 13

The delegate shall have the right to elect and be elected to all elective offices in the Chamber or SFRY Assembly.

The delegate has the right to propose the election, appointment or dismissal of an official elected or appointed by the Chamber independently or equally with the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

Article 14

Within the limits of the Chamber's purview the delegate has the right to put a question to the Federal Executive Council or the official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization pertaining to their work or to matters within their jurisdiction (the delegate question) and to obtain an answer to that question.

Within the limits of the Chamber's purview the delegate also has the right to put a question to the official heading an organization or community which exercises public authority on the basis of federal law and to obtain an answer to that question.

Article 15

In conformity with the SFRY Constitution, an interpellation may be submitted by a group of at least 10 delegates for consideration of particular policy matters related to the work of the Federal Executive Council.

In conformity with the SFRY Constitution, the Chamber may put a question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council if the proposal has the support of at least 10 delegates.

Article 16

The delegate shall have the right to seek from the Federal Executive Council and from an official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization information concerning a matter which is on the agenda of a session or is being prepared for a session of the Chamber or a meeting of a working body of the Chamber of which he is a member, as well as information on another matter necessary to the delegate to perform his function, providing it pertains

to matters within the jurisdiction of the Federal Executive Council or the respective agency or organization which that official heads.

The delegate has the right to seek information from the Federal Court, the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office, the Federal Solicitor General's Office and the Office of the Federal Defender of Self-Management Law on matters pertaining to their work that have a bearing on achievement of constitutionality and legality and protection of the rights of self-management and the other freedoms and rights of citizens and self-managing organizations and communities.

Article 17

Within the limits of the Chamber's purview the delegate has the right to seek information from organizations of associated labor or other self-managing organizations and communities which exercise public authority on the basis of federal law concerning the exercise of that authority.

The organization or community referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article is required to furnish the information requested and to substantiate it if that is required.

Article 18

The delegate has the right to seek information and explanations from the president of the Chamber, the vice president of the Chamber and the chairman of a working body of the Chamber on a matter which pertains to their work and to the work of the bodies over which they preside.

Article 19

The delegate also has the right to seek information and explanations from the secretary of the Chamber on a matter which pertains to the work of the secretary and the staff service of the Chamber.

Article 20

The delegate has the right to seek information and explanations from the president and vice president of the SFRY Assembly and the chairmen of joint working bodies of the chambers on matters pertaining to their work and the work of the bodies they preside over.

Article 21

The delegate also has the right to seek information and explanations from the general secretary of the SFRY Assembly as well as from other appointed officials in the staff services of the SFRY Assembly pertaining to their work and to the work of the staff services which they head.

Article 22

The delegate has the right to propose that the Chamber:

i. propose to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces enactment of a law, other regulation or general act or consideration of a matter within the purview of that chamber;

ii. take under consideration the draft of a law, other regulation or general act or other matter within the purview of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces and on the basis of debate furnish that chamber an opinion on that draft or other matter under consideration.

Article 23

A delegate whom the Chamber or working body of the Chamber has designated to participate in the work of other organs and bodies must act in conformity with the authorities, guidelines and positions of the Chamber or working body of the Chamber which so designated him.

The delegate is required to inform the Chamber or the working body of the Chamber concerning his own work and concerning the work of the organ or body in whose work he is participating in the manner and by the dates set by the Chamber or working body of the Chamber.

Article 24

The delegate has the right to be regularly and promptly informed on all matters which are under consideration and which are being deliberated in the Chamber, as well as on other matters he needs to be familiar with in order to perform his function as a delegate, but specifically concerning the following:

a. domestic and foreign policy;

b. socioeconomic and sociopolitical relations;

c. nationwide defense and social self-protection;

d. the conduct of the policy set forth by the SFRY Assembly and the enforcement of laws and other regulations and general acts within the purview of the Chamber;

e. the work of the Federal Executive Council;

f. the work of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations;

g. the opinions and proposals of federal social councils on matters important to the work of the Chamber;

h. the work of organs and bodies to which the Chamber or working body of the Chamber has designated its delegates.

Article 25

For the sake of regular and prompt information, aside from the material under consideration and under deliberation in the Chamber, the delegates shall also be delivered the following: periodical and ad hoc publications concerning the work of the SFRY Assembly and other informative and documentary material on the matters enumerated in Article 24 of this operating procedure.

The delegate shall also have the right to scrutinize informative and documentary material which is gathered, recorded and processed in the bodies and staff services of the SFRY Assembly.

The delegate has the right to scrutinize the informative and documentary material which is gathered, recorded and processed in federal administrative agencies, federal organizations and self-managing organizations and communities which exercise public authority on the basis of federal law in tasks of interest to the Federation and pertaining to matters under consideration in the Chamber.

Article 26

The delegate has the right to seek information from the staff service of the Chamber and other staff services of the SFRY Assembly concerning particular matters which are on the agenda of a session of the Chamber or meeting of a working body of the Chamber of which he is a member, as well as on other matters within the purview of the Chamber and of its working bodies.

Article 27

In order to facilitate performance of the delegate's function the delegate shall be furnished technical aid and the administrative and technical conditions necessary for his work.

The delegate has the right to use the library and documentation of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 28

In performance of his function the delegate has the right and duty to safeguard state secrets and confidential information and is accountable for so doing.

The criterion for establishing which material and information are regarded as a state secret or are confidential and the manner in which the confidentiality of such material shall be ascertained and also the manner in which such material shall be handled are to be set forth in a general act.

Article 29

The delegate shall be personally accountable for his work and, in conformity with his rights and duties, for the work and decisions of the Chamber and of the working body of the Chamber of which he is a member.

The delegate shall be accountable to the Chamber or to the working body of the Chamber for tasks and functions entrusted to him by the Chamber or the working body of the Chamber.

Proceedings for establishing the responsibility of the delegate referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article shall be instituted in the Chamber or working body of the Chamber which has entrusted those tasks and functions to him.

Article 30

The delegate has the right to submit his resignation to the Chamber concerning a post to which he has been elected and to substantiate that resignation.

When the delegate submits his resignation concerning his post as a delegate, he is required to give notice to the Chamber.

Article 31

All elective and other functions to which the delegate has been elected shall terminate by virtue of the delegate's recall or resignation.

Article 32

The delegate is a holder of public office.

The delegate is entitled to compensation for personal income and possesses other rights under the conditions set forth in a specific regulation.

Article 33

Credentials shall be issued to the delegate.

The credentials shall among other things state the right to immunity and other rights which the delegate may exercise on the basis of the credentials.

III. Informing the Delegations of Basic Self-Managing Organizations and Communities and Sociopolitical Organizations on Matters Being Deliberated by the Chamber and on Its Work

Article 34

Through the joint herald of the SFRY Assembly and of the assembly of each republic or the assembly of each autonomous province (hereafter the "herald") the Chamber shall provide regular and prompt information to the delegations of basic self-managing organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations (hereafter the "delegations") on matters being deliberated by the Chamber so that they might set forth guidelines for the actions of delegates.

Article 35

The delegations shall inform themselves through the herald concerning the work programs and work plans of the Chamber.

So that they might set forth guidelines for the actions of delegates in decisionmaking delegations shall specifically inform themselves through the herald concerning the purposes and reasons for enactment of a law, other regulation or general act; the basis relations they are to regulate; the basic solutions being proposed and other possible solutions; opinions on the impact the proposed solutions would have on the social position and interests of the working people and particular domains of associated labor, the interests of the working people and citizens in self-managing organizations and communities and their joint and general social interests; proposed solutions which have not been adopted and the reasons why, and also concerning other facts and information important to adoption of basic positions and to setting forth guidelines of delegations to govern the work of delegates.

During the procedure of enactment of acts in the Chamber delegations shall inform themselves through the herald concerning the opinions, proposals and positions of the working bodies of the Chamber and the joint working bodies of the chambers, as well as concerning opinions, proposals and positions of the Federal Executive Council, of sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level.

Delegates shall inform themselves so that they can take basic positions and set forth guidelines to govern the work of delegates.

Article 36

As a rule the herald shall be delivered to delegations at the same time when proposals for enactment of laws or proposed versions of laws, other regulations or general acts are delivered to delegates, in conformity with the periods of time set forth in this operating procedure for their delivery to delegates.

Article 37

The herald shall be delivered to every delegation.

The herald shall be delivered to all delegates, federal organizations and sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level.

Article 38

The proponent of a law, other regulation or general act or sponsor of other proposals for consideration in the Chamber must deliver to the Chamber along with his proposal a separate summary of the proposal intended for the delegations, which shall specifically contain the following information: the constitutional basis for enactment of the law, other regulation or general act;

an evaluation of the situation in the area which is to be regulated and the goal aimed at by adopting the piece of legislation; the basic principles on which regulation would be regulated in the domain to which the legislation pertains and the consequences that would follow from the proposed solutions for the material position and general position of the working people and citizens, organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities.

If the proponent of a law, other regulation or general act or sponsor of another proposal which the Chamber has under consideration has not delivered to the Chamber along with his proposal a separate summary of the proposal intended for delegations, the president of the Chamber, before sending it to the delegates, shall call upon the proponent of the act or sponsor of some other proposal to act in conformity with the obligations stated in Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 39

The editorial board of the herald shall be responsible for achieving the conception and content of the herald.

Article 40

Together with the Chamber of Republics and Provinces and the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces the Chamber shall adopt an act regulating the manner and organization of the herald's preparation and publication.

IV. The Chamber's Purview

Article 41

In conformity with the SFRY Constitution the Chamber shall:

1) decide on amendment of the SFRY Constitution;

2) set forth the bases of domestic policy and set forth the foreign policy of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

3) enact federal laws, except federal laws which are enacted by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces; furnish authentic interpretation of the federal laws which it enacts;

4) set forth the policy governing execution of federal laws and other regulations and general acts which it enacts, as well as the obligations of federal agencies related to enforcement of those regulations and acts;

5) adopt the federal budget and year-end financial statement of the federal budget;

6) decide on changing the boundaries of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

7) decide on war and peace;

8) ratify international treaties on political and military cooperation and international treaties which require adoption of new laws or amendment of laws in effect which it enacts;

9) set forth the bases of organization of federal agencies and their jurisdiction;

10) examine within the limits of its purview the reports of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies, exercise policy oversight over the work of those bodies and guide their work by issuing its own guidelines;

11) take under consideration opinions and proposals of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia concerning achievement of protection of constitutionality and legality before that court;

12) examine reports of the Federal Court and the federal public prosecutor on enforcement of federal laws, on general problems of jurisprudence and on the work of the Federal Court and federal public prosecutor;

13) examine reports, opinions and proposals of the federal public defender of self-management law;

14) grant amnesty for the crimes designated by federal law;

15) verify the credentials of delegates and decide questions of the immunity of delegates as holders of elective office;

16) adopt an operating procedure governing its work;

17) and also perform other tasks within the jurisdiction of the SFRY Assembly which are not in the jurisdiction of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces or which are not performed equally with that chamber.

Article 42

Within the limits of its purview and in performance of the tasks enumerated in Article 41, Subparagraph 17, of this operating procedure, the Chamber shall specifically:

1) adopt the Chamber's work programs and work plans;

2) participate in conclusion of social compacts;

3) decide a dispute between a federal administrative agency and an administrative agency of a republic or province with respect to discharge of obligations

of the administrative agency in the republic or autonomous province to carry out a federal law, other regulation or general act if that dispute has arisen concerning a federal law, other regulation or general act whose enactment is in the purview of the Chamber;

4) exercise public oversight;

5) adopt a plan on the organization and manner of work of the Chamber during a state of war, immediate danger of war or other similar extraordinary situation;

6) elect the president and vice president of the Chamber, establish the working bodies of the Chamber and elect the chairmen and members of those bodies;

7) appoint and dismiss the secretary of the Chamber.

V. Organization of the Chamber

1. Verification and Termination of the Delegate's Tenure

Article 43

The Chamber shall verify the election of newly elected delegates in the first session of the new convocation.

Verification shall be done on the recommendation of the Verification Commission elected by the Chamber.

Article 44

By virtue of verification of his election in the Chamber the delegate shall acquire his rights and assume his duties as set forth in the SFRY Constitution, law and this operating procedure.

Article 45

The Verification Commission shall consist of a chairman and seven members elected from among the delegates.

Article 46

The Verification Commission shall examine the report and other election documents of the Commission for Election and Recall of Delegates to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, as well as complaints which may be received concerning election of particular delegates, shall investigate the propriety of the election and shall make a report to the Chamber on the situation ascertained.

The report of the Verification Commission shall be made available to all delegates before commencement of the session in which the election of delegates is to be verified.

Article 47

The Chamber shall take up the report of the Verification Commission.

The report shall be voted on as a whole if the commission has not contested the election of a single delegate. If the commission has contested some election, the vote shall first be taken on all the undisputed elections, and then on each disputed election individually.

Article 48

The Chamber shall verify the elections of delegates which have not been contested.

The Chamber may in a session contest the verification of a particular election and resolve that the necessary check be made on the validity of the election.

The final decision on verification of a contested election must be made within 2 months.

A delegate whose election is contested has the right to attend the sessions of the Chamber and to participate in its work, without the right to vote.

Article 49

The Chamber shall verify the election of delegates elected in runoff elections or by-elections on the recommendation of the Commission for Tenure and Immunity, according to the provisions of this operating procedure on verification of election.

Article 50

The delegate's tenure shall cease in the cases set forth in the SFRY Constitution and federal law.

Article 51

If a delegate has submitted his resignation, the president of the Chamber shall so inform the Chamber, which shall acknowledge the resignation.

On the date of acknowledgment of the receipt of the resignation, the delegate's tenure shall terminate.

Article 52

In every case which entails termination of tenure, excepting resignation, the Commission for Tenure and Immunity shall inform the Chamber, and the Chamber shall take note that the delegate's tenure has terminated and shall fix the date of termination of his tenure.

Article 53

A delegate who has taken a post or position which under the SFRY Constitution and federal law is incompatible with the office of delegate is required to so inform the president of the Chamber. The president of the Chamber shall inform the Chamber, which shall establish that the delegate's tenure has terminated.

If in the case referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article the delegate does not inform the president of the Chamber, this shall be done by the Commission for Tenure and Immunity.

2. The President, Vice President and Secretary of the Chamber

Article 54

The Chamber shall have a president and vice president of the Chamber.

Article 55

In conformity with the SFRY Constitution the president of the Chamber shall represent the Chamber.

The president of the Chamber shall:

a. convene the session of the Chamber, propose the agenda and preside over the session;

b. propose that questions be taken up in the purview of the Chamber in sessions of the Chamber and of its working bodies;

c. see to execution of the Chamber's resolve and inform the Chamber on this;

d. see that the delegations are informed on matters being deliberated by the Chamber;

e. see to enforcement of the principle of public scrutiny in the work of the Chamber and its working bodies;

f. see to achievement of equality of the written and spoken languages of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia in the work of the Chamber and its working bodies;

g. see to preparation of the Chamber's work program and to its fulfillment;

h. see to coordination of the work of the joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly with the work of the Chamber concerning matters important to the work of the Chamber;

i. enter into agreement with the president of the SFRY Assembly on questions important to the work of the Chamber as set forth in this operating procedure

and the Operating Procedure for Joint Work of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly;

j. enter into agreement with the president of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces on the manner and times for consideration of matters on which the Chamber decides in equal jurisdiction with that chamber and on other matters of common interest to the two chambers;

k. see to cooperation of the Chamber with the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces;

l. see to the Chamber's cooperation with sociopolitical and other public organizations and other self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level;

m. see to the enforcement of this operating procedure;

n. issue instructions to the secretary of the Chamber on performance of the tasks and functions to meet the needs of the Chamber;

o. and also perform other tasks as set forth in this operating procedure and the Operating Procedure for Joint Work of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly and tasks entrusted to him by the Chamber.

Article 56

The president of the Chamber shall send certain matters within the purview of the Chamber to the relevant working bodies of the Chamber and joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly for their consideration.

Article 57

The vice president of the Chamber shall replace the president of the Chamber should he be absent or incapacitated, and in agreement with the president of the Chamber shall perform particular tasks as enumerated in Article 55 of this operating procedure.

Article 58

The president and vice president of the Chamber shall be elected among the delegates for 1 year.

The president and vice president of the Chamber shall be elected each year from a different republic or autonomous province.

The president and vice president of the Chamber may not be reelected to the same post during that term of office of the delegate.

The president and vice president of the Chamber may not be elected simultaneously from the same republic or autonomous province.

The delegate's tenure as president or vice president of the Chamber shall terminate if his tenure in the Chamber terminates before end of the term to which he was elected.

Article 59

Before taking office the president and vice president of the Chamber shall take a solemn oath before the Chamber reading as follows:

"I declare that I will perform my duty responsibly and conscientiously and that I will abide by the SFRY Constitution and federal laws, that I will fight for protection of the country's sovereignty, independence and integrity and for achievement of the rule of the working class and all the working people, that I will strive to achieve brotherhood and unity and the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, the development of a socialist self-managing society, and achievement of the common interests of the working people and citizens and the nationalities and ethnic minorities of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

Article 60

The Chamber shall have a secretary.

The secretary of the Chamber shall supervise the work of the staff service of the Chamber, shall organize the performance of technical and other tasks to meet the needs of the Chamber, its working bodies, and the delegates, shall aid the president of the Chamber in preparing the session of the Chamber and in carrying out the Chamber's resolves, and shall also perform other tasks entrusted to him by the Chamber or the president of the Chamber.

Article 61

The secretary of the Chamber shall be appointed and dismissed by the Chamber on recommendation of the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments.

The secretary of the Chamber shall be appointed for a 4-year term and may be appointed to the same office for one additional term.

The secretary of the Chamber shall be accountable to the Chamber for his own work and for the work of the staff services of the Chamber.

3. The Chamber's Working Bodies

a) General Provisions

Article 62

Committees, commissions and other working bodies shall be established to prepare, propose and consider proposals of laws, other regulations and general acts, to monitor the conduct of policy and enforcement of laws, other

regulations and general acts which the Chamber enacts, to examine matters related to protection of constitutionality and legality and social oversight within the limits of their purview, to study and examine other matters within the purview of the Chamber, and to carry out specific tasks important to the work of the Chamber.

A committee shall be established for particular domains of the life of society within the Chamber's purview.

The commission shall be established to perform certain tasks of interest to the work of the Chamber or the work of its working bodies.

The Chamber may also establish other standing and ad hoc working bodies as necessary to perform tasks within the purview of the Chamber (commissions, working groups, etc.).

Article 63

The Chamber's working bodies shall be established by this operating procedure, but they may also be established by specific decision of the Chamber.

This operating procedure or the decision establishing a working body of the Chamber shall state their purview, their composition and their authority.

Insofar as the manner of operation of the working body has not been regulated by this operating procedure, the working body may regulate it in its own resolution in conformity with the provisions of this operating procedure.

Article 64

The working body of the Chamber shall have a specified number of members as set forth in this operating procedure and the decision establishing the working body.

The members of the Chamber's working body shall be elected from among the delegates.

Scholars and scientists, specialists and public figures may also be elected members of a commission or ad hoc working body of the Chamber, but their number may not exceed one-third of the total number of members of that body unless this operating procedure or the decision establishing the working body of the Chamber provides otherwise.

Members of the committees of the Chamber and other working bodies of the Chamber shall be elected from among the delegates so as to take into account equal representation of the delegates from the republics and appropriate representation of the delegates from the autonomous provinces.

The members of the Chamber's working body shall be elected to a term of 4 years unless the decision establishing the working body provides otherwise.

If a delegate's tenure terminates before end of the term to which he was elected or if he is dismissed by the Chamber, he shall cease to be a member of the Chamber's working body.

Article 65

The Chamber's working body shall have a chairman.

The chairman of the working body of the Chamber shall be elected from among the delegates for a term of 1 year and may be reelected once more to the same post.

The equal representation of the republics and the appropriate representation of the autonomous provinces shall be borne in mind in electing the chairman of the Chamber's working body.

The chairman of the Chamber's working body may be dismissed even before expiration of the period for which he was elected.

If a delegate's tenure terminates before end of his term, his tenure as chairman of the Chamber's working body shall also terminate.

Article 66

The working body of the Chamber shall elect from among its own member-delegates a deputy chairman who shall replace the chairman of the Chamber's working body should he be absent or incapacitated.

Article 67

The chairman of the Chamber's working body shall organize the work of that working body.

The chairman of the Chamber's working body shall take initiative for consideration of individual matters within the purview of the working body, shall prepare and call meetings, shall propose the agenda of meetings, shall preside over them, shall see that the members of the working body are informed on matters within the working body's purview, shall see to preparation of the working body's work program and its fulfillment, shall cooperate with the chairmen of the Chamber's working bodies, the joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, with the president of the Chamber and with officials heading federal administrative agencies and federal organizations, shall see to implementation of the resolutions of the working body, to public scrutiny of the work of the working body, and shall also perform other tasks as provided by this operating procedure or the decision establishing the working body.

Article 68

The Chamber's working body shall conduct its business in meetings.

The meetings of the Chamber's working body shall be convened by the chairman of the working body on his own initiative or on the basis of the resolutions of the Chamber's working body.

The chairman of the Chamber's working body is required to convene a meeting when this is requested by the president of the Chamber or when this is requested by a third of the members of the working body of the Chamber.

If the chairman of the Chamber's working body does not call a meeting of the working body when he is required to do so, the meeting shall be called by the president of the Chamber.

Article 69

The summons to a meeting of a working body of the Chamber, along with the proposed agenda, shall be sent to the members of the working body no later than 10 days before the date when the meeting of the working body is to be held.

The chairman of a working body of the Chamber may call a meeting of the working body within an interval shorter than 10 days, and the agenda for that meeting may be proposed in the meeting itself.

Article 70

Every member of a working body of the Chamber has the right and duty to attend a meeting of the working body and participate in its work.

The member of a working body of the Chamber who is prevented from attending a meeting of the working body is required to report this to the chairman of the working body of the Chamber in good time.

Article 71

A meeting of a working body of the Chamber may be held if the meeting is attended by more than half of its members.

A majority of the votes of the members of the working body present is required for the working body of the Chamber to take positions.

Article 72

The meeting of the working body of the Chamber shall be attended by a representative of the Federal Executive Council or other proponent of a law, other regulation, general act or material which has been submitted to the Chamber or working body of the Chamber.

A meeting of the working body of the Chamber shall be attended by a representative of a federal administrative agency or federal organization when matters in the jurisdiction of that agency or organization are being taken up in the meeting.

If a representative of the proponent referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article does not attend the meeting of the working body of the Chamber, consideration of that matter shall be postponed.

As an exception the working body of the Chamber may decide to take up that matter even without the presence of the proponent's representative.

Article 73

The working body of the Chamber may invite for presentation of opinions and proposals representatives of bodies and organizations at the federal level, sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managing organizations and communities, and other organizations, as well as scholars and scientists, specialists and public figures.

Article 74

The working body of the Chamber shall take up matters within its purview.

The working body of the Chamber shall also take up matters within the purview of some other working body of the Chamber if the matter is one in which it has an interest or if that matter also pertains to the purview of that working body.

Article 75

When debate is closed on a particular matter, the working body of the Chamber shall submit its report to the Chamber and shall designate a reporter from among its members.

The report of the working body of the Chamber shall contain opinions expressed on the matter which was under consideration and a position concerning the matter under consideration if one was adopted by the working body.

A member of a working body of the Chamber may state his opinion of the position taken separately, and at his request it shall be entered in the report of the working body.

The report of the working body of the Chamber shall be prepared by the secretary of the working body of the Chamber unless the working body resolves otherwise.

The president of the working body of the Chamber shall sign the report of the working body and shall be responsible for its accuracy.

Article 76

The reporter of the working body of the Chamber, on the basis of the resolutions of the working body of the Chamber or at the request of the Chamber, shall present the case for the opinions, proposals or positions of the working body of the Chamber.

If during debate in the Chamber a question arises on which the working body of the Chamber has not taken a position or has not given its opinion, the reporter may request that the Chamber postpone debate of this question until the working body considers it. Consideration of such matters shall be postponed even if the Chamber calls upon the working body to take a position concerning it.

Article 77

The working body of the Chamber may establish a working group to study a particular matter, for consultation, or to prepare proposals and reports of the working body.

Aside from members of the working body of the Chamber, the members of the working group may be representatives of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations, sociopolitical and public organizations, self-managing organizations and communities, as well as scholars and scientists, specialists and public figures.

The working body of the Chamber may also commission individual members of the working body to conduct the necessary consultations and gather the opinions of interested bodies and organizations concerning a particular matter which the working body has under consideration.

When it has performed the tasks assigned it, the working group of the working body of the Chamber shall submit a report along with its proposals.

Article 78

The working bodies of the Chamber shall cooperate with one another.

The working body of the Chamber may hold a joint meeting with another working body of the Chamber, with a working body of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, and also with appropriate working bodies of the chambers of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

The working bodies of the Chamber may establish joint working groups to which they assign performance of a particular task within their purview.

Aside from the members of the working body of the Chamber, the members of the joint working group may also be representatives of federal bodies and federal organizations and other bodies and organizations, as well as scholars and scientists, specialists and public figures.

Article 79

The working bodies of the Chamber may call upon the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies and federal organizations to present their position through representatives when a proposal of the Federal Executive Council is on the agenda of the meeting of the working body of the Chamber or when a matter is under consideration which pertains to the purview of the federal administrative agency or federal organization.

The working bodies of the Chamber may request information and explanations from a federal administrative agency and federal organization related to matters which are on the agenda of a meeting of the working body of the Chamber and which pertain to the purview of the federal administrative agency and federal organization.

A working body of the Chamber may propose to the Chamber that it call upon the Federal Executive Council, federal administrative agencies or federal organizations to draft an act, an analysis or other material to meet the needs of the Chamber or working body of the Chamber.

Article 80

The working bodies of the Chamber may conduct inquiries and request from government agencies and self-managing organizations and communities necessary information, data and documents on matters which the Chamber is considering or on other matters necessary to performance of their tasks when the Chamber so orders in a specific resolve or when this has been provided for in the Chamber's work program.

The working bodies of the Chamber may not conduct investigatory or other judicial functions.

The inquiry shall be conducted by the working body of the Chamber whose purview includes the matter on which the inquiry is being conducted unless a resolve of the Chamber or the Chamber's work program provides that the inquiry shall be conducted by a special working body which the Chamber establishes.

Upon completion of the inquiry the working body of the Chamber shall submit a report to the Chamber.

Article 81

Minutes shall be kept on work in the meeting of the working body of the Chamber.

The minutes shall contain the basic information on work in the meeting, on the matters which are under consideration, and the opinions expressed and views adopted by the working body of the Chamber.

The secretary of the working body of the Chamber shall see to the keeping of the minutes.

Article 82

The accepted minutes shall be signed by the chairman and secretary of the working body of the Chamber.

The secretary of the working body of the Chamber shall see to the safekeeping of the original of the minutes of the meeting.

The minutes may be used before certification by the working body of the Chamber only with permission of the chairman of the working body of the Chamber.

Article 83

A transcript shall be made in the meeting of the working body of the Chamber unless the working body decides otherwise.

The transcript shall be used to prepare the minutes and reports and also to meet the needs of the working body of the Chamber.

The statements made by participants in the meeting of the working body of the Chamber contained in the transcript shall not be edited by the author or otherwise unless this is requested by an individual participant in the debate whose statement is contained in the transcript.

The transcript of the meeting of the working body of the Chamber shall be appended to the accepted minutes.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 2 of this article, the transcript may also be used for other purposes with permission of that body.

Article 84

The working bodies of the Chamber shall have secretaries.

The secretary of the working body of the Chamber shall assist the chairman of the working body of the Chamber in preparing the meeting, shall see to preparation of reports and minutes of meetings of the working bodies, and shall organize and perform other technical tasks to meet the needs of the working body of the Chamber.

At the request of an individual member or on his own initiative the secretary of the working body of the Chamber shall furnish technical opinions related to application of the Operating Procedure of the Chamber and other technical opinions necessary to the work of the working body of the Chamber.

The secretary of the working body of the Chamber shall be accountable for his work to the working body of the Chamber and to the secretary of the Chamber.

b) The Chamber's Committees

Article 85

The Chamber shall have the following committees:

1) Committee for Socioeconomic Relations;

2) Committee for Sociopolitical Relations;

3) Committee for Domestic Policy;

4) Committee for Foreign Policy;

5) Committee for National Defense;

6) Committee for the Federal Budget;

7) Committee for Jurisprudence;

8) Committee for Labor, Health and Social Welfare Policy;

9) Committee for Affairs of Veterans and Disabled War Veterans.

Article 86

The purview of the Committee for Socioeconomic Relations shall embrace the following:

i. matters in the domain of the system of socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management;

ii. the basic rights of workers in associated labor whereby their position in self-management and socioeconomic relations established by the SFRY Constitution is ensured, and the basic rights and obligations of organizations of associated labor, self-managing communities of interest, other self-managing organizations and communities and sociopolitical communities with respect to resources which are social property; the bases of the legal status and business operation of organizations of associated labor and the trade association in the unified economic territory of Yugoslavia;

iii. the basic relations whereby the unity of the Yugoslav market is ensured; the system of measures whereby disruption of the unity of the Yugoslav market is prevented; federal commodity reserves; basic relations in property law and other relations in substantive law in the fields of maritime shipping, river and lake shipping, and air transportation; the bases of the water regime of interest to two or more republics or autonomous provinces;

iv. the bases of the system of social planning; the bases of the credit and banking system; legal tender and settlements within the country; the bases of the system of property and personal insurance; the position and bases of the functioning of the Social Accounting Service;

v. the system of units of measurement; protection of inventions, designs and models, as well as standards, technical specifications and quality standards of products and services;

vi. the gathering, recording and processing of statistical and other data concerning the situation in various domains of the life of society within the committee's purview; concerning the size of the population and its growth; concerning economic and other phenomena, as well as other data of interest to the entire country;

vii. other matters within those domains which are in the purview of the Chamber.

Article 87

The purview of the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations shall embrace the following:

i. the uniform bases of the sociopolitical system;

ii. human and civil liberties, rights and duties;

iii. the bases of the social system of information;

iv. the position and authorization of organizations which exercise public authority on the basis of federal laws and international treaties; the organization, jurisdiction and procedure of federal agencies and of material and other relations of federal agencies; election to federal bodies; the position, rights and duties of the public defender of self-management law; the position, organization and procedure of institutions and schools which the Federation establishes to perform tasks of interest to performance of the functions of the Federation and the attitude of federal agencies toward those institutions and schools; the rights, duties and responsibilities of workers arising out of work and based on work in federal agencies and institutions and schools established by the Federation; the holidays and decorations of the SFRY; the SFRY national anthem; the use of the seal and emblem and flag of the SFRY;

v. other matters within those domains which are in the purview of the Chamber.

Article 88

The purview of the Committee for Domestic Policy shall embrace the following:

i. the bases of the system for protecting the order established by the SFRY Constitution (state security);

ii. the activity of the state security service which is indispensable to achieving the accountability of federal agencies established by the SFRY Constitution and coordinating the work of agencies performing the tasks of state security; the position, organization and procedure of institutions and schools which the Federation establishes to perform its functions in the domain of state security;

iii. citizenship in the SFRY; basic data for vital statistics and personal identity cards; the regime governing the crossing the national border;

iv. the position, sojourn and protection of foreigners in Yugoslavia; the importation, distribution and dissemination of foreign newspapers and other public means of information and communications; the position of foreign news institutions and representatives of foreign news media;

v. the regime governing coastal waters of interest to the international relations of the SFRY, national defense and security, and also the manner of exercising the right which Yugoslavia has in the epicontinental zone and on the open sea; the monitoring of passenger traffic across the national border; the sale and transport of flammable liquids and gases when this is of interest to the entire country; the safety of air traffic, the bases of safety in other branches of transportation; waterways and water on which the international and intergovernmental shipping regime prevails;

vi. the system of communications important to national security and the technological unit of the communications system, international communications and radio communications;

vii. limitations or prohibitions of the freedom of the press and other forms of information directed against the foundations of the socialist and democratic system set forth by the SFRY Constitution and which threaten the country's independence, peace, or international cooperation on an equal footing;

viii. cartographic data important to the country's defense and security and to the general use of cartographic publications;

ix. other matters within those domains which are in the purview of the Chamber.

Article 89

The purview of the Committee for Foreign Policy shall embrace the following:

i. matters in the domain of the SFRY's foreign policy and maintenance of political and other relations with other states and international organizations;

ii. ratification of international treaties concerning political and military cooperation and international treaties which require enactment of new laws or amendment of existing ones within the purview of the Chamber, and also international treaties requiring enactment of new republic and provincial laws or amendment of those in effect within the equal purview of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly; regulation of the procedure for conclusion and implementation of international treaties which require enactment of new republic or provincial laws or amendment of those in effect;

iii. the legal position within the country of representatives of foreign states and of foreign and international organizations;

iv. protection of Yugoslav nationals and of their interests and the interests of domestic legal persons abroad;

v. relations and forms of cooperation of federal agencies with international organizations and institutions;

vi. the organization and activity of the foreign affairs service of the Federation;

vii. other matters within those domains which are in the purview of the Chamber.

Article 90

The purview of the Committee for National Defense shall embrace the following:

i. matters within the domain of the bases of the system of national defense;

ii. the basic rights and duties of the working people and citizens, of organizations of associated labor and of other self-managing organizations and communities, sociopolitical and other public organizations in the domain of national defense; the basic rights and duties of sociopolitical communities in carrying out the system of national defense; the military obligation of citizens and protection of members of families of persons doing required military service;

iii. the particular rights and obligations of organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities with respect to priority production and the rendering of services to meet the needs of national defense and the production of armament and military equipment; the bases of preparations of the economy and the social services for functioning in wartime; adaptation of land-use plans and urban plans and capital investment construction to the needs of national defense; proclamation of mobilization;

iv. regulation of the direction and command of the SFRY Armed Forces and the exercise of supreme command over the armed forces; regulation and organization of the Yugoslav People's Army, regulation of its direction and command; management and disposition of the resources of society used in the Yugoslav People's Army and for its needs;

v. questions of status and other matters pertaining to individuals serving in the Yugoslav People's Army and military personnel; specific rights and duties of military personnel related to service in the Armed Forces of the SFRY; social security and welfare of military personnel or military insured and their families;

vi. military schools and scientific research to meet the needs of the SFRY Armed Forces;

vii. other matters within those domains which are in the purview of the Chamber

Article 91

The purview of the Committee for the Federal Budget shall embrace the following:

i. the federal budget, with annexes and appendices; the year-end statement of the federal budget, with annexes and appendices; the regulation and monitoring of exercise of the rights and discharge of the duties of federal agencies with

respect to resources which are social property and which they use; examination of the revenues and expenditures of the federal budget; monitoring performance of measures to make disposition of the resources of the federal budget and federal property more optimal, consolidated and socially expedient and to propose appropriate measures in these domains;

ii. the furnishing of opinions which are delivered to competent working bodies of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces on the following subjects: the portion of the social plan which pertains to financing the federal budget; the portion of the resolution for the current year which pertains to the budgetary expenditure of the Federation; the law on financing the Federation; as well as on other acts in the purview of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces which pertain to regulating material relations and establishment of the obligations of the federal budget;

iii. other matters in the domain of the federal budget, specifically creation of obligations for the federal budget and furnishing resources to discharge them.

Article 92

The purview of the Committee for Jurisprudence shall embrace matters in the following domains:

i. the organization, jurisdiction and work of the Federal Court, the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office and the Federal Solicitor General's Office;

ii. the military courts and military prosecutor's office;

iii. the bases of relations in property law and copyright;

iv. the bases of relations involving obligations (general portion of obligations) and contractual and other relations involving obligations in the domain of the sale of goods and services;

v. settlement of conflicts of republic or provincial laws with the laws of the other republics or autonomous provinces (standards governing conflicts) and conflict of jurisdiction between republic or provincial agencies from different republics, settlement of conflicts of laws with the regulations of other countries;

vi. general conditions and principles for pronouncement of penalties for crimes and economic violations, the system of penalties, the conditions for extinguishment of penalties and for rehabilitation and the general rules on application of reformatory measures and punishment of minors (general portion of the Criminal Code or Law on Economic Violations); crimes against the foundations of the socialist self-management social system of Yugoslavia and national security, humanity and international law, against the reputation of the SFRY, its bodies and agencies and representatives, against the reputation of a foreign state and organization, and against the reputation of their heads of state or representatives, against the office of officials in federal bodies

and agencies, against the Armed Forces of the SFRY, as well as crimes and economic violations which destroy the unity of the Yugoslav market or violate federal regulations;

vii. misdemeanor proceedings conducted by federal bodies and agencies; general administrative procedures; criminal proceedings and other court proceedings, except for social proceedings in areas in which social relations are regulated by the republics or autonomous provinces;

viii. amnesty and pardon for crimes envisaged by federal law;

ix. other matters in these domains which are in the purview of the Chamber.

Article 93

The purview of the Committee for Labor, Health and Social Welfare Policy shall embrace matters within the following domains:

i. basic rights of the working people in order to guarantee their social security and solidarity;

ii. conditions under which citizens may go abroad to perform economic and other activities and to take employment and protection of Yugoslav citizens working abroad;

iii. protection of human life and health against infectious diseases threatening the entire country; the sale of medical drugs; the sale of poisons; the production and sale of narcotics;

iv. protection and improvement of the environment of interest to the entire country and the international community;

v. protection of animals against infectious diseases, protection of plants from diseases and pests which threaten the entire country; the marketing of agents to protect animals and monitoring the movement of animals and plants over the national border;

vi. the status and authority of the Red Cross of Yugoslavia;

vii. other matters within these domains which are in the purview of the Chamber.

Article 94

The purview of the Committee for Affairs of Veterans and Disabled War Veterans shall embrace matters within the following domains:

i. the basic rights of veterans, disabled war veterans and families of those who died in the war;

ii. the marking and maintenance of cemeteries and graves of our fighters and war casualties abroad and the cemeteries and graves of members of the allied armed forces and other foreign armed forces on the territory of the SFRY;

iii. other matters within these domains which are in the purview of the Chamber;

c) The Chamber's Commissions

Article 95

The Chamber shall have the following commissions:

1) Commission for Tenure and Immunity,

2) Legislative and Legal Commission.

Article 96

The Commission for Tenure and Immunity shall:

i. take under consideration matters related to application of the delegate's immunity;

ii. inform the Chamber on cases which entail termination of the delegate's tenure;

iii. perform the tasks of verifying the election of delegates elected in run-off elections and by-elections.

On the basis of the report of the commission the Chamber shall decide whether to invoke the delegate's immunity, shall ascertain termination of the delegate's tenure and shall verify the delegate's election.

Article 97

If the Chamber is not convened, the Commission for Tenure and Immunity may grant permission for a delegate to be taken into custody or for criminal proceedings to be instituted against him, and it may decide whether the proceedings against the delegate shall be continued or stayed or whether the decision of the government agency to take the delegate into custody shall be confirmed or to invoke the delegate's immunity.

The decision of the Commission for Tenure and Immunity is enforceable.

The commission is required to inform the Chamber of its decision at its next session.

The Chamber shall decide in connection with the report of the commission whether to confirm or rescind the decision of that commission.

Article 98

The Legislative and Legal Commission shall:

i. take under consideration proposals for passage of acts and proposed versions of acts within the purview of the Chamber with respect to their conformity to the SFRY Constitution and the legal system, as well as with respect to their legal formulation, and it shall submit a report on this to the Chamber along with its opinion and proposals;

ii. take under consideration proposals for issuing authentic interpretations of laws within the purview of the Chamber and shall render its opinion on this matter;

iii. monitor development of the legal system in domains within the purview of the Chamber and give the Chamber its opinion and proposals on matters concerning the construction of that system;

iv. participate in preparation of the Chamber's work program pertaining to the legislative activity of the Chamber;

v. give its opinion on matters in dispute related to the jurisdiction of the Chamber;

vi. establish the revised text of acts within the purview of the Chamber if it has been so authorized by law;

vii. take under consideration proposals for institution of proceedings for evaluation of the constitutionality of laws, other regulations or general acts;

viii. submit to the Chamber and working bodies of the Chamber at their request opinions and proposals on other matters of the legal system and perform other tasks in that domain as ordered by the Chamber.

The Legislative and Legal Commission shall take under consideration matters concerning achievement of protection of the constitutionality and legality within its purview.

The revised text of an act shall be submitted to the Legislative and Legal Commission by the proponent or agency or body which the proponent specifies.

Article 99

The Legislative and Legal Commission shall in joint session with the Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces take under consideration the proposed versions of the Chamber's work programs pertaining to the legislative activity of the Chamber and questions of uniform legislative methodology and other matters important to uniform legal and technical formulation of acts which the chambers enact.

Article 100

A certain number of the members of the Legislative and Legal Commission shall be elected from among scholars and scientists and specialists, provided their number does not exceed one-third of the total number of members of the commission who are delegates.

d) Ad Hoc Working Bodies of the Chamber

Article 101

The Chamber may establish ad hoc working bodies (commissions, working groups, etc.) to study a particular matter which is not in the purview of any of the committees or commissions of the Chamber and also in other cases when the need arises.

Article 102

The Chamber shall establish ad hoc working bodies in a decision.

The decision establishing an ad hoc working body shall state the tasks, powers and composition of the working body.

Aside from delegates, public figures, scientists and scholars and specialists may also be members of ad hoc working bodies.

If the decision to establish ad hoc working bodies so provides, the Federal Executive Council shall delegate its representatives.

Sociopolitical and public organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level may in agreement with the Chamber delegate their representatives to ad hoc working bodies.

Article 103

In the interval between two sessions the president of the Chamber may establish a working group to study a matter of interest to the work of the Chamber and assign it the task of studying that particular matter.

At the next session the president of the Chamber shall inform the Chamber about establishment of the working group.

The working group shall submit a report to the Chamber on the matter for which it was established.

Article 104

The provisions of this operating procedure pertaining to the working bodies of the Chamber shall be appropriately applied to the manner of operation of the ad hoc working bodies of the Chamber unless the decision to establish them provides otherwise.

Article 105

An ad hoc working body of the Chamber shall cease to function when it performs the task for which it was established or in the other cases when the Chamber so decides.

VI. Programming the Chamber's Work

Article 106

The Chamber shall adopt a programmatic orientation covering a 4-year period, annual programs and quarterly plans governing its work in order to perform tasks within its purview.

The basis for drafting the programmatic orientation and programs referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article are the tasks in the Chamber's purview which arise out of the SFRY Constitution, the social plan of Yugoslavia, the general acts and established policy of the Chamber, the documents adopted and positions taken by sociopolitical organizations, the proposals of the assemblies of sociopolitical communities, and also other matters important to building and developing the socioeconomic and sociopolitical system.

Article 107

The programmatic orientation shall contain the basic directions of the Chamber's activity in the coming period.

The Chamber shall adopt the programmatic orientation in the year in which the members take office.

Article 108

The Chamber shall adopt an annual work program on the basis of the programmatic orientation.

The annual work program of the Chamber shall contain the following:

1) the tasks which are to be performed in the period covered by the program;

2) the bodies or organs responsible for organizing and performing the particular tasks set forth in the program (entities responsible);

3) the bodies, organs, organizations and staff services which will do the technical preparation of the tasks set forth in the work program of the Chamber, which will perform those tasks, and which will collaborate in their performance;

4) the forms of cooperation with interested agencies and organizations in performance of the particular tasks set forth in the Chamber's work program;

5) the working bodies of the Chamber which will take the materials under consideration before their presentation in a session of the Chamber;

6) the periods of time within which the particular tasks must be performed.

Article 109

The Chamber's work program shall be framed to cover 1 year.

The period covered by the Chamber's work program shall run from 1 January to 31 December of the current year.

In order to ensure continuity in programming the work of the Chamber, after taking office the Chamber shall acquaint itself with the unfinished portion of the annual work program and shall commit itself to the tasks which are to be completed by the end of the year.

Article 110

Proposals for inclusion of particular tasks and matters in the work program of the Chamber may be submitted by a delegate, by a working body of the Chamber, by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, by the SFRY State Presidency, by the Federal Executive Council, by federal administrative agencies and federal organizations, and by the assemblies of sociopolitical communities.

A proposal for inclusion of particular matters in the Chamber's work program may be submitted by sociopolitical organizations at the federal level, by the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, as well as by other self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level.

Initiative for inclusion of particular matters in the Chamber's work program may also be taken by sociopolitical and other public organizations, by delegations of basic self-managing organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations and by self-managing organizations and communities which are not embraced by Paragraph 2 of this article.

Article 111

On the basis of the proposals and initiatives referred to in Article 110 of this operating procedure, the president of the Chamber, together with the chairmen of the working bodies of the Chamber, shall prepare a draft of the Chamber's work program and shall submit it to the Chamber.

The president of the Chamber shall deliver the draft of the Chamber's work program to the delegates for their opinion, to the Chamber of republics and provinces, to the assemblies of the republics and to the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, to the Federal Executive Council, to the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia and to other sociopolitical organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level.

Delegations shall acquaint themselves with the draft of the work program of the Chamber through the herald.

Article 112

The working bodies of the Chamber shall within their respective purviews take under consideration the text of the draft of the Chamber's work program, paying consideration to the opinions and proposals which have been submitted to the Chamber.

The working bodies of the Chamber shall submit a report to the Chamber on their examination of the draft of the work program, along with their opinions and proposals.

Article 113

The Chamber shall take under consideration and adopt the draft of the work program of the Chamber and in its resolve shall state the date by which the proposed version of the Chamber's work program is to be prepared.

Article 114

The proposed version of the work program of the Chamber shall be prepared by the president of the Chamber together with the chairmen of the working bodies of the Chamber, in accordance with the opinions and resolves of the Chamber adopted in its consideration and adoption of the draft of the Chamber's work program.

Article 115

The proposed version of the Chamber's work program shall be sent to the delegates, to the president of the SFRY Assembly and to the president of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

The proposed version of the Chamber's work program shall also be delivered to the Federal Executive Council so that the work program of the Federal Executive Council can be brought into conformity with the work program of the Chamber.

Article 116

The Chamber shall consider and adopt the work program of the Chamber.

At the beginning of consideration of the proposed version of the Chamber's work program the president of the Chamber shall acquaint the Chamber with the work program carried out in the previous period and with the work done to prepare the proposed version of the program for the coming period.

Article 117

The Chamber's work program shall be published as a separate publication.

Article 118

The Chamber shall set forth quarterly work plans on the basis of the Chamber's work program.

The Chamber's quarterly work plans shall state the tasks envisaged by the Chamber's work program which the Chamber is to perform by months, new tasks which have not been foreseen by the work program, but which have to be performed, as well as the schedule of the sessions in which those tasks are to be performed.

The quarterly work plans of the Chamber shall as a rule be established before commencement of the period to which they pertain.

Article 119

The working bodies of the Chamber shall set forth their own work programs and work plans on the basis of the Chamber's work program and work plan.

Article 120

The working bodies of the Chamber shall incorporate into their work program or work plan those tasks which in view of their purview devolve upon them from the Chamber's work program or work plan.

The working bodies of the Chamber may also include in their work program or work plan other matters and tasks which they will perform on their own initiative during the period to which the work program or work plan pertains.

Article 121

The provisions of this operating procedure concerning the Chamber's work program shall be appropriately applied to the work programs and work plans of the Chamber's working bodies.

Article 122

The Chamber's working bodies shall inform the president of the Chamber about the work program and work plan adopted by the [working bodies of the] Chamber.

Article 123

The president of the Chamber, the delegates and the working bodies of the Chamber shall see to fulfillment of the Chamber's work program and work plans.

The president of the Chamber shall report to the Chamber on fulfillment of the Chamber's work program and work plans.

VII. Acts of the SFRY Assembly Within the Chamber's Purview

Article 124

On matters within its purview the Chamber shall enact federal laws and issue authentic interpretation of such laws, and enact the federal budget, the year-end statement of the federal budget, declarations, resolutions, recommendations, decisions and resolves.

The Chamber shall participate in conclusion of social compacts regulating matters within its purview.

Article 125

The general position of the SFRY Assembly on important matters of foreign or domestic policy shall be expressed in a declaration.

Article 126

The resolution points up the situation and problems in a particular domain of social life, sets forth the bases of the policy which is to be conducted in that domain and issues guidelines for conduct of that policy or envisages measures for its conduct.

Article 127

The recommendation points to the importance of particular matters pertaining to enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts or to the development of self-management and self-management relations in a particular area.

The recommendation expresses opinions and positions on the reconciliation of self-management relations and interests, on the development of mutual cooperation among organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities and other organizations, on guidance of the activity of those organizations and communities in performing tasks of common interest and on stimulating the conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts.

The recommendation points up the measures which organizations of associated labor, other self-managing organizations and communities, and other organizations and government agencies should undertake in order to perform the tasks referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, in conformity with their respective rights, obligations and interests.

Article 128

As an act whereby the SFRY Assembly exercises its rights and discharges its duties, the decision is enacted as an enforceable statute or as an act whereby internal organization and relations in the Chamber are regulated.

As an act whereby the SFRY Assembly exercises its rights and discharges its duties, in enacting a decision the Chamber decides on election or appointment and dismissal of officials elected and appointed by the SFRY Assembly, on election of members of the working bodies of the Chamber and the joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, on delegation of members of the Chamber to certain organs and bodies, and on confirmation of the relevant acts of self-managing organizations and communities or on the granting of consent to such acts, in conformity with law, bylaws, or other general act or this operating procedure, as well as on other rights and duties of the SFRY Assembly when the SFRY Constitution or federal law so provides.

As an enforceable statute the decision is a general act adopted in order to implement particular provisions of a federal law or social compact if this is envisaged by the law or social compact.

As an act whereby the internal organization and relations in the Chamber are regulated, the decision reflects the determination of the Chamber concerning establishment of the working bodies of the Chamber and other relations in the Chamber unless they have been regulated by this operating procedure.

Article 129

The resolve sets forth an obligation of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies with respect to drafting bills, submitting analyses and reports on the enforcement of federal laws and conduct of the established policy or with respect to performance of other tasks within their jurisdiction.

The resolve sets forth policy and guides the work of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agency in conducting the established policy and enforcing federal laws, other regulations and general acts. In the performance of policy oversight the Chamber issues guidelines for the work of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies in the form of a resolve.

The Chamber enacts resolves concerning its own work and the work of the working bodies which it has established.

Article 130

The text of a law, the federal budget or the year-end statement of the federal budget shall not be signed.

Ukases promulgating laws, the federal budget and the year-end statement of the federal budget which are signed by the chairman of the SFRY State Presidency, shall also be signed by the president of the SFRY Assembly.

The decision on election of the Federal Executive Council shall also be promulgated in a ukase.

The declaration, the resolution, the recommendation, the decision and the resolve, as referred to in Article 124 of this operating procedure, shall be signed by the president of the SFRY Assembly and by the president of the Chamber.

The president of the Chamber shall sign resolves which the Chamber has enacted concerning its own work (Article 129, Paragraph 3).

Article 131

The state seal shall be placed on the originals of laws, and the seal of the SFRY Assembly on originals of other regulations and general acts of the Chamber.

By the original of a law or other regulation and general act is meant the text of the law or other regulation and general act in the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia adopted in a session of the Chamber.

The seal of the SFRY Assembly shall be placed on originals of authentic texts of laws, other regulations and general acts in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian ethnic minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language).

The originals of laws, other regulations and general acts, as well as the originals of authentic texts of such acts in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian ethnic minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language) shall be kept in the SFRY Assembly unless otherwise provided in law.

Article 132

A law, the federal budget and the year-end statement of the federal budget, a declaration, a resolution, a recommendation and a decision shall be published in the official gazette of the SFRY in authentic texts in the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia established by republic constitutions.

A law, the federal budget, the year-end statement of the federal budget, a declaration, a resolution, a recommendation and a decision shall also be published in the official gazette of the SFRY as authentic texts in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian ethnic minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language).

The resolves referred to in Article 129, Paragraphs 1 and 2, of this operating procedure shall be published in the official gazette of the SFRY in the manner prescribed in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article, unless the Chamber decides otherwise.

Article 133

In enacting laws, other regulations and general acts the Chamber may decide on the proposal of the proponent of that act or of the competent working body of the Chamber that such acts or certain parts of them be published in the official gazette of the SFRY--confidential gazette, under the conditions and in the manner set forth in law.

VIII. Sessions of the Chamber

1. Convening the Session of the Chamber

Article 134

The president of the SFRY Assembly of the previous convocation shall convene the first session of the Chamber after election of the delegates.

The oldest delegate shall preside over the first session until election of the president of the Chamber.

The tenure of delegates whose term is expiring shall cease on the day when election of the newly elected delegates to the Chamber is verified.

Article 135

The session of the Chamber shall be convened by the president of the Chamber on his own initiative or on the basis of the Chamber's resolve.

The president of the Chamber shall convene a session of the Chamber when this is requested by 10 delegates, a working body of the Chamber, a joint working body of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the president of the SFRY Assembly, the SFRY State Presidency, or the Federal Executive Council, which shall state the grounds for convening the session.

The proponents who have called for a session of the Chamber to be convened shall as a rule deliver material on the subject for which they are seeking that a session be convened.

If the president of the Chamber does not convene a session of the Chamber when required to do so, the session shall be convened by the president of the SFRY Assembly or by 10 delegates.

Article 136

A summons to the session of the Chamber along with the proposed agenda shall be sent to the delegates no later than 10 days before the day set for holding the session.

Along with the summons to the session of the Chamber the president of the Chamber shall also deliver the minutes of the last session if not previously delivered.

As an exception when necessity requires the president of the Chamber may convene a session of the Chamber within a period shorter than 10 days and may also propose the agenda for that session in the session itself.

The president of the Chamber shall give notice of the convening of a session of the Chamber and of the proposed agenda to the president of the SFRY Assembly, the president of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, the SFRY State

Presidency and Federal Executive Council, the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia and the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

2. Proposed Agenda of a Session of the Chamber

Article 137

The president of the Chamber shall prepare the proposed agenda of the session of the Chamber.

When preparing the proposed agenda of a session of the Chamber the president of the Chamber shall enter into an agreement with the chairmen of the working bodies of the Chamber on the subjects which are to be included in the proposed agenda in accordance with the Chamber's work program and work plan, mindful of the periods of time stated by this operating procedure.

In preparing the proposed agenda of the session of the Chamber initiative received from sociopolitical and other public organizations and other organs, organizations and communities at the federal level shall be taken into consideration.

Article 138

The president of the Chamber shall include in the proposed agenda of a session of the Chamber the subject matter for which convening of the session of the Chamber was sought (Article 135, Paragraph 2) and other matters which fulfill the conditions for consideration set forth in this operating procedure.

3. Chairing the Session of the Chamber

Article 139

The president of the Chamber shall preside over the session of the Chamber.

Should the president of the Chamber be incapacitated or absent, the vice president of the Chamber shall preside over the session of the Chamber.

If the vice president is also absent, the session shall be opened by the oldest delegate, who shall chair it until election of a delegate who shall thereafter chair the session.

The oldest delegate shall also chair the session when the president and vice president of the Chamber have been relieved of their duties--until election of a new president.

4. Presence in the Session of the Chamber and Participation in Its Work

Article 140

All delegates have the right and duty to attend the session of the Chamber and to participate in its work.

A record shall be kept of the presence of the delegates in the session of the Chamber.

Article 141

The following may participate in the work of a session of the Chamber without the right to vote:

i. the chairman and members of the Federal Executive Council;

ii. representatives and spokesmen of the Federal Executive Council when a proposal of the Federal Executive Council is under consideration for which they have been designated to be representatives and spokesmen;

iii. officials heading federal administrative agencies and federal organizations when a bill or other matter is under consideration which is in the jurisdiction of the agency or organization which they head;

iv. representatives of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces designated by that chamber;

v. representatives of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces when the matter under consideration is a bill which the assembly of the republic or assembly of the autonomous province has submitted, an opinion which it has given, an issue which it has raised, or when they have been invited to the session to present their opinions on a particular matter;

vi. representatives of organs at the federal level, sociopolitical and other public organizations, other self-managing organizations and communities, as well as public figures, scholars and scientists, and specialists who have been invited to the session to present opinions on a particular matter.

Article 142

Working people and citizens may attend a session of the Chamber in a space set aside for that purpose in conformity with the provisions of the regulation on internal order in the SFRY Assembly.

Article 143

The Chamber may decide that a particular matter shall be considered in closed session if the interests of the country's security or defense or other public interests so require.

If the Chamber decides to consider a particular matter in closed session, the Chamber shall decide who aside from the delegates may attend the session of the Chamber.

5. The Order of Business of the Chamber's Session

a) Adoption of the Agenda of the Session of the Chamber

Article 144

In opening the session of the Chamber the president of the Chamber shall inform the Chamber as to which delegates have announced that they are prevented from attending the session.

The president of the Chamber shall then ascertain whether there is a forum for the Chamber to conduct business in the session.

The president of the Chamber shall inform the Chamber who has been invited to attend the session of the Chamber.

Article 145

Before passing on to adoption of the agenda of the session of the Chamber the minutes of the last session shall be approved.

A delegate may present objections to the minutes of the last session of the Chamber and call for appropriate amendments or supplements to be made in them.

The decision on the justifiability of the objections to the minutes shall be made in the session of the Chamber without debate.

The president of the Chamber shall ascertain approval of minutes to which objections have been made or minutes in which the appropriate amendments and supplements have been made in accordance with the objections sustained.

Article 146

At the beginning of the session the Chamber shall adopt the agenda of the session.

Article 147

The president of the Chamber shall furnish information related to the proposed agenda of the session of the Chamber, specifically as follows:

a. the reasons why the particular matter which has fulfilled all the conditions envisaged for this operating procedure has not been included in the proposed agenda of the session of the Chamber;

b. a matter which is included in the proposed agenda of the session of the Chamber, which a working body or authorized proponent has subsequently sought to be omitted from consideration in that session of the Chamber;

c. a matter which has been included in the proposed agenda of the session of the Chamber for which the proponent is requesting or proposing consideration by abbreviated or emergency procedure for enactment of a bill.

Article 148

In a session of the Chamber the president of the Chamber, a working body of the Chamber, a delegate, the SFRY State Presidency and the Federal Executive Council may propose that a particular matter be placed on the agenda of the session, but they must present the case for its urgency.

The Chamber shall first decide the question of urgency in the session.

Article 149

The Chamber shall conduct debate and take a position on each proposal for amendment or supplementation of the agenda and on the proposed agenda of the session of the Chamber as a whole.

When the Chamber has taken a position on the proposed agenda as a whole, the president of the Chamber shall announce the approved agenda of the session of the Chamber.

b) Posing the Delegate Question and Requesting Information

Article 150

After the agenda of the session of the Chamber has been adopted, the delegate may put a delegate question and request information in the context of the provision of this operating procedure unless the Chamber decides otherwise.

The Chamber shall fix a time for submitting the answer to the question which has been put and the information that has been requested.

c) Debate

Article 151

Debate on the individual items of the agenda of the session of the Chamber shall be conducted in the established order.

During the session the Chamber may make changes in the order of debating the individual points on the agenda of the session of the Chamber.

Article 152

At the beginning of debate of each point on the agenda of the session of the Chamber the proponent or representative of the proponent may furnish supplemental arguments.

After the proponent or representative of the proponent the reporters of the working bodies of the Chamber which have taken up the matter on which debate is being conducted may participate in the debate.

Requests to participate in the debate may be submitted until debate is closed.

The delegate or other participant in the session of the Chamber shall be recognized by order of request for the floor.

Article 153

The president of the Chamber shall recognize a delegate who wishes to speak about a breach of this operating procedure or a breach of the established agenda of the session of the Chamber (point of order) as soon as he asks to be recognized. That delegate's speech may not last longer than 5 minutes. The president of the Chamber is required following the delegate's speech to give an explanation of the breach of this operating procedure or of the approved agenda of the session of the Chamber. If the delegate is not satisfied with the explanation, the question shall be resolved in the session of the Chamber without debate.

If a delegate seeks the floor to correct an allegation which in his opinion is inaccurate and which has caused a misunderstanding or has given rise to a need for personal explanation (correction of an allegation), the president of the Chamber shall recognize him as soon as the person who brought about the request for correction finishes speaking. In his speech the delegate must limit himself to correction or to the personal explanation, and his speech may not last longer than 5 minutes.

Article 154

A delegate or other participant in debate may speak only on the matter which is on the agenda of the session of the Chamber. If the speaker digresses from the question which is on the agenda, the president of the Chamber shall call upon him to adhere to the agenda.

If even after the second request, the president of the Chamber may take the floor from him.

Article 155

The speech of a delegate or other participant in the session of the Chamber shall not be limited unless this operating procedure provides otherwise.

On the proposal of the president of the Chamber or motion of a delegate the Chamber may decide that a participant in debate may speak only once on the same subject matter, and it may also fix the length of the speech.

Article 156

When he finds that there are no further requests for participation in debate, the president of the Chamber shall close debate.

Article 157

The president of the Chamber may in the course of the session of the Chamber interrupt the work of the Chamber and fix the date and hour when the session shall be resumed.

The president of the Chamber shall interrupt the work of the Chamber when that is provided for in this operating procedure because of the lack of a quorum, because of the late hour, so that the delegates may rest, because of the need to conduct the necessary consultations or obtain the necessary opinions, as well as in other cases when the Chamber so resolves.

If a meeting of the Chamber has been interrupted because of the lack of a quorum, and there is still no quorum in the resumption of the session, the president of the Chamber shall adjourn the session.

Article 158

If the question being debated does not require adoption of acts or resolves, or if the Chamber does not wish to make a decision on this matter, the Chamber shall close debate and pass on to the next item on the agenda of the session of the Chamber.

If the Chamber has not completed debate of the matter which it has been debating or does not wish to make a decision in the same session, debate on that matter shall be postponed to one of the future sessions of the Chamber.

Article 159

When all the points on the agenda of the session of the Chamber are exhausted, the president of the Chamber shall adjourn the session.

d) Decisionmaking

Article 160

A quorum is required for a decision to be enacted in a session of the Chamber.

If the president of the Chamber is not certain that there is a quorum for decisionmaking, he shall order a calling of the roll of the delegates.

The roll shall also be called when this is requested by a delegate whose request is supported by at least nine delegates.

Upon completion of the roll call, the names of the delegates marked absent shall be called again to verify their absence.

The secretary of the Chamber shall call the roll from the list of delegates in the Chamber.

Article 161

The decision of the Chamber shall be valid if it has received a majority of the votes in the session of the Chamber attended by a majority of the delegates.

Article 162

The delegate shall have the right after debate has closed, before the vote is taken, to state his position on the vote and to present the case for his position.

This presentation may not last longer than 5 minutes.

Article 163

The delegate shall have the right and duty to vote on every proposal being decided in the session of the Chamber.

In the vote the president of the Chamber shall ask the delegate who is "for" the proposal, then who is "against" the proposal, and finally, who has abstained from voting.

Article 164

The vote shall as a rule be by open ballot.

The delegate shall vote by declaring himself for the proposal, against the proposal or abstaining.

Voting shall be done by a raising of the hand or by the use of equipment.

Article 165

Voting may also be done by individual declaration of the delegates.

Voting shall be done individually if this is ordered by the president of the Chamber when he feels it is necessary in order to accurately ascertain the result of a vote or if this is requested by one delegate whose request is supported by at least nine delegates.

The individual vote is taken by each delegate whose name is called declaring himself "for" or "against" or abstaining.

After the roll has been called, the delegates marked on the roll as not voting shall be called once again for verification.

The secretary of the Chamber shall call the roll.

Article 166

When the voting has been completed, the president of the Chamber shall ascertain the result of the vote and shall announce on the basis of the result whether the proposal being voted on was adopted or rejected.

e) Maintaining Order

Article 167

The president of the Chamber shall see to order in the session of the Chamber.

Article 168

The president of the Chamber shall see that the delegate or other participant in debate is not hindered in his presentation.

A delegate or other participant in debate may be called to order or interrupted in his speech only by the president of the Chamber.

No one may speak in a session of the Chamber before requesting the floor and being recognized by the president of the Chamber.

Article 169

The measures which may be pronounced for a breach of order in a session of the Chamber are warnings, loss of the floor and ejection from the session.

Article 170

The measure of the warning shall be pronounced against a delegate who by taking the floor, though the president of the Chamber has not recognized him, in interrupting the speaker, or in some other manner is committing a breach of order in the session of the Chamber and violating the provisions of this operating procedure.

The measure of the warning shall be pronounced by the president of the Chamber.

Article 171

The measure of loss of the floor shall be pronounced against a delegate who in his speech in the session commits a breach of order and violates the provisions of this operating procedure and has already been twice warned in that session to abide by the order and provisions of this operating procedure.

The measure of loss of the floor shall be pronounced by the president of the Chamber.

Article 172

The measure of ejection from the session of the Chamber shall be pronounced against the delegate who does not act in accordance with the request of the president of the Chamber who has pronounced against him the measure of loss of the floor or who is in some other manner obstructing order in the session or in the session is insulting the SFRY Assembly or the delegates in the SFRY Assembly or is using in his speech expressions which are not suitable to the dignity of the SFRY Assembly.

The delegate may be ejected only from the session of the Chamber in which he has been disorderly.

The measure of ejection from the session of the Chamber may be proposed by the president of the Chamber or by a delegate.

The delegate against whom pronouncement of the measure of ejection from the session of the Chamber is being proposed has the right to speak. His presentation may not last longer than 5 minutes.

The measure of ejection from the session shall be pronounced by the Chamber without debate.

A delegate against whom the measure of ejection from the session of the Chamber has been pronounced must be immediately removed from the session, and may not attend the session from which he has been ejected.

Article 173

If the president of the Chamber cannot maintain order in the session of the Chamber by the regular measures, he shall order a recess of the session.

Article 174

The president of the Chamber may order that any citizen who is disorderly in a session of the Chamber be ejected from the hall in which the session is being held and from the building of the SFRY Assembly.

If order has been substantially disrupted, the president of the Chamber may order that the entire public be removed from the hall.

f) The Minutes and Transcript of the Session of the Chamber

Article 175

Minutes shall be kept on work in the session of the Chamber.

The minutes shall contain the principal information on work in the session of the Chamber, on proposals presented in the session and on conclusions adopted in the session related to the various items on the agenda. The results of votes on individual matters shall be entered in the minutes.

A delegate who has presented a dissenting opinion in the session of the Chamber may request that essential portions of his statement be entered in the minutes.

The secretary of the Chamber shall see to the keeping of the minutes.

Article 176

The minutes shall be written on the day after completion of the session of the Chamber.

The minutes shall be sent to all delegates no later than 10 days before the date fixed for holding the session of the Chamber.

Article 177

Every delegate has the right in the beginning of the next session of the Chamber to make an objection to the minutes.

The decision on the justifiability of the objection to the minutes shall be made in the session of the Chamber without debate. If objections are sustained, appropriate changes shall be made in the minutes.

Minutes to which objections have not been made or minutes in which corrections have been made according to the objections sustained, shall be assumed adopted.

Article 178

The adopted minutes shall be signed by the president and secretary of the Chamber.

The secretary of the Chamber shall see to the safekeeping of the minutes of the session of the Chamber.

Article 179

A transcript shall be made of the session of the Chamber.

The transcript shall be made available for inspection by the delegates immediately after the session of the Chamber is held.

The transcript shall be made available for inspection and use to representatives of the news media, except in cases when the debate concerns material classified as a state secret or is confidential.

Every delegate may within 3 days from the date the session of the Chamber is held seek to have editorial changes made in his presentation in the transcript. Such changes may not alter the sense or essence of the presentation.

If the secretary of the Chamber questions whether the changes sought by the delegate are editorial in nature, the dispute shall be decided by the president of the Chamber.

The transcript shall be appended to the adopted minutes.

IX. Proceedings in the Chamber

A. Proceedings for Adoption of Acts

1. Proceedings for Passage of a Law

a) Institution of Proceedings

Article 180

Proceedings for passage of a law shall be instituted by submittal of a proposal for enactment of a law.

Article 181

A proposal for enactment of a law may be submitted by a delegate, by a working body of the Chamber, by a joint working body of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and by the Federal Executive Council--the authorized proponent (hereafter the "proponent").

Article 182

In a session of the Chamber or working body of the Chamber of which he is a member the delegate may propose that a particular matter be regulated by a law.

Article 183

A request for enactment of a law may be submitted by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, an assembly of a republic or an assembly of an autonomous province, the Federal Court, sociopolitical organizations at the federal level, the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, and other self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level.

The request for enactment of a law referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be submitted to the president of the SFRY Assembly.

If the Chamber honors the request for enactment of a law, it shall specify the manner in which it is to be drafted and in which the proposal for enactment of a law is to be submitted.

Article 184

The request for enactment of a law which does not originate with the organs and organizations referred to in Article 183 of this operating procedure shall be sent to the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Petitions and Proposals.

b) Preliminary Proceedings

Article 185

Before submittal of a proposal for enactment of a law the proponent may in agreement with the competent working body submit theses for the drafting of the law for the purpose of a preliminary exchange of opinions in the appropriate bodies of the Chamber concerning the need for enactment of a law and concerning the basic matters which are to be regulated by the law, as well as concerning the principles on which the particular relations should be regulated by the law.

Preliminary proceedings may also be conducted on the recommendation of the competent working body of the Chamber.

The conduct of preliminary proceedings concerning individual matters may be envisaged by the Chamber's work program or the work program of a working body of the Chamber.

c) Content of the Proposal for Enactment of a Law

Article 186

The proposal for enactment of a law shall contain the following:

1) the constitutional basis for enactment of the law;

2) an assessment of the situation in the domain which is to be regulated by the law and the goals which are aimed at;

3) the basic principles on which relations are to be regulated in the domain for which the law is being enacted;

4) the consequences which would arise from the proposed solutions for the material position and general position of the working people and citizens, organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities;

5) an estimate of the funds necessary from the federal budget;

6) the text of the draft of the law with supporting argument;

7) the text of the provisions of the law in effect which are to be amended or supplemented if amendment or supplementation of a law is being proposed;

8) a summary intended for delegations.

Appropriate documentation may also be submitted along with the proposal for enactment of a law.

Article 187

The text of the draft of a law (Article 186, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 6) shall contain solutions which have been formulated as legal provisions.

The individual solutions may be furnished in alternative versions, accompanied by the necessary supporting arguments for each of the proposed alternatives.

The supporting argument for the draft of a law shall contain an explanation of the basic legal institutions which the draft of the law contains.

d) Delivery of the Proposal for Enactment of a Law

Article 188

The proposal for enactment of a law shall be submitted to the president of the SFRY Assembly.

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall refer the proposal for enactment of a law to the president of the Chamber.

Article 189

If the proposal for enactment of a law has not been prepared in conformity with the provisions of this operating procedure, the president of the Chamber shall call upon the proponent to correct the shortcomings which have been detected.

Article 190

The president of the Chamber shall send the proposal for enactment of a law to the delegates, and that no later than 60 days before the holding of the meeting of the Chamber in which that proposal is to be taken up.

Article 191

A proposal for enactment of a law which was not submitted by the Federal Executive Council shall also be referred to the Federal Executive Council by the president of the Chamber so that it might submit its opinion.

e) Consideration of Proposals for Enactment of Laws in the Working Bodies of the Chamber

Article 192

Before a proposal for enactment of a law is debated in a session of the Chamber, the proposal shall be taken up by the working body whose purview embraces the matter regulated by the law (hereafter the "competent working body") and by the Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber.

If the proposal for enactment of a law contains provisions which would commit financial resources from the federal budget, the proposal for enactment of the law shall also be taken up by the Committee for the Federal Budget.

Article 193

The proposal for enactment of a law may also be taken up by other working bodies of the Chamber if certain matters covered in that proposal lie within the purview of those working bodies (hereafter "interested working bodies").

An interested working body shall take up the proposal for enactment of a law before it is taken up by the competent working body and Legislative and Legal Commission.

The chairman of the interested working body is required to inform the chairmen of the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission as to the time when the proposal for enactment of a law is to be taken up.

When it has examined the proposal for enactment of a law, the interested working body shall submit a report to the Chamber which it shall at the same time deliver to the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission.

Article 194

When it has taken up the proposal for enactment of a law, the competent working body shall submit a report to the Chamber along with the opinion and position expressed during the consideration. The report shall be delivered at the same time to the Legislative and Legal Commission.

In the report which the competent working body submits to the Chamber it shall also furnish its opinion of the positions and proposals of interested working bodies.

The competent working body shall also take up the opinions and proposals submitted by the Federal Executive Council if it is not the proponent, by the working bodies of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, and by other interested bodies, organs and organizations.

Article 195

The Legislative and Legal Commission shall take up the proposal for enactment of a law and shall submit a report to the Chamber along with its opinion and proposals. The report shall be delivered to the competent working body at the same time.

The Legislative and Legal Commission shall in its report to the Chamber furnish as well an opinion of the proposals submitted to the Chamber by other working bodies which have taken up the proposal for enactment of the law.

Article 196

Should there be differences in the proposals of the Legislative and Legal Commission and the competent working body, before the proposal for enactment of the law is debated in the Chamber, the competent working body shall take up the report of the Commission and submit a report concerning its position to the Chamber.

Article 197

Reports of the working bodies shall be submitted to the president of the Chamber no later than 2 days after the meeting of the working body was held.

The president of the Chamber shall send the reports to the delegates, and that no later than 10 days before the date fixed for holding the meeting of the Chamber in which the proposal for enactment of the law is to be taken up.

The president of the Chamber shall also send the reports of the working bodies to the entity which submitted the proposal for adoption of the law.

f) Debate of the Proposal for Enactment of a Law in a Session of the Chamber

Article 198

The entity submitting the proposal for enactment of a law or its representative may at commencement of debate in the session of the Chamber present the case for the proposal and throughout the entire debate furnish explanations and take a position concerning the proposals and opinions expressed.

The reporter of the working body which has taken up the proposal for enactment of the law may present the positions and opinions of the working body in the session of the Chamber.

A representative of the Federal Executive Council may participate during debate of a proposal for enactment of a law even if that proposal was not submitted by the Federal Executive Council.

Article 199

The debate of a proposal for enactment of a law in a session of the Chamber shall consist of consideration of the proposal as a whole and consideration by part.

Article 200

During consideration as a whole debate shall be conducted concerning the need for enactment of the law, the constitutional basis, the situation in the domain which is to be regulated by the law, the basic principles on which relations would be regulated, the goals which are aimed at, and the consequences that would arise from the proposed solution and the need for financial resources from the federal budget to enforce the law.

Consideration as a whole shall end with passage of a resolve setting forth the position of the Chamber concerning the proposal for enactment of the law.

If in the consideration as a whole differing opinions have been expressed concerning the matters enumerated in Paragraph 1 of this article, the Chamber shall take a position concerning each of the questions in dispute.

Article 201

If in its resolve the Chamber accepts the proposal for enactment of the law, it shall pass on to consideration of the proposal for enactment of the law by parts.

Consideration of the proposals for enactment of a law by parts shall be done by debating the text of the draft of the law.

Article 202

After completion of debate of the proposal for enactment of a law the Chamber shall in its resolve state the positions, proposals and opinions concerning the particular provisions of the draft and shall send them to the entity submitting the proposal so that they might be taken into account in drafting the proposed version of the law.

In its resolve accepting a proposal for enactment of a law the Chamber may also designate the bodies and organizations which are to be consulted in the drafting of the proposed version of the law and the forms of cooperation with interested bodies and organizations which might contribute to the better drafting of the law.

Article 203

If the entity submitting the proposal for enactment of the law does not concur with the resolve of the Chamber referred to in Articles 200 and 202 of this operating procedure or if the entity submitting the proposal for enactment of the law proposes on other grounds that the proposed version of the law should be prepared by another authorized proponent, the Chamber may order that the proposed version of the law be prepared by a working body of the Chamber, a joint working body of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly or the Federal Executive Council if it was not the entity submitting the proposal for enactment of the law.

g) Separate Debate of the Text of the Draft of a Law

Article 204

When a proposal is submitted for enactment of a law which would regulate relations which are particularly important to the working people and citizens, organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities, the proponent may request that the text of the draft of the law be taken up in a separate session of the Chamber.

The proposal that the draft of a law as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article be taken up in a separate session may also be submitted by the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission. The entity submitting the proposal shall state its position concerning the proposal of the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission.

The Chamber shall rule on the request of the proponent referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, taking into account the opinion of the competent working body and the proposal of the competent working body and Legislative and Legal Commission as to whether the draft of the law is to be taken up in a separate session of the Chamber.

Article 205

In deciding that the text of the draft of the law is to be taken up in a separate session, the Chamber shall also decide whether the text of the draft of the law is to be taken up in that session as submitted or to call upon the proponent to prepare a new text of the draft of the law.

Article 206

As a rule the Chamber shall decide for a new text of the draft of the law to be prepared if it finds that in the text of the draft of the law the basic principles contained in the proposal for enactment of a law have not been appropriately expressed or if it is necessary to conduct broader consultations in connection with the solutions proposed in the draft of the law.

h) The Proposed Version of the Law

Article 107

The proposed version of the law shall be submitted in the form in which a law is enacted and must be supported by argument.

The proposed version of the law shall be accompanied by the contents of the proposed version of the law (indication of the parts, chapters, divisions, sections, and so on).

The substantiation of the proposed version of the law shall specifically cover the following: the constitutional basis for enactment of the law, the subject matter regulated by the proposed version of the law, an explanation of the basic legal institutions, the consequences that would arise from the proposed solutions, figures on the financial resources from the federal budget necessary to enforce the law and the manner in which those resources are to be obtained, and also other important circumstances related to the solutions proposed.

The proponent is required in the substantiation of the proposed version of the law to cite the differences in the solutions contained in the proposed version of the law by contrast with the proposal for enactment of the law and the grounds on which those differences came about, proposals and opinions made concerning the proposal for enactment of the law which the proponent did not honor, and also the grounds on which he did not accept them.

Article 208

The provisions of this operating procedure which pertain to submittal and referral of a proposal for enactment of a law shall also be appropriately applied to the proposed version of a law.

i) Consideration of the Proposed Version of a Law in the Working Bodies of the Chamber

Article 209

The provisions of this operating procedure which pertain to consideration of a proposal for enactment of a law in the working bodies of the Chamber shall also be appropriately applied to consideration of the proposed version of the law.

The proposal of the working body of the Chamber to amend and supplement a proposed version of a law shall be submitted in the form of an amendment.

Article 210

The proposed version of the law and amendments to the proposed version of the law shall be taken up by the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Establishing the Identical Versions of Texts in the Languages of the Nationalities of Yugoslavia, which shall submit a report on the matter.

j) Debate of the Proposed Version of a Law in a Session of the Chamber

Article 211

Debate of the proposed version of a law in a session of the Chamber shall consist of general debate and debate of the text of the proposed version of the law.

The entity submitting the proposed version of the law or its representative may at the beginning of the general debate present the case for the proposed version of the law.

The reporter of the working body of the Chamber which has taken up the proposed version of the law may present the views and opinions of the working body in the session of the Chamber.

Article 212

The entity submitting the proposed version of the law or the representative or spokesman of the proponent and also the reporter of the working body of the Chamber which has taken up the proposed version of the law have the right and duty to participate during debate of the law, to offer explanations and to present the view of the proponent of the law or of the working body.

The representative of the Federal Executive Council may participate during debate of the proposed version of a law even when the Federal Executive Council was not the proponent.

Article 213

In general consideration the debate shall pertain to the proposed version of the law as a whole, and opinions may be presented, explanations sought and issues raised in connection with the solutions presented in the proposed version.

During debate of the text of the proposed version of the law the Chamber may decide to consider it by parts, by chapters or sections, as well as by individual articles.

During debate of the text of the proposed version of the law the Chamber shall also decide on the amendments which have been submitted.

When debate of the text of the proposed version of the law has been completed, the Chamber shall decide on the proposed version of the law as a whole.

k) Amendments

Article 214

A proposal to amend and supplement the proposed version of a law shall be submitted in the form of an amendment.

An amendment may be submitted by an authorized proponent as referred to in Article 181 of this operating procedure.

An amendment shall be submitted in writing and must be supported by argument.

If an amendment contains a provision committing financial resources from the federal budget, the entity submitting the amendment is required to also propose the manner in which those resources are to be furnished.

Article 215

An amendment to a proposed version of a law may be submitted no later than 10 days before the date fixed for holding the session of the Chamber at which the proposed version of the law is to be taken up, and it shall be submitted to the president of the Chamber.

Article 216

The president of the Chamber shall send an amendment to the proposed version of a law to the delegates, to the entity submitting the proposed version of the law and to the Federal Executive Council.

The president of the Chamber shall at the same time send an amendment to the chairman of the competent working body and the chairman of the Legislative and Legal Commission if they were not the entities submitting the amendment.

If the amendment to the proposed version of a law contains provisions committing financial resources from the federal budget, the president of the Chamber shall also deliver the amendment to the Committee for the Federal Budget.

Article 217

If an amendment to the proposed version of a law contains provisions which alter the principles on which the law is based and which were set forth by the Chamber during debate of the proposal for enactment of the law, or if acceptance of an amendment would involve a quite essential change of the text of the proposed version of the law, a decision may not be made on the amendment in the session of the Chamber before the competent working body and Legislative and Legal Commission have submitted their reports on this amendment to the Chamber, and a decision may not be made on the amendment referred to in Article 216, Paragraph 3, of this operating procedure before the Committee for the Federal Budget has submitted its report on such an amendment.

Article 218

An amendment submitted within the period stated in Article 215 of this operating procedure shall become an integral part of the proposed version of the law, and the Chamber shall not vote on it separately:

i. if it has been submitted by the proponent of the law and supported by the competent working body and Legislative and Legal Commission;

ii. if it has been submitted by the competent working body or Legislative and Legal Commission, and the proponent of the law has concurred;

iii. if it has been submitted by a delegate or interested working body and supported by the competent working body and Legislative and Legal Commission, and the proponent of the law has concurred in it.

If a delegate requests that the Chamber vote separately on a particular amendment as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, a separate vote shall be taken on that amendment.

If the proposed version of a law has not been submitted by the Federal Executive Council, the Chamber shall vote separately on an amendment to the proposed version of the law with which the Federal Executive Council has not concurred.

Article 219

A delegate whose proposal is supported by at least nine delegates may in exceptional cases submit an amendment to a proposed version of a law even in a session of the Chamber before cloture of debate on that proposed version of a law.

The entity submitting the proposed version of the law may submit amendment up until cloture of debate on the proposed version of the law.

Up until cloture of debate on the proposed version of the law the Federal Executive Council may submit amendment even to the proposed version of the law which it has not submitted.

Amendments which are submitted in a session of the Chamber must be presented in writing to the delegates before a decision is taken on them.

Article 220

If an amendment has not been submitted within the period of time stated in Article 215 of this operating procedure, it shall be taken as submitted in the session of the Chamber.

The amendment referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be taken up by the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission, and they shall submit a report to the Chamber. The proponent of the law shall also take a position concerning the amendment.

Article 221

The Federal Executive Council has the right to declare its position on an amendment even if it is not the proponent of the law.

Article 222

So that an amendment submitted in a session of the Chamber might be studied, the Chamber may on the motion of the president of the Chamber, the reporter of the working body of the Chamber, a delegate, the entity submitting the proposal or the Federal Executive Council, interrupt debate and resume it in the next session or postpone debate for one of the forthcoming sessions of the Chamber.

In the case referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article the competent working body and Legislative and Legal Commission, and also the Committee for the Federal Budget if an amendment has been submitted which would commit resources from the federal budget, shall take up the amendment and submit a report to the Chamber.

Article 223

On the recommendation of the competent working body or Legislative and Legal Commission the Chamber may decide to postpone consideration of the proposed version of the law until the next session of the Chamber if amendments have been submitted to the proposed version of the law which essentially change the solutions furnished in the proposed version of the law or if a sizable number of amendments have been submitted.

If the Chamber has decided to postpone consideration of the proposed version of the law, the Chamber may require the proponent of the law to prepare a text of the proposed version of the law which incorporates the amendments with which the proponent of the law, the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission have concurred (integral text).

Article 224

A separate vote shall be taken on every amendment to the proposed version of a law.

The amendments shall be voted on in the order of the articles of the proposed version of the law to which the amendments pertain.

If more than one amendment has been submitted to a single article of the proposed version of the law, the vote shall first be taken on the amendment which departs furthest from the proposed solution and the same criterion shall be followed in determining the order of voting on the other amendments.

If an amendment has been submitted to an amendment, the vote shall first be taken on the amendment to the amendment.

An amendment adopted in a session of the Chamber shall become an integral part of the proposed version of the law.

1) Shortened Proceedings for Enactment of a Law

Article 225

At the request of the proponent, supported by the competent working body, the Chamber may decide to enact a law by shortened procedure when less important amendments and supplements are involved or when there will be no essential impact on the position and rights of the working people and citizens and self-managing organizations and communities, and also when it is a case of the termination or extension of a particular law.

When the Chamber decides to enact a law by shortened proceedings, the text of the draft of the law which is an integral part of the proposal for enactment of the law shall be taken as the proposed version of the law.

The proposal referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article and the proposed version of the law may be taken up in a session of the Chamber if delivered to the delegates 30 days before the date when the session of the Chamber is held.

The Chamber shall decide on the proponent's request to have a law enacted by shortened proceedings in establishing the agenda of the session of the Chamber.

In taking up a proposal for enactment of a law and the proposed version of the law in shortened proceedings the provisions of this operating procedure shall be appropriately applied concerning consideration of the proposal for enactment of the law and the proposed version of the law.

m) Urgent Proceedings for Enactment of a Law

Article 226

In exceptional cases the Chamber may on the proponent's recommendation enact a law through urgent proceedings only when this is necessary to prevent and correct major disruptions in the economy or when so required by the interests of national defense, the country's security or major natural disasters or other exceptional and urgent national need.

The recommendation that the law be enacted through urgent proceedings must be specifically justified.

In the justification of the proposal that a law be enacted through urgent proceedings, the proponent must state the reasons why enactment of the law through urgent proceedings is being proposed and must indicate the consequences that would ensue if the law were not enacted through such proceedings.

Article 227

The proposal that a law be enacted through urgent proceedings shall be accompanied by the proposed version of the law which is to be prepared according to the provisions of Article 207 of this operating procedure.

The provisions of this operating procedure which pertain to the periods of time prescribed for the various steps in the proceedings of enactment of a law shall not apply in urgent proceedings.

If the proposal for enactment of a law through urgent proceedings was not submitted by the Federal Executive Council, before making a decision the Chamber shall seek an opinion from the Federal Executive Council concerning that proposal.

Article 228

The Chamber shall decide on a petition of a proponent that a law be enacted through urgent proceedings in adopting the agenda of the session of the Chamber.

When the Chamber accepts a proposal that a law be enacted through urgent proceedings, it shall undertake debate on the proposed version of the law in the session of the Chamber. Before debating the proposed version of the law in the session of the Chamber, the proposed version of the law shall be taken up by the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission, as well as by the Committee for the Federal Budget if the law commits resources from the federal budget.

Article 229

If the Chamber does not accept the proposal that a law be enacted through urgent proceedings, the provisions of this operating procedure concerning a proposal for enactment of a law shall apply.

Article 230

An amendment to a proposed version of a law which is being enacted through urgent proceedings may be submitted until debate is closed.

If an amendment alters the principle on which the proposed version of the law is based or if acceptance of an amendment would bring about an essential alteration of the text of the proposed version of the law, or if the amendment commits financial resources from the federal budget, it shall be handled in the manner defined in Article 220, Paragraph 2, of this operating procedure.

The competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission are required to immediately take up the amendment referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article and submit a report to the Chamber along with opinions and proposals.

n) Public Debate

Article 231

When the Chamber accepts a proposal for enactment of a law, in exceptional cases involving matters which are especially important to the working people and citizens, organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities, and if it is indispensable that there be the broadest consultation of the interested bodies and organizations, scientific and professional institutions, and the working people and citizens, it may decide to put up for public debate the proposal for enactment of a law or individual issue contained in that proposal.

Article 232

When in a separate session the Chamber has taken up and accepted the draft of a law, it may decide to put up for public debate the draft of the law or some particular issue contained in that draft.

Article 233

If it decides to put up for public debate a proposal for enactment of a law or the draft of a law or individual issue contained in that proposal or draft, in its resolve the Chamber shall:

i. define the manner in which the proposal for enactment of a law or draft of a law or particular issue contained in the proposal or draft shall be published;

ii. designate the working body of the Chamber which shall see to monitoring the public debate;

iii. ascertain the financial resources necessary and sources of funds to organize and conduct the public debate;

iv. state the period of time within which the public debate is to be conducted;

v. and set forth the manner in which opinions and proposals shall be gathered from the public debate and systematically organized.

Article 234

In organizing and conducting the public debate the working body of the Chamber shall collaborate with the organs of the Social Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, the organs of other sociopolitical organizations, with organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities, and with scientific and professional institutions.

Article 235

The working body of the Chamber shall submit a report to the Chamber on the results of the public debate.

The report of the working body of the Chamber which was commissioned to monitor a public debate shall contain the results of the public debate and a survey of the opinions and proposals expressed on the individual matters.

The report of the working body of the Chamber shall be delivered to the proponent of the act.

The proponent of the law is required in preparing the proposed version of a law to take into account the proposals and opinions contained in the report of the working body of the Chamber concerning the results of the public debate and also to state the reasons why he has not taken up particular proposals and opinions which were expressed in the public debate.

Article 236

If the working body of the Chamber submitting the report on monitoring the public debate is also the proponent of the law, it may submit the proposed version of the law along with the report.

If the proposed version of a law which has been prepared on the basis of the results of a public debate is submitted to the Chamber, the Chamber may in the same session take up the report on the results of the public debate and the proposed version of the law.

2. Procedure for Enactment of the Federal Budget and the Year-End Statement of the Federal Budget

Article 237

The procedure for enactment of the federal budget shall be instituted by submittal of the draft of the federal budget.

Simultaneously with the draft of the federal budget the Federal Executive Council shall submit the proposal for enactment of the law on execution of the federal budget.

Article 238

The draft of the federal budget shall be prepared in conformity with federal law and must be justified.

The justification of the draft of the federal budget shall specifically contain the following:

i. the constitutional basis for enactment of the federal budget;

ii. justification of the proposed version of the funds necessary by users in the federal budget (expenditures);

iii. justification of the structure of the revenues of the federal budget;

iv. presentation of the difference between the total amount of expenditures and the total amount of the Federation's own revenues and a proposal as to the manner in which they can be reconciled.

Article 239

The following shall be submitted along with the draft of the federal budget:

i. a report on execution of the federal budget during the first 8 months of the current year along with an evaluation of execution of the federal budget up to the end of the year;

ii. the work program of users of the resources of the federal budget along with a more detailed justification of the proposal for the amount and purpose of resources to perform the activities of those users;

iii. a survey of the total obligations of the federal budget which have not been met;

iv. a survey of obligations not financed from the federal budget.

The work program of users of resources of the federal budget shall be made available for examination by the delegates and delivered to the competent working body of the Chamber.

Article 240

Consideration of the draft of the federal budget and of the proposal for enactment of the law and execution of the federal budget in the working bodies of the Chamber, as well as the debate in the session of the Chamber, shall be conducted according to the procedure set forth by this operating procedure for consideration of a proposal for enactment of a law, except that the periods of

time for consideration of those acts may be shorter in accordance with the Chamber's resolve.

Article 241

The proposed version of the federal budget shall be prepared in accordance with federal law and must be justified.

The justification of the proposed version of the federal budget shall contain the same elements as the justification of the draft of the federal budget except that the proponent must state in the justification the objections and proposals made to the draft of the federal budget which the proponent has not adopted and the reasons why he did not adopt them.

The proposed version of the law on execution of the federal budget shall be submitted along with the proposed version of the federal budget.

Article 242

Consideration of the proposed version of the federal budget and the proposed version of the law on execution of the federal budget in the working bodies of the Chamber and the debate in the session of the Chamber shall be conducted according to the procedure for taking up the proposed version of a law except that the period for consideration may be shorter in accordance with the Chamber's resolve.

Amendments to the proposed version of the federal budget shall be submitted in the manner envisaged by this operating procedure for the submittal of amendments to the proposed version of a law which is being enacted through urgent proceedings.

Article 243

The Chamber may adopt the proposed version of the federal budget when the Chamber of republics and provinces informs it that it has established the total size of expenditures of the federal budget.

Article 244

The provisions of this operating procedure for enactment of a law through shortened proceedings may be applied to enactment of amendments and supplements to the federal budget.

Article 245

The proposed version of the year-end statement of the federal budget shall be prepared in accordance with federal law.

The proposed version of the year-end statement of the federal budget for the previous year shall be submitted to the Chamber for adoption by the Federal Executive Council.

Together with the proposed version of the year-end statement of the federal budget the Federal Executive Council shall also deliver the report of the Social Accounting Service on an examination of the year-end statement and other documentation prescribed by federal law.

Article 246

The provisions of this operating procedure which pertain to consideration of the proposed version of a law shall be appropriately applied to examination of the proposed version of the year-end statement of the federal budget.

Undivided debate shall be conducted in the session of the Chamber concerning the proposed version of the year-end statement of the federal budget.

3. Procedure Related to Submittal of Opinions to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces and to Other Federal Bodies Whose Acts Create Obligations for the Federal Budget

Article 247

The draft of a law, other regulation or general act in the purview of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces or other federal body which creates an obligation for the federal budget shall be delivered to the delegates by the president of the Chamber.

The draft of the act referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be taken up by the Committee for the Federal Budget from the standpoint of whether resources have been furnished in the federal budget to cover the obligations which that act creates for the budget and shall report on this to the Chamber.

In a resolve the Chamber shall state whether the resources have been provided in the federal budget to cover the obligations created for the federal budget by the act of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces or other federal body and shall so inform the Chamber of Republics and Provinces or other federal body.

4. Procedure for Ratification of International Treaties

Article 248

The Chamber shall ratify international treaties within its purview in a law.

Article 249

The competent working body shall participate in proceedings which precede the conclusion of an international treaty concerning political and military cooperation and an international treaty requiring enactment of new federal laws or amendment of those in effect which are enacted by the Chamber (hereafter "international treaty").

The competent working body shall take under consideration and submit an opinion on the proposal of the basis for conducting negotiations and for conclusion

of an international treaty which is submitted by the Federal Executive Council.

Article 250

In order to arrive at its opinion on the proposal of the basis for conducting negotiations and conclusion of the international treaty the competent working body shall collaborate with the Legislative and Legal Commission and interested working bodies of the Chamber.

The president of the Chamber shall deliver the report of the competent working body to the Federal Executive Council and to the delegates.

Article 251

On the proposal of the competent working body the Chamber may take up the proposal of the basis for conducting negotiations and conclusion of an international treaty and set forth relevant guidelines governing the further effort of the Federal Executive Council in concluding the international treaty.

Article 252

The Federal Executive Council shall institute proceedings for ratification of an international treaty by submitting the proposed version of the ratification law.

Article 253

The proposed version of the law on ratification of an international treaty shall contain the text of the international treaty whose ratification is being proposed.

The justification of the proposed version of the law on ratification of an international treaty should set forth the reasons why ratification of the international treaty is being proposed and should state whether the international treaty requires enactment of new federal laws or amendment of those in effect, and also whether the matters which are the subject of the international treaty fall in the jurisdiction of the republics and autonomous provinces and whether the international treaty requires enactment of new republic or provincial laws or amendment of those in effect.

The justification of the proposed version of the law on ratification of an international treaty should also state whether the international treaty envisages federal obligations in carrying out that treaty and should also furnish an estimate of the financial resources needed from the federal budget to carry out the international treaty.

Article 254

During debate of the proposed version of the law the Chamber shall decide on the need to ratify the international treaty, on possible reservations to the

treaty if such reservations are submitted by that treaty, as well as concerning other questions of principle.

In the proceedings to ratify the international treaty the provisions of this operating procedure which pertain to proceedings for taking up the proposed version of a law shall be appropriately applied.

5. Enactment of a Law on the Procedure for Concluding and Implementing International Treaties

Article 255

The Chamber shall enact with the consent of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces a law on procedure for conclusion of international treaties which require enactment of new republic or provincial laws or amendment of those in effect or which give rise to particular obligations for one or several republics or autonomous provinces.

Article 256

The president of the Chamber shall refer the proposal for enactment of a law which has been approved by the Chamber to the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces so that they might give their opinions.

When the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces have given their opinion, the president of the Chamber shall so inform the proponent of the law, who shall prepare the proposed version of the law.

The provisions of this operating procedure on a consideration of the proposed version of a law shall be appropriately applied to consideration of the proposed version of this law.

Article 257

The president of the Chamber shall deliver the text of a law which the Chamber has adopted to the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces for their consent.

Article 258

The law on concluding and carrying out international treaties shall be adopted when the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces have concurred in the text which the Chamber adopted.

When he receives the consent of the assemblies of the republics and the [illegible] blies of the autonomous provinces, the president of the Chamber shall so [illegible] form the Chamber at the next session.

6. Procedure for Rendering an Authentic Interpretation of a Law

Article 259

The provisions of this operating procedure concerning proceedings for enactment of a law shall be applied to consideration of a proposal for rendering an authentic interpretation of a law.

7. Procedure for Enactment of Other Regulations and General Acts

Article 260

Other regulations aside from laws, the federal budget and the year-end statement of the federal budget, and the decisions which are made as acts in the exercise of the rights and discharge of the duties of the SFRY Assembly shall be enacted according to the provisions of this operating procedure which pertain to the proposed version of a law unless this operating procedure provides otherwise.

Article 261

The Chamber may on the proposal of the proponent, a delegate, a working body of the Chamber or president of the Chamber decide to take up the proposed version of another regulation or general act as referred to in Article 260 of this operating procedure according to the proceedings envisaged for enactment of a law.

Article 262

The proceedings for enactment of a declaration, resolution and recommendation shall be instituted by an authorized proponent by submitting the draft of the act unless this operating procedure provides otherwise.

Article 263

The general acts referred to in Article 262 of this operating procedure shall be enacted according to the provisions of this operating procedure which pertain to the draft and proposed version of a law unless this operating procedure provides otherwise.

Article 264

The Chamber may on the recommendation of the proponent, a delegate, a working body of the Chamber or president of the Chamber decide that the general acts referred to in Article 262 of this operating procedure shall be enacted according to the provisions of this operating procedure which pertain to the proposed version of a law.

Article 265

When the Chamber adopts the draft of an act as referred to in Article 262 of this operating procedure, it may, when matters are involved in a domain of social life which is especially important to the working people and citizens, decide to conduct broader consultation of the working people and citizens and interested bodies and organizations.

Article 266

Undivided debate shall be conducted concerning the proposed version of another regulation or general act in a session of the Chamber.

On the recommendation of the proponent of an act, a delegate, a working body of the Chamber or the president of the Chamber the Chamber may decide to conduct the general debate of the proposal and the debate of the text of the proposal separately.

8. Procedure for Enactment of a Decision Concerning the Obligation To Enforce a Federal Law, Other Regulation or General Act

Article 267

A notice of the Federal Executive Council or executive council of an assembly of a republic or executive council of an assembly of an autonomous province concerning a dispute between a federal administrative agency and an administrative agency of a republic or province concerning discharge of the obligations of the agency in the republic or autonomous province to enforce a federal law, other regulation or general act shall be submitted to the president of the Chamber, who shall send it to the delegates and inform the competent working body and Legislative and Legal Commission about it.

Article 268

The competent working body shall gather data from the federal administrative agency and the administrative agency of the republic or province involved in the dispute and may invite to its meeting representatives of those agencies for them to present their opinions and positions.

In the report which it submits to the Chamber the competent working body shall also report on the positions of the agencies involved in the dispute.

The competent working body shall also accompany its report by the proposed version of the decision concerning the manner in which the issue is to be settled.

The Legislative and Legal Commission shall take up the proposed version of the decision on the manner for settling the issue and shall submit a report on this to the Chamber.

Article 269

When he receives the reports of the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission, the president of the Chamber shall send them to all the delegates and include the matter in dispute in the proposed agenda of the next session of the Chamber.

The Chamber shall examine the reports of the Federal Executive Council or executive council of the assembly of a republic or executive council of the assembly of an autonomous province and the reports of the competent working body and Legislative and Legal Commission and make a decision on the issue and concerning the obligation to enforce the federal law, other regulation or general act.

9. Procedure for Consideration of a Proposal for Vacating or Annulling a Regulation of the Federal Executive Council

Article 270

A proposal for vacating or annulling a regulation of the Federal Executive Council which is not in conformity with the SFRY Constitution, federal law, other regulation or general act which the Chamber has enacted may be submitted by a working body or delegate.

A request to annul or vacate a regulation as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may be submitted by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, the assembly of a republic or the assembly of an autonomous province, a sociopolitical organization at the federal level, the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia or other self-managing organization and community at the federal level.

Article 271

The proposal or request to vacate or annul a regulation of the Federal Executive Council shall contain the title of the regulation whose annulment or vacation is sought, the reasons why it is judged that the regulation of the Federal Executive Council is not in conformity with the SFRY Constitution, federal law or other regulation or general act which the Chamber has enacted, a statement as to whether it is proposed that the regulation be annulled or vacated, and the other circumstances important to the making of a decision, as well as the proposed version of the decision to vacate or annul the regulation.

The president of the Chamber shall deliver to the delegates the proposal or request to vacate or annul a regulation of the Federal Executive Council, and he shall also send it to the Federal Executive Council so that it might express its position.

Article 272

The competent working body and Legislative and Legal Commission shall take under consideration the proposal or request to annul or vacate a regulation of the Federal Executive Council.

In taking up the proposal or request to vacate or annul a regulation of the Federal Executive Council the competent working body and Legislative and Legal Commission shall also take up the position of the Federal Executive Council on that matter and shall submit a report on this to the Chamber.

If the competent working body or Legislative and Legal Commission find that the request to vacate or annul a regulation is justified, it shall submit to the Chamber the proposed version of the decision to vacate or annul the regulation of the Federal Executive Council.

Article 273

The Chamber shall take up the proposal or request to vacate or annul a proposal and adopt a decision as to whether the regulation of the Federal Executive Council shall be annulled or vacated or shall remain in effect.

The provisions of this operating procedure on consideration of a proposal for enactment of a law through shortened proceedings shall be appropriately applied in procedure to annul or vacate a regulation of the Federal Executive Council.

10. Procedure for Consideration of a Regulation of the Federal Executive Council Which the SFRY State Presidency Has Stayed From Execution

Article 274

The president of the Chamber shall deliver to the delegates and to the Federal Executive Council notification of the SFRY State Presidency that it has stayed from execution a regulation of the Federal Executive Council of general political importance.

The provisions of this operating procedure on procedure for consideration of a proposal for annulment or vacation of a regulation of the Federal Executive Council shall be appropriately applied to consideration of the regulation referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

The Chamber shall inform the SFRY State Presidency of its decision.

11. Procedure Concerning the Chamber's Participation in Conclusion of a Social Compact

Article 275

The Chamber shall participate in conclusion of a social compact when the law so provides and when the Chamber so decides.

The Chamber shall participate in conclusion of a social compact with interested sociopolitical organizations, self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level, and the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

Article 276

A proposal that the Chamber be a participant in conclusion of a social compact may be submitted by a delegate, a working body of the Chamber and by the Federal Executive Council.

A proposal that the Chamber be a participant in conclusion of a social compact may also be submitted by a sociopolitical organization or other self-managing organization or community at the federal level and by the assembly of a republic or the assembly of an autonomous province.

Article 277

A proposal that the Chamber be a participant in conclusion of a social compact should contain the constitutional basis for the Chamber's participation in its conclusion, the basis in law if there is such, an assessment of the situation, and the goals which are aimed at, the reasons why conclusion of the social compact is being proposed, the basic principles on which it is to be based, as well as the possible participants in conclusion of the social compact.

Article 278

The president of the Chamber shall send a proposal that the Chamber be a participant in conclusion of a social compact to the delegates, to possible participants in conclusion of the social compact and to the Federal Executive Council unless it submitted the proposal.

Article 279

The provisions of this operating procedure concerning proceedings for enactment of a law shall be appropriately applied to the proceedings in considering a proposal that the Chamber be a participant in conclusion of a social compact.

Article 280

If the Chamber decides to be a participant in conclusion of a social compact, it shall designate a working body of the Chamber which together with the other participants in conclusion of that compact shall participate in preparation of the text of the proposed version of the social compact.

The president of the Chamber shall notify other participants in the social compact of the Chamber's decision concerning the proposal that the Chamber be a participant in conclusion of a social compact.

If the Chamber decides to be a participant in conclusion of a social compact, the president of the Chamber shall also inform the other participants concerning the working body which the Chamber has designated to participate in preparation of the text of the proposed version of the social compact.

Article 281

The working body which the Chamber has designated to participate in preparation of the proposed version of the social compact shall participate in reconciling views and approving the proposed version of the social compact together with the appropriate bodies of the other participants in conclusion of the social compact.

In the course of reconciliation of views and approval of the text of the proposed version of the social compact the working body shall collaborate with other interested working bodies and the Legislative and Legal Commission.

Article 282

The Chamber's working body which the Chamber has designated to participate in preparation of the text of the proposed version of the social compact may call upon the Chamber to take under consideration certain questions which have arisen in preparation of the text of the draft of the social compact.

Article 283

The working body which the Chamber has designated to participate in preparation of the proposed version of the social compact shall deliver the proposed version of the social compact to the Chamber.

Along with the proposed version of the social compact the working body shall also deliver a report on the work of preparing the proposed version of the social compact, which shall also contain the dates agreed on for acceptance of the social compact, as well as other circumstances important to conclusion of the social compact.

Article 284

The provisions of this operating procedure on procedure for consideration of the proposed version of a law shall be appropriately applied to the proceedings for consideration of the proposed version of a social compact.

Article 285

When the Chamber accepts the proposed version of a social compact, it shall designate its representative who shall sign the social compact on behalf of the Chamber.

Article 286

The Chamber may authorize its representative to propose that amendments and supplements be made in certain articles in a social compact which has been accepted or to accept proposals for amendments and supplements of individual articles of that compact which have been submitted by other participants in the social compact--if it is a question of amendments and supplements which do not essentially alter the text of the social compact as accepted.

The representative of the Chamber who signed the social compact in which amendments and supplements have been made in the context of Paragraph 1 of this article shall report to the Chamber on the amendments and supplements which have been made.

Article 287

A proposal that the Chamber enter into a social compact already concluded may be submitted by the proponent referred to in Article 276 of this operating procedure.

The text of the compact shall be appended to the proposal that the Chamber enter into a social compact which has already been concluded.

Article 288

The provisions of this operating procedure concerning the proceedings of considering a proposal that the Chamber be a participant in conclusion of a social compact shall apply to procedure for the Chamber's entering into a social compact which has already been concluded.

Article 289

The Chamber may in the same session of the Chamber decide on a proposal for entering into a social compact already concluded.

Article 290

A proposal that the Chamber furnish initiative for conclusion of a social compact may be submitted by a delegate, by a working body of the Chamber and by the Federal Executive Council.

The provisions of this operating procedure on consideration of a proposal that the Chamber be a participant in conclusion of a social compact shall apply to procedure for consideration of a proposal that the Chamber furnish initiative for conclusion of a social compact.

Article 291

If the Chamber decides to furnish initiative for concluding a social compact, the president of the Chamber shall send that initiative to the interested bodies and organizations in which the proposal is presented to them that they participate in conclusion of a social compact.

B. Procedure foı Election, Appointment and Dismissal

1. Election of the Officials of the Chamber

a) Election of the Chamber's President and Vice President

Article 292

The Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall nominate a candidate for president of the Chamber.

A nomination may also be made by any delegate. The delegate's nomination shall be sent to the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments for its opinion.

The Commission is required to give its opinion no later than 24 hours before the session of the Chamber in which the president is to be elected. The nomination shall be sent along with the commission's opinion to all delegates.

The nomination shall be submitted in writing.

The nomination must be delivered to the delegates before commencement of the session of the Chamber at which the president of the Chamber is to be elected.

The reporter of the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments or other nominator shall have the right to present the case for the nomination in the session of the Chamber.

Article 293

As a rule the vote for election of the president of the Chamber in the session of the Chamber shall be by open ballot.

The vote shall be by secret ballot if this is decided in advance by the Chamber on the motion of a delegate.

Article 294

If the president of the Chamber is elected by secret ballot, the vote shall be taken with paper ballots.

The names of all the candidates must be printed on every ballot, and that in the order in which the nominations were submitted to the president of the Chamber. The candidates shall be numbered in order and the number placed in front of the name of each candidate.

All ballots shall be of the same size, shape and color. The seal of the SFRY Assembly shall be impressed on every ballot.

Article 295

The conduct of the election shall be directed by the president of the Chamber who shall be aided in this work by the necessary number of delegates elected in the session of the Chamber and the secretary of the Chamber.

Article 296

Every delegate shall receive a ballot.

Following distribution of the ballots, and when it is established that every delegate has received a ballot, the president of the Chamber shall present an explanation of the voting procedure and shall set the time for filling out the ballots.

The delegate shall vote by circling the number in front of the candidate's name.

At the end of the time designated for filling out the ballot, the president of the Chamber shall call upon the delegates to deposit their ballots.

Every delegate shall personally drop his folded ballot in one of the ballot boxes which have been set up, whose number shall be determined by the president of the Chamber.

One of the delegates elected in the session to aid the president of the Chamber in conducting the election shall be stationed at each ballot box.

Article 297

When all the delegates present have voted and the president of the Chamber announces that the vote has been completed, determination of the result of the vote shall begin.

The result of the vote shall be ascertained on the basis of the ballots deposited.

The president of the Chamber shall announce the result of the vote and shall report the total number of delegates voting and the number voting for each of the candidates.

Article 298

The candidate who has received the majority of the votes of the delegates present is elected president of the Chamber.

If no candidate receives the necessary majority, the authorized proponent shall make a new nomination.

Article 299

The vice president of the Chamber shall be elected after election of the president of the Chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

Submittal of nominations and the election of the vice president of the Chamber shall conform to the provisions of this operating procedure concerning nomination of the president of the Chamber.

b) Election of the Chairmen and Members of Working Bodies of the Chamber

Article 300

The Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall submit a slate of candidates to the Chamber for election of chairman and members of the working body of the Chamber.

Article 301

The Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall submit the slate of candidates for membership of the working body of the Chamber to the Chamber no later than 24 hours before the session of the Chamber begins.

When this operating procedure specifies that membership of a working body of the Chamber is to include public figures, scholars and scientists and specialists, the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall include in the proposed membership of that working body a slate of candidates from among public figures, scholars and scientists, and specialists.

Article 302

The slate of candidates for the chairman and members of the working body of the Chamber shall be submitted in writing.

The vote on election of the members of a working body and also on election of the chairman of the working body in the session of the Chamber shall be by open ballot.

Article 303

When this operating procedure or a decision to establish a working body of the Chamber provides that sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level are to delegate their representatives to the working body of the Chamber, the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall notify the Chamber which individuals have been delegated to the membership of the working body.

2. Appointment of the Secretary of the Chamber

Article 304

The secretary of the Chamber shall be appointed according to the provisions of this operating procedure concerning election of the president of the Chamber.

3. Procedure for Dismissal

Article 305

Dismissal of officials who under this operating procedure are elected or appointed by the Chamber shall be done by the Chamber on the proposal of the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments or other authorized proponent.

The proposal for dismissal which does not originate with the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall be taken up by that commission, which shall submit to the Chamber its argued opinion concerning that proposal.

The official to whom a proposal for dismissal pertains may present his view concerning that proposal in the session of the Chamber at which the proposal is being deliberated, but if he communicates his position in writing, the president of the Chamber shall inform the delegates concerning that position.

Article 306

The provisions of this operating procedure which pertain to the procedure for election or appointment shall be appropriately applied in dismissal proceedings.

Article 307

In deliberating the dismissal of an official the Chamber may decide to replace him until election or appointment of a new official.

C. Procedure for Consideration of Conduct of the Established Policy and Enforcement of Federal Laws, Other Regulations and General Acts

Article 308

In order to monitor conduct of established policy and execution of federal laws, other regulations and general acts and the discharge of obligations of federal bodies and agencies in connection with enforcement of those regulations and acts, as well as to evaluate the situation in particular domains of the life of society, the Chamber shall take under consideration the reports, analyses and advisories submitted by the Federal Executive Council, federal administrative agencies and other federal bodies and organizations, as well as the working bodies of the Chamber.

The working bodies of the Chamber shall take reports, as well as analyses and advisories, under consideration before their consideration in the session of the Chamber and shall submit a report on the matter to the Chamber.

In the report the working bodies shall recommend to the Chamber an assessment of the situation and the measures which the Chamber should set forth.

Article 309

Should they judge that in the consideration of reports, analyses and advisories submitted by the bodies and agencies referred to in Article 308, Paragraph 1, of this operating procedure necessary consultations and verifications need to be made and certain data and facts established and opinions verified in organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities, the working bodies of the Chamber may establish working groups.

When the working groups referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article have completed the task assigned them, they shall submit a report to the working body of the Chamber along with proposals and opinions. The working body shall make use of that report in evaluating the situation and in proposing measures to the Chamber in connection with consideration of the report, analysis or advisory.

Article 310

As an exception reports and advisories may be submitted orally in urgent cases in a session of the Chamber, but the need for them to be placed on the agenda of the session of the Chamber shall be justified.

In the cases referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article the Chamber shall examine the report or advisory without prior consideration in the working bodies of the Chamber.

Article 311

In connection with consideration of reports, analyses and advisories the Chamber may:

a. adopt the resolve concerning acceptance of the report, analysis or advisory and the proposal of the working bodies of the Chamber and reports of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations;

b. adopt the resolve on the need to adopt a new law, other regulation or general act or to amend or supplement a law, other regulation or general act in the Chamber's purview which is already in effect;

c. issue guidelines to the Federal Executive Council and to federal administrative agencies and federal organizations;

d. issue a recommendation directing attention of government agencies, organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations, associations

and communities to the measures which they should take to resolve a particular issue within the purview of the Chamber;

e. adopt the resolve setting forth the obligations of the Federal Executive Council, federal administrative agencies and other federal bodies and agencies;

f. commission the competent working body to follow up on conduct of the measures adopted;

g. close debate on the matter under consideration without taking a position.

Article 312

The provisions of this operating procedure which pertain to consideration of the proposed version of a law shall be appropriately applied to the periods of time for consideration of reports, analyses and advisories and also to the manner of their consideration in the session of the Chamber, except that the Chamber may also fix different periods of time.

D. Special Proceedings for Consideration and Deliberation of the Proposed Version of a Law, Other Regulation or General Act or Other Matter of General Interest to a Republic or Autonomous Province

Article 313

When on the agenda of a session of the Chamber there is the proposed version of a law, other regulation or general act or other matter of general interest to a republic or autonomous province and to the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, at the request of a majority of the delegates from one republic or autonomous province special procedures for consideration and deliberation of such a law or other general act or matter as set forth in this operating procedure shall be conducted in conformity with the SFRY Constitution.

For the purpose of this operating procedure the term "proposed version of a law" referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article refers to a proposal for enactment of a law and the proposed version of a law or other regulation or general act.

The request for conduct of special proceedings shall be delivered to the delegates and to the Federal Executive Council.

Article 314

A request for conduct of special proceedings may also be submitted during debate of a proposal for enactment of a law or the proposed version of a law, other regulation or general act or during debate of another matter in a session of the Chamber, before cloture and passing on to the vote.

If the request is sent to the president of the Chamber in writing before the day when the session of the Chamber is held, the president of the Chamber shall make the request known to the delegates at the beginning of debate of the proposed version of the act or other matter to which the request pertains.

A request for conduct of special proceedings must be supported by argument.

Article 315

When a request is submitted for the conduct of special proceedings, the president of the Chamber shall suspend debate of the proposed version of the act or other matter to which the request pertains and call upon the Chamber to set forth in a resolve the manner in which special proceedings are to be conducted in conformity with the provisions of this operating procedure.

While special proceedings are being conducted, the Chamber may not undertake consideration of the act or other matter in dispute.

Article 316

The president of the Chamber shall call upon the proponent to state his position concerning the request submitted for the conduct of special proceedings.

If the proponent of an act amends or supplements his bill in response to a request that has been made for the conduct of special proceedings, the president of the Chamber shall call upon the proponents of the request to state whether they persist in their request.

If the proponents of the request withdraw their request, special proceedings shall be concluded and debate resumed.

If the proponents of the request persist in their request, special proceedings shall be continued.

Article 317

The Chamber may provide in a resolve that a matter in dispute indicated by proponents of a request for the conduct of special proceedings be sent back for reconsideration to the proponent of the act or that consideration of that matter be referred to the competent working body or special working body which the Chamber establishes for that purpose and assign them a deadline for submitting a report on the matter in dispute.

The Chamber may also decide that the Legislative and Legal Commission shall take up the matter in dispute.

The Chamber shall also state in its resolve the period of time within which the matter in dispute is to be taken under consideration once again. That period of time may not be shorter than 24 hours.

Article 318

The proponent of an act, the competent working body or ad hoc working body of the Chamber established to examine a request for conduct of special proceedings is required to conduct the necessary consultations concerning the matter to which it pertains with the competent authorities of the republics and autonomous provinces and with the Federal Executive Council if it was not the proponent of the act, as well as with other interested bodies and organizations, gather the necessary documentation and conduct the necessary analyses, and on that basis propose the way in which the matter in dispute is to be settled.

The proponent of the act, the competent working body or ad hoc working body of the Chamber shall submit a report to the Chamber on the position taken. The report must be substantiated and must contain proposals for resolving the matter in dispute.

Before consideration in the session of the Chamber the report shall be sent to the proponents of the request for the conduct of special proceedings and to the sponsor of the act if the Chamber has commissioned it to submit a proposal for resolving the matter in dispute.

If the proponent of the act is not the Federal Executive Council, the report shall also be delivered to the Federal Executive Council.

Article 319

The report of the proponent, the competent working body or ad hoc working body of the Chamber shall be taken under consideration by the Chamber.

During debate the Chamber may state in a resolve that the proponent, competent working body or ad hoc working body of the Chamber is to reconsider the matter in dispute in order to supplement its report and to submit a report within the period of time fixed by the Chamber.

Article 320

If the proponents of a request for the conduct of special proceedings accept the report as a resolution of the matter in dispute, the Chamber shall state in its resolve that special proceedings are terminated and shall resume debate of the proposed version of the act or the other matter.

If the proponents of a request for the conduct of special proceedings do not concur with the proposal for resolving the issue, the matter shall be removed from the agenda and may be returned to the agenda on the proposal of the proponent no earlier than 1 month from the day when it was removed from the agenda of the session of the Chamber.

A matter in dispute may be placed on the agenda of a session of the Chamber before the end of 1 month if the proponents of the request for conduct of special proceedings concur with an amended proposal for resolving the matter in dispute or if they withdraw their request for conduct of special proceedings.

The Chamber may decide that the period of 1 month referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article does not apply to a law which is being enacted through urgent proceedings.

If the proponents of a request for conduct of special proceedings do not concur with the proposal for resolving the issue even after a month has passed, the Chamber may return it to the agenda of a session of the Chamber and resume debate and deliberation of the proposed version of a law, other regulation or general act or material concerning which proceedings were instituted.

E. Consideration of an Interpellation

Article 321

An interpellation for consideration of particular political questions related to the work of the Federal Executive Council may in conformity with the SFRY Constitution be submitted by a group of at least 10 delegates.

An interpellation shall be submitted in writing and shall be signed by all the delegates submitting it.

The delegates shall delivere the interpellation to the president of the Chamber.

Article 322

The president of the Chamber shall deliver the interpellation to the chairman of the Federal Executive Council, to the delegates and to the president of the SFRY Assembly.

If an interpellation has been submitted during a session of the Chamber, the president of the Chamber shall so inform the Chamber.

An interpellation must be supported by argument.

Article 323

The Federal Executive Council shall examine an interpellation and deliver to the president of the Chamber a written report concerning its opinions and positions concerning the interpellation.

The Federal Executive Council is required to deliver the report concerning an interpellation to the president of the Chamber no later than 1 month from the day it received the interpellation.

The president of the Chamber shall send the report of the Federal Executive Council to all delegates.

Article 324

An interpellation shall be placed as a separate item on the agenda of the next meeting of the Chamber following the passage of 10 days from the date of delivery of the report of the Federal Executive Council to the delegates.

If the Federal Executive Council does not submit the report within the period stated in Article 323, Paragraph 2, of this operating procedure, the interpellation shall be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the Chamber following expiration of that period of time.

Article 325

One of the delegates who have submitted the interpellation shall have the right to make the case for it in the session of the Chamber.

The chairman of the Federal Executive Council shall have the right in the session of the Chamber to state the case for the report of the Federal Executive Council orally.

Article 326

Before its debate in a session of the Chamber the interpellation shall be taken up by the competent working body and Legislative and Legal Commission, which shall submit a report on it to the Chamber.

The delegates who submitted an interpellation may withdraw it up until the time of deliberation of the Chamber concerning the interpellation or before it passes on to debate of the next point on the agenda of the session of the Chamber.

The Chamber may conclude debate of an interpellation with a resolve stating its position on the matters which were raised by the interpellation, but it may also issue guidelines to the Federal Executive Council for the conduct of policy and enforcement of law, other regulation or general act related to the interpellation.

The Chamber may also conclude debate of an interpellation without enacting a specific resolve and by passing on to the next item on the agenda of the session of the Chamber.

After debate of an interpellation the Chamber may also put a question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council.

F. Procedure Related to a Delegate Question

Article 327

The delegate has the right to put a delegate question to the Federal Executive Council and to an official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization pertaining to their work or to matters within their jurisdiction, within the limits of the Chamber's purview.

Article 328

Delegates may put delegate questions to the Federal Executive Council and an official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization orally in a session of the Chamber, or in writing through the president of the Chamber between two sessions of the Chamber.

If he feels that the question put is in conformity with the provisions of this operating procedure, the president of the Chamber shall deliver it to the Federal Executive Council or official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization.

If he feels that the question put does not conform to the provisions of this operating procedure, the president of the Chamber shall so advise the delegate submitting the question and shall call upon him to bring his question into conformity with those provisions.

If the delegate submitting a question does not bring his question into conformity with the provisions of this operating procedure, the president of the Chamber shall not refer that question to the Federal Executive Council or to the official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization, and he shall so inform the delegate submitting the question. In connection with that notification the delegate submitting the question may in a session of the Chamber request that his question be sent to the Federal Executive Council or official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization. The Chamber shall rule on the request without debate.

Article 329

A representative of the Federal Executive Council or official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization shall as a rule make the response in the same session of the Chamber in which the delegate question is put, but he may request that the answer be given at the next session of the Chamber.

If the representative of the Federal Executive Council or official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization cannot make a full answer in the session of the Chamber, he is required to provide a complete answer to the question which has been put in the next session of the Chamber.

An answer to a question that has been put in writing shall be made at the next session of the Chamber if that question was delivered to the Federal Executive Council or official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization no later than 8 days before the day appointed for holding the session of the Chamber.

Article 330

A delegate may request that a written answer be given to the question which he has put.

A written answer to a question put orally shall be made within 8 days from the date when the question was put, and a written answer to a question put in writing within a period of 8 days from the day when the question was delivered to the Federal Executive Council or official heading the federal administrative agency or federal organization, and it shall be submitted to the president of the Chamber.

The president of the Chamber shall deliver the answer to the delegate who put the question, and in the next session of the Chamber shall inform the Chamber about the question put and the answer made.

Article 331

At the request of the representative of the Federal Executive Council or official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization the Chamber may extend the periods of time for making response stated in Article 330 of this operating procedure.

Article 332

The response to a delegate question put to the Federal Executive Council shall be made by the designated representative of that council, and the response to a question put to an official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization may be made by that official or by an official who replaces him under regulations in effect.

The representative of the Federal Executive Council or official heading the federal administrative agency or federal organization may refuse to furnish an answer to the question put if the question does not pertain to their work or to matters within their jurisdiction.

If an answer pertains to a question which is a state or official secret, the Federal Executive Council or official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization may propose that the answer be made in a closed session of the Chamber or working body of the Chamber whose purview embraces that question. The Chamber shall decide on this proposal.

Article 333

After the answer has been received, the delegate who put the question may put an additional question in a session of the Chamber.

After receiving the answer, the delegate who has put a question and a possible additional question may propose in the manner defined by this operating procedure that the matter to which his question pertains be placed on the agenda of that or one of the forthcoming sessions of the Chamber or that the matter be taken up by the competent working body whose purview embraces that question and for it to inform the Chamber of its opinion.

Article 334

Questions which delegates put to the Federal Executive Council and to officials who head federal administrative agencies or federal organizations and also the answers to those questions must be brief and may not possess the features of a debate.

Article 335

The delegate has the right to put to officials and collegial bodies heading organizations and communities which exercise public authority on the basis of federal law questions which pertain to their work or to matters which are part of their activity and fall within the confines of their exercise of public authority.

The provisions of this operating procedure on the manner of putting questions to the Federal Executive Council and to officials heading federal administrative agencies or federal organizations and the giving of answers to those questions shall be appropriately applied to the manner of putting questions to the officials and bodies referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article and to the furnishing of answers to those questions.

G. Procedure Related to the Request for Information

Article 336

A delegate may request information in a session of the Chamber and working bodies of the Chamber in a written or oral request addressed directly to the official whose purview embraces the question on which information is sought.

Article 337

The information shall be furnished by the official heading the federal administrative agency or federal organization, but it may also be given by the official who replaces him or a representative of the organization or community which exercises public authority on the basis of federal law, as well as by other officials as referred to in Article 17 of this operating procedure.

The official shall furnish the information in the session in which the information is sought.

If an official cannot provide the information in the session at which it was sought, he is as a rule required to give it within 8 days from the date when the information was sought or from the date of receipt of the request for information. If the official cannot furnish the information requested within that period of time, within that period he is required to inform the delegate when he will furnish him the information requested.

The information shall be furnished in writing or orally.

X. Informing the Public About the Chamber's Work

Article 338

The Chamber shall inform the public concerning the matters which it is considering and deliberating and also about its decisions and positions on those matters, as well as about the work of the Chamber and its working bodies.

Article 339

Material on matters under consideration in the Chamber shall also be accessible to the working people and citizens, organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities in conformity with the provisions of regulations on internal order in the SFRY Assembly.

Article 340

Representatives of the press and other news media (hereafter "representatives of the news media") have the right to attend sessions of the Chamber and sessions of the working bodies of the Chamber and to inform the public about their work.

A decision may be made in a session of the Chamber or working body of the Chamber that representatives of the news media may attend the session or meeting even when a certain matter is being debated in closed session. Those representatives may release to the public only that information on such a matter on which a decision to that effect is made in the session or meeting. A decision may be made in the session or meeting that information on such a matter may be released only after a certain period of time has passed.

Article 341

Bills and other material under consideration in the Chamber and its working bodies, reports of the working bodies of the Chamber and transcripts of the session of the Chamber shall be made available to representatives of the news media unless a general act on the manner of handling material in the SFRY Assembly regarded as a state secret or confidential provides otherwise.

The secretary of the Chamber shall see to enforcement of the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 342

The Chamber may decide that a proposal for enactment of a law or proposed version of some other general act which is under consideration in the Chamber and which is of particular interest to the public be published in the press or a separate publication.

Article 343

Material shall be delivered to representatives of the news media, they shall be furnished the conditions necessary to follow the work of the Chamber and its working bodies, and they shall be furnished interviews with officials in the Chamber and representatives of proponents.

So that the public might be regularly, promptly, truthfully and fully informed about the work of the Chamber, the Chamber and its working bodies may decide to issue an official announcement or to hold a press conference with representatives of the news media.

Article 344

An official announcement for the news media shall in particular be made after sessions of the Chamber or meetings of its working bodies which have been held in closed session or the absence of representatives of the news media and in other cases when the Chamber or its working body so decides.

If the text of the official announcement has not been approved in the session of the Chamber or meeting of its working body, that text shall be prepared by the president of the Chamber of working body of the Chamber.

Article 345

A press conference with representatives of the news media shall be held when the Chamber so decides or when the president of the Chamber so decides on the proposal of the working body or on his own initiative.

When it decides to hold a press conference with representatives of the news media, the Chamber shall designate its representative who is to hold that conference.

XI. Use of the Written and Spoken Languages of the Nationalities and Ethnic Minorities of Yugoslavia in the Chamber's Proceedings

Article 346

The delegate has the right in the session of the Chamber and meeting of its working bodies to speak in any of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia or in the language of the ethnic minority to which he belongs.

The speech of a delegate delivered in a session of the Chamber or meeting of its working body in one of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia shall be translated into the other languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and into the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian ethnic minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language).

The speech of a delegate delivered in a session of the Chamber or meeting of its working body in the language of an ethnic minority shall be translated into all the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and into the

languages of the Albanian and Hungarian ethnic minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language).

Article 347

Every delegate has the right to submit to the Chamber and to its working bodies written proposals, amendments and other submitted material in any of the languages or scripts of the nationalities of Yugoslavia as set forth in republic constitutions or in the language of the ethnic minority to which he belongs.

Submitted material of the delegates written in one of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and submitted material written in the languages of the particular ethnic minority shall be translated into the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia set forth in republic constitutions and into the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian ethnic minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language).

The following shall be drafted in the languages and scripts of the nationalities of Yugoslavia set forth in republic constitutions and in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian nationalities (Albanian language and Hungarian language) in the Chamber:

i. proposals for enactment of a law or proposed versions of other general acts in the purview of the Chamber and other proposals under consideration by the Chamber and its working bodies, as well as the resolves and minutes of the Chamber and of its working bodies;

ii. draft of laws or individual matters within those drafts which the Chamber has decided to put up for public debate;

iii. informative and documentary material on matters on the agenda of sessions of the Chamber and meetings of its working bodies and on other matters in the purview of the Chamber or of its working bodies which under the provisions of this operating procedure is to be sent to the delegates;

iv. other material sent to the delegates, such as: the SFRY Assembly Information Bulletin, summons to a session of the Chamber and meetings of its working bodies, and other notifications.

The material referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article which is delivered to the Chamber by the Federal Executive Council, federal administrative agencies and federal organizations must be drafted and delivered in the languages and scripts of the nationalities of Yugoslavia set forth in republic constitutions and in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language).

The material referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article delivered to the Chamber by other bodies and organizations and by delegates, if it has not been drafted in all the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (Albanian language and

Hungarian language), shall be translated in the SFRY Assembly into the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia set forth in republic constitutions and into the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language).

Article 348

Material shall be delivered to the delegate in the language of the nationality of Yugoslavia set forth in a republic constitution to which the delegate belongs unless he requests otherwise, and to a delegate who belongs to a minority in the language of the nationality of Yugoslavia which he designates or in the language of the Albanian or Hungarian minority (Albanian language or Hungarian language).

Material in the purview of the Chamber shall be delivered to the assemblies of the republics and to the assemblies of the autonomous provinces in the language of the nationality of Yugoslavia which is used in that republic or autonomous province, and to the assemblies of autonomous provinces in the language of the Albanian or Hungarian minority (Albanian language or Hungarian language).

Material in the purview of the Chamber shall be delivered to bodies and organizations and individual citizens on the territory of a republic or autonomous province in the language of the nationality of Yugoslavia which is used in that republic or autonomous province, and on the territory of an autonomous province also in the language of the Albanian or Hungarian minority (Albanian language or Hungarian language).

Article 349

The assemblies of the autonomous provinces and other bodies and organizations in regions settled by members of the minorities may submit proposals or requests for enactment of laws in the purview of the Chamber and other proposals which the Chamber and its working bodies take under consideration in one of the languages of the minorities on the territory of the autonomous province or region.

Citizens who are members of an ethnic minority may submit to the Chamber and its working bodies requests for enactment of acts in the purview of the Chamber, proposals and other representations in the language of the ethnic minority to which they belong.

Requests, proposals and representations as referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article written in the languages of a minority, if they are to be delivered to the delegates, shall be translated into the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia set forth in republic constitutions and into the language of the Albanian or Hungarian minority (Albanian language or Hungarian language).

Answers to those requests, proposals and representations shall be delivered in the language of the nationality of Yugoslavia or language of the Albanian or

Hungarian minority (Albanian language or Hungarian language) which was used in the request, proposal or representation.

XII. The Chamber's Relations and Cooperation With the Chamber of Republics and Provinces

Article 350

The Chamber may decide to hold a joint session with the Chamber of Republics and Provinces to consider matters on which they decide equally.

The Chamber may decide to hold a joint session with the Chamber of Republics and Provinces for the swearing in of officials chosen by the SFRY Assembly, to hear an address and report, as well as to take up some other matter of common interest.

A session which the chambers of the SFRY Assembly hold jointly shall be convened by the presidents of those chambers by agreement or on the basis of a resolve of the chambers after agreement has been reached on the date and agenda of that session. The session which the chambers of the SFRY Assembly hold jointly shall be presided over alternately by the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 351

If a decision is being made on a particular matter in a session which the Chamber is holding jointly with the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, the Chamber shall take its position in conformity with the provisions of this operating procedure.

Article 352

A working body of the Chamber may decide to hold a joint meeting with a working body of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces to take up a matter of interest to the working bodies of the two chambers and may submit a joint report on the matter to the Chamber.

A meeting which working bodies of the chambers hold jointly shall be called by the chairmen of those bodies by agreement or on the basis of a resolve of the working body after agreement has been reached on the date and agenda of that meeting.

The chairmen of the working bodies shall chair such meetings alternately.

Article 353

The Chamber may seek the opinion of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces on a matter which it is considering.

The Chamber shall take under consideration the opinion given it by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces on its own initiative or at the request of the Chamber, and shall take its position concerning it.

The Chamber shall inform the Chamber of Republics and Provinces concerning the position it has taken.

Article 354

During proceedings of debate of a matter in the purview of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces the Chamber may take up that matter if it is of interest to the Chamber and give its opinion on the matter.

The Chamber may designate its representative who will make the case for the opinion which the Chamber has given in a session of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

Article 355

A working body may take up a matter in the purview of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces and submit a report to the Chamber on that matter.

The report of the working body of the Chamber shall be delivered to the delegates and to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

Article 356

The Chamber shall submit the draft of its work program to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces for its opinion and shall take the opinion of that chamber under consideration.

The Chamber shall take under consideration the draft of the work program of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces which that chamber has delivered to it and shall give its opinion concerning it.

XIII. Conduct of the Chamber's Relations With the SFRY State Presidency

Article 357

The Chamber shall inform the SFRY State Presidency concerning its sessions and the meetings of its working bodies and shall deliver to it the proposed agenda and material being delivered to the delegates.

Article 358

Members of the SFRY State Presidency may attend and participate in the work of sessions of the Chamber and meetings of the working bodies of the Chamber.

Article 359

The Chamber shall take under consideration the proposals of the SFRY State Presidency for establishment of domestic and foreign policy and for enactment of laws, other regulations and general acts according to the procedure set forth in the relevant provisions of this operating procedure.

Article 360

If the Chamber does not accept a proposal of the SFRY State Presidency for establishment of domestic and foreign policy or a proposal for enactment of a law, other regulation or general act whose enactment the SFRY State Presidency deems essential, or if it does not accept the proposal of the SFRY State Presidency to postpone enactment of a law or other general act, the Chamber and SFRY State Presidency shall establish by agreement procedure for consideration of the matter in dispute and shall fix a time for reconciliation of views.

Article 361

The Chamber may call upon the SFRY State Presidency to expand its view on a particular matter within its jurisdiction which is of importance to the work of the Chamber.

The president of the Chamber shall inform the SFRY State Presidency concerning such a request of the Chamber through the president of the SFRY Assembly.

XIV. Exercise of the Chamber's Rights Toward the Federal Executive Council

1. Representation of the Federal Executive Council in the Chamber

Article 362

The chairman of the Federal Executive Council shall represent the Federal Executive Council in the Chamber.

The Federal Executive Council may designate its members as permanent representatives in the Chamber and its working bodies for particular domains in the life of society.

The Federal Executive Council may also designate as its permanent representative in particular working bodies of the Chamber an official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization who is not a member of the Federal Executive Council when matters are taken up in a domain that lies in the purview of the agency or organization which he heads.

Article 363

When the Federal Executive Council submits to the Chamber a proposal for enactment of a law, the proposed version of a law, other regulation or general act, or a report, analysis or advisory on conduct of the established policy, and a report on enforcement of federal laws, it shall also give notice of its representative which it has designated.

The Federal Executive Council shall designate its representatives in the cases stated in Paragraph 1 of this article from among members of the Federal Executive Council and officials heading federal administrative agencies and federal organizations who are not members of the Federal Executive Council.

The Federal Executive Council may also designate an assistant secretary or assistance of officials heading federal administrative agencies or federal organizations to represent it and the working bodies of the Chamber on a particular matter in a domain which falls in the purview of the respective federal administrative agency or federal organization unless this operating procedure provides otherwise.

Representatives of the Federal Executive Council shall attend sessions of the Chamber and meetings of its working bodies at which material referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article is taken up and shall participate in the work of the Chamber and of its working bodies and present the positions of the Federal Executive Council.

Article 364

The Federal Executive Council shall designate its spokesman in the cases referred to in Article 362 of this operating procedure.

The Federal Executive Council shall send its spokesman when this is requested by the Chamber or its working body or when the Federal Executive Council deems it necessary.

The spokesman of the Federal Executive Council shall attend sessions of the Chamber and meetings of its working body, shall furnish information and explanations concerning matters which are on the agenda of the session of the Chamber or the meeting of its working bodies.

Article 365

The Chamber and its working bodies shall notify the Federal Executive Council of its sessions and meetings.

The representatives and spokesmen of the council shall also be notified of sessions of the Chamber and meetings of its working bodies in which the material referred to in Article 363 of this operating procedure is to be taken up.

2. Reporting to the Chamber on the Work of the Federal Executive Council

Article 366

On its own initiative or at the request of the Chamber the Federal Executive Council shall submit a report on its work, on the situation in a particular domain of the life of society and on enforcement of particular laws, other regulations and general acts of the Chamber, as well as on other matters within the purview of the Chamber.

The Federal Executive Council shall submit the report referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article on its own initiative when this is envisaged by law or the Chamber's work program or when the Chamber so decides.

The Chamber shall take under consideration the report of the Federal Executive Council referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article and shall set forth its position in a resolve.

3. Exercise of the Chamber's Oversight Over the Work of the Federal Executive Council as to the Conduct of Policy and Accountability of the Federal Executive Council

Article 367

In the Chamber's exercise of policy oversight over the work of the Federal Executive Council and achievement of the accountability of the Federal Executive Council to the Chamber the Chamber may initiate debate within the confines of its purview on matters pertaining to the work of the Federal Executive Council.

Debate of a matter may be initiated in connection with consideration of a proposal for enactment of law, the proposed version of a law, other regulation or general act, or a report, analysis or advisory on the conduct of established policy and enforcement of federal laws, a report on the work of the Federal Executive Council or an interpellation which has been submitted.

Article 368

Debate of matters pertaining to conduct of the Chamber's policy oversight over the work of the Federal Executive Council and achievement of its accountability may end as follows:

i. with adoption of a resolve whereby the work of the Federal Executive Council is guided or it is issued guidelines related to the conduct of policy and enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts of the Chamber;

ii. enactment of a resolve whereby obligations are placed on the Federal Executive Council to undertake particular measures, to submit reports or proposed versions of acts, or to furnish information and other material;

iii. with adoption of positions concerning the work of the Federal Executive Council and its accountability;

iv. with the putting of a question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council or the chairman and members of that council;

v. by passing on to the next item on the agenda.

Article 369

In connection with consideration of matters which pertain to the conduct of policy oversight over the work of the Federal Executive Council and also in connection with other matters related to the work of the Federal Executive Council a group of at least 10 delegates may put a question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council.

The provisions of Operating Procedure on Joint Work of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall apply in further proceedings in which a question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council or the chairman and members of that council has been put and also in proceedings in which the Federal Executive Council has submitted its collective resignation.

XV. Exercise of the Chamber's Rights Toward Federal Administrative Agencies and Federal Organizations

Article 370

In exercise of the Chamber's rights toward a federal administrative agency or federal organization the Chamber may within the limits of its purview call upon the federal administrative agency or federal organization to:

i. inform it about the conduct of policy which has been set forth by the Chamber and about enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts of the Chamber on particular matters within an area of its jurisdiction;

ii. draft the proposed version of a law, other regulation or general act enacted by the Chamber;

iii. furnish it information and explanations on matters within its jurisdiction;

iv. submit to it data which it possesses or which it is required to gather and keep a record of within its jurisdiction, as well as official documents and other material necessary to the work of the Chamber and the working bodies.

Article 371

Within the limits of the Chamber's work program a working body of the Chamber may call upon a federal administrative agency or federal organization to:

i. inform it about regulations issued in order to carry out laws and other general acts in conformity with the powers granted it in law or other general acts, as well as concerning the reasons in cases when they have not issued those regulations within the period specified;

ii. furnish specialized assistance in the drafting of laws and other general acts when the working body is the proponent of those acts.

If the federal administrative agency or federal organization deems that because of its regular obligations it cannot meet the request of the working bodies of the Chamber, it shall so inform the working body and the Federal Executive Council and set forth the reasons why it cannot do so.

Article 372

A working body of the Chamber may call upon the official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization for specialists from the respective administrative agency or organization to participate in the work of an inquiry group or other group established by the working body.

Article 373

The working body of the Chamber shall notify a federal administrative agency and federal organization concerning meetings at which matters are to be taken up which pertain to a field within their jurisdiction so that their representatives might participate in those meetings.

Article 374

An official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization shall have the right and duty to participate in work during sessions of the Chamber and meetings of its working bodies when matters are taken up within the jurisdiction of the federal administrative agency or federal organization which he heads and to furnish information and explanations as necessary.

If the official is prevented from participating in work in a meeting of a working body, he may designate a responsible official in the relevant administrative agency or organization to participate in the work of the meeting.

Article 375

An official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization shall submit a report at the request of the Chamber, on his own initiative or when this is set forth in law or the work program of the Chamber concerning the situation in a relevant field, concerning enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts of the Chamber and concerning other matters within its jurisdiction, as well as concerning the work of the agency or organization which he heads.

XVI. The Chamber's Participation in the Work of Federal Social Councils

Article 376

Representatives of working bodies designated by the Chamber in accordance with its work program shall take part in the work of federal social councils as delegates of the Chamber.

On the basis of an agreement with representatives of working bodies the president of the Chamber may order that other delegates shall also participate in the work of federal social councils depending on the matters which are on the agenda of the council's meeting.

The president and vice president of the Chamber may participate in the work of federal social councils.

Article 377

A delegate who participates in the work of federal social councils is required to set forth in the meetings of the council the opinions and positions of the working bodies which have taken up that matter.

A delegate who has participated in the work of a federal social council is required to inform the working body concerning the opinions and positions expressed in the meeting of the council.

In a meeting of federal social councils the delegate may also express his own opinion, but he shall be required to inform the council that that is his own opinion.

Article 378

The delegate shall be informed concerning the opinions and proposals expressed in meetings of the federal social councils, set forth in proceedings concerning consideration and preparation of individual laws, other regulations and general acts within the purview of the Chamber or in connection with consideration of other matters important to the work of the Chamber.

Article 379

In proceedings for preparation and consideration of a law, other regulation or general act within the purview of the Chamber, the Chamber may decide to obtain the opinion of a council on a particular matter in that act.

Article 380

The president or vice president of the Chamber shall be a member of the coordinating committee of the federal social council.

The Chamber may also designate another delegate to the coordinating committee of the federal social council.

XVII. Conduct of the Chamber's Relations With the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia

1. Procedure Related to Institution of Proceedings for Evaluation of the Constitutionality of a Law, Other Regulation or General Act

Article 381

The president of the Chamber shall refer a decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia on institution of proceedings for evaluation of the constitutionality of a law, other regulation or general act which the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia has addressed to the SFRY Assembly to the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission for their consideration.

The decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall also be delivered to the Federal Executive Council, the federal administrative agency with jurisdiction over matters of legislation and the appropriate staff service of the SFRY Assembly for their respective opinions.

Article 382

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia shall be notified of the holding of a meeting of the working body of the Chamber and of a session of the Chamber in which the decision is to be taken up.

Article 383

The competent working body shall take up the decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia and shall submit a report on this to the Chamber.

The report of the competent working body shall also be delivered to the Legislative and Legal Commission.

The Legislative and Legal Commission shall take up the decision for institution of proceedings for evaluation of the constitutionality of a law, other regulation or general act together with the report of the competent working body from the standpoint of the constitutionality of that law, other regulation or general act and shall submit a report on this to the Chamber.

Article 384

In consideration of the decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission shall be mindful of the opinion of the Federal Executive Council.

The competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission shall carry on the necessary cooperation and shall reconcile their views in the proceedings of considering the decision.

Article 385

If in taking up the decision the competent working body or Legislative and Legal Commission finds that the basis exists for amending or supplementing the law, other regulation or general act to which the decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia pertains or that there is no longer a need to enforce that law, it shall propose to the Chamber that it resolve to undertake to amend or supplement the law, other regulation or general act or to enact a law on termination of the validity of the law, other regulation or general act and shall submit its proposal to the president of the Chamber for his presentation in a session of the Chamber.

Article 386

The Chamber shall take up a decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia together with the report of the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission and, if it deems it necessary to amend or supplement the law, other regulation or general act to which the decision pertains, it shall designate the agency or working body which is to submit the proposed amendment or supplement of the law, other regulation or general act as well as the time within which the proposal is to be prepared and submitted to the Chamber. If the Chamber finds that there is no basis for amendment or supplementation of the law, other regulation or general act to which the decision pertains, it shall designate its representative to represent the SFRY Assembly in proceedings before the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia.

Article 387

The president of the Chamber shall inform the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia concerning the Chamber's position concerning the decision for institution of proceedings for evaluation of the constitutionality of a law, other regulation or general act.

Article 388

The provisions of this operating procedure pertaining to a proposal for enactment of a law shall be applied to the sending of a decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia to the delegates and also to the periods of time for consideration in the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission.

Article 389

If the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia has issued a ruling whereby it has stated that a law, other regulation or general act is not in conformity with the SFRY Constitution and has stated the period in which the law, other regulation or general act is to be brought into conformity with the SFRY Constitution, the president of the Chamber shall deliver that ruling to the delegates, the competent working body, the Legislative and Legal Commission and the Federal Executive Council.

The competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission, mindful of the opinion of the Federal Executive Council, shall propose to the Chamber the positions or measures which the Chamber should adopt or undertake to carry out the ruling of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia.

If there is a need to amend or supplement a law, other regulation or general act to which the ruling of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia pertains, the Chamber shall designate the agency or working body which is to prepare the proposal for enactment along with the proposed version of the law, other regulation or general act to amend or supplement a law, other regulation or general act or to terminate the validity of a law, other regulation or general act to which the ruling of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia pertains, as

well as the period of time in which the proposal is to be prepared and submitted to the Chamber.

If the Chamber finds that the period of time which the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia has fixed for bringing the law into conformity with the SFRY Constitution is insufficient, it shall request an extension from the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia.

Article 390

When the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia informs the Chamber that it has halted proceedings for evaluation of the constitutionality of a law, other regulation or general act on which the Chamber has taken a position, the president of the Chamber shall inform the Chamber in the next session of the decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia to halt proceedings.

2. Proceedings Related to Information of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia Concerning the Situation and Problems in Achievement of Constitutionality and Legality

Article 391

Information of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia addressed to the Chamber concerning the situation and problems in achieving constitutionality and legality, opinions and proposals for enactment and amendment of laws and proposals concerning the undertaking of other measures to achieve constitutionality and legality and protect the rights of self-management and other freedoms and rights of citizens and of self-managing organizations and communities shall be sent by the president of the Chamber to the delegates, to the competent working body, to the Legislative and Legal Commission, and to the Federal Executive Council.

The competent working body and Legislative and Legal Commission shall take the matters referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article under consideration and shall take a position as to whether these matters should be taken up in a session of the Chamber and shall submit a report on this to the Chamber.

An interested working body shall take up the matters referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article before they are taken up in the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission, and it shall submit a report on this to the Chamber, which it shall at the same time deliver to the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission.

The Chamber shall take up the matters referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article together with the report of the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission, and, if it deems it necessary to amend or supplement a law, other regulation or general act, it shall designate the agency or working body which is to submit the proposal for amendment or supplementation of the law, other regulation or general act and also state the period within which the proposal is to be prepared and submitted to the Chamber.

The president of the Chamber shall inform the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia concerning the positions taken by the Council.

Article 392

The president of the Chamber shall send a notification of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia that a competent agency has not issued a regulation to implement provisions of the SFRY Constitution or a federal law, other regulation or general act when it was required to issue such a regulation to the delegates, to the competent working body and to the Legislative and Legal Commission.

The notice of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall also be sent to the Federal Executive Council and to the agency which was required to issue the regulation so that it may furnish its opinion or explanation.

Article 393

A competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission shall take up the notification of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia together with the opinion of the Federal Executive Council on the explanation of the competent federal agency which was required to issue the regulation, and they shall submit a report on this to the Chamber.

Article 394

The Chamber shall take up the notification of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia together with the report of the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission and shall take a position.

The president of the Chamber shall notify the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia concerning the position taken by the Chamber.

3. Procedure Related to Request for the Opinion of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia on Whether a Republic Constitution or Provincial Constitution Contradicts the SFRY Constitution

Article 395

On the motion of a delegate, working body of the Chamber or Federal Executive Council the Chamber may decide to request from the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia an opinion as to whether a republic constitution or provincial constitution is contrary to the SFRY Constitution.

The opinion of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia shall be delivered to the delegates and to the Federal Executive Council.

XVIII. Conduct of the Chamber's Relations With the Federal Court, the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office, the Federal Solicitor General's Office, the Office of the Federal Defender of Self-Management Law and the Social Accounting Service

Article 396

The president of the Chamber shall deliver to the delegates, to the competent working body, to the Legislative and Legal Commission and to the Federal Executive Council proposals of the Federal Court for prevention of things dangerous and harmful to society and for reinforcement of legality, public responsibility and socialist ethics and reports of the Social Accounting Service on things related to monitoring the legality of the disposition of the assets of society.

The competent working body shall take under consideration the proposals of the Federal Court and the reports of the Social Accounting Service referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article and shall take a position as to whether those proposals or reports should be taken up in a session of the Chamber and shall submit a report on that to the Chamber.

Article 397

The president of the Chamber shall deliver to the delegates and to the competent working body a report on the work of the Federal Court, the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office, the Federal Solicitor General's Office, the Office of the Federal Public Defender of Self-Management Law, and the Social Accounting Service.

The reports referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be taken up by the competent working body, which shall submit a report on this to the Chamber.

The Chamber shall take up the reports referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article and shall take a position on the matter.

The president of the Chamber shall notify the body submitting the report of the position taken.

XIX. The Chamber's Cooperation With Sociopolitical and Other Public Organizations, Self-Managing Organizations and Communities, and Other Organizations at the Federal Level

Article 398

The Chamber shall carry on cooperation with the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions and other sociopolitical and public organizations, self-managing organizations and communities, and other organizations at the federal level in the manner set forth in this operating procedure and the Operating Procedure on Joint Work of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The Chamber or a working body of the Chamber may invite to its session or meeting representatives of organizations or communities referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article and may call upon them for opinions and proposals.

Article 399

The Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions shall be informed concerning the sessions of the Chamber and meetings of its working bodies, and the material delivered to the delegates shall also be delivered to them.

Other sociopolitical organizations and public organizations, self-managing organizations and communities, and other organizations at the federal level shall be informed concerning sessions of the Chamber and meetings of its working bodies, and material of interest to the work of the relevant organization or community shall be delivered to them.

Article 400

In agreement with the organs of sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level the Chamber may establish joint working bodies in order to take up particular matters of common interest and to furnish opinions or prepare proposals concerning those matters.

The agreement to establish a joint working body shall regulate the tasks, composition and procedure of the joint working body and other matters important to performance of the tasks assigned to that body.

Article 401

The delegates may establish a Club of Delegates.

In the Club of Delegates the delegates shall take up matters of common interest to their work and the work of the Chamber, shall inform themselves and exchange opinions on particular matters of common interest and also concerning other matters which have been raised by delegates in the Club of Delegates or which have been raised by the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia.

The organization, tasks and procedure of the Club of Delegates shall be set forth in the rules of the club.

The physical and other conditions for operation of the Club of Delegates shall be furnished in the Chamber.

XX. The Chamber's Cooperation With the Assemblies of the Republics and the Assemblies of the Autonomous Provinces

Article 402

The Chamber shall carry on cooperation with the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

The assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces shall be informed on the holding of sessions of the Chamber and shall be sent the proposed agenda and material delivered to the delegates.

Article 403

Working bodies of the Chamber shall carry on cooperation with the respective working bodies of the chambers of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

The working bodies of the Chamber shall inform the corresponding working bodies of the chambers of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces on the holding of their meetings and shall send to them the proposed agenda and relevant material.

The working bodies of the Chamber may organize the study of particular matters with the corresponding working bodies of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces concerning matters of common interest, may consult one another in preparation of work programs, and may also organize and carry out other forms of cooperation.

Article 404

The Chamber may seek the opinion of the chambers of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces concerning particular matters which it has under consideration.

The opinions which the chambers of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces submit to the Chamber on their own initiative or at the request of the Chamber shall be taken under consideration in a session of the Chamber.

The Chamber shall take a specific position concerning the opinion of assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces and shall so inform the president of the assembly of the republic or the assembly of the autonomous province.

XXI. The Staff Service of the Chamber

Article 405

The staff service shall perform technical and other functions of the Chamber pertaining to the following: preparation of the work programs and work plans

of the Chamber and of the working bodies of the Chamber and monitoring their fulfillment; preparation and organization of the sessions of the Chamber in meetings of the working bodies; obtaining and furnishing technical opinions related to the work of the Chamber and working bodies; furnishing and preparing documentary and other materials and data for the work of the Chamber and the working bodies; preparation of proposed versions of acts at the request of the Chamber and working bodies and monitoring execution of the resolves of the Chamber and the working bodies.

The staff service shall perform technical and other functions to meet the needs of the delegates in performance of their duties pertaining to preparation of bills and amendments to bills, reports of working bodies, initiatives and proposals of delegates that matters be taken up in the purview of the Chamber; delegate questions, requests for information and interpellations. The staff service shall furnish the delegates additional documentation and the necessary information.

XXII. Transitional and Final Provisions

Article 406

On the date when this operating procedure takes effect the Operating Procedure of the Federal Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 6, 1975) and the Decision on Amendments and Supplements of the Operating Procedure of the Federal Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 22, 1978) shall cease to be valid.

Article 407

This operating procedure shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

7045
CSO: 2800/426

OPERATING PROCEDURE OF REPUBLIC AND PROVINCIAL CHAMBER OF SFRY ASSEMBLY

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 22, 23 Apr 82 pp 710-744

[Operating procedure adopted by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Belgrade on 31 March 1982 and signed by Zoran Polic, president of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces]

[Text] On the basis of Article 286, Paragraph 2, Subparagraph 6, of the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, in a session on 31 March 1982, has adopted the following

OPERATING PROCEDURE
of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

I. Introductory Provisions

Article 1

This operating procedure shall regulate the operation and organization of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly (hereafter the "Chamber").

Article 2

The Chamber's operating procedure shall contain provisions concerning the following:

a. the rights and duties of the delegations and delegates in the Chamber;

b. informing the delegations of basic self-managing organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations on matters being deliberated by the Chamber and about its work;

c. the jurisdiction of the Chamber;

d. the organization of the Chamber;

e. programming the work of the Chamber;

f. the acts of the SFRY Assembly within the jurisdiction of the Chamber;

g. procedure for enactment of bills and other procedures in the Chamber;

h. the order of business in sessions of the Chamber;

i. the manner of achieving public scrutiny of the work of the Chamber;

j. use of the written and spoken languages of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia in the work of the Chamber;

k. the Chamber's relations and cooperation with the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly;

l. conduct of the Chamber's relations with the SFRY State Presidency;

m. exercise of the Chamber's rights toward the Federal Executive Council, federal administrative agencies and federal organizations;

n. consideration of opinions and proposals of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, the Federal Court, the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office and the Federal Public Defender of Self-Management Law in the Chamber and institution of proceedings by the Chamber before the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia;

o. conduct of the Chamber's cooperation with sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managing organizations and communities and other organizations at the federal level;

p. the Chamber's participation in the work of the federal social councils;

q. the Chamber's work during a state of war or in a case of immediate danger of war;

r. performance of technical and other tasks to meet the needs of the Chamber;

s. other matters concerning the work and organization of the Chamber.

Article 3

The provisions of the Operating Procedure for Joint Work of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall apply to the joint work of the Chamber and the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly (hereafter the "Federal Chamber").

Article 4

Matters which pertain to the work of the Chamber, but which have not been regulated by this operating procedure, may be regulated by decision or resolve of the Chamber in conformity with the provisions of this operating procedure.

The working bodies of the Chamber may adopt an operating procedure governing their work in conformity with the provisions of this operating procedure.

The working bodies of the Chamber may regulate matters which pertain to their work and have not been regulated by the Operating Procedure of the Chamber or by the operating procedure governing their own work in a resolve that conforms to the provisions of this operating procedure.

Article 5

The work of the Chamber and of its working bodies shall be public.

Article 6

The Chamber shall be in permanent session.

The summer recess of the Chamber shall last every year from 20 July to 5 September.

The president of the Chamber may call a session of the Chamber even during the summer recess, and the chairman of a working body of the Chamber may call a meeting of the working body, if particular needs so require.

II. Rights and Duties of Delegations and Delegates in the Chamber

Article 7

The delegation and the delegate in the Chamber shall have the rights and duties set forth in the SFRY Constitution, in law, in this operating procedure and the Operating Procedure on Joint Work of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 8

The delegation in the Chamber (hereafter the "delegation") shall be made up of all the delegates elected in the assembly of the republic or in the assembly of the autonomous province.

The delegation shall have a chairman who shall be elected for the time and in the manner set forth in the operating procedure of the assembly of the republic or the operating procedure of the assembly of the autonomous province.

The delegation shall notify the Chamber of the election of the chairman of the delegation.

Article 9

The delegation shall have the right to propose laws, other regulations and general acts within the purview of the Chamber which are enacted on the basis of consent of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

The delegation may submit an interpellation in the Chamber for debate of particular political matters related to the work of the Federal Executive Council.

The delegation may propose that a question of confidence be put in the Federal Executive Council.

Article 10

Within the limits of the purview of the Chamber the delegation and the delegate shall have the right:

a. to submit proposed versions of acts within the independent purview of the Chamber;

b. to submit a request for issuing an authentic interpretation of a law which the Chamber has enacted;

c. to initiate debate of matters related to the situation and occurrences in areas within the purview of the Chamber or of the working bodies of the Chamber and to propose to the Chamber that positions be adopted concerning those matters;

d. to propose establishment of a policy governing enforcement of laws, other regulations and general acts and the obligation of the Federal Executive Council, federal administrative agencies and federal organizations related to their enforcement;

e. to propose debate of matters pertaining to the conduct of policy and to the enforcement of laws, other regulations and general acts within the purview of the Chamber;

f. to propose debate on matters which pertain to the work of the Federal Executive Council, federal administrative agencies and federal organizations;

g. to propose to the Chamber that it call upon the Federal Executive Council and federal officials to submit reports on their work and on the work of the agencies which they head;

h. to put delegate questions;

i. to seek information and explanations;

j. to raise issues and submit proposals related to the exercise of policy oversight over the work of the Federal Executive Council, federal administrative agencies and federal organizations and submit proposals related to establishing guidelines governing their work;

k. to propose that matters be taken up which pertain to social oversight and proposed measures for exercising that oversight;

l. to propose that inquiries be conducted on matters within the purview of the Chamber;

m. to propose the election or appointment or dismissal of officials elected or appointed by the Chamber independently or equally with the Federal Chamber;

n. to propose the question of establishing the accountability of the chairman and members of the Federal Executive Council and officials heading federal administrative agencies and federal organizations as well as other officials elected or appointed by the Chamber.

Article 11

The delegation and the delegate may propose to the Chamber that it:

i. propose to the Federal Chamber the enactment of laws, other regulations and general acts or debate of matters within the purview of that Chamber;

ii. debate the proposed version of a law, other regulation or general act or other matter within the purview of the Federal Chamber and give the Federal Chamber an opinion on the basis of that debate concerning the proposed version of the law, other regulation or general act or concerning that matter.

Article 12

The delegation and the delegate shall have the right within the limits of the Chamber's purview to put questions to the Federal Executive Council and officials heading federal administrative agencies and federal organizations which pertain to their work or to matters within their jurisdiction (delegate question).

The delegation and the delegate shall also have the right within the limits of the Chamber's purview to put questions to organizations or communities which are exercising public authority on the basis of federal law.

Article 13

The delegation and the delegate shall have the right to seek from officials heading federal administrative agencies or federal organizations information on matters which are on the agenda of a session or being prepared for a session of the Chamber or meeting of a working body of the Chamber of which the delegate is a member as well as information on other matters necessary to the work of the delegation or the delegate and which pertain to matters within the jurisdiction of the agency or organization which that official heads.

The delegation and the delegate shall have the right to request from organizations of associated labor or self-managing organizations and communities which exercise public authority on the basis of federal law information on matters which are on the agenda of the session or are being prepared for a session of the Chamber or a meeting of a working body of the Chamber of which the delegate is a member as well as information on other matters necessary to the work

of the delegation or delegate and pertaining to matters within the jurisdiction of those organizations or communities.

The delegate has the right to seek information of the Federal Court, the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office, the Federal Solicitor General's Office and the Office of the Federal Public Defender of Self-Management Law on matters which pertain to their work and have a bearing on achievement of constitutionality and legality and protection of the rights of self-management and the other freedoms and rights of citizens and self-managing organizations and communities.

Article 14

The delegation and the delegate shall have the right to seek explanations and information from the president of the Chamber, the vice president of the Chamber and the chairman of a working body of the Chamber on matters pertaining to their work in the Chamber and to the work of the bodies which they preside over.

The delegation and the delegate shall have the right to seek clarifications and information from the president of the SFRY Assembly, the vice president of the SFRY Assembly and the chairmen of joint working bodies of the chambers on matters which pertain to their work in the SFRY Assembly and to the work of the bodies which they preside over.

Article 15

The delegation and the delegate shall have the right to call upon the secretary of the Chamber for explanations and information on matters pertaining to his work and the work of the staff service of the Chamber.

The delegate shall also have the right to seek information and explanations from the general secretary of the SFRY Assembly and also from other appointed officials in the staff services of the SFRY Assembly on matters pertaining to their work and to the work of the staff services which they head.

Article 16

The delegation and the delegate shall have the right to be regularly informed on the cooperation which the Federal Executive Council is maintaining with the competent republic and provincial entities and the procedure for preparation and proposal of laws, other regulations and general acts which the Chamber enacts on the basis of the consent of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

The delegation and the delegate shall also have the right to be regularly informed on matters which pertain to the issuing of regulations to enforce laws, other regulations and general acts within the purview of the Chamber which the Federal Executive Council issues on the basis of consent of the competent entities of the republics and provinces.

Article 17

A delegate whom the Chamber or working body of the Chamber has designated to participate in the work of other agencies and bodies is required to act in conformity with the authorities, guidelines and positions of the Chamber or working body of the Chamber which designated him.

The delegate is required to inform the Chamber or the working body of the Chamber concerning his own work and concerning the work of the agency or body in whose work he is participating, in the manner and by the intervals established by the Chamber or the working body of the Chamber.

Article 18

The delegate in the Chamber (hereafter the "delegate") has the right to be regularly informed on all matters which are being taken up and deliberated in the SFRY Assembly and on other matters he needs to be familiar with in order to perform his function as a delegate, but specifically the following:

i. matters pertaining to socioeconomic development and other matters of domestic and foreign policy;

ii. the work of the Chamber, of its working bodies and the joint working bodies of the chambers;

iii. the work of the Federal Executive Council;

iv. the work of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations;

v. the work of the agencies and bodies to which the Chamber or working body of the Chamber has sent its delegate;

vi. the conduct of policy established by the SFRY Assembly and the enforcement of laws, other regulations and general acts of the SFRY Assembly;

vii. opinions and proposals of the federal social councils on matters important to the work of the Chamber.

Article 19

Aside from material under consideration and being deliberated in the SFRY Assembly, the delegates shall also be delivered the following so that they might be regularly and completely informed: regular and ad hoc publications on the work of the SFRY Assembly, other official publications of the SFRY Assembly and other informative and documentary material on the matters enumerated in Article 18 of this operating procedure.

Voluminous informative and documentary material delivered to the SFRY Assembly or drafted in the bodies or staff services of the SFRY Assembly shall be delivered to the delegates in abstract form, but the original text of that material shall be made available for the delegates and delegations to examine in

the documentation department of the SFRY Assembly, and it shall be delivered to them at their request. The abstracts must be drafted so that the delegates or delegations can obtain from them familiarization with the main issues in the original material, and they must be prepared by the authors of the original material simultaneously with the drafting of the original material.

The delegates shall also have the right to examine other informative and documentary material which is drafted and collected in the bodies and staff services of the SFRY Assembly and in federal administrative agencies, federal organizations and organizations of associated labor, self-managing organizations and communities which exercise public authority on the basis of federal law, and which record, gather, process and present statistical and other data on the situation in various domains of the life of society and which pertain to matters which are under consideration in the SFRY Assembly.

Article 20

In performance of his function as a delegate the delegate shall have the right and duty to safeguard a state secret or confidential data entrusted to him, and he shall be accountable for that.

The criterion for establishing which material shall be regarded as a state secret and confidential data and the manner in which the confidentiality of that material shall be established shall be regulated by a general act which shall also regulate the handling of such material.

Article 21

The delegate shall have the right and duty to attend a session of the Chamber and working body of the Chamber of which he is a member, as well as a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and a meeting of a joint working body of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly of which he is a member and to participate in their work.

The delegate shall have the right to attend a meeting of a working body of the Chamber even if he is not a member of that body and to participate in its work.

Article 22

A delegate who for good reason is prevented from attending a session of the Chamber or a meeting of its working body of which he is a member is required to give prompt notice to the president of the Chamber or chairman of the working body of the Chamber and his own delegation.

Article 23

A delegate in the Federal Chamber shall have the right to attend a session of the Chamber and a meeting of the working body of the Chamber, and on the basis of consent of the Chamber or the working body of the Chamber he may also participate in their work.

Article 24

Delegations shall cooperate in the Chamber and its working bodies for the purpose of direct exchange of opinions and familiarization with positions and the finding of solutions by agreement on matters which are subject to the consent of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, as well as on other matters of common interest.

Article 25

In conformity with the SFRY Constitution the delegation of the assembly of the republic or the assembly of the autonomous province shall advocate the positions of that assembly in the adoption of positions and the taking of decisions on issues being deliberated in the Chamber.

The delegation of the assembly of the republic or the assembly of the autonomous province shall inform its assembly concerning the work of the Chamber, concerning its own work which pertains to matters under consideration in the Chamber and concerning the positions of other delegations or the positions of assemblies of other republics and the assemblies of autonomous provinces on such matters, and shall participate in adoption of the positions of the assembly of the republic or the assembly of the autonomous province.

When decisions are being made in the Chamber the position of the delegation shall be presented by the chairman of the delegation or a member of the delegation designated by the delegation.

Article 26

The office of the delegate is a public office.

The delegate has the right to compensation for personal income and other rights under the conditions set forth in specific regulations.

Article 27

Credentials shall be issued to the delegates.

The credentials shall among other things state the right of immunity and other rights which the delegate may exercise on the basis of the credentials.

Article 28

The delegates can establish a Club of Delegates.

The delegates in the Club of Delegates shall take up matters of common interest to their work and to the work of the Chamber, shall inform themselves and exchange opinions on particular matters of common interest as well as on other matters which have been raised by delegates in the Club of Delegates or which have been initiated by the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia.

Article 29

The organization, tasks and procedure of the Club of Delegates shall be regulated in the rules of the Club.

Conditions for the operation of the Club of Delegates shall be furnished in the SFRY Assembly.

III. Informing the Delegations of Basic Self-Managing Organizations and Communities and Sociopolitical Organizations on Matters Being Deliberated by the Chamber and About Its Work

Article 30

Through the joint herald of the SFRY Assembly and the assembly of each republic or the assembly of each autonomous province separately (hereafter the "Herald") the Chamber shall see that the delegations of basic self-managing organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations (hereafter the "delegations") are informed on matters it is deliberating and also concerning its own work and the work of the working bodies of the Chamber.

Article 31

The delegations shall inform themselves through the Herald on the work program and work plans of the Chamber.

So that the delegations might participate in the consideration and adoption of basic positions and establishment of guidelines pertaining to the drafts of laws, other regulations or general acts within the purview of the Chamber, the delegations shall be specifically informed concerning the following: the goals and reasons why a law or other general act is being enacted; the basic relations that regulate; the basic solutions being proposed and other possible solutions; the way the proposed solutions will affect the social position and interests of the working people in particular domains of associated labor, the interests of working people and citizens in self-managing organizations and communities, and their interests in the realms of social services and government; concerning solutions which have been proposed, but not adopted, and the reasons why they were not adopted; and other facts and information important to adoption of the basic positions and establishment of guidelines governing the work of delegations and delegates in the Chamber.

In the procedure for enactment of bills in the Chamber the delegations shall also be informed through the Herald concerning the opinions, proposals and positions of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, concerning the opinions, proposals and positions of the working bodies of the Chamber and joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Executive Council, sociopolitical and other public organizations, and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level.

Delegations shall also be informed through the Herald concerning the conduct of the established policy and the enforcement of laws, other regulations and general acts which the Chamber enacts and concerning other matters pertaining to the work and performance of the tasks and functions within the purview of the Chamber.

Article 32

The Herald shall be delivered to the delegations and all the delegates and also to federal agencies and sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level.

Article 33

The Chamber shall from time to time take up matters related to informing the delegations through the Herald.

Article 34

The president of the Chamber and the chairmen of the working bodies of the Chamber shall see that the delegations are regularly and promptly informed through the Herald.

Article 35

Together with the Federal Chamber and the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces the Chamber shall adopt an act regulating the manner and organization of preparation and publication of the Herald.

Article 36

The Herald's Editorial Board shall be responsible for carrying out the conception and the content of the Herald.

IV. The Chamber's Purview

Article 37

In conformity with the SFRY Constitution the Chamber shall perform the following subject to consent of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces:

1) adopt the social plan of Yugoslavia

2) establish policy and enact federal laws regulating relations in the following domains: the monetary system and note issue, the foreign exchange system, foreign trade, credit and other foreign economic relations; the formation of money reserves and foreign exchange reserves and disposition of those reserves when this is of interest to the entire country; tariff and nontariff protection; public price control of products and services; credit financing of the faster development of economically underdeveloped republics and autonomous

provinces; establishing the revenues of sociopolitical communities which are realized by taxing the turnover of products and services; the system and sources of resources to finance the Federation; establishment of measures restricting the market and the free trade in goods and services and measures which are the basis for compensation and the manner and form of compensation; the formation of associations of organizations of associated labor which conduct a business activity and their associations to form an economic chamber for the entire territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and compulsory formation of communities by organizations of associated labor; and issuing authentic interpretation of federal laws which it enacts;

3) establish the total size of expenditures of the federal budget for each year;

4) decide on establishment of funds and assumption of obligations of the Federation except when under the provisions of the SFRY Constitution federal agencies are authorized to independently establish funds and assume obligations for the Federation;

5) ratify international treaties requiring enactment of new laws which it enacts or amendment of those in effect;

6) adopt an operating procedure governing its work.

Article 38

In conformity with the SFRY Constitution the Chamber shall independently:

1) enact laws on temporary measures when this is envisaged by the SFRY Constitution;

2) establish on proposal of the SFRY State Presidency the sources and amount of resources and decide on assumption of credit and other obligations to meet the needs of national defense and state security which arise as a consequence of exceptional circumstances;

3) within the limits of its purview take reports of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies under consideration, exercise policy oversight over the work of those bodies and agencies and issue its own guidelines to guide their work;

4) establish the policy for enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts which it enacts and also the obligations of federal agencies related to enforcement of those regulations and acts;

5) verify the election and decide on matters of tenure and immunity of the delegates.

V. The Chamber's Organization

1. Verification of Election of the Delegates and Termination of the Delegate's Tenure

Article 39

The Chamber shall verify the election of newly elected delegates on the proposal of the verification commission which shall be elected in the first session of the new convocation.

When their election to the Chamber has been verified, the delegates acquire the rights and duties set forth by the SFRY Constitution, law and this operating procedure.

Article 40

The Verification Commission shall consist of a chairman and seven members elected from among the delegates.

Article 41

The Verification Commission shall take up the reports of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces concerning election of delegations of those assemblies, shall examine whether the elections were conducted in conformity with the SFRY Constitution and shall submit its report on the situation established to the Chamber.

The report of the Verification Commission shall be made available to all members of the Chamber before beginning of the session in which the election of the delegates is to be verified.

Article 42

The Chamber shall take up the report of the Verification Commission.

If in its report the commission has not contested the election of delegates in the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces conducted in conformity with the SFRY Constitution, the Chamber shall verify the election of delegates elected in the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces by delegations.

Article 43

The Chamber may in a session contest the verification of a particular election and conclude that the validity of the election needs to be verified.

A final decision must be made within 2 months on verification of an election which has been disputed.

A delegate whose election has been disputed has the right to attend sessions of the Chamber and to participate in its work without the right to vote.

Article 44

The Chamber shall verify the election of delegates elected in runoff and by-elections on the recommendation of the Chamber's Commission for Tenure and Immunity, according to the provisions of this operating procedure on verification of election of the delegates.

Article 45

A delegate's tenure shall terminate in the cases set forth in the SFRY Constitution and law.

Article 46

A delegate shall have the right to submit his resignation.

Procedure related to delegate's resignation shall be set forth in an act of the assembly of the republic or act of the assembly of the autonomous province.

The assembly of the republic or assembly of the autonomous province shall notify the Chamber of termination of a delegate's tenure.

Article 47

On the date of termination of the tenure of a delegate in the assembly of a republic or assembly of an autonomous province in which he was elected the delegate's tenure in the Chamber and in other entities and bodies to which the Chamber or a working body of the Chamber has designated him shall also terminate.

The assembly of the republic or the assembly of the autonomous province shall inform the Chamber of termination of the tenure of a delegate in the assembly of the republic or the assembly of the autonomous province.

Article 48

A delegate who has taken a position or assumed duties which under the SFRY Constitution and law are incompatible with the office of delegate must so inform the assembly of the republic or the assembly of the autonomous province which elected him.

The assembly of the republic or assembly of the autonomous province shall inform the Chamber that the delegate's tenure has terminated.

If in the case referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article the delegate does not inform the assembly of the republic or the assembly of the autonomous province which elected him, this shall be done by the Chamber's Commission for Tenure and Immunity.

2. The President, Vice President and Secretary of the Chamber

Article 49

The Chamber shall have a president and vice president of the Chamber.

Article 50

The president of the Chamber shall:

a. represent the Chamber;

b. participate in preparation of the session of the Chamber, convene it and preside over it;

c. enter into agreement with the president of the SFRY Assembly on matters that have a bearing on the work of the Chamber as set forth in this operating procedure and the Operating Procedure on Joint Work of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly;

d. enter into agreement with the president of the Federal Chamber on the manner and schedule of debate on matters on which the chambers of the SFRY Assembly decide equally as well as on other matters of common interest to the Chamber and to the Federal Chamber;

e. see to cooperation of the delegations in performance of the functions of the Chamber and also to coordination of the work of the working bodies of the Chamber;

f. initiate the consideration of matters in the purview of the Chamber in the sessions of the Chamber and meetings of its working bodies;

g. see to the Chamber's cooperation with the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces on matters within the purview of the Chamber;

h. see to cooperation with sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level on matters within the purview of the Chamber;

i. see to performance of the Chamber's resolves and report to the Chamber on this matter;

j. see to enforcement of the Chamber's operating procedure;

k. see to achievement of the principle of public scrutiny in the work of the Chamber and of its working bodies;

l. see to achievement of equality of the languages and scripts of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia in the work of the Chamber and of its working bodies;

m. issue instructions to the secretary of the Chamber with respect to performance of tasks and jobs done by the staff service of the Chamber;

n. and also perform other jobs as set forth by this operating procedure and the Operating Procedure on the Joint Work of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly and other matters entrusted to him by the Chamber.

Article 51

In preparing the session of the Chamber the president of the Chamber, together with the vice president of the Chamber, the chairmen of the working bodies of the Chamber and the chairmen of delegations shall take up matters important to organizing the work of the Chamber.

The president of the Chamber may in preparing sessions and in carrying out the resolves of the Chamber concerning particular matters in the purview of the Chamber seek the opinion of the competent working body of the Chamber or other delegation.

Article 52

Together with the president of the SFRY Assembly and the president of the Federal Chamber the president of the Chamber shall sign the acts of the SFRY Assembly which the Chamber enacts in equal jurisdiction with the Federal Chamber, except laws.

The president of the Chamber shall together with the president of the SFRY Assembly sign the acts of the SFRY Assembly which the Chamber enacts in its independent jurisdiction, except laws.

The president of the Chamber shall also sign the resolves adopted by the Chamber.

Article 53

The vice president of the Chamber shall replace the president of the Chamber should he be absent or incapacitated.

Article 54

The president and vice president of the Chamber shall be elected for 1 year from among the delegates.

The president and vice president of the Chamber shall be elected each year from a different republic or autonomous province.

The president and vice president of the Chamber may not be reelected to the same post during the term of the delegates in the Chamber.

The president and vice president of the Chamber may not be simultaneously elected from the same republic or autonomous province.

The term of office of the president or vice president of the Chamber shall cease if their tenure in the Chamber ceases before expiration of the term for which they were elected.

Article 55

Upon taking office the president and vice president of the Chamber shall take a solemn oath before the Chamber reading as follows:

"I declare that I will perform my duty responsibly and conscientiously and that I will abide by the SFRY Constitution and federal laws, that I will fight for protection of the sovereignty, independence and integrity of the country and for achievement of the power of the working class and all the working people, that I will endeavor to achieve brotherhood and unity and equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, the development of a socialist self-managing society, and realization of the common interests of the working people and citizens and the nationalities and ethnic minorities of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

Article 56

The Chamber shall have a secretary.

The secretary of the Chamber shall supervise the work of the Chamber's staff service, shall organize the performance of technical and other tasks to meet the needs of the Chamber, its working bodies, delegations and delegates, shall assist the president of the Chamber in preparing sessions of the Chamber and in carrying out the resolves of the Chamber and shall perform other tasks entrusted to him by the Chamber or president of the Chamber.

Article 57

The secretary of the Chamber shall be appointed and dismissed by the Chamber on the recommendation of the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments.

The secretary of the Chamber shall be appointed to a term of 4 years and may be reappointed once more in succession to the same post.

The secretary of the Chamber shall be accountable to the Chamber for his work and for the work of the staff service of the Chamber.

3. The Working Bodies of the Chamber

a) General Provisions

Article 58

In conformity with the SFRY Constitution the Chamber shall establish working bodies to reconcile views in the preparation of laws, other regulations and general acts and to take up other matters in the purview of the Chamber.

Committees shall be established to reconcile views in the preparation of laws, other regulations and general acts, to prepare and propose such acts, to monitor conduct of policy which the Chamber has set forth and the enforcement of laws, other regulations and general acts which the Chamber enacts, and also to take up other matters in the purview of the Chamber.

Commissions shall be established to perform tasks which have a bearing on the work of the Chamber and of its working bodies.

If necessary the Chamber may also establish other standing or ad hoc working bodies to perform particular tasks within the purview of the Chamber.

Article 59

The working bodies of the Chamber shall be established by this operating procedure, but they may be established and dissolved and their jurisdiction amended by a specific decision of the Chamber.

The decision to establish the working bodies of the Chamber shall also state their tasks, jurisdiction and composition.

Article 60

The working body of the Chamber shall have a specified number of members as set forth in this operating procedure or decision establishing the working body.

Article 61

The members of a committee of the Chamber shall be elected from among the delegates.

The members of other working bodies of the Chamber shall be elected from among the delegates unless this operating procedure or decision establishing the working bodies of the Chamber provides otherwise.

The members of the committees of the Chamber and also the members of other working bodies of the Chamber who are elected from among the delegates shall be elected in conformity with the principle of equal representation of the republics and appropriate representation of the autonomous provinces.

The members of a working body of the Chamber shall be elected to a term of 4 years unless their tenure expires before that time. The members of a working body of the Chamber may also be dismissed before expiration of the term for which they have been elected.

A delegation may order that instead of a member of a working body of the Chamber who is absent or incapacitated, and in other cases when it deems it necessary, another member of that delegation shall participate in the work of the working body with all the rights and duties of the member of that working body.

Article 62

The working body of the Chamber shall have a chairman.

The chairman of the working body shall be elected from among the delegates who are members of that working body for a term of 1 year, each year from a different republic or autonomous province.

The chairman of the working body of the Chamber may be dismissed even before the term to which he has been elected.

Should the chairman of a working body of the Chamber be absent or incapacitated, he shall be replaced by a member which that working body designates from among the delegates.

Article 63

The chairman of the working body of the Chamber shall prepare and convene meetings of the working body of the Chamber and shall preside over them, shall see to implementation of the resolves of the working body of the Chamber, shall coordinate its work with the work of other working bodies of the Chamber and shall perform other tasks assigned him by the working body of the Chamber.

Article 64

The working body of the Chamber shall conduct its business in meetings.

The meetings of the working body of the Chamber shall be convened by the chairman of the working body on his own initiative or on the basis of a resolve of the working body of the Chamber, but he is required to call it when this is requested by the president of the Chamber or by a delegation, and also to state the matters which are to be placed on the agenda of the meeting of the working body of the Chamber.

If the chairman of a working body of the Chamber does not convene a meeting of the working body of the Chamber when he is required to do so, the meeting shall be convened by the president of the Chamber.

Article 65

A meeting of a working body of the Chamber taking up a draft or proposed version of an act whose enactment requires the consent of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces may be held if the meeting is attended by one member from each delegation. A representative of the Federal Executive Council shall also participate in the work of these meetings.

Meetings of the working body of the Chamber taking up other matters within the purview of the Chamber may be held if the meeting is attended by more than half of the members of that working body.

Article 66

Delegates who are not members of a working body of the Chamber may also attend a meeting of a working body of the Chamber and present their opinion.

The working bodies of the Chamber have the right to request that their meetings be attended by a representative or spokesman of the Federal Executive Council when the meeting is taking up a proposal of that council or that a meeting be attended by a representative or a federal administrative agency or federal organization when the meeting is taking up matters within the jurisdiction of that agency or organization.

Article 67

A working body of the Chamber may also invite to its meetings to express their opinions and proposals representatives of agencies and organizations at the federal level, sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managing organizations and communities and other organizations, as well as scholars and scientists, public figures and specialists.

Article 68

The chairman of the working body of the Chamber shall propose the agenda of the meeting of the working body of the Chamber.

The chairman of the working body of the Chamber is required to include in the proposed agenda all matters within the purview of the working body of the Chamber which have been requested by the Chamber, by the president of the Chamber, by a delegation, by a member of the working body or by another working body of the Chamber, as well as by the Federal Executive Council.

The chairman of the working body of the Chamber shall as a rule deliver the proposed agenda together with relevant material to the members of the working body of the Chamber 8 days before the meeting of the working body of the Chamber is held.

In urgent cases the president of the Chamber, the chairman and any member of the working body of the Chamber may also propose that a particular matter be placed on the agenda during a session of the working body of the Chamber.

The agenda shall be adopted in the meeting of the working body of the Chamber.

Article 69

After completing debate of a particular matter the working body of the Chamber shall submit its report to the Chamber.

The report of the working body of the Chamber shall contain the opinions and proposals expressed concerning the matter which was taken up in the meeting of the working body of the Chamber.

In the report of a working body of the Chamber on debate of the proposed version of an act which is enacted subject to the consent of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces the working body of the Chamber shall specifically report whether views were reconciled on all matters contained in the proposed version of the act, and if they were not--on which of those matters agreement was not reached, and it shall state the reasons why it was not attained.

The working body of the Chamber may take a position concerning the opinions expressed and may incorporate that opinion in the report of the working body of the Chamber.

Consent of the members of the working body of the Chamber from each delegation is required for adoption of a position of the working body of the Chamber on matters contained in a proposed version of an act which is enacted subject to the consent of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

A majority of the votes of all the members of the working body of the Chamber is required for adoption of a position of a working body of the Chamber concerning other matters which do not require consent of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces. The report of the working body of the Chamber concerning these matters shall also contain the dissenting opinions of individual members of the working body of the Chamber when they request that they be entered in the report.

The working body of the Chamber may in its report propose to the Chamber that it adopt an appropriate resolve.

The secretary of the working body of the Chamber shall see to preparation of the report of the meeting of the working body of the Chamber. The chairman of the working body of the Chamber shall be responsible for the authenticity of that report.

A report which contains the positions and proposals of a working body on which the Chamber decides must be verified by the working body of the Chamber before decision is taken in the Chamber.

Article 70

When it submits a report to the Chamber, a working body of the Chamber shall designate a reporter from among its own members.

The reporter of a working body of the Chamber shall make the case for the opinions and proposals or positions of the working body of the Chamber on the basis of the resolve of the working body or at the request of the Chamber.

The reporter of a working body of the Chamber cannot state a position on behalf of the working body on matters on which the working body of the Chamber has not adopted a position or has not submitted a proposal. If such a matter is raised in the Chamber during debate, the Chamber may adopt a resolve either

to continue debate of this matter in the Chamber or to postpone it so that the working body must take a position or submit a proposal concerning it. If the Chamber concludes that debate of a particular matter shall be continued in the working body, it may in its resolve postpone consideration of the bill as a whole concerning which issues have been raised, or it may in its resolve postpone debate to the next session of that point of the agenda as a whole.

Article 71

Minutes shall be kept in the meeting of the working body of the Chamber. The secretary of the working body of the Chamber shall see to the keeping of the minutes.

The members of a working body may use the minutes even before they have been certified by the working body of the Chamber.

Article 72

A transcript shall be made when the working body of the Chamber so decides in a meeting of a working body of the Chamber in which the positions of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces are being reconciled and also in other cases.

The transcript shall be used to prepare the minutes, reports, resolves and proposals of the meeting of the working body of the Chamber and to meet the needs of the delegations and delegates, and it may not be used for other purposes except with permission of the working body of the Chamber.

The statements of participants in a meeting of a working body of the Chamber contained in the transcript shall not be edited by the author or anyone else unless the working body of the Chamber concludes that the transcript may also be used for other purposes or if this is requested by the delegate whose speech is contained in the transcript.

The transcript of a meeting of the working body of the Chamber shall be appended to the adopted minutes and shall constitute an integral part of the minutes.

Article 73

A working body of the Chamber may establish a working group to study a particular matter, to conduct consultations, and to prepare proposals and reports.

After completing the task assigned it, the working group shall submit to the working body of the Chamber a report containing its proposals.

Aside from members of the working body of the Chamber, representatives of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations and other bodies and organizations, as well as scientists and scholars, specialists and public figures may also be members of a working group.

A working body of the Chamber may assign certain of its members the task of conducting the necessary consultations and of obtaining the opinions of particular bodies and organizations on certain matters which the working body of the Chamber has under consideration.

Article 74

The working bodies of the Chamber shall cooperate with one another, exchange documentary material and familiarize one another with reports they are submitting to the Chamber.

A working body of the Chamber may hold a joint session with another working body of the Chamber and with a working body of the Federal Council.

The working bodies of the Chamber may establish joint working groups to which they assign performance of a particular task within their respective purview. Aside from members of the working body of the Chamber, representatives of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations and other bodies and organizations, as well as scholars and scientists, specialists and public figures may also be members of a joint working group.

Article 75

The working bodies of the Chamber which have established a working group or joint working group shall so inform the Chamber.

Article 76

The working bodies of the Chamber may call upon the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies and federal organizations to present their position through their representatives when on the agenda of a meeting of the working body of the Chamber there is a proposal of the Federal Executive Council or when it is taking up a matter which pertains to the jurisdiction of a federal administrative agency or federal organization.

The working bodies of the Chamber may request from a federal administrative agency or federal organization information and explanations related to matters which are on the agenda of a meeting of the working body of the Chamber and which pertain to the jurisdiction of the federal administrative agency and federal organization.

A working body of the Chamber may propose to the Chamber that it call upon the Federal Executive Council, federal administrative agencies and federal organizations to draft a bill, analysis or other material to meet the needs of the Chamber or the working body of the Chamber.

A working body of the Chamber may propose to the Chamber that it entrust the drafting of an analysis or other material to meet the needs of the Chamber or its working body to the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia and general associations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level, to scientific and specialized organizations or to other self-managing organizations

and communities and to individual scholars and scientists, specialists and public figures.

Article 77

A working body of the Chamber shall take up all matters specified in a resolve of the Chamber and shall place on the agenda matters submitted to it during preparation of the meeting by the president of the Chamber or an individual delegation.

A working body of the Chamber shall also take up matters within its purview on its own initiative.

Article 78

The working bodies of the Chamber shall conduct inquiries on matters which the Chamber has under consideration and concerning other matters which are necessary to performance of their tasks when the Chamber so decides in a specific resolve.

The inquiry shall be conducted by the working body of the Chamber whose purview embraces the question on which the inquiry is being conducted unless the resolve of the Chamber provides that the inquiry is to be conducted by an ad hoc working body which the Chamber has established.

In the conduct of an inquiry the working body of the Chamber has the right to request specific data, documents and information from government agencies and self-managing organizations and communities, but it may not perform investigatory and other judicial functions.

When the inquiry is completed, the working body of the Chamber shall submit a report to the Chamber.

Article 79

If funds have not been furnished to meet the needs stated in Articles 76 and 78 of this operating procedure, the relevant working bodies of the Chamber shall propose to the Chamber the manner in which they are to be furnished.

Article 80

The working bodies of the Chamber shall have a secretary.

The secretary of the working body of the Chamber shall assist the chairman of the working body of the Chamber in preparing the meeting, shall see to preparation of reports and minutes of the meeting of the working body, and shall organize and perform other technical tasks to meet the needs of the working body.

The secretary of the working body of the Chamber shall at the request of an individual member or on his own initiative submit specialized opinions related

to enforcement of the operating procedure of the Chamber and other technical opinions necessary to the work of the working body.

The secretary of the working body of the Chamber shall be accountable for his work to the working body of the Chamber and to the secretary of the Chamber.

b) Committees of the Chamber

Article 81

The Chamber shall have the following committees:

1) Committee for the Social Plan and Development Policy;

2) Committee for the Market and Prices;

3) Committee for Finance;

4) Committee for the Credit and Monetary System;

5) Committee for Foreign Economic Relations;

6) Committee for Affairs of Development of the Economically Underdeveloped Republics and Autonomous Provinces.

Article 82

The purview of the Committee for the Social Plan and Development Policy shall embrace the matters of guiding economic and social development, coordinating relations in social production and establishing joint economic policy set forth in social plans of Yugoslavia and other general acts and establishment of policy and enactment of federal laws and other general acts in the domain of forming associations of organizations of associated labor engaged in business activity and their association to form the economic chamber for the entire territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and mandatory entry of organizations of associated labor into association to form communities when this is required by the technological unity of the system in particular sectors and when this is of interest to the entire country, and other matters of association in the economy important to matters in the jurisdiction of the Chamber, and the matters of establishing and monitoring the conduct of policy in those sectors.

Article 83

The purview of the Committee for the Market and Prices shall embrace the matters of establishing policy and enacting federal laws and general acts in the domain of public price control of products and services, measures restricting the market and free trade of goods and services, and measures which are the basis for compensation and the manner and form of compensation; restriction of the market and free trade of goods and services of interest to the entire country in case of elementary disasters and shortages of goods necessary to

meet the needs of the economy and the life of the citizens and when this is required by the interests of national defense; matters related to establishing the policy governing enforcement of federal laws and other general acts in the conduct of established policy in these sectors.

Article 84

The purview of the Committee for Finance shall embrace the matters of establishing policy and enacting federal laws and other general acts in the domain of the system and sources of resources to finance the Federation; the total size of expenditures of the federal budget for each year; establishment of funds and assumption of obligations of the Federation, except when under provisions of the SFRY Constitution, federal agencies are authorized to independently establish funds and assume obligations for the Federation; establishment of the revenues of sociopolitical communities which are realized by taxing the turnover of products and services over the entire territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and matters of establishing policy and enacting federal laws and other general acts in the domain of assuming credit and other obligations to meet the needs of national defense and state security which arise as a consequence of exceptional circumstances; matters of establishing the policy governing enforcement of federal laws and other general acts and the conduct of the established policy in these sectors.

Article 85

The purview of the Committee for the Credit and Monetary System shall embrace the matters of establishing policy and enacting federal laws and other general acts in the domain of the monetary system and the policy governing note issue; the bases of credit policy; the formation of monetary reserves and their disposition when this is of interest to the entire country; the matters of establishing the policy governing enforcement of federal laws and other general acts in the conduct of established policy in these sectors.

Article 86

The purview of the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations shall embrace the matters of establishing policy and enacting federal laws and other general acts in the domain of the foreign exchange system, foreign trade, credit and other economic relations with foreign countries; the system of foreign trade and foreign trade transactions and other economic transactions with foreign countries; formation of foreign exchange reserves and their disposition when this is of interest to the entire country and establishment of the policy governing the rate of exchange of the dinar; customs tariffs and nontariff protective measures; monitoring the movement of goods and services over the national border; international payments; other matters of economic relations with other states and international economic organizations and institutions; the matters of establishing the policy governing execution of federal laws and other general acts and conduct of the established policy in these sectors.

Article 87

The purview of the Committee for Affairs of Development of the Economically Underdeveloped Republics and Autonomous Provinces shall embrace the matters of establishing the policy governing development of the economically underdeveloped republics and autonomous provinces through credit financing and the pooling of labor and capital, as well as other ways in which their overall faster development is ensured.

Article 88

Matters which pertain to ratification of international treaties shall be taken up by the committee whose purview embraces the matters to which the international treaty pertains.

The Committee for Foreign Economic Relations shall also take up matters pertaining to ratification of international treaties which are not in the purview of any other committee.

c) The Commissions of the Chamber

Article 89

The Chamber shall have the following commissions:

1) the Commission for Tenure and Immunity;

2) the Legislative and Legal Commission.

Article 90

The Commission for Tenure and Immunity shall:

i. take up matters related to application of the delegate's immunity;

ii. inform the Chamber of cases which involve termination of a delegate's tenure;

iii. perform the functions of a verification commission related to verifying the election of delegates selected in by-elections.

The commission shall submit a report to the Chamber on the matters which it takes up under Paragraph 1 of this article. On the basis of the commission's report the Chamber shall decide on application of delegate's immunity, shall establish termination of a delegate's tenure and shall verify a delegate's election.

Article 91

If the Chamber is not convened, the Commission for Tenure and Immunity may grant approval for a delegate to be taken into custody or for criminal

proceedings to be instituted against him, and decide as well whether proceedings against the delegate shall be continued or stayed or the decision of the government agency to take the delegate into custody confirmed or vacated or the delegate's immunity reinstated.

The commission's decision shall be enforceable.

The commission is required to inform the Chamber of its decision at its next session.

Concerning the report of the commission the Chamber shall decide whether to confirm or revoke the decision of the commission.

Article 92

The president of the Chamber shall inform the president of the assembly of the republic or the assembly of the autonomous province in which a delegate is elected concerning decision of the Chamber or of the Commission for Tenure and Immunity which pertains to a delegate's immunity.

Article 93

The Legislative and Legal Commission shall:

i. take under consideration drafts and proposed versions of acts within the purview of the Chamber with respect to their conformity with the SFRY Constitution and the legal system and also do the legal work on them and submit a report on this to the Chamber along with its opinion and proposals;

ii. take under consideration a proposal for issuing authentic interpretations of laws in the purview of the Chamber and present its opinion on this matter;

iii. monitor development of the legal system in sectors within the purview of the Chamber and give the Chamber its opinion and proposals on matters of building up that system;

iv. participate in preparing the Chamber's work program pertaining to the Chamber's legislative activity;

v. give its opinion on matters in dispute related to the Chamber's purview;

vi. establish the revised text of acts within the Chamber's purview if so authorized by law;

vii. take under consideration proposals for institution of proceedings to evaluate the constitutionality of laws, other regulations and general acts;

viii. give to the Chamber and working bodies of the Chamber at their request its opinion and proposals concerning other matters of the legal system and perform other tasks within that domain as assigned it by the Chamber.

The proponent or entity or body designated by the proponent shall submit the revised text of an act to the Legislative and Legal Commission.

Within the confines of its purview the Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber shall take up matters of achieving protection of legality and constitutionality.

Article 94

In joint session with the Legislative and Legal Commission of the Federal Chamber the Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber shall take up the proposed version of the work program pertaining to the legislative activity of the Chamber, matters of uniform legislative methodology and other matters important to uniform legal and technical preparation of the acts which the chambers of the SFRY Assembly enact.

Article 95

The Legislative and Legal Commission shall before debate in the Chamber take up proposals to amend and supplement acts or amendments submitted by the Chamber and shall present its opinion and proposals concerning them.

The commission shall at the same time submit its opinion and proposals to the entity submitting the proposal to amend or supplement an act or to the sponsor of an amendment.

If in a session of the Chamber an amendment is submitted to the proposed version of an act, the commission shall at the Chamber's request give its opinion or proposals in connection with the amendment submitted.

Article 96

Because of the nature of its work and the tasks set forth in Article 93 of this operating procedure, the Chamber may decide that a certain number of members of the Legislative and Legal Commission be chosen from among scholars and scientists, specialists and public figures, provided their number does not exceed one-third of the total number of members of the commission who are delegates.

Article 97

The Chamber may establish ad hoc working bodies of the Chamber (commissions, inquiry and other working groups, etc.) to study a particular issue or prepare a particular act which is not in the purview of any of the committees or commissions of the Chamber, as well as in other cases when the need arises.

Article 98

The Chamber shall establish ad hoc working bodies in a decision.

The decision to establish an ad hoc working body of the Chamber shall state its composition, tasks and powers.

In cases when ad hoc working bodies of the Chamber are not reconciling the views of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, representatives of sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level, and also scholars and scientists, specialists and public figures may be members of those working bodies in addition to the delegates provided their number does not exceed one-third of the total number of members of the working body who are delegates.

Article 99

The relevant provisions of this operating procedure pertaining to the working bodies of the Chamber shall be appropriately applied to the composition, procedure and authority of ad hoc working bodies of the Chamber unless the decision to establish them provides otherwise.

Article 100

An ad hoc working body of the Chamber shall cease to operate when it has performed the task for which it was established and in other cases when the Chamber so decides.

VI. Programming the Chamber's Work

Article 101

The Chamber shall adopt a program and plans governing its work.

The Chamber's work program shall be adopted for the period from 1 January to 31 December of the current year.

The Chamber may decide to adopt a program governing its work even for a period longer than 1 year.

Article 102

The Chamber's annual work program shall contain the following:

i. the principal questions and priority tasks pertaining to establishment and conduct of policy, to laws and other general acts within the purview of the Chamber, with justification of the need to enact them;

ii. issues on which preliminary proceedings need to be conducted;

iii. issues on which public debate needs to be conducted;

iv. areas and manner of conduct of the Chamber's policy oversight in the conduct of the established policy;

v. the bodies or agencies responsible for organizing and performing particular tasks and jobs set forth in the Chamber's work program (entities responsible for tasks);

vi. manner of participation of representatives of sociopolitical organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level in consideration of particular tasks set forth in the Chamber's work program;

vii. the working bodies of the Chamber which are to take up the various matters contained in the Chamber's work program before they are presented to a session of the Chamber;

viii. the periods of time within which the particular matters are to be taken up in the Chamber and in the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

The periods of time for consideration of a particular matter should be set so as to allow for debate and adoption of positions by the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, for mutual agreement among delegations and for participation of representatives of sociopolitical organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level on behalf of punctual performance of the Chamber's work program.

The basis for drafting the Chamber's work program shall be the jobs and tasks within the Chamber's purview which arise out of the SFRY Constitution, social plans and the general acts of the SFRY Assembly, documents and positions of organs of sociopolitical organizations at the federal level, proposals of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces, as well as other matters important to establishing and conducting policy within the Chamber's purview.

Article 103

A proposal to include particular matters in the Chamber's work program may be submitted by any delegation or delegate, a working body of the Chamber, the assembly of a republic or the assembly of an autonomous province, the Federal Executive Council and the SFRY State Presidency.

Initiative for particular matters to be included in the Chamber's work program may be taken by organs of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, of the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, by federal administrative agencies and federal organizations, and by self-managing organizations, associations and communities at the federal level.

The working bodies of the Chamber shall take the initiative referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article under consideration and shall inform the Chamber of their opinions and proposals for particular matters to be included in the draft of the Chamber's work program.

Article 104

On the basis of the proposals and initiatives referred to in Article 103 of this operating procedure the president of the Chamber, together with the vice president of the Chamber, the chairmen of the delegations and the chairmen of the working bodies of the Chamber, and also in cooperation with the Federal Executive Council, shall prepare the draft of the Chamber's work program.

The Chamber shall approve the draft of the Chamber's work program for the coming year before the work program in effect expires.

The draft of the Chamber's work program shall be sent for opinions and proposals to all delegates, assemblies of republics and assemblies of autonomous provinces, the Federal Executive Council, the SFRY State Presidency and the organs and organizations enumerated in Article 102, Paragraph 2, of this operating procedure.

Notice of meetings of the working bodies of the Chamber in which matters which are to be contained in the Chamber's work program are taken up shall be given to the organs and organizations referred to in Article 103, Paragraph 2, of this operating procedure which have furnished initiative for particular matters to be included in the draft of the Chamber's work program so that the members of those organs and organizations might present their opinions and proposals.

Article 105

Objections and proposals concerning the draft of the Chamber's work program shall be submitted to the Chamber within the period which it has set in approving the draft of the work program.

Objections and proposals concerning the draft of the Chamber's work program shall be taken up by the working bodies of the Chamber in order to arrive at those matters which the proposed version of the Chamber's work program is to contain.

The Chamber's working bodies shall take up the opinions and proposals which have been submitted by the organs and organizations to which the draft of the Chamber's work program was sent for opinions and proposals.

Representatives of the Federal Executive Council shall also participate in the work of the Chamber's working bodies in consideration of the matters which the Chamber's work program is to contain.

Article 106

On the basis of the proposals and positions of the working bodies of the Chamber, the president of the Chamber, along with the vice president of the Chamber, chairmen of delegations and chairmen of the Chamber's working bodies, shall prepare the text of the proposed version of the Chamber's work program.

Article 107

The Chamber shall take under consideration the Chamber's work program and shall adopt it.

Article 108

The Chamber's work program shall be published in a separate publication of the SFRY Assembly and, pursuant to the agreement reached, in the relevant publications of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

Article 109

On the basis of the work program the Chamber shall adopt periodic plans governing its work.

The periodic plans shall set forth those matters which the Chamber will take up in each quarter, the schedule of sessions of the Chamber to take up those matters and the deadlines for completion of various phases and proceedings of adoption of laws and other general acts.

In the proceedings to prepare and enact a quarterly work plan for the coming period an analysis shall be made of fulfillment of the plan in the previous quarter and of resolves which the Chamber has adopted.

Article 110

The Chamber shall take up the matters of performance of the tasks set forth in the Chamber's work program and work plans.

The president of the Chamber, the delegates, the delegations and the Chamber's working bodies shall see to fulfillment of the Chamber's work program and work plans.

Article 111

On the basis of the Chamber's work program and work plan the Chamber's working bodies shall adopt their own work plans.

The Chamber's working bodies shall include tasks in their work plan that conform to their purview.

The Chamber's working bodies may also include in their work plan other matters which pertain to establishment and conduct of policy in areas within the Chamber's purview.

Article 112

The working bodies of the Chamber shall inform the Chamber of the work plan adopted.

VII. Acts of the SFRY Assembly in the Chamber's Purview

Article 113

Within its purview the Chamber shall enact laws, the social plan of Yugoslavia, declarations, resolutions, recommendations, decisions and resolves and shall issue an authentic interpretation of the laws which it enacts.

The Chamber shall participate in conclusion of social compacts regulating matters within its purview.

Article 114

The declaration shall express a general position of the SFRY Assembly on important issues of foreign or domestic policy.

Article 115

The resolution shall point up the situation and problems in a particular domain of the life of society, shall set forth the bases of the policy which is to be conducted in that domain, and shall issue guidelines for the conduct of that policy or envisage measures to implement that policy.

Article 116

The recommendation shall point up the importance of palticular matters pertaining to enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts for development of self-management and self-management relations in a particular area.

The recommendation shall express opinions and positions concerning reconciliation of the relations and interests in self-management, development of mutual cooperation among organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities and other organizations, concerning guidance of the activity of those organizations and communities in performing tasks of common interest and concerning encouragement of the conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts.

The recommendation shall point up measures which organizations of associated labor, other self-managing organizations and communities and other organizations and government agencies are to undertake in order to perform the tasks referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, in accordance with their rights, obligations and intrests.

Article 117

The decision shall be adopted as an act in exercise of the rights and discharge of the duties of the SFRY Assembly as an enforceable statute or as an act to regulate the internal organization and relations within the Chamber.

As an act in exercise of the rights and discharge of the duties of the SFRY Assembly the Chamber shall in a decision decide on election or appointment and dismissal of officials elected and appointed by the SFRY Assembly, on election of the members of the Chamber's working bodies and the joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, on delegation of members of the Chamber to particular entities and bodies and on confirmation of the relevant acts of self-managing organizations and communities or the granting of consent to such acts, in conformity with law, bylaws or other general act or this operating procedure, as well as concerning other rights and duties of the SFRY Assembly, when the SFRY Constitution or federal law so provide.

As an enforceable statute the decision is a general act which is enacted in order to carry out particular provisions of federal law or a social compact when this is envisaged by that law or social compact.

As an act in regulating the internal organization and relations within the Chamber the decision is used in deciding on establishment of working bodies of the Chamber and other relations within the Chamber unless this operating procedure has arranged otherwise.

Article 118

The resolve shall be used to state policy governing enforcement of acts which the Chamber adopts and obligations of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies with respect to drafting proposed versions of acts, submittal of analyses and reports on implementation of federal laws and conduct of established policy, or the performance of other tasks within their jurisdiction.

The resolve shall be used to state policy and guide the work of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies in conduct of the established policy and in enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts. In exercise of policy oversight the Chamber shall use the resolve to issue guidelines governing the work of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies.

The Chamber shall adopt a resolve concerning its own work and the work of the working bodies which it has established.

Article 119

The Chamber shall participate in conclusion of a social compact when this is provided for in law or when the Chamber so decides and the matter which is the subject of the social compact falls within the Chamber's purview.

Article 120

The text of a law and of the social plan of Yugoslavia shall not be signed.

The ukase promulgating laws and the social plan of Yugoslavia signed by the chairman of the SFRY State Presidency shall also be signed by the president of the SFRY Assembly.

The decision on election of the Federal Executive Council shall also be promulgated in a ukase.

Acts which the Chamber adopts within its independent jurisdiction, other than laws, shall be signed by the president of the SFRY Assembly and the president of the Chamber.

Resolves which the Chamber has adopted shall be signed by the president of the Chamber.

Article 121

The state seal shall be placed on the originals of laws, and the seal of the SFRY Assembly shall be placed on originals of other regulations and general acts enacted by the Chamber.

By the original of a law or other regulation and general act which the Chamber enacts is meant the text of the law or other regulation and general act in the languages of all the nationalities of Yugoslavia adopted in the session of the Chamber.

The seal of the SFRY Assembly shall be placed on the originals of authentic laws, other regulations and general acts which the Chamber enacts in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language).

The originals of laws, other regulations and general acts which the Chamber has adopted and the originals of authentic texts of those acts in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language) shall be kept in the SFRY Assembly.

Article 122

Laws and other regulations and general acts adopted by the Chamber shall be published in the official gazette of the SFRY in authentic texts in the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia set forth by republic constitutions.

Laws, declarations, resolutions, recommendations, decisions and other regulations and general acts shall be published in the official gazette of the SFRY in authentic texts in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language).

The Chamber may decide to publish guidelines and resolves in the official gazette of the SFRY.

Article 123

In adoption of laws, other regulations and general acts the Chamber may on proposal of the proponent of that act or the competent working body of the Chamber decide that such acts or individual parts of them shall be published in the confidential herald of the official herald of the SFRY, under the conditions and in the manner set forth by law.

VIII. Proceedings in the Chamber

A. Procedure for Adoption of Acts

1. Procedure for Adoption of Acts on the Basis of Consent of the Assemblies of the Republics and Assemblies of the Autonomous Provinces

a) Institution of Proceedings

Article 124

Proceedings for enactment of acts shall be instituted by an authorized proponent by submitting the draft of the act unless this operating procedure has provided otherwise.

Every delegation and working body of the Chamber, the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, and the Federal Executive Council shall have the right to propose federal laws, other regulations and general acts within the Chamber's purview which are adopted on the basis of consent of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces in conformity with the SFRY Constitution.

Article 125

The Federal Chamber may take the initiative for enactment of an act and send such a proposal to the Chamber.

The initiative for adoption of an act may also be taken by the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, the Federal Court, the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions and the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, as well as by self-managing communities organized at the federal level. The initiative must be specifically substantiated. A representative of the initiating body shall also be invited to the session of the Chamber in which that initiative is taken up, and he may present the case for the initiative.

If the Chamber finds that the initiative referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article is justified, it shall designate in a resolve the organ or body which is to prepare and submit the draft of the act, the deadline for its drafting and other conditions for prompt action on that initiative.

The Chamber shall notify the initiating body of the position which it has taken.

Article 126

Initiatives for adoption of acts which do not originate with the organs and organizations referred to in Article 125 of this operating procedure shall be addressed to the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Petitions and Proposals.

b) Draft of a Bill

Article 127

The draft of a bill must be drawn up so that it contains the solutions which are proposed in it stated in the form of legal provisions.

If the draft of the bill embodies amendments or supplements, the text of the provisions of the act which are being amended or supplemented shall be submitted along with the draft.

Article 128

The draft of a bill must be substantiated.

The substantiation should specifically contain the following:

i. the constitutional basis for adoption of the act;

ii. assessment of the situation in the area which is to be regulated by the act, the reason why the bill should be adopted or why amendments and supplements should be made in the act;

iii. the principles on which relations are to be regulated in the particular area, the purpose which is aimed at, and also the consequences that arise out of the proposed solution;

iv. the financial resources necessary to carry out the act and the manner in which they are to be furnished;

v. explanation of the principal legal institutions which the draft of the bill contains;

vi. opinions and positions of organs and organizations which have been consulted during preparation of the draft of the bill and which the entities submitting the draft of the bill did not honor, as well as the reasons why they were not adopted.

A summary of the content of the law or other general act and also the necessary document shall be submitted along with the draft of the bill.

Article 129

The draft of a bill shall be submitted to the president of the SFRY Assembly, who shall deliver it to the president of the Chamber.

If the draft of a bill has not been prepared in conformity with the provisions of this operating procedure, before sending it to the delegates and the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces the president of the Chamber shall call upon the proponent to bring the draft of the bill into conformity with the provisions of this operating procedure.

Article 130

The president of the Chamber shall send the draft of a bill to the delegates and president of assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

The president of the Chamber shall also send the draft of a bill to the Federal Executive Council if it did not submit the draft.

Article 131

In delivery of the draft of a bill the president of the Chamber, along with the vice president of the Chamber, chairmen of delegations and chairmen of the Chamber's working bodies shall agree on consideration of the draft of the bill in the delegations and working bodies of the Chamber and on the time within which consideration is to be completed within the periods of time set forth in this operating procedure and the Chamber's work program.

The president of the Chamber, together with the vice president of the Chamber, the chairmen of delegations and the chairmen of the Chamber's working bodies shall propose the date by which the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces are to take positions concerning the draft of a bill and submit them.

The period of time referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article may not be shorter than 45 days, nor longer than 3 months.

The president of the Chamber, together with the vice president of the Chamber, chairmen of the delegations and chairmen of the Chamber's working bodies, in cases when it is necessary to prevent the serious consequences which might occur for the social community, may propose a shorter period within which the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces are to take and submit their opinions concerning the draft of the bill.

The period referred to in Paragraph 4 may not be shorter than 15 days, and the proponent must specifically argue the reasons for its being set.

In the case referred to in Paragraph 4 of this article a proposal may be made that the sessions of the Chamber and the sessions of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces be held on the same day.

Article 132

If within the period stated in Article 131 of this operating procedure the assembly of a republic or assembly of an autonomous province does not adopt a position on the draft of a bill which the Chamber enacts on the basis of the consent of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, the president of the Chamber shall so inform the Chamber.

Article 133

Depending on the nature of the matter and the urgency of regulating it the president of the Chamber, together with the vice president of the Chamber, chairmen of delegations and chairmen of the Chamber's working bodies, may as an exception propose to the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces that in deciding on a draft they authorize their delegation in the Chamber to grant consent on behalf of the assembly to the proposed version of a law or other general act as a whole.

Article 134

Before consideration in the competent chambers of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces the draft of a bill may be taken up by the competent working body of the Chamber and other interested working bodies of the Chamber.

In the working bodies of the Chamber the draft of a bill shall be taken up in accordance with Paragraph 1 of this article for an exchange of opinions, to examine matters in dispute, to seek additional information from representatives of the proponent, and to obtain other information important to adoption of positions in the assemblies of the republics and in the assemblies of the autonomous provinces and to conduct of the procedure of reconciliation of views.

Sociopolitical organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level shall be given notice of the meeting of the competent working body of the Chamber at which the draft of a bill is being taken up under Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article in accordance with the Chamber's work program so that they might participate in consideration of the draft of the bill.

The report of the competent working body of the Chamber on consideration of the draft of the bill, which shall contain opinions and proposals presented in the meeting of the working body of the Chamber, shall be delivered to the delegates, to the proponent, to the Federal Executive Council, to sociopolitical organizations and communities at the federal level whose representatives have participated in the meeting of the working body of the Chamber.

Article 135

The Chamber's Legislative and Legal Commission shall take up the draft of a bill before it is taken up in the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces and shall submit a report to the president of the Chamber with its opinions and proposals.

During procedure for reconciliation of views in the working bodies of the Chamber, the Legislative and Legal Commission shall adopt positions and issue opinions on the common positions arrived at with respect to their conformity with the SFRY Constitution and the legal system. At the request of a working body of the Chamber, a delegation, president of the Chamber and the Federal

Executive Council, or on its own initiative, the Legislative and Legal Commission shall also give its opinion on matters in dispute pertaining to the conformity of proposals presented with the SFRY Constitution and the legal system.

If the competent body of the Chamber does not concur in the opinion of the Legislative and Legal Commission on the constitutional basis for adoption of the draft of a bill or that certain provisions of the draft of a bill do not conform to the SFRY Constitution and the legal system, the competent body of the Chamber shall so inform the Chamber, which shall take a position concerning the matter.

Article 136

The president of the assembly of a republic or the president of the assembly of an autonomous province shall inform the Chamber of the positions, objections and proposals of those assemblies concerning the draft of a bill.

The president of the Chamber shall deliver the positions, objections and proposals of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces to the delegates, to the proponent and to the Federal Executive Council.

Article 137

If in voting on the draft of a bill one or several assemblies of the republics or assemblies of the autonomous provinces do not grant consent for adoption of that bill, the competent working body of the Chamber shall examine the reasons that guided the assemblies of the republics or assemblies of the autonomous provinces in adopting views concerning that bill and shall submit a report to the president of the Chamber.

The report of the Chamber's competent working body referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be delivered to the delegates, to the proponent of the bill and to the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

Article 138

The Chamber's competent working body shall take up the draft of a bill in order to reconcile positions concerning the proposals and objections of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces submitted concerning the draft of the bill.

Representatives of the Federal Executive Council shall also participate in the work of the Chamber's competent working body when it is reconciling views concerning proposals and objections of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces pertaining to the draft of a bill and concerning the draft of the bill as a whole.

Before commencement of proceedings to reconcile views the Federal Executive Council shall inform the Chamber in writing concerning its positions on the

objections and proposals of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces and concerning other objections and proposals made concerning the draft of the bill.

The Federal Executive Council is required at the beginning of continuation of the work of reconciling views concerning one and the same draft of a bill to present the views and opinions concerning objections and proposals pertaining to the text of the draft of a bill on which its representative did not present a position in the previous meeting or reserve the right to do so subsequently.

Article 139

During proceedings of reconciliation of views the delegations and the authorized proponent may submit additional proposals concerning the draft of the bill.

Members of a working body of the Chamber may request that the meeting of a working body in which views are to reconciled be postponed for a certain time until an additional proposal is studied in the delegations and a position taken concerning it.

A delegation may request postponement of a meeting of a working body of the Chamber in which views are to be reconciled on the draft of a bill on which an additional proposal has been submitted until the assembly of the republic or assembly of the autonomous province whose delegation so requested takes a position on the additional proposal.

Article 140

On the basis of consent given by the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces and the reconciliation of views concerning the proposals and objections of those assemblies concerning the draft of a bill, the competent working body of the Chamber shall submit a report on the agreement achieved concerning the draft of a bill.

The president of the Chamber shall deliver the report of the competent working body of the Chamber to the delegates, to the proponent of the bill and to the Federal Executive Council.

Article 141

If the draft of a bill creates obligations for the federal budget, the competent working body of the Chamber must in taking up the draft of that bill propose to the president of the Chamber that he call upon the Federal Chamber for its opinion as to whether funds to discharge those obligations have been furnished in the federal budget.

Article 142

The Chamber's competent working body shall take up the draft of a bill until agreement of all delegations is achieved concerning an identical text or

concerning amendments and supplements which they themselves have proposed or which have been proposed by the proponent of the bill, but if agreement cannot be attained, the committee of the Chamber shall propose the measures envisaged by this operating procedure.

Article 143

If agreement on the draft of a bill is not achieved within the competent committee of the Chamber, the Chamber's committee may propose:

a) that the proponent take the matters in dispute under consideration once again and possibly propose appropriate amendments and supplements to the draft of the bill;

b) that matters in dispute be taken up once again within each delegation or in a meeting of the delegations which do not concur with the proposed draft or certain of the solutions contained in the draft of the bill, or in a meeting of all the delegations;

c) that the matters in dispute be debated in a session of the Chamber;

d) that the opinion of the relevant federal social council be sought;

e) that the matters in dispute be taken up once again in the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces;

f) that note be taken that the differences in views are such that concurrence cannot be achieved concerning the proposed draft of the bill.

The committee of the Chamber shall submit to the president of the Chamber a report in which he specifies the matters on which agreement was not achieved and the reasons why that agreement was not achieved and proposes subsequent procedure with respect to the proposed draft.

Article 144

Upon receiving the report of the competent committee of the Chamber in which one of the ways envisaged in Article 143 of this operating procedure has been followed, the president of the Chamber, together with the vice president of the Chamber, chairmen of delegations, the chairman of the competent committee of the Chamber and the chairman of the Chamber's Legislative and Legal Commission, shall agree on subsequent work related to the draft of a bill and shall so inform the delegations, the authorized proponent of the bill and the Federal Executive Council.

The participants referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may propose to the Chamber's competent committee that subsequent work to reconcile views on matters in dispute be continued in a different manner as envisaged in Article 143 of this operating procedure, but not in the manner proposed by the competent committee. The competent committee of the Chamber shall decide on this proposal.

When after renewed reconciliation of its views note is taken in the report of the competent committee of the Chamber that the differences in views on the matters in dispute related to the draft of the bill are such that agreement cannot be attained on the proposed draft of the bill, the participants referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may propose to the competent committee of the Chamber and to the authorized proponent:

a) that the text of the proposed version of the act be prepared on the basis of the views reconciled and that the matters in dispute be omitted and that further reconciliation proceedings be continued concerning them;

b) that work on enactment of the proposed bill be postponed.

Article 145

During the entire proceedings of reconciliation of views in the preparation and enactment of bills the president of the Chamber may on his own initiative, on the proposal of the competent working body of the Chamber, the delegations or the proponent hold meetings with the chairmen of delegations and chairmen of working bodies of the Chamber in which a representative of the proponent shall participate in order to exchange opinions with a view to more effective work of reconciliation of views and reaching agreement in the Chamber and its working bodies on solutions to the matters in dispute.

c) Proposed Version of an Act

Article 146

After proceedings of reconciliation of views in the competent working body of the Chamber are completed, the proponent shall prepare and submit to the Chamber the text of the proposed version of the act within the period specified by the working body of the Chamber in agreement with the proponent of the act.

Article 147

The text of the proposed version of the act must be substantiated.

The substantiation must specifically cover amendments which have been made on the basis of reconciliation of views concerning the draft of a bill, other amendments and supplements, as well as other important circumstances related to the matters regulated by the act.

Article 148

The president of the Chamber shall deliver the text of the proposed version of an act to the delegates, to the proponent and to the Federal Executive Council.

Article 149

The text of the proposed version of an act shall be taken up by the Chamber's competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission before debate

in a session of the Chamber, and they shall submit a report to the Chamber on the matter.

The reporter designated by the Chamber's competent working body may in a session of the Chamber inform the Chamber about progress in the proceedings of reconciliation of views, about the basic issues which are the subject of reconciliation and about the principal content of the positions which have been reconciled.

Article 150

The entity submitting the text of the proposed version of an act or its representative may at commencement of debate of the text in the Chamber furnish additional justification of the text of the proposed version. He has the right to participate throughout the entire debate of the act, to provide explanations and to present his opinion.

Article 151

Debate of the text of the proposed version of an act in a session of the Chamber shall comprise the general debate of the text of the proposed version and debate of the text of the proposed version in detail.

During the general debate of the text of the proposed version of an act the text of the proposal shall be debated in principle and opinions may be expressed, explanations sought and all issues raised in connection with the solutions offered in the proposed version.

During debate of the text of the proposed version of an act in detail the text of the proposed version shall be debated by parts, chapters or sections, and if it is so decided in the session of the Chamber, even by articles. During this debate a decision shall also be taken concerning amendments.

Article 152

A proposal to amend or supplement the text of a proposed version of an act shall be submitted in the form of an amendment.

Article 153

An amendment to the text of the proposed version of an act shall be submitted in writing.

An amendment must be substantiated.

If an amendment contains provisions which commit financial resources, the sponsor of the amendment is required to indicate at the same time possibilities for furnishing those resources.

Article 154

An amendment to the text of the proposed version of an act may as a rule be submitted no later than 48 hours before the time fixed for holding the session of the Chamber at which the text of the proposed version of the act is to be debated, and it shall be submitted to the president of the Chamber.

Article 155

The president of the Chamber shall immediately deliver the amendment to the text of the proposed version of an act to the delegates, to the entity submitting the text of the proposed version and to the Federal Executive Council.

The president of the Chamber shall deliver an amendment to the text of the proposed version of an act to the competent committee and Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber so that they might study it and submit to the Chamber their reports along with their opinion and proposals concerning it.

Article 156

A delegation and the Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber may as an exception submit an amendment to the text of the proposed version of an act in a session of the Chamber during debate of that proposed version. Such an amendment shall also be submitted in writing.

The entity submitting the text of the proposed version of an act may submit amendments up until cloture of debate of the text of the proposed version.

The Federal Executive Council may also submit amendments to the text of the proposed version of an act which it has not submitted up until cloture of debate of the text of the proposed version.

Article 157

Concerning an amendment to the text of the proposed version of an act submitted during debate of the text of the proposed version the Chamber may decide to postpone debate and resume it in one of the coming sessions of the Chamber or to suspend debate until the competent committee of the Chamber and Legislative and Legal Commission have studied the amendment.

The Chamber shall postpone debate of the text of the proposed version of an act if the Federal Executive Council, the competent committee of the Chamber or the Legislative and Legal Commission requests that a decision on the amendment be postponed so that they might study the amendment and take a position concerning it.

Article 158

The entity submitting the text of the proposed version of an act has the right to take a position concerning an amendment to the text of the proposed version of the act.

The Federal Executive Council has the right to take a position concerning an amendment even if it did not submit the text of the proposed version of the act.

Article 159

Before voting on an amendment submitted to the text of the proposed version of an act the Chamber may decide to suspend debate and submit the amendment to the Legislative and Legal Commission for purposes of establishing the final text of provisions which the amendment alters and to bring into conformity other provisions of the text of the proposed version of the act which are related to those provisions.

Article 160

Amendments shall be voted on in the order of the articles in the text of the proposed version of the law to which they pertain.

If more than one amendment has been submitted to one article in the text of the proposed version of the act, the vote shall first be taken on the amendment which departs furthest from the proposed solution, and the same criterion shall be followed in voting on the other amendments.

Article 161

A decision may not be made on an amendment in the same session in which the text of the proposed version of an act is being debated if one of the delegations declares in the session of the Chamber that it cannot take a position concerning the amendment until it obtains a position concerning the amendment of the assembly of the republic or assembly of the autonomous province which delegated it.

In that case the Chamber shall remove from the agenda of the session of the Chamber the text of the proposed version of the act and shall deliver the amendment to all the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

Such an amendment shall be handled in the same way as the draft of a bill, and debate of the text of the proposed version of the act in the Chamber shall resume when the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces submit their opinion and objections concerning the amendment.

Article 162

When debate has been completed concerning the text of the proposed version of an act, the Chamber shall affirm the proposed version of the act as a whole and deliver it to the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces for them to grant their consent to the proposed version of the act as a whole.

In adopting the proposed version of an act as a whole the Chamber, on the motion of the president of the Chamber, shall state the period of time within which the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces are to decide on the granting of consent to the proposed version of the act as a whole.

Article 163

The assembly of a republic and assembly of an autonomous province may in deciding on the draft of a law or other general act authorize its delegation to grant consent on its behalf to the approved proposed version of a law or other general act as a whole.

Article 164

Upon receiving the report concerning consent of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces to the approved proposed version of an act, the president of the Chamber shall call a session of the Chamber. In that session the Chamber, after ascertaining that all the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces have granted consent to the proposed version of the act as a whole, shall immediately adopt the proposed version of the act by hearing the report or announcement of the authorized delegation in the session.

If the Chamber finds in the session that agreement does not exist among all the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces, it shall adopt a resolve to the effect that such agreement does not exist.

d) Public Debate of the Draft of a Bill

Article 165

During debate of the draft of the social plan of Yugoslavia and the draft of another bill of broad social interest the Chamber may decide that such drafts shall be presented for public debate.

When adopting a decision to present a draft for public debate the Chamber shall state the manner of assembling and sorting the opinions and proposals expressed during the public debate.

Article 166

If it decides to present the draft of the social plan or other bill or particular matter within such a bill for public debate, the Chamber shall in its resolve:

i. designate the working body of the Chamber which is to see to monitoring the public debate;

ii. fix the period of time within which the public debate is to be conducted;

iii. state the financial sources required and sources of funds to organize and conduct the public debate.

When the Chamber decides that a draft which has been submitted by the Federal Executive Council shall be presented for public debate, it may order that the Federal Executive Council perform the tasks enumerated in Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 167

In organizing and conducting a public debate the working body of the Chamber shall cooperate with organs of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia and with the organs of other sociopolitical organizations.

Article 168

The working body of the Chamber which the Chamber has designated to see to monitoring the public debate shall prepare and submit to the Chamber a report on its results.

The report of the Chamber's working body shall contain the results of the public debate and a survey of the opinions and proposals expressed concerning the particular matters considered in the public debate.

The president of the Chamber shall deliver the report on the results of the public debate to the delegates, to the presidents of the assemblies of the republics and to the presidents of the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, to the proponent and to the Federal Executive Council.

Article 169

In further preparation of the act or in regulation of the matters which have been the subject of public debate the proponent is required to take a position concerning the opinions and proposals expressed in the public debate which he has not adopted and concerning the reasons why he did not do so.

2. Preliminary Proceedings

Article 170

If the Chamber's work program calls for consideration of a particular matter in preliminary proceedings or if the conduct of such proceedings is requested by the competent working body of the Chamber, a delegation or the proponent of a bill, the proponent shall prepare and submit to the Chamber the preliminary draft of the bill, theses or a working version of the material for the purpose of exchange of opinion and consultation on the basic issues raised in connection with regulation of particular relations, concerning the basic principles on which their regulation is to be based and concerning other matters important to regulation of the particular relations or to preparation of the draft of the bill or the drafting of the relevant material.

The preliminary draft, theses or working version of the material referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be taken up by the working bodies of the Chamber.

A working body of the Chamber may propose that a preliminary draft, theses or working version of the material be taken up in a session of the Chamber.

A working body of the Chamber may propose that a preliminary draft, theses or working version of the material also be taken up in the assemblies of the socialist autonomous provinces. If the Chamber accepts the proposal of the working body or delegation, the president of the Chamber shall deliver the preliminary draft, theses or working version to the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces. In that case the working body of the Chamber shall take up the opinions, objections and proposals of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces concerning those opinions, objections and proposals and shall inform the Chamber concerning the debate conducted.

Sociopolitical organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level, as well as relevant scientific and specialized organizations, shall be informed of the meeting of a working body of the Chamber or of a session of the Chamber at which the preliminary draft or theses referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article are to be taken up so that their representatives might present their opinions and proposals.

Article 171

After conducting debate the working body of the Chamber may propose that particular matters be taken up in the relevant central social council or appropriate bodies of sociopolitical organizations.

After debate has been conducted in the working bodies of the Chamber and in the bodies and organizations referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, the working body of the Chamber shall notify the proponent of the results of the debate conducted, expressing an opinion concerning the objections and proposals presented during the debate that was conducted.

If there has also been debate in a session of the Chamber, the president of the Chamber shall also inform the proponent concerning the results of that debate.

Article 172

In preparation of the draft of a bill regulating matters on which preliminary proceedings have been conducted the proponent shall take into account the opinions, objections and proposals of participants in those proceedings.

In presenting the case of a draft the proponent is required to take note of the objections and opinions which he did not accept and to state the reasons why he did not do so.

3. Proceedings for Enactment of a Law on Temporary Measures

Article 173

The proposed version of a law on temporary measures shall be submitted by the Federal Executive Council on the basis of concurrence of the SFRY State Presidency.

The provisions of this operating procedure concerning debate of the text of the proposed version of an act which is adopted on the basis of consent of the republics and autonomous provinces shall be appropriately applied to debate concerning the proposed version of a law on temporary measures.

After debate of the proposed version of the act is closed, the session of the Chamber shall move on to a decision concerning that proposed version.

Article 174

The proposed version of a law on temporary measures is considered adopted in the Chamber if two-thirds of all the delegates have voted in favor of it.

Article 175

If two-thirds of all the delegates have not voted in favor of the proposed version of a law on temporary measures, or a majority of all the delegates has voted in favor, the president of the Chamber shall so inform the SFRY State Presidency through the president of the SFRY Assembly so that a decision can be taken on promulgating the law on temporary measures in the text which a majority of all the delegates in the Chamber voted for.

4. Procedure for Ratification of International Treaties

Article 176

The Chamber shall announce ratification of an international treaty within its purview in a law.

Article 177

Before approving the proposed basis for conducting negotiations and for concluding an international treaty the Federal Executive Council shall seek the opinion of the competent working body of the Chamber concerning the matters which are to be the subject regulated by the international treaty.

After taking up the matters which will be the subject regulated by the international treaty, the Chamber's competent working body shall inform the Federal Executive Council of its opinions and proposals through the president of the Chamber.

Article 178

On the proposal of the competent working body of the Chamber the Chamber may take up the proposed basis for conducting negotiations and for conclusion of an international treaty and set forth relevant guidelines governing the further work of the Federal Executive Council in concluding the international treaty.

Article 179

Procedure for enactment of a law ratifying an international treaty shall be instituted by the Federal Executive Council by submitting the proposed version of the law on ratification.

Article 180

The proposed version of an act ratifying an international treaty shall contain the complete text of the international treaty whose ratification is being proposed.

The proposed version must be supported by argument. The presentation of the case in support of the proposed version of a law ratifying an international treaty should state the reasons why ratification of the international treaty is being proposed and whether the international treaty requires enactment of new laws in the jurisdiction of the Chamber or amendment of laws in effect.

The case in support of the proposed version of the law should state whether the international treaty envisages obligations of the Federation in carrying out that treaty and should furnish an estimate of the financial resources necessary from the federal budget to carry out that international treaty.

Article 181

Proceedings for enactment of an act ratifying an international treaty shall be conducted according to the provisions of this operating procedure on consideration and enactment of the text of a proposed version of an act adopted on the basis of consent of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

5. Procedure for Annulling and Abrogating Regulations of the Federal Executive Council

Article 182

On the proposal of a working body of the Chamber, a delegation in the Chamber, the assembly of a republic or the assembly of an autonomous province the Chamber may annul or abrogate a regulation of the Federal Executive Council which is contrary to the SFRY Constitution, federal law, other regulation or general act which the Chamber has enacted.

A proposal for annulment of a regulation of the Federal Executive Council shall be taken up by the committee of the Chamber whose purview embraces the matters regulated by the regulation and by the Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber, which shall inform the Chamber of their opinions and proposals concerning this matter.

A proposal for annulment or abrogation of a regulation of the Federal Executive Council shall be delivered to the Federal Executive Council so that it may present its view.

The Chamber shall adopt a decision to annul or abrogate a regulation of the Federal Executive Council by a majority of the votes of the delegates present in the Chamber.

Article 183

If the SFRY State Presidency stays the execution of a regulation of the Federal Executive Council, before the issues related to that regulation are taken up in a session of the Chamber, they shall be taken up by the committee of the Chamber whose purview embraces the matters which have been regulated by that regulation and by the Chamber's Legislative and Legal Commission.

If it is the Chamber's judgment that the regulation of the Federal Executive Council whose execution has been stayed by the SFRY State Presidency should be abrogated or annulled, the provisions of this operating procedure on abrogation or annulment of regulations and other general acts of the Federal Executive Council shall apply.

If the Chamber decides that the regulation whose execution has been stayed by the SFRY State Presidency may be carried out, it shall notify the SFRY State Presidency of this position.

6. Procedure for Adoption of a Decision on the Obligation To Carry Out a Federal Law, Other Regulation or General Act

Article 184

The notice of the Federal Executive Council or the executive council of the assembly of a republic or the executive council of the assembly of an autonomous province concerning a dispute between a federal administrative agency and a republic or provincial administrative agency with respect to the discharge of obligations of the republic or provincial agency to enforce a federal law, other regulation or general act shall be delivered to the president of the Chamber, who shall send it to all the delegates, to the competent committee and to the Legislative and Legal Committee of the Chamber.

Article 185

The competent committee of the Chamber shall gather data from the federal administrative agency and the republic or provincial administrative agency involved in the dispute, and it may invite to its meeting representatives of those agencies in order to hear their opinion and views.

In the report which it submits to the Chamber the committee shall also inform it concerning the positions taken by the agencies in the dispute.

The competent committee shall append to its report the proposed version of a decision on the manner of settling the issue.

Article 186

Upon receipt of the reports of the competent committee and the Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber, the president of the Chamber shall send them to all the delegates and shall include the matter in dispute in the proposed agenda of the next session of the Chamber.

The Chamber shall debate notices of the Federal Executive Council or executive council of the assembly of a republic or executive council of the assembly of an autonomous province and also the reports of the competent committee and Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber and shall make a decision on the matter in dispute and on the obligation to enforce the federal law, other regulation or general act.

7. Procedure for Adoption of Other Acts in the Purview of the Chamber

Article 187

Procedure for adoption of other acts in the purview of the Chamber shall be initiated by submittal of the draft of a bill which shall be submitted to the Chamber, to the delegates and to the competent body of the Chamber.

The competent body of the Chamber, after consideration of the draft of the bill, shall submit a report to the Chamber along with its opinion and proposals.

After adoption of the draft of the bill in the Chamber, the proponent shall submit the proposed version of the bill.

The provisions of this operating procedure on the text of the proposed version of an act adopted on the basis of consent of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces shall be appropriately applied to debate of the proposed version of an act in the Chamber except that amendments to the proposed version of such an act may also be submitted by any delegate in the Chamber.

The proposed version of the act is adopted when a majority of the delegates present in the Chamber have voted in favor of it.

8. Procedure for Confirmation of an Agreement on the Bases of the Social Plan and an Agreement on Fulfillment of the Social Plan

Article 188

The Federal Executive Council shall inform the Chamber concerning progress and results in reaching agreement toward the signing of an agreement on the bases of the social plan.

Article 189

The Federal Executive Council shall deliver signed agreements on the bases of the social plan to the Chamber for confirmation.

Article 190

The president of the Chamber shall deliver the signed agreements on the bases of the social plan to the delegates in the Chamber and to the presidents of the assemblies of the republics and the presidents of the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

In delivering the agreement referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article to the presidents of the assemblies of the republics and to the presidents of the assemblies of the autonomous provinces the president of the Chamber shall propose the date by which these assemblies are to take positions concerning the agreement.

Article 191

The positions of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces shall be taken up by the competent working body of the Chamber, which shall propose to the Chamber that it adopt a decision confirming the agreement on the bases of the social plan if the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces have concurred in those agreements.

Article 192

If one or more assemblies of the republics or assemblies of the autonomous provinces do not grant consent to confirmation of the agreement on the bases of the social plan or if they have objections and proposals to particular provisions of the agreement, the competent working body of the Chamber shall propose to the Chamber that it require the Federal Executive Council to resume the procedure for reconciliation of views concerning the matters in dispute.

Article 193

Agreements on fulfillment of the social plan which contain elements of development policy shall be established according to the same procedure used in confirming the agreement on the bases of the social plan.

9. The Chamber's Participation in Conclusion of Social Compacts

Article 194

The Chamber shall participate in conclusion of a social compact when this is provided for in law or when the Chamber so decides.

Article 195

Initiative for conclusion of a social compact may be taken by a delegation, a delegate, a working body of the Chamber, the assembly of a republic or assembly of an autonomous province and the Federal Executive Council.

Before consideration in the Chamber an initiative for conclusion of a social compact shall be taken up by the committee of the Chamber whose purview embraces the matter regulated by the social compact and by the Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber, which shall state whether the constitutional basis exists for the Chamber's participation in conclusion of the social compact.

The committee and the Chamber's Legislative and Legal Commission shall submit a report on this to the Chamber along with their opinions and proposals.

Article 196

The Chamber shall take up the initiative that has been taken in the Chamber or which has originated with other interested participants in conclusion of a social compact and shall decide on its participation in conclusion of a social compact.

If the Chamber resolves to be a participant in conclusion of the social compact, it shall state which committee of the Chamber shall participate in preparation of the social compact and, once agreement has been achieved with the other participants, shall propose the text of the proposed version of the social compact.

The Chamber shall inform the other participants in the compact of its acceptance of the initiative to be a participant in conclusion of the social compact.

Article 197

The committee which the Chamber designates to participate in preparation of the social compact shall designate from among its own members representatives who will participate in the proceedings to reconcile the views of all the participants in reaching agreement and establishing the text of the proposed version of the social compact.

If it deems it necessary, the committee shall inform the Chamber of progress in reconciling views, shall point up the outstanding issues, and shall call upon the Chamber to take positions concerning them.

Article 198

If a social compact regulates matters on which the Chamber decides on the basis of the consent of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, the Chamber shall decide on conclusion of the social compact or entering into the social compact in accordance with the provisions of this operating procedure on consideration of the proposed version of bills enacted on the basis of consent of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

If a social compact regulates matters on which the Chamber decides independently, the Chamber shall make the decision on conclusion of the social compact or entering into the social compact by a majority of the votes of the delegates present in the Chamber.

Once a social compact has been accepted, the president of the Chamber shall sign it on behalf of the Chamber.

B. Procedure for Election, Appointment and Dismissal of the President and Vice President of the Chamber, the Working Bodies of the Chamber and Appointment of the Secretary of the Chamber

1. Election of the President and Vice President of the Chamber

Article 199

The Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall nominate a candidate for election as present of the Chamber.

A nomination may also be submitted by any delegate or delegation in the Chamber. The nomination shall be submitted to the Commission for Elections and Appointments so that it might give its opinion of it. The commmission is required to give its opinion no later than 24 hours before the meeting of the Chamber in which the president is to be elected.

The nomination shall be sent along with the opinion of the commission to all delegates.

The nomination shall be submitted in writing.

The nomination must be delivered to the delegates before commencement of the session of the Chamber at which the president of the Chamber is to be elected.

The reporter of the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments or other authorized proponent shall have the right to make the case for the nomination in a session of the Chamber.

Article 200

As a rule voting for election of the president of the Chamber in the session of the Chamber shall be by open ballot.

The vote shall be by secret ballot if the Chamber has so decided in advance at the request of a delegate or delegation.

Article 201

If the president of the Chamber is being elected by secret ballot, the voting shall be done with paper ballots.

The names of all the candidates nominated shall be printed on each ballot in the order in which the nominations were submitted to the president of the Chamber. They are to be numbered in order and the number placed in front of the name of each candidate.

All the ballots shall be of the same size, shape and color. The seal of the SFRY Assembly shall be impressed on each ballot.

Article 202

The conduct of elections shall be supervised by the president of the Chamber, who shall be aided in this by the necessary number of delegates elected in the session of the Chamber and by the secretary of the Chamber.

Article 203

Every delegate shall obtain a ballot.

Following distribution of the ballots and after it has been ascertained that every delegate has obtained a ballot, the president of the Chamber shall present an explanation of voting procedure and shall fix the time for filling out the ballot.

The delegates shall vote by circling the number in front of the name of the candidate.

At the end of the time specified for filling out the ballot the president of the Chamber shall call upon the delegates to turn them in.

One of the delegates elected in the session to aid the president of the Chamber in conducting the election shall be stationed at each ballot box.

Article 204

After all the delegates present have voted and the president of the Chamber announced that the voting has been completed, determination of the result of the vote shall be undertaken.

The result of the vote shall be determined on the basis of the ballots cast in the hall in which the session is held.

The president of the Chamber shall announce the result of the vote and shall report the total number of delegates voting and the number voting "for" each of the proposed candidates.

Article 205

A candidate who has obtained a majority of the votes of the delegates present in the Chamber is elected president of the Chamber.

If a proposed candidate does not obtain the necessary majority, the authorized proponent shall submit a new nomination.

Article 206

The vice president of the Chamber shall be elected after election of the president of the Chamber.

Nominations for president and vice president of the Chamber shall be submitted according to the provisions of this operating procedure concerning submittal of nominations for election of the president of the Chamber.

2. Election of Chairmen and Members of Working Bodies of the Chamber

Article 207

The Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments or a delegation in the Chamber on the basis of prior consultation with that commission shall submit to the Chamber the proposed membership of the various working bodies of the Chamber.

The Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall submit to the Chamber a nomination for the chairmanship of working bodies.

Article 208

The Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments is required to submit to the Chamber the proposed membership of members of the working body of the Chamber from among the delegates no later than 24 hours before commencement of the session.

When this operating procedure provides that the membership of particular working bodies of the Chamber shall also include scholars and scientists, specialists and other public figures, the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall include in the proposed membership of these working bodies a proposal for members from among scholars and scientists, specialists and public figures.

The proposal shall be submitted in writing.

Article 209

The Chamber shall elect members of the working bodies of the Chamber. The voting on election of members of working bodies and also on election of chairmen of working bodies shall be by open ballot in a session of the Chamber.

3. Appointment of the Secretary of the Chamber

Article 210

The secretary of the Chamber shall be appointed according to the provisions of this operating procedure on election of the president of the Chamber.

4. Procedure for Dismissal

Article 211

Officials whom in conformity with this operating procedure the Chamber elects or appoints shall be dismissed by the Chamber on recommendation of the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments or other authorized proponent.

A proposal for dismissal which does not originate with the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments shall be taken up by that commission, which shall deliver to the Chamber its argued opinion.

An official whose dismissal has been proposed may present his position concerning that proposal in a session of the Chamber at which the decision is being made on a proposal, and if he has communicated his position in writing, the president of the Chamber shall inform the delegates in the Chamber concerning that position.

Article 212

The provisions of this operating procedure which pertain to the procedure of election or appointment shall be appropriately applied in the proceeding for dismissal.

Article 213

In deciding on dismissal of an official the Chamber may decide to replace him until election or appointment of new official.

C. Procedure for Consideration of Conduct of Established Policy and Enforcement of Acts in the Purview of the Chamber

Article 214

In order to establish the policy governing enforcement of laws, other regulations or general acts within its purview and the obligations of federal agencies in connection with enforcement of those regulations and acts, and in order to evaluate the situation in particular domains of the life of society, the Chamber shall take under consideration the reports, analyses and advisories submitted by the Federal Executive Council, federal administrative agencies and other federal bodies and organizations, as well as the working bodies of the Chamber.

Before consideration in a session of the Chamber the reports, analyses and advisories shall as a rule be taken up by the working bodies, which shall submit a report on this to the Chamber.

In the report the working body shall propose to the Chamber an assessment of the situation and the measures which the Chamber should adopt.

Article 215

A report and an advisory may be submitted orally in a session of the Chamber and the case may be presented for the need to place them on the agenda.

In the cases referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article the Chamber shall take up the report or advisory without prior consideration in the working bodies of the Chamber.

Article 216

In connection with consideration of reports, analyses and advisories as referred to in Article 214 of this operating procedure the Chamber may specifically:

i. resolve to institute proceedings for enactment of laws, other regulations or general acts in the purview of the Chamber;

ii. propose to the Federal Chamber that it enact a new law, other regulation or general act or amend or supplement a law, other regulation or general act within the purview of the Chamber;

iii. issue guidelines or adopt a resolve setting forth the obligations of the Federal Executive Council, federal administrative agencies and other federal bodies;

iv. adopt a recommendation in which it indicates the government agencies, organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations, communities and associations the measures which they ought to take in order to resolve certain questions related to the conduct of policy or to the enforcement of laws, other regulations or general acts.

Article 217

If debate of the matter referred to in Article 214 of this operating procedure does not require adoption of a resolve or recommendation, the Chamber shall close debate and pass on to the next item on the agenda.

D. Procedure for Consideration of an Interpellation

Article 218

Every delegation may submit an interpellation for debate of certain political issues related to the work of the Federal Executive Council.

An interpellation shall be submitted in writing. It must clearly state and argue the issue which is to be taken up.

The delegation shall submit the interpellation to the president of the Chamber.

Article 219

The president of the Chamber shall immediately deliver the interpellation to the chairman of the Federal Executive Council, to the delegates and to the president of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 220

The Federal Executive Council shall take up the interpellation and deliver to the president of the Chamber a written report concerning the interpellation.

The Federal Executive Council is required to deliver the report on the interpellation to the president of the Chamber no later than 1 month from the date when the interpellation was received.

The president of the Chamber shall send the report of the Federal Executive Council to the delegates.

Article 221

An interpellation shall be made a separate point on the agenda of the first session of the Chamber held after the end of a period of 8 days from the date of delivery of the report of the Federal Executive Council to the delegates.

If the Federal Executive Council does not submit a report within the time stated in Article 220 of this operating procedure, the interpellation shall be placed on the agenda of the first session after expiration of that period of time.

Article 222

A representative of the delegation which submitted the interpellation has the right to make the case for it in the session of the Chamber.

A representative of the Federal Executive Council has the right to make the case orally in the session for the report of the Federal Executive Council.

Article 223

The Chamber may close debate on an interpellation with a resolve concerning views related to the issues raised by the interpellation, by issuing guidelines to the Federal Executive Council for the conduct of policy or enforcement of a law, other regulation or general act.

The Chamber may also close debate of the interpellation without making a decision, by passing on to debate of the next item on the agenda.

After debate of an interpellation has been completed, the Chamber may also put a question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council.

Article 224

A delegation which has submitted an interpellation may withdraw it at the latest before the decision is taken or before the body moves on to debate of the next item on the agenda.

E. Procedure Related to Delegate Questions

Article 225

Delegations and delegates may put a delegate question to the Federal Executive Council and to officials heading federal administrative agencies and federal organizations orally in a session of the Chamber and between two sessions of the Chamber--in writing through the president of the Chamber.

If he feels that the question which has been put conforms to the provisions of this operating procedure, the president of the Chamber shall deliver it to the Federal Executive Council or to the official heading the federal administrative agency or federal organization.

If he feels that the question which has been put does not conform to the provisions of this operating procedure, the president of the Chamber shall so indicate to the delegate or delegation submitting the question and shall call upon them to bring their question into conformity with these provisions.

If the delegate or delegation does not bring its question into conformity with the provisions of this operating procedure, the president of the Chamber shall not send that question to the Federal Executive Council or official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization, and he shall so inform the delegate or delegation submitting the question. In connection with that notice the delegate or delegation submitting the question may in a session of the Chamber demand that his question be sent to the Federal Executive Council or official heading the federal administrative agency or federal organization.

The Chamber shall decide on the request without debate.

Article 226

The representative of the Federal Executive Council or official heading the federal administrative agency or federal organization must give an answer in the same session in which the delegate question was put. If the representative or official cannot give an answer in the session in which the question was put, he is required to state the reasons why he cannot give the answer. In that case the Chamber shall decide on the time and manner in which the answer is to be made to that question.

An answer to a question put in writing shall be given at the next session of the Chamber if that question has been delivered to the Federal Executive Council or official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization no later than 8 days before the date appointed for holding the session.

Article 227

The delegation and delegate may request that a written answer be made to the delegate question that has been put.

A written answer to a question put orally shall be made within 8 days from the date when the question was put, and a written answer to a question put in writing within 8 days from the date when the question was delivered to the Federal Executive Council or official heading the federal administrative agency or federal organization, and it shall be delivered to the president of the Chamber.

The president of the Chamber shall deliver the answer to the delegate or delegation submitting the question and to all the delegates in the Chamber.

Article 228

The answer to a delegate question put to the Federal Executive Council shall be made by its representative, and the answer to a question put to an official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization may be made not only by that official, but also by the official who replaces him according to regulations in effect or by another official in that agency whom he authorizes.

The representative of the Federal Executive Council or official heading the federal administrative agency or federal organization may refuse to furnish an answer to the question put if that question does not pertain to their work or to matters within their jurisdiction.

If the answer pertains to a matter which is a state or official secret, the Federal Executive Council or official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization may propose that the answer be given in a closed session of the Chamber or in a closed session of the committee of the Chamber whose purview embraces that matter. Such a proposal shall be decided on by the Chamber.

Article 229

After the answer has been received, the delegation or delegates who put the question, may present opinions in a session of the Chamber concerning the answer given and may put an additional question. After receiving the answer to the question put and to a possible additional question, the delegation or delegate may in the manner specified by this operating procedure propose that the question put be placed on the agenda of that or one of the next sessions of the Chamber and that it be debated.

Article 230

Questions which a delegation or delegate put to the Federal Executive Council and to officials heading federal administrative agencies or federal organizations, as well as the answers to those questions, must be brief and may not have the features of a debate of the question that has been put.

Article 231

The provisions of this operating procedure which pertain to putting delegate questions to the Federal Executive Council and to officials heading federal administrative agencies and federal organizations shall be suitably applied to delegate questions put to organizations and communities exercising public authority.

Article 232

The president of the Chamber may call a special session of the Chamber to put delegate questions and to furnish answers to delegate questions put previously.

With respect to an answer to a delegate question the Chamber may decide on the motion of the delegation or delegate who put the question to conduct debate of the question that was put in the competent working body of the Chamber. After debate of the delegate question that was put, the working body of the Chamber shall submit a report to the Chamber.

F. Procedure Related to Information and Explanation

Article 233

A delegation or delegate may seek information or explanation from an official, an agency or organization as referred to in Article 13 of this operating procedure directly or in a session of the Chamber or a meeting of a working body of the Chamber.

If the delegation or delegate seeks information or explanation as referred to Paragraph 1 of this article directly, they shall so inform the president of the Chamber and they may propose that the president of the Chamber make this known to delegates in the Chamber.

Article 234

The information shall be furnished by the official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization, but it may also be furnished by the official who replaces him under regulations in effect or by another official whom he authorizes or by a representative of an organization which exercises public authority on the basis of law.

An official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization and the representative of an organization which exercises public authority on the basis of federal law shall as a rule be required to furnish the information

requested within a period of 8 days from the date when the request was made. If the official representative of the agency or organization cannot furnish the information requested within that period of time, he is required in that period to inform the delegation or delegate when he will furnish it, but he is required to furnish that information no later than within the following 15 days.

The information shall be furnished in writing or orally, depending on how the delegation or delegate requested it.

The provisions of Paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of this article shall be appropriately applied to information furnished by the agencies and organizations referred to in Article 13 of this operating procedure.

Article 235

Information and explanations shall be furnished in a session of the Chamber or meeting of a working body of the Chamber, but they may also be furnished directly--in writing.

If a delegation or delegate has not been furnished information and explanations or has not received them promptly or judges them to be unsatisfactory, they may propose that the matter be debated in the competent working body of the Chamber.

G. Procedure Related to Institution of Proceedings for Evaluation of the Constitutionality of a Law, Other Regulation or General Act

Article 236

A decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia instituting proceedings for evaluation of the constitutionality of a law, other regulation or general act which has been sent to the SFRY Assembly by the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia shall be sent by the president of the Chamber to the competent working body and Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber for their consideration.

The decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall also be delivered to the Federal Executive Council, the federal administrative agency with jurisdiction over legislation and the relevant staff service of the SFRY State Assembly so that they may furnish their opinions.

Article 237

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia shall be notified of a meeting of a working body of the Chamber and session of the Chamber at which the decision is to be taken up.

Article 238

The competent working body of the Chamber shall take up the decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia and shall submit a report to the Chamber on this matter.

The report of the competent working body shall also be delivered to the Chamber's Legislative and Legal Commission.

The Legislative and Legal Commission shall take up the decision to institute proceedings for evaluation of the constitutionality of a law, other regulation or general act together with the report of the competent working body from the standpoint of the constitutionality of that law, other regulation or general act and shall submit a report on the matter to the Chamber.

Article 239

The competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber shall bear in mind the opinion of the Federal Executive Council in considering the decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia.

In the procedure for considering the decision the competent working body and Legislative and Legal Commission shall carry on the necessary cooperation and shall reconcile their views.

Article 240

If the competent working body or Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber judges in considering the decision that the basis exists for amending or supplementing a law, other regulation or general act to which the decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia pertains or that the need no longer exists for application of that law, other regulation or general act, it shall propose to the Chamber that it resolve to undertake to amend or supplement the law or to enact a law repealing the law, other regulation or general act and shall deliver its proposal to the president of the Chamber for presentation in a session of the Chamber.

Article 241

The Chamber shall take up the decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia together with the report of the competent working body and the Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber and, if it deems it necessary to amend or supplement a law, other regulation or general act to which the decision pertains, it shall designate the entity or working body which shall submit the proposed version for amendment or supplementation of the law, other regulation or general act, as well as the date by which the proposed version is to be prepared and submitted to the Chamber.

If the Chamber judges that there is no basis for amending or supplementing the law, other regulation or general act to which the decision pertains, the Chamber shall designate its representative to represent the SFRY Assembly in proceedings before the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia.

Article 242

The president of the Chamber shall inform the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia concerning the position of the Chamber concerning the decision to institute proceedings or evaluation of the constitutionality of a law, other regulation or general act.

Article 243

With respect to sending the decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia to the delegates and also with respect to periods of time for consideration in the competent working body and Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber, the provisions of this operating procedure which pertain to the draft of a bill shall apply.

Article 244

If the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia has adopted a ruling establishing that a law, other regulation or general act is not in conformity with the SFRY Constitution and states the period within which the law, other regulation or general act is to be brought into conformity with the SFRY Constitution, the president of the Chamber shall deliver that ruling to the delegates, to the competent working body and to the Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber and to the Federal Executive Council.

The competent working body and Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber, mindful of the opinion of the Federal Executive Council, shall propose to the Chamber the positions or measures which the Chamber should adopt or undertake to carry out the ruling of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia.

If there is a need to amend or supplement a law, other regulation or general act to which the ruling of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia pertains, the Chamber shall designate the entity or working body which is to submit the proposal for enactment along with the draft of the law, other regulation or general act on amendment or supplementation of the law or on repeal of the law, other regulation or general act to which the ruling of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia pertains, and it shall also state the period within which the draft is to be prepared and submitted to the Chamber.

If the Chamber judges that the period of time which the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia has fixed for bringing the law into conformity with the SFRY Constitution is insufficient, it shall request an extension from the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia.

Article 245

When the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia notifies the Chamber that it has halted proceedings to evaluate the constitutionality of a law, other regulation or general act on which the Chamber has taken a position, the president of the Chamber shall inform the Chamber at the next meeting of the decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia to halt proceedings.

IX. Order of Business in the Session of the Chamber

1. Convening the Session

Article 246

The session of the Chamber shall be convened by the president of the Chamber on his own initiative or on the basis of the Chamber's resolve.

The president of the Chamber shall convene a meeting of the Chamber when this is sought by the SFRY State Presidency, the Federal Executive Council, one of the delegations or a working body of the Chamber.

If the president does not convene a session of the Chamber when he is required to do so, the session shall be called by the president of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 247

In convening a session the president of the Chamber shall be mindful of the intervals and time required for the preparation and the work of that session.

The summons to the session of the Chamber should be sent to the delegates in good time so that the items placed on the agenda of the meeting of the Chamber might be taken up in the delegations and working bodies of the Chamber, as well as to the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces so that they might take positions.

The summons to the session of the Chamber, along with the proposed agenda, shall be sent no later than 8 days before the date fixed for holding the session of the Chamber.

Along with the summons to the session the president of the Chamber shall deliver to the delegates the proposed agenda, relevant material on the items proposed for the agenda of the session, and the meetings of the previous session if they have not been previously delivered.

As an exception the president may in urgent cases convene a session of the Chamber giving less than 8 days' notice, and the agenda for the session may be proposed in the session itself.

The president of the Chamber shall notify the president of the SFRY Assembly and the presidents of the assemblies of the republics and presidents of the assemblies of the autonomous provinces of the convening of a session of the Chamber and of the proposed agenda.

Article 248

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall convene the first session of the Chamber following election of the delegates.

The senior delegate in the Chamber shall preside over the first session of the Chamber until the president of the Chamber is elected.

2. Agenda of the Session

Article 249

The agenda of the session of the Chamber shall be prepared and proposed by the president of the Chamber.

In preparing the agenda the president of the Chamber shall enter into agreement with the vice president of the Chamber, the chairmen of the delegations and the chairmen of the working bodies of the Chamber on the matters which are to be included in the proposed agenda and on the date of convening the session of the Chamber, taking into account the proposals which have been submitted to them up to the date of convening the session and taking into account the tasks and deadlines set in the Chamber's work program.

Initiatives originating with sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level shall also be taken into account in composing the proposed agenda of the Chamber.

Article 250

The president of the Chamber shall also include in the proposed agenda the item which was the reason why one of the delegations, a working body of the Chamber, the SFRY State Presidency or Federal Executive Council has requested convening a session of the Chamber.

Article 251

If the president of the Chamber does not include in the proposed agenda some matter which has been delivered to him by an authorized proponent up to the date of convening the session of the Chamber, he is required to present in the session the reasons why he did not do so.

If even after the justification of the president of the Chamber the proponent persists in his request, that request shall be decided on by the Chamber.

Article 252

In urgent cases the president of the Chamber, a working body of the Chamber, one of the delegations, the SFRY State Presidency or Federal Executive Council may in a session of the Chamber propose that a particular matter be placed on the agenda of the session, but they are required to make the case for the urgency of that proposal.

The president of the Chamber, a working body of the Chamber, one of the delegations, the SFRY State Presidency or the Federal Executive Council may propose in a session of the Chamber that a particular matter not be included in the agenda, but they are required to make the case for that proposal.

In a session of the Chamber a decision shall be made first on the proposals referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article.

Article 253

The agenda of the session shall be adopted at the beginning of the session.

3. Chairing the Session and Participation in It

Article 254

The session of the Chamber shall be chaired by the president of the Chamber.

Should the president of the Chamber be incapacitated or absent, the session of the Chamber shall be chaired by the vice president of the Chamber.

If the vice president of the Chamber is also absent, one of the delegates shall be elected in the session who shall chair the session. In that case the session shall be opened by the delegate who is oldest in years, who shall chair it until election of the delegate who will thereafter preside over the session.

The oldest delegate shall preside over the first session of the Chamber after election and when the president and vice president of the Chamber have been dismissed from office--until election of a new president of the Chamber.

Article 255

All the delegates shall have the right and duty to attend the session of the Chamber and to participate in its work.

A record shall be kept of attendance of the delegates at the session of the Chamber.

Before the session begins the president of the Chamber shall ascertain whether a quorum exists for the Chamber to conduct business.

Article 256

Delegates in the Federal Chamber may attend a session of the Chamber, and with permission of the Chamber they may participate in debate.

The following may participate in debate in a session of the Chamber:

i. the chairman and members of the Federal Executive Council;

ii. representatives of the Federal Executive Council who are not members of the Chamber and spokesmen of that council when the proposed version of an act or other proposal of that chamber is being debated;

iii. officials heading federal administrative agencies and federal organizations when the proposed version of an act or other matter pertaining to a field in the purview of the agency or organization which they head is being debated;

iv. representatives of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces when the subject of debate is a proposal submitted by the assembly of the republic or assembly of the autonomous province, an opinion which it has given, or a matter which it has raised or when they have been invited to the meeting to present opinions on a particular matter;

v. representatives of organs at the federal level of sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managing organizations and communities and also specialists, scholars and scientists who have been invited to the session to present opinions on a particular matter.

Article 257

No one may speak in a session of the Chamber before requesting the floor from the president of the Chamber and being recognized.

Request to speak shall be made as soon as debate begins and may be made until debate is closed.

The speaker may be called to order or interrupted in his speech only by the president of the Chamber.

The president of the Chamber shall see that the speaker is not hindered in delivering his speech.

Article 258

The president of the Chamber shall recognize the delegates in the order of their request for recognition whether by raising their hand or submitting requests.

The president of the Chamber shall recognize a delegate who wishes to speak about a breach of operating procedure or a departure from the approved agenda (point of order) as soon as he seeks the floor. The speech of that delegate shall not last longer than 5 minutes. Following this speech the president of the Chamber is required to present an explanation of the breach of operating procedure or digression from the established agenda. If the delegate is not satisfied with the explanation, the question shall be settled in the session without debate.

If a delegate seeks the floor to correct an allegation which in his opinion is inaccurate and which has caused a misunderstanding or has necessitated a personal clarification (correction of an allegation), the president of the Chamber shall recognize him as soon as the person who has given rise to the correction finishes speaking. In his speech the delegate must restrict himself to the correction or personal explanation, and his speech may not last longer than 5 minutes.

Article 259

A speaker may speak only on the topic which is on the agenda.

If a speaker digresses from the topic which is on the agenda, the president of the Chamber shall call upon him to adhere to the agenda.

If the speaker does not adhere to the agenda even after the second call, the president of the Chamber may take the floor from him.

Article 260

There shall be no limit on the length of presentation of the delegates and other participants in the session unless this operating procedure or decision of the Chamber provides otherwise.

On a motion of the president of the Chamber or at the request of a delegate whose request is supported by 10 delegates, the Chamber may decide that a speaker may speak only once on each topic, and it may also fix the length of the speech.

4. Maintaining Order

Article 261

The president of the Chamber shall see to the keeping of order in the session of the Chamber.

Article 262

The measures of admonition, loss of the floor and ejection from the session may be pronounced for a breach of order in a session of the Chamber.

Article 263

The admonition is a measure pronounced against a delegate who in his behavior, by taking the floor though the president of the Chamber has not recognized him, by interrupting the speaker or in some other manner has disrupted order in the session and violated the provisions of this operating procedure.

Loss of the floor is a measure pronounced against a delegate who in his speech in the session is committing a breach of order and the provisions of this operating procedure and has twice already in the same session been warned to be orderly and adhere to the provisions of this operating procedure.

The president of the Chamber shall pronounce the measure of admonition or the measure of loss of the floor.

Article 264

Ejection from the session is a measure pronounced against a delegate who does not act in accordance with the request of the president of the Chamber who has pronounced the measure of loss of the floor against him or who is in some other manner obstructing the work of the session, or who in the session offends the SFRY Assembly or delegates in the SFRY Assembly or uses expressions in his speech which are not in keeping with the dignity of the SFRY Assembly.

The delegate may be ejected only from the session at which he has committed the breach of order.

The measure of ejection from the session may be proposed by the president of the Chamber, by a delegation or by a delegate.

A delegate against whom pronouncement of the measure of ejection from the session has been proposed shall have the right to speak. His speech may not last longer than 5 minutes.

The Chamber shall pronounce the measure of ejection from the meeting without debate.

A delegate against whom the measure of ejection from the session has been pronounced must immediately leave the session and may not attend a session from which he has been ejected.

Article 265

If by the regular measures the president of the Chamber is unable to maintain order in the session of the Chamber, he shall order a recess of the session.

Article 266

The president of the Chamber may order that any member of the public who commits a breach of order in the session of the Chamber be removed from the hall in which the session is being held and from the building of the SFRY Assembly.

If order has been considerably disrupted, the president of the Chamber may order that the entire public be removed.

5. Course of the Session

Article 267

After opening the session the president of the Chamber shall furnish the necessary explanations related to work in the session and other preliminary matters.

The president of the Chamber shall also inform the Chamber about who has been invited to the session of the Chamber and which delegates have given notice that they are prevented from attending the session.

Article 268

Before passing on to adoption of the agenda, the president of the Chamber shall ask the delegates whether they have objection to the minutes of the previous session.

Article 269

After the agenda is adopted, the delegates may put questions and seek explanations and information in the sense of the provision of this operating procedure unless the Chamber decides otherwise.

The Chamber may fix a time for putting questions and making responses in a particular session.

Article 270

The particular matter shall be taken up in the order established in the agenda.

In the course of the session the Chamber may make changes in the order of debate of the particular matters set forth in the agenda.

Debate of the particular matters may be undivided or divided into two phases--general debate and debate of details.

During general debate the proposal shall be debated in principle, and opinions may be expressed, explanations sought and all questions raised in connection with the solution furnished in the proposal.

During debate of details the proposal shall be debated by parts, chapters or sections of the text, and if it is so decided in the session, even by individual articles or points. During debate of details amendments to the proposal shall also be debated.

Article 271

At the beginning of debate of each matter the individual who has raised the question may furnish more detailed or supplemental substantiation of the question.

Then the delegates and other participants in the session of the Chamber who have requested the floor shall be recognized.

Each item on the agenda of the session of the Chamber shall be debated until there are no longer requests for the floor on that question.

When he finds that there are no longer requests for the floor, the president of the Chamber shall close debate.

Article 272

The president of the Chamber may interrupt the work of the Chamber during the session and fix the date and hour when work shall be resumed.

The president of the Chamber shall call a recess of the work of the Chamber when this is provided for in this operating procedure because of the lack of a quorum, because of the late hour, so that the delegates might rest, so that in the interval from the interruption to the resumption of the session the necessary consultations might be conducted and the necessary opinions gathered, as well as in other cases when the Chamber so decides.

If a session has been interrupted because of the lack of a quorum, and there is still no quorum when the session is resumed, the president of the Chamber shall adjourn the session.

Article 273

Acts of the SFRY Assembly in the purview of the Chamber and resolves and guidelines of the Chamber may be enacted on the matters being debated in the session of the Chamber.

If a matter under debate does not require adoption of an act or resolve, or if the Chamber does not wish to make a decision on the matter, the Chamber shall close debate and pass on to the next item on the agenda.

If the Chamber does not wish to make a decision on the question under debate in the same session, debate of that matter and enactment of resolves shall be postponed to one of the subsequent sessions, according to the Chamber's resolve.

Article 274

After all items on the agenda have been exhausted, the president of the Chamber shall adjourn the session.

6. Decisionmaking

Article 275

A quorum is required for a decision to be made in a session of the Chamber. A quorum exists if all the delegations of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces are represented in a session of the Chamber and if the session is attended by a majority of the delegates.

If a law on temporary measures is being adopted, a quorum exists if a session is attended by two-thirds of all the delegates.

Article 276

If the president of the Chamber doubts whether there is a quorum for a decision to be made, he shall request a call of the roll.

The roll shall also be called when this is requested by a delegate whose request is supported by 10 delegates.

When the roll call is completed, those delegates recorded absent on the roll shall be called once again.

The roll shall be called by the secretary of the Chamber.

When the roll call has been completed, the president of the Chamber shall ascertain whether all delegations of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces are represented in the session and how many delegates are attending the session of the Chamber.

Article 277

The Chamber shall make decisions by delegations on matters on which, pursuant to the SFRY Constitution, it decides on the basis of consent of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces. All delegations in the Chamber must declare themselves in favor for a decision to be adopted.

Pursuant to the SFRY Constitution the Chamber adopts laws on temporary measures by a two-thirds majority of the votes of all the delegates.

On other matters within its purview and on matters on which, pursuant to the SFRY Constitution, decisions are made on an equal footing with the Federal Chamber, the Chamber shall decide by a majority of the votes of the delegates present.

Article 278

After cloture of debate, but before a vote is taken, the delegations and delegates have the right to present their opinion in connection with the vote and to make the case for it.

Article 279

As a rule the vote shall be by open ballot.

Article 280

The procedure when decisions are made by delegations is that the chairman of the delegation or one of the members of the delegation designated by the delegation shall declare whether that delegation is for the proposal or against the proposal.

Article 281

When decisions are made in the Chamber by the votes of all the delegates, the delegates shall vote by declaring themselves in favor of the proposal, against the proposal, or abstaining from voting.

Voting shall be done simultaneously--by a raising of hands or in some other manner, or by a calling of the roll or a roll-call vote.

Article 282

The procedure for voting by a show of hands or by some other manner is that the president of the Chamber shall first call for a show of those delegates who are in favor of the proposal, then those who are against the proposal, and finally anyone who has abstained from voting.

Article 283

The roll shall be called for a roll-call vote of the delegates if so ordered by the president of the Chamber because he feels this is necessary to accurately determine the result of the vote or if this is requested by one member of a delegation whose motion is supported by the delegation to which he belongs.

The procedure for the roll-call vote is that each delegate whose name is called shall declare himself "for" or "against" or shall abstain from voting.

When the roll call is completed, the names of delegates whose vote has not been recorded on the roll shall be called once again.

The roll shall be called by the secretary of the Chamber.

Article 284

At the end of the vote the president of the Chamber shall determine the result of the vote and on the basis of the result of the vote shall declare that the proposal voted on has been adopted or rejected.

7. Minutes

Article 285

Minutes shall be kept of work in the session of the Chamber.

The minutes shall contain the principal information concerning work in the session, and specifically concerning proposals presented in the session and resolves adopted in the session concerning the various points on the agenda.

The results of votes on particular matters shall also be entered in the minutes.

A delegate who has expressed a dissenting opinion in the session may request that essential portions of his presentation be entered in the minutes.

The secretary of the Chamber shall see to the writing of the minutes.

Article 286

As a rule the minutes shall be written on the same day the session adjourns.

The minutes shall be sent to all the delegates immediately after they are written, but no later than 8 days before the date fixed for holding the next session.

Article 287

Every delegate has the right to make an objection to the minutes at the beginning of the next session.

A ruling shall be made in the session on the justifiability of objection to the minutes without debate. If the objections are sustained, the corresponding changes shall be made in the minutes.

Minutes to which no objections have been made or minutes in which corrections have been made in accordance with objections sustained, shall be considered adopted.

The adopted minutes shall be signed by the president of the Chamber and the secretary of the Chamber.

Article 288

The secretary of the Chamber shall see to the safekeeping of the minutes of the session of the Chamber.

Article 289

A transcript shall also be taken in the session of the Chamber.

The transcript shall be made available for examination by the delegates immediately after the session of the Chamber has been held.

Within 3 days from the date when the session was held any delegate may request that changes be made in his presentation in the transcript if they are only editorial changes. The purport and essence of his presentation may not be altered by those changes.

In case of a dispute as to whether the changes a delegate is seeking to be made in the transcript containing his presentation are editorial or not, the president of the Chamber shall decide the dispute.

The transcript shall be appended to the adopted minutes.

X. Public Scrutiny of the Work of the Chamber

Article 290

The Chamber shall inform the public on matters it is considering and on which it is taking decisions and also concerning its decisions and positions concerning those matters, as well as about the work of the Chamber and of its working bodies.

Article 291

In conformity with the provisions of regulations on internal order in the SFRY Assembly, informative and documentary material on matters under consideration in the Chamber shall be accessible to the working people and citizens in organizations of associated labor, in other self-managing organizations and communities and in other organizations.

Article 292

As a rule working people and citizens shall be assured unrestricted entry in the SFRY Assembly in conformity with the provisions of regulations on internal order in the SFRY Assembly.

The regulation on internal order in the SFRY Assembly shall guarantee the working people and citizens access to the building of the SFRY Assembly.

Article 293

Representatives of the press and the other news media have the right to attend a session of the Chamber and also sessions of the working bodies of the Chamber and to inform the public about their work.

A decision may be made in a session of the Chamber that representatives of the press and other news media may attend the session even when some matter is being debated in it in closed session. These representatives can furnish the republic only that information concerning the matter which is permitted by a decision in the session. A decision may be made in the session to the effect that information can be furnished on that matter only after a certain time has passed.

Working bodies of the Chamber may set the conditions under which representatives of the press and other news media may inform the public about work in their sessions.

A decision may be made in sessions of the working bodies of the Chamber that a particular matter be taken up in the absence of representatives of the press and the other news media if the interests of the country's security or defense or other public interests so require.

Article 294

Bills under consideration in the Chamber, the Herald of the SFRY Assembly, informative and documentary material on matters under consideration in the Chamber and in its working bodies, and notices and reports on the work of the working bodies of the Chamber and transcript of sessions of the Chamber shall be made available to representatives of the press and the other news media unless the Chamber or its working body has decided that a particular matter be taken up in the absence of representatives of the press and other news media.

In order to create conditions for the work of representatives of the press and the other news media concerning the work of the Chamber, aside from prompt delivery of material, they shall be furnished the necessary conditions for following work in the session of the Chamber and its working bodies, interviews with representatives of proponents or with relevant officials in the Chamber, as well as their visits to editorial offices and other personal contacts.

Article 295

Representatives of the press and the other news media, and also individuals who work on the tasks of informing the public concerning the work of the SFRY Assembly, are required in performance of this activity to abide by the principles of professional ethics and social responsibility.

The publication of information which does harm to the reputation of the SFRY Assembly or the interests of the social community, or the honor, reputation and rights of the delegates shall be punishable.

Article 296

The Chamber may decide that the proposed version of a law, other regulation or general act being debated in the Chamber be published in the press or a separate publication if it is of particular interest to the public.

Article 297

The Chamber and its working bodies may decide to issue an official release for the press and other news media in order to inform the public about the work of the Chamber.

Article 298

The official release for the press and other news media shall specifically be issued following a session of the Chamber or its working bodies which have been held in closed session or in the absence of representatives of the press and other news media, as well as in other cases when the Chamber or its working body so decides.

If the text of the official press release has not been framed in the session of the Chamber or of its working body, it shall be framed by the president of the Chamber or chairman of the working body of the Chamber.

Article 299

A press conference shall be held when a decision to that effect is made by the Chamber, a working body of the Chamber or the president of the Chamber.

When it decides to hold a press conference, the Chamber or working body of the Chamber shall designate its representative who shall hold that conference.

XI. Use of the Languages and Scripts of the Nationalities and Ethnic Minorities of Yugoslavia in the Work of the Chamber

Article 300

The delegate has the right in a session of the Chamber and of its working bodies to speak in any of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia or in the language of the ethnic minority to which he belongs.

The delegate has the right to submit in writing to the Chamber and its working bodies proposals, amendments and other submittals in any of the languages or scripts of the nationalities of Yugoslavia established by republic constitutions or in any of the languages and scripts of the ethnic minorities.

The speech of a delegate delivered in a session of the Chamber or a meeting of its working body in one of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia shall be translated into the other languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and into the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language).

The speech of a delegate delivered in a session of the Chamber or a meeting of its working body in the language of a minority shall be translated into all the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and into the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language).

Article 301

Every delegate has the right to submit in writing to the Chamber and its working bodies proposals, amendments and other submittals in any of the languages and scripts of the nationalities of Yugoslavia established by republic constitutions or of the minority to which he belongs.

Submittals of the delegates written in one of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and submittals written in the languages of the various minorities shall be translated into the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia established by republic constitutions and into the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language).

Article 302

The following shall be drafted in the Chamber in the languages and scripts of the nationalities of Yugoslavia established by republic constitutions and in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language):

i. proposed versions of acts in the purview of the Chamber and other proposals under consideration by the Chamber and its working bodies, as well as resolves and minutes of the Chamber and of its working bodies;

ii. informative and documentary material on matters on the agenda of sessions of the Chamber and meetings of its working bodies and on other matters in the purview of the Chamber or of its working bodies which under the provisions of this operating procedure are sent to the delegates;

iii. other material sent to the delegates, such as INFORMATIVNI BILTEN SKUPSTINE SFRJ [INFORMATION BULLETIN OF THE SFRY ASSEMBLY], summons to a session of the Chamber and a meeting of its working bodies and other notifications and documents.

Material referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article which has been submitted to the Chamber by other agencies and organizations and also be delegations and delegates, but has not been drafted in all the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language) shall be translated in the SFRY Assembly into the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia established by the republic constitutions and into the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (Albanian language and Hungarian language).

Article 303

Material shall be delivered to the delegate in the language of the nationality of Yugoslavia established by a republic constitution to which that delegate belongs unless he requests otherwise and to a delegate who belongs to an ethnic minority, in the language of the nationality of Yugoslavia which he designates or in the language of the Albanian or Hungarian minority (Albanian language or Hungarian language).

Material in the purview of the Chamber shall be delivered to the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces in the language of the nationality of Yugoslavia which is used in that republic or autonomous province, and to the assemblies of the autonomous provinces also in the language of the Albanian or Hungarian minority (Albanian language or Hungarian language).

Material in the purview of the Chamber shall be delivered to agencies and organizations and individual citizens within a republic or autonomous province in the language of the nationality of Yugoslavia which is used in that republic or autonomous province, and on the territory of an autonomous province also in the language of the Albanian or Hungarian minority (Albanian language or Hungarian language).

Article 304

The assemblies of the autonomous provinces and other agencies and organizations in areas where the members of the nationalities live have the right to submit proposals or requests for enactment of acts in the purview of the

Chamber and other proposals taken up by the Chamber and its working bodies in one of the languages of the minorities on the territory of the autonomous province or of that region.

Individuals who are members of the ethnic minorities have the right to submit to the Chamber and to its working bodies requests for enactment of bills in the purview of the Chamber, proposals and other petitions in the language of the minority to which they belong.

Requests, proposals and petitions as referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article written in the languages of the minorities which are to be delivered to the delegates shall be translated into the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia set forth in the republic constitutions and into the languages of the Albanian or Hungarian minorities (Albanian language or Hungarian language).

Responses to those requests, proposals and petitions shall be delivered in the language of the nationality of Yugoslavia or in the language of the Albanian or Hungarian minority (Albanian language or Hungarian language) used by the individual in submitting the request, proposal or petition.

XII. The Chamber's Relations and Cooperation With the Federal Chamber

Article 305

The Chamber may decide to hold a joint session with the Federal Chamber to devote matters within their equal jurisdiction.

The Chamber may also decide to hold a joint session with the Federal Chamber in order to swear in officials elected by the SFRY Assembly, to hear comprehensive surveys, reports, and so on, and in order to debate other matters of common interest.

Article 306

The session which the chambers of the SFRY Assembly hold jointly shall be convened by the presidents of those chambers by agreement or on the basis of a resolve of the chambers, after they have first agreed on the date the session is to be held and the agenda of that session.

A session which the chambers hold jointly shall be chaired by the presidents of the chambers alternately.

Article 307

If the chambers resolve to also make a decision in a session which they hold jointly, the Chamber shall vote separately.

Article 308

The provisions on the order of business in sessions of the chambers shall be appropriately applied in a meeting which the chambers hold jointly.

Article 309

The working bodies of the Chamber may resolve to hold a joint session with the working bodies of the Federal Chamber in order to take up matters of interest to both chambers, and they may submit a joint report to the chambers on those matters.

A session which working bodies of the Chamber hold jointly shall be convened by the chairmen of those bodies by agreement or on the basis of a resolve of the working body, after agreement has first been reached on the date of holding this meeting and the agenda of that meeting. The chairmen of the working bodies shall preside over those meetings alternately.

Article 310

In the course of proceedings for enactment of a bill the Chamber may call upon the Federal Chamber to examine the draft of the bill and give its opinion of it.

Article 311

In the course of proceedings for enactment of a bill in the purview of the Federal Chamber the Chamber may take up the proposed version of that bill if the bill regulated matters which are of interest to the Chamber and give its opinion to the Federal Chamber.

Article 312

When the Chamber obtains the opinion of the Federal Chamber on the draft of a bill which the Chamber is enacting, before commencement of proceedings of reconciling the views of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, that opinion shall be taken up.

Article 313

A working body of the Chamber may in the course of proceedings for enactment of a bill in the purview of the Federal Chamber examine the proposed version of that bill and report its opinion to the Chamber or directly to the competent working body of the Federal Chamber.

Article 314

The Chamber may designate its representative who shall make the case in a session of the Federal Chamber for a proposal or opinion which the Chamber has submitted in connection with the proposed version of a bill in the purview of the Federal Chamber.

Article 315

The Chamber shall deliver the draft of its work program to the Federal Chamber and shall take under consideration possible opinions and proposals of that chamber related to the draft.

XIII. Conduct of the Chamber's Relations With the SFRY State Presidency

Article 316

The Chamber shall take up the proposals of the SFRY State Presidency for establishment of domestic and foreign policy and for enactment of laws, other regulations and general acts within the purview of the Chamber according to the procedure set forth in this operating procedure.

Article 317

The Chamber may call upon the SFRY State Presidency to set forth its views on particular matters within its jurisdiction which have a bearing on the work of the Chamber.

When the Chamber calls upon the SFRY State Presidency to expound its views on matters within its jurisdiction which have a bearing on the work of the Chamber, the president of the Chamber shall so inform the SFRY State Presidency.

Article 318

If the Chamber does not accept the proposal of the SFRY State Presidency for establishment of domestic and foreign policy or for enactment of a law, other regulation or general act within the purview of the Chamber, whose enactment the SFRY State Presidency deems necessary, or if it does not accept the proposal of the SFRY State Presidency to postpone enactment of a law, other regulation or general act, the president of the Chamber shall inform the SFRY State Presidency of the position of the Chamber and of the reasons why that position was adopted.

In the case referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article the initiative of the SFRY State Presidency or of the Chamber shall be handled in the manner set forth in Article 319 of the SFRY Constitution.

Article 319

The SFRY State Presidency shall inform the Chamber concerning the state and problems of domestic and foreign policy within the purview of the Chamber and also on other matters which have a bearing on the work of the Chamber.

Article 320

Members of the SFRY State Presidency may attend and participate in the work of a session of the Chamber and meetings of the working bodies of the Chamber.

Article 321

The Chamber shall inform the SFRY State Presidency of its sessions and of the meetings of its working bodies and shall deliver to it drafts of bills and also informative and documentary material that has a bearing on the work of the SFRY State Presidency.

XIV. Exercise of the Chamber's Rights Toward the Federal Executive Council

1. Representation of a Federal Executive Council in the Chamber

Article 322

The chairman of the Federal Executive Council shall represent the Federal Executive Council in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

Article 323

In order to achieve ongoing cooperation with the Chamber, the Federal Executive Council shall designate its members as standing representatives in the Chamber and the working bodies of the Chamber.

The Federal Executive Council may also designate as its standing representative in particular working bodies of the Chamber an official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization who is not a member of the Federal Executive Council concerning matters in a field that lies in the purview of the agency or organization which he heads.

Article 324

The Federal Executive Council may designate one of its members to represent it on a particular matter in the Chamber and working bodies of the Chamber.

The Federal Executive Council may also designate an official who heads a federal administrative agency or federal organization who is not a member of the Federal Executive Council to represent it in the Chamber and working bodies of the Chamber on a particular matter in a field that falls in the purview of the administrative agency or federal organization which he heads.

The Federal Executive Council may also designate an assistant secretary or assistant of an official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization to represent it in the working bodies of the Chamber on a particular matter in a field which lies in the purview of the respective federal administrative agency or federal organization unless this operating procedure provides otherwise.

Article 325

When the Federal Executive Council submits to the Chamber the draft of a bill or other proposal for its consideration, it shall inform the Chamber as to who is the representative it has designated.

Representatives of the Federal Executive Council shall attend sessions of the Chamber and meetings of its working bodies taking up the proposed version of an act which was submitted by that council and shall participate in the work of the Chamber and its working bodies, shall present the views of the Federal Executive Council and shall report to the Federal Executive Council on the views and opinions of the Chamber or working body of the Chamber.

Article 326

A member of the Federal Executive Council whom it designates shall participate in the work of a working body of the Chamber when the views of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces on the draft of a bill which is enacted on the basis of consent are being reconciled.

The deputy of an official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization may also participate in the work of a working body of the Chamber as a representative of the Federal Executive Council when he is so designated by the Federal Executive Council.

Article 327

The Federal Executive Council shall designate its spokesman when the draft of a bill which it has submitted is on the agenda of a session of the Chamber and a meeting of its working bodies.

The Federal Executive Council may also designate its spokesman in other cases when it deems this necessary.

The Federal Executive Council shall also designate its spokesman when the Chamber and its working bodies so request.

The spokesman of the Federal Executive Council shall attend sessions of the Chamber and meetings of its working bodies, shall furnish information and explanations concerning the draft of the bill and concerning other matters which are on the agenda of the session of the Chamber and meeting of its working bodies.

Article 328

The Chamber and its working bodies shall notify the Federal Executive Council of its sessions and meetings.

When the draft of a bill or other proposal submitted by the Federal Executive Council is to be taken up in sessions of the Chamber or meetings of its working bodies, its representatives and spokesmen shall also be notified.

2. Reporting to the Chamber on the Work of the Federal Executive Council

Article 329

On its own initiative or at the request of the Chamber the Federal Executive Council shall submit a report to the Chamber on its work, on the conduct of policy set forth by the Chamber, on fulfillment of the social plan of Yugoslavia and performance of other acts setting forth the policy governing socioeconomic development, on enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts which the Chamber has enacted, on the situation in all domains of the life of society, as well as on other matters within its purview.

The report of the Federal Executive Council referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be submitted at the intervals set forth in law and the Chamber's work program.

The Chamber shall debate the report of the Federal Executive Council and in its resolves set forth positions concerning its consideration of that report.

Article 330

On its own initiative or at the request of the Chamber the Federal Executive Council shall submit a report on its work, on the situation in a particular area of the life of society and on the enforcement of particular laws, other regulations and general acts of the Chamber, as well as on other matters in the purview of the Chamber.

The Chamber shall debate the report of the Federal Executive Council referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article and in its resolve set forth its positions with respect to its consideration.

3. Exercise of the Chamber's Policy Oversight Over the Work of the Federal Executive Council and the Responsibility of the Federal Executive Council

Article 331

In conformity with the SFRY Constitution, the Federal Executive Council shall be accountable for its work to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces in areas that lie within the purview of the Chamber.

Article 332

In exercise of policy oversight over the work of the Federal Executive Council the Chamber and its working bodies shall monitor the conduct of the established policy and enforcement of federal laws and other regulations and general acts which the Chamber has enacted.

Article 333

In exercise of the Chamber's policy oversight over the work of the Federal Executive Council and in achieving the accountability of the Federal Executive

Council to the Chamber, within its purview the Chamber may initiate debate of matters pertaining to the work of the Federal Executive Council and especially related to the conduct of policy which the Chamber has set forth, the situation in particular domains of the life of society, the enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts of the Chamber, and the guidance and coordination of the work of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations by the Federal Executive Council.

Debate of these matters may be initiated in connection with consideration of a report on the work of the Federal Executive Council, and interpellation that has been submitted, as well as in connection with other matters being taken up in a session of the Chamber.

A proposal to initiate debate on the matters referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article may be advanced by a delegate or delegation in the Chamber, by a working body of the Chamber and by the assembly of a republic or assembly of an autonomous province.

Article 334

Debate of matters pertaining to the Chamber's exercise of policy oversight over the work of the Federal Executive Council and to achieving the accountability of the Federal Executive Council may end as follows:

i. adoption of a resolve setting forth the obligations of the Federal Executive Council and issuing it guidelines related to the conduct of policy and enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts of the Chamber;

ii. adoption of a resolve stating the obligations of the Federal Executive Council to undertake particular measures, to submit reports or the proposed version of an act, or to furnish informative and other material;

iii. adoption of positions concerning the work of the Federal Executive Council and its accountability;

iv. the putting of a question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council or the chairman and members of that council;

v. by merely passing on to the next point on the agenda.

Article 335

With respect to further procedure when a question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council or the chairman and members of that council has been put, and also with respect to the procedure whereby the Federal Executive Council submits its collective resignation, the provisions of the Operating Procedure on the Joint Work of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall apply.

XV. Exercise of the Chamber's Rights Toward Federal Administrative Agencies and Federal Organizations

Article 336

An official who heads a federal administrative agency and a federal organization, pursuant to the SFRY Constitution, shall be accountable to the Chamber for his work, for the work of the agency or organization which he heads, and also for the situation in the relevant field of the life of society within the purview of the agency or organization which he heads--in areas that fall in the purview of the Chamber.

Article 337

Within the purview of the Chamber and in conformity with the Chamber's work program and work plans and the work program and work plans of the working bodies of the Chamber, the working bodies of the Chamber may call upon federal administrative agencies and federal organizations to:

i. study a particular matter within their jurisdiction and submit a report to them on that matter;

ii. inform them about the situation and trends and occurrences in a field within their jurisdiction;

iii. inform them about the conduct of policy which the Chamber has set forth and about execution of federal laws, other regulations or general acts of the Chamber concerning particular matters in a domain that lies within their jurisdiction;

iv. draft the proposed version of a law, other regulation or general act in a field within its jurisdiction which the Chamber enacts;

v. submit information and explanations to them concerning matters within their jurisdiction;

vi. furnish them data which they possess or which within their jurisdiction they are required to collect and record, as well as official documents and other material necessary to the work of the Chamber and of its working bodies.

If a federal administrative agency or federal organization deems that because of its regular obligations it is unable to carry out the request of the working bodies of the Chamber pertaining to the drafting of proposed versions of laws, other regulations or general acts and when this has not been envisaged by the work program of the Chamber or resolve of the Chamber, it shall so inform the working body of the Chamber and the Federal Executive Council and shall state the reasons why it is unable to do so.

Article 338

The working bodies of the Chamber may call upon an official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization or specialists from the respective administrative agencies or organizations to participate in the work of the commission, study group or other group established by the working body in order to study particular matters and prepare laws, other regulations and general acts.

Article 339

The working bodies of the Chamber shall inform federal administrative agencies and federal organizations of meetings which will debate matters pertaining to a field within their jurisdiction so that their representatives might participate in those meetings.

Article 340

Officials heading federal administrative agencies and federal organizations have the right and duty to participate in the work in sessions of the Chamber when those sessions are debating the proposed version of an act regulating matters pertaining to a field within the jurisdiction of the respective federal administrative agency or federal organization which they head or another matter which pertains to a field within the jurisdiction of the respective agency or organization.

In sessions of the Chamber those officials shall furnish information and explanations concerning the matters under consideration, and at the request of the Chamber they are required to furnish such information and explanations in writing as well. If an official is prevented from participating in work in the session of a working body of the Chamber, he may designate another top official in the respective administrative agency or organization to participate in work in the session.

So that the Chamber and its working bodies are regularly informed about the work of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations, about the situation, occurrences and trends, and problems in domains within the jurisdiction of those agencies and organizations, and so that they might furnish those bodies the necessary information and explanations concerning matters under consideration, another official in that agency or organization who is specifically designated shall also have the right to participate in the work in sessions of the Chamber and meetings of its working bodies as a representative of the federal administrative agency or federal organization.

Article 341

At the request of the Chamber and on their own initiative officials heading federal administrative agencies or federal organizations shall report on the situation in the respective area, on enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts of the Chamber and on other matters within their jurisdiction, as well as on the work of the agency or organization which they head.

The Chamber may in its resolve fix a time within which the official is required to submit a report.

XVI. Consideration in the Chamber of Opinions and Proposals of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, the Federal Court, the Federal Public Prosecutor and Federal Public Defender of Self-Management Law and Institution of Proceedings by the Chamber Before the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia

Article 342

Opinions and proposals of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia on achievement of protection of constitutionality and legality, opinions and proposals of the Federal Court, of the federal public prosecutor and of the Federal Public Defender of Self-Management Law on matters that have a bearing on the work of the Chamber shall be taken up in a session of the Chamber.

When the Chamber takes up the opinions and proposals of the bodies and officers referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, it shall take positions and adopt resolves concerning such matters and shall so inform those bodies and officers.

Article 343

The Chamber may decide to institute proceedings before the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia for evaluation of the constitutionality and legality of regulations and other general acts which are enacted to implement laws and other general acts within the purview of the Chamber.

The president of the Chamber shall send the proposal to institute proceedings for evaluation of constitutionality and legality to the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia.

XVII. Conduct of the Chamber's Cooperation With Sociopolitical and Other Public Organizations, Self-Managing Organizations and Communities, and Other Organizations at the Federal Level

Article 344

The Chamber shall carry on cooperation with the organs, bodies and forms of activity of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, and other sociopolitical and public organizations, self-managing organizations and communities and other organizations at the federal level, in the manner set forth in this operating procedure and the Operating Procedure on Joint Work of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

To that end the Chamber and its working bodies may propose to sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managing organizations and communities, and other organizations at the federal level that they submit opinions and proposals concerning particular matters within their purview, and they may also invite to their sessions and meetings representatives from those organizations to present their opinions and proposals.

When matters are taken up in a session of the Chamber or meeting of a working body of the Chamber which are important or of interest to achievement of the goals and performance of the tasks of sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managing organizations and communities, and other organizations at the federal level, those organizations and communities shall have the right to present opinions and positions concerning those matters in the session through their representatives.

The Chamber and its working bodies are required to take a position concerning such a request [sic] and to so inform the interested sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managing organizations and communities, and other organizations at the federal level.

Article 345

In agreement with the organs of sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managing organizations and communities at the federal level the Chamber may establish joint working bodies to take up particular matters of common interest and to furnish opinions or prepare proposals concerning those matters.

The agreement to establish a joint working body shall state the tasks, composition and procedure of the joint working body and shall deal with other matters important to achievement of the tasks entrusted to that body.

XVIII. The Chamber's Participation in the Work of the Federal Social Councils

Article 346

The Chamber shall participate in the work of the federal social councils in conformity with law.

Article 347

Representatives of the working bodies of the Chamber designated by the Chamber on the nomination of the working bodies of the Chamber, in conformity with its work program and with the tasks and jurisdiction of the various working bodies, shall participate in the work of federal social councils as delegates of the Chamber.

On the basis of consultations and agreements with the chairmen of working bodies of the Chamber and delegates designated by the Chamber to participate in the work of the various federal social councils, the president of the Chamber shall state who shall participate as a delegate of the Chamber in work in particular meetings of the federal social councils depending on the matters which are on the agenda of the council's meeting.

Article 348

Delegates of the Chamber who participate in the work of federal social councils are required in the meeting of the councils to present the opinions and

positions of the working bodies of the Chamber whose purview embraces the matter which is under consideration in the meeting of the council if the working bodies have taken a position on that matter and to inform those working bodies of the opinions and proposals stated in the meeting of the council.

In a meeting of federal social councils the delegate may also present his own opinion, but he is required to inform the council that that is his opinion.

All delegates shall be informed about the opinions and proposals of the federal social councils set forth in proceedings in connection with consideration and preparation of individual laws, other regulations and general acts within the purview of the Chamber or in connection with consideration of other matters important to the work of the Chamber.

Article 349

The president and vice president of the Chamber may participate in the work of the federal social councils.

Article 350

The president of the Chamber shall be a member of the coordinating committees of the federal social councils. Aside from the president of the Chamber, the Chamber may also designate another delegate to be a member of the coordinating committees of the federal social councils.

XIX. Special Provisions Concerning the Chamber's Work During Wartime or in a Case of an Immediate Danger of War

Article 351

During a state of war or in a case of immediate danger of war the Chamber shall work according to the provisions of this operating procedure unless the provisions of this chapter or other act of the Chamber provides otherwise.

Article 352

During a state of war or in a case of immediate danger of war the Chamber may decide on a motion of the president of the Chamber, vice president of the Chamber, chairmen of delegations or an authorized proponent that the drafts of bills be considered and reconciled in meetings of the Chamber without prior consideration and reconciliation in the working bodies of the Chamber.

Article 353

On the basis of consent granted by the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces and views that have been reconciled in the session of the Chamber concerning proposals and objections of those assemblies to the draft of a bill, the Chamber may in the same meeting approve the proposed version of the bill and decide on it if the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces have authorized their delegations

to grant consent on their behalf to the proposed version of the bill as a whole.

Article 354

The Chamber may decide that during a state of war or in a case of immediate danger of war the provisions of this operating procedure shall not apply with respect to the periods of time within which the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces are to take positions concerning the draft or proposed version of an act.

XX. The Chamber's Staff Service

Article 355

The Chamber's staff service shall perform technical and other tasks to meet the needs of the Chamber pertaining to the following: preparation of the work program and work plans of the Chamber and of the working bodies of the Chamber and monitoring their fulfillment; preparation and organization of sessions of the Chamber and meetings of the working bodies of the Chamber; obtaining and supplying technical opinions related to the work of the Chamber and working bodies of the Chamber; obtaining and preparing documentary and other material and data for the work of the Chamber and working bodies of the Chamber; preparation of the proposed version of acts at the request of the Chamber and working bodies of the Chamber and monitoring execution of the resolves of the Chamber and working bodies of the Chamber.

The staff service of the Chamber shall perform technical and other tasks to meet the needs of delegations and delegates in the performance of their function pertaining to the preparation of the proposed version of acts and amendments to proposed versions of acts; carrying out the initiatives and proposals of the delegations that matters be debated in the Chamber's purview; preparation of questions and interpellations for delegations and delegates and requests for explanations and information; supply of additional documentation; information and the furnishing of explanations and technical opinions.

XXI. Transitional and Final Provisions

Article 356

When this law takes effect the Operating Procedure of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 1, 1975) and the Decision Amending and Supplementing the Operating Procedure of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 22, 1978) shall cease to be valid.

Article 357

This operating procedure shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

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END

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2050

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POLITICAL ANALYST DISCUSSES WESTERN SOCIALIST STANCE ON PEACE

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 95, 25 Jun 82 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "Criticism of Socialist International's Stance on Disarmament." A translation of the East Berlin IPW-BERICHTE article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The IPW-BERICHTE [IPW Reports] (No 6, 1982), which are published by the Institute for International Politics and Economics (IPW), criticized the Socialist International's (SI) stance on disarmament and detente, calling it contradictory. The BERICHTE stated that in regard to "NATO's intensive armament policy and the confrontation policy pursued by the United States" there were "serious differences of opinion" both among the parties of the SI and within the SI itself and that the political activities within and vis-a-vis the peace movement were quite inconsistent. According to the BERICHTE, the SPD obviously has lost much of its former prestige as vanguard of the policy of detente. The journal conceded that many of the views of the social-democratic parties agreed with those of the socialist countries, e.g. the view regarding various steps to be taken toward disarmament; but it argued that on account of their equating the United States and the USSR as superpowers many Social Democrats were unable to perceive the "real culprits" behind the arms race and the threat of war.

GDR Political Analyst's Critique

East Berlin IPW-BERICHTE in German Vol 11 No 6, Jun 82 pp 10-16

['Analyses--Problems' feature article by Horst Dietzel: "The Stance of the Socialist International (SI) on Peace and Disarmament: A Significant Factor in the Argument About War and Peace--Common Points and Differences in the SI--Growing Activities in the Struggle Against US's Intensive Armament Policy"]

> [Text] At the beginning of the 1980's, the parties united in the Socialist International had a membership of 15 million and their vote in parliamentary elections totaled over 70 million. Due to the pressure exerted by their members and voters, they have increasingly directed their attention toward the problems concerning the safeguarding of peace. General declarations for peace have been complemented by statements advocating continuation

of concrete negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament. An increasing number of members and functionaries of these parties have been taking part in mass demonstrations against the stationing of new American medium-range missiles in West Europe. Nevertheless, it is obvious that there are great contradictions among and within the parties of the Socialist International--contradictions ranging from strict rejection to support of the United States' new missile deployment.

Now that the most aggressive circles, above all those of U.S. imperialism, are pursuing a policy of confrontation vis-a-vis the socialist countries, thus intensifying the threat of war, the position taken by the Socialist International (SI)--a position supporting the struggle of the nations for the safeguarding of world peace, for arms limitation and disarmament--is of special significance.

The SI--within which both socialist and social-democratic parties are united--has considerable influence, above all in the countries of West and North Europe and in Japan, and it is trying to extend this influence in other regions of the world. At the beginning of the 1980's, the parties of the SI had a membership of approximately 15 million and they obtained over 70 million votes. In a number of West European states, Socialists or Social Democrats share governmental responsibility, e.g. in the FRG, in Austria, France, Greece, Denmark and Finland. In other countries, e.g. in Great Britain and in Sweden, they are the strongest opposition parties in the parliament. Regardless of whether they share governmental responsibility or whether they represent the parliamentary opposition--and despite the many problems they face on account of the further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism--they exert great influence on the working class of these countries. For this reason, the positions the SI's most influential parties have taken in regard to the threat of war, the problem concerning the struggle for the continuation of detente, and the termination of the imperialist arms race are of great significance.

Social-Democratic leaders have repeatedly--and more or less unanimously--stressed the need for a political detente complemented by military detente. They state that the safeguarding of peace must take precedence in the present political situation. But in quite a few of them, there is a discrepancy between word and deed in regard to the struggle for the safeguarding of peace, for arms limitation and detente. "Present-day social democracy has considerable political influence. It could do still more towar fending the vital interests of all peoples, strengthening peace and normalizing the international situation.... In practice, however, the leaders of social democracy do not always pursue those objectives."[1]

The discussions at the SI congresses and buro conferences and the statements and activities of various social-democratic and socialist parties show that within international social democracy there exists today a broad spectrum of views regarding the requirements of arms limitation and disarmament. This spectrum ranges from unequivocal rejection of the United States' imperialist armament and confrontation course to open support of NATO's armament policy. For the most part, however, the majority of the socialist-democratic forces have adopted more or less realistic, peace-promoting positions. At present, most of the social-democratic leaders take a position that is critically opposed to that of the most aggressive circles of U.S. monopoly capitalism. One of the primary--foreign policy-related--reasons for

this is the fact that the SI's most influential forces operate in the countries of West and North Europe. Due to this geographic situation, West European politicians--above all the representatives of social democracy--have adopted an attitude of reserve and rejection vis-a-vis Reagan's plans to set up the framework for a limited nuclear war on the European continent.

In contrast to U.S. imperialism, leading circles of West Europe's monopoly capitalism want to maintain and extend the economic results of detente.[2] Evidence of this was the recent insistence of the governments of France and the FRG on the natural gas deal with the USSR. As is well known, social-democratic politicians of West Europe have greatly helped to implement this policy and this has been a contributing factor in enhancing the attractiveness of their parties and it has made them defenders of detente. However, this position is circumscribed by the anti-Soviet and anti-communist orientation of a large part of the social-democratic leadership. Evidence of this are the repeated defamation campaigns against the socialist states that were launched with the object of "substantiating" the imperialist policy of confrontation and intensive armament. The latest examples: the aspersions on the Soviet Union in connection with the problems concerning medium-range missiles or with the events in the People's Republic of Poland.

Changes in the SI's Positions

During the SI's 30 years of existence, its positions vis-a-vis the socialist countries underwent considerable changes. During the period of the Cold War, the policy pursued by the social-democratic parties vis-a-vis real socialism did not materially differ from that of the conservative and liberal circles. "The rightist forces of social democracy were guided by blind anti-communism and anti-Sovietism; they were active participants in the imperialist policy of aggression and they defended this policy before the working masses."[3] Leading social-democratic politicians actively helped to build and expand NATO. For a long time, the SI itself was an instrument of the Cold War.[4]

The proposals of the socialist countries, which were oriented toward implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, were rejected. Similarly, the attacks of social-democratic parties against the socialist countries in the field of ideology hardly differed from those launched by conservative circles.

The change in the global distribution of forces in favor of socialism was the main reason why the social-democratic leaders adopted a more realistic policy vis-a-vis the socialist countries and why social democracy made an important contribution to the implementation of political detente. Presently, at the beginning of the 1980's, social democracy again faces changed international conditions in regard to its operational scope. Due to the United States' policy of confrontation vis-a-vis socialism and the national liberation movement, the international situation has changed. In many respects, this policy is not in accordance with the views and interests prevalent within social democracy--namely that a policy pursued on the brink of war has already been shown to be inappropriate for the contest with socialism and that it also strengthens the positions of the most reactionary forces of imperialism, while weakening those of the social democrats.

The peace movement, which in most of the imperialist countries has turned into a mass movement, exerts great influence on the political work of social democracy.

It should be noted, however, that the response of the individual parties and within the social-democratic parties varies greatly--evidence of which is readily obtained through observation of the SPD. At any rate, the rapid growth of the peace movement has greatly stimulated the discussion within social democracy on the need for preservation of peace. Thus, in the policy pursued by the SI, there have come to the fore four basic trends:

Firstly: the problems concerning the safeguarding of peace, political detente, arms limitation and disarmament have assumed overriding significance. This is reflected not only by the congresses held since the mid-1970's, but also by the work of the SI's Study Team for Disarmament headed by the Finnish Social Democrat Kalevi Sorsa. At the beginning of this year, members of this study team met--for the second time--with the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, L. I. Brezhnev. Similarly, the international activities of leading social-democratic personalities such as SI President W. Brandt, B. Kreisky and O. Palme have intensified. O. Palme, chairman of Sweden's Social Democratic Workers Party, heads the independent International Commission for Disarmament, which is made up of quite diverse elements.[5]

Secondly: There have crystallized different, even mutually opposed positions on key problems regarding the safeguarding of peace and, above all, on the problems concerning armament. Presently there are serious differences of opinion--both among the parties of the SI and within the SI itself--on NATO's Missile Resolution, on NATO's armament policy and on the United States' policy of confrontation. Accordingly, the political activities in and vis-a-vis the peace movement are very contradictory.

Within the SI, the SPD, which on account of its leading role in the process of detente enjoyed considerable respect among the other social-democratic parties, obviously has lost much of this respect in the last few years.

Thirdly: There is increasing alarm about the foreign policy pursued by the U.S. administration under President Reagan--an alarm extending to the organization's leading circles. This goes above all for the reluctance to engage in negotiations with the Soviet Union, the policy pursued vis-a-vis Latin America, the armament policy based on superiority claims, and the sanction-oriented policy vis-a-vis socialist states.

Fourthly: In many respects, the positions formulated in the congress resolutions and in the documents of the Study Team for Disarmament agree with or approximate those of the socialist countries. Since the SI resolutions are merely of a recommendatory nature and thus are not binding on the member parties, they can by no means be equated with appropriate political action. The contradiction between word and deed seen in some social-democratic politicians is attributable above all to anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Basic Positions Concerning Detente and Disarmament

At present, elimination of this contradiction largely depends on whether social democracy will be able to maintain against U.S. imperialism's opposition--and politically to implement--its oft-repeated standpoint that there is no reasonable alternative to detente. Under the present conditions, the insistence on the policy

of detente not only assumes increasing importance, but also requires of social democracy greater efforts in regard to consistent defense of its relatively independent positions; as regards political practice, this would necessitate unequivocally to reject the United States' militant, anti-communist, crusading policy of sanctions, boycott and armament and to promote the constructive continuance of the CSCE process, including the Madrid Conference. It turns out, however, that regarding these problems some social-democratic leaders are giving in to the pressure exerted by the United States. This runs counter to their declared goal to continue the policy of detente and it has caused considerable disputes in some of the parties.

Social democracy is more or less agreed that detente can last only if arms limitation and disarmament are implemented. In various declarations--such as the one made at its Paris buro conference (September 1981)--the SI advocated negotiations between the United States and the USSR. A remarkable aspect of the Paris conference was the statement that "both sides" should consider concluding "an interim agreement on qualitative and quantitative restrictions at a level below the present one."[6] Previously, the Soviet Union had submitted the moratorium proposal that subsequently was extended to the effect that the Soviet Union was prepared--provided the United States agreed--to withdraw some of its missiles from the western border of the Soviet Union.

Thus this offer corresponds with what the SI had formulated in Paris. Along with the U.S. government, however, well-known social-democratic politicians rejected or denounced as "unsatisfactory" both the moratorium proposal and the subsequent unconditional and unilateral moratorium of the USSR. But the SI parties would be well advised to consider that the policy of U.S. imperialism--as manifested by the resolutions concerning the production of the neutron bomb and the resumption of the production of chemical weapons and by its unprecedented intensification of the armament program--is clearly opposed to the SI's declared position, namely that "both sides" should nowhere "take any steps"[7] that could jeopardize the results of negotiations.

The SI standpoints conforming with the positions taken by the socialist countries include certain views concerning various steps to be taken on the road toward disarmament. For example, the SI emphasizes the importance for Europe of successful negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament and the necessity as quickly as possible to draft agreements on nuclear medium-range missiles. At the executive board meeting held in Bonn at the beginning of April 1982, this stance of the Socialist International was affirmed. Its president, W. Brandt, stated these negotiations were of crucial importance for preventing a catastrophe for mankind; Brandt declared it was necessary to promote steps conducive to disarmament agreements.[8]

Like the socialist states, the SI attaches great importance to the Vienna negotiations. It had advocated the ratification of SALT II and presently it supports the continuation of the SALT process. The SI documents contain demands for the prohibition of chemical weapons and of the development of new types and systems of weapons for mass destruction and demands for a European disarmament conference that was to be prepared at the Madrid Conference. In view of the United States' negative attitude on this issue, a real commitment by the SI and its member parties to the staging of such a conference and to obtaining constructive results could be of great significance.

Some new accents in the report delivered by the Study Team for Disarmament at its Madrid Congress (1980) are worth mentioning. This report contained a number of recommendations to the SI member parties, which--if applied in political practice--would increase social democracy's contribution to the struggle for peace: There is the appeal to fight against militarism and the militarization of society, to draw up national programs toward disarmament, to work out plans for converting armaments production into civilian production and to form national disarmament committees; then there is the recommendation to establish independent bodies for disarmament policy, which are to draw up action programs for disarmament initiatives, etc.[9]

As has already been stated, the social-democratic parties have been relatively unanimous in dissociating themselves from the U.S. plans concerning production of the neutron bomb. As early as the second half of the 1970's, social-democratic forces had for the most part rejected Carter's neutron bomb plans and when Reagan resolved to implement these plans after all, there arose sharp protest. Quite a few Social Democrats, including some in positions of leadership, proceed from the assumption that this would reduce the nuclear war "threshold" and complicate the negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament.

Regarding the United States' present military policy, Karel van Miert, chairman of the (Flemish) Socialist Party of Belgium, stated: "The United States is concerned about how to win the war, while the Europeans are concerned about how to prevent it."[10]

Differences in Outlook on NATO and on the Brussels Missile Resolutions

Side by side with these shared views on war and peace, there are differences in outlook on key issues. The differences in regard to the need for and the evaluation of the North Atlantic Treaty are quite apparent. While the SPD's West Berlin Party Congress (1979) called NATO an "instrument of peace" and made an unequivocal commitment "to the alliance,"[11] other parties have great reservations vis-a-vis NATO. Above all, this applies to the Greek Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK). Greece's new government has advocated the country's withdrawal from NATO's military organization and it made known its intention to negotiate anew on the U.S. bases on Greek soil. The Spanish socialists resolutely oppose their country's accession to NATO. They hold that the integration of Spain into the military bloc would tie the country still more closely to the United States.

In other countries, too, social-democratic parties have condemned the policy pursued by NATO or have advocated withdrawal of their countries from this aggressive military bloc. This goes for significant elements in the parties of Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and--increasingly so--Great Britain. The SI member parties also differ in regard to the advisability of unilateral steps toward arms limitation. The leadership of the SPD and of other West European parties rejects such steps, whereas the Labor Party--presently in the opposition--stresses the usefulness of unilateral disarmament measures and advocates dissolution of the nuclear bases in Great Britain and elimination of the British nuclear arsenal. The Dutch Labor Party (PvdA)--along with other peace-oriented forces of the country--holds that all nuclear weapons must be removed from the earth, with "the Netherlands leading the way."

That these elements succeeded in bringing their influence to bear on the final resolution of the Madrid SI Congress is evidenced by the statement that "unilateral steps by individual governments" could be advantageous to negotiations concerning arms control and disarmament.[12] As late as 1976, at the Geneva Congress, it had been stated that lasting security could /not/ [word enclosed in slantlines printed in italics] be produced by unilateral disarmament steps or by disengagement.[13] Undoubtedly, the changes in the SI's stances on this issue reflect "the growing power of the protest movement of large segments of the West European public against the peace-threatening plans of NATO."[14] At present, the main source of conflict among the SI parties is the difference in outlook on NATO's Missile Resolution. Thus the SI has never officially commented on this resolution. One of the SPD's experts on SI concerns stated that "during the conflict over the NATO Two-Track Resolution" it had not even been possible "to effect compromises among the divergent positions of the European SI members."[15] It is above all the leading circles of the SPD, but also the leaders of the Italian and the French socialists, who champion the Missile Resolution, whereas the Dutch Labor Party (PvdA) and the (Flemish) Socialist Party of Belgium advocate its abrogation. The British Labor Party and the Danish Social Democrats reject the stationing on their country's territories.[16]

However, even within the parties that support the resolution there is increasing opposition to the planned stationing. This goes above all for the SPD. Many members of this party are deeply concerned about the possibility that the new U.S. missiles and the intensive armament policy may undo the policy of detente that the Social Democrats helped to establish during the 1970's. They proceed from the fact that it was the United States, not the Soviet Union, that toppled the SALT II Agreement and that the policy of confrontation is promoted by U.S. imperialism, while the Soviet Union again and again submits peace-promoting proposals.

These views and the rapid spread of the peace movement in the FRG are the main reasons why a growing number of SPD members, functionaries and subgroups have been engaging in the diverse peace-promoting activities. A large number of Social Democrats signed the Krefeld Appeal and participated in the Bonn peace demonstration on 10 October 1981; 30,000 SPD members signed the Bielefeld Appeal, which likewise opposes the stationing of U.S. medium-range missiles.[17] A number of district and state organizations and the work groups of the SPD's Young Socialists and Social-Democratic Women have come out against the stationing resolution.[18] Among other organizations, the Schleswig-Holstein State Association demanded in a petition addressed to the Munich Party Congress (April 1982) that the armament section in NATO's "Two-Track Resolution" be revoked and that the preparations for the stationing of the new American medium-range missiles be halted.[19]

The divergence in the views regarding NATO's missile resolutions is closely bound up with the evaluation of the military-strategic equilibrium. While most of those who oppose the resolutions realistically assume the existence of an approximate equilibrium, the supporters of the missile resolution consider the Soviet Union to be superior. Essentially, they follow the argumentation of the most aggressive imperialist circles, which have advanced unverifiable allegations concerning forced armament on the part of the Soviet Union.

Divergent Views of Social Democracy in and on the Peace Movement

As regards the views of socialist and social-democratic parties on the peace movement, one can discern three basic trends:

Firstly: There are parties (including their leaderships) that are actively committed to the peace movement, that participate or even help initiate actions. One of these parties is the British Labor Party, whose executive committee as early as the summer of 1980 resolved to support the activities of the "Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament." The Dutch Labor Party and the Belgian socialist parties likewise actively participate in the struggle against the imperialist armament escalation. These parties more or less combine their parliamentary work with extra-parliamentary activities.

Secondly: There are parties whose leaderships take a benevolent or tolerant view of their members' and functionaries' participation in the peace movement. This goes for the attitude of social-democratic parties of the Scandinavian countries vis-a-vis the actions of their youth organizations--actions aimed at establishing a nonnuclear zone in North Europe.

Thirdly: There are parties in which only a certain number of the members and functionaries are committed to the peace movement; since the activities of these members are also aimed at their own leaders and governmental representatives, one finds in these parties intensive debates on the policies concerning peace and armament. This goes above all for the SPD, in which the intra-party debate culminated in the discussions before and during the Munich Party Congress in April 1982.

Ideological Obstacles to Consistent Commitment in the Struggle for Peace

Social-reformist forces usually do not think that international tensions and conflicts are caused by imperialism's objective aggressiveness, i.e. an aggressiveness based on its socioeconomic structure. Rather, certain circles try--by regarding as identical the United States and the USSR as so-called superpowers--to gloss over this interconnection. It is precisely this "superpower" ideology that prevents many Social Democrats from recognizing the true culprits in regard to the arms race and the threat of war. Statements to this effect were included in the resolution of the Madrid Congress, in which resolution not only the United States, but also the USSR were alleged to want to make a limited nuclear war winnable.[20] Other comments likewise more or less ignore--in connection with this alleged identity of the two great powers--the many proposals submitted by the USSR in regard to prevention of a nuclear war.

Removed from the class struggles of our time, leading social-reformist circles base their alternatives concerning the present international situation on general ethical considerations based on the ideology of "democratic socialism." Proceeding from such political-ideological standpoints, leading social-democratic parties are pursuing a policy oriented toward "liberalization of communist states" and toward an alleged development toward "social democracy" in the capitalist countries.[21] This is to produce an impression of objectivity. But if in evaluating this policy one goes beyond the declarations and takes into account the concrete measures, it becomes obvious that now as ever leading social-democratic forces are bent on weakening--by means of detente--the strongest peace-oriented power, the community

of socialist states. Ultimately, this is bound to weaken and split the peace movement.

Aside from these ideological trends--trends that for many years have been prevalent in international social democracy--new tendencies have been emerging at the beginning of the 1980's. Within social democracy, there are growing the forces that seek the causes of the intensive armament policy in the social conditions prevailing in the imperialist countries and that consider the profit urge one of the key factors. Increasingly, Social Democrats regard intensive armament as a primary cause of the intensifying crises in state monopoly capitalism. Some of them draw attention to the close interrelationship between reactionary crisis management and increased aggression toward the outside. One encounters such insights above all in social-democratic youth organizations and trade union subgroups. As the crisis-related burdens are increasingly shifted onto the working people, these groups see more and more clearly an interconnection between intensive armament and social service cuts. In the future, this may become an even more effective source for maintaining the commitment of Social Democrats, above all those active in the trade unions.

Increased Influence on International Crisis Areas

In order to increase its influence in Africa and Latin America, the SI--and first and foremost its leading politicians--is trying to play "mediator" among the forces active in the various crisis areas of the world. These efforts likewise aim to effect a "compensation of interests" so as to halt further changes of the global distribution of forces in favor of socialism. It is obvious, however, that these plans are impaired by the foreign policy of U.S. imperialism.

In the conflict in the Near East, the SI leaders proceed from the Camp David Agreement, but they consider its framework too narrow to obtain a political solution. This goes above all for the problem of Palestine and for the role of the PLO. The SI leaders advocate "greater flexibility" in regard to these issues. Their efforts in the Near East, which in the last few years have been intensified, are aimed at effecting a "compensation of interests" between the Arabic states and Israel so as to insure for the long term the influence of imperialism (above all West European imperialism) in this area. The desire of some SI groups for a more flexible policy--a policy that if necessary would recognize the Palestinians' right to their own state and the role of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people--and the resistance against such a policy by other SI groups (above all by Israel's Workers Party) have led to contradictions and conflicts within the organization, which came to a head at the last congress in Madrid.[22]

Regarding the aggression-oriented policy of the racist regime in South Africa, the SI has issued critical statements; it is pressing for reform of the Apartheid system so as to maintain through concessions the positions of the global capitalist system in that country. The SI condemns South Africa's acts of aggression vis-a-vis Angola and other states and it supports the independence of Namibia, but it does not consider SWAPO the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

Aside from the political aspect, there is a significant ideological side to the various activities of the SI and its most important member parties in the crisis areas of the world and to its comments and declarations concerning detente and

disarmament. Leading social-democratic forces are trying to utilize it so as to give credibility to social democracy as a third force between socialism and capitalism. Social-democratic politicians and ideologists hope that in a world, "in which a polarization process"[23] is taking place between capitalism and communism, there will be an increased need for a third political force. And they are trying through attainment of positions in the developing countries to make more convincing the existence of such a third force. To be sure, these efforts are not very promising, since it has always been shown that the developing countries sooner or later have to choose between capitalism and control by multinational concerns on the one hand and socialist orientation and truly independent economic development on the other hand. For the time being, however, they may yield favorable results for social democracy.

Objective Causes of Contradictory Positions

Analysis of the SI's positions on preservation of peace and on the need for arms limitation and disarmament shows that while they differ in many respects from the most reactionary and aggressive elements of monopoly capitalism, they are in themselves very contradictory. There are considerable differences between the resolutions and declarations of the SI on the one hand and the concrete political actions of its leading circles on the other hand.

Essentially, the inconsistencies of the positions and actions are rooted in the nature of social democracy. More than ever, a large number of the social-democratic leaders are closely linked to the power mechanism of state monopoly capitalism. At the same time, they are forced to take into account the interests of the working masses. Thus social democracy occupies a "position between the monopoly capital-related trend toward political reaction and the democratic aspirations of the working people."[24]

As regards the problem of peace, the pressure on social democracy is growing from both sides. On the one hand, the most aggressive circles of monopoly capitalism are trying to force social-democratic politicians to give in to the policy of confrontation; on the other hand, there is the growing power of the peace movement, to which many members of social-democratic and socialist parties are committed. Due to their great influence on the working people of the capitalist countries, the parties of the SI--irrespective of whether or not they share governmental responsibility--bear great responsibility. To a large extent, it depends on their policies whether or not arms limitation and detente can be enforced and nuclear war prevented.

There are a number of objective and long-term factors that promote a realistic policy and thus help increase the peace potential of social democracy:[25]

--The social basis of social democracy undoubtedly is the most important source of the peace potential. The socialist and social-democratic parties exert a strong influence on the working class. Many members still adhere to the antimilitaristic traditions of the workers' movement. A considerable number of the members and functionaries of the social-democratic parties and of the trade unions influenced by them take part in social discussions and actions of the peace movement. The leading circles of social democracy must take this into consideration.

--Critical elements within the social-democratic and socialist parties of West Europe justly point out that in the last decade a constructive policy oriented toward peaceful coexistence, detente and peace greatly helped to increase their own influence and in the debate on internal affairs to keep in check conservative or reactionary forces.

The boundless rise in defense expenditures further restricts the governments' reduced sociopolitical latitude--which is needed by social reformism in particular. Irrespective of the stance of certain social-democratic politicians, this counteracts the specific influence of the social-democratic parties that share governmental responsibility. In the interest of consolidation of the peace-loving forces and of maintaining the influence over the masses, an increasing number of leading functionaries and representatives have proposed that the struggle for arms limitation and detente be linked with the struggle for the social interests of the working people.

--Social-democratic leaders consider the problems concerning detente and disarmament to offer especially good chances for setting themselves off against the conservative parties and for extending their own influence. Moreover, the growing readiness of all segments of the population to stand up against the threat of a devastating nuclear war directly influences the attitude of the social-democratic leaders.

All this indicates that in spite of the great inconsistencies in the last 2 years there has been an intensification of the social-democratic commitment to peace and to joint actions of all opponents of the renewed nuclear armament launched by U.S. imperialism. However, this is being opposed by the imperialist circles, who are stepping up the Cold War and the policy of confrontation and who through their anticommunist slogans are defaming the peace movement. In some instances, this may serve to weaken the peace movement. However, in view of the serious danger brought on by NATO, one can expect continuance of the commitment to peace on the part of the SI parties and their members and one can also expect further consolidation of the peace-loving forces against the policy pursued by the most aggressive circles of imperialism. This commitment is based on the growing realization--a realization again and again emphasized by the communists--that peace can be insured only through the determined struggle of large segments of the population against the armament policy of imperialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. "26th CPSU Congress. Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Next Tasks of the Party in Regard to Domestic and Foreign Policy. Speaker: L. I. Brezhnev," Berlin, 1981, p 26.

2. See "Imperialist Confrontation and Armament Policy Encounters Resistance," IPW-BERICHTE, No 8, 1981, p 4.

3. "Staatsmonopolistischer Kapitalismus und Opportunismus" [State Monopoly Capitalism and Opportunism], Berlin, 1979, p 173.

4. Regarding the policy pursued by the SI vis-a-vis the socialist countries in the 1950's, see "Sozialistische Internationale. Ihre Geschichte und Politik" [Socialist International. Its History and Policies], Berlin, 1977, Chapter 3.2.

5. Among others, the commission includes the CPSU Central Committee member Arbatov, the former U.S. Secretary of State Vance and the SPD politician Bahr.

6. SI resolution on disarmament adopted at its Paris buro conference on 25 September 1981 (photocopy).

7. Ibid.

8. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 3/4 Apr 82.

9. H. Jungblut, "The 15th Congress of the Socialist International," HORIZONT, No 1, 1981.

10. Quoted in: W. Schweizer, "Military Detente and Social Democracy," NEUE ZEIT, Moscow, No 44, 1981, p 19.

11. "Security Policy within the Framework of Peace Policy. Motion by the Party Executive Board in the Version Adopted by the SPD Congress (3 to 7 December 1979)," POLITIK. AKTUELLE INFORMATION DER SPD, No 15, 1979, p 2.

12. "The Resolution of the Congress of the Socialist International. Madrid, 13-16 November 1980," in: "Sozialistische Internationale: Die grosse Alternative" [Socialist International: The Great Alternative], Vienna, no date, p 25.

13. "Resolution on the Political Situation, Adopted at the 13th Congress of the Socialist International in Geneva, November 1976," EUROPA-ARCHIV, No 6, 1977, p D 147.

14. H. Jungblut, op. cit.

15. R. Seidelmann, "The Socialist International as Party Movement and Political Vanguard," EUROPA-ARCHIV, No 21, 1981, p 663.

16. According to NATO's Brussels Missile Resolution, the stationing of medium-range missiles is projected for Great Britain, but not for Denmark.

17. See UNSERE ZEIT, Duesseldorf, 28 Jan 82.

18. See K. Schacht, "NATO Missile Resolution and Bonn's Policy of Cuts--These Issues Polarize the Minds in the SPD," UNSERE ZEIT, 19 Nov 81.

19. Ibid.

20. "The Resolution of the Congress...," op. cit., p 16.

21. "Program of the Socialist Party of Austria. Adopted at the Vienna Party Congress on 20 May 1978," ARBEITERZEITUNG, Vienna, 25 May 78.

22. The conflicts revolve above all around the role of the PLO. The Spanish and the Italian Socialists opposed a majority resolution that no longer expressly mentioned the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

23. B. Kreisky, Speech at the SPD's 1979 Congress in West Berlin (photocopy).

24. "Social Reformism. Theories, Policies, Contradictions," IPW-FORSCHUNGSHEFTE, No 2, 1979, p 6.

25. See H. Dietzel, "Reformistische Arbeiterbewegung heute" [Reformist Workers Movement Today], Berlin, 1981, pp 95-100.

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IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN CHILD REARING TO BE STRESSED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 102, 8 Jul 82 p 4

/Report from Berlin: "Influence on Family Education to Be Intensified." A translation of the East Berlin PAEDAGOGIK article cited below follows this commentary/

/Text/ The East Berlin magazine PAEDAGOGIK (No 6, 1982) calls for greater influence on child rearing in the GDR. It justifies this demand by the family's great importance for the "shaping of the outlook" of children and young people regarding basic ideological issues. It is imperative to offer greater "pedagogical aid" in view of the family's role in the rearing of "good citizens." Some parents are said to be unduly strained, especially with respect to ideological education and their educational efforts not always successful. Conversely it would be necessary more emphatically to apply the experiences of successful parents in order to enrich the collected knowledge of pedagogy.

GDR Educator's Discussion

East Berlin PAEDAGOGIK in German Vol 37 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 20 May 82) pp 494-501

/Article by Prof Dr Rosemarie Walther, deputy director for research, F.A.W. Diesterweg Education Department, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "Family Education According to the Working Class"/

/Text/ On 5 July 1982 we will celebrate the 125th anniversary of Clara Zetkin's birth. She was a great revolutionary and internationalist, an outstanding leader in the German and international socialist women's movement.

Clara Zetkin's lifelong work is of the utmost topicality from several aspects: Her passionate fight for peace and socialism as the representative of the German left, her personal commitment to the young Soviet state and her friendship for the peoples of the Soviet Union, her leading role in the struggle for women's equality.

As the intimate comrade-at-arms of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin's entire life was devoted to the working class struggle for a new world. She fought the nefarious politics of imperialism with passion and courage.

V.I. Lenin held Clara Zetkin in high esteem as a passionate revolutionary. In 1927, on the occasion of Clara Zetkin's 70th birthday, N.K. Krupskaya wrote in the Russian magazine ARBEITERIN: "Anyone who has studied the works of Marx and Engels is aware that they did not consider the struggle for the socialization of production a political struggle only but held it also to be the organization of completely new relationships among people, the development of the human personality, the deepening of all human experiences. Clara Zetkin has devoted particular attention to that aspect of Marxism."[1] She combined this extensive political activity in the working class fight against war, exploitation and oppression with full-scale educational and pedagogical work.

Clara Zetkin's educational views arose from the goals of the working class and its educational demands in the dispute with the educational system of German imperialism. It is opposed to the chauvinist spirit of education in the schools and severely condemns the lack of education suffered by children in elementary schools, "the cinderella among the schools" in imperial Germany. In the era of the Weimar Republic also she campaigned for the comprehensive education of all children and the democratization of the school.

The close link between the political struggle and educational issues is one of the traditions of the workers movement. Appreciation of the parents individual responsibility is slowly maturing. It requires the conscious influence of the family, the close links between family life and the political struggle of the class, to recruit our children as future comrades-at-arms and equip them to withstand the nefarious and destructive influences of capitalism. Constantly emphasized is the responsibility of parents, especially party members, for the conscious and consistent education of children in the spirit of socialism. Assistance to family education becomes an important political assignment of the socialist movement. At the head of the socialist women's movement, Clara Zetkin and her women comrades combine their work for the recruitment of women for socialist politics with the educational tasks arising therefrom. The 1910 resolution "on the struggle for peace," for example, states:

"For just this purpose we must encourage the enlightenment of the female proletariat about the causes of war and its basis--the capitalist system--and about the aims of socialism...For just this purpose we must educate our children to be socialists and ensure that the fighting proletariat, this army of peace, grows every larger and more numerous."[2]

Building upon the theorems of the classics of Marxism and upon practical political work with women, she submitted reasoned statements on the value and the potential of family education for the family committed to the cause of the working class.[3] Her report to the Mannheim SPD Congress of 1906, in particular, must be considered basic to the development of socialist family pedagogy.[4] Moreover she touched upon problems of family education in many reports and brochures. While editing the women's magazine GLEICHHEIT /Equality/ (from 1892-1917), together with Kaete Duncker and Edwin Hoernle, she provided many suggestions and recommendations for everyday child rearing, in addition to fundamental contributions to family and social politics. Some of these were once again made accessible to the public, in particular by the efforts of G. Hohendorf.[5]

In view of the great importance we assign family education in our society, it seems appropriate to once again analyze Clara Zetkin's concepts on child rearing in order to trace their significance for modern ideas about the educational process in the family.

The Proletarian Family and Child Rearing

Clara Zetkin developed her opinions on child rearing as part and parcel of the theoretical concept and practical struggle of the proletariat in the fight against exploitation and oppression.

The development of large-scale industry in the 19th Century and the evolution of the proletariat caused a radical change in the lifestyle of the family. The migration from villages to cities altered the old family structures. The extreme exploitation inherent in the early stages of the capitalist system wreaked havoc with family life. Specially characteristic for the living conditions of workers were the double exploitation to which women were subjected, long working hours at low wages, miserable housing and the severe nature of child labor in the second half of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries.

In the "Communist Manifesto" Marx and Engels summed up the situation of the proletarian family: "Bourgois phrases about family and education, the cozy relationship between parents and children, are the more repulsive, the more--as a result of large-scale industry--all family ties in the proletariat are torn and the children turned into no more than commodities and laboring hands."[6]

The issue of the value of child rearing in such living conditions is often raised in the workers movement. In the dispute with the representatives of anticommunism, who allege that socialists wish to abolish the family, it is constantly stressed that the educational function of the family is virtually denied by the situation of the proletariat, by capitalist exploitation, the misery and lack of knowledge of the masses caused by social conditions. Clara Zetkin is not blind to such ideas either.[7] And yet, the working class' responsibility for the new generation and the contemplation of the basic changes in lifestyle after the proletarian revolution are the basis of the concept, stated by August Bebel as far back as 1878, that social education and family education will be at one in the socialist society, and that parents, themselves involved in the "organization of the educational system" will have more time to spare for educating their children.[8]

The necessity of the interrelation between public education and child rearing becomes a characteristic educational assumption by Clara Zetkin. "Parental education and public education do not follow one another, they complement one another. We cannot do without parental education in the home, so that the children may grow up to be strong personalities with full individuality. We need common education in public institutions so that the personality may not degenerate into narcissism, so that it may be linked with the community in fraternal sentiment and inclination, and fully appreciate what it owes to it."[9]

From this necessary interrelation she also concludes the duty of the proletariat, especially the mothers, to struggle for the fundamental reform of the educational system. An important prerequisite for family education in the worker family are

the results of the political struggles of the working class and the triumph of sociopolitical demands. "A good education at home presumes thorough social reform... The 8-hour day and extensive housing reform represent for me the core of a healthy social policy aimed to make the proletarian family able to rear its children."[10]

The development of the working class generates new relations within the family also. They differ fundamentally from relationships in the bourgeois family, because these are primarily based on economic considerations. From the fact of the involvement of women in the production process, the style of family life is necessarily changed. The equality of spouses begins when the woman exercises a profession and stands on her own two feet. "When...in the proletariat the woman is entirely or to some extent unable--as the result of her involvement in the army of full-time women workers--so to carry out her duties as the educator of the children as would be desirable with a view to the educational outcome, circumstances dictate..that, regardless of male or female stereotypes, the husband moves to her side to help out. We must welcome as an advance the very circumstance that need compels the husband to do so, and this advanced must be consciously pursued as planned. It is the start of man's beginning to assume his duties as the comrade of the woman in the responsible work of child rearing."[11]

Education to Socialist Feeling and Reflection

It is Zetkin's basic requirement that parents educate their children in the spirit of socialist ideology and morality. It is "the duty of socialist parents on the basis of their ideology gradually to introduce their children to socialist feeling and reflection."[12] The parents example, their way of allowing the children to participate in their experiences and their value judgments, patiently answer their questions--these are to inspire the children to think for themselves, to compare and adopt attitudes.

Clara Zetkin's son Maxim reports that she herself successfully used this method in her family to educate her two sons: "She did everything possible to bring us up as conscious socialist, ready and willing to struggle and sacrifice. However, she did not do this by crude 'agitation at home' but by allowing us to get involved in her own life, her work in and for the party and the political life of our entire environment--of course in the matter and to the extent appropriate to our respective ages. She drew our attention to the many dark aspects of life in a class society, for example, which we might not have noticed by ourselves nor have been able to defend ourselves against its pernicious influences. Most of all she constantly pointed out to us the more profound causes of the sickening conditions prevailing at the time."[13]

She assigned particular value to training children to observe the world in nature and society, so as to direct their attention to the connections and the natural course of the processes involved. Clara Zetkins lists three educational tasks crucial in the family for the development of the personality:

-- Training of the proper will,
-- Training in the use of freedom,
-- The fundamental shaping of the will and the intellect by the very first training of the child.

By "training the proper will" she means teaching action appropriate to the spirit of the working class. Her explanations on training in the use of freedom ask us to respect in the child the growing individual, the citizen of the community; she condemns a relationship of rigid authority between parents and children. She calls upon the parents to guide and persuade rather than compel their children. She considers an essential method of education their training in the exercise of free decisionmaking, in the appreciation of that which is useful, necessary and ethical.

Clara Zetkin included among the methods indispensable for family education the aid of literature and art. She tried to provide substantial children's literature by adding a children's supplement to GLEICHHEIT. At the same time, though, she always linked her demand for pedagogically valuable literature with the proviso that the child should, by way of literature, live with the ideals of the working class and get to know man as the hero who organizes and struggles with his comrades.

Clara Zetkin also attributes great importance to the training for work so as to establish a proper attitude to society. She was among the outstanding accusers of child labor. At the same time she describes training in productive work as the most important feature of domestic education. "The greatest joy of children arises from the feeling, in free and creative activity, to have done something useful and valuable, though to an adult their efforts may appear wrong or superfluous."[14]

Socialist esteem for work and pleasure in work are to be taught in the family by the joint labors of parents and children. She considers example and encouragement the most appropriate methods. She sees particularly great opportunities in domestic training for the equality of education of boys and girls. "Boys and girls should be able skillfully and happily to handle all work involved in housekeeping."[15]

Training in socialist feeling and thought requires the family also to devote the greatest possible attention to the tasks of patriotic and internationalist education. In the fight against chauvinism and militarism, for the resolution of the social issues, the working class develops its own concept of patriotism, linking the struggle for a socialist fatherland indivisibly with proletarian internationalism. In her antiwar speech of 1912 in Basle, Clara Zetkin describes the consciousness of international solidarity as the precious heritage of culture and human development to be passed on from mothers to children.

In the years before the October Revolution, Clara Zetkin's main thoughts on the education for internationalism and patriotism are directed to the struggle against the imperialist war. She enthusiastically welcomes the October Revolution as providing a new dimension to the concept of internationalism. The young Soviet Union is the fatherland of the workers. Her fondest wish is to make women and mothers appreciate the historic dimensions of the developments in the Soviet Union and, subsequently, train the young generation in friendship to the Soviet Union. Such papers as "The Importance of the Building Soviet Union for the German Working Class," "In Liberated Caucasus" breathe this spirit. All the experiences she herself described, the memories of talks with Lenin and analyses of developments in the Soviet Union convey to us to this day her powers of persuasion and her love for the Soviet State.[16]

Clara Zetkin's Wishes Carried Out in the GDR

Present-day family education in the GDR proceeds in conditions resulting from the long and hard striggles of the working class.

Our families develop on the basis of the peace policy of our state, of social security and the equality of all citizens, a high standard of education and culture. The discussion about the development of child rearing in the GDR demonstrates that the new lifestyle of the family, arising from the development of the socialist society, offer ample opportunities for the satisfactory education of children.[17]

Social policy is one of the principal prerequisites; Clara Zetkin listed it as the foundation of good child rearing. The sociopolitical program has greatly eased life, especially for women and their families. Since 1971 housing conditions have improved for more than 4.8 million citizens. The 40-hour week is in effect for some 600,000 mothers of 2 or more children, and such mothers are granted vacations extended by at least 205 days. Since 1975 more tyan 371,000 women have claimed the paid "baby year" after the birth of their second or subsequent child. Society's concern for mother and child is variously expressed, not least by the extended system of child care facilities now looking after 60 percent of children of creche age and all preschoolers. Realized for the preschoolers thereby also is the principle of linking child rearing in the family with social education.[18]

The full involvement of women in professional and social life implies a new quality of the development of the family and family education. The Tenth SED Congress confirmed to all women and girls that they "daily prove anew the great social value of their equality at work, in the family, the education and care of children." Many social efforts aim "to enable the woman as an equal member of the socialist society to cope with her obligations on the job and as a mother."[19]

At the 11th DFD /Democratic Women's League of Germany/ Congress, many women talked of their experiences, told us how they handle the combination of professional, social and family obligations. They are able fully to develop their abilities when community of interests and solidarity determine the lives of the partners and the extended sector of the family. Our children have the same experience. Whether such an experience is truly valuable for them, that is an important concern of family education. The report to the congress states: "We now see growing up the first generation of children whose mothers have full equality. The children observe that father and mother go to work, are socially active and not concerned only with the welfare of the family. All of this is bound to have a beneficial effect on the children, but it is incumbent on us to make them aware of it."[20]

New relationships have evolved in the family, and this is reflected in the SED Program. The partnership relations on the basis of equality, love and respect, and their joint responsibility for bringing up their children to be healthy and vital people and socialist personalities are an element of the developing socialist lifestyle. Mothers and fathers hold the same responsibility for child rearing. Without wishing to diminish the role of the mother, more attention needs to be devoted to the father's involvement in actual child rearing. Not only in the interest of easing the burden on women but most of all in the interest of the children. Here we may again recall Clara Zetkin who wished to see the intellectual and ethical strength of both father and mother to be used for the well-being of the child. "Education should not be up to the mother only but be...the achievement of both parents."[21]

It is the nature of our socialist educational system that child rearing in the family means providing a proper scientific education for all children of the people and bringing them up to be socialist personalities, for the parents to have partners in

first the nursery schools and later the elementary and secondary schools, who train their children in a spirit fully responding to their own interests.

Zetkin repeatedly emphasizes the basic working class concept--that school and family must complement one another. This can now be fully realized within the scope of communist education. The parents involvement in the work of the schools by way of the democratic parent representations has become a firm element of socialist democracy. On the other hand this enhances the duty constantly to devote attention to the textual issues of family education. That applies in particular to the family's share in seeing that children and young people understand "why it is necessary to take up their places at the side of social progress, the side of the working class."[22]

The knowledge gained in recent decades about child rearing in the socialist society tells us that the influence on the development of our children's attitude to the basic issues of our age is most important.[23] In addition to the social differentiation of families, pointed out by Artur Meier with great emphasis,[24] the stage of development of the parents consciousness varies and affects the education of children with regard to their attitudes to the values of our society. We may assume that the majority of parents consider the educational goals of the socialist society their own and endeavor to rear their children as vital and capable citizens of our country. The hard work and commitment of parents to their jobs, their organization in society are nowadays just as much part of the educationally effective conditions of our lifestyle as are familiarity with culture and education, the organization of leisure.

Zetkin already maintained that, in addition to a pro-family social policy and the development of new family relations, parents must consciously organize education in the family. Precisely in view of the family's share in the education of a good citizen, a morally sound individual of strong character, we must ask ourselves whether enough pedagogical assistance is in fact given the family in these tasks. Here we must keep in mind that education in the family is part of the totality of family life. It proceeds in connection with the organization of everyday life, the experience of festive occasions and also days of anxiety in family life. The many social relations entered upon by the family members among themselves and with persons and collectives outside the family are not only givens of education. They are also models of standards and behavior.

It is the real objective of family education consciously to organize and use these givens in the interest of developing the children's personalities, allowing the children themselves to collaborate actively and meaningly, and assigning them responsibilities for the collective of the family. Parents often have problems and seek counsel as to how to challenge their children in daily life and induce them to fulfill their daily duties, by doing their school work just as by carrying out the chores assigned them in the family, how in the family to encourage the evolution of attitudes to social issues by the means of mass communication, conversations and art, and how to teach the child to measure its attitude to the challenges of our age. It will, therefore, be necessary also to reflect why the respective efforts by schools and parents are not always successful.

The experience and knowledge of parents who are consciously endeavoring to educate their children as young socialists must be utilized much more for enriching the experiences of pedagogy. They must be included in the development of the theory of

the communist education of the new generation, a theory to which Clara Zetkin has provided an important contribution.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cited from Fritz Staude's introduction to "Clara Zetkin: Bilder und Dokumente" /Clara Zetkin: Pictures and Documents/, Verlag fuer die Frau, Leipzig 1982, p 1.

2. Clara Zetkin: "Ausgewaehlte Reden und Schriften in 3 Baenden" /Selected Speeches and Papers in Three Volumes/, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1957-1960, Vol 1, p 481.

3. See Rosemarie Walther: "Clara Zetkin zur Proletarischen Familienerziehung" /Clara Zetkin on Proletarian Child Rearing/, Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, Berlin 1959.

4. See Clara Zetkin: "Ueber Jugenderziehung" /On the Education of Youth/, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1957, pp 47-90.

5. See Gerd Hohendorf: "Revolutionaere Schulpolitik und Marxistische Paedagogik im Lebenswerk Clara Zetkins" /Revolutionary Educational Policy and Marxist Pedagogy in Clara Zetkin's Life's Work/, Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, Berlin 1962; Clara Zetkin; Kaete Duncker; I. Borchardt: "Die Erziehung der Kinder in der Proletarischen Familie. Ausgewaehlt, Eingeleitet und Erlaeutert von G. Hohendorf" /The Education of Children in the Proletarian Family. Selected, Introduced and Commented by G. Hohendorf/, Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, Berlin 1960.

6. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels: Collected Works, Vol 4, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1977, p 478.

7. See Gerd Hohendorf, as before, p 56.

8. See August Bebel: "Die Frau und der Sozialismus" /Women and Socialism/, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1950, p 557.

9. Clara Zetkin: "On the Education of Youth," as before, p 44.

10. Ibid, p 80.

11. Ibid, p 57.

12. Ibid, p 66.

13. Maxim Zetkin: "Clara Zetkin as Home Educator," "Jahrbuch fuer Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte" /Education and School History Annual/, Vol 3, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1963, p 238.

14. Clara Zetkin: "On the Education of Youth," as before, p 68.

15. Ibid, p 69.

16. See Clara Zetkin: "Selected Speeches...," as before, Vol 3.

17. See "Discussion on the Higher Standard of the Communist Education of School Children with Contributions on Family Education by R. Froehlich, M. Mitzenheim, E. Scharnhorst, H. Streich and R. Walther," PAEDAGOGIK, No 9/1981, pp 718 ff.

18. See Ilse Thiele: "League Executive Report to the 11th DFD Congress Berlin 1982," BULLETIN 1, pp 7f.

19. Erich Honecker: "Bericht des Zentralkomitees an den X. Parteitag der SED" /Central Committee Report to the Tenth SED Congress/, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1981, p 121.

20. Ilse Thiele: "Leage Executive Report...," as before, p 19.

21. Clara Zetkin: "On the Education of Youth,".as before, p 69.

22. Kurt Hager: "The Socialist School in the Struggles of Our Age," BERLINER ZEITUNG, 12 May 1982, p 3.

23. See Alla M. Nisowa/Erna Scharnhorst/Rosemarie Walther: "Zur Politischen und Moralischen Erziehung in der Familie" /On the Political and Ethical Education in the Family/, Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, Berlin 1979.

24. See Artur Meier: "Lebensbedingungen und Lebensweise von Schuljugendlichen" /Living Conditions and Lifestyle of School Children/, Vol III, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, 1980, p 319.

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U.S. FOREIGN POLICY CONSERVATISM DISCUSSED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARÓDOWE in Polish No 10, Oct 81 (signed to press Mar 82) pp 23-36

[Article by Longin Pastusiak, professor at the Institute for Research on Contemporary Problems of Capitalism]

[Text] Platform of President Reagan

Ronald Reagan gained the opinion as the first president of the United States, in a half century, to implement the program proclaimed in the election campaign. The last president to fulfill his campaign promises was Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Earlier and later, American election practices have revealed that there exists a rather loose relationship between the campaign program of the victorious candidate for president, and the fulfillment of his domestic and foreign policies after taking office.

Consequently, not only American but foreign commentators, generally have not attached much significance to the views expressed by presidential candidates during the election campaign, maintaining that the actual policies will not be determined until after the elections. In the meantime Ronald Reagan, during the initial months of his presidency, began to implement with great consistency his pre-election views regarding domestic, as well as foreign policies. For example, in the domestic sphere, he criticized the stagnation of the American economy, and proposed a conservative program to resolve the domestic problems of the U.S., which included among other things: a reduction in government control of the economy, and in general, of the domestic life of the country; limitation on budget spending, especially for social purposes; observance of the principle of a federally-balanced budget, as well as greater control over the money supply. Reagan, furthermore, demanded that the value of the dollar be stabilized. The government--in Reagan's opinion--should create incentives for business in the direction of developing the production of energy in the U.S. to solve the energy crisis. Reagan also favored a significant reduction in taxes for private individuals, as well as corporations; as a means of stimulating the American economy.

During the course of several months of his administration, Reagan in fulfilling these campaign promises, lowered taxes; reduced expenditures for social purposes; reduced government personnel; limited government interference,

especially in economic matters; improved the position of the dollar in the international monetary system. This is relatively much for being in office only 8 months. At least to date, the campaign promise that his administration would concentrate, above all, on the settling of domestic issues in the United States, has been confirmed.

In the field of foreign policy, however, R. Reagan presented a program filled with generalities and demagogy. For example, he charged the incumbent president, Jimmy Carter, of permitting the USSR to gain superiority over the United States in every aspect of defense; and by his campaign on the issue of human rights, of alienating "traditional allies and friends" of the U.S. He described the foreign policy of the Carter administration as a policy of "appeasement and futility."[1] "An effective U.S. foreign policy could serve to restore--according to Reagan--faith in the 'future of America'; in the free-market economy and in the ability to maintain world peace and assure our national security."

Reagan insisted on the intensification of the conveyance abroad of American propaganda by, among others, The Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Liberty. He accused Carter of "neglecting" the U.S. arms expansion potential. He supported the production of the B-1 strategic bomber, the "Trident" submarines, neutron weapons, MX missiles, as well as Cruise missiles. He demanded a larger increase in arms expenditures; he opposed ratification of SALT II Treaty, and insisted on the commitment of more resources to armaments by U.S. allies. "We must maintain a superior naval force, and this requires the construction of new ships and technological development which will make it possible for the United States to dominate the seas over the next several decades."[2]

Reagan declared himself in favor of closer cooperation between the three nations situated on the North American continent: the United States, Canada and Mexico. Hence, it is not accidental that he made his first visits abroad to exactly these countries following his victorious election. In his election campaign, he supported maintenance and development of contacts with China, as well as with Taiwan.

He also opposed all attempts to bring pressure on Israel, designated by him as "a strategic ponderable bargaining chip, which with its highly trained army stands as a powerful deterrent to Soviet expansion in this troubled region of the world."[3] He was criticial of Carter for deserting the Shah of Iran when the Shah "found himself in a difficult situation." In addition, he charged Carter with the failure to assume the role as leader of the capitalist world. "We have not striven to accept the leadership of the free world, but no one besides us is in a position to provide it. Without our leadership there can be no world peace."[4] This opinion represents its type of attempt at demagogy in Reagan's program of nationalism. It is no wonder then, that his opponents accused Reagan of lacking experience in foreign policy, and in the U.S. it was stated that his program is dangerous and could rapidly involve the United States in a local or even global war.[5]

Circumstances Surrounding the Ascent to Power

The results of the presidential election were acknowledged as a definite termination of the post-Vietnam era in the U.S., especially the U.S. foreign policy; as an end to holding the Republicans responsible for the scandals and affairs of the Nixon era, and above all the Watergate affair; as clear evidence of a shift in social attitudes in the direction of conservatism; as an indication of increased national pride and greater willingness in the firm defense of American interests in the world.

What were the reasons for the spectacular success of Reagan's campaign and his party? The reasons are many and they should be treated jointly and not arbitrarily. The following are the most significant:

--the reaction of the American public to the crisis and unfavorable trends which were inflicted upon the United States in the decade of the 1970's (the defeat in Vietnam, the Watergate affair and other scandals, the recession, inflation; the weakening of American leadership in the capitalistic world, the inability to win the strategic race with the USSR, and the like);

--the relative weakening of the U.S. position in influencing international [affairs] as well as in the influencing of the capitalistic world. (Reaction from the right wing: to regain status through intensive armament);

--the consolidation in the U.S. of the phenomenon called the "new nationalism" or the "new patriotism," the growth of national pride and the demand for a more aggressive defense of American interests in selected regions of the world;

--an increase of social conviction and feeling that the United States is heading for the worse. The collapse of the traditional social optimism. A dominant conviction that the past was better than the present, and that the present is better than the future. This supplied the background for the program's support which postulated "solid conservative renovation";

--the crisis in the liberal body politic and the liberal doctrines, which, as became evident, are not in a position to solve the problems tormenting the American public. The American version of the concept of the "state of well-being" or the "welfare state," disillusioned those who awaited such aid and those who were opposed to it. The more affluent strata regarded the social welfare program as a waste of resources and a source of inflation;

--Carter's political fiascos on many fronts. The weakness of the Carter administration was Reagan's bargaining chip. The failure of the Carter administration to fulfill many campaign promises, the irresolution and inconsistencies in the policies he conducted discouraged significant segments of the electorate.

The circumstances which were conducive to Reagan's ascent to power are to a certain degree the determinants of the foreign policy of the Reagan administration.

The forces which elevated Reagan to power, the circles with which he is most closely affiliated, are not the ones whose interests lie, above all, beyond the U.S. borders. This does not imply that Reagan and his associates underestimate the need for strengthening United States positions abroad. However, they realize that the United States can increase the intensity of its internal influence on allies and adversaries; can regain prestige and political leadership in the Western world, only then, when it settles its internal issues. In the opinion of Reagan's team a healthy economy, a strong dollar, a stable social state of affairs in conjunction with an adequate military force provide the United States with a bargaining chip in the international arena of operations and enhance the prestige of the country and respect for America. In addition a decisive leadership is necessary, a "leadership" which Reagan feels is represented by his own person as contrasted with the wavering and indecisive performance of his predecessor. Hence, the tough language and rhetoric in the statements of Reagan and his team.

For this reason, during the initial months of activity of the Reagan administration, foreign issues were decidedly relegated to second place. Already on his Inauguration Day, January 20, 1981, in his inaugural address, the 40th President of the United States dedicated two-thirds of his text to domestic issues. He at that time affirmed and announced the continuation of his conservative program. On foreign issues he confined himself to generalities such as, "peace is the greatest aspiration of the American people," adding, "we shall strive for this goal, provide dedication..., but we shall not yield, now or ever." He warned the world not to interpret American "moderation" as an indication of weakness. He also called for intensive armaments.

Conservatism in Foreign Policy

Conservative attitudes dominate the United States. It is believed that conservative thought will dominate domestic, as well as foreign policy in the near future. The question should be raised as to what influence this contemporary American conservatism will have on foreign and military policy. The answer to this question is, however, not an easy one because the contemporary American conservatism is not a consistent phenomenon. Various conservative groups hold fixed opinions on domestic issues, and hence on the social and economic policies, and the role of the mechanics of government, but their positions vary significantly on foreign matters. American conservatism thrives principally on domestic issues and manifests itself most clearly at local and state levels; more weakly at the national, and most weakly at the international levels.

One of the leading theorists on contemporary American conservatism, Irving Kristol, of the American Enterprise Institute, when questioned as to why the conservatives, in spite of the immense resources at their disposal, as well as the intellectual potential which they have gathered unto themselves, were not in a position to date to present a compact, concrete and comprehensive policy on foreign issues, replied as follows:

"Frankly speaking, the preparation of a new and compact foreign policy is not an easy matter. It is not difficult to express anti-communistic and

"anti-soviet attitudes, but it is not easy to answer the question as to what we should do when the Russians invade Poland, or what are we doing in Salvador or the Near East.

"We must begin to create that which we never had in this country: an intellectual concept of foreign policy. The conservative concept of foreign policy during prior decades has constantly changed courses, from isolationism to the 'containment of communism,' to the limited escapade of John Foster Dulles called emancipation; subsequently to the return of containment, quasi-isolationism, detente and eventually anti-detente.

"The truth is this: the liberal concept of foreign policy is crumbling and the conservatives have not devised anything. However, the republicans as a whole have never attached great significance to foreign policy.

"Many people can make a large contribution in the development of conservatism in foreign policy. We hear more and more frequently about groups of young people, analysts of foreign policy, who have made their appearance during the course of the past 10 years. Many of them presently have a seat in the National Security Council and in the Department of State, although it is unfortunate that they sit there. Being on the outside they could most likely exercise greater influence on the development of conservative ideas in foreign policy through publications and propagation of ideas."[6]

After all, it is not by chance, that the traditional and most influential brain trusts; the research centers in the sphere of international relations, such as the Council of Foreign Relations, Brookings Institution or even the numerous university centers maintained the opinion of the liberals and possibly the moderates in the full American sense of the word. The conservative "brain trusts" in the sphere of foreign policy have only recently exercised influence on the decision centers in Washington, D.C.

The most important conservative research centers closely related to the Reagan administration, and specializing in foreign matters consist of the following:

1. The Hoover Institution in California. Ronald Reagan is an honorary member of this institute. Twenty-five scholars from this center were represented on Reagan's campaign staff, and several of them occupy influential posts in his administration.

2. The American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C. It is a large, outstanding research center, which is only partially occupied with foreign i-sues. It publishes numerous books, periodicals; organizes conferences and seminars. Its budget amounts to 10 million dollars annually.

3. The Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University was established in 1971. Among others, Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski and many conservative policy experts work here. Its specialty is the study of long-range political strategy.

4. The American Security Council, located in Culpepper, Virginia, is the principal organizer in the U.S. of the renowned campaign, "Peace Through Strength." Among others conducting seminars at this center was Alexander Haig.

5. The Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis in Cambridge, Massachusetts, with a branch office in Washington, D.C., not only specializes in foreign affairs, but also the study of United States military policy concepts. The weekly U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT disclosed that the ideas studied by this center relative to manned bombers and the Rapid Deployment Force are closely read in the White House and Pentagon.[7]

Eugene Rostow maintains that "foreign policy does not create divisions between liberals and conservatives. There is no such term as a liberal or conservative foreign policy." In a certain sense Rostow is justified, if his reference is to the past. U.S. foreign policy was not traditionally the fundamental subject of controversy between the liberals and the conservatives. The American liberals were not less anti-communist than the conservatives. And even if the conservatives differ little from the liberals in this case, the conservative concept of foreign policy is gradually beginning to crystalize with increasing distinctness.

The American conservatives agree that detente should not be the main determinant governing the attitude of the United States toward its chief adversary, namely, as viewed through the eyes of the advocates of conservative philosophy, the Soviet Union. However, they maintain that the alternative to detente is not cold war, nor confrontation with the USSR, nor nuclear war; but rather the development of the military might of the United States and its allies, and the firm defense of the system of values of the capitalistic world, in view of the increasing, as is claimed, abuse on the part of the Soviet Union. The conservatives do not deny that there are areas for Soviet-American cooperation and a similarity of interests on the part of both powers. They claim, however, that these do not represent any basis for building confidence in the Soviet Union or the communist system as a whole. They reject the view, strongly publicized during the period of detente, that by involving the Socialist countries, including the Soviet Union in a network of various treaties and agreements including economic, political, cultural and scientific cooperation, it would lead to the liberalization of the USSR and the socialist system as a whole. They emphasize that actually during the period of detente, the dissident movement in the USSR was broken and subjected to control. Moreover, they likewise reject the argument that East-West trade leads to the growth of economic and political interdependence of the Soviet Union on the West. If such interdependence took place then, the West rather became more dependent than the East--so states the conservative mentality.

The conservatives maintain that the West paid for detente with a weakening in its military potential; with an alleged renouncement of its most precious capitalistic values; as well as with a disintegration of Atlantic Alliance integrality and other allied agreements. They also advance the argument, although it is not clearly formulated, that detente hinders the exercise of

iron control by Washington over its allies. Detente blunted the sharp criticism of communism, at a time when the Soviet Union was increasing its ideological offensive against the West. Expansionism is one of the principal accusations advanced by the conservatives against the USSR. Of importance here is the deepening distrust of the Soviet Union; the hostile attitude toward Soviet foreign policy of not only American but of international opinion as well.

"The Soviet Union creates something more than just a military threat which can be challenged by the traditional policy of the balance of power. The threat is not ideological in the sense that the Soviet Union continuously strives to expand its power through the aid of all possible political resources; by penetrating massive organizations, such as political parties, trade unions, organizations comprised of writers, artists, journalists, sportsmen and many others, which can be exploited for propaganda or political purposes. The ideological struggle waged by Moscow is not the struggle of abstract ideas, but is a challenge to the entire democratic civilization."[9]

One frequently encounters the charge, advanced by the American liberals, that the American conservatism of today is not sufficiently anti-communist and underestimates the ideological threat from the direction of the Soviet Union. This view was argued among others by Paul Weyrich, the chief proponent of the new American right-wing, who charged that the liberals, in attempting to outperform the conservatives as anti-communists are thereby appealing to the current conservative mood of the American public.[10]

The conservatives, and particularly the Christian element, is unscrupulous in its violent verbal attacks on the USSR, communism and socialism. Gary Jarmin, an activist in a conservative organization called Christian Voice, and who considers himself to be a "professional conservative," says: "In our opinion the world is divided into two camps: God and Satan. It is not a struggle between Keynes and Friedman; between liberals and conservatives, but a struggle between good and evil." He classifies his outlook on communist matters clearly and directly: "No compromise. The only moral foreign policy which the United States can follow is a policy which advocates the total destruction of communism and the liberation of all under its domination. The goal of our policy should be the liberation of Poland.... In 1956 we should have, in my opinion, liberated that country, and by so doing started a chain reaction in Eastern Europe. I am convinced that we likewise missed a great opportunity in Korea."[11]

Conservatism is distrusting and suspicious with reference not only to disarmament, but likewise to any agreements whatsoever in the area of arms control. During the period of detente--it is stated--no significant agreement was reached on arms control; instead confusion reigned in the minds of Americans; prejudicing them against arms expenditures, and "undermining" public opinion on these events. At the same time the Soviety Union--the conservatives claim--was arming itself intensively, and beyond need.

Contemporary conservatives--as compared with conservatives of more than a quarter century ago--are beginning to draw differences between the different

communisms. It is not by chance that they concentrate their attention chiefly on the Soviet Union. In the meantime, less is said about the other socialistic countries. Their objective is the broadening of the deviations among the socialistic countries and the support of that foreign policy which exploits and broadens these deviations. This above all refers to the policy towards China and the Soviet-China deviations; the policy towards socialist European countries; the hostile attitude towards other socialist countries, such as Cuba, Vietnam, Kampuchea, etc. The present-day conservatives favor a discriminatory approach toward the socialist countries. In the sense that they grant themselves certain limits of support regarding those Socialist countries which Washington is prepared to support for practical purposes (for example China). It can be said that contemporary conservatives bear the traits of strong anti-sovietism.

The conservatives are highly distrustful of the Peoples Republic of China (PRC). They are opposed to strengthening China, but at the same time wish to take advantage of the anti-Soviet attitude of China to weaken the Soviet Union. In connection with this, they advocate the development of relations with Taiwan and oppose an American-Chinese alliance; while in the meantime they campaign for the creation of certain incentives (for example a supply of certain types of arms) to exploit Chinese anti-USSR position.

The attitude of American conservatism towards the "third world" is one of great suspicion. Quite frequently the conservatives made references to the possibility of transforming the developing countries into capitalistic structured nations, which will hopefully copy capitalistic solutions to their economy and social policies. The conservatives are concerned about the existing socio-political discrimination in the "third world" from the standpoint that it is impossible to reverse progressive changes in the non-capitalistic solutions adopted by many of these countries. For this reason they demand a limit on the supply of economic aid, which in their estimation, brings the United States only economic losses and represents political "waste."

That the conservatives are not political idealists is evidenced by their attitude toward human rights, and the role of human rights as an instrument of United States foreign policy. Many conservatives attach greater significance to the loyalty and dependence on the United States of certain countries than to the system of values, or respect for rights and liberties even in the American sense of the word. The conservatives charged that Carter's attitude toward human rights was overly idealistic and led to a deterioration of the United States' relations with friendly and loyal countries, such as the Latin-American dictatorships, the Republic of South Africa (SAR), South Korea and Iran during the Shah's reign, etc. Herein lies the whole hypocrisy of the conservatives, who more highly regard the faithfulness and loyalty of the dictatorial regimes, than the exertion of influence to bring about freedom and liberty, which the conservatives eagerly perorate.

American conservatism often identifies with nationalism and often even borders on chauvenism. This was especially evident during the struggle for the ratification of the Panama Canal treaty signed by President Carter. This treaty, which in perspective increased the role of Panama in the management zone of

the canal was bitterly contested by the conservative organizations and regarded by them as an obvious sell-out of interests and American possessions.

Conservatism in Military Policy

The conservatives differ with the establishment, that a negotiated understanding regarding arms control cannot under any circumstance constitute a substitute for the building of a strong military potential and an expanded comprehensive military strategy. They regard it as naivite, the belief that disarmament agreements or arms control agreements can regulate relations between two opposing and antagonistic powers. During the period of detente, it was observed that one of the fruits in the improvement of political relations between the United States and the USSR would be a series of understandings in the area of arms control. But it did not happen that way. Instead a series of events unfavorable to the interests of America followed, which, according to the conservatives, concealed the direct inspiration of the USSR and the socialist countries. Incidental to these events, the conservatives most frequently mention the war in the Near East of October 1973; the victory of the uprising for national liberation in Angola in 1975; and the invasion of Afghanistan by the soviet army in December of 1979. The issue of Afghanistan is presented by the conservatives as the reason for the non-ratification of the SALT II treaty limiting strategic arms by the American Administration and the Senate of the United States. This does not coincide with the facts. Conservatism strengthened its position in the United States for several years due to the invasion of Afghanistan by the soviet army. An attack by the conservative forces on the foreign policy of the United States Government immediately followed the signing of the CSCE Final Act in 1975 in Helsinki. The Carter administration for no greater reason delayed negotiations on SALT II, and when finally it decided to sign the treaty in June of 1979, the conservative opposition was already so consolidated that Carter failed to obtain 67 votes in the Senate necessary to ratify the treaty. A refusal to ratify would, however, make the United States in the eyes of the world responsible for the arms race, and this the American establishment wished to avoid. Carter, hence, used Afghanistan as a pretext for removing the SALT II treaty from the Senate daily agenda to the satisfaction of the American conservatives. In the following session of the Senate, which began its work in 1981, the opponents of the treaty strengthened their position even more so.

The conservatives presently attack many of the concepts which dominated American military minds and the U.S. military doctrine since the 1960's. American nuclear doctrine for many years is supported by the theory of deterrence, frequently referred to as "mutual assured destruction." In conformity with this concept, the stability of Soviet-American strategic nuclear balance requires that both powers be assured of the ability to destroy the opponent even if it is attacked first. The possession of certain and safe capabilities for a second strategic nuclear strike, is linked to the possession of considerable no-warning nuclear power, in the event of a surprise enemy attack; as well as the lack of such defense systems by the opposite side which

could prevent the penetration of its air space by the retaliatory force of the country suffering the surprise attack.

To date, the U.S. has announced that in these matters there exists a reciprocal and mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The conservatives attacked these concepts which in fact signify definite arms stabilization and began to seek means of convincing public opinion of the need to support a program of intensive arms development. In this respect, the conservative interest provided a veneer for the interests of the American military-industrial complex. The year 1975 marked the beginning of a long, preparatory propaganda campaign meant to last several years. Its principal goal was to increase distrust in the Soviet Union and to level the opposition of American public opinion to the increase in arms expenditures. Up to 1978, the majority of Americans still opposed an increase in the Pentagon budget. A propaganda campaign was well financed and organized. It was announced that the Soviet Union allegedly arms itself beyond need, allocating huge sums for the defense of the country against a surprise nuclear attack. The United States--it was held--does nothing in this area and in this situation will not be capable of a second strategic strike; the entire American concept of "deterrence" therefore, loses value.

The conservatives stressed that the USSR systematically modernizes its strategic capabilities, rendering them precise and effective; that it develops efficient defense systems around its cities, thus making impossible the launching of a retaliatory nuclear attack by the United States on Soviet urban centers from submarines.

The conservative brain trusts in the U.S. hence evermore forcefully, began to undermine the fundamental principles of the American strategic concept. Yet it is necessary to wait for the final effect of this revalorization of the American strategy. Certain tendencies have, however, already appeared. The first step involves the greater immunization of American strategic capabilities against destruction by the enemy by constructing, among other things, a system of MX mobile missiles on land, on sea or in the air. This is an unusually expensive program that could consume even more than 50 billion dollars. There is mention of an increase in the number of "Minuteman" intercontinental missiles, in order to increase the number of destroyable targets on enemy territory. The conservatives advocate a country-wide program of mass civil defense, modernization of air defense, as well as the construction of many anti-missle systems; formerly waived in accordance with the Soviet-American agreement, around key cities and strategic U.S. centers.

Presently divergent opinions regarding ultimate objectives prevail among the conservatives. Many of them voice the opinion that the United States should strive to gain strategic superiority over the Soviet Union, and makes no secret of all of this highly dangerous view. Others urge the attainment of strategic "parity" with the USSR, and a change for the better in the strategic position of the U.S. in its relations with the Soviet Union. Many conservatives are of the opinion that the achievement of strategic superiority over the USSR is not only possible, but simply desirable. Some claim that

this is desirable; yet others claim that it is desirable but too costly, even for the United States.

In the United States, and in particularly in conservative circles, the conviction that armaments are a greater burden on the economy of the socialist countries than on the capitalistic, is gaining in strength. In conjunction with this, the socialist nations should be drawn into an intensive arms race; thereby weakening the economic and political systems of those nations. Upon being compelled to assign larger resources to armaments, the governments of the socialist nations will be in no position to carry out economic and social programs, and this will create social tension in those countries and lead to the weakening if not the collapse of the socialist system. This reasoning appeared in the United States some time ago, but it was never so close to the ruling circles in Washington, D.C., as at present. Intense armaments, coinciding with such reasoning, represent a desired goal not only from a purely military point of view, but also from the point of view of higher political justification.

A dangerous phenomenon in the reasoning of the conservatives, is likewise the promotion of opinions regarding the possibility of initiating, conducting, as well as winning a limited nuclear war with the Soviet Union or any other nation. This view, frequently raised in conservative circles, is intended to acquaint the public with nuclear warfare, and to convince society that limited atomic warfare in essence does not differ from conventional warfare, and can even be more effective and shorter, and speculatively "more humanitarian."

The conservatives occasionally criticize even the Reagan military policy. For example, the influential and unusually active conservative center specializing in the analysis of economic and military policy, the Heritage Foundation (founded in 1974), criticized the Reagan administration in the summer of 1981 for its failure to recommend a comprehensive and long range program to utilize the funds provided by Congress for military purposes.

Conservatives are of the opinion that the United States allies underestimate the alleged soviet threat to the capitalistic world, and conduct an overly soft and overly conciliatory policy towards the USSR. They insist that Japan and the NATO countries increase their outlays for military purposes. On the other hand, they state that Washington will strive to exercise its role as leader more effectively in its military alliances; while on the other, it pressures its allies to generate their own domestic policy in harmony, however, with the political goals of the United States. This is especially evident in the application of American pressures exerted on Japan.

Conservatism in Foreign Economic Policy

During the greater part of the post-war years, no essential differences were reflected in the views of either the Democratic or Republican party on issues regarding foreign economic policy. Harmony prevailed, inasmuch as it is the function of this policy to create the most favorable conditions for the expansion of American capital; while its political objective--is the strengthening

of the capitalistic system and the restraint of communism. Even some of the advocates of isolationism and protectionalism of that period participated unopposed in conducting the so conceived foreign economic policy. The relative stability of the prevailing American economy facilitated the government's ability to gain a consensus in the foreign economic policy.

This consensus, however, began to collapse together with the weakening of: the United States' standing in the power structure of world capitalism; the decline in the value of the dollar; the rise in inflation in the United States; and the decline in the growth rate of labor production. In the meantime, views surrounding the solution of these problems began to intensify. The conservatives accused the government of excessive interference in economic matters, and demanded a program of deregulation, or relaxation in legal restrictions, standards, requirements (in the sphere of community protection, consumer interests, etc.) established as a result of social pressure by the federal authorities and Congress.

The conservatives oppose the coordination of economic relations of developed capitalistic countries.

They advocate free power play in international markets which will bring numerous advantages to the United States as the most powerful economic organization in the world. The conservatives attach greater significance, for example, to the monetary policy; to strengthening the money and stabilizing prices as instruments for providing economic cures. By taking this route--they claim--international confidence in the dollar will be restored, and perhaps even the conversion of the dollar for gold. The American currency lost this conversion in August of 1971. The conservative school strives for the stabilization of the international monetary system, but opposes the intervention of governments in the matter of currency exchange rates, noting that free power play should be permitted in this area, even though it is known that free power play is completely a fiction in the monetary policy of the capitalistic nations. The American conservatives insist that the remaining capitalistic countries abolish the barriers impeding the free flow of capital, such as, for example, the control of exchange rates; the control of the inflow of foreign capital, and likewise the tax system regulating the flow of capital.

The conservatives consider themselves the defenders of free market play. They oppose trade barriers; the multinational sources utilized by a country for the promotion of its own exports; and likewise the protectionist sources within the United States, although some of them devote more attention to fighting protectionism in other countries than in the United States itself.

Conservatives are basically opposed to providing foreign economic aid. However, they support military aid programs, especially to the ultra right-wing dictatorial regimes. They are prepared to support only that economic aid which will facilitate the influx of American capital into the developing countries, or will also serve to strengthen the capitalistic way of developing these countries. They are adverse to proposals included in the international economic order which forecast a coordinated policy of economic intervention in the developing countries.

The conservative position is found to be clearly inconsistent. On the one hand they demonstrate their objection to governmental interference in the domestic and international market; but on the other hand--they insist that the American Government and the government of other capitalistic nations apply the leverage of economic pressure in a more effective and firm manner, for example, on socialist countries, or nations of the "third world" in order to achieve specific political goals. This inconsistency likewise appears in the appeals of conservative organizations for closer coordination in the foreign economic policy of the United States with political and military goals.

Inasmuch as many conservative trends currently pervade the United States (the total number of conservative institutions is estimated at about one thousand), they are often classified under the collective label of neo-conservatism. "The neo-conservative comprehension of foreign policy problems emerges from the establishment's 'growth in the complexity of world policy' and 'the crisis of the old world order' (D. Bell). From thence the new international state of affairs, which is associated, in the opinion of the neo-conservatives, in the first place--with the appearance of the developing countries on the international political scene, and in the second place--with the emergence of problems in international policy which cannot be resolved by traditional methods of bourgeois diplomacy. A general evaluation of the state of affairs in itself bears pessimistic tones; because the ideologists of new-conservatism realize that basic shifts took place in the system of international relations in the 1970's, as a result of which the United States was deprived of its previous position of privilege. However, as a result of its social and class limitations, neo-conservatism is in no position to perceive and clarify the real cause of the occuring shifts--above all the attainment of nuclear equilibrium between the USSR and the United States, as well as the growth of the power of the countries in the socialist community."[12]

Many moves of the present American government originate in the conservative school. After all, there is no doubt that Reagan's administration is the most conservative government in the United States of more than one-half century; that is, since the time of Herbert Hoover's presidency (1929-1933).

The conservative characteristics of the policy of the Reagan administration can be clearly detected in the internal economic and social policy, as well as in the foreign and military policy. Apropos of military policy we are dealing with a program of arms capability development unprecedented in the peace-time history of the United States. This program faces expenditures of 1.5 billion dollars for the years 1982-1986. More than half of all Americans believe, that thanks to this, the United States will be in a position to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union. A yet more significant percentage (up to 64 percent of all Americans) supports an increase in arms expenditures, while only 29 percent are opposed to this.[13]

In the sphere of foreign policy, the conservative character of the Reagan policy is most evident in the case of Washington's policy toward the Soviet Union and East-West relations.

Apropos of East-West relations, and particularly Soviet-American relations, the Reagan administration, during the course of the first eight months in office had practically nothing constructive to offer. The people presently in the White House camp create the impression that they would like to talk with the Soviet Union from a position of superiority, and not strategic parity. Sooner or later the Reagan administration will, however, have to prepare a detailed program of foreign policy; and in it likewise a program to solve the problems proceeding from the current tension in East-West relations.

The Soviet opinion of the Reagan camp and the policy of the present administration is harsh and very critical. Washington has displayed no interest in the numerous proposals which the Soviet Union submitted in 1981 in the sphere of arms control and improvement of East-West relations and Soviet-American relations. The Soviet Union has reason to suspect that the chief goal of Washington is the achievement of military superiority over the USSR.[14] In a lengthy editorial article, PRAVDA accused the United States not only of anti-sovietism, but of attempting to create an anti-socialist coalition of a global scale. "The imperialistic powers, and the United States above all others, obstinately seek to suppress the world revolutionary process; to turn the tide of history. Washington, more and more clearly manifests its imperialistic ambitions, Fomenting the scandalous myth about the soviet military threat, the strategists in Washington seek to create, under their own guidance, some sort of world anti-socialist coalition, feverishly strengthen the arms race aspiring to obtain military superiority over the Soviet Union and its allies."[15]

FOOTNOTES

1. R. Reagan: "Need for U.S. Reliability Abroad." INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, May 9, 1980.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, May 5, 1981, p 31.

6. Interview with Irving Kristol, "Authority on Politican Trends," U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, July 20, 1981, p 50.

7. U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, July 20, 1981.

8. "Objections to Conservatism." "The Heritage Lectures," 1981, no 3, p 27.

9. Ibid, p 28.

10. Ibid, p 44-45.

11. S. Klaidman: "Foreign Policy as a Morality Play." INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, September 17, 1980.

12. A Mevil: "The Ideology of American Conservatism: Traditions and Contemporary Forms." VOPROSY FILOSOFII, 1979, No 5.

13. NEWSWEEK, June 8, 1981, p 10, 13.

14. V. Zagladin, L. Zamyatin, General V. Starodubov. PEOPLES TRIBUNE, August 25, August 28 and September 3, 1981.

15. PRAVDA, September 2, 1981.

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POLEMICS IN LITERARY SPHERE CONTINUE

Paunescu Attacks Tudor's Review

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 9 Jun 82 p 2

/Article by Adrian Paunescu/

/Text/ I feel no need whatever, in order to live, for others around me to disappear. But it is my impression that the habit of putting out their neighbor's lamps so that theirs alone will shine has taken deep roots in some. In all the literature I have read and in all the biographies of men of letters I have read I do not think there has ever been a time when one or another has demanded the expulsion of one or another from cultural life so frequently, so consistently and so reprehensibly, when some literary colleagues, or I would rather say, some cultural colleagues seize an opportunity, find a way to the public or an authority, and demand the finish of other literary or cultural colleagues. Their favorite rhetorical question is "How was it possible to defend something like that?" And their favorite animal is their neighbor's dead goat.

A few years ago polemics broke out between Eugen Barbu and Marin Sorescu. I believe polemics are part of the charm of literature. But what surprised me in both of them in turn was their effort to avoid each other and their pleasure in being without an interlocutor. To be very exact, I must say that Barbu was the first to attack. I answered him in Sorescu's defense a few days after he attacked Sorescu's book "In the Lilacs." I did not think Barbu's attack was justified. After that Sorescu lay in wait for Barbu and when "Incognito" was published we all know what happened: an episode that showed us that annihilation of a writer is not good even if it is on true grounds of a mistake made at some point by that writer. And the day before yesterday an article of rare violence and uncommonly bad literary taste by Corneliu Vadim Tudor was published in SAPTAMINA. Personally I have no quarrel with the author of the article, although I hear that he slanders me on every occasion, imitates me and caricaturizes me both intentionally and unintentionally sometimes in real life and sometimes in writing. I would have been tempted to thank him for mentioning me in the said article among good and worthy writers. I did not do so because I do not like that tone of assassination and the attempt to destroy writers' lives and careers, and especially those of two of them, namely Norman Manea and Marin Sorescu. I have also

criticized Norman Manea for an interview, but it seems to me there is a moral distinction between criticizing and claiming a colleague's books should not be published like that between fencing and attempted murder. The first thing I wonder is just what in C. V. Tudor's previous experience qualifies him as a judge of writers and literature? But let us say that we can take him seriously. Our culture has developed institutions more or less prepared to assess new works and to decide what should be published. To be sure mistakes are made but in what field are they not and in what field has it been customary for people to behave like wolves. No one in the whole history of the world's true culture has ever claimed that the person he did not like should disappear from the intellectual scene. Tolerance is characteristic of men of intellect and intolerance ultimately reflects upon those who practice it. I approve of any kind of criticism, however harsh, but I do not agree with assassinations and blows below the belt in the name of principles that are noble to be sure but should be correctly applied. Let us say that we have really competent publishing houses today, despite all the troubles and rejects. I do not ask them to abandon the principles of humanism (How could I?). On the contrary I plead for complete and undiscriminating application of the profoundly humanistic ideological principles of the RCP, which are opposed in themselves to any injustice.

Eugen Barbu's excellent book "Week of Lunatics" was published not long ago, and I take every occasion to speak of it as I speak of all that great writer's good books, like "The Pit," "The Prince," or "The Sunday Dinner." It seemed to me that some critics tend to minimize that book and to discredit it in the readers' eyes. Then I leaped to Eugen Barbu's defense. Now I feel the need to side against what is going on in the journal managed by Eugen Barbu, deforming the literary and moral image of a writer who must and does exist, namely Norman Manea, whom the author of the article, Corneliu Vadim Tudor (who is also the author of many blunders, some of them with serious consequences for the cultural world in general and for Eugen Barbu in particular), is now judging in the same unfair way, I feel, as Barbu was judged by the notable critic N. Manolescu for example in his review of "Week of Lunatics." But let C. V. Tudor turn to the book "Week of Lunatics" and let him judge it in the same falsely purist and so-called intransigent way in which he judges Norman Manea. Let him apply the same criteria to some scenes in this book of Eugen Barbu's. What results will he obtain? Deplorable ones, as in the case of Norman Manea. Of course I do not equate Barbu and Manea, but neither can I deny Norman Manea's right to believe he will be an important writer, if he actually is not one. I am not an informed reader of his books but a disgusted reader of the quotations recently torn from one of his books. Furthermore, regardless of the literary verdict I could not subscribe under any circumstances to the personal attack that would lead to catastrophe in our intellectual activity if anyone carried it out. Culture is a strictly free phenomenon and I do not understand this senseless insult: "Another undesirable situation is created by indiscriminate composition of the publishing plans. To cite just one more example, Homer, Balzac and Cornel Ungureanu can come off the presses of the same publishing house at the same time. While the works of the first two are sold immediately, the last one's book attracts all the dust in the book stores as if by an irresistable magnetic force and lies there for years. A book by fanus Neagu has actually been published in a printing the same or even smaller than those of books by Bujor Nedelcovici, Maria Luiza Cristescu, Al. Papilian, Florin Mugur and others." Who gives this author the right to contrast Fanus Neagu with some talented and highly praiseworthy

colleagues of his? I favor a really practical and realistic policy for printings, but it is clear to me that none follows from Corneliu Vadim Tudor's article. Let me say once again that I am not bound by friendly feelings for those whom I defend. I do not talk to some, and others I do not even know. But I think it is reprehensible to carry on a cultural discussion in such a tone. What is so ridiculous about my defending both Homer and Cornel Ungureanu, who is a good critic as a matter of fact? But the attack is large scale: "Where he writes that Dan Culcer, Viorel Stirbu, Angela Marinescu, Valeria Boiculesei, Valeriu Cristea, Ileana Vrancea, Livius Ciocarlie, Dan Cristea, S. Damian, Dana Dumitriu, Elena Tacciu, Nicolae Prelipceanu, Petre Anghel and others should publish book after book and increase the liabilities of the publishing houses, when an honest opinion poll of the reading public would show that they are not read and interest only a very narrow circle of relatives and friends, to say nothing of the aesthetic and ideological criteria, which would have precluded the first appearances of many of those authors and others like them if they had been more strictly applied." Where does he write that? Exactly where he writes that C. V. Tudor has the right to express himself.

Aside from the fact that there are undoubtedly some noteworthy writers or scholars among those attacked, there is another problem. Who told Corneliu Vadim Tudor, who determined that this man, who publishes in the press, has the right to demand the exclusion of others from culture? The error reaches its most outrageous peaks. Having just arrived in this literary world with occasionally good poems (I say that because not even I would accept Corneliu Vadim Tudor's expulsion and what is more I have openly opposed the view of some that Tudor should be excluded from literature, although I think he is on a troublesome course), he demands no more nor less than an explanation of why Marin Sorescu's book "Vision of Vision" was published. I have nothing against criticism of Sorescu. I well know how unfair Sorescu himself can be and how lacking in the feeling of solidarity with the true worth the man has even if he sometimes wants to soil it himself. But I cannot support the idea that a great Romanian poet, Marin Sorescu, can be placed outside "the wholesome principles of Romanian culture, the national character, and beauty and morality in art." If theintransigent Corneliu Vadim Tudor would read Eugen Barbu's book "The Pit" with the same eyes with which he dives for pearls in Sorescu, would he have the courage to raise his eyes from the page? He finds the fact that the author speaks of rabbit dung very dangerous, very absurd and outside the national character. But go, boy, and read Eugen Barbu's book, a deathless masterpiece of Romanian literature as a matter of fact, and remember that hypocricy is not good even in sleep. Intransigence has overcome C. V. Tudor! He who advanced himself by the flagrant theft of an article from a journal for internal use and published that article under his name! But I do not think there is no way back even from that. I think that even this man should be allowed to exercise his calling, such as it is, because I do not think it is right, or intellectual or socialist to demand the exclusion of anyone from literary activity. Some of the writers C. V. Tudor mentions may not mean a great deal to me either, but of what importance is that? We cannot determine others' lives. All we can be is surgeons in the matter of literary health, and certainly not butchers. How can you say those people should not have been published in the first place, you who do not know what is wrong with you? How can you quite calmly demand Marin Sorescu's expulsion from literature? Does anyone give you that right? Is that how you have read the history of this culture? That is to say Iorga, and I repeat the example, intervened with the sovereign to release Tudor

Arghezi from prison although he knew Arghezi would attack him again on the second day, while you intervene with public opinion and the publishing houses to do away with people you dislike. You can do this best in your library. You would not want to walk in jack boots in the national library, whoever you may be. In trying to defend our cultural policy some actually do it a disservice through voluntarism, intolerance and the attempt to deprive it of the diversity it so greatly needs.

The more values I see around me the better I feel, and I am happy to live at the time when the most good writers of Romanian literature are writing. "Good" may not be the most appropriate word because they are evil or malicious at times, but I think "the most good writers" is most accurate. I bar none, and there is room enough for all.* There is even room for a lesson in the acquired completeness of the values in Romania and in its literature. There is also room, so to speak, for Eugen Jebeleanu, Ion Lancranjan and M. Ungheanu, and for N. Manolescu, Eugen Barbu and Marin Sorescu. The moment anyone wants to kill a man he is becoming a suicide himself.

I want a Romanian culture by way of addition of values, for I feel that just as we lost many of our distinctive characteristics in the world by accepting the humiliating destruction of our statues, monuments and sanctuaries by others or by ourselves, Romanian culture can be a great world culture only in the entirety of its expressed genius, by way of Titus Popovici's books, wherein I have sometimes noted a predilection for Nicolae Breban, by way of the books of Nicolae Breban, who discharged me from ROMANIA LITERARA, by way of creating a unity in diversity and fulfilling the golden dream of the unity of Romanian letters around the supreme ideal of service to man, the people, intellectual dignity, the nation, and the world's good.

I want "The Complete Works of the Romanian People!" Am I asking too much?

SAPTAMINA' Responds to Attack

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 2 Jul 82 pp 3, 7

/Article by Corneliu Vadim Tudor/

/Text/ At all times and in all cultures, a national literature has been made primarily by great and lasting works. They have been created by authors of genius, but after their deaths those authors can be honored and interpreted only in the light of their works. Thus Homer does not exist without the Iliad and the Odyssey, nor Dante without the Divine Comedy. It is paradoxical that a great novel like Don Quixote should rival its parent, Cervantes, in fame, so that quite a few foreign and even Spanish aestheticians have wondered whether the sad-faced cavalier may not be the father of the warrior of Lepanto metaphorically speaking instead of the reverse. I have set down these simple truths to remind some who seem to forget it that a creative mind cannot exist apart from its works and that there is a reciprocal determinism between them both. For example, we would harbor feelings of sympathy and compassion for Pantazi Ghica, because of his infirmity and the stories woven around his person, to no purpose if his work did not exist. It is even true that that modest scribe is preserved in literary history more because he is caught in the amber of Eminescian verses than for the writing

*There is even room for common sense.

he left. There have been and are some who have made and are making waves around their persons and huge, hastily polished cardboard pedestals, but that can mean only a certain popularity during their lifetimes and is no eternal sign of worth. From the standpoint of those and other truths I have written some articles in SAPTAMINA recently. I would not call them polemics because I did not intend them to be and I do not think they turned out to be anything of the kind. It was my right as a professional journalist and young writer with some books published and some plays performed to try to explain, in sight of the readers, certain mechanisms of the publishing houses' output and a number of undesirable situations that unfortunately still obtain in our contemporary literary world. I consider it the constitutional right of any citizen of the republic, whether he is a journalist, writer, or just a citizen, to express his opinion frankly in the press as to what he thinks is wrong with any field and not only literature. It is a right won by the labor of 150 years of the Romanian press and about 40 years of revolutionary socialist construction in Romania. Of course there is also room for contrary opinions. I could not say that that is true of the poet Adrian Paunescu's article "Value by Addition" in ROMANIA LIBERA for 9 June 1982. In keeping with an older custom, he enters into a literary discussion unprepared and with a violence that does not in the least intimidate me, posing as a mediator and defender in certain problems. Written in precisely the style I was combatting in the article "The Book Empire," his article would help to capture some new recruits for the cultural program which he his promoting with troublesome insistence but which, as far as I am concerned, succeeds only in convincing me that integrity is not to be found on all paths. From one end to the other, his stand justifies me in concluding that he has not entirely understood the purport of the books under discussion or of my procedure. What conclusion did he draw? Solely that "I do not like this tone of annihilation, the attempt to destroy some writers' lives and careers and especially those of two of them, Norman Manea and Marin Sorescu." Where in my entire article did he see what he calls further on "attempted murder"? How can he play upon the words of the Romanian language in such a serious way? Who demanded the finish of these people's lives? I merely wrote that Norman Manea's "October Eight O'Clock" /Octombrie ora opt/ and Marin Sorescu's "Vision of Vision" are "the two latest extremely strange publications" giving specific examples and concluding, "Of course there can be no question of art here. Who needs such books?" Accordingly it was a question of books and not of authors! It is unfortunate that our journalist went beyond a discussion of principles and resorted to insulting personal attacks, and that too in a political daily printed in several hundred thousand copies! You cannot plead for a cultural cause in a pamphlet, however boorish and vitriolic it may be. Certain noble ideas (with which I naturally agree!) are expressed to no purpose because they are dragged into the discussion and cannot excuse but even aggravate the aggressive mediocrity of both books by contrast. And if I also speak of those principles I should say that militating for the unity of the writers front, civilized relations and mutual respect among all servants of the art of writing is a major commandment of our socialist culture that we all know. But no dialogue is possible in the way A. P. polemicizes. For example I maintained that a shortage policy of publications and printings is in effect and that poor books are sometimes promoted, while my interlocutor asks me just what in my previous experience entitles me to bring up such problems. Then he advances irrelevant sophistries, whereupon he invokes the well-known adage about the neighbor's goat that I would kill, etc. I did not find a single argument in A. P.'s whole article to give me pause or shake my conviction that the two books do no honor either to their authors or to the

Dacia and Albatross publishing houses respectively, which published them. Only that gives me pause. Unimaginable things happen in both books, and they contain so many suggestive, insidious and distorted statements that I wonder how, with no preliminary documentation, an article could have been written that does not breathe a word about the real problems of these books and makes black out of white and the reverse, in the diversionary manner of the one who shouts louder and pretends to be outraged! To give you a more definite idea, let us consider them systematically and analyze them together. The first one is a book of sketches (some of them autobiographical I suppose), some of which take place in the world of childhood and, I am inclined to believe, are meant for the youngest readers. A. P. accuses me of quoting some passages cursorily and incompletely. But how much should I have quoted to convince us that the book is no good? It is 270 pages long. Should I have reproduced all of them? The whole book is wretchedly written, automatic dictation abounds, and not even the author knows what he means at some points, where he has lost the epic thread and his characters have taken over. In the main sketch of the book, entitled "Robot Biography," the paragraphs are marked at the beginning of a line by the following technical indicators: 1a, 2a, 3a, 1b, 1c, 2b, 4a, 2c, 3b, 3c, 5a, 4c, 5c, 4b, 5b and 6. The author wanted to indicate that the action takes place on several levels so that it should be read in series, that is 1a with 2a, 3a, 4a etc. I even accepted this presumed offer, rereading the sketch in all possible ways and directions, numerical and alphabetical, with the same catastrophic result. The whole book is full of linguistic and situational garbage that even the paper cannot bear. A little girl is described in this way: "She was 6 years old but seemed to be three or 30. She did not show any sign of gonorrhea at 6 years and, if you can believe it, every kind of excema, cough and suppuration..." On page 38 the character (another child!) vomits like this: "I was retching in revolting waves, leaning against the bark of the tree... I was broken, alone and powerless and I rested against the rough trunk of the oak tree, next to the filth that had erupted from me and the stench of putrefaction and offal." Vomiting is done just as "aesthetically" (or it is mentioned) on pages 85, 91, 102, 185, 222, 234 and 263. The author also has profoundly "philosophical" thoughts: "You must be happy, it does not matter how. We have only a moment and then the bubble has burst." On the Romanian seashore, I repeat, there are "pools of dung, pardon me, madam, over the whole shore. I could go in the water only once... the weather was miserable that Saturday... realize what a soup you have swallowed" (That is no mere triviality) etc. Why is Adrian Paunescu defending such a book? Why does he tell me, with the apostrophe "Go, boy," to look for similar things in Eugen Barbu's "The Pit," a masterpiece of the Romanian novel translated into 13 languages and enjoying the 25th anniversary of its publication this very year (contaminated by association with Norman Manea's "writing")? Naturally I am not moved so much because I dislike the patronizing and superior tone in which I am berated but for the more serious reason that the fruit of Norman Manea's mind has nothing in common with "The Pit" or "Week of Lunatics," being a bad book that is immoral for the sake of immorality. A. P. takes the precaution to say, "Of course I do not equate Barbu and Manea," but that is an empty formula that is automatically cancelled because he depends throughout his whole argumentation on the former's books to explain and excuse that of the latter. Of course there are obscenities in Eugen Barbu's books too, as there are in those of Eminescu, Rebreanu and Arghezi as well, to say nothing of Ovid, Shakespeare or Zola. But they are masterpieces breathing value through every pore and not conglomerations of free amours, vomit, excrement, fecal matter, contraceptives, curettages, menstrual flows and indecent gossip

like N. Manea's book. It is one think to write, like Shakespeare in Othello for example, that a couple making love are playing "the two-backed beast," and another thing for Manea to write his ineptitudes designed to capitalize on the repressions and bad taste of some. For another example, I do not understand why the book "Dima the Pupil from the Seventh" /Elevul Dima dintr-a saptea/ underwent great changes in the edition of a few years ago while N. M.'s book (which contains, among other things, an improper liaison between a Pioneer and the school directress married to an officer and close to retirement, almost in Drumes' style of 50 years ago!) could be published unrestricted and even found staunch supporters. But let us pretend we did not see what A. P. means and pass over these extra-aesthetic details. I did not intend to make a case out of Manea's book in my first article. I criticized only certain aspects that I am now inclined to ignore. But I cannot ignore the basic problems of this publication, which betray the faulty ideology of the work. Here are only a few examples of the way N. M. burlesques a number of contemporary Romanian realities through the mouths of his heroes. A CEC /Savings and Loan Bank/ official's suggestion that the winners in the lotteries for savings passbooks as well as other kinds of lotteries (Loto, Pronosport and ADAS /State Insurance Administration/) "shall no longer be any chance citizens but selected from the deserving ones" is justified as follows: "That would provide a new lever to encourage efforts in production, agriculture and creative technical-scientific activity and to raise the qualitative standards in the present stage of the general revolution. It would also conform to the dialectical-materialist conception of the world and life and of the active role of the individual, who is not subject to fate but the master and creator of events." Thus the key ideas of our policy and the party documents are parroted word for word in order to maintain a joke! We also find that a heroine, Maria, had been tried before 1944 "for illegal aid to the pagan and parasitic foreign traitors who should be exterminated without mercy for the health, prosperity and purity of the people of the country of the faith," a dangerous statement implying that the Romanians behaved brutally toward the sons of other nationalities, who "should be exterminated without mercy"! The facts are distorted at every step, and the initial period of socialist construction in Romania as well as a number of permanent Marxist ideas become purely and simply puppets under N. M.'s pen: "No more than one year and yet an eternity more had passed when Comrade B. became prefect of the county and summoned his father to the great struggle, with us or against us, and convinced him of historical progress, the grave-digging role of capitalism, cannon fodder, added value, opium for the people, awaken you downtrodden of life and farewell to the black past and henceforth we shall all be free and equal forever, slave with slave let us unite, the sun the sun the sun...." And consider this defiance of the party's correct policy on religious sects in Romania, whose freedom is total in both theory and practice: "He passed by a closed synagogue, its door battered to splinters (...) He came to a church. The door was open, a light was burning and there was no one there. He waited, and the priest did not appear even after an hour, nor were the believers going out." The same kind of distortion also occurs in the question "Shall we fool the phantom boredom that stalks the world?," which is an incorrect paraphrase of the words at the beginning of the Manifesto of the Communist Party: "A phantom is stalking Europe" except that in the Marxist classics the "phantom" was communism while N. M. has changed communism to "boredom."

Let us pass on to the other book, Marin Sorescu's "Vision of Vision." I repeat that in this case too I did not attack the author but the book, and I venture

(Do I have permission?) to say again that it is worthless. Why will A. P. not admit that M. S. can also write poor books? It has happened to better men, like Rebreanu and Sadoveanu for example, and no one raised such a row! Has Marin Sorescu become a taboo author exempt from criticism? We know from the party documents that no one can be exempt from something of the kind, neither the poet Sorescu nor the poet Paunescu nor others. My article did not deplore the expression "rabbit dung" alone, as A. P. humurously contends, but many more and more serious ones. I particularly deplored the strange and morbid zoophilia practised by the characters: A Bear is married to a Heifer but also has a lover, the Vixen, in the "classic triangle" as the author says. Then all the characters are changed in turn into people, to animals again, and finally to people again, making love even under these equivocal conditions. Perhaps Sorescu intended to write a fable in prose and verse, but if any fable is to last it must have a moral and a morality (in addition to the author's talent, which went into something of an eclipse here!), and I confess that I found neither one. There are gratuitous insults and curses everywhere which, either in or out of context, convey a deplorable underworld impression. I do not wish to dwell further on them. I quoted some of them in the first article, and the rest are between the covers of the book. But I shall reproduce, for the first time, some of the poet Sorescu's "profound" ideas about politics in general, the revolution and our contemporary realities. The Rooster tells the others, by agreement with the Rabbit, that they will transform the excursion into an "hour of political education" because it is well "for you too to know what poetry thrives upon and where the hen lays eggs in the revolution..." In making a declaration of love to the Vixen, the bear states "With every beautiful woman we also love our country a little, do we not? And the more women and the more beautiful they are the more your love becomes at one with the people." Does A. Paunescu agree with this unique but so vulgar and defamatory definition of patriotism? In the same cynical, offhand tone he also tells us Rabbit found a Dacian woman's skeleton in his vineyard, dating from the third century B.C., which he profaned as follows: "With the skeleton on my back I went through half the city, from one laboratory to another, for various analyses. They gave her a Wassermann, sedimentation rate, urinalysis and frog test to see if she was pregnant and two or three more analyses that gave her much trouble, since you know how it is at polyclinics." The historical tradition that the Agathyrsi Dacians set their laws to music to memorize them better (about which Aristotle himself enthused in one of his books) is ridiculed by M. Sorescu as follows: "They made up songs in order to memorize them, and perhaps he saw crowds of Agathyrsi [Dacians] digging in that vineyard and loudly chanting: Do not steal, tra-la-la, do not kill, tra-la-la, in the woods, tra-la-la, kill the caterpillars!" These statements are associated with the unfortunate sentence, "The village midwives are better and better, and the ancestors are ever better delivered. In a final comment M. S. states that the character The Child "comes very close to being a real child wonder of our time, being as young and childish as he is wonderful." Isn't this a pejorative tone? I quoted a series of verses in my previous article (not in fragments as A. P. maintains but even in whole strophes). I reply with others equally full of sinister obsessions. Here is a whole poem this time: "Existentialei Mita/ I-a rupt traznetul rochita./ Cum facu, cum mu facu/ Ca-n furou ramase tu!/ Asta li mari-ndoiala/ Mitei existentiala/ Acest fapt incoerent/ Azvirlind-o-n transcendent" [?] -- clearly a paraphrase of the dull and vulgar doggerel "Madam Mita the Cyclist." Here is another poem quoted entire: "Sachelarie, Macarie and Ilarie/ Each one had a caries/ They loaded them on a streetcar/ And they drank them with a straw./ Sachelarie thought

Macarie/ Had another caries/ 'Macarie, oh Carie, Magarie/ Bring out the other caries.'" Why are we so critical of the bad verses of some lyricists for light music, as A. Paunescu repeatedly has been, when we overlook or rather praise some equally halting products to the skies? Why are we so intransigent in combatting the wave of pornography in western art when we overlook similar scenes in Sorescu's book (as it is reported in my first article, where a peasant invites his neighbor to go to bed with his wife on his wedding night because he is charitable)?

This is something of an X-ray of the two books. Adrian Paunescu usually agrees with them, and frankly I am not surprised. I should like to point out some quite meritorious aspects of his activity in promoting new music and poetry and the patriotic and revolutionary values. For all these and other militant efforts the poet has won an aura that no one can diminish and I do not intend to do so. Nevertheless he sometimes operates with some criteria of value that are so paradoxical that he can appall the most timorous. Didn't he call the anonymous Ion Zubascu an "exceptional poet" on TV a few weeks ago? Do you know what the noises were for which the poor man was literally crushed by that epithet, which suddenly propelled him into the galaxy of Arghezi, Goga, Bacovia, Blaga and the other exceptional poets? I memorized them to quote them: "No child is born / Without a ton of triton" and "We do not want bombs or rockets/ We want tickets for treatment"! In the same snide spirit didn't A. P. rhyme the sacred word Cluj a few years ago with rouge and scandalize so many Transylvanians? Probably now, according to the new name of the Transylvanian municipality, the match of the words Cluj-Napoca will be carioca or another insult. A.Paunescu poses as a defender of Romanian culture but we find in his books quite a few gaps and omissions indicating that the author has not quite mastered the material he is conveying. Some time ago even Al. Piru roared with laughter because A. P. attributed the Brandenburg [Concertos] to Beethoven instead of Bach! There are also other errors found in just one book, "From Barca to Vienna and Back." The journal, which he wrote with the avowed intention of submitting it for the "Herder Prize," is a faithful expression of his "rich" reading. Somewhere he mentions the "Italian painter" L. David, who painted Napoleon at the age of "49 years," the year "in question in the picture" being 1801. All well and good, with a few little inaccuracies: L. David (1748-1825) was 52, not 49, when he crossed the Saint Bernard Massif. The crossing took place in 1800 before the Battle of Marengo and not in 1801, and the man was true-born French and no Italian at all. In connection with the Herder Prize, he also tells us that "Contemporaries also came to Vienna to enjoy the great generosity of Mr Herder and of those who administer his generosity." That mistake is no good even as a figure of speech, since "Mr Herder" (1744-1802) could not be "generous" in that sense because he did not establish the prize of the same name and did not know what would happen after his death. The award was due to the generosity of the West German industrialist Alfred Toepffer, who established the prize in 1964 to aid scholars and artists among the peoples who had to suffer from fascism, and he named it for the great philosopher and humanist Herder because the latter was his favorite in all German culture. And so A. P.'s statement in the book, "provided that once and only once I shall win the Herder Prize," about which he laughs as about a joke, "which would not be bad to get," was not fulfilled for a great many reasons. In speaking of the paintings of Brueghel the Elder (whose name he misspells 6 times in a row, namely Breugel!) in the Museum of History of Art, through which he passed like the Orient Express through Ciulnita Station, A. P. writes, "There are scenes that brilliantly anticipate Antonioni's 'Satiricon' (sic) and the poetry in Dumitru Popescu's latest

book." Two things are noteworthy: In the first place, I fail to see how the great Fleming's art could brilliantly anticipate D. Popescu , and secondly and most important the "Satyricon" is by Fellini and not Antonioni. Elsewhere, in speaking of the Dictate of Vienna he writes equally erroneously: "Does that fateful moment when Romania, surrounded on all sides, kept silent while the envoys of its government signed the partition actually count for nothing?" Does A. P. actually not know that just one envoy, M. Manoilescu, signed while Valeriu Pope categorically refused? Concerning the "flagrant theft" with which he reproaches me and which I do not admit, I should like to point out a number of harmless influences that can (and do) appear in the process of poetic and journalistic preparation. These verses were published by A. P. a few years ago and also disseminated on TV: "It is the time when for this country/ Like an abrupt accent of spring/ The sun rises at Bucharest." But the idea as well as the words are Ioan Slavici's, who wrote them in 1884 in the Sibiu daily TRIBUNA: "The sun rises for all Romanians at Bucharest." There are also influences from Eminescu: "Here Zeus sleeps on the bed of stone/ The dog of the earth will bark at its shadow /umbra i-o latra/" (A. Paunescu) compared with "In the saint's name/be still and hear how barks/ The dog of the earth/ Under the stone cross" (M. Eminescu). From George Bacovia: "Draw the bridge from the bank" (A. P.) compared with "For we have not drawn the bridge from the bank" (G. Bacovia). From Lucian Blaga: "The dew on the field is nothing but/ The sweat of the voievod who plows" (A. P.) compared with "For the dew is only the sweat of the nightingales/ Who tired singing all night" (L. B.). From Tudor Arghezi, from whose poem "Hide and Seek" he takes over the subject, the atmosphere and the parallelism between the children's game of hide and seek and death (See A. P.'s poem "Life"). From Nicolae Labis: "My son and my daughter/ But why do you look so?" (A. P.) compared with "Child, you were right then/ But why do you still look at me thus?" (N. L.) and many, many others. He is "inspired" even by the colleague of his generation, Ana Blandiana. She wrote in 1968, "My hair stirs lightly on my brow/ In the wind roused by the passage of time," while in 1980 A. P. wrote "And mother, I feel you stroking my hair/ When the wind of the era blows through it." And here is a "loan" from N. Iorga: "Cleaving the passions' wave/ He follows your path of labor/ And the stone thown at you/ He regards as a pedestal," which became in A. P. (in the journal MAGAZIN, 1981) the aphorism "Many have built their houses of the stones that others threw at them. We agree that these may be coincidences or assimilations of influences, for which we admit there is also a "way back. In the last analysis it is not pursuit of a plagiarism (real or imaginary) that determines the truth about a writer or a national literature. What is important is what the writer does beyond these circulated motifs and these assimilations.

As for A. Paunescu, he does things that now make me understand why he comes now and defends two books with serious aesthetic defects and not only aesthetic ones. There are poets of at least equal merit like Ion Gheorghe, Nichita Stanescu and Ioan Alexandru who do not have such vast potentials for expression "even in sleep," although their great talent might entitle them to something of the kind. Or perhaps in invoking Iorga so much, A. P. thought to carry out this bitter strophe as he understands it: "Living in a century of advertising/ Poet, you need /trebuie sa-ti cei/ / The brazen fellow fame, if you wish/ The world to know your name." There is no other way to explain the belligerent tone of this talented poet who, unfortunately has exchanged his lyre lately for another instrument, confusing poetry with the lengthy texts of folk music, or his habit of giving everyone conduct marks, telling us where to stand and where to eat at the

table, etc. I suggest that he explain to us just how his house in Barca came to be on picture postcards of Dolj County while some houses in which Eminescu, Caragiale and Calinescu are in complete anonymity. He tells us, "There is even room for common sense." That is the most viable statement in A. P.'s article and I do not believe he considered its boomerang effect when he wrote it, for association of his proposal of "The Complete Works of the Romanian People" with discussion of these last two books of Norman Manea and Marin Sorescu does not qualify as common sense. Can these two unworthy products in which the confusion /mistoul/ of history is professed be included in the glorious series that begins with Ovid's poems and continues with the works of Neagoe Basarab, Olahus, Cantemir, Eminescu, Hasdeu, Maiorescu, Goga, Parvan, Arghezi, Calinescu, Blaga et al.? We are also in favor of value, why not, but not by addition in any way or by chance but by discrimination! In conclusion I will quote some beautiful passages from the editorial in SCINTEIA TINERETULUI for Tuesday 8 June 1982: "Because, being a revolutionary and a communist is not a contract that you annul at the first difficulty or the first obstacle or a contract that you keep as long as you benefit in full from it. To be a revolutionary and a communist means an option for life, an option you cannot give up under the influence of the appearances of the moment. It is like boarding a train that passes through a tunnel. You cannot leap from it without risking your life. The capacity as a communist and revolutionary is therefore tested in times of difficulty, and it is tested in consistency toward the revolutionary ideals. But even further, it can be said that the true communist is verified in the face of those tests. You cannot be a communist and a revolutionary when all is well and going well for you and then, when real or most often imagined difficulties arise that pertain to petty pride or attitudes determined by petty interests, you waver, complain and react irrationally (...) Such consistency and stability in political options are especially necessary on the part of those who are active in training the new man, a field wherein any hesitation or any deviation from the revolutionary principles can have irreparable effects, particulary when it is a question of people working with youths and of actions and demonstrations dedicated to youths (...) In this way the life and activity of youth's clubs, cultural homes and literary circles must acquire a new spirit in the direction of truly revolutionary education of the spectators, so that the demonstrations of those on the stage as well as those in the hall will promote revolutionary militance, committed art, and modesty. That is the only way the nation and the revolution are truly served by art!"

5186
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ELECTION RESULTS IN REPUBLICS, PROVINCES DISCUSSED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jun 82 pp 13-15

[Article by Gojko Marinkovic]

> [Text] Why did well-known leaders fare worse in general in elections at recent party congresses and conferences? Did mistakes in their work contribute to it, or was it a reflection of no confidence?

When Yugoslav newspapers began to publish the results of the voting at party congresses and conferences, one could hear the opinion that they were only feeding the marketplace, and that it made no sense since in any case all the candidates would be elected, and thus all those numbers meant nothing or very close to nothing. The adherents of such views pointed out that it is perfectly understandable that those who are well known most often get fewer votes, for he who works makes mistakes, the person who is performing a function takes the risk of offending someone, not pleasing someone or stepping on their corns. For the common members of central committees or other forums, votes are cast mechanically, they have carte blanche because no one knows anything about them.

There are large bits of truth in such explanations, but it seems that they are still too simple to ring absolutely true. This year's voting for six republic congresses and two LCY conferences provides material for more complete analyses and a much broader consideration of the voting phenomenon, primarily because they cannot be so readily forced into a mood, with the leaders getting the fewest votes and the unknown getting the most. True, that was the rule to some extent, but there were significant exceptions.

But let us begin in the proper order. Of 772 delegates to the Slovenian LC Congress. all voted for seven members of the new central committee. There were no great differences in the number of votes received, but in any case Milan Meden got the fewest with 733, followed by 757 for Stefan Korosec, 755 for Valerija Skrebec, 757 for Roman Orgin, 759 for Franc Sali and 759 for Franc Setinc. Among members of the LCY Central Committee from Slovenia, the worst record was Roman Albreht's 732 votes, followed by Andrej Berbic with 753 and Anton Vratusa with 757.

At the Vojvodina Conference, there also were no great differences in the votes received, but nonetheless, of the 526 delegates, 23 decided not to vote for Bogdan Tankosic, 22 did not vote for Vasilija Silic, Stevana Sogorov or Slavko Veselinov, 20 did not vote for Predrag Vladisavljevic or Ivan Vracaric, 19 for Milovan Sogorov or Dusan Uzelac, Mirjana Zavrsek's name was not circled an 18 ballots and there were 17 votes less than the possible total for Janos Takaric, Miklos Vajda, Silvard Varosi and Vidosava Vujkovic. Among those getting fewer votes there are both prominent and unknown figures. To present some other names: Gizela Varga, Bosko Krunic, Katalin Hajnal, Stipan Kopilovic, Mihalj Bognar, Milan Mali, Branka Lazic, Vasa Milic, Istvan Sarosi, Dusan Popovic, Sreta Spajic. In voting for members of the LCY Central Committee, Dusan Popovic received the fewest votes with 510, while Dusan Alimpic got 512; that is not so few when we know that there 521 valid ballots.

Exceptions and the Rule

At the Montenegrin LC Congress, the difference between the highest and lowest total votes (18 of a possible 360) was slight, with Vojin Dakovic and Omer Kurjepovic getting the lower total. It is interesting that in the voting members of the LCY Central Committee, a well-known official got the most votes, with Vidoje Zarkovic receiving 365, and the least votes (350) were received by Stanka Glomazic-Lekovic.

No one received the maximum 417 votes at the Kosovo party conference either, with the best showing being for Ilijaz Kurteshi and Rahman Dedai (411 votes). The fewest votes were cast for Branko Skemberovic (396), Hajredin Hohxa (399), Sejfedin Batalli (386), Sretko Trifunovic (399), Slavko Stankovic (398), Tahir Ajazi (398), Tun Gojani (399), Vuk Saljic (398) and Vukasin Jokanovic (385). In voting for the LCY Central Committee, Ilijaz Kurteshi again received the most votes at 409, followed by Kole Shiroka at 408, with the least received by Danilo Vakic at 381, Azem Vllasi at 394, Ali Shukrija at 392, Bogoljub Nedeljkovic at 390 and Ilija Vakic at 398.

The thesis that the leaders receive the fewest votes could not be defended on the basis of votes at the Macedonian LC Congress, where Blaze Koneski, Ivan Avramovski and Lazar Mojsov received just two votes less than the maximum, and Aleksandar Grlickov received four less than the maximum. The composition of those who were most often left out is quite broad. Of the possible 868 votes, the least went to Kostadin Avremcev with 846, Rexhep Alili with 841, Mustafa Amitov with 838, Svetlana Antonovska with 836, Firuz Demir, 838, Vaska Duganova, 849, Azem Zulfikari, 846, Murtez Jajaga, 845, Fuad Jashari, 847, Redzo Muslioski, 848, Azbi Mustafin, 846, Femi Muca, 850, Idriz Ramadani, 848, Bosko Stankovski, 845, Jovan Stojanoski, 841, Aleksandar Stojanovski, 841, Spiro Stojcevski, 841 and Milan Horvat, 848. A similar result came in voting for the LCY Central Committee, for which 870 delegates voted. The fewest votes went to Stojan Stojcevski with 808, Dusan Veljkovic with 820, Hisen Ramadani with 823 and Boro Denkov with 819.

That which did not hold for Macedonia was true in Croatia, where as a rule those most often left off the ballots were the leaders. Among new members

of the Croatian LC Central Committee, the least votes went to Jure Bilic (1022), Branko Puharic (1028), Slavko Sajber (1028), Venceslav Kovacevic (028), Jelica Radojcevic (1029), Stipe Suvar (1036) and Marijan Kalanj (1039). It was similar in the voting for the LCY Central Committee, where of 1069 delegates 59 decided not to vote for Milutin Baltic, 49 did not vote for Jure Bilic, and Kamenko Markovic as a member of the LCY Statutory Commission received 43 votes less than possible. Among members of the republic central committee, the most votes were Slavko Cupac's 1067, while Rudolf Matosevic received 1062 for the LCY Central Committee.

Data for Thought

The voting was also very interesting at the Bosnia and Hercegovina LC Congress, where fully 25 members of the central committee received all 975 votes, and all of them were more or less unknown. Among members of the new LCY Central Committee there were four such, including Nikola Stojanovic.

At this congress there was at least difference between the highest and lowest vote totals, just nine, the number of times Ante Budimir's name was not circled.

All of these data give quite a bit of food for thought and consideration, but the theme of how the delegates voted came up just after the Ninth Serbian LC Congress, where for the firt time it was noticed that one of the candidates received fully 153 votes less than the possible total. That was the number of delegates that did not circle Spire Galovic's name; he is the former secretary of the Serbian LC presidium. Yet some other prominent officials of this republic did not fare any better. Of the possible 1347 votes, Momcilo Baljak received 54 less, Ratko Burtulija 74 less, Milan Vukos, 51 less, Dragan Markovic 50 less, Dusan Ckrebic 104 less, Branko Pesic 49 less, Zika Radojlovic 52 less, Petar Kostic 41 less, Radovan Pantovic 49 less, Zivan Valiljevic 68 less, Dobrivoje Vidic 98 less, Tihomir Vlaskalic 106, Ivan Stambolic 126, Dusan Gligorijevic 111, Milojko Drulovic 53, Ljubisa Igic 57, Milos Minic 94, Dragoslav Markovic 123 and Peter Stambolic 106 less than the maximum.

A feature of the voting at this congress was that no one received all the votes, and about 100 candidates received from 20 to 30 votes less than the possible total.

In the break during the congress, we spoke with Dr Alekdandar Grlickov, whose commentary was brief: "This is nothing tragic, for why shouldn't there be a difference in the number of votes, and indeed, why shouldn't someone fail to be elected, that is democracy."

Open Ballots

We acquainted Mika Spiljak, a member of the Croatian LC Central Committee, with some of this data recently. He believes that it is hard to give a general evaluation, because we have to know all the situations. It is hard to reduce all the data to a single formula, for every republic has its

specific features and more data is necessary for a proper evaluation. But in one thing, Spiljak was decisive : "These results of the voting show that we should go to the elections with open ballots. I had suggested that, but the majority did not agree and the proposal was not approved." We can recall those initiatives by Spiljak, but we also remember the debate that took place on this issue at an LCY Central Committee session. Yet despite the fact that comrade Tito spoke about this at the 11th LCY Congress, for now things remain as they were, the number to be elected is the number of candidates. The advocates of retaining the old ways assert that open ballots would bring many problems, but the only argument they can present is one of structure, for what would happen if the requisite number of workers, women and young people were not elected, and then we must also take the nationality structure into account. What would happen, for instance, if one less Serb were elected than the structure required, or one less worker? This is the basic concern of the adovcates of closed ballots. The problem as a whole is not inconsequential, but it is still a technical question.

We wanted to discuss these matters with someone who received the least number of votes at their congress, but we were politely rejected, so that nothing remained but to turn to the experts for opinions.

Dr Vladimir Goati, from the Belgrade Institute for Social Sciences, agreed to comment on these data. We asked him how many elections can be of interest for analyzing the status and relationships in the LCY, what he thought about the fact that better-known leaders generally received the least votes, how he regarded the fact that in Bosnia and Hercegovina the difference between the highest and lowest totals was but nine votes, while in other republics it was greater, reaching 143 in Serbia. We also wanted to know whether one of the reasons for the fact that well-known leaders fared worse was that those who work make mistakes and receive criticism, or was it perhaps closer to the truth to say that this is a reflection of lack of confidence and the stand that "we have had enough?"

[Dr Goati] Elections in the League of Communists, like elections elsewhere, are not a purely technical procedure by which an individual executes his responsibility. Rather, they are the fruit of political action and thinking. The facts that the delegates at congresses and conferences gave varying support to the candidates proposed and that those results were published in public information media are signs of democratization. I imagine that at previous congresses and conferences all the candidates did not receive all the votes, but the broad public was not informed about that. Data on the number of votes received by candidates for party functions are not made public, at least as a regular procedure, in the countries of "realistic socialism."

Differences in attitudes about candidates at recent party gatherings give witness to the conviction of delegates that they affect the election results by their decisions, that they have confidence in the election procedure. That is certainly significant, for internal democracy in the LCY, and democracy in general, cannot exist without procedures, without the "rules of the game." Although democracy is not limited to it, the differences in the

number of votes received by candidates at the recent LCY party gatherings, in percentage terms, are not great, for candidates did receive between 88 and 99 percent of the votes. According to that, even the candidates who received the worst results (and got 153 votes less than possible) still received a vote of confidence, for they received the votes of the great majority of delegates, But since we are talking about closed ballots, we can suppose that behind a negative vote there is a firm stand, the stand of a delegate, and not some accidental, momentary attitude. Thus that phenomenon is not insignificant, we should not pass it over in silence. Nor should make a sensation out of it. We should, in fact, get used to the idea that elections mean the possibility that some candidate will not be elected at all, that he will not receive a majority, for that is democracy.

Without that "uncertainty," elections are transformed into appointment, and internal democracy becomes a metaphor without real content.

When we analyze the results of the elections at the recent LCY party gatherings in more detail, it is clear that individuals in prominent political positions, some, not all, received markedly fewer votes than other, less known candidates. A factor that certainly affected that is the circumstances that people in responsible positions necessarily offend some people, for politics in action consists of solving problems. Instead of general phrases and fancy words that captivate the minds and hearts of all, a politician must concretely come out with stands concerning individual and group interests, affirming some and rejecting others. Thus it is difficult to count on everyone's approval.

Besides the fact that people in prominent political positions cannot count on general support all the time, there are certain other factors that are important for explaining the observed differences in voting. The first is long tenure in political functions (not just in the LCY but also in other institutions), in a time when at the ideological and programmatic level we are loudly insisting on deprofessionalization, on collective work and a one-year mandate. The other factor perhaps is even more crucial. I refer to our unsatisfactory social situation right now, with such parameters as the decline in the real standard of living, great foreign indebtedness, high inflation, a worrisome level of unemployment, particularly among young people, etc. That situation cannot remain without effects in the League of Communists, particuaarly on its administrative agencies. Although the LCY is not the governing force, it is the most influential organization in our society. Since without the LCY it is impossible to explain the "starred moments" of this society, its historical accomplishments, in the same way we cannot explain the current critical situation without taking the role of the LCY into consideration. That is how the situation was characterized at the conference of Yugoslav sociologists last month in Ljubljana. It seems to me, and here I am hypothesizing, that in voting for people who carry out prominent party functions there emerged from various angles a certain dissatisfaction with the existing weaknesses and difficulties that we have in our society, and probably also the wish that we might emerge from those weaknesses and diffculties as soon as possible.

Yet if we take into account all the indicated factors and explanations, we will perceive that individuals in prominent places (not only in various locales but in the same locale) were accepted to varying degrees. The explanation for that is found in a whole combination of factors whose relative significance is difficult to determine without research. The images that the public has about an individual and his capabilities are not always founded on accurate information but on "this was said and that was seen" (which does not make the image less effective). We need to know the actual personal characteristics of the individual, his personal and political history.

The hypothetical explanation I have given does not even pretend to answer the question of the differences between votes received at the Bosnia and Hercegovina LC Congress, where there was a spread of 9 votes, and in Serbia, or in any of the other republic or province organization.

To merely suggest an answer to that question, it would be worthwhile to consider not only those who were elected but those who voted. Here I am thinking of the socioprofessional and other characteristics of the delegates to congresses and conferences, the degree of democracy in their selection, etc. On top of that, we must keep in mind the features of every organization (the number of members, the number of organizational levels such as the existence of regional organizations within republics), the type and magnitude of the problems the organization has confronted in the past period, etc.

[DANAS] Instead of a conclusion, let us state that closed ballots nevertheless permit voting, even if it is without consequences, but these trends show that the time is not far away when someone will be defeated even on those ballots. That was shown by this year's delegate elections, when even the same number of candidates (as positions) was no guarantee that everyone would be elected.

12131
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DISSENTING VIEWS HEARD AT DISCUSSION ON FEDERALISM, SELF-MANAGEMENT

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jun 82 pp 42-43

[Article by Momcilo Djorgovic: "Those Who Are Bothered by Federalism"]

[Text] "We now have a lot of shouting going on about federalism. Cursing etatism and republicanism is useless. It should be concretely and seriously studied, rather than cursed, so that ways can be found to eliminate it. I would curse them, because I do not like having five people in my republic make the decisions about everything, from the economy and politics to culture; but cursing is not productive." This is approximately what was said by Dusan Bilandzic (of the Faculty of Political Sciences in Zagreb) in an attack of confidential truthfulness at a round table in Belgrade, which was organized by the Marxist Center of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC, on precisely the same day and at the same time as when the Yugoslav team made its first lukewarm appearance at the World Cup. The subject of the round table was "federalism, autonomy, and self-management," and was thus both broad enough to start a discussion of the entirety of our political and economic life, and narrow enough to concentrate on our most recent current difficulties and problems.

A small group of political scientists, jurists, historians, and economists very quickly got into a heated discussion, with sharp criticism of the erection of political and economic barriers, the "ruling circles" and their territorial sovereignties, disintegration, etatism, and nationalism. Such questions as the following were also raised: are we a federation of states or a Yugoslav state of peoples, and have we come to replace the concept of "Yugoslavia and its republics" with the concept of "the republics within their Yugoslavia"? Also, how is it that a national identity has been assumed by the republics and provinces, as if the republics and provinces were national creations and not political ones? This talk was thus one with the cards on the table, one that was frank to a point that could not be suppressed, with positions stated that were sometimes far from being public [opinion].

The theses of Vojislav Seselj: The trends toward a disintegration of society--etatism, nationalism, autarchy, and the stagnation of self-management, are obvious to Milivoje Trklja (of the Law Faculty of Novi Sad), as well as the economic difficulties with the structural crisis. The basic prerequisites for the development of self-management have not been secured.

According to Trklja, self-management without a material basis is just "self-management" with a chance of etatism. It is precisely in this relationship between so-called self-management and etatism that Trklja sees the reasons for all of the problems we have encountered. Under self-management, we are nowadays tolerating spontaneity in behavior, irrationality in investments, and rashly undertaken indebtedness abroad—for the most part, all merely for the sake of momentary interests. Such anarchy in the base favors a state that plays the role of a fireman. The more anarchy there is, the more etatism there is, and the more that the sociopolitical community intervenes, the more voluntarism there is at the base. Trklja is convinced that etatism is fueled by nationalism, because work, responsibility, enthusiasm, and involvement are not important to it, but rather who is of what nationality. As Trklja picturesquely put it, nationalism views a respectable Albanian as an Illyrian who must be driving the Serbs out of Kosovo, rather than as a person who is inclined toward cooperation.

As time passed, the criticisms voiced at the roundtable increased, and a dramatic culmination occurred in the discussions by Vojislav Seselj (of the Law Faculty of Sarajevo) and Slobodan Inic (of the National Defense Faculty in Belgrade). Seselj proposed a re-examination of some of the constitutional arrangements concerning the position of the republics and provinces under the 1971 constitutional amendments and the 1974 Constitution, because, according to Seselj, they had contributed substantially to the difficulties in the functioning of the federation. He pointed out that the 1974 Constitution attributes fundamental sovereignty to the federal units, so that one receives the impression that they are the ones who decided to join the federation, as if they had not been part of Yugoslavia even before the war. He then mentioned that the Leninist concept of a federation is a way to bring nations closer together and unite them, not a way to separate them.

Seselj warned against an escalation of parochial interests of the republican and provincial ruling circles, which are masked as universal interests. This frequently takes on such dimensions that obstruction of federal institutions occurs. The way in which the ruling circles speak on behalf of "their" peoples and nationalities also leads to ideological particularlism, which then opens the door to ideologies foreign to Marxism. Seselj illustrated his position by pointing out that, let us say, no attempts are being made in Bosnia-Hercegovina to achieve a critical Marxist dissociation from the Pan-Islamism originating with Qadhafi and Khomeini.

A heated discussion was occasioned by Seselj's assertion that one cannot agree that Vojvodina and Kosovo joined Serbia in 1945, since they were part of Serbia even before that (Kosovo from 1912 and Vojvodina from 1918). Hajredin Hoxha, on the contrary, asserted that Serbia captured and annexed Kosovo in 1912, and that the Albanian people were subjected to repression by the Serbian bourgeoisie. Next, Hoxha claimed that one cannot speak of a prewar Yugoslavia at all, since it was actually created during World War II, while the 1974 Constitution is substantially a realization of the decisions made by AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia]. By taking such a position, Hajredin Hoxha also opposed Slobodan Inic, who claimed that one cannot agree that Yugoslavia emerged through the party, nor

that it will disappear through LC federations. Yugoslavia is the work of the age-old aspirations of the southern Slavs for unification and a community, according to Inic: the party then supported these aspirations, for the most part, through its program.

The issue of the provinces: Hajredin Hoxha remarked that it is multinationalism that is providing the impetus for democracy, and he also recalled Kardelj's words that national romanticism plays a positive role in the development of a people until it is transformed into nationalism. He also stated his confidence that the greatest scope for humanism will be achieved only if all nationalities are fully equal with the other peoples in Yugoslavia.

Koca Joncic, Svetislav Radovanovic,and Milivoje Vujadinovic (from Novi Sad) did not agree with Seselj's positions. Svetislav Radovanovic, from the Vojvodina Assembly, pointed out that the annexation of Vojvodina to the Kingdom of Serbia in 1918 was actually a unitaristic and centralistic action. Thus, according to Radovanovic, one cannot agree that sovereignty is a "clearly etatist-republican category," because state sovereignty is an instrument for establishing the governing role of the working class, and not for the formation of alienated centers of power. Milivoje Vujadinovic, the chairman of the Vojvodina Constitutional Court, recalled that Vojvodina's autonomy was created during World War II, and that Vojvodina has been a constituent element of the federation since the creation of the new Yugoslavia. After his explanation of the legal and political system in the province, some of those present asked him whether his explanation meant that the province was only a province in form and was actually a republic, since it has all of the bodies and all of the authority of a republic. Vujadinovic answered that he was only describing matters as they stood, and that he would leave it up to others to decide whether this was the same thing as a republic or not.

Slobodan Inic took the liberty of calling our present stage a "refeudalization," the characteristics of which are as follows: the way in which the sovereignty of the republics and provinces has become absolute, in spite of the trends of the modern economy; the neglect of the market; the nondialectical concept of balanced development (everyone has to get everything); and the insistence upon national economies. According to Inic, there are two possible consequences of this state of affairs: either retardation in the development economic sense, leading to a suppression of self-management, or a qualitative development of an economic society that is a self-managing and democratic one; the latter requires a definitive resolution of the relations between economics and politics, the state and self-management, and the state and the party.

Inic warned that in Yugoslavia centralization is viewed exclusively in political terms, and not in developmental economic terms. Thus, there have been serious difficulties in the economic functioning of the federation. "All of the federal units only need Yugoslavia in order to pay their bills." Inic went even further and asserted that as a result of polycentric etatism we also have a multiparty system within one ideology and one party.

Dusan Bilandzic and Zivojin Radocevic (of the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade) advocated the establishment of commodity production and of the economic integration of Yugoslavia. Zivojin Rakocevic's observation was that only ultra-etatism masked as self-management (from the commune to the federal level) criticizes commodity production as neocapitalism.

Many issues were designated at the round table, and the emotions occasionally obscured scientific objectivity, but it could also be said that there was too much pessimism in some of the statements. A more comprehensive scientific development of all of these burning issues will probably take place before the fall, when the Marxist Center of the Serbian LC intends to organize another scientific meeting on this subject.

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END

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1 September 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2051

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1 September 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2051

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ORIENTATION OF 'ZYCIE PARTII' UPON RESUMPTION OF PUBLICATION

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 1, 3 Mar 82 p 1

[Newspaper's Policy Statement: "Toward Lasting Ties;" passages within slantlines in boldface]

[Text] We are returning to our readers--party activists and functionaries who perform social and staff functions in PZPR elements and echelons at a time of extremely difficult trial. We are meeting again after a nearly 3-month interval caused by the introduction of martial law during a critical and extremely complicated period of time for the country and for the party.

As a result of the decision to introduce martial law, the process of disintegration of the structures of the socialist state was halted and the near possibility of a bloody confrontation was eliminated. However, at the same time, martial law created only the chance of overcoming the crisis; it uncovered directions toward the stabilization and normalization of socioeconomic life. The significant statement made by the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, on the first day of fulfilling the role of commander of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] cannot be allowed to escape from view even for a moment: /"None of the problems facing Poland can be solved with force for an extended period of time."/

1. The finding of solutions to the most difficult problems and dilemmas must be facilitated by the joint, collective wisdom of the party acquired from the experiences of party activity and by overcoming conflicts which exist in the realities of contemporary life and which constitute the daily substance of the work of the basic elements and echelons of the PZPR. ZYCIE PARTII wishes to serve the presentation and exchange of these experiences now even more fully and extensively than before.

We understand this function of the publication to be not only the simple recording of important events from the life of the party. In starting over after the interval for the second time in the form of a biweekly publication and striving for a clearer outline of our profile, we wish to take on problems and controversies which appear within the process of consolidation and activation of party activity. We will be returning to basic questions which emerge especially now that there can be no return to politics without

working masses as was the case before August 1980 and to the state of chaos and anarchy from before 13 December 1981. If things are to be different from those preceding August 1980, if they are to be different from the stormy 16 months when we did not succeed in finding fully effective political solutions, then how are they to be? Let us seek common answers and let us share them in the columns of our publication.

2. Following the painful experiences of recent years and months, after the restorative process of party democratization which found its fullest expression at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, the party is gathering its strength, continuing the processes of self-cleansing and self-determination and is beginning to unite its ranks. The process of the party's rebirth, of regaining social support and of the rebuilding of lasting ties through the expression of current and prospective interests of working people seems to be the main and definite direction. /The rebuilding of the party to be in the forefront of the workers class should currently be given primary rank and exposure./

The following question becomes current again: What should remain constant in relation to the changeability of the substance, methods and style of party activity? What was experienced, did not withstand the test of time or meet the demands of the realities of contemporary life and what ought to constitute constant values, the departure from which signifies the loss of ideological and organizational identity? The resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress gave the proper answers in this regard but the post-Congress period produced new subject matter which must be taken up today in party discussions.

The force of the propaganda blow of the opponents of socialism has created havoc in the area of social awareness. As a result of this havoc, there arose in many communities as well as in some party circles the tendency to search for justification in programs of antisocialist opposition. Sowers of ideological confusion from among the loud "interpreters of Marxism" contributed to this confusion to a major degree. These were not extremists from Solidarity but "our own" theoreticians, who, in respectable publications, were the first to formulate postulates in our columns and [state] the need to drive the party out of work establishments.

The questions--what ought to be changeable and what ought to remain constant even during periods of great change--these questions expanded to encompass the experiences of recent months and the conclusions issuing from martial law have to be answered anew today. We are hoping that in this search for, and formulation of, answers, we will be energetically supported by our readers--party functionaries and activists.

3. Among the important tasks which will undertake in our columns, the following occupy the foreground: /the strengthening of ideological and organizational unity and consolidation of the PZPR on the basis of a definite return to Leninist fundamentals and principles of party life./ The party, in the light of the statute passed at the Ninth Congress does not demand total unanimity on all matters from its members. However, at the same time, today--

all the more under martial law conditions in which the maintaining of strict discipline and order is of major importance--there is a need for a party which is uniform in action, aggressive, strong from within and consistent in its undertakings. Under conditions where the presentation of a program of activity and the concentration of most of society around it becomes the most important issue, it is not the time for accounts which could divide the party. /Of major and vital importance is that which today should unite all party members in their activity on the difficult road of pulling the country out of the crisis./ It is, therefore, necessary to settle accounts all the more decisively and consistently with people who disrupt party unity and who propagate views and undertake activities which are the source of factionalism. There is a deep meaning to the statement that the /condition of effective party consolidation must be the consistent battle with the political opponent on the outside and with sowers of ideological havoc inside the party/.

One of the most crucial and extremely current issues today is the proper understanding of party consciousness as an attitude, as a form of leadership in the fulfillment of socialist principles and moral norms and as a way of being which distinguishes itself with modesty, honesty and courage to speak the truth and an uncompromising attitude toward wrong. This issue was formulated concisely by a party functionary in a letter written in January of this year [1982] to the Central Committee: "Not every decent person has to be a party member but every member of the party must be a decent person." The implementation of party consciousness as an expression of higher demands and more extensive reporting of the work results of the party Control Committee will be a theme which will appear frequently in our publication.

4. /The PZPR is not a party for itself but for the nation. This issues forth from its management role in the state and its leading role in society./ To acknowledge this role and to gain social trust is, above all, to have full awareness of all the conditions which have converged at present more so than in the past. In view of the high inflation of words, slogans, ideas and appeals which have multiplied in recent years; in view of the exposed deformations and degeneration; in the face of the lingering crisis and the necessity for the introduction of new prices which are causing the temporary lowering of the standard of living, it is not easy to break through distrust and to unite support.

The validating of the ideals of socialism anew constitutes a long range goal--undoubtedly, one to be counted not in months but in years. However, making credible in daily life that which is most holy in socialism--social justice felt directly and verifiable in community opinion--must become from this very moment, the first and foremost motto of action of every element and echelon. This motto is expressed by the postulate: /face the working people and their problems--large and small/. The statement that the key to the rebuilding of social confidence must be the effective undertaking of the daily issues which pervade work forces and other social communities and alleviating the drastic effects of the crisis is pertinent. Not loud words, but the patient building of bridges of understanding between all those who are not against us must dominate the style of party activity.

To undertake in the columns of our publication the above presented and new problems which will be formulated by the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in its resolution and to serve more effectively the exchange of experience in party work is to significantly expand the sphere of authors who will want to present their views, observations and reflections in our biweekly. We are undertaking new initiatives as a result of our endeavors to assemble a circle of corresponding party activists and functionaries around our editorial staff as a result of our intention to encourage the submission of opinions. One of such undertakings is the contest announced in this issue entitled, "Returning to the Sources." We are anticipating that together with other such undertakings by the editorial staff, this will become a significant step in the direction of holding an enlivened and constant dialogue by the editorial staff of our publication with its readers. /We are convinced that together with a broadly understood party aktiv, we will serve the process of party consolidation, the strengthening of the effectiveness of its operations and the rebuilding of its authoritative rank in society./

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NEED FOR CONSOLIDATION URGED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 1, 3 Mar 82 p 2

[Text] On 15 February, a session of the PZPR Central Committee Intraparty Commission was held and chaired by the Political Bureau member and Central Committee Secretary, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak. The commission discussed the state of preparation for the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and familiarized itself with information concerning changes in the party makeup in recent months.

After becoming acquainted with the material presented by the Organization Department of the Central Committee and following a discussion, the commission concluded that favorable processes and occurrences are beginning to appear party organizations and echelons and that the activeness and importance of POP [Basic Party Organizations] activity is increasing. An expression of this activity is the undertaking by the organization for social and professional matters concerning work forces of issues resulting from the economic reform as well as the increasingly extensive involvement in the problems of one's own community. The process of ideological-political strengthening of the party is being carried out and the elimination from the party ranks of people who are ideologically foreign and who violate the principles of the statute and moral-ethical norms continues. The need for consolidation of the party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism was strongly emphasized in the discussion.

The elaboration and consistent use of new principles of cadre policy was proposed. Cadre policy must be fair and rational and be based on criteria of competence, professional preparation, organizational skills and high ideological and moral requirements.

The need for strengthening control over the implantation of resolutions undertaken by the party was also pointed out as an indispensable condition for increasing the effectiveness of the activity of all party elements and echelons.

The following took part in the discussion: Czeslaw Borowski, Jan Plociniczak, Artur Kwiatkowski, Jerzy Dabrowski, Aleksander Pajko, Marek Pabjan, Mieczyslaw Kaminski, Stanislaw Kalkus, Janusz Kubasiewicz, Franciszek Banko, Ryszard Kmieczak and Zbigniew Ciechan.

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CSO: 2600/787

NEED TO REGAIN SOCIETY'S CONFIDENCE NOTED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 1, 3 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by (bl): "We Never Divided the Work Force"]

[Text] "It is not true that the loud propaganda of Solidarity received the general acceptance and support of miners," says Comrade Stanislaw Wiatrowski, secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the Niwka-Modrzejow Hard Coal Mine. "In our coal mine, it was met from the very start with definite defiance while the arranged occurrences in the Sosnowiec Mine were met with outright opposition."

[Question] Was there division among the miners?

[Answer] "Yes, there was," states Comrade Stefan Korepta, a miner and member of the Executive Committee. "Many colleagues took part in the protests or strikes simply because they were steered by misconstrued comradeship, misconceived trade solidarity and also often in order to avoid harassment and being called names by Solidarity activists."

"The party cause, its main task," states Comrade Boguslaw Helwin, a shift foreman, "is to spread truth. This is, in my opinion, the basic condition for regaining social trust. The truth, though it may be the worst, is better than its concealment or its distortion. I should think that we have nothing to hide or to be ashamed of and that we settle matters which are painful and swollen out of proportions with consistency. Our society has already demonstrated on many occasions that during difficult times, it is capable of uniting and mobilizing itself. I feel that we are now experiencing such a period of social consolidation and mobilization. That is why the entire party and all of its members must be more aggressive in their activity."

"We have never divided the work force into party and non-party members, into members of a trade union or Solidarity members; we treated everyone alike and we acted and act alike toward everyone," states Comrade S. Wiatrowski. "Today as in the past, people come to us, to the committee, with matters which concern them, with their difficulties and problems. We try to help everyone within the scope of our capabilities. We are with the work force and its problems every day. For this reason, we did not have long work interruptions or strikes. The work force was and is one. That is why, during the most difficult moments, we did not note any breakdowns in the extraction of coal. I think that our [party members] rather significant contribution is also in this.

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DIRECTION OF PZPR UNDER MARTIAL LAW DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 1, 3 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by Ryszard Lukasiewicz, deputy director of the Organization Department of the PZPR Central Committee: "The Party is Reborn Through its Activity"; portions within slantlines in boldface]

> [Text] /The introduction of martial law was an act of saving Poland and socialism. And that is why, despite the many difficulties which it introduced into daily life, this law is being met with understanding not only among our party members but also among millions of citizens concerned for the fate of the country. On the one hand, therefore, martial law is a necessity without which it would not have been possible to stop the process of antisocialist counterrevolution and the disintegration of the state and, on the other hand, martial law creates conditions for nationwide dialogue and understanding as well as for the consolidation and rebirth of the PZPR. The dependence is flatly proportional. The quicker the party unites its ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and regains its strength and social trust, the faster the process of political normalization will take place, while the place of necessary administrative solutions will be occupied by political solutions./

Thus, the primary task of party organizations and echelons is to make use of the conditions which came into being after the introduction of martial law for the rebuilding of POP [Basic Party Organizations] activeness, their ideological and political identity and for the consolidation of party ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Consolidation and Unity

Without internal consolidation, without the unequivocal rejection of and battle with views and activities which are harmful to party unity, it is difficult to talk about the restoration of the total effectiveness of party activity. /Only a party which is strong from within as a result of unanimity in respect to essential matters and as a result of unity action, can properly fulfill the leading role in society and a managing role in the state.

The dictate of unity in the PZPR which goes hand in hand with the strengthening of its Marxist-Leninist countenance is today a historical imperative. And it depends upon us whether the party will pass this test successfully./

In the name of unity and primary tasks which stand before the party within the scope of pulling the country out of the crisis, a decisive battle must be waged against decentralizing tendencies, against all activities which are discordant with the statute and with the exigencies of democratic centralism. Factional activity is impossible to reconcile with the principles of a party of the Marxist-Leninist type just as it is impossible to tolerate within its ranks opportunistic, capitulationist or conservative views which do not understand the logic of occurring processes and lead the party backward.

It is possible that this is not the time for profound analyses and historical squaring of accounts because time flies and every moment of constructive party activeness counts. However, we will not achieve this goal without discipline and unified action. In consolidating the party and cleansing its ranks for the sake of credibility, it is necessary to say at the same time that during the last 16 months not everyone was right, that many were mistaken and did not notice or minimized the seriousness of the threat from antisocialist forces and that many also contributed to the ideological, political and organizational weakening of the PZPR. These were, after all, regardless of the subjective intentions, none other than certain activists of so-called horizontal structures who negated the principle of the leading role of the party and of democratic centralism; they suggested the resignation by the PZPR from ideological and world outlook self-identity. The party was to be only a "sociopolitical movement" without more precisely defined criteria, without a clear structure and principles. It was, after all, these views and the activities inspired by them, like the journalism of some representatives of the ideological front, that weakened the party from within and facilitated its penetration by revisionist and abolitionary tendencies; it was revisionism as a lethal danger to the party which was condemned in the resolution of the Ninth Congress. In thus consolidating the party, it is our obligation to remember these things, not in the name of provocation, but for the sake of historical justice.

/The road to true consolidation of the party leads through the systematic overcoming of both opportunism and revisionism which bring with them the seeds of chaos, political and ideological confusion, the decline of the activeness of party organizations and the beginnings of dogmatic-sectarian views which objectively push the party toward social and political isolation and pull it backward./

Real consolidation of party ranks can take place on the basis of the conscientious observance of Leninist norms of party life, class evaluation of reality and the sources of the existing crisis. Its political foundation is the acceptance of the principle that in our country there is no returning to either the situation preceding 13 December, thus, to the tolerating of anarchy and the bolstering of antisocialist elements, or to the state of affairs from before August 1980, i.e., to voluntarism which had its origins in the

groundwork of opportunistic daydreams and ideological errors and which were expressed in theories about "developed socialist society," "moral and political unity" and a "nationwide party" and that there is no returning to bureaucratic deviation and autocratic governments. An issue which also has vital significance is the preservation in the party program of correct proportions between that which is universal in the building of socialism and that which is "specificity" in the sources of the crisis element as many journalists did before the Ninth Congress, not only does not serve the validity of evaluations but obliterates the true image and has negative implications of an ideological nature.

In consolidating the party, the principle of differentiated exigencies ought to be used in relation to party members depending on their class, strata and milieu affiliation. The purpose of undertakings cannot be the mechanical expulsion from the party of passive people but winning them over to the decisions of the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON], for the program of party rebirth upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism which are based on the ideals of social justice and a high degree of morality as well as the course of democratic sociopolitical and economic reforms initiated by the Ninth Congress. /The pulling in of people from all milieux for cooperation on the basis of the principles of the class character of our party, on the basis of the concepts of the rebirth of socialism and national rebirth--in the name of Poland's welfare--is becoming a strategic task of the PZPR. In this endeavor, communists must not lack patience./

In the evaluation of the attitude and activity of party members, the dominant criterion should be their attitude toward the present policies of the party and the state, toward the decision made by WRON and party tasks under martial law conditions. Thus, in the opinion of everyone, the deciding criterion is a member's present stand and activity. This does not mean that high criteria should not be used in ideological and political evaluation and exigencies in repect to the party apparatus, managerial cadres, the ideological front and intelligence, thus, areas on which particular responsibility rests on the party and society and on whose active and conscious commitment, the implementation of current tasks depends to a great degree.

In rebuilding the party today, it is important not to lose workers from its ranks--valuable workers who left under the pressure of the many-months-long and aggressive propaganda of Solidarity or who left in protest against attempts of "sociodemocratization" and "softening" of the PZPR--and to win them back into our ranks. Among these more than 180,000 workers who resigned from party membership, there are without a doubt many worthy of returning to the party; all the more so that the introduction of martial law halted the departure of workers from the party while the decisions made by WRON are gaining increasing support from the workers class. Confidence in WRON and personally in Comrade W. Jaruzelski is being expressed within this class.

Starting in July of 1981, our party has decreased by 550,000 members and on 15 February of this year [1982], it had 2,597,204 members and candidates. Of this number, 1.1 million is made up of workers (42.4 percent), 240,000 are peasants (9.3 percent), 930,000 are the intelligentsia (35.8 percent) and

326,000 are other socioprofessional groups (12.5 percent). The greatest drop in numbers occurred in the workers group. In relation to the total number of party members, the percent share of workers decreased from 46.4 percent to 42.4 percent.

There were many reasons for such a decrease in the number of party members, among which the leading cause appears to be the elimination from the party ranks of passive people and the procedure of turning in membership cards. It is worth shedding light here upon a certain point of view which is being spread in various milieux, namely, that after 13 December of last year [1981], the number of party membership cards turned in rose considerably. Indeed, facts did occur at certain academies and in communities of the creative intelligentsia. In general, however, the number of membership cards turned in does not depart from the "average" in previous months while among workers and peasants this amount decreased considerably. In comparison to the entire post-August period when leaving the party had "unilateral" character, what follows 13 December is the process of the planned cleansing of the party ranks carried out by POP and by party echelons and control commissions. As a result, within a period of over 2 months, approximately 85,000 persons were expelled from the PZPR and nearly 12,000 were barred. If we compare this with the facts in February and in May of 1981, approximately 28,000 party membership cards were turned in and that this was a "unilateral" occurence, then the present situation also takes on a different qualitative as well as political dimension. This is the result of the conscious strengthening of the party and of parting with not only passive people but also those who are ideologically unstable, with opportunists and people not worthy of being called party member.

To Be in the Forefront

The fact that I placed the issue of party consolidation and unity in first place does not mean that I do not see the close link between the daily activity of POP and echelons and the regaining of position and strength by the entire party. Actually, it is difficult to separate one from the other. /The party can be reborn only through its activity, by means of even the smallest acts which are close to the hearts of people and accepted by various milieux. However, a party without an ideological compass and coherence, weighed down with the ballast of opportunism and passivity, torn apart by internal conflict is not capable of being a leader of the masses and consequently to take over political initiative./ And that is why, not because of doctrinairism but for the sake of essential order, I have taken this order of presenting the issues.

Martial law has not only created qualitatively new conditions of party activity but has also assigned new tasks for the party. Briefly speaking: It is necessary to work to organize society for the implementation of martial law in such a way as to have stability become a fact and the party be capable of preparing itself even today to undertake long-range matters.

During the past months, along with the progressing normalization of life in the country, the waning of an emotional atmosphere in work establishments and

in many communities, along with the freeing of the daily lives of work forces from the influence of the vexing antisocialist propaganda, party organizations are slowly regaining their activeness. However, this process is proceeding more slowly than we would like and more slowly than might have been expected. There are many causes for this state of affairs and they are not what I wish to discuss but to warn against one thing: The party had been ill for too long and had been attacked much too long for it to stand on its feet with full strength as if by command and in a matter of several months. And that is why, in sharing the dissatisfaction with the fact that the rebirth of party activeness is proceeding too slowly, I would at the same time like to call attention to a different fact, namely to the fact that increasing activeness is currently accompanied by the transformation of a historical switch in PZPR activity. In strengthening its ideological framework, the party is at the same time becoming an organization which is increasingly growing closer to the daily concerns of working people. A measurable expression of POP activeness understood in this way is the widescale undertaking of socioprofessional issues which concern work forces and the initiating of activity of social commissions and of plant teams for price structuring. Therefore, the major task of party organizations and echelons is to protect the primary interests of working people, to undertake such activities as would allow the disintegration of mistrust and the winning over of those who are confused as well as to confirm in practice the truth that the PZPR is not a party for itself but for the nation.

Party organizations must initiate the turning over of administrative premises for social purposes and they must look after the functioning of commerce and services in their area. Party organizations and echelons should be sensitive to every case which brings harm to citizens and should protect weaker people and those who have been wronged and have been unable to reach the authorities with their problems or whose voice was not adequately heard out.

The party must concern itself with, and control without delay, criteria pertaining to the social minimum; it must initiate state assistance for retirees, pensioners, young married couples, mothers raising their children alone and for students.

In social policy, the party must restore the proper role of the fund for collective consumption and place the development of mass transportation in cities and the development of protection for children under the auspices of the state.

In the Interest of the Masses

In the broad spectrum of nationwide issues, the activity of all echelons on behalf of effecting economic reform and stabilization requires particular consistency. The introduced reform should, in effect, intensify the socialist character of our economy by, on the one hand, increasing its effectiveness while, on the other, granting to the workers class the right of true participation in leading and managing. Putting the reform into effect under crisis conditions is a difficult process and requires party control on every level.

Party members should excel in their work; they should oppose the taking advantage of the reform for the purposes of particular enterprises and party organizations should inspire activity which serves efficiency, quality production and improvement.

Therefore, the task of the POP should be the constant analysis of the attitude of all party members toward professional work, its discipline and productiveness. Party members who make light of these elementary responsibilities must bear the consequences of the party as well.

If the party wishes to be credible and to conduct a social policy of realistic chances and possibilities, it must bear in mind that many people live in poverty while many others live beyond their means. The costs of the crisis ought to be distributed fairly. The directive of the Central Committee Secretariat in the matter of plant teams for the control of price regularity should also be seen in this context as well as the battle with the nouveau riche, with speculation and with social parasitism.

The introduction of martial law, without diminishing the statutory rights of party organizations and echelons, transferred most of the burden of undertaking current decisions--which is understandable--to the executive organs of echelons: executive committees and secretariats. This is regulated by the instruction of: "managing the party under conditions of threat to the safety of the state.' The productiveness of activity, including that of the party as required by martial law makes it indispensable to abide by this instruction.

In characterizing the tasks of the party under martial law conditions, it is impossible to point out all of them. In presenting this issue in concise terms, I would like to stress that the following are among the most important tasks of party organizations and echelons: above all, active participation in the implementation of WRON tasks, strict cooperation with military commissioners, assistance to order-keeping organs in their efforts to ensure public order and peace, the consistent unmasking and combating of extremist views of activists from Solidarity, KOR [Committee for the Defense of Workers], KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] and from other opposition organizations.

In speaking of the need to inform society about the constant threat from counterrevolutionary forces, it is at the same time necessary to stress that our party wishes to and is capable of reaching an understanding with the nation. A new, charter of such understanding, just being written, is the movement of citizens' National Salvation Committees [KON] of which there are nearly 4,500 in operation in the country and in which there is room for all Polish patriots.

National Salvation Committees, perhaps it would be better to call them national rebirth committees are springing up spontaneously in work establishments and in residential communities and they undertake various initiatives resulting from genuine needs. People with various political views and organizational affiliation find possibilities of participating in the

activity of these commitees. Their value for the future is also based on this. Party echelons should support the development of this movement, assist in the implementation of its worthwhile initiatives and care for its true character.

An important task which falls to party organizations and echelons is that of the proper management and supervision of party cadre policies, new principles for which are presently being formulated. Rejecting the traditional, formal and bureaucratic approach to "nomenklatura," the party will conduct the kind of cadre policy that will assure its influence on the most important areas of sociopolitical life and at the same time the kind that will expand the social base of cadre selection and increase participation in managing the country by representatives of political parties, by young people, by Catholic communities and by nonparty representatives of all communities. The party will promote to management positions people who have influence in and the trust of the community and society because of their moral stand, their qualifications and civic values.

An important task at present is the replacement of cadres, their fair evaluation and proper parting with people who are leaving to do other work or who are retiring.

In the course of the discussion already launched on the future of the trade union movement, the voices of party organizations and party members must not fall short. The extensive experiences and output of the trade union movement during the past 37 years of People's Poland, including the proven forms of everyday social activity on behalf of the work force, should be put to use in the discussion.

It should be remembered in this discussion that unity is what decides the strength of the workers class and that this unity is implemented in workers organizations with the party at the head and in the trade union movement. Under the influence of total antisocialist propaganda and the activity of counterrevolutionary forces in Poland, the unity of the workers class became unsettled as a result of the organizational and programmatic disruptive effect of the trade union movement.

At the Ninth Congress, the PZPR conducted a reevaluation of its stand toward trade unions and recognized their right to independence and independence from economic administration and their right to internal self-government. However, the trade union movement in socialist Poland cannot have goals which are discordant with the structural principles of the state. History has no examples whereby the trade union movement deprived of a bond with the Marxist-Leninist party could serve the labor class properly. On the other hand, the utopianism of anarchosyndicalist concepts is a clear example of this. It is worth remembering this in the discussion which is currently being conducted.

Party Cadre

The party must return to normal functioning but it should be better and more effective than it has been up to now. The mistakes committed by the party

before August 1980 and the severe weaknesses in its activity during the last year or so are more visible today than even several months ago.

The situation in party organizations and echelons is still very differentiated depending on the viovodship, place of work, institution and community. In many plants, colleges, institutions, schools and in rural areas, the POP are just rebuilding their activity. It is the obligation of party echelons to help these organizations to maximum degree so that they regain their ability to perform and their activeness.

Martial law has created qualitatively new conditions of party organization activity. The party entered this period extremely weakened and is slowly rebuilding its strength. Among others, meetings of the POP, the initiating of training and propaganda work attest to this fact. As is indicated by recent months, much also has to be changed in the work of the party echelons and the party apparatus. Only a close and constant contact of the apparatus and the aktiv with party organizations gives the effects desired. Political employees and the eligible aktiv must prove themselves at meetings and in direct work with people. Among other things, fieldwork conducted by Central Committee employees, the rise of regional centers for party work and the intensification of lecture activity serve this purpose.

It is also necessary to improve the ideological upbringing activity of the party, propaganda and information, thus, areas in which despite certain improvement, there is still so much to be done and at which so many critical words are directed by the aktiv.

However, in speaking of the stimulation of party activity, we must also remember the specific cadre situation within echelons. As a result of the election campaign prior to the Ninth Congress, nearly total replacement of leadership cadres took place within the party. This replacement encompassed 80 percent of viovodship committees and more than 65 percent of municipal, rural commune and plant echelons. Half of the first secretaries of the POP are new people. Enormous changes in the party apparatus within the last 18 months which took in nearly 6,000 persons and which constitutes 53 percent and nearly 11,000 employees of political parties should be added to this. The extent of cadre difficulties in finding adequately prepared people for the party apparatus, difficulties which, among other things, are the result of a certain atmosphere created around political employees of the party is attested to most clearly by the fact that currently, there are many unfilled staff positions in the country. It is also worth knowing that 40 percent of the employees of the party apparatus have in the past 18 months gone onto other work beyond the apparatus.

In seeing the positive effects of the democratic elections and the extensive replacement of cadres during the last campaign, it is necessary, however, to remember that the training and preparation of cadres for the party apparatus requires a specified amount of time. And it is within this context that the selection, rotation and replacement of cadres should be viewed.

The last elections were held under unnatural conditions. Speaking very broadly, it was not democracy that caused disappointment but the political climate which obliterated the clarity of evaluations and inclined toward unjustified mistrust of the hitherto existing aktiv. The political climate in which the campaign was conducted prevented the proper selection of candidates for a given function. As a result of the ideological havoc in the leadership of many plant, academic and POP organizations, there were people who were under the extremist influence of Solidarity and susceptible to opportunism.

These people are currently being recalled from their functions. After 13 December, the replacement of 349 first-level-echelon secretaries and those of the KM [City Committees], 307 secretaries of plant committees and 2,091 first secretaries from POP and from OOP [Department Party Organizations] was carried out. More than 1,800 members of city, rural commune and voivodship committees, as well as members of control and revisory committees, were recalled from their functions.

To rebuild the party means also to rebuild its cadre. At the same time, it is necessary to remember the battle with bureaucracy, the auxiliary role of the apparatus, the need for modesty especially bearing in mind the public's sensitivity to the arrogance of the authorities in the not so distant past.

The problems of ideological and political strengthening of the party and the building of premises for public confidence in it--this is currently the major problem facing the PZPR.

9853
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NEED FOR IMPROVEMENT OF WORK OF TRADE UNION ORGANS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jul 82 pp 63-66

[Article by Stefan Calinescu, first deputy chairman of the Commission for Organization and Cadres of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania]

[Text] In line with the directives and guidelines contained in the address of party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu at the Congress of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania [UGSR], the trade union organs and organizations during this period have been allotted great and increasingly significant tasks in all areas of socio-economic activity. Their materialization on the level of current requirements necessitates constant concern for enhancing the trade unions' organizational ability to mobilize the masses in fulfilling the plan provisions, in the progress of our society, for upgrading their style and methods of work.

Organization and highly efficient exercise of supervision over the implementation of decisions are the essential requirements for the achievement of this goal. This need has an overall character and involves a duty for all trade union organs, specifically focusing on the executive bodies of the UGSR Central Council but also on the branch union committees and trade union territorial councils, in whose activity, role and statutory duties supervision is prominent.

In order for supervision to be effective, it must fully involve the requirements that ensure it the character of a tool designed to secure the development of all the activity in full agreement with the needs of the revolutionary work style.

This imperative was forcefully stressed by Nicolae Ceausescu, the party secretary general, at the enlarged plenary session of the CC of the RCP held on 1-2 June 1982, when he stated that we must have a firm attitude against shortcomings, against mistakes, we must fearlessly expose shortcomings and mistakes and work for their elimination, because this provides the guarantee for upgrading work in all the areas.

As shown by practice, of outstanding importance in this regard are the preventive character of supervision, organization and exercise of supervision expeditiously and continuously, so that it may be a constant factor of activity in all its stages of development, beginning with the start of every project until it completion. By doing so many trade union organs, such as the executive bureaus of trade union committees in the metallurgical and machine building industries, in transportation and telecommunications, of county councils of trade unions of Prahova,Suceava,

Sibiu and others manage to constantly step in promptly for eradication of phenomena that generate deficiencies, to prevent procrastinations in terms of commencing planned projects and shallow attitudes in their development, the use of improper methods, violations of standards and regulations established. The introduction in current practice of the procedure that involves officials with responsible jobs being in the field on a regular basis in units, participating actively in the preparation of projects, and the collective examination, at optimal intervals, of the development of the projects, ensures prompt correction of what does not correspond to requirements and discovery and dissemination of advanced experience.

Contrarywise, when supervision is excluded from the set of measures that are taken to complete some tasks, the results totally differ from those that were anticipated. For instance, the fact that at the Arad Municipal Council of Trade Unions, a large number of activities envisioned for the first and second quarters of this year still are in the stage of provisions is the result not only of overplanning for the above-mentioned periods but also of delayed organization of supervision and exercise of supervision at a time when its main effect only involved drawing lessons for the future. A great volume of work for the substantiation and formulation of programs of activity, determination of the need and specification of undertakings and measures was wasted because it could not be converted into practical results.

The above examples, to which more can be added, advocate most careful and responsible concern of trade union organs for the need to act firmly for proper implementation, at all levels, in compliance with specific requirements, of the measures approved by the UGSR Central Council on the introduction of a uniform system of estimation, record and monitoring of the implementation of decisions. In using this supervisory factor the emphasis must be placed on combating, from the start, the tendencies which manifest themselves in some places to reduce the concerns in the area involved to preparing cards and records, forgetting that the purport of the measures taken must involve direct, prompt and thorough on-the-scene information about the stage in implementation of decisions and duties.

In the work of trade union organizations, also, like in the entire social activity, the essence of supervision, its fundamental function, involve efficient assistance to the supervised persons in organization and unfolding of work, in resolution of the problems with which collectives in units are confronted.

This defining facet of supervision in our socialist society, which strictly differentiates it from bureaucratic inspection, tellingly asserts its values in all circumstances. The Alba County Council of Trade Unions, for instance, was gratified to have provided its acknowledged and appreciated input into spurring working people's efforts to upgrade the quality of output. A broad program of supervision, guidance, and assistance, consistently developed over a longer period, by means of collectives made up of trade union officials and specialized cadres from state organs resulted in the initiation of a wide range of activities, including the stimulating contest with the award "Quality Banner," the reorganization of the "quality displays," the initiation of discussions in the form of "Complaint Against This Product" or on the topic of violations of technical standards, the institution of the "Technical-Scientific Creativity Week" and the like which occurred at the enterprises for accessories for machine-tools at Blaj, for socks at Sebes, for footwear "Ardeleana," for leather items "Caprioara," at Alba Iulia "Portelanul" and in many other units.

During inspection, the committees of trade unions, of the section organizations and the bureaus of trade union groups were concretely helped to undertake themselves such projects that fitted their procedures, to broadly promote advanced attitudes and worker responsibility for quality.

Moreover, by systematic supervisory projects, which focused on assisting the supervised parties to fulfill their duties, the Sibiu County Council of Trade Unions was a major factor in increasing the input of trade unions in promoting the programs for encouraging mass scientific-technical creativity, mobilizing for this purpose more than 41,000 working people. Consequently, 1981 saw solutions found to 2,400 problems, application of 190 inventions and 193 innovations, with an economic efficiency valued at 518.6 million lei.

Placing even more emphasis on this fundamental function of supervision, the executive bureaus of trade union councils of Tulcea, Olt, Vrancea, Teleorman, Constanta and Bistrita-Nasaud counties played an active role through collectives that were organized in conjunction with the labor safety inspectorates and the directorates for labor affairs and social care, in units with special working conditions, generating expeditious technical and organizational measures whose application resulted in the continuous decline in morbidity with temporary work disability and its going down below the countrywide level.

The development of the good results, the generalization of procedures such as those mentioned above are essential priorities. However, we must point out that there still are cases, in almost all counties, when the inspections organized by territorial councils and by some unions of trade unions involve hurried trips of officials through units or shallow analyses, made by some collectives, chiefly based on statistical figures provided by functional services of the enterprises or by local specialized bodies, without achievement of a direct contact with the realities and with the people's activities, without direct estimation of the problems that arise. Hence, instead of actual solutions and assistance that needs to be given in the field, such inspections only "succeed" in providing the higher bodies with sterile information and findings, which contain views of officials who try to justify the existence of deficiencies, or with general assessments resulting from simplistic processing and subjective interpretation of some global figures. Consequently, in such situations, supervision takes on the character of a routine and red tape activity in terms of organization and inefficient one in terms of substance, in certain instances, even leading to the maintenance of unsatisfactory situations or blockage of valuable initiatives.

The UGSR Central Council takes a severe stand and condemns this kind of supervision, pointing out its basic deficiencies and in exchange highlighting the values of effective supervision, conceived as actual assistance and support given to the trade union organizations that are supervised. We take a firm stand against this kind of inspection also during the training of the central apparatus and in the field, when we come upon it. Our militant stand against this approach to and conduct of supervision also stems from the fact that wherever it is organized and unfolds we have rather significant damages. For instance, in Calarasi County, there was failure to organize -- and this happened in a large number of trade unions -- the general assemblies and annual meetings for reports, although the county trade union council had reported the completion of the project.

Further, waste of time and effort results from the procedure used in some territorial councils of trade unions in Braila, Arges and Vilcea counties and also in some unions of trade unions, where the projects of supervision, guidance and assistance which precede some analyses in the executive bureaus of these bodies only involve collection of written information. Moreover, there is the proliferation of a phenomenon, that could be called thematicomania, that involves formulation and circulation of a considerable number of topics, charts and records, whose completion swallows the work time of the active and other cadres in socioeconomic units. Also, by replacement of man by papers, reality changes, softening the asperities, a fact which, if it does not generate, it certainly encourages the appearance of self-satisfaction, of complacency and, ultimately, indolence, slowness and apathy, which are totally incompatible with the revolutionary style of work.

Firm renunciation of such anachronistic procedures, which undermine the essential function of supervision, that of exposing the shortcomings and eliminating them, takes on greater significance if we view these phenomena in our work in light of the underlining made by Nicolae Ceausescu at the enlarged plenary session of the Central Committee of the RCP held on 1-2 June 1982, focusing on the imperative need for expanding socialist democracy. If forms and tools are used that replace direct contact with life, with people's activities, supervision cannot operate among the factors that concretely express democracy, depriving itself of the efficiency that can result from collecting and taking into consideration of the views, proposals and suggestions of those who effectively materialize the decisions taken, views which stem from thorough knowledge of reality, and also establishment of the best possible measures for upgrading work. In the activity of trade union bodies, the tie between supervision and democracy is an objective factor, a determining requirement which naturally results from the very specific nature of the broadest mass organization of the working class. Moreover, consultation of the masses on all problems of major importance for the work force is and must be for trade union organs at all levels a statutory duty.

Life provides us with data and facts which compel us to also point out the need for the trade union organs, from the union committees, territorial councils up to the trade union committees, to more intensively concern themselves also with enhancing the formative and educational function of the supervision exercised.

The principle of renewing, at the time of elections, at least one-third of the number of trade union organs, the natural wish of working people that every time the greatest possible number of new cadres be drawn into the leading bodies of trade union organizations resulted in the considerable rise in the number of people who for the first time fulfill such duties; it now amounts to 50% in the bureaus of trade union groups, 52.5% in the committees of trade union organizations of sections, plants, factories, mines and the like, and 55% in trade union committees. This situation, coupled with the diversification and greater complexity of tasks, results in the training of cadres, enhancement of their level of knowledge, becoming a constant need, being an indissoluble part of all the work of guidance, assistance and supervision.

As a matter of fact, through its very role, supervision must ensure complete clarification of the bodies supervised and of their members as to all the problems pertaining to the function, duties and tasks and also the procedures for completion.

The need is taken into consideration in most cases, but there still are situations when, after completion of the inspection, made by some officials and even collectives sent from the UGSR Central Council, from the committees of unions of trade unions of various activity branches and territorial councils, the supervised parties do by no means enrich their knowledge as to the organization and unfolding of work, the forms and procedures of effective participation in the fulfillment of economic and social tasks, do not better understand the regulations and standards in force, and often are left with unclarities. Limiting itself to setting requirements and tasks, to formulating imperatives, even if they are accompanied by specific target dates and responsibilities, supervision conceived and exercised only in terms of "requesting" without "giving"does not generate concrete results in upgrading work, it is sterile, formal, without positive effects and, consequently, without durable impact.

Strictness against shortcomings, fostering of a spirit of profound involvement, development of initiative and responsibility in work, also, are paramount and timely requirements of the supervisory activity which the UGSR Central Council constantly takes into consideration. The ability of organization and mobilization of the masses, as a major condition of successful action, can remain, partially or totally, in a latent stage if those who are meant to use it lack the will and accountability. And, as is well known, these are generated and develop not simply by planting beliefs, but by daily practice in the work process, through a firm, militant attitude against irregularities, laxity and violations. Practice has proved more than once that good results are obtained only when supervision objectively surveys the unsatisfactory situations found and points out, without diminutions, their consequences, regardless of the functions of the offenders. Clemency, called by some "concern" or "care" for comrades, has never been useful to those to whom it was shown and even less to the overall activity of the trade union bodies to which they belong. Although they are fully aware of this axiomatic truth, some trade union organs, which include the executive bureaus of trade union councils of Salaj, Vaslui, Calarasi, and Harghita counties and many trade union committees handle the shortcomings of their members with indulgence and are surprised that in this context some of the deficiencies in their activities continue to exist and increase.

For trade union work, the need for inextricable and permanent intertwining of their concerns for the training of cadres with those focusing on their education is also forcefully highlighted by the principle of autonomy whose essence involves the trade union organs' ability to act independently and with the highest spirit of responsibility and initiative in organizing their own work for the efficient implementation of their tasks and duties. Militancy, critical and self-critical spirit in the exercise of supervision are essential requirements for the formation and development of this ability, on which ultimately hinges the demonstration of the social usefulness of the work of trade unions, the pillar on which they build their authority and assert their role and powers assigned by the party.

Further placing greater emphasis on upgrading supervision, its forms of organization and exercise, in full compliance with the needs of efficiency, the trade union organs and organizations, under the leadership of party organs and organizations, will have a greater input into the implementation of the party Program for building a multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advancement toward communism.

11710
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ECONOMIC LOSSES CAUSED BY VIOLATIONS OF LAWS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jul 82 pp 7-10

[Unsigned article]

[Text] The increasing complexity and volume of assignments in this stage imperatively require all party organs and organizations, mass and civic organizations, all the party and state active to give prominence, as a primordial concern, to firm implementation of party and state decisions, of the country's laws. Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "We must pay pecial attention to enhancing the spirit of responsibility and discipline in firm implementation of the tasks assigned by the party and the people. In any office he holds, the communist must display a spirit of high responsibility and strictness, he must act very firmly for the implementation of the country's laws and party decisions."

Working to consistently implement this task, the party organs and organizations are in duty bound to ensure in all the work collectives rigid discipline, exemplary order, a high spirit of responsibility of every party and state official, of every worker in the fulfillment of their assignments.

Practice has confirmed the truth according to which one of the sine qua non requirements of observance of laws involves thorough knowledge of their provisions by each communist, by each working person. It goes without saying that before conducting an ample political-educational activity for the implementation of the party and state decisions, there is the need for intensive work to thoroughly study their contents, to assimilate each provision. For the purpose of creating this kind of support, the party organs and organizations make use of an entire system of political activities designed to assist communists, the other working people in understanding the need and procedures for the application of laws in every circumstance, for strict observance of the legal provisions. Study and seminar discussion of party and state decisions, organization of consultations by ablest cadres -- officials with responsible positions, lawyers, economists -- answers to people's questions, popularization of laws by concentric visual propaganda, such as setting up the "Legal Forum," initiations of special broadcasts over radiorelay stations such as "Dialog With the Law," "Lawgiver's Advice" or "In Conflict With Discipline," provision of compilations of laws and decisions at the political-ideological information centers -- these are a few of the tools that asserted their efficiency.

Certainly, this concern cannot, must not exclude the stage that follows after the adoption of some decisions, when naturally priority is given to most rapidly and accurately bringing the provisions of a party and state document to people, especially to those designated to ensure their implementation. Life has proved that any delay in transmission of some measures generates undesired intermissions, which often are damaging, in expeditious implementation of decisions, retarding the obtaining of the effects anticipated.

For instance, we know that Decree 400/1981 was amply discussed in all the economic units. Nevertheless, after the organization of the information drives, serious violations of work discipline continued to occur -- absenteeism, leaving facilities unsupervised or operating them incorrectly, leaving them unattended, introduction and drinking of alcoholic beverages, pilfering. Last year, at the Pitesti Petrochemical Combine, the damages and various technical accidents resulted in the loss of an industrial output valued at more than 500 million lei. Such situations, which occurred against the backdrop of serious manifestations of indiscipline, disorder and lack of supervision also were found at the Borzesti Petrochemical Combine, Petrila Mining Enterprise, Galati Metallurgical Combine, Cimpia Turzii "Industria Sirmei" Metallurgical Combine, Turceni Thermoelectric Power Station, and the Arad Oil Drilling and Extraction Trust.

As is known, some officials in the system of foreign trade units committed serious violations. A great responsibility for these violations falls to party organizations in ministries, in the other central economic bodies and in the foreign trade enterprises, that, even when they knew of the violations involved, did not analyze these phenomena with principled accountability and strictness, did not take steps to bring all the offenders to account in light of party standards and did not request the leading bodies of the ministries to remove them from foreign trade activity.

With major lessons being drawn from these gross violations of the country's laws, which harmed the state's interests and caused great damage to the economy, there is the need for each communist, each working person, regardless of the office they hold in the enterprise -- manager, department head, foreman or machine operator -- to work tirelessly for the protection of public property, to display greatest concern for best possible preservation of the part from the people's assets that was entrusted to them for administration and management. The capacity of owner, maker and user of the product of his work requires every worker to sacredly protect the machines and installations, the output which is turned out, to most carefully and sensibly handle raw materials and supplies, ensuring their complete and highly efficient utilization.

Firm implementation of party and state decisions is a permanent duty of all party organs and organizations, an overall valid imperative. Consequently, also the political work focusing on the formation and development of a militant opinion, for rigid observance of legality, for combating of any act of indiscipline, must proceed uninterruptedly, without breaks and discontinuities. Moreover, there is the need for ensuring strict supervision, for markedly preventive and steadfast efforts which help to eradicate any tendency to disregard the provisions which underlie our legal order.

Concerned with ensuring a wide-ranging character to the projects designed to enhance accountability in strict implementation of party and state decisions, the party organs and organizations are required to constantly focus on the manner in which the youth is educated in the spirit of compliance with the laws, to closely monitor the formative activities, to help to end any tendency to disregard socialist laws.

Evidently, working to create a climate of high militancy, the party organs and organizations must take prompt and firm stand against the slightest illegality. Because to tolerate indiscipline, to close one's eye to the violator of the provisions in force by no means signifies proving humanism. Conversely, proving tolerance in such a situation practically means encouraging illegal behavior, hence not helping the offender to become aware of the harm caused to society and also not helping the collective to understand that this kind of phenomena must be steadfastly combated.

While the requirement for adherence to the country's laws is a major issue for every citizen, for communists it is one of the basic statutory duties, because the implementation of the provisions of party discipline harmoniously intertwines with compliance with the provisions of state discipline. There is an indestructible tie between state discipline and party discipline, because the state laws always reflect the party's political line. Therefore, the reasoning of those party members is wrong according to which they allegedly are required to comply only with the statutory provisions, with the provisions of party discipline, while state discipline allegedly involves the other citizens. A communist is required not only to comply with the country's laws, with statutory discipline, but also to be constantly in the forefront of the fight to most steadfastly implement them, taking a firm stand against anyone who strays the slightest from our socialist laws.

At the enlarged plenary session of the CC of the RCP, held early last June, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "The communist must not reconcile himself with deficiencies, with shortcomings, he must constantly be steadfast with himself, the same as with his work mates." In line with this requirement, the party organs and organizations developed and conducted, in a differentiated concept, an intensive political activity of fostering in each party member a high spirit of responsibility in the implementation, first by himself, in all circumstances, of the provisions of socialist laws, the principles of socialist ethics and equity. Understanding the defining truth for their social and moral status, pointed out on numberless occasions by the party secretary general, according to which the communists do not have special rights or extra privileges in society, and that the different factor from the other working people involves their greater duties, their higher awareness, the revolutionary, steadfast spirit which governs their work and life, the party members must demonstrate by their daily actions, by their everyday behavior, by their whole conduct, that they are ready to make any sacrifice for the triumph of the policy of the party, of its great cause.

As revolutionaries who, with awareness, have pledged to work for the accomplishment of the socialist and communist ideals, the communists are in duty bound to honorably fulfill their tasks in all areas of activity -- Nicolae Ceausescu strongly emphasized at the historic plenary session of the CC of the RCP held on 1-2 June 1982. Proceeding from the truth that simply an agreement of principle to the spirit and letter of the law is not sufficient, the party organs and organizations are developing systematic programs which focus on the formation in all the communists of

a high awareness, of enhanced responsibility. By using all the arsenal of political-organizational and educational tools -- political-ideological training, party general assemblies, individual discussions -- the county party committees periodically survey the concerns of party organs and organizations for the purpose of strict implementation of party and state decisions.

Standing out in its full significance is the underlining made by the party secretary general in regard to the need for all party and state workers, all communists, all the work force understanding that in face of the law, in face of legal order all are equal, regardless of their position in social hierarchy and, consequently, all are required to abide by the provisions stipulated in our socialist laws, in full compliance with the principles of socialist ethics and equity which the party firmly promotes.

Constantly guided by the assessment made by the party secretary general at the plenary session of the CC of the RCP held early in June, in whose light any violation of the country's laws, of party and state decisions is incompatible with the quality of party member, the party organs and organizations will display the firmness required, producing the application of the measures in line with this important directive, regardless of the office held by the offender.

An official in an executive post is all the more required to be, in all aspects, a lofty example of strict observance of the law, ensuring in the collective which he heads firm implementation of the law, an attitude pervaded with discipline and integrity. No one may govern himself by individual laws and regulations, because lawfulness and discipline are mandatory for all the citizens of this country, all the more so for executives, for the party and state active. The office entrusted by the party and people to some officials does not entitle them to evade the laws of this country, to distort their meaning and contents, to apply them arbitrarily; on the contrary, they have greater duties in ensuring firm implementation of the laws, themselves abiding by them most strictly. And if in some places violations are committed, if the provisions in force are not followed, this also is the effect of flaws in the political-educational work, in party supervision, the effect of failure to understand this basic requirement.

To most strictly ensure firm implementation by all the cadres, by all communists, of the party and state decisions, to make every effort to prevent any illegal act, to assure great order and discipline -- here are a few basic requirements for the development everywhere of a climate of respect for the law, a constant concern for giving priority to the decisions of our highest party and state bodies, whose materialization secures the tremendous growth of the Romanian society along the road of socialism and communism.

11710
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CORRUPTION, GRAFT OF PARTY MEMBERS REVEALED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jul 82 pp 85-89

[Unsigned article]

[Text] No Room in the Party Organ for Those Who Harm Its Prestige

At one point, between Engr. Mihail Munteanu and technician Lucretia Manofu, both members of the party organization at the Orsova "Cazanele" Textile Enterprise in Mehedinti County, there was a disagreement, that generated a conflictual situation. Such situations occur sometimes, but in most cases everything is resolved satisfactorily. It is the natural consequence of the fact that party members, in light of the essential duty to be a model of behavior in their families and society, prove patience, calmand tact in finding the best ways to eliminate disagreements.

But how did Mihail Munteanu act? He let loose his primitive instincts and under their impulse he went to the office where the technician was and punched her with his fists causing injuries which required medical care.

The offender also is a member of the party committee. In this case he proved that he did not know how to relate to people, that he did not have the qualities needed for such duties and for holding executive positions in the professional field. And one of the essential duties of party organs involves seeing to it that such individuals do not penetrate their ranks.

Hence, the party committee should have taken firm action. But only a month and a half later it submitted the case for discussion, penalizing the engineer with a "vote of censure with warning," but maintaining his quality as a member of the party organ. Unfortunately, the Orsova Town Party Committee and the county committee, ignoring the statutory provisions that underlie the elections to party committees, assessed that the engineer's actions were compatible with the quality of a member of a party organ.

We firmly believe that, at least now, this case will be discussed more thoroughly and that measures will be taken so that the party organ may not include people who, by their behavior and attitude, harm its authority and injure the prestige enjoyed by the party in the ranks of the masses.

Manager's Home Comfort Built By Reducing Animal Sheltering Facilities

The investment project law clearly stipulates how each leu appropriated from the country's budget must be managed, what are the duties of the builder and of the user in terms of handling materials, the obligation of preventing any kind of waste, and non-cost-effective consumption rates, very severely punishing violations of current standards.

In this context there is the need for analyzing and penalizing the action of Ioan Scurtu, manager of the Frenciugi Intercooperative Economic Association for Milch Cows, Scheia Commune, Iasi County. He ordered that materials be taken from the unit's construction site and be used for repairs and upgrading comfort in the apartment which he inhabited, thus charging to the "public pocket" -- by misuse and fraud -- the money spent on attaining great personal ambitions.

Specialized county organs had to step in to restore order in the situation that had arisen, requiring the manager to return the cement, reinforcing bars, lumber, bricks and the other materials swiped from the construction site. He was fined 1,000 lei for the violation committed. Moreover, the party organization penalized him with a "vote of censure with warning." But...

There is a "but" in the profound, demanding and example-setting examination of this situation. Did manager I. Scurtu live by himself in this village? Why did public opinion manifest itself only after the county organs determined at the scene the violations committed and did not step in before? For the materials were transported not by Scurtu on his back, but by truck or horse wagon -- over a distance of several kilometers, past the gates of hundreds of families. Moreover, on behalf of the communal party committee and the people's council answerable for this "the locality's most important economic facility" was its secretary himself, mayor Constantin Pristavu. Why did he not report this action? What kind of supervision, what kind of guidance did he provide, if before his eyes such a reprovable action occurred?

For the purpose of maximum lessons to be drawn by all the parties, the above case must be analyzed in its full complexity. And the measure of removing I. Scurtu from the office which he is still holding, even though his moral physiognomy proves as clearly as daylight that by his behavior he does not measure up to the quality of a leader, must be followed by bringing to account all those who proved shallowness in the exercise of their duties, in one form or another facilitating pilfering from public property and proliferation of misuse and inequity. Of course, it is necessary to dwell on this matter also during the training sessions organized by the bureau of the county party committee.

Illegality Is Illegality With or Without Unit's Management Approval

"It was confirmed that in section II Medias of the "Emailul Rosu" Enterprise there were tunred out two wrought iron bookcases, five luggage racks for privately owned automobiles, six tubular keys" the reply to a notification sent to the Medias Municipal Party Committee firmly says.

Such actions which have turned the section, with a well defined profile, with plan assignments, into a kind of service shop available to those who, eager to evade the

provisions of socialist laws, take most advantage of public property, did not happen only once, accidentally.

All these services used materials and facilities of the enterprise, during working hours. Defying the in-house rules of operation, the legal standards, the principles of socialist ethics and equity, the managing body of the section involved permitted that matters of strictly personal interest be handled here.

What was the end for all these dishonest actions, which spotlight the retrograde mental attitude of some cadres who knowingly mistake the people's property for their own? The council of working people merely issued a decision whereby it ordered a ban on such services without the approval of the leading body. Hence, a legal cover is being sought in order to continue the acts of indiscipline, a simple approval from management for covering, justifying any kind of violation of the regulations in force. A firmer, more steadfast stand was to be expected from the municipal party committee. But, unfortunately, it too preferred to take the same path. "Because there were found some violations of the rules of procedure in the enterprise, of party and state discipline, the secretariat of the municipal party committee summoned the management of the enterprise and the secretary of the party committee, warning them for the irregularities found and advising that measures be taken to avoid such violations. Furthermore, it recommended to the party committee to discuss the cases of the section head, Fodor Onoriu, and Vasile Salajan, the secretary of the section party committee," the report worked out said.

With such characterization of the violations of the provisions of socialist laws, with such instructions, which by no means urged strictness and severity, the plenary session of the enterprise party committee could not reach a different conclusion as to the responsibility of the section head for all that was happening under his eyes and with his agreement, as to the gravity of the illegalities. Hence, the section head was penalized with "reprimand," and the council of working people decided to transfer him to another job.

How come that so much indulgence was displayed for such grave actions? Why was not the analysis carried farther and the dishonest procedures submitted for discussion to the section party organization? How many officials of the municipal party committee passed through this enterprise, through the section, without reporting what was happening? What does the presence of the instructor, who is responsible for the party organization here, involve? Actually, also questioned is the responsibility of the member of the municipal party committee who was allotted the task of guiding, assisting and supervising the activity of the party committee.

Not answering all these questions means minimizing the gravity of the illegalities committed, leaving them unpunished, fostering the belief that state discipline could be violated and public property harmed provided one obtains management's approval. And it is hard to believe that the bureau of the municipal party committee shares such a profoundly harmful idea.

Present Only in Supervisors' Records

We all are aware of the responsibility which rests with supervisors in maintaining order and discipline, establishing a climate of great strictness inside each

collective of the enterprise, section, work group. Nevertheless, cases are still found when, instead of monitoring the way in which the working hours are utilized, they provide excuses without any serious justification and afterwards do not survey the making up for all the hours missed. This applies to Elena Wolff, shop supervisor, and Rozalia Szabo, receiver-shipper, at the Cloth Enterprise in Sighisoara, Mures County, who, in order to cover the absence of those excused from work, resorted to phony clocking, permitting payments to be made to some workers to which they were not entitled.

The circumstance which R. Szabo attempts to create -- claiming that E. Wolff exerted pressure, threatening her that if she did not do the operations as told she would transfer her -- cannot be taken into consideration because no order that contradicts the laws should be obeyed.

Of course, there may be circumstances when a worker has serious reasons for asking for an excusal. But in this case, naturally, it is correctly recorded, so that at the end of the month he may receive his pay for the hours he actually worked. But precisely this was not done at the Cloth Enterprise, a fact for which, with good reason, the Sighisoara Municipal Party Committee stepped in, submitting this case for discussion to the party organization. The penalty "vote of censure" given to E. Wolff and R. Szabo, for having allowed themselves to introduce in the collective in which they worked an order different from the normal one, expresses the communists' disapproval of such procedures.

Moreover, it is necessary also to more thoroughly analyze the stand of the enterprise party committee and party branch bureau who for a long while closed their eyes to and actually tolerated the violation of order and discipline, of legality. Because one cannot admit that, in such an important area as the one that involves observance of legality, the presence of a firm, strict party supervision, which does not permit any form of evasion of the regulations in force and, especially, violation of these regulations, did not make itself felt.

Comment on a Letter. Strictness Replaced by Excessive Clemency

Ioan Constantin Suciu, residing in Brasov, 3 Minerva Street,.... by profession a soccer coach, ex-vice chairman at Brasov FCM during the 1979-1981 period, as he states in his letter to the editorial office, expressed his displeasure over the criticism formulated in the articles printed in our issues of August 1981 and May 1982, on the violations and financial frauds committed at the Brasov club. "We do not understand who profits by misinformation of public opinion, slandering of the sports movement and condemnation of Brasov FCM," he wrote. "It is true that some violations were committes at Brasov FCM: granting some extra game bonuses to players, purchase of Adidas shoes and Tango balls, training camps prior to the game, but not at the level of those reported in the article printed in August 1981 (....). I, myself, have never granted any amount of money to any coach, federal observer or other officials (....). I was astounded to read that 200,000 lei were received by Constanta FC from Brasov FCM to cede, in the fall of 1980, at home, the two points disputed in order to facilitate promotion to Division A of the Brasov team. I point out that in the fall of 1980 Brasov FCM played in Division A and Constanta FC in Division B."

Suciu's remark is correct. By a mistake of the review, for which we apologize, we retained from the Inspection Report containing violations and illegalities found in management of some funds at a number of clubs, prepared by the Higher Court of Financial Control and the Ministry of Finance, approved by the Permanent Bureau of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, that in the fall season happened what, as pointed out in the material, happened in the spring of the same year, 1980, on 16 March. However, the error in terms of... season cannot provide the alibi which, we feel, is now needed by the person whose actions are now awaiting trial. In the above-mentioned document it is stated clearly: "....In 1980, Constanta FC collected from Brasov FCM (according to the statements given from the inspection) the sum of 200,000 lei to yield the game in favor of this team (score 0-2) for the purpose of promotion of the Brasov FCM team to Division A. The amount involved did not appear in any document as paid out from Brasov FCM and was not recorded in the books of the Constanta club."

One may ask: But what guilt could have the ex-vice chairman of the Brasov club in regard to all this? Likewise, many perplexities could also be generated by the other elements transcribed above from the letter received from Suciu, specifically his emphasizing that someone elsewhere allegedly would have a particular interest in compromising soccer in general and Brasov soccer in particular.

True, recently there has been much and unfavorable talk about the "soccer people" of Brasov, about the very serious frauds and violations of ethical standards and financial regulations committed by them, about the team's promotion, based on fraud, to the first soccer division of this country. But this is only due to the people in Brasov who handled the affairs of local soccer. By their dishonest procedures in the formation of the money resources, most often in complete opposition to the country's laws, punishable under the Penal Code, by the manner in which they handled millions of lei collected in the so-called "nonaccounted funds," only they, people eager to enrich themselves, undermined the good reputation and the consideration enjoyed during the last decades by the soccer team of Brasov truck builders. Moreover, for the purpose of not remaining in the sphere of generalities, here is what is retained from the Report prepared on the basis of verification of notifications from a letter addressed to the party leadership in regard to some violations and illegalities committed by executive cadres at the Brasov Truck Enterprise, a document approved on 24 June 1981, that directly involves I. C. Suciu: "During the 1979-March 1981 period retained from about 7,000 persons listed on payrolls was the sum of 2,878,000 lei remitted on the basis of hand written receipts to a financial official (....). During September-October 1979, the proper organs made an inspection at the time of a game and found that tickets valued at 68,000 lei were sold which had not been entered in books, and the ex-vice chairman of the club, Constantin Suciu, guilty of these illegalities, was fined 100 lei (....).Other illegal procedures were used to create funds of money that had not been entered in books at Brasov FCM, by selling tickets, pictures, calendars, fliers, bags and other nonregistered propaganda material, valued at more than 1 million lei (....). The sums were spent illegally by club chairman Teodor Verdes, vice chairman Constantin Suciu and coach Nicolae Proca (....). The persons investigated state that the reason for spending more than 1 million lei was the transfer of some players from other teams, the acquisition of coaches and federal observers."

According to the document, for commission of infractions of embezzlement, illegality on the job, giving and taking of bribe, penal measures were taken against several persons including the ex-vice chairman of the club, I. C. Suciu.

Recalling all this, we are surprised at the fact that, even though he is directly involved in the fraud of millions of lei committed at the club, the ex-vice chairman of this sports unit accuses others for, allegedly, unjustly slandering the Brasov sports movement; also, that losing himself in all kinds of justifications and details -- the names of his parents, the system of organization of soccer competitions in other countries, and so forth -- he forgets to apply just and exemplary self-criticism. But it seems that the period that has elapsed since the discovery of the incredible -- but real! -- frauds committed has not been long enough for the soccer coach-vice chairman (at that time) of Brasov FCM to bring him down on earth. Moreover, the irrefutable proofs provided could not convince him of and make him realize the social danger which his action spelled. Undoubtedly, a contributing factor was the indulgence displayed by the council of working people at the Truck Enterprise, who, not even after a year from the discovery of the fraud took the proper organizational measure against one of the chief offenders. Excessive clemency is as harmful as is complicity in the illegalities committed.

11710
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EXAMPLES OF 'CONSISTENT,' 'INCONSISTENT' LITERARY CRITICISM

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 17 Jul 82 p 9

[Article by Mirela Roznoveanu: "The Consistency and Inconsistency of Criticism"]

[Text] There are critics for whom a pretty and opportune lie counts more than recognition of a fact. And this attitude probably comes from a fear of nonexistent error when it is a question of a true creator, because in a free confrontation of ideas the error is not to be condemned--especially as, with aesthetic truths and taste undergoing a continual metamorphosis in a culture, revisions of opinions are normal and necessary--but, to paraphrase a statement of a contemporary thinker, the self-satisfied and aggressive clinging to obsolete ideas, in other words, pseudoscience.

I would have considered my discussion with Alex. Stefanescu ended after the response that I published in "Suplimentul Literar-Artistic al SCINTEII TINERETULUI" [The Literary and Artistic Supplement of SCINTEII TINERETULUI] of 9 May of this year, where, under the title "Obtuseness in Comprehending the Progress of Ideas in Criticism," I demonstrated that his discrediting opinions about today's new criticism, published in the periodical CRONICA of 1 January 1982 and the same supplement of 28 March of this year, have the character of a campaign. I would thus have considered this discussion ended because--I want it to be understood--the fact that my works do not please him did n t cause me to respond, but the denial of a phenomenon that, behold, in apparently objective forms, Alex. Stefanescu ridicules once again on a page of the same supplement's issue of 16 May. That my last book seems "high-flown" and "grandiloquent" to him is a question of taste. Alex. Stefanescu's writing excels in the art of "interpreting" and of giving convenient responses, because, you see, the critic no longer likes it to be believed that he does not accept the new criticism but that he does not tolerate the overdoing of the "game of science." Thus, he does not breathe a word about his work to which I referred, published in the periodical CRONICA (1 January 1982), where he wrote: "I do not believe that there can be methods of investigating the text. What should you investigate? The alternation of the consonants and vowels, the frequency of the appearance of certain characters or, who knows, the chemical composition of the ink with which the book was printed?" and so on and so on.

However, here is what we read in the supplement of 16 May of this year: "The critics here who intelligently adopt new methods of analyzing the text or themselves conceive such methods--Marian Popa, Livius Ciocarlie, Magdalena Popescu, Dan Culcer, Eugen Negrici, Marian Papahagi, Ion Vartic, Al. Calinescu and so on--are viewed with interest and esteem. In any case, as far as I am concerned, many (?) times I have

indicated in writing my appreication for their contribution to the modernization of our criticism."

To follow the thread of the critic's lapses of memory, let us see, for example, how he wrote about one of the critics respected by him in this sense, namely about Magdalena Popescu's monograph "Slavici," a piece of writing introduced in "Jurnal de Critic" [Journal of a Critic] (1981) under the title "Magdalena Popescu's Contribution to the Modernization of Our Current Criticism." Trying--it is written--to reconstitute "literature's effect on the reader, on a reader whom she depicts in an objective manner either by putting him together like a mannequin from the data furnished by immediate reality or by reconstructing him like a paleontological exhibit," the author "induces the taste of that time" (Slavici's time--our note), "there being a great waste of ingenuity, of erudition and sometimes (with some uneasiness!) even of imagination." Alex. Stefanescu does not specify that in the analysis it is a question of a semiotic model and even of a practice used by the poetics of comprehension (of which he had probably not yet heard). The discrediting conclusion from his phrases is that Magdalena Popescu was subject to a methodological whim that he is generously overlooking for reasons not very hard to understand. However, what "Magdalena Popescu's contribution to the modernization of our current criticism" is remains for the reader of the work, to the end, a mystery.

"Forgetting" that in CRONICA he had rejected semiotics in general as a method of analysis, with one example in this context also being a a semiotic model used in my last book, Alex. Stefanescu denies in the supplement of 16 May that he would ever have accused me of "modernity." "Have I accused Mirela Roznoveanu of too much modernity?" Alex. Stefanescu asks in the first column, to continue in the fourth column with a series of accusations. Besides some semiotic terms and the "two diagrams similar to two cardiograms," the key point of the argument is that "Harap Alb" [White Blackamoor] was used incorrectly in the monograph "D. R. Popescu" as a model of a fairytale because it is not a folktale but was written by Ion Creanga. If he would have carefully studied the comparative model, Alex. Stefanescu would have observed that "Harap Alb" was broken down into narrative sequences (functions) and not analyzed from a stylistic viewpoint. The fairytale has a narrative scheme, a structure unique to it, in which the combination of a limited number of easily repeatable elements (the functions) leads to models of situations and behaviors of however great a complexity, a thing demonstrated by Propp. In this sense, "Harap Alb" is an ideal "scheme" of the Romanian fairytale, in which we find all the behavioral situations and the models of exemplary situations. What Propp did for the Russian fairytale in a theoretical synthesis, Ion Creanga achieved in an epic synthesis. I believed that this was implied and I render justice here to Alex. Stefanescu: In our analyses we must think both about those who do not understand and about those who do not want to understand. Regarding the terms that he would like eliminated from criticism for good--"signifying and signified, pertinent, ambiguity, (intertextualitate)" and so on--they express--we have no choice--very precise concepts. It has already become impossible to exclude them from the critical language. To proceed to an "autochthonization" in order to not grate on the ear of the critical "purist" would mean for us to fall into the error of those who proposed that we use the word "necktie" instead of "cravat." But even the haphazard citation above indicates confusion, ignorance. "(Intertextualitate)" is not a "word," but a method, a semiotic practice. In fact, this is not the only proof that Alex. Stefanescu does not read. "The outmoded, antiquated rhetoric, based on big and vacuous words that do not have any effect on today's clearheaded reader," detected in a phrase in my work, a phrase between

quotation marks--"Today's deliriums are often tomorrow's truths"--does not belong to me but to Roland Barthes. I am not asking Alex. Stefanescu to read the illustrious critic but only to remember one thing--that quotations are usually found between quotation marks."

The scientistic "imitators," so-called, in today's criticism--I must say it--are held up to scorn by a veritable nonscientist, because what else is Alex. Stefanescu doing if not imitating in criticism what is practiced in a view about art professed by Nicolae Manolescu and abandoned by him for a "scientism" that I am amazed that the fervent imitator has not yet seen. The idea of art as a game, as a pure artisanal effect, as a crafty changing of masks, repeated in a leveling manner to the point of saturation, reproduces simplistically a critical exercise that has found itself a theoretical motivation and an expressive mode. Thus, leafing at random, we discover in "Preludiu" [Prelude] (A. S.'s first book) that Dimitrie Stelaru "is a Shakespeare-an buffoon who cavorts in the middle of an arena, with the difference that he does not speak, but pretends to speak, truths, doing spectacular prestidigitation...," that in Eugen Jebeleanu the poetry "resembles an exposition in the glare of the spotlights" and that Leonid Dimov "creates a world in sport...." The ludic inclination is also specific to Nina Cassian and Tudor George, for whom the supreme ambition would be "to achieve, at any cost, a complete, overwhelming spectacle from which the spectators, even the most skeptical, can no longer depart"; in Marin Sorescu the "stage" and the "theater" would create the basic ambiguity of the poetry; "with a magic wand" Adrian Paunescu creates the "spectacle" placed "on the stage of the exceptional condition"; in novels Titus Popovici seems to be a veritable TV-show director; and so on.

In "Jurnal de Critic," in order to explain the view of art as a game, an appeal is made to the game of chess and to the play of children--the latter showing how far the infantilism of critical comparisons can be pushed. "Another situation," it says, "that reproduces the relationship between the writer and the critic: Gasping with enthusiasm, the child relates what extraordinary discoveries he made in the yard, while the mother, with a smile on her lips, watches him as he talks." (The critic, should we understand from this, is also the mother of the writer?!) The authors of romans a clef are absolutely pitiable in A. S.'s view, since they "are like those artisans who, collecting rocks and pieces of branches, present them, after superficial processing, as statuettes." This would demonstrate the fantasy of nature and a "ludic inclination" (of the artisans, of the collectors, of nature? Not even the last hypothesis is excluded, in other words, that nature too may be staged, in sport, in the changing of masks and so on). Originality in art is defined as the capacity to "achieve combinations," thus an artisanal aptitude. The critics would write from "the pleasure of dismantling the mechanism of literature in order to discover its secret," thus also from a ludic inclination, in sport, therefore. The changing of the rules of the game from classic prose is discussed as a transition from the "chatterbox" to the procedures of the new novel, whose "game" does not please him. In "Cartea Milionarului" [The Book of the Millionaire], Stefan Banulescu achieves "an inimitable game of mirrors." In its turn, even "the prose of D. R. Popescu is like a game of mirrors that endlessly mutiply the human portrait." A novel by Platon Pardau, "as complicated and baffling as a labyrinth but also as bubbly and exhilarating as champagne,...can be read in many ways. Above all, however, it can be viewed as a game of literature..." (a good thing that it is not with a ball!). In the act of writing the writer "resorts to a trick, namely...he utilizes literary procedures" (are the literary procedures therefore "tricks"?). Arghezianism is defined as "an

ability close to prestidigitation in the matter of utilizing words" (is Arghezianism really reduced to that?). And the examples of this sort can be cited by the hundreds. Not being able to determine and analyze the specificity of a work, Alex. Stefanescu applies in the critical exercise the same ludic "view" proceeding to a leveling that strips away the flesh and simplifies literature through a reduction to a common denominator. In this case, it is not a question of applying a critical concept but of a minimizing and sterile cliche, of an obvious paucity of means.

Besides this naive and ecstatic delight expressed before the conjuror-writer and the circus spectacle-literature, what gloom there is in "Jurnal de Critic" when the subject is modern criticism! Alex. Stefanescu deplores those who, barely out of college, burn with the desire "to possess a" critical "method as rapidly as possible" (as if methods would be acquired like automobiles!). The "Jurnal..." transcribes his entire anxiety before innovation, whether it is a question of poetry, prose or criticism.

This is the generous defender of the new criticism, the critic who is on the lookout for the overdoing of the "game of science" (ah, another "game") in the supplement's issue of 16 May, pretending that he has forgotten, in fact, his very recent opinions. "Too much fidelity is harmful," says Alex. Stefanescu, exhibiting once again an attachment for the ideas of the master. But also too much infidelity--we add--especially when it is a question of the opportunistic inconsistency of one's own opinions.

12105
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READERS' QUESTIONS ON PARTY ORGANIZATION, OPERATION

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jul 82 pp 91-96

[Text] Several propagandists have inquired about current efforts to ensure an adequate social composition of our party and about the proper measures taken by the party leadership.

Below we print a reply on the major guidelines and directives of the party leadership to ensure the continuous strengthening of the party ranks with the ablest workers, peasants and intellectuals.

In his address at the plenary session of the CC of the RCP held on 31 March 1982, party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu assessed that the current social makeup of our party "actually mirrors the reality of our socialist society, the role played today in material production by workers and peasants, the two basic social classes, the intelligentsia -- that comes from the ranks of workers and peasants, hence it derives from and is an exponent of the working classes of our socialist society -- and this provides our party with the strength and vigor to adequately fulfill its historic mission of leading all the nation along the path of socialism and communism."

Taking into consideration the fact that only the existence in the party of a vigorous working-class nucleus is the basic guarantee of continuous maintenace and consolidation of party discipline, firmness, unity and political-ideological and organizational cohesion of its ranks, of its revolutionary, communist spirit, the plenary session of the CC of the RCP held on 31 March 1982 decided that the party organs and organizations further follow the guideline of predominantly accepting highly skilled workers from all economic branches, with these representing, this year also, 55-65% of all the working people who will be accepted into the party. Special emphasis is placed on increasing the number of party members in the total work force in the machine building, electronics and chemical industries, on construction sites, in forestry, in new industrial enterprises and in sections and shops of foundries, forge, thermal treatment and tool units.

Moreover, the plenary session of the CC of the RCP required the party organs and organizations in rural areas to step up their political-organizational work, further ensuring that out of the total of those accepted, minimum 15% be peasants, and in the counties where the work force in agriculture is larger, these account for at least 25% of the number of new party members.

In full compliance with the party policy of continuously reinforcing the unity of all working people around the party, the party organs and organizations pay the necessary attention to accepting into the party the ablest intellectuals, those who have proved that they endorse the political-ideological stand of our communist party, that they are profoundly devoted to the cause of the working class, those who distinguish themselves in scientific activity and in the activity of managing production, those who have created artistic and cultural products of a high artistic and ideological standing.

Because the party continues to include a great number of clerical workers without higher education, the party branches have received instructions to accept party members from their ranks only in special cases, when the county, municipal and town party organs consider this as absolutely necessary.

Under the current conditions, when the number of communists with college degrees, secondary education, those who completed training at technical, foremen and vocational schools has increased and when the drive has wound up for completion of gymnasium studies by party members of up to 50 years of age who had not completed the general education school, there is full justification for the measures taken by the plenary session of the CC of the RCP held on 31 March 1982 to ensure an adequate social composition of the party and for those regarding the school training for those who apply for party membership. It is clear that today neither party members nor the Union of Communist Youth [UTC] will be able to recommend someone for admission into the party if he or she does not have at least gymnasium training and the general assembly of the party branch cannot omit the duty not to accept the application for party membership from a working person who does not have the minimum school training.

As pointed out by party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu, there has also been some increase in terms of the number of women party members, although it has not yet reached 30%. Because the task involves the number of women in party membership reaching 34-35% by the 13th Congress, the plenary session of the CC of the RCP held last March established that proper measures be taken by the National Council of Women and the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth to support local organs of the mass organizations involved in stepping up political-educational work among women and female young persons for training the ablest women workers, peasant women and intellectuals to be accepted into the party.

Noteworthy is the fact that in recent years more than 70% of new party members come from the ranks of UTC, "and this demonstrates" in Nicolae Ceausescu's words "the activity conducted by UTC among the youth and the awareness and will of young people to join our communist party, to be in the ranks of the leading force of our society, of the vital center of our nation, that ensures the dynamization of all the areas of activity." For the purpose of ensuring that in the future too at least 70% of the new party members are UTC members, the plenary session of the CC of the RCP outlined specific tasks for party organs and organizations and for UTC organs and organizations. For instance, in order to enhance the responsibility of UTC organizations in providing the recommendations for acceptance into the party, it was decided to introduce the obligatoriness of the participation of secretaries of party branches in the meetings of UTC organizations that discuss these recommendations. Their task is of assisting the UTC organizations in training those young people who deserve to join the ranks of communists.

In conclusion, the party leadership requires the party organs and organizations to conduct an activity to permanently strengthen the party ranks with the ablest, most deserving and aware working people -- workers, peasants, intellectuals -- of course, ensuring a social composition that reflects the class and social structure of our socialist society, where the working class has the leading role. Presently, as emphasized by party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu at the enlarged plenary session of the CC of the RCP held in June 1982, "the chief issue is not numerical growth but enhancement of the quality of party members." According to the guideline in the Report given at the above plenary session, this means in the future focusing the efforts of party organs and organizations, concomitantly with accepting into the party the ablest working people from all areas of activity, on increasing strictness in terms of fulfillment of statutory duties by every party member: "We must conduct our activity so that the party members, those who will join the party better understand the scientific ideological position of our party, the responsibilities and duties which they assume in their capacity of consistent revolutionary fighters for the triumph of socialism and communism, for the defense, in any circumstance, of the supreme interests of the people, of the country's independence and sovereignty."

What Kind of Commissions on Various Problems Are Set Up in Party Organs?

Several readers requested us to print in our review an answer to the following question: what kind of commissions on various problems are set up in party organs?

According to the provisions of the RCP Statute, the local party organs and party committees in enterprises and organizations set up commissions for various problems of party work, composed of their members and other communists with apropriate political and professional experience and training. Presently, operating in party organs are the following commissions on various problems:

I. In County Committees

a. Commission on party organizational problems, of mass and civic organizations

b. Commission on problesm of party and state cadres

c. Commission on problems of party work in agriculture

II. In Municipal and Town Committees

a. Commission on party organizational problems, of mass and civic organizations

b. Commission on problems of party and state cadres

III. In Communal Committees

a. Commission on party organizational problems, of mass and civic organizations

b. Commission on problems of party and state cadres

c. Commission on economic problems

IV. In Party Committees in Enterprises, Institutions, Agricultural Units

a. Commission on party and cadre organizational problems, of mass and civic organizations

b. Commission on propagandists and agitators

In addition to these commissions, attached to local party organs are councils that have the status of party and state organs; for instance:

I. In County, Municipal and Town Committees

a. Council of worker control over economic and social activity

b. Council of political education and socialist culture

II. In Communal Committees

a. Council on political education and socialist culture

III. In Party Committees in Enterprises and Research and Design Institutes

a. Council on worker control over socioeconomic activity

What Role Do Open Party Meetings Have, What Do They Discuss, How Often Can They Take Place?

"I would like to know if, aside from the ordinary meetings specified in the RCP Statute, also open party meetings can be held. In case the answer is affirmative, I would like to know what problems are discussed at these meetings, if there is a schedule for convening them and if it is right for these meetings to hear reports or accounts from party members."

Ion Tican
Party member of Bucharest
150 I Mai Boulevard, Sector 1

In party work, the procedure has long been established for organizing, at certain intervals, open meetings of party branches, as one of the most effective methods for strengthening their relations with the masses and drawing non-party working people into resolving socioeconomic problems, into all the political activity that unfolds in production units, in institutions, agricultural production cooperatives, and so forth.

As a rule, invited to attend open party meetings are those non-party working people who, within the framework of the unit, by the activity which they conduct and by the offices which they hold represent a basic support of the party organization in fulfilling its tasks. Specifically, it is a matter of those comrades in trade union committees and bureaus of trade union groups, women's committees and commissions, council of working people, deputies, executive technical cadres -- who are members of ODUS [expansion unknown] -- and members of committees and bureaus of UTC, who

day by day, work side by side with communists and under their leadership for the implementation of the party policy. Of course, these are invited to the open party meetings in light of the topics on the agenda, proceeding from the consideration that they might have a significant input into the in-depth survey of the problems discussed and in devising the best approaches. Participating in the meeting they are entitled to take the floor, voice their opinion on all the problems being discussed, make suggestions, various remarks, if the case may be; however, because they are not party members, they do not have the right to vote when decisions are adopted.

The nominal list of invitees to the open party meeting is established by the bureau of the party branch and must be submitted to the approval of the general assembly.

Hence, from the above it follows that, as a rule, on the agenda of such meetings are essential matters that concern a broader circle of people, actually the entire collective of the unit. Consequently, in light of the matters under discussion the list of the invitees is set up, so that their concerns may be related to the topic discussed.

As for the intervals for holding the open party meetings, of course, there cannot be a periodicity in convening them, because, as is seen, the need for them stems from the daily life of the collective and only the bureau, the party branch are those that always assess whether or not it is necessary to organize open party meetings. Anyway, account must be taken of the fact that there is a number of problems which have an internal party character and whose resolution can be achieved only in the presence of the communists on the list of the organization. Therefore, the scheduling of open party meetings must proceed in a manner that does not prevent prompt resolution of internal party problems, specifically as it is known that, as a rule, in the month that sees an open party meetings there is no convening of another meeting with internal party character.

However, sometimes the procedure differs. If it is estimated that the agenda of an open party meeting will be completed in a shorter time, it is possible to also schedule other matters with an internal party character on which only the party members can decide. In such case, these problems are discussed only in the presence of party members.

Hence, if it is planned to hear reports from some party members, this is usually done within the internal framework of the organization, that is in closed party meetings.

If Civic Instructors Participate in General Meetings That Discuss Applications for Party Membership Is the Presence of a Member of the Municipal of Town Committee or of an Official of These Bodies Still Necessary?

"I am a candidate member of the Focsani Municipal Party Committee, Vrancea County, and its civic instructor. I am in charge of two party branches. However, sometimes I am also requested to attend general meetings of other organizations which discuss applications for party membership, because, according to directives, this must be mandatorily done also in the presence of a member of the municipal, town or communal party committee or of an official of these bodies.But civic instructors have

now been assigned to the organizations involved. Cannot their participation be considered as sufficient?"

Constantin Ghetu

In compliance with the set of political and organizational measures adopted by the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP for upgrading of control over the fulfillment of decisions, development of activity on civic bases, enhancement of the ties of party organs and organizations with working people, greater intensification and rise in the efficiency of mass political and cultural-educational work, groups of civic instructors were established in municipal and town party committees. Each of them has the task of guiding and monitoring the activity of one or two party branches in enterprises, institutions, schools and neighborhoods, supervising and supporting all the political and organizational work and internal party life. As they come from the ranks of members of the local party organ, of other workers with responsible duties, of secretaries and assistant secretaries of party committees, secretaries of bureaus of party branches, and the like, they are highly conversant with the provisions of the statute, of the directives on admission to the party. Very important is the fact that, because of their duties, they are permanently present in party branches, they are aware of their concerns, needs and potentialities in terms of strengthening of their ranks, they give tangible assistance to bureaus in guiding the work for admission to the party, in efficiently preparing and conducting the general meetings which discuss the applications involved.

The civic instructor actually is an official of the municipal or town party committee. In this capacity, of course he mandatorily participates in the general meetings that discuss applications for party membership. In this situation, there is no longer the need for also the participation of a member of the municipal or town committee or of an official of these bodies.

11710
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READERS' LETTERS CITE WEAKNESSES, OPPORTUNISM IN LCY

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jun 82

[15 Jun pp 43-44]

[Letter from S. P. Zagreb, in response to the article, "The Red Carnations Have Faded," published in the 1 June 1982 issue of DANAS: "Heretical Questions"]

[Text] The problem of whether anyone can say of himself that he is a Communist but not a member of the LC also bothers me, as well as many other people who are non-party members but respectable people. These are people who deserve to be called communists, even though they are not formally members of the LC nor "organized," because of their attitude, their way of thought, their conduct, and also their concrete activities in the circles in which they move. The problem is why they are not formalizing their ideological commitment and "organizing" if they are already actively committed to the LC's ideology. The answer to this question is complex, and it cannot be given unambiguously. It is really uncomfortable for many people (especially those older than 35) to write a request for admission; they think that the LC is not some "leftist" organization that one joins by request; they are waiting for someone to notice their work and activity, and for "someone" who is already "organized" to propose them for membership.

There are also other answers, but from my own knowledge I will cite one that is fairly symptomatic and is heard many times in everyday conversations. Because it is characteristic, and also because it is heretical, if you like, this deserves attention, and should be analyzed and considered. Since these views are not based on any statistical data, it is difficult to state or cite the number of those who think in this manner, but there are a lot of them, especially among those whom we usually call intellectuals. In fact, many people say: "I am a communist; I fully accept the ideology of the LC; I am attempting to put it into practice in accordance with my conscience; I am behaving in accordance with this ideology (again in accordance with my conscience); I am active in various self-management organizations, from the building council, through the local community, up to my work organization; at all meetings, I attempt to materialize the ideological orientation of the LC, not just verbally, but also through concrete actions; but nevertheless, I do not want to become a member of the LC."

Most of these people believe that the LC's ideology is the best, most just, and most progressive thing that exists in the world today, but they still do not consider the organization capable of putting such aspirations into practice. The answer that "the LC organization is not my organization" at first glance appears heretical, reactionary, and backward. When such an answer comes from people who are progressive and follow the LC's line (here I am only speaking of these, and not all the others), the adjectives heretical, reactionary, and backward should, however, not be applied lightly; instead, we should think a little, and try to figure out why these people think that way, without condemning them a priori. I know many respectable and loyal people, who in 1970 and up until just before the end of 1971, at the time of a growth of nationalist euphoria, ceased to be members of the LC, simply and quietly (without a lot of fuss), because after seeing the LC's impotence (and not knowing that it was momentary) in the struggle with the militant "mass movement," they felt that according to their consciences it was better to disassociate themselves by leaving such an organization, instead of making it seem that they were showing solidarity with such an ideology by belonging to the Croatian LC.

Without dwelling on the past, there are similar cases today as well, although they are far from being so drastic. How are we to justify to our consciences membership in the same organization together with someone whose conduct and activities are destroying the ideological orientation of the communists? There are innumerable examples, and I will only cite a few (which are well known from the daily press): the usurpation of socially owned land and social labor in agriculture (the case of Slav. Pozega), making the sale of goods in the unified (but not joint) yugoslav market conditional upon foreign exchange, economic crime among management, etc. In addition to these, there are countless examples (countless both in words and in figures) of violations of self-management rights, which are not recorded anywhere and never will be. Everyone talks about rigged competitions for jobs, blue envelopes, the everyday harassment of self-managing workers who think differently from the executive body, illegal discharges--but I should not continue to enumerate what all of us know. No one claims that such things are only done by LC members, but it is evident that those who do them have some sort of power in society, and these are for the most part various managers. Dr Kecmanovic does not cite the exact figure (he probably does not have one), but he asserts that a large majority of managers are members of the LC. The conclusion thus imposes itself. In the final analysis, it is not heresy at all to reach such a conclusion--such assertions were publicly and concretely stated at the recent republic and provincial congresses. The legendary Kosta Nadj spoke about this several times in his statements, along with many other famous revolutionaries.

Why not have an LC statute stipulate that anyone who has violated our laws, and of whom this is proven by some verdict (not only for criminal proceedings but also for economic offenses), automatically loses his LC membership? Such a measure would not purge the LC's ranks of the "dregs," but it would nevertheless help to have the most drastic cases resolved in some fashion.

If one thinks a little bit (impartially), he will have to admit that such logic is not unfounded. In the final analysis a person directs his own conscience, not the other way around.

I have already said that in thinking about these conclusions we should not be biased; we should not think in terms of black and white. I already know what the answer will be from those who do not agree with these positions. Their main argument (probably with complete justification) will probably be that people who think that way are essentially opportunists. They will say that in defining the concept, one of the essential specific differences of a communist is his combativeness and willingness to fight for his ideals and convictions, regardless of his own sacrifices.

By speaking in this way, they will send word to those non-party members who consider themselves to be communists even though they are not LC members: become a member of the LC as soon as you become aware, fight for your positions, use your activities to help have the ideological commitments of the LC carried over into everyday life, and also use your activities to help have Marko and Janko exposed and expelled from the organization to which they do not belong; do not be afraid of your own defeats, when you are fighting for progress.

This view also has a strong logical justification, and so in response to the question raised at the beginning--whether I am a communist if I am not an LC member--I have to give a conditionally negative answer, because it is certain that reluctance to fight, or better yet reluctance to fight without regard for personal losses, means opportunism. A communist cannot be an opportunist, and therefore I am not a communist.

It is possible that many people who think like me will receive an answer to their questions at the 12th LCY Congress--not explicitly, I think, but indirectly. The most effective answer will be action, and a very concrete action, by purging the LC of the "dregs." Finally, this action is least of all necessary to resolve the dilemmas of myself and those like me; it is primarily necessary to bring to life our basic tenets, for the sake of socialist self-managing society in Yugoslavia.

I deliberately used "for the sake of" instead of "on behalf of," because I realize that we have only begun to build such a society and that we are still far from our proclaimed goal. In regard to this, I have in mind the following: in Yugoslavia, the working class has the power (according to the Constitution, the ZUR [Law on Associated Labor], and all of our commitments). The statement that the working class has the power is surely demagogical, unless one immediately raises the question of whether our working class is really capable of exercising that power without the ideological leadership of conscious subjective forces (i.e., the communists). Certainly this power of the working class will not be any more than a utopia, at least at this stage of our social development, unless the Communists (let us capitalist this) perform the task that corresponds to them in our system. The "dregs" will only create major obstacles, and finally even discredit honest attempts

by real communists. Not only the LC, but the entire society as well, suffers from the "dregs."

Finally, this reflection would not be complete if I did not add one more question. If I have already established for myself and for those like me that we are not communists because we are essentially opportunists, are those who are LC members, but who are opportunists like myself, real communists or not?

The answer should be clear to everyone.

[22 Jun 82 p 48]

[Letter from Prof Dusko Zurovac of Mostar: "Spiritual Emigres"]

[Text] Let us take our hats off to Ilija Kecmanovic and the weekly DANAS, for the analytical article that appeared under the title of "The Red Carnations Have Faded." Kecmanovic raised a real question, which reads as follows: "On one hand, why have careerists, speculators, and other such elements had an interest in joining the party, and on the other hand, why has the party shown itself to be willing first to receive them and then to keep them within its ranks?"

Naturally, this is a very complex question, and requires a comprehensive and analytical answer. In spite of this, nothing needs to be added to Kecmanovic's article. All of these positions can be confirmed by examples from life and from every area. For a long time now some of our political leaders have addressed meetings of communists with the worlds "Communists and members of the LC." In his article, Kecmanovic signled out three groups: communists, members, and the dregs. Membership in the LCY is often used as a stepping-stone, and is identified with political suitability, while the red membership booklet is used as an entry into the society of those who have been selected and validated, because it frequently also means a better job and a profession, although usually not more knowledge, and it also means a considerably more secure material base and often even wealth: a villa, a car, a boat, a horse farm, and so forth. It thus creates a separate stratum of rich people who have their own view of the world; it was one of these who chased my children away from his beach in Neum last summer, and it is no secret who owns most of the villas in Neum.

Recently there have been increasingly more frequent appearances before the courts by people who until yesterday were politically reliable, and who used this political reliability of theirs to acquire a profession, and through this profession, the wealth that led them into crime. It is unnecessary to enumerate these. Those who had not been validated were not so easily entrusted with societal property and were thus protected from the modern scramble after money.

Comrade Tito cited the case of one commune party secretary who told one of his fellow citizens, "I am your Tito and your God here." This was one of

those people who have gradually climbined to the highest party rank, simply telling a respectable person and a valued worker, "What are you talking about, you should be quiet, you are not a member of the LCY." I have heard this sentence spoken by such dregs many times. If it happens that a person opposes someone like this, and points out his errors, then it is all reduced to how however criticized him has rebelled against the system and against the basis of socialist morality. Even today such people have inflicted a great deal of harm on the party and serve as its worst advertisement. People are inclined to generalize and to see official positions through the positions of such individuals. No one has dared to point out the errors of such people, because they usually retaliate.

In addition to the categories that Dr Kecmanovic cited (communists, members, and dregs), it seems that we should single out a spearate group and call them the spiritual emigres. These are the people who have paid their membership dues regularly and are still paying them, remained to one side regularly (silence is golden), and regularly tied themselves emotionally to some positions in the West or the East. For these people, even the rubbish from their spiritual homelands is wealth and beauty. Behind our backs they criticize everything Yugoslav, and praise their spiritual homelands at every opportunity.

Finally, let us say that these articles mean a great deal for the party, because I hope that those who are not worthy of carrying the red booklets will realize that they have no place among communists.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2052

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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FRICTION REPORTED IN MILITARY SUPERIOR-SUBORDINATE RELATIONS

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 26, 1982 (signed to press 21 Jun 82) p 4

[Article by Capt Harald Muehle: "What Now, Commander?--Discharged From Non-commissioned Officer School With Solid Accomplishments; Three Young NCO's Were Hoping for an Understanding Reception and Saw Their Expectations Fulfilled in Different Ways"]

[Text] Prevailing with sturdy accomplishments in and before their units, that is what the squad leaders had counseled them on at the NCO school before the brand-new tank commanders and NCO's Heiko Richard, Torsten Landmann and Frank Emme made their way a few weeks ago into the Bartningkat battalion of the Friedrich Wolf tank regiment. With mixed feelings. Superiors they would be, from one day to the next, fully responsible for themselves and their crew. And prevailing with sturdy accomplishments, that is what they wanted.

It would not wholly depend on them, however. No one, after all, is a perfect commander after only half a year of schooling.

So those three counted on consideration from their seniors, on comradely aid and assistance. Were those expectations fulfilled? VOLKSARMEE went to find out.

Is This the Custom from Way Back?

NCO Heiko Richard reported he had not "made it right away" with the old-timers in Heinrich's company. Disdainful remarks and insinuations "the new ones were not all that hot" had been the order of the day. Yet his crew had fortunately restrained itself. Advance laurels for soldiers Peter Rebhan and Wolfgang Pohl, the gun-layer and the loader?

The commander was more realistic: "If we want to come up with good achievements, e.g. in firing, one crew member in the tank has to rely on the others." That was an unwritten law, a combat requirement. And during regular service, leave or furlough not last depended on that, for the results achieved in firing was what counted most in the company.

The two soldiers confirmed that and added they did not care how old their commander was but how he led them in firing and how sure he himself was about the weapons. "Each crew member shares in the success or failure," gun-layer Peter Rebhan asserted. So it was normal to be comradely toward one another in the tank. --Only in the tank?

Then there also was talk about a strange test a "new" one first had to undergo. During the first room inspection. Then soldier Pohl had tapped his commander, NCO Richard, on the shoulder, rather more in a boorish than in a familiar fashion, and asked him: "Well, serg, want to see my locker?"

And he then almost had lost all his composure when the tank commander, all quietly yet decidedly, responded by saying "yes, I do."

The second of the three, the youngest commander, NCO Torsten Landmann of the Neugebauer Company, had no such complaints, he said. "Certainly also because I had comradely conversations with each member of the crew right from the start," he explained. He had turned the talk to their approaching tasks in combat training and on what each could do for their collective success. During this first conversation they had laid the cornerstone for their future comradeship.

No Complaints--No Worries?

Even so, NCO Landmann said, he was not altogether satisfied. He had expected, e.g., that the company commander would perhaps also find the time for a confident conversation with his junior NCO's. Furthermore the commander wanted to find out more about the use and repair of the tank so he could give better instructions to the driver.

Lt Joerg Witt, party group organizer and the company's deputy commander for technical equipment, was surprised when he heard it. Right at the beginning he had talked with Comrade Landmann and told him of the company's successes in the last training year, of the excellent grade in combat firing, e.g., and of how the party group had contributed to those results. So the NCO was told that mediocre or backward comrades in training are called to task, all with the attempt to push one another ahead in a comradely way. So the party group organizer had encouraged the commander: Come to me, come to the comrade when you have worries or problems! I should have approached him myself, Lt Witt now reflected, words as such give no one confidence. During training breaks and at other suitable opportunities he would provide the young commander in the future with more technical knowledge, he decided. And he would strongly advise the company commander to hold the long overdue conversation with the youngest commanders.

Permanent Brooms and Scrubbrushes?

NCO Frank Emme of the same company has entirely different worries. He had acclimated himself quite well meanwhile, he said, yet he had trouble making contact with his room orderly, NCO Andreas Dikall. As the top gun-layer he undoubtedly was an ace, and one could always ask him technical questions. Yet he had told him right on the first day his duty as a new one also was to do room service for half a year. And when Frank Emme remonstrated that that was not the custom either for soldiers' rooms nor for drivers, the orderly threatened to pour a bucket of sand over the floor and force him to clean the floor with rags and sand.

So he rather approached the platoon leader, Lt Lange, NCO Frank Emme said, if he could not get along with someone. He would have liked to entrust his worries to his superior, but he did not want to appear a slanderer. And so his initial remonstrance gradually turned into resignation.

NCO Dikall had not noticed it. When it came up, he now justified himself: Six months ago he himself had been "stuck with permanent room service." And Emme was better off, too; the room he had to keep clean had been much larger.

Did the older NCO never get the idea that he would thereby alienate a comrade with whom he should pull on the same end of the rope? Evidently not. Otherwise he would have noticed that the new one avoids him although he had offered him his help, surveys and training documents. NCO Dikall even had been ready to assume the sponsorship for the younger man but ignored that that mainly calls for clean and definitely comradely relations among class comrades where helping is an inner need for the one and a perceptible enrichment for the other. Overbearing manners do not enhance socialist relations.

The new commanders had intended to prevail in and before their units. They had been hoping for a helping hand from the more experienced comrades in the battalion. And many hands were indeed stretched out to them offering comradely help. Yet the success would be enhanced if one could cut out all such old bias, so that the fighting strength and combat readiness could grow more rapidly--from being with one another to being for one another. And that is not too much to ask for.

5885
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TRAINING AT AIR FORCE NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICER COLLEGE DETAILED

East Berlin FLIEGER-REVUE in German No 7, Jul 82 pp 300-302

[Article by M. Wolter: "Learn the Mission"]

> [Text] "The success in the air is prepared on the ground." That is an old air force adage. For a fighter plane, a transport plane or a helicopter to be able to take off, many specialists must work together. That includes career and extended-term NCO's. FLIEGER-REVUE visited the Harry Kuhn air force and air defense NCO college to find out on the spot about the training of those specialists.

Modern blocks of multistoried apartment houses and training buildings for theoretical instruction, asphalt roads clean as a whistle, manicured parks, a gymnasium, a swimming pool, a club house (with a gastronomy, incidentally, that measures up to any Interhotel), order and discipline everywhere one looks--that is the impressive picture of the Harry Kuhn LSK/LV (air force/air defense) NCO college. That is also true of the training airfield, located somewhat off in the woods, the place for practice training. Military aircraft and helicopters of various types and models are as much part of it as are modern radar equipment, laboratories, radio stations, classrooms, firing ranges and a sports arena.

This college has not been in existence very long, scarcely 10 years. It was set up in November 1973, a year later, on 7 October 1974, it got its military flag, and 12 months later again, the obliging name Harry Kuhn was given to it.

Harry Kuhn, top functionary in the Communist Youth League, came from the outskirts of Leipzig; while incarcerated in the Buchenwald concentration camp, he became a member of the international camp committee. After Hitler fascism was crushed in Germany, Harry Kuhn became the secretary general of the Association of the Persecutees of the Nazi Regime and later held an important position in the GDR foreign ministry. His life and struggle are a model today to the cadre and trainees at the LSK/LV NCO college. How responsibly they show themselves worthy of their model was demonstrated when the school, on the occasion of our republic's 30th anniversary, was awarded the Scharnhorst Medal, the NVA's highest distinction.

Relevant and Interesting

There are many sides to this training program; the teaching objective in this training facility, furnished with the latest aspects of military affairs, is ambitious. It would be a mistake to think the school, in addition to its cadre, has only future NCO's for flight engineering and antiaircraft rocket artillery. Military new blood is trained here in more than 100 types of training. There simply is not enough space to give an account of them all. So we shall confine ourselves to a few at this point.

Flight engineering (FID) trains mechanics in propulsion, special electrical equipment, radio and radar and aircraft weapons.

Communications technology includes the future specialists for radar stations, operational headquarters and weather service technicians (meteorologists).

Radio, telephone and teletype NCO's on the one side and troop commanders and mechanics for take-off and control points or for radar installations, on the other, are trained in communications/flight security.

And then there also are the rear services including the cooks and medics, the so-called airfield fire department, the aircraft supply technology mechanics, laboratory technicians for fuels and lubricants etc. etc. FLIEGER-REVUE looked at flight engineering. Divided into platoons, and directed, instructed and supervised by experienced training officers, warrant officers and NCO's, the trainees get basic knowledge, practical experiences and the necessary skills in MiG's and Mi's.

One MiG-21 is used to train for flight preparation, maintenance and checks on the aircraft. NCO trainees carry out inspections and controls on radar sighting devices, the radio station, the radio compass, the radio altimeter and other devices. Such a MiG has more than 20 antennas--more than enough, indeed. Others are training missile loading and unloading on the MiG-21. There one must watch the split pins, the proper handling of the ignition key, the priming and the safety regulations and so much else. In the class next-door an officer explains by means of a model the structure and function of the hydraulic system in a MiG-21.

Everywhere one can sensehow much the training is geared to getting a vivid grasp and the experience of things, because what one can see and perceive oneself is learned faster and better.

Again and again the future specialist is impressed with how much depends on the accuracy and reliability of their work: for the functioning of the engine and the life of the pilot and, in theemergency, perhaps even victory or defeat in air combat.

Trainees Become Specialists

There are quite a number of NCO trainees who did not find it all too easy to make the switch from civilian to military life; there were problems and worries.

But then there also is the sense to have faced an important social and political task, and furthermore, not rarely it is the interest in modern technology, in electronics, optics, aerodynamics, chemistry and mathematics, that helps surmount initial difficulties. The fascination of going to have to deal with suprasonic fighter aircraft, spacious transport planes or maneuverable combat helicopters is simply always there.

Not everyone has preliminary knowledge when he gets to the NCO college that might have been acquired through glider training in the GST, radio tinkering, collection of types or perhaps simply through reading FLIEGER-REVUE regularly. That is why personal sponsorships and collective support within the groups do a lot of good here. But the training officers themselves are available with words and deeds, are not only trainers and educators but companions and comrades as well who often can point to longtime experience with flight techniques and dig into their rich treasure of experiences. After all, these budding specialists who are trained at the Harry Kuhn NCO College are the ones that will once greatly share in the decisions on the full capacity utilization of the performance parameters of an aircraft or helicopter. But before these future NCO's can assume that responsibility, they must keep learning and learn and learn again. That way one must also understand the clear guideline the youth association has given the NCO College, stating that learning is the most important task of the FDJ members at the college. In its "campaign mission for learning," the FDJ organization is principally concerned with a creative atmosphere and a high dedication to learning, be it in social science, military-technical or specialized technical training. Eventually an NCO has to know not only what he does but mainly also why he does what he does. While the college does provide most pertinent training, some imprints ordinary military life could make are still missing, such as a word of appreciation from the pilot to the mechanic and technician who keep his engine ready for take-off and operational, often under intricate conditions.

The search for quality work, however, the symbol of which is the famous blue "Q" on the fuselage, is as much alive in the school as in the "troop." So it is not astonishing that some MiG-21's of the Harry Kuhn College, being "aircraft of excellent quality," likewise bear the "Q" sign, reflecting the desire to give one's best already during training.

School Is Over--Learning Too?

To anticipate the answer: No! As one keeps advancing one's education, political and technical, in every domain of our society today--be it in enterprises, administrations or institutions--so an NCO does not stop either educating himself once he has joined his troop component. Schools can always only provide basic theoretical and practical positions. Remaining up-to-date and becoming more certain and learning more of what is new, becoming an ace in one's field, is a continuous learning process that lasts a lifetime.

Modern military affairs, the great advances in science and technology, bring it about that our republic's air force and air defense also get equipped with modern and the latest technology. An inspiring field of activity opens up here for young people interested in technology, especially in aircraft technology.

The Harry Kuhn NCO College can thus become a point of departure for life-long, interesting and versatile work, always intimately connected with the latest in the field of military technology, especially in the field of military aviation. When after 3 years some of the NCO's, after having completed their active military service, are transferred into the reserve, an LSK/LV career NCO and warrant officer of the NVA finds prospects which we still want to point out here briefly.

For the first time a 2-year course will be offered for warrant officers at the LSK/LV NCO College in September 1982. Along with perfecting the technical training, this form of training is meant to provide the warrant officers with skills as economic engineers, engineers, automation engineers, electrical engineers, communications engineers or teachers in engineering--depending on their assignments in LSK/LV. Such qualifications apply fully in civilian life and help the warrant officers find responsible and executive positions after they have taken care of their military service.

Our visit to the NCO College has demonstrated once again: Our LSK/LV NCO's have an important and responsible task which is as tough as it is interesting. It is a genuine test and has already become a lifetime task for many of them. What mattered here first and foremost--as elsewhere as well--has been to go and learn.

LSK/LV NCO Assignments:

Flight Engineering NCO (FID)
Military Flight Security NCO
Aircraft Supply Technology NCO
Meteorological NCO
Antiaircraft Artillery NCO
Aerospace NCO
Communications and Flight Security NCO

5885
CSO: 2300/370

ORDER ENACTED ON SERVICE IN INTERIOR MINISTRY'S GARRISONED UNITS

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 19, 19 May 82 pp 389-394

[Official text of "Order on the National Defense Council of the German Democratic Republic on the Career Service in the Garrisoned Units of the Ministry of the Interior--Career Service Order--Garrisoned Units of the Ministry of the Interior--dated 23 April 1982," effective May 1982, signed by E. Honecker, chairman, GDR National Defense Council]

[Text] To regulate the service in the garrisoned units of the ministry of the interior, and based on articles 2, section 3, and 45, section 1, of the 25 March 1982 law on military service in the GDR--military service law--(GBL Part I No 12, p 221), the following is decreed:

Section L: General Regulations

Article 1: Service Rules for the Garrisoned Units of the Ministry of the Interior

(1) Service in the garrisoned units of the ministry of the interior, in accordance with article 2, section 3, of the military service law, counts as military service.

(2) Garrisoned units of the ministry of the interior in terms of this order are the People's Police alert units, the companies of the transport police, the officers college and the NCO school of the ministry of the interior--stand-by units--and other relevant units and facilities of the ministry of the interior (henceforth referred to as garrisoned units), in which service is governed by this career service order.

(3) Service in the garrisoned units is regulated by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police through orders, directives, service regulations and other instructions.

Article 2: Start of Service in the Garrisoned Units

Service in the garrisoned units stars with the date set down in the conscription notice or in the order on the start of the service in the garrisoned units.

Article 3: Swearing-in

The members of the garrisoned units are sworn in (Annex).

Article 4: Principles for the Handling of Rights and Duties of the Members of the Garrisoned Units

(1) Members of the garrisoned units enjoy the constitutional basic rights and duties of GDR citizens.

(2) Special rights and duties during service in the garrisoned units arise from the requirements for the reliable protection of the workers and farmers power of the GDR and are issued, on the basis of the military service law, in legal regulations and in orders, directives, service regulations and other instructions from the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Article 5: Distinctions among Members of the Garrisoned Units

Members of the garrisoned units are distinguished in terms of

--(a) terms of service as
Sergeant in the garrisoned units,
Extended-term deputy commanders,
Career NCO, and
Career officer;
--(b) groups of rank as
Sergeant,
Deputy commander candidate,
Deputy commander,
Officer candidate, and
Officer; and
--(c) authority as
Superior or
Subordinate.

Article 6: Terms of Service

(1) Sergeants in the garrisoned units (henceforth referred to as sergeants) are GDR citizens liable for military service performing their military service equivalent in the garrisoned units.

(2) Extended-term deputy commanders are members of the garrisoned units serving voluntarily for a term specified in article 22, their terms of service having been confirmed by order.

(3) Career NCO's and career officers are members of the garrisoned units who serve voluntarily for a term specified in article 30, their terms of service having been confirmed by order.

(4) Female citizens may serve in the garrisoned units in accordance with sections 2 or 3. Particulars are issued by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Article 7: Changing the Terms of Service

(1) Terms of service are, in principle, changed on the recommendation by a superior and on the basis of an appropriate commitment made by a member of the garrisoned units. The new terms of service are confirmed by order. The time served under the previous terms is, in principle, applied to the new terms.

(2) Terms of service by extended-term deputy commanders and career NCO's can be changed into the term of service of a sergeant without the obligation specified in section 1 if these members of the garrisoned units concerned were committed to perform basic military service to begin with, their basic military service was not fulfilled to full term, or a deficent performance, discipline violations or other reasons preclude their assignment to their place of authority intended or charged with.

(3) Members of the garrisoned units who in the course of their special training or prior to being appointed deputy commander or officer are released from their commitment, due to their attitudinal development or lack of motivation for serving in the garrisoned units as extended-term deputy commanders or career NCO's or career officers, must in principle perform a service commensurate to basic military service without being able to apply their previous term of service. Particulars are issued by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

(4) When terms of service are changed, as to sections 1 to 3, members of the garrisoned units concerned continue their service in a rank that conforms with their new term of service, their performance and their general attitude.

Article 8: Rank Designations

Members of the garrisoned units carry the following ranks:

Groups of Rank	Rank
(a) Sergeants	VP [People's Police] Candidate VP Sub-sergeant
(b) Deputy commander candidate	VP Deputy Commander Candidate (equal in rank with VP Sub-sergeants)
(c) Deputy commanders	VP First Sergeant VP Master Sergeant VP Chief VP Top Chief
(d) Officer candidates	VP Officer Candidate, equal in rank: during vocational or college training with VP Candidates; during 4-year training at officer colleges, with VP First Sergeants in the first, VP Master Sergeants in the second, VP Chiefs in the third, and VP Top Chiefs in the fourth year.

(e) Officers

--	Lieutenants	VP Sub-lieutenant
		VP Lieutenant
		VP First Lieutenant
--	Captains	VP Captain
--	Staff Officers	VP Major
		VP Lieutenant Colonel
		VP Colonel
--	Generals	Major General
		Lieutenant General

Article 9: Appointment and Promotion

(1) Members of the garrisoned units are appointed up to the top rank within a group of rank, to the first general's rank or to an authority and are promoted within a group of rank or as general.

(2) Prerequisites for appointment or promotion are
(a) political, military and specialized police knowledge, skills and abilities and personal suitability, and
(b) a vacancy.

(3) Appointment is possible for a higher, equivalent or lower place of authority.

(4) The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police may allow promotions above the rank the table of organization calls for.

(5) The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police holds the competency for making appointments and promotions.

(6) Generals are appointed or promoted by the chairman of the GDR National Defense Council.

Article 10: Reduction in Rank and Authority

Reduction in rank or authority is a disciplinary penalty and is carried out on the basis of disciplinary regulations. This does not affect the regulations of articles 7, sections 2 to 4; 9, section 3; and 31, section 5.

Article 11: Seniority in the Garrisoned Units

(1) Seniority in the garrisoned units as a rule conforms with the time of service with the garrisoned units as to this career service order.

(2) To the seniority in the garrisoned units is applied the time served in
(a) the German People's Police and the other organs of the Ministry of the Interior,
(b) the National People's Army,
(c) the Border Troops of the GDR,
(d) the Ministry for State Security,
(e) Civil Defense, and
(f) the former Garrisoned People's Police, German Border Police and Alert Police and the former Air Defense.

(3) The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police may allow still other activities to count for establishing seniority in the garrisoned units.

Article 12: Awarding State Distinctions, Academic Degrees and Titles

(1) State distinctions, academic degrees and titles are awareded to members of the garrisoned units on the basis of legal regulations, orders, directives, service regulations and other instructions issued to that end.

(2) Members of the garrisoned units awarded an academic dgree from a military academy or other college in some other socialist state, to use their degree or the GDR's equivalent of it, require the permission for it from the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

(3) Using academic degrees or titles and wearing state distinctions during the service in the garrisoned units is up to the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Article 13: Sideline Occupational Activity

In principle, members of the garrisoned units are not allowed to carry on sideline occupational activities. Exceptions may be authorized by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Article 14: Termination of Service

Service with the garrisoned units is terminated by reasons referred to in articles 17, 23, 31, 33 or 35.

Section II: The Terms of Service for Sergeants in the Garrisoned Units

Article 15: Appointment to Initial Sergeant's Rank

Sergeants, by being called into service, get their inicial sergeant's rank.

Article 16: Promotion

Sergeants can be promoted up to VP Sub-sergeant.

Article 17: Discharge

(1) The sergeants' service is terminated when they are discharged from the garrisoned units at dates determined by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

(2) Premature discharge from the garrisoned units may come for the following reasons:
(a) The assumption of important state or social tasks;
(b) extremely tough personal circumstances;
(c) temporary unsuitability to the service; and
(d) permanent unsuitability to the service.

(3) In specific cases, and on requests from superiors, the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police may authorize discharge from the service in the garrisoned units for other reasons then the ones referred to in section 2.

Section III: Terms of Service for the Extended-term Deputy Commanders

Article 18: Commitment

Prior to entering the service, citizens who have not yet served with the garrisoned units or sergeants commit themselves to voluntary service as extended term deputy commanders.

Article 19: Start of the Term of Service

The term of service for the extended-term deputy commanders begins at the date stated in the summons or the order from the superior. That may be at the start of serving with the garrisoned units or during or after completing the service as sergeant.

Article 20: Training

(1) Training of members of the garrisoned units under the service term of extended-term deputy commanders is given:
(a) in deputy commander courses at educational and training institutions of the ministry of the interior or some other courses in the National People's Army, or
(b) on duty.

(2) During deputy commander training the members of the garrisoned units are deputy commander trainees.

(3) After a successful completion of their training, deputy commander trainees are appointed to a rank of deputy commanders.

(4) Members of the garrisoned units or other citizens with special skills and expertise may be made extended-term deputy commanders and receive the rank of deputy commander without the training as to section 1.

Article 21: Promotion

Extended-term deputy commanders may be promoted up to the rank of VP master sergeant.

Article 22: Term of Service

For extended-term dputy commanders the term of service is at least 3 years. Exceptions are handled by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Article 23: Discharge

(1) Discharge from service with garrisoned units normally takes place after the term of service has come to an end.

(2) Discharge also is possible for
(a) assuming important state or social tasks;
(b) extraordinarily difficult personal circumstances;
(c) structural changes;
(d) temporary unsuitability for service;
(e) permanent unsuitability for service;
(f) deficiency in the fulfilment of service obligations; and
(g) disciplinary reasons.

(3) Members of the garrisoned units whose term of service has not yet reached the length established for basic military service cannot be dismissed from the garrisoned units for reasons as of section 2, letters c, f or g if, when they started their service with the garrisoned units, they still were committed to take care of their basic military service. Then the term of the service they have to accomplish is of a duration equivalent to their basic military service. This does not affect the regulation of article 33, section 1, letter a.

(4) Members of the garrisoned units who, based on the commitment they have made, are called up as extended-term deputy commanders and reject that obligation up to 4 weeks after being summoned, can be discharged.

(5) The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police or his deputies make the decisions on discharging extended-term deputy commanders.

Section IV: Terms of Service for Career NCO's and Career Officers

Article 24: Commitment

Prior to assuming their term of service, citizens who had no previous service with garrisoned units or members of the garrisoned units commit themselves to serving voluntarily as career NCO's or career officers.

Article 25: Start of the Term of Service

The term of service for career NCO's or career officers begins at the date stated in the summons or the order from their superior. That may be established at the start or during the service with the garrisoned units.

Article 26: Career NCO Training and Terms of Service

(1) Training for members of garrisoned units in career NCO status comes in stages: (a) through deputy commander courses at educational and training institutions of the ministry of the interior or commensurate courses in the National People's Army or while on duty; and (b) through career deputy commander courses or at civil training institutions.

(2) During training at the deputy commander course or while on duty, members of the garrisoned units are deputy commander trainees.

(3) After a successful conclusion of training through a deputy commander course or while on duty, deputy commander trainees receive a deputy commander rank.

(4) After a successful conclusion of training through a career NCO course, the career NCO's receive a state certification as chiefs.

Article 27: Career Officer Training and Term of Service

(1) Career officers are trained to become college cadre.

(2) Training for members of garrisoned units in career officer status can be given at (a) the officers college of the ministry of the interior--stand-by--; (b) officer colleges of the National People's Army; or (c) civil colleges providing subsequent training at a teaching institution of the armed organs.

(3) During officer training, the members of the garrisoned units are officer candidates.

(4) After a successful conclusion of training, officer candidates receive an officer's rank.

(5) After a successful conclusion of college training, career officers receive a civilian job classification.

Article 28: Receiving Status Without Training

Without training as to articles 26 and 27, the following may be given the status of career NCO or career officer: (a) Sergeants and deputy commanders in the garrisoned units who have special abilities and expertise and (b) Citizens with special abilities and expertise and with outstanding accomplishments and merits.

Article 29: Advanced Training

Career NCO's and career officers must constantly acquire through advanced training more political, military, specialized police and scientific-technical knowledge and practical skills and facilities for any given assignments. That is done through practical assignments on duty, attending teaching institutions of the ministry of interior, the National People's Army or other socialist states, self-study or, in exceptional instances, correspondence courses or enrolling in courses at civilian colleges or technical schools.

Article 30: Term of Service

(1) The minimum term of service calls for a 10-year period as career NCO and a 25-year period as career officer and the maximum, retirement age for serving with the garrisoned units.

(2) The retirement age for serving with the garrisoned units normally is 65 for career NCO's and career officers and 60 for women serving with the garrisoned units. It is 5 years less for fighters against fascism or persons persecuted by fascism.

(3) Exceptions from the regulations of sections 1 and 2 are determined by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Article 31: Discharge

(1) The discharge of career NCO's and career officers normally takes place after the term of service has come to an end as to the terms set down in article 30.

(2) Discharge also is possible for
- (a) assuming important state or social tasks;
- (b) extraordinarily difficult personal circumstances;
- (c) structural changes;
- (d) temporary unsuitability for service;
- (e) permanent unsuitability for service;
- (f) insufficient qualifications for serving as a career NCO or career officer;
- (g) deficiency in the fulfilment of service obligations; and
- (h) disciplinary reasons.

(3) Members of the garrisoned units whose term of service has not yet reached the length established for basic military service cannot be dismissed from the garrisoned units for reasons as of section 2, letters c, f, g or h if, when they started their service with the garrisoned units, they still were committed to take care of their basic military service. Then the term of service they have to accomplish is of a duration equivalent to their basic military service. This does not affect the regulation of article 33, section 1, letter a.

(4) Members of the garrisoned units who, based on the commitment they have made, are called up as career NCO or career officer and reject that obligation up to 4 weeks after being summoned, can be discharged.

(5) Deputy commander trainees and officer candidates are dismissed from serving with the garrisoned units at ranks commensurate with their performance and general attitude. When dismissed before the first half-year of training has ended, they leave in sergeant's rank.

(6) The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police or his deputies make the decisions on discharging career NCO's and career officers.

(7) The discharging of generals is up to the chairman of the GDR National Defense Council.

Section V: Special Regulations

Article 32: Regulations on Appointment and Promotion

The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police may set down higher obtainable ranks for sergeants and extended-term deputy commanders than provided for by the appropriate provisions in this career service order without any changes resulting from it for the terms of service and the other applicable provisions. The precondition for it is that such members of the garrisoned units have the kind of special knowledge or other special features and facilities that enable them to take on a position, without extending the term of service needed for their status, that conforms with this higher obtainable rank.

Article 33: Regulations on the Term of Service

(1) Members of the garrisoned units under criminal prosecution during their service period normally remain members of the garrisoned units. When sergeants or deputy commanders on extended terms get prison sentences, their term of service is extended for as long as it takes for them to serve their penalty by what it takes for them to complete a service commensurate with basic military service or meet their obligations assumed. The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police may rule that
(a) members of the garrisoned units, irrespective of stipulations in articles 17, section 2; 23, section 3; and 31, section 3, be discharged from service in the garrisoned units, if on account of their conduct and prison sentence the purpose of serving with the garrisoned units is unobtainable; or
(b) extended-term deputy commanders, after exemplary fulfilment of duty, are discharged after a prison sentence when their term of service expires in conformity with their assumed commitment.

(2) The term of service also is extended for sergeants who suffered disciplinary arrests or went on unauthorized leave, by the duration of the arrests or unauthorized leave. In the case of exemplary performance and model conduct, or when the purpose of serving as a sergeant has been obtained, the discharge may come at scheduled discharge dates.

Article 34: Regulations for Service Commensurate with Serving in the Reserves

(1) Conscripts summoned to serve with the garrisoned units for a term commensurate with serving in the reserves are members of the garrisoned units from their day of summons.

(2) While they so serve, as to section 1, these members of the garrisoned units may be appointed or promoted, as requirements demand, irrespective of the other regulations on terms of service in the garrisoned units.

(3) Members of the garrisoned units serving in terms of section 1, do not get their terms of service extended after incurring disciplinary arrests or prison sentences.

(4) The provisions of this order govern members of the garrisoned units serving in terms of section 1, with consideration given to the particulars of their service.

Article 35: Regulations on Mobilization and the State of Defense

(1) During a mobilization or state of defense the members of the garrisoned units may be appointed or promoted without there being any terms of service for extended-term deputy commanders, career NCO's or career officers.

(2) The members of the garrisoned units may be dismissed from serving with the garrisoned units during mobilization or the state of defense only when they are no longer under military service obligation or by special order from the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police. An ahead-of-time discharge from service with the garrisoned units is possible for the following reasons: (a) permanent unsuitability for service, making their use in serving with the garrisoned units impossible; (b) assuming state or social tasks important for national defense; and (c) extraordinarily difficult personal circumstances.

(3) The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police may issue further regulations on serving with the garrisoned units during mobilization or in the state of defense.

Section VI: Final Provisions

Article 36: Implementing Regulations

The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police issues implementing regulations and other regulations.

Article 37: Effective Date of this Order

(1) This order goes into effect on 1 May 1982.

(2) Simultaneously rescinded is the 18 October 1974 order of the GDR National Defense Council on substitute military service in the People's Police alert units, the companies of the transport police, the officers college and the NCO school of the ministry of the interior--stand-by units.

Annex: Re Article 3 of present order

Oath to the Flag

I swear always loyally to serve the GDR, my fatherland, and protect it, on orders from the workers and farmers government, from any enemy.

I swear always to be ready to defend socialism against all enemies and stake my life on gaining victory alongside the National People's Army and the other protective and security organs of the GDR and firmly allied with the armies and security organs of the Soviet Union and the other allied socialist countries.

I swear to be an honest, brave, disciplined and vigilant People's Policeman, to show unconditional obedience to my superiors, to fulfil orders with all determination, and always to guard strictly the military and state secrets.

I swear conscientiously to acquire the knowledge for dealing with my tasks, to fulfil the service regulations, and everywhere and always to uphold the honor of our republic and of its armed organs.

Should I ever infringe this solemn oath to the flag of mine, I may suffer the harsh penalty of our republic's laws and the contempt of the working people.

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CSO: 2300/369

PARTY, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS MEET WITH YOUTH

Barcikowski in Gdansk

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17 Jun 82 p 2

[Article prepared by s.]

[Text] In Gdansk party organizations and youth group circles a debate has been going on since April concerning the most pressing problems facing the younger generation. In the wake of this debate a report on youth was written up by the Gdansk Voivodship Office and the Voivodship Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP]. This document together with the ideas generated by the debate were the main topic of discussion during the plenum of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR held on 16 June in Gdansk on the topic of the sociopolitical situation and how it affects the region's youth.

These proceedings, which were presided over by the first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee in Gdansk, Stanislaw Bejger, were attended by the following Politburo members: secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Kazimierz Barcikowski, and first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the Lenin Shipyards, Jan Labedzki.

Based on the materials submitted for discussion at the plenum, according to a report filed by a PAP correspondent, it was concluded that the younger generation is caught up in a profound crisis in both the socioeconomic and ideological-political spheres. The inconsistencies between officially proclaimed programs and the way these programs are being put into practice, between the potential opportunities opened up by the system and the real status of young people and the fulfillment of their ambitions have tended to undermine the credibility of the party's political line in the eyes of young people. Symptoms of this attitude have emerged in an especially forceful way in Gdansk Voivodship.

Gaps have developed in this voivodship between the growth of the economy and the growth of the social services infrastuructre that are especially burdensome for young people. This was illustrated in detail by the aforementioned report which called attention to, among other things, the painful problem of the housing shortage.

During the discussion period a great deal of attention was focused on current problems related to the education of the younger generation, especially so with reference to the capabilities and responsibilities of schools and institutions of higher learning in Gdansk. A dominant theme in the statements which were made was the belief that to whatever extent the younger generation may be faced with a whole host of unique problems, there is no way to find effective solutions to these problems that treats them in isolation from the crucial problems facing the nation as a whole. On the other hand, there is no hope of finding solutions to these problems without getting young people themselves involved in the process of doing so.

In his remarks Kazimierz Barcikowski pointed out, among other things, that even though young people, and not just this segment of society, have many legitimate complaints, the efforts we make to meet their needs should be focused on what goals are feasible and then we should proceed to decide how we are going to go about realizing these goals. By the same token, young people themselves are faced with a clear dilemma. Namely, should they wait to be given what they want or should they go out and work for what they want. The speaker talked at length about the problem of rebelliousness and ideological slackness among young people. While observing that nothing useful can be accomplished by applying ordinary standards of judgment in assessing this problem, he stated that one of the factors which has made this problem worse is the lack of contact between the party and young people.

There is no factual basis for the misleading and socially destructive myth of the "lost generation" that is being bandied about by some young people. Among some of the fundamental things which the older generation owes to the younger generation, young people have received an education and employment opportunities, but things are also not really as bad as they are claimed to be when it comes to the question of career advancement and the fulfillment of other personal ambitions. The housing problem remains to be dealt with, and it really should be resolved once and for all.

At the close of the proceedings the plenum endorsed the position taken by the voivodship party organization on the draft version of the Ideological Platform Declaration of Principles of the PZPR entitled "What We Are Fighting For, Where We Are Headed."

Milewski in Poznan

[Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17 Jun 82 p 2]

[Article by pr]

[Text] "It has been the intention of the party leadership, prior to every plenary session of the Central Committee, to thoroughly familiarize itself with the opinions of certain segments of society, and so we likewise want the forthcoming 9th Plenum, which will be devoted to a discussion of the problems of young people, to be preceded by a wide-ranging exchange of views with your youth organization. Having had a chance to say something about themselves and their concerns, we want young people to be joint authors of the

documents which will be endorsed by this plenum, and we want the full support of young people for the tasks which the party will embark upon with the needs of young people in mind." It was with these words that Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary Miroslaw Milewski opened his meeting with the ZSMP aktiv of Poznan Voivodship. The meeting took place last Wednesday at the Party headquarters building in Poznan. The first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, brigadier general Edward Lukasik, also attended the meeting.

In presenting his views on the problems of the younger generation, the Central Committee secretary stressed that the party leadership is aware of the fact that young people may feel frustrated about the prospects for realizing their ambitions and wishes. However, the days when unrealistic but, for all that, very enticing slogans were being bandied about are now behind us. This is why the party leadership will try to make sure that the 9th Plenum devoted to the problems of youth does not produce any declarations reminiscent of these kinds of past negative practices. The 9th Plenum will therefore be a business-like, issues-oriented debate on the needs and obligations of young people.

In describing the present situation in the country Miroslaw Mileswki observed that attempts to destabilize the social order are not meeting with any positive response among workers. On the other hand, the tragic fact of the matter is that these activities are attracting the attention of young people in some circles. This lends credence to the long well-known fact as expressed in the observation that the boldness, energy, and uncompromising attitudes of young people sometimes go hand in hand with a lack of sense and an insufficient willingness to think realistically. This is why the party must try harder than ever before to win over young people and to rally their support for the tasks confronting society as a whole. "You are the representatives of a social group," said the Central Committee secretary, "which we must convince that the authorities are motivated by good intentions."

Rakowski in Lublin

[Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17 Jun 82 p 2]

[Text] On 16 June Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met with the aktivs of all youth organizations active in Lublin and the voivodship. The meeting was called for the purpose of discussing problems related to preparations for a plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee which is slated to discuss problems facing the younger generation. In commenting on issues of concern to young people Deputy Premier Rakowski stated that every generation, which in any event grows up under different social and economic conditions, has both its good points and its bad points. Changing circumstances are also a critical factor in determining how young people in Poland behave today. The Deputy Premier reported that the program for solving the problems of young people is predicated on the belief that the younger generation should shoulder the smallest possible share of the burden that will have to be borne in order to find a way out of the country's present social and economic crisis.

Nevertheless, as M. Rakowski emphasized, this is not a program for young people, rather it is a program which should be carried out together with young people. The main provisions of this program are realistic and make allowances for the country's economic capabilities. The program places a heavy emphasis on the need to find solutions to housing problems.

Agriculture Minister Wojtecki

[Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17 Jun 82 p 2]

[Text] The Minister of Agriculture and the Food Industry, Jerzy Wojtecki, met with the Presidium of the Rural Youth Council of ZSMP Main Board, which is headed up by the presidium's chairman, Roman Kubalonek. The issues which were discussed concerned the conditions under which young people get started in their agricultural vocations and the desire to establish realistic credit and producer-goods procurement preferences for young people who are in the process of taking over family farms. Attention was focused on the fact that young people who are acquiring their own farm lands need to be able to move faster to put their farms into full production.

During the discussion period attention was focused on emerging changes in the area of economic policy, especially so with reference to grain procurement and support for the growth of animal production based on the use of farmers' own fodder stocks, on the principles of the tax reform and the reform of the rural social insurance system, and on the delivery of producer goods to the agricultural sector. Views were also exchanged on ways to make further improvements in the Land Law.

Minister Wojtecki gave assurances that he would give his strong support and assistance to the numerous initiatives being advanced by the ZSMP.

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CSO: 2600/713

PZPR KOSZALIN FIRST SECRETARY JAKUBASZEK INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29 Jun 82 pp 1,2

[Interview with First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Koszalin Eugeniusz Jakubaszek" by Jerzy Oseka: "A Young Region For Young People. Date and Place not specified]

[Text] [Question] What is the significance for young people in Koszalin voivodship that the First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee is still a youthful age? What do the young people get from this?

[Answer] I must add that not only the first secretary but almost the whole secretarial staff is made up of young people, as is the Voivodship Committee and the Voivodship Party Control Commission (WKKP). This was no accident since the whole conference had a youthful spirit and character. The very fact of young people raising matters, and the way of argumentation cast attention on young delegates and was decisive in over 50 percent of young people being elected to the plenum.

Koszalin is a voivodship of young people. Sixth-three percent of the population is under 35 years old. Young people predominated among the delegates at the conference. A large influence on the selection of the authorities was also had by the criticism of the previous administration, which was made up of older people.

[Question] Let us return to the question; what then is the meaning for the young people in the voivodship? Secretaries can quickly forget that there are young people.

[Answer] From the beginning, we have been trying to win over as many young people as possible. Among other reasons, this is because after the introduction of martial law, we evaluated the cadre in the voivodship and we devoted much attention to the youth who have recently assumed positions. We have seen that they make up for their lack of experience with determination, courage and dedication. In making many changes in the cadre--about 50 persons have been removed from important positions in the voivodship. The majority of those we have elected to these position have been young people.

[Question] Were these really young people? In Poland, a 40-year old can be a young person...

[Answer] To be more precise, these are people younger than those who held the positions. We are seeking paths to understand youth. We meet often in places of work and usually there are very many young people there. They ask the most questions and touch upon the most sensitive subjects. The role of youth organizations also cannot be passed over. They have come through a very difficult period of quarrels and controversies. Many people have left the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) and the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP). Whenever possible, the secretarial staff meets with the leaders of youth organizations and we link them with the life of Party echelons and executive boards. Youth--also unorganized youth--sees moreover that we are a young administration and that it is easier for us to discuss mutually.

[Question] What about the matter of young people in the party itself? What about active members, most often young people, who became identified after August?

[Answer] During the campaign, 51 percent of the active functionaries and of the first secretaries were changed. Similarly as on the voivodship level, the positions of those comrades who were not reelected were taken by young people. There are plants in which the secretaries--as for example comrade Ryszard Glodkowski in Koszalin--have real authority and where organization is constantly developing. Mainly young people have come to it. At the last executive board meeting, this secretary stated that it must stop the inflow to the party organization. They could accept dozens of people but they want to look carefully at new candidates so as not to commit the old errors with an excessive number regardless of quality.

[Question] It is hard to believe that things are that good. Then you don't have problems with regular and active members leaving, as do many voivodships?

[Answer] That would be a lie. The outflow of disappointed active members occurred first prior to the voivodship conference. Later, they left, most often after crises such as in the Wujek, Ziemowit, and Piast mines. In general, however, it can't be said that young people in Koszalin voivodship have left the party ranks. This is mainly because these people know what they want. They categorically reject the bad, and at every opportunity, seek assurance and guarantee that the new correct decisions do not become a fabrication or are not carried out the old way. We oppose statements that the youth of the 1970's is a lost generation. The majority of them are ambitious, educated and committed.

[Question] What is the hierarchy of youth problems? Without working out many problems, without showing a concrete perspective--which a large part of the young people does not see--it is difficult to speak about linking them with the party and the authorities. How do you approach this in Koszalin voivodship?

[Answer] We want to do all our activities with youth and not only for youth. After all, it is young people who will make use the longest of what we create. There are really many problems. We can't count too much and always on the central authorities. There is much, however, we can do ourselves, for example, the matter of housing. We want to work together to create the possibility of building a home by anyone who wants one. In every city, we are designating areas for private construction. Perhaps, we can also afford to extend the financial and material help available, to all those who decide to build. We already have many positive examples. At present, there is one youth apartment cooperative in Szczecinek. The work of converting attics is continuing throughout our voivodship, however, there are not many of them. We will do everything possible so that with heads held high we can tell youth, "Build, we will do everything to help you." That is the quickest way to having one's own home.

Initiative is very valuable but it requires capital, which most young people do not have. Today, building a home costs 2-3 million zlotys, which requires a personal investment of about half a million. A young engineer or worker does not have this amount of money...

This of course is the biggest barrier, as is also the fear of indebting oneself for life. Certainly, however, the party and the state will help greatly; it will be necessary to introduce loans with the possibility of remitting them. We are looking also at the matter of young families. Our echelon initiated the creation of the Preschool Development Fund (FRP). This was created under the slogan, "a place in preschool for every child." The situation is still bad, and the needs are enormous, though compared to the rest of the country, we don't look bad. We want to resolve this problem by 1990. We also want to convince youth that everything in the voivodship is for them; what will be depends on them alone. In particular, "angry youth" must understand that most of all the future depends on their work input. There is also the important problem of overcrowded schools which we want to resolve and create adequate study conditions for every child. Extremely important is the matter of work for people finishing school. Here there are still many unknowns, for example, the future of Koszalin construction. At the same time, we want youth matters to be always the center of interest of the authorities. Therefore, in the near future, there will be a council for youth affairs in the voivodship. Youth, including those in jobs, must also think about what they have to do for themselves.

[Question] What, however, aside from your own efforts, do you expect from the Central Committee plenum on youth? What role should young members of the Central Committee play here?

[Answer] There are great hopes connected with the plenum. At the same time, we realize how difficult a problem this is. We cannot conclude the plenum with a resolution which does not speak in a meaningful booming voice to the majority of society. Among other reasons, the difficulty lies in the great caution in trusting the party and also in the fact that as a party we are not able to say that we will give youth this and that. We can, however,

say that if we together assume certain activities then in such and such a time they can be mutually resolved. I think that if we have to promise something, then we must support it with real possibilities. Then we will be able to get the trust of the young. Most important is that in fighting for youth, we do not antagonize and lose older people. In coming out for youth, we cannot forget those who have made and are still making our reality. The matters we are going to deal with must concern all of society and not just youth.

[Question] In the central echelon there are 39 of us under 35 years of age. We have already taken our places. The material was worked out on this basis. The last meeting of the young members of the central echelon was very useful, the discussion very stormy. I myself did not like the tone of some of the participants in the discussion who evaluated youth too critically. I argued strongly against these people though the criticism was presented mainly by young workers from plants. But we cannot evaluate youth through the prism of this marginal element. Generally, youth does not reject that the only path we can take is socialism. However, after the plenum, we must reach all of society and not only party activists or the youth movement. We must also reach the maximum number of parents and sow among them a certain uneasiness about the future of their children. Society must be told that the parent, school and community are equally responsible for the upbringing of children and youth. Many comrades at this meeting tried to argue with me but I still think that youth is ambitious and talented. We must do everything to activate youth and keep them together.

[Question] There are great expectations. We are counting on the plenum to resolve many matters and to create a program for young people. Is such thinking, separate from the problems of the entire country, not a delusion?

[Answer] You cannot put the matter in that way though such opinions do exist. We must say simply that the only way to an emergence from the crisis, to an advance of young people, and an improvement in their life conditions is work and again work. We must develop our own cult of work. In approaching youth, we must strongly accent this. And we must go together, all of society through work, to fulfill the plans of young people too, though a difficult road awaits us. Without trust, this will be especially difficult. There is huge capital in the young generation which was invested in past years. I think that the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee will show the road to activating this capital and will free in youth the energy to create, to create mutually a new Polish socialist reality. I believe that youth, organized and unorganized, will not reject the hand offered by the party.

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CEAUSESCU INTERVIEWED BY EGYPTIAN NEWSPAPER

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Aug 82 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Nicolae Ceausescu by the diplomatic correspondent of the Egyptian newspaper MAYU]

[Text] As has been announced Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received, on 13 August, Hidayat 'Abd al-Nabi, diplomatic correspondent of the Egyptian newspaper MAYU, to whom he gave the following interview:

[Question] Mr President, what are your views regarding the possible solutions to the Palestine problem and the problem of the PLO in Lebanon? What role could Romania play in this connection, bearing in mind its traditional relations with Israel and its excellent relations with the Arab world?

[Answer] The situation in the Middle East is now extremely serious as a result of the Israeli military operations in Lebanon, and particularly in Beirut. The Israeli military operations in Beirut, and in Lebanon in general, must stop and the necessary conditions must be created for the disengagement of forces and the withdrawal of the military forces from Lebanon. Regarding the agreement on the departure of the Palestinian military forces from Beirut, there must be a complete ceasefire coupled with the necessary security guarantees for the completion of this operation.

We must, however, consider solutions to the Beirut problems as part of a general solution to the situation in Lebanon and to the Palestine problem. We believe that the Israeli forces should withdraw completely from Lebanon and that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon must be guaranteed. As I have said, efforts must continue in order to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the Palestine question which is the central issue as far as the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is concerned. Romania believes that a new international conference should be held, with the participation of all parties concerned including the PLO, with the aim of solving the problem of the Palestinian people on the basis of their right to self-determination and their right to have their own independent Palestinian state. We believe that at present priority should be given to political and diplomatic efforts to establish comprehensive peace in the Middle East. In this context we believe

that it is necessary to have a mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO. There is room for the two states in the Middle East. There should be enough room for a Palestinian independent state and a guarantee of security for the State of Israel. In general we believe that it is in the interest of all states in the Middle East to have a just and lasting peace, cooperation and good-neighborly relations. As far as Romania is concerned, we will exert every possible effort to help promote a lasting peace, but I wish to point out that the main role and task in this respect belongs with the states of the Middle East, including the PLO.

[Question] Romania has played a mediating role between Iran and Iraq. What effect has this war had on the stability of the entire region and will it have an impact on the West's oil interests?

[Answer] Let me first say that Romania has not played and does wish to play the role of mediator in the Iraqi-Iranian conflict. We have from the very beginning been in favor of a halt to the fighting and supported the withdrawal of the forces of both sides to their international borders which existed before the fighting broke out, and the settlement of the conflict between the two countries through peaceful negotiations. We still hold the same view. The war has inflicted heavy casualties and material losses on both states, and the continuation of this war will undoubtedly further complicate the issue and lead to more losses on both sides. Furthermore, the continuation of the war will adversely affect the balance in the whole region. Romania believes that it is in the interest of both countries to ensure their economic and social progress and preserve their territorial integrity and sovereignty. A strong and united Iraq and a strong and united Iran would constitute a firm foundation for stability and peace in the entire region. In this spirit, we believe that all efforts should be geared toward putting a quick end to the fighting and the war.

[Question] Going back to the days when the peace initiative began, could you, Mr President, shed some light on your talks with the late President Anwar al-Sadat, and do you believe there was another way out?

[Answer It is common knowledge that Egyptian-Romanian relations grew steadily when the late President al-Sadat was in power in Egypt. My meetings and talks with President al-Sadat played an important part in this development. In all these meetings we discussed in detail the issues of the Middle East and ways of establishing peace. I would like to underline President al-Sadat's continuous interest in ending the war with Israel and establishing peace that would definitely create the right conditions for the peaceful progress of the Egyptian people. Great credit goes to President al-Sadat for realizing that the future of the Egyptian people depends on ensuring peace. It is in this context that we must view President al-Sadat's historic peace initiative which marked the beginning of the negotiations with Israel and led to the Egyptian-Israeli treaty. It is a known fact that the peace treaty, the return of all Sinai to Egypt and the establishment of peace between Egypt and Israel are the results of this initiative. Some might wonder if there was another way out. There is

no alternative to the peace treaty and to the establishment of peace, except the military option which is war. War does not and never will solve the problems between states. Problems, however complex, can only be solved through realistic policies of peace and understanding. Only through such policies can there be peace and understanding. Only through such policies can peace, economic and social development, and prosperity for all nations be guaranteed.

[Question] Mr President, how do you view the conduct of Israel after the peace initiative? Is is making it easier or more difficult for other Arab states to join in the peace process?

[Answer] After peace was established between Egypt and Israel there was need for work, with a high sense of responsibility, to establish a comprehensive peace. The Israeli military operations in Lebanon will only place enormous obstacles in the way of overall peace. Therefore, as I said before, Israel must abandon its military operations, withdraw its forces from Lebanon, and turn to negotiations with the Arab states, including the PLO, for the establishment of a comprehensive peace based on Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967, a settlement of the Palestine problem including the setting up of a Palestinian state, and restoration of neighborly relations to ensure the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in the region.

[Question] In a speech you made at a dinner banquet in Paris in 1970 you said that the Israeli forces should withdraw from the occupied Arab territories "to build a world in which relations will be based on full and equal rights for all." How can this be achieved today in Lebanon, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights?

[Answer] It is true that Romania has always called for the withdrawal of Israel from the territories occupied after the 1967 war and for a settlement of the Palestine question as a major issue in the Middle East. Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories and Lebanon, the settlement of all issues, and the establishment of a comprehensive and lasting peace are now more urgent and necessary than at any other time in the past.

[Question] Mr President, could you tell us more about the Romanian initiative to bring about an international conference to solve the Middle East problem or help the parties concerned sit together around the negotiation table? Is such a conference possible after the Lebanon events?

[Answer] Proceeding from the premise that the Middle East issues should be settled through negotiations, I have, since my talks with President al-Sadat in Ismailia, been discussing the need for an international conference that would create conditions for the participation of all states concerned as well as the PLO. I believe that under the present circumstances such a conference is necessary. This is the right time for it. As I have said, in such a conference all the problems between the states of the Middle East must be discussed and solved, including or rather above all, the Palestine problem, on the basis of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to an independent Palestinian state.

Clearly this necessitates the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories and the Golan Heights, and it necessitates that the Jerusalem question be resolved.

[Question] How do you view the holding of an Arab summit conference to discuss the pressing problems in Lebanon, and is it possible for such a conference to convene without Egypt's participation? What is President Ceausescu's advice to the Arabs in these painful moments as we see what is happening in Lebanon?

[Answer] The question of the Arab summit conference is a matter for the Arab states to agree upon and achieve. We believe that under the circumstances every effort must be made to iron out Arab differences and work in complete unity to settle all issues in the Middle East, including the Lebanese and Palestinian issues, in line with the spirit and principles I mentioned.

[Question] You have met with President Husni Mubarak several times. Could you say something about Egypt under President Mubarak's leadership? When will the Egyptian-Romanian summit meeting be held, and could you comment on President Mubarak's message conveyed to you by Dr Usamah al-Baz?

[Answer] True, I have had several meetings with President Mubarak. We discussed the various aspects of Egyptian-Romanian relations. I want to point out here that on every single occasion President Mubarak showed special interest in developing cooperation between our two countries. We also discussed the Middle East, issues of peace between Egypt and Israel, and other international topics. I want to say that ever since President Mubarak assumed the duties of head of state in Egypt, Egyptian-Romanian relations have been continuously growing and expanding. New agreements on economics, technical, scientific and cultural cooperation have been concluded. President Mubarak and I have agreed to meet as soon as possible to discuss bilateral relations and complex international issues. We hope the meeting will take place as early as possible. We are happily awaiting President Mubarak's visit to Romania.

As for the message President Mubarak sent me through his adviser, it dealt in particular with the current issues in the Middle East, the situation in Lebanon, and ways of solving these problems. I must say with extreme satisfaction that the positions of Romania and Egypt on many of these issues are identical or very close. Romania and Egypt want to contribute to the settlement of these issues by political means, by negotiations. The message also dealt with bilateral relations and the forthcoming summit meeting. It falls within the context of the existing tradition between us, namely consultation on all matters of mutual interest. The message at the same time reflects the good relations between me and President Mubarak.

[Question] Mr President, could you please talk about the situation of Romanian-Arab relations in general?

[Answer] Romania maintains positive relations with almost all Arab countries. Even with those countries with which we have not yet established diplomatic relations we maintain economic ties and exchange views on various international issues. Generally, I would like to mention that economic, scientific-technical

relations between Romania and the Arab countries have forcefully developed and they are based on the principles of equality, mutual advantage and non-interference in internal affairs. Like relations with Egypt, the relations with the Arab countries are in the interests of our peoples and constitute an important factor for international cooperation and peace.

[Question] In your approach to the international situation you have always said that military pacts and blocs, be it NATO or the Warsaw Pact, should be abolished. Do you have any new proposals for easing the arms race between the two blocs and for nuclear disarmament?

[Answer] Indeed Romania has always advocated the abolition of military blocs--NATO and the Warsaw Pact--and maintained that relations between states should be based on the principles of equality, respect for the independence and national sovereignty of others, noninterference in the domestic affairs of others, and renunciation of the use of force and the threats to use force. It is known that the international situation is again very tense. The arms race has assumed enormous dimensions. This is why it is now more necessary than ever that every effort be made to stop the arms race and take tangible steps toward disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. The latest UN session strongly demonstrated all mankind's concern and anxiety about the dangerous situation created by the arms race. Efforts must be made, with full sense of responsibility, to stop the arms race and move toward disarmament through the current negotiations. We have welcomed the initiation of U.S.-Soviet talks on this matter and we believe that sustained work is necessary within the Geneva Committee on Disarmament to conclude suitable agreements to reach this goal.

Romania submitted a number of proposals on issues of disarmament and peace to the recent UN session. I do not want to repeat them now. I only want to say that the United Nations and its organs must play a greater role in fulfilling this vital aspiration of all peoples. In this context, the participation of all states, especially the small and medium-sized states, in solving serious international problems, should be guaranteed. At the same time, people everywhere should further intensify their efforts and activities which have considerably increased recently. Their aim should be to compel governments to make a shift to real disarmament. Under the present circumstances the role of the people and masses is decisive as far as the policies of disarmament, national independence and peace are concerned.

[Question] Mr President, what is your view on the future of the Balkan and Adriatic countries and what is Romania's role in this respect?

[Answer] Romania has advocated and firmly advocates the development of cooperation and friendship among all Balkan countries to achieve in this area--including the Adriatic--an area free of nuclear weapons. We believe that under the current circumstances it is necessary to intensify activity in that direction and I would like to mention Romania's positive relations with all the countries in the Balkans. We believe that new meetings at various levels are necessary between the Balkan countries, as well as the preparation of a summit meeting to jointly agree upon ways and means to turn the Balkans into an area of peace and an area without nuclear weapons.

[Question] Mr President, what is the link between the two preceding questions--the dismantling of blocs and the situation in the Balkans, as well as the ways and means you suggest to resolve them--and European security?

[Answer] As is well known, the two military blocs--NATO and the Warsaw Pact--are actually carrying out their activity in Europe. As a matter of fact, this has led to the fact that the main military forces, including nuclear weapons, are stockpiled on the European continent. Therefore, the dismantling of military blocs would be of particular importance for reducing tension and for achieving disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. Taking into consideration the complex problems, we believe that at this point we must do all we can to achieve the goal of developing cooperation, security and collaboration in Europe in the spirit of the documents signed in Helsinki. The dismantling of military blocs will be the result of developing trust, cooperation and friendship among the European countries.

It is necessary for us to achieve in Europe new relations of equality and respect for independence; it is necessary to ensure people's unity based on respect for the existing social systems and for each European nation's independence and sovereignty. In this spirit we attach great importance to the Madrid meeting, which will resume proceedings in the fall of the current year. We want that meeting to conclude with as positive results as possible and that a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe will be convened.

As I have already mentioned, we view the development of cooperation in the Balkans and the transformation of the Balkans into an area of peace as an integral part of cooperation and security in Europe.

The achievement of cooperation and security in Europe also requires that the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles be halted and that existing ones be withdrawn and dismantled. To achieve a Europe of security and cooperation, to stop the deployment of medium-range nuclear missles and of any other nuclear missiles is a factor of particular importance not only for Europe, but also for peace throughout the world.

[Question] Mr President, we attended the mass meeting in Pitesti and we heard your speech on that occasion. In your speech you referred, with particular clarity, to the need for Israel to halt the military actions in Lebanon and the need for a Palestinian state and an Israeli state in this region. What contribution can the international community make in the achievement of this goal? How can the international community make Israel halt the military actions, especially now, when Yasir 'Arafat has signed the document known as the "olive branch?" Do you believe that all these things should lead to a reassessment of the policy of the United States in regard to the respective problems?

[Answer] I have spoken about the issues of Lebanon and the Middle East. In view of the present circumstances in Beirut and Lebanon, everything must be done to put an end to the war in Beirut and Lebanon, bring about a disengagement of forces and then a complete withdrawal from Lebanon. However,

this only constitutes a part of the work necessary for the promotion of a comprehensive solution to the problems of the Middle East and of a just and lasting peace. All states, as well as the international community, should do everything possible to help impose a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. As I have said, the holding of an international conference is at present a very important matter and is perhaps the best way to achieve a speedy solution to the problems of the Middle East. In organizing the international conference and solving the Middle East problems, the United Nations must play a very active and significant role and, I believe, that the United States and the Soviet Union--and also the permanent members of the Security Council--should take an active role in guaranteeing and achieving peace, including the resolution of the Palestinian problem.

[Question] Mr President, would you be so kind as to explain the Romanian proposal to convene a high level conference of the Third World?

[Answer] As is well known, the situation of developing countries has continued to worsen. The current situation of the division of the world into poor and rich countries is a result of the long policy of imperialist and colonialist domination. The conferences and meetings thus far on the question of underdevelopment and a new international economic order have brought no results. The world energy and economic crisis and the policy of high interest rates have created very difficult conditions for developing countries. In view of all this, it is absolutely necessary to strengthen cooperation and solidarity between developing countries. They must take united action to obtain some results in the negotiations with the developed countries, so as to determine the establishment of new relations and a new economic and political word order, based on equity and equality and mutual advantage in the world economic relations. It is necessary to adopt an international charter which should define the principles of relations between states, the role of developing countries and the conditions for the world's socioeconomic development and progress.

In the current international conditions of powerful interdependence between various states and groups of states, the resolution of the question of underdevelopment and establishment of a new economic order is a prerequisite for overcoming the economic crisis and ensuring the economic stability of the world and the harmonious development of all states. In order to discuss all these problems and establish a common strategy, Romania considers it is necessary to convene a summit conference of developing countries. At the same time, the developing countries can and must strengthen their economic ans scientific-technical cooperation to ensure their faster socioeconomic progress, including with their own forces.

[Question] Would you kindly talk about Romania's development under its president's leadership?

[Answer] In a few days the Romanian people will be celebrating the 38th anniversary of the victory of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist national revolution for social and national liberation. Indeed, in this period and particularly in the years of socialist construction Romania has

made progress of historic significance. Romanian industry today is about 50 times larger than it was before the war. We have developed new industrial branches of high technology and I could say that Romanian industry compares today with the industry of many developed countries. We have strongly developed science and education, which are decisive elements of the entire socioeconomic development and of the process of building a modern industry. Before the war we produced about 300,000 tons of steel; today, we produce over 13 million tons. We used to produce some 1.5 billion kWh of electricity; this year we are producing over 70 billion kWh. Romanian industry today can practically resolve the most complex technical problems, including the production of nuclear energy equipment. Agriculture has also developed vigorously. Agricultural production is 3.5 times bigger than it used to be. Of course, we know that we have not yet achieved everything, either in industry or agriculture, therefore we make efforts to continuously develop both of them.

The national income has increased almost 15 times and on this basis the living standard and the incomes of the working people in all fields have also improved. Compared with 1950, the working people's incomes have increased almost 8 times.

You could see for yourself the construction of dwellings and sociocultural units in Bucharest and other towns. All this clearly illustrates the Romanian people's achievements and efforts to ensure the country's socioeconomic development and ever better living conditions for the people.

During the current 5-year plan, we aim at a new quality of work and life and at the transition from the stage of being a developing socialist country to that of a socialist country with an average level of development. All the Romanian people resolutely work to attain these goals and firmly support the party's domestic and foreign policy, considering that it fully meets the vital interests of the entire nation. As you just mentioned, you participated in yesterday's mass rally and could see for yourself the enthusiasm of our working people. I would like to state that all our achievements are the direct result of the enthusiasm and unanimous participation of the people in socialist construction; all these achievements and everything being done by the party, government and state are devoted to the country's development and the people's well-being and happiness.

I finally wish to express to your readers and the friendly Egyptian people my best wishes for their economic and social progress and consolidation of their independence, and their prosperity and happiness.

CSO: 2700/341

WEAKNESS OF PARTY, DISINTEGRATIVE TENDENCIES DISCUSSED

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jul 82 pp 12-13

[Excerpts from article by Prvoslav Ralic]

[Excerpts] ...The same tendencies which were opposed to the LC before also stand in opposition now--the forces of bourgeois restoration and etatistic restoration and the forces which stand among them. But because of the difficult economic situation, the lag in developing self-management, the different political expectations about what will happen to us after Tito's death, because of the lack of unity in the LCY, because of certain actions paralyzing the LC which cannot come to grips with things in an entirely organized, active, and ideological way, because of the party's new mass nature, and finally because of the counterrevolution in Kosovo, these ideological tendencies are acquiring not only intensity but are manifesting new forms, which, above all, are counting on an ideological vacuum which the LC itself is creating.

It is a question of tendencies regarding partnership with the LC. This partnership is expressing itself in standing guard over the national interests of one's own people, in concern over creative freedoms, in taking over the intellectual function of the LC, in a-priori criticism of the leadership, organization, and authority of social institutions, in offering "a theory of unrestraint" and "sniping at the system," allegedly in order to hasten the development of self-management, and in ever louder defense of the model of real socialism. Along with this, an avalanche of negative critical consciousness is felt to a certain degree which perceives the limits of society but does not offer solutions and shows a lack of power to get out of the situation in which we find ourselves.

There are therefore two mutually connected currents in which actual ideological enemies and people who support views of a negative critical consciousness participate: the current of compromising self-management ideas and practice where it is blamed for the present situation; and the current of petit-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalism which, outside the class approach, praises a [particular] nationality and agonizes over its history, not considering what was liberating and what was enslaving in it. Also evident are theorists of nationalism, but fewer and fewer who give theoretical consideration to the working class criterium today.

One should consider also the tendencies of the traditional and neo-intellectual petit-bourgeoisie. There are more and more people of private-ist motivation.

The tendencies toward closing oneself off are general. Not only the encapsulation within republics and provinces, but even within regions, cities, opstinas, and living areas. It is a question of the formalization of human communication. ...At the same time a petit-bourgeois concept of democracy continues to be nourished. Myths about the "controlling mind," about the fateful conflict between politics and culture and between politics and freedom of creation are spreading.

Bourgeois liberalism has found its way into the press, while the bourgeois intelligentsia has greater access to culture and the media. At the basis of this petit-bourgois atmosphere lie the inertia of private-property relations (that social creature whose reverse side is egoism), the undiscovered ways to overcome the gulf between material-production work and intellectual work, and the inadequate linking of people and their work.

...How do things stand with the socialist-self-management consciousness and commitment?...[We are] faced with the erosion of self-management consciousness, because ideological and political confusion is growing even among people who have up to now been committed to self-management. The poor economic situation, declining standard of living, the process of bureaucratization starting with the OOURs (basic organizations of associated labor), steps backward in self-management, the spread of private-istic behavior, and tendencies toward creating a nonworking stratata of people who have a better economic position--contribute to this erosion and confusion.

What should the LC do, ideologically, in such a situation? It is important to realize that there has never been a greater need for action but also there has never been less opportunity for such action. Despite the fact that ideological work has intensified quantitatively (we have never had so many programs and concrete forms of ideological-political education, so many political schools and similar institutions), ideological work is, in fact, being neglected.

...All our cadres are not capable of democratic work, and unfortunately, there are also young people who misuse the authority of the LC to increase their own authority, relating to people in a forum-like way. We need people who are not burdened with various kinds of opportunism, who have the power for democratic and critical communication...with people regarding the questions of life....

New Yugoslavia was created, thanks to the unity of the KPJ (Communist Party of Yugoslavia). Because of the noncommunist articulation of the political interests of the republics and provinces, one has forgotten the experience of this revolution: The cohesive factor of the new Yugoslav society was not the working class or the nation as an abstraction, but the KPJ, or the LCY. It is this [cohesive] factor only when it is leading the way. ...When the revolution stops, when steps backward begin to be made (and these are beginning with the new idolizing of nationalities), the LCY stops being the cohesive factor, and an ideological-political vacuum arises which is filled more or less by organized counterrevolution.

There are many signs that a new phenomenon is at work, namely, the appearance of group hegemonism in the LCY. Socialist Yugoslavia cannot live where one

party is outvoting another, in the grouping of republic and provincial LC organizations. This is the end of the historic logic of the Yugoslav socialist revolution.

The "nationalist" logic of the republic and provincial LCs, the inertia of the unsurmounted bourgeois history of Yugoslavia is continuing in a sea of "a-priori unitarism," irrational fixation on the part of advocates of great-Serbian nationalism. The Comintern vision of great-Serbian nationalism (a-priori unitarism) is becoming ever more evident. This vision is to the advantage of foreign interests because the solution of the nationality question in our country is thereby left to outside powers.

The destruction of equality in the communist movement is destruction of the movement itself, the socialist revolution itself. The communist movement of Serbia and this same movement in Yugoslavia cannot be the object of false democratic games. Our democracy, including party democracy, is clearly specified: this is democratic socialism and self-management as the basic characteristic of Tito-ist Yugoslavia and the LCY.

Is this a factional struggle or something else? Factionalism is the form of a relatively unified organization in which politically aggressive minority groups appear with the potential to organize themselves separately. It seems that in our country this is not the case. The case is more serious: manifestations of hegemonism of republic, provinces, and nations are again evident. These tendencies and the people who support them cannot be questioned until the class standpoint is reinstitutionalized and until, on this basis, one establishes who is where and what is what. Without this, the slide into a nationalist position and nationalistic counterrevolution is ensured. It is time to link the slogan of brotherhood and unity with the slogan of class alliance, not only in ideology but in actual socioeconomic relations.

...No socialist-self-management victory can be achieved with the "blanket" slogan of anti-unitarism, whether it be directed against the unitarism of the "largest" republic or the unitarism of the Federation. Behind this slogan are hidden disintegrative tendencies. We must return to the first experience of our revolution: the party in all nationalities must have the same basic strategy.

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END

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7 September 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2053

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EXPANDED DUTIES OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES DISCUSSED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Ladislav Adamec, Deputy Premier of the CSR Government: "Serving the People Better"]

> [Text] The conclusions adopted by the Sixth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee obligated party, state and economic organs to participate more effectively in improving the work of the national committees and the sectors which they administer and direct. We see a focal point of responsibility in a consistent creation of conditions conducive to all around fulfillment of the representative bodies' tasks in the economic, social and political spheres. Of special significance in this respect is activity focused on fulfillment of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, care for and realization of a complex growth in the regions, and conscientious satisfaction of legitimate citizen needs.

From this vantage point we approach the assignments contained in approved documents and make sure their implementation in individual krajs, okreses and localities reflects the new quality of responsibilities of plena, councils, commissions, aktivs, as well as individual deputies. In thoughtful management of their common endeavor lies the promise of success in the fulfillment of the objectives we have set forth for ourselves.

The foundation of our future effort must be a realistic assessment of our capabilities, backed by a thorough knowledge of the local situation, full utilization of citizens' ideas and recommendations, an initiative which goes hand in hand with the effective help of our party organs and organizations.

The political leadership and exemplary positions of communists are of fundamental importance for all around comprehension and grasp of the responsibilities in the economic, organizational, state power, management, cultural and educational spheres.

On one side, these problems are delineated by considerable authority entrusted to the organs of state administration, on the other by genuine trust the people place in the ability of this important link in our political system to

satisfy, in harmony with the interests of society as a whole, justified local demands of collectives and individuals.

Based on thorough knowledge of local conditions, we must organize an exchange of experiences, polarize gradually appearing incentives, and patiently respond to citizens suggestions. The usefulness of mutual comparison of our work becomes clear especially when we realize that in the implementation of future tasks we will not always have the benefit of precedent. Such understanding characterizes the scope of current requirements and makes future needs easier to assess.

We consider it desirable to rid our positions of generalization, trite proclamations and empty promises, instead we intend to emphasize convincingly, openly and in an informed fashion those matters which are timely for the coming weeks and months, those which are apt to change in the years to come, as well as those which even with the best of will we cannot hope to achieve.

We anticipate that these criteria will generate an appropriate response on the part of citizens, through their recommendations, views, or questions with which they will approach the deputies and other officials. Expressions of great interest have already been confirmed by many examples. What will change in the position of the towns? How close will performance of the state administration come to meeting practical needs? How to make enterprises managed by the national committees more effective? What will be the main features of the work of the citizens committees?

These questions partially demonstrate the scope of the tasks confronting the national committees.

The only acceptable answers are those which objectively mirror the well-meant recommendations, those which do not suffer from haste and simultaneously leave no doubt that the prescribed goals aim to transform the present state of affairs in the interest of a harmonious development of society and higher satisfaction of each individual. It is in this spirit that fulfillment of the approved tasks is organized and monitored.

Through the establishment of central villages--to cite certain fitting cases --we aim to achieve all around better quality of our endeavor and introduce a more flexible system in dealing with citizens' problems.

We are also mindful of the concerns of citizens in the housing developments. We cannot reconcile ourselves and remain indifferent to recommendations on and criticism of the slow application of good practical experiences in certain localities. Analyses confirm that the resolution of even seemingly insignificant problems can represent good political work.

Improvement is justifiably expected in the functioning of paid services. There is no doubt that a great portion of the shortcomings can be eliminated through better organization, application of peoples ideas, firmness and courage. The variety of needs demands more innovative content and methods of our work. We must assess with foresight which types of services in which

localities may make life easier, or where their continuation would more likely represent a burden or unneeded luxury. Constant improvement is unthinkable without concentrated assistance from the production branches and collectives, without qualified personnel, without correct procedures in producer-consumer relations, etc.

We must also devote greater attention to the problem of public food catering. Some enterprises tend to blame nonfulfillment of this year's plan exclusively on the so-called external economic factors. It is true that we are applying stricter criteria, and using old methods will no longer suffice. The growing responsibilities have not yet been sufficiently reflected in the self-evident facets of consumer relations, in pleasant service, wider selection of meals, proper hygienic environment, etc. The timeliness of these principles is especially felt at this juncture when summer vacations are beginning. The peak of the tourist season will serve as a test of our preparedness, ability to make decisions and confront changing conditions. Indeed, the general rules of the new approaches are equally applicable in local construction projects, in all types of services and in other sectors.

The increasingly exacting requirements must not lead the elected bodies to a state of neglect of their regular duties which they have been routinely performing up to now and whose urgency is rising at the present time due to the more complicated conditions of overall development.

We especially mean their more emphatic impact on the economy, the situation in education, culture, health care and social security, which all tend to relieve the citizens of their everyday concerns. The progress achieved in these areas by the elected bodies will always serve as a key indicator in assessing the political talents of our functionaries. This is indeed attested to by the fact that the bulk of citizens' complaints has to do with commerce and services.

In all fairness, we should state that the elected bodies are not responsible for all our difficulties. Much of what has been subjected to public criticism has causes so complex that they reach well beyond the capability of local organs.

On the other hand, we must not overlook the fact that a good portion of what citizens are objecting to is indeed within the province of the basic elements of our state administration. There is room to act here and prevent shortcomings before they occur, simply by applying more effective methods of work. Even though this responsibility is generally recognized, analyses show that manifestations of stereotype solutions and tendencies to find an easy way out of problems, have certainly not yet been eliminated. We find it unacceptable to succumb to alibiism and passively excuse shortcomings which could easily be avoided. Such erroneous approaches logically breed skepticism and loss of confidence with respect to even some of the good things which we have achieved in certain areas. Once our people become convinced through concrete deeds that we are proceeding in a thoughtful and purposeful manner, that we are focusing our efforts on the most important problems, that the calls for economy and effectiveness are not mere slogans but rather a blueprint for

determined action, they will become more interested in the well-being of their settlements and their motivation to contribute to social progress will grow.

In early June our government issued a document containing the most important tasks to be performed by the ministries in order to ensure the fulfillment of the goals set forth by the April plenary session of the Central Committee. This document clarifies the basic objectives, points out what needs to be emphasized in the planning and fiscal spheres and in technical development, it shows us how to improve management, what must be done to ensure better services, how to enhance relations among the various national committee echelons, how to help the central villages and towns, how to improve the work of the apparat, etc.

These problems cannot be fully resolved in a short period of time. Nevertheless, we must strengthen the foundations of a systematic approach and sustained attention to the problems the deputies and other functionaries are dealing with.

A good example of this new direction is the comtemplated simplification of the heretofore long-drawn out procedure in connection with the construction of family homes. We also look forward to socially beneficial results from the planned adjustment in the issuance of permits to citizens to perform certain services which had been approved by the national committees, and from the resolution of problems in the process of establishing and operating of small workrooms under their jurisdiction. Other ideas also merit consideration.

Experiences gained in some krajs and okreses--fully supported in regular consultation between the government and the kraj national committee chairmen, confirm the balanced and thorough nature of our efforts. The resolution of open questions is not left to chance. It is precisely targeted and linked to mutual cooperation, consultation and inclusion of a broad outlook. It is here that we find in full measure the benefits of the astuteness and organizational skills of the kraj national committees.

Every beginning is difficult. We will no doubt encounter hard times and problems for which sufficient manpower may not be unavailable at a given time. However, the determination not to retreat in the face of obstacles but rather to overcome them, must receive our full support.

In harmony with these principles, we will make sure that the ministries acquire a better grasp of the concerns of the individual krajs, an objective comprehension of the problems, and a readiness to present viable proposals of how to proceed. This method will definitely contribute to the strengthening of the national committee authority. In this respect, it will be especially desirable to constantly enhance the coordinating role of the Ministry of Interior.

One of the basic prerequisites of complex fulfillment of the conclusions of the Sixth Central Committee Planum lies in the direct personal involvement of

the deputies and other functionaries. Their ideas and views in some cases on the elimination of shorcomings unfortunately thus far do not sufficiently reflect the complexity of the conditions under which we labor. There are even those who are reluctant to admit that the road to improvement will have to be given to goals on which depends the harmonious development of society as a whole in the coming years.

Consequently, more effective educational work among officials themselves and in their relations with the broad strata of citizens, merits priority attention. We must remember that the anticipated results can be achieved only if, along with political and professional aspects, our efforts mirror broader considerations of the internal and international political situation and of overall economic development.

Full recognition can be accorded only to those deputies who are able to win people over, initiatively confront them with tasks, and ensure their involvement in the labors of the elected bodies.

It is not results of a partial character or changes in selected individual sectors which are of prime importance, but rather an overall improvement in our work which contributes to the formation of socialist thinking and acting human beings. Each of the steps leading to this goal must therefore be well thought out and assessed in both immediate and long-range terms.

The foundations on which we build are the principled policy of our party, the half-a-million strong aktiv of national committee functionaries, traditions and successes of the past, and awareness of shortcomings and weaknesses. Our tasks for the coming period have been clearly set forth. They can be fulfilled if they are accomparied by consistent, critical control conducted at the level of government, krajs, okreses and localities. Even here we will raise our criteria to prevent situations in which good resolutions are merely proclaimed, while their realization lags behind.

In summation, all the above measures provide guarantees for greater authority of the organs of state power and administration in the interest of strengthening our social system, more effective utilization of available financial and material resources, more consistent share in the development of the Czechoslovak economy, as well as the broadening of the working peoples participation in management and administration.

9496
CSO: 2400/338

COST OF INADEQUATE PHONE NETWORK HIGHLIGHTED

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 38, 8 Aug 82 p 25

[Article by Csaba Vertes: "Billions Dialed Away"]

[Text] What a vexation! The stonemason of a Borsod megye community sat around for 2 hours in a local post office waiting for a telephone connection to Kazincbarcika. He wanted to order materials from the TUZEP [Fuel and Building Material Trade Enterprise] site, but unable to get a connection after waiting 2 hours, he finally got in his car and travelled about 160 kilometers there and back. That day he could not spend even a minute on his job of housing construction.

There are those who help themselves because they can. It costs United Incandescent about 10 million forints annually to run its separate telephone network by which it can now reach its provincial factories relatively easily. It is said that a nationally known tsz [producer cooperative] is negotiating with the post office for a similar solution (largely at its own cost) because it has had enough of communications that never materialize due to difficult telephone connections.

Public and Private

Foreign traders complain that because of the unreliable telephone network they frequently receive or provide important business information too late, and for this reason alone they are at a disadvantage with foreign competitors. And the scientific researcher complains that the computer which helps him in his work is the member of a larger system--linked through a telephone network--but what is this valuable machine worth and the entire system if the Hungarian telephone system is what it is.

What is it like? Evaluating the official statistical data separately and as a whole, we can say it is almost the most obsolete and the least reliable in Europe. And there is a good chance that the "almost" in the above sentence may be dropped in the near future as our country drops to last place on the European list. At present, Sweden stands at the top of the list of telephones per 100 inhabitants (79.6), France is in the medium range (45.9) along with Norway (45.3) and Spain (31.5), and behind Hungary (11.8) come only Yugoslavia (9.5), and Romania (8.5). But the rate of growth in the latter two countries is much greater than in Hungary.

Countries with a similar degree of communications development have at least a 2 percent share in total investments. It has never reached this in our country, even in the "best years" it reached 1.6 percent at the most. (Sometime in the 1950's Matyas Rakosi said: "We do not have to touch the telephone network for another 50 years, it has been well done by the capitalists.")

In Budapest, 2 million people use 58 percent of all the main stations. Ten percent of the main stations remain for the 4.8 million inhabitants of the villages (on weekdays, and then too only until 1600 hours because the manually operated centers do not operate later than this).

In addition to 121,000 public telephones, 68,000 subcentral main lines and the 565,000(!) auxiliary stations linked to these conduct 70 percent of the telephone traffic; and 356,000 private telephones make up the reaminder. This 70 : 30 ratio--and it is the worst in Europe--is the major cause of the fact that in Hungary the chances are all in all 40 percent that a reliable telephone connection will be made between the person calling and the person called. The world average is 70 percent. The post office calculates as follows: whoever can talk (about 8 million people) would also like to use the telephone (a half million telephones). Thus 7 and 1/2 million people use the telephones on the public network because they do not have telephones at home. But the public telephone network was not set up for this number; and for this reason the 70 : 30 ratio should be turned about.

The experts of the post office announced several years ago that "the development sums equivalent to two five-year plans are missing from the Hungarian telephone network." Recently, Illes Toth, managing director of the post office, put at 160 billion forints the sum of money without which it would be impossible to make more significant progress. And according to him, there is hope.... But let us add that if as a result of some miracle the post office should receive this sum of money from one day to the next, it could still see to carrying out a worthy development only after many years; at present it is not equipped either technically or in manpower for rapid action. It most sanguine hope is that with 160 billion forints in its possession it could by the end of the century raise to 30 the present 12 "stations" per 100 inhabitants. With this, we would approach the current average medium range for European countries, or to put it another way, we have to run faster in order to hold on our present position.)

No Connection

Instead of further analyzing the general situation let us consider what is in fact the use of a modern telephone network. Let us count backwards. According to the National Technical Development Committee, we spend 2 billion minutes every year with receiver in hand waiting to talk. This comes to the full annual working time of 14,000 people! Counting only the postal costs, this comes to about 2 to 4 billion forints. There are quite a few institutions, bodies, firms, offices and persons who cannot permit for themselves this kind of service, at places where a reliably operating telephone network is literally a matter of life and death: MAV [Hungarian State Railways], water management, defense, interior, the petroleum and gas industry; and the operations of many "top level offices" and at least as many managers of large enterprises are tied

into special, so-called "closed link" networks (the "K" line). How do the construction, operational and maintenance costs of these places relate to the sums of money invested in the basic network? And the special users of these networks--to what extent are they aware of or know the unusable nature of the basic network?)

But back to the basic question: What is the social and economic value of the telephone?

(Gyula Horvath of the Beloiannisz Communications Technology Factory stated: "No matter how we approach the question, we arrive at the conclusion that the telephone in final analysis makes it possible to save time. But how much is time worth? In 1976 we created 41 forints' worth of national income with an average of 1 hour of work. This includes the time devoted to nonproductive activity as well as the effect of the telephone in increasing efficiency. The latter unfortunately cannot be quantified, but it is certain that any kind of improvement in the telephone will lead unconditionally to an increase in efficiency. For example, the nation-wide introduction of the digital type telephone would bring an increase of at least 64 billion forints into the national income or a comparable savings in costs.")

International examples: Before the implementation of the telephone program in the kolkhozes of the Soviet Union, they estimated that the transmission of reports and instructions--at a cost of 2 billion rubles--equalled the work altogether of 250,000 foot messengers, horse riders and motor vehicles. But these 2 billion rubles provided the secure cover for building an appropriate kolkhoz network. (Hungarian industry is one of the telephone center-transmitters of this network.)

Other examples: In the United States they estimated that by creating the conditions for the so-called telephone conference technique, they are able to save 5 percent of the annual petroleum requirement; and in the United Kingdom they are able to save 200 million pounds annually. According to the UN Secretariat, the center of the world organization can hold a five-hour conversation with London for the price of a round-trip airplane ticket between New York and London. The latter example is only by way of illustration for diplomats and politicians, if for prestige reasons only, prefer to travel rather than to telephone. In the international business world, where time is truly and greatly expensive, it has for long been a custom for millions of items to change owners through simple and unconditionally valid agreements handled through telephone conversations.

But not in our country: in the simplest matters which have already been arranged and essentially settled on the telephone, there are memoranda, letters beginning "with reference to our telephone understanding." In fact, there are more and more memoranda beginning "in verification of our telephone conversation" because it is not only the telephone network that is what it is, but also the communications customs (and perhaps morals, too).

What is it like? Conservative, built as a matter of course on mutual lack of confidence. The kind that rejects new possibilities even before it is familiar with them.

Dreams About the Turn of the Century

The development plans of the post office that extend to the turn of century include services that sill appear unusual. Automatic awakener, a fee register that can be installed with a (push-button) telephone; integration of the subcenters into the number area of the main center (render unnecessary an operator at every sub-center); linking of radio telephones to the wire network creation of the conditions for conference calls; the automatic redirection of calls, and so-called "call parking" to make it unnecessary to dial again and again, for example, if the line is busy.

It is also certain that for most of the services--for example, the possibility of direct long distance calls-there is one clear condition, an unconditionally higher degree of social morality than exists by us. (For example, consider the telephone robbers and the telephone vandals.) But by referring to these matters, we can hardly hold back the rate of development for the Hungarian telephone system. And this remark is made only because among the many certainties this is the only uncertain factor; we cannot know at what rate and in what direction the domestic telephone network may develop, or when it will reach the desired level. (If we were to ask the raven of the post office, he might answer like Poe's bird: nevermore.) But we should clarify the optimum or at lease the minimum goal from which we cannot yield because otherwise the circulation of information that keeps society and the economy alive may be endangered.

6691
CSO: 2500/356

FLIGHT OF STUDENT WORKERS IN AGRICULTURE STUDIED

Budapest IFJU KOMMINISTA in Hungarian No 6, 82 pp 17-21

[Interview with Istvan Gyenesei, member of the Central Committee of MSZMP of Istvan Cseri: "Students in Agricultural Employment"]

[Text] The current working hour basis for agriculture is 1.7 billion hours, of which seasonally employed student manpower makes up 1.77 percent. This is approximately 30 million hours per year. This data was selected from a study by Istvan Gyenesei entitled, "The Seasonal Employment of Manpower From Outside of the Branch in Agriculture." The secretariat of the young workers of the KISZ KB [Central Committee of the Communist Youth League] and of the Agricultural Youth Council prepared a report from this study for the Executive Committee which discussed it and partially accepted its findings.

We discussed the contents and the significance of the study with its author, who is now a colleague of the Central Committee of MSZMP.

[Question] What do you mean by manpower which is outside of the branch?

[Answer] I consider outside manpower, students, soldiers, pensioners, household members, active income earners working in other branches and family members, that is, workers seasonally transferred from other work areas of a given agricultural plant. Student manpower is the most important among these, since it comprises 27 percent of the total outside manpower.

[Question] Let us stay with the students. Perhaps it is common knowledge, but it would not hurt to summarize why there is a need for student labor.

[Answer] The employment of work age students during the school year and during vacations satisifes genuine national economy needs, while at the same time it has the concrete educational goal and result of teaching to work.

[Question] Why did you study the conditions of student manpower only in agriculture?

[Answer] Because in industry the domain which does not demand any specialty training from outside manpower or is not dangerous is rather restricted. The

proportion of outside manpower, and thus student manpower which could be included is insignificant. I did not investigate production and professional practices since useful production activity only rarely takes place there. The construction industry and transportation utilize primarily military manpower. Water management is not involved in this problem. In commerce and in the hospitality industries it is characteristic for students to find employment on an individual basis, although the idea of creating a development camp has come up. Because of rather restricted monetary conditions, there would be a need for student manpower in environmental protection, but those responsible for this area are undecided in this matter.

Thus only agriculture is left. This is natural since growing crops has the characteristic of being seasonal, and its need for manpower fluctuates. A manpower policy which adjusts the annual manpower needs to the year's highest requirements cannot be conducted since it would mean that nearly 150,000 persons would be "supported" only in order to work 40 to 50 days annually. Thus the employment of outside manpower is of vital importance for the entire national economy. Despite foreseeable improvements in mechanization and in the development of superior strains, there will be a need for student hands during peak periods for a long time.

[Question] How much profit can be attributed to these student hands?

[Answer] The value of labor can be expressed most exactly through the amount of lost profit, or in other words, the value which could not be realized without this manpower. In 1981, during the school term, in the fall, the performance of students, expressed in wages was 175 million forints. The value of the merchandise was 3.5 billion forints.

[Question] Under what forms of employment are the students utilized by agriculture?

[Answer] In the forms of employment as individuals and as group labor organized by society, by which I mean the development camps and work during the school term. Among these, the most important for agriculture is the work during the school term, since 66.5 percent of the students working in agriculture are employed in this form. Next in importance are individual employment which utilizes 14.2 percent of the students, development camps, which employ 11.6 percent and other organized summer employment which utilizes 7.7 percent.

[Question] Is individual employment characteristic rather of rural students?

[Answer] Yes, and for the most part it applies to children of parents employed in agriculture, although possibilities for such employment are opening in Budapest. The Obuda Producer Cooperative, for example, can employ 600 students each summer.

There are significant reserves latent in this form also, but right now there is no one to organize it. The career selection institutes are of some help in assisting the location of individual employment, but their activities are exhausted in the compilation of rather inadequate publications dealing with possible places of employment. It would be nice, for example, to develop a student intermediary system at least for the megye seats and for larger student towns. These would require a new organization, but could be built on the developing student centers.

[Question] It is apparent from the study that work performed during the school term mobilizes the broadest strata of students. To what extent is this form organized?

[Answer] During the school term the theoretically available student population, including the seventh and eighth form pupils of elementary schools, secondary school students, vocational students and college and university students is approximately 650,000. This source is 50 percent utilized.

[Question] It is clearly undesirable that in the fall every student go perform agricultural work, but it is also undesirable that this many should be missing.

[Answer] As a matter of course, only 75 percent of the theoretically mobilizable student population participates in the work. But let us remain with the ones who begin work. If we compare the actual days worked with the number of days possible to work--this is currently 12 days for seventh and eighth form, secondary, college and university students, 10 days for vocational secondary school students and 6 days for vocational trainees--then the theoretical 650,000 persons is reduced to 325,000 in practice. But this is not the problem, because we should be striving for increasing organization and efficiency rather than for the extensive increase of student labor. This becomes more understandable by revealing that on the average student performance is equivalent to 40 percent of adult worker performance. This is because the effective performance of students is less, and they spend less hours working per day. In practice this means that it takes more than two students to replace the work of one permanent worker.

[Question] What determines student performance?

[Answer] Many factors. Primary school students are naturally not capable of performing certain work, although they are easier to discipline than secondary school stuxents, who under appropriate organization and direction can even perform work equivalent to that of permanent workers. The performance of college and university students, however, is variable. They are capable of outstanding performance, but they also turn in the lowest level of performance. It is generally observed that rural students do better work than urban ones. This is not only because the work is not as alien to them, but also because they are more aware of the position of agriculture and know that their work is needed. Many of the urban students do not understand why they have to perform agricultural work. They only see the central measure as the reason, and believe that they are necessary because agricultural workers are lazy. Many of them feel that the work is belittling.

Of course performance is influenced by the efforts of KISZ and school guidance organizations towards the preparation of students, teachers and parents for the performance and proper appreciation of work. The behavior of the permanent farm workers naturally has an effect, as do working conditions and monetary renumerations for the work performed.

[Question] Monetary considerations?

[Answer] Yes. The students do not got o work because of the money, but because it is mandatory. However, once they are there, the wages, in addition to work organization and teacher guidance, have an equally great positive or negative effect on their performance. Wages are generally determined on the basis of the established wage principles for the permanent manual laborers of the given farm, while also taking the amount, quality and difficulty of the work into consideration. Despite this, complaints are often heard from students and teachers alike. While a number of legal statutes regulate the relationships and duties between schools and plants, disorganization, confusion, disparagement of student activities and the slashing of the countervalue of their work are still common phenomena.

[Question] Ultimately, what do the students earn?

[Answer] Well, that varies considerably. Current wages are generally considered low by both students and teachers. The differences in wages between state farms and production cooperatives are causing problems and tensions, but there are also significant differences among wages in different megye's. In Heves Megye, for example, the average hourly wage was 7.90 forints, while in Bacs-Kiskun, it was 12.40. There are even greater differences if we consider only college students. In Borsod Megye they earn an average of 6 forints per hour, while they earn 20.00 in Hajdu-Bihar.

[Question] It is natural for earnings to be divergent. The amount the farms can pay depends on the level of their operation. The introduction of differentiated wages is the national goal.

[Answer] That is true. But the mentioned ranges in earnings were not on the basis of performance. The fact that agricultural plants are able to pay wages on the basis of the quality of their operations can and must be explained to the permanent work force (since in their case it is true that the performance capabilities of a given agricultural plant depend partly on them) but not to the outside manpower. They only see that for the same work and performance with equivalent quality other plants pay more. Thus schools compete for farms which pay better, while farms which will not or cannot pay student labor better can qcquire manpower only with difficulty, or through the assignment of a school. The attitude toward the constraint situation, however, is often expressed by poor performance.

[Question] What can be done about it?

[Answer] I think that the wage minimums for identical work should be centrally established, and the possibilities for renumeration for above average performance ought to be created.

One more thing. Performance is also negatively influenced by the fact that student wages are withheld, contrary to the rules, by the school directorate, the KISZ organization or the parents' association. (I am not talking about wages being offered, but about their being withheld!) No one should be forced automatically to offer up the money which he has earned for his labors. One more comment. Regulations state that wages are to be paid directly to the student, or under unusual circumstances to the supervising teacher. In practice the latter form has become the common one, even though the former would have a more salutary effect.

[Question] What is the situation with teachers' wages?

[Answer] The reachers are the motivators of fall student employment. Student performance depends to a large extent on their performance. Some of them consider this work to be an unpleasant duty and do not attempt to utilize their prestige as teachers to motiviate to work. However, their influence can also be discerned behind good performances. Their wage, in addition to their base pay is 60 forints for 6 hours of labor. Even with supplements and bonuses it does not exceed 15 forints per hour, on the average. I believe that wages based on performance ought to be appropriate for them also, because their performance can easily be measured by the performance of their students. Of course, several hours of classes ought to be organized for them also to acquaint them with the work. During harvests they could work secondary jobs at the receiving farms. I could mention as an example the Zalaegerszeg state farm, which since 1969 has regularly solved its harvesting problems with students by contracting in advance with nearby schools. All the more important details such as hours of work, wage and bonus system, transportation and meal considerations are agreed upon in detail. It may seem natural but it is worth mentioning that the farm continuously provides drinking water, water for hand washing and for portable, relocatable toilets.

Students wages are made up of a base wage and a bonus. If the percentage of blemished items picked is between 7 and 10 percent, only the base wage is paid. If the blemishes are between 5 and 7 percent, the bonus is 20 percent; if the blemishes are under 5 percent, the bonus is 40 percent. If the percentage of blemished items rises above 10 percent, even the base wage is not paid, but the work is stopped. Of course, this method requires that before beginning work students be acquainted with the picking methods. This is done within the framework of an orientation and students are even provided in advance with a publication describing the correct procedures. The title is, "On the Tree Eighty Percent Are Certainly Unblemished. How Many Remain That Way Depends on the Picking." Naturally, they organize preparation for teachers and listen to their observations.

[Question] How do they renumerate teachers here?

[Answer] The hourly wage for teachers is 10 forints plus bonus. The latter is 6 percent of the group performance with a maximum of 100 forints. In addition, each may pick for himself 60 kilograms of apples and pay only the preferential price agreed upon for permanent employees. Lunch costs the s same as for the employees of the farm. Even a work competition with prizes has been announced. As an illustration I will only mention that if a secondary school class works 7 days and comes in first in the competition, it receives a 3,000 forints prize, and the attending teacher receives 600 forints.

Within this wage system on the average each student earns 70 forints per day, buta 90 forint per day class average is not unusual. Active teachers can earn as much as 265 forints per day in addition to their salaries, if their classes work 7 days.

[Question] How could the Zalaegerszeg example be made the common practice?

[Answer] By doing what the interests of both the young people and the national economy require: that the directive organizations, the plants and the schools prepare and organize the employment of the students at a higher lev el. The regulations for employing students should be learned in detail and be followed to the letter. The better coordination of the efforts of state and social organs responsible for organizing student labor for the common good and the further strengthening of the cooperation between the employing large farms and teaching institutions--which is for their mutual benefit--can successfully promote the realization of combined training and economic goals.

[Question] The third most important form--in terms of the number of participants--of agricultural employment is the development camp. How many students are working in development camps each summer?

[Answer] In 1981, 73 of the central development camps were organized for agriculture. This indicates more than 40,000 students. In addition, 15 megye and 20 university organized development camps must be taken into account, totaling 53 to 55,000 students affected by this form.

[Question] I have noticed that development camps receive greater publicity than other forms of agricultural work. At the same time, this form is much better organized despite all the recent changes that have taken place.

[Answer] This movement is truly fulfilling its function, which of course does not mean that nothing more needs to be done to it. When we consider the prestige of social and economic requirements which has arisen around the development camp concept, it would appear to be advisable to modify the directive principles. In practice the modification and modernization must mean simplification, economy, flexibility and decentralization. The Development Camp Committee is already organizing this year's camps with these in mind.

[Question] Why is there a need for decentralization?

[Answer] Because it brings the source of manpower and the place of employment closer together. The relationship becomes more direct and the possibilities for a permanent relationship can be developed. The interest of agricultural plants and the readiness of local social organizations to accept responsibility is increased.

I think that considerably smaller proportion of development camps ought to be centrally organized, and only where unusual national economy tasks must be solved, or where the specialized and departmentalized camps include several megye's. In their place there ought to be the popular camps such as those at Boglarlelle, Siofok, Alsotekers, Sopron, etc., which far exceed the average levels. The majority of the megye's can satisfy their own requirements within their boundaries. Where they cannot, the extent of mobilization is smaller than the national average.

[Question] You mentioned the departmentalized and specialized development camps. What methods are there to develop these further?

[Answer] The future indeed has a greater role for the departmentalized and specialized development camps. The first specialized development camp was organized in 1977, primarily for second year students of vocational schools. The time spent here qualifies as training time and must be considered as practice in the specialty. In 1981, there were 9 such camps with 3,400 student participants. Trade and social scholarships, for those that have them, are in effect during this period. MEM[Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry] unfortunately has not yet organized such camps.

Departmentalized program development were instituted in 1974 for secondary school students. College and university students assist in the leadership of this camp form. They supplement the leisure time programs of the camp with scientific, literary and artistic programs. Individual cycles are specialized into various subjects such as literature, history, music, etc. Last year alread already 5 to 6,000 individuals participated in such camps, indicating that students like them. This form can be one of the chief means of expanding development camps.

[Question] The directive principle of camp operation states that: "Young people participate in development camps voluntarily and carry on their work--which is useful to the national economy, and for which they deserve moral approval and rewards appropriate to their performance--without monetary compensation." What is your opinion of this?

[Answer] I believe that if greater recognition were given to voluntary social work performance by school training, or if the plant leaders would admit the irreplaceability of student labor, it would mean more than monetary rewards. But we cannot expect our young people to work for free. I think the exchange value of their work in proportion to the work performed must be paid to them. The organizers of megye camps have paid appropriately motivating wages for a long time because they realized that if the vacation camp is accompanied by the opportunity to earn money, it motivates students to better performance. In the Bolyi Agricultural Combine, for example, students receive amounts equivalent to 18 to 20 forints per hour. A centrally organized camp also operates in this megye. For several years now its daily performance has been only one-fourth of the megye's camp.

Reasons such as this made last year's modernization of the centralized camps' incentive systems and the development of their system of rewards necessary. But I do not think that it is enough.

Reasons such as this made last year's modernization of the centralized camps' incentive systems and the development of their system of rewards necessary. But I do not think that it is enough.

[Question] Then those in development camps ought to be paid also....

[Answer] Yes, but in such a way that the exchange value of the work performed should be separated into three parts. One part would reimburse farms for their expenses--lodging, transportation, meals, etc. Eighty percent of the amount left after the deduction of expenses should belong to the participants, and the remaining 20 percent should be paid into the central fund. This fund would contribute to youth policy investments. If we only consider the current number of development camp participants, the central contribution would amount to 7 or 8 million forints a year. With this amount something, like for example a contribution to the modernization work of the Uttoro Stadium, could really be started.

[Question] In the preparation of your study, you analyzed the data of nearly 200 agricultural plants. You studied the resolutions which have appeared, and the speeches and analyses which have been voiced. Because of space limitations, we only touched a portion of these in our discussion. What will happen to your study? What assurance is there that your determinations and conclusions will reach those concerned?

[Answer] The fact that the colleagues of the Central Committee of MSZMP involved with agriculture, and those in the Central Committee of KISZ, in AIB [State Youth Committee], in MEM and in the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, in other words those concerned, are acquainted with the study. How many of my conclusions they accept depends on how convincing those conclusions are, and how much they agree with them.

9093
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PROMINENT WRITER DISCUSSES EFFECT OF SUBSIDIES ON LITERATURE

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian No 7, Jul 82 pp 20-21

[Article by Tamas Ungvari, literary historian, critic and editor of Literary Book Publishers: "Concerning Subsidies"]

> [Text] Motto: "I have seen so many impoverished and subservient writers in my life that I decided long ago that for my part I would not increase their number."--Voltaire

The simplest summary of our cultural policy consists of three concepts--subsidies, toleration, prohibition. At one time rather much was said about the latter two; there is still little said about subsidies. Perhaps this is because it seems obvious that works in the socialist spirit--in theory--find suitable understanding; their publication or presentation--in theory--meet with no special obstacles, and such forms of subsidy, including a larger number of copies, the payment of literary fees and the system of scholarships which has developed, fit in appropriately with the other two principles of literary policy.

But support, like any principle, proves itself in the course of its realization. And the reality of it is not at all so free of contradiction as the principle to be followed. Just as many distorted forms of support are possible too--as is proven by the articles of as many authors in ELET ES IRODALOM. The list of authors was convincing--Andras Simonffy, Akos Kertesz and then Pongrac Galsai complained that writers today, partly because they are forced to make a living and partly because of the need to keep their names in circulation, spend more time on so-called hack work, undertake to serve the radio, television or press, while creating their main works, their real creations, in their remaining time, as if this were a secondary occupation. A writer--it appeared from the series of articles--can hardly live from his profession; only possibilities appearing on the periphery of his profession offer him a livelihood.

The social mood of writers--this appeared from the KRITIKA debate--is quite good. But the private mood of writers--as the authors of the articles in ELET ES IRODALOM attested--is not without tension; in addition, it is the task of the writer to talk about the problems of others, and more rarely about his own. Propriety forbids that the artist appear before the public with his own interests. Yet it happened, and in a curious year, just when the honoraria, even those of translators, had been adjusted.

So the complaint was voiced at the moment of relief. But perhaps it was just the relief that disclosed the contradictions in the practice of support as reflected in the honorarium system. The honorarium became higher--and, it is said, it will be too--but the principle of social distribution appearing in it remained the same. Only the so-called "from-to" ratio improved; the possible maximum of an honorarium for Gyula Illyes is just the same as that for any beginning writer; only the number of copies can raise the master to the heights of material security. And perhaps everyone knows that one counts the number of copies only after the book appears; considering the present press situation this will be 1.5 to 2 years from the completion of the manuscript. What is essential is that the principle of distribution, of payment, is unchanged. Throughout society they are working out fresh ideas and practices to separate the field, for differentiated payment, while imagining that the spirit reflected in literary payment will still be one of uniformity.

Perhaps this is why there are so many individual complaints, while the general mood is, in general, good.

Culture Costs Money

My occupation is writer, thus I am a cultural worker, while culture, we hear all over the place, cannot support itself. So I, a publisher, just like culture, must seek subsidies. The state contributes a fixed percentage to a theater ticket. Every book, at least serious literature, the writing of studies, the products of thought, is a deficit proposition. Hungarian film, in the labyrinth of production or distribution, has become a losing proposition in our homeland; journals in large numbers bring less to the kitchen the more cultured they are.

Culture seems to be a commodity which is always put into circulation at below the cost of its own production; so everyone who has an interest in this trade looks with justified suspicion on the "producers of the goods." Somewhere in this process they have lost their utility and respect.

Is culture a commodity? The editors of KRITIKA, justly, closed this debate. It is not my job to judge this or summarize its results. But I must point out certain lessons, because of the train of thought of my article.

We can reach more significant results in this debate if we strictly distinguish, within the sphere of culture, the creation of works of art from the array and fate of other cultural products, because according to the viewpoints of the Marxist theory of value these are often radically opposed. A work of art enters the production process itself as a "finished product;" making it into a commodity, trading it and spreading it do not form it or add to it.

In commodity producing societies--and we now know that even our society is such a society--the trouble starts when the work of art, the "final product", enters the production process and "suffers" transformation from an immanent social value into a commodity. Since its value is testified to by its price only indirectly it requires the decision of an entire series of people and institutions to translate this indirect evidence into the language of the market. What characterizes socialist cultural policy is just that in this translation

process an attempt is made, circumspectly and cautiously, to reflect the value of the intellectual "final product" in the price in a reversed ration. Tolstoy is published cheaply and easy reading is published expensively. So one finds in the principle of support not simply political thinking, but rather a correct, Marxist interpretation of the concept of culture.

The Origins of Support

We know the system of market oriented cultures fairly well; the achievements and failures of the practice thereof seep through to us, as Pest slang has it, from the western world, which stretches from the end of Vienna Street to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

But cultural subsidies have not only a contemporary presence, they also have an interesting past. We should not be alarmed to find that their roots go back to the soil of feudalism; there were early forms of patronage even in the most flourishing cultures, for example in the case of the troubadours. The rising bourgeoisie observed this culture of the patrons with doomed envy--desiring it but rejecting the price. Because the price of some patronage was subservience--as a drama by Bulgakov depicted with such a sharp eye in the fate of Moliere.

The cultural market was born when a great number of artists desired to free themselves from the schakles of patronage. To transform a work from an object of support into a commodity--this became one of the goals of the enlightenment. There we see Voltaire among the first writers who demanded for their work not position but money. It was the avowed goal of Voltaire not to get on through flattery but rather to win independence with a little property. His career, of course, was contradictory; a real transition appears in it. On the one hand the favorite of rulers; on the other hand an independent writer, if we peruse the lists of his honoraria. Independence and the desire for the body warmth of support--this double yearning appears in the careers and work of those of the enlightenment. Montesquieu attacked the Academy only until he was elected a member of it. But these contradictions cannot hide the fact that in the end those obsessed by reason desired literary freedom first of all. Goethe said of Voltaire: "Rarely have I seen such a man, who sold himself into slavery for the sake of independence."

The Situation Today

Achieving literary independence by means of material independence is a syndrome of yesterday., a historical tradition which should be reassessed. The reassessment might begin by asking what is the new meaning of literary "freedeom" or independence in an age when the structure of cultural production is defined by "subsidies, toleration, prohibition."

One word about money. And this one word grows into many. Because money is still a condition for the independence of a writer--an income proportional to the value and social utility of the work (not proportional to its commercial profit).

A not insignificant part of literary society does not live badly. But the chief source of their income is not always that activity which is socially most useful. What they devote their life to--the independent book, the independent play, their own film--succeeds with the greatest difficutly and reaches the public only slowly, at the cost of overcoming unneccesary obstacles. The through-put time is not at all a technical obstacle, rather it is a spiritual, cultural, theoretical one. Our readers hardly enjoy the enchantment of contemporaries; what we read today was produced 2 years ago, in the best case. The through-put time for a play is alarming; planning ahead a number of years cools the enthusiasm of the authors. But all this points to a single common problem--writers have little to say about the publication, realization or propagation of their works. Not only are their incomes out of proportion, their rights are limited also. A writer cannot know in advance when or in how many copies his work will appear; at best an author can only accept a pledge that his play will be shown at a given time; the publication of propagation of every work is a function of many social factors, and the right of the artist is the factor which can be most neglected. It is enough to study a publishing or theater contract. The input of the writer or his right to redress will fit into a few sentences while the rights of the other purveyors of the cultural commodity take up dozens of paragraphs. A publisher takes all the work of a writer for a period of 4 years. But for these 4 years he is not obliged to pay even the full basic honorarium. I could continue describing the symptoms, but I will satify myself with the end result. Where the fixed rights of the writer are so few and he has so little to say about it, the support appears to be a "favor" and the realization of the social utility seems to be a kindness.

A person could get the impression that it is not the producers of culture who are being subsidized but rather the cultural institutions.

Those Who Are Drowning and Those Who Reach the Shore

If we can observe in the honorarium system, in propagation, a certin uniformizing tendency, at the same time there is in support, as a result of the symptoms described above, a very capricious system of promotion, payment and patronage. This is a function of how many true servants of culture there are among the practical realizers of support, where they are, and it depends on how the possibilities of this system are exploited, and where, by certain partisan patrons, patrons who have achieved positions of power, bureaucrats using their offices to distribute awards.

There have been, historically, a number of types of "backers." A famous example is the letter of Dr Johnson, sensitive to literary independence, to the powerful Lord Chesterfield.

"What sort of person is a patron?" the greatest lexicographer posed the question. And in the wake of his bad experiences he was inclined to generalize. The patron, he continued, is a man who "views with perfect indifference the life-and-death struggle of a fellow human in the water. And then, when he reaches the shore, showers him with favors."

Those who give support today are not necessarily patrons; sometimes they even help those struggling in the water. But there are still those who have remained Lord Chesterfields; not because their inclinations prepared them for

this role but rather because the cultural system, the practice of production and trade,offer certain opportunities for their appearance and success. A writer needs a partisan if he would prod his work through the system of hindrances.

When I talked about independence just now I was actually trying to define the amount of freedom necessary for social service. D'Alembert, of the enlightenment, calls the man of intellect a slave of freedom--it is perhaps understandable that this formulation pleases me better than that which calls the writer an "engineer of the soul."

Literary independence is service to the work.

And this requires a certain amount of material independence, the enjoyment of a support in which the writer receives patronage not as a favor but rather as value in accordance with the social utility of culture.

But what happens if-as Andras Simonffy, Akos Kertesz and Pongracz Galsai complained--there is greater reward not for the work but for the "other" activities:

Pseudo-works are born instead of works. What I call pseudo-works are the multiple regrafting of themes from genre to genre, the flung together collections of stories or anthologies of articles, sheer prestige publications. A person's oeuvre swells from these prestige publications, and only the leaders of book publishing could say sincerely whose works gather dust in the warehouses, unable to be sold.

This proliferation of pseudo-works creates a false system of values. Barrenness masquerades as productivity. Because the trouble is not that the book of this or that author cannot be sold, rather it is that it is superfluous even if it can be sold. The prestige which has been born requires support, and this gives birth to further prestige publications in the form of patronage or partisanship.

The system of supports was consolidated as a powerful principle in cultural policy in order to help give life to real works. But it is enough to use in the practice of this correct principle methods which are alien to the system of cultural policy, and the correct ideal becomes its opposite-subsidies become favors and the desire to qualify can become protection.

Centralism

The entire system of the cultural structure was created in a period of excessive centralization. This is why there are only two literary publishing houses and one knowledge propagation publisher, this is why we have a "cultural distribution" in which the three large Budapest theaters still have intimate theaters. When the writer becomes exhausted in the struggle with these mammoth institutions, when he gives up on the methods of centralized book pulication--then he tries to get into ateliers in which there is a decentralization or polycentrism promising a certain future. A writer does not write television plays, film scripts or newspaper articles because they pay better; the film

studio, television and the newspapers pay better because they are divided into independent units, because there are many of them, and so they are forced, in a way, to compete for the creative artists.

It may be that it would help if there were more book publishers. Little ones and big ones, those with profiles and those without. If some intimate theaters had independent companies, independent dramaturgy and direction, thus if there were an increase in the number of ateliers serving to publish and show works. The competition developing among them might aid a principled realization of support, in practice. More ideas and more thoughtful partisanship might nurse works to life. And might ensure more "independence" to the writer--in the service of that to which he has given his life.

The Indpendence of the Writer

It is as difficult to define literary independence as to define the amount of self-esteem necessary for literature, for creation. What is certain is simply that the strengthening of just literary self-esteem is not helped by insolent treatment, by the slowness with which works reach the public.

There is one component of literary self-esteem which the ancients called "genus irritabile vatum," or the property of sensitive kinship. Sensitivity actually means that the writer must stick to his principles without regard to anything or anybody. Sometimes he must make enemies, by criticizing, by speaking out, by defending his own works. Baudelaire called it the greatest luxury of the literary life, making enemies. It is a princely luxury.

The Hungarian writer of today can hardly permit himself this princely luxury. The writer cannot have a falling out with his publisher however long his work lies unpublished, because he can choose only between two publishers. He cannot have a falling out with his distributor, because he does not know who he is. He can hardly criticize his colleagues, because they will vote in the interest representation body concerning fees and honors. So the writer can sweep before every door but his own. He has, perhaps, a single solace--if he gets out of the water and reaches the shore, as in the example of Dr Johnson, then, if he is lucky, he may get so much support that he will be his only judge. Suddenly he enters that realm of "independence" where there are no obstacles before him. While he was in the water he had only enemies; on the shore he has only friends.

Even Baudelaire did not know what true luxury was. This is it, this unblessed situation. The author is the completely subservient "screw" for cultural "commodity production." Profit dose not motivate the publisher, the distributor is independent of the publisher, and the mammoth theater companies do not need authors, they need managers.

In the process of the entire area of culture enjoys subsidies, at the price of serious material sacrifice. But the considerable blessings of this support do not always reach those for whom the entire system of support was created--the creator. And those who might finally enjoy the results of this support--the public--do not always share in these blessings.

Summing Up

So we have state subsidies; in principle the system of support protects culture from the false market character thereof. But two important motifs are frequently missing in the discussion of state support. The first is that culture receives this state support in order to produce cultural goods which cannot be expressed in market value. So its utility can be measured only at a theoretical level. The other is that in the present system of state support we have not developed in a sufficiently modern way a structure in which this support can be realized perfectly, true to the spirit thereof, with the least possible distortion. The present distribution of state support, the way in which it is used, still preserves the remnants of the structure of earlier economic planning, in the first place in its excessive centralization and in the second place in its uniformizing character, thus basing qualification beyond and short of the principles. A significant proportion of state support is consumed by the cultural bureaucracy, which makes incredible efforts in every single atelier to fulfill its obligations, but in a structure in which superfluous administration has swollen to an incredible degree.

So the writers are not demanding more money, if I understand correctly the scattered articles which package common problems with private complaints, rather they are demanding more rights in following the career of their works, demanding more commitment. So they can satisfy that patron from whom they received the commission. Let us call this partisan or supporter the reader, the viewer, the consumer. His true name has rather gone out of fashion. Let us call him--the people.

8984
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DECREE SETS CONSULAR FEES FOR CITIZENS, FOREIGNERS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 65, 15 Jul 82 pp 1-4

[Decree of the Council of State on Setting Consular Fees]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decrees:

Article 1. The issue of passports and other documents for crossing the state border, the granting of visas and the completion of other services by the diplomatic missions and consular offices of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other organs authorized to provide such services are subject to consular fees.

The list of consular services and the level of fees that are charged for these services are given in the appendix, which is an integral part of this decree.

Article 2. The consular fees shall be collected by direct payment, cancellation of consular stamp or in another manner as set by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Finance.

The diplomatic missions and the consular offices of the Socialist Republic of Romania shall collect the consular fees in the currency of the country of residence or in another free convertible currency.

Article 3. The calculation of consular fees charged by diplomatic missions and consular offices of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and also by the checking points for crossing the state border shall be made at the official rate with premium for noncommercial operations.

Article 4. In the event that under international conventions or agreements, to which the Socialist Republic of Romania is a signatory, the parties agreed differently from what is provided for in this decree, the provisions of those conventions or agreements shall be applied.

Article 5. Under bilateral understandings, there may be agreement, on a reciprocal basis, on reductions or exemptions of fees by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the approval of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Interior.

Article 6. Exempt from fees, on a reciprocal basis, are entry-exit and transit visas for representatives of states to international organizations and agencies or for their officials, and also for the members of their families.

Article 7. In the event that the consular fees set according to the provisions of this decree are lower than those set by other states, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs may, with the approval of the Ministry of Finance, set fees that correspond to those collected by the states involved, implementing the principle of reciprocity.

Article 8. This decree takes effect 15 days after the date of its publication in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA. On the same date, repealed are Decree No 424/1964 on Setting Consular Fees, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 10 of 13 August 1964. Decree No 479/1971 on Modification of Decree No 424/1964 on Setting Consular Fees, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 168 of 31 December 1971, and Decision No 1707/1971 of the Council of Ministers on Setting Consular Fees and Fees for Issue and Visa of Passports, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 168 of 31 December 1971.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 9 July 1982.
No 259.

Appendix

List of Consular Fees and Level of Fees

Chapter	Item	Designation of consular services	Fee In lei	Fee In percentages of value
1	2	3	4	5
A. Fees for passports				
		1. Registration of the application for preparation of a passport or another document for crossing the state border or for extending their validity:		
		a. Individual	65	
		b. Collective, for each person	35	
		2. Issue of a passport or of another document for crossing the state border:		
		a. Individual	250	
		b. Collective, for each person	125	
		3. For subsequent registration of each child under 14 years of age in the passport or the document for the crossing of the state border by one of the parents or attendant	40	

1	2	3	4	5
B Fees for visas				
	1.	Registration of the application of passport owners for granting or extension of the validity of the visas	65	
	2.	Exit visa	900	
	3.	Entry visa:		
		a. For Romanian citizens or former Romanian citizens who return definitively to this country or who, during a temporary stay in this country, have received the authorization to settle in the Socialist Republic of Romania	125	
		b. For foreigners	375	
	4.	Entry-exit visa:		
		a. For a trip	150	
		b. For several trips	500	
		c. For tourists, one trip	75	
	5.	Exit-entry visa:		
		a. Individual	125	
		b. Individual, that entitles to several trips	250	
		c. Collective, for each person	75	
	6.	Transit visa:		
		a. Simple	75	
		b. Double	100	
		Note: For a visa to interrupt transit a fee is due which is equal to the fee for a visa for tourists.		
	7.	Application for obtaining foreign visas, one trip	25	

Common note for chapters A and B:

a. Contestations against the decisions taken by the organs responsible for the issue of passports and granting of visas are subject to the fees relating to the services requested, reduced 50%.

b. For extension of the duration of the stay in this country or abroad, stated by the visas granted, the extension for other countries of visas and also of a change in the border point, 50% of the fee for obtaining the initial visas shall be charged.

c. For extension of the duration of the stay in this country of foreigners come to the Socialist Republic of Romania with an exemption as to the entry-exit visa, there shall be the charge of the fee stipulated in Chapter B item 4, for a trip, provided that conventions, agreements or understandings did not stipulate otherwise.

d. Exempt from payment of fees are preparation and issue of documents for crossing the state border and visas for Romanian owners of diplomatic passports.

e. The fees for passports issued and visas granted to Romanian citizens staying abroad under special circumstances may be collected in lei in this country, with the approval of the head of the diplomatic mission or of the consular office.

1	2	3	4	5
		f. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the heads of diplomatic missions and consular offices of the Socialist Republic of Romania may, exceptionally, on a case-to-case basis, grant reductions in payment of fees for passports and visas.		
	C.	Fees for notary papers and for services performed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Diplomatic missions and consular offices of the Socialist Republic of Romania		
		1. Drawing and certification of powers of attorney and authorizations, for each copy:		
		a. For administration of assets or completion of credit transactions	150	
		b. Other powers of attorney or authorizations	75	
		2. Certification of signatures, including on the calling statements, provision of the exact date, for each document	25	
		3. Certification of the signature and seal, for each document, regardless of its nature	125	
		4. Certification of facts determined personally, for each paper	75	
		5. Issue of a certified copy of documents kept in the archives of diplomatic missions or consular offices, for each page or portion of page	50	
		6. Translations made by diplomatic missions or consular offices into or from the Romanian language, including certification of conformity with the original in the language from which the translation was done, for each page or portion of page	75	
		7. Checking of the translation, including certification of conformity with, against the original in the language from which the translation was done, for each page or portion of page	50	
		8. Assistance given for liquidation of inheritances, on the basis of the right of general representation of diplomatic missions or consular offices, according to the value of the inheritance transfered to this country:		
		a. Up to 5,000 lei	65	
		b. Up to 10,000 lei		2%
		c. Up to 20,000 lei		3%
		d. Up to 30,000 lei		4%
		e. Up to 40,000 lei		5%
		f. Up to 50,000 lei		6%
		g. Over 50,000 lei		7%
		9. Liquidation of inheritances directly by diplomatic missions and consular offices according to the value of the inheritance transferable to this country		7%
		Note : The fees on items 8 and 9 shall be collected in the currency of the country where the inheritance is.		

1	2	3	4	5
	10.	Attestation by diplomatic missions or consular offices of certificates of origin and control of goods, invoices and bills of lading, in light of the value of goods, for each copy:		
		a. For values up to 10,000 lei	30	
		b. Up to 20,000 lei	50	
		c. Up to 50,000 lei	125	
		d. Up to 100,000 lei	300	
		e. Up to 1,000,000 lei	750	
		f. Over 1,000,000 lei	900	
		Note: The value in lei shall be calculated at the rate in lei for noncommercial transactions.		
	11.	The attestation by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the commercial papers issued by Romanian foreign trade companies, for each copy	25	
D.		Other consular services performed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the diplomatic missions and consular offices of the Socialist Republic of Romania or other organs		
	1.	Obtaining of any documents from this country or from abroad and the issue of a certificate containing the legal provisions of the marriage or adoption	75	
	2.	Issue of a custom certificate	125	
	3.	Safekeeping of papers, items or assets for one year or portion of a year, in light of value or volume and the assessment of the body providing the services	75-600	
	4.	Certification of the changes that occurred in the ships' crew lists	125	
	5.	Certification of the logbook, engineering log, radiotelegraph log and sea protest, for each visa	75	
	6.	Issue of temporary navigability permit for ships acquired or for which repairs were made abroad	125	
	7.	Registration for the application for identification of persons	50	
	8.	Registration of the application for the granting of Romanian citizenship	500	
	9.	Consular services for formalities on renouncing Romanian citizenship	3,000	
	10.	Registration of the application for clarification of citizenship	75	
	11.	Other consular services	125	
		Common note for chapters A-D:		
		a. The rate level for consular services under emergency conditions shall be set by the Ministry of Foreign and the Ministry of Finance		
		b. Travel expenses, telephone, telegrapg or telex communications, mail correspondence, lawyer's fees and any other expenses generated by consular services shall be recovered separately from the fee involved.		

c. The Romanian state shall be exempted from consular fees for documents or services rendered to it, according to this decree, when acting in its own name for obtaining, safekeeping, utilization or protection of patrimonial rights.

11710
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SOCIAL FACTORS OF RELIGIOUS PHENOMENON

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 5 Jun 82 pp 8-10, 44

/Article by Prof Dr Ion Dragan, Dr Ion Mihail Popescu and Univ Assistant Ilie Badescu:* "Social Factors in Religious Belief and Demands Upon Scientific-Materialist Education"/

/Text/ In our era the mystical-religious view of the world is undergoing, like society itself, a whole series of changes made in the attempt to adjust to present world conditions. Changes have been made in the social basis of the various religions and cults, older or newer, some of the most insidious strategies have been deployed to conserve religious beliefs and restrict the historical process of secularization of the world at the expense of religion, and new techniques and formulas have been pressed into service to perpetuate and disseminate mysticism and obscurantism, not the least of which is the proliferation of sectarian obscurantism and fanaticism. Religious phenomena and trends affect all societies in some way and to some extent, especially since the religions' universalist ambitions are perpetuated even today, while the "new" creeds and sects display an even more aggressive tendency to cross national boundaries and to gain positions and adherents in any part of the world. Knowledge of these phenomena, in their particular manifestations, is of scientific as well as social and practical importance. It is well known that more effective atheist education, as part of the process of developing the masses' socialist awareness and of educating and advancing the new man, is inseparable from knowledge of religious belief in all its aspects, in its evolution and great variety, and in its developmental trends. We feel this effort cannot be based solely on general aims and principles, however correctly and clearly defined, but must be aimed at distinct groups and categories of the population and, more than that, real individuals with their distinctive social and cultural characteristics and viewed in their particular living conditions, modes of thought and social expectations, just as consideration must be given to the successes and failures of human existence and the almost kaleidoscopic diversity of human individuality. Furthermore the fact must also be considered that religious belief, like any social phenomenon, is the result of interaction among individuals, social groups and various components of society as a whole, and that it is the expression of a multiple and complex social conditioning and causation.

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Knowledge of all these interactions and changes in the world of religion is becoming indispensable to an effective and necessarily far-reaching effort to combat obscurantism, mysticism and religious fanaticism and to form atheist attitudes. Atheist education should also benefit by interpretation and knowledge of the psychosocial mechanisms of mystical-religious attitudes and behavior, of religious convictions, and of the social-psychological functions of religious belief, which are in a process of rapid change, since they all can provide an explanation of religious belief under socialism and consequently useful suggestions for the better guidance of social action and educational activities.

Scientific knowledge of the religious phenomenon in Romania from a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary standpoint has become an urgent necessity in view of the requirements formulated by the RCP leadership and Nicolae Ceausescu for the radical improvement of scientific-materialist education of the masses, and it is encouraging to note that considerable progress has been made in that direction in recent years. This includes the Bucharest Sociological Research Center's efforts and contributions to specific study of the evolution of the religious phenomenon in various counties and areas of Romania and to evaluation of the effectiveness of scientific-materialist education of the masses and especially of youth. For instance, with the aid of the Propaganda Section of the RCP Central Committee and the county party committees the Sociological Research Center has made extensive field studies of the state of religious belief and the results of atheist educational work in 15 counties of Romania and in Bucharest. To illustrate the scope of these studies it is sufficient to say that the selective surveys (based on a questionnaire) alone reached over 12,000 respondents (persons between 17 and 37 years of age) selected according to the criteria of sampling by quotas. The field studies were made by composite brigades, jointly with researchers and teachers who are participating party and state activists, specialists in production in the respective areas and students, and they are accordingly a constructive result of research combined with social-political practice.

These extensive studies permitted an insight and a quantitative evaluation of the evolution of religious belief in each investigated county, as well as identification of the main shifts and trends in the state of religious belief in various social environments and of the distinctive religious characteristics according to areas, localities, social-professional categories and age groups (Maps were compiled of the intensity and diffusion of religious beliefs according to subareas, sects and population categories), and they all provide a scientific basis for differentiating atheist propaganda and cultural-educational programs according to the particular situations in each area.

As a generally significant result these studies bear out the conclusion that religious belief has taken a special form in Romanian society, having become a transitional religious phenomenon characterized by a number of traits. Thus it was found that the profound structural changes in the national economy and in the Romanian people's social-political and cultural-educational experience have given rise to an evolutionary trend toward atheism in broad categories of the population as an extensive result of liberation of large groups in all social classes and categories from mystical-religious ideas and practices. A process is also going on of significantly increasing religious indifference, as an

intermediate stage in the population's alienation from religious thinking, attitudes and assertions (and consequently from religious ideologies and beliefs), even if some such people still observe some religious practices at times. Yet a more general trend toward abatement of the intensity of religious belief is shown particularly by observance of religious customs or rituals without any profound religious convictions. Gradual secularization of some traditions and customs has become evident, as well as a return to their secular significance after centuries wherein religions lent them mystical meanings and exploited them to perpetuate themselves. Those processes are important to Romania's general socialist development and to the results of the policy of forming and developing the people's socialist awareness and creating a new human personality.

The studies pursued both a general and a differentiated evaluation of these processes and trends toward general decline of religious belief and abatement of its intensity in Romanian society, bringing out the varying degrees of their development from one area to another, from one population category to another, etc. To illustrate these conclusions, I note that the studies evaluated the "state" of religious belief from three points of view, namely atheistic religious behavior and practices, thinking about religion and attitudes toward it, the data from all counties showing a significant decline in religious belief in attitudes and ideology and consequently in intensity, and a commensurate development of atheist attitudes. But there are considerable discrepancies between behavior and attitudes and religious or atheist thinking. The higher proportions of persons participating in religious rites (most of them occasionally, or 57.40 percent of the total) are explained to a great extent by the power of tradition and custom (and that too is being secularized), in addition to the need for social contact, public display and social recognition felt particularly by children and youths, especially in rural localities, and largely indicative of the "compensatory" function of religion.

In Romanian socialist society the basic socioeconomic processes (the new kind of social and production relations, rapid urbanization and intensified social mobility) that have radically changed man's place in the world and the essentials of the human condition have profound disillusioning effects and are indicative of man's growing mastery of his own social existence, in addition to his increasing power over nature. But our studies also indicate that the same socioeconomic changes are generating secondary subprocesses maintaining favorable conditions for a secondary trend that may be defined as a trend toward "neosacralization." Therefore we can say that there are still a number of objective reasons for reproduction of religious belief on a clearly decreasing scale and for infiltration of new forms of religious affiliation such as the sectarian one. Under those circumstances it would be difficult to accept the view that religious beliefs and practices are merely a "residual" phenomenon under socialism, that is a mere remnant of past attitudes, the old social consciousness, and recollections of the past in the individual consciousness, and that consequently their roots are only subjective in the new society.

The following are among the causes and reasons for the persistence of religion in the present developmental stage of Romanian socialist society: contradictions; social inequalities and differences among people whose field of expression is being gradually restricted by the policy of harmonious and balanced development of Romanian society and by the processes of social leveling; incomplete satisfaction of some material and spiritual-emotional needs in this

period; presence of categories of people less involved in socialist society's mechanisms and processes of social integration and participation and in the programs for acculturation and political education; bad influence of religious tradition, because the religious dogmas, customs and rituals and the standards connected with them have been rooted in the social consciousness for millennia and it takes a long time to eradicate them; educational deficiencies of the main institutions with such functions, especially the family and schools; the still low scientific and cultural level of some categories of the population; and insufficient effectiveness of atheist propaganda and education in certain social milieus.

Socialist socioeconomic development is necessary but not sufficient to suppress religion as a social phenomenon. The presence of religious phenomena in socialism is explained, to be sure, by some "stigmata" inherited from capitalist society and originating in the "baseness of private ownership" as Marx put it, but it is also to be explained by some economic, social, political, moral and spiritual imperfections in this period of socialist construction. All those elements, which pertain to the objective socioeconomic conditions, are only prerequisites and potential factors for religious adherence. Their role as factors for perpetuating religion is steadily declining as compared with the role of the social-psychological factors. Therefore I think reproduction of religion, especially in the case of youth, is mainly due to some social-psychological conditions rather than any socioeconomic factors. In this way the world of values and morality, of the individual's consciousness and spiritual needs, and of culture and education becomes the main battleground between religion and atheism. Hence the increasingly important part played in the strategy for combatting religious mysticism and fetishism by the requirement to improve social and moral relations and social-spiritual experience in all groups and communities, by consistent promotion of socialist coexistence along with improvement in scientific-materialist education, and by more aggressive intolerance of any manifestations of mysticism and obscurantism. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "In political-educational work we must firmly combat obscurantism, any backward manifestations, and foreign ideas coming in from outside. We must resolutely cultivate the spirit of socialist justice and equity and of collaboration and friendly mutual aid among all members of society, and we must consistently promote the standards of socialist coexistence."

The radical restructuring of social existence and relations and of social organization and management in the process of socialist revolution and construction led to the destruction of the social roots of religion but without entirely eliminating the social sources of religious belief. "The social existence characteristic of the new order... does not generate religious awareness as in the societies of the past. Yet there are some areas of experience favorable to the religious phenomenon" (1). But in its entirety religion is wholly incompatible with the nature of socialist society and with the human condition in that society.

Elimination of the social causes of religion, total secularization of the world and its emancipation from religion constitute a relatively lengthy historical process. As Marx predicted, "In general the religious view of the real world cannot disappear until the relations in practical, everyday life become clear and rational relations among men and between men and nature" (2). That calls

for integration of atheist education in the overall task of development, improvement and structural reform of society and man's position in the world until socialist humanism is fully asserted as practical, real humanism.

In combining social action with our educational work we think consideration should be given to the shifts that have taken place in the evolution of the religious phenomenon, the original elements of its evolution (some in Romania especially), the revisions made by the traditional religious sects, and particularly the subtle methods to which the sectarian organizations resort in their proselyting efforts. Those developments present new and special problems in combatting religious obscurantism and also in the guidance and differentiation of atheist education. We must consider the fact that in their activities the religious sects focus their attention in two directions, that of "social integration" of the man of modern society, who is often in difficulties with social adjustment and integration in a society undergoing extraordinarily rapid changes, and that of "illusory compensation."

But in analyzing the religious phenomenon of today more consideration should be given to its existential aspects, or the way the religion is "lived," because as one sociologist says that is not in the nature of thought and even less of philosophy but in the nature of emotions, feelings and exaltation. If it were not, the process of forming the modern man and the modern society would rather lead automatically and directly to total elimination of the old consciousness, saturated with magical-religious notions. The real world was duplicated and permeated by an entirely imaginary world because of men's inability to conceive of and live their social and personal lives rationally from the start. Religion is more and more a "way of living life," or rather an experience in living life in an illusion, and not just a way of thinking.

The shift of the center of gravity of religious belief to the areas of axiology, psychology and moral feelings of the personality is most graphically illustrated by the proliferation of new sects and of the sectarian phenomenon especially. The changed interpretations of the systems of beliefs, the subtle attempts to modernize the dogmas and simplify the rituals and ceremonies, and the clever and often clandestine means of persuasion, pressure and sometimes of repression employed by the religious organizations to adjust their organizational systems to the economic, social and spiritual structures of contemporary society are not without their effects. Failure to recognize this fact, which has become apparent in the last two decades especially, is impairing the whole atheist educational effort.

But reproduction of religion under the present circumstances is becoming more and more a phenomenon that feeds upon the deceptive substance of the actions of the sects, religious propaganda, and sectarian proselyting. The field studies made by the collective of the Sociological Research Center permitted quantitative evaluation of some trends in the evolution of the religious phenomenon, the new methods of proselyting, and some new and particularly harmful trends in the actions of some denominations and sects, making it possible to bring out the intensification of religious education by all sects, extension of the tentacles of proselyting in the ranks of youth by catechizing and other forms of persuasion, increased efforts to harvest intellectuals and to "intellectualize" the personnel and members of sects, intensified proselyting drives in services

and other fields with close and frequent social contacts, refinement and multiplication of some sects' cultural strategies, maintenance of superstitions among the less educated population, and exploitation for the benefit of religion of the "cases" and hopeless situations in which some people find themselves, or practices of aggravated and dehumanizing bigotry and fanaticism to which some sectarians resort.

Exploitation of the various social, cultural and psychological factors in social experience and difficult social and human situations to perpetuate mysticism and obscurantism takes the form of a characteristic pattern of "neosacralization" that can be called the "religious approach" and is practiced by the sectarian religions especially.

In their religious approach the sects develop their own "ideological-religious programs" involving an obviously illusory restructuring of the human condition and a new human dimension that the sect promises the adherent. Analysis of these programs reveals the compensatory nature of the religious belief and the danger that mysticism will block the search for real solutions to social dysfunctions by orienting the social groups of adherents or sympathizers toward isolation from the world (introversionist sects), or toward exstatic experience instead of facing the contradictions of real life (conversionist sects of the Pentecostal type), or toward an aggressive-millennarian attitude like the transformational approach of other sects. In this way the sect provides a grotesque caricature of man's active condition as it appears in the rituals of some sects.

In order to attract recruits, some sects' approach also includes characteristic appeals for a "lay" social aid action. They are often presented as "associations specializing in collective efforts" for social aid: material mutual aid of their members, aid at work, or aid to newcomers to the community. They use this approach (combination of religious services with "social aid" programs) as a propaganda medium: aid to the ill, the destitute, lonely housewives etc.

We find some changes in the nature of the sects' religious approach compared with the period between the wars. The population's migratory trends have led to a new kind of sectarian evolution (The sects are starting to proliferate along the commuter routes, for example). Some denominations and sects are becoming predominantly "urban" and others rural. Some show feminizing trends (especially among housewives) and others "rejuvenating" trends. Most of them are established more intensively in commuting communities and areas. Of course knowledge of these developments and social differentiations is important to improvement of the educational effort.

In the process of attracting youth some denominations and sects use clever devices and subtle motivations or sometimes resort to inhuman and degrading practices. In the investigated counties their techniques of persuasion take the following open or concealed forms: promising to cure incurable or hardly curable diseases, collection, sometimes abusive, of "charitable contributions" and "gifts to the church," violation of the legal standards for religious education of children and youth in special programs supported both in and outside of sect institutions, organization of cultural-artistic groups, units and activities, etc.

Of course to counter these trends it is necessary to organize the effort toward general humanist-revolutionary and scientific-materialist education of youth from a new and dynamic perspective free of any routine, formal, barren and standardizing elements, to exploit the educational function of the labor groups and youth organizations, and to coordinate the educational programs with the youths' real needs and expectations.

The need of ceremony and social contacts partly explains the presence and interest of groups of youth in the religious institutions and their rituals. It is clear that these phenomena cannot be viewed lightly, treated superficially or even neglected. As Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly pointed out, it is a major obligation of our whole society to bring up a vigorous youth of great intellectual and moral strength, irreconcilable with the compromises and formulas of a deceptive life, free of any traces of mystical religious thought, a sincere champion of the scientific-materialist conception of the world, and inspired by the ideals of the RCP's revolutionary thinking.

Our studies emphasized the category of those with a "transitional religious belief" or one of "religious indifference." This category of the population is chiefly characterized by the break between outward show of religious belief (occasional and ostensible participation in some rituals) and inner conviction of it (religious thinking, states of mind, attitudes). These persons occasionally accept some religious standards without attaching purely religious significance to them but rather a traditional one, transforming the religious rules and standards into elements and forms of cultural tradition.

Since large categories of the population are latently oriented toward atheism, they must be given particular and constant attention in educational work and protected from the snares of religious proselyting. We feel that from the social point of view prevention of religious education of children and youth, their indoctrination in the spirit of atheism and humanism, and atheist education of those in transitional stages between religious belief and a secular conception are the points to be emphasized in scientific-materialist educational work. We regard continued desacralization and secularization of traditions as highly important in this connection. Moreover several studies indicate that the power of traditions and customs is primarily important in individual perceptions of the maintenance of religion, followed in decreasing order of importance by other factors: influence of family, relatives and friends, activity of the sects, and inadequacies in atheist educational work.

The studies also showed that most of the sects prefer to exploit the ages of childhood and early youth (periods of the most intensive religious influence in the individual's life) in their proselyting efforts. Several surveys indicated that in about 70 percent of the cases the youths came in contact with the religious beliefs in the preschool period or in the first school years, the contact having been arranged by parents and grandparents. Therefore it is logical to strengthen educational work on the level of the family, schools and childrens and youths organizations and to find forms of education suited to the young age groups that can prevent infiltration of religious indoctrination and influences.

Avoiding limitation of scientific-materialist educational work to an abstract and general "illuminist" action confined to the patterns of sterile and insipid

scholasticism, divorced from practical experience and the real needs, questions and concerns of the living individual, or even based upon the standards of dry "scientism" is a prime necessity for improving the quality, reception and effectiveness of all educational work. We think that in this field too attainment of a high educational effectiveness, prevention of the effects of "illusory compensation" that come from religious proselyting, and reinforcement of the formative power of atheist education are inseparable from observance of some essential requirements.

In the first place the work of the educator and the propagandist must be constantly reinforced by practical action, on the principles of Romanian revolutionary morality and humanism, on the part of all those with the authority and power to make decisions on all levels of social, economic and political activity, from the foreman and shop chief to the enterprise director and the responsible elements in all socioeconomic units and all institutions, and from the secretary of the youth, trade-union or party organization to the mayor of the community and the members of the local and central management organs. They are all called upon to help resolve these more complex and more difficult cases and situations in some peoples' lives. Otherwise the sects and the various denominations can infiltrate with dissimulated cleverness.

This activity, in its design, content and organization, should serve not only the needs for information and abstract thought but also some general-spiritual and emotional needs such as those for emotional communication and commitment and the noble, romantic impulses of youth, lending the richest possible content to everyone's intellectual life.

The mass educational and cultural programs must be regularly supplemented with some for smaller groups, especially those of labor and daily life, and with the methods of "individualized" and "personalized" education in order to meet the whole range of requirements, expectations, needs and aspirations of individuals in their great diversity. Some human solicitude is also needed in all the desperate cases, crucial situations, moments of hesitation, acute anxiety and distress, and unusual circumstances in which the individual temporarily finds himself in order to help him overcome them without resorting to the pseudosolutions frequently offered by religion at such times.

And finally, further emphasis must be placed on the moral aspects of practical experience and living and working relationships, in the effort to establish relations of truly friendly mutual aid in all communities and to promote the spirit of justice and equity in all areas of Romanian social experience.

Backward and mystic ideas can be effectively prevented and opposed on the permanent basis of all workers' active and creative participation in the social, political and intellectual activity of Romanian society, so that every citizen will figure as a fully knowledgeable builder of a new and truly humane society.

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SOCIETY'S EXPECTATIONS OF EDUCATION

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/Article by Reader Dr Vasile Miftode, Iasi: "What Does Society Expect of Education?"/

/Text/ Reader Dr Ioan Jinga's study entitled "What Do Schools Expect of Pedagogical Research To Improve Education of Youth," ERA SOCIALISTA No 5, 1982, has opened up more extensive discussion of the highly urgent problems treated, which cannot fail to interest the educational worker.

Examination of the educational process, evaluation and revaluation of the factors and mechanisms operative in the field of education of the new man and youth, intensified revolutionary education and improvement of socialist awareness are priorities of the present stage. Now we must emphasize the further rise of the level of knowledge and raise the level of political-ideological awareness and the cultural level of the Romanian people, as Nicolae Ceausescu said in pointing out that development of the entire people's socialist awareness is one of the vital tasks in the effort to build the fully developed socialist society.

Romanian society accords the schools a major role in forming the young generation's personality and in its communist education. Education of children and all youth by work and for work is one of the main ways these important institutions accomplish their mission. To be sure noteworthy successes can be recorded in that respect, but it is equally true that much remains to be done to accomplish a task of evident social importance. Unfortunately red tape and the bureaucratic spirit have made some headway in this field. Cultivation of the economic spirit and exploitation or collection of material resources "bean by bean" are often seen as efforts in themselves to fulfill some "financial plans" "by any means" (often quite uneducational ones). Instead of organizing real programs to collect scrap iron (in industrial areas, near construction sites, etc.), paper, glass, porcelain etc. in the residential districts and in other urban or rural areas, some school administrations and some professors and teachers prefer, under the pressure of "the plan figures," to ask the children for such materials directly from the homes of their parents (who exploit them anyway via the system of specialized units) or they request money to cover the value of the plan for scrap iron, glass etc. so that those objects do not pass

through the children's hands. Of course such practices have nothing in common with education or the generally accepted pedagogic principles. Habituated in this way, the children will believe that later on, when they are grown, they will be able to employ similar procedures in reproportioned and "adjusted" forms.

Similar problems are presented by the way productive experience in some schools and faculties, instructive projects in school workshops etc. are organized and conducted. Under such circumstances how could pedagogic research help political-educational activity, which can only proceed on the principle that the result of labor or the school financial plan is a means of education by work and not an end in itself? It goes without saying that pedagogic research should help to improve the school system, to enhance the educators' sense of responsibility, to exploit the Romanian schools' traditions, and to adequately perform the current educational tasks.

Social evolution, the information explosion, the scientific-technical revolution and the radical changes in the various "segments" of socioeconomic activity require corresponding changes in education and in the school system especially, but we are not making enough effort toward true renovation. We have much to say about "new forms of instruction," "new instruments of evaluation" of school work, improvement of school programs, "restructuring the education plans," "perfecting selection" of personnel, "revamping the high schools," and "intensifying practical training" of pupils and students, etc. They are good formulas, but sometimes they do not actually reflect a dynamic and objective state but a "state of inertia." The dialectics of development requires "areas of rest," of reflection and of careful analysis of the experimental data and of the consequences and phenomena that occur in school life and in educational work in general. If "the change is continuous," we cannot surface the factors and consequences involved in this field and therefore we cannot forecast the developments.

It is natural to go on militating for modernization of the school system and of education as a whole. But I do not think it is enough to change the name of a high school, to replace the term "general cultural high school" with "industrial high school" or "agroindustrial high school," or to modernize the scholastic plans and programs by introducing "the most technical" subjects and disciplines possible with the "newest possible" titles or the most ostentatiously practical ones as possible in order to achieve an effective instructive-educational modernization. First it is important to train the personnel and produce the material resources to secure such an evolution of the educational system. Experience tells us that the old often reappears in the new forms adopted by the schools (under the new names of subjects or disciplines of instruction), while the new makes its way under the traditional designations. It seems we pay too much attention to form and quantity to the detriment of the content and quality of instructive-educational work in schools and faculties. How many hours of experience specified in the plans of the specialized high schools, which take up a large quota of the budget of school time, are actually spent? How many are effective on the levels of instruction properly speaking and of mastery of the trade? How many disrupt the productive process in enterprises because of faulty organization? The various surveys made at the places of experience revealed negative, dysfunctional aspects recorded in the daily press

and technical journals. I recall the case of a professor of Romanian literature from the regions of Vaslui who was assigned to supervise the pupils' "technical training" and sometimes to "cover" the hours of "resistance of the materials" or other such hours. Upon finding such phenomena, which unfortunately still occur, we might wonder whether "An hour of Latin would not have been more effective, even practically speaking, than an hour of... badly organized experience." Actually, during the idle periods when the pupils were chattering in the yards of the enterprises waiting to leave they could have supplemented their traditional but absolutely necessary "general culture" by studying history, geography or the general-human creations, including aesthetics, philosophy and logic in addition to the fundamental of physics, chemistry, mathematics or biology.

The current practice of complete promotion of the pupils, actually regardless of the degree of understanding and assimilation of the disciplines, especially in the compulsory general school system, cannot ensure the quality of scholastic preparation, the quality of material production later on, the "educational" output required by the demands of the scientific-technical revolution, or the productive output to meet the ever growing requirements of Romanian socialist society. I. Jinga writes, "Complete promotion of pupils is sometimes viewed with suspicion and provokes many discussions among educators, parents and public opinion." I think those discussions and that suspicion have a real basis and that it is not the marks that count, which are often (unfortunately too often) given under pressure or at the behest of instructions concerning "completeness" or "100 percent promotability," but the actual volume of knowledge and especially the extent of the education and instruction acquired, and not the graduation of a given class (not even for the baccalaureate, which has been considerably devaluated lately) but success on examinations "for classification" of the values (competitive entrance examinations, competitions for positions, etc.), the evaluation of educational success or failure, and especially success in life and in productive work on the material or cultural-scientific level in confrontation with problems presented by life and experience.

Elimination of the "scholastic failure" is a major aim of Romanian society, very liberal and humane for the individual and the community to which he belongs. It is in the interest of society and of the individual to eliminate it according to the highest standards, real and not presupposed standards. How high were the standards in the schools "with 100 percent promotability" whose pupils received mostly failing or quite mediocre marks in some disciplines when they were given an objective or rather "neutral" test? How exacting can the professors be who themselves received failing marks on the degree, improvement or retraining examinations? What standard can be maintained where "The pupils are convinced that the school has to pass them from one grade to another"? Or where the failed students themselves say with the honesty and candor characteristic of their age, "If you can be promoted without learning, why learn?" Or where the exacting professors who apply the pedagogic principles tested over thousands of hours in judging and evaluating scholastic preparation are criticized and judged as incompetent and unsatisfactory?

It is not difficult to determine what the consequences of such standards are for the educated and for those in the center of educational work. The pupils used to receiving marks without learning are the most undisciplined, arrogant and difficult to integrate in a community, which manifestations will certainly

persist after graduation and will disrupt the labor collectives to which they will be assigned. This explains the mediocre and less than mediocre results on the entrance examinations for higher education, which are significant and objective enough to cause concern and sound "an alarm signal" concerning the quality of scholastic preparation. For example 864 candidates (over 80 percent of the industrial high schools) failed to occupy all 145 places at the Iasi Faculty for Constructions because only 107 candidates obtained an average of 5 (more precisely, only 12 percent of the registered candidates obtained averages of 5 or above, and the faculty had to arrange a new entrance examination in fall. About 70 percent of the candidates received marks of 1 and 2 on at least one of the tests -- mathematics and physics). Similar situations, with very low marks, also obtain at other faculties: chemistry, agriculture, law etc. If most candidates (from the specialized high schools particularly) obtain such results in the disciplines for which they were "specially" and preferentially trained in high school, we can wonder what marks they will receive in the other disciplines (the polytechnic candidates in biology, history, philosophy etc. and the candidates for the humanities faculties in mathematics, physics, chemistry etc.). Of course the phenomenon is explained by the profound, latent and "long-range" consequences of promotion at any price. A sociological survey reveals that one "problem pupil" (four failures, 70 absences and six demerits) has every confidence that he will finish high school "well." When questioned about his scholastic situation he is calm, smiling and certain that anyway "The comrade professors know what they have to do." To eliminate such situations, coaching, consultations and other actions are organized with which the statistics and activity reports are supplemented, but they are attended only by those interested, the good and active pupils. The problem of mediocrity is a basic one requiring measures that will lead to a true education and formation of the pupil's sense of responsibility for his own work, a trait that cannot be inculcated in the child without a correct, fair and differentiated evaluation of the results he achieves by his own efforts. Complete promotion, at least in the present stage, is incompatible with any such education and acquisition of those qualities. In a school with 99 percent promoted but with thousands of absences from classes and with pupils under investigation by the police organs for antisocial acts, it cannot be said that the "index of success" in terms of marks and complete promotions can be satisfactory or provide a responsible basis for evaluating the educational-instructive work.

Views "that elimination of repetition in primary education and its reduction in gymnasium and high school education are impossible without concessions in the quality of the pupils' training and without ignoring deficiencies in that training" are not only justified, as I. Jinga concludes, but are regularly confirmed, unfortunately, by the results in many educational units. Quite rightly, there is a lack of confidence in what I could call "the methodology of complete promotion" in the form in which it is practiced today, and not in the parents' legitimate wish to see their children promoted or the professors' wish to record maximum percentages of promotability.

Theoretically speaking, the new conception of the relationship of the educator to the educated and especially of the individual, differentiated "treatment" to be applied to pupils (according to psychophysical traits, level of assimilation of knowledge, "rate and capacity for learning," interest in study, and family conditions) is a modern one suited to achievement of an optimal education. But

if we consider the large number of pupils (often in the hundreds) with whom one professor in a given discipline must work, we wonder if such an idea (very liberal, humanistic and with great pedagogic potentials) can be optimally applied. The same professors must work with both the "backward" pupils and the "advanced" ones who want to understand the phenomena and problems of the world more thoroughly and rapidly. Do we have the right to sacrifice the work, talent and enthusiasm of the diligent and disciplined children deeply interested in advancing in some field of science or culture to eliminate some "scholastic failure" when we find that actually the failure is postponed at best, to recur much more painfully under other circumstances, and when very little can be done to correct it? Is it not better to accept the possibility of such mishaps, especially in the first school years, and set up special programs for immediate recovery in order to avoid prolonging the recorded failures beyond the cycle of the respective education? In that way every scholastic cycle will be able to recover the responsibility for "its own scholastic results," and the professors will no longer be able to explain poor professional results of the educated by "transfer" of pupils "in a state of scholastic failure" from the lower to the higher cycles.

We opt for maintenance of a constant level of scholastic preparation (preferably a maximum level) that will function (by means of suitable methods and mechanisms for evaluation) as a barrier between levels and cycles of education and as a form of classification and selection of the values. The baccalaureate examination used to serve that purpose. At present, according to a widespread opinion including that of some great scientific figures with a long pedagogic experience, the baccalaureat no longer performs its functions and is not of particular interest any more because it no longer arouses "any emotion" in the canditate, who is usually promoted "with little effort" and brings about his own devaluation by what I might call "the inflation of diplomas." The only examinations achieving a real selection and classification of the values and able to function as reference systems in evaluating school work are the entrance examinations and not all of those, but only the ones taken by a significant number of candidates, with extensive competition, results covering all levels of training, and applicants from various high schools.

Setting minimum compulsory standards of knowledge for cycles of education is recommended. We wonder what standards could be set to measure the capacity for independent thinking, synthesis and analysis, generalization and abstraction, and overcoming the "state of being under age" in receiving and processing information (that last standard being operative in the last grades of high school, when the youths are "approaching full age") when the pupils no longer study logic or psychology or when they no longer study grammar or mathematics in depth. It can be said that the frequent temporary scholastic failures also originate in the pupils' difficulties in learning and applying the rules of correct thinking, in structuring their own personalities, in forming and "maturing" their own working method, and in cultivating the spirit of initiative and creativeness, which are true educational dimensions that cannot be formed without the "intervention" and joint action of the traditional and modern humanistic and technical disciplines.

Experience in education brings out the importance and "power" of education through culture, without which education by work becomes ineffective and atheist education almost impossible. Some scholastic disciplines are aimed primarily

at formative objectives (They discipline behavior and the personality, regulate thoughts and mold the mind), while others are aimed particularly at informative objectives. But both ultimately achieve education through culture and by means of it they open up broad prospects for achievement of all other kinds of education. Therefore inspired measures are required for successful training of people with a high level of culture and knowledge and clear and creative thought who can perform tasks but also conduct or determine programs of action and think "with their own heads."

It is found that the graduates of industrial high schools, even in admission to the technical faculties, where they are "on their own ground," as I would say, obtain poorer results than the graduates of other schools (especially in comparison with the high schools for mathematics and physics, which offer all the faculties including the humanistic ones the candidates with the best chances of success). Those findings confirm our hypothesis about the importance of education through culture in forming the personality. A careful analysis indicates that the prestigious high schools, where all disciplines receive the same attention from professors and pupils, offer the best candidates for the various faculties (from agriculture to medicine, philosophy to electrical engineering, etc.). When the industrial high schools teach Romanian literature, history, geography or biology, not to mention mathematics and physics, and they receive the same attention as in the other high schools (especially those for mathematics and physics), their graduates will show comparable good results on the various tests and examinations.

Therefore I think that before he is adjusted to the curriculum of the specialized high school the mathematics professor at that high school should know mathematics and have the didactic resources to transmit it to the pupils, and the professor of history, geography or Romanian literature should master the subject matter and didactic procedures well enough to succeed in arousing the pupils' interest in those subjects without lowering their standing in the eyes and conception of the educated. Moreover the pupil of an industrial high school should master the fundamentals of the technological disciplines (physics, chemistry, mechanics etc.). In that way we would provide the pupils with a good preparation both for productive work and for their professional advancement.

Improvement of educational-instructive work and of the real effectiveness of Romanian education requires careful exploitation of the traditions of the Romanian schools, especially in determining the education plans and achieving education by work; review of the criteria for evaluating didactic work and especially complete promotability; determination of methods for objective and equitable evaluation reflecting the entirety of scholastic work and favoring improvement of the results of the activity in the whole educational system; opposition to the trends toward overloading the education plans and programs and toward superficial "modernization" of the productive disciplines and experience; compulsory professional pedagogic training of all those working in education (including the craftsmen, teaching engineers etc.); and reintroduction of the "traditional" baccalaureate, with tests in all the basic disciplines and "external commissions" (in other localities) in order to provide Romanian youth with a really comprehensive training and to achieve education through culture as a basis for performing all other scholastic tasks and preparing the youths for life and work according to the requirements for development of Romanian socialist society.

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EXTENT, LIMITATIONS OF POLITICAL ARGUMENT DISCUSSED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1645, 11 Jul 82 pp 22-24

[Article by Professor Nenad I. Kecmanovic]

> [Text] There is no doubting the fact that well-known Yugoslav politicians are beginning to air their differences in public dialogue; that phenomenon is accompaned by its essential limitations.

"The sham that even responsible people must present a uniform stand has been dropped. On the contrary, they are presenting differing opinions in public dialogue." We are not citing this declaration by Dr Aleksandar Grlickov in a discussion with foreign correspondents because it reveals something new. That our Yugoslav politicians have many disagreements on many concrete matters offers no special dilemma. The dilemma relates to evaluating this nitherto unknown phenomenon of our public life, which was unheard of a few years ago. Grlickov's obviously positive approach is interesting in the fact that it emerges from what might be called a rather widespread atmosphere of concern and displeasure.

Publicly manifested pluralism of individual viewpoints by Yugoslav political leaders, which not uncommonly culminates in direct disagreements and sharp polemical confrontations, in the opinion of many has a negative impact on the mood of the general populace as it is spread by the media. Disintegration occurs both in regard to concrete determinations and in direct actions. Doubts spread about the unity of the leadership and there is confusion about practical directives, concern about the highest authority, and disorientation about the final position on many unresolved problems. The worst, however, is that such a capriciously colored political climate, which the average working man and common citizen characterizes as "to each his own" or "like horns in a sack," coincides in time with the period right after Tito's death and with urgent, exceptionally difficult socioeconomic difficulties.

At least part of public opinion finds not only a consequence, but also the impetus for many of our Yugoslav problems in the divergent views of domestic politicians. Thus, it seems that the first and not least important link in the chain of current difficulties (could be broken?) by eliminating

energetically all those factors that are disturbing, demoralizing and immobilizing for the public, including the endless and unpromising liberalist exhibitions at political and scientific gatherings and in the press, radio and television. If in the public debates before party congresses we have always tolerated somewhat more, freer expressions, then in the period after congress we should put a stop to it.

The fact that our politicians have begun to think in different ways and to show their differences to one another and the rest of us without hesitation and aloud shows, as we note from the opening quote, in totally contradictory positive assessments. The people comment that it is very nice indeed that today a growing number of national representatives think with their own heads, and we can clearly perceive how much each has in his or her head. Finally, individuals have begun to come out to the light of the political stage from behind the sound curtain of chorus repetition of joint positions, about which we already know everything from the way they were formulated to who first advocated them. If because of many objective and subjective reasons neither the delegate or the party base can even approach completely and directly the formulation of either an overall policy or an LCY policy, then at least we know what and how our elected representatives are expressing themselves on these issues.

Some of those leaders are exceptionally convincing both in the form and the content of their loud contemplations, and so they gain authority and public support. For some, the exact opposite is true. As the data collected by the informational political weekly DANAS show, quite a few political professionals for diverse reasons sit out their entire term in office quietly meditating to themselves, bringing us (and not just "in confidence") to ask ourselves just how and why they were sent to those positions. It is also possible mutely to observe how others make agreements at the base. If these people are truly otherwise honest people who impress one by their practical behavior and who are merely quiet by nature, such as those about whom Branko Mikulic spoke at the Bosnia and Hercegovina LC Congress, then it is simply a shame that we do not return them to associated labor organizations. Naturally, that in no way means that the reverse is true, and that leading bodies are the proper place for those who captivate by the resolve of their written and spoken addresses, but not by their everyday personal example and consistency.

The public confrontation of our politicians' opinions thus makes it possible for us to establish who thinks well and who poorly, and who does not think at all; this is an essential prerequisite of a democratic personnel policy.

A Positive Result

The increased political sophistication of workers' and citizens' self-management in the unconcealed struggle of opinion of government and party paid representatives finds as its democratic minimum open alternatives of individual selection and, as its democratic maximum, wide latitude for personal involvement. As Jovan Miric puts it: "A system which is assured in advance of the outcome of every political act, even the least significant one,

because "regulations" have determined its goal, course and participants, pretends to absolute control by that policy and cannot be called democratic. Where everything is certain and known in advance, indifference and apathy reign." "The removal of the veil" did not accidently coincide with the unheard-of interest of the masses in political events, particularly if we keep in mind the expansion of the press. Despite the ever growing numbers of editions, which are increasingly expensive and, due to the paper shortage, constantly smaller in volume, total circulation continues to grow. From the podium of the LCY Central Committee, Joze Smole has asserted that our press is among the best in the world. The illustration perhaps would not be completely understandable if we did not recall that this did not happen by expanding light, entertaining features in the political information media, but on the contrary, by politicizing the review press. The justified criticism of some excessive journalistic failures seems to have missed a very significant positive result.

No small part of the space that traditionally would be reserved for stupidly arranged biographies of goal scorers, rock stars and TV sentinels, pornography, criminal stories, horoscopes and crossword puzzles, in our tabloids has been recently filled with current issues in domestic politics. We are speaking of publications that are commercially motivated to satisfy the taste of the broadest public, so that this change unambiguously indicates that the literary needs of the average man are evolving. A significant number of our citizens and workers, who used to read the so-called serious press from the back, i.e., the radio and TV programs, movie schedules, obituaries, want ads, sports and then stop, now are reading the paper beginning with the front page. The society, which for more than 30 years has dreamed of all becoming active subjects of public life, with that being not just the right and obligation but the primary internal need of every individual, has lived to see its people fill their valuable leisure time by reading political texts!

Presentations Vary

Finally, the unconcealed conflicts, and at times divergent presentations of an ever greater number of renowned officials can be placed from Grlickov's summary in the context of the period following Tito's death and the crisis of our socioeconomic stability. Recently Lazar Mojsov spoke of a certain commodity that has been present in the League of Communists for some years "which emerged from the realization that in key matters of ideological battle, the renowned historical leaders of our revolution would contemplate, suggest and find solutions, and we would then implement them. We became accustomed to the fact that Comrade Tito would say his word about everything." During the lives of Tito, then Kardelj, the highest government and party leaders could rely in the highest degree on the creative genius of the first people of the movement, from whom came all significant ideas and initiatives, before whom all internal dissent was resolved, who communicated directly with the masses and could always count in advance on the support of popular consensus. Changed circumstances, however, require that preparation, publicizing and popularizing and implementation, beginning with the highest level of the political structure, be replaced by much greater individual contributions and public testing and evaluation.

At the same time, today's critically complex conditions, which resulted from external difficulties and domestic failures, urgently demand a switch from the most convenient intellectual and opportunistic careerist repetition and monotonous variation of generally known and accepted strategic principles that have not been changed since the days of the Anti-Fascist Council for National Liberation of Yugoslavia.

Even today, no one has a serious basis for bringing those ideas into question, but we must move onto the slippery terrain of confronting new, unresolved problems. We require a great deal of individual effort, knowledge, intelligence, bravery and trust from below in order to approach effective solutions. There continuity cannot entirely replace innovation, or as it was put at the 12th Congress: "Precisely in the name of continuity, we must change the present situation fundamentally."

Territorial Limitations

Thus if earlier practices wherein politicians spoke in unison have not only disappeared, but we assess that as a positive change, does it mean that now the situation in the society, at least in that regard, is completely in order? Unfortunately, no. It is spoiled by a number of limitations and dilemmas.

Firstly, it is not hard to notice that our prominent leaders are openly demonstrating differences of opinion only regarding federal issues, but not at all, or at least almost never when they should, on matters that enter the realm of their home republic or province. Regarded from a regional political angle, our political professionals behave very homogeneously, while from an overall Yugoslav perspective they are very heterogeneous. Thus the differentiation in veiwpoints is much more territorially limited than personally colored. Considering the indicated limitations it would probably be more adequate to say that the veil has been dropped from the notion that our federal units must present a unified front, but responsible people continue to retain their old masks. The veil has only fallen at the federal government level, descending to the level of republic or province governments. Instead of a single unified veil, we have gotten eight different ones, but the masquerade has continued as before in essence. We would invite anyone who does not believe that to join us in an interesting intellectual experiment!

Imagine at least one Bosnian politician who would say that, because of stabilization, they should reconsider holding the winter Olympics, or one Slovenian who would advocate reconsideration of the rationality of the existence of Slovenian language courts, or not more than one Serb who believes that he should support Kronja's candidacy for director of BORBA, or let's say at least one person from Kosovo who would be inclined toward the hypothesis that by its dramatic reporting from that province, the Belgrade press had contributed to smashing irredentism, or a Montenegrin who would openly think that the material damages from the earthquake were exaggerated. By this we certainly do not wish to say that it would be justified for politicians from the indicated locales to doubt or contemplate even one of

these matters! God protect me! Yet it is interesting that, as we know, these same things did come to the minds of their colleagues from brotherly republics and provinces.

Does that somewhat cloud the view for everyone as they look from the other side of the neighbor's fence, because they simply do not know the situation as well from there, while the vista clears completely when they look at their own locality, which of course, they know as well as the back of their hand? Or is it precisely the opposite: we can judge everyone else without burdens or risks, but about our own affairs, in no way can we judge? For one's own (republic ro province) ambience is the one that appoints, elects, proposes, advances, nominates, returns to office, or delegates every politician from the opstina to the federal level. What do other parts of Yugoslavia think about him?

"The one who cuts the hair gets the salt on his tail." Even if (the other republics) criticize him for something, they are only doing him a favor because they will provoke stubbornness in his fellow contrymen, or as someone put it more scientifically, a "defense mechanism." Thus he who thinks to live by the political profession should not be headstrong, should not stick his neck out or "fly in front of the public." He dare not "fire from the hip" or by his individual viewpoints, violate sacred republic or province local patriotism. In truth, the compensation for his stealth in that regard awaits him in Belgrade, where in federal bodies of all types an open battle of opinion is under way. It is almost as if we could say that we have democracy in Yugoslavia, but centralism in the republics and provinces.

The Collective Official

How can we explain that? Are the actual interests of the republics and provinces internally non-contradictory, while at the same time, at the federal level they diverge completely, so that it is truly difficult for their elected representatives to reach a Yugoslav synthesis? On the other hand, is it more likely that by weakening central statism and parallel strengthening of republic and province government, a political climate has been created that is much more democratic at the federal level, more elastic than in any of its 6 + 2 constituent government bodies, which offer less latitude for the expression of pluralism by socialist self-management subjects? Or perhaps the essence is only in the fact that at all levels and in all sectors, we Yugoslavs lack rationally thought-out, scientifically grounded solutions that would give optimal answers to all concrete questions regardless of the degree to which they conflicted with this or that local vested interest? This "trilemma" could be formulated more simply.

Is the problem in the fact that our politicians objectively cannot, or subjectively will not, or finally, subjectively objectively are incapable of finding effective solutions to the problems that have arisen? Naturally, there is some of each in every problem, to differing degrees from case to case, but we would give some preference to the second hypothesis. All states throughout history, as well as these republics and provinces of Yugoslavia, are instruments of power which, to the degree by which they have not yet

become integrated into the self-management society and thus extinct, show a tendency toward bureaucratic alienation from the masses and absolutism on a certain territory. Here lies an obstacle to broader public dialogue between responsible people and within our federal units.

The second obstacle to a consistent removal of the veil is that while responsible people no longer need make a unified stand, "irresponsible people" are excluded from the public dialogue on political issues. Naturally, this play with words refers to all those who are not politicians by professions.

May God not give journalists, commentators, scholars, and artists the right to exhibit even a portion of the freedom of public contemplation that we have heard in the past year from well-known, prominent sociopolitical workers! Can you imagine, for example, some artist demanding that some high-placed economic or political leader be arrested because of failure in his work? No one even dared to demand that even for Bakali, but as we know, there have been examples of the opposite, and for much lesser deviations from the practiced and commonplace, public workers outside of professional politics have been branded pamphleteers, sensationalists, exhibitionists, fractionalists, political opponents and the like. Obviously, "Quod licet jovi non licet bovi." And then at forums we hear the question as to why, for example, our social theoreticians did not become more involved in scholarly critique in the pre-congress debates. After all, they too are no longer "leftist" in the sense of naive.

Here in Yugoslavia there is a constant call for open critical debate on all social and political matters, yet one instance is somehow always left out of that in principle unlimited area for the free struggle of opinion. That is the monopoly on the qualification of criticism, which continues to be strictly located in higher political forums. Within those circles, as we have already stressed, there has recently been a truly impressive unity in differences, or a mutual tolerance for advocating diverging, sometimes totally contradictory positions, so that our government and party leadership is truly functioning like a collective intellectual. Such original, personal, independent, here and there nearly implacable approaches to a whole series of vital issues in our common life, particularly if it were not so territorialized or regionalized, could only be to the credit of socialist democracy. This is the more so because, without any consequences, all retain not only their viewpoints but their official position and function, at least as far as rank is concerned.

The misfortune is that that collective leadership, which is internally democratic at times is not even nearly so tolerant toward outsiders, toward the base, which apparently some perceive as a collective implementor. Certain comrades apparently believe that a collective chief corresponds to a collective official. In other words, for themselves and their equals they keep the initiative, while they recommend discipline for the rest of us. But watch out, for discipline no longer means, as it once did, support and development of official positions, for if you publicly accept the position of one political authroity, no matter how highly placed, his colleagues will use the first opportunity to express their disagreement with him over your back.

This can happen to you if you scribble something, referring to positions on the front pages of a daily paper, because on the same day, the other papers in the same place have something entirely different.

Yet we should not lest such bad examples be generalized, because then principles critics and things criticized on principle are stuck in the same sack as unprinciples critics and unprinciples criticism. It is neither true that all officials behave in this way, nor that the democratic atmosphere is equally developed in all environments. In general, if differences exist from republic to republic regarding the level of national income and the number of illiterate, it would be miraculous if it did not also exist here. I cannot fail to remind you of the bright examples of public dialogue between critic and politician that ended without negative consequences for the first time, such as Kermauner-Ribicic, Kuvacic-Dragosavac, Mandic-Dragosavac, Zvan-Dolanc, Slavoljub Djukic-Dusan Popovic, Zoran Erak-Ismail Bajra, etc. We are convinced that such practical experience is worthy of a socialist self-management democracy, and that it will receive increasing space and breadth.

In conclusion; Only when public dialogue between all interested working people and citizens penetrates the still-present horizontal (republic-province) and vertical (political status) barriers, and from the pre-congress campaign becomes a permanent component part of self-management practice, will we be able together with Grlickov to assert that the veil has been removed completely. Certainly, that will be with great satisfaction.

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CAUSES OF OUT-MIGRATION FROM KOSOVO ARGUED

One View From Zagreb

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 82 SEDAM DANA Supplement pp 13-14

[Article by Nedira Avdic-Vllasi: "How To Stop the Exodus"]

[Text] The emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo is continuing. Aside from those who have moved in recent years to Belgrade, Nis, Kragujevac, Smederevo and elsewhere, there are still families preparing for departure--buying land, building houses, exchanging apartments, seeking employment, and enrolling their children in schools outside the province. This tendency, intensified after the hostile demonstrations, is indeed a consequence of the overall political-security situation, but also of the inappropriate and inadequate efforts of the competent authorities and the subjective forces which, preoccupied for almost a year battling and exposing the enemy, have missed a chance to rapidly and effectively oppose the hostile pressure in each specific case. That would have instilled confidence and demonstrated that they are capable of guaranteeing safety of property and person of all citizens living in Kosovo. Only in that way would they take away from Albanian and Serbian nationalism the occasion to stimulate the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. However absurd it might sound, there are quite a few arguments to the effect that the Albanian and Serbian nationalists are in a way acting in concert. To be sure, their goals are utterly different. The Albanian nationalists and irredentists want an "ethnically pure Kosovo." The Serbian nationalists insist that as many people as possible file application to leave Kosovo (such applications are now being submitted to commissions by those who left 2, 5 or even 10 years ago!) so that this would serve them as an argument that all the measures of the new leadership have fallen short. They desire, and sometimes they are successful, to create hysteria through various intrigues, disinformation and indeed even newspaper articles and to spread the thesis that "all Albanians are the same and have to be treated differently." Some even make a point of saying that they are leaving now, "but will come when needed." There have even been individuals who have committed acts typical of the Albanian nationalists--they have set fires, broken roof tiles on houses in Serbian villages, and a case was even recorded where after a traffic accident in which some young girls were slightly injured, they told their parents that Albanians had tried to rape them, and so on. Some of the offenders have been discovered, and their aim was to have their misdeeds attributed to

the Albanian nationalists so that the unstable situation would persist as long as possible. These intriguers did not want the consequences of all that to be born by the nationalists, but by those Albanians who have themselves, together with the Serbs and Montenegrins, bore on the back the burden of the ineffectiveness of government authorities, the activity of bullies, the burden of injustices, cliquishness, connections and nepotism.

Various Approaches and Results

It is certain that no one can be a party member in Kosovo--a communist in the true sense of the word--except a member of the Albanian, Serbian, Montenegrin or any other ethnic group who has a very refined sense for establishing the goals and efforts of all nationalities.

Along with the political and economic stabilization, the problem of the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins is obviously a key issue in Kosovo. Beginning with basic organizations of associated labor and local communities, up through opstina assemblies and all the way to the highest sociopolitical forms of the province, this issue has been taken up, and measures have been taken to halt the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins as soon as possible. All the leaders have spoken out about this, many have written on this issue with different approaches and results (sometimes altogether opposed), and the public has received both information and disinformation.

Now they are saying in the opstinas that the law enforcement agencies and judicial authorities are much more involved undertaking vigorous and effective measures against all those responsible for cases of threats to the peace and security of individuals and their property. There are still cases in which property damage is caused--the setting of fire to hay, the felling of forests, driving livestock onto plowland, and defacing of monuments.... Two murders in villages near Vucitrn and Djakovica were particularly disruptive of activity to prevent the exodus and caused a feeling of anxiety and insecurity in members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities.

Officials Setting an Example

The fight against the exodus is compounded by the fact that some prestigious people (veterans of the war, officeholders and activists) of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities have moved out of Kosovo. Even officials elected to the present leadership bodies of the province often come back alone, leaving their families in Belgrade, which arouses in ordinary people suspicion and a lack of confidence toward the measures that have been taken and contributes to the decision to move away.

The greatest problem with the exodus is the outflow of specialists, which has put the economy and the public services in Kosovo into a still more difficult position. Their departure indirectly leads to the departure of other families as well.

Most of those who have moved came from Pristina, Titova Mitrovica, Pec and Gnjilane, which are not so much characterized by an atmosphere of insecurity

about person and property as by disturbances and a cooling of interethnic relations.

Back at the end of last year they began in Pristina work organizations and local communities to analyze every case of emigration, to ascertain the causes, and to exert pressure to change the decision to move. More and more a social climate was created which ensured complete security and future prospects for citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, mutual trust was built up, and brotherhood and unity were reinforced. Nevertheless, the commission of the Pristina Opstina Assembly received a total of 867 applications for the emigration of 1,929 persons between 1 January and 30 June 1982. Last week Sinan Hasani, chairman of the Kosovo Provincial Conference of the League of Communists, and Nebi Gashi, chairman of the Pristina Opstina Committee of the League of Communists, talked with some of them in the Pristina Opstina committee headquarters of the League of Communists. Some 20 citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality sincerely and frankly laid out their reasons for moving away. They mentioned most frequently the impossibility of finding jobs or obtaining housing, as well as better opportunities for jobs outside the province, marriage, departure of the other spouse, and the like. There were also those who presented problems they had been having with neighbors of Albanian nationality: Vladimir Jojic decided to leave because of a wall that was torn down and a house that was built on the site; Vuko Vuksanovic also wishes to leave because of relations with neighbors about putting up a fence, letting out a dog and the like ("so there won't be any bloodshed"). Janko Mitrovic found his son a job in Belgrade (he knew how to go about it), since they had beaten him. Janko had worked 35 years in Obilic, but he had not obtained housing. At one time the director of his enterprise Idriz Ibrahini told him to relinquish his credit for building a house to his brother and he would receive an apartment. He gave up the credit, but he did not obtain an apartment, since the "all powerful" director brought in his brothers, relatives and friends and gave them apartments. This case is typical of the situation in Kosovo. Individuals have seized power--not on an ethnic basis--but simply because we have that kind of behavior and such directors everywhere (over and above the organs of self-management and normative acts).

How a Soccer Player Sold His Sweat

No one concealed anything in the conversation. On the contrary, people recalled what various people had said to them, who had had a fight with whom even back some 10 years. Fistfights, quarrels and the like are not the "privilege" of any nationality, and in such cases the government authorities have to take the measures envisaged by law. However, one cannot seek an interethnic background to every conflict in human relations. There were also cases of people leaving Kosovo who did not like their job. Thus the young soccer player Dragan Bozovic, who had a job here, and his parents had a house, is not satisfied. He says that he has a job guaranteed in Obrenovac, an apartment and another 7,000 a month for conditioning. He does not want anyone to pay for his sweat as a soccer player only 4,000 a month, and that irregularly. There were also those who said that they would go anywhere, even abroad, for better conditions.

Employment was the problem mentioned most frequently in the conversation. It seems that jobs are easier to get in those places where the Serbs and Montenegrins are going from Kosovo. The question is this: Are there, for example, so few unemployed physicians in Belgrade that jobs can be offered so easily to the physicians the province is crying for, for whom it has been awaiting for years, to whom it has given apartments, whose advanced training it has paid for, who have been given high personal incomes, credit for housing and who knows what else? The case of Dr Dragan Plavsic is typical. He and his wife, who is also a physician, are moving to Kraljevo. Both of them have found work--his wife has already gone (without consent of the health center), and he is making his preparations. Why? He says that he weighed the reasons for and against, and still decided to go. He is barely 30 years old, he has just become a specialist in ophthalmology. He says himself that in Pristina the doors were open to him for rapid promotion, he is already an assistant and soon would become a docent. He finished the university some 6 years ago, and he has spent 3 of those years in specialized training. Before that he was head of the health center in Lipljan, and he is now chairman of the working people's caucus in the clinic. He has nothing to complain of, he has achieved a great deal in a short time, he has a house and there are no problems whatsoever with his job. On the other hand, there are trifles that get on his nerves. He would like to see better manners, until recently he could not watch the Second Program on television, and he is particularly bothered by the atmosphere of cooler interethnic relations, although he has not himself felt that. Here neither the League of Communists, nor the government agencies have been able to do much. It is well known what it means to Pristina to lose two physicians, one of them an eye specialist who has already completed his training. And the trifles which bother him exist everywhere; they are not a specific feature of Kosovo. Perhaps it is a specific feature of Kosovo that the conditions for physicians and other specialists are exceptionally good. And to some extent a man creates the atmosphere around him on his own.

Doctors of Science Jumping From the Horse to the Donkey

The case of Randjelo Mihajlovic, doctor of science, docent at the School of Natural Sciences and Mathematics in Kragujevac, who went there 3 years ago from the university in Pristina is different. Only now is he applying for change of residence, saying that there is no point in holding people and that he can get along where he is working even without official change of residence. He was looking to his personal interests, this is where he received his master's degree and his doctor's degree, and it is in the interest of Kragujevac to get a good doctor of science. He declared that all doctors of science of Serbian nationality will leave the Chemistry Institute in Pristina, since they have already been elected to positions in Nis, Kragujevac and Belgrade. Some of them are going to positions where the conditions are even worse, here they have an apartment, a higher personal income, but the atmosphere at the university continues to be bad. For a long time the progressive forces have not been in evidence. He feels that perhaps personnel might stay who have not yet received housing or jobs for their wives in other places, if someone talked to them, since now it is obvious that the "ice is going out even at the university."

Law enforcement agencies quickly detect those responsible for cases of threatening the peace and security of citizens and their property, which are still occurring in rural areas. Penalties are being imposed, and there are fewer and fewer such occurrences, and there will be still fewer of them. Nevertheless, the emigration is continuing. The cooling of interethnic relations is mentioned more and more often as an argument and a reason. Sometimes it is the consequence of an opportunistic line of individuals, indeed even communists of Albanian and Serbian nationality who are cutting themselves off in their own purely ethnic communities, justifying this by saying they are avoiding possible conflicts. If they do not enter into relationships, they feel, there is much less opportunity for a conflict. We cannot say that the multinational acquaintances, marriages and friendships were frequent in the past, but it is a fact that there now are even fewer of them.

As Sinan Hasani, chairman of the Kosovo Provincial Conference of the League of Communists, has said in an appeal to those applying to emigrate from Kosovo, "we must not play into the enemy's hands, we must demonstrate a readiness for a concerted struggle of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins and all those living in Kosovo against the enemy and psychological pressure, since leaving is not a solution."

There remains a fight not only against the enemy, but against various subjective shortcomings and deformations, connections, nepotism, cliquishness and above all the tyrannical behavior of individuals, of bureaucrats who here in Kosovo have almost paralyzed the strength of self-management.

Rejoinder From Belgrade Editorialist

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1648, 1 Aug 82 pp 6, 9

[Article: "A Strange Way of Looking at Emigration"]

[Text] Judging by the article of Nedira Avdic-Vllasi, to which our readers have called attention, the problem of emigration from Kosovo is much more painless than we thought on the basis of the facts the public has learned of and the assessments of the highest political forums in Kosovo, SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Explaining the causes of emigration, Nedira Avdic-Vllasi presents to us an aggravated individual who decided to leave Kosovo ("so that there would not be any bloodshed") because of a conflict with a neighbor "about putting up a fence and letting a dog out"; a spoiled soccer player who had an apartment and a job and is going to Obrenovac where he has been guaranteed a job, an apartment and another 7,000 a month for conditioning: "He does not want anyone to pay for his sweat as a soccer player only 4,000 a month, and that irregularly"; an ungrateful physician who had established himself professionally in Pristina: "He has nothing to complain of, he has achieved a great deal in a short time, he has a house and there are no proglems whatsoever with his job. On the other hand, there are trifles that get on his nerves. He would like to see better manners, until recently he could not watch the Second Program on

television, and he is particularly bothered by the atmosphere of cooler interethnic relations, although he has not himself felt that."

Everything that Nedira Avdic-Vllasi has written is probably true, but it is at the least strange that she did not find a single example that would have portrayed the "other side" of emigration. All the cases which are cited suggest that it is a matter of petty intolerance, disputes blown out of proportion, or the greater aspirations of people who are simply going where they will live better. This idea is consistently pursued throughout the entire text, cleverly spiced with generalities and statements of principle which can hardly contribute to solving the problem of emigration in the campaign which is being conducted.

When she cites the example of Janko Mitrovic, who had been tricked by his director Idriz Ibrahini, the author of the article concludes that individuals have seized power, "not on an ethnic basis--but simply because we have that kind of behavior and such directors everywhere (over and above the organs of self-management and normative acts)." Yes, Janko Mitrovic's son was beaten, but that is a datum, we see from the article, important only in order to emphasize the way in which his father found his son a job in Belgrade: "he knew how to go about it," Nedira Avdic-Vllasi mentions ironically.

It is true that the article states that the irredentists are exerting pressure, though except for the two murders mentioned in passing, not a single impressive example is given of the means the Irredenta is using. Instead of that Nedira Avdic-Vllasi finds it necessary to describe at length all kinds of what she refers to as pestering, intrigues, and outright lies in which it turns out that the only victims are the Albanian nationalists: "There have even been individuals (she is thinking of Serbian nationalists) who have committed acts typical of the Albanian nationalists--they have set fires, broken roof tiles on houses in Serbian villages, and a case was even recorded where after a traffic accident in which some young girls were slightly injured, they told their parents that Albanians had tried to rape them, and so on. Some of the offenders have been discovered, and their aim was to have their misdeeds attributed to the Albanian nationalists so that the unstable situation would persist as long as possible."

Likewise when she speaks about emigration to find a job or a better job, which is certainly a problem for Albanians as well, and not only for the Serbs and Montenegrins, this fact will serve only as a pretext for remarking how the newcomers are welcomed with open arms in Serbia, from which one can conclude that the main trouble is that the emigration is being encouraged from outside.

That is how Nedira Avdic-Vllasi sees the problem of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins.

It took more than 10 years for the truth about the exodus to break through. It also took a year after the demonstrations for this painful problem to receive serious reflection. In her attitudes Nedira Avdic-Vllasi takes us back to the very beginning of the debate some 10 years or so ago, with the arguments that were used to quiet people who in 1972 and 1973 raised their voices against the forced emigration.

We note with surprise that this occurs at a moment when the highest political forums of Kosovo, SR Serbia and Yugoslavia, with full commitment and in a dramatic form, have taken a position concerning the problem of emigration and the measures which are to be taken to put a stop to this unfortunate phenomenon.

We don't know what to say about this strange article after the assessment of the SFRY State Presidency to the effect that this is a question of "sowing of ethnic enmity, of pressures, of violence to the Serbian and Montenegrin population," or after the decision of the SFRY Assembly to open debate of the emigration, brought about by disturbing facts.

The conclusions of the Federal Executive Council state in part that "the pressures of the Albanian nationalists and the irredentists are continuing, and certain forms of pressures are even being manifested more markedly." In that context they state: "Various cases of personal abuse, insults, fights, physical attacks, assaults and bullying behavior toward women and children, rapes, physical attacks on the clergy, pressure to sell real estate, usurpation of property and various kinds of damage to crops, the setting of fire to property, cutting off irrigation water, felling of forests, defacing of monuments, graves and gravestones, abuse of individuals in stores and in public transportation, intrigues and rumors and the like."

Was Nedira Avdic-Vllasi really unable to find even one example that would have backed up these assertions? Is really a dispute about "letting out a dog" the best illustration of current events in Kosovo?

Finally, we cannot but recall that passage in the conclusions of the Federal Executive Council which states that "the problems of emigration have not been treated uniformly in the periodicals of all the republics and autonomous provinces, which usually serves as the basis for speculations that the emigration is predominantly a problem of SR Serbia." We think that this suggestion is important for several reasons, above all because the problem of emigration from Kosovo is a problem of the entire community. Our consistency, humanism and human solidarity are demonstrated in such cases.

Unfortunately, the article of Nedira Avdic-Vllasi published in VJESNIK could lead us to the undesirable conclusion that the suggestion of SIV that the emigration be uniformly followed throughout the press will have undesirable consequences since, as we see, this problem continues to be looked at with different eyes.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2054

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10 September 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2054

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PUBLIC PROSECUTOR EXPOSES CRIME, BRIBES, CORRUPTION

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 21 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Chanko Apostolov, public prosecutor of the Office of the Public Prosecutor General of the Bulgarian People's Republic: "What Makes Thefts Easier? Minutes of a Session on a Proposal of the Public Prosecutor"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Excerpts] This time the agenda of the City of Dunavtsi Party Committee session was a little unusual--a report by the rayon public prosecutor, the rayon judge and the chief of the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Rayon Administration on crimes and violations of the law in the conurbation system. Here is what the report actually said:

There are a large number of at-first-glance harmless "petty" thefts of agricultural output which do serious damage to the APK [agroindustrial complex]. Withal, for some time the attitude of a wide circle of people towards these crimes has been lenient. Formerly a private plotholder prosecuted the thieves but now he tolerates them. The people have become accustomed to the lack of accountability to authority, too.

No satisfactory measures, for example, are taken under the Law for the Safeguarding of Agricultural Property. Indictments are not drawn up against all violators, small fines are imposed, damages are not fixed properly, the fines that are set are not speedily collected, the possibilities of comradely discipline are not made use of, etc.

There are a large number of people who are brought to court for failure to pay child support. The underlying reasons for this offense most frequently are the striving of the former spouses to harass each other and the lack of a sense of parental duty. The personnel offices in some institutions and enterprises fail to perform their duties of making a notation in the workbooks of persons ordered to make support payments and paymasters fail to make timely deductions in accordance with the writs of execution.

Other offenses are committed, too: misappropriation by trade employees, offenses against order and public tranquility, perjury, bribery, crimes involving documents and transportation etc.

The unfavorable picture of criminality and law violations makes it imperative that, in addition to administrative and penal measures, a tremendous preventive and educational job should be done among the working people of the conurbation system.

And here are some statements:

/L. Ignatov/, APK chairman: "We must expose the thieves. Most of the guards are indeed pensioners and not young people, but the main reason for this is the low pay --100 to 120 leva. We have to build 30 farmyards, but the funds for this purpose are scarce. Members of the cooperative steal feed from the APK and let their livestock graze on cooperative property. What we must do is /have the brigade itself guard the property that it manages/!"

/Y. Gergov/, chairman of the Obshtina Fatherland Front Committee: "The fault is ours, principally of brigade members, team leaders and guards. I have such a case --the entire team at the workday each filled their bags with 20-30 kilograms of choice apples in the presence of the brigade leader and guard. I made half of them dump them out, but the others left with the apples. I suggest that the public prosecutors and judges come to our meetings and have a word with the people. We can also organize a hard-line public court. We don't prosecute at all--that is the reason."

/M. Tsanov/, propaganda secretary of the Obshtina BCP Committee: "We must speak frankly to the people, for there are a lot of 'quiet' violations as a matter of fact. At present only the Obshtina Committee for State and People's Control is actively working. We have all got to get to work--both the council and the APK management, the Komsomol and the comradely courts--everybody."

/V. Rangelov/, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Obshtina People's Council: "Seventy people have been given the power to draw up indictments under the Law for the Safeguarding of Arcitultural Property, but at present only two or three are doing it. I say this so that we will realize how low the level of our campaign against violators is."

/D. Tomov/, first secretary of the Obshtina Party Committee: "The report and the requirements have outlined the state of affairs and the measures that we must take. I suggest that we take decisions addressed to all agencies that have anything to do with the problem."

The party committee took the proposed decisions.

Implementation thereof has begun.

6474
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JUNE 1982 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jun 82 p 4

[Rene Heilig review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37, No 6, June 1982, signed to press 7 May 1982, pp 561-671: "Party Work and Performance Growth." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] The recently concluded party elections are impressive evidence that the party collectives are contributing with increasing quality and effectiveness to the implementation of the party's general line aimed at ensuring peace and the people's well-being. This assessment introduces a contribution by Horst Dohlus in EINHEIT No 6.

Pointing to the growing demands particularly on the basic organizations, Dohlus continues: "The economy is and remains the decisive battlefield for the revolutionary activity of the party and of each Communist. In this respect, one should focus on creating the necessary ideological, production, cadre and organizational conditions for the full use of the advantages of socialism as well as the strong driving forces of the socialist system."

How are we succeeding in making more effective the knowledge, skills and experiences of the working people? This problem is examined in the subsequent contribution by Wolfgang Beyreuther, who brings up for discussion management experiences at the VEB Petrochemical Combine, Schwedt, and the Mansfeld Combine.

There is a direct connection between imperialist crisis and imperialist war, according to Ottto Reinhold, who in his article analyzes the roots and driving forces of the imperialist course of confrontation. Equally topical is the contribution by Max Schmidt about U.S. plans for world domination as well as the two "Facts and Figures" reports on the arms race and cuts in social benefits, respectively.

The Seventh Pioneer Rally will take place in Dresden in about two months. Helga Labs reports on the preparations for this event. In this context the author offers suggestions to teachers, Pioneer leaders and parents for an interesting, meaningful life in the groups and friendship circles of the Pioneers. Other contributions to the June issue are devoted to the topic of "Order and Security" (by Friedrich Dickel); the 100th birthday of Georgiy Dimitrov (by Horst Schumacher); and to the founding of the first agricultural producer cooperative (LPG) in our republic (by Norbert Geipel).

5885
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BASIC ORGANIZATIONS TO STRENGTHEN TRUST BETWEEN PARTY, PEOPLE

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 91, 18 Jun 82 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "SED Wants to Recruit More Engineers as Members." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] As Horst Dohlus, SED Central Committee secretary for party organs, announced, the SED wants to recruit more engineers and scientists from industry as members. In the theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 6, 1982), he explained that intention by the need to strengthen party influence on the development of science and technology and to ensure, especially in production preparation departments like R&D, design and technology, good conditions for the party's bringing a political influence to bear on top performance. The second priority for membership recruiting, according to Dohlus, are young workers to improve both the party's "class character" in terms of its social composition and the age-structure.

SED CC Secretary's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 7 May 1982) pp 593-600

[Article by Horst Dohlus, SED Central Committee secretary for party organs: "The Growing Role and Responsibility of the SED's Basic Organizations"]

> [Text] The party elections were impressive evidence that the party collectives are contributing with increasing quality and effectiveness to the implementation of the party's general line. The basic organizations occupy a key position in strengthening the party's leadership role. As the party's foundation, and firmly rooted in all social domains, they form the direct link with the masses. To help shape further their ability to enforce party strategy and tactics, basic orientations are given and general rules are drawn from experiences.

The elections in the party groups, departmental party organizations and basic party organizations--the first ones after the 10th SED Congress--have been concluded successfully. In the light of the new qualitative criteria applying to the implementation of its resolutions, the comrades deliberated on and determined the concrete contribution they are going to make to the successful implementation of party policy. It was impressively documented that party collectives everywhere are contributing with increasing quality and effectiveness to the implementation of the party's general line, aimed at the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace.

In every public domain, the implementation of the economic strategy for the 1980's, as issued by the party congress and aimed at continuing the policy of the main task, has been taken on and been translated into concrete campaign targets. Through a thorough analysis of the speech Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, gave before the kreis first secretaries, the understanding was deepened of why higher targets are being sought for improving the efficiency of the economy and of labor productivity, extracting and using domestic raw materials, optimum refinement of products, and the thriftiest dealing with material, energy and imports. Intensification of social production as the chief course toward economic growth, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and an optimum utilization of its results therefore are becoming still more the focal point of socialist economic management.

Thanks to the arduous efforts and rich initiatives of the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and all other working people, the high rate of economic growth is systematically being continued and, in crucial areas, accelerated. While the capitalist world is incessantly being upset by crises, it turns out that socialism even under the more complicated international conditions is in the position to implement its economic and social policy in unity. Politically and economically, the GDR is developing stably and consistently, enjoying great worldwide respect as a buttress of peace in Europe.

This successful balance-sheet for the development of the first German workers and farmers state is inseparable from the SED's grown leadership role, its increased fighting strength, its firm solidarity with the masses and its consistent internationalist stance. That has been so in the past, and so it will be in the future, in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and in the struggle for peace. Constantly elevating the SED's leadership role and thereby further developing the party as a vivid political organism is objectively necessary as an inevitability of the socialist revolution to which we conform by what we do.

Coping With New Tasks

Here we must take account of the more extensive and varied national and international tasks, which are bound to lead to higher demands on our Marxist-Leninist party, and of the new qualitative conditions under which the party's leadership role and the responsibility of the basic organizations are increasing further. They mainly result from the intensification of the class struggle with imperialism

and the dangers to peace conjured up by U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies, and from the dimensions of the social processes in the 1980's, which are constantly becoming more extensive, more intricately entwined, and more significant in their national and international ramifications.

Higher demands on the party's leadership role arise from the need incessantly to bolster our workers and farmers power and its defense capacity and from the growing role of the workers class as the agent of political power and society's major productive force. Its alliance with all other working people is growing closer and more multiplex, and the continued shaping of socialist democracy as the chief trend in strengthening socialist state power is reaching qualitatively a higher level. The 10th party congress resolution on consistently extending the main task even under changed reproduction conditions assigns us the task to convert the significantly greater socialist consciousness, the political maturity and the technical skills of the workers class and all working people into a high rate of economic growth. Growing demands on the party as the leading force of society also arise from that the all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states, especially in the economic and scientific-technical field, is gaining still greater weight.

The Basic Organizations' High Fighting Strength

It is among the most important tasks of the party management organs to create the prerequisites for a vivid implementation of the party's leadership role principally in the basic organizations, whereby to place the party as a whole in the position in which it can cope with the new tasks in social development. Bolstering the basic organizations' fighting strength is a fundamental task because they are the foundation of our fighting alliance, it being firmly rooted in all public domains. They are the Communists' political home base and, at once, the immediate link between the party and the masses, through which the party exercises its guiding and organizing influence on social development[1] and realizes a crucial part of its alliance policy. Most closely and directly tied up with the problems of economic performance growth, the basic organizations organize the implementation of our tried and tested course of economic and social policy in unity,[2] as they organize every day in the work collectives the ideological struggle for enforcing our economic strategy.

This key position of the basic organizations in the life of our party and, in fact, in all of society, is confirmed each day anew. They to a large extent determine how the political-ideological, economic and social, intellectual-cultural, military and organizational tasks, as set down in the SED Central Committee resolutions, are to be implemented in their whole complexity, and directly together with the working people, how political steadfastness, a combative spirit, dedication and discipline are to be instilled in each comrade, and how through the efforts of the Communists the party's leadership role is made to prevail in all public domains. To do justice to the party's growing leadership role and consolidating the basic organizations' fighting strength, we must place the matters that are pertinent to it in the center of all management activity.

It is most important for each basic organization to contribute concretely to consolidating the workers and farmers power in the GDR all-around and ensuring its secure protection under all conditions and at all times. The basic organizations foster the development of socialist democracy in that they draw more and more working people into the management and planning of social development, especially the material production, and into the supervision over the implementation of the party resolutions. That Lenin found to be one of the biggest advantages of socialism. The masses, he said, had to be "taught to rule."[3] That also is the reason why the party attributes such high importance to the plan debates, the intensification conferences in the enterprises and the regular status reports managers present to the work collectives. They are socialist democracy in action.

It is of great importance to strengthening the authority of our socialist state power to qualify for effective political work the more than 111,000 volunteer comrades, male and female, in the people's representations and their commissions, and the thousands of party members on National Front commissions and in the protective and security organs. The working people, as one knows, primarily judge the party by its practical policy and by how the Communists champion the well-being and happiness of the workers class and all the people in their immediate working and living environment. The basic organizations and each individual Communist have a critical influence on the further consolidation of the relationship of trusts between the party, the state and the people and on recruiting the masses ever anew into participation in the implementation of our policy.

The basic organizations bear much responsibility for persuasively propagating our party policy among the masses and their constantly growing socialist consciousness. They are an essential factor for combining scientific socialism with the workers movement and for the communist education for all working people. That conforms with a mission of our party program, which formulates as a basic concern of our party's political-ideological activity "to equip the workers class and all working people with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, explaining party policy to them, developing their socialist thoughts, feelings and actions, mobilizing them for solving the tasks, and shielding them against all influences from imperialist and bourgeois ideology."[4]

Experience has shown each social developmental phase is inseparable from struggling for the hearts and minds of men. Ideological work is and remains the most important in all the activity of the party and its basic organizations. For the future as well, the most important party mission any Communist has is to seek and conduct always and everywhere, wherever he works, learns and lives, aggressively, confident conversations with his colleagues at work and his fellow-citizens. Regular political conversations in the work collective and the housing community, which conform with the higher level of consciousness and education, are the most effective form of mass activity, for which there is no substitute. This releases the people's great creative capacities and deepens the trust of the members of all classes and strata in the party and its policy. So we achieve the most perceptible advances in forming socialist modes of thought and conduct, deepening proletarian internationalism, and clarifying the basic issues of our domestic and foreign policy, so that everywhere there develops an atmosphere of great political open-mindedness and dedication to economic performance.

Prerequisite to it is that proper attention be always given to educating and training the Communists for persuasive and mobilizing ideological work, revolutionary vigilance, and uncompromising struggle against all anticommunist and revisionist influences and against any kind of hostile acts. This demands of management activity to equip the comrades every day with convincing political arguments and to discover and apply the most effective methods and forms for political-ideological work.

Political Management of Economic Processes

The basic organizations bear a high share of responsibility for continuing successfully along the course of the main task and for implementing the party's economic strategy point by point through idea-rich and constructive efforts. When Comrade Erich Honecker asserted in the Central Committee report to the 10th party congress that the economy was the centerpriece of SED social policy, the party's basic organizations were provided with the decisive direction of their political-ideological and organizational efforts. The economy is and remains the decisive battlefield for the revolutionary activity of the party and of each Communist. In this respect, one should focus on creating the necessary ideological, production, cadre and organizational conditions for the full use of the advantages of socialism as well as the strong driving forces of the socialist system.

We have already gathered tremendous experiences in implementing our economic strategy. From that arise new demands for the basic organizations' political management of economic processes:

First, we need a better quality and power of conviction for the ideological work among the working people. Each has to be made aware of the weight of his own work for strengthening the economy. This is predicated on having the Communists set examples in moving ahead while they enjoy the confidence of the working people. We have to see to it with determination that the nearly 2 million party members who are organized in trade unions, the 300,000 Communists in the socialist youth association, and the 83,000 comrades in the Chamber of Technology help implement our party's leading and inspiring role in the mass organizations. When the party, the Communists, can rely on the initiators, the innovators, the efficiency experts and the best workers, back them up and help them in their perfecting their personality profiles, they strengthen their role within the work collective and help raise their performances to become social standards.

Second, we must make a still more resolute effort to have each and every position of the plan reliably fulfilled day after day on all production sectors and in each work collective and reduce unjustifiable performance disparities. The point is that more and more basic organizations, on the basis of Central Committee resolutions, set targets that exceed the plan to use the performance capacity in the enterprises and combines to the fullest and further improve the cost/benefit ratio on the economic scale. For that, the most recent Central Committee seminar in Leipzig with the general directors of the combines and the SED Central Committee party organizers staked out clear assignments.

There are a whole number of slogans such as "Fewer produce more," "Each every day with a fine balance-sheet," "Comparing with the best--preparing for the top," "Saving costs is workmanlike," or "Down with production consumption--preserve national income." If one acts in accordance with them, effective impulses are generated for the development of mass initiatives. When the basic organizations then orient the creativeness of the collectives toward major tasking areas in economic performance development, one acts entirely in Lenin's sense who repeatedly pointed out that slogans are of great importance for leading the masses.[5] In their compact form they bring them face to face with topical issues of party policy, challenge their allegiance to our socialist state and mobilize them for action. A concretely organized performance comparison, a thorough study of best experiences, and setting management examples tap unimagined economic reserves, release moral impulses and help reduce disparities in levels. Those basic organizations do best that have no hesitation to pick up good experiences and make them prevail in their total range as mandatory norms.

Third, the basic organizations' political management of the economy must be combined still more effectively with educating and training the managers for consistently implementing party resolutions under their own personal responsibility. Their personal responsibility for developing creativeness and the working people's initiative in socialist emulation and for production running without any interference has to be raised. In the fulfilment and targeted overfulfilment of economic tasks and the concentration of capacities on crucial sectors, the basic organizations find in the campaign programs indispensable political management tools for implementing the party's leadership role in the economy. As the action programs of the basic organizations, by which they set in motion all social capacities and orchestrate all party work for solving the centrally assigned political and economic tasks, they embody the live force of democratic centralism as a vital law of our party. Establishing and concretely accounting for ambitious campaign goals in connection with assigning party missions instills much activity and discipline in the members and candidates. It strengthens collectivity, fosters criticism and self-criticism, and elevates the comrades' personal accountability to the effort of implementing the party resolutions.

It helps effectively in disseminating proven experiences and spreading mass initiative when the press, the radio and television popularize commitments assumed, e.g., by party organizations, trade union activists groups, scientists, creators of culture, in letters sent to the SED Central Committee and its secretary general. Such political commitments express the deep trust the working people have in SED policy and their dedication to the consolidation of our socialist fatherland. Simultaneously, they are placing themselves under the control of all society by such commitments. What now matters in the basic organizations is prudently to organize the work and ensure regular status reports and controls, so that those performance goals be reached.

The basic organizations have an important task in enforcing party policy through each work collective and shaping the socialist character of labor and the socialist way of life. Constantly seeking to increase society's material and spiritual wealth, they stand up as the collectives' political leadership core in the crucial sphere of life in which the working people become socialist personalities.

They foster such moral working class values as working class honor, work and plan discipline, creativeness and the striving for a better quality of labor. The personality-forming capacity of the work collectives keeps solidifying the class standpoint and such traits as high work morale, collective spirit and the sense of public responsibility.

The work of the party groups becomes most effective when the comrades always let themselves be guided by the experience that combative performance readiness and initiative become the norm of life in the work collectives and trade union and FDJ groups once the Communists in them set the models for such attitudes and vividly, through encouraging political awareness, high labor achievements and the working people's social activities, instil life into our principle: "Wherever there is a comrade, there is the party, too!"

The Comrades' Education and Political Qualifications

A decisive factor for implementing the party's leadership role lies in constantly raising the ideological and educational level of intra-party life. All experiences in successful party work indicate that consolidating our fighting strength and each Communist's high political activity greatly depend on how well the basic organizations put the Leninist norms of party life into effect. High-level intra-party life is decisive for the education and political qualification of the comrades as active party fighters. The main trend in perfecting it lies in broadly spreading intra-party democracy, bolstering the collectivity of the managements, and bringing to bear more strongly criticism and self-criticism on our education. Thereby we consolidate the comrades' conscious discipline and uniform, cohesive action within the party.

The results of the party elections once again confirm that the Communists' combative positions and their activities grow to the extent that they identify with party policy. The comrades' total ideological conformity with the essence of party resolutions always proves the pivot and fulcrum for their conscious disciplined conduct and for the capacity to make the working people actively support our policy through great achievements. This way, through the militant determination and the initiative-rich efforts of each of its members, the whole party is gaining in strength.

Because the membership meetings have the strongest influence on intra-party life, we must devote the greatest attention to improving the quality of their content and organization and to shaping their role as places of education, information and instruction for the members and candidates, as forums of collective consultation and decision-making, of experience exchange and debate and of supervising the implementation of the Central Committee resolutions. Particularly the regular status reports to the highest organ of the basic organization prove effective forms of party control. We mainly have to be aware that the educational and mobilizing character of the membership meeting, as experience shows, increases for each party member to the extent that things are handled more concretely and frankly within them and one proceeds from the actual situation, constructive ways are discussed for compelling changes and each Communist's personal contribution to the implementation of resolutions is given its due. The communists' collective debate on ambitious realistic goals, in which each comrade's

opinion is solicited, attentive response to suggestions and criticism, and honesty and understanding for personal problems also mark the starting point for confident relations between the party collectives and the working people and for developing an atmosphere in which creative labor and high dedication prosper.

Another critical chainlink for high-level intra-party life are regular personal conversations between party managements and the members and candidates. Such confident individual consultations are becoming more and more of a need: For the comrades, because they are much help in instilling in them a party-bound attitude in every situation, aggressive political efforts and personal activity. For the managements, because they give them an immediate insight into the moods and opinions of the comrades on the various questions, more deeply explain the political motivation behind their conduct, so that they can make their work more diversified ideologically and more concrete management decisions in the knowledge of the comrades' experiences, ideas and recommendations.

Implementing the party's growing leadership role and the increasing responsibility of the basic organizations linked with it largely depend on the party's qualitative and quantitative composition and on great stability and continuity in the composition of the managements of the basic organizations. That makes it necessary to create the necessary prerequisites for the steady implementation of the party's leadership role by a purposeful qualitative and quantitative consolidation of party ranks, as party executive resolutions have decreed. We have to see to it resolutely, under kreis management leadership, that through admitting young production workers, mainly from the youth brigades and the best FDJ members, the class character of the party is strengthened in its social composition while the demands on individual selection and the admission of new candidates are constantly raised and the vitality and mass solidarity of our party also are reflected in age structure continuity development and in the Communists' Marxist-Leninist and technical qualifications.

The experiences of our struggle have taught us that incessantly elevating the party members' theoretical level is a crucial condition for consolidating the basic organizations' fighting strength for the purpose of implementing the party's leadership role. So the bezirk and kreis managements and the managements of the basic organizations have to keep making the most effective use of the party's tried and tested educational system. Providing the party study year with great ideological substance and a conscientious selecting and delegating of capable comrades for party schools is as much as first-rank management task as are more skillful cadre programs, the education, training and advanced training for cadre, and the long-range preparation for responsible leadership functions in the party, economy and social organizations in accordance with long-range tasks and higher criteria.

Organizing and Enforcing the Party's Strategy and Tactics

At the same time we must always pay attention to the principle that the party, as the conscious and organized vanguard of the workers class, as the party of revolutionary action, can fulfil its leadership tasks in any given political situation only as long as each basic organization, through a targeted distribution of party members over areas that determine efficiency and speed, make

sure the party resolutions will be carried out at a high quality. For that reason, political work must continue to be directed at forming an active core of Communists in all work collectives--especially also in the youth brigades--, strengthening party influence on the development of science and technology and intellectual-cultural life, and ensuring good conditions for the party's political influence on the effort for top achievements, especially by raising the degree of organization in the production-preparation departments, such as R&D, design and technology.

Lenin has said: "The stronger our party organizations, the broader, more varied, richer and more fruitful will party influence be on the elements of masses of workers surrounding it, which it leads."[6] Mindful of that remark, our party executive decisions always are directed at further developing the capability of the basic organizations in organizing and enforcing party strategy and tactics, strengthening their authority, and assigning them concrete tasks that are derived from domestic and foreign policy requirements. The fundamental role the basic organizations have in consolidating the party's fighting strength and leadership role induces the Central Committee to show special attention and concern for their being directed and assisted by the kreis managements. It always lets itself be guided by the consideration that a kreis management managerial style that is realistic and constructive and shows mass solidarity is decisive for the level of work basic organizations can perform. It means making the management activity of kreis managements accountable and aiming their resolutions and direct assistance in the basic organizations at effective and permanent changes. Kreis managements will bring the great capacity of the basic organizations best into play if they help them right on the spot in organizing performance comparisons, drawing general rules from best experiences, giving broader development still to voluntary activities pertaining to it, ensuring great political stability for all areas, and applying to all tasks the always irrevocable yardstick of the Central Committee resolutions.

Especially also under complicated political class struggle conditions, the confident relations between kreis managements and basic organizations have proven a vital nerve of our party activity, on which depends how the Communists are led in our struggle and all working people are firmly rallied around the party and are given free rein to their dedication and their capabilities in working for socialism. Powerful basic organizations proving themselves solid party bastions at all times and under any conditions are and remain the surest guarantee for the implementation of the Central Committee resolutions.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 69.

2. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 138.

3. V. I. Lenin, "Speech on the Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress," "Werke" (Works), Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 438.

4. "Programm . . .," op. cit., p 66.

5. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," "Werke," Vol 9, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1957, p 5.

6. V. I. Lenin, " One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," "Werke," Vol 7, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1956, p 257.

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INTERIOR MINISTER URGES TIGHTENING OF LAW AND ORDER MEASURES

West German Commentary

Bonn 1WE-TAGESDIENST in German No 85, 8 Jun 82 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "People's Police to Increase Operational Readiness and Vigilance." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] GDR interior minister Dickel now has underscored the growing responsibility of the People's Police for "high public order and security." He explained his demand in the theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 6, 1982) by the "requirements for foreign and domestic policy development," i.e., "the greater need for the protection of our workers and farmers state in view of the imperialist confrontation policy." The People's Police "should strengthen the authority of the workers and farmers power and of socialist legality and reinforce the citizens' confidencein legal security in socialist society." The operational readiness of the People's Police should be "raised onto a still higher level" and vigilance should be increased. Dickel asked for resolute reaction to law violations: yet that should "also be just and understandable to have as high an educational effect as possible." That, the GDR interior minister continued, called for "political sensitivity, correct conduct, great knowledge and skill, and attention to the citizens' concerns and suggestions." In fighting against crime, it was of "exceptional importance to clarify the causes, conditions and motives for crimes and other law violations with the greatest care." Dickel pointed out in this connection that the crime rate was eight times higher in the FRG than in the GDR. Even so, the rate of certain crimes, unruly behavior e.g., troubles the East Berlin leadership.

GDR Interior Minister's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 7 May 82) pp 620-626

[Article by Col Gen Friedrich Dickel, member, SED Central Committee; minister of the interior; chief, German People's Police: "Order and Security--Element of Our Citizens' Protection." A translation of the official text of the "Decree on the Voluntary Assistants of the German People's Police, dated

1 April 1982," cited in footnote 6, is published in JPRS 81238, 8 Jul 82, No 2030 of this series, pp 12-15]

> [Text] Public life in our socialist republic is marked by high order and security. It assures the life and work of our citizens in an atmosphere of high legal order in quiet and comfort. Pursuant to its constitutional mission, the People's Police does everything, together with the other security and justice organs and the working people, to turn order and security more and more into an overall public concern and enable every citizen to exercise his civic responsibility.
>
> Public Activities for Order and Security
>
> The GDR has circa 81,000 officially recognized areas or collectives of "exemplary order and security," 75,000 of which in the economy, 6,000 in towns, communities and residential areas;
> some 158,000 citizens are voluntary assistants of the German People's Police;
> some 280,000 citizens are voluntarily involved in improving traffic safety, 122,000 of them in traffic safety activists groups, 58,000 in task forces for traffic safety in residential areas and communities, 28,000 as permanent traffic safety training instructors, and 56,000 pupils as "young traffic assistants" or "pupil pilots";
> some 453,000 working people are working in the volunteer fire departments, 60,000 of them being women and girls, and 52,000 pupils are members of the task forces called "young fire protection assistants";
> some 15,000 citizens are appointed volunteer associates of the domestic affairs departments under the local councils;
> some 37,000 adolescents are members of the FDJ Public Order Groups;
> nearly 2 million citizens work as authorized house sign-out book representatives.

Our party has always consistently and creatively applied the lessons of the classical authors of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union's universal experiences and the insights from the revolutionary struggles of the German workers class into establishing and consolidating the political power of the workers and farmers. Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, emphatically emphasized at the third session of the SED Central Committee, as an important requirement also for the 1980's: "For our party, the all-round strengthening of the socialist state is and remains the cardinal issue of the revolution. The citizens in our republic know: without a strong and well functioning socialist state there is no socialism. Only such a state can ensure the implementation of the fundamental interests of the workers class and of all working people and guarantee socialist democracy, freedom and humanism."[1]

U.S. imperialism and NATO have enormously exacerbated the international situation with their arms-buildup policy that threatens peace tremendously. In view of that it has become more urgent and compelling today than ever to do everything to preserve peace as the supreme benefit to mankind. For this peace-protecting and peace-preserving role our socialist state has, the domestic political stability of its governmental and legal order, a high rate of economic growth and an uninterrupted development and reinforcement of the relationship of trust between the people, the state and the party are objective and unconditional necessities. The interests and desires of our republic's citizens ultimately find their supreme expression in securing their peaceful life, their work and their happy future. In conformity with the constitutional principle that the workers and farmers power secures the people's peaceful life, protects the socialist society, and guarantees the socialist way of life, the free development, dignity and rights of the citizens, the socialist legal order is always being perfected in such a way that it meets current and future requirements. A convincing example of it are the significant laws the GDR People's Chamber ratified on 25 March 1982, such as the military service law and the law on the GDR national border.

The requirements for foreign and domestic policy development also determine the growing demands made for high public order and security in our republic. They result, as the 10th party congress resolutions have made evident, from the greater need for the protection of our workers and farmers state due to the imperialist confrontation policy and from the greater maturation of all public processes in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society.

Ensuring Order and Security--Expression of Working Class Exercise of Power and a Firm Element of Public Life

The principle of our party and state policy to do everything for the good of the people is concretely reflected in ensuring public order and security.

In our republic, in the towns and communities, in the enterprises and other facilities, the citizens can work and live in an atmosphere of high legal order, in quiet and comfort. Order and security are of high rank; they are being guaranteed at an improving quality and through ever better results. That is eloquent testimony to the superiority of the socialist social order over the exploiter system of capital in the imperialist states.

In such countries as the United States, the FRG, Italy and others, people live in constant fear and worry about criminal acts against their lives, health and property, especially in the big cities. Many of them hardly dare to go out at night, as even imperialist mass media have to admit. The police there have long lost control over the situation and the crime rate. Manifestations done away with in our republic, like organized crime, gangster methods, professional gangs, bank holdups, everyday murder and manslaughter, or devastating drug abuse are the order of the day there. In the FRG, e.g., the crime rate per 100,000 inhabitants is eight times higher than in the GDR. Crime detection has for years been below 50 percent. In our country, however, between 80 and 85 percent of all crime is detected, and between 95 and 98 percent of all serious crimes.

It reflects the high law security of GDR citizens that, among other things, crimes against personal and private property normally are less serious. The damage caused in circa half of all thefts lies below M 300. In other areas of order and security it also becomes convincingly clear that in our state the citizens' needs and concerns are the focal point of all efforts. Order, safety and liquidity in road traffic, e.g., are an indispensable prerequisite for protecting the lives and health of the people from dangers. In the last 5 years, the number of motor vehicles rose to 4.8 million. In addition there are 1.1 million trailers and more than 1.6 million motor scooters. Right now, 39 of 100 households have a car. The increasing measure of motorization affects public life more and more. There is hardly a citizen who is not affected by it in one way or another. Under these conditions it is remarkable that the rate of traffic accidents has dropped continually since 1977. At the traffic safety conference on 17 February this year, this altogether favorable development could be taken as a point of departure for further boosting our efforts on behalf of great traffic safety in accordance with the GDR's traffic safety program.

Under far-sighted party leadership and resolutions we are becoming increasingly successful in making the advantages and potentials of socialism bear fruit in public life. We are consistently implementing the 10th party congress guideline: "The more responsibly the citizens fulfil their legal obligations to society and their rights are protected, the more is done to advance honesty and a sense of responsibility, create comfort and stimulate performance."[2] That implies, as our party has always emphasized, further motivating the working people to find violations of the legal order intolerable and eliminating anything that would facilitate law violations, while strictly applying the Leninist principle that it is not important "that a crime is heavily punished, but it is important that not a single crime remain unsolved."[3] And so it is of extraordinary importance to investigate with greatest care the causes, conditions and motives for crimes and other law violations. That ensures the differentiated approach that is needed and the adequacy of measures and means.

Ensuring and constantly improving order and security is an essential element in the concrete exercise of power by the working class and all other working people. The working class is becoming increasingly aware that it is one of its very own tasks to preserve and protect all that was produced through industrious and arduous work and exercise high revolutionary vigilance. That is why the movement for high order, discipline and security had its start in the people's-owned enterprises. From there it keeps getting new impulses and suggestions time and time again. As a standard component of socialist emulation, the struggle for exemplary order and security has assumed a genuine mass character. Today we have already circa 81,000 areas or collectives bearing appropriate, officially recognized, titles, more than 75,000 of them in the national economy.

These endeavors are determined by the profound insight of the working people that socialist legality and high order and security are of great importance to the fulfilment of the tasks in the five-year plan. The economic performance improvement needed can all the more successfully be realized, the more uninhibited and smooth the economic processes become, the more carefully the people's wealth is handled, and the more reliably its protection is guaranteed.

The new dimensions in production, the most efficient use made of extensive funds, the most economical placement of investments, the determined reduction of material and energy consumption, and other essential tasks of necessity call for utmost attention to avoiding and preventing breakdown, fires and crimes.

At present, a working person is responsible for an average of M 100,000 in basic asset value. Through the use of latest science and technology data, the most modern installations are set up which in an intricate way depend on one another. These and other constantly occurring qualitative processes call for purposefully continuing our thus far successful efforts in enforcing socialist law, including the provisions on technical safety, labor safety and health protection and rigid industrial management, as conditions change. Strict cost accounting and control, proper labor organization, high discipline, cleanliness, order and security thus are still gaining in importance in the activity of the managers, economic functionaries, foremen and brigade chiefs. The main thing is for us to develop more the kind of modes of thinking and conduct among the working people commensurate with their great responsibility for complicated production processes.

The trade unions handle significant tasks in this. As the working people's largest mass organization and the representative of their interests, the FDGB purposefully carries on, at a high level, the outstanding mass initiatives for high order and security, whereby it lends new impulses to the working people's working, learning and living socialistically.

By greater efforts in that direction an important contribution is made to bringing to realization the demand of Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, who affirmed at the kreis first secretaries' conference: "The main issue in all party work and in the activity of the state organs now is to concentrate all ideological and organizational capacity on the fulfilment of the 1982 national economic plan."[4]

The growing social activity in ensuring high public order and security is eloquent testimony to an ever stronger spreading socialist democracy and, thus, to the strengthening of socialist state power. Right after the triumph of the Great Socialist October Revolution, V. I. Lenin asserted that legality, order and discipline had to become the concern of the whole working class after having seized political power.[5] Always acting in that sense gives us the decisive key for further successes. When order and security become more and more the overall public concern, their effectiveness increases. These tasks too are being solved according to how well each dedicates himself to them every day and assumes his civic responsibility.

More and more citizens and collectives act accordingly. Their readiness for active participation is mainly expressed in their taking part in the work of the various public and official organizations. Circa 280,000 citizens are voluntary members of the social collectives for improving traffic safety (particularly in traffic safety activists groups in the enterprises and on task forces for traffic safety in communities and residential areas). Some 453,000 citizens in the ranks of the volunteer fire departments effectively sustain the high level of fire protection in our republic. Nearly 2 million citizens working as authorized house sign-out book representatives are doing responsible work. Some 15,000 appointed volunteer associates assist the domestic affairs departments under the local councils.

Many citizens are successfully involved in socialist jurisprudence as lay judges or members of conflict and arbitration commissions. Their effectiveness is going to increase further through the expanded rights of the social courts in accordance with the new law ratified by the People's Chamber on 25 March 1982. The FDJ Public Order Groups constitute an important public force. They make great efforts in educating the young people toward enforcing socialist law, order and security.

Circa 158,000 voluntary assistants of the German People's Police are engaged in responsible work. Their active educational influence has proven itself extremely well for 30 years in residential areas, enterprises, public organizations and collectives. They strongly foster the further consolidation of the citizens' law consciousness and crucially contribute to ensuring public order and security. In line with our social development, a new decree now sets down the responsibility of the voluntary assistants, the principles for their conduct in support of the People's Police, and their rights, duties and authorizations, more clearly and concretely.[6]

The work of the local people's representation is of high social rank. As the state power organs elected directly by the people, they are those actively engaged bodies that solve complex tasks in their spheres of responsibility while combining the activities of all state organs and social forces. That includes their unified and purposeful struggle for high legality, discipline, order and security. Especially through their permanent commissions and their activists they make sure that objectively and technically qualified citizens purposefully take part in solving those tasks.

This responsible work is now gaining greater importance. Many working people's need for a still better atmosphere of order and cleanliness in their residential area is coming more to the fore. This makes it a priority concern to develop the movement for exemplary order and security more in the citizens' leisure-time area as well and to draw general rules from the already fine examples available there. Here the National Front and its commissions are doing responsible work. The targets for the citizens' initiative, "More beautiful towns and communities--Join-in!" passed by the National Council on 21 January 1982, and meant to extend to 1985, illuminate where the emphases will be placed in the years ahead and what counts in promoting civic responsibility and democratic participation, and in turning the socialist morality and way of life still more into a habit by which citizens live.

Further successes in this field crucially depend on having the citizens sense: their own efforts and activities are supported and encouraged by the needed public and state authority, especially the local state organs. Here municipal and communal regulations turn out to be important political and legal instruments. They settle matters of working and living conditions and of the citizens' fellowship, being aimed at the further shaping of the socialist way of life and at greater security, order, cleanliness and hygiene.[7] Establishing far-reaching conformity between public and personal interests for solving these tasks is a requirement of significant political rank. Especially in the seemingly tiny matters of everyday, how they are approached and how the citizens get drawn into them--that often is to the individual the criterion for the quality of work done by the state organs. That is why the party rightly demands always to pay proper attention to these problems.

An Essential People's Police Guideline: Working for the Good of the People and With Them

The objectively increased demands placed on ensuring public order and security also determine the growing responsibility of the People's Police. As the power organ of the socialist state, its supreme precept is to contribute to the protection of socialism and peace. The class mission assigned to the members of the People's Police amounts to a commitment always to ensure and further to improve the all-round strengthening and reliable protection of the workers and farmers power and its public order and security. In line with that constitutional mission, all efforts are made to protect, together with the other security and justice organs and with the working people, the socialist state and social order and the achievements of the people. So they contribute to having each citizen in our republic, while exercising his dignity, freedom and human rights, structure his life in conformity with the interests and rights of the socialist society and the state.

The thoughts and actions of the People's Police are honor bound to strengthen the authority of the workers and farmers power and socialist legality and reinforce the citizens' trust in the legality of socialist society.

All the prerequisites are in place for the German People's Police to meet these ambitious tasks. Above all, there is a politically and technically highly trained staff of personnel and cadre. A tried and tested system for training and advanced training, including colleges and technical schools of their own, make sure that the men and officers gain great Marxist-Leninist knowledge and legal and technical knowledge in their field.

Our policemen also are aware that steadily increasing demands are being made on their activity and personality. They are making greater efforts at improving the quality and efficiency of their work in implementation of the party resolutions and the administration of our state's laws, whereby to lift the political and technical qualifications and the operational readiness of all associates onto a still higher level. Deeply convinced of the just cause of socialism, and loyally dedicated to the working class party and the workers and farmers state, they increase their revolutionary vigilance and solidify their fighting strength and operational readiness. Evading no troubles, on duty day and night, in operation at any kind of weather, they responsibly and faithfully fulfil the duties they have taken on by their oath. Ever more prominently are being formed the features that are indispensable for members of a security organ of our state, such as socialist consciousness, a firm class standpoint, political steadfastness, a party-minded stance, solidarity with the people, and love for their profession.

The requirement to make order and security increasingly a concern for all society and the fact that the police are tied up in most diverse ways with all domains of life through thousands of threads constantly raise higher demands on their public efficacy. Their consistently fulfilling their tasks is an important precondition for all other state organs, social organizations, work collectives and each individual citizen to be able to exercise ever more successfully their own responsibility in also ensuring great law security, legality, order and discipline. Therefore it is an important responsibility of the

police to make more use of the working people's need always to work and live in quiet, order and security, so that everywhere the readiness is promoted to support the state organs actively in their struggle against law violations. In this, the People's Police maintains constant close cooperation with other jurisdictional organs such as the public prosecutor, the courts and the arbitration and conflict commissions. The new law on the social courts also commits the German People's Police to becoming more effective, e.g. by passing on minor criminal matters still more responsibly, cautiously and objectively.

Police activity has been and is service to the people in the truest sense of the word. The principle of police activity today more than ever is to do everything for the benefit of the people and to act for the citizens and with them. The activities of the municipal police, the traffic police, the detectives, the members of passport registration, the fire department and many other comrades directly or indirectly touch on the interests of thousands of citizens every day. Our men and officers, the uniformed representatives of the socialist state, very much stand in the public limelight. Guardians of socialist legality, they have to make socialist law prevail properly and put the principle into effect "that each law violation incurs a commensurate reaction."[8] It means the reaction to law violations must not only be inevitable and resolute but also just and understandable, to have as high an educational effect as possible. That calls for political sensitivity, correct conduct, great knowledge and skill, and attention to the citizens' concerns and suggestions.

Assuming these often not so simple tasks with great responsibility while making the citizens notice that taking actions and making decisions will ultimately be in their own, and in society's, interest--these are matters the police are taking care of more and more efficiently. Thereby they are making a significant contribution to steadily strengthening the citizens' confidence in their socialist state. They foster the process of law education and of voluntarily abiding by socialist law. Not last, fulfilling these important tasks in the perimeter of criminality forms an essential element in crime prevention and obviation.

The main idea of acting on behalf of the citizens pervades police activity in many ways. Extensive publicity work is wholly marked by that design. So is the work with the petitions from the citizens, eloquent testimony to the working people's readiness to play a role in keeping great public order and security. Some 94 percent of all petitions has to do with proposals, suggestions and requests for improving activities in this field. More efforts are being made in all tasks affecting the citizens to work as effectively and efficiently as possible so as not to make unnecessary inroads on the time and capacity of the working people.

There is every good reason to assert: The Leninist principle that ties with the masses are the most important and fundamental condition for success in any kind of activity is the guideline for police activity. Having been successfully in operation now for 37 years, the following principles for the work have always been irrevocable:

--Clearly focused party leadership. This year's party elections in the German People's Police also were committed to further increasing that leadership role, reinforcing the party organizations' fighting strength, and consolidating the cohesiveness in their ranks.

--Indestructible are the deep bonds of friendship between the members of the People's Police and the Soviet Union, especially with its protective and security organs. More than ever will they contribute to steadily solidifying the GDR-USSR alliance.

--The close ties with the working people, from which ranks the police themselves emerged, whose friends and helpers they are and whom they serve faithfully at all times, form a solid basis for new and higher achievements toward strengthening the socialist fatherland.

These inexhaustible sources have been and are the sure guarantee for fulfilling conscientiously and in honors all tasks assigned by the party and the state. Educated and steeled by the party, using the rich experiences and traditions of the German People's Police, our men and officers will always give their best to our socialist cause for the good of our republic and its citizens.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 3. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Third SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 49-50.

2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 119.

3. V. I. Lenin, "Casual Notes," "Werke" (Works), Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1955, p 399.

4. "SED Central Committee Secretariat Conference with the Kreis First Secretaries--Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 13/14 February 1982, p 1.

5. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Speech on Reestablishing Order in the City," "Werke," Vol 26, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 264.

6. Cf. "Decree on the Voluntary Assistants of the German People's Police, dated 1 April 1982," GBL Part I, No 16, 1982, pp 343 ff.

7. Cf. "Verwirklichung der Stadtordnungen--unser aller Anliegen" (Implementing Municipal Regulations--Everyone's Business), Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1981.

8. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," op. cit., p 119.

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'BORINGLY REPETITIOUS' IDEOLOGICAL INDOCTRINATION TO BE AVOIDED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 7 May 82) pp 627-633

[Article by Guenter Schneider, deputy department chief, SED Central Committee: "On the Great Demand on Our Political-Ideological Work." A translation of the EINHEIT article by Guenter Mittag, cited in footnote 2, is published under the heading, "Mittag Addresses Combine Directors on Management Tasks," in JPRS 81339, 22 Jul 82, EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS No 2296, pp 7-24]

> [Text] How successfully we meet the demands of this decade crucially depends on how we perform our political mass activity, with massive effectiveness, relevance and cogent arguments. How is what one has experienced and what is obvious being given conscious awareness? How does the determination of connections reinforce the strength of conviction, and how can knowledge be effectively submitted for occupying the needed fighting positions?

Sure enough, extending the socialist revolution in the GDR makes different images appear from those of the struggles going on decades ago. Yet the Red October and the sacrificial struggle of the German workers movement, represented by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, August Bebel, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck, created the preconditions for our victories of today. We no longer need barricades made of cobblestones and sand bags in our republic. Our barricades in the class struggle are of a different sort. The workers class, under SED leadership, has seized power for once and for all and keeps extending it constantly in alliance with all the forces that are united in the National Front of the GDR. The struggles in our own time surely are no less revolutionary than those in the past. In the Central Committee report to the 10th party congress, Comrade Erich Honecker remarked that the "1980's make new and higher demands on us, nationally as well as internationally. We are ready to accept the challenges of the decade."[1]

Accepting challenges of historic dimensions and, in spite of the aggressive barrage, the imperialist policy of confrontation and threats, carrying on with

our sound course, the policy of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, attests to the strength of socialism and its superiority over capitalism, to our unconditional trust in our own strength and to the assurance that our cause is victorious and our course is right. Accepting challenges means facing high demands and means organizing the struggle to accomplish a decisive performance growth for the further strengthening of our republic. The Central Committee conference with the general directors of combines and SED Central Committee party organizers illuminated the demand we have and want to face: "All our work in boosting the GDR's rate of economic growth takes place within international class conflict--is indeed an important contribution to our gaining victory over imperialism in this conflict."[2]

This involves a steep rise in labor productivity, our intensively expanded reproduction, economic effectiveness of science and technology, and quality labor and creativeness. The ambitious commitment by the 157 centrally managed combines in industry, construction, transportation and communication, and by the 66 combines in the bezirk-managed industry, to exceed by at least a 2-day output the targets of the 1982 national economic plan for industrial commodity and building trade production, calls for a wealth of ideas, revolutionary elan and an efficient use of time and material. We are all dealing with such tasks every day and are struggling, each in his place, for thus consolidating the power of the workers class and strengthening the bastions of peace.

In this sense, Comrade Erich Honecker defined the shaping of the developed socialist society as a process in which we have to solve tasks "that by no means are less complicated or call for less revolutionary elan than those we did solve up to the triumph of the socialist production relations."[3] We stand amidst the revolutionary struggles of our time as previous generations stood in their time. The effects of conscious action are not any slighter today but rather larger, since on the continued shaping of real socialism with success greatly depends humanity's being or not-being.

Conscious Conduct for the Whole

The realization that socialism needs the awareness and creative activity of the masses has become a general experience confirmed every day. The farther we advance toward shaping developed socialism, the more extensive becomes the responsibility of each and every working person for the destinities of the whole societal entity. Millions of working people are implementing the 10th party congress policy by their achievements; they know of the connection between politics and economics and of the strength of socialism and the safeguarding of peace; they understand the consequences of what they do for society and for themselves. That is a necessary development; without it, socialism would not be possible. So, in socialism, class-conscious pondering on the sense of life does not lead into other-worldly and esoteric mysteries but to revolutionary action. Lenin has said: "To the extent that the historic creativeness of men expands and deepens there also is bound to grow the scope of the population mass that makes history consciously."[4]

In our political-ideological work we can rely on the people's trust in party policy. Comrade Erich Honecker pointed that out in the conference with the kreis

first secretaries: "The masses stand by our party because it struggles tenaciously for peace, the supreme good of humanity. They do so because we ensure a high material and cultural standard of living for high achievement and good work through the unity of economic and social policy that we are carrying on resolutely."[5] Revolutionary action is effectively encouraged through SED practical policy. Everyone perceives his own work results in visible successes. Conceived more than a decade ago, the policy of the main task has passed its test and is a testable reality and proof for that the party's words and deeds coincide. Facts evidence the correctness of our policy, which serves the good of the people. Announcements and practical steps, typically, move in the same direction, being in unity. In contrast to bourgeois policy, where high-sounding phrases in programs are meant to disguise the true aims, the Communists have always presented their ideals and goals in the open.

Most citizens in our country have gone through the school of socialism. Circa half of the working people passed through the 10-grade polytechnical secondary school, where they also acquired basic Marxist-Leninist knowledge. Technicians' training and college and technical school studies reinforce, deepen and expand technical and political knowledge. Millions of working people take part in the various forms of schooling, the party school year, the FDJ study year, or the schools for socialist work. Then there are circa 1.5 million working people each year who get further vocational training and then also receive Marxist-Leninist knowledge. This high educational level is a vast fund of conscious commitment to the continued shaping of the developed socialist society; it must be prudently used everywhere in that it is one of the initial handles for our political-ideological work. It is, of course, not enough merely to state these facts. Rather, we must pay careful attention to them and avoid a routine handling and boring repetition of well-known theses, lest we demand too little.

Important steps have been taken, under party leadership, to extend the revolution in ideology and culture. The newly developing socialist mode of thought and life, greater political interest, and the zeal for more knowledge have become typical of GDR citizens. They have rich experiences of their own through their practical involvement in the shaping of our socialist society and have gathered many political experiences in the socialist youth organization or in the trade unions, as members of parents' activists groups or of housing community leaderships. Through active participation in the management of the state and the society, a high sense of political responsibility forms, the ability to judge, decide and act from the vantage point of one's own responsibility. It is only natural that precisely one's own political activity induces a person to apply the Marxist-Leninist knowledge acquired through training, to expand it constantly and to test it against his own experience.

Experienced or Taken for Granted

There are not many GDR citizens who can have gained their class position through personallly experienced struggles for work and bread, or against imperialist war and misery. More than half of them were born after fascism was crushed. The achievements of socialism they found were already in place, and they grew up with them. The values and advantages of the new society likewise became everyday experience. Lenin's remark that every generation "is bound to approach

socialism by different routes, not the routes, the form, the situation of its forefathers,"[6] penned in 1916, at a time, that is, when imperialism totally ruled the world, all the more of course applies to present days when the working class is in power and the people accomplish advances every day and enormous revolutionary changes are taking place even within one generation.

Of course, the basic matters of Marxism-Leninism and our party policy remain the cardinal issues. Yet the conditions under which they arise change, and so does the angle under which they appear. Hence, no political-ideological problem can ever be considered settled, "written off," as it were. Convictions, knowledge, arguments cannot be inherited. An experienced propagandist knows he must always again test the effect of his arguments against changing practical conditions and take into account the experience, the political maturity, the age and the knowledge of people. The socialist revolution in the GDR brought about a new reality which for previous generations still had only been the goal of revolutionary struggles, of yearnings and hopes. That is true as much of the conformity between peace and the socialist social order, of the unity between economic and social policy, of the spirit, firmly rooted in the people, of socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism and internationalist solidarity, as of social justice and security in socialism, the high moral and material recognition of work performed, social and personal freedom, social security and certitude about the future, and socialist culture. That they are understood by no means makes the accomplishments of socialism any smaller--on the contrary. Indeed, the values and accomplishments of socialism are all the more seen as historic progress, the more clearly they contrast with the crisis-ridden capitalist society and the better the historic course of socialism, the magnitude of what has been achieved as the outcome of revolutionary struggles, can be traced.

Providing knowledge about the dialectic in the process of history is important. This involves a more prominent presentation of ideas about the historic pace of fundamental social processes as much as the ways and means in which the wheel of history moves, in that the triumphant march of socialism is carried on by generations and is not just a promenade, and not a uniform forward movement either, but struggle, and that means harsh and lengthy and, with it, meaningful struggle. Advances greatly depend on the quality of our work, on the scope of the commitment in society--on that each comprehends the tasks of his time as a challenge to combative dedication and creative energy.

Knowing in Order to Act

The development of society is based on inevitabilities objective in character. Conforming with them consciously is a fundamental principle of our party policy on the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. The universal inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction are criteria against which is measured the historic progress which socialism keeps extending. Therefore it is important to know and propagate them, so that revolutionary processes and their requirements are understood and keep setting off, time and time again, new revolutionary mass energies.[7]

There are of course no revolutionary processes without contradictions, not in socialism either. A fundamental cognition of Marxism-Leninism is that contradictions are the deepest source for all movement and development. They have to

resolved while we are moving ahead in the sense of the party policy program and, hence in the interest of the people and for its benefit. Rather than leaving that aside in our ideological work, we clarify how it all hangs together so that the requisite positions are taken in our struggle.

It is unavoidable for our political-ideological work to disseminate our justified social optimism. It is a key issue to deepen the sound scientific conviction that socialism is the most progressive history has ever produced and that the peoples' worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism is inevitable in nature. With it, we must encourage the pride in being on the correct side in the worldwide class struggle.

Domestically, the question "who--whom?" has of course long been settled in favor of the revolutionary workers class. This means no standstill. On the contrary: Our everyday experience confirms the correctness of our theory. Socialism is a dynamic social order in development. That fact is reflected in our image of socialism as drawn in our party resolutions. It would be downright damaging to consider and propagate socialism as something complete. Political-ideological work is expected to explain revolutionary processes in revolutionary terms.

Consider the 10th party congress resolution to carry on the policy of the main task throughout the 1980's. That decision, in view of the changed conditions in the late 1970's, is of great revolutionary importance as it calls on us to tap all reserves and potentials inherent in our society. In talking, e.g., about fulfilling the housing construction program, we are not only mindful of the considerable quantitative increase in dwelling units, but this amounts to a revolutionary solution of a social problem. The 1976-1980 plan was to build or modernize 750,000 apartments. We achieved as many as 813,000. Rentals remained the same; they come to circa 4 percent of a family income. Is there any capitalist country that can set such a goal and has such facts to show for? Or take our effort at raising labor productivity. Many tasks of great scope have to be resolved to meet the demands of the times, such as enforcing the economic strategy the 10th party congress announced, the shaping of a socialist attitude toward work in each collective, the resolute implementation of the socialist performance principle--to mention but a few. It is the responsibility of our political-ideological work always again to create awareness of the historic scope of our efforts in extending the socialist revolution and to strengthen the working people's responsibility for the commonweal at large.

Our political-ideological work always is successful if we can explain all variety in life from the point of view of our Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, reveal the inevitabilities behind events, and strengthen the resolve to dedicate oneself to the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and even leave one's own tracks on the path of the socialist revolution.

Our approach to shaping class-bound attitudes must still more effectively conform to Comrade Erich Honecker's reminder to realize still more in our political-ideological work "the unity of Marxist-Leninist instruction of knowledge, indoctrination and practical organization."[8] Those three components must be given equal attention. Political-ideological work embraces the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas as well as the forming of social traits that suit our society, such as political steadfastness, collectivity, conscious discipline and readiness

for achievements. A class-conscious attitude always expresses itself in class-conscious action, in the unity between words and deeds. Marxist-Leninist knowledge failing to turn into revolutionary activity would just be dead bookishness.

A Compass for Worldwide Change

The increased demands on political-ideological work arise particularly also from the intensification of the class conflict between socialism and imperialism. Especially in view of the fact that imperialism does not get to make the move it wants to make and cannot stop the triumphant march of socialism and that it is facing an ever broadening peace front opposing its course toward war, it does what it can to stop and reverse the wheel of history. No lie there is it shies away from nor any adventurous war preparations and impassioned threats of war.

It follows from all this that we must "bring out still more clearly the dialectic, the essence and appearances in the tough class conflict going on worldwide,"[9] and develop political-ideological work in all domains of society so that all working people are reached by the word from the party, each understands the nature of the policy the 10th party congress has issued, and recognizes, and assumes in a class-conscious manner, his own responsibility for further reinforcing and defending the workers and farmers power. Our scientific world-outlook, Marxism-Leninism, is the compass for understanding the world and for changing it in terms of working class ideals. Millions of working people in our country think and act in that spirit.

Among the challenges of the 1980's is to do everything to put still more completely into effect the values and advantages of real socialism, so as to provide the persuasive evidence every day that our social order is superior to the imperialist exploiter society. Real socialism is the strongest bastion of world peace; its steady forward development gives at equal measures the fighters for progress all over the world backing, strength and courage for their own national and social liberation. And so the steady strengthening of our economic capability and each working person's daily efforts on behalf of socialism acquire an important historic dimension which, as every working person is aware, strengthens his sense of responsibility and his resolve to do what he can for the consolidation and defense of the GDR. In this sense the "struggle for the minds of men is the main battlefield for the future of mankind."[10]

Our party has always regarded ideological work as the innermost core of its efforts and always has done what it could to convince people of the truthfulness of Marxism-Leninism and the correctness of our course, whereby to draw them, in every phase of our development, into conscious actions for socialism. Daily indoctrination, the party's dialogue with the entire people, is typical of the political style of our efforts. This amounts to a broad spectrum that starts with everyday living and logically ranges all the way to the meaning of life and the key problem of war or peace. It is understood that the success of our political-ideological work also depends on the quality of the analysis of the thinking and actions of the people. To know what is best and the weak points as well, the strength of the collectives and their weaknesses, and the conditions under which achievements are performed--all that is important.

The efficacy of our agitprop critically depends on the ability of the propagandist to make use in political talk of the unity between the scientific world-outlook, Marxist-Leninist policy, and the real life process. Class standpoint here means always to ask the question whether something benefits our good socialist cause or not. To answer that, one has to know the inevitabilities and large political context behind daily events. Being equipped with concrete arguments on topical matters and theoretical profundity makes for no contradiction, nor are these alternatives. Experience has shown that only someone who knows about basics can pursue arguments into details. That is why special attention attaches to conveying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and its wealth of theory. We refer here to the basic positions of Marxism-Leninism, its rigorous materialism, the nature of the dialectic as the all-inclusive and most profound doctrine on development, the theory of the class struggle and the world-historic revolutionary role of the workers class.

The combative nature of Marxism-Leninism, after all, is a factor of its power to convince. Always, Marxism-Leninism has developed through confrontation and proven itself in the struggle as an instrument for changing the world for the benefit of working man. Converting these alive elements into igniting arguments is what characterizes our political-ideological work.

Establishing Connections Helps Strengthen the Power of Conviction

In each developmental phase of our revolutionary movement, solving the tasks of the day comes closely combined with Marxist-Leninist education. Each step in truly advancing is being prepared in that the party discussses the "ground plan" with the people, analyzes the experiences gathered through public activity and takes them into account, and issues action guidelines from the vantage point of our theory. A thorough analysis of men's thoughts, knowledge and acts and a thorough knowledge of their joys and sorrows are crucial for making agitprop highly effective. That is why this party organization work is so very important. It, after all, makes possible a differentiated approach, a consideration for the political maturity, the education, the age and other factors. The propagandists and agitators, the teachers and college instructors, and those comrades who have systematically paved the way of access to Marxism-Leninism for generations of citizens in our country, whereby they have helped lay the foundations for class-bound thoughts and actions, have had a great share in our successful ideological work.

Political-ideological work to us is never an end in itself but always education and training on behalf of the demands of the class struggle. That is how we explain our strategy and the next step we take. That turns ideological work into something that combines the instruction of knowledge with participating in the struggle for materializing our conception of society. It is aimed at drawing mass activity for the struggle for the implementation of the 10th SED Congress resolutions from the conviction that our doctrine and our party policy are correct. This also is the way we must understand the remark in our party program that it is the basic concern of the SED's political-ideological activity "to provide the workers class and all working people with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, explain party policy to them, develop their socialist thinking, feeling and action, mobilize them for solving the tasks, and steel them against any influences from imperialist and bourgeois ideology."[11]

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker: "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 8.

2. Guenter Mittag, "High Performance Increase for the Further Strengthening of Our Republic," EINHEIT, No 5, 1982, pp 464-465.

3. Erich Honecker, "The Party Tasks in the Further Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions," "Reden und Aufsaetze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol 6, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 24.

4. V. I. Lenin, "Which Legacy Can We Renounce?" "Werke" (Works), Vol 2, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 536.

5. Erich Honecker, "Full Steam Ahead for the Well-being and Happiness of the People," NEUER WEG, No 5, 1982, p 164.

6. V. I. Lenin, "Youth International," "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 164.

7. Cf. the Topic: "Universal Inevitabilities of the Socialist Revolution and the Construction of the New Society," EINHEIT, No 1, 1982, pp 7 ff.

8. Erich Honecker, "Full Steam Ahead . . .," op. cit., p 164.

9. Ibid., p 165.

10. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 3. Tagung des ZK der SED" (Politburo Report to the Third SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 57.

11. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 66.

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PHILOSOPHICAL WORK ON CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALISM REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 7 May 82) pp 665-667

[Review by Prof Dr Klaus Goessler, Department of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Karl Marx University, Leipzig; of book "Dialektik des Sozialismus" (Dialectics of Socialism), collectively authored under supervision of Prof Alfred Kosing, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1981. Translations of the official text of the "Central Research Plan of the GDR's Marxist-Leninist Social Sciences, 1981-85," cited in a footnote, and of an SED Central Committee commentary on the plan are published in JPRS 77514, 5 Mar 81, No 1854 of this series, pp 23-54 and 55-64, respectively]

[Text] A new publication has enriched the literature on the developed socialist society and the shaping of it, collectively authored and put out by the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee. It deserves a solid place in our philosophical instruction and propaganda.

With this publication the authors face the demand made in the central research plan on the Marxist-Leninist philosophers, to continue "purposeful research on the dialectics in the developed socialist society"* and turn it into a major aspect of their work. By applying the theory and method of materialist dialectics to research on the socialist society and, under this aspect, drawing general rules from the practical experiences in the shaping of developed socialism, they are making an important contribution at once to philosophic work and to establishing the unity of theory and practice, and of philosophy and politics.

The subject of the investigation is the objective dialectic of socialism, "the special qualitative shape of the general social dialectic in the first developmental phase of communist society" (p 34). It is not their intent to attach dialectical labels to real social processes but to comprehend socialism in its qualitative specifics and historic conditions and disclose its inevitabilities, contradictions and impulses.

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*"Central Research Plan of the GDR's Marxist-Leninist Social Sciences, 1981-85," EINHEIT, No 12, 1980, p 1212

"It is in line with the objective dialectics of social development that first basic aspects of the dialectic development of the socialist mode of production are examined because it is the decisive material foundation of socialist society" (p 21). From that basic materialist position such philsophically essential criteria for developed socialism are presented as the dialectics between objective and subjective conditions for historic action under socialism, the developed socialist society as an organic whole, dialectic contradictions in the shaping of the developed socialist society, the impulses in socialist society, the dialectics of the national and the international and the dialectics in the struggle between socialism and capitalism. Those problems mentioned designate both the contents and the arrangement of the chapters. It is refreshing that the answers to the questions that arise are given not by way of proclamation but by way of discussion, that they are worked out through polemics against hostile positions and also by weighing various standpoints that can be found in Marxist-Leninist philosophical literature. At times, however, one would have wished the authors, in the arrangement and in the presentation of their problems, had traced more the particular logic of the particular subject (cf. p 41). The chapters in part more follow one another than are spreading out, continuing ideas that directly complement each other.

Strengthening methodological cogency and theoretical systematics is an important way for further enhancing the theoretical level, quality and social effectiveness of research. That presupposes, no doubt, to have explored in detail philosophically essential and fundamental factors of the objective dialectics in socialism. And that is done by the authors with a density, completeness, concreteness and consistency unprecedented in our philosophical literature. That constitutes one of the essential advances of knowledge in this publication.

The main idea of the work is the experience and realization that "socialist society is nothing static, not an ideal condition created for once and for all, but is subject to constant change and development," (p 17) and that consequently the theory on socialist society is not definitive either but is being "developed, enriched, specified and deepened" (p 18). The authors have been persuasively successful with this main idea, especially because they consistently document this by the ongoing history in the development of socialism itself, trace the formation and perfection of what is qualitatively new in the dialectics of socialism in all its intricacy and contradictoriness, and thereby come to take issue with ahistoric and undialectic conceptions and bourgeois distortions of real socialism.

E.g., in analyzing the impulses of socialism it is being shown that the conformity between social, collective and personal interests is not lifeless, abstract, given for once and for all. The very reason that it is a new impulse is that interests "are utterly dynamic in nature, a contradictory unity of the possible and the necessary, of the subjective and the objective, in which, under the impact of economic, social, political, cultural and ideological, intra-state and international influences, new things constantly originate and affect one another" (p 269).

From the overruling weight of material interests and the historic place of socialism the authors deduce "that the material incentive principle plays the crucial role in the overall system of impulses for socialist labor" (p 278).

For that reason they pay special attention to essential ideological aspects of the implementation of the performance principle. They logically take as their point of departure, for one thing, "the strict abiding by the materialist standpoint," i.e., "the material social conditioning in the current application of that principle" (p 279). Secondly, they regard that principle as "a fundamental historic accomplishment both in its substance and in its overall social and personality-forming efficacy" (p 283). Third, to them the "consistent realization of the performance principle is a crucial condition for developing socialist consciousness" (p 284). Fourth, they realize "that the totality of impulses for individual action must by no means be reduced to the efficacy of material incentives" (p 290). By the detailed discussion of these aspects, important ideological orientations are provided for propaganda and mass political work on concretely enforcing the performance principle.

The authors' desire to present the theory on socialist society as one that is under development is reflected particularly in their taking positions on problems in Marxist-Leninist theory under discussion, discuss arguments expertly, and soundly develop their own positions. That pertains particularly to the dialectics of socialism and communism, of productive forces and production relations, of objective and subjective factors, and of the national and the international.

It is worth noting their arguments on the matter of contradictions in socialism. Coming to grips with the issue of whether in socialism contradiction can still be an impulse in the first place, whether it had not changed its nature, they defend the position of dialectical materialism that even developments under socialism are marked by objective contradictions, evolving and moving, and to be resolved. They "spread as contrasts in 'contest' and form the most important impetus for social progress and are being resolved when the conditions are ripe" (p 203). Contradictions are and remain sources and impulses for development in socialism. The contrast with previous forms of society lies in the character of the contradictions. "Whereas the fundamental contradictions that determine the development of society in capitalism and earlier types of class societies were antagonistic in character, the contradictions in socialist society have lost that antagonistic character and are nonantagonistic contradictions" (p 216). The term "nonantagonistic contradictions" expresses "the new historic quality of social contradictions in socialism" (p 218). Under that aspect the reader is likely also to find interesting what is being said about contradictions and conformity of interests (cf. pp 237-241).

The authors have every good reason to polemicize against casually identifying contradictions with unsatisfactory situations and against distinguishing between "useful" and "harmful" contradictions. Opposing that, they say: "All contradictions are essential sources and impulses for development; unsuitable forms of motion only produce negative effects and block development" (p 227). Thus, under certain conditions, caused by objective or subjective factors or both, any social contradiction may intensify and turn into conflict, which always also has negative effects on development. Distinguising between "useful" and "harmful" contradictions usually goes together with a moralizing attitude and, in fact, deflects from the task that is so important to management activity, "always to keep in mind the proportion and motion of contrasts underlying the contradictions,

compute, when essential decisions are to be made, the possible consequences for the forms in which the contradictions may move, and thereby largely prevent an intensification of the contradictions and discrepancies" (pp 227-228).

Altogether it may be said: The authors not only provide information on the current state of development in the theory on socialist society, they also make a contribution to its further elaboration. Along with what has already been referred to, we should mainly mention here the detailed account of socialism as a society of its own specific and typical socioeconomic quality. That refers not only to the first chapter which, among other things, works out the new quality of the social dialectics in socialism, or to the fourth chapter, which analyzes the developed socialist society as an organic whole, but is an essential concern all through the book.

The present work is the first philosophical publication in the GDR that set itself the task to examine the dialectics of socialism as a whole and present it systematically. Doing so, the authors enter virgin territory. While they can rely on their own and other social science research results, their publication also indicates gaps still existing in the current state of research. What one misses is an analysis of the dialectics in the intellectual process of life and its being determined by the process of material life in the developed socialist society and the active repercussion it has on it. The authors stress as the first sign of the historically new quality of the dialectics in socialism "that the overall social developmental process loses its spontaneous character and increasingly becomes a conscious process, systematically managed with insight into the objective inevitabilities" (p 48).

And there are many points in the book where they talk of the growing importance of socialist awareness and socialist consciousness, of the need to spread the intellectual-cultural advantages of socialism, of fashioning the subjective factor, of the intellectual potentials of socialism as an ever more essential factor for economic growth, and so forth. Yet the production and functions of this awareness and of these intellectual-cultural potentials are nowhere analyzed in terms of their contradictory dialectics. The dialectics of its intellectual process of life is, however, certainly lon less an aspect of the dialectics of socialism than those that are treated as the chief problems. Greater concern for these matters and a still more extensive examination of the basic contradiction of our era, especially of the interaction between the internal and external contradictions of socialism, and of the modification of the internal ones by the external ones, would be in line with propaganda requirements in our times and further deepen in its substance the valuable work at hand.

The authors have done well in presenting in a sound propaganda manner the results of their research and the discussion of the theoretical problems raised in that process. Generally they use a clear and intelligible language, take a position on important philosophical issues in public life, argue objectively and convincingly with facts, even if somewhat too sparingly, and expertly come to grips with imperialist, reformist and revisionist attacks upon real socialism. Along with matters already mentioned, a propagandist can find answers to philosophic and ideological questions resulting from contradictions and changes in the social character and substance of labor, the changes in the needs of the

working people, the new quality of interrelations between objective conditions and subjective factors, the establishing of unity between central planning and creative mass initiative, and the relation between the national and international in socialist construction. Thereby he can gather many stimuli, arguments and guidelines for his activity. One should wish the book a wide dissemination.

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LISTINGS, SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 7 May 82) 'Resumes' addendum

[Text] The Topic: Capitalist Crisis and Imperialist Policy

How are monopoly capitalism's leading circles trying to extricate themselves from the intensifying crisis of their system? How does this become apparent in decisive areas of imperialist policy? This topic is discussed in the following five contributions:

1) "Roots and Driving Forces of the Imperialist Course of Confrontation" (pp 569-576), by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, economist, member, SED Central Committee; rector, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board.

2) "U.S. Imperialism's Pretensions to Global Domination" (pp 577-582), by Prof Dr Max Schmidt, director, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics (IPW); chairman, Scientific Council for Research on Imperialism; member, EINHEIT editorial board.

3) "Antisocial Course Against the Working People" (pp 583-588), by Prof Dr Horst Hemberger, economist, deputy director, faculty for Political Economy of Capitalism, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee.

4) "Facts and Figures on the Imperialist Business With Armament" (pp 589-590), unsigned article.

5) "Facts and Figures on Drastic Cuts in Social Benefits [in the West]" (pp 591-592), by Eckbert Krappe, economist, research assistant, faculty for Political Economy of Capitalism, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee.

Utilizing Society's Labor Capacities Efficiently

[Summary of article by Wolfgang Beyreuther, social scientist, member, SED Central Committee; state secretary for labor and wages; pp 601-607. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Inefficiencies in Use of Labor, Machinery Criticized," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] A qualitative development of society's labor capacities and utilizing them most effectively are imperative for consistent economic growth. How must scientific-technical progress be focused on it? How is the great educational potential to be used? What are the tasks of the local state organs in developing the labor capacities? About that, the article conveys extensive experiences in successful management activity.

Thirty Years of Agricultural Producer Cooperatives (LPG)

[Summary of article by Norbert Geipel, graduate in agricultural science; candidate member, SED Central Committee; secretary, SED Neubrandenburg Bezirk Management; pp 608-612]

[Text] The historic resolution by the second party conference of fully supporting the voluntary merger between working peasants and rural workers in production cooperatives is used as an occasion for tracing the 30 years behind us in the successful implementation of socialist agricultural policy in Neubrandenburg Bezirk and presenting those tasks which are facing today the cooperative farmers of both sexes and all working people in socialist agriculture.

On the Way to the Seventh Pioneer Rally

[Summary of article by Helga Labs, member, SED Central Committee; secretary, Central Council, Free German Youth (FDJ); chairperson, Ernst Thaelmann Pioneer Organization; pp 613-619. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] Diversified are the activities of the young pioneers in learning, sports and games, in cultivated leisure time and in socially useful work. What motivations come from the pioneer mission, "Pioneer Expedition--Always Ready," for interesting substantial

group life and for preparing the pupils for their future tasks in socialist society? How do the comrades and other social forces--mainly the pedagogues, parents, sponsorship brigades and FDJ members--aid the communist education in the pioneer groups and friendships?

West German Commentary On Helga Labs Article

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German no 86, 9 Jun 82 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "Enemy Familiarization Training for GDR Children to Start 'as Early as Possible.'"]

[Text] Enemy familiarization training for GDR children is to start "as early as possible," even within the families. That has been demanded by the SED paper FREIHEIT (4 June 1982) which is published in Halle. That included among other things "that children are clearly and unmistakably told who their enemies are, how they act and why they act the way they do." Such critical assessments were "significant for the development of a childlike political world image, because that is the point of departure for the child's activity in coming to grips independently with false, mendacious conceptions of the enemy image." Critical evaluations and issue-taking with such conceptions eventually would fortify the child's political convictions.

The chairperson of the GDR childrens' organization, Helga Labs, also has called for further activities for contributing among children "still more effectively to the formation of an unshakable socialist class standpoint." In the most recent edition of the theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 6, 1982), she called for picking up more strongly the children's interest in "combative political discussions" and for bringing the children to the point "at which they can increasingly answer their own political questions in a party-minded manner." That was one of the most essential goals of the ideological activity of the children's organization in the GDR.

KPD's Struggle for Antifascist Action

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Paul Heider, colonel; pp 634-640]

[Text] The KPD's struggle for an upsurge in the antifascist mass movement in 1932 was among the most creditable deeds of Thaelmann's party and one of our best traditions. Through focusing on the antifascist united front, the KPD was the only political force to offer the German people a historic alternative for the fascist course of the German monopoly bourgeoisie. In this it applied all forms of economic and political struggle and, fighting against Nazi terror, combined the ideological struggle with the militant and massive self-protection of the working people.

Ideological Diversion in NATO's Aggressive Strategy

[Summary of article by Dr Wolfgang Haentzschel, lieutenant colonel; pp 641-647. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

> [Text] Aggressive NATO strategy attributes great importance to ideological diversion. On the basis of a far-flung program, NATO institutions are increasingly being turned into central managerial institutions for general staff direction for it, and intelligence services are included in directing ideological diversion, which is aimed at affecting domestic conditions especially of the socialist states subversively, aggressively and seditiously, with contempt for international law, so as to undermine and destroy their social order.

West German Commentary on W. Haentzschel Article

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 85, 8 Jun 82 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Fears 'Ideological Subversion'--'Active Defense' Against All Infiltration Attempts Demanded"]

[Text] In its most recent edition, the theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 6, 1981) has warned against alleged Western attempts at "destabilizing" the GDR by means of "ideological diversion." It asked party members "aggressively and effectively to oppose" such attempts and crush "the class enemy's ideological attacks" because it would not happen automatically. An "aggressive fight against imperialist ideology and its attempt at infiltration" could not be confined to the ideological sphere but concerned all domains in society. An "active defense against ideological diversion attempts," according to EINHEIT, required "more than ever high political-ideologial vigilance on the basis of unshakable class positions and constantly perfecting one's own Marxist-Leninist knowledge so that each communist can work independently and convincingly as a propagandist and agitator even under complicated class struggle conditions."

If You Don't Want to Be the Anvil, You Have to Be the Hammer!

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Horst Schumacher, department chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 648-654]

> [Text] This article is devoted to Georgiy Dimitrov, the great son of the Bulgarian people, the outstanding international labor leader and true friend of the Soviet Union, written on the occasion of his 100th birthday. His work was closely linked with the struggle of the revolutionary German workers movement and with Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck. His brave stand in Leipzig during the trial on the Reichstag fire remains unforgettable, where he unmasked the fascists as arsonists before the entire world and dealt them a political-moral defeat of international scope.

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DISSIDENT WRITER HERMLIN ON UNOFFICIAL GDR PEACE MOVEMENT

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 19 Jul 82 p 14

['Documentation' feature interview with Stephan Hermlin, GDR writer, by Harald Kleinschmid, for Deutschlandfunk: "'We Must Step on It a Little, We Must Increase the Speed'--GDR Writer Stephan Hermlin in a Radio Interview Defined the Peace Movement Thus: It Is a Fight Against Dangerous Neuroses"]

> [Text] Harald Kleinschmid, for Deutschlandfunk, discussed with GDR writer Stephan Hermlin such topics as the GDR peace movement, Eastern rockets and Western rockets, and culture in the GDR. Hermlin was the initiator of the "Berlin Encounter," a meeting of writers from the East and West which took place in December of last year in East Berlin and had "peace" for its main theme. The following interview is published in uncut form.

[Question] The Berlin Encounter which you, Stephan Hermlin, initiated last December in order to promote peace among writers from East and West has met with considerable response not only in the GDR but also in large parts of Europe. There were follow-up encounters, such as the meeting in The Hague less than 4 weeks ago, and we now have here in Cologne "Interlit," a movement with a broad international and even intercontinental basis. Writers from East and West are making joint commitments to peace. My first question: have your original expectations been fulfilled or is the situation not rather as Guenter Gaus described it in The Hague: that the tendency toward war has meanwhile grown faster than the peace movement? I am thinking of Lebanon, the Falkland Islands and other similar cases.

[Answer] I believe that both developments must be seen in joint perspective. I consider the observation made by Guenter Gaus in The Hague very noteworthy. It struck me as important when I heard it, and I am still thinking of it today. There is no statement that could call for greater vigilance than this one by Gaus.

Anybody, therefore, who makes a commitment for peace must ask himself if his position is correct. And it is possible that it is correct. But that does not mean, on the other hand, that one should get discouraged. In that case we must step on it a little more, we must increase our speed. Some time ago, the expression "struggle for peace" was used for many years--and was sometimes belittled. But it is a struggle. It is a struggle for the souls of people. It is a struggle against dangerous neuroses.

[Question] Stephan Hermlin, you have given me two key words: struggle for peace and vigilance. In your country, the GDR, the Berlin Encounter has had a certain effect. Young Christians who made a commitment for social peace service [in place of military service] felt strengthened in their convictions. There was the peace demonstration by 5,000 people in Dresden's Church of the Cross, and that was followed by the inevitable reversal: the new military service law, the further militarization of GDR society under the slogan "Peace Must Be Armed," and finally the government directive against wearing the emblem "Peace Into Plowshares"--all this, last but not least under the key words of "Revolutionary Vigilance." Has the encouragement that emanated from the Berlin Encounter been turned in the opposite direction?

[Answer] No, that has not happened. The effects of the Berlin Encounter are diverse and complex. This is a good thing. The effects are continuing. The encounter is being discussed again and again. Every day I get letters or telephone calls about this matter. But a few things have to be corrected here and have to be looked at in a certain perspective. The GDR--this is my firm conviction--is not one of the aggressive countries. As everybody knows, the GDR is not a neutral country. It is integrated into one of the two large blocs. It is a fact that the American threat--I have a firm opinion on this matter, just as almost everybody else has--is directed to a considerable extent also against the GDR, to be sure.

Certain statements were made by us in Berlin and The Hague which in effect must first reach the consciousness of mankind--and that cannot happen overnight--primarily the idea that additional rearmament has become senseless. This idea is still weak in comparison with the traditional reaction: the moment somebody threatens me I shall try to threaten in turn, or in other words I shall say: now I am really going to arm myself. And the GDR--a fact that can surprise nobody--after a period of relatively quiet development and especially after a decrease in tensions between the two German states is suddenly confronted by a new U.S. policy. And I, for one, am not surprised that government leaders are reacting in this manner.

[Question] But may I perhaps interrupt you at this point. There are people here in the West who likewise feel threatened by Soviet SS-20 rockets.

[Answer] Yes, of course. You known, our terrible situation is caused by the fact that people, ordinary people who live anywhere know that when rockets are placed there, allegedly for their protection, they themselves become at the time targets for other rockets because they live next to the targets. I believe that the almost atavistic reactions to threats of this kind are to a large extent obstacles to a clear recognition of the facts. As soon as we, too, come to this recognition--because we need it as much as others--then we will see, e.g., no longer a threat in those young people wearing emblems that tell us to beat swords into plowshares.

I want to emphasize--in recent times I have had several talks on these matters with people in responsible positions, and I found some sympathy--I believe that the most flagrant exaggerations have already been erased from the minds

of certain people and that it is now recognized that this emblem, this saying is not only for Christians but must be a saying for all socialists. Because our final goal, the final goal of socialists, is a world in which swords are beaten into plowshares. This, therefore, is not the language of enemies but rather the language of friends.

[Question] A week ago, Stephan Hermlin, large peace domonstrations were held in West Berlin and Bonn, e.g., 300,000 people marched in protest against the threats by American as well as Soviet nuclear weapons. When, in view of what you just said, might it be possible to have a demonstration of this kind in the GDR by people wearing the emblem "Swords Into Plowshares"?

[Answer] I am no prophet, you know. It is impossible for me to predict this. But one thing is certain: the threat by Soviet rockets--I willingly accept this expression--is triggered by U.S. initiatives where suddenly, after a consensus on a possible balance has existed for a long time, statements were made that the American side would have to rearm enormously, primarily in the nuclear field, and where subsequently statements were even made--countless quotations are available--that this time the struggle is not for a balance but rather for nuclear superiority on the American side.

[Question] Stephan Hermlin, may I remain for a moment with the question of the peace movement in the GDR. At the meeting in The Hague, Stefan Heym made a statement that caused much concern and, in a way, indicated that the GDR peace movement is divided into an official and an unofficial side.

[Answer] I consider it nonsensical and dangerous to talk about a divided peace movement. T lk can always result in bad impressions. Experience shows that. There is only one peace movement. And this peace movement comprises many different ideas on how peace can be brought about. If sincere people are involved here, people who really want peace, then they must tolerate each other. This is no division but rather a meeting of different opinions all of which have the same goal: peace.

[Question] When writers talk about peace, isn't there the danger that they will very quickly adopt political attitudes: that in the way of all politicians they will agree on the same common denominator and that thereby--I call to mind the discussion in The Hague--the common protest, e.g., against martial law in Poland and the military dictatorship in Turkey is forgotten because there are several questions on which there can be no consensus? Are not in this way the goals that you had originally set for yourself blotted out? Should the danger be ruled out that meetings of writers can also be misused by politicians?

[Answer] If you create a movement, or support it, you run the danger that it might be misused, misinterpreted, or mistaken for something else. This is the chance you have to take. On the point you are making I have a definite opinion. I don't believe that it is useful for the peace movement to deal with other important questions. And therefore I cannot believe that questions of military dictatorship should be thrown in with questions of peace. Because if we start talking about internal conditions of countries, and how these conditions must be changed in order to bring about peace, we lose our important chances and destroy an important movement.

[Question] Still, one can also, of course, defend the opinion that internal peace and external peace have a direct connection.

[Answer] In that case, we shall never reach an agreement. As far as internal peace is concerned, it depends also on the consensus of the respective population. People have many different ideas on the kind of government they want to see in their countries. These ideas are different, e.g., in Cambodia and the PR Mongolia, in England and the FRG.

Here we would never come to a conclusion.

[Question] In regard to the question of peace there was considerable disagreement between FRG and GDR writers during the meetings in Berlin and The Hague. But Dutch observers in The Hague had the impression that the Germans from the East and West would like nothing better than to fall into each other's arms if they only could. There is obviously concern among European neighbors in East and West about too much German-German unity. Is this concern justified?

[Answer] I do not think so. I can understand this concern because behind it there always is the terrifying specter of a German reunification directed against the interests of all European countries. Even though some people might regret this fact, it cannot be denied. It has historical causes. The desire of the people of Europe is: Germany must not become too strong economically and militarily. But do the Germans themselves have the desire to become too strong economically and militarily? I don't believe so. I believe that the Germans living on the left or right side of the Elbe River know that they are the ones most threatened, the ones first threatened. There is almost an unspoken mutual agreement on this point. People understand each other very much better now than a few years ago.

[Question] Stephan Hermlin, in the summer of 1978, at the GDR Writers' Congress, you stated openly that you are a German writer living in the GDR. The unity of German literature thus seems to be no problem for you, even though there are leading politicians in your country who differentiate not only between two German literatures but also between two cultures in the two German states, between a socialist and a capitalist national culture.

[Answer] Of course I am a German writer who lives in the GDR and is a citizen of the GDR. But it is a well-known fact that there are 17 million Germans living in the GDR. As far as literature is concerned, I don't want to quarrel with the ideas of other people. Frankly, they don't interest me. I have my idea and I believe that it is logical.

I stated simply that GDR literature exists, without doubt, but that this GDR literature is a branch on a very old tree. This tree is 1,200 years old. It is called German literature. And today there are several branches on this tree. I see four main branches--we should really call them limbs. These four are the literatures of the FRG, the GDR, the German literature written in Switzerland, and Austrian literature. All this belongs to German literature. This is logical. It does not hurt anybody. Nobody needs to be offended by this. Including the GDR. The GDR is a very respected limb on this tree.

[Question] And how about the cultures?

[Answer] In my opinion, this does not make any sense at all.

Culture is a phenomenon which, even though influenced by class structures and class powers, is independent of them. But the culture of a country is a constant factor that extends into the future to an unlimited degree and under one social structure or another, if you want to call it that. And I believe that an important writer of a country, who is a communist, would express serious reservations if he were not considered a part of his national culture, not of his national capitalist or socialist culture but of his national culture per se. This is a constant factor which has always existed and will exist in the future.

[Question] Mr Hermlin, you have always thought of yourself as a writer who has to get involved in politics. In the already mentioned speech at the Writers' Congress 4 years ago, when yoy labeled yourself, so to speak, as a post-bourgeois writer, this statement was at that time often interpreted as a challenge to the cultural policy of the SED. What is your opinion on the situation of artists and writers in your country?

[Answer] First, I want to say that my statement was absolutely not a challenge to the cultural policy of my party with which I am in agreement. But I thought it appropriate for many personal reasons, which I don't want to discuss here, to state before the plenary session who I really am and to mention some facts that most members no longer seem to remember: that I am a very old communist with middle-class background, and all this is really nothing new, nothing sensational. These facts must at times be called to mind.

[Question] Still, one other word on GDR cultural policy. In 1976, there was the important event of the expatriation of Biermann. Today, more than half a decade later, the impression arises that there has been some consolidation at least toward the outside. Nevertheless, there arestill cases where young writers cannot publish in the GDR and must publish in the West.

[Answer] You noticed correctly that there has been some improvement. There is no doubt about that. I don't want to come back to events that have really been discussed enough. But we must recognize very clearly that in a difficult period of the development of a new society, of a new state, there can always be very important misunderstandings and very serious errors, also in this particular respect. If a case becomes known--and that happens--where a writer who is considered important or at least talented cannot publish for one reason or another, then his cause must be supported.

On the other hand, we should not forget that there are writers--I shall speak about this very frankly on this occasion--who consider other writers, especially young and talented people, an unwanted competition, and who are not at all interested in seeing the works of their young colleagues published. Yes, this kind of thing exists. And then there is something else. And my dear Mr Kleinschmid, you must permit me to say this too: there are some young people who don't have much talent but have great ambition. On the basis of certain

experiences in the past few years, these people suddenly think that a writer can become very well known simply because he has come in conflict with government authorities. And then these people try everything in their power to become writers of this kind.

[Question] Nevertheless, I want to ask once more. Can a writer become a danger to a country as strong as the GDR to the extent that such measures are necessary?

[Answer] No, this is not possible. I am absolutely opposed to this exaggerated fear, and I try to talk other people out of it, too. And I believe that there is a little less of this senseless fear existing today.

[Question] If you consider the state of relations between the two German states today, half a year after the meeting of writers invited by you, a meeting that began, perhaps not completely without coincidence, on the day that marked the end of FRG Chancellor Schmidt's visit with SED Secretary General Honecker--your personal friend, as the saying here goes--what is your personal conclusion on the relations between the two German states?

[Answer] First, I would like to tone down quickly this idea of "personal friend." This is a little dramatic and exaggerated. We know each other, that is all. We have known each other for some time. As to the relations between the two German states, I believe it is too early to draw any conclusions. The writers' meeting was just half a year ago. We must not forget that relations are constantly slowed down without any direct intentions on the part of the two German states. They are slowed down by the present world situation.

The Germans want to live in peace in two different countries next to each other. What they want--and that is justified--is that the two countries establish the most friendly relations possible, and that everybody in his own place make some contribution toward achieving this goal. This is also in the interest of all other people. And this opens up other perspectives: where relations are deepened, the feeling of being threatened fades away.

[Question] And that also includes the easing of restrictions for the people in both countries.

[Answer] Yes, of course, if does. It results in more frequent exchange, in more intensive communication back and forth, in more travel, I can imagine. All this is important in regard to the question of peace. And on both sides, in both German states, there must be a firm will to get along with, rather than be driven against, one another.

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SOCIALIST THEORY OF ECONOMICS UNDER ATTACK

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 12 Aug 82 p 2

[Text] "You needn't worry, we'll keep an eye on them!" The foregoing was intended as a reassuring statement and was made at a briefing where a member of the audience wondered whether small enterprises could be reconciled with our socialist principles. I don't know whether the questioner was reassured by the speaker's response--he was head of a regional organization--but his reply was far from reassuring to me. It's not that I share the fears of the questioner, but because the words of the speaker made it appear that small enterprises represent a compromise of our principles.

Unfortunately, such an opinion stemming from lack of misunderstanding of the economic policy is far from being the exception. Therefore, if we take our economic objectives and the mechanism adopted in 1968 seriously, we must make a far greater effort than up to now in clarifying the motivation of the changes and making them acceptable.

It will not suffice merely to label the small enterprises "socialist" and behave as though by doing this they would blend smoothly into the image of socialism we have held up to now. If we fail to state clearly that what we want is indeed different in many respects from the past, if we now take no stand against certain old, outdated or a priori erroneous ideas, then our strategic efforts will appear to be merely matters of tactics, and thus we will be unable to win the understanding and confidence needed to implement them. Lack of clarification of theoretical, ideological questions not only breeds doubt in public opinion; it also leads to ther dangers. At the IX Congress of the Consumer Cooperatives, the head of the government stated: "I suspect that beneath solicitude for economic interest, often cloaked in the guise of ideology, there actually lurks fear of competition, competition which threatens the comfort of enjoying a position of monopoly. Well, I'll tell you a secret, and, in this case I don't care if this secret is secretly passed on. Aside from their purpose of meeting real social needs better, the small enterprises have been established to stimulate and promote healthy competition. And we will not despair if it should transpire that not everyone can stand it: At least we will see clearly who is or is not capable of enterprise leadership."

It is the important task of economists who deal also with matters of theory to "strip" those interests which attempt to forge arguments for themselves based on obsolete ideological conclusions so that they can oppose the changes. This "stripping" must be accompanied by certain criticism of popular political economics and revelation of the connection between change and real existing socialism. Even now political economics of socialism is characterized on the whole by and ideologically one-sided and normative approach. Its practitioners have built their picture of the present not on analysis of concrete, actual conditions but by harking back to certain elements of the projected socialist image of the future. The categories of socialism depicted in this manner are virtually free of contradictions and therefore incapable of evolving. This concept identifies the concrete method of economic operation with socialist economy itself; it considers and accepts as ideologically correct only changes which have already taken place. The influence of this concept is very great.

For example, one often hears nowadays that although small enterprises are necessary, socialism is based on large enterprises. Beyond the fact that this is characteristic of the economy of all industrially developed nations, this is a problematical statement because it suggests that the large enterprise in itself is a guarantee of socialist character while small enterprises are less important and less "socialist." Actually, socialist economy needs not merely large or small enterprises but enterprises which are economically sound, an enterprise structure which permits efficient operation.

The question can even be raised about what makes a poorly operating large enterprise "more socialist" than a small enterprise which produces social net income. At the winter 1981 session of the national assembly, Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai pointed out that "during the initial stages of the building of socialism, we unduly impoverished the forms permissible in socialist production relations. We began correcting this a number of years ago. It would be incorrect to permit erroneous ideas to the effect that entrepreneurial activity is the privilege or peculiarity of the new forms to persist. We expect and require all these traits from the large enterprises primarily in their own interests and on behalf of the people."

A frequently heard argument against small enterprises and all market oriented change is that it is alien to socialist morality, that it will lead to the spread of materialistic views. This type of moralizing is faulty not only because it disregards economic relations and finds mankind's urge to a better lief suspect but because it fails or deliberately overlooks that "materialism" is at least equally characteristic of non-market oriented relations. The bargaining relation between the guiding organs and enterprises, between enterprises and their sections are based heavily on material interests, and waste and holding back output are hardly in accord with behavior deemed desirable by socialist morality.

On the other hand heads of a number of enterprises justifiably complain that they "envy" the freedom of the small entrepreneurs. Instead of the existing system of bargaining relations, they too would be glad to be enterprising,

to have an interest in bringing about the higher performance valued by the market. At the same time, this is in the interest of the entire economy, because we cannot improve our productivity without the development of an enterpreneurial approach in the entire sphere of the enterprises.

All this requires modernization of our system of economic guidance. To accomplish such modernization and to rebut views arguing against the proprietry of the measures as well as to lay bare countervailing interests, a candid debate of ideological issues is necessary.

CSO: 2500/384

NEED TO RETARGET NONURBAN POLITICAL WORK DISCUSSED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with Janos Balla, first secretary of the Godollo district party committee; Peter Kovacs, section manager of the Central Committee; Istvan Molnar, secretary of the Vas Megye Party committee; and Peter Varga, first secretary of the Somogy Megye Party Committee, by Jozsef Solyom of the NEPSZABADSAG. No date or place given]

[Text] In recent weeks we published seven articles under the common title of "Political Work for the Villages." The secretaries of large village, district and megye party committees reported in the series on the experiences they had gained and on their efforts in this manifold and complicated area of tasks. Since all these questions focus on the problems of community work for the improvement of the political stance of the quarter million communists working in the villages and of the lot of people living in their environment, we conducted the proceedings in the form of a roundtable discussion. It was not our goal to conclude anything in this subject area; on the contrary, we would like to help our party organizations to overcome the problems of our times by also using the possibilities of our newspaper. Our guests at this roundtable discussion were Janos Balla, first secretary of the Godollo district committee; Peter Kovacs, section manager of the Central Committee; Istvan Molnar, secretary of the Vas Megye Party Committee; and Peter Varga, first secretary of the Somogy Megye Party Committee. Our newspaper was represented by Jozsef Solyom.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The essence of our common task is to exchange views about timely questions of party work in the villages. Before we go on to this subject, would you please tell: Under present conditions, wherein do you see the political importance of this task?

[Peter Kovacs] In my view the importance of the political activity by the party organs and organizations in the villages is determined by the fact that 47 percent of the country's population lives and in good part works in the villages on 3,004 settlements. Hence it is essentially a matter of the successes that are evident from the political efforts of our party for the lot of 5 million people. For this goal, 7,500 basic party organizations are operating in the villages, or one-third of the MSZMP basis organizations. In speaking

of the importance of the party's village work, it is also worth mentioning the fact that in the past decade, the social composition of people living in villages has changed substantially. For example, among active earners 65.6 percent of the workers live in villages and a large number also works there. And the change does not stop at this point. The intellectuals, chiefly teachers, have now been supplemented by an increasing number of agrarian intellectuals and technical intellectuals working in industries established in the provinces; the number of doctors and other intellectual groups is also increasing.

They Fulfill an Important Role

[Janos Balla] I have no national summary. There are some places where the number of workers is declining in agricultural producer cooperatives, but this is more evident in basic agricultural activity, whereas in the expansion of industrial and auxiliary farm branch activity the number of tsz (producer cooperative) personnel is increasing. Many are returning from cities to their native village to work, and the favorable change is also promoted by the fact that more and more young people who are growing up in villages remain there when they become of working age.

[Peter Varga] I believe we can agree that the changes of recent years emphasize the political importance of the party's village work. Because, in my opinion, we also need to take into account changes of another nature. For example, in the past two decades we not only reorganized agriculture but by virtue of development large cooperatives have been created. The process of the centralization of resources has had an effect on village life also in other respects: with the establishement of districts our entire school system has changed; in this period we witnessed the concentration of the cooperative network and of the cooperatives in AFESZ [General Consumer and Marketing Cooperatives], and the large-scale development of the commercial network. Our public administration system has also been considerably modified; this is the way joint councils were established, for example. The village party organizations had to adjust constantly to changes both in organization and readiness for action in order that they should be able to stimulate development.

[Peter Kovacs] I also believe that to understand present day problems it is necessary to speak of these changes. The Politburo regarded it as justified to weigh the effect of the resolution it passed 10 years ago on the development of village party work on basis of the changes that have taken place. It established that the execution of the March 1972 resolution can be regarded as fulfilled, and therefore it expressed thanks to the 250,000 communists living and working in the villages. In truth, the village party organizations cooperated worthily in transforming the villages. Primarily, the greatest deed which sings the praise of this work is the successful application of the party's agrarian and cooperative policy. An important element of this work which was performed under frequently difficult conditions is that the communists working in the villages reshaped the village profile in cooperation with their companions ouside the party. But parallel with this development problems arose which now confront us. For example, a problem like this is characteristic for the moment of many joint villages. As a consequence of school

districting, the teachers have left these villages, and as a consequence of the rational unification of smaller agricultural cooperatives, most of the cooperative centers were moved to the chief villages, and at present there are no party organizations in 10 percent of the joint villages. These new problems must be unconditionally taken into account at every level of party life when they formulate the future tasks of party work as related to the villages. I emphasize this because the drafting process of the Politburo resolution is at the point where the party megye and executive committees are discussing and laying out their tasks, and in the second half of the year the same thing will be done by the district or the urban-district party organs, and following this also by the village party organizations. Thus there is time for the party organs and bodies interested in the solution to devote adequate attention to the solution of these problems.

To Be Present Everywhere

[NEPSZABADSAG] Let us pause here a moment. Isn't the problem actually the fact that the party did not appropriately follow in an organizational way the large-scale development in the villages as emphasized severl times above?

[Istvan Molnar] No, that is a mistake. In my view, Comrade Kovacs reasoned correctly when he maintained that our party organs and basic party organizations were the initiators and driving motors of the favorable changes that have occurred in our villages. In any event, we are speaking of a process which is moving in a good direction, and it should not detract from its value if now on basis of the new situation we have to correct several matters. At the party conference before the 12th Congress we already had to discuss the fact that there is no party organization in 90 villages. Of course, we were struggling by then with all our might to organize anew the party at these settlements either in the form of party groups or basic organizations, if I may put it this way. It is impermissible that the party should fail to be present, as a political force, even in the smallest organizational unit where people live and work.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Is this now the view of the party megye committee, or are we speaking of a deduction which also reflects the demands of the majority of people living in the villages?

[Istvan Molnar] I spoke of our political conviction, which is strengthened by every experience of our life. Indeed, the great majority of the people living in villages expressly require the presence of the party in the environment.

[Peter Varga] I could affirm this with many examples myself. Now I shall only mention the question at the center of community thinking of people living in villages--settlement development. Even in the smallest provincial settlement, the population no longer resigns itself to accepting that the people's front committee or the local council should reject its realistic demands by stating it has no money for it. On such occasions the people turn to the party organization or personally to the party secretary asking him to help and to take an initiative. The party organization satisfies the public wish when it seeks rational possibilities for a solution. It considers what the population can do, the local cooperative, the state farm or the industrial

plant operating on the settlement, and when 70 to 80 percent of the cover for new facility is at hand then the megye council also, as a matter of form, gives its necessary approval.

We Must Improve Division of Work

[NEPSZABADSAG] Is this kind of coordinating, task-solving role of the party organizations appropriate to the division of work for which we have been striving more than two decades?

[Peter Varga] Custom plays a role in the fact that frequently community problems are precipitated in party organizations. This is how the order of our life developed. The determining attraction in this everyday practice is confidence in the party, the fact that people feel our policy is their own in the village also, because in the formation of their lot they experience that the policy is for them and serves their basic interests. But we would be deceiving ourselves if we did not perceive that in such practical activity the weakness of other participants is also present in the division of work. For example, the fact that some of our councils are still not mature enough for such tasks because in the council apparatus and in the circle of council officials there has been significant fluctuation, and the present council workers have not yet acquired the experience necessary for attending to this work. Moreover, the personalities of our party secretaries also influence the management of the public affairs of the community and their solution; these are people who enjoy great public esteem and are highly respected in the good sense of the work and to whom party members and nonmembers alike turn with confidence even with personal problems.

[Janos Balla] It appears the world is small, for the experiences we have acquired in the Godollo district coincide with the Somogy problems. Frequently, we too lack the time to sort out to whom we should give this or that task. It would be best, however, for us to find the state or economic organs actually appropriate to the solution and call their attention to the appropriate tasks, to the kind of justified request with which the people of one village or another turned to our party organizations and through them to us. But if the task is urgent, we will certainly seek the path to the solution and we will not go thumbing through the rule book in order to analyze who should do what. Then together with the basic party organizations we will strive valiantly to acquire the support of the population and the economic units operating in the villages for the narrow megye council material possibilities. Frankly speaking, those settlements where some kind of economic unit is operating are in a more fortunate situation. Where such a feature does not exist, the problems of settlement development can only be eased by the more intensive cooperation of the population. Naturally, this situation requires gradualness also in political work. Our situation is made more difficult by the fact that of the 110,000 inhabitants in the district, 57,000 are able-bodied persons of whom 34,000 go to Budapest and other places to work. How these people can be put into some kind of village social work is a big problem. Our experiences are completely contradictory in such efforts. For example, 50 percent of the council members in Kerepestarcsa commute from the outside. Thus at this village they are able to draw the workers commuting from the small village to managing the public life of the larger. At nearby Pecele, on the other hand, even the trace of such success can hardly be detected.

Greater Attention, More Readiness for Discussion

[NEPSZABADSAG] It appears from our discussions thus far that the village party organizations deal mostly with economic work. This is in truth their main work, but they also have other tasks.

[Peter Varga] The party organizations wrongly take over most of the tasks related to settlement development. In this way, the work of the party organizations is at one level, and they do not deal, for example, with tasks like ideological education and political enlightenment. These tasks are forced into the background although they have a role in the work plans but mostly as titles. Thus in the current of economic organizational tasks, our party organizations pass by erroneous concepts and faulty views, although it should be their obligation to dispute these. If everyone at these settlements performed their tasks, our party organizations also could devote more attention to their own tasks, primarily the formation of the political life of the village.

[Janos Balla] In truth, our party organizations deal decisively with economic problems. There is little time left for educating people for dealing with them. And by this I mean both outside and inside the party. In many places, party life is rigid. They discuss the agenda at membership meetings, and then everyone goes his own way. There is frequently no time or energy for party members working in the same basic orgainzation to pay attention to one another.

[Peter Varga] The essence of the matter in fact is that people must be at the center of political work. This is true both within the party organization and in its area of authority, that is, in a broad or narrow sense. Unfortunately, however, in very many party organizations they do not deal with adequate care and attention with the elderly who need special care, with the young, and with the intellectuals who want a part in the public life of the village. For example, a big problem is the settling of gypsies within the villages. We are striving to see that if a place becomes vacant in some village that they should be placed there with the help of the council. But an understanding must be arrived at with the local population that they will be accepted. All these are extremely important political questions because I believe it is our experience, peculiar not only to Somogy, that if a given subclass or population group lags behind, it hinders the general progress of everyone.

More Help for Local Work

[Istvan Molnar] Let us not be unjust to the village party organizations. Without them and without their political work we would not be where we are today. The unilevel nature of our activity and all those weaknesses which we have discussed are primarily our fault. We--the higher organs and their working members--formed the practice of our party life in such a way that ideological work would be narrowed basically to party teaching. But it would be particularly important for our party organizations vigorously to oppose every erroneous view, and by this I do not merely mean to open discussions conducted at party meetings. This effort must be present in the everyday behavior of communists and in their political presence. This requirement is related in Vas Megye with the guarding of the state border. Hence it is extremely

important. But we should also deal more with the problems of public teaching and education. Because, for example, in the joint villages, where there is no basic party organization, there is no substantial public education activity despite the fact that in every settlement in Vas megye there is a facility serving this requirement. Now in connection with the execution of the resolution of the Politburo dealing with the further development of village party work, we are drawing up the tasks of the megye party committee in this sense. We are striving to see that the help of the party organization should be at the center of our activity, and adequate attention should be given to every settlement.

I agree with the next task in this sense: every party organ and body from the megye party executive committee to the leadership of the basic organizations must conceive its own tasks on the basis of the Politburo resolution. For example, how cadre work must be improved for the development of rational division of work in the villages. It has become clear from our discussions that a key question is to have appropriate people working in appropriate positions. If this is how it is to be, the village party organization will also have time not only to assist in economic work but also in theoretical and ideological enlightenment work, the carrying out of subclass work, and to deal with people. For example, it is extremely important that the party organization should come to an understanding with the intellectuals who work there over the development of the village and the direction of the development. It would surely ease the problems if, for example, the area managing party comittees would help in adapting such favorable experiences to the village. A more direct and lively work relationship between the city and district party committees would also serve to improve village and city supplies. Certainly, the cities would receive more vegetables and meat, while public teaching would improve in the villages. And there are other problems which can now be filtered from our lives by working out the Politburo resolution. It still happens that the council, people's front committee and party leadership of 10 villages will report separately to an AFESZ chairman with each one submitting its own requirements. This practice will give rise to confusion, contradictory measures, and sterile, superfluous debates. It would be preferable if the party, council and people's front managers of the villages would coordinate their ideas and then come to an understanding with the AFESZ chairman and other economic managers. Thinking in the village party organizations should also be accelerated in this direction.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Let us hope that our roundtable discussion will offer at least some help to this end.

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BRIEFS

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Stan Magureanu is relieved of his position as secretary of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Lucianu Dragut is relieved of his position as first deputy chairman of the Central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity and appointed secretary of the Council of Ministers, and Comrade Simion Dobrovici is relieved of his position as deputy minister of domestic trade, in view of his retirement. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 60, 30 Jun 82 p 3]

RELEASE OF DEPUTY MINISTER--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe Nestorescu is released from his position as deputy minister of the machinebuilding industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 60, 30 Jun 82 p 3]

MINISTERIAL PERSONNEL CHANGE--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Marin Traistaru is relieved of his position as deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 60, 30 Jun 82, p 3]

NEW DEPUTY MINISTERS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that comrades Constantin Dumitru and Vasile Iorgulescu are appointed to the position of deputy ministers of the machinebuilding industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No. 72, 11 Aug 82, p 4]

PRAHOVA, DOLJ APPOINTMENTS--Inasmuch as the positions of chairman of the executive committees of the peoples councils of Prahova and Dolj counties have become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees: Article 1--Comrade Virgil Cazacu is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Prahova County. Article 2--Comrade Ion Radu is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Dolj County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 72, 11 Aug 82, p 4]

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ARTICLE IN CROATIAN WEEKLY URGES DEMOCRATIC RESTRUCTURING OF LCY

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 82 pp 38-39

[Article by Dr Slobodan Inic]

[Excerpts] Despite proclamations, it seems that the League of Communists has not gone very far in abandoning and rejecting the practice of developing itself through the exercise of power. Thus, in a historically final form there stands before us the need to continue the process of surmounting the League of Communists as the managing unit of the revolution. Every action of the LC in its existing form--through its inability to refute its managing authority--is reflected in the degenerative power of groups and individuals.

The other side of this is represented in the current situation in which the LC exists less and less in the form of an active membership. Its development, in the last few decades and more, has been characterized by movement based on management. The members from the viewpoint of action and organization as a factor in creating and implementing party policy, in fact, do not exist. They "exist" only when they have to be called on! (According to some studies, for instance, in 80 percent of the cases the contents of agendas in basic organizations "are specified" from above.) Acting within the LC as a repetition of the past is an almost invisible mechanism which legally produces the double life of the Party on two levels, the management and the membership which the LC separates into the "top" and the "bottom." Everything comes from the top and flows obligatorily to the bottom.

To renew the LC today as a democratic organization means to overcome its development based on management. Regardless of the differences in regard to ideology and understanding, members no longer want to participate in the empty political life of the Party by agreeing and accepting, by issuing and approving resolutions and conclusions. In fact, they do not want to hold opinions (opinion [judgment] as some or someone's authority). All this degrades an LC member, and asks from him the duty of discipline and passive obedience. Hence the need arises to decentralize the LC organization in its internal structure so that cadres would be elected for their program and ideas on the membership and working-mass level and not only on the management level. There is no greater task than the task of getting rid of all those methods and forms of organization which are pulling the Party, instead of the class and producers, toward exercising power, we have no greater task than to squeeze out of the communist organization the consciousness [concept] regarding projections of a political system based on the image and standard of the LC.

Discussion about the principles of organization of the LC can have sense only if we want to return in a realistic way to organization of the party in the social dialectic of the movement. This means freeing oneself from the practice which I call prolonging the attaining of political power, exercising this power in the name of the class. The problem lies in how to influence society outside the impetus of power. A new identity of the LC and the working class is possible to achieve only if the communist organization relies on the developed power of the class, on its ability to take the destiny of society in its hands. Considering this power of the working class and working people, of the creators and producers in the broadest sense, the LC organization must not remain [structured] only on the production-work and territorial principles as the "holy duality." Especially unacceptable is the alternative "either-or," or only the production-work principle or only the territorial principle. New, different, flexible, and broader forms of organization of the members are needed which will enable the LC to begin forming a mass organism, to bring out the heretofore-fettered strength of the membership to the wider social arena in accord with the memberships' potential and abilities. In any case one should overcome all those traditional principles of organizations which at one time were very effective but which today do not show the exemplary new qualities of social development; because just as the territorial principle, as a rule, does not throw the membership and working people into the merry-go-round of the "opstina" or "regional" party, so does the work-production principle restrict their [the members'] possibilities at the factory and branch level and does not permit them to grow. We must not consent to the concept of a juvenile party....

Thus, the task of the LC is to develop its new action in social reality as a decisively democratic method of action and with this, to develop an exemplary organizational structure. Thus, the party does not impose itself on society in the image of some outside power: [rather] it acts as a movement "from below." It is necessary to throw out the "past" even though it was, in our case, even illustrious, and the view that the party has the right to manage society in the name of a triumphant revolution. We are faced in this regard with developing a new activity of the LC and its organizational structure under the conditions of self-management. It must stop giving directives.... It must act against the practice of continuing to rule. The weaknesses of the LC arise from the inability to get started in this direction. We can with difficulty continue to advance in the development of self-management without the League of Communists, but we can never advance if the LC does not reform itself in accord with self-management! ...We must establish the movement as the League of Communists, and not the League of Communists as a movement. The Party which changes the movement, wanting to act upon the movement and act as a movement, cuts its own life artery when it begins to use methods of administrative control of society.

At this time it is necessary to consider the form of party organization of the League of Communists as [to whether it is] an historically adequate mode of communist intervention in social reality. This is necessary because we are witnessing a situation of tension in the LC and in the social situation. The modes of its organization developed from the past do not correspond to present-day tasks. If it is not realized in time that a party which brings about the revolution can also consume this same revolution through its lack of movement, then what remains is a formerly revolutionary party. Only through reform can we reestablish the feeling that with the LCY perhaps we can expect something from the future.

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No. 2055

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EFFORTS TO RID SCHOOLS OF RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE REVIEWED

Tirana REVISTA PEDAGOGJIKE in Albanian Jan-Mar 82 pp 113-128

[Article by Prof Hamit Beqja: "The Roads to the Development of the Lay Albanian National School"]

[Text] In this article, we will try to emphasize, in a very summarized manner, some essential conclusions suggested by a broader examination which we have tried to give to the ways of creating and developing the Lay Albanian National School up to its present change into an authentic atheistic school, seeing the issue both in history, especially, in the past 2 centuries, and in the present, through its proper development in our days.

The struggle for a Lay Albanian National School marks one of the most shining pages of the gigantic and many-sided efforts of the Albanian people for freedom and national independence and for enlightenment and social progress against the century-old darkness, against religious obscurantism and clerical reaction and against the foreign occupiers and the successive exploiting classes which have used religion, church and the clergy as a means to keep our people under a serious national and social yoke.

This struggle has created a renowned tradition organically integrated in the great national values of the past and present days of our people, a basic characteristic of the national Albanian culture which stands at the foundation of the present socialist culture, of our people's education and of the present revolutionized school.

It is a long struggle which began with the first efforts for the creation of the Lay Albanian national School against the foreign occupiers who did everything possible so as to impose, and did impose, on our people, an education in foreign language and with a religious obscurantist character; and it grew into a progressive and democratic movement for the unification, nationalization, appropriation and laicization of the school--which could not be crowned with success under the difficult conditions of the anti-popular feudal-bourgeois regimes and reached our days, in the period of victorious socialism, where very favorable conditions, unprecedented in history, are being created for the creation of an authentical atheistic school.

This historic effort of the Albanian people, of the most illustrious patriots and activists of our national movement and of the most brilliant and most progressive minds of our people was inspired and fostered by the irreligious, atheistic, lay, and illuminist tradition of all mankind and by the century-old struggle of all the people in the world to rid themselves of the yoke of the opium of religion, of obscurantism and of the clerical reaction. This historic progressive movement was, especially, invigorated in the period of the democratic and bourgeois revolutions. However, the bourgeoisie and its representatives, regardless of their slogans and declarations, did not implement and can never fully and consistently implement the progressive and democratic principles of the separation of church and state and of school and church, of the prohibition of private religious schools and of the religious teaching in schools, and of the dissemination of lay and scientific views among the masses of the people. Moreover, today the modern revisionists have abandoned these principles; they have usurped the government in the countries which had embarked upon the road to socialism. They are helping, by all means, the action of religious opium and of clerical obscurantism, whose spirit of contamination is also penetrating in schools.

Under these conditions, the creation of an authentic lay school, although because of its nature this is a democratic task, can be solved only by a socialist revolution, led by a party of the working class which consistently implement the Marxist-Leninist principles on the attitude toward religion and church, on the separation of church and state and of school and church, and on freedom of conscience and of atheistic and scientific propaganda. It is precisely on this road, at a definite historical moment, that the suitable ground is created for undertaking a frontal ideological assault against religion in order to consolidate not only the lay character, but also the antireligious character of school so as to work for the creation of an authentic atheistic school.

This is the unique characteristic in the struggle against religion and against its circles and spirit which has taken place only in Socialist Albania until today and which also characterizes the activity of our revolutionized socialist school.

It is necessary to stress that in our country the struggle for a national and lay school has been developed in history and at present under specific and particular circumstances.

Our people have an old and rich history and renowned military and patriotic traditions. During the centuries, our people have also created their own original culture which has made and is making its contribution to the treasury of world culture. Finding themselves continually in a state of confrontation with the foreign occupiers and with their intention to assimilate and denationalize them, the Albanian people have given to their culture a definite progressive spirit. On its part, this culture has helped the people in their revitalization, in their confrontation with foreign ideological and cultural aggression and in keeping and developing their national identity.

Foreign occupations and the successive misfortunes which have occurred in history have mutilated these century-old illustrious values and traditions of our national culture and, especially, its written documents. But, even those documents which we have in our possession, tell about the long and heroic struggle which the Albanians have carried out for their language and for its writing, for the Albanian book and the Albanian school and, in general, for the National Albanian Culture.

In this long and difficult struggle, religion and religious institutions and the clergy were the permanent enemy of the Albanian people.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed and broadly documented, all the religions which existed in Albania were brought by foreigners and served their purposes. Under these circumstances, the Moslem faith was the ideology of the Ottoman occupiers; the Orthodox faith, the ideology of the Patriarchate, of the Greek phanariots and of Greek chauvinists; while, the Catholic faith with its center the Vatican, the ideology of the Italian occupiers, of Austrian imperialism and of Italian Fascism.

The 5-century-old ottoman occupation rendered the situation more difficult; it strengthened the dangerous antinational influence of religion. The Islam of the overwhelming majority of the population of the country which, first of all, came as a result of a splitting policy and of an intensified ideological subversion, divided the people into three different faiths. The Ottoman occupiers and all other enemies of our people tried to use this lack of religious homogeneity as a means for encouraging the partition and separation of the people. The reactionary and obscurantist policy of the theoretic Ottoman Empire served this purpose; it confused the principle of nationality with that of religion and allowed the development of education only in that language which, allegedly, was historically in accordance with a determined faith. Under these conditions, the Albanians Moslems, who were considered as Turks, could learn only Turkish or Arabic; the Orthodox, who were considered as Greeks, could learn only Greek; while, the Catholic Albanians, who were considered as Latins, could learn only Italian. In accordance with this, the entire Albanian education was in foreign language, as a rule, in the hands of the clergy and with definite religious character.

Precisely, under these conditions, under the Ottoman occupation of Albanian, the Albanian national school could be only a lay school with a supra-religious character. Whoever was for a national school, also had to be for a lay school.

On these bases, the struggle for the Albanian national lay school passed into some essential phases which, along with their common aims, also had their own distinctive characteristics.

This struggle started with particular force during our national Renaissance in the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th Century and extended the proclamation of Albanian Independence. This period conforms in time with the comprehensive consolidation of Albanian nationality, with the formation of the Albanian nation and with the intensification of the struggle of the

Albanian people to get rid of the Ottoman yoke and to confront the plundering aims of foreign imperialist powers and of the chauvinistic ruling circles of neighbor countries.

During the national Renaissance, three main directions of the war of liberation of the Albanian people were combined into a single one: the armed insurgent movement, the political struggle and the efforts to develop the national culture.

The men who participated in the Renaissance understood that, in order to awake and unite the people, it was necessary to defend and develop the mother tongue and to open schools in the Albanian language. Therefore, they were led by the slogan--Naim Frasheri's call: And the light of knowledge,! Forward will take us,! Forward toward freedom.! This was a slogan with a deep illuminist character. However, the illuminism of the participants of the Albanian Renaissance smelt of gunpowder. For these men, the book and the rifle were two twin brothers, equally indispensable in the struggle for freedom.

From these bases, the participants of the Renaissance perfected the distinguished national, popular, patriotic, progressive and democratic traditions of Albanian education and culture.

The efforts to develop the lay spirit of this culture and to create and develop the Lay Albanian national school are also integrated in these illustrious values of the Renaissance culture. The Renaissance men, although not atheists, as a rule, were believers and, on certain occasions, also clergy; they understood that in occupied Albania and envied by foreigners, who also used religion as a means of partition for their aims, education and national culture could be successfully developed only outside religion and above religion and that they should, absolutely, have a civil, lay and irreligious character. From this also stems the other slogan which came from Pashko Vaso's mouth: Albanian's faith is Albania itself. By sending forth this slogan, the Renaissance men were also relying on the traditional shallowness of the religious feeling and dogman of the Albanians.

The entire Nineteenth Century is permeated by the struggle of the Albanian people and of the Renaissance patriots for the writing and teaching of the Albanian language, the publication of books and newspapers in Albanian language, the opening of Albanian schools and the development of national education and culture with a lay and democratic character.

All the Renaissance men without exception, including the greatest among them, politicians and statesmen, thinkers and scholars, poets and newsmen, all devoted themselves with all their forces to the great cause--the creation and development of the lay national school and education. Their active aid in this field stands at the foundation of our national education and culture and also of the Albanian pedagogical thought.

The effort of the Renaissance men was strongly supported, especially, by the Albanian League of Prizren. Aiming at safeguarding the integrity of Albanian

lands and at obtaining Albania's autonomy as a means of later progressing to the assurance of its complete independence, it undertook a strong political and military action in order to achieve these aims, an action which strengthened and further expanded the idea of Albanian nationalism and expanded the movement for national and lay education and culture, trying to give it a national character.

Despite the savage oppression of the League of Prizren and the reaction which followed, its vestiges remained alive in the national consciousness of the Albanian people and served as a terrain for the uninterrupted struggle for the spreading of Albanian orthography, the composition and publishing of alphabet and reading books, and for publishing newspapers in the Albanian language. Under these circumstances, the Albanian teaching center in Korce was opened on 7 March 1887; this was the first school with a clear national and lay character which responded to the ideals of the Renaissance people. Following this example, other Albanian schools with a lay character were opened gradually and with difficulty.

Nevertheless, education in foreign language with a definite religious character completely prevailed up to the independence of Albania. Moreover, the opening of Albanian schools with a lay character was strongly opposed by the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish and Turkophile clergy and all fanatic Turkophile elements; and by the Patriarchate and the phanariots, the Greek chauvinistic centers of megalomania, the Greek and Grecophile clergy and all fanatic Grecophile elements. In spite of their "flirtation" with the Albanians and their "aid" allegedly given at certain moments to teaching in Albanian language, the Vatican, the Catholic clergy, Austria-Hungary and Italy were also against the Lay Albanian national school and worked for the propagation of schools in the Italian language with marked religious character.

All this anti-national clerical reaction in the service of foreign imperialism, in struggle against the Lay Albanian national school, used the most barbarian means characteristic of the medieval inquisition: prosecutions and persecutions, maledictions and excommunications, poisonings and treacherous assassinations and unprecedented massacres. In this period, in this anti-Albanian crusade, the Greek and Grecophile clergy, particularly, distinguished itself by its savage aggressiveness. Among its victims was a pleiad of Albanian patriots and the first teachers, from Dhaskal Todri and Naum Veqilharxhi to Petro Nini Luarasi. Thus, the history of the Lay Albanian national school is written with the blood of the martyrs of the nation. That blood lies at the foundation of our popular education. This is a sacred national and lay tradition: we are preserving it and further cultivating it.

However, neither this savage anti-national and clerical reaction, nor the pressure of the Ottoman occupiers and of other imperialist and chauvinistic enemies of the Albanian people could check the movement for the writing and teaching of the Albanian language, for the publication and dissemination of Albanian books and newspapers, for the opening of national and lay

schools, and for the development of literature and of the entire Albanian national Renaissance culture.

The struggle for the Lay Albanian national school took on a new impetus in the fiery years of 1908-1912, after the victory of the Young Turk Revolution, in the period of the great uprisings which led to the proclamation of Albania's independence on 28 November 1912.

Under these circumstances, along with the political struggle and the armed uprising movement, the efforts to widen the educational and cultural activity were greatly intensified through the creation of clubs and societies, the publication of newspapers, the opening of schools and so forth. Four national congresses were held during the years 1908-1910; they were devoted to this activity. The First Congress of Manastir in 1908 approved the decision on the creation of the unified alphabet of the Albanian language. While, the Elbasan Congress of 1909 laid the first bases for the organization of the national education and decided upon the opening of the Normal (pedagogical) School in Elbasan, the first Albanian national and lay secondary school, the first nursery for the training of teachers of the Albanian people.

In these years, a bitter struggle was waged against the unified alphabet of the Albanian language. The decision of the Congress of Manasitr was the crowning of more than one century of efforts to draft and use a common Albanian alphabet. This alphabet had not only a linguistic literary, educational, pedagogical, scientific and cultural importance, but also a political importance as a means for strengthening and consolidating the national union of the Albanians.

However, it met with the devilish opposition of the Young Turk reaction and with the reaction of the Turkish and Turkophile clergy and of all fanatic Turkophile elements. They came out with the absurd claim that the Albanian Language should be written with the Turkish-Arab alphabet and went so far as to curse the Albanian letters.

In the beginning, they used a tricky demagogy emerging with a slogan in favor of the use of the alphabet which the people wanted. They accompanied this demagogy with the organization of protests, gatherings and meetings with the participation of the Turkophile forces and of the fanatic elements who had been deceived against the use of Albanian letters and for the Turkish-Arabic alphabet. This reactionary, obscurantist, anti-Albanian and Turkophile movement clashed with the heroic stand of the Albanian people who rose as one in the defense of their national alphabet, the fruit of their century-old efforts and sacrifices.

In this regard, too, the use of the alphabet took on a very acute political character and became the main issue of the time in the struggle for the Albanian national and lay education and culture.

However, the Young Turk reaction, after showing its real teeth, took bloody military massacres against the Albanian people and moved on to the closing of Albanian schools and clubs and to the banning of educational and cultural activity with a national and lay character.

The great and general uprising of 1912, which led to the proclamation of Albania's independence, put an end to this political, military and cultural reaction.

The Albanian National Renaissance and the educational and cultural movement, which developed in its spirit, had not only a marked political character, but also a progressive and democratic character. They left behind them vestiges which remained alive and powerful, even after the proclamation of Albania's independence, under the difficult conditions of foreign occupations which followed and of the feudal and bourgeois regime which was established. The powerful Renaissance lay tradition also belongs to these traces.

However, the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have greatly and objectively evaluated the Renaissance and the Renaissance elements within the framework of the relevant historical conditions and in a materialistic and dialectical manner, by stressing the illustrious patriotic, freedom-loving and progressive spirit, without idealizing and idolizing them and without closing their eyes to their social, class and intellectual limitations conditioned by history. The greatness of the Renaissance elements, besides other things, is expressed in the fact that, without being atheists, they were above religious connections. However, in their mentality, they remained idealists and never managed to free themselves completely from religious influence.

This dialectical revolutionary attitude toward the tradition of the Renaissance is a leading criterion for the integration of everything healthy in it in the values of our present national socialist culture.

After the proclamation of independence, the lay national school managed to progress and to develop through many difficulties and episodes. The enthusiastic work in this field, which was started by the Government of Vlora, encountered many domestic and foreign obstacles and much opposition. It was disrupted at the beginning of World War I.

The beginning of this war complicated the situation even more. The foreign occupation forces interfered in the entire life of the country, therefore, also in education and schools, aiming at instilling their influences.

Nevertheless, the illustrious patriots and activists of our national education, such as Luigj Gurakuqi and comrades, knew how to use these complicated circumstances. Profiting from the political situations of the time and from the rivalries between the foreign belligerent forces, especially, in the territory occupied by the Austrian-Hungarian forces, the largest part of the country, they opened many schools in Albanian language with a lay character rapidly trained, many teachers for these schools and prepared many schedules and the necessary school books. Through this activity, they also opposed the policy of the occupiers and of the clergy in regard to keeping and opening up of schools in foreign languages and with emphasized religious character.

The years 1920-1924, from the Congress of Lushnje to the feudal-bourgeois counterrevolution of December 1924, are characterized by an intensive political

life and by many armed clashes about the path which Albania should follow: the path of progress and democracy, or, the path of the conservation of the remnants of feudalism, of general social stagnation or of political reaction? In this struggle, a prominant place was given to the issue of education.

The reactionary governments of the time were against the struggle for a rapid development of the national education in order to leave the people in ignorance and in darkness so as to subdue them and exploit them more easily.

This reactionary and obscurantist policy was opposed by the patriotic and democratic forces, teachers and distinguished activists of national education, such as Aleksander Xhuvani, Salih Ceka and his comrades, and others. They organized three educational congresses in 1920, 1922 and 1924, greatly intensifying their work, especially, after the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1924.

These forces fought in order to lay the foundations of the national education, to strengthen the tradition of the Renaissance and of the national spirit in teaching and education, to expand schools and spread them among the masses, to modernize teaching schedules and school books in the spirit of science and of contemporary progressive pedagogy, and to combat anachronistic foreign influences in school life, in theory and in practical pedagogy.

In this broad sphere of requirements, they also set forth the issues of the prohibition or reduction of religion in schools and of the limitation of foreign and private schools, of their opening by state authorization, and of control over their activity by state educational organs. Thus, they paved the way for the efforts to laicize and nationalize schools and make them national and unified.

In this way, they attacked the privileges of the clergy in the field of education, especially, of the Catholic clergy, which aimed at keeping, at all costs, its traditional monopoly over the school and extracurricular education of the youth and over the entire spiritual life of the Catholic population.

This attack caused a wild crusade on the part of the Catholic clergy against the lay school; it was developed with an unprecedented aggressiveness and brutality, using all "arguments" possible, from "national patriotic capital" and the "rare and extraordinary competency" in the field of education and national culture, and its natural and inalienable "right" over the education of Catholic children in the special schools and "unmixed" schools up to its "flirtation" with the anti-Zog opposition and the attidutes, not always consistent, of the Fan Noli Government officials about the issues of the consolidation of the Albanian national lay education.

During the years 1925-1939, the feudal-bourgeois, backward and obscurantist regime of Zog followed a marked policy of restraining the development of national education and of restriction of all links of education, including elementary education, although, it was formally proclaimed and compulsory.

In Albania, which was plunged into ignorance and illiteracy, this regime used to scare the people with the "superproduction" of intellectuals.

At the same time, Zog gave foreigners many concessions for opening of schools; Fascist Italy profited the most from these concessions. The Catholic clergy, too, consolidated its positions in education, expanding its influence by means of the schools it had and the cultural activity which it developed.

Under these circumstances, in Albanian education and the school, a number of foreign influences, old and new influences, moved in a criss-cross manner; they used to hinder the consolidation of their national spirit.

However, the patriotic and democratic forces, although under the conditions of a wild reaction, did not accept this situation and fought in order to use even the smallest possibility possible for safeguarding the healthy traditions of the Renaissance and for the development, progress and modernization of national education.

Under these conditions, in the beginning of the 1930's, they profited from the political situation of the time, from the "disagreements" which Zog provoked with Fascist Italy, allegedly, to exert "pressure" on it in order to grab the most from it. At this time, the illustrious activists of the national education sector, who were sincere and convinced laymen, such as Hile Mosi, Aleksander Xhuvani and others, came up with the requirement for the nationalization and laicization of schools. Continuing the "game" which, allegedly, he thought that he was developing with Italy, Zog accepted this requirement.

Under these circumstances, a "reform" was passed for the nationalization of schools and the closing down of foreign private schools, which affected, first of all, the Italian schools and those of the Catholic clergy. But, this "reform" was abortive. After 2-3 years of "gambling," after he had allegedly settled his "disagreements" with Fascist Italy while, in fact, he sold the country completely to Fascist Italy, Zog annulled it.

In the meantime, during these years, the Catholic clergy, this time, fully supported by Fascist Italy and the Vatican, resumed with greater fury its old crusade against the Albanian national lay school. The issue went to the League of Nations which recognized the special rights of the Catholic "minority" in Albania; this fully satisfied the desire of the Catholic clergy which, in order to keep its privileges and monopoly in education, went so far as to agree that the Catholic population of Northern Albania should be proclaimed a "canton" by itself.

In this anti-national clerical crusade, just as in the 1922-1924 period, the one who particularly distinguished himself was Gjergj Fishta, one of the best known of the Albanian Catholic clergy and the most authoritative spokesman for its reactionary views in the field of education and culture. With a particular fervor, he "documented," especially, the absurd idea that

there is nothing in common between the Albanian Moslems and Christians and that the Albanian Moslems were "Turks" and an anti-national atavic and unproductive element.

From the middle of the 1930's and beyond, after the complete capitulation of Zog to Fascist Italy, Italian infiltration in schools and the influence of the Catholic clergy in the educational and cultural life of the country greatly increased. This activity directly served the ideological preparation for the Fascist aggression. It represented, in itself, a typical anti-national ideological aggression.

The patriotic and democratic forces, too, opposed this Fascist clerical reaction. Even more, in this period, the revolutionary communist movement also began to intensify its activities: it infiltrated schools. The patriotic teachers and the revolutionary school youth were struggling to keep alive the patriotic and freedom-loving traditions of the Albanian people, also in regard to their opposition to the activism of Fascist aggression.

After 7 April, 1939, the Fascist occupiers undertook a wide and very intensified action for the denationalization of the Albanian school, for the Italianization and Fascisization of Albanian education. Along with the compulsory introduction of the Italian language and Fascist education in schools, the restructuring of teaching plans in the Italian Fascist spirit, the bringing in of many Italian teachers and instructors, and the creation of Fascist organizations for children and youths, the Italian occupiers also used religion and its clergy for these aims.

As is known, the top hierarchy of the Church in the three faiths placed itself in the service of the Fascist occupiers. In addition, through it, Fascist Italy again reactivated the old policy of the religious division of the Albanians.

For this aim, Fascist Italy gave the clergy the opportunity to increase its influence in schools, widely introducing the teaching of religion in them. The figure of the clergy reappeared in schools in the official role of the teacher.

However, this anti-Albanian, obscurantist and colonizing policy of Fascist Italy failed. The Albanian people, headed by the Albanian Communist Party, rose up against the Italian occupiers, guided by the slogan which then was very popular: let us unite without distinction of religion, region and idea.

The policy of denationalization and Italianization of Albanian education and of its Fascistization and religionization also had the same fate. The school youth and patriotic teachers actively opposed this policy which failed completely as a result of the increased resistance of the Albanian people in the great anti-Fascist National Liberation Movement.

After the liberation of the country, completely new conditions were created for the consistent implementation of all patriotic and democratic ideals in

regard to a real national lay school. As a matter of fact, during the socialist revolution, the process of the building of a complete new school, with an atheistic character, began.

The unfulfilled tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution were also solved in the first year after the liberation, during the beginning of the many-sided socialist changes. The laicization of schools was also carried out completely during this process. In the achievement of this aim, the following have contributed: the separation of Church and state and the separation of school and Church, which were sanctioned by the Basic Statute of the People's Republic of Albania, and the democratic and socialist principles of the building of the new system of the people's education, embodied in the Educational Reform of 1946.

Thus, the way was paved for progressing to more advanced positions by implementing a consistent atheistic education in schools. This work is a part of the entire educational activity of the party for the development of a wide atheistic-scientific propaganda with the working masses in order to free them, step by step, from the influence of religious opium.

The new school schedules and textbooks, as well as the entire living process of teaching and of educating, were set up on these bases. The materialistic-scientific view of an atheistic combattive character became their unshakeable foundation. This was a long process of a continuous and unceasing consolidation of the atheistic character of the Albanian socialist school.

The assurance of the lay and atheistic character of our school and its consistent implementation were made easier as a result of the continuing weakness of the positions of religion, of the church and of the clergy. On the one hand, this was aided by the persistent exposing, in front of the people, of the reactionary policy of the clergy which opposed the democratic and socialist reforms and obstructed the socialist building of the country by all the means available; moreover, it also served the domestic and foreign enemies of the fatherland. On the other hand, decisive factors were the consistent policy of our party on the implementation, on the revolutionary path, of the Marxist-Leninist principles, of the attitude toward religion and religious institutions and of the development of a broad convincing educational work with the masses for combatting religious prejudices, and the resolute blow dealt to the anti-constitutional activity of the reactionary clerical forces.

All these factors, step by step, created suitable ground for undertaking the great ideological action against religion; this took place in the middle of the 1960's.

In the stage of the complete building of socialist society, at the beginning of the process of the further and comprehensive revolutionization of the country's life and of the expansion of the socialist revolution in all its fields, a powerful ideological action broke out in Albania; it led to the removal of the material and organizational bases of religion, the closing of

the mosques and churches and to the stripping of the clergymen of their religious functions. This movement, inspired and headed by the party, was carried out by means of a centralized attack, by the will of the working masses themselves, within a record period of a few weeks.

This was a historical phenomenon, completely original and unique, so far unprecedented in the history of mankind--the greatest victory that ever was achieved in the struggle against religious and clerical obscurantism. However, it was not by chance. On the contrary, it was the fruit of the joint action of a number of objective and subjective, material and spiritual, and historical and current factors. Among them, we can mention: the traditional shallowness of the religious feelings and of the religious dogma of the Albanians; the placing of religion and the clergy in the service of the foreign occupiers that came one after the other; the unmasking of the clerical reaction during the National Liberation War and the building of socialism in the country, as a result of its opposition to the aspirations of the people for liberation and progress; the thorough and comprehensive democratic and socialist, political, economic, social, ideological and cultural changes which, step by step, considerably weakened the ground on which religion was based and where it was nurtured; and the consistent Marxist-Leninist policy of the party toward religion and its implementation depending on the evolution of the process of the building of socialism, staying away from hastily taken and immature administrative measures and from touching and offending the feelings of the religious people, but, at the same time, by always intensifying the atheistic and scientific propaganda and by not hesitating to strike at the anti-constitutional and anti-popular activity of the clerical reaction and to undertake, in due time and in response to the will of the masses, the great ideological action against the material and organizational bases of religion.

This great movement of a deep ideological character created all the necessary preconditions for the consolidation of the authentic atheistic character of our socialist school. Moreover, it harmonized in time with the great ideological action undertaken by the party for the further revolutionization of our school. The issue of the consistent implementation of the Marxist-Leninist ideological line in the entire teaching and educational work of school was placed in the center of this process; this led to an ever more resolute struggle against all idealistic and metaphysical, irrational and mystical and religious views, further strengthening the combative spirit of a Marxist-Leninist atheistic education in teaching plans, in school textbooks and in the actual teaching and educational process.

All these changes with colossal ideological values found their reflection in the new Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The great ideological socialist victories, achieved by our people, are also confirmed in it. According to this Constitution Marxism-Leninism is the dominant ideology in our country; the state works for the education of the new generations and of the working masses in the spirit of socialism and communism; and education relies on the Marxist-Leninist concept, following at the same time the illustrious traditions of the national lay school. At the

same time, it is affirmed, in it, that the state does not recognize any religion, that religious activity and propaganda are forbidden by law.

However, despite these thorough changes which have taken place, it would be a serious mistake to assume that in socialist Albanian the struggle against religion is a completed process and, consequently, that the atheistic education in schools is being carried out by itself.

On the contrary, as the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have stressed and continually stress, the eradication of the material and organizational bases of religion does not mean, at all, the automatic disappearance of religious views and prejudices and, even more, of traditions and customs with religious hues. The vestiges of religion are alive; they are nurtured by a number of domestic and foreign factors, above all by force of habit which is very inert, especially, in the conditions of our country, where the different religious prejudices and worthless beliefs have always been closely involved with the way of living and with its traditions and established rites. Therefore, the eradication of the vestiges of religion will be a long historical process which will come as a result of the expansion of the material and spiritual socialist changes, of the consolidation of the material socialist terrain which restricts more and more every kind of activity of the social roots of religion, of the continuous improvement of the educational and cultural level of the masses, of the intensification of an increasingly skilled atheistic and scientific propaganda, and of the active confrontation of the religious influence of the present imperialist and revisionist world.

In these circumstances, our revolutionized socialist school will also, in the future, stand in the front line of the struggle for a consistent and militant atheistic education of the new generations and for the development of its influence in this field, in parents and in all workers.

The struggle for the Albanian national lay school tells about an interesting and original historical experience with an historical and current character which even goes beyond the national borders.

On the level of history, it affirms that, in the conditions of foreign occupations, especially, when the religious homogeneity of the people is lacking, when religion is used by the occupiers as a means of separation and of division, and when the clergy is placed in the service of these foreign occupiers, schools and national culture must not and cannot fail to assume a lay character. Under these conditions, the struggle for the lay school is transformed into a single process with the struggle for a national school and serves as a means of unity and for the liberation of the people from foreign yoke.

On today's level, it is of an extraordinary and unique importance, giving the only example known so far in history, of the eradication of the material and organizational bases of religion, showing that the influence of the opium of religion is not an eternal historical fatality, that it is possible for all necessary objective and subjective preconditions to be created for a successful struggle for the gradual eradication of religion in order to assure the final victory of the materialistic-scientific atheistic concept.
9150
CSO: 2100/71

BRIEFS

PARTY DAILY CHIEF EDITOR--Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian of 19 August 1982, page 1, organ of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party, identifies Mehmet Elezi as chief editor of ZERI I POPULLIT and Marash Hajati as chairman of the Union of Albanian Journalists. ZERI I POPULLIT of 1 October 1981 listed Pipi Mitrojorgji in both those positions. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2100/81

BRIEFS

AFGHAN STUDENTS CSSR BOUND--A group of young Afghans left Kabul for Prague aboard a specially dispatched Czechoslovak airplane on 2 September. The Afghans will study at secondary schools and colleges in Czechoslovakia. [Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 3 Sep 82 p 3]

CSO: 2400/351

CHRISTIAN PEACE MOVEMENT TO REJECT 'EMOTIONAL OUTBURSTS, IRRATIONALITY'

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 117, 3 Aug 82 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "Criticism of Christian Peace Movement." A translation of the East Berlin STANDPUNKT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The East Berlin journal STANDPUNKT (No 7, 1982), a mouthpiece of the CDU (East) has criticized the Christian peace movement in the GDR. Many efforts were still needed to qualify the existing "emotionalization and sensitivization" on behalf of peace by appropriate "political insight into facts." A Christian-motivated struggle for peace should be conducted, not in "emotional outbursts and irrationality," but from the strength and depth of spiritual responsibility, with reason and clarity. "Blind passion and excitement" did no good, they might even do harm.

GDR Protestant Journal's Critique

East Berlin STANDPUNKT in German Vol 10 No 7, Jul 82 (signed to press 28 May 82) p 197

['My Standpoint' editorial]

[Text] A clear sensitivization on behalf of peace can be found in our churches for years, more strongly so in recent times, due to the increased perils to peace. Their service to peace is meant to be cooperative, as it is stated in the "Letter to the Communities" from the conference of the church administrations on 7 and 8 May 1982 in Berlin, as "support of their own to the peace efforts of governments."

Christian-motivated dedication and service to the preservation of peace, where preservation of peace today is identical with "rescuing the sacred gift of life" as such, unless one wants to let it go with moralistic appeals and abstract utterances which ultimately make no difference, will have to seek with all diligence and thoroughness political understanding of facts. Also in this regard, truth is concrete. Emotionality and rationality must intertwine. Blind passion and excitement do no good, they might even do harm.

Whereas Christian testimonials to peace in the past were largely marked by abstract appellations, which was their weakness, a remarkable change has been taking place for some time, which amounts to a new quality, as it were. A model for combining theological and political research in the peace question, with this combination amounting to the indispensable condition for both concrete utterances and concrete options, through which alone a dedication to peace only becomes effective, is the Christian Peace Conference with its extensive studies. Its taking part in the global peace struggle is not due to prejudices or a certain "one-eyed" look, as keeps being insinuated, but rather to sound objective judgments on that basis. The Ecumenical Church Council also, through various initiatives (hearings for experts, study programs and so forth), is increasingly and intensively seeking a combination between compelling theological insights and political reason in the peace problem and other challenging world problems, which has brought it about that the positions of the Christian Peace Conference and of the Ecumenical Council have become much closer or even identical. That once again explains what the sources are from which the defamation of the Christian Peace Conference is fed.

Though far-flung pluralistic conferences, such as the world conference entitled, "Religious Representatives to Rescue the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe," in Moscow, tend to be general in their resolutions, mainly for reasons of compromise, the documents published impressed by a ramarkable degree of concreteness, which undoubtedly can be explained by a considerable growth of political understanding in the wide domain of the world religions. In the excerpt of the appeal to the heads and members of all religious congregations, published in NOVY MIR on 5 June 1982, and in the documents disseminated by ENA are found, e.g., such concrete terms as "profit" (twice) and "exploitation," which would have been unthinkable in religious church utterances decades ago, by which an essential cause of the arms race, engendered by imperialism, is disclosed and the armaments madness, traced down to its roots. This knowledge plainly also belongs to politically understanding the peace issue that capitalist societies, especially in times of crisis and instability, have always used armaments as a "mechanism for overcoming crises" and "catalysts for business cycle stabilization" (cf. L. J. Zimmermann, "Geschichte der Volkswirtschaftslehre," Cologne, 1961, p 105), which means that, with respect to the systems, there is every reason to distinguish between engaging in armament and imposing it.

In looking at our congregations, quite some efforts are indeed still needed in qualifying the existing emotionalization and sensitivization on behalf of peace, which are gratifying enough though they do not alone suffice, by appropriate political insight into facts, in pervading them with the necessary rationality and relating them concretely. The Christians' struggle for peace must not be conducted in emotional outbursts and irrationality but from the strength and depth of spiritual responsibility, with reason and clarity. Particularly Lutheran theology preserves significant space for the importance of rationality and reason in secular affairs. Rightly so, it seems to me.

A congregation in Koenigswartha, Bautzen church district, has shown me how combining a spiritual awakening with political reason in the peace issue can become reality on the congregation level and how the Christian peace testimony can truly then assume a new quality. Its concrete, objectively reasoned and objectively related and spiritually informed peace testimony more and more turns out to be missionary in the best sense; it radiates and transcends. Actually, in church history, inspirations and acts of awakening to a faith or to service have never come by way of decree, but always from the base centers that initiated new developments.

5885
CSO: 2300/390

PZPR TASKS CONCERNING YOUTH DELINEATED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jul, 1 Aug 82 p 2

[Article: "Party echelon and installation tasks resulting from the Political Bureau report and the resolution of the 9th PZPR Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] At its 9th Plenum conference the PZPR Central Committee emphasized that one of the most important duties of party and State institutions is the creation of ideological-upbringing and material conditions that facilitate young people's activity and initiative. The Central Committee also pointed out that in reality reflections about youth are a debate about the state of society. Because all of the problems of the young generation are associated with the existing socioeconomic situation, they are mutually penetrating and cannot be artificially isolated from themselves.

The Central Committee expressed its sincere appreciation to many activist generations of the Polish youth movement whose struggle and work contributed to freeing the country, consolidating the people's power, and the building and development of a socialist state. It was pointed out that the future of the Polish People's Republic depends on unifying the efforts of all generations and the cooperation in the area of socioeconomic and political changes, whose directions were defined in the program of the 9th PZPR Extraordinary Congress.

The Central Committee approved the evaluations and conclusions contained in the Political Bureau's report "With youth and concern for youth" delivered at the 9th Plenum by the Central Committee's First Secretary, comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, and adopted the resolution on tasks to work with young people. It committed the Political Bureau to preparing a schedule by 31 July 1982 to accomplish the tasks contained in the report and the 9th Plenum's resolution.

In executing this order, the PZPR Central Committee's Political Bureau prepared a detailed plan for the party echelon and organization to achieve the tasks resulting from the Political Bureau's report and resolution of PZPR Central Committee's 9th Plenum. The basic decisions resulting from that plan are presented below.

I. Action on behalf of the rebirth and enrichment of youth's ideological life and civic upbringing

1. The task of party echelons and organizations is action on behalf of the revival and enrichment of youth's ideological life, preparing the young for an independent evaluation of social phenomena and processes, and the restoration of full confidence in socialist ideas. Activity associated with this should concentrate on disseminating the 9th Congress' program among youth, with an indication that the results of the PZPR Central Committee's Plenum are an expression of the consistent realization of the Congress' program and political line. The attainment of these goals--treated as continuing tasks will, among others, be served by party and state authorities, lecturers, officers and soldiers of the Polish Army and combatants meeting with youth. The summer vacation period facilitates the organization of these types of meetings, particularly the training activity conducted in socialist youth associations. A concern of party elements should be the inclusion of problems associated with the 9th Plenum in sociopolitical subjects in schools and institutions of higher learning.

2. An important task of party echelons and organizations is the creation of conditions which favor youth's active participation in the patriotic movement for national rebirth [PRON]. All party elements are responsible for the political inspiration of socialist youth associations to increase the latters' interest in action in the patriotic movement for national rebirth [PRON], and the participation of youth activists to undertake initiatives in that area.

3. Responsible commissions and departments of the Central Committee are made responsible for taking actions that serve to raise the level of teaching socio-political subjects. A program will be developed for disseminating the works of Marxist-Leninist classicists, expanding the scope of publishing activity, and the directions of activities that support the initiative of youth organizations in that field. The press, radio and television departments of the PZPR Central Committee will prepare guidelines by the end of September 1982 tied to the activation of a new series of programs on Polish radio and television dedicated to socio-political education, that will include subject matter with historical, legal, economic and philosophical world outlooks.

A big task is the propagation of patriotic feelings, and a feeling of joint responsibility for the vicissitudes of the socialist fatherland.

4. Party elements and echelons are particularly responsible for inspiring educational establishments, labor enterprises, and youth organizations to actively utilize patriotic-defense contents in their educational activity. Continuing cooperation with units of the Polish People's Army, meetings with veterans of the struggle for national and social liberation, as well as the taking of these problems into consideration in tourist and country familiarization activity will serve that purpose.

5. An essential task of PZPR elements and organizations is the continuing concern for taking internationalist topics into consideration in educational activities. To that end, efforts should be aimed at closer cooperation with the world's progressive youth but particularly with young people in the Soviet Union and entire socialist community. Party echelons will be creating the proper atmosphere and conditions for this. In the current international

situation the struggle for peace, the creation of a broad opposition movement against imperialist goals of an intensified arms race and the policy of confrontation will take on a special significance. The proper importance should be given to these problems in the educational-upbringing work of schools and institutions of higher learning, while youth organizations will give greater consideration than hitherto to this problem in ideological-educational and propaganda work.

6. An important task of all party elements is the undertaking of systematic activity connected with the diligent filling of gaps and eliminating simplifications in the dissemination of our history, and also--refuting the myths created by our opponents. The actual tasks stemming from this are linked to adapting school text-books for this purpose, granting essential aid to teachers, organizing courses and seminars, preparing suitable publications, and inspiring Marxist publications of the latest Polish history by science-research institutions. New and much more attractive forms of disseminating historical information are to be developed, among others, radio-television historical universities for youth, and a periodical on historical subjects addressed especially to the young customer will be created. Party echelons and organizations are responsible for providing help for various initiatives in this respect that are undertaken by the youth movement as, for example: "Corrections From History" (Polish Socialist Youth Association--ZSMP).

II. Strengthening a Uniform Educational Front

1. A condition for the attainment of positive and lasting results in the ideological-upbringing process is the building of a uniform educational front. This makes party members operating in all elements of the educational system especially responsible. Also essential is the undertaking by mass media centers of a series of publications on the subject of the contents and principles of a uniform educational front, inspiring social and youth organizations, as well as educational institutions and a broader development of subjects on preparation for life in the family.

2. A continuing task is the consistent aspiration toward the harmonious unity of teaching and educational problems in the work of schools and institutions of higher learning. Important tasks in this area rest on party organizations in education-upbringing units. By the end of the current year the Central Committee's Education and Science Department will prepare a plan of the principles of recruitment, instruction and training of educational cadres and also--annually, information on the subject of teacher evaluations conducted by educational authorities in accordance with criteria established in the Teacher's Charter and law on higher schooling.

3. Institution programs on ideological-educational work based on the essence of the PZPR Central Committee's 9th Plenum will be developed and initiated by the end of October 1982. They will cover party activities, youth, social and science-technical, organizations, self-governments and institution administration. These programs will, among others, take into consideration problems of socio-vocational adaptation, evaluation of career, moral and civic attitudes, and problems of political, legal and economic education.

4. In order to synchronize and increase the effectiveness of undertakings to date, a plan will be developed in November 1982 for systematic scientific inquiries into the problems of the young generation.

5. An important task is counteraction against hostile influences on youth, the clarification of ideological diversion goals, and the true intentions of native and foreign antisocialist centers.

The subject matter of the ideological and political struggle will find its proper reflection in radio and television programs, lecturer work and party and youth center activity.

III. The creation of conditions for efficient management of children's and youth's free time. Protecting the health of the young generation.

1. One of the most important tasks is being instrumental in motivating cultured youth. By the end of November 1982, a comprehensive plan of undertakings connected with this will come into being. Its chief purpose will be a consistent effort to assure children and youth a universally accessible repertoire of books, press, and also worthwhile films and theater productions.

2. In October 1982 the PZPR Central Committee Culture Department will prepare an analysis of the repertoire of professional artistic institutions from the standpoint of their role in meeting the cultural needs of children and youth; and to prepare a draft to establish an action program by the National Commission for Publications Programs under the Minister of Culture and Art. The purpose of this commission will be to motivate publishing programs and activities.

3. The Central Committee Commission for Culture together with the PZPR Central Committee's Sejm Affairs Bureau will evaluate the possibilities of subsidizing at an indispensable minimum published items earmarked for children and youth, as well as the prices of theater and movie tickets. It will also submit specific proposals for the draft of a law on the dissemination of culture.

4. The task of party organizations and echelons is to create conditions that promote the youth movement's take-over of clubs, club rooms, houses of culture, as well as increase the influence of youth organizations on the program operations of culture dissemination agencies. The goal toward which it is necessary to strive is that of having youth organizations actually become the manager of those agencies, and to develop a worthwhile social culture movement.

5. By the end of this year centralized and local programs for the development of sports and tourism will be prepared. These will take into consideration the output of youth and sport-tourism organizations, and the full utilization of the existing base and social initiative on behalf of this development.

6. In December, the Political Bureau will acquaint itself with the analysis of the state of children's and youth's health and pathological threats to the young generation.

7. In October 1982, the Central Committee Secretariat will analyze the organization and course of the children's and young people's summer vacation period, including especially the activity of party echelons and organizations in inspiring and conducting ideological-educational work at camps and in youth groups.

IV. Creating conditions for entering young adulthood and professional careers

1. The Central Committee took note of the government "Program for improving entrance into young adulthood and professional careers." All party members are responsible for contributing to its realization, and for actively participating in its constant fulfillment. In October of this year, party echelons at all levels will complete an evaluation of the attainment of this program in their area with particular consideration to local initiatives to improving the decisions adopted. The PZPR Central Committee's Youth Commission will make a comprehensive evaluation in December 1982 of accomplishments to date.

Further popularization of the programs adopted by the Council of Ministers between 14 and 28 June 1982 is essential: improving youth's life- and professional-start, housing construction, and particularly detailed solutions and tasks for individual ministries.

2. In November 1982, executive boards of voivodship, city, city-gmina and city section committees will inspect the achievements of city and voivodship housing construction programs. The possibilities of setting up, organizing the production of local building materials, taking action to improve existing housing, and the conversion of spaces suitable for housing will be given special attention.

3. In October 1982, the Central Committee's Economic Department will prepare an analysis of the development of the production of building materials for the needs of housing construction, taking into account, all production branches and subsectors, and will also make an appraisal of efforts connected with suggestions for changes in housing policy principles. Proposed solutions will be discussed with youth organizations on a day to day basis.

4. Party echelon committees will make an evaluation every 6 months of the development of youth housing cooperatives, and every 12 months--jointly with issue commissions--conduct an inspection from the standpoint of observing the principle of--one flat per family.

5. In August 1982, party enterprise committees (KZ) will organize combined conferences of the enterprise party aktiv management and Polish Socialist Youth Association [ZSMP] to discuss the processes of initiating economic reform and participation by youth in the achievement of tasks resulting from the reform. What is involved is, that courage and stubborness, consequence and the energy of youth in this field be joined in a broad social movement on behalf of a way out of the crisis.

6. In October 1982, PZPR Central Committee managements will conduct an analysis of the state of inventiveness and search of new technologies in the

light of the needs resulting from the country's economic situation, while in December 1982, this problem will be taken up at a joint meeting by the Central Committee's commissions on Youth, and Economic and Political Reform.

7. Party echelons at appropriate levels are responsible for day to day assistance in propagating the ZSMP program "Youth in reform" and for its realization. The social movement must be directed toward counteracting waste, lessening absenteeism because of illness, and improving production discipline and quality.

8. A subject of continuing concern to party organizations in plants should also be to undertake activities that assure the proper representation of youth group members in revived and newly elected worker self-governments, and in the efforts of individual enterprise commissions. The participation and involvement of ZSMP representatives in reactivated worker self-governments takes on special significance. Party organizations will be creating conditions that favor a broader presence and activity by youth in worker self-government organs.

9. Consistent party activities must serve to increase the flow of production means to agriculture, efficient utilization of land, cooperation between the three agricultural sectors, raising farmer qualifications and creating conditions that favor youth's remaining on the farm. The PZPR Central Committee's 9th Plenum stated that this is possible only through support of the state's activities by social initiatives on youth's part. The problems connected with this and the 9th Plenum's resolutions will be taken into consideration in preparing a mutual PZPR Central Committee and United Peasant Party Supreme Committee plenary conference.

10. In August 1982, recommendations will be prepared for party echelons and organizations relative to youth settlement in the countryside, and the turning over of farms to young farmers when guaranteed by the ZSMP and Rural Youth Union [ZMW].

11. The Central Committee's Agricultural Commission will complete an appraisal of the situation in the agricultural education and vocational training system, and in doing so, consider school farms.

12. By the end of November 1983, a general review will have been made of work places in enterprises and institutions from the standpoint of conformance of occupation with the qualifications possessed. An analysis will be conducted of the utilization of young people's qualifications and the rationality of their employment. The task of party organizations is to be on the alert to assure that youth's socio-professional promotion is based on a clear staff and salary policy.

13. All party elements are made responsible for creating promotion opportunities for young workers and for entrusting them with managerial functions, and also--horizontal promotion based on improved qualifications, proficiency and expertise in their occupation.

Proposals resulting from the Central Committee's 9th Plenum and from consultations with youth organizations will be given consideration in "PZPR main staffing policy assumptions."

Guidelines will be developed for party echelons this year relative to the establishment and training of a reserve cadre, as well as a program to improve the knowledge and skill of young people included in the reserve cadre.

14. Problems of selecting, promoting and training young cadres will become subjects of appropriate deliberations which will also include deliberations by department directors, cadres, ministries and central institutions.

15. Central Committee commissions: Science and Education as well as Youth, will conduct appraisals during the fourth quarter of this year of mechanisms that equalize opportunities, and expand access to schools and institutions of higher learning for worker and peasant youth.

V. Party work with youth. Cooperation with the youth movement

1. Tasks in this field result from a univocal emphasis by the party that its closest ally in the ideological and patriotic education of youth are socialist youth associations, and that in its cooperation with the ZSMP, ZMW, Polish Socialist Student Union [SZSP] and Polish Scout Union [ZHP], the party bases itself on principles of such organizations' equality and equal rights.

The Central Committee emphasized organizational independence and self-government in socialist activity by youth organizations, the necessity for conferring an appropriately high rank to ideological-upbringing work, deepening the social nature of socialist youth associations, and consolidating the creative nature and modern forms of youth organization activity.

The need for setting high standards for youth organizations was emphasized, as was increased activity by them with respect to various manifestations of evil, social pathology and accomplishment of tasks on behalf of getting the country out of the crisis.

The Central Committee called attention to the necessity of broadening the youth movement's influence on unorganized youth, and finding innovative work forms that expand the social action base.

All PZPR echelons and elements were made responsible for acting to raise the authority of youth organizations, strengthening their role in the country's socio-political system, promoting all-round cooperation of socialist youth unions, and strengthening their influence on all Polish young people. Young party members were made responsible for participation in youth movement activities.

A comprehensive program of assistance for youth organizations in educating and improving the aktiv (active organization members) will be developed in October of this year.

2. Biennially, the Central Committee, and annually, lower level party committees will be conducting systematic analyses of the young generation's problems and effectiveness of the solutions initiated.

3. In August 1982, an analyses and evaluation will be completed by party echelons of youth participation in the make-up of party organizations and party authorities. At that time, evaluations will be made in the Basic Party Organization (POP) of work with candidates and young party members.

4. In August, socialist youth unions will conduct a discussion of drafts of institutional rights. Information about its results will be the subject of a Political Bureau meeting in October. The PZPR Central Committee Secretariat will specify tasks for party organizations and echelons pertaining to the creation of conditions for the conduct of economic activity by youth associations.

5. In August 1982 the Social and Vocational Department of the PZPR's Central Committee in cooperation with the youth movement will prepare a general outline of an idea within the scope of the Council of Ministers' Committee on Youth Problems, as well as recommendations in the matter of establishing committees on youth problems at all levels of national administration.

6. By the end of August 1982, the Central Committee's Sejm Affairs Bureau, together with the Social and Vocational Department, will establish a group to develop a general outline of a statute on youth as well as the procedure and principles of social consultation.

7. In August 1982, principles and procedures will be developed which assure the influence of the youth movement on radio and TV programs addressed to youth. In September--editorial councils will be established in youth's press (outside the organs of youth organizations) with the participation of socialist youth unions.

8. In September 1982, the appraisal conducted by the Central Committee's Youth Commission on the realization of the PZPR Central Committee's 7th Plenum resolution will be disseminated.

Information will be presented at the next Central Committee plenary conference on how the detailed conclusions announced during the discussion at the 9th Plenum, can be utilized.

VI. Dissemination of the problems connected with the 9th Plenum

1. Recognizing that it is indispensable and urgent to disseminate the 9th Plenum's problems, issuance is recommended as soon as possible of brochures with texts of the Central Committee Political Bureau's report, discussions, resolutions, subjects discussed at the 9th Plenum's "Youth co-authors socialist Poland and conditions of its own development," as well as a book containing 9th Plenum contents.

2. Lectorates will be organized that will be dedicated to a discussion of the contents and tasks resulting from the 9th Plenum, whose problems will be included in the ideological-upbringing work program at vacation camps and youth groupings.

3. Open meetings are recommended for August in schools, protective and upbringing institutions, youth and social organizations, ministries and science-research units dedicated to the 9th Plenum's problems.

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The Political Bureau adopted a detailed schedule for the realization of the 9th Plenum's resolutions that defines the scope of tasks and persons responsible for their achievement. This schedule will be transmitted to party echelons and organizations.

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITICAL BUREAU WARSAW 27 JULY 1982

10433
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ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN 'MISSIONARIES' CONDEMNED

Bucharest MAGAZIN in Romanian 5 Jun 82 p 6

[Article by Petre Hladchi-Bucovineanu: "The Real Aims of the So-Called Missionaries"]

[Text] During a meeting of an Adventist-Reformist group in the Capital, the church members were unpleasantly surprised to hear "brother," a missionary from a center of the sect abroad, say that the moral attachment of the "brothers" should be to the dogmas and precepts of the sect and not the country for which our forefathers and ancestors sacrificed themselves. The frank call for the annihilation of the patriotic consciousness, for the diminishing of the feelings of the faithful for their native land, reveals, a new facet, one which has been known for a long time, of the aims which are pursued by the sect headquarters harbored in various western countries. Such models of "sermons" are, undoubtedly, dictated by the interests which go beyond the traditional precepts and practices of the sects and the actions of the "missionary-prophets" are not voluntary acts performed out of faith. Some of the "brothers" of the sect, who come from abroad and are received graciously and even with honors at meetings of religious groups in our country, are well instructed with honors at meetings of religious groups in our country, are well instructed by the representatives of the centers of the sects which pursue certain social interests and, in many cases, their actions are carried out under the protection of police circles. A detail which is often overlooked and which should be known is the fact that, in the majority of cases, the foreign missionaries are paid for what they do here, and thus they are paid emissaries of such centers, which claim to be religious.

Unfortunately, the example cited above is not unique. Another emissary of the Nazarene sect, who came from abroad, attempted to praise the so-called "freedom of religion" in the West, encouraging his "brothers" to emigrate. There have also been cases where such emissaries, taking advantage of the religious freedoms granted by our state and of the traditional hospitality of the Romanian people, have tried to bring in, by illegal means, various publications, published by the centers of the sects abroad, which contained such ideas.

Freedom of religion is an incontestable right, guaranteed to every citizen. But from this right, the road to the disregard of the interests of our state, the censuring of these interests, the sometimes flagrant, violation of the legal norms is, certainly, a long road which the centers of the sects have falsified, by including it in the so-called activity of faith.

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HORTHYITE EFFORTS TO DESTROY ORTHODOX CHURCH RECALLED

Iasi CRONICA in Romanian 30 Jul 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Constantin Crisan: "Teachers of Romanian Thinking and Feeling"]

[Text] Our minds and hearts are pleased, page after page, in the massive book by Dr Antonie Plamadeala, "Dascali de cuget si simtire romaneasca" [Teachers of Romanian Thinking and Feeling] Bucharest, 1981, which, by embracing a vast problem in the history of Romanian culture and consciousness, has been researched in minute detail and with scientific rigour regarding several of its memorable events, some of which have been forgotten and others which are undoubtedly unpublished. First, since none of the aspects that were investigated are foreign to us or to the geography and origins of the Romanian entity and since the author, by reviewing numerous archives and documents of scholarly pertinence, does not wear the academic cloak of a specialist who exclusively deals with certain colleagues in an elitist group, the result is this type of book. Dr Antonie Plamadeala, despite the great amount of information that he deals with in his book, does not exhibit the petty haughtiness of speaking merely to a circle of initiated persons. Just how he succeeded in mastering a subject so broad and diverse, a store so crammed with problems, data, information and ideas - which give us the certainly of an exhaustive effort - and just how he then succeeded across this entire territory and regarding the entire cultural-historical universe that was covered in telling us about it in a simple style of a superior level, this is the first mystery that escapes me at the conclusion of his miraculous book. Let us recount that first of all most of the research into literary history, especially regarding the old era, is written in a very heavy style and difficult for the average reader to follow. But, in this book, it seems that precisely this reader is the one who is first invited to share in the book's gifts.

And, the most difficult thing to do is to step into an area that has not been well researched and has been long disputed, and to venture out on whirling waters, maintaining your calm all the while. This is so since not just a few of the problems and moments that were researched are also reference points of our cultural history, as well as being points and areas of controversy over time having interpretations that are ignorant, mediocre or, even worse, of bad faith. Certainly, he who is afraid of such hostile possibilities does not belong in an incognito world, while he who sets out on the path must have knowledge and determination, at the same time always being aware of and the

master over the price of dignity. Only these types of qualities, few in number, but inestimable in value, can give him the full calm of an investigation, an attempt and a movement towards the truth.

I purposely wanted to stress at the beginning these incorruptible qualities which form the prestige of a pioneer, a pioneer in the auspicious sense of the word. This is true because, without any new trace of exaggeration, Dr Antonie Plamadeala stands, by virtue of this book, among the most original and precious researchers of our renascentist humanism (a specialist in the old era), of Transylvanian Romanian enlightenment and, then, of the moment of the founding of the modern Romanian spirit, phenomena that are seen in their shining native origins as connected directly to the nature of the era and to the European soul, as well as immanently and always to the ideas of the Romanian world. (Here, I also stress the words "Romanian world" as a term-concept, which are not precisely used by the book's author, but for which I have the modest pride of having started using it and investigating it here in the pages of CRONICA in an interview with the French critic Pierre de Boisdeffre.)

First of all, Dr Antonie Plamadeala uses his book to fill several holes in the research into our old culture: we are talking about the consistent contribution of the great scholar-clergymen to the assertion and flowering of the Romanian language: deacon Coresi, Petru Movila, Dosoftei, Veniamin Costachi, Antim Ivireanul, Varlaam and Chesarie Rimniceanul, as seen through an extremely original and novel view. I mean to say that they are presented in their most accurate image and at the most noble level which these scholars of ours deserve - certainly, a higher level than many of the academicians of the right - who were also founders of schools prior to the so-called schools proper, at a time when it was believe that there were no schools in our lands. What heresy! The giant, multilateral culture of the ruler Neagoe Basarab is a renascentist source, certainly, as the author stresses, placed within the framework of our Christian humanism specific to the era. "Neagoe's Teachings..." shows that Neagoe was a very well informed person regarding the ancient and Byzantine wisdom and any denial of the orginality of his work cannot be demonstrated and is null and void.

The treasure of thought and gentle wisdom in "Neagoe's Teachings..." caused the exegete to reconsider the numerous homilyitic and religious councils - ad usum Delphini - as belonging to one of the first diplomats of the philosophy of peace in the history of Romanian culture. This was a new and generous idea tied to the destiny of this masterpiece of the Romanian Renaissance, over which its renown monographer, Dan Zamfirescu, had passed with rapidity.

Another chapter, one dedicated to Putna and one which precedes the words about the birthplace "capital" of "Neagoe's Teachings..." and their author, is a marvelous opportunity the recount all the points that converge towards the affirmation, and it is incontestable, of a Romanian Renaissance having multiple

centers for radiating the light and having numerous superior humanistic concerns: in architectural style, in teology, in church music (the Putna school!), in the church-style graphic arts and in the artistic miniatures of a prototype folklore structure.

Certainly, in some areas Dr Antonie Plamadeala is not the first explorer. But, each time he sets out on a path opened by other illustrious pioneers - Slavists or specialists in the history of ancient and pre-modern old Romanian literature - he comes in at a different angle and attacks the problem from another perspective (not forgetting to carefully include all the other points of view).

The author's talent as a polemicist and a solid narrator, permanently accompanied by the documentary proof that gives the irrefutable certainty to the historian, is revealed in all his stylistic nuances, especially in two of the chapters of this book. First, in the chapter that evokes the useless but bloody moment in the attempt to denationalize the Romanians in Transylvania following the Vienna Diktat (an important episode in the struggle for the Romanian language). Then, and I now refer to the skills of the good portrait painter who knows who to reconstitute the picture from precious scraps into the entire picture, like the archeologist, the chapter dedicated to a heroine in the first and second world war: Marina Hociota - "a new Ecaterina Teodoroiu."

First, a word about the episode of the Magyarization of the orthodox Romanians in Transylvania, an aspect that is little known even to many specialists, not to mention the normal reader. Historically speaking, and prior to Antonie Plamadeala's book, we have known of the horrors of Horthyist fascism in Transylvania (temporarily occupied as a result of the Vienna Diktat) against the Romanian population. But, we have known nothing or nearly nothing of the fact that the area and statistics of these horrors are much greater, and much more dramatic, until we learn of the unimaginable and demonic idea of the Horthyist regime to pulvarize and destroy the Romanian world in its oldest and most incontestible location: the Romanian Orthodox Church. This monsterous action, which, in the end, ended in failure, nonetheless consumed numerous Romanian victims and many cultural, spiritual and material values. This sad history of this moment is evoked, step by step, with the rigourous detail of a competent archivist, with the double talent of the story-teller and the historian as based upon documents, which today we strictly call historical documents, but which, in the passing of their reality, were equal to a socio-political tragedy.

And, we must also mark those studies, and first of all these studies, dedicated to those two readers of the Romanian school and press: Gheorghe Asachi and Gheorghe Lazar, whose biography is minutely "searched" on the basis of certain documents from other regions, to which the normal literary historian has less access or purely and simply considers them (incorrectly) less provable. We thus find, thanks to the humanist Antonie Plamadeala, that Gheorghe Asachi was not just "a poet, dramatist. engineer, architect, archeologist, novelist, painter

and musician," knowledgeable also in the military arts, but under the name of Leon was also the archimandrite - vicar of Moldavia, and that in this position he created more efficiently and more naturally the authority as the defender and builder of a culture.

In the final pages that are so pertiently supported by data and new information about Gheorghe Lazar, we are impressed by the description of the departure from Bucharest towards the native Avrig of the person who felt, in 1823, that he was nearing his end. In these moments, we feel that Antonie Plamadeala descends into explored territories not with the magnifying glass of the scholar, but with the pen of the writer. He once again gets into the careers of the persons being researched, making them, by way of a miracle, into literary personnages. There is the moment in which Lazar appears to us as an authentic Romanian hero: "In 1823, feeling that his end was nearing, he notified his brother Onu in Avrig and on 16 July 1823, in the middle of summer, left like any Romanian who wants to rest for all time in the land where he first say the light of the sun. He traveled with pain in his heart with his students I. Heliade Radulescu and Daniel Tomescul until Baneasa. There, he blessed them, blessed Romania to the four corners of the world, bade farwell and left... Quickly so that death would not catch him on the road. He left Bucharest in order to go into history." There then follows a description of the crossing of the border after three days of travel, so that on 19 July 1823 the border guards inventoried Lazar's (lack of) possessions at Turnu Rosu: about 300 books, many scarfs and handkerchiefs, since the man from Avrig suffered from the cold. On this point, the exegete no longer wants the historical and prefers, after he has carried us through a legion of data and sources that certify the value of Lazar as a founder, to measure otherwise the exactness of his greatness. "The border guards never knew, certainly, that the poor sick traveler, stretched out in the hay in the cart, was the greatest man of those Romanian times."

When you encounter such statements in a scholarly book that researches the formative types and structures of a people's cultural history. which is not rare in this book, you cannot but recognize the good and fruitful meeting with the authentic art of its author. In any case, we knew before, but now we are fully convinced: Antonie Plamadeala also has the charisma of Literature.

8724
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ABSOLUTE FREEDOM TO EXPRESS POLITICAL OPINIONS URGED

Belgrade KNJIZEVNA REC in Serbo-Croatian 10-25 Apr 82 pp 4-5

[Article by Kosta Cavoski: "The Crime of Opinion"]

[Text] The immediate pretext for this article of mine was an article by Dr Mirko Perovic, professor, entitled "About Prosecution of So-Called 'Verbal Political Crimes,'" which was published in 1981 in No 3 of NASA ZAKONITOST [OUR LEGALITY] (pp 67-75). I will be free in presenting my views of this far-reaching legal, political and moral issue.

The actual subject of that article by Prof Perovic is the proposal recently submitted to amend the SFRY Criminal Code (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ [OFFICIAL GAZETTE OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA], No 44, 1976) in Article 133, Paragraph 1, by deleting the words: "or maliciously and untruthfully portraying the sociopolitical conditions in the country." That is, Article 133, Paragraph 1, which bears the appellation "hostile propaganda," makes the following act a crime:

"Whosoever in an article, leaflet, drawing or some other manner calls for or encourages the overthrow of the power of the working class and the working people, for unconstitutional change of the social system of socialist self-management, for shattering the brotherhood and unity and the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, for overthrowing the bodies of social self-management and government or their executive agencies, for resistance to the decisions of the competent government authorities and bodies of self-management which have importance to protection and development of the relations of socialist self-management, the country's security or defense, or who intentionally and untruthfully portray sociopolitical conditions in the country, shall be subject to a sentence of not less than 1 and not more than 10 years in prison."

This crime of hostile propaganda so stated has two forms: first, one which is actually the classic crime of high treason and for which a new designation is being proposed in this initiative to amend the Criminal Code: "calling for violent change of the constitutional order"; and a second, whereby within the same article (?) the so-called crime of opinion is defined (delit d'opinion). This initiative has to do with abolishing only this latter form, i.e., the crime of opinion in all the forms it takes. And what has been said about this

latter form contained in Article 133, Paragraph 1, should also be suitably applied to the other forms of crime of opinion, such as, say, the crime of spreading false rumors in the republic or provincial criminal codes, or the possibility of banning printed matter because it presents or carries untruths or alarming news, which has been set forth in republic and provincial laws on public information and publishing activity and in the Federal Law on Prevention of Abuse of Freedom of the Press and Other News Media.

In his incidental remark after he quoted the text of Article 133 Prof Perovic presents as a generally well-known truth: "... there is hardly any present-day criminal legislation which does not envisage some similar crime--with greater or lesser differences, of course, in one form or another" (p 70). As far as I know, this could be said with still greater reservations only of certain elements of the first form of the crime contained in Article 133, which actually represents incitement to forcible change of the constitutional order, but it should not be said at all of the latter form (malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country). It would, of course, be desirable if Prof Perovic mentioned in his next article on the crime of hostile propaganda at least some of the countries in which this latter form exists, i.e., the crime of opinion, and cited in detail the relevant legal formulations of that crime so that the reader who has not had an occasion to study foreign law might also detect the relevant similarities and differences between this crime of ours and the corresponding foreign crime.

Acknowledging in advance that Prof Perovic has perhaps a better incite into foreign criminal law than I have, I would like only to add that I recently had occasion to examine a collection of the relevant sources of criminal law of the following countries: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Greenland, Greece, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Lichtenstein, Monaco, Norway, Portugal, FRG, Turkey, Finland, France, Holland and Spain.[1] Of the 21 countries whose criminal legislation made up the subject matter of that collection, it can barely be said of two that they have the so-called crime of opinion, though really it cannot be equated with the second form of hostile propaganda contained in Article 133 of the Federal Criminal Code (malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country), but on the other hand it is identical to the similar crime of spreading false rumors, which is contained in the republic or provincial criminal codes. They are, first, Lichtenstein, whose Criminal Code contains in Article 308 the following crime of uttering false and alarming rumors and assertions:

"Whosoever without convincing reason spreads or conveys false rumors which disturb the public and whosoever under the same conditions spreads or utters false assertions commits a misdemeanor thereby and shall be subject to a penalty of imprisonment for not less than 8 days and not more than 3 months"; and then also Portugal, whose Criminal Code contains the following definition of a crime in Article 174, Paragraph 2:

"The following shall be subject to the penalty under the provisions of this article (i.e., the penalty of imprisonment not to exceed 6 months and an appropriate fine--K. C.):

"1. Whosoever in writing or in public spreads erroneous or one-sided reports suitable for causing excitement or unrest in the public;

"2. Whosoever distributes or attempts to distribute written matter which leads to the same result."

These crimes in the Criminal Codes of Lichtenstein and Portugal are to some extent similar to our crime of opinion contained in Article 133, though an incomparably lesser penalty is envisaged for them (imprisonment of not less than 8 days and no more than 3 months in the first case and of no more than 6 months in the second) by comparison with our crime (of not less than 1 and not more than 10 years in prison).

To be sure, the criminal codes of two other countries contain a similar crime, but it is punishable only under certain exceptional conditions. This is, first, the Italian Criminal Code, which in Article 269 defines as a crime the following spreading of reports and rumors which can only be committed abroad:

"(Seditious activity of persons abroad)

"A citizen who outside the territory of the state spreads or communicates untruthful, exaggerated or tendentious rumors or reports concerning the internal situation in a state in such manner as to harm the worthy trust and reputation of a state abroad or who otherwise carries on activity harmful to the national interest shall be subject to punishment of not less than 5 years in prison."

And the Danish Criminal Code §102 defines the crime of propaganda on behalf of an enemy or occupier, a crime which can be committed only during wartime or occupation: "Whosoever in wartime or occupation supports an enemy in word or deed or weakens the fighting power of the Danish state or its allies in order to promote hostile interests shall be subject to a penalty of 16 years in prison.

"Accordingly the following actions shall be regarded as support of an enemy:

"...

"4. Propaganda in favor of any enemy or occupying force, including the activity of publishers, editors or managers of daily newspapers, magazines, publishing houses or news agencies who work to promote hostile interests."

Thus by no means can one say in passing: "... there is hardly any present-day legislation in criminal law which does not foresee a crime similar to this ..."--if the reference here is to malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in a country. There are, of course, certain European countries (not to mention those outside of Europe) in which this kind of crime of opinion is quite harshly prosecuted and punished, but I am afraid that a comparison of Yugoslavia with such countries would be objectionable in every respect. I believe that in this matter Prof Perovic, were it possible, would himself prefer to compare Yugoslavia to France than, say, to Albania.

Prof Perovic in addition passes over one essential fact in silence when he states that the crime of hostile propaganda "... was provided for in the Law on Crimes Against the People and State in effect in 1945 and 1946" (p 70). That is, the Law on Crimes Against the People and State (SLUZBENI LIST DFJ [OFFICIAL GAZETTE OF DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL YUGOSLAVIA], No 66, 1945) and the Law To Confirm and Amend and Supplement the Law on Crimes Against the People and State (SLUZBENI LIST FNRJ [OFFICIAL GAZETTE OF THE FEDERAL PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA], No 59, 1946) defined only the first form of hostile propaganda as a crime--calling for violent overthrow of the existing system of government, but it did not at all define as a crime what is today represented by its second form--the so-called malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country.

II

In the article referred to Prof Perovic favors retaining the crime of hostile propaganda, proposing at the same time that the next time our criminal legislation is updated, this crime merely be formulated more clearly. Since I take the opposite viewpoint, I will be so free as to express the following grounds on which it is based.

1. Hostile propaganda (so-called malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country) as a punishable act is in the most profound contradiction with socialism, in which a free and intelligent public must be inherent. Viewed in historical terms, this came about as a means of so-called revolutionary terror and therefore cannot exist in a society which in principle rejects terror as a means of building socialism.

As far as I know, this crime first appeared in Lenin's proposals dated 15 May 1922 to supplement the draft of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federation of Socialist Republics], which he set forth in letters to the commissar of jurisprudence Dmitriy Ivanovich Kurskiy. On that occasion Lenin made the case for the death penalty by firing squad for political crimes envisaged in Articles 58-64, and he then immediately proposed six new articles (64-69) which also provided for the death penalty. Among these proposals of Lenin's there was also the formulation of the crime of hostile propaganda, which, as he conceived it, would also be punishable by death. The actual formulation of this crime is contained in Lenin's additional letter to Kurskiy dated 17 May 1922, which reads:

"Comrade Kurskiy! As an addition to our conversation I am sending you the sketch of an additional paragraph of the Criminal Code. This is only a sketch, which, of course, requires to be fully formulated and reworked. The main idea is, I hope, clear regardless of all the sketch's shortcomings: to openly state in a principled and politically authentic way (and not just in legalese) the point of view that stands behind the essence and justification of terror, its necessity and its limits.

"The court is not to preclude terror: to promise this would be self-delusion; but it should be backed up by argument and legalized consistent with principle, clearly, without lies or embellishments. It should be given the

/broadest possible formulation/ (slantline furnished for emphasis--K. C.), since only the revolutionary conscience will determine the greater or lesser application in practice."[2]

In this letter Lenin is actually making the case for the need to introduce the new crime of propaganda, which in its broad, i.e., undefined formulation, would offer law enforcement agencies the possibility of bringing under this crime any individual whose further freedom and perhaps even life itself is politically inexpedient. And indeed Lenin himself furnishes in his sketch of the additional paragraph of the Criminal Code an example of this kind of broad and limitless formulation. These are the following variants of propaganda:

"Variant 1:

"Propaganda or agitation or participation in organizations which are operating (propaganda and agitation) in the direction of aiding that portion of the international bourgeois which does not recognize the equality of the communist system of ownership which is coming to replace capitalism and strives for its forcible overthrow either by intervention or blockade or espionage or by financing the press and similar means shall be punishable by the supreme penalty (the death penalty--K. C.), such penalty to be replaced, if there are mitigating circumstances, by imprisonment or deportation abroad.

"Variant 2:

"a) Propaganda or agitation which objectively is aiding that portion of the international bourgeoisie which ... (and so on to the end).

"b) Those charged with participating in organizations or with aiding organizations or individuals engaging in activity of the character mentioned (whose activity has that character) shall be subject to the same penalty.

"Variant 2b:

"Who aid or who are in a position to aid."[3]

The very first version represents a broad definition of the crime of propaganda, since aside from the actual act of propagating particular views and ideas, it also defines as a crime the offering of aid to those organizations which in turn are aiding those who are actually committing this crime. And by means of this final definition ("aiding organizations acting in the direction ...") it is possible to incriminate a very broad range of otherwise permissible activities, since it is always possible to attribute to them the incriminating orientation ("in the direction of aiding ..."). Variant 2a already represents a complete abandonment of the conventional concept of guilt as subjective accountability and reintroduction into criminal law objective accountability, which we encounter in relatively underdeveloped criminal law systems of the old states. Lenin, that is, is in this case completely rejecting deliberateness and guilt, that is, the relevant degree of consciousness and determination as prerequisites of criminal accountability, and he is only taking into account the objective significance of the given acts, which

actually allows complete arbitrariness in interpretation of its purport and scope. And that is exactly that kind of objective accountability which the world would later come to know better through the Moscow trials in 1936.

Finally, the second version of Variant 2b, which is proposed at the very end, represents the legal basis for complete arbitrariness in pronouncement of punishment. That is, Lenin is proposing that punishment be pronounced not only against those persons who are aiding organizations or individuals committing the activity defined as a crime, but also the criminal prosecution of those individuals who have not yet actually done anything, but who in the judgment of the revolutionary conscience are in a position to offer such aid. And that means that under the cover of punishing hostile propaganda the revengeful sword of revolutionary justice can fall upon the head of anyone.

This proposal of Lenin's for introduction of the crime of hostile propaganda was legalized in the first RSFSR Criminal Code, which took effect on 1 July 1922. And since that time this crime, as the most serious form of the crime of opinion, has been an inseparable part of all the criminal codes which have been enforced in the Soviet Union. This is that famous Paragraph 10 of Article 58 of the RSFSR Criminal Code adopted in 1926. And according to the testimony of many, there has never been a paragraph in the criminal law which has been so broadly interpreted and stretched as this one concerning hostile propaganda and agitation. There have thus been cases when it has been applied to conversations between two friends, between a husband and wife with no one else present, or even to private letters. What is more, whenever speech and thought have been a matter of prosecution, hostile propaganda was the easiest charge for the agencies of law enforcement and repression to file.

Since, then, the crime of hostile propaganda does not constitute our original and proprietary legal institution which would be in line with the fundamental principles of socialism, but an instrument and critically taken over from Bolshevik practice of terror and violence against political opponents, this crime has no reason to exist in our society.

2. The crime of hostile propaganda jeopardizes the freedom of thought and discussion of public matters guaranteed by the constitution (Articles 166 and 167 of the SFRY Constitution), since because of the very broad and not sufficiently definite formulation of that crime, it offers law enforcement agencies practically unlimited opportunity to proclaim to be hostile any opinion which differs from the one which is officially recognized and desired.

In actuality, even the very epithet "hostile," used to define punishable propaganda, is aimed at equating any opposing opinion as betrayal of the homeland. This is best indicated by the way in which the expressions "hostile" and "enemy" are used in other provisions of the Criminal Code. That is, these expressions are used as a rule to denote enemies waging war against our country. It is in that case that reference is made to aiding an enemy as a form of collaboration during wartime (Article 120 of the SFRY KZ [Criminal Code]), surrender of troops to an enemy (Article 121), serving in enemy armed forces (Article 119) and obstructing the fight against an enemy in wartime (Article 118).

Article 133, in which hostile propaganda is defined as a crime, does not use the word "hostile" in this sense of association with an enemy. Hostile propaganda is not a crime which can be committed only under wartime conditions, but this is a so-called "peacetime" crime. To that extent the term "hostile" as used in Article 133 does not correspond to the use of that term in the Criminal Code previously referred to. Here the word "hostile" is used in that vague sense in which it is used in day-to-day politics to signify the political opponents of the moment, and it is therefore devoid of content strictly defined in advance. After all, how in any case is it possible in practical politics to strictly define the term "enemy" when one never knows in advance who this might be and when it very often happens that actually one's closest political friend suddenly becomes the fiercest political opponent. This kind of inconsistent use of this term has the consequence that in the eyes of the broadest public "hostile propaganda," i.e., the spreading of those views and ideas which from the viewpoint of day-to-day politics are not desirable, is equated with treason and an attack on the country's independence and sovereignty. And when this kind of vague political term is used in the Criminal Code, then very broad possibilities are opened up for immediately making an enemy of the state and traitor to the homeland of every assumed critic, dissenter and opponent.

3. The legal provision under which it is punishable to untruthfully portray the sociopolitical conditions in the country as a practical matter places it within the competence of the court to establish the definitive and incontestable truth concerning those conditions. And thus a cognitive question which cannot be answered without the appropriate cognitive abilities and the possibilities of free search for the truth is turned into a question of authority and place in the hierarchy on the ladder of government of the person who is officially authorized to establish the truth.

The term used "sociopolitical conditions in the country" refers to any relative statement concerning the conditions in which we live, including, according to present court practice, even the conditions in which we lived over the past five decades. So the question immediately arises: Is the court capable of authoritatively establishing the complete truth concerning those conditions so that by comparing this previously known truth with the incriminating statements it can reliably make a judgment of the truthfulness of those statements? If it is, then why is it that historians and other scholars take so much trouble to gradually approach the truth through prolonged and painful study? If it is not, how then is it to establish the truthfulness of the statements which have led to the charges?

The authors of this provision of the law unfortunately were not aware of these difficult epistomological questions. Everything seems to have been clear in advance to them, just as they seem to have had a clear answer to the skeptical question which Pilate put to Christ "What is truth?" The truth about sociopolitical conditions of a country is what the court says it is.

4. Making it a crime to present in public sociopolitical conditions because of an alleged discrepancy with the truth essentially restricts, if it does not indeed abolish, the possibility of public oversight and criticism of the activity of those running the government.

The greatest advocates of freedom have usually said that the individual must possess complete and altogether unrestricted freedom of conscience and public expression of his own opinion, since only in this way is it possible to discover the truth and destroy the despotism of prejudices and dogmas. Today, however, the limits of tolerance toward individual political views and ideas have been narrowed quite a bit, so that even our constitution contains pertinent restrictions of the guaranteed freedoms and rights (Article 203). But since even this restriction of freedom can be abused (after all, it is always a question of who will be the judge, who will make the judgment whether someone has actually overstepped those boundaries, and will that judge be objective and unbiased), usually the individual rights are proclaimed to be inviolable. Thus within the framework of the freedom of thought and freedom of speech specific mention is made of the right to criticize those who run the government, which does not suffer any exceptions whatsoever, since in a democratic system all citizens are considered capable of debating and deciding public affairs and of rendering competent judgments concerning them. Even in this right of public criticism of those who run the government we find one of the most important barriers to the possibility of abuse of power. But if it is to be effective as such an instrument, it has to be unlimited.

But if we examine in detail the meaning and scope of this right to criticize those who run the government, we are immediately assured that this kind of criticism presupposes, among other things, the description of sociopolitical conditions in the country for which those who run the government are usually considered responsible. After all, it is the principal task of those who run the government to constantly improve those conditions, just as the failures and oversights of their policy are manifested in a deterioration of those conditions. Thus we come to a paradoxical situation: when those who run the government make a mistake, they receive public criticism, and sometimes they are even removed from office; but if their critic by some chance (ill-fatedly) should make a mistake, he can expect imprisonment of not less than 1 and not more than 10 years. It is not, of course, difficult to imagine in view of the seriousness of this charge how many individuals will be bold enough to publicly portray sociopolitical conditions in the country in order to expose and criticize the work of those running the government.

FOOTNOTES

1. In so doing I had the following sources available to me:

   1. Argentina--Criminal Code dated 29 October 1921, as of 1957 (source: "Das Argentinische Strafgesetzbuch," Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1957).

   2. Austria--Code penal autrichien, with amendments and supplements up through 1958 (source: "Les codes penaux europeens," Vol I, Centre Francais de droit compare, 1958).

   3. Belgium--Code penal, with amendments and supplements up through 1969 (source: "Code Belges, Matiers penales," Vol II, 32d edition, Bruyland, Brussels).

4. Brazil--Criminal Code dated 7 December 1940, as of 1953 (source: "Das Brasilanische Strafgesetzbuch," Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1953).

5. Greenland--Loi criminelle pour le Groenland, with amendments and supplements up through 1958 (source: "Les codes penaux europeens," Vol I, Centre francais de droit compare, 1958).

6. Greece--Criminal Code dated 17 August 1950, as of 1973 (source: "The Greek Penal Code," South Hackensack, Fred B. Rothman and Co., 1973).

7. Denmark--Criminal Code dated 1 July 1963 (source: "Das Daenische Strafgesetzbuch," Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1964).

8. Iceland--General Criminal Code dated 12 February 1940, as of 1 August 1960.

9. Italy--Codice penale, with amendments and supplements up through 1969 (source: "Das Italienische Strafgesetzbuch," II Codice Penale Italiano, Berlin, 1969).

10. Japan--Amendments to the Criminal Code dated 10 August 1953, as of 1963 (source: "Vorentwurf eines Japanischen Strafgesetzbuches vom 20 Dezember 1961," Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1963).

11. Lichtenstein--Code penal du Liechtenstein, with amendments and supplements up through 1958 (source: "Les codes penaux europeens," Vol III, Centre francais de droit compare, 1958).

12. Luxembourg--Code penal Luxembourgeois, with amendments and supplements up through 1958 (source: "Les codes penaux europeens," Vol III, Centre francais de droit compare, 1958).

13. Monaco--Code penal monegasque, with amendments and supplements up through 1958 (source: "Les codes penaux europeens," Vol III, Centre francais de droit compare, 1958).

14. Norway--Code penal norvegien, with amendments and supplements up through 1958 (source: "Les codes penaux europeens," Vol III, Centre francais de droit compare, 1958).

15. Portugal--Criminal Code dated 16 September 1886, as of 1962 (source: "Das Portugiesische Strafgesetzbuch vom 16 September 1886," Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1962).

16. FRG--Code penal allemand, with amendments and supplements up through 1958 (source: "Les codes penaux europeens," Vol I, Centre francais de droit compare, 1958).

17. Turkey--Criminal Code dated 1 March 1926, as of 1955 (source: "Das Tuerkische Strafgesetzbuch vom 1 March 1926," Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1955).

18. Finland--Criminal Code dated 19 December 1889, as of 1955 (source: "Das Finnische Strafgesetzbuch," Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1954).

19. France--Code penal, with amendments and supplements up through 1972 (source: "Codes et Lois").

20. Holland--Criminal Code dated 3 March 1881, as of 1 May 1976 (source: "Das Niederlaendische Strafgesetzbuch," Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1977).

21. Spain--Codigo penal dated 23 December 1944 with amendments dated 19 July 1976 (source: "BOLETIN OFICIAL DEL ESTADO. DISPOSICIONES GENERALES," No 174, dated 21 June 1976.

2. V. I. Lenin, "Supplement to the Preamble of the RSFSR Criminal Code and Letters to D. I. Kurskiy," "Dela" [Works], Belgrade, Institute for the International Working Class Movement, 1976, Vol 35, p 231.

3. Op. cit., pp 231-232.

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AMBIGUITIES IN PRISON CAMP REVELATIONS CHALLENGED

Belgrade KNJIZEVNA REC in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 82 p 3

[Commentary by Gojko Nikolis, not identified in source but otherwise known to be retired colonel general, onetime head of Medical Corps of Yugoslav People's Army and ambassador to India: "Yet Another Variation on the Theme of a Half-Dressed Island"]

[Text] What, you bastard, are you reducing people to?
Why don't you rub them out like a hero?
Why do you put them through such tortures?

(Spoken by Vojvoda Drasko in Njegosh's "Mountain Wreath")

Our country has become entangled in all sorts of debates. At all levels. And it is barely breathing under the heat of economic troubles. Is there anyone who is rubbing his hands in satisfaction? For sure! Is there anyone who is intentionally fanning the flames? Quite likely. But without guessing there is one thing I can be sure of: Several "painful" issues in our fairly recent history are outstanding; some of the answers have begun to be given; the answers must be clear and sincere and must go to the very bottom. Let the fire burn and burn out. It has come to the point where there are no firefighters who can help any longer, and they can even cause harm. When the fire dies down, the ashes will remain--the truth. And there is nothing more therapeutic than the truth for this country at this moment. It is a question of moral character.

It is not without excitement that I have been following among others the discussion of the Cominform and Goli Otok [Naked Island]. Though it has not yet been brought to its conclusion (if there is any), on the basis of the articles and positions published to date I might still present my own opinion, though it is a preliminary one. It seems to me that in certain articles (for example, in the pages of NIN and other periodicals) a vicious circle is created, a confusion of contradictory data, arbitrary assertions, a switching of terms, a switching of topics, a knocking on open doors, and even charges which smack of a rather old-fashioned spirit.

If anyone anywhere has ever been puzzled by what happened on Goli Otok between 1948 and 1951, then our public would be interested in the following questions, which ought to be answered in order, systematically and each one separately:

First, the political circumstances which dictated Goli Otok as an institution (the political, economic and military pressure of Stalin and also of the communist parties belonging to the Cominform aimed at breaking Yugoslavia's dignity and destroying its independence). A rather exhaustive and satisfactory answer has been given to this question in the articles to date. No one in this country who possesses even the smallest dose of political understanding and patriotism can imagine even one single argument against the right of an independent state at a moment of immediate danger of war to isolate and render harmless people who for whatever reason have become traitors and a Fifth Column of potential aggressors.

Consequently, Goli Otok as an institution has full legal and ethical justification. Certain articles state that there are individuals and groups which deny the justifiability of our struggle in '48, who reduce that entire "life-and-death" struggle of ours to the "excesses" of Goli Otok, who equate the entire struggle and the meritorious deeds of the security service with Goli Otok. It would be interesting to know who these individuals and groups are and in what public periodicals they have appeared. Quotes are given from a letter of M. Petrovic, a student portrayed as a principal opponent (STUDENT, 16 December 1981), and it is said that his letter is "in its content and message just like a Cominform leaflet." Even though I have mobilized my alertness to the utmost, I have been unable to detect such a serious incrimination in that letter. It would be a matter of brain probes which are said to be at the service of "modern" criminal psychiatry today to discover what sort of thoughts and mental reservations Petrovic is concealing in the depths of his brain. So, at present we can judge only about what has been publicly written or uttered. And the letter clearly states that the writer agrees with the incarceration of the Cominform followers, but opposes the tortures. And, if you will allow, those are two different things astronomically remote from one another. A typical "switching of terms": the question is put to me of the methods on Goli Otok, but I do not wish to discuss that, but rather the "attack on the achievements of the Yugoslav revolution." It must evoke trepidation if today, 35 years after our glorious triumph over Cominformism and Stalinism, the debate can be conducted in that way.

Second, our public has the right to learn from official sources (not just from a novel):

a) whether it is true or not that inhuman methods of torture, mental abuse, the stamping out of elementary human dignity were used against the prisoners on Goli Otok? This and exactly this is one of the main questions, but we have been getting contradictory answers to it. In some articles (NIN, 14 March 1982) precisely such methods are expounded at length!

The authors of the feature article in NIN, the respectable journalists Savo Krzavac and Dragan Markovic, whose information, objectivity and truthfulness we have no firm reasons to doubt, say that in that rather tense time "errors"

and "excesses" were committed, that there was "nervousness and brutal and inhuman actions" against those who "were even suspected to be on the other side." And they go on: "There were individuals who took advantage of the situation that had come about for personal revenge or those who wanted in that way to prove their devotion and orthodoxy. Cases were recorded in which certain of the investigators administered their most brutal treatment precisely to members of their own families because the latter had shamed them, had cast suspicion on them, and had ruined their future" (read: career). "Many other (N.B.--G. N.) were also committed. There were cases when an interrogator moved into a better apartment of a 'Cominform follower' whom he himself had sent to prison" ... "pressure was exerted on the wife or husband to obtain a divorce...."

"The gravest (error) was that there were innocent people in prison and indeed even on Goli Otok!" And so on and many uglier things. The feature article was accompanied by appendices on Goli Otok as a geographic and geological phenomenon, and then a fragment from Branko Hofman's novel "Noc do jutra" [Night to Morning].

From all of this we learn even more than we anticipated! If that was really so, then the question immediately arises: Why are a youth newspaper and a university student accused of passing off a "Cominform leaflet" solely because in some 20 lines or so they put the question of what happened on Goli Otok and who was responsible for such misdeeds?

The authors of the feature article endeavor to diminish the far-reaching destructive moral effect (for our entire nation--at that time and more today) of those methods, asserting that they were "errors" and "excesses," but not policy! To be sure, that was not the policy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, but it was the policy of those who were administering the camp. That is beyond any doubt if one reads only the published record. The datum that the camp authorities did not dare to intervene in life within the "big wire," since there "order and organization were in the hands of the inmates" sounds like a supreme and actually antilogical irony (or just plain awkwardness on the part of the writers?). Virtually an anticipation of self-management! And these inmates who were the keepers of order, in order to prove themselves to be well "reeducated," showed themselves to be champions in the abuse of their comrades. And to whom did they have to show this if the judges of that tragic bout were, as is asserted, "far outside the wire"?!

There are people today who reflect along these lines: If the prisoners had fallen so low as to torture themselves, then this is proof of their manifest amorality; they were inhuman even in their genes. It is not, then, the camp system which led them astray. Such a conclusion is mad, cynical and amoral and more than that.

b) As for the camp administration, it follows from the article that the superior authorities who gave the orders "did not know" what was happening behind the wire, and it really turns out that all of this took place utterly "illegally," outside the cognitive powers of the responsible people, behind the back of the political leadership. Strange. The logic of the man in the

street leads one to ask: How is it that the authorities of a specialized profession were able to successfully discover underground groups of Cominform followers all over the country (for which they deserve full credit), but were unable to discover the "illegal" actions on an island with an area of 5 square kilometers when several thousand human beings passed through its wire? What is the truth?

c) The feature article highlights as an example of humanity in the campaign against the Cominform that not a single death penalty was pronounced or carried out. So here we are! So what was done on Goli Otok was more amoral than the death penalty, harder to take than a bullet or the guillotine. I am no pacifist, I favor the "sword of the revolution," let it cut when and where it has to. But I am a humanist and I want to remain so at least to the extent of not being able to agree that the edge of the sword should be replaced by systematic denigration of a man to less than nothing. To whom did Njegosh address his message: "Why do you not wipe out the heroic people?" Only to the Venetians?

d) The "excesses" are justified by the lack of experienced and educated lawyers, so that the investigations had to be conducted by former "shepherds and workers"! No. It was not a lack of professional skill, but of courage.

And Mirko Popovic himself (NIN, 28 March) testifies that "even at that time the facts in the great majority of the cases were carefully investigated and checked, the evidence was established ... since in those years we already were a well-organized legal state." So here you are now.... What is the truth?

e) The excesses are justified as "inevitabilities of every revolution." If it is an inevitability of a socialist revolution that it torture its real opponents and imagined "opponents," instead of placing them in absolute isolation, then I wonder who in the world and in our country will follow such a revolution? If revolution and humanity are incompatible, then farewell, revolution.... Inhumanity, even though it may be applied against the most rabid opponent, returns like a boomerang against the morality of the revolution. This is a law which no one can avoid. Let us ask Marko Miljanov! It takes a nail to drive out a nail, but not a Beria to drive out a Beria, never.

f) The authors of the NIN feature article, neglecting logical order in their exposition, become entangled in contradictions: In one passage they write: "The League of Communists then in '48 and specifically since that time has not favored that any topics be treated as taboo.... Since that time we have been publishing everything in the open, day after day, so why shouldn't we do so now, when certain 'Goli Otok secrets' are being used as a tool for manipulation with the obvious purpose of opening up certain new (?) doubts, especially among the young." Here is another example of a substitution of terms. If the reference is to publication of the dramatic correspondence between our own central committee and Stalin, then truly this was not a taboo topic, and that openness and punctuality of our leadership demonstrated its courage, its conviction that our cause was right, its confidence in the support of the people, unprecedented in the history of the working class movement. But Goli Otok is an altogether different matter. It was a taboo topic then and remained so for

long years, and even today, we read, it is not exactly advisable to make a habit of visiting that dark region. In another passage the same authors say: "From a desire that every one of our victories remain clean and fine, including this one ... out of a fear lest a shadow fall on the victory ... the topic of Goli Otok has been avoided." So, what is it all about, where do we stand? Is it a taboo topic or is it an open topic?

Once again I would assert my conviction that our public, except for petit bourgeois circles in the cafes and the Cominformist circles, does not put the question of the system that prevailed on Goli Otok out of mere curiosity, still less out of maliciousness, but, if in general we still have a bit of belief in our ordinary citizen, out of a need for a moral catharsis, out of a desire to consolidate the achievements of the revolution through a pure and consistent truth. The assertion that people are reflecting about this today "because this moment is suitable" and that there is a desire to revise our history, an assertion like that, put mildly, is insulting to the political maturity of our public. What sort of "suitability" can one speak of today? Have we come to that?

There are still some things which are in general contradiction with the information supplied in NIN's feature article. For instance, Comrade Petar Stambolic (NIN, 28 February 1982) acknowledges the excesses of Goli Otok, but he adds that today there are people who "split hairs about humanism in the comfort of freedom." I am of the opinion that the group of people who "split hairs" about Goli Otok are much broader and more honest than the "Stalinist and bourgeois liberals," and there is no occasion for a humane condemnation of inhuman actions to be subjected to irony. What then is left to us of the concept of humanism except an already well-trodden section in philosophical tracts? Comrade Branko Mikulic minimizes the entire problem and says that those who supported the aggressive pressures "allegedly" experienced something unpleasant. That "allegedly" is supposed to mean: Malicious tongues are prattling something out there.... So, must we doubt the authenticity of the information about the torture of prisoners as referred to in NIN's feature article? Comrade Jakov Blazevic has gone furthest in embellishing something which cannot and should not be embellished in asserting in the weekly DANAS that on Goli Otok "a /humanistic attitude/ was practiced, not just in a formal sense" (emphasis mine--G. N.) [slantlines used for emphasis]. Again we wonder: What now is the truth? Or has the concept of humanity been relativized to the point of absurdity? Comrade Jakov, whom I know well as a noble man and a democrat, seems from the Olympian heights to be attacking "nothings and nobodies" who are today raising their voices. If he is referring here to the Cominformists, then that is alright. But it is not exactly clear how broad his reference is. Perhaps he is referring to all the others who dare to ask: What was it that happened to people on Goli Otok? In this case I, too, am a "nobody," though I would have reason to be proud of the metaphor, since the word he uses for nobody, busa, the small cattle breed that comes from Montenegro and indeed all over the Dinarid system, all the way to Lika, yes, yes, even Lika--fed our army during the war. It was the busa, and not the fat purebred Simmental, so that it is not nice to scorn that noble cow, my dear Jakov.

d) Did the top government and party leadership know about Goli Otok, did it know about the regime that had been introduced there? If so, when did it take measures to abolish it? If it did not know about it at all (there are comrades who belonged at that time to the very top government and party leadership who swear today that they had no idea at all what was happening there), what, then, are we to think about the system of government administration at that time?

And finally:

1) in the debate about the Cominform and Goli Otok so far I have gotten the impression as though all the trees had been piled together and mixed up into a forest difficult to get through. I do not stand with those who do not see the forest for the trees, nor with those who do not want to distinguish one tree from another. The entire prehistory of Goli Otok and the political conditions which created it as an institution, that is one thing, and the actual regime on it is a separate category.

2) No sensible man, no fair man, no honest man in this country wants to render judgment on our truly glorious history, but we cannot and must not use that history, especially not today, to conceal dark "episodes" whose arrangers, as though by some ill fate, followed and applied precisely those methods and systems which our history has heroically and victoriously resisted.

3) The most urgent moral interests of the present day and of our people (and not the Cominformists!) require that the blemishes be cleansed, and this cannot be done by any kind of dialectics, half-truths and confusion of terms, but by simple logic, sincerity and respect. The results will have a refreshing effect like the ozone after a thunderstorm.

4) No one's efforts to embellish the truth at the present time and in the present state of our social consciousness can produce any fruit except the fruit of confusion and suspicion. Goli Otok remains naked and will remain so for all times. It is futile to attempt to cover it up with fig leaves. The storms on Velebit have always been harsh. The children will go on pointing their fingers: "The emperor is wearing no clothes."

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END

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17 September 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2056

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17 September 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2056

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SOVIET SS-21'S REPORTED IN GDR

Bonn DIE WELT in German 16 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by J.M. Svoboda, Kiel: "Soviets Move SS-21 Rockets Into the GDR"]

[Text] The "Group of Soviet Forces in Germany" (GSFG) has begun stationing the new short-ranged tactical SS-21 missiles in the GDR. The first confirmations of the introduction of such SS-21's in GDR territory are available from the area of Jena in Gera Bezirk, from the area of Ohrdruf, in Erfurt Bezirk, and from the area of Stendal in Magdeburg Bezirk.

The SS-21 replaces the FROG-7 missiles stationed up to now in the GDR. The latter could be deployed with conventional or nuclear warheads, and had a range of up to 70 kilometers.

By way of contrast, the SS-21 has a range of 100 to 120 kilometers, as well as greater accuracy. The SS-21 has a standardized warhead, which can be equipped not only with conventional but also nuclear and chemical warheads. Moreover, it has a modernized internal guidance system. It is transported on a six-wheel, lightly armored and amphibious vehicle.

A total of 124 mobile SS-21 launch pads are stationed in the GDR, from which several missiles can be fired one after the other to a greater degree than with the FROG-7. In spite of its size, the SS-21, together with accompanying vehicles (electronic guidance vehicles and replacement missiles) can be quickly transferred in large transport aircraft from distant parts of the Soviet Union to the Central European front.

CSO: 2300/396

POLISH-ROMANIAN YOUTH COOPERATION AGREEMENT SIGNED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 23 Aug 82 p 5

> [Text] Bucharest--On Friday, in Bucharest, the chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], Jerzy Jaskiernia, and the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth [UTC] of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Minister for Youth Affairs Pantelimon Gavanescu, signed a cooperation agreement for 1982-83.

This cooperation will encompass, i.a., ideological-political activity, socialist labor competition, scientific, technical and cultural youth activity, and the participation of youth in the economic life of both countries. The youth organizations of Poland and Romania will exchange information, documents, publications, materials, and exhibitions dealing with these problems. The agreement also envisages the initiation of cooperation in the field of research on youth problems, tourist exchange, and exchange of youth periodicals.

On that same day, RCP Central Committee Secretary and Central Committee Political Executive Committee member Emil Bobu received the ZSMP Main Board delegation.

J. Jaskiernia also met with the UTC aktiv in Bucharest. The subject of this meeting was the tasks facing Polish youth in the current situation in Poland.

The ZSMP Main Board delegation, which visited Romania at the invitation of the UTC Central Committee, met with youth from the shipyard at Constanta and from the agricultural combine at Murfatlar, with builders of the Black Sea-Danube canal, and with the young work force of the FELIX Electrical Plants in Bucharest.

On 21 August, the final day of its stay in Romania, the Polish delegation met with UTC Central Committee Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu in connection with preparations for the international youth year.

CSO: 2600/902

LEADERS GREET VIETNAMESE COUNTERPARTS

AU011950 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 1 Sep 82

[Text] Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee; Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the presidium of the people's assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; and Adil Carcani, chairman of the council of ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, have sent the following telegram to Comrade Le Duan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam; Comrade Truong Chinh, chairman of the state council of the SRV; and Comrade Pham Van Dong, chairman of the council of ministers of the SRV:

On the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the national holiday of the SRV, in the name of the Albanian people, the AWP Central Committee, the presidium of the people's assembly and the council of ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, as well as personally, we convey to you, and through you, to the Communist Party of Vietnam, the council of state and the council of ministers of the SRV greetings and cordial wishes.

During the past 37 years, the Vietnamese people have had to traverse a difficult road and make innumerable sacrifices in their just struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, for the country's reunification and to defend the SRV against the enemies of its national freedom and independence.

The successes achieved by the Vietnamese people in their work to rebuild the country and for its continuous development give joy to the Albanian people, and we wish your people new victories in the work for the country's continuous progress and prosperity, and may the friendship and cooperation between our two peoples and countries develop and be strengthened increasingly more.

CSO: 2100/82

UNITED EFFORT NEEDED TO IMPROVE SCHOOLS

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Apr 82 pp 53-63

[Article by Sotir Temo and Kozma Skarco: "A United Front to Raise Education in the Schools to Contemporary Levels"]

[Text] In implementing the directives of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha to continually revolutionize our educational system it has become possible for our schools, with the help of the contributions made by all our society, to produce whole contingents of students with good all-round educations; better trained ideologically and more capable professionally. Nevertheless, the party believes that due to the "intense development of our economy and culture, the increased and continued use of advanced techniques and technology, the tasks that are presented for better quality and higher yields, for greater profits and more efficiency in production the perspectives for the future development of our country require further increases in our cultural and educational levels, and the mastery by our people of modern science and technology" (Enver Hoxha "Report to the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party"(PPSH) p 130).

To achieve this new level we must depend on broader, more skilled and more responsible activity from all those sectors of our society which are interested in further increasing the knowledge and capabilities of the high and middle level cadres our schools are preparing.

Our society, as a community of interests, needs and tasks, revolutionary activities and actions has always contributed to the success of our public schools and our education. Every link, organ and organization of our society, according to its capabilities, tasks and abilities has influenced and contributed to implementing the party program for the continualy revolutionization of our educational system. Specific tasks in this area have been realized, not only by the specialized educational organizations but also by the state and economic organs, the mass organizations and our socialist families who provide the schools with new contingents of pupils and students and closely follow their progress. While the problems of the schools are identical to those of our society, and the needs of our society are identical to those of the schools, it becomes evident that every narrow and biased attitude, every inclination to be dependent on others, or to leave the responsibility to others is wrong and harmful. The schools realize their own goals when they recognize and fulfill the present and future needs of society, and society rightly supports the

schools when it is familiar with the factors which define the necessary levels needed to prepare skilled workers, specialists and cadres, and the tasks which the schools have to face to assure these factors.

In the social division of labor, society has delegated the biggest and most important tasks in this area to the schools. This important source of learning, culture, knowledge and science has always had important material bases and a powerful army of specialized cadres, who have always been nearby and always supported the schools in all their activities. It is for this reason that even in achieving the tasks for the educational system laid down by the Eighth Party Congress, the first and most important tasks belong to the schools, the educational and pedagogical collectives, the scientific and pedagogical institutions, and to all the others levers of the party that are active in the school system.

Under the present conditions of building socialism entirely with our own forces, and within those broad parameters of qualitative development which our culture and economy are achieving, the stasks of the schools to prepare capable people with profound contemporary knowledge take on important new significance and values. Today, more than ever before, it is necessary "that all the efforts of our educational and pedagogical front be seriously and carefully concentrated on raising the quality of work in the schools" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the PPSH," p 132).

The level of achievement of this requirement depends very much on the depth and manner in which this task is perceived. Our schools will realize the new necessary qualitative levels more easily and more quickly when the workers in all categories view these necessary levels not just as a dictum created specifically by the internal developments of our education, such as happens in other areas of activity in our society, but as a new level of achievement that has to be primarily defined by the overall economic, social, scientific and technical development in all the country. This broad and profound concept will encourage the schools to concentrate on their work and demand more help and cooperation from the other links of our society which are directly involved with these economic, social, scientific and technical developments.

The schools, by examining and realizing their tasks in conjunction with the development of our society as a whole, will equip the new genration with knowledge that is contemporary and modern. Because of the rapid development of science and the short period of time between a scientific discovery and its implementation, the party has given the schools the task of allowing more space in their school books and programs for new scientific information, and this should not be done by just entering the information mechanically, but by making changes in the conceptual apparatus and rearranging the information into more compact and universal structures which will increase its specific weight and considerably broaden the field of its implementation.

This requirement was presented to the schools a long time ago. There have been a number of successes in this direction, but, there have also been instances of reluctance, misconception and defective work. And, regardless of the fact that the need to have programs and texts updated and enriched, according to contemporary demands, has been made clear, the conviction has yet to be created in everyone that this task cannot be achieved at the required level "by grafting

and patching the new over the old." Traditionalism when faced with basic scientific disciplines can be overcome "on the basis of a complete and unique concept which stretches over all the years of schooling, especially in the massive links of our educational system." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the PPSH," p 133.)

The more organized work that was started in this field after the Eighth Plenum of the Party's Central Committee, which took on a new momentum after the Eighth Party Congress, is producing its own results, and must progress even further. For example, the conclusions of study groups set up for different subject categories, from grade one to grade twelve, are of value, but, it is necessary to include the results of these studies in programs and texts, otherwise, these and similar ideas, such as those that were recently presented at the open discussion organized with the schools, as well as the exchange of ideas that is still taking place in the press, on radio and on television will not be beneficial.

The experience of the best schools, the best teachers and the best educators shows that the overall strengthening of qualitative controls, raising the level of scientific work, increasing processes depends very much on the level of the effort made by teachers and educators to radically improve teaching methods Without this improvement the growth of the extent of and a lasting action assimilation of knowledge cannot be achieved and a creative thought cannot stimulate on the required level, so that expressions of independent work on the part of the pupils and students, even in the classroom, will be encouraged.

In this area our schools have had numerous successes, however, there still remains much to do, to correct and to improve. Among the problems which require the attention of the educational organs is the conscientious study, on a scientific basis, of the student's assignments, which, at the present time appear to be excessive, negatively influencing their formation. A decrease in assignment must not be considered by the program and textbook planners as a decrease in the amount of scientific information which the students require. In dealing with different ages and different disciplines it is necessary for the planners, among other things, to keep in mind the information the students assimilate through other channels of our society. They must also be aware of the perceptive capacity of the different ages and avoid assigning material that cannot be assimilated at certain stages. For this reason, the party has insisted that special care be given to developing these disciplines on a different level, with proper ideological character, since, at present, a certain uniform development, without the necessary differentiation by group and age, can be noted.

The Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee and the Eighth Congress of the Party have set down responsible tasks for the vocational middle and high schools. In implementing these tasks, which are important objects of discussion, our educational system is going through the process of the consolidation of its important revolutionary changes. The development of our country in this five-year period and afterwards, will, without doubt, bring forth now and in the future new problems for schools in this category, where the whole work for the preparation of skilled workers, specialists, middle and higher cadres is concentrated.

Teachers and educators play an important role in the execution of all the tasks which confront our schools today. The proper concept of the role of the teacher and the educator helps, not only to avoid instances of formality in evaluating their work, but, especially, to take concrete steps to make every teacher and educator more capable of responding to the demands which our schools face today.

Naturally, within this framework the question arises of what is being done and what needs to be done to raise the ideological, political and professional level of the teachers and educators. Any incompatibilities that exist today in some schools between the unacceptable level of a teacher's competency and the demands of the subjects and classes where he teaches, necessarily draws our attention to the need to increase interest in and efforts to overcome this situation.

This interest needs to be made concrete and placed on sound organizational foundations for all forms and levels of training. If in high form of training organized work has begun, and is being pursued with interest by the responsible educational institutions and by the cadres themselves, in training for the masses there are still a number of deficiences in the work of the educational organs which manage this lind of training.

In practice we notice that while good work is being done in general for the continuing Marxist-Leninist education of the teachers and educators, their scientific and pedagogical training are not always up to the desired level. Those expressions of formalism, liberalism and uniformity, which are noticed in this field of training, are explained by the fact that the training system is not always based on sound organizational foundations. One cannot claim to be carrying on organized, qualitative and monitored work just by organizing or authorizing a seminar, now and then, for the benefit of this or that institution or cadre. When, for example, the pedagogical departments are made responsible for the training of teachers in the lower grades the problem must [be] viewed and resolved in all aspects including the organizational structure and the cadres that are needed to make this structure work, otherwise the expected results will not be forthcoming. The time has come to organize regular courses, with approved programs, in addition to the seminars that are being given at the regional and district levels. In these courses, special attention must be given to the training of the masses of teachers, to the specialized cadres in the middle schools, to the management cadres of the 8-year schools and middle schools, to the planners in the pedagogical departments, as well as to the workers in the educational and cultural sections in the districts.

The continuing training of the tens of thousands of teachers who are active in our school and education is a necessity of the times. That qualitative leap which is required of our schools will be achieved only with the preparation of higher level programs, which will be analyzed by means of the most valuable contemporary texts. However, while correctly evaluating the role of programs and texts, we must realize that the decisive factor remains the work of the teachers who will use this scientific documentation. Therefore, if we do not continually increase the capabilities of teachers and educators we cannot achieve the objective that the party has set for our schools.

As the Eighth Congress of the Party stressed, the training of the masses of teachers, educators and all the workers in the educational sector is understood to mean that an improvement in the education system dictates the need for perfecting and further revolutionizing the style and method of management of all the education organs, from the school principals to the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Among the levers and organizations which can and must strongly influence the progress of our schools are the central departments and the other state organs in the districts and in the grassroots. Directly concerned with the educational level of the workers, specialists and cadres who are being trained by our middle and high schools, are some of the state organs who make an effort to concentrate on the schools that train the cadres in their fields. In this monitoring process they have formed their own opinion in regard to the qualitative level of the work that is being done for the assimilation of ideas by the students.

Today, more than yesterday, the party requires, first of all, that the state organs at headquarters and in the districts not confine themselves only to their role as "quality controllers," evaluating the schools on the basis of the level of skilled workers, specialists and cadres the schools prepare, but to help where they can and where they must to raise this qualitative level even further. Secondly, they must not consider the cooperation they are required to establish with the middle schools and high schools, as well as the Ministry of Education and Culture, who manage these schools, as a request for help which has to be given "to a third party," but as a collaboration of great value for the present and the future of their district or sector.

The Eighth Party Congress, correctly evaluating the role of this collaboration, defined concrete objectives which have to be realized through this collaboration.

The Party values a new increase in the qualitative level of the schools, capable of responding to the present and future development of all the life in our country, as much as it values the improvements in the method and style of the management work of the Ministry of Education and Culture, and the other organizations specializing in education; and as much as it values the solutions of problems on more skilled scientific bases; cooperation between this ministry and the other ministries and institutions, "must get more involved in preparing cadres and intermediate and high level specialists in order to correctly define the requirements for manpower with specific skills, and must seriously engage themselves in drafting plans, programs and school texts; they must be concerned with the better organization of work in production and the on the job training of pupils and students." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the PPSH" p 138.)

What is the level of interest and cooperation in this area and, after that, what needs to be corrected and improved?

The schools and the Ministry of Education, no matter how closely they follow the pulse of life, cannot know or follow with the same keenness and farsightedness the present and future of a sector as do the managers and ministerial branches involved in that sector. What is more, the schools and the Ministry

of Education need their help and ideas to correctly define, not only the number and specialties of middle level and high level cadres which are required for their particular sectors, but also to define the ability levels of these cadres in accordance with the expansion of the socialist production and the specialization of each one of its branches.

In this field of cooperation one must guard against a department's superficial demands for new specialties and branches without considering the actual conditions and capabilities of our country, where parallel to the specializations, sometimes rather narrow, the schools have to prepare cadres with wide horizons capable of maneuvering within similar specialities and branches.

It would be a heavy burden on our economy if we were to consider the possibility of preparing economists specializing in every branch of our industry, or merchandizing specialists for every sector of commerce, just as, it would be harmful to our economy if the schools would not keep pace with the qualitative development of our economy, and would not respond to this development by preparing cadres for the new direction it has taken.

While keeping in mind the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha that today's youth, whose education is forever becoming more solid, is, and will continue to be in the future, a leading force in realizing the technical and scientific revolution, the government departments are required to continue with consistency the process of preparing cadres and specialists, and to help, even more, in drafting correct, contemporary plans, programs and texts.

To fulfill during this 5-year period the party's program to intensify the development of the 100,000 hectares of cultivated coastal plains requires, among other things, the establishment in this area of new technological methods in plant cultivation and animal husbandry. A technology which will be defined, followed and assimilated by skilled workers and the middle and high level cadres with agricultural skills that our schools are preparing. Under these conditions, it is right for the Ministry of Agriculture to think about helping these schools to raise the training standards of the specialists and cadres they are preparing to meet the level of the tasks with which our agriculture is faced today, and for the future; to help prepare suitable texts and programs and more suitable relationships between subjects and the theory and practice within each subject. The weaknesses which are currently evident in the work of some agricultural schools, especially in schools the workers attend after working hours, where the middle level cadres prepared by these schools do not properly fulfill the requirements of today's modern production methods, must impel the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Education and Culture to examine closely the suitability of the programs and texts which are used in these schools, and see what has to be done to assimilate them in the best possible way.

The correct awareness on the part of every government department of the need to help the schools raise the level of knowledge of the middle and higher cadres they are preparing influences positively the whole pyramid they cover.

Because the party is asking that during this 5-year period we focus our attention more on raising the qualitative level of the work that is being done in

the vocational middle schools, it is necessary to have the help from the state economic organs, headquarters, the districts and the grassroots directed more towards these schools, assisting them, especially the night schools connected with work, so that we can assure that the planned contingent of students have regular school attendance, and that capable cadres are assigned to these schools. A better evaluation of the role of the vocational middle schools, where skilled workers and middle level cadres are prepared for different sectors of the economy and culture, will prevent the mistaken practice, which is sometimes noticed in some districts, where the vocational schools allow students, who cannot justify their poor work in production, or in any other cultural and social sector, to become instructors.

The interest the party and government organs in Vlore, Korce, Fier and other districts have shown in the progress of students in schools of this category, an interest, which among other things, is expressed in the selection of the most able cadres to teach in these schools, testifies to the correct understanding of the fact that every teaching cadre prepares, at his own level, a relatively large number of future specialists. Thus "denying" the school a capable cadre today means to accept the fact that, tomorrow, many young cadres will perform badly.

What is required of the schools today is a noticeable qualitative growth in all its activity and all its components. More is also required in further strengthening the connections between instruction and production, not only to increase the educational values of this connection, but also for the better integration of education with today's modern science and production.

The ways to achieve this objective and the areas of cooperation between the schools and the other links and organizations of our education are broad and numerous.

In order to enlarge their field of implementation the schools must have the necessary classrooms, teaching laboratories, experimental plots and production bases; they must have broad production fronts where students can produce and practice what they learn in class etc. It is obvious, at this time, that the schools cannot assure their material needs by their own forces and by their own financial resources. Such a requirement would lay a heavy burden on the economy of the country, especially, since it is well known that much of the teaching supplies and the laboratory equipment comes from imports. The solution to this problem requires, besides producing domestically as much of the teaching equipment and teaching tools as possible, good understanding and cooperation so the schools can utilize the laboratories and experimental centers of the economic enterprises, the agricultural cooperatives and the scientific-research institutions.

If the middle vocational schools in the districts of Berat, Sarande, Diber, Lezhe and Durres are able to successfully link teaching to practical experience and life, it is due to the fact that the schools in these districts, besides using materials which they produce themselves, have at their disposal the laboratory facilities of the scientific institutions and the experimental plots of the agricultural cooperatives. They make every effort to do accurate scientific work and undertake to solve some technological problems with economic benefits. The joint initiative undertaken recently by the trade union organizations in

the schools and in the production and work centers to jointly establish learning laboratories in the schools concerned with work, will radically improve the material bases and the teaching and educational process, it will also present another alternative which should be known and generalized.

The support the schools demand from our public opinion does not have only a material character. Public opinion visibly and invisibly influences all the dimensions of work in the schools. It is becoming more and more aware that in order to equip our students with deep and solid contemporary knowledge "it is very important to instill in the youth in our schools healthy motives of education based on revolutionary ideals." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the PPSH," p 137.)

The healthy motives of teaching, based on revolutionary ideals are cultivated by the family and the social organizations through the influence they exert over pupils and students, and over teachers and educators, as well. The care the family takes to create for our youth the best possible conditions for learning and study, the contact it has with the schools to enable it to follow the student's progress and the assistance which it gives to the students encouraging them to assimilate knowledge as well as possible and to apply it in the service of the fatherland, where and when it is needed, are characteristic of our socialist society. Nevertheless, the party and its levers in the grassroots and in the districts must exert more influence to protect the schools from certain negative pressures which are imposed upon them and which, if they are not combatted, will affect its very substance and its highest goals.

Today, when the most important task is to equip the students with deep and solid contemporary knowledge, the schools must be protected from the strong pressures that are brought to bear upon them by some parents and relatives to inflate the grades of the pupils, and less frequently, the students. This pressure very often begins in the first grade and continues until the diploma has been awarded. In some instances these petit-bourgeois attitudes lead to parent-teacher meetings which become in some cases, on the part of the parents, arguments about their children's grades.

As a result of this pressure, which is not resisted very often, in recent years there has been an increase in the awarding of "10's." The fact is that in the first years of high school these inflated "10's" appear in 1-3 subjects, whereas, in the middle schools the "10's" appear in all the subjects. This problem is most prevalent and most alarming for the children in the districts of Lushnje, Elbasan, Kukes, Librazhd, Tirana and Durres.

In order to successfully counter this pressure, the basic party organizations in the schools, the districts, the villages as well as the party committees in the districts, besides enlightening the parents and explaining to them the motives which guide the formative and educational work of the schools, must enhance and protect the reputation of our teachers and educators. They should not consider this task as a matter which concerns only the pedagogical councils and the educational and cultural sections in the districts.

Pupils and students imagine the schools to be as they are in reality, institutions of absolute fairness; the teachers and educators as the most honest of judges. When a teacher submits to pressures from a parent, he subjectively evaluates the work of a pupil or student. When this happens the image of the teacher and his moral and ethnical standing is shaken in the eyes of the pupils and students. This loss of confidence has negative effects on the learning process and on the children and youth.

The party must stay closer to the schools to solve the problem of evaluating pupils on the basis of averaging the grades, that is to say that, with this rational distribution of efforts and energies, a pupil or student who fights to get as good grades as possible in all subjects has no outlet for his aptitudes and talents. Under these conditions, while respecting, in general, the rules that have been defined, the teachers and the schools must encourage the pupils who show talent and have special skills and recommend that they study in those fields towards which their talents are inclined, and look with flexibility on the evaluations that are made on subjects which are far from the area of their aptitudes.

This differentiated evaluation of pupils and students with special skills should also apply to those who have diplomas. The criteria defined by the party that the best students with sound and lasting knowledge, with special skills and talents should be assigned the most important positions, where they can contribute the most, will be respected even more when the ideas of the schools are also taken into consideration.

The party and all its levers must devote continued interest and careful attention to these and a number of other problems which are awaiting a solution from our schools. Periodic observations encourage periodic studies which produce conclusions for continued improvement in the work of the schools and its level. for keeping alive a strong healthy public opinion and for a correct evaluation of the work of the teachers and of the schools, in general. These periodic analyses will help the party see the measure of the activity of its levers in this important molding and educational front, particularly the activity of the youth organizations and the trade union organizations where teachers and educators, as well as the students who go to schools connected with and not connected with work, are involved.

As it was emphasized at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth which met in January of this year, the youth organizations are required to improve and modify their educational work in order to create in the students the healthy convictions that the school period is a period of intensive work to assimilate deep and lasting knowledge. The success of this formative work greatly depends on whether these organizations are capable of recognizing and combatting the petit-bourgeois attitude of running after grades and diplomas which are noticed among certain members.

These attitudes which are encountered in youth organizations that are lukewarm in their commitment sometimes influence wide circles of pupils and students. It is for this reason that in some middle schools those that try hardest to learn are usually those who want to continue in higher education. Even in this

category of pupils efforts are not made in all the subjects for all 4 years, but rather in the 4th year and in the subjects in which they need a final grade. High school students who in middle school study to maintain an average which will allow them to move on to higher education, "relax" during the first and 2d years once they have reached their objective. This becomes apparent in generally low grade averages and in sometimes high percentages of repeat and failed tests.

All these young people are members of the Union of Albanian Working Youth and had they submitted to the criticism of their own organizations in the middle schools "Ali Demi" in Vlore, "Dashkal Todri" in Elbasan, "Demir Progri" in Korce, the forestry middle school in Shkoder and others, in order to make their educational work more lasting and effective, for the revolutionary motives which should guide our youth during the schools years, differentiate in their work with the organizations and the students, in regard to subjects in which the level of learning is not pleasing.

Generally adopting these and other such examples in our country will help to turn education for the new generation into a criterion of devotion to socialism. It will create an atmosphere of isolation for those who, after middle school, try to find an easy job, sometimes outside the area of the sepcialty for which they were trained, as has happened recently among the young men and women graduates of the construction school in Tirana.

Under conditions when a good number of our workers are educated in and graduated from schools connected with work, the trade union organizations in work and production centers need to devote more care and attention to creating and instilling in the workers healthy revolutionary motivations. There are vocational middle schools connected with the job, such as the "50th anniversary" middle school at the "Stalin" textile plant in Tirana, where the school and the combine's trade union organizations show constant concern for the progress of the working students. Several trade union organizations in different areas of the country follow, step by step, the level of educational progress made by the students. They keep close ties with the schools and participate in the educational council meetings of the schools where conditions and the levels of learning are analyzed. They help the schools by providing educational aids and invite the teachers to their own meetings when school matters are discussed.

However, this is not the case everywhere. There are enterprises, work and production centers where the trade union organizations, as well as the enterprise managers, are not as concdrned as they should be about the schools. Furthermore, at times, they prevent the worker's regular attendance at school under the pretext of the need to fulfill the plan. This is one of the reasons that in many night schools the level of learning of a good number of students is low, their attendance is poor and there is a lack of concentration on mastering the programs well.

The task of the basic party organs and organizations, besides strengthening the work of the schools, in that broad and varied work that is being done in our country to increase the role of public opinion in the progress of the schools, is to exert influence even more to deepen the convictions of the students, their parents, the youth organizations, the trade unions and the state and economic

organs that socialism requires culture and profound scientific knowledge, and it is on this basis that the work of the students, the teachers and the schools, as a whole, should be evaluated.

Keeping this revolutionary motivation in mind will help the students, the teachers and educators, the state and economic organs, the mass organizations and the families to be more realistic in judging the work of the schools, so they will not be satisfied with the percentage numbers and grades that are given in report cards and diplomas, but will measure the effectiveness of everyone's work by the student's capacity to learn, and by the measure of influence the knowledge gained in school will have on the progress of their work when they go out in life.

6160
CSO: 2100/73

INCREASING ALCOHOLISM CRITICIZED

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 24 Aug 82 p 7

[Article by Dr. Alojz Kocinger: "From Bad Habit to Addiction"]

> [Text] The World Health Organization warns that statistics show that 2-5 percent of the European population suffers from alcoholism. In the CSSR it is estimated that there are 400,000 alcoholics, of whom at least one third are in Slovakia. Formally, about 60,000 alcoholics are registered in the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR]. The treatment of one individual costs about Kcs 55,000 and the cure is not always successful. Kcs 5.5 billion are being edpended on this problem. The cost of health insurance and incapacitation stemming from alcoholism represents about Kcs 8 billion annually. The World Health Organization further warns that there is a steady upward trend in the production of and spending on alcoholic beverages. Between 1960 and 1972, these have risen by 60-80 percent and considerably more since, as much as 100 percent more in some countries.

Slovakia leads world consumers of pure alcohol with an annual per capita consumption of about 12 liters. Since 1978, about Kcs 11 billion were spent on alcoholic beverage, a sum representing 15-25 percent of a total family budget.

According to domestic trade figures, while there was a temporary drop following the price adjustment of 1979, sales have been rising steadily since.

Damage Caused by Alcohol

About 250,000 people in the SSR suffer from diseases directly or indirectly caused by alcohol. In about 20 percent of our citizens drinking has become habitual, making them potential candidates for alcoholism.

In citing the cost of damage caused by alcohol, we must include the great number of patients treated for ailments of the liver, the nervous system, brain disorder, as well as traffic accidents causing enormous material losses and often costing human lives (on a global scale, about 250,000 people die each year as a result of injury in automobile accidents). Impossible to express statistically is the moral damage, human disintegration, family, relations among people and poor performance at work.

In 1981, 12,671 individuals in the SSR committed a criminal act while under the influence of alcohol. Of the 23,370 automobile accidents, 1,844 (7.9 percent) were caused by alcohol. 517 people (16.6 percent) lost their lives in alcohol-induced accidents.

The facts are staggering, yet people go on drinking. What are the reasons for this? This is a question asked by psychologists, educators, physicians, sociologists, as well as public officials.

Considering this problem in historical terms, we must admit that humans have been resorting to drugs since the dawn of their existence, in certain mystical rites and as part of various celebrations. It would appear that the objective then was the same as today, i.e., escape from reality or an effort to reach for an unknown deity one fears.

Scientific probes (LUDNY 1976) examined the physiological and conditional determinants of habitual drinking with the following results: 93 percent of people drink when they are depressed; 90 percent when they are nervous; 88 percent do so when angry; 77 percent when they are not feeling well; 77 percent when under stress; 72 percent following failure at work or other activity; 35 percent when they achieve success; 30 percent when they are happy; 23 percent when they feel well; 18 percent when they are relaxed.

Persons dependent on alcohol reported during interviews that they drink only in the above-mentioned situations. Most remained habitual drinkers, we do not know how many of them eventually became alcoholics.

Inbred or Acquired Dispositions

The causes of alcoholism, however, go deeper than that. We must consider the inbred or acquired dispositions, i.e., a diseased psychophysical structure. Weak-willed, unbalanced and mentally unstable types of people are more predisposed toward alcoholism than are others.

Societal and social pressures, all the way to social disease, uncertainty, hopelessness--these are the factors which currently contribute to the fact that people, even the young, very young, children and pregnant women resort to alcohol as their only--though fictitious--salvation.

Contributing factors include ready accessibility to alcohol, indulgent attitude of society, and negative influences of family, friends and society.

The causes of alcoholism in capitalist society can, in our view, be simply stated. They are unemployment, especially among the young, hopelessness, "freedom" to think and act, to terrorize and murder.

Determining the causes of alcoholism in our country and in the other socialist states is more difficult. For now, there is no unemployment, the young people have reason to look forward to the future, and the development of all types of spiritual, physical and cultural activity is receiving full support. There is no need to fear the future which for every honest worker is guaranteed economically, as well as in terms of health care. Yet, despite all this, our people drink and drink no less than those living under capitalism. The problem probably has a number of common global and human denominators which are obviously rooted in the essence of man and society (inbred characteristics).

Alcoholism in its broadest context is a part of the social, moral and economic problems of society in which it appears as a pathological manifestation. Alcoholism represents both a question mark and an exclamation mark.

With respect to the individual--whether innately or in a predetermined manner--alcoholic intake is caused by a false impression that it enhances waning human energy or that it helps overcome otherwise seemingly insurmountable obstacles. It is the most frequent road of fictitious self-realization and achievement, while in effect it is only an escape route from reality which often appears harsh and hopeless.

Band-Aid for Pain

Alcohol usually serves as a band-aid for mental or physical discomfort. One of the most serious causes of heavy drinking is an individual's inability to find a deeper sense of his life and his place in society. The reasons for the rest both with the individual and with society which, while prosperous and powerful, cannot fulfill the often imaginary but other times quite realistic basic rights and needs of the individual.

First Encounter with Alcohol

Where and how are we to combat alcohol and alcoholism?

The campaign against this fashionable drug must be initiated from childhood primarily in the family which is responsible for the early experiences with alcohol to which a child is exposed. We found an example in the pupils of a Basic Nine-Year School, whose record of regular alcohol consumption was as follows: boys 10.8 percent, girls in the 7th grade 3.2 percent. 50 percent of the parents were aware of this fact. Among 5,000 minors in Bratislava, 47 percent of the boys and 17 percent of the girls have already experienced the state of intoxication. On the average, children get acquainted with beer at the age of 10, wine at 11, and hard liquor at 12.

During a lecture at a nine-year school, I asked the 9-11 year old pupils which ones have not yet tasted alcohol. Of 70 children there were 4, 3 girls and 1 boy.

Erroneous upbringing of children causes them to escape into groups and "partying." As many as 80 percent of them began drinking in a group of peers, where 86 percent of them experienced their first state of intoxication.

The problem of alcoholism and other drug addiction is a global one and its resolution requires, first of all, correct handling in the family, stable relations at home, and much more intensive influence of the school in this area.

The struggle against alcoholism must encompass an entire complex of measures related to moral and political education of people, to social and private life, to economic problems of society and the individual, along with the assurance of personal and collective security and certainty. Last but not least, the struggle against alcoholism must be reflected in the respective cost of alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages.

It is incomprehensible that on hot summer days one often cannot find any non-alcoholic drinks or even beer in our retail outlets, while the shelves are full of wine and hard liquor bottles of every possible kind and price.

A socialist society should be able to find ways and means of regulating alcohol consumption, paralyzing its noxious effects and the consequences of heavy drinking. For in real terms, the struggle against alcoholism is a struggle for the security of society and the individual, for social and personal cetainty.

9496
CSO: 2400/350

PETITION, FATE OF TWO CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS REPORTED

Text of Petition

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 2 Jul 82 p 4

['Nachrichten' (News) feature article: "Quoted Verbatim: 'No Soldiers--No War'"]

[Text] The young sculptor Michael Blumhagen lived and worked in a village near Jena. Because GDR authorities had not yet granted a license to the self-taught sculptor to try making a living at selling his own works, the 23-year-old also worked 2 days a week in a nursery. Like Lutz Leibner, his friend and fellow artist, he was intensely involved in the subject of peace. Both of them refused to serve as reservists in the GDR People's Army because they feel: "If we are for peace and also use this subject in our art, we cannot simultaneously be reservists, crawling over battlefields and practicing war." Since such a refusal calls for imprisonment, Michael Blumhagen turned at the beginning of June to the writer Stefan Heym (with a reference to his role in the European Writers' Conferences in Berlin and The Hague) and also sent a petition to the GDR Peace Council. The petition reads as follows:

To the President
of the GDR Peace Council
Prof Dr G. Drefahl
1080 Berlin/GDR
Zetkinstrasse 103

Re: Petition

In December 1980 (6 months after completing my active duty) I sent a letter to the director of the military district command which contained the following information:

I would like to take this opportunity to inform you that I will refuse to carry arms for the remaining period of my compulsory military duty as a reservist. It is no longer compatible with my conscience and my judgment to contribute personally to a worldwide hysterical arms buildup. It is my opinion that wars--and all military disputes in general--are senseless. None of the economic,

political and ideological differences of opinion that exist in the world can be settled through wars. Should it be possible--against all human reason--that a military dispute will break out in Central Europe between the blocs of different social orders, it will inevitably spread since limited spheres of interests do no longer exist in the world. Nobody will emerge as a victor from this dispute. I do not want to be among the survivors.

As far as I am concerned, all these aspects lead to the following conclusion: Unless there are soldiers who are operating cannons, there cannot be a war either. I hope that there will be a time when people in East and West will act in accordance with their convictions. Only we ourselves--as human beings--can bring about a change in our misery. Maybe, we will then be able to concern ourselves with urgent questions of survival.

During several discussions with the director of the military district command, I was informed of the possible consequences of my decision. He told me that according to current GDR laws, there was no possibility of refusing to bear arms after completing active duty. Accordingly, in case I should be drafted again to serve the National People's Army, the only choice I have is to face the military courts or to rescind my decision. Since I do not consider these two alternatives adequate, I decided in May 1980 to apply for my removal from CGR citizenship.

On 3 June I received a draft notice to report on 15 June. I refused to accept the draft notice and referred the military district command to my letter of 3 December 1980. Now I will have to be prepared to be arrested on 15 June 1982 and appear before the military court.

I am appealing to the GDR Peace Council, because in my opinion it is the appropriate and competent agency that can help young people in this country to live according to their conscience, particularly during these months when force seems to have the upper hand (see the conflict between Great Britain and Argentina and the war in Lebanon). I would like to ask you to do whatever you can and prevail on the appropriate agencies of the National People's Army to permit me to fulfill my reserve duty as a construction soldier.

Respectfully, M. Blumhagen

FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU Comment

The letters proved to be in vain. While Leibner was able to move to West Berlin last weekend, Michael Blumhagen has been in a GDR prison since 15 June.

Regime's Reaction

Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 6 Aug 82 p 3

[Article datelined "Berlin/GDR, 5 August" by Helmut Loelhoeffel, member, editorial board, SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: "GDR: The Circle of Friends from Jena--Scenes From an Action by the Regime--How the East Berlin Authorities Reacted to Young People's Expression of Sympathy for a Prisoner Who Died in Jail"]

[Text] First a memorial stone disappeared from a cemetery. Then the creator of the meter-high figure disappeared behind prison walls. And finally his residence disappeared. The fate of the sculpture, the arrest of the young man and the demolition of his house belong to a chain of events, the peculiar accompanying circumstances of which have not yet been completely unraveled. Everything that has become known to date in and around Jena is casting a light on the peculier customs of insecure GDR State Security authorities.

It began on 10 April 1981. Two young men from Jena were traveling by train to the birthday celebration of a friend in East Berlin. But when they were halfway, they were snatched from their compartment by the transportation police--"for the clarification of a certain matter"--they were taken to Gera, where they were placed in a pretrial prison and questioned for 48 hours by members of the State Security Service. One of them, who is now living in West Berlin, was released on the third day. But the other one, Matthias Domaschk, was dead. His parents--both of whom are members of the SED and the son had had disagreements with them--were informed that the 23-year-old had hanged himself in his cell with his own shirt.

Matthias Domaschk, his nickname was "Matz," was a member of a fairly large clique of young people in Jena, who are looking for communication outside of state organizations; they are making music, exchanging literature in demand, experimenting with alternative lifestyles and considering themselves a part of the GDR peace movement." The people from the "scene in Jena"--as they would be called in the West--meet in taverns, in congregational meeting halls of churches or in apartments to debate, to exchange news and learn from one another. Some members of the circle of friends do not believe the suicide version, because "Matz" had told them about his future plans and his intentions to get married. There are others, however, who claimed they know that the sensitive Matthias Domaschk had announced his suicide in case he would be arrested. There is no way to reconstruct what actually happened in the cell of Gera. At any rate, Domaschk's death remained a constant topic of conversation, at least among the 200 young people who met on 16 April 1982 at 8 o'clock in the morning on Jena's north cemetery, although the date of the funeral had been kept a secret until the night before.

An occasional meeting place of these youths was an old farmhouse in Graitschen, 10 kilometers east of the city. It was the residence of Michael Blumhagen, son of the director-general of music in Jena. According to statements by acquaintances, he was not a conspicuous member of the "scene." He lived in seclusion, gave the appearance of an eccentric, was a self-taught sculptor and made lithographs and linocuts. He portrayed nature or people; only rarely he

tackled political subjects. To earn a living, he worked as a stoker in the winter and in a nursery during the summer. Four years ago Blumhagen had completed his military service in the National People's Army. Subsequently he informed the military district command that because of his experiences he would refuse to bear arms in the future and take part in military exercises. When the legal situation in the GDR was explained to him, according to which it is impossible to grant his request, he applied for his "removal from GDR citizenship," in other words, emigration to the West.

In April 1982, the cases of Domaschk and Blumhagen were linked together. Preceding the first anniversary of Domaschk's death, his friends had become active. They placed approximately 50 different advertisements in local newspapers that read something like, "We remember our friend Matthias Domaschk" or "Matz, we are thinking of you." They were also printed in the VOLKSWACHT, the SED paper of the Gera distirct; during the night hundreds of cut-out advertisements were pasted on display cases and lampposts. But in the morning they had already been removed. Flowers that were placed on Domaschk's grave were removed just as quickly again and again.

On 9 April Blumhagen, aided by a few friends, placed in Jena's Johannes cemetery a stone sculpture he had created--depicting a crouching figure in mourning. Matthias Domaschk's name was engraved on the pedestal and also the dates of his birthday and his death. The competent pastor, however, called attention to the fact that "the unauthorized placement of memorial stones in the cemetery" was "illegal." Blumhagen prepared the removal of the figure. But the authorities were faster. On the same day a dark vehicle, a Lada model with trailer, drove up and the 4-centner mourning sculpture was removed. Friends from the "scene" photographed this lightning action.

A mysterious series of events followed. For one month the memorial stone was kept in the coffin storeroom of the city's cemetery administration. During the night of 15 May, however, there was a break-in and the sculpture disappeared. Blumhagen's search was without success; instead the police accused the sculptor of stealing his own work. Soon, however, the investigation was halted and Blumhagen was subjected to new chicaneries. Unexpectedly he received a short notice to report for reserve military service on 15 June. Not only the date was unusual but also the fact that Blumhagen was called by the Army although he had announced his refusal to serve and applied for emigration. Consequently the suspicion that was voiced by friends may not be far from the truth, according to which the authorities had been looking for a violation of a law to catch the undesirable citizen and they had been unsuccessful until that date. Blumhagen himself was "convinced," according to his requests for help directed to GDR politicians and artists, that this confrontation had been planned deliberately. He did not begin his reserve duty, but the next day he reported to the police and was arrested. Since then he has been in pretrial detention, waiting to be tried for "denial and refusal to serve in the military"; according to article 256 of the GDR penal code, the punishment is up to 5 years in prison. The proceedings are to take place on 20 August at 1500 hours in the Erfurt military court.

In the meantime the process has begun of removing Blumhagen's traces. His house in Graitschen was searched and sealed and subsequently emptied, and at the end of July it was torn down "because of its delapidated condition." Although Blumhagen did not agree with the demolition because he considered the house habitable, he is even supposed to pay for it. His friends protested against the state action in an unusual manner: Through the mail they sent "postcards" they had made themselves; they show Blumhagen's house intact, in front of it a heavy construction vehicle ready to begin the demolition. The news by the senders consists of three words which could also be a message: "The time has come."

8991
CSO: 2300/376

NEW EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM PLANNED FOR OFFICER COLLEGES

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Jul 82 p 13

[Rainer Funke interview with Maj Gen Werner Otto, chief, Administration of Schools and Advanced Education, Ministry for National Defense: "Result of the National People's Army (NVA) College Conference: After Four Years of Studies, a Diploma for the Lieutenant--NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Discussion on Demands and Tasks in the Training of Cadres for the NVA and Border Troops"]

> [Text] The College Conference of the NVA, the Border Troops and Civil Defense of the GDR in early July set higher standards for the education and training, curriculum and research for the 1980's and 1990's. As defined by the fourth meeting of the SED ZK [Central Committee], the task at hand was especially to implement at the institutes of higher military education the party's scientific and higher education policies in long-range terms and with the greatest possible benefits for fighting-strength and combat-readiness. The challenges resulting from this task for the future education of German officers were discussed by correspondent Rainer Funke in an interview with Werner Otto, chief, Administration of Schools and Advanced Education, Ministry for National Defense.

[Question] From 1983 on, the revised study programs at officer training colleges will take effect. After their 4-year--rather than the traditional 3-year--training, the graduates from 1987 on, having been promoted to lieutenants, will also receive, for the first time the first academic rank--the diploma. What development tendencies are at the basis of these new concepts?

[Answer] The officers will fulfill their political and military duties under conditions of accentuating class confrontations which, of course, have a considerable influence on military matters.

Look Into the Future

The graduates, who leave military colleges in the 1980's, will be in charge of batallions and regiments in the 1990's as commanding officers, political and staff officers. Provided that the coalition character of the NVA will take on

an ever stronger form, predictions for these decades, the expected challenges for officers, the predictable development of the armed forces as well as the most recent experiences of the NVA and Soviet Army in the training of the officer corps, all these factors, made essential contributions to the new study programs.

In addition, the armed forces reflect clearly the progress of our socialist educational system. Our professional military personnel and the overwhelming majority of soldiers in basic training have today, after all, a completed 10-year or 12-year education. They have a solid general education and also good political and premilitary knowledge acquired in military training in the GST [(paramilitary) Society for Sport and Technology], and many of them have specialized knowledge, and some of them several years' experience in a profession, and in addition all of them have a good portion of self-confidence.

Preparatory Services Must Be Utilized.

From his first day of field service on, the young officer is faced with the challenges of utilizing the services already provided by society for increasing fighting strength and combat-readiness. His college training will prepare him even better for meeting this challenge. His studies lay an important foundation for the political and leadership qualities of a future officer. A special role is played here by the challenges of modern combat conditions for commanding officers, staff, political and field officers. This role refers, above all to their ability to lead troop collectives--and that under all kinds of tactical conditions.

Furthermore, it is important to take into consideration the influence of scientific-technological progress on the armed forces, such as the continuing introduction of micro-electronics and automated systems, and likewise the development of military science, of combat technology and weapons. In the future, graduates will therefore be faced in their practical work in the field by tasks for which academic study cannot offer solutions that will be valid for all times.

For all these reasons we have decided to revise curriculum contents according to the decisions of the 10th Party Congress and of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee on "Tasks of Universities and Colleges in the Developed Socialist Society" of 18 March 1980.

[Question] The officer candidates will thus receive an extensive basic knowledge which will enable them far better to solve their tasks creatively...

[Answer] In the future, the graduates will be expected to become acquainted more thoroughly and independently, with the help of their theoretical knowledge, with new challenges facing their commands. Therefore, all the laws, norms, principles and methods of military life that meet these challenges will play a greater role than before in college training.

As we did before, we are emphasizing that the officer candidates' training is as close to life as possible and that they are thus prepared for all service

and living conditions in the daily life of the armed forces. This kind of training will enable the candidates to meet the challenges in the field fully and quickly. For this reason, during their 6th or 7th semester practica the future officers are already assigned to places in which they will begin their military careers after completing their college training.

[Question] These ideas make it possible, therefore, to give the graduates, after the final examination and together with their diploma, the first academic degree...

[Answer] Yes, they are therefore entitled to receive a professional degree such as: graduate sociologist (political officers), graduate educator (commanding officers), graduate engineer (commanding officers or officers in the technical services), graduate economist (officers of the supply services or civil defense).

Graduates who will complete their college training before 1986 without receiving a diploma can, as before, obtain the first academic degree at a military academy or at another institute of higher education.

[Question] How are officer colleges prepared to meet future challenges in curriculum and research?

[Answer] During the last months there were far-reaching exchanges of opinion on impending problems between military instructors, officer candidates, commanding officers, political and staff workers of the armed forces. The experiences gained here were taken into consideration in the revised study curricula and were discussed at the College Conference of the NVA, the Border Troops and Civil Defense.

Close Cooperation

At the institutes of higher learning themselves, much has happened during the last few years. The institutes have deepened and broadened their cooperation with military ecucational institutions of brother armies, especially of the Soviet Army.

As a rule, military instructors have good field command practice behind them. Many of them have graduated with exemplary results. Military colleges for future officers offer an education in modern military technology, their instructional equipment is in line with the most recent educational knowledge, and they have available a great variety of military literature so that they offer the best conditions for acquiring a mastery of any of the specific topics at hand.

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KADAR INTERVIEWED ON MITTERRAND VISIT

Paris LE MONDE in French 7 Jul 82 pp 1, 7

[Interview in Budapest with Mr Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, by our special correspondent Michel Tatu: "An Interview With Mr Kadar--Mr Mitterrand's Visit to Hungary 'Is Useful For Needed Continuity in East-West Relations,' the First Secretary of the Party Told Us"; date not specified]

> [Text] Mr Mitterrand is expected in Budapest in the late afternoon of Wednesday, 7 July for a two-day visit in Hungary, the first visit he is making to an Eastern European country since he was elected. His program provides for two face-to-face discussions with Mr Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and a meeting with the cardinal who is primate of Hungary and several writers and artists. The French president will be giving a press conference before going back to Paris Friday afternoon.
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> On the eve of this meeting Mr Kadar met in Budapest with our special correspondent. The man who has led Hungary for 26 years was delighted about, among other things, good Franco-Hungarian relations the significance of which "goes beyond bilateral relations," and a visit which "is also useful for needed continuity in the relations between countries with different social systems."

Budapest--The first secretary's office, on the first floor of the Party Central Committee's fortress-building, looks out over the Danube. The decoration is meant to be "internationalist" in the orthodox communist meaning of the term: A picture, rather ugly, showing Lenin playing chess; a portrait, more unpretentious, of Mr Brezhnev; and a few photographs of big communist meetings in the Kremlin. The man introduced himself almost shyly--"Kadar," as if there was a chance of confusing him with someone else--but he quickly showed himself to be playful and animated in both his facial expressions and his gestures in spite of his 70 years and a slight corpulence. He had already communicated written answers to our questions [word illegible] he gladly agreed to a conversation which would make it possible to "go further."

[Question] What do you expect from Mr Mitterrand's visit?

[Answer] We are pleased to welcome the president of the French Republic. His visit is an event of special significance, for Mr Mitterrand is the first French chief of state to be visiting Hungary.

I have good memories of our previous encounters in Budapest and in Paris, and I am certain that he as well will feel he is a welcome guest in Hungary during his current visit. We are expecting our talks to contribute to the broadening of the political, economic, technological, scientific, cultural and other bilateral relations between the French Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic. Such a contribution has a significance which goesbeyond bilateral relations. It shows that in the face of atempts which aim, as people are well aware, to aggravate the international situation and damage the relations between states--that responsible statesmen are still working today toward the development of mutually beneficial relations between countries with different social systems: They are thereby serving the interests of their peoples and at the same time those of peace.

No unsettled political matter hangs over our relations, that creates good conditions for our talks. Moreover, we are able to use the dynamic development of Franco-Hungarian relations--especially recent development--as a basis. However, there are still unexploited possibilities. For example, in our opinion we can continue to broaden mutually beneficial economic, scientific/technological, and cultural relations.

[Question] Does the fact that Mr Mitterrand has not gone to Moscow since he was elected and that Hungary is the first European country he is visiting give your country a special role?

[Answer] It is our opinion that especially in today's complicated international situation the leaders of each country have their role and their responsibility in the safeguarding of peace and the maintenance of normal relations among states.

Being realists, we do not assign our country any special role beyond that. That is why I attach importance to the fact that by means of this trip Mr Mitterrand is showing that he considers the Hungaria6n People's Republic a partner worthy of attention--that he is interested in our socialist experience. There is no doubt that this visit is also useful of needed continuity in the relations between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe with different social systems.

As I said I had the opportunity to meet with Mr Mitterrand well before his election as president, the last time being at the end of 1978 in Paris. Our talks were frank, constructive, and a great learning experience for me. As their results are demonstrating, those meetings were of great service, not only for our getting to know each other personally but also in the dialogue of a consultative nature between the parties we represent and in deepening the good relationship of our countries and peoples.

The Pershings: "A Great Danger"

[Question] How do you view the future of the talks on nuclear weapons in Europe? Should the French nuclear force be included in the negotiations in your opinion? Do you fear serious tensions in the event American Pershings and cruise missiles are installed in Western Europe?

[Answer] Hungary greeted the opening of talks on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe with delight, and it welcomed the fact that the strategic weapons issue is also on the agenda. No person, if he wants to stay alive, can be indifferent to the cause of peace. For us that is an issue of great importance, for the building of socialism is a total commitment to the defense of peace. For the moment the stands of the parties to these two negotiations are very different. The Soviet Union, in accordance with the principled line of its peace-loving foreign policy, starts from the fact that the essential task is to prevent war and safeguard peace and, with that end in view, to curb the arms race. The Warsaw Pact countries, including the Hungarian People's Republic, feel that the goal of the talks--the basis for an agreement--can only be 'equal security at a lower level of arms.'

It is well known that at the moment certain influential circles and individuals in the United States are following a diametrically opposite course. Instead of a necessary and feasible agreement based on the principle of equal security they are endeavoring to obtain military superiority. Instead of curbing the arms race they are adding to their weaponry and attempting to create and install new weapons of mass destruction.

The success of the Geneva negotiations depends basically on the extent to which the United States takes account of realities. Today an approximate balance of forces has become established as a whole, both in the entire world, and in Europe where the main forces face each other. That balance exists between the United States and the Soviet Union as well as between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. I would point out here the French and English nuclear forces are constituent elements of that balance. In the negotiations, then, it is logical--if the parties aspire to the preservation of equal security--to take all the elements of the situation into account.

In spite of the difficulties I am confident about the prospects for a limitation on nuclear arms in Europe. It is highly significant that the Soviet Union has recently taken a number of unilateral disarmament steps and tried to build confidence among nations through important measures. In this regard, its commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons is particularly significant. It is unquestionably a good change that the United States has also taken a step and that the talks have thus been able to start in Geneva. The powerful peace movement which is coming to the fore nowadays in Western Europe and the United States proves that nations do not want to live in the shadow of a nuclear catastrophe.

The installation of new American intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe would expose not only the gains of detente--which have been achieved with difficulty--but also the security and very existence of the peoples of Europe to great danger; we only have to consider the insane idea of a 'limited nuclear war in Europe'! The Warsaw Pact states understand the other party's legitimate security interests and are prepared to take them into account. But if we want the talks to provide real results, the natural aspiration and fundamental interest of the Soviet Union and its allies to see their own security properly guaranteed must also be taken into consideration. That is the most practicable path leading to a halt in the arms race, the elimination of the threat of war, and the stabilization of international relations.

The SS-20's: "Take the Context into Account"

[Question] Was it really necessary for the Soviet Union to install new missiles aimed at Western Europe--the SS-20's--during the detente years, at a time when nothing comparable was being produced in the West? Wasn't deterrence between the USSR and the United States already assured at that time?

[Answer] There was, in fact, a situation of detente; the Helsinki agreements, the Soviet-American negotiations on arms limitation, and certain agreements like SALT I and the non-proliferation treaty came into being. But weapons modernization and the development of military technology were continued at all times and inall places. Besides, although there was an overall balance in the military area, the experts were able to ascertain that this balance did not exist for all types of weaponry.

Thus, there is a considerable difference between the structure of the USSR's intermediate-range weaponry and that of the United States. The USSR has land-based missiles for the most part. As for the United States and its Western allies, their intermediate-range weapons are either airborne or sea-based. Now, the Americans modernized that airborne and sea-based weaponry, which led the Soviet Union to modernize its land-based arsenal. Therefore, an objective approach is possible only if one takes the context into account--if one approaches the issue in all its complexity.

Finally the USSR announced that it was unilaterally putting an end to its instalation of new intermediate-range missiles and that it was prepared to reduce their number. But I would like to make two further observations: From the American point of view the intermediate-range weapons are called "tactical" because they do not reach the territory of the United States. But the American missiles are able to reach the territory of the USSR. And the Soviet Union's defense officials cannot disregard that essential fact. It is also of concern to the defense of the Eastern European countries.

Another factor is more sensitive for you French. The United States and the USSR can only talk about their own weapons. But only a single country within the Warsaw Pact has nuclear weaponry, while there are three such countries in NATO. That must be considered when one is talking about SS-20's.

The Economic Reform: "More Than 20 Years Ago"

[Question] Is the economic reform embarked upon in the 1960's going to continue and become more extensive?

[Answer] It is perhaps not so well-known that the modernization of economic management was embarked upon in Hungary more than 20 years ago. Following the decentralization of management, the burden of administrative measures applied in industry was lightened, the profitsharing participation of firms was increased, and the role of market and financial interconnections was increased. We have achieved particularly favorable results in the planned management of the production and sale of agricultural products, and this was with the help of price and financial resource policy.

It was on the basis of these beginnings and favorable experiences that in 1968 we started the reform of the entire system of economic management. At present we can justifiably assert that our system of economic management is useful in a more flexible fashion for our planned socialist economy than it was previously, and that it has a better balance between the efficiency of economic processes managed in a centralized fashion and the autonomy, responsibility and material interest of enterprises. It has stimulated the spirit of initiative and enterprise and has freed new creative energies.

We would like the system of management, planning and organization to adapt itself even better and more flexibly to changing conditions. That adaptation is a fundamental task for Hungary, for our statistics connect us through countless links to the world economy and we are involved in a particularly active fashion in the international division of labor.

Therefore, in answering you in the affirmative, I would like to immediately add: We consider the system of management as a means making it possible to promote the efficiency of the functioning of a socialist planned economy.

[Question] Aren't the continuous rise in the price of oil and the difficulty of getting Western foreign exchange likely to prompt Hungary to reduce its trade with the West?

[Answer] During the entire development of the Hungarian economy it has had the great advantage of having the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as partners. It is not just a matter of the natural advantage following from our social system and political objectives being the same. The development of economic relations among socialist countries is still sustained these days by real economic advantages: They are relations which can be planned, are mutually beneficial, are rapidly expanding, and are reliable. In the current difficult situation of the world economy, they exert an unequivocally stabilizing influence on our economic development. Without them our problems would be much bigger.

In addition, changed international conditions on both political and economic levels, and the discrimination and embargo policy carried out by certain capitalist circles vis-a-vis the socialist countries, make the development of multilateral cooperation among socialist countries in the economic, scientific and technological areas essential.

The Hungarian People's Republic has never aimed at Autarky, which would be nonsense anyway. Hungary is very interested in broadening mutually beneficial economic relations with the capitalist countries. That is a constant element in our economic policy. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Editor's note: COMECON [CEMA]) countries as a whole are not seeking autarky either. In their stand made public at the end of the 36th CEMA session in June 1982, they plainly showed their intention to expand their mutual cooperation without that affecting the cooperation they have built up with other countries. They dissociated themselves from isolationism of any kind.

Poland: Close Ties

[Question] What lessons do you draw from the Polish events, particularly as regards the organization and activity of the trade unions? Do you consider it normal for the army to take the party's place in running the country?

[Answer] Poland is a focus of attention in Hungary for Several reasons. Our traditional relations of friendship are well-known. Those relations have become enriched during the last three decades, since the time our two nations opted for socialism. Our parties--our countries--are linked by close ties in all areas. Both countries are members of the Warsaw Pact and of CEMA. That in itself explains pretty well why Hungarian society follows activity in Poland with a keen interest.

The Polish events highlight our own experiences in the building of socialism even more. Among those experiences a special place should be given to the relations between the socialist state, the party as the society's political guiding force, and the trade union association which groups together the vast majority of workers. At one time we were still just searching for the role and place of trade unions in socialism. In addition, at the beginning of the 1950's political distortions had made trade union work in Hungary formal and bureaucratic. Thanks to the policy we have been carrying out for 25 years, trade unions in our country today are autonomous organizations of workers without their being independent of our working-class government. The situation in our country is that the means of production fall under collective ownership, the exploitation of men by other men has ceased, and the Hungarian trade unions take part in the definition and the implementation of policy.

In view of the threats which were hanging over the gains of socialism in the period when the Polish crisis was worsening, the Hungarian Communists--the workers of Hungary--welcomed with understanding the sovereign decision of the Polis9 leaders last December by which the Plish armed forces, under

the leadership of the Military Council of National Salvation and via energetic measures, blocked the way for enemy forces which were stirring up anarchy and civil war; they defended the government of the people, thereby creating the initial conditions for a socialist solution to their real problems.

Our stand was inspired by the conviction that only a stable and socialist Poland can serve the common cause of peace and security in Europe.

[Question] Even with a military government?

[Answer] Since August 1980 the situation in Poland hasn't been normal. That is why the Poles have had to use special means which fit that abvormal situation. In my humble opinion, that government is not a typical military government. All the constitutional institutions, the parties, the Parliament, and the government, are functioning. Having said that, even the Poles recognize that they have not thereby resolved the country's fundamental social issues. They have merely created the essential conditions for the resolution of those issues. The Plish United Workers Party--the other parties--all the positive forces in Polish society must take part in that resolution. We would like the solutions to be socialist solutions.

1956: The Great Majority of the Nation Understood

[Question] You have been the head of the Hungarian Workers Party for 26 years and you were in that position at the time of the Soviet Army's decisive intervention in Budapest on 4 November 1956. Did you request that intervention, and do you today still consider that it was necessary?

[Answer] What you calling "intervention" was quite another matter for us Hungarians.

It meant that our nation was able to avoid losing its socialist gains and avoid experiencing the sufferings and tremendous sacrifices of a civil war and becoming the center of a world conflict. The great majority of the Hungarian nation understood and adopted that reasoning, if not at that precise time--as of the initial days--at least after a very short time.

That was a period of extreme tension that we went through at the end of October and beginning of November 1956, when the counterrevolution was engaging in its armed attack, killing without reason and attempting to put an end to the people's government. The communists and the Hungarian supporters of the people's government and socialism had only a single duty left: To save people's democracy in Hungary.

The revolutionary worker-peasant government formed at the beginning of November 1956, of which I was president, asked for the Soviet Union's assistance. The Soviet Government gave a favorable response to our request: Because of that it was possible for us to overcome the crisis more quickly and with fewer sacrifices. We had confidence that the population would understand our action and would appreciate our will to oppose the counterrevolutionary current.

The historic decision we took in November 1956 is justified by all our experiences of the last quarter-century, by the results we have achieved in the building of socialism, and by the broad and solid national unity which has developed. Today the Hungarian nation lives and works in a calm and stable atmosphere. The Hungarian People's Republic is a member of and has equal rights in the community of socialist countries, and it maintains relations with nearly all countries in the world.

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SIGNIFICANCE OF MITTERRAND VISIT TO HUNGARY STUDIED

Paris LE MONDE in French 8 Jul 82 p 6

[Article by special correspondent, Bernard Brigouleix: "The First Visit of a French President to Hungary: In Budapest, Mr. Mitterrand Will Be Defining 'French-Style Ostpolitik'"]

> [Text] On Wednesday, 7 July, Mr Mitterrand was expected in Budapest for a 48-hour official visit. He is accompanied by Mr Cheysson, minister of external relations; Mr. Jobert, minister of foreign trade; Mr Chevenement, minister of research and industry; Mr Lang, minister of culture; Mr Pierre Joxe, chairman of the Socialist Party parliamentary group and the France-Hungary friendship parliamentary group in the National Assembly; and Mr Chazelle, chairman of the Senate's France-Hungary friendship parliamentary group.
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> The first face-to-face meeting between Mr Mitterrand and Mr Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, is scheduled for Thursday morning. The president of the French Republic will be going back to Paris Friday evening.

Budapest--Mr Mitterrand's choice of Hungary for his first official trip to an Eastern European country since he was elected to the presidency of the French Republic is not an innocent one. The chief of state feels that the Budapest trip offers a twofold advantage: on the one hand, to put new life into shaky bilateral relations and, on the other hand, to take advantage of Hungary's unique position in the "socialist camp" in order to affirm or reaffirm on the occasion of this visit the principles which guide French diplomacy in its relations with the Soviet block.

French-Hungarian bilateral relations are paradoxically both cordial and very deficient. They are cordial, as previous exchanges had already shown--in particular Mr Kadar's visit to France in November 1978 and the visits of the premier, Mr Lazar, in 1976 and 1979 and that of Mr Aczel in April when he was

still first deputy premier of the Council of Ministers. Mr Raymond Barre had gone to Budapest in 1977 when he was still prime minister. But all the same, this is the first official visit to Hungary by a French president.

Relations in the trade area are very deficient, however, as Mr Jobert, minister of foreign trade, was able to observe when he was in the Hungarian capital recently. France is only 59th in the ranks of Hungary's suppliers and 55th among its export customers, even though Hungary trades a great deal with the West. Overall French-Hungarian trade for 1981 barely reached 2.2 billion francs.

As for cultural exchange, it is hardly any better in spite of having been far more favorable in the past. The proportion of secondary-level students studying French as their second modern language (Russian being compulsory as the first foreign language) does not exceed 8 percent. In this respect as well, the presence in the French delegation of the minister involved--in this case, Mr Lang-- reflects the concern to boost cooperation the current weakness of which cannot be disguised by past good intentions. That concern is also illustrated by certain features of the program of Mr Mitterrand's visit: he is slated to speak to some Hungarian writers and intellectuals. The Budapest French Institute, in particular, could be called upon to play an active role in this boosting of cultural relations between the two countries.

But although the importance of these trade and cultural issues is not being underrated, Mr Mitterrand wants his trip to Hungary to be an event in the diplomatic area first and foremost. In fact, in the Elysee it is felt that France has underestimated two main elements of Hungarian reality for too long: the degree of independence from Moscow that Budapest has been able to gain in spite of apparent total loyalty, and consequently, the role that Hungary can be in a position to play in the dialogue between East and West.

A Special Case

The moderation of Budapest's comments on the Polish events has been noted with particular satisfaction in Paris; the tone of these comments contrasts sharply with the anti-Polish condemnation expressed in East Berlin, in Prague or in Moscow. To be sure, on their side the French did not let themselves see in this a kind of crack into which the West should hurry to slip a wedge in order to transform it into a breach: that is a game that, besides being lost before it starts, Paris will be careful not to play. But in Budapest's tone there is at least some encouragement for choosing Budapest as a capital from which one might renew dialogue with Eastern Europe.

Such is the case to the extent that Mr Mitterrand could take advantage of his trip to Hungary to emphatically redefine there the broad outlines of a sort of

French-style "Ostpolitik." The very first months of his 7-year presidential term had been marked by very great firmness toward the Kremlin--firmness which contrasted with the understanding displayed by Giscard d'Estaing, whom Mr Mitterrand accused of being Brezhnev's "messenger boy."

This aloof stance of France toward Moscow (which perhaps the presence of communist ministers made particularly necessary in the eyes of a new president who was anxious to reassure the Western, and especially American, allies of France) seems to have been succeeded by a less hostile, if not more accommodating, phase. The signing of the Siberian natural gas contract--so hotly debated--was the forerunner. The trip to Hungary can offer the French President the opportunity to define his strategy in this regard and its limits. All the more so since at the Elysee, where the failure of the Versailles summit was admitted as uncomfortably as its disclosure was tardy, they would not be displeased to make known to the Americans that the latter's disregard of West European demands can be answered by a renewal of diplomatic and trade interest in the "other Europe," the one behind the Iron Curtain.

It is true that Hungary's being a special case in the Soviet camp stems much more from what is done than what is said. Budapest's official discourse hardly differs from the "wooden language" of the other "people's democracies." Its reality, on the other hand, is quite different. That is really why while the Hungarians are expecting a great deal from the French president's visit they are not excessively anxious to hear their uniqueness praised too much by a Western voice: 25 years ago they paid too dearly for their breaches of Soviet orthodoxy and their longing for freedom to again want to give the Kremlin anything to notice other than their similarity to the Soviets. In the interest of what is "unsaid" they have learned to be wary of making pronouncements, even if they are thinking them all the same.

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MARTIAL LAW 'INABILITIES' DISCUSSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 6-8 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Wladyslaw Styczynski: "The Inabilities of Martial Law"]

[Text] I am an ordinary person. I take in each successive address of the chief heads of the ship of state unceremoniously and I do not have time to involve myself with the stream of interviews with representatatives of the so-called second echelon. I do not care what the director of some department thinks about "inflationary phenomena," what the chairman of some other advisory body feels about the wisdom of working people or what some staff political activist has to say about national accord.

I considered the initiation of martial law to be inevitable and necessary to prevent us from committing collective suicide. I think of my country in terms of the "difficult patriotism" of citizens who must ride in crowded public transportation and spend their whole lives trying to make ends meet. Someone built this country and someone has used and is using it. The dog has dug its claws into the latter, but the former does not want what has been built up to go to ruin.

In this sense, I regarded what happened 13 December 1981 positively, as the least evil--exactly the manner in which it was looked upon by those who initiated it. This abnormal state enabled me and millions of others to work normally. At the same time, this normal work was our assent that the extra-ordinary methods of the crisis should be brought to an end. Volumes of paper have been used in the outcry on this subject.

It has also been said that there is no return to what preceded August 1980 but there is also no return to what happened between August 1980 and December 1981. In saying this, our worried society was once again being a trusting creditor.

A Returning Wave

In a rush of bitterness, one of my old friends said that Poland is a country where nothing can be settled in a normal way. However critical he was of

Poland, he did manage to sail through his political science career, which ended without glory or scholarly achievements in a generous pension. But he was right and there have been many occasions when I have had reason to be reminded of this, especially recently.

In several of my articles in SZTANDAR MLODYCH and PERSPEKTYWY I have tried to prove that to view the sources of the crisis merely in terms of disrupted relations between authority and society is a gross oversimplification. Apart from the fact that research has shown otherwise, it gives absolution to hundreds of thousands, and maybe millions of our people who have made a nice business from our mistakes and perversions. They have made small deals and large ones, creating a labyrinth of corrupt channels and systems, drawing into them small, medium and large groups of the government apparatus. Of course, the reverse also occurred until finally it was hard to tell who was demoralizing whom. The common citizen fared the worst, especially when he tried to function normally and legally.

The most penetrating, forceful and especially prophetic studies of this phenomenon have been done by the following very different authors: Prof Krystyna Daszkiewicz in her books "Klimaty bezprawia" [Climates of Anarchy] (1971) and "Traktat o zlej robocie" [Treatise on Poor Work] (1974), both Book and Knowledge editions, and Stanislaw Lem in an essay less than 25 pages in length, entitled "Cybernetyka stosowana: przyklad z dziedziny socjologii" [Applied Cybernetics: An Example From the Field of Sociology] included in the collection "Dialogi" [Dialogues], Literary Publishing House, Krakow, 1972. These three items were published at the beginning of the 1970's. One need only cite the chapter titles of Krystyna Daszkiewicz's books to feel at home.

From "Klimaty bezprawia"--I. The Clique and Its Members: The Essence and Functioning of Cliques. Corruption. The Repression of Criticism. Members of Cliques. II. The Clique in Action: The Masquerade. Reigning Myths. III. The Individual in Conflict: The Battle. Pyrrhic Victories.

From Traktat o slej robocie"--Fake Action: Fake Work, Fake Attitudes, Fake Records, Fake Action and Social Work, the Fake Crackdown, the Consequences of Fake Action. "Props": Slogans, Catchwords, Falsified Mottos, Myths, the Mystification of Attitudes, Alcohol. Bonuses and Awards, Bribes, Junkets. Attitudes: Careerism, Conformism in Symbiosis with Bureaucracy, Logrolling and Protectionism, a Pathological Attitude to Public Property, License. Tactics: Personal Politics, Participation in a Clique. The Struggle with Criticism and Unsound Decisions Made to Resolve Conflicts in Plants, The Neutralization of Control Factors.

Returning to the specific and seemingly unusual issues of today, we should call to mind the old truth that nothing perishes in nature, that development and the particular state of social awareness cannot be lost over a very short time.

A primary method for maintaining the system of personal gain by public officials and the state of irresponsibility on which this system was based, was to create a universal climate of inability--the inability to make decisions and the inability to act at all levels. It is a half-truth that before 1980 we had an overly centralized system of authority leading to its decline and the like. Even if it were centralized, had that authority been a real authority, evoking respect or even fear, which severely reprimanded inaction or sloppy action or removed one from one's position for such action, perhaps we would have had less democracy but there would have been order and the breakdown would not have occurred on such a broad scale. But this is not what happened, as we remember very well. Inaction paid off a hundred times over. No one could do anything. The director of an enterprise could not make a decision, allegedly because the director of the union had jurisdiction over the given matter. The director of the union crossed his arms and said that he did not have the right to act without a decision by the vice minister. When one finally reached the vice minister, the vice minister informed him with a sad smile that he was only the vice minister. The minister,assuming that one could get to him, would explain that he is only a glorified clerk, that the director of the enterprise has the full power of decision making and without him no one undertakes decisions.

Thus, let me once again contradict the prevailing opinion to insist that in the past decade we have had a paresis of authority, not an increase, and this refers to all authority.

The August workers' uprising was a revolt against the all-encompassing state of inability, hence the general rush to Solidarity, which was the expression of a desire to take part in effective action. It was working people taking matters into their own hands.

The right succeeded in seizing this grassroots current and for a time turned it in the direction of its latent strategic concepts. It was able to do this so effectively mainly because its opponent was not accustomed to any sort of action. No one acted. Nobody will convince me that only antisocialist forces created the chaos.

When the military (the only organized and internally cohesive socialist force at the time) took the direct responsibility for the fate of the disorganized country into its hands, the martial law statutes were directed primarily at the already consolidated structures of the right, halting the proliferating catastrophes. However, the posthumous children of the preAugust "housecleaning" interpreted the actions of WRON [Military Council of National Salvation] their own way.

Impotence of the Powerful

In one of his addresses, General Jaruzelski stated that it is depressing to read the reports written by local military groups after they gained control.

Masses of people who were responsible for doing some sort of job continued to shirk their elementary obligations. A member of the highest party echelon, locksmith Bogdan Borys, said at the recent Ninth Plenum of the PZPR KC [Central Committee], "In addition to the plague of public officials pursuing personal gain, there is another phenomenon that ruins public moral and reflects itself in the attitudes of the young--speculation. In spite of the actions being taken to overcome it that are broadcast on television, the results fall miserably short of the public demand." Another worker member of the Central Committee, turner Jerzy Kurdziel, broached another subject at the same plenum: "Until now a young worker or engineer who starts working immediately after finishing school encounters so many fears and obstacles that all his ardor and commitment are dispelled. His ideals vanish, his dreams fade away and first frustration sets in, then laziness, deviousness, securing himself against responsibility for his own decisions and avoiding inconvenience."

Another worker activist and member of the PZPR KC Political Bureau, Albin Siwak, chairman of the Central Committee Commission on Citizens' Letters and Complaints said at the same plenum, "Within the framework of my duties, I receive people every Monday. What I hear exceeds the human imagination. Young girls come in, the mothers of two or three children, telling me that the fathers do not pay one penny toward the care of these children. Does our country really have no official power to force a man to pay for the care of his own children? I appeal to our comrade deputies to take up this matter. An alimony fund will not solve anything. It is incredible that in our country we cannot establish a law concerning the duty to work, that 150,000 men from age 18 to age 45 shirk work and go unpunished."

To expand this statement, injustice to people exceeds the human imagination; no power to enforce simple matters is guaranteed by a current law. For clarity's sake, let us point out that after the initiation of martial law, an administrative regulation was created concerning the compulsory obligation of men between the ages of 18 and 45 to work. Thus, after 7 months, martial law lets 150,000 bluebirds go their merry way. I see them every day drinking a half dozen bottles of beer at a time outside stores, reveling in their pithy use of language in the presence of the crowds of women and children waiting in queues. Often they are only 200 or 300 meters away from the MO [Citizens' Militia] station. Unlimited quantities of beer are sold in the large stores located at the housing projects eternally under construction. The clientele always includes a large number of construction workers, with resulting drunkenness on the job.

Can this be another wave of the pre-August inabilities, powerlessness and crossed arms? As a journalist who specializes mainly in the issues of worker self-government, I felt the full force of this wave. Of course, there is no impact on those who "implement" the orders of the highest political and state authorities in their own way. I took a poll of all the ministries after the

basic documents concerning the suspension of organs of workforce self-government were published. The position of the Eighth Plenum, the position of the Sejm, the position of the Government Plenipotentiary for Economic Reform--all had been published in the daily papers, in hundreds of thousands of copies. I had it all in my briefcase when I went to the ministries. What did I accomplish?

A middle-ranking ministerial bureaucrat told me that the Sejm recommendations and official announcements meant nothing; his party conscience made him manifest the greatest sensitivity, even when the director and secretary of an enterprise's POP [Basic Party Organization] have signed a recommendation that the self-government be dissolved.

Thus, neither the position of the Central Committee nor that of the PZPR KZ [Plant Committee], but his subjective "party conscience" would determine whether plant recommendations that self-governments be reactivated would lie idle for months. I rejoined that it is curious when a nonparty journalist who takes the party resolutions literally and who clearly wants to popularize them runs up against the ultimate revelation in ministerial circles, that "none of this means anything."

After completing this article, I listened to the 21 July Sejm addresses of General Jaruzelski and Vice Premier Rakowski. Once again I subscribe to what I have written here.

8536
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POLISH YOUTH LEADERS SPEAK AT WFDY ASSEMBLY

Scout Union Commander Ornat

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 4-6 Jun 82 p 11

[Text] We are meeting after the successive 4-year completion of the WFDY program, with the international situation vastly differing from the one when we began the program, Then we were filled with optimism and faith in the victory of just ideas.

Since the last WFDY assembly, the Polish youth movement has initiated meetings characteristic of the idea of detente, such as the seminar entitled "Upbringing of the Young Generation in the Spirit of Peace." The Dec 1978 decision by NATO brutally halted and even retreated from the process of detente that had been initiated and accepted with understanding and was being realized with the hope for a peaceful future. This process dealt with the distribution of medium-range weapons in Western Europe. Retreat from this process resulted from the decision to increase the NATO armament budget.

Once again we are facing head-on a real threat to world peace. The socialist countries as well as millions of people in the capitalist countries are aware of this. The governments of the countries that have just signed the Final Act in Helsinki are following a policy that continues more and more to inflame the international relations against the wishes of their people.

Polish youth supports the numerous peace initiatives of the socialist countries, above all the propositions announced by the USSR at the 25th CPSU Conference. We have been waiting for the ratification of SALT 2, for the continuation of talks in Vienna and for the success of the Madrid meeting.

We are hereby renewing the agreed propositions of the socialist countries to continue along the path of dialogue and detente. With others we fully support the latest USSR propositions announced by Brezhnev at the 19th Conference of the Lenin Komsomol. These propositions are coupled with the ever-increasing activity of the peace movements of the social and youth organizations.

The imperialist forces do everything within their power to degrade the values stemming from the principles of socialist ideology and to negate the peace efforts of the countries of the socialist community. In Poland we have felt it particularly vividly when our country became a target of various forms of political pressures and economic restrictions and when we became an object of the Western countries' propaganda campaigns, as a result of the introduction of martial law, imposed by the sovereign decision of the constitutional government of the Polish People's Republic.

Some countries look unfavorably at the internal Polish decision [imposition of martial law], for it dispels any dreams of the weakening of the community of socialist countries. Poland is a clear example of unprofitable influence exerted upon the development of a country for the abandonment of socialist principles and attitudes.

The real help from the other socialist countries and the hostile attitude toward Poland of some Western countries, have again proven whose declarations are true and honest. They are testimony to the righteousness of the undertaken path of restoration.

Polish Socialist Youth Unions are participating in all efforts leading to stabilization of the country, continuing and making specific the tasks for the immediate future years. Our country must solve many urgent problems. However, it is up to us, and up to us only, to solve them; they concern us, the Poles, our future and the countenance of our country. All the meddling will only block our way from the crisis.

The structure of the Polish youth movement has changed in the last year. Instead of the Federation of Socialist Polish Youth Unions, there are the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], the Polish Scout Union [ZHP], the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] and the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], which function independently. We've recognized such a model to be the most desirable and most appropriate for the needs of both children and the youth environments, and for the requirements placed upon individual organizations.

We do not at all intend to give up our international activities while we are preoccupied with the urgent problems of our country and we do not intend to discontinue our contributions to the development of cooperation with European and world youth.

We declare our full readiness to cooperate in the international arena, to follow the initiatives of the WFDY and its specialized agendas, and to realize its statutory ideals and tasks.

Rural Youth Leader Świrgoń

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 7 Jun 82 p 5

[Text] Among others, the chairman of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW], Waldemar Świrgoń took part in the plenary discussion on June 6. Here are the main points of his address:

The Rural Youth Union [ZMW] along with the Socialist Youth Unions continues to wage firm political struggle against the opponents of socialism. In our international activity we desire to have an essential imput into the strengthening of the forces of the socialist front, of progress and of democracy. We declare our continued support for the program principles of WFDY.

Members of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] are in solidarity with all progressive and revolutionary youth organizations in Africa, Asia and Latin America. We are fighting against racism, apartheid policy and the ongoing rebirth of fascism. We support the developing countries in their striving to establish new and just economic orders. We condemn colonialism and neocolonialism. We are the broker for the exchange of experiences of the youth who fight for their political self-determination in all countries of the world.

The only path to secure peace is through strengthening the process of international detente and cooperation with which Europe is familiar. We are interested in diminishing military tension and in taking realistic steps toward both European and world disarmament. We declare our support of the idea of establishing nuclear-free zones. We regard the Soviet-American debates on strategic arms limitation to be of crucial importance in disarmament and dialogue to reduce tensions. We oppose the decisions of the Washington [Reagan] administration and of NATO to speed the arms race and to increase the militarization of Western Europe, undertaken during recent years. We reject the thesis that the USA and USSR are equally responsible for the arms race. We respectfully follow the Soviet policy of a search for paths to arms reduction, particularly of the latest Brezhnev proposals given during the 19th Lenin Komsomol Congress.

The strategic aim of imperialism is to undermine the detente achievements, the political-territorial status quo of Europe and of the world. This strategy became apparent particularly in our country. We have received a blow by the manner in which our internal difficulties have been exploited. Our socialist rule and the achievements of real socialism have been discredited. The justified protest of Polish working class against the deviations within socialism has been used to inspire and disseminate political dissent.

The Rural Youth Union [ZMW] regrets the fact, that among the interference into internal Polish matters were also the statements of some progressive youth organizations in Europe. We reject and condemn all forms of interference into the internal matters of our country.

We think that WFDY ought to give strong support to the peace movements in Western countries.

Polish youth ardently supports the peace initiatives of the Lenin Komsomol and declares its participation in the peace marches-campaign and in the antiwar action, Memory.

ZSMP Leader Jaskiernia

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 9-10 Jun 82 p 3

[Condensation of J. Jaskiernia's appearance]

[Text] The 11th WFDY Assembly discussion has demonstrated how a tense and complicated situation in international relations constitutes a threat to peace and how the danger of war and nuclear catastrophe has been brought nearer. People, their lives and rights are the subject of immediate threat. Under that threat is also the future of the young generation. Such a development of the situation results from the aggressive policy of imperialism, which aims in every manner to halt the revolutionary processes, the struggle for national and social liberation and the further strengthening of socialism.

Our particular worry is caused by Europe. There, after a period of detente and cooperation marked by the CSCE process, imperialist circles renew the attempts to push the nations of our continent off the path of peace. Conscious of the growing danger, the nations and youth of Europe unite their efforts to protect the achievements of the detente, to halt the arms race and to begin disarmament. Our discussion proved how great merits in this field were earned by the policy of the Soviet Union and of other socialist nations. The steps to disarmament undertaken uniliterally, the numerous proposals of reduction of military potential and of nuclear arms, exemplify a constructive position of the socialist countries. Recently a striking example came in the proposals of Brezhnev at the 19th Congress of the Lenin Komsomol.

During the assembly we have learned of the brutal aggression against Lebanon and against the Palestinian nation. This is another yet sign of the destabilizing policy employed by imperialism in the Near East and in other regions. We decidedly condemn that act of aggression and we demand immediate cessation of the crimes being committed by Zionism. We also express solidarity with the nations of Latin America and Asia in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid.

Poland has been living through a crisis for nearly two years. The justifiable September 1980 workers' protest was used by the foes of socialism to attempt to push Poland off the path of socialist development. On 13 December 1981 the anarchy in the political, social and economic life was stopped. The decision of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic to introduce martial law is in accord with our constitution.

World reactionary forces, using human rights, freedom and democracy defense slogans, have been striving to convert our internal situation into the instrument of their strategy. Regrettably such activities have not been denounced by some democratic groups that could not, or would not, understand the true sense of Polish events and of their international origins. From this group statements were made that indicated the lack of understanding of, or even an ill will toward, our problems and the ways of solving them. We are deeply convinced that the process of normalization of our country will be the best verification of the correctness of our solutions.

The Polish youth movement attaches great importance to the further development of WFDY cooperation with all the antiwar and peace movements. The dialogue and multilateral cooperation between the youth and student organizations of various political and ideological persuasions will serve to broaden the front of the struggle for peace, disarmament and social progress.

Closing his appearance, J. Jaskiernia expressed the conviction that the results of the 11th Assembly would add to the strengthening of unity between the members of the whole federation and progressive youth of the world.

Close of Assembly

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 11-13 Jun 82 pp 1, 11

[Article by Antoni Olczak and Grzegorz Lubczk]

[From SZTANDAR MLODYCH Correspondents in Prague]

[Text] Through the singing of the WFDY anthem, after one more hour-long plenary discussion and after a day rich in events, just before midnight on 9 June, the 11th General Assembly of the federation became part of the history of the world's largest organization of progressive youth.

On Wednesday the fruit of the past days' work was gathered. Several resolutions were passed. In those, WFDY expressed its attitude to the unusually complicated problems of all the regions of the world. These problems will become the esstntial activity of the federation in the next 4 years.

New leadership has been elected. The function of the chairman was entrusted to the Union of Democratic Youth of Lebanon [UDYL]. Walid Masri was most cordially greeted as the new chief of the federation. He received many sincere congratulations. Who is the new WFDY president?

Walid Masri was born in 1954 in Beirut. He studied in France at a mechanics department. After his return in 1977, he became active in the UDYL. Soon he became a member of the UDYL Executive Office. Since 1981 he has been representing his organization in the WFDY Executive Office in Budapest. In his first speech he stressed that we all must unite our forces even more in the struggle for the maintenance of peace, as there is no matter of equal importance.

The functions of the WFDY secretaries were entrusted to the Committee for Mutual International Contacts of the Polish Unions of Youth and Students. It will represent our youth at the WFDY forum.

At the closing of the debates, SZTANDAR MLODYCH correspondents asked the presidents of the Polish Youth Unions and the participants of the 11th WFDY Assembly for their evaluation of the debates.

[Jerzy Jaskiernia, president, Main Board of the Polish Socialist Youth Union [ZSMP], president of the Polish delegation] The 11th WFDY Assembly has undoubtedly been an important event in the activities of the progressive youth movement. The ever-sharpening international situation set the tone of the debates in the plenary as well as in the regional committees and in the topic groups. Since the last assembly, in 1978 in Berlin, there has been a clear cooling of the East-West relationship.

The debates in Prague took place in an atmosphere of immense concern for peace and detente, for an end to the arms race and avoidance of a nuclear holocaust. It is clearly evident that with the increased complexity of the international situation there is an increase in the number of controversies within WFDY. This situation results in part from more and more new organizations joining the federation; these are communist, as well as socialist, democratic, etc. As WFDY becomes more and more representative of the progressive youth movement, consensus becomes increasingly more difficult. Despite these objectives, yet partly also subjective, new conditions, the common compromise formulas for the solution of the most difficult questions have been finally worked out. That proves WFDY to be a viable and flexible organization, capable of meeting increasingly more complex tasks resulting from the new international implications.

In the course of the assembly there was a call for the solution of the political situation in Poland. In general, the statements showed a great knowledge, understanding and manifest solidarity with the Polish nation, which is looking

for the ways out of the present crisis. There were a few voices in the discussion that indicated the lack of knowledge of the events developing in Poland and even indicated ill will in the interpretation of these events. In those situations, however, representatives of the Polish and other delegations stepped forward with effective debate.

In conclusion, despite these mentioned difficulties, the 11th WFDY Assembly did contribute to the strengthening and unity of the progressive youth movement, WFDY in its present form should have a good chance to realize its main statutory purpose; that is, the struggle for the strengthening of peace. The Union of Socialist Polish Youth will do everything to contribute to the elevation of the federation's authority, to broadening its sphere of influence and to increase the effectiveness of its activities in the struggle for peace and detente.

[Andrzej Ornat, commander-in-chief of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP]:] The Polish Scout Union has already participated in the meetings of the highest WFDY forum. We are, after all, one of the founding members of the federation. I am thus able to state that this movement has evolved into a more flexible organization.

The debates of the assembly have been dominated by the topics of the struggle for peace, detente and disarmament. The Polish matters have also enjoyed a great interest. We want to stress that the decisive majority of the participants understands the difficult situation and supports the Polish efforts to emerge from the crisis. Even though a few represenatives of the youth organizations from Western Europe had a different opinion about the validity of our solutions of the crisis, as a result of polemics and discussions they came to terms with the position presented earlier in the meeting. The problems of the Polish youth have met with such interest, support and solidarity not so much because of the sympathies but rather because of the role that Poland plays in the creation of the lasting relationships of peace structures and in the stability of Europe.

Our propositions to the assembly of the International Committee of Children's and Adolescents' Movements [ICCAM] are a parallel. They concern the activities to promote upbringing for peace, the struggle for the realization of the declaration of child's rights and the development of cooperation with the organizations of differing political orientations; they have been accepted in the working program for the coming years. Our Forum of International Experience Exchange has been made a permanent mode of the ICCAM work.

[Waldemar Świrgoń, chairman of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW]:] Today the WFDY assembly came to a close. This is the time for reflection. For us, for the Rural Youth Union, this was the most important event in our modest international activities for the following reasons.

First, our reconstituted organization has been accepted among the members of WFDY. This represents the renewal of ZMW's mandate.

Second, it was the first time that ZMW had a chance to represent its stand on international and Polish issues to such a broad forum of world progressive youth.

Third, our Union has made a series of bilateral contacts and contacts through mediary efforts of the Committee for International Contacts of the Polish Youth and Student Unions with the organizations from socialist countries and with the developing and progressive organizations from capitalist countries.

We consider the unanimity of youth in the face of the most important human problems to be the great success of the 11th WFDY Assembly. We spoke in unison for securing a more durable peace, for resolving points of disagreement through dialogue, for disarmament and detente, for the development of democracy and for the right to national self-determination. We have decidedly condemned colonialism, neocolonialism, fascism, racism, apartheid and Zionism.

We are leaving with the conviction that our work together at the WFDY forum and the approved program will contribute to the further success of all the youth forces of progress.

[Article by Antoni Olczak and Grzegorz Lubczyk]

9934
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STUDENT INVOLVEMENT IN 3 MAY EVENTS CONSIDERED

Warsaw Teachers' Opinions

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 11 May 82 pp 1,2

[Opinions gathered by W. Gladykowski, J. Leszczynska, S. Pawlicki, A. Borycki, W. Syzdek and A. Witkowska: "In the Opinions of Teachers: An Alarming Signal"]

[Text] The events of 3 May in Warsaw and other cities are a topic of continuing discussions, commentaries and evaluations. From information obtained from the press spokesman of the Warsaw Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia, Maj Witold Zawadski, it appears that the forces of law and order have arrested 286 persons. In this group there were over 100 students from upper elementary and middle schools--the majority of students, however, came from general high schools and vocational schools.

Since young people predominated in the demonstrations and riots, we have asked teachers in Warsaw schools to evaluate the facts. This is what they had to say:

[Marek Drozdowski, vice-principal of Zamojski General High School 18] These attacks were inspired by adults. The young people did not think this up by themselves. I suspect that some of them went there out of curiosity, out of the desire to get into trouble or out of thoughtlessness. Parents do not spend enough time talking and discussing things with their children. The influence of the home and friends is the most crucial. Of course, the school is the official agency representing authority for the students. I am talking with my students now about these events but, first of all, we want to be in contact with the parents. Without their help the school can do nothing.

[Krzysztof Hanzek, principal of the Malgorzata Fornalska Elementary School] Between the students of middle and elementary schools there is barely a year or two difference, which makes them almost peers. They are constantly in contact with each other. These young people readily imitate their elders and also have examples to follow on television: Scenes of destruction, the breaking of glass

panels, and the excesses in Western countries are often, unfortunately, the model that the children follow. The school is often blamed; nevertheless, we--I am speaking of elementary school teachers--have an influence on the child for 4 to 5 hours daily. But it is the home that is of decisive importance for the upbringing, reactions and attitudes of the young. And here we find tired parents returning home late and sending their son or daughter to watch television off in some corner. Exasperated by the difficulties of the crisis situation, parents are not in any condition to foresee the results of talks and discussions but a child takes this in a completely different way. At this age, it is hard for young people to make sense of anything. Children are often street smart and find for themselves something to do. Street demonstrations are a situation where something new is "happening"--and, in addition, their older colleagues are there and this attracts them."

[Krystyna Jankowska, principal of the Dr. Tutus Chalubinski Medical High School] The desire for adventure, the naivete and even--I would say in a harsher tone--the thoughtlessness of young people are significant. Youth--especially these young people--are particularly sensitive to all kinds of influences and do not know how to analyze in a reasonable way the actual value of the ideas put before them. This era is characterized by extreme radicalism, impatience and the desire to demonstrate one's adulthood. Home life and upbringing also play a large role. Parents do not always stop to think of the consequences that their remarks--at times in careless or loose talk--can have on their children. All the conventions that adults demonstrate are very easily passed on to young people. Young people's participation in street demonstrations is also the fault of some of the teachers who unconsciously or consciously impart to youth their own conceptions, thus fomenting among them a "rebellious" spirit. This also is the result of insufficient supervision and care for the students. In turn, teachers, taking a general view of things, complain of a lack of information. Television does not always give the entire story of what actually took place; in the press one encounters an incorrect interpretation of the situation. How can we teach, direct and elucidate--the teachers ask--when they themselves, after all, do not know very much?

[Romualda Glazewska, teacher of history at the B. Bierut Automotive Schools Group (ZSS) 1] One could have put the students' enthusiasm to good use in commemorating 3 May so as to benefit them. Youth's desire to demonstrate and its ties with the patriotic ideals of our forefathers could have been immortalized--for example, in a solemn gathering at Zamkow Square after obtaining proper consent from administrative authorities. This spectacle could have been organized and carried out by and under the direction of teachers or representatives of youth organizations. In such a situation the action of forces of law and order would amount to isolating groups of hooligans and persons not organized by the youth from the schools.

[Jerzy Bechler, principal of the B. Bierut Automotive Schools Group (ZSS)]
The organizers of the street demonstration were adults who took advantage of the scenario of the situation as it developed. In a perfidious manner these adults beat the young people at cards in realizing their own goals without taking into consideration the great risk involved for the teen-agers.

Adults should absolutely be required to observe the rigors of martial law. But when in contact with youth it is always necessary to count on the possibility of uncontrolled behavior, motivated by emotions. After all these young people are just beginning to form their convictions--besides living in a complicated sociopolitical situation.

It could have been possible to reduce the participation of youth in demonstrations to a minimum by inserting, for example, advance information in the daily TV guide for 2 May on the planned demonstration and its illegal nature. On receiving this information parents would have been able by various means to influence their children's attitudes and the teachers could have organized lectures to clarify matters. Finally, preceisely on this day it would have been possible to organize mandatory all-out activities between the hours of 3 and 4 until the parents of the students returned home.

[Irena Respondek, principal of the Jaroslaw Dabrowski General High School 36]
The reason for young people demonstrating on the streets of Warsaw was and still is the general sociopolitical situation in the country. Youth living through this period are not indifferent to it. This discontent with the crisis is felt by them on a daily basis not only at home but at school as well.

After 13 December 1981, in observing young people, I have seen what a heavy experience it has been for them. They were really oppressed and at the same time disciplined by this experience. This was particularly manifested in the interest taken in their studies, the excellent attendance and improved results in their studies. Young people were able and knew how to conform to the obligatory legal ordinances of martial law. But with time martial law became for them, as they say, "the normal thing." Then various kinds of misdemeanors and truancies, as well as tardiness, etc., began.

I am unable to answer the question to what degree young people taking part in the street demonstrations were inspired by adults. Here I have in mind parents, the church and college students. To be sure, older classmates had a large part in this and, perhaps above all, the malevolent Western centers of propagandistic diversion such as Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America or the BBC.

A general sense of exasperation by a society that reacts to youth's lack of confidence in authority has a great effect on attitudes of the young generation. The lamentable fact is that the inspirators of Monday's street demonstrations,

by feeding on the patriotism of young people and the impulsiveness and emotions of our youth under a false cloak of patriotism, have exploited youth for their own antisocialist goals.

[Jolanta Barszczewska-Opaszek, principal of Marceli Nowotko Elementary School 18] Children ranging in ages from 12 to 15 participating in street demonstrations should be an alarming signal to us. For these young people were inspired by adults who remained on the "sidelines", they were carried away by their emotions and were subject to a general psychosis of destruction and devastation and a trampling of national symbols. Certainly for a majority of them this was an amusement but a very dangerous amusement. That is why one has to underline the common viciousness in the action of these people who used children for their own goals.

[Ryszard Bodzioch, principal of the Construction Schools Group 2 in Warsaw] These incidents incline me to believe that parents pay too little attention to their children. By itself this relates to our pedagogical protection--schools must take part of the blame. The third of May has a definite historical and national significance, and yet, as it turns out, young people do not understand the meaning of this day. I would also look rather critically to the activity of the school circles of interests, which often do not put to good use the genuine passions of the young. It is necessary to know them well--"inside and out"--and only on this basis are organizations and circles to be created. I myself have become convinced just in the last several years of this truth. It is necessary to know what the students are interested in. We have now created a so-called classroom panorama. Every class organized an hour for 2 weeks, outside class time. The results were fantastic. Young people chose--we gave them such a chance--what kind of programs served them best. They were successful in seeing that we lost no power--for example, we invited Krzysztof Zanuss. But is this the case everywhere? Young people have profited in their hunger for adventure and real experience.

Demonstrations in Lublin

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 11 May 82 pp 1,2

[Article by Wlodzimierz Syzdek: "A Bitter Lesson"]

[Text] The third of May 1982--it is evening. At Litewski Square in the center of Lublin, many thousands are gathering under Constitution Monument. Words are directed against representatives of the authorities, martial law and the system of government. Songs resound in the evening air. Repeated appeals to disperse bring no results. The forces of law and order step in. The crowd scatters. Many are arrested. Among these is a group of young people from the famous Jan Zamojski General High School.

The next day the Voivodship National Defense Committee decides to suspend activities at that school.

At the Source of the Trouble

Jan Jamojski General High School has a rich tradition dating to the time between the two world wars. This school has always exhibited a patriotic attitude. It has been schooled in tolerance and respect for the law. Zamojskis have written a beautiful page in the history of the school by taking part in the struggle for independence during World War Two. Many of them died. This is commemorated by the plaque in the school building.

These traditions continued after the war. The school is rated one of the best in Lublin. Every year almost all its graduates go on to college. Most of the young people come to Zamojski from the intellectual spheres of Lublin: children of lawyers, doctors and engineers. In time, they began to set the tone of school life.

Young people coming from these environments are particularly susceptible to all the "new" currents in political life. It is not surprising that already in August 1980 informal groups, presenting various programs and goals of action, began to appear at the school. The group, however, with the greatest influence was the so-called S Committee, which is closely allied with the Central-Eastern Region Board of the NSZZ of Solidarity. Its organizer and head was Z. L., a history teacher--once an ardent activist of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) and a fanatic devotee of Stalinism, who now maintains an attitude marked by enmity to socialism. He has managed to collect several dozen teachers and students. In the S Committee he carried out activities that went beyond union boundaries. He organized the so-called university activities of Solidarity, in which he presented his own assessments and views regarding events in our most recent history. He began to interpret tendentiously such matters as the people coming into power in our country, the Polish-Soviet War in 1920 and the resistance movement during the Second World War.

Being politically ignorant, young people succumbed to their teacher's views. It is no wonder that they took part in actions that he organized. At Z. L.'s instigation, a large group of Zamojskis participated in celebrations observing the 11 November anniversary at Litewski Square, celebrations inspired by the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN).

In November last year information on the school strike in Lublin took public opinion by surprise. The S Committee at Zamojski did not remain passive toward these events. The high school was one of the first high schools to strike.

At the same time there was a decline in the political organizations' authority at the school. The sparse membership of the Primary Party Organization of the PZPR tried to isolate teachers and students from the community, while from the Polish Scout Union tribe a new creation was started under the title of the Independent Scouting Movement, with its goal of tearing young people from ideological influences of the party.

This was not the only group operating then in the school area. The so-called Entrenchment Movement, closely connected with KNP developed a special activeness. Its members distributed among the students the periodical SZANIEC (Entrenchment), containing material hostile to the existing political system.

The Opposition Is Not Giving In

After 13 December 1981 under conditions of martial law, preventive talks were carried out with some of the most active members of illegal organizations operating in Zamojski. The results of these talks, however, were short-lived. At the end of December a campaign was organized to gather signatures for a petition demanding the release of the then-interned Z. L. On the initiative of some teachers, young people placed flowers below the room in which he worked and were encouraged to wear black as a protest. Likewise there was a boycott of the history lessons taught by the new teacher who replaced Z. L. In place of these lessons it was proposed to the young people that they take part in secret instruction in private homes of lecturers from Lublin educational institutions who were in opposition to the government. Once again historical knowledge was presented to the young people in such a way as to cause anti-Soviet and antisocialist feelings.

The first half of February brought significant activization of the opposition forces in Lublin. Young people from Zamojski then participated in acts of protest against martial law. Emblems of the Polish eagle with a crown were placed here and there at the school to agitate in favor of freeing Z. L. and other internees. Illegal literature and press continued to be distributed among the students.

At that time periodicals such as "Word and Deed," published by the Polish Resistance Movement connected with KPN, and bulletins of information signed by Solidarity got into the hands of young people.

Toward the end of April leaflets calling for a boycott of celebrations of Work Day and for participation in protest action on 3 May, appeared at Zamojski.

On the eve of 1 May, a Citizens' Militia (MO) arrested three students from Zamojski, including the leader of the school self-governing body, who were

painting signs slandering state authorities and the army. This same group had earlier torn down the red flag hung in front of the Lyceum and replaced it with a black one. The remaining members of illegal organizations operating on the school grounds called on their colleagues to participate en masse in the demonstrations of 3 May at Litewski Square. Only a part of the students yielded to this summons. These were, however, the most actively opposed to the authorities. Their provocative attitude during the demonstrations caused the authorities to suspend classes.

The Guilty and Their Accomplices

On 5 May a special committee took up the task of examining the causes of the situation that had been developing for several months. Talks with young people pointed to real educational shortcomings.

Dr. Piotr Krzyszych, principal of the Science and Education Department of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, stated that "in this case it is not the fault of the young people." In this school there were no organizations actively concerned with forming socialist attitudes of the youth nor were the students' most pressing problems discussed. The ideologues of the political opposition filled this void by suggesting definite opinions and critiques.

Mass participation by young people from the schools in the 3 May demonstration was met with indignation by a significant part of Lublin's society. In many pronouncements there was a point-blank demand for dissolving the most active schools and directing their students to other educational institutions.

A truck factory worker, whom we happened to meet,said that "young people from the so-called best homes go to Zamojski. Students who are well-off and often possessing much money are bored with obtaining knowledge. They prefer to come out against the state. This example comes from above--from adults who support these activities."

"No one tried to explain to the youth the errors of their ways. No one attempted to counter the hostile influences on the school grounds," Janusz G., a retired teacher said. But, of course, suspending studies could and should have been avoided.

What Do the Students Think

The matter of suspending classes came as a big surprise to the majority of students of Zamojski who had not been engaged in political activity. We had random encounters with third-year students who agreed to give their own interpretations of the latest events--under the condition of anonymity.

"In part, our colleagues' participation in the demonstration was more of an expression of surrendering themselves to their emotions than a conscious act," Jacek K. thought. "The majority of us tried not to be subjected to the influences of those colleagues who were urging us to come out against the authorities. We were simply not told of their program and methods."

"Of course, everyone has the right to his own views and opinions," added Krzysztof L. "Why didn't we also protest against Z. L.'s kind of teaching of history. Finally, thanks to him we got to know a lot of facts that were not in our program but which we needed to know in order to orient ourselves with the problems of our reality."

"Let us deal with the fact that several of our colleagues acted contrary to the law," Slawomir R. said. "They must face the consequences. We, however, do not want their attitude to be reflective of the whole school."

Parents Are on the Sidelines

Two days after classes were suspended, a council of the members of the Parents' Committee was held. Representatives of the Lublin educational authorities at the school decided not to allow reporters into the conference. On the basis of conversations in the corridors and the behavior of some parents, one could conclude that many were in the school for the first time and that they were surprised by the whole thing. Voices from behind closed doors repeated this same theme. Every now and again an irritated parent would leave the conference room, usually without wanting to talk about the affair. Only a few parents agreed to express their opinion and then anonymously.

"We did not know about the political activity carried on at the school," a father of a student in the third class stated. "Why, yes, opinions reached us that some teachers possessed different kinds of views but in our opinion this did not reflect upon the level or efficiency of instruction."

"Many of us, for lack of time, were not interested in what and how things were being said in school," another parent added. "But, of course, this is the business of the educational authorities. It is they who ought to eliminate those teachers who are not good educators."

"No one attempted to explain to us the problem of the young people's participation in the demonstrations," the father of a candidate for a secondary school certificate stated. "We don't understand why classes are suspended just before the final examination. This is a tyyical example of applying collective responsibility."

What's Ahead

An investigation of several of the most active students in the events described is underway. For the remaining students, suspension of classes should be an adequate lesson. The lesson, after all, is not only for them but also for their parents and teachers. There is the hope that they understand the necessity of cooperation in the process of forming young people's attitudes and that finally a uniform system of education will emerge.

After some of the teachers who have been most set against the educational authorities leave, at least the general climate at Zamojski will change. The new principal, Henryk Kwietniewski said, "We must try our best to speak frankly with our youth by presenting them all the problems of our reality, even the most difficult ones, so that these young people do not have to look for answers that are tormenting them from the enemies of socialism. We are also taking up educational work with the pedagogical staff. Our school must be a place for forming social attitudes of youth and there can be no departures from this principle."

Classes at Zamojski returned to normal on 10 May. At last, classes are having final exams; the remaining classes are making up for lost time. Slowly everything is returning to normal.

9866
CSO: 2600/600

ZSMP PROPOSES CREATION OF YOUTH CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION

Commission Working Principles

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 11 Aug 82 p 1,2

[Article by J. Szewczyk: "Building Unity"]

[Text] On 10 August in Warsaw, at a joint meeting of the Presidium of the Main Board of the ZSMP, the Main Audit Commission, and the Executive Office, which was conducted by Jerzy Jaskiernia, the chairman of the Main Board of the ZSMP, a position was adopted concerning cooperation among youth organizations. It reads as follows:

The management of the ZSMP Main Board, motivated by concern for a solution to youth's most vital problems in the Spirit of the resolutions of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party] Central Committee, and in order to build unity among the younger generation, proposes the creation of a Consultative Commission of Socialist Polish Youth Unions.

The object of the Commission's interest should be the formation of young people's ideological attitudes, and the problems of young people's start in life and in a profession, as well as other issues important to the younger generation.

The proposed principles for the work of the Commission are as follows:

a) the Commission is to work collectively;

b) the Commission is to be composed of five representatives delegated by each of the socialist youth unions;

c) a meeting of the Commission is to be convened at the initiative of one of the socialist youth unions at least once a year;

d) the subject of the Commission's discussions can be issues which all of the youth unions agree are to be brought before the forum of the Commission;

e) upon the announcement of a decision to hold a meeting of the Commission, a working group will be created, consisting of an equal number of representatives from the individual unions, in order to prepare for the meeting of the Commission;

f) the Commission will be jointly chaired by the heads of the socialist youth unions;

g) the principle of unanimity is binding when resolutions are adopted, and in voting, each organization has one vote.

h) the Commission's activities do not limit the sovereignty of the individual socialist youth unions, in accordance with their statutory rights.

The Main Board of the ZSMP, the Main Headquarters of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union], the Supreme Council of the SZSP, and the National Board of the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] are to decide on joining the Commission at their own meetings. The Commission will exist when the last of the socialist youth unions has publicly announced a resolution on joining the Commission. The Commission is subject to dissolution when one of the socialist youth unions publishes a resolution on withdrawing from the Commission.

It should be noted that in the near future the following problems should be the center of the Commission's interest:

--drawing up a joint position on the issue of the structure and area of jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers Committee on Youth;

--drawing up a draft Law on Youth;

--forming a joint position on the issue of the legal form of the rights of the socialist youth unions which were announced in the Resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

We call upon the members of the ZSMP, as well as the members of the ZHP, SZSP, and ZMW, to take part in the discussion of the above concept.

ZSMP Official Interviewed

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 11 Aug 82 p 2

[Interview with Krzystof Janik, secretary of the Main Board of the ZSMP, by J. Szewczyk]

[Text] We asked Krzystof Janik, the secretary of the ZSMP Main Board, for a short conversation on the subject of the position that was adopted.

[Question] In December 1981, the plenum of the National Board of the ZMW issued an appeal for the creation of a platform for cooperation among the socialist youth organizations. Is your position a response to that appeal?

[Answer] It is not a response to the appeal, but rather a concrete position, a precise statement of views on many issues. It is also a finalization of the concept for cooperation in the youth movement that we included in the resolution from the Third Congress of the ZSMP, and later at the Sixth Plenum of the Main Board of the ZSMP.

[Question] Why are you only adopting this position now?

[Answer] There were various reasons. Earlier, the youth organizations were concerned with consolidating their own ranks. Since the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, when most of the matters proposed by us were included in the resolutions, for example the concept of a Committee for Youth, we have begun to think about the institutional structure for cooperation.

[Question] That does not sound best, since it is directly associated with the past, the federation, officials, and so forth.

[Answer] The commissions should be exclusively societal bodies, bodies where positions will be coordinated. They should not have any regular posts or administration.

[Question] Coordinate positions with respect to whom--the Committee for Youth?

[Answer] That too. The Commission's voice should be an amplification of the voice of the youth organizations.

[Question] Won't you get into a situation in which each organization will put forward its own positions on this question, while the statutory heads of these organizations will still not be able to meet?

[Answer] Our position is directed both to the members of the ZSMP and to the leaderships of the other three organizations. It is my opinion that by the end of August we will know the opinion of our members and of the leaderships of the three organizations.

[Question] To what extent has the adoption of this position been influenced by the fact that in many voivodeships there are various commissions and committees subordinate to the voivodes, that bring together representatives of all of the organizations?

[Answer] To date, such cooperation exists in 14 voivodeships. These committees have arisen on the basis of various principles and in different ways. Generally, however, this has been a question of several separate tasks carried out by all of the organizations. For our part, we would like the main object of this cooperation to be equalizing the start in life of young people from different environments. I think that such a list of the most urgent issues will be formulated after the Commission is convened.

9909
CSO: 2600/852

PRESENT AND FUTURE OF SZSP

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 9-11 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Barbara Sadlowska: "Current, Future Concerns--Problems in the Student Movement"]

[Text] The abbreviation is expanded: Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP). Historical explanation: the all-Polish academic youth organization was created in 1973 in place of the following previous school youth organizations: Association of Polish Students (ZSP), Union of Socialist Youth (ZMS) and Rural Youth Union (ZMW). Formerly, it was the only advocate for student opinions and affairs. As of August 1980, it acted as either a rival or partner for all newly created school organizations. Lately, it again has an official monopoly--actually between "heaven and earth"--in other words, somewhere in the middle. It is neither with the top nor with the masses. How does the student union leadership evaluate this situation? According to Ireneusz Nawrocki, vice chairman of the supreme council of SZSP:

"The condition of the organization is not the best. The suspension period during martial law weakened many structures. The last plenum confirmed the union's political line that had been prepared at the 3rd SZSP Congress. This line was characterized by complete realism and took a firm stand under specific conditions of the student community. We see the need for SZSP's and the young intelligentsia's activity. For example, there are attempts to participate in solving problems of the student community such as the scholarship system, reforms, employment, new functions of higher schools as related to economic reforms. and reduction in the number of students.

Forced by events, SZSP went back to its function of being the only student organization, but it does not want to be and cannot be--the community's sphere of influence does not permit this--it is not and does not want to be a monopoly. Today SZSP is representing its members. However, in view of the 4th Congress which will take place in November of this year, there is a growing conviction in SZSP that new structural solutions are needed. To begin with, due to the diversity of the community, there is, at the moment, no formula that could be a key to stimulate the whole student community.

This activity is not great and never was. In 1981, approximately 50-60 percent of the community, despite the intense political fighting that was going on at the schools, was not involved in any organization; therefore, this was not caused by the existence of martial law. There are, however, potential forces for stimulating social activity under martial law. Perhaps the changes in the structure will release this potential. SZSP will look for it. The 70's period was dominated by the need for unification. Until the 3rd Congress, SZSP was active as an ideological-educational organization and at the same time as a trade union. After that, a minority organization system dominated by SZSP and the National Student Union (NZS) was established. Today an analysis of this phenomenon is necessary.

An analysis of the objective processes which we are witnessing and in which we are participating allows us to maintain that it would be useful in the near future to create an organization with explicit, non-overlapping functions adapted to the current and future requirements and needs of the student community. (Taken from the materials of the 4th SZSP Congress Programming Team.)

Currently, one may notice attempts to create groups—referred to as platforms--(a model proposed at the 3rd SZSP Congress) under the framework of SZSP; these groups should work out their own models of student organizations. Among others, a platform was established at the club "Sigma" of Warsaw University and forms the nucleus of a political aktiv. A similar platform was created at the Faculty of Journalism, Warsaw University (UW), i.e., a Marxist group, the Socialist Union of Academic Youth (SZMA). The krakow platform sees its future activity as allied with the traditions of the Association of Polish Students (ZSP); the Lublin platform sees its activity as preserving existing forms and as a continuation of SZSP."

However, what is the union authorities' platform? Ireneusz Nawrocki answers:

"We do not have a moral right to engage in discussion on the future shape of the organization. We are creating only its framework. A social-vocational organization should arise and should create the conditions for 'academic left wing' activity. We are only at the beginning of this process. One month after discussions began, the platform program already had begun to take shape.

It may happen that SZSP will cease to exist, and there will not be any other organization. Self-government will remain. However, on the basis of the evolution of the student movement in People's Poland, we think that it would be harmful to go back to a self-government phase. The only guarantee of self-government is a student organization. We have no right to fall below the level of an all-Polish student organization."

"We will not suggest any specific issues," says Ireneusz Nawrocki." We should however, adopt directional decisions allowing the community itself, the social movement, and youth organizations to solve the problems. We should not expect big promises; for example, an academic cooperative movement is unacceptable. We should allow the youth movement to have the right to initiate solutions outside the organizational structure, among other things, in regard to the economy.

The Central Committee Plenum should give an answer by ideological categories—those are the expectations of the SZSP aktiv. The answer to the questions: what kind of Poland do we have? Is it petit bourgeois? bourgeois? socialistic? What ideological views of the young generation are essential for the educational process? An honest statement by the party and determination of the relationship: party--youth movement.

We are also expecting some solutions to essential problems in the student community: the functions of higher education and the overall national education system. The plenum should evaluate these issues.

Despite the current discussions in the Union and the situation to which it is currently functioning--reduced membership and the diminished social acceptance of SZSP and its activity in its community, antipathy and apathy toward organized structures, more rigorous regulations for students under martial law--we cannot wait for better times to solve the basic problems of academic youth. The number one issue is the scholarship system reform; it has not been solved so far, even though it will be in effect at the beginning of the new academic year. The draft plan of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology (MSzWNiT) envisages, as it is well known, repayable loans. This is absolutely unacceptable in the academic community. A draft counterplan was proposed by SZSP. It gives even the poorest a chance to study without long-term credit obligations. This plan also avoids so-called "concealed subsidies" which widen the discrepancies in student incomes; it has as its primary principle a just distribution of funds.

In January of this year a draft plan regarding employment was introduced and discussed in Sejm [parliament] committees and in the Office of the Council of Ministers. Instead of the previous "employment plan" ordered by the administration for graduates, a new law, the need for which was advanced at the 3rd SZSP Congress, will approve free job selection and will introduce competition for job positions, thereby giving everyone a chance to find work even as workers or technicians. It would allow the establishment of associations, service outlets, and cooperatives.

The issues "for today" also include problems regarding student families. The number of married students is estimated at 25,000, and their children, at about 10,000. This last figure caused pediatric care to be added to student health care teams. This year, SZSP also increased the number of vacations for families with children. As in every year, the student campaign "Summer" (LATO) is in the process of preparation."

(Note from the author: The above article is an attempt to report on a press conference which took place in June of this year at the Main Board of SZSP. I used its theme in the title of this publication. (BS))

12199
CSO: 2600/814

FINANCIAL AID SYSTEM PROPOSED

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 9-11 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Wieslaw Debski: "Financial Aid System Proposed--Are We Going to Have Greater Justice?"]

[Text] The state provides approximately 2 million [sic] zloty a year in financial aid to students; twice this amount is subsidized to maintain dormitories and cafeterias. These funds should fulfill the social requirements for the higher education of poor youth, should balance material disproportions and help to raise scholastic results.

The presently valid principles for distributing this aid is commonly criticized in academic circles. It is thought that they are not very just, because they include aid to those who are not badly off and are not flexible enough, since they do not keep pace with changes in the income and price structure. These principles of distribution do not properly motivate conscientious study and, above all, timely graduation.

Study on Credit?

Work on the new system of financial assistance lasted for a year. In the spring of this year two proposals were discussed in academic circles. The first was presented by the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology (MNSzWiT), and the second, by the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students (RN SZSP).

The Ministry draft plan provided that education in higher schools and the use of facilities and heatlh care would be free of charge. The students would obtain reduced rates for cultural services and municipal transportation. However, other services related mainly to the students' standard of living would be provided on credit by the State.

It was proposed that instead of the existing scholarship grant, students could borrow the money from the State but not in excess of the lowest salary in the socialized economy. In turn, these loans would have to be paid off within eight years after graduation. It was also proposed to make the loans dependent on academic performance so that the loans to students who earn diplomas with distinction and with very good or good grades would be written off in the amount of 100, 75, and 50 percent, respectively.

For the neediest students, such as orphans and the handicapped, monthly allowances requiring no repayment were stipulated.

It was also proposed to introduce the principle of self-financing of student dormitories. Student payments would be equal to the full cost of the upkeep of one place in a student dormitory at the higher school level.

This proposal met decisive student opposition. The RN SZSP resolution states: "in our opinion the draft system for financial aid of the MNSzWiT is not acceptable, since it violates basic constitutional principles of the socialist state, especially the principle of social justice as well as the right to equal opportunity for education for all citizens."

To support their statement, students list many, in my opinion, justified arguments. The most dangerous consequence of implementating this concept is that it further accentuates the disproportion in the social composition of students in higher schools. At higher schools there will be even fewer worker and peasant youth as well as fewer children from large families. This proposal also accentuates inequities in student incomes: for one, a loan will be necessary to buy food in student canteens; for another, a loan will be used to buy gasoline for his car.

Another argument against this concept is the serious difficulties in starting life for the higher school graduate. It is known that they make relatively little money and have, at the same time, many difficulties in finding employment. Following their studies, many of them take young married couple (MM) loans and housing loans. Therefore, they would have great difficulty paying off additional debts.

These are only a few of the objections made against this concept that, in my opinion, are the most important.

This proposal undoubtedly also has advantages. It motivates students to graduate as soon as possible, teaches rational money management and encourages better studies. I think that we will go back to it, when solutions to other problems, such as employment, an appropriate system of selecting students for education, and higher salaries for graduates are found.

Student Opinion

SZSP proposed that the minimum cost of student living and income per family member be assumed as a basis for providing services. SZSP estimated the student cost of living (food, supplementary food, transportation, school aids, clothes, etc.) to be 4,550 zloty last year. For out-of-town students, the cost was respectively higher (apartment cost). Scholarship aid should make up the difference between the cost of living and assistance from the student's family. Students would have to pay full cost of food and housing (2,000 zloty) from those funds. Out-of-town students would be entitled to an allowance to cover their housing costs.

The SZSP draft plan stipulates additional help as well for students with families, handicapped students, chronically ill students, etc.

Overall, this proposal would provide for total equilization of disproportions in student incomes and more just distribution of the yearly subsidized amounts. This is a compact draft plan which takes into consideration all students' expectations. It is not very realistic under the conditions of financial tensions in our country. This draft plan also fails to motivate students to better studies and timely graduation. SZSP explains that those motivations are provided by the employment system which pays bonuses for scientific work and good examination grades.

Compromise Solution

The differences in proposed solutions were very essential. It was necessary to find a solution assuring aid to those who were in the worst financial situation and, at the same time, motivate students to achieve better results in their studies. After discussions, a team composed of Ministry and SZSP representatives worked out a compromise solution. It provides the following forms of financial aid for students: housing and food grant; regular non-repayable allowance; repayable loan; and emergency allowance.

In the draft the proposal to tie scholarships to the cost of living that was introduced by SZSP was partly considered. Consequently, housing and food grants will be provided on the basis of full current costs of food in canteens and housing in student dormitories that are reduced by the income per student family member. Students who are in an unusually difficult financial situation and come from families in which the income per capita is not higher than the minimum basic emolument will be eligible to receive regular monthly non-repayable allowances in the amount equal to the minimum basic emolument. Within its means, the higher school may allocate to the student monthly loans which must be paid off within ten years after graduation. Loans will be written off for the best students according to the rules described previously.

Besides preserving the principles of aiding students who have the lowest incomes and partially tying the scholarships to the cost of living, one must emphasize the other two solutions which are included in this draft plan. For the first time in the financial aid system (and at the initiative of SZSP), married students and students with dependent children will be eligible to receive financial aid equal to the regular non-repayable allowance. The second innovation envisages that loan payments will be related to the student's future place of employment and that the regions, institutions and kinds of work will be designated. Adoption of this innovation and working for three years will result in writing off of the loans.

Many families, which are badly off, will decide to provide a child with a higher education only if they are guaranteed that their already limited family budget will not be further diminished. Unfortunately, this draft plan does not provide for such guarantees. According to the assumptions, financial aid would not automatically be given to those who are eligible. This assistance may be rendered by the higher school to the extent of its available assets.

This kind of promise is not good enough for either needy peasant families or large families. In those cases, facts count--either money is available or it is not. Therefore, to consider this amendment, the system under discussion would make it possible to reconcile student expectations with the state's financial capacity.

SZSP accepted most of the solutions of this draft plan with a few reservations. It proposes that even now one should consider future additional compensation to workers earnings that would automatically result in a regular increase of income on which scholarships are based. Should the state give up too much authority in granting financial assistance to higher schools, in SZSP's opinion, the state's ability to shape uniform and just social policies in the student domain would be curtailed.

I remind the reader that this is only a draft plan which is still under discussion; it will come into force after ratification by the Council of Ministers.

12199
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BRIEFS

POLISH STUDENTS IN YEMEN--A group of student activists from the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] has returned from a six-week visit to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The students took part in an international student's solidarity camp, which was organized by the Socialist Union of Yemeni Youth. The camp participants had the opportunity to exchange experiences among the youth of Asia, Africa and Europe. In addition, they worked on the construction of homes for the flood victims who lost their possessions during the catastrophic flood of March 1982. In addition to the SZSP delegation, youth from Czechoslovakia, Finland, Ethopia, Angola, Pakistan, India, Iraq, Bahrain and Vietnam participated in the camp. The undertaking was patronized by the International Students' Union. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Sep 82 p 2]

CSO: 2600/917

TANASE AFFAIR DAMAGES ROMANIAN-FRENCH RELATIONS

Mitterrand Visit Canceled

Paris LE MATIN in French 28 Jul 82 p 10

[Article by Bernard Poulet, LE MATIN special correspondent in Bucharest: "Mitterrand Will Not Go to Romania"]

> [Text] Francois Mitterrand will not be going to Romania next September. French Minister of State for Foreign Trade Michel Jobert confirmed this yesterday to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu whom he met on the shores of the Black Sea.
>
> Officially, it is only a postponement due to the very heavy schedule of the French president, but it appears evident that the background to this decision is the deterioration of French-Romanian relations, aggravated by the disappearance in France last May of Virgil Tanase, a Romanian-born writer.

French-Romanian relations should continue to develop "free from the swirling of current events or the festivities of nations." With these few select and diplomatic words, Michel Jobert, who had just spent 48 hours in Romania, had endeavored to make his interlocutors understand that, indeed, Francois Mitterrand would not be going to their country in September.

He was answering First Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Oprea who had just hailed his arrival in Bucharest "on the eve of Francois Mitterrand's visit to Romania." For up to the very last moment Romanian officials had acted as if the French president's visit was really to take place, as if there had been no Tanase affair.

Nevertheless, in his press conference last June in which he mentioned the disappearance of the Romanian-born writer, Francois Mitterrand had clearly explained that "if it were proven--a tragic hypothesis--that Mr Tanase had disappeared and was not to reappear, then that would seriously damage the nature of relations between Romania and France."

The chief of state undoubtedly had reflected at length and had left Romanian officials time to make a gesture, so much was he personally determined to preserve the historic ties between Bucharest and Paris. On 14 July, Marcel Beaux, French ambassador to Romania, still thought it possible to confirm on television the forthcoming visit of the chief of state. For it was only on Wednesday, on his return from Latche, that Francois Mitterrand made his decision known to [Minister of External Relations] Claude Cheysson. The long-awaited Romanian gesture had apparently not come about.

Romania's disappointment is evident. While the Nicolae Ceausescu regime is being severely criticized abroad both for its catastrophic economic results and for its deplorable human rights policy, Francois Mitterrand's trip was perceived as an opportunity to regain a seriously damaged respectability.

France, however, had no reason to give the Romanians a present. The results of economic cooperation between the two countries are at the least disappointing. During his entire trip and during the discussions of the French-Romanian joint committee, Michel Jobert, without any illusions, had to make an effort to disentangle the web of disputes. The most spectacular was undoubtedly the case of the OLT-CIT [expansion unknown] automobile plant, built by Citroen, which has already cost France 2 billion francs. The project is now 2 years late, production is still dormant and the models, whose cost price, according to Citroen, is not competitive, are in danger of becoming obsolete the day they go on sale. If they are ever built....

The French minister of foreign trade did not really hope for a miracle. The Romanian foreign debt is well over 10 billion dollars, and despite the moratorium that the Club of Paris is ready to grant it, Romania, has, in fact, suspended payments.

Since he did not want his visit to be "won over" by the Romanian regime, yesterday Michel Jobert had, moreover, taken care to present Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Andrei with a list of humanitarian cases that are of concern to France. Broken families, children, adopted by French, who could never leave Romania, and three cases of "disappearance" of Romanian opposition personalities: Father Calciu, trade union official and Vasile Paraschiv, and....the writer, Virgil Tanase.

Possible Involvement of Securitate

Paris LE MONDE in French 31 Jul 82 p 8

[Article by Michel Bole-Richard: "The Virgil Tanase Affair"]

> [Text] The cancellation of Mr Mitterrand's scheduled visit to Romania in September--officially, a mere "postponement" is being mentioned (LE MONDE 29 July)--is undoubtedly partly linked to the disappearance of the dissident writer Virgil Tanase, a Frenchman of Romanian origin. For more than 2 months there has been no news of him, and many feel that the Romanian secret services are involved in this affair which, like the latter, became an affair of state.

Mr Virgil Tanase was seen for the last time on Ascension Day, 20 May. On that day, he left his home in Paris early in the morning. He had a rendezvous near the Luxembourg Garden with a man who was scheduled to give him a translation job. Life is not always easy for exiles from the Eastern countries and earning enough on which to subsist is not an easy thing.

Arriving in France in 1977, he subsequently became a naturalized French citizen. He is married and the father of two small children. His mother had arrived from Romania the day before. She saw her son for only one single day. Since 29 May, there has been no news of this 36-year-old novelist, teacher in a theatrical school, who worked for a publishing firm. The man who was to meet him waited in vain. What has become of Virgil Tanase? Is he dead or alive?

"If the Writer Were To Disappear, Men Would Become Things"

At once, the Romanian secret services--the Securitate--were suspected of having kidnapped this dissident who never did mince words on the regime of Mr Nicolae Ceausescu. In January, he had once again written and signed a fierce indictment appearing in the newspaper ACTUEL against the Romanian leader and his wife, entitled "His Majesty Ceausescu I, Communist King." He charged the "Ceausescu clan" with exploiting his country, and he noted: "Party power is perceived as a form of foreign occupation. For 35 years Romania has been living in the age of Vichy." And, further on, "The best key to the Ceausescu regime is perhaps that which a prominent Romanian writer, Al Ivasluc--I dare cite his name only because he is dead--proposes to us: 'We are 22 million men and women living in the subconscious of a mad man.'"

As it is known that the Romanian chief of state is very much concerned about his image, eyes were at once turned toward Bucharest the day after the disappearance. Four days later, a preliminary investigation against X...for the illegal arrest and illegal confinement of an individual was opened by the public prosecutor's department of the Paris court and entrusted to Mr Jean-Louis Debre, examining judge. The police searched and found nothing. Many hypotheses were put forward. It was then that the AFP published a telegram in which it let it be understood that the Romanian writer perhaps maintained relations with the French counterespionage services (DST [Directorate of Territorial Surveillance]). A piece of evidence: Mrs Doina Tanase--the writer's wife--was accompanied by two DST inspectors when she went to lodge the complaint. False propaganda and slander whose source has not been determined but which is to be linked to the interview given by the writer Virgil Gherorghiu to Jacques Lebeau, FIGARO-MAGAZINE correspondent, on 14 February 1981, in which another dissident writer, Paul Goma, was clearly suspected of being a "troublesome agent," playing the game of the Romanian Government. An assertion that resulted in Mr Paul Goma filing a libel suit which was dismissed by the courts.

As far as Virgil Tanase is concerned, the harm had been done since confusion had been sown, while it is a publicly known fact that refugees from the East have a DST telephone number that they can call in case of difficulties or threats. There were a few demonstrations to protest the writer's disappearance. Then nothing more until 9 June when Mr Mitterrand stated the following in a press conference: "If it were proven--a tragic hypothesis--that Mr Tanase had disappeared and was not to reappear, then that would seriously damage the nature of relations between Romania and France." For the chief of state, things were clear and the warning very plain.

The next day, the Romanian Embassy in Paris published a communique denying that "Romania was involved, in any way or form, in the Virgil Tanase affair." Since then, it is probable that there have been negotiations at the highest level between French and Romanian officials. They undoubtedly did not succeed since the president of the republic has just postponed sine die the trip he was scheduled to make to Romania at the end of September. At least that is the analysis that one can be expected to make following this postponement that gives this disappearance the dimensions of an affair of state. A disappearance that brings to mind the kidnaping of the Moroccan opposition leader Mehdi Ben Barka. With this difference, namely that a French citizen was kidnaped on national territory by men whom we have every reason to believe belong to a foreign secret service.

Taking a Break?

The criminal investigation unit responsible for the case has not picked up any kind of indication on which it can base its investigations. Because of the lack of information, the police have been reduced to making hypotheses. Was the author of "Apocalypse of an Adolescent from a Good Family" able to find shelter? Following the publication of the article in the magazine ACTUEL, Virgil Tanase felt threatened. He had confided this to several of his French friends, asking them if they had a country house, but had never spoken about this to his wife. It has not been possible to make contact with the writer's family, and close friends of the disappeared writer believe that she too are in a safe place, under police protection [sentence as published].

Other factors support the hypothesis of a voluntary disappearance. Factors founded on a rumor give the impression that the Romanian secret services had contacted French hoodlums to kidnap Virgil Tanase. These hoodlums reportedly were uncovered by police or had themselves volunteered information about their mission to the police. Virgil Tanase allegedly was then called on "to take a break" for a while.

It is known that Securitate had already used the services of French hoodlums to accomplish their dirty deeds. An example was furnished on 28 July 1981 in Munich when a Romanian dissident who worked with Radio Free Europe, a Mr Emil Georgescu, was attacked by two men right on a street and stabbed 22 times. One of them cut the tendons of both hands and then told him, "Now try and write!" Mr Georgescu survived and his aggressors were arrested shortly afterward. They were two French gangsters, Gerard Layani and Claude

Cottenceau. On 21 July they were sentenced by the Munich court to 11 and 4-1/2 years imprisonment respectively. During the trial, which lasted 3 months, they never admitted working for the Romanian secret services, using as a pretext some dismal story of procuring and the theft of jewelry in which the Radio Free Europe journalist had not been "on the level."

"Securitate"

What acceptance can be given to the thesis of a voluntary disappearance? The postponement of Mr Mitterrand's trip would tend to prove that at the highest government levels, it is believed that Virgil Tanase is in the hands of the Romanians.

The decision of the chief of state would therefore constitute a second warning, following the one made at his press conference. A warning that leads one to believe that something can still be done to save Virgil Tanase. There is a feeling in police circles that the writer is still alive and that he is perhaps on French soil. A very fragile feeling that rests on nothing specific, just some signs. The president of the republic had promised that he would make public "his conclusion." He still has not done so. Is there some hope?

A tough battle has been engaged with the Romanian authorities. The Securitate has never had a reputation for handing out gifts. Bernard Poulet, a journalist for LE MATIN DE PARIS, who sought to meet a trade unionist in Romania, Vasile Paraschiv, knows something about this. He was literally beaten up. Paul Goma and two other Romanian dissidents, who had gone to Madrid to denounce the breaches in human rights in Romania before the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, received a parcel bomb at their domicile a few days later. Two of them were wounded in the explosion. Only Paul Goma was not hurt, but a police ordnance officer was slightly wounded while dismantling the explosive device.

Must we also cite the case of Mrs Monica Lovinescu who was beaten up right in front of her Paris home, undoubtedly because she contributed to the Radio Free Europe broadcasts. According to Paul Goma, this was the work of Syrians. It seems that it is a rather frequent thing to use the collaboration of nationals of other "friendly countries" in exchange for certain services. Paul Goma has denounced the "campaign for the physical liquidation" organized by a unit of Securitate specially responsible for avenging the insults and abuses against the Romanian chief of state.

He also protests the malicious insinuations elaborated to discredit Romanian exiles by implying that, in reality, they are agents working for Romania. At his trial in Munich, Paul Goma was outraged that he could be asked for the origin of his name, which for him meant that he was thought to be Jewish. According to him, this statement should be related to what he describes as "the state anti-Semitism of Romania."

So many examples that show that the French authorities are far from having won the fight. A stake on which the fate of one man depends, a man who in September 1978 wrote in NOUVELLES LITTERAIRES, "If the writer were to disappear, men would become things." The writer has disappeared.

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FOREIGN TRADE ACTIVITY, WORKERS CRITICIZED

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[Editorial article: "On Perfecting Foreign Trade Activities, Enhancing the Responsibility of Employees in This Area, and the Latter's Work Style, Political, Moral and Professional Traits"]

[Text] In the years of socialist construction, Romania has achieved successes of historic importance in its socioeconomic development and in building the new system. Today our country presents itself as an industrial-agrarian country with a powerful and highly technical industry and a socialist agriculture in the full process of mechanization. All this is the reuslt of the heroic and devoted work performed by all our people who are resolutely implementing the party policy of building socialism and communism in our fatherland. All this is the result of the devotion and competence with which the working people in towns and villages are acting to implement the programs adopted by the party with a view to intensively developing the national economy, science, education and culture and to improving our people's material and cultural living standard.

There is no more beautiful and noble sentiment than the knowledge that one is the citizen of a free and independent fatherland that--under RCP leadership--is strongly asserting peace and a constructive vocation and that, thanks to its achievements and its active policy of peace and cooperation, has won great prestige among the world nations. There is no more beautiful and more elevating sentiment than the knowledge that one is the citizen of a country that, through the work, diligence and skill of its sons--complete masters of their destiny--is shaping its free and happy future in a dignified manner.

The party program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism is opening up wonderful prospects for all our people. It depends on our work and efforts and on how we manage and make use of the country's riches and our people's work that socialist Romania may become increasingly powerful and flourishing and that it may offer increasingly better and dignified living conditions for all its inhabitants. Patriotism and the sense of responsibility toward the fatherland and toward its bright future must be reflected today in the work performed by our people and in the responsibility with which each citizen acts at his work place to increase the national wealth and to implement the country's development programs and the targets set forth by the party with a view to Romania's constant advance on the

road of progress and socialist civilization. As owner, producer and direct end user of everything that is being produced in our fatherland through the work of our entire nation, it is each citizen's and each working man's basic duty and, at the same time, noble patriotic duty to do all he can to contribute with his complete work ability to commendably fulfilling the plan tasks and to constantly improving the material and cultural values made available to all our people by our society. For this purpose and in conformity with the 12th party congress decisions, we must ensure quality and highly efficient work in all branches of the national economy, in each enterprise and each work place and we must ensure that material resources, financial funds and the part of the national wealth entrusted to the people are managed with maximum responsibility.

This important demand applies with particular urgency to the working people in the foreign trade sector. Foreign trade and international economic cooperation constitute one of the most important aspects of our economic activity and of the policy practiced by our party and socialist state, a policy aimed at the country's general development and improving the people's well-being. As a result of implementing the party program of building a dynamic, modern, efficient and competitive economy, our foreign trade volume has increased and Romania is more and more actively participating in the international exchange of material values. Today we have economic and trade partners in more than 150 countries in the world; we possess modern techniques and advanced technologies, we have well-trained workers and specialists able to ensure a constant and sustained increase in Romanian exports and the overall foreign trade activity; our international economic and technical cooperation ventures are constantly diversifying and expanding and our enterprises demonstrate that they can compete at any time with companies of world repute.

The current, unprecedented scope of our foreign trade and the tangible conditions in which foreign economic relations are developing require the maximum sense of responsibility and a high professional training on the part of all workers and specialists engaged in producing and marketing Romanian products. The mission and responsibility of foreign trade workers is to ensure a proper marketing of Romanian products in international markets. Achieving an increasingly higher efficiency in foreign trade decisively depends on how each worker in that sector acts, it depends on his skill and professional training and on the devotion and responsibility with which he fulfills the great mission of trust given to him by the people and our socialist state, namely to represent our country's interests in international economic relations.

Certainly, work in this sector is neither simple nor easy; it requires first and foremost a thorough professional and political training, a spirit of initiative, the ability to orient oneself and the power to grasp and comprehend things and it requires in particular a sense of noble patriotic responsibility and an unswerving determination to promote our country's and people's interests in any circumstances. This, all the more so since at the moment the foreign trade activity is taking place under particularly complex and complicated international conditions. It is a fact that today the world economic crisis has strongly sharpened the struggle for spheres of influence and domination, for sources of raw materials and for markets. In this sturggle, countries make more and more

frequent use of the practices of the imperialist policy of force and diktat, of discriminatory economic measures and pressure, economic sanctions and of various restrictions and obstacles in international trade. The practice of embargoes, of high interest rates, the policy of prices and tariffs and of setting up quotas raises increasingly significant obstacles in the development of free and unrestrained international trade, accentuates world economic instability and constantly sharpens the struggle for and competition in markets. All this has both direct and indirect repercussions on the atmosphere and the conditions in which foreign trade and international economic exchanges are taking place.

It is therefore natural that under such conditions particularly exacting tasks devolve on the foreign trade activity and on all working people who are active in that sector both regarding their professional training and capability, their level of competence and initiative, and regarding the devotion and responsibility with which they promote the country's interests in foreign trade relations. This, all the more so since analyses recently made by the party-state leadership revealed that grave failings and shortcomings have occurred in the important area of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, due both to violation of current laws and regulations, and to dishonesty and innaccuracy, abuses and transgressions incompatible with the status and responsibilities of foreign trade employees. Because of the irresponsibility and dishonesty of certain foreign trade cadres, which in some cases were compounded by deficient quality of goods and nonobservance of contract terms, Romanian products showed losses in international markets. Certain Romanian products--of the light industry, machine-building and even the oil industry--were marketed at lower than international prices, which inflicted great losses on the national economy. If our laws and regulations had always been implemented, if there had been firm discipline and greater responsibility in the production and marketing of export goods, our foreign trade returns would have been at least 20-30 percent higher. Naturally, a great share of the responsibility is to be traced to the manufacturing enterprises and ministries, which should have met foreign market requirements more efficiently and should have produced and delivered products which were competitive from the viewpoint of quality and technical level, as well as production costs and economic efficiency.

Everything must be done, so that such a situation will not recur. It is necessary for us to take more determined action to substantially increase efficiency in our foreign trade and to properly captialize on Romanian export products. For this purpose, we must give priority attention to the training and competence of cadres active in foreign trade, to strengthening discipline and the responsibility with which they fulfill the tasks and duties entrusted to them.

What Should the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation Do and What Action Should It Take

The Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation is directly responsible for increasing export efficiency and for properly marketing Romanian products in world markets. Thus, it must be the one to set tasks, to struggle for competitive products and to ensure that productive enterprises yield quality products in accordance with contracts concluded with foreign com-

panies. The ministry is responsible for the uniform implementation of the state's policy in the field of foreign economic relations; therefore it must promote the state's interests, must ensure--within the framework of trade relations with the other countries--the proper marketing of Romanian products, and proper use of our national resources and our people's work.

The supreme criterion for assessing the overall activity by the ministry, the foreign trade enterprises and by the productive foreign trade units must always be effectiveness. We do not export for the sake of exporting, but in order to ensure the material and financial resources for the development and modernization of industry and the other productive sectors and to ensure the socialist fatherland's multifaceted progress and an improvement in our people's general living standard.

A) Proceeding from this basic requirement, the ministry must give priority to strengthening discipline and law in foreign trade. The overall activity must be based on the law on strengthening workers' self-management and economic, financial and foreign currency self-administration in foreign trade and international economic cooperation. The provisions of that law and of all regulations that govern the foreign trade activity must be observed strictly and to the letter; no infringement and not even the slightest violation should be tolerated.

A recent analysis of how party decisions and legal regulations on foreign trade and international economic cooperation are implemented has shown that there have been in this area numerous instances of disarray, crass violations and disregard of the law and a total lack of control, which created fertile ground for particularly grave acts that harmed the state's interests and inflicted heavy damage to the national economy. The leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation--which by law is responsible for the implementation of the coherent party-state policy in this area--failed to rise to the standard of the party tasks, was guilty of great irresponsibility and negligence, and did not exercise strict and systematic control over the work of the ministry cadres; the ministry tolerated violations of the law and even permitted certain unqualified and even dishonest people to be employed in this particularly important sector. That is why it was possible for certain cadres--even managerial cadres--of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, of foreign trade enterprises and production units to commit unacceptable violations against foreign trade laws and regulations, both during negotiations and in the signing and implementation of contracts. Disadvantageous contracts were signed; foreign partners were illegally granted easy terms; goods were delivered without appropriate guarantees and without securing payment warranties for the Romanian suppliers. There have been situations when, due to irresponsible actions by cadres from the ministry leadership or from foreign trade enterprises, contracts were signed with bankrupt firms, with turncoats and with dubious characters who were later arrested for fraud in their own countries--resulting in contracts for which goods were manufactured not being honored, and in some cases, payment for goods delivered not being received. Similarly, due to the incompetence or corruption of certain foreign trade cadres, clearly disadvantageous contracts were accepted offhand and dubious price concessions made against the interests of our national economy. It must be clear-

ly understood that whoever has the power to commit public funds or hard currency may not make up his own laws, at random! Law and order are binding for everybody, beginning with the minister and down to the last worker!

B) The Ministry of Foreign Trade [as published] must ensure that trade laws in various countries and particularly customs regulations, the norms on access to the commodities of the given countries, import and export programs and the requirements of each foreign market must be well known. This is an essential condition for negotiations that are to yield positive results and for concluding advantageous contracts and adopting measures that will increase efficiency in foreign trade.

The ministry must also ensure that the international economic situation and the trends in various markets be studied carefully and systematically. This must result in the ministers and all foreign trade workers having a greater ability to forecast events and promptly orient themselves accordingly. Foreign trade enterprises must know exactly and in good time when and what to sell and to whom; they must know under what conditions to sell Romanian products in order to achieve the best results. Only on the basis of such knowledge and such full and exact information, will the minister and the foreign trade and productive enterprises be able to efficiently establish what is more advantageous to be produced for export, only thus will they be able to plan appropriately and organize a competitive export production that will ensure a proper marketing of Romanian products in foreign markets.

C) The Ministry and Foreign Trade enterprises must do all they can to promptly meet export offers and to ensure the necessary information for participating in international contract bids for products and services that can be delivered or rendered by Romanian enterprises. Negotiations must be prepared and conducted in such a way that they will end with the conclusion of foreign contracts at the most advantageous prices and under payment and trade conditions that are in keeping with the interests, the financial means and production capacity of productive economic units and end users; they must also ensure all the necessary guarantees for protecting the interests of the national economy.

The Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation must act to make known all offers made by foreign partners and international contract bids that are being organized in various countries; it is also responsible for their effective fulfillment within the deadlines established by law. The ministry must make sure that all offers are examined with maximum exactingness and great responsibility regarding the manner in which our country's hard currency is spent.

The ministry must issue regulations that will ensure that each contract and each agreement concluded with foreign partners be thoroughly substantiated and include firm and clear provisions by the contracting sides, that it be formulated with maximum care to ensure the marketing of Romanian products under advantageous conditions and to ensure a high efficiency in foreign trade. Once contracts are concluded, the manufacturing ministries and foreign trade enterprises must check that they reach the enterprises that are to manufacture the given products. The Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation

has the duty and responsibility to directly supervise the putting into production upon schedule and the fulfillment of the overall export production and must also see to it that products meet the quality stipulated in contracts.

D) The Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and the other economic ministries have a duty to thoroughly prepare the delegations engaged in negotiations with foreign partners, and are responsible for both the competence and the behavior of those delegations at the negotiations and for the results they obtain. The members of such delegations must be chosen very carefully; they must be cadres with high political and professional qualifications and with appropriate experience who can negotiate advantageous contracts and agreements, ensuring good returns for Romanian products. Any delegation going abroad on a mission involving foreign trade or international economic cooperation must be given a precise mandate as a basis for their decisions; upon returning, the delegation should report on and account for the way the mission was carried out. The composition of the delegation should be judiciously thought out from the start and should not be subsequently modified, with a view to ensuring stability, consistency and continuity for the mission. It has unfortunately occurred more than once that the composition of delegations was changed in the course of the negotiations; such damaging practices must be resolutely eliminated. The delegation that began the negotiations must remain responsible, with the same membership, for winding them up and signing the contracts, as well as for organizing the necessary steps to have the contract terms honored on schedule by the manufacturing enterprises. This will contribute to enhancing the sense of responsibility of the delegations sent to negotiations, since they will know that after the contracts are signed, they will continue to be responsible for directly dealing with the optimal implementation of the terms agreed upon.

The ministry must ensure strict observance of legal regulations concerning methods of signing contracts and conducting negotiations; it is to be borne in mind that no one may conduct negotiations personally, on his own, and that no one may conduct negotiations personally, on his own, and that no one may sign a contract or agreements without permission. Any violation of the regulations adopted in this respect is to be severely punished, and a person guilty of violating them may even be relieved of his job and brought to trial.

E) The foreign trade enterprises which have concluded contracts with foreign partners have a duty to constantly check how the provisions of those contracts are being implemented in productive enterprises and how the quality specifications of export goods are being observed, and to effectively remedy and violation of and disregard for those specifications. It has to be understood most clearly that, along with the actual supplier, foreign trade enterprises bear the entire responsibility for the product quality delivered abroad. Only by strictly observing the provisions of the contract concluded with foreign partners will we be able to maintain and strengthen our positions in foreign markets, only thus will we contribute to constantly increasing our country's prestige and to continuously and lastingly expanding our trade and economic relations. That is why it is necessary for foreign trade representatives to constantly see to it and ensure in good time--even on the technological assembly line--that all export products are of irreproachable quality.

F) The Ministry of Foreign Trade has to act with particular care and responsibility also as regards imports. Each import application must be examined with maximum care in the spirit of the relevant regulations; the ministry should see to it that only those strictly necessary products which we cannot produce in our country should be imported--priority being given to raw materials that cannot be secured from domestic resources--under mutually advantageous conditions and in exchange for Romanian export products. From this viewpoint, the ministry and all those who are active in that sector must view themselves as front rank fighters in the great battle to ensure, in the shortest time possible, the achievement of such a goal and the forceful and constant development of the country's economy as established by the 12th party congress. They must constantly bear in mind that important products are being manufactured with the financial resources of the working class and the people and they must watch with the greatest sense of responsibility that no one wastes the country's hard currency funds in any way through importing qualitatively inappropriate products or products that can be manufactured through the efforts and technological ability of the collectives of workers and specialists in our own country.

G) One of the essential duties of the ministry is to concern itself with great responsibility with training all foreign trade personnel and with improving its professional and political level. The ministry and all foreign trade enterprises must carry out monthly analyses of the work performed by all workers in order to gain precise knowledge of each worker's activity and to adopt, on this basis, appropriate measures. Regular efficient instruction should be ensured on tasks and on the way in which work has to proceed in one or another period of time.

To ensure appropriate cadres for the highly responsible work in this sector, the party's recommendations on improving cadre recruitment and on testing their political and professional capabilities must be strictly applied, so that foreign trade will have only well-qualified and honest personnel devoted to the party and people. Any sign of subjectivism and lack of principledness in recruiting personnel has to be eliminated with the greatest determination.

The central commission that will be organized--with clear regulations for testing and verifying cadres from the point of view of their capability and the trust they inspire--should employ and retain only those cadres in foreign trade with a thorough professional training and who demonstrate irreproachable civic and moral conduct.

H) The ministry must ensure the firm application of the provisions of the law on workers' self-management and self-administration according to which all enterprises in this sector should work on the basis of the principle of self-management and self-administration; the incomes of the foreign trade units, and therefore those of their personnel, too, must especially be derived from export activity. No one in foreign trade will receive any pay if the enterprise in which he works does not ensure the necessary funds from its own activity apart from a profit paid to the state as the law envisages.

I) The party organizations within the ministry and in foreign trade enterprises should take more determined action to improve the ideological and political level of all workers to develop their socialist awareness and cultivate

their patriotism and sense of responsibility toward their fatherland and people. At the same time, they should always exercise party control over how each communist is fulfilling the tasks and duties devolving on him. Watching with communist responsibility over the literal observance of the party's decisions and the country's laws and examining in time and uncompromisingly combating the shortcomings that are obvious, the party organizations and bodies must contribute to constantly ensuring an atmosphere of lofty communist exactingness, of honor and perfect political-moral uprightness, an atmosphere of revolutionary intransigence and of intolerance toward anyone who may try, in one or another form, to embezzle people's property and to weaken our country's wealth. They are dutybound to intensify by all means the ideological-political activity to develop an advanced socialist awareness, to create exactingness and principledness in public opinion and to firmly promote the principles of socialist ethics and equity in our overall activity. The communists must constantly be in the front ranks of the struggle for resolutely fulfilling the tasks set forth by the party in connection with increasing efficiency in our foreign trade. From all points of view, they must set an example of diligent and devoted work, and of great responsibility and greater understanidng for the country's and people's interests.

Responsibilities Devolving Upon Workers in Ministries, Centrals and Enterprises for Export

1. [Use of number, instead of letter, as published] Increasing the production earmarked for exports is the key issue of the national economy. Economic ministries and other central economic bodies with responsibilities in this field must attach particular importance to expanding their foreign trade relations and international cooperation ventures; continuously increasing and diversifying the production earmarked for exports; turning out competitive products of a high technical level; and better marketing our products abroad, at appropriate prices, thus contributing to an efficient and mutually advantageous foreign trade activity.

In this respect, it is necessary:

(A) To judiciously allot tasks devolving from the plan of foreign trade and international economic cooperation to industrial centrals and production or service enterprises;

(B) To see to it that all enterprises with export tasks ensure, as the law provides for, the specialization of certain factories, sections or assembly lines, including supply sub-units, for production earmarked for export, thus also ensuring the required technical-material base and manpower;

(C) To closely supervise the concrete conditions in which enterprises are fulfilling the planned production earmarked for export, by taking efficient measures to ensure an appropriate qualitative and technical level capable of making our products more competitive on the foreign market.

2. Industrial centrals and production enterprises are dutybound to responsibly ensure that the export production is attained on time and at an appropriate qualitative level; they are responsible for the technical level of production and for efficiently adapting it to foreign market requirements.

The fast renewal of production in step with the requirements of contemporary scientific-technical progress and on the basis of better utilizing raw and other materials, fuel, energy and manpower as well as raising its qualitative and technical level--these things must be a permanent concern of collective management bodies in centrals and enterprises. This is a prerequisite for efficient foreign trade, for developing and diversifying foreign economic relations and for ensuring our country's active participation in the international division of labor.

3. A decisive element of turning out export products at a high comeptitive level is the responsible way in which the working people work to fulfill their honorable duties as direct creators of these products. The quality of the work and responsibility of each worker, engineer, technician and expert is the decisive factor for the quality of products earmarked for export. It is a high honor and responsibility to work for export and to turn out products, equipment and installations which can compete, by their quality and technical performance, with the best products at the international level. The products earmarked for export carry the dear mark of our country and they must always be a high proof of our people's diligence, competence and creative talent. Each worker, technician and expert employed in the production earmarked for export must exemplarily carry out his duty both regarding the smooth and timely delivery of export products and the irreproachable qualitative level of these products. These people must never turn out poor products that run oounter to contract provisions and harm their good name as workers and experts as well as the prestige of our economy. The delivery of export products on time and at a high qualitative level must constitute for each working man a proof of his high patriotism and his pride for the ever greater prestige enjoyed today by Romania throughout the world.

What Each Foreign Trade Worker Must Know and How He Must Work

1. Workers in the foreign trade field must prove through actual facts and the results of their daily work that they fully understand the people's interests and they deeply love the fatherland. They must show their responsibility toward the country and people in the effective trade agreements they conclude; by supervising the fulfillment of contracts concluded; by care for and concern with properly administering the country's wealth; and through the devotion with which they defend and increase the results of the creative efforts of our workers class and socialist nation. Honesty, principledness and correctitude are moral qualities without which one cannot possibly work in this field.

The activity of a foreign trade worker must be characterized by high responsibility toward properly utilizing the assets entrusted to him, by knowledge and a spirit of initiative, and by high discipline in observing existing laws and rules. He must always remember that he does not deal in this field with abstract values or with goods belonging to nobody; on the contrary, he must never

forget that he deals with important parts of the people's wealth, which required work and resources belonging to the entire society.

Each foreign trade worker must be aware of the fact that he occupies a prestigious and highly responsible position in our society; but he must never forget that he owes it all to the people, fatherland and party who shaped and educated him and gave him a change to carry out outstanding, highly appreciated and responsible work in our society. Knowing that the party and people have put their trust in them, the foreign trade workers must always act as true sons of the fatherland, devoted to unswervingly serving the country. In all their activity they must not try to satisfy certain narrow interests or gain some personal advantage; they must defend and promote the overall interests of our country and socialist society. Throughout their work they must be guided by the people's interests, by the need to efficiently develop advantateous foreign trade and by the goal of strengthening and increasing, in this way, too, Romania's prestige in the world.

2. Each foreign trade workers must have a thorough overall and specialized training and must be familiar with the goals of our party-state economic policy and the concrete tasks set for our foreign trade at a given time. He must properly know and understand the immediate and future requirements of the national economy as well as its possibilities, surplus assets, and requirements.

While properly mastering the foreign trade law and the norms and provisions governing the activity in this field, each foreign trade worker must also know and be able to correctly understand the ever more complex problems emerging in the practice of international economic life as well as the concrete trends and requirements of world trade, so as to be able to conclude clear and thoroughly substantiated contracts and to have success both in better utilizing the export products of our national economy and in importing what we need at ever more advantageous prices.

People employed in the foreign trade sector are obligated to inquire about and obtain information on foreign partners, particularly concerning their solvency, ability to pay and credit rating, as well as any other information that may be of interest, in order to guard against signing contracts with intermediary, compromised, insolvent and bankrupt firms, or firms that do not provide sufficient guarantees for the execution of the contracts.

One cannot talk about important and less important tasks in foreign trade. All tasks must be viewed as very important; all must be carried out in exemplary fashion and this requires from all those active in this field, aside from a high degree of competence, also thorough professional and political training, high training, high discipline and responsibility, enthusiasm, devotion, patriotic spirit and self-denial in serving the country's interests.

A representative of a foreign trade enterprise must sit down to negotiate with foreign partners not as an insignificant clerk or as some small merchant. He must remember that for that moment and for that particular matter he is the representative of the Romanian economy, and as such he has a duty to resolutely safeguard and promote the interests of Romania's socialist economy and he must

use convincing arguments for this purpose. Proud of representing a free and dignified nation, he must adopt dignified behavior in his relations with foreign partners. Any lack of confidence or unease caused by the possible reputation of the foreign partner, not to mention servility or subservience to Western values, are incompatible with the status of a representative of our foreign trade bodies.

3. Every foreign trade worker must always be aware of and observe the provisions of the law on protecting state secrets. On being employed in this field, each worker must be thoroughly trained concerning the specific nature and responsibilities inherent in this job and must be made aware of the importance of signing and observing the pledge to strictly keep state secrets.

Everybody must understand that import and export activities involve trade and state secrets. Therefore, one should enhance vigilance against direct or indirect divulgence of secret data; one should resolutely combat such habits as chatting and boasting as well as any violation of rules governing the keeping and handling of secret documents.

It is a fact that in this period of sharpening political and economic confrontation, under conditions of the aggravation of the world crisis, economic and trade espionage is spreading particularly and is being diversified. One could say that a real battle for economic information is under way, with every effort being made to find out the trade and technical secrets of other sides, in order to gain unilateral advantages, such as buying more cheaply and selling more expensively. Failure to observe trade and state secrets may seriously harm the country and people as well as our economic and trade ventures abroad.

4. By the nature of their work and in the line of their duties, foreign trade workers--whether working at home or on permanent or temporary missions abroad--have access to data and information that constitute state secrets, particularly economic secrets, and guarding such secrets is decisive for the results of foreign trade transactions. At the same time, they continuously come into contact with various representatives of business partners and with many foreigners who have a vested interest in finding out data and information of a secret nature on the Romanian side. Often, agents of foreign espionage or counterespionage services assume the cover of commercial representatives to obtain information about our country--and about foreign trade affairs--which is then used to place the Romanian side at a disadvantage, or even to compromise our country's interests and reputation.

To defend Romania's import-export ventures and to prevent Romanian citizens active in the foreign trade activity from committing acts capable of harming our state's interests and reputation, all foreign trade workers must meet certain requirements and observe a number of specific rules.

(A) They must thoroughly know the laws of the socialist Republic of Romania on establishing contact with foreigners as well as the norms governing foreign trade activity in this respect;

(B) They must always keep secret state data and information in order to prevent their utilization by foreign partners to the detriment of the Romanian state;

(C) In broaching issues during negotiations with foreign partners, they must strictly observe their mandate, in order to protect our trade secrets and to prevent the leakage of information that could be exploited by foreign partners to the detriment of the Romanian side.

5. Behaving with dignity and responsibility for the sake of the country's reputation, foreign trade employees must resolutely reject any attempt to bribe or corrupt them, under no circumstances can they accept money or cash deposits into personal accounts abroad, gifts or any other material gains offered by foreign firms or persons with whom they come into contact during missions abroad or during the latter's visits to our country. They will thus avoid being exposed to corruption and blackmail or being swept into committing acts contrary to the interests of our state.

In all their actions, both at home and abroad, foreign trade employees must show exemplary behavior, determination and faultless political judgment. They must be vigilant, they must spot and reject any attempt by espionage or counter-espionage services and by foreign reactionary circles and organizations to incite them to treason, to undermine our national economy, or to other crimes.

All foreign trade employees must be aware of the fact that violations of legal regulations on relations with foreigners and on behavior in the course of discharging foreign trade duties will incur disciplinary, material, civil, contraventional or penal punishment, according to the case. Such violations will be sanctioned as acts against the interests of the fatherland and as acts undermining our people's struggle for progress and for a better life.

The current and future tasks in foreign trade make it necessary for all those active in that sector to exercise particular responsibility for the proper management and administration of our people's socialist property and how a sense of firm order and discipline in applying the state's laws and all norms and decisions that regulate our foreign economic relations.

Party organizations, management councils of the ministry and of centrals and working people's councils must make sure that people are thoroughly familiar with the laws and regulations concerning foreign trade and with the duties and obligations concerning foreign trade and with the duties and obligations of foreign trade employees, so that each person active in this area should know exactly what his responsibilities are, what society expects of him and how he should act, and should be thoroughly prepared, from all viewpoints, for the missions entrusted to him. In the future, no one will be permitted to use as an "excuse" for mistakes and actions contrary to the people's interests the fact that he was unaware of those regulations, did not know what to do in a certain situation, or did not know what his obligations and responsibilities were as a foreign trade employee.

By preservingly acting to radically improve the activity in that sector, by uniting their forces and engaging with great determination in rapidly eliminating inappropriate states of affairs to ensure that the party's targets are implemented under favorable conditions and with maximum efficiency, foreign trade employees will thus honor the trust put in them by our society and all our people. Thus they will truly do their duty as builders of socialism, patriots and aware and devote citizens of our socialist fatherland.

LEADERS GREET VIETNAMESE COUNTERPARTS

AU061643 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Sep 82 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Le Duan, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party [VCP]; Comrade Truong Chinh, chairman of the state council of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam [SRV]; Comrade Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers; and Comrade Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the SRV National Assembly, Hanoi

On the 37th anniversary of the SRV's National Day, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the state council, the grand national assembly and government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Romanian people and on our own behalf, we want to extend warmest congratulations to you, the VCP Central Committee, state council, national assembly and government of the SRV and to the Vietnamese people.

The Romanian people, who have granted multifaceted support to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against colonialism and imperialism and for national and social liberation and for the fatherland's reunification, appreciate the results achieved by the Vietnamese people under VCP leadership in the country's socialist construction, in the rebuilding of the economy, in the development of science, culture and education and in the improvement of the working people's living standard.

We are convinced that the Romanian-Vietnamese relations of friendship and cooperation, based on the principles agreed upon at summit level, will constantly develop in the spirit of mutual respect and for the benefit and in the interests of our peoples, the general cause of socialism, independence, peace and international cooperation.

On this great holiday, we wish you and the fraternal Vietnamese people increasingly greater successes in implementing the Fifth VCP Congress decisions and in the fatherland's multifaceted development on the road of progress and prosperity.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Constantin Dascalesou, prime minister of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania; and Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the grand national assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CSO: 2700/347

CEAUSESCU GREETS AL-QADHDHAFI ON NATIONAL DAY

AU061638 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Sep 82 p 5

[Text] To his excellency Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the great 1 September Revolution of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, Tripoli.

On the 13th anniversary of Revolution Day, I take pleasure in extending most sincere congratulations and wishes for good health and personal happiness to you and wishes for successes to the friendly Libyan people on their road of progress and well-being.

I want to take this opportunity to express the conviction that, on the basis of the talks and understandings agreed upon in Bucharest, the relations of friendship and multifaceted cooperation between our countries will continue to develop and deepen in the interests of the Romanian and Libyan peoples and the cause of peace, national independence and security in the world.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

CSO: 2700/347

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES MINING CADRES MEETING 2 SEPTEMBER

AU061738 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Sep 82 p 2

[Report on speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at 2 September meeting with mining cadres in Lupeni on the occasion of his working visit to Hunedoara County]

[Text] The party secretary general stressed that the meeting had been organized with the knowledge of the great and complex tasks devolving on miners under the extraction program up to 1985, which calls for the extraction of more than 15 million tons of coal, 5 million tons of which will be coking coal, a production that can be completely achieved if one takes into account the material-technical resources available to the mining industry at this point. In connection with lags recorded ever since the beginning of the current year, our party and state leader expressed his conviction that this coal lag will be made up for.

Referring to the problems raised during the discussions, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu specified that in the Jiu Valley there is still an inequitable relationship between the number of workers directly active in the coal extraction process and the rest of the working personnel. He recommended that measures be taken as soon as possible to correct this and that further measures be taken to simplify the organizational framework of labor and the production process by proceeding from the work unit and from the equipment used in stopes. Within this framework the party secretary general made lengthy reference to the problem of transportation in mines, assessing it as one of the essential aspects of mechanizing labor in the pits. Therefore, he recommended that a collective--subordinated to the council of ministers--be set up by specialists of research institutes, the ministries of mines, machine-building and metallurgy in order to draw up by the end of October a program on completely mechanizing mines--cutting mine waste, transporting coal to the surface, transporting workers and materials in the mine.

To avoid disruptions in the operation of combines and the other machinery in the pits, which have a negative bearing on the plan fulfillment, the speaker recommended that each unit should have its own stocks of spare parts available and that small spare parts should be stored in the mine itself. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu then specified that for that reason the minister in charge of equipment production must develop his spare-part producing capacity and

must see to it that spare parts are manufactured for all types of equipment being manufactured. To acquire a more thorough knowledge about the concrete problems of labor mechanization in mines and how the equipment that is being produced is operating, the machine-builders and metallurgists must more often spend some time among the miners, must closely cooperate with them when manufacturing machines, spare parts and other materials, so that they will best meet the real needs and the specific labor conditions in mines.

Stressing that our industry has everything necessary available to ensure the complete mechanization of coal extraction, the party secretary pointed out that it is necessary to take firm measures to train the right number of miners in keeping with the level of knowledge required by the advanced technology that is now being used in our coal mining industry. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu specified that we now need a miner who is able to lead a combine, who knows how to maintain it and to perform the necessary repairs. Proceeding from this, the speaker demanded that the curriculum of specialized schools and institutes be urgently revised and that in the next 2 months a program be worked out on improving the training of workers and specialists for the extractive industry in keeping with its current tasks and requirements. At the same time, it is necessary to make rational and more economical use of existing cadres in each mine by taking care each day that the working personnel in underground mines is complete; any absentee workers in mines must be automatically replaced by personnel working on the surface.

The party secretary general then stressed that the program on increasing coal extraction, both coal for energy purposes and especially coking coal, includes particular tasks for the ministries of mines, geology, machine-building and metallurgy and for scientific research. He also pointed out that the council of ministers must firmly pursue the fulfillment of these tasks. The speaker emphasized that the complete fulfillment of that program requires particular responsibilities on the part of the management in mining enterprises, the party organizations and bodies and for each working man in that particularly important sector of our national economy.

In conclusion, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his firm conviction that the miners--a front-ranking detachment of our workers class who are esteemed and appreciated by all our people--will completely fulfill their duty, thus contributing to ensuring the country's energy self-sufficiency and to the progress of our overall national economy.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2057

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22 September 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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IVAN BALABANOV: PROFILE OF AN EMINENT JOURNALIST

Sofia BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST in Bulgarian No 8, 1982 pp 27-30

[Article by Zdravko Petrov: "The Magnetic Field of Journalism"]

[Text] The appearance of many newspapers and literary forums, of radio and television, has brought to life a whole category of young people whose appearance at the beginning of the 1950's would have been inconceivable. For at that time there were very few forums. There were many slogans and placards on the walls of buildings, enthusiastic celebrations, rallies, interminable meetings. The times were different then and the media of public influence were different. But now television offers us an entire category of specialized commentators. Unquestionably, many of them are knowledgeable in the field in which they are working, are energetic and clear of purpose.

There has appeared on the "small screen" the corvine profile of Kevork Kevorkyan with the mocking sparks in his eyes and the cunning questions. For a time he gained great popularity. His absence from the screen is quickly noticed. We are so accustomed to him and his Levantine appearance I do not know how one day--heaven forbid!--we will part with his diction and interrogation method, which, to us, comes closer to the work of an examining magistrate than of a smooth talker from the Scheherezade school.

His constant companion during these years has been the literary critic, Atanas Svilenov, a person of abundant versatility and subtle vibrations of the intellect. Ready to smile and ironically skeptical, Atanas Svilenov is active on the small screen and in newspapers and magazines. He never enters battle with the posture of a gladiator. And when he has to take part in polemics, he moves slowly and surely with the weapons of consummate professionalism. Svilenov has the capacity of reincarnating different topics. With identical ease he can transport us to the St Petersburg of Gogol', to vaudeville and the art of the film. The world of Vutimski fascinates him, too. Vutimski is a city tulip in the garden of Bulgarian poetry between two great wars, a nervous and sickly child reminiscent of the irresolution of the begonia. Incidentally, I could tell about Svilenov, his literary tastes and prejudices, his journalistic capabilities, but I have a different task here. My aim is to sketch his profile insofar as he--like Kevork Kevorkyan, as well as Ivan Balabanov, about whom we will talk later on--has been captivated by the whirl of a

profession which in advance kindles passions in the blood and changes human nature into a nature that is aggressive and combative, penetrating and socially responsive. People like these are not people of ideas or conceptions, but of journalism as a most general collective concept, which includes an item of fresh news still unknown to the public and the latest speech of some world statesman. Such people are not encountered every day. They are produced slowly and patiently, and bear the burden of an uneasy existence.

Such a figure once was Lyuben Georgiev, who in the 1960's made the rounds of the editorial offices and was a master at picking up "the rumor of the day." Now, in the words of a friend, he is "a whale in the Danube." And perhaps he does not even have his own Danube. He is forced like every critic to be a "gypsy" and make camp here and there. . .

If we stop to think more deeply, we see that there is already a whole host of young people in our country who are using the sources of television, radio and the mass media for propaganda. Try as I may to force my imagination, I cannot conceive of Atanas Svilenov standing over the literary archives in some institute or even writing a monograph on Aleksandur Vutimski, about whom he has written repeatedly. He will write a short article or essay, nothing more. He is a product of the great city, of the urbanized perceptions of writers of the 1940's. His works are never laden with academic tedium and mold. He flees "literary science" as he would the devil. And not just the monstrous symmetry of structural critical poetics. Every livelier spirit, every more versatile and plastic pen holds aloof from dissertations. In the words of a Frenchman, they are "the grave of literature." But we have, so to speak, become used to many such "graves," which create a silence of the tomb around some authors and classical writers while they are living.

People like Ivan Balabanov, Atanas Svilenov and Kevork Kevorkyan are the product of modern times. They are inconceivable outside the contours of a newspaper or the blue light of a television set. They materialize in an instant. But at the same time they are zealous to publish books. Ivan Balabanov is not satisfied with the atmosphere of the newspapers where he is on the staff. He wants his interviews to become literature; out of an anecdote he wants to extract lasting features. And, as a matter of fact, one day we shall return to his portraits, which will not fade as photographs do, for they convey the spirit of the times, an uneasy changeable world.

Somewhere around the beginning of the 1970's Ivan Balabanov made his appearance in our world of journalism. He came rushing with the brutality of youth and his energetic nature. With some brusqueness he wanted to take first place in it and elbow others out with his quick wit and intellect. He had already been immersed in provincial theaters and suddenly made a serious change to journalism. His theatrical education, so to speak, was left far behind. Something else attracted him. What was it? He was attracted by the smell of printer's ink, by matrix-making, by hurrying to and fro among the typewriters like a "shuttle," by finding young names and supporting positions defended on a small platform, named the newspaper PULS [Pulse]. With a certain enviable ease he recruited staff members and incited lazy pens to sparkle on the stormy pages of a youth newspaper, which sometimes registered rises, sometimes falls,

depending on the temperature of the day. Here he was all ardor for several years, made a name and left the cordon of VITIZ [Krust'o Sarafov Higher Institute of Theatrical Art] graduates. One critic used to like to say that so and so had "theatrical red corpuscles." The same can be said about the born journalist; he is not created in a retort or a literature laboratory, but by restless typesetting, the panic during the afternoon hours in the editorial office, the bustle and energetic tone in the editorial offices. There are people who have journalistic "red corpuscles," who, so to speak, cannot exist outside the air of the editorial office and its strenuous pace. Ivan Balabanov cannot imagine spending hours bent over a book in the public library. He does not have the nerves for it. All his nerves have become knots. Sometimes he has nervous spasms. Whether or not he reads books is his affair, but he always reads the newspapers and knows on what page anything important is to be found. He at once discovers the nuances in a newspaper. He is avid for interesting reading matter--for reading matter which is notable for nerve and temperament, for phrase and fantasy.

A newspaper passes rapidly through his hands; he drops it in boredom if there is nothing to satisfy his curiosity, his permanent journalistic hunger. People like him cannot stay in one place, are not born for contemplation. For he is "on the scene" of a story every minute, chancing upon knowledgeable people, lunching with people from whom he can learn something. In a word, he is poking his nose in everywhere; he is the informed person of the day. He is a typical journalist without having studied journalism, without having had professors like Georgi Borshukov, Vladimir Topencharov, Stefan B. Stanchev et al.

You have to be an observer of this fellow's everyday work in order to understand how absorbed he is in his profession, how he changes taxis, his surroundings, suits, neckties. For him, personal living standards are no end in themselves, are not the preoccupation of a sybarite or a Sofia dandy, but that of a person who must always be among an elite, well-informed public. . .

Ivan Balabanov is quick in his journalistic reflexes; he does not wait to be evaluated, but evaluates himself and praises himself for some journalistic material. There is no time to wait. He is of this generation, of the young avant-garde that does not know the word "Wait"; it has ruthlessly struck this word out of its vocabulary as a great man once deleted the word "impossible." For such people, movement is everything. People like him are always traveling, always writing. Ivan Balabanov knows his journalistic destiny. He told me during our foreign travels, "I will die on the road." Without him I would have had difficulty in overcoming my inherent propensity to stay at home, my Oriental indolence. In Iv. Balabanov's company I actually became aware of the variegation of the hemisphere. We saw the partially illuminated streets in Vienna where there are beautiful shops and luxurious hotels, also the museums and fountains of Schoenbrunn, which I knew from the descriptions in St. Zweig's memoirs. I cannot forget the gardens dotted with sculptured figures of renowned musicians who once were the pride of this city of gaiety, merriment and much serious art.

With him I saw another part of the world, too: the overpraised Statue of Liberty, the statue of George Washington, the green gardens, "one-story America,"

the glittering Broadway musicals. I returned once more, so to speak, to my childhood, recalling the American "girlie" films, Shirley Temple's playful years, the jazz mania of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers, so many American movie stars.

In those years Ivan Balabanov traveled very intensively. He saw both remote and exotic Tokyo and the "large stars of Famagusta"; several times he was in Cyprus, and Vienna at one time became his neighborhood. To this some would say that the wandering, the craving to see the world was to no purpose, but in all his traveling Balabanov filled his notebook with fragmentary phrases, which later he turned into orderly sentences, into breathless descriptions, into energetic and lapidary appreciations of streets, people, events.

For more than 10 years this man worked in the restless field of journalism where there are names long-since forgotten. But he still lives, pulsates and waits for a situation to deploy his uncommon journalistic vitality. He has now easily regained his health and the situation has made him wiser, but he patiently awaits his hour. He awaits the tocsin of some event which will involve him in its wake, will exercise his will and mind, his quick wit and newspaperman's skill.

There are journalists who are not vain enough to publish books. Some burn out in an instant. They are satisfied to rise again at some other instant. Ivan Balabanov is not of these. He is excited by published books, their luxurious format, their sale. If you want to hurt him, tell him where there are several of his books lying about on some shelf in Sofia.

He is ready at once to refute the fact even if he understands its truth.

Ivan Balabanov is the author of several books of interviews. In a certain sense he is the uncrowned king in this field. He believes he has no other rivals. Atanas is a very good author of interviews, but he has a preference for Bulgarian urban literati and his favorite critics. He will not disperse his energies in pursuing foreigners or distinguished visitors to Bulgaria.

Ivan Balabanov's books, however, are filled with big names, with luminaries of the first and second magnitude, with talented conversationalists, who spare minutes of their precious time for this restless Bulgarian who will not leave them in peace, who is forever on the telephone and badgering interpreters. He pushed the staid and slightly phlegmatic Krasen Khimirski for a bit of time to arrange a meeting for us with the inaccessible Arthur Miller, who was living at his "rancho" outside the New York City limits with his young wife, a Viennese photographer. Similarly our compatriot in London fiddled with his notebook in his hand for a long time until he hunted up some suitable person for the curiosity of the wandering journalists to whom an unfamiliar world was opening up--the world of Henry Moore, the British Museum, the eerie house of Madame Tussaud, and the Thames, familiar from Turner's paintings.

To go around the hemisphere with Ivan Balabanov is a pleasure and a displeasure. The displeasure is that he drags you everywhere, will not give you a minute's rest at the hotel and plunges you into the wanderings of Odysseus. However

much I pore over the published interviews of Ivan Balabanov, however much I relish some curious and rare details, I still see many things that have consciously or unconsciously been omitted. For he has to be concise and punchy.

The contemporary reader does not have much time for reading; he wants to get to know what is essential in just a few lines, to "get the feel" of an unknown atmosphere in a few words. Long descriptions are a privilege of the nineteenth century. But no, even then they were not a privilege of genuine journalism, which has one God and one God only—brevity. I do not know the great age of journalism in Europe except from the novels of the great Honoré [de Balzac]. He shows you the Paris of Vautrin, the courtesans, the mercenary pens of the journalists, the breakneck careers and downfalls of men of disastrous ambition. What I do not see in modern journalistic practice I fill in from the classical pages of certain novels and books of memoirs which reveal the fabulous world of journalism.

However, we have not had such journalism and will not have. For we do not sufficiently esteem the passion in journalism, the grandeur in this profession. Simply out of inertia we view this kind of activity with unconscious disdain. This disdain for the "newspaper hack" is still in our blood even though we are familiar with the supreme achievements of the press during the Bulgarian national revival and the post-liberation period.

In his student years Ivan Balabanov maintained very close ties with Lyudmil Stoyanov and his circle. He adored one of his books--"Moite Sreshti" [People I Have Met] (meetings and conversations with European writers), published in 1938. Obviously this book was an incentive to him for the same kind of activity in which there is breathlessness, whetted curiosity about the world, intellectualism, antifascist passion. And this book has made an impression on our generation, too. It strikes us with its wealth of foreign names, some of which have mythic value in our consciousness. For us, Lyudmil Stoyanov's personal acquaintance with the celebrated writer and "Soviet Count" Aleksey Tolstoy meant a great deal. From him we learned for the first time about the execution of the riflemen, about the cold Moscow morning of their execution; we recognize anew in his "Sestri" [Sisters] not only the eternal Turgenev heroines, but also the aroma of a decadent literary age. From there we learned for the first time who Egon Erwin Kisch was. We already knew about Karin Michaelis from her children's books. The philosophical writer, Julien Benda, little known in our country, is familiar from his introductory essay to the works of Kant. About him Lyudmil Stoyanov writes in his sketch, "Every intelligent Frenchman knows the name of Julien Benda as the name of a famous philosopher, industrialist and humanist. He became especially popular with his book, 'Izmyanata na Vodachite' [La Trahison des Clercs; The Treason of the Intellectual], in which he criticizes the role of the intellectuals, in the main their eminent representatives like Barrès in France and D'Annunzio in Italy."

Obviously this book was engraved in his consciousness and he decided to continue it, but to enrich it not only with writers' names, but with the names of producers, opera singers, creative artists, performing artists, political and cultural figures. Ivan Balabanov told me repeatedly that this book played a role in his journalism and gave it a certain orientation.

But Ivan Balabanov is of this generation, to which history has not offered the opportunity of similar acquaintances. For him the only resounding literary names were those of Aleksey Tolstoy, Paul Vaillant Couturier, Ilya Erenburg, André Chamson, (I. K. Lupol), Jean-Richard Bloch et al., people with whom Lyudmil Stoyanov chatted at the end of the 1930's when the world was being torn by alarming wars, by the war in Abyssinia and the bloody civil war in Spain. Intellectuals had raised their voices in Paris and Madrid. They held sessions in Madrid with the sirens screaming and the bombs of fascist planes crashing. Ivan Balabanov had no opportunity to meet the celebrated author of "Choveshka Uchast" [La Condition Humaine; Man's Fate], but he hurried to make up for what he had lost. He met that author's first wife, Clara Malraux. André Malraux's biography in the 1930's was beautiful. He spoke at the First Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934, visited Soviet schools, participated in congresses in Valencia, Barcelona and Madrid. He fought in the ranks of the Spanish Republican Army. He hoisted the banner of "hope" over the above-mentioned fighters. Malraux declared in those years, "In December the Republicans opened a hundred new schools. Thousands of students turned out with weapons to guard these schools. Another difference between us and the fascists is that we loathe the hierarchy. We want culture to be created not by those who have it, but by those who want it."

Today Ivan Balabanov is the author of several books of interviews, interviews filled with reflections of his numerous international meetings. In time even the greatest skeptics of his achievement will be convinced that we have a journalistic talent among us. He has the radar system of the journalists whom we encounter in the major press.

He is a person who scurries to catch the news in the air; events interest him as long as they are "in the air." He is interested in news no more and no less than required by his profession, which creates a keen sense of competition. About Rayna Kabaivanska he knows what he has to know; likewise about Margarita Lilova, and finally about Karajan.

Many believed that Ivan Balabanov (in view of his theatrical education) would concentrate on theater criticism. But he lightly betrayed the ministers of Melpomene even though to this day he writes articles on the theater. But his nature has drawn him elsewhere. What allures him is journalism, the instantaneous story, the spark that results in meeting with celebrities. His first book was in character an interview, but was devoted to our own Bulgarian problems. In it he analyzed "macro"- and "micro"-justice. Through the eye of eminent writers we were acquainted with the sociology of our daily round. In it a spectral analysis was made of a number of social and national vices. This little booklet made a name for him. Everybody understood that before them stood an interviewer who was able to incline them towards moralistic reflection. Even the most apathetic people could not withstand his journalistic offensive; they could not barricade themselves against his aggressive character which knows no obstacles or barriers. With some ease Balabanov crosses foreign borders and gets to foreign capitals. There he finds interesting people to talk to. Marika (R'ok) [possibly Roeck] had long since venished from the films and was laid to rest with the Third Reich, but he discovered her in Vienna. I personally was a witness of how he made a search by telephone from the

Wittgenstein House for formerly famous singer Lyuba Velichkova, but she had suffered a slight contusion and promised no meeting. In Rome there were failures, too.

Our famous countryman Boris Khristov was not in the mood and did not want to receive two Bulgarians who were enraptured not only with the pines, the basilicas, the Stendhalian abbots and the statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome, but with the performing art of Boris Khristov too. But alas! He did not condescend to grant us the opportunity of dropping in at his house, which would have revealed many things to us. This was one loss. But an interviewer as experienced as Ivan Balabanov knows that the journalistic craft requires patience, stoicism, and sometimes swallowing bitter pills. He knows that in journalism just as in life everything is victories and losses. As editor of the newspaper PULS he inflicted blows, but he suffered blows too. For the most part he did not get into a panic or turn tail. His menacing energy and liveliness made enemies for him. But not bitter enemies, not mortal enemies. For everything he did he did in the name of journalism. Our journalistic blood seems to have become sluggish if we cannot stand natures like Ivan Balabanov, who in tolerant surroundings represent coloring and give an idea of the image of the eternal journalist whom we know from Balzac's novels and who is reincarnated in the most diverse times and eras. There was often tension around Ivan Balabanov. Respected pens wrote against him, but he, with stoicism and the steadfastness of the former "contributors," knew that the profession was risky and that he was, in principle, in a dangerous magnetic field. He is a flesh-and-blood person. He has his passions and prejudices. But nothing can make him lay down his pen. He would sink into deadly boredom, into weightlessness, into a terrible vacuum. Forbid him to publish and interview and he will be dead.

To this day it is hard to believe that I traveled part of the world with Ivan Balabanov! Only I can tell about our vicissitudes in the dressing room of our famous singer in Vienna, Rayna Kabaivanska. In Vienna we set out to see the luxurious shops, but landed in the auditorium of the Staatsoper where Henrik [sic! error for Herbert] von Karajan was conducting a rehearsal of "Trovatore." Ivan Balabanov fell into a certain state of agitation when we saw the pastry shops, the stores and the automobiles of the Viennese capital. With his nose of a restless journalist, he realized that this was not the place for him. And actually his place was not in the Sigmund Freud Museum. He was not born to contemplate the fountains of Schoenbrunn. He was born for completely different things. Things that have nothing in common with books or the contemplation of ancient culture. He was born to meet celebrities.

If he had been active in the 1920's and 1930's, he could not have helped but meet Toscanini, Bruno Walter, Tagore, Ivan Bunin. His blood of a born journalist and inspired interviewer impelled him not so much to go to premieres as to "scent" the celebrities of the century. Whenever he feels that there is some celebrity near him, he becomes restless, turns into a journalistic "greyhound," smokes cigarette after cigarette and throws them away without even finishing them. At such moments there hovers near his head a certain invisible aura of interviewer inspiration, which strikes him in the presence of writers and performing artists, opera singers and creative artists, musicians and

sculptors. At such moments his world seems small. He quickly obtains entry visas (driven by the Fate of unusual meetings), traverses cities and countries and is transformed into a sort of herald of the inexhaustible national curiosity that wants to find out "what is happening in the world."

Insofar as I recall, I was introduced to Ivan Balabanov, this brilliant journalist of ours, whom hardly any other journalist in our capital equals in penetration, resourcefulness and intelligent reflectiveness, somewhere around the beginning of the 1960's by the literary critic Lyuben Georgiev in a vegetarian restaurant. L. Georgiev is also of a nature congenial to him in energy and resourcefulness. He, too, interviewed many Soviet artists and writers and constructed a panorama of theatrical Moscow.

For the energy of Ivan Balabanov a city, no matter how large, is small. He is allured by wider horizons. Before his glance the hemisphere turns round and round. For people like him there is never enough time. He wants to outrun, to overcome time. He lives in a certain breathless state and has the feeling that he is eternally a traveler. He has grown into part of the waiting rooms of the Sofia airport.

In a Madrid pastry shop with him we contemplated the old furniture, admired the candelabra and the strange charm of the dark furniture. We drew up a balance sheet of our travels and it was at that time that he repeatedly said to me, "I will die on the road." In his statement there was not a trace of posturing. He simply likes to travel and is avid for trips. I personally have no great energy for traveling, but I like to travel with him. He gives me some of his never exhaustible energy which is not just maintained with sandwiches and solid beefsteaks. It simply springs from his whole energetic frame. Purely and simply, he is endowed with inexhaustible energy. And in this regard he sweeps along his fellow traveler, invisibly supplementing the latter's energy with his own. The late Vasil Popov once said to me, "Ivan Balabanov is your good fortune." Being an intimate friend, he knew what a stay-at-home I was. And actually "the beginning of my odyssey" was very out of character.

Balabanov wants to make a panorama of the artistic part of the world, that part which dawn finds at its easel, which rehearses to the point of exhaustion, which pursues the summits of absolute art like Balzac's monomaniacs.

There is one reporter who has a world name. His name: Egon Erwin Kisch. Ivan Balabanov is no stranger to his spirit.

6474
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ANOTHER VIEWPOINT SUBTLY DEFENDS LOW BIRTHRATE

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 6 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Zlatko Angelov, M.D., "Let the Neighbors Have Them" (Thoughts about consumer psychology and the higher expectations people have of the standard of living)]

[Text] I am a father of four and that is why I thought that my opinion, built upon personal experience and observation of other people, will have a definite weight in the present discussion. Yes, a great deal depends on being materially provided for which lately, rather precisely, has been called standard of living: a complex which includes salary, housing, prices of goods, social security etc. However, the standard of living is determined by the material maturity of the country in question, and no matter how strongly we desire it, we cannot be richer than the historical development allows us to be at the present moment. We are not one of the richest countries, but this is not the problem. Of course there are those who point to us a high standard and we, without considering how it has been achieved, want to see it established in our country by the wave of a magic wand. According to me, our mistake is that we preached to the people that socialism offers an abundance of material wealth, without teaching them that in order to have these material goods we have to work, that they depend exclusively on our individual, conscientious and creative labor, and that no one can just give them to us like that.

One way or another, the consumer psychology of the author of the anonymous letter is the result of exactly this misconception: that in the just socialist society everybody will receive as much as he could. And yet she decided to remain anonymous for she realizes that her position is amoral, or at least objectionable. This fact indicates that not everything is lost. What is worrisome is that, according to my observations, people with such morality are prevalent. It is worrisome too that with the problem of quantity (the number) of children, the much more important question of their quality is being neglected, that is to say the problem of their upbringing. The problem is so complex that I find it difficult to single out the main issues. But while I cannot prove convincingly that consumer morality is prevalent, I can point out to enough convincing statistical data that families with one child are the majority, and families with three children are the exception (such as ours, with four and more are viewed as archaism).

If we accept that people with three and more childrean are of high morality, then the rest are left with the opposite--not high. And if we admit that this is an oversimplification, we can understand easily that the so-called low birth rate has its objectively existing causes. In other words, if we do not want to blame people that they consciously, as established egotists, make a decision not to have more than one child, then they all will fall into the category of families who lack the material conditions to have more children. And what does that mean? It means that the house and the material conditions of these families are such that thay do not want to raise and bring up their children in conditions less than the optimal ones for the child himself.

Consequently the problem is not simply to have more children, but rather to create such conditions for these children which will secure a better life, at least better than the life we have had in our childhood, such conditions which will fit the notion of every parent for the happiness and proper upbringing of his children. This is not the place to discuss how this notion has been created, but it is clear that there is a discrepancy between the higher expectations people have of their own lives and the possibilities for fulfilling these expectations. In this respect the anonymous author is correct when she emphasizes the higher expectations, which in their essence cannot be anything else but material, and indirectly concludes that the conditions for realization of these expectations by the individual family are not present. Her position, however, is objectionable because she remains there, at the material level, instead of naturally using it for the spiritual uplifting and transforming it into an instrument for the thing which is at the beginning of the human existence--spiritual beginning, culture, beauty, and in the final score--humanism. And the horrible thing is that her child, under these conditions, will probably one day become like her mother.

[The following text is in bold type in the original source] How do you think, for example, the two of us with my wife provide our four children and ourselves with that material level of existence which corresponds to our cultural requirements, moral principles, and professional abilities? First, we were fortunate enough that our grandmother's house is spacious enough to allow both my parents and my family to live there without bothering each other, and that it has not been marked for demolition! Secondly, we both are forced to work which, according to us is a burden for a woman. Even the French socialist-utopians have expressed the wonderful truth that the degree of progress of a society can be measured by the degree of free time its women have. A woman who must work in order to provide for her family, who must earn money instead of bringing up her children (I emphasize this because children are our topic) and having free time for herself is not a free woman! Nor is the man free who is unable alone to support his family. I know that this opinion, from the point of view of the contemporary notions about emancipation, seems objectionable, or rather incomprehensible to most of my contemporaries, but I am convinced that if we look carefully into the issue, we will discover the truth that women should be freed from the burden of compulsory profession and earning money, only then will they be able to decide for themselves whether they want to develop professionally and how to do so, only then their development will be truly free, directed by inner necessity, be desires and abilities.

I have to moonlight in order to earn some extra money which affects the time I spend in my main activity. Furthermore, I cannot even imagine what will happen if one of us is taken ill, our organization is so dependent on our physical health and pressence that everything would collapse in case of illness. Then, here is a simple balance of economics: when I put my efforts in side activities (which include maintenance of the house, repairs, search for water faucets which are in short supply, and so on) I inevitably diminish my my professional activity; in other words, I become a less complete expert to whom the state pays for a certain kind of work. In parenthesis, I would mention too that it is laughable even to think that until now no one has been upset by the fact that I do not devote all my efforts and skills to my profession! Simply no one has shown any interest in what we, lecturers and scientists, are doing and can do! [End of bold type]

With everything mentioned up to now, I want to underscore that we, people with more than two children (and of course, a large part to those who have only two children) are forced to exert much more effort in order to secure to our families appropriate living conditions which are in congruence with the contemporary expectations, not only in relation to the work and professional realization, but also to the culture and upbringing of the young and their morality. I would also like to draw attention to the fact that the way the problem of children is defined on our country today (from a state, legal, medical and human point of view) does not take into consideration the whole depth and complexity of a fundamental demographic phenomenon. That is why even in the best materials in the newspapers we can notice a sliding along the surface, which seems to be necessary if we wanted to prove how beautiful everything would be if it were the way we wished it to be.

As for the children, we all love them. But plain love is not enough. That is why in words we are all convinced that more children should be born, but ... let the neighbors have them. The question is why is this so, and what can be done to change it?

9804
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CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION ON 'ABGRENZUNG' POLICY ANALYZED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 26, 28 Jun 82 pp 32, 33

[Unattributed article: "GDR: Change Through 'Abgrenzung'?--An SED Confidential Analysis of the Politburo's Policy on Germany"]

> [Text] The SED leadership views the GDR's situation as being extremely difficult and concludes therefore that it must intensify its Abgrenzung policy against the FRG. This can be gathered from an internal SED analysis which SPIEGEL is documenting. It is based on confidential information given by the party leadership to leading functionaries as well as on explanatory statements by Politburo members.

We are proceeding from the following considerations: The CEMA economic situation is being viewed as tense and crisis ridden for years to come. No basic improvement is in sight.

As recently as April of last year, the SED leadership at its Tenth Party Congress had judged the CEMA economic situation in a much more optimistic light and had based its own growth objectives upon that evaluation. However, immediately following the party congress, the leadership was strongly advised by the Soviets that it was proceeding from entirely false assumptions.

At the same time, crude oil deliveries from the USSR to the GDR were cut down by 10 percent, i.e., about 2 million tons per year. The GDR leadership was told that it would have to increase its aid to Poland as well as its exports to the USSR and to increase its share in paying for Warsaw Pact arms expenditures. This was the background for Erich Honecker's more critical and sober evaluation of the GDR situation at the third session of the SED Central Committee in November 1981.

The miserable, even catastrophic situation of Soviet agriculture has in the meantime led to the GDR's having to deliver meat and cattle not only to Poland, but to the USSR in large quantities as well. The rest is being exported to the West so as to earn foreign currency. As a result, meat has become scarce in East Berlin and even more so in the rest of the GDR.

Trouble in its own agriculture makes the situation even worse. Economic plans with their big growth figures have been called "hollow" by Guenter Mittag in the Politburo and in talking with fellow workers--but, he said, they are plans which must still be desperately adhered to.

Internally, the worst thing is not the so-called peace movement, but rather the growing unwillingness to work hard. Additionally, the SED leadership as well as Moscow are disconcerted over the fact that the Polish government is unable to cope with the situation in that country, nor that there are prospects that this might change within the foreseeable future.

The party derives additional insecurity from not knowing who will lead the Moscow government in the future and what their political policies will be like.

Honecker has an unpleasant memory of an event from his own past: during the final phase of the Walter Ulbricht era, USSR Ambassador Pyotr Abrassimov dealt behind Ulbricht's back with the SED's No 2 man, Erich Honecker, on substantive questions, e.g., the conduct of the negotiations concerning the Berlin Four-Power Treaty.

A Politburo group consisting of Honecker, Kurt Hager, Paul Verner, Willi Stoph, dealt with the Soviets in secret negotiations in Moscow for Ulbricht's succession.

All these reasons have apparently contributed to the SED leadership's decision, including Honecker's, to tighten the Abgrenzung course against Bonn. A reduction in the minimum money exchange quantity is less thinkable than ever. Liberalized travel permits for GDR citizens into the West are out of the question.

The small improvements which have occurred recently have always been explained away within the party and the state apparatus with the reservation that a few concessions had to be made, but that nobody was entitled to such travels. Besides, the whole thing was subject to rescission at any time. Many applications were delayed or disapproved.

Even West-travel cadres (state and party functionaries who are permitted frequent travel to Western countries on official business) who apply for travels to the West on urgent family business or who have since retired, are turned down. In the former case, the justification for disapproval is that West-travel cadre members could travel only on official business; in the second case, it is that private travels to the West after retirement age can be approved only after a quarantine period of 3-5 years.

State civil servants charged with the responsibility for approving such requests have become even tougher than in the past. Almost none of them are permitted to travel to the West themselves, either on business or privately. The party leadership pats them on the back with the commendatory remark that within the entire socialist camp they are almost the only ones left on whom the party can fully depend. In view of this, strict control measures at border crossing points are increasing even for travelers on official business.

In its relationship with Bonn, the SED leadership hopes to be able to equalize and/or hide the restrictive treatment of contact and travel opportunities to the West by permitting pensioners who had permission to travel to the FRG until now to continue doing so. In addition, a small circle of "organized travel groups" of people below retirement age is to be given permission to travel. The organized travel groups will be charged with continuously reiterating the basic demands which Honecker had made in Gera in 1980: full judicial recognition of the GDR; ambassadors rather than permanent representatives; recognition of the centerline of the Elbe River as the border; abolishing the central registry for GDR criminal actions in Salzgitter.

In parallel with further Abgrenzung the SED leadership wants to conclude economic and financial agreements with the FRG on a purely commercial basis. However, in no case are such agreements to be linked with questions of travel opportunities between the two states.

Last March Honecker even said that trade with the FRG must not be conducted on the same basis as is done with other capitalist states. The SED leadership feels that every effort must be made to have the GDR recognized in relation to the FRG as having full status under international law.

The thinking on this goes about as follows: with the basic treaty, only half a step was made in that direction. However, if conditions in Eastern Europe and in the GDR continue to deteriorate, which is likely, then future developments could hardly be coped with if the so-called German-German relationships continued to exist; if for instance a permanent representation of the other state continued to exist which presumes to have protective duties toward all types of German citizens; if the border were to be considered only an inter-German one; and if Bonn were to receive and resettle all GDR Germans who want to go to the FRG and who manage to get there by various means and in appreciable numbers.

It is quite sufficient, they reason further, that the FRG has West Berlin smack in the middle of the GDR, reachable through generous transit traffic arrangements traversing the GDR, and that there could be no basic changes in this for the foreseeable future.

Honecker pointed out that while it takes time to translate the Gera demands into reality, pressure should be exerted continuously toward that goal so as to make progress on some of those questions because sudden tensions might serve to obliterate those opportunities again.

He have a reminder that prior to Afghanistan the Soviets had agreed to the regulation about direct elections of Berlin council chamber delegates. However, after Afghanistan it had been impossible to get the Soviets to agree to designate Marzahn as a new 9th city district, since Moscow did not want any further conflicts with the West (the London Protocol of 12 September 1944 restricts the number of East Berlin city districts to eight).

The SED leadership also notes that the future of the Bonn coalition is uncertain. Which is why it is important, during the time left for the

coalition government, to achieve at least some progress in the matter of international legal recognition. But this must not involve any compromises on questions which are particularly dear to Bonn's heart.

Should the CDU inherit the FRG Government, Honecker and the Politburo feel that controversies will become tougher anyway. Any improvement in the starting position obtained prior to such a change in FRG government would then become worthwhile. Should the SPD stay in power, things could continue as before; perhaps, depending on the situation of the moment, the GDR might even show some accomodation.

Under these conditions it would be appropriate for Honecker to make his return visit to the FRG before the end of this year, essentially under conditions appropriate to the visit of a foreign head of state, and without any further concessions on questions of lifting travel restrictions, exchange rates or similar matters.

One would have to take the risk that this attitude by the GDR would diminish the SPD's chances to stay in power. For one thing, the GDR's attitude is not critical to the FRG Government's fate; secondly, securing the power and stability of the GDR has priority over all other considerations. Everything must be subordinated to that objective. Says Honecker: "We can only help the SPD if we are in full control."

National recriminations against the FRG ("No new war must originate on German soil") were intoned by the party leadership only for the benefit of the Soviets so as to increase pressure upon the FRG not to follow blindly on Reagan's course--apart from the fact that Honecker agrees that the GDR could not survive a military confrontation in Europe.

The entire German-German political strategy of the SED leadership is of course subject to a total change if a new leadership were to take over in Moscow which would change directions.

But we must wait and see what develops, says the Politburo. For that eventuality too the GDR would be best equipped if it had previously strengthened its own positions.

9273
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JOINT GDR-FRG PROTESTANT CHURCH DECLARATION ON 'PEACE RESPONSIBILITIES'

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 19 Aug 82 p 4

["News' feature report, signed 'D/R/S': "Draft Report At the Seam of Two World Systems--Text of Joint Declaration by Protestant Church in Germany and Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR," datelined Berlin, 30 June 1982]

> [Text] "Draft Report" is the designation for the text (reproduced below) published on Wednesday [18 August 1982] by the Protestant Church in Germany (EKD) and the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR (BEK).

Consultations of representatives of the Association of Protestant Churches in the GDR and the Protestant Church in Germany had the task of helping their churches in both German states to fulfill their responsibility for peace.

This responsibility is based on the mission to act for which our churches are jointly thankful and to which they are committed. Its particular context is that it has been assigned to our church "at the seam of the two world systems." It was called thus in the joint "Word on Peace" on the 40th anniversary of the beginning of World War II, and described as the task of "building bridges to understanding across world political contradictions" and "cooperating in the deepening of the policy of detente." In the consultations it was accordingly asked how this responsibility should and can become concrete for each of the two churches in its own state and jointly for both churches.

1. All our service for peace, which men can perform together, stems from the peace which God put in Christ for all men, and which we cannot create but rather only receive. The specific and first contribution of the church toward peace among peoples lies in the fact that it testifies to the peace of God and therefore prays for the peace of men with God and the peace of men with one another. To that end the consultation group developed the litergy of a divine prayer service for peace. It asks the leadership organs to ensure that the common divine prayer services be continued and that help for common prayer be developed.

The peace of God, to which the church testifies, bears on our whole life. The prayer for peace is the innermost concentration of an enveloping

commitment to life. Therefore testimony and prayer can never become a retreat from political responsibility for peace, but rather lead into the assumption of this responsibility.

2. Our churches face a particular challenge to their responsibility for peace on earth in the face of growing world political tensions, in the face of the endangering of all life through the accumulation of nuclear, bacteriological and chemical weapons, in the face of the line of division of the great political-military alliances between both German states, in the face of the assumed special spiritual community between our churches, which has to be proven also and precisely in the maintenance and stabilization of peace between our states and thus also among the states of Europe, and in the face of particular theological and ethical positions in the history of our churches which require the critical test on the basis of the biblical message.

3. The first and at present most urgent embodiment of the responsibility for peace is the prevention of war. Its attainment is a condition for an approach to a system of peace, which brings more justice and freedom for all men in this world.

Its failure means unimaginable horrors and suffering for generations.

The responsibility for peace in this world is not fulfilled by the prevention of war, but includes more--up to the goal of international justice.

Tasks for the Churches

For our situation we must explain: No goal or value can justify the unleashing of a war today. The prevention of war is a condition for the achievement of human rights, freedom and justice. The church has the obligation to point out that a war does not protect freedom and justice and with them the conditions for a decent life, but perhaps even irrevocably destroys it.

Among us the consequences of the unheard of contradiction is unexplained: the defense destroys, in all probability, all which is to be defended. Jointly we are convinced that this life-threatenting paradoxical situation must be overcome.

4. The power of the Gospel holds churches together across frontiers. This applies also to the seam between the two power systems for the special community of the Association of Protestant Churches in the GDR and the Protestant Church in Germany. Both churches take cognizance of their responsibility in their social context and are striving to respond to this challenge. At the same time they do not want to be involved in the antagonism (antithesis) of the systems, because they are concerned with their task as serving as a bridge to conciliation.

Tasks of the Churches

Cooperation between the churches (particularly between neighboring churches) should be intensified and broadened through the building of trust, frank

statement of common and reciprocally burdensome problems (conversations between church leaderships working groups on the handling of special questions etc.). In this, differing conceptions are to be respected as a challenge of faith, to reflect one's own standpoint renewed by the experience of faith of the others.

5. The consultations between the churches offer the possibility to see more sharply one's own position and function in society and to reveal how the performance of Christian witnessing is imbued with it. The assessment of the social and state order and its envisaged objectives prevailing at any given time will also thereby be subject to further inquiry. These communications between the churches can act politically as a contribution to a peaceful coexistence which renounces the removal of the other with deception or violence.

Tasks of the Churches:

The testing of their own social role includes that of the programmatic self-concepts of the states.

The evaluation of strengths and weaknesses should not proceed only from a point-by-point individual comparison, but must rather strive for a total picture. The churches should support the presentation of the social reality of the other side correctly and without propagandistic distortion.

6. Even in a confrontation of their states the churches stand in the larger community of all Christians. This community places them for the sake of God and man in the service all efforts which are useful to a peaceful development.

Tasks for the Churches:

The conversational contacts between church and political representatives in their own sphere can, through the infusion of church experience and stimulation, be utilized to promote the relations between neighboring states with different political and economic systems, awaken understanding for one another, and thereby also contribute to the overcoming of crisis developments. Along with this, the churches should make their mutual links unselfishly available for the maintenance and further development of the relations between their states, if this appears to be offered.

7. In the face of the pursuit of uninterrupted armament and its ever increasing total threat to human life, it is politically reasonable today to develop concepts which seek to achieve the guaranteeing of peace and therewith the preservation of life with means other than military. Security today is still conceivable only in the framework of a system which takes opposed interests equally into account and compels them to peaceful compromise.

Our churches must validate the priority of political efforts over military security to guarantee peace and therefore promote the building of a European

peace system on paths indicated by the Helsinki resolutions; they must strengthen awareness of common responsibility for a more just world economic order, and make effective education for peace in all spheres of public and social life with their own programs of vigilant criticism and support of their own initiatives.

In their decisions and positions, our churches must express that it is essential to a future regime of peace that each side credibly approve the existence of the other side and coexistence with it; that each side reflect on the security needs of the other; that each side renounce the maximazation of its own power and serve the improvement of the security for both sides; that each side reduce those factors which inspire mistrust and increase fears of threat, and promote the building of trust; that each strives toward a form of armament which most credibly demonstrates its defensive intentions.

Even actions of symbolic value should not be hastily disposed of, but seriously tested.

Our churches call to attention the trends in the deterrence through terror which increasingly endanger peace and their effect on the attitudes of men toward life and living together. The mandate tc political deaconate is also not to be assumed, and particularly here, without the service of the liberating word of God in witnessing and the ministry.

6108
CSO: 2300/386

'DEMORALIZING' TRENDS IN RECENT GDR FILMS CRITICIZED

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 129, 26 Aug 82 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "Critique of 'Demoralizing' Trends in GDR Film"]

[Text] The East Berlin journal FILM UND FERNSEHEN (No 8, 1982) has discovered "demoralizing" trends in recent films produced by DEFA. The realistic portrayal of the "feverishly sweaty workday" is not enough; the "meaning of the whole" must also be seen and shown: "Pride in our homeland as it is." It is disturbing to see "the heroes of our everyday life" in films "recovering too little of their ideals." In this connection, the journal blames also the filmmakers' phobia about the "ideal hero." Notwithstanding the fact that "no one is requested or even expected" to provide a hero portrayal of that kind, one sometimes has the impression that filmmakers try very hard "to find fault" with a hero they fear the spectators could really regard as a model. The resulting "anti-hero" has become "now almost a cliche." This hero fails in the end, with the spectator "delivered to perplexity." Films of this kind, the journal comments, collide with the mission of the GDR movie industry "to generate courage." DEFA films "must above all show how conflicts are dealt with, how defeats are overcome, how tests to prove one's worth are passed."

CSO: 2300/399

DRESDEN PHYSICIAN EXPLAINS GROWING ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 108, 19 Jul 82 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "Alarming Alcohol Consumption in GDR-Growing Numbers of Women and Adolescents Turn to the Bottle"]

[Text] Alcohol consumption in the GDR has assumed alarming dimensions. This has been pointed out by Dr Hasso Engel, a Dresden physician who for year has been dealing with problems of alcoholism. He is the author of numerous articles on this subject. According to Dr Engel, alcohol consumption in the GDR has tripled during the past 25 years. In the meantime "a further increase is becoming noticeable." For example, ever more women and adolescents, the doctor says, are turning to alcohol. "While only a few years ago the average age for delirium tremens patients was 40, the intensive care units today frequently have such patients who are not even 25 years old," the doctor reports.

There are many different reasons for this development, according to the doctor. Thus many people regard drinking as an expression of a high standard of living and an elevated life style. In certain professions people regard drinking as part of custom and tradition. Others attempt "in this way to overcome personal and occupational anxieties, problems, even inhibitions, because it is easier, by means of a 'purchased euphoria,' to improve one's morale, to create the illusion of capability rather than proving oneself by real performance." Consequently the intervals between drinks grow ever shorter, according to the doctor, for the persons involved crave "ever more alcohol in order to feel better and gain psychological comfort."

CSO: 2300/400

TOUGH JOB DECISIONS FACE RECENT GRADUATES

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 30 Jul 82 p 5

[Article by Henriette Thiery: "Placement of Graduates"]

[Text] More than 240,000 students completed their studies at varies kinds of schools again this year. In recent months they have been seeking employment and have been getting acquainted with their new lifestyles. By graduates those who have just received their diplomas are generally meant, although they comprise only a small percentage of those beginning employment. Still, they are the ones we shall discuss mostly, since finding employment after completing either elementary or secondary schools is no problem. Perhaps the only exception to easily finding employment would be for those who have completed high school but were not accepted for higher education. Their number is 10,700. The positions available to them are sufficient numerically, but the problem is that 80 to 90 percent of these involve manual labor, which high school graduates are not happy to accept.

This year nearly 10,000 young people will be qualified for employment at the day sessions of higher education institutions. Twenty-two to twenty-three thousand positions have been made available to them. Despite this--according to the colleges and universities--employment problems have arisen.

The Problems of Teachers

At ELTE [Lorant Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences], one of the country's largest universities, the problems vary according to faculty. In the Law and Political science faculty 240 students graduated. One-third of these were social scholarship holders (these are not participants in the employment system). As for the rest: 189 positions were made available for 160 newly graduated lawyers. The problem is that only 56 of these jobs are located in the capital, whereas about 80 percent of the graduates are from Budapest. By their fifth year, most of the girls are married and have set up households in Budapest. It is understandable that they are not eager to go to the rural areas where the chances of finding an apartment are almost hopeless.

We are encountering similar problems in the liberal arts and natural science faculties. In addition, teaching department students--the majority of whom are also from Budapest--are also frightened away from rural employment by the pay, which is between 2,600 and 2,800 forints (and this is new.) The positions

in Budagest are generally advertised at 3,200 forints. In addition, good scholastic performance is also rewarded by an additional 100 to 200 forints.

In the natural science faculty, 106 students graduated from the teacher training section. The majority of these is seeking careers as teachers. In Budapest and in Pest Megye, 110 positions were made available to them. The numerical equivalency, however, occasionally contains internal proportion discrepancies. For those with mathematics or physics specialties, the "demand" is greater than the "supply". However, those who majored in biology or geography have difficulty finding employment.

Although the Ministry of Cultural Affairs in its admission orientation states that as graduates they can expect to hold positions in secondary or elementary schools, the opportunities in the latter are often disappointing to those beginning their careers. Reluctance to accept these positions is especially true of liberal arts graduates who do not like to accept either vocational secondary too happily. In fact, it was discovered at a preliminary survey at universities that many do not want to teach at all. It is noteworthy that while in 1979 23 percent of the liberal arts graduates remained outside of the career system, today they makeup nearly half of the 165 strong teacher department. This is often because there are no appropriate positions for their specialties. Another reason, however, is that the low teacher salaries forces many to leave their field. The graduates of the two foreign language divisions, for example, can find much better positions as interpreters, or can earn a better living as freelance language instructors.

Other problems have appeared for liberal arts graduates who are not in the teacher training division. Only 24 positions are available for the 56 graduates. It should be added, however, that these positions are not advertised at once, but also continuously during the year. Thus, the number of positions may vary. In all events, there are some divisions for which there are no positions available at all, such as Hungarian-Latin, archeology, archeology-Latin. These graduates can find temporary positions as translators, or in related specialties. This problem may be solved in the future by archeology being classed as a "B" specialty. This means that the program can be entered as a change in specialties only after completing one full year, or as a third specialty. The basic requirement is good scholastic performance. The requests are considered individually, indicating further restriction of the field.

There were 225 graduating students from the natural science faculty's non-teacher sections. The 253 advertised positions seem to numerically satisfy the requirements. The opportunities are more favorable for programmers, systems analysts, chemists and physicists. Mathematicians and biologists will experience more difficulty in finding positions.

The universities, after collating several years of observations see a large number of deficiencies in the career system, and deem it unable to resolve fundamental problems such as, for example, the supply of specialists for rural areas. In their opinion, a system of directly sending job offers to universities would promote the meeting of students and employers in a more

reassuring manner, and the universities could directly influence the placement of students with good academic records.

Economists and Their Tasks

In contrasts to some specialties of ELTE, there is great demand for economists. The 298 graduates of the Karl Marx University of Economics were offered 1280 positions. The situation, however, varied somewhat by specialization. For example, while there were 8 times as many positions than graduates for industrial economists, the 27 who majored in international economic relations found only 12 advertised positions. The number of positions located in the capital somewhat exceeds the number of rural ones, and generally corresponds to student distribution. In addition, it is certainly apparent from an examination of the career materials that the positions outside of Budapest almost without exception are advertising considerably higher salaries. For example: while MEDIMPEX is advertising 2,700 forints, the Beke Mgtsz of Jaszjakohalma is offering 4,000 to 4,500 forints. If they wish to accept the accompanying inconveniences, it is worthwhile for economist graduates to accept rural employment, as well as employment by smaller enterprises. Smaller enterprises also pay more than the well known "prestigious" firms.

Rewarding or non recognition of scholastic achievement appears to be entirely an individual matter for the enterprises. Sometimes the difference between an excellent diploma and a merely satisfactory one does mean something. If nothing else, it means perseverance, industriousness, work capacity and a sense of responsibility. There are even some enterprises where this is taken into account. At Tungsram, for example, the beginning salary for a sales clerk with a "B" average is 2,600 forints; for one with an "A" average, the salary is 4,500 forints. In other places, however, the difference is often only 300 to 400 forints. Many places do not differentiate at all.

Economists often have the problem of not having their training appropriately utilized in their jobs. They are often assigned administrative tasks. This happens mostly in positions in which the scope of activity is undefined. How can one know what the designation "a chief economist" covers? One is also unsure in a position in which tasks such as "the recording of the documentation and fulfillment data for major plan numbers", or the "ensuring of management information" are included among more important tasks. And who will accept employment in a place where they promise that the "qualified graduate will be named to a position appropriate to his training and abilities after completing the probationary period". There are not a few of these among the available positions. The problems of the three teaching divisions are similar to those of the teachers.

Medical School

In 1982 there will be 900 graduating medical school students for whom there will be 15 percent more than that number of positions advertised. The common practical problem of economists or engineers, employment inappropriate to their training, is unknown among physicians. The new graduates are "thrown

into deep water" immediately by receiving medical assignments. Twenty-four percent of the advertised positions are in Budapest. This approximates the distribution of the population between the capital and rural areas, but hardly lives up to the expectations of the graduates. This is well illustrated by the fact that the university and Budapest positions are mostly filled already, while there are still many rural vacancies. It is clearly apparent that the 15 percent surplus positions which the graduates will not accept will be the rural ones.

The universities endeavor to assist in the placement of graduates in many ways. They are on the lookout at all times. They provide letters of recommendation for their best students as well as character references. They do not permit them to enter contract positions from which they could reenter the employment market in one or two years. Placement is made more difficult by the coincidence of the need for jobs and the state examination period. Currently there are no certified doctor graduates. The problem is that the students may apply for an unlimited number of positions and must receive replies within one month. Thus, naturally they will wait for the offer they judge to be the best. In case of negative replies, they may perhaps lose out on good positions. Moreover, when the best applicant does not accept a position, the employer can no longer select his second and third choices because these have already accepted other offers after receiving their original rejections. It appears that the "freedom" of these students, and especially the one month time limit ought to be reduced.

It appears unlikely that any of this year's university graduates will remain unemployed. Many, however, will take positions out of constraint. Low starting salaries and the difficulties of supplying rural manpower will continue to remain problematic. The latter could perhaps be resolved primarily through monetary incentives.

9093
CSO: 2500/354

NINTH PLENUM PARTICIPANTS INTERVIEWED BY 'SZTANDAR MLODYCH'

ZSMP Leader Jaskiernia

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman, ZSMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth Main Board], by Zenon Kulej: "Positivist Actions--without Rhetoric"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] Soon 15 months will have passed since the Third ZSMP Congress. The Ninth KC [Central Committee] Plenum may be looked upon as the turning point in the solution of the affairs of the younger generation discussed at your congress.

[Answer] The implementation of the resolutions of the Third Extraordinary ZSMP Congress is taking place both within the union itself, on the basis of decisions made by the Main Board at subsequent meetings, and outside the union, based on the actions of political and administrative echelons.

[Question] Will the Ninth Central Committee Plenum fulfill the demands made at the ZSMP congress?

[Answer] Many issues that we raised were raised earlier by the party and the government, for example, regarding certain ZSMP suggestions in the socioeconomic sphere, a Council of Ministers resolution dated 14 June 1982 specifies a program for the improvement of conditions for giving youth a professional and material start in life. The Ninth Central Committee Plenum also prepared the party's ideological platform regarding the younger generation.

[Question] The repott of the Central Committee first secretary contains many interesting proposals for the youth movement.

[nswer] In the opinion of our union, the announcement that institutional guarantees for youth and their organizations will be expanded is significant. These guarantees include the right to share opinions on plans of the state and economic administration, the right to participate in developing legislation, the right to take initiatives (which includes lawmaking initiatives) and the right to supervise actions of the administration taken on behalf of

the youth. The recommendation of theplenum regarding the appointing of a Committee for Youth Affairs under the Council of Ministers is likewise important. The ZSMP has been struggling to get such a committee since its Third Extraordinary Congress. The announced law concerning youth will facilitate the development of a comprehensive system of guarantees sanctioning the participation of youth in political life and their impact on the course of state affairs. Thus, in this sense, the Ninth Central Committee Plenum is fulfilling the exceptions of the thousands of ZSMP members who, at meetings held before the plenum and in letters to the Main Board and to the youth press, expressed the hope that ZSMP's impact upon the country's political life would increase through attainment of concrete institutional guarantees.

[Question] This will not solve all the problems of the younger generation.

[Answer] Obviously, the very undertaking of such decisions by the Central Committee will not automatically resolve all the social problems of youth. Their resolution is contingent above all on how fast we emerge from the crisis, which in turn depends considerably upon the work of the young people themselves. However, it is important that the efforts of young people not be wasted and that the state support the positive initiatives of youth, such as the movement of youth labor cooperatives, small construction and housing cooperatives and all efforts taken to improve the start in life of young workers and farmers.

[Question] At meetings of the party aktiv held before the Ninth Central Committee Plenum and during the deliberations themselves, much was said about the need for the increased cooperation of socialist youth unions.

[Answer] As the political situation stabilizes, the cooperation of socialist youth unions will increase. This was the purpose, for example, of the appointment of the Commission for Joint International Contacts of Polish Youth and Student Unions 2 July 1981. When the ZSMP was created, emphasis was placed on expanding cooperation in other fields. There are no longer any obstacles standing in the way of similar initiatives in concrete matters, where the need exists.

[Question] We are all familiar with such proposals for cooperation as OKWOM [National Committee for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations]. Why do you have reservations regarding these proposals?

[Answer] OUr negative experiences from such forms of cooperation as OKWOM and FSZMP [Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth] show that the process of integrating youth activities may not be used to create a facade. We reject the line of reasoning that says, "Let us begin with formalized structures and later we will give some substance to these structures." We must eschew pretence and the cheap demagogy that have been cultivated by those who did much to tear the youht people apart, not to integrate them. The very assumption of the ZSMP provides a plane for integrating young workers, farmers, students and soldiers. We will do all that we can to develop this intercommunity integration within the ZSMP. Th- union leadership is

carefully monitoring the development of the ZSMP in the rural youth community; at the last meeting of the ZSMP Main Board we discussed how to strengthen our impact on secondary and higher schools.

[Question] In the ZSMP press, we find polemics regarding the situation of the rural youth movement. Why is it so difficult for youth organizations to cooperate within this community?

[Answer] Cooperation is possible only when everyone acts in good faith. When the attempts to destroy rural ZSMP circles and ZSMP gmina boards disappear, the obstacles to greater cooperation will also disappear. The rhetoric on cooperation may not lead to attempts to weaken the ZSMP. We are opposed to privileges for any organization, but we do not think that the ZSMP, which has nearly 2 million members, should degrade its authority merely to create sham structures. The leadership of our union appreciates every manifestation of the mutual resolution of youth affairs in conjunction with the members of other organizations as well as with youth not belonging to organizations. But we want positive actions, not propagandistic rhetoric.

Scout Leader Ornat

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with Andrzej Ornat, head of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP], by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "Practice Will Tell"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] What did the Scout Union expect from the Ninth Central Committee Plenum?

[Answer] As an ideological-upbringing organization and spokesman for the interests of children and young people, we believed that the plenary meeting of the Central Committee should answer how the party, the guiding force in our state, views the most important problems that society must resolve. We cannot isolate youth from society; this could set them against the state. It is not good to separate the young and the old. All of today's difficult problems affect everyone; to determine the degree of hardship caused to one or another age group is difficult. We expected the Ninth Plenum to undertake this line of thinking and it did, as evidenced from Comrade Jaruzelski's report.

The party should concern itself with ideological questions, with the upbringing of society, its consolidation and the development of attitudes. These are the tasks of the ZHP, the school, the home, the family, the workplace and the means of mass information--they form attitudes.

[Question] However, if we consider the five powers granted the youth movement, they are a sort of differentiation.

[Answer] They are a great differentiation. As we look at the documents from the Ninth Central Committee Plenum, we must also note the government program for improving conditions for giving youth their start in life. They address the whole group of issues of importance to children and youth, that portion of society starting out.

[Question] Is this not a sort of separation of youth from the rest of society?

[Answer] Not so much a separation of youth but the problems of youth must be resolved by the party, the state and the authorities. The proposed powers ennoble youth organizations; they give legislative force to the movement's impact. I only hope that the movement will make use of these powers, its new authority demonstrating the need for these state documents.

[Question] Will these powers be of use to the ZHP?

[Answer] They will be very useful. They give us input into the preparation of all legal documents, which we will be able to steer in the direction of the wishes of children and youth, the instructorial and teaching cadre.

[Question] Many Central Committee members have reservations regarding the work of schools. It is being said that recently they have placed more emphasis on didactics and less on upbringing.

[Answer] There is some truth to this but it is not always only teachers and the school who are guilty of this. The measurable results of teaching are calculable. Upbringing is hard to measure. As an ideological-upbringing organization, we wish to take a more extensive part in school upbringing.

[Question] The issue of creating a Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs was also given much attention at the plenum. The various organizations hold different positions on this issue; the ZHP is opposed to it.

[Answer] We have consistently opposed this committee from the beginning. Youth problems and the youth themselves should not be isolated from society. As ZHP, we cooperate well with the particular ministries: education, culture, finance and the oike. We must battle and we are battling over youth issues. However, by placing an umbrella over youth affairs (which this committee may become), we may delay the resolution of particular issues. The report states that this will be a qualified governmental organ. It depends on how the assumptions and outlines of this institution are prepared. Time will tell.

SZSP Leader Sawic

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with Tadeusz Sawic, chairman of the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] Main Board, with Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "This Is Just the Beginning"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] As socialist youth unions, you have received new powers--the five points from the Political Bureau report.

[Answer] I would call these powers proposals for us. Whether we use these instruments and the extent to which we use them depend upon the strength of youth unions, upon their impact and, thus, upon ourselves.

[Question] Do you represent a sufficient force at academic institutions to use these instruments?

[Answer] They are not intended only for use by youth unions. We must find methods of consultation to determine the positions of the various groups of young people who are not necessarily part of youth organizations. We cannot view the youth movement solely through the prism of tis member base. We may speak here of self-government and of other social, sports and tourist organizations. We must use these powers to create a plane of consultation.

[Question] Was it necessary for them to be granted such vast powers from above? This may be taken conversely to mean that if the necessity of ensuring such powers is recognized, then the authorities at various levels did not use [their authority].

[Answer] There is some truth to this. We must treat these rights within the framework of the so-called guarantees. People are constantly demanding them.

[Question] The plenum came out in favor of appointing a Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs, despite the differences in the youth movement.

[Answer] The appointment of the committee will not change the operative mechanisms, or be a panacea for youth problems. I have a similar opinion of the draft of the law on youth and on the powers of the legislative initiative granted to unions. These are new elements, opportunities for the youth to make use of their organizations as well. Whether we are satisfied or totally undone in the next several years depends on us. It is also a test of the operational effectiveness of our socialist youth unions.

[Question] Can the proposals of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum be compared with the decisions of the famous Seventh Central Committee Plenum in 1972?

[Answer] I do not treat the decisions of the current plenum as promises. That is what the decisions of the 1972 plenum were. The present decisions are proposals for our utilization in conjunction with the party. In general it is not easy to compare the two plenums. The 1972 plenum contained many valuable proposals and evaluations. It was the implementation of these proposals, or rather, the failure to implement them, that led to their overall negative evaluation. The Ninth Plenum offers no guarantees that the implementation will be successful. By giving the youth movement the right of control, it introduces the principle of coresponsibility for institutions representing youth. There will be no saying that we could not, we were thwarted, it was not permitted, they passed us by. Today's party action answers many demands. It gives youth the opportunity to test themselves in action. This suits me but are youth unions up to it?

[Question] Are these new elements useful for the student union?

[Answer] I think so, although we do not know what the legal language of these party proposals will be. There are still many barriers to overcome before these ideas materialize.

[Question] On the basis of the way that the plenum has proceeded, are you optimistic?

[Answer] I am guardedly optimistic. What happens after the plenum will be the decisive factor. I am afraid that the entire wealth of rich and valuable discussion that proceded this meeting will be wasted after the deliberations. People will say that we had the plenum, finished our debates over the youth and resolved the issue. The plenum should be a starting point. It is an initial step, a beginning.

Rural Youth Leader Swirgon

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with Waldemar Swirgon, Central Committee candidate member, chairman of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW]: "Cooperation Is Essential"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] Has the Ninth Central Committee Plenum fulfilled your hopes as the head of the ZMW?

[Answer] It has partly fulfilled my hopes in that the position of our organization was taken into consideration in all the plenum's documents and materials. Party policy has also confirmed the independence of the four unions, their internal selfOgovernment and their equality before the law. We finally have concrete regulations anticipating the delegation of some state authority to the youth movement. I am referring to the five points from the report and the permission to conduct economic activity and to have our own cooperative unions. This is vital for us. This plenum ends a certain stage of the acquisition of civic rights by the ZMW in our political system. Our existence no longer arouses controversy.

[Question] What has the Ninth Plenum not done?

[Answer] It has paid too little attention to the socioprofessional problems of young farmers. This is somewhat justifiable, since the discussion is of an ideological-political nature. It would have been impossible to enter into the complexities of farm production at this plenum.

[Question] When will we delve into these issues?

[Answer] Soon there will be a joint meeting of the party Central Committee and the ZSL [United Peasant Party] NK [Supreme Committee] devoted to farm policy and the development of joint guidelines on this issue.

[Question] Will we participate in this meeting on an equal basis?

[Answer] We will be present as both parties. The ZMW is a two-party movement of young PZPR and ZSL members. We are trying to create good models of political cooperation. Some of the ideas that I have expressed here will be concretized at that meeting.

[Question] What is the ZMW attitude to the Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs?

[Answer] It is unchanging. It is one of the solutions creating the appearance of settling matters, as in the peasant saying, "He does not sow or turn the soil; he does not help, he does not foil." It is difficult to determine what damage this committee will do. If practice shows that we do not need this committee, we will not be afraid to admit our mistake. The Ninth Plenum has forejudged this issue and it has every right to do so. That is the party's position, especially since it will not be a committee for the youth movement but a youth affairs committee, including unorganized youth. The veto that I recommended in the Political Bureau was not considered.

[Question] In your opinion, what is the status of the party-ZMW cooperation?

[Answer] It continues to be poor. Party operatives at the local level are still guided by the idea of the so-called unity of the youth movement and the so-called shattering of this unity by the ZMW. This causes many young party members to be stuck in sometimes dead, socially inactive elements and structures, while the spontaneous, natural ZMW rural youth movement is arising, often with the active participation of ZSL operatives and the ZSL apparatus. The party must study the ZMW, just as the ZMW must learn to understand the long-term interests and activities of the party. We are appealing to operatives of the party apparatus for help for the ZMW.

[Question] Is there any chance for an understanding with the ZSMP? If not an organizational unity, will there be a clear political unity of the youth movement one day?

[Answer] There are essentially no political, programmatic or ideological differences between the ZSMP and the ZMW. There are differences in their approach to the forms of their work with youth and to their traditions. The base and the aktiv of both organizations have no conflicting interests. On the contrary, cooperation may help to develop each union within a given community. It is a conflict of the leadership of the organizations, rather than of the organizations themselves. It is in the interest of rank-and-file members to cooperate, for this enables more effective action regarding state authorities. Both organizational bases should change the leaders who are in conflict. That is what happens to those who do not understand the need for cooperation.

From the plenum platform, we expressed the need for an immediate return to National Committee for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations, which proved effective in practice. A platform of cooperation for independent leftist youth organizations is essential.

Deputy Premier Rakowski

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee member, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "I Do Not Fear Control"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] Are there not too many institutions and organizations acquiring power to control the government and the authorities at all levels?

[Answer] As a member of the government leadership, I cannot oppose another form of supervision over the work of the state administration and the government. I have always believed that we must be under such supervision. The problem lies only in the premises underlying this control. Is it worthy and creative or does it lead to destruction, anarchy and a show of power? Control must be effective. This requires those doing the controllikng be familiar with things. They should know both certain government "secrets" and the limitations of government, as well as the exigencies underlying given decisions.

[Question] That is a big order. Will youth organizations be able to fill it?

[Answer] As I listened to Comrade Jaruzelski's report--and he is excellent--I whispered to my neighbor, Gabrielski, I hope that no new staff members are needed to execute supervisory functions. I don't know whether there are enough people who are willing to give their free time after 8 pm to do supervisory work. You should be able to answer this question better as such a first-rate youth newspaper.

[Question] That is quite a compliment. To answer the question, we believe that there are people who will be willing to do this work. Let us change the subject. At the Third ZSMP Congress, you more or less promised that a Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs would be appointed. The Ninth Party Congress upheld this. However, the issue evoked controversy among the four youth unions. One hears arguments that the committee may serve to channel youth affairs into one institution, thus removing obligations from the particular ministries.

[Answer] I do not share this view. If the committee arises, there must be representatives of all ministries in it. Actually, at the Third Congress I expressed the conviction that calling the committee was a good idea. Later I realized that the idea of this body should be prepared by the youth itself and by their organizations. This is why I did not implement the resolution of the Ninth Party Congress on this issue.

[Question] Was this a little consolation for you?

[Answer] Yes it was, because some of the organizations were opposed to the committee, fearing governmental control. They were afraid that it would be a hidden form of governmental management and the like.

[Question] That is not an irrational fear.

[Answer] Perhaps, although I am far from managing...

[Question] However, premiers change and the committee remains. Your successor may wish to manage and he will find the tool.

[Answer] That is why, recognizing that the committee should exist, I wished the leaders of youth organizations to come to a mutual understanding concerning the need for the committee and its powers. I acted democratically and honestly. For this I was attacked by various ZSMP elements of purposeful distortion. Recently, WALKA MLODYCH also attacked me quite brutally, saying that perhaps Premier Rakowski, who has made reference to the Ninth Congress on various occasions, will finally see that the committee is appointed. Some of my younger colleagues are pretending that they do not know what is going on. I am always prepared to take this on as another obligation and to create this committee but, by God, this was to be a youth issue.

[Question] Is this committee really necessary?

[Answer] Yes, it is. It should not settle youth issues. It should create youth organizations at various levels and in the ministries. I see the role of the committee more on a sociopolitical plane. It should transmit young people's demands, aspirations, longings, ills and ways of thinking to the state apparatus. Since General Jaruzelski became premier, our government is becoming more and more political. There is much more thinking on social and political issues today in the government than a year or two ago. That is why I attach such great importance to the work of the Sociopolitical Committee and why I feel so strongly about the Youth Affairs Committee as organizations for politicizing and socializing the actions of the state administration.

[Question] Is this so important?

[Answer] By its nature, administration has a tendency to treat everything isolated from social goals--it views phenomena in terms of regulations and paragraphs, orders and resolutions.

[Question] Comrade, as deputy premier do you feel the pressure of the youth movement?

[Answer] Not at all, and it is too bad.

Central Committee Member Walichnowski

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with Tadeusz Walichnowski, Central Committee member, rector of the Academy of Internal Affairs, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "Youth Are a Part of Society"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] Did we need a Central Committee Plenum on youth affairs today?

[Answer] Of course we did. It is also the result of demands expressed during the Ninth Congress. A youth problem has arisen in Poland, often artificially exaggerated. The youth are part of the entire society; calling an issue a problem of youth, and not a problem of society, is a distoration. Comrade Jaruzelski emphasized that there is no youth problem in isolation from the totality of social issues. We must stop emphasizing the differences between the younger and older generations. Their view of Poland's most important problems is mutual and univocal: improving the system of management, better work organization and more enthusiasm over our mutual, Polish issues.

[Question] Has the organization of a Central Committee Plenum devoted to youth affairs led to demands for plenums devoted to affairs of the middle-aged and retirees?

[Answer] The youth problem in our country arose objectively and was artificially isolated from the totality of social issues. It was included in the Central Committee Plenum to rectify this in some sense and to answer a social need.

[Question] You must agree, however, that the young have special problems--problems of becoming independent, housing problems.

[Answer] If youth have special problems in one field, other generations have them in another. Their problems are also greater than those of previous generations. Recently the division into "us" and "them" has been purposely overemphasized; the young and the old have been set against each other. There was a similar move in 1968 to separate society into the young and old. Meanwhile, we are all participants in the program of the Ninth Congress and in all programs for getting the country out of the crisis.

[Question] Comrade, you are a sort of representative of youth educators, of the academic teaching cadre.

[Answer] The Academy of Internal Affairs has a somewhat specific character. We train youth who are already formed to a great extent--they are officers of the security service, the citizens' militia and prison management. As in the military, upbringing is of special importance to us. Our educators, who are primarily officers, must make effective use of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism upbringing for the homeland, for socialist society. That is why, during the period of tensions and conflict, we have not had such problems as strikes and disruptions in our institutions.

[Question] What is the situation with the Higher Firefighting School?

[Answer] Although it is part of our ministry, in some sense it went its own way. A conflict arose there due to a misunderstanding that could have been cleared up earlier. Since our ministry is not included in the law on higher education, fears arose there, as they did in military institutions, that the education received would not have the same value as an education received in normal higher schools. Of course, they are equally qualified. However, our firefighting colleagues have gained something. Their institution has been transformed from a higher school into a main school with full academic credentials--the awarding of master's degrees. It did not have this power before.

[Question] Did the youth organization at your institution carry on discussions and make demands before the Ninth Plenum?

[Answer] Of course it did. There were lively discussiona and many demands. Not all of them have been worked out and used yet. The School Committee of the party is piloting this.

[Question] To what did the demands refer?

[Answer] They referred mainly to the development of our institution, to the creation of an academy profile. It cannot play only a teaching role; we must develop research in our institutions. Academic counseling provided by the institution for those working in the ministry is valid demand. We are in the process of implementing these demands--they will pass the test. Broader participation in making endowments to students and the young teaching cadre, of whom there are many, was demanded. Students said that we must cooperate more extensively with civilian institutions, to broaden our horizons and dispel the myths that surround closed schools (military and our own). For example, there is the myth that the cadre here is a privileged class that goes its own way. But we are teaching basics, just like anywhere else. The specific requirements of the ministry are limited to the fields of criminology and criminal and penal law. We will participate more broadly in outside activities through cooperation, seminars, scientific sessions and the like.

There were also demands regarding general problems--equality, justice for all, the possibility of an equal start for the younger generation and the struggle with social pathology. This discussion has provided us with a wealth of material, including material for research.

PZPR Ostroleka Chief Szablak

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYOH in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with Henryk Szablak, first secretary, PZPR Voivodship Committee in Ostroleka, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "Two Points of View"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] You are observing the deliberations of the Ninth Plenum. Share with us your impressions from two viewpoints: as a party operative with considerable experience and as political leader of not hte easiest voivodship, with an untidy social and cultural infrastructure, an agricultural voivodship.

[Answer] I am viewing today's deliberations from the aspect of meeting the material needs of the younger generation and from the aspect of the country's needs as a whole.

How does one describe our youth? They are intelligent, they know what they want, they are educated, with much theoretical knowledge. However, they are inexperienced, both because of their age and because of the imperfections of our educational system. They are not well aware of the mechanisms of social life and of the methods of operating within this sphere.

The material needs of the young are an important problem. The party and society must create the necessary material circumstances for intellectual, cultural and physical development. But when we speak of youth, we must keep in ming mainly the country's future. Our vision of the country should demarcate the methods and the contents of upbringing. We want our country to be [illegible], free, to live in peace, to be prosperous and socialist and to be characterized by social justice. Is our upbringing process compatible with this vision of the republic? This is the main topic of our considerations on youth.

[Question] That is enough from the viewpoint of the state. What is the situation with your voivodship?

[Answer] Large cities are in a favorable position. They have an infrastructure--houses of culture, cinemas and theaters. They also have a strong educational system and good teachers. In our voivodship, the living conditions of the youth are more difficult in every regard. Most of the young work in agriculture; their cultural, sports and recreational needs have little room in their lives. People are driven, busy with work. The development of farming is what lies ahead for rural youth. That is what interests them most--raising the level of farming, streamlining work and supplying the village with materials and the means of production.

[Question] Thus, the young farmer sees socialism in terms of work potential, the development of production and running a farm.

[Answer] Of course these kinds of subjects dominate discussions with rural youth.

[Question] Little was said at this plenum on these issues.

[Answer] I would not restrict these issues to this plenum. The plenum confirms the concurrence of the intentions of the party, the Central Committee, with the aspirations and demands of the young generation. We must also look at the preceding meetings, primarily at the resolution of the Ninth Congress. If we look from this angle, we see that the party's proposals for youth concur with the demands, expectations and needs of rural youth. The plenum is merely creating the political circumstances for improving the situation of young people. Much also depends upon the methods of implementation and upon the youth themselves.

8536
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POLITICS OF EAST-WEST TRADE DISCUSSED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI I DZIENNIK ZOLNIERZA in Polish 31 Jul 82 pp 1, 6

[Article by Jacek Rostowski: "The East-West Trade and Politics"]

[Text] President Reagan's sanctions forbidding U.S. firms and their affiliates any kind of participation in the Soviet Urengoy pipeline project, which will carry Siberian natural gas to Western Europe, have caused a violently negative reaction by the Western European governments. It emphasizes the timeliness of Stephen Woolcock's book.* Even Margaret Thatcher, usually Reagan's closest ally, has ordered British firms not to observe the American ban. Since, it seems, Western Europe and the United States are on an unavoidable collision course, a question should be posed: How did this situation arise among the NATO countries, what will its probable consequences be, and, finally, who is right?

Stephen Woolcock tries to find an answer for these very questions in his penetrating analys. These are problems of prime importance for East-West relations and they will have enormous influence on developments in Poland.

Uneasiness of America

Since the beginning of Reagan's term, several elements of East-West trade were a source of considerable uneasiness for his administration. The first reason for this is the possibility of the easy utilization by the Soviet Union of the imports from the West for the purpose of obtaining technology which has military application. In this respect, there is no significant conflict among the allies so far, and the Western European governments, obeying the U.S. pressure, are already tightening the control screw in this area.

The second reason for U.S. uneasiness is to be found in the assumption that the expanded trade with the CEMA countries will make the Western European economy too dependable on the East, and, by the same token, will subject it to Soviet political pressure. As shown by Woolcock's data, these fears are

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*Western Policies on East-West Trade, by Stephen Woolcock. Chatham House Papers 15 $3.95.

unfounded. Woolcock proves that because of the very small volume of foreign trade of the CEMA countries, the share of East-West trade constitutes a much larger proportion of their total foreign trade (about 30 percent) than Western European foreign trade (about 5 percent), to say nothing about the United States (1 percent). A politically motivated reduction of the Eastern trade would be felt incomparably more painfully in the CEMA countries than in the countries of Western Europe. The assumption that the East's dollar indebtedness to the West is a political tool is also unjustified. It is said that if one owes a bank L 100, the bank has a debtor, but if one owes a million, the bank has a partner. The CEMA countries owe the West $90 billion. It is for them a very large debt, since it amounts to a combined total of several years of their dollar exports, and this makes one doubt whether they will be ever able to pay this debt (I will return to this subject later on).

For the world banking system, the CEMA countries debt constitutes only 6 percent of unpaid loans. (I am quoting this figure, even though Woolcock does not mention it in his work.) Although the inability of the CEMA countries to repay entir entire debt would not cause the bankruptcy of some Western banks (particularly the West German ones), nevertheless, the whole Western banking system will not collapse as a result of this. [As published] Moreover, if the insolvency of the Eastern countries were caused by political considerations, the Western governments would have come to the assistance of the troubled banks. The results of this for the CEMA, and particularly for the smaller states, on the other hand, would be catastrophic.

Some effects we can see already in Poland. As a result of the importance of imported supplies for Polish industry and of Western fodder for agriculture, the decline of imports from the West, which amounted to 50 percent during the last 2 years, has caused a 40 percent decline in its industrial output and a 20 percent drop in agricultural output (these are official figures). Thus, total elimination of trade with the West would have to cause a further significant decline of both industrial and agricultural output.

Unjustified Fears

Similar reasoning applies to the Urengoy natural-gas pipeline, because, as Woolcock shows, the Western governments quite rightfully reject the U.S. fears that the Western Europe would become too dependent on the energy supplied by the USSR. West Germany will depend the most on Soviet gas, but this will occur only in 1990 when its delivery will peak; it will amount to only 5 percent of the energy consumed by it, it means exactly as much as at present. The reason for this is an expected drop in the export of Soviet crude oil, and this will entirely compensate for the new export of gas. After all, any state's economy can easily absorb without significant harm a 5 percent drop in its energy supplies. There is no reason, besides, to expect that deliveries from the USSR will be more susceptible to political interference than those from the Near East, especially if one considers the enormous hunger for convertible currency in the CEMA countries, as distinguished from a very limited ability to absorb Western exports by the Arab countries.

The third Reagan administration reservation is its fear that through trade the West is strengthening the East's economy, and thus enabling the latter to maintain a high level of expenditures for armaments. According to the United States, the West assists the CEMA countries economically in two ways. Number one, Washington maintains that Western exports to the East have been financed with credits that were subsidized and guaranteed by the Western governments. It has been substantially curtailed now because, as a result of requalifying the Soviet Union as a "relatively rich country," it will now have to pay higher interest, while the inability of Poland and Romania to meet their obligations has made the Western banks unwilling to make additional loans to the East. Thus, the CEMA countries will now have to pay cash for their purchases.

Putting Off Doomsday

The second aspect of the American reasoning is not sufficiently worked out by Woolcock. The Americans maintain that because of high technology included in the industrial goods, Western exports are more valuable to the East than the export of Eastern raw materials is to the West, and that the technology involved in the Western industrial goods that are exported to the East is being copied and delivered to all the Eastern economy, thus providing it additional benefits. Consequently, according to the United States, the West by trading with the East helps the communist elites put off the doomsday that should have arrived a long time ago. In the U.S. opinion the Soviet Union is just a "superpower of the Third World," meaning a state with a Third World country's standard of living that manages to maintain its military power only owing to the fact that it spends proportionally twice as much as the United States for armaments. These monumental expenditures (13 percent of GNP in the USSR, compared with 6 percent in the United States) are evidently an enormous strain for the Soviet economy, and are thus hindering its ability to catch up with the United States in the long run. Besides, as all over the world, the Soviet Union is experiencing a revolution of rising expectations, because the population demands an ever higher standard of living for itself.

Cannons or Butter?

The above reasoning leads one to a conclusion that Western trade with the East enables the Soviet elite to make a decision as to whether it should have more cannons or butter, whether it is preferable to antagonize its population or to fall behind in the arms race. It is apparent that now (when the rapid economic progress of the CEMA countries of the 1950s and 1960s has ended) the United States is tempted to return to its old policy of an arms race, and thus to exert pressure on the Soviet economy. Seen from this perspective, we can realize that the real reason for the American objection to the Urengoy pipeline is not an erroneous conviction that Europe will become too dependent on the USSR, but rather a correct fear of the inevitable $8 billion annual injection of hard currency which will follow the materialization of this project. This will be equal to 40 percent of current Soviet exports. Woolcock does not take this fact into consideration either.

Let us turn now to the problem of the degree to which trade with the East can become a Western weapon against the Soviet Union, particularly considering Western policy toward Poland and the Polish junta's policy toward Solidarity.

Woolcock thinks that this weapon will not be effective in the long run. He maintains that each time the Western trade relationship is broken off the East's benefits from such trade would be diminished, and, consequently, this will prompt the CEMA countries to decrease their dependence on the West. In his view, the economic sanctions, with each consecutive use, are a less and less effective weapon.

The Bait

As far as Poland is concerned, Woolcock's advise is to use a bait of additional loans instead of the threat of sanctions, since the bait would induce the junta to follow a more liberal course. This point of view promulgated by the author seems to be unrealistic because the United States wants to use the economic sanctions not as a means of pressure on the Eastern countries but simply in order to cut the sale of high technology, which they consider to be overly beneficial to the CEMA countries. As far as Poland is concerned, nobody is now excessively interested in the developments there, and certainly nobody is willing to risk $6 billion annually, the sum of new money required by the Polish economy in order to pull it out of the present crisis.

The Western European advocates of a far-reaching detente with the East, especially the West German social democrats, believe that East-West trade, through relieving international tensions, increasing the standard of living and expanding contacts with the West, would induce the liberalization process in Eastern Europe. Woolcock, quite correctly, rejects this point of view, while not making the naive error of asserting that cutting off Western trade would lead to a liberalization process as a result of increased pressure from the unsatisfied population. The correctness of the author's views is confirmed by the experiences of Czechoslovakia and Vietnam. The rise of the standard of living after 1968 in Czechoslovakia has been utilized to assure the passivity of its population during the introduction of the Stalinist system there. While in Vietnam the collapse of the standard of living has not forced the communists to make any political compromises with the population.

What Are the Prospects?

What is, therefore, the prognosis for East-West trade and what will be the effects of whatever happens for the Eastern bloc and Poland? These questions are not included in Woolcock's study but they inevitably arise when one reads it.

It should be assumed that the efforts of the United States will only delay rather than stop construction of the Urengoy natural-gas pipeline. There is no possibility either of exerting effective pressure on the Western governments to stop their exports of nonmilitary high technology to the East. On the other hand, because of the deferment of the Polish and Romanian debts, both the Western banks and governments are very reluctant to grant further loans and credits to the East. Even the GDR and Hungary, the most dynamic economies among the CEMA countries, experienced very serious difficulties in their search for money on the Western markets. This situation in the East European countries

will cause a drop of the level of their output and their standard of living, resulting from lower imports from the West (this will depress output) and increased exports to the West (this will decrease consumption). The same fate awaits the USSR if the next harvest is as catastrophic as the three previous ones. Incidentally, such a harvest is being predicted for this year.

Consequently, the communist elites will have to face the following options:

1. to decrease the level of spending for armaments;

2. to introduce economic reform and increase efficiency and productivity through the application of strong market elements;

3. to increase repressions;

4. to liberalize the political system, and thus to gain increased support of the population.

As it is clearly documented by the recent events in Poland when Solidarity demanded lowering arms expenditures, a liberalization process would trigger pressure in this very direction. Since neither liberalization nor the decrease of arms expenditures are to the liking of the governing elites, the probability that such a policy will ever be accepted is very small. On the other hand, though, the policy of catching up militarily with the West poses many serious problems. Because Western military power grows very fast owing to the enormous technical progress, the only way it can be equalled militarily would be by paying the price of a steady and progressive lowering of the standard of living of the CEMA countries. It is doubtful whether even growing political repressions can prevent an explosion under such conditions.

The Likely Option

The most attractive option for the communist elites will probably be an improvement of the efficiency of their economy through reform, while at the same time maintaining considerably harsh repressions. They will have to be resigned to some degree to the fact of their military inferiority. In order to limit its extent they will keep supporting Western peace movements.

What will be the development of the situation in Poland in this context? It appears that the economic prognosis must be very pessimistic, while the political prognosis is more optimistic than for the rest of the Eastern bloc.

The Polish people have manifested that they are able to resist the communist elites much more successfully than the peoples of other people's democracies. Consequently, it can be expected that the increased economic pressure may result in lowering the prestige and self-esteem of the present governing group, and this in turn will lead to far-reaching political concessions. (I have discussed this previously in the article entitled "Can the Junta Survive?" in the TYDZIEN.)

It cannot be foreseen when this crisis will occur but it can be expected within the coming 5 years.

9644
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MAIN DIRECTIONS OF YOUTH ASSISTANCE PROGRAM PUBLISHED

Outline of Program

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jul 82 p 4

[Article: "Main Directions of Actions Resulting From the Program for Improving the Conditions of Youth's Start in Life and Profession"]

[Text] At the recommendation of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the Government Press Office is issuing: "Main Directions of Actions Resulting from the Program for Improving the Conditions of Youth's Start in Life and Profession" for publication. The draft of the program was prepared by an interministry group appointed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers on 3 February 1982. The plan was discussed by the Council of Ministers' Social-Political Committee. Then, on 14 June 1982, it was considered by the Council of Ministers with the participation of youth union chairmen and approved.

In adopting the program for improvement of the conditions of youth's start in life and profession, the Council of Ministers recognized the actions discussed below as the most urgent and important. The implementation of these tasks has as its goal the assurance to youth of basic living standards as well as activation of the young generation in socioeconomic life. Stabilization and stimulation of the economy depend in large part on the active participation of youth in creating conditions for the country's socioeconomic development, which in turn guarantees the full achievement of all of the actions proposed in the program:

Improving the conditions of the young generation's start in life and profession is based in large measure on resolving the housing problem.

Hence, a series of actions was embodied in the program aimed at assuring improvement in the young generation's housing problem. The effects of these

actions are dependent in large measure on youth's own direct and active involvement in satisfying its housing needs.

In this connection, the housing policy of the '80s will strive to create the most favorable conditions possible for the development of construction that is achievable with a great amount of effort by those concerned. For it is in broad citizen participation, particularly by young people, in the housing construction movement, that the essential element of increasing the volume of housing construction is perceived, and at the same time, a speedup in improvement of the housing situation.

1.1. A particularly convenient implementation form for youth should be small cooperatives, cooperative single-family construction associations formed by those interested in building a house. This is a form that not only gives investors and their families the opportunity for profiting substantially from their own work, but also for taking advantage of raw materials and other materials of local origin, including wood, stone, home-made hollow clay blocks, bricks, etc.

There is a special need for the wide dissemination among youth of small cooperative forms, or of house-construction worker groups organized at work establishments. They can provide comprehensive assistance to young workers undertaking the construction of a house (financial, material, equipment-transportation, etc.).

It is also necessary to intensify activities whose purpose is the adaptation of superfluous attics, drying plants, and other quarters located in state buildings, through increased state credit assistance. A similar course of conduct is recommended in cooperative construction.

1.2. A condition for increasing the volume of housing construction in the present decade--above all is, the overcoming of barriers in this area:

--obtaining individual building lots for individual and small cooperative construction;

--preparing and developing building sites;

--the general and engineering production capabilities of construction enterprises, including construction services;

--supplying materials and technical equipment;

--creating favorable credit conditions adapted to youth's financial capabilities.

Detailed plans which are to be undertaken by state and local authorities for combating these barriers were presented in material under the title "Housing Construction Assumptions to the Year 1990 Together with Changes in Certain Housing Policy Principles,"* prepared by the interministry group appointed by

*Published in the Polish press 14 July 1982.

the minister of administration, local economy and environmental protection [Min./AGTIOS].

Among these activities, a statute in preparation on the management of sites will have real significance in assuring improvement in obtaining new sites for housing construction, including the building of homes by cooperative means. The statute assumes an essential change in the state's policy in this area.

The implementation of housing construction, including that undertaken by youth, is in large measure conditioned on an improvement in the supply of building materials. In connection with this, there is an assumption, among others, of an increase and appropriate adaptation of building materials production peculiar to construction by citizens individually, or by groups in various organizational forms.

Assurance by designers of simple--and at the same time, material-saving design solutions has a no less significant meaning in this area. These designs should be adapted to local capabilities that take the maximal use of local materials and raw materials into consideration in construction.

2. The reformed system of administration and management introduced should prompt enterprises toward efficient operation, including the area of employment.

This can create difficulties in assuring jobs to some youth groups consistent with their education. However, most graduates will find work in many of our neglected pubtic service sectors such as, for example: postal services, local transportation, health protection and social welfare, education and upbringing, and financial institutions. Work posts for school graduates will also be established as the results of actions and initiatives by voivodship authorities, with the possibility of involving professional-activation-fund sources.

Additional job possibilities that are not fully utilized are also inherent in the development of cooperative movement work both in the area of services and production activity. A special cooperative movement form could be youth cooperatives, including student co-ops (also employing graduates), which constitute an important source of new work posts.

Such co-ops could offer services in the area of veterinary medicine, agriculture, gardening, forest management, construction, repair of various types of implements, etc. However, at present, their activity encounters many obstacles which make the development of this form of employment difficult. This problem should find its legal regulation in a law on the cooperative movement that is now being discussed in the Sejm. It will also be necessary to provide assistance to youth work co-ops in obtaining raw materials, machinery and premises that will permit the expansion of production and services activities. Also necessary is the creation of flexible forms of employment in order to make it possible for youth to improve its material situation. The draft of a Council of Minister's resolution in this matter prepared by the minister of

labor, wages and social affairs [Min. PPiSS], envisions the following forms of flexible employment: flexible worktime, part-time work and casual work.

A special role, particularly for youth, will be played by the organization of an institutional instrumentality in undertaking casual work. Employment in this form would also pertain to persons employed in other forms (including even full-time workers) as well as those for whom this would be the only way of earning a living. A general assumption is making certain that young people will be able to work in various occupations--primarily in the sphere of services--for which wages would be paid immediately upon completion of the job. An example of jobs like that could be: supplying homes with milk, bakery goods, the paper, taking care of children, routine jobs, work in trade, in the post office, on behalf of local transportation, in workshops and service points, in the health service, in social welfare and the like.

It is indispensable to undertake activity for the development of young people's settlement opportunities of a productional-colonization and productional-family type--in individual and group form--mainly for rural youth, and for graduates of higher agricultural schools, including those from big cities, as well as for graduates of secondary agricultural schools.

It is proposed that the settlement system be based among others, on the following principles:

--the state finances the full costs of the plan for setting up a farm and infrastructure in the area of land recultivation and reclamation, as well as of the equipment bringing water and electrical energy, and the access roads;

--housing construction and farm costs will be borne by the future user of the farm, with which he receives a long-term credit with a several year term, or in the event of obtaining completed buildings, makes repayments of their costs on similar terms;

--after a period of not less than 5 years, the farm will be relieved of land tax payments, and will also benefit under specified terms from investment reductions;

--during the first year of farming, settlers are entitled to a grant for living costs that is equivalent to the minimum wage. Candidates for settler must complete a preparatory course or be identified with many years of farming practice.

It is necessary to create a uniform system of centralized settlement in order to endow it with the character of a long-term program solving the problems of bringing under cultivation the arable lands in State Land Fund [PFZ] inventories or accruing from agricultural farms without heirs (particularly in areas of an intensified appearance of this phenomenon).

During the passing phase of the appearance of the lack of production means for farming by settlement farms, it is necessary to assure appropriate supply

guarantees under terms of individual agreements that pertain to indispensable reinvestment for the farm. This assistance should be expressed in granting owners of such farms priorities in obtaining investment credits, and the purchase of machinery, other means of production and building materials.

Agricultural services should provide far-reaching help in the area of expert advice to agricultural farms that have arisen as the result of settlement, as well as those taken over by young people from their parents.

Voivodship and gmina offices will develop appropriate programs that will assure comprehensive assistance to young farmers.

4. It is necessary to create real promotion possibilities for young people.

Vertical professional promotion, based on the attainment of ever higher positions in the service hierarchy should depend on work results, appropriate professional qualifications, predisposition to directing groups of people, as well as an appropriate ethical-moral attitude.

Also indispensable is the creation of vertical "promotion paths" that increase motivation to better work in every post, and the attainment of occupational expertise regardless of the position's location in the vertical hierarchy. Toward this end, a system of grades and qualificational occupational and specialized titles that delimit the stages of horizontal promotion will be developed.

5. Assuring conditions for joint management of work establishments by young people requires, among others, their active participation in the activity of worker and cooperative self-governments.

In order to incorporate youth into these organs, it is necessary to utilize the mechanisms embodied in the law on the self-government of the staff of a state enterprise. Irrespective of the participation of young people in the operations of workers councils, the possibility exists of the creation--there where it is justified--of commissions or youth groups as auxiliary organs of enterprise workers councils. Such possibilities are created by Article 23 of the statute on the self-government of a state enterprise. Commissions or youth groups should concern themselves, among others, with the entire problem of youth in the enterprise, and cooperate in that area with youth organizations.

Also important is the participation of youth in territorial self-government operating in gminas, cities, city sections and voivodships representing society in a given area. It is necessary to stimulate youth to various kinds of social activity in their community. Likewise, a new youth group should be formed in individual elements of an establishment, community or locality territorial self-government which will be concentrating on activity connected with creating life-start conditions for young people in the actual situation in a given area.

The upbringing of young people through work should also play an important role in the general educational system. Youth's start in life and profession is

conditioned to a large degree on the level of polytechnical education that is essential in a period of the dynamic development of technology.

Modern technical civilization requires the comprehensive preparation of youth for life and work, as well as the formation of the kinds of attitudes for which the proper measure is man's efficient and effective work while observing conditions of industrial safety and hygiene.

These problems enter into the area of a broadly understood work culture, education through work and technical culture, and should be the primary goal of broad technological education.

The implementation of tasks involved with the polytechnical education of children and youth rests first of all on schools and institutes for the dissemination of technical culture and scientific information.

In this connection, from 1982 to 1985 essential activities will be undertaken so that the modern school, becoming the area of varied and comprehensive student activity, promotes the kind of organization of the educational process that will permit broad promotion of polytechnical contents during and after class lessons.

Full implementation of the polytechnical program of education and upbringing will require:

--an improvement in the outfitting of schools and other educational institutions with essential materials, machinery and tools--and the safeguarding of local conditions that make possible the organization of two to three subject workshops in each school that are adapted to the implementation of program tasks from the "Work--Technology" subject;

--dissemination of circles of interest activity in schools and educational institutions, youth cultural houses and settlement clubs for children;

--constant improvement of the system of schoolboy training;

--modernization of the education and self-improvement system of the teaching cadre which is essential for conducting lessons from the "Work-Technology" subject, and interest circles operating in schools, houses of culture and settlement workshops for tinkerers;

--popularizing technical culture among children and youth by means of mass media sources, and publishing manuals and other material aids;

--activation of the work of Technical Culture Societies and Youth Patent offices;

--coordinating activities aimed at the fuller implementation of the general technological contents defined in the programs of other school subjects;

--strengthening the system of school ties with work establishments in order to utilize their material base for organizing schoolboy training.

The further stimulation and development of Young Masters of Technology competitions should plan an important role in the polytechnical education of young people.

Schedule of Tasks

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jul 82 pp 4, 5

[Article: "Schedule for Implementation of Tasks Resulting from the Program for Improving the Conditions for Youth's Start in Life and Profession"]

[Text] In considering the adoption of the "Program for Improving the Conditions for Youth's Start in Life and Profession," the Council of Ministers simultaneously confirmed the schedule for implementing the tasks resulting from that program.

With Respect to Youth's Civic Start

1. Verify the currently implemented system of education -- its contents, personal models and cohesion. Responsible for achievement: the Min. OiW [minister of education and upbringing]. Manner of accomplishment: Preparing and initiating new directions of education with youth in the 1982-1983 school year.

2. Forming a feeling of responsibility in educators for pupils, modifying teaching programs in force in the direction of:

--closer linkage of the future teacher with his place of work, among others, through the development of the system of training including in rural schools;

--placing emphasis in teaching on the upbringing function of future teachers, particularly in psychological-educational subjects;

--increasing the participation of future teachers in nondidactic educational functions (including students--future teachers in scout work, social care homes, educational campfires, and the like). Responsible are: the Min. OiW, and the Min. NSzWIT [minister of science, higher schools and technology]. Deadline: continuing work.

3. Use work results as a basic appraisal measure of citizen attitude adopting that as a basic criterion of social and professional advancement. Responsible are: the Min. OiW, Min. NSzWIT, and the Min. PPiSS [minister of labor, wages, and social affairs]. Manner of and accomplishment deadlines:

--maintain the principle of cooperation with work establishments, so-called "patronates"--continuing work;

--in principles of OHP [Volunteer Labor Brigades] activity assure the precedence of educational tasks--1982;

--improve the tools that stimulate students to better results in learning and study discipline--1982;

--introduce the obligation of physical work for candidates for higher studies, increasing attention to its organization and course--1983;

--assure preference in employment to students who distinguish themselves in learning and social work--1982;

--restore the rank due group and individual rivalry, creating an appropriate system of material and moral awards--continuing work;

--popularize good workers in work establishments and in the mass media.

In the Area of Developing and Improving the Process of Educating and Employing Young People

4. Elaboration of principles on employing young people who are undertaking their first job. Responsible are: the Min. PPiSS and the chairman of the KP [Planning Commission]. Deadline: immediately. Manner of accomplishment: a law and executive orders relative to the employment of graduates.

5. Elaboration of wage systems that respond to agricultural reform assumptions. Responsible are: the Min. PPiSS, Min. Fin [minister of finance], and KP chairman. Deadline: consistent with successive stages of agricultural reform initiated, particularly with the general reform of the wage system. Manner of accomplishment: creation of flexible wage scales and principles of compensation, taking into consideration professional knowledge, work quality and efficiency regardless of worker tenure or age.

6. Employment of this year's school graduates. Responsible are: the Min. PPiSS, governors and managers of economic departments. Deadline: immediately. Manner of accomplishment: elaborating a program.

7. Professional activation of youth by the creation of flexible forms of employment. Responsible are: the Min. PPiSS, Min. NSzWIT and Min. Fin. Deadline: 1983. Manner of accomplishment:

a) with reference to youth that is studying: introducing flexible forms of student employment in student cooperatives.

--making it possible for secondary school students, particularly of general high schools, to obtain rights to perform work for which there is a need, and financing the appropriate training from the FAZ [Vocational Action Fund].

b) with reference to working youth,

--making it possible to perform additional work in the same or other occupation;

--repealing the requirement of obtaining employer consent for performing work for another employer;

--organizing young people's work cooperatives under the auspices of youth organizations.

8. Creating similar learning conditions for all young people who are studying in order to equalize the instruction level in the countryside and in the city, and the gradual dissemination of secondary education.

Responsible are: the Min. OiW, the KP chairman, Min. Fin., and governors.

Manner of accomplishment:

--execution of the kindergarten construction program;

--obtaining new places in kindergartens through noncapital means;

--assuring an education cadre for kindergartens, particularly in the rural area;

--continuation of the idea of the collectivity of rural schools;

--assuring preferences for teachers who undertake work in rural areas;

--modernizing teaching programs and work methods with rural school children;

--an organizational-program change in vocational high schools in the direction of instruction in typical worker occupations;

--a change in education proportions for the benefit of secondary schools;

--development of schools for working people, particularly for ZSZ [Vocational Schools Group] graduates;

--expansion of the boarding-school base.

9. Improving the financial and material assistance program for higher school students.

Responsible are: the Min. NszWiT and Min. Fin.

Deadline: from 1 October 1982.

Manner of accomplishment: elaboration of a new system of material assistance for higher school students.

In the Area of Improving the Housing Situation

(The deadlines for accomplishing the tasks were set in the schedule for implementation of the housing construction development program to 1990).

10. Fuller utilization of establishment forms of housing construction implemented via the economic system, for meeting the housing needs of the young family.

Responsible: the Min. AGTiOS.

Manner of accomplishment: fuller utilization by work establishments of their resources and accomplishment possibilities, and the wide use of young staff members for housing construction.

11. Assuring conditions for the development of small housing cooperatives, particularly those that implement single-family compact construction.

Responsible are: the Min. AGTiOS by agreement with the ZG ZSMP [Central Housing Construction Cooperative Union], and the ZK ZMW [Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth].

Manner of accomplishment: elaborating concrete proposals of solutions that stimulate youth and facilitate its establishment of housing construction cooperatives.

12. Creating conditions for the development of rural housing construction, particularly for the young generation.

Responsible are: the Min. AGTiOS and the Min. RiGZ [minister of agriculture and food economy].

Manner of accomplishment:

--elaboration of concrete proposals directed toward:

1) simplification of the procedure for taking care of formal-legal problems and assuring favorable credit terms.

2) creating conditions for the development of small construction enterprises in the countryside.

3) a renewed startup of existing brick kilns, saw mills, and the like.

13. Allocating cooperative housing category M-1 and M-2 to young marrked couples which were released by the previous users, treating them as rotating (transitory) housing.

Responsible are: the Min. AGTiOS in agreement with the Chairman of the CZSBM [Central Housing Construction Cooperative Union]. Manner of accomplishment: a recommendation that the housing cooperative movement observe this principle.

14. Allocating housing recovered in the course of reviews made of state stores to young married couples.

Responsible: Min. AGTiOS. Manner of accomplishment:

--a recommendation that regional organs of state administration allocate recovered housing to young couples on the greatest possible scale.

15. Broad participation by youth in the adaptation of superfluous attics, drying kilns and other spaces in state buildings for housing purposes, and increasing credit assistance for this purpose.

A similar course of procedure is recommended in cooperative construction.

Responsible are: the Min. AGTiOS and the Chairman of the NBP [National Bank]. Manner of accomplishment:

--increasing credit allocated for the conversion of uninhabitable spaces appropriate to the increased costs of adaptation.

16. Streamlining housing exchanges, creating easements and convenient credit terms for young couples who are endeavoring to change their living quarters.

Responsible: the Min. AGTiOS. Manner of accomplishment: elaboration of principles applicable in this area.

17. Creating a system of social help for individuals who are worse off, including young couples, to cover the costs of obtaining and using housing.

Responsible: the Min. AGTiOS. Manner of accomplishment: allocating financial assistance to cover their own input and housing payments.

In the Area of Family Protection and Development

18. Improve school and afterschool education in order to provide wholesome upbringing, preparation for family life and managing a household with regard to its basic functions in an urban and rural community.

Responsible are the Min. OiW, Min. ZiOS [minister of health and social welfare], Min NSzWiT and Min. RiGZ. Manner of accomplishment: elaboration of a cohesive program of education within the framework of school and postschool education with consideration of indispensable conditions for its implementation (preparing teachers and instructors, publishing appropriate manuals). Deadline:

--an analysis of the operating situation to date--1982;

--elaboration of a comprehensive program of education in this area--1982;

--successive initiation for implementation following adoption of the program.

19. Introduce premarital medical examinations.

Responsible: the Min. ZiOS. Manner of and accomplishment deadlines:

--prepare changes in ZiOS Ministry and MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] legal acts--1982;

--prepare health service agencies to conduct studies--in 1983, then a continuing process.

20. Develop maximal production and improve the quality of foodstuffs, articles of clothing, shoes and basic items of cleanliness and hygiene for infants, children and youth of school age.

Responsible are: the Min. ZiOS, Min. RiGZ, and the Min. PCHiL [minister of the chemical and light industry].

Manner of accomplishment: assuring the implementation in 1982 of operational programs pertaining to:

--basic pharmaceutical and sanitary products and medical equipment;

--supplying children with dairy, vegetable-meat and fruit-vegetable products;

--clothing and shoes for children and young people;

--supplying basic items of cleanliness and hygiene.

Create conditions for speedier expansion of a network of care agencies for the children of working mothers. Responsible are: the Min. ZiOS, Min. OiW, and CZSBM. Manner of accomplishment: Exacting the observance by appropriate construction and housing cooperative authorities, of the terms of the order of 29 January 1959 issued by the MAGTiOS [Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection], which places a responsibility for the construction of nurseries and kindergartens corresponding to 4.2 percent of the number of people foreseen for settlement. Deadlines for accomplishment:

--in the years 1981-1985, build a total of about 266 nurseries with a capacity of 20,000 places, and acquire about 10,000 places by noncapital means;

--in the years 1983-1985, construct about 550 kindergartens, as required.

22. Expand credit forms of assistance to young couples and persons raising small children. Responsible are: the Min. Fin., NBP, Min PPiS, and Min. HWiU [minister of domestic trade and services]. Manner of accomplishment: adaptation of regulations pertaining to the allocation of credits to young couples to changing circumstances. Deadline: Continuing process from 1982.

23. Return to the principle of granting generally available credits associated with equipping a household, with which the payment period should be based on incomes per family member. Responsible are: the NBP and Min. Fin. Deadlines: following attainment of a satisfactory state of equilibrium in the internal market.

24. Elaborate and initiate the idea of a system of prophylaxis and social adaptation of children and school youth. Responsible are: the Min. OiW, the Min. Spraw [minister of justice], Min. NSzWiT., Min. PPiSS and Min. ZiOS. Manner of accomplishment: creating a uniform system of social prophylaxis for the purpose of protecting minors against demoralization. Continuing process.

In the Area of the Start in Life and Profession of Rural Youth

25. Assuring priority in furnishing materials, and granting trade and investment credits to young farmers. Responsible are: the Min. RiGZ, GBZ [Bank of Food Economy], governors and institutions supplying agriculture.

26. Assuring priority for rural youth undertaking work in agriculture in obtaining farms from PFZ inventories. Responsible: the Min. RiGZ. Manner of accomplishment: issuing appropriate recommendations to governors and gmina directors. Deadline: 1 October 1982.

27. Allocating building lots in gminas for housing for young people working in institutions serving the rural area and agriculture. Responsible are: governors and gmina directors. Manner of, and accomplishment deadline: within the framework of gmina land-management programs. Continuing work.

28. Encompassing all young people remaining on agricultural farms by agricultural education. Responsible: the government's presidium. Manner of, and accomplishment deadline: directing young people without qualifications who remain on agricultural farms to agricultural schools by gmina directors. Continuing work.

29. Popularizing the regulations on credit possibilities for agriculture, particularly for young farmers. Responsible are: the Min. RiGZ and youth organizations. Manner of, and deadline for accomplishment: mass media sources and youth organization bulletins. Continuing work.

10433
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DELEGATION OF REAL POWERS TO YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS URGED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 9 Aug 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ryszard Naleskiewicz: "We Cannot Let the Chance Slip By--Let Us Discuss the New Powers of Youth Organizations"]

> [Text] The resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the party Central Committee has proposed very broad powers to youth organizations as representatives of the interests of the entire generation. In political language, these powers appear very attractive. What sort of legislative form will they acquire and what sort of form will they take on in executive acts? Will they lead to a subsequent attempt at "decorating" very important conferences with youth; will they assure real influence for youth or will they only create a screen for decisionmakers on the basis of—"after all, you knew" or will they enable the advocating of their arguments in defiance of convenient and established patterns?

These interesting questions should already start being answered today in political practice--practice created by the organizations themselves.

Presenting opinions regarding the decisions and plans of authorities of all levels concerning youth matters is the first power proposed in the resolution. We read in detail: "This power would be synonymous with obligating the state and economic administration of all levels to seek the opinion of socialist youth unions in the above matters."

These matters are many--cadre policies, professional and social advancement, the distribution of benefits, wages, housing, education and upbringing, higher education, culture, sports and tourism...

An yet, the resolution uses the conditional mode of procedure—thus it does not determine conclusively the form and the responsibilities resulting from it.

What may be gained in such a clause and what lost? Everything.

The presentation of opinions may take on various forms. It may resolve itself

to activities which today are practically commonly used by the authorities and by the leadership of nearly all levels. Interested parties are invited to an appropriate consultative meeting, governing council or secretariat; a draft of the decision under preparation or of an ordinance is explained to them and they are asked to give an opinion. Those who come unprepared, who are sometimes taken by surprise, or who come without previous consultations with the masses, mumble something here and there or protest or approve categorically. If they become uncomfortable, the members of the leadership kindly remind them that only they have an advisory voice and they explain objective difficulties and incline them to sign the draft. If this does not work--the invitees are ceremoniously voted down and other interested parties are then invited to the next meeting of this type...

However, in official records and reports, the following annotations are evident: "with the participation of...", "in the presence of...", etc. Paper democracy has, therefore, been retained.

In the implementation of this clause [zapis] of the resolution, this undoubtedly is not what it is all about.

This is the final hour in the youth movement for working out its understanding of this issue. The opinion of representatives must be binding to some significant degree for decisionmakers. The inability to gain acceptance or a positive opinion should delay decisions for as long as it takes to reach a compromise. Disregarding consultations with youth ought to automatically make life difficult for public officials--also making it difficult from the point of view of formality.

If this point is not understood thus in the process of implementation, then in my opinion, it will change nothing in practice. It will merely remain on paper just as many other points have from many previous valid resolutions...

The next power concerns agreements "or the participation of socialist youth unions in legislative work on those legal acts which concern the young generation."

And here again, I have comments similar to those regarding the right to present opinions since participation may be real, legally sanctioned by reaching a consensus or formal. The latter is mainly based on checking off entries on the attendance list.

The highest party echelon did not specify--it is not the government--to what the word "participation" obliges both (or more) participating sides. To what extent will the voices, opinions and suggestions of the representatives of particular unions--discussed, I should think, with youth-be binding for decisionmakers? Will outright opposition cause some sort of difficulties besides, of course, being "examined?"

In brief, to what extent will the representatives of youth organizations really be able to feel that they are the coauthors of legislative acts? Placing sociotechnics aside--to what extent will the youth really be such authors?

The third power pertains to "the initiative which enables the socialist youth unions to submit drafts of legal acts and which obliges state organs to examine the merits of these drafts; this would also concern legislative initiatives."

It would seem that this point is the most unequivocal. The only thing is that with the exception of the Sejm, where the power of legislative initiative is clearly specified, every citizen possesses this right; everyone may send drafts, proposals, etc. to a given authority, echelon, executive board or leadership. Why, some people even strive to do this! Besides accumulated wastepaper, nothing is gained from such initiatives.

Thus again, the working out of an executory tone of such a rule depends today on the efforts of the youth unions themselves. The following must be specified: Who and upon the completion of which preliminary activities (drafts, consultations, decisions made by echelons and which echelons) has the right to submit drafts of decisions, ordinances, laws, etc. and to whom? Next, what procedure is to be followed in examining them and where or to whom may one turn in case of misunderstandings or refusal, etc.?

Similar general wording is contained in the point on the right of control "which allows socialist youth unions to obtain information from the state and economic administration on the state of 'implementation of decisions undertaken on behalf of youth'".

In this point, particularly in the process of formulating executive documents, resolve and alertness will be necessary by the representatives of youth organizations because control without sanctions is not control. Social control may be maneuvered as skillfully and as long as many a social body has been maneuvered in our practice.

In order to put this point actually into practice, it is necessary to clearly describe in which matters the administration must submit to supervision and give access to documents, archives, etc. It is necessary to clearly define the other side as well: To whom from the youth movement should this power be made available? This is important since, first of all, a professional (this being an official) will always outsmart a layman; secondly, in certain matters, for example, cadre matters which are and should be confidential, it is impossible to make personnel files available for just any reason.

Finally, control also means sactions--an obligatory way of carrying out postcontrol recommendations. If such a procedure is not established--this point may terminate. Its practical life with polite questions such as, "Why haven't you done it yet and when will you do it? The usual answer to this is: "It will be done when the time comes, there are more important problems now..."

The definition of who will supervise the carrying out of recommendations and how also belongs to control sanctions. Surely it will not be the youth movement but the supreme authorities of the controlled [body]. What then should be done in order to make the said authorities interested in control and not in crushing or disregarding it?

Many questions arise. However, activity is of the utmost importance at the present time--activity in the organizations themselves. Meetings of the aktiv concerning the Ninth Plenum are being held. Much satisfaction about the results of the plenum is being expressed. However, I have reservations. The results of the plenum are not available yet and they will not be worked out at the meetings.

The plenum has encouraged young people to act on their own behalf in thier own matters. We should clearly be getting attacked in the youth press for supporting various versions of the executive documents of the resolution. A battle should be raging to attain as extensive executive prerogatives as possible; there should be a struggle for access to power, for the formulation of particular rights and obligations. In the meantime, vacations are continuing and official silence.

Part of the resolution, after all, states explicitly: "We are turning to the socialist youth unions to carry out consultations in all communities and subsequently to present the prevailing attitude in the matter of the new powers of youth organizations." Therefore, no one has as yet conferred these powers and in addition no one may ultimately confer them without considerable input of one's work and initiative.

We are waiting in the SZTANDAR MLODYCH for specific drafts of legal acts--we will discuss them. We wish to discuss them principally with nonunion youth. Therefore, we must go beyond the summer campaign, beyond camps and training sessions. This concerns everyone. If the interests of the entire generation are to be represented, then discussions must be conducted with it. We are extending an invitation to the pages of SZTANDAR MLODYCH.

One thing in certain. This chance cannot be allowed to slip away.

9853
CSO: 2600/840

POLISH PRESS CONCEPT OF PATRIOTISM, SOCIALISM CRITICIZED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI I DZIENNIK ZOLNIERZA in Polish 31 July 82 p 3

[Article by Szperacz: "From the Polish Press--A False Point of Issue"]

[Text] Actually, there is a considerable number of these false points of departure in the behavior of the Warsaw regime, however, I will dwell on one of these which encompasses all the others as well and reduces them to one. What I am concerned about is, namely, the slogan of patriotism which is abused by the regime's propaganda at every turn. First of all, patriotism has been associated with "socialism" for a long time now--this should be read: with communism. "The defense of the socialist regime," it was recently written in the article entitled: "One Measure of Patriotism" published in TRYBUNA LUDU, "is connected with the program of national rebirth which was formulated at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress..." And a little further on, we read: "The concept of national accord continues to be the essential element of the rebirth program. However, it cannot signify consent for the undertaking, under any form whatsoever, of antisocialist activity which would threaten Poland's position as a member of the union of socialist states and which would undermine the role of the party in the country's political life."

Briefly and emphatically stated: only the person who accepts "socialism" as the regime in force once and for all can be termed a patriot. And such a patriot must continue to accept unrelentingly the so-called "alliance" with the Soviet Union. "The strongest bond," as is written in the aforementioned TRYBUNA LUDU, "of friendship and alliance between Poland and the Soviet Union is no doubt the common bond of social systems, a mutual striving to build modern societies on the basis of socialism and communism and the brotherhood of solidarity and cooperation between the leading parties--PZPR and CPSU--which are led by the common ideology of Marxism-Leninism. The experiences of the entire postwar period confirm this. They teach us that only socialist Poland can be a sure and lasting partner which can be depended on and which can guarantee vital allied interests."

And here is the principle described by the author of the quoted article as "fundamental:" "It should be stressed emphatically that despite the contentions made by adversaries, no allied obligations have interfered or interfere with our carrying out of indispensable reforms and transformations of the system. All that is needed is a clear, realistic program and the will

to implement it. However, from the point of view of preserving the alliance, the protection of common allied interests and our own national and class interests, there exists one important principle: as a result of the implemented reforms and transformations, socialism cannot be allowed to shrink; it should become stronger, improve itself and develop. This basic requirement must be respected. This issues forth from the logic of the development of the modern world and the place that Poland occupies in it...The alliance of socialist states and its basic, manysided organizations create a complex political and geographical construction which assures all those states which enter into its composition, a feeling of security and stability, conditions for favorable cooperation and increased effectiveness of one's own activity on the international arena."

Naturally, communists are of the opinion that Poland, like all the other states which enter into the composition of the Eastern bloc, is sovereign and controls its own fate. This is an initial falsehood from which all others follow. As is well known, all of these countries, therefore Poland included, were occupied by force of arms by the Red Army which followed in the path of the retreating Nazi armies. The communist regime--which the nations concerned did not want, considering it as foreign--was imposed under these conditions of armed occupation. In certain cases, the communist regime was imposed immediately while in others--somewhat later following an intial period of relative liberalism. This was the case in Poland and in Czechoslovakia. Elections were crudely faked while true representatives either perished or escaped abroad (the defenestration of the younger Masaryk in Prague, in flight of Mikolajczyk).

In these countries, liberating attempts were not lacking. This led to rioting in Berlin, to the Polish "October," to the bloody incidents in Budapest and finally to the Czechoslovakian "spring" in 1968 and to disturbances in Poland which ultimately led to Solidarity. These attempts were always stifled by armed force or deceit. The ineffective efforts of Soviet propaganda to attribute these disturbances to reactionary forces were capable of satisfying only the authors of these propaganda measures. Soviet "socialism" was rejected by all Central and East European nations and they are being held in this "socialist" cage solely by armed duress. Propaganda denies this and propaganda is an insolent liar.

Thus, the first substantial falsehood: these states are not sovereign and they have a regime forcefully imposed by the imperialistic power. The form of communism proposed to the Polish nation by the communists has nothing in common with true patriotism but rather is the blatant denial of it. What these comrades call patriotism is submissive service to the interests of their common nation--the Soviet Union. Solidarity did not want to break away from this situation knowing that under the current circumstances this would be impossible; it only wanted to loosen somewhat the Soviet collar and to create acceptable living conditions. This was enough for Polish communists to murder it upon the instigation of the Soviets. The martial law order given by Jaruzelski occurred after more than a year of furious wrangling by all Soviet media of mass propaganda. There is no need to search for the true perpetrator--he revealed himself long before the decision was made.

They [the Polish communists] have identified patriotism with the regime hated by the nation and also with the equally or perhaps even more hated dependence of the country on the Soviets. They adorn themselves with false pride in freshly turned out confederate caps [konfederatki] which have not been worn at all for over 30 years. In the name of this falsehood, they take away from the Polish political emigres the right to call themselves Poles.

And it is always the same: Communist "patriots" do not want to know anything about Polish martyrdom during the years of World War II. They carefully make no mention of all the Soviet crimes perpetrated against the Polish nation. Katyn was brought about by the Germans while transportation out to concentration camps and for resettlement was humanitarian evacuation from war-endangered regions. The Soviets liberated us from Nazi occupation for which we must show eternal gratitude.

This comedy of propaganda calmed down somewhat following the birth of Solidarity whereas currently it is raging on with new vigor. And yet, it is clearly known in the party that the Soviets are hated in Poland and that this hatred has increased even more, if that is at all possible, since the beginning of 13 December of this year. The nation is fully aware that the source of all of its calamaties is found in Moscow and the nation reacts to this accordingly. The deceitful propaganda leads people to fury and this is its only outcome. The more empty talk there is about friendship and gratitude, the greater the mental dissent.

"Patriotism," informs the TRYBUNA LUDU, and all the other regime organs, "means only one thing today: peace, responsibility, work." In other words, involuntary submission to those who took away from the nation the hope of improving the political, economic and cultural conditions in which it finds itself—after these several months of breathing a little more freely.

9853
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PZPR PLANT COMMITTEE SECRETARIES SPEAK ON NINTH PLENUM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Aug 82 pp 1, 3

[Article: "What Will Happen After the Plenum Comrade Secretary?"]

[Text] The Ninth Central Committee Plenum took a broad and comprehensive look at youth affairs. Its resolution was addressed to government agencies, professional educators and the youth and their organizations, but most of all to the party, its organs and ranks. It is the basic party elements and plant organizations, however, that will ultimately determine the successful implementation of the resolution.

We have asked several plant committee [KZ] secretaries to share with us their initial conclusions about the plenum decisions as they affect them personally and their ranks.

Jerzy Brochocki, Hard-Coal Mine [KWK] Siemianowice:

Advancement: Horizontal and Vertical

I will not hide the fact that I and my comrades in the plant committee found considerable satisfaction in the documents from the ninth Central Committee plenum. They convinced us that the direction of our activities, geared toward the young, have been correct. It may sound a little immodest, but the truth is that although little time has passed since the Central Committee plenum, we are already seriously involved in the implementation of its resolution.

For many years the mining school at the plant has been the main source of our mine cadres. We do whatever we can to permanently link its graduates with the mine and the city. We do it through our system of internships, during which a young boy learns the environment of his future workplace and finds out about the opportunities for advancement. This perspective seems to be the best incentive for good work, the acquisition of new qualifications and advancement on the job.

Many of our miners have already mastered two or even three related specializations and thus have the opportunity to prove themselves in increasingly difficult and responsible positions. This way, older and

work-weary miners can be moved to less strenuous jobs, because replacements are available. This is how we are already implementing the system of horizontal advancement, accompanied by appropriately higher wages.

Furthermore, we have at our disposal a considerable number of youth classified as a reserve cadre. There are quite a few employees in their 30's in important positions in supervision, including such posts as department heads and supervisors of mining operations. Thus, we also have a mechanism for vertical advancement. I want to add that this is why we are not afraid--unlike managers in other mines--of early retirement by miners; we are prepared for that by having a trained cadre. Also, here in Siemianowice youth patronage over housing construction, which is still being pursued at the initiative of the ZMS, has probably for the first time brought concrete results. Soon the young will receive 130 more apartments through this system.

We note with great satisfaction young people's interest in and cultivation of miners festivals, traditionally celebrated in Siemianowice. On days off, as in the old days our mine's amateur groups entertain in the park near the villa at Michalkowice and the young have an opportunity to chat with the oldtimers and to play skat or chess.

We believe, however, that our response to the needs of youth is not sufficient. Therefore, in August all department party organizations will hold joint meetings with ZMS circles in the plant, and in September at the joint plenum of the PZPR plant committee and ZMS plant board we will adopt a more concrete and comprehensive action program.

No doubt, it will focus on perfecting the educational function of the workplace and more effective ideological influence on the young people; in other words, on creating conditions enabling the young not simply to satisfy their ambitions and material needs but also greater participation in popularizing socialist ideals and values.

Jan Szczesny, PAFAWAG, Wroclaw:

A Part of Plant Affairs

As early as last April we had a plenary meeting of the plant committee and executive committee of the ZMS factory board devoted to forms of cooperation in resolving problems experienced by youth in our plant. After the ninth plenum, however, we enriched our program of activities in line with its resolution.

We do not forcibly or artificially isolate youth problems from the general affairs of the plant. When we talk, for example, about greater opportunities for advancement, we do not have in mind that youth should be the only criterion for appointing people to responsible positions. The decisive factors should be qualifications, social involvement, moral attitude, etc. It is true that until now we have not really had a real personnel policy; for example, we still do not have a list of the reserve cadre. However, we would not agree to placing on such a list only the young. Nevertheless, we

do want to remove the barriers that hamper advancement of the young, break up various special arrangements and so forth.

There are also problems of particular importance for the young, such as recreation, rest and housing construction. In conjunction with the plant ZMS aktiv, we have created a five-member team entrusted with the formation of a housing cooperative in the plant. Among the most urgent tasks we consider the enrichment of recreational activities and the activation of mass sports, because lately we have noticed a visible regress in both. On our part, we will continue to assure material conditions, but we also count on greater organizational activity of the young. We intend to intensify ideological-educational activity among the young. We observe among them common passive, negative and even hostile attitudes. To a great degree this is the result of a lack of knowledge about the mechanisms of political and social life. Therefore, we will organize discussions with voivodship committee lecturers and other invited guests for the purpose of explaining to the young their doubts and presenting to them the changes occurring in the country.

Stefan Wysocki, Voivodship Municipal Transportation Enterprise (WPKM), Szczecin:

Adaptation, or a New Hire in an Enterprise

For a long time the young constituted a considerable percentage of our work force. However, hard working conditions have brought about a situation when fewer and fewer young people want to become streetcar operators.

Youth affairs have always been high on the agenda of our party hierarchy. With our limited resources, we have always tried to resolve youth problems.

Recently, we had a joint meeting of the plant committee executive board and ZMS factory board executive committee to prepare a sort of a "book of needs and actions." Our young comrades presented their point of view and the means for resolving their problems, while we helped them to compare the reality of their intended actions with the enterprise's resources.

In a few days we will have a joint plenary meeting of the enterprise committee and enterprise board. We expect this meeting to be a useful forum for preparing a real--let me emphasize real--plan of action. For we must remember that in the past there were many programs, beautiful programs, addressed to the young. Most of them were never taken beyond the planning stage; they remained sheets of paper covered with lofty slogans. I can see two basic directions in our work. First, internal actions, focusing primarily on socioprofessional adaptation, or the new hire in the enterprise. Often we hire a young person and limit ourselves to showing him his place of work. This is one of the most important causes of frustration on the job, a feeling of not belonging and, consequently, of abandoning the profession.

Our actions extending beyond the enterprise will be exceptionally difficult, but we must not back down. I am talking about apartments for the young. When the enterprise occasionally receives one or two apartments for its

disposal, it is obvious that priority is given to employees with high seniority. And it is difficult to imagine a different situation. However, in the last couple of years in Szczecin there has been a project involving an effort to adapt attics for apartments. An active group has been created in our enterprise to explore this possibility. Both as a party element and an enterprise, we will render the young every possible assistance in this field.

I wish to share with you one observation: After the ninth plenum, 10 young employees came to our plant board and requested ZMS membership applications. I was very heartened by this fact, because to me it is proof that the youth trust party decisions.

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SHORTCOMINGS ASCRIBED TO PEOPLE RATHER THAN MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 13-15 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Ireneusz Czyzewski: "This Is Impotence of People, Not of Martial Law"]

> [Text] Under a rather misleading title ("Impotence of Martial Law," SZTANDAR MLODYCH No 123, 6-8 Aug 82) Wladyslaw Styczynski published a call to vigilance directed at those who see themselves as public guardians of the idea to bar a return to pre-August days and to the events that took place between August and December.

There are many such people, and today they are a majority. This is the first truth, a truth that is not easy to gainsay. The second truth, which at the same time is evidence of an amazing paradox, is that there is also a fair number of quiet adherents to various past sins. I am not concerned, of course, with the result of the confrontation--condemned evil has little chance of returning. It can, however, interfere effectively and for a long time. It can cause delay and deterioration of public moods. That is why I write about it.

To put it broadly, in his article, Wladyslaw Styczynski is concerned with the widespread disease of impotence. He writes: "The main method of maintaining the system of protecting the 'state's private interests' and the irresponsibility on which it was based was to create a general climate of impotence in the area of decision making and action at all levels." In short, he seems to suggest that the impotence persists in spite of martial law because it is not possible to fight the black market, to hold back the "blue birds" [niebieskie ptaki] and to take care of a couple of other matters about which the author speaks using statements made by representatives of our political life. The author is right, except for one thing: These are examples of the impotence of people, not of martial law.

Of course, Wladyslaw Styczynski does not exactly claim the opposite. He simply suggests that we cannot manage certain matters in spite of martial law and that the "strong men" are really "weak men" when confronted by those matters. Much can be blamed on martial law, and its opponents take advantage of this fact. However, there is one thing that cannot be blamed on martial

law. Specifically, it cannot be claimed that martial law has not introduced the proper climate for exacting responsibility. But the matter of the black market and of "blue birds" cannot be settled according to a simple formula of guilt and punishment. I think that we all know it very well, and there is no need to discuss it any further.

Especially since my article is not intended to be polemical. The thing is that Wladyslaw Styczynski touched on a topic around which a certain visible climate of interest ought to be maintained. Although I fully agree with this idea, I want to devote a couple of words to the subject of impotence, which is a disease of the mind and will and from which it is only one step to ignorance or perhaps even arrogance.

Impotence of people is the first evil. As our experience teaches us, it can destroy every task and it can lead the culprit, from a janitor to a minister, by the nose without any practical result. It is quite remarkable that life, instead of eliminating such cases, produces more and more new, sometimes bitter experiences.

Almost since the beginning of martial law, an indefatigable control team headed by Gen Wladyslaw Mroz has gone around the country, and in many voivodships it brings to the surface matters that stir public opinion. While I admire the perseverance and emotional strength of the team members, I find it difficult not to notice that, except in a few cases, the team reports are just as harsh and stern now as in January and February. At first, a lot was understandable--the extent of neglect, social upheavals and the resulting concern of those in positions of responsibility. But months have passed and it would seem that the time would have been well spent on learning useful lessons. But it seems that changes in evaluations are still very minor. Scandalous lack of concern, negligence, disregard for people and simple swindles are already a tradition.

But this is not even the most important problem. Everybody can make a mistake. It is worse than that, after mistakes have been pointed out, little is done to correct them. Pila Voivodship serves as a case in point, as confirmed by the second military control.

Facts are what counts, not intentions. And that is why I allow myself to voice a charge that the administration of the voivodship reacted to the shortcomings according to the worst pattern. The pattern "they came, messed around, but will not come back too soon, so we can relax" is a frequent phenomenon, and, undoubtedly, it was followed in Pila. They did come back, however, in accordance with the new climate of responsibility I spoke of before. The shock came; the governor and directors had to be replaced--the bad smell spread all over Poland, our opponents and those ill-disposed toward us happily point the finger and shout, Look!!!

I do not mean to say that supplying arguments to our opponents is the main evil resulting from this case. There is another evil, much more important. It is the shaping of negative opinions on the part of those who are still waiting. In such matters, alarm is needed, especially since this is not just one case. Unfortunately!

In the Warszawa Metallurgical Plant, a visit by the first Secretary and prime minister was needed to make the director, the management and the sociopolitical organizations, including the party organization, realize that more plant cafeterias should be open on free Saturdays. This is because during hot summer days people need to drink more, especially since very high temperatures are maintained at the plant. And, finally (omitting other "shortcomings"), scrap iron is needed for the plant to function. It does not, however, need to be brought from abroad in large quantities, since it is sitting in the dumps. Here, it is disturbing that the charge of impotence has to be directed at experts, not dilettantes.

It remains to be asked, If we adopt this mode of operation, how many years will pass before the prime minister gets a chance to go to all the plants that have similar situations.

This case is a glaring example of impotence. I do not doubt that the plant had many meetings and conferences before the visit. After all, the responsible people must have known what the needs were. And this is why I greet with half-smiles examples of how various collectives manage to correct shortcomings pointed out to them by the prime minister, which are shown on television. Sometimes it seems to me that somebody winks at me from the screen. I do not mean to offend anybody, but this situation is simply embarrassing.

The case of the metallurgical plant should also be seen as an alarm signal concerning the relationship between the management and the work force. It would seem that nobody bothered to talk to people at the plant. Especially justified are grievances in both this and the Pila Voivodship case directed to local party groups. I understand that it is not easy, that bitterness often makes it impossible to communicate in a businesslike manner, but, at the same time, we all know that the duty to fight to gain the confidence of the people is long standing.

Both time and many opportunities have been wasted at the metallurgical plant. This situation is going to persist if decrees of the PZPR Ninth Congress and the aspirations of leaders of the state continue to be treated as self-serving bouts that simply need to be repeated at the right moment. Ignorance is also an example of impotence, except that is happens to be premeditated.

Not so long ago, already during martial law, there was a time of critical reflection, when all actions of the government at all levels were carefully observed--also through the press. Every day, in the columns of dailies, one could find reports depicting commissars struggling with problems in gminas. A degree of interest was maintained, that, on one hand, prevented dangerous relapses but, on the other, did not enhance the image of those involved. Hundreds of people left their posts. Things are a little calmer now. Maybe the time has come to quietly wait for some results. Some good will could help. This attitude should not, however, turn into idol-worshipping, and dangers still abound.

After all, a question could still be asked, to what degree the improvement--which is unquestionable--is a result of the climate of responsibility brought on by martial law or to what degree it is just force of habit? Here opinions may vary and initial data will be provided by the evaluation of readiness for harvest in villages conducted last week by operational teams. In many cases, it is feared that commissars, upon return to gminas, will have to shake their heads when they see what happened to their accomplishments after a rather short time. I would like it not to be so, but....

Here it is--a gmina. It does not matter where, it could be anywhere. There is a new mayor. I come and ask for a list of instructions left by the commissar. The list is available. All functions are listed and assigned, and letters have been sent out to those interested, sometimes across the hall or to a building a few hundred meters away. And what about accounts? They are also available, of course, except not really, since they are not too clear. Besides, during a rather short stay, I was able to ascertain that there is warfare being conducted within the gmina government. It is conducted quietly, but it is guerrilla warfare. The village looks at it with an ironic smile and asks for a rope for bindings.

To insist on strict fulfillment of commissars' instructions may not be a prescription for general change in the situation. It may be that problems of this village are being settled elsewhere--perhaps in the lack of the rope, materials and machinery, and not, for example, in the sphere of interrelationships and mutual "let us love each other" within the circle of gmina government. But what was formulated on the basis of hundreds of talks with people should not be forgotten. Thus, the fact that this matter is not fully settled in spite of the specter of repeated control hanging overhead is a proof of continuing impotence, this time of the rural variety.

A question arises: Is the present impotence of the same kind as the pre-August impotence?

It seems to me that it is not! The basic information attesting to this claim should be seen in the fact that this brand of impotence decisively rejects and destroys the intentions, as well as the specific purposes, of the authorities. Thus, this is only an occurrence, not a program. It is only a pity that to a citizen who encounters the evil this subtle difference does not mean much.

Thus, to sum up: Our impotence not only has hands and legs but specific names as well. It does not, however, have political and social bases.

Nevertheless, a fierce battle is going on. On the other side there are many people of good will and they have on their side the argument of public support. They also have a political program. That is why, I repeat, I am not worried about the end result. That is why I will allow myself to go back to the article of Wladyslaw Styczynski. I am not worried about the views of a ministry clerk on the matter of workers' self-government. Most probably, he will insist on his infallibility and sacred, vigilant watchfulness. Except that, as W. Styczynski writes, this clerk does not have too many allies

any more. They think differently in a plant and in the (PZPR) Central Committee. His supervisor also has different opinions, and, finally, different opinions have been voiced by workers who in conversation with the prime minister destroyed the myth about difficulties in making contact with the people.

I pulled examples for this article out of my "black notebook." But, after all, in spite of appearances, a bright future cannot be built simply on arguments of boom and oftentimes debatable success. The future requires good sense as well as respect for people who in spite of the wind blowing in their eyes are determined to fight impotence. The difficult but realistically seen future will be the best expression of their determination.

9959
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COMMENTS ON CURRENT SITUATION IN MARTIAL LAW POLAND NOTED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI I DZIENNIK ZOLNIERZA in Polish 31 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Stefan Sobolewski: "Playing For Time--Seen From Stockholm"]

[Text] Recently I had an opportunity to talk with a journalist who, after considerable trouble, managed to get out of Poland for several weeks abroad. By no means a supporter of the regime, he is rather a neutral character among Polish journalists. Our conversation centered, of course, on Polish affairs. Anyone supposing that our dialogue abounded in likemindedness would be wrong. Although there were no fundamental differences between our assessments of the Polish puzzle, we totally differed in evaluating the social mood. This is not surprising. We are separated by a generation and by our completely dissimilar stocks of information about society's basic self-preserving responses dictated by living under an occupation.

Having arrived directly from martial-law Poland, my interlocutor had a lively interest in Polish internal problems. I attentively listened to his comments, characteristically quite moderate and far from radical. Understandably, he did not insist that I have tolerance toward Mr Jaruzelski, which would have been pointless anyway, since my appraisal of this issue is unequivocal. Instead, he tried to persuade me that, next to clubs and arrests, time was the greatest ally of the military regime. Is is so, in fact?

The 7 months since the December coup have enabled the authorities to boast that they put under control the "reactionary and imperialist groups of antisocialist provocateurs." At first glance, this might seem to be true. Widespread social resistance has been broken and, not surprisingly, the pyramidlike pattern of responsibility for violating martial law has engendered fear.

The events of last December polarized public opinion, which is a major defeat to the defenders of communism in army uniforms. Only last March I received a letter from a friend in Poland. He wrote: "True, it is harder to live in Poland now, but we are living more sanely." The nation became united in its hostility toward the regime. "The military coup cut off the dialogue on the concept of Poland--the authorities' post-December monologue allows no alternative solutions. 'The only road for Poland is the road to socialism.'"

As time continues to bring no solutions of a political or economic nature, increasing difficulties in food supply and a drop in real wages coupled with severe price escalation and a sense of hopelessness have inevitably affected society's attitude to some extent. Voices are increasingly heard in Poland that permanent endangerment and uncertainty are extremely discouraging and conducive, now more than before, to submission to the existing political order. Propagandist explanations of the economic difficulties as being caused by Reagan's sanctions are also making their impact in some segments of society.

This political impasse can have several solutions. In Poland, increasingly frequent references are being made to a national consensus. There is nothing new about that. Today, however, moderate trends seem to be getting the upper hand among those actively interested in a solution to the crisis. A compromise, however, is not a simple matter. It is predicated on the emotional encumbrances of recent months and, most important perhaps, on a total lack of confidence in the communist authorities.

Time is thus working to the advantage of those in power. The nation is being forced into increasing subservience, while propaganda achieves some of its effects. Even the most absurd attacks on Solidarity, although convincing nobody, necessarily lead to reappraising of the Independent Self-Governing Labor Union, which is what practically every individual engages in today and which the authorities probably find to their liking. The claims that Solidarity made a number of errors, went into politics rather than dealing with union matters, or advanced its demands too far can only be grist for the regime's mill. And such voices are increasingly heard these days.

My interlocutor was rather pessimistic. His assessment, presented above, is on the whole devoid of the hope that some day Poland will be free and fully democratic. Fear-triggered instinct for self-preservation, partisan interests, posturing as "saviors of the nation" or martyrs in crowns of thorns have all combined to destroy a badly needed polarity of views. These evaluations, coming as they do from inside the boiling Polish cauldron, undeniably carry their sad truth. My opinions, developed from a removed point of view and based on my unshakeable faith in the victory (no matter when it comes), are more idealistic and optimistic.

Undoubtedly, the process of polarization has again yielded to internal subdivisions and the essential human instinct for self-preservation. Although a large segment of society is almost ready to become reconciled to the existing arrangement, either in return for meeting its material needs or merely for the sake of its own peace of mind, an even larger segment of the Polish nation has no intention of backing away from the demands for codetermination in Poland. Apparently there are too many people with nothing to lose to become obedient to their oppressors over the long term.

What about the time factor? In his "Diary Written At Night" (KULTURA No 7-8 1982), Gustaw Herling-Grudzinski writes: "...for 5 months now a total military impasse has continued in Poland. It is necessary to accept outright that it will persist for a long time to come. And that in the nearest future

the two most often mentioned 'ways out of a situation with no way out' would be equally ruinous: a compromise at this time can be virutally tantamount to elimination of society's resistance by installments while an 'organized collective upheaval' (Kuron's term) can now only lure a totally unprepared Solidarity out of hiding. Time is not on the side of the authorities. A standoff is always more burdensome and costly to the assailant than it is to the assailed." The time factor seems to me to work in two ways: on the one hand, it neutralizes a spontaneous outburst and, on the other hand, it intensifies the desire to retaliate by thorough preparation for a counter-attack.

Several years ago, probably in 1977, I talked in West Germany with a person I thought was familiar with Polish affairs, but it proved to be otherwise. When I talked to her of Poland's economic (chief topic at the time) and political problems, she gave me a surprised look and asked: "Then why don't you go out into the streets?" I am not sure if she would say the same thing today. She probably would not because Jaruzelski lacks the glory that enwrapped Gierek who enthusiastically avowed himself to be on the side of defenders of human rights. The guy in dark glasses and green uniform plays the role of an enforcer.

Will taking to the streets actually accomplish anything? The answer from nearly all quarters is unanimously negative. Is there, then, any way out of the crisis that is more reasonable than a compromise?

This question is posed today by Polish communities abroad and by those fighting in Poland.

Any attempts to follow the Czechoslovak pattern in Poland cannot solve the original Polish problems. As long as enslavement of minds is not effected (even that has no chances of success), we cannot cease to believe in the victory of reason over idiocy. The flow of time, while variously affecting human reactions in Poland, cannot obliterate history and its lessons. Perhaps it will even result in taking to the streets.

8795
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FRENCH JOURNALIST REJECTS ACCUSATIONS IN TANASE CASE

Paris LE MATIN in French 1 Sep 82 p 9

[Article by Bernard Poulet: "Reply to Virgil Tanase"]

[Text] In these columns we have always given careful and responsible attention to the fate of the dissidents from the East and I think that I have demonstrated, to my own disadvantage, that I was very much attached to the cause. But I do not boast about having been beaten up by the Romanian Securitate. It seems to me that, at this time, it is the fate of the Romanian dissidents which is in question and not a sordid history of frustrated competition.

Yesterday, in a press conference held in the offices of the monthly ACTUEL, Virgil Tanase and the turncoat Romanian "spy" implicated LE MATIN and myself, accusing us of having revealed too much of the hidden aspects of this mysterious affair, "out of sensationalism." If one were to believe them, we are said to have endangered the lives of Tanase's mother and the spy's mother simultaneously. These detestable accusations show another aspect of the "Tanase affair," which, unfortunately, does not contain anything very honorable.

If the monthly ACTUEL and Virgil Tanase, who is one of its employees, are frustrated for having "missed a good shot," that is their business. On the other hand, if that leads them to accuse me of irresponsibility, if not of assassination, that goes too far.

Thus, I am forced to enter into this sad polemic, which, in my opinion, is a minor issue in this affair. I do not know if Virgil Tanase's mother actually returned to Romania yesterday (that remains to be proven), but I am stating that Tanase knew for a week that the affair would be made public this Monday. And it was not until 1700 hours, when he had just learned that LE MATIN was going to publish the story, that he suddenly asked the investigators to "stop everything" because of his mother.

As for the mysterious mother of the spy, who has remained in Romania, according to what he told us yesterday in his press conference, the investigators say that they had never heard him speak about her earlier. Obviously, somebody is lying.

The publication of the monthly ACTUEL had been scheduled for Wednesday, 1 September, and the admen had received the announcement of a "big scoop" a week before. The Flammarion publishing house is publishing the last book of Tanase and the press release sent to the newspapers requests that "nothing be published before 2 September."

All this resembles, a little too much, a commercial affair. Each one makes use of the incidents of his life in his own way. Here, we content ourselves with providing information.

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FRENCH TRADE UNION MEMBERS, JOURNALISTS MEET DISSIDENT PARASCHIV

Paris LE MATIN in French 1 Sep 82 p 9

[Article by B. P.: "The Appeal for Help of the Romanian Walesa"]

[Text] Not only is Vasile Paraschiv, the "Romanian Walesa," still alive, but some Frenchmen succeeded in meeting with him recently in Romania, in the city of Ploiesti. Paraschiv, who disappeared about 3 years after he had tried to create a free trade union, is issuing an appeal to several French intellectuals and trade union leaders to help him to go to France immediatedly.

On 15 August, two French trade union members were able to see him for 2 minutes in his home. But Paraschiv, apparently terrorized, closed the door again, very quickly. On 27 August, two journalists from the Awacs agency also had a meeting with him at night and reported his appeal.

"All I want," Paraschiv explains, "is permission to go to France immediately. On 30 March 1982, I requested a passport, but so far I have not received any reply. I am asking everyone to help me."

Dictating this appeal, in his unlighted room, Paraschiv spoke very softly and, according to the journalists, he gave the impression that he was very much afraid. On his forehead, he had a red scar, the result of a beating.

CSO: 3100/953

BOOK ON EDUCATION IN LANGUAGES OF MINORITIES REVIEWED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 12 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Ernst Breitenstein: "A Publication of Great Interest"]

[Text] Editura Didactica si Pedagogica [The Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House] has published a book which is of great interest, for a number of reasons: "Invatamintul in limbile nationalitatilor conlocuitoare din Romania" [Education in the Languages of the National Minorities in Romania]. I will enumerate only one of these reasons: If material equality represents the foundation on which a realistic, scientific nationality policy is built, then education in the languages of the national minorities becomes, hierarchically, a necessary basic condition for the preservation and development of everything related to the ethnic identity of a national entity. It is said, with justification, that the German minority population which, for eight centuries, has been living alongside Romanians and Hungarians in Transylvania, has remained the most stable of the many communities of German origin outside German-speaking countries. The phenomenon is explained by its entire history and it is perpetuated as a result of the high-principled and consistent policy of the Romanian socialist state and the party, and, last but not least, as a result of the fact that the national minorities in Romania are guaranteed, by provisions of the Constitution, the free use of their mother tongue at all levels of education and each nationality is ensured the study and thorough knowledge of its own language.

In this context, I would like to mention something important, which happened relatively recently. One of the leaders of the West German parliament who visited the country recently came to the editorial staff where I work (NEUER WEG) and gave us a memo of an emigre organization stating that Romanian authorities are limiting the number of subjects which are taught in German in the education in the German language program, thus restricting the students' opportunities for mastering their mother tongue.

By chance, the West German guest, who had been given this memo, made a visit the next day to secondary school No. 1 for mathematics and physics in Sibiu, where German is the language of instruction. He was deeply impressed, stating that he has not found in his own country many schools

of the caliber of the one he visited in Sibiu and that he would be happy if his grandchildren could attend such an educational institution.

This is why I think that the work which I am discussing is a publication of particular importance. It provides the Romanian reader, for the first time, with an overall picture of the great and original implementation of the nationality policy, constituting, at the same time, by the wealth of factual material and illustrations, an eloquent response to any attempts to distort realities of which we have profound and numerous reasons to be proud. Thus, it is completely natural that Editura Didactica si Pedagogica would translate and publish this work in the Hungarian, German, English, French and Russian languages.

"Invatamintul in limbile nationalitatilor conlocuitoare din Romania," as the book states, was complied by a collective of the Office for Education in the Languages of the National Minorities in the Ministry of Education and Culture, a collective coordinated by Gergely Laszlo, with Marin Gaspar, Nikolaus Kleininger, Murvai Laszlo and Sorin Teodorescu as members.

The authors devoted the first part of the book to the place and role of education in the languages of the national minorities in the overall educational system in Romania, proceeding, in this context, to present both the general principles which govern public instruction in our country and the concept and principles which guide Romanian policy in regard to the nationality issue. In both cases, it is clearly demonstrated that the concrete practice in this realm is the result of a profound analysis of the conditions, the possibilities and the needs of education, in general, and of education in the languages of the national minorities, in particular, in the specific conditions of Romania, in the present stage. The permanent and, at the same time, evolving, character of the issue of education in the languages of the national minorities, as an organic component (and not as a component depending upon circumstances, as it is sometimes presented, in a distorted fashion, in foreign countries), the result of a mature judgement, inspired by the realities of living together for many centuries and of a mode of social thought common to our entire political existence, which is verified and perfected in a continuing confrontation with social practice, is very clear.

As we have said, Part I of the book seeks to give a concrete demonstration of the principal assertions, using, for this purpose, a wealth of statistical data, a large number of comparisons, a procedure which has never been used before in this area. Part II of the work is also used for purposes of demonstration. In it, noted teachers, personalities in the field, mostly from the ranks of the national minorities, present, on the basis of their own experience, the way in which education in the languages of the national minorities is carried out.

I do not have enough space to give the details. However, I must cite the contribution signed by Dusan Sablici, with the significant title: "Timis

County: education in six languages," since, in this county, newspapers are published in four languages and state theaters operate in three languages. The case of Timis County is unique in Europe, if not in the world, in this regard.

The third and last part of the book presents excerpts from the "Law on Education and Instruction" in regard to teaching in the languages of the national minorities, as well as plans for pre-school, primary, gymnasium and secondary school education with instruction in the languages of the national minorities. Let us remember, in this context, that in socialist Romania, education in the mother tongue begins at kindergarten age and continues, in the case of the Hungarian nationality and, in part, in the case of the German nationality (since both minorities are the largest in number) up to higher education. I would have a hard time naming any other country in Europe or on any other continent in which a similar situation exists.

Recently I returned from a visit to a country which has been deeply concerned with the problem of integrating as citizens millions of foreigners, brought in at a certain moment as transient work force, who, because of unfavorable conditions in their countries of origin, conditions aggravated by the economic crisis, cannot return home. I was often asked if education in the languages of the "minorities" does not separate populations with different languages, one from the other and if such a school system does not endanger the civic loyalty of those who speak a language other than the official language of the country. I was happy to respond to the persons who asked me such questions that in my country, in which the idea that our world will remain, for a much longer period of time, a world of nations and national states has been substantiated theoretically, it is considered that the national minorities have a long future ahead of them and that, in a country in which such a theoretical conclusion has been elevated to the position of state policy, there is firmly established the tradition--which has its source in many centuries of historic experience--that true friendship, unity among the sons of the same country, loyalty to the fatherland have been and will always be a natural, legitimate consequence of mutual respect for the ethnic identity of each person, of traditions and customs and, last but not least, of the mother tongue of each separate population. The recent publication of Editura Didactica si Pedagogica demonstrates with facts.

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ROMANIAN DISSIDENT VISITED BY FRENCH COUPLE

PM011615 Paris LE MONDE in French 1 Sep 82 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Two French Citizens Visit Vasile Paraschiv in Ploiesti"]

[Text] Apart from Albania--a country with tightly sealed borders, where one does not know what the official press really means to say--Romania, of all the communist east European countries, is undoubtedly the one with the fiercest repression and the most widespread terror. Despite the often bloodthirsty terror maintained by Mr Ceausescu's political police, the securitate, several people--especially since 1976--have risked asking permission to emigrate, trying to form a free trade union movement or even purely and simply protesting against their working and living conditions, as the miners of the Jiu Valley did in 1977.

In its latest issue the magazine L-ALTERNATIVE publishes a list of names--drawn up by the Romanian human rights defense league--of people who have disappeared following such kamikaze actions. Vasile Paraschiv, one of the founders of the Romanian free trade unions, was apparently nevertheless seen alive in his Ploiesti apartment Sunday 15 August by a French couple, Lionel and Marie-Helene Prouteau, on a visit to Romania.

However, it emerges from the report that they have conveyed to us that Mr Paraschiv is under constant surveillance and finds it very difficult to talk. The couple report, among other things, that they observed that the trade unionist, whom they saw only briefly, seemed incapable of any reaction to their questions and that he had "a long red mark across his forehead."

On 11 February a special correspondent of LE MATIN, Bernard Poulet, was violently attacked and manhandled by "unknown persons in civilian clothes" while trying to trace Mr Paraschiv in Poliesti.

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CAREER OF 'SPY' WHO ASSISTED FRENCH IN TANASE AFFAIR

Paris LE MONDE in French 6 Sep 82 p 14

[Article by Bruno Frappat: "The Tanase Affair--Autobiography of a Spy"]

[Excerpts] Spy, what do you say about yourself? One must listen to him. But must one believe him? Certainly, the central figure of the disturbing Tanase affair, Matei Haiducu, alias "Mr. Z," currently under protection somewhere in France by the police officers of the D.S.T. [Directorate for Territorial Surveillance], is not inventing everything which he says about his life. But, although he is voluble, he does not tell everything.

Speaking with meticulous precision about his beginning in "intelligence," he becomes somewhat confused and less convincing, as soon as the conversation moves on to a more recent period.

Let us add to this dossier, which is nowhere near closed, the things which "Mr Z" told us Friday, in Paris.

The man who is still called "Mr Z," with a taste for espionage, although there is no longer any mystery about his legal identity, narrates his life as if nothing should remain hidden. He has professional patience and he knows that an overabundance of details sometimes helped authenticate an incomplete discourse.

Atavism

Our man, as the Romanian intelligence services are no longer saying, was born in Bucharest in May 1948. His father, Ludovic Haiducu, had this name only since the beginning of the 1950's. Before that, his name was Hirsch. Like many others, he wanted to make people forget the fact that he was Jewish at a time when the antisemitism of the state was beginning to gain ground. Atavism: during the last 10 years of his life, the father was one of the four directors of the intelligence services. His son did not learn this until later. A member of the Communist Party, released in 1944 after 7 years in prison, Mr Haiducu, the father, was a "believing" communist. He got this from his mother who was one of the pioneers. Pushed aside in 1959, Ludovic Haiducu was to have final satisfaction. In January 1961, his son says, he was appointed minister of construction. But tough luck: he died the next day of a heart attack.

Matei was alone with his mother, Florica (who was 17 years old when her son was born), an Orthodox Christian, and his young brother, today a refugee in France. Matei had good results in secondary school studies in a large lycee in Bucharest ("the equivalent of Louis the Great," he says). After completing secondary school, he was accepted into the large school of commerce ("the equivalent of the H.E.C. [Advanced Trade Studies Institute] he says) the Academy of Economic Studies, foreign trade faculty. At the same time, he took courses in an engineering school, specializing in general mechanical engineering. And, simultaneously, he studied how to be a spy.

It is 1969. The young man is returning from a summer visit to France, to the home of an emigree aunt. In 1 year, he would have a degree in his pocket. He dreams--like so many others--of a trade which would permit him to travel abroad. To serve his country, but from a distance. One day, someone in the Ministry of Foreign Trade decides to try a subtle "approach" to Haiducu. This attraction to foreign countries is very good. They can help him, when he gets out of school, to realize his dream. They could even hire him. Through contacts at dinners, flattery at closed questioning sessions, the Romanian intelligence services checked this ambition.

He ends up by understanding and agreeing to what they are asking him to do: "To establish myself in a foreign country to obtain information of a scientific, economic or technical nature." From 1970 to 1974, he is employed in a company named Mecano-Import-Export. He does a great job there. He is a good salesman. And, in particular, he is in the espionage school. His "handler"--his tutor--makes him undergo technical, psychological and military training which lasts 4 years. Everything is taught: "Surveillance and counter-surveillance, coding and decoding, signals, stripped film, microdots, white carbons. He ends up with the rank of captain in the intelligence service.

"Visan"

What should be done with this good subject? The Romanian intelligence services were dramatically shorthanded in South Africa. At that time, there was only one Romanian there and he was an opponent of the rule of Nicolae Ceausescu. It was agreed: Haiducu will go to South Africa. Haiducu? No, "Visan": from now on that will be his "cover" name. A surname which he will be keeping until August 1982.

South Africa? The country does not want exiles from the Eastern countries. They tell him this at the embassy of South Africa in Paris, as soon as he lands in France on 6 July 1975.

The Romanian authorities fabricated a "cover story" for him. He is being cast aside in his company. They seem to be preventing him from going abroad. This is the source of the pseudo-"distaste" which he has for the regime. A distaste which will render credible, in July 1975, the steps which he takes in Paris at the French Office for Refugees and Stateless Persons (OFPRA). Having come on a tourist passport, he becomes a refugee and, as such, he can travel in Europe.

One fine day at the beginning of 1976 he is in Rome, at the foot of Trajan's column. There, General Manea, director of intelligence in the Ministry of the Interior in Bucharest, informed of the fact that the South African assignment was a failure, orders him to establish himself in France and "to do research on the latest scientific and industrial technologies."

In order to do this, he will have to become a Frenchman; "To become a French citizen, that was the mission." Not at all astonishing and, a year later, the Romanian "headquarters" blesses his union with a French secretary, a union which will permit him to become a Frenchman on 14 November 1978, and, especially, to travel freely from Paris to Bucharest and other places for several years.

In the meantime, our man is advancing his career. After having been a warehouseman at a sponge company in Saint-Maur and then, for several months, in 1976, a prospector-salesman for an insurance company, he lands a good job in the company for the mechanical application of industrial plumbing (AMRI) whose president is Jean Creissen. The company is looking for an engineer and it recruits him as a technical-commercial agent. He stays there for 5 years, as he says, supplying some good tips to his honorable counterparts in Bucharest. AMRI does work for the nuclear industry and this is very appropriate since Romania is trying to achieve energy independence based on the construction of nuclear power plants. What does he transmit? He does not want to tell us. He speaks of "gates" and "volumes." You will find out.

All goes well. Until 1979. Then he has his first contact--an involuntary one--with the D.S.T., the French counterintelligence service. "You are a spy," they tell him. "You must be kidding, prove it." They do not get to him, at least at that time. At AMRI, he tells anyone who wants to listen that he was unjustly suspected by the D.S.T. They sympathize with him. He continues his career.

But it becomes very confused. It is a question of "trafficking in beige pistols by the Palestinians" and a "sugar affair." He says that at the beginning of 1981 the Romanian intelligence service does not have any more money in its accounts. He says that in October 1981 he left AMRI (on his own initiative but with a separation allowance of 50,000 francs), on the order of the Romanians. One could suppose that it was more likely on the order of the D.S.T. He denies it.

1 April

What will our unemployed man become now? A killer, as we shall see. On 1 February 1981, Matei Haiducu is received in Bucharest by General Plesita, the chief of the "headquarters," Mares, the director of intelligence and Badescu, his "handler." The conversation deals with the Romanian writers exiled in France. The previous month, Virgil Tanase published a vitriolic article in ACTUEL. They are shorthanded. "How can they be physically eliminated?" the general asks. "That would give Comrade Ceausescu great pleasure." The mission is clear.

Clear as the conscience of the spy who does not sleep any more at night. Kill? "Never." When he returns to France, he looks for someone to confide in. He finds "in the telephone book" the number of the D.G.S.E., the former SDECE [Foreign Documentation and Counter-Espionage Service] which finally became the D.S.T. On 1 April 1982, he makes his "first contact" in order to come clean.

The rest is known. The D.S.T. "spends 9 days checking my statements" and puts the final touches on the false kidnapping plan. It is thinking about an operation which would completely destabilize the Romanian intelligence service to the point where its chief, General Plesita, would have no choice but to emigrate to Paris in order to save his skin. Alas! Some impatient journalists reveal, too soon, the manipulation of "Mr Z" by the D.S.T. It will not have the "crowning touch" of the arrival in Paris of a general put to flight.

The account of Mr Haiducu--who will soon be changing his name--also lacks precise details about his relations with the D.S.T. "I did not have any contact with them before 1 April." Mr Z, do not hold it against us if we do not believe that story. And if we think that the D.S.T. has not spent 7 years discovering your status and some months transforming you into a French agent for the destabilization of your former country. But, nevertheless, what a career."

CSO: 3100/953

LEGAL ACTION AGAINST MARKO VESELICA DEFENDED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 82 SEDAM DANA p 8

[Article by Vlado Rajic: "Marko Veselica's 'Harmless' Ties"]

[Text] The public's interest in Dr Marko Veselica's case ended early last September. At that time the District Court in Zagreb issued a verdict sentencing him to 11 years in prison. In the meantime the case has gone on appeal to the Supreme Court of Croatia. In mid-June of this year that court rendered a verdict which in part sustained the defendant's appeal, and it modified the sentence imposed in the first instance to a sentence of 7 years in prison. In both cases the prison sentence was accompanied by the measure of prohibition of public expression for 4 years.

To go back a bit, Veselica was found guilty before the District Court of crimes under Article 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Criminal Code, Article 134, Paragraph 1, of the Code, and under Article 131. The pronouncement of the Supreme Court's verdict states that the defendant "by virtue of the activity described under Point 1 did commit a crime, and that the crime of hostile propaganda under Article 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Criminal Code," for which he was sentenced to 3 years in prison, "and for the crime described under Point 2, under Article 131 of the SFRY Criminal Code, the penalty of imprisonment for 5 years." Veselica was sentenced to a single penalty of 7 years for these two crimes under Article 131, in association with Article 48, Paragraph 2, Subparagraph 3, of the same law.

Were we to translate this language of numbers, we would say that the Zagreb District Court convicted Veselica of the crimes of hostile propaganda, provocation of ethnic, racial and religious enmity, discord and intolerance, committed under ideal circumstances, and of the crime of participation in hostile activity. Yet the Supreme Court felt that a considerable portion of the actions involved in the crime defined in Article 131 did not go further than an attempt (the material intended for officials of refugee organizations did not reach the addresses indicated because of intervention of customs authorities). Moreover, the court felt that the first two crimes described in the pronouncement of the verdict in the first instance could legally be indicated as a single crime. That is the briefest summary of the grounds in criminal law why the appeal of Veselica and his six lawyers was in part honored.

The Error Concerning "Confederation"

Particular attention deserves to be paid to that part of the verdict of the Supreme Court of Croatia which describes Marko Veselica's hostile activity in political terms. The reference here is not only to the content of the interview which led to the filing of charges, but also to other activities aimed at untruthful and tendentious betrayal of the economic, social and political relations in the SFRY. The distortion of those facts reflects his intention to inflict harm on Yugoslavia.

For example, he called upon certain forces abroad to condemn the position and treatment of Croats in the SFRY, to exert their influence to change that position, complaining that in Croatia itself, in his opinion, the subjective forces did not exist that could accomplish a change. And that change which he anticipated would be brought about, as he put it, by a "radical confederation." The verdict takes as its point of departure the historically proven contempt in our country toward all those who "fighting for their own people" have believed very little in that people and have needed foreign help.

Veselica's defense in the appeal is that his interview given to a foreign newspaperman was not timed with and motivated by intensified hostile activity against Yugoslavia at the time of President Tito's death. He also contested the allegations of the judgment in the first instance that a large portion of the "arguments" contained in the interview were drawn from the objective difficulties in which our country's economy found itself. According to him, the only motivation for the interview with the foreign newsman was his awareness that in certain meetings of political and government bodies he had begun to be portrayed as a person engaged in hostile activity against the SFRY and that he was being threatened with criminal prosecution. The verdict of the Supreme Court had this to say concerning that portion of the appeal: "In view of the words used in the interview, its overall purport and purpose, (the accused--author's insertion) was quite clearly aware that criminal prosecution could be undertaken against him because of it," so that in the estimate of the court he was more defending himself in advance than refraining from a criminal act.

And let us say a bit more about the grounds for reducing the sentence. In the court's opinion, the reduced sentence corresponds to the seriousness of the crime and the degree of criminal accountability established, "and in view of the strength and security of our self-managing socialist community, it corresponds even to the degree of the defendant's danger to society."

An appeal against the judgment of the district court was also lodged by Marko Veselica's mother, Kata, which the Supreme Court took into consideration, especially the allegations in her appeal which speak of active participation of the defendant's close and distant relatives in the National Liberation Struggle and also that the defendant's father in fact gave his life in that struggle.

Further, contrary to Veselica's allegations on many occasions, the court respected the principle that suppression of the criminal activities of the enemies of our society is to be conducted as humanely as possible. Even toward

those committing such grave criminal acts as those of which Veselica has already been convicted (and much graver ones), whereby he has displayed a great obstinacy in carrying out his hostile intentions.

Unscientific Confrontation

This has been the briefest possible retelling of the main part of the two verdicts, each of which ran to some 30 pages of closely typed text. The careful reader of these court decisions cannot overlook several facts, especially those in the verdict of the Supreme Court, which manifest the way in which criminal trials with a political basis are conducted in our country.

That we might be quite clear about what is involved, we will quote several passages from Veselica's interview with the West German newsman Hans Joachim Bornmann, which led to the filing of charges, and portions of the facts established in the trial.

Elaborating the thesis of "Great Serbian hegemony over the Croatian people" throughout the entire interview, at one point Veselica writes in answering the foreign newsman's questions, which were put in writing: "Our aspirations (in the 'Croatian spring,' as Veselica calls the events in 1971--author's note) were noble, scientifically grounded and altogether well-intentioned both toward the Serbs in Croatia and also toward the Serbian people as a whole and toward the other nationalities of Yugoslavia." On page 11 of the verdict of the Supreme Court it says that Veselica alleged in his appeal that he is "as a free thinker opposed to criminal prosecution of anyone because of expression of his own views regardless of their content," though in a speech in the Student Center in Zagreb, later published in STUDENTSKI LIST on 20 April 1971, he "scientifically confronted" his political adversaries in words to the effect that they should be "identified," "removed," and "criminally prosecuted."

Identifying himself with the Croatian people, Veselica was to write: "If some ordinary Croat or Croat intellectual complains that he was not given his due or was discriminated against, he is immediately proclaimed an enemy and a Ustasha." Investigation of the allegations contained in the appeal against the verdict in the first instance showed that Veselica regarded the reading of the report on the hostile activity of Mirko Vidovic, Jaksa Kusan and Tihomil Radja in the trial an influence on the legal and proper rendering of a verdict. In view of the space limitation, we will only say this much: "As for Radja Tihomil, in the trial the court took evidence by examining photographs showing him in a Ustasha uniform together with numerous members of uniformed Ustasha units in which he acted against members of the National Liberation Movement, for which he was incidentally convicted, served a major portion of his sentence, and later fled abroad, whence, according to the convincing testimony of witnesses, he asked the accused (M. Veselica--author's note) for material which might harm the SFRY by being published in emigre periodicals and proposals for further guidance of the activity of the emigre community against the interests of the SFRY."

Doubtful Channels for Informing the World

"Further, there is no basis for the appeal's assertion," states the judgment of the Supreme Court of Croatia, "that the contested verdict did not state on what grounds the court in the first instance considered proven the maliciousness and untruthfulness of the defendant's assertions in the parts of his interview published in foreign media which led to the filing of charges, as facts decisive to establishing his being guilty of the crime described in Article 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Criminal Code." That article and its first paragraph speak about the crime of hostile propaganda. In his interview Veselica said in part that "on the one hand protection is provided to individual Great Serbs who without provocation commit violent acts against innocent Croats, while on the other side innocent Croats are prosecuted solely because they feel themselves to be members of their homeland and their people," and that the "modern thing is to hold Croatia constantly in the criticism of fascism in order to halt the process of its democratic expansion, in order to nurture in programmed fashion its sense of its constant guilt and frustration, even when it is altogether innocent."

In the extensive material which he left behind after the trial (Veselica was sent to Lepoglava to serve his sentence) there remained traces of questions which the interviewee put and then gave answers to later on and the way he stated them. For example: "The central issue, then, is for the world to learn what forces in the Croatian people and in all the other nationalities of Yugoslavia are fighting against an integralistic-centralistic and hegemonistic Yugoslavia, against the monopoly of a unitaristic Communist Party, against totalitarian-repressive violence to innocent people, fighting in favor of respecting the moral and intellectual integrity of every individual and every ethnic group, in favor of doing away with the inhuman camps in which innocent people are tortured and tormented."

In order to "inform" the world public the interview and the appended biography of Veselica were published in West Germany in a pamphlet entitled "Yugoslavia's Fatal Disease--The Croatian Issue" in NEZAVISNI NJEMACKI NOVINSKI IZVJESTAJI O ISTOKU [INDEPENDENT GERMAN NEWS REPORTS ON THE EAST], which is published by Peter Rullmann, in HRVATSKI LIST, the monthly of the Ustasha terrorist organization, and excerpts were published in publications of known Ustasha emigre terrorist organizations--PORUKA SLOBODNE HRVATSKE and NOVA HRVATSKA.

Veselica is also inclined to proclaim his trial to have been rigged. He thus asserts in the appeal that the public was excluded from the trial before the District Court in Zagreb, though it is evident from the record that even Veselica himself addressed those present in the courtroom during the trial. And the Supreme Court deemed it necessary to summon him to the session of the panel, though at that time he was in custody and could have taken advantage of the presence of his six lawyers. Yet another detail shows what Veselica rigged, and how he did it in his desire to portray himself as a victim of persecution. Stating--again in the interview that led to the charges, as well as in the appeal--that freedom of thought and criticism does not exist in Yugoslavia, Veselica altogether forgot the fact, stated in the verdict, that in

the appeal he used as his principal argument precisely the discussions published quite recently of the most responsible people in the political and economic world. And those discussions in fact demonstrate diversity, a critical attitude toward certain solutions contained in the system, concerning implementation of those solutions, and so on.

Incidentally, Veselica was relieved of paying the costs of criminal proceedings. The grounds of the request exempting him from this payment was the grave financial situation of his family. However, Veselica was defended in the trial by six lawyers, two of them from Belgrade.

Finally, we single out a fragment in the verdict of the Supreme Court which seems to us to be an all-inclusive answer to Veselica's arguments, which puts him where he belongs: "In an evaluation of the defendant's criminal activity covered by Point 1 of the contested verdict it should be emphasized that he is exceedingly aware of the difficulties experienced in its development by our society, which until recently was altogether underdeveloped from the economic standpoint, of its inevitable social conflicts and ideological pressures from outside on our society, as an expression of a portion of the contradictions that exist in the world, and that this represents a source from which support might be derived for his new attempt to assault the foundations of our socialist social system of self-management; specifically, an attack upon the social values protected by the provisions of Article 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Criminal Code, and that under the transparent shield of constitutional freedoms and rights, which in fact constitutes an abuse of those freedoms."

7045
CSO: 2800/450

SARAJEVO EDITORIAL SCORES PUBLICATION OF SESELJ'S VIEWS

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 29 Aug 82 p 3

[Excerpts] Yesterday we wrote about Vojislav Seselj's article published in... DANAS which was then reprinted in abridged form in NIN and POLITIKA. Shameless lies and dark intentions obviously motivated the author who uses every...occasion to report to readers his newest "findings." It becomes clear in superficially glancing at his writings that he is largely trying to prove how Bosnia-Hercegovina is being more and more engulfed in the concept of pan-Islamism, championed, according to him, by intellectuals from among the Moslem people, including again a large number of communists and that these tendencies are penetrating ever more strongly into the LC where its advocates allegedly enjoy the support and blessing of the LC organs, as well as of outstanding and responsible officials. Seselj wants to represent himself as being alone, although he is certainly not alone, and as a "fighter" who constantly warns of the danger of pan-Islamism in Bosnia-Hercegovina destabilizing the SFRY.

The real idea behind such false alarms is to evoke suspicion throughout the Yugoslav public against one nation [people], and the situation and conditions in one of our socialist republics, in this case, Bosnia-Hercegovina. One does not need much intuition to understand that these alarms can seriously strike at brotherhood and unity....

One does not wonder that there are people here and there who unscrupulously falsify reality, use the most monstrous accusations, sow hatred, that they win some adherents here and there,...and that they want to get their ideas into the media. But one wonders how they succeeded in placing their deceits and lies in some of our most reputable publications.

One wonders why the weekly DANAS accepted Seselj's not exactly small article and printed it on 2 feature pages....This article was then reprinted in abridged form in NIN of 22 August and POLITIKA of 19 August. Caution and responsbility for printing such exceptionally serious charges which are not an everyday occurrence in our press, nevertheless, did not move the editors to check even the names Seselj mentioned. He obviously enjoys their full confidence.

...DANAS, NIN, and POLITIKA also without a bit of doubt, reservation, or effort to check the facts, carried Seselj's conclusion that..."in Sarajevo one cannot openly discuss [things], but rather anyone who even dares to say a critical word is threatened with merciless sanctions and his personal existence is endangered."

CSO: 2800/453

'DANAS' CRITICIZED FOR CALLING LOCAL ELECTION UNDEMOCRATIC

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Aug 82 p 4

[Excerpts] The following report was issued at Friday's meeting of the Petrinja Opstina LC committee in response to the article, "The Truth of Closed Lists," published in the 24 August issue of the weekly DANAS in which the procedure for nominating candidates in Petrinja Opstina as members of the Croatian LC Central Committee is discussed, as well as the election of Borislav Mikelic to the above body: "The article...[cited above] is condemned and rejected as untruthful and damaging. The...tendentious treatment of serious social questions, such as politics, society, the League of Communists, democracy, etc., in which the author makes use of untruthfulness represents a devaluing of the results achieved in this area and an attack on the entire policy of the LC and its organs.

"Such articles...accepted by the DANAS editors, are attempts by individuals to wage a factional policy based on their personal interests and inclination to settle accounts with LC organs and blatantly interfere in the internal-party life and all other life of our opstina, using the public media to this end. Having been exposed to the judgment resulting from the process of nominating and electing members of the Croatian LC Central Committee for a full 4 months since the 9th Congress of the Croatian LC, DANAS and its supporters are questioning the legality [regularnost] of this highest party gathering in our republic.

"This kind of article and the action of individuals assist all those destructive anti-socialist and anti-selfmanagement forces in Petrinja and other places which have been socially and politically judged in their party organizations and work collectives because of their nationalist, bureaucratic, techno-managerial, and factional action, so in a certain sense this represents a revival and continuation of the activity of these forces.

Failing to disclose essential matters..., DANAS deliberately stirs up passions. DANAS has misused its social position and role and made it possible also for Dragan Bozic--"a person who at the time of the elections was in one of the leading positions in the regional party leadership" (quoted from the DANAS article) and who wanted to remain anonymous--to misuse his present and former function. ...DANAS has disregarded two important matters:

[First] the nomination of candidates for the Croatian LC Central Committee was not bypassed in Petrinja but was in accord with the directives of the Croatian LC Central Committee established at the 16th meeting of this body which gives to basic LC organizations and LC bodies in the opstina the right to suggest member of LC organs. Bozic, the former members of the presidium of that LC Conference of the opstina community, and DANAS dispute this, as well as the fact that the 59 basic LC organizations in this opstina discussed the candidates for the Croatian LC and LCY, and proposed Borislav Mikelic as candidate for the Croatian LC Central Committee.

[Second] after Mikelic's candidacy was disputed by the former members of the presidium of the LC Conference..., a working group was formed to examine the arguments based on the judgment of the regional party leadership. The working group reported that there was nothing to prevent Mikelic from being a candidate for the LC Central Committee of Croatia....

The opstina committee considers it necessary that political and self-management accountability be initiated by the DANAS journalists and editors, as well as by Dragan Bozic. The opstina committee cannot but ask how these feelings of Bozic about justice and ideological purity were not expressed in the first years after 1971 when the LC of our opstina led a difficult but successful struggle against all those who wanted to eliminate it [the LC] from social and political life, and, above all, against nationalism. But perhaps this is understandable, considering that Bozic edited a periodical to which well-known Croatian nationalists contributed and which was no longer published after the 21st meeting of the LCY Central Committee. The presentation [by DANAS] of serious social subjects in such a hearsay fashion probably also requires a discussion about DANAS which is obviously not what it should be. The Petrinja opstina LC committee considers that the elections in the LC have been conducted democratically and in accord with the decisions of the Croatian LC Central Committee and does not question for a moment the capability of Borislav Mikelic as a candidate, and now as a member, of the Croatian LC Central Committee."

[Editorial Report] VJESNIK of 1 September 1982 (page 3) publishes part of DANAS' response to the Petrinja Opstina committee's criticism. Expressing wonder at the thin arguments in the opstina's report, DANAS says the report passed judgment without reservation or appeal because DANAS "had ventured to say that it did not agree with 'closed lists' in party elections, believing, like many of our outstanding party comrades, that one should favor more candidates and strengthen the democratization of cadre policy."

CSO: 2800/452

EARLY PARTY FIGURE INTERVIEWED ON RADIO BELGRADE

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 14 Aug 82 SEDAM DANA supplement p 19

[Excerpt] Last week Radio Belgrade broadcast a discussion with Josip Kopinic about his role in the Spanish Civil War.... Today Kopinic is an enigma in the world, says Vjenceslav Cencic. As his biographer I have studied and researched his life for a long time but I do not know everything about him, and it would not even be good for me to know everything. Why did Tito warn us not to mention his real name? Because there are people living today in Austria, Germany, France, Canada, who have families, children, and to say something about them now would mean ruining their lives. But not one of them worked for money but rather for personal feelings and ideology. Kopinic had people in the Gestapo, in Vienna, in the Ustashe supervisory service; these people gave a great deal of help in World War II. The Slovenian writer Saje said that in his intelligence work Kopinic did half the work for the USSR in regard to Germany. This cannot perhaps be evaluated in this way but it is a fact that his contribution was enormous. Consider only the submarine war in the Atlantic where Kopinic in only one action destroyed scores of submarines. "No," Kopinic added, "I destroyed nothing. I only gave information on which they could be destroyed..."

Radio Belgrade asked Vjenceslav Cencic at the end of the discussion what has been the biggest problem [in writing the biography]: "Documentation," Cencic replied. "This documentation is most frequently prohibited or inaccessible. But in one most important part which was authorized by Comrade Tito, it is available; this is the chapter about Hebrang. I proposed to Kopinic that I write also about 1941 and about Kerestinac, but he always replied that he will write this himself, since this subject is very sensitive.

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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CASE AGAINST BULANYI, BASIC COMMUNITIES TRACED

Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian No 3, 1982 pp 1-2

[Article by Laszlo Kasza: "The Bulanyi Affair"]

[Text] "Nagymaros, 16 May 1982. Hungary's basic groups were holding their usual annual meeting. The faithful gathered at the church were taken by surprise by the announcement: Cardinal Laszlo Lekai forbade Priory Father Gyorgy Bulanyi from taking part in the joint mass that was to be held by participating priests. The participants were shocked to hear the Cardinal's decision. In the silence that ensued following the announcement, a man stepped up to the microphone to call on those present to leave if they did not agree with the Cardinal's decision. A significant number of the parishioners and priests complied." (KIPA, 20 May)

The Swiss Catholic News Agency (KIPA) report quoted above made clear for outsiders what has long been known by observers of the Hungarian religious scene: the polemics between some of the leaders of the Catholic Church--led by Cardinal Lekai--and the basic church communities--mainly those around Gyorgy Bulanyi--are becoming increasingly empassioned. Nagymaros was only one stop on the path of these polemics. It was an important stop, however, because the walkout by some of the priests and parishioners was the first specific indication that a break might be developing between Hungary's traditional church and its basic communities. Such a break would entail consequences that are difficult to predict. The reason for this is that the Catholic Church would lose its most active, best trained people who are also the most dedicated to their religion. Their number--counting only the "Bulanyists"--was estimated to be around 30,000 to 40,000 by the bishop of Pecs, Jozsef Cserhati, in an interview with a reporter of Austrian TV. (ORT, 11 May 1982)

It is obvious that the Hungarian regime considers it to be in its interest to divide the Catholic Church and to intensify the conflict. At the same time, there have been certain signs--such as the handling of the basic communities and more specifically the "Bulanyi affair"--that some people (within the hierarchy) have failed to take a firm enough stand against government propaganda aimed at deepening the conflict within the church and (or) have failed to recognize that they are being used as a tool by the State Office for Church Affairs in its fight against the church.

History of the Small Church Communities

Small church communities, or basic communities, are not just a Hungarian phenomenon. We find them virtually wherever the Catholic Church has followers. Primarily in South America, but also in Western Europe. Johann Babtist Metz, a theology professor from Munster, gave the following reasons for their appearance: "The church became divided into leaders and followers, all initiatives had to come from above, it did not press for nor did it show any interest in social reform. The church was supposed to be for the people, but it never became the church of the people. It is time for us to stop criticizing our leaders for not leading the church properly, to stand up and be counted and to have faith in our own ability to take initiative. We are not to build a new church, we are to revitalize its foundations. There is no threat to the church of a violent rebellion from below. However, from above we do not usually see even a mild rebellion." ("Reformatio," Bern, September 1980)

This universally valid statement is becoming increasingly applicable to the traditionally conservative Hungarian Church. This, however, is not the primary reason behind the formation of basic communities in Hungary; it has been the result of the regime's church policy.

On taking power, the Communist Party suppressed all religious orders, organizations and institutions. Independent religious community life was forced underground. (Independent) communities were formed based on personal contacts that soon--especially after 1966--began to establish certain loose ties. Schools of thought began to emerge as did different work methods characteristic of the individual groups. Among these schools were the "regnumites"--whose roots go back to the interwar period of "Regnum Marianum," the "charistmatics--Hungarian version of the Western charistmatic movement, the "Foculare"--who, based on the Foculare example, strive for a profound and thorough spiritual life, and the "Bulanyists."

The Bulanyists

Since it is the latter group that has become the main center of polemics, let us examine it more closely. This is the best organized, most centrally controlled movement. It advocates radical adherence to the teachings of Christ. Its interpretation of the Scriptures is a strictly word-by-word exegesis. Since it strives to live according to the Gospel, it pays little attention to social and cultural conditions. Its base members are extremely well educated in theology. Generally, a small community consists of 8 to 30 members. Their leaders are mostly priests, but they can also be laymen who have completed the "theology course." Despite central control, the individual groups enjoy considerable independence. Their self-communions, theological precepts and debates are often recorded in writing. One of the most important cornerstones of their theology is nonviolence. This is where they find themselves in confrontation with state power, for some of their members even refuse to serve in the armed services. At the same time, however, they are not concerned with political matters.

The movement received its name from Priory Father Gyorgy Bulanyi. Following the suppression of religious orders in 1951, Bulanyi was dismissed from his clerical position. In 1952 he was sentenced to life imprisonment. Following his release in 1961, he repeatedly requested--without success--to be allowed to work in the church. He has always stressed that "...speaking for myself and my small community-member brothers, I solemnly declare that in matters of faith and morality we want always to remain faithful to the tenets of Christ's Church. We have always given careful consideration to well-founded criticism from the hierarchy. We have readily responded to all precisely worded criticism." (Excerpt from Gyorgy Bulanyi's letter to Cardinal Lekai of 10 April 1982)

State Power--Basic Communities

Until the spring of 1976, basic community activities were treated as police matters by the state power. They were charged with illegal organization, conspiracy to overthrow the political system and other seditious acts. Their members were given long prison terms. This situation changed in 1976. Statutory rule No. 1976/8, adopted to give legal force to the UN's Standard International Document on Civil and Political Rights, has made it possible for small groups to pray together in private homes. Laszlo Lekai, who had just been appointed Archbishop of Esztergom, became head of the Hungarian [Catholic] Church--and thus of the basic communities--in the eyes of the state. It became his task to implement Paragraph 2 of the 1950 agreement between the church and the state which says: "The Bench of Bishops will, according to the laws of the Hungarian Church, prosecute all clergymen whose activities are found to be directed against the legal order of the Hungarian People's Republic and the constructive work of its government."

Since 1976, therefore, the church leaders' sphere of activity has actually expanded, but at the same time their responsibilities have also increased. The State Office for Church Affairs, for one, has interpreted this "increased responsibility" to mean that it can use the leaders of the hierarchy as instruments: It has been, and has used them as a means to make accountable clergymen and other persons involved in religious matters who had earlier been subjected to police proceedings.

This is why the basic groups have increasingly begun to look on the hierarchy as an executive organ of the state, while the church leaders have started to view the basic communities as elements that hinder peaceful cooperation between the state and the church. It must be added here that the relationship between the Bench of Bishops and the basic communities was less than satisfactory even before 1976. This is how the Vienna Institute of Church Sociology analyzed the situation:

"Small group members still find it painful to recall the highly controversial encyclic letter issued on 15 March 1961, in which the Bench of Bishops--as it put it--made known its intent 'to isolate itself as well as other Catholic clergymen who honestly serve their country and respect its laws' from the small group that at the time were in the process of being tried.

"Following the state's already mentioned 'edict of tolerance' and the encyclical letter issued by Pope Paul VI in 1975--in which he referred to the small groups as the hope of the church, these small groups that even in hard times and despite the threat of imprisonment cared little about what was and what was not recognized as 'church activities' by church policy, considering instead the teachings of the Gospel as the only rules that mattered--have been conforming even less closely to the by now joint wishes of the church and state authorities." (UKI [SIC] PRESSEDIENST, No. 22, January 1982)

We can assume that in recent years the state has been exerting increased pressure on the Bench of Bishops to take steps against the basic communities. The system's opinion of the basic communities has been--indirectly--expressed in the peace-priets' mouthpiece, KATOLIKUS SZO, which has placed small church groups on the same level with Nazism: "...the cradle...of the so-called elite Christianity...was Hitlerite Germany. At the end of World War II a replica of it also emerged here at home. Like all replicas, it failed. Then 10 years ago the baby was renamed, and became known as 'basic Christianity'." (KATOLIKUS SZO, 1977/2)

The state's anti-basic community activities also manifested themselves in direct measures. In the spring of 1977 the State Office for Church Affairs handed the bishops a list with the names of all priests who, in the opinion of the office, were engaged in "harmful activities" within the basic communities. Subsequently, the Bench of Bishops took a variety of measures against the priests listed. Most of them were transferred, others were warned, The disappointment felt by the priests working in the small church communities, that they were faced not only with the state power but also with their own church leaders, has led many of them to leave the country; others have requested laicization and one priest committed suicide.

Simultaneously, the police have also been taking action against the basic communities. They openly photograph people arriving at or leaving meetings, forcing them to identify themselves. The pictures then find their way to the desk of a personnel official, who in the course of a "chat" reminds the person in question of the "difficulties" that stand in the way of renewing his employment contract; he calls his attention to the reductions in force necessitated by "reorganization" that, he tells him, he does not have to worry about if he "changes his way of life."

Peculiar Expert Opinions

The Bench of Bishops for its part has launched several attacks in recent years against the basic communities. Although the Conference of Bishops renders unanimous decisions--including those against the basic communities--it is well known that there are significant differences of opinion regarding this matter among certain members of the Bench of Bishops. Judging from their related writings and statements, we can conclude that the most understanding toward the basic communities has come from the Bishop of Pecs, Jozsef Cserhati, and from Archabbot Andras Szennay of Pannonhalma. (see VIGLIA, June and November 1981) At the same time, according to a declaration by the Dignitatis Humanae Commission, the greatest enemy of the basic communities on the Bench of Bishops is Assistant Bishop Istvan Bagi, rector of the Central Seminary.

He is thought to be Cardinal Lekai's advisor in this matter. The other members of the bench, mainly out of a traditional respect for authority, have adopted the Cardinal's view. (Third Declaration of the Dignitatis Humanae, January 1982)

The center of the hierarchy's anti-basic community attacks have always been the "Bulanyists." There are several reasons for this: This is the best organized group; it is centrally controlled and thus as a unit is the most open to attack; they record their views in writing so that their statements can easily be quoted; and, finally, the "Bulanyists," from the very beginning, have been openly suspicious and mistrustful of--primarily--Cardinal Lekai's accommodating attitude toward the state. The Primate's complaint against the "Bulanyists" is that the political doctrines they teach are irreconcilable with the tenets of the church. The Cardinal, for whom it is not only a task but also a duty to ensure the purity of the church's tenets, began proceedings against Gyorgy Bulanyi.

During the course of the proceedings, Gyorgy Bulanyi's one volume, book, "Which Way Should I Go?" and his six-volume work, "Search for the Kingdom of God," which have served as the basis of self-communion in the basic communities, were submitted to the Holy See's Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith for review. The congregation--which is the highest office in charge of ensuring the purity of the church's tenets--studied the volumes and in May 1980 it issued a statement. The most significant sentence in this statement points out: "These seven volumes contain nothing that could be considered inconsistent with the tenets of the church." This conclusion was reiterated again by Metropolitan Poggi during his visit to Budapest in March 1981, before several church figures and Gyorgy Bulanyi.

This unequivocal decision by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, however, did not put an end to the hierarchy's attacks against Bulanyi. Professors Ferenc Gal and Laszlo Vanyo were among the four-member commission of theologians instructed by Cardinal Lekai to conduct an inquiry into the theological views of Gyorgy Bulanyi. They wrote an opinion on two essays that had appeared in a volume entitled "Brothers' Gift to Brothers on Christmas 1980." Here is an excerpt from Prof Ferenc Gal's expert opinion: "He does not know the first thing about theology, the whole thing is nothing but nonsense... He does not have the foggiest idea about what the story of salvation means... Similarly confused are his references to the connection between the Scriptures, tradition and the teaching office...., To sum it all up, we are dealing with the manifestations of a man suffering from self-worship, which are not worthy of serious discussion..."

From the point of view of form, this "theological expert opinion" deserves attention in two respects. One is its tone, and the other is the fact that Prof Ferenc Gal did not consider it necessary to check whether the reflections he passed judgment on had indeed been written by Gyorgy Bulanyi. In this case, it would have been appropriate to investigate, for it would have spared the distinguished Hungarian theology professor the embarrassment of a blunder. As it turns out, the reflections that were thought to have originated with Bulanyi had actually been written by an electrical engineer named Jeno Demeczky. Incidentally, the essay that Prof Laszlo Vanyo reviewed and that

was similarly presumed to have come from Bulanyi was also found to have been written not by the Priory Father but by a linguist named Terez Kovacs. (Jeno Demeczky and Terez Kovacs, by the way, have since answered the criticism of theologians Ferenc Gal and Laszlo Vanyo in a hand-delivered open letter.) As a "result" of the theology professors' embarrassing blunder, the attacks against Gyorgy Bulanyi were intensified. After accepting an invitation from the basic communities to come to their Nagymaros meeting on 24 May 1981, Cardinal Lekai wanted to have the participating priests sign a declaration in which they were to disassociate themselves from Gyorgy Bulanyi. This attempt, however, ran into such opposition that the Cardinal had to drop his plan.

Incidentally, the basic communities are of the opinion that the only reason the Cardinal accepted the invitation to go to Nagymaros was because he was compelled to do so in the wake of an extremely unpleasant incident that had just become public. According to the Dignitatis Humanae Commission, "Cardinal Lekai ordered the retranslation of a letter that the Holy Father had addressed to the Hungarians at Easter 1980, and which was also sent out to them in Hungarian, to give it an anti-basic community tone. Under pressure from the Holy See, however, he was forced to allow publication of the Pope's letter also in its original wording....it was in this difficult situation that he agreed for the first time to accept the communities' invitation to Nagymaros." (Third Declaration of the Dignitatis Humanae Commission, January 1982)

Inquiry

At the time of the 1981 events at Nagymaros, the inquiry by the four-member commission of theologians into Gyorgy Bulanyi's case was already under way. Cardinal Laszlo Lekai had appointed theology professors Ferenc Gal, Laszlo Vanyo, Huba Rozsa and Peter Erdo to conduct an inquiry into the theological views of Bulanyi.

On 5 December 1981, Gyorgy Bulanyi was summoned to appear before the commission. Cardinal Lekai presided over the hearing. The hearing--according to the official record--was conducted in a tense atmosphere. Gyorgy Bulanyi refused to verbally answer all substantive theological questions. He requested that the questions be put in writing and that similarly he be allowed to respond in writing. In his letter of 6 December to Cardinal Lekai, which contained supplemental documents for the record, he gave the following explanation for his behavior: "The very reverend professors have been dealing with theology on a full-time basis. I myself, on the other hand, spent the last three decades of my life, 10 years each, as a prisoner, a delivery man and later as a technical translator. The very reverend professors have had an opportunity to prepare in advance the wording of their questions in a precise manner. Your Reverence expects well thought out, clearly phrased answers from me. I believe you have overestimated my abilities. I think it would be most reasonable and completely within the limits of fairness and justice to request that Your Reverence allow me time to prepare, because, first of all, I am not even a full-time theologian and second because it is not questions but answers that I am expected to give in a satisfactory manner. I most respectfully ask Your Reverence, therefore, to

be so kind as to send me the very reverend professors' questions in writing so that after a few weeks of preparation, as specified by Your Reverence, I can properly carry out my task by delivering my written answers to Your Reverence."

After thoroughly examining Bulanyi's answers--on 22 Febrauary--the Theology Commission summoned the Priory Father to appear once again. The following excerpt from Gyorgy Bulanyi's notes about the hearing should give some idea of the atmosphere in which it transpired:

Gal: You have an urge to vilify our bishops and to do so in the name of saintly love. This is what is so outrageous! Empty chattering! The only purpose all of this serves is to pick on the present tenets of our church. You are a bunch of fanatics! It is no use arguing with you because you just keep parroting your own.

Rozsa: You keep talking about a second line in connection with Saint Paul. I have never read about such a thing anywhere.

Bulanyi: That does not meant it cannot be true.

Rozsa: But it is not true!

(He keeps on talking; I try to say something but he does not let me, he talks. I try again, and again he does not let me. I protest the fact that he interrupted me.)

Rozsa: You need not say anything!

Bulanyi: So be it.

Later, Gyorgy Bulanyi was extremely bitter in recalling this hearing: "...it fills me with great sadness when I stop and think that back in 1952, when during the Rakosi regime I was detained by Gabor Peter's AVH [State Security Authority], the atheist major who was interrogating me for 60 days showed greater respect for me and my work than what I received at these two meetings, which could be called anything but 'dialogues'," (Excerpt from Bulanyi's letter to Cardinal Lekai of 7 March 1982)

The Bench of Bishops' paper UJ EMBER gave the following account of the way the case was pursued: "It was shortly after this that the mimeographed paper UJ FORRAS appeared with a discussion of views dealing with the question of subordination that were inconsistent with the tenets of the church. Although the author was not mentioned by name, point 41 of the essay leaves no doubt that it was written by Gyorgy Bulanyi. Following the publication of UJ FORRAS, Cardinal Laszlo Lekai once again invited Gyorgy Bulanyi to confer with him in the presence of the aforementioned professors. Bulanyi, however, failed to appear at this meeting." (UJ EMBER, 4 April 1982)

The Bench of Bishops' paper did not consider it necessary to mention the reason why Gyorgy Bulanyi did not show up for this third conversation. This in spite of the fact that in his letter of 7 March to Cardinal Lekai, Gyorgy Bulanyi gave a full explanation. First of all, the telegram containing the

invitation did not reach him in time, but even more importantly: "At the last meeting, my carefully prepared 'answers' received despicable evaluations. To this day--after 2 weeks of waiting--I still have not received a copy of the minutes of the meeting so that I could see whether they accurately reflect these evaluations. It would be of questionable value for me to voluntarily expose myself and my people to hours of abuse for yet a third time."

"I Am Praying For Your Reverence..."

It was at its 9-10 March session that the Bench of Bishops announced its first anti-Bulanyi decision. It called on the Priory Father to "...recant your avowedly erroneous theological explanations and report to us within a conventionally allowed period on how you intend to arrive at a balance with the traditional tenets of the Church..." (UJ EMBER, 21 March 1982)

This decision was based on the expert opinion of theology professor Ferenc Gal. Gal's condemnation of Gyorgy Bulanyi consisted of six points. Four of the six points--according to Prof Ference Gal--"were based on theological observations incompatible with the tenets of the Church" which appeared in the mimeographed paper UJ FORRAS. (UJ EMBER, 4 April 1982)

The case took an unexpected turn as a result of a letter by Gyorgy Bulanyi to Cardinal Lekai of 10 April 1982. Here is an excerpt: "I am not familiar with the publication called UJ FORRAS. Nor do I know its publishers. I have never given it any manuscripts either directly or indirectly."

If this is the case, therefore, then this was the second time that they passed judgment on Gyorgy Bulanyi's teachings on the basis of writings that did not come from him. The Dignitatis Humanae Commission declaration hypothesized that somebody was trying to drive a wedge between the Bench of Bishops and the basic communities and considered it to be in its interest--even using forged documents if it had to--to stir up conflict within the Catholic Church. The declaration points out that no one has ever heard of the publication called UJ FORRAS, and nobody besides the Cardinal and the theology professors has ever seen any copies of it. It states: "We do not know where the hierarchy has obtained its information from, but it would seem desirable for the leaders of our church to look into whether somebody is taking advantage of their good faith." (Declaration by the Dignitatis Humanae Commission, 10 May 1982)

In his letter of reply, the Cardinal made it clear that he did not consider it necessary to investigate who forged the writings attributed to Bulanyi that were published by UJ FORRAS because--as he put it--Bulanyi's answers that he gave in person "contained essentially the same tenets as those put forth in the UJ FORRAS article, entitled 'Subordination'. Based on the decision arrived at by the Conference of Bishops, I am hereby calling on you to recant these erroneous theological explanations.... I am once again summoning you to please submit to me a detailed reply--containing a retraction of your views that are inconsistent with the basic tenets of our church--by 24 April." (Excerpt from Cardinal Lekai's letter to Bulanyi of 14 April 1982)

The Priory Father continues to insist that his views are compatible with the tenets of the church and that therefore he has nothing to recant, and he still has not given up hope of receiving understanding from Cardinal Lekai. "...I beg of you again in the name of Jesus' Church"--he wrote to the Cardinal--"to stop trying to protect the church from those among whom the church is thriving and gaining strength. I trustingly ask: Has it become completely hopeless in our church of love to expect the pastor to have fraternal conversations with a brother assigned under his direction whose willingness to serve the church has been proven, among other things by so many respectfully worded written petitions? I am, and we are all, praying that heeding all these appeals, Your Reverence will finally accept our extended hand and instead of trying to destroy us will become our pastor." (Excerpt from Bulanyi's letter to Cardinal Lekai of 19 April 1982)

The Cardinal, however, has refused to be "fraternal." His next move was reported by the Hungarian Telegraph Office: "At its 8-9 June 1982 session, the Conference of Bishops decided to suspend Gyorgy Bulanyi's right to attend to his clerical functions. This suspension is temporary. The final decision will depend on the findings of the Holy See's Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith." (MTI, 10 June 1982)

The hierarchy, therefore, has used one of its harshest weapons, suspension, (suspensio a divinis) against Gyorgy Bulanyi. The next step will be the decision by the Holy See's Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith.

A Few Notes

1. From the point of view of the church, the most crucial question, of course, is whether or not Gyorgy Bulanyi's theological thoughts are reconcilable with the tenets of the church. This question can only be answered by someone who is equally familiar with Bulanyi's theses, with the church teaching office's objections to them and with Bulanyi's explanations to these objections. The paper of the Hungarian Bench of Bishops, however, published only the objections raised by the theology commission. Bulanyi's answers were not published, despite his specific request. Thus, we have come to know only the "accusers'" views but not the defense and reasoning of the "accused." This is why the above documentation is merely a record of events without any discussion of the theological aspects of the dispute.

2. What is most striking for the outside observer is the tone of voice that the theologians appointed to look into the case used with their "brother priest"; and the irresponsible superficiality of the theologians in failing to investigate (all it would have taken was a phone call) whether the writings they based their criticism on had really come from Bulanyi.

3. In view of the fact that Cardinal Lekai has placed his entire pontifical reputation behind the indictment sent to the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith and that the theology professors preparing the indictment have excellent connections in Rome, it is conceivable that the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith will reverse its earlier decision favoring Gyorgy Bulanyi and sustain the Hungarian theologians' judgment of condemnation.

One can only guess the consequences this would have on the Hungarian Catholic Church. We can assume, however, that the recent statement by the East German writer Stefan Heym in reference to the situation of the Evangelical Church in the GDR also applies in this case: "...The church...is facing a dilemma.... For a long time there were only three old women and an elderly gentleman listening to a given sermon on Sundays. Today, some churches are packed with hundreds of people. This can be attributed to a new attitude on the part of some young clergymen who understand the people... Just as during the Nazi era the church was divided into a 'confessor' and an 'official' part, the same can be observed today between the conservative clergy--those who have no problems either with their church leaders or with the state organs--and those clergymen who are willing to take this risk in exchange for being able to celebrate mass in front of packed churches. As someone with an understanding of the situation put it recently, some of our clergymen act like revolutionaries while our officials act like clergymen." (DER SPIEGEL, 31 May 1982)

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CSO: 2500/363

CATHOLIC WEEKLY EDITOR FINDS BASIC COMMUNITIES DISRUPTIVE

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 22 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Ferenc Magyar, managing editor of UJ EMBER]

[Excerpts] "What is happening in Hungary is one of the most original and interesting practical experiences in Europe," said Mitterrand before his recent visit. I find it wholly understandable that he in whose heart love of country and church reside together can't help sighing and thinking, "if only we could say the same about the state of the Hungarian Catholic Church; that what has transpired in the transformation, renewal and development of the local church since the Synod is also original and worthy of attention."

There were churches in parts of Europe which could continue their work as though there had been no interruption after World War II. However, at that time, we first had to restore calm and order in the internal life of the church and consider how to replace our lost institutional system without which implementation of Synod reforms appeared hopeless. The seminaries, catholic press, book publishers and our 8 catholic secondary schools plus general religious instruction, all facing many difficulties, had to prepare for new tasks. Because the aforelisted represented the sum total of our resources. This is not a case of being apologetic, but when we feel dissatisfied with our achievements, we must not forget the situation from which we started. Even today we cannot boast that our catholic system of institutions has expanded significantly since then, but we have learned and must continue to learn to make better and more efficient use of what we have.

The various church communities, including those now called small or basic communities have always played an important part in the church's efforts at renewal. There is no question whatsoever that our bench of bishops fails to understand the need for these or that it is taking a rigid stand against them. But it would be wrong to believe that today small communities represent the only way of building communality: especially not small communities whose work is out of line with the mainstream of the church.

The existence of small communities is acceptable only in the service of the greater community. Services performed in smaller units for mutual interests and values never disrupt the unity of the church. But efforts tied to personal ambition and voluntary factors marshalled through stirring up biased feelings not only disrupt unity but dissipate common values.

In Spain there are 1,300 basic communities located mainly in the large cities. Thirty-six percent of them have been denounced by the bench of bishops. It is interesting that the West European catholic press has not treated the stand of the Spanish bench of bishops as a sensational phenomenon as it has in our case. In our case the tempest in the teapot has been seen as a devastating, raging storm. The Western media has even raised the question of in whose interest this disruption of unity lies. Since it is obviously not in the interest of the church, the only answer, according to them, is that it must be in the interest of the state.

Anyone who believes that it serves government interest to stir up intra-church conflict during the current phase of domestic, social, economic and political development and amid present international tensions is either unfamiliar with or grossly underestimates the circumspect reasoning of Hungarian Government policy.

However, to believe that Hungarian Marxist atheism has undergone some mystical internal change is tantamount to self-delusion. There is no question of such transformation. It is, rather, recognition of the fact that the majority of our population is religious and that this situation will not change in the near future.

Yet, this depends decisively on us. The concept of how we would plan our future and fulfill our mission of transmitting our Christian heritage originated with St Stephen. And for us this is not an issue to be settled by strife or even primarily through institutionalization. In the strictest sense, it will depend on the church itself whether 20 years from now there will still be Hungarian children and youths who fold their hands in prayer.

CSO: 2500/403

CEAUSESCU SPEAKS AT MUNICIPALITY MASS MEETINGS

Brasov Mass Rally, 31 August

AU311231 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0914 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at 31 August mass rally in Brasov Municipality--live]

[Text] Dear comrades, I would like to begin by extending warm greetings and best wishes to you and to all the residents in Brasov County and municipality on behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council and government and on my own behalf. [Cheers, chants]

We are in Brasov County and municipality on a working visit. We have visited several chemical and machine-building enterprises. Generally speaking, we have gathered positive impressions about the work performed and results achieved by the working people in the enterprises of Brasov County and municipality. I want to congratulate all the working people's collectives I have visited and all working people in Brasov for the results recorded thus far. I also want to wish them success in fulfilling this year's plan and thus to achieve a lasting basis for the overall 5-year plan. [Cheers, chants]

The Brasov County and municipality rank among...or rather Brasov County is the best developed county from an industrial viewpoint. It produces tractors, trucks and other highly technical equipment and machines, and highly technical chemical products. Thus Brasov plays an important role in the general development of socialist Romania and in implementing the 12th Party Congress decisions of raising our fatherland onto new levels of development, of achieving a new quality of work and life and of proceeding toward a new development stage in socialist Romania. [Cheers, chants]

In the first 8 months of the second year of the 5-year plan, the working people throughout the country have achieved important results in fulfilling this year's plan. I would like to extend congratulations from here, from this big workers center, to all working people in Romanian industry and to wish them increasingly greater successes in their overall future activity. [Cheers, chants]

Although I have not visited the agricultural units I planned to, at the latest meeting on agricultural issues we examined the Brasov agricultural situation as well. It is true, compared with 1981, this year's crops are better. However, we must state that Brasov is capable of producing more in agriculture, too, and in fulfilling its self-supply program. I do not want now to voice criticism either of industry or agriculture. I hope that the county [party] committee, the working people's collectives and the managerial councils will understand and interpret the fact that I have not voiced any criticism about certain existing shortcomings as proof of my trust that, together with the communists and all working people and with the managerial councils, they will take such action so as to fulfill the plan under most favorable conditions in order to demonstrate that such shortcomings are temporary. I believe that such action will be taken. [Cheers, chants]

However, we must never forget that we have made great investments in developing our socialist industry and in developing our modern agriculture. Now we must give priority to making complete use of the means available in our enterprises to ensure high quality production able to compete with the best similar products at an international level, so that the trucks, tractors, ball-bearings and other products of the Brasov industry and of Romanian industry generally will do honor to our people and to the work performed by our workers class, which is master of its destiny and is building the socialist society in complete freedom and which is consciously building the most noble and most humane society in the world. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu and the people"]

It is also necessary to pay greater attention to cutting back material consumption and to economize in all fields of activity. With the materials available just now and with good management, we will be able to increase production by at least 15-20 percent, without needing any additional materials.

This demonstrates the great reserves still available in that field. We must act so that on this basis we will be able to ensure better material-technical supplies and an increase in economic efficiency in our overall activity. We must never forget, dear comrades, that it is our duty to do all we can to obtain with our available means a greater increase in the national income and in the general wealth of our people--the only source for socialist Romania's general growth and for the constant improvement in the material and cultural well-being of our people. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu and the people"]

It is also necessary to pay greater attention to increasing labor productivity on the basis of mechanizing and automating production processes. We have noted a great number of positive things during our 2-day visit. They must be given general application, and everything must be done to improve the level of mechanization and automation of production and to increase labor productivity so as to outdo capitalism and imperialism in this decisive field for our fatherland's general development and to demonstrate the superiority of socialism over the capitalist society. [Cheers, chants]

Taking into consideration the modern enterprises that exist in Brasov and the research cadres, including higher education facilities in Brasov, it is necessary to pay greater attention to improving and creating new highly productive and technical products. It is necessary for us to unite all our forces to more rapidly resolve the introduction into the production process of certain new engines and machines which are still delayed. But I stated I would not voice any criticism. Therefore, I stated that we must by all means do all we can so that next year we will have at least 4,000 360hp engines.

It is necessary to do everything so that the "Steagul Rosu" enterprise will fulfill this task of honor by also fulfilling its overall plan. The same thing is valid also for "Tractorul" and "Rulmentul" and the other enterprises in Brasov. All of them have very great tasks regarding the more rapid introduction of research results into the production process. This is actually one of the essential problems for labor productivity, economic efficiency, and for increasing the competitiveness of Romanian products on an international level. [Cheers, chants]

At the same time, it is also necessary to pay greater attention to agricultural issues. There are favorable conditions in Brasov County for a good crop as regards a number of vegetables such as potatoes, beets and even wheat and other crops. There are especially favorable conditions for increasing output in the animal breeding sector.

We must make better use of grasslands and pastures available in this county so as to forcefully develop the animal breeding sector, to increase the production of milk, and meat and to ensure the implementation of the self-supply program under favorable conditions so that the Brasov County will be able to be self-sufficient at least as far as those products are concerned. As you well know, to ensure the bread requirements from other counties, more than 100,000 tons of wheat alone are necessary, not to mention other grains.

Therefore, comrades, it is necessary for the agricultural working people, the people's councils, the agricultural bodies and the county party committee to take very firm action in the agricultural field, too, to implement the 12th Party Congress decisions.

At the Bucharest meeting we had lengthy discussions on problems concerning the whole of the country, and Brasov County as well. Generally, this year we can claim a good agricultural crop. Brasov has not given everything it is able to give. However, we hope that next year Brasov will hold a more important place in agriculture, too, and that it will yield better crops. Let us see to it that agriculture in Brasov, Romanian agriculture, will make an increasingly greater contribution to the country's general development, to ensuring proper supplies for the people and to improving the material and cultural living standard of our people--the supreme goal of the party policy and the essence of the socialist society we are building in Romanian. [Cheers, chants]

The great tasks which have to be fulfilled both in industry and agriculture require decisive measures in better training cadres and working people both in industry and agriculture. It is necessary to improve qualifications to meet the level of modern technology in our enterprises. We must improve the qualification of cadres to be able to produce highly technical and productive equipment and machines. This can be achieved only with highly qualified workers, foremen, engineers and people who, acting consciously as owners and as producers and end-users, do all they can to constantly improve their professional, technical and scientific qualifications and who also improve their political training so that they will act as true masters of everything that exists and is being produced in Romania. [Cheers, chants]

At the same time, it is necessary to increase the sense of responsibility, of discipline and order. The modern machines which we have in our country must be maintained and overhauled. If they are not looked after they will cause us great damage. Therefore, apart from technical training and the necessary qualifications, order and discipline in all fields are essential to fulfill the highly responsible tasks devolving on all working people's collectives in all fields.

Comrades, now, at the beginning of September when the new school year will open, we must pay particular attention to the question of training cadres and to the question of training for reassignment and of improving the level of knowledge of all working people in all fields of activity. I am dwelling on this problem because it is one of the most important tasks at this point in order to achieve a new quality of work and life. A new quality presupposes a new man with a high revolutionary awareness, with a high technical level and professional knowledge; a man of the socialist society--the future builder of communism. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-RCP"]

Dear comrades and friends, Brasov County and municipality have everything that is necessary to successfully fulfill this year's plan, to ensure the achievement and even production of certain machines and equipment in excess of plan during the current 5-year plan. We must see to it that this huge force of working people, representing almost 50 percent of the county's population, will act in complete unity and in a revolutionary spirit so that Brasov County will not be the first only as far as industrialization is concerned, but also as far as the technical level, efficiency and labor productivity are concerned, and so that Brasov will constantly hold a frontranking place among socialist Romania's counties. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades and friends, in giving priority to implementing the party program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society, we are fulfilling our high duties to our people and to the cause of socialism, peace and independence for all nations. Proceeding from this, we are doing our best to contribute to resolving the great international problems so as to ensure the peace and independence of peoples. Only under such conditions can Romania implement its programs for socialist development and each people attain its aspirations for well-being and happiness. [Cheers, chants]

As is well known, there are two completely opposing trends in the international life. The imperialist policy of force, diktat and redivision of spheres of influence is still active; at the same time one can witness the powerful assertion of the will of peoples to completely eliminate colonialism and imperialist domination and to ensure the full independence of peoples and the right of each nation to free development without any outside interference. [Cheers, chants]

In the confrontation between these two trends, one can note the assertion of the superiority of peoples and the great majority of the world, which are resolutely struggling to ensure a free future, and we are firmly convinced that the future belongs to free and independent mankind and that the imperialist and colonialist policy will be eliminated by the joint struggle of the peoples. [Cheers, chants]

A number of conflicts still persist in various parts of the world. We believe that everything should be done to completely renounce the military way in resolving various problems between states. One should only use the way of negotiations in resolving any contentious issues. No matter how long and difficult such negotiations may be, they are much easier than military conflicts. Therefore, we must do everything possible to put an end to acts of military aggression and military conflicts, so as to resolve problems through negotiations and ensure peace for all mankind. [Cheers, chants]

As is well known, Romania has always advocated a negotiated resolution of the Middle East problems. Now, after the aggressive military actions in Lebanon and Beirut and after the Beirut solution reached through negotiations, we believe that one should draw the necessary conclusions; put an end to any kind of military actions on the part of Israel; ensure the withdrawal of all Israeli troops from Lebanon; guarantee the independence and integrity of Lebanon; and proceed to resolving the Palestinian people's problem, on the basis of their right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. [Cheers, chants]

The military events in Lebanon and Beirut again proved that there can be no military solution for the Middle East problems and that one should use the path of negotiations. Now is the time to work for a full solution and a lasting peace in the Middle East. The Palestinian people are entitled to their own state and there is room enough in the Middle East for a Palestinian state. Likewise, there is room enough there for the independent state of Israel, which must certainly exist. One should ensure the peaceful coexistence between these two states and all states in the Middle East. [Cheers, chants]

One should also resolve other military conflicts, including the conflict between Iraq and Iran, in the same spirit of negotiations.

Dear comrades and friends, one of the key issues of our age is that of war and peace. The arms race has acquired huge dimensions. Huge stocks of weapons, including nuclear weapons, have been amassed, weapons that can

destroy the world several times over. It is high time to put an end to the arms race and renounce the policy of armaments and overarming, which is a great burden for all peoples and increases the danger of a new war. One should responsibly work to bring about disarmament, primarily nuclear. One should strive to attain a balance of power, not by increasing the level of armaments, but by continuously reducing them under international control. One should also proceed to bringing about nuclear disarmament. [Cheers, chants]

In this respect we deem it necessary to do everything possible to prevent the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe, to ensure the withdrawal and destruction of existing ones and to build a Europe without any kind of nuclear missiles, be they medium-range or shorter-range. We want a Europe without nuclear weapons. [Cheers, chants]

Let us work together with all peace-loving forces everywhere, like we actually did last fall and spring. It is well known that the great peace demonstrations in Europe and other continents, to which our people enthusiastically adhered, proved the determination of peoples to do their utmost to put an end to the arms race and ensure peace. One should state that these great demonstrations of the peoples have already had a certain impact and determined many governments and heads of state to think twice over certain issues, become more realistic and take into account the desire of peoples. Therefore, it is within the power of the united people to ensure peace and general disarmament, primarily nuclear. In the name of life and the peoples' independence, we must do everything possible to secure the supreme right of peoples and nations to existence, life and independence. [Cheers, chants]

Romania attaches particular importance to the Madrid meeting, which is due to resume next November, and we hope that this meeting concludes with even better results and gives new impetus to developing cooperation and security in Europe. We advocate a European conference on trust and disarmament and the continuation of meetings that began with Helsinki, since they ensure an organized framework for discussing problems between European countries, finding ways and means to develop their cooperation and attaining the unity of European states, based on respect for each country's social system and independence. This active cooperation in promoting the socioeconomic development of European states should make a contribution to the overall development of science, culture and the living standards of all people. [Cheers, chants]

Within the framework of European security, we pay great attention to Balkan issues. We would like the Balkans to never again become a powder keg, as it was called in the past. It should no longer be an instrument in the hands of the great imperialist powers. The Balkan peoples should cooperate for their independent socioeconomic development, so as to turn the Balkans into an area of friendship and peaceful cooperation, without nuclear weapons. I would like to state here that Romania has good relations with all Balkan states and is convinced that the peoples living in this area can build a Balkans which should be an example of peaceful cooperation between peoples, one without nuclear weapons. [Cheers, chants]

Another serious international problem is the big gap between rich and poor countries. It is well-known that almost two-thirds of mankind live in developing countries. The present situation of these states is a direct result of colonialist and imperialist policy, of the fact that these peoples had been robbed and oppressed for centuries and that the riches and tremendous development in the developed and rich countries were achieved at their expense. It is well known that the Romanian people, too, paid tens of billions of dollars for the development of today's rich countries. Those who today talked about the superiority of, and about the better life in, the capitalist countries should never forget--and we must tell the workers class in those countries--that their better situation today is the result of the difficult and backward life of two-thirds of the world and that we must eliminate underdevelopment along with the elimination of colonial and imperialist domination; we must ensure that poorly developed people are raised to a new and free life, to a flourishing economic life. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-peace"]

Romania firmly advocates the achievement of a new international economic and political order based on equality and respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and on cooperation in the spirit of equality, equity and mutual advantage.

Everything must be done to assist backward countries. The stability of the world economy depends on this, including the preservation of the current level in the developed countries. Without achieving a new economic order, without eliminating underdevelopment, neither economic stability nor international peace will be ensured. Peace and the new international economic order represent a unity and objective requirement, and we must do all we can to achieve those vital requirements for all of mankind. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, it is necessary to do all we can to ensure the participation of all states, irrespective of size or social system, in resolving all international problems. We must especially ensure the active participation of the small and medium-sized countries, of the nonaligned and developing countries, which are vitally interested in resolving problems in the interest of all mankind and interested in a democratic policy of peace and independence. It is necessary for us to do all we can to increase the role of the United Nations and of other international bodies in resolving the great international problems. Let us see to it that the decisions adopted by the United Nations will be implemented and observed by all states. Only in this manner will we be able to ensure new relations in the international arena, only thus will we be able to create conditions for achieving a better and more just world on our planet. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-peace"]

In the spirit of the 12th Party Congress decisions regarding our foreign policy, we will act with great determination to develop relations with all the socialist countries, paying of course special attention to relations with our neighbors. We will forcefully develop relations with the developing countries and with the developed capitalist countries, always based on the principles of equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, renunciation of the use of

or threat to use force, and respect for each people's and each nation's right to completely master its destiny and organize its life as it desires, without any outside interference. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-peace"]

Dear comrades and friends, in conclusion once again I would like to express words of satisfaction with what I have noted in the work performed by the Brasov working people and with the activity carried out by the party organization, the people's councils, trade union, youth and with the activity carried out by the workers class, the engineers, technicians and peasantry. I want to express the conviction that this huge force represented by the working people in the most industrialized county in our fatherland will know how to work to rapidly eliminate the shortcomings that still exist in various fields, so that the Brasov County will have special results in all fields of activity by the end of this year and the end of the 5-year plan.

As I have mentioned before, it would be a good thing, dear comrades, if you tried to hold first place at least once during the current 5-year plan in the competition that is going on between counties. You have this possibility and you should avail yourselves of it.

I wish you and all working people in the Brasov County and municipality increasingly greater successes in your overall activity and I wish you much good health and happiness. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu and the people"]

Petrosani Mass Rally, 2 September

AU021223 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1025 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at 2 September mass rally in Petrosani Municipality--live]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends, I want to extend warm greetings to you, the miners, and to all residents of the Jiu Valley and of Petrosani Municipality on behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council and government and on my own behalf, together with best wishes and good luck. [Cheers, chants]

We are in Hunedoara County on a working visit. Within this framework we began with the Jiu Valley, with Petrosani Municipality. We want to talk with the miners and with the collective leaderships, with the managerial councils, with the party organizations and the working people about how the 12th Party Congress decisions are being implemented and what has to be done to fulfill the energy program and to ensure our country's energy independence. [Cheers, chants]

During the visit and the talks we conducted we noted with great satisfaction the important successes achieved in past years. Since my last visit, the Jiu Valley has indeed achieved important progress in mechanization, in developing the mining activity and in increasing coal production, in achieving other industrial and sociocultural targets and in improving the general well-being of the working people.

All this clearly shows that our party is doing all it can to ensure the necessary conditions for implementing the program of the fatherland's socio-economic development and of ensuring its energy independence. On this basis, together with the country's general improvement let us constantly improve the people's well-being--our party's supreme goal. [Cheers, chants]

Although the comrades here have talked about certain lags and difficulties that have arisen, we have jointly reached the conclusion that these are temporary, that in fact conditions have been created to surmount them already in September and to make up for certain lags, so that the planned coal production for the entire year will be achieved. Generally, our impressions about the work performed by miners are positive, and I wish [cheers, chants] to extend congratulations to the miners in the Jiu Valley for the results they have achieved in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan. I also want to wish them ever better results both in successfully fulfilling this year's plan and in implementing the current 5-year plan provisions in the field of coal productions. [Cheers, chants]

We have also visited the enterprise for mining equipment and we have noted here too with great satisfaction the progress recorded and the modern equipment that is being built in this plant. This demonstrates that it was a positive thing to build an enterprise for building mining equipment here in the Jiu Valley because this will better and more rapidly ensure the mechanization of work in the Jiu Valley and will also ensure good quality equipment. I want to congratulate the machine builders for the results they have recorded and to wish them increasingly greater successes so that they are able to produce good quality combines and equipment.

Dear comrades, as is well known, the 12th Party Congress--setting the development goals of our socialist society onto new levels and envisaging the achievement of a new work and quality of life in all fields of activity--set forth a basic target: Ensuring the country's complete energy independence by 1990. Within this framework, mining and coal production have to play a particularly important role because in 1990 the major part of electrical and thermal power must be achieved from coal. Therefore, the party Central Committee this spring drew up a special program on developing coal production and on energy problems. Within this framework, the miners in the Jiu Valley and throughout the country have to play a very important role, and I am convinced that the miners will do this honorable duty toward the fatherland and toward socialism. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu and the people"]

From this big mass rally in the Jiu Valley, I would like to extend to all miners in our fatherland congratulations for the results they have recorded thus far and to wish them and call upon them to do all they can to fulfill this year's plan and the current 5-year plan's program, so as to ensure the miners' very important contribution to the fatherland's development and to building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania. [Cheers, chants]

To implement the energy program, we have envisaged important investments for development both in the Jiu Valley and in other mining areas in our

country. It is now necessary for us to take firm and determined action to completely and in a timely way implement all those programs.

Here, too, there are still some lags, but we have all necessary conditions available to recoup lags and to implement the 5-year plan program regarding the opening of new mines and regarding the increase in mining outputs. Certainly, comrades, it is necessary for us to develop mines upon new bases; we must ensure the complete mechanization of the new units and the modernization of old ones.

All this requires great efforts. From the state budget and from the incomes of all our nation we have allocated important funds for mining activity. In the past 10 years alone we have developed by tenfold the fixed assets in the Jiu Valley. Thus we have created a strong material base. Now we must act to achieve--with this material base, with our modern equipment and means--a more rapid increase in production. This means that we must better use the highly technical combines and equipment: We must ensure that they fully operate and yield maximum outputs. We have invested a great deal, comrades. Therefore, we must now produce to make up for those investments and to ensure our fatherland's more forceful development and a general improvement in the general well-being of our people. [Cheers, chants]

During a meeting this morning with the managerial councils, with enterprise leaderships and with central bodies' representatives we discussed problems that must be solved rapidly to fulfill the program of developing the mining activity in Petrosani under favorable conditions. Generally, it is necessary, comrades, to work in a more organized and more disciplined manner; we must put greater order and discipline in all fields of activity. It is not exactly normal, but of the 40,000 people who are working in the Jiu Valley mining combine, only 5,800 people are actually working in coal mining production, while the others are working in other, admittedly important but auxiliary activities. What is essential, however, in the final analysis is to produce as much coal as possible. It is necessary to change this not very good ratio between those who are directly active in the mining activity to supply the fatherland with coal and those who are active in the other activities. The number of those active in coal mining must increase and the number of those active in other activities must be cut back. The basis of the organization must be the people active in coal mining, in the combines and stopes. This is what we must focus on in the overall mining activity. This must be the focus of the party organization, trade union and managerial council, and must be the focus of each enterprise and central. Only thus will we be able to put order in this field, so that the miners active in coal mines are indeed the major basis of the overall activity. [Cheers, chants]

The Ministry of Metallurgy and the Ministry of Machine-Building have assured us that they will supply everything that has been established as far as materials and equipment are concerned, in conformity with plan provisions and with the requirements of implementing the program. Lags will also be made up for and everything that has been planned will be achieved to implement the program, including the measures for developing and improving equipment and means.

Together with the Ministry of Mines and the combine managerial council, we have decided that improvements have to be made in organizing the activity of the Jiu Valley. Let us take such action as to establish a complete mechanization system of all activities, including transportation activity to thus ensure the progress of overall activity under most favorable conditions.

We can thus state that from the material viewpoint of the technical base, we have all necessary conditions and in the Jiu Valley, too, we will have everything necessary available to implement the program on developing mining and on the country's energy independence. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, along with the concern for a good technical base, we should pay greater attention to raising the professional level of working people and cadres and thoroughly training the future miners. Unfortunately, I noted that there are very serious shortcomings in this field. I noted that the combine and ministry have no clear concept and program regarding the number and quality of skilled workers in the mining field as well as regarding the training of miners required by the industry. This is one of the most important problems, comrades. We cannot have a modern and mechanized mining industry with highly technical equipment without highly skilled miners, without miners skilled also in electrical-engineering and machinery. We have discussed these issues in 1979, too. We must take all necessary measures and proceed, as of this year, to thoroughly train miners with an appropriate technical and professional level of knowledge, so that they can handle the highly technical equipment with which their units are endowed. This also applies to training engineers, foremen and all other mining cadres. I believe that this problem is very important for fulfilling the program to develop the mining sector. Comrades, no matter how modern our equipment and installations may be, if we do not have the skilled manpower to operate them, they will stand idle. Therefore, the men, the miners, are the important factor. Hence we should do everything possible to ensure their high technical and professional training so that they can commendably handle the highly technical equipment available to them. [Cheers, chants]

At the same time, we must establish a precise program for improving the training of existing workers and cadres, for recycling them, as we say in more technical language. This aims at continuously raising the training and knowledge of all working people. Comrades, we must understand that the miner's profession is a highly technical one. Miners must have a high technical knowledge and they must work to raise their professional and technical level, as well as their cultural and political level, so as to become an even more powerful detachment of our workers class--a detachment of revolutionary miners struggling for socialism and communism. [Cheers, chants]

As you can see comrades, I know that you are honorable miners. Therefore I am frank with you both about good and poor results. I am talking to you as a miner myself. That's how we should work. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, during today's visit I noted certain important achievements in implementing decisions adopted several years ago concerning the development of industries for women, something which ensures better working and living conditions for the Jiu Valley working people. Trade, cultural and artistic activities have also developed. I heard you built a new sports center--a bit too expensive--and I have also heard of certain irregularities in its construction. Unfortunately, you don't have such a good soccer team [Ceausescu is interupted by enthusiastic cheers and chants]. As I said, comrades, it is not enough to have a very good sports complex; you must also have good sportsmen. Even if the field is less good, if the sportsmen are good you can win the match. [Loud cheers and chants]

Of course comrades, the trade unions, youth and party organizations should pay greater attention to the cultural, political-educational and sports activities so that the Jiu Valley can record a powerful development in these sectors, too. We have powerfully developed the trade network in your area. According to my information, you have good supplies here. Some shortages do occur now and then. We still have many bureaucrats, both in the trade and mining fields, who do not always do their duty. However, we have the necessary means and are doing our best, to ensure good supplies from all viewpoints to the working people and miners, with a view to raising the overall well-being of all our people. [Cheers, chants]

I am fully convinced that the Jiu Valley working people, the miners, management councils, youth and women's organizations, trade unions, party organizations and the municipal party committee will work to commendably implement all tasks this year and throughout the 5-year plan so as to ensure that the Jiu Valley represents a powerful workers and revolutionary citadel and a front-ranking detachment of our party and fatherland in the struggle to implement the program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, in close accord with the domestic policy and the 12th intensive international activity for disarmament, for halting the arms race and for a policy of peace and independence for each nation. Although there are many complications in international life, although there are conflicts and wars in many parts of the world, where victims fall daily, and although the arms race is being intensified, we can state that, in spite of all these difficult problems in international life, the peoples are resolutely asserting the determination to completely eliminate colonialism and imperialism and to ensure each nation's development along its chosen path, without any outside interference. We are firmly convinced that, by taking united action, the anti-imperialist forces and the peoples everywhere have the necessary power to put an end to the policy of war and the arms race, so as to ensure peace and the vital right of men and nations to existence, life and freedom. [Cheers, chants]

As is well known, the powerful peace movement in Europe and other continents, to which our people have fully adhered--both through the big peace demonstrations last fall and in the first part of this year as well as

through the over 18 million signatures on the appeal for peace and disarmament--clearly demonstrates the force of peoples, who have the last decisive say in this respect. The peoples, by working in close unison, can impose peace, disarmament, a new international economic order and the observance of each nation's independence. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades and friends, in conclusion I would like to again express satisfaction at the good results attained in the Jiu Valley and the conviction that all working people, management councils, mass and party organizations, the municipal council and the county party committee will work to rapidly eliminate certain shortcomings and lags, so that the Jiu Valley can present itself at the end of the year as a front-ranking detachment among the workers class detachments of Romania. [Cheers, chants]

With this conviction and desire, I wish you, dear comrades, ever greater success in your activity, good luck, and much health and happiness. [Cheers, chants]

Hunedoara Mass Rally, 3 September

AU031146 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 3 Sep 82

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at 3 September mass rally in Hunedoara Municipality--live]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends, I want to extend, on behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council and government and on my own behalf, warm revolutionary greetings to you and to all the residents in the Hunedoara County and municipality, together with best wishes. [Cheers, chants]

For 2 days now we have been in Hunedoara on a working visit. Yesterday at Petrosani I mentioned the activity and positive impressions we have gathered about the results in the coal production sector and about the activity carried out by the working people in the Jiu Valley and the miners. Today we visited the metallurgical combine in Hunedoara; we visited the iron and steel enterprise in Calan and two light industry units in Hunedoara. Generally [Ceausescu corrects himself] at the same time, we also visited the Retezatu hydropower plant yesterday, which is to be put into operation by the end of the current year and its to produce electrical power next year. Generally speaking, our impressions are positive ones. We noted with great satisfaction that the working people in Hunedoara in the Jiu Valley, the metallurgists, the iron and steel workers and the workers in light industry and other sectors, are acting very responsibly and doing all they can to fulfill this year's plan under most favorable conditions, and to fulfill the highly responsible tasks devolving on them within the framework of the general national economic development process.

For the positive results achieved by the Hunedoara metallurgists and the iron and steel workers in Calan, I want to extend warmest congratulations and to wish them success in recording increasingly better results. [Cheers, chants] From this big rally, too, I also want to extend warm congratulations to the Jiu Valley miners and warm congratulations to the builders of the

Retezatu hydropower plant and to wish them greater and greater successes in their activity. [Cheers, chants]

I also want to extend congratulations to the working people in light industry, both in the enterprises we visited today and in light industry in general in this county, and to wish them ever greater successes in their activity. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu and the people"]

A further great number of industrial enterprises are carrying out their activity in Hunedoara County and from this big mass rally I would like to convey to all working people in Hunedoara congratulations on their activity, for the results achieved and to wish them increasingly greater successes in their overall activity. [Cheers, chants]

Although we have not visited agricultural units, we were able to see, in the localities through which we travelled, what agriculture looks like. At the recent meeting we discussed agricultural problems and I made inquiries into the activity carried out by agricultural units and into opportunities to develop agriculture. Therefore, I would like to extend, from this big mass rally, congratulations also to the working people in agriculture and to all the peasantry in Hunedoara County for the results they have achieved and to wish them success in increasing agricultural production even more. [Cheers, chants]

In the second year of the current 5-year plan, important results are being achieved throughout the country in socioeconomic development and in implementing the 12th Party Congress decisions, which set forth the basic target, namely Romania's transition to a new development stage and which set before all our people one of the important projects of socioeconomic development: The achievement of a new quality of life and work in all fields of activity. From this big mass rally in Hunedoara I would like to extend warm congratulations to our workers class, to the intellectuals, peasants and to all working people, irrespective of nationality, and to all our people and ask them to do all they can to fulfill this year's plan under favorable conditions, thus establishing a lasting basis for the overall 5-year plan. [Cheers, chants]

Indeed, Hunedoara holds an important place in our fatherland's national economy. An important amount of coal is produced here and, in particular, it is the only area where we can produce coking coal. Here we have one of the big iron and steel producing enterprises; the second in the country from the point of view of size. However, it is an old and experienced enterprise boasting a highly qualified collective of working people and therefore it is possible to produce high quality steels and in fact the enterprise does. There are also other important sectors in the socio-economic activity here. Therefore, you must do all you can, so that Hunedoara will make a greater contribution to the general development of our socialist fatherland and to implementing the program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. [Cheers, chants]

Yesterday in the Jiu Valley I spoke about the activity carried out by miners and about coal production. Now I want to refer especially to the activity in metallurgy, the iron and steel sector and primarily about the activity carried out in Hunedoara. As I have already mentioned, positive results have been recorded. I noted with great satisfaction that since my last visit important progress has been recorded. New highly technical production capacities have been put into operation which are endowed with modern equipment. Significant progress has been recorded in increasing high-quality iron and steel products and special steels. However, I want to state frankly--while greatly appreciating what has been achieved--that there are still great possibilities in Hunedoara for achieving even better results.

And now after we have built these modern production capacities, we must give priority to achieving maximum outputs with existing capacities, to developing high-quality iron and steel products. Hunedoara must propose to become a higher quality metallurgical center this year; and for this it must propose to hold first place in Romanian metallurgy and iron and steel sectors. [Cheers, chants]

With a 200-year old metallurgy and iron and steel branch it is embarrassing to still import metals or other things. We must eliminate such practice; we must demonstrate the ability of the Romanian iron and steel sector and metallurgy to be competitive and able to compete with any other units throughout the world; we must produce better and competitive steels, so that we are in no way inferior to other countries. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, as you see we have proposed that this 5-year plan should be turned into the 5-year plan of quality in all fields. This requires quality steels, economic efficiency and improved activity in all branches; this new quality requires top-quality and competitive steels from every viewpoint. [Cheers, chants]

During our visit we discussed a number of tangible problems that must be solved this and next year. I do not want to refer to them now. I hope that both the combine leadership, the management council, the party organization and the ministry have understood that the time has come for the Romanian iron and steel industry generally and for the iron and steel industry in Hunedoara to perform a qualitative leap, as it were, to proceed from quantity to a new and better quality in all fields. [Cheers, chants]

In this spirit, comrades, it is necessary to examine and to establish measures for improving the activity in all fields. We must pay greater attention to cutting back material consumption. There is still great room for this in fuel, energy, ore, coke consumption and so forth; there are still great wastes that pollute cities and villages and also cause great damage to our national economy; they reduce economic efficiency and the national income. Therefore, we must take firm action to apply the measures worked out regarding the reduction of material, fuel and energy consumption, so as to achieve production with the least possible material consumption. We must ensure a stronger increase in labor productivity; we must pay greater

attention to strengthening order and discipline at the work place, to mechanizing work and to automation where this is necessary and thus achieve a greater increase in labor productivity in all sectors of activity.

Only thus will we be able to ensure an increased production with existing materials and means, only thus will we be able to ensure a stronger increase in profits, in net production and the national income, in the national wealth--the only source to ensure both the necessary means to continue to develop our socialist fatherland and to constantly improve the material and cultural well-being of all our working people, of our people. [Cheers, chants]

It is necessary to act with greater determination to commission the capacities under construction, so as to conclude investment projects on schedule and thus to ensure a constant increase in material production in all sectors of activity.

There are still unfinished or even delayed investment projects here in Hunedoara, including the iron and steel combine. Therefore, yesterday in the Jiu Valley I spoke about problems linked with coal. We must take all necessary measures to ensure the commissioning of the new production capacities on schedule, we must see to executing investment projects under favorable conditions, this being one of the very important problems for fulfilling the 5-year plan and for our fatherland's general development.

Dear comrades, we must also give proper attention to achieving the planned export outputs. We import many products: We import raw materials, coking coal, even coke, iron ores, nonferrous materials, various types of alloys and numerous other raw materials needed by our national economy. In order to import those raw and other materials we must export. We also have imported numerous equipment, including here in Hunedoara. It must be paid for and we must pay for it with products we produce here or in other sectors.

Therefore, ensuring exports constitutes an important part of our production process, so as to ensure the further development of our socialist fatherland. We will continue to develop international relations, to import and to export; but we must ensure an equilibrium in the balance of trade and the balance of payments. We must pay for various equipment and raw materials we have imported thus far. We must see to it that in the shortest time possible we will no longer have any debts and have an even balance of trade and balance of payments. This will be and must be one of our daily concerns in all our units and in all sectors of activity. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, certainly, if we produce more coal, especially coking coal, if we cut back imports we will achieve a good thing and we must achieve this; if we produce top-quality steels and if we cut back--and we must completely give up imports--then we will achieve a very important thing for our national economy. Therefore, it is necessary for us to produce the necessary products and to increase raw and other materials at home, so as to cut back imports. This lies within our power and we now have industrial

capacities capable of resolving these problems under favorable conditions. However, as far as exports are concerned, it is necessary for us to plan well ahead and produce.

I discussed this issue here, in Hunedoara. It is one thing to export average steel and quite another thing to export high quality steel. From the same ton of metal--with the same raw materials, perhaps with some more alloys which should not make too much of a difference, with some more work and with better discipline and care--we can obtain steels of 2, 3, 4 or 5 times higher quality. This would mean a better utilization of the work and activity of our workers class and of steel and iron workers of Hunedoara and throughout the country. This applies to all fields of activity. Therefore we must pay proper attention to turning out high quality products and better utilizing raw materials and our people's work. [Cheers, chants]

We must pool all forces existing in all units. We have highly skilled workers. We have engineers, technicians and highly competent cadres capable of resolving all problems. We have research sectors and institutes. All must join forces to jointly resolve problems of improving the quality of Romanian products, better utilizing these products, raising overall quality and attaining a new and higher stage of the Romanian economy, which means higher quality and efficiency in all fields. [Cheers, chants]

We have scored wonderful results in socialist construction. Within a short historical span we have covered several historical stages. We are currently in the stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society. Our country has greatly developed. The industrial production is 50 times higher than it was before the war. The iron and steel production is also some 50 times higher. All this is reflected in the great industrial complexes and new industrial platforms in all our country's counties. You have talked here about the development in Hunedoara. You know very well what the situation was like before the war or even later, in 1945, 1948 or 1950 and what it is like today. Our towns and villages have developed; we have built a lot. Ever better housing and living conditions were ensured for our working people. All this proves the force and capacity of the workers class, the leading class in our socialist society, and of all our people, who, united around the RCP, are consciously shaping their new life and free and communist future. [Cheers, chants]

However, there is still much left to be done comrades. We must never forget that the implementation of the party program requires serious efforts in all fields, a better organization of work in all sectors and a more responsible spirit throughout the entire socioeconomic activity. We should do everything possible to eliminate shortcomings and deficiencies that persist in various fields of activity. I do not want to dwell now on certain drawbacks and shortfalls. I have already discussed them with the comrades [presumably the local leading cadres]. I believe they will seriously consider what we discussed. I believe that the party organizations, working people's councils and all working collectives will understand that by not making open criticism at this big mass rally I am showing my trust in the capacity of the working people, headed by party organizations and management councils, to eliminate these shortcomings and demonstrate

that the Hunedoara people are also capable of scoring better results in all fields, thus becoming a front-ranking revolutionary detachment of the Romanian workers class. [Cheers, chants]

As I said yesterday in the Jiu Valley, we must pay great attention to raising the professional and technical training of the working people; the new, highly technical machines and equipment require highly skilled workers, foremen, technicians and engineers and we must do our best to continuously raise the level of their technical and professional knowledge by organizing recycling courses and improving the activity of schools for skilled workers and experts. Comrades, we must be aware of the fact that we can demonstrate the force and capacity of our people to build a new and independent life as well as the superiority of our socialist society over the capitalist one only through the work of the people, the workers class, the peasantry and intelligentsia. The people are the decisive factor for building the new society; the men are handling and building the machines, hence the level of our social development depends on their ability to think and create. Therefore comrades, we must learn, learn and learn again. Let us become good craftsmen in all fields, good revolutionaries, communists and patriots. [Cheers, chants]

I have listened here to your very beautiful slogans. Of course comrades, the party plays an important role in leading our society. The comrades chanted here: Long live Ceausescu, may Hunedoara flourish. Of course comrades, by fulfilling my role and the task entrusted to me by the party, people and yourselves, I can do my best to ensure that our affairs are in order. But it is up to you to ensure that Hunedoara flourishes. Your work is the decisive factor. If you do not ensure this through your work, Hunedoara will not flourish. So, if you want Hunedoara to flourish, then you should work better. [Cheers, chants]

You are the party. The people are the party. The party draws up and organizes the directions of our social development. But the decisive factor is the work of the workers class and the people. Only in close unity and through the people's work can we build both developed socialism and communism in Romania. Only thus can we ensure the independence and sovereignty of our fatherland. [Cheers, chants]

We must also pay due attention to the political and educational activity of molding the new man, conscious builder of socialism. We must develop the mass artistic activity and I know that you have good results in Hunedoara in this respect. Even here, I can see several artistic groups and I know that such groups are giving good performances here in Hunedoara. You have wonderful folk costumes. You have a good base with old traditions in your cultural and artistic activity and you must raise it onto higher peaks both from the viewpoint of artistry and of its content. We must do our best to ensure that our art and cultural-artistic activity becomes a powerful force in the construction of socialism and communism. [Cheers, chants]

Likewise, we must pay due attention to the sports activity. What I said yesterday in Petrosani also applies to Hunedoara, too. Aside from a good stadium, you must also have good teams. [Cheers, chants]

Of course comrades, there are many fields of activity. The decisive thing though is to commendably fulfill the socioeconomic development plan. This requires that the Hunedoara party organizations, municipal council and the county party committee should better organize overall work and pool the efforts of all working people in all sectors to fulfill the great tasks set for the Hunedoara County working people. I am firmly convinced that here, in Hunedoara, we have powerful revolutionary detachments, good party organizations, trade unions, youth and women's organizations and the necessary force to commendably fulfill the great tasks set for them, so that Hunedoara can become an ever more powerful center of industrial production, a revolutionary and patriotic center. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, while giving priority to the development of our socialist fatherland, we are also carrying out an intensive international activity for a policy of peace, detente and national independence, in the conviction that only under conditions of peace can our people fulfill the program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society. Likewise, only under such conditions can each people fulfill its development program. Hence, peace is the key issue of today's world. It is the vital issue for the progress and well-being of each nation and all mankind. [Cheers, chants]

Many complicated problems still exist in international life. The arms race continues; new armaments, including nuclear weapons, are being amassed. These weapons can destroy mankind several times over. The economic situation is becoming worse, as a result of the worldwide economic crisis and of the imperialist policy of domination and oppression. The situation of the developing countries is getting worse, too. Therefore, we should do everything possible to unite the forces of the broad masses everywhere and of all peoples against the imperialist and colonialist policy, so as to put a final end to the policy of oppressing other peoples. It is well known that the peoples have scored outstanding successes in winning their political independence and are firmly working to consolidate and develop their national independence. Romania has always supported and will continue to support the struggle of the peoples for independence and a better and more just world. [Cheers, chants]

It is necessary to take responsible action to put an end to existing military conflicts and to resolve problems through negotiations. No matter how long and difficult such negotiations may be, they are to be preferred and are incomparably easier than wars that cause human victims and huge material damage. That is why one should responsibly work to proceed to resolving interstate problems through negotiations. From this rally in Hunedoara, I would like to stress again the need to fully resolve the Middle East problems; to ensure Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon; to ensure Lebanon's independence and sovereignty; and to resolve the Palestinian problem, on the basis of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to their own independent state. [Cheers, chants]

We must do everything possible to bring about disarmament, primarily nuclear. We must ensure a balance of power so as to remove the danger of an aggression. However, this balance should be attained by continuously reducing the level of armaments and attaining disarmament under appropriate international supervision. Everything possible should be done to halt the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, to ensure the withdrawal and destruction of existing ones and to create a Europe without any kind of nuclear missiles, be they medium- or short-range, a nuclear-free Europe. [Cheers, chants]

The great peace manifestations and demonstrations in Europe and other continents--to which our people fully adhered with the big manifestations of last fall and spring and with more than 18 million signatures on the peace appeal addressed to the United Nations--have demonstrated and powerfully demonstrate the force of the peoples' peace movement and the fact that the broad masses and the peoples have the necessary force to halt the arms race, to bring about disarmament, to ensure peace and to do their best to ensure the vital right of men and peoples to existence, life, freedom and independence. [Cheers, chants]

Romania is determined to do its best to make a contribution to successfully concluding next falls' Madrid conference, convening a conference on disarmament and trust in Europe and ensuring the continuity of meetings on cooperation and security in Europe. We must work to develop new relations on our continent and ensure Europe's unity on the basis of respect for the social system and independence of each European nation. [Cheers, chants]

As a European country we are intensively developing cooperation with the Balkan countries. We advocate turning the Balkans into an area of peaceful cooperation and into an area free from nuclear weapons. We want the Balkan area to become an area of peaceful cooperation and an example of relations between equal states. [Cheers, chants]

As a developing socialist country, Romania is pursuing broad relations with the developing countries in the belief that they must strengthen solidarity among themselves. Let us do all we can to contribute to achieving a new world economic and political order based on equality and equity, so as to ensure more rapid progress for poorly developed countries which find themselves in this position because of colonialist and imperialist domination and oppression. [Cheers, chants]

There are numerous problems to be resolved in the world. All this requires united efforts by all peoples and by all those who favor peace and national independence. It is necessary that all states increase their contribution to resolving international problems; it is primarily the small and medium-size, the nonaligned and developing countries that must increase their contribution in this respect and we must do all we can to ensure that the United Nations and other international organizations play a more important role in resolving international problems, that the decisions and measures established by those organizations are observed by all world states.

We must do all we can to ensure a new order based on fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and renunciation of the use or threat of force. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-peace"]

In the spirit of the 12th Party Congress decisions and of our foreign policy, we are developing extensive relations with all the socialist countries. We believe that we must do all we can to overcome differences between them and to strengthen solidarity and cooperation among all socialist countries because this will be an important factor for the policy of peace and independence and in asserting the strength and prestige of socialism in the world. [Cheers, chants]

We are intensively developing relations with the Third World countries, the developing countries and the nonaligned countries and with the developed capitalist countries on the basis of the principles of equality and peaceful coexistence. We are firmly convinced that new relations must be achieved among all world states. Only thus can peace and peoples' independence be achieved; only thus can one ensure mankind's free and happy future. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades and friends, in conclusion I would like once again to express satisfaction with what I have seen in these 2 days in the mining and industrial units we have visited and with the work and enthusiasm of the working people in all sectors in Hunedoara in implementing the 12th Party Congress decisions. We have gathered excellent impressions about the meetings and actions taken by the working people who have demonstrated and continue to demonstrate, like all our people, their firm desire to act under the communists' and the party's leadership to implement the party program and the 12th Party Congress decisions. [Cheers, chants]

Based on what I have noted and on my impressions, I am fully convinced that the Hunedoara people in all sectors--the miners, iron and steel workers, metallurgists and people in other sectors, including the peasantry--will firmly and responsibly act to fulfill this year's plan tasks and will do all they can to rank among the leaders, and if possible to hold first place in the competition among counties. I wish you success in this respect. [Cheers, chants]

With this conviction, once again I would like to wish you, dear comrades, increasingly greater successes in your overall activity and much good health and happiness. [Cheers, chants]

CSO: 2700/346

SITUATION OF ROMANIAN JEWS EXAMINED IN SWISS PAPER

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 15-16 Aug 82 p 6

[Text] Between heaven and earth, on board one of the two Antonov-24 aircraft at the disposal of our 24-member group touring the most important Jewish places of worship in Romania, in conversation with head rabbi Rosen we quickly come to the questions that seemed most important to us at home. Today, says the leader of Jewish congregations in Romania, the relationship between state and Jewry is good in this country. When President Reagan a few weeks ago called for the Romanian state leadership to increase the number of permits for emigration to Israel, then he obviously must not have been very well informed. The fact is that the number of emigrants has fallen in the last 2 years and that those wanting to emigrate must be prepared to wait several months. On the other hand, it is also a fact the number of Jews in Romania is still about 30,000 according to the congregations' registers and a good 25,000 according to a count by the state, and that the exit refusals for the last 3 years can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Even the exodus of scientists has been hardly opposed by the state. For the last 3 years all emigration applications have been handled by the rabbinate. The recognition expressed in this participation can probably be viewed as the most recent result of a long-term policy. It is not clear what is given in return. The rabbi speaks of political prestige won by Romania through its position; possibly the material benefit is more indirect in nature.

The reason for the trip, in which rabbis from America, Israel, Western Europe, Hungary and Poland, as well as high representatives of Jewish organizations and Israel and rather coincidentally two Western reporters take part, is the 70th birthday of His Eminence Dr Moses Rosen, who was voted into this position 34 years ago. The energetic man with the white beard, son of a rabbi, descendant of the famous Rabbi Loew from Prague and brother of the rabbi from Auschwitz, who fell victim to the holocaust, has forged the policy of the Jewish federation in Romania during half of his lifetime. He is an impressive figure intellectually and in outward appearance; he is a man leading rather than following his people. There were harder times than those of today, during the persecution, about which no one likes to speak, and afterwards, when emigration was still difficult. Probably also the policies of Anna Pauker, rabbi's daughter and communist bound to Stalin, had a harmful effect on the Jewish community. How problematical it was after World War II to profess Jewry can be seen from two numbers: The 1956 census showed 146,000

Jews in Romania, but since that time 400,000 have emigrated to Israel, where they, incidentally, make up the largest national group. Now the state as well concedes that about 400,000 Jews survived the holocaust in Romania, just under half of the previous population.

In the entire country there are still 120 active synagogues; all have been restored or adapted in the last 10 years. There are morning and evening prayers in half of them every day. After Bucharest, the largest congregations have between 1,500 and 2,000 members (Temesvar, for example), and the smallest have between 30 and 40. For 25 years the federation has had a biweekly review with articles in four languages (Hebrew, Yiddish, Romanian and English). In the strictest sense of the number of rabbis has fallen to three. One can attend Talmud-Tora courses in 23 cities and localities; in the last 30 years it was there that several thousand youths received their religious training on Sundays. The choir and the youth orchestra are meeting places for the sexes. Whereas in state schooling one does not disclose his religious faith, here people are of like mind.

Despite the solidarity of those financially more secure, without outside help the social security benefits of the federation of Jewish congregations in Romania would be unthinkable. The magic word is "joint," standing for American Joint Distribution Committee. Two hundred people are housed in the beautiful and modern home for the aged in Bucharest's suburb, and there are six other homes for the aged distributed throughout the country. Every day 2,500 people throughout the country receive food in kosher restaurants, and food is brought to 500 infirm people in their homes. In the clothing storehouse needy congregation members are offered products of Romanian export quality; they are somewhat nicer than what one sees in the stores. Needy families who can feed themselves receive a CARE-package up to six times a yar. Well-to-do restaurant patrons are asked to pay a standard charge somewhat above the effective costs, but the contributions are collected so tactfully that no one knows about the others and how much they pay. A person has a right to a free place in a home for the aged only if he has no children to care for him.

One would think, in view of the general supply difficulties in Romania, that it would be difficult to procure foodstuffs. The representative of the joint buys the needed goods several times yearly out of the Romanian export contingent and pays for them in hard currency.

Over the course of 2,000 km our airplane trip takes us to several Moldavian cities and on the second day to the more Western (Sephardic) world of Transylvania and Banat. Especially in Moldavia inhabited by Ashkenazim the outsider enters a world familiar to him only from the books of Manes Sperber, Isaac B. Singer and Joseph Roth, and which he thought had already died out, but whose inherent laws live on.

"It is always a problem of language," said the now Biblical-aged Rosen at the very beginning of an expression of thanks for the congratulations that he had received. "Yiddish" was the resounding and nearly unanimous answer from the meeting room and thus Yiddish had become the lingua franca among the

Romanians, Americans, Hungarians, Sabras and others. Yiddish, based on Middle High German and once spoken from Lithuania over Galicia all the way to the Black Sea, seems surprisingly familiar because of the intonation and some verb forms, until one notices that important nouns taken from Hebrew and Slavic languages are unitelligble--words that generally make up the substance of a sentence.

In the program Dorohoi was characterized as the last shtetl in the world. The place is 20 km from the Romanian-Soviet border, halfway between Suceava, now the center of Romanian Bukovina, and Chernovtsy, capital of Bukovina when it was still a duchy in the multinational state of the Hapsburgs. During the journey through the gently rolling scenery, in which fields, meadows and forest alternate, and where the colorful edges, often painted in an art-nouveau style, hide themselves behind trees and shrubs in well-kept gardens, my neighbor's heart begins to beat faster. She comes from Chernovtsy, as do three other traveling companions. Although for years they have been living in Israel or America, although they know the time when Chernovtsy was a traditional university city only from the descriptions of their parents and grandparents, they speak an impeccable German with a slight Viennese quality. What the Romanians were not able to do in the years between the wars, namely, to destroy the Hapsburg atmosphere, the USSR may well have accomplished since 1941. The importance of the Jewish community in Chernovtsy, more than any figures, is indicated by the fact that the great German poet Paul Celan was born there.

Policemen salute at regular intervals along the road from the airport to Dorohoi. They cannot have been posted there to control the traffic, for we are practically the only passers-by. The rabbi sees this escort as an honor by the regime: In former times these people would not have stood at the side of the road, but would have driven along right behind him. However, it seems more likely that the soldiers posted at the edge of the forest represent a security measure. Israel is at war, and there are lots of Arab students attending Romanian universities. We are also very well guarded during our visit in the town.

Even more than in the solemn festival concert in Bucharest or in the equally dignified birthday celebration later, even more than in visiting the historic museum in the former gentlemen's tailor synagogue of the capital city, during the ceremonies in Dorohoi we enter a timelessness. In the eating-house the youth of this town behind seven mountains demonstrates that old Yiddish and Hebrew chorals and Romanian and Slavic tunes certainly can be intoned with the electric guitar and drums. Believers of the orthodox and the new rites and contemporary agnostics throng in the small room. The airplane crews, as well as the dozen secret policemen who follow our every step are completely integrated into the atmosphere. There are oranges on the tables, there is juice to drink from passion fruits, and of course some women have baked some cakes. A little fellow lets his balloon sputter to the ceiling and the 10-year-olds receive the desired chewing gum.

Many of the curious line the way from the dining hall to the place of the synagogue; it leads past the old one-story houses of artisans, as well as some

new residential barracks. The town was the assembly place for the Jewish tailors, cobblers, furriers, barbers and shopkeepers; here they were among themselves, for the farmers generally came here only for what they needed to buy. Just a few years ago seven synagogues stood on the main spot of Dorohoi. Today there are three, and one of them is slated to be torn down. When the state needs space, said Rosen, unneeded objects would be turned over to it. The second part of the ceremonies takes place in the synagogues, without an amplifying system. Local dignitaries and guests from afar toast the man whose birthday is being celebrated in more or less long speeches, and between the speeches are heard the Talmud-Torah chorals. For outsiders the rites are pretty much the same at all locations, but not for the initiated who understand. In the larger centers representatives of the other religious communities, the Orthodox, the Catholics and those of the Reform movement alternate in participating in the honors. A state delegation was present in Bucharest.

The host in the town is Rebbe Wassermann, a small man with a stubbly white beard, a rosy face and alert eyes. The knot of his tie almost completely fills the space left under his neck by the collar of his black overcoat. During his speech he leans far out over the table, gesticulating vigorously and under the growing protest of the congregation three times he calls his superior a "Stakhanovite," again and again asserting his desire to accentuate his especially great creative power, Later Rosen replies firmly, but indulgently, that Wassermann has probably forgotten that Stakhanov's achievements were rather unproductive. Possibly just as moving was the characterization by an Orthodox rabbi with a wide-brimmed hat and braided sideburns. He compared Rosen with Edison, who at the age of 70 likewise could look back on a life rich in inventions; one gave humanity the light bulb and the gramophone, the other homes for the aged and food packages for the needy. Sometime during the course of these days we heard that it is not always easy for faithful Jews to come to terms with modern times. But are they not worthy of respect in that they want to include new things in their traditions?

In the Jassy cemetery, where the victims of the war are remembered in a prayer, suddenly appears the memory of an earlier visit to the Moravian capital. Seldom at a late hour has anti-Semitism broken through in a more alarming form than in the description of the war's events by a local party official. Romania still prides itself that during the war the Jews were subject to less extreme persecution here than those Jews, for example, in the part of Transylvania awarded to Hungary. In Jassy in 1941, however, a week after Germany's invasion of the USSR, there was a pogrom organized by the Iron Guards which cost several thousand lives and in the course of which the old cemetery was ravaged. Anti-Semitism was also very strong in Bessarabia, where the majority of Jews leaned toward the USSR. The presence of a representative of the Orthodox Church at the evening celebration in the 400-year-old synagogue banishes the shadows of racial hatred.

Again and again during the 4 days there was talk of an exemplary ralationship between the communist state and Jewry; even representatives of anticommunist American organizations spoke of a model. It would require a special investigation to make a comparison with the situation in other East European

countries. The relationships are not transferable. Anti-Semitism guided semi-officially flared up in Poland between 1968 and 1981; in his day Gomulka did not specifically mention the Jews in commemorating Auschwitz. A much smaller community is existing in Czechoslovakia in the shadow of places of worship converted into museums, with no hope of emigrating to the Promised Land. In Hungary, on the other hand, the Jewish community seems to be somewhat more closely tied to the power centers than in the case in Bucharest, and in Budapest there is also a school for rabbis. Among Romanian Jews a few have achieved management positions in administration and in factories.

In view of the autonomy in the social sector and the possibility for emigration, the relation between the Romanian state and Jewry may seem to be a divided one. It is ambiguous for both sides. Almost all of the young persons whom we met want to leave. In the future Rabbi Rosen as well will make longer trips to Israel in order to perform the duties of a professorship. Although the time seems to be in sight when the community will break up, no one wants to think about it. Discussing the question is no more fruitful than when we ask the resident Jews what they think about the war in Lebanon. Those are not topics for discussion.

It is probable that a West European has too much of a present-day perspective of the problems and thinks too little in historical terms. Head Rabbi Rosen has not only established a relationship between Jewry and the communist state, but between Jewry and the state in general. Nothing comparable had ever before been accomplished in this country. This sentence, which the secretary general of the Jewish federation underscored in red three times in his speech, shows the full difference in the approach.

9746
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REPORT ON VISIT OF PALESTINIAN JOURNALISTS

Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian Jun 82 pp 43, 46

[Interview with members of the delegation of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, by Petre N. Popescu: "An Important Contribution to the Development of Romanian-Palestinian Contacts in the Domain of the Press"]

[Excerpts] A delegation from the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, composed of Yahia Yakhlef, secretary general of the union, member of the Central Council of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and Abdulaziz Said, member of the secretariat of the union, visited our country from 11 to 18 May of this year, at the invitation of the Council of Journalists.

As was announced, the delegation was received, on 17 May, at the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, by Comrade Petre Enache, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and, on this occasion, the importance of the collaboration between Romanian and Palestinian journalists for a better mutual understanding of our peoples and for the promotion of friendship and fruitful cooperation between them was emphasized, in a friendly, warm atmosphere.

During their visit to our country, the Palestinian journalists had talks at the Council of Journalists, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Writers Union, Radiotelevision, the Romanian Press Agency, AGERPRES, and the editorial board of the review LUMEA. Also, the guests visited important economic and socio-cultural sites and met with representatives of the local press, in Brasov.

At the conclusion of the visit, an agreement was signed for collaboration between the Council of Journalists in our country and the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists. The agreement was signed, on the Romanian side, by the deputy chairman of the Council of Journalists, Ilie Radulescu, director general of Romanian Radiotelevision, and, on the Palestinian side, by Yahia Yakhlef, secretary general of the Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists.

At the end of the visit, the guests gave an interview to PRESA NOASTRA.

[Question] As representatives of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, you have undertaken this visit to our country in order to sign the agreement on collaboration between the Council of Journalists of the Socialist Republic of Romania and this union. What significance to you attribute to this document?

[Yahia Yakhlef] We consider that this agreement represents a good beginning for the organized development of relations of cooperation between the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists and the Council of Journalists of the Socialist Republic of Romania, relations which are part of the relationship of friendship and solidarity between the Romanian peoples and the Palestinian people. Among other things, the document records the agreement of the two unions to collaborate in the framework of international conferences and meetings, to carry out reciprocal visits of delegations, exchanges of various types of documentary materials for the press and audiovisual materials, and to organize photo exhibits. The protocol provides for the support by the Council of Journalists of the requests of Palestinian journalists to continue their studies in Romania.

A large number of Palestinian journalists have studied in Romania; they are well trained press cadres and will have important positions in the press of the future Palestinian state.

We appreciate, especially, all efforts of solidarity, in the present and in the future, with the Palestinian people who is fighting for a just cause.

[Question] Your visit to Romania has given you an opportunity to have meetings with Romanian political and cultural personalities. How do you evaluate these talks in relation to your mission as a whole?

[Yahia Yakhlef] In the course of our visit to Romania, we had the honor of being received at the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party by Comrade Secretary Petre Enache with whom we had a very important discussion, in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

The meetings and conversations which we had in other institutions were of great interest to us. Allow me to mention the meeting with the deputy chairman of the Council of Journalists, Ilie Radulescu, the meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the conversation with the chairman of the Writers Union, D. R. Popescu, the meeting with the Brasov journalists and many others.

I would like to stress, on this occasion, the spirit of complete understanding which prevailed during the conversations with all the comrades whom we had the pleasure and honor to meet. We felt like we were among true friends. They showed that they were fully aware of the truths of the Palestinian cause and they demonstrated feelings of friendship for the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We appreciate their noble sentiments and wishes that the Palestinian people would regain its inalienable national rights, including the right to establish its independent national state.

[Question] You made a short visit, for documentary purposes, to Bucharest, the Prahova Valley and Brasov County. What were your impressions after this trip?

[Yahia Yakhlef] These visits offered us an opportunity to learn directly about the remarkable progress achieved by the Romanian people in the economic, social and cultural fields and in other sectors of activity.

In Brasov we visited the "Tractorul" factory where we were impressed by the development of technology and by the special attention given to the workers, guaranteeing to them good social conditions and wide opportunities for their professional and cultural advancement.

[Abdulaziz Said] We believe that the agreement for collaboration between the two unions represents an important moment in relations between Palestinian and Romanian journalists. We want these contacts to continue to develop so that they will constitute a solid bridge in relations between our peoples, when our people achieves victory and an independent Palestinian state is created.

CSO: 2700/354

BRIEFS

'RADIO TIRANA' LISTENERS SENTENCED--The Budva magistrate's court yesterday pronounced jail sentences on nine Kosovo...workers vacationing 2 kilometers from Sveti Stefan. In this vacation place they tape-recorded broadcasts from Radio Tirana in which our country is slandered and Enver Hoxha, the Albanian Workers Party, etc. are glorified. Sadik Mustafa (23) made the recordings and then organized listening sessions with his supporters. Charging them with violating the Law on Public Peace and Order, the judge sentenced Mustafa, as well as Mustafa Ganiu (29), Fehmi Nezaku (26), Silver Osmani (19), and Azem Haziri (20) from the area of Lipljan to 60 days in jail, and sentenced Skender Osmani (18), Hazir Zeka (20), Shaban Mustafa (18) to 30 days, while Enver Osmani (18) was sentenced to 15 days. [Excerpt] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 15 Aug 82 p 6]

CSO: 2800/86

END

JPRS 81869

28 September 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2060

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BRIEFS

CUBAN MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS ARRIVES--CSSR Deputy Premier R. Rohlicek received the Cuban Minister of Communications P. Guelmes Gonzales on 15 September. Also attending the meeting were the CSSR Minister of Communications V. Chalupa and the Cuban Ambassador to Prague S. Ramos Palacios. [Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 Sep 82 p 6]

CSO: 2400/375

BORDER TROOP STRUCTURE CHANGES, INDOCTRINATION METHODS REPORTED

Border Troop Structure Changes

Bonn DIE WELT in German 12 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by J.M. Svoboda, Munich: "East Berlin Changes Structure of Border Troops--They Get Weapon Systems Like Regular Army Divisions"]

[Text] The GDR is restructuring its border troops along the inner-German demarcation line and the Berlin ring. The force numbering 50,000 men, which until now had primarily the character of border guard infantry units combined with reconnaissance tasks, is being converted into active divisions for the first wave of a possible attack. Says Minister of Defense General of the Army Heinz Hoffmann: "The border troops are the military guards of the GDR."

The border regiments are being restructured into motorized infantry divisions. Preparations inititated in the fourth quarter of 1979 are now being put into practice: training of extended-service soldiers, noncommissioned officers and officers with combat tanks of the Soviet T-54/55 class, with missiles, artillery, heavy engineer equipment and in helicopter squadrons.

These motorized infantry divisions at the border are being equipped with weapon systems like those of the regular army divisions of the National People's Army (NVA) and are organized per division as follows: the combat component itself consists of three motorized infantry regiments (MSRGT), with 95 armored vehicles and an independent tank battalion with 51 combat tanks.

As we understand the task of border guard units, this configuration does no longer conform to the concept of "border troops," but indicates a change in military strategy. The military mission of East Berlin within the Warsaw Pact becomes even more obvious in view of the structure of the combat support units of the combat troops of a motorized infantry division. They include:

--an armored reconnaissance battalion;
--an antitank battalion, equipped with antitank cannon;

--an artillery regiment, divided into two battalions with towed howitzers and one battalion with armored howitzers on tracked vehicles;
--one batallion of BM 29 field missile launchers;
--one battalion of FROG artillery missiles suitable for carrying nuclear warheads;
--one regiment with 20 SA-6 anti-aircraft missiles;
--one engineer battalion with five companies equipped with amphibious vehicles, bridges, engineer, minelaying and mine removal armored vehicles, and ferries. In addition there is a battalion for defense against ABC warfare, a signal battalion, helicopter squadron and a transport unit.

In addition, the GDR border troops have for the last 2 months had an undetermined number of Soviet HIND-class combat helicopters. Soviet liaison officers are now on duty with the border divisions as well as in the NVA's army divisions all the way down to battalion level. Until recently, liaison officers were assigned no lower than division level.

Hate Propaganda Against Western Soldiers

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 13 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Michael Mara, staff writer: "Hate Propaganda Against Western Allied Soldiers: The 'Enemy Image' for the GDR Border Troops--West Berlin and NATO Strategy"]

[Text] Within the GDR border troop companies surrounding West Berlin some strange stories are still being told about certain "events" on the border prior to the construction of the Wall. The story has for instance been handed down that during the period of the open border GDR border patrol men occasionally "marched" into the then West-Berlin exclave of Steinstuecken --certainly with peaceful intentions and of course unofficially--to have a drink with U.S. GIs in bars close to the border. Even though such occurrences were not the rule, they did take place, according to oldtimers among the border troops.

For young border soldiers, born after 13 August 1961, who are nowadays guarding the border, such reports defy credibility. To them, allied soldiers are described already during their 6-month basic training in special regiments as dangerous opponents, capable of anything. At this particular time the East Berlin border troop leadership is trying to enhance the border troops' "enemy image" in that direction and not to tolerate "any illusion about the mentality of contemp for humanity" of the "elite units" stationed in West Berlin. These efforts are combined with attempts to falsify the Western allies' status in Berlin.

New training guidelines for depicting the enemy to the border troops state in this context that the border guard who is fulfilling his "class mission" along the border with West Berlin must be aware what "political and military objectives the U.S., British and French occupation troops are pursuing within the special political West Berlin entity." The instructors

are then told that units of the Western allies entered the Western sectors of Berlin in early July 1945 according to treaty, "to participate in the occupation and military government of the former fascist 'Reich capital,'" but that the "highest authority for all of Berlin had reposed in the hands of the Soviet commander "in what was then the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany."

However, it is added that "the right to participate in the administration," which according to the "agreement about the control procedure in Germany" of 14 November 1944, which "had been granted only verbally...during the early stage of the occupation of Germany which immediately followed the capitulation," had "long since legally expired." It had in fact expired 34 years ago, in 1948, when "the Western powers, in complicity with the German imperialists, had violated the resolutions of the Potsdam Agreement: and had destroyed the allied control council as well as the allied city command, which were charged with the joint military administration of all of Berlin.

During the following years, they go on to say, West Berlin had been accorded "a role in the concept of NATO strategy." Since then, the occupation forces of the United States, Great Britain and France in West Berlin have had "the function of protecting the capitalist system in that political entity and from that base to conduct military and secret service reconnaissance." To ensure "in case of need" a tactically coordinated line of action among the three occupying powers, there exists an "Allied Command," which "in effect exercises the function of a military government for West Berlin," as well as an "allied staff" for planning, organizing and coordinating of military activities.

The training guidelines paint the members of allied troops as veritable fiends. They are said to be "especially carefully selected bourgeois loyalist cadres and without exception anti-communist manipulated mercenaries, trained to hate all progressive movements in the world, especially to be enemies of the socialist states and their armed forces." Besides, they are said to be "trained in torture and drilled for murder." Their superiors are described as "experienced in genocide," "people with experience in combat and killing from their murderous battles against the people of Korea, Vietnam, Ireland as well as Central and South America --against all those who fight for their freedom."

The guidelines continue to the effect that those allied soldiers are stationed in West Berlin "who are not 'susceptible' to democratic ideas and, being loyal bourgeois serfs, execute any and all orders of their imperialist overlords." They are not interested in justice or injustice, where the ruthless enforcement of "imperialist interests" is concerned. Evidently this intensified enemy propaganda against the Western allies is designed to motivate the border troops for their service, which many among them consider depressing.

9273
CSO: 2300/398

CURRENT ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS EXAMINED, EXPLAINED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 8 Aug 82 pp 31-35

[Article by Marton Buza, Director of TU Theoretical Research Institute: "On the Social Role of the Trade Unions"]

[Text] Applying Lenin's teachings to the current Hungarian conditions and drawing on its own historical experiences, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has recognized that by ensuring the trade unions' independence and by allowing them to participate in policy making, the party has been able to increase its contact with the masses and has enabled millions of trade-union members outside the party to gain a better understanding of its policies and thus encourage them to take a more active role in its implementation.

The place and role of the trade unions are determined by their commitment to the rule of the working class. The fact that we have a common social goal has enabled us to ensure party control over trade-union activities by relying on the persuasive work of the communists belonging to them. This is in full accordance with the interest-safeguarding and corporate functions of the trade unions.

This is the basic reason why our trade unions have become an increasingly important factor in our political, economic and cultural life. Their work is fulfilling a real social need and is incessantly living up to the expectations of the membership. The trade-union movement--by virtue of its place and role in society--must be able to lend its unique point of view to examining and judging virtually every question of our economic, social and cultural life, just as it must be prepared to take a stand and make an impact on them.

In order for our trade unions to be able to take an independent and responsible stand on social-policy, among them economic-policy issues, and in evaluating the recommendations of our state organs:

1. They need to thoroughly understand the needs, views, the situation and interests of their organized workers and to use this understanding to critically examine and weigh the advantages and drawbacks of those recommendations.

2. In preparing their own recommendations--and occasionally even their own plans and comprehensive ideas--our leading trade-union organs must work in harmony with our social and economic laws and in accordance with our party's policy.

3. They must be adequately prepared to represent these recommendations before their membership as well as before our party and state organs.

4. Every position, action and unique point of view taken by our trade unions must be characterized by a commitment to represent and protect the diverse interests of their membership.

Overall--although naturally not without any mistakes or problems--the Hungarian trade-union movement has succeeded in establishing these necessary conditions, and has successfully fulfilled its tasks, congressional goals and the needs of its members. By doing so it has enhanced the fairness of our party's policy and has helped to strengthen the rule of the working class, which is precisely why our country--and thus our trade union movement--has enjoyed such great respect.

The place and role of our trade unions and their relationship with our party and state are unambiguously spelled out. While the constant elements of our party's policy have remained intact, the movement has been put in a new position, partly because of the new tasks it now has to face in view of our changed domestic social and economic conditions, and partly as a result of the significant changes that have occurred on the international scene.

We are all aware of the fact that our economy needs to be more intensive and more effective, and that we must improve its elasticity. In order to achieve this, however, we must solve a multitude of complex tasks. To enhance this effort it is absolutely necessary that we review the unique array of means available to our trade unions, introduce new ones while eliminating those which are old and obsolete. For example, we must reexamine those trade-union instruments which can improve management, we must expand work competition, we must find new forms for carrying out qualitative tasks, such as: improving efficiency, reducing costs and increasing profitable exports. This work is presently under way and we have already achieved certain partial results. In continuing the reform of our economic management we have placed great emphasis on enterprise activities in an effort to improve management and to strengthen socialist attitudes toward work.

In the course of their efforts to safeguard and represent their workers' interests our trade unions have had to face new circumstances. Different methods can and must be used, for example, to safeguard our workers' interests when their standard of living is steadily rising, and still different steps are needed when safeguarding those interests is contingent upon our ability to maintain the existing standard of living. Under the present circumstances this is obviously more difficult and more complex than it was before. It also requires us, among other things, to try to find new ways of coordinating and integrating our interests. For example, while we will never abandon our system's great achievements, such as our commitment to

maintaining full employment, we will try to win acceptance for, and implement in practice the idea that ensuring this is not an enterprise obligation but rather a task for society as a whole. Consequently, the task of safeguarding our workers' interests has become more perplexed. We have to face up to the fact, that in certain areas and professions we have simultaneous shortages and surpluses of manpower. What this means, among other things, is that some of our available manpower will have to be relocated primarily in the sphere of services. We have had to examine and seek out those areas of activity where production can be increased because of their efficient export potentials, or because their demand for imported materials is so small and they have a favorable domestic market.

Changing jobs and professions, of course, may present serious problems for some people and certain groups and it may even demand some sacrifices from many. This is another area where the trade-union movement can play a role, among other things by providing more favorable conditions for retraining and extension training and by exploring the various possibilities of relocation. It is conceivable, for example, to achieve effective employment without necessarily having to transfer workers to new jobs by introducing more efficient, more profitable and more export-oriented work methods, and by replacing old products with new ones that are newer and better in quality, all within the same enterprise.

Making the safeguarding and representation of our workers' interests more efficient is something that must be attained primarily on the job. The continued development of our system of economic management, the refocusing of our planning and the growth of enterprise independence all point to this. Under the present circumstances our employers, primarily our enterprises, must assume greater responsibility in ensuring that wages and incomes develop proportionately with the amount of work performed. As our circumstances become more difficult we can also expect more job-related conflicts. This by itself is a warning that we must increase our society's and our employers' conflict-tolerating capacity. This is what the 24th congress of the trade unions was referring to when it pointed out: "The trade unions' task is to promote the attainment of our common social goals by providing forward-looking solutions to conflicts of diverse interests. Our trade-union organs must possess the necessary courage to provide forums and organize open discussions with workers for comparing interests of various levels."*

There are many who question and dispute the present role and significance of this interest-safeguarding function. Some feel that the movement is incapable of carrying out this task. Others believe that under the present difficult circumstances it can be deemphasized since the possibilities for fulfilling demands have become limited. These and similar views reflect a mistaken perception of what interest-safeguarding means, hence we must strive to refute them. It must be clearly understood that safeguarding our workers' interests is a continuous process and that there are no special times when

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*The 24th Congress of the Hungarian Trade Unions, Tancsics Publishers 1981 pp 19-20

this process could even temporarily be suspended. When the safeguarding of these interests fails to meet the required standard it generates discontent among the members and it also tends to hinder and retard participation by the masses in solving our tasks. Realistic interest-safeguarding efforts aimed at promoting social justice, on the other hand, help to strengthen the positions of workers' rule, the relationship between our party and the masses as well as our people's consciousness. In fact, this is the very reason why we must continue to improve the quality of our interest-safeguarding efforts. Right now--since it has never been a part of trade-union work--there is a special need for greater effectiveness in analyzing, exploring and publicising the conflicting interests of our various groups and strata. In order, however, to take a step forward we must continue to expand trade-union and enterprise democracy.

What gives our trade-union democracy such special significance is that in addition to being the operators of the institutional system of our factory democracy, they are also the corporate organs of our entire working collective. The organizational framework of our trade unions allows them to take steps, within the limits of democracy, to safeguard their workers' interests, to promote open debates, to encourage exchanges of ideas, to ensure democratic voting procedures and to allow them to make, or have a say in the making of decisions.

The domains of enterprise democracy, namely the trade-union group conferences, membership meetings and representative bodies are forums where the practice of trade-union and factory democracy coincides. This is why there are often some who mistakenly feel that there is no difference between the two. In addition to a certain degree of overlapping there are also some differences, mainly in that while the development of factory democracy is the joint responsibility of our factory economic managers and trade-union organs, trade-union democracy affects mainly the operational and organizational system of the trade unions.

The link between trade-union democracy and factory democracy is the premise that the best way to ensure worker participation, involvement and social control over them is be discussing the problems affecting them in their respective trade-union groups. This is where their various interests, demands, ambitions, conflicting views, attitudes and behavior forms come to the surface. The most direct way for the leading trade-union bodies to gain an understanding of their workers' interests, intentions and behavior forms is through their stewards, by promoting voluntarism and open polemics and by encouraging participation by those who are the most closely affected. The steward and their trade-union groups discuss such matters as the enterprise plan, the main questions regarding their enterprise's wage policy, their social plans and collective contracts. However, participation in the conduct of economic management and involvement in the local implementation of policy--the next steps in this process--can only take place at production conferences, department and brigade meetings and at other forums of our enterprise democracy.

The reconciliation of interests begins on the trade-union group level. So far, however, the quality of these efforts has been extremely inconsistent. Despite all the developments that have taken place, the most characteristic manifestation of a union steward's representative capacity is still the fact that he represents the--by now majority-approved--interests of the members of his group by interceding and voting on their behalf at joint conferences. Today this representative capacity still has not universally developed to the point where the stewards could judge already at the group level what the true interests are at any given time or place. In other words, to the point where the stewards could judge already at the group level what the true interests are at any given time or place. In other words, to the point where they could reject unfounded and imaginary interests, excesses and demands which cannot be fulfilled due to a lack of resources. It may be evident from all this, that their task is not merely to bring to the surface and represent new needs, but to represent interests which have been determined to be realistic.

By offering explanations, arguments and by demonstrating the various relationships involved they must, therefore, try to suppress all wish-level demands before they can leave the group. This is a difficult and complex task, but we must reach the point where most of our stewards will be prepared to solve it. The steward, therefore, is a key official in the trade-union movement; without him the trade-union movement would not be able to remain in direct daily contact with its membership, nor could it enforce the central resolutions and positions decided on in the interest of its members.

The trade unions, through their corporate organs, are working to ensure their workers a role in management and to represent and safeguard their interests. In our country, on the factory, enterprise and institution levels this function is performed by representative bodies, or in areas where such bodies do not exist by the trade-union membership meetings. The activities of our trade-union corporate bodies can only be democratic and effective if they take into account the opinions of the lower-echelon trade-union organs and stewards and of their membership as a whole. We must establish the right conditions to allow their attitudes to reflect the corporate will as well as the will of the collective. So far we have not always been successful. Our efforts have been hindered by several factors, but mainly by our ineffective work style. Our corporate organs, for example, often find themselves in situations where the economic manager in charge asks for their opinion, and sometimes even their concurrence and participation regarding a plan he has prepared. This, however, in most cases in only a formality since, for example, he usually does not allow sufficient time for them to formulate a definitive and well-weighed opinion. On the other hand, there is a legitimate need for greater activity at the meetings of our representative bodies. This, however, can only be expected in places which offer real opportunities to select from several possible solutions, provided that the possibilities discussed by the body are still open for debate, and that the selection is not restricted by an earlier decision of the party organization, the trade-union committee or the economic management which had already closed the matter formalizing both the debate and the opinion.

Another problem we have encountered in our continued effort to improve trade-union and factory democracy is that we have placed too much burden on our representative bodies, for example by talking too much about the centrally prescribed agenda. Hence, they do not enjoy enough independence to examine their own specific problems and tasks. Although these representative bodies' corporate function pertains not just to factory democracy but also to trade-union democracy, they hardly ever discuss agenda which concern the trade unions' internal democracy. Nor is it entirely clear what the relationship between the representative body and the trade-union committee entails. From the "outside" the economic, and in a number of places the party leadership would prefer it if the decisions were made in the trade-union committees rather than in the representative body. They would like the trade-union committees to exercise these rights because they consider them "easier", and from the point of view of time, faster partners.

As one of the conditions of ensuring the further development of democracy, we must strengthen the willingness and the ability of our trade-union officials to recognize in time the problems facing their members and to work with them to find the quickest and most effective solution. The members do not ask or demand that we solve all their problems immediately as they arise. They do demand and expect, however, that we take note of their problems, that we sincerely and openly respond to them and that we make an effort to solve them.

It is also important that our trade-union members gain a better understanding of the things that are being done for them and in their name by the trade-union organs and activists. For only this will make them feel that the trade unions are theirs and theirs alone. Just how well informed they are in this regard depends a great deal on the extend of public discussion. While we have made significant strides in publicising trade-union work, one of our main problems continues to be the fact that it is inadequate and that it does not pertain to all levels. The way to solve this is by taking greater advantage of our existing opportunities, but also by searching for new forms. Another legitimate demand is to give greater publicity than what we are giving now to the corporate sessions of the National Council of Trade Unions, its Presidium and Secretariat and of its leading professional bodies and basic organizations.

The further development of the trade-union movement requires a greater degree of socialization. For this it is essential to have well-prepared concepts as well as and effective and clearly designed system of information. What is needed is less paperwork and "self-agitation" and more high-quality trade-union work, so that both the members and the office-holders can feel that their work, their opinions and experiences are indeed needed. The basic principle which we must all keep in mind is that the primary obligation of each leading trade-union organ and office-holder is to their respective memberships.

"One of the areas where we have made some important progress--pointed out the resolution of the 24th congress of our trade unions--is in improving the

quality of work at the local organization level. We have adjusted their organizational make-up to better reflect our present needs and increased requirements. Our main task for the coming period is to strengthen this--representation-based--organizational system; to establish a close relationship between management and implementation, and between our leading bodies and the members."

The development of our society, including our economy, the changes that have occurred in our social and economic management have made it essential for us to rethink the administrative system of the Hungarian trade-union movement, and to adjust it to the changing requirements. Based on the resolution of the 24th congress, this matter was thoroughly and profoundly examined at the April 1981 session of the SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions]. It was concluded that we must relax the overcentralization of the movement's administration, increase the independence of our branch and professional organizations and better coordinate the activities of our various professions and regional organs, such as the SZMK's [Trade Union Associations], megye professional committees and intertrade committees. Our main task, however, continues to be to ensure the independence of our basic organizations and to improve the quality of the activities of our trade-union bodies and functionaries. This is because the only true measure of either the SZOT's or the professions' activities is the quality of work at the basic organization level.

The achievements of the Hungarian trade-union movement have been clearly appreciable; it has basically done what it has had to given our socialist conditions. It has dealt with questions which have had an effect on its members as well as on social development. However, we have no reason to feel conceited. During the coming years we will be called upon to solve tasks which will require great effort on our part.

9379
CSO: 2500/380

LITERARY TRENDS, POSITION OF WRITERS' CLUB DISCUSSED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 20 Aug 82 p 7

[Interview with Akos Szilagyi, secretary of the Attila Jozsef Circle, by Janos Szeky; no date or place given]

[Text] Two years have passed since the debates conducted in the ELETUNK of Szombathely and in ELET ES IRODALOM shed light on the generational contradictions of Hungarian literature and literary life. It was also shown that these conflicts could be examined only in context of their broader social relations. Last year's suspension in the operations of the FIJAK (Young Writer's Attila Jozsef Circle) caused a reaction in more than the professional circle; within several months the class organization of beginning writers was reorganized under the name of JAK (Attila Jozsef Circle). The secretary of the Circle since the crisis as before is Akos Szilagyi, poet, aesthetician, and literary historian. We asked him what JAK represents.

[Question] One of the goals of the Circle--according to the new operational statutes--is "to promote a convergence, an intellectual dialogue between the generations of writers. How can we define in this case the expression "generation;" and if it is necessary to converge, what does the distance between the generations include?

[Answer] We must differentiate between the concept of "generation" (generacio) in the meaning of the time of life and of "generation" (nemzedek) in the social meaning. Not every lifetime generation is given the chance to organize itself into a social generation in literature, politics or in society as a whole. For long the institutional conditions did not exist for lifetime generations to organize into social generations, and in fact the intellectual conditions did not exist either. I have already said elsewhere that in the 1970's a certain compromise, in my view, was established between the individual writer and state cultural policy--the individual writer is free and creates what he wants. What signifies in the 1970's the appearance of the new social generation, the new groups of problems which it mediated, and the new task is nothing more than that this compromise must now be redefined and reshaped. Thus on the basis not of assuring freedom to the individual writer but to literary trends, social generations and groupings. If we look at the institutionalized forms, this can be observed above all in the entire intellectuality of the MOZGO VILAG periodical; and continuously, if in lesser

form, in the activity of the JAK, with its internal changes. One is a form of literary publicity and the other of literary organization and institution. There is only one of both (which is characteristic of our institutional structure) and we must solve the tasks in such a way that it will try to represent within itself its own actually pluralistic literary ideals.

[Question] But still, what kind of literary-intellectual "claim" does this lifetime generation have to demand a new institutional, cultural political framework in order to organize into a social generation. And if perhaps it can already be regarded as a social generation, how does it differ from the earlier one?

[Answer] As I see it, the poetic-genre hierarchy of Hungarian literature has changed. Lyrical poetry has been forced into the periphery, and in the 1970's prose occupied the most important literary positions. This new flowering of Hungarian prose is defined by the new prose-writing social generation. This does not mean to say that the older or the middle-aged social generation does not create anything worthwhile, but rather that the works of the younger social generation also determine the work of the older. For example, I am thinking of the outlook which brings us closer to the fifties. In the new prose there is a certain kind of self-searching, and in fact a concrete historical self-searching, and this assumes for the individual the independence of the viewpoint of thinking, writing and observation, assumes a reference system that is broader than national history, namely, that we should start to think in East Central Europe. The strength of the new social generation is shown by the fact that in the 1970's, for example, its vanguard was changing every year, that is, it not only "uses up" its momentary vanguard but is able to create a stronger one in its place. And this social generation has also proved capable of rechoosing traditions. In general, it can be observed that any kind of new social generation is linked to the periphery of the preceding one. In the prose of the 1970's which did not as genre play a central role, we may name the prevailing voice as "moralistic" (here we include Ferenc Santa, Endre Fejes, and to a certain extent, with a unique nuance, Miklos Meszoly). But the new prose goes back through Ottlik and to a small extent Meszoly to the Nyugat (Western) social generation, in fact all the way to Kalman Mikszath and Zsigmond Kemeny.

[Question] In one of your essays you ascribe the traditionally central role of lyric poetry to the characteristics of national existence and a distorted national development. Somewhere else you write of the necessary withering away of the lyrical genre. What kind of changes have now brought on the rise of prose?

[Answer] I do not think the reflowering of the epic is related to the death of lyric poetry, to put it more exactly, the "ruin" of thus far leading voice of the lyric genre does not mean that lyric poetry is dead. Rather it means that a poetic voice is starting to take form in lyric poetry alien to the role which prevailing until now represents the whole national existence, the national literature. In fact the achievements of lyric poetry of the 1970's are sometimes of a higher level than those of the 1960's. The difference is that they were born not in a leading genre but one that has been forced into

the background and is rather a subordinate genre. In the past 10 years the decisive turn has been brought on and the rise of prose has been made possible in the end by the fact that to put it in a figurative way, the achievement of a middle class status by Hungarian society has begun. That is, society became more and more segmented and the various social spheres of life moved farther apart. Of course, this was an odd achievement of middle class status because it meant that in every sphere of life the individual was free as a private person, or more free than before, but in the actual sphere of public life these freedoms did not as yet make their appearance.

[Question] The present condition, organization and operation of JAK in itself shows that there is no gap as yet between the private sphere and public life, or if we accept that there is, it is in any event one that can be bridged.

[Answer] Here we succeeded in carrying out a reform which actually means the development of the intermediary sphere, that is to say, similarly to what has happened, for example, in the economy, certain social efforts or a certain segmenting of literature have begun to form and be institutionalized, although within the given institutional frame. Whatever has been created since the latest reorganization of JAK is rather new both in respect to the mode of the compromise and its results. I believe that since the latest assembly, a similar change is being undergone in the Writers' Federation, and I see as such also the manner in which last year's MOZGO VILAG crisis was solved. State control recognizes the autonomous interest-representation and interest-implementation rights of these organizations. It accepts them as partners, it accepts that they do not embody some kind of abstract and general interest, that is, not the same interest which the state organs and organizations embody and they must always respect the interests and the logic of the other party and strive for a rational dialogue, partnerlike relations, and compromises.

[Question] To establish such a relation, both sides must have patience.

[Answer] The readiness to compromise must develop on both sides at the same time, and that is why I regard it as a model in all three instances that it did in fact develop. If at the time of the suspension we had replied with a policy of venting grievances to the initiatives of the state organs and we had rejected the possibilities of compromise and were inclined to make heroic gestures, there would have been no agreement. Anyway, it is not as if someone had contrived "from above" at that time: Let there be a Young Writers' Circle; rather the pressure exerted by generations of writers for years and even for decades was realized. Actually they pressured for themselves this institutional form within the Writers' Federation. I do not think that last year's suspension was entirely a mistake but a characteristic mode of solving a conflict situation. The fact that instead of dialogue and partnerlike relations it put an end to the life form of conflicts has not put an end to the contradictions; these have only been constrained into the underground of literary life and become completely uncontrollable and not subject to rationalization. Nor was the cancellation of the suspension some kind of lordly act of mercy, but a certain type of solution for the unsolved conflict situation which is in harmony with the efforts of a reform policy that has

lasted several years in the belief that the reform cannot stop at the boundaries of the economic sphere.

[Question] Besides the fact that the juniorizing possessive attribute was eliminated, what did JAK gain from the compromise?

[Answer] First of all, it fits differently into the Writer's Federation. The "relative autonomy"--emphasized also in the operational regulations but which was formerly lacking--is manifested in the fact that the Circle is not directly subordinated to the secretariat of the Writer's Federation but to the committee representing the general assembly between the two general assemblies, and though we continuously hold consultations on substantive matters with the secretariat we can appeal any decision to the committee. This is not only a democratic ceremony but also a guarantee because there is rarely an appeal; thus the democratic guarantee itself is an incentive to the secretariat to consider carefully how and to what extent it participates in directing the affairs of the Circle. Since we are operating under the new conditions, our relations with the secretariat are much more correct than before, and dispense with all nuances of patriarchal affectation. We are a class organization within the Writers' Federation, and therefore we represent other interests as well, and the working style is now characterized by a mutually recognized soveriegn representation of interests. In this way, the election of the officers in the Circle has become democratic.

[Question] Besides the formal-organizational changes, what has the leadership of the Circle achieved? All in all, what does one gain if he becomes or remains a member of the Circle?

[Answer] We have a modest, internal scholarship which every beginner among the members of the Circle may receive for a period of three months at the most. The other important innovation is a new serial publication which will appear under the management of the Magveto Kiado (for this we also needed the support and publicity of Magveto). The actual editorial work is done by our representatives elected at the membership assembly of the Circle. The publisher exercises exclusively political publication, the elected editors do not represent the guild interests of the Circle but the entire new social generation in literature, that is, the right to publish in the series does not belong only to the members of JAK. The series unifies in itself certain features in independent books and journal type publications. It is our goal that the works should appear in their organic literary relationship, and therefore we give as much space to theory as to belleslettres in order that theory should not hover "over the head" of this genre. The series will seek to outline the fault lines which exist among the social generations. With the new operational statutes, such material institutional conditions of relative autonomy were created as an independent budget or one which can be distinguished within the Writers' Federation. As for internal publicity, we have a forum which holds a literary evening or discussion every week. In the past half year we set up a social committee which deals with the interest representation of the Circle's members. Most of the members of the Zsigmond Moricz Scholarship Committee are JAK members, and for the most part

applications are sent to us. We are planning to hold the autumn meeting in Pecs (Workers in literary works, and literary works among workers), and take a visit to the Carpathian Ukraine.

[Question] Will someone become a better writer if he is the member of a well-operating, live literary organization? To put it more exactly, does the Circle offer, or does it seek to offer, some kind of professional plus to the beginning writer?

[Answer] Professional work in the case of writers is no more than the continuous process of professional and moral improvement. That is to say, constant learning, and this cannot be institutionalized. An organization, an institution can help in publishing a writer's works and in seeing that the works are not only published but live and come into dialogue with other works, traditions, the reader, and the critic; it can help the writer in exactly defining his intellectual position, in making it evident actually to whom he belongs and to whom he does not, and what contradictions of the era he must come to grips with. But of course it can introduce neither new concepts nor new morality. It can only help these come forth, can only create certain conditions for these to happen.

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PANEL REVIEWS OUTLOOK OF CITY VERSUS VILLAGE LIFE

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Aug 82 p 5

[Interview with Otto Bihari, director of Hungarian Academy of Sciences Transdanubian Scientific Institute, Gyorgy Enyedi, director of Hungarian Academy of Sciences Research Institute of Geography, Zoltan Karpati, associate and Andras Vagvolgyi, candidate of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology, by correspondent Denes Kovacs, date and place not specified: "On the Approach of Village to City"]

[Text] In the past decades, we have done much for the development of cities and villages. In the beginning of the 1980's, where does the balance between village and city stand? Are the living conditions of city and village dwellers becoming comparable?

Our editorial staff arranged a panel discussion on these questions. The participants were academic Otto Bihari, director of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Transdanubian Scientific Institute, academic Gyorgy Enyedi, director of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Research Institute of Geography, scientific associate Zoltan Karpati and candidate Andras Vagvolgyi of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology. Our editorial staff was represented by Denes Kovacs.

[Question] In the past years, society has devoted increasing attention to the problems of housing development. Debates continue concerning the depopulation of villages, the future and destructive influences of urbanization, the development of the infrastructure and many other questions. How can this increased attention by explained?

[Answer] G. Enyedi: The increased attention is mostly due to the fact that our public opinion reacts sensitively to these social tensions that came into existence as a result of the varying degrees of development of cities and villages. Earlier, the inconsistencies between Budapest and the rest of the country were the primary determinatives; however, due to the effect of urban development, they have declined significantly. A modern network of cities has developed in our country, for the first time in Hungarian history. However, comprehensive urban development has not been paired with similar village development, so that sociological differences between the villages and cities and between the various sections of the country remain significant, and influence the way of life of their inhabitants.

Overpopulation of the Cities

O. Bihari: In addition to that, in the past decade the population has moved to the cities in greater numbers than were planned or expected; in short, certain of our cities have become "overpopulated." Of course, the move to the cities is not a phenomenon unique to Hungary. Trouble only arises when improvement of the supply infrastructure and housing conditions cannot keep pace with the influx of people. This is a magic circle, in which rural populations leave the countryside to achieve better living conditions in the cities and to exchange their village way of life for the city one. However, bacause of this massive migration, we cannot create the desired conditions; thus in many cities housing conditions, trade and utility supply, and all else that characterizes city life develop slowly, or in some areas are deteriorating.

A. Vagvolgyi: In addition to the problems of city "overpopulation", the widely-publicized complete depopulation of the small village in Baranya Megye, Gyurufu, has also channeled society's attention to urban development. This case called attention to the other problem, the future of the villages, and increasingly many tolls of doom for the depopulation of small communities have been sounded.

[Question] Is there cause for fear concerning the future of the villages in light of urbanization? Is the depopulation of villages truly a danger?

[Answer] G. Enyedi: The answer is no. The depopulation of villages is only harmful if it affects entire districts and if the population decrease represents serious disadvantages to the remaining inhabitants. Studies have shown that the reduction in the population of rural communities has slowed in the past decade, and the habitation of the villages has decreased by four percent. More importantly, depopulation is not a universal rural problem. The population of larger communities is increasing, that of medium villages is stagnating; migration has primarily occurred from villages of under one thousand inhabitants. It is true, however, that this phenomenon touches half of all villages and 7.5 percent of the country's population, or almost 800 thousand persons.

Z. Karpati: If for no other reason, we must not fear for the future of the villages because the effects of urbanization, economic development and rapid development of agriculture have caused the living conditions of the rural population to improve. One-fifth of the industrial workplaces are now located in villages; the employment system of city and village dwellers has become similar; one-half of the industrial employees live in the villages. And what is perhaps more important, the income differences between urban and rural families have evened out. However, it is also true--as sociological investigations increasingly indicate--that recurring social tensions are still prominent, primarily because people's way of life and standard of living are increasingly decided by whether they live in cities or villages.

Unequal Opportunities

[Question] Thus equalization between city and village is necessary; this is one of the basic goals of our socialist society. Why do we find this one of the pressing tasks of the coming years? How does they connect with community development and way of life?

[Answer] A. Vagvolgyi: Practical experience and sociological analyses both indicate that significant differences exist in social opportunities, depending on where one lives, in city or village. This is apparent in the research results that indicate that among the children of village families, fewer continue their education, go to college, or receive higher certificates than city children. This is a contradiction of the social equality desirable under socialism. These differences in opportunity can primarily be traced back to the fact that the standard and way of life and use of leisure time for village families are in many ways less advanced than for city families. Thus, opportunities depend on living conditions, quality of public education, school attendance for the children, and generally, how much the village environment encourages higher education. The infrastructural supply to the village in its broad sense also belongs to this environment.

Z. Karpati: Although it is true that income differences have been reduced between the city and the village, we cannot forget that equal income is earned through far more work in the village as compared to the city. The work time of village housewives as well as industrial or agricultural workers well exceeds eight hours daily. Profitable cottage industry also requires much overtime. This explains in part why today more and more talk is devoted to the ascetic and self-exploitative lifestyle of village dwellers.

G. Enyedi: It must be added here that the majority of villagers have lower trade experience and the proportion of unskilled workers among them is greater than among urban dwellers. This discrepancy can lead not only to financial, but also to social inequalities.

[Question] Social and economic equalization between the city and the village is strongly tied to agricultural development as well as what we have already mentioned.

O. Bihari: The future of agriculture is inseparable from the future of agricultural workers. The first condition for this future is that agricultural areas, the villages, should not become depopulated, or at least their population should not decrease in such a way to endanger agricultural production. Thus, improvement of the ability of villages to hold their population goes hand in hand with equalization of village and city. This, in turn, is inconceivable without development of roads and utility services, housing, the retail network, and health services, or development of the village infrastructure. And, as we often forget, since modern agriculture cannot operate without a modern rural environment, the productive infrastructure necessary for improvement of agricultural production and the population infrastructure which aids and insures a cultured lifestyle must be developed together and in harmony.

A Changing Way of Life

[Question] However, in order that we change the present situation, that we restructure the rural way of life through deliberate community development--an important part of both our social and economic development--we must know what the village way of life is.

[Answer] G. Enyedi: Village communities were not identical even before the war, and clearly there are still significant differences among villages in terms of their way of life. In the past decade, in response to economic and social development, the traditional peasant way of life loosened. Hundreds of thousands of villagers moved to the cities, the vast majority of villages developed rapidly, and the living conditions of the village inhabitants improved at a fast rate. This is characterized by the improvement of rural housing conditions: in the 1970's, many hundred thousand family homes were built in the villages that were approximately 15 square meters larger than city houses. However, in terms of institutional supply, which the rural population could not cover with its own money, one group of villages continued to lag behind the cities.

A. Vagvolgyi: There are over three thousand villages in Hungary. Of them, 1580 have a population of under 1000 persons. This indicates that local infrastructural supply, the road system, stores and restaurants and services are most likely to have a destructive influence on the way of life and the chances of social progress for the populations. The smallest villages feel the most hardship. Studies show that larger villages, especially those with a population of above 3000, are capable of constructing advanced infrastructural establishments and operating them economically.

Z. Karpati: The greatest problem occurs with the smallest villages and the so-called baseline communities. These are far from cities and industrial centers, schools and physicians, and do not have enough stores. Tensions are increased by the fact that many commute from these small villages and the stationary population is growing older.

[Question] The development of differences between city and village is obviously influenced by vestiges of the past, but we cannot attribute our present worries to historical causes. How did our housing policy influence the significant development of the village on one hand, and the development of tensions between city and village on the other?

[Answer] G. Enyedi: Industrial development and housing policy did not take the personal motives for migration of the villge dwellers adequately into consideration. However, one economic factor was considered: the quality and variety of work in the city was always greater than in the village, and thus played a great attracting role to those considering moving out of the village. Less consideration was given to the factor that the prestige of the village living conditions and way of life was very low for a long time, and many moved to the cities for this reason.

O. Bihari: After the liberation, in the period of extensive industrialization, housing development was equated with industrial development, and village populations were only regarded as the source of industrial labor. At the end of the 1970's, the accepted independent housing development concept was still basically city oriented. The need for a modern network of cities and the rapid growth of population in the capital played a part in this. At first, development of the five largest cities--Pecs, Szeged, Debrecen, Miskilo, and Gyor--was the central goal; in the seventies, megye seats and certain medium-sized cities came into the forefront; and only in the past few years have small cities and local centers come into consideration. This conception based on the hierarchy of communities--large cities, cities and villages--nonetheless represents false social values.

Z. Karpati: This also relates to the empirical error that we often associate urbanization with the migration to the cities, although urbanization requires the distribution of a more cultured environment and way of life. Mass movement into the city does not in itself mean a more developed way of life, not even social advancement. If, for example, someone leaves agricutural work to become an unskilled worker in the urban industrial plant and crowds into a workers' dormitory or a sublet apartment, this is not yet social advancement for him.

The Key to Village Development

O. Bihari: Village industrial development, which often took place without background industry or the infrastructure, was often also uncertain: if the urban parent industry saw fit, it could even close its rural subsidiaries. The significant development of state farms and the associated creation of food-industry businesses brought real and important change, and offered appropriate income and security to the village population.

[Question] What spontaneous processes can be expected in the development of villages in the coming decades? When and how much must the state interfere in these processes with deliberate and well-founded community policy? Is it necessary to announce some kind of separate village development policy for this?

O. Bihari: Equalization between city and village and community development is obviously a problem for the whole of society. Community development can help or hinder our economic efforts and the solution of our social problems. However, for this village development is unnecessary, if only because the key to village development is the development of cities.

G. Enyedi: The sixth five-year plan calls for curtailment of the migration to the cities, and improvement of the population-retaining capacity of likely villages. Thus, in the future we must count on village populations' movement to the cities, although in smaller numbers. Improvement of the population-retaining capacity requires changes in the system of community development, some of which have already been implemented.

Z. Karpati: It is most important that so-called basic provisions be met in every area, even in the small villages, and this is expressed also in the state community development conceptions. In addition to appropriate housing conditions, this includes sanitary drinking water, satisfactory connections with nearby larger communities or the appropriate transportation, road, and telephone network, electrical supply and basic utilities, the opening of stores that make the local purchase of groceries and personal aids possible, readily available medical attention, and so on. In larger communities and cities, higher-level institutions must be added to this basic supply such as secondary and upper-level schools, hospitals and clinics, trade centers and so on. Thus the development of village and city must be tightly connected.

From Local Resources, Too

[Question] These principles have gained acceptance in recent times. What resources are available to cover the considerable financial tools for development?

[Answer] A. Vagvolgyi: In the cities, hospitals, high schools, theaters and other institutions obviously serve a wider area, and thus the state budget must primarily finance their services. It has been thus in the past, and will obviously continue to be this way. However, it is also true that central financial tools are necessary for creation of the basic provisions in the villages. The state budget turns enormous sums over to the goals of community development at present; the debate is not so much concerned with the size of the communities, but with the allocation of these funds. Twelve percent of financial resources designed for communal goals is turned over to the villages, where half the population lives--and certain villages receive no support at all. The rest, 88 percent, goes to the cities. primarily the large cities. If we could modify these proportions, and I emphasize modify, then we would be making a great advance in the equalization of village and city.

Z. Karpati: We cannot select equality of distribution as our goal, naturally. However, we cannot expect to improve the supply to villages strictly through central funds. Above all, it is necessary that we better mobilize the local resources, support initiative and social work that serves community interests, and supplement central resources with local financial tools. There are such efforts in operation, and as a result in villages that cannot supply more funds as in other places, the local council can greatly improve living conditions simply through effective administrative work and effort.

O. Bihari: A facet of the extension of villages' entrepreneurial efforts is that villages should be albe to manage their own income, accept greater responsibility, and decide locally where the money is spent. For this, it is first of all necessary that there be something to manage; in other words, the villages' already slim finances should not be withdrawn, and worthwhile causes should even be supported. Thus, more money is not necessary, just better distribution. This is also necessary so that the independence, responsibility, and democracy of the villages should increase. Considered

and well-founded community policy at the same time requires the harmonization of institutional systems on various levels--village, district--in addition to harmonious and simultaneous development of the city and the village.

G. Enyedi: Although we turned the focus of our discussion to the problems of the villages and their inhabitants, this does not mean that we are devotees of nostalgia for the traditional village life. Indeed, we seek more equal proportions between the development of city and village. As the city needs the groceries grown in the villages and the villages in turn need the services of the cities, it is certain that community development in accordance with socialist goals must strive to make living conditions better for people living in the villages and in the cities, and to spread the more advanced, urbanized way of life throughout the entire country.

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YOUTH GROUPS HOLD MEETINGS AFTER NINTH PZPR PLENUM

SZSP Supreme Council Meets

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 2 Aug 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by K. Z.: "About Student Needs"]

[Text] Despite the students' summer recess, discussions in the academic community have not ceased regarding the younger generation's future and life's perspectives. What are the results of the resolution passed by PZPR's Ninth Plenum regarding the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] and students in general? How will the organization share in its implementation? The scholarship system is proposed for Sejm law. These were the fundamental questions discussed by Tadeusz Sawic, chairman of the Union's Main Board, at a meeting with journalists at the SZSP Supreme Council.

The question about the sense of the Ninth Plenum's resolution and the definition of the younger generation's position do not seem completely interchangeable. The expectations expressed at the plenary discussions went far beyond the country's reality and possibilities, but the new mechanisms guaranteeing to the student movement control of state decisions and the achievement of a certain type of legislative initiative, is essential.

The decision to call for a Council of Ministers Youth Committee found full support in the academic community, which forced the organization to change its working style to include a fuller representation of the younger generation and greater recognition of its needs. The intention was to take advantage of the greatest number of youth during the drafting of the resolution. The Council of Ministers Youth Committee will coordinate the proceedings of all youth organizations and at the same time execute the resolutions adopted by the Council of Ministers. "We see in the activity of the committee," said Tadeusz Sawic, "the possible normalization of our community's problems without releasing other authorized institutions from their obligations." Calling the committee into being also portends changes in the economic sphere--greater possibilities for the development of student cooperatives based upon the system of self-financing, introduction of an independent servicing activity and regulation of the scholarship system.

There was much discussion at the party's Ninth Plenum on the necessity to adapt higher education to employment needs, current economic functions and the needs of culture and education. Voices from the workers' community criticized universities for allowing an atmosphere antagonistic to socialism to develop. In the view of T. Sawic, true values should be differentiated from clearly antagonistic, antistate activities.

Regarding youth integration, the SZSP is ready to act jointly with the academic community throughout Poland, to open dialogue, and to create a bridge of understanding with every group within the youth movement.

The SZSP, together with the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology, must coordinate the plan for state financial aid to students. Two elements are contained in the plan: grants and special additional loans.

In the first category of scholarships is material aid to each student to cover minimal monthly living expenses, reduced according to family income. The minimal living costs should be set by the total costs: eating in the cafeteria, living in students' quarters, additional food and the purchase of paper, books and field trips, which can be 25 percent of the minimum payment. A student receives material aid for 10 months of the year. In the case of student families, invalids and orphans, the scholarship is earmarked for the entire year.

Within the second category of aid are minimal loans for persons in a particularly difficult material situation. The loans will be granted at 100 percent to those students who have received a diploma with a special award or with an A average or to those students who will work for 3 years in some deficient area. Loans of 75 percent will be granted to those students receiving a diploma with a B average.

The plan requires, of course, a broader discussion within the student community.

ZMW National Board Plenum

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 2 Aug 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Jozef Szewczyk: "It Is Impossible to Make It Possible"]

[Text] Do we know what we want? What is the plan of action supposed to be? These are the fundamental questions that dominated the Eighth Plenum of the National Board [ZK] of the Union of Rural Youth [ZMW], which took place 1 August at Jadwisin, near Warsaw. The session was conducted by the ZMW chairman, Waldemar Swirgon. Also taking part were Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Socioprofessional Division of the PZPR Central Committee, and Kazimierz Fortuna, director of the Division of Culture, Education and Social Affairs of the ZSL Supreme Committee.

After singing the organizational hymn, a minute of silence was dedicated to the memory of those who had fallen during the Warsaw Uprising, on the 38th anniversary of its outbreak.

The discussions were led by Waldemar Swirgon, who stated that they would be devoted to program and organizational issues, according to the decision of the previous plenum. The union is at a point where it must discuss what the ZMW intends to do. Everything else will follow from this fundamental question.

The chairman of the ZMW National Board submitted a paper entitled "Strengthening the Unity and Independence and Consolidating the Socialist Character of the Union." (The paper's themes are printed on page 2.)

Discussion

The plenary discussion concentrated on two fundamental issues. The first was the union of the organizations and then construction of a positive program of activity. The second aspect concerned program proposals; e.g., initiatives adopted by the union's circles and stages.

The following persons spoke at the meeting:

Wladyslaw Zakrzycki, vice chairman of the Voivodship Board of the ZMW in Torun said, "In years past, criticism of ZSMP was sufficient to call ZMW circles to order. We imagined that after calling the ZMW to order, the same would take place. Today, one must perfect a program."

Andrzej Andrusiak, chairman of the Plant Board of the State Farm Combine Barlinek in Gorzow Voivodship, said, "After discussions before the First ZMW Congress, there is no reason to turn back. The color of the party identification card is not important but work is. Let's discuss important issues but let's decide also, for example, how to organize the agricultural olympics and how to help youth in specific matters. We have succeeded in earmarking an administrative building for apartments for young married couples."

Andrzej Soroka, Suwalki Voivodship, said, "Now waiting for the joining of the KC PZPR and NK ZSL plenums with respect to agriculture, we must fight to ensure that the young farmer beginning independent farming can obtain a tractor, seeder, plow and other basic tools on credit. Cooperation with the ZSMP has led to the situation where, instead of two agricultural olympics, we have one. I agree with the themes voted on in the referendum, especially cooperation with the People's Sports Unions, assisting them, correcting the state of culture and so on."

Jerzy Dolegowski, vice chairman of ZW ZMW in Lomza, said, "Functioning of the circles should be counted among the fundamental issues. This should be an inspiration for joint activity not only by youth but also by the entire rural society: cooperation with the initiatives of PZPR and the circles of ZSL and LZS.

"A very valuable achievement of the ZMW is the cooperation with youth organizations in other socialist countries and other activities in the WFDY."

Stanislaw Mrowka, chairman of ZW ZMW in Jelenia Gora, said, "The ZMW must defend the themes of unity in agriculture. This is the only chance for credibility of

action. On the other hand, equal rights written in the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Plenum must be worked out through the participation of union members in the people's councils, self-governments and collective councils."

Stanislaw Gabrielski and Kazimierz Fortuna then spoke. Gabrielski remarked on the philosophy worked out at the Ninth PZPR Plenum regarding the program for a positive struggle for subjectivity and self-education by youth organizations, as well as on the philosophy of creating conditions to realize the goals of the younger generation. The resolution will not be realized without the participation of youth itself and without harmony of laws and obligations.

The activity of youth organizations must be inclined toward the struggle of moral renewal. This is also the primary task of the ZMW. The presence within the organization of members of the two parties should be only a source of strength, not of conflicts.

Fortuna said that it is extraordinarily valuable that the union is completing the stage of creation and entering the stage of positive work. This is not an exaggeration of the statement that the ZMW should be the union fighting for youth and principles, not for people's ambitions. The ZMW must stand for self-education. Each person has the right to expect that he or she will find his or her place in the ZMW. There is also a place for a partnership between the PZPR and ZSL.

The second portion of the plenum was postponed until the next plenary session.

The plenum adopted a resolution that included the following:

--Only an independent ZMW built upon the principles of internal democracy can become a school for social work and civic education; only such an organization can express the real opinions and position of rural youth regarding political parties and the authorities;

--Poland's future depends upon the unity of all Poles and upon their cooperation in the implementation of progressive socioeconomic and political alterations, whose directions were defined in the Declaration of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON];

--The ideological influences of the PZPR and ZSL can rest only on the trust that the ZMW members express in the programs presented by both parties;

--Taking upon ourselves the cooperative responsibility for the most essential areas of the country's socioeconomic life, we accept the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Plenum, especially the ZMW's role as a constant element in the state's sociopolitical system, and also the guarantee by the PZPR of parity and equal rights for every socialist youth organization.

ZMW Plenum Theses

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 2 Aug 82 p 5

[Text] The ZMW is a natural element in the country's political system but it is a nonparty youth union. It is open to members of the PZPR and ZSL; this should be its strength.

The union is entering a new stage of work, deciding its position, self-esteem and criteria for rural youth living in prosperity in a democratic state. After the stages of creating the organization and arguing about the union's shape comes the most difficult stage--implementation of the program. At the Ninth PZPR Plenum, the ZMW, together with the People's Sports Unions, obtained a broad field of activity. It must prove that it is capable of implementing ambitious goals.

Our ideology is socialism and our method is positive, organizational work toward the goal of social policy. Among the most important current tasks are:

—Activity toward the goal of perfecting the representative system in national and self-government councils;

--Concern about jobs in agriculture. The Ninth PZPR Congress and the Eighth ZSL Congress have recognized mining, agriculture and apartment construction as the most important areas. The state has taken responsibility of guaranteeing jobs in agriculture through the delivery of machinery and tools on credit. The system for distribution of these means has been controversial but we shall not judge this in the social category--what must be done to stop the degradation of rural life.

--The struggle to create conditions in the rural areas for personal self-realization through improvement of the infrastructure; e.g., waterworks and road construction.

--Development of youth settlements but on the condition that nobody accuses youth of taking away everything from the commune. Similar preferential principles for settlement should be created for youth possessing deteriorating farms after completing their agricultural studies.

At the First ZMW Congress, it was decided that the organization be a self-financing organization. There is no obstacle to creating a social organization or taking small factories supported financially by the ZMW. There can be different institutions; e.g., intermediaries selling used agricultural machinery, supplying LZS with sporting goods or bringing cultural life to the rural areas.

We will do what seems almost impossible. This is not an easy task for the ZMW. We need a new workstyle, a better one, because better is always the enemy of mediocrity.

9807
CSO: 2600/825

YOUTH UNIONS URGE CREATION OF COMMISSION FOR COOPERATION

Commission Draft Declaration

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 12 Aug 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] On 4 December 1981, at its Sixth Plenum, the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] was the first to call for a commission for the cooperation of socialist youth unions. Implementing the resolution of this plenum and opposing the proposals of the PZPR KC [Central Committee] Ninth Plenum, the outgoing Presidium of the ZMW ZK [National Board] in Krakow reiterated this appeal 19 July 1982 and adopted drafts addressed to the authorities of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] and the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] concerning preparatory efforts toward creating the commission.

Since the leadership of the SZSP and ZHP, and since 10 August 1982 the ZSMP as well, have favored creating socialist youth union cooperation, it is possible to publish the full text of the draft "Declaration and Operational Regulations of the Nationwide Commission for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations" [OKWOM].

We will publish the ZMW ZK draft document in another issue.

Declaration Calling for a Nationwide Commission for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations

Socialist youth unions are convinced that the future of the Polish People's Republic to a significant degree lies in creating conditions for unleashing the creative activism of young workers, peasants, intellectuals and students.

By participating in the creation of a broad social movement to bring the country out of the crisis and develop the socialist state, we are assuming joint responsibility for the shape and development of our homeland. We intend to achieve this through the comprehensive cooperation of socialist youth unions, based on the principles of volunteerism, equal rights and equal rank. The

primary goal of this cooperation, which will manifest itself in the coordination of tasks, the exchange of experiences and the establishment of common positions, will be to uphold the socialist ideals of social justice, democracy, and law and order in the consciousness and in social practice and to foster generally an atmosphere of moral opposition to conformist attitudes. This is promoted through the ideological ties of youth organizations with the party, expressed in the recognition of the PZPR's leadership role for building socialism and in common program assumptions.

Considering the preceding and expressing the desire to strengthen the ideological-political unity of Polish youth, their patriotic and internationalist attitudes and the coordination of international activity, the socialist youth unions propose the creation of a Nationwide Commission for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations.

Operational Regulations of OKWOM

To ensure the effective implementation of the interests of the younger generation in the Polish People's Republic--young workers, peasants, intellectuals and students--and to improve the coordination of the tasks of socialist youth unions, for the purpose of expanding cooperation and the exchange of experiences, the Socialist Union of Polish Students, the Polish Scout Union, the Rural Youth Union and the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, based on the experiences of the Nationwide Committee for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations from 1957 to 1973 and guided by principles of volunteerism, equal rights and equal rank, conclude an understanding on the appointment of a Nationwide Commission for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations.

1. The OKWOM is the plane of cooperation and cooperative activity of socialist youth unions. It does not have power regarding the rights of statutory organs of unions; it has a social character.

2. All unions will participate in the OKWOM based on the principles of volunteerism, equal rights and equal rank.

3. OKWOM is made up of the presidiums of the central statutory authorities of the union founders.

4. The Union Chairmen's Group is OKWOM's coordinating, executive organ.

5. The Commission for Mutual International Contacts of Polish Youth and Student Unions is the OKWOM organ in the field of mutual foreign contacts.

6. Each union has one vote in the OKWOM. All decisions are made unanimously. When no opposition on a given issue is expressed by any of the unions making up the OKWOM, the principle of unanimity is upheld.

7. The OKWOM is chaired by the particular unions on a 3-month rotational basis, in alphabetical order. This principle applies to meetings of the Union Chairmen's Group.

8. The OKWOM and the Unions Chairmen's Group meet at least once every 3 months. Meetings of the OKWOM and the Union Chairmen's Group may likewise be called at the recommendation of the interested union.

9. The OKWOM may permit representatives of other organizations to participate at its meetings as observers.

10. The particular unions share the costs of OKWOM activity on an equal basis.

11. Each union is free to leave the OKWOM. The withdrawal of one of the union-founders dissolves the OKWOM.

12. Changes in these regulations may be executed only by a unanimous resolution of all OKWOM member unions.

Rural Youth Official Interviewed

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 12 Aug 82 p 2

[Interview with Kazimierz Janik, secretary of the ZMW ZK [National Board], by J. Szewczyk; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] In conjunction with the publication of the ZSMP position on the cooperation of youth organizations and the ZMW proposals submitted to our editorial staff, we asked Kazimierz Janik, secretary of the ZMW ZK [National Board] for a brief statement.

[Question] How did you react to the position of the ZSMP ZG [Main Board] leadership?

[Answer] We are pleased that, following the SZSP's and ZHP's positive response to our appeal, the ZSMP also responded favorably to our call for the creation of a Nationwide Commission for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations. We envisaged the need for such cooperation when the ZMW was formed. However, the principles of this cooperation had to be defined, since the type of cooperation differed from the former federation. Hence, at the Sixth ZK Plenum, we explicitly stated that we favor the creation of a plane of cooperation based on the principles of volunteerism, equal rights and the equal rank of socialist youth unions. We reiterated the proposal at Presidium deliberations in Krakow. The chairman of the ZMW ZK also spoke of them at the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR KC [Central Committee].

[Question] What is the basis of your proposal? How does it differ from the ZSMP position?

[Answer] In the declaration we state that "the primary goal of this cooperation, which will manifest itself in the coordination of tasks, the exchange of experiences and the establishment of common positions, will be to uphold the socialist ideals of social justice, democracy and law and order in the

consciousness and to foster generally an atmosphere of moral opposition to conformist attitudes." Thus, we are not interested in only one selected problem but generally in an impact on molding the attitudes of the rural, working class, intelligentsia and school-age youth.

[Question] Until recently, youth looked unfavorably upon the existing forms of cooperation between organizations, if not upon cooperation itself. Everyone said that a resurgence of the federation was desired and that the old federation was a bureaucracy in which the ZSMP leaders held the key positions. Are you not afraid that the creation of a central commission will be criticized at the voivodship level?

[Answer] It is an exaggeration to say that everyone will suddenly have a burning desire for cooperation. Cooperation differs in different voivodships. Often conflicts and differences of opinion among organizations cannot be eliminated overnight. But there have also been such instances as in Zamosc, where a commission for cooperation would have been created without an inspiration from above. The fact that it was not is a separate issue; it was not our fault but the fault of our ZSMP colleagues (and not even the ZSMP voivodship leaders).

[Question] Such instances are in the past. What is the greatest advantage of the creation of a plane of cooperation? What results can it produce?

[Answer] The time of quarrels and accusations is over; the time of concrete work is here. We must undertake many things together, e.g., the positions of youth organizations on implementing legal documents, the possibility of taking positions on questions of key importance to youth, legislative initiatives and the like. The voice of Polish youth should be heard on these issues, not that of a single organization. This is the advantage. We cannot yet speak of the effect on development. We shall see what happens.

[Question] What do you think about implementation?

[Answer] As the initiators, we invite the leadership of the ZSMP, the SZSP and the ZHP to a consultational meeting in August.

8536
CSO: 2600/844

FURTHER PRESS COVERAGE OF POST-PLENUM YOUTH ACTIVITY NOTED

SZSP Official Interviewed

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 13-15 Aug 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Ireneusz Nawrocki, vice chairman of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], by J. Szewczyk: "To Build Unity Among Youth--SZSP: The Most Important Thing Is to Reach the Goal;" date and place not given]

> [Text] After publishing the stand of the ZSMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth] on the issue of creating a Socialist Youth Unions Consultative Commission and on the matter of the ZMW [Union of Rural Youth] draft of "Declaration and regulations of the Nationwide Cooperation Commission for Youth Organizations," we requested an interview with Ireneusz Nawrocki, vice chairman of the Supreme Council of the SZSP.

[Question] How did you accept the proposal to create a cooperative commission for youth organizations?

[Answer] We noted with interest the matter of undertaking work to formulate a platform for the exchange of views and cooperation among youth unions. I would like to mention the fact that as early as in December of 1980 during our third congress along with the decision to leave the FSZMP [Federation of Socialist Polish Youth Unions], we adopted a resolution which proposed the appointment, as set forth in the constitution of the PRL [Polish People's Republic], of a "consultative commission based on voluntary action to bring together youth unions which declare their readiness to cooperate."

[Question] What kinds of issues and problems should this forum serve?

[Answer] In the aforementioned stand of the congress, we recognized the following, among others, as the most important joint issues: the improvement of conditions for youth beginning their careers, the democratization of the school system, the representation of youth in representative organizations as well as their representation in international forums. This last issue was implemented last July [1981] with the formation of the Commission for Joint

International Contacts of Polish Youth and Student Unions. We, as SZSP, are pleased with its functioning.

[Question] In your opinion, when will this concept be implemented?

[Answer] We accept the invitation of the ZMW to discuss the principles and forms of cooperation of youth organizations. The subject is important and extensive, therefore, it will undoubtedly require much more discussion. Essentially, we are talking about a certain new process which is beginning in the youth movement. Therefore, time is not the most important issue but rather the goal which is to be attained. That is why it is necessary that not only the leadership of unions but the organizations as a whole be involved in this discussion. It is also necessary for the principles of joint discussions and work to be the primary confirmation of the intentions with which we all approach them.

ZMW Leader Interviewed

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 13-15 Aug 82 p 2

[Interview with Waldemar Swirgon, leader of the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] National Board, "ZMW Acts on Behalf of the Advancement of Rural Communities;" date and place of interview not specified]

> [Text] What according to the ZMW is the essence of the output of the Ninth Plenum and in what does the ZMW see chances for the implementation of its program? This subject is discussed by the leader of the ZMW National Board, Waldemar Swirgon in his interview with PAP:

"The National Board of ZMW," stated W. Swirgon, "expressed this clearly in its resolution stating that '...we are taking joint responsibility upon ourselves for the most crucial areas of social and economic life of the country and we accept with regard to the resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and particularly the fact of describing the ZMW in it [resolution] as a permanent element in the sociopolitical system of the state as well as guaranteeing it equality and equal rights by the PZPR in respect to all socialist youth organizations.'

"The union has become a vital element of the socialist political system in Poland. As a 200,000-member organization of rural youth, the union forms the framework for the partnershiplike cooperation of young ZSL [United Peasant Party] and PZPR activists as well as of nonparty activists who respect the independence and social nature of our movement. The openness and diversity of the ZMW program is the power and the natural source of the internal dynamics of the organization. Socialism is our ideology; positivism and organizational work--our method of operation and regulatory social policy--our goal. The documents of the Ninth Plenum clearly state that the attitude taken of 'only valid' demands and requirements, under conditions of economic collapse, does not lead anywhere at present and always has disastrous instructive consequences.

Earlier the ZMW had already rejected the pretentious so-called generation trend in the Polish youth movement. In the documents of this plenum, of fundamental significance is the creation of conditions for the emanation of young people's own activeness according to the principle of "by and for ourselves" as well as the support of young people's service and productive cooperative activity, principally that of construction and housing, as well as the right to conduct economic-financial activity by means of creating their own economic organizations.

A precedential solution, which initiates the process of change in the country's political practice and the role of the youth movement in it, consists of decisions about the delegation, for the benefit of youth unions, of some of the constitutional powers, which until now have been reserved for state organs or political parties, such as, for example, opinion giving in regard to the plans or decisions of the state administration, the participation of socialist youth unions in legislative work, legislative initiative and control of the administrative apparatus. One of the key problems of socialist society is the development of democracy--the participation of society in decisionmaking and in the control of power. Under the conditions of our political system, there is no possibility nor need for an opposition party to play such a role modeled after bourgeois democracy. It may be expected that the youth movement, equipped with the above powers, could fulfill the functions of an "early-warning system" in socialist democracy. The creation by the youth unions, equipped with such powers, of a Commission of Cooperation as a socialist platform for joint action whose proposal was submitted by the National Board of the ZMW during its plenum of 4 December of last year [1981], could turn the youth movement into a kind of "youth chamber" of Polish parliamentarism and into an element of the development of social democracy.

The ZMW acts on behalf of the development of agriculture and the social advancement of rural areas within the framework of the common guidelines of the agricultural policy of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee and that of the presidium of the ZSL National Board. In the interest of our members and all of society, we must state today that the degree of the implementation of common guidelines, despite the fact that it is in accord with all the principles, is insufficient and that is why positive effects may come quite late.

In firmly confirming the economic priorities of the Ninth Party Congress--mining, agriculture and housing construction, the ZMW stresses emphatically the need for qualitatively new decisions in matters concerning assistance for young farmers and the rural intelligentsia just as was done in the area of the two remaining priority tasks.

In understanding all the difficulties and crisis conditions of workers and peasants, the state must, in spite of everything, assume responsiblity for the creation of work attitudes in state-controlled and private farming just as it does in respect to our peers in industry. This can take on the form of outfitting young farmers who build new farms or take over neglected ones with machinery and construction equipment.

In the nationwide discussion about rural areas and agriculture, the ZMW emphasizes the problem of water supplies for rural areas. Next to culture, democratism in gaining access to education and into sports of the People's Sports Unions, these issues constitute problems which besides machinery and building materials will determine the number and type of young farmers who will remain in rural areas. Modern and productive farming is farming by young, highly qualified farmers who are equal to urban dwellers in their civic and social rights.

We anticipate that the announced joint plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL National Board will undertake decisions which will serve the development of rural dwellers, the modernization of agriculture and Poland's self-sufficiency in the area of food.

9853
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YOUTH LEADERS SPEAK ON IMPLEMENTING PZPR RESOLUTION

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 18, 22 Aug 82 pp 4, 5

[Article by Wladyslaw Bielec: "Three Times How"]

[Text] We presented three questions to youth organization leaders:

--How should implementation of the tasks set by the party's Ninth Plenum resolution take place which, as is known, were dedicated to the problems of youth?

--How do organization leaders view the activity of their unions after the Ninth Plenum and the publication of party-government documents covering youth?

--How should the activity of the Council of Minister's Committee on youth problems be propagated?

Their observations could constitute an excellent theme for discussion of the actions taken by individual organizations, and also on the significance and possibilities of coordinating their combined activities on behalf of the entire generation.

Jerzy Jaskierna--Chairman of the ZG ZSMP [Main Board, Polish Socialist Youth Union]

1. The resolution is very general in most of its provisions. That is a result of the nature of that document but it can also be presumed that the Central Committee did not yet have a more specific solution of certain problems. This is the consequence of a situation in which the country's political and economic conditions, and thus the lives of young people are undergoing constant change. Also, changes in awareness are taking place relatively rapidly--in comparison to other periods--particularly in the case of youth, which was not prepared for political activity under such complicated circumstances by school, college or place of work.

And another matter, youth is not a monolith or compact social group. Its expectations are varied and the possibilities of their realization are dependent on where they reside, their environment and many other parameters. It is necessary to quickly translate the Ninth Plenum's resolution into the language of individual environments. What is most important is that the road that the party wants to travel together with the young generation has been laid out. The members of our union are awaiting rapid decisions and specific actions. I am in complete agreement with that, but at the same time they must be decisions that have been thought through and must be consistent with the proposals that we have been reaching since the Third ZSMP Congress through plenary deliberations and consultations with the aktivs of various groups.

Party activities are already taking place. Now the resolution and its implementation schedule must reach all basic party organizations and to the lowest levels of authority. Likewise its contents and implementation directions must become known by the members of our union--that is a task for us.

2. The Ninth Plenum's resolution meets the program goals we adopted at the Third Extraordinary ZSMP Congress. We elaborated a series of interesting ideological-educational work forms, of which perhaps we can at least identify the discussion on problems of the latest Polish history based on "Corrections from History" published by us. To be sure, we do not have a ready overall recipe for ideological-educational work with youth, something that today is particularly difficult, if the entire tangle of sociopolitical-economic conditions is considered. However, our work program in this area is subject to systematic enrichment.

Youth expects specific activities from the union in the economic and social area, among others, with respect to housing construction problems, equalization of the standard of living on the farm and in the city, working conditions and wages, and socioprofessional advancement. Specific youth initiatives in this area must be implemented realistically with the assistance of the party and administrative authorities in every environment (e.g., through creating youth housing-construction cooperatives, building-material pools, youth work cooperatives, and the participation of youth in the process of inventiveness and improvement of efficiency, and joint management of the work establishment and the environment). We note the specific effects of such activities, but also analyze the obstacles, including those of a bureaucratic nature in resolving youth problems by youth itself, or with its significant participation. We expect that party members, organizations and echelons will be assisting us to an ever greater extent in overcoming them.

We urged the Third ZSMP Congress to appoint a committee on youth problems which--with the participation of youth union representatives--will coordinate and review the activities of the authorities in matters that concern the new generation. This cannot be an institution that would only have an opinionmaking character, although it is precisely those kinds of committees that are coming into existence in voivodships. The opportunity created for us by the Ninth Plenum's resolution may be wasted for us in this way. Consequently, this requires resolution of the problem of the effectiveness of the committee's

activities, the scope of formal powers, endowment with special forms of authority essential for the proper execution of already adopted decisions, and also the full acceptance by administrative organs of its inspirational and opiniongiving functions.

With this kind of understanding of the committee's function, the task of union members and elements would be the preparation of postulates together with proposals for ways of their implementation, analytic materials relative to the accomplishment state of programs adopted on behalf of the young generation, and the signaling of irregularities appearing in current activities on youth's behalf. ZSMP members have a large role to fulfill in this area--as functionaries of the state's administration and economy who not only will be performing the functions of experts, but also be responsible for inspiring the activities of the organization itself.

Andrzej Ornat--commander-in-chief of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union].

1. Practice always dominates theory, hence specific activities will be reckoned. The resolution is an opportunity and we should not waste it. But we will waste it if we are satisfied with the fact itself, its existence, with the fact that the problem has been gotten rid of.

What needs to be done first? First of all, bring the existence of that opportunity to social consciousness. The plenum took place during the vacation period. In addition, personal decisions, for of course the plenum considered them, can dominate other decisions in the public's perception. All the same, the situation is not one in which there is discussion in every party organization, youth group, educational institution and workplace on what to do to have the resolution become practice and not just another nice document. Also, we have not yet learned to discern very specific solutions in general resolution formulations.

An enormous amount of work also awaits us in constructing the plan of a statute about youth which is to be presented for deliberation by the Sejm on the initiative of the PZPR deputies' club. This needs to be done as rapidly as possible. The next problem is the equally rapid adaptation of youth organizations to the proposals to grant new rights to them.

The most difficult problem is overcoming the feeling of a lack of perspectives which youth still talks about constantly. We are not without fault here. First, we ourselves began to complain loudly about how the young bear the greatest losses as a result of the current crisis. Now we wonder that they were seized by doubt, passivity, lack of faith in the morrow, a conviction of the uniqueness of their position against the expanse of history. At first, we taught youth persistently for years that the creator and contributor of everything is a good state, caring for the welfare of the young generation. Now we suddenly turn about-face and say--work with us, work yourselves, and we are surprised when we hear no cries of approbation.

Thus, on the one hand, restless activities are necessary and, on the other, patience while waiting for effects, primarily in youth's awareness. It is also

necessary that once having decided on the subjective treatment of youth and its problems, party echelons and party institutions not forget to be consistent in such activities.

2. We have been accustomed to the fact that the government itself implements government resolutions, and that it is omnipotent, and through the help of orders, regulations and acts of law can immediately create a thousandfold possibilities for executing decisions. Still, and again this is a truism, the basic elements of the party and of youth associations have decisive significance.

If the resolution speaks of incorporating youth in conducting the reform of agriculture, then institution commissions on youth problems cannot consist only of those who are experienced, who have eaten bread from more than one stove, while every initiative of the young is acknowledged with the statement "this won't do," or "there is no possibility."

Finding new courses of action, and the planning of equally specific undertakings is a task for party echelons and organizations and youth association groups. The holding of one or two meetings will not suffice here for getting acquainted with the resolution and for elaborating a 1-or 2-year program. Constant attention, continuous thought about youth's problems, and their participation in social, political and economic life is needed.

It is essential that youth organizations expand the social base of their activity. To be sure, not through violent, artificial development of the ranks, but mainly through working out their own means of discussing the most important problems with all youth, more effective interaction with youth, and realistic rather than imagined representation of youth's interests.

On the other hand, youth organizations must be aware that they are one of the main causative forces for implementing the Ninth Plenum's resolution, something that in effect also signifies responsiblity for its execution.

3. A basic task of the committee is the programming of the activity of the government and leading organs of state administration on behalf of the young generation. That also is the coordination of government activity relative to those problems, shaping the directions and principles of cooperation by the government with youth and social organizations, and finally the supervision of the leading and central organs of state administration on behalf of youth. Thus, there is an abundance of these tasks.

Tadeusz Sawic--Chairman, RN SZSP [Supreme Council, Socialist Union of Polish Students]

1. The plenum's resolution is formulated concretely, and clearly sets tasks for party members, individual organizations and their echelons. It also contains recommendations and responsibilities for the highest authorities and has its substantiation in documents adopted by the PZPR Central Committee Political Bureau.

We expect that further substantiation of the tasks of party elements and party members will occur in lower party elements and youth organizations, that the contents of the resolution will reach their members, and that all of them will be held accountable for implementing the tasks specified in the resolution.

2. One of the reasons for the failure to realize the resolution of the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum which was held in 1972, was the passive attitude of youth to the tasks contained in it. The contents of the resolution were greeted with much applause, but insofar as implementation is concerned, it was accepted that since the party had passed it, the party would implement it, and youth would simply benefit from the effects of a dynamic development of the country. The same mistake must not be made again. Our responsibility is to disseminate the resolution's contents among academic youth in our case, as well as to further discuss our own initiatives, our own actions and our own activity, beginning with current problems within the range of our own eyes and own hands. What is entailed is having as many students as possible taking part in defining the tasks resulting from the resolution of the Central Committee's Ninth Plenum and participating in its implementation together with our union members.

There are many problems to be solved in our group and they have been presented by the SZSP for many years. They pertain equally to social conditions, cultural activity, health, and the like, as well as to just social enrollment, quality of the instruction process with special consideration of content, level and forms for the conduct of political studies, the employment of graduates, student participation in scientific work, a joining of theory with practice, and the like. The union submitted its own plans in the case of most of these problems. Apparently we were too ineffective, and the period of growth and the general crisis did not favor resolution of the problems we raised.

The Ninth Plenum resolution creates greater opportunities for claiming our rights, insisting on and contributing to having the higher school discharge its responsibilities--instructional, scientific and upbringing on behalf of both students and society. We must avail ourselves of this opportunity.

3. The committee has a specific role to fulfill, but its possibilities should not be exaggerated. It should insist, recall to mind, encourage and criticize, but specific problems have been and will have to be resolved by individual ministries. It is also very important that the committee work in close agreement with youth organizations, that it not impose solutions on them but arrive at them in everyday cooperation. However, much also depends on the conduct of youth organizations. They should be concerned about granting the committee an appropriate rank. The committee should constitute a base for the regulation of the activity of state organs with respect to youth's vital problems. This can be achieved if youth organizations can submit problems on an equal basis for deliberation by that body, problems that are vital for youth.

Waldemar Swirgon, Chairman, ZK ZMW [National Board, Rural Youth Union]

1. How is one to create a source of program inspiration from this document for party organizations, state authorities and youth associations? As practice demonstrates, objective difficulties will begin to accumulate, obstacles will spring up, many people in responsible positions will shove the document into a drawer. Assuredly, more than one organization will adopt its own program, and will even have it printed nicely and...lay it down in the seat of honor.

I think that the most important work at this stage belongs to the youth movement. We cannot allow the plenum and its decisions to be forgotten. What is involved is the widest possible dissemination of the resolution, common understanding, how to draw the right to struggle for the just problems of youth from that document, and how to participate in its realization.

2. The danger exists that some youth will also consider that the document is sufficient and that the problems will resolve themselves. That mistake was made 10 years ago.

The plenum supported a series of initiatives that the youth movement is taking up. Conditions are being created for the development of such initiatives as the settlement of young people, the ZMW "New Village" cooperative movement, and sociocultural "People's Scene." These are rank-and-file movements to which the union has given a broader, even nationwide character. But what is important is, that ZMW circles managed to read guarantees and conditions for self-initiative in the resolution, and its schedule for implementation, so that they would find inspiration there for their own vision of the village and agriculture of the future. Also, that they would rediscover a place in them for their group and themselves, for every young boy or girl who wants to tie his or her life to the farm. It is true that such a vision does not emerge directly from the document. It is going to be necessary to fight for it, however, the party has confirmed the right of youth to that struggle in its documents, and has also confirmed a decided willingness to support it.

I will not conceal the fact that the union accepted the decision to appoint a committee with much distrust. We consider that the policy of understanding and cooperation by Polish youth unions is most important. If youth organizations are to be at variance, they will be unable to elaborate a common position, and thus the appointment of a committee may turn out to be a measure of little effectiveness. If they cooperate, the committee can be very useful.

We do not intend to boycott this initiative, or to be offended because it was implemented against our wish. If the committee becomes a form of government coming to youth on difficult problems which have not yet been taken care of, and will also be a force that supervises the implementation of the administration's responsibilities on behalf of youth, then the ZMW will also contribute its input to the committee's efforts.

10433
CSO: 2600/883

TRADE UNION MINISTER CIOSEK INTERVIEWED ON YOUTH

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish No 19, 8 Aug 82 pp 6, 7

[Interview with Minister Stanislaw Ciosek, secretary of the Social-Political Committee of the Cabinet, by Henryk Laskowski: "From Bitterness to Hope"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] For several weeks the press, radio and television have been full of information, evaluations and marvelous formulas concerning young people. It is a theme that appears in our social-political life every few years. According to one point of view, young people are characterized by nihilism, a lack of ideals, and a consumer attitude toward life. Another point of view, however, holds that young people are earnest, patriotic, uncompromising and sensitive to each manifestation of cold indifference and injustice.

[Answer] Both sides can be right. It is a problem as old as the world. Each older generation wants their children to be better than they themselves are. I have a 12-year-old daughter and I admit that I am especially irritated by those faults and weaknesses in her that I have been trying for years to overcome in myself. Perhaps that is the key to understanding this great divergence of opinion about young people.

[Question] Does this mean that the older generation wants their children to be better or does it mean that they are trying to raise their children in their own mold?

[Answer] In striving for the former, the holder generation in essence achieves the latter.

[Question] Thus it is not surprising that young people rebel against such behavior.

[Answer] Yes, but it has always been that way. Young people have always had their own values, their own evaluative scale, receptivity and conception of happiness. This newness connected with youth should mix with what adults offer, and not necessarily through the so-called battle of the generations. However, if disturbances occur in this mingling--and that happened in our country--conflict follows.

In the 1970's we educated a large number of young people. They are distinguished by high professional qualifications. That was to ensure implementation of the country's dynamic development according to the otherwise valid principle that when the nation develops, I too will have it better. In practice, however, the order of these components was reversed. As we know, the second half of the 1970's saw a crisis in expectations and social ideas. We wanted to leap a bit too quickly over the barriers of inability. We forget about the known principles that one must build systematically and gradually, that spurts of effort alone will not suffice. I confess that as a youth activist during that time I myself was fascinated with the vision of "another Poland." This faith was characteristic of all young people and the decided majority of adult society as well. But as far as criticisms of young people, it is unfair to lay on them exclusive responsibility for recent events and their related troubles. It is high time in our complicated reality to dispense with criticisms that are oversimplified and often made only for effect.

[Question] Nonetheless, young people are reproached for "knowing only how to take, for being susceptible to demagogic slogans and for being blind." Are they, as some claim, a threat to "the harmonious building of socialism in Poland" or are they its chance for success?

[Answer] Clearly, they are the one and only chance for success. How can it be otherwise? Obviously, they are also a threat, but to the barriers and obstructions caused by conservative thinking. Young people are the only chance for success for the country, the people and socialism. True, young people, like the whole society, are not always free of negative phenomena or bad individuals. I will allow myself, however, to return to the example of my daughter. The conditions in which she is living are decidedly better than those in which I grew up. At age 16 I left my home; what I achieved I gained through my own work. In the meantime both I and millions of older Poles are trying to create ever better conditions of life for our children, the rising generation. Perhaps that is a reason why young people are not adequately prepared to overcome the hard realities of life and why they often experience disappointments.

[Question] In "Main Directions of Activity Resulting from the Program for Improving Conditions of Young People's Start in Life and Professional Work," which was accepted by the cabinet on 14 June this year, we read that "educated, courageous, energetic people with initiative are gaining wide fields of activity...." Mr Minister, what guarantee do we have that this time this provision will be implemented?

[Answer] All of us demand a guarantee for everything. In recent times "guarantee" has become one of those wornout catchwords that no longer mean anything and explain very little. After all, life is a swift-flowing stream of phenomena and events. At most, only certain truths and directions can be seen in it. It is not possible for something to result merely because of a guarantee. Rather, we must create the social mechanisms that will ensure that the processes to follow a projected course according to expectations. For example, for many people economic reform is still associated only with legal acts passed by the Sejm and not with the long process of reorganizing the economy. Different, and also disadvantageous, phenomena will appear in this process, as, for example, a temporary lowering in the standard of living.

Not everyone wants to understand, first, that the substance of the reforms depends on their allowing us to achieve a standard of living truly within our means and, second, that they will enable the creation of real conditions for the Poles' collective effort to be effective and for the standard of living to depend only on work--on its quality and quantity. We will be in a position to evaluate the full results of reforms implemented in this manner only when I and my generation are left to the good graces of today's youth as pensioners and retirees. And so we have barely begun to fashion the shape of the adult life of today's youth.

The reforms should eliminate all the bad traits of our economic life, such as voluntarism, doctrinarianism, and schematism. The young people are the chance for the success of the reforms. After all, the reforms are mainly for them. That is why they will be the driving force of the reforms.

[Question] What are the concrete possibilities for young people to assist the reforms?

[Answer] In the first place, they can assist by having a more open economic pattern of thought than adults and, in addition, by letting the actual situation in the plants dictate their tasks. The reforms will expose what was artificial or unsound in the plants, such as disorder, waste of materials, disrespect for workers' responsibilities, and incompetence in the management cadre. Young people will be forced to make the same effort as the entire staff to stand up to these unfavorable phenomena. If they do not make this effort, everyone will lose. Thus the consequences will affect older and younger workers equally. Young people nevertheless find themselves in a relatively better situation, for they have more opportunities in life and will more easily and quickly be in a position to qualify for a new job and to adapt to new conditions.

[Question] The economic reforms are producing objective economic mechanisms. One has only to become acquainted with them in order to put them into practice and benefit from them.

[Answer] Yes, at last a situation will exist in which black will be black, and white will be white.

[Question] Ten years have passed since the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, which, within the framework of a program of "dynamic, comprehensive, modern development of the socialist fatherland," formulated the "new, great and thrilling tasks, perspectives and opportunities of the entire young population."

[Answer] The plenum had important significance for achieving "another Poland." I was one of those who organized young people for the achievement of that goal. It was truly a beautiful goal and a thrilling task. We had genuine enthusiasm and faith. When the road led us to crisis, the disappointment was all the greater. The resentments were all the greater. The sources of error lay in the second half of that decade. We were not able then to draw conclusions from what was happening in the world. However, the Seventh Plenum of the KC [Central Committee] should not be condemned. We can ask ourselves whether the program undertaken at that time could have been successful and whether it had a chance of being feasible. After all, we promised a great deal. We tried to

appeal to the imagination. Today we know that this vision was too beautiful to be realistic. It is a shame that at the end of the 1970's we did not succeed in correcting those dreams of young people.

[Question] Many journalists claim that the 1972 plenum itslef initiated in young people the growth of a consumer attitude toward life and the emphasis on "What will I get from this?" Were the 1970's really a period when great numbers of young people were getting apartments and finding attractive and well-paying jobs?

[Answer] They were to get them. That is what they were promised. These promises materialized only partially.

[Question] Can one not state that the proverbial mana from heaven fell to these young people?

[Answer] Obviously, it did.

[Question] Several thousands of those young people are still waiting for apartments and are also working at jobs not matching their education. The problem of the politics of promotion--vertical and horizontal--has not yet been resolved. Thus are we not mystifying the problem of the so-called consumerism of young people?

[Answer] One must always seek the source of such opinions in us, the adults. Each father and mother should evaluate their own part in the upbringing of their children. Returning to the Seventh Plenum, one must admit, as already mentioned, that it awakened hopes for rapid and easy success. Moreover, not only the plenum itself did this, but the whole politics of the time. The large raise in salaries in the early 1970's was not accompanied by increased productivity. Later it was difficult to explain that such a state of affairs could not last forever. This also concerns the period after August 1980, when it was beyond the means of Solidarity activists, too, to tell society that it must give up some things and work more productively. They preferred to formulate abstract economic programs that were somehow to solve all our troubles automatically. It is not surprising that this pursuit of the politics of easy success independent of the person and his work caused not just young citizens to frustration.

[Question] Yes, but the demand and desire to achieve success without additional work and the demand for greater pay without an increase in productivity are somehow strangely attributed almost exclusively to workers. After all, not only the workers grew accustomed to an easy job and an easy life. Foremen, managers, directors and ministers grew accustomed to voluntarism, to the philosophy of "somehow it will happen." It is difficult to expect only young people to want to work more. Perhaps the problem lies in changing the consciousness of the whole society, not only of the young people--justly so, since we are not reforming the young people, but the economy.

[Answer] Yes, but we are giving too little attention in our discussion to the need for the management cadre to work better and differently from before. Besides, the problem is broader, for it concerns matters of the work forces' joint management and joint responsibilities.

[Question] To return to the Seventh Plenum, however, one outcome was the attempt "to unite the whole young generation." In 1973 the ZMS [Union of Socialist Youth], the ZSMW [Union of Socialist Rural Youth], the ZHP [Polish Scout Union], the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students], and the SZMW [Socialist Union of Military Youth] formed the Federation of Socialist Youth Unions [FSZMP]. When the ZMS and the ZSMW were combined in 1976, the multi-group unions were established after the August events as a result of sharp political battles; the FSZMP broke up. How do you, as one of the youth leaders of that time, evaluate this "effective narrowing of the units of activity"?

[Answer] Perhaps my opinion will not be shared. The federation was not a bad creation. Then, just as now, many matters were common for all young people and their organizations. The federation enabled strong links to determine a more effective representation of the young people's interests. Perhaps it is a shame that the FSZMP fell on the turn of events in 1980. Perhaps some sort of error distorting the significance of its existence was the deciding factor. After all, independent associated youth organizations formed the federation. But the formation of the ZSMP in 1976 could have led to shaking this partnership, since the chairmen of the Main Board of the ZSMP somehow automatically became the chairman of the Main Council of the FSZMP also. Naturally, domination of this type resulted in the ZSMP's taking over many functions of the federation. The attempt to oppose this domination might have led to the collapse of this important area of cooperation and joint activity in the youth movement.

After some time young poeple will very likely again conclude that such joint representation is imperative. Of course, its need must be genuine, and the form must be worked out by the young people themselves. But it would be good if pupils, students and even college graduates starting to work at plants could be members of organizations with the same ideological goals.

Since we are discussing youth organizations of the 1970's, I would like to recall the situation in the student community of that time. I was the last chairman of the ZSP [Polish Student Association]. I remember that after many discussions the active of the association concluded that the previous rules of the organization, which was limited only to social and daily life matters, were no longer applicable. Evolving in the direction of an ideological and educative union was characteristic for the ZSP. Naturally, it also implemented a political program to an ever greater degree. That brought the ZSP close to the ZMS and the ZMW [Rural Youth Union], which were active in the schools. Against this background, animosities sprang up; youth activists fought for influence among the students and school authorities. Thus it is good that one organization--the SZSP--could be formed in the student community.

[Question] But have we returned to the initial situation? The ZSMP and the ZMW have appeared alongside the SZSP in the schools.

[Answer] Ostensibly it is a similar situation. After all, the SZSP and the two other organizations have a similar ideological-political character. Thus, there is all the more need for the young people to consider what should be done in this contingency.

[Question] Quite so, the youth movement has always been the lens in which all the errors and inconsistencies of politics converged.

[Answer] Perhaps that is natural.

[Question] Yes, but young people, and youth organizations also, bear the highest educational costs of such inconsistencies. First, they are told to believe in something that, as a result of the next turn of events, turns out to be shallow and untrue. What should a youth movement be like in order to be a genuine vanguard of the young generation?

[Answer] I am not a theoretician of the youth movement and it would be difficult for me to attempt to formulate universal principles in this area. Also, I have not had direct contact with youth organizations for many years. However, the student movement is not needed only and exclusively to represent the interests of young people but to expose and to elevate in each young person's hierarchy of values the most worthy traits, phenomena, views and attitudes. After all, among young people, too, there are wise individuals; there are also stupid ones, courageous and opportunistic people, honest persons and those who are the opposite of honesty. That is true of the whole society. A person who joins an organization must change for the better in the collective. He should have opportunities to form his own individuality and to mature to future civic responsibilities. These are general observations. It will be better when the young people and their activists answer this question themselves. It is difficult for those who left the youth movement many years ago to fund the formula. However, it would be good if representatives of the youth unions did not begin their speeches with the words "we young people." Age itself should not be an argument in discussions.

[Question] Who besides the young people wants such youth unions?

[Answer] Everyone does.

[Question] Previous attempts--this concerns the whole 37 years of People's Poland--have not been totally successful.

[Answer] Young people have always wanted, and will always want, such an authentic organization. A certain conflict can occur, since they would like a union in total agreement with them, that is, with each person. But, after all, a youth union will never represent the views of each of its million members. That is impossible. This is the source of many difficulties. After all, no one will formally prohibit the establishment of an organization that the young people feel is a good collective, close to their needs and conceptions. But if the organization only formulated postulates and demands, there is not much substantial in that; too frustration and discouragement would follow. Young people should formulate the program but they must also learn to struggle for appropriate matters.

[Question] Since April 1981--that is, since its Third Extraordinary Congress--the ZSMP has been struggling for the establishment of a Cabinet Committee for Youth Affairs. That idea enjoyed the support of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR. Who is afraid of the establishment of the committee?

[Answer] Among others, I am. It would be bad if that were the only answer to the present complicated ideological-political, professional and social situation of the young people. We have had rather frequent experience with the practice of resolving difficult problems merely by creating commissions. Obviously, they were not in a position to settle anything but they permitted us to check the problem off the list. First, one must know what he wants to be settled. A program is necessary. The last plenary session of the Central Committee of the PZPR was devoted to this goal. The government has also presented a plan for resolving the problems of the young people's start in life. Now is the time for organizational matters. There are many matters concerning young people that require diligent undertaking and resolution.

[Question] We are a young society, which takes pride in a relatively high level of education. Over half of our working citizens are under 35 years of age. At the same time, the youngest minister is "only" 43 years old.

[Answer] Not only the government but also the young generation, and especially its representatives--that is, the youth movement--should answer that question.

[Question] That is a reflection, not an answer.

[Answer] If a concrete answer is of concern, then it is clear that we should have more young people in Poland, and not only in ministerial positions. The near future will be conducive to this, not because the growing "penetrating force" of the youth movement will cause it, but because there will be better specialists, better activists and better politicians among these young people and because cadre politics result from a natural process. If, however, the concern is for cadre political management of systems alone, then this is a question of development mechanisms, which will naturally subject progress to the quality of the cadres. After all, we are setting in motion such mechanisms in the framework of economic reform. This must open the way for the capable and the enterprising, not only for the young, incidentally, but for them also.

[Question] With the hope that that is how it will be, I thank you for the interview.

9451
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RESULTS OF WRITTEN HIGHER SCHOOL ENTRANCE EXAMS ANALYZED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24-25 Jul 82 pp 1, 8

[Text] (Own Information) At the largest colleges of the capital--at Warsaw University, Warsaw Technical University, the Agricultural University of Warsaw, and the Main School of Planning and Statistics—entrance examinations are nearing the halfway mark. Everywhere, the written part has been completed.

On some faculties, mainly university faculties, the commissions have announced the results, and there youth have taken, or will take in the next few days, the oral examinations. At the Technical University, and also at the Agricultural University of Warsaw, where multiple-choice tests predominated, summarization of results is continuing with the help of mechanical tabulators.

Nothing New

Such are the first scores of the written part of the examinations at Warsaw University, as reported by the secretary of the school's enrollment commission, Wojciech Hensel, the results will be the same as in previous years--almost 50 percent unsatisfactory, a few very good, and the most average. This however is almost traditional; the candidates always do worse on the written part. After the oral examinations, the total scores usually change.

The opinion on the average scores is confirmed also by the secretary of the commission at the Main School of Planning and Statistics, Boguslawa Sosnkowska. "We are satisfied with the written part," she says. "It was no worse than in previous years. The average of unsatisfactory scores always ranges from 50 to 60 percent at our school and now it will be similar."

The great differences in the level of preparation of candidates are shown in many groups by grades of very good, and by papers handed in with only the title and a brief explanation, "My mind is blank," or "I don't know this," despite the fact that the candidates had a choice of topics.

Easier This Year?

It is still too early to determine the base score for this year's candidates. The number of twos [F] or fives [A] on the written tests does not give the basis for this score especially because the grades also depend, and to a considerable degree, on the difficulty of the examination questions and of the

subjects. Many people I talked with express the opinion that this year the test was easier, for example, in mathematics at the Technical University, and also in foreign languages, mainly Western. It was possible to select less complicated questions and the young people took advantage of this, as was shown in the results.

Others say, though, that it was not as easy as it seemed since the Ministry of Education prepared trick questions requiring thought. Doubts will be settled after the oral examinations, as was said by Jerzy Kowalski, secretary of the college commission at the Agricultural University of Warsaw. If the written scores are borne out by the orals, that will mean that youth are better prepared. If, however, next to good scores from the written examinations, twos [F] are entered after the orals, that will be proof that the written subjects really were easier.

What's on the Plus Side, What's on the Minus?

On the positive side, for certain, as was underlined by all those I talked with at the schools, the atmosphere during the examinations was better than in previous years. Many fewer issues were brought before the commission this year. Registration is going along more calmly and there is less nervousness among those taking the exams as well as among the examiners.

The reason is the generally good organization and, above all, the less crowded conditions at the schools because of the smaller number of candidates. The craze for higher studies which dismayed examiners in past years, clearly slowed this year. This was a result of the demographic low in secondary schools, but not only of this. More and more often, young people do not see the solution to their life situation in completing higher studies. They simply lack motivation.

Also causing distress is the fact that among candidates for college, there are fewer young people from small communities and towns, especially rural youth. These candidates also, as shown, for example, by the results of examinations at the law or political science faculties of Warsaw University, most often cannot handle these tests. They are not well-read; examiners usually reproach them for mechanical thinking, a lack of individual judgment, and even insufficient mastery of the material called for in the program. Attempts at going beyond textbook knowledge, relating it to other problems, usually ends in disaster. Many works from history of from Polish studies, requiring a reasoned grasp, are handed in unfinished. If this phenomenon is confirmed by the total score, it will definitely be necessary to take this into consideration.

Oral examinations will last to the end of the month. In the first days of August, as the enrollment commissions inform us, the lists of accepted candidates will be posted.

9915
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PROBLEMS OF 'SOLIDARITY' GROUPS IN FRG REPORTED

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 11 Aug 82 p 3

[Report by W.M.: "On a Dead End Street]

[Text] (Own Information) A few days ago, at the headquarters of Solidarity's "information bureau" in Bremen (FRG), the emigre activists of the aforementioned organization held a press conference for the purpose of presenting their rallying cries and problems to the West German public.

It is a well-known fact that the "information bureau" in Bremen was created with the help of the authorities of that city's senate and that it is managed by former Solidarity activists from the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk who came to Bremen by way of invitation from the West German trade unions and found themselves in that city when martial law was introduced.

These activists are trying to take over the coordination of activity of several groups of emigre Solidarity members in the FRG in such cities as West Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, Hanover, Duesseldorf, Munich, Saarbruecken and Augsburg.

Despite appearances to the contrary, only a small number of Solidarity activists who remained in West Europe after the introduction of martial law are continuing "trade union" action and are trying to support the Solidarity underground in Poland with assistance from West German organizations.

It is evident from information on the conference, which appeared in West German press, that there are approximately 180 members of the suspended Solidarity in FRG but only 16 of them are attempting to conduct activity on behalf of their organization. A similar situation exists among Polish students who are staying in the FRG. Of the several dozen or so who did not return to the country, only a few are conducting political activity against Poland.

It is these students, supported by the rightwing organization of German students (the so-called, RCDS--Circle of Christian-Democratic Students affiliated with the Christian-Democratic Party which opposes Schmidt's

government) which backs the revisionist demands made on Poland by many West German organizations, who were the coorganizers of the aforementioned press conference whose aim was to gain moral and financial support for Solidarity from West German political parties and organizations.

All three of the above-mentioned organizations—emigre Solidarity, the coordinating bureau of Polish students and the West German student organization complained to the journalists about the lack of assistance for Polish workers and students in the FRG.

"Contrary to political predictions," reports FRANKFURTER ALLEGEMEINE ZEITUNG, "the Head Office of German Trade Unions (DGB--Duetsche Gewerkschaftsbund) has limited to a minimum its support for Solidarity emigres. Their office in Bremen currently receives only minimal assistance which is not even enough to take care of its present needs. Support for other Solidarity bureaus in FRG has in practice also been halted. The chairman of RCDS, Weberling, spoke about the 'superficial solidarity' of all larger organizations (West German--Editor's note) with Poles. The SPD [Social Democratic Party] and DGB in particular, are acting with significant reserve in this case."

"As was reported at the conference," FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG continues, "the Solidarity bureau in Bremen is experiencing a shortage of quarters, of teletypewriters, writing materials and typewriters. The members of Solidarity in Bremen are asking that a fund drive be organized to help continue their activity and that of the underground movement in Poland." These funds are indispensable for the continuation of illegal publishing and leaflet activity.

Attempted accusations of a "lack of interest in Solidarity" by West German society and authorities caused great astonishment among West German public opinion. The representative of the "coordinating bureau" of Polish students in the FRG accused the West German peace movement and leftwing political groups of "silence on the situation in Poland" and also meddled in an unprecedented manner in the internal affairs of these organizations.

He maintained, among other things that these groups and organizations "propagate Marxist ideas literally and entirely without criticism and without the slightest idea of what they are about." In addition, he had the audacity to make accusations against Chancellor Schmidt and the chairman of the parliamentary fraction of the SPD, Wehner, claiming that Schmidt's famous and unusually moderate statement made after the introduction of martial law in Poland: "The Poles have accepted [martial law] with deep bitterness" and Wehner's (he is the chairman of the parliamentary group which controls the SPD in the FRG, who paid a visit to the Polish authorities at the beginning of this year [1982]) attempts at ingratiating himself with the Polish junta "created feelings of great disenchantment."

These statements provoked astonishment and outrage among journalists not only because of their extremely bold, not to say, impudent, tone but also due to the fact that their authors were not in Poland after 13 December and that they obtain their information about public feeling in Poland only from that foreign press which writes about Poland and about Poles in a negative manner.

This was not the only tactless act by the Polish emigres in regard to their German hosts. They also made accusations against the German Red Cross claiming that the financial assistance sent to Poland through this organization "is not distributed in accordance with the wishes of the donors." They claimed that "the German Red Cross does not supervise the further fate of this assistance after it has been placed in the hands of the Polish Red Cross. Meanwhile," they claimed, "the German Red Cross is making constant assurance that according to its observations, this assistance does reach the appropriate groups of people."

The international respect which both organizations--the Polish and the West German Red Cross enjoy caused this assertion to be met with criticism by the public opinion of the FRG and by the activists of these organizations all the more that in the FRG, it is well known that the distribution of food packages and medicine is supervised on the spot in Poland by special groups of the German Red Cross.

Obviously, the Solidarity activists in Bremen, most of whom are from Gdansk, are not concerned with the interests of Polish society but only with the specifically understood interests of their emigration "bureau" since in their "appeal" to the West German public which was relayed to reporters at the aforementioned press conference, they called upon the Germans to boycott all commodities originating in Poland or exported by Poland to the FRG on the basis of agreements entered into in years past.

This "appeal" states demogogically and contrary to the truth that these commodities are "snatched from the mouths of children, women, the ill and the elderly." Meanwhile, it is a known fact that food is not the core of Polish exports to the FRG and that exports are the only source of obtaining foreign exchange for maintaining the Polish economy even at such a low level of turnover as at present. This is not even to mention that exports are also the only source of foreign exchange for the repayment of debts incurred in past years.

9853
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BOOK ON CHALLENGES OF MODERN WORLD REVIEWED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 12, Dec 81 [signed to press March 1982] pp 131-133

[Review by Jan Zielonka of book "Wyzwania wspolczesnego swiata" [Challenges of the Contemporary World] by Michal Dobroczynski, Janusz Stefanowicz and Andrzej Wasilkowski, Wiedza Powszechna [Popular Science], Warsaw, 1981, 233 pages]

[Text] The recent years have brought about a considerable increase of interest in global problems. This is understandable in a situation where these problems are no longer only a function of the expansive policy of the world powers but also--and even above all--the function of the growing interdependence of development of the individual states and nations. Under the effect of technological and sociocultural development, the world has become "smaller" causing universalization of certain dangers; for example, the neutralization of the danger of the outbreak of nuclear conflict or, on the other hand, the need for new energy sources. Even though the successive global problems concern to a different degree the individual states or social groups, one can observe ever greater awareness of the existence of common problems for all mankind and the need to search for common solutions.

Consequently, the interest in global problems is no longer only the domain of world powers but also of the poor and small states, which in their search for global and just developmental solutions see the possibility of an improvement of their existence. In this discussion, everyone must be active.

Polish literature previously had no treatises discussing world problems from this angle. The challenges of the modern world are therefore an expected and necessary work. The authors refrained from using a pathetic form that often serves in presenting an apocalyptic vision of the modern world. This book records that a vivid and interesting discussion. Problems that harass mankind in the second half of the 20th century. Participants in this discussion succeeded in giving it a direction that was thematically and methodically consistent and scientifically cognitive. This book is therefore not only a sui generis eristic game but also an important contribution to the accomplishments of our modern political thought. Even though its discussion format involves a certain confusion and thematic inconsistency; allows one to touch upon marginal problems, alongside the most important ones; and prevents the windup of certain thoughts and full use of all arguments, nevertheless--by its very lack of schematism and even a certain provocativeness of appraisals--it allows presenting many matters in a creative and revealing way.

This is surely the greatest merit of the book. It contains many extremely pointed thoughts. They are sometimes expressed as a footnote against the background of the main point, but their formulation permits us to look in a completely new way at the problems touched upon in them.

Another merit of the book is that the authors do not bring forward global problems solely from the viewpoint of dangers. After all, the very fact of singling out global problems is a matter for discussion and differentiation. "Albeit for clarity's sake we speak all the time of global problems--in general," remarks Janusz Stefanowicz, "in actual fact they occur as problems of individual nations and states, at the very most of their groups and regions, for they are being refracted very clearly in different prisms of their characters, life levels, position, ideologicopolitical options, etc."

Apart from the fundamental problem of danger, the authors present the question of needs and possibilities and the resulting dilemma of disproportion. They discuss a problem of the interdependence and organization of societies. It is not, to be sure, a complete list of global problems but it constitutes a good introduction.

Chapter 2 is surely one of the most interesting parts of the book: needs and possibilities. The authors offer an interesting classification of the needs in a unique way in our literature; they discuss a problem of basic needs, showing a variability of the relation between the needs and possibilities. Most important, they do not attempt to present readers with any "golden means," which would immediately solve these dilemmas. They emphasize--which is essential--that the problem of a balance between supplies and needs is being determined in the last instance not so much by a relation of man to nature but by a social structure.

As a sidelight of the discussion, many interesting and bold observations were made; for example, a statement that the gist of world energy problem is not the absolute shortage of fuels but the disruption of the international economic equilibrium. In the opinion of Dobroczynski, the rising export prices of crude oil by petroleum countries, which developed among other things in connection with the East-West system of forces, have caused the highest transfer of riches in economic history; the resulting disequilibrium in the exchange of goods and services may have consequences of historic proportions.

Regrettably, in a discussion of disproportions the authors limit themselves to a detailed consideration of demographic problems and only mention disproportion problems in other areas of social life, especially in education, health service, housing and food supply.

The discussion on dangers, however, gives full satisfaction to the readers. This concerns in particular the unschematic representation of problems of the natural environment and a discussion of dangers of a spiritual character. Worthy of note are considerations of elements of interdependence in the organization of societies. No easy and quick proposals are offered. The authors straightforwardly describe the meanders of a subordination and interdependence of particular global questions; they point out their subjective and objective elements and relate solutions advanced during the past few years to successive models and proposals.

The debaters avoid the technocratic visions of modeling societies and the utopian visions of the world government. They point out where the rationalization of our macro actions should depend and where the limits of optimum shaping of the social model are. At the same time, characteristic ally these reasonings show an optimistic belief that the matters of this world may be solved in an organized and expedient way, that difficulties and problems awaiting us will not lead to a catastrophe on a worldwide scale, that a spiritual and material development of societies is a constant process, both in the near and remote future, whereas the extent of development depends on our ability of jointly solving global problems.

The challenges portrayed by the authors are challenges of a turning point. This element is emphasized in many places. The discussion shows how the interdependence of individual states grows and how previous models of cooperation are inadequate to developmental needs and aspirations of societies.

The awareness of this dangerous stage of the turning point is somewhat at variance with the optimistic vision of the development of processes being discussed. The turning-point periods have been characterized by acute social tensions and economic breakdowns. Even though ultimately the turning point may lead to a discontinuous progress, the societies of the turning-point eras, were always paying a price for progress; wars, revolutions, economic crises accompanied historic changes. Today's global problems are problems of the whole world. Is the price of progress to be paid by all inhabitants?

The authors of the book consciously refrained from putting the problem in that perspective because of a danger of sensation and speculation. The assumption of the optimistic development of events gives priority to rational arguments. In this way the scientific and cognitive value of the book has been preserved. However, it is difficult to credit history with full rationality, and it is not out of the question that the period of the present turning point will write a tragically irrational scenario.

The book is important, because of its scientific as well as didactic value. It might be especially useful for the understanding of problems of the political geography and present-day international relations. Its language is vivid and lively so that its reading is a real intellectual treat.

1015
CSO: 2600/838

SEJM DEPUTY INTERVIEWED ON EDUCATION AFFAIRS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Aug 82 p 5

[Interviews with Sejm deputy Jozefa Matynkowska by Ewa Kluczborska: "Our Responsibility Is Twofold"; Date and Place not Given]

[Text] [Question] You are a deputy and a vice principal of a high school in Biala Podlaska, but these are not your only responsibilities.

[Answer] I am also vice chairperson of the Municipal People's Council [MRN], chairperson of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Women's Commission, and chairperson of the Voivodship Deputies' Group. I also have other responsibilities related to my position as a Sejm deputy. I have always combined professional work with social service. But the very teaching profession includes social service and does not allow for a sedentary life.

[Question] You have actively participated in two Sejm committees: the Education and Upbringing Committee and the Health and Physical Culture Committee. You also participate in ad hoc subcommittees and commissions.

[Answer] Yes. Every session is preceded by deputies' visits to selected institutions in several voivodships. After we acquaint ourselves with all materials from the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health, the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Sport [GKKFiS] or the Main Committee for Tourism [GKT], we hold subcommittee meetings. Only then does an issue go under discussion at a plenary session of an appropriate committee. When I was telling my students about my work as a Sejm deputy, they asked me why we usually agree on issues under discussion at the Sejm. It was only after I explained to them that it takes us a lot of time and effort to achieve the consensus and work out every detail that they understood how we operate.

[Question] Now your responsibility is even greater because, among other reasons, there is no other instrument of social control in operation, since the trade unions have been suspended...

[Answer] We talked about it recently at a committee session. Trade unions' representatives always participated in our sessions. Now, since the trade unions have been suspended, we cannot overlook the importance of consulting with society. The consultations would have been more comprehensive, had the

ministry conveyed to us views of the teachers' community through its own channels. We must know whether our decisions correspond to the expectations of the broadly understood school system.

[Question] You work daily with the Ministry of Education.

[Answer] This is necessary and indispensable. We often debate, we do not always agree. We reach a mutual consensus, but there are situations when each of the parties insists on its own stand. Only time can verify the legitimacy of our stands. Our interaction requires a great deal of objectivity and mutual respect. Sometimes we also need distance from certain problems in order to be able to see them in their proper light. Our cooperation has one major goal, that is, to solve the problems of the entire school system the best we can.

[Question] Undobtedly, this year's most important event for the entire teaching community has been the passing of the Teacher's Charter by the Sejm. You were the deputy who has presented the charter.

[Answer] This is truly a charter which the entire teaching community has been waiting for. We held many meetings where teachers from city schools and small village schools expressed their views. All the time, we had in mind that it was necessary to bring back respect for the teaching profession. To be sure, the charter itself will not take care of it, if there is no effort by the entire community. Teachers themselves must earn respect for their profession.

[Question] The commission continues its work on an executive bill to be included in the Teacher's Charter. Do you feel that the spirit and letter of the law have been preserved in the bill?

[Answer] When we added to the Teacher's Charter a statement about mandatory evaluations of executive directives by the Sejm committee, we pledged to retain the spirit of the law. We occasionally encounter opinions that the executive directives may somewhat change the meaning of certain formulations in the charter. We try to act against it. But we realize that their life is shorter than that of the law. Gradually, they will be subject to amendments.

[Question] The committee will soon discuss the effects of the 5-day work week on the school system.

[Answer] In a discussion about the shorter work week there is a clash between teachers and students. But they have one thing in common: neither the teachers nor the students want to give up the additional day off. To be sure, the day off is not a day of leisure for everyone. For example, in my school graduating class students spend Saturdays studying for their university entrance exams, going to libraries, or traveling to academic centers. Teachers spend the time chiefly doing household chores.

But the new schedule has definitely resulted in overloading students with school work. The high school where I teach has an expanded foreign-language

program. Therefore the students have 7 hours of classes almost every day. They expect, for example, their classroom instruction to be more intensive. At a Sejm committee meeting, we will carefully study social effects of free Saturdays at schools. After 1 year's experience, we must consult with parents, teachers, school physicians, and students. We must analyze all arguments for and against. We must choose the optimal solution in order to allow schools to carry on their programs, but at the same time we must protect students' right to rest, pursuit of hobbies, camping, travel to sports events, and so on. As a poll conducted in my high school indicates, students have not supported the idea of holding scout meetings, meetings of caass government, or even meetings of hobby groups on free Saturdays.

[Question] Young people have always been the focus of the Sejm Education and Upbringing Committee. And today this concern is especially crucial. I know that at one of the forthcoming sessions you are planning to introduce the subject of patriotic upbringing of young people.

[Answer] This is probably one of the most important problems. I have read very carefully all statements from a recent plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, devoted to the problems of youth. We realize that only a sincere, honest, and serious dialogue with the young people can produce expected results. We must also find some forum so that the Sejm committee's position on this matter may actually be heard.

9852
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ECONOMIC CRISIS, DISTURBANCES WORRY USSR, REGIME

Paris LE MATIN in French 4 Sep 82 p 10

[Article by Bernard Poulet: "Ubu-carest or the Ceausescu System in a Crisis"]

[Text] Economic crisis and revolt are getting the USSR and the Romanian Communist Party apparatus worried.

The "Ceausescu system" has become a form of absolute control of the government by one family. The president's "clan" controls all the wheels of state and party. This has enabled Nicolae Ceausescu to rule his country with an iron hand for many years. But economic disaster has begun to reveal the weaknesses of the machinery. As it threatens the family, discontent is also endangering the whole regime. Moscow has already taken advantage of it and the famous "Romanian independence" appears much battered.

He was young, French and a communist. At the time, he lived in Romania. He grew older, came back to Paris, still French, but determinedly anticommunist. Why?

Because, he says, one day he attended a meeting in the small Moldavian town where he lived. A great rally on the occasion of President Ceausescu's visit. Among the crowd assembled under the presidential balcony, he was surprised to notice that people were not paying attention to the prestigious guest. They were talking and working as in a railroad station hall. And yet, whenever the first secretary finished one of his long sentences, enthusiastic "hurras" were raised. Not from the indifferent crowd, but from loudspeakers placed around the square. That was the first step in his abjuration.

The dissident writer Paul Goma affirms that for a long time one of his friends earned a comfortable living in the "applause business." In other words, in the regime's claque: his job, and that of a few hundred of his colleagues, consisted in rushing enthusiastically toward the Chief of State whenever he came by, or in waving flags and shouting viva whenever a foreign visitor came to Bucarest.

It would be hard to believe, were it not that his anecdotes are illustrated by official literature. The Ceausescian hagiography has become so overabundant that you could drown in it. One example tells it all. For instance, Critian Popisteanu's definitive statement in the April 1980 issue of the HISTORICAL REVIEW. "We can say that, in our country, not only the workers, but the mountains, the plains, the flowers as well are the devoted friends of President Nicolae Ceausescu." Such an outlay is the rule, not the exception.

At the last congress of the Communist Party, in November 1979, the audience kept giving ovations to the "famous patriot," "ardent revolutionist," "one of the prominent personalities in today's world" who, of course, was unanimously reelected. The year before, on an official visit to Great-Britain, Nicolae Ceausescu had demanded to reside in Buckingham Palace and had been led along London's "royal way" in a gilded carriage. No wonder then if some Romanians state that Ceausescu reigns over Ubu-carest.

He has often been said to be an anachronistic survival from the best years of Stalin's era. However, if a whole anthology of eulogies was also written for the father of the people, Joseph Stalin never ambitioned to found a dynasty.

And this is what it is all about in communist Romania. As years went by, the Ceausescu clan completely invested the government. First of all, his wife Elena, first vice-prime minister, member of the Communist Party leadership, and truly the number two of the regime. In 1979, for her birthday--it was assumed she was 60, for the press gallantly abstained from all precisions--she too received a fireworks of compliments. This "mother in the noblest meaning of the word" became a "structure of transparent petals." An academician and a doctor in engineering (she is a chemical engineer), she is, we are told, endowed "with an unwavering and watchful love, like a candle illuminating the times."

Her elder son, Nicu, 29 and of course a communist youth leader, is now a deputy member of the central committee and secretary of the Great National Assembly. Her other son, Valentin, is a "high official" at the Maghurele nuclear center.

One of the president's brothers, Ilie, is a general. Another, Ion, has been vice-minister of Agriculture since 1972. Three others have been given lesser sinecures. On Elena's side, we note that, although her brother-in-law Ilie Verdet lost his job as prime minister during the last purge, her brother, Gheorghe Petrescu, and her sister, Alexandrina Gainuse, have become members of the Communist Party executive organ.

Among the 57 members of the new government, those of the central committee and of the country's various leading institutions, there is an endless number of nephews, cousins and other relatives of the leading couple. "What is the difference between the Ceausescu dynasty and the others?" jokers ask in Bucarest. "The others reign one generation at a time. Here, all Ceausescu's reign at the same time." Saul Bellow, Nobel literature prize, could not believe what he saw and just brought back from Romania a vengeful book where Ceausescu is referred to only as "the dictator."

And it is true that if you look around you when you walk on the streets of any Romanian city, you soon notice the presence of especially unpleasant-looking individuals, who usually go in pairs: Securitate agents. They are the true scepter of the regime. A political police ready to strike no matter where. The traveller also notices that Romanians avoid talking to foreigners, much more so than in other socialist countries. Quite simply because each conversation with a visitor must be reported to Securitate.

And yet, in spite of its apparently absolute grip on the government and on the country, the "Ceausescu clan" is starting to worry. It is crippled by the scope of the economic disaster. Maybe much more so than Poland, Romania has been destabilized by the shock wave of international crisis. Here too, large economic projects had been designed and collapsed. Michel Jobert could notice it last July, when he visited the Oltcit plant built by a joint French-Romanian company. The French partner, Citroen, has already lost 2 billion francs. The plant construction is 2 years behind schedule. For the visit of the French minister of Foreign Trade, the Romanians operated the lines at reduced speed. It was as if Sleeping Beauty's castle had woken up for a short while. Obviously, the plant is still not in operation: you could just look at the workers' clean hands and spotless overalls to understand that they were there quite exceptionally. We had never seen such a clean plant: not a speck of dust, even under the machines that would make the most dirt. And yet, a few years ago, this plant was presented as one of the great successes of Romanian socialism.

The gigantic Navodari refinery was designed to process 30-35 million tons of imported oil : the oil crisis, further aggravated by the fall of the chah--a great friend of Ceausescu's--paralyzed this large complex.

Worse still, agriculture, this endemic disease of socialist countries, is dying here. The markets are so poorly supplied that earlier this year Ceausescu saw it fit to lecture his good people on dietetics. He found the cause for the food shortages: the Romanians eat too much.

But he may not have been convincing enough for, in the past few months, there have been reports of trucks loaded with foodstuffs being attacked by hungry villagers. In the conducator's entourage, some must recall that 30,000 mineworkers went on strike in 1977. That, last fall, Ceausescu almost got stoned by angry workers in the Motru valley. How much longer will Securitate manage to stifle these revolts?

Of course, there is no chance that a movement comparable to Solidarity could emerge in Romania. If Nicolae Ceausescu's power is threatened, danger can come from only two sides: from the USSR or from within the Romanian Communist Party. Since the invasion of Afghanistan, and especially since the Polish crisis, Bucarest has much reduced its claims of national independence. President Ceausescu was not the last one to condemn the "counterrevolutionary intrigues" in Poland. Too much indebted in the West, Romania is progressively reintegrating the Soviet sphere of influence.

Almost nothing is known of what happens within the Romanian party. Compromised with the man in power, submissive for many years, the Communist Party apparatus and even the Securitate apparatus may still have to get tired of the reigning family. The first cracks--the Tanase case being only the most spectacular--have already been heard. The apparatus fears that the Ceausescu clan will lead it to disaster as a whole. It fears riots which might bring about a blood bath.

But the "living torch" who has been shining for 17 years has already demonstrated on several occasions that he was not easy to put out. A megalomaniac, certainly; but Nicolae Ceausescu is also a cunning leader and many disenchanted Romanians expect to see him bounce back once again as if by miracle. Even if all recognize that the atmosphere now prevailing in Ubu-carest would indicate that his reign is drawing to a close.

9294
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DATA ON CENTRAL LIBRARY OF MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

Bucharest VIATA MILITARA in Romanian Jun 82 pp 8,9

[Interview with Col Marius Andone, director of the Central Library of the Ministry of National Defense, by Nicolae Dumbrava, "A Source of Thoughts and Feelings;" date and place not specified]

[Text] The military libraries in our army have a long tradition. As can be noted in a history of these cultural institutes, the first military library was established in Moldavia in 1845 and in Muntenia in 1852. On the occasion of the creation of the first military library, Dimitrie Sturdza, commanding inspector general of the army in Moldavia, pointed out that "we have created a library with the most useful books by the most renown authors..."

After the unification of the principalities, at the time of the creation of a single ministry of war, the two libraries were merged, thus creating the Library of the Ministry of War which, in 1860, was allocated 40,000 lei to "purchase books and journals."

The first regimental library dates back to 1865. We are talking about the library of the 2nd Infantry Regiment in Craiova. Over time, the military libraries increased in number. Libraries were created in other units, military schools and military circles. ROMANIA MILITARA points out that in 1897 there were 97 libraries in our army. Among the books in these libraries, in addition to specific military literature, there were books on patriotic education, history, geography, science and so forth.

The true flowering of these cultural institutes in our army was to take place during the years of socialist revolution and construction, during the process of creating our people's army. Under the care of the party, the libraries existing throughout our army each year experience an increase in the number of volumes, with the book currently being an inseparable friend of the soldier. The Central Library of the Ministry of National Defense is foremost among these libraries.

[Question] The Central Library of the Ministry of National Defense [MOD] is currently the largest and best equipped library within the framework of our ministry. I would ask that you tell us, comrade colonel, how many books are there and what king are they?

[Answer] Yes, the Central Library of the MOD is the best equipped library within the network of out ministry and the largest library of its type in the country. The number of books is over 200,000 volumes, representing approximately 100,000 titles. A priority place in the institute is given to the party documents and the works of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the supreme commander of our armed forces, as well as to other volumes of social-political literature that are absolutely necessary in the multilateral creation of the new man. The books in the library contain a very important and rich section of a military nature, including works regarding military history, equipment, psycho-pedagogy and, naturally, military doctrine. These books are by Romanian and foreign authors. We have a number of reference books including the principal encyclopedias, dictionaries, atlases and so forth that have appeared in the world during various times. In addition to these specialized books, readers can find in our library numerous literary works that cover the entire history of Romanian literature, as well as the main works of world literature.

[Question] The enlarged plenary session of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee at the beginning of June, a plenary session marked by the historical speech by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, the president of the republic and the supreme commander of the armed forces, places especially important tasks before all the activities in our country, showing, at the same time, the paths for the evolution of our future in an area so complex and broad in the creation of socialist awareness. What is the library doing in its area of activity to implement the ideas of such high theoretical and practical value contained in this truly programmatic document of exceptional significance, as represented by the magnificent speech by the secretary general of the party?

[Answer] On the basis of the study of this shining speech and the mastery of the entire store of ideas regarding theoretical and ideological problems and political-educational activities, seen in a close connection with the new progress in creating a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania towards communism - problems that will be the subject of the theses that are to be discussed at the National Conference of the party, our institute has drawn up a broad plan of activities. We see that the library, using different means that are specific to its nature, makign its more substantial contribution to the work of communist, revolutionary and patriotic education and to the creation of the new man. In this regard, we are placing greater stress on the popularization of those books and works that reflect the great achievements of socialist Romania.

We are giving special attention to the popularization of those books that reflect the centuries-long history of the Romanian people and their struggle

for the affirmation of their own existence, for social and national freedom and for independence and unity, starting with the principle emphasized with such conviction by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that this understanding constitutes one of the fundamental ideological activities of the socialist, patriotic education of all the workers. In this context, we can also note more clearly our military doctrine, according to which the defense of the country, our national independence and the advances of socialism constitute the cause and work of all the people. We propose to more actively support scientific research efforts in the army. These are merely some of the facets of our work.

[Question] We know that the library also has a "special collection of books," of rare items. What are these books and how do they reflect the history of our people?

[Answer] Being an institute of a rich and long tradition, existing for over 100 years, it is natural that our collection would have a series of special works. First of all, I would mention those that appeared several centuries ago, such as: "De originae et rebus gestis Polonorum" by Martin Kromer, which came out in 1555, with many references to the rule of Stefan the Great; "Teatrum Europaeum," in nine volumes of the 12 that appeared, plus one that came out during the period 1662-1918 that is a history dealing with the main events in Europe that occurred during that period, including those regarding Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania; an issue from 1729 in Venice of "Analelor" [The Annals] by the Byzantine historian Ioan Zonara, with a veri rich description of the Daco-Roman wars, and so forth. In addition to these, I could add several Romanian works that are important for us: the first Romanian military regulations dating from 1831; an 1835 publication from Iasi of "Hronicul romano-moldo-vlahilor" [Chronicle of the Roman-Moldavian-Vlahs] by Dimitrie Cantemir; an 1843 publication of "Invataturilor lui Neagoe Basarab catre fiul sau Teodosiu" [Neagoe Basarab's Teachings to His Son Teodosiu]; the five volumes of MAGAZIN ISTORIC PENTRU DACIA [The Historical Review for Dacia], written by Nicolae Balcescu and August Treboniu Laurian between 1845 and 1846, and many others.

[Question] A natural question: who does the library target and to what degree does it contribute to the creation of the socialist awareness of its readers?

[Answer] Our institute is open to all military personnel in the Bucharest garrison, reserve officers and civilian workers, as well as other categories of specialists whose work deals with problems regarding national defense or the history of the Romanian people. By making available this rich store of social-political literature, and especially the works of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, our supreme commander, a treasure of revolutionary thought and practice, our institute actively participates in the complex educational process that is taking place in the army, especially in the political-ideological training of personnel, thus contributing to the creation of socialist awareness of the officers in the garrison and to the effort to qualitatively improve activities in the army. At the same time, an important facet of our work

involves supporting those actions organized for the understanding and mastery of our military doctrine: the basic requirement of the specialized culture for the personnel in our army. As I have already said, the library is a traditional institute of the Romanian army, an institute that we are proud of. In addition to these activities, I would also like to stress the fact that it maintains close ties with many cultural institutes outside the army, making available to them, upon request, specific documentary materials that exist in our libraries.

[Question] To what degree does the library contribute to the activities of the libraries in the units?

[Answer] This seems to me to be a natural question. I can state that by virtue of its charter the Central Library of the MOD also constitutes a systematic center for the libraries in our ministry's network. We assist the political councils, offering methodical assistance in our specialty to all military libraries, pursuing the integration of these institutes in the spiritual life of the army, the support of the combat and political training of permanent personnel and draftees and the development of their general culture; in other words, an active and necessary presence in the educational process in the army.

[Question] We know that the library has a much broader area of concerns. In this context, we ask you to tell us, for our readers, what other activities does the library carry out outside of the normal offer of books?

[Answer] I thought that it was already understood from what had been said that our institute carries out a sufficiently broad range of activities. We could again point out the rich bibliographic materials as seen in the three volumes of "Bibliografia militara romanesti" [The Romanian Military Bibliography], published in 1975, which refers to the Romanian military books and periodicals that appeared during the period 1831-1974; the twice yearly publication of a bibliographic bulletin that contains current acquisitions of social-political and military books; the annual publication of a catalogue of existing periodicals in the library and those works that are recommended for acquisition by the libraries in the army; the quarterly publication of a list of military books in the special collection; the publication of certain bibliographies regarding important moments in the military history of our country, an inseparable facet of our country's history; and the publication of methodical materials, as well as "Manualul bibliotecarului din armata" [The Librarian's Manual in the Army] (1975). The second edition of this work, revised and expanded, is in an advanced stage of publication, and so forth. In the catalogue room or in the "25 October" room we are organizing different book exhibits on various themes, hoping in this manner to bring about a greater demand for publications. I can mention that last year the institute was visited by 70,895 readers who consulted 338,282 publications.

[Question] We would like for you to tell us, in a few words, how the library helps scientific research in the army?

[Answer] One requirement of the supreme commander's Directive is, as is known, the intensification of scientific research in the army. Our institute is integrated into this process by way of making available to researchers our specialized literature. To this end, we offer researchers our own publications, as well as those of other libraries in our country or from abroad, that have been obtained by our institute through an active inter-library exchange program. We carefully follow the publications that come out and notify the appropriate people through our specific means of aspects that are of interest to their research. From this point of view, there is a permanent dialogue between us and our users.

[Question] What are the library's ties with foreign entities and how does it contribute to the understanding of the Romanian people's history and the military doctrine of socialist Romania beyond its borders?

[Answer] Through the intense exchange of publications with 95 similar institutes and periodical staffs in 25 countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, we have pursued and we will continue to pursue the spread of the understanding of Romanian military books throughout the world, to popularize our military doctrine and to contribute to the understanding of it in the broadest possible circles. And, by introducing certain Romanian military works into the International Bibliography of Military History, published annually at Bern under the aegis of the Bibliography Committee of the International Commission of Military History, to which we belong, we merely wish to contribute with our own specific means to the implementation of certain very important provisions in our party documents regarding popularizing abroad the most important moments in the history of our people and socialist Romania's domestic and foreign policies. In closing, I would like to mention that for future activities the Central Library of the MOD has a broad path for carrying out our tasks, as noted with high scientific foresight in the shining speech by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the enlarged plenary session of the RCP Central Committee that took place at the beginning of June, along the lines of creating the new man, the hopeful defender, together with all the people, of the revolutionary advances of socialist Romania.

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7 October 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2062

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No. 2062

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LEADERS GREET DPRK COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU081907 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 Sep 82

[Text] Comrade Enver Hosha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee; Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; and Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, have sent the following telegram to Comrades Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party and president of the DPRK; and Yi Chong-ok, chairman of the Administrative Council of the DPRK:

On the occasion of your national day, in the name of the Albanian people, the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, as well as personally, we convey to you and to the Korean people greetings and best wishes.

During these 34 years since the founding of the DPRK, the Korean people have, through their tireless efforts, further developed their economy and culture and have constantly strengthened the defense of their country. The Albanian people rejoice in the considerable achievements of the Korean people and wish them further successes in the progress and prosperity of the DPRK.

We take this opportunity to once again express the support of the Albanian people for the efforts and struggle of the Korean people to obtain the departure of the U.S. imperialists from South Korea and for the country's independent reunification.

May the friendly relations between our two peoples and countries continue to develop in the future.

CSO: 2100/87

BRIEFS

TURKISH AMBASSADOR CREDENTIALS PRESENTED--Haxh Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received Selcuk Toker, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who presented his credentials. The ceremony was attended by Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Xhafer Spahiu, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Piro Bita, head of a directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Jovan Antoni, chief of the protocol branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [AU091848 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 9 Sep 82]

CSO: 2100/87

EDITORIAL DEVOTED TO 'SHIELD-82' WARSAW PACT EXERCISE IN BULGARIA

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Sep 82 p 1

[Editorial: "United in Peace and Combat"]

[Text] As announced, a training exercise with staffs, troops and forces of the fleets of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact participant states, under the code designation of "Shield-82," will be held from 25 September to 1 October 1982 in the territory of the Bulgarian People's Republic and adjacent Black Sea water area under the direction of Minister of National Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic, Army General Dobri Dzhurov.

Under the slogan, "United in peace and combat for the protection of the cause of socialism," the fraternal socialist countries and their armies will inscribe a new page in the splendid traditions of friendship and brotherhood-in-arms. In the course of the training exercise, questions of combat assembly and cooperation between the staffs and troops of the allied armies will be rehearsed.

For more than 27 years now the Warsaw Pact has demonstrated in practice that it is a powerful alliance of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance, called upon to protect the great cause of socialism and peace. Created in response to the imperialistic, militarily aggressive NATO bloc, the Warsaw Pact differs radically in respect of its class character and purposes from the military alliances and blocs of the imperialist powers. Its peace-loving and defensive character results from the fact that it represents an alliance between socialist states which have no aggressive purposes and intentions and are an unshakeable buttress of peace in the world and the progressive development of mankind.

The leaders of the socialist countries have always declared that they are ready to terminate its existence once a system of collective security is created in Europe and the aggressive NATO bloc is disbanded. The socialist states have not [word illegible; possibly, unleashed] a single war. To their credit, during the time that these states have existed, many imperialist adventures have been averted.

United around the Soviet Army, the socialist armed forces are a reliable bastion of peace and security of our peoples. As is known, the most important

prerequisite for the successful implementation of the policy of the fraternal parties, aimed at the welfare of their peoples, is the preservation and strengthening of peace and security. This is the most important question of our times. All mankind needs peace; without it, the progress of our beautiful planet is inconceivable.

The socialist countries are confidently proceeding towards realization of the goals they have charted out which serve the cause of peace and social progress. Of fundamental significance along these lines is the military strategic equilibrium established between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Without equilibrium, peace cannot be saved and the nations would be threatened with nuclear annihilation. But the imperialist circles are not reconciled to this. Through their fault and, above all, through the fault of the U.S. administration the international situation has become complicated and exacerbated. Imperialism is feverishly rearming. It is creating new weapons systems; it is even declaring outer space to be its firing range. Neutron bombs and "shuttles," winged missiles and neutron projectiles, tremendous submarine, surface and air fleets, military budgets of unprecedented size, rapid-reaction corps, foci of tension, and new bases--this is the gist of today's American strategy. Total economic, political and every other kind of pressure against our world lies at the bottom of its present policy. Behind its hypocritical words about the strengthening of peace, the United States is preparing intensively for war. The means it selects--from crude intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign states to espionage and diplomatic provocation--are not the ones for its goals. The events in Poland, the Falklands crisis, the tension in Nicaragua and Salvador, the war of extermination against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, prepared openly before the eyes of the whole world under the auspices of the United States and unleashed by Israel, are only a small part of the United States' shameful policy.

The battle for peace now is a battle for the future of the planet. The countries of the socialist community are doing everything possible to preserve it. The proof of this is the peaceful program of the CPSU and Soviet Government. The importance of the initiatives proposed in recent years by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact Organization is also exceptionally great. Many of these have been grounded in great international formulas or reflected in a number of bilateral international documents. The Warsaw Pact countries have every reason to pit their heightened vigilance and decisive measures for strengthening their defensive power against the aggressive plans of imperialism.

The joint training exercise "Shield-82" will demonstrate once more how servicemen of the socialist countries under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties implement the doctrine, created by V. I. Lenin, of the collective defense of socialist society. Once more it will graphically and convincingly confirm the high combat readiness of the armed forces of the socialist defensive alliance, the efficiency and reliability of combat materiel, the high ability of personnel, the skill of commanders and staffs.

Joint training exercises enrich the military skill of the socialist armies and contribute to improvement of the organization of cooperation and the control

of allied troops. Commanders and political organizers utilize joint training exercises for the exchange of experience in combat and political training and for the increase of rated specialists and experts in military science. In the course of such training exercises the comradely relations between the servicemen of the allied armed forces gain in strength and develop; their friendship- and brotherhood-in-arms, their mutual confidence and respect rise to a new and higher degree.

There is no doubt that the impending "Shield-82" training exercise will be such a manifestation of the indestructible friendship of the soldiers of fraternal armies and evidence of their high expertise. Acting in the spirit of socialist internationalism and brotherhood-in-arms, they will have the opportunity to become increasingly better acquainted and increasingly to strengthen their unity and solidarity.

The participants in the training exercise will have many encounters with the Bulgarian population. This will enable the soldiers of the allied armies to become better acquainted with the working people of our socialist homeland, with our successes in building socialism, and with the problems which our people are now successfully solving in order to fulfill the plans of the 12th BCP Congress, as well as enable them to tell about the achievements in building socialism in their own countries.

For us Bulgarians this training exercise is of special importance, since it is being conducted in the territory of the Bulgarian People's Republic. Just as every other time, the Bulgarian people will do their patriotic and international duty now, too. The participation of soldiers of all the allied countries evokes sincere joy and great pride in us. The Bulgarian people, in keeping with the old Slav custom, will meet with bread and salt their faithful allies and brothers-in-arms in ideas, class and weapons. They will vividly manifest their unity around the sound Marxist-Leninist international policy of the Bulgarian Community Party.

Bulgarian soldiers well understand their role and responsibility for the further strengthening of the socialist community's defensive power. Realistically they take into account that the aggressive imperialist circles are not giving up their military preparations and designs. Under these conditions it is the patriotic and international duty of Bulgarian soldiers--in close alliance with the legendary and invincible Soviet Army and the armies of the other Warsaw Pact countries, and with high political awareness and ideological conviction--to improve their military skills and battle conditioning and to heighten their patriotic vigilance and combat readiness.

The strenuous days of the soldiers participating in the "Shield-82" training exercise will pass under the slogan, "United in peace and combat for the protection of the cause of socialism." With honor they will successfully pass the final examination of their combat maturity and their readiness to perform their international duty.

The "Shield-82" training exercise will be fully consonant with the unswerving striving of the socialist countries to strengthen peace and security in Europe and the world.

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CSO: 2200/151

TOASTS DELIVERED BY BULGARIAN, CZECH PREMIERS IN PRAGUE

Filipov Toast

AU071420 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Sep 82 p 5

[Toast of Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers at 1 September Prague dinner in his honor given by Lubomir Strougal, chairman of the CSSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Strougal, dear CSSR friends, comrades, I have accepted with great satisfaction the invitation extended by CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal to pay a friendly working visit to your country, for which I most cordially thank him. Visiting friends is always a pleasure. I take this opportunity to express sincere thanks to the comrades accompanying me, thanks for the great attention and the warm reception which we have received immediately upon our arrival in Czechoslovakia. We feel as though we are really among brothers, true friends and comrades here.

Comrades, there is no doubt that our meeting today is another expression of the traditional fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation, which links the BCP and the CPCZ, the Bulgarian People's Republic and the CSSR, our two Slav nations. This friendship and cooperation are being created and developed on the well-tried principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, on the firm foundation of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance. Not even our enemies can deny the fact that between our Marxist-Leninist parties there exists a complete unity on all fundamental questions of socialist construction and the international communist and workers movement and when it comes to assessing the fundamental problems of the international situation. This fills us with pride and gives us the right to declare that everything unites us and nothing divides us.

Comrades, for two decades now the development of Bulgarian-Czechoslovak relations is automatically connected in all spheres with the names and untiring activity of our highest party and state representatives--Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Gustav Husak. Their regular meetings are true milestones on the path of our all-round cooperation.

Our nations are linked by thousands of bonds and with every passing year they learn to know one another better, they are drawing together. The latest demonstration of fraternal relations are the celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, the great son of Bulgaria, passionate internationalist and selfless fighter for the victory of Marxist-Leninist ideas, who was a great friend of the Czechoslovak working people. We are grateful to the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR National Front Central Committee, the social organizations, the information media and to all who contributed to the dignified course of the celebrations of this important anniversary.

Esteemed Comrade Strougal, comrades, the meetings of the representatives of the governments of our two countries have become a tradition. They are friendly and at the same time working meetings. They always have a cordial comradely atmosphere and are marked by mutual understanding. Also our present talks are being held in precisely such a pleasant and creative atmosphere.

I want to note with great satisfaction that we have unanimously highly assessed the Bulgarian-Czechoslovak relations and at the same time expressed the common opinion that what we have accomplished is not the limit yet. This applies to all spheres, but especially to economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Bulgaria's and Czechoslovakia's economic potential creates objective prerequisites for constant development and progress in this important sphere. Here we also see the great role of the subjective factor. This presupposes with an even greater energy and purposefulness that we continue our common endeavor for making a better use of new possibilities to further perfect specialization and production cooperation, deepen scientific-technical cooperation, and enrich these relations by new, more progressive and more effective forms. There is no doubt that our talks today will be a contribution in that respect.

Esteemed Comrade Strougal, dear Czechoslovak comrades, in our country we follow with attention and interest the construction efforts of the working people in fraternal Czechoslovakia who--under the experienced leadership of the CPCZ--are implementing the tasks of further building an advanced socialist society in your country set by the 16th CPCZ Congress. Together with you we rejoice over your every success as if it were our own. Dear friends, we wish you from the bottom of our hearts new successes on the path to the noble goals of communism.

Like their Czechoslovak brothers, also the working people in our country are untiringly working to implement the tasks set by the 12th BCP Congress. We pay particularly great attention to the intensive development of our economy, to constantly raising the effectiveness of material production. On this basis we are resolving the fundamental socioeconomic tasks set by the 12th party congress--to more comprehensively and better satisfy the material, social and spiritual needs of the people.

There is no doubt that the successes of our two countries accomplished in the construction of socialism are inseparably linked with their belonging to the CEMA and the Warsaw Pact. Therefore we are doing and will do everything possible to expand and deepen socialist economic integration, a matter that is in the interest of the socialist community and in the interest of socialism and peace in the world.

Comrade, the bellicose, imperialist U.S. circles and their NATO allies, who scorn the clearly expressed will of the overwhelming majority of mankind to live in peace and harmony have again embarked upon the path of confrontation and war preparations. They are unbelievably aggravating the arms race, systematically creating new hotbeds of tension in the world. The situation in the Middle East has become dangerously aggravated recently. We resolutely condemn the aggressive policy of genocide practiced by Tel Aviv against the Arab people of Palestine. The crimes of Israeli militarists are a provocation vis-a-vis all progressive mankind. We fully support the Soviet proposals for the convocation of an international conference to resolve the Middle East problems, which would be attended by all interested parties, including the representatives of the Palestinian people.

No soberly thinking person can deny that the only sensible way to avoid the danger of a destructive thermonuclear war are negotiations and not confrontation. Therefore we have adopted as our own the CPSU's peace program, which clearly shows the path to halting the arms race, to disarmament and peaceful cooperation among nations. For that reason we fully support all Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's peace proposals and will continue to contribute to averting war and strengthening peace. Our unceasing efforts and endeavors for the Balkans to become a region without nuclear weapons, a zone of peace, of good neighborly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation are the expression of our country's peace-loving foreign policy.

At the end I would like once more to express my firm conviction that the talks which we conduct with you will contribute to the further deepening of fraternal friendship and close cooperation between our parties, countries and nations.

Please allow me to propose a toast:

-- to the health of Comrades Gustav Husak and Todor Zhivkov, our first party and state leaders!

-- to the further comprehensive successes in constructing the developed socialist society in the CSSR and to the prosperity of the CSSR people!

-- to the friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our countries and peoples!

-- to the indestructible friendship and cooperation with the fraternal USSR and the other socialist community countries!

-- to the health of our dear host, Comrade Lubomir Strougal and all those attending the dinner! Cheers!

Strougal Toast

AU071414 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Sep 82 p 5

[Toast of Lubomir Strougal, chairman of the CSSR Council of Ministers, at 1 September Prague dinner in honor of Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Filipov, dear Bulgarian friends, comrades, I welcome you once again in the capital of socialist Czechoslovakia in the name of the CPCZ Central Committee, in the name of its general secretary and president of the republic and in the name of the federal government. I would like to extend special greetings to Comrade Grisha Filipov, who is for the first time our guest as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

We are meeting in Prague in its summer colors, in the year in which we have, along with you, commemorated the 100th anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, great son of the Bulgarian people, distinguished representative of the workers movement, antifascist and revolutionary who--as Klement Gottwald's comrade-in-arms and friend--embodied also the best aspirations of the Czech and Slovak nations. We gladly call to mind the fact that the signatures of these two leading representatives of our communist parties which adorn the first treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria serve as a proof that the Slav togetherness of the ancient past has turned into the class-based brotherhood of today. To use Comrade Gustav Husak's succinct words, "The relations of Czechoslovak-Bulgarian friendship and alliance are more firm and multifaceted today than at any point in the past."

Esteemed comrade chairman of the Council of Ministers, during every meeting with Bulgarian friends we realize what gigantic progress your country has made in the period of building socialism. We admire the results of your modern industry and efficient agriculture but also the boom of culture and arts, which beautify your present and give the people existential security, along with the joy derived from the truly fulfilled life of the socialist epoch. We follow with interest but also study the remarkable results of the new economic mechanism being applied in your country. The weight of these words of admiration and recognition for the work of your communist party and industrious people is all the greater as the whole Czechoslovak public has arrived at this recognition.

We are filled with pride that the successes of the fraternal country are, at least to a small degree, also our deed. After all, throughout the post-war period, Bulgaria has been closely linked with our republic as a firm member of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, which means that there is literally no area in which we do not cooperate, do not help and effectively complement each other.

This is especially true of the latest period when the party and state delegations on the highest level have determined, during their regular meetings, the paths of our dynamic cooperation for the subsequent periods. This happened during the last such meeting in Prague in October 1979, when we greeted here your delegation led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. And it will happen again in a few weeks' time when a Czechoslovak delegation led by Comrade Gustav Husak will pay a visit to Sofia.

We are happy that we are able to declare that the past few years have been particularly fruitful. Political contacts but also scientific and cultural exchange have reached an unprecedented scale. Particularly gratifying is the fact that this is due not only to politicians, scientists, artists and journalists but also to ordinary people. The process of getting to know each other has become a matter concerning the broad masses and forms a firm foundation of our internationalist reciprocity.

Our economic cooperation, which has acquired a new, truly dynamic dimension, too, is undeniably multifaceted. We have long ago ceased to develop mere trade exchange. Progressive forms of cooperation are now on the agenda. Specialization and production sharing have an important share in them--Bulgaria is our second largest partner in the socialist community in this respect. Production sharing no longer concerns only the Liaz and Madara enterprises but a whole number of enterprises in diverse branches. In the future, our attention will be oriented in this direction.

We would like to achieve an even more marked growth in the economic effectiveness of mutual exchange within the framework of specialization and production sharing. It seems that the time has come when we can join our potentials in new ways. I am thinking, in particular, of the field of scientific and technical cooperation but also of joint ventures on third markets. We want to try harder in all those areas in which, for various reasons, we have not been successful so far.

CEMA, is all-encompassing activities, its effectiveness and, above all, its efficiency are of fundamental importance for both countries and their development. It is no accident that both our countries underline new needs but also forms of the council's activity, forms that will lead, aside from beneficial division of labor, also to effective integration and will ensure top technical and technological standards of production, in defiance of the recent discriminatory attempts of the West. When we work on the necessary level and really combine the potentials of our advanced economies, these reactionary plans will fail once again.

Comrades, given the state of the world around us, there is hardly any reason to rejoice. The attempts of some Western circles, especially the present U.S. administration, to restrict political dialogue, impede economic cooperation and provoke confrontation on the basis of military supremacy have brought the world to the brink of an abyss. The unprecedented pursuit of armaments and the modern war concepts jeopardize not only the socialist community but the whole planet.

The latest developments in Lebanon are a proof of these warmongering efforts, of the endeavor to foist on the world the imperialist way of solving problems from the position of strength. The aggressive attack of Israel, unscrupulously justified and supported by the United States and directed against a peace-loving state and the Palestinian people, has again confirmed how seriously meant are the threats we repeatedly hear from Washington. These threats are addressed, above all, to the socialist community.

At a moment when the world has found itself at a crossroads and when its survival is at stake, we draw our certainty and security from the unity, cohesion but also from the strength of our community. Against the policy of threats and confrontation we offer the only reasonable alternative, the alternative of coexistence and detente, which the world learned to appreciate in the seventies. That is why we wholeheartedly support the peace-loving and consistent foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the latest initiatives submitted by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev at the congresses of the trade unions and the Komsomol, as well as in the message to the UN General Assembly second special session of disarmament. Not war but peace, not confrontation but negotiations, not armament but disarmament--that is our program. It is the program of people of good will all over the world.

Esteemed Comrade Filipov, comrades, I am deeply convinced that our Prague meeting will contribute to our countries' cooperation and, at the same time, will make a certain contribution to the global struggle for maintaining peace and averting war.

With this positive thought I would like to propose a toast:

-- to the indestructible friendship between the BCP and the CPCZ!

-- to the fraternal cooperation between our peoples!

-- to the firm alliance of all countries of the socialist community with the USSR!

-- to the health of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and state council chairman!

-- to the health of Comrade Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

-- to your health, comrades!

CSO: 2200/147

HUNGARIAN LEADERS' NATIONAL DAY MESSAGE REPORTED

AU141023 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Sep 82 p 3

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have received the following telegram from Janos Kadar, MSZMP Central Committee first secretary, Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic:

Dear comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, the Presidium and Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Hungarian people we send you, the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the fraternal Bulgarian people our sincere and best wishes on the 38th anniversary of the victory of the Bulgarian socialist and your country's liberation.

Our people follow very closely the construction of the developed socialist society in fraternal Bulgaria and admire with sincere recognition the results achieved by the Bulgarian people led by the BCP in developing your country. We are confident that your successes are a contribution to the cause of multiplying the forces of the socialist community, strengthening international security and defending peace. We highly value the fact that the Hungarian-Bulgarian relations are fruitfully developing in all areas of life, within the framework of the fraternal parties' alliance, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Our joint activity in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, which serves the cause of strengthening the traditional and fraternal friendship between our peoples and the interests of socialism, social progress and peace, is an important factor in the broad range of our countries' cooperation.

On the day of Bulgaria's national holiday we wish you and Bulgaria's working people from the bottom of our hearts new successes in the construction of the developed socialist society, as well as successes in the economy, in science and culture and in increasing the material and spiritual prosperity of the Bulgarian people.

CSO: 2200/153

DPRK'S KIM IL-SONG SENDS NATIONAL DAY GREETINGS

AU141022 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Sep 82 p 3

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, has received the following telegram from Kim Il-song, secretary general of the KWP [Korean Workers Party] Central Committee and president of the DPRK:

On behalf of the KWP Central Committee, the DPRK Government, the Korean people and on my own personal behalf, I send you and through you the BCP Central Committee, the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the fraternal Bulgarian people warmest greetings and wishes on the 38th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

The victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria was an epochal event of great importance in the history of the Bulgarian people.

Since the victory of the socialist revolution and until today, the Bulgarian people have carried on an energetic struggle for building the new life, thus turning Bulgaria into a socialist state of developed industry, modern agriculture and a prospering and developing culture.

Today your people, under the leadership of the BCP led by you, have made great progress in the struggle for fulfilling the new 5-year plan set forth by the 12th BCP Congress.

From the bottom of my heart I wish you and the fraternal Bulgarian people new and even greater successes in the struggle for constructing the developed socialist society.

I take this opportunity to express my confidence that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two parties, governments and peoples, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will further expand and develop in the course of our common struggle against imperialism and for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism.

CSO: 2200/153

LAO LEADERS' NATIONAL DAY GREETINGS REPORTED

AU141018 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Sep 82 p 5

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman, have received the following telegram from Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] and premier of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and Souphanouvong, president of the republic and of the People's Supreme Assembly:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the LPRP, the People's Supreme Assembly, the government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Lao people we send you our warmest greetings and wishes on the 38th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, and, through you, we greet the BCP, the National Assembly, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the fraternal Bulgarian people.

Following the road of socialism the Bulgarian people, under the BCP leadership and with the active assistance of the USSR and close cooperation with the socialist community countries, succeeded in overcoming all difficulties and reached brilliant successes in socialist construction, constantly improving the population's material and spiritual life and increasing the role and prestige of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the international arena.

These successes also made a significant contribution to strengthening the socialist community and defending peace and security in the Balkans, Europe and the world. We are confident that the fraternal Bulgarian people under the wise leadership of the BCP led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov will achieve even greater successes in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and in constructing the developed socialist society in their motherland.

On this occasion the LPRP, the People's Supreme Assembly of the government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Lao people wish you good health, and the Bulgarian people new and even greater successes in the construction and progress of socialist Bulgaria.

May the relations of friendship and close cooperation between our parties, governments and peoples constantly develop.

CSO: 2200/153

MONGOLIAN LEADERS' NATIONAL DAY GREETINGS

AU141042 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 82 p 7

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have received the following telegram from Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, secretary general of the MPRP Central Committee, and Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic:

Dear comrades, on behalf of the MPRP Central Committee, the Presidium of the Great People's Hural, the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic and the entire Mongolian people we send you, and through you the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the entire Bulgarian people fraternal greetings and warm wishes on the 38th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

On 9 September 1944 the Bulgarian people, with the decisive help of the Soviet Army, overthrew the fascist yoke and the monarchic dictatorship and embarked on the road of socialist development, the goal selflessly fought for by the prominent Bulgarian revolutionaries. The Bulgarian people led by the BCP, in close cooperation with the countries of the socialist community has turned Bulgaria into a developed socialist country in a historically short span of time and is continuing now to achieve new successes in the further development of the economy and culture and in increasing the material well-being of their country.

Being a strong link of the socialist community and a member of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is making an important contribution to strengthening the unity and cohesion of the fraternal countries and increasing the power of world socialism. It is conducting a consistent peaceful foreign policy and invariably stands for strengthening and expanding international detente and strengthening peace and security in Europe and the entire world.

We note with deep satisfaction that the relations of fraternal friendship and close and fruitful cooperation between the Mongolian People's Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are strengthening and expanding every

year. Their vital power lies in the unity and close cooperation between the MPRP and the BCP.

On this remarkable day we cordially wish you, dear comrades, and, through you, the entire fraternal Bulgarian people new successes in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and in constructing the developed socialist society on Bulgarian soil.

CSO: 2200/153

VIETNAMESE LEADERS' NATIONAL DAY GREETINGS

AU141040 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 82 p 7

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman, have received the following telegram from Le Duan, secretary general of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee, Truong Chinh, chairman of the SRV State Council, Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, and Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the SRV National Assembly:

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, the Vietnamese Communist Party, the National Assembly, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the SRV and on our personal behalf we send you and through you the fraternal Bulgarian people, the BCP, the National Assembly and the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria most cordial greetings on the 38th anniversary of Bulgaria's national holiday.

During the past 30 years, the Bulgarian people, under the leadership of the glorious BCP, with industry and creativity and in close alliance and comprehensive cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries, have achieved great successes in constructing socialism, and have turned Bulgaria into a country with a modern industry and agriculture, advanced science and technology and constant material and cultural upsurge. As a result of these great achievements and of its peaceful foreign policy and international cooperation the People's Republic of Bulgaria is becoming an ever more important factor in strengthening peace and security in the Balkans and Europe, and is making an active contribution to strengthening the power of the socialist system in the common struggle of the world peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Vietnamese people rejoices with and is proud of the brilliant achievements of the Bulgarian people, and wishes them new and even greater successes in constructing the developed socialist society in their beautiful motherland under the leadership of the BCP, headed by the respected Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

We note with great satisfaction that the friendly relations and comprehensive cooperation between our parties, states and peoples, based on Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and on the treaty of friendship and

cooperation between the SRV and the People's Republic of Bulgaria are strengthening and developing daily.

On this occasion we express our deep gratitude for the assistance and help in the spirit of the proletarian internationalism, rendered by the Bulgarian party, state and people to the Vietnamese people's revolutionary cause.

May the relations of fraternal friendship, combat solidarity and comprehensive cooperation between our parties, states and peoples daily strengthen and develop along an ascending line.

CSO: 2200/153

ON POPE'S DECREE FORBIDDING POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 28, 11 Jul 82 pp 1, 4

Reaction of Pacem in Terris

[Text] In the current period of heightened international tensions, all peace-loving people without distinction must dedicate all their energy, knowledge and positive moral values to the preservation of life and strengthening of peace, to the prevention of the most terrible catastrophe which would lead to the most massive destruction and greatest damage to the health of not only this but future generations.

Motivated by these considerations, the Catholic Clergy Association, Pacem in Terris, reviewed its more than 30-year-old pastoral service to peace, in which there was participation from the outset by priests, along with their bishops and ordinaries. At the present time, we are even more convinced that efforts to preserve the sacred gift of life is not only in harmony with priestly institutions, but also an integral part of the priestly calling. Within the holy church, people--along with those who have been entrusted with the service of leadership--have been striving to preserve peace and life on earth.

In priestly and fraternal unity with their bishops, ordinaries and the church as a whole, the Association of Catholic Clergy, Pacem in Terris, recognizes life as a gift from God which must be led jointly and responsibly under the principles of justice and love. This timely service in the name of life and peace, convincingly justifies the existence of the priestly peace movement Pacem in Terris and spurs it toward ever more determined endeavor, since it is beneficial to the church and the homeland, and contributes to the strengthening of peace.

It is this motive which led to the preparation of the letter which follows, addressed to bishops and ordinaries of Czech and Slovak dioceses with the request that they support this noble effort as confirmation that our road is the right one, that with their pastoral

blessing we might increasingly live up to the truth of "blessed are those who bring peace, for they will be called the sons of God" (Matthew 5.9)

Most Reverend Father Ordinary,

In filial respect in your paternal understanding, we are turning to you in this critical time for the life and work of the church in our contemporary society, in full awareness of our joint responsibility for the Lord's people entrusted into our care through the labors of the bishops and ordinaries.

Striving to correctly interpret the omens of the times, in sincere desire to live up to the conclusions of the Second Vatican Council, led by our love for the Lord, the church and country, we wish to bring the truth into all that has been bruited about the activity of the Association of Catholic Clergy, Pacem in Terris, especially following the return of the most reverend bishops from Rome.

Even though all CSSR priests have not yet been notified officially that the Holy Congregation for the Priesthood had issued a proclamation under which Roman Catholic priests are forbidden to participate in certain associations, organizations and movements, an interpretation containing inaccuracies and lacking precision with respect to the substance and interest of such associations, has been disseminated. As a result, there are some among us who, due to lack of information, spread thoughtless statements on the participation of our priests in activities on behalf of peace and the well-being of our society. Guided by the interests of their sacramental brethren, representatives of the Association of Catholic Clergy, Pacem in Terris, respectfully request that the most reverend bishops and ordinaries, as caring Fathers who labor for the good of the Church and the Lord's people living in this society, thoughtfully continue in the resolution of this problem as well. The activist tradition of Roman Catholic priests in our country relates to their beneficial past as patriots ever since the dawn of our history. From the earliest time of the peace movement, our most reverend bishops and ordinaries have actively participated in its important assemblies.

After WW II, social systems underwent historic changes. Our church and the believers, in it, along with all religious life, were confronted with a changed spiritual and political situation. Under these impulses toward the resolution of the role and future activity of the Catholic Church in our country, discussions between the church and the state began in 1948-49. Despite some hopeful initial signals, these were aborted and there followed a sterile and dangerous period of time. Following various measures as a result of which the most reverend ordinaries found themselves in inactive isolation, the clergy began an initiative search for ways which would lead the church and the believers out of this isolation and atmosphere of mistrust. There were still manifestations of unhealthy mentality, such as when some priests retreated into passivity and others went abroad, leaving their flocks without spiritual care. There also appeared certain reckless statements on the so-called Czechoslovak autonomous church, similar to what had occurred after World War I. There was a need for the priests to take a joint position against these dangerous phenomena, to reject extremes and preserve their identity as Christ's pastors dedicated and faithful to the church.

There is no doubt that the activist stance of the Catholic clergy during that period and in the years which followed, helped resolve the problems of the existence and role of the church in our country. Much has been achieved through a joint, positive approach. Work was resumed in the Czech and Slovak Caritas, in the Society of St. Vojtech, seminaries and religious facilities were reopened in Bohemia and Slovakia, the Catholic press reappeared, and the activity of health care, recreational and physical education institutions became livelier. President Klement Gottwald on 29 October 1949, amnestied 127 priests who had allowed themselves in the postwar years to be misled into hazardous political activity.

Slowly but surely, an atmosphere of trust emerged in which priests in the Peace Movement of Catholic Clergy, while conscientiously attending to their pastoral obligations, could not ignore the new situation because they realized that their spiritual mission could not be accomplished in a vaccum, but rather had to be adapted to concrete historical realities. Our aim was to show that the church is capable of grasping and accepting positively all that had been accomplished here for the well-being of the individual and for peace at home and in the world. Furthermore, the clergy demonstrated through its activist stand that it is not pursuing political goals, nor personal ambition, but that it truly serves Christ's joyful revelation. Those were the factors which gradually created an atmosphere of trust between the church and our society.

Following the unhealthy stagnation during 1968-69, the clergy recognized the need for a joint and unified approach in pointing out errors and new dangers which could arise from a type of politicized catholicism. Consequently, they founded the Association of Catholic Clergy, Pacem in Terris. Its very name indicates that today's priests wish to master and popularize the heritage of the unforgettable Pope John XXIII, an apostle of peace and cooperation among all people of good will.

The charter of the Association of Catholic Clergy, Pacem in Terris (henceforth Association), states: "The association is a voluntary social and interest movement. It unites Catholic priests who, in faithful fulfillment of their pastoral duties, engage in social activity, in an effort to strengthen peace and friendship among nations, in the defense of legitimate spiritual interests and needs" (p 2).

The sources of the Association's inspiration are papal encyclicas and documents of the Council: Pacem in Terris, Progressio popularum, Lumen gentium, Gandium et spes, Presbyterorum ordinis.

The aim of the Association has always been and continues to be to build and maintain unity among priests and help them to orient themselves in the intricate problems of contemporary life, to create an atmosphere of trust between the church and state, and to jointly examine and evaluate the character of our times, in order to make our pastoral duties and the evangelical character of the believers reflect the new conditions in the society and state of today.

The Association clearly proclaimed that "in full respect for the ordinaries' rank, the Association recognizes their jurisdiction." Our position stems from the belief that our most reverend bishops and ordinaries with whom we are united in the same priesthood and service--which we especially emphasize--will consider "priests their

brothers and friends whom they will talk and listen to in mutual consultation" (Concepts, pp 4 and 5, with reference to the Decree on Priesthood, No 7).

Following informative meetings with the clergy in late 1970 in all okreses and krajs, the following announcement appeared on 17 January 1971 in the Slovak KATOLICKE NOVINY: "On 8 January 1971, there was a meeting in Bratislava of the preparatory committee of the Association of Catholic Clergy, Pacem in Terris, in Slovakia. The meeting finalized preparations for the convocation of an all-Slovak founding convention. The preparatory committee noted with gratitude the positive stance of the corps of Slovak ordinaries toward the association, which they had expressed at their 7 January 1971 meeting in Bratislava.

The corps of Czech ordinaries had been advised of the planned establishment of the Association, and responded as follows from their 29 December 1970 conference of Czech and Moravian bishops and capitular vicars, held in Brno: "We note that the planned interest association Pacem in Terris is voluntary and concerns itself with the civic sphere. We expect, however, that members will always act as priests of their Church. Consequently, we do not consider it our duty to intervene in the matter of priests' membership in the association. We maintain our paternal relationship with all priests, and assess them on the basis of their work and life, as well as on other areas. We will evaluate the new Association on its work and on how it contributes to the consolidation of good relations between the state and the Church" (Czech KATOLICKE NOVINY, no. 2 1971, p 3).

The Reverend Bishop Stefan Trochta also thanked for the greeting sent to him by the founding assembly of the Association's Czech branch. Bishop Trochta stated: "Dear brothers, I note with understanding that you wish to serve with me the Lord's people and the cause of truth and love in the spirit of the Church Council documents, in the common vineyard of the Lord, under conditions of a socialist society. May your work in this area bear good fruit (Czech KATOLICKE NOVINY, no. 42, 1971).

With this proclamation, the most reverend bishops and ordinaries not only noted the activist initiative of the clergy, but also formally approved the priests' endeavor for peace. Their frequent presence at many peace demonstrations has lent us support in our work for the greatest good of mankind--for peace. We have always been proud that all our incumbent most reverend bishops and ordinaries work in the peace movement with us the faithful and dedicated priests of the Church and our country.

May we be permitted in all respect in which we hold our superiors to note that the highest church representatives have never voiced any concrete objections or criticism of the Association. The latter is not aware in its work of any transgression against church authority, not that it might have been a hindrance in the execution of church jurisdiction. On the contrary, in organizing seminars and peace symposia on the encyclical Pacem in Terris and Pope John Paul II's latest encyclicals "Redemptor hominis" and "Dies in misericordia," the Association tried to bring the priests' mission and responsibilities closer to the contemporary man and woman. We wish to assist in the search for such forms of priestly peace and and civic involvement which has nothing in common with political organizations nor with ideological or party affiliation. We wish to work in the spirit of the council documents "Gaudium et spes" and the encyclical Pacem in Terris. The Association also disseminated these documents in print.

In this endeavor we are guided and encouraged by the following words: "Once again we wish to remind our sons and daughters of their duty to participate actively in public life and contribute to the realization of universal well-being of the entire human family, as well as their own political community. Guided by the light of faith and love for our fellow man, let them strive to make sure that the economic, social, cultural and political systems do not become an obstacle but rather assist people in their improvement in both the natural and supernatural sense" (Pacem in Terris, p 56).

The Holy Father Paul VI left an imprint in his encyclical "Ecclesium suam" to the effect that the Church should fulfill its mission in the world as it is today.

If we want others to listen to us and understand us, we must not put a distance of privilege and strange language between ourselves and the people, we must rather adopt the ways of modest living, and get close to expecially those who are most needy. We must listen to what people are saying, feel what they feel, in order to understand, respect and, within our capability, fulfill their wishes.

Wherever people strive for mutual understanding of themselves and the world, we can join with them, wherever people assemble in favor of human rights and responsibilities, we are happy to hold discussions with them and we consider it an honor to be able to do so.

While respecting differing opinions--a privilege commonly recognized today--our priests and the Association participate with all citizens of good will in the defense of peace which is essential for human life. In our participation in the struggle for peace and universal good, we were inspired by Chapter V of the encyclical Pacem in Terris which allows all believers a joint approach to problems affecting the needs of mankind today.

Members of the Association, along with every other priest, guide their believers in the direction of meeting their everyday responsibilities toward their work, as well as toward society.

We are convinced that through this effort for peace and civic activism, we are serving the interests of the Church, as well as our country, and are helping to maintain good relations between our socialist society and the Holy Church. There have been several requests from our ranks that negotiations be successfully concluded between the Holy See and our government, that an agreement be finally reached which would resolve the staffing of all our bishoprics, as well as other urgent problems. In the spirit of the Codex and under the principles of ideological precepts, we have striven to maintain appropriate respect, devotion and subordination to our lawful Church superiors.

May we be permitted to request that the most reverend bishops and ordinaries, cognizant of the good of the church and the Lord's people in our socialist system, proceed thoughtfully in resolving the problem of the pronouncement by the Congregation for the Clergy and, as competent authorities, clarify the Association's activity, thus helping to remove the misunderstanding which the proclamation had evoked.

The great majority of Catholic priests with whom we have consulted, are fully convinced that the pronouncement cannot be applied to a movement which has a distinctly peaceful character. For such is the Association of Catholic Clergy, all of whose work has from the outset been based exclusively on papal documents and conclusions of the IInd Vatican Council. In civic matters, we are motivated by the law on the protection of peace which is in force in our country. Should there be some people who, despite these valid arguments, would wish to place the Association under the provisions of the above-mentioned pronouncement, it could be only those who would intentionally place the Association in a false light, thus warping the truth of the Association's real mission. Should the honorable congregation receive information or reports which indeed place the Association's work in such false light, may we be permitted to state that these are malicious attempts to warp the truth and honest work and stance of priests who have been laboring for decades for the victory of peace in justice and love throughout the world.

Our devotion to the Holy Church and its head, the Holy Father, has been frequently documented in the statements issued at our assemblies. The most reverend bishops and ordinaries themselves were able to bear witness to this at all our meetings.

We are turning to you today with trust and respect, as the appropriate authority which alone can judge and evaluate all our priestly activity, including that in the area of defending peace, in order that--since you know us and are able judge--you may issue qualified and objective testimony about us and our work in the Pacem in Terris Association.

Faithful to the Holy Mother Church, devoted to the Holy Father and to you, the most reverend bishops and ordinaries, we wish in filial obedience to continue our work for the well-being and peace for mankind throughout the world.

Reaction of CSSR Government

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 30, 25 Jul 82 p 1

[Text] Everyday experiences tell us that, besides the small pleasures and concerns of the individual, we as citizens of one of the nations on this planet also encounter problems which, without distinction among the social systems of individual countries or state groupings or even their way of life and ideology, can be characterized as fundamental and of priority importance. Among these, unquestionably of top priority to all people, is to defend peace by all means, prevent a nuclear war, ease the tensions in the world and put an end to the feverish arms race. All honest people the world over are increasingly becoming aware of this reality. At the same time, they seek and find answers to the question of who bears the responsibility for bringing mankind to the brink of nuclear catastrophe, and how to frustrate these efforts of the world reactionaries, led by the American imperialist circles. On the other hand, people of the world support with equal conviction the consistent peace program of the USSR and the other states of the world socialist system, whose principled and humane content is especially noticeable in light of the sharp exarcebation of the current international situation by the United States and its allies.

The working people of our country, including religious believers, have a considerable share in the noble undertaking on behalf of peace. The socialist state with its allies is doing everything in its power for the victory of peace. Its endeavor stems from the principle that in our conditions of building socialism, a strengthening of the socialist community and the union with all peace-loving, democratic forces of the world, represents the most effective contribution to the struggle for preventing a nuclear catastrophe. This goal is common to all our citizens. It expresses the interests of all our working people, whether they are religious believers or not.

Those believers in our country who actively participate in the building endeavor of the CSSR National Front Government, represent a natural foundation for cooperation between believers and non-believers in the construction of a socialist society, thus making room for good relations between the socialist state, the churches and religious societies in the CSSR.

In a situation where mankind is struggling with the cardinal problem of preserving peace in the world, our state--with complete dedication to the cause of peace--supports all forces which are willing to actively oppose the threat of war in defense of peace.

We are aware that this current struggle for peace has also been acknowledged by the international church centers which, for the most part, have joined it.

However, the world public, especially Catholics, cannot fail to notice certain conflicting approaches to this problem manifested during public appearances of certain representatives of the Vatican. On the one hand, for example, P.J. Long, delegated by the Vatican as an observer to the World All-Church Conference of Church Representatives in May of this year in Moscow, presented, among other things, the following view: "Since WW II, all popes of the Catholic Church, as well as the solemn congregation of bishops at the IInd Vatican Council, have turned to the problem of war, nuclear armament and disarmament. All popes have denounced the arms race and called for general limitation of arms, expressed in more than merely words. They demanded more guarantees against possible error or accident in the introduction of these weapons, and they did so in the name of respect for peace and its preservation, for freedom and legitimate security for all nations."

The greater then was the surprise generated by the fact that Czechoslovak bishops were prohibited by the Vatican to attend the above-mentioned Moscow conference. The reasons for such a decision must obviously be sought in broader context.

For during the same period, there was a discussion within the Roman Catholic Church of the so-called "Pronouncement" of the Vatican Congregation for the Clergy which baffled many people, especially the way it was interpreted with respect to the CSSR by certain Vatican and domestic representatives of the Church. There are even voices claiming that this represents a curtailment, possibly a ban, on the Roman Catholic clergy to actively participate in the struggle for the preservation of peace and progress in the world.

Many of the Western communications media exploited these facts and quickly attempted to lend support to those opinions and standpoints whose aim it is to discredit realistic relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church in our country. The pretext for doing this became the existence of the CSSR Association of Catholic Clergy, Pacem in Terris, against which attacks are being directed in connection with the above-mentioned "Proclation."

It is close to absurd in this day and age when millions of people throughout the world know no rest in the struggle to preserve peace, that anyone in the Vatican center would try to prevent Catholic priests in the CSSR, moreover under threat of Church sanctions, from becoming active in the struggle for the preservation of the human race in ways and methods which have been legally instituted in the CSSR.

The Czechoslovak state does not deprive any of its citizens, including the priests, churches, and religious societies which had been recognized by the state, of the right to participate in their chosen manner in the peace program as it is anchored in the CSSR constitution and the law for the defense of peace.

Our society not only does not prevent or ban activities on behalf of peace, on the contrary, it publicly supports and protects them. Consequently, in harmony with our laws--and at the request of a great majority of Roman Catholic priests, the Czech and Slovak Ministers of Culture in 1971 approved by their decrees the activity of the peace movement of the Catholic clergy, which bears the name "Pacem in Terris," inspired by the encyclical of Pope John XXIII. Since this and other peace movements in the CSSR do not engage in activity which is in conflict with accepted legislative standards, on the contrary, activities which constructively support them, they can continue to work undisturbed under the protection of the Czechoslovak legal code. For this reason, the Czechslovak socialist state is happy to note that Roman Catholic priests, precisely through the intermediary of the Association "Pacem in Terris," have a great share in the realization of this country's humanist goals which are in full accord with the wishes and aspirations of our nations and all of mankind.

Similarly as it supports the peace efforts of all churches and religious societies in this country, the CSSR Government takes the same position with respect to peace proposals of the Vatican and its representative, Pope John Paul II, especially if these are followed by concrete deeds.

In this connection, we again emphasize that the Catholic Church, as other churches in the CSSR, have always had and will continue to have room for their religious activity, as set forth in the constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

From the vantage point of mankind's historical perspective, there simply is no alternative but victory of the forces of peace against war. This is also understood by the overwhelming majority of priests and believers in our country. For practical experience has shown that to become an activist on behalf of this goal is not only the right but also the duty of all of us without exception.

Secretariat for Church Affairs of the Ministries of Culture of the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics

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LEGISLATIVE COOPERATION BETWEEN STATE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ANALYZED

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[Article by Dr Richard Mand, Dr Carola Schulze, Dr Peter Zinnecker; GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence: "Topical Questions of Cooperation Between Socialist State and Social Organizations in the Continued Shaping of the Developed Socialist Society in the GDR"]

[Text] The construction of the developed socialist society, as the SED Program remarks, is a process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes. The continued shaping of the system as a whole, of its various elements and of the interrelations among them is inevitably given by this further development process of the socialist revolution. The inner cohesion and the close dynamic interrelations among all its elements are characteristics and conditions of the political system of socialism. They have grown historically and are becoming more important at the present time.

The centerpiece of these relations lies in the further shaping of the power of the workers class and its alliance with all working people. The role and responsibility of the working people's social organizations are also growing in this process, especially as they work together with the socialist state as an essential aspect of the realization of socialist democracy, the chief developmental trend of socialist state power.[1] Here the various personal and collective interests develop and are realized as the total interest rich in content expressing objective requirements. "The cooperation of the people's representations and deputies with the social organizations and other social forces must improve ascertaining the interests, needs and problems of certain population groups and mobilize their activities for the solution of the tasks."[2]

I

The growing role and responsibility of the social organizations and their working together with the socialist state is marked by the following tendencies:
--the development of SED leadership in the social organizations, expressed in particular by the communists' growing influence in the social organizations, in the party conferences with the management organs of various social organizations, in specific resolutions concerning particular organizations, and in the all-round comradely support social organizations receive from the party organizations on all levels for fulfilling their tasks;

--the increased participation by the social organizations in elaborating and enforcing state policy;
--the increasing spread of initiatives aimed at the solution of overall state tasks;
--the further development of the system of social organizations by the creation of new organizational units;[3]
--the expansion and consolidation of the legal status of social organizations;
--the deepening of the tried and tested cooperation among the social organizations in the Democratic Block and the National Front of the GDR; and
--the growth of the numerical strength of the social organizations and of their influence on official and public life.[4]

These factors characterize and encourage the process of constantly deepening the cooperation between the social organizations and the socialist state and reflect the further development of socialist democracy in public and official life and the SED's growing leadership role as the fundamental and most general inevitabilities of the whole political system of socialism. In the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, they also become increasingly more the inevitabilities of the system of the social organizations, as part of the political system of socialism.[5] Due to the requirements for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and to the increased class conflict with imperialism, the activities to strengthen working class power increasingly become the central efforts of all social organizations. That helps greatly in enhancing the stability and efficacy of the political system as a whole and of each of its members.

Taking part in the consolidation of power also is the most important condition for a dynamic and steady development of the system of the social organizations and each individual organization within the political system of socialism. It is an essential prerequisite for its stability by taking more and more solidly root within the people. That is why the social organizations in the GDR are more and more being scrutinized by bourgeois political scientists, historians and students of jurisprudence in the FRG as well as in other capitalist countries.[6]

The cooperation between the state organs and the social organizations in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society is based on the increasingly more prominent unity of the political system of socialism which, with its characteristic and essential features, forms the basis on which this cooperation could develop and can further consolidate.[7] The essential unity of the political system of socialism depends on
--the uniform leadership of the state organs and social organizations by the Marxist-Leninist party;
--the unified system of people's representations and the system of social organizations as systems of the same sociopolitical type;
--the right the social organizations have to take part in the management of official and public affairs, as written into the Constitution and guaranteed by the political and economic premise of socialist society; and
--the unity of principles by which organizations in the political system are structured (democratic centralism, socialist legality, participation by the masses in the management of the state and of the organizations, proletarian internationalism and so forth).

These fundamental characteristics of the entire sociopolitical order in socialism are the basis for the coordinated action between the state organs and the social organizations within the framework of the political system, which greatly helps develop the people's creative potentials in their collective and public relations and multiply the capacities and making them serviceable to the construction of socialism/communism. Public interests shaped by collective and public relations consolidate the people's political-moral unity. This embodies the unity of will and action by all of the people's organized capacities on an increasingly higher level. An especially important factor for the efficacy of the cooperation between state organs and social organizations is due to the nature of social organizations itself, the high degree of organization of their collectives based on their free will, the expertise and energy of their members, and the direct link between social, collective and personal interests.

The cooperation between state organs and social organizations is substantively determined by the tasks formulated by the party for the construction of socialism/communism and by the development of the functions of the whole political system, especially the state functions, and, at the present time, is aimed at solving the main task in its unity of economic and social policy and at the tasks resulting from the international class conflict.

This cooperation embraces nearly all domains of society, the economy, culture and education, social policy, environmental protection and national defense. It embraces the shared efforts in improving the social organizations' political-ideological work so as to make all citizens aware of the unity between safeguarding peace and strengthening the socialist fatherland and the whole community of socialist states and the need for constantly deepening the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union. For the preservation of peace, which ultimately decides the present and future of mankind, is the most important and primary interest of all men. This human right to life is seriously being threatened by imperialism. We must make all citizens persuasively and vividly aware of these basic interconnections so that we motivate them for appropriate actions. This task is the essential substance in the cooperation between the organs of state power and social organizations. In addition, the focal point of this cooperation also is placed on improving the social organizations' contribution to the implementation of the economic strategy, their participation in enforcing a socialist cultural policy and the working people's training and advanced training, their taking part in implementing the socialist social policy, and their contribution to the protection and defense of the socialist political and social order.

II

The forms in the cooperation between the state organs and social organizations, determined by the perfecting of the substance in these mutual relations, develop with increasing stability, efficacy and variety in the phase of the shaping of the developed socialist society. The qualitative and quantitative factors in this cooperation are growing and new forms and methods develop--in line with the requirements for the social transformation process. The mandate of social organizations has proven its worth excellently in the GDR:

the FDGB (Free German Labor Union Federation), the FDJ (Free German Youth), DFD (Democratic Women's League of Germany), the KB (Culture League) of the GDR for all people's representations, and the VdgB (Peasant Mutual Aid Association) and the consumer cooperatives, for specific local people's representations.[8] They have become a constitutive element of the system of power exercise. The ever more deliberate exercise of responsibility by central and local management bodies in social organizations for the deputies nominated by them within the scope of a joint National Front ballot significantly influences the effectiveness of the deputies in the people's representations and is an essential aspect of the social organizations' participation in the consolidation of state power.

Regular forms of cooperation and mutual consultation between state organs and social organizations have evolved in certain areas of state management. That is true, e.g., of certain areas in economic policy, youth policy, defense education, culture and social policy, and the educational system. As a rule, state organs make no decisions without consulting with the managements of social organizations, if the matter up for decision affects problems concerning their field of responsibility. For instance, the participation by certain social organizations (notably the FDGB, the FDJ and the DFD) in economic planning--from plan debates in the enterprises to the decision-making by the People's Chamber--has become regular procedure in the GDR's planning system in recent years. This participation by social organizations in the planning process significantly improves the plans and the organized and skilled mobilization of ideas of millions of working people for the development plans of their own working and living conditions. Here socialist democracy, and hence the essence of socialism as a social order deliberately and systematically fashioned by the working people, fully comes into its own. In making this form of participation still more expedient and in disseminating the most progressive experiences we find, however, still great reserves for perfecting socialist democracy.

Some of the cooperation between the organs of state power and the social organizations, most of which being subject to legal regulations, is developed for entire areas of public life and spelled out in detail as to the concrete manner of implementing specific tasks through accords[9] between the state organs and the managements of social organizations, signed to a larger extent especially after the Eighth SED Congress. Normally they are based on legal regulations and are aimed at enforcing them. Their implementation has led and is leading to high social results, often slight in material expenditure.[10] The scope, number, substance and form of such accords differ greatly, and so do the ways and means of their promulgation. It is necessary to draw general rules from the positive experiences gained in this field and provide them with uniform principles in terms of substance, form, the conclusion and the ways and means of publicizing such accords.

In the coordinated efforts of state organs and social organizations, an important function attaches to volunteer advisory bodies like councils, advisory councils, commissions, task forces and activists groups in state collective organs and individual state managers. They usually are representatives of certain state organs, institutions and social organizations and have proven themselves extremely efficient forms in shaping a close cooperation between

the state organs and social organizations and in coordinating the activities of social forces. They are official-public consultation and coordination bodies in character and are normally run by the responsible official functionary concerned. In certain areas, such collectives exist on all management levels, e.g. the cultural council under the ministry for culture and cultural-political advisory councils under the local councils, MMM (Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow) task forces on all management levels; in other areas, however, they exist on the central or the local level only.

Surveys on the local level have established that the activity of these bodies significantly improves the efficacy and mass effectiveness of state management. At the same time, however, it is necessary to ensure still more coordination with the manner of work done by the people's representations and always to make sure whether, given the variety of bodies already in existence, further new organizations are in fact always needed. The participation by social organizations in preparing management concepts for certain areas of public life by the bezirk and kreis councils also has proved itself outstandingly. That also establishes the prerequisites for their being implemented on a broad public basis.

III

In the shaping of the developed socialist society, the cooperation between state organs and social organizations also is becoming more prominent in the processes of the increasing entwining between jurisprudence and jurisdiction. The basis for it is a broad democratic foundation, already in place, that grants new opportunities for bringing a deliberate influence to bear in all phases of jurisprudence and jurisdiction to the social organizations in our political system. The participation by social organizations in the process of jurisprudence, written into the Constitution and further specified in the order on preparing and shaping legal regulations,[11] has become vastly more active. The cooperation between the state organs and social organizations in this field at present proceeds particularly in the following forms and methods through which the participation by social organizations has already proven itself in the practice of GDR jurisprudence:

--in realizing the FDGB's right to initiate laws and the FDJ right of initiative for legal acts of the Council of Ministers and in the right to legal initiatives by deputies and fractions of social organizations represented in the People's Chamber;

--in issuing joint legal regulations;

--in preparing law regulation drafts by social organizations, sanctioned by state organs; and

--in the social organizations' participation in the debate on legal regulations.[12]

At the same time, there are two tendencies becoming ever more prominent in the social organizations' participation in jurisprudence, which will gain more importance, depending on the order on the preparation and shaping of law regulations in practical jurisprudence in the 1980's, and have to receive more penetrating scientific analysis.

For one thing, the number of draft regulations is growing that have to be coordinated with social organization managements if they affect their tasks.[13] This coordination, taking place as early as when legal regulations are still under preparation, means that even then social organization managements have to be consulted and the matters to be governed by law have to be coordinated with them, provided they touch on the interests and activity of their members. On behalf of turning such coordination more and more into an act of making legal regulations more expedient, political science and jurisprudence, through exploring the possibilities to improve the enactment of law and legislation also ought to address the substance of this coordination.

And then also, the social organizations in the GDR--particularly the trade and science associations--are making a specific and effective contribution to preparing legal regulations that, above all, critically affect the legislative activity by the specialized ministries and central bureaus. In the practice of law enactments on the level of the specialized ministries, forms have evolved such as the direct participation by social organization managements in the legislative commissions, the elaboration of recommendations by social organization managements for preparing official juridical decisions, and the chance certain social organizations have independently to propose legal arrangements in setting up legal regulations which directly affect those social organizations' sphere of activity.

The cooperation between the state and social organizations in the process of the administration of law, in the shaping of the developed socialist society, is of theoretical and practical interest mainly under the following aspects: The social organizations help consolidate socialist legality, assist in law education and law propaganda, and contribute to the protection and implementation of the citizens' rights and freedoms and in the administration of law as a specific form of jurisdiction. Some relevant theoretical legal questions in the cooperation between the state and social organizations in the process of jurisdiction deserve a closer look. The social organizations particularly exercise an active influence on the administration of law through the following norms, which are elements of the regulatory mechanism in social relations:

1. By-laws and statutes of social organizations, issued on the basis of SED resolutions and the Constitution, which reinforce, concretize and enrich requirements and relations governed by law. To that extent, the effects go beyond the organization proper. That applies in particular to provisions about the duties of the members of the social organizations to the socialist society and the state.

2. Resolutions, orders and basic guidelines from the management bodies of social organizations, issued on the basis of legal regulations for their being concretized and put into effect by the organizational units, containing specific norms of binding character for the social organizations. Primarily, they spell out the mandatory tasks and rights of those social organizations in enforcing concrete legal regulations affecting, in the subject under their jurisdiction, the tasking and activity area of those social organizations. They supplement, specify and concretize the administration of tasks and rights of the organizations concerned under the aspect of law.[14]

3. Contracts and accords concluded, on the basis of legal regulations, between central and local state organs and the central and local managements of social organizations, being of legal form in that sense and subject to the law administration process.

4. Joint resolutions by party and state organs and social organizations, state organs and social organizations or among social organizations.

Through the social organizational norms, issued on the basis and in effective implementation of the law in force, and supplementing and concretizing the law in force, the social organizations are making an important contribution to the continued smooth improvement and all-round application of the regulatory mechanism in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Berlin, 1981, p 116.

2. K. Sorgenicht, "Penetrating More Deeply the 10th SED Congress Resolutions for the Further Strengthening of Socialist State Power," STAAT UND RECHT, 1981, p 678.

3. That is vividly brought out, e.g., by that in the 1974-1980 period the number of FDGB shop stewards grew from 250,848 to 299,539, an equivalent of setting up 48,691 new trade union groups (computed from "Statistisches Taschenbuch der DDR," Berlin, 1975 and 1981), and by the development of the Culture League of the GDR, in the framework of which in recent years new associations or societies were formed fostering nature and the homeland, homeland history and monuments, in which citizens responsibly participate in solving official and public tasks in these fields.

4. Membership growth in selected social organizations:

Organizations	Membership 1961	Membership 1980	Membership growth absolute	%
FDGB	6,300,000	8,806,754	2,506,754	39.8
Culture League	183,151	226,593	43,442	23.7
German-Soviet Friendship Society	3,524,645	5,700,000	2,175,355	61.7
Chamber of Technology	110,733	246,204	135,471	122.3
German Red Cross	437,520	633,703	196,183	44.8
People's Solidarity	1,417,864	2,029,000	611,136	43.1
VKSK	864,166	1,127,382	263,216	30.3
Consumer cooperatives	3,805,399	4,442,000	636,601	16.7
DTSB	1,534,105	3,139,333	1,605,228	104.6
Agricultural Society	6,584	50,032	43,448	659.9

(Computed from GDR Statistical Yearbooks 1962 and 1981, Berlin, 1962, pp 137 ff; Berlin, 1981, pp 395 ff. Figures on the Agricultural Society were obtained from that organization.)

5. Cf. "Social Organizations, Law and Personality" (in Russian), Moscow, 1981, p 71.

6. Cf. M Ehlenbeck, "Auseinandersetzung mit Angriffen imperialistischer Ideologen der BRD in den siebziger Jahren auf die Rolle gesellschaftlicher Organisationen der Werktaetigen in der politischen Organisation der sozialistischen Gesellschaft der DDR" (Confronting Attacks from FRG Ideologists in the 1970's on the Role of the Working People's Social Organizations in the Political Organization of Socialist Society in the GDR), Dissertation, Dresden, 1981.

7. Cf. Z. A. Yampolskaya, "On the Interaction Between State Organs and Social Organizations in Present-day Soviet Society," SOVETSKOE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, 1978, No 8, pp 21 ff.

8. Some publications fail to mention the mandates of VdgB and of the consumer cooperatives, although right now 7,491 deputies bear the VdgB mandate and 6,073, that of the consumer cooperatives. Cf. textbook "Staatsrecht der DDR" (GDR Political Law), Berlin, 1977, p 124; "Kleines Politisches Woerterbuch" (Small Political Dictionary), Berlin, 1978, p 295; textbook "Verwaltungsrecht" (Administrative Law), Berlin, 1979, p 211.

9. Cf., e.g., "Accord Between the FDGB Executive Committee and the Ministry for National Defense on Cooperating in Socialist Defense Education for the Working Class and All Other Working People in the GDR," "Zur Foerderung der Arbeiterjugend" (On Promoting Working Youth), Berlin, n.d., pp 266 ff; "Accord Between the State Secretariat for Vocational Training and the Presidium of the Culture League of the GDR on Cooperating in the Further Improvement of Intellectual-Cultural Life in the Vocational Training Institutions," "Information No 437" published by the Culture League of the GDR, Presidium Secretariat; "Accord Between the Ministry for Culture and the FDGB Executive Committee in the Field of Literature Propaganda and the Dissemination of Literature, and on the Development of the Library System," FDGB "Informationsblatt" No 1, 1975; "Accord Among the Ministry for Culture, the State Secretariat for Vocational Training, the FDGB Executive Committee and the FDJ Central Council on the Further Development of the Cultural-Aesthetic Education and Training of Apprentices, of 15 March 1977," Ministry for Culture "Verfuegungen und Mitteilungen," No 4, 1977; "Communique of the Ministry for Environmental Protection & Water Management and the Presidium of the Culture League, of 22 September 1972," "Kulturbund Informationen" No 2, 1979; "Accord Between the Ministry for Environmental Protection & Water Management and the Presidium of the German Anglers' Association of the GDR, of 13 May 1981," DEUTSCHER ANGELSPORT, 1981, p 330.

10. Thus the Chamber of Technology conducts extensive programs on advanced training for working people, as a social organization and on the basis of accords with state organs. That is done on a social basis within the scope of the organization without full-time teachers and with but slight material outlays. For Chamber of Technology services in advanced training for working people, cf. "Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR," Berlin, 1977, p 439; 1978, p 395; 1979, p 396; 1980, p 400.

11. Cf. "Order on Preparing and Drawing up Legal Regulations--Annex to the Resolution of the Council of Ministers, 25 July 1980," GBL Special Issue No 1056, Articles 9, 10 (3).

12. Cf. "Die gesellschaftlichen Organisationen in der DDR" (The Social Organizations in the GDR), Berlin, 1980, pp 193 ff.

13. Cf., e.g., the decree on granting scholarships of 11 June 1981, GBL, Part I, p 229, issued through coordination between the FDGB and the FDJ; Decree on the use of inland waterways by fisheries, of 16 June 1981, GBL, Part I, p 281, issued through coordination between the central executive board of the trade union for agriculture, the foodstuff industry and fisheries and the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation (DTSB); Decree on the training and follow-up training of the citizens on basics in civil defense, of 3 August 1981, GBL, Part I, p 313, issued in coordination with the FDGB Executive Committee and central executive committees of other social organizations; Decree on apprentice production and training spots for the vocational training of apprentices, of 10 December 1981, GBL, Part I, p 137, issued jointly by the FDGB Central Executive Committee and the FDJ Central Council; the Fifth Implementing Regulation on the Livestock Raising Law--Training and Advanced Training for a New Generation of Breeders--of 6 January 1982, GBL, Part I, p 143, issued jointly by the central executive board of the foodstuffs and forestry trade union and the VKSK Central Executive Committee; Decree on applying for an apprenticeship--Application Regulation--of 5 January 1982, GBL, Part I, p 9, issued in coordination with the FDGB Central Executive Committee and the FDJ Central Council.

14. Cf., e.g., "Order on Trade Union Trial Representation and Participation in Labor Law Proceedings" (FDGB Central Executive Committee Secretariat Resolution, of 1 August 1979), "Arbeitsrechtliche Beschluesse, Dokumente" (Labor Law Resolutions--Document), Berlin, n.d., p 46; "Order on Exercising Trade Union Rights When Concluding, Amending and Terminating Labor Contracts" (FDGB Central Executive Committee Secretariat Resolution, of 21 June 1978) Ibid., p 10; "Basic Guideline on Conducting the Socialist Job Competition" (Joint FDGB Central Executive Committee and FDJ Central Council Resolution, of 1979), "Zur Foerderung der Arbeiterjugend, Dokumente," Berlin, n.d., pp 58 ff; "Guideline on the Cultural Work of the People's Solidarity" (Resolution by the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the People's Solidarity, of 6 June 1979), "Zur Foerderung der aelteren Werktaetigen und Arbeitsveteranen, Dokumente" (On Promoting Senior Working People and Veterans of Labor, Documents), Berlin, 1981, p 73; "Measures for More Involving Senior Citizens in Physical Culture and Sports" (Resolution of January 1980 by the DTSB Central Executive Committee), "Zur Foerderung der aelteren Werktaetigen . . .," op. cit., p 122; "Results of the 23rd Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and Immediate Inferences for Continuing the MMM Movement" (Resolution by the FDJ Central Council Secretariat of 27 November 1980), "FDJ und wissenschaftlich-technischer Fortschritt" (FDJ and Scientific-Technical Progress), Berlin, 1981, p 133.

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ROLE OF 'NON-PROLETARIAN DEMOCRATS' IN GDR SOCIETY EXPLAINED

East Berlin LDPD-INFORMATIONEN in German Vol 36 No 8, Aug 82 pp 27-29

['Our Consultation' feature article by Dr Lutz Hoyer, department chief, secretariat, Central Executive Committee, Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD): "On Understanding the Tradition of Our Party"]

[Text] "Ultimately, our party objectively carries on the tradition of non-proletarian forces and movements in German history up to 1945 and acts politically from that awareness, too."

This statement in the central executive committee report to the 13th party congress requires an explanation, and this in several respects. For one thing: our 13th party congress dealt with the tasks arising for the LDPD in the 1980's from its sharing the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. The 1,000 delegates in Weimar, based on the balance-sheet for five successful years, mainly were looking ahead. In spite of that the party congress also dealt with history--that of the LDPD and of the GDR and, above and beyond that, with some general aspects of the history of the German people as such. The 13th party congress in this context also took a position on the LDPD's understanding of our tradition. And, as a closer look shows, one, looking ahead, by no means precludes the other, considering the past.

The Irrevocable Starting Point

The 12th party congress, notably, already dealt in detail with our party's relationship with the progressive traditions of our people. What was stated about that in the 12th party congress basic announcement retains an undiminished relevance. At the same time the 13th party congress replaced some emphases in our party's understanding of the tradition. What was it all about?

The irrevocable starting point is and remains the statement in the 12th party congress basic announcement: "The LDPD espouses the legacy of all progressive forces of the German people." There are two aspects of special importance here. First, all progressive forces of our people are indeed meant, the legacy of which we espouse--i.e. the revolutionary workers movement and its legacy as well as the progressive traditions of non-proletarian, i.e. bourgeois and petty bourgeois, forces. Even the 12th party congress made a point of the fact that there is unity to this legacy.

This unity is explained by that the progressive traditions we liberal democrats also cultivate include the efforts and heritage of all those who contributed to social progress, regardless of their social and class-bound ties. The GDR, our state, is the legitimate heir to the revolutionary struggle of the workers class and the other democratic forces against capitalism and war, to the revolutionary conduct of the peasants, the craftsmen, the clergy, the intellectuals and artists, the members of the bourgeoisie, or all, in other words, who pushed social development ahead. And it is this heritage our state has assumed which we espouse in its totality and in all its parts.

This already actually makes the second point, to the effect that we liberal democrats share this allegiance of course with all social forces in our country; it links us with the working class party and the other parties and organizations in the Democratic Block and the National Front of the GDR. As far as that is concerned then--even though it is the starting point and basis of our understanding of history and tradition--it is not specific for the LDPD.

The Role of Non-proletarian Democrats

Our allegiance to the legacy of all progressive forces of the German people of necessity includes the forces, movements and personalities of non-proletarian origin that have also pushed social development ahead. That explains why fostering the revolutionary-democratic and humanistic traditions of bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces has always played a special role in our party. That will continue to be so in the future, too. However, it must be understood that through our relating to this tradition, the question has not yet been adequately answered as to which tradition it is that our party itself carries on, and which traditions it carries on in the dialectic between continuity and discontinuity. The question as to which legacy the LDPD espouses is not identical with the one of which tradition it has objectively assumed itself.

Which actually then are the forces in German history before 1945 which--non-proletarian in origin--advanced social progress or helped making it prevail, and the efforts of which found their continuation and fulfilment in the policy of our party since 1945--if not solely and exclusively there? Precisely this question it was that the 13th party congress has answered by reference to the role of the non-proletarian democrats in German history. And this also amounts to our growth of understanding since the 12th party congress.

What does "non-proletarian democrats" mean with regard to the history before 1945? First, these were forces advocating democratic ideas and demands, fighting for them up to their self-sacrifice, their origin mainly being the petty bourgeoisie or the middle-class strata of capitalist society. Granted, not every small proprietor was by that token a petty bourgeois democrat, nor was every petty bourgeois democrat a small proprietor.

The key question in rating non-proletarian democrats is answered by their role in enforcing social progress and by their attitude toward the working masses and their struggle. In this sense the petty bourgeois democracy played a significant role in the struggle for making bourgeois-democratic conditions prevail during the bourgeois transformation of 1789 up to 1871, i.e., from the French Revolution to the founding of the German Empire. As the interconnection between the bourgeoisie and the people's movement, as it were, it reached the culmination of its historic existence in that era.

The Class Situation of the Middle-Class Strata

The more the working class--around 1830 in Germany--placed itself in the center of the struggle for making social progress prevail, the more it approached the positions of the revolutionary working class and its party, and since 1917 it became the position toward the Soviet Union forming the crucial criteria for assessing non-proletarian democrats. It has to be remembered that the non-proletarian democrats, due to their class situation and their more or less clearly understood objective, were in objective agreement with the struggle of the revolutionary working class.

The middle-class strata of capitalist society were and are a significant part of the toiling and exploited masses. There has been and there is a weighty democratic, antimilitarist and anti-imperialist potential in the petty bourgeois masses. Because of the economic situation in capitalist society, however, they wavered "inevitably and unavoidably between revolution and counterrevolution," as Lenin put it, and were not able to "organize independently, without joining a combative class, for direct revolutionary struggle." The ruling exploiter class time and time again succeeded in misusing the petty bourgeois for its reactionary interests, aimed against the people's masses as against the petty bourgeoisie.

For Social Progress

That is the social milieu out of which the non-proletarian democrats came. It indicates what it meant that members of those strata joined the struggle for peace and democracy, and against imperialism, militarism and fascism, and what a lengthy and intricate course they normally had to travel until they would approach working class positions. The non-proletarian democrats' struggle conformed to the very own interests of the classes and strata from which they came or to which they belonged.

The central executive committee report to the 13th party congress mentioned a number of concrete examples of the efforts of non-proletarian democrats--ranging from the fighters against the reactionary policy of the Holy Alliance all the way to the antifascist resistance struggle.

Our party chairman Dr Manfred Gerlach commented with respect to that: "The legacy from them all confirms us liberal democrats in the certitude to be standing on the right side. The evidence is that the non-proletarian democrats, who mainly came from the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and the sector of the salaried employees, always helped push social progress ahead when they joined the struggle of the working masses, especially the working class, for peace, democracy and human dignity, for a new, free and just order. Our party has assumed the tradition of this struggle by the non-proletarian democrats from the day of its founding."

Caesura in 1945

This explains that meanwhile also the history of our party, the legacy from Wilhelm Kuelz, Hans Loch, Max Suhrbier and Johannes Dieckmann, belongs among the progressive traditions we foster and carry on. The critical caesura in the efforts by non-proletarian democrats came in 1945, however, through our party's

being ready and able to help create antifascist-democratic conditions, together with the working class and its revolutionary party, a step which in 1952 logically led to the decision to get involved in the construction of socialism.

This consistent course has lent a new quality of practical politics to the efforts not only of non-proletarian democrats, so that when we refer to the LDPD today we speak of a democratic party working in and for socialism, it also has opened our eyes to bestowing a new quality on our understanding our tradition.

5885
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DEVELOPMENTS OF UNOFFICIAL PEACE MOVEMENT REVIEWED

Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 8 Sep 82 p 3

/Article datelined 'Berlin/GDR, 7 September'; by Helmut Loelhoeffel, member, editorial board, SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: "Peace Movement in the GDR: Propaganda by Word of Mouth Which Makes the State Nervous--The Irritating Word of the Prophet Micah--For the Uncoordinated Initiatives and the Lone Wolves, the Protestant Church Offers the Only Possibility for Open Discussion"/

/Text/ "When I'm grown up," runs the song of the 4-year old children in East Berlin's nursery schools, "I will join the People's Army. I'll get into a tank, ratata, ratata." and they gleefully clap their hands. Or they hum the tune: "When I hear the soldiers sing, I abandon all my toys and run into the street; I must look at the soldiers." The children's newspaper BUMMI recommended a game for the anniversary of the National People's Army (NVA): "Now I am practicing my report to the general. I stand to attention and say aloud: 'Dear comrade general! BUMMI and its readers warmly congratulate all soldiers on this birthday'!" Toy stores from Rostock to Dresden store all kinds of martial devices for children's rooms (occasionally dubbed "patriotic toys" by German educators), and in addition the board game "Weasel calls Lizard," representing a maneuver. The winner is he who "occupies the staff headquarters of the other maneuver group with at least one tank and one armored car." More serious were proceedings at the meeting of 100,000 Thaelmann Pioneers (the GDR children's organization) in Dresden: In the course of a "field parade," minitanks "commanded" by 12-year olds rumbled past.

In the GDR it is an everyday occurrence to habituate the youngest to weapons, the armed forces and war. Defense Minister Heinz Hoffmann, though, turns the issue upside down: "When FRG mass media now rave about 'increasing militarization' (in the GDR) and all kinds of suspicions...are given prominence," this merely serves the purpose of deflecting attention"from the rearmament in NATO." The GDR press accuses the FRG of inciting its youth to militarism. And yet, GDR curricula offer exactly that which Army General Hoffmann dismisses as "ravings." Propaganda that graphically depicts the enemy, education to hatred, glorification of military service, premilitary drills. In early September new directives for premilitary training took effect. Key points are early specialization for a specific career in the People's Army, "the consolidation of the political standpoint," habituation to military behavior--discipline, order, command--"and not least the marksmanship of the future soldiers in training on the range."

All of this arouses anxiety among many GDR citizens. Their rulers constantly tell them that party, government and people represent "a single enormous peace movement"

in the GDR, the "country of peace." The SED has rigged up its own peace movement and allows it to appear in public on demand. Forty-one noted physicians set up a committee, "GDR physicians for the prevention of nuclear war." It presented itself as an "indivisible part of the united and extensive peace movement in the GDR." A GDR Peace Council has existed since 1949. It is an organization directed from above, and its goals (recognition of the borders in Europe, renunciation of the use of nuclear arms, steps toward disarmament by both sides) agree--at least on paper--with those of the Western peace movement. This government directed and channeled "movement" omits any criticism of Eastern rearmament. It does, though, orchestrate mass actions such as the collection of 13 million signatures for peace and detente, the meetings of the Free German Youth (FDJ) at Pentecost (where, though, no spontaneous enthusiasm of the attendant groups was to be observed), or the Dresden Pioneer Congress, when harmless hikes in the countryside were declared to be "peace marches." A popular running meet was staged in East Berlin. Its 20,000 participants were asked "at four different distances to supply a profession of peace by their sporting activities."

Even fashion designers and disc jockeys are harnessed for the peace campaign. This presents itself with the slogans "securing peace is government doctrine,""socialism and peace are essentially the same," and "Europe must not become Euroshima." Oliver Scholz, moderator of the MUSIKEXPRESS of Karl-Marx-Stadt, supplied the recipe: "One of the opportunities offering for us disc jockeys, for example, is the use of the many peace songs sung by our rock groups...thus drawing attention to the necessity for struggling against the NATO rearmament without breaking out of the framework of disco." And six students of fashion design at the East Berlin College of Art designed patterns of peace doves to be applied to T-shirts "by means of Repatex transfers." They announced in the FDJ newspaper JUNGE WELT that "we want to identify with the concerns of our struggle for peace by means of fashionable clothing."

One peace demonstration of a very special kind was the swearing-in of NVA recruits on the site of the former Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Faced by the concentration camp monument, flanked by two cannon with upturned barrels and two tanks, the young soldiers swore "at the side of the Soviet Army...to defend socialism against all enemies and offering my life for the achievement of victory." Addressing them, Heinz Kube, first kreis secretary of the Oranienburg SED, warned: "The beautiful words 'create peace without weapons'...are to lull us, but they lack any sense of realism." The imperialists aim to destroy the military opponent so as to liquidate socialism. "We therefore stick with Martin Luther," hypocritically said the party official, "who--450 years ago--pointed out that there can be no peace without arms." The concluding military ceremony was macabre indeed: The 18-20 year old NVA soldiers goosestepped past the party leaders and the commander--straight across the former assembly square of Sachsenhausen camp.

"However gladly we will one of these days scrap our weapons--socialism and peace still need our plowshares and our swords," intoned Defense Minister Hoffmann when justifying the new defense legislation to the GDR People's Chamber--outfitted in full uniform. Thus the GDR counters the Bible text used by the Protestant Church in the GDR as the epigraph of its work for peace: "Swords into plowshares." The Church leaders emphasized that these words by the prophet Micah "unequivocally mean that devices for making war must be made into devices for peace, and that means disarmament." Though,in this age of mechanized farming, many young people do not know

exactly what plowshares are, the Old Testament slogan has become the cue word of religious commitment to peace and--at the same time--a challenge to the state.

The State Secretary's Warning

Initially the patch bearing the quotation from the prophet was commissioned by the Church and designed by a GDR graphic artist for the peace decade of Evangelical Youth in 1981. The patch features a representation of the monument by sculptor Evgeniy Vuchetich, presented to the United Nations by the Soviet Union in 1961. In May 1982 a Radio Moscow commentator praised it as "one of the outstanding works of Soviet art": "The image of Soviet man, cast in bronze, who changes swords into plowshares, this scultpure found a tremendous echo and political significance everywhere." The East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE (No 1/1982) approvingly interpreted the words of the prophet Micah and linked them with the question: "What Marxist would wish to assert that religious belief in such a form is to be considered reactionary?" Despite Soviet and philosophical backing for the Church's symbol, the GDR security forces were aroused when the emblem suddenly turned into a sign of universal recognition among a minority of GDR citizens who subjectively count themselves among a "peace movement" not influenced by the government. Klaus Gysi, state secretary for church affairs, said that the patch is being "misused to proclaim views hostile to the state and involvement in an illegal political movement." This statement had its effect: Some people took the patch off their sleeves at the bidding of teachers or policemen, others did so voluntarily in order not to be incriminated as provocateurs.

The Fate of the "Construction Soldiers"

The early months of this year were the time of birth of that which is often--and irresponsibly--described in the West as the "GDR peace movement," sometimes with the addition of misleading adjectives such as "autonomous," "dissident" and even "illegal." The extensive favorable reporting by GDR media on the Western peace movement aroused some thousands of people to the hope that similar initiatives could not easily be banned in their country either. On the other hand everone knows that no autonomous organization outside state institutions is possible. Consequently the GDR peace movement is an accumulation of lone wolves, of non-communicating and uncoordinated initiatives that occasionally happen to meet under the roof of the Protestant Church. In the GDR this Church offers the only scope for dissidents to freely converse without fear of difficulties. Writer Juergen Fuchs, deprived of GDR citizenship and now living in West Berlin, sensitively described the present stirrings in the GDR as follows: "Involved here is not so much an organization, rather a kind of motion, a reflection, a difference of opinion, the search for new kinds of agreement and resistance to militarization, censorship and glorificaction of power."

The government's jittery reaction to the motto "swords into plowshares" attracted far too much attention in the West, misleading many people into overestimating the strength of the GDR peace movement and ascribing to it the same features as to the Western movement. Writer Heinrich Boell, for example, was wrong in assuming that the GDR movement is "the most important satellite of the Western peace movement in Eastern Europe." People in the GDR have only a pitying smile for the unrealistic assertion by former East Berlin economic official Rudolf Bahro, that"the peace movement has already infiltrated the party cadres of the SED." East Berlin Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr contradicted such misjudgments and urgently warned against FRG to appropriate the GDR peace groups, because that could only harm them.

The staffs of the East Berlin Church were shocked to hear that, at the behest of the Americans, British and French, the police in West Berlin--of all places--had confiscated leaflets displaying the slogan "swords into plowshares" on the occasion of the Allied parade. This event, barely noted by the West German media, sharply illuminates the contradictory manner of Eastern and Western views of their respective peace movements. SED General Secretary Erich Honecker feels "respect and sympathy" for the "courageous people" who proclaim their will to peace in the NATO countries. In his own country he allows people displaying a harmless oatch to be harassed. On the other hand, observant GDR citizens have noted that some Western politicians and journalists argue with forked tongues by applauding all signs of dissent in the GDR as courageous actions while describing demonstrators in Hamburg, Bonn or Munich as members of a communist underground.

Up to now the GDR peace groups have had no visible success. The government resolutely blocked and assessed as "hostile to the constitution" the initiative to substitute a "social peace service" for the (unarmed) "construction soldier" service in the NVA, the only possible alternative for conscientious objectors. Similarly unsuccessful have been all attempts to ease the fate of the "construction soldiers" who are compelled to accept adverse after effects in their subsequent professional lives. This hopeless outlook does not encourage active involvement. Any commitment is also made more difficult by the fact that the peace groups may not try for any publicity but must be satisfied with word of mouth propaganda. It took 2 days for the GDR public to learn of the peace forum in Dresden's Holy Cross Church, attended by 5,000 people last February. The source of information was Western television. The Protestant Church leaders are anxious for West German correspondents to be very circumspect indeed when reporting events such as a "peace workshop" or discussions in church halls because they would rather not increase the suspicions of a government with a very low threshold of tolerance.

The cautious approach of the Protestant Church--the Catholic bishops are remaining in the background altogether--does, though, meet growing criticism among those followers of the peace movement, who are not Christians. Comments are heard such as "the ministers have courage, but when matters get serious, they hold back." At the same time such highly touted events as the "Berlin encounter" of writers from East and West in December 1981 or the television appearances by some GDR writers are viewed with some skepticism too. Domestic critics argue that "this simulates a freedom of opinion and speech that does not really exist in our country."

11698
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CHURCH-STATE ANTAGONISM OVER PEACE MOVEMENT ANALYZED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 9 Sep 82 p 4

[Article signed 'sk' datelined Berlin, early September: "The Conflict Between Churches and State in the GDR--Differing Evaluations of the Peace Movement"]

[Text] Relations between church and state in the GDR are strained by government authorities' proceedings against members of the Christain Peace Movement as well as by the militarization of public life which is particularly directed against the young people. Whie neither the Evangelical nor the Catholic church are shrinking from the conflict which touches upon man's Christian conscience, they do react in differing ways to the challenge by the communist state.

The Catholics' More Aloof Attitude

While the Evangelical Council of Churches in the GDR assumes the label of "church within socialism" and thus tries to express that it is not a basically opposed to the political system, the attitude of the Catholic church toward the state is more aloof. In a sermon entitled "Serving the Peace in Our Historic Hour," the apostolic administrator of Erfurt, Bishop Wancke, has attempted to outline the position of the Catholic church in th GDR. Using the motto "the church in a secularized, materialistic environment," Wancke consciously puts some distance between himself and the Evangelical church. The formula "church within socialism" is too neutral for his taste in view of the threat posed by political and practical materialism.

The differing position between the Evangelical and the Catholic churches toward the communist regime manifested itself also in the congratulatory messages on the occasion of Honecker's 70th birthday. The Evangelical Council of Churches acclaimed the chairman of the council of state as a "partner in dialogue who is ready to show understanding." Simultaneously, Magdeburg's Bishop Krusche, who transmitted the Council of Churches' birthday greetings, expressed the wish that that the state-church relationship, as defined in a talk with Hoenecker in 1978, be further expanded. The Catholic church's greetings do not contain wishes of a similar nature, nor is there an acclamation of the GDR's communist chief of state as an individual who is prepared to muster understanding for church matters. It is characterized by maintaining a certain distance between church and state leaderships, while at the same time professing readness for conducting a direct dialogue.

Criticism of the Official "Peace Policy"

One of the reasons for the difference in attitudes of the two church leaderships may lie in the fact that, unlike the Evangelical church, the Catholic church is a diaspora church. This fact also determines the critical distance of the Catholic church leadership from the Christain peace movement. The church leadership points out that the situation of the Catholic church in the GDR is different from that of the Evangelical church. Being a diaspora church, it has unobstructed access to its followers. The attendance at Catholic services, they continue, is much greater in the GDR than that of the Evangelical church. Furthere, that the role of the church as a forum in which its adherents receive explanations of a critical attitude toward the GDR's official "peace policy" and toward the militarization of public life has a different impact and quality from that of the Evangelical church. This position by the Catholic church in the GDR is intended to prevent a direct conflict with the state over the Christian peace movement by restricting the discussion of this subject to church matters.

However, this attitude by the Catholic church leadership has provoked heavy criticism among the faithful. The "Halle Action Circle," a discussion group of priests and laymen, has demanded in a thesis that the "question of peace" become a compulsory public dialogue at all levels of the Catholic church in th GDR. It should voice the criticism that the faithful, along with the entire Catholic church in the GDR, had failed to adhere to the postulate of the significance of peace. The Catholic bishops, along with a considerable portion of the Catholic intelligentsia, who wish to avoid the public debate about the "peace question" demanded by the "Halle Action Circle," have reproached the authors of the thesis catalogue for showing a somewhat dangerous unconcern in dealing with political and societal realities, as well as a lack of solidarity with the church leadership.

The attitude of the GDR's Evangelical Council of Churches, which as the "church within socialism" is in favor of public debate on the "peace question," simultaneously demonstrates its distance from the Catholic church leadership on this issue. By using the formula "church within socialism," it seeks to make it quite clear that the Evangelical church in the GDR is not a "private cult" church. In talks with the communist state leadership, the church leaders have therefore also indicated that their work is not limited to church services, but that it seeks to encompass the entire life of its adherents.

Sole Representative Authority of the "Peace Council"

By making this demand, it has, unlike the Catholic church which is more adroit tactically, provoked a public conflict with the state on the question of the Christian peace movement. The communist-directed Peace Council of the GDR has renewed its claim of sole representative authority with respect to the "peace movement." At a reception by the "GDR Peace Council" on the occasion of the "Worldwide Day of Peace," Honecker declared that communist organization was the "official peace movement of the country" and is the unique representative of all classes, groups and generations.

While neither the Evangelical nor the Catholic church of the GDR shrink from conflict with the state in questions concerning the Christian peace movement, appearances are that the Catholic church leadership wishes to maintain its distance from the state, unlike the Evangelical Council of Churches, which, as "the church within socialism," seeks to diminish it. The Catholics, by maintaining their distance, appear to have preserved for themselves greater maneuvering latitude with respect to the burning issue of the Christian peace movement.

Catholic Criticism of the Peace Movement

This distance further permits the Catholic church to pronounce public criticism of tendencies within the Christian peace movement. Erfurt's Archbishop Wancke, who rejects absolute pacifism, warns against simplistic peace slogans such as "Let's do away with the nuclear bomb" and "create peace." In contrast with the Evangelical church, Wancke points out during the present peace debate among Christians in the GDR that "the balance of opposing powers" has to date prevented an outbreak of war.

9273
CSO: 2300/401

REGIME'S MEASURES TO CO-OPT 'DISCOTHEQUE CULTURE' DISCUSSED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 15 Sep 82 p 23

/'Feuilleton' feature article by Harald Budde: "Dance Joints--Discotheque Culture in the GDR"/

/Text/ Friday night in "Disco 11." To the accompaniment of bass guitars and strobe lights, young Berliners disport themselves on the dance floor. A disc jockey supplies visitors with the latest hits. In the comfortable corner booths, people scream at one another above the noise. The mood is pleasant. This youth discotheque, managed by FDJ members, is located at 37 French Street, East Berlin. It used to be a restaurant, "Lucullus." Remodeled, generously equipped and painted in bright colors, it has been receiving guests for the past few months.

For many years the GDR considered discotheques an expression of Western decadence. SED and FDJ tried to instead enthuse youth for the song movement. When these efforts failed, the officials yielded. In 1976 GDR mass media embarked on a strenuous campaign for loosening up entertainment. In the words of Werner Rackwitz, deputy minister for culture, "young people and all workers have a right to relaxation and diversion from everyday cares, so that they may be fully able the next day to cope with the tasks of socialist reality."

At the same time the SED established definite limits to the cautious liberalization of entertainment arts by publishing a special "discotheque order." Disc jockeys were renamed "record entertainers" and later "disco moderators." Only 40 percent of the music played could originate in "capitalist foreign countries," while the other 60 percent had to come from the GDR and the "socialist fraternal countries." Unfortunately, whenever the moderators respected the program quotas, they were jeered and made to suffer other signs of displeasure from the disco visitors. Now most GDR discotheques almost exclusively run tapes made of Western radio broadcasts, because Western records cannot be obtained without foreign exchange.

In recent weeks I visited various places in the Mark Brandenburg, and wherever I went I noticed brightly colored posters advertising forthcoming disco events: "Eco 77," "Centrum," "Sound 2000." Discotheques are available in all larger GDR cities, and smaller cities are regularly visited by mobile discos--kreis houses of culture or FRJ clubs are converted into youth dance halls for 1 or 2 days. Traveling disco moderators and their staffs supply the technical equipment.

Among the often crowded facilities is the East Berlin youth club "Karl Liebknecht." In answer to the question why so many young people visit the club, club manager Holger Schindler says: "In the first place it is due to our discotheque and midnight events, particularly popular among young married couples. We engage only moderators who are able to supply information to the public as well as good music. We organize quizzes and games, even fashion shows. Moreover, our programs allocate a good deal of time to the exchange of opinions regarding economic, political and cultural issues."

A 20-year old East Berlin electrician explains the attraction of discotheques as follows: "They are a bit different from our usually dismal bars." And with a sly wink he adds: "In a disco we can let ourselves go and forget the daily routine. Here young people are among themselves."

Discotheques are indeed extremely popular among GDR youth. The 5,500 disco moderators stick to programs that allow the young people to dance to their music. Jeans predominate, there is barely a trace of glitter-glamor. Prices of drinks and cold plates are very low indeed--even when we take into account the fact that earnings in the GDR are lower than in the FRG. One cola drink and one "SV (Soviet vodka) together cost M2.60 on the average, a small glass of beer about 60 pfennig. Admission prices normally range from M1-5. Even an impecunious apprentice can afford that.

Yet discotheques have become a sore point with some SED and FDJ officials. This has various reasons. One reader wrote to the JUNGE WELT: "As an FDJ official I consider dances for young people to be events where they should feel really at ease instead of--as happens in many villages hereabouts--young people drinking too much and maybe getting into fights." According to the JUNGE WELT again, 16-year old Christian does not like it "when disco nights end with people staggering about and talking nonsense because they have had too much to drink."

In the past 12 years, ever since the first timid attempts at discotheques, these facilities have been repeatedly under fire. The FDJ journal FORUM, for example, wrote: "The question of the content of musically organized sociability must be put in all seriousness...It should encourage us to review attitudes or resume them, so that our artistic and political needs do not turn into an eclectic pluralism."

SED and FDJ fear the young people's overriding interest in pop music, because they consider it an increasing attachment to individualism. Willingness to serve in paramilitary organizations is suffering more and more by comparison with apolitical leisure pursuits. The FORUM therefore warned: "However much we are solicitous to satisfy the steadily growing need for sociability and dance, we should not be seduced into the unconditional rendition of music desired by the public."

To reinforce political influence on the discotheque and elevate the standard of youth dance halls, the SED and FDJ have launched various measures in recent years. There is, for instance, a "central performance comparison" for disco moderators. The responsible agencies are the Ministry for Culture and the FDJ Central Council. Disco moderators are trained in rhetoric and ideology. At the same time the bezirk academies for culture hold regular discotheque workshops, disco exchanges and disco film fairs, because--according to the East Berlin journal MELODIE UND RHYTHMUS--. the SED and FDJ wish for the total program of any discotheque to "contribute to the evolution of superior cultural and educational needs and, therefore, to the development of socialist personalities by linking entertainment, sociability, topical information and education."

GDANSK MAYOR INTERVIEWED ON RETURN TO NORMALCY, YOUTH UNREST

Vilnyus SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 20 Jul 82, p 3

[Interview with Kazimierz Rynkowski, mayor of Gdansk by APN [NOVOSTI News Agency] staff correspondent in Gdansk B. Alekseyev: "We Are Able to Solve Our Problems"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Mayor: The martial law in Poland during these 6 months--

[Answer] Has it helped to normalize life in the country as a whole and specifically in Gdansk? Well, let us go back to the situation in Gdansk before martial law was declared. There was an increase in the number of transgressions, both economic and criminal. In this period chaos and disorganization ensued in practically every area of social life. A simply catastrophic situation developed in the fields which are directly related to the everyday needs of the citizens: in trade, municipal services and public health. The extreme measures taken by the authorities did not produce the expected results because the extremists from the [independent union] Solidarity countered them with a full boycott.

Martial law brought this perilous process to a halt. I make no secret of the fact that it brought to the citizens a number of difficulties and restrictions. But it served as a starting point in the normalization process and enabled us to check the anarchy and licentiousness. The political opposition--I emphasize that it was truly political--lost its influence on the course of events. There evolved the conditions for normal functioning of the legal institutions.

[Question] It is apparent to everyone that the residents of Gdansk quickly gained a feeling of personal security. But there is another aspect of daily living--trade, services and work.

[Answer] Have you seen the lines in the stores? Don't they seem to you shorter? Note that the demand for the regulated goods is now being met in full; many items are still on the shelves and are always on sale.

But now it is summer and we need to recall the situation of several months ago. I believe that the discipline of martial law helped us to survive the severe winter without complications.

Today normal work is in progress in Gdansk, work complicated only by the difficulties which have not been overcome in the matter of providing the people with materials. The slump in production has been checked. And in those sectors which are less dependent on import one can even see an increase in production.

As compared to the same period in 1981, in the first quarter of the current year the level of production reached 205 percent at the Gdansk repair shipyard, 147 percent at the northern shipyard, and 150 percent at the ship equipment factory Tekhvor. Successful work is being done by many factories whose output is going directly to the stores, as for example, the knitted fabrics firm Vzlna.

The stepping up of social and labor disciplines was also immediately reflected in productivity, which has been increasing, albeit slowly.

[Question] We know that there were street disturbances in Gdansk on 30 January and 3 May. Who organized them? The western press talks about repressive measures against the workers. What can you say about this, Comrade Mayor?

[Answer] The end of January and April were periods of especially frantic antisocialist propaganda, inspired by the American administration. It nourished the hope for the population's active resistance to the authorities. They counted particularly on Gdansk, where as you know, the strategy of the Solidarity extremists took shape. They exploited the difficult economic situation which, incidentally, was exacerbated by the anti-Polish economic policy of President Reagan.

[Question] What impact do you think this propaganda had on the people?

[Answer] The impact was on the young people, who, as you know, are more easily incited to rash actions. Besides, the events showed that the street disturbances and excesses were not "spontaneous." They were prepared beforehand. This indicates that there are still operating in the country forces which do not refrain from provocations and which are least of all interested in public calmness and the country's emergence from crisis.

The participants in the disorders were largely young and very young people. Of the 402 persons arrested on 3 March, 61 were youngsters who were at first taken to the children's rooms of the police and then turned over to their parents. Twenty-four persons had never worked at all. Only 279 persons were over 25 years of age.

Unfortunately, it is true that some of the young people who are being subjected to the enemy propaganda of Radio Free Europe and Voice of America have their heads filled with a political jumble. But what do these young people have in common with the workers? The fact that the western press gets

reports about repressions against the workers in Gdansk--not the first falsehood and apparently not the last about Poland.

[Question] You became mayor of Gdansk in January, in a difficult and turbulent time. What problems are at the center of attention of the city administration?

[Answer] We have many problems which require solution. The economic situation is difficult, the assets are few, and we are trying to adapt the budget to the potentialities and requirements of economic reform. And occupying the paramount place in this endeavor is, as you know, the problem of efficiency. For the development of the city infrastructure we were this year allocated 15 billion zloty. The bulk of these funds is being used to complete the work already begun under the measures adopted.

Especially acute is the problem of housing construction. This year we expect to turn over 2,000 apartments for occupancy. In addition, we are encouraging construction with the organization's own manpower and we expect 5,000 more apartments from this source. Broad support is being given to the initiative of the enterprises, as for example the "Lenin Shipyard," where the commission on social problems, in collaboration with the administration, is taking concrete measures to build 2,000 apartments for the enterprise's workers. A large city hospital is being built at accelerated rates.

Well, speaking of the fact that the period is a difficult one, you know what a bitter thing it is when you see foolish young people destroying what their fathers made. The disturbances of 3 May cost the city 10 million. And bear in mind that we are accountable for every zloty.

[Question] Military operational groups are now participating in the affairs of the city. How effective is their intervention in purely "establishment" affairs?

[Answer] The army representatives who are cooperating with us very quickly familiarized themselves with the affairs which are new to them. And if you remember that in Poland people in military uniforms traditionally command respect, then their help in several fields is simply invaluable. They do not put up with any bureaucratism and the residents of the city are glad to turn to them for help in resolving their urgent matters.

[Question] Comrade Mayor, in the West there are many who do not believe that the Poles can resolve their problems by themselves. What do you think about this?

[Answer] The question is pointless and I can answer it with a question: if not us, the Poles, who else will resolve our problems? Nothing will be done for us and noone can do this better than we can. We are already doing this now despite the hatred of the imperialist circles and despite the provocations and hostile attacks which are inspired by the western intelligence centers.

I have not the slightest doubt that we can ourselves solve our problems. But it is also obvious that in resolving the very complex internal problems we rely on getting help. And we get this help from our friends: the Soviet Union and the other countries of socialist concord.

7962
CSO: 1807/134

PROFESSOR INTERVIEWED ON PHYSICAL CULTURE DRAFT LAW

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 July 82 p 8

[Interview with Prof Zbigniew Drozdowski, head of the drafting committee preparing draft law on physical culture, by Andrzej Pac- Pomarnacki; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Who are the initiators of this undertaking and what are their motives?

[Answer] There were postulates for quite some time, in various circles connected to physical culture by professional and social activity to reflect their role, principles and place in the social life of the country in a single, large, legal act of an appropriate rank. These postulates converged with the suggestions that were put forward by the Sejm Commission for Health and Physical Culture.

[Question] What are the considerations behind the endeavors to procure an act of the highest order--is physical culture dissatisfied with the current legal status?

[Answer] Attentive observers of social phenomena can see it clearly, and most participants in social life are generally aware of the magnitude of progress in the field to which we are devoted. Over the past decades, physical culture has become immensely popular and in its popularity has surpassed many competitors (especially such expressive forms as sports); above all, its new (or rather, potentially always existing) value as a factor in the protection of the biological existence of man becomes more and more clearly visible. The urbanization which moves upon us in not always rational ways, interruptions in the movement needs of man--these are the results of civilization that have reached dramatic dimensions. For that reason--as was stated during the First Scientific Congress of Physical Culture (Poznan, 1979)--physical culture advances to a level of extraordinary importance (both theoretically and programatically) in spheres of activity directed at the protection of human existence and concern for the development and progress of men. Physical culture needs to be treated today as a wholly social issue, and if so, its social phenomenon ought to be defined by distinct principles shaped into formal frames of rules that would delineate clear roles and responsibilities for those who actively participate in it, and those who are responsible for it.

[Question] How long has there been work on the draft law?

[Answer] Formally, it can be said that organized group efforts began over 1 year ago when, by the decision of the Chairman of the GKKFiS [Main Committee for Physical Culture and Sport], the team that I am in charge of was established. The initial team members were scientists and legal experts and later its composition was enlarged by representatives of the social movement and sport activists. Prior to the formulation of the content of specific chapters, the team conducted many studies and discussions over numerous aspects of "the sport law" and as a result of these efforts the so called "Assumptions of the Draft Law" were first prepared. That version of the document was submitted for discussion at the Little Congress of Physical Culture (Warsaw, June, 1981). The comments from that gathering served as the guidelines for further work which produced the successive version of the draft law, submitted to the plenum of GKKFiS a month ago. Following a full day of plenary debate, a new version has emerged and this one has been distributed for broad commentary from the professional millieu. We are waiting for comments, opinions and suggestions, and this is a very important moment in the law's process.

[Question] What type of difficulties are being faced in creating this document? What kind of obstacles await the drafters?

[Answer] The difficulties are mainly related to the complexity of the phenomena that we set out to delineate within the framework of a legal document, since all kinds of spheres of activities are reflected in the document--voluntary and compulsory, social and professional. Another characteristic of physical culture (although not equally applicable to all its branches: physical education, sports, recreation, and rehabilitation) is its exceptional dynamic of changes and developments and the richness of its forms. Still another is the various connections of physical culture; I'm speaking here of the ties between culture and economy, politics, upbringing, health protection, etc. Now an ill-designed law-too rigid in its framework--could restrain the development of physical culture; limiting the freedom of actions important for its development. Finally, for obvious reasons, that document cannot be too particular, filled with small details. It would be nonsensical if the document were transformed into a catalog of rules now in force. It must open up some prospects for this field of life in our country!

[Question] Are there any good models in this matter on which you could rely?

[Answer] Unfortunately, we had to start a pioneer, totally unassisted work. Besides, it ought to be remembered at this point that there is a necessity to retain our tradition in the field, our views and customs. The considerations of the system--the huge obligations that the state accepts upon itself--are also of import.

[Question] Professor, are you satisfied with the present draft law?

[Answer] As I have mentioned, in accordance with the recommendations of the resolution by the earlier-mentioned plenum of GKKFiS, we have turned to the broad circle of our professional milieu for evaluation, even more, consultation on the project; the professional circle will express the opinion that will be most important to us. Personally, I tend toward the view that the present

version of the document is--in spite of many efforts invested in its preparation--a successive stage in getting nearer to the final format. We are in the important phase of discussion and the views produced during it will be taken under consideration in the final stage of the work on the law.

[Question] Professor, what kind of reaction are you expecting from other millieus whose representatives will speak out on the topic during the consecutive work on the project?

[Answer] This will be a test of the social understanding of the role and significance of physical culture, of understanding its sense and values in the life of our society. I would be very disappointed if it turned out that not all of us have "grown up" to such a law. I do hope that the matter will have a favorable outcome.

9952
CSO: 2600/891

BRIEFS

NEW RECTOR--By decision of the minister of science, higher education and technology, Prof Tadeusz Srodulski, longtime resident at Krakow Technical University, has been appointed rector of that school. Prof Srodulski is a research-teaching employee at the school-industrial motor vehicle and internal combustion engine center and is a well-known specialist in the field of internal combustion engines. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Sep 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/4

HONECKER REPLIES TO CEAUSESCU BIRTHDAY MESSAGE

AU140848 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Sep 82 p 4

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Dear Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, I want to cordially thank the RCP Central Committee, the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania and you personally for the congratulations conveyed on my 70th birthday and for the high state order of the Socialist Republic of Romania awarded me.

I share your conviction that by consistently implementing our joint agreements we will continuously expand and deepen our political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural relations, and the cooperation between our parties and states in the international arena, for the benefit of our peoples and of the cause of peace and socialism.

Dear Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, permit me to wish you great success in your highly responsible work, good health and personal happiness.

[Signed] Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, president of the GDR State Council

CSO: 2700/370

LEADERS GREET BULGARIAN LEADERS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU091116 Bucharest AGERPRESS in English 0925 GMT 9 Sep 82

[Text] Bucharest, 9 Sep (AGERPRES)--Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania and Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Romanian Government. sent to Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, president of the State Council of Bulgaria and to Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria a congratulatory telegram on the 38th anniversary of the triumph of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, which reads: The working people in socialist Romania sincerely rejoice at the remarkable achievements of the industrious Bulgarian people, under the leadership of its communist party, in the multilateral construction and advance of the fatherland on the road of socialism and communism, in the rise of the material and spiritual standard of living.

Our party and government are highly appreciative of the Romanian-Bulgarian friendly collaboration, of the decisive role the summit dialogue plays in the many-sided development of the relations between our parties and countries, which assert themselves more and more as an example of relations between neighbour socialist and friendly states, between free and independent peoples which fruitfully collaborate on a bilateral plane and in the international arena.

Under the present international circumstances, our countries make their contribution to the lessening of interstate tension, to make the political settlement of the states of tension and conflict, for the resumption of the policy of peace, detente, disarmament, collaboration and observance of all peoples' national independence.

We express our conviction that, working together for the translation into fact of the decisions and agreements covenanted during our meetings and talks, the relations of friendship, solidarity and collaboration between our parties and countries will expand and consolidate more and more, in the interest of the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples, of the general cause of socialism and peace, of understanding and collaboration in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world over.

CSO: 2700/370

LCY'S RIBICIC GREETS CEAUSESCU ON NATIONAL DAY

AU310741 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Aug 82 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, Bucharest:

On the national day of the Socialist Republic of Romania I want to extend, on behalf of the presidium of the LCY Central Committee and myself, most cordial congratulations to you, the RCP Central Committee, to all communists and your country's people, as well as best wishes for the constant multifaceted development and the prosperity of socialist Romania.

I want to take this opportunity to express satisfaction with the successful development of friendly relations and cooperation between the LCY and the RCP and between our countries, as well as the desire that those relations and this cooperation develop successfully in the future, too. On the bases that were established during meetings between Comrade Tito and yourself, esteemed Comrade Ceausescu. We are convinced that the development of relations of good neighborliness and friendly cooperation between the LCY and the RCP and between our two socialist countries in the constant interests of the Yugoslav and Romanian peoples and contributes to strengthening international cooperation on the basis of equality of rights and to the struggle for peace, social progress and socialism in the world.

[Signed] Mitja Ribicic, chairman of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee

CSO: 2700/370

CEMA'S FADEYEV GREETS CEAUSESCU ON NATIONAL DAY

AU301329 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Aug 82 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on behalf of the CEMA Secretariat and on my own behalf, I want to congratulate you and all Romanian people on the national day of the Socialist Republic of Romania--the 38th anniversary of the country's liberation from the fascist yoke.

During the years that have elapsed, the Romanian people, under RCP leadership and by mobilizing their resources and with the assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, recorded, in a relatively short historical period, excellent results in socialist construction and in turning their country from a backward country into a modern industrial-agrarian state; and at this point the Romanian people are implementing the 12th Party Congress decisions which envisage new dimensions in building the developed socialist society.

On the national holiday of the Socialist Republic of Romania, we wish the Romanian people new successes in building socialism. We wish you personally much good health and further successes in your multifaceted activity devoted to the interests of the Romanian people and to strengthening the indestructible friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries and to the cause of consolidating peace and social progress throughout the world.

With deep esteem,

[Signed] N. Fadeyev, CEMA secretary

CSO: 2700/370

SRV LEADERS SEND GREETINGS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU260755 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Aug 82 p 7

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

To Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

To Comrade Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] of the Socialist Republic of Romania

On the occasion of the 38th anniversary of Romania's liberation from fascist domination, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, the Vietnamese Communist Party [VCP], the National Assembly, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam [SRV], and on our own behalf, we want to convey warmest congratulations to you, and through you to the Romanian people, the RCP, the GNA, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

In the past 38 years, the Romanian people, led by the RCP, have wrought innumerable profound changes in their country. From a country with a backward agriculture and a poorly developed industry destroyed in the fascist war, Romania has become a socialist country with modern industry, developed agriculture and advanced culture and science, while the people's living standard is continuously growing.

The Vietnamese people greatly rejoice in the great achievements of the fraternal Romanian people.

On this occasion, the Vietnamese people sincerely hope that the Romanian people, led by the RCP and by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, will further obtain new and numerous successes in implementing the tasks of the 12th RCP Congress, designed to advance the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society in their beautiful country.

May the friendship and cooperation between Vietnam and Romania and between their parties further strengthen and develop, in the interests of our peoples, and of socialism and peace in the world.

[Signed] Le Duan, secretary general of the VCP Central Committee

Truong Chinh, president of the State Council of the SRV

Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers

Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the SRV National Assembly

CSO: 2700/369

CASTRO GREETS CEAUSESCU ON NATIONAL DAY

AU260753 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Aug 82 p 7

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

To Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On the occasion of the 38th anniversary of Romania's victory over fascism, we want to convey to the people, Communist Party, State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania sincere congratulations and fraternal greetings on behalf of the people, Communist Party, State Council and Government of the Republic of Cuba.

On this occasion I want to wish you new successes in implementing the important objective of building a socialist society, and to express our satisfaction with the close relations of friendship and cooperation between our peoples, parties and governments.

On this anniversary I want to wish the Romanian people progress, happiness and peace.

[Signed] Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba.

CSO: 2700/369

MONGOLIAN LEADERS SEND GREETINGS ON 23 AUGUST

AU260757 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Aug 82 p 7

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

To Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Dear comrades, on behalf of the MPRP Central Committee, of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural and of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], of all Mongolian people and ourselves, we want to convey to you, to the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to the fraternal Romanian people sincere congratulations on the occasion of the national anniversary of the Socialist Republic of Romania--the 38th anniversary of Romania's liberation from the fascist yoke.

During the years of people's power, the Romanian people, led by the RCP and in cooperation with the countries of the socialist community, attained brilliant successes in building socialism; they turned their country into a socialist state with modern industry, intensive agriculture and developed culture.

We note with satisfaction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries are continuously developing on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, in the interests of the Mongolian and Romanian peoples and of the general cause of socialism and international peace and cooperation.

On this important day, we wish you, dear comrades and the fraternal Romanian people further successes in implementing the 12th RCP Congress decisions and in the struggle for peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

[Signed] Y. Tsedenbal, secretary general of the MPRP Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the MPR People's Great Hural

J. Batmonh, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers

CSO: 2700/369

ISRAEL'S PERES GREETS CEAUSESCU ON NATIONAL DAY

AU301305 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Aug 82 p 5

[Text] To his excellency Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Esteemed Mr President, I would like to extend warmest congratulations to you personally and the RCP on the 38th anniversary of the Romanian people's national day, a day when your people freed themselves from the fascist and antidemocratic forces.

Under your leadership, your country has achieved a great number of important successes and I wish you success in continuing to record successes in the activity you are carrying out for the cause of peace and international co-operation.

I hope that the special friendly relations which are developing between our two countries, parties and peoples will continue in this manner and even strengthen in the future.

Please accept, Mr President, sincere wishes on behalf of the Israel Labor Party and cordial greetings on my own behalf.

Yours, with esteem,

[Signed] Shimon Peres, chairman of the Israel Labor Party

CSO: 2700/369

AFGHANISTAN'S KARMAL GREETS CEAUSESCU ON NATIONAL DAY

AU301302 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 82 p 3

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

On the happy occasion of Romania's national day, on behalf of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Revolutionary Council, the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and on my own behalf, I take great pleasure in extending our warmest congratulations to you, the RCP and the fraternal Romanian people.

I am fully convinced that the amicable and fraternal relations between our parties, peoples and governments will develop and strengthen even more to the benefit of the two peoples of ours and in the interest of strengthening peace throughout the world.

Comrade, please accept our best wishes for personal happiness and increasingly greater successes and our wishes for progress and prosperity to the fraternal people of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

[Signed] Babrak Karmal, secretary general of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and head of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan

CSO: 2700/369

BACKGROUND, DENOUEMENT OF TANASE 'DISAPPEARANCE'

Tanase Ridicules Ceausescu

Paris LE MATIN in French 31 Aug 82 p 9

[Text] The awkwardness of an irreverent adolescent, irony, insolence, revolt, astuteness.... The writings, the plays of Virgil Tanase, born in 1945, as well as his translations (Balzac, Gombrowicz) make the Romanian censors turn pale. At the age of 21, he has been denied admittance to the university. At 29, he is forbidden to produce plays. The censors finally request firmly that he leave the country.

In 1977, Virgil Tanase, who is today 37 years old, settled in France. In Paris, he studied, published, wrote. Without ever dropping from his pen and verve the regime of his native country. In Romania, Virgil Tanase and Paul Goma (another Romanian writer in exile) are treated as "drivelling fools, scandalmongers, tedious mountebanks, appalling centurions." In 1979, Virgil Tanase assumed French nationality.

Last January, he published a devastating article on the Romanian regime in ACTUEL titled "His Majesty Ceausescu I, King of the Communists." He pokes fun at the Ceausescu "dynasty" with true joy: "The Spanish press deplored Mrs Ceausescu's habit of adjusting her most intimate pieces of clothing in public. The Texan newspapers were surprised over Mr Ceausescu's conceit: He insisted on having a red carpet put out for a factory visit...." The tone is light in nature but the information is vitriolic. Corruption, nepotism, miners' strikes, establishment of free trade unions, party purges, everything goes.

On 20 May of this year, around 9 am, Virgil Tanase left his resident at the Place de la Bastille where his wife, two children and their grandmother are staying, to go to the Luxembourg Garden where he had a rendezvous with someone who was supposed to have proposed a translation for him. He was never to be seen again. His wife very quickly became concerned. His friends were afraid of an attack by Securitate, The Bucharest political police. On 24 May, a preliminary investigation was opened against X for illegal arrest and illegal restraint of person.

On 9 June, during his press conference, President Francois Mitterrand stated: "If it were proven, a tragic hypothesis, that Mr Tanase has disappeared and was not to reappear, that would seriously damage the nature of relations between Romania and France."

On 10 June, about 100 persons gathered in front of the Romanian Embassay in Paris to protest Virgil Tanase's disappearance. On the same day, the Romanian Embassy issued a communique denying that Romania was involved in the Tanase case.

In July, President Mitterrand's visit to Romania, scheduled for the 20th, was cancelled. Officially, for scheduling reasons. In the meanwhile, it became evident that the writer had received threats. Numerous theories were put forward on this disappearance.

The Flammarion publishers (where he is collections director) announced that on 2 September his third novel "L'Amour, l"Amour [Love, Love], a sentimental one, written directly in French, would come out.

Details on 'Kidnaping'

Paris LE MATIN in French 31 Aug 82 pp 8-9

[Article by Bernard Poulet: "Virgil Tanase Refound"]

[Text] The writer, who had disappeared since last May, was scheduled to be executed by a Romanian secret agent. However, the latter had forewarned French authorities in exchange for the right of asylum. For 3 months, the DST [Directorate of Territorial Surveillance] pretended that Tanase had been liquidated. The man decided to cross over to the West. And what he told French police inspectors is dumbfounding but certainly in conformity with the methods of Securitate, the Romanian political police.

Virgil Tanase has not left France since his mysterious "kidnaping" on 20 May of this year. He had been sheltered by the French counterespionage services, namely the DST, in order to cover the crossing over to the West of an important Romanian intelligence agent and prevent his being liquidated by Securitate (political police of Bucharest).

However, the Tanase case also permitted the French police to dismantle the monstrous criminal machine of the Romanian secret services that actually do not hesitate in liquidating their opponents living as refugees abroad.

Tanase is indeed living but other dissidents have already been executed before him and others are undoubtedly still threatened.

The Romanian-Born writer Virgil Tanase, who disappeared in Paris on 20 May of this year, is doing well. He is spending quiet days in a small corner of the French countryside with his family away from indiscreet looks. However, the case of the "kidnaping" of Virgil Tanase has nothing to do with a hrax of bad taste. To the contrary, it is indeed one of the most tremendous espionage cases of the last few years in which the Romanian regime of Nicolae Ceausescu was involved up to its neck. Double agents, poisons that leave no traces, hired killers, secret services war and, of course, kidnaping, all the ingredients of a bad spy novel all put together.

Everything began in Paris one beautiful day in the beginning of spring, at a time whe, in Bucharest, heads of Securitate, the feared political police of Ceausescu, were falling. The chief of the personal security of the dictator himself was not spared. A few days later, a 40-year old mand of medium height, with a well-shaped black beard, wearing a gray suit, having the gray countenance of a small government employee, went to a plain address near the Saint Augustin Square in Paris. One of the offices of the DST, the French counterespionage service.

The man is a Romanian, and not a nobody. One of the main heads of Securitate. He had decided to go over to the West. And what he told French police inspectors is astounding, but in any case in conformity with the methods of Securitate, the "armed hand of the glorious socialist revolution of Bucharest and of its well-beloved leader."

Emil--let us call him that since up to now his identity still is a state secret--is in France to organize the physical liquidation of two of the most renowned writers who have taken refuge in France to escape persecution in their country: Paul Goma and Virgil Tanase. The two men, especially Goma, had already published several books in France in which they expose the barbarity of the Ceausescu regime. Goma has just written "Les Chiens de Mort" [The Dogs of Death] in which he denounces the reeducation camps where in the 1950's bones were broken, where prisoners were forced to eat their own excrement, and, the ultimate refinement, the prisoners were led to torture each other.

As for Tanase, he had, 2 months earlier, published in the magazine ACTUEL a vitriolic portrait of Ceausescu, of the insane personality cult that surrounds him and the seizure of the entire country by his family. The two texts had been read over Radio Free Europe and largely listened to in Romania. It was a crime of lese majesty that Ceausescu decided to punish in his own way: By the physical elimination of the guilty parties.

Emil is prepared to tell everything he knows on this matter and on the frantic activity of the Romanian secret services in the West. However, he demands that the French police give him all the guarantees that his family, still living in Romania, would be able to leave the country and come to France for protection.

In order to have the time to organize their passage to France and to protect this precious agent, it was therefore necessary that up to the very last moment Bucharest would believe that Emil is faithful and that he is scrupulously carrying out his mission. In agreement with him, the French police will then develop an incredible scenario, a priori harebrained, but which, nevertheless, will go on up to the very end.

Emil needs several months to put his family in a safe place, and his first mission was scheduled to be the poisoning of Paul Goma. One way or another, he had to go into action, otherwise his employers could be surprised. The plan for the elimination of the dissident writer sends shivers up the spine. The Securitate services know that Goma is a cardiac case since they had kept him in their jails for a long time. Therefore, Emil arrived in France with a very special "poison" that the French services analyzed: This scentless, colorless and tasteless product leaves no traces whatsoever 2 hours after its absorption, but it provokes a heart attack to the victim. The plan is therefore simple: Take advantage of a cocktail to put a few drops in Goma's glass, and a little while later the writer would die of an apparently natural heart attack. Who would have the face to accuse Securitate since everybody knows the health problems of the writer! It is more discreet that a kidnaping or even an automobile accident could leave room for a mistake or suspicions.

The Romanian technicians had given Emil an original kind of pen to pour out the liquid: It was supplied with a kind of pump that permitted squirting the poison discreetly into Goma's glass. The latter was informed of the threat which lay on him, and the DST convinced him to get ready for a show that would constitute Emil's alibi. On the occasion of a cocktail party that took place in the beginning of May--3 weeks before Tanase's kidnaping--Emil worked his way into Goma's entourage by pretending that he was an admirer of the writer. He discreetly poured the poison into the wine glass intended for the Romanian. Thus, in the probable case where there would be a witness of the Romanian services in the crowd, he could notice that Emil was doing his job well. Emil indeed was afraid of being himself under surveillance by his compatriots because it is a custom in the Romania of today where no one trusts anyone else to put surveillance on trusted persons. And it was not his fault if, before Goma put the dangerous glass to his lips, a clumsy person upset it on the tablecloth while making an excessively broad gesture. The blunderer, the poisoning spoilshirt is, of course, an honorable DST employee. Emil did a good job. As far as his superiors are concerned, the did not have any luck at all, and, in any case, he had been given a year to liquidate Goma. It will be for another time.

Because there still exist other means, less rudimentary than the sinister "Bulgarian umbrella" that had killed a dissident in London a few years ago. The emigres are convinced that the Romanian agents use sophisticated equipment. They mainly question the death of several officials of Radio Free Europe Romanian broadcasts as a result of violent cancer diseases. They are afraid that these diseases were "irradiated" by Romanian agents. One of the victims, Noel Bernard who had succumbed recently in the prime of life and in a period of a few months as a result of such a cancer, had, before dying, mentioned

a mysterious "man with a suitcase." A visitor who had met all the victims and who carried with him a mysterious attache case that he took care to systematically direct at his interlocutors, precisely as if to "irradiate" them if the case did contain assassination materiel. Paranoia, it was thought at the time! With the proof today that Securitate uses so sophisticated poisons, one may begin to take seriously the dissidents' accusations.

As for Emil, he had to continue his miserable task. The momentary failure of Goma's assassination should not cause forgetting the second objective, namely Virgil Tanase.

In this case, the plan laid out by Securitate was not burdened with so many methods of procedure. The mission is simple: Kidnap and liquidate Tanase. Undoubtedly so that the spectacular side of the operation might spread terror among emigre circles. Tanase, less known than Goma, is more vulnerable. All the more so since his bad natured temperament had made nearly all the Romanian exiles angry with him. Securitate can hope that the voices that will be raised in protest will be a few in number.

Of course, Emil is henceforth working with the DST, but Tanase must disappear. Securitate has charged Emil with recruiting a few French thugs to kidnap and kill Tanase. It is no question that the Romanians be directly involved in the case.

This is an old Securitate practice. About 2 years ago, two French thugs went to Munich where they had cut up Georgescu, a former Romanian judge who broadcast programs to Romania over Radio Free Europe, programs that were very much listened to in his country. The German court would never prove that the thugs acted for Securitate. Nevertheless, a year before, a Romanian agent, Radu Rusch, had himself gone over to the West and had stated that he had been assigned to Organize the assassination of Georgescu. He warned, "My passage to freedom will not stop the operation. It is expected that in 2 months a team will come to France to take over." However, he was not taken seriously.

This time, in France, Emil is very seriously taken by the DST. Since there is, of course, no question of hiring thugs to kidnap Tanase, it is the DST itself that will be responsible for the operation. On 20 May, while leaving his residence, Tanase was forcefully taken away in a vehicle at the Place de la Bastille He is, of course, party to what is going on. He had been informed and he knew that his security would also depend on the proper unfolding of the scenario. At once, he was taken to a discreet place, a place that he would not leave until the denouement.

Just the same, the police are somewhat bothered because witnesses had seen the scene and had rushed to take depositions that the officers in charge of the investigation must note down. The lack of reaction by the police make the unfortunate witnesses think that they are dealing with incompetent people. Too bad!

The news becomes public the next day when Mrs Tanase went to the police station of her quarter to report on the "disappearance" of her husband. She is also au courant but by lodging the complaint she made the case public in such a way as to have Bucharest believe that Emil did a good job. The journalists are surprised over her silence that certain ones attribute to the state of shock she reportedly was in. Since she went to the police station of the quarter in the company of DST officers, certain journalists had deduced, at the least hastily, that Tanase "was a DST agent," passing the case off as a commonplace story of secret police agents. Others recalled the incredible disappearance of another weird writer a few weeks previously. Few people wanted to believe that Tanase had really been kidnaped by Romania. That appeared too serious. At that time, there were undoubtedly only the Securitate officials and the conducator [sic] Ceausescu who were convinced that they had indeed kidnaped and liquidated the dissident.

Nevertheless, the kidnaping thesis is suddenly substantiated at the highest level in France. By Francois Mitterrand at his 9 June press conference in which he recalled "the tragic hypothesis" of the definitive disappearance of Virgil Tanase and very clearly implicated the Romanian authorities. Henceforth, everybody knows that it is a question of an affair of state.

Nevertheless, one may still question as to what the president of the republic knew at that particular time. Because Jean Louis Debre, the examining magistrate who had been given the case, himself took several weeks to have the DST admit that it had organized everything. It was only subsequently that he had all the facts at hand and would reconstruct the puzzle, laying bare the fearsome criminal machine of Securitate. But did Francois Mitterrand know everything on 9 June? At the Elysee, it is being asserted that he personally followed the case day by day. It is certain that very few people were in the know: The DST, of course, magistrate Debre, the minister of interior, and undoubtedly the president. Neither the minister of justice nor the public prosecutor had been informed because any leak have provoked a catastrophe probably a bloody one.

At the end of July, the indefinite postponement of Francois Mitterrand's scheduled trip to Romania in the fall gave still a little more the impression that the case was serious. Of course, the Romanians deny everything. Their ambassador in Paris went as far as publishing a communique in which it is affirmed that "Romania is not involved in any way whatsoever in the Virgil Tanase case." It stated, "This whole campaign that has erupted in France is only an unspeakable provocation (....) carried out by circles hostile to Romanian emigres." Indeed, Bucharest seems to well understand Francois Mitterrand's reaction and did not look too downcast over the cancellation: These are the risks of this kind of operation. Since they are convinced in having succeeded in liquidating Tanase!

During this time, Emil had returned to Romania at the end of June to take advantage of a little rest. And above all to organize the discreet departure of his family. Since he is an important personality, his relatives have no difficulty in obtaining passports "to do some sightseeing" in the West. One by one, they leave Romania. The last arrived in Paris last Friday. The Tanase case is over.

Yesterday, the writer was still "somewhere in France" with his whole family, his wife, two children, mother and mother-in-law. He is thinking of giving a press conference in a few days.

As for Emil, he has been in our country since mid-August. His Bosses sent him "to continue his mission," which permitted him to leave Bucharest without any problem. This time definitely. A supreme irony: On 23 August, the Romanian national holiday, the Bucharest press announced that he had just received one of the highest Romanian honors "for services rendered to the fatherland."

5671
CSO: 3100/948

ROMANIA

CAUSES OF ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOR OF YOUTH DISCUSSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 13, 5 Jul 82 p 42

[Article by Cristian Ionescu: "Social Education and Practice"]

[Text] In issue No 2/1982 of the magazine VIITORUL SOCIAL [Social Future] there is an interesting report regarding several of the causes of anti-social phenomena. The authors, Dan Banciu, Marin Voicu and Nicolae Daringa, present in a realistic and specific perspective the dynamics of deliquency and the efficiency (as well as the inefficiency) of certain methods or working instruments used by the educational authorities in the educational process or, as the case may be, the process of re-education and re-integration of certain young people into the work collectives in Constanta municipality. They reveal that the anti-social or criminal behaviors "have a multi-causal basis representing forms of typical expressions of social non-adaptation and non-integration among certain categories of individuals. This is due to the failure to achieve or the imperfect achievement or disharmonies in their process of socialization and to educational dysfunctionalities that have occurred in the socio-genesis of certain persons or even groups of persons."

The experiences of recent years show that in this area a rich, precise amount of experience has been accumulated, as shown by the aforementioned study, in the resocialization and reintegration into work of certain criminally punished persons. Despite all this, as the authors te, anti-social deeds and behaviors can nonetheless still be found, as well as cases where the law is broken.

The selection of the area that was researched and the units where the investigations were carried out was motivated by the fact that "among the groups of industrial-urban centers in the country, Constanta municipality still reflects a sufficiently high rate of infractions, especially among the ranks of the young people."

As is shown in the magazine, under the conditions of increasing the degree of territorial and social mobility among certain young people who stem from the rural environment, there is a disintegration, sometimes temporary, sometimes final, of the old family and neighborhood ties and an economic and social restructuring which require the adoptation of certain new modes of life and culture and, implicitly, behavioral transformations. The migration of the young village population towards the cities can give birth - in certain situations -

to dangerous behaviors. The opinions of sociologists and legal experts generally converge on this conclusion, one motivated in most cases by the changes that have occurred within the framework of the new lifestyle compared to the traditional (restricted) socioeconomic environment, the aspects of social control and the influence of the family, "which proved to be efficient" in other times.

In addition to such causes of a general nature, some of the anti-social expressions are due to an insufficient amount of concern on the part of the educational authorities in economic units and schools for the socio-vocational integration of certain young people who migrate to the big cities. As practice has shown, some the young people who have committed infractions where left to the whim of circumstances and were dissatisfied with the place of work and the type of work. In many situations, the failure to adhere to certain norms regarding work discipline, unauthorized absences and instability was brought about precisely by a lack of interest in understanding the personalities of young people from a different environment and their aspirations. The authors understand these aspects well, pointing out that social non-integration led to an increase in these young people's interest in other reference groups (street groups, groups of friends). Within these groups, a portion of the people felt they could better achieve their personal interests and goals, "first committing certain pre-infractional activities (loitering, parasitism, excessive consumption of alcohol, physical aggression and so forth) and, in the end, committing certain infractional actions."

These conclusions show how important it is to carry out a specific, diversified educational activity that will combine the requirement to popularize certain behavioral norms through the use of speeches, symposia and case discussions with the permanent concern for achieving the personal interests and needs of young people regarding work salaries, appropriate living and free-time recreational conditions, promotions at work, training and the continuation of educational training.

In those units where the youth organizations, party organizations and work collectives have have systematically worked for the integration of young people and the guidance and care that they need in order to adapt to a new socioeconomic and, at the same time, ethical charter, to get material and moral satisfaction from the professional activities, and so forth, these young people have been more quickly integrated, with the level of anti-social expressions clearly decreasing.

An x-ray examination of the education carried out in schools and industrial or agricultural units leads the authors to the opinion that, alongside the good results, educational activities have certain twists and turns and dysfunctional moments and aspects. Some managements in economic units are insufficiently concerned about the problems regarding pay, housing, promotions and civic education for young people. In order to eliminate these shortcomings the authors of the study make a series of proposals that recognize the efficiency of education and its close tie to the realities and requirements of life.

The creation of a "social office" in enterprises, as the authors propose in the study, that will analyze the concerns, interests and aspirations of young people and will contribute to the solution of certain problems in their work and life is very useful. This proposal, as well as others contained in this study, could constitute the subject of a broader discussion among specialists and those who are concerned for the integration and educational of young workers who come from the rural environment.

8724
CSO: 2700

SHORTCOMINGS OF YOUTH UNION IN COMBATTING ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 13, 5 Jul 82 pp 42-43

[Article by Constantin Dirna, an activist in the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth: "Regarding the Political-Ideological Education of Young People"]

[Text] I feel that the article "The Specific and Complex Nature of Political-Educational Activities," which appeared in issue No 9/1982 of ERA SOCIALISTA under the signature of Matei Simandan, is welcomed in the current context of our party's concern for the intensification of political-ideological activities and for its ties to practice and the realities and requirements of each work collective.

The problems in the education of young people are, as stressed by Matei Simandan, of great complexity and variety, and precisely for that reason a broader discussion is very useful regarding the forms and methods of education that are used by the youth organizations.

I think that the article has a good grasp on a series of realities in the political-educational activities carried out by the youth organizations, thus being of real use to those activists who work in this field. First of all, I agree with the opinion expressed in the article regarding the point that educational work for young people must have a specific nature and an organic connection with social realities and the problems confronting young people's lives and activities, even if some of these appear to be "personal" problems that do not interest the collective.

It is understood that such a requirement involves rejecting narrow, outdated methods for creating socialist awareness in young people that are designed as a unilateral activity, separate from the realities of social affairs, and that do not take in account individual aspects, differences in the activities of various groups of young people, age groups, professional and political training and their general level of culture.

In some of the organizations of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY] there still are a series of shortcomings despite the good results obtained in this field - which we do not intend to list here since they are well-known and seen in the affairs of the young work collectives involved in the country's social-economic

development program. The political-educational activities carried out by some youth organizations are still marked by shortcomings at a time when some young people have an incorrect attitude regarding work and education, and express a superficial approach and a poor committment in fulfilling professional tasks. Anti-social acts are committed by some young people and they maintain outdated, retrograde and mystical mentalities. These are several of the bases that point out the need to give all the political-educational work carried out by the UCY organs and organizations a powerful revolutionary, combative spirit. This spirit must lead to a more active involvement of the younger generation, under the leadership of the UCY organizations, in socioeconomic affairs so as to better respond to the tasks outlined by our party for the younger generation.

The political-educational activities carried out by the youth organizations must give priority to the creation of actional awareness, convictions and habits directly tied to the major requirements of social organization and leadership and the achievement of social-economic objectives. In this manner, education is not transformed into a purpose unto itself, but, on the contrary, is expressed in deeds in work and life conforming to the measures and principles of behavior that are promoted by our socialist society.

Attracting young people into public affairs, their participation in the discussion and solution of the problems confronting the work collective and organizational affairs, and creating a firm public opinion against anti-social expressions constitute the principal directions of the UCY organs and organizations for the strengthening of civic responsibilities regarding the manner in which the country's laws are respected.

In order to be able to obtain the necessary, real adherence of the young people to the absolute respect for law it is necessary for them to know and understand not only the content of the law, but also its meaning and purpose and the obligations stemming from the normative acts that deal with them. Thus, young people will be able to differentiate the legal from the illegal, and the principle that no one is permitted not to know the law will take on a real content and basis.

In their political-ideological and educational activities, the youth organizations must place special stress on instilling in each young person's mind that respect for the law is not only a general civic duty, but also a requirement of daily behavior.

The fact that social behavioral norms are still violated by some young people, as is also shown by Matei Simandan, shoud have priority in the concerns designed to prevent the commission of violations of legal provisions. Actually, the elimination of any type of deviation from the norms of social behavior and the country's norms is an educational activity. Preventative activities, however, do not have to have a formal content. Such a requirement begins with the fact that, sometimes, legal propaganda and preventative work in

general, which also involve the UCY organs and organizations, are marked in some cases by expressions of formalism, superficiality and a lack of preparation. There are situations where legalistic speeches are made before an insufficiently prepared audience that has been selected at random. In some youth organizations, the mentality still exists that a legal "lecture" helps in preventing certain types of thefts, robberies, rapes, work negligence and so forth. It is not, however, sufficient to ensure a strict, formal understanding of the laws in order to be considered that the legal propaganda work has attained its goal. The "targets" of such sessions or conferences and dialogues on legal subjects do not become knowledgeable in the subjects. The spirit of the law must be explained to them sooner, and they must be shown the specific means of applying and respecting the law, and how to contribute to the strengthening of socialist legalities and order and discipline in social affairs.

With regards to the ways and means of achieving these educational activities in the spirit of the Code of Socialist Ethics and Equality, as well as the legal education activities, as carried out by the UCY organizations, it can be said that there already exists and is operating a broad system of political-educational forms that have been proven efficient of recent years. The adoption of the Communist Code for Work and Life naturally led to the elaboration of a broad unified program of political-ideological measures within the framework of the UCY regarding the education of young people in the spirit of the work and living norms of communists. The inclusion of a special chapter within the UCY Statute regarding the education of young people in the spirit of the Ethics Code and the organization of certain periodic actions of great audience within the ranks of the young people under the generic of "Let us live and work in the communist image!" led to the formalization of its own framework for organizing and carrying out young people's work and lives in the spirit of the Code of the Principles and Norms for Communists' Work and Lives and for Socialist Ethics and Equality.

The creation of groups for the discussion of problems of ethics and legislation, within which young people discover and master their civic charter, their rights and their obligations in society, the speeches on subjects that are specific to young people, the competitions on legislative subjects, the publication of brochures and handouts, in cooperation with the organs of justice and the prosecutor's office, regarding legal topics that deal with young people, the study of certain topics of an educational nature within the political-ideological training framework of the UCY, the discussions within the general assemblies of the UCY, the presentation of certain normative acts on street bulletin boards, and so forth, these are efficient ways and means already dedicated to this topic within the activities of the UCY organizations.

The effective help for young people with reprovable behaviors and their assignment into the middle of certain groups of young people having experience, a good professional training and the necessary tact for combining educational guidance measures with organizational measures represents an important premise in the successful recovery and re-education process.

Matei Simandan is corrent when he points out that in the youth organizations where there was a permanent concern for the elimination of routine educational methods and for the carrying out of certain systematic educational actions good results have been obtained. As has been observed in practice, when young people who serve out a non-confinement punishment were given trust and the opportunity to carry out a useful activity, with some of them being good craftsmen, and work within their skill, their re-education and recovery occurred more quickly.

The efficient operation of the social education and recovery system for minors and young people who are guilty of violating the regulations on behavior requires, as a result, the elimination of shortcomings, the overcoming of difficulties that still exist in the activities of certain young work collectives and the better coordination of the actions of the diverse organs that work towards the achievement and success of this process. In this direction, the granting of a broad range of rights and obligations to the youth organs and organizations in the socialist units and schools must, however, also be accompanied by a complex training program for the youth and the young people involved in the guidance and supervision collectives, which will also involve the participation of lawyers, psychologists, sociologists, educational specialists and so forth.

The entire legal education activity carried out by the UCY organizations and the cooperation in the achievement of this activity with the other authorities in the field is not, certainly, an end unto itself, with it being subordinated to the implementation of the fundamental tasks of the youth organizations and to the mobilization of young people to carry out their tasks at each place of work.

8724
CSO: 2700

CONTINUITY OF PRESENCE OF ROMANIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 20 Jun 82 pp 21-24

/Article by Dr Radu Popa: "Romanian Continuity in Transylvania"/

/Text/ Their Daco-Roman origin and the continuity of their settlement of their ancestral regions are fundamental characteristics of the Romanian people. Clear determination of them on the basis of many and varied documents and proofs of the past is of great fundamental importance both in forming the patriotic socialist consciousness of the workers in Romania and for combatting errors or distortions of Romanian history that have passed into a number of foreign works. As Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the recent Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee, "The facts prove that the migrant peoples and those who settled this part of Europe toward the end of the first millennium found here a higher material and cultural civilization which they assimilated. We can say on the basis of the historical facts that the Romanian people was formed over the millenia in the Carpatho-Danubian area and that every meter of land and every stone are soaked in the sweat and blood of our ancestors. Our forefathers did not abandon the land of their birth in the hardest times but grew to love it, to love its mountains and plains and its magnificent rivers and forests, and they remained steadfastly in these regions defending their lives and their right to a free existence."

The period of the 9th to the 13th centuries had a special character and significance for the history of the Romanian territories in the Carpathians, territories identified with Transylvania in the broader sense of the historical-geographic sense of the term, including the Banat, Crisana and Maramures. From the start of the Middle Ages in Eastern Europe, those centuries were the time of the last ethnodemographic reorganizations and combinations, when the last waves of migrants came in there, some of whom were ethnically assimilated and disappeared from the historical scene almost without a trace while others benefited by favorable conditions and preserved their distinctive ethnic traits, which determine the character of some nations existing today. Most of the medieval states on that part of the continent also appeared in those centuries.

Reconstruction of the historical circumstances in the centuries around the year 1000 is also particularly important from the standpoint of Romanian continuity

in Transylvania, because those circumstances were the third and also the last stage in a long process of ethnic evolution. The first stage in this process was in the first to the third centuries A.D. and consisted of the Thraco-Geto-Dacian continuity in the Roman provinces of the Lower Danube and especially in the province of Dacia, while communities of free Dacians in the territories around that province were maintained in a complex system of relations with the Roman world. The third stage in the process was the Daco-Roman continuity in the territories north of the Danube and in the Carpathians after the withdrawal of the Roman Empire's political, administrative and military authorities from there and the subsequent withdrawal of those of the Roman-Byzantine Empire. It was also marked by the territorial expansion and gradual standardization of the Romanization process, which was intensified by the spread of Christianity.

The third stage in this process consisted of the transformation of that Daco-Roman society into a Romanian society in the fourth to the sixth centuries throughout the whole area where Romanians are attested by the medieval sources, from the northern Carpathians down to the Balkans. This transformation was completed in the historical context of the second part of the period of migrations.

This brief historical outline, intended to bring out the particular nature of the period between the 9th and 13th centuries in Romanian history, does not pertain solely to the Romanian territories within the Carpathian arc. It applies equally to the territories south or east of the Carpathians, as well as those between the Danube and the Black Sea. Yet there are also some differences that justify a regional approach to the subject, limited to shorter periods of time and certain parts of the Romanian territory.

On the one hand, when the last migrants founded some medieval states in the immediate vicinity of the Romanian territories and later when the authority of such states was gradually extended over the territories inhabited by Romanians for varying periods of time, the subsequent rate of development was affected. The evolution of Romanian society, which had been generally uniform and comparable in rate from the 8th to the 10th centuries, began to show some differences in favor of the Carpathian territories. These differences became particularly apparent in the 12th and 13th centuries and were to persist throughout the Middle Ages.

On the other hand, from the standpoint of Romanian continuity the regions within the Carpathian arc were emphasized earlier and more consistently in the foreign literature and then in the endeavors of the Romanian teachers than the regions outside the Carpathians. Actually investigation of the problem and discussions of it were often confined to the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin, which we know today by the historical name of Transylvania.

It should hardly be necessary to remind even those less familiar with the subject that the so-called problem of Romanian continuity in Transylvania did not arise until relatively recently, only in the last two centuries. Insofar as a whole chapter of historiography can be summed up or outlined in its general characteristics, let us remember that the Romanian ethnic character of the vast majority of the Transylvanian population and the age-old continuity of that population were too obvious for such truths to be contested and discussed, just as it could not have occurred to anyone to question Romanian continuity in the former feudal principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia as a controversial problem.

But such a problem arose in Transylvania at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century when some researchers connected with the Habsburg Empire's interests began trying to find ideological and historical arguments to justify on that ground the sometimes bloody repressions that were directed against the Romanians' expressions of their national consciousness and their efforts toward national and social emancipation. Until then neither the historians nor the medieval chroniclers or other written sources nor the historical consciousness of the Romanian people or of the coexisting or neighboring peoples ever questioned or could question the Romanic character of the Romanians and their historical continuity in the territories they inhabited. On the contrary, a large number of witnesses of the most varied origins recorded those facts.

Whether or not he acknowledges the existence of such a problem and regardless of his opinions about it, no historian can overlook the motives for raising this question in the technical literature or the interests other than those of scientific research that fostered and sometimes aggravated the conflicting opinions and discussions. It is no secret to anyone that the more recent or even very recent ventilation of the so-called "problem" of Romanian continuity in the Romanian people's Carpathian territories is not due to any foreign historians' or journalists' thirst for knowledge but has quite different purposes.

But it is equally certain that today historical research has an incomparably broader documentary base than it had when the problem of the Romanian people's origin and their continuity in Transylvania arose, although the few written sources the 19th century scholars used in their arguments were supplemented by sufficient written information. The auxiliary sciences of history enlarged the field of reconstruction and in the last decades especially archeology incomparably increased the amount of evidence with which the past of the Carpathian Romanian territories could be reconstructed in the period before reproduction of the information in chronicles and written documents. Anticipating the new proofs that Romanian archeological research has contributed in the last three decades, it may be said that this evidence is sufficient to convince those in good faith of the historical facts, or to discourage those in less good faith from contesting the continuity of the Romanian presence in the Carpathian territories.

The level historical research has reached today, as well as the prospects opened up by interdisciplinary studies, justify the assertion that modern archeology can answer the questions (even those posed in bad faith by the promoters of the artificially created "problems" or by those with preconceived ideas) about the formation of the Romanian people and language and the continuity of historical evolution in all the Romanian territories. Having its methods that have been verified for a long time as well as methods recently perfected by applications of modern technology, and in view of the practically inexhaustible amount of material evidence preserved in the ground, archeology actually has unlimited possibilities for determining the past in its various aspects including the ethnodemographic ones and also for reconstructing the historical processes. But the conclusive force of the archeological sources and the certainty of the conclusions based upon the archeological evidence are strictly determined by the extent of the effort and no less by the quality of the forces engaged in research. It could be said that the scepticism of some scientists as to how far the acheological evidence can be conclusive or the reluctance of others to accept the conclusions of archeological research when not explained on extrascientific grounds

are due to the fact that the effort in this direction is not yet in keeping with the difficulty of the questions to which answers are awaited.

While the historical reconstruction of some periods of the past for which written information is entirely lacking may be questioned by those unfamiliar with the methods and strictness of some specialized branches of historical research like archeology and ethnosociology, determination of the period of the 9th to the 13th century A.D. is in the nature of a study based on several categories of sources. It is a study wherein the archeological investigation plays the main part but it does not dispense with the written sources, and the results can be verified by means of the latter.

Thus the chancellery documents of the 13th and 14th centuries attest and permit very precise location of a great many rural Romanian communities throughout Transylvania, some religious centers of the Romanians belonging to the Eastern Church, and some independent social-political units headed by voievods and princes belonging to the feudal sector of Romanian society. Such evidence applies to practically all the subdivisions of the variegated territory of Transylvania, but it is concentrated particularly within the historical "countries" in the Carpathian Romanian territories, in the depressions of the mountain chain and in the upper valleys of almost all the important rivers flowing out of the Carpathians. These "countries" actually comprised more than half the area of Transylvania, and according to the clear and unequivocal evidence of the chancellery documents of the 13th and 14th centuries, their Romanian population was homogeneous and dense at the time, barely colored at some points by a few settlements of Hungarian or German Catholic colonists encouraged and helped to settle in these Romanian areas by the Arpadian kings so that they could be included in the new administrative and political arrangements promoted by the medieval Hungarian kingdom.

Archeological investigation of these areas and proof by the evidence preserved in the ground that the respective settlements and monuments (village precincts, cemeteries, court churches, fortifications or feudal residences), also mentioned by documents as belonging to the medieval Romanian communities in the 13th and 14th centuries, were of much greater antiquity in stable forms are important steps in demonstrating Romanian continuity in Transylvania.

Almost without exception the material proofs discovered by archeology in the Romanian complexes proved to be a few centuries earlier than the dates of their first mention in the documents. For instance at Sarasau in the heart of historic Maramures the Romanian village mentioned by the chancellery documents from 1345 on had a lengthy previous evolution at the place called Zapodie, a few hundred meters from the present center of the locality. This evolution went on for several centuries before 1345 and left traces on the land of many houses rebuilt from one generation to another within an area of about 20 hectares. In another part of Maramures, at Bogdan Voda, which bore the old name of Cuhea until a few years ago (a village attested by the documents from 1353 on as a residence of one of the Romanian voievodal families that ruled Tara Maramuresului), the archeological excavations revealed the remains, at least 150 years older, of the cemetery at the site and around the chapel of the Bogdanesti family. The residence of Voievod Bogdan, the future prince of Moldavia, was also discovered at Cuhea, which residence had an earlier phase in the 13th century.

In western Transylvania, in the Plopis Mountains in northern Bihor, the complex of ruins at Voivozi in Popesti Commune is not mentioned in the documents until 1391 as the religious center of the Romanian villages in the area but it has revealed many materials dating from the 12th and 13th centuries as well as the entire 14th century, thus recording beginnings one and a half centuries earlier than the date of the written source. Nearly four centuries elapsed between the archeologically dated beginnings of the prince's court chapel in Streisingeorgiu (Calan city) in the Hunedoara regions in southern Transylvania and 1377, the date of the first document that refers to the village and the family of Romanian princes that belonged to the upper social-political class of Tara Hategului. There are graves from the 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th centuries around the monument, while the cemetery has been in continuous use to this day. For Streisingeorgiu the four centuries of "silence" of the sources meant a continuity of life outside the focus of the written documents, during which time a first monument of wood was replaced about 1130-1140 by a stone and brick house that was redecorated in 1313-1314 with mural paintings and is mentioned in an inscription discovered on the walls of the monument in the course of the investigations. The inscription mentions Prince Balea, the priest Nanes and the painter Teofil.

This brief account of such discoveries could go on to illustrate similar situations in other "countries" throughout Transylvania. Many studies are under way and many of the findings are not yet published or have been communicated only orally in summary form, sometimes as preliminary reports, and we shall return to the latter point below. At any rate, the direct result of these studies is the definite refutation and rejection of that fiction very stubbornly created in the last century by a certain historiography and still conveyed by some contemporary publications to the effect that Romanian society about 1220-1230 had no stable settlements and was represented in those years by small groups that had just arrived, by obscure routes, north of the Lower Danube and in the Carpathian Basin, where they allegedly derived the basic local structures of that society from other models of medieval organization.

But as a rule the settlements did not regularly develop in the same places, within limited areas or with the very rigid borders of the village centers.* In fact for the entire continent, settlements that would develop from the end of ancient times well into the Middle Ages at a single center in the sense of continuous habitation simplistically speaking are exceptional, and even in such exceptional cases heated discussions go on today among specialists as to whether uninterrupted use of a given place (the area within the walls of an ancient city for example) does mean continuous habitation by the same ethnic element.

Today we have a great many discoveries pertaining to the 9th to the 13th centuries in Transylvania. Some of them consist of rather large complexes, whole cemeteries or large parts of cemeteries, groups of dwellings that belonged to a settlement, or earthwork fortifications, but most of them are only fragments of material evidence resulting from chance discoveries, soundings or small-scale excavations. With very few exceptions their scientific exploitation and circulation are confined for the time being to communications and preliminary reports illustrating a stage or procedures that are inadequate in comparison with the methods and standards customary for archeological research today. The system

*Throughout the millennium that preceded the appearance of the written sources permitting certain location, identification and ethnic attribution of the material evidence of Transylvanian life.

is still followed of publishing syntheses before adequate publication, in keeping with current standards, of the material evidence upon which those syntheses are based, and sometimes said evidence remains unpublished and in storage at worksites and in museums.

It is more than clear that the eastern Carpathian Basin, namely Transylvania, was inhabited continuously from ancient times to the period when the Romanian villages are attested there, and that thwere no population "gaps." All authors are also agreed that at the beginning of the Middle Ages the population was sparse, as on the rest of the continent, and probably amounted to only 10-20 percent of the present population. It was scattered over small villages resembling the hamlets of today, with regional concentrations making some areas appear extremely underpopulated.

The figures tell us that the Romanians were unquestionably in the majority of the Transylvanian population in the 9th-12th centuries too. The written sources also record the fact that in addition to Romanians, Transylvania of those centuries was also inhabited by late Slavic communities, Hungarian communities that became sedentary by the end of the 10th century in western Transylvania especially, and later by Szekler communities that gradually shifted from west to east on Transylvanian territory and groups of Petchenegs and Kumans who were gradually assimilated in the Hungarian or Romanian environment while the first Saxon communities began to appear in the 12th century. These facts are reflected in the place names. Archeological investigation of the history of the Transylvanian Romanians in the 9th to the 13th centuries (and no other approach is conceivable today regardless of the contribution of the allied sciences) must be coordinated with study of the evidence left by the other ethnic communities. Actually it is a matter of complete reconstruction of Transylvanian history in the broader framework of Romanian history, and all data from these centuries, including those not directly related to the Romanian communities, are interdependent and contribute to knowledge when they are thoroughly studied and interpreted without preconceived ideas and especially when they are published systematically and entirely.

The written records referring to the Transylvanian Romanians and their state structures at the turn of the 9th century and those referring to events in the 11th and 12th centuries recorded by chroniclers shortly after they occurred are most valuable for the nation's history. They were basic to the reconstructions of this period in Romanian historiography over the last two centuries. Not much has been done in order to place this testimony in a context of material evidence that will make it more consistent, detailed and conclusive. Not very long ago the history of the Moravian state in the 9th century was also based upon some accounts in the contemporary western sources or upon traditions and later reports, and it was subject to scientific dispute, differing opinions or denials that were sometimes due to motivations other than scientific ones and sometimes to incomplete documentation. Meanwhile intensive and wide-scale archeological investigations that lasted for decades and are still going on today have brought to light a great deal of material evidence, remains of monuments that have disappeared and dwelling complexes, which were given proper international scientific circulation and now constitute a a chapter of history wherein the discussions no longer concern the basis but only the details of the interpretations.

The Romanian school of medieval archeology was developed later, not until 30 years ago, but it has produced many similar results. Perhaps more than in other fields progress is not to be expected of chance discoveries of sensational finds like, for example, the chapels and graves of the voievods mentioned by sources around 900, but from very careful and extensive excavations requiring time and effort in keeping with the importance of the expected results. We also note that among the social sciences archeology is in the privileged position of being also a producer of material values, since the actual value of the material it adds to the national heritage far exceeds the resources used for studies.

Even if the idea is not generally accepted and the comparison may seem forced, it should also be said that to some extent principles somewhat similar to those that operate in material production of goods apply to the end result and exploitation of archeological investigation. An investigation whose results remain with its author or are circulated selectively and incompletely within a circle somehow inclined to accept the conclusions even before the evidence is presented resembles a product remaining in the producer's warehouse. Exploitation of a study means complete publication of the material evidence discovered according to the rules and principles in international use today, which will give those interested access to the documentation, arguments, and verifications. Secondly, it means publication of the historical interpretations and conclusions in monographs with the widest possible international circulation, to be confronted with more exacting and demanding expert criticism in countries with old traditions in the field than in Romania, since that is the natural way for them to be accepted and integrated in foreign historiography.

Of course it is customary to publish preliminary or partial studies in the course of an investigation, but they are primarily in the nature of working hypotheses and it should not be surprising if they are not immediately and unanimously accepted. Publication of archeological finds resulting from continuous and long-term basic research up to current standards is the main way to establish the results and conclusions of Romanian medieval archeology on the problem of continuity internationally, even if it does not appear immediately effective.

For all the other neo-Latin peoples of Europe, who did not take part in the migrations at the end of the ancient period and the beginning of the Middle Ages and who were overrun by various migrant peoples, there was never any need of demonstrating their historical origins and continuity in the territories they inhabited in the Middle Ages and which they occupy today.

Of course the difference in the efforts to develop the various national historiographies is to be explained by the fact that in other places the disputes were of a different nature and especially the fact that due to the historical circumstances the series of written historical sources of western and southern Europe are continuous and far more detailed. The documents from the 9th and 10th centuries concerning extensive areas of the Carolingian Empire permit reconstruction down to the individually identified and located village or down to the individual specified by name and origin. The western sources on the 11th and 12th centuries include detailed information on some points that are unknown for the 15th and 16th centuries in the historiography of Romania and other eastern European countries. That is also why archeological investigation of the period after the 8th century in some western countries is primarily in the nature of history of art and architecture or specialized aspects of medieval history like

like the habitat and alimentation and does not concern itself with questions of the ethnic affiliation of the finds.

Viewing matters from the standpoint of archeology and knowing its possibilities, I do not think the task of "proving" Romanian continuity is properly defined, because archeologically and so also historically the continuity is too obvious to be a "problem" any longer. On the other hand, while Romanian historiography does not have to prove Romanian continuity or convince others of it, it is obligated to determine, by means of archeological investigation, the past of the Romanian people and their territories very accurately and in increasing detail in the long period before the reproduction of written information. The task is to study the data from every century in question, data illustrating all categories of archeological monuments of this period and covering all historical-geographic subdivisions of the territory in their distribution. This material evidence must be placed in scientific circulation by its complete publication and made available to those interested in Romania and other countries alike. As a result of such activity, conducted at length and supported by adequate resources, Romanian continuity will no longer have to be demonstrated to anyone because it will follow automatically in a natural way.

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PARTY POLICY ON MINORITY RIGHTS HAILED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 20 Jun 82 pp 39-41

/Article by Buia Simion: "Equal Rights As a Corollary of the RCP Policy to Solve the Minorities Problem"/

/Text/ The RCP policy to solve the minorities problem in the spirit of fully equal rights has produced tangible results in the years of socialism. The Cluj jurist Imre Miko, who died 5 years ago, wrote a great many articles and studies about this policy that were published from time to time in various technical journals and publications. Collected in a Festschrift*, they eloquently present the possibilities of full assertion of the national minorities in the social and political affairs of socialist Romania and their cultural self-fulfillment without discrimination, free, unrestricted and in close unity and friendly collaboration with the Romanian people.

Addressed to a wide public, including that abroad, Imre Miko's essays were written in the fertile and ebullient creative climate inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress and were theoretically supported by the program's principle deeply rooted in the realities of Romania today and clearly stipulating that "The minorities will long continue to exist in the periods of both socialist and communist construction, and this will require a continuing effort to secure fully equal rights and conditions for unrestricted advancement of every minority without discrimination." In this light, Imre Miko brought out the profoundly democratic character of the legal regulations in socialist Romania on the minorities' rights, also pointing out that the relations among the ethnic groups are components of social relations and consequently change with them. It is the important task of the legal-legislative system to keep pace with social emancipation and the changing times by constantly providing a correct and principled correlation between the rights of the nation as a whole and those granted the minorities.

As Erno Gall points out in his introductory study, the policy of the Hungarian Party in Romania between the wars was not constructive, "wavering for two decades between passiveness and a one-sided irredentist position, being neither able nor inclined to coordinate its aims with the program or procedure of our democracy."

*Imre Miko, "Valtozatok egy temara (Variations on a Theme)," Tanulmanyok, Gall Erno bevezeto tanulmanyaval, Kriterion Publishing House, 1981.

It is well known that the leftist forces in Romania, especially the communists, and the MADOSZ would have welcomed the suggestion of linking the problems of minority rights with the Romanian masses' revolutionary claims and the struggle for democratic social reform of the whole nation, but the exponents of the Hungarian bourgeoisie rejected any such alliance. They tried to tie the fate of the Hungarians in Romania to the revisionist policy of the counterrevolutionary regime established by Horthy in Hungary (a regime manipulated primarily by Italian fascism and later by Hitlerite fascism) in pursuance of the expansionist aims of starting World War II.

Taking a critical view of such a policy and pointing out that for the present the social-political conditions in Romania had changed radically, Imre Miko demonstrated that in the Romanian socialist system legal cognizance of the Hungarian minority could not be a factor for separation but one for rapprochement with the Romanian people, a bond of constructive work of all citizens of our common fatherland. All citizens' equality is consistently assured in socialist Romania without distinction of nationality, race or religion in all walks of life, and any restriction or discrimination in law enforcement is prohibited. The author examined the minorities' political, economic, social and cultural rights in detail, convinced that sound knowledge and awareness of them develops and consolidates the political-civic consciousness of the Hungarians in Romania. The author felt that a clear and complete view of the legal-legislative guarantees of fully equal rights can further strengthen the cohesion and friendly collaboration of the Hungarian minority with the Romanian people.

In Imre Miko's studies coexistence, collaboration and identity of basic aims and interests are a perennial characteristic of the common history of the inhabitants of those regions regardless of nationality. The author frequently cites facts from the past, social movements and struggles wherein Romanians and Hungarians were always on the same side of the barricade, facing together either their foreign enemies including the Ottoman invaders or the internal exploiting, oppressive and reactionary forces, adversaries of the freedom of the masses, democracy and social progress. He pointed out that the historians have the duty to contribute by their studies and works to the most objective knowledge possible of these constructive deeds of the Romanian and Hungarian and other peoples, who created together and in good will all the material and cultural values in their common fatherland, toward which they bear profound feelings of loyalty and devotion.

In his essay "The Common Fatherland and the Past of the Minorities," the author opposes the falsification of history and requests study and emphasis upon all that has been contributing to consolidation of friendship and collaboration among workers of all nationalities in Romania. Miko wrote, "We have what he cites from Dozsa to Horea and in the period after him. There are enough facts worthy to concern not only the writers and artists who reflect the past in transfigured form but also the cultivators of the profession of historian, and all contribute to formation of the consciousness," pointing out that in the social revolutions the "humble and oppressed" have always fought together regardless of nationality. "All intellectuals of the common fatherland (and more and more people are becoming intellectuals as socialist construction progresses) must know the past, the common past that is a bond for us, and the historical problems of each one at least in general. We have no reason to follow shallow

cliches or to forge false ties where none exist. Our historical reality is so rich that it provides of itself... all that strengthens the friendship among the workers in Romania."

The work refers among other things to the publication OSSZEHASONLITO IRODALOM TORTENETI LAPOK (STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF LITERATURE), founded in Cluj by Samuel Brassai and Hugo Meltzl in 1877 and published in several languages including Romanian under the motto that peoples need a constant cultural rapprochement to achieve the ideal of mutually advantageous friendship and cooperation. Important Romanian cultural personalities contributed to this polyglot journal. It published Vasile Alecsandri's poem about Latin origins /ainta/ and Petre Dulfu's translations intended to strengthen Romanian-Hungarian friendship at a time when the Hall of Parliament in Budapest resounded with heated polemics about the priority of languages, occasioned by the bill on public education. The author also mentions Gregoriu Silasi, professor of Romanian language and literature at Cluj University, who published Romanian folk songs in the journal, accompanied by translations of them into Hungarian, German and English.

In his essay "Forum of Common Traditions" Imre Miko says that in 1924 Sextil Puscariu published the monthly CULTURA with Lucian Blaga and Gyorgy Kristof on its editorial board and many Romanian, Hungarian and German writers among its founders and contributors. Along with the translations, every contributor also wrote in his mother tongue. It published the historical studies of the common past by Nicolae Iorga, Arpad Budav, Ion Lupas and Friedrich Teutsch, Janos Karacsonyi's study of the Romanians' and Hungarians' common struggle against the Ottoman power, Gheorghe Popovici's reflections on the "demolition of the walls separating the nationalities," and Janos Seprodi's comparative studies on Ady and Goga. Bela Bartok's art was cited in the journal as a very constructive factor for consolidating Hungarian-Romanian friendship, since the composer was an enthusiastic student of Romanian folklore and enhanced its world reknown.

The excellent translation into Romanian of five poems of Endre Ady, the Hungarian bard from Ciucea, were included in the same connection and accompanied by an introduction wherein Octavian Goga describes him as "a revolutionary poet with a sound intellect." CULTURA, published by Sextil Puscariu, was noted for reciprocal translations from the literary works of Romanians and Hungarians. Creations of Caragiale and Agirbiceanu were translated into Hungarian, those of Cezar Petrescu and Sadoveanu into German, and of course there were also Romanian translations from works representative of the Hungarian writers in Romania.

Miko's book includes two studies of some intellectual predecessors who militated in their time for the minorities' rights, disseminating progressive democratic ideas. One is Vasile Goldis, a figure of great merit in the action to unite Transylvania with Romania, author of the proclamation of 2 October 1918 clairing self-determination for the Romanians in Hungary, and the man who read the act of unification at Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918 and then brought the unanimously approved document to Budapest. In recalling the merits of Vasile Goldis in his long and persevering struggle for the Transylvanian Romanians' rights, Miko also notes the fact that in his historical studies the Romanian militant treated the Hungarians' radical progressive movements with understanding and sympathy (dedicating, among other things, one work to Lajos Kossuth's memory) and showed a consistently democratic attitude after the unification as well, militating for

the minorities' rights. The book also describes Lajos Mocsary's efforts on behalf of the Transylvanian Romanians. The Hungarian politician, known for his realism concerning the minorities problem, was sent to parliament in Budapest by the Romanian National Party in 1888 as deputy of the Transylvanian Romanians. He showed himself worthy of this trust, proving his democratic convictions by many actions including condemnation of the Hungarianization policy in schools and cultural institutions.

The studies should also be mentioned in which Miko treats problems concerning use of the mother tongue and bilingualism. He accords a high and distinct esteem to the Constitution of The Socialist Republic of Romania, which establishes and guarantees de facto the right to use the mother tongue, especially in public administration, before the courts, in schools of all levels, in the press and in cultural-artistic activity.

Realizing that unrestricted use of the mother tongue plays a vital part in the existence and continued existence of a nationality, Miko also advocates bilingualism as a factor for mutual knowledge, mutual respect and collaboration in the socioeconomic, political and cultural affairs of socialist Romania. Now bilingualism is becoming commonplace especially among the minorities in the areas of mixed nationality. A good knowledge of Romanian is characteristic of a considerable part of the Hungarian intelligentsia in Romania. Miko says that true bilingualism does not stop at the possibility of oral communication but also requires fluent use of the language in public life and in reading and writing. The highest proficiency in another language is reached when that language is used with the same dexterity as the mother tongue in creative scientific or literary work. Knowledge of Romanian is becoming a natural necessity for anyone in Romania as a natural consequence of the needs of harmonious combination of the creative efforts of the builders of the fully developed socialist society. Imre Miko also concludes that bilingualism conforms to the concept of the new man as a member of the fully developed socialist society.

Rapprochement, brotherhood and ever closer collaboration between the Romanian people and the national minorities with full equality of rights do not lead to assimilation or amalgamation but to a harmonious structuring of the forces of socialist Romanian society. By publishing Imre Miko's studies the Kriterion Publishing House has made a valuable fund of humanistic, revolutionary ideas available to its readers as well as a useful cultural-educational tool placed in the service of brotherhood between the Romanian people and the national minorities.

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BRIEFS

CONGRATULATIONS SENT TO MENGISTU--To Comrade Mengistu Haile Marian, chairman of the Provincial Military Administrative Council, chairman of the Commission to Organize the Workers Party of Ethiopia and supreme commander of the Revolutionary Army of Socialist Ethiopia. On the 8th anniversary of the people's revolution, I have the pleasure of estending to you warm congratulations and best wishes for personal health and happiness and for the friendly Ethiopian people's peace, progress and prosperity, on behalf of the Romanian people and government and myself personally. I am convinced that the relations of friendship between the Socialist Republic of Romania and socialist Ethiopia will expand and deepen in the future for the benefit of the Romanian and Ethiopian peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace, cooperation and security in the world. [Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [Text] [AU140858 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 12 Sep 82 p 5]

AL-QADHDHAFI RESPONDS TO CEAUSESCU--To his excellency Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. We want to express thanks to you for the congratulations conveyed on the occasion of the 13th anniversary of the great 1 September revolution. On behalf of the people of the Arab Libyan People's Socialist Jamahiryiah, we want to express our profound gratitude for your sentiments and to wish you good health and happiness, progress and prosperity for your people. [Signed] Col Mu'Ammar al-Qadhdhafi [Text] [AU140854 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Sep 82 p 5]

AL-QADHDHAFI GREETS CEAUSESCU--To his excellency Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. On the 38th anniversary of the ousting of the fascists and imperialists, I take particular pleasure in extending, on behalf of the people of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, most sincere congratulations and best wishes for good health and happiness and wishes for progress and prosperity to the friendly Romanian people. [Signed] Col Mu'Ammar al-Qadhdhafi [Text] [AU301306 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Aug 82 p 5]

CEAUSESCU CABLE MPLA LEADER--To Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola-Party of Labor [MPLA], and president of the People's Republic of Angola, Luanda. The 40th anniversary of your birthday offers me the pleasant opportunity to extend warm congratulations to you, as well as best wishes for good health and happiness and for

new successes in your activity devoted to your country's socioeconomic development under conditions of peace and independence. I want to express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples will constantly deepen in our mutual interests and to the benefit of peace, cooperation and respect for national independence. [Signed] Nicolar Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania [Text] [AU301304 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Aug 82 p 4]

IRANIAN PRESIDENT CONGRATULATES CEAUSESCU--To his excellency, Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Your excellency, I want to convey congratulations on the national day of the Socialist Republic of Romania. I pray to the almighty for the Romanian people's prosperity and success. [Signed] Seyyed 'Ali Khamene, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran [Text] [AU301301 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 82 p 4]

ETHIOPIAN PRESIDENT CONGRATULATES CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Bucharest. On the national day of the Socialist Republic of Romania I take great pleasure in extending warmest congratulations to you and through you to the government and the fraternal Romanian people on behalf of the government and people of socialist Ethiopia. I also want to take this opportunity to convey to you best wishes for personal well-being and wishes for prosperity to the fraternal Romanian people. [Signed] Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of the Commission for Organizing and Working People's Party of Ethiopia and chief commander of the Revolutionary Army of Socialist Ethiopia.

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GENERAL REVIEWS DEDIJER'S RECENT TITO BIOGRAPHY

Belgrade VOJNO DELO in Serbo-Croatian No 2, Mar-Apr 82 pp 138-160

[Review by Col Gen Nikola Pejnovic of book "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita" [New Contributions for a Biography of Josip Broz Tito] by Vladimir Dedijer, Liburnija of Rijeka and Mladost of Zagreb, 1981]

[Text] The book bearing the title given above was published in 1981 by Liburnija GRO [Printing Work Organization] of Rijeka and Mladost IKRO [Publishing House Work Organization] of Zagreb. The publishers' readers were Dr Rudolf Rizman, professor, of Kamnik, SR [Socialist Republic] Slovenia, and Miodrag Marovic, of Kuci, Montenegro. The former of them also wrote a foreword.

Speaking in broad terms, the book contains three main parts: the author's text--477 pages, the contributions of various authors--506 pages, and documents--270 pages. The contributions were written by 38 authors, including the nominal author of the book, who accounted for about 140 of these pages, so that his share is about 617 pages of text. Several of the authors also have more than one contribution. The book consists of 22 chapters of very uneven length: from 12 to 104 pages.

By and large the material is thematically organized in sections according to two criteria: historical chronology and theoretical problem. It appears that the author has striven to fit the subject matter classified according to this latter criterion within those spans of time and parts of the book's space in which they belong most naturally by the logic of the thing. But one still has the impression that the work is considerably disjointed, conceptually discontinuous, and indeed even muddled. He has followed the same method in assigning contributions to the various chapters, striving to fit their content and character to the topics of the respective chapters. Here he had still greater difficulties than in drawing up the list of topics the book was to cover.

The part dealing with documents is given in its entirety at the end of the book, and the subject matter which is not there is included in the content of the chapters on an individual basis. By contrast with the large number of contributions of other authors in the rest of the book, the documentary sources come down to certain contributions by J. B. Tito, V. Bakaric, E. Kardelj, V. Dedijer, the Federal Commission for War Crimes, and portions of writings concerning the strategy of the NOR [National Liberation War] by K. Popovic, P. Dapcevic and N. Ljubicic.

We will not give the titles of the chapters, the headings of the individual contributions and the names of their authors because this can easily be seen from the table of contents at the end of the book.

II

The physical description of the book contains the most general data on its size and basic division into its larger components. This can serve as a starting point for further discussion and more concrete analysis, which is the only way one can reach its essential message and form an assessment of its historical, ethical, political, military and other value. In approaching this goal it is advisable, and indeed even inevitable, to dwell on two other questions which in part have to do with the systematization and structure of the book and in part concern its content, questions which do have a bearing on its essential purpose. The questions we are referring to are these: First, does the book's content fit the title of the work, and to what extent is this true, that is, to what extent are the contents as a whole or the particular component relevant to writing a biography of Tito, and second, what is the mutual relation between the contributions and the documents as two important parts of the book, and what is their value as historical sources for writing a biography of Tito, including also a reference to the authors of those contributions?

We should say first that the contents of the book are markedly out of conformity with its title and have been selected and arranged without any one criterion. The first eight chapters of the book (about 370 pages) were constructed according to a criterion which can be regarded as natural and logical and its premise is that the material is selected according to the principle of direct relevance of the events and sources to Tito's life and revolutionary activity. As to time it concerns the period before the occupation of Yugoslavia in World War II and before preparation of the armed uprising under the leadership of Tito and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. That same or approximately the same criterion governed the organization of Chapters 14 and 15 and parts of Chapters 17 and 21 of the book, that is, "Tito's Attitude Toward Religion and Tradition," "Brotherhood and Unity as Tito's Key Ideas Which He Applied During the War," "The Original Partisan Ethic" and "Tito's Struggle Against Spheres of Interest."

The author's original text and the contributions which accompany it and illustrate it were also assigned to those chapters according to the criterion of direct relevance to Tito's activity and the subject matter's compatibility with the chapter's topic. By contrast with this procedure, the approach in the other 13 chapters is the opposite of the example given. The material in these 13 chapters (about 450 pages) might on the basis of its nature have been called "Contributions to the History of Tito's Era," but not "Contributions for a Biography of Tito." Aside from that, usually there is no formal relationship whatsoever between the topic and the author's text and the contributions which accompany it and which even differ from it completely. We will illustrate this with several examples.

The title of the 11th chapter is: "The Great Powers and Division of Yugoslavia," and among the contributions are texts entitled: "Flight From Mitrovica"

by Marijan Stilinovic; "How I Was Freed Under a Directive of Tito" by Aleksandar Rankovic; "Four-Year-Old Meri Kopinic as a Hostage" by Vjenceslav Cencic, and so on. The 16th chapter is also characteristic in this regard; it bears the title "Tito's Penetration Into Yugoslavia's Western Part." It includes some contributions which have to do with altogether different matters: "The Uprising in Vojvodina" by Jovan Veselinov; "Majevica and Birac," a narrative of Uglesa Danilovic; "The Timok Region" by Slobodan Bosiljcic; "Macedonian Mother" by Dragos Stevanovic and "Koselj the Blacksmith Under Jelovica Mountain" by Vladimir Dedijer. The treatment is similar in all the other chapters. There is no need, then, to go on illustrating and proving with examples, as anyone can easily see who reads the contents of the book. The question is what the author and editor had in mind when they took this approach and what arguments they used to justify and explain this procedure. In any case, the conception violated chronological order.

Let us note only that there are quite a few unfamiliar names among the authors of the contributions. This need not mean anything, either one way or the other, but the fact that certain names are included with a bad reputation (Andrija Hebrang, Arso Jovanovic, Aleksandar Rankovic, Svetislav Stefanovic, Sime Balen and some others), regardless of the content and quality of their contributions, cannot have an altogether neutral impact.

We have given the quantitative relationship between the part containing the documents and that containing the contributions, as two of the three large parts of the book. Judging by their mutual relationship, it turns out that the contributions are twice as long as the documents, though this numerical relation is not the real ratio, since the text of the documents is printed in very small print, and that actually more than doubles that part of the text. However, this is not of essential importance to this critical examination; the important things are the character of the two parts and the criteria by which they were classified and separated. By way of example, we will say that Vladimir Bakaric's "Diary" was included among the documents, and the "Diary" of Koca Popovic among the contributions. Dedijer's piece "Revival of the Ideas of Edvard Kocbek in Paris," though it was authored, is among the documents, while a piece of a similar kind such as "Disconnected Conversation With Peko Dapcevic About the Battle for Pljevlja" has been put among the contributions. Three authored pieces are given under the heading "Tito's War Strategy": by Koca Popovic, Peko Dapcevic and Nikola Ljubicic, and they were classified among the documents, though it is obvious that they are not documents. Moreover, these are pieces which have already been published and are not by any means "new contributions." Still less clear is why the documents of the Commission for War Crimes, which pertain only to the crimes of the 13th Handzar Division and the 7th SS Division of Volksdeutscher, have found their way into this work. The quandaries about these documents arise as to what connection they have to Tito's biography and why only these two enemy units were selected? Finally, these texts also must already have been published somewhere, and it is natural to ask whether these are also considered "new contributions"?

III

The authored part of the book, i.e., that part which Vladimir Dedijer wrote himself, comprises a third of its total size. It is natural that it deserves the greatest attention of the public and that it is the main part of the content which must be thoroughly and competently analyzed. The historical, sociological, philosophical, psychological and other aspects must be brought together and made firmly dependent on one another in approaching the work. Analyses as to the treatment of history must contain not only assessments of the accuracy with which events, the state of the facts and historical truths are portrayed, but also judgments as to whether everything the author has published is part of the subject matter of history and whether and to what extent his assertions deserve to be treated as historical sources?

Most closely bound up with this are assessments concerning the author's ethical behavior (or the ethics of his behavior) in describing the personality and career of certain figures in our history. This is an occasion when one must be quite frank in stating where the boundaries are between the personal and the social, between the private and the public, between the real and the sensationalistic, between the essential and the unimportant, between the modest and the boastful, and other categories in the domain of social-revolutionary morality and the ethical sense in general. The individualistic, and to some extent even privatized, way of going about the treatment of the career of spokesmen of the people and the revolution like Tito cannot be separated from the social commitments and philosophy of life of the originator of those undertakings, since otherwise many things must remain unclarified. Writing about someone is always to a greater or lesser degree an act of writing about one's self, even when one's own personality is not pushed into the foreground and when there is no desire to overemphasize one's own participation in historical events. It is in this sense that many authors have through their own morality, their personal view of the world and their psychological balance under the tempestuous and changeable and extremely difficult and specific conditions of the flow of history decisively influenced the method of investigation and the range of scholarly or other creations.

In the manner of a cross section of the whole, without claiming to analyze Dedijer's book exhaustively or to have rendered overall judgments which are complete, since, as we have said, they can result only from an interdisciplinary approach in the analysis, so that the book can be examined from several angles of consideration and study, we will present several very essential observations on which the character and value of this work depend in large part. We hope that our effort will not thereby be prejudiced either favorably or unfavorably.

From the methodological viewpoint the examination given above of the whole book can be useful as a general orientation in studying it, though such cross section cannot be a substitute for detailed analysis by a specialist.

1) As already stated, the book which as a whole is called "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita" has three parts and three kinds of "contributions": the authored text, the contributions and the documents. There is

every indication that the authored text is the main part of "Novi prilozi ...," even though it is not formally referred to as such. The author has divided it into 22 topics, of which 8 cover the period up to World War II, and the other 14 basically concern the period of the National Liberation War. The division into chapters, as already stated, is based on two criteria, one of which is historical chronology and the other problem of theory. Topics of the first type concern the occupation of Yugoslavia and Tito's preparation of the uprising, and then there are "Tito's Penetration Into Yugoslavia's Western Part," "The March Negotiations Between the Germans and Tito," and so on, while the others have to do with problem categories, such as: "Tito's Attitude Toward Religion and Tradition," "The Original Partisan Ethic," "On Retaliation," "Tito's Charisma as a Fighter and Statesman," and so on.

The first determining qualitative characteristic of the book is that the author has approached Tito's history and his image as a man and revolutionary in a manner which basically signifies a favorable orientation and a completeness in the gathering and to some extent processing of extensive material for the biography of an individual which, taken together with all his previous writings, have not been previously achieved in our history. The sociopolitical and public dimension of Tito's personality is unified in the portrayal with his personal, private and personal life, without any sort of discontinuity whatsoever. Likewise those two dimensions do not diverge, and still less are they opposed in this strong and very human and historical figure. The struggle for the freedom of the Yugoslav peoples, for their brotherhood and unity, for defense of the Yugoslav community on a new sociopolitical, ethnic and class basis, a basis which would signify power under the hegemony of the working class, that is, power exercised by the working class itself, is the primary distinguishing characteristic of Tito's activity, which is difficult to encompass. This identifier inevitably includes many other features of his exceptional personality and values and results of his liberative and revolutionary mission which have not yet been adequately assessed. This dimension of Tito's revolutionary and political activity ranges from the resolute struggle for defense and revitalization of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, by way of the struggle to preserve the entirety and integrity of all parts of our territory, including nonrecognition of the occupiers' division and for return of the separated parts to the country, the rejection of all the maneuvers--both from the west and also from the east--to make Yugoslavia dependent and obedient, and going all the way to the struggle against division into spheres of interest and to the dramatic showdown with Stalinist hegemony, which signified a precedent in the history of socialism and in relations within the international working class movement which has not yet been sufficiently grasped. Out of these texts, regardless of the book's major weaknesses and drawbacks, there rises up a figure of mountainous strength, a figure standing high above his surroundings and the organization he was leading. A man of inexhaustible strength and determination, of unbreakable will and persistence, of great courage as a human being, as a political figure and as a military commander, one whose boldness became stronger as the situation became more dangerous, a man who in fateful moments of history became the leader of an uprising, the spokesman of the people, a talented general whose political and military strategy were the product of his own mind and of an experience and a practice unknown until that time. At the same time a broad light is cast on the

profile of a profoundly human individual, a noble comrade, friend and fellow fighter, who powerfully expressed all the virtues of his own ethos and all the features of the time in which he lived, with all the human virtues and values as well as with the shortcomings and imperfections, which are also mentioned in the book. However, in painting Tito's picture as a human being and a revolutionary the principle has not been consistently applied everywhere that one must write about historical figures with extreme responsibility, which does not alter the principle that the writing should be truthful and realistic.

Taken as a whole, a ladder of differing valuations has been used in "Novi prilozi ...," but in its method and literary treatment the text is free of empty rhetoric and pathos; it contains no glorification of a supernatural figure outside life, but there has remained a spirit of respect, of admiration but without panegyric, of devotion without awe toward Tito's figure as a human being and his patriotic, liberative and revolutionary deeds. In spite of the flaws and insufficiencies, the disjointed valuation, and especially the incomprehensible mannerisms of journalistic sensationalism, this material, taken as a whole, is nevertheless a major contribution to elucidation of Tito's personality and deeds, greater in any case than it might appear at first glance, even though in and of itself it is not in all its parts direct and relevant material concerning Tito's biography.

2) An important dimension of the ideological side of the book is the author's more or less successful attempt and effort to reckon in a historical sense with two extremist flanks in our political life and social development since the war, one of which is personified by the statist-bureaucratic orientation in social development, and the other by the multiparty, liberalistic and western orientation. Their spokesmen and representatives are Rankovic and Djilas. In this sense Tito's figure is welcome and indispensable to the author on the one hand as a pedestal from which the fight is waged and which is used as a reference point, and on the other as a value which waged a more or less successful defense against the treason and spitefulness of its "prestigious" political opponents. However, Dedijer did not have the strength to play this game effectively to the end and to bring it to its logical and true conclusion.

First of all, the author approaches the two renegades and foreign exponents with differing and in many respects unprincipled criteria and unbalanced attitudes, and this is easy to see. Whereas he deals with Rankovic and his platform on two levels: the level of political ideology (the statist bureaucrat and dogmatist) and on the level of ethics and morality, portraying him as a cruel man of boundless cunning and lacking moral scruples in the struggle for power, for prestige, and so on, he on the other hand attacks and exposes Djilas only or almost exclusively for a variety of moral breaches (retaliation, personal life, human inconstancy, a desire for fame, narcissism, pretentiousness, and so on), but he passes over his political betrayal and ideological desertion in silence or gives it too little emphasis. Aside from that Dedijer's approaches to the two men carry an excessive emotional burden of a personal note which contains his sense of disappointment, his having been personally abandoned and deceived and surprised by the action of two men whom he considered the banners of the revolution, but also personal friends whom he

had known, had been associated with and had had close relations for many years. The attitude toward them in the book smacks of something which might be called vengeful because of the author's personal expectations which were not fulfilled. This is evidence that the author has not managed to fully reintegrate his own political personality and to define a firm and clear ideological and philosophical position, and this is one of the origins of many of the flaws and all sorts of inconsistencies and indeed even errors in his book. These and many similar failures and inconsistencies have made him unsuitable for studying Tito's history objectively and on a Marxist basis in his most recent undertaking and of collecting the right material for it, which is something we will be coming back to.

3) Disorderliness and confusedness, immoderateness and arbitrariness, fuzziness and preconviction, sensationalism and an indiscriminate concern with everything governed by the mildest criteria are unfortunately among the evident features of the published texts. It would take us too far if we were to prove all these attributes with illustrative quotations from the text, which in any case is not necessary, since all of these characteristics are quite visible to anyone. We will nevertheless refer at least in part to some of them out of elementary considerations.

We have already said that it is difficult in the book to distinguish what is a contribution and what is a document. Likewise one does not know why certain contributions have been given in one particular chapter rather than in some other nor why certain documents are contributions rather than the other way around. In the authored text Dedijer uses a kind of narration which in certain passages is so devoid of system that even with the greatest effort one cannot figure out how and why the author has suddenly changed not only the immediate context of the exposition, but even the topic as a whole and why in innumerable places he has gone off on remote and inexplicable digressions. For the sake of objectivity, we should also say that at the same time his manner of exposition throughout most of the text is seductively easy, lively and interesting and reveals a penetrating observer and a brave, but not always steady scholarly researcher.

The book's principal indefiniteness is the lack of criteria and principles for discriminating what concerns Tito's biography from the broad descriptions of many historical events and processes which had no direct nor indeed even remote connection to Tito except that they occurred at the time when he was alive and active. This approach would have been clear and justified if these were contributions for our history of the war and contemporary development and the times, but it is difficult to understand when the history of an individual is being written, regardless of his role and place. This kind of relativism which pays no attention to the difference and distinction between the biography of an individual and the historical chronic of a particular period of time can hardly be acceptable to anyone. However, let the professional historians have more to say about this, above all those who have been studying the history of our national liberation war. Another kind of indefiniteness and disorderliness has to do with the lack of measure and good taste in treating the private and narrowly personal affairs of people whose lives he undertakes to describe and in distinguishing what is their public activity. It is not a

question only of ethical, but also of esthetic standards and values of such points of departure as historical sources and authoritative points of support. In this Dedijer does not differ in his method and approach from Djilas, though he tries to criticize him even in this sense. For example, Djilas writes in a similar way about Cana Babovic in his book, and Dedijer writes in that same manner about Bozidar Maslaric, Mosa Pijade, Jovanka Broz, Pero Popivoda, some priest and nameless female revolutionary and about many other figures. If this is supposed to signify the characteristics of "history from below," or a knitting together of the emotional and the rational in evaluation of historical events, then it is difficult to understand the author's maxim about what is historical truth and what is political truth.

In the book the author in any case carries on a wide-ranging discussion of political and historical truths, of the theory of distance, aside from the doctrine of history from below we have mentioned. The question that arises is whether the Marxist conception of the role of the individual and of the masses of people in the creation of history and in the development of human society is not more relevant to this topic. It seems that the author need the theory of distance to prove that to write the history of a time or of an individual one should first prepare the material and the contributions, with the proviso that all manner of things can be included among those contributions, with no particular concern or measure as to what is included. As a method it is more reminiscent of the filling of a notebook than of a scholar's systematic sorting of the material and editorial composition of a book.

As for the conception of "Novi prilozi ..." and the system governing its writing and editing, one can ask why the author included in it quite a bit that had been published previously at various times and in various places. First place among this kind of indefiniteness and arbitrariness is the use of passages of his own from previous publications, such as "Ratni dnevnik 1941-1944" [War Diary 1941-1944], "Josip Broz Tito--prilozi za biografiju" [Josip Broz Tito--Contributions for a Biography] and many others. In one place (from pages 642 to 678) he republishes all of 36 pages from "Dnevnik." The author acts similarly when he paraphrases or copies the lectures which he gave at one time at the Sorbonne and in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts or in other places. And his behavior is equally repulsive when he quotes his own various writings, such as those that appeared in BORBA when it was published in Uzice. Here it is difficult to escape the impression that the author was interested in padding out the text, was interested in dealing with himself, and perhaps even was interested in the commercial side of the undertaking.

The lowest point the author sinks to in this test is the presentation of unimportant fragments and rumors concerning certain individuals which (the rumors)--unproven, unconfirmed or bizarre in their purport--represent either half-truths or mere gossip, but in both cases they serve the purpose of tickling the curiosity of that part of the public that is least interested in history and contributions to it. To justify and explain this approach by referring to Vuk's [Vuk Karadzic's] method of historical testimony does not seem convincing. Whereas in Vuk's case it was a question of gathering and rescuing material from oblivion, in Dedijer's case it is like the journalistic sensationalism of a businessman. Among the individuals whose personal integrity is

violated or portrayed arbitrarily and unconvincingly are M. Pijade, B. Maslaric, C. Babovic, A. Rankovic, M. Djilas, Jovanka Broz, B. Krajger, and a goodly number of less-well-known persons both alive and dead. Since we are referring to significant figures in our revolution, they cannot be written about one-sidedly and in passing, merely with a negative sign in front of their names. Which is not to say that they should be idealized. When their historical portraits are given as a whole, and that means along with the weaknesses referred to, then their human faces will be differently perceived and their characteristics brought into balance. In part and indirectly this was also done even and when the figure of Josip Broz Tito himself was involved, through several references, delicate allusions and indirect judgments, though the attempt is always made for him to defend himself, to be understood and to be more fully explained.

The contributions of many notable personalities in the book who in a way appear not only as authors of their texts, but also as mentors of a kind and indirect coauthor in everything that the author states in his own name through the length and breadth of the book, assume a special role in the light of these remarks. In this sense the book even takes on the character of an anthology. The point is that it could give the public the impression and indeed even conviction that those individuals knew in advance all that the author was writing and that in spite of the shortcomings they nevertheless agreed to participate in a kind of coproduction in creation of his "Novi prilozi...." All of this is probably not the case, or not the case with all of them, but rather they came to know the entire text as readers only after its appearance in public. If that, however, is not the case, this would mean that they even figured in a kind of reviewer's role, which is not tenable even as a hypothesis concerning the contributions as a whole. Probably this is one of the reasons why the editors and publishers were quick in giving the book the "go-ahead" and did not apply stricter criteria.

4) The book also includes questions which could have deeper purport and broader meaning insofar as they concern Tito's personality and the history of our revolution, but as interpreted by the author they have been left without real, clear, complete and unambiguous answers. We are referring to such delicate questions deserving thorough investigation right until the point when a firmer answer can be given to them, since guesses and hypotheses of all kinds could cause more harm than failing to publish them at all. The type and number of those questions that are in the book may vary for every reader depending on his personal conception of historical events. In the present essay the following hypotheses deserve attention:

i. the assertion that at the time of the Stalinist purges the Comintern sought prior permission and consent from the leadership of the national communist parties to liquidate a certain number of foreign revolutionaries in Moscow, and that means permission from the CK KPJ [Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia] for the murder of officials of the Yugoslav party;

ii. Tito's neutral attitude toward Dedijer's personal drama and family tragedy after his demonstration of solidarity with Djilas. This can be broadened to the point of applying not only to Tito, but indeed to the entire political and government elite of Yugoslavia;

iii. the entangled nexus of relations involving Kopinic, Srebrenjak, Antonov, Hebrang and Krajacic and Tito's position in relation to that nexus;

iv. the nature, motives and aims of negotiations with the Germans in March 1943, which were made public through our representatives Milovan Djilas, Koca Popovic and Vladimir Velebit.

a) The hypothesis that the Comintern sought consent of the national communist parties, including the Yugoslav, or their elites, to liquidate a large number of foreign communists in the Stalinist purges in the mid-thirties has an almost loathsome effect. Up to now no story of this kind has been known or at least widely known to our public within the party and outside it, and that naturally puts a still greater responsibility on any researcher. The supposition as far as we, our central committee, are concerned, is related to Rankovic's intrigues out of rivalry aimed at compromising Tito as much as possible, specifically by endeavoring to obtain documents which supposedly would confirm Tito's supposed participation in granting such consent. This would implicitly signify a defense of Stalin and his criminal Borgian methods in the struggle for a dictatorial bureaucratic-despotic rule. The launching of that hypothesis in this manner, without firm evidence to refute it or prove it for certain and unambiguously could suggest dishonorable motives. To be sure, Dedijer comes to Tito's defense, but he does this mostly rhetorically, by and large by the method of drawing indirect moralistic conclusions. That is, he strives to refute this hypothesis or, better, this insinuation by doubting that Rankovic would commission Vinterhalter to obtain the alleged documents on this since the latter was a "liberal communist," then by citing Kopinic's statement that he had found Tito to be a noble man, and finally with Herta Has' statement that Tito could not have given alleged consents of that kind because of his moral sensitivity. Dedijer also states his own conviction that this was an attempt by the Stalinists to diminish their responsibility before the judgment of history and to discredit and blackmail by police-state methods leaders in other countries in order to obtain particular political goals in enslaving those countries. In this case the foreground is occupied neither by the Stalinists, nor by those who participated or did not participate in the granting of consent, but by the author of the book who on the basis of hearsay, without establishing in advance at least the elementary conditions that prevailed in the case, much less clarifying the entire matter, brings out in public and leaves to history grave moral and political questions that hang over us. Dedijer seems not to have been aware that launching this false supposition, in spite of the fact that it cannot be proven, plays into the hands of Stalinist forces and their allies of all kinds in our country, regardless of which side the author is inclined to and regardless of what he personally thinks. Incidentally, it is quite clear to anyone who knows anything about the morality of the Stalinist despotism and about the gentry that make up its police that no sort of consent from the foreign sections, which incidentally they looked upon as their own networks of agents, could mean anything else but throwing dust in someone's eyes. Stalin's executioners were not only unable, but did not even dare to enter into verifying the charges and verdicts rigged in advance, since they were quite aware that they were doing away with innocent people, just as was the case at the time of the notorious trials after the resolution of the Cominform. What sort of value could disagreement have had anyway with

prosecutors when one thinks of the relations that prevailed at that time between the Comintern and Stalin and the other parties and when the latter had no opportunities whatsoever to prove the opposite nor the strength to offer opposition. Which is not to say that information should be concealed and the truth should be kept from the public, but that the information should really be well-founded and the truth should be established to meet our present standards and not based on the formula "where there is smoke there is fire." So, we are not dealing here with the famous theory of distance, but with the most elementary logic of life and the moral requirement that unjustified suspicions not be spread in a search for the facts, that half-truths not be published and that rumors not be started. It is not accordingly a question of concealing facts or of making certain topics taboo, but of a circumspect attitude toward people and events and, finally, toward historical truth.

b) In the story of his own political drama and family tragedy Dedijer presents Tito's attitude and position according to the maxim, which is halfway favorable, that everything that happened to him, Dedijer, occurred against Tito's wi- es. As is evident from the interpretation, it is a question, then, of some kind of neutralist position on Tito's part, a position which to a certain extent signifies indifference to the fate of his former collaborators, people who were close to him and family friends. In this Dedijer intentionally confines himself solely to the moral side of the question, leaving to one side the political, ideological and other reasons for Tito's attitude as portrayed and for that state of things. This is, among other things, the essence of the dilemma of our postwar history, which is contained in the separation or nonseparation of the abstract-ideal and moralistic from the real political situation and relations, in the conception of the real world by contrast with the ideal world that surrounds us, and finally in emotions which can arouse, but cannot change real life, which is always based on the crude realities of every particular era. In politics a just position is not always the same as a position that is justified, and a justified position must always be realized by a political and military balance of power at the service of those goals which signify social progress, but never can those goals be antihuman and abstractly dogmatic.

In the history of our revolution Tito did not figure as a moral arbiter who like the religious prophets carried the scales of a nondistant justice and rendered verdicts according to his own conviction and personal conscience. His recognized or self-styled biographer will not acknowledge even now that aside from the moral reasons, there also existed real political reasons, harsh reasons of life, which always were and ever will remain the determining factors of the moral spheres and categories, though they never have been and will not be altogether separate from them. The revelation or conviction that Tito did aid and rescue Kopinic and his family, who therefore did not go through the life of Golgotha experienced by Dedijer and his family, could in fact mean something at the level of moral meditation, but they do not constitute adequate testimony for conceptualizing the totality of relations and for making relevant judgments. Everyone will note that Dedijer even today is defending and justifying in his way the political viewpoint he adopted in connection with the Djilas case and that even now he has had a difficult time grasping that political life is not the same as the imagination of idealists and of

disappointed moralistic preachers. It is as though he does not understand or does not accept that our revolution has always been threatened and is now threatened by an equal danger from the right and from the left and that that danger is directly related to the developments and currents in our political life.

Whatever the deep human sympathy and condemnation of those directly and indirectly responsible they might deserve, it cannot be reduced to explanations that it was a question of Tito's greater or lesser desire to save Dedijer as some kind of modern "prodigal son" unconnected to the processes we have mentioned. It is fair to say that Dedijer expressed with a great deal of power his understanding for what took place between his own disputes and our policy in a particular period of time, which makes it that much easier to assert that his assessments and actions, in spite of everything, have remained on the general line of our social development. In saying this we will not conceal, but nor can we prove, that Tito did feel closer to people and did find people more comprehensible and acceptable with whom in his previous career he had had the same opinions, had formed views and built up affinities, which not only does not follow from Dedijer's vision of his revolutionary image, but on the contrary does itself confirm that he also had to fight for his views and that the level of humanistic desire and human expression depended on the extent to which they were realized. In any case, we are dealing with different faces, different situations and motives that do not coincide so that a comparison cannot be made whereby one might assess Tito's actions and viewpoints of this or that kind.

c) By contrast with the question related to the tragic elimination of the leading officials of our party in the Soviet Union, which, though not on time and not fully, the public did nevertheless learn about, concerning the events involving Kerestinec, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia at the beginning of uprising, and also concerning Kopinic and Srebrenjak as agents of the Comintern and the Soviet military intelligence service, there existed incomplete versions--and differing versions still remain--leaving them as entangled and tragic events. To be sure, "Novi prilozi ..." does in good measure elucidate the nexus of these dramatic and tragic events. In that part of "Novi prilozi ..." there are several assertions whose significance is not confined to the limits of our own national history and touch upon the history of the international working class movement. One of them is the assertion that the Comintern attempted to shatter the integrity and unity of the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia], and thereby supposedly the unity of the future Yugoslav state as well, not only through the secession of the Communist Party of Macedonia, but also by undertaking direct communication with a portion of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia and the local committee of Zagreb. Both things were carried out by the method of manipulating a network of agents, by recruiting people from among the leaders who would obediently carry out directives from outside and would serve the objectives of someone else. This kind of intervention of foreign factors through their network of agents had a manifold adverse effect on development of events during the time of the organized popular uprising in Croatia. This was manifested first of all in the fact that valuable and highly competent people were lost in Kerestinec, and then in the fact that a row was caused over the beginning

and forms of armed struggle, and this came down to the question of whether the struggle and resistance would be waged in the form of sabotage and underground raids or as a large-scale popular uprising in the form of partisan warfare. At the same time this shaded over into the question of whether the liberation war and revolution were to be waged in an indissoluble unity or whether the orientation was to be exclusively toward the struggle for national liberation goals, without touching upon the sociopolitical system that had existed up until that time.

The purpose of the external insistence then and later solely on national liberation goals of the struggle was to disrupt the relations between the large figures in the coalition against Hitler, but it was also manifested in differing views concerning socialist revolutions, the spread of socialism in the world and relations between socialist countries, which would be drastically confirmed somewhat later. The truth is that these and similar fundamental and overall realizations could be arrived at through the specific establishment of facts and by elucidating the role of those who participated in the events in one way or another. We also have recently heard a different version (V. Bakaric), which again is not without logic, though it cannot claim to be the final truth either.

However, Dedijer's procedural approach is such that he seems to be writing a detective novel, as though he was interested more than anything else in arousing excitement, in making things entangled, in creating enigmas, instead of describing and clarifying things on the basis of facts. The interview with Kopinic is not material for historians, but rather for writers of light novels, and the unconnected tale of Kopinic-Hebrang-Krajacic and Tito's not being informed about Hebrang's behavior is more reminiscent of the direction of detective programs than of a scholarly linking up of facts to make a specific chain of a possible historical event. If Moscow did not inform Tito about Hebrang's attitude toward the Ustashi, one of the possible questions is why Krajacic did not do so, when he also had been informed about this by Kopinic? Which leads to the second question of how it is possible that Krajacic could be silent about the entire matter even when Hebrang came to be secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia, of which Krajacic himself was also a member? Should Dedijer have left all that open and unconnected when he has been collaborating with Krajacic in this book? Or, if after all he was unable to link things together and explain them to any extent, should he have come out into the open with such a truncated and ticklish tale which can be interpreted in innumerable ways? The impression is irresistibly imposed that historical distance is not involved here, or at least that is not all that is involved, but rather a deliberate creation of intrigues or even intentional adherence to entangled situations already created in order to provide conditions for all sorts of suppositions and conclusions, including the fantastic.

It should be said that Dedijer has left the case of Hebrang in the Ustasha prison open in the sense that he has been unable to prove any of the suppositions presented with a document. This is another reason why all the rest of that text should have been filled out to an understandable and logical measure and clarity or omitted while waiting for further research and clarification.

But regardless of the justifiability of critical remarks of this kind, it is a fact, and that a fact of tremendous importance, that the published documents concerning relations between the Comintern and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia and concerning Kopinic's role in this, and also clarification of the tragic case of Kerestinec, constitute fascinating material which considerably elucidates and reveals the events and clarifies what actually happened and how. A great amount of credit is due on this head to the authors of "Novi prilozi ...": V. Dedijer and all those who helped him and wrote the contributions.

d) Chapter 20 of Dedijer's book is entitled "The March Negotiations Between the Germans and Tito." This means that the author has attributed emphatic importance to those negotiations and that he has put them on a par, as far as the name of the title goes, with the most important and decisive issues that Tito confronted in his revolutionary career. It is natural that the reader should ask what this can mean, especially when he sees that of the chapter's 52 pages 8 concern the negotiations themselves, or that of the 21 pages of the author's text only those same 8 pages concern the contacts referred to, while everything else is related to the course of the fifth enemy offensive. One thus gets the impression that Tito was toying with the idea of a separate peace with the Germans or some kind of wartime cease fire. It needs to be said that Milovan Djilas also wrote about the same problem at an earlier date in his book "Wartime," so that Dedijer is not the first to have presented this to the world public.

An interesting question is why Dedijer did not publish this in the first book of "Novi prilozi ...," since it is most likely that he knew about it even then. The reference here is not only to the eyewitness accounts from the war, but also to the study of foreign archives which he now refers to so much. In that case the entire matter would not seem to be a taboo topic, as is now the case. We learn from the German documents given in the book that along with the exchange of war prisoners and enforcement of international law concerning warfare, there was also talk about a third item. According to the German version, which one of the negotiators assessed to be tendentious and unobjective, it might be inferred that it was question of a proposal of the delegation of the Supreme Staff Headquarters of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, a proposal which in this version goes as follows:

"a) That in the present situation there is no reason why the German Wehrmacht would carry out military actions against the National Liberation Army in view of the situation, the enemy and the interests of the two sides. It would accordingly be in the mutual interest if hostilities ceased. In this connection the German command and this delegation should set forth their proposals related to possible zones and attitudes concerning economic and other affairs.

"b) The National Liberation Army regards the Chetniks as the principal enemy."

In a speech delivered at the celebration of the 35th anniversary of the battle on the Neretva, on 12 November 1978, Tito made the following declaration concerning this subject: "Three of our comrades went to the talks with their directive to talk about the exchange of prisoners, whereby our army would be

granted the status of a belligerent in the spirit of the standards of the international law governing warfare that were in effect. All we managed to do was to exchange prisoners, so that many of our comrades were rescued from the hands of the executioners and were then assigned to various units.

"I had difficulties over this with Stalin, whom I informed through the Comintern. I reported that we were exchanging prisoners with the Germans, bearing in mind among other things that we were starving to death, the people were falling dead from exhaustion. He answered me very coarsely, reproaching us for exchanging prisoners with the enemy. But with whom else were we to exchange them if not with the enemy? I briefly answered Stalin at the time: If you cannot help us, leave us alone, we will get along somehow.... However, even today there are attempts to interpret that exchange and abuse it in tendentious ways. We will write all this down just the way it was. I am convinced that there will be few who will not approve what we did at that time. It was something we had to do. We saved only some 100 of our people, good fighters and activists." (J. B. Tito--"Opstenarodna odbrana i drustvena samozastita" [Nationwide Defense and Social Self-Protection], Associated Publishers, 1980, pp 733 and 734)

According to Dedijer's interpretation, this might have been just a maneuver, Tito's intention to gain time, to save the wounded with negotiations about international law concerning warfare, and finally, to break up the Chetniks as the principal potential political opponent, especially when they are viewed in an alliance with the western allies.

In this chapter and concerning this problem Dedijer has also furnished certain other comments in the form of the most probable hypotheses and personal assessments. They consist of the following:

i. the English had prepared for an invasion of Yugoslavia during 1943 in order to stifle the revolutionary movement and to safeguard the old system in the country;

ii. aside from talks about the prisoners, the negotiations in March were not necessary. The German troops in any case had no intention to cross the Neretva in the fourth offensive. Tito supposedly declared to him in 1978 that the negotiators overstepped his authorization;

iii. in complete secrecy the Germans had concentrated their forces and during the negotiations had surrounded the Durmitor mountain range. Our intelligence service failed utterly, and our radio traffic gave us away;

iv. no agreement whatsoever was signed with the German representatives concerning a cease fire or truce, but only an agreement on creation of neutral territory in the Pisarevina to make it easier to exchange prisoners.

In view of the subsequent events and also the balance of power at that time, it seems that Dedijer's assessment concerning cautiousness toward a possible British invasion in Yugoslavia and the liquidation of our movement during 1943 was overheated and unrealistic. The western allies were about to invade

Italy and to remove that country from the war, and only then would it have been possible to create the conditions for a possible broader invasion of the Balkans, and all of that, it was certain, could not have been accomplished during 1943. As a matter of fact, at that time the allies had already worked out plans for that year on the basis of the possibilities of the time. It should not be forgotten that by April 1943 the British had already sent their first missions to the Supreme Staff Headquarters of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, which would have been difficult to understand if at that time they were preparing our liquidation by a military invasion. We are dealing here not only with their goodwill and mere wishes, but also with realities such as our force and the prospect it had for growing stronger, the firm collaboration between the Chetniks and the occupiers, which on the one hand exposed the Chetniks politically and on the other put them in a position where they did not heed the demands of their western patrons to participate in the fight against the occupiers. Finally, the strength of the Germans in the Balkans, which was substantial at that time, was too well known to the British for them to be able to enter into such a military escapade. It remains unclear, then, how the judgment concerning an immediate danger of a British invasion in Yugoslavia in early 1943 was arrived at.

It would be difficult for anyone who has not thoroughly and extensively studied the sources to establish anything as to whether our negotiations with the Germans lulled us and made us less vigilant toward their future military undertakings against us. However, it is beyond all doubt that serious reproaches can be addressed to our intelligence service at that time, and indeed both before and afterward, and it can be given failing grades. In that context, even aside from these events, one can emphasize our favorable experiences in view of the fact that we were waging war in our own country, that we could have had an extremely large number of sources of intelligence, but that we had not organized it properly and that in a way we had difficulty understanding, or indeed underestimated, the importance of information and intelligence data to direction and command. In part the reasons for this were military. In that war in which at the outset regular and orderly battles and operations were not conducted--they always require that one know in advance the strength of the enemy, his deployment and the makeup of his forces, the identification of his units, the quality of his troops, his intentions and plans, and so on--these data was objectively of less importance to the application of our specific art of war, since we relied more on our own objectives and procedures, on surprise, on the speed of maneuver, on changing the form of the operation, the targets of the attack, and so on. Which does not at all mean that we did not need that data and that with better information about enemy forces our actions would not have been more effective. So that that circumstance cannot be taken as a justification for errors of a subjective nature. Similar maladies and shortcomings of this kind are inherent in all liberation and people's wars, and in all their military structures, which, in the enthusiasm of the rebellion do not realize that the enemy is putting any sort of restrictions on them whatsoever as to the manner of military procedures.

In the fifth enemy offensive we were surprised with respect to the time, the size of the enemy forces, the area in which the actions were conducted, and also with respect to the conceptions and plans of his operation and the method

he was pursuing. It should be borne in mind, however, that regardless of the enemy's cleverness in waging war and the shortcomings of our own intelligence and cryptographic service, it is not particularly difficult to carry out the maneuver of using 100,000 soldiers equipped with modern transport and combat equipment to surround our relatively small groupings of 15,000 fighters additionally burdened with 4,000 wounded. The nature of the terrain and its unsuitability for rapid maneuvers are a separate question [original reads "mortgate"--translator's note]. The natural obstacles and barriers in this case were more advantageous to the adversary, and he rather resourcefully transformed them into strong obstructive lines. Experiences of this kind are important to us not only in a historical context, but also in present-day evaluation and training, that is, in a war in which we might again find ourselves, though nevertheless in an altered form. What we did not know at that time and could not have known we made up for with an unsurpassed morality, self-sacrifice and determination, which Tito encouraged and personified, and all of this sprang up out of an awareness of the magnitude and justifiability of the goals of the struggle. This was demonstrated by the epilogue of both the fifth offensive and of our war as a whole. It should be said for the sake of objectivity that the author does not in a single word, except the passage concerning the act of the negotiations and the intelligence service, call into question our decision, battle procedures and overall actions in the fifth offensive, nor aside from description does he enter into operational-tactical or strategic analysis. In this sense the chapter does not draw the attention of criticism, which makes it even stranger and to some extent more of a riddle that its title should have referred to the talks with the Germans rather than to its essential meaning, which is usually indicated by the words "The Battle on Sutjesca."

IV

Finally, following the general picture of the book, and also after glances at some of its content and related to the criticism which has been expressed publicly, including some which was very harsh and emotional, the question must be asked as to what were the author's viewpoint and initial commitment in conceiving and carrying out "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita." Regardless of the fact that Dedijer has before now been long concerned with the history of our revolution and national liberation war and that he has been recognized as Tito's chronicler and biographer, in this work some of his ideological commitments, political views and methodological procedures have been expressed which up to now were not made evident in that way, or at least not to the same extent or in the same form. It is self-evident that this attempt is not, nor could it be, an integral and authoritative evaluation of Dedijer's personality, of his political, ideological, scholarly and other views, since we have neither the capability nor the need for anything like that on this occasion; it is a question here only of a desire to take a passing glance at some of the author's views and methods in order to grant more easily those parts of the book which are arousing the greatest criticism, different assessments, reputations, all the way to suspicious examination and assessment. In this sense it is not possible to separate the person from the work, the authorship from basic commitments in philosophy and life.

Dedijer began his career of historian, political figure, scholar, academic and public figure as a newspaperman, and that left an indelible trace on his intellect, his mind and general human profile and also on his attitude toward the world and events in it. And while he is now writing about the distant or recent historical past, he does so in the style and with the manner of a newspaper reporter and impassioned journalist. Many of his writings smack of events seen firsthand and situations experienced emotionally in which a commitment is made according to affinities for persons, events, movements, and so on. The present-day large undertaking which is called "Novi prilozi ..." and which has spread out so wide actually arose out of his "Ratni dnevnik" [War Diary], a book for which he at one time received and has lastingly retained high recognition both from our own and from the world scholarly and political public. I assume that Tito himself made a commitment as to the personality of chronicler and biographer above all on the basis of the "Dnevnik." It is well known, however, that every diary to a greater or lesser extent contains the author's personal experiences, his own views and his internal and private moods of the moment and that therefore the testimony they contain does not consist of facts which have sufficiently cooled or become objective so that they might be altogether reliable historical sources. In our context this is not a matter which is our primary concern, we are not primarily interested whether and to what extent diaries are reliable historical sources, but we are concerned with method and style, and in Dedijer's hand they have developed into something which is like a large dose of individualism and subjectivism, a large degree of preconviction and self-admiration.

Journalistic descriptions of daily events on the one hand and scholarly descriptions and evaluation of historical events on the other cannot be done with the same methods and procedures, just as one cannot equate the newspaper observer and reporter with the scholarly researcher of history. With no intention of preaching, this had to be said if certain circumstances relevant to evaluating the book under discussion are to be understood. It seems that these weaknesses are important as a source of the misunderstandings that have occurred after Dedijer's most recent book appeared.

The author's intention to present the entire project personally, without relying on public entities, and not to enter into relations with any of the renowned scholarly institutions, but to be involved above all with personal collaborators, friends and acquaintances, would be hard to justify. The question is whether this yields the desired result. Judging by the statements of the author himself, and also by what is evident in the book, it turns out that we are dealing with a kind of privatization and subjectivist commitment with respect to selection of the contributions, determination of those who were to read the book, in the attitude toward certain figures in the book (sponsors, school friends, friends). In this sense one is astounded by the author's statement that he is not bound to Tito's personality by any sort of programs, but by the fact that they were wounded very close to one another, and he also asserts something similar for Djilas, who attached him to himself in that he had approved his first marriage and also on the basis of other private reasons.

In scholarly research direct personal involvement must unquestionably be fully manifested, since it is only in this way that results in scholarship can be

obtained, but precisely for that reason, especially in the case of social topics, the entire effort must be so organized as to tend toward objectivization and thereby to offer maximum opposition to subjectivism, to possible personal preconvictions and particular affinities. Scholarly meetings, professional discussions, consulting with experts, partial repetition and verification of the research, debates in public and behind closed doors, and so on, are methods which are not easy to carry out when the effort has been organized on a personal and private basis regardless of the background and capacity of the individual. This might seem like pretentious and unseemly didacticism, but the truth is that it was evoked by the author's public statements when the book came out, in which he said that in researching our history and Tito's role he did not rely on any forms or institutions whatsoever, but on friends and on his own research abilities.

Experience and indeed disappointment with statism and the bureaucratic power of the state, with positivistic methods of tailoring and retailoring history according to pragmatic political needs, and most frequently according to the imperative of the struggle for personal power, cannot on the other hand justify a commitment to individualistic philosophical doctrines and private scholarly undertakings. Between these two options there is a space for broad socialization and humanization contained in the ideas of authentic Marxism, which is neither bureaucratic autocracy, nor a disappointed return to the liberalistic free thinking of the 19th century.

Let it be said openly and without beating about the bush that the material for Tito's biography must be consistently sought and found in the material for the history of the Yugoslav revolution and always in a firm and indissoluble connection with the people, and not by individualizing that history and by recutting it idealistically. As a consequence of the method and to some extent of the general philosophical viewpoint, recurrences of those views, often even though the author does not wish it, float up to the surface.

Any analyst of any seriousness would be able to prove without great difficulties and very quickly that the author approaches a number of the problems, periods and chapters taken up in a rather strange and, it might be said, cart-before-the-horse manner: he seeks arguments and data in order to reinforce and prove his own a priori opinions and judgments, rather than drawing conclusions and scholarly judgments on the basis of "cooled" facts and by the method of analysis and synthesis of the data gathered. To be sure, this is easier said than done in the case of an individual who is not only a researcher, but was at the same time a witness, an observer, a close collaborator and personal friend of many of the figures in our history; not only is he unable to write about them altogether calmly and objectively, but he is also unable to resist the temptation to himself pass over from the position of observer and researcher into the position of an active creator of history.

When Dedijer's writings are approached from this angle, even the most well-intentioned and well-informed reader will get lost in searching for an answer to the question of whether the author is in many places writing more about himself and about events related to him or about Josip Broz Tito and what he did. There rises to the surface a syndrome of individualism, desire for

personal prominence, for his own rehabilitation and for a private conception of history, which follows the author like destiny itself and does not leave him throughout the entire second volume of "Novi prilozi...."

It is well known in history that it is not suitable for a chronicler to be either a person close to the centers of decisionmaking who has a desire for fame, nor an individual who has an inferiority complex and who is seeking personal satisfaction through history. Dedijer's theory of history "from below" and "from above," in which he appeals to Leo Tolstoy and Vuk Karadzic, is closest to serialized history, history in "fragments" in which the author supplements, corrects and collects contributions in which aside from the principal figure, he also describes himself, but always from a position in the center and "from above," so that the plebs in his history is evident only as a farce and at the service of his own apodictic pronouncements, which he defends with documents from the world's archives.

None of this applies in an absolute sense, nor equally to all parts of the book, but it is always and everywhere present "like a spirit," even when the author is absolving the tendency and effort to present certain events in a markedly favorable and constructive sense. The fact that he is burdened by his own history, which also contains personal drama, finds expression and satisfaction through Tito. Through the optic of Dedijer the author Tito's personality is manifold and complex and contains an inseparable element--a hero from a folk epic, a fiery patriot and an implacable revolutionary rebel. On that broad scale of values, aside from admiration and respect, one can also see the writer's effort to present him in an earthly way, with all his human characteristics and features, without glorification or mystification. Tito's image of a fighter, a revolutionary and a human being comes across, one might say, a bit overemphasized at certain points, which is a consequence of the author's desire and need to come to account with Tito's opponents in his own way and according to his own measure, but also within that same framework to find a remedy for his own complexes and to explain his personal dilemmas in life. That is why at the same time we encounter not only the pronounced inclination, but also the critical testimony, the unproven evaluations and at times a petty human envy. Personal judgments and one's own measure are not objective and are not consistently applied everywhere, which confirms the truth that in writing about someone else, one is at the same time writing in one's own way about one's self as well.

In short, both the reader and scholarly criticism will be surprised to see that where they expected a moderate erudite they find an author who in many places uses the method of "hearsay" concerning both important and less important events, or where they expected material measured out as in an encyclopedia, they find an all-inclusiveness beyond the limit of toleration. All the shortcomings of the book, which naturally is being subjected to very strict criteria and critical standards in the public both because of the topic it is concerned with and also because of its author, are nevertheless not such as to justify an altogether negative attitude toward it nor the making of a fuss and total suspicion, nor do they justify its being anathemized categorically.

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Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 25 No 7, Jul 82 pp 386-388

[Article signed 'r/c': "Artillery Observation Vehicles of the Warsaw Pact Armies--Continuous Adaptation to Weapons Development and Combat Conditions"]

[Text] In accordance with Soviet command and deployment principles, each of the battery units deploys an artillery command and observation vehicle. The battery commander with parts of the battery command group is usually positioned there, while the battery officer with the rest of the battery command group is at the firing position. Only in exceptional cases are additional forward or lateral observation posts established by the batteries. In addition, the senior artillery commanders establish their own command and observation posts at the centers of the attack or the defense. On all command levels the command and observation vehicles are located as close as possible to the command and observation vehicles of the commander of the combat troop unit they are supporting.

As late as into the first few years after the war the artillery command and observation posts still used trucks for mobility. After being dropped by the truck, the unit was deployed behind the last possible cover on foot. With the introduction of the BTR-152 armored personnel carrier at the end of the 1940's its open version, the BTR-152 V, was used in order to make the command and observation posts mobile. To be sure, it did not make them any more mobile in terrain, but when changing position it offered the soldiers more protection against the effects of enemy arms. The introduction of the amphibious wheeled combat vehicle BTR-60 with good cross-country performance brought considerable improvement. Of these the open version, BTR-60 P, was initially used as a vehicle for the command and observation post, at least by the Soviet Army. During an attack, in particular, the assignment of the command and observation post could be carried out directly from the vehicle (Figure 1). Cooperation of artillery with tank and motorized rifle units in mobile combat was considerably facilitated by these mobile command and observation posts.

According to a report which recently appeared in the National People's Army press, the BTR-60 PB version, which is enclosed, equipped with turret weapons and an NBC filter system, was later also used as a command and observation post. This variant, described by the National People's Army as ABS (artillery

Figure 1. The BTR-60 P as command and observation vehicle with the pointing circle (right) and rangefinder (left).

observation post), can be recognized externally by its three whip antennae. (The combat version of the BTR-60 PB has only one antenna!) Furthermore, when in operation the PAB-2a[1] pointing circle protrudes from the left front hatch, and the OEM-2[2] rangefinder projects from the right front hatch. In the center of the vehicle is the work table for the commander of the artillery observation group (National People's Army: artillery reconnaissance group); an additional pull-out work table is mounted in front of the rear bench. At front left is the R-108 radio, with which contact is maintained with the firing position and with the artillery battalion command staff, as well as a remote control device. A dismounted battery commander can use the latter to join in the radio communications. At front right the R-123 radio is mounted, which is used to maintain contact with the supporting motorized rifle or tank units. The third antenna of the mobile command and observation vehicle probably belongs to the R-311 receiver, with which the general communications channel of the division can be received. The crew of a battery command and observation post consists of the battery commander, the reconnaissance group leader, two observers, two radio operators and the driver.

Meanwhile, ~~the vehicle described by the National People's~~ Army has been replaced by the reconnaissance variant of the M 1974 armored artillery command vehicle (ACRV)[3], at least for the artillery units equipped with intermediate and heavy self-propelled howitzers. There are three different variants of this vehicle, which utilizes the running gear of the intermediate 122 mm M 1974 self-propelled howitzer:

--the battery fire control vehicle (Type I), which is used by the battery officer and the parts of the battery command group which remain at the firing position;

--the artillery observation vehicle (Type II), which serves both the battery commander and the commander of the artillery battalion as command and observation post, and

--the battalion fire control vehicle (Type III), from which the combined fire of all the batteries which are temporarily or permanently attached to the battalion can be directed.

The battery fire control vehicle and the artillery observation vehicle, that is to say Types I and II, can be externally recognized by the "bay window" which protrudes from the right side of the hull. They differ by the equipment of the revolving turret, however: While the turret of the battery fire control vehicle has only small periscope openings, conspicuous optical reconnaissance equipment, including possibly a laser rangefinder as well, is mounted on the right side of the turret on the artillery observation vehicle.

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1. PAB = Periskopicheskaya Artilleriyskaya Bussol', meaning periscope artillery pointing circle.
2. OEM = Optical rangefinder (the use of a German designation indicates that this was developed entirely by the GDR).
3. ACRV = Artillery Command and Reconnaissance Vehicle.

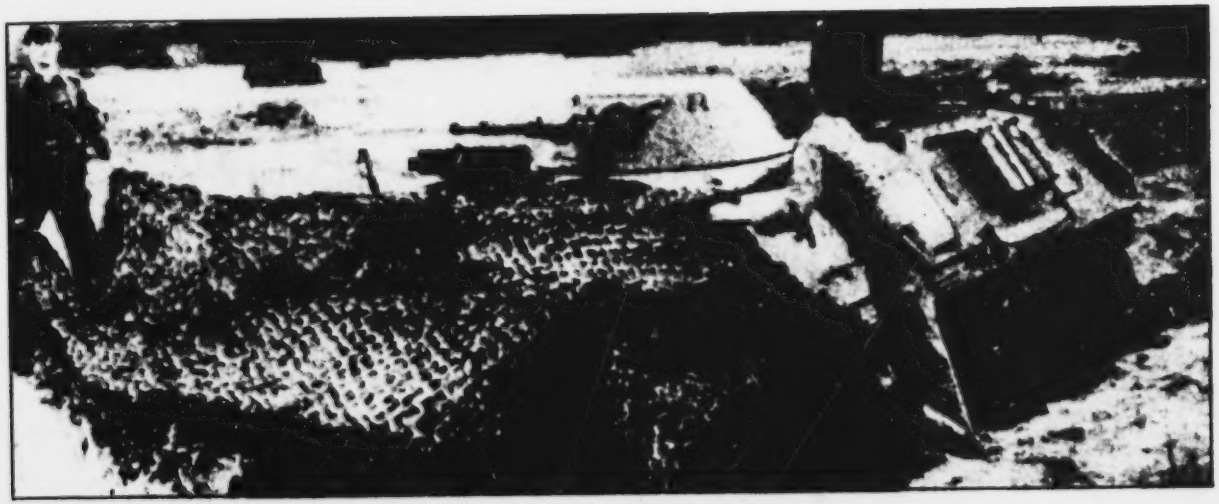

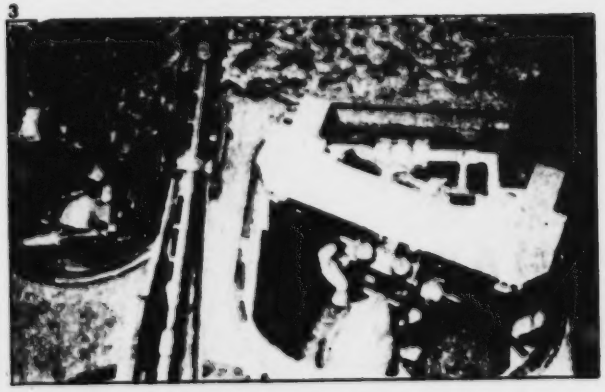

Figures 2, 3, 4. (Captions on following page.)

PHOTO CAPTIONS

Figure 2. The BTR-60 PB (ABS) as command and observation post. At front right in the driving direction the rangefinder protruding from the hatch.

Figure 3. View of the front hatches of the BTR-60 PB (ABS) with the pointing circle (left) and rangefinder (right).

Figure 4. Work table in the interior of the BTR-60 PB (ABS).

In addition, the battery fire control vehicle is usually fitted with a 12.7 mm antiaircraft machine gun on the turret, while the observation vehicle only has mountings for a 7.62 mm weapon (Figures 5 and 6).

The battalion fire control vehicle (Type III) shows no "bay window" on the right side of the hull. It has a turret which corresponds to the one on the battery fire control vehicle and which can also hold a 12.7 mm antiaircraft machine gun. More (up to four) antennae are often mounted on its hull than on the other two artillery command vehicles (Figure 7, vehicle in the foreground).

In conclusion it can be stated that the command and observation vehicles of the artillery of the National People's Army land forces have been continuously adapted to the development of artillery weapons and to the combat requirements of the connected weapons under NBC conditions. While modified combat vehicles were largely used in the beginning, with the different variants of the M 1974 artillery command vehicle specialized vehicles have now been developed, which nevertheless have the same basic design and utilize existing basic assembly components.

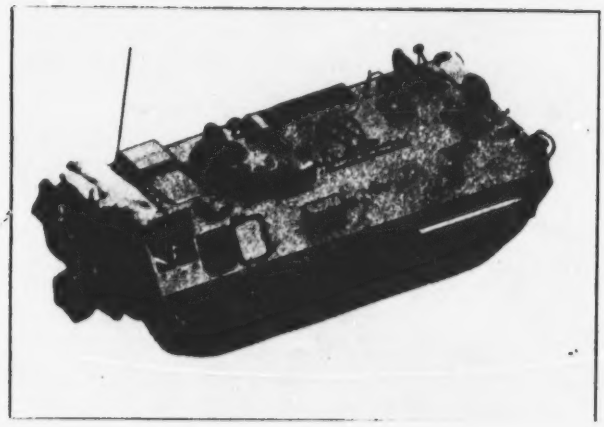

Figure 5. Battery fire control vehicle (Type I of the M 1974 ACRV). Note the "bay window," the periscope on the turret and the antiaircraft machine gun.

Figure 6. Artillery observation vehicle (Type II of the M 1974 ACRV). Note the "bay window" and the optical equipment on and by the turret.

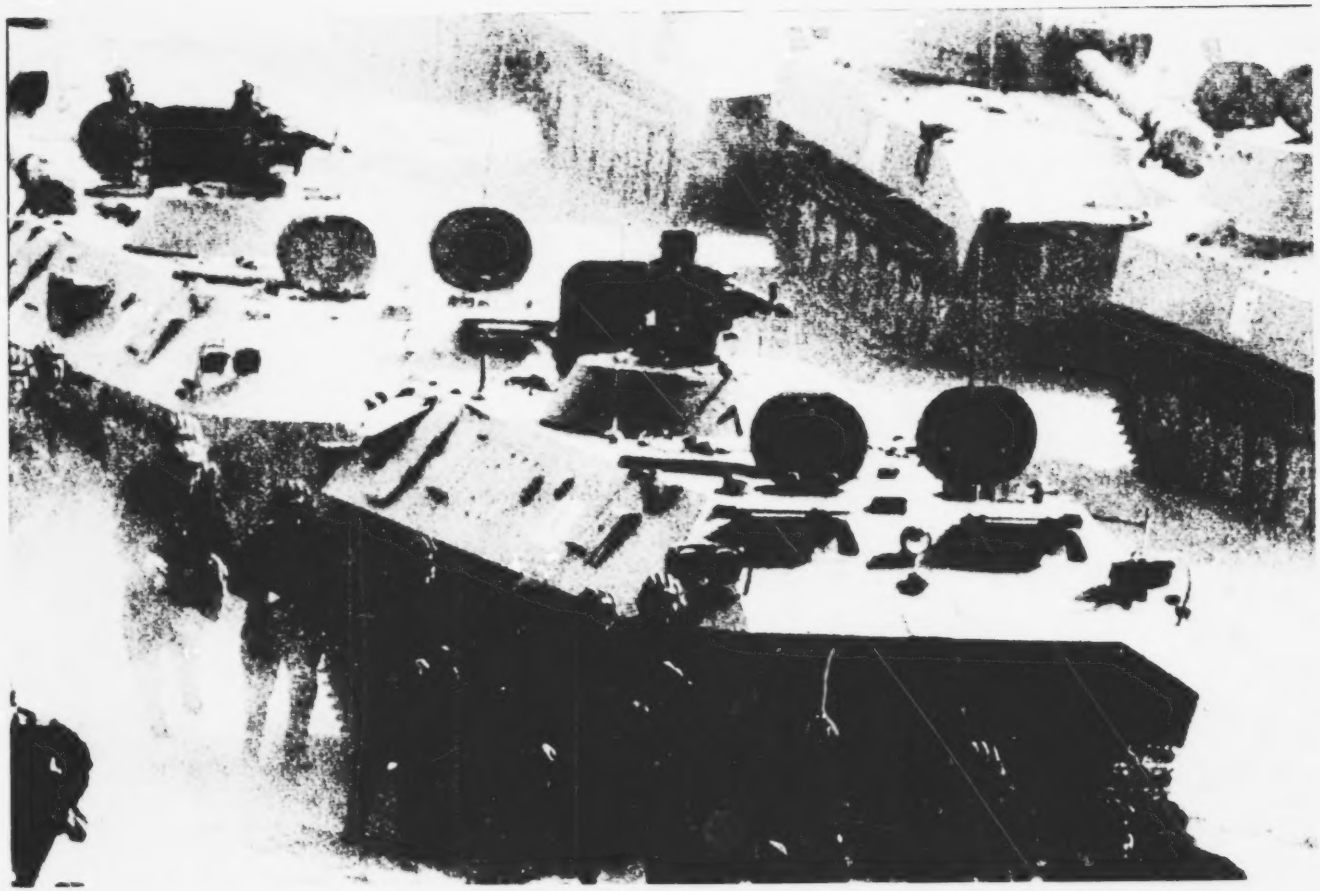

Figure 7. Battalion fire control vehicle (Type III of the M 1974 ACRV) in the foreground of the picture (without a "bay window"), behind it the battery fire control vehicle (Type I of the M 1974 ACRV).

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VIOLATIONS OF DISCIPLINE CAUSE ECONOMIC SHORTFALLS

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian May 82 pp 36-44

[Article by Ndue Gjoka: "Proletarian Discipline at Work is Strengthened in the Struggle Against Liberalism and Other Foreign Manifestations]

[Text] As a result of the comprehensive work carried out in the past and at present by the party with the people and of the great progressive economic-social and conceptual changes, good concepts and solid convictions have generally been created for the establishment of a strong and conscientious discipline at work and everywhere. This fact is proven by the many successes which have been achieved in all sectors of our socialist life. The fulfillment of the main objectives of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, and of the many tasks of the current 5-year plan period, shows that our workers, armed with the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, are ever better struggling and working to know and execute the rules at work, to fulfill the state plan, and to create and correctly use social opinion against every attempt to violate the socialist laws and norms connected with this important activity of our people.

But, despite the successes achieved, the question of the strengthening of the work discipline and the struggle against its violations remains one of the main directions of the activity of the party organizations and of their links because it is directly related to the fulfillment of the tasks in every field, to the implementation of the party line and directives and to our progress.

The party has constantly drawn attention to the continual strengthening of discipline at work, to fight every foreign manifestation which harms it. But in the present conditions this problem has become more pressing and of special significance, because, as it was stressed at the Eighth Party Congress, the strengthening of discipline and the utilization of work time are concrete indicators of the formation of the socialist awareness of our people, constitute, among other things, an important reserve for the fulfillment of the plan tasks. The possibilities of consolidating the achievements and eliminating the shortcomings in this direction are many, but one must know them and use them effectively. The best way is to organize continuing and comprehensive activities for the political understanding of the socialist attitude toward work or the task, the discovery and the creative learning of all that is positive in this field, and to take measures in order to get to know all the party and state rules so that every worker will carry them out correctly and on time.

The strengthening of proletarian discipline at work, the knowledge of the party norms and state laws have, themselves, political, moral and social value and are directly connected to the ideological and political formation of the people, to the level of their awareness to their trust in socialism. The overall activity of the party and its levers must take this demand into consideration, because our people, the communists, the cadres and the masses, act in life in the same way in which they think; reflect at work, in school, in military training and everywhere those concepts and outlooks which they possess. Practice shows that, where the clarifying work with the people is constant, concrete and convincing, in accordance with their ideological and educational level, appropriate to the age of the workers and the nature of work, the work discipline there is better, and there is effective organization and control over the implementation of the tasks. On the other hand, when the problem of discipline is not treated properly, when there is superficiality, globalism, formalism and so forth, alien concepts toward work discipline are manifested, expressions of liberalism and indifference exist, shortcomings in work can be found, the tasks are not fulfilled and products of poor quality are manufactured. It is therefore necessary to strengthen the content of the educational work, to perfect its forms so as to create among our people healthy convictions for a conscientious, enlightened discipline.

Conscientious discipline represents one of the characteristics which distinguishes our socialist order from the bourgeois-revisionist one. In the countries ruled by the old and new bourgeoisie due to the existence of private property or of state capitalist ownership, work is not merely a living but also an exploiting source. The ruling classes, through all the power in their hands, by perfecting the means and forms of exploitation to raise their profits, try to transform the workers into machines, by draining more and more their mental and physical capabilities. It is precisely this desolate situation which causes them to strike and revolt against the masters of the exploiting system.

A different reality exists in our country. Our workers, masters of the country and of the means of production, are generally aware that they work for themselves and their family; they have, at the same time, created convictions that their work is valuable to them and to the society and to the well-being of the people and the prosperity of the homeland; and, as a result, they also consider the work a duty. We must further deepen this conviction in the outlook of everyone because the tasks confronting us and which must be solved correctly and on time are ever greater and more complicated.

In our socialist country, a social basis which gives birth to and implements concepts and practices different from those required by the proletarian discipline at work, does not exist. But how does one explain that, among some people and work collectives, foreign manifestations and influences occur which, if not fought, violate our discipline?

There are a number of objective factors and more subjective factors which exert influence in this direction. We have, in fact, established the dictatorship of the proletariat and are successfully building the socialist society, but socialism as the first phase of the communist society which emerges from the exploiting capitalist order, Comrade Enver Hoxha reminds us, possesses its own conditions and characteristics of development which also leave their impact on the

attitude toward the people. In addition, socialism in Albania is built under other specific conditions and circumstances which must be taken into consideration. Our country, the party teaches us, is the sole socialist country in the world surrounded by fierce class and national enemies, and this encirclement is not only real but also active. They, together with the internal enemies, exert comprehensive pressure and diversion, try, by all ways and means, to break the resistance and the struggle which our people wage to defend the political, economic, ideological and cultural freedom, to defend independence, sovereignty and socialism. This reality must be well understood so as to take concrete measures to continually raise the revolutionary vigilance. Under these circumstances, as in the past too, the party expects from all a high sense of responsibility and conscientious discipline for everything, at work and everywhere. "Our historic, national, international task--Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us--for all to stand up, to be vigilant and ready, in order to face all situations, to defend the victories attained and to further promote all situations, to defend the victories attained and to further promote the revolution and our socialist construction. We must oppose the diversion of the socialist enemies through our determination and daring, through the steel-like unity of the party and the people, and through the tireless work for the development and strengthening of the economy and the defense of the country" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the AWP, pp 108-109).

The successful confrontation of the great tasks which we must fulfill requires, within the complex of objectives established for the education of our people, careful work for all to have the truest and fullest possible impression of proletarian discipline, to understand it thoroughly. This is dictated by the fact that some workers maintain, at times, a very narrow and formal attitude toward this issue. Here and there, discipline is reduced only to the question of work schedule, thinking in a narrow manner, that the "people are doing fine," only because they adhere to the work schedule, that it is enough for them to be at work 8 hours, without bothering to ask how they work, what they produce, about the yields, the quality of products and so forth. This superficial way of thinking enables the misuse of work time, unjustifiably wasting work time, and so forth. Lack of discipline is noted more among some young workers who have not yet formed a good socialist, work, and duty consciousness. The party organizations and its levers, the communists and the cadres and the entire social opinion must work tactfully and patiently to properly prepare the new generation for work, and to cultivate not only love of work but, also, a passion for work and study and to work everywhere in a cultured and scientific manner. We must fight spontaneity in this direction, indifference and permissiveness, and the concepts of those who think mistakenly that "they are young and will eventually mature."

There are shortcomings also concerning discipline in the practical sphere of activity of our people. Therefore, parallel to the necessary understanding of work time, we must show special attention to the way the workers use the technical means for the fulfillment of the plan, such as lathes, tractors, machines and other equipments. Regardless of the progress made in this field, the time, the tasks and the capacities require greater attention from the communists, the basic organizations and the workers themselves, from the social organizations so as to use skillfully all the means in order to achieve a higher production

yield by carrying out the technological rules which are acquired through continuing studies for ideopolitical and technical-professional advancement. Because it is the desire of our people and the objective of the party is to increase production as much as possible, to raise and to lower its cost. But "In order to have more--Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us--one must also produce more, good, attractive and cheap goods, one must work well, be disciplined at work, possess a technical education, work 8 hours, or sometimes even longer, produce, on time, the established varieties of good quality goods" (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1972-1973, p 287). A unified examination of proletarian discipline in all aspects, such as, among other things, the attitude toward work, the task, the worktime and the quantitative and qualitative indicators of material production, reflects the political awareness of our people, their communist formation.

But the socialist attitude of our people toward work does not include only the sectors of material production. It must be seen in a wider perspective because work is performed not only in the factory and cooperative but, also, in the office, school, in military training, in the scientific-cultural institutions, everywhere. Therefore, some foreign manifestations which are noted in these nonproductive sectors, be it through the violation of the work schedule, of its program and so forth, must be fought resolutely, because it prevents marching with the times, and the danger arises that some workers of these sectors may become carriers of two great evils, liberalism and bureaucracy.

Discipline is violated in some cases because not all of our people feel the necessary responsibility for it. The forming of a healthy discipline for work must be well understood and must be transformed into an education by all. The creation of just and strong convictions that proletarian discipline must exist and must be respected by all, be he a simple worker or manager, is important in order to fight those concepts and foreign attitudes noted in practice in some worker, cadre and including some special sectors, which, by speculating with their "special" task, with the "nature of work," with the "specialty" of one or the other, sometimes misuse the worktime, thus negatively influencing the fulfillment of the production plan or of the mission in various fields of life. The low effectiveness of organizational and management work in some institutions and administrative apparatuses, and in some sectors of the scientific-research work, culture and education, health, among trade workers, and so forth.

The strengthening of the conscientious work discipline in some cases is also hindered by the harmful concept "we have time." It is mistaken from the theoretical-philosophical point of view, and is of harmful consequences from the economic-organizational point of view. From the theoretical-philosophical point of view, time, as it is known, has an objective existence, emerges and marches always forward. This does not depend on us. But effective organizational and implementational work depends on us very much. We must plan it well, we must value it as the saying goes, like gold, we must "fill" the entire time with work, by utilizing well and to the maximum every hour, every day and every month, and so forth, otherwise deadlines are violated, objectives are not fulfilled in the required quantity and quality, backwardness is created, tomorrow's tasks are replaced by today's and consequently are late, in order to

overcome backwardness, exertions are made which have unavoidable negative consequences in the quality of production and so forth. Through its misuse, things go so far that violations occur in the technical-scientific and financial discipline, followed by nonfulfillment of the plan, the breaking of rules in work and production, at a time when tasks increase and the demands grow.

Serious problems have arisen in connection with the organization and management of tasks, and, as a result, the party during the past few years and at its Eighth Congress, had made a special point and has issued clear and concrete guidelines, especially for the development of the economy on a scientific basis. The issue, therefore, has been and remains for all the citizens of our country to understand in principle and carry out in principle the fact that our progress depends, above all, on the growth and quality of production, a demand which is closely connected with the scientific organization and management of work, with the constant raising of the ideopolitical and technical-professional level of all of our people, so that they will consider it as a duty to give the utmost of their physical and mental abilities and to become fully aware that they are meeting all the established tasks in terms of quantity, time, assortment and the necessary quality. Decisive for all these is organization, in all aspects of life and of work, and the comprehensive molding of the people to conscientiously fulfill all the tasks. "The communist organization of social work, the first step of which is socialism--Lenin teaches us--will depend on how much we develop the free and conscientious discipline of the workers themselves" (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol 29, p 465).

There are also shortcomings in the strengthening of discipline because not all people fully understand the role of the organization of work and the fact that proletarian discipline and organization are closely related. The correct organization and management of work become important factors to consolidate and develop discipline in its entire complex as a work, technical scientific and plan discipline. The experience of our life, the endeavors of the communists, of the workers and of the cadres of a number of economic enterprises and of vanguard agricultural cooperatives of the country, such as that of the "Steel of the Party" combine in Elbasan, of the "Enver Hoxha" auto-tractor combine, of the Valias coal-mine in Tirana, of other mines in Mborje-Drenove, Alarup, Memaliaj, Kacinar, of the construction enterprise in Mat, of the Maliq NB [agricultural enterprise] and of the Vrina agricultural enterprise in Sarande, and of the "29 nendori" NB in Lushnje, of the Plase agricultural cooperatives in Lorce, of the Dajci cooperative in Shkoder, of the Cakran Fier, of the "Myslim Peza" cooperative in Tirana and so forth, shows that, in the successes in the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of the plan, among others, the organization of work and the consolidation of the proletarian discipline have had the greatest impact. Moreover, these factors have helped overcome backwardness and place on the right track also some other important enterprises such as the PVC plant in Vlore, the ferro-chrome plant in Burrel, and so forth.

In the ferro-chrome plant last year, the many absences from work on the part of some workers and irregular organization of work by the economic managers, have caused the nonfulfillment of the norms and, as a consequence, nonfulfillment of the plan in some indicators. Now the situation has changed. The raising of the level of educational work with the people, accompanied also with various

technical-organizational measures, efforts to introduce the expansion of science and of progressive technology in production, brought about, as a result, the fuller and better utilization of worktime, the increase of the level of norm setting and the improvement of the existing technological processes, especially in the smelting furnaces, and as a result, the necessary parameters were attained, the plan was fulfilled and the plant joined the ranks of progressive enterprise.

These and other facts show that, in the organization of work, a special role is played by production managers. Their fine work, the personal example in carrying out the tasks, strengthen proletarian discipline, increase the mobilization of the workers to follow their example. Experience also shows that their activity is effective when they carry out a scientific and well-conceived work for the execution of directives which are related to the respective sectors, when implementation is based on the knowledge and correct utilization of the objective and subjective factors, on the laws of our socialist development. On the other hand, when there is poor organization, the result is irregularities, failure to utilize effectively the abilities of the people and the means of work, this leads to liberalism and distortions, and, as a consequence, nonfulfillment, on time and with quality, of the tasks, and sometimes even worse, violation of discipline, including mistakes and faults which are contrary to the laws of the state and to our morality, and which are punished by the socialist law.

In some cases, the consolidation of discipline at work is hindered by the lack of proper accountability and of the exercise of a regular control for the implementation of tasks by the managers of the economy and of the government and by the basic party organizations. There are improvements in these directions, but one must insist that this task be better carried out, because here and there, as the party pointed out at its Eighth Congress, "there continue to be liberal manifestations and sentimental attitudes, justifications, there are expressions of underestimation of control, there is formalism and superficiality in its execution (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the AWP," p 79). Due to improper evaluation of this norm, as well as organizational failures by those who apply it, especially by the appropriate and specialized organs, it happens that no control is applied in regard to the main problems and, in regard to secondary questions, the control is not applied in depth to the substance of issues which are related to the quantity and quality of production, to the expenditures, to the productivity and the manner of their management and organization, to how the tasks are carried out not only by the average worker, but also by the cadres, the norm setter, the quality controller, the inspector or the foreman, how much accountability they demand from the people for work, quality, assortment of products, cost and so forth.

Control, the party teaches us, must be comprehensive, from above, from below and parallel, and, above all, it must be effective, must leave its mark, must be complete. It is necessary for these demands to be properly taken into consideration by the organs of the party, and of the state, by the workers and peasant control groups, as well as by mutual social control among workers for the implementation of the demands of discipline just as for everything else. For the consolidation of discipline in all of its aspects, it is also important

to develop criticism and self-criticism against manifestations of liberalism and other foreign influences, to compare the best results realized in the collective of the brigade, of the team, of the sector, of the shift, as well as to create a militant atmosphere against the repeaters and against those who deliberately violate discipline. The general analyses regarding this issue are strongly effective for the education of the people, because criticism of the disciplinary shortcomings of everyone also becomes a lesson for the others.

Undoubtedly, the main way to fight everything which hinders the creation of strong convictions for the establishment of a conscientious discipline in our socialist order is the Marxist-Leninist education of the people, the continuous work of the party organs and organizations, of the state organs to arm our workers with the teachings of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha. And, in this complex action, priority must be given to the activities to familiarize oneself with the laws of the state in general and, in particular, with labor legislation because they express, in a synthesized manner, the economic line and policy of the party and its directives. All the people must know and carry out the state laws. The party has constantly recommended, and reiterated again at its Eighth Party Congress, that every workers must know, especially, those laws which teach him to carry out properly and in an orderly manner the task that the plan be fulfilled in all indicators, to enable oneself to protect and administer socialist property, and to consolidate order and discipline at work. This education must be carried out not only continuously and through suitable forms, but also concretely and in an organized manner, by connecting it with the work, discipline, and concerns of the workers, and the situations which we are facing.

Of course, in our country, priority is given in educational work to enlightening the people, to the "prophylactic" aspect, so that they will get a good knowledge of the norms of the party and the laws of the state, so that they will not make mistakes or commit transgressions. However, the administrative and state measures also have an educational character in conformity with the laws in power, for those persons who violate the disciplinary rules at work, who take leave from work without permission and waste worktime, when the educational work with them has ended, when the advice to correct themselves has not had the required effect.

This question must be properly taken into consideration, because the failure to implement the laws in regard to these people, the liberal stands of some collectives and managers toward the undisciplined persons and offenders have a negative influence on the other workers, too, as regards their molding in the norms of our socialist morality as well as in the cultivation of an ever-greater concern for the fulfillment of the plan or of the work tasks. These incorrect attitudes of these certain individuals must be opposed because behind them hide idle persons, parasites and undisciplined persons.

The manifestations of liberalism and of other foreign influences in the field of discipline and of laws which are connected with work in various sectors of our life, have their source, among other things, in the inadequate understanding by some people of the relationship between the various rights and liberties which our socialist state guarantees to the individual, on the one hand, and

the duties and of the demands of discipline and of the state laws, on the other hand. By speculating with the rights and liberties which the workers in our country enjoy, these people, unformed from the ideopolitical and juridical point of view, violate the rules of discipline, believe that their freedoms may be "unlimited" and only "personal," that allegedly the freedom is a freedom simply of the "individual" and has nothing to do with the state and the society, with the general interest. This type of anarchist and liberal concept regarding freedom, discipline and democracy is cultivated by the class enemy, too. He is very much interested and, when he finds a favorable territory, acts to create confusion in the minds of the people in order to detach them from the heat of struggle and work so as to overcome the difficulties and the fulfillment of tasks on time and with good quality in order to undermine the development of the socialist economy and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As always, it is our duty to forge revolutionary vigilance to uncover and deal heavy blows to the hostile actions of the enemy, and the concepts of some of our people who mistakenly think that now that we live in a democracy, they have only rights and no duties, they can go about and work as it suits them, and to violate, albiet unintentionally, work discipline and social discipline, the laws of the state and the norms of the society. These attitudes, be they the results of the influences of the activity of the enemies, or of the mistaken concepts of our people, are very harmful and, therefore, must be exposed and fought resolutely, because they are foreign to the principles of socialism.

Through the comprehensive activity of the party and of its levers, it is necessary to explain and to make it clear that the freedom of the people in socialism, their true equality are complete and inviolable by anyone, but they can never be "unlimited" or "absolute." This kind of understanding of freedom would open the road to distraction and liberalism. Freedom and democracy concerning various issues and, in this regard also, those dealing with work in socialism, have a class character. They are used by the individual to the extent that they do not transgress the interests of the working class and of socialism, when they do not violate the laws and social norms of the socialist system, when they do not come in conflict with proletarian discipline, therefore, they must be known and carried out in a dialectical manner and in unity with state discipline. The respect for the demands of discipline at work, in the office, in school, in military training and so forth, not only does not limit these freedoms but it provides the possibility of further development because it helps our people to become able to know and carry out the tasks in a scientific manner, to form a healthy socialist character able to maintain the necessary attitude toward the laws of nature, toward the laws of the development of society, toward the society itself.

The healthy proletarian spirit, the continuous and conscientious education about work and socialist discipline which is instilled in the individual by our party, penetrates through the consolidation of the educational work for knowing and conscientiously carrying out the tasks, as well as through the class struggle against foreign bourgeois and petit-bourgeois influences, of the past and of the present, against individualism, liberalism and any other foreign manifestation which hinders our progress. The problem is to consolidate the content of the general work of the party and of its levers so that all the citizens of the republic, communists and workers, understand well that they have an

important place in the work and struggle front and have concrete tasks to implement correctly, conscientiously and through proletarian discipline. Their timely and qualitative fulfillment in all sectors of life is the indicator of the communist formation of our people, it expresses in practice the degree of the formation of the convictions which they have for socialism, for the vitality of this order, their readiness to defend the country from any type of aggression, so that revolution in our country can march always forward.

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EQUALITY OF WOMEN NOT YET REALITY

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian May 82 pp 26-35

[Article by Vito Kapo: "The Alleviation of Women's Position in the Family Serves Her Further Emancipation"]

[Text] The party's educational work and our socialist reality have helped us to feel and see closely that interrelationship which exists between the construction of socialism and the level of the emancipation of women. The ever-increasing great successes which are being attained in all the fields of our socialist construction can, in no way, be conceived without the physical and mental contribution of the masses of working, cooperativist and intellectual women. The Albanian woman also militates as a worthy member of the society, she is living increasingly better with the problems which preoccupy the country, the work centers, the family and social environment, and she contributes qualitatively and quantitatively to the correct solution of problems.

They reveal their stature as builders and active defenders of socialism through that resolute struggle which they carry out for the implementation and defense of the party line in the entire life of the country, in the class-revolutionary attitudes which they maintain in production and social work and in family life.

Aware of the contribution of the woman, a contribution which has proceeded parallel with the level of the development of the entire society, the party, at its Eighth Congress, called upon its organs and organizations to continue struggling "to resolutely implement its program for the complete emancipation of the Albanian woman, without which socialism is meaningless and its construction cannot proceed" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the AWO," p 103).

Although colossal changes have taken place in the life of the Albanian woman, the party and the masses of women united in their organization of the Albanian women's union are aware that the field of the struggle for the emancipation of women remains open and that, in the entire work which is required for its further emancipation, for this level of development of the women herself and of the process of our socialist construction, or primary importance is the achievement of complete equality between women and men, not only in the political field and in the sphere of production, in which, as a whole, this equality has been attained, but also, in the educational, cultural and technical vocational

realm in which there continues to be considerable inequality. Although, for example, in Korce District, the working women comprise approximately half of the workers of the economic enterprises, they make up only 20 percent of those which are occupied with the drafting and execution of scientific themes. Inequalities between women and men can also be found in other districts, also for education and culture indicators.

Why has this problem become so pressing today, why is it being given priority among all the tasks arising for the further advancement of the work of the party and of our entire socialist society for the further emancipation of the masses of women?

This priority is the outgrowth of that emphasized qualitative character arising from the tasks set by the Eighth Party Congress, the fulfillment of which requires, more than ever, educated people, with a broad horizon, with a high theoretical and practical training, able to work, manage and organize work in a scientific manner and to launch the technical-scientific revolution. These demands are for the entire society, therefore, also for the masses of women of our country who should be aware of the fact that, without fulfilling these demands of the present period of socialist construction, their objectives cannot be attained and, as a result, those social and material premises cannot be created which further advance the process of the emancipation of women, their equality with men in the educational, cultural, and technical-professional level.

Among all the factors which ensure this type of equality, the education of girls and women occupies a special place. Despite the high percentage of girls who pursue middle and higher education, 52 and 50 percent of the schoolchildren and of the students, which reflects a growing tendency toward the narrowing down of the differences in education between men and women, the educational level of working and cooperativist women is still relatively lower than that of the men. Although working women constitute a greater percentage of the workers, especially in some sectors, such as those of light industry and the food industry, of the construction and communal services industry, the majority of them have only an 8-year education. The same can be said about the village women who, although they constitute 48 percent of the village workers, the number of those which have technical and vocational training is still small, especially in the districts of Gramsh, Kukes, Mat, Mirdite, Puke, Shkoder and so forth.

As is known, it is not possible to overcome this relatively backward situation through the efforts of the women alone or through the efforts of their Albanian women's union organization. Nor can the raising of the educational, cultural and technical vocational level of the women be understood simply as an educational process. The party Central Committee has assigned the task to the party organs and basic party organizations, to their links in the districts and at the grass roots level, to deepen the convictions of the women themselves and the men and the entire society that, without the complete emancipation of women, the emancipation of the entire society cannot be achieved and the construction and development of socialism cannot be understood.

This type of conviction creates a healthy social opinion, within and outside the family, which thinks and works so as to help the women to have more free time and to better utilize it in order to attend courses and schools, to raise their cultural and technical-vocational level, to occupy themselves with scientific research activities and to also make a contribution as social activists.

In which directions can a greater contribution be made?

THE SOCIETY CAN AND MUST FURTHER HELP THE WOMAN IN THE FAMILY

The liberation from or the relieving of the woman of some family chores which consume a great part of her free time can be achieved, in the same manner as before, both through a better involvement of all the members of the family and through the distribution of some work categories which, because of their nature, are done mainly by women.

By stressing the necessity of better combining these two ways, more can be done in the future, especially as regards the second category. This is because an economic-organizational problem is easier solved than a conceptual problem. Our reality is such that the woman, although in our socialist society she is as active as the man, within the family, the institution with complex relations and tasks, she adjusts more slowly to socialist transformations and still feels the greater burden of tasks and duties, which, in part, is related to her motherly role and, in part, is the result of those times when, in the family, the husband and the men in general made the law.

The giving of priority to the second aspect, the distribution of some work categories in the family, is explained also by the fact that, in the social services sectors, the largest part of the workers are girls and women who can be of greater influence not only in expanding and improving these types of services but, also, in bringing them closer to the family, somethin in which they themselves are directly interested.

The best measures which have been carried out in some types of services and the better work which is generally carried out in some districts proves that the possibilities have been created to further help the woman, in the capacity of mother too, as a result of the expansion of the net of services. During the previous 5-year plan period, in our country the communal services, for example, expanded considerably. Proof of this is also the fact that, in 1980, in comparison to 1975, the volume of alteration and repair works increased by 10.3 percent, tailoring and dressmaking activity increased by 29.8 percent, and so forth. Today, through the further expansion of communal services, in some districts, such as the districts of Tirana, Durres, Shkoder, and so forth, up to 100-110 types of services are carried out which considerably reduce the work of the woman in the family. But, at the same time, it must be admitted that, in some districts, and especially in the village, these types of services are still rare and considerable effort and time is required by the family to carry them out. The possibilities exist therefore to increase the number of those kinds of services which can be carried out at home, but also to shorten the time it takes to execute them. That type of service which sometimes takes

entire hours and days does not serve the family but, on the contrary, it hinders it, at a time when possibilities exist through a better organization of work, through the securing of materials on time and through a more skilled effort of the workers and of the specialists, to complete the job faster.

The Eighth Party Congress drew special attention to the expansion and improvement of the services of the communal sector in the village, by aiming to increase their volume by 80-84 percent during the Seventh 5-year plan. The women's organizations in the agricultural cooperatives, by coordinating their forces with the people's councils of the villages and with the organizations of the Democratic front, should make efforts for the improvement and expansion of communal services in order to raise the effective participation in work of the cooperativists, by proving this in this case too that the perfecting of relations better harmonizes the interests.

Problems of this nature must be solved also by our health and trade services as well as by a number of sectors of light industry and the food industry. If the possibilities created have not been fully utilized everywhere, the women and their women's union organizations are partially responsible. It does not make sense that in every meeting, inquiry or inspection which is organized for the service sectors, the women, while they correctly raise a great number of problems and make a series of criticisms, fail to take into consideration the fact that they, themselves, and their comrades work in those sectors, interested parties who possess or can create the possibilities for putting into practice that which they want and which can be achieved.

This contradiction between that which is sought and that which is carried out, proves that there is still an unclear understanding about the relationship between the rights and the duties on the part of women. Socialism creates, continually, the social and material premises for the further emancipation of women as a result of the ever-greater work carried out in our country by the entire society under the leadership of the party and according to the teachings of the party for the socialist construction of the country. Without the fulfillment of the economic plans, without taking concrete steps which realistically permit women to be equal to men in the educational, cultural and technical-professional fields, no concrete steps can be taken for the further emancipation of women. If we raise issues and make suggestions to improve the services on the part of the workers of light industry and the food industry, of the trade, health and communal industries, we must first expect this from ourselves because in these institutions women make up 55 to 70 percent of the workers.

It is true that in the economic enterprises of these sectors there are also trade union organizations, directorates and other party levers, but they have denied the women of these enterprises the right to bring up the problems personally or through the women's councils in the trade union organization and in the directorates and fight for their solution. If each one of the women who works in those enterprises which produce prepared baby foods or textiles, or where trade is carried out or the people are served, better understands the position of the consumer or of the citizen and always keeps in mind the question "what should I do to better serve myself and my comrades in order to free

myself and my comrades of heavy housework and to allow myself and my comrades more free time for study, relaxation and recreation," she undoubtedly will also become an initiator for the expansion of the range of products and of services and for the continuous improvement of their quality. If everyone performed her job in such a responsible manner, then more necessary articles would have been produced and the services would have been of greater use to the family.

The plenum of the Albanian Women's Union which was held in January of this year to establish the tasks of the women's union organization to implement the program of the party concerning the full emancipation of the Albanian woman, demanded among other things that the female workers, technicians, economists and engineers who work in the service sectors and in other sectors, speak openly about the problems of production and of services, be innovative, make improvements for the expansion of products and services, and influence the comrades at work to greatly expand creative thinking in freeing the members of the family from heavy work which generally continues to burden women.

When we talk about the premises which socialism continually creates for the further emancipation of women, we have in mind those new creative possibilities which are created in the sectors of light industry and the food industry to increase the range and the quality of children's clothing and clothing for men and women, and to ensure that these clothes are of better quality, attractive and cheaper, for work, home and for holidays, for the village and the city, and those possibilities created by the increase of production in agriculture and the food industry in order to broaden the range of canned food, such as processed vegetables, juices, meat, fish, sauces, mayonnaise and even pastries, baked products and other items necessary for the daily life and for festive occasions which save considerable time for women when they do not have to be prepared at home.

Today there are more practical possibilities which, through a greater attention by the design bureaus and institutions, public opinion can use more extensively in examining the problem of construction in their entirely, such as their external features, the demands arising in connection with the raising and educating of children, the establishment of shops as close as possible to the homes and taking into consideration in designing the apartment buildings the movement of the inhabitants from one room to another. The creative thinking of the workers and of the specialists in furniture enterprises must also have the same objective, and they must pay greater attention to the requests and the complaints against the manufacture of standard furniture, replacing them with the kind which is appropriate to the conditions and practical capacities of the apartments.

When we talk about the new premises for facilitating work, we have in mind also those great capacities which the trade workers possess, the majority of whom are women, and who should make greater efforts to find solutions to the suggestions made regarding the increase in the number of packaged products, asking the workers in agriculture to clean the vegetables in the fields before shipping them to warehouses, expanding the experience gained in the beaches during the summer season in the distribution of some products to the families, and so forth.

We have dealt more with subjective factors which will contribute to the solving of these problems which have to do with the easing of the burden of the women from some house chores because of the availability of funds and of material possibilities. They increase along with the strengthening of our entire socialist economy and the expansion of the material base of the service sectors. The experience of the most outstanding sectors and of enterprises shows that, if one proceeds with studies, if there is more imagination and one is familiar with the demands of the family members, the services can be expanded and further improved both in the city and the village. In the creation and maintenance of these services, their profitability will, of course, also be taken into consideration but, in the preliminary calculation of the profitability of the sector to be opened or to be expanded, we believe that it is necessary to take into consideration a number of factors of current and long-range value, avoiding short cuts or the matter-of-fact statement "it is not profitable," an opinion which is frequently heard when trying to avoid headaches associated with a new activity. The organization of public catering services is very effective as has been shown in the city of Korce where, in almost all residential buildings, kitchens have been set up to prepare prepared or semiprepared food products to help families. It is these types of services which lighten the work of the family, its members, especially the women, and which serve the purpose for which they have been set up.

By showing direct interest in the production and service activities which are of help to the family in its daily activity, the women can and should further encourage the expansion and better organization of these types of activities. The women's union councils in the services sector should become initiators in the expansion of fast, good, inexpensive and cultured services.

It is known that the systematic and educational work in these sectors too, as in all work centers, is carried out by the trade union organizations under the leadership of the party. The women's councils help solve this problem correctly when they raise issues; make suggestions; and, in cooperation with the trade unions, organize public investigations to see how the women and all the workers of the sector are responding to the demands of the times.

In this direction, an important role must be played by the Women's Union organization in the city sectors and in the villages. They must be familiar with the demands of their members, and they must show interest in the facilities which can be assured them by the service units in the city sectors and in the villages. In cooperation with the Front organizations and with the people's councils, they must help to ensure that work proceeds properly in them, they must make suggestions and raise issues to the respective organs.

AN IMPERATIVE TASK FOR THE WOMEN AND THE ENTIRE FAMILY

The family must pay greater attention to providing women with the time needed to raise their educational, cultural and technical-professional level. The social services, with which we dealt above, despite their value, would be inadequate if all the family members do not contribute to providing the mother,

sister or the young woman with the time required to study, do homework, participate in cultural and social activities, follow, like all the others, radio and television programs, and to relax and have fun.

In this field of relations, an entire revolution has taken place in our country, but one which cannot be considered completed. The continued victories in this field require, as the party teaches us, a greater struggle "against all the foreign manifestations and backward customs which continue to be manifested in various forms and on various occasions and which violate the dignity and personality of the woman" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the AWP," pp 103-104).

The creation for women of the necessary time to raise their educational, cultural and technical-professional level, and the maximum reduction of the existing inequalities with men, is not possible if some old norms of the organization of work and of life within family are not eliminated. Parallel to the emancipation of the entire society, the members of the family spend part of their free time in educational and cultural institutions, in libraries, in cultural centers, in sports fields, in theaters and movie theaters, in walks and social visits. Although the major part of the time spent in these types of activities has been steadily increasing, most of the free time is, nevertheless, spent at home. This ratio is more unfavorable for women and girls especially. They need more time to meet every day all the needs of the members of the family, they must care for the feeding, health and education of the children, they must care for the environment where they live, they must play host to friends and comrades, and so forth.

The correction of this situation, providing the woman with more free time and its use for the education and their cultured fulfillment, constitute an imperative task not only for the women themselves but, also, for the other members of their families.

Of course, this correction is not simply a question of desire. The old, conservative and patriarchal norms, concepts and customs which keep the girls and, still more, the women tied down with housework, and which the party once again cited at the Eighth Party Congress, "continues to resist, although the conditions which have been created have changed." Aware of this change, but not abandoning their habits, the patriarchal and petit-bourgeois elements try to keep alive those norms and old customs by giving them "new labels," by camouflaging them with socialist norms. Often, newlyweds fall in these mistaken positions and, by keeping to old customs, do not realize that they lower the dignity and personality of their wives whom, in general, they respect. These are the reasons why, in family life, despite its steady revolutionization, in some families, a number of patriarchal and petit-bourgeois concepts exist which do not consider legitimate the demand and the right of the woman or of the girl to be equal in rights and duties in the family. By considering them to be inferior to the boys and men, and considering as adequate the educational, cultural and technical-vocational level which they have acquired through education, these concepts hinder the girl or the women from studying, continuing their education, learning about present-day developments, and participating in more cultural, artistic activities, and so forth.

In the families in which these concepts are still alive, husbands and sons have generally the right to use the educational, formative and rest conditions which our socialist society has created, whereas, for wives and, to some extent, for daughters, too, there are still cases when it is not considered normal to attend cultural and educational institutions. The daughter or the wife in these type of families attends cultural activities in cases when she is invited or when the activity is organized by the school, work center or city sector. It is difficult for the conservative to oppose these institutions and, therefore, in such cases he compromises.

This "compromise" proves in fact the degree which has been attained in understanding the figure and the position of the woman in the family and in the society. Today we cannot talk about such conservatives and patriarchs who prevent the girl or the woman from leaving the threshhold of the house. Faced with the reality in which girls and women live and work in a social environment of an established level and of an ever-greater emancipation, the conservatives are frightened by this opinion and, therefore, they are manifested and persist, generally, in the family where for well-known reasons the fight against them is not as intensive.

Because there are manifestations of the atavism of superiority of man and inferiority of the woman, it happens also that the man allows himself the luxury of leaving the house in order to meet his friends, to go to the library or take a walk even when he knows that he is needed at home. Some women even allow this luxury to their men. Of course, these attitudes must be fought in each case, otherwise the woman cannot create that free time required for her to take it easy and to enrich her spiritual world. This time is essential especially today when it is necessary to live better with the situations to which we respond with the Marxist-Leninist educational and technical-vocational knowledge and through the participation by us all in the management and organization of production, in efficient scientific work.

The woman is aware of these tasks and she is in favor of carrying them out, but if she is too busy in the family she has no time to study a technical book, to prepare herself for that type of education, to attend a show or a cultural or artistic activity. And, in order to change this situation, she must fight more and should, therefore, receive more support in this struggle by the family and also by all levers of the party which should create concrete conditions for her and provide her with moral encouragement to register at schools and courses, to participate in scientific councils and groups, to enroll in libraries and to become active in cultural and artistic activities. Where the society's interest becomes a reality, the achievements become a reality and multiply.

There are many facts which speak of the conviction which is being created in the girls and the women that the raising of the educational level and the assimilation of the technical-professional knowledge are becoming a necessity today. In Kruje District, for example, we notice this conviction in the fact that, during the 1980-1981 school-year, women and girls made up 47.3 percent of the total number of workers who attended schools without interruption of work. In the artistic enterprise of this district, where girls and women make up the largest part of the collective, they took the initiative for all the girls and

the women with middle education to become library members. Today, their initiative is being expanded by the women's organization in the district and the objective is to read more technical-scientific books associated with their work because, until now, only 23 percent of the readers have borrowed technical-scientific literature from the library.

The women's union organization in Korce District has established and is pursuing concrete and rich forms of work to reduce the inequality between men and women in the educational, cultural and technical-scientific fields. In addition to the increase in the participation of women in training courses which constitute also the basic form of the professional capability, a good job is also being done for the technical training of new female workers who have completed general middle education, by placing them under the guidance of the older workers. The experience in the rug enterprise where, for every loom in which 4-5 senior workers are employed, 1-2 new workers are hired who learn their trade within a short time, in general, is being generalized in other enterprises. The girls and the women of Korce District, like those of the entire country, are becoming conscious that the new qualitative demands require high levels of education and training. The registration and attendance of the girls and of the women in middle and higher schools, especially vocational schools, is becoming an important direction for raising their educational and technical vocational level. The middle economic school of this district is being attended this year by 299 girls and women, the evening general middle school by 214, the middle vocational school, set-up within the garment combine, is attended by 33 women and girls. Hundreds of cooperativist women and girls attend agricultural middle schools in which, this year, work is being carried out in these schools to better acquire knowledge so that they can be more valuable to the girls and the women in the application of expanded production of a new modern agrotechnology and technology in order to obtain those high yields which have been scheduled for this 5-year plan period.

The Eighth Party Congress made it clear once more that the activity of the people will be successful and the established objectives will be realized when the educational work relies properly on economic, organizational and administrative measures.

This lesson of the party is of special value also for the problem which we treat in this article. No matter how organized and skillful the educational work with the women and the entire society may be for the creation of convictions about the necessity that women be relieved of housework tasks so that they can have more free time to raise their educational, cultural, and technical-professional level, the required effect will fail to materialize if it is not accompanied by some other measures within and outside the family.

From this need for the coordination of the educational work with economic and organizational measures, there arises also the need for the broader understanding of the problem, for the coordination of a greater number of forces and levers of the party in order to attain the equality of woman with man in the educational, cultural and technical-vocational field which constitutes an important objective of great current and long-range value, especially with regard to the implementation of the tasks set by the party at its Eighth Congress.

By representing more directly the masses of the women and being charged by the party to follow more closely some of their specific problems, such as the excessive work in the family which hinders the women from the right to constantly raise her educational, cultural and technical-vocational level, the women's union organization plays a special role in this field of cooperation. The women's councils in the economic enterprises and the women's organizations in the village must demand more from themselves and, also, from the other levers of the party to create for the woman all the conditions to steadily enhance her role "as active builders of socialism, as fearless defenders of the homeland, as a caring mother and educator of the new generation" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party," p 103).

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GENERAL CALLS FOR BETTER COORDINATION OF RESEARCH, FIELD TRAINING

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 11, 12 Aug 82

[Article by Lt Gen Dincho Velev: "Effectiveness of Military Scientific Work"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[11 Aug 82 p 2]

> [Text] The 12th BCP Congress defined the most important lines of development of science. In the report of the BCP Central Committee delivered by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the chief requirement set for the scientific front was defined very clearly: "To assure the comprehensive study of fundamental problems involving the achieving of general intensification."
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> The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress regarding the basic directions of the USSR's economic and social development in 1981-1985 and during the period up to 1990 closely link the tasks of the intensification of the national economy and the rise of its efficiency with the question of the accelerated introduction of scientific and technical progress.

Since the 12th BCP Congress the commanders have been organizing research, raising its efficiency, and enlisting a large circle of specialists in this work. Some of them are closely cooperating with various scientific institutes. This is so because the new modern combat materiel and the requirements for its use necessitate rapid and substantial changes in the organization and methods of conducting combat operations. Those commanders who have correctly organized military research, who have boldly raised with their entire command personnel the special-research questions that arise, and who take a creative approach to their theoretical and practical solution are achieving the greatest success in combat and political training.

/Modern combat/ requires exceptional creativity, initiative and decisiveness on the part of the commander. No new battle is like any preceding ones, for it is unlikely that any enemy commander will fight all battles according to the same decision, according to the same concept. The situation will differ

to a greater or lesser extent. The commander's actual decision and concept for fighting a battle is creative and scientific activity, the result of which, in great measure, predetermines success in battle. This creative process is of greater value still when commanders at all echelons must, in short order, solve the problems that arise in the course of combat. Commanders will have to respond to enemy surprise in methods of operation with a mode of operation that is more effective still and in some instances previously unknown. That is why modern combat cannot tolerate stereotyped decisions and lack of creativity and decisiveness in commanders' activity.

For several years this question has been the subject of a military scientific investigation of a group of officers in the unit where Officer Petrov serves. He shows that creativity, and especially the manifestation of it, is related to whether the commander has high training, decisiveness and independence. Theoretically, some trained commanders without the necessary army experience, decisiveness and assumption of responsibility come to stereotyped decisions, react slowly to a situation, and seek a methodicalness in their work that tends towards a formalist and bureaucratic style.

The methods of using combat materiel in modern battle decisively increase or decrease its military characteristics. The squad leader, the gun and tank crew chief, the platoon and company commander, and even any soldier into whose hands we entrust complex modern equipment and armament, display creativity to some extent or other in determining the most efficient methods of employing them in combat.

In Lt Genkov's company some new and perfected modes of operation with armament and methods of delivering fire with it are employed, which not only shorten the time required for the first shot by 25 percent, but raise fire effectiveness by 10 percent. For the relevant required standard of performance their firing is always excellent. But not content to rest easy with what they have achieved in recent firing, they have increased the speed of combat vehicles during firing, the range to targets and their angle of site. In preparing materiel and armament for firing, they endeavor not only to zero all parameters, but to find ways of lessening the adverse effect of some windage. With them, the slogan, "It takes a day to get combat materiel and armament ready, but an hour to fire!," is implemented in practice.

Adjustment fire is performed by the crews themselves and not, as in some subunits, by an appointed officer. Allowance for ballistic and meteorological conditions, for angle of site and other corrections, mastery of fire plans and preparation of initial firing data have become a thoroughgoing weekly scientific work of the entire military collective. In addition to getting combat materiel and armament ready for firing, company personnel seriously concern themselves with /improving and discovering new methods/ of delivering fire.

The company long ago discarded the obsolete "correction according to burst" method as the sole method. The soldiers rightly consider this method as not sufficiently effective in delivering fire on the move or on moving targets, when the combat vehicle or the target or both are changing position simultaneously, and under mountainous conditions. In such event, destruction of the target on the first shot is not assured.

Questions of raising fire effectiveness are a subject for serious creative activity for the personnel of Senior Lt Velkov's battery, too. On a change of firing position, the vehicle with the senior battery officer races to the new firing position. While the battery is withdrawn from the firing position and moved out to the new one, the battery is already tied in and the initial firing data are prepared or the time required to prepare the battery for the opening of fire from the new firing position is cut down 50 percent.

In both company and battery, practical application of the new methods has in practice involved much unplanned strenuous training. Sometimes they have also involved failures; they have not, however, discouraged the officers and men, but have intensified their desire to overcome difficulties.

The commanders of Senior Lt Petrov's combat engineer company, for example, decided to use combat materiel and methods of operation in a new way in making passages through the enemy's engineering obstacles. In this way they achieved a twofold shortening of the time.

Socialist competition took place in the companies and the battery between the soldiers in the tank and gun crew, between platoon crews, and between the platoons in the company in respect of the standards set for their scientific creative quests.

Here is the analysis /of the training method/ for instruction in preparation for tank fire on the tank range. Time: 100 minutes, including 10 minutes introduction, 3 minutes getting started and assignment of mission--5 to 8 minutes for the performance of every fire mission, selection of the important target, determination of distance, selection of the method for its destruction etc.

The time for the performance of other fire missions is spent this way, too. In analyzing the results plotted on cards, the favorable ratings for the performance of fire missions can be clearly seen. However, in collating the results with those of the training exercise before and after, it can be seen that they hardly change or the changes are negligible. "We train and train, and then the same thing over again," Pfc Neshev generalized.

The commanders made another comparison--after 10 drills they performed one of the preparatory exercises. The result did not differ significantly from the first. The commanders and gunners made almost the same "regrettable" mistakes in the preparation of initial firing data and in firing methods. The time has come to evaluate the organization and methods of instruction. The bold decision to subject the present instructional method to critical analysis and to seek a more efficient one does the officers credit. Analysis reveals that with this instructional organization and methodology, the commanders' role in instruction is belittled. They stand at the control panel and perform the functions of operator in making targets appear for some particular fire mission. At the same time they also perform other auxiliary functions. In this manner, individual specific instruction and control by the company commander and platoon commanders are lacking.

In a drill exercise the identical errors are usually repeated. The errors are practiced, become habits in the trainees and are hard to eradicate later on. The drill exercises themselves do not have the necessary tension; habits are not improved, nor are skills deepened and widened. Training time is wasted, trainee activity is low, and abstractions and oversimplifications are permitted in the instruction. The efficiency and quality of classwork are low. That is why the senior commander ordered the soldiers to remain at the training center for an entire week, to train day and night and improve their fire training.

[12 Aug 82 p 2]

[Text] The young company commanders' scientific and creative quest led them to favorable results. With the new organization of classwork and instructional methods, activity at all command echelons during classwork was planned in advance. Not a single commander remained overall director for 1 hour of training. One platoon commander had time to check and help three chiefs and gunners, the second gave more time to the gunner and the chief of the platoon's second crew, while the third commander took a seat behind the weakest gunner and instructed him. The company commander during this time instructed his crew and the company first sergeant. The trainee errors that were discovered were weeded out, the classwork went into greater detail, and skills were improved.

In target reconnaissance drill it was found that personnel performed their missions excellently. But during firing, especially on an unfamiliar range or terrain, they were slow to detect targets and determined initial firing data incorrectly, or failed to detect them at all. This called for a change of setting in order to get out of the rut, and for training on a terrain and in a setting that were unfamiliar.

The same company conducted a tactical and marching drill exercise and a tactical exercise with field firing. The organization and preparation for the tactical and marching drill exercise began a week before this. One evening the commanders discussed the questions: "Why is modern battle primarily fire combat?"; "What are the content and method of conducting a tactical and marching drill exercise with subunits?"; "What maneuver can be performed in the forthcoming training exercise?"; "methods of combating the enemy's electronic equipment and antitank means." The creative work of the commanders was accomplished in all the classwork before the training exercise and became a concern of the entire military collective of the company.

Several times they conducted training exercises with commanders in control of the subunit and its fire--different methods of operating in a different situation, control commands and drills with the means of radio communication were mastered. Control was established in every exercise and in everyday army life. The prescribed order was established in the company, while alacrity and accuracy were inculcated in the personnel led by their commanders. In exercises, commands were prepared and executed, and reports rendered.

/The tactical and marching drill exercise/ before the training exercise allowed 95 percent of the training time for operations--training, commands and reports --and only 5 percent for the assignment of missions, explanations and critiques. New questions of deployment and control were rehearsed with diligence and creativity by the entire personnel.

In the tactical training exercise with field firing, the layout of training targets was not arranged in accordance with the old stereotype, but according to the modern concepts by which the enemy fights battles; means of electronic warfare and many other surprises were used. Interesting "combat," approximating modern requirements, was acted out. This was proof that conditions are being brought about for the creative military scientific work of commanders in the organization and control of, and methods of fighting a modern battle.

Not long ago a small military collective, with the help of scientific institutes, developed an electronic monitoring contactless instrument for driver training for combat vehicles. Its introduction released many service personnel, engaged in providing driving, from inefficient utilization of their military labor. It saves training time, increases the capacity of tankodromes, eliminates subjectivism in ratings, saves money and has other advantages besides.

For a long time a group of officers has been engaged also with the question of the fire efficiency of armored carriers. Two company commanders measure distances and angles while the armored carriers are on the move at some distance behind the tanks. These are recorded in notebooks, the commanders theorize, and at length the most accurate decision is found. The two company commanders will have to implement it in practice. The first experiment was favorable, but in its practical implementatioon a few more unsolved questions have arisen, namely, mainly in the control of the subunits and their fire. In constructing a fire system on the offensive, it is imperative that there be uniform reference points and signals, that the regulation control commands be mastered, and that exact and punctual execution of the commands be required. Nobody is accusing the company commanders and the exercise director of the deficiencies that have occurred. They have created difficulties for themselves--jamming, complex layout of training targets, powerful antitank defense, high speed, use of smoke screens, and many other means and methods besides that make training conditions approximate the requirements of modern combat. They were thinking how they would wage war under modern conditions. And with good reason.

Those commanders err who believe that military scientific work, creative quests and investigations of new forms and methods of armed combat, and the tactical use of combat materiel and weapons are a sector solely for scientists at scientific institutes, for the academy and senior staff officers. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union shows that when practical battle experience raised questions for military science, in large part they were solved directly in the troops on the initiative of the commanders. Thus practical experience necessitated tankproof areas, the trench system etc.

/The main laboratory/ of military scientific quests and the basic experimental center for the development of new solutions and the refinement of the theoretical principles reflected in our regulations are tactical training exercises and drills which reveal to commanders the wide potentialities of military scientific creative work.

With the rise in the role of small subunits in modern combat, the necessity of involving unit commanders in military scientific research has grown significantly.

Company commander Lt Ivanov pondered for a long time how to deploy the company for attack on a mountainous terrain. Something bothered him, but he threw up his hands and decided to deploy it, as hitherto, in columns of platoons and then in a line of vehicles. The terrain concealed the approach and deployment. The company was deployed in columns of platoons, but on reaching the narrowest part of the ridge the platoons came together in almost one column.

After this training exercise the commanders discussed other methods of company deployment. And this brought them success.

In recent years scientific works, prepared by individual officers and collectives, have been published on a number of important questions in military science. There is no concealing that among them there are some poor ones, without practical value or simply put together from foreign translated works. Many of these have no scientific or practical value. The reason lies in the inadequate knowledge of the character of modern all-arms combat and the lack of practical military experience. But experience shows that important fundamental research yields the highest results when conducted by the integrated efforts of scientific institutes, VUZ's [higher educational institutions] and the troops.

The personal participation of commander, staff, party and Komsomol workers determines the attitude and participation of subordinate commanders, communists and Komsomol members towards scientific military research and towards its efficiency and quality.

The involvement and activation of all subunit commanders in military scientific research will sharply improve their personal training, the quality of the training process, the combat readiness of the troops and the efficiency of the military scientific research itself. And this will lead to greater successes in both combat and political training.

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QUESTIONS ON MILITARY SCHOOLS STUDIES ANSWERED

Prague LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA in Czech No 11, 1982 pp 416-417

[Text] [Question] My son is about to graduate from a military high school. At which advanced military school can he pursue his studies upon graduation from this type of high school? (Pavel K., Prague)

[Answer] Graduates of military high schools of Jan Zizka from Trocnov in Opava, Moravska Trebova, Prague and the school of Slovak National Uprising in Banska Bystrica are afforded an opportunity to pursue their studies at advanced military schools in keeping with the needs of the Czechoslovak People's Army and are trained particularly for studying at the Ground Forces Military Academy of three-time hero of the CSSR and hero of the Soviet Union general of the army Ludvik Svoboda (4-year command and engineering orientations motorized infantry, armor, reconnaissance, artillery and engineers) and the Military Technical Academy of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship in Liptovsky Mikulas (4-year command and engineering study orientations--radiotechnical means of antiair defense, antiaircraft artillery technology, radar complexes and automated systems of command, troops of national antiair defense and communications and signal troops).

Only a limited number of military high school graduates are afforded the possibility to study at the Military Aviation Academy of the Slovak National Uprising in Kosice. Specifically, it is a 4-year command and engineering study orientation pilot school. However, applicants for this course of study, while meeting all generally applicable conditions, must, if selected, also render proof of physical fitness for aviation training certified by the Aviation Health Institute.

Students of military high schools whose state of health deteriorated in the course of their high school studies and have a lower medical classification can study at other military schools those courses specified by the Ministry of National Defense. However, in no case is it envisioned to allow these graduates to attend the Military Medical Research and Postgraduate Studies Institute of Jan Evangelista Purkyne in Hradec Kralove, which also applies to military specialization in the School of Physical Education and Sports of the King Charles University in Prague.

[Question] Is it possible to study at an advanced military school immediately upon graduation from a military vocational high school? (Alexandr S., Ceske Budejovice)

[Answer] Only the best graduates of military high schools can be allowed to pursue studies at advanced military schools immediately upon graduation from a military vocational high school, depending on the needs of individual branches and services of the Czechoslovak People's Army in keeping with specific quotas prescribed by the Ministry of National Defense.

Selection of career soldiers and, consequently, also of graduates of military vocational high schools for study at military academies is organized in keeping with the long-term needs of individual branches and services after several years of practical performance of specific military functions whereby the candidate must meet all the prescribed criteria for acceptance for study at a military academy.

[Question] I am a graduate of the Air Force Military Vocational High School. Can I continue my studies through attendance of the 2-year Air Force Officers School? (Arnost V., Bratislava)

[Answer] Selections for attendance of the 2-year Air Force Officers School are made from the ranks of civilian and military youth skilled in some trade or farming with incomplete secondary education. In view of the fact that you do not meet the above specified conditions, you cannot be accepted for study at the 2-year Air Force Officers School established at the Presov Military Aviation Training Center.

Thus, as regards graduates of the Air Force Vocational High School, after completion of their studies they are assigned warrant officer grade to perform technical functions in Air Force and technical aviation units. Nevertheless, it is true that the best graduates of that school, if interested and if they submit an application, can be assigned directly for study at the Air Force Military Academy of the Slovak National Uprising in Kosice. Others, after several years' experience in Air Force units can apply for study in military, mechanical, or electrotechnical engineering. Top graduates of the Air Force Military Vocational High School, depending on conditions and opportunities, can be assigned to Air Force or technical aviation units where they will perform basic officer functions and, if their performance warrants, can apply to take officer examinations and become career officers of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

[Question] What is the objective of studies at the Military Aviation Training Center in Presov? (Boris M., Mlada Boleslav)

[Answer] The mission of the Military Aviation Training Center in Presov is to provide an all-round preparation for life and service as career soldiers in units of the Czechoslovak Air Force highly qualified and ideologically mature specialists in the fields of aviation engineering, radiotechnical aviation support, airport operational services and meteorological service.

Flight safety and the life of aircraft crews depend on reliable functioning of aviation equipment, and the latter depends on the performance of aviation ground specialists. For that reason the performance of these specialists must be characterized by a high degree of personal responsibility, precision, conscientious perseverance, mutually coordinated teamwork, help and support. The challenging nature of their performance places high demands on the character, ideological awareness, professional, physical and mental quality of personnel that prepare avaiation technology for carrying out both training and combat missions.

[Question] Can a married attendant of a military academy--a career soldier be assigned family quarters? (Antonin D., Pardubice)

[Answer] Married students of military academies are not assigned quarters in the course of their studies, i.e., the reader cannot count on being assigned family quarters in the course of his studies at a military academy. Only in entirely exceptional cases can the commandant of a military academy, if the school's conditions permit, allow a married student to share one room with his spouse in the bachelors quarters.

[Question] I am a certified apprentice in a trade. Being a girl, can I pursue studies at the 2-year Air Force Officers School to become a helicopter pilot? (Helena T., Ostrava)

[Answer] The 2-year Air Force Officers School can be attended exclusively by boys skilled in a trade or in farming with completed basic education. From this it follows that the 2-year Air Force Officers School for training helicopter pilots cannot be attended by girls.

[Question] I am concluding my wnd year of studies at the Technical College in Brno. Can I transfer to continue my 3rd year of studies at the Military Aviation Academy in Kosice? (Julius M., Hodonin)

While the law applying to institutions of higher learning enables students to transfer to another institution of higher learning, this possibility is not provided under the conditions of the Czechoslovak People's Army for several reasons. First of all, attendants of military academies from the ranks of civilian youth perform during the first 5 months of their studies simultaneously their basic military service and, after its completion, are accepted for employment as career soldiers with the grade of warrant officer. In addition, while social science, general education and general engineering subjects at military academies are almost identical, special academic subjects with specialized military orientation that already had formed a part of the curriculum, would not allow transferring students to pass qualifying examinations.

For the specified reasons a transfer from the 2nd year of studies at the Technical College in Brno, after completion of studies, to the 3rd year of studies at the Military Aviation Academy of the Slovak National Uprising in Kosice is not possible.

If you are genuinely interested in studying at the Military Aviation Academy of the Slovak National Uprising in Kosice, your only resource is to commence studies at that school starting with the 1st year.

Answers prepared by -JJ-

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EFFECTIVENESS OF PUNISHMENT IN CRIMINAL'S RE-EDUCATION DISPUTED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 91, 18 Jun 82 pp 1-2

/Report from Berlin: "Crime Rate Is Causing Worries in GDR--East Berlin Criminologist Doubts Educational Effectiveness of Prison Sentences." A translation of the East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ article cited below follows this commentary/

/Text/ In a conversation with reporters Magdeburg Bezirk public prosecutor Manfred Wagner admitted that, despite much progress, crime in the GDR still gives cause for concern "to some extent." According to him one reason is the great material damage caused by crime,especially in the economy. In Magdeburg alone such damage amounted to more than M12 million in 1981, and this does not even take into account some serious economic after effects. Wagner reports that crimes against property continue to loom large in GDR crime statistics. (In 1980 the 60,940 crimes against property recorded in the GDR accounted for 47.2 percent of total crime--IWE) As regards the punishment of crimes, the Magdeburg Bezirk public prosecutor stated that only every fourth offender was sentenced to a prison term in 1981. The bezirk public prosecutor considers the preponderance of probation an important method for re-educating the offender by and in society.

In this connection East Berlin criminologist Prof Erich Buchholz proclaimed his doubts about the educational effectiveness of prison sentences. In an article in the East Berlin review NEUE JUSTIZ (No 6, 1982) he wrote that sentences involving the loss of liberty did not provide a favorable outlook for lasting re-education, because the offender was removed from general social relations and his desirable re-integration in society disrupted. In general Buchholz warned against overestimating the potential of penalties. Unduly high expectations were bound to "have an adverse effect" on political and prosecutorial practice.

GDR Criminologist's Critique

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 36 No 6, Jun 82 pp 263-267

/'For Discussion' feature article by Prof Dr Erich Buchholz, Jurisprudence Department, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "The Educational Role and Effectiveness of Punishment"/

/Text/ The current discussion of basic problems of punishment in socialism[1] focuses primarily on the question of the role and potential of punishment, its educational function and effectiveness. As H. Weber properly pointed out, these issues are debated especially because our society has entered a new and advanced stage of its development, and the Tenth SED Congress has issued new and more challenging assignments in the field of criminal law also. In the stage of the developed socialist society ----a necessary, inevitable and historically long period in the development of the communist society--[2]the theoretical and practical mastery of the "dialectic between external and internal development," "the provision of correct interrelations between the various sectors of social life" becomes "one of the most important issues."[3] Decisive here is the further "perfection of the total democratic structure of the political organization of socialism..., the operational efficiency of the workers and farmers power in all situations." This includes the necessity "more accurately in terms of science to define the place, the role, the function and the mode of action of the state and the law (and of course also the various politico-legal remedies such as punishment--E.B.) within the political organization."[4]

In view of these aspects, punishment should not be considered as an isolated measure but in its many dialectic, social, political and ideological contexts. As G. Kraeupl/L. Reuter properly note,[5] we must distinguish clearly between its complex operational mechanism and the network of innumerable reciprocal social, personal and material as well as ideological and objective givens (conditions for operation and/or effectiveness) and the criteria of efficacy. We will not achieve greater effectiveness by changes to or in punishment (the amount of the penalty, for example). Greater Effectiveness can be generated only to the extent that we succeed in so altering operational conditions as will enable us better to achieve the aim of the punishment or the purposes of criminal responsibility.

The Educational Function of Punishment

In the theory and practice of our criminal law we often mention education. It may, though, be somewhat unclear what exactly we mean by this term, and we tend to note a frequent unscientific approach to this question, sterile arguments about terms as well as obsolete conceptions.

I maintain that a fruitful discussion of the educational function of punishment, of education by punishment or the unity of punishment and education is possible only when we assume that appropriate conceptions exist not only of punishment but also of education. We need to finally abandon all un-Marxist and unscientific attitudes.

The Bourgeois Conception of Education

Our citizens have by no means universally discarded the bourgeois conception of education, whether in terms of ideology or action. This conception is fundamentally oriented to the individual in isolation and basically means that an individual educator unilaterally acts upon pupils (again primarily defined as individuals) as objects of education (with aims differentiated as to class). This educational conception, oriented to the individual in isolation, reflects the basic bourgeois social model of cooperation--based mainly on the exchange of goods--between (individual) private owners. It corresponds to the conception of individual freedom. In other words, education there is understood as a process that is largely removed from real

life, as influence exerted on the respective individuals, exerted manipulatively, behaviorally, approvingly and disapprovingly as well as politico-administratively.

Of course man is a social being, even in capitalism, "an ensemble of social conditions," living and working in social groups and relationships. The working class there also is developing its new educational concept of education, directed to a sense of community and solidarity. Yet, still predominant is the educational concept based on the philosophy of bourgeois individualism. Despite many differences in detail, it determines the types and methods of education practiced. Analogously they are to be found within the scope of bourgeois criminal law (including execution) in various programs of treatment and resocialization or socio-therapeutic concepts as well as types of probationary assistance.

At the same time a critical glance at our everyday education shows that even here verbal or administrative influences, oriented to the individual, continue to persist. I maintain that such educational practices leave unexploited significant potentials and reserves of the socialist society. We will be able to overcome the backlog with regard to the social potentials and needs only when we achieve ideological clarity as the intellectual prerequisite for correct action.

The Marxist-Leninist Concept of Education

In acute and fundamental contrast to the bourgeois concept of education, oriented to the individual, Marxism-Leninism assumes that people are the products of circumstances and education, and changed people therefore the product of changed circumstances and education. Consequently it is of paramount importance for the circumstances to be changed by people, and for the educator himself to be educated. In other words, the conjunction of the change in circumstances and human activity must be interpreted as revolutionary practice. Karl Marx countered Feuerbach's "perception of single individuals" by that of "social humankind."[6]

Such fundamentally different philosophical approaches to the issue of education result in a totally different conception of education: In socialism men develop and educate themselves under the leadership of the party of the working class, mainly by way of cooperative production and sociopolitical practice as well as by their cultural activities in their many collectives and interhuman relations.

Socialist education is basically the purposeful organization of collective life and work, the active interrelations between active members of the collective, who are mainly themselves subjected to this collective educational process and thus reproduce the unity of collective and self-education. Of course certain people (parents, teachers, managers and so on) hold a special--and leading--responsibility. Education in the collectives is largely managed and encouraged by central total societal politico-ideological and moral-legal orientations and assignments (including by legislation and judicial verdicts, social organizations and mass media).

Socialist education therefore reflects in a quite specific manner the purposeful development of the socialist production method by the unity of socialist democracy and democratic centralism. The dialectic of individual and society involved here is crucially affected by several and varied collectives or collective relations within which the individual works, lives and develops his personality.

Conscious Organization of Social and Individual-Personal Development

It is not possible within the scope of this article to present the entire socialist conception of education. To be emphasized as particularly significant and characteristic is the fact that education is rooted in work and must be interpreted as reciprocal activity in collective relations as well as a purposefully and politically managed process that, in itself, is only one element of the reproduction of the respective society. Education, therefore, must mainly be the conscious organization--relevant to facts and tasks--of social and individual-personal development. Any "special kind" of education removed from this runs the risk of, for example, going to waste in nothing but constant talk and admonition, or of deteriorating to an "individual war" between educator and pupil (especially if particular pedagogical "authority" is claimed vis-a-vis the growing individual self-awareness). Education may never be separate from the collective (family, school class, work collective) nor from work (or corresponding activities such as study). Consequently we reject concepts (and often persisting practices) asserting that social education may be guaranteed by the mere reassignment of the respective person to another work collective (for example in the shape of an obligation to serve probation on the job if a probation sentence is pronounced as per article 34 StGB /criminal code/, by reintegration as per article 4 paragraph 2 of the reintegration law, or--in the case of criminally endangered persons--as per article 4 paragraph 3 letter a of the decree on the tasks of local councils and enterprises in the education of criminally endangered citizens). These concepts must indeed be rejected if the person involved is to be more than the subject of "collective education," "collective educational influence," exerted by other members of the collective instead of being helped to evolve, assume and persist in an active role in the (possibly yet to be developed) collective relations.[7]

Collectives and collective relations are the social sphere where in fact the (social) education of undisciplined citizens, criminals, criminally endangered and asocial persons does or does not take place also. The personnel of certain state organs and experts (judges, public prosecutors, staffs of Youth Aid or the department for interior affairs, psychologists and psychiatrists) outside these social relations can and must assist and encourage this real social deaily process "from the outside." They give advice and counsel, initiate administrative and organizational measures and set political, moral and legal criteria (for instance by a judicial sentence). They are not able, though, directly to organize this educational process. Their work is the more effective and successful, the better they manage with the help of their specific knowledge and experiencea to enable the collectives together and confidently to cope with the individuals (including those who have difficulties or make them in the collective) regarding the problems of the collective and the individuals. The stage of social development achieved enables and requires us to arrange these differentiated social interrelations in a more coordinated, systematic, conscious and organized (and, consequently, more effective) form and at the same time respect the growing role of the basic collectives (work collectives, family, and so on).

Collective Relations as the Foundation for Coping With Disciplinary and Integrative Difficulties

No real education is to be found outside or past these differentiated social interrelations. It is entirely natural, even inevitable, that now--when socialism here

is developing on its own foundation after the revolutionary solution of the decisive and basic socio-economic problems--we can increasingly devote ourselves to the development of individual personalities in their collectives, indeed want and must do so. In my view this indicates the emergence at a higher level of new problems that are no less complex and comprehensive, involving all scientific disciplines. These problems must be handled as a whole, together with all economic, political and ideological needs. Evidently we do not yet dispose of answers that are the best in every respect. However, a decisive factor is a basic conception, appropriate to the real social inevitabilities and defining the evolving socialist personality in its social activity and real materially determined collectivity. The long-range strategy based on this conception, though, must ensure that--in the case of educational, integrative and disciplinary difficulties exceeding the natural contradictorniess and conflict potential of any developmental and educational process reflecting the incipient emergence from elementary collective social relations --every effort is made right from the start and as early as possible to exclude any further separation of such people from normal collective relations and to create such conditions as will serve their social integration.

In view of some persisting erroneous conceptions and harmful practices in our daily lives it is impossible to overemphasize this basic conception, postulated by the very nature of socialism. Of course it can be fully realized only in the long term but is nevertheless completely valid. Disregarding some necessary reactions--including administrative measures--in single instances, the basic orientation appropriate to socialism, that is the involvement of all citizens--is bound to lead to the conclusion that people with disciplinary and integrative difficulties also must be practically and socially rather than just formally integrated in and by various collective relations. This difficult task requires patience and, above all, sensitivity, understanding and appreciation of the partner. It also needs consistency and practical aid, especially because sometimes an opposite development was permitted to continue for many years. If, in single cases, these efforts remain unsuccessful, nobody should be either surprised or even discouraged. All special (for example sociopedagogical or punitive and administrative) measures must still be so designed as to ultimately achieve a productive reintegration of such people too--by one means or the other--in natural and real collective relations.[8] There simply is no such thing as a pedagogical miracle method.

Relationship Between Punishment and Education

Punishment and education have common social bases and the same class-like purpose. Precisely for that reason they may be related to one another. However, highly significant are the differences accounting for the absolute inadmissibility of any equalization or comparability--also in the meaning of the alternative "education" or "punishment."

The Conceptual Definition of "Punishment" and "Education"

Education amounts to a permanent, contradictory, complex and progressive process of individual as well as collective development. It employs certain forms, methods and means, including disapproving reactions to offneses against the interests of the collective.

Punishment (criminal penalty) by contrast is a single remedy (used for a relatively shorter or longer period) serving total societal-national interests (purposes), in particular protection from crime (articles 1 and 2 StGB). Consequently punishment is aimed especially at hostile criminal attacks and other serious crimes. Here the task of educating the criminal by way of punishment is certainly not in the foreground.

With regard to collective development and collective relationships within which the criminal lives, punishment derives "from the outside," a superior interest. Its educational function therefore has a genuinely practical effect only if (being a total societal-national measure) it finds support in the collectives, and if the criminal is prepared and ready to accept the claim on him expressed in mandatory fashion by the penalty and underlined by the necessity of serving his sentence. In this case the punishment serves not only an offender-related (individually preventive) but also a society-related (generally preventive) education and stabilization of the citizens.

By its specific nature, though, punishment aims to educate criminals and others to the observance of socialist legality or action for the prevention of crime. Punishment, therefore, is not a means for coping with a social misdevelopment[9] or correcting other phenomena of personality deformation (such as asocial behavior or "hardened and persistently wrong attitudes of recidivists").[10] It is neither suitable nor intended for such a purpose. However, in conjunction with other forms, means and methods adequate to such phenomena, it may well assist the process of overcoming misdevelopments.

It is imperative for the educational operation of the punishment to be based on the collectives within which the offender lives. It would indeed be more accurate not to say that punishment educates but to assume that the punishment imparts certain impulses to the educational actions of the collectives or in the collectives, and that it operates educationally by way of these collectives. The socialist society offers fundamental and basically new prerequisites, potentials and opportunities for this educational effect of penalties. Unfortunately they often fail to be sufficiently utilized.

In the case of penalties not involving the loss of freedom in particular, favorable collective and personality conditions may be expected to yield the desired educational results more often than do less favorable conditions. In my opinion it is not at all surprising that optimum conditions for educational influence do not prevail when punishment needs to involve the loss of freedom, thereby removing the offender from general social relations.

Crime Relevance and Temporal Limitation of the Punishment

In contrast to education, crime relevance (or the crime principle) is of particular significance for the specific nature of punishment. The crime is the only actual and legal reason for the punishment. The criterion for the penalty is the seriousness of the crime, the extent of criminal responsibility. Limited thereby is the temporal operation of the judicial penalty (for example the length of the period of imprisnment or probation) as well as the kind of operation (for example obligations or inroads in the rights of the offender).[11] The educational influence of the

collectives and social forces, on the other hand, is unlimited both in temporal and substantive terms--exactly like the educational process in general.

Punishment in socialism consequently draws mainly from the inexhaustible social source of strength, deriving from it its special effectiveness. To use the benefits of socialism in this meaning therefore means the closest possible coupling of the state (penal code) types of influence with those of social influence, collective education (see article 2 paragraph 2 StGB). For the definition of the extent of the penalty and the punitive effect of the penalty, the crime principle (that is the principle of defining the penalty by the seriousness of the crime, by the extent of personal criminal responsibility) exercises an important juridical guarantee function[12] in the interest of security under the law.

The sometimes extremely serious interference with the rights and interests of a citizen caused by the penalty require its limitation as per a generally applicable criterion set by the ruling working class, as per a legal apportionment discernible only from an objectified attitude. This follows inevitably from the legal nature of the punishment and, at the same time, signifies that neither some need for education nor treatment nor a (personal) threat posed by the criminal may be the criterion for the severity of the punishment. Any measures possibly determined by such criteria would deny the very nature of punishment. These aspects may not result in a more severe penalty (compulsory application) than objectively warranted and justified by the seriousness of the crime.[13]

As defined by the crime principle, punishment differs from any curative measures, whether in the shape of treatment, social therapy, social pedagogy and similar--most of all medical treatment--, which are dictated not by the criterion of responsibility but by the therapeutic result to be achieved. That is why the execution of the sentence definitely ends at the time prescribed, regardless of any goals actually achieved, while the duration of a curative treatment, a sociotherapeutical or special sociopedagogical measure (such as a youth work camp) is always oriented to the achievement of curative or therapeutical success (or similar conditions), certainly not to the seriousness of the offense.

Individualization of Punishment

The juridical nature of the penalty also implies that any individualization of the punishment, in other words consideration for the individuality of the offender, is possible or admissible not in absolute terms but only as per the legal standards (of the general and specific section, StGB).[14] The socialist criminal code does indeed offer a good deal of scope to expert differentiation. The legally defined circumstances relating to a crime and the criminal are also the objective of the ascertainment of facts in the course of the investigation or the court hearing of evidence (for example, among others, the offender's fitness for work as per article 33 paragraph 4 No 1 in conjunction with article 34 StGB). By contrast other aspects--collective situation, special personal problems, peculiarities or kinds of reaction, exceptional circumstances, and so on--are taken into account within the scope of collective education or pedagogical practice (such as the case of collective or pedagogical disapproval of a disciplinary offense). Evidently the criminal code allows very little scope indeed to such considerations.

The Operational Mechanism of Punishment

The connections described earlier have direct significance for the problem of the effectiveness of punishment and its improvement also--this is the most important and comprehensive practical task of our administration of justice. It is impossible in this article to deal in detail with the theory of the operation and effectiveness of the law. It is obvious, though, that any well-founded appraisal of the effectiveness of punishment and any promising action aimed at its improvement depend on the operation of the punishment, how its operational mechanism proceeds, which real effects it arouses or is able to arouse.

Any overestimate of the potential of punishment, any excessive expectation of its operation[15] is bound to prove harmful to political and prosecutorial practice--exactly as any unjustified underestimate of its sociopolitical function. It is my belief that we must deal firmly with some persisting erroneous conceptions that assume a direct connection between punishment and renewed crime and therefore declare recidivism to be the prime criterion of the effectiveness of punishment--and consequently also of the execution of sentences.[16] Basically such conceptions deny the individual decisionmaking ability and responsibility of the person punished and impute a one-dimensional and mechanical causal connection between punishment and renewed crime. Thus considered, punishment turns into the cause of recidivism (or its absence). However, such a mode of thought misjudges the actual complexity of genuine interrelations, the objective dialectic of reality.

Actually punishment is only one factor among the many social "criminogenous and anticriminogenous" material and ideological conditions in which the individual decides to commit a crime, motivated by irresponsible independence, or avoids criminal behavior, motivated by a sense of responsibility. Punishment indeed does not proceed in isolation and mechanically, it operates in varied, total societal, collective and individual, social and personal conditions. The (sane and accountable) person is not merely the plaything of circumstances. He is a person capable of independent action and responsible decisions (failing this he could not even be tried). He is this all the more as our socialist social conditions have eliminated the socio-economic roots of crime.

The Operation of Punishment Within the Social Operation

In my opinion we may talk of the effectiveness of punishment only when taking into account the totality of the many interrelations as a social operation within which the punishment itself in fact acts and arouses quite specific, albeit very different effects. At the same time the mechanism of this operation is very differentiated in the individual case with respect to the various kinds of punishment, their pronouncement and execution. It proceeds in quite definite circumstances. However much effectiveness is linked with operation and effect, we must observe important differences. The effectiveness (of the punishment) cannot be simply deduced from its (varied) effects. I think we can say that punishment is effective only if the effects of the punishment meet the sociopolitical goals of the punishment (protection, prevention and education)--provided the results to be appraised are in fact effects (results) of the punishment, the penalty (the court sentence as well as its execution) and do not arise from other causes.

Punishment has its effect in the real social living conditions indicated (and these are not confined to conditions in the GDR). Admittedly, it affects the criminal himself most strongly and directly, but it also affects others (such as his family, his collective, his friends). Consequently it affects both the offender and society. Being a total societal-state measure, punishment can never be explained as something to be achieved with regard to the criminal alone. As a specific means for the enforcement of criminal responsibility it serves most of all the protection from and prevention of new crimes. In this connection let me remind you of the basic Marxist-Leninist doctrine that punishment has an important and necessary but ultimately no more than a supporting role in the struggle against crime.

Social Conditions for Achieving the Goal of the Punishment

The actual effects of the punishment on the criminal and others may or may not correspond to the desired goal (that no new crimes be committed). However, possible side effects may be such undesirable results as rejection, hardening, unreasonableness and mistrust by the offender and his environment.

It is important to be quite clear about the factors actually deciding the achievement of the goals of punishment, the social, material and ideological conditions crucial in this context, their individual standing, and whether and how they can and must be affected. The effectiveness of the punishment depends neither on our goals, intentions and desires nor on the punishment itself, let alone its apportionment. The severity of the punishment is neither the criterion nor the condition of its effectiveness; a different apportionment of punishment cannot directly achieve greater effectiveness either. Moreover, the effectiveness of punishment must be clearly defined as a politico-ideological problem and marked off from any economic cost/profit calculation.[17]

In this connection I would like to indicate the purpose-means dialectic, highly significant for the problem of effectiveness. As A.S.Makarenko persuasively demonstrated for our topic, no method has a significance that can be determined a priori. No method is per se positive or negative. It is not possible to use just any measure to achieve desired purposes or goals. Everything depends on the conditions in which certain measures are applied and operate, and which largely determine the effectiveness of the measure. Decisive is the total system of measures and methods within which a certain measure, such as punishment, is employed.[18]

The effectiveness of punishment depends on social, material and political conditions and, therefore, also on whether and in how far these may be organized more favorably in connection with the actual prosecution. The improvement of effectiveness is tantamount with the task to affect social conditions and the organization of society. This is not a task confined to judicial and security organs; indeed it is a comprehensive and complex sociopolitical task in the meaning of article 90 of the constitution and the preamble as well as article 3 StGB. Actually the task of crime prevention largely coincides with the task of improving the effectiveness of the criminal code, punishment and trials. At the same time it must also be interpreted as the task progressively so to organize social conditions in both large and small matters as to have them also more favorably affect the effectiveness of punishment.

Groups of Conditions for Operation

If we assume that total societal, political, ideological and other social conditions in the GDR and at the international level are givens,[19] I will confine myself here to emphasizing the following groups of operational or effectiveness conditions:[20]

-- The personality, the particular stage of the criminal's ethical-political development (especially his consciousness of the law and his responsibility);

-- The ethical-political and sociopsychological situation in his collectives, in particular their consciousness of the law, ethics and responsibility, as well as the nature of collective relations, including relations with the offender and his standing in the collective;

-- The status and standard of legality, order and safety as well as consciousness of the law, ethics and responsibility in the larger social environment (region, enterprise, and so on);

-- The standard and quality of the work of judicial and security organs, especially with regard to the observance of legality and the rights of citizens consonant with the special responsibility of these organs (protective of the law) for the observance and assurance of legality in both its aspects (1. In the interest of society as protection from crime, and 2. In the meaning of respect for and observance of the rights and dignity of citizens as per articles 4 and 5 StGB).

This also means that the strict observance of all standards and regulations of the material as well as the trial law does not serve socialist legality alone but represents an essential precondition for the achievement of the greatest possible effectiveness of punishment. Just this strict observance of all material and juridical regulations is the most elementary and basic requirement for the achievement of the greatest possible effectiveness of punishment. The management of the organs of justice and security is therefore oriented mainly to the absolute and total enforcement of these requirements. Accordingly supervision to ensure the absolute impossibility of any nonobservance of legal regulations (by way of the legally settled methods including disciplinary responsibility or recall) has increasing status and carries much greater weight in the stage of social development now achieved, especially from the aspect of raising the effectiveness of the law.

Based on this evident prerequisite it is imperative in my opinion, by the use of existing means and oppoertunities in the course of the trial and the execution of the sentence, so to influence the offender directly as well as (and very much so) by way of the collectives and other social relationships as to encourage his practical-productive social integration. By this means the conditions for the effectiveness of punishment are improved and a greater effectiveness of punishment will be achieved.

FOOTNOTES

1. See H. Weber, "The Place of Punishment in Socialism," NEUE JUSTIZ 1980, No 6, p 248; the same author's, "On the Content of the Implementation of the Sentence," NEUE JUSTIZ 1980, No 12, p 544; U. Daehn/H. Weber, "Effectiveness of Punishment," NEUE JUSTIZ 1981, No 9, p 399; G. Kraeupl/L. Reuter, "Operating Conditions of the Punishment of Recidivists," NEUE JUSTIZ 1981, No 12, p 559.

2. See L.I. Brezhnev, "CPSU Central Committee Report and the Coming Tasks of the Party in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Berlin 1981, p 107.

3. See O. Reinhold, "Theory and Practice of the Organization of Developed Socialism," EINHEIT 1981, No 10, pp 977 ff (here pp 980 and 984).

4. See G. Schuessler, "The Tenth SED Congress Resolutions--Guideline of Political Science and Juridsprudence Research," NEUE JUSTIZ 1981, No 10, p 434.

5. See G. Kraeupl/L. Reuter, as before, pp 559 and 561.

6. See Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach," in Marx/Engels, Collected Works, Vol 3, Berlin 1959, p 5.

7. See A.S. Makarenko, Collected Works, Vol 5, Berlin 1969, pp 485, 494, 527; W. Salzwedel, "Umrisse einer Allgemeinen Paedagogik" /Outlines of General Pedagogy/, Humboldt University 1981, pp 16 ff, 52 ff and 121 ff; from the penal aspect also see E. Buchholz, "The Educational Function of Punishment in the Period of Developed Socialist Construction," NEUE JUSTIZ 1964, No 19, pp 590 f; the same author's, "The Content of Social Education in the Penal Code," NEUE JUSTIZ 1967, No 7, pp 212 ff.

8. I interpret in this meaning G. Kraeupl/L. Reuter's call for the social reintegration of unstable-asocial recidivists (as before, p 561).

9. We must welcome for basic penal-theoretical reasons that the punishment of assignment to a youth house (formerly article 75 StGB) has been abolished. The direct goal of this type of penalty was the elimination of the social misbehavior of the young person, and the length of residence in the youth house was dependent on the success of reeducation. These were aspects that could not really be reconciled with penal principles.

10. See also U. Daehn/H. Weber, as before, p 400.

11. It is at least a misinterpretation for U. Daehn/H. Weber (as before, p 398) to say that "the effects of punishment are limited due to the fact that it relates to the crime." The crime relevance of punishment does indeed limit the kind, extent and length of the (politico-legal) operation of the punishment but not its actual positive and negative social and psychological effects, because these depend on the sum total of the real material and ideological conditions.

12. The abolition of the crime principle as the achievement of penal enlightenment by the rising bourgeoisie in its subsequent transition to the monopoly-capitalist stage--something I cannot at this point examine in greater detail--casts a remarkable light on the legal security and juridical guarantees in these countries.

13. See also E. Buchholz/H. Dettenborn, "Ability and Readiness of the Criminal for Future Responsible Action," NEUE JUSTIZ 1979, No 10, pp 440 ff (442). This article, though, also explains that, in individual cases, the penalty may be less than that normally called for by the seriousness of the offense, and that possibly no penalty at all may be imposed.

14. I agree with G. Kraeupl/L. Reuter who endeavor further to increase the "offender relevance of the penalty" by implanting it in other measures. The individualization (or offender relevance) of punishment cannot be unlimited; it must be oriented to legal standards. However, crucial for the effectiveness of the punishment is the individual work with the criminal (outside the scope of the penal code), especially in the stage of the implementation of the sentence.

15. U. Daehn/H. Weber (as before, p 399) also and quite properly objected to this.

16. Unlike U. Daehn/H. Weber (as before, p 399), I would therefore avoid talking of a "failure of punishment" (in cases of recidivism), because this could result in wrong and mechanistic concepts about the possibility of being able directly to measure the effectiveness of the penalty.

17. See also the pertinent remarks by U. Daehn/H. Weber, as before, p 401.

18. See W. Salzwedel, as before, pp 166 f; A.S. Makarenko, as before, pp 11 f.

19. That is why, basically, the effectiveness of punishment cannot be greater than the stage of social development achieved. It is imperative, though, optimally to utilize existing conditions.

20. G. Kraeupl/L. Reuter properly indicate that conditions and criteria of effectiveness as well as the various levels of operation must be distinguished (as before, pp 559, 561).

11698
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THEOLOGIAN NOTES NEW DEVELOPMENT IN MARXIST-CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE

Budapest VILAGOSSAG in Hungarian No 7 Jul 82 pp 400-405

[Article by Elemer Kocsis, Professor of Theology at Debrecen Academy of Reformed Theology: "A New Development in Marxist-Christian Dialogue: On the "Marxist-Protestant" Dialogue in Debrecen]

[Text] In recent years, a Marxist-Protestant theoretical dialogue was begun in the columns of VILAGOSSAG. This worthy development significantly contributed to the establishment of the first Marxist-Protestant dialogue in the fall of the past year at the headquarters of the Academic Committee of Debrecen.

The symposium on religious theory held on September 25-26, 1981 in Debrecen and the Marxist-Protestant dialogue /qualitatively raised the dialogue between Marxists and Christians to a new level/. Posterity will have the task of determining whether this "dialogue in Debrecen" was truly a historically significant milestone. At any rate, widespread domestic interest as well as numerous international responses show that the dialogue was the sort of significant occurrence which deserves our interest and deeper analysis.

If we survey the history of Marxist-Christian dialogues, we can already determine with complete certainty that the circumstances and results of the establishment of the "dialogue in Debrecen" hold a unique place in the history of this type of dialogue. For the time being--disregarding the substantive results--the new format of the dialogue is already worthy of mention: 1. we can establish that never before has there been dialogue between Marxists and Christians in which a communist party's most important expert in religion along with theologians recognized by one or more churches, that is, /recognized theoreticians from both parties/ participated. 2. Further, /the dialogue proved to be productive for Marxists and Protestant Christians al ke/. 3. The goal of the theoretical dialogue conducted between Marxists and Christians to intensify the practical cooperation already proven to be sound, is totally novel.

I wish to support the above-made statements with a short survey of the history of Marxist-Christian dialogue. Although this survey does not attempt to be complete, it nevertheless strives to point out the nature and significant trends of the dialogues to date.

Initially, the /religious socialists/ were those who strove for a constructive encounter with Marxism. The religous socialists, however, could not theoretically resolve the issue of revolutionary force in Marxism, and till the very end, were unable to come to an agreement on this. On the other hand, somewhat romantically and idealistically, they identified the social aims of Marxism with the Kingdom of God. In this instance, despite every good intention, historical experience and conceptual clarity were lacking, both of which are necessary preconditions for productive dialogue.

The Christian Peace Conference [CPC] reached outstanding results in the field of /practical cooperation/ with the Marxists on such questions as, for example, the struggle against nuclear war, universal and complete disarmament, the continuation of the struggle for a more just social and economic world order, as well as cooperation on many concrete, practical international issues. The recent statement of Bishop Karoly Toth, president of the CPC, clearly indicates the merits of the movement of engaging in practical dialogue and cooperation with the Marxists. However, we can also clearly see that to date this dialogue has not dealt with fundamental theoretical issues.

The conference entitled "Church and Society" of the /World Council of Churches/ (WCC) sponsored a dialogue day in April 1968 in Geneva in which 34 theologians and 12 Marxists participated. The topic was the following: "Currents of Marxist and Christian thought concerning the questions of economic and technological development". This dialogue produced only one result worth mentioning which represented a new development in the history of Marxist-Christian dialogue. The participating Marxist and Christian theoreticians overwhelmingly argued that in the interest of a more just world order, far-reaching structural social changes are necessary, especially in the "third world". Following the reluctance of religious socialism, it seems that for the first time, an authorized forum of the Protestant and Orthodox worldwide church organization acknowledged--even if indirectly--the moral and political legitimacy of the socialist revolution.

Since 1971, the World Council of Churches maintains a permanent conference and a subdepartment at its Geneva headquarters which deals with questions concerning dialogues with various faiths and ideologies which is entitled "Dialogue with People of Living Faith and Ideologies". In 1980 this conference also held a session at Matrahaz. At is last session in December 1981 in Geneva, 30 delegates from 27 countries reported on what dialogues were conducted by member churches with different religions and ideologies in various parts of the world. Understanding the results of this conference, we can make two fundamental assertions about the work of the WCC concerning dialogues: 1. Till now, the WCC primarily noted the various dialogues pursued by the member churches. Now the theologians of the WCC are attempting to formulate the basic principles of the dialogues conducted with other faiths and ideologies. 2. Surveying the dialogues of the member churches, we can see that a dialogue similar to the "dialogue in Debrecen" is not occurring in any other part of the world. A fairly strong, practical cooperation developed between Marxists and Christians in developing countries struggling for their freedom, especially in South American and Africa; in the

capitalist countries, Marxists and Christians come together through the framework of many theoretical endeavors and concrete actions (e.g., peace marches), but practical cooperation founded on a clear theoretical basis has not yet occurred.

/The Geneva conference of the DFI contributed to the development of the Marxist-Christian dialogue, namely with respect to the attitude concerning the phenomenon of "ideology"./ At the beginning of the history of the WCC, ideology had exclusively a negative meaning. Ideology and Christianity appeared to be mutually exclusive truths. In the texts published by the WCC since the international meeting at New Delhi, ideology, taken by itself, appears as a neutral sociological term which acquires either positive or negative connotations depending on its humane or antihumane character. Ideology is a tool for man's communal strivings which is used to stabilize or mobilize society. Indeed, ideology represents the totality of different cultural and political strivings. According to the summary report of the conference, divine revelation and the corresponding beliefs cannot be included in the category of ideology; in fact, however, it is never isolated but rather always in a social, cultural, political, i.e., ideological, context. /We do not find Christian belief free of ideology either in the Bible or in the course of church history/. This connection resides in the historical nature of Christian faith. From the outset the connection of Christianity to ideology was given; the decisive issue is merely the type of ideology it is linked to and whether it can react self-critically to its own ideological bonds. We believe that this formulation of the problem, even if it does not solve it, takes the question debated not long ago in VILAGOSSAG—"Is Christian faith, i.e., Christianity, ideology?"—one step further.

It is also necessary to recall the efforts at dialogue of the Paulus Society. The Paulus Society, a private association, does not, despite public belief, belong either disciplinarily or organizationally, to the Roman Catholic Church. Between 1964 and 1978, the society conducted several high-level theoretical dialogues with the Marxists. The initial goal of the Paulus Society was to strive to ameliorate the cold-war atmosphere hallmarked by the USA, the CDU of Adenauer and the name of Pius XII through dialogue. The movement nevertheless failed primarily because it was only willing to engage in theoretical dialogue without practical cooperation.

Movement toward dialogue with Marxism has also occurred /in the Roman Catholic Church/ during the past two decades. Both Pius XI and Pius XII explicitly condemned Communism and prohibited the cooperation of Catholic Christians with Communists. In contrast, the encyclical "Pacem in Terris" (1963) of John XXIII considers the possibility of cooperation with all "men of good will". Vatican Council II does not explicitly mention the issue of Marxism, but many of the paragraphs in the pastoral letter "Gaudium et Spes" reflect on the questions and possibilities for dialogue. Paragraphs 19-22 state that Christian eschatological hope does not render wordly tasks insignificant. Believers and nonbelievers must work together to build this world, and honest and intelligent dialogue is necessary to achieve this. The letter deals with the issue of work and property and takes a stand on

the struggle against war siding with disarmament in such a manner that it concretely smooths the way towards dialogue (c.f., paragraphs 26, 29, 33-36, 42, 55, 71, 75, 77-82, 89-92).

In 1975, Pope Paul VI established the /"Secretariat for Nonbelievers"/ at the Vatican, the aim of which was to explore atheism and to prepare the dialogue between Christians and atheists.

The goal of the Secretariat for Nonbelievers was to urge and coordinate; the actual task of dialogue would be left to the various national churches. In 1968 and 1970, the Secretariat published two fundamental and authoritative documents. We can read in detail about the theory and practice of a possible dialogue in the 1968 document. This basic document distinguishes between three forms of dialogue: 1. Dialouge to overcome distrust and awaken mutual sympathy. 2. Meeting on the theoretical plane in the common search for truth. 3. Dialogue in the interest of common action while setting aside theoretical differences. Dialogue is not polemics, argument, missionary work or an experiment in proselytizing, although the parties must be convinced of their own truths and must also respect the convictions of the other. The document attempts to resolve the aphorism that no one is in possession of definitive truth, but rather all knowledge, thus also belief, is capable of developing during the course of history. Christian faith is also not in possession of fundamental knowledge which could provide definitive answers to questions which reside in the realm of "current" events, e.g., in the field of politics, economics, science and culture. Faith can only provide the believer with spirit and guidance which act as aids in the search for answers, e.g., in the area of ethics. For this reason it makes sense to have a dialogue even when there is only partial agreement on principles or where theory is set aside but there is practical agreement. In the case of Marxist-Christian dialogue, the suggestion that the theoretical and practical dialogues must be separated and that a theoretical dialogue should not turn into a practical dialogue carries significant weight. The question could be raised of whether only theoretical dialogue is possible with Marxism. The Vatican wishes to deal primarily with the question of atheism; however, the Marxists do not wish to become embroiled in this question. It could well be that presently the Marxist-Catholic dialogue seems to be suspended; nevertheless, taking into account the totality of Roman Catholic theological development after Vatican II, we can determine that there is every possibility for resolution both in theory and in practice.

Among the sectarian international federations the /International Lutheran Foundation/ has done notable work concerning the issue of Marxist-Christian dialogue. The International Lutheran Foundation surveyed the dialogue conducted by the member churches with special attention to Marxism in conferences held in Bossey, Switzerland (1975), Glion (1976) and Aarhus, Denmark (1977). The Aarhus statement with respect to the consequences and theoretical positions maintained is especially important to the research department of the world federation, which however does not attempt to represent an official view point, but only an indication of a step of an initiated process; nevertheless, it gives a representative picture of the federation's work

as it relates to dialogue. The Aarhus statement considers Marxism as connected to an economic, political and social ideological system where the struggle for the future of mankind is a major factor. /For this reason, the meeting of Christianity and Marxism is not only pressing, but also unavoidable./ The relationship between Marxism and Christianity lies in the area of social ideas; conflicts exist in the areas of the ultimate meaning of life, the explanation of human nature and the methods used to realize human coexistence. It correctly sees that a multitude of factors determines dialogue, i.e., geopolicis, cultural and local contexts, and some social class structures and their relation to the revolution. It sees the possibility for dialogue on both the theoretical and the practical planes, and the personal as well as institutional planes. This is theologically grounded in the fact of creation and the teaching of the duality of God's kingdom. It considers the institutional integrity of the church as the criterium for properly conducted dialogue. It distinguishes between four main ways to meet Marxism: withdrawal, opposition, conformity and critical relationship. Finally, it makes suggestions and critical comments concerning dialogues. The Aarhus statement places the dialogue of the Hungarian church under the "conformity" heading. It considers, as an example of the conduct of a critical relationship, the manner in which the situation developed in, for example, Italy, France or Norway. The world federation considers the coming together unavoidable; it does not talk about fruitful cooperation yet.

Nor must we forget the six symposia conducted under the auspices of the /International Peace Institute/ and the /Institute of Peace Research of the Theological Faculty of the Vienna University/ between 1971 and 1979 where the dialogue between Marxists and primarily Catholic theologians concerned the most important question of the day: peace. The main themes of these dialogues were the following: 1. The search for peace as seen from various ideological perspectives. 2. Tools and means to solve the problems of social development from the standpoint of various ideological perspectives. 3. Ideology and peace. 4. Peaceful coexistence and social progress. 5. Peaceful coexistence and the training of youth for peace. 6. The problem of disarmament from different ideological perspectives. These dialogues were open and honest exchanges and their content appearing in two volumes is quite provocative. But obviously, they merely wished to create a basis for mutual understanding. Jozsef Lukacs aptly shows the essence of the difference when he refers to the fact that even Paul XI cautions against "the Marxist spiritual practice of class warfare". Josef Lukacs rightfully points out that Christianity has its own plebian, class warfare traditions.

The report delivered by Professor Gyula Nagy at the dialogue in Debrecen points out that there are encouraging signs that Orthodoxy is stepping out of its structural exclusivity and will be prepared to connect practical with theoretical dialogue.

We would still be able to list different forms and occasions in various countries for dialogue between different Christian denominations and Marxists; however, with the above listing, we essentially recognize the major types of dialogues conducted in the recent past and present. It is my conviction that /a survey of the different types of dialogue reinforces the thesis that in contrast to these the dialogue in Debrecen qualitatively

raised the dialogue between Christians and Marxists to a new level/. The joining of theoretical dialogue with practical cooperation in the dialogue of Debrecen and altogether in the Hungarian dialogue of Protestants and Marxists occurs in such a way that it could serve as a model for dialogues between Christians and Marxists.

The dialogue in Debrecen was not without precedent, nor did it come about accidentally or randomly. It was established under the banner and as a result of three and a half decades of continually expanding and deepening cooperation. From the start this cooperation was also a dialogue, practical but at the same time also conducted on a theoretical level, though practical factors were in the forefront for a long time. Practical cooperation has two clearly distinguishable but inseparable areas: the building of socialism in our country and the preservation of peace on an international level. Fundamental theoretical decisions also had to be born so that this cooperation could be established and made lasting. Insofar as there are mutually exclusive fundamental differences in principle between the two parties, only a pragmatic and practicist type of relationship can be established where one party wishes to use the other to its advantage and in the interests of its goals. Continually deepening fruitful cooperation for both communities lies in their world views, politics and social theory--let us say it: in their ideologies. Obviously, common love for our country and averting the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe also spur us to cooperation. However, if we consider how many people all over the world are indifferent to even the greatest danger threatening mankind to date and are not spurred to cooperation, we must conclude that the basis for our cooperation reaches deeper, past formal altruistic conduct or practicist decisions determined by situations. The common root is the deep-seated (Marxist and Christian) humanist phenomena-complex which--although nourished by different sources--nevertheless meets /on the plane of service to mankind/ in the struggle for social justice. Self-criticism, / historical introspection and tolerance/ are all not foreign to this humanism.

Basically, this is what makes cooperation credible and makes both parties suitable to respond in a new way to the problems of human life and society which are formulated in ever newer forms, by discarding dogmatic rigidity. A few statements concerning basic principles from the speech of Undersecretary Imre Miklos introducing the dialogue should serve to illustrate the above thesis.

"In our country the unity of people of different world views, Marxists and religious citizens, is not purely theory. The coexistence of people with differing world views and, in close connection, their cooperation in the interests of social progress and peace has become an abjective, historical fact in the Hungarian Peoples' Republic.

In realizing its federal policy the Hungarian Workers' Party proceeds from the fact that this society is constituted of people with differing world views. Equally for both the state and the church, this is an objective condition which must be kept in mind concerning every theoretical or practical

step. During the past decades, the Marxist-Christian dialogue was developed within the framework of the organizational relationship by common responsibility and will. Initially, the resolution of great significant questions concerning the relationship between the churches and the state were in the forefront. This was followed by monologue where both parties essentially independently of one another expressed their opinions and assumptions about the world and the tasks serving to benefit it, in which, however, the preparedness for better understanding and the embryo of striving were contained. The Hungarian social scientists and Protestant theologians helped to dissolve this relatively long-lasting, delicate situation with their books, articles and studies concerning social and socio-ethical questions...The honest mutual interest and the need for becoming acquainted characterizes the theologians and Marxists who argued with each other but also, despite ideological differences, did not consider each other enemies."

It was after this kind of historical preparation that the dialogue in Debrecen was assembled, where the results of the discussion and cooperation conducted during the past 35 years were formulated.

/The first and most important question in dialogue is the clarification of the fundamental positions/. For this reason it is important that the parties participating in the dialogue also avoid the suspicion of the already soured convergence theory.

/Both parties in the dialogue expressed that neither wishes to renounce its fundamental position/: the Marxists starting out from the basic principles of dialectical historical materialism and the Protestants from a reformatory theology are prepared to search for "analogies" and agreements in the interests of "common thinking" and cooperation. Starting out from this fundamental position on principles, we searched for the possibilities and limits of dialogue. In order that the parties conducting the dialogue would be able to say something different as compared to what had already been stated before, the Marxists had to reach back to the interpolation of religion by the luminaries of Marxism and the Protestants to the Bible. (We interpret the Bible not as a collection of dogmas but as a point of orientation; we mean the spirit rather than the letter of the Bible.)

Since Imre Janossy gave a detailed account of the symposium on religious theory and dialogue in the 1982/1 issue of /Confessio/, here I will only summarize those conclusions which qualitatively raise the dialogue to a new level. Although the conference did not issue a communique, an agreement of opinion did not occur and it is possible that not all the participants agreed with what had transpired, it is certain that the fundamental theses stated by both parties provide a suitable basis for continuing the dialogue.

/The Marxist philosophers emphasized that religion is more than only an idealistic world view./ Religion is a complex phenomenon with important social repercussions. It may well be that it is a form of human alienation, but it could also serve as a tool in the battle against alienation.

The Protestants on the other hand again noted that Marxism is /more than "atheism"/. Marxism is a complex social phenomenon in which atheism is comprised of humanist factors./ Protestants acknowledge the legitimacy of the socialist revolution and concurrently actually decided to side with the plebian revolutionary tradition of Christianity/ which is similar to the notion of class warfare. As a matter of fact, this is the "punctum saliens" of every Christian political position. This is what Jozsef Lukacs asked of the symposium of the International Peace Institute and that of the Vienna University Peace Research Institute. To the best of my knowledge, this kind of position has not yet been voiced in Marxist-Christian dialogue.

Besides honoring the convictions and different interpretations of the others, the /acknowledgment of each others' ethical values/ becomes possible./ The Marxists formulated that religion, besides being a fundamental element of social theory, /could also contain socio-ethical values of a progressive nature/. However, Protestants acknowledge that /religious reforms/ thus the Reformation, are not only determined by "the history of ideas" but are 'historically and socially inspired phenomena/. /Faith and science/ are not necessarily mutually exclusive but rather could exist in a complementary relationship. "The reflection of faith is not science but skepticism." Similarly, Marxists voiced the following formulation on faith: "Faith as a phenomenon of the manifestation of human life is not some mistake or dead end, negative from the start by its nature, a braking force/ (emphasis added), but rather a necessary element of theologically structural human activity which does not originate in religion, although it is specific in it, and which shows trends diverging from beliefs that exist in other forms of life activity within the ultimate oneness." Finally, the question arises: /What is the dividing line between Marxists and Christians?/ "...the fundamental dividing line is not drawn between Marxists and Christians but rather on /one/ side there are the Marxists and Christians, and on the other, those who do not wish to accord any sort of hope of realization to the human essence, but...reject every higher ideal concerning individual and historical prospects for human existence."

Christians and Marxists owe each other and themselves to intensely study their common historical and cultural background, the Hebrew-Greek-Roman Christian culture, while the Marxists and Protestants should examine their common hegelian heritage. No doubt we could discover even more analogies, indeed also many structural agreements, on this road. If we survey the whole of religious history, we could hazard the statement that Christianity is more distant from every other religion (except Judaism), e.g., in a socio-ethical context, than from Marxism. Naturally, I am only comparing Marxism as a system of thought to the philosophical content of different religions.

We are pleased with the results of the dialogue in Debrecen and we hope that in its correctness it will serve as a viable path to dialogue between other denominations and Marxists in other countries. We trust that it will be continued since Bishop Tibor Bartha, president of the "Collegium Doctorum" organization of the Reformed Church, invited the conference to another turn. Upon seeing the results, however, we should not fall into dialogue-enthusiasm.

We are not at the end of the road but at its beginning. We must always keep reality and the possibilities in mind. People are sometimes separated by many decades of conscious difference. Understandably, Imre Miklos correctly cautions: "Our common task is to overcome the unjustified impatience directed toward the dialogue as well as the distrust directed against constructive dialogue." Most importantly, we must never forget that dialogue exists not for its own sake but for cooperation to achieve concrete and common goals.

9956
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POLISH YOUTH UNIONS ISSUE DECLARATION ON BEIRUT MASSACRE

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 23 Sep 82 p 5

[Text] The youth and student unions comprising the Commission for Mutual International Contacts have with horror received the news of the savage crime committed against defenseless Palestinian refugees in West Beirut by fighting squads of the Lebanese right, under the protection of and with the consent of the illegal occupiers of the Arab lands--the Israeli Army. This unprecedented act, worthy of the greatest moral and political condemnation, evokes in us repugnance, anger, and resolute opposition.

The doctrine and policy which led to these insane acts of brutality in Beirut, acts which are an affront to human dignity, are no different than the most degenerate form of imperialism and fascism in its worst hitlerite form.

Deeply shocked by the tragedy of the Palestinian people, who have been sentenced to extermination by Zionism, we also blame this crime on those who could have prevented it and did not do so, but rather supported the preparations for it materially and politically.

The words of condemnation for the new acts of genocide in Beirut that are expressed by the representatives of the administration of President Regan do not change the fact that political responsibility for these crimes is borne precisely by the United States, which for years has extended multilateral support to the aggressive policy of Israel. Summoning the memory of the tragedy of our own people, who remained unbowed under the fascist German yoke, we direct our hearts and minds to the entire Palestinian people; victory will come to You.

We resolutely and decidely demand an end to the expansionist policy of Israel, and the immediate cessation of Israel's occupation of Lebanon, in accordance with the decision of the UN Security Council.

We call upon all progressive and democratic youth of Europe and the world to increase their activities of solidarity with the Palestinian people, who are struggling under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization for their right to existence and the establishment of their own independent state.

The Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP]

The Polish Scout Union [ZHP]

The Rural Youth Union [ZMW]

The Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP]

CSO: 2600/9

MOSCOW PAPER INTERVIEWS PZPR'S HARAZIM

PM130915 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 82 p 3

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee member and First Secretary of the "Niwka-Modrzejow" Mine Party Committee in Kwatowice Voivodship Boleslaw Harazim by own correspondent Yu. Orlik: "Without Allowances for Youth"--date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Katowice-Warsaw--[Question] A PZPR Central Committee plenum devoted to youth problems was held recently. You took part in it and spoke in the debate. What can you say about young people's feelings today, in the summer of 1982 in Poland?

[Answer] I often meet with young people. This is both a secretary's duty and simply an emotional need. I devoted man- years to the youth movement and I owe it a great deal. The youth organization recommended me as a party member, helped me graduate from technical college (I was combining work and studies) and taught me not to give in the face of difficulties and to trust in a friend's help. And I am interested in the way today's 20-year-olds live, what they think and what they desire. I will admit that recent conversations with them have left me with contradictory feelings. The problem is not that the years are slipping by and people now see many things differently. The age difference is not the problem. What worries me is the confusion and political disorientation of a section of the young people. I am worried by the spirit of parasitism and consumerism eating away like rust at the will to act, to transform, to improve the world that has always been characteristic of the generation embarking on life. I will come to the reasons later. But irrespective of the explanations, I cannot accept the formula "the lost generation" or "crisis generation" that some of my opponents among the young people agree with, alas.

Yes, young people now are indeed starting out in difficult conditions. There is the economic recession and the decline in the level of prosperity--natural consequences of life on credit and of solidarity's destructive actions. But no generation gets everything readymade. Each makes its contribution to the wealth of the whole people.

My generation embarked on adult life immediately after the war. There was real trouble then. The country was in ruins. People were on the point of

exhaustion. Happiness was a piece of bread. My father returned from a concentration camp (I carefully keep his documents bearing the camp numbers Auschwitz-107517, Mauthausen-33752) worn out and ill. But he went to work at the mine and went down to the coal face. There were six children in the family. We went around in old clothes and slept together. At 15 I too was installed in a job.

I know arguments based on personal experience are not always convincing. Children have got to live better than their fathers. I'm merely objecting to the reproaches leveled at the older generation--see what a situation it has reduced the country to. We raised this tormented country from its ruins. We built plants, hospitals, schools. Only a blind person can fail to see what we have created, what socialism has created. Or a person misled by hostile propaganda. The doors were open wide to that in the period between August 1980 and December 1981. Socialism, its values and its potential were distorted and denigrated. Western subversive centers and the homegrown counterrevolutionaries from KSS-KOR and KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] and the solidarity extremists cooperated particularly closely in this dirty work. But we party members are to blame too for poorly explaining the principles, essence and gains of socialism to young people. So they were susceptible to demagoguery. The 13th of December was a turning point in Poland's development. The measures taken by the authorities ended the orgy of the counterrevolutionary forces and the massive indoctrination of young people in an antisocialist spirit. The crisis began to be overcome. But this process is long, complex and not without contradictions.

[Question] In one publication I read the following admission by a young worker from the Ursus Tractor Plant: "Socialism...what does it mean? It is a few socialist countries with similar systems and similar troubles. Socialism is not an ideology for me. Under capitalism or under socialism each person wants the same things: to earn a wage, eat, sleep and live decently. So I don't see any special difference...."

[Answer] That is a very vivid example of a confused world outlook and evidence that social, class criteria have already been eroded in that young person's mind. Solidarity's Mazowsze regional headquarters was at the Ursus plant, as is well known, Bujak and Janas delivered their ranting speeches particularly often there. This young worker had clearly swallowed their sermons. So there you have a young guy turned into a readymade doubledealer. What does he care about ideology--so long as he eats well and sleeps as much as he likes. He will not lift a finger for other people, for society. The paradox of solidarity, incidentally, is that--despite its name--it did not unite people but disunited them and extripated the sense of collectivism and mutual assistance from people's hearts. It accustomed people to the thought that they need only take from the state, from society, without giving anything in return. These sentiments are tenacious and are bound to cause concern. I will cite a particular example--the dispute that erupted over loans for young families. I often heard young people say: The loan is too small, you can't buy a color television, a top-class hi-fi, an automatic washing machine with it. But excuse me, why at the very start of family life have you absolutely got to have a color television and a super stereo tape

recorder? Can't you start more modestly? The state treasury is not a bottomless barrel. You can't shift all your personal material concerns onto society.

The government has now formulated a program for improving young people's start in life and in their occupation and is taking vigorous measures to solve the housing problem. But unless young people participate actively and work selflessly, you cannot fulfill these plans.

[Question] Everything seems to show that you take an exacting and critical approach toward assessing youth organizations' activity.

[Answer] I would be more specific: an exacting and critical approach toward the activity of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] primary organizations in certain enterprises. Alas, I have grounds for doing this. I have been to plants and mines where life in the youth organizations was almost at a standstill. The staff personnel alone were trying to do something; the aktiv stayed on the sidelines. But you cannot solve a single important problem without the support of your contemporaries and those who share your views.

I remember my youth. The country needed coal--and at the call of the youth organization thousands of young miners went down to the coal face on Sundays and holidays. The secretary was the first to go. And after the shift we went on to construct a stadium, a shooting range, a swimming pool. We didn't wait for the funds, the equipment, the materials to be allocated for the purpose. In the seventies we partly lost this enthusiasm. Young people's ideological and labor education--they always go hand in hand--was relegated to the background. The participants in the PZPR Central Committee Plenum spoke with concern of the fact that youth organizations spent the lion's share of their time organizing evening entertainments, discotheques and tourist excursions and in general engaged in social, cultural and everyday activities, although they were called political, ideological education organizations.

We have to get away from that sort of practice. The first steps in this direction have already been taken. The SZMP-organized debate "What Kind of Poland, What Kind of Union?" was political in nature. Organizations are seriously raising the question of the need for the more profound and systematic study of Marxism-Leninism by young people. For it is a paradox that many young people became acquainted with the theory of socialism not from original sources but from the critique of socialism in the "works" of oppositionists of every stripe.... A program entitled "Young People in the Reform" has been formulated and youth organizations' participation in solving the housing problem is increasing in scale. But, I repeat, these are only the first steps. It is the work of more than a day to overcome the crisis in the economy. Even more so for that in people's minds. Especially when you consider that the counterrevolution has not laid down its arms. Relying on the support of western subversive centers, the enemies of socialism are trying to prevent the normalization of the situation in the country, are inciting young people to sabotage and street riots and are threatening from

the underground a general strike and reprisals against "collaborationists," as they call those who are helping straighten things out in their own home--that is, the majority of the people.

[Question] You also touched on the topic of the Polish church in your speech at the plenum.

[Answer] I grew up in a religious family. My mother was particularly devout. My first books were a Psalter and the Gospels. The books on socialism only came later. But in general my world outlook was formed not by books but by life. Poland's resurrection from the ashes of war was for me more miraculous than the Bible legends. People accomplished it. My mother for a long time could not reconcile hereself to the fact that an "unbeliever" was growing up in her family. When I got an apartment (a small room with a small kitchen) she brought an image of Saint Joseph and wanted to hang it on the wall. I forbade her to, tactfully but pretty emphatically. There was I, a young party member, at the time Union of Socialist Youth secretary at the mine, and I believed I shouldn't have one faith for show and another for home consumption. I still think that. To be a communist is to be a person of materialist convictions. I will not accept claims of the following type: the church deals with eternal questions and the party with temporal questions, and the one is no impediment to the other.

At the plenum I said that under the conditions of acute political struggle, some people had moved away from the party. At the same time there had been an influx of young people into the church. This should be investigated: why is this happening? This is not only a philosophical question, but also a practical question. Remember that the street riots in June and August of this year, in which young men stupefied by hostile propaganda took part, began after the end of church services. In their sermons the priests had urged people to pray for the internees. For those who were pushing the country into the abyss? No, not all of them deserved absolution. Not all of them have abandoned ideas of reversing events. But the church is taking them under its wing. Is it motivated by charity alone? Maybe by a desire to make political capital as well, by a desire to maintain tension in the soviety-authorities sphere? None of these are idle questions for a party member, I repeat.

[Question] But let us return to the main topic of our conversation. During the debate before the plenum which was said about the need to expand the representation of young people in the organs of people's power and to promote young people more boldly to leading posts.

[Answer] That is a necessary condition of the development of socialist democracy. Incidentally, in its resolution the plenum recognized the need to expand youth organizations' rights. But a quantitative increase in the seats for young people on representative organs does not in itself resolve the question. What is far more important is how the younger generation uses its civic rights and how active the young people's elected representatives are. For instance, over 18,000 young deputies, or 17 percent of the number of representatives, currently sit in people's councils at all levels. But is their voice sufficiently heard, do they put forward interesting new

initiatives, do they maintain contact with their voters, do they keep their finger on the pulse of life? Here is another example mentioned at the plenum. One in four state administration personnel is aged under 30. When it comes to the voivodship administration, it is one in three. But there is little evidence that things go better or that red tape, bureaucracy and a lack of consideration for people vanish from institutions wherever "young people rule." That is not a reproach of young people, but merely a statement of fact indicating that young people need to learn how to administer and to be a servant of the state.

Youth organizations are faced with complex tasks today. The most important and vital of these is to mobilize the young generation to strengthen the socialist gains in the country.

CSO: 1807/169

'RAZEM' DISCUSSES NEED FOR UNITY AMONG YOUTH GROUPS

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 18, 22 Aug 82 p 5

[Article by Leszek Gontarski, editor in chief of RAZEM: "RAZEM [Together] for a Common Cause"]

> [Text] The dissolution of the "federation" was accepted with relief in the youth movement. The question, "Of what use is the federation?" was answered with "none" or "time will tell." Despite the awareness that youth unions need to cooperate on many issues, their experiences with the previous structure ["federation"] were enough to be a deterrent. Again, time turned out to be the best medicine. Youth unions have proclaimed themselves in favor of the creation of a commission which would regulate the principles of cooperation and would serve the working out of common attitudes toward the most important problems and issues which concern the young generation. Discussion is continuing on the subject of who forms the commission and on what basis. On the occasion of this important decision for the youth movement, it is impossible to avoid discussion on the subject: Of what use is unity for young people and whether it can be achieved. Unity, not on the basis of imposed unanimity of opinion or applauding that which is proposed by the older generation, as it had been understood previously, but unity in the name of common goals and causes which, whether we want to perceive it or not, do and will continue to exist.

1. Unity for the purpose of settling issues and for the determination of the social needs of particular youth groups. This argument appears in first place for a reason. It is no longer a mystery for anyone today that coming out of the crisis in which our country finds itself will take several years. A high price will have to be paid for this return to stability. This is not, in any case, a matter of tightening one's belt. The extent of this price will depend on how quickly we learn to live anew. The burden will fall on all of society, however, it should be expected that it will affect its young generation most severely--that young part of society which is starting out on the road to adult social and professional life; the generation which needs jobs, housing,

culture and recreation. We do not like to refer to statistical data currently, however, demographic predictions for the ninth decade indicate that during that time, there will constantly be between 6.5 to 7.5 million citizens ranging from 19 to 29 years of age; that from this population, there will be 2.5 million marriages at that time and that this population will produce 6 million children. Whether we like statistics or not, we must take these predictions into account and what's more, we should always bear them in mind, for behind these numbers there will be people with their needs.

2. Unity for the purpose of conducting a uniform instructional policy. This represents looking at the young generation from the adult point of view but also from the point of view of the interests of the particular unions which, after all, function in various communities. The youth movement is one of the strongest instructional links in the chain of this type of institution. (I am intentionally avoiding the expression, upbringing front because this term has been without meaning for a long time and certain instructional institutions do not form any front except for one--avoiding work of any kind.) With sound cooperation and a good program, youth unions stand a chance of becoming the bonding agent which will unite and put order into the uncoordinated activity of other educators.

3. Unity for the purpose of specifying the attitude of the young generation toward socialism. Youth, and this is confirmed by various surveys, is in favor of the development of the political system secured by their fathers. In our country, socialism is so generally accepted that even its most ardent opponents perceive its realities and do not propose other political systems to youth. However, the acceptance of socialism does not mean unanimity of opinion in respect to the direction of its development and major social and political issues.

4. Unity for the building of the intellectual strength of the young generation. The various unions will always function in specific communities. Young laborers have their own specific matters, so do young farmers; the academic student community is characteristic in its affairs as is the community of younger students [grade and secondary school]. However, this diversity of issues and specificity does not divide the young generation at all because there is something that unites them--youth, therefore, identical or similar problems facing adolescence and the problems of starting out into adulthood; the same or similar interests; the desire to have a good time and finally, the same ambitions and aspirations. The strength of the young generation and in the future society has depended and will depend on its integration, on the interpenetration of outlooks and interests as well as on the strengthening of its intellect. A plane must be found on which the young generation will be able to exchange ideas and support each other in order to reach some sort of similar conclusions. There must be dialogue; matters cannot be allowed to flutter about in the air. A young person must feel he can rely on someone; members must feel the support of their unions but a union can turn out to be too narrow a field.

5. Representative unity. It is the result of, at times, domestic but more often foreign exigencies. There are any number of situations in which all

the unions, the youth movement as a whole, ought to be represented. Such are the traditions, customs and needs.

To assert that the entire young generation thinks and acts alike would be not to notice the realities of social and political life. However, it is very differentiated, as perhaps never before, and what is most important, young people do not always want to believe each other or others. To overcome this distrust, which constitutes a serious social obstacle, is a task not only for institutions which concern themselves with the upbringing of youth or which work together with youth but is also a task for youth itself, therefore, for the unions to which considerable numbers of them belong. The recent decisions of the party and of the government indicate that young people are at the center of attention and that their problems are regarded as very important. This is not only a matter of everyday social affairs where much has been done so that during these months of crisis, the start of young people on the road to professional or family life could be as uncomplicated as possible. For the first time, young people have been looked at as a powerful age group which has a strong influence on the shape and behavior of society. And even though, from the sociological point of view, this group is not uniform, its right to share in authority has been recognized, and in decisionmaking about what concerns not only young people. Unity among youth is becoming so important for that reason as well as for its similar though, after all, not identical, outlook on the problems which Polish society must overcome.

The creation of a plane of cooperation among socialist youth unions in such a context takes on a completely different meaning because this is not the desire to create a new, nonunion structure which would be more or less active but a necessity resulting from the realities of social life which includes young people as well. We have written about this necessity numerous times in RAZEM, therefore, some of the above remarks are a reassertion of our position of a year ago. For this reason, we greet the new phase of cooperation among youth unions with great hope.

9853
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COVERAGE OF YOUTH ACTIVITY AFTER NINTH PLENUM CONTINUED

Scout Commander Interviewed

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17 Aug 82 p 2

[Interview with Andrzej Ornat, commander in chief of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] by PAP correspondent Wojciech Kazmierczak: "Stay on Course"; date and place not given]

> [Text] [Question] Did the PZPR Central Committee's Ninth Plenum fulfill the Boy Scout movement's expectations, and what are the organization tasks after the plenum?

[Answer] We did not expect that this very important plenum would prepare a new program and activity guidelines for us and on our behalf, or that we would get some kind of far-reaching colorful promises from the party. However, we did expect that our general policy would be confirmed, a policy, that simplified, can be reduced to two points. First, the ZHP is an organization in the Polish youth movement that represents specific values based on what is now 70 years of experience and that it brings youth up in the ideals of service to the fatherland, and creates various opportunities for spontaneous social activity for it, beginning with the youngest. Secondly, that the scout movement, a multigenerational and multienvironmental organization operating primarily among school youth, will, to an ever greater extent, continue to represent the interests and aspirations of school youth, and fulfill the subjectivity of school youth. This general policy of ours was confirmed by the party in the course of the plenum and in the plenum resolution. Our thinking of youth as a category of citizens that, above all, should be giving to society of itself on its own and not expecting privileges and rights, was confirmed. We are pleased that the plenum's resolution strongly stressed the role of youth unions in the implementation of the plenum's decisions, that youth union independence and self-government, as well as the parity and equal rights of all socialist youth associations was emphasized. And finally, we boy scouts are particularly pleased by the declaration in the resolution on the right to pass judgment on state administration decisions concerning youth problems, participation in legislative work pertaining to youth, and legislative initiative. We want to and will take advantage of all of these rights.

The PZPR Central Committee's Ninth Plenum did not impose new tasks and responsibilities on the ZHP. Our basic responsibility is to consistently implement

the resolutions of the Seventh Congress and ZHP Supreme Council, particularly those that concern the advocacy of school youth problems. We also have responsibility to continue the renovation process in ZHP. We got the green light from the plenum for these tasks, and intend to take advantage of the opportunities that this opened up. Currently, the most important thing is the functioning of basic ZHP elements: troops--cub, boy scout and senior scout. This is a condition of the effectiveness of the ideological upbringing of children and youth constituting the foundation and base of our activity. However, our instructor circles, our senior scout movement, and scout movement authorities at all levels, have greater opportunities than ever to represent youth, being in constant direct contact with it, and to satisfy its needs and aspirations. We must consider how we are going to take advantage of the rights to pass judgment and to discuss decisions so that they would not be a matter of participation by only a narrow group of the leadership aktiv. It is necessary to improve the way in which youth's opinions on important problems are learned, in short, a system of studying youth. To be sure there are more tasks like that. However, speaking briefly, the general task is: "Stay on course."

Young Warsaw Workers Polled

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 18 Aug 82 p 4

[Article, with responses collected by WC, Jac, JW: "Something Stirred"]

> [Text] A month after the conclusion of the PZPR Central Committee's Ninth Plenum deliberations dedicated to youth problems, we visited several Warsaw work establishments in order to ask members of the ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union], what, in their opinion, has changed in their plants since the plenum.

Krysztof Prosowski of the Warsaw Iron and Steel Works asserts that meetings with the party organization and plant administration are taking place in a different atmosphere than in the past. It is apparent that there is a desire to help and to prompt youth.

"Among others, we received a proposal linked to the construction of single-family homes," says K. Prosowski. "A Youth Construction Cooperative is being formed at the plant, although we are still waiting for the settlement of a series of formalities associated with it.

"We were also offered an opportunity to conduct a review of work posts in departments which would make possible the creation of a supplementary leadership cadre. We are also conducting discussions with the management to resolve certain problems involving the compensation of young people. People employed in the same kind of position, who have the same kind of education and the same scope of responsibilities should receive the same remuneration, while the period of service should have an affect only on the service supplement."

Similarly, in other establishments, young ZSMP members say that "something stirred." Zbigniew Saracyn of the Nowotko Mechanical Works says that an analysis of youth's material situation was conducted in their works for the purpose of developing a wage-cadre policy. However, he also adds that despite the fact that 30 percent of the plant's workers have left because of pensions and retirements, promotions of young people are not at all easy. It was possible to force young people into a few foreman positions but that still is always too little.

However, insofar as a change in the situation in general is concerned, youth feels differently. Zenon Zagrodnik of the Ursus Mechanical Works asserts that youth's voice is beginning to be heard on many problems but at the same time adds:

"There are no major changes in the department. There is a lack of machinery and people. We make 'trifles' in our department, but no one works 8 hours--either there is nothing to do, or when material is delivered it is necessary to go from one machine to another. Workers are dissatisfied because a departure from one's own post of work means a smaller income."

Also, all speakers say that there still are too many bureaucratic regulations that hamper youth's promotion and initiative. This pertains particularly to housing construction and wages. Roman Kalinowski of the Nowotko Mechanical Works also suggests that patronage construction not be abandoned.

"I do not deny the need for the development of single-family construction but I consider that many young people cannot afford that form of construction at this moment. I am afraid that if we do away with patronage construction, the construction development programs adopted to the year 1990 might not be implemented. Besides, I believe that form has one virtue--everybody can prove himself by his own effort, and get a place of his own to live in the course of 5 years."

It is also emphasized in the responses that in the coming weeks young people will be meeting with the party organization and plant management to thoroughly analyze what has been done to date and what it is being planned to do in the near future. Problems associated with a change in wages, whose reform is to take place beginning in 1983, promotion of young people and housing will dominate.

SZSP Vice Chairman Interviewed

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 20-22 Aug 82 p 2

[Interview with the vice chairman of the Supreme Council, Socialist Polish Student Union (SZSP) Ireneusz Nawrocki, by PAP: "New Possibilities and Tasks"; date and place not given]

> [Text] A month after the conclusion of the PZPR Central Committee's Ninth Plenum dedicated to problems of the young generation, Ireneusz Nawrocki, vice chairman of the Supreme

Council of the Socialist Polish Student Union (SZSP) talks about the union's role and tasks.

"The PZPR Central Committee's Ninth Plenum was a necessary political fact. The value of the discussion conducted before and at the plenum as well as of the final decisions depend on their implementation, and their consonance with reality perceived by society, including young people. Thus, the main condition of the effectiveness of every social program was fulfilled--not leaving the realities of the present and immediate future behind.

"The SZSP noted the resolution statements with satisfaction--statements that support what has been and is unusually important for our union. I have in mind the independence and autonomy of youth unions on the one hand, and, on the other, their parity and possession of equal rights. Referring to the Ninth Plenum's decisions, we develop activities that serve to resolve student problems by the group itself. We adopt that direction of thinking and activity as the primary basis of the educational work of the SZSP. The plenum resolution, I believe, will be helpful in the rapid implementation of many useful initiatives and ideas in the economic activity of the SZSP.

"We frequently come up against questions in our union about guarantees for implementation of the plenum's decisions, and the government's program for improving professional and life-start conditions. These questions are, of course, natural in the context of recent experiences. Fortunately, guarantees are also contained in the resolution. They are proposals that grant youth unions legislative initiative, the power to pass judgment on administration programs, and social review of decisions undertaken. One thing is noncontroversial--the principal guarantee must be the activity of youth itself, both organized and unorganized youth.

"New possibilities and new tasks for the SZSP emerge from all of the broad social discussions about the young generation initiated by the party. Of the specific problems--there are the questions of the higher school keeping up with its programs, instruction and new standards of economic practice and social life. We must also concern ourselves with equalizing the disproportions in the system of material aid for students, problems of new mechanisms for the employment of graduates and opportunities for the professional and intellectual development of young people.

"The Ninth Plenum was one of the important stimuli for understanding. Through its specific proposals it creates an opportunity for joint activity by youth. On its part, the SZSP extends its hand to the entire youth community and to all who wish to be active in solving their own as well as national affairs and problems."

10433
CSO: 2600/897

IDEAS OF CONTROVERSIAL MARXIST PHILOSOPHER REVIEWED

Bucharest AMFITEATRU in Romanian May 82 p 9

[Article by Mihai Milca]

[Text] A nearly inexplicable paradox, one hard to accept, no matter how strange it seems, accompanies reception of the philosophical work of Georg Lukacs in his maturity, in the last period of his theoretical creation in the 60's and early 70's. "Estetica" ("Aesthetics") and, in particular,"Ontologia Existentei Sociale" ("Ontology of Social Existence")--this opus magnum of Lukacs' thought intended to crown an exceptional intellectual career in the Marxism of the 20th century, at least by stretching out in time the consistency of philosophical discourse--seem more readily to be the subject of a conventional cult, of a ceremonial and obliging invocation rather than of an analytical and comprehensive lesson. "Ontology" perhaps on another scale and in another register reproduces the fate of the author himself, his tensions, the sinuousities, the successive reconsiderations which marked Lakacs'"road" to Marx with an unmistakable stamp and the impact of Lukacs' work at the level of modern philosophical awareness. Throughout the years Lukacs showed probably more than any other philosopher around Marxist thought a constant and profound attachment to the immortal spirit of Marxism. Lukacs is the exponent of a tradition of philosophical thought for whom fidelity to Marx and Marxism is not measured by the degree of orthodox obedience compared with the letter of Marxist texts but rather by a lucid assumption of errors and limits, sometimes not lacking critical and self-critical bitterness. For Michael Lowy, one of the most competent and authoritative commentators on Lukacs' works, the "Lukacs case" is a typical example, the generator of what could be called "a sociology of revolutionary intellectuals" in our century. The theoreticians of "western Marxism" do not cease insisting that Lukacs is the legitimate precurser. However, it is no less true that an entire process of strengthening of Marxism in the socialist countries in eastern Europe following Stalin's death, "dedogmatization" of Marxist philosophy and "redialecticalization" of it recognize in Lukacs a promoter and, in his works, a model worth following.

Ontology was fated in Lukacs' concept to close the loop of a philosophical labor started even before World War I, at the same time as the appearance of the work entitled "Die Seele und Die Formen" (1911). The discovery of Marxism gave Lukacs' thought a decisive change in trajectory. Through all the biographical information and circumstances of his spiritual formation, the young Lukacs initially

seemed to be an incarnation of "the traditional intellectual," of whom Gramsci spoke at one time. Lukacs concentrated in his thought--influenced by the echoes of neo-Kantianism (Rickert, Lask) and German neoromanticism, irresistably attracted by Russian mysticism (Tolstoi, Dostoievski)and by Nietzsche, sensitized by the lectures and works of masters such as Max Weber and Georg Simmel--a dramatic tension between Sein and Sollen, between existence, the existence subject to law and the standard, the duty to be. In a powerfully individualized intellectual experience, Lukacs republished the tragic rupture of the awareness belonging to an entire tradition of thought in German philosophy and culture, his tragic view of the world, actually expressing the unsolvable conflict between ethical-cultural values to which Lukacs, through his entire structure, was deeply attached and the real universe, the reign of capitalist dehumanization in a society subordinate to the laws of the production of goods, massification and alienation of the individual.

In a late confession in 1969, inserted in the preface to the volume entitled "Magyar Irodalom, Magyar Kultura," Lukacs characterized the era preceding the world war as an "era of perfect culpability" (zeitalter der vollendeten sundhaftigkeit).

It is extremely significant that in the case of the young Lukacs, as well as in that of the young Marx, moral insurrection and ethical protest precede any ambition for working out a methodology of historical and sociological analysis of reality. Approaching the verses of Ady Endre, Lukacs at the particular time considered himself a "missionary of the veto," he "felt the world" before "understanding" it. His spiritual world "was moving, slowly but more and more decisively toward the belief that the internal change in man is the seat for social change, that ethics is superior methodologically to the philosophy of history" (Gyorgy Lukacs, "Litterature Hongroise, Culture Hongroise" in L'HOMME ET LA SOCIETE No 43-44, 1977, p 13). The meeting with Ernst Bloch, against this background powerfully marked with moral refusal and awareness of the cultural crisis before the implacable advance of the technical, industrial and highly bureacratized civilization, strengthens the messianic predispositions of the young Lukacs. The proclamation of the Hungarian Republic of Councils in 1919 completes an irreversible process of conversion to Marxism through direct implication of philosophy in the tumultuous revolutionary events, a process which for a rather long period still kept its moral vibrancy, its initial ethical propensity. At the beginning of 1918 Lukacs still was moved by an ethical, radical idealism of Kantian inspiration or Fichtean: "Ethical idealism," the young Hungarian philosopher stated, "is a permanent revolution against the existing one as existing, as something which does not reach his ethical ideal; and because it is a permanent revolution, because it is an absolute revolution, it is capable of defining and correcting the orientation and march of true progress, that which never reaches the balancing point" (G. Lukacs, "Idealisme, Conservateur et Idealisme Progressiste" in Michael Lowy's "Pour Une Sociologie des Intellectuels Revolutionnaires." L'evolution Politique de Lukacs 1909-1929," Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1976 p 306). The ethical puritanism of the young Lukacs fascinated by the development of the Bolshevik revolution but who still refused the idea of political compromise,challenging the "impure" methods to achieve certain "pure" goals, is found in a peremptory form, revealing the irreconciliable divorce between Sein and Sollen in the article entitled "Bolshevism

as a Moral Problem" published in December 1918. The dilemma bothering Lukacs lies in the torturous question: Can something be reached which is "good" by "bad" methods, can liberty be achieved through oppression? Lukacs believed that Bolshevism was based on a "metaphysical" hypothesis: good can result from something bad, being possible as one of Dostoievski's characters stated that you can reach the truth by lying. He refused to share the idea that a new world can be born when the means for achieving it do not differ basically but merely from a technical viewpoint, from detested and despised means of the old world. Together with support for the communist party and deeper involvement in revolutionary political activity, Lukacs clarifies his options. The article entitled "Tactics and Ethics" (1919) revealingly reflect the fast changes occurring in the thinking of the young Lukacs, crystallizing with this occasion his basic ideas on the relationship between end and means. A dialectical shading then is felt and this later would open the way for a renewed vision of the rise of the revolutionary process: "Marxist theory of the class struggle, which from this viewpoint completely follows Hegelian conceptualization, changes the transcending goal into an immenent goal: The class struggle of the proletariat is a goal in itself and, at the same time, achievement of it" (M. Lowy, op. cit., p 167). Defeat of the Hungarian revolution and the experience of his exile in Vienna at the start of the 20's channels Lukacs' thinking onto a path on which exaltation of dialectics and leftist lack of repentance, the refusal of parliamentarism and of bureaucratic rigidity for revolutionary energy become true obsessive themes. We should specify that Lukacs' orientation, lacking ambiguity on the problems of Hegelian dialectics, is not alien to a temptation which at the particular time did not escape either Lenin or Korsch or other Marxist thinkers who sharply felt the blockage of the positivist mechanicism and usurping of the place of dialectics from Marxist philosophy by a certain spirit desiring comfortable certainty, being situated at the border of the truths discovered at one time by Marx, truths reiterated dogmatically in an "orthodox" discourse which is not far from the original model in the least. The glowing appeals to the offensive, to action, rejection of the restraints imposed on democracy and authoritarianism of any kind which the young Lukacs formulated at the beginning of the 20's in the magazine KOMMUNISMUS bring out a striking similarity of views with Rosa Luxemburg, at least with regard to the relationship between spontaneity and organization in the revolutionary movement. In certain regards keeping a distance from Rosa's concepts, however, is produced within a short time in 1921, following failure of the March action of the German communists, a fact contributing to Lukacs' acceptance of the Leninist viewpoint on the problem of organization. In 1923 appears one of the most important of Lukacs' philosophical contributions, the masterpiece of his creative period of his youth, a reference work for Hegelian Marxism of the 20's: "Geschichte und Klassenbewustsein" (History and Class Awareness). The book is a compendium of the revolutionary historical experience of 1917-1923. The problem concerning Lukacs, as stressed by L. Goldmann, is the problem of conciliation of the exactingness of "a spontaneously revolutionary force, an internal force of the existing society (philosophically speaking: the idea of the partial identity of the subject and object), with the acceptance (which Lukacs as well as Lenin and Gramsci later could not even imagine being brought into discussion) of the Bolshevik party, centralized and hierarchicized as an effective form of organization through the excellence of the revolutionary movement" (L. Goldmann, "A Propos de 'Histoire et Conscience de Classe'" in L'HOMME ET LA SOCIETE No 43,44, p 62). Postulating "orthodoxy " toward Marxism as a problem purely of method, understanding by

this the resorting to dialectics, Lukacs is concerned with discovering, through the intermediary of the idea of subject-collective, the idea that social classes are the single collective, historical subject. This idea actually is the very basis and essence, the specific quality of the Marxist concept of history and society. Lukacs is profoundly attached to the idea of totality in "History and Class Awareness." Totality is viewed as a process of social and historical experience in its totality and movement, being demonstrated in its fulness as the class struggle.

Another basic category of the Lukacs discourse is that of mediating or mediation, which represent "the link between the immediateness absorbed in present reality and the totality in becoming, the means of the process of permanent surpassing" (see K. Axelos, "Preface" to G. Lukacs' "History and Class Awareness," Edition de Minuit, Paris 1960 p 7). On the basis of this concept Lukacs claims for the party of the proletariat a privileged role in the rising revolutionary process; the party gives form to the working class' awareness, making it possible to move from immediateness in totality, unifying theory and practice in an indestructible alloy. The party is the "total conscious will." Similarly Gramsci also was to define the party's role--this "modern collective prince," the storehouse and catalyzer of the proletariat's revolutionary energy. The problems of "dehumanization and alienation in the closed world of capitalism and the bourgeois world"continue to concern Lukacs for the most part. Dehumanization is seen as a trend in actu but also as the result of a process which changes the human being into objects (res); from an onotological viewpoint these are devoid of any essence, of any inspiring element. The objectified world is the capitalist world, the capitliast system of the production of goods. For Lukacs dehumanization is equal to what Hegel had in mind with the phenomenon of alienation and what Marx meant by fetish with goods.

"History and Class Awareness" as well as the work entitled "Marxism and Philosophy" by K. Korsch, which also appeared in 1923, through the entire demonstration undertaken are an ardent plea for creatively assuming the vein of Hegelian-Marxist dialectics and for establishing the problems of subjectivity with full rights in the area of Marxist philosophy, without neglecting or exaggerating the dialectical relationship with the objective factors of the historical process. The fact that both Lukacs and Korsch in a short time became the targets of concentrated attacks coming from the intellectual environments of the Komintern but also from groupings represented by Kautsky and his disciples, with their attitude being labaled a "heresy," show to what extent there had actually taken place an evacuation of dialectics from the field of the theoretical concerns of "orthodox" Marxism. Threatened with excommunication, Lukacs "bowed" and tried to make a self-critical examination of certain assertions in "History and Class Awareness." Some commentators on Lukacs' work interpreted this situation in an excessively critical way, seeking to uncover in Lukacs flexible attitude certain "reserves" which later would be placed in the service of "dogma" (L. Kolakowski). This view, however, seems to me to be much too rigid, not being capable of bringing to light the complexity and meanderings of the formation of Lukacs' thinking while under the effect of so many philosophical incidents and ideological pressures. However, what is above any doubt is the fact that Lukacs did not of good will cede the prerogatives of his faculty to think independently about the entire philosophical problem of Marxism and he never identified to the end the philosophical belief with the imperative of "institutionalized" Marxism of the Stalinist type, viewing canonization of Marxist

theory, in conformity with a claimed infallible understanding of the objective need, expression of dogmatic sufficiency and intolerance.

Returning to "Ontology of Social Existence," it is proper again to stress that this work, far from representing a theoretical structure in itself, in its structure of resistance hides a critical rethinking not only of the bases of ontology included in several big philosophical contributions of this century (neopositivism, existentialism, N. Hartman's philosophy) against the backdrop of a return--on another, higher level, of course--to Hegel and Marx as well as Lukacs' settling up with his own errors and concenssions made to Stalin. We think one should remember the considerations of the preface writer for the Romanian edition of the Lukacs "Ontology" (which recently appeared through the care of Political Publishing House), who sees in Lukacs' titanic effort to cut the Gordian knot to one of the key problems of Marxism, the one of the relationship between causality and teleology, an expression of the propensity of the illustrious Marxist philosopher to oppose through his entire rational effort the tutelage exercised by the "absolutized" historical necessity and raised to the rank of supreme instance in the philosophical act: "The basic tendency of 'Ontology' is directed against 'conciliation with reality' (Hegel's "Versohnung mit der Wirklichkei," which Lukacs always repudiated), seeking to break through all the forms of alienation and dehumanization of human existence."

Between the works of Lukacs' youth and his maturity, undoubtedly there are giant differences, but they do not succeed in blurring the tension of the basic interrogations found from a continually changing perspective, with varying emphases and intensities in all Lukacs' works, regardless of the period in which they were written. The spirit which unifies "The Soul and Forms," "History and Class Awareness," "Ontology" as well as the philosophical reflections before the end of the philosopher is, however, the same, unalterable and irreduceable; this spirit breathes an inalienable, irresistible vocation toward taking in all of humanity.

The great philosophical lesson from Lukacs' works lies precisely in the uninterrupted seeking of the ultimate meaning of human existence in all its hypostheses, in discovering and rediscovering, each time with the same existential joy, the truths of it as truths which constitute the human existence and critical reasoning as a part of the human formation.

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ASPIRATIONS, REALITIES OF 'SOCIAL CATHOLICISM'

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 2 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Petru Berar]

[Text] Not long ago, it was 90 years since, on 15 May 1892, Pope Leo XIII published the encyclical entitled "Rerum Novarum" ("New Realities"), counted on to be a true cornerstone of social Catholic doctrine. Significantly, today's Catholic theology has associated it through its meanings and significance with the September 1981 ency ical of Pope John Paul II entitled "Laborem Exercens" ("Through Work"). And, yet, we ask what brings together and what separates these two pont fical documents being discussed in the context of the radicalization and increase in scope of public attention on the political and social problems of today's world. Actually, "Rerum Novarum" was an open apology for capitalism, deliberately and with scientific claims confirming the basic shortcoming of the historic Christian church in general: its adherence to the system of power based on the exploitation and humiliation of the masses. The encyclical states that private ownership, including of material goods, is a natural right of divine origin and demonstrates violence toward socialist ideologies; socialism was declared something foreign to divine will. One later may find that from 1891 up to Vatican Council II (1962-1965) the great Catholic pontiffs wrote their encyclicals and, in general, their social-political concepts in the same sphere of ideas of capitalist apologetics, with the slight variations in arguments or subject being nonessential and depending merely on the various historical contexts and, proceeding from this, various missionary strategies.

Thus, for example, in 1971, in his encyclical entitled "Octogesima Adveniens" ("The 80th Anniversary") dedicated to the 80th anniversary of the appearance of that same "Rerum Novarum," Paul VI affirms at least two new ideas, first the idea that the Roman Catholic church no longer opposes an ideal belonging to the existing social systems but rather seeks to take action within "all existing structures"; second, the pope admits the pluralism of the Catholics' social-political position, understanding by this that these Christians may belong to various political organizations, including those which proclaim socialist aspirations. Somewhat diplomatically, nearly the entire formal truth of the many theses themselves from "Rerum Novarum" are either denied or doubted--in the years of the encyclicals mentioned above, under the pretext that the church's social doctrine is formed within history and, thus, can only be conditioned by

history itself. In order to see why the Catholic doctrinarians who assert that "Rerum Novarum" today has been outdated on many points and that today social Catholicism no longer can subscribe totally to its doctrinary beginnings are correct, in passing we cite several of the concessions made by the encyclicals mentioned to the real social, economic, political and cultural world: recognition of many types of existence of ownership, the need for a dialogue between the social-political forces guided by divergent ideologies, condemnation of the economic inequality between the economically underdeveloped nations and the hyperindustrialized ones, preventing andholding back the course of arming with a view to stopping a new world war.

With these considerations, apparently we have moved from the subject declared. However, it has been a question of fulfilling a necessary condition for understanding the new stage in the evolution of the pontifical social doctrine, whose initiator and leader is John Paul II through his entire theoretical-social activity, but in particular through his encyclicals: "Redemptor Hominis" ("Savior of Man") of March 1979 and "Laborem Exercens " ("Through Work") of September 1981.

John Paul II considers and continually states, both in his encyclicals as well as various speeches, that in general and particularly with regard to social-political ideology, he is the continuer of Vatican Council II, from where we have the ambition to unite in his pontifical name the names of his predecessors, who, although in religious spirit and significance, still were great reformers within modern Catholicism. Just how true this is remains to be seen in the future but his first steps in what could be called social Catholicism have been ambiguous. For example, the leit motif of the encyclical "Redemptor Hominis" is "the mystery of salvation," a path by which the current pontiff seems to try to desocialize the consequences of Vatican Council II (1962-1965) by favoring a theological anthropology (man's philosophical science).

There is a gulf between the abstractly theological theses of his first encyclicals and his actual activity, but it seems that through "Laborem Exercens " this pope conscientiously has attempted to extend the destiny of social Catholicism and, perhaps, even to have it vie with "Rerum Novarum," however, of course, along the line of the same ideological interests. For a start, what is certain is that in this encyclical the present pope has directly entered the channels of the social-political and economic problems of the modern day.

In what way is John Paul II in debt to the previous popes, along the line of what becomes the inspiration for social Catholicism and where does his theoretical originality lie in this direction of thought? It seems that this time, too--now, however, with the arguments of privat social sciences interpreted apologetically--particularly in relationship to the predecessors whose pontifical name he bears, John Paul II tries to strengthen the authority of the Christian church over the world, particularly to give new impetus and if he can even a brilliance to the meaning of mentor and judge which belongs to primarily the Roman Catholic church traditionally.

John Paul II is aware that the world's social-political progress cannot be cancelled out or passed over in silence. At the same time, as the universal judge with divine duties and rights--a quality which the popes always have given

themselves—this pope mainly feels that there are two main "disciples" which he must criticize and "guide" spiritually: capitalism and socialism. However, many observers have asked why the so-called "third world," with its multiple specific problems, does not concern the present pope hardly at all. For example, it is true that the present pope criticizes socialism and, it seems, more insistently than his immediate predecessors, but, even through this criticism, he no longer denies the existence and historical legitimacy of the socialist society but merely proposes a theological version for improving it. Which represents a lot, a true "change" in the theoretical structure of social Catholicism from Leo XIII forward.

In order to set himself up as the impartial judge of the modern world, John Paul II feels that it would be of great help to analyze the society of today by using the categories of the particular social sciences, particularly political economics and politology. However, inherently, his goal, which he does not deduce from the results, since it is proposed before the analysis since it proceeds from theology, becomes the cause and means for personally and not impartially using the objective data of modern social realities. For example, the pope maintains that by nature there is no opposition between work and capital, nor should there be. However, no matter how sophisticated this theory of his is, he ends by maintaining with new arguments the right to the defended ownership by his predecessors as well. Actually he writes in his last encyclical: "The so desired multiple reforms which take into consideration man's rights cannot be achieved by a priori eliminating private ownership of the means of duction." This teeory offers the pope, at least on the surface, the opportunity to maintain that the opposition between work and capital is not forever and, thus, the conclusion that Marxist political economics is false at its foundation. In reality, however, Marxist ideas are falsified in this reasoning since, according to Marx, the opposition mentioned between work and capital is not forever nor is it the product of socialist theory but, rather, the result of separating the worker from the means of production which accompany the economic system of capitalism.

One cannot say that the pope has not discovered the pulse of our times. Whereas Leo XIII mainly was concerned with confirming the social-political and economic limits of the workers (while sometimes he also criticizes the ideas of the liberal bourgeoisie!), John Paul II radically changes his tactics: he does not condemn social-political progress theoretically and in itself in its nonreligious meanings, but verbally he places himself, not just apparently, in the front of current social-political progress, later to state in the end that such a true progress could be achieved merely in a religious spirit and on the shirttails of the great pontiffs. In this encyclical all the problems of ultramodern technology, the scarce division of goods among individuals and nations, the furious arming by some countries, the destruction of nature by pollution from the superindustrialized states concern the present pope, but the solutions for resolving these difficulties of the modern world cannot be the prerogative of Catholic theology. The fact that the pope condemns these social evils is a positive one, but the fact that through these propaganda activities he in particular is seeking the glory of the Roman Catholic church is proven to actually be a new theological strategy.

One can say that the new theses of social Catholicism, particularly the ones which originate in John Paul II's encyclicals, should not be rejected matter of factly, obtusely, since millions of workers throughout the world, Christian and, in particular, Catholic, often express their message and will with revolutionary content under the influence of their religious faith. In addition, the revolutionary and progressive forces everywhere, even without having any attachment to any religion, salute the positive elements of the current ideology of social Catholicism, since only through the unity of workers everywhere can social progress be achieved. At the same time, however, basic questions continue to remain: can the pope really address "all people" equally, without siding with someone or angering somebody? Even this criticism made of capitalism and socialism still is the source of its social-political ineffectiveness.

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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AUSTRIAN TV EXAMINES MACEDONIAN QUESTION

[Editorial Report] Vienna Domestic Television Service in German at 1945 GMT on 26 August telecasts a 45-minute FRG produced program entitled "Macedonia--A Divided Land in the Balkans" by the reporter Helmut Clemens. After briefly describing the historic background of Macedonia, pointing out that until 1913 it was a Turkish colony, in fact the last colony in Europe, Clemens presents the geographic situation of Macedonia, pointing out that the country is divided among Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia, and that despite the fact that the three countries recognize each others borders, the Macedonian issue is still evoking debates and conflict.

Clemens interviews Macedonian citizens of Yugoslavia and asks how they see themselves. A girl-student from Skopje answers that "she is first of all Macedonian and then also a citizen of Yugoslavia." Another student describes herself as "first of all cosmopolitian, and then a Yugoslav and a Macedonian."

Further on in the program Clemens interviews Bulgarian citizens of the town of Bansko, in the Macedonian Pirin region of Bulgaria, and asks them the same question. The answer invariably is "We are Bulgarians. Macedonia is a geographic region in the Balkans, which used to belong to Bulgaria, and whose citizens are Bulgarians."

Later in the program Clemens describes the Greek part of Macedonia, maintaining that "the Greeks have eradicated the Slavic language of Greek Macedonia's inhabitants." Many of the Greek Macedonians have fled to Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

Clemens then describes as one of the most crucial elements of the conflict the fact that Bulgaria "sees the Macedonians as West Bulgarians, including those living in Yugoslavia, while Yugoslavia considers the Macedonians, including those living in Bulgaria's Pirin region, a separate nation."

Bulgarian students, interviewed in Sofia, support their government's official position, namely, that the Macedonians are Bulgarians while Yugoslav students, interviewed in Skopje, answers "No, the Macedonians are a separate nation." Another Bulgarian student maintains that "people now are distorting the Macedonian issue, misusing the very name 'Macedonia'--this is a geographic area with one dominant element--the Bulgarians." "There is no Macedonian nation." A Yugoslav student follows: "The Bulgarians have no right to maintain that Macedonia is a part of Bulgaria. The Bulgarians are in fact Tatarians, so they cannot present any claims on Macedonia."

Further on Clemens describes the cultural history of Macedonia, pointing out that many elements of the Slavic culture are of Macedonian origin. He mentions the dispute about the origin of Tsar Samuil, celebrated as a great Bulgarian tsar by the Bulgarians, and as a Macedonian ruler by the Yugoslavs.

Further on the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkish yoke in 1878 is described. According to the program, "The liberation was achieved with Russian assistance, which accounts for the Bulgarian sentimental attitude toward the Russians, which even today binds the two nations closer than communism." Afterward, the role of the 19th century powers in drawing the Bulgarian borders at the Berlin conference is analyzed.

The 1903 Ilinden insurrection in Macedonia against the Turks is described as an attempt to "establish the first socialist state, 14 years before the October revolution." "Were the Ilinden rebels Macedonians or Bulgarians of Macedonian origin?," Clemens asks, pointing out that the leaders of the insurrection, Gotse Delchev and Yane Sandanski are celebrated in both Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Citizens of the two countries interviewed on this issue support their governments' official version. As in all other cases, the Yugoslav citizens are interviewed after the Bulgarians and allowed the opportunity to answer the Bulgarian claim.

Schools in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are shown in the process of teaching the history of Tsar Samuil.

Describing the historic circumstances of Macedonia's division the announcer says: "The population of Macedonia were never asked about their wishes." He adds: "In both world wars Bulgaria tried to annex the entire territory of Macedonia, with German help, but could not achieve this." He points out that at the end of World War II Bulgaria was left with the smallest part of Macedonia.

At this point, Aleksandar Aleksiev, former director of Radio Skopje and today in charge of the Macedonian Archives, describes life under Serbian and Bulgarian occupation, both of whom applied the "same brutal methods of nationalization." The announcer imparts that "in the 20's and the 30's the terror of the Serbs against the Macedonians was well known throughout the world, while in 1941 the Bulgarians came not as brothers, but as fascist invaders and established a brutal police regime." This was the reason that so many Macedonians joined the Tito partisan forces, the announcer says, adding that after World War II Macedonia became one of the six SFRY republics. "The hardship from the hands of the Serbs and Bulgarians ended."

"However, Tito and his Bulgarian counterpart, Dimitrov, had other plans: Macedonia was to be a part of a Balkan federation," the announcer says. In this context he describes the 1946 visit of Georgi Dimitrov to Yugoslavia and the Bled agreement on establishing a federation, which in the future Albania, Romania and perhaps Hungary were to join.

The announcer says that the idea was torpedoed by Stalin. Since then, however, the Macedonian awareness of the populations on both sides of the border has been oppressed. As a result very few people on the Bulgarian side of the border are ready to define themselves as Macedonians, including people who had done

so in 1946. Bulgarian peasants asked while they work whether they know anything about the issue, more or less ignore the interviewer, answering "I do not know," "I answered already," and so forth; however, they too describe themselves as Bulgarians.

Ivan Ganev, Bulgarian deputy minister of foreign affairs, interviewed on the Macedonian issue then says that the Bulgarian position on Macedonia--in principle--has not changed. Only some administrative regulations were cancelled after World War II. This was connected with the political situation of that time--the plans to found a Bulgarian-Yugoslav federation and abolish the borders between the two countries. In addition, Ganev says, there was a strong foreign pressure on Bulgaria, which forced us to make some concessions.

The announcer then describes the independence of the Macedonian Church and analyzes the church's role in strengthening the Macedonian national awareness. Archbiship Angelarij of Macedonia, interviewed on the subject of Macedonian Church independence denies any connection with Bulgaria, calling Samuil "a Macedonian tsar," and defends his church's claim of independence. Metropolitan Pankratij of Bulgaria, reading a prepared statement, maintains that "no Slavic Orthodox churches, including the Serbian Church, have ever recognized the independence of the Church of Macedonia. The character of the population this church serves is predominantly Bulgarian."

The interviewer, attending a religious service of the Macedonian Church says: "The Macedonian believers have very little connection with the Bulgarians." Several peasants interviewed on life under the Bulgarians say: "It was terrible, we had nothing, we were naked as worms." Asked whether they know about the claims of Bulgaria on Macedonia, the peasants reject the claims, saying they have all their rights which were given to them by Tito. "In Bulgaria the people think that the Macedonians consider themselves Bulgarians and do not admit this only because of fear of repressions," the announcer says. Describing the celebrations of the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state, the announcer says: "It was not only the Yugoslavs who were shocked by these celebrations, because they described the kingdom of Samuil very provocatively as Bulgarian history, but also the USSR, who in fact never expressed its official stand on the Macedonian issue. This has worried the Bulgarians. Is Moscow preserving the option of rewarding possible return of Yugoslavia to the Soviet bloc by allowing the Bulgarian part of Macedonia to be annexed to Yugoslavia?" "Such fears are not strange to the Bulgarians," the announcer says. He says that Bulgaria has repeatedly stated that it has no territorial claims toward Yogoslavia. "Officially Bulgaria recognizes both the Macedonian borders and the existence of a nation within those borders. On the other hand, there are publications of some scholars, including a Politburo member, which demonstrate the opposite," the announcer says. In this context he describes the memoirs of Tsola Dragoycheva, the eldest Bulgarian Politburo member, on the Macedonian issue, quoting her that Bulgaria could not defend its position on Macedonia at the end of World War II, because it was on the losing side. The announcer also maintains that the Yugoslavs consider the repeated proposal of Todor Zhivkov to sign an agreement on the permanence of the borders as a "diversion maneuver."

Tomislav Simoski, foreign minister of the Republic of Macedonia, is asked by the interviewer: "Since Bulgaria says that there are no territorial claims on its side, and Yugoslavia has no claims, why don't you sign an agreement to this effect?" In response, Simoski maintains that before any agreement all the rights of the Macedonian population of Bulgaria must first be respected.

At the end of the program the frequent fairs along the border are described, the announcer saying that on such occasions the participants decline the offer to discuss the situation. In conclusion, he says that "the Macedonian problem has always been decided by foreigners. However, it has never been solved."

CSO: 2300/15

YOUTH OFFICIAL ON VIGILANCE AGAINST ALIEN IDEALS

AU301431 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Sep 82 pp 2-3

[Article by Koco Danaj, secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania: "Let Us Reinforce Among the Youth Deep and Healthy Convictions Toward Socialism"]

[Excerpts] Our country's youth, led by the party and Comrade Enver's teachings, is an active fighter for building socialism, consolidating the present and preparing for the future. This can be noticed in all the youth's work and efforts for our country's socialist construction, where it has always been at the forefront in realizing tasks. The Eighth AWP Congress emphasized that the strengthening of convictions among communists, cadres, workers and especially the younger generation toward socialism and its vitality and superiority becomes especially important under the present conditions.

One of the most important ways of strengthening deep and healthy socialist convictions among the youth is its active participation in the country's socialist construction. Analyzing the great work done by the youth on all fronts of socialist construction, the Eighth AWP Congress suggested that even in the future, the youth's interest in the country's problems should be raised so that it, as the most vital force of the people, will powerfully take part in socialist construction and will be continually better prepared for life. To realize this task requires more profound work by the youth organizations and organs, so that it is not limited to simply fulfilling norms in the cooperative or enterprise or to passing a course. The accomplishment of great tasks in socialist construction and reinforcing defense, the introduction of continually more modern technology and equipment into our economy, and other things create great tasks for the youth to better use the technology and equipment available to it, to continually and steadily assimilate scientific knowledge--whether at school, qualification courses, or through individual studies--so that productivity and quality are raised wherever young people work and their practical creative spirit is uninterruptedly developed.

Deepening the work for the patriotic education of the youth requires more organized activity to know not only our people's revolutionary traditions or the glorious epoch of the national liberation struggle, but also the most important events of the period of socialist construction, such as the collectivization of agriculture, the country's socialist industrialization, the deepening

of the cultural and ideological revolution, our party's struggle against revisionism and other things.

The educational work of youth organs and organizations aims at creating deep convictions among the youth that all the victories of socialist construction have been achieved through a harsh class struggle with internal and external enemies, as well as with the remnants or influences of alien ideologies in our people's minds. The youth's knowledge of this important aspect of the processing of building socialism will further increase its love for the party, the socialist state and dictatorship of the proletariat, and will further raise feelings of responsibility. It thus will engage more actively in fulfilling all tasks.

The Eighth AWP Congress emphasized that the party should tirelessly work so that the communists, people and younger generation are continually educated with the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and class struggle, so that they are always vigilant and ready to defend socialism. Today the situations demand tireless work from the youth to fulfill all tasks--a militant spirit and revolutionary vigilance for its own good, the good of the people and the future generations. One of the important fields in the development of the class struggle where the youth is engaged is the struggle against influences of bourgeois-revisionist ideology on the understanding of life and the way of life in the ethical-moral sphere and other areas. The youth and its organizations have often undertaken various ideological discussions and actions in this field. Such movements and discussions for the deepening of the struggle against alien liberal or conservative manifestations--for example: "Let us cleanse the scum from our consciousness" and other things--have strengthened the active and uncompromising stand of the youth toward alien manifestations. From this point of view, the youth is correctly playing its role as a striking force also against manifestations of petit-bourgeois psychology, especially in the attitude toward work and property. The sharp edge of this struggle has been directed against the remnants of the past as well as the degenerate influences of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, which as the Eighth AWP Congress emphasized, although they are advertised as "modern," or "progressive," are in essence just as old and very dangerous, if not more so. Yet it is necessary to better struggle against cases in which these alien manifestations are minimized, treated superficially as small and unimportant, and so forth.

The youth everywhere is to be found working for the construction of socialism. This implies that the youth has a duty not only to raise its interest in important problems of socialist construction, not only should it not comply with cases of distortions and breaches of discipline, unjust favoritism, liberal manifestations, opportunist and sectional attitudes in the development of the class struggle, but it should continually become engaged in a struggle against these alien manifestations, whether or not they are directly tied to its work. This is being accompanied by a more correct understanding by the youth organization of its role and tasks, not only to cultivate in the youth this revolutionary bravery but also to powerfully support youth for the problems it raises.

With high political enthusiasm, our younger generation is preparing for the Eighth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania. The youth has engaged itself in actions and revolutionary initiatives, has raised impetus at work, has become a strong support to fulfill the plan's tasks, to implement new scientific and progressive ideas in all fields. The Eighth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania is an important moment for analyzing and implementing the decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress by the younger generation of our country, which with deep convictions on the road of full socialist construction, loyally follows the party at every step, being led, inspired and educated by it.

CSO: 2100/1

BRIEFS

HOMAGES PAID TO MARTYRS--On the eve of the Eighth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, wreaths were laid on the martyrs' graves on behalf of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, the delegates to the Eighth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, the Tirana District AWP Committee, the Tirana District People's Council Executive Committee and the Tirana District Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania. The ceremony was attended by Lumturi Rexha, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania; Faik Cinaj, secretary of the Tirana District AWP Committee; representatives of the delegates to the Eighth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, young men and women and others. Wreaths were also laid by the foreign delegations invited to attend the Eighth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania. [Summary] [AU041053 Tirana Domestic Service in Albania 1900 GMT 3 Oct 82]

OFFICIAL RECEIVES FOREIGN DELEGATIONS--Lumturi Rexha, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, today received the foreign Marxist youth delegations which will be taking part in the Eighth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania at the invitation of its Central Committee. Taking part in the meeting were secretaries of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, members of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania and others. [Summary] [AU031526 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 3 Oct 82]

LLESHI GREETS GUINEA LEADER--Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Sekou Toure, president of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea: It is my pleasure, on the occasion of the national holiday of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and in my own name to convey to you cordial greetings and best wishes for the country's continuous development and the happiness of the friendly people of Guinea. I am convinced that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries will develop even more in our common interest and in the interest of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. [Text] [AU021526 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Oct 82]

CSO: 2100/1

BRIEFS

AFGHAN UNION OF ARTISTS DELEGATION--CSR Minister of Culture M. Kusak received a delegation of Afghan Union of Artists which arrived in the CSSR at the invitation of Union of Czechoslovak Composers. The Afghan artists were represented by Aslam Akren, first deputy chairman of Union of Artists and Mashour Jamal, director of musical section of Union of Artists. [Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 7 Oct 82 p 4]

AFGHAN TRADE UNION VISIT--CSR Minister of Health J. Prokopec met on 6 October with Afghan health workers' trade union delegation led by Kabul Hospital director Dr Amin Safi. The delegation arrived at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions. [Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 7 Oct 82 p 4]

VIETNAMESE TRADE UNIONISTS ARRIVE--Central Council of Trade Unions Secretary V. Kozik met on 6 October with a group of experts from General Federation of Vietnamese Trade Unions led by Haiphong Trade Union Council Chairman Le Phong. The visitors have been invited by Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions. [Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 7 Oct 82 p 4]

CSO: 2400/10

PROBLEMS, PROGRESS OF PRISONER REHABILITATION NOTED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Aug 82 p 12

[Article by Katalin Szoghy: "Utogondozas a megelozesert (Rehabilitation for Prevention")]

[Text] The idea that crime is a social problem has been worn to a cliche, and because of this, we rarely evaluate all phases in the process of crime, including the fight against crime, which does not end with successful detective work and the severe punishment of criminals. Following the release of criminals, the protection of society requires equally important tasks to be solved, all within the framework of rehabilitation. The rehabilitation of former criminals released from prison--a task that had fallen under the aegis of the courts for years--serves a dual purpose: to help, support and reintegrate into society those released criminals who have lost their previous jobs and family relationships during their prison years and second to insure the supervision and inspection of those persons who may regress and commit new crimes after being released.

Individualization Is Important

Several years of statistical data has proven that rehabilitation increasingly fulfills the hopes attached to it, which can be attributed, among other factors, to the fact that practice quickly accommodates itself to the demands posed and accumulated from year to year. Thus, at the outset, patron supervision prescribed by the courts within the framework of rehabilitation affected primarily the recidivists, but it also applied to those criminals who had lost their freedom for a longer period for committing serious crimes and who were not eligible for probation either due to misconduct while serving their sentences. In other instances, it was left up to the released persons whether or not they would make use of the support offered them. Soon it became evident that patron supervision is justified in wider circles, since the number of those who became recidivists while on parole was substantial, and even those with suspended sentences committed new crimes during their probationary period. On this basis, the new penal code made it possible for the courts to order patron supervision in cases of probation, suspended sentences and parole.

By making the best of the opportunities presented by the penal code, within 5 years the courts have placed nearly 12,000 persons under patron supervision, and during this time, 85 percent of them have not committed further criminal acts.

The success of criminal rehabilitation is also proven by the fact that in the earlier years and decades a high percentage of criminals became recidivists. It is hoped, and with due right, that in the next few years this ratio will become more favorable to a marked degree. To achieve this, it is also necessary that the courts rule correctly on who is to be placed under such supervision and what length of time will be the most effective for his or her rehabilitation.

Today, the opportunities are many for the utilization of the most favorable codes of conduct with the supervisory program to best suit the individual situation and the unique personality of the parolee; nevertheless, according to the latest analyses, everyday practice is still unsure in its correctness of judgment--excluding those cases that require patron supervision on the basis of the penal code--as to when supervision would be best and which are the cases in which a fear of further crime is a reality.

Regarding the individualized codes of conduct prescribed to each parolee: it is the task of the members of the court's official parole board, and the social patrons--who number nearly 3,500 nationwide--appointed from the parolee's place of employment or residence, to supervise the execution of these codes. These codes of conduct may vary to a great extent; it may be ordered, for example, that the supervised individual take a job at a designated company, that he or she be barred from visiting certain institutions or public places, that the parolee not engage in friendly relations with designated persons who may be of negative influence, that they continue their public education, etc. However, it seems that to correctly decide the individual code of conduct is not an easy task either. Practice has shown that the courts usually prescribe more severe codes to recidivists than to first-offense criminals. This is not the least bit surprising when we consider that there are more data on hand about the life style and inclinations of the former than the latter. And there is not enough time to become fully acquainted with all parolees: one parole officer has 100-150 persons to look after, along with the simultaneous supervision of those sentenced to the reformatory and work-study.

Assistance of Large Enterprises

The most important form of aid for the parolees is to find them an appropriate place of employment. Within the framework of organized rehabilitation, the judicial authorities have signed cooperative agreements with seven large enterprises, so that the Csepel Motor Works, the State Construction Industries of Bacs, Gyor and Zala Counties, and the National Ore and Mineral Mines of the Matra Works, among others, have offered to take on the parolees in larger numbers and give them work and housing. The majority of criminals paroled from solitary confinement is also accepted by these factories--parolees who are trying to turn over a new leaf as a result of their severe sentence. A network of social patrons in these factories helps the newcomers to adjust smoothly to their new environment and assists them to solve many type problems.

As a result of these cooperative agreements, these enterprises have helped with the resettlement of more than 600 released criminals, and these results also reflect the national average: only about 15 percent of the persons they receive return to prison or close confinement under this rehabilitation program.

Criticism is nevertheless legitimate: this ratio could be improved through the social patron network. It has been found in many places that the recidivists return to their old ways after several months, or maybe a year, without—so it seems—any warning. In the course of some research, many criminals have been asked why they could not stick with the clean way of life, why they returned to prison. Their answers have to be taken with some reservation, since the persons in question are self-serving, but the repeated arguments nevertheless lead us to thought-provoking deductions.

Without Prejudice

In many cases, the recidivists explain their conduct by the fact that they are ridiculed in the factory, are looked down on and mistreated because of their past, so that out of despair they leave their jobs. "I didn't have money and got some by committing crimes," explains the majority. It was also deduced, but in fewer instances, that the patronized criminals who returned to prison were expelled from their housing and jobs for trivial misconduct. Still others cited the difficult situation the workers' housing presents, where it is nearly impossible not to participate in collective drinking, and alcohol usually sweeps them into crime.

These arguments are taken cynically in factory workers circles, contrasting with the view that others drink, too, but that does not make criminals out of them. And how do they pass judgment on those who are ridiculed and then leave because of "shame?" One who is ashamed should not begin stealing and cheating again.

Naturally; and it is obvious from the research data that the recidivists realize that they are primarily responsible for their actions. This fact does not alter the situation: Close attention must be given to the former criminals at the first job following release because their moral conduct, which is not yet strong, may vanish with the loss of their first job. Many of them recall: "I was ashamed of myself," and then they run because of the ridicule of fellow workers; and this says nothing about the near future, in which additional crimes will be committed. Unfortunately, only few individuals within the factory workers circles realize that instead of formulating prejudices, first of all, there should be some type of demand created for a moral, human way of life, because only this can become the basis for self-respect and awaken the desire to prove one's self to society.

The following conclusion can be drawn from the research findings for the scientists working within the field of rehabilitation: The role and influence of social patrons must be strengthened at places of employment to alter the negative attitude toward criminals. Today, conditions have matured so—and this is needed in the present—that the stress on the connection between the patron and patronized party must be removed and placed on the relationship between the rehabilitated person and his environment. Experience shows collective support is the prerequisite for achieving strong and lasting results.

12191
CSO: 2500/373

FIRST DEPUTY INTERIOR MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON YOUTH, INTERNEES

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish No 22, 29 Aug 82 pp 6, 7, 15

[Interview with Gen Div Boguslaw Stachura, first deputy minister of internal affairs, by Barbara Biegajska; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Minister, how do you define the problems of the younger generation in light of the current domestic sociopolitical situation? What is martial law to the young generation?

[Answer] The recently held Ninth Plenum of the PZPR KC [Central Committee] comprehensively discussed the problems of the younger generation. It is impossible to consider the entire contents of this debate in a brief interview. Nor can we add anything vital or new after such a short time to the questions discussed or the assessments and the decisions made therein. In spite of this, I do believe that it is worthwhile to give as frequent emphasis as is possible to the most important conclusions of the Ninth Plenum deliberations, as well as to the directions for improving this situation that were adopted. It is very important to pinpoint all questions related to the younger generation of Poles within the context of the general social situation. Practically none of the problems brought up by young people are unique to them alone. The young generation makes up a significant portion of all classes and social strata; it identifies with the interests and aspirations of these groups, although it also has its own specific, vital needs. I believe that we are living in a period in which the older generation is much more inclined than it once was to understand young people. That is why the line of understanding is more powerful than the generational gap, even when it comes to assessing the domestic situation.

We must all work to resolve the problems of youth, which are the problems of us all. This is true for the housing problem, the problem of the total, optimal utilization of the labor force and their qualifications and the problem of promoting the right people--those who are competent. It is also true for all other social problems and problems of daily living.

Another important issue is the party's great emphasis on the notion that young people themselves must overcome obstacles to a significant degree. On the other hand, it is the duty of state and party authorities to create the circumstances for young people to do so. In other words, the plenum did

not promise gifts, but work--hard work, perhaps, but work that would give ultimate satisfaction. In my opinion, this has real educative value, even though I understand that the self-indulgent do not agree with me.

A third issue involves the duties and responsibility of youth organizations. Their duty and the basic criterion of their activity today is above all their ability to demonstrate inventiveness and initiative, dynamism and the skill to convince and win over those who are frustrated, as well as the success of their measures taken to create the organizational framework of activities for their own welfare, for those who so desire.

While these issues do not exhaust the problem, they are very vital matters.

What is martial law to the young generation? That is a difficult and ambiguous question. Although all citizens are subject to the rigors of martial law, it is perhaps the young people who have taken it the hardest. Please reflect calmly whether this martial state has restored the normal conditions of quiet work and study. Was the situation that prevailed before 13 December acceptable or good for our country? Was the situation normal or peaceful when not even one day was free from social disturbances, strikes paralyzing the life of entire voivodships and institutions of higher learning, a brutal, libelous campaign against persons and institutions in authority, exhortations to physically liquidate political opponents and the resultant progressive process of our country's destruction?

Martial law was initiated to guarantee Poland's socialist future, which is the future of all of its young people. Their overwhelming majority speak out in favor of basic socialist ideals, social justice, abiding by the law and democratic forms of government.

I believe that maturation during a period of difficulty and conflict is hastened. Perhaps this issue--the issue of the need to choose, declare oneself and define--determines the situation of the younger generation today. Their somewhat older brothers and sisters passed through their youth under conditions of relative stability. Most of their problems and conflicts were of a private, psychological nature. Today politics has been thrust sharply into the forefront. This forces young people to think and act. I have reason to believe that most young people know how to think and act according to the most just and fundamental rules of patroitism, responsibility, reason and political wisdom. This makes me optimistic. Those who were pushed and often used in activities of a completely different nature--contrary to the law and to the social and national interest--now have an opportunity to take stock and draw conclusions. I do not deny that moods of resistance, disillusionment and despondency could have and did appear among them. So what? No one should write such people off without trying to convince and gain them for society, without giving them a chance to improve. No one will write them off as a loss!

[Question] What is martial law in terms of security and public order?

[Answer] It is a system of measures guaranteeing security and public order and the safety of every citizen. It is an extraordinary state initiated because of a known threat to the life of the people and to oppose these dangers. It is the temporary restriction of certain civic freedoms in the name of a higher good. It is a radical and ultimate measure, undertaken consciously and in a situation of extreme danger, after the very responsible and detailed consideration and calculation of its positive and negative consequences. It is, as we have seen, an effective measure. One may say that effectiveness is not always a sufficient justification for a given action. However, in this case, the difficult decisions of the authorities and the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON] were justified in a considerably broader, basic way. It has had several calculable results which give us all—the whole of society—the chance to avert a disaster and emerge from a severe crisis. It has created conditions for isolating the major leaders of counterrevolution from the various social milieus that they tried to manipulate (sometimes, unfortunately, with success); it has ensured an opportunity for the effective and efficient implementation of economic-organizational decisions favoring economic reform and the control of market and production anarchy; it has enabled the improved protection of personal security and of the health and life of citizens against unruly criminal elements and roughnecks; it has fostered the general improvement of social and employee discipline, which has inestimable significance in our situation. While it has meant the introduction of the familiar rigors and restrictions, we all await the change in the domestic situation that will enable it to be lifted as soon as possible.

Our ministry is not awaiting this passively: it is doing all it can within the scope of its duties and powers to ensure that this change will occur. At the same time, we are taking into account all positive tendencies and changes, and we are trying to withdraw those rigors that have fulfilled their role and have become unnecessary due to improved law and order. Of course, this refers to those rigors whose recall lies within our power. The state authorities are also doing so consistently on a broader scale. Recent proof of this was the decision related to the celebration of the Polish Rebirth holiday announced by Premier Gen W. Jaruzelski in his Sejm address.

[Question] The martial law regulations, on whose basis the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] operates, are gradually being moderated. This refers in particular to those regulations that have restricted the rights of ordinary citizens, often imposing duties on them (curfews, permission to visit another domestic location, the reactivation of certain associations and the like). What activities will the ministry undertake in this regard in the near future and what conditions must be fulfilled to further ease daily existence under martial law?

[Answer] The previous answer is a partial reply to this question. In short, all rigors and restrictions that are now unnecessary will be lifted immediately. It will be promoted by growing social calm, an increase in respect and regard for the law, a guarantee of sufficient authority and the

possibility that all elements of authority and the state administration will fulfill their obligations and the further improvement of social attitudes, especially the gradual spread of understanding for the political and moral intentions underlying the decisions to introduce martial law.

However, the normalization process is impeded by the counterrevolutionary plans and actions of the internal opposition and aggressive outside forces; they inspire street incidents and threaten a nationwide strike. We must deal with the venomous propaganda and economic blackmail of the United States. In spite of this, more and more symptoms of normalization are appearing. More and more people are casting off their obstinacy and some former activists are coming out of hiding, entering the mainstream of the normal work of millions.

Undoubtedly, it will take a long time for us to draw conclusions from events of the recent past, to shift from the emotional and rash assessment of this past to a calm, rational and constructive evaluation. The shorter this period, the nearer the opportunity of social understanding and rebirth and the shorter the period of restrictions and stringencies.

[Question] A problem widely discussed and rampant with rumor is that of the internees. Please give us a more accurate indication of their number and plans regarding them. For example, how many people have asked to leave the country?

[Answer] There is much interest surrounding the internee question. It has been the subject of much discussion and rumor and many questions. In anti-Polish propaganda, the number of internees has been exaggerated and their living conditions have been falsely described. Few people believe diversionary rumors any more. We have systematically kept the public informed about the number of internees. The Polish press, radio and television have given this issue much attention. The testimony of the internees themselves (most of whom have been freed) has given the lie to rumors and hearsay. The truth has also been brought to light by family members of internees and by representatives of Polish and foreign institutions who have visited centers of confinement.

Since 13 December 1982, decisions have been rendered to intern 8,528 persons. At the same time, decisions to release internees were being made; decisions concerning the internment of 7,582 people in all were repealed. Following the July decisions of the WRON to repeal internments and to give a leave to other internees, 647 people remained in internment confinement centers, or about 7 percent of those who had been interned. Several hundred internees (730, to be exact) announced their intention to leave the country. Of these, 700, along with their family members, have been granted permission to go abroad. Thus far, only 10 former internees have left the country. The remainder are trying to get exit visas to states that intend to grant them residence. Is this not a telling illustration of the idea that some influential centers of these states have greater need of the activity of these people in Poland than they do their presence in the West?

[Question] For preventive purposes, a new group of people was interned before and after 13 May 1982. Who are they? From what milieus do they come?

[Answer] Internment is a preventive measure. Hence, in May as before, the reason was the grave and justified presumption that a given person may attempt to undertake antistate, illegal activities, he may call for and organize excesses, he may intend to participate in possible demonstrations and street rallies, bringing the danger of disturbances, he may set up strikes and interruptions in work, he may stir up the people and spread false rumors and hearsay.

The massive political provocation planned in May by the opponents of socialism in Poland meant that most internees in that month were recruited from those people who took part in its preparations, and from some participants in the incidents that occurred in May in several Polish cities. As we all know, the provocation, so painstakingly prepared, fizzled out. It was not the first time that the enemies of socialism had failed to achieve their goal. There were also young people among the 750 internees, whose ardor and emotions were abused in actions that ran counter to their own interests. These have already been released. Meanwhile, those people who, with full awareness, aimed in May to realize their plan to create major disruptions in the life of Poland, remain in centers of confinement.

[Question] For preventive purposes, those people whose attitudes and views engendered doubts were questioned. How many young people were among these, and who are they?

[Answer] Approximately 27,000 people were questioned as a preventive measure. The basic and only reason for questioning them was the confirmation that they had engaged in illegal activity. We merely wanted to warn interested parties and prevent them from having to use more stringent legal measures. Under no circumstances were the political views of these persons the pretext for questioning. For the most part, young people were not involved in the questioning.

[Question] The polarization of views exists in many milieus, especially among young people. What is the impact of conflicting views among youth on participation in street riots?

[Answer] I would need the help of sociologists and psychologists to answer this question. Different attitudes and motives underlie participation in street riots. The clashing of attitudes here is considerable. A small percentage of very active participants in these riots is very disinclined or even inimical to the authorities and the system. They believe that they are struggling in defense of their own ideals, lost ideals that history has made obsolete. But these people are in the minority. Many others treat the street riots as a lark, an adventure, an opportunity to prove their nerve and their barnyard heroism. They are subjected to the pressure of enemy radio propaganda, fliers and whisperings that try to tell them that they are waging a holy war for a just cause. Fortunately, most of them do not take this seriously; unfortunately, they do not always understand and accept the warnings and attempts made by those who try to bring them to their sense.

Who are they, and what prompts them to act reprehensibly and rashly? I believe that they are young people who are lost and perplexed. They have been neglected in various ways and have had a faulty upbringing (much is now being said openly about these people). They are groping about in the dark, looking for chances to be "involved" and to find their self-identity. They search constantly and naively, they get burned and bear the brunt of their own mistakes. The agressive enemy propaganda campaign that was waged for 6 months after August 1980 taught them not to believe in anything "officially" said or done; their values system became overturned; their assessments and standards that naturally followed in the direction of socialism became confused. At the same time, they saw the mounting evils being uncovered and mistakes being laid bare. These were major ailments for which they had no cure and over which they had no control. One can try to understand them and help them to mature. While they continue to make mistakes, however, they must be set straight for their own sake as well as for the sake of society in general.

Those involved in the May street riots also included young people from demoralizing surroundings who had been subject to criminalizing and depraved influences and who sometimes had already had trouble with the law and with organs of public order. For such individuals, destruction, demolition and throwing rocks at militiamen is often a sort of personal revenge. There has not been and will not be any leniency toward such people.

There is another problem here. There are those educators or would-be educators of youth who either did not know how or simply did not wish to use all of their influence and authority to keep the youth from taking part in the riots; they either acted passively or with assent. How much are they to blame? We all wish and we all should strive, in the words of Jan Kochanowski "for commonsense among the young."

[Question] Please describe the problem of crime under martial law. It seemed that during the first weeks and months that the 13 December 1981 decree was in effect, crime decreased sharply. Now the criminals seem to have surfaced once again.

[Answer] That is correct. During the first weeks of martial law, crime suddenly dropped. This positive trend continues in some categories of crime. Unfortunately, criminality related to the economic crisis is growing: speculation, theft, robbery by assault, extortion and economic crimes. However, we have the instruments and the weapons to fight against these dangers. A large percentage of the current examples of crime in the above categories is on the increase due to the elimination of certain barriers that put a stop to what were covert activities before the initiation of martial law. We have increased our chances for warding off crime effectively. The danger to the safety, health and life of peaceful citizens has declined notably; before December 1981, these people were often afraid to go out into the street after dark. We would be naive to believe that the level of crime rests exclusively upon the efficient operation of the militia. The crimes engendered by the crisis will disappear when the situation improves and the crisis ends. A general

improvement in the socioeconomic situation will be an objective condition for the stabilizing of the tendency toward a reduction in crime. For the time being, we still have much to do. I assure you, we are doing our best; we are totally committed.

[Question] MSW officials have liquidated many illegal printing operations, small-scale printers and weapons; underground organizations have been uncovered. Can you be more specific about the milieus in which this occurs and tell us whether young people are involved in these matters?

[Answer] Illegal printing activity under martial law was undertaken by persons associated with the extremist NSZZ [Self-governing Independent Trade Union] Solidarity, for the most part. Young people, sometimes the very young, are used primarily for the distribution of illegal publications. For a certain period after martial law was put into effect, there was a sort of fad for organizing illegal groups in which many young people participated. In some cases, the activity of these groups assumed frightening proportions. An example of this is the activity of the group from Grodzisko Mazowieckie, whose members murdered an MO [Citizens' Militia] officer.

Young people represent a majority of society. This is a statistical premise explaining the fact that they make up a significant percentage of the participants of illegal groups and organizations. I hope that what I have stated above proves that I am not convinced that one's generational affiliations do not explain entirely why he enters the path of crime or becomes involved in illegal, antipolitical activity. One's fate and actions are not determined by his date of bith. Frustration, immaturity, moods of youth rivalry and similar phenomena are only some of the causes of negative attitudes. The rest are most often the consequence of intentional, negative influence—the result of manipulation by those who do not always know how to be enthusiastic for natural reasons. We are trying to distinguish ultimate results from their causes and underlying circumstances, and I believe we will succeed. That is why one is able to discern in my statements a sincere concern over restraint and objectivism in assessments and diagnoses. We do not need some sort of antiyouth phobias; nor do we need to play up to youth because of the way things are.

[Question] Do MSW organs make mistakes in their work? The officials of this ministry can err or waver. It can be, or rather, is an overwhelming experience for an individual. Please explain the psychological aspect of MSW work.

[Answer] Work in our organs is likewise difficult from the psychological viewpoint. It requires a special predisposition and special skills in this area. Do we make mistakes? You have already answered this question in part yourself. To err is human. The officials of the MSW, like other citizens, have no patent on infallibility. There are cases that are improperly conducted among the 5 million we handle each year. With such a large volume, this is to be expected. I would like to emphasize, however, that no form of an MSW official's overstepping or not fulfilling his duties goes unpunished. Every official who violates the regulations is disciplined

or penalized. The ministry's system of training and discipline is comprehensive and aims to prepare the militiaman in such a way that he will always stay within the bounds of propriety and avoid error.

Unlike the office worker who normally has plenty of time to weigh a situation and make the best decision, the militiaman does not function in comfort and by stages. The militiaman, undertaking to protect the calm and safety of others, must quickly assess a situation, decide immediately and act without delay. An onlooker may not see eye to eye with a militiaman's method of intervention or a kibitzer may err in his assessment of the situation or the particular facts. But the militiaman does not view things from a safe distance; he cannot wait for hours. He is responsible for what is happening and must anticipate what may happen. For this he needs basic professional knowledge, discretion and social maturity. He needs control, iron nerves, physical dexterity and mental resistance. It should be kept in mind that these people from whom so much is demanded are often young men in their 20's. They are the contemporaries of their fellow factory workers and students, yet they are often unfairly maligned in mercilessly disseminated gossip and rumors.

Nearly 60 percent of the MSW officials are under 35 years of age; they are well qualified, both generally and professionally. The difficult period of the past months has demonstrated the tremendous mental resistance of MO and SB [Security Service] officials. The attempts to step up the ideological influencing of young, new officers to break down the apparatus have not succeeded. Young people brought up in People's Poland have a good understanding of the values underlying the words--nation, state, law and order and socialism. These officers and all of us in the ministry are interested in the same thing as are all honest people in our tired country--the guarantee of calm in our common home, our homeland. This is our primary goal. We can achieve it only together with the entire society, young and old alike, with mutual trust and working side by side, not in opposition to one another.

Our activity is based on binding legal documents. All official actions undertaken by ministry officials are based on the same binding legal principles, under the supervision of the public prosecutors. If charges and an indictment are brought against someone, he is examined by the court or by a body in charge of handling offenses against the law. Thus, every citizen has the right to defend himself during a hearing before a court or a collegial body. All of these mechanisms operate to keep to a minimum the consequences of possible subjective error and transgressions that may have occurred previously.

I understand that your question has another purpose. What is our approach to situations in which a young person faces his first encounter with our organs? It is often difficult and unpleasant for him, since this contact frequently determines his future actions and attitudes. We approach such cases with as much care and tact as are possible. I should like to note that in the case of the uncovering and liquidation of many illegal youth groups, we always have tried first to use clement measures: discussions,

convincing the young person of the blameworthiness of his behavior, admonition and warning. Often long and sincere talks by our officials with such young people in the presence of their parents or guardians, attended by the school superintendent or public prosecutor, ended the matter. This often produced the desired effect. We do not wish primarily to instill fear. Nor do we expect special manifestations of adoration. We want our work to be respected and we want the law, to which we are all subject on an equal basis, to be respected as well.

[Interview] Thank you for the interview.

8536
CSO: 3600/927

NEW MINISTER FOR YOUTH AFFAIRS INTERVIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Sep 82 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Ornat, minister for youth affairs, by Bohdana Gajdeczkowa: "The Facts Are the Best Argument; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Recently, a Council of Ministers Committee on Youth Affairs was formed under the chairmanship of Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. This is a new institution in our state administration. We spoke with its deputy chairman, Minister for Youth Affairs Andrzej Ornat, about the purposes and sphere of activity of the committee.

[Question] The committee has attracted a great deal of public interest, especially from the younger segment of society. Both the institution itself and the office of the minister for youth affairs have no precedent in our social practice. What was the basis for this decision?

[Answer] As far back as we can remember, every socioeconomic crisis has brought with it the so-called youth problem. Above all, youth's needs have had to be looked into and satisfied, since the younger generation is considerably more sensitive to the breakdown of the economy and the disruption of social order and bears the consequences of this much longer than the older generation. Every time, the authorities have promised to improve young people's situation in life and a resolution has been adopted that many of the problems would be resolved jointly. Fair decisions have been adopted, but implementation of these began in the course of time to be "swept away" by a multitude of other matters that were no less difficult to resolve.

For example, in 1972, the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee adopted a resolution on the party's tasks in educating young people. In a short time, the Sejm adopted a resolution on the tasks of the people and the state with respect to the younger generation. Possibilities were sketched out for its participation in resolving its own problems; this was closely read by both young and society. There were no institutional guarantees, however, that the decisions adopted would be carried out systematically and consistently.

After 1980, the youth problem appeared again, this time with enormous force and in the context of a general crisis. Both in party discussions on the

directions for a renewal of life in Poland and in the social demands and position of the youth organizations regarding the status of the youth movement there are many elements demonstrating the need to assign priorities to the affairs of the younger generation. This is confirmed by a resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. Also on that occasion, among other things, during the proceedings of the congress people began to discuss the need to create institutions that would make it possible to implement the decrees adopted on youth affairs.

The discussions of this topic lasted for a long time--there were both supporters and opponents of this proposal. In July, the ninth plenum of the party Central Committee recommended the formation of a Committee for Youth Affairs.

[Question] What will be the sphere of its activity? Have the experiences of similar institutions in Hungary, the GDR and France, where there is a minister for youth affairs, been helpful?

[Answer] We are obviously making use of those experiences, but our situation in Poland is primarily what predetermines what we should do. The principal matter is cooperation in shaping conditions for the life and upbringing of the younger generation. The committee is also expected to specify the principles for youth's participation as a partner in the work of representative and self-managing organs, in designing and forming the state's economic and social policy. Our task is to adopt measures to improve the conditions for youth's start in life and in a career by the appropriate formation of a social policy on employment and wages and a housing policy. We will support initiatives from the socialist youth unions and social initiatives alleviating the consequences of the crisis that directly affect children and young people.

[Question] And the minister? What will his responsibilities involve?

[Answer] I will carry out the tasks arising from the decrees of the Council of Ministers. Among other things, I am supposed to cooperate with the pertinent minister in initiating activities by organs of the central administration on all matters affecting the younger generation. An entire list should be read here: education and upbringing, health, sports, tourism, recreation, culture and publishing activity. In addition, wage policy, working conditions and employment, social benefits, protection of young families, and especially a housing and credit policy, together with market supplies and rural settlements, and the protection of young people from corruption.

[Question] Isn't everything that happens in Poland within the purview of the minister and the committee?

[Answer] Obviously, since youth cannot be separated from society--it is an integral part of it, sharing in its successes and bearing the consequences of its failures.

[Question] Won't the youth organizations feel themselves to be partially released from their responsibilities?

[Answer] The committee will not formulate recommendations addressed to the youth unions—they program their own activities. It will not spread a protective cloak over them either. The committee is expected to create the conditions for implementing youth's initiatives. Among other things, these conditions include looking after the interests of the younger generation when creating legal documents. My responsibility is literally to "keep my hand on the pulse."

[Question] This pulse beats in various ways, depending on the current situation in the country, the needs of the society, etc.

[Answer] This summer I visited the Scout camps, where we talked, among other things, about the problems of education. At a meeting with the ZSMP aktiv from 207 of the largest labor establishments, we talked a great deal about the difficult situation of the younger generation, just as we did at a meeting with ZMW [Rural Youth Union] members. We have a lot of material to think about. Obviously, most of the people I spoke with emphasized social and everyday problems and stressed rights. But it is also being said that young people's awareness has to be restructured in the direction of identifying their own aims with prospects for the people and the state.

There were meetings with the principal aktiv; if this current of discussions is passed on to all youths, however, it will then be possible to speak of the authentic responsibility of the younger generation for its own fate and that of its country.

Obviously, there was no lack of bitterness and criticism directed against the local authorities at these meetings. This, however, was criticism of the malfunctioning of state structures at different levels—simply bad management. I am convinced that young people will break through the bureaucracy by force, through the most varied obstacles hindering implementation of the resolutions of the ninth plenum and the government's program for improving conditions for the younger generation's start in life. Its enthusiasm, uncompromising attitude and desire to transform our reality led me to reflect that young people want socialist Poland to be perceived by all of its citizens as their property. The people I spoke with asserted that national accord will be achieved most quickly by means of faits accomplis. The faster the government's decisions are put into effect, the greater the chances for winning the trust of the citizens will be. There are still a great many difficulties in meeting the needs of youth, at all levels of the administration. Many officials take an excessively lazy attitude toward their responsibilities, even though a major policy is materialized by resolving small everyday matters. It should be viewed through the prism of the individual citizen.

[Question] What was the first matter to come before the committee?

[Answer] It was requests for arranging withdrawals in admissions to schools. I would like, however, to talk about something else associated with the committee's activity. The government has asked the socialist youth unions to comment on the program for the socioeconomic development of the country up to

1985 and 1990. The deadline is 30 September. Such consultation, however, will have a raison d'etre only if young people enter into the material received enough to perceive the degree to which it takes into account the resolution of their problems in life. There is also the following condition: The commentary will not take place just within the circle of a narrow aktiv; broad public opinion will be conveyed.

[Question] One hears people say that both the creation of the committee and the law on young people that is being prepared will surround the younger generation with a wall of regulations and stipulations.

[Answer] I do not think that this is the case. I have discussed the committee's tasks, and the law is just emerging. It should unite all of the younger generation's rights so that the younger generation can make use of them more fully and account for its obligations. I am far from being in favor of squeezing a person into a mold of regulations. It is a bad law if life has to be adapted to it. It has to serve development, not suppress it. The youth organizations, as the spokesmen for the interests of the entire younger generation, must be familiar with the needs of the milieu within which they are active and inform the authorities of these needs. Young people are by nature often rapacious in their demands on the authorities and on all adults. This is a trait of being young. This rapacity should be valued, since it also speeds up progress in all spheres of life. This should be constructive activity, however, and not activity attempting to destroy what we have done so far, as in the case of the participants in the latest disturbances. I have in mind here the efforts of society and the authorities to achieve national accord, restore social order and lead the country out of the crisis.

[Question] You are a former youth activist; does this help you or hinder you in your work?

[Answer] I still feel like an activist, and I want to remain one. This is the attitude that I came in with. I believe that thanks to this I will achieve more as an employee of the state administration.

I would not like people to expect immediate results and a complete solution to the problems of the younger generation, from the committee or from me personally. This requires a great deal of time and patience from both the authorities and those who impatiently await solutions.

9909
CSO: 2600/931

ZSMP OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON QUESTION OF YOUTH AUTONOMY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Aug 82 p 4

[Interview with Jaroslaw Klima, deputy chairman of the Main Board of the Polish Socialist Youth Union [ZSMP], by Jerzy Krasniewski: "A Prospect of Responsibility"; date and place not specified]

[Text] In general, we are aware of what grown-ups think about youth's independence. The party Central Committee's ninth plenum speeded up the flow of ideas on that subject and renewed the arguments. What do young people think of the prospect of independence? We addressed this question to Jaroslaw Klima, deputy chairman of the ZSMP Main Board and chairman of the Katowice Voivodship ZSMP.

[Answer] No possibility emerges of itself. The prospect of bearing a specific, somehow untouchable responsibility in specified areas by the young generation, by my young colleagues and contemporaries, is conditional. Not only today but always. Successive generations bore responsibility for events, if they had any influence on them at all.

[Question] But let us not avoid the statement that to a specified extent, that prospect is dependent on living conditions in a given historical period.

[Answer] Of course—on work, taking advantage of qualifications, satisfaction from what one is doing and finding a common language with older generations. We are rooted in a deep crisis today and it may last a long time. That time can be shortened and conditions changed in a way and in a direction that the younger generation, no matter how numerous, will recognize as its own. Of course, taking realities into account. But they can be taken into account only when one knows them. That is why time also plays an enormous role in this instance. Much depends on the pace with which consciousness of the need for improving our socialist reality seizes broad circles of young people. Improvements in their own interest. A small group will not accomplish much. Appropriate sociolegal mechanisms, among others, are essential for that; some favoring prospects for the bearing of responsibility were recently drawn up. The general outline of certain rights was defined in the course of the Central Committee's ninth plenum. Thus, through its representatives, youth was to have obtained the right to pass judgment on state administrative and economic proposals and decisions pertaining to youth; participate through our

representatives in legislative work; submit drafts of legal acts; and review the status of implementation of decisions on behalf of youth. If these rights become a reality sanctioned by law, they may create possibilities for influencing the course of events.

[Question] Many young people today do not know that it is intended to provide them with such possibilities.

[Answer] That is why it is necessary to discuss and to accurately define these proposals. I think that this will not be simple. The point is that some of the persons performing various official functions can also offer various objections. This is not an observation based on conjecture. I think that all of us will have to learn how to take advantage of those rights. Additional responsibilities will also fall on the authorities. Moreover, the ZSMP must create a need among its members for mastering the mechanisms of participation in those activities. That also will not be easy. It will be necessary to get rid of habits that have been stratified over the years, among which waiting for orders dominated.

The young generation experienced restrictions in action so many times that overcoming the real barriers formed then and since perpetuated will not be easy. First of all--and I want to emphasize this--it is necessary to find an answer to the question: how to act, judge, make suggestions, review, etc? Let us consider, along with that, that forming what is only a hypothesis with respect to something we have had to deal with up to now and making a decision that will have significance for hundreds of thousands, or perhaps millions, of people entails an entirely different kind of participation. It is a higher level of responsibility generally unknown to young people. It will be specific, even personal.

[Question] How many young people are aware of that kind of perspective?

[Answer] Let us put the next question: How many will acknowledge it as their own and want to stick up for specific decisions? It is necessary to get information about that perspective to members of all youth organizations and of course the largest group of all, unorganized youth. I believe that schools, colleges and social organizations need to be used for that purpose.

Theoretically, young people are always granted the right to make mistakes. In practice, the field of operation in this respect was restricted because...for lack of experience there could be mistakes for which it is not known how much would have to be paid. Thus, we participated in errors made by grown-ups--for example, that prospect of unemployment, primarily for young people, that was formulated so sharply in 1981. At that time, we hotly supported the decisions concerning earlier retirements. Today we hear of 300,000 vacant jobs. One important conclusion flows from this for us: It is necessary to set up a system for the verification of important decisions before their final adoption. This does not, of course, mean taking the right to make mistakes away from young people.

[Question] Does the lack of unsimulated activity by worker self-governments not obstruct the young in their efforts to assume responsibility?

[Answer] A self-government with the participation of a large youth representation is one of the great prospects. The Central Committee has taken a decision on this matter. But there is lack of actions in factories. For example, have self-governments been appointed in plants where Central Committee members work? asks the organization aktiv. When all is said and done, economic reform reminds one of a small table with a specified number of legs. If one is lacking...self-government is precisely such a leg. Time works against reform without self-government's participation. Complaints flow in constantly to youth organization echelons from young workers about the lack of supervision over administration activity. This is a very serious matter.

In our schools for the organization's aktiv we teach the rules and mechanisms of reform. Workers and intelligentsia as well as members of the self-goverment are among the auditors. There is no lack among them of active reform spokesmen. It is precisely they who say, Who knows whether good functioning of the self-government would not call into being an organizational concept of a union movement.

Although self-government has not yet unfurled its wings, it already has its obstacles. One can encounter the opinion in plant leadership groups that self-government could make management more difficult just when there are so many problems with supply.

Youth observes all of these facts attentively and analyzes opinions. Of 30 self-governments that were to have begun work in Katowice Voivodship, only 2 became active in July. It turned out that in 15 instances there had, in general, been no proposal advanced. There was no formal obstacles, thus there were other special motives. How does one fight for a chance at responsibility under such circumstances? However, established ZSMP organizations are not without fault. We observe the lack of aggressiveness even there where youth's representative has a say.

[Question] Do attitudes in factories favor aggressiveness?

[Answer] The facts that I cited bring many of our members to talk about discouragement, something that induces critical reflection. Youth interprets certain phenomena as a return to "the old system." Such opinions liberate management style in some plants, a lack of consultation on numerous social decisions. If we consider that many young people do not know the rules of economic reform, it is no wonder that they do not want to get involved.

I think that we are in a particularly dangerous period of reform initiation. The lack of raw materials may result in having the leadership cadre drift toward distribution, and we know what that means for reform.

[Question] Is the younger generation prepared to oppose an unfavorable development of events?

[Answer] It is not easy to answer that question. Many activists would like to draw their colleagues into actions that would make a younger generation battlefront out of economic reform. But social mechanisms must function for that, e.g., self-government, and authorizations, about which there was talk, are necessary. As I see it, their rapid implmentation depends in large measure on the possibility of effective cooperation by young people in resolving social and economic problems.

Responsibility also rests on all youth organization elements--on how rapidly they get to their members as well as to the remaining young people who are not organized. I may imagine it, but perhaps time has never had such significance as it has in the present crisis. Let us consider how great youth's impatience will be, a youth that is aware of whom the development of events will burden if the economic situation does not undergo even a slow but systematic improvement.

10433
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WARSAW PROVINCE PZPR MEETINGS NOTED

Plenum of 5 June

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 7 Jun 82 pp 1, 4

[Report: "Plenum of the PZPR Warsaw Committee—M. Wozniak, first secretary of the Warsaw Committee"]

[Text] A plenum of the PZPR Warsaw Committee [KW] was held on 5 June. Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, attended the meetings. Present were Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak and Marian Wozniak, Political Bureau candidate members and PZPR Central Committee secretaries. Albin Siwak, KW member and PZPR Political Bureau Central Committee member also participated in the meetings. The agenda of the deliberations included organizational matters—changes in the functions of the KW first secretary.

Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke on the subject. The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee stated: "Comrade Stanislaw Kociolek is resigning as KW first secretary at his own request. The reasons he presented merit full understanding in recognition of his moral and party sensitivity. I believe that a measure of appreciation of Comrade Kociolek's work and accomplishments will be the maturity and capability of the Warsaw party organization and its executive collective in effectively continuing that activity which is and should be based on the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress and the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee. The Warsaw party organization and its aktiv proved themselves under difficult circumstances, and S. Kociolek, made an important contribution to party life and especially to the class struggle during the preceding period.

In the name of the Political Bureau Central Committee, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee recommended the candidacy of Marian Wozniak for KW first secretary and also stated that this proposal was discussed at a meeting with the KW Secretariat and with first secretaries of the PZPR City Section Committees. In presenting the background of M. Wozniak, he mentioned his knowledge, experience, whole-hearted support of party ideology and adherence to principles, and also his ability to work with people, his superior culture, his modesty and his sensitivity to peoples' problems.

Wojciech Jaruzelski dedicated part of his speech to an evaluation of the current political situation in the country and in the party itself.

Z. Ducin, S. Boniecki, B. Iwinski, A. Kosowski, W. Skoczylas, S. Kociolek and M. Wozniak participated in the plenary discussions.

S. Kociolek, among others, stated: "In this dwelling, in this KW building, we defended the party line and position when various political enemies showered us with slanders. There was no revisionism here for the sake of appearances; but there was faith, a conviction about the greatness of our path over the past 37 years, a respect for this path and the conviction that we have the capability and strength to lead the country out of poverty, the party out of difficulty, and to conduct affairs in accordance with the spirit of the times."

The KW, in an open vote with three abstaining, accepted S. Kociolek's resignation as KW first secretary and member of the Executive Board, leaving him a plenum member.

Marian Wozniak was elected first secretary of the PZPR KW in an open vote with 10 negative votes cast.

M. Wozniak, in giving thanks for the confidence expressed in him by the vote for the Political Bureau position, stated that in his activities he will strive to continue and improve the work done to date by the Warsaw party organization.

Marian Wozniak Biographic Sketch

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 7 Jun 82 p 4

[Report: "Marian Wozniak's Biography"]

[Text] Marian Wozniak was born on 2 March 1936 in Dabrowica in Wolynia, in a family belonging to the intelligentsia. In 1957 he completed study at the Poznan Academy of Economics and started work on the Zielona Gora Province Commission on Economic Planning. During the 1961-1965 period, he directed the investment planning section of the Masowsze Refinery and Petrochemical Works in Plock and at the same time functioned as supernumerary secretary for economic affairs of the PZPR plant committee. Over the next 3 years, in this city, he was deputy director of the PETROBUDOWA enterprise. During the 1967-1970 period he was chairman of the Presidium of the Plock Municipal People's Council and then, till 1973, deputy chairman of the Warsaw Province People's Council. From 1973 to 1978 he worked as vice director and then director of the Local Economy Team of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers. He has been governor of Siedlce since 1979. In June 1981 he was elected first secretary of the Province Commission at the PZPR province conference in Siedlce. He held that position until 8 December 1981.

He has been a member of the Central Committee since the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The First Plenum of the Central Committee selected M. Wozniak as a Central Committee secretary. In February 1982, at the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee, he became a candidate member of the Political Bureau

Central Committee. He is vice chairman of the commission to develop a PZPR perspective program and a member of the economic reform and economic policy commission. He has been a PZPR member for 22 years. He was awarded the OOP [District Party Organization] Cross of Chivalry and other honors.

Plenum on Political Activity Among Youth

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29 Jun 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by Kazimierz Zglejszewski and Pawel Bybicz: "11th Plenum of the PZPR Warsaw Committee--We are Waiting for Action by Youth"]

[Text] The 11th Plenary Meeting of the PZPR KW, held Monday, 28 June, was dedicated to tasks for party organizations and echelons in political work among youth in the Warsaw agglomeration. Comrade Marian Wozniak, Political Bureau candidate member, PZPR Central Committee secretary and first secretary of the PZPR KW, chaired the meeting.

Taking part in the deliberations were Comrade Albin Siwak, member of the PZPR Political Bureau Central Committee; Comrade Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the PZPR Political Bureau Central Committee; Comrade Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Social and Vocational Department of the PZPR Central Committee; Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the ZG ZSMP [Main Administration of the Polish Union of Socialist Youth]; Waldemar Swigron, chairman of the ZK [expansion unknown] ZMW [Rural Youth Union]; Andrzej Ornat, director of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union]; Mieczyslaw Szostek, chairman of the Warsaw People's Council; and Mieczyslaw Debicki, mayor of Warsaw and General of Division.

Jerzy Boleslawski, secretary of the PZPR KW, read the paper leading to the discussion. Among other things, he said that preparations for the present plenum began in February of this year and included discussions as well as extensive consultations with young workers, farmers and technicians. The aim here was to have as many young people as possible speak out on matters concerning their future.

Jerzy Boleslawski emphasized that the party does not promise it will fulfill all the material postulates, and one should not expect it either after today's KW plenum deliberations or after the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The era for making promises which cannot be fulfilled has definitely passed. Working with young people, a concrete and realistic program to overcome the crisis situation must be developed. Only in this way can the party regain the wavering trust of the younger generation.

The speaker emphasized that he does not accept the thesis about a lost generation, especially now.

Young people must return to earth from the so-called internal emigration.

In the speaker's opinion, the weakness of the party's policy on the young generation lay in the ostentatiousness of actions and in the subservience accorded youth organizations. But in the current situation, even youth organ-

izations. must abandon advocating their tasks only in the abstract and take a more constructive stand regarding the problems rankling everyone and not just the younger generation.

In particular, the party program should include the following issues:

1. Education and upbringing: In addition to the very important problems associated with insuring a proper base for schooling, one must not forget to create an appropriate program of instruction to shape civic attitudes and to meet the needs of our economy. In this context, the education of a teacher cadre will play an important role;

2. Living conditions for young families: These are above all linked with the housing problem, but they also are associated with assuring suitable production of industrial and food products for children, improving health care and the struggle against social pathology;

3. Social and professional advancement: The most important thing here is to remove roadblocks to advancement; youth should not be a barrier to achieving higher positions and higher salaries.

In evaluating the youth movement and youth organizations, Jerzy Boleslawski said that the weakness of the youth movement is noticeable; however, it should be remembered that youth organizations were party allies in the struggle against antisocial forces, especially after August 1980.

A discussion followed the opening paper.

To permit more of those assembled to voice their opinions, additional deliberations proceeded in four plenary teams. The extensiveness of the discussions and the expressed, often contradictory, opinions decided the future course of the plenary session.

The speakers reacted with a large dose of criticism to the material presented; nonetheless it was the basis for the discussion. The speakers criticized the material because they saw it as resulting from a superficial analysis of the younger generation's state of consciousness. Thus it was postulated that the subject of young people be considered again on an ongoing basis so that the discussion about young people would not be single action.

The role of the party and youth unions in shaping the socialist attitudes of young people was discussed. The speakers stated that currently there is no functioning socialist model for national upbringing and education. It was acknowledged that antisocialist tendencies, resulting not so much from historical causes as from the activities of the forces of the enemies of socialism, must be resisted.

The role of the party in preparing the younger generation for life in the society was accented. It was stated that the national education process must not be based only on the schools; the home as well as youth organizations also must shape attitudes.

The problem known as "the party offer of an active life for young people" evoked the most discussion. The speakers took the position that the younger generation should not be specially singled out. It must be subject to the same laws as the older generation. Artificial preferences for the younger generation should not be permitted.

The role of the party in shaping a uniform social shield for society was acknowledged to be a basic problem. It was stated that everyone expecting help from the state can obtain it, but this aid cannot replace healthy work motivation systems. Pay for work should move consistently depend on output.

Much time in the discussions was spent on the question of the party's relations with youth organizations and the problem of the leading role of the party regarding the youth movement.

It was acknowledged that youth organizations constitute a natural base for future party cadres. Social activity can be taught there, and the outcome of this work will produce results not only in youth organization activities but also later on in party echelons. The speakers strongly emphasized the problem of ideological ties to youth organizations, the weakening of which is being exploited by political enemies.

Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the ZG ZSMP, spoke during the plenary discussion. Among other things, he said: "In listening to the discussions, I was reassured that the youth problem is not a local problem and should be examined in the aggregate on a national scale."

"We must return to the resolutions of the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee, held in 1972. Today it is easy to speak of errors, but some thought must be given why such laudable slogans were not implemented. What kind of political conditions got in the way?"

"When the slogan 'You are the big opportunity' was bandied about, nothing at all was said about the great risks. A tremendous problem arose concerning the problem of finding jobs for over 1.8 million school graduates; new investments were needed on which credits should have been provided, and who knows if it was not actually then that we introduced the consumer credit lifestyle.

The Plenum of the PZPR KW assumed a position on young people which included the comments voiced during the discussions.

The Plenum called on the commission on resolutions and motions to develop resolutions on the following themes:

a) The role of the party and youth unions in shaping the future;

b) The role of the party in preparing youth for life in society;

c) The role of the party and state institutions in shaping a uniform social policy;

d) The party offer of an active life for young people;

e) The participation of youth unions in growing party ranks.

Comrade Marian Wozniak, first secretary of the PZPR KW, summarized the discussions. He said that the material in the day's deliberations was very difficult; for example, there were serious differences of opinion in evaluating basic principles. The present plenary meetings do not terminate this theme; it will have to be revived at the next plenum.

He said that the frustration that overcame the younger generation because of party policy over the past 4 years had exceeded all expectations. Those young people who are indifferent should be encouraged by the group of active young people who resisted apathy and despondency to take action and make decisions. For this a dialogue is necessary. This is very difficult now, since the party is being severely attacked for previous errors.

The substance of an opening dialogue must be directions for undertaking concrete actions. There should be no more words, no more promotion of beautifully sounding resolutions which no one implements. The most important thing now is what action we will take.

The present system has not allowed young people to act in a spirit of reform; if such activities are resisted, frustrations must arise. It is actually this frustration of the younger generation that our political enemies used so effectively against us. We must show that our society can be reformed, that the present system can be and is being improved. We must remember that the vast majority of young people joining the ranks of Solidarity were not antisocially inclined.

The economic reform creates a great opportunity. It is said that workers' self-governments do not exist, but party organizations together with youth organizations can take joint action to create self-governments. It is very important to make use of youth action in reform activities.

Presently, in Warsaw, the possibility of dissolving three construction enterprises because of their bad economic results is being considered. Let us give some thought to creating new construction enterprises whose cadres would be young people; these enterprises would build housing for young people. There are already such youth cooperatives in the country and they are achieving very good results and are great competition for existing units.

In addition to workers' self-governments, encouraging young people to participate in people's councils and OKONs [Citizen's Committees of National Rebirth] is also very important. Implementing a partnership in the governing of the country must be understood literally.

In conclusion, the speaker stated that the Warsaw organization will thoroughly and with insight analyze the results of the discussions and will implement them.

The PZPR KW plenary session created the PZPR KW Working Committee and the Commission on Women and Family Affairs.

Youth Role of Partner in Society

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by: (tg-am): "Young People in the Role of Partner--The PZPR KW Plenum"]

[Text] (Own information) On Monday, the plenum of the Warsaw party organization, under the chairmanship of Marian Wozniak, Political Bureau candidate member, Central Committee secretary and first secretary of the PZPR KW, deliberated on the youth problem. The PZPR KW meeting was preceded by careful preparations. The discussion themes were developed in consultation with young people from 30 key factories, scientific-research institutions and agricultural centers. Eighty representatives of working and studying youth were invited to participate in the plenum.

In the country's present situation, the status of young people, especially those entering adult life, is difficult and complicated. In Warsaw and the capital city province, one-half of the professionally active residents are people who are less than 35 years old. As stated at the plenum, in addition to pensioners and retirees from the so-called old file, young people are paying the highest price for the effects of the crisis. They are an economically weak group and at the same time disappointed in its hopes after the illusory social and economic policies of the 1970's. Thus, it was emphasized, that the attitudes of indifference, distrust and lack of faith in improving living conditions arose.

On the other hand, however, as ascertained at the meetings and consultations on the themes to be discussed at the plenum, young people have had enough of patronizing back-slapping, of make-believe access to authorities or to factory and state levels.

The plenum recognized three problems as exceptionally important from the viewpoint of youth: education and upbringing, living conditions of young families and working conditions. In addition, emphasis was placed on the need to improve ideological upbringing work, and to strengthen youth organizations and upbringing in the family, school and workplace as well as to include young people in the stream of socioeconomic changes dictated by the reform.

Based on the commission's recommendations, a resolution was passed to negate the KW position defining the method of using materials submitted to the participants of the plenary session as well as the comments and proposals voiced during the discussions in the four teams. The plenum also created a working commission and a commission on women and family affairs.

Albin Siwak, member of the Political Bureau Central Committee; Jan Glowczyk, Political Bureau candidate member; Mieczyslaw Debicki, General of Division and mayor of Warsaw; Doc Dr Mieczyslaw Szostek, chairman of the Warsaw People's Council and others participated in the deliberations.

Plenum on Current Expectations of Youth

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Jun 82 p 8

[Article by : (tg-am): "Plenum of the PZPR KW--Young People as Partners"]

[Text] It can be said that yesterday's plenum was atypical. Discussions on theses in four concurrently operating teams permitted most KW members and invited guests to express their opinions.

Waldemar Krolik, vice chairman of the ZSMP Factory Board of the URSUS Mechanical Works, said: "Attempts in the past to regulate the affairs of the younger generation ended, unfortunately, without visible results. Today young people, learning through experience, have no faith in paper solutions to problems rankling them. They can be convinced by concrete results; that is, certainty of work in accordance with their training, possibility of advancement, acquiring a residence and the like. We young people are not sitting with our arms folded waiting for manna to fall from heaven. Lately we investigated quite thoroughly the social and living conditions and professional situation of our colleagues at URSUS. This work will permit us to formulate a program entitled 'Prospects for Young Workers.' We formed a youth housing cooperative, but difficulties of a formal nature beset it from the beginning. The spectacular treatment of our affairs disturbs us and brings to mind an important question: "What will change after the next Central Committee plenum?"

During the deliberations, the education policy was criticized. Many higher school graduates, especially in the humanities, cannot find work, but yet there is a shortage of professionals in such specialities as lathe operators and ironworkers. It was postulated that the problem of education should be considered with special attention to observance of social justice and the need to meet youth initiatives halfway. "We do not have to live in fancy four-room apartments," stated Grzegorz Laskowski of NOWOTKO (Machinery Works). "At the start we would be satisfied with rotational housing or old housing remodeled with our own hands."

What was the most striking thing in the plenary discussion? Above all, the sincerity of the replies. There were no readings of papers, and although, at times, strong words were spoken, they were to the point. "In past years young people were promised much," stated Mieczyslaw Krzycki, economic secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the LOT Polish Air Lines [PLL]. Today, under our present living conditions, the authorities not only cannot but should not promise too much. However, there must be a convergence of aims and aspirations of the younger and older generations, and it should be demonstrated.

Marian Wozniak, first secretary of the KW, said the frustration of young people exceeds adult imaginations. "There is much to do. It will not be possible to implement the assumptions of the economic reform without the participation of that generation that is beginning its start in life. From this point of view, the participation of young workers, technicians and engineers, and ZSMP members in forming self-governments in the workplaces becomes significant."

Housing construction is an exceptionally important problem throughout the country, especially in the capital. Much attention was given to this problem in the discussions and in the summary of the first secretary of the KW. The recommendation that young people should be given a chance to form an enterprise managed by themselves was not accepted. Above all, areas designated for single-family construction should be turned over to young people.

A need exists for young residents of Warsaw and the province to join together in self-government work, as a school for civic training. The continually unappreciated truth that society should not be divided into old and young was formulated at the plenum and in judging people; class criteria and not generational criteria should be used. The recommendations announced during the deliberations will be the basis for practical action by the Warsaw party echelons and organizations.

Deliberations on Objectives for Youth

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 29 Jun 82 p 7

[Article by: (BS-ws): "From the Plenary Deliberations of the PZPR KW--Patient Building From the Foundations"]

[Text] Today's deliberations [29 June 1982] do not fulfill many of the hopes and postulates of young people because the country is in a difficult period. "We do not want to make errors and promises paid for with bad checks. We want young people to understand the conditions under which we are living. How quickly the country recovers from the crisis depends on everyone, including young people." These are the words stated by Jerzy Boleslawski, KW secretary, at the opening of the plenary meeting of the PZPR KW on 28 June.

The deliberations were chaired by Marian Wozniak, candidate member of the PZPR Political Bureau Central Committee and first secretary of the KW. Among others, Albin Siwak, member of the Political Bureau Central Committee; Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the Political Bureau Central Committee; representatives of Warsaw and national authorities; administrators of Warsaw youth organizations; and Sejm delegates participated in the deliberations.

It was not a typical party plenum on young people. The deliberations were dedicated to the problems of youth by youth and with their participation. A 60-member group of young people from various Warsaw and provincial centers were invited to the meeting which was preceded by numerous consultations at workplaces.

Discussions were conducted simultaneously in four working teams. What was discussed? Above all the need to overcome the moral and ideological crisis of young people; their often unjustified frustrations and their unwillingness to participate in all activities; and the current fashion of negating everyone and everything.

"How can these people be roused from their apathy? It is necessary to present tasks to them clearly and to give an opportunity for their implementation,"

stated one of the speakers. "There is a danger that the authorities, regardless of level, will make promises to the young people, something which should not be done under current conditions."

"A concrete plan of action should be presented," stated Wladyslaw Serafin, a farmer from the Gora Kalwaria gmina. "Sincerity and honesty in dealing with young people with guarantee the party success."

"The problems of young people cannot be an occassional affair, from action to action," stated one of the speakers. "Youth should not be treated as subservient, but as an equal partner," stated another. "Young people have initiative but they want to know precisely if their efforts will be naught," stated an URSUS representative.

The resolutions of the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee of 1972, which was dedicated to youth affairs, were included in the discussions.

Young people believe that it is necessary to settle accounts with the party in order to implement these resolutions.

There was no lack of discussion on social and living problems. The advisability of credits for young married couples, for housing construction, professional starts and opportunities for advancement were considered. Upbringing in the family and school was discussed. Much time was dedicated to the possibility of youth participation in territorial self-government.

Concrete solutions for difficult questions were discussed, argued but also exchanged. For example: how young people can prepare housing construction sites through their own efforts and start construction, how to enliven declining rural clubs, how to hasten the preparation of rotational housing.

"Today we must present youth a model of behavior which will [not] appear unattractive [sic] to them--the patient construction of our society from the foundations--and we must convince youth to accept this model," stated, among others, Marian Wozniak, first secretary of the KW, at the end of the session.

The participants in the deliberations admitted that the meeting did not exhaust all the problems associated with youth. Thus it was resolved not to pass a resolution. The KW Executive Board was authorized to work up a complete draft, and the text will be discussed with youth organizations.

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'SZTANDAR LUDU' REPORTS LUBLIN PZPR DEVELOPMENTS

Current Most Important Matters

Lublin SZTANDAR LUBU in Polish 3 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by (leg.): "From the Deliberations of PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Boards--In Lublin, the Most Important Party Matters"]

[Text] (Our Own Information) The agenda of yesterday's [2 June 1982] deliberations of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Lublin included three subjects, which unquestionably belong to the group of the most important issues: an assessment of party activities to develop and accelerate industrial production serving the needs of farming and the food economy; the implementation of proposals of the Seventh PZPR KC [Central Committee] Plenum concerning acting upon the complaints and grievances of the populace and, finally, the summarization of the course of the discussion in Lublin Voivodship over the draft PZPR ideological-program declaration "What we are struggling for, where we are aiming."

The executive board ranked highly the issues taken up in Lublin plants of expanding the production of farm machinery, tools and equipment, which arose out of the initiative of plant party organizations and the Sociocultural and Socioeconomic Departments of the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee]. The board saw them as proof of the consistent and realistic fulfillment of tasks emanating from the program for feeding the nation prepared by the central authorities. Of course, the production results thus far are only the beginning of the entire endeavor and they have had their shortcomings and mistakes. Nonetheless, the major directions of activity are absolutely correct and necessary. We shall treat this subject in greater depth in separate articles.

The information submitted to the executive board concerning the settling of complaints and grievances was likewise recognized to be an issue of great importance. The party's attitude to citizens' complaints and grievances, their solicitous examination and sincere resolution should be one of the chief tasks of the voivodship committee and other echelons of party members on all positions, said Wladyslaw Kruk, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

The inspection-awareness campaign undertaken on this matter after the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum was also discussed. Some echelons that have

contact with citizens and resolve matters for them are still heartless and indifferent to human issues. There must be a different atmosphere with regard to the petitioner. Party members must be reprimanded especially severely for this. The attitude and commitment of an official, a representative of any sort of institution affects the attitude of the citizen to the people's authorities and to our entire reality.

The problem of the reaction of the various institutions and organizational units to press criticism was also broached during the deliberations. The Executive Board ordered party echelons and organizations to cooperate closely with organs of the press, radio and television, both to react effectively to criticism and to present public opinion with a way of acting upon the recommendations, requests and complaints of citizens.

Te executive boards of institutional organizations that are broadly concerned with complaints and grievances are obliged to evaluate this activity and to make certain that party members are implementing these important obligations.

Given the many complaints and criticisms of ZUS [Social Security Agency] actions, the executive board has ordered comrades from the Voivodship Administration Office and the PZPR Municipal Committee in Lublin to take steps to immediately streamline the work of this institution.

Discussion on the draft PZPR ideological program declaration, "What we are struggling for, where we are aiming," revealed that this was a broad campaign in which an overwhelming majority of fundamental organizations participated. Many remarks, assessments and recommendations were made during this campaign.

The main assumptions of the declaration were approved. However there was much criticism of the style and language of this document, as well as of the preparation of particular sections. It was ascertained at the executive board meeting that such a range of opinions, often controversial, attests to the vitality of party life and the development of the independent thought of party members. This, together with the attempt to assess and define the role of the party, is certainly a positive factor. A comprehensive document containing the most critical proposals and recommendations will be submitted to the central party authorities to serve as a basis for further work on the draft declaration.

Interview of PZPR Secretary Przybylski

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 15 Jun 82 p 3

[Interview with Witold Przybylski, secretary, PZPR Voivodship Committee in Lublin by J. Kuznicki: "We Alone Can Do This Work"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] Let us begin with a reflection of a personal nature. Soon a year will have passed since the party reporting-electoral campaign in which you were elected, first the PZPR first secretary of the Plant Committee [KZ] at the Swidnik WSK [Transportation Equipment Plant], and later secretary

of the KW [Voivodship Committee]. After nearly a year, how do you assess this campaign and the personnel changes made at that time?

[Answer] Although it was a very stormy campaign, I must strongly emphasize that it was totally democratic. Due to the extremely complex situation within the country and within the party itself, party functions were not greeted enthusiastically. I agreed to be a candidate for first secretary at the Swidnik WSK after my comrades convinced me that the situation in the plant party organization demanded this. I simply had a duty to the party.

I admit that I was very shocked to be elected KW secretary. It was not easy for me to decide whether to be a candidate, since I had many difficult moments in the interim, while I was working on the KZ.

It is difficult for me to discuss all of the changes in particular echelons, for each of these matters should be treated individually. For example, the previous voivodship authorities in Lublin included many comrades who had extensive professional and public experience. Generally I believe that after such a shock as the party underwent after August 1980, the changes were justified, since new people adapt more easily to changed circumstances and to new requirements and needs in party work. This is not to say that such sweeping, sudden changes bring only benefits. In my own experience it has honestly been the case that such "operations" have their consequences. One needs time to gain experience, to learn about the fairly complex problems of the voivodship and to come to know the people.

[Question] Comrade, you mentioned the new requirements in party work.

[Answer] I had in mind a change in the style of work, a decisive, irreversible departure from the system of petty interference into the activity of enterprises, offices and institutions which was associated with the directive, command-distributive system of economic management. Now, when enterprises and institutions are attaining full autonomy, and objective needs and economic conditions will determine their activity, other methods of having an impact on the administration and economic units are indispensable.

The voivodship party echelon has an impact on their activity mainly through plant party organizations. Hence the need for more frequent and systematic contact with these organizations and with the work forces of plants, offering help to resolve conflicts. It is not enough to be right in this work; it is equally important to be able to prove that we are right, to convince the work force of this.

[Question] How do you do this in the KW economic department?

[Answer] The new title itself (Socioeconomic Depattment) suggests that the purpose of our work in the economic field is to attain social goals. We are trying to inspire plants, to stimulate party organizations, to ponder in common with them what to do to create a climate fostering more efficient work and the reconciliation of work force interests with thos of society as a whole.

We attach much importance to the share of the party aktiv in the work of commissions and teams working with social, economic and technical-organizational issues.

[Question] In your opinion, what are the most pressing problems with which the voivodship administration must deal?

[Answer] One of the most important is market supply. We often act as spokesmen for the voivodship residents, submitting their opinions and needs to institutions at the central and voivodship levels. Housing construction is another crucial problem. At the end of 1981, there were 23,000 people registered in housing cooperatives in the voivodship and more than 30,000 candidates waiting for membership. A comparison of these needs with the real potential of construction does not engender optimism. But we are taking action to ameliorate this difficult situation, at least in part. There will be changes this year in housing policy; people's council buildings and plants will be modernized. Cooperatives will have more apartments for their members.

In spite of financial limitations, the preliminary draft for 1981-1985 envisages a definite increase in housing construction compared with the past 5-year period.

Delays in the construction community servies (stores, nurseries, preschools and schools), which have grown due to temporary solutions, are a very serious problem. The most severe backlog is found in the new communities in Lublin—in the Czechy and Czuba city quarters and in Swidnik, Pulawy and Leczna. As the new housing opens up, the thermal energy shortage is becoming more severe in Lublin, Swidnik, Pulawy and Krasnik. This necessitates increasing our energy capabilities. The most urgent task in this field is the construction of the third stage of an electric power- and heat-generating plant in the Lublin quarter of Wrotki. The preparation of a plan of city and gmina territorial management and the designation of lands for housing construction are also urgent matters.

There are many pressing needs in municipal management. The improvement of city water supply, the expansion of waste treatment plants and the streamlining of transportation are all indispensable. The rapid development of municipal and gmina centers and the natural deterioration of building create tremendous needs in the area of the construction, expansion and repair of educational-upbringing and cultural institutions.

I should like to emphasize that the Ninth PZPR Congress outlined the directions of national activities in these fields. With regard to our voivodship, they were specified in a resolution of the voivodship programming-electoral conference. The task of all party members and all people of goodwill is the exemplary implementation of these programs of activity. We alone can do this work.

[Question] Recently, at the PZPR KW plenum, there was a preliminary analysis of the functioning of voivodship management under reform conditions. Party tasks were likewise defined at this plenum.

[Answer] We can talk about reform in another interview. Here let me merely comment briefly about the level of preparation of enterprises for initiating reform. Generally speaking, the leadership cadre is best prepared in large enterprises. Those enterprises that worked within the WOG [large economic organizations] system are best prepared.

Work cooperatives, which have been operating under the new system since mid-1982 with fairly good results, are likewise well prepared. This is shown by the increase in the sale of the products of small-scale production, which took over 10 percent of the market over a 4-month period this year, while employing less than 4.6 percent of the work force.

The new principles of management force enterprises to pay closer attention to financial questions. They are likewise more cautious regarding investment endeavors, more realistic in planning wage increases. Moreover, plants are hit harder by such negative phenomena as stock surpluses and the incomplete usage of fixed assets. These are signs of the positive operation of reform, leading to more rational management.

However, there are also weaknesses in the new economic system. Familiarity with its principles is essentially limited to the level of enterprise management. The vast majority of workers and even of mid-level of enterprise see no clear link between the activity of the new management system and their earnings. Plants do not have a system of tying in the amount of earnings with production quality, with a reduction in material consumption and with the better use of work time.

The compensations for the increase in the cost of living and the often formal regulations concerning the payment of various wage bonuses and premiums also cloud this picture. Moreover, reform problems are sometimes viewed from the aspect of enterprise interests, without consideration of the relations of society as a whole. This is evident in the critical attitude to the prices of foreign products and the lack of this attitude to our own prices.

Thus, the process of ordering our economy will take place in proportion to the inculcation of reform principles, not theoretically, but in daily management decisions. This will determine how much and how quickly we change our thinking, a mentality that has been formed over decades, that the authorities are responsible for everything, that while we do want independence, we do not want responsibility.

[Question] What must be done to change this mentality and these habits?

[Answer] We need universal economic education to familiarize all employees with the principles of enterprise operation under reform conditions. We must concretize and synchronize the training programs conducted by enterprises themselves and by various associations such as PTE [Polish Economic Society], TNOiK [Scientific Society of Organization and Administration], the Association of Accountants and NOT [Chief Technical Organization], We can successfully reduce the number of theoretical training programs, substituting specialized counseling and the practical utilization of reform mechanisms.

Supervisory units have an important role in specialized training in the area of interpreting regulations, in force.

These institutions have the task of protecting the observance of the law and society's interests. However, they must also change their methods of operation so that the management of economic units will not be afraid to take calculated risks in decisionmaking, thus curbing socially desirable initiatives.

The updating of programs for improving management prepared last year by reform teams is likewise an important issue. Management conditions have changed considerably; the situation is different in supply, in import and on the labor market; the taxation system has changed; stiffer credit principles have been introduced.

In their work on the above-noted programs, reform teams should consider the proposals of the circles of scientific-technical and economic associations, teams for production and price affairs, plant social commissions, social consultative commissions and the like.

It is essential that enterprises prepare their own incentives systems for guaranteeing just wages and the abandonment of the often practiced, socially unjust principle of equality for all despite the quality of one's work.

Autonomy is one of the three basic principles of the reform. It is impossible to fully implement the new economic system unless the workers' self-government really acts. One cannot speak of work force coresponsibility for production results unless it really takes part in making decisions about the economic policy of the enterprise. Thus, plant party organizations in conjunction with administrative management and enterprise consultative commissions must help to foster the revitalization of self-governing bodies.

A broad field of action on all issues is opening up for party organizations. They should inspire and assist management and employee collectives to act to improve the operation of the enterprise. In creating a climate for inculcating reform, party organizations are likewise obliged to oppose all actions that are contrary to societywide interests and violate the standards of societal coexistence. They must also supervise cadre policy.

In conclusion, I should like to say that we are living with the problems of initiating reform literally every day in party echelons. It is our only chance for quickly getting out of the crisis, for keeping the "belt-tightening" period to a minimum.

Lublin Labor Market Situation

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 17 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by (sna): "From the Deliberations of PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Boards--in Lublin, Situation on the Labor Market"]

[Text] (Our Own Information) Yesterday [16 June 1982], the Executive Board of the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] examined the current situation in the

voivodship in the area of employment, giving special attention to the situation of postelementary school graduates.

Last year, approximately 12,000 people in Lublin Voivodship took early retirement, significantly reducing the level of employment. Restricted employment in some economic units has not created a surplus in manpower. On the contrary, for 2 months a shortage of manpower has been noted, especially in blue-collar jobs.

Currently on the labor market there are many more jobs than people to fill them. At the end of May 1982, there were 6,752 announced in all, while the recorded number of people looking for jobs was less than 582.

The abundance of job openings in the voivodship does not mean that one has no trouble finding a job. Difficulties do exist, mainly in such specializations as philosophy, psychology, foreign language studies, biology, veterinary medicine, agriculture, horticulture and law.

This year, Lublin higher schools are to graduate approximately 3,300 persons, while the total number of secondary school graduates will be nearly 8,000. The openings announced by plants show that only graduates of basic vocational schools may be assured of full job security. While the number of openings for this year's UMCS [Maria Curie-Sklodowska University] graduates exceeds their number, there are wide disparities in the structure of needs and training. There is a shortage of positions for students of law, administration, economics, chemistry, physics, biology and foreign language studies. On the other hand, there is a surplus of positions (1,259 jobs) for graduates in the area of teaching. Full job security is lacking in essentially all directions and specializations for graduates of the Agricultural Academy and Lublin Technical University.

The executive board recognized that job security for the year's graduates of all types of schools and educational institutions is one of the most important and most pressing problems to be solved. Specific activities have been undertaken in this area. The Lublin governor has approached 400 plants with the order that white-collar positions that are empty due to retirement and child-care leaves be saved for this year's higher school graduates. This request will be implemented consistently. Moreover, the administrative heads of cities and gminas have been ordered to inspect plant cadres. The positions yielded in this way should be filled by graduates.

Another subject of executive board deliberations was a report concerning the activities of Citizen's Committees for National Rebirth [OKON]. At present, there are 148 such committees in Lublin Voivodship, joining together nearly 3,500 persons representing all milieus and professional groups. It was recognized as purposeful and necessary that new OKON initiatives in the name of maintaining national accord be supported and inspired.

Plenum on Declaration

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 24 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (KUZ): "Deliberations of the PZPR KW Plenum in Lublin--An Assessment of the Implementation of the Seventh KC [Central Committee] Plenum and of Discussion of the Ideological-programming Draft Declaration; Comrade Wieslaw Skrzydlo First Secretary of the KW"]

> [Text] (Our Own Information) Yesterday, 23 June 1982, a plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] was held to analyze the implementation of a resolution of the seventh Central Committee Plenum and to assess the course of discussion over the ideological-programming declaration. The agenda of the meeting, in which Political Bureau member, PZPR Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski, and the director of the PZPR Central Committee Cadre Department, Tadeusz Dziekan, took part, likewise included organizational matters--a change in the position of PZPP KW first secretary in Lublin. In accordance with a KW executive board recommentation, the members of the plenum complied with the request of the former KW first secretary, Wladyslaw Kruk, to be relieved of this function. In secret ballot, they entrusted it to the well-known Lublin party and social activist, UMCS [Maria Curie-Sklodowska University] rector for many years, Prof Dr Habilitatus Wieslaw Skrzydlo, who was unanimously coopted earlier into the KW.

A detailed report follows:

After the agenda of the deliberations was approved, Comrade Wladyslaw Kruk took the floor. He opened by saying that he was brought up in the Lublin party organization, a party member of 30 years' standing, associated with it by choice. For 21 years, he was employed in various party echelons; for 5 years, during a very difficult period, he acted as first secretary of the PZPR KW.

Alluding to recent years and months he said: "During this period we succeeded in adhering to principles in our voivodship. We spoke up many times, clearly and decisively in favor of understanding and renewal and opposed to demagoguery and anarchy--against party breakdown."

Further on in his address he stated that in his opinion the time had come for making a change in the position of first secretary of the voivodship echelon. A difficult, constant struggle still awaits us.

Comrade Wladyskaw Kruk continued: "New forces and an unfettered outlook, on our current situation are needed. This is why, motivated by concern for our voivodship party organization, as I have been for many years, I ask for your

understanding of my motives, comrades, and that you release me from my function as first secretary and executive board member.

"Over the course of many years' difficult work in the party apparatus, as I fulfilled many functions, I was always energized in my direct contact with working people, farmers, the activists of our party and political parties and nonparty members. However, I value especially highly the kindhearted assistance I have received from the members of the voivodship echelon, from the secretaries of local echelons, the aktiv and the party apparatus and, during the past year, from you, comrades.

"Together we have passed through extremely difficult and complex times, probably the most difficult in the life of our party. Although our actions were not free of error and defeat, although there were losses, we led our voivodship party organization through this extremely difficult period. And although the material that has been submitted here shows that we still have much to do to implement the course of socialist renewal, to regain the trust of the working class and of the entire society, those irreversible reforms that our party has already executed enable me today to say that we have moved forward; we must maintain and expand this movement and the direction of our march.

"Comrades, for your help and goodwill, for your words of criticism that are so indispensable in our party work, and for your help, I thank the entire party aktiv, organization and party members from the bottom of my heart.

"We gave very serious consideration in the KW executive board to a candidate for the future administrative head of the voivodship organization.

"There are many comrades among us here who are equal to these obligations. However, we continue to operate under very complex conditions. Thus, we were looking for someone with much experience, profound knowledge and the skill to unify the people around himself.

"We are grateful to the Central Committee Political Bureau for accepting our proposed candidate, Comrade Wieslaw Skrzydlo. During the consultative meetings of the KW members and candidate members, comrades, you too indicated that you were in favor of this candidate.

"I have known Comrade Skrzydlo for 29 years from party, societal and professional activities. The depth of his political knowledge, his organizational abilities, unassuming nature and the ease of contact he maintains with people of different milieus have gained him genuine recognition and real authority in many social circles.

"I firmly believe that the selection of Comrade Wieslaw Skrzydlo as KW secretary will increase the authority of our echelon, will help us to sum up our positive acheivements and discover our weaknesses; in a word, it will help us to better prepare for the difficult tasks that await our organization."

Next PZPR KW Secretary Tadeusz Borszynski, who took over the meeting, asked the plenum mmmbers to vote on the first motion of Comrade Wlayslaw Kruk to release him from his function as KW first secretary. He noted that his request was accepted by the KW executive board after thorough analysis of his reasons for stepping down. The KW members approved the request and the executive board motion in open ballot, with three members abstaining.

A delegation of KW members, the social political aktiv and the employees of the party apparatus led by first secretary of the PZPR KM [Municipal Committee] in Pulawy, Stanislaw Jedrych, thanked Wlayyslaw Kruk sincerely for his sacrifical work and leadership of voivodship echelon activity during a most difficult period for the party, presenting him with a bouquet of flowers and extending best wishes for fruitful work in his new responsible position and in his personal life.

Next Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski took the floor. Alluding to many years of friendship and personal contact of nearly 30-years' standing with Comrade Wladyslaw Kruk, including the period of his functioning as candidate member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee, Comrade Barcikowski, for himself and for the central party authorities, expressed his regard and recognition and offered sincere thanks for Comrade Kruk's partymindedness and sacrificial work for the party at all times. Comrade K. Barcikowski said: "The Political Bureau understands the motives behind the decision of Wladyslaw Kruk and desires to recommend him for responsible work in the foreign service."

Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski likewise explained the motives behind the PZPR Central Committee Political Bureau's acceptance of the recommendation of the executive board that Wieslaw Skrzydlo fulfill the function of first secretary. He stated that his knowledge, his wealth of experience in party and societal work and his familiarity with the voivodship enable him to lead the Lublin party organization properly.

In open ballot, the plenum unanimously chose Wieslaw Skrzydlo KW member. Then, in secret ballot (85 votes out of 90 people voting), he was chosen first secretary of the PZPR KW. The newly elected secretary was then wished success in his work.

The next item of deliberation was the discussion of the materials submitted earlier to the plenum members by the executive board and the KQ secretariat concerning the implementation of the Seventh Central Committee Plenum resolution and the discussion of the ideological-programming draft declaration in the voivodship party organization. Elzbieta Buczko, chairlady of the Motions and Complaints of the Populace Commission, reported on the situation in the area of resolving issues that are brought up by voividship residents and are submitted to party echelons.

Other speakers, including Andrzej Mecinski, first secretary of the PZPR KM in Lublin and Stanislaw Staniszewski, director of the CENTRUM Department Stores, spoke of the activities and directions of efforts aimed at stabilizing life in particular milieus and at strengthening and consolidating the party,

rebuilding its authority and its ties with society. They spoke of the results of interviews and evaluations of the activism and attitudes of party members, of the improvement in intraparty information dissemination and of the activity of social and consultative commissions in plants. They also discussed the opinions of work forces on the subject of the future activity of trade unions. They evaluated the achievements of OKON and the efforts of the party and other organizations in building a front of social understanding and national accord.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Political Bureau member, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, discussed the notions and opinions presented in the discussion. He said that the central party authorities plan to present a final version of the ideological-programming declaration before the observance of the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers movement, i.e., in September 1982. Due to the tremendous number of suggestions, this document must be reedited.

In speaking of the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress, he stated that many have already been executed or are now being implemented.

He likewise emphasized the importance of the creation of conditions for real activity by workers self-governments for the implementation of economic reform, and especially to gain society's understanding and approval of its asuumptions in plants.

The PZPR Central Committee secretary stated: "The Political Bureau likewise attaches tremendous importance to the development of OKON activity. We are considering various ideas in this field, such as the uniting of this real civic movement with the FJN [National Unity Front], so that in the future it can also assume the constitutional functions that the FJN committees now exercise.

"Thus, we must make every effort to unite all members of OKON elements who are not opposed to socialism, so that they can operate more and more effectively. To this end, new structures, citywide and voivodship elements of OKON are arising."

The KW plenum passed a resolution binding party echelons and organizations to step up their efforts to strengthen the party rank and file, their ideological, political and organizational cohesiveness and to increase their political impact upon particular social groups.

At the conclusion of deliberations, Comrade Wieslaw Skrzydlo took the floor.

He said: "In accordance with your wishes, in taking on the function of first secretary of the PZPR KW in Lublin, I am aware that I have been given a tremendous credit balance of trust which I can repay only by sacrificial work and by dedication in the implementation of our common proposals. I thank you for this trust and I count on the help of the PZPR Central Committee Political Bureau, on the kindhearted cooperation of the members of the voivodship party echelon and on the assistance and inspiration of all party

members. History tells us that the unquestionable successes our party has had as it aims to build a Poland of justice, such successes as agricultural reform, rebuilding the country following the destruction of war, the expansion of industrial potential, the development of the school system and the like have always been associated with the party's proper fulfillment of its leadership role; they have always been linked by this bond and by its skill in serving working people, the entire society. Today we want to rebuild this bond, society's trust in the party; we can and we must rebuild it, for only in this way can we fulfill society's expectations and aspirations. It is to this end that I wish to serve together with the entire party, with which I have been associated for 30 years. It is to the implementation of this goal that I shall devote my powers and my abilities."

Biographic Sketch of Skrzydlo

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 24 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] Comrade Wieslaw Skrzydlo, professor, doctor habilitatus, long-time former rector of Maria Curie-Sklodowska University [UMCS] in Lublin; long-time party and social activist, is a figure well-known in Lublin circles; his life and societal activity are closely connected with our region. Thus, we shall remind our readers only of some basic information from his biography.

He was born 11 April 1929 in Rokitno near Wolynie, and 2 years later was brought by his parents to the Lublin area. He completed elementary school in 1942 and then worked in the Agricultural-Trade Cooperative in Zaokiewiec. He finished secondary school at the Zamoyski High School and the Staszic Lyceum in Lublin, and from 1949 to 1952, he was enrolled in the first level of studies in the Law Faculty at UMCS. He received his master's degree in law in 1953 at Warsaw University.

In 1951, he began his work at UMCS, where he was successively: a candidate assistant, an assistant, senior assistant, aspirant, adjunct, docent and professor. From 1964-1965 he was the pro-dean of the UMCS Law Faculty, and from 1965 to 1972 he served as UMCS pro-rector; from 1972 to 1981, he was UMCS rector. He made an intense personal effort to develop UMCS. Recently, he chaired the UMCS Department of Constitutional Law. He is the author of many scientific works in the area of the political system of socialist states, and especially People's Poland, for which he was distinguished many times, including three first-class awards from the minister of science, technology and higher schooling.

From his early years, he has had a lively interest in social activism. In 1950, he joined the Polish Youth Union, and since 1951 (for 31 years) he has been a member of the PZPR. He has served in many party capacities, including first secretary of the OOP [Departmental Party Organization] and member of the PZPR College Committee [KU]. From 1969 to 1981, Comrade Wieslaw Skrzydlo was a member of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board in Lublin. He participated in three successive party congresses--the sixth, seventh and eighth--as a delegate of the voivodship party organization.

From 1975 to 1980 he was a member of the Central Party Control Commission.

He has received a number of state and social distinctions for his activity, including: Order of the Banner of Labor First-Class, Officer's Cross of the Order of the Polish Rebirth and the title Teacher of Merit of the PRL [Polish People's Republic].

8536
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CONTINUED PRESS COVERAGE OF NEW SCHOOL YEAR NOTED

Deputy Education Minister Interviewed

Warsaw RZECZYPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Aug 82 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Jerzy Wojciechowski, deputy education minister, by Hanna Sadowska: "New School Year—Plans And Expectations"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] We have behind us one of the most difficult school years in the history of postwar education, and now we stand on the threshold of a new school year. Will we begin it with hope, or with old problems?

[Answer] The coming year will not be easy, since there have been no radical changes in the school system situation. Recently the situation was examined by the Council of Ministers which analyzed the state of preparation for the new year.

[Question] The information presented at the Council of Ministers by the Ministry of Education shows that 278 new educational facilities and over 1,250 apartments for teachers will be added. Will the investments have no impact whatsoever on the material aspect of education?

[Answer] There would have been a noticeable improvement in school working conditions, if not for the baby boom now entering the first grade of primary school. Beginning with 1 September the number of our charges will increase by 165,000, and the school system base which constantly suffers from a lack of manufacturing means and powers, is insufficient. Material needs which, despite the government efforts, are never fully satisfied, result in a negative public image of the educational system, especially in rural areas.

[Question] Then what should rural students do, wait for better times when conditions for their start in life will be equal to those of their peers in the city?

[Answer] An equal start is affected by many factors, school being one of the most important of them, of course. This is why we make many efforts to upgrade the level of school work in villages and small towns. Thus, we have not given up on opening and strengthening consolidated gmina schools, but we are also reopening branch schools. Last year we reopened 400 branch

schools, and this year 190 such schools will start to function. Educational conditions will improve for the youngest students as a result. Students will not have to commute and, in addition, a number of children learning in combined grades will decrease from 290,000 last year to 177,000.

[Question] But these numbers show a cause for concern, since they mean that almost 200,000 children learn under conditions which do not insure that knowledge is acquired properly. The cadre situation does not guarantee it either. Too many teachers with inadequate credentials will be teaching this year, especially in rural areas.

[Answer] Last year 432,000 teachers worked for the school system. Out of those 22,300 were not fully qualified. Similarly, this year we are forced to employ a number of such teachers. Right now it is difficult to say what the number will be, since we are still accepting requests from persons who do not meet all the requirements. This is a necessity. But let us not forget that the teachers continue to complete their education from the first day on the job. We have created a wide range of opportunities in this area. Yesterday's beginners are often adequate educators today, and they can further their education even more by taking courses part time. Of course, it would be better to employ teachers who had studied at educational faculties, but, first of all, universities do not train a sufficient number of teachers, and secondly, university graduates are not too anxious to seek employment in rural areas, where they are most needed.

[Question] What are the solutions to this problem, according to the ministry?

[Answer] The Council of Ministers instructed the minister of education to develop a training program for teaching cadre for the period up to 1990, taking under consideration the anticipated needs in this area. The program will be developed in cooperation with the minister of science, higher education, and technology and with other ministries in charge of higher education. Of course, it will take some time before the results are felt.

It is expected that the Teachers Charter and, in particular, the executory acts pertaining to such matters as teachers' wages will significantly help teachers practice this difficult profession and further their training. The executory acts determine the rate of wages and appropriate resources for the wage fund.

This means that we now enter the next stage in bringing teachers' wages up to the level of average wages for engineering-technical cadre which, according to the charter provisions should be accomplished by 1 September 1983. This shows that the statute--the Teachers Charter and resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, are consistently implemented.

Also, raises in wages will not be routine any more, the same for all teachers, but their amount will depend on many factors, including the number and kind of extracurricular activities and job performance.

Furthermore, the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution concerning the basis for granting teachers time off for continuing education (so this will not be arbitrary any more), reducing prices for railroad tickets and providing bank loans for teachers working in rural areas. The Council of Ministers put the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy, and Environmental Protection under special obligation to see to the needs of rural teachers concerning the apartment construction program which is currently being prepared and should be completed by the end of November of this year. As you see, we have moved from the phase of postulates and entered the phase of specific actions.

[Question] There is a fear, however, that the Teachers Charter, while giving more to teachers, will also increase demands on them.

[Answer] That is right. After all, if we want to accomplish educational and didactic goals required of a contemporary school, we have to rely on teachers who are intelligent, educated and dedicated. We no not hide our desire to see enlightened people with high moral standards among our educational cadre, because we need more than ever to work with youths, not only during school hours and not only concerning subjects required by the curriculum. Last year numerous shortcomings concerning the upbringing of students were revealed. This year has to be different.

The ministry worked out an educational program which we want to introduce to the school administrations starting on 1 September. We hope that within teaching teams efforts will increase to recapture mutual trust and a desire to work together to cultivate in students moral norms and principles and to affirm socialistic ideals.

Education Minister Interviewed

Warsaw RZECZYPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Aug 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Boleslaw Faron, minister of education, by Hanna Sadowska: "On the Threshold of the New School Year"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Every year at this time all attention is focused on school. We invariably want schools to impart more knowledge to students and more satisfaction to educators. What should we wish for Polish school this time?

[Answer] Tranquillity. This comes first. We need tranquillity not only in the general sense of this word. There was a period of great unrest around educational reform which then subsided. As a result the Polish educational system is a little disheveled and it deserves a quite time.

However, this does not mean a stagnation which could be a step back. Changes can be introduced after their merits and material aspects are well thought out. They should be introduced gradually. We pay too big a price for rash experiments performed on a system as sensitive as the school system. Let us not involve youths in unlawful acts and illegal structures this school year. They are tired of all this, their nerves are worn out. They also need a period of tranquillity.

My second wish is for schools to acquire discipline. This should be broadly understood, it should not be only formal discipline. We need a kind of discipline which becomes a basis for a rhythmical functioning of the school. A school is a living organism and it requires an especially good work organization as a foundation for proper functioning. This is because this organism gathers such great physical, intellectual, and emotional energy that any lack of discipline results in a decrease in work quality.

Another slogan which I would like to introduce and emphasize this year is that of doing a good job. In the ministry, we have undertaken a number of actions which should result in better quality of school work. Let me remind you about new regulations for passing students introduced last year, which do away with makeup examinations. Last June we returned to the idea of giving entrance examinations to postprimary schools, a procedure which was abandoned for years.

The preliminary analysis shows that the examinations brought discipline to the work of students in the eighth grade and they validated grades for students graduating from primary schools. In spite of those who were against the examinations, the changes did not close the way to postprimary schools for anybody. As you know, there are more places in the beginning grades of postprimary schools than there are graduates from the eighth grade of primary schools.

According to the Ministry of Education directive pertaining to quality education, new regulations on high school diplomas are introduced. They include a ban on the use of encyclopedias and other dictionaries during written examinations. After all, the candidate for a high school diploma does not write a dissertation but is simply required to show intellectual dexerity. When the regulations are ratified by the Council of Ministers, they will also enable main tasks and directions concerning the upbringing of children and youths, developed by the ministry, to function in school.

Tranquillity, discipline, better quality of work at school--these are my wishes for the new school year. The total fulfillment of the wishes will not be easy, especially as they are confronted with the insufficient number of schools in new communities and the lack of fully qualified teachers, particularly in rural areas. Programs are thwarted by the lack of apartments for rural teachers and of kindergarten facilities. We had to turn away 85,000 children.

It is also difficult to supply students with school materials, clothes and shoes. Although these matters are not, strictly speaking, concerns of our ministry, we cannot, I, personally, cannot be indifferent to them. After all, those matters affect the quality of school work. That is why my wish is for these problems to find more support in other ministries, as well as public support.

Some Facts, Figures

Warsaw RZECZYPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Sep 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (ewa): "The New School Year"]

> [Text] September 1 a new school year begins for 7.9 million students. A total of 4.5 million children will enter primary schools and 2.1 million youth will enter postprimary schools.

This year new educational buildings will open: 61 schools, 103 kindergartens, and 44 other educational facilities. A total of 63 schools and 173 branch schools will be reactivated, mainly in rural areas, according to the wishes of the communities.

Of course, these will not be all of this year's investments. The construction of 212 schools and 164 kindergartens continues, and, according to plans, additional educational buildings will be constructed before the end of the year. This, however, will not balance out the increase in the number of students, since in primary schools alone the number of students will increase by 160,000.

Problems with educational cadre have become proverbial. This school year 450,000 fully qualified teachers should start work. Unfortunately, many unqualified persons, unprepared to work in this profession, will also find their way into the school system.

A total fulfillment of all the needs will have to wait. But even today the educational administration tries to work things out. For example, this September, 42 posthigh school training centers for primary school and kindergarten teachers will open, since this specialty is in the highest demand.

At present, some students may not yet have a full set of school books in their bags. The books will get to them most probably no later than the end of September. Altogether, there will be 29 million copies, i.e., 17 percent more than last year (the remaining 3 million copies are not needed in schools until the second semester). The number of titles will also increase by more than 27 percent. This year for the first time children attending the first grade and 6-year-old kindergarten children will receive a full set of books to keep for free. Second- and fifth-grade students will receive free school books for the duration of the school year. This will be a significant financial help for parents.

Coupons for school notebooks and other school materials are also introduced this year for the first time and have met with public approval. The coupons guarantee that no student will come to school with an empty school bag.

For many students a new school year will be the year for novelties. Students attending the last high school grade already know that this May their graduation examination will be different. Eighth-grade students should remember that, beginning with September, regulations concerning high school admissions will be changed.

Vocational school students will go to school 3 years longer and they will have learned a trade upon graduation. They are also getting a new subject, i.e., history.

In postprimary schools, teaching programs for Polish, history, social science, and propaedeutic have changed. Completely new programs are introduced in the fifth grade in primary schools.

Rights of educational councils will also increase, especially concerning ways and methods of implementing school tasks. Regulations concerning grading, graduation and classification are changed. Thus, students will need to pay greater attention to school work. Implementation of the resolutions contained in the Teachers Charter will be of significant importance to educators.

9959
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POLISH SCOUT UNION ELECTS NEW COMMANDER

Supreme Council Plenum

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Aug 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by K. Zaczkiewicz: "Plenary Meeting of ZHP [Polish Scout Union] Supreme Council. Scouting in Our Days. Ryszard Wosinski Elected New ZHP Commander-in-Chief"]

> [Text] Self-government and autonomy play a major part in the scout approach to upbringing. Conducive to such activities is the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum which presupposes equality of status and equality before the law for all youth organizations, as stated in the program presentation at the 18 August ZHP Supreme Council session. The resolution proposes new rights for youth organizations--the right to comment on the government's plans and decisions, to participate in drafting laws, to propose new legislation and to have access to government information concerning implementation of its decisions--and constitutes a promise that youth will be treated as an active entity.

When the role of scouting in the system of education was discussed, it was found that the number of scouts in the schools has decreased. While there is a trend for scout troops to become independent and reach out beyond the school, if teachers expect support from the ZHP, they should also have confidence in the young instructors, give the troop leaders an opportunity and wait patiently. All educational institutions must unite in their recognition of patriotic, internationalist and moral values, while they should sponsor varying activities, appropriate to the concerns of each partner in the educational process.

The following are ranked as the fundamental goals of scouting:

--To create opportunities for achievement of full potential, not only for the best but also for the poorest and average scouts. The operative principle must be that everyone has a chance to test his skills with a sense of his own worth and shared responsibility;

--To provide unequivocal answers to spiritual, ideological and philosophical queries of young people;

--To appeal to youth not only through entertainment but also to attract them with the troops' moral force and the Scout Code principles;

--To rear independent self-starters, by confronting them with difficult tasks that force them to overcome their weaknesses;

--Troop activities should be dominated by these precepts of proper upbringing: work, earn, manage sensibily and save;

--ZHP traditions originating in the union's history should be cultivated so that the Scout Service for the Fatherland is closely concerned with the country's current situation.

Communication with all sectors is indispensable. Thus the Supreme Council Commission for Instructor Circles and Program-Methodical Movements reported its readiness to take charge of the contacts with A. Malkowski Scout Instructors Circles [KIHAM] and preparation of the ground for reestablishment and election of a new KIHAM Agreement Council (the previous council was dissolved in June 1982).

Following the presentation, in connection with his appointment as minister member of the Council of Ministers responsible for the concerns of the young generation, People's Poland Scoutmaster Andrzej Ornat submitted to the Supreme Council his request to be relieved of his position as ZHP Commander and Supreme Council Presidium member. The Presidium granted his request with one opposing vote.

Then the session chairman, People's Poland Scoutmaster, Piotr Lap, introduced the candidates who had been nominated for the position of ZHP commander the day before after stormy debate in the Supreme Council presidium. The candidates were Piotr Grzadek and Ryszard Wosinski, both former deputies to the ZHP commander. In a secret ballot with 78 of the 96 council members present, 44 votes were cast for Ryszard Wosinski and 32 for Piotr Grzadek.

The new ZHP commander's first official action was to pin a Gold Cross of Merit for the ZHP on the former commander, Andrzej Ornat, amid hearty applause.

A past ZHP Commander, Stanislaw Bogdanowicz, who was a guest at session, acknowledged A. Ornat's achievements and prestige and wished the newly elected commander scoutmaster, Ryszard Wosinski, good luck and success in working with young people.

New Commander Wosinski Interviewed

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by k.z.: "Discussing Cooperation. A Conversation with Newly Elected ZHP Commander Ryszard Wosinski, People's Poland Scoutmaster"]

[Text] [Question] Was your election a big surprise?

[Answer] It is hard to answer this question. There certainly was an element of surprise. The subject was discussed with me only a few hours earlier. On the other hand, I had been close enough to scouting matters not to be surprised.

[Question] Will the change of commander involve a new style of operation and management of the organizations?

[Answer] Everyone obviously has his own view of scouting, but it is too early to present mine. In general, the policy line of the union remains unchanged. I intend to continue what we decided at the Seventh ZHP Congress.

[Question] What are your worst problems?

[Answer] There are many--implementation of the adopted program of activity, organization of our work and, perhaps the most important, our problem number one: recruitment of instructors and upgrading of their qualifications. The instructor staff is the motivating force in the union, crucial to its activity and character.

[Question] What solutions are being considered?

[Answer] For some time now, the solutions have been agreed on and implemented through such actions as the Central Training Drive (CAS), Senior Scout Training Drive (SAS), instructors' schools and the entire concept of instructors' circles maintaining emotional ties with the organization. Proper conditions should be created for their work.

[Question] What is the ZHP position with respect to other yough organizations, the fact that a Youth Affairs Committee was established as adjunct to the Council of Ministers and, in effect, cooperation within the framework of that committee?

[Answer] A position on a formula for cooperating with other organizations is something entirely different from an attitude toward the organizations themselves. The latter could not be better. These matters should not be equated. We are still in the stage of searching for bases for consensus, which requires discussion and makes future forms of cooperation an open question. A critical analysis of the principles for reciprocal functioning must be made prior to that. Otherwise we will not be able to avoid making the same mistakes again.

[Question] Thank you for this conversation. Again, congratulations on your election.

8795
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'QUALITY OF LIFE' UNDER SOCIALISM EXAMINED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 13, 5 Jul 82 pp 28-31

/Discussion by Virgil Adascalitei, Institute of the Trade and Tourist Economy, Honorina Cazacu, Bucharest Sociological Research Center, Aurelian Dochia, Institute of Socialist Economics, Ionel Dorofte, Iasi Gh. Asachi Polytechnic Institute, Argentina Firuta, Institute for Political Sciences and Study of the Minorities Problem, Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, Oscar Hoffman, Bucharest Sociological Research Center, Traian Lazar, Institute of Finance, Monetary Circulation and Prices, Ioan Matei, Bucharest Sociological Research Center, Constanta Partenie, Bucharest Polytechnic Institute, Maria Eremia, Legal Research Institute, Elena Zamfir, Academy of Economic Studies, and Catalin Zamfir, Bucharest Polytechnic Institute: "Socialist Way of Life and Quality of Life"/

/Text/ CATALIN ZAMFIR: The Academy of Social and Political Sciences has a research collective working on the subject of "Way of Life and Quality of Life." Our collective has two main objectives, namely empirical research on quality of life and way of life (A first study of the perception of quality of life based on a broad sampling of 1,800 persons has already been completed) and formulation of an operational strategy.

In this talk I shall discuss the ways of improving the quality of like under Romania's particular conditions. When the RCP made the people's quality of life the supreme goal of the whole program for socioeconomic development we researchers in the social sciences had to help finalize and perfect the whole program for that purpose. The program to enhance the quality of life is to be regarded as an open and flexible general strategy that is being enriched, corrected and adjusted to the constantly changing conditions.

Three major types of strategy have been correlated in theory and integrated in an extensive program to enhance the quality of life. Of course continued economic growth at a suitable rate and in an effective way comes first. I see no need of arguing that no rapid improvement in the quality of life is possible without a broad and sound economic base. That is the reasoning upon which the RCP policy has been based from the start. I shall also discuss here the two other strategies that are to supplement the first one, namely more efficient use of the existing economic resources and use of a wide variety of noneconomic resources to improve the quality of life.

Regarding more efficient use of the existing economic resources, various analyses have indicated that in the present stage of social development (which also applies to Romanian society) there is a contradiction between the very rational and efficient character of production and the less efficient and sometimes even wasteful character of consumption. In other words, while production of goods has been very efficient, use of those goods by the community and their effect upon quality of life may sometimes be less so. The RCP Program stresses the importance of focusing all social activities upon satisfaction of the scientifically determined needs of the community, which are not homogeneous but vary with the life style of the community's members, so that a differentiated picture of them is needed.

To cite a few examples, the needs for food vary widely with the kind of work. Heavy physical labor requires more calories. The housing needs depend upon a number of factors such as the number of children or kind of work. A professor working part of the time at home needs a room for a library or office. A correct and effective orientation of production must be based on a clear picture of the community's particular needs.

As a basic task in the present developmental stage of Romanian society, improvement of production requires a more effective orientation toward satisfaction of the collective needs in their wide variety. Improvement of product quality is to be viewed from two standpoints. First, it has an economic importance properly speaking and leads to major savings in raw materials and energy (Products of poor quality have to be replaced frequently). Second, it is the best way to make more efficient use of the economic resources available for enhancing the quality of life.

Quality of life can be considerably improved with the same economic resources by better and more efficient organization of life. Formation of various life styles in keeping with people's particular needs and ambitions is a necessary trend in any developed society. The individual's greater competence in organizing his own life, in choosing and developing a life style based on the existing possibilities, is an important source of quality of life.

TRAIAN LAZAR: In defining quality of life I think we must proceed from the relation between the objective and subjective and between the economic and noneconomic. In fact, a few comments have been made about this. At any rate the economic factors, the quantity and quality of the social product, play a very important part in determining the quality of life because they provide a basis for all socioeconomic development and development of the personality.

As we know, the party documents stress the need of mobilizing and exploiting all productive resources. I would specially emphasize that consideration, pointing out the part played by agricultural resources, for example, in bringing about a better quality of life.

In fact the problem of mobilizing labor resources applies to all fields of endeavor anyway, and I think the problems of product quality and amount of social production are closely related to the general problems of quality of life.

CONSTANTA PARTENIE: To continue this discussion, I would bring up other problems in connection with the economic and social-political strategies for a

better quality of life. I think it is a matter of differentiating those socioeconomic and political strategies from the start according to the nature of the social system and on the specifically national but also the historical level from one stage to the next.

In the first place, the problems of improving the quality of life are general aims of all states' economic policies and of all programs and platforms of economic policy, so that the problems of quality of life are of general concern and form a structure of the strategies for socioeconomic and political development. They bring out the necessity of augmenting economic growth and of diversifying the technologies that can solve the problems of civilization for the preent generation and even for the next one, since it takes a long time to develop and perfect the new technologies. Therefore the strategy for socioeconomic development is based upon the need of creating the material conditions for a long time span, a fact which places the accumulation-consumption ratio in a new light.

It also throws another light upon problems of distribution of resources and of the pattern of social regulation, and correlation of those resources with the needs. It is inefficient, for example, to raise the rate of renovation of consumer goods because of considerations of fashion or their excessive distribution, which artificially stimulates consumption and even leads to excessive consumption. It is inefficient to spend material, energy and manpower resources on goods that are operative for a short time.

Among the general developmental indicators of a national economy, the evolution and structure of employment of the labor force reflects a state's economic policy the most comprehensively because it primarily brings out an economic strategy according to sectors and it reveals the developmental level of the technical-material base, the degree of technical equipment of labor, and the demographic and investment policies, but it particularly indicates a nation's productive power and its ability to provide for employment of its entire manpower potential in the course of economic development. In other words, the evolution and structure of employment are both quantitative and qualitative indicators that can measure the prosperity of a socioeconomic system and the quality of its production method and of its way of life.

AURELIAN DOCHIA: It is significant that the concept of "quality of life" was assimilated in Romania in the period and under the influence of the development of the concept "fully developed socialist society," because the transition to that new stage of Romania's social development is creating both the conditions and the need for some new and more complete and more differentiated ways of describing the performances of the social system. The concept of "quality of life" meets that requirement. It makes for a description of all conditions of man's existence (in the area of work but also in the areas of spare time, the family, social participation, and contacts with nature and fellow men) and thereby restores to the human being his true, many-sided nature.

The essential feature of the new concept, namely its intermediate position between the objective nature of the conditions of human existence and the subjective nature of the individual, to some extent explains the difficulties in trying to make it operational. Efforts have been made to develop a coherent

system of indicators of quality of life, the so-called social indicators. The results obtained so far warrant hopes of solving the problem. But I do not think that achievement will mean any immediate, effective and efficient use of the "quality of life" concept in planning social development. Some transitional period will be needed to adapt and adjust some information structures, to create other new ones and the right institutional framework and, finally, to change some attitudes connected with the old conception.

As a matter of fact there has also been a good deal of discussion in the Romanian literature about determining the predominance of the economic factors (especially consumption) or the cultural ones in enhancing the quality of life. The question of life style as a type of behavior characteristic of the individual in the process of satisfying his needs also comes up here. Life style is the expression of socially and historically determined adjustment to a given environment. The possibility of choosing, under the conditions provided by the natural and social environment, a life style in keeping with the values and the hierarchy of needs peculiar to each subject leads to a considerable improvement in the quality of life.

OSCAR HOFFMAN: From the opinions expressed here I think we can regard it as a scientific advantage to introduce considerations of alternation in the problems of quality of life and to transcend a very rigid and unrealistic treatment of quality of life that often divorces it from the real, human background of the alternations and of the human properly speaking. Quality of life is actually the quality of human satisfaction. From this standpoint I think two mistakes in treatment of the quality of life were already introduced in the previous period, and one of them is objectivizing the concept.

In this way the concept is divorced from the social background properly speaking, permitting quite erroneous comparisons of the meaning of quality of life in one country or another. The same considerations led to the evolutionist conception of quality of life. Since socioeconomic progress is continuous, it follows that the quality of life also improves, but I think the great paradox of evolution lies in the fact that the great lags in quality of life are not ordinarily the result of social declines, lack of progress or regression but, on the contrary, they are the result of social progress. Socioeconomic progress in a given direction leads to a lag in quality of life that creates new demands for human satisfaction and thereby necessitates new progress.

Therefore quality of life is not a social fact and it does not mean the conditions of social existence, the conditions of fulfillment, the living standard or anything other than the extent to which the objective condition of society at a given time can satisfy the individual's subjective demands at that point in history. I think it is a concept in which the objective and the subjective are equally involved.

Quality of life is a concept wherein the historian is at home, that is a concept that is constantly reconstructed because the lags, conflicts and even the crises in development entail new demands. Greater ambitions have given rise to greater demands, so that people are beginning to be dissatisfied even with conditions that used to satisfy them. The problem is that the factors for lags appear within progress and not outside it.

I agree in this respect with the idea expressed by Comrade Zamfir about the problems of lags caused by the life style. A factor for change may also be a factor for economic progress and for social progress, but it can become a factor for lag from other points of view.

HONORINA CAZACU: I should like to point out a few aspects of our studies. In the course of our studies of participation in management, for example, we have found a distinction in the sense of greater demands upon the democratic system of organizing management that has been in effect for the last decade.

This study indicates that workers' standards are higher under a better system of management instituted in the economic units in the last decade. The party members with more experience and more seniority in an enterprise have higher standards for consultation of workers, for evaluating the way workers' suggestions are carried out, for the role of the general assembly, and for instances of bureaucracy encountered in the organization of the general assemblies or in the activity of the representative to the workers council. Therefore I think the problem is a real one and the fact is significant that the improved participation system has been accompanied by a rise in the workers' standards for that system.

There has also been progress on the educational level, which Comrade Hoffman also mentioned, and on the democratic-institutional and other levels, which in itself gives rise to new demands for progress.

IONEL DOROFTE: In the course of the study Comrade Catalin Zamfir was referring to, we were often dissatisfied ourselves with our chances of probing a reality that proved too complex for the working methods we had. Our study could be criticized on that score because it envisaged quality of life at a given level, that is as it is at a given point and as if that structure of it were unequivocal and there were no other possibilities for its evolution. But I think the ratio between the datum and the construct in the quality of life, as in personality development in general, is in favor of the construct. There is a whole series of possible alternatives and we must not regard the course taken by the present technicized civilization, for example, as the only way to interpret a better human life.

This could be a primary point of reference, and it is important to prove by investigation that there are several sets of actions and methods for meeting the social demands that make up certain possible ways of life. Marketing techniques have proved that the necessities themselves have been introduced in society. It was said here that industry must concentrate on meeting the community's demands. Actually these necessities were created in their turn by a certain stage of industrial development. Reconstruction of the personality and quality of human life from within, as contrasted with a view from outside, is a desideratum that is still in that stage. On the basis of the idea that the necessities themselves can be formed, the role of psychology and sociology on that level is to find the desirable ways of constructing and implementing them among people.

ELENA ZAMFIR: I wish to bring up some conclusions from a study based on a sampling of 1,000 students at the Bucharest University Center concerning the students' life style. We proceeded on the assumption that the way of life in the

student period has a number of distinctive features that can be indicative of the quality of life but can also be taken as a starting point in the theoretical construction of a model of the quality of life characteristic of youths.

Many of the ideas expressed here largely agree with the results of our study. We intended not only to determine some general features of the youths' life style but also to establish a definite typology of life styles within it. We wondered if there are any significant differences according to certain "objective" parameters (type of faculty and profession chosen, native social environment) or subjective personal ones (intellectual capacities, creativeness, talent, value orientations etc.).

Student life rapidly and intensively levels youths from various social-occupational environments, preparing them for a way of life different from that of the families from which most of them come. These two factors, the present conditions of student life and the future social-professional status, tend to heighten the uniformity of the students way of life.

We think the subjective factors whereby the social-human environment is evaluated, judged and classified by its human implications are important in quality of life. Our study emphasized the way we can identify certain value orientations among youth that are indicative of a particular life style. We selected some characteristics of social existence that we considered important to quality of life and asked the students to estimate which direction future shifts will take.

Three sources of optimism are outstanding, namely favorable changes in professions, more rational social activity, and growing control of social organization. Moreover a favorable trend toward economic equalization is to be seen, and there is a clear trend toward values of self-cultivation, self-excelling, personal self-development, and greater degrees of specialization, information, social and human responsibility, and creativeness as a constant source of improvement.

AURELIAN DOCHIA: As an economist I am probably expected to oppose what has been generally expressed here or beforehand, but my views agree with the work of the collective to study quality of life, and I have repeatedly verified that in practice.

In general the emphasis has been on the contribution the new concept of "quality of life" has made, compared with previous concepts like the living standard for example, by reflecting more aspects of human life. Actually, as I pointed out in my first comment, the concept of "quality of life" is an attempt, not yet successful, to describe all aspects of human life in a given society. Trying to achieve the objectivity of the natural sciences, the social sciences have taken a certain stand concerning the relationship between the individual and the community. At one time the community was somehow indentified with the objective and the individual with the subjective, and the objective was very often favored for that reason. What I think is important about the concept of "quality of life" is its assertion of the role of the individual in assessing his living conditions.

MARIA EREMIA: The hypothesis was mentioned here of an improved situation which then gives rise to greater subjective demands and accordingly advances the ways

of satisfying those demands. In a report prepared by a collective at the Institute of Legal Sciences and the Faculty of Law, we recommended the same idea with the particular resources of the legal sciences. In the referenced report we maintained that liberation from the fear caused in society by the existence of crime would be one way to improve the quality of life. We mentioned some fields to indicate where certain legislation could be improved, thus contributing to quality of life. Certain improvements of this kind can be made in family law, for example.

The situation in this area was improved in 1954 by the Family Code, which clearly represents some progress. Today the laws establish equality between men and women and equality of parents in raising children as principles. The subjective desire and the objective necessity for progress now make it possible to improve these laws in keeping with the current conditions.

Our collective made some suggestions to this end. We militated for the founding of family consultation centers, that is centers to give medical, pedagogic and legal advice to adolescents, young married couples, the single women who are raising their children, etc. Such family consultation centers exist in other countries, as in Czechoslovakia for example. In a way it was tried in Romania on the medical level, in Cluj-Napoca, but there is not yet any statute to regulate the activity of those centers. We proposed to relieve women with children up to a certain age of some tasks in the course of the program. We cited examples from some actual studies made in our institute that indicate the educational advantages largely compensate for the difficulties that may arise.

IOAN MATEI: To continue exploring the many implications of quality of life, I would confine myself to a simple statement of a viewpoint that could be useful in considering that concept.

I wish to mention the part I think ecological considerations could play in determining the strategies for enhancing the quality of life. As a matter of fact the importance of environmental conditions in the system of indicators of quality of life is generally accepted. Two years ago a publication of the Central Directorate of Statistics introduced environmental conditions as a primary indicator of quality of life, environmental conditions of course in the broad sense of both the natural and the constructed environment and all the sociocultural facilities that the communities have.

What I wish to stress is the importance of sociological knowledge of what constitutes the active element in improvement of the living and environmental conditions. Our study brought out the importance of knowing both the components of cultural processing of the environment, which are structuring the perception of the environment and acting to modify the environment.

VIRGIL ADASCALITEI: Trade and services make up an important component of the very comprehensive concept of quality of life. In addition to the aspects that have been briefly presented here, trade and services make an essential contribution in predetermining a given quality of life.

It has been mentioned here that an effort to outline a system of indicators of quality of life was made in an extensive work 2 years ago. I would like to call your attention to another viewpoint about the grouping of the respective

indicators. It seems to me we might discuss a series of cause and effect indicators. For example, incomes and supply of goods can be regarded as cause indicators of the quality of life and the living standard, while the level and structure of public consumption, per capita consumption et al. can serve as effect indicators. If we were to go beyond the strictly commercial to other areas like health, for example, we could have cause indicators like the number of physicians or the number of hospital beds for example, while the general state of public health could be an indicator of the most general effect.

On the subject of the system of indicators, I stress the particular importance of the consumption indicators in describing the quality of life. The following consumption indicators have been specially emphasized in our institute: the absolute level of consumption, per capita consumption, and level of consumption of the main products according to groups of products. As we have stated on other occasions, under no circumstances did we or do we intend to copy an already existing consumption in any country, but we want to develop rational consumptions under the conditions of our order. Mention has been made here of the need of a general and a differentiated treatment of quality of life, according to categories of the population. We can speak of both the quality of life throughout a society and the quality of individual life. I should like to point out that we must also study quality of life according to segments, namely the categories of the population. For example, references have already been made during the discussion to youth, which is a very important segment of the population.

With increased forces, more comprehensive and perhaps more useful studies than the previous ones could be undertaken with a multidisciplinary approach, the combined efforts of the interested elements, and a better clarification of what is to be done or undertaken to improve the quality of life.

For example, we are also interested in the degree of processing the raw material and in points concerning the diversity of the assortment. To improve the quality of life, there must be an increasingly high degree of raw material processing. Of course changes are made in the commodity sales structure and will continue to be made. Sales of nonalimentary products will increase, as well as the share of public catering in the total food consumption. Those are points that must also be considered because they concern not only the volume of sales but also the structural changes in the latter.

A greater effort must be made to instruct and educate the personnel working in these important activities, since they make a very great contribution to determination of the quality of life. Moreover that network of units must be better distributed geographically in reference to the places where the consumers of goods and services are located.

In the future more use will be made of interdisciplinary studies to clarify the content of the concept of "quality of life" and to determine the directions in which efforts are to be made to enhance the quality of life.

ARGENTINA FIRUTA: As a new interpretation of the relationship of man to society to nature, the regulatory aspect of quality of life has helped considerably to recall the quality of human life to the attention of public opinion and the scientific community as a synthesis-value, in preparation for its interdisciplinary treatment.

Regardless of the level of economic and social-political development, contemporary society is characterized by a general process of reselecting its social-human values. A process is going on of rejecting such values as consumption, property and money characteristic of the societies based on inequality and exploitation, and in their place fundamentally new values are being acquired, asserted and practiced such as cooperation and solidarity, quality and self-fulfillment, creativeness and anticipation, equality and justice, adjustment and communication, competence and participation, respect for cultural variety, and protection of characteristics of nature.

The appeal to dialectics necessitated by present-day social reality is a correction of scientific and philosophical thought, which was misled for a time by the traditional model of economic growth as a model of progress and substituted one of the means of social development for the end, thus losing sight of the true purpose of social evolution, man's fulfillment in harmony with himself, society and nature.

The concept of "quality of life" was necessary as a rejection of a certain development (technologistic, economistic and quantitativistic) and of certain values (individualistic and consumistic) characteristic of the first industrial revolution and capitalist society. The regulatory purpose that this concept implies today in all aspects of life, objective and subjective, has a significance that is essentially favorable to man.

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REVIEW OF BOOK ON HISTORY OF WORKERS MOVEMENT

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/Review by Stefan Lache of the book "Workers Movement in Romania in 1924-1928," by Marin C. Stanescu, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1981/

/Text/ Historian Marin C. Stanescu's book is a monographic treatment of the diverse activity of the RCP and other workers political and trade organizations in 1924-1928. His concentration on that period will help considerably to remedy one of the shortcomings of historical research and study that has been felt for some time. As he says in the introduction to the book, "Romanian historiography has taken up the vast and complicated problems of this period only in studies of some aspects or phases that are not always major ones, and some of them are long outmoded as to both investigation and interpretation."* Consequently the author's task was difficult, requiring not only the recovery and selection of a huge volume of information in the archival documents and the press of the time and of the conclusions drawn by other authors, but especially the critical analysis of same in order to present the historical facts, events and personalities as truthfully as possible.

Fully integrated in the general evolution of Romanian society and as an inseparable component of the nation's history, the revolutionary workers movement played an important part in Romania's socioeconomic and political development within the single national state founded in 1918 and helped the Romanian people to advance on the path of progress and modern civilization. Romanian researchers regard special works on problems of the workers movement as a means of enriching the nation's history with more detailed pictures essential to correct interpretation of the processes and events of the past and of the direction and scope of the Romanian people's development in the modern and contemporary periods. As Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu said at the recent Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee, the RCP was born in the social struggles in the course of the Romanian people's history and therefore its history is that of the Romanian nation, a history harmoniously reflecting all the deeds, sufferings and victories of the progressive forces of Romania.

*Marin C. Stanescu, "Workers Movement in Romania in 1924-1928," Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1981, p 9. Henceforth references to the work will be cited in the text.

The RCP was always in the lead of Romania's progressive political forces. Founded in May 1921 as a result of a long process of political, organizational and ideological maturing of the Romanian workers movement, it became the recognized leader of the working class, having included in its program construction of the socialist and communist orders as a basic aim. The RCP promoted the advanced ideas of the time, maintaining in agreement with the other workers parties and organizations the immediate objectives of industrial development and defense of the national wealth, agrarian reform in the peasants' favor, enforcement of the democratic rights and freedoms provided in the Romanian Constitution, better living and working conditions for the working masses, etc. Expressing the major interests of the entire people, the communists defended the national culture and firmly replied to the backward ideas conveyed by the reactionary bourgeois circles. The RCP appealed to the working class, the peasantry, the other categories of workers, and the workers parties and organizations to "save the nation's economic independence, prevent the seizure of its wealth by the foreign imperialist capitalists" and to "guarantee the political independence of the state" (pp 26, 27).

Despite some immense difficulties it had to face (particularly because it was outlawed in the summer of 1924) and the persecutions of every kind to which its militants were subjected, the RCP was a strong presence in Romanian political affairs throughout the period the book covers, which was one of the most complex periods in the entire evolution of the Romanian workers movement. Its practical and theoretical efforts to organize and lead the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the masses took a variety of forms, ways and means. Reorganization and adjustment to illegal conditions, ceaseless creative efforts to study the phenomena characteristic of the new structure of Romania's social development in order to work out the political policy and the combat strategy and tactics, formation of a series of legal or semilegal mass organizations, publication and use of more than 70 legal and illegal newspapers and magazines in prolonged or occasional publication in addition to numerous manifestoes and brochures, leadership in hundreds of strikes and labor conflicts breaking out in various labor centers, participation in the general and communal elections and other political actions to maintain close ties with the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, etc. -- all these were important aspects of the period of the RCP's illegal existence. The struggle led by the RCP on behalf of the nation's progress met with high praise frankly expressed by many political, cultural and scientific figures. The ideas in the program and the advanced concepts promoted by communists were publicized and defended not only in the public assemblies they organized but also in the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate and other official national political forums the representatives of the Communist Party could not attend at the time.

Only 1 year after it was outlawed the RCP resurfaced in political life to form the Workers and Peasants Bloc, a legal mass unit with a flexible and realistic program through which the RCP expressed its views on a number of problems of national importance. As a result of careful study of the evolution of Romanian economic and social-political affairs and widely disseminated among the working masses via the press and public meetings in electoral campaigns, the program of the Workers and Peasants Bloc, M. C. Stanescu says, "actually represented our party's true program" (p 65). The same constructive context includes the efforts of the communists in the unified trade unions (the most comprehensive proletarian mass organization, under the RCP's leadership) to restore the unity of

the trade union movement and to found the United Workers Front. The Union of Communist Youth, the Red Aid in Romania, the Romanian Workers Aid, the Union of Independent Students, the Central Committee on Aid, the League of Human Rights, the Amnesty Committee, working womens circles, the League Against Terror etc. operated under the Communist Party's guidance and influence. In the face of seemingly insuperable obstacles, the party succeeded in expanding its organization and consolidating its own ranks, especially in the big industrial enterprises.

As the book demonstrates, the RCP's constructive efforts to define its general political policy and to consolidate its ties with the masses were seriously impaired not only by the foreign elements in Romania who were hostile to it but also by the direct interference of the international communist bodies in its internal affairs. Thus the author analyzes the point at which the Balkan Communist Federation arbitrarily took over the task of studying the minorities problem in Romania and proclaimed at its Sixth Conference, held in Berlin in December 1923, that the achievement of the Romanian national state was "an imperialistic seizure of territories" and accordingly assigned the RCP the task (express and immediate) of fighting for "self-determination to the point of separation of some provinces from the existing state." As the book points out, such "principles" and "tasks" were repeated by the Fifth Congress of the Communist International and the Seventh Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation and they constituted "the most blatant interference so far in the internal affairs of the RCP and even in those of Romania, a united, sovereign and independent state" (p 27). They distorted the meaning of the principle of peoples' self-determination which, in Lenin's view, was for the purpose of liberating the nations subjugated by the great empires and establishing or restoring the national states, not dismembering them. Promulgated along with other erroneous and harmful views like the sectarian-leftist ones about the imminent transition of the Balkan communist parties to the takeover of political power and accomplishment of the revolution, they had serious consequences for the party and facilitated intensification of the reactionary circles' anticommunist propaganda and the state authorities' repressive measures against the communists.

The international communist bodies persisted in this mistake for a long time, exerting intensive pressure to force a political policy and strategic and tactical objectives upon the RCP that were in complete disagreement with the social-political realities in Romania. The way, analyzed in the book, the Third RCP Congress in Vienna in the summer of 1924 was organized and conducted is edifying. The conduct of the proceedings of the congress under the direct supervision of the representatives of the Comintern and the Balkan Communist Federation and in the absence of some of the RCP's leading militants, including its secretary general Gheorghe Cristescu, made it easy to include some erroneous principles and ideas in the documents that were approved. Some resolutions were even changed shortly afterward by the representatives of the international communist forums, disregarding the discussions and decisions of the congress and literally copying the resolutions of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern.

Actually however the RCP ignored such directions and resolutions in its practical political activity. The book includes many examples, which can be supplemented by others, showing that the key party activists and the revolutionary militants evaded or tried to evade the Comintern's directives and policies, promoting a correct political policy based on the Romanian realities in their daily

activity. As one delegate to the Third RCP Congress pointed out, "The slogan 'Self-Determination to the Point of Separation' enjoys no sympathy among the masses in Transylvania because they do not aspire to separation but democratization of all Romania" (p 33). And a year later at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of 21-24 July 1925 it was frankly admitted that "The Communist Party has done very little about the minorities problem," a fact "very harshly condemned" by the Balkan Communist Federation.

M. C. Stanescu specially emphasizes the proceedings of this plenum, conducted in a conspiratorial atmosphere in the home of a railroad worker from Tirgu-Mures and chaired by Elek Koblos, the RCP secretary general, concluding that by virtue of the importance of the items on the agenda and the realistic content of the documents discussed and approved "It had a significance approaching that of a congress" (p 50). Upon due consideration of the discussions and documents of the plenum and its consequences as well, the author says that it could not entirely ignore the Comintern's directives but it actually defined the main content of the activity in that period, namely in-depth study of Marxism by all party personnel so that they could apply it creatively to the socioeconomic and political facts in Romania and draw the right conclusions for the party's general political orientation, adoption of the best ways to combine illegal with legal activity in order to include the revolutionary struggles of the urban and rural working masses in a single front, etc. To that end it was recommended to reach temporary agreements on various problems with the trade union, youth and womens organizations and other workers or democratic-bourgeois organizations and units.

Improving the communists' theoretical and dialectical-materialist training was considered "the party's most urgent duty," in view of the necessity of investigating the social-political facts in Romania, which was in a rapid evolution, so that the conclusions drawn would be the fruit of the Romanian communists' own thinking. In recommending study of Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea's works, especially "The New Serfdom" and "Critical Studies," which it considered "profound works of Marxist analysis," the plenum also required consideration of the changes in Romanian history since the Great Unification of 1918 and an immediate beginning of preparation and publication of some new works in keeping with the new conditions. Note that the plenum emphasized accounts of the revolutionary traditions of the Romanian working class, the Romanian people's past struggle for national freedom and independence, and especially events like Horea's uprising, the revolution led by Tudor Vladimirescu, the 1848 Revolution etc., bringing out the role of the peasantry and popular masses in accomplishing them. Study of the Romanian realities in the course of their development and knowledge of the Romanian people's history recommended by the RCP were no momentary considerations but of a permanent nature. The RCP's laborious efforts were indicative of its characteristic concern for the destinies of the Romanian nation and state.

The author regards the plenum's generally correct analysis of the social and political relationships and its identification of the permanent or temporary allies of the working class as "the first attempt to determine the revolutionary stage before which Romania stood" (p 62). Actually the documents of the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in July 1925 expressed ideas that had been outlined in the party to the effect that Romania had not entered the stage of imperialist evolution but was on the verge of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, an idea

that considerably stimulated the discussions to clarify the nature of the motive forces and prospects of the revolution in Romania. The policies adopted by the plenum enabled the party to successfully breach the walls of illegality, cast off a number of principles and directives that had restricted it, collaborate with other political forces, and assert itself with increasing strength in the Romanian political arena. In a short time the communists' organizational and political activity was invigorated and diversified, which became strikingly apparent on the occasion of the BMT's [Workers and Peasants Bloc] participation in the communal elections in 1926 as part of the Socialist and Unitarist Bloc and the United Opposition. As a result, over 200 communists, socialists and social-democrats were elected to the new city and communal councils. What is more, the fact is very important that during the electoral campaign and less than 1 year after the prohibition of their legal activity, the communist militants mounted the same rostrum not only with their comrades in the Socialist Party but also with bourgeois politicians, inducing them to collaborate and publicly defend the masses' demands.

The experience acquired by participating in the communal elections and later in the parliamentary ones in 1926 broadened the discussions of the RCP's immediate and long range tasks and, in this connection, its relations with the bourgeois political groups of the opposition. In analyzing these discussions, the author mentions the well-known principle formulated by Boris Stefanov to the effect that it was necessary at the time "to attack alongside the bourgeois parties in the oligarchy (the great bourgeoisie grouped around the Liberal Party -- author's note) to carry out the masses' immediate demands" (p 108). The author brings arguments to the effect that this principle, developed upon analysis of Romania's socioeconomic situation, the evolution of class relations, and the various trends that were appearing within the bourgeois parties, was by no means "an opportunistic deviation of the right," as it was called later under the influence of some circles beyond the borders.

As contrasted with the conceptions to the effect that Romania was on the verge of the bourgeois revolution and that the National Peasants Party was the political force that would bring that revolution to its conclusion, the author points out that "B. Stefanov believed the hegemony belonged to the proletariat, led by the Communist Party" (p 110). Essentially he meant by the formula "alongside the bourgeois parties" that in a first stage the RCP had to collaborate with the bourgeois political parties and groups while maintaining its class character and pursuing its ultimate goal. Moreover the preparation and accomplishment of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national emancipation in August 1944 and the inauguration of the democratic-revolutionary power on 6 march 1945 indicate the correctness of the formula that recommended extensive collaboration of the workers parties with political forces of bourgeois democratic orientation up to a certain point.

The author investigates the very difficult conditions under which the RCP had to operate, which conditions did not permit it to organize extensive public discussions of all aspects of its work or to make any analysis at critical points and promptly adopt the best solutions to the problems it faced. Its internal difficulties were aggravated by the harmful effects of its relations with the Third International, a generator of rigid leftist positions whereby "directions" and "directives" foreign to the Romanian realities were imposed from without.

In organizing a new party congress the RCP leadership used their previous experience and allowed for the obstacles herent in the illegal preparations for the congress, deciding to hold a preliminary conference first. But the Executive Committee of the Communist International took over this task and, without notifying the RCP management organs of it, convened a conference in Kharkov in June 1928 which it arbitrarily transformed into the Fourth Party Congress.

The book describes the proceedings of this meeting, which was outstanding in the Comintern representatives' insensitive remarks and in its serious and unprecedented violation of party regulations and the elementary standards of workers democracy. This created an illegitimate background for discussions and conditions unsuited to any serious analysis of the problems but suitable for imposing directives predetermined by the Comintern. The party's active participation alongside other extensive popular forces in the electoral campaigns of 1925-1926, which enabled it although illegal to appear openly and on a wide scale on the Romanian political scene and to achieve major successes, was sharply criticized at this meeting by the Comintern representatives. The criticisms of the party's "inactivity" in applying the slogan of some Romanian territories' self-determination "to the point of separation from the state" were repeated on this occasion. The Romanian communists were taken to task because they did not accept that slogan or disseminate it among the masses and it was "openly ignored" which, to the party's credit, was perfectly true.

And so beyond the erroneous content of some documents we discern the real reasons for the RCP's position and its principled and national attitude. Lucretiu Patrascanu spoke in the discussions and after reading the resolution on the minorities problem indignantly rejected the assertion in that document that the Moldavians are not Romanians but "a different nation with a culture of its own." He firmly stated that "The Moldavians are no nation apart and geographically and historically they are the same Romanians as the Romanians in Moldavia." Boldly facing the Comintern's representatives, he concluded by stating that "The introduction of such a false point makes the resolution false too" (p 172).

At the end of the proceedings the Central Committee was appointed, and no RCP member was appointed secretary general but an activist of the Ukrainian Communist Party. In a general description of the Kharkov meeting the author mentions that it caused great dissensions and fractionist manifestations and drove the party along sectarian paths that brought it within one step to liquidation. M. C. Stanescu concludes, "The harsh lesson of that event illustrates beyond any doubt the bad effects of leadership of the Romanian workers movement from a center of the international communist movement and the disastrous consequences of outside interference in the RCP's affairs" (p 175).

The book gives special attention to the preparation and conduct of the Congress of 7-9 May 1927, which unified the component regional organizations of the Federation of Socialist Parties and legalized the formation of the PSD /Social-Democratic Party/ in Romania. That party's draft program and the presented reports are examined critically and in depth, as well as various opinions expressed by the delegates indicating in general the Romanian social-democratic positions on the major problems of political, socioeconomic, ideological, domestic and international affairs. The main conclusion to which the reader is led is that "From the organizational standpoint, the congress was a constructive foreward step. But from the standpoint of theory and the program it was clearly

retrograde because it generalized the reformist stand that was taken only by some of the component parties" (p 199). As it is noted in the book, the PSD was usually limited to the ideas formulated in prewar socialist works, which were otherwise noteworthy but outmoded in the new stage of Romania's development. It also allowed itself to be influenced and dominated by the documents of the socialist and social-democratic parties in Western Europe.

The PSD's collaboration with the PNT /National Peasants Party/ was accompanied by the almost complete cessation of any cooperation with the RCP and the other workers organizations. The examples in the book show that not even the social-democrats had "complete freedom of action" within the Socialist International (p 225). The refusal to collaborate with the RCP and the Workers and Peasants Bloc or any other workers organizations and the electoral alliance with the PNT, which had come to power in the meantime, primarily served the latter party and aggravated the internal dissensions of the PSD, which had been threatened since its founding by the danger of being unable to preserve its unity, and brought it to a new split. In July 1928 the foundations were laid of the Socialist Workers Party of Romania, which advocated unity of action of the working class. The author feels that in the light of the nation's deteriorating socioeconomic situation, against the background of which it had to start a new wave of revolutionary struggles, the founding of the new party led to dispersion of the workers forces. But this action was in categorical opposition to the political course of collaboration with the bourgeois parties alone, which had been inaugurated by the PSD.

The book includes profuse chapters on the youth organizations, the trade union movement and other workers organizations, and the strikes of the Romanian proletariat, with many unpublished facts and differentiated treatments. A special chapter contains significant aspects of the relations between the Romanian workworkers parties and the international forums with which they were affiliated and of the Romanian workers' solidarity with the struggle of the working class and the peoples of other countries against exploitation and oppression and on behalf of national and social freedom.

We did not intend to make detailed criticisms of any of the book's shortcomings. We are convinced that the author realizes the need of expanding the area of investigation, of thorough examination of the phenomena studied, and of an extra effort to expose the whole distorted view suggested by some documents, press organs and various writings of the time. As an example I note the at least one-sided way in which S. Timov's work "Against the New Serfdom," published in Moscow in 1928, is viewed. Of course the author is not specially concerned with this book. Since he involves it in an analysis from a positive point of view, a general description of it was necessary, with mention of the fact that it was profoundly affected by the international communist forums' distorted view of the nature of the Romanian state. Moreover correct opinions about it have already been expressed in Romanian historical and social-political thought. In a study published in 1968 in connection with exploitation of C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea's sociological work, correct criteria are advanced for analyzing Timov's writing, pointing out that it "carried to an extreme the one-sided and even derogatory position on Gherea, whose general conception of Romania's stage of socioeconomic development completely rejected the profoundly mistaken theory supported by Timov that Romania was an imperialist state." (1)

Written with an endeavor to respect historical truth and to contribute to better knowledge of the history of the Romanian workers movement in 1924-1928, M. C. Stanescu's book , despite some shortcomings or errors, is a sound scientific instrument of use both to researchers in the field of contemporary Romanian history and to teachers, propagandists and other ideological activists.

FOOTNOTE

1. Stefan Voicu, "Introduction to the Exploitation of Dobrogeanu-Gherea's Sociological Work," LUPTA DE CLASA No 3, 1968, p 74.

5186
CSO: 2700/361

BRIEFS

MINISTERIAL APPOINTMENTS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ioan Florea is appointed minister of wood industrialization and construction materials. The following are appointed deputy ministers of wood industrialization and construction materials: Gheorghe Constantinescu, Marin Cristea, Mircea Georgescu, and Gheorghe Lazar. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 84, 20 Sep 82 p 11]

REMOVAL OF OFFICIAL--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Alexandru Iliescu is released from his position as deputy minister of forestry economy and construction materials and chief of the Department of Silviculture. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 82, 16 Sep 82 p 2]

APPOINTMENTS IN MINISTRY OF SILVICULTURE--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ioan Cioara is appointed minister of silviculture, Comrade Ioan Petrescu is appointed deputy minister of silviculture, and Comrade Eugen Tarhon is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Silviculture. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 82, 16 Sep 82 p 2]

CSO: 2700/7

SERBIAN PRESIDENT LJUBICIC SPEAKS IN SOUTH MORAVA

LD182054 Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Sero-Broatian 1450 GMT 18 Sep 82

[Excerpts] 18 Sep (Tanjug)--It is well known that we face severe problems as regards the country's foreign liquidity. It seems to me that the problem of foreign liquidity has not been understood profoundly enough. In particular, it has not been explained sufficiently to the working people at the grassroots. The explanations have stopped at the level of leading people from the municipality to certain forums. The full seriousness of these problems has still not been presented to our working class and working people. I believe that we should tell all of them openly that the country's liquidity is not only an economic and financial, and not even only a political, issue but also a security issue, Nikola Ljubicic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, said in Leskovac yesterday when addressing members of the political aktiv of the South Morava region.

We can and must ensure the country's liquidity. Neither difficulties nor external attempts to make our present conditions more difficult will make us hesitate in this respect.

Speaking about the need to revive all aspects of production, Ljubicic went on to say that we must increase production in general, both industrial and agriculture production, and thus realize a much greater income.

Hitherto, Ljubicic said, we have incurred debts only too easily and have not planned in a sufficiently rational manner. Construction work has gone on too long and investments have not been activated on time in order to pay with the revenue the installments and interest rates which have matured or fallen due. Some factory units have still been under construction when obligations have matured. We have a considerable number of omissions and a considerable number of mistakes in our investment policy. This is one of the basic reasons for our finding ourselves in such an economic situation.

Noting that productivity in the economy has seriously fallen, Ljubicic said that a shortage of reproduction materials and raw materials, the struggle of work organizations to obtain reproduction materials at any cost, the making of deliveries on the internal market conditional on payments in foreign exchange has led to the dinar losing its value and to "foreign exchange-mania" on the internal market. In this connection various irregularities, isolationism,

blackmail and such like are emerging. "I think that we must oppose this. The dinar must acquire its rightful place in our internal goods turnover. It is our duty to restore to the dinar its rightful role in our economic mechanism. What also creates problems for us, Ljubicic went on, is the fact that we allow many negative phenomena to accumulate and before prevalent and generally accepted practice."

Legal means should be applied resolutely and strictly against anybody who inflicts damage on the social sector or weakens its economic power, as well as against anybody who makes enrichment of certain dishonest and unscrupulous persons possible. Municipal assemblies should set all their organs--inspection organs, tax organs and all others--the serious task of intensifying their work connected with uncovering and combating all aspects of dishonesty and violation and circumventing of regulations. Wherever the relevant municipal organs and institutions will not fight resolutely against negative phenomena it will be assumed, whether we want it or not, whether those people want it or not, that there is a certain collusion and association between such organs and those who violate the regulations, who violate socialist social norms.

One of the main issues to which we must devote our full attention, Ljubicic went on, is the consolidation of self-management. It is only through the consolidation of self-management that we can create conditions for working people to work with greater enthusiasm and greater devotion. However, self-management should not be equated with the number or duration of meetings. I am not against meetings or reports which contribute to more and better goods being produced, which contribute to more and better work, but I am against various meetings and lengthy generalized reports, against the repetition of whatever is known. I am also against our constantly convincing ourselves that the situation is what it is, because we know what it is like. I am in favor of meetings which warn us about what we should do and how we should do it and which orientate us toward work.

Speaking about the role of the press, Nikola Ljubicic, president of the Presidency of Serbia said: All of us are in favor of timely and accurate information for the public. All of us are in favor of articles in the press and on television which move one to action, which unfold prospects, which encourage the solution of problems, which indicate the way out of a situation. However, some articles, Ljubicic said, also have the opposite effect and somehow introduce (?suspicion) about our entire activity. I am against such articles and against this type of information for the public. Comrade journalists, Ljubicic said, know that we cannot resolve everything at once, that one cannot extricate oneself from difficulties all at once and that this calls for patience on our part. We must work toward extricating ourselves from such a situation as soon as possible. All of us would like to progress as quickly as possible. But one can go only as quickly as forces and objective circumstances allow it. It is easy to criticize but the essential thing is how to build more quickly, how to work more quickly and how to implement more quickly. Neither exaggerated pessimism and dramatization nor exaggerated optimism in assessing the present situation can lead to anything. As communists we are used to difficulties. We have tackled them. We know how to make assessments and how to find ways out of such situations. The present situation, too, is not so bad that it must be painted only in dark colors or to have the notion inculcated in some people that

it is difficult for us to find a way out. We can find a way out. The League of Communists should mobilize all its forces to embark on action jointly in order that all of us together can adopt a different attitude to work and obligations.

Speaking about the political security situation in South Morava region, Ljubicic said: When it is a question of the political security situation of your region, you must become far more involved, in particular when it is a question of involvement in the municipalities of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja. We have spent considerable time struggling against the counterrevolution We have been successful. Tribute should be paid to the communists both in Kosovo and in these three municipalities, and in particular to communists who are Albanians and who have become involved and who have contributed considerably to the results which we have achieved. Leading people, revolutionaries, members of the League of Communists have also been in the front ranks this time. They must remain there. However, Ljubicic went on, I think that too much time has been spent on discussions and on adoption of attitudes in forums. Perhaps this was a good thing and perhaps it should have been like that. Now that we have already adopted all the attitudes and examined the entire situation, we should embark on the most concrete action possible; one should go into the village, one should go among the people, one should go to work organizations and wage the battle there. The battle should be won in the shortest possible span of time. This is an obligation imposed on us by the foreign political situation as well as by our internal situation. [Passage indistinct] The main issue is certainly the emigration of Montenegrins and [word indistinct] in these three municipalities. If there is any emigration of Albanians it is necessary also to examine why they are emigrating. Nobody in Yugoslavia has the right to force somebody else to move. We must be very energetic in this regard.

In Kosovo people have gone so far as to politically expose before an entire village those Albanians who carried out dishonest actions toward Serbs and Montenegrins and their property and who offended their human dignity. This should be applied. One should go into battle at full tilt,with full political force. In particular we must not allow brotherhood and unity to be (?violated), mistrust to be created, making people feel insecure in their own country, in their own area. Regardless of who the person is we must fight against this. Otherwise we shall betray a promise which we made to Comrade Tito when we said that we shall continue Tito's path.

Tito always said that we must safeguard brotherhood and unity, develop equality, right for all people living in brotherhood in our Federal Socialist Yugoslavia. If in some place or another the forces are not sufficient to combat such counterrevolutionary phenomena, it is our duty to strengthen these forces and even to bring them in from outside, regardless of which part of our country this happens. It is our duty to protect equally every citizen in our country. We must not, merely because in some places the forces, even after so much time, are not strong enough there, allow endless cases of rape, beatings and threats to the integrity of people, damage to property and such like. Should there exist in a situation in those three municipalities of yours in which any of these human and social values are threatened, we have both the forces and the means of protection.

It should be clear to all counterrevolutionary forces both in Kosovo and here, or anywhere else in Yugoslavia, Ljubicic said, that we shall tackle very energetically any counterrevolution and that we shall defeat it. Communists must be at the head. Communists must lead the people into these battles, they must mobilize the people. Veterans can help a lot in the mobilization of the people because it is certain that there is no single leader today who will not accept cordially the veterans of the revolution. Therefore, Ljubicic said, it is our duty to devote ourselves as much as possible to combating everything which could continue to threaten our security, everything which is directed at destabilizing our society.

I would be very pleased if you were to tell me that there are Serbs, Montenegrins and Albanians who are returning to their native hearth and that you helped them to achieve this, Ljubicic said in addressing the members of the aktiv of the South Morava region. I believe that it is our duty to do this. If anybody has left under pressure, if anybody has sold his estate for a mere pittance, let us help him to buy back his estate. Let us help him return, let us put right the injustice done to him, Nikola Ljubicic, president of the Presidency of Serbia said at the end of his speech to the representatives of the South Morava region.

CSO: 2800/10

SECURITY CONTROL COMMISSION TO BE FORMED

AU150736 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Sep 82

[Summary] At a joint session today, the Committee for Internal Affairs and the Committee for Justice of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber adopted a report on the work of the federal court in 1981. Momcilo Boskovic reports:

In the past period, the federal court devoted special attention to the quality of work and the implementation of federal laws and other federal regulations in the practice of courts and other organs. It also actively participated in initiating and preparing amendments to the individual federal laws and continued to point out the necessary measures and tasks to eliminate the socially negative and harmful phenomena recorded by courts. However, according to delegates, there are still differences in the penal policies followed in the individual republics and provinces, and the rights of veterans of the national liberation war and the traffic offenses also are not treated in the same way in all republics and provinces.

In the 1978-81 period, the federal court annually received an average of 3,000 to 3,500 new cases. The general view expressed by the delegates is that the federal court's report for 1981 "insufficiently deals with the crimes constituting an attack on the freedom of the people and the values of our society." The same applies also to the problem of the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market. "The report also says little about the political crimes in Kosovo and about the federal court's views of those crimes." According to Miodgram Trifunovic, president of the Committee for Justice, in the coming period, the federal court must inform the SFRY Assembly in good time about all negative phenomena encountered in its work and propose measures to prevent them.

At a separate session, the Committee for Internal Affairs "supported the draft decision to form a commission to control the state security service. The task of the commission will be to obtain an insight into the lawfulness of the work of the organs engaged in the tasks of state security, especially as regards the respect for human rights and freedom determined by the constitution and laws as well as the rights of organizations of associated labor and other organizations and sociopolitical communities. The commission should be acquainted with the methods of work and the means used by the service in the tasks within its authority. But it would also consider the problems of the service and submit the appropriate reports and proposals to the competent Chamber of Yugoslavia's Assembly. The commission would be in fact a working body of the Federal Chamber, and its members would be appointed exclusively from among the ranks of delegates."

CSO: 2800/10

DRAGOSLAV MARKOVIC CRITICIZES OPEN PRESS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 82 p 5

[Report of speech by Dragoslav Markovic, member of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee: "Journalists Are Not the 'Inspectors' of Society"]

[Text] At the last meeting of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC, several discussants spoke about the press and certain phenomena in it. On the basis of a stenographic transcription, we are reporting the speech by Dragoslav Markovic [as follows]:

I would like to say something about the news media. I think that the problem is quite important and quite serious, and some things are not in order. I think that there is in fact a "blackmailing" of the system of our socialist self-managing democracy in the news media as a whole.

The fact that an editorial board has at its disposal social property, a printing press, that it has a transmission station, etc., does not give it a monopoly on opinion, either positive or negative. This is an opinion that is equal to 10,000 opinions of other collectives. The fact that you have a microphone and "Zmaj" does not, the fact that you have a printing press and the public health institution does not, does not give you the right to priority for your opinion over other opinions.

The Founders of Democracy

These opinion may appear during the complex process of the self-managing formation of positions. Not even the Central Committee adopts an opinion on the basis of a report or a discussion any more. This is because working groups are formed, consultations are held with the intercommune and commune conferences, the work organizations are contacted, and only then is a decision arrived at, through a fairly complex, long, and fairly democratized path, not to say democratic, a fully democratic path. We need to clarify things in regard to this. Journalists behave like inspectors of socialist self-management, above the entire mechanism of our society. For example, if you will excuse me, a high official comes to the radio station and talks. The journalist concludes the conversation and says, "Comrade, you will come in a week after the schools are in operation in order to tell us about the initial experiences." "Maybe I will come, maybe I will be busy, maybe I will

not come." What is this, what kind of force is this? What is this? I think that we do not speak in the right manner when we speak about one article or another. There will always be good and bad articles, and there will be lapses, just as there are in other places. Since this is a sensitive matter, we should struggle to have fewer lapses and more responsibility here. A climate and atmosphere have been created in which the editors, chief editors, and directors feel themselves to be deprived of authority. According to the law and the constitution, the job of the director and the editor, as well as of every other manager of an administrative body, is to be responsible, and this means [the ability] to stop some decision that lies in the technological process, before decisions by certain [other] bodies; here he is deprived of authority, and here he resists it. We should see when some article is dropped out, when some broadcast is dropped out, etc. A terrible pressure is being exerted on behalf of so-called freedoms, on behalf of so-called democracy.

The journalists are not the only ones to be the founders of democracy in our society. Furthermore, this is not a question of good and bad journalists, or a question of personnel being oriented toward self-management or not, although, to tell the truth, there are some personnel who have a hostile orientation toward this society and the efforts of our society.

With a majority of the journalists, this is not the case; rather, it has to do with a group-property attitude that has led to the news media becoming political centers, partners of the government authorities and the political leadership of this country. This is the problem, and we have to clear this up both in the LC and in the administrative bodies. The news media, as well as some other institutions, are declared by the constitution to be organizations of particular social interest, where the social councils (let us use this word arbitrarily), where the social councils have limited the self-managing rights of working people in these work organizations, even in financial affairs, and not just in the orientation of programs and in program policy, although these two matters are closely linked.

We have achieved a fair amount, however, with respect to the public nature of decision-making, with respect to the publicity with which decisions are made; we have to make further efforts in this direction, and the news media have played a very significant and very positive role in this regard. Without their effectiveness, involvement, and staffing, this process could not occur so rapidly, but a conviction has been created that in this country everything has to be public. Not everything can be public in this society. We should say this directly.

Responsibility for Public Speech

Not every piece of information on the indebtedness of Yugoslavia, the payments due, or the difficulties that we are having with JAT [Yugoslav Airlines] is for the public, both on account of our public and the international public. Our partners and friends from friendly countries have come to us and said, "Is it a good idea for you to do this? You are looking for credits, but you are speaking about how you are insolvent and incapable of repaying your debts!" "You are expecting foreign currency from tourism, but you are reporting every

pump that does not have gasoline!" There is a certain responsibility. There has to be a social responsibility for reporting the facts. In the interest of correct and more complete reporting, I am in favor of having accredited journalists attend all of the more important meetings and having them informed of all the facts, but they should not consider themselves to be the only ones responsible for publicity; this is a joint job and we should share it. Finally, it was the LC and our self-management system that fought for publicity, and not the journalists from one publication or another.

There has to be a great deal of responsibility for public speech. The responsibility for public speech must furthermore be borne by the people in the news media, and also by politicians. We should not seek to shift part of our own responsibility onto the press. I do not believe that any of us thinks that a journalist can give himself the right to publish or not publish, censor or not censor, a statement by any official, if he insists on being reported, for the sake of equality, etc. Also, a journalist cannot be responsible for any statements published by the press; the person who is speaking has to be responsible.

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END

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2069

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No. 2069

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INTERVIEWS WITH TWO AIR FORCE GENERALS

Maj Gen Dimitur Karadzhikov

Sofia KRILE in Bulgarian No 5, 1982 pp 7-11

[Interview with the head of the G. Benkovski Higher People's Air Force School, Maj Gen Dimitur Karadzhikov, honored pilot of the Bulgarian People's Republic, at the school on the eve of the 14th Dimitrov Communist Youth Union Congress and the 37th anniversary of the school; interviewer not specified: "Ideologically Convinced, Party-Minded Aviation Cadres with Highly Specialized Training--KRILE Visits the Higher People's Air Force School"]

[Text] KRILE [Wings]: With our talk with you, the editorial staff initiates its story about the present day at the aviation school, but we frankly admit our desire to go back a bit in time as well as to look ahead. In addition, we are chatting on the eve of the 14th DKMS [Dimitrov Communist Youth Union] Congress and the 37th anniversary of the VNVVU [Higher People's Air Force School]. What is new on the school's visiting card?

Maj Gen D. Karadzhikov: On behalf of all the Benkovskiites, I wish to thank our quite new and young Bulgarian aviation and cosmonautics magazine, which already everybody likes, for the attention it is giving us, our accomplishments and problems. Personally, I am very optimistic about our working together. We needed KRILE and there is no reason not to admit it frankly!

It is not difficult at all to give a current assessment of the school because that assessment is confirmed every day by events. The mission assigned by the party of developing as a forge for military and civil aviation cadres is being accomplished in keeping with up-to-date requirements. The G. Benkovski VNVVU is the Bulgarian center of aviation science and aeronatutics, which was set up and has become firmly established in accordance with the lofty slogan, "Strong in the sky--true to the party," and is worthily carrying out its mandate of indoctrinating and instructing ideologically-convinced party-minded aviation cadres with highly specialized training. All pilots, aviation engineers, technicians, mechanics and certain other specialists in Bulgarian military and civil aviation are our alumni, among them the first Bulgarian cosmonaut, as well as dozens of honored pilots, professors and docents, doctors and candidates of aviation sciences.

KRILE: It is exactly 18 years since the first engineer pilot graduates left the school and they are already being called the cosmonaut graduates since they include Engr-Col Georgi Ivanov. Are there any surprises in the school's development from the position in 1964?

Maj Gen D. Karadzhikov: It so happens that my service from my time as a cadet to the present has been spent entirely in the school, unless you count the years when I studied in the USSR. I thank my lucky stars, as they say, that I have been fortunate enough to fly and work here. The flying that I have done and the experiences I have had often "appear" before me; I try to keep them straight as otherwise it is hard to move forward.

If there is anything that causes, not so much surprise, as interesting reflections and certain serious conclusions, it is that 18 years ago apparently we were not so bold in our predictions, for example, of what we would achieve by the beginning of the 1980's. Back then, I recall, activity at the school--flying, methods, science and indoctrination--was in an unusual upsurge, which corresponded to the need to master the second-generation jet aircraft and to commission the first graduating class of engineer pilots. They were the first swallows of our updated socialist aviation. We were very pleased with them and they gallantly took their place in the air force. We were preparing for the future, which now, actually, is the present day, but with the passage of time our gaze widened and deepened and was directed more responsibly forwards, upwards and to the side. . . Now it can be said that what has been achieved far surpasses our dreams and expectations. And this is so because it is the direct result of the all-round success of real socialism in our country. The air force is the people's favorite branch of the service, and its development is the center of attention of the party and of Secretary General of the BCP Central Committee, Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally, who has said, "If today we are proud that the Bulgarian People's Republic has such powerful air force facilities and strength, the main condition and precondition is that the school is a splended forge of personnel for antiaircraft and air force needs."

The school command is of the opinion that, as a result of the party and people's concern and the selfless work of the command and teaching, party-political and instruction-methods staff, as well as constant mastery of Soviet aviation experience during the past years to which you refer, we more closely approximate Soviet aviation and science. And for us, that is the world level. . .

Consequently, 18 years ago when the first fruits of aviation intellectualization, the "product" of our already higher aviation school, ripened, we anticipated to some degree that something very serious and pleasant lay ahead. The results, I repeat, exceeded expectations moreover along many lines. Meriting special attention are the employment of the instructional and research approach, the harmonious development of our students, and the creation by ourselves of models--material, spiritual, moral etc., i.e. the conversion of ideals into a driving force in the direction of the desired development. Subsequently, every new class of the school enriched this approach. Certain fundamental reforms in military science, necessitated by scientific and technical progress and by the requirements of modern combat, ensued. Meanwhile,

pilot training for our civil transport aviation was concentrated with us. And since the surprise in question is between prediction and realization, in the event it probably consists in the fact that the foundations which had been laid 18 years before were sufficiently stable to support not only the "structure" of the 1960's, but also the "superstructure" of the 1980's. Without resting on our laurels, I think that it is a good base for the "edifice" of the 1990's, too. Of course, everything is dialectic. . .

KRILE: For us it remains to draw a general conclusion regarding the question, namely, that the comprehensive improvement of approach, methods, means and character of the diverse activity at the VNVVU has contributed, as follows: to elevate to a higher level the work of commanders, teachers, party and Komsomol organizations, and everybody who is directly engaged in training and indoctrinating the Bulgarian pilot, aviation engineer, political worker and staff specialist, reserve officers and aviation-mechanic master sergeants; to putting the requirements of modern aviation fully into practice; to the rapid development in depth and breadth of the physical plant for training, in implementation of the party's December program; to the ideological seasoning of cadres in conformity with the spirit of innovators and party policy; to the immediate results of education reform; to intensification of the love of aviation etc. All this has led to the appearance of a new kind of candidate for VNVVU cadet, with the result that, objectively, the pilot candidate of the 1980's has an indubitable advantage over his predecessors of the 1960's.

Maj Gen D. Karadzhikov: Naturally and beyond a doubt.

KRILE: You have personally participated for many long years and most actively in the selection and admission of cadets, but up till now you have perhaps not had a chance to address the candidates frankly. KRILE grants you this opportunity. What would you say to the boys who are preparing for a meeting with you in the summer of 1982?

Maj Gen D. Karadzhikov: Here is what I would say to them. Young friends, I sincerely wish you success! I hope that our meetings will be mutually pleasant even though it is known in advance that not all of you will become cadets. If I were your age once more, I would apply again to be a pilot.

Our young people are alert, curious, studious, fearless. The Komsomol members of Dimitrov Bulgaria are the fundamental constructive element of the nation, its future and potentials. From the ranks of the future cadets will be chosen the new Bulgarian cosmonauts, the brave defenders of our native air spaces, our civil pilot farmers, economists, production workers. What are your personal chances of success? The better you study and develop physically, the more convinced you are that hardships and risks will be your invariable companions and helpers, the more devoted you are to military science and the more you experience an irresistible love for the sky, the more opportunities there will be in your hands to become cadets.

In the school in our country, all conditions are present for you to realize your full potential as personalities, soldiers, specialists. This process, however, is by no means easy: none of us must think that he is required to be

"superman," but without great desire, without tremendous dedication to aviation science and aeronautics, it is useless to undertake it. The school gives much, but it requires still more--at any rate quite a lot more for the candidate examinations. In addition, in my opinion, the candidates who succeed are those in whom no romantic idea about the profession of pilot takes the place of the true picture of the not-always-pleasant reality of many years of training at the school.

KRILE: In other words, unless you are prepared to give a lot, you will get little. . .

Maj Gen D. Karadzhikov: You could say it that way, with the qualification that the school helps everybody give more!

KRILE: However, "the true picture of the not-always-pleasant reality," as you put it, is not always well known to VNVVU student candidates. . .

Maj Gen D. Karadzhikov: Unfortunately, that is so, and two factors are important here: the first, the usually one-sided reflection in the mass information media of the problems of the school and the stages in the growth of the pilot and aviation specialist; the second, the lack of exciting literary works, works of art and their lasting spiritual and esthetic values which, as a product of socialist realism, truthfully, enthusiastically and ardently reveal the pilot's life, his social importance and enduring place in history. In this sense, the appearance of KRILE was an objective necessity, but from it now we expect a genuinely innovative, honest and dedicated job.

KRILE: The question that you pose is very complex since there is both independent sound and social resonance. The theme of aviation is already in need of a more thoroughgoing evaluation and delineation of a realistic future in our daily pres, in publishing activity, movie production and television programs. The magazine KRILE will try to come closer! You mentioned that the VNVVU is already the true center of our aviation science and aeronautics, but this obviously applies to personnel training for military aviation and pilot training for civil aviation. We are required before the 14th Dimitrov Komsomol Congress to find out what the school can do for sports aviation.

Maj Gen D. Karadzhikov: Let me state my opinion. We can do a great deal. First, there is no flying club in Pleven, but we here seem to have been indifferent to this fact. Second, we could give a great deal of substantial assistance--in methods and in part in equipment--to those flying clubs which would concentrate their summer flying activity near us. That, incidentally, is economically advantageous, too. And finally, the 14th DKMS Congress, which we look forward to with great attention and delighted active interest and of which we desire fruitful deliberations, can be a good occasion for expressing the long urgent necessity of introducing jet aircraft into the flying practice of the aviation clubs. It is a question of aviation indoctrination and training which on a national scale will reflect and express another need as well--that of joint integrated efforts of the DKMS Central Committee, of the PVO and air force, the Bulgarian Aviation Federation, OVTPN [expansion unknown] and "Balkan" BGA [Bulgarian Civil Aviation] for further development of mass air-sports work and activity in high aviation-sports skills.

At first we must look to our own experience--must disclose the beauty, the responsibility and the difficulty of flying. Young people, as always, will understand us!

KRILE: We talked about the world standard and so would like to ask you something else. If we suppose that at this conference table we see the heads of the air force schools of the fraternal armies, that you have to make a comradely report about the work at the VNVVU and give an idea of its character in the past and in the future, is there anything about which you have apprehensions that it would be outdated or behind the times?

Maj Gen D. Karadzhikov: I have not had an opportunity to acquaint myself directly with the work in all the fraternal aviation schools, but from personal observations and from indirect information I believe that if such a situation arises, the G. Benkovski VNVVU will make a good impression. We have our place, which I personally honor and respect.

KRILE: We are glad to learn this. All the same, what is the "trademark" of aviation training and indoctrination at the VNVVU?

Maj Gen D. Karadzhikov: Regarding the "trademark," I can say that it is portrayed, first, by the rich, unreserved but creative application of Soviet experience in aviation personnel training (without this experience our efforts would in many respects be fruitless); second, by a responsible attitude towards the traditions of early Bulgarian aviation and the feats of the first Bulgarian fliers; third, by profound admiration for the struggles of the antifascist aviators; fourth, by recapitulation under our modern conditions of the gist of the experience of the first builders of our socialist aviation--the former soldiers and commanders of aviation. The enumeration is arbitrary. As it happens, it is a question of an alloy which has a national origin and an international character.

I cannot pass over the role of those who during the most arduous years of the creation and maturing of socialist aviation gave up their youth, everything personal and their lives in order for Bulgarian aviation to be what it is today. And forever!

KRILE: Thank you. We have the impression that we haven't finished up our conversation.

Maj Gen D. Karadzhikov: I thank you too, KRILE. It isn't all that bad if we didn't say everything. Set a time that is mutually agreeable: there will always be flights for our wings [krile*].

[*The general is punning on the name of the interviewer's publication, KRILE.]

Maj Gen Strakhil Mladenov

Sofia KRILE in Bulgarian No 6, 1982 pp 17-20

[Interview with the chief of the Air Defense and Air Force Political Section, Maj Gen Strakhil Mladenov, and VNVVU [Higher People's Air Force School] cadet candidate, Emil Vuchev, on the eve of Georgi Dimitrov's birthday anniversary at the KRILE editorial office, by Col Minko Kalchev: "What Greater Honor than to be in the Family of the Winged Dimitrov Tribe"]

> [Text] The leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people, Georgi Dimitrov, left us a cherished testament, "Our native sky will remain our own sky forever, as our native land will remain our own land, world without end!" With it were nourished those first graduates of ours from the Georgi Benkovski VNVVU who gained the legal right and high honor to be called Dimitrovists. In the name of this testament our combat and civil aviation has grown stronger year after year and come to manhood. To this day the testament continues to shine with a special brilliance; we guard it against becoming sullied and strive by our deeds and conduct to preserve it. And it has now been transmitted from generation to generation for more than three decades.
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> On the eve of the birthday anniversary of Georgi Dimitrov, the man who gave so much to bring about the founding and development of aviation in our country, and in order to confirm the vitality and continuity of this sacred testament, we organized a meeting in our editorial office. Participants in it were the chief of the Air Defense and Air Force Political Section, Maj Gen Strakhil Mladenov, who himself is a member of one of the Dimitrov graduating classes, and VNVVU cadet candidate Emil Vuchev. A conversation was conducted about the life, training and indoctrination of people in aviation, of those who who have devoted themselves to the flying profession and made it their destiny and their duty in defense of the skies of Bulgaria.

KRILE: Comrade Major General. As a party personnel worker in the Bulgarian People's Army, you took your initial steps in the air force school. Your first thrills as an organizer with a Komsomol membership card next to your heart, your first contact and conversation with future fliers you had and experienced in the eagle's nest. Out of these memorable years, when in response to the party's appeal and in accordance with the directives of Georgi Dimitrov hundreds of Communist Youth Union members poured into the military schools on a mass scale, what made the most powerful impression on you, and what did you notice in the young people of that time that was mainly characteristic of them?

Maj Gen Mladenov: I was introduced to the life and activity of the military aviation school in the late autumn of 1948. I landed up there as a young worker

and everything I saw aroused great interest in me. Of course, what made the strongest impression on me was the young people who had enrolled and were training to be fliers. Judge for yourself—it was only four years after 9 September 1944. The young men of our country had enrolled in the school--all were RMS [Workers' Youth Union] activists, boy enthusiasts. The contacts I made then and afterwards gave me reason to see a strongly pronounced conviction in these young people and my age cohorts. But what made the most striking impression on me was their great ambition and their tremendous desire to train as speedily as possible to be defenders of our native open spaces.

I recall quite clearly, too, the first flying days, the fierceness and desire with which the boys trained, their observance of the regime, their going out to the flying field in the morning with enthusiasm, the interest with which they watched the actions of their instructors, the avidity with which they learned from the critiques made of them after a completed flight. I must say something else--this enthusiasm, this desire among these young people to fly was greatly supported by the youth organization of that time, working directly with every young person. I attended many Komsomol meetings there, at which certain deficiencies in training and certain behavior which was not in accordance with the requirements of flying activity were taken up. They criticized very sharply, and very strict measures were taken against careless persons. This was dictated by one desire--to help these young people enter the flying service more rapidly--with the result that, if we are talking about the time 30 years ago, we can rightly record that these young people afterwards became the backbone of our aviation. They were the largest mass-scale graduating classes of the G. Benkovski VNVVU who with honor bore the high designation of Dimitrov graduate. From among them came the commanders of aviation units and aviation formations. The present leaders of our aviation are from among them. Of course, subsequent graduating classes contributed a great deal as well to the building of our air force.

KRILE: For the young reader of today it would be interesting to know under what conditions cadets trained at that time, how theoretical instruction was combined with constant duty of the day and with the building of the school.

Maj Gen Mladenov: Conditions in the school then were not as they are now. The situation and the facilities were poor, but by way of compensation the desire and spirit of the people were exceptionally great.

The aircraft fleet was antiquated and small. The premises were not cozy; the cadets slept in bunks arranged in two tiers. Clubs, recreation centers, Dimitrov rooms were lacking. There is no question that all this created unusual and difficult living conditions, but the boys did not waver for an instant. To the contrary, on the initiative of the boys, sleeping quarters and structures for the amenities were built that improved their living conditions. Everybody who passed through the school in those years allotted time to building the physical plant for training and the structures for a better life. That is why we fondly recall the past and admire the deeds of the alumni of the aviation school, their exceptional perseverance and understanding of why they had come to this school, namely to train to be defenders of our homeland. They were graduated, joined combat units, converted to new aviation equipment,

trained, improved themselves and, as I have already said, they became factors in the building of modern aviation.

Regarding the school I can tell you that today it has an up-to-date physical plant for training--well-equipped special-purpose rooms, excellent training aids and buildings. The cadets now live in a setting approximating that in a hotel. They are instructed by highly trained teachers in all subjects. Many of them are professors, docents, candidates of sciences.

Emil Vuchev: For my part, I should like to ask the comrade general whether there is anything new in the requirements set for the young cadets? Have any changes taken place?

Maj Gen Mladenov: The demands made on present-day cadets have grown. This fact is dictated by many circumstances, above all by the fact that new and improved aviation equipment is constantly coming into service. This requires much better preparation on the part of the cadet, higher intellect and physical fitness. It is very important now that the young man be physically sound. What I mean is a state of health that will make possible a long career in aviation.

Our society also sets requirements for its protectors' ideological conviction of the rightness of our party and for their readiness to defend the homeland.

I see things this way. We can say something else; today's young man differs from the one of 30 years ago in his wide range of knowledge, in his better training in both mathematics and culture and in his views on the present-day international situation. Unquestionably, this is an important condition for successful accomplishment of the assignments at the school

KRILE: We venture the belief that future pilot candidate Emil Vuchev, who has chosen the daring and difficult profession of pilot, is a good student and is preparing diligently for his entrance examinations. It would be interesting to hear where his love for the air comes from.

Emil Vuchev: It's difficult for me to answer this question. I have no specific reason to link my dreams with aviation. It has simply been my idea and feeling for a long time. I guess that the life itself in aviation, which has excited me for a long time because of the stories and films about it and which at present I hear so many interesting and good things about, makes a strong impression on me. Actually, it is always interesting to talk about this subject.

I regularly visit the flying club that I have joined. I do my best to learn everything in detail. I look forward to every flight with great excitement. I have fine impressions of our instructor Evgeni Naydenov. He treats us well and teaches us how to take our first steps in aviation.

KRILE: If for all that you should flunk out and stumble on your chosen path to conquest of the blue, we are very curious to learn where you would turn.

Emil Vuchev: Frankly speaking, I haven't thought of anything other than the air school. If I happen to fail my entrance examinations, maybe I'll apply for another higher educational institution that comes close to the profession that I have dreamed about. I'll admit that any failure on the path to realizing my dream will weigh heavily on me all my life, will make me feel bad and be painful to get over.

Maj Gen Mladenov: It is fine that you have made a firm choice of your future occupation. The choice of it must be made wholeheartedly. There are many young people who on completing their secondary education are unable to find their bearings for a long time and go in for many things at once.

Emil Vuchev: I have made up my mind and will do everything within my power to accomplish my desire. My parents are willing and my true friends encourage me.

KRILE: We wholeheartedly wish you success and that with the wings of youth you fly off into the Bulgarian wide blue yonder.

Emil Vuchev: I should like, in so far as it is possible, for the comrade major general to say something about the stern romantic side of the combat pilot.

Maj Gen Mladenov: The air force pilot is a fighter! What does this mean? In the land forces the soldier is a fighter. With us in aviation the officer pilot is a fighter. With his aircraft he engages the enemy eye to eye. And victory depends on his ability and daring.

The combat pilot lives and works under conditions of tremendous tension so as to be in a constant state of readiness. Training, flights and alerts require of him great mental stability and high professional training. And this involves being torn away from his family and deprived of certain city pleasures accessible to people in other professions. If he has a flight tomorrow, the night before the pilot must go to bed at a specific time; he has no right to use alcohol, he must always be alert and he must not waste time. Flying activity necessitates all these restrictions. This is the absolute truth. But I must tell you, enthusiasm for flying never leaves the combat pilot; the desire and the difficulties have never created moods of dissatisfaction. Pilots live in close-knit collectives, with good family relationships, and always find ways of passing their spare time well, happily and diversely.

For me the romance is not just in flying, but in the entire service to aviation--flying both combat alerts and all other activity. In final analysis, the romance is in being a fighting man in aviation and in being obliged tomorrow, if necessary, to defend our homeland.

What greater romance is there than that? What higher honor is there than to be in the family of the winged Dimitrov tribe, which has devoted its youth and its life to the defense, the happiness and joy of the working people. In final analysis, will not this be our repayment of the care bestowed on us and our contribution to the fulfillment of Georgi Dimitrov's sacred testament?

KRILE: We thank you for being so obliging and for the thought you have shared. We would like to hope that, albeit with only a cursory familiarization with the real life and training in aviation, we are helping to convey an idea of the people who have devoted themselves to this brave profession and who have turned it into their supreme duty to defend the open spaces of the homeland.

We make so bold as to add sincere and hearty best wishes to the new graduates, who again will bear the name of Georgi Dimitrov. May they be alert and fearless, may their every flight have a happy landing, and may they be proud to bear the name of our great leader and teacher and justify this high honor.

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CSO: 2200/149

BRIEFS

ROMANIAN BOOK ON SLOVAK MINORITY--An anthology of poetry and prose by authors of Slovak nationality living in Romania, entitled "Variations," has been published by the Kriterion Publishing House in Bucharest. The book's basic material consists of studies about the almost 200-year-old traditions and the current social and cultural life of the Slovak national minority in Romania. According to official statistical data, 22,000 Slovaks are living today in this country. [Text] [AU071422 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Oct 82 p 7]

TEACHING IN HUNGARIAN DESCRIBED--Almost 250,000 pupils of primary and secondary schools attended classes in the West Slovak region yesterday. Approximately 17 percent of them are of Hungarian nationality. Pupils wishing to be taught in their mother tongue can go to schools teaching in Hungarian or to Hungarian classes at combined [kombinovany] schools. These include 161 primary schools with more than 34,000 pupils. More than 2,600 pupils study at secondary schools [gymnasia] teaching in the Hungarian language. In the West Slovak region there are eight such schools, of which two are combined. Together they have 83 Hungarian classes. The secondary agricultural vocational schools in Komarno and Dunajska Streda and eight other combined ones have 2,400 places for young people who will acquire vocational education in Hungarian language. But a considerable part of young people of Hungarian nationality also study at Slovak schools of all types. [Excerpt] [AU031515 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Sep 82 p 2]

CSO: 2400/20

INADEQUATE TRAINING OF 'SOCIAL SCIENCE CADRES' CRITICIZED

East Berlin DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN in German Vol 30 No 8, Aug 82
(signed to press 2 Jun 82) pp 199-201

[Lead article by Prof Dr Gerhard Engel, deputy minister for university and technical school affairs: "Experience Exchange of Social Science Faculty Deans"]

[Text] "The main road to perfecting management and planning activities is the continuing mark of democracy. In correspondence with the specifics of scientific work processes, scientists, university instructors and students are to assume a high degree of individual responsibility for the management, planning and social effectiveness of scientific work in teaching, research and studies.... In the process, the effectiveness is to be increased of... scientific advisers at universities and colleges for the qualified political and scientific preparation of management decisions."

The above is contained in the 18 March 1980 politburo resolution of the SED Central Committee, entitled "Tasks of Universities and Colleges in the Developed Socialist Society."

The fifth conference on higher education presented in more detail the content of this task. The minister for university and technical school affairs declared: "The effectiveness of advisers is increased, above all, through their concentration on the crucial, essential tasks of education, training and research and on scientific problems that affect their disciplines. Part of it is a greater emphasis on the assessment of work results in education and research and their evaluation in critical comparisons with international standards."

These tasks lead to the necessity of organizing experience exchanges of work habits in the departments and among scientific advisers. The deans of social science faculties at universities, technical and engineering schools as well as teachers colleges met in February 1982 in the Continuing Education Center of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs in Merseburg to plan the first step in this direction.

Two deans, Prof Dr Waltraud Falk (Humboldt University, Berlin) and Prof Dr Hans Spiller (Martin Luther University, Halle) presented experience reports,

laying the foundation for a lively debate. All the deans participated, some of them several times.

Below is a presentation of selected aspects of the discussion on five complexes, the consideration of which is of special interest for the expansion of experience exchanges and for the establishment of the work for faculties.

1. Faculty influence on raising the standards of teaching and its educational effectiveness.

The experience exchange demonstrated that over a long period of time, in part until this day, the work of the faculties is essentially dominated by research problems, while the training of social science cadres was treated only sporadically. Apparently the only time when training is mentioned, is when research is considered under the aspect of the preliminary phases of education, when cross-sectional questions on measures for continuing education are discussed or when dealing with the introduction of new educational subject areas. Even during the deliberations several deans felt that faculties should and could not be heavily involved in advising administrations in questions of education and training, because it was a matter for the sections and because individual disciplines with interdisciplinary faculties lack the competence.

Nevertheless, the experience exchange demonstrated that in view of the basic tasks of universities and colleges, one of the most important functions of the faculties is to advise administrative organs, helping them with the establishment of essential elements of education and training processes, with a special emphasis on the analytical and conceptional treatment of cross-sectional questions dealing with the training of social science cadres.

Because of the stimulating exemplary character, past and present experiences of various faculties received special attention during the treatment of cross-sectional questions concerning education and training. Below are several examples of analyses and deliberations which were included in the discussions, representing specialized questions of specific sections dealing with problems that affect other sections:

--The effectiveness of the study of basic Marxist-Leninist principles with respect to the establishment of social science study programs (Martin Luther University, Halle)

--Development of an interaction between the study of basic Marxist-Leninist principles and technical education (Technical College, Magdeburg)

--Quality and effectiveness of special courses for Marxism-Leninism (Technical University, Dresden)

--Development of a historical consciousness among social science students (Friedrich Schiller University, Jena)

--Military training through social science education (Technical College, Karl-Marx-Stadt)

--Cultural-aesthetic education of future social scientists (Martin Luther University, Halle; Friedrich Schiller University, Jena)

--State and problems of foreign-language education for students and future social science disciplines (Martin Luther University, Halle)

--Analyses of standards and of the effectiveness of social science subjects with respect to the establishment of several basic study programs (College for Transportation, Dresden)

--Uniformity and differentiation in social science education (Karl Marx University, Leipzig)

--Combination study plans for teacher education (pedagogical colleges)

--Advantages of research cooperation for the training of social science students (Friedrich Schiller University, Jena)

--Section concepts for the productive scientific establishment of studies and the effective use of no-class periods (College for Transportation, Dresden)

--Coordination of offers of elective-required and facultative educational programs in the social sciences.

The experience exchange, during which reference was made to the neglect of activities by faculties in the area of education and training as well as reference to good initiatives for improving the work, leading to the assumption that these faculty tasks will receive greater attention in the future and more support from administrators. There are still significant reserves in social science faculties with respect to constructive investigations and discussions of questions that are related to the development of the specialized, politico-ideological and intellectual-cultural profile of the social science graduate as well as the relationship between theoretical and methodological general education and specialization.

Faculties could contribute considerably more to the analyses of cross-sectional problems in social science education and to the development of student personalities and, on this basis, provide better targeted recommendations for the continuation of a qualitative development of education.

2. The function of the faculty with respect to the conception of scientific research programs and the development of the potential--the function of the faculty in planning and administering social science research.

A focal point was the experience exchange on the influence of faculties on the standards of research accomplishments by participating in research planning, in the assessment of superior accomplishments during the evaluation of annual research plans as well as the promotional activities and the organization of scientific events for new timely research problems.

The debate revealed that social science faculties see themselves as the "scientific conscience" for their specialized areas at the colleges, and as

a rule they are fighting energetically for efficiency, a critical evaluation and comparison of perofrmance and--something that surfaced during the discussion--against "idyllic notions which can still be encountered."

Faculties have a right to have a voice in the planning and administration of research and the preparation of long-term productive research programs of a complex nature for the ensemble of the appropriately represented disciplines. Consequently the importance was emphasized again and again of prognoses for future research requirements. In this connection several deans criticized the fact that perspective proposals submitted by their faculties did not receive any feedback from administrators, which leads to a decline in initiatives and a reduction in opportunities for further constructive work. Particularly for the phase of plan preparation, they demanded more information about intentions of other universities and colleges and about potential possibilities for international cooperation, because it would not restrict them and their proposals to their own institutions, but they would be able to think and advise on a scale which reflects the requirements of the social science research work in all institutions of higher education. These pointers were to be considered for the preparations of research-strategic considerations--which have already begun for the 1986-1990 period.

The deans presented various experiences for the realization of their tasks to underline the faculties' role as organs for shaping concepts for interdisciplinary research programs and projects. Particularly the experiences at the Technical University of Dresden clearly demonstrate that the interdisciplinary program of "ideological and social problems of scientific-technical research" would never have reached its conceptional maturity if the faculty had not played its specific role by doing more than putting together disciplinary partial concepts and conceiving a project which is indeed of an interdisciplinary quality.

The experience exchange on the role of faculties in social science research showed that the majority of faculties is concentrating its activities on projects of the Central Research Plan and the plan of the ministry. Research planned on the level of colleges or sections, which must lead to preliminary studies of important projects for future Five-Year-Plans, received very little attention. The value of these research projects is partially assessed incorrectly, because the planning steps are equated with the quality and the rank of the topic. Social science faculties are to pay considerably more attention to "presidential research," seen as a preliminary development for future central and ministry plan topics.

In addition, the exchange of ideas yielded references to experiences by faculties during the analytical control of the development of the performance potential in individual disciplines during the transition from discussions of problems to the development of the potential and the preparation of practicable leadership documents for the administration, for instance, development concepts for the social science potentials of colleges as well as for the discussion of questions concerning research economics, making available time for creative tasks, the use of modern tools, etc.

3. The faculty as initiator of scientific life, its share in the development of interdisciplinary work.

During the last few years, social science faculties were the initiators and organizers of many seminars, colloquiums and conferences which enriched the scientific life considerably. This encouraging development is an important component of the efforts among faculties to direct and promote consciously the relationships between the progressing specialization and the necessary integration in social sciences as well as team work between social scientists and natural scientists and technologists. In this connection the deans emphasized the fact that the frequently cited advantage of colleges which are structured according to the interdisciplinary concept cannot be realized until it is demonstrated and consciously utilized in the scientific life through the cooperation among representatives of various sciences. The faculties can make a significant contribution in this respect.

Several deans mentioned an increasing pressure from individual disciplines to utilize the faculty for discussions of overlapping methodological questions in the social sciences. At the same time, however, it became apparent that the social science faculties at universities are not initiating enough impulses and offers for methodological debates with other disciplines.

On the other hand, deans of technical colleges and engineering schools emphasized the fact that their faculties were making considerable efforts to promote cooperation with the technical sciences by sponsoring scientific events, and that they were even running the risk of losing their disciplinary identity, performing only service functions and lagging behind mostly economic disciplines when it comes to the development of disciplinary performance.

Nevertheless, the deans agreed that the faculties should continue to sponsor scientific events effectively, because they yield important contributions to the methodological quality of scientific work, particularly as a result of team work representing various disciplines. In this connection, for instance, the experiences at the Humboldt University in Berlin were of interest; low-budget colloquiums dealing with current problems of the intellectual struggle had been organized by the faculty. To date two of them have been carried out ("Way of life in capitalism," "Science obligated to peace"). two additional ones are in preparation ("Neoconservatism," "Methodology of social science research").

By challenging all disciplines to contribute to these topics from their current work, the faculty is exerting pressure on the willingness and ability to direct the effort of social science work on the solution of burning current problems.

The Martin Luther University in Halle reported on its experiences with annual Marxist-Leninist colloquium series presented by the faculty. They are open university discussions, dealing with basic questions in the social sciences, and up to 100 scientists and representatives from the practical field attend each one of these colloquiums.

Of equal general value are the experiences of the Pedagogical College in Magdeburg. They refer to faculty-sponsored events on scientific news and current problems in the social sciences, for instance, on the theses for the Luther anniversary or the history of Prussia.

The same applies to the series at the Pedagogical College in Dresden, which followed a long-term program dealing with scientific-methodological deliberations on topics such as "Language as communication in the social and natural sciences" and "Models in the sciences."

Several faculties also presented experiences related to the organization of scientific events within the framework of preserving the heritage and traditions.

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SOCIOLOGISTS URGED TO GUARD AGAINST CONCEPTS 'FREE OF IDEOLOGY'

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[Article by Prof Dr Rudi Weidig, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; and Prof Dr Gunnar Winkler, Institute for Sociology and Social Policy, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Sociology in the GDR: Theory and Practical Effectiveness"]

[Text] One of the central tasks posed by the conditions and requirements of the continuing establishment of a developed socialist society and one which is to be solved by scientists of the most diverse disciplines is an increase in the effectiveness of scientific research for theory and practice. "In our opinion, an increase in the effectiveness of scientific work, the struggle for high productivity in research," the 10th SED rally stated, "is the main task of scientists and collectives in all research establishments."[1] During the party rally, a special challenge was issued to social scientists to meet the conditions for fulfilling the 1981-1985 Central Research Plan "by penetrating social practices and by continually increasing the theoretical standards, the quality and social effectiveness of research projects."[2]

Naturally, these demands on scientific work, which result from the new requirements for the establishment of a developed socialist society, also apply fully to the Marxist-Leninist sociology and the research work of GDR sociologists. Since special attention must be given to the viewpoint that scientific contributions are to be increased to realize the unity between economic and social policies, to put into effect the economic strategy for the 1980's set forth by the 10th SED rally as well as the continual development of the socialist consciousness and creative activity of the working person, sociologists are establishing new tasks for themselves to increase the effectiveness of their scientific work. As a consequence--particularly since the 10th SED rally--questions of this type are receiving high priority in the debates and resolutions of the Scientific Council for Sociological Research in the GDR as well as in the collectives of separate sociological establishments at academies, colleges and universities.[3] In principle, the important thing is to formulate research strategies, to find ways and establish measures for the continual increase in the social effectiveness of research, while advancing the Marxist-Leninist sociological theory and strengthening its practical effectiveness; to a certain extent, exterior

growth processes can be replaced with more or less intensive ones. In the process, GDR sociologists do not have to begin at zero: During the last few years, the Marxist-Leninist sociology has developed into an effective science. It can be substantiated through higher standards in sociological research and education, through the purposive and continuous work of sociologists for the realization of long-term research programs. Investigations by sociologists in essential areas contributed to the establishment of theoretical foundations for the management and planning of social processes, for social, educational and alliance policies of the Marxist-Leninist party.

Research concerning the social structure, for instance, which has been conducted by GDR sociologists systematically and continuously for more than 10 years, yield significant information about the development and the perspective of the working classes and levels in socialism, its alliance under the leadership of the working class as well as about the development of socialist relations between city and country and between physical and mental workers. In this connection, sociologists succeeded in uncovering significant legal processes of social rapprochement between classes and levels of society and the development of social differences within the socialist society. At this point, a reference may be made, for instance, to sociological findings about the dialectic and long-term development of social rapprochement and social differences, the growth of commonness in essential living conditions and activities and the progressive role of specific or special existential and developmental conditions, interests, abilities and manner of attitudes among the different social classes and levels of society during the establishment of the developed socialist society.

In recent years, a similar significance has been attached to social research results on the the processes and trends of the development of the socialist personality, on social processes in special territories, on the development of the socialist character of work in connection with scientific-technical progress, on the development of the family and other special social groups. These research activities and their results constitute significant contributions by sociologists to the continuing elaboration of the Marxist theory of the developed socialist society and for the political leadership activity of the SED and of GDR state organs. At this point, we would like to call attention to findings the resulted from sociological research activities on the socialist way of life, dealing with dialectic relationships in the development of living conditions, the consciousness and living activities or the dialectic processes of unity and differentiation in the structure and development of the socialist way of life in the city and in the country, within the areas of production and the sphere of leisure time.[4] These results are of great significance for the preparation of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the development of the socialist way of life as well as for the practical-political establishment of these historic processes of radical political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes.

Detailed and substantive results of sociological research activities will not be listed here; nevertheless, considering the aspect of uncovering possibilities and reserves for increasing the effectiveness of sociology for theory and practice, it is important to answer the question as to the foundation upon

which the achieved progress in research is to be based, what the causes are and what is to be done to achieve permanent progress in productivity in all sociological research establishments.

I. Concerning the causes of and simultaneously the possibilities for a continuing progress in the effectiveness of sociology, several factors will have to be mentioned. Without doubt, one of the most significant factors is the beneficial interrelationship between theory and social practice which has been realized in sociological research with a growing intensity, higher standards and prerequisites specifically related to sociology. Sociological research and sociological theory developed in the GDR in close connection and, correspondent with the requirements of the practical aspects of the socialist structure, they have grown with the social needs for knowledge and the conscious implementation of social legislation in various areas, processes and social groups of the socialist society and generalized essential experiences from the practice of socialist progress. Insofar the latter always was and is the point of departure, the requirement, the basis and motivating force for the development of sociological theory. It is difficult to imagine that any kind of sociological theory and research activity exists, which does not obtain its knowledge and statements from the analyses of social practices, from the activities and the experiences of the working masses during the establishment of the developed socialist society. A theoretical work which would negate these realities would unjustly be labeled a "sociological" work, it would deteriorate into speculation and meaningless abstract doctrines, it would not advance practical applications and at best repeat already presented knowledge.

A further increase in the capabilities and particularly the practical effectiveness of sociological research also requires the comprehension of the dynamices and the development of practical applications. Social practices as well as the resulting needs and demands for a sociological theory are always historically concrete. As a consequence, an essential criterium for the quality and level of a sociological research project is the manner in which it approaches the respective historically concrete needs, demands and tasks and the manner in which it contributes to its satisfaction or solution. Thus, GDR sociologists are faced with the task--today and in the future--of producing scientifically accurate and practically effective contributions to the realization of the economic strategy for the 1980's, as established by the 10th SED congress.

A research project which is not consciously aimed at such targets, does not do justice to the current or future demands of socialist progress. In particular, it is becoming more and more urgent to pay greater attention in sociological research activities to the growing interdependency in practical life of scientific-technical, economic and social progress. Primarily solid analyses are to be prepared, based on real processes and practical experiences, and findings and statements are to convey how socialist social relations and structures and the social progress in general which has been achieved in our society can be an effective motivating force for superior accomplishments in the scientific-technical area and for noticeable economic growth, what social effects result from which technical and technological

processes, for instance, through socialist rationalization, through the wide application of microelectronics and industrial robots. In connection with it, sociologists are facing the difficult task of preparing social criteria that can be applied to the socialist way of development, construction and introduction of modern technology. The fulfillment of this demand will also increase significantly the visionary content of sociological findings, their actual value and, as a consequence, their practical effectiveness.

In this connection, one question is raised again and again: What criteria can measure the practical value of sociological research and theory, what constitutes practical reality and practical effectiveness of sociological theories in general? This discussion is nothing new and it does not only take place among GDR sociologiests, but it is as old as sociology itself and the answers are by no means uniform.

Bourgeois sociology is still more or less following a school of thought which proceeds from practical and pragmatic concepts and ascribes practical value only to the "empirical sociology." "The more empirical the more practical," is the accepted leading principle of a sociological "theory" which during the first half of the 20th century was widespread in the United States and which--following World War II--also found greater appeal in West Curope, particularly in the FRG, and it is still in existence. As a result, a sociology developed which, in principle and from the aspect of theoretical history, is a positivistic reaction to the practical barrenness of the specualtive bourgeois philosophy, it is short on theory but gathers a lot of concrete facts, denouncing any kind of sociophilosophical or generally sociological theory about society and its development, declaring it outdated and practically ineffective.[5]

In his work, "Dialectics of Nature," F. Engels already characterized the essential elements of the theoretical and practical barrenness of such sociological concepts. Engels deals with the empiricism in the theory of electricity which was widespread toward the end of the 19th century, and he calls it "an uncertain groping in the dark, an incoherent investigation and experimentation by many individuals who attack the unknown field separately like a nomadic bunch of horsemen."[6] And at the same time Engels points to the limitations of the empirical approach in science, calling it a doctrine or a school "which more or less bans thinking and which, as a result, does not only think incorrectly but it is also unable to follow facts faithfully or just report them accurately, in other words, it turns into the opposite of real empiricism."[7]

This characterization also applies to the substance of those older and newer sociological constructions which do not state empirical facts and findings as what they really are, an indispensable foundation and prerequisite for the preparation of sociological-theoretical knowledge, but they place it in opposition to the sociological theory and absolutize it as the "only true knowledge" and as the "real science of practical value."

Of course, the empirical approach in sociology, for instance, empirical sociological analysis, produces practical and useful results; it describes

individual phenomena and sides of social practices, such as the development of small groups, individual processes, conflicts and changes, and it contributes to the solution of highly specialized tasks. But the closeness to reality of such an empirical sociology is only an apparent one, and its practical effectiveness is extremely limited, it relates only to separate incidents and is short-lived, which is the reason why its contribution to the sociological theory is extremely limited. During the last few years even bourgeois sociologists have begun to criticize the limitations of empirical concepts in sociology. The American sociologist R. K. Merton, for instance, wrote: "The stereotype of a social theoretician who is suspended in the higher regions of pure ideas untouched by facts will be obsolete as quickly as the stereotype of the social researcher who, equipped with questionnaire and pencil, is chasing isolated and senseless statistical facts."[8]

When one takes a critical look at the findings and many years of experiences of various sociological concepts from the aspect of their practical effectiveness and their contributions to the sociological theory on society or some of the essential areas or processes, it becomes clear that there is very little practical value in empirical concepts and approaches in sociology which describe individual phenomena and problems but avoid or disregard theoretical statements and findings affecting all of society and some of its essential areas, processes and social groups; they are not only ineffective when it comes to helping people implement social progress, but they keep in the dark essential connections, motivating forces and the legality of their actions. At the same time, those theoretical concepts which ignore the real facts of life, avoid and disregard them, are not in a position to be practical in the mentioned sense and be scientifically effective.

Our experiences show that the most effective practical approach is a theory which--on the basis of existing and proven scientific findings, a well-founded analysis of real processes and the generalization of experiences and results of the practical activities of the masses--contributes to the uncovering of essential causes, connections, structures, legalities and motivating forces of social progress. Furthermore, only those empirical analyses which are established on a theoretical basis can supply solid material for theoretical generalizations. In this respect, the empirical sociological research is an important step, only a phase, more or less a necessary preliminary or intermediate step in the recognition of development trends and legalities in sociological research.

Theoretical work provides a conceptional direction to empirical investigations and more or less establishes the possible level of knowledge. Although it is indisputable that well-founded empirical research results are an invaluable source of new theoretical knowledge, it is also indisputable that one-sided empirical investigations that are theoretically inadequate, barely comparable or oriented toward nonessential connections and processes, cannot represent an adequate basis for theoretical generalizations or new theoretical findings.

It means that society has a specific relationship to social practices on the basis of its subject matter as well as the manner in which it obtains its results, reaches its findings and makes them useful for practical purposes.

The close connection and reciprocal effect between theory and well-founded empirical analysis which, in turn, provides necessary materials for new theoretical knowledge and its practical application.

Of course, it is not the same specific relationship which bourgeois politicians and sociologists have always wanted to force upon us, by challenging us to assume a critical attitude toward socialism and its development, particularly toward the politics of the working-class party, the socialist state and labor unions and to interpret our function accordingly. Such a demand essentially amounts to an undermining of the partiality of Marxist-Leninist sociology, an attempt to separate sociology in socialism from ideology. It is an attempt to undermine the basic ideological and theoretical position of the Marxist-Leninist sociology and its constructive effectiveness for the establishment of real socialism. Not the separation, however, but the close connection with the struggle of the labor class and its party bestows to socialism a revolutionary and consequently critical character, which is clearly expressed in its constructive vision, building the socialist present and future, and in its scientific contribution to the elimination of anything that is obsolete and hinders the socialist transformation. In this respect, a critical attitude is an indispensable characteristic of scientific methods and partiality among sociologists to overcome the old and implement the new in society, constantly checking, correcting and defining existing theoretical knowledge through practical applications and new theoretical statements.

Of course, the above-mentioned specific relationship to practical experiences, which is characteristic for the Marxist-Leninist sociology, does not exist from the very beginning, but it must consciously be realized during the research process and through the application of its results. It represents an essential reserve for raising the theoretical level and in conjunction with it the practical effectiveness of sociological research, the utilization of which will have to be improved. Thus, the considerations concerning the increase in the social effectiveness of sociological research represent by no means--as some people seem to think--practical or pragmatic viewpoints. The primary concern is the goal-oriented realization of the following demands:

--to institute scientifically based analyses to come up with new and definite theoretical statements on the causes, motivating forces, conditions of effectiveness, development trends and legalities of social processes which will offer solid foundations for proposals for solutions, for well-founded decisionmaking on various levels and in various areas of society;

--to process facts and data resulting from empirical analyses in such a manner that they will help to further increase the effectiveness of the politico-ideological work of the SED and demonstrate and substantiate more convincingly the advantages and motivating forces of socialism;

--to come up with statements, theoretical insights and findings which will contribute to the solidification and qualification of the sociological theory and are theoretically based starting points for further research activities;

--to develop newly gained knowledge according to methodological, logical and didactic viewpoints in such a manner that they can be used for qualified

training and continuing education at colleges and technical schools and other appropriate institutions.

Consequently we do not agree with the idea that the specific relationship between sociology and practical experiences is to be combined with certain expectations and criteria, according to which the sociological theory is to provide prescriptions for practically everybody, for every situation or even find solutions to single social problems of individual plants or administrations. It would place demands on sociology which contradict its scientific function, establish wrong orientations and represent a hindrance to practical effectiveness. In other words, research accomplishments are to be measured primarily according to the following three criteria:

First, the resulting proposals for solutions or fundamental decisions for the administration and planning of social processes in the respective areas;

second, the contribution to the ideological work of the party and the discussion concerning the bourgeois sociology and

third, the contribution to the continuing development of the theory of Marxist-Leninist sociology.

These functions of the Marxist-Leninist sociology, which in textbooks and lessons are frequently labeled as something representing a unit, are also--in this capacity as a unit--and simultaneously important demands, criteria and standards of the social effectiveness of sociological research. In this connection, we are also dealing with a dialectic unit; consequently, the theoretical quality and accomplishment of a research project more or less determines the level of achievement of the contribution as it relates to the administration and planning of the discussion.

An increase in the social effectiveness of sociological research activities--independent of the respective research topic--requires greater attention to the following substantial problems and orientations:

1. Sociology must make a direct contribution to a massive, scientifically based recognition and utilization of motivating forces and legalities of economic and social purpose.

Socialism is only possible as a consciously constructed practical application for the masses of the working people under the leadership of the labor class and its party, who are socially active and working together according to a scientifically established plan. The socialist transformation can be accomplished more thoroughly and successfully to the same degree as the masses of the workers carry out this transformation in material and intellectual production, during working hourse and leisure time, in the city and in the country, in education and culture, in short, in all areas of the social life.

The resultant task is a fundamental one for sociology. It calls for the use of theoretically established discoveries of legalities and motivating forces and ensuing conditions of effectiveness for a maximal contribution to the

the promotion of conscious activities on all levels. Today it is of greater urgency than it has ever been before, because the solution to all basic social problems of a continuing socialistic development presupposes a sharp increase in the economic performance on the basis of socialistic intensification and scientific-technical progress. An important reason for it is the fact that reciprocal relations between scientific-technical, economic and social progress are deepening steadily, foreign trade and foreign policy conditions for economic and social progress have become more and more complicated, and every economic and scientific-technical processs requires a high degree of efficiency, capabilities, creativity, sense of responsibility and a conscious involvement of millions of workers. Sociologists can contribute to the promotion of the required consciousness of actions in the context of the continuing social progress to the same degree as they contribute to the discovery of legalities, trends and motivating forces of the development of all things and essential specific areas and processes of the socialist society on the basis of exact analyses of the facts of life, of real social and ideological development processes and contradictions and through well-founded theoretical generalizations of the results of empirical investigations.

2. An increase in the social effectiveness of sociology--proceeding from the assumption that the economic strategy adopted during the tenth SED congress simultaneously indicates the strategic line for the social development--means, above all, that questions concerning an increase in the social effectiveness of scientific-technical progress is to be investigated more thoroughly.

The scientific-technical progress has not experienced spontaneous success in socialism, but it is to be realized as a partial process of the establishment of a developed socialist society. On one hand it requires a more complex and on the other hand a more detailed sociological research than has been done to date. It includes the following connections:

--the social demands on the development and implementation of scientific-technical programs resulting from the quantitative and qualitative development of needs and interests of classes, levels of society and social groups;

--the development of performance attitudes among the workers and a willingness to achieve efficiency, particularly in those groups that are primarily involved in the development and implementation of scientific-technical progress;

but also specific problems such as

--social problems of layed-off workers who are rehired;

--requirements for continuing education and retraining;

--development of a socialist attitude toward work, team work and cooperation;

--social problems due to necessary increases in shift work at highly productive facilities etc.

The organic connection between the economic and social development as well as the necessity of increasing the eoconomic and social effectiveness of scientific-technical progress is therefore simultaneously a mandatory requirement for the development of interdisciplinary cooperation and research effectiveness, above all, between sociologists and economists, sociologists and technicians and technologists.

It has been demonstrated that the question of implementation or nonimplementation, of organization or the neglect of interdiciplinary work has become more and more a question of attitude on the part of scientists toward the effectiveness of their work. The value and the importance of interdisciplinary research work is the result of important objective reasons, for instance, the growing complexity of real processes and tasks, the fact that recipients of research findings are always dealing with the problems in their entire complexity. The interdisciplinary character of research work is responding to the growing interrelationships between scientific-technical, economic and social progress.

3. An increase in the social effectiveness of sociological research means that greater emphasis is to be placed on the contribution to scientific backing of long-term strategies in social developments, the improvement in the management and planning of social processes.

This sociological function will undoubtedly gain in significance today and in the future, because for the continuing establishment of the developed socialist society, the social functioning of the individual areas, processes and groups as well as their increasing interrelationships, their dependency and mutual penetration is of utmost importance for the stability, the functioning and the progress of the entire socialist society. Consequently it is necessary, above all, to provide a foundation of solid knowledge about legalities, its conditions of effectiveness and its usability, about motivating forces, obstructive and helpful influential factors of social attitudes as well as the social and ideological development of the whole and of essential individual areas of the socialist society, but also through the preparation of exact criteria of measuring and assessing developmental levels and the management of social and ideological processes. These prerequisites are essential to furnish concrete information, possible solutions and recommendations for the scientific management activities of the party, the socialist state, the labor unions and other social organizations. It has already been pointed out that the success depends on the degree of well-founded theoretical preparations through research, the quality of theoretical and methodical empirical analyses, the coordination of representative sociological claims with the analysis of progressive practical experiences and the degree to which the sociologist bases his research on his own practical experiences, studies these experiences and makes theoretical generalizations on the basis of such complex analytical activities.

The analysis of the complex conditions under which the legalities are realized as well as the task of not analyzing legalities in sociological research independent of their spatial and temporal manifestations and effective conditions, logically leads to the claim that sociology should not only

formulate statements on social processes which are in progress or have been completed, but it must also produce statements that can be used to establish or substantiate strategic targets which encompass the necessary and adequate conditions for the legal construction of social relations and conditions.

On this basis, it is up to the leaders of the party, the economy or the labor unions to make decisions in various areas, in individual plants and administrations and to establish measures for the solution of the problems. Even the "most practical" sociological theory or recommendation cannot spare the leader the decision. The theory is always a prerequisite, a condition, help for a practical decision, but it is not the decision itself. Seen in this manner, a well-founded sociological theory is practically of much greater significance and it is more effective than the attempt to reduce sociology to the claim of a few separate empirical facts.

4. Altogether it is becoming apparent that in our time the development and the application of the theory are moving closer together. It applies not only to the natural and technological sciences but also to new findings in the social sciences and thus also to sociology. This objective fact leads to the conclusion that practical effectiveness in research is increasing and that the viewpoint of practical experience, the application and utilization of theory in practice as early as the stage of conception and during all other phases of research must be the primary point of orientation for the researcher. In the process, it is also important to observe the characteristics and specific relationship to the practical world as it affects each scientific discipline. One of the most important specific potencies of the Marxist-Leninist sociology, for instance, is to increase its theoretical and practical significance by substantiating special sociological theories on partial areas, partial processes and special social groups--for instance, industry, agriculture, certain territorial units or social gropus and classes--on the basis and by way of preparing the findings of the general sociological theory and of theoretical generalizations of statements representing empirical analyses.

There are many characteristics that are emphasized in sociological literature. They constitute the specifics of sociology, its special powers and its special relationship to practical experiences: empirical research, for instance, which is a fixed component of sociological research, the special apparatus of methods employed by sociology, the complexity of sociological research and also the unique way of formulating results. Aside from the fact that some of these characteristics do no longer apply specifically to sociology alone but that they are used more and more by other social sciences, the specifics and powers of sociology for practical effectiveness are to be substantiated and proven, above all, from the internal structure and from the entire composition of Marxist-Leninist sociology.

When the result of sociological research is to contain conclusions and useful foundations for decisions, for instance, for family policies, educational policies or for the alliance policy of the Marxist-Leninist party or the socialist state, it is necessary to uncover the specific legalities, trends, influential factors, for instance, of the development of the family, of

classes or other social groups in the socialist society and thus formulate special sociological statements, generalizations and theories.[9] It is necessary because most of the time sociology or sociological research is dealing with partial processes, partial areas or special social groups, which are either incorporated into society as a whole or they are part of the whole and characterized through essential determinants and legalities of society as a whole; on the other hand, however, they are also characterized through special or specific conditions, influential factors, connections and legalities, the knowledge of which is of big and growing importance for the management and planning of social processes. As a consequence the preparation of such special sociological theories is one of the main directions and one of the essential conditions to continue the profiling of the sociological theory, to expand its theortetical structure and to make it more practicable for politics.

II. The increase in the social effectiveness of sociology with respect to its contribution to economic and social policies is simultaneously a claim to the continuing development of methodical research activities. More effective methods are to be established to fulfill the tasks to be solved with the highest degree of effectiveness. The methods are to expand already existing statistical data for measuring the level of social phenomena and the influence of other factors in the social development (methods from the perspective of analyzation) and the availability of methods that guarantee the collection of data and provide greater variety (methods from the perspective of data surveys).

During the last few years, surveys and analysis methods which have been used to date for investigations proved to be quite successful in many cases. Nevertheless, a number of empirical investigations revealed that the rule seems to be the computation of relatively simple statistical figures for the illustration of the medium level and the analysis of two-dimensional frequency tables for checking correlations and dependencies. As a result, available methods naturally are not exhausted sufficiently. There are reasons for it, which lately have interfered with the effectiveness of the work. Some of the reasons are:

--still existing unclear concepts among sociologists during the process of changing hypotheses into questions for the empirical analysis, and in addition there is a lack of clarity when it comes to the construction, the structure of the questionnaire and later the analysis;

--inadequate knowledge with respect to some parts and aspects concerning the interpretation procedures used for an analysis of the collected data and for testing the hypotheses;

--too little progress when it comes to the necessary standardization of survey methods for carrying out empirical investigations with a higher degree of repetition;

--the absence of a requirement for expanding survey standards for questioning.

An increase in the effectiveness of sociological research implies that the achieved results are reflected in more profound statements about the level of

social phenomena, about possible factorial effects of a complex nature on social circumstances (for a certain point in time as well as for a certain period of time), about the typical aspects of certain social attitudes and their causes and relationships to other social circumstances etc. All these things present an urgent task to sociologists; they are to lay out the theoretical framework for the many-faceted empirical-sociological investigations in a more qualified manner and to qualify and standardize the methodical composition. For that purpose it is necessary to coordinate the empirical investigation of various sociological institutions more efficiently, to use the same proven indicators for the same circumstances, to make a more reliable selection of objects according to the theoretical and statistical viewpoints, to establish a more precise connection between empirical investigations and other sources of information (statistics, empirical investigations of other social sciences).

Experiences show that noticable progress can be achieved in increasing the effectiveness of sociological research activities when all the available methods of sociological analyses are used. This realization is not always taken to heart in the research process. All too often the methodology of empiric research activities is reduced to the survey method, i.e. the recording of opinions and subjective attitudes. And when these opinions and attitudes resulting from surveys are placed on an equal footing with the real process--on occasion approaches like that are encountered--it has nothing to do with scientific precision or with an increase in the practical effectiveness of sociological research but it leads to the distortion and impoverishment of analytical statements and findings.

The preparation of well-aimed proposals for solutions requires, above all, serious thoughts about how the transition can be made from the mostly quantitative to a more qualitative analysis in sociological research. Even the most representative questioning or interviewing method is not enough to come up with the knowledge of the real causes of the social development of certain contradictions and phenomena unless additional information is provided through qualitative analysis. It is therefore even more imperative that research combines familiar and frequently used methods of representative analyses more and more frequently and ably with other methods, such as case studies, studies and generalizations of the experiences of the best examples, analysis of documents, participative observance, interpretation of experiments and similar methods. It is a way of making the quality of findings and statements concerning sociological research more "representative," timely, profound, realistic and original and of achieving a higher degree of newsworthiness. Although it appears that this type of research consumes a great deal of time, it provides an opportunity to combine quantitative and qualitative analysis activities and to provide a foundation for reaching theoretically well-founded and practicable proposals for management and planning.

An increase in the social effectiveness of sociology is also a claim to the development of an offensive and controversial publication activity. It has been demonstrated again and again that a high value is attached particularly to those publications which provide an opportunity for the reader to follow the logic of the train of thoughts and the dispute with other authors and

which develop an understanding for the presentation and theoretical proof of other opinions. Although it has frequently been simplified and presented as such, it is not a question of whether the entirety of empirical data on which the generalizations are based is also to be published or not, but it is primarily a problem of the quality of theoretical generalizations.

In conclusion, the following statements can be made: An increase in the social effectiveness of sociological research is of prime importance and, above all, a question of the attitude of the sociologist toward his task and his responsibility in the socialist society. The political involvement of sociologists is reflected every day in their research activities. It includes

--the concentration of such research projects that are of special importance for the continuing establishment of a developed socialist society, for the political-ideological work of the party, for the development of the theory of Marxist-Leninist sociology;

--the clearly outlined and defined establishment of goals with respect to new knowledge, practical effectiveness as well as fixed dates and desired results;

--the complete exhaustion for the theoretical foundation of investigations of the already existing and achieved state of knowledge as well as basic theoretical knowledge and also the specific findings regarding the respective research problems;

--an effort to overcome those attitudes that look upon the empirical sociological analysis as an end in itself or also as the [in italics] specifics of sociology and which underestimate the theoretical work and the contribution to the continuing expansion of the sociological theory. The empirical analysis is a source and a crucial means of sociological knowledge, especially when the theoretical generalization of its statements leads to the discovery of new theoretical findings;

--more goal-oriented practical connections by sociologists in the interest of a high practical effectiveness. It has already led to good results in several areas. But at times one comes across the opinion that a survey of empirical data in a plant is already adequate as a practical reference. It is, of course, a narrow opinion. A development of effective practical references, with the goal of increasing the practical effectiveness of sociological research, means that they must be constructed in a manner that they become a tool in finding solutions to problems, help with the accurate formulation of research tasks, include practical problems and experiences when formulating major research projects and the interpretation and generalization of research results and discuss new knowledge gained through research with competent practical partners. It means that the practical partner must not only be an object during the empirical analysis, but he must be a cooperative partner during the entire process of research, from the preparation of the concept to the discussion of the results.

The presented deliberations on the development of the socialist theory and on the increase in capabilities, especially with respect to the practical

effectiveness of sociological research, are derived from essential trends and experiences of sociological activities in the GDR. Some of these considerations have already been tested by sociologists on several occasions during the practical part of research. It does not mean, however, that sociologists are considering them sufficiently during every research program and collective, that they are always taken to heart and applied with complete and accurate knowledge of the facts. Attention must be paid to the fact that the changes that accompany the progress of social practices and the progress that has already been achieved in sociological theory results in an increase in the standards, needs and expectations with respect to capabilities, particularly when it comes to the practical effectiveness of sociology.

FOOTNOTES

1. SED Central Committee report to the 10th SED congress. Reporter: E. Honecker, Berlin, 1981, p 88.

2. Loc. cit., p 91.

3. Cf. R. Weidig, "Aufgaben der marxistisch-leninistischen Soziologie der DDR nach dem X. Parteitag der SED" [Tasks of the Marxist-Leninist Sociology in the GDR According to the 10th SED Rally], DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 12, 1981, p 1444 ff.

4. CF. "Lebensweiss und Sozialstruktur. Materialien des 3. Kongresses der marxist-leninistischen Soziologie in der DDR" [Way of Life and Social Structure. Materials of the Third Congress of Marxist-Leninist Sociology in the GDR], Berlin, 1981.

5. CF. "Grundlagen der marxiststisch-leninistischen Soziologie" [Foundations of Marxist-Leninist Sociology], edited by G. Assmann and R. Stollberg, Berlin, 1977, p 327 ff.

6. F. Engels, "Dialektik der Natur" [Dialectics of Nature], K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol 20, Berlin, 1962, p 395.

7. Loc. cit.

8. R.K. Merton, "Social Theory and Social Structure," Illinois, 1957, p 102.

9. CF. "Grundlagen des historischen Materialismus" [Foundations of Historic Materialism], Authors' collective under the leadership of E. Hahn, Berlin, 1976, p 43 f.

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CLASS DIFFERENCES DEFENDED AGAINST 'ULTRALEFTIST IDEAS OF EQUALITY'

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 30 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 3 May 82) pp 806-813

[Article by Dr Horst Taubert, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee, East Berlin: "Marxist-Leninist Sociology and Bourgeois Sociology on the Problem of Social Inequality"]

[Text] The problem of social inequality (and the possibility of social equality) in human society is still--as it has always been--in the center of the ideological and theoretical controversy between the Marxist-Leninist and the bourgeois sociology. The general sociohistorical and ideological question concerning the extent to which social inequality in the human society is unavoidable, perhaps even necessary or also surmountable and, on the other hand, the question whether social equality can be attained at all and to what extent or whether it is even desirable, cannot be answered outside the controversy between socialism and imperialism. Is it not a fact that the real socialism already proved the existence of a social order in which the most fundamental social inequality--the exploitation of the majority of the people by a ruling minority--has been removed and that traits of social equality have been established which offer to the masses of the people opportunities to unfold their creative powers in dimensions that heretofore were historically unknown? While today's bourgeois ideologues are still saying that the existence of social inequality is an eternal principle and absolutely necessary for the functioning of human society and while they are constantly coming up with new reasons for it, Marxist-Leninist social sciences are approaching the phenomenon from the historical-materialistic point of view, in other words, they are analyzing this problem as one which in insolubly connected with the existence of the respective socioeconomic social function.

Social inequality between people is rooted in the material economic conditions which are objectively determined. The character of these social conditions is determined by the relationship of the working people to production means, the crucial means of human social existence, without which, naturally a social life is not possible and conceivable. According to Marx,[1] the relationship between owners of production conditions and producers is the foundation for the entire social structure and establishes the character of all of its elements, functions and relations. It also defines its general nature.

According to Marx' opinion, the primary reason for inequality in the human society is the ownership principle which is the cause of class differences. wherever production means are the private property of a certain class and the workers are thus subject to exploitation by the owners, all social differences and also inequalities are inherent in this exploitation relationship. The owners of production means, whether they are slaveholders, feudal lords or capitalists, do not only keep for themselves profits of material production, they also have the last word in disputes with the oppressed classes concerning the distribution and utilization of education, culture, political power, privileges of any kind etc., and have at their disposal all political and intellectual-cultural values in a way which is also a manifestation of social inequality. In this manner, Marx' materialistic recognition leads to a consistent conclusion the attitude of J.-J. Rousseau, who based social inequality on private ownership. In his work, "On the Origin and the Foundation of Inequality Among Men," he wrote the famous sentence: "My presentation shows that the inequality which was practically nonexistent in the natural state became a powerful factor as a consequence of the development of our capabilities and the progress of the human intellect, and it spread until finally, with the introduction of private property and laws, it became permanent and legitimate."[2] While Rousseau ascribes /social/ [in italics] inequality to subjective causes--legal and moral--in contrast to natural ones which are also recognized by Marxism, Rousseau, on the other hand, presents consistently scientific--because they are materialistic--reasons for their starting point and thus for their historical basis.

Calling private ownership and the existence of classes the determining element of social inequality does not at all mean, however, that social differences are to be identified with disparities between the classes or that they are to be reduced to such a factor. Inasmuch as the social structure of a society does not exhaust itself in its class structure, social differences exist beyond the class differences or continue to differentiate the social structure. Social differences and, consequently, inequalities are also caused, for instance, by substantial differences in the level of qualification and education, occupational activities and income and living conditions that go along with it. They are influenced by demographic structures and territorial factors. Nevertheless, in a class society these differences are determined by the character of these classes and their reciprocal relations. In the capitalist society, for instance, they have of late been subject to capital utilization interests, in other words, the opposition between capital and labor. It has been confirmed, for instance, by FRG sociologists who are close to labor unions with unequivocal analyses of social structures. In their investigations of structural characteristics of social inequalities, as they manifest themselves in income levels, in education and training, occupational careers and other living conditions, in housing, leisure time etc, the social researchers have come to the conclusion that the economic opposition between capital and labor is "a fundamental structural characteristic." W. Mueller, for instance, confirmed: "Many manifestations of inequality are related to it and particularly with respect to political changes in inequality there are considerable limitations because of capital utilization interests."[3]

Even the social differences that still exist in the socialist society, such as the differences between physical and mental work, between city and country

and many other differences between social groups, are a result of the character of the first phase of the communist formation of society, the classes that still exist and their reciprocal relations: through the leading role of the labor class, the amiable relations between the working class and the class of cooperative farms as well as between the labor class and the intelligentsia and other working classes and through the process of their rapprochement. Social differences also cut across classes and social strata and react to the relationships between them. Their step-by-step reduction but also their partial reproduction influence the process of development and rapprochement between the classes and strata in socialism. But a few bourgeois sociologists do not want to admit it. They do not only claim that social differences and inequalities are intensifying in the socialist societies of the GDR and the USSR as well as other countries of the real socialism, but they also claim that there is a domination by a "new exploiting class." They are drawing the wrong conclusion from the increased activities of Marxist-Leninist sociologists who are showing a greater interest in the role, the extent and the effects of social differences. They accuse these researchers of negating basic Marxist-Leninist precepts or maintain that the class concept turned out to be a useless approach for analyses in the real existing socialism.

Attempts by bourgeois sociologists to evaluate sociostructural phenomena and changes in real socialism as well as their Marxist-Leninist inquiries often revealed the desire to extrapolate manifestations of the current capitalist reality from the viewpoint of ideological-theoretical reflections on our society of different bourgeois sociological trends. An example of this kind can be found in P. Robejsek's article on "Status Inconsistencies in the Socialist Society." He writes: "It is therefore not surprising that economic and social differences were not eliminated in these societies, that the extreme poles of a hierarchy of social strata still exists, that the hierarchy is continuing according to characteristics which are by no means in conformance with the concept of equality (differences in capabilities, flexibility, willingness to accept responsibilities and risks and the like) and that there is no evidence of any chance of social equality."[4] Aside from the obvious ignorance of the author who does not recognize the fundamental social accomplishments, such as the elimination of capitalist exploitation and class domination with its privileges for the owners of capital, the creation of equal educational opportunities for all, the realization of the economic, political and social equalities for women and many other things, he also attributes to socialism false, ultraleftist equality concepts, as many others have done before him. For this purpose they simply take individual, personal differences which, naturally, socialism cannot and does not want to eliminate and they call them instances of /social/ [in italics] inequality.

Aside from the controversy over such distortions, a critical analysis is urgently needed of all the different concepts and theories of social inequality, particularly of those that are currently prevalent in the FRG. Our contribution will have to remain within the framework of this article and be limited to major trends and their representatives.

It is unmistakable that during the 1970's social scientists turned to empirical analysis and theoretical reflections and occupied themselves

intensively with problem of social inequality. K. H. Hoerning, for instance, gave the following reasons in a collection of writings edited by him: "Following a vehement phase of 'rediscovery of social inequality even in industrial societies of social-welfare states, a sociology is called for to deal with this inequality."[5] And subsequently he says what is important to the bourgeois sociology: "Not the reduction of social differences as such is the problem for these societies but the fact that under certain premises of freedom of unequal people and the functional prerequisites of innovative societies, the /appropriate measure of social inequality/ [in italics] or equality carries within itself the social virulence as well as the sociological challenge."[6] R. Dahrendorf, for instance, accepted this "challenge" with his book "Chances of Life."

Theoretical attempts of this nature must be viewed within the political context of the dispute between social reformists, social-liberals and reactionary conservatives in which the problem of social equality and inequality and of "freedom" is playing an important part. FRG sociologists who are close to the reactionary-conservative forces, for instance, H. Schelsky, E. K. Scheuch and H. Schoeck, justify the existing unequal social structure and even malign the timorous attempts at social reforms and related sociological efforts, for instance, to provide greater equality of opportunity. They denounce them as "socialist" or even "communist"--and it is done in "scientific" literature as well as in the mass media. H. Schoeck, professor of sociology at the University of Mainz, gives an example for it in his book, "The Right to Inequality," in which he defends demagogically the "free market economy" and the "free enterprise system" against the danger of Western "Marxist-socialist equality fanatics" and he calls for a crusade for "freedom" and against communism.[7] According to Dahrendorf, the "significance of the alliance between liberalism and socialism has been exhausted," now the danger is "the threat to freedom through a false egalitarianism."[8]

This shift to the right on the part of Dahrendorf and a few other FRG bourgeois sociologists is symptomatic at a time when the appearance of a great number of cyclical and chronical crises reveals more and more sharply and openly the weaknesses of the capitalist economic and social system. Inflation, growing state debts and especially a rapidly rising unemployment rate are an expression of the failure of the reform programs of the much-praised social-welfare state. And at the same time the ideologues of the rightwing faction of the monopoly bourgeoisie want to be heard. E.G. Vetter, the economic and social expert of the upper middleclass FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, for instance, writes: "To be sure, for a long time the powerful productivity of the free economy concealed the dangers of welfare excesses and the distortion of the liberal order. But now the correction of wrong developments is inevitable....Whoever wants to eliminate the consequences of a wrong welfare-state policy--which points toward socialism--must denounce the ideology which is behind it."[9]

As a consequence the social-reformist social policy is caught in the cross fire of conservative, reactionary economists and sociologists, who are praising social inequality in the name of "freedom," as Schoeck is doing, for instance: "The political, state or so-called social measures that rob certain

people in the name of equality of certain things, opportunities, successes, profits etc. to make others happy by giving them something, are certainly not doing one thing: They are not making the affected people equal, they are not making them feel equal, but the more fanatic, the more consistent and the more energetic they are, these people in power who are trying to equalize the population, the more every person whill cherish every little bit that remains of inequality which eluded the equalizers."[10]

Social inequality is the key to the "self-realization of the individual," which, however, also includes a new value orientation. A certain A. Surminski, for instance, writes in the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: "The new social policy requires a different order of values with respect to the concepts of work, effectiveness, income," and he gives the following reasons: "If in doubt, a higher income is the reward for an individual who does more for society. Furthermore, a new social policy also must include a tax system that does not punish productivity."[11] In this respect not only the voices of the conservative parties, the CDU and the CSU, can be clearly heard, but a general trend is emerging, which is typical of today's ideological manipulation in the mass media and in literature; it is aimed at the unemployed, to make them feel that their fate is their own fault; it also is intended to get more work out of those who are still employed and to promote free enterprise initiatives.

The theoretical efforts of sociologists with respect to the problem of social inequality or equality are to be considered and evaluated in the context of the economic and ideological situation. Accordingly, approaches are surfacing or again becoming fashionable in an attempt to explain the phenomenon of social inequality and its causes.

One of the major trends for the sociological explanation and justification of social inequalities in the capitalist society is still the structural functionalism. T. Parsons, one of its major representatives, declared that the system of various social levels is an expression of the "valid value system of society" and also the differences in the distribution of goods and positions as a "means of functionability and stability" of the respective social system which manifests itself in the social strata system. The social inequality, the permanence of which is postulated by Parsons as well as by others, is therefore always an element of stability, as a matter of fact, it is a necessity for its guarantee, in other words: for the preservation of the existing capitalist order. To be sure, due to changes in public opinion that occurred during the 1960's with respect to equality and inequality, Parsons tried himself to introduce a new formulation of his theory. Later he emphasized above all the balance between the forces and trends of equality and inequality in society.[12]

In 1966 the American sociologist G. Lenski undertook the attempt of a so-called synthesis between a structural-functional analysis of social strata and a conflict theory in the work, "Power and Privilege--a Theory of Social Stratification." Proceeding from the general thesis that the distribution of goods and services is the foundation of the social strata system, he arrives at the conclusion that technological progress is producing a trend which will

eliminate or reduce social differences, and the consequence will be a more egalitarian society.[14] Since Lenski comes to the realization, however, that technological progress is not able to explain sufficiently the differences in the strata system, he adds the differences in the political organization, in the ideology and in the characteristics of political leaders as an independent variable affecting the distribution of power and privileges.

In general, it is a typical characteristic of the bourgeois social structure research, according to which the problem of political power, the power of the state is presented as a dominant, relatively independent element in the social structure. An example is supplied by Hoerning, when he wants to trace down the problem of social inequality. "Thus, social inequality in all of its manifestations points to typical differences in 'power' (an opportunity to mobilize resources for certain solutions to problems) and 'privilege' (possession or control of valuable means of a material or normative kind)."[15] The refuge in the phenomenon of power as an explanation for social inequality and an attempt to regulate the preservation of this social structure--something which can be found in the writings of Dahrendorf and other conflict theoreticians--is the logical consequnce of bourgeois social structure attitudes that are based on the theory of the industrial society. Because the development of the division of labor and technology cannot be used as the only reasons for explaining the social-structural changes with its consequences of distribution, when the problems of private ownership in production means is played down or disregarded as a basis for the social inequality which is manifested in the social structure. It also negates the historical and timely role of classes and the class struggle with respect to social inequality and equality. The above-mentioned publication by Dahrendorf, "Chances in Life," also points in this direction. He added the subtitle, "Approaches to a Social and Political Theory," and wants to overcome the "formalism of earlier theoretical works."[16] The "chances in life," which he calls "molded forms of human existence" in society[17] and considers the substratum of social structures,[18] is to be the "moving force of social processes." The decisive role in the expansion and creation of chances in life for more people in modern society is no longer played by the classes and the class struggle,[19] but the "individual and his motives and interests" are the "motivation force of social development."[20] Dahrendorf, who had called private property conditions and the class struggle a special case of the conflict in his conflict theory,[21] is now saying that the class struggle has lost its social force on the entire society because of mobility and splits and that the class struggle is now taking on a character which only relates to specific situations.[22] And in an article which has the highly suggestive title of "Class Struggle Without Classes?" he writes: "Social interest situations are no longer simple and restricted to one issue, but they are many-faceted and can be contradictory ....The 'new social question' is not a question of certain neglected groups; rather it is a question of all groups."[23]

The gist of these theoretical efforts is the claim that the labor class is in the process of dissolution; it is being made to be able to refute again the thesis of the labor class' historical mission. The ideological function of this approach of bourgeois sociology is revealing itself openly. After eliminating class opposition and class struggle in this manner, a question is

simply placed on the agenda, how the chances of life can be preserved for the individual on the road to liberal conflict solutions--according to the old saying, "Everyone is responsible for making his own fortune." A strong statement in view of the continuing redistribution of national income in favor of the monopoly capital in the major countries of imperialism. In the process --supported by the producers of representative activities, i.e. new ideas, discoveries and inventions[24]--that state is to practice justice with respect to distribution according to the liberal--no longer very social--market economy. In other words, Dahrendorf and other bourgeois sociologists are only concerned with preserving a degree of social injustice which does not endanger this order.

A suitable characterization of the concerted action between state politics and established sociology for the manipulation of the consciousness of social justice stems from K. U. Mayer and W. Mueller: "It is one of the basic assumptions of social-theoretical drafts of any provenance that especially in nontraditional societies social inequalities in the distribtuion of material, political and symbolic advantages need just as much a special legitimation as do social inequalities with respect to various privileges or neglected positions...inequalities in the social arena, however, can be omitted from criticism the more successfully, the more just the factually effective mechanisms of status classifications appear....If these assumptions are correct, and the political rhetoric of social, tax and educational policies seem to indicate at least the effectiveness of appropriate legitimation principles, the relationship between social injustice and belief in legitimation can be considered as one of the crucial problems of a macro-sociologically oriented sociology, in addition to and combined with the problems of economic control and taxation as well as those of political order."[25] Nevertheless, the legitimation of social injustice, or the necessary or bearable measure of it, is always subject to concrete economic and political conditions.

In addition to the above-mentioned sociologists, who in the present situation of the late capitalistic society support the reactionary, conservative forces that are condoning the growing social injustice within this class society and an injustice which is felt more and more strongly by the masses, we do by no means want to forget those non-Marxist representatives who are relentlessly uncovering essential elements, factors and causes of social injustice in their research[26] and consequently articulating the interests of the broad working masses. In this respect it is significant that Marx' class concept is increasingly being applied in such analyses; as a consequence, it is evident that structural-functionalistic approaches are no longer helpful in finding a valid explanation for the real intensification of social inequality. Although Mueller and others, as has been indicated above, affirm the fundamental class opposition between capital and labor for the FRG and use the class concept in their analyses, as bourgeois sociologists--although they are realistic-progressive--they cannot fully accept the dialectical-materialistic attitude that any form of private ownership of production means determines the existence of classes and their reciprocal relations; in their opinion, they are no longer adequate. As a consequence they are turning to Weber's thesis which deals with the chances in life as dependent on market conditions, using

it as a class criterion. Accordingly, the possession or nonpossession of production means presents only /one/ [in italics] possible aspect.[27] Other chances of life are a result of differences in education, occupational qualifications and type of occupation, in other words, so-called income possibilities on the market. It leads to a great number of class distinctions. Of course, it is necessary to find out the internal differences within the labor class that result from the progress of productive forces and the division of labor and to determine their social effectiveness. In this respect, differences in income levels, in education, qualifications and work demands play an important role, but also age and sex are of significance in the social inequality and social attitude of various groups.

The theoretical inconsistency of these social scientists, who uncover in their analyses the social consequences and weaknesses of the economic crises of the capitalist system during a period of generally deepening crisis, is based on a one-sided opinion and interpretation of the Marxist, dialectical-materialistic understanding of social inequalities and on the attempt of an exlectic adulteration with Weber's concept of chances in the marketplace and in life. In this manner, even progressive and realistically thinking younger sociologists who are trying to be receptive to Marx' findings are joining the position which declares that for the present the Marxist theory is obsolete, it is rigid and in need of revision. The accusation that Marxism ignores many chances in the marketplace and in life subject to education, qualifications, division of labor, market conditions, in other words, chances that are affected by structural changes and by the economy and, furthermore, the accusation that Marxism looks at class differences only from one aspect--the relationship to production means--forgets the fact that Marx and Marxist-Leninists look upon the relationship between owners of production conditions and producers only as a foundation of the social structure and its inherent social differences, contrasts and, consequently, inequality; inequality is not reduced to this aspect which, on the other hand, is the most essential factor.

Following Weber's market chances theory, however, which is also quoted by Dahrendorf, negates the decisive role of production conditions. If the social stratification, according to claims by the structural functionalism, is concerned with the distribution of scarce goods and values such as education, income, position, prestige, which can only be regulated in various ways--for instance, through social control, appropriate norms, the settlement of conflicts, various forms of power and state etc.--we can already recognize an opinion of the bourgeois economy that was already criticized by Marx, an opinion which makes the distribution conditions a foundation of the social structure, the classes and thus also of social inequality.

The relationship between production and distribution was clearly presented by Marx in his "Introduction to Criticism of Political Economics," when he discussed the attempt that was made to separate distribution conditions from production conditions. "The distribution conditions and ways seem to be... nothing but the reverse of production agents. An individual who participates in production as a wage earner, participates in products, the results of production, in the form of wages. The organization of the distribution is

completely determined by the organization of production. The organization itself is a product of production, not only because of its function, according to which the results of production can be distributed, but also because of its form, according to which a certain kind of participation in production determines the special forms of distribution, the form which establishes the participation in the distribution."[28]

The unequal positions which are occupied by wage earners in the capitalist marketplace and which determine their chances in life are therefore not primarily dependent on education, qualifications, abilities and the current market situation but on the existence as a wage earner who must sell his labor to the owner of the production means. Naturally, the above-mentioned factors also play an important role, but the determining social condition for the "unequal chances in life" is still the relationship between capital and labor.

To be sure, a social-reformist policy which is based on sociological analyses and recommendations can serve as a temporary palliative to treat the most obvious forms of social inequality and it can reduce the feeling of social injustice. It cannot, however, put an end to the growing general crisis and the cyclical crisis which is related to it as well as its social consequences, something that is currently quite apparent in the FRG and other capitalist countries. On the contrary, it must accept the idea that social achievements which were attained under the pressure of the struggle of the organized labor class to eliminate obvious social injustices are now used by the opponents of these measures and even labeled as the causes of the economic crises and state debts, or the economic recession and the lack of international competitiveness. The incantation, "Threat to freedom by too much equality," and the demand for "more inequality" are used as alleged stimuli by today's reactionary conservative forces and social scientists to lead the general attack on the living conditions of the working masses. It follows, of course, that even the modest efforts by sociologists to help the social welfare state are doomed to failure. H. Schelsky, an FRG sociologist who is close to the CDU, calls leftwing sociologists "proclaimers of salvation," he denounces them as socialists who want to hand over the society to communism.[29]

The defamation of the striving of the masses for social justice, for the elimination of social inequality, which has been perpetuated by capitalism, is an important component of today's libel campaign against the socialist society. Also, there is the argument about the destruction of human individualism in the real existing socialism, an argument from the arsenal of mental manipulation which is used tirelessly to discipline the masses in the capitalist reality of our days. In light of these facts, it is even more important to analyze the changes that are part of the trend of growing social equality in the socialist society with respect to the movement and the role of social differences and to promote and identify the growth of creative powers and abilities of members of all classes, levels of society and social groups.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. K. Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol 3, K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol 25, Berlin, 1968, p 799 f.

2. J.-J. Rousseau, "Ueber den Ursprung und die Grundlagen der Ungleichheit unter den Menschen," [On the Origin and the Foundation of Inequality Among Men], Berlin, 1955, p 125.

3. J. Handl, K. U. Mayer and W. Mueller, "Klassenlagen und Sozialstruktur" [Class Differences and Social Structure], Frankfurt/Main and New York, 1977, p 100.

4. P. Robejsek, "Statusinkonsistenz in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" [Status Inconsistencies in the Socialist Society], KOELNER ZEITSCHRIFT FUER SOZIOLOGIE UND SOCIALPSYCHOLOGIE, no 4, 1980, p 673.

5. K. H. Hoerning, "Vorbemerkung" [Preface] in "Soziale Ungleichheit, Strukturen und Prozesse sozialer Schichten" [Social Inequality, Structures and Processes of Social Stratification], edited by K. H. Hoerning, Darmstadt/Neuwied, 1976, p 7.

6. Loc cit.

7. Cf. H. Schoeck, "Das Recht of Ungleichheit" [The Right to Inequality], Munich, 1979, p 308 ff.

8. R. Dahrendorf, "Lebenschancen. Anlaeufe zu einer sozialen und politischen Theorie" [Chances in Life. Approaches to a Social and Political Theory], Frankfurt/Main, 1979, p 140.

9. E. G. Vetter, "Weder sozial noch liberal," [Neither Social nor Liberal], FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 12 Oct 1981.

10. H. Schoeck, "Warum sollen alle dieselbe Suppe loeffeln?--Ueber das Recht auf Ungleichheit" [Why Should Everybody East the Same Soup?--On the Right to Inequality], DIE WELT, 18 Aug 1979.

11. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 22 Sep 1981, p 19.

12. Cf. T. Parsons, "Equality and Inequality in Modern Society or Social Stratification Revisited," in Social Stratification: Research and Theory for the 1970's, edited by E. O. Laumann, Indianapolis/New York, 1970, p 13.

13. R. Dahrendorf, "Konflikt und Freiheit. Auf dem Wege zur Dienstklassengesellschaft" [Conflict and Freedom. On the Road to a Service Class Society], Munich, 1972, pp 13, 44.

14. Cf. G. Lensky, "Macht und Privileg--eine Theorie der sozialen Schichtung" [Power and Pirvilege--a Theory of Social Stratification], Frankfurt/Main, 1973, p 407.

15. K. H. Hoerning, "Vorbemerkung," loc. cit., p 18.

16. R. Dahrendorf, "Lebenschancen," loc. cit., p 20.

17. Cf. loc. cit., p 24 f.

18. Cf. loc. cit., p 80.

19. Cf. loc. cit., p 159 f.

20. Loc. cit.

21. Cf. R. Dahrendorf, "Konflict und Freiheit," loc. cit., pp 13, 79.

22. Cf. R. Dahrendorf, "Lebenschancen," loc. cit., p 160.

23. R. Dahrendorf, "Klassenkampf ohne Klassen?" [Class Struggle Without Classes?], DIE ZEIT, 12 Sep 1980, p 9.

24. Cf. R. Dahrendorf, "Lebenschancen," loc. cit., p 224.

25. K. U. Mayer and W. Mueller, "Soziale Ungleichheit, Prozesse der Statuszuweisung und Legitimitaetsglaube" [Social Inequality, Processes of Status Assignment and Belief Legitimation], in "Sociale Ungleichheit, Strukturen und Prozesse sozialer Schichtung" [Social Inequality, Structures and Processes of Social Stratification], p 109 f.

26. Cf., for instance, J. Handl, K. Y. Mayer and W. Mueller, "Klassenlagen und Sozialstruktur" loc. cit.; F. Klanberg, "Armut und soziale Ungleichheit in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland" [Poverty and Social Inequality in the FRG], Frankfurt/Main and New York, 1979; W. Zapf, "Lebensbedingungen in der FRF" [Living Conditions in the FRG], Frankfurt/Main, 1977.

27. Cf. J. Handl, K. U. Mayer W. Mueller, "Klassenlagen und Sozialstruktur," loc. cit., p 21 f.

28. K. Marx, "Einleitung zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie" [Introduction to Criticism of Political Economics], K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, vol 13, Berlin, 1961, p 627.

29. Cf. H. Schelsky, "Die Arbeit tun die anderen. Klassenkampf und die Priesterherrschaft der Intellektuellen" [The Work Is Done by Others. Class Struggle and the Hierarchy of Intellectuals], Munich, 1977, p 256 ff.

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MILITARY TRAINING SEEN AFFECTED BY CONSERVATION NEEDS

West German Commentary

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 20 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Michael Mara, staff writer: "National People's Army (NVA) Also Hit by Forced Conservation--GDR Armament Burdens Have Increased--Savings Required Without Reduction in Combat Strength." Translation of the interview with NVA Maj Gen Siegfried Graefe and the East Berlin VOLKSARMEE article, both cited below, follow this commentary]

[Text] Military expenditures pose a growing problem for the GDR. In spite of "complicated conditions" in foreign trade and other economic problems, the "policy of main goal," which is aimed at economic growth and a rise in the standard of living, is to be continued, while military expenditures are simultaneously to be increased. However, it is becoming ever more difficult for the leadership in East Berlin to pursue all these goals at once. The GDR deputy defense minister and chief of technology and armament of the NVA, Col Gen Wrrner Fleissner, stated in a lapidary fashion in the military publication MILITAERWESEN that "armament is of course a burden on the production processes" in the GDR and the other socialist states.

Military expenditures have increased, especially in recent years. In 1980 and 1981, the GDR had an above-average increase in expenditures for the NVA. The approximately 8 percent increase was clearly above that of the two previous years (5 percent). Military expenditures have also increased more quickly than the gross national product, and this development is likely to continue in 1982 in spite of the difficult economic situation: planned is a 5.7 percent increase to almost 11 billion marks, while only a 4.8 percent increase is projected for the gross national product, and it is questionable whether the GDR can even achieve this goal: in the first 6 months of 1982, the gross national income rose only by 3 percent. This increase is the lowest it has been in a long time.

As of late, the military leadership in East Berlin no longer tries to conceal the fact that the economic situation necessitates consequences never before known in the military. In the last edition of MILITAERTECHNIK, e.g., the NVA's chief of transportation, Maj Gen Siegfried Graefe, emphasized that "the gross national product is the one and only source of the material and

financial funds which can be made available for assuring and continuing the social programs, the development of the material-technical basis and the further strengthening of military protection." These funds, according to the general, "set limitations for each other on a mutual basis." An increase in effectiveness is therefore the essential problem of all actions, civilian as well as military.

In order to emphasize this, the military leadership in East Berlin mentioned the much-cited NVA slogan that only a good economizer can be a good military leader. In this connection, the East Berlin military publication VOLKSARMEE wrote in an editorial published last week that the GDR army is also subject to economic laws and that the gross national product "had to be used as wisely and economically as possible" in view of the changed conditions. It is necessary to solve every military mission" in as economical a way as possible" and to increase effectiveness in all military areas."

The military publication explained in detail what is meant by this: the spectrum of the tasks is as wide as the resources required. "The effective utilization of armament and equipment and of existing structures etc." was first on their list, which involves "an increased user distribution of armament and equipment through a more systematic training approach and the employment of practical training methods, better care and maintenance of the technology with the full utilization or possible increase of its service life, as well as the avoidance of damages and loss through the consistent adherence to military regulations."

More Effective "Economization of Materials"

Secondly, according to VOLKSARMEE, even greater efforts must be made to lower the consumption of fuel, lubricants, energy, water and replacement parts. The key point of a more effective "economization of materials" is the establishment of reasonable quotas, or rather, the adherence to or planned lowering of existing quotas. To achieve the highest degree of effectiveness, repair work and other material work would have to be realized as soon as planning and use of the financial means become available.

Armament chief Fleissner cited above also made himself very clear in MILITAERWESEN. It is necessary to proceed in the NVA as well as in industry under military contracts with the "highest measurable degree of effectiveness and frugality in the fulfillment of all tasks set ou in the orders and directives of the minister." For example, the planned for domestic GDR arms production "must be realized with a reduction of funds." In the GDR army itself, every measure must be judged as a matter of principle not only in terms of whether it would be necessary for success in combat, but also whether it can be "justified in view of economic criteria."

Criticism of Cost of Transportation

Accordingly, in the field of transportation--so Maj Gen Siegfried Graefe--it is important not only to "limit transportation to the degree absolutely necessary for the fulfillment of military missions, but also to choose the economically most feasible mode of transportation, particularly to minimize

space and time required for transportation." In this connection priorities in military transportation would be checked and improved through stricter criteria and quota, "which correspond better to the new economic conditions."

The GDR's military leadership wants to achieve this way "savings of considerable dimensions" without, however, giving up any of the planned armament or increase in combat strength and combat readiness. In addition, deputy defense minister Fleissner sees in the realization of a strict frugal policy a good preparation for war and for the task of dealing a devastating blow to the enemy, because strict budgeting of resources is also known to be a requirement in war."

NVA Transportation Chief Interview

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, 1982 (signed to press 13 May 82) pp 169-171

[Interview with Maj Gen Siegfried Graefe, National People's Army (NVA) Transportation System, by MILITAERTECHNIK editorial staff, on the occasion of the military-economic conference of the Military Transportation System in March 1982 (place of interview not given): "For Great Effectiveness and Economy in Providing Transportation for the NVA"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Major General! The tasks to be mastered in the 1980's place higher demands on the transportation system. What specific military-economic requirements result from this for the members of the NVA and what else must be taken into consideration in this connection?

[Answer] At the Tenth SED Congress and the Twelvth Conference of Delegates of SED organizations in the NVA and the GDR border troops, it was shown that, under the changed conditions of the 1980's, the further increase of the material and cultural standard of living of the people and the maintenance of peace require an increase in economic productivity as never before. I see as part of this the universal strengthening of our defense capability. It is important to thwart all efforts by imperialism to gain military superiority, to allocate the necessary funds for this, to use them to the best advantage, and at the same time to continue our policy of main mission.

This can only be done if cost effectiveness is continuously improved in all areas of the military as well, and if the effectiveness of all our political and military activities is further increased.

Our military-economic conference and its goals follow, if I may say so, this course of complying with the economic requirements which result in all areas of our economy in the next few years, according to guidelines given by the secretary general of the SED Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker, before the first secretaries of kreis governments. It is also fully in agreement with the military-economic scope of tasks set by the minister for national defense, Army General Heinz Hoffmann, in June 1981, for leading political and party cadres, and by the deputy minister for national defense and chief political administrator, Col Gen Heinz Kessler, at the conference of secretaries of basic SED organizations in the NVA in February 1982.

The growing significance of military-economic work arises from the fact that the gross national product is the sole source of material and financial funds available for assuring and continuing social programs, the development of the material-technical base and the further strengthening of military protection. These funds set mutual limitations for each other. Increasing effectiveness has therefore become the fundamental problem of all civilian and military activities. This was even more urgently expressed in the Politbureau's report and during the debate about the draft of the Five-Year-Plan at the third session of our party's Central Committee than it had been at the tenth party congress. To achieve even better results with fewer resources is a requirement of our time!

[Question] The requirement for greater effectiveness, for greater cost effectiveness, applies to all areas of our society, as you can guess. It is essential for the correct classification of economic work that it be seen in its entirety and its complexity. Our question: what main directions of military-economic work in the area of military transportation--in unified political and military education and training--must be followed even more closely in order to achieve the required improvements?

[Answer] OUr concrete tasks as members of the NVA military transportation system consist in guaranteeing a high degree of leadership and combat readiness in headquarters, troups and installations as well as a high level of preparation in the transportation system for securing the transportation of military movements with few financial and material resources and in a short time period. Fulfilling this mission requires and demands new ideas, conscientious work and initiative from every one of us. In this connection, I would like to enumerate the following five main directions for the preparation for and execution of transportation work:

1. Military-economic tasks can only be recognized and properly solved by one who is ready and capable of doing so. As in every other area, man is the most important factor. Only he can find military-economic solutions, make decisions and carry them out. For that reason it is necessary to educate and enable all members of the military transportation system to think and act in military-economic terms. This is not a special task of merely individual training and continued training courses, but rather a mission of education and training which must be carried out by all superiors, teachers and trainers--of course in accordance with their specialites and based on close cooperation with party, FDJ and labor organizations.

The consistent consideration of military-economic aspects in the material to be taught, the education to economic thinking and acting, is only one connection between training and military-economy. A second, also very influential factor on the cost effectiveness ratio is achieved by the fact that the training process itself uses material, financial and time resources. One must not only teach military-economic knowledge, but also practice it in training. These requirements on training have considerable military-economic effects. Possible ways to realize them are:

a. Complex training as main form of combat training;

b. efficient use of all training resources;

c. greater use of simulators, training vehicles and models;

d. differentiated planning and determination of km and motor hrs for training; and

e. solving military-economic tasks under consideration of training as determined in training programs.

2. Military transportation has very essential economic effects. It is important to place strict limitations on transportation, to the extent absolutely necessary for fulfilling the military mission, to make realistic plans for it, to choose the economically most feasible mode of transportation, and to minimize transportation costs, especially in terms of capacity and user time. In addition, it must be pointed out that, when using civilian means and ways of transportation, it must be organized in such a way that effects on the civilian transportation system are kept at a minimum.

3. In accordance with the requirements of national defense, it is further necessary to find those transportation measures which are actually necessary, to establish their priority and to carry them out as economically as possible. It has been proven repeatedly that some expensive measures, which may appear necessary at first, can be eliminated. In this connection I would like to remind of bridge checks. Specialists have proven that many bridges are suited for increased stress if safe load reserves are exhausted and prescribed parameters are observed.

4. When equipping our troups with technology and using technology and equipment of the military transportation system, we must increase its state of readiness and avoid defects through effective methods of use, care, maintenance, repair and storage.

5. In the financial-economic work of organizations, headquarters, troups and military transportation system installations, we must place the emphasis on even better planning, frugal use of resources in fulfilling all quotas and the avoidance of defects and losses.

These five main directiions of military-economic work of the military transportation system must be taken into consideration in the future work of all superiors and become a permanent part of all competition and innovation movements. The motto from the 12th conference of delegates: "We cannot be good military leaders without being good economizers," means that every one in his own specialty and in dealing with any type of task must recognize and consciously take into consideration military-economic aspects.

[Question] The main directions in military-economic work given by you here are--in our opinion--not only significant for the regiments, companies and installations directly under your command or assigned to you. They are also greatly influenced by transportation measures of branches, divisions and regulations of the NVA. What should be emphasized in this connection?

[Answer] We need greater complexity in military-economic thinking and acting of each individual. We must, more than before, see beyond the limits of the brzirk, the regiment or the division. This is especially true for the transportation tasks because they can only be solved in close cooperation with the civilian transportation system. It is important that all measures are properly classified, which means that all personnel, financial and material resources must be used where they can most rapidly result in the increased combat readiness of our divisions and regiments, as well as assuring the constancy of our transportation routes.

The common goal must consist of lowering the costs of preparation, organization and operation of military transportation and marches. This means the choice of the most economical means of transportation while completely fulfilling the militarily necessary missions. In this connection we will check the minimum distances as determined in the military transportation regulations and replace them with more objective criteria and norms, which correspond better to the new economic conditions.

The growing tasks of the NVA and the GDR toward troups must under no circumstances lead to a further increase in transportation capacity. For example, the lowering of vehicle limitations must not simply lead to a proportionate increase in railroad requirements. It is important to lower the (overall) specific capacity requirement in regiments, divisions, military bezirks, headquarter of branches and in the installations, in close cooperation with military transportation system headquarters, and to make better use of the available capacity. There must be better planning of transportation capacity and freight cars must carry at least one ton per double axle more in military transportation. The freight cars saved that way are available for additional transportation tasks.

At present, the railroad system still shows a discrepancy of more than 6 tons per double axle between capacity and actual use. The criteria for troup transport is rarely the full utilization of weight capacity, but rather usually the use of surface capacity; there still are reserves which often result from an impractical distribution of arms and equipment in freight cars.

More attention must also be paid to tendencies in frieght train building, which becomes apparent in--among other things--an increase in pivot-mounted cars with the resulting reduction in loading capacity per axle. It is absolutely necessary to balance this type of freight car by loading it with several vehicles or vehicles with trailers. In addition, the possibility of loading above the bumpers must be better utilized.

[Question] From all this is can be seen that there are many military-economic starting points. In closing, we ask that you give our readers a few pointers to observe in this connection when carrying out Regulation 20/81 by the minister for national defense.

[Answer] The economic results of Regulation 20/81 are totally positive. During the last training year, the regiments and companies under my command have saved approximately 20,000 liters of gas and diesel fuel and nearly 40,000 marks in electrical energy and coal, as well as having procured 230 tons of scrap material. In January and February of 1982 alone, the Bruno Schramm regiment saved 260 tons of lignite briquets. At the conference, I was able to praise this regiment in the name of the GDR Council of Ministers as "model energy-saving regiment" for its years of achievements. The first results from the third session of the SED Central Committee indicate that this year we will presumably save 95,000 marks in repair costs for military transportation system equipment.

These results, which I am citing as examples for many good achievements, are very promising. But what has been achieved is not yet that which can be achieved. In the coming months and years it is important that we carry out the conclusions and suggestions worked out during our conference for the effective use of personnel, material and financial resources. All directives must focus even more on military-economic problems in order to achieve optimal cost effectiveness, especially when using up reserves and carrying out a strict savings regimen and discipline. In general, guaranteeing stability and authority of the plan is part of the minister's demand which must be complied with even better in the future.

When making decisions, even greater cost effectiveness must be achieved through comparison with alternatives in order to find the militarily and economically most advantageous means. Analysis and control activities should be increased in order to recognize problems early. All EDV resources and potential are to be used even more extensively.

Military-economic questions must also be taken more into consideration in socialist competition and innovation work, and in its evaluation.

The concrete tasks resulting from our conference require ever new initiatives as well as a creative application of the insights gained. We members of the NVA military transportation system will not fight in this alone, but together with the commanders in the branches of services and the GDR border troups, our Soviet comrades-in-arms and our civilian partners.

Emphasis on 'Good Economizer'

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 33, 1982 (signed to press 9 Aug 82) p 3

[Article by Prof Dr Siegfried Schoenherr, colonel: "Soldiering--A Wide Field for Economy: An Offensive for Great Effectiveness--hat Is the Spirit of the Fourth Session of the SED Central Committee--Discussing a Few Economic Consequences in the Unit"]

[Text] Who is not familiar with the demand of our 12th SED delegate conference--that only a good economizer can be a good soldier.

But do we understand this demand in all its consequences? Can we turn it into reality in everyday troup life?

Let us say it once more: to be a good economizer means not only to think and act economically in industry and agriculture, it also means, e.g. to help reaching two additional daily productions by the end of the year and thus increasing the gross national product by exceeding the quota. One must also be a good economizer where the gross national product--after it has been produced and redistributed--is used, that means also in the NVA companies and regiments.

Soldiers, Too, Are Subject to the Laws of Economy

The economic production process represents a uniform whole. By using our modern arms and equipment, various means of consuming, by making use of the time of soldiers and civilians, requiring various services, we ust the gross national product. In this respect we as soldiers become part of the economic cycle and are subject to its laws. "Wherever the gross national product is being used, this must be done as effectively and frugally as possible," was a demand by the secretary general of the SED Central Committee, Erich Honecker, at the fourth plenary session. What is at present especially important if we, as good soldiers, want to also be good economizers? The tasks are as widely different as the resources which we are using in order to fulfill our class mission.

In the first place is certainly the more effective use of arms and equipment, structures etc.--that means the highly effective use of the basic defense budget. This means also better balancing in armament and equipment through the complex training system and the use of effecient training methods, an improvement in the care and maintenance of technology, the reasonable extension of the useful life of equipment, as well as the avoidance of defects and losses due to the consistent observation of military regulations.

Especially defects and losses continue to amount to considerable sums annually. This means more than just lost combat strength and combat readiness; it also means lost gross national income. Military defects therefore always represent an economic loss. Even when they are "repaired," they not only weaken the unit, but also the people's economy.

The NVA's material economy contributes highly to the guaranty of military-economic effectiveness. Especially under the changed foreign economic situation (increasing prices for raw materials) and the more difficult domestic economic conditions, it can become the decisive factor in whether we can fulfill our military missions with the least amount of economic expenditures.

Minimum Material-Economic Norms are Part of "Good Behavior"

It is obvious that we must do more to improve the methods of planning, accounting for, analyzing and controlling the use of fuel, lubricants, energy, water and spare parts. Much depends on optimizing the various transportation, transfer and storage processes. There are still considerable reserves in regenerating replacement parts and recycling of raw materials. The crucial point will be the establishment of reasonable quotas, or the

compliance with or reasonable bettering of existing quotas. Being able to get along on minimum quotas must be part of the "good behaviour" of every soldier.

A good economizer is therefore not only the soldier who effectively plans and accounts for hundreds of thousands of marks, but also the one who thinks about the economic consequences when he pushes the gas pedal.

In order to guarantee the combat strength of our companies and regiments, many different services must be made use of, especially maintenance, communication and transportation services. Part of these services, such as troup maintenance, are military.

As a rule, material services also constitute the use of the gross national product. They are also subject to the economic laws of time and thus must be used with the highest degree of efficiency. This means not only the best possible use of maintenance installations and an increase in work productivity, or a lowering of non-productive time; this also includes timely delivery of repaired or to-be-repaired technology in the economy and taking full advantage of the useful life of the technology, etc.

Work Economy Important for Combat Training

To be a good economizer as a soldier means to use every training hour effectively, to assure maximum participation in training, as well as good preparation. This means that one can speak of a highly economic work which must be guaranteed. Combat training is the main job of the soldier. Where, if not there, should he prove himself as a good economizer?

Finally, the demand for economizing in the armed forces also includes finance-economic work. The efficient planning and use of financial means in accordance with the political and military requirements makes the soldier a good economizer.

How can all this be accomplsihed? Here, too, the experiences of the best must be evaluated and broad use must be made of the many model initiatives by others.

Today, every military decision must be economically justifiable. The mode which is both militarily and economically most effective must be found. Everyone should be conscious of the fact that there is no alternative: either the military mission or the most effective use of resources. Every military mission must be carried out with the least expense.

This requires time and again military-economic initiatives in socialist competition. Our popular and mostly very effective military initiatives such as "hit with the first shot" "technology of excellent quality" etc. not only help fulfill the tasks of the first six months of training; they also secure a high degree of military-economic effectiveness. One can justifiably say:

whoever takes his military initiative in competition seriously and fulfills it, proves himself as a good soldier and economizer. There are no recipes for military-economic thinking and acting, but only a guiding thought: we meet the changed conditions with an offensive for great effectiveness. This is in keeping with the spirit of the Fourth Plenary Session of the SED Central Committee.

9328
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FRG JOURNALIST ADDRESSED PROBLEM OF POLITICAL POWER, REALITY IN POLAND

Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 3 Sep 82 p 4

[Article: "Power out of Gun Barrels" by Eduard Neumaier, Warsaw]

[Text] Lies in Poland have shorter lives than elsewhere. The picture looks quite different only one day after official Warsaw smugly reported, on the second anniversary of Solidarity, only minor disturbances of public order in a few cities. Fatalities, serious injuries, more than 4,000 arrests, disorders in many cities, mass demonstrations--one might conjecture that what had been represented as a marginal phenomenon is now being deliberately emphasized. There is no question of exaggerations, because they all too obviously contradict the previous line of shrugging off the independent trade union Solidarity and the representation of the workers organized in the underground as a now-scattered bunch of firebrands.

But even the corrected balance sheet for 31 August is obviously rather far from reality, which can be simply stated as follows. Solidarity remains a factor; the uniformed party regime of General Jaruzelski has failed; Poland is without hope. Scarcely 9 months after the imposition of martial law, this status is synonymous with the bankruptcy of the regime.

None of the goals set on 13 December is within sight, let alone achieved. On the contrary, the civil war, which at that time the communist regime alleged it had to prevent, is more probable than ever, the political need greater, the split between the people and the rulers wider and deeper than ever. The outbreaks of 31 August are a "menetekel" [expansion unknown] on a cracked wall. Only the guns of the state held at the ready and the imploring entreaties of the Catholic Church ensure an uneasy calm.

How frank and honest can a dialogue be if a despised leadership invites the victim to a talk with clubs, gas grenades and live ammunition in its hands? How can credibility be achieved, as Jaruzelski and his party implore, if the people are crushed to the ground? Only violence becomes credible then. How--and why--are people to be won over when they are being beaten about the ears with the same lies, the same phrased and those self-deluding analyses of the causes of the Polish crisis, which since 1945 have fed disgust for communist authority?

Is that what the leaders intended 13 December? The Poles and the West can no see clearly that the imposition of martial law had quite different goals. First, the power whose independent existence alone exposed the pitifully small size of the Communist Party, a power without legitimacy, was to be smashed. Second, the rule of the party was to be restored. Both goals succeeded and failed at the same time.

The dissolution of the open trade union organization and the extinction of the first and, for a long time, the last independent workers' movement in a communist system succeeded. Thus a force was derailed that under the special conditions of a party dictatorship brought all critical expectations, hopes and demands to itself, a force that motivates people and gives them confidence. The communists' instinct for power enabled them correctly to evaluate this phenomenon and its weight; they acted in accordance with their nature. They have thus assured their rule; with their method they have instilled the memory that even the most civilian communist regime derives its power from guns.

This success also describes the failure. Solidarity was for the Poles the embodiment of a great freedom. The fact that this powerful organization of 10 million members and all the people sympathizing with it could have been smashed almost overnight by a resolute ruling clique of dedicated communists, has had fatal effects on the psychology of the nation. No insight into the unavoidable was furthered, no sobering and no rational fitting into the objectives of the party reclothed in uniform. What was achieved was the glorification of a dream come true, hatred of the terrible destroyers of the dream, sadness over the futility and cynicism in the face of reality. Solidarity lives on underground. The generation of workers over 40 years of age, which has felt betrayed since 1956, has been disillusioned a second time, and the somewhat younger generation, which created Solidarity, sees itself robbed of its creation and betrayed in its hopes.

It is easy to clamp an oppressive lid of power over these millions. But to govern them and win them over to the goals of the rulers are unthinkable, in any case in Poland. This people is a special reality--no less real than the external conditions that determine Poland's fate. The tragedy of this land is that both realities cannot be reconciled.

6108
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POST-AUGUST 1980 ZSMP ACTIVITY AT GDANSK SHIPYARD DISCUSSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 20-22 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Ryszarfd Naleszkiewicz: "Young Workers of '82--In the Eye of the Storm"]

[Text] Prior to August of 1980, there were well over 3,000 of them, at least according to statistics. Now only 1,200 are left. Solidarity was born here, and more than 95 percent of ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] membership were members of it. Whether they wanted it or not, they found themselves in the midst of high politics. They acted, or attempted to act, in the eye of the storm with their red ID's in their pockets.

At that time, a time of intrasigence, obstinacy and rebellion, virtually everyone took part in the great August strike. While days of tension, fear, hope and optimism dragged on, ZSMP members and activists were also among those locked in the shipyards. Later on, once the accords were signed, that fact was somehow forgotten.

They Became Obsolete

"We were cocooned by indifference," says former ZSMP ZZ (Plant Board) chairman for the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, Jerzy Kierznowski, until recently voivodship board chairman, elected during those memorable 16 months. "At first, we were told patronizingly: 'You do not pose any trouble for us, you are of no consequence now, anyway.' We were regarded as a relic, a structure no longer compatible with the new times. We were reminded of the Gierek era, of our acquiescence. We heard claims to the effect that in any event we would be unable to alter our organization's mode of operation and that we had been, and would continue to be, a mere front."

Evaluation of the ZSMP had a broader context at the time, in the opinion of pipeline assembler Waldemar Jedrzejewski, ZZ deputy chairman: "During that period, a major segment of our workforce had a negative attitude toward the authorities. Opinions of this kind had been commonly voiced in the discussions and meetings following the strike. Carried by that wave, we, too, somehow lost our credibility. Solidarity's attitude toward our organization was either passive or tolerant: Let them function if they can, let them handle their concerns with youth, recreation and social benefits...

"For several months following August 1980, the attitude of the shipyard Solidarity authorities toward the ZSMP was decidedly negative. Afterwards, things somehow fell into place. There even were cases of collaboration, exclusively on issues concerning social benefits."

"The first joint moves we took, to be dropped later on, regrettably, were on housing issues," specifies Maciej Gizowski, ZZ vice chairman, a metal fitter by profession. "Our concern was with a campaign for adapting unused building space, chiefly attics, for dwelling purposes. The shipyard ZSMP had never been seriously involved in sponsoring housing construction. We were too familiar with the situation prevailing in our voivodship to view that as a serious concern. The young people who were to become future residents of those unused units were to adapt them on their own with some assistance from the shipyards. Of course, that required a decision of appropriate city authority. Solidarity took an independent interest in this idea of ours. We only ran into difficulties with a plant commission member who was directly involved in these maters. He accused us of thinking only about our own shipyard housing concerns. Under the banner of Solidarity, he wanted instead to solve the housing problem of the entire voivodship.

"The ZZ then began to arrange propaganda meetings on that issue for the entire workforce. The meetings were popular, occasionally attended by up to 300 persons, including only about 10 percent of the ZSMP membership. The idea was so attractive that Solidarity members themselves threatened to hold their activists accountable for torpedoing its implementation. Despite this, their initiatives were defeated by Solidarity's political aktiv. Was it so because those initiatives originated precisely wihin the ZSMP?

"The difficulties notwithstanding, the campaign produced tangible results, though these were, in truth, just a drop in an ocean. One detached building was saved from demolition and turned into apartments for nine families who have already moved in. In individual cases, the ZZ forced the granting of permits for attic renovation and came to the rescue of the 'squatters' occupying such nonresidential units. In sum, prior to December 13 the 'Vacancies' campaign provided dwelling units for 15 families. This is not much but shows that something can be done.

"In fact, the campaign is being carried on, though under more difficult conditions, since effective regulations permit no activity in that area. A regular low-standard or medium-standard apartment can no longer be ranked as a vacancy. Approval for adaptation can be obtained for some horrendous units lacking gas and toilet facilities. If vacant, regular apartments are immediately placed at the disposal of the city office or housing cooperative board as soon as they are detected. And with those institutions, there is no recourse--waiting lists and priority status are mandatory, which is why ZSMP members stopped to look for vacant dwellings. Their personal interest disappeared, and there are appropriate authorities to run such checks.

"They recorded no major clashes with the shipyard Solidarity. Even those that did occur were exclusively on social benefits. One concerned a resort center called 'Sheep Barn' formerly belonging to the Polish Radio and TV.

The center was available to be taken over for shipyard workers' recreational needs. The ZSMP resolutely favored the takeover while the plant commission was against it. Some calculations had reportedly been made by the commission indicating that the takeover would be unprofitable for the shipyard. The ZSMP believed that it was not quite proper to compute recreation in monetary terms. No consultations with the workforce were conducted--the Solidarity commission took action exclusively on the basis of the mandate they had once received. As representatives of the shipyard's largest labor union, they felt they had the right to make a decision on this issue. The ZSMP ZZ was of the opinion they did not have that right. Mr Slaby, deputy director for social benefits, wanted to buy the center.

"Ultimately, the shipyard did not acquire the resort center. The odd-thinking director had been under personal attack by the plant commission, the charges remaining unspecified. The deadline for his dismissal had even been set. The ZZ defended him forcefully at the time. It is said today it was a successful defense. Skeptics comment sarcastically that it was a successful defense, though not so much by the ZZ as by martial law."

Renewal

The August turmoil shook up the shipyard ZSMP. Bitterness and accusations were coming in waves from plant departments. People remembered ZSMP representatives sitting at presidium tables side by side with directors and functionaries. They remembered ostentatious ceremonies, even though those had been less frequent at the shipyard than elsewhere. The ZSMP leadership came under charges of collaboration with shipyard authorities and was regarded as their virtual extension. "That was unjustified--they say today--we had no influence on the management at the time, neither here nor anywhere else."

As a result of criticism and reinvigorated discussions, a verification of the membership was carried out. Approximately 1,700 members remained in 1980 out of the largely fictitious 3,000.

At meetings, iconoclastic demands were advanced for changes in the statute and for an immediate plantwide conference. The conference was held early in February 1981, one of the earliest such conferences in the voivodship. In the course of a program-election campaign, begun in late October, 1980, several documents were developed to democratize organizational procedures. Many of them were implemented by the Third ZSMP Congress.

"Virtually all of our proposals on election procedures were accepted at the conference," Kierznowski says. "Many of our stipulations were not taken into account, however. For example, we proposed reducing the age limitation to 30 years but the 35 limit was retained. We believed it was necessary to abandon organizational uniforms--but they are still with us.

"They are still with us--they laugh--but only officially. As far as possible, we try to circumvent the issue, for who would want to appear in a ZSMP uniform these days?"

Things had been far from ideal. The SZMP members were among those who fell victim to a democratic euphoria. A 33-year-old was chosen in a direct election as delegation to the congress. He was then elected to the organization's authorities, the CKR [Central Audit Commission], which was easy to predict since he represented one of the largest ZSMP subdivisions. Afterwards, he did nothing and detached himself from the shipyard ZSMP to the point that they called for his removal from the commission. It was a loss for them, but they could not do otherwise. The election was democratic, no candidate had been checked out and approved. It can be put down as the cost of learning the workings of democracy.

The Third ZSMP Congress adopted the principle of ideological and political commitment of the organization. Actually, it only reaffirmed that principle on the basis of partnership and independence in relation to the party. A similar stand on this issue was taken by the Ninth Party Congress. At the grass-roots level in the shipyard, it was interpreted differently. According to ZSMP activists, the party aktiv was at fault. While prior to August 1980 the party people attempted, with mixed results, to call the shots for the ZSMP, in 1981 they simply said: "If you want to be independent, do not bother us. Leave us alone."

Politically, the ZSMP was left to its own means.

It has begun to return to normalcy only recently. ZSMP members started to take part in leadership collectives and meet with executive boards. During my 21 August visit, they held a ZZ session with Jan Labedzki, shipyard party organization first secretary. They say they will succeed in working out a "golden mean." Their relations with the party have improved, approximating partnership at the top level, at least. At lower levels, it looks more like reverting to the old ways, with POP [Basic Party Organization] secretaries becoming inclined to dictate to and instruct ZSMP circle chiefs. The latter for the most part do not know how to fight back, at best they complain to the ZZ.

Gizowski laughs at that: "At the ZZ level, we set them straight right away, we do not let them put us down. We cannot afford that."

Mirek Masiel, a self-styled propaganda chief assigned by the ZZ to manage youth broadcasts from the shipyard radio center, has, as a nonparty person, a separate opinion on that problem:

"Their ineptness is not surprising at all. The chairmen of our ZSMP circles as well as first secretaries of the POPs are for the most part new people, with no political experience, elected with the inflow of democracy. If our circle chairmen were politically smarter, they would not let themselves be manipulated."

"It should provoke neither wonder nor criticism," Jedrzejewski adds. "Following the August eruption and the wave of widespread criticism, our shipyard organization consciously opted for complete democracy. Democracy is inherently unmanageable, especially in personnel matters. The new aktiv must

learn a lot, and they are learning fast. Back then, people were frequently elected because they spoke well, were brave in criticizing, or handsome, rather than on the basis of their achievements or skills. Voices of reason were then on the losing side in discussions."

The imposition of martial law put the shipyard in a shock that was perhaps greater here than anywhere else in Poland. Everything had started in Gdansk, after all, the symbolical decisionmaking center operated there for 16 months and Gdansk provided examples to follow.

The organization did not break its activities. The first few months were exceptionally difficult, however.

"The ZSMP," Gizowski says, "became particularly suspect. We were referred to as henchmen of the regime, flunkeys, and so on. There were no direct attacks at our aktiv."

"During stormy meetings of our circles," Kierznowski adds, "there were downright demands to have our organization suspended as well. Explanations were urgently demanded why it had not been suspended. As ZW (voivodship board) chairman, on two consecutive meetings I argued with my colleagues that we had some possibilities for acting and that we had to act precisely at the time. On many occasions, we wanted to suspend organization activities ourselves."

"Since I was in charge of youth broadcasts in the shipyard radio center," Masiel says with a smile, "I was insulted in various ways as a renegade getting paid in rubles. This polarization became more intense since the imposition of martial law.

"Even now, they believe it would have been better for the ZSMP for 'propaganda' reasons, to have been suspended, at least for a brief period. It would have been better for it, especially in the Gdansk shipyard. Yet they think they did not waste that time."

In the course of those difficult 16 months, the aktiv of the organization became markedly tougher. All those who have remained can be counted on. They know how to act with less or more skill but, most important, they want to act.

The situation is worse within what is termed the general membership, where apathy, wait-and-see attitudes, distrust and self-interest are found. The organization's mobility is now markedly reduced, as signaled by attendance at meetings. Almost without exception, young people can be reached these days only on issues the consider most important, no matter what can be said about high politics. Apartments, loans for young married couples, easier access to gainful employment and economic independence are the topics keeping people within the organization. It is possible and desirable to create beneficial facts within this sphere which also is--unfortunately, too often these days--the source of negative perceptions.

A case in point is the problem of family houses. When Stanislaw Zaczek, the new shipyard director assumed his duties, he suggested the plant could build one-family homes in large groups. The ZSMP enthusiastically supported the idea. It was an attractive opportunity. The shipyard would be the investor, obtaining bank credits and performing all construction work with the aid of future residents. After all, a huge plant of this caliber can offer all available construction trades, raw materials, recyclable waste and all necessary equipment. If the houses were built in large numbers, costs would be greatly reduced. Shipyard employees, once installed in the houses, would repay the credits in the course of many years, which would provide an additional bond with the shipyard since those quitting their jobs would have to repay the credit in a lump sum. Thus, it would be at the same time a move to prevent labor fluctuation.

Precisely at this point bureaucratic barriers were encountered. Judging by appearances everyone was in favor of this issue, yet it became bogged down. A decision on the site was not made. It was impossible to determine who was to buy out the land from private farmers. It was unclear how utilities would be installed. There was a scarcity of competent people brave enough to make the decisions.

In fact, there is a general bitterness about bureaucrats and officials among the ZZ members. They had evidence of their insensitivity, blindness, cowardice and unwillingness during the "Vacancies" campaign.

"Acting for the sake of society," Gizowski says," we wanted to obtain permission to inspect certain documents in the city office housing department. Of course, we did not get it. Not until we directly 'shelled' the president, was our commission granted that right. When our people leafed through appropriate documents, we started a storm. We caused, or at least made a major contribution to, replacement of the department management. After the president instructed District Residents Services to send in the lists of attics suitable for adaptation as dwellings, we were sent--mechanically and without any thought--lists of all attics in town. Following a check up and a scandal, only a few proved to be fit for adaptation. We will be waiting now until August 15 until particular addresses are provided and decisions are made. Among us, 18 persons are looking forward to those decisions."

The ZSMP members want to act. They sense they are being looked at by others. The shipyard in the Tri-City always was, is and will be a model, whether a negative or a positive one. The sense of working in the eye of a storm is not fading away. Our conversation took place on August 12. What will happen tomorrow? They do not know. I believe that nothing important is likely to happen. The mood, however, is not good, chiefly for economic reasons. Work is going on poorly. The shipyard fulfilled less than 30 percent of the plan during the first 6 months. This in no way improves the mood or builds confidence. The people want to work and earn. They want to build ships.

8795
CSO: 2600/896

EXPERIMENTAL 1-YEAR MIG TRAINING COURSE DESCRIBED

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish 22 Aug 82 p 5

[Article by Bogdan Marks: "Becoming Pilots of Supersonic Aircraft"]

[Text] The Warsaw 1st Fighter Aviation Regiment continues training young pilots to prepare the successive group of officers for solo piloting MiG-21 aircraft. Under normal conditions training takes 2 years. The 1st Regiment command, however, decided to conduct the course experimentally in half the regular time.

At present, the pilots are performing the so-called aircraft acceleration flights and are training in other different elements of practice flying. The second phase of training will include performance of tasks under difficult atmospheric conditions, as well as at night. Before this happens, the pilots are required to master perfectly the first phase of MiG piloting in normal weather conditions.

The flights are under the supervision of pilot instructors of many years flying experience.

Most young pilots have completed the introductory training period and they fly solo. In the air they count only on their own skills and knowledge. In the past, before the solo flights, they were frequently consumed by a question: Would the skills they acquired up till then in the Higher School of Aviation in Deblin be sufficient? Their instructors proved to be of great help in solving this dilemma, strengthening the younger colleagues' confidence in their readiness to perform solo tasks. We were told by the instructor in charge of training that the junior officers try to follow superior officers' commands very meticulously, their own experience being still quite limited. Each of them is at present able to perform daytime solo flights, to detect enemy targets at a considerable distance, and to destroy them with on-board missiles as the need arises. Whenever necessary, they can undertake real dogfights to ultimately destroy the enemy target. In addition to the mastery of supersonic piloting, the training aims at building up the psychological and physical prowess of the trainees and at keeping them in the condition without which it would be difficult to even consider the realization of the aerial tasks. The instructors also pay attention to the increase in technical knowledge necessary for the proper deployment of the MiG aircraft.

A great many officers have already completed the first solo flights on the MiG aircraft. In that group is also 2d Lt [pilot] Slawomir Dygnatowski, who achieved second place last year in the Officers' Higher School of Aviation in Deblin. He has served in the regiment for a few months now and the pilot profession became his passion as well as the great opportunity of his life. Before he became a pilot, he tried to acquaint himself with flying books and professional magazines. Also, frequently the aircraft flying over his family home stimulated his reflection upon the future job choice. All of these spurred him on to join the Warsaw Aeroclub in which he earned a ranking as a third-class glider pilot. His love of flying and his first success in the air convinced him to enroll in the aviation school at Deblin. There Dygnatowski became acquainted with the TS-11 Iskra [Sparkle] and LIM-2 aircraft. During his 4 years of intense work he strengthened and deepened his aviational knowledge. The third-class fighter pilot and the second place in Deblin which he achieved last year became his entry card to the Warsaw 1st Fighter Aviation Regiment.

Nowadays for him and for the other trainee-pilots, the first solo flights on course, the simple piloting at low, medium and high altitudes and mastery of the supersonic fighter planes deployment have all become history. Praise for the proper mastery of piloting the different types of aircraft goes to the commanders of the unit and to the senior coinstructors of the unit who from the very beginning spared no effort tomake the incoming young novices feel at home in the unit.

One ought to mention also the technical personnel who were diligently and warmly preoccupied in establishing the theoretical technical background of the pilots.

According to the instructors and pilot trainees, the experimental schooling cycle yielded the desired results. The young pilots perform the difficult flights with great success--flights at high altitude and the enemy-object relay flights. The last segment of this training will be completed at the end of this year. Making the grade in it will open airspace to successive troops of aviators, defenders of the Polish sky.

9934
CSO: 2600/942

PURPOSE, UTILIZATION OF ZOMO FORCES EXPLAINED

Captain Defends Actions

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 33, 15 Aug 82 p 15

[Interview with a ZOMO officer, Capt Waclaw Pac by Wladyslaw Misiolek: "There Is no Need to Love the Militia but It Ought to Be Respected"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Captain, which of the jokes about the ZOMO do you consider to be the funniest?

[Answer] I am most amused not by jokes, because they are often primitive, but by statements of the kind that, when getting our officials ready for duty or for action, we give them alcohol or drugs.

[Question] You can also find such accusations in the underground papers. If they are not true, why do you not deny them?

[Answer] What for? A reasonable man will not believe such a thing anyway because it is hard to imagine that we would do harm to our own militiamen and those who want to believe that will not be convinced by any argument. Also, we do not deny this because it makes our educational efforts with young militiamen much easier.

[Question] Let us move to serious matters. Would you introduce yourself, Comrade?

[Answer] Capt Waclaw Pac. I am the deputy commander for political education of the Citizen Militia Motorized Reserve (ZOMO) of the MO [Citizen Militia] Capital Command, one of the ZOMO units. I have behind me 25 years of service in this unit, starting as a private. I came to it from the army and more precisely from the Signal Corps Officers' Candidate School in Zegrze. I have belonged to the party since 1959 and a year ago I had the honor of being a delegate to the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR.

[Question] What can you tell us about your unit? The point is that we want our readers to learn first hand what the ZOMO are, what their tasks are and

whether there are corresponding formations in the police and militia forces of other countries?

[Answer] The unit in which I serve was created in 1956 when it was decided to organize the ZOMO.

[Question] And what was its name at that time?

[Answer] It was called ZOMO from the beginning. Why was it created? There was, and continues to be, the need to have larger groups of law enforcement forces properly prepared to protect the life, health and property of citizens in the event of natural disasters, catastrophes and epidemics. Also, ZOMO is tasked with maintaining safety and order during large gatherings such as sporting events and mass celebrations. Additionally ZOMO is used for nationwide actions, such as the pursuit of dangerous criminals.

[Question] I believe that some of the readers will hear about this for the first time because many people think that ZOMO serves exclusively to disperse hostile demonstrations and street riots...

[Answer] This is just one of our tasks. To make this more credible, let me use facts regarding our activities in the last few years: We have often secured order during major sporting events; after the explosion in the PKO Rotunda, we were there in 10 minutes, secured it and participated in the rescue operations; similarly, in the case of the plane crash near Okecie... The inhabitants of Warsaw, however, meet our militiamen most often patrolling the city streets. Thanks to these patrols, Warsaw is a relatively quiet city, safe for pedestrians. Of course, we cannot take all the credit for this but we deserve some.

Coming back to the reasons why ZOMO was established: in militia work, just as everywhere else, there is need for specialization. The tasks which I mentioned before can be accomplished only by police forces that are properly trained, organized and equipped. It would be difficult to round up precinct patrolmen from all of Warsaw to keep order at an important soccer match. This is so not only in Poland; units like ZOMO exist in the milita and police forces in all Europe and, I presume, all over the world. It is enough to look at the newscasts on television to see this.

[Question] Among various stories about ZOMO which are circulating, I read the following in one of those underground papers: "As is well known, candidates for ZOMO are recruited from among ordinary draftees by picking those who are active in sports, especially karate and judo and who during psychological tests show both a high level of aggressiveness and low intelligence quotient..." Further, it was written that the chosen ones are bought with promises of frequent leaves, assurances of service in hometown and the like. Please tell me who in fact are the ZOMO officials, and how people are drafted into your unit?

[Answer] I do not want to be nasty, but the author of this nonsense cannot be credited with too much intelligence. Also, I can assure you that the

judo and karate practitioners are less aggressive than the author. But let us come to the point.

We have career militiamen who, after completing their military service or after a period of civilian work, volunteered to serve in the MO. All of them, even those who are candidates to be privates, must have secondary education. Also, we have men from the military draft. They are those draftees who express a desire to serve in the militia. As is known, in accordance with the law regarding the duty to defend the Polish People's Republic, military service can be fulfilled by service in civil defense units, fire brigades, health service and the militia. Those draftees, before they come to us, go through a 3-month basic training course in military units, most often with the units of the Frontier Guard. What kind of men are they? In our particular unit, 75 percent have secondary education and 23 percent have trade school education. Their physical characteristics? The militia, just like the army, does not accept ill or handicapped people. Also, there is no chance that anyone with a police record, even if it is for minor offenses, would be accepted in the MO. In this respect, the candidate must have a perfectly clean slate. Also, it is not a secret that the candidate must have a proper ideological and political outlook. The prerequisites are really exacting but not of the kind that those who dislike us claim them to be.

[Question] And should those people like you?

[Answer] There is no need to love the MO but it ought to be respected.

[Question] Let us go back to the matter of privileges for those who join the MO as draftees.

[Answer] What privileges? As far as leave is concerned, they get it in accordance with the same rules as soldiers. Also, it is just a rumor that they are rewarded with service in their hometowns. In our unit, Varsavians amount to an insignificant group, the great majority of militiamen come from the Szczecin, Gdansk, Pila, Bialystok and Bydgoszcz voivodships. These are the facts.

[Question] The hostile propaganda centers, with Radio Free Europe in the forefront, and the illegal publications in Poland talk at length about the brutality of ZOMO officials. Please tell us: When do you use force and what are the rules you follow in action?

[Answer] We must start by stating that we are charged with maintaining a legally defined order and public safety. We must fulfill this task even when the situation requires us to use force but we never go into action immediately on arrival; always, I emphasize, always, in every case, we give warnings first, we urge people to disperse and we forewarn them that otherwise force will be used. Also, we give them time to disperse--5, 10, 15 minutes depending on the specific situation. We use force only when we are forced to do so.

Those who carefully read the press reports about the May events in Warsaw, Wroclaw and Krakow, should have noticed that there were many more injured among the militimen than among the demonstrators. One can ask: Who was more aggressive and brutal? The militiamen used their truncheons only after they were attacked with rocks, bottles filled with gasoline, bolts, etc. I want to add that if we are forced to use force, we graduate our response so that our "adversaries" suffer minimum damage.

[Question] Comrade Captain, I have heard, and not only from those who dislike the MO, that during your actions an innocent person, a passerby or a curious onlooker can get hurt too...

[Answer] Yes, it happens because in a melee a militiaman does not always have a chance to distinguish an onlooker from a participant.

[Question] If it is so, how should one behave in such a situation?

[Answer] Leave the scene as soon as possible. The announcement to disperse applies to everybody including casual witnesses of disturbances.

[Question] I have heard about the "after duty" activities of your officials. What does it really mean?

[Answer] Various types of community work. There are many such activities. Just in the past year our militiamen devoted 317,000 hours of their off-duty time to Warsaw, and they had little off-duty time to start with. And blood donation is a separate effort. Inspired by the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth], fully 80 percent of the militiamen are blood donors.

[Question] It is peculiar that the omniscient Free Europe does not talk about these activities...

[Answer] One cannot expect a good word from those whose efforts we are paralyzing. I believe that the negative opinions about us are also due to the fact that we try to do our duty well, that we have well-educated, experienced and wise cadre and devoted officials. If we were weak, we would be tolerated and perhaps praised.

[Question] How do you defend yourselves against these attacks, epithets, nasty jokes and rumors?

[Answer] Because we know who starts them, we ignore them. But it hurts that a substantial segment of society gives them credence.

[Question] Are the attacks all that you encounter?

[Answer] No, not only. Our officials are encountering ever more often signs of friendship and we are receiving thanks for our service. Some may not believe us but so it was after the riots in the streets in Warsaw in May. In winter, right after the state of emergency was declared, there were

instances, and they were not exceptional, of soldiers and militiamen patrolling the city being offered sandwiches and hot tea. Was it for love of the MO? Probably the main reason was that society desires order. I have to add, however, that these signs of friendship came mostly from older people, unfortunately the youth still hold a false opinion about us. Should this be "credited" exclusively to our adversaries? It seems that we did not talk enough about the MO's tasks and duties.

[Question] The readers of this newspaper would be especially interested in your cooperation with the army...

[Answer] ...which has a rich tradition. There is close and tangible cooperation between our party organization and the army's and between the soldiers' and militiamen's youth organizations. We benefit from army's rich experience in education. Our officers study at army schools, for example, I have graduated from the Army Political Academy, and the military study in our schools. For years, our unit has kept in close contact with soldiers of the WOPK [Home Air Defense Forces], the MSW [City Military Headquarters], the ceremonial guard company and the Kosciuszko units in Wesola.

During the state of emergency, when we started to perform jointly common tasks, these contacts in many cases became personal friendships. On Saturdays and Sundays, our place is literally green with army uniforms and I know that our officials visit their friends in the barracks. We are happy about this especially because our adversaries want to create a split between the army and the MO. They have not been successful and they cannot be successful because the uniform, regardless of its color, is the uniform and wearing it commits one to serve his country, his socialist country.

[Question] Have we missed anything that is worth discussing?

[Answer] The only thing we missed is that some specific criticisms regarding certain officials may be justified. As I said before, our selection criteria for service in ZOMO are very strict and we try to train our officials as well as we know how but people are only human. There may be an occasional incident of using the militia uniform to cover improper behavior. In such instances we react immediately and apply severe disciplinary measures including dismissal from the force.

The MO reflects whence it comes and whom it serves and, let us face it, our society is not perfect.

Training, Requirements, Reputation

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 3,4,5 Sep 82 pp 1,2

[Article by our own correspondent: "ZOMO behind the Closed Door--They Cry after an Action and Go to Sleep..."]

[Text] We see them often in the city streets. Sometimes in actions dispersing gatherings. Sometimes we see them using truncheons, tear gas and petards. They are the object of vicious attacks by Western broadcasting stations and the butt of hundreds of jokes. There is much talk about their low intellectual level and their murky past. It happens that mothers try to scare their children not with a chimney sweep but with a ZOMO man. I myself saw written on a wall: "Neither IXI nor OMO will clean you like ZOMO" [play on words, in colloquial Polish "to clean" means "to beat up"].

On August 31 this year, units of ZOMO were restoring order in the center of Lublin using force. Unfortunately, this was not the first time. Three days later, I visited the ZOMO quarters. I have no illusions, I am sure, that the following report will be considered by many to be blatant propaganda but I also hope that it will induce some to do some thinking. In the storeroom, whose door is covered with sheet metal and solidly bolted, ZOMO's equipment is stacked on the shelves. There are shields made of laminated plastic, rubber truncheons 65 cm long, helmets with movable visors, hand-held tear gas throwers, tear gas charges and percussion bombs. There are also weapons which have not, so far, been carried into action and probably will not. In the store room, tear gas irritates eyes. The guides tell us not to rub our eyes because they would sting even more.

As the deputy unit commander says that there will be no secrets other than those kept secret by police everywhere, I ask him:

What is ZOMO?

The Motorized Reserves of Citizen Militia (ZOMO) are special units having a high level of readiness and mobility and all-around training. Nobody forces anyone to join ZOMO. One is in ZOMO by his own choosing. Acceptance criteria are strict. In addition to secondary education, flawless health and physical characteristics (minimum height is 175 cm), a candidate is checked out a few times. Of course, one must have no police record. A new man goes through NCO candidate training and specialization training in his own unit (physical conditioning, drill, military training, etc). Under normal conditions, the ZOMO men do patrol duty, keep order at mass events (e.g., soccer matches) and participate in searching for missing persons. They commute to work and usually they are on duty for 8 hours. During the state of emergency, they live in barracks and seldom see their families. The Lublin unit was not at home either for Christmas or Easter. They are on duty 7 days a week and there is no extra pay for the additional days worked. Earnings are between 10,000 and 13,000 zloty depending on the position in the service.

More than 90 percent of the Lublin unit personnel are of working class or peasant descent. Only 8 percent are single. More than three-quarters of them have children. Practically all wives work. The average age is 26 years.

Early retirement on disability is the rule, the most frequent reason is nervous disorders. Also, a very large turnover is practically the rule.

Simply, the militiamen go to other duties in the MO where their private lives are less restricted and the pay is the same.

"This is no plush job but hard, unrewarding work," says Captain Krol. "However, only a few can understand this..."

Rules of the Game

...in ZOMO are strictly defined. This applies to every intervention. We are in a dramatic situation, says one of the militiamen. We face those in whose interest we work. We never know whether there is a relative or an acquaintance facing us.

We never use force immediately or without warning. There are various versions of warning texts used depending on the situation and how it develops. I have 21 texts in front of me, divided into three groups. Psychologists participated in developing these texts.

"This crowd may cause events with tragic results. Do not stop." (Text No 2, Group III).

"Go back home to your loved ones who anxiously await you" (says the next text).

After a warning repeated a few times, comes an announcement that force will be used: "The Citizen Militia urges everybody to disperse immediately. Forcible means will be used against those who resist" (text 1, Group I).

First comes the water. It does not contain any toxic substances. Sometimes it is colored with a natural dye. The purpose is to achieve a psychological effect: an incentive to go home to avoid recognition because of characteristic stains. Tear gas charges are fired from hand-held throwers. They are so designed that it is impossible to fire them straight ahead and the instruction says that they ought to be fired at a 45 degree angle to minimize the force on impact. The use of tear gas is permitted only on order from the commanding officer and there is no discretion allowed.

"The rumor that we fire those charges at people is not true. If a charge is fired toward a group of people, it can be seen easily and there is enough time to step to the side. It may happen that during a street action a charge goes through the window into an apartment but such instances are unintentional and truly sporadic, says Lt Ryszard Czuchaj.

If tear gas does not work, truncheons are used. That is not a secret in the unit. Yes, they were used on August 31. In the great majority of cases, this was fully justified although it is impossible to be sure that some innocents were not hurt. Unfortunately, that is normal in such a type of action.

Master Sergeant Jan Jaczak used his truncheon a few times in the area of Krolewska St, mostly against teenagers who threw rocks at the militiamen and who did not obey orders to disperse given at close quarters.

"I never have any satisfaction from using my truncheon," says he. "I consider this to be a sad necessity. In such cases, I delay my actions hoping that the one I am about to hit will understand. Of course, occasionally it infuriates us that we are called names like 'Gestapo' by people who have no idea what that name means but this is not the reason for beating.

"On August 31, some rioting groups hid in the churches after the gas attack and later they were coming back. Their looks somehow did not agree with the sacred places. I thought to myself that they do not go there often and perhaps were there for the first time."

Sgt Mieczyslaw Paluch was most upset by the fact that he saw in Litewski Square women with little children and women who were pregnant.

"Disregarding political views and the attitude to the authorities, I do not quite know what they wanted to prove by dragging little children who later cried because of gas. What were they after?" he asks.

The ZOMO men claim that their rules of the game are clear and not complicated at all. Only those who want to experience really strong "thrills" and who need to "prove" themselves become militia adversaries. The militia requests that it be emphasized that they mean adversaries not enemies because a citizen of the same country will never be a militia's enemy.

On Drugs

one hears so often. They take drugs or drink vodka before they are let loose on people.

"Believe us such opinions are grossly unfair. We have only rationed alcohol, just as much as everybody else. They never issue any pharmaceutical substances. Unfortunately, it is true that during action when gas is used our eyes sting like hell, swell and become red. Somebody looks at us and then talks nonsense that ZOMO men run around with glazed eyes and beat lamp posts with their truncheons. Lies hurt us most," comments a private who participated in the actions.

"Truly, we are not degenerates. When we are transported to action it is quiet in the vehicles. After the action, sir, one only cries because of gas and one wants to fall asleep as soon as possible. We do not want such actions, the only thing we want is peace and quiet. Until they return, someone must do the job. If it is not us, somebody else will do it," states another voice.

There is no point talking. Those who do not believe that ZOMO operates without artificial stimuli, will not be convinced by anything.

Who Likes ZOMO?

It is hard to answer this question. In the French police, they say that nobody expects that it will be liked, it is quite enough to obey it. It is difficult to find such aphorisms in our country...

What I hear is this:

"Just listen to my 5-year-old son. He comes crying that they do not want to play with him because he is the son of a ZOMO man. Nobody would help my wife to carry a baby carriage up to the third floor. What the hell do they want from our families?"

There were many voices like this.

"Until now, few people knew about ZOMO" says Captain Krol. "There was some talk in 1970 and now we are at the high point of rumors, nonsense and calumnies. Good thing that at long last some explanation is provided to the public. We need close contact with society, after all we live among people. Also we need to have a discussion with society, perhaps even a debate. We do not want to be the center of unhealthy sensationalism."

The same interlocutor also requests that we clearly state that in Lublin after the encounters there was no case of anyone needing medical treatment, let alone anyone being wounded.

After leaving the unit, I saw a sergeant sitting on the bench with his wife. I asked her whether she had known what she had been doing marrying a ZOMO man. She took the provocation in stride: "Of course, what is so peculiar about it?" I guess nothing.

ZOMO Personnel Interviewed

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 7 Sep 82 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Tomasz Grzelewski, 23 years old, living in Warsaw, high school education, serving in the Capital Command Reserve of the Citizen Militia [MO] since October 1980, and with Roman Chmielewski, 22 years old, living in Warsaw, technical high school education, serving in ZOMO since December 1981, by Kazimierz Zglejszewski: "Never Again"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Why did you chose to substitute military service with ZOMO?

[Answer] Tomasz: After school, I had to serve 2 years in the army anyway and by choosing the substitute service in ZOMO, there was a chance of staying in Warsaw, close to home. Having a prospect of being separated with my loved ones for 2 years, this was quite a plus.

Roman: My father was a policeman, my two brothers also chose that profession and I was interested in criminology for years. After technical high school, I sat for the entrance examination to law school but I did not make it. I decided to try whether I was the material to work in the police. I applied for substitute military service with ZOMO. Besides, just like Tom, I got a chance to stay in Warsaw.

[Question] How did your schoolmates react to your decision?

[Answer] Tomasz: At first they thought I was crazy. They said: "Why do you go there, all they do is to beat people up." But when I explained to them what the service in that unit consists of, they changed their opinions.

Roman: I think that, in general, society does not know much about us. They see us only during street demonstrations and riots.

[Question] But this is your main task. That is why your unit was established.

[Answer] Roman: This is a misunderstanding. ZOMO was established in the mid-fifties. In every state, there are special forces used for immediate actions requiring a large number of people. For instance, in pursuing a dangerous criminal, for emergency help to the population in case of natural disasters--recently we took part in extinguishing forest fires in Choszczowka--for maintenance of order at large sport events and, of course, to maintain law and order in public places.

Tomasz: Roman said it a bit euphemistically. Talking bluntly, we are also used to disperse illegal demonstrations. Our training program includes street-fighting tactics. But, on an every-day basis, our duty consists of continually patrolling streets and places where the law could be broken.

[Question] What do you feel when, armed with helmets, shields and truncheons, you stand in front of a crowd composed in its majority of your contemporaries and perhaps your schoolmates?

[Answer] Roman: I have to admit that I had to deal with an aggressive crowd for the first time during the demonstration of 3 May and the second time on 31 August. It was truly a terrible experience. I was standing in front of a very excited group of people who screamed at me "Gestapo" and "SS," who did not react to repeated calls to disperse and who, in response, started throwing bottles filled with gasoline, rocks and bolts. I felt that all of them hated us and that if they could they would tear me to pieces. And why? Why did they hate me and my fellow militiamen? It is truly a frightening feeling.

Tomasz: Most people who gather do not realize what the consequences may be of an uncontrolled demonstration or gathering. They do not know that in the crowd they are much more susceptible to manipulation, that they lose their

own personality and easily succumb to the pressure of the crowd. Someone who knows mob psychology, the laws governing the mob, can take advantage of a random gathering of people for his own purposes, can make them do things that they would never have done under normal circumstances. It is enough to recall the recent race riots in London. It all started with innocent marches and ended in total destruction of everything in the mob's way. Later, a regular battle with the police took place.

Roman: Out of curiosity, I asked young men detained on May 3 and August 31 (most of them were teenagers) why they took part in the gathering. Without exception, all of them answered that they were there by chance, came out of curiosity and were throwing rocks because others were doing that.

[Question] I understand when you deal with large street demonstrations, the threat to public order and danger of street rioting, but you also intervened at Victory Square where people gathered around a floral cross. That crowd was not aggressive, was it?

[Answer] Roman: First, it was an illegal gathering. The state of emergency rules were broken regarding prohibition of all gatherings in public places without approval of the appropriate government agency. Gatherings of a religious character, as that group of people in the Victory Square was described, may take place only inside churches and temples. This alone suffices to punish with legal means those who break the rules and to restore order.

Tomasz: There is also another aspect of the situation. Contrary to appearances, it was not a crowd that came to pray where Cardinal Wyszynski's casket stood. It is enough to compare the purely religious events and and gatherings, such as the pilgrimage to Czestochowa or the ceremonies to celebrate the 600th anniversary of the Virgin Mary's picture at Jasna Gora, with what was happening in Victory Square. In the former case, discipline and peace, in the latter, screaming of antistate slogans, distribution of fliers and shouting offensive words at us. Was this the behavior of people who came to say prayers?

[Question] Supposedly you are given drugs before each street action?

[Answer] Tomasz: That is nonsense. In the West they had to deal with drug addicts long ago, so they should know well what are the effects of drugs. Only a person knowing nothing about effects of drugs on body coordination and mental alertness can believe such stupidities. If we used such substances, we would not be able to act as a police force.

Roman: As a footnote to the Western media reports about the brutality of our units' actions, it is worth recalling the behavior of American law enforcement units during peaceful demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. In clashes with the police, more than a dozen people were killed. Or consider the Japanese police action against those protesting the opening of the airport at Narita. It should be added that the police in the West have much more dangerous equipment, their truncheons are not made of rubber but of

hard wood and they have guns shooting rubber bullets which can cause serious injuries.

[Question] You can do harm with your truncheon too.

[Answer] Tomasz: That is true. And that is why we have very strict rules under what circumstances we can use it. The consequences for disobeying those rules are severe.

Roman: The reasonable thing to do is to react immediately to the call to disperse. Even when we are already forming lines, one can always approach us and ask to be let through. It has never happened that we did not let that person through.

[Question] How do you feel after the event of 31 August?

[Answer] Tomasz: No sense pretending, all of us were afraid of that day but we hoped that the appeals not to participate in the demonstrations would be accepted. Unfortunately, it did not happen that way. All of us ask ourselves what is going to happen next.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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4 November 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2070

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EDITORIAL OUTLINES ROLE, TASK OF THEATER

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Oct 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Theater Faces New Tasks"]

[Text] The new theatrical season is beginning. One after another the theaters are raising their curtains for their audiences to see new works of national and world dramaturgy, the undying heroes of the classics and the images of our contemporaries.

The past theatrical season was strenuous and demanding. In addition to its constant duty of creating modern works of national dramaturgy, of playing significant productions of Soviet dramaturgy and the drama of the socialist countries, and finding new interpretations of classical pieces, the Bulgarian theater had to meet immediate tasks of broad sociopolitical significance. It was a season in which one of the most striking shows was dedicated to the 12th BCP Congress. Works devoted to the life and ideas of Georgi Dimitrov on the occasion of the centenary of his birth assumed a significant place in the repertory. Once more the revolutionary theme and its deep-seated connection with the fervor of the present-day building of socialism resounded in our theater arts. Theatrical companies not only returned to the most value-laden productions, but also created new works which widened the area of the artistic exploration of the revolution in the people's hearts and souls.

A significant event in the life of the Bulgarian theater was the Sofia season of the Theater of the Nations. In scale, organization and diversity of artistic activities, this season left lasting traces in the history of these festivals, which have the noble function—through the art of the theater—of strengthening cooperation among peoples and their unity in the struggle for peace.

The season that has now begun confronts the theaters with the responsible tasks assigned by the 12th BCP Congress and Comrade Todor Zhivkov's policy speech to the 14th Komsomol Congress. It is, above all, a season which must strengthen and raise to greater heights the modern socialist repertory. Impending is our theaters' participation in the gala days of the Soviet play in Pazardzhik. It is a season preceding the review of modern Bulgarian drama that will be held in 1984. Efforts must be made to create new significant productions of modern dramaturgy, striking works of the image of the man of our time, the hero and builder of the new Bulgaria. Quite often on our stage we see plays in which

a class analysis is absent, in which trivial contemporary themes are interpreted, in which there are no captivating and significant images of contemporary heroes, no profound and passionate conflicts capable of eliciting powerful civic ideas. Obviously what is needed is greater activity of the theaters in working with writers and in setting higher requirements not only for the plays, but also for their production.

Unquestionably, audience preference and interest play a part in building the repertory. But this must not happen through an erroneous understanding of the "box office appeal" and "drawing power" of works which sometimes bring on stage productions without the requisite solid content, which are entertaining for themselves alone and which treat of peripheral problems. From the platform of the Komsomol Congress Comrade Todor Zhivkov reminded us once more that there are isolated cases where "a class analysis is absent, where in isolated productions the spiritual image of contemporary man is impoverished or historical perspective is lost, where the playwright is submerged in everyday trifles and does not lift his gaze to the great things, the main things of life."

Here we have the role and place of theater criticism, which is called upon to be timely, objective, exacting and dispassionate in its judgments if it is truly to succeed in "separating the wheat from the tares." The past season gave us examples of remaining silent about weak productions on stage or pardoning them, of the depreciation of criteria, and especially of the isolation of artistic facts from their significance as factors in the esthetic education of audiences, especially young people.

The repertories of theaters that have already been announced show a diversity and wealth of artistic searching. They reveal the ambition of companies to perform complex ideological and artistic functions. But in some places these repertories are still not adapted to the real capabilities of the theaters or to participation in them by a significant part of the companies' creative potential. The creative capabilities of all generations, especially of mature creative persons, are not fully used. Only a realistic squaring of repertories with companies and an increase in the part played by casts in their production can guarantee achievement of the projected goals. Artistic managements and public organizations in the theaters must combat inertia and indifference and isolated cases of lack of interest and passivity; must create an atmosphere of solidarity and unity in the creative efforts of the playwrights. Alongside the key role of the director as overall organizer and ideological and artistic interpreter of the work, the performing artist must take his well-deserved place--the performing artist who, by his activity, by the wealth of his artistic talent and his high civic thinking, must become an inspired mediator between author, producer and audience, and fully a creator in his own right of new artistic worlds.

The theater arts must achieve all the things for which they are intended. And this means not only that the doors of the auditoriums must be opened wide, but also that the theater must travel new routes to its audience and must carry its art wherever it is expected and wanted. More active work is needed to attract into the auditoriums the working class and toiling peasantry, young workers and students, children and teenagers. We are glad that the new theater programs are allotting a merited place to children's audiences.

The implementation of these high goals requires an active attitude towards theater problems on the part of party, youth and trade-union offices and organizations, and their direct and able support and assistance.

The curtain has gone up. New and important contacts with the public lie ahead. The theaters must turn these encounters into unforgettable gala days of art.

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DEPUTY MINISTER OUTLINES CSSR'S FOREIGN POLICY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Sep 82 p 6

[Article by Jaromir Johanes, deputy minister of foreign affairs: "The Decisive Factor"]

> [Text] The 37th UN General Assembly opens its deliberations in New York today. It is meeting under conditions of a complicated and tense international situation. The responsibility for this unfavorable condition must be fully borne by the policy of the imperialist circles, especially the United States and its present administration.

Despite the complexity and deterioration of the international situation, it would be wrong to succumb to pessimism and ignore the deep-rooted detente policy of the past decade. For the atmosphere in which the assembly meets is also marked by an activization of the peace-loving progressive forces of the whole world in the struggle against the danger of war.

The decisive factor in this endeavor is the peace policy of the socialist states stemming from the peace program approved by the 26th CPSU Congress, which was adopted by the other socialist countries, and which fully reflects the aspirations of countries of all continents. We must, therefore, make sure the deliberations and conclusions of the 37th UN General Assembly are fully responsive to the voices of all realistic, antiwar forces in the world struggling against feverish armament and for equitable peaceful cooperation.

The coming deliberations should produce really concrete and effective resolutions of the kind fought for within the framework of their peace offensive by the socialist states headed by the Soviet Union. These were convincingly presented at the Second Special Conference of Disarmament, above all, in the message of the supreme Soviet representative, Leonid Brezhnev, the presentation by A. Gromyko, in the Soviet Memorandum on Disarmament, as well as in presentations and positions of the other slcialist states. In this respect, we are prepared to support any proposals which consistently support the aims of disarmament and relaxation of international tensions. We consider the preservation of peace and prevention of a nuclear catastrophe of paramount importance.

The way to resolve this key problem of our times quickly and effectively was shown by the Soviet Union at the special conference on disarmament by pledging never to be the first to use a nuclear weapon. We again emphasize and support this historic initiative and will do all we can to encourage other nuclear powers to adopt a similar pledge which, in fact, would relieve the world of the threat of nuclear war.

Similarly, we will work toward the development and application of all positive opportunities and ideas which characterized the course and conclusions of the recent conference on disarmament, and implementation of all previous major decisions of this supreme UN body on this subject.

Among these certainly is the Declaration on the Prevention of a Nuclear Catastrophe which, at USSR initiative, was adopted by last year's General Assembly and which proclaims first use of atomic weapons the most serious crime against mankind. The socialist states also support a complete and final destruction of all nuclear weapons, as called for in the Soviet proposal for the preparation, approval and implementation of a program for nuclear disarmament in stages.

Of equal importance is the question of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, strengthening the policy of nonproliferation of nuclear arms and questions of security for the nonnuclear states.

In connection with nuclear disarmament, the coming General Assembly will surely emphasize the great importance of Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on medium-range nuclear weapons. It should be pointed out, however, that in order to achieve success in these negotiations, it is essential that the American side respond positively to the constructive proposals presented in Geneva by the Soviet Union, a development for which the world public is still waiting.

Given the fact that weapons of mass destruction represent the greatest danger for humanity, the CSSR will actively support a ban of all other types of such weapons, especially a ban of the neutron bomb and chemical weapons, including their planned binary modification. Even today, the introduction of American chemical weapons stored in Western Europe, would lead to unforeseeable consequences for the nations of Europe.

The Czechoslovak delegation to the 37th General Assembly will also work toward disarmament in the area of conventional arms, and will advocate a ban on placing any type of weapons in outer space. We also wish to stress the importance of regional disarmament negotiations, especially the Vienna talks on the reduction of forces and armaments in Central Europe at which progress is still being hampered by delaying tactics and an attempt by the West to gain one-sided military superiority.

A great contribution to progress in questions of security and disarmament would also be a successful conclusion of the Madrid Conference of signatories of the Helsinki Agreement. It is, therefore, important that the United Nations

issue a call to these signatories for a successful conclusion of the meeting, in the interest of further relaxation of tnesions and especially for the purpose of convoking a conference on confidence-building measures toward disarmament and security in Europe.

The Madrid Conference should close with the signing of a comprehensive and balanced document which would create the prerequisites for a continuation of the spirit of Helsinki, for an all-European process of enhancing security and expanding productive and beneficial cooperation. These ideas will be stressed by the CSSR delegation. At the same time, we will firmly denounce any steps infringing on the Helsinki Final Act, especially attempts by international reactionaries to grossly interfere in the affairs of socialist and other states.

The CSSR will continue to advocate the principles contained in the Declaration of International Cooperation toward the achievement of the disarmament goals approved, on the basis of a CSSR initiative, by the 34th General Assembly in 1979. Our initiative represents the implementation of the call by the president of the republic and general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Gustav Husak, on all states of the world to adopt a pledge to approach disarmement problems in a constructive manner, and to create an atmosphere which would bring about progress in disarmament negotiations as rapidly as possible.

The ideas in the declaration have lost nothing in their timeliness and their significance is constantly growing in the current conditions of stagnation in the disarmament negotiations, as demonstrated by this year's session of the Disarmament Committee in Geneva, marked by the obstructionist practices of the NATO countries. It is precisely in productive, honest and constructive cooperation among nations in the sphere of disarmament that we see an effective role for the United Nations in the resolution of the most serious problems of our time.

One of the basic tasks of the United Nations is to deal with problems of strengthening international security and abandoning the use of force in international relations, both of which will remain the center of attention this year as well. Dealing with these problems is an extremely serious task and the success of this assembly session will depend on the measure in which it contributes to peaceful and just resolution of crisis situations in the world, and to what extent it will apply the authority and assets of the United Nations toward this goal.

Together with the other socialist states and all peace-loving forces, Czechoslovakia will strive for a lasting and just solution in the Near East. We will firmly denounce the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, the genocide of Palestinians and the civilian population of Beirut, and demand an unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and all other occupied Arab territory.

The imperialist and Zionist aggression in Lebanon has again revealed to the whole world the real aims of Israeli expansionist policy and the direct responsibility of the United States for the tense situation in the Near East. Today, it is clear to all that without broad support from Washington, Israel could never have realized its aggressive intentions. We must again reject attempts at separate solutions of the situation in this area on the basis of the Camp David agreement, and support the proposals for a comprehensive settlement of the Near East conflict, based on the Soviet proposal for an international conference on this problem with the participation of all interested parties, among which the PLO, as the only legal representative of the Palestinian ARab people, must take its place. Such a solution must, above all, include the inalienable right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state.

Along with other socialist countries, the CSSR will also deal with the other areas of tension in the world, and will advance proposals for their peaceful settlement. We will denounce imperialist intrigues with respect to the AFghan Democratic Republic, and support the efforts of its government to resolve the problem by political means.

With equal vigor, we will support the proposals of the socialist states of Indochina for the normalization of their relations with Thailand, and the convocation of an international conference of the big powers and other interested states, which would assess the situation in Southeast Asia.

We will denounce the efforts of American imperialism to dictate to the countries of Central America and the Caribbean region, especially the gorss pressures and attacks against Cuba. We will work toward a speedy settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict which is not in the interest of the two warring countries and which also threatens the security and stability of the entire region, thus creating more room for further imperialist intervention in the affairs of the countries concerned.

The CSSR delegation will strongly support the efforts of the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic toward peaceful unification of the two parts of Korea, and the withdrawal of American troops from the south.

Our delegation will subject to strong criticism the policy of apartheid, the boycotting of the UN resolution on the independence of Namibia, acts of aggression against neighboring African states perpetrated by the South African racist regime. We will advocate adoption of corresponding resolutions aimed at terminating these policies.

As in previous meetings, the 37th General Assembly should focus on the liquidation of the remnants of the world colonial system and neocolonialist expansion of the Western powers, and culminate by condemning imperialist practices of fanning tensions by forceful preservation of the obsolete past. This also applies to the recent crisis in the Malvinas.

Great tasks confront the assembly in other areas as well. In the forefront will be the problem of mass breaches of basic human rights, apartheid and racism, as well as the activization of Nazi ideology. The CSSR delegation will act with determination against all these phenomena and will especially emphasize the need to guarantee the most basic human right of all, the right to life. It will also focus on problems of youth, notably the right of youth to education and employment. In this sphere, it will base itself on the CSSR initiative at the 36th session, which is being successfully implemented.

Great attention will be devoted to assessment of economic problems, especially the negative manifestations in relations among states, characterized by tension, instability and unacceptable discrimination practiced by the imperialist circles.

It will be necessary to reemphasize the inseparable links binding the development of international economic cooperation and good political relations among states, including efforts to reach concrete results in disarmament and achieve the justified demand of restructuring international economic relations on an equitable and democratic foundation.

The coming 37th General Assembly unquestionably provides another important forum this year which, like the Second Special Conference on Disarmament, the socialist states intend to use for the presentation and advocacy of its peaceloving foreign policy. This will not be a simple and easy task.

9496
CSO: 2400/2

BRIEFS

YOUTH-ARMY COOPERATION MEETING--Representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Army (CSLA) and the Central Committee, Union of Socialist Youth (SSM), met in Prague on 13 October with top Pioneers and leaders of the units of Young Defenders of Homeland (oddily mladych obrancu vlasti). Currently there are 767 of such units active in the CSSR. Deputy Chief of the Main Political Directorate of CSLA Major General J. Klicha spoke at the meeting at which top Pioneer leaders were decorated. [Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 14 Oct 82 p 4]

CSO: 2400/31

STATE, CHURCH PEACE MOVEMENT DIFFERENCES SEEN 'UNBRIDGEABLE'

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 30 Sep 82 p 4

[Article signed 'sk,' datelined Berlin, 28 September: "The Protestant Church of the GDR and the 'Peace Question'--Tensions at the Synod in Halle"]

[Text] The Synod of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR which concluded Tuesday (28 September) in Halle, Saxony, revealed tensions between church leadership and the membership who experienced difficulties with their commitment for peace through attempted government scare tactics and repressive measures. The criticism directed at the church leadership made clear the dilemma of the Church Federation which as "church under socialism" on the one hand confirms its willingness to discuss and compromise with the communist government but, on the other hand, cannot and will not desert church members in the "question of peace."

The concluding statement of the church leadership emphasizes that the Protestant church did not question "justified security interests" of the GDR and other countries. No retractions are needed in this question. At the same time, the church leadership appeals to government leaders to respect forms of Christian peace work even if it cannot participate fully "from the Marxist-Leninist point of view." Church leaders obviously appealed to their own church members when making the request that one would have to learn how to deal with "given realities" if new thoughts on military security are to be explored.

Contradictions in the Official "Peace Policy"

In the same statement the church leadership defends the Protestant Church's own way of dealing with the "peace question" and also points out contradictions in the "peace policy" of the GDR. It is contradictory, e.g., when Honecker states, on the one hand, that more arms do not result in more security and when, on the other hand, government leaders emphasize again and again that peace will be the safer the stronger socialism is.

In a number of contributions to synod discussions it became clear that the church leadership is trying to confirm its efforts to continue discussion with the SED leadership in spite of the sharp criticism directed by communist government leaders against the Christian peace movement. Wittenberg Pastor Schorlemer, who is a critic of the GDR leadership security policy

that is based exclusively on the principle of military strength, suggested that the "peace question" should concentrate primarily on the formation of socialist society.

Criticism by Synod Members

The efforts of the church leaders meeting in Halle to compromise with government leaders for the sake of safeguarding their own interests did not meet with unanimous approval by the synod members. The announcement by the church leaders that the peace emblem "Swords into Plowshares", the symbol of Christian peace movement in the GDR, would in the future no longer be displayed in public resulted in surprise and criticism on the part of synod participants. There were complaints that the church leadership was dropping a method of "presenting and demonstrating" church peace commitment. In this connection, the increased militarization of large parts of GDR society was pointed out. A pastor from Saxony added that increasingly in GDR schools pacifist commitments a rudely attacked by students.

In view of mounting pressure on members of the Christian peace movement in the GDR by state authorities the question was raised at the Halle synod if it was still right for church leaders to try to conduct open discussions with government leaders. This willingness to discuss is obviously received with a growing lack of understanding by young Christians who display openly their commitment in the peace question.

Unbridgeable Contrast

The compromising attitude of church leaders in regard to the "peace question" was perhaps criticised at the Halle synod by synod members because it is becoming increasingly clear that there are unbridgeable contrasts between the basic attitude of Christians committed to peace and the political goals of the official government "peace policy." Whereas the Christian peace movement in the GDR directs its peace commitment, which contains strong pacifist and neutralist concepts, toward finding new ways for securing peace, the government is mainly concerned to bring down, with the help of the peace movement in the West, the rearmament decision of NATO while, at the same time, retaining and strengthening its own military potential. That there is no consensus at all between these two extremes became obvious in the criticism directed at the attitude of church leaders during the Halle synod.

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CSO: 2300/10

PROTESTANT SYNOD SCORES CHURCH'S 'TIMOROUSNESS' ON PEACE ISSUE

Synod Conference

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 29 Sep 82 p 4

[Article signed 'sk,' datelined Berlin, 27 September: "Criticism of GDR Church Leadership--Conference of Protestant Synod in Halle"]

[Text] The this years fall conference of the synod of the League of Evangelical Churches in the GDR is being held currently in the Saxon city of Halle. The "peace question" found its way immediately to the heart of the five day deliberations of the synod, which is ending on Tuesday [28 September 1982]. The church leadership submitted a 32-page report to the synodalists which dealt exclusively with the church's role in the cause of peace.

The paper clearly bears the marks of involvement of the church leadership in the question of criticism by the communist regime of the peace movement in the GDR and started a lively discussion among the synodalists. The efforts of the church leadership to prevent breaking off the dialogue with the government despite increased government repression of the Christian peace movement did not meet with unanimous approval by the synodalists.

The compliance of the church leadership, which was outwardly demonstrated in particular by the fact that the peace badge "Swords into Plowshares" is no longer being distributed, was regretted by the synodalists. The church leadership was reproached for having striven too hard for balance in their report on the "peace question." It was felt that because of excessive anxiety within the church too much concern for the wishes of the state had been shown instead of dealing with the problems troubling the young Christians who had publicly committed themselves on the peace question, according to one young person. In view of growing government pressure, several participants in the synod pleaded for a public declaration that the government leadership was in no way honoring the promise of "freedom of belief and of conscience" made by Honecker in talks with the church leaders.

The critics were answered by Magdeburg Bishop Krusche in his stewardship report on the occasion of his departure from office as chairman of the church league, with the assurance that the church would continue in the future to acknowledge "independent responsibility for peace" and govern itself accordingly.

Appeasing the SED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 38, 20 Sep 82 pp 51, 54

[Unattributed article: "peace Movement: With Howitzers--The SED Is Trying to Divide the Protestant Church in the GDR--By Promises to the Church Leader and Harshness Toward the Pace Movement"]

[Text] The devout East Berlin party-line WOCHENPOST irritated its readers with a headline on the occasion of the 70th birthday of the SED secretary general. Spreading resplendently across three columns on page three of the journal it stated, "We are as one with you in responsibility for peace." SED Secretary General Erich Honecker and Lutheran Bishop Werner Krusche affirmed their unity with a hearty handshake in an unusually large picture beneath the headline.

Instead of the usual muddled account by the GDR news agency ADN on the church leader's congratulatory courtship of the East German state and party leader, the WOCHENPOST subscribers got Krusche in the original text: The church had the right according to the chairman of the GDR church league in his message of greeting to the SED birthday boy, to make "an independent contribution" to the commitment to peace in the German Democratic Republic.

The WOCHENPOST statement, ordered by Erich Honecker himself, was meant as a gesture: the SED leadership wanted--in timely fashion before the league synod of the GDR church this week in Halle--to demonstrate publicly that it does not wish to have a falling-out with the church on the issue of peace.

The harsh actions of the GDR authorities against those groups which are committing themselves against armament in the west and in the east on religious grounds, far from the official, state-controlled peace movement, had fed the suspicion among rectors and church higher-ups that the "constructive togetherness" propagated by Honecker in 1978 was now over and done with. Many even saw the approach of a new church struggle as in the stone ages of the GDR of the 1950's.

The fear of a worsening of relations between church and state is not entirely without foundation. For the SED has certainly altered its tactics toward the church friends of peace: instead of taking the church on in frontal attack, the state party has of late been trying to drive a wedge between the church leadership and the lower echelons of the church.

Church representatives and rectors have in recent weeks received a series of invitations "to confidential conversations" with the local party leadership. The SED functionaries had strict instructions to apply gentle pressure to their guests: the common peace objectives should be brought to the fore and the clergy put under pressure to persuade the members of their flock who are concerned about peace that they were abusing the latitude enjoyed by the church.

The party's parade route had been announced by the state secretary for church questions, Klaus Gysi: "I cannot escape the impression that you are allowing yourselves to be terrorized by a handful of people."

There is no doubt that the SED is determined to put an end to the peace terror. After a wave of repressive actions against those young people who have taken a stand in favor of the church peace movement, for a while last summer the party tolerated the wearing in public of the church peace emblem "Swords into Plowshares." But now the security organs are once again taking drastic action: criminal police are checking schoolbags in schools, even 14-year-olds are being interrogated. Boys and girls who wear the emblem are not given tickets at the ticket window or are chased out of stations by the transport police. Cases have even become known to the church in which young people have had their identity card taken away from them. In its place they received the substitute identity card PM 12--a paper which must otherwise be carried only by freed prisoners or GDR citizens who come to the attention of the police because of attempted flight from the republic. PM 12 holders are considered "unsafe elements" and may not travel abroad.

Drastic examples for those who cannot learn are included in the repertoire of intimidation. In Halle seven students were thrown out of the technical institute. They may not continue their studies at any other institute.

The theology students of the East Berlin language seminary were made uneasy during the service at the opening of the winter semester by the news that the head man of the training facility, Lorenz, had been arrested. The grounds are still unknown. Lorenz had many church contacts in the west.

In many GDR cities students are being suspended from the expanded upper school and stubborn friends of peace are being ordered to attend "cadre discussions" in many factories; if that does not help they are dismissed.

The church leadership usually tries to help those effected to leave the area--as a rule without success. In an effort to intervene with the state organs, Manfred Stolpe of the East Berlin Land church asked, "Why must you shoot at sparrows with cannons, at butterflies with howitzers?" The official hunt for those who sew the peace emblem on their clothing had created a "neurotic atmosphere" in the country, warned Bishop Krusche.

And Stolpe's superior, Brandenburg Bishop Gottfried Forck, challenged the SED to reverse itself: the tense situation could only improve "if a public declaration by the government were printed in all newspapers regretting the current attacks and rehabilitating the emblem 'Swords into Plowshares'"--an unfulfillable challenge, for the party is always right.

State Secretary Gysi countered the unseemly suggestion with the charge: "What we need is obedience to the law by the church." This included keeping their distance from western media. Gysi: "When, for example, DIE WELT serves up on synodal declaration after the other, these forces can only make us nervous." In a counter offer the SED man, consistent with the Honecker line, suggested to the church leaders that "they take things in hand together."

The calculated plan of the SED to divide the church by offering the prospect of more latitude while proceeding with harsh measures against the refractory friends of peace might succeed. Even before the league synod some superiors made it clear that they had accepted the required posture.

The head of the Dessau church, Eberhard Natho, declared that there was "no independent and autonomous peace movement in the GDR," either in the churches or elsewhere in the republic. And Dresden Bishop Johannes Hempel provided inflammatory material within the church's peace circle with the remark that "we have to learn how to suffer again."

Hempel did not mean that the young people should bear the repressive measures brought on by their commitment with christian patience, he meant his advice passively: since they had no propect of success in the GDR, the friends of peace should suspend their activity and suffer the discord preferably in silence. Meanwhile the theological controversy has been set off by Hempel's interpretation of suffering.

The retreat of the superiors has whopping consequences for the peace groups: with only one vote opposed the conference of the church leaders decided no longer to produce the emblem "Swords into Plowshares" and no longer to distribute finished emblems. The plates and films used in production so far were confiscated by the GDR authorities at the Duerninger press in Loebau already in March.

And the East German church is prepared to put a damper on its peace contacts with the West in order to placate the SED.

Originally the "Inter-church Peace Council" (IKV) in the Netherlands, which has contacts with more than 50 local Lutheran circles in the GDR, wanted to organize a seminar during the peace decade. The participants, church representatives from East and West, were to prepare a paper on the principles of church peace work.

However the plans not only met the rejection by the SED, IKV Secretary Mient Jan Faber was prohibited from entering the GDR.

East-West fraternization became inconvenient even for the church leaders. They wrote to Holland urgently requesting that the peace seminar be called off--for the sake of peace.

9827
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POLICY ON AFRICAN RELATIONS, PROSPECTS FOR 1980'S REVIEWED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 27 No 8, Aug 82 (signed to press 5 Jul 82) pp 19-23

[Article by Karl Rother, East Berlin: "The GDR--A Friend of the Peoples of Africa"]

[Text] The decisions of the 10th SED Party Congress have set clear priorities for the foreign policy of the socialist German state in the 1980's. These decisions place efforts for peace, disarmament and termination of the armaments race into the center the international activities of our country. There is presently no more urgent task for the GDR than that of securing peace. The most aggressive circles of imperialism are striving for military superiority. They are arming themselves to a degree and with a speed never known before; they want to stop social progress in the world at any cost. This is obvious also in the southern part of Africa. The aggressive actions by South African racists against the People's Republic of Angola and other frontier states, as well as the policy of destabilization directed toward the free countries of southern Africa are eloquent proof of all this.

The GDR has always attributed great importance to the struggle of the peoples and countries of Africa. This was attested especially by the 1979 visits of Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, to the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Zambia, the People's Republic of Mozambique as well as to Ethiopia.

Common Positions and Ideals

Africa is a continent in the state of awakening. The goals already reached by its countries and peoples had to be achieved with much effort and through struggles demanding many sacrifices. The importance of African countries for the struggle of peace, independence and social progress has increased considerably. "Today's world cannot be ruled against them but only with them," Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of theGDR State Council, said in his speech at the 10th FDGB [Free German Trade Union] Congress. But all African countries are not yet free. Colonialism, racism and apartheid are still raising their heads. At the same time, it is becoming increasingly clear that the progrels made by these

countries is threatened acutely by imperialist confrontation policies. These policies are forcing AFrican countries to spend more money on defense and security, money that could be used for the improvement of the living standards of their people. In this complex present situation, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer this year paid official visits for the third time to African countries. In May he was in the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Zimbabwe, the Republic of Zambia and the People's Republic of the Congo. The Africa visit of the GDR foreign minister happened at a time marked by a considerable increase in tensions in the international situation and by mounting pressures applied by the most aggressive circles of imperialism also to African countries, especially the frontier states. Oskar Fischer's discussion partners considered his visit at the present time to be a convincing demonstration of the solidarity of the GDR and the countries of the socialist community with the struggle of African countries toward strengthening their national independence and for social progress. The countries visited belong to those countries of the African continent with whom the GDR has had long-standing relations of friendship and anti-imperialist solidarity through common positions and ideals in the struggle for peace, disarmament, national liberation and social progress. The visit offered opportunities to continue and deepen exchanges of ideas on important questions of the international situation as well as on questions of the continued development of bilateral cooperation. Especially today, when there is the real danger that the most aggressive circles of imperialism could start a worldwide nuclear holocaust, discussions of this kind have great importance.

The discussions made clear that the struggle for peace has become the essential question of our time. Only when peace is secured can there be a solution for all the other problems of mankind such as poverty, hunger and sickness. This makes necessary the strong unification and active, coordinated efforts of all forces committed to peace. The discussion partners of the GDR foreign minister stated convincingly that the attempts of imperialism to meddle, its policy of destabilization, have no future in Africa because African countries are determined to defend their political independence and continue along the road of progressive social change.

The meetings of the GDR foreign minister with Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Canan Banana, Robert Mugabe, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, Denis Sassou-Nguesso and Louis Sylvian-Goma as well as his talks with his colleagues and other leading personalities of party and government in these countries took place in an atmosphere of friendship, mutual understanding and cordiality. In the center of the political discussions were questions on the struggle for securing peace, for armament limitation and disarmament as well as on the situation in southern Africa, especially the settlement of the Namibia question. The discussions of Oskar Fischer in Luanda, Harare, Lusaka and Brazzaville resulted in agreement of the discussion partners' concepts of important international questions.

The presidents of the People's Republic of Angola and of the Republic of Zambia remembered with great satisfaction their meetings with Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State

Council. The Angolan Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge condemned the intentions of the U.S. to place mediumOrange rockets in Western Europe in order to -ain military superiority. In this connection he commended the attitude of socialist countries and other progressive powers in regard to the continuation of detente and the support of general disarmament. Referring to the situation in southern Africa, the Angolan foreign minister pointed to dangers that result from U.S. confrontation policies in this region.

The foreign minister of Zambia, Prof Lameck Goma, also pleaded for general and complete disarmament, especially in the nuclear field, and he emphasized that the threat of nuclear weapons poses the greatest danger to mankind. The discussion partners from Zambia emphasized that the aggressive policies of the white minority regime in South Africa are the main obstacle for peaceful coexistence in this region and for the national and social struggle for liberation in Africa.

On the Situation in Southern Africa

It is only natural that in these discussions and meetings the situation in southern Africa held a position of special importance. It is becoming clear at the present time that the most aggressive circles of imperialism, especially those of the United States, are anxious to regain lost positions in Africa. The main thrust of their policy of confrontation in this region is presently directed toward the political and economic destabilization of the People's Republic of Angola and the People's Republic of Mozambique. The discussion partners condemned most strongly the continuing criminal acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and other countries of southern Africa. In the People's Republic of Angola, the Botha regime supports counter-revolutionary gangs of UNITA against the Luanda government and provides them with arms for Namibia which the Botha regime occupies illegally.

In the discussions it was pointed out that the apartheid regime is the most important ally of imperialist countries in Africa. Its policies do not permit the establishment of secure peace for the independent countries of the continent. The goals of Pretoria and its sponsors, following a neocolonialist settlement of the Namibia question, are intergran part of past power politics. To this belongs also the stirring up of regional conflicts.

In the discussion unanimous agreement could be reached on the point that in today's world any so-called regional conflict threatens not only the countries of the respective region but, at the same time, world peace in general. This consideration prompts the GDR to condemn the South African racist regime and its policies in the following statement:

This course of brutal suppression, terror, meddling, blackmail and open aggression is a serious threat to the interests of all national forces and countries in Africa and, at the same time, to all peoples on earth. The GDR welcomes, therefore, the results of the summit meeting of the frontier states at Maputo (6-7 March 1982) because these results are directed toward continued cooperation by these countries against imperialist policies of terrorism and meddling as well as toward the rejection of South African policies of aggression.

During the discussions with the foreign ministers of the four African countries it was decided that after political independence had been obtained for Zimbabwe the settlement of the Namibia question is very definitely next on the agenda. In the center of this question is the decision on whether the people of Namibia can finally reap the harvest of their struggle for independence and self-determination led by SWAPO, or whether imperialism and its allies will succeed in the last minute to install a puppet regime which will leave untouched the imperialist strongholds established in Namibia and South Africa against the national and social liberation of the peoples of Africa. A speedy settlement of the Namibia question on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) is possible and necessary. The maneuvers of the Botha regime and the Western countries with the intention to bypass this resolution and to change the internationally recognized status of SWAPO are especially dangerous because they are meant to open the door for neo-colonialist conditions in Namibia.

The GDR will continue in the future to give political, diplomatic and material support to the South West African People's Organization, the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people, as well as to the patriotic forces of the Republic of South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress. The GDR will do this with the conviction that the day is not too distant when all the peoples of southern Africa will live peacefully and be free from racial discrimination, suppression and exploitation.

Productive Development of Bilateral Relations

In all the countries visited, discussions were held on the development of bilateral relations. The discussion partners agreed unanimously that bilateral relations are developing well with mutual advantage and profit. It was felt everywhere that the policies of the socialist GDR have a good reputation in Africa and that our country is considered a reliable partner.

The discussion partners emphasized especially the close cooperation between the leaders of our countries which results in impor-ant suggestions for the development of bilateral relations. This is made clear once again in the result of the visits of the presidents of Angola and Zambia in the GDR. The discussion partners from Angola confirmed that their country is willing to do everything in its power in order to develop relations with the GDR according to the provisions of the agreement on friendship and cooperation signed in 1979 by Erich Honecker and Dr Augostino Neto, the first president of the People's Republic of Angola. The willingness of the GDR toward a continued dynamic expansion of relations was defined by the discussion partners from Angola as a valuable support for their country. The Angolan comrades emphasized that there is evidence every day of the fact that the fraternal relations between the SED and the MPLA result in decisive motivations for this kind of loyal cooperation.

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations 1 ½ years ago, cooperation between the GDR and the Republic of Zimbabwe has made good progress. In this development the relations between the SED and the African National Union

of Zimbabwe are of special importance. A lively exchange of delegations was begun with the purpose of developing political, cultural and scientific-technical cooperation. The GDR is very interested in the purposeful development of profitable and mutually advantageous relations. This was confirmed by the signing of a cultural and air traffic agreement during the visit.

In Lusaka, Oskar Fischer stated that the GDR is ready and determined to strengthen in the future the relations already established with Zambia, and to work toward the goal of realizing with the highest possible effectiveness the measures already agreed upon. Again and again the discussion partners from Zambia called to mind the meetings of their president with Erich Honecker which created a climate of mutual respect, confidence and friendship where cooperation thrives so well.

Relations between the SED and the Congolese Worker's Party as well as between the two countries have reached a creditable level. Mutual understanding and confidence are strengthened daily by different meetings and contacts, by cooperation in the training of cadres and through the exchange of experiences.

Of increasing importance is the development of economic cooperation. Important impetus is given to this work by the activities of the "Mixed Commission."

In the People's Republic of the Congo an agreement was also signed--the cultural cooperation plan that extends to 1983.

In all the countries visited the discussion partners expressed the firm determination to continue the development of relations with the GDR for mutual advantage. The agreements reached are a good basis for this goal.

8889
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EDITOR OF PARTY JOURNAL CALLS FOR LIMITS ON PARTY ACTIVITY

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 8-9, 82 pp 26-34

[Article by Sandor Lakos, editor-in-chief of PARTELET: "On the Path of a Further Development of the Political System"]

[Text] A development of the political system has always occupied a central place in our work in the course of the past 25 years. A detailed analysis of this period might be the subject of a special study, one which probably would not be without interest, a study of how the principles for a renewal of our political system made a way for themselves and how they were able, or why they were not able, to be implemented in practice with sufficient effectiveness. But however interesting such an historical overview might be it would obviously overstrain the framework of this article. For this reason we will attempt on this occasion simply to indicate some of the more important historical stations and theoretical lessons.

I.

If we review the past 25 years from the viewpoint of the development of the political system, three periods outline themselves before us.

In the period extending from 1956 to 1962, understandably and probably necessarily, an analysis and critique of the errors prior to 1956 and a separation from the earlier political line and the methods used stood in the foreground. The party tried to define its position in the most important questions primarily in relation to the earlier period. It tried to work out and publicly demonstrate what sort of guarantees it wanted to build into our political system so that the mistakes of the past could not be repeated. Extraordinarily important principles were formulated in this period, primarily in regard to the functioning of the party, its internal life and order, its linkage system and style of work. It was then that our style of work adopted all that which we have become accustomed to indicating with the expressions closeness to man, openness and directness and which is an element of key importance for trust toward the party. It was then that we developed the chief principles, still valid, of the alliance policy, the relationship between the party and state and the party and social organs, which represented a basis for our further development.

The second period can be put generally between 1962 and 1968. The socialist reorganization of agriculture, laying the foundations of socialism and thus the objective of making socialist relationships general created different conditions for the realization of the principles which had been developed. The program of developing socialist democracy, of the democratization of the guidance of society, and the task of strengthening the alliance policy, of broadening its organizational frameworks, came into the foreground and received great emphasis in these years.

The beginning of the third period can be put at 1968. From the viewpoint of the functioning of the political system the emphasis on interest relationships and interest structures, putting them in the center, is one of the important elements of this new period. The recognition that uncovering the role of various interests, resolving the contradictions existing among them and creating the necessary harmony were indispensable elements for the appropriate functioning of the political system and a basic condition for the realization of democracy made a way for itself at this time. In this period the interdependencies of the political system and the economy came increasingly to the fore--making decisions at the appropriate level, increasing individual and collective interest, broadening the possibility of having a say and ensuring the necessary spheres of authority and forms for this.

The development after 1956 began in the political sphere of society. Proposing such trends, and trying to realize them, as reducing excessive centralization, a better delimitation of spheres of authority and decision making rights and increasing local independence prepared the soil for the reform of economic guidance, of great significance, which was in this sense a continuation of the political aspirations following the counter-revolution. This should be emphasized even if we admit that the need for more radical economic changes had come up even earlier in scientific debates but that the political leadership at that time did not see that the conditions for these were ensured. At the same time it is a fact that the reform of the economic mechanism increased the significance of a correct treatment of interest problems and of a more effective linking of central guidance and local independence and again made timely the necessity of a further development of social-political relationships.

This was one of the chief reasons why the party dealt with the questions of state theory and socialist democracy in a stressed way and at the highest level (Central Committee, Political Committee) between 1968 and 1970, passing special resolutions concerning the work of government, of people's representatives, of the national assembly, councils and judicature, concerning modification of the constitution and concerning party guidance of state work. In these years the party systematically reviewed all important areas of the functioning of the political system and decided on further steps at essential points.

The development of our society has shown that in political practice problems which had been thought finally solved earlier come up again and again. On the

one hand this is natural and is connected with the unceasing process of generation changes. On the other hand the reappearance of problems also shows--and this calls for proper self-examination also--that perhaps our solutions were not adequate, that we were not able to build sufficiently effective institutional guarantees into the functioning of our system or that the existing guarantees have not proven sufficient. It is also obvious that our development constantly brings up new questions which require creative answers.

In recent years the change in economic conditions, for example, has prompted a more profound rethinking of certain interdependencies. The more consistent application of certain requirements of economic guidance, formulated earlier, also requires a renewal of the attitude toward and practice of the guidance of society, a more efficient functioning of the political system--swifter and more flexible reaction, the appearance of interest elements in independent initiatives and, what is inseparable from this, a better differentiation of people according to performance. All this has brought to the surface what was, for example, the basic conflict hiding in the reform and mechanism debates, that differentiation according to performance is indispensable for increasing economic efficiency but at the same time it becomes a source of social inequalities, and this comes into conflict with the "leveling" aspirations deeply rooted in public thinking. In the interest of resolving this conflict we must assume the supplemental tensions accompanying an increase in income differences, the resolution of which promises greater achievement in the longer run. The political system can aid our progress with an open and balanced treatment of these problems.

The way to solve these problems can be seen well if we trace a few problems of the political system.

II.

When analysing the political system an interpretation of the guiding, leading role of the party takes first place, and not for reasons of protocol. If we wanted to tersely formulate the errors of earlier periods in connection with this then we might say that they expressed themselves primarily in the idea and practice of the omnipotence of the party. At the political-organizational level this formulation was necessarily accompanied by an underestimation or even negation of the allies of the worker class and of other institutions of the political system, by the use of incorrect methods, by the giving of orders and even despotism. Although we may have broken with this formulation in principle, the idea or ideal of party omnipotence also raises deeper interdependencies.

On the one hand it is obvious that under certain circumstances every question may have political significance, and in such cases the party cannot deprive itself of the possibility of taking a position. On the other hand it certainly seems necessary to somehow circumscribe the activity of the party, because it follows from the central place it occupies in the political system

that there is a constant danger that its activity will spread to everything, and even take the place of other motive elements. We must certainly agree with the position that the links of the party with other organs cannot be defined according to the themes to be decided, making a list of which questions belong to the party and which do not. But neither does it seem superfluous to try to outline, in a general way, definite spheres of questions, and especially ways of approaching them, which characterize the activity of the party.

The relationship of party and state has been the subject of debates for a quarter century. It is obvious that both serve the same goals and, in essence, work on the solution of the same tasks. But it must be seen that government, which involves the use of legal, authoritative and administrative tools, is one thing and the political leading role, the essence of which is orientation, providing a direction and organizing-supervising activity done on the basis of this, is another. We have rejected the earlier and crudely simplifying thesis that the party and state are one. And although we have done much since then for the correct development of these relationships in a proper way at various levels, still we have not been able to demonstrate or define in proper depth the complexity and differentiation of these extraordinarily important links.

Our basic aspiration is expressed by the thesis that the party should concentrate our attention on setting political directions while state organs should concentrate our attention on the independent application and realization of them. In accordance with this, in the past quarter century and especially in the last 10 years, we have deliberately reduced the concrete factual or numeric prescriptions in party documents, in the resolutions of the Central Committee and of congresses, in order to expand the independence and scope of movement of state organs. We have set in order the links and mutual representation between leading party and state organs. As a result of all this the profiles have become more sharp and distinct from one another. But the question is far from solved, so it is not without foundation that it concerns us even today.

The studies of recent years have directed our attention to a number of important interdependencies. Reality itself has required making precise the thesis mentioned, that the party formulates directions while the independence of state organs appears in execution. Despite its basically correct content this thesis, in such a furmulation, is one-sided and simplifying because, for example, the activity of the government is different from and more than this. It is an autonomous, sovereign body which is subordinate organizationally only to the national assembly, the supreme organ of the people's power. While it acts in the direction and spirit of the party's policy it is also, by working out an independent position in concrete cases, a participant in and former of policy. This role can only be strengthened by the practice that the leading organs of the party also propose and study questions considered important.

Our recognized position that the party cannot pass resolutions binding on them applies to state organs also; its policy must be realized by virtue of the action of communists working there. But it must be seen that the linkage here is much closer; the position taken by the party has an effect more directly in these organs. For this reason, among others, the leading organs of the party supplement and make more precise their pertinent positions with the important motif that the communists and non-communists work independently in these organs; they are not merely executors but also initiators and active realizers of their tasks. Determining where the lines are drawn which link the "carrying out" of policy with "independent activity" or separate the one from the other would require a more profound study. But it can certainly be established from the analyses thus far that in probably no small number of cases it would represent worthy progress if in concrete cases we would completely eliminate the taking of a prior party position as something unnecessary, as something which burdens the party organizations superfluously, and willy-nilly binds or restricts the independence of those working in state organs and puts a brake on their initiative.

Party and state organs necessarily act in parallel and deal with many of the same questions. But the question which can be asked, probably justly, is whether the degree of parallelism which can be experienced today is justified. Many facts suggest that the degree of parallelism is excessive at virtually every level. It is as if both sides were haunted by the habit that the correct management of affairs is certain only if the party organ at the appropriate level participates directly in them. And even if we disregard the degree, the methods of approach must certainly differ from one another in the case of parallel discussion. Even if the same questions are involved, the party and state organs must discuss them differently, with a different approach, in different detail and for different purposes. Even if this has been our attempt, our efforts thus far have brought relatively modest results. It would be difficult to establish from many of the presentations whether they were prepared by a party or a state organ. In unjustifiably many places they discuss the same material in parallel and not with the greatest degree of effectiveness. This is at once the positive and negative side of the development of our democratism. It is certainly positive that broad consultation, requesting opinions, has become the practice; but the sameness of the character of the materials is negative, because it may hold back more worthy debate in the given bodies. And what is no less important, it washes out responsibility. In the party apparatus and bodies the danger threatens again and again that the approach is excessively detailed, almost of state-official character. In connection with this we must turn special attention to those differences which derive from the differing tasks of central and local party or state organs. It is obvious that the theoretical-political guidance of the party appears one way at the regime level and another at local levels.

Because of the well known world economic effects and our own difficulties our economy today is in a delicate situation from many aspects, one might say in an extraordinary situation. Without doubt this requires irregular methods

and extraordinary measures. As a result of this the party today is forced to deal, at every level, with a good deal more concrete economic matters than earlier. This is a constraint which the party does not assume with pleasure but from wich it is difficult to turn. But here again the degree requires very careful weighing. The facts suggest that in practice this "constraint" again frequently mixes party and state activity together to a degree which cannot be justified even by the extraordinary situation. This can be observed at every level, even in the work of the central apparatus among others.

The present situation is the result of changes from many sides and so it requires a more serious rethinking. The good intention of the efforts cannot be disputed; in many cases the more direct intervention is the offering of supplemental aid, sometimes indispensable. It is also a frequent phenomenon that the state, social or economic organs or units demand a more direct party position because this increases their feeling of security, sometimes making possible a sharing of responsibility, partly shifting it. But we should leave no doubt that over the long run these methods are not the most useful or the most effecient. What is desired is a combination of the solutions now forced upon us and those considered correct for the long run which--contrary to the trend of the recent past--will decrease the ratio of direct intervention.

We must deliberately seek out and support forms of guidance and management which give great scope to independence and at the same time meet the requirements of flexibility and efficiency. It cannot be excluded that we are underestimating the possibilities of these. Perhaps we do not have enough faith that independent, responsible decisions may bring to the surface supplemental value and mobilizing strength; perhaps we are not encouraging this plainly enough. It certainly appears that we might build on independence more courageously, because this would correspond better to our long term aspirations and goals. The signs are that the idea of the primacy of direct guidance has struck deeper roots in people's awareness than we had thought; from which it follows that if we do not struggle against it the old attitude may revive.

This sphere of problems can also be approached in the interdependencies of centralization-decentralization, central guidance-local independence and elected organs-apparatuses. We have regarded an unjustified degree of centralization and an exaggerated role for the apparatus unambiguously as one of the causes of the errors committed in the earlier period. We feel that our position in principle is valid even amidst the changed circumstances, doubtless becoming more difficult, and it merits greater attention than heretofore.

In general we can rightly say that the relationship between the elected organs and the apparatuses has developed basically in accordance with our principles, but we must immediately add that undesirable changes could be experienced in this area also in recent years. These unambiguously

strengthened the position of the apparatuses, and frequently to an unjustified degree. When seeking the causes we must note first of all that in part this can be attributed to objective factors and not primarily to the bad style of work of individual people. It is a world phenomenon that professional guidance, and the role of the apparatuses supplying it, is increasing. But this must appear or be realized in a more profound situation analysis, in a helpful orientation, in ensuring the conditions for work (or in aiding the work) and in supervision but not, if possible, in direct intervention. For this reason it is certainly worthy of note that frequently great power is concentrated in the hands of the apparatuses against their will, one might say "through no fault of their own," and a practice of having an immediate say is realized in a direct or indirect form. The leaders of various areas of economic and social life, even in their persons, depend on the apparatuses to an exaggerated degree and often this is a limiting factor even in the actual realization of the existing organizational independence.

We must preserve everything which is indisputably positive in the intentions and work methods of the apparatuses, but as a whole we must strive to gradually change the situation. Public life supervision over administrative work must be improved and broadened. In the interest of this in the state area, in the course of execution, we must support ourselves better on the elected organs and must strengthen the theoretical-orienting character of party guidance. If it is true that too many resolutions deal with each question (which is probable) then it is also obvious that preparation of them gives no little work to the apparatuses. Operative business in the daily sense is also accompanied by much work. It is in the interest of the apparatuses themselves that these burdens be reduced. If they had more time for situation analysis, for thinking through progressive proposals and detailed work they might be able to offer much greater aid to the elected organs. This might also be the most effective antidote against a shift in the direction of exaggerated operative activity.

In the interest of making tangible the complexity of the problem and making the picture more complete we must add that the so-called "omnipotence" of the party is, in reality and in the course of concrete work, far from being so great or of the character which many think and say and which it may sometimes appear from the outside. It is quite possible that state organs prepare the greater part of the party resolutions, with the professionalism appropriate for state purposes. The ecomonic possibilities are circumscribed, for the most part social policy considerations get a smaller place and role in reports and decisions, and thus the opportunities for choice by the leading organs of the party are very limited and often can progress only on a set path in a very narrow zone.

Looking at the matter more closely it turns out that some of the party resolutions express only the approval or agreement of the party organ involved, but do not contain an independent position. At least two conclusions follow from this. On the one hand it would be useful to consider

whether, in the case of such resolutions, there was even any need to maintain the party character, whether the state position was enough. On the other hand this circumstance also shows that political guidance by the party of a more theoretical character, weighing various interests and views, might aid a better delimitation also. Our principles concerning the activities of party and state, their cooperation and the relationship and independence of the two organs have stood the test of time, but our tasks in this area remain at least as timely also.

III.

Clarifying the place and role of the social organs and a correct development of the relationship attaching to them are outstanding achievements of our quarter century development. The party had to change that earlier practice in which the independence of the social organs was only apparently realized while in reality these organs were subordinate and played only an implementing role. Obviously this distortion greatly contributed to the fact that the mass contacts of the party faltered and loosened. Our party recognized that it was primarily the social organs which could form a link with the majority of the workers--and with the non-party people making up more than 90 percent of the populace. Consequently it considered it necessary to interpret more correctly the so-called linkage or "transmission" role and to reformulate the dual function of the social organs--especially the trade unions--in aiding socialist construction and representing the interests of the membership.

Our conception of the social organs has been further enriched and differentiated in the past two decades. Ever greater emphasis has been given to the idea that carrying out their dual task also means their active participation in developing policy and in exercising power. In other words, we should regard them not as one-directional transmission belts, from above downward, but rather as important, independently functioning organs of the political system with broad rights, organs which participate in the constant forming and realization of policy, while one of their most important tasks always remains the representation and defense of the interests of the membership. In our homeland the trade unions are the largest social or mass organizations. Their sphere of tasks has expanded significantly in the past quarter century. They appear as partners at the level of Council of Ministers and SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions], ministries and branch trade unions, and factory supervisory committees and factory triangle or quadrangle, and our laws regulate their rights, In some questions they have veto rights, in others the right of agreement and in yet others the right of consultation or having a say. Their voice is listened to in deciding every more important social-political question. They participate in the process of preparing state and economic decisions and in the work of the party and social forums and thus are significant factors of our public life.

The further development of their activity requires before all else an increase in their independence and initiative. It is desirable and justified that they give their opinion about the more significant reports prepared by party and state organs and that they pass judgment on them. At the same time it is no less important that they work out an independent position concerning problems arising in the course of active politicization of their own membership, and that they take the initiative in doing so. It is also important that, in order to make interest representation and protection more effective, they should turn greater care to recognizing, ranking, fighting out and harmonizing the various trade and branch interests in their own ranks so that, in their discussions with central government organs, they can represent more effectively what is most important at the given time. The internal mechanism for this latter activity is not yet adequately developed and its functioning is not lively enough. Both the taking of independent positions and the interest harmonization process carried out within their own ranks could give more profound content to the internal life of the trade unions, and it would be desirable if this were also given more worthy political content. It continues to be a problem--the trade unions have formulated this at their own congresses also--that there is still much organizational spinning of wheels, routine and formalism about which, I am afraid, we talk more than we do to oppose it. This certainly holds back the appropriate activity of the trade union members and may contribute to the fact that they regard their membership as a formality. The results which we have achieved in this area in 25 years provide a good foundation and appropriate frameworks and can serve as a starting point for strengthening the activity of the trade unions in a more worthy manner.

The work of social organs in general has become more likely in recent decades. The KISZ [Communist Youth Federation], TOT [National Council of Producer Cooperatives], SZOVOSZ [National Federation of Cooperatives] and OKISZ [National Federation of Artisan Cooperatives] have dealt more sharply with interest representation, have acted with greater initiative in economic-social questions and have become a serious factor in our public life.

One of the novel phenomena of the development of our political system is that about 600 registered societies and federations operate in our homeland with the most varied goals, but they are all united in that they regard it as their task to represent and protect the unique interests of their members. It is a known fact that even members of federations and societies conducting activities which are not directly political are bound together by some unique common interest. Searching for areas of action and common solutions favorable to them is obviously accompanied by an expression of interests and thus is a process which has an effect in the sphere of politics-ideology-awareness also. While conducting their own special activities and striving for the best realization of their interests they come, inevitably, into contact with processes of branch or even national significance and in a certain segment meet with the whole functioning of the political system. By seeking a place they are getting social, public life practice and thus become forums for public life, citizenship and political activity. Many of

these societies and federations gave primary cells which embrace the chief areas of our public life also.

The activity of such associations and societies has strengthened in recent years. The various federations, especially, have become arenas for public life activity, productive debates, the clash and harmonization of interests and views and thus for a worthy formation of policy. Their independence has broadened, which is expressed also in the fact that they are working with state organs in deciding more and more important questions. Independently or jointly they make recommendations for filling various posts and functions and for awarding titles and decorations. All this is an important element in broadening our social democratism.

It is also a sign of the enrichment of our political life that the work of the press, radio, television and mass communication has become more lively also. More and more studies and articles raising substantive, independent ideas, and arguing with one another, are appearing in the columns of the press, are voiced in radio programs or are appearing on the screen. All this proves the richness and variety of views and the possibility for the clash of differing opinions. This encouraging and palpable effervescence is gratifying and, in regard to its essence, is an unambiguously positive phenomenon. At the same time, it prompts thinking about new questions and raises new tasks.

The party has tried deliberately and for its part has done everything to develop a sincere, free atmosphere in which various views can come to the surface and clash. It is also self-evident that among the many sorts of views there are also those which do not agree with the position or worldview of the party, but in this regard also we must be consistent with our basic principle formulated a quarter century ago. We need every opinion and view which advances our common cause, which has an improving intent, but at the same time a careful and, if necessary, critical analysis of and reckoning with them is indispensable also. It is the basic function of the party, the essence of its leading role, to integrate and synthesize again and again the multiplicity of views coming to the surface in the interest of building every valuable element into policy and aiding a clarification of views by providing a guide. But this aspiration cannot be conceived of as a one-directional link, cannot be interpreted as if the party had every necessary answer in advance and was correcting the errants like some sort of teacher. The entire party takes part in the exchange of ideas and is itself constantly studying and learning. But it cannot transfer to anyone its mission and responsibility to attempt the combination and synthesis at the level of current information, because only by forming its own position can it preserve its ability to orient these processes and give aid to practice. If we have a relative backwardness then it can be felt in just this area.

We see it as our task to encourage this very positive process, and go further. We see many sorts of possibility for this--in broadening the openness of trade

union activity, in providing better information about variants, arguments and counter-arguments in the course of preparing party and state decisions, in paying more careful attention to expert opinions, in a better inclusion of factory leaders and middle-level leaders and colleagues of chief authorities when developing positions. But simultaneous with this we must significantly increase our efforts to improve the orienting and synthesizing activity aiding practical utilization.

The relationship between politics and science merits special attention in connection with this. We have achieved significant results in this area in past decades. A number of party resolutions of great import--concerning the reform of the economic mechanism, science policy guiding principles, the status of public education--were born as a result of the fruitful cooperation of representatives of science and politics. But from both sides we constantly hear a demand to improve contacts. Science is demanding that the political leadership make better use of research results and rely on these when making decisions. It is a frequent objection that some decisions are not sufficiently well founded professionally. The political leadership--agreeing with the foregoing--has frequently expressed its desire that science turn more toward practice, regarding it as a guide when selecting research methods also so that the results can be used more directly.

There is much to take to heart in both lines of argument. We cannot regard it as accidental that the debates in connection with this question are about 20 years old and in these two decades there has been repeated mention of the need to build up a consultant system, to establish common professional premiums and to systematically formulate the needs of the political leadership in the interest of raising the level of preparation of political decisions. The long and medium range national research plans already reflect this intention, but this is only the first step.

In any case we must strive to make the link between science and politics closer and develop ever new forms. We must make these bonds closer, but we must also make this relationship more objective. If the link between the political leadership and science is subjective, if it is organized on the basis of personal considerations, then we may meet with the basic problems of the political system, criticized in the foregoing, in a scientific form and in scientific guise. But if we make use of this possibility correctly it will give the leadership a feeling of security and decisions can be well founded.

A number of solutions offer themselves. Before all else the inclusion of experts and the clash of differing views must be made more open. It would seem useful to organizationally regulate or institutionalize the collection of expert opinions and counter-opinions, and perhaps we need not recoil from the idea of making this obligatory in some definite way, which might make the preparation of decisions more objective.

When forming its policies the party is striving to bring in various interests and institutions expressing interests, in accordance with their actual social

importance, bring them into the development of political processes. This is also a key question of the political system, which can aid the achieving of our social goals with appropriate effectiveness only if it ensures the institutionalized expression and objective consideration of interest differences.

In the process of preparing decisions this obviously requires the appropriate consideration of possible counter-opinions and counter-points. It requires an enhancement of the social supervision of the state by increasing the role of representative and social organs. It means a development of the institutional and independent forms of democracy, the development of the relationship of science and politics described above, a better inclusion of experts, the more effective clash of their opinions, supervision of the activity of the apparatuses and a strengthening of the orienting, guiding role of the party. All of this together could be an important guarantee that the political system will aid more effectively the solution of the tasks standing before us in socialist construction amidst circumstances which have become more difficult and more complex.

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GYPSIES' ADJUSTMENT TO SOCIETY ANALYZED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 8-9, 82 pp 57-67

[Article by Mrs. Istvan Kozak, PhD.: "Our Gypsy Population's Integration Into Our Society"]

[Excerpt] From the Liberation to 1960

The liberation also opened up opportunities for the gypsies to build a decent life for themselves. According to our constitution, all Hungarian citizens are equally entitled to work, education, advancement, etc. This change granted by law, however, signaled only the beginning of the change by declaring that the relationship between the new order and the gypsies would be based on equality.

As it is well known, the extensive industrial development of the 10 to 15 years following the liberation brought upward and even multi-step mobility for masses--about 2 million--of people.

Large masses of gypsies were unable--and in fact could not have been able--to take advantage of their democratic rights, for most of them were complete or at least half illiterates living in gypsy colonies outside our villages and cities, whom these political, economic and social changes never even reached and who, therefore, were unable to comprehend their significance.

Their possibilities were further restricted by subjective factors. Under the pre-liberation social system, differences between gypsies and non-gypsies had become so deeply ingrained that they could not be rapidly eliminated by way of decrees and resolutions. One manifestation of this was a sense of distrust on the part of the gypsies toward non-gypsies, a feeling which is clearly reflected in an old gypsy saying: "Trust no strangers, for although they may smile they make laws behind your back to hang you."; another was a general distrust toward gypsies and their work. During this period a great many enterprises were reluctant to hire them, which also had to do with the fact that there were substantial manpower surpluses even among Hungarians. At the same time, the number of people whose traditional professions were already bearly enough to make ends meet was gradually decreasing.

These unskilled gypsies--who earlier had been accustomed to doing odd jobs or to working in totally unregulated traditional professions--found it difficult or

totally impossible to adjust to industrial work discipline. Their physical condition also affected their employment opportunities; as a result of childhood privation and unsanitary housing conditions many of them were in poor physical condition and health and hence were unable to perform steady work.

Their possibilities of permanent employment were further restricted by the fact that there were not many job opportunities in the vicinity of their places of residence. Almost 80 percent of these gypsies were rural residents living in the countryside where virtually the only job opportunity was in agriculture. As it is well known, the transformation of the rural society and the elimination of poverty began in 1945 with the redistribution of the land. The gypsies, with a few exceptions, were left out of this redistribution. And later they were not allowed to join the cooperative because they had no land. It is also a fact, however, that this could also have had to do with the peculiarities surrounding the development of our cooperatives. Our peasants created a closed world where "outsiders" were seldom allowed to enter and where peasants from the "upper end" of the village were often even reluctant to join with those from the "lower end." We must also take into account, furthermore, that as a result of the socialist reorganization of agriculture a significant part of our peasant work force was freed, and that between 1949 and 1963 almost 900,000 people left agriculture to go to work in industry. Consequently, there was a large pool of available manpower and it was not easy to find a job. These factors also help explain why most of our gypsies were only able to take, i.e., receive odd jobs in the 1950's.

Hence, a large segment of the gypsies became left out of the succession of revolutionary changes which characterized the social and structural reallignment that mobilized such large masses of people between the end of the 1940's and the end of the 1950's. As a result of their unique situation, most of them were unable to keep up with our general development, which led to even greater differences. Although the Cultural Association of Hungarian Gypsies had been in existence since 1957, it was unable to fundamentally change their serious social problems.

The change came in 1961 when, having thoroughly examined the situation of the gypsies, the Politburo of the MSZMP passed a resolution which laid down the most important tasks. By this time, the differences in the standard and manner of living between the majority of the gypsies and our non-gypsy population were already clearly visible and were growing virtually by leaps and bounds. Consequently, our main goal was to eliminate their social disadvantages, to improve their living conditions, to end their isolation and to help them to become a part of our society as a whole.

In the opinion of our party and government, the elimination of the backwardness of our gypsy population is primarily a socio-political and social-cultural problem which can only be solved with the cooperation of our entire society. Improving the gypsies' employment and living conditions, raising their culture, registering gypsy children for school, improving their circumstances and conditions of health and eliminating the prejudices felt toward them were defined by resolutions at the highest levels as the chief tasks to be carried out in order to enhance their integration.

Things Already Achieved and Those Yet to Come

During the past 20 years, as a result of party and government resolutions as well as central and local measures, our gypsies' living conditions have undergone revolutionary changes. It would not be an overstatement to say that during this short period our gypsies have made a greater step forward than at any other time during their entire history. Before we demonstrate this, however, let us examine the regional distribution and a few demographic characteristics of our gypsy population.

According to 1977-1978 local surveys, the number of gypsies was placed at 325,000 people. Their distribution per megye is uneven. The number of gypsies is the highest in Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen megye and Szabolcs-Szatmar megye, and the lowest in Gyor-Sopron megye and Fejer megye. One of the characteristics of their residential distribution is that of the country's 3,212 settlements 1955, that is, 62 percent have gypsy residents.

The ratio of city and village dwellers among them also differ from the national situation. For according to 1971 data, while our population was about evenly divided between our cities and villages, 78 percent of the gypsies lived in villages and only 22 percent in the cities. As in the case of other social processes, the influx of gypsies to the cities started 15 to 20 years late when compared to our population as a whole, in other words it has only begun to pick up during the past 10 years. Naturally, the factors which motivate them to urbanize are generally the same as they are in the case of other groups of our population; the possibility of finding better housing, more advantageous and local employment opportunities, more favorable educational conditions for their children, etc.

There are also significant differences in the age-composition of gypsies and non-gypsies. According to data gathered by the Sociological Research Institute of the MTA /Hungarian Academy of Sciences/ the situation in 1971 was as follows (in percentages):

	Gypsies	Non-Gypsies
between the ages of 0 to 14	44.2	22.3
between the ages 15 to 59	48.0	61.3
over 60	7.8	16.4

At that time nearly one-half of our gypsies were minors, i.e., the proportion of minors among them was twice as high as among non-gypsies. At the same time, very few of them reach the average age.

Although during the past 10 years we have seen some changes in these ratios, the characteristic differences have remained unchanged. Megye data show that compared to earlier years the number of births among gypsies has significantly declined. Among others, for example, in Baranya megye it dropped from 42.6 thousandths in 1962 to 28 thousandths in 1977, and in Somogy megye from 37 thousandths in 1975 to 26.6 thousandths in 1977. Similar tendencies can be observed in every megye. While we do not have any available data regarding the

age-composition of gypsies at the beginning of the 1960's, we can safely say that if it differed from earlier ratios it was probably a shift toward an even greater proportion of young people. Looking at their living conditions of 20 years ago—which can be considered one of the legacies of our pre-war conditions—in this context enables us to be even more realistic in assessing the results of the past 20 years.

The following situations were characteristic of 1961: 70 percent of our gypsies were living under inhumane conditions, in so-called socially unfit colonies, in structures (hovels) unsuitable for habitation. Most of these colonies fell outside the administrative boundaries of settlements, often at distances of several kilometers, and were almost completely without communal and infrastructural services. Only 33 percent of our working-age gypsy residents were steadily employed, consequently, most gypsy families faced an uncertainty of existence and led their lives accordingly. Most adult gypsies were illiterate, a part of their school-age children were not enrolled in school at all, and of those who attended only 13 percent ever got as far as the upper grades of grade school and only 2 to 3 percent of them were able to complete the eighth grade. In the kindergartens there were rarely any gypsy children. Terrible housing conditions, malnutrition and ignorance all had an effect on their state of health as evidenced by the frequent incidents of certain illnesses among them, by their early incapacitation and high infant mortality rates, by the backwardness of their children and by their premature aging.

Given their living conditions and their extremely underdeveloped state of consciousness, I believe that despite the social assistance they have received the results achieved so far and the changes that have occurred in their conditions and manner of living have forced our gypsies to make some superhuman adjustments and accommodations which not too many ethnic groups have been able to make within such a short period of time.

By the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's, working age (gypsy) males were working in similar proportions as non-gypsies. At first most of them were employed in the construction industry, today, however, they can also be found in other areas of industry and in recent years even in the terciary branches. Compared to earlier years, in the second half of the 1970's there was also a growing proportion of them working in agriculture. While in 1970 only 30 percent of our gypsy women were employed, today almost 50 percent of them are working.

We have successfully eliminated most of the colonies. Between 1965 and the end of 1981, 18,000 families took advantage of OTP [National Savings Bank] loans earmarked for the elimination of the colonies and moved from the colonies to newly built or purchased homes. There have been about the same number of people who have turned to other programs (inland water loans, construction of workers' quarters, construction of miners' quarters, purchasing of residential buildings in the villages, state-owned apartments, etc.), or have worked entirely on their own to leave the colony and to move into healthier and better circumstances. Therefore, of our estimated 360,000 gypsies today only 14 percent, that is to say 50,000 people live in colonies. (Naturally it

would be more comforting to be able to report that we have completely eliminated all gypsy colonies.)

In the megyes 95 to 100 percent of the school-age children are enrolled in school. As recently as 1970, still only 2 to 3 percent of our kindergarten-age gypsy children were attending kindergarten--by 1980 we have succeeded in placing 50 percent, that is 15,000 of them in kindergartens. There has also been steady progress in our grade schools (although the rate of this progress could be even faster if, for example, in addition to the satisfaction of having attained their goal our educators were also given methodological assistance). In 1970 15.3 percent (2,409), in 1978 28 percent (4,118) and in 1982 more than 40 percent (5,075) of our gypsy children registered before age 8 got to 8th grade while still of school age. One of the achievements of recent years is that an increasing number of them are being admitted into our secondary educational institutions (presently 2,000 to 3,000 of them are continuing their studies), and although slowly, the number of college and university graduates among them is growing.

Having a permanent job opportunity, a steady income, better housing conditions and education for their children have changed the living conditions of our entire gypsy population and have also affected their relationship with non-gypsies. It is true that within these average figures there is a considerable spread; there are many settlements where both in their standard and in their way of living the gypsies have caught up with the surrounding population, in other words they live and work like any other Hungarian citizen. At the same time, it is also a fact that there is still a great number of them who from one or several points of view--i.e., lack of professional training, low income, many dependents per wage earner, unfavorable housing conditions, etc.--continue to be at a significant disadvantage compared to our society's average.

This, however, is no longer perceived as a kind of common "gypsy disadvantage." The changes that have occurred in our gypsies' lives have tied them to the various strata and groups of our society (i.e., according to their position in the division of labor, to their settlement conditions, to whether they have small or large families); consequently, the characteristics of these groups and strata can also be used to describe the social and economic situation of these various groups pf gypsies, which of course is not the same as complete social integration which is a much longer and a much more complex process; this is more like the first truly significant step in that direction. This was also expressed in the 1979 resolution of the MSZMP, which called attention to the great differentiation among gypsies.

What continues to reinforce, i.e., to preserve this disadvantageous situation is the still widely held prejudice toward gypsies, and on the part of the gypsies, their preoccupation with living out their gypsy character, often carrying it almost as a stigma. In the social consciousness a person's identity as a "gypsy" still does not register the same way as, for example, being a Slovak or a German. This, of course, also has anthropological reasons which despite subjective intentions and political efforts will continue to make themselves felt for a long time; eliminating them will require a significant transformation of our social consciousness.

Overall, therefore, the tremendous changes that have occurred in our gypsies' lives must be considered to be of historic importance, even though we know that when examined in terms of the culture and living conditions of our population as a whole, there has not been a significant narrowing of differences. For we must also take into account that what the gypsies have had to catch up to has not been a kind of stagnating social structure but one which throughout this period has also undergone some far-reaching changes and in which the entire population's standard of living has significantly increased. Contrary to earlier notions, we should also be more realistic in assessing the extent of development a given people or ethnic group is capable of within the short period of 20 years. It is a historic fact, for example, that it has taken several centuries for the Hungarians to reach their present level of civilization. Or let us take the Kumans, for example, who arrived late and for a long time insisted on keeping their semi-nomadic life style and who were only gradually willing to adopt the material culture of the land-cultivating peasantry of the plains living nearby.

Most of our present day tasks concerning the gypsies, therefore, are of a different quality than they were in previous decades. Our problem is not, as it used to be, getting the adults to look for work or finding them jobs, but preventing them from becoming stuck at the unskilled worker level. In the area of education, the problem is no longer getting them to register, but to place an increasing number of their small children in kindergartens, to improve the effectiveness of their education or to get the schools to take into account these children's unique situation (for example, the fact that almost 30 percent of them did not learn Hungarian as their mother tongue); and to help an increasing number of them to complete grade school so that they can continue their studies. Theoretically, our specially established gypsy classes should make it possible to eliminate the unique disadvantages these children have to face. Unfortunately, in practice instead of helping the children to advance and adjust, in many areas--due to equipment and personnel deficiencies and to the fact that their quality of education has been well below the level of "mixed" schools--these classes (schools) have only regenerated backwardness. Gypsy classes, therefore, should be formed only in those areas where they can create conditions which in every respect are more favorable for helping children learn and for eliminating existing disadvantages. And even in those cases, only until they overcome those disadvantages (1 to 2 years). We must not forget that childhood relations--or the lack of them--between gypsies and non-gypsies can determine their attitudes toward one another for life.

Similarly, less and less often does improving their housing conditions mean merely the elimination of colonies; the problems and tasks which occupy most of our gypsy population are increasingly the same as those facing other strata and groups of the population.

Ways and Possibilities of Integration

At the same time, as a result of the easing, and for many the total disappearance of social disadvantages and of their diversity with respect to their living conditions, life styles and culture, there has been an increasing number of cultural and consciousness-related questions coming to the forefront which

are just as important to successful integration as the solving of social problems.

Specifically, in the case of the gypsies this is reflected in their desire--and so far this coincides with the needs of society--to adjust and to find their place in our society. This desire has taken two basic outward forms. One frequently found form is an attempt by individuals, families and settlement communities to deny their roots and to try, as soon as possible, to blend in with the "Hungarians" and to live "just like" the Hungarians. They refuse to associate with gypsies whose level of consciousness is below theirs and want to assimilate as soon as possible. It is not so much their ambition which presents a problem; after all, I believe that people whose ancestors had lived in Hungary for centuries and who today are all Hungarian citizens have every right to claim to be "exclusively" Hungarian.

What causes the conflict is that this shift in self-consciousness is not simply a matter of determination. The fact is, that as long as an individual is known to be a gypsy by those living around him he will always be considered to be that if for no other reason, because of the aforementioned anthropological reasons. The individual also feels this, and as a result he often suffers from inferiority complex. He does not dare to consider himself an equal citizen, and even if he succeeds in breaking out of his gypsy environment, he must constantly fear that they might find out about his origin. In other words; those who would like to assimilate constantly keep running into brick walls.

Another thing which hinders overnight assimilation is that the gypsy families who leave the colonies are once again finding themselves--although under more modern circumstances--living the "life of gypsies." At the same time, however, it should also be noted that the break-up of the traditional gypsy communities, their material advancement and other changes have often led to deviant manifestations and have brought with them a disproportionately higher increase in incidents of alcoholism, disorderly conduct and various criminal activities among gypsies than elsewhere. This can also foster prejudice and hinder integration.

The other--and perhaps the more realistically possible--outward form of this desire to assimilate has been a quest to find oneself, a determination to become conscious of one's own value, in other words the realization by an increasing number of people that "value differences" must be determined not by one's descent or ethnic status, but by his character and behavior. These people do not deny their history or their origin even after "breaking out" of their gypsy surroundings and they are searching for cultural and life style-related values which can be preserved even after the elimination of poverty and ignorance. They want integration without having to deny their gypsy heritage.

Assimilation, i.e., "integration" by preserving the ethnic consciousness has been hindered by some extremist views regarding the gypsy language, gypsy culture and the gypsy way of life. The proponents of these views feel that forced integration is the only acceptable way of getting the gypsies to adapt (even when they speak of integration!). In other words, it is not just their

backwardness, their poverty and their in many ways disadvantageous situation which they consider necessary to eliminate, but also the gypsy language, i.e., all of their cultural traditions claiming that everything that is gypsy is bad and therefore is an obstacle to progress.

On the short run--as we have already mentioned--integration is not a realistic goal. The way to help our gypsies to adapt and to become self-starters is precisely by familiarizing ourselves with their history, their work culture and by getting non-gypsies to acquaint themselves with and to recognize those ethnic values which deserve recognition. Hence, the gypsy language, their folklore and their love of songs and music could be given greater emphasis in helping tham adapt. By this naturally I am not trying to say that we do not have to teach backward gypsies the same things which we would normally also have to teach our backward non-gypsies, i.e., everything which help to make their lives more complete and more modern; we must also teach them the basic moral norms of our society, but not by "wiping out" their valuable traditions in the process. Recognizing the positive aspects of these traditions will undoubtedly make it easier for us to deal with even a certain degree of cultural and social backwardness, but most importantly, it will give the individual subjectively decidable alternatives of social integration.

It follows from what has been said so far, that we cannot put an equation mark between the elimination of social differences and integration, although the narrowing of social differences must be considered to be the first and most important step in the process of integration. Hence even with the positive changes that have occurred in the gypsies' living conditions, it is justifiable to talk about the difficulties connected with their integration, especially since integration is a process which is much more complex and which can be interpreted in more ways than impatient critics may think. For example, from the point of view of citizens' rights and duties everyone can be considered integrated who respect the laws of our society, even those who are in a socially disadvantageous situation and happen to live in a hovel in a gypsy colony outside the village limits unless they do so voluntarily to remain isolated. But integration may also be looked at in terms of our entire society from the point of view of their position in the division of labor. I feel that in order for us to be able to talk about the full integration of the gypsies in this respect, their participation in the hierarchy of the social division of labor and public life must be just as differentiated as the social average. At the same time, perhaps the most important determinant of integration--as I have already mentioned--is subjective intuition. A person can only be integrated among people who accept him. Nor is it all the same whether there are any conditions for their admissions and what those conditions are like.

Rather than giving a summary, I would like to emphasize that the "gypsy question" is much more complex than the proponents of quick solutions think, but also that the party and government resolutions regarding this question are beginning to show results. Our country's gypsy policy has also received recognition even from the Western countries. Integration, however, is a process involving many factors which it is our duty to promote but which we must not try to rush. In order to enhance the integration of the gypsies we need--instead of looking down and lowering ourselves to them or making gestures and passing judgment over them--to get a more objective understanding of their situation and their possibilities, to be more tolerant of the fact that they are "different" and last but not least, to accept them without prejudice.

KOROM LECTURES ON CREATIVE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC THINKING

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian Oct 82 pp 3-9

[Article by Mihaly Korom, member of the MSZMP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee: "Creative Thinking is a Condition for Our Success," abridged text of a talk given on 1 September 1982 at the annual opening celebration of the Political Academy]

[Text] Our party has always turned special attention to that activity taking place within the walls of the Political Academy, because it is our conviction that work and study are closely linked in the life of communists. The ability to think creatively is an indispensable condition of our practical work. Especially today, when we meet, in addition to the positive elements of our life, with phenomena which must be analysed responsibly and with great care.

It is often said these days that we are doing our socialist construction work amidst external and internal conditions a good bit more difficult than earlier. This is not an empty phrase but an unalterable fact, a reality which affects our work and developmental conditions. Imperialism, primarily the general staff of aggressive American large capital and the Reagan regime expressing its intentions, has set itself the task of forcing back the forces of socialism and the national liberation movements and gaining superiority. It subordinates its entire policy to this goal. In essence this is why the trend of detente which developed in the 1970's stopped short, indeed why the significant results already achieved in this area have been seriously endangered. With its foreign economic policy the Reagan regime is deli-erately wrecking the trade and cooperation links which came into being among countries with different social systems, or is trying to use them for blackmail in the interest of its political goals.

The striving of American imperialism for superiority is very dangerous despite its unrealistic nature. There is more than one example in history where adventurous world rule aspirations forced entire continents into serious conflicts or let loose conflagration and destruction on mankind. Thus the most important task of all the forces of socialism and progress today is to frustrate this dangerous trend deriving from the nature of imperialism.

This tendency, inclined toward adventurism, is unfolding in an atmosphere of serious crisis for the capitalist world economy. An army of 30 million unemployed has developed in the 24 economically developed capitalist countries, and this number increases month by month. The financial policy of the American regime is causing serious problems not only for us but also for its allies. With its embargo policy it wants to put a brake on the economic development of socialist countries or to exploit their difficulties to cause confusion. By stepping up the arms race, of virtually unexampled proportions, and with its efforts to upset the military balance of forces the extreme imperialist circles are trying to force the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community to increase their military expenditures and cuase them economic and political difficulties.

The present aggressive trend of the American regime and certain of its allies is meeting with resistance not only from the socialist countries. The popular masses of the capitalist countries are opposing it, as are certain more sober western government circles, with more or less consistency. This is logical, for the American polich hurts not only our interests but also is opposed to the national interests of the developing countries and of a number of capitalist countries also.

The financial disturbances of the world economy have increased and in recent years there has been significant increase in the number of indebted countries or those forced to reschedule loan repayments. The United States of America and some of its allies, going beyond their manifestations sharpening international political and military relationships, have taken and are taking various restrictive measures on the economic level.

In the years standing before us also the political and economic situation of the world will be characterized by an uncertainty pregnant with tensions. We must reckon with the fact that, in addition to a number of other important tendencies, the struggle or competition between the two social-economic systems will take sharper forms as compared to the 1970's. We may also have to face the fact that because of the slowing in the growth of production and the becoming permanent of inflation some countries may react in a way which cannot be calculated in advance to the world economic processes, and this may produce unexpected situations.

The united action of progressive forces interested in maintaining peace and in international detente is of great significance in the development of the international situation; before all else we are thinking of the communist and labor movement and the anti-imperialist movement of the developing countries. Today the camp of these forces is still frequently divided in the interpretation of the situation which has developed around the world and in certain areas, although there is an increasing recognition that only together can we repulse the concentrated attack of imperialism. We will continue to work for the unity of the forces of peace and progress on bases of principle and will try to aid this with steps adjusted to the given possibilities.

The present aspects of the international situation influence the development of our life in many ways. It is well known that beginning with the end of the 1970's our economic policy has striven to restore the foreign economic balance and preserve the standard of living of the populace. The 12th congress put this task before us and it is still valid. Our efforts serving more efficient management are being realized in our economic guidance practice more fully than before. The national economic plans are more realistic and more flexible. The role of our regulator system has strengthened in increasing the requirements and transmitting the international changes--an encouraging and constraining role. Central economic guidance is more active and more consistent; the independence and responsibility of the enterprises have increased and they feel more the changes in economic conditions.

Our social order and domestic political situation are strong and basically balanced. But our economic situation--despite the improvement achieved in the area of the external balance--continues to be complex and difficult. Our dependence on the international division of labor and the interdependence of our economic development with world political and world economic processes have become increasingly obvious in recent years. The openness of our national economy has increased. The world economic conditions have changed radically, and are deteriorating further for us.

Looking toward the future, a few important economic policy conclusions derive from the development of our foreign economic contacts, from an evaluation of our situation and our reactions thus far and from the further changes to be expected in world economic conditions. The most important of them is that in the decade ahead our economic growth and the development of the standard of living will depend on the extent to which we are able to increase the adaptability of our economy to international circumstances and requirements, the extent to which we are able to increase economical export adjusted to foreign market needs. Creating and stabilizing the economic balance will require a differentation in distribution greater than before and better tied to performance, but primarily it will require increased efforts in a substantial improvement of production and management. Increasing the performance capacity of our national economy makes necessary the putting into operation of new driving forces which are suitable for increasing the efficiency of the Hungarian economy. In accordance with this we must take steps aimed at modernizing planning and economic regulation and the organizational frameworks.

A swifter accomodation to the more difficult conditions requires well thought out, selective economic development, encouraging export and rational import management, which, because of the relatively modest economic growth, will require modifications in the degree and structure of the domestic use of national income. These modifications will affect the production sphere and the populace. In essence we are talking about increased mobilization of internal resources for the purpose of laying the foundations for economic development in the period ahead.

Our economic contacts with developed capitalist countries have become more difficult, in some cases more tense. The capitalist economic recession burdens primarily the export of our industrial products, and the weakness of our competitiveness plays a role in this also. Even maintaining the present foreign economic contacts in this relationship will require extraordinary efforts. Today and in the future CEMA is and will be the determining customer market and source of material, energy and technical imports for us. But our foreign economic difficulties cannot be solved by some sort of CEMA autarky.

A number of important articles cannot be obtained from CEMA countries, or can be obtained in minimal quantities, so our homeland and other socialist countries are forced to depend on capitalist imports. In a good many cases this import also plays an important role in the trade of the CEMA countries with one another, because it is built into export products going to them in the form of material, parts and technology.

As was said at the 36th session of CEMA, held in Budapest, the Hungarian economy has an elemental interest in alying the foundations for new forms of socialist economic integration and a qualitative renewal of cooperation. The fact that our countries have the same common problems understandably encourages -he effort to develop forms of cooperation which are more flexible and varied than earlier--including those relying on broader inter-enterprise contacts also. We trust that the economic cooperation of our countries will receive new impetus in the near future--despite the more difficult internal and international circumstances, or we might even say in response to the coercive force of them--and that this will aid the realization of our fundamental economic policy goals.

What has been said shows that we are faced and will be faced with a number of difficulties which we did not have to face earlier, or which we faced to an incomparably smaller degree. But this fact cannot serve as a cause for despair or faintheartedness, cannot lead to indecision or hesitation or a search for voluntarist solutions, even if from time to time we must take extraordinary measures in the straits of the economic situation. In this we are counting on the understanding of the entire populace, especially on the understanding of the party membership, and--we think--we can do so.

What is needed is for everyone to work honestly and with discipline in his own area of work, to help our better adjustment to realities. All this will require effective persuasive work on foundations of principle.

We can solve our economic tasks only if ideological activity comes better to the fore. We will not be able to overcome our difficulties without the united efforts of the broadest forces of the nation, a development of our alliance policy, a strengthening of socialist democracy, making socialist awareness and public thinking more profound. These, naturally, are not new insights; they are rooted in the quarter century experience of our party. Still, we must talk about them because this proven policy has accumulated a moral capital which we should not fear for in more difficult times; rather, on the contrary, we must add to it.

Hereafter also the 850,000 members of our party should not forget for one moment that socialism can only be the work of the entire people, that the socialist society can be built for and with the participation of every honest person who loves his homeland. It was our position heretofore also, and in the present situation we should emphasize it with even greater force, that the key question for the solution of the difficult tasks before us is maintaining and strengthening further--on the basis of mutual trust--the close contact between the party and the masses.

Weighing this, we can come to no other conclusion than this: It wuold be a political mistake if we were to feel now that we could get over the difficulties only by forcing democracy into the background. Heretofore also our party has divorced itself from such and similar views, and hereafter also it is not our intention to give up the program for a thought-out development of socialist democracy. It is our profound conviction that the big problems and difficulties can be gotten over not with less but rather with even more democracy. We must continut to take as our departure that the initiation of the citizen, having him know the situation, serves a rational will to act, while superfluous reserve, hiding the facts in obscurity, can be a source of confusion, irrational alienation, dejection and depression. We have paid a very dear price for this experience, and let me add that our historic responsibility dictates that we should never again forget it!

According to our historical experience our social goals can be perfectly realized only if the citizens participate actively not only in implementation but also in posing and formulating the tasks. Both our successes and our difficulties provide good examples of this truth. For this reason our party, even in the present situation, is consistently striving to further increase the active cooperation of the citizens, their activity in handling public affairs and in forming the life of smaller and larger communities. To put it briefly, a furterh development and strengthening of socialist democracy is a fundamental, essential and unchanging element of our policy. Nothing can turn us from this. Naturally, in this regard also, we are reckoning with the realistic conditions, but the broadening of socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist aspects of our practice of guiding society do not depend and cannot depend on factors connected with the business cycle.

In our view the socialist state occupies a psecial position in this process. On the one hand it is a fact that the state plays an increasing role, in the present phase of socialist construction, in developing our social relationships; on the other hand the nature, forms and tools of the relationship of state and citizen, of the exercise of state power, decisively influence the condition of socialist democracy. Thus, when we strengthen the positive effects of the state in forming the socialist foundations of our living conditions we should simultaneously increase the influence of and supervision by society in every area of state activity.

In this connection we attribute great importance to strengthening the role of the elected representative organs--from town councils all the way to the National Assembly--in expressing the will of the populace and the opinion

of the various strata and groups of workers. It is our goal that these organs should have greater significance than at present in discovering various interests, debating and harmonizing views and, in the final analysis, realizing the interests of society as a whole. Realizing all this will create even better conditions for making more worthy the supervisory role of the representative organs over the work of the administrative organs and apparatuses, further strengthening the trust of the populace toward our socialist state.

In the interest of this we are dealing with, among other things, a development of the election system. What we want to achieve, in addition to stabilizing well proven institutions, is that the election system should aid better than at present an increase in the activity of voters, increasing their possibilities of choice, and decreasing the formal aspects.

In the interest of making more profound the socialist aspects of the state one of our most important tasks, in addition to developing the activity of the representative organs, is to make a modernization of administrative work, from the regime level down to the local councils, a permanent element of guidance and leadership. I believe that I do not need to give examples of how much we have yet to do in this area.

Our party constantly turns great attention to seeing that every single link of our political system works according to its mission and perfectly fulfills its function. The effective work of the trade unions, the youth federation, the Patriotic People's Front and the other social or mass organizations is indispensable in the socialist society. Setting realistic goals and securing the active participation of the masses in realizing them is possible only with the coordinated work of the political system as a whole.

It hardly needs to be proven that we live in times when the great, comprehensive questions of human existence are coming to the fore ever more sharply. The future of mankind and the prospects of the individual therein are burdened today with many question marks in everyday thinking. There are those who feel that our Earth is filled with agonizing, apparently insoluble troubles and neither capitalism or socialism can escape them. So to what end are the great efforts? The world cannot be turned around. We cannot become reconciled with such thinking. But at the same time, here also, we must talk about the difficulties of socialism. It is a young society. But we must be able to point to those values which give our social arrangements the advantage over forms built on exploitation, even if our weaknesses and problems are undeniable.

We must speak openly, without beating about the bush, about this also: Socialism is not complete and is not yet perfect; it is only a more perfect work, than earlier ones, of a part of mankind. In itself socialism is a movement full of its own cares, problems and contradictions. Despite the fallings, shocks and occasional mistaken paths it has justified in reality the most crucial aspects of the picture of the future drawn for us by the classics. So perhaps the number one ideological conclusion for us might be that the trials and errors did not invalidate the teachings about the incomparable strength and higher order of socialism.

We do not yet know everything about the possibilities of socialism, and a significant part of what we do know already we have derived from practical experience and this has been accompanied by an enrichment of certain ideological theses, sometimes by an unavoidable modification of them--and this is the second conclusion. A creative application of the experiences of our own development and of the other socialist countries is indispensable. Marxism-Leninism is a living science, not a collection of closed dogmas. If life produces new things we have no cause to evidence confusion, and we have no right to keep silent.

Marxism-Leninism--we have repeated this frequently--is not a collection of abstract theses or proclamations which has a superior relationship to reality. It would be worth little if we were in possession merely of a theoretical system which was indifferent to practical experiences, which was incapable of integrating into itself ever new truths. This conclusion, naturally, affects every aspect of our life, but in the present situation it may not be unjustified to stress that it is primarily the possibilities for the economic development of socialism which formulate so many ideological problems. We have no cause to turn away from these either. The maturing of the necessary ideological consequences also belongs among those tasks which must constantly be performed in the interest of further progress.

All this, however, proves not the weakness of socialism but rather its strength. The historical reality of socialism is 65 years old. The socialist world system has stood the challenge. We have an answer to the doubters and the waverers. Where does unemployment, destroying the human personality and making one feel totally superfluous, afflict societies in a great world economic crisis reminiscent of 1929--in capitalism or in socialism? Where does one find the greater security? Can we expect such a thing from those who threaten the world with the challenge of a new arms race more serious than ever before or from those who are trying to obstruct such aspirations in every possible way? I think the answer is unambiguous. Neither the socialist countries, due to the general interests of their social arrangements, nor their institutions, enterprises or citizens individually have any interest in the arms race. The questions of the situation and developmental tendencies of socialism and capitalism must be placed better into the focal point of our propaganda.

Nor can we leave without mention the fact that sometimes even here real values are questioned simply on the basis of the fact that, for example, they came into being at the end of the 1940's or in the first half of the 1950's. Do not misunderstand me; we should not defend the errors, the distortions causing great political damage, but we should not tolerate putting the true and lasting socialist values in the same sack with the errors. If we were submissive in this we would be contributing to the strengthening of moral confusion, uncertainty and cynicism in many, especially in those young people who cannot review in the light of their own experiences the achievements and errors of a magnificent epoch, if one filled with shocks.

Those who put an equal sign between the lasting values and the eliminated distortions do so, naturally, for very different reasons. A lack of information plays a great role in this but we should not, for this reason, forget that not everyone likes what we have. There are those--if not many--who rejected socialism historically. Some are trying to cause ideological confusion with a "critique" of temporary but essential aspects of our socialist society. And there are also those who present deficiencies, which were produced as elements alien to socialism, as lawful characteristics of socialism. It is obvious that we must distinguish among these many shadings. Even at the time of the creation and consolidation of the worker-peasant power our basic method was open, principled debate, adn we do not want to deviate from this fundamental method hereafter either. But against those who make nought of the laws of our state order and conduct hostile activity we will use even administrative tools in defense of our socialist achievements and the people's power.

The study of theory must be embued with living, lively political activity. Mastering the fundamentals of Marxism is not a goal in itself but rather is something to make one capable of orienting oneself in the complex tangle of new facts and new situations, developing an ability for Marxist thinking. Comrade Janos Kadar pointed out in this connection: "The world progresses, our party is a living party, and we must be careful that our own findings of, let us say, 15 years ago do not become dogma, that the positions we take always follow appropriately the change in circumstances."

Public opinion, public thinking is put to ever greater tests in our changing world. The honest majority of mankind is seeking answers to the great questions of the age. The chief tendencies of social progress are clear before us, but how to follow our path to the end without straying or losing the way, where the bends in the path are, where we must slow down in the interest of later progress, where we must accelerate, exploiting the possibilities for a breakthrough--we must answer these questions ourselves. And there are questions the answer to which cannot be put off for 5 or 10 or 20 years. This is a test, a test of the Marxist-Leninist view and thinking, a test of life. Meeting it is possible only if the requirements of the Marxist-Leninist historical view are realized in the course of a concrete analysis of concrete situations. The existing socialism, and Hungarian socialist construction therein, already has its history. A study of this history offers great aid to solving our tasks of today and tomorrow.

8984
CSO: 2500/17

'TERRORIST' GROUP UNCOVERED IN KATOWICE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Sep 82 p 5

[Article submitted by the Polish Press Agency: "The Shocking Aims of the Terrorist Group in Katowice"]

[Text] As we have already informed you, several days ago functionaries of the Security Service [SB] uncovered a terrorist group whose basic tasks were sabotage and the struggle with the organs of order and security.

Among the materials found in the apartment of one of the would-be terrorists, two training texts have the greatest shock value.

The 10-page long "Instruction for Special Actions" is simply principles on carrying out death sentences against "functionaries of the regime." The executors of the liquidation actions were supposed to be a special execution commission, the members of which "must establish their identification with high moral and political values and an impeccable past." A two-fold type of death blow is envisaged: by shooting or by hanging. Liquidation actions are divided into several categories, for example, into "spectacular sentences executed against high functionaries of the regime in public places and with resistance, sentences against women in private dwellings, and sentences against an unarmed condemned person in a public place."

In questions concerning the choice of weapons for liquidation actions, the "Instruction" says: "it is recommended that large caliber pistols be used." This is explained by the fact that shells of these caliber pistols have suitable weight and initial speed to provide the appropriate "shocking action." This action consists--as the "Instruction" "explains"--of the temporary paralysis of the nervous system, among other things; in most cases the individual hit by this type of shell is incapable of an immediate controlled reaction and, thus, is incapable of defending himself.

Later it talks about the use of cartridges with reprocessed shells, the action of which--so the "Instruction" states--"consists of the shattering of the shell on contact with compact muscle tissue or hard bony tissue." Reflections follow on what happens to this tissue, to the extremities, and to the brain! It is difficult to quote the particulars...

The liquidation actions were to be preceded by reconnaissance. Training of liquidation action participants using specially prepared topographic dummies also was planned. The executors of the death sentences were to be armed "to the teeth"--with machine guns, grenades, and pistols.

One of the chapters in the "Instruction" also talks about the execution of sentences against women. It is the most horrifying chapter in this "madmen's book." There really is no way to cite these repulsive, terrifying descriptions.

The instruction titled "Basic Principles of Conspiracy--An Introductory Study" also has a peculiar sort of eloquence. The particular organizational structures of the terrorist group are specified in it, together with their network of contacts. Diagrams illustrate dependences and links in the "dyadic," "triadic," and "quinary" systems. A separate chapter is devoted to the principles of action to be followed in the case of a bad break or if surveillance by the SB is suspected, incidents which are referred to in this document as "occupational hazards."

One can be satisfied even with these excerpts from a unique kind of reading. For they themselves are a commentary on the subject: to what can a sick perception lead? But reflections cannot be surpressed. In what kinds of heads saturated with the venom of hatred could these instructions be born? What was supposed to authorize these people to kill with such premeditation? An underground court, the next child of a sick perception? The reports of terrorist actions carried out in various countries fill us with anxiety. It has not even occurred to us that in Katowice, right in our own backyard, a terrorist group filled with an exceptional desire for blood has begun to be born. What is to be done--it appears that madmen are everywhere. It is a good thing that the efficient and quick action of the SB frustrated these sinister designs. Thanks to this, perhaps, many human beings have been saved.

8729
CSO: 2600/6

SERIOUSNESS OF THREAT OF ILLEGAL YOUTH GROUPS ASSESSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 10-12 Sep 82 p 5

[Interview with Jerzy Bogacz, Plant Board chairman of the ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union] in the Karol Swierczewski Warsaw Precision Products Factory; Prof Dr Mikolaj Kozakiewicz of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN]; Col Dr Stanislaw Liszewski, a teacher in the Military Political Academy; Lt Col Kazimierz Rajewski, law instructor in the KWMO [Citizens' Militia Voivodship Command] in Radom, and Col Zygmunt Rybacki, former youth activist, worker in the Ministry of Internal Affairs; by Wladzimierz Syzdek: "The Main Blame Lies with the Adults"; date and place not specified]

[Text] After our publication of articles concerning illegal youth groups "Swastika After School Hours," "Guilty Because of Others' Faults" and "Left to Themselves" we have been accused of magnifying this marginal problem in the life of our society. We were alerted to the fact that these are, after all, small groups consisting of a few or at the most, several persons. Therefore, these phenomena, it has been argued, cannot present any great threat. To discuss this topic with us we have invited Jerzy Bogacz, Plant Board chairman of the ZSMP in the Karol Swierczewski Warsaw Precision Products Factory; Prof Dr Mikolaj Kozakiewicz of the PAN; Col Dr Stanislaw Liszewski, a teacher in the Military Political Academy; Let Col Kazimierz Rajewski, law instructor in the KWMO in Radom, and Col Zygmunt Rybacki, former youth activist, worker in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.]

[Question] Let us start with a question. Would you gentlemen consider the accusations aimed at us to be justifiable?

Zygmunt Rybacki: In my opinion, when we speak only about the groups that use fascist symbolism we could only speak about incidents, not about threatening phenomena. In Poland, the problem of neofascism or fascism does not exist as such. There is no such ideology. Nor have the illegal organizations represented this ideology. In this case, we can speak of the connection between infantile behavior and criminal aggression, with the desire to shock society by crime itself. In Grudziadz it came to an attempt to kill a human being. Thus, this presents a greater problem for psychologists than for politicians.

The aggression observed in the activities of these groups stems from a similar background as the recent "Git" gang phenomenon. It is the problem of the cult of force and leadership. The same people could, for all we know, reject Hitlerite symbols keeping, for instance arms and knives. Even at this stage, however, they are dangerous to themselves and to others. Do they represent a threat to the law-abiding nature of our society? Certainly not. There are only a few such groups. However, because very young people are involved, even one such event is one too many. Thus we try to forstall the course of events so that the young person would not get into collision with the law. We have already accumulated some experience in this respect. The Radom incident is an evidence of that.

Kazimierz Rajewski: In my opinion, activities of the illegal organizations are a sad example of developing anarchy in the life of our society, observed particularly in the second half of 1981. The Radom problem that Colonel Rybacki has already mentioned was one of many similar events. On the foundations laid by the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] and by the extreme wing of Solidarity there was formed a group consisting of politically inexperienced young people who called on the society to oppose the government and who printed and disseminated proclamations and propaganda leaflets. In this case, we have managed to prevent the spreading of its activities. These young people after detention, having made their explanations, were then released without punishment. The problem, however, calls for in-depth analysis and for a more careful inquiry.

Stanislaw Liszewski: I would agree with the preceeding statement. The problem of the illegal organizations have, indeed, come into existence in the aftermath of the post-August events. One could, however, look further. We ought to pay attention to the fact that recently we have had to deal with the crisis of values, role models, and outlooks. Young people cannot imagine their own future. Therefore, the problem does exist and one must not underestimate its seriousness.

[Question] We cannot agree with the thesis that these negative events now appearing among youth have been caused by the August 1980 events. Their causes must be found deeper, for instance in the educational system.

Stanislaw Liszewski: I agree, however, I myself would connect these causes above all with the attitudes prevailing among some adults. Coming from an older generation we have been accustomed to think and act on behalf of youth, and put them in difficult situations. This limits young people's possibility of action. Naturally errors persist also in the educational system and in the attitudes of teachers and educators. Thus far they have been more preoccupied with describing rather than explaining the phenomena. This causes our present crop of the described educational effects.

Another inexcusable error was the failure to provide youth with a proper critical evaluation of antisocialist ideologies. The young Polish generation knows very little, for instance, about fascism. Likewise, youth do not have specific personal heroes to emulate. The heroes presented to youth are either too monumental, and, by the same token, unreachable, or they are of little attraction to youth. Youth, seeking examples to emulate in their own lives, are finding them in the fascist ideology among others.

However, I stand firm by the opinion that the August events did influence youth to a considerable degree. Thus, let us keep in mind that, at that time, besides positive events there were also negative ones, such as the propaganda leaflets, writings and other printed materials which were hostile toward socialism and called for resistance against the government. Youth have, after all, partially yielded to these proclamations.

Mikolaj Kozakiewicz: I object to putting the blame for the creation of illegal organizations on the educational system as a whole, and above all on the school. This is only a half-truth. The educational system reflects only those controversies which actually exist in society. One must, therefore, look for underlying causes. These exist in the shortcomings and errors of the social system in which two truths coexist: the official and the actual, and in which one is punished for excessive curiosity and not given answers to difficult questions. Should we, therefore, be surprised to find gaps which youth fill up with contents suggested to them by others?

[Question] Based on the statements by Professor Kozakiewicz and Colonel Liszewski, should we, therefore, draw a conclusion that youth are inspired and manipulated by adults?

Stanislaw Liszewski: Naturally, youth have not come by anti-Sovietism or Hitlerism, or resistance all by themselves. All this is the work of a certain adult environment.

Jerzy Bogacz: The problem of adults influencing youth is clearly evident in my factory. In my opinion, this is an indirect type of influence that occurs via materials and propaganda. Youth are so brainwashed that they often do not know what the problem is yet they rebel as a matter of principle, because they are urged to do so by our adversaries, and because such is the pressure of their environment. I have frequently talked with students from the school at our plant. Whenever I touch party or ideological topics, the talk immediately ends there.

[Question] Manipulation of youth makes them an easy tool in the hands of different powers. Accepting this thesis, we must answer a question: Is it a conscious yielding to foreign influences, or is it an expression of rebellion in the face of errors that exist in our system?

Mikolaj Kozakiewicz: In the present situation the most sensitive youth, whose potential is not being fulfilled and who can appraise the abuse of value in practice, all assume extremist positions from either the extreme left or right. These most rebellious and most valuable youth are frequently a conscious prey of manipulation. They know what they stand against, what they detest and what they are fed up with.

If we asked any one member of the illegal groups, we would find out that in most instances they are against departures from the principles of equality, social justice, freedom; the principles which are, after all, an indivisible part of socialism. These manipulated youth, as we have defined them here, are frequently not against socialism.

Here one ought to say something about the three positions taken by this group recently. The first considers socialism to be an unrealistic idea in the face of the latest collapse. The people who take that position think that they must escape from the existing world as far as possible. The second position voices approval of the amassing of goods regardless of the price paid or the means through which this is achieved. Finally, the third position calls for negating socialism. Of course, the first group is the most numerous. In spite of all, we can regain them.

[Question] Today the problem of gaining or rather regaining youth for socialism, for, as Professor Kozakiewicz has mentioned, considerable numbers of youth accept it, is a vitally essential one. What ought to be done in order to include youth into the mainstream of political life, to make them copartners in the ongoing changes, to prevent them from forming illegal groups and organizations?

Mikolaj Kozakiewicz: We must first of all answer youth's question: What is to be next? At the moment they do not know what the future of the nation is. We have continuously talked and talked, thus far, yet little has been done in practice. In order to regain youth, we ought to put into effect the announced reforms and legislative decrees. We must also show them that Poland is on its way to become a country closer in image to the demands voiced by society after the August 1980 proclamations that were congruent to socialism. Naturally this youth environment will never be of one mind, but it may have the will to co-operate despite differences of convictions.

School also has a great role to play in winning over youth. Unfortunately, it has been silent at present on essential matters and it has been forcing the pupils to be silent as well. School must permit youth to voice their opinions. Incidents of teachers banning political discussion, justified by their reference to the alleged ban imposed by the martial law, must not happen. Only in such discussion of political topics and exchange of views can we find out what youth really do think, whether by any chance they err, and if so, we find how to straighten out their thinking.

Should we continue to encounter the phenomena of educational cowardice, this will become much more of a problem than the existing illegal groups. This is because the first is an expression of opportunism, and the second an expression of involvement which can also be used for positive purposes.

Zygmunt Rybacki: I think we ought to surround ourselves with all the existing positive forces of our youth groups. We know that the worthwhile, element, siding with socialism, frequently assumes a passive and untrusting attitude, fearing public opinion. This can be broken only by telling them the truth about reality, hiding no facts. For nothing repels more than half-truths.

Kazimierz Rajewski: The home will have a great influence on this process of regaining youth's allegiance. Similarly, educators' background must first be appropriately shaped, then care should be taken of their chargees.

Jerzy Bogacz: I would agree with Professor Kozakiewicz' opinion. Our talks with youth must be based on the principle of partnership, not pontification. It will not be easy to overcome certain stereotypes in the thinking of some representatives of the older generation. Here and there they still continue to impose certain truths, examples of behaviors and attitudes on youth.

We also have to make sure that youth will have access to full and honest information. They must know what is actually happening in our country. Then there is the next matter. Instead of making incessant declarations, we must include youth in the reconstruction of our country and present them with specific tasks in it. Having their purpose bright and clear, they will not need to form illegal organizations.

Stanislaw Liszewski: I would like to add to what has been said here that in the daily practice of working with youth we ought to be led by Professor Suchodolski's [a noted social philosopher, member of PAN] thesis contained in the words: "Upbringing ought to prepare youth to function in the world in which they find themselves for the purpose of making the world into what it ought to be, rather than to prepare them for the world they find and the world as it may be." That is why I agree with Mr Bogacz, who emphasizes the need of working together with youth to create our common program of changes in Poland.

Another matter is that we must count on the independence of youth. They must bring themselves up and shape their own characters. Our role ought to be limited only to the unobtrusive provision of concrete examples and patterns of behavior. As we have said before, such patterns were in short supply in the last period.

9934
CSO: 2600/956

ZMW SCHOOL YOUTH AFFAIRS SECRETARY INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 9 Sep 82 p 5

[Interview with Zbigniew Dyminski, Secretary for affairs of the school youth of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW], by Jozef Szewczyk]

[Text] [Question] The ZMW is linked with everything connected with youth living in rural regions. Your presence in schools has had mixed comment. You have been even accused of taking away youth from the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] and the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth]. Could you tell us in which schools your presence is significant?

Answer: We are present in 75 percent of agricultural schools, which are the main base of our school organizations. We also exist in economic and medical high schools, but the greatest number of our circles is found in technical high schools of agriculture and mechanization of agriculture, as well as in technical high schools of construction for agricultural needs.

[Question] Could you specify the voivodships in which the ZMW is developing satisfactorily and those in which there are blanks and tell us what is the reason for that?

[Answer] Our strongest organizations are in the voivodships of Slupsk, Torun, Bydgoszcz, Cracow and Wroclaw. Blanks as such do not exist. The reasons for this are various, ranging from a number of existing agricultural schools to the attitude of a part of the teacher cadre and principals toward the ZMW.

[Question] And what is that attitude?

[Answer] Perhaps we will first say what it was before and how it changed. In the initial period of the ZMW's existence, many principals and many educational councils were ill-disposed toward us. It was argued that the school already had one organization and thus there was no need to introduce another. In course of time, however, we succeeded in persuading school management that the youth should themselves choose the organization they prefer. We were helped in this by former ZMW patrons, who recalled rather quickly the past of the former ZMW. Without this process, without those people, it would be much worse. But even now there are situations where, because of a school principal's resistance, a ZMW circle cannot be organized. It is true that such cases are now rarer and rarer, but they still occur.

[Question] Now that a new school year has begun, what will the ZMW be offering to youth. How does it want to attract youth to it, and what does it want to change in the school, or what is it desirous of doing?

[Answer] We do not promise anything except that the youth will be able to do in our organization whatever will suit them best in conformity with the statute and ideological declaration of the ZMW.

On the other hand, we desire to initiate in the new year a few matters relating to schools. As most important, we consider a change in the concept of the activity and the creation of school self-government. We wish to avoid a situation in which each organization is active on one's own and the self-government also acts as it sees fit. We propose that the chairmen of all organizations functioning at the school become members of the self-government, and that the plan of self-government work be consequent on the work plans of these organizations and its chairman be elected by the entire youth.

[Question] What would be decided by self-government?

[Answer] Self-government should have influence on school life and on decisions of the principal and educational council, at least in some matters, such as the participation of youth in the planning of occupational training, distribution of scholarships, and in other matters resulting from school life.

[Question] How do you intend to shape the attitudes of the young people so that they not acquire a reputation of looking for adventures in the streets, and the the youth organizations are only issuing appeals and giving positions?

[Answer] We would like to bring about a situation in which school lessons on upbringing and civic education would be really devoted to their professed subjects and not merely time used for justification of skipped hours or other matters. At such lessons, time must be found to meet with unusual people who themselves have experienced certain events or can speak of them more, and in a more interesting manner, than a textbook. Such lessons serve the purpose of meeting with representatives of political parties, administrative authorities and managers of industrial enterprises. Let youth ask questions and hear answers, let there be a dialog.

Finally, the history lessons should also undergo a change, although the influence of the youth organization in this matter is considerably smaller.

As a youth organization, we are planning ourselves a number of meetings, rallies and excursions connected with the past and the very recent history of our country. We will not be able to eliminate the guitar from these rallies, but that and only that cannot be the main attraction.

[Question] To conduct educational work in the union we need first of all to have good patrons....

[Answer] It can be said without exaggeration: like patron, like school organization. He is that link between youth and school principal. He must also listen to what the youth have to say, counsel and suggest many things.

We are planning, therefore, to organize shortly a national meeting of teachers, patrons of ZMW circles, and to work out a "Handbook for ZMW Circles in Schools."

[Question] Teachers who are fit to be genuine patrons are always few. For work with a youth organization, the principal most often delegates the youngest teacher, in accordance with the principle: "You are young, colleague, you will have a common language with youth."

[Answer] We have suggested that the youth themselves were to choose patrons, and not that this be done as you have said.

[Question] And what did teachers say?

[Answer] The thing is that agricultural schools, are situated in small localities and there the idea of social work is great.

[Question] Rural youth are likewise present in schools of great cities. Do you intend to reach them too?

[Answer] An organization comes into being where there are youth groups that are enterprising. We have examples of big cities, such as the 'Tri-City' [Gdansk-Sopot-Gdynia], and even Katowice, in whose schools as much as 60 percent of the youth are members of the ZMW. But there is another problem. We do not want to force our presence in schools where youth organizations are already functioning well. I have to admit that cooperation between the ZHP and ZMW in schools is, as a rule, good. This is to the great advantage of youth.

1015
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VICE MINISTER OF EDUCATION INTERVIEWED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 36, 5 Sep 82 pp 9, 14

[Interview with Vice Minister of Education Gen Div Jan Czapla, by correspondent Wladyslaw Misiolek: "The National Treasure is Found in the School"; date and place not specified]

[Test] [Question] Comrade General, Polish schools are state schools. What does this fact mean for the functions of the school with regard to teaching, bringing up and caring for the pupils?

[Answer] It should be added, Polish schools are schools of a socialist state which, in accordance with legal regulations, "establishes, runs and maintains schools and other institutions of education and upbringing." The consequences of this fact are, first: the responsibility of the state for what goes on in school, how it cares for the nation's greatest treasure, its children and young people; and second: the state, in taking upon itself this responsibility, at the same time has the right and the duty to determine the goals and curricula of the education of the younger generation.

What I am saying is nothing new. This is the way it is everywhere. Even in those countries where private education is the basis of the educational system, the state insures that the schools institute a curriculum in conformance with the state's concept of the social system. It cannot be any different in our country. The Polish school cannot be a place of free interplay between various forces and political orientations; its activities must be subordinated to the formation of a generation which is deeply patriotic, morally and physically healthy, a generation prepared for life under socialism, a generation with a feeling of responsibility for the fate of the nation and the state.

[Question] I can already hear our opponents saying that socialist education impoverishes the personality of the pupil...

[Answer] An entirely baseless charge, since the socialist model of education is composed of all the universal humanistic values, enriched by new values peculiar to socialist humanism. In reality, what we are dealing with here is not a process of impoverishment, but one of enriching the personality of the pupil.

[Question] Mistakes which we have made in the past, as well as the recent destructive activities of the political opposition, have had the effect that in the minds of young people certain values have become distorted, certain concepts have lost their proper meaning...

[Answer] Yes, the damage done to the hearts and minds of young people has been enormous. For example, the word "socialism," for which thousands of people have fought and died, does not always elicit a positive reaction. Freedom is identified with anarchy, patriotism with nationalism, ... The damage is great, and an enormous amount of work will be necessary to restore to certain concepts their proper meanings, to give them a positive emotional value. This affects all of us, and the schools most of all. It must, however, be added that this effort will not have the intended effects if young people do not find the things they hear talked about in school confirmed in the experience of social life.

[Question] Many values make up the socialist model of education. Which of them, in your opinion, Comrade General, should be emphasized in the educational process?

[Answer] All of them are important, all should be remembered. That is the leading idea of the "Main Directions and Tasks in Educational Work with Children and School-Age Young People" compiled in the ministry. I would like to take this opportunity to emphasize that we expect the teaching community to interpret this document creatively, to adapt it to the needs of specific schools, and to enrich it with their own knowledge and experience. Returning to your question, although all values should be remembered, nevertheless, taking into account the needs of society as well as the state of people's hearts and minds, there are some which certainly should be emphasized. Among us there is too much selfishness, too much indifference to the fate of one's fellow man and to the welfare of society. For this reason I consider the need to form pro-society, altruistic attitudes an especially important value. I would rank patriotic upbringing among the most important tasks. I'm talking not just about impassioned patriotism, but also about rational patriotism. The important thing is, while loving one's country, at the same time to know and understand the higher interest of the nation, to know how to serve the fatherland. The third of the particularly important values is the work ethic, which I think I hardly need to justify.

[Question] What conditions need to be fulfilled to achieve these and other educational goals?

[Answer] The most important thing is this: it is necessary to link teaching with moral upbringing to a greater degree than has hitherto been done. Every teacher must also be a moral educator. The view represented, for example, by the Polish language and literature teacher who considers that her duty is merely to teach children how to read and write, and orient them to the rules of grammar, and that other matters do not concern her, is unacceptable. Such a situation is unacceptable, and fortunately, the overwhelming majority of teachers do consider themselves moral educators.

Now the postulates of pedagogical theory and practice with regard to the need for an integrated treatment of the processes of education and moral upbringing are becoming especially timely. In curricular and organizational decisions concerning the improvement of teachers, we refer to these postulates. A good deal has already been done in this area, but much remains for us to do...

In achieving the goals and accomplishing the tasks of socialist upbringing, we place great hopes on the activity of youth organizations and student self-government organizations. Improvement will be made in the moral upbringing work of boarding schools and school hostels. We shall improve moral training for work through work.

[Question] In the past it has been different with that last matter. Student apprenticeships and so-called social work were often the opposite of moral upbringing.

[Answer] This will change. We are beginning with the assumption that the job will be a matter of upbringing, while its main initiator and organizer from the planning stage to the evaluation of its results are young people themselves. Training people to work must be done gradually: first they must work for the sake of their class, then for the school, and only later for the good of the community. We shall strengthen the activity of school branches of youth organizations.

[Question] We are speaking about matters of moral upbringing, Comrade General, but since you have emphasized the inseparable links between moral upbringing work and academic teaching, one cannot help asking about the teaching curricula.

[Answer] We shall improve them. Work is considerably advanced, although its completion is still a long way off.

[Question] What will that improvement consist of, for example, in the case of history curricula, which have aroused so many controversies?

[Answer] In this instance the corrections will consist primarily of taking into account content which has hitherto been overlooked, and eliminating the so-called blank spots in modern and contemporary history. There is no reason for us to pass over in silence certain historical facts, even such as the Polish-Soviet war of 1920. If young people are not told about this by their history teachers, someone else will tell them ...

[Question] ... Using the "blank spots" in history to make "black stains" in the minds of the younger generation.

[Answer] Exactly. In the curricula of general and technical high schools there have appeared some so-called controversial subjects relating to the causes of the downfall of the First Republic, evaluating the national liberation uprisings, the genesis of the rise of the Polish state after World War I, and other questions.

The point is not only to supplement the curricula with new content. Emphasis will be put on methods of working with pupils which arouse their interest, so that they will be able to become acquainted with historical phenomena in their full complexity by acquiring knowledge independently. This is important, especially for those parts of the curriculum about which young people often have false and simplified knowledge from sources outside the school. This concerns, among other things, Polish-Soviet relations. The reconstruction of a well-rounded image of the past must lead young people to an understanding of the historical significance of the Polish-Soviet alliance and its importance for Poland's present and future.

[Question] The readers of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI will certainly be interested in the matter of patriotic-defense upbringing, especially defense training.

[Answer] The place and role of patriotic-defense upbringing have not been subject to basic change, but in regard to defense training, greater emphasis will be placed on the role of this subject in moral upbringing, especially its role in developing discipline. We have amended the defense training curricula, and work is continuing on new textbooks for various grades. The demands made of defense training teachers have been increased, especially as concerns their role in the school, and in organizing all-around upbringing activity. We are also considering a possible introduction into selected schools of supplementary military training. This, of course, would only involve boys.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my approval of the work which defense training teachers have done so far; even the most determined enemies of our system have not been bold enough to question the results of that work.

[Question] Comrade General, the last two years have furnished ample proof that all is not well with the civil and political upbringing of young people. This fact is all the more alarming since our political enemies have not shrunk from using young people, and even children, for their purposes ...

[Answer] Yes, there is proof that they have not renounced such means, and for this reason it must again be underlined that the school is a state institution, and as such is subject to the legal order, which includes the restrictions of martial law. When I say this, I am thinking of those who would like to undertake destructive activity on school grounds.

However, the most important thing is the work of moral upbringing. We shall place greater emphasis on respect for the laws and regulations governing school life. This also means a determined struggle against violations of law and order, and against social irresponsibility. The school must teach responsibility, discipline and prudence in evaluating social and political phenomena, and courage in revealing social evil. Young people must know not only their rights, but also their duties.

[Question] Radio "Free Europe" and other similar radio stations, as well as illegal periodicals within Poland, are debating the so-called teaching staff verification. Comrade General, would you like to tell our readers about the progress of this personnel review, its criteria and results?

[Answer] I see no reason not to speak and write about this subject. The personnel review, and it is precisely a review, not a verification, has affected first and foremost administrative and management personnel. The purpose was to evaluate the work and attitudes of people from the point of view of their professional qualifications, organizational abilities, personal culture and ideological-moral attitudes. The interviews have taken place in a serious and businesslike atmosphere. The results? Certain personnel changes were made in superintendents' offices and among school principals. We have dismissed incompetent people, people not involved in the work of moral upbringing, people who do not know how to counteract conflicts in the groups under their supervision.

The review of teaching personnel is continuing. And in this case we are evaluating ideological-moral attitudes, expertise and reliability. Rumors of a supposed purge of teachers are common gossip.

I don't want to suggest by this that we are being lenient towards those teachers who conduct harmful activity in school or who demoralize young people. We are not being and will not be lenient, for upbringing is too important a matter, but even so, one can hardly speak of a purge.

Let me reiterate what we have already spoken of many times: every teacher must be a moral educator. We demand, and will continue to demand, from every teacher, regardless of his subject specialization, compliance not only with the principles of the Polish Constitution - that applies to every citizen - but in addition special discipline and attitudes compatible with the interests of the socialist state.

The teaching personnel review is being carried out very carefully and in full conformance with legality, and that includes with the provisions of the Teacher's Charter. Its results have been used to help solve difficult problems facing teachers in their professions and in their daily lives, and have also furnished ample material which will be used to improve personnel policy in education. Let me add that personnel reviews will be conducted in the future as well.

[Question] The school cannot accomplish its tasks without allies. Which one does it count on the most?

[Answer] Parents must be the first and most important ally of the school.

[Question] Are they?

[Answer] Basically, yes. This is also confirmed by the experience of recent months. After the street incidents of early May, the enemy undertook a new attempt to bring young people and children out into the streets on 13 May. If he did not succeed in this, if the number of other instances of negative conduct on the part of students has declined considerably, this has been the result of, among other things, co-operation between the school and the home. I don't claim that we can say only good of this co-operation. Some parents still avoid the school; the child still hears one thing in school and another thing at home. Often even teachers forget that "The school," as Helena Radlinska wrote fifty years ago, "is the most important, but not the only institution of upbringing."

[Question] One of the most reliable allies of the school has been the army ...

[Answer] It still is. Not to go back to history, to the postwar years, when men in uniform were rebuilding schools and organizing the first classes, I will use a few examples also taken from recent months. Army units have assumed control of the schools and are running them. Also in this year the army has helped organize vacations, and several thousand officers have taken part in meetings with teachers and young people. The schools continue to count on this cooperation and help.

The personnel at the work-place also remain the tried and true allies of the school in carrying out its statutory tasks. Initiatives undertaken by these people to strengthen Polish schools, upbringing and education, especially in the country's present situation, have their social significance.

[Question] Comrade General, with what idea would you like to conclude this interview on the threshold of the new school year?

[Answer] As I have already said, our greatest national treasure, children and young people, is found in school. The all-around intellectual, moral and physical development of the younger generation is of great concern for virtually every Pole. This leads one to hope that precisely the school will be the place where the difficult process of agreement and co-operation for the sake of our future will be most fully realized.

[Question] Thank you for the interview, Comrade General.

9970
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INVESTIGATION INTO FIRE AT PATRIARCHATE OF PEC REVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1655, 19 Sep 82 pp 32-34

[Article by Steven Stanic]

[Text] That March morning (16 March 1981) "when the Patriarchate burned" and when from the flaming treasury of the monastery quarters the black silhouettes of nuns, as in some medieval tale, could be seen saving old ikons and manuscripts, continues to live in the memories of the residents of Pec, but there are still no answers to the basic question of the cause of the fire. The humane policy of not rubbing salt in open wounds, which was so drastically provoked by Albanian irredentism--"Not now, let's not broaden the drama," "Not now, let's not deepen the split," has perhaps exhausted many of its possibilities. Prior to that in any case there were about two decades when it could have been called concealment.

Along With the Committee List

The openness and above all the resolve of Pec legal agencies for a type of revelation, indicate that the incidental comment of a guest from elsewhere, the painter Dragomir Jasovic, was very accurate: "Here today the most dangerous tongue is the one that is silent." The words of this painter, who came to Pec to copy several gems of the Patriarchate's Holy Mother of God church for the Belgrade Museum of Frescoes, and who has both the time and the perception to judge calmly, were confirmed the same day at a session of the Pec LCY opstina committee. Its long list of comments shows how this truce is simply apparent, and silence is evil. For example, in the village of Krusevac Avro Stankovic was beaten, and in some Pec restaurants and factories, in the villages of Celopek, Vitomirica and Turjak slogans have appeared "Death to the Serbian clique," "Kosovo Republic," "Death to the traitors," "Long Live Albanians" etc. Even the least dispute between two families, even where there is no sign of it, is ascribed to nationalism.

When last fall at this time we set out, there were two men under suspicion on the lists of the opstina investigating authorities. A man with degrees in both law and architecture, Slobodan Mikic has the double role of designer of a suspect chimney (which caused a fire in the quarters) and member of the supervisory agency that approved that chimney. The other suspect was the mason who built that chimney, Andrija Kostic.

A Little Hidden Fire Expertise

Along with that is recorded the final, unquestioned statement of the investigating judge Ibis Hoti: "We have definitely determined that there was no human involvement, that outside causes can be ruled out, and that the fire was caused by the stove, which was fired that night with sawdust, and by the stovepipe and chimney asbestos tubing."

We did not find investigating judge Ibis Hoti at his former place—they told us he had become a lawyer in private practice. Nor was the chief of the secretariat of internal affairs, Janko Jankovic, still around. Perhaps a new visit wasn't necessary, for the purpose of this text is not to deal with rare examples of open court cynicism. No matter how much judge Hoti was explicit in his assertions in turning the investigation in only one direction, and his conclusion that of a master, the construction engineer Toma Markovic offered an unambiguous open dilemna. "The chimney of the quarters may have caused the fire, but it didn't have to be the cause. We should conduct a reenactment with an identically constructed stove, the same fuel and pipes, to see if the roof construction could catch fire in that way and cause a fire like that at the quarters."

Thus, too many specialized terms and too many sharp legal positions have come from both sides and have threatened to cool the target and reduce its size. The president of the opstina court, Miladin Popovic, remembered this well. All the reports finally came to him, and the request of the expert Markovic also started there. First a court request came to him to prepare a supplement to his finding, or a hypothesis. President of the court Miladin Popovic told us: "Before that, engineer Markovic was simply struck by the press conference, where in front of the entire corps of reporters from all the papers, his seeking of legal expertise was somehow pushed around."

A morally "malicious" man, engineer Markovic, as the court president called him, who because of a perhaps unintentional error in front of the public had suffered deeply, now received a chance to come off with a clean face at least in front of himself.

And here begins the touching tale of how in January this year, not even counting the time, with three other engineer specialists, Toma Markovic, somewhere in the dark landscape near Prokletija, in the "wilds," far from curious eyes, built a full scale replica of a sawdust-burning stove, with stovepipe and asbestos chimney tubing, just as it was in the suspected room of the monastery quarters. There at five below they began to fire up the sawdust in the small fire chamber, and like an episode from some movie with mad scientists, with bated breath they watched the flames gradually climb and how in half an hour of constant firing the temperature increased 150 degrees, and how for 2 hours it was held between 140 and 150 degrees. At such temperatures, not even the softest wood can catch fire, let alone the ceiling beams that are fully 8 centimeters from the chimney. To ignite the softest wood a temperature of at least 280 degrees would be required.

The Nuns Didn't Come

The court president, comrade Miladin, now accepts the other suggestion of the expert Markovic, who without any specialist's vanity, along with the conclusions from his new supplementary report, proposes "superexpertise" from disinterested, well-known specialized institutes throughout the country. In his proposal to the court he named places from Skopje to Ljubljana and Novi Sad.

In the meantime the two suspects, Slobodan Mikic and Andrija Kostic, stayed on the hook, without real satisfaction, except for the silence of the entire marketplace, which had its own, other worries. Master Andrija again was accepted and with great trust was assigned the job of building the new quarters. Slobodan Mikic, for his part, said that for the first time in his life he felt "like a weak instrument in strange, malicious hands." This man, who after 10 years of wandering to many continents and work at the United Nations had returned to his small town at the entrance to the Rugovska valley, says that now for the first time he was thinking of leaving it for good, like many before him.

After those supplementary findings by the expert Toma Markovic and his categorical conclusion that the fire was not caused by a stove fired with sawdust, the opstina court sent letters with requests for expert opinions, first of all to the Construction Institute in Zagreb. But the letter was returned with the explanation that they could not provide an opinion, but that they should turn to the Institute for Testing Materials and Constructions in Ljubljana or the Institute for Testing Materials in Belgrade. And while the letters with polite refusals came back one after another, comrade Miladin attempted to clear up at least some unclear places in the investigation:

"The prosecutor suggested that a number of nuns be called for questioning from the Patriarchate, for there were many contradictory statements as to whether the fires might have been built with solid fuel. The nuns, however, refused, because they would need approval from the Patriarch for that. I called the secretary of Patriarch German and he confirmed to me that they were convinced that the fire was caused by other means and no statements from the nuns were needed. Later the mother superior Fevronija said to us "Do not deny that which is Ceasar's," thinking of the already stated patriarchal ban on testifying. We did not want to resort to legal means such as forced attendance and penalties, for that would not be in order. Nevertheless, we asked for the documents of the records on the reconstructed chimneys, but we were told 'The records were in the quarters and they were burned in the fire...'"

And while these small and great court proceedings were under way, and time was slipping away, behind the modern apartment houses of the main street of Pec the celebration of dedication of a new Orthodox church was being prepared.

The church had been raised on the site of a long destroyed church building. The bell rang for several days, and the neighboring residents, even the Serbs and Montenegrins, threatened from above that they would complain, that they would close the church and "silence that devil's bell forever," while at the same time passing Albanians took off their hats in respect and entered the still undedicated church to light candles.

Paradise Lost

In the distant plum orchards of the Patriarchate, in the village of Orasje 7 km from Pec, where we were led to be shown the blessings of this fruitful land that is more fruitful than the biblical Misira, we found an unforgetable scene. In that truly cobalt abundance of plum fruit covering six hectares, the apparently crystal transparent broken geometry of the uprising land Prokletija in the background, the flooded traces of silver streams, the apple trees rustling, the doves calling in even tones, we met two creatures, the old nun Marina and little Braim. They were sitting in the middle of the plum grove under a lean-to of woven branches and straw. Marina was making a jumper and talking to this wide-eyed, open-mouthed 10-year-old boy. She was telling something enchanting, as could be seen from the green eyes of the child. She said that this lad Braim, this Albanian came from some neighboring village; he had come the first day that Marina had been sent to guard the orchard in her black habit and frighten off the birds. He had come and stayed, a little Albanian next to the Orthodox nun, to run between the rows of plum trees, chase birds, and protect the plum orchard from all manner of attacks, while Marina knitted him a jumper from some old boiled wool. But these two creatures in this lost paradise with the occasional warm scent of meadow grasses and house basil, really don't belong to our story, but to another world without our political convulsions, a world of shining tolerance on the very edge of mankind's childhood. Perhaps it is the unreal part of some work by Dostoevsky, perhaps from the "Dream of a Ridiculous Man," in which the people talk about trees as about similar creatures to them, and the animals are won over by their great love, and walk among the tame and domesticated... Perhaps that is after all a new beginning that will be written up some year in the future in an encyclopedia about Kosovo, where it will mention word for word "the harmony and mutual love of Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins about which stories are now told. That which distinguishes interpersonal relations in this multinational Province is the well-known harmony and brotherhood of the people living here."

This is so surprisingly lovely and precisely because of this picture and this encyclopedia text that we can almost ignore the terrible sobering judgement that we heard after that: "And what about the overturning and breaking of the graves of our dead, and the defacing of the monument to the national hero Peter Prlja--is the chimney correctly built there too?!"

Perhaps nonetheless in closing we should return to the place where things are gradually beginning to be resolved. Perhaps too slowly, for the last request

for "superexpertise" sent on 15 July has been returned from the Insurance Institute in Zagreb. And a new request, because of the vacation of investigating judge Sadri Cosi, has been sent with great hopes to the Institute for Court Expertise in Novi Sad, on just 9 September, the day we arrived in Pec.

"Well, what if Novi Sad sends back a report that agrees entirely with your own expert, engineer Markovic? Will the investigation take a different direction then?"

"If the finding is the same as Markovic's, the investigation will not take any different direction, but rather it will again be a case for the investigating agency to find new evidence as to whether the fire was set and then, of course, who set it."

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END

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5 November 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2071

JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE
25
ANNIVERSARY

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5 November 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2071

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Military Service Law

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 12, 2 Apr 82 pp 221-229

/Official text of "Law on Military Service in the German Democratic Republic--Military Service Law--dated 25 March 1982," effective 1 May 1982; signed by E. Honecker, chairman, GDR Council of State. A translation of this text from east Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND of 27-28 March 1982 is available in FBIS Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, Vol II, No 067, 7 April 1982, pp E 1-E 15/

Rank Designations

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 12, 2 Apr 82 p 230

/Official text of "Resolution of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic on Military Ranks, dated 25 March 1982," effective 1 May 1982; signed by E. Honecker, chairman, and H. Eichler, secretary, GDR Council of State/

/Text/ On the basis of Article 71, Paragraph 2 and Article 73, Paragraph 1 of the Constitution of the German Democratic Republic, the following has been resolved:

1. Members of the National People's Army (NVA) and the Border Troops of the German Democratic Republic have the following military rank designations:

Military Rank Groups	Land Forces/Air Forces Air Defense GDR Border Troops (excluding Coast Border Brigade and Border Command Fleet Units)	People's Navy GDR Border Troops (only Coast Border Brigade and Border Command Fleet Units)
a) Private soldiers	Private Private first class Staff corporal	Seaman apprentice Seaman Seaman first class

Military Rank Groups	Land Forces/Air Forces Air Defense GDR Border Troops (excluding Coast Border Brigade and Border Command Fleet Units)	People's Navy GDR Border Troops (only Coast Border Brigade and Border Command Fleet Units)
b) NCO cadets	NCO cadets (NCO cadets rank equal with privates first class and seamen)	NCO cadets
c) Ensign cadets	Ensign cadet (Ensign cadets rank equal with: -- In the first year of training NCO's or petty officers -- In the second year of training sergeants first class or master chief petty officer)	Ensign cadet
d) NCO's	NCO Sergeant second class Sergeant first class Master sergeant Staff sergeant	Petty officer Chief petty officer Master chief petty officer Warrant officer Chief warrant officer
e) Officer cadets	Officer cadet (Officer cadets rank equal with: -- During professional or university training privates or seamen apprentices -- During training at military academies In the first year of studies sergeants first class or master chief petty officer In the second year of studies master sergeants or warrant officers In the third year of studies staff sergeants or chief warrant officers In the fourth year of studies ensigns)	Officer cadet
f) Ensigns	Ensign Ensign first class Staff ensign Staff ensign first class	Ensign Ensign first class Staff ensign Staff ensign first class
g) Officers		
-- Lieutenants	Junior lieutenant Second lieutenant First lieutenant	Lieutenant junior grade Lieutenant Lieutenant senior grade
-- Captains	Captain	Lt Commander

Military Rank Groups	Land Forces/Air Forces Air Defense GDR Border Troops (excluding Coast Border Brigade and Border Command Fleet Units	People's Navy GDR Border Troops (only Coast Border Brigade and Border Command Fleet Units
-- Staff officers	Major Lt Colonel Colonel	Commander Captain Commodore
Generals	Major General Lt General Col General Army General	Rear Admiral Vice Admiral Admiral Fleet Admiral

The highest military rank in the German Democratic Republic is Marshal of the GDR. The appointment to Marshal of the GDR is made in a state of defense or for exceptional military services by resolution of the GDR Council of State and is issued by its chairman.

2. This resolution takes effect on 1 May 1982. Losing effect at the same time are the Resolution by the GDR Council of State of 10 December 1973 on Service in the Armed Organs and Military Ranks (GBl I No 57 p 555) and the Resolution by the GDR Council of State of 23 July 1979 on the Amendment of the Resolution by the Council of State on Service in the Armed Organs and Military Ranks (GBl I No 23 p 223).

Conscription Call-Up Order

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 12, 2 Apr 82 pp 230-237

/Official text of "Order of the National Defense Council of the German Democratic Republic on Mustering and Call-Up for Military Service--Call-Up Order--dated 25 March 1982," effective 1 May 1982; signed by E. Honecker, chairman, GDR National Defense Council/

/Text/ The mustering and call-up of conscripts proceeds in preparation for and implementation of military service in the interest of the secure defense of peace and the socialist fatherland. In this connection the following is ordered on the basis of Article 45, Paragraph 1 of the Military Service Law of 25 March 1982 (Gl I No 12 p 221):

Section I: General Provisions

Article 1: Basic Provisions on Mustering

Mustering is a social concern and the culmination of the preparation of conscripts for military service. It serves to ascertain fitness for service as well as other requirements in effect at that time on conscripts mustered in preparation of their call-up for military service.

(2) The call-up order is issued by the commander of the military district competent for the conscripts scheduled for call-up.

(3) The commanders of military districts must ensure that all conscripts fit and suitable for service in fact do their active service, reservist service or service as per Article 2, Paragraph 3 of the Military Service Law.

(4) As a general rule a call-up review of conscripts is to be carried out before call-up.

Section II: Preparation and Conduct of Mustering

Article 3: Proclamation of Mustering

(1) The Minister for National Defense issues the proclamation of mustering. It must be published in the press of the German Democratic Republic and by posters.

(2) Kreis, city, city district and local councils are obligated to have the proclamation posted in public places. The commanders of military districts issue the necessary instructions.

Article 4: Summons to Mustering

(1) The commanders of military districts must ensure that the conscripts to be mustered are summoned to mustering.

(2) As a rule the conscript must be summoned by letter for delivery by the postal service. If necessary, state organs or enterprises[1] are obligated to deliver the summons in accordance with the requests of the commanders of military districts.

(3) Delivery of the summons must generally be made within 14 days from the date of the public proclamation of mustering. This delay need not be observed if this is necessary to ensure the mustering of conscripts.

(4) Upon receipt of the summons, conscripts must promptly advise the competent state organs or enterprises and their managers.

(5) The instructions conveyed together with the summons are mandatory on the conscripts.

(6) The written summons is valid as a travel pass for the conscript between his place of residence and the place of mustering.

Article 5: Duty to Report for Mustering

(1) Conscripts who know the mustering schedule for their class but have not received a summons for mustering by the date listed in article 4 paragraph 3, are obligated promptly to report to the military district command competent for their place of residence.

---

1. Enterprises in the meaning of Article 5, Paragraph 1 of the Military Service Law are combines, economy managing organs, enterprises, institutions, cooperatives, social organizations and associations.

(2) Merchant seamen born in the year specified for mustering and on voyage or in a foreign port must report promptly upon their return to the military district command competent for the home port of their ship.

Article 6: Mustering of Certain Conscripts

(1) Conscripts who are older than the class defined in the publication of mustering may at any time be included in the mustering.

(2) Merchant seamen who were born in the year specified for mustering may be mustered in a period other than provided for in the proclamation. Mustering may proceed before the departure or after the arrival of the ship of which the respective person is a crew member. The commander of the Rostock Military District decides the period of mustering.

(3) Paragraph 2 applies mutatis mutandi to inland shipping crews who have no fixed residence on land. After consultation of the competent state organs or enterprises or the managers thereof that are competent for the respective conscripts, the commander of the Berlin Military District decides the period of mustering for these conscripts.

(4) To be mustered after their release are conscripts who cannot be mustered with the class due for mustering during the entire period defined in the proclamation, because they are serving a prison sentence.

(5) The commanders of military districts may initiate the ascertainment of fitness for service of youths who have stated their willingness to make their career in the armed forces as well as for students at expanded secondary schools and apprentices in vocational training and with a secondary school diploma even before mustering.

Tasks of State Organs and Enterprises Relative to the Preparation of Mustering

Article 7

(1) In preparation of mustering, state organs and enterprises are obligated to carry out the following tasks:

a) The politico-ideological preparation of future conscripts for their mustering. In cooperation with the competent military district commands, special defense training measures must be established and carried out within the framework of socialist military education;

b) Influencing the punctual appearance of the conscripts at the assigned place of mustering;

c) The punctual handing over of all documents required to the military district commands or the conscripts;

d) Notification to the competent military commands of the names, personal identity numbers, residence, domicile and length of residence of conscripts born in the year specified in the proclamation and unable to attend the mustering. This

applies to conscripts who are not present at their usual residence nor at their permanent job location during the entire period of mustering as provided for in the proclamation. The data listed above must be passed on to the competent military district command no later than 2 weeks before the beginning of the set period of mustering.

The instructions issued for that purpose by military district commands or kreis and city district councils must be carried out regardless of the subordination relation.

(2) At the request of the military district commands, the organs of the youth health service and the enterprise health service must temporarily make available data concerning the state of health of conscripts on the dates specified.

Article 8

(1) Kreis, city and city district councils must make available or ensure the following for mustering as per the requests and dates stipulated by the commanders of military districts:

a) Capable personnel to assist the political work with conscripts during mustering;

b) Medical personnel (specialist physicians and paramedical personnel with experience in fitness evaluation for military service) as well as technical personnel;

c) Appointment of a specialist physician as kreis mustering physician with the assignment to prepare and direct the medical personnel to be employed in mustering as well as assist the commander of the military district and the kreis physician in all matters relating to the organization and conduct of medical examinations for military service and supply military medical opinions also in between musterings;

d) In cooperation with the military district commands the conduct of the necessary radiological examinations of the conscripts to be mustered and the prompt forwarding of the results of such examinations to the military district commands before the beginning of mustering;

e) Suitable and, if at all possible, contiguous rooms permanently to be used for the conduct of annual mustering, equipped with the necesary inventory and the medical facilities required. The furnishing of these rooms must proceed in cooperation with the competent military district command.

(2) The provisions of Paragraph 1, letters c and d, do not apply to cities subordinated to kreises.

Article 9: Mustering Committee

(1) Mustering committees must be set yp by the commanders of military districts.

(2) A mustering committee is composed of:

a) The chairman: -- The commander of the military district,

b) The members:

-- A senior staff member of the kreis or city district, appointed by the council chairman,

-- A staff member of the kreis office of the Ministry for State Security,

-- Three medical specialists (including a senior physician).

(3) If more than one mustering committee is set up at the military district command, the deputy commanders of the military district must be appointed chairmen. In such cases other senior staff members of the kreis or city district council are to be appointed members. Other members to be appointed are personnel of the kreis office or district administration of the Ministry for State Security and the appropriate number of medical specialists.

(4) The chairmen and individual members of mustering committees are to be appointed for the entire period of operation of the mustering committee. In that period a change in personnel is permissible only in exceptional circumstances.

Article 10: Conduct of Mustering

(1) The mustering committees carry out all mustering. The mustering committees operate on the basis of the Military Service Law, this order, military instructions issued by the Minister for National Defense and directives issued by the Minister for Health. The commanders of military districts and chairmen of the mustering committees are authorized to instruct the members of mustering committees regarding the orderly conduct of mustering.

(2) The mustering committee must make the following decisions regarding the fitness of conscripts for military service:

a) Fit for service,

b) Temporarily disabled,

c) Permanently disabled.

(3) The results of earlier medical examinations are to be taken into account by the mustering committee in the ascertainment of the fitness for service in the case of the mustering of conscripts ready to embark on a career in active military service. The medical examination of these conscripts at mustering is required only if more than 1 year has elapsed since the last medical examination or impairments of health and capacity have occurred. Decisions on fitness resulting in a verdict of unfitness of conscripts for a career in active military service must be precded by a report to the appropriate physicians' committee.

(4) The mustering of individual conscripts must be completed in 1 day unless specialist medical examinations or additional medical examinations are required.

(5) Needed specialist medical or other medical examinations for the ascertainment of citness for service must be requested by the senior physician of the mustering committee.

(6) Conscripts are obligated to submit to the examinations specified in Paragraph 5 during the period stipulated, and to report once again to the competent mustering committee on the date assigned.

(7) Conscripts who are required to undergo treatment by specialist physicians in order to regain or maintain their fitness for service, must be assigned by the senior physicians of the mustering committees to the local health institutions in the GDR (hereinafter described as GDR health care institutions). Conscripts must follow the instructions given within 5 working days from the issue of the instruction.

(8) By the date of beginning of their conscript service, conscripts are obligated by medical greatment or other measures to have removed or remove rectifiable impairments of health and capacity noted at the time of mustering or thereafter.

(9) GDR health care institutions must

a) Transmit to the mustering committees or military district commands the specialist or other medical findings requested by the senior physicians of the mustering committees on the day of the attendance of the conscripts assigned or immediately upon completion of the necessary medical examinations--in exceptional circumstances after the stipulated period of mustering,

b) Provide priority treatment for conscripts assigned tasks for the restoration or maintenance of fitness for service by the mustering committees.

(10) State organs and enterprises must implement the medical requirements for the restoration or maintenance of the fitness for service of conscripts.

Article 11: Temporary Suspension of Military Service

(1) The decision about a temporary suspension of military service must be based primarily on the demand for call-ups for military service and social necessities. Temporary suspension from military service may not prevent the call-up for basic military service.

(2) If state organs or enterprises submit applications for temporary suspension from military service, a separate application must be submitted to the commanders of the competent military districts for each conscript, and no later than 14 days before mustering.

(3) No temporary suspension for military service is possible for the purpose of an intended attendance at technical colleges or universities.

(4) Applications for the temporary suspension of military service have no delaying effect on the call-up.

(5) The commanders of military districts are obligated to inform applications of their decisions within 4 weeks from the conclusion of mustering.

(6) If the military district command learns that a temporary suspension from military service was obtained by the submissions of incorrect or incomplete data, the commander of the military district must promptly lift the suspension. An investigation should then decide whether Article 42, Paragraph 1, No 8 and Article 43, Paragraph 1, No 3 of the Military Service Law apply.

Article 12: Military Service Identification

Regarding military service identification papers obtained at mustering or at other times, conscripts are obligated:

a) To submit them to the military district command at any personal appearance,

b) Carry them when temporarily absent in excess of 10 days from their residence, except for travel abroad,

c) Not to carry them abroad,

d) Before departure from the GDR (except for travel to socialist countries not exceeding 30 days), deposit them with the competent military district command for the period of absence abroad, and reclaim them promptly upon return to the GDR,

e) At all times to carry them at times of mobilization and in a state of defense.

Section III: Preparation and Conduct of the Call-Up Review

Article 13: Proclamation of the Call-Up Review

The Minister for National Defense decides the public proclamation of the call-up review. In these cases Article 3 applies mutatis mutandi.

Article 14: Summons to the Call-Up Review

(1) The commanders of military districts must ensure that conscripts to be called up are summoned to the call-up review.

(2) The summons must generally be delivered or conveyed to the conscripts no later than 14 days before the beginning of the call-up review. This schedule need not be observed if so required to ensure the call-up review of conscripts.

(3) In all other respects the provisions of Article 4, Paragraphs 2, 4-6 apply mutatis mutandi.

Article 15: Tasks of State Organs and Enterprises in Preparation of the Call-Up Review

(1) The provisions of Article 7 apply mutatis mutandi to the tasks carried out by state organs and enterprises in preparation of the call-up review.

(2) For the purposes of the call-up review, kreis, city and city district councils must make available medical specialists (specialist physicians and paramedicals with

experience of exminations for fitness for military service) in accordance with the requests of the commanders and military districts and the dates stipulated.

(3) In all other respects the provisions of Article 8 apply mutatis mutandi.

Article 16: Call-Up Committee

(1) The commanders of military districts must set up call-up committees.

(2) A call-up committee is composed of:

a) The chairman -- The commander of the military district

b) The members:
- -- A senior staff member of the kreis or city coun- district council, appointed by the council chairman,
- -- A staff member of the kreis office of the Ministry for State Security,
- -- One or two specialist physicians (including one senior physician).

(3) In all other respects the provisions of Article 9, Paragraphs 3 and 4 apply mutatis mutandi.

Article 17: Conduct of the Call-Up Review

(1) The call-up review must be carried out by the call-up committee. The provisions of Article 10, Paragraph 1, apply mutatis mutandi to the operations of call-up committees and the right of the commander of the military districts vis-a-vis the members of the call-up committees.

(2) Insofar as the conscripts summoned to the call-up review are found to be fit and suitable for military service, the call-up committees must determine the date of the call-up, the unit of the armed forces, the various branches of the service, special troops or services of the National People's Army. This also applies to conscripts who are to be called up for the GDR Border Troops or organs as per Article 2, Paragraph 3 of the Military Service Law.

(3) The decision by the call-up committee must be based on the fitness and general suitability of the conscripts for military service. Also to be taken into account is the fact that the call-up must generally precede the beginning of studies at technical colleges or universities. This does not apply when such studies have gegun before the 18th year.

(4) Call-up committees are empowered to find a conscript fit for military service, who was described as temporarily disabled at mustering, provided the impairment of health and capacity no longer exists, and the stipulated period of temporary disability has elapsed. This change in the decision on fitness must be made after a medical examination to be carried out by at least two specialist physicians.

(5) Call-up committees are authorized to note temporary disability of conscripts who had earlier been found to be fit for military service if they consider that the call-up of the respective conscripts should not proceed due to medically certified impairments of health and capacity. This temporary disability ends with the next mustering.

(6) At the call-up review for constricts ready to make the armed forces their career, the call-up committees must take into account the results of earlier medical examinations when deciding fitness for service. Another medical examination is required only if more than 1 year has elapsed since the last medical examination, or if impairments of health and capacity have arisen in the meantime. Any decision on fitness that involves the lack of suitability of conscripts for the intended career in the armed forces must be preceded by presentation to the competent medical committee.

(7) In all other respects the provisions of Article 10, Paragraphs 4-10 apply mutatis mutandi for the conduct of the call-up review.

Section IV: Call-Up for Military Service

Article 18: Call-Up Order

(1) The commanders of military districts must ensure that the conscripts destined for call-up receive the call-up order.

(2) As a rule the call-up order must be delivered to conscripts by the German Postal Service. If necesary, state organs or enterprises are obligated to deliver call-up orders as per the requests of the commanders of military districts.

(3) The receipt of call-up orders must be signed for, and delivery must occur normally not later than 14 days before the day of call-up. This term may be shorter if

a) Conscripts are prepared voluntarily to enlist in the armed forces or make service in the armed forces their career,

b) Conscripts are called up for reservist exercises or during mobilization or a state of defense,

c) Military regulations provide for the short-term call-up of conscripts,

d) Conscripts have evaded call-up for military service.

(4) The call-up order includes the day, the time or period (reporting time) and the place (reporting or call-up place) of the call-up, the type of military service and other instructions.

(5) The call-up order received must not be taken on a trip abroad.

(6) Conscripts who have received a call-up order as per Article 12, Paragraph 4 of the Military Wervice Law, must at all times carry it if they are temporarily but

more than 10 days absent from their place of residence. The call-up order must be deposited with the competent military district command before the conscript leaves for a trip abroad (except for travel of up to 30 days to other socialist countries) and promptly retrieved upon return to the German Democratic Republic.

(7) Conscripts who have received a call-up order as per Article 12, Paragraph 4 of the Military Service Law, are obligated at all times to hava available the documents and items listed in the call-up order.

(8) The call-up order serves as a travel pass for the conscript, from the place of residence to the reporting or call-up location.

Article 19: Notice of Departure for Military Service

(1) Conscripts are obligated promptly to inform the competent state organs or enterprises and their managers of their impending call-up.

(2) No later than 3 days before their call-up for military service, conscripts must give notice of their departure for military service to the competent precinct of the German People's Police and show their call-up order. At the time conscripts called up for basic military training or for active service as enlisted soldiers or NCO's must hand over their civilian identity papers. Conscripts called up for service as enlisted or career officers must take their identity papers along to the reporting or call-up location and hand them over upon request. If the identity papers are not brought, the respective conscripts must defray the costs of their retrieval.

(3) No notice of departure as per Paragraph 2 is required if the call-up is for service in the reserves or at a time of mobilization or state of defense. In these cases conscripts must take their identity papers along to the reporting or call-up location and hand them in upon request. If the identity papers are not brought, the respective conscripts must defray the costs of their retrieval.

Article 20: Commencement of Membership of the National People's Army

(1) On principle all conscripts called up for military service are members of the National People's Army from 00.00 hours of the day of call-up specified in the call-up order. If the call-up order does not fix a specific day but a period of time for the arrival at the place of reporting or call-up, membership of the National People's Army commences upon receipt of the call-up order.

(2) Unless Paragraph 1 applies, conscripts who have received a call-up order as per Article 12, Paragraph 4 of the Military Service Law are members of the National People's Army from the time of the proclamation of mobilization.

(3) The provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 2 apply mutatis mutandi to conscripts who are called up for the GDR Border Troops or organs as per Article 2, Paragraph 3 of the Military Service Law.

(4) Upon call-up for service in the reserves or during mobilization or a state of defense, conscripts must report in uniform, provided they have received one.

Article 21: Enrolment in the Service of the Ministry for State Security

(1) Enrolment of conscripts in the service of the Ministry for State Security is equivalent to a call-up for military service in the meaning of Article 2.

(2) The offices of the Ministry for State Security independently select and enrol conscripts in the service of the Ministry for State Security.

(3) The offices of the Ministry for State Security convey in writing to the competent military district commands the names of conscripts they have enrolled no later than the day of enrolment.

Tasks of State Organs and Enterprises Relating to the Call-Up of Conscripts for Military Service

Article 22

(1) Suspended during basic military training or the period of enlistment for active military service are the relations of conscripts in regard to the labor code or employment. The same applies to membership in socialist cooperatives.

(2) During basic military training or enlistment for active military service, conscripts may not be offered any transfer or discharge contracts. Discharge contracts may be concluded only at the request of conscripts. In all other cases the special termination protection applies as per the pertinent legal regulations. This termination protection expires if conscripts do not report for work within 5 working days from discharge from military service.

(3) If conscripts begin their active service by adopting a military career or continue such service on terms as per Article 31, Paragraph 3 of the Military Service Law, relations as per the labor code or employment contract will be dissolved as per the pertinent legal regulations. Membership in a socialist cooperative may be ended on the basis of the statutes in effect. If not, membership is deemed to be dormant.

Article 23

(1) State organs and enterprises are obligated to exempt all conscripts from work for the duration of reservist service.

(2) Conscripts may not suffer any disadvantages due to service in the reserves, whether with regard to conditions under the labor code or employment contracts or membership in socialist cooperatives.

Tasks Related to Direct Preparation for Call-Up and During the Period of Military Service

Article 24

After mustering and up to call-up state organs and enterprises must meet the following duties vis-a-vis the conscripts:

a) Encourage the conscripts' readiness and fitness for military service and support other measures aimed to purposefully prepare them for military service,

b) Familiarize the conscripts with the legal regulations governing military service,

c) Ceremonial leave taking.

Article 25

(1) State organs and enterprises are duty bound to accomplish the following tasks with regard to conscripts engaged in basic military service or who have enlisted:

a) At all time to maintain close ties to the called-up conscripts and, taking into account the demands and possibilities of military service, invite them to attend enterprise celebrations,

b) Appreciation for exemplary services during military service,

c) Participation in state or enterprise distinctions awarded the original work collective,

d) Involvement of family members (especially wives and children) in enterprise, political and cultural events and the allocation of the necessary assistance and support,

e) Inclusion of the appropriate measures related to the tasks listed in letters a-d in enterprise collective contracts, other agreements or written instructions by the managers of state organs or enterprises.

(2) The payment of year-end premiums to conscripts on active military service as per Paragraph 1 must be proportionate as per the respective legal regulations. A claim for payment of the full year end premium lies for the period of service in the reserves.

Section V: Date of Notification, Work Release, Costs and Complaints

Article 26: Duty to Notify Changes in the Personal Circumstances of Conscripts

(1) Conscripts are obligated promptly to inform the military district command competent for their place of residence of any changes in personal circumstances.

(2) Conscripts must discharge their duty to notify changes in personal circumstances by personal appearance at the competent military district command or by written notification to the competent military district command.

(3) By their personal appearance, conscripts must notify the competent military district command of the following:

a) The date and duration of any intended absence from their place of residence in excess of 30 place and the place they are going to stay,

b) The date of the intended start of studies at a technical college or university,

c) The date and duration of a trip abroad (with the exception of travel to other socialist countries not exceeding 30 days).

(4) In the following instances conscripts must inform the competent military command by personal appearance or in writing:

a) Change of name,

b) Change of job, profession or training,

c) Serious impairments of health and capacity certificed by a physician.

(5) Conscripts are subject to the duty of notification set out in Paragraph 4, letters b and c, from the date of the proclamation of mustering for their class until 31 December of the year during which they complete their 35th year.

(6) Commanders of military districts may issue further instructions regarding the duty to notify changes by conscripts even beyond the period stated in Paragraph 5.

(7) For the period of permanent disability, conscripts who have been certified permanently disabled do not have to comply with the duty to notify the competent military district command about changes in personal circumstances. Not affected thereby is the duty of notification as per Article 13, Paragraph 2 of the Military Service Law.

(8) The provisions of Paragraphs 1-6 apply mutatis mutandi to female citizens of the GDR, who have received a call-up order as per Article 12, Paragraph 4 of the Military Service Law.

(9) The limitation of Paragraph 5 ceases to apply in a state of defense. In addition to the provisions stated in Paragraphs 3 and 4, the competent military district command must be informed of changes in residence by personal appearance or written notification.

(10) During military service, the military district command need not be informed about changes in personal circumstances.

Article 27: Duty of Notification of State Organs and Enterprises

(1) State organs and enterprises appointed by military district commands to be responsible for providing information about conscripts must inform the competent military district commands in writing of the following:

a) The beginning, change or termination of relations under the labor code,

b) A change of jobs or the location of work.

(2) The competent military district commands must be promptly informed of any change in the data listed in Paragraph 1.

(3) The Ministry for National Defense and the Ministry of Interior agree the information to be passed from the German People's Police to the military district commands.

(4) The Minister for National Defense decides any other duty of notification.

Article 28: Work Release

(1) State organs and enterprses must release conscripts for the time needed for the following:

a) Registration, mustering, call-up review, ascertainment of fitness for service, radiological examinations, examinations by a medical specialist or other medical examinations,

b) Personal appearance at the military district command if so ordered,

c) Complying with the duty to notify changes in personal circumstances insofar as this requires personal attendance at the military district command,

d) Accomplishment of the assignment to acquire knowledge and skills in preparation for military service.

(2) Conscripts are obligated to have confirmed the time needed to carry out the measures listed in Paragraph 1. At their conclusion they must promptly report back to their job if such measures take place during working hours, and working hours are not yet over upon conclusion.

(3) If the personal or repeated attendance for the measures listed in Paragraph 1 is caused by the fault of the conscript, the German People's Police, the military district commands or the institutions of the GDR health care system must enter the appropriate remarks on the summonses (documents).

(4) State organs and enterprises must reimburse as per the pertinent legal regulations all conscripts for the duration of their release from work (Paragraph 1) on the basis of the confirmation (Paragraph 2). Socialist cooperatives pay this compensation, taking into account the work units of the past calendar year or from the reimbursement fund. If the provisions of Paragraph 3 apply, no claim for reimbursement lies.

Article 29: Costs

(1) Kreis or city district councils

a) Bear the costs involved in mustering (Article 3, Paragraph 2 and Article 8), call-up review (Article 15, Paragraph 2) and the ascertainment of fitness for service.

b) Reimburse the cost of fares from M1 up, spent by the conscript for the purpoose of radiological examinations, specialist physician or other medical examinations in connection with the measures listed in letter a. To be reimbursed is the

cost of fares upon presentation of tickets for second class passenger travel on the GDR Railroad or buses of scheduled public lines. If the conscript uses his own transport, reimbursement must be based on fares charged by buses. The provisions of the travel cost legislation are not applicable.

(2) Costs of travel arising for conscripts in connection with registration (insofar as personal appearance is required) must be reimbursed by the German People's Police. Costs of travel arising in connection with a personal appearance for the purpose of notifying changes in personal circumstances must be reimbursed by the military district commands. That applies even if personal appearance at the military district command is required for the discharge of other duties arising from the Military Service Law and this order. The provision of Paragraph 1 letter b applies mutatis mutandi.

(3) Conscripts are duty bound to choose the shortest route for travel to meet the obligations arising from the Military Service Law and this order.

(4) No reimbursement of fares will be granted if it was the fault of the conscripts that they had to appear several times in connection with the measures listed in Paragraph 1 letter b or Paragraph 2.

(5) Conscripts who have to be brought in by the German People's Police as per Article 44 of the Military Service Law, must reimburse the kreis offices or inspectorates of the People's Police for any costs involved.

Article 30: Complaints

(1) Members of the complaints committees to be set up at military district commands as per Article 15, Paragraph 2 of the Military Service Law are the deputy chairmen for internal affairs at bezirk councils. As regards their operations, the complaints committees may proceed as per the provisions of Article 9, Paragraph3 of the Military Service Law.

(2) The processing of complaints follows the legal regulations in effect for the processing of citizen applications.

Section VI: Military Service in Special Situations

Article 31: Mustering, Call-Up Review and Call-Up During Mobilization or a State of Defense

(1) The commanders of military districts may independently decide the method as well as the schedules for the summons to mustering and call-up review as well as the delivery of the call-up order, depending on the conditions of mobilization or state of defense. State organs and enterprises are obligated to carry out the assignments issued for that purpose by the commanders of military districts within the period stipulated.

(2) Upon the proclamation of mobilization, conscripts who have received a call-up oder as per Article 12, Paragraph 4 of the Military Service Law, are obligated to obey this at once without waiting for any further summons.

(3) Conscripts absent from their place of residence (sojourn outside the kreis) at the time of the proclamation of mobilization or state of defense or thereafter, must promptly report in person to the military district command competent for their current whereabouts if a special proclamation has been issued or they are invited to appear by the military district commands. If so ordered, the commanders of military districts must initiate the necessary measures and may issue appropriate instructions to state organs and enterprises. In these cases Paragraph 1 sentence 2 applies mutatis mutandi.

(4) The instructions included in the call-up order on personal reporting as per Paragraph 3 apply to conscripts who have received a call-up order as per Article 12, Paragraph 4 of the Military Service Law.

(5) The Minister for National Defense decides any other measures necessary for the preparation and implementation of call-up during mobilization or a state of defense.

Section VII: Concluding Regulations

Article 32: Consequential Regulations

Implementing regulations or military regulations or internal service regulations to this order are issued by

a) The Minister for National Defense,

b) The competent ministers or managers of central state organs in agreement with the Minister for National Defense.

Article 33: Taking Effect

(1) This order takes effect on 1 May 1982.

(2) Losing effect at the same time are:

a) The Order of the GDR National Defense Council of 30 July 1969 on the Registration, Mustering and Call-Up of Conscripts (Mustering Order) (GBl I No 7 p 41);

b) The first implementing regulation of 30 July 1969 to the Mustering Order (GBl II No 77 p 477);

c) The second implementing regulation of 30 July 1977 to the Mustering Order (GBl I No 4 p 21).

National People's Army Service

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 12, 2 Apr 82 pp 237-241

/Official text of "Order of the National Defense Council of the German Democratic Republic on the Development of Military Service in the National People's Army--

--Service Career Order--NVA--dated 25 March 1982," effective 1 May 1982; signed by E. Honecker, chairman, GDR National Defense Council/

/Text/ To regulate the military service in the National People's Army (NVA), the following is ordered on the basis of Article 18, Paragraph 2 and Article 45, Paragraph 1 of the Military Service Law of 24 March 1982 (GBl I No 12 p 221):

Section I: General Regulations

Article 1: Conditions of Active Military Service

(1) Soldiers in basic military service are members of the National People's Army called up for conscript service as per Article 29 of the Military Service Law.

(2) Enlisted men, enlisted noncommissioned officers and enlisted officers are members of the National People's Army, who voluntarily enlist in active service, the length of which is regulated in Article 16, and whose terms of service are confirmed by order.

(3) Career noncommissioned officers, ensigns and career officers are members of the National People's Army who have voluntarily engaged themselves to active service, the length of which is regulated in article 25, and whose terms of service are confirmed by order.

(4) Female citizens may engage themselves in active military service as per Paragraphs 2 or 3. The Minister for National Defense settles all details.

Article 2: Transition from One to the Other Term of Service

(1) As a general rule the transition from one kind of service to another proceeds at the proposal of a superior on the basis of an appropriate assumption of obligation by the member of the National People's Army. The confirmation of the new terms of service proceeds by way of an order. The period served in the earlier conditions is normally credited to the period of service on the new terms of service.

(2) The terms of active service involved in enlistment and career soldiering may be changed to the terms of service for soldiers in basic military service without obligation as per Paragraph 1, if the respective members of the National People's Army were obligated to basic military service at the beginning of active service, the stipulated length of basic military service has not yet been achieved, and unsatisfactory performance, offenses against military discipline or other reasons do not permit their employment in the intended or currently exercised service jobs.

(3) A change in the terms of service to those of a soldier in basic military service also takes place for members of the National People's Army, who have to do their basic military service as per Article 31, Paragraph 5 of the Military Service Law.

(4) Upon the change in the terms of service to enlistment or career service, the respective members of the National People's Army continue their active military service with a rank consonant with the new terms of service, their performance and general attitude.

Article 3: Appointment and Promotion

(1) Members of the National People's Army are appointed to the first rank within a group of rank designations, to the first general rank, to marshal of the GDR or to a service position, and promoted within the group of rank designations or as generals.

(2) The following are the conditions for appointment to a service position or rank and for promotion within the rank designation:

a) Political, military and personal suitability and the knowledge, skills and capacity required, as well as

b) Availability of the slot.

(3) Appointments may be made to a higher, equal or lower service position.

(4) The Minister for National Defense may issue regulations for exceptional promotions beyond the rank stipulated in the table of organization.

(5) The Minister for National Defense regulates the competence for appointments and promotions.

(6) Generals are appointed and promoted by the chairman of the GDR National Defense Council.

(7) Appointment as marshal of the GDR proceeds upon resolution by the GDR Council of State by its chairman.

Article 4: Demotion in Rank and Service Position

Demotion in rank and service position is a disciplinary penalty and proceeds on the basis of the service regulation on disciplinary powers and disciplinary responsibility. Not affected thereby are the provisions of Article 2, Paragraphs 2-4, Article 3, Paragraph 3 and Article 26, Paragraph 5.

Article 5: Seniority in Active Military Service

(1) As a rule seniority in active military service corresponds to the length of service in the Natonal People's Army.

(2) Credited to seniority in active military service is any time served in

a) The GDR Border Troops,
b) The Ministry for State Security,
c) Civil Defense
e) The former Garrisoned People's Police, German Border Police and Alert Police.

(3) The Minister for National Defense may decide that other employment may also be credited to seniority in active military service,

Article 6: Award of Medals, Academic Degrees and Titles

(1) The award of medals, academic degrees and titles to members of the National People's Army proceeds on the basis of the appropriate legal regulations and military directives.

(2) The Minister for National Defense regulates the right to claim degrees or titles and to wear medals during the period of military service.

(3) Members of the National People's Army, who have been awarded an academic degree by a military academy or other university of another socialist country require the permission of the Minister for National Defense to claim this degree or the degree equivalent for it in the GDR.

Article 7: Practice of a Part-Time Occupation on the Side

As a matter of principle members of the National People's Army are not permitted to carry on a part-time occupation on the side. The Minister for National Defense may permit exceptions.

Article 8: Termination of Active Military Service

Active military service in the National People's Army is termined for the reasons listed in Articles 11, 17, 26 or 30.

Section II: The Terms of Service of Soldiers in Basic Military Service

Article 9: Appointment to the First Soldier Rank

Soldiers in basic military service are appointed privates by virtue of the call-up order.

Article 10: Promotion

Soldiers in basic military service may be promoted up to the rank of private first class/seaman.

Article 11: Discharge

(1) The termination of basic military service occurs upon discharge from active military service at the time stipulated by the Minister for National Defense.

(2) Discharge from basic military service may occur ahead of time for the following reasons:

a) Assumption of important state or social assignments,
b) Exceptionally difficult personal circumstances,
c) Temporary disability,
d) Permanent disability.

(3) In special cases and upon application by the superior, the Minister for National Defense may permit early discharge from basic military service even if the reasons listed in Paragraph 2 are not present.

Section III: Terms of Service for Enlisted Men in Active Military Service

Article 12: Obligation

Before entering the service, citizens who do not yet serve in the military or members of the National People's Army voluntarily obligate themselves to actively serve in the armed forces as enlisted men, enlisted noncommissioned officers and enlisted officers.

Article 13: Beginning of Service

The service of an enlisted soldier, enlisted noncommissioned officer or enlisted officer begins at the time stipulated in the call-up order or the order issued by the superior. It may start at the beginning or during active military service, or after completion of basic military service.

Article 14: Training

(1) The training of enlisted soldiers proceeds in instruction courses or service positions.

(2) The training of members of the National People's Army serving as enlisted NCO's proceeds as follows:

a) In NCO instruction at schools or training facilities of the National People's Army, or

b) On the job.

(3) The training of members of the National People's Army serving as enlisted officers proceeds at schools of the National People's Army.

(4) During training as NCO's or officers, members of the National People's Army are NCO cadets or officer cadets.

(5) Upon the successful completion of training, NCO cadets or officer cadets are appointed to NCO or officer rank.

(6) Members of the National People's Army or other citizens with special skills and knowledge may be accepted as enlisted NCO's or enlisted officers without training as per Paragraphs 2 or 3.

Article 15: Promotion

(1) Enlisted soldiers may be promoted up to the rank of staff corporal/seaman first class.

(2) Enlisted NCO's may be promoted up to the rank of sergeant first class/master chief petty officer.

(3) Enlisted officers may be promoted up to the rank of captain/lt commander.

Article 16: Length of Service

The length of service of enlisted soldiers, enlisted NCO's and enlisted officers is at least 3 years. The Minister for National Defense may allow exceptions.

Article 17: Discharge

(1) As a rule discharge from active military service takes place at the end of the period of service stipulated.

(2) Discharge may also take place:

a) Due to the assumption of important state or social assignments,
b) Due to exceptionally difficult personal circumstances,
c) Due to structural changes,
d) Due to temporary disability,
e) Due to permanent disability,
f) Due to the inadequate performance of service duties,
g) For disciplinary reasons

(3) Members of the National People's Army, who have not served the full term of basic military service may not be discharged from active military service by reason of Paragraph 2 letters c, f or g, insofar as they were obligated to do their basic military service at the start of active military service. In these cases the fixed term of basic military service must be completed. Not affected thereby is the provision of Article 28, Paragraph 1 letter a.

(4) Members of the National People's Army, who were called up on the basis of their stated obligation to enlist as soldiers, NCO's or officers, and who refuse to observe this obligation within 4 weeks from call-up, may be discharged.

(5) The Minister for National Defense or persons authorized by him decide the discharge of enlisted soldiers, enlisted NOC's and enlisted officers.

Section IV: Terms of Service for Active Military Service in Military Careers

Article 18: Obligation

Before entering on the terms of service, citizens who do not yet serve in the armed forces or members of the National People's Army obligate themselves voluntarily to active military service as NCO's, ensigns or career officers.

Article 19: Beginning of Service

Service as career NCO, ensign or career officer begins at the time recorded in the call-up order or the order issued by the superior. It may start at the beginning or in the course of active military service.

Article 20: Training of Career NCO's

(1) The training of members of the National People's Army serving as career NCO's proceeds in stages:

a) In NCO instruction courses at schools or training facilities of the National People's Army or in service positions, and

b) In instruction courses for career NCO's or at civilian educational institutions.

(2) Members of the National People's Army in training either in NCO instruction courses or in service positions rank as NCO cadets.

(3) Upon the successful completion of training in NCO instruction courses or in service positions, NCO cadets are appointed to a NCO rank.

(4) Upon successful completion of training in instruction courses for career NCO's, career NCO's receive an officially recognized certificate as foremen.

Article 21: Training of Ensigns

(1) Ensigns are trained to be technical school cadres.

(2) The training of members of the National People's Army serving as ensigns proceeds:

a) At technical schools of the National People's Army, or
b) At technical schools outside the National People's Army coupled with additional military training.

(3) Training of ensigns may also proceed by training as NCO's with subsequent service in NCO or ensign positions and additional attendance at an instruction course for ensigns. In that case the service as ensign begins with the appointment to the first ensign rank. The Minister for National Defense decides the award of a technical school degree.

(4) During training as ensigns as per Paragraph 2, the members of the National People's Army are ensign cadets.

(5) During training as ensigns as per Paragraph 3, the members of the National People's Army hold the rank of NCO cadet or an NCO rank.

(6) Upon successful completion of training, the ensign cadets or NCO's are appointed to an ensign rank.

(7) Upon successful completion of technical school training, the ensigns receive a civilian professional degree.

Article 22: Training of Career Officers

(1) Career officers are trained as university cadres.

(2) The training of members of the National People's Army for service as career officers may proceed

a) At military academies or academic institutions, or
b) At civilian universities coupled with additional military training.

(3) During officer training the members of the National People's Army are officer cadets.

(4) Upon successful completion of training, officer cadets are appointed to officer rank.

(5) Upon successful completion of university studies, career officers receive a civilian professional designation.

Article 23: Entering the Service Without Training

Permitted to enter the service as career NCO's, ensigns and career officers without training as per Articles 20-22 are:

a) Soldiers, NCO's and ensigns who have special skills and knowledge,

b) Citizens with special skills and knowledge as well as outstanding achievements and merits.

Article 24: Further Education

Career NCO's, ensigns and career officers must constantly acquire further education and greater political, military, specialized and scientific-technical knowledge as well as practical skills for the exercise of their current or other service positions. This happens in the day-to-day discharge of their duties, by attendance at military schools, by home studies or studies at correspondence schools, or by direct studies at civilian universities or technical schools.

Article 25: Length of Service

(1) The lower limit of the length of career military service is determined by the period of

10 years for career NCO's
15 years for ensigns
20 years for career officers,

the upper limit by the age limit for active military service.

(2) As a rule the age limit for active military service is the completed 65th year for career NCO's, ensigns and career officers, the completed 60th year for female members of the National People's Army. The age limit is 5 years lower for fighters against fascism or victims of fascist persecution.

(3) The Minister for National Defense decides exceptions to the provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 2.

Article 26: Discharge

As a rule discharge of NCO's, ensigns and career officers occurs at the completion of the period of service within the limits set out in Article 25.

(2) Discharge may occur also:

a) Due to the assumption of important state or social assignments,
b) Due to exceptionally difficult personal circumstances,
c) Due to structural changes,
d) Due to temporary disability,
e) Due to permanent disability,
f) Due to inadequate prerequisites for a military career,
g) Due to the inadequate performance of military duties,
h) For disciplinary reasons.

(3) Members of the National People's Army, who have not served the full term of basic military service may not be discharged from active military service by reason of Paragraph 2, letters c, f, g or h, insofar as they were obligated to do their basic military service at the start of active military service. In these cases the fixed term of basic military service must be completed. Not affected thereby is the provision of Article 28, Paragraph 1, letter a.

(4) Members of the National People's Army, who were called up on the basis of their stated obligation to enter the service as career NCO's, ensigns or career officers, and who refuse to observe this obligation within 4 weeks from call-up, may be discharged.

(5) Discharge of NCO, ensign and officer cadets from active military service is at a rank consonant with their performance and general attitude. In the case of discharge before the end of the first 6 months of training, they leave with the rank of private.

(6) The Minister for Defense or persons authorized by him decide the discharge of members of the National People's Army in military careers.

(7) The chairman of the GDR National Defense Council decides the discharge of generals.

(8) Upon resolution by the GDR Council of State, the chairman of that body decides the discharge of a marshal of the GDR.

Section V: Special Regulations

Article 27: Regulation for Appointment and Promotion

The Minister for National Defense may set higher achievable ranks for soldiers in basic military service and enlisted men, enlisted NCO's and enlisted officers than stipulated in the respective provisions of this service career order, without the terms of service and other applicable regulations being changed thereby. The condition for this is that these members of the National People's Army have such special knowledge or other particular qualities and skills as enable them without an extension in their active military service period to occupy a service position corresponding to this higher achievable rank.

Article 28: Regulations on Length of Service

(1) As a rule members of the National People's Army, who are prosecuted for crimes during their active military service, remain members of the National People's Army. If soldiers in basic military service or enlisted soldiers, enlisted NCO's and enlisted officers are sentenced to imprisonment, the length of service is extended by the length of the prison sentence or that part thereof required to fulfill the obligations of basic military service or enlistment. The Minister for National Defense may decide that

a) Members of the National People's Army are discharged from active military service in disregard of the provisions of Article 11, Paragraph 2, Article 17, Paragraph 3 and Article 16, Paragraph 3, if their behavior and the prison sentence are deemed to show that the purpose of active military service cannot be achieved,

b) Enlisted soldiers, enlisted NCO's and enlisted officers are honorably discharged if, at the end of their enlistment period, they display exemplary service behavior following completion of their prison sentence.

(2) The period of basic military service is also extended for soldiers in basic military service who have been punished by disciplinary penalties including imprisonment, or who have been absent without leave. The extension runs for the time of the imprisonment or absence without leave. If subsequent service and behavior are exemplary, or when the purpose of basic military training has been achieved, discharge may occur at the stipulated dates.

Article 29: Regulations on Reservist Military Service

(1) Conscripts are members of the National People's Army for reservist military service from the day of call-up.

(2) Consonant with military requirements, members of the National People's Army may be appointed or promoted during reservist military service, independent of regulations on the terms of active military service.

(3) Reservist military service is not extended in the case of disciplinary punishment involving imprisonment or prison sentences imposed by a civilian court.

(4) The provisions of this order apply to members of the National People's Army on reservist military service, provided this is appropriate to reservist military service.

Article 30: Regulations on Mobilization and the State of Defense

(1) Members of the National People's Army may be appointed or promoted during mobilization or in a state of defense, although they may be neither enlisted nor career military men.

(2) During mobilization or in a state of defense members of the National People's Army may be discharged from active military service only if they are no longer liable for military service or on the special order of the Minister for National Defense. Early discharges from active military service may be granted for the following reasons:

a) Permanent disability, if no further employment on active military service is possible,

b) Assumption of state or social assignments important for national defense,

c) Exceptionally difficult personal circumstances.

(3) The Minister for National Defense may issue further regulations on active military service in the National People's Army during mobilization or in a state of defense.

Section VI: Concluding Regulations

Article 31: Implementing Regulations

The Minister of Defense issues implementing or military regulations.

Article 32: Taking Effect

(1) This order takes effect on 1 May 1982.

(2) Losing effect at the same time is the order of the GDR National Defense Council of 10 December 1973 on Active Military Service in the National People's Army--Service Career Order--NVA) (GBl I No 57 p 556) in the version of the order of the GDR National Defense Council of 23 July 1979 on the Amendment of the Service Career Order--NVA (GBl I No 23 p 223).

Border Troops Service

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 12, 2 Apr 82 p 241

/Official text of "Order of the National Defense Council of the German Democratic Republic on the Development of Military Service in the Border Troops of the German Democratic Republic--Service Career Order--GT--dated 25 March 1982," effective 1 May 1982; signed by E. Honecker, chairman, GDR National Defense Council/

/Text/ To regulate the military service in the Border Troops of the German Democratic Republic (GT), the following is ordered on the basis of Article 18, Paragraph 2 and Article 45, Paragraph 1 of the Military Service Law of 25 March 1982 (GBl I No 12 p 221):

Article 1

The Service Career Order-NVA of 25 March 1982 (GBl I No 12 p 237) applies mutatis mutandi to members of the GDR Border Troops. The Minister for National Defense decides all details.

Article 2

Members of the GDR Border Troops take the oath of allegiance (appendix).

Article 3

(1) This order takes effect on 1 May 1982.

(2) Losing effect at the same time is the order of the GDR National Defense Council of 10 December 1973 on Active Military Service in the Border Troops of the German Democratic Republic (GBl I No 57 p 561).

Appendix to Article 2 of the Preceding Order

Oath of Allegiance

I swear:

> At all times loyally to serve the German Democratic Republic, my fatherland, and, on the orders of the workers-and-farmers government, to defend it against all enemies.

I swear:

> At the side of the National People's Army and the other defense and security organs of the German Democratic Republic as well as firmly allied with the armies and border troops of the Soviet Union and the other allied socialist countries to be at all times prepared as soldier of the Border Troops of the German Democratic Republic steadfastly and courageously to reliably defend the borders of my socialist fatherland against all enemies, even at the cost of my life.

I swear:

> Conscientiously to acquire military knowledge, comply with military regulations and always and everywhere to guard the honor of our republic and its Border Troops.

Should I ever offend against this my solemn oath of allegiance, may I suffer the severe punishment of the law of our republic and the contempt of the working people.

Civil Defense Service

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 12, 2 Apr 82 pp 241-246

/Official text of "Order of the National Defense Council of the German Democratic Republic on the Development of Service in Civil Defense--Service Career Order--ZV--dated 25 March 1982," effective 1 May 1982; signed by E. Honecker, chairman, GDR National Defense Council/

/Text/ To regulate the service in Civil Defense (ZV), the following is ordered on the basis of Article 15 of the Defense Law of 13 October 1978 (GBl I No 35 p 377)

and Article 2, Paragraph 3 and Article 45, Paragraph 1 of the Military Service Law of 25 March 1982 (GBl I No 12 p 221):

Section I: General Regulations

Article 1: Regulation of Service in Civil Defense

(1) Service in the Civil Defense of the German Democratic Republic is equivalent to military service in accordance with Article 2, Paragraph 2 of the Military Service Law.

(2) The Minister for National Defense regulates service in Civil Defense by orders, service regulations and other directives.

Article 2: Swearing-In

The members of the Civil Defense Service take the oath of allegiance (appendix).

Article 3: Classification of Members of the Civil Defense Service

Members of the Civil Defense Service are classified by

a) Their terms of service in

Soldiers of the Civil Defense Service,
Enlisted NCO's,
Career NCO's,
Career officers;

b) By rank in

Soldiers,
NCO cadets,
NCO's,
Officer cadets,
Officers;

c) By position in

Superiors,
Subordinates.

Article 4: Terms of Service

(1) Soldiers of the Civil Defense Service are GDR conscripts who serve in Civil Defense instead of basic military service.

(2) Enlisted NCO's are members of the Civil Defense Service who have volunteered for service in Civil Defense. The length of their service is regulated in Article 20 and their terms of service confirmed by order.

(3) Career NCO's and career officers are members of the Civil Defense Service, who have volunteered for service in Civil Defense. The length of their service is regulated in Article 28 and their terms of service confirmed by order.

(4) Female citizens may serve in Civil Defense as per Paragraphs 2 or 3. All details of their service are decided by the Minister for National Defense.

Article 5: Transition from One to the Other Terms of Service

(1) Transition from one to another kind of terms of service occurs as a rule on the proposal of a superior, based on the appropriate obligation of the member of the Civil Defense Service. Confirmation of the new terms of service is by order. Generally the period of service completed on the earlier terms of service is credited to service on the new terms.

(2) The terms of service of enlisted NOC's and career NCO's may be changed to terms of service for soldiers of the Civil Defense Service without obligation as per Paragraph 1, if the respective members of Civil Defense were obligated to basic military service at the beginning of their service, basic military service has not lasted the stipulated period, and inadequate performance, disciplinary offenses or other reasons do not permit their employment in the intended or currently held service positions.

(3) The change in the terms of service to those of a soldier of the Civil Defense Service also occurs with regards to members of the Civil Defense Service who are serving on the basis of Article 3, Paragraph 5 of the Military Service Law.

(4) Upon a change in the terms of service as per Paragraphs 1-3, the members concerned of Civil Defense continue their service with a rank consonant with the new terms of service, their performance and general behavior.

Article 6: Rank Designations

Members of the Civil Defense Service hold the following ranks:

Groups of Ranks	Rank
a) Soldiers	Private of the ZV /Civil Defense Service/ Private first class of the ZV
b) NCO cadets	NCO cadet of the ZV (this rank is equivalent to that of a private first class)
c) NCO's	NCO's of the ZV Sergeant second class of the ZV Sergeant first class of the ZV Master sergeant of the ZV Staff sergeant of the ZV

Groups of Ranks	Rank
d) Officer cadets	Officer cadet of the ZV (this rank is equivalent in the first year of studies to sergeant first class, in the second year of studies to master sergeant, in the third year of studies to staff sergeant)
e) Officers	
-- Lieutenants	Sublieutenant of the ZV Lieutenant of the ZV First lieutenant of the ZV
-- Captains	Captain of the ZV
-- Staff officers	Major of the ZV Lt colonel of the ZV Colonel of the ZV
-- Generals	Major General Lt General Colonel General

Article 7: Appointment and Promotion

(1) Members of the Civil Defense Service are appointed to the first rank within a group of ranks, to the first general rank, or to a service position; they are promoted within the groups of ranks or as generals

(2) Prerequisites for appointment to a service position or rank or for promotion are:

a) Political, specialized technical and personal suitability and the necessary knowledge, skills and capacities, as well as

b) Availability of the slot.

(3) Appointment may be to a higher, equal or lower service position.

(4) The Minister for National Defense may decide exceptions with regard to promotions beyond the rank established in the table of organization.

(5) The Minister for National Defense regulates the powers of appointment and promotion.

(6) Generals are appointed and promoted by the chairman of the National Defense Council.

Article 8: Demotion in Rank and Service Position

Demotion in rank and service position is a disciplinary penalty and proceeds on the basis of the service regulation on disciplinary powers and disciplinary responsibility. Not affected thereby are the provisions of Article 5, Paragraphs 2-4. Article 7, Paragraph 3 and Article 29, Paragraph 5.

Article 9: Seniority in the Civil Defense Service

(1) Seniority in the Civil Defense Service as a rule corresponds to the length of service in Civil Defense as per this career service order.

(2) Also credited to seniority in the Civil Defense Service is the time served in

a) The National People's Army,
b) The GDR Border Troops,
c) The Ministry for State Security,
d) The German People's Police and other organs of the Ministry for the Interior,
e) The former Garrisoned People's Police, German Border Police and Alert Police as well as the former air raid defense.

(3) The Minister for Defense may decide that other employment may also be credited to seniority in the Civil Defense Service.

Article 10: Award of Medals, Academic Degrees and Titles

(1) The award of medals, academic degrees or titles to members of the Civil Defense Service proceeds on the basis of the pertinent legal regulations and directives.

(2) The Minister for National Defense decides the right to claim academic degrees or titles as well as the wearing of medals during the period of service in Civil Defense.

(3) Members of the Civil Defe!se Service, who are awarded an academic degree by a university in another socialist country, require permission by the Minister for National Defense to claim this degree or its customary equivalent in the German Democratic Republic.

Article 11: Practice of a Part-Time Occupation on the Side

As a matter of principle members of the Civil Defense Service are not permitted to carry on a part-time occupation on the side. The Minister for National Defense may allow exceptions.

Article 12: Termination of Civil Defense Service

Service in civil defense is terminated for the reasons listed in Articles 15, 21, 29 or 33.

Section II: The Terms of Service of Soldiers in the Civil Defense Service

Article 13: Appointment to the First Soldier Rank

Soldiers are appointed privates by the call-up order.

Article 14: Promotion

Soldiers may be promoted up to the rank of private first class of the ZV.

Article 15: Discharge

(1) The termination of the service of soldiers in Civil Defense occurs upon discharge from the Civil Defense Service at the time stipulated by the Minister for National Defense.

(2) Discharge from the Civil Defense Service may occur ahead of time for the following reasons:

a) Assumption of important state or social assignments,
b) Exceptionally difficult personal circumstances,
c) Temporary disability,
d) Permanent disability.

(3) In special cases and upon application by the superior, the Minister for National Defense may permit early discharge from the Civil Defense Service even if the reasons listed in Paragraph 2 are not present.

Section III: Terms of Service for Enlisted NCO's

Article 16: Obligation

Before entering upon the terms of service, citizens who do not yet serve in Civil Defense or are soldiers in the Civil Defense Service, obligate themselves voluntarily to serve as enlisted NCO's.

Article 17: Beginning of Service

Service as enlisted NCO begins at the time stipulated in the call-up order or order issued by the superior. It may start at the beginning of service in Civil Defense or at the completion of service as soldier in Civil Defense.

Article 18: Training

(1) The training of members of the Civil Defense Service serving as enlisted NCO's may proceed as follows:

a) At Civil Defense schools
b) At schools of the National People's Army, coupled with specialized training in the field of civil defense
c) On the job.

(2) During training as NCO's, members of the Civil Defense Service are NCO cadets.

(3) Upon the successful completion of training, NCO cadets are appointed to a NCO rank.

(4) Members of the Civil Defense Service or other citizens with special skills and special technical knowledge may enlist as NCO's without training as per Paragraph 1 and be appointed to a NCO rank.

Article 19: Promotion

Enlisted NCO's may be promoted up to the rank of sergeant first class of the ZV.

Article 20: Length of Service

The length of service of enlisted NCO's is at least 3 years. The Minister for National Defense decides exceptions.

Article 21: Discharge

(1) As a rule discharge from service in Civil Defense takes place at the end of the period of service stipulated.

(2) Discharge may also take place:

a) Due to the assumption of important state or social assignments,
b) Due to exceptionally difficult personal circumstances,
c) Due to structural changes,
d) Due to temporary disability,
e) Due to permanent disability
f) Due to the inadequate performance of service duties,
g) For disciplinary reasons.

(3) Members of the Civil Defense Service, who have not served the full term of basic military service, may not be discharged from Civil Defense by reason of Paragraph 2, letters c, f or g, insofar as they were still obligated to basic military service at the time they started to serve in Civil Defense. In these cases the fixed term of basic military service must be completed. Not affected thereby is the provision of Article 31, Paragraph 1, letter a.

(4) Members of the Civil Defense Service called up on the basis of their stated obligation to enter the service as enlisted NCO's, and who refuse to observe this obligation within 4 weeks from call-up, may be discharged.

(5) The Minister for National Defense or persons authorized by him decide the discharge of enlisted NCO's.

Section IV: Terms of Service for Career NCO's and Career Officers

Article 22: Obligation

Before entering upon the terms of service, citizens who do not yet serve in Civil Defense or members of the Civil Defense Service voluntarily obligate themselves to serve as career NCO's or career officers in Civil Defense.

Article 24: Training of Career NCO's

(1) The training of members of the Civil Defense Service as career NCO's may pro ceed:

a) At Civil Defense schools,

b) At schools of the National People's Army, coupled with specialized training in the field of civil defense,

c) On the job, or

d) At civilian educational institutions, coupled with specialized training in the field of civil defense.

(2) During training as NCO's, members of the Civil Defense Service are NCO cadets.

(3) Upon the successful completion of training, NCO cadets are appointed to a NCO rank.

Article 25: Training of Career Officers

(1) Career officers are trained as university cadres.

(2) The training of members of the Civil Defense Service as career officers may Proceed:

a) At the GDR Institute for Civil Defense,

b) At military academies of the National People's Army, coupled with specialized training in the field of civil defense,

c) At civilian universities coupled with additional specialized training in the field of civil defense.

(3) During officer training the members of the Civil Defense Service are officer cadets.

(4) Upon the successful completion of training, officer cadets are appointed to an officer rank.

(5) Upon the successful completion of studies at a university, career officers receive a civilian professional designation.

Article 26: Entering the Service Without Training

Permitted to enter the service as career NCO's and career officers without training as per Articles 24 and 25 are:

a) Soldiers and NCO's of the Civil Defense Service with special skills and knowledge.
b) Citizens with special skills and knowledge, outstanding achievements and merits to their credit.

Article 27: Further Education

Career NCO's and career officers must constantly acquire further education and greater political, specialized and scientific-technical knowledge as well as practical skills for the exercise of their current or other service position. This happens in the day-to-day discharge of their duties, by attendance at civil defense schools, schools of the National People's Army or those of other socialist countries, by home studies or studies at correspondence schools, or direct studies at civilian universities or technical colleges.

Article 28: Length of Service

(1) The lower limited of the length of service in Civil Defense is determined by the period of

10 years for career NCO's, and
25 years for career officers,

the upper limit by the age limit for service in Civil Defense.

(2) As a rule the age limit for service in Civil Defense is the completed 65th year for career NCO's and career officer, the completed 60th year for female members of the Civil Defense Service. The age limit is 5 years lower for fighters against fascism or victims of fascist persecution.

(3) The Minister for National Defense decides exceptions to the provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 2.

Article 29: Discharge

(1) As a rule discharge of career NCO's and career officers occurs at the completion of the period of service within the limits established in Article 28.

(2) Discharge may also occur:

a) Due to the assumption of important state or social assignments,
b) Due to exceptionally difficult personal circumstances,
c) Due to structural changes,
d) Due to temporary disability,
e) Due to permanent disability,
f) Due to inadequate prerequisites for service as career NCO or career officer,
g) Due to the inadequate performance of duties,
h) For disciplinary reasons.

(3) Members of the Civil Defense Service who have not completed the full term of basic military service,may not be discharged from the Civil Defense Service by reason of Paragraph 2, letters c, f, g or h, insofar as they were obligated to basic military service at the start of their service in Civil Defense. In these cases the fixed term of basic military service must be completed. Not affected thereby is the provision of Article 31, Paragraph 1, letter a.

Section V: Special Regulations

Article 30: Regulation on Appointments and Promotions

The Minister for National Defense may set higher achievable ranks for soldiers of the Civil Defense Service and enlisted NCO's than stipulated in the respective provisions of this service career order, without the terms of service and other pertinent regulations being changed thereby. The condition for this is that these members of the Civil Defense service have such special knowledge or other particular qualities and skills as enable them without an extension in their period of service provided for in their terms of service to occupy a service position corresponding to the higher achievable rank.

Article 31: Regulations on Length of Service

(1) As a rule members of the Civil Defense Service, who are prosecuted for crimes during their service in Civil Defense, remain members of the Civil Defense Service. If soldiers in the Civil Defense Service or enlisted NCO's are sentenced to terms of imprisonment, the length of service is extended by the length of the prison sentence or that part thereof required to fulfill the obligations of Civil Defense Service or enlistment. The Minister for National Defense may decide that

a) Members of the Civil Defense Service are discharged from the Civil Defense Service in disregard of the provisions of Article 15, Paragraph 2, Article 11, Paragraph 3 and Article 29, Paragraph 3, if their behavior and the prison sentence are deemed to show that the purpose of service in Civil Defense cannot be achieved,

b) Enlisted NCO's are honorably discharged at the end of their enlistment period if they display exemplary service behavior after completion of their prison sentence.

(3) The period of service is also extended for soldiers in Civil Defense, who have been punished by disciplinary penalties including imprisonment, or who have been absent without leave. The extension runs for the time of imprisonment or absence without leave. If subsequent service and behavior are exemplary, or if the purpose of civil defense training has been achieved, discharge may occur at the stipulated dates of discharge.

Article 32: Regulations for Service Corresponding to Reservist Military Service

(1) Conscripts who are called for service in Civil Defense instead of reservist military service, are members of the Civil Defense Service from the day of call-up.

(2) During service as per Paragraph 1, members of the Civil Defense Service may be appointed or promoted disregarding the regulations on terms of service in the Civil Defense Service but consonant with requirements.

(3) The period of service of members of the Civil Defense Service serving as per Paragraph 1 is not extended in the case of disciplinary punishment involving imprisonment or prison sentences imposed by a civilian court.

(4) The provisions of this order apply to members of Civil Defense, who serve as per Paragraph 1, insofar as that is appropriate to this service.

Article 33: Regulations for Mobilization and the State of Defense

(1) During mobilization or in a state of defense, members of the Civil Defense Service may be appointed or promoted although they are not enlisted NCO's, career NCO's or career officers.

(2) During mobilization or in a state of defense, members of the Civil Defense Service may be discharged from service in Civil Defense only if no longer liable for military service or on the special order of the Minister for National Defense. Early discharge from service in Civil Defense may be granted for the following reasons:

a) Permanent disability, if employment in the Civil Defense Service is impossible,
b) The assumption of state or social assignments important for national defense,
c) Exceptionally difficult personal circumstances.

(3) The Minister for National Defense may issue further regulations on service in Civil Defense during mobilization or in a state of defense.

Section VI: Concluding Regulations

Article 34: Conscription

The further measures regarding the introduction of conscription arising from the provisions of Article 6, Paragraph 2 of the Defense Law are not affected by this order.

Article 35: Implementing Regulations

The Minister for National Defense issues implementing regulations and other directives.

Article 36: Taking Effect

(1) This order takes effect on 1 May 1982.

(2) Losing effect at the same time is the order of the GDR National Defense Council of 1 November 1977 on Service in Civil Defense (Service Career Order--ZV) (GBl I No 34 p 365).

Appendix to Article 2 of the Preceding Order

Oath of Allegiance:

I swear:

> At all times loyally to serve the German Democratic Republic, my fatherland, and, on the orders of the workers-and-farmers government, to defend it against all enemies.

I swear:

> At the side of the National People's Army and the other defense and security organs of the German Democratic Republic as well as firmly allied with the armies and the organs of civil defense of the Soviet Union and the other allied socialist countries to be ready at all times to defend socialism even at the cost of my life.

I swear:

> To be an honest, courageous, disciplined and vigilant member of the Civil Defense Service, to unconditionally obey superiors, resolutely follow orders and other instructions, and strictly guard service and state secrets.

I swear:

> Conscientiously to acquire specialized technical knowledge, comply with service regulations and always and everywhere to guard the honor of our republic and Civil Defense.

Should I ever offend against this my solemn oath of allegiance, may I suffer the severe punishment of the law of our republic and the contempt of the working people.

Reserve Affiliation

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 12, 2 Apr 82 pp 246-248

/Official text of "Order of the National Defense Council of the German Democratic Republic on the Affiliation of Conscripts With the Reserves of the National People's Army--Reservists Order--dated 25 March 1982," effective 1 May 1982; signed by E. Honecker, chairman, GDR National Defense Council/

/Text/ Conscripts of the German Democratic Republic, who are affiliated with the reserve of the National People's Army, carry an immense responsibility for the secure defense of peace and the socialist fatherland. Consequently the following is ordered on the basis of Article 45, Paragraph 1 of the Military Service Law of 25 March 1982 (GBl I No 12 p 221):

Article 1: Basic Regulations

(1) Conscripts who are in the reserve of the National People's Army as per Article 38 of the Military Service Law have the social assignment of maintaining their personal combat reeadiness and responsibly and actively supporting all measures for the reinforcement of national defense and the all-round strengthening of the socialist fatherland as well as for the defense of socialist achievements.

(2) To accomplish this social assignment, veteran reservists are obligated:

a) To maintain and strengthen their defense political and military knowledge and skills in the appropriate organization of veteran reservists as well as by participation in military sports or other types of sport arranged by the Society for Sport and Technology,

b) To assist the preparation of young people for military service and to be active in particular as trainers, exercise directors or officials of the Society for Sport and Technology as well as in the recruitment of young people for voluntary active military service and in the career preparation of aspirants to a military career,

c) Using the defense political and military knowledge and skills acquired in military service for service in the workers militia, cooperation in Civil Defense, or voluntary helper of the GDR Border Troops or the German People's Police.

(3) Non-veteran reservists must prepare themselves for military service by drawing on the experience of veteran reservists, active participation in premilitary training and military sports organized by the Society for Sports and Technology as well as cooperation in Civil Defense.

(4) State organs and enterprises[1] must assist reservists in the accomplishment of their assignments by adopting the appropriate measures. This applies in particular to the involvement of reservists in the tasks of socialist military education and to the exertion of influence on the work in the appropriate organizations of veteran reservists.

Article 2: Discharge from Military Service and Renewed Affiliation With the Reserve

(1) Upon discharge from military service, conscripts are once again members of the reserve of the National People's Army. The add the words "of reserve" (d R) to the rank achieved at the time of discharge.

(2) If conscripts are discharged from organs, service in which corresponds to service in the military as per Article 2, Paragraph 3 of the Military Service Law, they are again affiliated with the reserve of the National People's Army. The ranks achieved by the time of discharge must be redesignated ranks of the National People's Army unless they already conform to them. Deemed equal with the ranks of the National People's Army are:

a) Aspirant	=	Private
b) Junior sergeant	=	Private first class
c) Sergeant	=	Staff corporal
d) Senior sergeant	=	NCO
e) Chief sergeant	=	Sergeant first class
f) Warrant officer	=	Master sergeant
g) Senior warrant officer	=	Staff sergeant

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1 Enterprises in the meaning of Article 5, Paragraph 1 of the Military Service Law are combines, economy managing organs, enterprises, institutions, cooperatives, social organizations and associations.

At the time of discharge, the competent superiors in these organs must enter the military ranks in the military identity papers.

Article 3: Reporting After Discharge from Military Service

(1) Persons discharged from active military service must report to their competent military district command no later than 4 working days from discharge.

(2) Conscripts discharged from reservist service need report to the competent military district command as per Paragraph 1 only if discharged ahead of time.

(3) The provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 2 apply mutatis mutandi to the discharge from a service corresponding to military service as per Article 2, Paragraph 3 of the Military Service Law.

Article 4: Wearing the Uniform

(1) Veteran reservists are entitled to wear uniform on public holidays and at attendance of ceremonies of the National People's Army, the GDR Border Troops or other organs, service in which corresponds to military service as per Article 2, Paragraph 3 of the Military Service Law.

(2) Veteran reservists may also wear uniform when carrying out tasks within the framework of military training, as persons authorized to promote recruitment and as managers of FDJ collectives of aspirants for military careers.

(3) Veteran reservists who work as civilian employees of the National People's Army, the GDR Border Troops or Civil Defense, may be authorized to wear uniform in the exercise of their employment, when this is required for service reasons.

(4) The military identity card must be carried when the uniform is worn.

Article 5: Transfer to Active Military Service as Well as Appointments and Promotions

(1) Reservists are entitled to apply for transfer to active military service or a service corresponding to military service as per Article 2, Paragraph 3 of the Military Service Law.

(2) While affiliated with the reserve of the National People's Army and depending on military needs, reservists may be appointed to a rank or promoted. The provision of Article 2, Paragraph 1, sentence 2 applies mutatis mutandi.

(3) The Minister for National Defense decides the details involved in Paragraphs 1 and 2.

Article 6: Permission to Testify

(1) Reservists who have served in the armed forces must obtain permission to testify in a court of law, to the prosecutor or an investigative organ, if the testimony concerns facts linked with military service.

(2) Generally no permission for testifying is required if the testimony is to be given to a courts martial, military prosecutor or military investigative organ.

(3) Permission for a reservist to testify is granted by the commander of the competent military district.

(4) Reservists who have served at the Ministry for State Security must obtain permission to testify in every case that the topic of the testimony concerns such facts as are related to their service. Permission to testify must be obtained from the kreis office of the Ministry for State Security competent for the applicant's domicile.

(5) The provisions of Paragraphs 1-4 also apply to female citizens who have voluntarily served in the armed forces.

Article 7: Termination of Affiliation With the Reserve of the National People's Army

(1) Affiliation with the reserve of the National People's Army is terminated when the upper age limit for reservists is reached. Those concerned are thereafter retired and add the words "retired" (a D) to the rank they held at the time of retirement.

(2) The provisions of Articles 4 and 6 apply mutatis mutandi.

Article 8: Consequential Regulations

Implementing regulations or military instructions or internal service directives to this order are issued by

a) The Minister for National Defense,

b) The competent ministers or managers of central state organs in coordination with the Minister for National Defense.

Article 9: Taking Effect

(1) This order takes effect on 1 May 1982.

(2) Losing effect on the same date are

a) The order of the National Defense Council of the German Democratic Republic of 30 July 1969 on the Military Service of Reservists (Reservists Order) (GBl I No 7 p 45),

b) The first implementing regulation of 30 July 1969 to the Reservists Order (GBl II No 77 p 479),

c) The second implementing regulation of 30 October 1975 to the Reservists Order (GBl I No 45 p 733).

Reservists Order Implementation

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 12, 2 Apr 82 pp 248-253

/Official text of "First Implementing Regulation for Reservists Order, dated 25 March 1982," effective 1 May 1982; signed by Army General Hoffmann, minister for national defense/

/Text/ On the basis of Article 8 of the Reservists Order dated 25 March 1982 (GBl I No 12 p 246), the following has been decided in agreement with the other managers of competent central state organs and the central managements of social organizations:

Article 1: The Social Task of Veteran Reservists Apart from Reservist Service

(1) Conscripts who are members of the reserve of the National People's Army as reservists in accordance with Article 38 of the Military Service Law, have the social task to maintain their personal combat readiness and responsibly and actively assist the measures for the reinforcement of national defense and the strengthening of the socialist fatherland as well as for the defense of socialist achievements.

(2) The social task of veteran reservists is carried out by participation in military political, military, military sports and sports measures for the maintenance of their personal combat readiness and by expert cooperation in the accomplishment of tasks involved in the socialist military education of citizens, especially youth (hereinafter designated reservist work).

(3) Reservist work is a responsible action meriting the greatest social recognition and praise.

Article 2: Reservist Work for the Accomplishment of the Social Task

(1) Reservist work must make an effective contribution to the further development of the GDR's defense readiness and defense capacity as a partner country in the Warsaw Pact.

(2) In implementation of the social task, reservist work must deal with the following main tasks:

a) Unless employed in other sectors of national defense, veteran reservists, being the standard bearers of the NVA's combat strength, must maintain and sharpen their basic military political and military knowledge. They must be ready and able to serve at all times when so required by society. This calls on them to

   -- Participate in military political, military, military-technical and military sports activities and measures of the reservist collective, excursions to the parent sections and units of the armed services, memorials of the revolutionary struggle, the GDR Army Museum, and to attend events celebrating the anniversaries of the NVA and GDR Border Troops as well as other military political events;

-- Mass participation in military combat sports or other military sports organized by the GST /Society for Sport and Technology/,

-- Participation in cultural and sports measures of state organs and social organizations, GST Spartacus Festivals and other military sports events;

-- Ensure the inclusion of military sports elements in sports at enterprises and institutions, cities and communities.

b) In the interest of the greatest possible advance preparation for the combat strength and combat readiness of the NVA, veteran reservists must cooperate in the arousal of military consciousness among GDR citizens and, in particular, help young people to well prepare for conscript service and be active in the recruitment of young people for voluntary enlistment in active service as well as the recruitment and professional preparation of aspirants for military careers. That requires above all:

-- Expert cooperatoion in military political educational work in school, study and work collectives as well as social organizations, in order to convey a realistic image of life in the NVA and the requirements of active military service as well as reinforce class-like standpoints and attitudes to military service;

-- All-round encouragement of premilitary training and GST military sports by the exercise of part-time training director functions in the GST;

-- Cooperation in the military political preparation of conscripts of the respective class for mustering and direct preparation for call-up;

-- Assistance to military instruction at general educational polytechnical secondary schools as well as military political and military sports activities and measures of other state organs and social organizations;

-- Organizing political discussions in school, study and work collectives for the recruitment of suitable youths for voluntary enlistment as NCO's or soldiers as well as for a military career, and encouraging the professional preparation of officer, ensign and career NCO aspirants;

-- Activism as persons authorized to promote military recruitment or heads of FDJ aspirant collectives for military careers.

Article 3: The Responsibility of Officers of the Reserve

(1) Officers of the reserve have a particular responsibility for strengthening GDR national defense and ensuring the combat strength and combat readiness of the NVA. They must be willing and able to assume military leadership functions or special tasks in the NVA if needed for the defense of the socialist fatherland. That require above all:

-- So to act in their work places that socialist national defense and socialist military education is realized as an indivisible element in the work of state organs and social organizations;

-- In an exemplary manner cooperate in reservist work and shoulder tasks in reservist collectives;

-- Attend events for the military political and military further education of reserve officers;

-- Accept functions related to the organization and conduct of GST military sports or other military sporting and sporting activities for the maintenace of the combat strength of reservists;

-- As member of the section military policy at Urania, propagandist of military political education in premilitary GST training or as member of state and social bodies to encourage military political, military and military-technical propaganda among the public;

-- Cooperate in central managements and reservist advisory councils.

(2) Retired officers may participate in reservist work.

Article 4: The Organization and Management of Reservist Work

(1) In accordance with the regional principle, the competent military district command organizes and manages reservist work in enterprises, institutions and communities.

(2) The reservist collective is the basic type of organization for veteran reservists. Reservist groups and a reserve officer activist group may be set up as sections of the reservist collective. Veteran reservists cooperate in the reservist collective in disregard of their rank d R and the branch of service.

(3) Reservist collectives are established:

a) At enterprises of all kinds of ownership as well as at state organs and social institutions;

b) At universities, high schools and technical schools;

c) In communities as local reservist collectives

(hereinafter designated enterprises, institutions and communities).

(4) Reservist collectives and groups must be set up consonant with local conditions (where possible taking into account the structure of the SED party organization and the social organizations of the enterprise, institution and community). Several reservist collectives may be set up at parent enterprises of combines and other major enterprises and institutions.

(5) The commander of the military district, in cooperation with the competent managers, is responsible for the establishment of reservist collectives at enterprises, institutions and communities of the respective military district.

(6) A management body must be set up for each reservist collective and have the following composition:

a) Manager,
b) Deputy for agitation/propaganda and assistance in the military preparation of youth,
c) Deputy for military sports,
d) Deputy for the work with reserve officers,
e) 2-3 members.

After consultation of the competent manager and the SED party management, the commander of the competent military district appoints the manager of the reservist collective, as a rule an officer of reserve. The manager of the reservist collective, in cooperation with the competent manager and the SED party management, must select and appoint the deputy managers and members of the management body.

(7) Reservist groups may be set up within reservist collectives, for instance in shifts, departments, sections, and so on. The manager of the reservist collective is responsible for the establishment of reservist groups. Depending on the numerical strength of the reservist group, the management of the reservist group is composed of a manager and one or several deputies. The management is appointed by the manager of the reservist collective in cooperation with the competent manager and the SED party management.

(8) If the appropriate number of reserve officers is available, a reserve officer activist group must be set up in the reservist collectives. A reserve officer activist group may be composed of reserve officers of several reservist collectives.

(9) To be involved in the work of reservist collectives and groups at universities, high schools and technical schools as well as other educational institutions are veteran reservists among teachers, employees and students.

(10) A central management body may be set up at parent enterprise of combines or other major enterprises and institutions with several reservist collectives. The central management body is composed of a chairman, one or two deputies and several members. Members of the central management body may also be managers o. eservist collectives. If there is a GST basic organization, one executive member of that organization must be included in the central management body. At the suggestion of the competent manager and the SED party management, the commander of the military district appoints the chairman of the central management body and his deputies.

(11) A reservist advisory council is to be set up at the office of the commander of the military district. The reservist advisory council is composed of a chairman, deputy chairman and three-five members. As a rule the reservist advisory council is to be composed of officers of the reserve and retired officers, who work in the district of the military district command and hold a good deal of experience in reservist work. A senior official of the GST kreis executive must be included in the reservist advisory council. The commander of the military district appoints the reservist advisory council after consultation of the competent managers and SED party managements.

(12) Work in reservist collectives and groups as well as their managements, including central managements, is part-time and unpaid.

(13) No reservist collectives are to be set up at the offices of the National People's Army, the GDR Border Troops, Civil Defense or other organs where a service is carried on that corresponds to military service, the German People's Police and the organs fire brigade and prison service at the Ministry of the Interior, and the GDR Customs Administration.

Article 5: Types of Reservist Work

The following are types of reservist work:

1. Educational and informational events such as military political lectures and discussions, legal propaganda regarding issues of national defense, excursions, visits to troops, film showings and discussions of films produced by the Army Film Unit, meetings with soldiers in enterprises, institutions and communities, meetings with soldiers on the anniversary of the NVA, consultations and discussions on problems of reservist work. They serve the military political motivation and training of veteran reservists. The manager of the reservist collective or chairman of the central management is responsible for the organization and conduct of such measures;

2. Training and competitions in shooting and military combat sports of the GST to maintain basic military and military technical knowledge of shooting and the military sports fitness of veteran reservists as well as to prepare reservist collective teams for participation in popular sports and enterprise sports festivals, cup competitions and military Spartacus festivals of the GST. They are to be organized and conducted by the management of the reservist collective, reservist group or central management in close cooperation with the executive if the GST basic organization;

3. Reserve officer information sessions as a specific measure for the military political information and further education of officers of reserve. They may be called by the manager of the reserve collective or chairman of the central management for the enterprise and institution, or by the commander of the military district for the kreis. Officers of the NVA and the defense and security organs of the GDR may be invited to reserve officer information sessions. With the agreement of the respective commander, they may take place at a troop section or unit and coupled with information on military and military-technical matters as well as with participation in exercises, instructions and other training measures;

4. Roll-call of the reservist collective in honor of the NVA anniversary. The roll-call documents the affection of veteran reservists for the NVA and their readiness to assume the military defense of socialism. It is to be organized as a publicly effective measure in the enterprise, institution and community by the management of the reservist collective or central management, in cooperation with the competent manager, the SED party management and the managements of social organizations;

5. Social events on the occasion of public holidays, NVA anniversaries and other military political celebrations. The social attendance of veteran reservists with their families is to serve the reinforcement of reservist collectives and groups and, most of all, encourage the wives' understanding of their husbands' reservist work. The management of the reservist collective or central management are responsible for the preparation of the respective event;

6. Working consultation with managers of reservist collectives and chairmen of central managements as well as veteran reservists, who do active reservist work. This serves military political information, the exchange of experiences, the discussion of tasks and results of the reservist competition as well as the recognition of outstanding performances. It is called by the commander of the military district;

7. Military district and bezirk conferences, where tasks, experiences and problems of the conduct of reservist work in the respective region are discussed. They are held when necessary. The commanders of the military districts or chiefs of regional military commands are responsible for the convocation and invitation of participants;

8. Central reservist conference on basic issue of the work with veteran reservists and their readiness for deployment in a state of mobilization or defense. Special military regulations will settle the details of the convocation, preparation and conduct of the central reservist conference.

Article 6: Goal, Tasks and Types of Cooperation Between Reservist Collectives and GST Basic Organizations

(1) Cooperation between reservist collectives and GST basic organizations aims at providing an effective contribution to the maintenance of the personal combat fitness of veteran reservists and at assisting GST basic organizations in premiliary training and military sports.

(2) Cooperation between reservist collectives and GST basic organizations must concentrate on the accomplishment of the following tasks:

a) The conduct of purposeful politico-ideological work of persuasion for the recruitment of veteran reservists for participation in military combat sports or other military sports of the GST;

b) The assurance of regular military sports activities by veteran reservists on the basis of a standardized program for the maintenance of combat fitness;

c) The creation of the necessary persomel and material conditions for the mass participation of veteran reservists in GST military combat sports;

d) The promotion of the readiness of veteran reservists to assume training functions in premilitary training or exercise management functions in GST military sports;

e) The coordination of military educational activities and measures between the reservist collectives and GST basic organizations or the joint organization and conduct of traditional military political and military sports events in enterprises, institutions and communities;

f) The preparation and participation of teams from reservist collectives or reservist groups in shooting and other military sports competitions as well as in GST military Spartacus sports festivals.

(3) In the interest of the purposeful and efficient cooperation between reservist collectives and GST basic organizations for the accomplishment of the tasks listed in Paragraph 2, the following types and methods of cooperation in particular are to be used:

a) Collaboration of a member of the reservist collective management in the executive of the GST basic organization;

b) The discussion and coordination of activities and measures of the reservist collective in the GST training year with the executive of the GST basic organization by the chairman of the central management or manager of the reservist collective;

c) The conduct of joint discussions between the central management or the management of the reservist collective with the executive of the GST basic organization (at least once each year) on the results and experiences in cooperation and the adoption of joint measures for the continuing accomplishment of the tasks assigned.

Article 7: Socialist Competition of Veteran Reservists

(1) The socialist competition of veteran reservists (hereinafter designated reservists competition) aims to develop in reservist collectives the creativity, initiatives and conscious activism of veteran reservists for the reinforcement of socialist national defense.

(2) In cooperation with party and state organs as well as social organizations, the reservists competition is to concentrate mainly on achieving in enterprises, institutions and communities stable performances with respect to socialist national defense, the maintenance of personal service readiness, the preparation of youths for military service and the recruitment of youths for voluntary active military service as enlisted NCO's or soldiers and the long-term assurance of future career NCO's and officers.

(3) The reservist collective is the basis of the reservists competition. The reservists competition is conducted publicly and accountably on the basis of the NVA competition order, an annual central directive by the Ministry for National Defense, the targets assigned by the commanders of military districts and the battle program of the reservists collective.

(4) The commander of the military district decides to what body the reservist collectives must defend their battle program.

(5) Reservist collectives may conduct a competition for the title "best reservist collective."

Article 8: Tasks and Powers of the Managements of Reservist Collectives and Groups

(1) The managements of reservist collectives have the task:

a) To mobilize veteran reservists for the accomplishment of the tasks set in Articles 2 and 3 and, in particular, work with the officers, ensigns and NCO's of reserve as the activist nucleus of the reservist collectives;

b) To plan and organize reservist work;

c) Utilize political, military sports and sports climaxes in the GDR, bezirks, kreises, enterprises, institutions and communities for mass participation in military political and military sports measures;

d) Closely to cooperate with the executives of GST basic organizations in the implementation of measures for the maintenance of the personal combat readiness of veteran reservists and for the preparation of youth for military service;

e) To draw up the battle program for participation in the reservists competition, discuss it with the veteran reservists and have it resolged by the reservist collective, to precisely define the competition tasks assigned and steadily and purposefully conduct the reservists competition;

f) To achieve effective work with the officers of reserve for the accomplishment of the assignments listed in Article 3 and carry out special measures for their further military political education;

g) In cooperation with the competent managers to popularize and publicly acknowledge reservist work;

h) Affect the realization of the Advancement Decree in enterprises, institutions or communities, especially with regard to the provisions on the professional advancement and further education of veteran reservists;

i) To promote aid and assistance measures of enterprises, institutions and communities to families whose fathers serve as reservists;

j) To assist measures of enterprise managers regarding the welfare of families of conscripts actively serving in the armed forces, farewell ceremonies upon call-up and measures for picking up members of the armed forces on the day of their discharge from active service, official welcomes and reintegration in the work process and involvement in reservist work;

k) To report on reservist work to the commander of the military district or competent manager, the SED party management, the labor union management in the enterprises and institutions, the community council or the SED local party management.

(2) The managements of reservist collectives and groups are entitled:

a) To assign reservists tasks to veteran reservists and conduct events as per Article 5;

b) Cooperate with state managers or managements or executives of social organizations in their enterprises, institutions and communities for the accomplishment of the tasks listed in Articles 2 and 3, and to submit to them proposals for the public acknowledgment of the work of veteran reservists;

c) Attend discussions of the managers on social issues, if these require the cooperation of veteran reservists;

d) Within the framework of socialist partnership relations of their enterprises, institutions and communities to carry out joint measures and exchange experiences with veteran reservists of the socialist fraternal armies;

e) For the accomplishment of tasks of reservist work and in cooperation with the competent military district command to make contacts with the offices of the NVA, the GDR Border Troops, Civil Defense and the Soviet Army;

f) Publicize reservist work;

g) Submit proposals on the award of decorations and premiums for meritorious reservists to the military district command or competent manager or managements or executives of social organizations of enterprises, institutions and communities;

h) In conjunction with the cadre organ of the enterprise or institution or the mayor of the community to keep a record of the data (indispensable for work in the reservist collective) regarding the individual veteran reservist. Data on service in the armed forces are not to be included in the records.

Article 9: Tasks and Powers of the Central Managements of Reservist Collectives

(1) Central managements have the task

a) To assist the competent managers in carrying out their duties for the advancement of work with veteran reservists;

b) To organize and conduct the reservists competition of reservist collectives, exchange experiences of reservist work and coordinate the work of reservist collectives in the enterprise or institution;

c) Accomplish effective work with the officers of reserve to implement the provisions as per Article 3 and, in coordination with the managements of reservist collectives and groups, to carry out special measures for their further military political education.

(2) Central managements are entitled:

-- To assign reservist tasks and conduct events as per Article 5;

-- To submit to the competent managers recommendations on the involvement of veteran reservists in the accomplishment of tasks related to socialist military education in the respective section as well as proposals on the popularization and recognition of outst anding performances in reservist work.

Article 10: Tasks and Powers of Reservist Advisory Councils

(1) Reservist advisory councils have the task

a) To advise the commander of the military district regarding the subject matter of reservist work and assist him in the organization and management of reservist work in the region;

b) At the request of the commander of the military district to carry out assignments concerning the guidance of reservist work in the region;

c) To cooperate in the drafting of assignments and appraisals as well as to exchange and generalize experiences;

d) To collaborate with veteran reservists in the preparation and conduct of work discussions and other measures.

(2) Reservist advisory councils are entitled:

a) To submit to the commander of the military district proposals on the organization and management of reservist work;

b) To advise the reservist collectives on the drafting of battle programs for participation in the reservists competition;

c) To participate in measures of the reservist collectives and groups, and to inform themselves of the results and experiences of reservist work;

d) To submit to the commander of the military district proposals regarding the award of decorations and premiums to veteran reservists, reservist collectives and groups.

Article 11: Duties of the Chiefs and Commanders of Military Commands

The chiefs and commanders of military commands must

a) Direct reservist work, provide guidance and assistance to the managements of reservist collectives and to further educate them;

b) Establish a reservist advisory council at the military district command and work with it as per the provisions of Article 10;

c) Assign reservist tasks on the conduct of reservist work to veteran reservists and reservist collective managements and conduct events as per Article 5;

d) Assign tasks regarding the conduct of the reservists competition and regularly appraise it;

e) Appoint the chairman and deputies of central managements and managers of reservist collectives;

f) Ensure the publication of good performances and constant exchanges of experiences between reservist collectives;

g) Carry out the award of decorations and premiums to reservists and reservist collectives or submit proposals for the acknowledgment of outstanding performances to state organs and social organizations;

h) Coordinate the contacts of reservist collectives with offices of the NVA, the GDR Border Troops, Civil Defense and the Soviet Army.

Article 12: Tasks of Divisions, Regiments and Facilities of the NVA and GDR Border Troops as Well as Organs, Service in Which Is Equivalent to Military Service

(1) Divisions, regiments and facilities of the NVA, GDR Border Troops as well as organs, service in which is equivalent to military service, must all encourage reservist work and assist the military commands as well as managements of reservist collectives or central managements in the accomplishment of the tasks or events listed in Articles 2, 3, 5 and 7.

(2) The deputies of the minister and heads of the sections of the armed forces, the deputy of the minister and head of the GDR Border Troops, the heads of military districts, the commanders of divisions, regiments and institutions as well as the chiefs and managers of organs, service in which is equivalent to military service, must:

a) Ensure the thorough preparation for discharge from active military service of members of the NVA, the GDR Border Troops and organs, service in which is equivalent to military service, and they must ensure that these men are familiarized with the duties of veteran reservists, epseically regarding the maintenance of personal combat fitness and during mobilization and a state of defense;

b) Develop and promote the readiness of future reservists for collaboration in reservist collectives as well as for work as trainers, exercise directors and functionaries of the GST;

c) Ensure the handing over of the reservist badge and remembrance gifts;

d) Ceremonially to organize discharge from active military service and acknowledge the performance of the future reservists during active military service;

e) Draft plans of operation regarding the porposeful political and military preparation of discharge from active military service in regiments and units;

f) Promote the affection of veteran reservists for their regiments and units by such measures as attendance at the "meetings with soldiers on the anniversary of the NVA" and the anniversary of the GDR Border Troops as well as by the involvement

in the preparation and conduct of regimental jubilees and other traditional events of officers, ensigns and career NCO's of reserve or retired, who had served for many years in the regiment or unit;

g) Recruit and employ the officers of reserve and retired officers working in their garrison area for the support of the patriotic and internationalist education of members of the NVA and GDR Border Troops;

h) In the garrison areas collaborate in the organization of reservist work by making available lecturers, assisting the provision of information to reserve officers, ensuring visits to the troops or participation in exercises and training, making available firing ranges, training grounds and visual material for training and competitions in military combat sports;

i) Convoke and conduct reservist conferences in the military districts as per the provisions of Article 5, Paragraph 7.

Article 13: Tasks of Managers of Enterprises and Institutions for the Advancement of Reservist Work

(1) The managers of enterprises and institutions are responsible for the involvement of veteran reservists in their sphere in the accomplishment of tasks relating to national defense and socialist military education. In cooperation with the SED party management, the enterprise labor union management and the managements of other social organizations as well as reservist managements, they provide the prerequisites for effective reservist work.

(2) Managers must

a) Organize the reception of veteran reservists in the enterprise after discharge from active military service as a special event in enterprise life and acknowledge the performances achieved in active military service for the defense of socialism;

b) Provide the reservist managements with definite and accountable military political assignments relating to the reservists competition;

c) Initiate the inclusion in management documents (enterprise collective contract, and so on) of measures to assist reservist work and ensure that reservist managements receive from the personnel or cadre departments the necessary personal data for the direction of reservist work;

d) Encourage military combat sports and other military sports activities of veteran reservists;

e) Publicly acknowledge the military educational services of veteran reservists at events, in cabinets and tradition rooms of enterprises and institutions;

f) Ensure the inclusion of military political literature in the stock of enterprise libraries;

g) Initiate measures for assisting families whose fathers are called for service in the reserves;

h) From time to time request the reservist managements to report on the results of reservist work;

i) On their own competence carry out the award of distinctions, premiums and honoring ceremonies for meritorious reservists and reservist collectives as well as submit proposals on the recognition of outstanding individual and collective performances to the superior management or the kreis council, military district command or managements of social organizations;

j) Assist the reservist managements in the conduct of the roll-call of veteran reservists on the occasion of the NVA anniversary as well as acknowledge services and merits in reservist work;

k) Direct their subordinate managers of enterprises and institutions with respect to the accomplishment of the tasks listed in Articles 1-9 and 13.

(3) Community councils are recommended to deal with the local reservist collectives in their competence in the meaning of this implementing regulation.

Article 14: The Award of Distinctions and Premiums to Veteran Reservists and Reservist Collectives

(1) On the appropriate occasions state organs, the NVA, social organizations, enterprises and communities may honor outstanding performances in reservist work by the award of orders, medals, insignia, money and material premiums.

(2) Reservist collectives may compete for the award of an honorary title. The award is made as per the principles of the pertinent legal regulations.

(3) The honoring of outstanding merits of reservists, reservist collectives and groups by the NVA normally takes place on the Day of the National People's Army and the appraisal of the reservists competition.

Article 15: Reservist Badge

The reservist badge is handed out on the day of discharge from active military service as the external sign of completed military service. It is issued

a) In bronze for service up to 18 months;
b) In silver for service in excess of 18 months and up to 10 years;
c) In gold for service in excess of 10 years.

Article 16: Work Release

As per Article 182, Paragraph 2, letter b of the GDR Labor Code of 16 June 1977 (GBl I No 18 p 185), veteran reservists must be released from work for the time needed to participate in military political and military further education, reserve officer information, work consultations and reservist conferences as per Article 5. It is a condition of that release that the pertinent notice from the military district command be presented. All other activities and measures of reservist collectives proceed outside working hours.

Article 17: Insurance Cover

All activities of veteran reservists in reservist work as per this implementing regulation are covered by insurance as per the decree of 11 April 1973 on the Extension of Insurance Cover to Accidents Suffered in the Exercise of Social, Cultural or Sports Activities (GBl I No 22 p 199) and the order of 6 August 1973 on the Extension of the Additional Accident Insurance Cover by the GDR State Insurance to Accidents Suffered in the Exercise of Social, Cultural or Sports Activities (GBl I No 38 p 404).

Article 18: Secrecy

Veteran reservists must guard state and military secrets they may learn in the course of reservist work.

Article 19: Concluding Regulations

This implementing regulation takes effect on 1 May 1982.

Military Service Pay

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 12, 2 Apr 82 pp 243-255

/Official text of "Decree on Financial Support During Military Service--Pay Decree --dated 25 March 1982," effective 1 May 1982; signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers, and Army General Hoffmann, minister for national defense/

/Text/ On the basis of Article 45, Paragraph 1 of the Military Service Law of 25 March 1982 (GBl I No 12 p 221) the following is ordered for the implementation of Article 27 of this law:

Military Pay During Basic Military Service

Article 1

(1) Soldiers in basic military service receive military pay and extras.

(2) Military pay and extras are exempt from wages tax nor subject to obligatory contributions to social security. Moreover they are not subject to attachment. Not affected thereby are the legal regulations on the material responsibility of members of the National People's Army and GDR Border Groops.[1]

Article 2

In the case of disability due to illness or service-related injury, military pay continues to be paid in full up to the day of completion of basic military service.

Financial Provisions During Active Military Service by Virtue of Enlistment and in Military Careers

Article 3

(1) Enlisted soldiers, enlisted NCO's, enlisted officers, career NCO's, ensigns and career officers receive military pay in the form of service pay, bonuses and extras.

(2) Service pay includes

a) Payments to soldiers during active enlisted service,
b) Payments to NCO cadets, ensign cadets and officer cadets,
c) Payments to NCO's, ensigns and officers for service ranks and positions,
d) Payments on account of seniority.

(3) Payments for ranks as per Paragraph 2, letter c, are subject to the deduction of legal wage tax. All other parts of military pay are exempt from wage tax.

Article 4

Enlisted soldiers, enlisted NCO's, enlisted officers, career NCO's, ensigns and career officers are subject to mandatory insurance as per the NVA Supply Order. The amount of the contributions payable and of claims is fixed in the supply order.

Article 5

State child allowances and spouse allowances are paid as per legal regulations.[2]

Financial Provisions During Reservist Service

Article 6

For the duration of reservist training and reservist further education as per Articles 34 and 35 of the Military Service Law, conscripts receive military pay and extras as well as compensation as per Article 7.

Article 7

(1) On the basis of existing labor code terms, state organs, combines, economy managing organs, enterprises, institutions, cooperatives, social organizations and associations (hereinafter designated enterprises) pay a monthly compensation in the amount of the average salary.[3] This compensation is subject to wage tax[4] and to the payment of mandatory contributions to social security, exactly as salaries. The computed net salary is cut by 20 percent but no less than M80 per month.

(2) The provisions of Paragraph 1 also apply to members of socialist cooperatives. Computation follows the pertinent regulations.

(3) Students continue to receive their grants but these are cut by M80 per month.

(4) Conscripts who do not receive payments as per Paragraphs 1-3 may apply for compensation to the kreis council competent for the place of residence if they are able to prove a diminution in income. The compensation is to be so set that, taking into account the military pay received in the period of reservist training and further education, the subsistence of the conscripts' families is ensured and necessary and inevitable expenses are met.

(5) Compensation as per Paragraphs 1, 2 and 4 as well as the cut grants as per Paragraph 3 must continue to be paid for any period of disability due to illness or service-related injury incurred during reservist training and further education.

Article 8

The provisions of Article 7 also apply to conscripts for the period of reservist exercises as per Article 36 of the Military Service Law. However, in that case neither compensation nor grants may be cut.

Article 9

State child and spouse allowances are paid by state organs and enterprises as per the legal regulations.

Article 10: Other Regulations

(1) No claim lies for military pay or other payments as per this decree for the period of imprisonment pending trial or absence without leave.

(2) Compensation as per special regulations is paid during the serving of a prison sentence.

Concluding Regulations

Article 11

The provisions of Articles 1 and 2 as well as of 6-10 apply mutatis mutandi to service in organs as per Article 2, Paragraph 3 of the Military Service Law. The respective ministers issue the necessary internal regulations in coordination with the Minister for National Defense.

Article 12

(1) The Minister for National Defense issues implementing regulations or military directives on

a) Military pay in the framework of the wages fund,
b) Compensation and transition payments,
c) The establishment and use of the premium fund,
d) Social care as per state regulations or the supply order,
e) Military pay during mobilization or a state of defense.

(2) In coordination with the Minister for National Defense, the Minister for Finance issues implementing regulations to Articles 7 and 8.

Article 13

The decree of 11 December 1961 on the Computation of Average Earnings and the Payment of Wages (GBl II No 83 p 551) is supplemented as follows:

1. Inserted in Article 2, Paragraph 2, as letter d is:

   "d) served as reservist."

2. Inserted in Article 3, Paragraph 2, as letter i is:

   "i) compensation for completion of reservist military service."

Article 15: Taking effect

(1) This decree takes effect on 1 May 1982.

(2) Losing effect at the same time are:

a) Decree of 24 January 1962 on the Military Pay of Conscripts for the Period of their Service in the National People's Army--Pay Decree--(GBl II No 7 p 49);

b) Decree of 27 May 1964 on the Amendment of the Pay Decree (GBl II No 60 p 558),

c) Second decree of 11 November 1965 on the Amendment of the Pay Decree (GBl II No 112 p 821),

d) Third Decree of 23 January 1975 on the Amendment of the Pay Decree (GBl I No 7 p 136),

e) First implementing regulation of 24 May 1962 to the Pay Decree (GBl II No 40 p 355),

f) Fourth implementing regulation of 28 June 1973 to the Pay Decree (GBl I No 33 p 345).

FOOTNOTES

1. In effect at the present time is the decree of 5 October 1978 on the Material Responsibility of Members of the Armed Organs of the German Demoratic Republic --Indemnification Decree (WGVO)--(GBl I No 33 p 382).

2. In effect at the present time are:

   -- Decree of 4 December 1975 on the Award of State Child Allowance as well as the Special Aid to Families with Several Children and Single Parent Families with Three Children (GBl I 1976 No 4 p 52),

   -- Decree of 29 October 1982 on the Increase in Child Allowance for the Third and Every Additional Child (GBl I No 33 p 381),

-- Decree of 28 May 1958 on the Payment of a Spouse Alloance (GBl I No 35 p 441).

3. In effect at this time is the decree of 21 December 1981 on the Computation of Average Earnings and the Payment of Wages (GBl II No 83 p 551); corrected GBl II 1962 No 2 p 11) in the version of the second decree of 27 July 1967 (GBl II No 73 p 511; corrected GBl II No 118 p 836).

4. Computation proceeds as per the make-up of the amount of equalization.

Pay Decree Implementation

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 12, 2 Apr 82 pp 255-256

/Official text of "Implementing Regulation for Pay Decree, dated 25 March 1982," effective 1 May 1982; signed by Hoefner, minister for finance/

/Text/ On the basis of Article 12, Paragraph 2 of the Pay Decree of 25 March 1982 (GBl I No 12 p 253), the following has been decided in agreement with the Minister for National Defense for the implementation of Articles 7 and 8 of that decree:

Article 1: Working People Subject to Labor Code Terms

Compensation as per Article 7, Paragraph 1 and Article 8 of the Pay Decree to conscripts who are subject to labor code terms, is to be paid from the wages fund or moneys planned for compensation.

Article 2: Members of Cooperatives of Agriculture and Fishery

(1) The compensation to be paid as per Article 7, Paragraph 2 of the Pay Decree to conscripts who are members of a cooperative is to be computed on the basis of the work units completed or remuneration for work received in the last 12 months before call-up. To be deducted are taxes payable by members of fishery cooperatives, contributions to social security and other deductible contributions. However, before payment, the net amount must be cut by 20 percent and no less than M80 per service month.

(2) Cooperatives must pay compensation for the period of reservist military service to members of cooperatives deriving most of their income from private trade, and whose earnings cannot therefore be computed on the basis of work units completed or remuneration paid. The amount of the compensation must be fixed in consideration of the military pay and the average earnings from cooperative work received in the preceding year. The cooperative assists the member by suitable measures so as to sustain the individual trade during the period of reservist service. In these cases Paragraph 1 does not apply.

(3) Cooperatives are recommended on the basis of their statutes to establish rules regarding the award of goods and assistance in the continued pursuit of private farming for the period of their members reservist service.

(4) The call-up for reservist service must not result in the called-up members being disadvantaged at the annual distribution.

(5) The compensation to be paid by cooperatives must be financed from their own resources and taken into account when the financial funds are established. In the case of unlimited delegation to cooperative facilities or other enterprises, compensation is generally payable by the employing enterprise.

Article 3: Members of Production Cooperatives of Craft Trades

(1) The compensation to be paid as per Article 7, Paragraph 2 of the Pay Decree to conscripts who are members of the cooperative, must be computed from the payments for work done in the last 12 months before call-up. Taxes and social security contributions as well as other deductible contributions must be withheld. Before payment, the net amount must be cut by 20 percent but no less than M80 per month served.

(2) The call-up for reservist service must not result in the called-up members being disadvantaged at the annual distribution of profits.

(3) Cooperatives must finance the compensation payable from the total amount of remuneration confirmed by the competent state organ.

Private Crafts People, Traders and Self-Employed Persons and Professionals Enjoying Tax Preference

Article 4

(1) Compensation to be paid to employees as per Article 7, Paragraph 1 and Article 8 of the Pay Decree by private crafts persons, traders, self-employed persons and professionals enjoying tax preference (hereinafter designated self-employed persons) will be refunded from the state budget.

(2) Money spent on compensation payments as per Article 7, Paragraph 1 and Article 8 of the Pay Decree is deductible as costs or enterprise expenses when taxable income is ascertained. When the payroll tax is calculated for private crafts persons, such payments are not part of the taxable payroll.

Article 5

(1) For the period of reservist service, self-employed persons receive compensation payments as per Article 7, Paragraph 4 and Article 8 of the Pay Decree.

(2) Compensation payments as per Article 7, Paragraph 4 of the Pay Decree amount to 60 percent of the monthly net wage or salary of a working person doing comparable work in a state enterprise, taking into account the respective tax bracket (wage tax). For professionals enjoying tax preference, the monthly compensation payment amounts to M900 gross.

(3) Compensation payments as per Article 8 of the Pay Decree amount to 100 percent of the monthly average net wage or salary as per Paragraph 2. For professionals enjoying tax preference the monthly compensation payment amounts to M1,200 gross.

Article 6

Compensation payments as per Article 5, Paragraphs 2 and 3 may not exceed the average monthly income or income of the preceding calendar year.

Article 7

(1) Self-employed persons must apply in writing for repayment and compensation payments to the department for finance at the competent kreis council.

(2) Repayments and compensation payments may be offset against taxes to be paid or, upon application, remitted by the kreis council, department for finance.

Article 8: Decisionmaking Powers

The departments for finance at the kreis councils decide about repayments and compensation payments as per Articles 4 and 5.

Article 9: Taking Effect

This implementing Regulation takes effect on 1 May 1982

Post-Military Service Advancement

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 12, 2 Apr 82 pp 256-261

/Official text of "Decree on the Advancement of Citizens Following Active Military Service--Advancement Decree--dated 25 March 1982," effective 1 May 1982; signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers, and Army General Hoffmann, minister for national defense/

/Text/ The advancement of citizens who have discharged an honorable patriotic and internationalist class duty by completing active military service for the defense of peace and the socialist fatherland and its achievements, is an important concern of the socialist society. The following is therefore decreed on the basis of Article 45, Paragraph 1 of the Military Service Law of 25 March 1982 (GBl I No 12 p 211) and in implementation of Article 37 of that law as well as of Article 5 of the GDR Labor Code of 16 June 1977 (GBl I No 18 p 185):

Section I: General Regulations

Article 1: Scope

(1) The provisions of this decree apply to citizens who have actively served in the National People's Army or the GDR Border Troops.

(2) This decree also applies to citizens with service equivalent to military duty.[1]

(3) The powers assigned by this decree to the Ministry for National Defense may be exercised also by those ministries where service equivalent to military duty is rendered.

(4) Rights to the award and the computation of pensions for citizens who have served in the armed forces are decided in the respective legal regulations.

Principles

Article 2

(1) Enterprises[2] must offer an appropriate welcome to citizens after their discharge from military service.

(2) Enterprises must provide the prerequisites for citizens discharged from active military service to receive assistance in the resumption or start of work in their occupation and to be involved in the social and intellectual-cultural life of the enterprise.

(3) If citizens discharged from active military service have been trained during service in the armed organs, so that the essential features of their professional knowledge and skills correspond to state certified graduation from skilled worker, foreman or technical school training, they may promptly take the respective state tests. Enterprises must prepare them for such tests.

(4) Universities, colleges and technical schools must assist citizens who are discharged from active military service in the fall and wish to begin courses in the same year. This assistance consists in special instruction aimed at enabling them to make up the teaching missed. The same applies mutatis mutandi to training offered by enterprises and other institutions within the framework of further education.

Article 3

When resuming or beginning work, citizens discharged from active military service may not be disadvantaged in the enterprises from either a professional or material aspect or with respect to moral recognition as compared with working people doing the same or a similar job.

Section II: Rights of Citizens Who Have Completed Active Military Service as Basic Military Service

Article 4: Professional Advancement

Enterprises must advance the further training and education of citizens discharged from basic military service in accordance with their performance during active military service.

Article 5: Crediting the Period of Service

(1) The time served by citizens discharged from basic military service must be credited to seniority in the enterprise or the length of time worked in a particular profession, function or similar. This applies to a labor contract or the work

resumed or embarked upon immediately after discharge from active military service. Crediting the period of service involves all material and moral benefits linked with seniority in the enterprise, exercise of profession, function and so on. If benefits are awarded such as raises in the rate of pay or others arising not merely from seniority in the enterprise and so on, the necessary conditions are deemed met by the completion of active military service. The same applies mutatis mutandi to employment and membership in socialist cooperatives.

(2) If citizens start higher education in the calendar year of their discharge from basic military service, the period of basic military service must be credited to the first labor contract concluded after graduation. The same applies mutatis mutandi to employment or membership in socialist cooperatives.

Article 6: Hiring Despite Temporary Disability

Enterprises must conclude labor contracts with citizens discharged from basic military service, who did not have a labor contract before call-up, were not members of a socialist cooperative or who dissolved their labor contract or membership in a socialist cooperative during the period of their active military service, even though they may be medically certified temporarily unfit for work.

Section III: Rights of Citizens Who Served a Period of Enlistment in the Armed Forces

Article 7: Professional Advancement

(1) In appreciation of their longer service and their performance in active military service, enterprises must advance in particular those citizens who served a period of enlistment in the armed forces and, provided the appropriate conditions are met, preferentially recruit, prepare and delegate them for higher education.

(2) Enterprise managers are responsible for ensuring that the social and professional advancement of citizens who served a period of enlistment in the armed forces is discussed with these citizens and the appropriate measures for the realization of the provisions of Paragraph 1 and Article 2, Paragraph 2-4, Article 8, Paragraph 1 and Article 10, Paragraph 5 are adopted, in particular by way of training or advancement contracts.

Article 8: Familiarization, Wage and Vacation Rights

(1) If payment is by result on the basis of work standards or other indices of job performance, citizens who served a period of enlistment in the armed forces must be paid average wages for a period of up to 6 months unless in that period they already meet the work standards or other indices of job performance. The average wage to be paid them is deemed to be the average wage paid to employees of the enterprise, who do a comparable job.

(2) For citizens who served as enlisted personnel on active military service in 1978 and were discharged in 1979 or later, the length of the vacation is to be calculated upon hiring as if they had worked in the enterprise in 1978. The basis is

the period of service up to and including 1978 as well as special length of service to be credited. The same procedure must be followed upon a change in enterprise within the period listed in Article 9 if, up to 1978, the new enterprise had granted loyalty vacations or performance-related additional vacations. The same applies to citizens who were discharged from enlisted service before 1979.

Article 9: Crediting the Period of Service

(1) The time served by citizens who enlisted in the armed forces must be credited to the period of employment in a specific profession, function or similar. The same applies to labor contracts or occupations resumed or begun within 2 years from discharge from active military service. Crediting the period of service includes all material and moral benefits linked with seniority in the enterprise, the exercise of the profession or function. If benefits are awarded, such as raises in the rate of pay or others arising not only from seniority in the enterprise and so on, the necessary conditions are deemed met by completion of active military service. This applies mutatis mutandi for employment or membership in socialist cooperatives.

(2) No right to another appropriate tribute by the enterprise exists if acknowledgment and recognition of the period of service took place during the time of active military service.

(3) If citizens who served for a period of enlistment in the armed forces begin a course of higher education within 2 years from discharge, Paragraph 1 applies mutatis mutandi for the time after graduation.

(4) If citizens who served for a period of enlistment in the armed forces possess a document certifying a period of service to be specially credited, this period is to be fully taken into account.

(5) Citizens who have served un the armed forces for at least 5 years as enlisted NCO's or enlisted officers, are to be credited with the period of service as per Article 18.

Article 10: Integration in the Work Process

Enlisted soldiers and NCO's who are discharged from active military service and did not have a job before call-up, were not members of a socialist cooperative or dissolved their labor contracts or membership in a socialist cooperative during the time of active military service, must be counseled and assisted by the offices for labor at the kreis or city district councils in the selection of a suitable job.

(2) The provisions of Article 14, Paragraphs 1 and 2 apply mutatis mutandi for the integration in the work process of enlisted officers.

(3) For citizens who serve or have served a period of enlistment in the armed forces, counseling and assistance in the choice of a job must take into account their longer active service, their experiences, knowledge, capabilities and skills as well as coordination with social requirements and opportunities available.

(4) In the matter of labor contracts enterprises must give preference to citizens who have served a period of enlistment in the armed forces.

(5) The conclusion of a labor contract is to be based on the minimum requirements for the job. Enterprises are obligated to initiate measures allowing citizens who have served a period of enlistment in the armed forces with the least delay to acquire the necessary knowledge, capabilities and skills for the exercise of their profession.

(6) The enlisted soldiers, NCO's or officers listed in Paragraphs 1 and 2 must be offered an opportunity before discharge from active military service to conclude a labor contract or initiate the measures necessary for admission to a socialist cooperative.

(7) Enterprises must conclude labor contracts with persons listed in Paragraphs 1 and 2, even though they may be medically certified temporarily unfit for work. The same applies if female citizens claim a release as per Article 246 of the labor code.

Article 11: Priority Admission to Higher Education and Grants

(1) Universities, colleges and technical schools must ensure that priority is given the admission of first-time applicants who serve or have served a period of enlistment in the armed forces and intend to begin a course of higher education after discharge from active military service, provided they meet the necessary conditions.

(2) Students who served a period of enlistment in the armed forces and who

a) Served at least 3 years, or

b) Were discharged from active military service due to the assumption of important state or social assignments or due to structural changes, temporary or permanent disability or exceptional personal hardships, and who served at least 2 years, or

c) Were discharged from active military service due to a recognized service-related injury,

receive an increased basic grant of M300 per month in accordance with legal regulations.[3]

(4) Not affected by the provisions of Paragraphs 2 and 3 is the award of an increased basic grant to students who are guardians of children or study at colleges and technical schools in Berlin, the GDR capital, nor the award of the performance grant as per the Grant Decree.

(5) The provisions of Paragraphs 2 and 3 generally apply only to the first full-time course of studies begun after discharge from active military service. The Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs decides any exceptions in agreement with the Ministry for National Defense.

(6) If citizens who served for a period of enlistment in the armed forces are discharged from active military service due to inadequate performance of duties, the provisions of Paragraphs 2 and 3 do not apply. Superiors from regimental commander up or equivalent may decide exceptions.

Article 12: Allocation of Housing

Local councils or enterprises assigned to manage housing allocations must give preference in the allocation of suitable and adequate housing to citizens who have served a period of at least 4 years' enlistment in the armed forces and immediately after discharge from active military service or graduation for an institution of higher education come to live and work in the respective community. The same applies if they gave up their residence on the occasion of their call-up or during active military service and return to live in their former home community.

Article 13: Exceptions

(1) The provisions of Section II do no apply for citizens who enlisted in the armed forces but were discharged for disciplinary reasons. To them apply the provisions of Section II. The same holds if they are demoted to a soldier rank after discharge from active military service or former enlisted soldiers are demoted to private.

Section IV: Rights of Citizens Who Served in Military Careers

Integration in the Work Process

Article 14

(1) The offices for labor and wages at the bezirk councils or Magistrat of Berlin, the GDR capital, are responsible for the integration in the work process of career NCO's, ensigns and career officers.

a) They must coordinate all issues involved, especially housing, with the competent members of the councils or Magistrat and enterprises,

b) They have the right to require enterprises to hire career NCO's, ensigns or career officers for jobs involving a good deal of responsibility. The enterprises are obligated to offer labor contracts to thepersons concerned.

(2) The Minister for National Defense must promptly forward to the offices for labor and wages at the bezirk councils or Magistrat of Berlin, the GDR capital, all personal data required for the smooth preparation and completion of integration in the work process.

(3) The Ministry for National Defense may initiate measures for the integration of career officers in the work process independent of the provisions of Paragraph 1 and directly conclude the necessary agreements with enterprises.

Article 15

(1) When considering the employment possibilities, the choice of a suitable job and further professional advancement, it must be kept in mind that citizens who served in a military career have, by their many years of service, carried out a responsible and socially necessary activity for the GDR and discharged a great internationalist class duty. Also to be taken into account is the fact that they received a well balanced political and extensive specialized education and training in the course of their active military service, acquired good organizational capabilities and much experience in the management of collectives. After discharge from active military service they must be integrated in state or social functions with the appropriate responsibilities as tried and tested cadres consonant with their experience, knowledge, capabilities and skills as well as the social possibilities.

(2) When concluding labor contracts, enterprises must give preference to citizens who served or are serving in a military career.

(3) In the last year of active military duty before discharge, career NCO's, ensigns or career officers are entitled to begin preparatory discussions with the respective enterprises on integration in the work process, attend interviews regarding assignment to future jobs and conclude a labor contract.

(4) Upon recept of personal data and following interviews, enterprises are obligated to conclude labor contracts with persons due for discharge from active military service not later than 3 months before the date of discharge.

(5) Enterprises must conclude a labor contract with career NCO's, ensigns or career officers discharged from active military service even though they may be medically certified temporarily unfit for work. The same applies if female citizens claim a release as per Article 246 of the Labor Code.

Article 16: Professional Advancement

(1) In appreciation of their long years of service, citizens who have served in a military career must be specially advanced in their jobs as well as their further education and training. Enterprises must preferentially prepare them for the exercise of management functions and, if the proper conditions are met, preferentially recruit, prepare and delegate them for higher education.

(2) Upon conclusion of a labor contract the minimum requirements for the job are to be the starting point. Enterprises are obligated to initiate measures to ensure that citizens who had served in a military career may in the shortest delay acquire the necessary knowledge, capabilities and skills for carrying out their work.

(3) Enterprise managers are responsible for ensuring that the social and professional advancement of citizens who served in military careers is discussed with them and the appropriate measures are adopted for realizing the provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 2 and Article 2, Paragraphs 2-4 and Article 18, Paragraph 1, especially by means of training or advancement contracts. Once concluded, the implementation and relevance of these contracts are to be regularly checked and, if necessary, supplemented by mutual agreement. To be considered at the same time are possibilities for improving training and further education.

Article 17: Familiarization, Wage and Vacation Rights

(1) If payment is by result on the basis of work standards or other indices of job performance, citizens who had served in a military career must be paid average wages for up to 6 months unless, in that period, they meet the work standards or other indices of job performance. The average wage to be paid them is deemed to be the average wage paid employees of the enterprise who handle a comparable job.

(2) If citizens who served in a military career for at least 25 years begin employment involving wage or salary groups with from-to ranges, the wage or salary is to be based on the average wage or salary level of other employees in the same or comparable jobs, wage and salary groups. The same applies to citizens who were discharged from active military service after 15 years of service due to temporary or permanent disability.

(3) For citizens who served a military career in 1978 and were or are being discharged in 1979 or later, the length of vacations is to be so calculated upon hiring as if they had worked in the enterprise in 1978. The basis is the period of service up to and including 1978 as well as the special length of service to be credited. The same procedure must be followed at a changein enterprise if, up to 1978, the new enterprise had granted loyalty vacations or performance-related additional vacations. The same applies to citizens who were discharged from active military career service before 1979.

Article 18: Crediting the Period of Service

(1) In every labor contract the time served by citizens in a military career must be credited to the period of employment of work in a particular profession, function or similar. Creding the period of service involves all material and moral benefits linked with seniority in the enterprise, the exercise of the profession or function, and so on. If benefits are awarded, such as raises in the rate of pay or others not arising only from seniority in the enterprise, and so on, the necessary conditions are deemed met by completion of active military service. This applies mutatis mutandi to employment or membership in socialist cooperatives.

(2) No further right to an appropriate tribute by the enterprise exists if acknowledgment and recognition of the period already took place at the time of active military service.

(3) If citizens who served in a military career hold a document certifying a period of service to be specially credited, this period is to be fully taken into accou nt.

(4) The Provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 3 must be applied even if the period of active military service completed exceeds the age of the enterprise.

Priority Admission to Higher Education and Grants

Article 19

(1) Universities, colleges and technical schools must ensure that preference is given the admission of first time applicants who serve or have served in a military

career and intend after discharge from active military service to start a course of higher education, provided they meet the necessary conditions.

(2) The Ministry for National Defense must forward to the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs or other central state organs supervising colleges or technical schools the application documents of career NCO's, ensigns and career military officers who intend to begin a course of higher education at a university, college or technical school immediately after discharge from active military service. These organs are obligated to ensure the admission to courses of higher education in the actual year of discharge from active military service.

(3) The Ministry for National Defense may agree with the Ministry for University and Techn ical School Affairs or other central state organs supervising colleges or technical schools on providing, if necessary and within the scope of eocnomic planning, special opportunities for study for career NCO's, ensigns and career officers for preparation for their civilian professions.

Article 20

(1) Students who followed a military career receive a special grant for the time of their studies but no grant as per Article 11, Paragraphs 2 and 3. As a rule this applies only to the first full-time course of studies after active military service. The Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs may decide exceptions in agreement with the Ministry for National Defense.

(2) The special grant as per Paragraph 1 amounts to 80 percent of the average monthly net pay (pay for rank, service position and seniority, extras) in the last year of service before the beginning of studies, but no more than M1,000 nor less than M600 per month.

(3) In the case of students who served in a military career and, for health reasons, did not immediately begin their studies after discharge from active military service, the amount of the grant is computed as per Paragraph 2 on the basis of the net monthly pay in the last year of active military service.

(4) Students who served in a military career and failed to begin studies immediately after discharge from active military duty nor satisfy the provision of Paragraph 3, will receive grants in the amount of 80 percent of their average net monthly earnings arising from the labor contract of the last calendar year before the beginning of full-time studies, but no more than M1,000 nor less than M600 per month.

(5) The special grant amounts to at least M700 for students who have served 10 or more years in military careers.

(6) On the proposal of the Ministry for National Defense, the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs may, in special cases, award a higher grant than possible as per Paragraphs 2-5.

(7) Not affected by the provisions of Paragraphs 2-6 is the award of an increased basic grant to students who are guardians of children or study at colleges and

technical schools in Berlin, the GDR capital, nor is the award of the performance grant as per the Grant Decree.

(8) Upon taking up a research study or planned postgraduate studies, the grant is payable as per Paragraphs 2-6 up to completion of the studies unless higher grants including extras are to be awarded as per the provisions on research or scientific postgraduate studies.

Article 21

(1) The right as per Article 20, Paragraph 1 arises after 2 years of service. Not to be taken into account is the period of professional or secondary school education nor training up to the achievement of special secondary school certificates for officer cadets. If ensigns or officer cadets must discontinue their training as ensigns or officers or career NCO's discontinue active military service due temporary or permant disability or exceptional personal hardship before they have served 2 years, the provisions of Article 11, Paragraph 2 apply.

(2) Article 11, Paragraph 2 applies as a rule for citizens who serve in a military career and are discharged from active military duty for inadequate performance of service duties after having served less than 5 years. Their superiors from unit commander and up or their equivalents may decide exceptions.

(3) The provisions on priority admission to full-time higher education and the award of grants as per Article 11, Paragraphs 2-4, Article 19, Paragraphs 1 and 2 and Article 20, Paragraph 1 do not apply to NCO, ensign or officer cadets who are released from their obligations due to their own application. The rights arising from the service rendered are to be granted them in case they subsequently serve a period of enlistment in the armed forces or in military careers.

Article 22: Allocation of Housing and Registration of Housing Seekers

(1) Local councils or enterprises assigned to manage housing allocations must give preference in the allocation of suitable and adequate housing to citizens who have served at least 4 years in military careers and immediately after discharge from active military service or graduation from an institution of higher education come to live and work in the respective community. The same applies if they return to their former home community or are discharged from active military service with a claim to disability, servie-related injury or retirement pension.

(2) Bezirk councils or the Magistrat of Berlin, the GDR capital, must adopt measures to ensure the allocation of suitable housing within 18 months of discharge from active military service to citizens who have served in military careers for at least 10 years.

(3) Paragraphs 1 and 2 are to be applied appropriately to the widows and oprhans of citizens who served in military careers, provided death has occurred during active military service.

(4) Bezirk councils or the Magistrat of Berlin, the GDR capital, are responsible for ensuring that, upon receipt of the personal data sent by the Ministry for National Defense concerning integration in the work process, career NCO's, ensigns or career officers are registered as housing seekers in the cities or communities where they wish to work after discharge from active military service. The same applies if they have begun full-time course of higher education after discharge from active military service and concluded a labor contract during their studies.

Article 33: Rights of Spouses of Career Members of the Armed Forces

(1) Councils of kreises, cities, city districts or communities must give preferential assistance to the spouses of citizens who are or were career members of the armed forces, in connection with the discharge of the husband from active military service and the move to another home caused thereby. This assistance includes help with the conclusion of a labor contract consonant with their training and making available the appropriate creche, nursery school and residential day school places in state facilities in the new home community.

(2) The first labor contract concluded for the reasons listed in Paragraph 1 must credit spouses of citizens who served in military careers with the seniority earned in their previous labor contract with respect to the award of services or other benefits that depend on seniority in the enterprise or sector, provided such services and benefits are awarded by the former and new labor contract. Year end premiums must be paid in proportion by the former and subsequent enterprise.

Article 24: Exceptions

(1) The provisions of Section IV do not apply if, for disciplinary reasons, citizens who served in military careers were discharged from active military service coupled with demotion to a soldier rank or their terms of service at the time of active military service were changed into those of soldiers in basic military service. The same applies if they are demoted to a soldier rank after discharge from active military service. The provisions of Section II apply in these cases.

(2) The provisions of Section IV do not apply if citizens who actively served as ensigns or career officers are, for disciplinary reasons, discharged from active military service coupledwith demotion to NCO rank (ensigns) or to NCO or ensign rank (career officers). The same applies if they are demoted to such a rank after discharge from active military service. The provisions of Section III apply in these cases. The same applies if the terms of service of career NCO's, ensigns or career officers are changed and military service continued as enlisted soldier, NCO or officer.

(3) The provisions on priority admission to full-time higher education and the award of grants as per Article 11, Paragraphs 1-3, Article 19, Paragraphs 1 and 2 and Article 20, Paragraph 1 do not apply to citizens who were discharged from military careers for disciplinary reasons. The same applies if they are demoted after discharge from active military service.

(4) As a rule the provisions of Article 14, Paragraph 1, sentence 1 apply for persons listed in Paragraphs 1 and 2, who are to be integrated in the work process immediately after discharge from active military service. In the case of a change

in the terms of service and subsequent service for a period of enlistment, the provisions of Section III or, in the case of subsequent basic military service, the provisions of Article 10, Paragraph 1 apply mutatis mutandi.

Section V: Recognition of the Qualifications and Professional Designations Earned on Active Military Service

Article 25

(1) The licenses, certificates of qualification or capacity earned on active military service correspond to comparable documents issued by enterprises.

(2) The professional designations awarded by military educational institutions are equal to civilian professional designations unless a civilian professional designation was already awarded. The respective recognition of equality and additional requirements are settled in implementing regulations.

(2) Citizens who have graduated from a military technical school or college, and who are integrated in the work process as per this decree, meet all requirements of the table of organization, classification or others for college or technical school degrees of any kind. Specially required qualifications, on the other hand, must be subsequently acquired. If they are not, the benefits arising from their possession are lost.

Section VI: Concluding Regulations

Article 26: Transitional Regulations

(1) Rights derived from the provisions of this decree and involving preferential professional advancement, material services or moral recognition beyond the perferment granted by the Advancement Decree of 13 February 1975 (GBl I No 13 p 221) arise only from the effective date of this decree.

(2) Grants that used to be awarded on the basis of Articles 9 or 19, Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Advancement Decree of 13 February 1975 will continue to be paid to the persons concerned until graduation. This does not apply if the exceptions listed in Article 13, Paragraph 1, sentence 3 or Article 24, Paragraph 3, sentence 2 of this decree are involved.

Article 27: Implementing Regulations

Implementing regulations are issued byL

a) The Minister for National Defense in agreement with the managers of the competent central state organs,

b) The managers of other central state organs in agreement with the Minister for National Defense.

Article 28: Taking effect

(1) This decree takes effect on 1 May 1982.

(2) Losing effect on the same date are:

a) The decree of 13 February 1975 on the Advancement of Members of the National People's Army Discharged from Active Military Service--Advancement Decree--(GBl I No 13 p 221),

b) First implementing regulation of 13 February 1975 to the Advancement Decree (GBl I No 13 p 226).

FOOTNOTES

1. Announcement of 25 March 1982 on Service Equivalent to Military Duty (GBl I No 12 p 268).

2. Article 17 of the GDR Labor Code of 16 June 1977 (GBl I No 18 p 185).

3. In effect at this time is the decree of 11 June 1981 on the Award of Grants to Full-time Students at Universities, Colleges and Technical Schools of the German Democratic Republic--Grant Decree--(GBl NO 17 p 229).

Advancement Decree Implementation

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 12, 2 Apr 82 pp 261-268

/Official text of "First Implementing Regulation for Advancement Decree, dated 25 March 1982," effective 1 May 1982; signed by Army General Hoffmann, minister for national defense/

/Text/ On the basis of Article 27 of the Advancement Decree of 25 March 1982, the following has been decided in agreement with the managers of the competent central state organs:

Article 1

This implementing regulation applies to citizens who have completed active military service in the National People's Army or the GDR Border Troops. It also applies to citizens who served in an organ equivalent to military duty.[1]

Article 2

(1) No later than 6 months before the date of discharge, superiors must forward--via the competent military district command--to the offices for labor at kreis or city district councils all personal data, personal papers, resumes, copies of certificates, assessments) of the persons listed in Article 10, Paragraph 1 and Article 24, Paragraph 4, sentence 2 of the Advancement Decree.

(2) If, after the personal documents as per Paragraph 1 have been handed over, the individuals concerned enlist for another period of service in the armed forces, the

offices for labor must be promptly informed by the military district commands and asked to return the documents.

(3) If a citizen is demoted after discharge from active military service, the competent commander of the military district must promptly notify the enterprise with which the citizen has concluded a labor contract or the educational institution where he is engaged in full-time studies.

Article 3

(1) For the effective preparation and implementation of integration in the work process as per Article 14, Paragraph 1 of the Advancement Decree, the members of bezirk councils or the city council for labor and wages at the Magistrat of Berlin, the GDR capital, must set up study groups composed of enterprise representatives. A responsible officer at the competent military district command must be called in for collaboration in these study groups.

(2) The study groups must conduct discussions with the enlisted officers, career NCO's, ensigns and career officers due for discharge from active military service. On the basis of the personal documents received, the members of bezirk councils or the city council for labor and wages at the Magistrat of Berlin, the GDR capital, must, on their own initiative, invite the enlisted officers, career NCO's, ensigns and career officers to these discussions. The superiors ensure attendance at the discussions. Before the discussions the offices for labor and wages must submit to the enterprises the personal documents of the enlisted officers, career NCO's, ensigns and career officers due for discharge, so that they may study the documents and propose employment.

Article 4

Qualification contracts must be concluded from the time of discharge from active military service until the receipt of respective license between enterprises and citizens who actively serve in the People's Navy and, on the basis of Appendices 2 and 3, have applied to take additional examinations for the acquisition as external students of licenses for civilian shipping and were admitted. No material disadvantage may arise by reason of not yet acquired licenses.

Article 5

(1) Enlisted officers, career NCO's, ensigns or career officers are to be referred to jobs as follows:

a) Career NCO's or enlisted officers (with more than 2 years of service)	at least M750 gross
b) Ensigns or career officers up to the rank of first lieutenant	at least M850 gross
c) Career officers with the rank of captain or major	at least M950 gross
d) Career officers from the rank of lt colonel up	At least M1,000 gross.

(2) The provisions of Paragraph 1 do not apply when career NCO's, ensigns or career officers are discharged from active military service for disciplinary reasons and demoted to a soldiers rank. When career officers are discharged from active military service for disciplinary reasons and demoted to a NCO or ensign rank, Paragraph 1, letters a or b are applicable. The provisions of Paragraph 1, letter a apply to ensigns who are discharged from active military service for disciplinary reasons and demoted to a NCO rank.

(3) If enlisted officers are discharged from active military service for disciplinare reasons, Paragraph 1 does not apply.

Article 6

Upon entry in the service of another defense and security organs, enlisted officers, career NCO's, ensigns and career officers must normally be taken over at their existing rank. In agreement with the Minister for National Defense, the competent ministers may provide for exceptions.

Article 7

(1) A labor contract as follows is to be concluded with students who have completed active military service in a military career, independent of temporal provisions in other legal regulations:[2]

a) Up to the end of the first year of studies in the case of technical school studies,

b) Up to the end of the second year of studies in the case of university studies.

Enterprises are responsible for the conclusion of labor contracts on the basis of cadre advancement plans for the employment of university and technical school graduates.

(2) A labor contract is to be concluded with students who have completed active military service in a military career and, after discharge from active military service, began full-time studies at institutions of higher education on the basis of Article 10, Paragraph 1 and Article 20, Paragraph 1 of the Advancement Decree. This contract must be concluded in accordance with the provisions of Articles 15-18 of the Advancement Decree and as much as possible take into account the special grant awarded for the period of full-time studies.

(3) A labor contract taking into account the provisions of Articles 7-10 of the Advancement Decree is to be concluded with students who served a period of enlistment in the armed forces and, after discharge from active military service, began a full-time course of higher education as per Article 11, Paragraph 1 of the Advancement Decree..

Article 8

Citizens who are graduates of a military technical school are entitled to use the following professional designations:

a) With the military technical school certificate of the operational specialty

-- Commander specialties	-	Industrial economist
-- Rear services	-	Economist

b) Technicians who have earned the military school certificate after 31 December 1958 — Engineer in the respective specialty

c) With the military technical school certificate of a naval officer — Industrial economist.

Article 9

On the basis of the legal regulations in effect,[3] citizens who have actively served as career officers and received a college degree in engineering, industrial engineering or economics from a military academy, may earn the academic diploma in a branch of knowledge as external students.

Article 10

The professional designations earned in the course of active military service at military educational institutions are equivalent to civilian professional designations as per Appendices 1-4.

Article 11

(1) Citizens who, in the course of active military service, earned the professional designation "specialist teacher" or "secondary school teacher for polytechnical instruction" and intend to work as teachers after discharge, must obtain a teaching certificate for special instruction by an additional course of studies or by way of external studies as per Appendix 1, consecutive Nos 22 or 23.

(2) The Ministry for Public Education determines the pedagogical colleges where the teaching certificate as per Paragraph 1 may be earned.

(3) The director of study courses in coordination with the director of the relevant section at the respective pedagogical college decides the recognition of examinations passed at military educational institutions as well as the beginning and length of additional courses of study or external courses to earn the teaching certificate. The pertinent provisions are to be set out in a special curriculum.

(4) Persons listed in Paragraph 1 are awarded a grant for the duration of the additional courses of study as per the Advancement Decree.

Article 12

(1) Students are exempt from instruction and examinations on basic Marxism-Leninism if they have actively served in military careers and graduated from the Wilhelm

Pieck Military Political Academy, a military academy, officers school or military technical school, except those students pursuing sociological studies at GDR institutes of higher education, which provide for expanded instruction in the bases of Marxism-Leninism.

(2) Unless the provisions of Paragraph 1 apply, students who have actively served in military careers and are studying at technical schools or earning other types of qualifications (except at technical schools providing for expanded instruction on the basis of Marxism-Leninism), are exempt from instruction and examinations on basic Marxism-Leninism, provided they successfully participated for at least 10 years in sociological education and sociological further education or political indoctrination (Appendix 5). The same applies if they have earned a certificate from a SED bezirk party school.

Article 13

Citizens who have completed active military service are exempt from instruction and examinations on Marxism-Leninism or civics

a) When obtaining the skilled worker certificate or earning graduation from the 10-grade general educational polytechnical secondary school, provided they have proof of the necessary completion of the program of sociological education during a NCO course or/and participation in the political indoctrination of NCO's, or

b) When obtaining the secondary school certificate if they have proof of the necessary completion of the program of sociological education during a course of instruction and participation in the sociological further education of career NCO's or ensigns (Appendix 6).

Article 14

(1) Upon application, citizens who have actively served for 5 years as NCO's on military medical duty may take external courses at a medical school to earn the nursing certificate.

(2) Enrolment for external studies at a medical school to earn the nursing certificate must take place no later than 1 year from discharge from active military service.

(3) The provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 2 apply mutatis mutandi to citizens who have actively served as ensigns on military medical duty and did not earn a medical school certificate during their active military service.

Article 15

(1) Citizens who have completed active military service may earn the qualification "professional driver" by means of abridge training after discharge from active military service if they

a) Hold a dirvers license class 5,

b) Successfully attended a course of instruction as military drivers,

c) Were employed for at least 12 months as military drivers or members of the motorized service,

d) Attended at least 80 percent of the auto engineering training stipulated in the training program, and

e) At the time of discharge from active military service hold a classification of the motorized service.

(2) The results of training must be graded for both theoretical and practical instruction. The grades are to be based on the results achieved in the classification examination. A certificate by the discharge office (Appendix 7) serves as proof.

(3) The certificate issued by the discharge office as per Paragraph 2 is the condition for hiring as professional driver. The certificate loses effect 1 year after issue unless a labor contract as professional driver is concluded within this period and the person concerned for training as professional d[illegible]er at an institution for adult education.

(4) The institutions for adult education are to instruct the persons listed in Paragraph 1 in the following subjects:

a) Marxism-Leninism, unless Article 13 applies,
b) The technology of motor traffic and urban street cleaning,
c) Operational management/socialist law,
d) Knowledge of materials, and
e) Technical drawing.

If a student is able to prove that he has completed training in a subject listed in letters b-e by the completion of an earlier course of professional education, he is to be exempted from again studying the subject.

(5) The various grades achieved in the course of abridged skilled worker training and the grades listed in the certificate as per Appendix 7 are to be entered in the skilled worker certificate.

(6) The overall grade is established as per the Examination Decree, except that one grade not two of practical training is appraised.

Article 16

(1) After discharge from active military service, citizens who completed active military service may acquire the certificate "skilled operator of film projection equipment" by an abridged course of instruction, provided they hold the certificate as projectionist A, were employed as film projectionists, regularly attended special instruction courses and hold the classification badge for film projection equipment.

(2) The results of instruction courses must be graded for both theoretical and practical training. Grades are to be based on the results achieved in the classification test. A certificate by the discharge office (Appendix 8) serves as proof.

(3) The certificate issued by the discharge office as per Paragraph 2 is the condition for the conclusion of a labor contract as film projectionist in the sphere of the Ministry for culture. The certificate loses effect 1 year after issue unless a labor contract as film projectionist is concluded, and the person concerned has enrolled for training as film projectionist at an institution for adult education.

(4) Citizens who meet the conditions of Paragraph 1 are to be instructed in the following subjects:

a) Operational management,
b) Bases of electrical engineering, and
c) Technical drawing,

unless they have earlier completed professional training.

(5) The various grades achieved during abridged skilled worker training and the grades on the certificate as per Appendix 8 are to be entered in the skilled worker certificate.

(6) The overall grade is established as per the Examination Decree except that one grade instead of two of practical training is appraised.

Article 17

(1) In the field of navigation, the following are recognized for citizens who completed active military service in the People's Navy:[5]

a) The time spent at sea and the qualifications earned,

b) The time served as soldier or enlisted NCO in nautical or machinists careers coupled with proven 18 months of practical experience at see as license for employment as seaman or machine operator in maritime shipping. Required for employment as seaman first class or machine assistant are 6 months at sea in maritime shipping and additional certification as per the respective provisions of the GDR Maritime Shipping Office,

c) The time served as enlisted soldier or NCO in communication or radio jobs as complete professional training in the corresponding skilled occupations,

d) The time served as enlisted NCO's, career NCO's or ensigns in seamen's or machinists' careers as condition for the acquisition of corresponding qualification certificates for nautical or technical service on vessels in maritime shipping (hereinafter designated certificates),

e) The certificate of the naval officers school or Naval Academy for the acquisition of the qualification certificates.

(2) The GDR Maritime Shipping Office recognizes the standard authorization for motor launches earned in the further pursuit of navigational training in the People's Navy as equivalent to licenses. Upon application they are exchanged for the appropriate licenses.

(3) The additional requirements as per Appendices 2 and 4 must be met for the acquisition of the qualification certificates.

(4) Insofar as the additional requirements for the acquisition of qualification certificates as per Appendices 2 and 4 have been met during active military service, the commanders of units or their equivalents before discharge from active military service and the commanders of military districts after discharge from military service must issue the appropriate certificates upon application.

Article 18

(1) The facilities approved by the GDR Maritime Shipping Office for adult education or the Warnemuende/Wustrow Engineering College for Maritime Shipping must offer citizens who have actively served as career NCO's, ensigns or career officers in the People's Navy and intend on the basis of the qualification earned in the People's Navy to acquire a qualification certificate, an opportunity to take the additional examinations listed in Appendices 2 and 4. This may be done by various types of instruction. The procedure here is independent of the method of instruction as per Paragraph 5.

(2) The Ministry for National Defense must advise the competent ministry of the demand for admission to full-time studies 1 year before the beginning of such studies and always by 1 June of the respective year. Grants as per the Advancement Decree must be awarded for the period of full-time studies.

(3) Applications by career NCO's, ensigns or career officers who wish to take additional examinations after discharge from active military service, must be submitted to the command of the People's Navy via the commanders of units or their equivalents (for full-time studies by 15 April of the year preceding the beginning of studies; for external studies by 15 April of the year in which they are to begin). After discharge from active military service and upon application to the GDR Maritime Shipping Office they obtain the appropriate certificate as officer assistants until such time as they have passed the additional examinations.

(4) Citizens who have served actively in a naval career address their applications for admission to additional examinations to the adult education institutions recognized by the GDR Maritime Shipping Office or to the Warnemuende/Wustrow Engineering College for Maritime Shipping. The applications must be accompanied by the necessary documents.

(5) The command of the People's Navy and the Warnemuende/Wustrow Engineering College for Maritime Shipping or the GDR Maritime Shipping Office must agree the subject matter of the additional examinations as per Appendices 2 and 4 as well as procedures. Questions on the subject matter of additional examinations are to be addressed to the command of the People's Navy.

(6) On the basis of the Maritime Shipping Crew Order in effect, the GDR Maritime Shipping Office may decide special regulations, taking into account the qualifications earned as well as the documented time spent at sea.

Article 19

(1) Citizens who actively serve or had served in the People's Navy must apply for certification in writing.

(2) At the time of active military service the applications mentioned in Paragraph 1 are to be addressed to the commanders of the units or their equivalents. The latter will forward them directly to the GDR Maritime Shipping Office.

(3) After discharge from active military service the applications are to be addressed to the GDR Maritime Shipping Office via the competent military district command. The applications must be accompanied by a report from the commander of the military district.

(4) The acquisition of higher certificates is possible on the basis of the Maritime Shipping Crew Order in effect.

Article 20

(1) If citizens have completed active military service and began full-time studies at an institution of higher education, the period of studies is to be credited to seniority in the enterprise by the first labor contract, provided

a) The respective enterprise generally credits the period of full-time studies to seniority in the enterprise, and

b) The active military service and the full-time studies are linked in time so as not to exceed the provisions of Article 5, Paragraph 2, or Article 9, Paragraph 3 of the Advancement Decree.

This also applies if no labor contract with the enterprise existed at the time of active military service and full-time studies. Not affected thereby are regulations beyond this order.

(2) Paragraph 1 also applies to citizens who actively served in a military career, provided full-time studies began within 2 years from discharge from active military service.

Article 21

For female citizens who were discharged from active military service due to pregnancy, the schedules for crediting the period of active military service to seniority as per Article 9, Paragraphs 1 and 3 of the Advancement Decree begin on the child's first birthday or the availability of a creche place not later than the child's third birthday.

Article 22

This implementing regulation takes effect on 1 May 1982.

FOOTNOTES

1. Announcement of 25 March 1982 on Service Equivalent to Military Duty (GBl I No 12 p 268).

2. In effect at this time is the Graduate Order of 3 February 1971 (GBl II No 37 p 297).

3. For example the order of 20 January 1975 on the Admission and Procedure for External Studies for Degrees from Colleges and Technical Schools--External Student Order--(GBl I No 10 p 192).

4. In effect at this time is the Skilled Worker Examination Order of 24 February 1978 (GBl I No 9 p 117).

5. In effect at this time is the order of 25 November 1974 on the Crews of Vessels in Maritime Shipping and Safety Services on Board--Maritime Shipping Crew Order (SSBO)--(special issue No 787 of the GESETZBLATT).

Appendix 1 to Articles 10 and 11 of the Preceding First Implementing Regulation

Equivalence of the Certificates and Professional Designations Earned in Armed Organs

Consecutive No.	Graduation as	Equivalent in Civilian Life to	Additional Requirements
1.	Engineer for armored equipment	Mechanical engineer	
2.	Engineer for motorized equipment	Mechanical engineer	
3.	Engineer for artillery equipment and armament	Mechanical engineer	
4.	Engineer for telecommunications	Telecommunication engineer	
5.	Engineer for radio operation	Telecommunication engineer	
6.	Engineer for pioneer services	Structural engineer	
7.	Engineer for chemical services	Chemical engineer	
8.	Industrial economist (motor vehicle train)	Industrial economist	
9.	Financial economist (NVA finances)	Economist	
10.	Army medic	-- Economist -- Hygiene engineer -- Work hygiene engineer	Required for employment as hygiene engineer or work hygiene engineer is the external acquisition of the appropriate degree

Consecutive No.	Graduation as	Equivalent in Civilian Life to	Additional Requirements
11.	Pilot/engineer	Flight engineer	
12.	Engineer for aircraft frame/power plant	Mechanical engineer	
13.	Engineer for special electric aircraft equipment	Electrical engineer	
14.	Engineer for aircraft radio and radar equipment	Electrical engineer	
15.	Engineer for aircraft armament	Automation engineer	
16.	Engineer for the anti-aircraft missile section of the anti-aircraft troops (launcher battery)	Automation engineer	
17.	Engineer for the anti-aircraft missile section of the anti-aircraft troops (radio company)	Electrical engineer	
18.	Engineer for the technical section of the anti-aircraft troops	Automation engineer	
19.	Engineer for the technical section of the anti-aircraft troops (control test station)	Electrical engineer	
20.	Engineer for gun firing control or air defense artillery fire	Electrical engineer	
21.	Engineer for radar equipment of radiotechnical troops	Electrical engineer	
22.	Higher grade teacher for polytechnical instruction	Diploma teacher for polytechnics	a) About 1 year additional studies to acquire the teaching certificate b) Teaching certificate may be obtained by external studies
23.	Specialized teacher	Diploma teached	a) About 18 months of abridged additional studies to acquire the teaching certificate b) Choice of the respective subject proceeds om agreement with the competent pedagogical college c) If the proper conditions are met, the teaching certificate may be acquired by external studies

Consecutive No.	Graduation as	Equivalent in Civilian Life to	Additional Requirements
24.	Naval officer/engineer for steering and weapons systems	Marine engineer	Appendix 2 applies to the acquisition of qualification certificates
25.	Engineer for marine machinery equipment	Marine engineer	
26.	Engineer for marine engine operation	Marine mechanical engineer	
27.	Engineer for communication operation	Telecommunication engineer	
28.	Engineer for communication equipment	Telecommunication engineer	
29.	Engineer for radar and control systems	Telecommunication engineer	
30.	Engineer for military cybernetics	Telecommunication engineer	
31.	Engineer for ship construction	Mechanical engineer	
32.	Engineer for electrical equipment	Electrical engineer	
33.	Engineer for marine surveying	Geodetic engineer	

Append 2 to Articles 10 and 17-19 of the Preceding First Implementing Regulation

The Acquisition of Qualification Certificates (Officers of the People's Navy)

Consecutive No	Graduation as	Additional Requirements	Entitled to Acquire
1.	Naval officer	Time at sea as per SSBO and passing the additional examinations for the respective qualification certificate	A3, B3, A5, B5*
2.	Marine engine officer	Time at sea as per SSBO	C1, C3, C5*

* SSBO requirements must be met for the qualification certificates A4, A6, B4, B6, C2, C4, C6

Appendix 3 to Paragraph 10 of the Preceding First Implementing Regulation

Equivalence of Professional Designations Earned at NCO Schools

Consecutive No	Training Goal (NCO Instruction Course)	Equivalent in Civilian Life to
1.	Foreman mechanic (K)	Motor vehicle maintenance foreman
2.	Foreman mechanic (PI)	Motor vehicle maintenance foreman
3.	Repair group leader	Motor vehicle maintenance foreman
4.	Repair platoon leader	Motor vehicle maintenance foreman
5.	Service and repair group leader	Motor vehicle maintenance foreman
6.	Foreman radio technician	Communication engineering foreman
7.	Foreman radar technical	Communication engineering foreman
8.	Fpreman telecommunication mechanic	Communication engineering foreman
9.	Foreman machine set technician	Maintenance foreman for the repair of electric devices and plant
10.	Foreman mechanic (Ch)	Chemical production foreman
11.	Manager of radiological-chemical laboratories	Chemical production foreman
12.	Group leader for the maintenance of nuclear radition measurement and chemical reconnaissance devices (workshop manager)	Electronics foreman
13.	Weapons foreman	Machine and plant maintenance foreman
14.	Gunnery foreman	Machine and plant maintenance foreman
15.	Anti-aircraft gun foreman	Machine and plant maintenance foreman
16.	Optics foreman	Precision engineering foreman
17.	Antitank guided rocket foreman	Electronics foreman
18.	Ordnance technician	Plant construction foreman
19.	Senior mechanic for air defense artillery fire control instruments	Electronics foreman
20.	Senior radar mechanic	Electronics foreman
21.	Armored vehicle mechanic	Motor vehicle maintenance foreman
22.	Tank optical foreman	Precision engineering foreman
23.	Tank electrical foreman	Vehicle electrics foreman
24.	Mechanic for special armored vehicle equipment	BMSR /industrial measuring, control and regulating technology/ equiment foreman
25.	Tank gun foreman or tank weapons foreman	Machine and plant maintenance foreman
26.	Workshop manager for radiological and chemical devices and equipment	Electronics forman
27.	Military printing foreman	Printing equipment foreman
28.	Mechanic foreman for receiver, transmitter and reproduction equipment	Electronics foreman
29.	Group leader for special welding operations	Welding foreman
30.	Recovery group leader for cranes and hydraulic equipment	Machine and plant maintenance foreman

Consecutive No	Training Goal (NCO Instruction Course)	Equivalent in Civilian Life to
31.	Aircraft mechanic/senior mechanic for aircraft frame/power plant	Aircraft maintenance foreman
32.	Senior mechanic radio/radar equipment	Electronics foreman
33.	Senior mechanic special electric equipment	Electrical engineering foreman
34.	Senior mechanic aircraft armament	BMSR equipment foreman
35.	Senior mechanic aircraft missile armament	BMSR equipment foreman
36.	Group leader construction-pioneer group	Underground construction foreman

Appendix 4 to Article 10 and 17-19 of the Preceding First Implementing Regulation

The Acquisition of License Certificates (Ensigns and NCO's of the People's Navy)

Consecutive No	Graduation as	Additional Requirements	Entitled to Earn the
1.	Ensigns in a deck career	Time at sea as per SSBO and passing the additional examination for the respective qualification certificate	A1, B1, A3, B3*
2.	Ensigns in an engineering career	Time at sea as per SSBO	C1, C3*
3.	NCO's in a deck career (navigation)	Time at sea as per SSBO and passing the additional examination for the respective qualification certificate	A1. B1*
4.	NCO's in an engineering career	Time at sea as per SSBO	C1*
5.	Boat/launch pilot	Navigational training license for the respective vessel and time at sea as per SSBO	Licenses

* The requirements of the SSBO must be met for the acquisition of the qualification certificates A2, A4, B2, B4, C2, C4

Appendix 5 to Article 12 of the Preceding First Implementing Regulation

Model Certificate

Office .....
P.O. Box .....
Issued on .....

Certificate

.....
(Surname) (First Name) (Date of Birth)

is certified as having, before discharge from active military service, participated successfully for at least 10 years in sociological education and sociological further education or political indoctrination.

Official Seal .....
Signature, Rank

Appendix 6 to Article 13 of the Preceding First Implementing Regulation

Model Certificate

Office .....
P.O. Box .....
Issued on .....

Certificate

.....
(Surname) (First Name) (Date of Birth)

is certified as having, in the course of active military duty,

a) Completed the program of sociological education during a NCO instruction course or/and* up to his discharge from active military service participated in political indoctrination.

b) Completed the program of sociological education during a course of instruction for career NCO's or ensigns and up to his discharge from active military servic participated in sociological further education*.

Official Seal .....
Signature, Rank

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* Delete if inapplicable

Appendix 7 to Article 15 of the Preceding First Implementing Regulation

Model Certificate

Office .....
P.O. Box .....
Issued on .....

Certificate

.....
(Surname) (First Name) (Date of Birth)

is certified as having met the requirements of Article 15, Paragraph 1 of the First Implementing Regulation of 25 March 1982 to the Advancement Decree (GBl I No 12 p 261)

The following training results were achieved:

a) Theoretical training .....
b) Practical training .....
(Grade in Words)

Participation in instruction in Marxism-Leninism is/is not* required as per Article 13 of the above mentioned implementing regulation.

This certificate is valid until ..... and, at the beginning of employment, must be handed over to the cadre or personnel department.

Seal of Office .....
(Signature, Rank)

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*Delete if inapplicable

Appendix 8 to Article 16 of the Preceding First Implementing Regulation

Model Certificate

Office .....
P.O. Box .....
Issued on .....

Certificate

.....
(Surname) (First Name) (Date of Birth)

is certified as having met the requirements of Article 16, Paragraph 1 of the First Implementing Regulation of 25 March 1982 to the Advancement Decree (GBl I No 12 p 261).

The following training results were achieved:

a) Theoretical training .....
b) Practical training .....
(Grade in Words)

This certificate is valid until .....and, at the beginning of employment, must be handed over to the cadre or personnel department.

Seal of Office .....
Signature, Rank

Equivalent Service

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 12, 2 Apr 82 p 268

/Official text of "Announcement of Service Equivalent to Military Duty, dated 25 March 1982"; signed by Colonel General Streletz, secretary, GDR National Defense Council/

/Text/ On the basis of decisions by the GDR National Defense Council, service in

a) The Ministry for State Security,
b) The garrisoned units of the Ministry of Interior,
c) Civil Defense (insofar as the Career Order--ZV is applicable),
d) The construction units in the sphere of the Ministry for National Defense

is deemed equivalent to military service as per Article 2, Paragraph 3 of the Military Service Law of 25 March 1982 (GBl I No 12 p 221).

11698
CSO: 2300/12

CONTINUED UPGRADING OF WORKERS MILITIA UNITS URGED

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German Vol 26 No 9, Sep 82 p 1

[Article by Col Gen Herbert Scheibe, member, SED Central Committee; chief, Department for Security Affairs, SED CC: "Class Mission of the 10th SED Congress Is Being Fulfilled—With All-round Good Results on the 30th Anniversary of the Workers Militia"]

[Text] Next year, the members of the fighting teams of the GDR working class will be celebrating the 30th anniversary of the revolutionary armed workers' units. The statements made by the general secretary of our Party, Comrade Erich Honecker, before the first secretaries of the kreis [GDR administrative unit] administrations and at the third and fourth sessions of the Central Committee provide the guidelines for a thorough political preparation for this anniversary and for the correct integration in our social life.

The resolution adopted by the Central Committee Secretariat on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the fighting teams praises the successful development of the armed power organs of the working class and their role in the overall consolidation and reliable protection of our socialist fatherland and of peace. It was pointed out at the third session of the SED Central Committee and reaffirmed by the fourth session that since the end of World War II the threat to peace has never been so serious as it is now. With terrifying clarity, the U.S.-supported aggression in Lebanon, the murderous campaign of the white racists in the southern parts of Africa and many other imperialist war provocations of the last few months have shown that the ground that gives rise to wars is still fertile. Thus, as Comrade Erich Honecker stated in his final address at the fourth session of the Central Committee, the most pressing problem of our time is the preservation of peace.

It is very much in accordance with this foremost humanistic objective that the preparations for the 30th anniversary of the fighting teams are carried out. And in view of this objective, we are faced with the task of helping--through improved work in the fighting teams--to consolidate the GDR's national defense so as better to serve socialism and the cause of peace.

Our Party directs the working people toward proving through concrete actions that we do not have to view fatalistically the dangerous and complex external situation, but that we are resolved to help strengthen socialism by strengthening our workers' and farmers' state and thus to make peace invincible in spite of the imperialists' confrontation practices. The positive results in regard to fulfillment of the

economic plan in the first 6 months of 1982 demonstrate that the many new and difficult problems notwithstanding we have succeeded--thanks to the proven leadership of our Party--in making progress in these endeavors. These results comprise our efforts in all areas of national defense, including the development of the fighting teams of the working class.

In laying down the measures concerning thorough preparation of the fighting teams' 30th anniversary, the party leadership was guided by the idea that the mobilization of all fighting team members toward this anniversary would release energies contributing to a higher level of combat readiness and a more advanced development of the fighting teams, thus helping them fully to meet the requirements of our time. The measures adopted are of crucial significance for the Party's political leadership in the fighting teams and for defense policy as a whole. This reflects anew the essence of our Party's military policy, which is oriented toward the defense and protection of our revolutionary achievements and toward the preservation of peace. Whatever the people create is protected by the people! This realization accurately reflects the 30 years of development of the fighting teams of the working class.

In accordance with the resolutions adopted by the 10th SED Congress, the fighting team members are faithfully, responsibly and successfully carrying out their class mandate which charges them with maintaining a high degree of fighting power and combat readiness and protecting under any conditions--in collaboration with the other armed forces of our country--the socialist revolution and our workers' and farmers' state.

The imminent 30th anniversary of the fighting teams is an event concerning our entire society; it is a high point in the life of the German Democratic Republic. This confronts all those entrusted with its preparation--i.e. above all the fighting team members themselves, but also the party functionaries, the volunteer work teams, the members of the German People's Police and many other supporters, friends and comrades--with new, great tasks. Without exaggeration, we may say that this anniversary initiates another crucial stage in the development of the fighting teams. The primary objective is to attain positive, concrete results in the 1982 training year and in the following training years. The next test is close at hand. The tactical exercises concluding the 1982 training year are an important criterion for the commanding officers' increased ability prudently to lead their units and they testify to the increased fighting power of each unit and each comrade.

To show a positive record at this event is the declared goal of all fighting team members. Evidence of this is the intensity with which all units are carrying out the training and tactical exercises. A positive overall record comprises above all the following:

--Strict discipline and order in every unit; further improvement of revolutionary vigilance and exemplary conduct of all Communists in the interest of overall consolidation of the fighting collectives.

--A high degree of steadfastness on the part of every fighting collective; nontolerance of unexcused absence, poor coordination, lack of organization, or any decline in training quality.

--Strict maintenance of the principle providing for combat training without impairment of production and for objective evaluation of the results achieved.

--Systematic improvement of the qualifications of our cadres, including assignment to appropriate training courses, correct implementation of and 100-percent participation in extracurricular, advanced training, effective independent study, and, last but not least, systematic training and testing of new cadres.

--Efficient utilization of the material and technical assets made available for the training; constant readiness of all armaments, equipment and technology; and systematic fuel economy.

These points in particular will be key factors in the socialist competition during the next training year. As regards the activity of the leading party organs and of the Party's intraplant organs, the guidelines given by the general secretary of the SED Central Committee to the first kreis secretaries in regard to the work in the fighting teams are of crucial importance. The primary objective is more rapidly to reduce the quality differences between territorial units, e.g. the kreises, and to improve performance in all units.

Further improvement of the fighting power and combat readiness of the fighting teams requires continuous, active leadership by the leading party organs at all levels. The main effort is to be directed toward effective political-ideological work. Every training measure, every step toward insuring combat readiness must be aimed at increasing the political understanding of the tasks and insuring that each fighting team member is aware of his or her personal political responsibility and helps--through revolutionary vigilance and political persuasiveness--to make the other workers at the work place understand the requirements of our Party's military policy.

To increase the prestige and authority of the fighting teams is synonymous with the members' exemplary conduct at the work place, in the working process. At present, if a unit wants to be considered a model, its fighters must provide leadership for their work collectives and help to fulfill the economic plan of their enterprise. We are justly proud of the thousands of outstanding examples that prove that to be an exemplary fighting team member is synonymous with being an exemplary production worker. We must further consolidate this development. Our press, the intraplant information bulletins and many other ways of popularizing exemplary results in the training of the fighting team members can be most helpful in this regard.

Safeguarding the leading role of the Party was, is and will be the main problem concerning the development of the fighting teams of the working class. For this reason, it is necessary to direct close attention toward the continuous improvement of the fighting power of the party groups in the platoons.

The measures adopted on the occasion of the 30th anniversary are further proof of the farsighted and constructive guidance of the fighting teams by our Party. These measures convincingly show the great concern for the fighting teams on the part of the party leadership and the general secretary of the SED Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker. This concern is directed both toward the individual fighter and his or her social position and toward the service conditions and the development of the fighting teams as a whole. The Party appreciates the efforts and

achievements of the fighters and commanding officers and of all the comrades who bear responsibility for the development of the fighting teams. Through their great achievements, they zealously and consistently fulfill the class mandate formulated by the 10th SED Congress.

8760
CSO: 2300/7

ARGUMENT FOR RELAXING IDEOLOGICAL DEMANDS ON STUDENTS CONTESTED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 122, 13 Aug 82 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "Dispute About Prospective Scientists" Loyalty to the Party Line." A translation of the East Berlin Forum article follows this commentary]

[Text] The East Berline FDJ magazine FORUM (Nov 14, 1982) has published an argument on the ideological loyalty and political commitment that should be demanded from prospective scientists at GDR universities and institutes of higher learning. The controversy was started by the renowned economist Juergen Kuczynski who wants to see the professional qualifications of prospective scientists as the decisive criterium for careers in the sciences--with "at least an average of social-oriented work". He was criticised by the ideologue Stefan Bollinger, who said that the grasp of historical materialism is not identical with the "knowledge of and commitment to the entire Marxist-Leninist philosophy." For future scientists, however, this [knowledge and commitment] is "indispensable." A parallel existence of "specialists" for the sciences and for politics would be "fatal" in a research institute.

GDR Ideologue's Argument

East Berlin FORUM in German Vol 36 No 14, 2 Jul 82 p 13

[Article by Stefan Bollinger, Department of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "No Abstract Philosophizing--Response to Professor Kuczynski's Article on the Promotion of Talented Students." A translation of the FORUM No 8, 1982 article by Professor Kuczynski, cited below, is published under the heading, "Ideological Demands on Talented Students to be Relaxed," in JPRS 81121, 24 Jun 82, No 2025 of this series, pp 49-54]

[Text] In his controversial article Juergen Kuczynski has presented, in addition to a readable historical explanation of the promotion of talented students (FORUM Aug 1982), several positions on concrete questions about the promotion of talented students under the conditions of our socialist universities and institutes of higher learning.

"Mismanagement of Higher Education", "Immobility of Students", "Role of the Professors", "Quality of Dissertations", these are aspects that stimulate important opportunities for thought. But in addition there are also points that have to be questioned.

First: What are the conditions for the selection of talented students? Talent and enthusiasm for the sciences are indispensable basic requirements. It seems to me, however, that "the deep grasp of historical materialism" alone is not identical with knowledge of and commitment to the point of view of the working class, of the entire Marxist-Leninist philosophy. For future social scientists working for the ruling class this is however indispensable even if it is by nature also more difficult to define than other criteria. At stake here is not abstract philosophizing.

The demand made by L. I. Breshnev at the 26th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should also have meaningful application to our conditions: "In the field of the social sciences not everything is satisfactory, by any means. The tendency to theorize in a scholastic way has not been overcome. Philosophers often prefer to prove things that are already proven instead of analyzing new life phenomena. There are many problems awaiting a solution that have accumulated in the political economy of socialism..." (L. I. Breshnev, Statement before the 26th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Berlin 1981, p 106)

Second: Who but the prospective scientists should deal with these questions? This calls for political responsibility. The problems cannot be solved alone by historical materialism, by scientific communism, by the political economics of socialism as "practically-politically" oriented sciences.

Research in basic principles, the elaboration of historical processes and also of the development of ideology, the necessity of ideological struggle, etc. demand the development of the social sciences on their broad spectrum including the fields of work of their future cadres. This requires understanding so that the solution of these problems results in a strengthening of the barricades on our sides.

The question also arises to what degree the "minor subjects" (here as an example the history of the workers' movement) can be compared with the specialized subject profile, to what degree "satisfactory" achievement in one field is considered "regrettable" in the other. Does this not imply a somewhat one-sided view of specialization?

Third: Excellent work morale is no doubt an indispensable condition for strong efforts and high efficiency in a special field, in any sphere of responsibility. But does this morale fall from heaven?

Fourth: What is meant by "at least average socially oriented work" by the talented student? At stake here is a meaningful, mutually stimulating correlation between social activity and professional work. Political activity must result in the willingness and ability to look for a solid foundation for this activity. A parallel existence of "specialists" for the

sciences and for politics, let us say on the department level, would be fatal and, in my experience, does not function. Certainly, not every student is a born [party] functionary but the talented student should be in a position to handle challenges of this kind. Finally, we should consider the fact that especially the majority of social science cadres who are guided toward dissertations at institutes of higher learning by way of research studies have observed at best only in the NVA and during a short period of professional activity the things they intend to change through their research.

For the majority of our prospective scientists the development of truly active political talents would, by the way, be the best guarantee against being "beaten to death" by activities and the duties that go with them.

Fifth: FDJ ground level organizations have an important responsibility for selecting and promoting talented students. That party student organizations also have an essential contribution to make in the solution of this problem is often unjustifiedly forgotten. The experience of our party and FDJ organizations in the training of Marxist-Leninist philosophy cadres has 2 years ago shown results in the development of basic principles for the selection of our talented students.

Above average achievement in a special field combined with qualifications and special aptitudes beyond the normal scholastic requirements to utilize knowledge in one's special field for political-ideological activity. There must be continual activities so that one's own knowledge will be utilized for others, i.e. in exerting a noticeable influence on the capacity development of the group.

The close connection of the interchange of party politics and political work is realized in the exemplary status of talented students, a status that is also marked by political activity in any kind of situation.

Goals are one side of the problem, the other is the willingness to realize selection and talent on the basis of these goals. In this regard there are problems and open questions. The central problem is the concept of study as a process that includes the political-ideological education of students not only through the work of the "appropriate" party and FDJ organizations but also especially through the example of the teachers, not least of all one's "own" professor who through his guiding activities has extraordinarily favorable conditions for dealing with the problems of "his" students. Karen Wittbrodt's thoughts on this subject (FORUM Sep 81) are noteworthy.

Another question is related to the possibilities of preselecting future talented students. Any seminar organizer should be able, beginning with the first semester, to give differentiated achievement appraisals of his students in a given subject, and to influence the development of achievements beyond the frame work of more or less general challenges. So far. this has hardly happened, so that a differentiated appraisal is available only after the second or third semester. Part of this problem is the willingness to motivate students at an early stage to complete written assignments. We have now available positive experiences related to activities on the second year level

of courses in historical materialism. On the other hand, there are problems and setbacks concerning the implementation of another initiative, namely the possibility of early guidance offered by college instructors and teachers beginning with the second year of study. Especially, there are fears that specialization ordinarily reserved for the third year of study could be started too early.

Also, teachers might find that they don't have sufficient challenge with the problems of lower course work. On the other hand, what other ways are there to select and promote prospective talented students?

The decisive fact is to find out how the support of talents and abilities contributes to the level of achievement of all or at least the majority of students and, at the same time, to determine what qualities future specialists will have.

8889
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HISTORIAN WLADYSLAW BARTOSZEWSKI DISCUSSES INTERNMENT

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 14 Oct 82 p 18

[Article by Bengt Holmqvist: "Wladyslaw Bartoszewski Was Imprisoned by All the Regimes--Poland's Youth Are Not Tamed"]

> [Text] Wladyslaw Bartoszewski is Poland's foremost modern historian. At the same time he personifies in his life much of Poland's modern history. Bengt Holmqvist met him in West Berlin, where he arrived unexpectedly several days ago--in the middle of the new Polish crisis. This is the first interview which Bartoszewski has granted since he was released from the internment camp last spring.

Professor Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, world renowned Polish historian and publisher, was 60 years old on 19 February 1982.

The occasion was celebrated with festivities and in the best company. It can be said that it was an illustrious group which assembled.

Bartoszewski was also known as the fighting secretary general of the Polish Penn Club, an organization whose position in a totalitarian society is at once much more significant and much more exposed than is generally the case in our country.

The Penn Club, like the majority of public gatherings in Poland, was suspended under the governing emergency laws. Nevertheless about 10 outstanding members were among those involved.

Not only authors, translators and journalists found themselves involved. On the fringes there were also actors, philosophers, intellectuals and representatives of the various natural sciences. As reported above, it was an illustrious group, a cross section of Polish cultural life.

The local arrangements were simplified by the fact that the birthday child, so to speak, was also master of the house, even if the house on this occasion

was not his lovely home in Warsaw. Instead it was a vacation home for the Polish officer corps, in an isolated area east of Szczecin in former Pomerania.

This place was accorded a new function after the military coup of 13 December 1981. Since then it has served as a place of confinement for artists and intellectuals.

In other words the birthday guests found themselves already in place, with or against their wills. And the fact that Bartoszewski was the master of the house meant only that he was the so-called senior prisoner, over the other prisoners, unanimously chosen to represent them with the staff of the facility.

Bartoszewski was jokingly called the commandant by his comrades, while his counterpart had to be satisfied with his actual title of captain. However the captain had at his disposal, entirely apart from firearms, a much greater number of men than the commandant.

The number of prisoners varied between 50 and 60. There were two or three times as many guards as prisoners, evidence as good as any of respect for culture.

Now in February Commandant Bartoszewski and his small group--like many thousands of other good Poles in other camps--had been in prison more than 2 months. Their isolation was almost complete.

Nobody knew when, or if, their imprisonment would become relative freedom. Concern for their families was strong.

Still they did their utmost to keep their spirits up. Bartoszewski assured me that his birthday was celebrated with gusto, limited by the circumstances.

It is less surprising, of course, that he gave this report to me with gusto. This happened in West Berlin, where Wladyslaw Bartoszewski--hereafter called WB--and his wife Sofia suddenly popped up in the middle of the Polish crisis.

We were together very much of the time during those days: reading all the world's newspapers together, listening to the radio, following up the news with telephone conversations to the network of Poland experts--spread over all of West Europe--at the center of which WB found himself just a few days after coming out.

He is naturally deeply concerned about another increase in the tensions between the governing and the governed. But he is not surprised.

At the same time he is overwhelmed suddenly to be free: free in a way that we in an open information society find all too easy to take for granted.

"It seems like a miracle that we can look back in this way," he said. "Six months ago such a thought would have been a daydream to be resisted if one wanted to avoid being crushed by the awakening."

I did not expect to meet a broken down or grieving WB, I know the man too well for that. But I could not avoid being impressed by the unbelievable vitality which he radiates.

He appears much younger than 60, vigorous as if his undernourishment has been translated to pure energy.

He was actually a dangerous partner during our walks--or rather our forced marches--in the difficult but also strictly disciplined Berlin traffic. He moved like a runner between the vehicles, without regard to the color that the traffic lights happened to show.

"I am Polish! I know that one can not save his inner and outer existence other than by breaking rules!"

To that I can only add that he is living proof of his theory, but that he should resign himself to a certain degree of adaptation if he wants to remain physically living during his Berlin visit.

Here it would be appropriate to give a quick look back at WB's past, which in spite of everything is not well known.

His destiny is almost like a summary of Poland's modern history. For that reason his irrepressibility is so remarkable and--if I can believe it--representative.

WB was brought up strictly in a Catholic high school. At the age of 18 he was seized in a German terror action. In September 1940 he was interned as prisoner number 4,427 in Auschwitz.

He was one of those who rebuilt the old Austrian barracks structures into concentration camps. One of his work tasks was cleaning out the fine new crematorium.

On 8 April 1941 he was released. This could still happen in individual cases in those days.

He joined the Home Defense Army, and participated as a lieutenant in the Warsaw uprising of 1944. Afterwards he succeeded in fleeing to Krakow where he worked in the underground press.

In 1942 he joined the committee to help the Jews. He knew that their fate was even worse than that of the Poles. He could save lives. This involvement was important for him 40 years later.

After the war he was politically active in the Farmers Party. That cost him dearly when Sovietization took place. When he was rehabilitated and released after Stalin's death he had been in prison for more than 6 and 1/2 years.

He worked as a typographer, continued his studies, and gradually became an expert on German and Jewish questions in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY (THE CURRENT WEEKLY), the most important newspaper for Catholic intellectuals.

As a scholar WB became known as the foremost authority on Poland's history during the German occupation.

A sensitive area of motivation: that the Russians of course played an important role in that connection, a role which has never been fully and relentlessly covered in the writing of official history.

The results of WB's basic research were kept from the general Polish public as much as possible. It was therefore difficult to censor the lectures that he gave as professor at the famous Catholic University in Lublin.

After the worker disorders of 1976 he was one of the leaders in KOR and--above all--within the so-called Flying University. He was sentenced to fines and forbidden to travel, but would not let himself be intimidated.

It was natural that WB stood high on the list of internees when General Jaruzelski took over.

It made no difference that WB--as in the case of Jacek Kuron--had been one of those who had warned Solidarity against making politically impossible demands.

In today's situation WB does not believe that it is important to speculate whether anything could have gone wrong inside Solidarity.

"From the beginning the question was: Where is the line which must not be crossed? That line is not drawn within Poland's borders. Also our great ally seems to have been taken by surprise, and hesitated a bit. But not for long."

That was only so that "Operation Canary" could be prepared, carefully and with good foundation, and also with the greatest discretion.

At the end of November WB came home from a lecture tour in West Germany. He immediately began to prepare for the 3-day congress on Polish culture which was to begin on the 11th.

On the first day he spoke on the importance of the freedom of words and the abolition of censorship. On Saturday the theme was the situation of book publishers in Poland.

That evening WB went to bed at midnight after having prepared his contribution for the last day of the congress.

Fifteen minutes later the doorbell rang. One minute later the house was full of heavily armed security police. WB was allowed about 5 minutes to grab a few warm clothes, toothbrush and razor.

"It was really rather civilized. No shouting, no beating or blows. Assault is routinely used only on workers. That is why Poland is now called the workers' state."

The trip led to the nearest police station, where one familiar face after another appeared. Next stop was Bialoleka Prison (where Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik and the gravely ill Jan Jozef Lipski, among others, are now waiting for an unfair trial).

After a few days they were transported to the previously discussed vacation home, near the somewhat larger place called Drawsko.

WB emphasized that he and the other intellectuals were treated as a privileged group, not only when they were arrested, but also during the entire stay in the camp. Only three persons had to share a room, and the rooms were seldom locked. In large measure, they could visit freely.

That was a possibility which did not remain unexploited. They were guarded every second. But the guards clearly had instructions to intervene only when there was an escape attempt.

They formed discussion groups and lecture circles, and created an entire camp university. WB gave a total of 75 lectures, in the scholarly way, always for 45 minutes, on recent Polish history. Others shared their knowledge of subjects such as sociology, biology and astrophysics. It was all very educational.

Starting 16 January they arranged Penn Club evenings every Saturday: readings and conversations on literary subjects. They even organized a series of theatrical performances, without costumes but with simple decorations. Maciej Rayzacher, one of the country's foremost young actors, directed the performers.

The most memorable presentation was from the first scenes of the drama by the national poet Adam Mickiewicz, "Dziady" (known in Sweden as "The Forefathers" or "The Celebration").

It is a play which, because of its "anti-Russian" character, was forbidden after some acclaimed performances in Warsaw in 1968. This stupidity caused the student uprisings which portended the 1970 worker uprising in the Baltic states.

The scenes are played in a former monastary rebuilt as a national prison, and the actors are political prisoners. Prisoners in a prison portrayed by prisoners in a prison.

It was something that school children in a free Poland, now very remote, can later read about in their history books.

Bartoszewski, entirely unexpectedly, was released from the camp on 19 April.

A helicopter carried him to Warsaw. One week later he was called to the Minister of Interior General Kiszczak, who personally informed him that he could consider himself released.

A polite, although rather absurd conversation occurred. WB was anxious that I reproduce it word for word, since false versions had been reported.

Kiszczak: Mr Bartoszewski, what do you think about the existing political situation in Poland?

WB: Should I answer politely or honestly?

Kiszczak: Preferably honestly.

WB: I have a very low opinion of the current political situation.

Kiszczak: But we have saved Poland from a civil war!

WB: General, we both belong to the same war generation and should agree that such a tragedy as a civil war must absolutely be avoided. In the capacity of minister of interior you know much that I can not know. If you are sure of your facts, I am happy that we have avoided a catastrophe. But are you really sure of your facts?

Bartoszewski immediately resumed his lectures in Lublin, but decided that he would not again try to test the patience of those in control.

"Everything one says can be misunderstood, and things one has never said can be attributed to one as very provocative. As for example the report that I had 'cried in alarm' that Lech Walesa is deteriorating! That was spread about by a journalist, Mrs Grzybowska Rybinska, who claimed that she had met me.

"But I have never seen nor spoken with the person! She has participated in the effort to cast further suspicion on the intellectuals. The following day Danuta Walesa, in spite of everything a genuine daughter of the people, was requested to come forth and deny the professor's gossip. That is what was behind the entire story."

The disinformation situation in Poland was almost perfect during the months when WB enjoyed his relative freedom. He still has the impression that the efforts of the junta in that area have not been successful as to the real essentials.

Concerning the reason for his own release, WB came gradually to realize that the most important factor was intervention by the Jewish opposition fighters and the ghetto prisoners world organization. From that quarter there were strong representations made to the government.

"I am deeply moved by such loyalty in remembrance," said WB. "And it is important that it be said just now when an Israeli prime minister's ruthless policies have caused antisemites around the world to once more sniff the morning air."

"Back to your question to General Kiszczak. How would you yourself answer it?"

"I am a historian, not a politician. But I want to point out one simple fact: 20 million of the Poles living today were born after the death of Stalin. They have no memory of the war and the terror. But on the other hand, as long as they live they will remember the 16 months of Solidarity."

"And what does that mean?"

"Not that history repeats itself, but that it can be made more meaningful. The older people are more resigned, more adaptable. The young have instead an enormous, perhaps entirely too great self-confidence. They are not going to allow themselves to be tamed. And thinking about their predominant and growing material requirements, they have an amazing understanding of all the sanctions which are being taken by the West against the current regime."

"Can you imagine a situation in which Lech Walesa again plays a political role?"

"That would be very, very unusual. Here is a single example: Conrad Adenauer's return after the fall of the Third Reich. But forerunners and martyrs never die. And how can they avoid making a martyr out of Walesa? It is sufficient that they are holding him in prison. They clearly do not dare to release him."

WB worries most just now about the fate of his friends and colleagues who are still imprisoned. He writes lists, and gives me instructions. It is important that nations abroad react, and his own case shows it.

About 20 authors have been in and out of the camps. Some have departed in peace. Some remain silent, others publish quite daring things. Very few have spoken out as advocates of the junta. It feels good that none of the names mentioned by WB as fellow travelers are familiar to us.

"And you, Wladek, how did it happen that you were permitted to leave?"

"Pensioners are permitted to leave. I have a pension from the Authors' League, and Sofia was forced to be pensioned from her publishing service when I was arrested. It is a matter of definitions. Not a question of exports, if that is what you are thinking.

"Still, no Poles have been deprived of their citizenship. I will be in Berlin 9 more months, then we will see what happens. But I have purchased return tickets to Warsaw with good zloty."

9287
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RESULTS OF VETERANS' ASSOCIATION MEETING REPORTED

Achievements, Goals

Warsaw ZA WOLNOSCI LUD in Polish No 16, 10 Jul 82 pp 1, 6, 7, 8

[Speech by Wlodzimierz Sokorski, Chairman of the ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] ZG [Main Board] at a meeting of the ZBoWiD Supreme Council Presidium and Main Board Presidium on 23 June 1982; place not specified]

> [Text] A report presented by the chairman of the ZBoWiD ZG, Wlodzimierz Sokorski, at a meeting of the ZBoWiD Supreme Council Presidium and the ZG Presidium, on 23 June 1982, concerning an assessment of ZBoWiD activities in the first half-year of 1982 and the resultant tasks.

Colleagues:

Two basic reasons underlie today's joint meeting of the ZBoWiD Supreme Council Presidium and the ZG Presidium:

1. The need to render an account of union activities that have been implemented within a complex sociopolitical situation in our country determined by the requirements of martial law in the first half of 1982;

2. The definition of the major directions of work during the second half of 1982, keeping in mind the continued tying-in of ZBoWiD tasks with the progressive normalization of sociopolitical life. This includes supporting the efforts of the authorities to achieve permanent understanding with all forces that declare themselves in favor of socialism.

As we give an account of ZBoWiD activities for the first half-year we should first turn our attention to an analysis of the membership of the union.

We entered the year 1982 with 656,000 members joined together in 1,354 gmina parish circles, 798 city circles, 468 city-gmina circles and 353 plant circles.

Members being cared for make up 11 percent of those in the union.

In terms of group affiliation, the greatest number are soldiers of the Polish Army (45 percent), participants in World War II, including:

--139,000 members who were soldiers in the LWP [Polish People's Army];
--132,000 members who were soldiers in the Polish Army of 1939;
--17,500 members who were soldiers in the Polish Armed Forces in the West.

Regarding other figures, 21 percent of the membership belonged to the resistance movement (AK [Home Army], AL [People's Army], BCh [Peasants' Battalions]), for a total of 139,536.

Members who participated in battles to preserve the people's authority make up 12 percent of the organization. Participants in the October Revolution, Slask uprisings, Wielkipolska Uprising, veterans of the struggles in Spain, prisoners in concentration camps and organizers of undercover instruction make up 9 percent.

Poles who were formerly soldiers in the Red Army, active members in the Union of Polish Patriots and veterans of the workers movement make up 2 percent of the organizational membership.

Naturally, these members indicate the level of needs in the area of work with these different groups.

On the basis of statistical data, we observe that despite a reduction in the membership by 10,000 persons in 1981, new members continue to join ZBoWiD. This situation is affected by such factors as the granting of benefits to combatants, reductions in the PKP [Polish State Railroads] and PKS [State Motor Transport] and the benefits granted by a law dated 26 May 1982, concerning the special rights of combatants.

In 1981, 22,000 members died. This indicates 1,500 persons higher than in 1979 and 1980. We may expect this process to increase over the coming year. This statistic shows the need to increase health and social care for the oldest generation of our colleagues, especially those living alone. The ZG is considering this problem; it was also the topic of one of the plenary meetings of the ZG this year.

The organizational activism of ZBoWiD during the period under consideration was a vital part of our social activity. It was determined by the socio-political situation of the country that developed as a result of the Council of State decree on martial law.

The point of departure of our activity was the awareness that martial law, with all of its implications, was initiated to defend the vital matters of the nation and the state.

Today, from the perspective of time, in spite of the problems that have been exacerbated by the economic restrictions of the Western countries, we observe a slow, but progressive normalization in Poland, even though our political opponent continues his attempts to disrupt social life, attacking the

authorities and the party, propagating passivity and resistance, especially among the intelligentsia, and youth circles.

At the same time, we are aware of the sharpening international situation, the growth of the armaments spiral, military confrontations and the economic pressure on socialist countries.

At the same time, we are aware that in broader and broader circles of our society, events are being reevaluated. We will make further progress in this area as life returns to normal and as the party and the authorities send out initiatives in the field of social integration based on national understanding. This is our task as well.

Today's meeting of the ZBoWiD Supreme Council Presidium and the ZG Presidium will decide how much we have fulfilled the tasks set before us.

In most instances, our union activism has developed out of the determinations of the party and the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON], and the actions of the ZBoWiD Supreme Council Presidium and ZG.

Affording much assistance in this area to the local aktiv and Union members were:

--an appeal of the ZBoWiD ZG Presidium supporting the decisions of the WRON and defining tasks for ZBoWiD echelons and particular combatant groups under martial law. The contents of this appeal was published in the central press;
--a letter from the ZBoWiD ZG Secretariat outlining the immediate tasks of the union emanating from martial law regulations and orders. This letter also pointed up the need for ZBoWiD elements to join together to create citizens' committees of national salvation and to undertake tasks to aid flood victims;
--guidelines defining "the major directions of ZBoWiD activity in 1982."

We have maintained daily contact with the voivodships through the use of a high-frequency unit, and later by telephone; at the same time, we have made continual trips out into the voivodships.

These actions were taken to inspire the people. They consolidated the ranks of ZBoWiD members around the program of the party and the WRON. The ZG's appeal was answered not only in the declarations and proclamations that were made but also in the actions of ZBoWiD members performed in support of the party, the military authorities and the state administration.

The accounting made on 31 May 1982 shows that since martial law was initiated, there are 13,056 ZBoWiD activists engaged in self-defense units who were involved in performing specific tasks emanating from the operational plans of military and law-and-order organs.

During the initial period, when the state was in danger, large groups of ZBoWiD members took part in defending state buildings, party committees

(in Warsaw, Katowice, Wroclaw, Ciechanow, Czestochowa and Slupsk) and also industrial installations (Ursus, the Bierut Works and others).

ZBoWiD members also worked together with WP [Polish Army] soldiers, Citizens' Militia [MO] officials and ORMO [Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Milita] officers during patrols, safeguarding public law and order. They took part in inspections of railroad stations and the PKS, business establishments and in citizens' watches appointed to protect city quarters and housing developments.

The ZBoWiD voivodship aktiv was given turn of duty service in party voivodship committees (Chelm, Poznan, Krakow, Torun, Katowice, Krosno).

As a social organization, we were not indifferent to the consequences of the disastrous flood that occurred in January 1982. In answer to an appeal by the ZG Secretariat, ZBoWiD members donated 10,236,902 zlotys for the flood victims. They delivered 127 tons of grain, 4 tons of meat, 1.5 tons of clothing and other items, including manually operated farm equipment and household equipment.

According to a May 1982 Sejm announcement, 13,330 ZBoWiD activists are taking part in the work of OKON [Citizens Committees for National Rebirth]. Of the approximately 7,000 OKON committees registered in Poland, 787 have arisen out of the initiative of ZBoWiD. These include the OKON committees in Warsaw, Walbrzych, Szczecin, Radom, Chelm, Ciechanow, Koszalin. Our data indicates that 497 ZBoWiD members are fulfilling social functions as OKON chairmen.

Significant numbers of members of ZBoWiD voivodship authorities (Katowice, Szczecin, Wroclaw, Torun) belong to the voivodship defense committees. Our activists (4,171 in all) are working socially in many workers commissions in plants and in committees now being organized in housing developments.

As the preceding indicates, ZBoWiD's ranks include a social aktiv that is experienced and deeply committed, utterly devoted to the homeland. We consider this aktiv to be the organization's most valuable heritage. On it rests the major burden of implementing the resolutions and proposals that guide the union in its practical actions.

The ZBoWiD Supreme Council Presidium and ZG have also done significant work during the past 6 months.

Through the initiative of the Supreme Council chairman, during the report period several meetings were organized with the central and regional ZBoWiD aktiv. The most important of these were:

--a meeting of the ZBoWiD ZG chairman with a group of 330 persons from an aktiv employed in farming. This meeting took place in Skierniewice. Its purpose was to activate ZBoWiD members to perform tasks to stimulate grain and slaughter animal procurement;
--a meeting of a similar nature in January 1982, which took place in Lublin with the participation of the chairman of the ZBoWiD Supreme Council; he was accompanied by a group of ZBoWiD ZG Presidium members;

--a meeting in February 1982 of the Supreme Council chairman and the chairman of the ZG with the ZBoWiD aktiv of Poznan Voivodship, which was devoted to the activity of the ZBoWiD voivodship organizations and its actions undertaken during martial law. At this meeting, courses of action were outlined for surmounting the socioecnomic crisis and supporting WRON decisions;
--in February under the leadership of the Supreme Council chairman, a meeting was organized with the Warsaw combatants' scientific worker aktiv, at which the the share of this milieu in overcoming the factors halting and restricting industrial production was discussed;
--in March a similar meeting with the participation of the ZG chairman took place in the Polish Academy of Sciences and in two educators' and cultural-artistic milieus.

The atmosphere of these meetings was one of great commitment throughout. When the union aktiv reported on the results of the meetings at plants and to rural communities, understanding of the issues and the tasks emanating therefrom increased.

These meetings also treated internal organizational matters concerning the integration of the combatant milieu, social/daily living problems and especially upbringing work with youth (which we discussed at a meeting of the Supreme Council Presidium and ZG on 7 May 1982). The meeting was conducted on the basis of a report by the Supreme Council chairman "On the Unity of Generations in the Struggle for Socialist Poland."

We believe that the share of the representation of youth organizations at this meeting brought the youth problem to the fore and made it the subject of mutual concern of the entire organization. We are aware that in the current situation this is an extremely complex problem that needs more work in the future. The resolution made at that meeting, aided by the actions of the ZBoWiD youth and mistorical commissions, should have a practical, long-lasting impact upon the qualitative improvement of work with young people.

Appreciating the importance of the problem, following the meeting, the ZBoWiD ZG Secretariat appealed to voivodships boards to treat work with young people as a basic activity during the present stage; it also specified ideological upbringing tasks in this regard.

A lecture campaign carried out in schools and plants in April and from 5 to 20 May 1982, implemented in close cooperation with the WP Main Political Administration, was an opportunity to present young Poles with the history of our homeland and the achievements of People's Poland, as well as Poland's contribution to the victory over the Hitlerian Reich.

According to our reports from the majority of voivodships boards, 1,827 activists participated in 16,045 meetings. Contact was made with 135,237 people. Meetings with youth were organized in 15,344 schools and 619 plants, and 82 meetings were held on the occasion of other festivities. The leading voivodship boards in this area are the Legnica, Katowice, Siedlce, Bydgoszcz, Koszalin and Warsaw boards. They showed the greatest number of organized meetings. The Gdansk Voivodship Board has not yet acted upon the

recommendation made to it and seven voivodship boards--in Opole, Ostroleka, Ciechanow, Bielsko-Biala, Rzeszow, Wloclawek and Zielona Gora--have not yet sent in their reports.

Beyond this, in the past 6 months, under condition of enduring martial law, 3,080 meetings with young people were organized on the occasion of historical celebrations.

These meetings fulfilled their goal. The assessment of the voivodship boards and participants is positive. We take this to mean that in some voivodships they did not go easily, since in a number of schools the teaching cadre did not take part. In the discussion, young people often made controversial statements especially when assessing the achievements of our reality.

As we sum up the campaigns that engaged ZBoWiD in actions associated with tasks imposed by WRON or arising out of current needs, we must call to mind the major effort of voivodships echelons and regional elements, issues commissions at all levels and combatants' groups, which aided and enriched many activities during this period.

The topics of voivodship board and circle board plenary meetings during the first 6 months of 1982 were subordinated to this primary goal. They served to unite citizens around the program for overcoming the crisis and to create conditions for the country's national rebirth and development.

This does not mean that on the union scale as a whole there were no decentralizing tendencies; they penetrated the organization from without, for the most part. Here and there some attempts were even made to create a new union (Gdansk, Krakow, Poznan, Olsztyn, Kielce). These actions were undertaken in close conjunction with the extremist forces of Solidarity.

We have noted two instances of insubordination regarding WRON precepts. One concerned a ZBoWiD circle of 17-20 persons organized by Solidarity in Olsztyn, whose activity was suspended. A second concerned a ZBoWiD circle in Slupsk, whose office was closed and records entrusted for safekeeping. These circles were operating outside the union structure; their members maintained a dual organizational affiliation.

Another phenomenon was the attempt to create combatants' groups outside the ZBoWiD organizational structure. We noted such instances in Krakow, Wroclaw and in Warsaw, to some extent. All of these operations were small-scale, local operations; their organizers met with considerable resistance from the combatants' community.

Generally, however, despite the unstable conditions under which we have operated in the past 6 months, our union has demonstrated organizational cohesiveness and the ability to strengthen the ideological-political awareness of its members in the principles of ZBoWiD status and the political truths of the people's state.

The records certainly do not present the total picture; they do not relate the drama of the social and organizational rifts underlying our work. This

information is valuable, however, in that it reports on a characteristic period of the combatant community's sincere joining in on behalf of the country.

Colleagues, working together to restore stability and security to the country, we have not lost sight of the problems that are the essence of the intraorganizational life of the union. I am speaking of the sphere of ideological-upbringing and progapanda activites, the strengthening of the cohesiveness of the combatant milieu, the improvement of work methods and organization and efforts to improve material status, including the status of ZBoWiD members who have been honored with distinctions.

In general, we took a significant step forward in all of these areas during the first half of 1982. This includes the completion of work on the Combatant's Charter, whose final touch is a PRL [Polish People's Republic] Sejm Law "On the Special Rights of Combatants," passed on 26 May 1982.

Ideological-Upbringing Activity

Our foremost sociopolitical and propagandistic projects have been:

--issues related to the implementation of the idea of national understanding outlined in a resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress and in documents of the state authorities;
--the implementation of the ideological program assumptions of the PZPR KC [Central Committee] Political Bureau concerning the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers movement this year;
--the active participation of the combatants' community in social-propaganda campaigns and celebrations of the more important historical anniversaries.

I should add that the ZG Historical Commission coorganized the May 1982 Wroclaw symposium on the subject "The Final Phase of War on Polish Soil and the Hitlerian Crimes Perpetrated Thereupon."

The Historical Commission likewise organized a session open to the general public in Polichno in June 1982, dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the partisan struggle in Poland begun by the People's Guard. The event was a total success.

Work has begun on the preparation of a book in conjunction with the MON [Ministry of National Defense] entitled "Lying on a Field of Glory."

Working contacts with the press, radio and television have been increased with the result that ZBoWiD issues appear more and more often on radio and television programs. This is likewise the case with regional broadcasts and the local press (GLOS WYBRZEZA, GAZETA POMORSKA and others).

As in the past, we were coorganizers of National Remembrance Month ventures.

Despite our notable achievements, however, in the future we should come out on a broader front to create a unified system of the patriotic upbringing

of youth, by cooperating more closely with ministries and social and youth organizations. This is a matter of current interest to which the party and state authorities attach tremendous importance.

The ZBoWiD ZG Commission for Cooperation with Youth is conducting extensive activity in this area. It is cooperating systematically with regional commissions, memorials and Friends of ZBoWiD Circles, following the impetus given by the Supreme Council Presidium and Main Board meeting on the subject "Unity of Generations." The Youth Commission is preparing a plan of additional events and a summer campaign in conjunction with the scout union and other youth organizations.

Integrative Processes of the Combatant Milieu

A ZG Presidium resolution dated July 1981, which considers the further development of the activity of this group within the ZBoWiD organizational framework, recommends reinforcement of the cohesiveness of the organizational ranks. The resolution states that specific national commissions will be created by the ZBoWiD ZG to give substantive direction to this activity.

The ZG has not encountered any major problems in guiding the already operative commissions of the veterans of revolutionary struggles, the Slask uprisings, the Wielkopolska Uprising and the veterans of the struggles in Spain.

This year we adopted the bylaws for a National Commission of the "Sons of the Regiment," and set this commission in motion. This group works well and has an impact regionally.

We did have some problems--which have since been resolved--creating a National Commission of former WP Soldiers, participants in World War II. This was due to the large number of groups making up the commission, which were involved in battles on various fronts in World War II. This commission, which works under the direction of our colleague, Div Gen Jan Czapla, to date has presented a draft list of candidates for representatives to the ZG National Commission as well as the bylaws, which will be presented to the ZG Presidium.

The formation of a National Commission for the Resistance Movement is still an open subject. The groups making up this commission represent various, often clashing views regarding the commission members, procedural matters associated with milieu affiliation, the bylaws, the sphere and scope of operation and milieu representation.

Recently, considerable progress has been made in this area. The bylaws were approved and the milieu representation of the members of the National Commission for the Resistance Movement will be finalized in July-August, by understanding with voivodship boards. In September, the entire body of documents conerning the formation of the commission will be submitted to the ZBoWiD ZG Presidium.

From this platform I should like to point out that resistance movement issues are by nature difficult and very complex. The ZG is aware that ZBoWiD arose on the basis of various orientations. We believe that union members whose organizational affiliations and past histories were varied should have the right to create their own groups within the ZBoWiD framework, uniting people from different fronts or units, organizing commemorations of their own anniversaries and care of places of national remembrance. However, all activity must develop within the framework of the ZBoWiD statutory structure. In this way, it completes the range of the form and content implemented by the union, as practice demonstrates. It also serves to inspire and call to action.

We have examples of this from the activity of the National Commission of the "Sons of the Regiment," the Commission of the Milieu of the Polish Armed Forces in the West, the Milieu of Poles who were former Soldiers in the Soviet Army, the Milieu of Veterans of the Struggles in Spain.

Another example is the number of ceremonies and meetings in the first half of 1982 organized by nearly 30 different milieus and more than 80 AK, Al and BCh clubs operating in the Warsaw area whose activities are coordinated by a commission appointed by the Warsaw ZBoWiD Board.

However, we are also aware of crucial problems. Not all matters are completely resolved; there are still decentralizing tendencies in the particular AK, AL and BCh milieus.

We believe, however, that the ZG national commissions, operating within the framework of the statute, will be able to cope with these problems.

The Improvement of Intraorganizational Work

Two basic documents outline this activity:

a) the yearly plan of ZG work for 1982;
b) the plan for the implementation of recommendations of the ZG Organizational Committee prepared on the basis of studies and analyses of the operation of union organizational structures.

The tasks emanating from these documents will be implemented in the following manner:

--recommendations prepared by the Organizational Commission will be presented in the fall during deliberations of the ZG Presidium;
--an assessment of the work of issues commissions is near completion. This assessment will be the point of departure for preparing the organizational bylaws and the working plans of these commissions during the second half of this year;
--instructions are being prepared for making a record of member records to include regular ZBoWiD members and charges as well as combatants not in the union;
--the preparation of an understanding concerning cooperation between the

ZBoWiD ZG and the Union of Former Professional Soldiers ZG is being coordinated;
--basic checks are being conducted by Organizational Division forces in seven voivodship boards--in Czestochowa, Gdansk, Leszno, Radom, Kielce, Tarnobrzeg and Walbrzych for the purpose of helping these boards to carry on union activity;
--instructions are being prepared for a reporting-electoral campaign in basic ZBoWiD elements and guidelines have been handed down concerning the structural organization of basic elements. Both documents have been approved by the ZBoWiD ZG Presidium;
--in conjunction with the PRL Sejm resolution of Law "On the Special Rights of Combatants," work on executive orders, being conducted jointly with the Office for Combatant affairs, is continuing. The draft of instructions for an exchange of combatant certificates for new combatant identification cards for regular union members and nonunion combatants has also been prepared.
--we have prepared a plan of ZG meetings for the third quarter of 1982.

The preceding items will be submitted in turn at meetings of the ZBoWiD ZG Presidium for discussion and approval.

We do not believe that matters standardizing the internal activity of the union create major problems; on the other hand, we do sense a lack of developed ties with the voivodship board bureaus and issues commissions in the area of exchanging experiences, including experiences of an instructorial-methodological nature. The information we have been receiving on the basis of reports from plenary meetings and from the presidia of voivodship echelons, as well as from telephone contacts, presents a one-sided, cursory view, which makes it difficult to sharpen the assessments of our own ZG.

This means that some voivodship boards are too late in reporting major problems, causing the ZG to intervene too late, to the detriment of particular organizations. An example of this situation and its consequences is that of the Gdansk ZBoWiD organization. The Voivodship Board of this organization acted ineffectively; it was not mature enough politically and socially to run the union and the damage that it did will take time to eliminate; it will also be some time before this organization emerges from its enduring stagnation. In March and June 1982 we initiated the appropriate actions to re-organize the Gdansk Voivodship Board; on 30 June [1982] the Voivodship Board Plenum will electe a new board chairman, who will take the necessary steps to revitalize the organization.

A similar phenomenon (although assessed differently) is occurring in the Presidium of the Voivodship Board of the Rzeszow organization. We are currently in contact with the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] and the voivodship authorities, and will take the appropriate steps in the near future.

In order to counteract these phenomena, the ZG Secretariat has prepared a list of those voivodship boards whose dwindling activity will cause them to be reevaluated in the second half of 1982. At the same time, depending upon their needs, we will give these boards basic help.

Verification And Intervention

During the first 6 months of 1982, more than 900 appeals reached the ZG Verification Commission, of which 800 were examined. The most complex cases regard establishing one's part in the resistance movement, imprisonment in Hitlerian prisons and one's share in the 1939 defensive war.

Despite the complexity of such cases, the decisions of the Verification Commission are solid. This is proven by the fact that appeals of the interested parties to the Supreme Administrative Court are not heard, and our decisions remain in force.

However, we continue to receive from 60 to 70 letters a week concerning cases of verification; we settle 10 to 15 appeals per day. It is thus evident that there is a tremendous increase in interest in having questions of verification clarified. Nevertheless, we observe a reduced volume of correspondence in this area directed to ZBoWiD head officials during the first 6 months of 1982.

Through 31 May 1982, 776 cases reached the Intervention Division. They concern such matters as damages for interment in camps, legal counsel in farm property settlements and housing, family and other matters.

Social/Daily Living Activity

Major social/daily living union problems were discussed and assessed at a meeting of the ZBoWiD Supreme Council Presidium and ZG in March 1982.

A basic question outlining the main direction of this activity in the first half of 1982 was the preparation of a draft law "On the Special Rights of Combatants."

The implementation of an assistance fund for union members who find themselves in difficult material circumstances is an important problem in the area of social affairs. Thanks to the steps we have undertaken to this end, we received 79.2 million zlotys for this purpose in the first half of 1982, or twice the amount received for this purpose during a similar period in 1981.

Despite this doubling of funds, we will still not have enough to cover needs. Thus, their distribution requires careful consideration, to ensure that those with the greatest need receive assistance.

Given the difficult material circumstances of some combatants, we plan to approach the chairman of the Council of Ministers with a request for additional funds for the fourth quarter of 1982, asking that last year's action of meeting indispensable needs in the face of the coming winter be repeated.

Urgent matters include the need to change the amount of special pensions, whose present ceiling is below the social minimum. We would like this problem to be resolved through the implementation of the provisions of a law dated 26 May 1982.

On the subject of health care and preventive treatment, we received 4,617 sanatorium referrals and referrals for treatment stays from the Office for Combatant Affairs. This does not meet the need however, and thus has a negative impact on the attitudes of a part of the combatant community. We envisage the gradual resolution of this problem through an increase in the number of MON assignments to sanatoriums.

The issues of care for the elderly, the handicapped and especially combatants who are alone, requires separate treatment. This refers especially to combatants living in rural areas and in small towns. We should do everything possible to avert such phenomena by organizing colleague self-help in ZBoWiD circles on the basis of total understanding of needs. We should inspire the local authorities and social organizations to participate in the implementation of this noble idea. The Voivodship Office in Zielona Gora achieved results from such inspiration. In 56 gminas of this voivodship, teams were appointed for the purpose of discerning needs and coordinating the activities of the organizations implementing those goals.

Similar initiatives are being implemented in Bydgoszcz, Jelenia Gora, Kielce and Opole voivodships. ZBoWiD organizations are taking an active part in these endeavors.

I also wish to inform you that approximately 16,000 ZBoWiD members received material assistance in the form of food and clothing packages during this period. Distribution was organized by voivodship boards in an understanding with voivodship committees of social assistance and other associations.

We expended a major effort on the awarding of orders and commemorative honors.

In the first half of 1982, the Council of State awarded:

--3,643 orders;
--4,506 Medals of Victory and Freedom;
--2,672 Partisan's Crosses;
--24,000 Medals "For Participation in the 1939 Defensive War";
--12,405 Warsaw Uprising Crosses.

Moreover, 65 honors "For ZBoWiD Service" were awarded.

All together in the first half of 1982, 44,836 orders, commemorative medals and organizational honors were awarded. The ZG is under the constant pressure of combatant opinion in this regard, especially in questions concerning speeding up the implementation of recommendations for honors of the type: the "For Participation in the 1939 Defensive War" Medal, the Medal of Victory and Freedom and the Partisan's Cross. These desires are indeed valid from the viewpoint of the delay in awarding them and the age of the persons who are to receive them.

A problem requiring urgent attention is the group of issues associated with the verification of combat honors awarded during the interwar period and the occupation.

Colleagues, there is yet another field of our activity to which I should like to turn your attention for a moment. That is the field of financial affairs. As you know, since 1 July 1981 we have been a self-sufficient organization. This means that all financial expenditures for basic activity are covered out of our own income and reserves. ZBoWiD receives funding from the Combatant Fund for social assistance alone.

Membership dues are a basic source of income. Last year, we obtained more than 58 million zlotys from this source. The scale of revenue from dues differs from one voivodship board to another, with the monthly average amounting to 10 zlotys in Katowice Voivodship, down to 5 zlotys in Biala Podlaska.

A number of voivodship boards are totally self-sufficient financially. They include Poznan, Katowice, Wroclaw, and Warsaw. However, some voivodship boards that have few members cannot cover indispensable expenses in their own areas and must be subsidized by the ZG. In 1981, 21 voivodship boards were subsidized for a combined sum of 2,342 million zlotys.

This situation will not change in 1982. While income from membership dues should increase in 1982 by 1,425,000 zlotys, due to price increases of goods and services (mail, telephone, hotels and the like) and an increase in employee wages, expenditures will increase to 106,130,000 zlotys, which is higher than 1981 expenditures by 13,377,000 zlotys. Both the ZG and voivodship boards will have to cover expenses out of their reserve funds, thus reducing these reserves considerably by the end of 1982. This will make it necessary for us to find additional income to balance the budget in 1983. The sources of such income may be:

a) an increase in membership dues, in the current situation an unacceptable course of action among the organizational membership;
b) revenues from new combatant identification cards;
c) State Treasury subsidies, which we wish to avoid;
d) the development of our own initiatives for increasing income based on such enterprises as the Katowice and Poznan examples.

The ZBoWiD Secretariat and ZG Presidium are assessing this siutation; the appropriate recommendations will be submitted during the second half of 1982.

Basic union activity for 1982 is covered financially. However, financial discipline must be maintained, i.e., rational management, restricting outlays to those that are essential and securing revenue from membership dues (which will be a basic source of financing of ZBoWiD activity).

Colleagues, we are entering the second half-year of 1982. During this period, ZBoWiD will direct a major effort toward basic planes of action emanating from the sociopolitical tasks of the country and the need for national rebirth, based on the program platform and the organizational principles of the Front of National Understanding.

The second basic plane of action emanates from the need to have a decisive impact on the attitudes of the youth community and the academic, scientific and plant production communities.

The third plane issues from the current needs of intraunion activity defined by the decisions of the Supreme Council Presidium and by ZBoWiD ZG resolutions, in which priority treatment will be given to problems associated with the further integration of the combatant community and to processes of developing social and political attitudes and actions taken to set in order union social policy.

On the basis of the above assumptions, it is proposed that we concentrate our efforts on the following campaigns:

1. In the area of ideological-political and propaganda activity, we shall impelment the tasks emanating from a resolution adopted at the 7 May 1982 plenum outlining upbringing and organizational work with youth. This resolution defines tasks of the Commission for Cooperation with Youth and the Historical Commission, primarily in the area of broadening direct contact with youth and the activation of Circles of Friends of ZBoWiD, especially in schools, plants and institutions of higher learning. In practice, we must inspire the work of the Circles of the Friends of ZBoWiD and cooperate daily with their aktiv.

The careful organization of the anniversaries and holidays falling during the second half of 1982 should serve this goal. This includes especially the commemoration of the Holiday of Polish Rebirth on 22 July, the commemoration of the 38th anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising, the 43d anniversary of September, Polish Army Day and the 40th anniversary of the struggle in the Zamojsc region.

Moreover, in October we plan to organize a session for the general public on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the renaming of the ZWZ [Union of Armed Struggle] as the Home Army and a session in December celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Peasant Battalions.

Another venture to be undertaken in November is a session for the general public devoted to the cooperation of the Polish and Soviet underground army in Podhale and the Nowy Sacz region.

2. In the area of integrating combatant communities:

a) by the end of September, work should be completed on the formation of ZBoWiD ZG national milieu commissions;
b) in the fourth quarter of 1982, we should prepare assumptions for organizing the work of the milieu commissions under those voivodship boards that have a sufficient number of milieus and are ready to organize independent milieus;
c) in the summer months of July and August we should finalize the makeup of the National Commission of the Resistance Movement, in an understanding with voivodship boards.

The preceding group of topics should be submitted at deliberations of the ZG Presidium in September-October 1982.

3. Concerning the setting in order of societal and social policy:

a) by mid-July 1982, we should prepare and send out to the ministries the ZBoWiD and Office for Combatant Affairs proposals in the area of benefits emanating from the 26 May 1982 law, which are to be issued by the ministries by the end of 1982 in the form of executive actions. The implementation of this task should be treated as one of the most important tasks in the second half of 1982;
b) we should undertake in the area of acquiring the additional funds indispensable for giving material assistance to those combatants who need it most, especially during the fall and winter.

4. In organizational activity:

a) in the fourth quarter of 1982, in accordance with the requirements of the statute, we should initiate a reporting-electoral campaign in ZBoWiD circles. This campaign will open activities connected with 1983 voivodship congressess of ZBoWiD delegates, and a National ZBoWiD Congress in 1984. The implementation of this plan will require the maximum effort of staff employees and the social aktiv, including the central aktiv, whose skills and experience we wish to utilize to conduct an efficient electoral campaign; instructions concerning elections to ZBoWiD circles have been sent out;
b) in the fourth quarter of 1982, we should prepare and initiate an exchange of combatant certificates for new combatant identification cards, both for regular ZBoWiD members and nonmember combatants. A meeting of ZBoWiD chairmen, to be held 1 July 1982, will be devoted to this matter.

Colleagues, we could not have resolved the range of problems comprised by the report without the daily help and commitment of the commissions and issues teams of our aktiv, which supported the activity of the ZBoWiD ZG during the first 6 months of 1982.

Please allow me to thank all commissions and the central aktiv for their efforts.

I wish to render special thanks to the Organizational Commission directed by colleague Kazimierz Switala, as well as to him personally for his maximum contribution to stepping up preparatory work on the draft of the law "On the Special Rights of Combatants" and for having it submitted to the PRL Sejm.

I thank the leadership of the Supreme Council Presidium, as well as those members of the ZG Presidium whose daily commitment bolstered the activity of the union in its resolution of its ambitious, sometimes difficult and complex problems.

Highlights of Discussion

Warsaw ZA WOLNOSCI LUD in Polish No 18 and 19, 24 and 31 Jul 82

[Two-part article by Opr. Mar. on the discussion at a meeting of the ZBoWiD Supreme Council Presidium and Main Board Presidium on 23 June 1982]

[No 18 24 Jul 82 pp 5, 6, 7]

[Text] The problems broached by discussion participants fall into three general areas. First: reflections upon and assessments of the combatant movement and union life in the past decade and during the period from August 1980 to December 1981 were given, as well as comments on current questions: the "Combatant's Charter" and problems of the community of disabled war veterans.

Second: reference was made to a subject of special emphasis in present social and ZBoWiD discussions--the upbringing of the young generation to respect the achievements of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] and to be won over to the ideals of socialism. Questions were raised concerning the responsibility of social organizations, institutions and the academic community to form the proper civic attitudes of youth.

Third: the deep concern of combatants over the current international situation was expressed; it threatens to disrupt the peace and security of European nations and the world. The role of ZBoWiD in the activity of the FIR, the International Federation of Resistance Movements, struggling for peace and disarmament, standing in opposition to the return of fascist ideology, was expressed. It should be added that the greatest share of the discussion was devoted to statements concerning the problems of peace, international ZBoWiD activity and contact with combatants throughout Polonia.

The course of assessments and reckonings was begun by the director of the Office for Combatant Affairs, Gen Div Mieczyslaw Grudzien. He reminded those assembled that as of June 1982, it had been 10 years since the PRL Sejm had established an Office for Combatant Affairs. During this time, the office has concentrated its efforts on the social problems of the combatant community. This was done in close conjunction with the combatant organizations: ZBoWiD the ZIW [Union of Disabled War Veterans] and the ZOZ [expansion unknown] of the PRL. As a result of our efforts to resolve the problems of these groups through the system, in 1974 a law was passed concerning providing for disabled war and military veterans, and in 1975 another law was passed increasing benefits for combatants and concentration camp prisoners. From the perspective of 1982, one may assess these laws variously, said the speaker, but there is no doubt that they emerged in large part to meet the combatant community's needs of the time. He likewise stated that were it not for these laws, it would have been much more difficult to prepare such a valuable document as the 26 May 1982 Law "On the Special Rights of Combatants." General Grudzien also cited other examples that he believed demonstrated that over the past 10 years, the need of those combatants who are in greatest need of material assistance have been met. In the speaker's opinion, the expansion of health

care for combatants, the construction of the Kombatant Sanatorium in Kolobrzeg and of several rest homes for the aged (despite considerably broader plans to this effect) and the awarding of a number of honors (if still not enough) are proof that in the past 10 years several crucial issues for combatants have reached a positive conclusion.

Close contact with combatant organizations, especially the ZBoWiD, was basic to many accomplishments. For example, the awarding of approximately 230,000 honors and orders over the past 10 years was possible only through the great commitment and action of regional ZBoWiD elements. In speaking of the "Combatant's Charter," General Grudzien expressed the opinion that it is a significant step forward by comparison with the 1975 law. Several years ago we could only dream of such a document, he stated. He likewise believes that the combatant law that has been adopted in Poland is also advantageous from the viewpoint of the resolution of the problem of care and assistance for combatants in other European countries.

In conclusion, M. Grudzien, as vice chairman of the ZBoWiD RN [Supreme Council], stated that ZBoWiD activity became more dynamic when M. Moczar and W. Sokorski were elected to the leadership. He also proposed that the ZBoWiD central aktiv be more involved in cooperation with the regional elements of the union.

Gen Div Franciszek Ksiezarczyk also alluded to problems related to the "Combatant's Charter." He said that the critics of this document are people who are anxious to destroy the unity of the union, to disrupt the particular combatant milieus and to oppose ZBoWiD members--disabled war veterans and other social groups and the like. Citing examples of such statements and the contents of letters addressed to the heads of combatant organizations, the speaker asserted that the move to deny the rights of disabled war veterans by amending a 1974 law that defines the rights and privileges of this community so that their current material needs are not met is wrong. This creates a bad atmosphere: there is the general view that the ZBoWiD has managed to force its issues, while the ZIW leadership cannot do this.

Emphasizing this issue, Fr. Ksiezarczyk stated that the unity of all combatant milieus on basic Polish issues is the order of the day. He also stressed the political and upbringing aspect of concern for combatants and disabled war veterans by the state. Concern for the participants in World War II is one of the factors of upbringing impact upon the young generation.

Witold Sokorski opened his statement by expressing the hope that the disturbing phenomenon of the coming into being of new combatant unions between August 1980 and December 1981, breaking down the unity of the combatant movement, would not be repeated. He proposed that the ZBoWiD attempt to make a comprehensive analysis of the mistakes made during the decade and to draw conclusions for the future from this analysis, as was done by the authorities with reference to party and state matters. The negative phenomena that aroused controversy and divisiveness were apparent and pointed out by ZBoWiD workers before August 1980. Mistakes have also been made since August 1980. The speaker noted, e.g., that the festivities

held for the naming of a bridge on the Torun Route in Warsaw after Gen "Grot"-Rowecki were not run by ZBoWiD but by nonunion combatants. This happened in spite of the fact that the milieu of Warsaw combatants who had worked with the community to get the route in order wanted it to be a ZBoWiD event. Instead, ZBoWiD representatives were not permitted to speak during this event. The initiators of the construction of the Warsaw Uprising Monument are also non-ZBoWiD colleagues, W. Sikorski emphasized, who are not always sympathetic to our organization. The same is the case with the opening of the Warsaw Uprising Museum initiated by the television media. We also made other mistakes in the past, the speaker stated, that had a negative impact on the course of events after August 1980. For example, the ZBoWiD ZW [Voivodship Board] Secretariat in Warsaw denied a PAX request to open a factory ZBoWid circle at the Inco plants. Later, this became the source of many difficulties. This leads to the conclusion that the ZG [Main Board] Presidium should collect data, analyze it and then draw conclusions for the future.

W. Sikorski's remarks likewise touched upon the atmosphere accompanying the adoption of a law dated May 1982. He stated that words of criticism are not always ill-intended, but are frequently spoken by those who do not have enough and are waiting until this document goes into effect on 1 January 1983.

The School and Youth

Halina Pietkiewicz brought up this subject from the ZBoWiD platform. She stressed that her many years of professional experience has taught her that a significant part of the responsibility for youth upbringing rests on the school and the teacher. The proper preparation of the young teacher for his upbringing functions requires much time and active effort by educational echelons, ministries, superintendent's offices and faculties of education and upbringing. The youth are the product of their school upbringers, of the attitudes they form and the models and ideals they transmit. H. Pietkiewicz addressed Gen Div Jan Czapla, vice minister of education and upbringing, who was present at the meeting, and asked him to take an interest in the matter of preparing the young teacher's cadre for pedagogical work at the proper level, with a sense of responsibility for the young people entrusted to them.

Thus invited to participate in the discussion, General Czapla stated that at present 450,000 teachers and 150,000 administrative employees work in education. "They have an impact upon approximately 8 million children and young people. Given the divisiveness and tensions existing in society, we must have a sensible, thoughtful attitude toward this professional community. Recently, the teaching occupation has been subject to perturbing reports of verification, which has not eased tensions. Actions in this direction have now been halted. I am in favor of maintaining calm among those who work in this profession," stressed J. Czapla. "A teacher who performs his duties well ought to teach even when he does not totally see eye to eye with socialism. On the other hand, we should part company unreservedly with those teachers who demoralize youth."

A thoughtful assessment of youth attitudes must accompany action based on the law and the principles contained in the Teacher's Charter. Discretion, consistency, law and order, and when necessary, radical measures taken against those who demoralize young people--these are the principles of action with regard to this professional community, J. Czapla emphasized. He also stressed that in addition to all activities undertaken by schools and educational and upbringing echelons in the youth community, the actual words of combatants, adults and experienced people are indispensable and necessary. The speaker gave examples of the sometimes tragic consequences of the neglect of upbringing among young people and the influence of enemy propaganda centers.

In conclusion, General Czapla reported on the efforts to create a National Commission of Former Soldiers of the Polish Army under the ZBoWiD ZG. This would group together the former soldiers from September, the PSZ [Polish Armed Forces] in the West, Polish groups sojourned in France and soldiers from the First and Second WP Armies. He stated that the plane integrating the combatant community is the conviction that patriotism and the sense of civic responsibility, not class or ideological views, were the determining factor in undertaking the struggle to defend the independence of the homeland during World War II.

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[Text] The problem of the threat to world peace led to a vigorous discussion at the meeting. The awareness that the state of the security of European nations and the world has worsened considerably during the recent period is very slight throughout our society. For many months we have been more absorbed in our own internal problems and the dangers to the social unity of Poles. It is significant that the combatant community has never lost sight of those problems whose scale reaches far beyond our own borders and the entire continent. Among the many ZBoWiD representatives who have frequently expressed their attitude toward, and assessment of, these negative phenomena in international life, Eugeniusz Szyra made a statement of special note. He gave an interesting interpretation of the methods and forms of implementation of the imperialist plans of the United States both now and in the past.

The speaker pointed out that doctrines based on a monopoly of the possession of nuclear weapons by the United States had already emerged by 1945, i.e., the doctrines of Truman and then Dulles. When the Soviet Union announced in September 1949 that it had begun to produce atomic weapons, the American monopoly was broken, and their insane plans to subjugate the world by atomic blackmail were halted. At present in the United States, it is often said that the failure to make the ultimate use of their then superiority in nuclear arms was inconsistent and a mistake resulting from a lack of decisiveness. These are the words of present higher U.S. Government officials and representatives of the military-industrial complex. In defining the present military-strategic doctrine, they speak of political, economic and military pressure. This is the purpose of the military bases scattered throughout the entire world, each equipped with nuclear weaponry.

The U.S. plan of strategy also included the idea of Israel's attack on Lebanon and the Palestinians, and the resultant opening of an American base in southern Lebanon.

The same function that Israel plays in the Near East is played in another part of the world by the Republic of South Africa [RPA]. They are so-called "insubordinate" allies, since the United States is trying to create the pretense that these states are acting of their own accord.

In the manner of Israel, the RPA now threatens Mozambique and Angola. Other countries, such as Pakistan and Taiwan, are also "insubordinate" allies. U.S. atomic bases have been built in Africa, Asia and Latin America, without their asking whether the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of these continents are ready to be consumed by the fire of thermonuclear war. The policy of atomic deterrence puts pressure on states that have chosen the path of socialist development. It is maintained and expected that they will also be overthrown by the armed intervention of the "insubordinates." It was only the British-Argentinian conflict that averted the incursion of Argentinian armies into Nicaragua for American interests.

We are not fully aware of the repetition of these measures and plans, stressed the speaker. One can cite hundreds of such examples. The most ominous of these is Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the physical attempt to destroy not only the soldiers of the Palestinian resistance movement, but also women, children and elderly people in refugee camps, which have now been turned into Hitlerian-type concentration camps by the Israeli Army.

But this is only the first attempt of the United States to present the world with a fait accompli that may end with the use of nuclear weapons. These weapons are found in Israel, the RPA, in Taiwan and in Pakistan.

Thus, there exists the great danger of the eruption of atomic warfare, not only as a result of the direct actions of the United States, but "per procura," by its surrogates--its allies. Polish society is not aware that this is intimately linked with the conviction of the American authorities that the neutron bomb may be used anywhere in the world, not only in Europe as a tactical weapon, as atomic artillery.

This ideology of conventional warfare with the use of nuclear weaponry is inculcated through the creation of land bases and the building of atomic submarines and airplanes armed with nuclear missiles.

The situation by comparison with the first years after the war has changed, however, and the United States cannot implement its initial intention of a nuclear strike with the full certainty that it will be victorious. It is a question of halting the plunge into an atomic war as a result of the use of nuclear arms by U.S. allies.

The struggle over averting the threat of nuclear war has already begun throughout the world, in the United States itself as well as in the FRG and France. The so-called Third World countries, which for many years appeared

to be outside the reach of the nuclear threat, are now a potentially endangered area due to the construction of nuclear bases there. The antiwar movement is also arising there.

This global war strategy of the United States must be countered by an international campaign for peace. The speaker proposed that the ZBoWiD react to this problem in its social-upbringing activity. The struggle for peace is now the most important task of humanity. All other issues have no meaning if nuclear war is to become a real danger. One cannot merely count on the antiwar activity of other countries, nations and societies that are involved in their own matters. The ZBoWiD should also have a share in this matter of importance both to the Polish people and to the peoples of the world, concluded E. Szyr.

Zygmunt Bieszczanin, who functions within the ZBoWiD framework as deputy secretary general of the FIR Bureau, alluded to the subject braoched by E. Szyr. He announced the coming FIR Congress and also stressed the achievements of the federation in the area of struggling for peace and disarmament. He noted that in recent years, the FIR often reacted against decisions of NATO and the United States leading to an escalation of nuclear armaments. At the same time, he expressed support for all initiatives aimed at preserving peace, including many Soviet peace initiatives. The FIR also reacted very strongly to the Israel's aggression against Lebanon, issuing a declaration on this issue.

Within the framework of the disarmament struggle, the federation has cooperated closely with other worldwide organizations of combatants and participants in the resistance movement. In 1980 at the world UNESCO Congress, a joint report was submitted concerning the psychological aspects of teaching in the spirit of disarmament. Recently another joint document was prepared by three international combatants' federations, to be presented before the United Nations. In this document, the combatants call for the preparation of a general program of disarmament; they also note the danger of continuing nuclear conflict. The speaker likewise reported on other forms of international cooperation in the combatant movement. He stressed particularly the activity of the FIR in the United Nations related to the mutual struggle for peace.

Z. Bieszczanin stated that Polish foreign policy, especially regarding questions of European security, finds great support among FIR workers and other combatants' organizations.

Seweryna Szmaglewska likewise referred to the address of E. Szyr. She stressed the fact that in the process of analyzing current events worldwide one cannot but think of the word "genocide." This word aptly describes not only Hitler's crimes during World War II. It is obvious, said the well-known writer, that the literary work of many people, based on their own experiences in Hitlerite concentration camps during World War II, participants in the struggle against fascism, is powerless, having little effect in terms of propaganda. Humanity lacks the strength and imagination to avert another nightmare of war that threatens the world.

The speaker devoted much attention to questions of our relationship to Polonia combatants. They afford much proof of their sense of self-sacrifice and their attachment to their mother country. Many of these men admit today that their fear of another war drove them out of the country years ago. Succumbing to the cold war psychosis, they left Europe for distant countries, convinced that the nightmare of war would not touch them a second time. Now they realize that one cannot run away from war, especially nuclear war. A basic issue at the present time should be the integration of Polonia combatants and the families of these combatants with combatants living in Poland, around the common goal of the struggle for peace.

Gen Franciszek Skibinski concentrated on the practical aspects of cooperation with Polonia combatants. Our task is to contine to win over combatants living abroad for Polish issues, he emphasized. Their example should influence the so-called "inflexible." We will not achieve this goal through verbal or written propaganda; on the other hand, we must make it financially possible for those combatants who wish to do so to visit their homeland. Existing foreign exchange regulations create a barrier, making a trip to Poland a ruinous venture for the combatant.

General Skibinski also referred to the currents of the discussion that touched upon international affairs. He said that he concludes from E. Szyr's statement that making the entire society aware of the contents and consquences of the Truman Doctrine that was in effect for many years, and which is also reflected in the Reagan stand, could have a very healthy influence on present divisiveness among Polish society.

After a careful analysis of those materials that are deliberate propaganda, that part of society which sees a solution for our problems in the present policy of the United States will be cured of their illusions, the speaker stressed.

As the meeting concluded, Michal Atlas, director of the PZPR KC [Central Committee] Administrative Department took the floor. The ZBoWiD is one of the few mass organizations that has come out politically unequivocally on the side of the people's state, he said. This is an organization that, in spite of severe conflicts and crisis phenomena, has preserved its identity, defending itself against attempts to divide it. The ZBoWiD was active, maintaining the line laid out by the party. This is not only due to the merit of the leadership and regional aktiv, but also because of the moral authority of rank-and-file members, people who have managed to overcome the political differences that divided them in the past, and have found their proper place in the complex Polish system of strengths and relations. The ZBoWiD has tremendous political capital that can be used at present to implement the issue that Poles agree is the basic one--finding a way out of the different situation. Highly acclaiming the quality of the discussion, the speaker stressed certain issues, including the link between the problems of care for combatants and political activity. It is also important for the party that people be won over not only by great slogans but by practical organizational work resolving daily problems. Concern for the elderly, who are often unable to take care of themselves, is an especially fitting and

useful activity. The speaker noted that many reclaimed buildings that are now in the hands of the Ministry of Health and have not yet been put to use can be used as homes for combatants or ZBoWiD sanatoriums.

Moving on to more general matters, M. Atlas stated that martial law has made it possible to implement many earlier planned reforms that had been blocked by political opponents.

Reforms that have been undertaken attest to the fact that we will not depart from the democratic road, for we have entered it not out of coercion, but through the will of the party, the speaker concluded.

The chairman of the ZBoWiD Supreme Council, Mieczyslaw Moczar, summarized the discussion. Assessing the past 6 months, he stressed that rational action was characteristic of union members. We have a deep understanding of the pulse of the nation, and we will not allow ourselves to be driven from the political-social course we have set for ourselves, he stated.

Referring to the discussion, M. Moczar defined the most important international problems to be stressed by the union in its activity. They include making society aware of the threats to peace caused by the rash policy of the Reagan presidency. In particular, we should expose the fact that peace has reigned in Europe for many years thanks to the existence of the strong bloc of socialist states. We need the organized action of societies and European states to preserve peace. The antiwar movement in many countries has come to life in conjunction with the Soviet Union's declaration that it will not use first-strike methods.

In speaking of the issues of Polonia combatants, the speaker recommended that ZBoWiD activity in this area be more strongly supported by our diplomatic outposts and the MSZ [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]. He also stressed the need for the ZBoWiD to renew its attempts to create good relations with combatants living abroad, since they have been weakened considerably in recent years.

Another proposal announced by the chairman of the ZBoWiD RN concerned the better utilization of television for propagandizing union activity and for having a more effecitve influence upon the younger generation.

The issue of the proper organization of social work for thousands of union members who are retiring also requires consideration and effort by the ZBoWiD. The speaker proposed that the ZBoWiD attend to the introduction of new forms of socially useful work for numerous experts who are union members and possess a wealth of knowledge and skill, but are not able to organize their own workshops after they retire. Likewise, ZBoWiD members who belong to the engineering-technical cadre should be involved in matters of technical advising for creative individuals, for inventors, who are not always able to penetrate the bureaucratic apparatus with their ideas.

Referring to the report presented at the meeting by M. Moczar, director of the Office for Combatant Affairs, he expressed the opinion that the course

of work of the office should be intensified and the officials of this institution should react to the needs of ZBoWiD members more actively.

The forms of cooperation with youth must be renewed. Many of them are outdated and should be scrapped; we should attempt a lively dialogue with the younger generation.

The ZBoWiD should become a haven for elderly and single combatants, giving them assistance and advice, especially now, in our difficult economic situation.

Stressing these problems, the speaker expressed the opinion that the ZBoWiD ZG has achieved a great deal recently, rejecting many unproductive measures. Only through careful [words apparently omitted] ZBoWiD organizational activity.

In conclusion, Mieczyslaw Moczar stated, the people's authority, our authorities may rest assured that they will always find solid support among combatants.

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CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES RCP MEETING ON INDUSTRY

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[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at the 20-21 working meeting on industry at the RCP Central Committee headquarters in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, I would like to discuss during this meeting the way in which the 1982 plan is being implemented and what has to be done to ensure its optimal implementation. Each ministry and county knows its achievements and where it is lagging; therefore, everybody knows what measures must be further taken in the fourth quarter to fully carry out plan provisions. It is now necessary to take all measures to attain all plan provisions and make up for everything in arrears wherever they may be and even to achieve a certain supplementary production in ministries where this is possible, particularly the Ministry of Machine Building, the Ministry of Construction Materials and the Ministry of Light Industry.

We must work in such a way as to fulfill all 1982 tasks. The fulfillment of all plan provisions can be attained by meeting all existing orders and eliminating everything in arrears. Moreover, just to give an example, there are higher requirements in the machine building industry if we take into account the programs to ensure the energy base and other special programs that have to be completed next year.

Generally speaking, exports to all countries must play an important part in implementing plan provisions. We must bear in mind that both the exports to socialist countries--under clearing agreements--and exports to freely convertible currency areas ensure our necessary imports for a normal production flow. We must pay particular attention to exports to convertible currency areas, without neglecting, however, the other exports. Our orders for the fourth quarter and even the orders that we already have ensure the attainment of the established program.

I do not believe I need to dwell further upon the fact that we must fully attain the production earmarked for export, beginning with November; it consists of items with a long production cycle, particularly in machine building. Concurrently, we must already prepare for the 1983 production. All this applies practically to all ministries. There is a certain cycle both in the manufacture of furniture

and in the light and chemical industries. We must launch and prepare the manufacture of next year's first quarter products on time, with all that that involves. While fulfilling our export tasks, we must also see to it that we properly attain the planned imports envisaged for all ministries. On this basis, we must aim to ensure the appropriate development of the entire production flow.

You are also familiar with the import provisions. However, I would like to draw attention to the fact that certain ministries and centrals have raised certain issues here which show that not enough responsibility is being shown in resolving problems. One must say that the ministries and centrals tend to bring up a number of accumulated problems and thus justify the failure to fulfill the plan instead of working to find solutions that can ensure the fulfillment of tasks.

Why do I refer to all this? Because it is inadmissible that the problems which must be solved by each ministry--no ministry may postpone resolving its problems--should be left unsolved and invoked actually to justify their poor activity. I ask each ministry--the Ministry of Supply, the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Foreign Trade--to work seriously to fulfill all plan provisions, both for exports and imports, in their entirety. Of course, we will and must continue to work to reduce imports. But what has been established must be achieved in order to ensure the normal flow of production.

We should pay more attention to using new materials in production, various spare parts and subassemblies and data and control equipment. Many import problems are connected with the failure to carry out programs to use new materials in production, something which leads to additional imports. Failure to take into production the new materials envisaged in the sectors of chemistry, metallurgy and even in machine building leads to additional imports.

I seriously draw attention to the fact that we must revise the production renewal and adaptation programs. We have enough programs; we do not need new ones but rather practical measures--per enterprise and central, down to the smallest enterprise, in all fields--to fulfill existing programs, even ahead of time.

Generally speaking, as far as small imports are concerned, the research institutes must pledge to resolve these problems through our small-scale production system. We have such institutes. I even visited them a few days ago; all have good equipment, some of it from our own domestic production, but the great part of it from abroad. They have imported all that is the best and most expensive but instead of using it and producing with it they merely gaze at it.

I have asked the ministries, centrals and party county committees to check and examine these problems in each enterprise. The Ministry of Supply, the State Planning Committee and the National Council for Science and Technology, in their capacity as specialized bodies, must check and ensure the manufacture of new products and resolve all other problems in this respect.

The government must also examine this problem at least once every 10 days. It is a very important problem. In the previous 5-year plan we had to import goods worth several billion dollars because of failure to carry out the production

renewal and adaptation tasks. Because we have failed to use and manufacture the established new material and products, we have had to resort to imports. I dwell on this problem because it is of prime importance in ensuring proper supplies and the smooth flow of production.

Another important problem I wish to deal with again is the quality of production. Generally speaking, we must admit that there is poor concern with quality and with ensuring the appropriate technical and functional level of machines and equipment. We must put an end to this inadmissible state of affairs. We have a powerful and well equipped industry; hence, we must turn out high quality products! In this respect we must proceed to be resolute in resolving the problem of ensuring test and control standards for each stage. No product should leave the factory unless it is up to requirements and has been submitted to appropriate tests from all viewpoints! We established this long ago. Of course, much progress has been achieved in this respect, but the problem has not been finally resolved. It is therefore absolutely necessary to work seriously to resolve all problems rapidly and to utilize all means available to us.

We must also strengthen quality control. No defective machine or equipment should leave the factory. One should not come up with all kinds of justifications when it is quite clear that what actually happens is indiscipline and disorder in the management of certain enterprises and in the manufacturing process. We must put an end for good to this state of affairs.

Although we also discussed this at the plenum and in other circumstances, I repeat now that we must take resolute measures to ensure that equipment and machines work properly and at the planned parameters. At the same time we must work to reduce, not extend, the time required for general and capital repairs, to produce spare parts and subassemblies in time and to properly maintain the equipment.

Some people talked here about difficulties in the hot [calde] sectors of machine building caused by deficiencies recorded there in the first quarter. As far as the hot sectors are concerned, we have enough capacities in both relevant ministries; we even have more than is required. But we must use these capacities at maximum, without interrupting the production process. To attain this, we must, however, take measures to introduce order and strengthen discipline.

It must be clearly understood that the problems of ensuring that units operate at full capacity and of reducing the number of rejects are two of the most important problems in fulfilling our plan tasks. I ask the ministries, centrals and county committees to take concrete measures to introduce order in each unit so as to ensure that each enterprise works at full capacity. The Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and control of the management of fixed assets, the State Planning Committee and other central bodies must check and ensure order and discipline in these sectors.

It is also necessary to take all measures to ensure proper technical-material supplies. Of course, the supply plan is based on consumption norms; in this respect we still have certain possibilities and we must continue to improve norms and reduce consumption. It is necessary to proceed from improving the raw materials and other materials utilization index.

We have already discussed this problem and established a number of concrete measures. We have great resources in metallurgy, where the metal extraction index is not adequate. Here we have great losses; hence, the large consumption of coke. The comrades in the metallurgy branch complained about this coke issue, but failed to tell us that they consumed 150,000-200,000 tons in excess of norm provisions. With 200,000 tons of coke they could have ensured reserves of over 100,000 tons. Therefore, they cannot talk here about failure to deliver coke but rather about nonobservance of consumption norms. This is due to poor administration and operation of equipment used in the production process, failure to work at planned parameters, failure to ensure that steel mills and furnaces observe consumption norms for each melting charge, failure to appropriately load furnaces and steel mills so as to utilize to the maximum all capacities, and failure to observe the metal extraction index. What the comrades in metallurgy have achieved is 2 percent under the extraction index. In actual fact this means that the consumption of coke and other materials had to be greater.

This is where we have to start. One must think of what measures should be taken by the respective ministry, centrals and enterprises as well as by steel and metallurgical combines to observe the norms rather than come and ask for more raw materials. What happens is that the comrades ask for coke and fuel instead of taking measures to observe consumption norms, which, in some cases, are 20-30 percent higher than in other countries. Therefore, we must put order in this field. We have had steel mills and produced steel for about 200 years. Therefore, it is high time to introduce more order and discipline in this sector!

In machine building we are also failing to attain the metal extraction index by about 2 percent, which means that we have a 100,000-ton consumption excess for each 5 million tons of metal. Likewise, some parts are cast and some materials are delivered in excess of establishing sizes, which leads to additional manpower and metal waste.

In the timber industry--I am referring to it because I have recently visited a furniture exhibition--we decided in 1977 upon a standardization of furniture and other wood materials for construction. The comrades in this field ignored the previously mentioned standardization and actually increased material consumption by 30-40 percent instead of reducing it. They built furniture that could not possibly fit the rooms that we are now building. We could easily reduce wood consumption for furniture by 35-40 percent. We have already established that consumption for light industry must be reduced--I will not repeat it here--and we must be sure it is. The same applies to other ministries.

I seriously draw attention to the need to fulfill the plan, something which requires that the raw materials and other materials utilization index and the extraction index be attained as well as savings by each ministry.

It is necessary for centrals and ministries to give serious thought to organizing themselves better. They know the raw materials allotted to them as well as the consumption norms; from these quantities each ministry must set up a reserve

stock of several tons of different materials which it can use whenever something happens or when imports from abroad fail to arrive. But almost all ministries exceed their consumption norms instead of working and taking measures--since it is up to them to do so--to go below envisaged norms and thus create a certain reserve. In metallurgy, if work were carried out at the minimum tolerance limit or close to it, we would attain scores of thousands of additional tons of metal.

We must discuss such problems and adopt measures to better administer the material base in order to ensure the established materials for the planned production of this quarter and next year and even to attain a certain reserve in each unit and ministry. The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Supply should not include these reserves in their calculations. The reserves will remain at the disposal of the ministry and, at the end of the year, at least 50 percent of such reserves may stay with the respective ministry as part of its stock for the coming year. Of course, at the end of a year we have to keep an account of these stocks; however, at least 50 percent of the savings accrued, and if necessary even more, should stay with the ministry or enterprise which acquired reserves by reducing consumption norms! Of course, this does not apply to those who acquired reserves through oversupplies. I would like to be clearly understood in this respect: such stocks can be attained only by reducing consumption over the established norms.

We should resolutely work to recover and reuse materials, obviously beginning with energy, oil and fuel in general. Here, too, we still have large consumptions; in enterprises we also have large technological consumptions. We must take immediate measures to observe and further reduce consumption in production, technology and other areas! This applies particularly to the Ministry of Chemistry, the Ministry of Metallurgy, the Ministry of Wood Processing and Building Materials, which are big consumers, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Transportation and accordingly to other smaller consumers, which, in the last instance, have a sufficiently large share in the consumption of energy, oil and fuel in general. There is still much potential in this respect. I seriously draw attention to the fact that appropriate measures should be resolutely taken to make order in this field. Of course, we must implement the decisions taken, but the National Council of Science and Technology, the Ministry of Supply, the State Planning Committee and the government must check the implementation of the programs to reduce consumption, primarily the programs in improving heat production and in the recovery technologies.

We discussed the question of recovering and reusing materials at the party plenum. This problem must become a central one for the Ministry of Supply and each other ministry, since thus we can reduce raw material imports by more than 50 percent. We have already imported these materials and it is not necessary to import them year by year; we must recover and reuse them. I ask the ministries, centrals and the Ministry of Supply to take resolute measures to implement the decisions taken so as to ensure that all used materials or products can be recovered. There can be no justification for failure to do this!

We must also resolutely proceed toward reconditioning certain materials--spare parts, subassemblies and so forth--which are also a very important supply source. This issue is also connected with the proper supply and functioning of units.

Concerning the good organization of production, we have also scored successes in this field, but there are also many cases where things are lagging; there are serious shortcomings in rationally utilizing and organizing the production flow. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to examine these problems since they determine the quality of products, the proper organization and implementation of established projects and the good organization of enterprises and technological processes.

We must seriously consider the question of organizing work and the production flow. We have even created an institute in this field and we also have a council for the organization of work and production, which do not do their duty, not to mention the trade unions and party organizations, with whom I will deal later. I would like now to just refer to the state bodies. In this respect, one should no longer speak about the need to carry out propaganda work. Each man just fulfill his duties at his place of work. We will not tolerate disorder! Generally speaking, we must take measures in all units to rationally organize and continuously improve the production flow and to eliminate useless transportation and storage. One must understand that the problem of proper organization of work and the production flow is a key one. Designers should also be actively involved in organizing and improving the production flow.

There are other problems connected with the proper administration of units; these are first of all questions of commonsense--as good managers, the people should like order and discipline in production. How can one produce good quality amidst disorder and lack of cleanliness? Such conditions instill from the beginning a spirit of neglect and indifference and have a negative impact upon the behavior of people, workers, engineers and everybody.

In connection with all these problems, one should adopt resolute measures. We must introduce order and discipline in all enterprises during the current quarter, both from the viewpoint of the production flow and of overall organization. If some measures require more time, then the process should continue, but proper management and cleanliness must be attained fast.

We should seriously concern ourselves with labor productivity. The situation is not very good in this respect; on the contrary, in certain sectors we have even regressed. I ask you to take firm action and resolute measures in this respect. The Council of Socioeconomic Organization, the Ministry of Labor, trade unions and ministries are all represented here; however it is the enterprises that must primarily pool their forces and act to introduce order and discipline.

What can one say about the states of affairs I have referred to thus far? This actually shows a lag in the professional and technical training of our cadres, workers, engineers and foremen.

The training in vocational schools has become poorer; some of these schools have even closed down. There is no sufficient concern with properly training manpower, checking the training activity, enrolling students and properly teaching them how to handle equipment with good results. In some sectors, such as mining, where modern equipment has been supplied, there has been no concern with properly training men how to operate the machines. This is happening in other industrial branches, too. Concern with training manpower has weakened all over. Of course, the main guilty parties are the respective ministries; however, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labor are also to be blamed, since they are responsible for training manpower. At the same time, each ministry is responsible for ensuring--in accordance with provisions of the development plan--the necessary manpower and adequate training for it. We must immediately revise, beginning with the current quarter, the problem of vocational schools. We must bring improvement and ensure the training of manpower at the level of requirement of the modern technology available to us in all sectors.

Second, it is necessary to revise recycling programs and the programs to raise manpower's skilled level; these programs must be implemented in each enterprise. It must become compulsory for all enterprises to organize--under the control of county or municipal party committees and on the basis of programs drafted by ministries--weekly evening courses to raise the qualification and promote the recycling of manpower, including engineers and foremen. Our foremen should really become production leaders from all viewpoints. One cannot raise the quality and technological level of production without properly trained manpower. This problem should be followed weekly. We should not declare ourselves satisfied with the mere fact that we have made certain recommendations. We should concretely follow the participation in advanced training courses. We cannot work, we cannot make progress without raising the professional training and technical knowledge of manpower and without organizing advanced training and recycling courses for manpower already employed in enterprises. This also applies to institutes and ministries. Actually, raising the qualification and training of cadres is today a key problem of our industry and all fields of activity. We must take all measures to appropriately implement our programs in this respect.

It is necessary to seriously concern ourselves with recruiting and distributing manpower. We must know which cadres are required by ministries and sectors and we must recruit and use these cadres and transfer them from one county to another, in keeping with our economic requirements. We cannot complain that we lack manpower in mines and other places, when certain enterprises employ more people than necessary and some counties say that they cannot ensure working places for everybody. We must ensure manpower according to the priority of problems to be resolved. We put emphasis on raw materials, energy, coal and oil; hence, we must primarily ensure all necessary manpower for these sectors.

Comrades, we must resolutely apply the new economic mechanism and increase economic efficiency. Due to the deficiencies I spoke about--high consumption, low productivity and the other above-mentioned factors--the profitability we

are recording is still low and many enterprises are working at a loss. Hence, we must link each person's income and earnings to production.

No one may continue drawing a guaranteed income without working. Guaranteed incomes depend on work! We guarantee a job and work for each person. If one does not work and does not produce, there will be no income! We guarantee each person's right to work and, on this basis, the salary established for the respective job. The salary cannot be guaranteed whatever the conditions. If a person does not work he will not have an income. An erroneous concept has been created, namely that 80 percent of a salary must be guaranteed, even if the plan is not fulfilled. Many are now content with just that, that is, with 80 percent of their remuneration. Unfortunately, even managers are beginning to be content with that much and are neglecting production. Therefore, we shall change the law. We will ensure a job for each person, will give him good working conditions, but his pay is linked to what he produces. There will be no guaranteed income for anyone who does not produce! This must be clearly understood!

We must begin to resolutely implement the principles of the new economic mechanism and appropriate measures to ensure that each product is profitable. By 1983 we must not have any unprofitable products. Under no circumstances should there be any nonprofitable enterprise. If we achieve what I mentioned before we will appropriately attain all our objectives.

The above pose serious problems for ministry leadership and central bodies, which must work even more responsibly. Each person must grasp that he was given the post of minister, deputy minister, director, general director of a central or some other position precisely in order to solve problems, and not to collect them and use them as an excuse for unfulfilled plans. We do not need ministers, deputy ministers or leadership cadres to supply justifications for problems. They are the ones who must solve the problems! This is equally valid for the State Planning Committee, for the supply ministry and for all the other central state bodies. I think that the time has come for ministry leaderships to seriously analyze those things, to draw the due conclusions and to take resolute steps to bolster responsibility for dealing with problems. Red tape and excuses must be eliminated!

We must establish greater order at centrals. We have organized many centrals and large ones, but they are not quite fulfilling their obligations. We decided that each central should receive a production plan. That means that the centrals must solve problems. These matters must be seriously examined and discussed, and the centrals must be run properly and in an orderly manner.

We must carefully review the matter of cooperation among enterprises and centrals. We should perhaps return to the system of cooperation councils among enterprises, or even subordinate certain horizontal industry [industria orizontala] enterprises to basic centrals--when the enterprise works at or only for the respective central--so as to eliminate the lack of responsibility still manifest in this area. There is too much dispersion. There are products on which 45, 50 or even 100 enterprises coöperate, and each points a finger at the other. In any event, we must devise some form whereby the basic enterprise or central should play a more active control role, and whereby cooperation can be closer. We must give

up the practice of so-called cooperation meetings; they are useless. We must devise an organizational way of solving problems. These matters must be examined because we must establish order and eliminate the current situation, which has become an impediment for production. However, regardless of how these problems will be solved, the leaderships of centrals, enterprises, managerial councils and general meetings must show greater responsibility. In keeping with the principles of self-management, self-administration and the new economic mechanism, they are fully responsible for organizing and supervising all activities. We must ensure that the provisions of the laws on the functioning of all leadership bodies are implemented and that they show a greater responsibility to fulfill the plan and solve problems.

To wind up these matters I want to once again stress the need to take all necessary measures to fulfill the plan and the production earmarked for export in all sectors, as we have decided.

I have not spoken much about foreign trade and foreign trade enterprises. This should not give the Ministry of Foreign Trade and its enterprises the impression that we are pleased with their work. There are great deficiencies--which we have discussed--in foreign trade activities. We must now implement the measures concerning the responsibility of the Foreign Trade Ministry and of foreign trade enterprises for fulfilling export production by the respective enterprises. A foreign trade enterprise that has a contract for a certain product must make sure that the product is manufactured as stipulated in the contract. The enterprise must regularly check that the manufacturer has begun working on the product in time to complete the export production on schedule, and that the prescribed quality is met. This applies to all export products, whether they are payed for in hard currency or under clearing agreements. Production and quality controls must be very strict for all products, without exception.

Large enterprises that have to cooperate with many enterprises should have their representatives at plants that work only for them and should supervise the production and its quality.

We must immediately begin to implement the measures that envisage that the consumer--i.e., the foreign trade enterprise--should supervise, check quality and ensure completion on schedule, so that exports can indeed be carried out satisfactorily.

True, we still have to have more contracts for this year's exports, but the quantities involved are not large. However, I repeat, with the contracts we now have and those that can still be concluded by 15 November, aside from products that are sold without contracts, we have the conditions to fully complete the tasks for these 3 months. And we must fulfill the production that is under contract!

We must begin contracting production for 1983, because we are in arrears. We have programs, and I will ask the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the productive ministries and foreign trade enterprises to begin resolutely implementing these programs and the tasks they have in this respect. From the very beginning of

the year we must secure the necessary orders for smooth production. This applies to both exports to socialist countries and in general to hard currency exports. We must take resolute steps along this line.

Similarly, I call your attention to the fact that as of 1 January foreign trade enterprises must begin working on the principles of the foreign trade law, which means self-management and self-administration. Each foreign trade enterprise will work on the principle of self-management and self-administration. Their incomes will be linked to fulfilling the established exports and imports. Noone employed in foreign trade will be payed unless he has fulfilled his tasks. What we decided about other enterprises is equally valid for foreign trade enterprises, as it is in general for all socioeconomic sectors. However, I particularly want to call your attention to foreign trade in this connection.

Comrades, we must begin resolute preparations for the 1983 plan. I have spoken about contracts, including domestic ones. Within 2-3 weeks all contracts must be signed for the entire year. We have a plan and know what is to be done. There will be no excuses! All contracts for the entire coming year must be signed so that enterprises can take the necessary measures to organize their production.

The general meetings must begin discussing these problems. I want to call your attention to the fact that no enterprise should hold any general meetings before the plan is known. The general meeting should not discuss generalities, but specific plan aspects and aspects of self-management. Wherever necessary and wherever the capacities are available, the general meeting should also discuss commitments and suggestions for supplementary production. The general meetings should also discuss exports and imports, as well as everything concerning new products. The general meeting should be a business meeting, not a formality. These meetings should be held not as an empty formality, but as a meeting of managers and owners. They must discuss how fixed assets are to be distributed and how socioeconomic activities are to be carried out, as each problem is dealt with. Naturally, we must take measures and solve all problems rapidly, so that all general meetings should be concluded by 15 November. The county committees and the ministries have received their plans, so everybody knows what he has to do.

All this raises very serious problems for the party county committees, town committees and enterprise party organizations. After all, the failings we brought up testify to very serious deficiencies in the work of party organizations, county and town party committees. The failings we mentioned here would not have occurred if the county committees and party organizations had not ignored them. All these problems reflect the manner in which the party organization fulfills its role as leader of an enterprise activities. The chairman of the working people's council is the party secretary. How does he work, how does the party organization mobilize the enterprise collective to fulfill the plan tasks?

The general meetings which will soon be held must seriously debate the situation in each enterprise with a view to improving activities. At the same time, we must establish resolute measures to improve party activities and to enhance the

responsibility of party organizations and communists in their respective sectors. This also applies to trade unions, youth and other organizations. They all must fulfill their tasks, particularly the trade unions, which have a very important role in organizing work, ensuring discipline and fulfilling production. It must be clearly understood that improving living conditions, increasing incomes and implementing the 12th congress program depend on the economy and on increasing production. Without this we will not be able to fulfill what we planned. This must be well understood by everybody. There must be greater discipline among working people and young people. We must bolster political and educational activities, which still fall short of our tasks.

I believe that before the general meetings all county party committees should organize a short, 2-3 hour meeting with the industry aktiv to seriously debate all those problems and the measures required to ensure smooth activities, to fulfill the plan and to hold general meetings. The county committee should be informed day by day about production progress, particularly for export production. I have the impression that comrades are thinking that since we have to focus on agriculture the problems of industry can be pushed to a secondary place.

We have capable party organizations. Together with management councils, technicians, engineers and the best qualified workers, they must establish collectives in charge of dealing with problems concerning the manufacture of new products, materials and so forth. They must not deal with just generalities. We must establish what new products are to be manufactured at each enterprise--as has been done in some counties, although the measures have not been seen through--and the first secretary should visit a different enterprise every day to see why a certain item has not been put into production or what stage has been reached in its production. Practice has demonstrated that scores of problems could be solved with the help of qualified workers much faster than ministry or enterprise leaders thought possible. We have good workers and foremen; we must take advantage of this fact and put them to work!

We must establish a more active and more operative spirit at all levels of the echelon and in all sectors. We must begin solving problems instead of seeking excuses for unfulfilled plans! I believe that we have all the requirements and can fulfill the tasks for this year in good conditions; we can fulfill the plan in all its provisions--including exports--thus laying a sound foundation for 1983.

As for investments, much has been said at this meeting about them. Resolute measures must be taken to deal with all the problems concerning the investment plan. In particular, we must complete investment projects designed to expand the basis of raw and other materials--in the chemical, metallurgical and other industries. Those are priority investments. Petrochemical and cellulose and fiber capacities are also priority. We will need a list of units in each county at which such investment projects must absolutely be carried out. The machine-building industry must work night and day and Sundays, too, to recoup what is in arrears in the delivery of installations for such investment projects.

Similarly, the machine-building industry--I am referring to both ministries--must ensure all the necessary equipment for commissioning new facilities, including fittings, valves and everything else.

Two things must be particularly kept in mind in connection with the commissioning of new facilities: installations must be commissioned on schedule, and testing periods must be shortened. The Council of Ministers must have a list of all commissioning schedules and equipment deliveries. People should work on Sundays, too. We absolutely must commission the facilities envisaged! Where there are problems, they should be efficiently solved! Everybody must understand that order and discipline are decisive for smooth activities in this area. No excuse will be accepted for not commissioning investment projects on schedule.

Comrades, I want to speak very briefly about a few agricultural problems. The sowing is almost finished; only about 23,000 hectares are left. Naturally, we must check and ensure that there are records everywhere on how the work was done, when the crops were sown, what kind of seeds were used and how deep the plowing was. We will check those operations. We require records signed by the manager of the agricultural machinery station, the team head, the engineer and chief engineer, and the unit leadership.

We must speed up harvesting. By the end of the month practically all harvesting must be finished, except for sugarbeets, which are to be gathered according to schedules, but certainly by the first few days in November. The rest, corn, vegetables--except for cabbage--grapes and fruit must all be brought in. All forces must be mobilized so that the crops will all be harvested, transported and properly stored by the end of the month. Corn cobs and everything else still in the fields must be gathered and the land cleared. We have sufficient means to complete all these operations by the end of the month.

Fall plowing must now begin, and fields must be prepared for winter. We have 160,000 tractors, of which at least 100,000 can be out plowing every day. We have about 115,000 plows, so we have tools with which we can plow at least 300,000 hectares daily in one shift. That means that all plowing should be finished within a maximum of 15 days. All the farmland that is to be sown next spring must be plowed in depth and according to prescribed conditions, including soil loosening using vibrators wherever required, as well as any other operations established. That means that all counties must finish plowing by 5 November. That will leave 60,000 tractors that can be used for transportation and for the rest of agricultural work. The work can be finished even earlier if it is organized in 1 1/2 shifts, let alone 2.

At the same time, as was decided together with the ministry, all counties must carry out drainage and deep plowing, on the model of Timisoara and Arad. We must help the people of Dolj and other counties to do so. Equipment must be utilized to capacity everywhere to carry out those operations and dig the necessary drainage canals. Work must be thoroughly organized and not left to chance.

Each county must fully complete the irrigation program. We have decided that in the coming years some 10,000 hectares will be irrigated in each county with local resources. You all have that program. Preparations for irrigations should already be in progress.

At the same time that the soil is plowed, it should be prepared for spring sowing. Fertilizer, muck from stables and everything necessary should be ensured for beets. The soil must now be prepared so that spring sowing can be done on schedule whatever the conditions. The land must also be prepared for sowing vegetables; the crops must be distributed and prepared so that the seeds can be put in on schedule in the spring. Generally speaking, all crops must be sowed in "softened snow," as it is said, i.e., at the end of February and beginning of March, for which preparations should already be in progress.

Everything must be ready this fall so that next spring the crops can be sowed on schedule regardless of the weather. The sowing must be reviewed in accordance with the plan on fall vegetables, particularly onions, garlic, spinach and so forth, and everything envisaged must be carried out. Measures must already be taken and work supervised so that all operations are carried out at the optimal time. The implementation of the program must be checked daily. Excuses for not carrying out the sowing will not be accepted from anyone in any county or any circumstances.

I want to briefly recall livestock matters. We must ensure the envisaged number of livestock, production and fodder. All facilities must be modernized so that tasks in the livestock sector can be properly fulfilled.

I have left the matter of agricultural produce for the state stocks to the end--not because it is less important, but precisely because I want to particularly stress it.

We must take measures to ensure state stocks of vegetables and organize storage so as to secure appropriate self-supplies of vegetables and other products. We must also produce more canned goods and put them on sale in stores, as well as pickled vegetables, cabbage, and so forth. According to the principle I discussed with the people of Bucharest--and with the communique issued in this respect--we will sign contracts with consumers; thus, people will no longer have to store large quantities of potatoes or onions at home--where they may spoil for lack of adequate conditions--but will instead sign contracts and, within the limits set, will receive weekly quantities or as much as they can store at home for one week. Thus, people will no longer need to buy potatoes or onions for 3-4 months, half of which may spoil and be thrown away. All counties must work according to this principle. Needless to say, this is something new this year. For the next year we will organize storage facilities and stock up on everything, including pickled vegetables, and will develop the production of semicooked foodstuffs. We have canteens; we must prepare many kinds of semiprocessed foodstuffs, thus making housework easier, reducing energy or fuel consumption and ensuring sufficient supplies. However, I will not now go into details, but just mention this matter.

Coming back to state stocks: although 90 percent of the corn has been gathered, the state stocks are over 50 percent short. By the end of October the entire quantity of state stock corn must be secured at FNCS [presumarly fodder plants]. The entire quantity of corn required for fodder must be set aside. Even when

the corn is not delivered to FNCS, it must be deposited at storage facilities in special cribs. We must secure all necessary fodder resources so as to be able to allocate cooperative members their rights. This year's production should permit us to exceed the planned state stocks. By the end of 30 October all state stocks must be complete, including the fodder one.

The established fodder norms must be observed. Recipes must be respected so that all the barley is not used up. The ministry and the livestock sector must seriously fulfill their obligations and supervise work so as to ensure sufficient fodder throughout the year.

The state stock is a priority task that must be fulfilled by 30 October.

Comrades, I will go back in brief to the matter of elections for people's councils, which must be thoroughly prepared. They must constitute an opportunity for discussing socioeconomic issues, town and village development and the order that must prevail everywhere with the masses, with all citizens.

On the eve of the party national conference we must ensure that all tasks are properly fulfilled. All the counties must come to the national conference with the plan fulfilled and even exceeded, especially in the area of raw materials and exports.

Similarly, we must take advantage of the 35th anniversary of the proclamation of the republic; in honor of it, we must mobilize all the people to implement the 12th congress decisions and this year's plan tasks and to prepare for 1983.

Once again I want to stress that we must intensify organizational, political and educational activities. We must place greater emphasis on order and discipline, and on the endeavors of party and state bodies to make each collective of working people and each citizen understand that the socioeconomic development of the country and the general well-being depend on each person's work.

We have all the requirements. In the spirit of our discussions, it is now up to us to resolutely and responsibly fulfill our specific tasks.

With that, I declare the meeting closed, and I wish you all good work! (loud and prolonged applause)

CSO: 2700/14

BRIEFS

SPILJAK POST—On Tuesday the founding meeting of the Commission for Development and for Cadre Policy of the Croatian LC was held at which Mika Spiljak, member of the Croatian LC CC Presidium, was elected president of the commission and Luda Radman, political worker in the Croatian LC CC, was elected secretary [of the commission]. Discussion at this first meeting of the commission showed that there is great interest in discussing how to answer the question of the party's effectiveness in associated work, and how to strengthen basic LC organizations in OOURs (basic organizations of associated work). [Excerpt] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Sep 82 p 12]

SENTENCED FOR HOSTILE PROPAGANDA--The Mostar district court sentenced Veljko Nikolic from the village of Lovrec near Imotski to 1.5 years in prison for hostile propaganda. On 14 August 1982 Nikolic brought into our country hostile propaganda material which called for changing the socialist self-management social order and destroying brotherhood, unity, and equality of the peoples and nationalities of the SFRY. On 15 August he tried to distribute this material, but did not succeed. Thanks to the organs of SUP (Secretariat for Internal Affairs) he was discovered and taken into custody. [Excerpt] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 25 Sep 82 p 12]

SENTENCED FOR WAR CRIMES--On Wednesday the Ljubljana court sentenced the war criminal, Vinko Telic, to 15 years in prison. The trial had lasted 2 months and the court found Telic guilty of two war crimes against the civilian population and one war crime against war prisoners. Telic committed the crimes as a member of a homeland defense unit. He was responsible or co-responsible for killing the activist Janez Hacet and the wounded partisan prisoner-of-war Feliks Speh, as well as for torturing and mistreating the prisoner Ljudmila Tropan in the Cerknica prison. Telic, who was arrested in October 1981 upon entering Yugoslavia at the Ljubelj border crossing, lived in Austria as an Austrian citizen and during the trial denied all the charges, although many witnesses knew him as a direct participant in the crimes. [Excerpt] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 7 Oct 82 p 12]

ALBANIAN REFUGEES--According to data of the Kosovo provincial organs, there are now 1,391 refugees from Albania living in Kosovo, Aslan Fazlija said. These have settled in 19 opstinas of the province. From 1948 to the present 5,587 persons have come to our country from Albania, 4,108 of whom had left by 1969, largely to Western countries. A number of these persons are seeking

to return to Yugoslavia but permission has been granted in only two cases. Fazlija stressed that in 1962 their integration and independence started on the initiative of federal, not provincial, organs; this was first done with funds from the federal budget and later with funds received from the UN for refugees. Up to now 109 families have been integrated. They have bought homes and property from 38 Serbs, 24 Montenegrins, 34 Albanians, and 2 Turks. There are 162 refugees employed in the province, none in a supervisory position. But 28 are employed under contract in education. Of the total number of refugees from Albania living in Kosovo, 31 have accepted Yugoslav citizenship. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Sep 82 p 4]

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2073

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BRIEFS

STATE FARM VISIT--Hundreds of workers of the Maliq agricultural enterprise in Korce District gathered today to celebrate the wheat festival. Through hard work and the application of scientific knowledge they had an abundant harvest. The planned yield of 57 quintals per hectare was exceeded on the 1,300 hectares sown with wheat and they produced 8,000 quintals over and above the plan or 12,000 quintals more than in the previous year. All sectors exceeded their targets. The best results were attained by the first sector, where 70 quintals per hectare were produced. Comrade Ali Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, had come to join in the festivities; he was accompanied by Minister of Agriculture Themie Thomai; Vangjel Cerava, AWP Central Committee candidate member, as well as local party and state cadres. A speech was delivered by Ligor Lisi, director of the enterprise. Comrade Adil Carcani also addressed the rally and was greeted with enthusiastic applause. He greeted those present in the name of the AWP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers and personally in the name of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved leader of the party and people. Congratulating the workers, cadres and communists for the high results attained, thus turning the enterprise into a very good example for all agricultural units in the country, he stressed the brilliant prospects to increase agricultural and livestock products. Those present then inspected the new spray irrigation system installed in one of the enterprise's sectors. [Text] [AU111657 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 10 Sep 82]

WHEAT-GROWING MEETING--The Ministry of Agriculture organized a national meeting on wheat growing in the Plase higher type cooperative in Korce District in connection with implementing the decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress on increasing bread grain yields. Taking part were chairmen of the People's Councils Executive Committees, directors of enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, vanguard workers from machinery and tractor stations, specialists, and workers from agricultural research institutions. Also taking part were Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Vangjel Cerava, alternate AWP Central Committee member, and other comrades. Agricultural Minister Themie Thomai delivered a report entitled "The Realization of Wheat Production Should Strongly Rely Upon Scientific Achievements and Advanced Experience." The successful work done this year in wheat production was pointed out during the discussions and examples of advanced work done at the Plase cooperative were given. The time limits for wheat sowing were set. Adil Carcani also spoke at the aktiv. After speaking about the good results in wheat growing this year, he emphasized future tasks in disseminating advanced experience. He pointed out the need to improve work in agricultural turnover, the systematization of lands, the construction of the irrigation and drainage network, increasing the amount of mechanization and other things. [AU121513 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2000 GMT 11 Sep 82]

CSO: 2100/3

KHRANOV DISCUSSES GENEVA DISARMAMENT TALKS

AU271710 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Oct 82 pp 1, 7

[Article by Nencho Khranov, special correspondent in Geneva: "What Lies Behind the 'Serious Approach' and 'Optimism'"--"The U.S. Stands at the Geneva Negotiations"]

[Text] Geneva, 21 Oct--Since the beginning of October the negotiations between the USSR and the United States on the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe, as well as on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons have resumed and are proceeding full swing, in Geneva--the European capital of the United Nations.

It is well known that both kinds of negotiations are being conducted behind closed doors and information is not easily leaking from behind the hermetically closed halls of the building of both missions situated on the avenue de La Paix ("peace boulevard"), not far from Lake Leman, where every Tuesday and Thursday the delegations meet. Nevertheless, hundreds of journalists are filling the press club of the impressive Geneva Palace of Nations and exchanging information daily. Here, at this "stock market" of news, the journalists are attentively following any sign likely to suggest something about these diplomatic negotiations, which carry such great responsibility. This interest also reflects the hopes of the worldwide public for success.

According to Antoine Bossard, the well-known observer of the daily journal DE GENEVE, "Despite the total silence reigning at the negotiations, there are things throwing light upon this new round." But who is throwing this light?

The Soviet Union firmly adheres to the agreement adopted on the confidential character of the negotiations. At his arrival in Geneva on 30 September 1982 for the resumption of the negotiations on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe, Yuliy Kwitsinskiy, the leader of the Soviet delegation, once more declared that in his country there is a desire to stop the growth of the increasingly destructive nuclear arms in Europe and that his country is striving to implement this goal with specific deeds.

The Soviet stand was also expressed in this spirit by Viktor Karpov, the leader of the delegation to the talks on the limitation of strategic weapons.

Quite opposite is the stand adopted by the United States. Washington has been doing everything within its power recently to advertise the "serious approach" and to demonstrate "optimism" about the proceedings of the Geneva negotiations. Through the newspapers, radio and television, Washington is insinuating that it is interested in arriving at a settlement. The deliberate "leaking of information" which plays an important role in the U.S. and West European press also serves this goal.

Those observers are right who see in this approach an attempt to resist the intensified pressure of the peace-loving public in both the United States and Western Europe to achieve success in Geneva by deliberately letting down a smokescreen behind which military preparations are being enforced.

President Reagan received the leaders of the two U.S. delegations--Nitze and Rowny--at the end of September and repeated his well-known instructions. Rostow, the director of the U.S. arms control and disarmament agency, made a "blitz" tour of the NATO capitals in Western Europe these past few days. His interviews appeared in the Paris daily LE MONDE and in the West German SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG. His task was to advertise President Reagan's well-known "zero option" which is aimed at the liquidation of all Soviet medium-range missiles without reducing even one unit of the U.S. and their allies' medium-range missiles. The U.S. delegation is insisting on this absurd position in Geneva and has not abandoned it for almost a year.

At his meeting with journalists in Bonn, Rostow tried to explain this ultimatum-like "zero option" of the United States in Geneva and he tried for the most part to prepare the public for the forthcoming deployment of "Pershing" and "cruise" missiles.

Particular emphasis is now being laid upon the need for "Western unity." The traveling salesmen from Washington assert that "Moscow will cede, but an unanimous stand of the NATO member states is now necessary." The U.S. administration is obviously nervous because it has not been able yet to overcome the hesitation of certain West European countries regarding the implementation of the NATO "double decision." This hesitation emanates from the strong desire of the public to foil such a decision. A primitive kind of logic is being used--either the Soviet Union accepts the "zero option," which is likely to produce a shift in the nuclear balance on the European continent to the advantage of NATO, or the new American missiles will be deployed, which again leads to the same purpose. It is, however, deliberately being forgotten that such actions will also produce adequate counteractions.

This ultimatum-like approach unmasks the messence of the U.S. aspiration to obtain nuclear superiority and to carry out its imperialist ambitions. As for the second part of NATO's "double solution"--the deployment of U.S. "Pershing II" and "cruise" missiles--the representatives of the antiwar movement in the FRG and in other West European countries are persistently pointing out the fact that these preparations are in full swing. Recently, Erhard Eppler, the well-known FRG social democratic figure and participant in the antiwar movement, declared on the subject of the Geneva negotiations that the United States is by no means interested in nuclear disarmament for Europe.

The stand of the United States on the so-called start negotiations--on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons--is uncompromising as well. In this case, too, the well-known Reagan option of May 1982, is one-sided and disregards the only possible basis of agreement--the equality and equal security of the partners. To demand a reduction of the basic Soviet ground strategic arms without an adequate reduction of U.S. strategic arms--submarine ballistic missiles, "MX" missiles, strategic bombers, and others--this is an unrealistic approach and is aimed at pushing the negotiations into a deadlock. Expressed in common language, this means to reduce only the excess in the Soviet Union, without touching upon that which the United States owns in excess. The Soviet Union will not permit the United States to obtain one-sided advantages; it will not agree to a treaty which aims at reducing the USSR strategic potential so that it becomes three times smaller than that of the United States.

The quest for one-sided advantages cannot be an effective method of work at the Geneva negotiating table. Teh tactics of procrastination and the demonstration of an alleged "serious approach" by the United States will not deceive the peace-loving public which is awaiting deeds.

CSO: 2200/11

CATHOLIC CRITICISM OF CHURCH'S 'WISDOM OF SILENCE' REPORTED

Vienna WIENER TAGEBUCH in German No 10, Oct 82 pp 12-14

[Article by Hans-H. Huecking: "Speechless Church? Catholicism and the Peace Movement in the GDR"]

[Text] Paul B., 22 years old, lives in Saxony (GDR) and is presently working as a hog breeder, which translates in the new GDR German as zoological technician and is still no profession requiring 12 years of schooling. Originally, Paul wanted to be a physician. But access to the university was blocked for the young Catholic because he refused to put his hand on the weapon that could have opened for him the door to medical school. Paul is a draft resister and--even worse--a pacifist who does not even want to serve as a "construction soldier", an attitude that is considered just as stupid by his coworkers in agriculture as by his fellow Catholics.

Socialist as well as Catholic groups have exerted intensive pressure on Paul--for his own ggod, to be sure. Socialist functionaries used the clenched fist, symbol of their power, to make clear to him: Your road leads to prison! Catholic church ofricials used folded hands, symbol of their helplessness and also their cowardice, to make clear to him: You must walk on your road alone, even in the GDR we are in favor of the state's right to military protection.

Thus far the report by the journalist Hildegard Luening, (Suedfunk Stuttgart) 181, on the case, perhaps not representative but nevertheless typical, of a young Catholic who as draft resister and pacifist has to sit alone among the diverse tendencies in the GDR: Left alone by his parish (and church) and socially isolated by the state.

Young Protestants of similar conviction have it simplier: They find at least understanding if not even active solidarity within their church. This marks an essential difference between the two large churches in the GDR: Protestantism as the "church under socialism", i.e., neither a ghetto existence with the sole intention to survive nor a gathering point for the opposition--and Catholicism as "the small flock", i.e., solidarity inside but absolute opposition to individual, social commitment.

At the present time, observers are discovering a growing unrest, even dissatisfaction among the Catholic population of the GDR. The reasons: The opposition to a peace policy and the silence on the part of official church representatives. Young Catholics especially who are looking for an answer turn, therefore, increasingly to the Protestant Church if they want to express their peace commitment. When in September 1981 the Paul B. mentioned above spent one week of his vacation working as a nurse in a Catholic hospital in Thuringia, he did not just want to follow the example of St. Elisabeth of Thuringia [Catholic patron saint of the needy] in the year of her 750th anniversary. By doing his voluntary hospital service he also wanted to explore what a social peace service might be like if the GDR should decide to grant its draft resisters an alternative of this kind to service as "construction soldiers." But this intention Paul could share only with some of his patients who happened to asked him about it. Otherwise his week-long service would have ended after 3 days. The superior of the hospital and its chief of staff made it unmistakably clear that they considered Paul's honesty as "political agitation" and that they could not tolerate this attitude in a Catholic hospital. The third week of his annual vacation Paul took in November, around the [official Protestant] Day of Penance, and he participated in the observation of Peace Week which unites Protestant parishes of West and East Germany under the motto "Make Peace Without Arms."

"Many Christians are offended by the 'silence' of the Catholic Church in the GDR, the silence toward the current threat to peace which can no longer be disregarded. Is this church 'still in the back woods'?" This question on the topic of peace was asked on 5 March of this year in a letter of the Action Group Halle (AKH)--a solidarity group of Catholic priests and lay people that was founded already in 1969 and has since then has made critical observations on the life of church and state in the GDR (see WTB [WIENER TAGEBUCH] January 1980). In an additional paper intended to be part of preparations for the AKH plenary session on 7-8 May, Joachim Garstecki, one of the spokesmen of, and a consultant in, the study group on peace questions of the GDR Federation of Protestant Churches, writes that the "uncertain feeling" especially among young people who believe that they stand alone in an "ethical vacuum" in the peace question, and are left standing alone by the church, is increasingly expressed by questions directed to the church itself. The Catholic Church is facing this situation "nearly unprepared."

Pressure from the Ground Level

Even though the topic of peace has been articulated with ever increasing urgency at the "grassroots level" during the past years in the GDR, and has found appropriate acceptance in the Protestant Church where it is also considered from the theological point of view, the Catholic Church seems to have preferred to go into hiding before this politically controversial question. The last time this matter was mentioned officially was in March 1981 in a pastoral letter by the Catholic bishops that mentioned, perhaps rather casually, the spreading of hatred by [government] propaganda and the necessity of educating for peace. In June 1978, the bishops had also expressed in a letter to Hans Seigewasser, then state secretary for church questions, their concerns in regard to the military training of high school students.

But this letter is an almost classic example of the differences in attitudes of Catholic and Protestant church leaders in regard to the peace question. Whereas Protestant churches address their parishes publicly and explain their concerns on government policies, the Catholic church restricts all this to the level of the Bishops' Conference. The priests might also be informed. This letter e.g., was sent to the clergy "in the Eastern part of the Berlin Diocese" with the explicit notation: "This letter is not meant to be read from the pulpit but can be used for appropriate instructional purposes for parents and students."

From the point of view of argumentation, too, this letter to Seigewasser is different from comparable measures taken by the Protestant Church Federation: On the one hand, state authorities are requested not to discriminate against students who do not want to participate in military training in schools; on the other hand, no mention is made of the problems created by the government measures in regard to community life, to the young generation's ability to deal with peace and conflict, to world-wide efforts for disarmament and political relaxation, and finally to the peace commitment of the church. Unmentioned and unanswered are the questions that are the inevitable result of military instruction in schools: What guarantees our security? What role does power play in a world full of weapons of extermination? Where are the priorities of mankind's survival? How is a climate of peace created? All these are questions which the Protestant churches in the GDR have asked for years, which they have submitted to their parishes together with thoroughly prepared discussion guidnelines.

Reluctance of the Catholic Church

In regard to the peace movement which has been spreading in the GDR since at least 1981 and has occupied continuously the synods and leadership of the Protestant churches, there has been not one official position from the Catholic Church, just a few statements on the question of peace, statements that have only regional--not inter-diocesan--application. However, they are a first, modest sign that the Catholic Church in the GDR has begun a new line of thought on the peace question.

Thus, the "Pastoral Instructions for Priests to Prospective Draftees." published in the spring of 1982 by the Dresden-Meissen Diocese, contains concrete details on how to prepare young people for military service, and on the situation of the "construction soldiers" as well as the law of 7 September 1964 on draft resistance--copies of which are difficult to obtain in the GDR. But again, these instructions are meant explicitly for priests only: "We want to point out urgently that these instructions may not be lent out or passed on."

A series of sermons published in the time before Easter 1982 by the Erfurt Bishop Joachim Wancke for his diocese deals most lucidly with the situation in the GDR. Here we have perhaps the most openly expressed opinion of any

Catholic bishop in the GDR. Wancke criticizes "the intensive education for defense and defense readiness," which tries to make everybody believe that "we must defend ourselves continuously." It is irresponsible "if we are always told that we have enemies; if enemies are always included even in children's games."

He sees a "great danger for peace" in the fact that there is "a concentration of power in the hands of a few people" and that the opinion is spreading that "force is an appropriate way to reach a beneficial goal," whereas the way of Jesus is that of disregard for force. And the bishop defends those who plead for the establishment of a "civil service alternative for military service"--the kind of service that is discussed as "social peace service" in Protestant church circles in the GDR: "We would like to speak out very clearly against the idea that plans of this kind, which originate from an honest peace commitment, are a priori attacked as illegal or anti-constitutional or as coming from the enery."

Nevertheelss, Bishop Wancke too sticks in the end to the line which so significantly separates the Catholic Church from the Protestant Church: "Our concern is not with questions of social policies or with meddling in such questions, but rather with peace and with out contribution toward securing and strengthening peace. And this is not simply a matter of social or political considerations but also a matter of the Christian way of life"--as if the two, as Wancke himself makes clear, could be separated from each other.

Action Group Halle

It is the Action Group Halle--not recognized by the bishops as a church group--which alone makes suggestions on how to avoid a nuclear war, which gives theological reasons for the Christian peace service, reasons that go beyond statements on individual ethics, and which recommends to the church to move out of its self-imposed blind alley through ecumenical cooperation. In an unusually sharp statement, decided at the plenary session in May, the AKH accused the church that it is "incapable of a commitment for peace" because it is caught up "in the concern for 'problem-free' relations with the state and in church building and restoration projects that at times have embarassing aspects." As a "small flock" the church has chosen--except for citing occasional quotations from applicable documents of the world-wide church--the "wisdom of silence;" the "concern for its own identity" is an obstacle to its peace commitment. To refuse to accept this challenge, however, means" to deny coresponsibility for the creation."

The statement continues that only unconditional dealing with politics, an action method that meets with "deep-seated resentment" in the Catholic Church, can put the church in a position where it can "approve a good policy without becoming its 'amplifier' and criticize a bad policy without incurring the suspicion being opposed to the system. Because the Catholic Church in the GDR does not have this unconditional attitude, it can today do neither the one nor the other."

The AKH also criticizes the church's reluctance "to give an indication of a serious commitment to peace action in conjunction with the other Christian churches in this country." The peace commitment of Protestant churches is even "often looked at by Catholics with suspicion, is criticized indirectly as opportunism and, at the same time, as a superflous burden on state-church relations. This attitude the statement considers worse than unecumenical

because it weakens the credibility of Christian peace commitment and peace service in society. Therefore the AKH suggests that all GDR churches put peace discussions in their mutual contacts on a firm foundation and try to arrive at joint statements and actions. In doing so they could catch up with, and encourage, a movement that is already bringing together the Christians of all confessions in the GDR on the "foundation" of their churches.

Theology Students Drafted

How well founded and necessary this AKH suggestion is, is made clear not only by the growing number of young Catholics who refuse (armed) military and reserves service but also by the fact that for the first time now theology students of the Erfurt Seminary have been called up for service in the NVA. Although the GDR does not in principle recognize any exception from the draft, it has been customary that after the physical examinations theology students were excused from service in the armed forces because of "health" reasons. Two candidates for the priesthood from East Berlin, who had already refused to serve in the armed forces, therefore also refused to do alternative service in a "construction unit." Therefore, they can expect a prison sentence of at least as long as the duration of military service, i.e., one year and a half.

The Catholic Church in the GDR as a whole can thus no longer restrict itself to give practical support to peace on a small pricate scale within family and parish. Today, in 1982, the question must be asked seriously what the Catholic Church in the GDR (not only here, but here just the same!) has ever contributed to the goal that Catholic Christians (not only they, but they too, just the same!) have learned to look at the question of war with a completely new attitude.

8889
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INTELLIGENCE SERVICE APPROACHES TO FRG UNEMPLOYED REPORTED

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 1 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Horst Zimmermann, datelined Bonn, late June: "State Security Service Recruits Unemployed as Agents: West German Employment Ads Are Being Systematically Evaluated in the GDR--Initial Contacts Through Cover Firms"]

[Text] The GDR espionage services' "Main Administration for Intelligence Collection" (Ministry for State Security) and the "Intelligence Collection Administration" (Ministry for National Defense), maintain large offices whose staffs are employed exclusively to read the "positions wanted" ads in all major West German newspapers and to send what appear to be interesting employment offers as bait for eventual espionage recruitment. According to the findings of West German security authorities, the recruiters have intensified their exploitation of the employment situation: "They are betting on the chance that people who have been without a job for a longer period of time will be so pleased at the prospect of employment that they won't take too hard a look."

The offers come from a succession of ever new firms--sometimes from the "Bureau for Technical Research and Development," sometimes from the "Institute for Information and Statistics," at other times from one which styles itself "Allinterest." These firms all have one thing in common--they exist only on paper.

Recently, when a newly graduated production engineer was looking for his first job, a "Muehling Industrial Consultants" firm responded to his ad, offering "long-term, recession-proof employment in the Federal Republic in the research and development sector." the man was invited to an interview at the East Berlin hotel "Stadt Berlin." The interviews always take place in hotels, since the firms simply do not exist. The young engineer thought the meetingplace somewhat odd, yet went to East Berlin anyway: after all, he had been offered a job in West Germany.

In the course of the interview, it was stated that the "Muehling Industrial Consultants" could, for the moment, only offer him part-time employment. He was advised therefore to look first for a position in the development section of a West German firm. Later he could become the highly paid director of the West German liaison office for the "industrial consultants."

The engineer--like most job applicants who have been approached in this manner--reported the incident to the West German counterespionage authorities whose officials told him, "The economic system of the GDR does not allow such firms as industrial consultants." Only a very small percentage of West Germans who have received such employment offers from the GDR, have embarked on the adventure. Occasionally, however, the offer is also backed up by heavy pressure. Expenses are reiumbursed for the trip to East Berlin, though on the receipt is recorded "for materials provided." Then follows the extortion: "If this receipt should fall into the hands of West German authorities..."

The recruitment espionage trainees in the Federal Republic has, in recent years become a sticky task for GDR intelligence services. The successes of the West German counterespionage service and the police have recently torn large holes in their network of agents. Filling the gaps has come to be an increasingly difficult task: many of their old tricks no longer work, having become all too familiar.

Along the "Gold Coast" there are still attractive young women who approach scientists and the employees of important firms, as well as equally dashing gentlemen who court the favor of single women, especially secretaries. Following the spectacular incidents of recent years, most of those persons who would be vulnerable have been generally sensitized to such risks. Not even an amorous interlude at the Leipzig Fair is any longer a sure bet for extortion. One West German businessman, threatened with the possibility of pornographic photos being sent to his wife, told his blackmailers: "My wife will certainly be pleased with the exciting photos."

The recruiters have therefore had to switch more and more to subtler methods. A particular favorite is an "exchange of thoughts among colleagues" on the occasion of a visit to the GDR, usually on the most harmless of pretexts. One of their newest tricks is particularly dirty: "I was given your address by chance," writes a purported woman student to West Germany. Out of this evolves a usually "private" invitation to the GDR. If the pen pal should fall in love, then the GDR secret service is already one step ahead. The fiancee cannot, of course, leave the country--unless her boyfriend performs a few services in advance.

The recruiters are also interested in West German citizens whose work may not bring them any insight into valuable or secret information. Remarked one security expert, "Their motto is: 'Even the smallest chickens drop manure.'" The newly recruited agents are often expected only to "check out" other persons who are of interest to the GDR secret services. For some forms of espionage--the discovery of character weaknesses or opportunities for blackmail--agents are frequently used who have been infiltrated into "mixed firms" which are co-owned by Soviet bloc firms. The "mixed firms" have also become active in banking and insurance, where they are in a position to gather useful data for recruiting West German nationals.

In recent years the number of successful indictments for treason, disclosure of official secrets and espionage activity has increased steadily--from 323

in 1977 to 556 last year. The resulting elimination of East bloc agents has apparently been the reason for the East German recruitment on such a grand scale so as to be able to build up new networks. The only comfort to be taken from this is the fact that the great majority of these recruitment efforts have been detected--usually because the persons approached have informed the authorities.

9878
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FUNCTIONS OF YOUTH ORGANIZATION LEADERS OUTLINED

East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION in German Vol 35 No 7, Jul 82 (signed to press 14 Jun 82) pp 3-8

[Unattributed lead article: "ABC--The Tasks of the FDJ (Free German Youth) Functionaries of the Basic Organizations']

[Text] The FDJ Secretary

He is the political leader and bears the overall responsibility for the work of the FDJ collective. He makes sure that all functionaries take part in the leadership of the FDJ collective and that the resolutions of the next higher FDJ executive are implemented, which means the study of the resolutions, the executive setting down its own measures after collective consultation, and their enforcement throughout the entire collective. He also makes sure that systematic and smooth work is done along a long-term working plan, the substance of which is determined by a campaign program as decided on; he ensures through regular personal conversations the contact with all young people in his domains, promotes political discussions and assesses the thoughts and actions of the members and young people; he ensures the participation in conferences and training by the next higher executive and informs it about results, experiences and problems in his FDJ collective. He confers constantly with the party leadership and ensures the cooperation with the executives of the other mass organizations and the state executives in accordance with legal regulations. In subdivided basic organizations, he ensures the substantive and organizational preparation and implementation of the instructions and orientations from subordinate executives, especially from the group leaders.

The Deputy

The deputy represents the secretary of the basic organization when he is absent. He bears a special responsibility for appropriate organizational and cadre policy in the basic organization, the political and organizational preparation and implementation of monthly membership meetings and other events, the matters of organizational policy in the membership movement of the basic organization (keeping the membership file, checking it against identity cards and, regularly, with kreis management), the orderly collection of dues according to statute (checking regularly the state of collection and handling the funds of the basic organization), the statistical reports to kreis management, and the selection and training of the cadre. He sees to it that the best FDJ members are delegated to take courses at the schools of the association and thereafter are properly assigned.

The Agitprop Functionary

He is responsible for the political mass activity in the basic organization. Among his tasks is to propose measures to the executive for the study and analysis of resolutions, to provide the functionaries with argumentations on topical political events, to prepare substantively and organizationally and conduct talks about gaining the "good knowledge" medal (closely working together with the propagandists on this), to promote the keeping and preservation of revolutionary traditions and organize events (meetings with veterans, forums, roundtable discussions, Urania lectures, "leader rendezvous," "party secretary rendez-vous"), and to ensure attractive publicity.

The Cashier

He is responsible for the receipts and settlements of membership dues. He also is responsible for that every member is listed in the register and pays his membership dues up to the 8th day in a given month at the rate set down by statute, that every member buys at least one special stamp every 3 months and pays dues to the WFDY once a year, that dues are conscientiously recorded and the executive is regularly informed about the state of collection, that the membership meetings are used for checking membership books and making collections, that collections are settled punctually with the next higher executive, and that special basic organization operations (donations, collections, bazaars) are financially controlled and settled. In subdivided basic organizations, the cashier hands out the stamps for dues well ahead of time to the cashiers in subsidiary organizational units, gets their monthly accounts together and accounts for them to the next higher executive.

The Control Post

The control post is a member of the FDJ executive and takes part on its mission and in close cooperation with the Workers and Farmers' Inspectorate and the trade union's workers control post, in controls undertaken in his own responsibility or jointly with other control organs and aimed at industrial or territorial main points of concern, and in central control operations which, limited in terms of time, concentrate on economic main points of concern. In subdivided basic organizations the FDJ executive appoints a control posts staff which has the task to prepare control assignments, to present them to the basic organization executive for decision, and to organize these controls. Its chief is a member of the basic organization executive and of the Workers' and Farmers' Inspectorate commission. In basic organization executives with three members, one executive member assumes the tasks of the FDJ control post.

The Functionary for Socialist Competition

He mobilizes the FDJ members and young people for the fulfilment and targeted overfulfilment of the national economic plan. It is his task to see to it that topical problems in the economic activity of an enterprise are explained in the collectives and that information is constantly made available on the status of plan fulfilment, to submit to the FDJ executive proposals for the plan and competition documents in an enterprise or combine, and exercise FDJ influence on plan preparation during the plan discussion, to prepare in substance thematic

membership meetings on matters of economic development (January/February), to see to it that the youth brigades and performance comparisons among them are conducted (jointly with the trade union and the state executive), to see to it that existing youth brigades are reinforced and new ones are set up, to promote, jointly with all other agents, the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow, to enhance the proportion of young people with scientific-technical achievements, and to consult with the state executive on measures for assigning youth projects, especially from the science and technology plan. He represents the FDJ executive on the enterprise fair committee. He makes sure that occupation competition is conducted as a regular feature of the working people's competition. He analyses the outcome of occupational competition and proposes to the chief of the basic organization measures for further conducting and developing it. In basic organizations of vocational schools, the executive chooses the "functionary for socialist occupational competition."

The Functionary for Tourism

He sees to it that tourism is used as a still more meaningful leisure-time activity and for becoming better acquainted with our homeland and with the friendly socialist countries. He organizes interesting tourism activities and heads the enterprise commission "youth tourist." He sees to it that his collective gets opportunities for domestic and foreign travel and that all capacities are fully used. To that end, he works together with the "youth tourist" kreis commission. He sees to it that many FDJ collectives take part in the tourist mass campaign, "My homeland--the GDR," that travel to the Soviet Union, other friendly socialist countries or beautiful parts of the GDR is made available as reward for the best FDJ collectives and members, and that firm relations develop further with partnership basic organizations in friendly socialist countries and that measures are prepared for the exchange of youth delegations.

The Functionary for Culture

He concentrates on providing a firm place for art and culture in the life of the FDJ basic organization, on organizing events in the basic organization that meet the young people's needs for information and sociability, dance and entertainment, on assisting the managers of the youth clubs, on further promoting individual artistic activities and guiding the cultural policy and artistic initiatives of the FDJ in the basic organization (the young talents movement, the FDJ song movement, the friendship gallery and so forth), on bringing an influence to bear on the cultural life in the youth brigades and assisting them in preparing and implementing their culture and education plans, on establishing friendly relations between the basic organization collectives and young artists, and on ensuring the cooperation with industrial and territorial cultural institutions and extending the contacts with artists and creators of culture, discos, youth dance groups and the managements of culture groups, ensembles, choruses and FDJ choirs.

The Functionary for Pioneer and Sponsorship Work

He has the responsibility for a substantial and exciting organization of sponsorship relations with the pioneer and FDJ groups in secondary schools. He makes sure that the basic organization executive issues measures in support of the FDJ basic organization and the pioneer friendship at secondary schools and regularly checks their being fulfilled, that the FDJ collective assumes sponsorships for pioneer groups, that FDJ members run the "Under the blue flag" pioneer circle, and that FDJ members, together with pioneers, work in clubs and commissions and on staffs and manage work and interest communities.

The Functionary for Defense Education and Sports

He is responsible for the molding of socialist defense motivation among the young people, for their conviction and their ability to protect socialism and for their willingness to make sacrifices for the protection of our fatherland. That requires being able to assess the young people's thoughts and attitudes on national defense, to analyze them and draw inferences from them; to draw up, in concert with the GST, the armed organs and the FDJ central executive committee, proposals for effective defense policy and sports activities in the basic organization; to run the Hans Beimler Contests and to make sure that 9th and 10th grade pupils attend defense education and the boys of 9th grade, the defense training camps; to develop the kind of political activity which will make many boys opt for the officer or NCO careeers; to provide effective political-ideological work in the FDJ applicants' collectives; to send off, in a dignified fashion, young people starting their military service and keep in constant contact with them while they serve. On the basis of joint sports programs between the DTSB of the GDR, the FDGB and the FDJ, he is responsible for the various sports activities in the basic organization. To that end he makes sure that an annual plan is prepared containing all sports activities in the basic organization and coordinated with the FDGB and DTSB executive committees in the enterprise, that FDJ and DTSB contests and championships are organized, and that children's and youth Spartacus Festivals are prepared in his sector.

The Functionary for Scientific Work (Universities, Colleges and Technical Schools)

He is responsible for FDJ activities in the scientific field, for politically directing the students' contests and the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow movement, for assigning FDJ practical year missions to the students, their taking part in youth projects and science study circles, rationalization and design bureaus, to solve tasks from the science and technology and the research plans in universities, colleges and technical schools, and for cooperation with basic FDJ organizations in industry, agriculture and other facilities that promote socialist cooperative efforts.

The Functionary for Socially Useful Activity, Study and Sponsorship Work (Polytechnical and Expanded Secondary Schools)

He proposes to the FDJ executive measures on how a creative study atmosphere is to be developed, and on how the FDJ can meet its responsibility in polytechnical instruction, during vacations and in forming sponsorships for work

collectives in industry, agriculture and other facilities. He is responsible for an ongoing analysis of learning efforts within the groups, for proposals on improving the learning efforts (sponsorships, study groups, technical circles and others), for keeping in touch with the functionary for pioneer and sponsorship work on the board of the sponsorship collective, setting down joint measures for organizing sponsorship work, and the organization and accounting for the outcome of such efforts, for heading the campaign, "School--FDJ Project No 1," and the assignments in beautifying the school and improving the study conditions, for organizing assignments in the movement, "More Beautiful Towns and Communities--Join-in," for aiding and helping work collectives when assigned in pupils' production brigades and in recreational and work camps, for accounting for the results and analyzing the effectiveness of the work, and for helping and supporting the group pioneer leaders.

The Auditing Commissions

Auditing commissions are volunteer control organs which help implement the resolutions of the SED and the youth association. Their work is based on the FDJ statute and the working guideline for the activity of the FDJ auditing commissions. They are elected in basic FDJ organizations with more than 300 members by the delegates' conference and made up of five friends. The auditing commission is accountable to the delegates' conference.

The centerpiece of its work are controls on the suitability of the labor organization, the regular collection and accounting for membership dues according to statute, the implementation of the FDJ study year and the effectiveness of agitprop materials, the work done with verbal or written petitions, recommendations, suggestions and criticism, the work done on the organizational materials of the association, e.g. the membership file, FDJ documents, or statistics, the work of the volunteer enterprise commission, "Youth Tourist," the implementation of the economic FDJ initiatives, the appropriate utilization of the basic organization's financial and material assets, including the "young socialists' account," and of funds available from the youth promotion plan, and on abiding by the statute in working with all members and regularly directing and training the basic organization functionaries.

A test design has to be prepared for every control and be confirmed by the auditing commission. It contains the objective, the main points of concern, the deadlines and the names of those who take part in the control. For certain repeats in the checking, designs of the next higher executive may be used. Materials and documents in the basic organization (as the campaign program, the executive work plan, the plan for the FDJ's economic initiatives, designs for the FDJ study year, and others) are carefully examined, and personal discussions are held with FDJ members and unaffiliated youths. When the control is finished, first an oral analysis is made and then a written report. that report is then conferred on in the collective, ratified, and analyzed jointly with the basic organization executive.

The chairman of the auditing commission is responsible for the preparation, conduct and analysis of commission conferences, the work done in the intervals between conferences, the production of the semi-annual work plan, the contact with the kreis auditing commission, and the meeting of deadlines.

Constant close touch between the chairman of the auditing commission and the basic FDJ organization executive is important. Along with the main concerns of the auditing activity they then also discuss personnel matters concerning the auditing commission. All auditing commission members have to be drawn into the control activity and constantly be further trained in political-ideological and in methodological terms.

5885
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IDEOLOGICAL INDOCTRINATION IN YOUTH ORGANIZATION EXPLAINED

East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION in German Vol 35 No 7, Jul 82 (signed to press 14 Jun 82) pp 9-39

[Unattributed article: "ABC--Directing the Political-Ideological Work in the Basic Organizations"]

[Excerpts] The Daily Political Discussion

"Because our political-ideological work is aimed primarily at enabling the workers class and all working people to better exercise their power, it is part of practical party work that communists, wherever they are, confidently talk with the masses, explain party policy to them, and help them clarify all those issues and problems that move them" (Erich Honecker, "SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress").

Keeping Up the Discussion

Also in the youth association nothing can replace the daily political discussion with the FDJ members and all adolescents. The young generation in our country is politically interested and highly educated. It wants an open word, seeks and needs the confident discussion in its political organization. Wherever young people work, study and live, political issues are discussed every day. In these days one mainly talks about how the strengthening of our socialist fatherland and of peace can be made secure. The focal point is placed on the question how we can support the Soviet Union's peace proposals. Through conscious, honest and disciplined work, through selfless efforts on behalf of the armed protection of socialism, every young person can make his contribution to turning down the imperialist confrontation course.

Especially through daily political discussions many topical problems and issues can be clarified and the possibility arises for defining positions and shaping attitudes. We dodge no question. We have a party-minded, frank and comradely answer for each question. Every FDJ member should learn to realize that everything that is necessary, correct, good and fair to our cause also is necessary, correct, good and fair to himself (cf. FDJ Central Council Status Report to the 11th FDJ Parliament). The daily political discussion demands of us, of all FDJ functionaries, always again concretely to explain the tasks assigned by the 10th SED Congress in their relevance to youth issues and to make the implications for our daily conduct evident. For that, one must of course know the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress and of the 11th FDJ Parliament.

Political argumentation starts at headquarters. There the thoughts and actions of the young people are analyzed. There one confers on the focal points and objectives for political discussions with youth, and it is being set down how our arguments can rapidly get through to all.

FDJ Agitators

Many basic organizations have FDJ agitators: active FDJ members or young comrades with a firm class standpoint who gained respect in their work or study collective through fine achievements and a party-minded stance, who keep up their discussions with youth and have expert, effective and persuasive arguments.

FDJ agitators are partners of the functionary for agitprop. He draws them into actually designing the wall-newspapers, the organization of youth forums, Red Rendezvous and newspaper shows and into working together with industrial broadcasting and the plant paper. In many places regular weekly meetings among the agitators to exchange opinions and experiences in the topical political situation have been found most useful.

FDJ Executive Tasks in Cultivating and Preserving Revolutionary Traditions

"Politics is history occurring right now. If one wants to understand the nature of politics, one must seek to get close to the nature of history" (Ernst Thaelmann).

Important aspects in the activity of our association ever since the founding of the FDJ have been the study, cultivation and preservation of revolutionary working class traditions, dealing with the history of the SED, of our fatherland and of our youth association, and the maintenance of monuments and the setting up of traditional sites. That familiarizes more and more FDJ members with the lessons of history and with the magnitude of the successes achieved in our country under working class party leadership; it expands the socialist image of history and deepens socialist historical consciousness.

Our aim is to make all young people aware of that their efforts on behalf of the shaping of the developed socialist society are a historic obligation to previous and future generations. What has been accomplished in our fatherland is the outcome of tough class struggles; it is well worth defending it against any enemy.

The following tasks bear the major emphases:

--Every functionary ought to study Erich Honecker's autobiography, "Aus meinem Leben" (From My Life), the "Geschichte der SED" (SED History), and the "Geschichte der Freien Deutschen Jugend" (FDJ History). Throughout the whole youth association we intend to produce more chronicles, contributions and the like out of our own FDJ kreis or basic organization and give access to the results in brochures, on the youth pages of local or plant newspapers, in wall-newspapers, in exhibits and traditional showcases, at youth forums and membership meetings for as many young people as possible.

--Meetings and encounters, the conversation between generations--such vivid dialogue FDJ members and pioneers hold with veterans of the working class party, heroes of earlier revolutionary struggles, of the antifascist resistance struggle and of socialist construction, are an irreplaceable source of historic knowledge. Through these meetings we want to instill in all FDJ members and pioneers respect for the veterans of class struggles and labor and encourage partnerships, cordial contacts.

--Through contesting for a name or working under the sign of a revolutionary honorific, we gain access to the time in which the model was at work, and attitudes and traits of character can become more familiar which also are the measure of our own daily conduct. As "name donors" one can select personalities from the territory, the enterprise, the enterprise group, or from the circle of activists during our country's socialist construction.

--As many memorial and commemorative sites of the revolutionary struggle of the workers movement, and of the antifascist resistance, and cemeteries for fallen Soviet soldiers, have been visited and attended by FDJ and pioneer collectives, we should now also use traditional sites of the labor youth movement, the FDJ and its Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization for the good of our collectives. In the traditional showcases and corners of the FDJ basic organizations and pioneer friendships, along with documents and research studies on our own history or that of our revolutionary model, the SED's red banner of honor with the pictures of Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck on it has been given a place of honor.

--We use jubilees, anniversaries and high points from the history of the German and international workers and workers youth movement and of the FDJ and its Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization to draw, through emotionally effective events, parallels to topical problems, such as the struggle for peace and for strengthening our fatherland. Among others, we use the approaching 65th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution, the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, and the 100th death anniversary and the 165th birthday of Karl Marx.

To lead successfully the movement for the vivid preservation of the revolutionary traditions, we must draw general conclusions from the best experiences. We want to make constantly more intimate especially our cooperation with the committees of the antifascist resistance fighters in the GDR, the commissions for research on eastern history, and the care commissions for meritorious party veterans under the SED executive boards, the Urania boards, the universities, colleges, technical and expanded secondary schools in the territory, as well as our contact with proven and committed former functionaries of our association.

FDJ Tasks in Socialist Defense Education

Socialist defense education, an inseparable element of communist education, is aimed at the formation and reinforcement of the knowledge, skills, traits and attitudes that enable every young person to exercise his right and his honorable duty to the protection of peace and of the socialist fatherland.

Discussing military policy problems and the class struggle of our time is regular procedure in the political work of each FDJ collective. Each FDJ executive should be aware that socialist defense education also instills love for work and a moral-ethical, patriotic and internationalist stance.

--We confirm the historically proven truth: socialism and peace are one because socialism liberates the working people from exploitation and suppression, needs peace and defends it rigorously.

--We reinforce this realization: the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the ever closer cooperation among the states and armies of the socialist military coalition are the firm foundation for the collective protection of peace.

--We develop the following comprehension: due to the aggressive policy of imperialism and NATO's arms buildup course it is necessary to strengthen that defense capability on behalf of safeguarding peace and of favorable conditions for our fatherland's further social development.

Among the initiatives and results of the "comradeship-in-arms week" was the thematic membership meeting held under the slogan, "Peace must be defended, peace must be armed." It demonstrated how correct it is to pay much attention to the variety of political-ideological work in the basic organizations and develop further the ideological steadfastness of all boys and girls by means of constant political discussions.

On the following matters the executive should always focus there:

--What affects our young people with regard to the military protection of socialism?

--How are positions revealed in personally attending socialist defense education operations?

--What are the FDJ members' positions on the military profession, on voluntary extended-term service or with respect to friends who committed themselves to a longer term of service?

In our practical work we concentrate on providing interesting test opportunities for all boys and girls, differentiated in terms of age-groups. For the protection of our home each young person is needed as much as for the all-round strengthening of the GDR.

The FDJ's Hans Beimler Contest and Defense Education

According to the guidelines from the FDJ Central Council, the idea of the Hans Beimler Contest is to help form the youths' socialist defense motivation, to attract the best qualified boys to the military profession and to develop the physical capability of all boys and girls. Hans Beimler staffs have proven themselves which, through close cooperation with the GST pedagogues and sections, make sure that the contest gets organized in accordance with the growing interest

in military policy discussions and the matters of socialist national defense, the 8th grade boys' and girls' zest for experiences and test situations, and the increased demands made on physical capability and on dedication.

Always keep in mind how all the various elements hang together: defense policy work, contests in defense sports, endurance hikes. The Hans Beimler Contest also is to be used to explain the concern of defense instruction, whereby to develop the readiness among all our friends to attend theoretical and practical training with awareness, discipline and high dedication.

Political FDJ Influence on GST Premilitary Training and Defense Sports and on Civil Defense Units

FDJ executives at the expanded secondary schools and in vocational training bring an influence to bear on familiarizing all our friends with the purpose and objective of the GST's premilitary training and defense sports. Deliberately attending and seeking good training results in the GST then reflect an individual's defense readiness, which makes it part of active FDJ work. In the FDJ collectives' campaign programs much should be made of seeking good training results and acquiring the GST's achievement medal. The best FDJ members are, at the start of the instruction and training year, summoned to join the FDJ activists groups of the training units. They mobilize all friends for high achievements, bring an influence to bear on the contest, and also feel responsible for the intellectual-cultural life in the training camps. We intend to raise further consistently the FDJ executive initiatives for the defense education and defense sports activity of working youth, especially in the youth brigades. Many girls and young women make a contribution to national defense by actively taking part in the GDR's civil defense. We are exerting more of an influence through FDJ activists or agitators to achieve exemplary training results in the civil defense units.

FDJ Applicants Collectives for Military Professions

The main way in which the FDJ influences the career preparation of a new military generation is the political-ideological training and education effort in the FDJ applicants collectives for military professions. FDJ executives pay special attention to those career officer candidates who want to become political officers. They are purposefully drawn into organization work and charged with FDJ functions. The applicants assist in the "friendship" pioneer maneuvers and the FDJ's Hans Beimler Contest, take an active part in defense education, and acquire their first leadership qualifications in GST premilitary training.

(References to FDJ tasks in ensuring professional military replacement on long term, in resolution K 27/52/81).

5885
CSO: 2300/16

EDITOR OF CATHOLIC PAPER OPPOSES SEPARATISM OF BASIC COMMUNITIES

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 22 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Ference Magyar, editor-in-chief of UJ EMBER: "It Is Not a Question of Battle"]

[Text] "What is unfolding in Hungary is one of the most original and interesting practical developments in Europe." This is what F. Mitterand, president of the French Republic, said of us before his visit to Hungary. Many interpreted this statement as the necessity for some type of justification by the head of a capitalist country for first visiting Hungary out of all the socialist countries. However, the words of the president of the French Republic comprised an objective and felicitous observation towards us: the good reputation and credibility of our country has spread to the different parts of the world.

I believe it is totally understandable that those in whose hearts the love of country dwells alongside the love of the Church are unable to suppress a sigh: if only we could say the same about the state of the Hungarian Catholic Church--that the restructuring, renewal and development occurring in the domestic Church since the Council are also original and worthy of attention.

Those who sigh in this way also feel that many obstacles stand in the way of the desire for the Hungarian Catholic Church to have a "good worldwide reputation" and to be considered original and interesting by others--because what we are dissatisfied with is totally different from what, for example, certain Western European churches are dissatisfied with. For us, "original and interesting" represents one thing, and it is again something different which arouses the interest of thos circles. A list of "interesting" items could easily be assembled from the titles of articles concerning us which appeared in the Austrian, West German and French press during the past few years.

/We should immediately add that, in general, what is worth mentioning about the internal life of the Church (in its transformation, renewal and entire structure) does not occur clamorously--but also not in secret--nor with self-advertisment or the flashiness of window displays, but silently and seriously as the seed sprouts from the soil and the fruit ripens on the tree./

Nowadays, as we approach the end of the second decade following the Council, we can read more and more retrospective examinations and summary analyses about the results of the Council's reforms. Among these are extremely condemning judgments such as that of the British Rosemary Haughton who considers the Council outright "destructive" because it destroyed an old order and did not replace it with a workable new one.

The task of Vatican Council II was not to discard Jesus as the cornerstone or to erase the decisions of previous Councils from the pages of ecclesiastical history. The two thousand year-old Church wished to redefine itself in the light of present-day circumstances.

If we judge the results in light of the experiences gained only during the past twenty years, it is truly provoking that the initial momentum of the Council's reforms were exhausted by the end of the sixties and the hope of renewal desired so much by so many is diminishing even in the ranks of the elite. The causes for this are being sought by many in many places. It is easiest to agree with those who see the causes for the sudden standstill in that the Council dealt predominatly with organizational--structural and doctrinal--questions. Prompted by a radical turning point in the era, it attempted to align the relationship of the Church to the present-day world, but it hardly dealt with the question of religion itself or the practice of a religious lifestyle. It is true that the Bishops' Synods wished to compensate for this quickly realized deficit, but without much success. Along with many other outstanding Catholic thinkers, Council experts and practical theologians, Karl Rahner also observed this one year ago at the 50th anniversary of the Austrian Pastoral Institute when in his ceremonial address he asserted the lack of a modern strategic pastoral plan for the universal Church.

/"The universal consciousness of mankind--said Rahner--has arrived at the stage of careful planning of the human future. In the knowledge of this new theoretical and practical awareness of humanity striving for unity, the Church must also plan its future in a new way and in harmony with world developments. Precisely for this reason, there is a need for a global and active pastoral plan for the universal Church."/

There were parochial churchs in Europe which, after World War II, continued where, in fact, they had never left off. The Council found them in a position where they could almost immediately begin implementing the reforms. At that time, we first had to create peace and order in the internal life of the parochial churches, we had to contemplate how we could replace our lost institutional system in whose absence the implementation of the Council's reforms seemed so hopeless. Our priestly recollections [?], our seminaries our Catholic press and publishing, our eight Catholic high schools and our hesitantly and arduously developing religious instruction had to be prepared for new tasks--because, at the time, our storehouse of means consisted almost entirely of these. This is not an excuse, but we must not forget this fact when we felt dissatisfied with the results. Neither can we boast today that our Catholic institutional system had significantly expanded since then; however, we learned--and must continue to learn--to live better and more effectively with that which exists.

/If there is anything which is really a scarce commodity in the life of the Hungarian Catholic Church--even from the viewpoint of the natural and programmed secularizing processes--it is a conscious, well thought-out and effective planning towards the future of religion and religiousness. Instead of temporary and seemingly successful manipulations and tactics, we need pastoral strategies, a short summary of which has already been described many times. This is the transmission of the Hungarian Christian heritage to the new generation. Without wishing to be complete, we emphasize a few details of this crucial task./

THE PRESENTATION OF CHRISTIAN TEACHING TO THE NEW GENERATION NOT AS A LESSON BUT AS A TRUE MESSAGE OF JOY THROUGH WHICH MAN FINDS AN ANSWER TO THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS OF LIFE. Doctrinal (dogmatic) teaching is extremely important for laying the foundations of faith, but in the personal life of modern man--especially of the youth--the stories of Jesus and the experiences of meeting with Him definitely influence religious conduct, the understanding of a religious lifestyle and the realization of religious consciousness. (Those parents who even today take family religious instruction seriously can attest to this, and it is their experience that the teachings of the Bible stories have the greatest impact of developing personalities.)

THE UNIVERSAL VALUE OF CHRISTIAN CULTURE TO HUMANITY. Not only in the past but also in the present, the Church could act as a cultural factor. In the past few years, it is as though we had relegated ecclesiastical culture to museum display cases and the provinces of historic preservation and folklore specialties. In general, although perhaps certain parts are disputable, we consider the study of Laszlo Dobzsai on the condition of Church music rather noteworthy. (Contemporary cultural currents as reflected in the music of the domestic church. Culture and Community, 82, 1-2.) Although the study deals with the question of Church music, it emphasizes something very important at the same time: the culture of the Church must develop harmoniously and must continue to interact with general self-education and public education. Ecclesiastical music and art precisely illustrate how Church culture can enrich universal human civilization as long as it does not retreat into the ghetto. Nor should we restrain ourselves from the decision once and for all to eradicate those harmful tendencies which--let us not deny--still draw us to subculture, kitsch and sugary, flashy trash.

THE CHURCH MUST REGAIN ITS ORIGINAL ABILITY TO CREATE COMMUNITIES. The various communities of the Church--among them, those that are called small communities or base communities--always had a large role in serving the Church's endeavors towards rebirth. We do not mean to say that our bishops--as the bishops of other countries--would not understand these necessities and would rigidly refrain from working towards them. But it would be a grave mistake to believe that nowadays, the only and exclusive possibility for the Church in the area of community creation is the small community, with small community activities which are not directed towards the inner workings of the Church.

As Laszlo Dobzsai says in his above-mentioned study, "The true community builds onto something that stands above it, and embeds its members into it.

A community dies when it exists for itself or is constructed from itself and its members." Relating this to the situation of the Church's small communities, the justification for the existence of the small communities is only acceptable if they serve the larger community. Working towards common values and interests within smaller units can never dissolve the unity of the Church. But those aspirations which are associated with personal ambitions and desires not only destroy unity but dissipate the common good and moreover, through fanning prejudicial emotions, recruit--to use Dobzsai's words--troops, cliques and fraternizing groups. The rousing of emotions toward recruitment--whether it be through the written or the spoken word--is, in any case, always revealing. For example, on a pilgrimmage of several hundred youths, a demonstration against the person of a prelate could be revealing because at times like these, group behavior becomes not a vote for persons but represents the taking of a stand on an issue. The issue in this case is the Holy Mass which the pilgrimmaging youths consider the most sacred issue of the Catholic Church, not a group issue or an opportunity for demonstration.

Recently, the Spanish bishopry also took a stand on the issue of small communities that operate outside the framework of the Church, reject the jurisdiction of the bishops, are hypercritical (denunciatory) toward Church leadership, weaken the unity of the parochial church and exhibit sectarian independence regarding certain Christian teachings. (In Spain, approximately 1,300 base communities are in operation, primarily in the large cities. This condemnation was directed to 36 percent of them.) It is interesting that by no means did the Western European Catholic press attribute such sensational importance to the position taken by the Spanish bishops as it did in our case, making a storm in a water glass seem like the raging of a devastating hurricane. They also raised a question which aroused suspicion: in whose interest it it to disrupt the unity? The answer is obvious: in now way is it in the interest of the parochial church. Then--according to them--only one possible answer remains: it is in the interest of the state.

The person who imagines that at the present stage of national social, political and economic development, amid the current international tensions, it could be a "state interest" to have internal struggles raging within the various churches or, for that matter, between them, with confrontations between priests and hierarchy, laity and priests and church and state is either not familiar with or seriously underestimates the judiciousness of the leadership of the present-day Hungarian state. This would contradict the principles and, till now, the successful practice of federated policy. How far would the leadership of state and society go with an ally that is divided from within?

/When we talk about alliances, only a maliciously hostile attitude could interpret this as an ideological alliance, a collaboration created to blur the fundamental differences of the two systems of thought. Alliances exist for what is done for the universal benefit of man, country and humanity./

If here--or anywhere else in the world--the Church joins a coalition that promotes the common good and takes this task seriously, it witnesses its

loyalty to the teachings of Jesus Christ, to itself and to its original mission. This is also evident from the teachings of the Council, and the same can be found in the texts of the encyclicals Pope John Paul II--and his immediate predecessors--addressed to the hierarchy and faithful of the Hungarian Catholic Church. And where the papal encyclicals and exhortations touch on the renewal of the parochial church and its internal management, our government considers an internal affair of the Church.

He who believes that Hungarian Marxist atheism has undergone some sort of mystical internal transformation, has given up, unnoticed, its fundamental ideological premises and is now already reborn from top to bottom, applauding a quantitatively and qualitatively growing Church and some sort of religious renaissance, would be deluding himself. This is out of the question! However, we must recognize that the greater fraction of our country's population is religious and that this situation will not change from one day to the next.

This, however, critically depends on us. Considering how to plan our future and fulfill our mission in passing on our Christian heritage are thoughts originating from Saint Stephen. For us this is not a question of battle, nor is it primarily an "institutional" matter. In the strictest sense of the word, it will be decided "in house" whether twenty years from now there will be children and youth who clasp their hands to pray in Hungary.

9956
CSO: 2500/10

DECREE ON MINISTRY OF WOOD INDUSTRIALIZATION, CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 84, 20 Sep 82 pp 1-11

[Decree of the Council of State regarding the organization and operation of the Ministry of Wood Industrialization and Construction Materials]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I

General Provisions

Article 1. The Ministry of Wood Industrialization and Construction Materials carries out the party's and state's policies in the area of exploiting and processing wood, cellulose and paper and construction materials, ensuring the higher use of wood materials, other raw materials, materials, fuels and energy and the broadening and continuing diversification of the raw materials and materials base.

Article 2. - The Ministry of Wood Industrialization and Construction Materials [hereafter referred to as the Ministry] serves as the central coordinating organ for activities in its field with regards to all the socialist units subordinate to central or local state organs, as well as cooperatist and public organizations.

Article 3. - The Ministry leads, guides and reviews the activities of the industrial centrals and its other subordinate units, and is responsible, as the plan holder, for the achievement of the plan in its field of activity by all these units.

Article 4. - The Ministry ensures in its field of activity the implementation of laws and decrees, as well as the decisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 5. - The Ministry cooperates with the other ministries and central organs, as well as local organs, for the purpose of carrying out its attributes.

Chapter II

Attributes

Article 6. - The Ministry has the following principal attributes:

A. With Regards to the Exploitation of Wood Materials

Article 7. - The Ministry ensures the achievement of the provisions in the National Program for the Conservation and Development of Forestry Resources, with regards to the exploitation of wood materials, to which end:

a) it is responsible, together with the Ministry of Silviculture, for the placement and use of the amounts of wood materials that are to be exploited each year in accordance with forestry management, plan tasks and legal regulations;

b) it organizes and carries out the exploitation and start of production of wood materials in accordance with the provisions in the five year and annual plans; it ensures the exploitation, sorting and higher use of woods that are from indigenous species of high economic value;

c) it is responsible for the strict implementation of the legal norms and provisions regarding cutting;

d) it gives priority to the exploitation of wood materials that are brought down by wind or snow;

e) it ensures, through the appropriate organizaion of production activities, the protection of the forests in the regions bordering forest exploitation;

f) it takes measures to avoid, in any form, the degradation of the land and forest resources on the lands where exploitation projects and forestry construction are being carried out;

g) it organizes cooperative actions with agricultural production cooperatives for the exploitation of wood materials, especially those in places that are hard to access, as well as for the carrying out of other projects;

h) it is responsible for the complete exploitation of wood materials and the cleaning and clearing of those lands that have been exploited within the timeframes established in the exploitation authorization;

i) it ensures the cleaning of the lands that are exploited and takes measures to turn over these lands to the forestry units for the purpose of the natural or artificial regeneration of the forests.

Article 8. - The Ministry establishes, together with the Ministry of Silviculture, the transportation installations and other means that must be created for the purpose of ensuring accessibility needed for the proper administration of the forest resources, the efficient exploitation of wood materials and the avoidance of the degradation of forest resources and the land, to which end:

a) it establishes, together with the Ministry of Silviculture, the placement of forest roads and railroads and other installations for transportation that are necessary to the exploitation of wood materials;

b) it ensures the design and construction of forest roads and railroads under good conditions, as well as other transportation installations, making maximum use of local resources while respecting strictly legal provisions and avoiding the degradation of bordering regions;

c) it ensures, together with the Ministry of Silviculture, the placement and construction, on the basis of typical designs, of housing for workers and shelters for working animals in forestry exploitation, which, after completion of the projects, are turned over to the forestry units in an appropriate condition for use;

d) it is responsible during exploitation for the maintenance and repair of forest roads and railroads;

e) at the conclusion of exploitation, it turns over forest roads in an appropriate condition for use.

Article 9. - The Ministry is responsible for the complete and higher use of the planned wood materials and the reduction of technological losses and use of small dimension wood, branches, needles and bark in the economic circuit, to which end:

a) it ensures the spread of the application of exploitation technologies - treetops and long and thin trunks - as well as the sorting and basic processing in pre-industrialization centers for wood materials that are exploited;

b) it is responsible for a permanent increase in the indices for the industrialization of wood materials and the percentage of workable wood for veneer, panels and lumber;

c) in sorting and pre-industrialization centers and in final depots, it organizes the basic processing of small-dimensioned wood, branches, needles and bark for the purpose of obtaining essential oils, ground needles, compost, charcoal and pyrolignous waters, as well as the delivery of these items in their raw state to the processing industry in accordance with approved programs.

Article 10. - The Ministry is required to ensure the exploitation of wood materials and other products with reduced levels of material and labor consumption for the purpose of achieving increased economic efficiency, to which end:

a) it promotes advanced work technologies of high productivity and economic efficiency having reduced levels of fuel consumption;

b) it is responsible for increasing the percentage of cable lines and other gravitational means of collection materials;

c) it ensures the extension of the use of draught horses in the collection of wood and the greater involvement of agricultural cooperatist units, agricultural associations and private teamsters in this action on the basis of contracts;

d) it ensures the mechanization of difficult operations in forestry exploitation and the technological transportation of wood through the continuing improvement of performance by technological equipment and installations, as well as the means of transport;

e) it is responsible for the organization of production and labor, generalizing the method of concentrating means and manpower for the purpose of having the rational use of them and continuing to increase labor productivity.

B. With Regards to the Industrialization and Processing of Wood

Article 11. - The Ministry is responsible for increasing the degree of use of wood and for developing and diversifying the production of types of wood having a high degree of processing, giving priority to those that will provide increased value per cubic meter of wood materials that are used, on the basis of approved plans and programs, for the purpose of meeting domestic needs and export levels.

Article 12. - The Ministry ensures the development and diversification of the production of lumber, plywood, panels, veneer, chipboard and wood fiberboard in accordance with raw material resources, pursuing the continuing reduction in consumption of wood materials per unit of product, to which end:

a) it is responsible for the use of existing facilities and the development of new facilities for the purpose of providing the outlined physical production noted in approved plans and programs;

b) by improving production technologies and introducing technical progress, it ensures the growth of efficiency, the reduction of thicknesses, the reduction of consumption norms per unit of product and the growth of labor productivity and the continuing decrease in production costs;

c) it is responsible for increasing the percentage of reuseable wood resources in the total amount of raw materials used in the production of wood panels, tanning products, furfuroles and fodder remains;

d) it ensures the growth in the percentage of high quality classes for increasing the return obtained from a cubic meter of processed wood materials;

e) it pursues the full use of wood resources from valuable indigenous species for the purpose of reducing the importation of exotic woods for the production of esthetic veneers and large elements for furniture production;

f) it is responsible for extending the use of non-conventional energy in the natural drying of lumber for the purpose of saving primary fuels and electrical energy.

Article 13. - The Ministry ensures the development and diversification of the production of furniture through the higher use of wood in the production process, the improvement of functional and construction parameters and the continuing reduction of consumption norms, to which end:

a) it is responsible for the efficient use of existing facilities and the development of new facilities in order to provide the levels outlined in the sole national economic-social development plan and the approved programs for the purpose of meeting domestic needs and increasing the amounts exported;

b) it ensures the growth in the degree of wood used in the production of furniture by increasing the percentage of art-quality furniture among the total amount of production, as well as by producing new types of furniture of our own design which will, at the same time, also ensuring an increase in the functionality, quality and esthetic nature of this furniture;

c) it draws up standards regarding limiting dimensions and categorizes the component elements of furniture for the purpose of decreasing the consumption of wood materials, product weight and having a good correlation between these dimensions and the housing space that is built;

d) together with the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the Ministry if Light Industry, the Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry, the Ministry of Machine-Tools, Electrotechny and Electronics and the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry, it ensures the assimilation and production of laquers, paints, colors, enamels, dyes, pigments, adhesives, plastic elements, fabrics, cloth, mirrors, windows, polyurethane foam, fill materials, colored metals and aluminum, cutting tools, portable devices and specific equipment in order to continue to improve quality and increase the furniture's competitiveness on foreign markets;

e) it is responsible for ensuring the production of component elements from lumber, plywood, panels, veneer, chipboard and accessories in correlation with the dimensional standards for furniture, increasing efficiency, reducing consumption, decreasing material costs and increasing economic efficiency;

f) it is responsible for the modernization of production technologies and the introduction of technical progress for the purpose of using certain standardized and modulated construction systems in the production of furniture and the extension of the use of molded and layered product types, as well as finishing procedures, with reduced levels of chemical materials consumption that will lead, at the same time, to the continuing increase of labor productivity;

g) through annual balances and together with the State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and the Review of the Management of Fixed Assets, it ensures the creation of standardized levels of stocks of wood materials used in the production of furniture for the purpose of reducing the consumption of thermal energy used in the drying process.

Article 14. - The Ministry ensures the development and diversification of the production of doors-windows, prefabricated houses, musical instruments, boats, sporting articles, school supplies, packaging, artisan items and consumer goods for the purpose of meeting domestic needs and export levels, to which end:

a) it is responsible for using existing facilities and developing new facilities for the purpose of ensuring the physical production outlined in approved plans and programs;

b) it ensures the selection and full use of high quality workable wood from spruce, ash, maple and linden tree species in order to broaden the material base necessary for the production of musical instruments, sports articles, boats and school supplies;

c) it is responsible for the modernization of production technologies and the introduction of technical progress in the production processes for prefabricated houses, doors-windows, musical instruments, boats, sports articles, school supplies, parquet, packaging, artisan items and consumer goods for the purpose of diversifying production, increasing labor productivity, improving quality and reducing production costs;

d) in the production of parquet, packaging, artisan items and consumer goods, it ensures the ever greater use of reuseable and recoverable wood resources for the purpose of increasing the degree of using wood materials and increasing economic efficiency.

C. With Regards to the Production of Cellulose, Paper and Cardboard

Article 15. - In its position as coordinator at the level of the national economy, the Ministry is responsible for the development and diversification of the production of cellulose, paper, cardboard, pasteboard, items made of paper and cardboard in order to provide for domestic needs and export levels, as well as to reduce imports, on the basis of approved plans and programs.

The Ministry is responsible for the development and modernization of cellulose production facilities for the purpose of diversifying product types in order to provide the production of paper, cellulose, cardboard and cellulose threads and fibers, to which end:

a) it ensures the achievement of the programs for chemical and technical cellulose, as well as the modernization of existing facilities;

b) it is responsible for the higher use of wood materials in the process of producing cellulose, achieving a complex chemicalization for the purpose of obtaining, in addition to the basic products, fodder remains, lignosulfurous products, furfuroles, methanol and raw thallus oils, and, after using the useful substances, obtaining fuels for the production of thermal and electrical energy;

c) it ensures the use of small-dimension wood and branches in the cellulose production process;

d) together with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, it is responsible for the collection and use of stalks from wheat, barley and reeds in the production process for cellulose and paper.

Article 16. - The Ministry ensures the development of the production and assimilation of new types of paper, to which end:

a) it ensures the reduction in the weights of all types of paper, producing an increase in the size of the paper obtained from the same amount of raw materials;

b) it is responsible for improving the types of paper by treating them with different chemical substances for the purpose of reducing the consumption of cellulose from resinous plants and using a higher percentage of mechanical paste from deciduous trees;

c) together with the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and the Review of the Management of Fixed Assets, it ensures the collection and the greatest possible use of reuseable paper resources for the purpose of saving on wood and cellulose and reducing the material costs of paper production.

Article 17. - The Ministry takes measures for the development of technical paper production for the purpose of providing amounts for domestic consumption and exports and reducing imports, to which end:

a) it is responsible for the assimilation of new types of technical paper for air and oil filters, separators, batteries, the electrotechny industry, the data industry and diagrams, carrying out a micro-production for these types, and for the construction of new facilities for high volume types;

b) it is responsible for the production of special anti-stick and self-adhering papers and types of paper resistent to humidity and greases.

Article 18. - The Ministry ensures the production of cardboard and pasteboard necessary to the national economy in accordance with approved plans, improving their quality and types, to which end:

a) it ensures the treatment of cardboard surfaces by way of new procedures and technologies for the purpose of increasing their quality and economic efficiency;

b) it is responsible for using waste, semi-chemical paste and mechanical paste from softwood species trees in greater proportions;

c) it ensures the production of certain new types of corrugated cardboard that have micro-corrugations and are water resistent, duplex cardboards and marbled cardboard;

d) as the coordinator of the production and consumption of paper and cardboard packaging, it ensures and reviews the rational use of these items in accordance with the types of use for the purpose of reducing the amounts of paper and cardboard made of cellulose, pursuing the more accentuated use of recoverable materials.

Article 19. - The Ministry ensures the diversification of the production of items made from paper and cardboard for domestic needs and for those products slated for export, to which end:

a) it ensures the production of diverse types of notebooks with covers made of upgraded materials, with a wide range of ruled paper;

b) it ensures the improvement of the quality of paper sacks by increasing their resistence to handling and their printing in accordance with the user's requirements;

c) it achieves the production of packaging made from corrugated, duplex and triplex cardboard and pasteboard in those dimenions and according to schedules requested by consumers and correlated with the type of use.

Article 20. - The Ministry is responsible for the modernization of cellulose and paper installations that are large consumers of materials and energy in order to reduce consumption, to which end:

a) in the technological processes of paper and cellulose production, it ensures the use of non-conventional energy sources, heat pumps and the recovery of secondary energy for the purpose of reducing the consumption of primary fuels;

b) it is responsible for the full use of bark and sawdust resulting from cleaning and cutting operations in the production of thermal and electrical energy.

D. With Regards to the Cement Industry and Other Binding Materials

Article 21. - The Ministry fills the position of coordinator at the level of the national economy regarding the development and diversification of the production of cement and other binding materials, as well as asbo-cement, for the purpose of providing the necessary amounts for domestic use and exports.

Article 22. - The Ministry is responsible for the development and modernization of production facilities under conditions of continuing to reduce energy consumption in the binding materials industry, to which end:

a) it ensures the continuing growth of the production of cement on those lines that operate using the dry procedure, as well as the appropriate modernization of other production lines for the reduction of energy consumption;

- it takes measures to increase the level of use of production capacities in those lines in operation by improving the quality of refractory bricks, and it

provides, together with the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry, parts and subassemblies of increased reliability and pursues the operation of equipment under conditions of complete safety;

- it is responsible for the full and efficient use of facilities that have just been put into operation and the attainment of the projected parameters within timeframes;

b) it takes measures to introduce new technologies for the purpose of replacing superior primary fuels with solid fuels, as well as for the recovery of reuseable energy resources resulting from burned gases;

c) it ensures the continuing growth of the use of supplemental materials stemming from reuseable materials from other industries in the production of cement;

d) it is responsible for achieving the full range of types of cement for construction, prefabrication work, hydrotechnical construction and aggressive environments and for the extraction of petroleum and gases, as well as for export;

e) it ensures the categorizing and specialization of units having tasks for export, pursuing the best use of transportation and obtaining an appropriate level of efficiency;

f) it takes measures, in collaboration with other ministries and with the Department for Construction Abroad, to draw up projects, as well as provide the technical assistance needed to build certain cement factories abroad;

g) it ensures the continuing growth of the production of lime on those lines that operate using the regenerative procedure and the appropriate reduction of production obtained in high furnances;

h) it ensures the diversification of lime and plaster products for the purpose of obtaining certain new product types that will lead to an increase in labor productivity and a reduction in the costs involved in their use by the consumer.

Article 23. - The Ministry organizes and provides the raw materials necessary for the production of binding materials and makes deliveries to the users in the economy, to which end:

a) it carries out geological correction projects, and it draws up annual exploitation plans in accordance with the raw material balances in our own quarries;

b) it establishes the technologies for above-ground mining by way of the introduction of modern mining methods using drilling equipment and materials to create explosions and by way of the growth of work safety in mining;

c) it completes documentation and approves homologation studies on the reserves of raw materials made by the National Commission for Geological Reserves;

d) together with the Ministry of Mines, it ensures the approval of documentation for carrying out massive explosions and it takes measures to supervise and carry out these explosions.

Article 24. - The Ministry is responsible for the development and diversification of asbo-cement products for the purpose of continuing to reduce the importation of asbestos, to which end:

a) it establishes and implements new production formulas for products made of asbo-cement, ensuring the efficient use of all varieties of asbestos, as well promoting replacements;

b) it ensures the diversification of asbo-cement products for the purpose of obtaining new replacement types for those that are now imported.

E. With Regards to the Construction Materials Industry

Article 25. - As the coordinator at the level of the national economy, the Ministry is responsible for the development and diversification of the production of reinforced concrete prefabricated items, bricklaying materials, thermo-phono and hydro-insulating materials, fine ceramic products, steel and metals for sanitary fixtures, finishing materials for walls and floors and mineral aggregate for construction for the purpose of providing the necessary amounts for domestic use and for exports.

Article 26. - The Ministry is responsible for the development of production in accordance with the sole national economic-social development plan and the achievement of the provisions in the special programs for those groups of products which it coordinates, to which end:

a) it ensures the territorial development of production in the sub-branches of the construction materials industry in order to reduce transport distances and supply costs;

b) together with the directing organs in construction, it takes measures to assimilate and introduce new materials and construction elements having higher levels of performance and reduced levels of energy and material consumption;

c) it ensures the introduction of technologies and installations for using recoverable material and energy resources stemming from their own technological processes or from those in other sub-branches, pursuing the replacement of superior primary fuels with solid fuels and new sources in the burning processes involving indirect flames and in thermal treatment processes;

d) together with the Ministry of Geology, it is responsible for geological research and the identification of new reserves of natural deposits for the production of materials and mineral aggregates for construction, in order to ensure the continuity of production.

Article 27. - The Ministry is responsible for the efficient use of production facilities in the cement prefabrication industry and the improvement of production technologies in order to reduce material and energy consumption, in parallel with an increase in the qualitative performance of these items, to which end:

a) it ensures the reduction of the consumption of fuels by limiting production during the winter, the introduction of plasticizers and the extension of the use of the thermal treatment process by using the exothermic properties of cement and solar energy;

b) it ensures the reduction in the consumption of cement by adding ashes stemming from thermal power stations;

c) it ensures the redesign of items, together with the directing organs in construction, in order to reduce the weight of items and the consumption of the materials involved;

d) together with the directing organs in construction, it is responsible for the adoption of certain technical solutions for the improvement of the thermal insulation properties of panels for housing and for the increase in the degree of finishing by way of industrialization.

Article 28. - The Ministry is responsible for the development of the production of bricklaying materials having reduced levels of energy costs and production costs, to which end:

a) it ensures the reduction of the consumption of superior primary fuels by putting sawdust into the clays used, as well as adding coal slag and poor quality coal;

b) it is responsible for the development of the production of bricklaying materials having a content made up of ashes from thermal power stations, furnace slag, basaltic cinders and light natural rocks that are obtained with reduced levels of energy consumption.

Article 29. - The Ministry is responsible for the development of the production of finishing and insulating materials in a broad range of products having an efficient use of in-country raw materials and a reduced level of energy consumption in order to meet the necessary amounts for domestic use and for exports, to which end:

a) it ensures the higher use of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy in fine ceramics production;

b) it takes measures, together with the Ministry of Geology, to carry out geological research for the purpose of identifying new reserves of kaolin, refractory clays and sands needed in the production of fine ceramics;

c) it organizes the research, homologation and opening of new quarries of marble and ornamental rock for the development and diversification of production for the purpose of better using natural resources for exports and domestic uses;

d) it ensures the diversification of the range of varieties of thermal insulating materials, using natural resources, for the purpose of reducing energy consumption in production and use.

Article 30. - The Ministry is responsible for the balance development throughout the country of the production of mineral aggregates for construction, at reduced cost levels for production and transportation, to which end:

a) it ensures the development of production for the balancing of consumption by using the resources throughout the country for the purpose of reducing transport distances and construction project costs;

b) together with the Ministry of Geology, it organizes the homologation and research into new deposits of mineral aggregates in quarries and pits in order to provide a continuity in production, within the limits of certain minimal distances for transporting them to consumers;

c) it is responsible for reducing the consumption of fuels by limiting technical auto transports and extending the use of continuous belt and hydraulic transport systems.

F. With Regards to the Production of Equipment, Cutting Tools, Assembly Elements, Metal Working and Spare Parts, Providing Repairs and Maintaining Equipment and Installations

Article 31. - The Ministry ensures the development of the production of equipment, cutting tools, assembly elements, sanding grit, grinding materials and specific spare parts in accordance with the development of the sub-branches of the ministry and with the approval of the Coordinating Council for Profiling, Specializing and Cooperating in the Machine Building Industry and the Metallurgical Industry, to which end:

a) it is responsible for achieving the necessary numbers of equipment, assembly elements and spare parts for the sectors that work with wood and process wood, cellulose and paper and for construction materials and installations in accordance with the type and specialization of their own units and, together with the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry and the Ministry of the Machine-Tool, Electrotechny and Electronics Industry, high performance and complex equipment, installations and machinery;

b) it takes measures to design and continue to improve the operational parameters of equipment and installations for the purpose of increasing their productivity and the level of mechanization and automation of the operations that they preform;

c) it ensures the redesign and production of equipment and installations in its own production for the purpose of reducing the consumption of the materials involved;

d) it provides the technologies for and the reconditioning of all spare parts made for the equipment produced in its own units and spare parts for equipment produced outside the ministry which can be handled on the machine-tools that it has;

e) through its own units and together with the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry and the Ministry of the Machine-Tool, Electrotechny and Electronics Industry, it ensures the assimilation of spare parts, sub-assemblies and equipment for those pieces of equipment and installations that have been imported.

Article 32. - The Ministry accomplishes the production designs for those pieces of equipment and installations that are made in its own units and the technical designs for those pieces of equipment and installations that are built in the specialized units of other ministries.

Article 33. - The Ministry is responsible for carrying out current and capital repairs on the equipment and installations built in its own units, carrying out repairs on its own technological lines and, together with the specialized units of other ministries, carrying out on repairs on equipment, machinery and installations of unusual complexity, to which end:

a) it organizes maintenance and operation activities on equipment and installations under conditions of safety;

b) it takes measures to draw up plans for repairs while adhering to the norms regarding the operating cycle between two repair jobs on its equipment and installations;

c) it ensures the repair work, cooperation and collaboration with its own units and with other ministries in order to produce quality spare parts and sub-assemblies on a timely basis;

d) it takes measures to draw up technical documentation for capital repairs on equipment, technical lines and machinery that are of great complexity, and completes designs to increase the operational parameters of equipment and installations during capital repairs;

e) it takes technical and organizational measures in order to shorten the period of downtime during overhauls and repairs on equipment and installations and to carry out work of an appropriate quality;

f) it takes measures to recover equipment and parts for the purpose of reconditioning and reusing spare parts, subassemblies and equipment stemming from repair operations and the disassembly of equipment and machinery taken out of operation.

Article 34. - The Ministry is responsible for achieving the necessary amount of metal work and metallic accessories for furniture and railings in a diversified, esthetic and functional variety that are of good quality in order to provide these for domestic use and for export, to which end:

a) it takes measures to design and fully produce the sizes, types and dimensions of metal work needed for the production of furniture, railings and other finished products, under conditions of high quality and high economic efficiency;

b) together with the Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry, it provides the materials and components needed for the production of products made from associated materials and with diversely colored metallic and plastic coverings that are resistent to atmospheric agents when in use;

c) it takes measures to modernize production technologies for the purpose of reducing the consumption of scarce and imported materials.

G. With Regards to the Rational Use of Primary Fuels and Electrical Energy

Article 35. - The Ministry is responsible for the more accentuated reduction of the energy consumption and the rational use of primary fuels in the production of its products, to which end:

a) it ensures the modernization of energy-intensive technologies for the purpose of reducing specific levels of consumption and placing these levels at the levels of performance technologies achieved at the national and international scene;

b) it is responsible for the more accentuated reduction of the use of superior primary fuels and, on a priority basis, petroleum fuels used in indirect flame burning processes and in producing thermal technological energy by gradually replacing or transforming installations and equipment to the use of solid fuels and wood resources that cannot be industrialized;

c) in accordance with approved programs, it ensures the development of facilities and installations for the use of solar, wind and geothermal energy in those processes for drying and thermally treating products, and the development of the production of electrical energy through the use of the hydraulic energy of waterways that have a reduced energy potential and their own thermo-electric power plants;

d) it is responsible for the more accentuated reduction of thermal energy in the drying and thermal treatment processes for wood materials, prefabrications, bricklaying materials, paper and cardboard through the more accentuated use of non-conventional energy sources;

e) it ensures the design and production of installations and equipment for the recovery and reuse of potential energy resources from the binding materials industry, construction materials, cellulose, paper and pressed wood boards for the purpose of reducing specific consumption levels and the consumption of primary fuels.

Article 36. - The Ministry is responsible for the more accentuated reduction of the consumption of vehicle fuels used in the exploitation and transportation processes involving wood materials and primary mineral materials, to which end:

a) it takes measures to use draught animals and other means to a greater degree in the collection of wood materials in all areas accessible to them;

b) it ensures the expansion of the use of cable installations in the process of removing nearby wood materials, especially in places difficult to access;

c) it extends the use of gravitational transport in all limestone quarries by using rollers between the different working levels;

d) it extends the use of conveyer transportation for mineral raw materials in quarries of limestone, clays and mineral aggregates from the extraction point to the loading and processing stations;

e) it extends the use of hydraulic extraction and transportation systems for mineral aggregate used in construction;

f) it extends the forest railroad system for the transport of wood materials for the purpose of reducing the amount of vehicle transportation.

H. With Regards to Export and International Economic Cooperation Activities

Article 37. - The Ministry ensures the achievement of foreign trade and international economic cooperation activities in accordance with the approved plans and programs, to which end:

a) it is responsible for the regular achievement of the physical production slated for export under quality conditions;

b) it ensures the surveying of foreign markets, and completes market studies for the principal products on the ministry's export list for the purpose of directing production to satisfy the requirements of the foreign markets from the point of view of quality, functionality and economic efficiency;

c) it ensures full contracting for the amount of goods in accordance with the provisions of the foreign trade plan;

d) it provides order and delivery instructions to the producer enterprises within a useful timeframe for the purpose of regularly achieving the production slated for export;

e) it provides the transportation needed to forward products for export in accordance with the timeframes and conditions of the contracts;

f) it ensures the permanent improvement of the efficiency of export activities through the production of products that have a high degree of processing, qualitatively superior parameters and reduced production costs, as well as by obtaining certain superior foreign prices.

Article 38. - The Ministry establishes measures to reduce imports, to which end:

a) it analyzes the import requirements of the producer centrals and units, establishes the necessary amounts of imports on the basis of specific consumption and ensures the achievement of assimilation programs;

b) it ensures the contracting for and achievement of imports in accordance with the import plan, under conditions of advantageous payments and with products in the export plan.

Article 39. - The Ministry initiates actions for bilateral or multimateral cooperation that will ensure the promotion of exports of finished products, machinery, equipment and services in order to obtain stable sources of raw materials under conditions of maximum efficiency, to which end:

a) it draws up technical-economic substantiations and points of view on these actions for all participation in econimic and technical-scientific collaboration and cooperation actions;

b) it organizes and is responsible for activities to set up joint commercial and production companies abroad and in-country, under conditions of maximum efficiency; it participates in negotiations with foreign partners, and it presents a point of view on the draft contracts for association, statutes and other documents needed to create these joint companies, which are them presented for approval in accordance with the regulations in effect;

c) it ensures efficient activities in the bases and warehouses through which the principal import and export products move, pursuing the regular and lowest-possible-cost achievement of exports and the use of storage space at maximum capacity, including by way of renting these spaces to the foreign partners for the purpose of storing those goods slated for export;

I. With Regards to Scientific Research and Technological Engineering Activities

Article 40. - The Ministry is responsible for the orientation, organization and management of research and technological engineering activities in its subordinate units, and it ensures the use of the results of scientific research in production unit activities.

Article 41. - Together with the National Council for Science and Technology, the ministry draws up plans for scientific research, technological development and the introduction of technical progress, including subjects that will ensure the application of the newest advances of science and technology in the field of wood, paper and cellulose, cement and construction materials, and take measures to fulfill plan tasks on-time.

Article 42. - The Ministry ensures the orientation of research for the purpose of having a higher and complete use of wood and increasing the areas and efficiency of use, to which end:

a) it is responsible for the scientific substantiation of work techniques and methods that ensure harmony between silvicultural requirements and those of exploiting the forests, concomitantly with an increase in the indices for the industrialization of wood materials and the growth of the proportion of naturally regenerated forests;

b) it pursues the finding of new solutions for using the lesser used indigenous species in the achievement of superior tree types that will provide products having a higher degree of processing and a higher use value;

c) it pursues the elaboration of advanced technologies and the production of new materials in the furniture industry and for other finished products that will ensure an increase in the quality and competitiveness of these items, under conditions of reducing the consumption of massive wood and the broader use of substitute materials and certain finishing and upholstery materials made from indigenous raw materials and materials;

d) it ensures the diversification of the production of varieties that incorporate wood by way of techniques and means that will permit the use of reuseable wood resources, thus leading to the continuing growth of the level of use of wood materials.

Article 43. - The Ministry is responsible for the achievement of research in the field of the cellulose and paper industry that will primarily lead to the reduction of the consumption of wood materials and energy, the assimilation of new products in order to reduce imports and the growth of the quality of products, to which end:

a) it ensures the elaboration of new technologies and the modernization of existing ones in order to increase efficiency in the production of cellulose

and paper and to reduce the consumption of raw materials and materials and energy, as well as to use small-dimension wood and used paper;

b) together with the institutes of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, it ensures the achievement of certain supporting materials through which increased efficiency will be obtained in retaining fibers, the increase in the resistence of paper having a lower percentage of cellulouse from resins and the production of lower weight papers.

Article 44. - The Ministry is responsible for carrying research for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the use of all useful substances from wood materials subjected to chemicalization, as well as from wood resources recovered from mechanical processing, ensuring adherence to the provisions in the wood chemicalization program, to which end:

a) it pursues the improvement of wood hydrolysis technologies for the purpose of obtaining fodder remains, methanol and diverse sugars;

b) it provides the technologies to use pyrolignous waters resulting from the charcoal production process in order to obtain certain distillation products needed in the national economy;

c) it establishes technological solutions for obtaining furfuroles and methanol from prehydrolysis substances stemming from the production of chemical cellulose;

d) it ensures the production of fodder remains from residual alkaline solutions stemming from the production of chemical cellulose from beech wood;

e) it organizes the processing of residual alkaline solutions stemming from the cellulose factories that dissolved lignin from wood in order to obtain fodder remains, furfurole and lignosulfuric products;

f) it ensures the use of the sugars contained in the waters stemming from the production of fiberous plywoods by converting them into fodder remains;

g) it provides the technologies for using small-dimension wood in order to obtain tanin, fodder remains, methanol, wood meal and charcoal.

Article 45. - The Ministry is responsible for the introduction of technical progress and advanced technologies in the cement and construction materials industries, to which end:

a) it ensures the achievement of technologies for the production of cement using precalcinated substances and coals and the production of new types of special and colored cements in order to provide the necessary amounts to the economy and for exports;

b) together with the Central Institute for Research, Design and Direction in Construction, it is responsible for the development and diversification

of the production of prefabricated concrete items having a higher degree of equipment and finishing out of the factory and the production of new construction elements having superior qualities for reducing the weight of construction items and energy and transport consumption levels;

c) it ensures the extension of production technologies for bricklaying materials through the use of local materials - volcanic rocks, diatomites, cinders, soft limestone and others, as well as reuseable materials stemming from other industries, such as waste ash, slag and others;

d) it ensures the diversification and production of new hydro-insulating and thermal-insulating materials and the modernization of existing technologies in order to reduce their energy consumption.

Article 46. - The Ministry is responsible for and pursues through design work the reduction in the costs of investments and material and energy consumption by establishing the most efficient technological and construction solutions that are comparable to those used on the international level.

Article 47. - The Ministry coordinates and is responsible for all activities to standardize technologies and technological lines and installations, as well as the products in the field of the wood industry and construction materials, to which end:

a) it is responsile for the selection and design of the most efficient solutions to complete investment projects, seeing that these solutions promote new things and reduce material and energy consumption;

b) it ensures the selection of optimum solutions in order to obtain good quality products, using domestic raw materials, that are competitive on the foreign market and that will satisfy the needs of the national economy.

J. Other Attributes

Article 48. - The Ministry draws up studies and programs regarding the proportions, levels, rates and directions of annual and future development for its branches and sub-branches, keeping in mind their role in the overall national economy and the trends and progress made in the world.

For the purpose of correlating its plan tasks with the production capacities and pursuing the achievement of planned production, the Ministry:

a) assigns economic and financial plan indicators to subordinate units;

b) ensures in its field of activities the full use of production capacities, the growth of use indices for available time, the appropriate loading of technological equipment, installations and power equipment, and the elimination of bottlenecks;

c) is responsible for the achievement of planned physical and value production;

d) draws up programs for production cooperation in its subordinate units and with the units of other ministries;

e) takes efficient measures to profile, specialize and concentrate production by units;

f) establishes, according to law, measures regarding worker safety for the purpose of preventing work accidents and professional illnesses, as well as for the continuing improvement of living conditions;

g) is responsible for inventions and innovations and is involved in the spread of the most important achievements; it makes proposals regarding problems in categorization and standardization.

Article 49. - The Ministry is responsible for the achievement of investments in accordance with approved programs and plans, to which end:

a) it draws up technical-economic documentation while adhering to the normative acts in effect, and ensures the application of typical designs for technologies, equipment and construction;

b) it provides the technical-material base for the on-time achievement of investment projects;

c) it is responsible for putting new facilities into operation and attaining the projected parameters within planned timeframes.

Article 50. - The Ministry ensures the coordination of activities to organize production and labor, to which end:

a) it organizes activities to elaborate, apply and pursue labor norms and standards for all categories of personnel in its branches of activity;

b) it draws up standards and norms for labor that are unified over the entire economy on projects where it is the coordinator;

c) it draws up and approves specific standardization methodologies, as well as unified standards and norms in its field of activity and reviews the manner of their implementation;

d) it participates in the drawing up of proposals regarding the improvement of elements in the salary system;

e) it draws up technical standards for the unified application of the elements in the salary system for its subordinate units and reviews the manner of their implementation;

f) it is responsible for extending the use of the labor agreement and the overall agreement for the purpose of a continuing increase in labor productivity and material incentives.

Article 51. - The Ministry provides the material base and for the sales of products in order to have a normal carrying out of production in its subordinate units, to which end:

a) it draws up and substantiates, on the basis of consumption and stock standards and norms, the necessary amounts of raw materials, materials, fuels, packaging, spare parts and equipment whose material balances are approved, as the case may be, by the Council of Ministers, ministries and other central organs;

b) it is responsible for appropriately completing the materials balances in its units and subunits, and it cooperates with other central organs in balancing them out in accordance with the tasks in the sole national economic-social development plan and the possibilities of the national economy;

c) it ensures supplies of raw materials, materials and products for which, according to law, it is the coordinator that it needs, as well as the needs of other ministries and central and local organs;

d) together with the Ministry of Silviculture and the Ministry of Agriculture and thte Food Industry, it provides feed for work animals that are used in forestry exploitation;

e) it coordinates and reviews the users' rational use of products in the ministry's field of activities in accordance with their performance and qualitative structure;

f) together with the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and the Review of the Management of Fixed Assets and the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, it draws up programs regarding the optimum use of the transport of raw materials, materials and products for which, according to law, it is the coordinator for the purpose of reducing transport distances;

g) it takes measures for the use, according to law, of standardized materials and products and the reduction to a strictly necessary level of the list of materials, parts, subassemblies, machines, equipment, installations and other standardized products used in the production process for the purpose of reducing material costs and increasing labor productivity;

h) it takes measures to stay within the approved stock norms, as well as to prevent the build up of stock overages and idle stock by strictly correlating supplies with the needs of planned production.

Article 52. - The Ministry ensures the achievement of economic-financial indicators regarding sold and paid-for production, incomes, profitability by product and enterprise, taxes, the speed of product turnover in trade and the distribution of profits, to which end:

a) it ensures the maximum efficient use of production assets, the mobilization of internal reserves and the permanent reduction of material costs;

b) it analyzes accounting reports and balances, establishing measures to improve economic-financial activities in its subordinate units and those that involve activities in the entire ministry;

c) it completes and carries out the budget of incomes and expenditures for the central administration of the ministry and its subordinate budgetary units;

d) it carries out its attributes, according to law, with regards to production, delivery and retail prices and charges in its field of activity;

e) it pursues and analyzes the evolution of prices and charges and draws up proposals to improve them;

f) it carries out the basic administrative review in the ministry and its directly subordinate economic and budgetary units;

g) it ensures the extension and efficient use of automated data processing.

Article 53. - The Ministry ensures the implementation of the party's and state's policy in personnel and training problems, to which end:

a) it establishes unified criteria for the selection, training, upgrade training and promotion of personnel in the ministry and reviews the application of these criteria;

b) it establishes the necessary number of persons each year and for the future according to type and specialty and takes measures to train them;

c) it ensures the fulfillment of the measures regarding the creation and training of personnel reserves in technical and economic fields and other specialties for management and production from within its own apparatus and its subordinate units;

d) it draws up standards regarding the attributes and tasks for the personnle in its subordinate branches;

e) it pursues and periodically analyzes in the ministry's subordinate units the manner of using specialized personnel, especially those technical personnel with higher studies, and takes measures to reassign and more judiciously use them according to the units' plan tasks;

f) it takes measures so that all personnel will strictly and precisely adhere to the standards established by law and work attributes, and strengthen order and discipline at work;

g) it organizes and ensures the upgrade training for personnel, as well as checking on their knowledge and their understanding of decisions, the law and other normative acts;

h) it cooperates with the institutes of higher education in drawing up and improving training plans and analytical programs for those specialties in the ministry's branches and for post-graduate upgrade training courses, as well as establishing a network within the specialized higher education;

i) it is responsible for the ministry's tasks with regards to integrating production and scientific research with training and coordinating the activities of educational units having dual subordination in the area of completing and carrying out annual research, design and micro-production plans, as well as organizing practical activities in the enterprises.

Article 54. - The Ministry is responsible for organizing documentary information activities and ensures informing its subordinate units with regards to the trends in technical-scientific progress on the national and international levels; it produces publications and works regarding the problems of science, technology and production that are specific to its problem areas.

Chapter III

Organization and Operation

Article 55. - The Ministry is headed by a leadership council which decides general problems regarding the ministry's activities; the council's executive bureau provides the collective management of the ministry's operational activities and ensures the implementation of the leadership council's decisions.

The ministry's leadership council and its executive bureau, organs of a deliberative nature, are organized and operate according to Decree No 76/1973 concerning the leadership of ministries and other central organs of state administration on the basis of the principle of collective management.

Article 56. - The minister informs the ministry's leadership council on the principal problems resolved during the period between sessions.

Article 57. - The Ministry has a minister and four deputy ministers in its leadership.

The deputy ministers are named by presidential decree and their attributes are established by the ministry's leadership council.

Article 58. - The minister represents the ministry in relations with the other organs and organizations in the country, as well as in international relations.

Article 59. - Within the framework of the Ministry, according to Decree No 78/1973, the Technical-Economic Council is organized and operates as a working organ alongside the collective management organs of the ministry.

Article 60. - The Ministry has the following organizational structure:

a) the General Directorate for Planning, Development and Investments;

b) the General Directorate for Supply, Sales and Foreign Trade;

c) the Technical and Mechano-Energy Directorate;

d) the Directorate for Organization, Review, Personnel, Training and Salary;

e) the Finances-Prices Directorate;

f) the Secretariat-Administrative Office.

The General Directorate for Supply, Sales and Foreign Trade operates on the basis of worker self-management and economic-financial self-administration and is a legal entity.

The organizational structure by work department and the maximum number of personnel in the ministry's apparatus are those listed in Annex No 1 and Annex No 2 (these annexes were forwarded to the interested institutes).

Article 61. - The Ministry has in its subordination industrial centrals, combines, enterprises, research and design units, other economic units, budgetary units, specialized high schools and professional schools.

Article 62. - The operating attributes and standards for the units listed in Article 60 are established by the ministry's leadership council according to legal proviions.

Chapter IV

Final Provisions

Article 63. - Workers who move to the Ministry, as well as those transferred to other units as a result of the reorganization of the Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials, are considered transferred in the interest of duty.

Article 64. - Personnel transferred in the interest of duty or moved within the same unit to a position with lower salaries, as well as those personnel who became available for other work as a result of the implementation of the

provisions of this decree, benefit from the rights outlined in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 regarding the establishment of unified norms for the structure of economic units.

Article 65. - The Ministry and its subordinate units are equipped through the sole national plan, according to the criteria outlined by law, with transport means, machinery, equipment, mechanized equipment, draught animals and other such items needed in their activities.

Article 66. - The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance, on the basis of proposals from the Ministry and the other interested central organs, will submit for approval those modifications stemming from the implementation of this decree to the sole national economic-social development plan for 1982 and for the period 1982-1985, as well as to the state budget.

Article 67. - The provisions in laws, decrees and other normative acts referring to the Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials are appropriately applied to the Ministry of Wood Industrialization and Construction Materials, as organized according to this decree and according to the object of its activity.

Article 68. - Annexes No 1 and No 2 are an integral part of this decree.

Article 69. - Decree No 18/1972 regarding the creation, organization and operation of the Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials, which became Law No 29/1972, with later modifications, is abrogated.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 17 September 1982
No 340

8724
CSO: 2700

POLEMICS IN LITERARY SPHERE DEPLORED

Bucharest VIATA ROMANEASCA in Romanian Jul 82 pp 92-93

[Article by M. Nitescu]

[Text] The Sad Lesson of Polemics

From time to time in our literary life, which generally is straightforward and well-behaved, some small eruptions are produced without too much material damage or small volcanic eruptions like in a scene from an opera. After a little agitation and emotion, however, everything returns to the peaceful monotony of every day. These are our "polemics," which each time resume latent state of older belligerency, expressing a more and more polluting division of literary life. For example, one of the illustrative bouts which unfortunately ended too fast brought to stage front , in the order of their entrance, Tudor Arghezi, Geo Bogza, Fanus Neagu, Ion Coja, Mircea Iorgulescu and Eugen Barbu who also was the one to close the curtain.

However, what is more interesting than these polemical campaigns are the lessons they bring, through their exclusivism, each time. First it is a question of a kind of allergy to polemics, of an unevolved and endemic mentality of the taboos which keep a spirit of intolerance and interdiction in literary life. The very idea of a critical attitude toward certain writers is rejected from the start. So we all have to be "well bred" toward the whole world. Due to this mentality, which unfortunately is rather widespread, our literature has begun to be populated more and more with intangible sacred monsters, dead or alive. It is a "sacrilege" to criticize so and so, it is "blasphemy" to mention his "errors" from a certain period and so forth. For some time more and more often we have been encountering signs of crass intolerance from some writers. "Why was such and such a text published, how could X's article appear in our press?" We all want to impose our will on others and everybody should write like we want them to. From where does this anticultural attitude come? Have we completely forgotten the great lesson from the interwar literature?

What truly is serious is not the polemics as such but this mentality of taboos, of interdiction, due to which some magazines refuse to publish articles which "raise their voice" to a tabooed writer. It is not the polemics which is regrettable but the altercation lacking in ideas behind which actually are hidden partisan motives which have nothing in common with literature. Polemics, more or less correct and "elevated" (the basic thing is to proceed from principles, not from persons), always has been a vital element in literary and

cultural life. Without it, the literary climate lately seems to be a kind of collective, polite and boring hibernation.

However, perhaps what is more serious than this mentality is the fact--strikingly brought out by polemical campaigns--that our literary life has begun and continues to be polarized more and more insistently, which should be viewed as an encouraging fact if this phenomenon would have been caused by aesthetic principles and convictions. Unfortunately, this is not the case. The polarization we are talking about is done more concerning persons rather than ideas, more concerning "friends," certain administrative goals, adversities and idiosyncrasies. It is not a polarization and struggle of literary ideas but of petty interests and nostalgia, sometimes disguised in noble literary attitudes. If we were to try to give a name to the two adverse camps which feed this polarization, we would not find anything appropriate in the sphere of literature. Their content and motive form an illusory "power struggle" in literary life and they are established more according to attitudes and resentments which are outside literature than according to principles. As a result, the nature of these polemical campaigns which smack of being partisan is that their emphasis falls not on what we criticize or defend, but on whom. Certain persons are their goal, not certain values or literary problems. In Romania things take place rather like in one of Balzac's observations, when he said that in the capital persons become principles, while in the provinces the principles are transformed into persons.

It has been said that it is not a question of two camps, but of one single one, relatively restricted, from which all our evils come, with the remainder being formed by other writers, all together, animated equally and with the same sincerity by the best intentions. That is, some of the former promoters of Proletcult dogmatism placed alongside some of those who, in one way or another, were victims of Proletcultism in a fraternal sharing. The truth is that there are two opposing camps, with "leaders" and followers, more or less separate from each other, while "the others" are the independent writers who do not follow either them or the narrow partisan spirit which agitates them.

This artificial dichotomy, lacking real substance, more and more pressingly is making its mark on literary life, creating an exclusivist partisan mentality. Everything is seen and weighed through the belonging to one or another of the two camps, even some of the classic writers posthumously annexed to each of them. Independence of spirit has become an inadmissible trifle. Whoever is not with "us" obligatorily is with "them" and, thus, against "us." There is no other way. The one who refuses to enlist with one side or another risks becoming suspect to both sides. Each one considers him the others' "man," with all the consequences, from consistently ignoring him up to totally denying him. A sui generis system of partisan"promotion of values" is installed imperceptibly, which each of the sides uses and in which aesthetic criteria more and more lose any authority, any credibility. Methods of denigration or propelling, orally or in writing, depending on allegiance, are the same for both sides. We know the publicity continually given certain names, while others are omitted with the same doubtful consistency. There even is a spiritual vendetta which follows certain writers even after their deaths, when their names and works continue to be avoided. In order to support and defend their followers as well as higher "divinities," living or dead, which each camp has, both are ready to erase all their sins,

and give them inexorable "circumstances," "classified" periods. In this view which is a deforming partisan one, "cohabitation" becomes a work of great creation, while participation in the Proletcult offensive becomes the struggle for "a new future." Moral responsibility to historic and aesthetic truth or simply to truth is shaped according to certain "imponderables" which are partisan ones. But anticultural acts remain as such at all times and are judged depending on the seriousness of them, not on who produced them or when. Nothing seems to me more lacking in dignity, more contemptible than to place base motives and calculations above the interests of literature and culture and point at the "adversary" in order to lay him under an interdiction.

Among other things, inconsistency and their equal obedience are characteristic of a lack of principles and substance for both camps. There are many cases where the "combatants" from both sides ecstatically praise or criticize the same names and situations, where they mutually borrow "arguments."

The question is whether such a polarization brings any gain to literature, whether this adversity does not make our literature even more vulnerable. Here it cannot be question of a dispute, let us say, between the followers of a new criticism and traditional criticism, between those faithful to the realistic novel and delirious prose. Our literary life is exempt of such complications and concerns. The only struggle which should have a real content is the one between literature and non-literature, between writers and non-writers, between uprightness and imposture, between those who have the duty to defend and promote true values and those who seem to fear them and do everything to cancel them out. And in this struggle all true writers should be united, beyond personal antipathies and interests, beyond the artificial camps which pervert literary life even more.

P.S. Since certain articles on the same subject appeared later in the literary press, I should mention that this text was written in September 1981--M. Nitescu.

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CSO: 2700/8

BRIEFS

KOSOVO PARTY DATA--In the first half of 1982 1,919 persons joined the LC, 1,326 of whom were less than 27 years of age, and 709 of these were students; 305 were workers, 387 farmers; while 1,412 were Albanians, 319 Serbs, 52 Montenegrins, 82 Moslems, and 11 Turks. At the same time, 284 persons were expelled from the LC in Kosovo, while 487 were struck from the records. Of the total membership of 92,939 as of the beginning of July 1982, 36,388 were youth [below 27 years of age] and 28,317 were workers. In regard to the nationality structure of the total membership, 61,422 are Albanians, 21,556 Serbs, 5,351 Montenegrins, 2,554 Moslems, 793 Turks, 534 Romanies, and 728 others. Of those expelled from the party in the first 6 months of this year, 79 were youth, 98 were workers, 30 were farmers; in addition, 352 youth were taken off the records. In regard to nationality, 264 Albanians were expelled and 450 removed from the records, compared to 16 Serbs expelled and 34 removed from the records. [Excerpts] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 21 Sep 82 p 7]

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END

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12 November 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2074

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12 November 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2074

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Kulikov Arrives for 'Shield 82' Maneuvers

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] (BTA) Marshal Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries, together with Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces, arrived yesterday in the country to participate in the "Shield 82" maneuvers.

At Varna Airport they were welcomed by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and commander of the maneuvers, Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of General Staff, Col Gen Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, deputy ministers, generals and officers. Also present were Col Gen Vladimir Yakushin, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries to the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army], and generals and officers from the fraternal armies who will participate in the maneuvers.

Delegations to the 'Shield 82' Maneuvers

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] (BTA) Military delegations headed by Col Gen Jarantayn Abhia, minister of defense of the Mongolian People's Republic, Lt Gen Senen Casas Regeiro, Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first deputy minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba, and Col Gen Le Chong Tan, deputy minister of national defense and chief of general staff of the Vietnamese People's Army arrived in the country yesterday to attend the "Shield 82" maneuvers. They were welcomed by Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, commander of the maneuver, Col Gen Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, and Bulgarian People's Army generals and officers.

Foreign Officers Interviewed

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Sep 82 pp 1-2

[Interview by Capt 2d Rank Yani Poptomov]

[Text] Sr Lt Viktor Baskin did not leave the main command center even for a single minute. The events in which the coastal mine-sweeper in his charge participated were quite stressed and important. Everything was successful. By the time he issued his final order "Free from stations!" night had fallen on the sea.

Viktor Mikhaylovich was looking forward to a deserved rest but... the seaman on duty reported that he was expected ashore. Neither of us tried to postpone the interview, for the next morning was to be full of surprises.

"Viktor Mikhaylovich," I said. "Please excuse me for coming aboard so late but I waited for you ashore a long time."

"No matter," smiled the tall blond officer understandingly. "We each have our job, don't we?"

I explained my assignment and the first question I asked was "Why is your boat named "Orenburgskiy Komsomolets?"

"One of our traditions is for the Komsomol to sponsor new ships. This year the Soviet youth will be celebrating the 60th anniversary of sponsoring navy ships.

"While our beauty consisted of no more than sheets of steel and its sections were being welded together, the Orenburg Komsomol members requested that it be named after their city. Since then extensive warm relations have developed between them and our crew. The young people visit us frequently, bring us gifts and news from their area, and give strength to the seamen to carry out their military duty even more courageously. We have aboard ship a small museum in which we proudly exhibit precious relics presented by our sponsors. We are also engaged in various mass political projects in order to strengthen and intensify our friendship even further. The Orenburg Komsomol organization assigns its best members to serve aboard our ship. About one-half of our company is from Orenburg. They sacredly observe the traditions of their native city and oblast and dedicate all their strength to increasing the successes of our crew."

"What preparations did you make for your participation in the 'Shield 82' maneuvers?"

"Some of the best units of the Red Banner Black Sea Navy of the USSR were awarded the privilege of participating in 'Shield 82'. We were honored to be among them. We deserved it, for 'Orenburgskiy Komsomolets' has been rated an

excellent ship for the second time running and this year was awarded a cup and the pennant 'Best Ship in the Unit.'

"It was also a question of prestige to justify the faith of the command. We worked hard with a thorough review and, wherever necessary, repair of the equipment and machine units, basic cleaning and painting of the ship and intensified combat training. We have always persistently trained, for one of the specific assignments of this crew is to be a helicopter base. This requires confident, fast and coordinated action. Our efforts were not wasted as confirmed by the recently concluded exercise."

"Could you name the officers who distinguished themselves so far in your training for participation in 'Shield 82?'"

"It would be difficult to single out an individual among this united and purposeful group of officers. Nevertheless, let me name our mechanic Sr Lt Engineer Aleksandr Soshkin. He is an excellent organizer, an exigent officer and an excellent specialist. I trust him completely and I know that my order will be obeyed immediately and that all machine units will be properly powered. Also praiseworthy is the team of the mining-artillery combat unit commanded by Lt Igor Lisyanskiy and Navigator Lt Andrey Kiselev, who joined the ship recently but is working with a great deal of willingness and I am confident that he will become an experienced navigator and commander."

"Could we then say that it is precisely these combat units that are the best aboard ship?"

"All of our subunits are excellent. They are also divisional champions. I almost always give their assignments the grade 5."

"What about leaders in the competition among the conscripts?"

"Petty Officers Aleksandr Skat, Oleg Maltsev, Sergey Shparev and Petty Officer 2d Class Zdanauskas. They assist their superiors in the more purposeful and efficient training and upbringing of the other seamen."

"What were your initiatives in preparing for the maneuvers?"

"In honor of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR our crew pledged to consolidate its titles 'Excellent Ship' and 'Best Ship in the Unit,' by having all its assignments graded excellent or good. We were able to accomplish this. Actually, all that is left is the biggest trial--our participation in 'Shield 82.'

"At the beginning of the period especially assigned for preparations for the maneuvers, our crew appealed to all minesweepers in terms of meeting a number of indicators. We challenged the 'Khersonskiy Komsomolets.' All collectives discussed our challenged and joined the noble competition."

"Is this your first visit to Bulgaria? What are your impressions?"

"This is my third visit to your beautiful sunny and hospitable country. I feel here really at home, among close and warm people. Every time I leave I make the wish to return back to my friends."

"Who are they?"

"Sr Lts Nikolay Nikolaev, Plamen Manushev and Petrov."

"Yes, these are officers serving on one of our best minesweepers. Do you correspond with them?"

"Naturally. We extend reciprocal invitations to visit. Our invitations are entirely realistic, for both crews are competition champions and always participate in the joint exercises between our two fraternal navies. This makes us richer. We share experience and engage in unofficial friendly competition."

I left the ship with a feeling of unconcealed respect for these daring sailors who have dedicated their entire youth and lives to selfless service of the homeland and socialism and to the defense of peace.

Television Crew Visits Fliers

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Col Raycho Vasev]

[Text] N Garrison (by telephone from our special correspondent). It may seem somewhat incredible and strange but when our television colleagues pointed their cameras at the pilots in the vicinity of their aircraft, they reacted:

"What are you doing? Is it proper to catch us at such a time? Pilots playing dominos. What will our enemies, with and without quotes, think?"

"This too is a part of your life. We shall film you during times of rest. We were lucky to see you also over the 'battlefield' in which you proved the power of your attacks and even the precision of your fire.... But that was from a distance, for our cameras are not armor-plated," the television journalist answered.

Not a single member of the team tried to avoid the camera, probably because the commander of the air force unit was in front of them.

As I wrote down the names of pilots Officers Vasiliy Artashonak, Mikhail Pinchuk, Sr Lt Volodya Efremov and Vasiliy Baykov, I asked the commander about their class specialty. He answered:

"Their military ranks are different but the other title indicating degree of combat skill is the same--first class. This means that they are trained to operate day and night, in good and bad weather conditions."

By the time we reached the aircraft the pilots were already wearing their altitude suits and helmets. I tried to identify the commander of the combat unit but found this difficult, for they all looked alike, like twins. The air force unit commander apparently guessed by thoughts, for he said:

"This is the flight of Capts Vasiliy Tsibliyev, Vladimir Zamay, Vladimir Golovin and Nikolay Andryushenko, all of them graduates of the same class and close friends. This is an excellent combat group, ready to carry out even most difficult and responsible assignments. All of them are first class pilots. I am confident that in every single flight in the course of the maneuvers they will prove their high flying and fire skills. One more reason for my confidence is that the airplanes are carefully maintained by the technicians. But let Yuriy describe this better...."

The story was taken up by the excellent air force technician and commander who respectfully mentioned Lt Aleksandr Barabanov, an aircraft technician, standing nearby. An excellent industrious specialist. This was followed by the names of aircraft technicians and other specialists, including Warrant Officer Yuriy Polyanikov, senior aircraft mechanic, rated excellent in combat and political training and one of the best aircraft specialists first class. He was not alone in this list....

This was an excellent combat squadron. This is the truth which is seen best when the aircraft take off in combat formation and attack. The proof of fire is the best!

GDR Sergeant Interviewed

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Sep 82 p 2

[Interview conducted by Sr Lt Evgeni Genov]

[Text] Jr Sgt Andreas Wack, from the National People's Army of the GDR, commander of a motorized infantry squad is an excellent grenade launcher. His troops have always scored well in tactical training. I was able to talk to Jr Sgt Wack after his return from a tactical combat exercise.

[Question] What did you do today?

[Answer] I got up precisely at 5 am. After personal preparations and breakfast I reviewed my soldiers. I went to the pool and checked the engines. We spent the entire day in training. We worked on problems of interaction with Bulgarian motorized infantrymen.

[Question] Can you describe a particularly difficult period in your service?

[Answer] During the winter we were to give a demonstration of advancing with combat fire. It was very cold. We had to wait about 4 hours before the order to attack was received. My first action was to summon my own willpower. I talked individually to every one of my subordinates to lift their spirit.

[Question] What is the happiest time in your service?

[Answer] When I see that my efforts are not wasted, when the troops achieve excellent results, and when I see that the "enemy" tank is on fire with the very first shot.

[Question] Is your mood shared by the troops and does it influence the successes of the squad in the course of the training process?

[Answer] Not directly but indirectly always. I know that my subordinates watch very carefully my actions and gestures and that is why I try to suppress any negative feelings within me.

[Question] What are you own plans for the future?

[Answer] I will be discharged very soon. I would like very much to go to the Soviet Union and take part in laying the pipeline. I think that that is how I will be most useful to my homeland.

[Question] What are your impressions of the Bulgarian soldiers and their combat qualities?

[Answer] I saw the way your troops were advancing along the left flank during the exercises. They are excellent soldiers. It seems to me that nothing can stop them. During rest periods they came and talked with us. They are very communicative and warm. They always want to have comrades nearby to like them and to be liked. What could be better?

Artillery Battery Training

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Sr Lt Stefan Shopov]

[Text] There are times of joy among difficulties. It was that kind of joy that I noted the moment I glanced at Lt Rumen Georgiev. He was happy that it was precisely here, in the course of the "Shield 82" maneuvers, during one of the brief resting periods, that he had received his party card.

So far Lieutenant Georgiev has behaved impeccably. His platoon has always led in the socialist competition. The battery is also excellent. It is faced with a most difficult test--to operate properly in the course of the joint maneuvers and to retain the high results already achieved. That is why his efforts are focused on the advanced training and upgrading the combat spirit of the artillery men.

Together with political worker Lieutenant Todorov, he is always to be found on the firing positions, explaining to the troops the complexity of the forthcoming exercises, refining with the gunners aspects of the interaction between

the battery and the motorized infantrymen, and reminding them that errors are inadmissible.

In the evening discussions continue at Komsomol meetings at which Private First Class Bogoev, the secretary of the Komsomol committee, reports on the daily accomplishments and issues specific training assignments to every Komsomol member.

I asked Lieutenant Georgiev about his own successes. He answered that the actions of his subordinates are the best proof of the achievements of a commander. These accomplishments were substantial.

In the course of his command activities Lieutenant Georgiev follows the traditional artillery slogan "All Gunners Must Be Excellent!" This is the rule of the battery and one of the factors in upgrading its combat readiness.

Unquestionably, in the course of the "Shield 82" maneuvers Lieutenant Georgiev's artillerymen will fulfill their military duty worthily.

Conversation With Bomber Pilot

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by Capt Ivan Sotirov]

[Text] I can very easily imagine Officer Anatoliy Grishin, military pilot first class, in the cockpit of the silvery fighter-bomber. That is perhaps because we are standing by the wing of the aircraft or perhaps because our conversation is about the sky and because of the energy and confidence expressed on his face and his firmness and readiness to engage in quick action. I can visualize him in the sky, holding firmly the control stick, engaged in a complex maneuver or rushing to his target. I can see his face full of tension while his eyes remain calm and concentrated.

"These maneuvers will be difficult," Officer Grishin said. "The assignments are difficult and will be carried out under conditions similar to real battle. All the fliers in our unit are aware of their responsibility. We are pleased to be acting together with the fliers of the fraternal armies and that we will be carrying out our assignments wingtip to wingtip. Let our enemies realize not only our skill but our great friendship and unity and our readiness to keep clean the sky over the socialist countries."

Although Anatoliy was born several years after the Great Patriotic War, the topic of the war is always present in his conversation. His father worked at a war plant during that time, for which reason he did not go to the front. His two uncles fought. Private Mikhail Grishin was a driver and was killed by a bomb. Sapper Private Pavel Grishin returned. He faced death thousands of times in defusing enemy mines but survived.

Anatoliy recalls that as a little boy his uncle Pavel would hoist him on his knees and describe to him the fierce battles, the courage and heroism of the Soviet troops and commanders and the difficult and responsible work of the sapper. However, little Tolya was most strongly impressed by the exploits of the fliers. When the time to choose his career came he did not hesitate and became a military flier.

"I love my profession. I love to fly but that is not all," Officer Grishin goes on to say. "To be a military flier is a profession for the strong and the daring, but even that is not all. In my view, the sake for which we do our work, regardless of whether it is big or small, is more important. I recall the words of a character in the Soviet movie 'Officers:' 'The profession is the defense of the homeland.' That is what matters in life--to define precisely one's way and to follow it honestly, to have ideological convictions and loyalty to the communist party and the homeland and a feeling of internationalism, which characterizes today's military. We are no longer defending only our homeland but, wingtip to wingtip with the fliers of the fraternal armies, we are safeguarding the rightness and tranquility of our peaceful socialist countries."

I described to Anatoliy Grishin the monument to the Soviet army in Plovdiv and the soldier carved of stone, lovingly named by the Bulgarians Al'osha. Here, on the hill on which a granite-carved soldier wearing a forage cap stands, many people come, to bring fresh flowers as an expression of the respect felt for our double liberators and an acknowledgment of the internationalism of the Soviet soldier who not only defeated the Hitlerite fascist beast but is honestly defending the free and happy days of the peoples of Europe.

There are many monuments to the Soviet army in our fatherland. We have seen such monuments in other countries as well, as manifestations of recognition and love. These monuments can be found throughout the land covered with the bones and soaked in the blood of the Soviet soldier-internationalist.

"It is always warm in Bulgaria, even during the winter. This warmth comes from the friendliness and hospitality of your people," Anatoliy Grishin said. "I was born on the Volga in Samara (today Kuybyshev) and have heard about the Bulgarians and since my childhood I have heard about the Bulgarians and the Samara flag with which your militiamen fought the Turkish enslavers. I have frequently met Bulgarian fliers and we have always found a common language--the language of friendship."

When the joint exercises of the fraternal armies begin, the fighter-bombers will streak through the sky like lightning.... One of them will be flown by Military Pilot First Class Party Member Anatoliy Grishin. He will pilot his silver-winged airplane confidently and daringly toward its objective, wingtip to wingtip with the fliers of the allied armies, so that the sky over our socialist countries may remain just as pure and cloudless.

Unusual Landing

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Sep 82 pp 1-2

[Article by Maj Engineer Veselin Stoyanov]

[Text] It all started with a recent order issued by the minister of national defense, awarding Sr Lt Dimitur Chavdarov the medal "For Excellence in the BNA," while Officer Dimitur Fotev was awarded a pair of binoculars. The actions of the two combat fliers are described in this document as a model of courage, self-control and high feeling of responsibility in carrying out their assignment under difficult circumstances....

I set myself the task of finding out the details of what had happened, but my journalistic obligations led me instead to "Shield 82." One day, however, by sheer luck I found myself on the airfield where that same air force subunit had been relocated for participation in the joint exercise of the fraternal armies.

I first talked to First Class Pilot Officer Fotev. In a restrained and brief manner he described to me this exceptionally serious event. A combat training aircraft was being flown by Senior Lieutenant Velinov, as instructor. According to the planned schedule he was flying over the sea. The distance from the airfield and the altitude prevented the crew from hearing clearly the conversation between the launching command center and the pilots in the vicinity. On the way back, however, when the distance was reduced, Officer Fotev became alarmed by the exchange between Capt Khristo Ganchev, the flight commander, and the pilot, Sr Lt Engineer Dimitur Chavdarov who was in trouble. After attempting a variety of means to rescue him, the flight commander ordered the flier to fly toward the ejection area.

"Hearing the order, I grew tense," Officer Fotev said. "Ejection is a major psychological barrier for many fliers, not because they question the reliability of this impeccable rescue system but simply because of their attachment to the aircraft and the faith that at the very last moment they will be able to rescue both the airplane and themselves from a criticial situation....

"I realized that the airplane piloted by Senior Lieutenant Chavdarov was in the area of the third turn and I briefly asked the flight commander for information. After several attempts, the left wheel refused to drop, thus making landing impossible. In such cases, the alternative, although quite dangerous, is for the airplane to land on the emergency grass runway using only the front wheel. However, Chavdarov was no longer sure that in such an emergency landing the wheel had indeed been released. I turned around, caught up with him and flew parallel to him on his right. I saw that the front wheel had dropped while the main carriage had not. Aware of the qualities of the pilot I decided to convince him that he could land on the grass runway. I had the deep feeling that Senior Lieutenant Chavdarov would be successful.

"What made the situation worse was the fact that Chavdarov had fuel for no more than about 3 to 5 minutes. He was at the proper altitude and I told him

not to descend steeply. I asked the flight commander to guide his landing. Senior Lieutenant Chavdarov followed my instructions calmly and precisely. After making the proper calculations, he made a very nice approach and smoothly landed his airplane on the front wheel alone. The damage caused to the aircraft was minimal--a twisted keel shoe and an air brake--and a few days later the airplane was already operational. Dimitur had liked this airplane and had intended to use it during the various combat exercises."

If you have the occasion to talk to Sr Lt Dimitur Chavdarov, to begin with you would hardly think that he is a pilot. His shyness, restraint and quiet voice are more like those of an engineer dealing with radio equipment or any other ground specialized area in aviation. You would be even more astounded when you are told that the young officer is the secretary of the party organization of the squadron where he is deputy flight commander. Briefly stated, it is rather risky to make an instant judgment about someone.

After a while, however, the conversation became easier and, with the same restraint and simplicity as his more experienced comrade, he described to me his terrifying adventure:

"I was carrying out a special combat training assignment. The day was sunny and warm. The flight route was variable. At the determined point the command center directed me toward the reconnaissance area. I carried out the proper reconnaissance and photographing maneuvers, turned on the equipment and moved out at a low altitude. I flew toward the final point of the itinerary and turned toward my airfield.... I flew over, made the circle and when I activated the landing gear I realized that the left main gear did not drop. The aircraft began to slide strongly. I reported to the flight commander that the green light on the left of my panel had not lit up but that the system's pressure was normal. I was instructed by Capt Ganchev to fly once again over the main landing strip so that they could take a close look at the airplane. I flew over the starting command center and tried to drop the landing gear by energetically pulling on the control handle and develop an overload but failed. I retracted the gear and resumed circling. The engineering command center advised me to try again but at lower speed. The same thing happened. I flew over the command center once again, created an overload but was told from the ground that the left gear had not dropped. I flew over the airfield a third time but the "miracle" did not take place. I was rapidly running out of fuel. I thought of the possibility of a forced landing with the front wheel and requested that the emergency runway be made ready. The flight manager approved my decision and assured me that everything would be in order. I released the front wheel carriage manually, which made it drop far more slowly and, since I was running dangerously low on fuel, it seemed to me that the carriage had not been released at all. In such a tight situation I could not check on the carriage signaling device. I reported that I had fuel for no more than 3 minutes and the manager ordered me to fly to the ejection area.

"Once again I flew over the airfield. From the ground they saw that the front carriage had dropped and I was informed of the fact but I no longer believed

it and asked if one of the airplanes flying in the vicinity could line up with me and see me. It is as if Officer Fotev had anticipated my concern, for I saw him the next moment flying near me. He assured me that the front wheel carriage had been released so that I could convert to economy fuel and land. I made a third turn with reduced power, lowered the flaps, completed the fourth turn, released the air brakes and asked the flight controller to give me landing instructions. There have been few cases of forced landing with supersonic aircraft and successful landings of this kind are not 100 percent assured.

"I made a left turn to the emergency runway. The flight controller instructed me when to begin to level off. 'A little bit more... Still some more... You're about to touch ground!' Captain Ganchev said. I switched off the engine the moment I touched ground. The airplane smoothly slid along the grass. I stopped at the end of the runway. The airplane leaned toward the left. I switched off everything, lifted the canopy and asked the firefighters who had already reached me if something was burning. They told me that everything was alright. Inasmuch as I could, I calmly unstrapped myself and stood up...."

Since there was no ladder, the air physician and two other people carried their comrade to the control tower. A medical examination showed that the pulse of Senior Lieutenant Chavdarov was beating at the rate of 120 beats per minute and his blood pressure was 180 over 120. After 25 minutes everything dropped back to normal. Despite this, the air medical commission decided that the flier needed a rest after this event and the Chavdarov family was sent to a military rest station. Those most pleased by this development were 5-year-old Emiliyan and 3-year-old Maya....

"I returned to the squadron and began my preparations for the maneuvers," said Sr Lt Dimitur Chavdarov, ending his story. "I am now trying to carry out my assignments during the exercise as required."

Experience Shared

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Sep 82 pp 1-2

[Article by Col Raycho Vasev and Maj Engineer Dragomir Gospodinov]

[Text] N Garrison (by telephone from our special correspondents). Commanders and political workers from the armies of the Warsaw Pact members visited the camp of the Polish People's Army to share their experience on problems of raising the troops in a spirit of revolutionary vigilance and permanent battle readiness in the circumstances of intensified imperialist aggressiveness.

The meeting began with a demonstration of the combat skill of the Polish troops. Parachutist instructors made a target jump carrying the flags of the fraternal armies. The troops displayed their high skill in hand to hand combat.

After welcoming the participants, Officer Marian (Zdzhalka) spoke of the uninterrupted aggressiveness of imperialism at the present stage and the constant attempts on the part of the United States and NATO to destabilize the world socialist comity. He stated that the shared experience of the representatives of the fraternal armies will be useful to all of us who are directly involved in enhancing the fruitfulness and quality of education of the troops in a spirit of revolutionary vigilance and constant combat readiness.

BNA representative Officer Dyankov shared his experience in resolving this problem in his unit and described specific manifestations of high revolutionary vigilance.

Officer Atila (Hungarian People's Army) pointed out that through false propaganda the United States and its NATO allies are trying to conceal the faults of the capitalist society and, ignoring our successes, to exaggerate our weaknesses. In order to counter such ideological subversion, the Hungarian People's Army has organized its ideological-political work focused on developing love for the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries and loyalty to our international and combat brotherhood.

Officer Fichtelmann, from the National People's Army of the GDR, spoke of the main objective of imperialism--to disturb the current balance and to destroy socialism. "That is why we must counter it ideologically as well. We are educating our troops in such a way that they may specifically identify their enemy." He described the work of the party organizations and party members in his unit on upgrading revolutionary vigilance.

Officer Troshev, who represented the Soviet army, spoke of the work of commanders and political workers and party and Komsomol members in his unit in the study of Lenin's historical legacy as the basis of effective ideological and educational work. He also shared his experience as the head of a group on Marxist-Leninist training in terms of the forms and methods he applies in educating his subordinates in a spirit of revolutionary vigilance.

Officer Sicak (Czechoslovak People's Army) described the role of ideological and educational work in his unit and discussed the most efficient ways and means to this purpose.

Officer Adamkievicz, representing the Polish People's Army, pointed out that the Polish events are a clear example of the fact that imperialism stops at nothing in the implementation of its treacherous plans directed against socialism. The methods used by the imperialist organizations before and after the imposition of martial law in Poland were considered. It was pointed out that the main efforts of the reaction are directed against the Polish People's Army, which is fulfilling honestly and responsibly its duty to defend socialism in Poland. The Polish political worker further described the specific forms of work in his unit in strengthening the patriotic and international upbringing of the troops and their loyalty to the revolutionary traditions of the Polish people.

In his concluding speech Officer (Zdzhalka) assessed the work of the meeting and its contribution to enriching the content and methods of raising the soldiers in a spirit of revolutionary vigilance and high combat readiness. He wished all those present successful implementation of assignments in the "Shield 82" maneuvers.

Zhivkov Visits 'Shield 82' Area

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] (BTA) Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman, arrived in the area of the "Shield 82" maneuvers yesterday. He was accompanied by Milko Balev, Politburo member and BCP Central Committee secretary; Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council; Petur Tanchev, State Council first deputy chairman and BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] secretary, and Stanka Shopova, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov and his entourage were warmly welcomed by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, Col Gen Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, and BNA generals and officers.

Military honors were presented by a representative army unit.

Delegations to the 'Shield 82' Maneuvers

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] (BTA) Military delegations of Warsaw Pact member countries arrived yesterday for the purpose of participating in the "Shield 82" maneuvers.

The delegations are headed by Army General Heinz Hoffmann, SED Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense of the GDR; Armor General Florian Sziwitki, PZPR Central Committee Politburo candidate member, chief of general staff and interim minister of national defense of the Polish People's Republic, Lt Gen Constantin Olteanu, Romanian Communist Party Central Committee PIK [Presumed Expansion: Permanent Executive Committee] candidate member and minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Dmitriy Ustinov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and marshal of the Soviet Union, Col Gen (Karoj Czemi), deputy minister of defense of the Hungarian People's Republic, and Army General Martin Dzur, minister of national defense of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The delegations of the fraternal armies were warmly welcomed at Varna Ariport by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of general staff of the BNA, Col Gen Kiril

Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, Dimitur Popov, first secretary of the Varna Okrug BCP Committee, Strakhil Khristov, chairman of the executive committee of the Varna Okrug People's Council, and BNA generals and officers.

The guests were also welcomed by Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries, and by Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces.

Also present was Col Gen Vladimir Yakushin, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries to the BNA, and generals and officers from the fraternal armies participating in the exercise.

Friendly Meeting

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] (BTA) Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, gave an official dinner in honor of the heads of the military delegations participating in the "Shield 82" maneuvers.

The dinner took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Interview With Army General Dzhurov

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Sep 82 pp 1, 4

[Interview conducted by Krasimir Drumev, BTA deputy director general]

[Text] Maneuvers area, 27 September (BTA). In the course of the "Shield 82" maneuvers, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense and commander of the exercise, was interviewed by Krasimir Drumev, BTA deputy director general.

[Question] Comrade Minister, what is the military-political significance of the "Shield 82" maneuvers viewed against the background of the international situation which has worsened by the fault of the imperialist forces?

[Answer] Allow me to look for deeper roots in answering this question. As we know, World War II cost more than 50 million human lives and the peoples in the European countries, which suffered the most from the Hitlerite invasion, dreamed of a peaceful life. However, reality proved that this was not the intention of the reactionary imperialist circles in the United States and Western Europe. Violating the UN charter and their own obligations to the anti-Hitlerite coalition, they developed an entire system of aggressive blocs, leading among which was the NATO North Atlantic Pact. The tension in Europe was aggravated further after the FRG was made member of NATO in 1955.

Thinking along this line, any sensible person must agree that the creation of the Warsaw Pact for friendship, cooperation and mutual aid among the European socialist countries was an objective necessity dictated by the aggressive actions of international imperialism. Its trememdous significance lies in the fact that for the first time in the history of mankind an international organization of a new type was created, rallying equal and sovereign socialist countries, placing their entire economic, political and military might at the service of peace and social progress and the defense of the socialist gains and peaceful toil of our peoples.

The objectives and purpose of NATO are radically different. Throughout its existence it has been a steady source of tension and military threat. The actions carried out in recent years by the ruling U.S. circles have been particularly threatening to the socialist countries and world peace.

They try to conceal their monstrous preparations for "limited" nuclear warfare in Europe and lengthy nuclear war against the USSR and the other socialist countries behind the threadbare myth of the Soviet "military threat." However, the facts prove that it is precisely they who are fanning hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world, trying to apply methods of threat and diktat in international relations and grossly interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign countries. They inspired and supported Israel's barbaric aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian population. The United States is persistently involving its NATO partners and Japan in its aggressive preparations for war on the socialist countries.

These are the complex and alarming circumstances in which the "Shield 82" maneuvers are taking place. This exercise is not aimed at any country neighboring Bulgaria or any other country. It is entirely consistent with the nature of the coordinated actions of our parties and governments in the international arena, aimed at safeguarding the peace and preventing a destructive thermonuclear war. In the course of the maneuvers the interaction among commands, staffs and troops will be perfected and the friendship and cooperation among the fraternal armies will be strengthened even further.

[Question] As commander of the "Shield 82" maneuvers, you, Comrade Minister, had the opportunity of visiting the camps of the fraternal armies. How do you assess the preparations of the troops for the exercise and the moral and political qualities they displayed?

[Answer] The slogan of the "Shield 82" exercise is extremely clear and categorical: "United in Peace and in Battle in Defending the Cause of Socialism." This appeal has mobilized the physical and spiritual forces of the fraternal armies so that they may prove their worth in the course of the maneuvers. In the course of my encounters with them I came across a number of displays of high conscientiousness and feeling of responsibility, fraternal cooperation and mutual aid and readiness to surmount all difficulties in carrying out assignments. I saw for myself the high level training of commanders, staffs and troops and their ability to organize and carry out modern combat operations. I saw their excellent mastery of weaponry and combat equipment and the high moral and political spirit of the troops.

[Question] What is the role of the "Shield 82" exercise in strengthening the fraternal friendship between the Bulgarian people and the peoples of the other socialist countries and the unity among the Warsaw Pact armies?

[Answer] The press, radio and television showed the way hospitable Bulgaria welcomed the troops of the fraternal armies--according to the ancient Bulgarian custom of offering them bread and salt, with smiles and flowers, the way we welcome loyal friends and comrades in arms. I believe that these characteristic celebrations will be remembered a long time and will leave a lasting trace in the minds and hearts of all citizens and soldiers.

The various activities in all camps may be described as fraternal meetings! These were meetings among Komsomol and party-political workers and commanding personnel from the various branches of the armed forces. Evenings dedicated to combat friendship, concerts, and youth entertainments were organized. The personnel of the allied armies visited many industrial enterprises and agro-industrial complexes and historical monuments. They met with labor collectives, which contributed to the even greater strengthening of the friendship among our peoples and armies.

Every meeting revealed the reciprocal love and trust and great recognition of and respect for the representatives of the legendary and invincible Soviet army. No other attitude was possible, for it is the Soviet armed forces that are the backbone of our military defensive alliance.

Combat Mood In Maneuvers

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Capt Pet'o Dafinkichev and Capt Lyubomir Denov]

[Text] Maneuvers area. (By telephone from our special correspondents). Numbered hours are left before the beginning of the "battle." Daily life in the exercise area has changed. It is calmer and quieter in the camps but this cannot conceal the prestarting tension. Active and fruitful party-political work is being conducted among the personnel of the fraternal armed forces.

The Word of the Communists

In the early morning Officer Tesardzik, a political worker in the Czechoslovak People's Army, is directing the work of a group which has just completed checking the status of the internal order in the camp. He shows us the plan for party-political work and visual agitation, and puts us in touch with political workers and Komsomol activists. The first day of the week is dedicated to political training classes. So far, with the help of prepared material and essays published in the latest issues of NARODNA ARMIYA the soldiers have studied the history of the fraternal armies. Every second day talks are given on topical international problems. Every day company commanders or personnel excelling in combat and political training provide a brief review of the latest news.

The party meeting which was held had a strong mobilizing effect on the party members encouraging them to perform with excellence their exercise assignments.

Officer Prokopovich, party organization secretary, is a communicative person who has mastered perfectly the skill of working with people. He arranged a meeting with the party members who spoke out at the meeting. Here is what they said:

Officer Zacharias: " I studied the attitude of the party members toward basic problems of preparing for combat operations. I explained the tasks to be carried out. I raised the question of personal example. The party member must lead, he must be found in the most difficult areas. I passed on to the tank forces the warm greetings and wishes of Army General Martin Dzur, our minister of defense."

Officer Sichak: "I told the party members that I believe in them and that they too can rely on my word. I know them well and I have no doubt that they will do everything possible to excel in the forthcoming important test."

Senior Lieutenant Fridrich: "I expressed the view of my colleagues--junior commanders--that the spirit in the collectives is high, the engines are combat ready and the assignments will be carried out."

Sergeant (Betsak): I spoke on behalf of the Komsomol members. I expressed my belief that the activists and excellent soldiers will be the closest helpers of commanders and political workers in the forthcoming combat operations."

The Resolve of the Komsomol Members

All Komsomol members of the guards motor infantry company of Senior Lieutenant Isupov concentrated on the field Lenin room. Some of them came from the park, others from the sports grounds and most of them straight from duty.

The agenda of the meeting was the adoption of an appeal of the tank men from the company of Guards Senior Lieutenant Volokhin, pledging perfect execution of assignments during the maneuvers. The appeal was posted on the bulletin board in the center of the camp and had been read by every single member of this united collective.

In the few minutes before the meeting we had the opportunity to talk with Guards Lieutenant Revezin, deputy company commander in charge of political affairs. He could not conceal his excitement. He held a small notebook in his hands. It probably contained his statement: "I have been serving in the ranks for 2 months," he said. "I am a graduate of the Novosibirsk Higher Military Political School. I was assigned to this unit at the peak of the preparations for the maneuvers. I have the theoretical knowledge but for the past 2 months I have been among the troops night and day so that we can jointly resolve all problems affecting us."

Yes, this Siberian, a young officer from Omsk, had to work hard. The company has troops from 15 different nationalities. They were united and all of them wanted to learn but were unable to achieve a grade better than good. "It is embarrassing to approach this great exercise in which we are considered as representing the most powerful and leading army of socialism with merely good results," Lieutenant Revezin said.

The pledges had to be reviewed and further possibilities had to be sought. Laggards had to be assigned to excellent soldier, discipline had to be tightened up and constant exigency had to be displayed. "In the course of the testing exercises prior to leaving for Bulgaria we earned an overall excellent grade," said the lieutenant, smiling. "However, we became excited after the appeal of the tank men. They will be advancing ahead of us. Should they decide to increase the pace we must not allow any break or violation of the proper distance. That is the reason for this meeting. If we pledge our word we are sure that we will honor it."

The meeting began. We felt how the confidence of the motorized infantrymen increased through invisible means. This foretold of the final results. Guards Private First Class Podolyaka, Komsomol Committee secretary, opened the meeting.

The first speaker was Lieutenant Revezin. He opened the notebook we mentioned. It turned out that it did not contain any report or any writing but most ordinary things: what was pledged and what, in his view, could be achieved further. There was not even a question of any possibility that the appeal may be rejected. The wish was to be more successful than those who "threw down the gauntlet." This would be a complete victory. This was the idea which captured everyone and eliminated unnecessary delays.

Master Sergeant Komar, a Ukranian from the Donbass, discussed the matter of discipline in the offensive. He discussed not the type of discipline they had already achieved but combat discipline which would keep their armored lines tight. Private Tsay, a short man with a dark face, reminded them that they must check their engines yet once again. Party member Kocharov described how to cross a steep rocky sector and the best side, in his view, along which to drop into the ravine. The company commander agreed.

Very little was mentioned concerning the challenge of the tank command. However, when the time to accept it came all hands were raised simultaneously.

After the meeting we sat down on the bench in front of the field club. The camp was still noisy. Other resolved but necessary and useful problems were being discussed. Then fatigue took over. Rest was needed, for difficult days, days of trials, lay ahead.

Signal Corps Activities

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Capt Engineer Nikolay Trayanov]

[Text] The communication units commanded by Officers Yuriy Ribin and Petur Dinev have provided impeccable communications in all directions for many days. It was somewhat difficult at the beginning, until they could become organized and the tall masts of the antennas would be raised and begin to whisper in their unintelligible code. Now the cables are properly laid out in pairs and in the various directions, the microtelephone sets are vibrating from the male voices and Russian, German, Hungarian, Polish, Czech and Bulgarian speech reaches the earphones. Everywhere surrounding the signals equipment we come across soldiers wearing different uniforms and with different duties and ranks. However, all of them are concentrated on the signaling lights, tensely watching instrument indicators. Brief arguments develop regarding the tactical and technical possibilities of the equipment, the qualitative and prompt opening of communications channels and their use. The most lively situation prevails at the regulating-technical group commanded by Officer Nikolay Khrulev. Sr Lts Vasiliy Chechenkov and Maksim Penkov exchanged views on reliably securing and directing the relay antennas. While the two officers are arguing, Ensign Grigoriy Mirgorodskiy has already positioned the entire antenna with its securing bolts and nuts. The Bulgarian soldiers have something to learn from their Soviet brothers.

I met the Soviet officer Sr Lt Vasiliy Chechenkov at the party field club, in the course of a game of chess. When the game ended in a draw or, as St Lt Cherchenkov said "In no one's favor but a good game," I was still speculating on what this young and ambitious commander was commanding. I tried in vain to recall everything I had seen at the Soviet communications center. I had not met this officer previously, which confused me even further. I could not even assume that this 25-year-old strapping young man with a wide smiling face and deep blue eyes facing me may be commanding an autonomous station. Whereas facing the chessboard he appeared tense, here, "at home" his eyes confidently roamed along the innumerable dials. His hands frequently crossed as he handled the equipment, until one needle or another would settle in the green sector, after which his long fingers would resume their rush along the various knobs. He was followed by Sr Lt Maksim Penkov. It is difficult to tune up the station on the very first try but the commander of the crew was there. His nods of approval indicated that so far everything was in order. This was followed by new explanations and quick sketches, until the Morse signals started to come out stronger and clearer.

Unquestionably, the experience exchanged during the joint maneuvers will contribute to the further development of the signal troops.

Platoon Activities

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Col Petko Radoev]

[Text] In the unit in which Officer Petrov serves, I noted with pleasure the model organization and strict internal order in the field camp. Everywhere one could feel the great enthusiasm with which the troops impeccably carried out their assignments.

The hot September day was drawing to an end when the powerful sounds of a soldiers' song were heard in the direction of the motor pool. Then the marching platoon commanded by Lieutenant Engineer Stamat.v appeared. The smiles on the faces of the soldiers clearly revealed that everyone was pleased with the daily achievements.

The conversation with the platoon commander began easily. At the very beginning one could sense his pleasure at the opportunity he had been given to test himself and his subordinates in such an important exercise. He mostly spoke of the work of his soldiers, expressing his admiration at the impeccable actions of Commanders Todorov and Petrov, who are not only able to mobilize their crews but to lead them skillfully in the struggle for excellent results.

The comradeship in arms developed in this platoon is strong, proven by time and difficulties. It is a bulwark for everyone and a guarantee that in difficult moments no one would be left alone.

Komsomol members with excellent rating shared valuable experiences during an evening dedicated to excellent soldiers. Their personal example and dedication in carrying out their official duties play a particularly important role today in developing a feeling of high responsibility.

Innovation and creativity have become the meaning and content of the work of this young commander. His aspiration is to be in step with contemporary requirements in the training and education of the troops. Also typical of Lieutenant Engineer Stamatov is his ability to use the experience of his seniors and his subordinates, which he not merely duplicates but improves on and develops further.

Each crew has a responsible Komsomol member in charge who helps the commander in the overall training, discipline and mutual aid among Komsomol members.

The platoon displayed high combat skills and acted impeccably in carrying out assignments. The platoon commander analyzes for his subordinates in detail the actions of the individual crews, sets the best one as an example and discusses even the slightest omissions in detail. He points out the individual elements in the course of combat operations, trying not to omit anything which might adversely affect their excellent success.

The days and hours in this united combat collective pass rapidly in the struggle against difficulties and trials, in the course of which the platoon commander and the entire personnel strengthen and mature as they surmount them.

Along with the great excitement triggered by the joint actions with our brothers in arms we note an aspiration, a great tension, decisiveness and a great spiritual strength.

Hungarian Army Day

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Sep 82 p 3

[Report by Lt Col Dimitur Atanasov]

[Text] Maneuvers area, 27 September (by telephone from our special correspondent). Today representative groups of all fraternal armies preparing for the "Shield 82" maneuvers came to the camp of the Hungarian People's Army to celebrate jointly Hungarian Army Day--29 September.

The ceremony was attended by Lt Gen Ferenc Karpati, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Hungarian People's Army and deputy minister of defense of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Officer Lajos Moroc delivered a short report on the combat path of the Hungarian People's Army.

Greetings to the troops and commanders of the Hungarian People's Army on behalf of the fraternal armies were presented by Lt Gen Mitko Mitkov, first deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army. He wished the Hungarian troops new successes in combat skills and successful performance in the "Shield 82" maneuvers. Greetings were also presented by Yanko Demirev, secretary of the obshtina party committee.

Representatives of the other fraternal armies as well greeted the Hungarian soldiers.

Lieutenant General Karpati thanked for the greetings and the beautiful spirit of these combat celebrations of friendship during the "Shield 82" maneuvers.

Description of 'Shield 82' Maneuvers

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Sep 82 pp 1-2

[Text] Maneuvers area, 28 September (BTA). Starting with this day the "Shield 82" maneuvers of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries entered its most important phase: the "days of combat" which will be the supreme test of the skill, moral and political qualities and physical and mental endurance of troops and commanders of the allied armed forces. During these days the ideological-political unity, unified strategy and tactics, brotherhood in arms and friendship among the members of the Warsaw Pact defensive military and political alliance will be manifested vividly.

The "Shield 82" maneuvers are being held against the background of a difficult international situation. The responsibility for the increased tension in Europe and throughout the world falls on the aggressive imperialist forces in the United States and the other NATO countries, whose policy aims at eliminating the positive results of detente, disturbing the existing balance of forces and impose a new dangerous arms race. Their adventuristic foreign policy and military actions are creating the threat of an annihilating nuclear conflict.

The thoughtlessness of imperialism is countered by the unity and power of the fraternal Warsaw Pact members. The peace program for the 1980s, proclaimed at the 26th CPSU Congress, the foreign policy initiatives of the Bulgarian People's Republic for good neighborly relations on the Balkans and the conversion of this area into a nuclear-free zone and the policy pursued by the other socialist countries offer a stable foundation for resolving arguments peacefully, reducing tension, disarmament, and strengthening understanding and cooperation among nations. The Warsaw Pact members threaten no one with the "Shield 82" maneuvers. Their purpose is to upgrade the defense capability of the fraternal socialist countries. The Bulgarian People's Republic, on whose territory "Shield 82" is taking place, will continue to make its contribution to the common efforts aimed at stabilizing the international situation, detente and peace. At the same time, our country will make its contribution to strengthening the power of the joint armed forces--the reliable defenders of the constructive efforts of the members of the socialist comity.

Arriving in the early hours of the day in the area of the initial combat operations were Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman.

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo members and minister of national defense, commander of the maneuvers, reported to him that the units and subunits of the fraternal armies were ready to begin to carry out their assignments.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov was accompanied by Milko Balev, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and BCP Central Committee secretary, Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, and Petur Tanchev, BZNS secretary and first deputy chairman of the State Council.

Also present were heads of departments of the BCP Central Committee, members of the government, first secretaries of okrug BCP committees, heads of socio-political and mass organizations, social and cultural personalities, and Bulgarian and foreign journalists.

Equally present were Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries, Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces, and military delegations from the socialist countries attending the exercise.

The first combat day began with operations by ground and air forces of the allied armies. Before striking the first blow, the air force reconnoitered "enemy" targets and objectives. The information provided by the fliers led by First Class Flier Capt Yordanov, transmitted through radio engineering facilities were of exceptional importance. With their help the staffs refined the basic "enemy" targets to be hit and corrected assignments.

The troops had occupied their launching areas and positions during the night. Under the cover of Soviet fighter bombers they began to move forward. However, the "enemy" did not remain idle. He used radio jamming in an effort to disorganize the movement of the troops toward the front lines and disturb their control. Many of the actions in this initial stage of the battle could not be seen, such as those of radio engineering and troop reconnaissance. Also invisible to the outside observer was the work of the communications troops, without which no battle control is possible. Whenever it is a question of offensive or defense, each type of combat has a streamlined communications system which includes a great variety of communications facilities.

The thunder of the jets increased and the battle gathered strength. Under artillery fire cover and air force strikes, the troops approached the attack lines. An advancing rocket battery accurately hit the most important "enemy" targets. Rockets, aircraft bombs and artillery shells traced their fiery trajectories. The entire area was shaken up by their thunder. Innumerable accurate hits opened the way to the advancing forces. The artillery preparations for the attack involved the participation of the unit in which Officer Bozhkov serves. A volley fired by the excellent artillerymen commanded by Sr Lt Deyan Dimitrov blended with the volleys of their comrades in arms from the Soviet and GDR armed forces.

The air force steadily covered the advance and deployment of the units. Excellent operations were scored by the Bulgarian air force, headed by First Class Flier Officer Parapunov. On their side were their comrades in arms from the Soviet armed forces, headed by Officer Reshetnikov, flier first class. They demonstrated their excellent flying skills and interaction both between them and with the ground forces. This is not the first time that Bulgarian and Soviet fliers have enhanced their combat skills in joint actions!

Using its long-range artillery and air force, the "enemy" tried to block the rapid advance toward its front defensive lines. A fierce air combat was joined. The struggle for control of the air was as tense as the battle on the ground! The artillery and tanks assigned for direct hits opened fire. Meanwhile, the engineering subunits opened passages in the obstacles erected in front of the defensive lines. The tension on the "battlefield" rose with every passing minute. The "enemy" answered the fire and tried to detect the plan and direction of the main strike of the advancing forces. At the same time, the artillery and the air force moved the fire in depth. There were no insurmountable obstacles to the perfectly trained socialist forces.

An atttack on the run--fast and daring--was mounted. There was excellent interaction between tank and motorized infantry forces, the artillery and the

air force. A Soviet army unit commanded by Officer Myachev was in the battle ranks of the advancing troops. With its accurate fire and elan it opened the way to the carriers of the motorized infantry unit of the GDR National People's Army, commanded by Officer Schendel. Its troops attacked without haste. They were followed by the command centers in combat vehicles. The battle control was close to the action.

The self-propelling artillery also moved to firing positions. The second echelons and reserves moved forward as well. The anti-airfraft cover of the advancing forces was secured by powerful modern anti-aircraft weapons which moved in combat order and destroyed the "enemy" in motion. They included the anti-aircraft forces commanded by Senior Lieutenant Gankochenko, the excellent Soviet army men Sergeants Derevencha and Kuuinskas and excellent marksman Private Malesh.

The battle became even fiercer, tenser and more violent. The offensive was developed in depth by the forces of the Czechoslovak, Polish and Hungarian armed forces. The Hungarian forces had celebrated their Army Day on 29 September. Polish military air transport appeared on the horizon. At the precisely determined time they landed forces behind "enemy" lines to assist the advancing forces. The sky turned white from the hundreds of parachutes. The leading airplane was piloted by First Class Flier Officer Plikhta with Navigator Officer Sharshabitov. On the ground, Officer Verbilis, commander of the paratroop subunit, quickly led into battle the red beret forces.

The Czechoslovak army tank unit in which Officer Sicak serves quickly deployed and advanced. The actions of the Hungarian unit in which Officer Bosis serves were irrepressible. The units of the fraternal armies interacted with exceptional precision. Many of their commanding officers are graduates of Soviet military academies.

In accordance with the plan the second echelons were committed. Using the success of the advancing forces in piercing the defense, the troops surmounted the "enemy" resistance and continued their headlong advance.

The first day of the "Shield 82" maneuvers, in which the troops of the allied armies participated, proved the exceptionally high combat skills, offensive thrust, unbreakable spirit and total coordination of activities. It was an irreplaceable political and combat school for education and military growth.

Artillery Action in Maneuvers

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Sep 82 p 2

[Report by Capt Pet'o Dafinkichev]

[Text] Maneuvers area (by telephone from our special correspondent).

Along the artillery positions the breech mechanisms made a dry clicking sound. A hand holding a red flag was raised high. The radioman pressed his earphones

close to his ears. Officer Vladimir Savinkov concentrated on the seconds arm of the second meter. Tension has risen to its maximum level.

Gunner Guards Jr Sgt Vasiliy Bishiru is holding his breath. This is a day of particular importance to him. He feels he has no right to allow even the slightest error. Firing from concealed positions is difficult. However, he is ready to give his best to carry out his combat assignment.

Equally excited are the brothers Guards Jr Sgts Mikhail and Aleksandr Brovchenko. Sasha commands a reconnaissance section while Misha is a range finder.

Komsomol Agitator Guards Sgt Anatoliy Miskevich, from Belorussia, is biting his lips. In the chest pocket of his jacket he carries a copy of the pledges of Komsomol members made during the meeting the previous evening. All of them are pledges to achieve excellent results. Will they be able to congratulate themselves for having fulfilled the pledges? He has faith in his comrades and tries to block all surprises. Still, anything could happen....

Loader Alikashin Musayev is already holding the second shell. Five days ago he celebrated here his birthday, something he will never forget!

Once again Officer Valeriy Zvezda computes in his mind the start of the fire, five volleys with different spacing. This is followed by fire cover of the attack. The shelling must be smooth, with a safe distance maintained.

Excellent Guards Sgt Aleksandr Poryadnikov, commander of the signals section, concentrates, after which with a clear and loud voice he gives the order to commence artillery fire. It was as though a tempest of steel broke out over the ground. The shells are seeking "enemy" fortifications. Black smoke rises.

Somewhere else our forces are advancing in a column. They cross the lines and break up into batallions, companies and platoons. Meter after meter, and shoulder to shoulder Bulgarian, GDR and Soviet army troops are approaching hour "H." Until then the artillery fire must destroy the enemy targets in order to lower "casualties," not to delay the pace of the tank and motorized infantry advance and carry out the daily assignment in the course of which "the god of war" will have his decisive say.

A sudden but intoxicating silence falls. I approach Guards Sr Lt Aleksandr Volkov, a battery commander. His eyes are shining happily, from which I understand that everything is in order. I shout louder than is necessary, asking him how the assignment was carried out. He lifts the thumb of his right hand--excellent!

The artillerymen come out of the trenches. They are pleased and talk loudly. However, this lasts a few minutes only, after which they are back at their howitzers. They have barely the time for an embrace and a strong handshake. The battle ahead has not ended. New assignments follow: consecutive and concentrated fire in depth, combined fire support methods and a mobile fire zone.

The wave of fire rises again, expected and necessary! The battle ends. The empty shells are still smoking and the faces are still sweating. The fatigue is not felt yet and the pledge has been fulfilled. I asked Guards Sgt Yuriy Matorzhanskiy, the commander of the best gun crew of the day, if he is pleased with the congratulations received.

"Yes, I am pleased that we were able to prove once again what we can do," he answered. "But what pleases me the most is that we are all together and that we worked hard with the Bulgarian artillerymen. It is a good thing to feel that troops from seven equally worthy fraternal armies are striving toward victory, loyal to peace and socialism. This entails great obligations."

I looked at the smiling faces around me. How different they are and yet how united they are in the enthusiasm of their victory. Their wave of fire greatly contributed to the total defeat of the "enemy" in this sector.

Conversation with Czechoslovak Officer

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Capt Lyubomir Denov]

[Text] During these tense days Lt Juri Konecni can always be found among his troops. Their assignments are numerous but his face shows neither fatigue nor the traces of great stress. It is precisely the opposite--his entire tight body radiates optimism and a good mood. He is proud and happy to have deserved the right to participate in "Shield 82," knowing that only the best troops and commanders of the friendly armies were assigned to participate in the joint combat operations.

Juri loves his military profession, which came from his veneration since childhood of the heroism of the troops commanded by Gen L. Svoboda and his respect for and attention to the work of the people who were successfully educated by his parents, who were experienced educators. He is happy to serve in a Czechoslovak-Polish friendship unit, which was recently awarded the high Order of the Red Star and the Red Banner of the Czechoslovak Komsomol Central Committee. The award was granted for the fact that for 4 years running the unit was first among leading units in the Czechoslovak People's Army.

A while back the military collective was assigned the task of struggling for fuel conservation. The first decision made by the unit was to save 10 percent compared with the norm. However, the party members in Lieutenant Konecni's subunit estimated that they could save not 10 but 12 percent. Their appeal was unanimously adopted and the task was carried out. Platoon Commander J. Konecni was one of those who launched the idea and worked with a maximal effort to carry it out.

"What has been your greatest success in your career so far?"

"My platoon achieved particularly great success in the combat fire practice during a company tactical training and the Dukla exercise. These were the peaks in my work."

"What did you think of the Bulgarian soldiers and the Bulgarians in general?"

"I had an excellent opinion of Bulgaria and its people but my expectations were outstripped. You, Bulgarians, are rarely good people. That is what I will tell my friends in Czechoslovakia, that they are exceptionally good people! I can feel your sincerity and directness."

"Do you think that your participation in 'Shield 82' will represent another peak in your difficult career as an officer?"

"I am confident that we shall at least duplicate our previous high results. I have faith in my soldiers, the wonderful Soviet machines and myself."

Behind 'Enemy' Lines

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Col Stefan Rikov]

[Text] Maneuvers area (by telephone from our special correspondent).

The "combat" operations have been underway for several hours. The battle for supremacy on the ground and in the air has remained unabated. Our forces as well as the "enemy" are making skillful use in the "battle" of modern airplanes, artillery and combat equipment.

Although this is an exercise, the dynamics and rapidly changing circumstances force every commanding officer to be on the lookout. Delays and underestimates may prove to be fatal. The participating forces are investing all their efforts, skill and combat mastery to gain the superiority they need so badly.

This autumn day is restless. The air is shuddering from the noise of airplanes and helicopters and is repeatedly pierced by shells and bullets. Also shaking is the ground which is carrying the load of exploding shells and aviation bombs and the weight of tanks and combat vehicles.

The noise of the decisive clash between the forces is uninterrupted over the rugged terrain shrouded in dust and gunpowder smoke. All this is so close to real combat as to confuse anyone unfamiliar with the circumstances.

Soviet, German, Hungarian, Romanian and Polish troops are acting precisely and in close coordination on the "battlefield." It is here, in the course of the "battle," under circumstances resembling real battle, that they are improving their practical skills. This can be seen in the control actions, the full use of material facilities and the exchange of useful experience....

Let me describe the activities of the Polish paratroopers. I recently had the opportunity to study their peacetime training. Now, their activities during the exercise, are really interesting.

According to the intention of the command, their task was to capture an area behind "enemy" lines and hold it until the arrival of the main forces.

This was a difficult and important task which called for ensuring all the necessary conditions for reliably overwhelming the "enemy" occupying the area, taking all the necessary security measures and displaying daring, cunning and decisiveness in the landing operations. The next few minutes convinced me that my acquaintances met these conditions.

After securing air supremacy, our aviation made it possible for the transport aircraft, which carried the landing subunits, to fly over the area. Then the skies above us turned white from the blossoming parachutes dropping the Polish paratroopers. From the air these daring troops opened fire on detected ground targets and sought a suitable landing area.

The paratroopers were coming down quickly and smoothly. Hitting the ground, they eliminated the stubbornly defending "enemy" troops with fire and hand to hand combat. Without gathering the scattered parachutes, the paratroopers from the companies of Officers Janusz Zacziczki and Jan Flinta energetically widened the occupied area and prepared themselves for active defense. Every soldier displayed speed, skill and cunning. Despite the fierce resistance, the paratroops of excellent platoons commanded by Officers Marek Zardezki, Tadeusz Penkowski and their comrades successfully widened the area of activities. Without fuss and skillfully they destroyed the "enemy" weapon emplacements which the air force and artillery fire had failed to suppress while, at the same time, ensuring themselves against possible surprises and creating secure cover facing the directions from which "enemy" reserves could approach.

Sergeants Kaik and Szwegoda displayed particular dexterity in rendering a discovered command center harmless. With their sudden and decisive actions they surprised the people in the center and neutralized them promptly.

Indeed a great deal could be told about these two sergeants. They have served a long time in the subunit commanded by Officer Stanislaw Mazurkevicz and for many years they have helped their superiors in training young paratroopers. They each have more than 5,000 parachute jumps and have earned the high title of "Master of Sports" in parachute jumping. In the course of the exercise and behind "enemy" lines, once again they displayed their superb qualities, leading their comrades.

The paratroopers from the companies commanded by Officers Flinta and Zacziczki had to hold the area for a number of hours. They were able to cope with this difficult assignment. They considerably hampered "enemy" control, and prevented him from sending fresh forces to the hard-pressed front line, thus considerably assisting their own advancing troops in carrying out their assignment successfully.

Many paratroopers distinguished themselves in the area they occupied. Particularly skillful were the actions of Excellent Soldiers Andrzej Madej, Jezi Skrajna, Antony Zemba, Zbigniew Zebro, Kszcziszczof Zak and many others.

In close interaction with the troops of the other fraternal army subunits, the Polish paratroopers carried out their assignment perfectly.

Combined Operation

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Sep 82 p 2

[Report by Lt Col Dimitur Atanasov]

[Text] Maneuvers area (by telephone from our special correspondent).

The war vehicles are concealed by the high corn stalks. Further behind, between the rows of trees and at the edge of thick oak copses, under the camouflage nets, the artillery batteries are ready. The "enemy" has made equally lengthy and persistent preparations.

The reconnaissance air force has reconnoitered "enemy" targets and sites. The group of airplanes is headed by First Class Flier Captain Yordanov.

The first echelon subunits start their advance. They are covered by fighter-bomber aircraft of the Soviet armed forces. However, the "enemy" is not idle. With radio disturbances it is trying to disorganize control.

The thunder of the battle is intensifying. An advancing rocket battery strikes at important enemy targets. The volleys of rocket launchers thunder threateningly. Artillery fire is covering the advance of tanks and war vehicles. Participating in the artillery preparations is the subunit in which Officer Bozhkov serves. The first volley is that of the howitzers commanded by Senior Lieutenant Tanev. They are manned by Junior Sergeant Kavaldzhiev, howitzer commander and Gunner Private First Class Petkov, both rated excellent in combat and political training. Their volley merges with that of the Soviet and GDR artillery.

The actions of the fliers led by First Class Flier Officer Parapunov are confident and precise. Together with his Soviet colleagues from the unit in which Officer Reshetnikov serves, a first class flier and master of accurate fire, they prove their excellent familiarity with their airplanes and excellent interaction. The power of the fire strike increases steadily. Using long-range artillery and aviation the "enemy" tries to disorganize and delay the approach of the advancing forces toward the front lines of defense. An air battle is joined. The struggle for air superiority is as tense and important as the battle on the ground.

One of the strong aspects of defense in modern combat is its high saturation with antitank weapons. That is why the task of the advancing forces is to

suppress them as securely as possible, for this would secure the speed of the attack. This is achieved with the help of tanks and direct laying artillery. According to reconnaissance data the target has been reached and the advancing forces attack without distancing themselves from the vehicles. The battle order ensures the high speed and maneuverability of the subunits, low exposure to all types of fire and the possibility of making the fullest possible use of the fire and striking power of the tanks and infantry war vehicles. Under fire cover the engineering subunits open passages among the obstacles for the advancing forces.

This action along the front involves the forces of the Bulgarian People's army; the right flank is held by GDR motorized infantry and tank subunits while the left flank is held by Soviet army subunits. The battle order includes a USSR tank batallion commanded by Major Mayachev. Excellent operations are conducted by the company commanded by Captain Pavlichenko, with mechanic-driver Private Vasilchuk. They are ensuring the advance of the GDR motorized infantry batallion commanded by Officer Stenzel.

The first wave of the attacking war vehicles has reached the front end of the "enemy's" defense at the exactly stipulated time.

The hour "H" has come. Attack!...

The attack is swift and daring and, in its own way, beautiful. It is carried out by troops whose armor and barrels follow the direction of the red arrows marked on staff maps, indicating the direction of the attack.

The attackers are followed by the artillery batteries and the second echelons and reserves which occupy the new positions. Anti-aircraft cover is needed everywhere and at all times. This includes the participation of the battery commanded by Senior Lieutenant Gannochenko, with Excellent Commanders of War Vehicles Sergeants Kazakov and Kuchinskas and Master of Anti-Aircraft Fire Private Malish.

The development of the offensive in depth is continued by Hungarian, Czechoslovak and Polish subunits. Particularly impressive is the landing from the air behind "enemy" lines under the command of Officer Jan Verbilis. Facing the counterattacking "enemy" are Soviet crews and Bulgarian engineering subunits which make skillful use of the topography and set up mine fields.

A Czechoslovak tank batallion and Hungarian war vehicles and the unit in which Officer Boshich serves, swiftly advance and deploy.

Reserves are committed as previously decided. Pressing on, the advancing forces surmount persistent "enemy" resistance and continue their advance.

... Perhaps the lights in headquarter tents and war vehicles will remain lit throughout the night. The staffs will work, analyze, compute and help commanders in making new daring decisions governing the actions of the troops.

Joint Command

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Sep 82 p 2

[Report by Capt Engineer Valentin Minev, NARODNA ARMIYA correspondent]

[Text] The flight controller and the detail are the first to assume their positions at the flight takeoff command center. This is also practiced during the "Shield 82" maneuvers. What is different is the number of flight controllers and the size of the detail.

Every day three members of three armies--Bulgarian, Soviet and Polish--meet at the start command center of N Airfield. They are Capt Ivan Enchev and Officers Nikolay Zamkovoy and Edward Kwiatkowski. From dawn to dusk the same words are heard in Bulgarian, Russian and Polish:

"Permission to take off granted!"

An airplane takes off after each such command. The assignments may be different but they are under the same Bulgarian skies. Senior Lieutenant Mitrev, Captain Ilchev, Captain Mikhalak and the flight commanded by Capt Anatoliy Martinovchenko participate in the exercise and share the airfield. Both on the ground and in the air their airplanes are wingtip to wingtip.

The takeoff command center is small but this is unnoticed by the members of the international control. The most important thing during their free time is to become better acquainted with each other.

Ivan, Nikolay and Edward are of different ages, ranks and positions. However, their training is the same--military pilots first class and equally confident in issuing their orders to Bulgarian, Soviet and Polish fliers. From their fraternal takeoff command center, in the course of the flight exercise conducted in three languages, they control the "combat" operations of part of the air force participating in the maneuvers, checking off one after the other on their plan tables the performed assignments.

Hungarian Army Day

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Sep 82 p 3

[Text] Today the fraternal Hungarian people and their armed defenders and, with them, the forces of the fraternal Warsaw Pact armies celebrate a great holiday--Hungarian People's Army Day. The day was not selected at random. On 29 September 1948 [sic] the Hungarian troops led by the legendary Lajos Kosut won a decisive victory over the Austrian enslavers.

Today's Hungarian People's Army, the precious child of the Hungarian Communist Party, was created on 23 December 1944 with the fraternal selfless aid of the Soviet Union. Its nucleus was the Hungarian volunteers regiment which fought shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet armed forces in the battles for the

liberation of Budapest in January 1945. Subsequently, two Hungarian divisions fought for the liberation of Austria from the Hitlerite fascists.

The Hungarian People's Army is an entirely modern armed force which can reliably defend its country and people from any foreign aggression. It is equipped with the latest weapons and combat materiel handled by highly trained troops loyal to the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and their people. As a worthy member of the powerful fraternal family of the Warsaw Pact armies, on its holiday the Hungarian People's Army is vigilantly and firmly holding its combat post in defending the great cause of socialism.

Guards Capt Vladimir Khusarov, commander of Excellent Motorized Infantry Company: It is a nice thing that all of us together have the opportunity to celebrate the great day of our comrades in arms--the soldiers of the Hungarian People's Army. The present exercise convinced us yet once again that they are true internationalists, loyal to the communist cause. Their army is equipped with the latest combat facilities and proved during the "Shield 82" maneuvers that it can resolve complex problems in modern all-army combat.

Our friendship with the Hungarian People's Army began during World War II, when Soviet and Hungarian army units jointly expelled fascism from Hungarian soil. Today, united within the powerful family of the Warsaw Pact armies, united in our resolve to defend peace, we congratulate them on the occasion of their holiday with all our hearts. We wish them further success in defending the gains of socialism in their homeland and a happy future for their industrious people.

Henryk Miszkel, Polish army political worker: The peoples of Hungary and Poland have always been warm friends and brothers. The troops of our socialist countries are firmly linked within a united alliance in the defense of socialism and carry out joint assignments in strengthening the power of the Warsaw Pact.

Dear Hungarian comrades, I am very pleased to be able to celebrate together with you your holiday during the "Shield 82" exercise and to carry out joint assignments with the other Warsaw Pact armies on hospitable Bulgarian soil.

We shall try to help the Hungarian tank men to carry out their assignment in the best possible manner. This will be our own gift to your anniversary.

Dear Hungarian comrades, on this day please accept on behalf of all commanders and paratroopers in our unit the warmest wishes for health, happiness and great success in combat and political training for the further strengthening of the combat power of the Warsaw Pact.

Master Sgt Stanislav Matea, Czechoslovak People's Army: The high school which I attended maintained friendly relations with a Hungarian school in Tatabanya. We organized frequent meetings which I shall remember for the rest of my days. That is how I learned to speak Hungarian. For many years I have corresponded with Peter Balasko, who is studying medicine in Budapest. We correspond and visit.

Today we are advancing shoulder to shoulder with the Hungarian soldiers. We have had several joint meetings in the course of which I developed a close friendship with Sgt Arpad Mandli. We shall be together with the Hungarian troops on the day of their anniversary. I use this opportunity to congratulate them most warmly and wish them success in battle and worthy representation of their armed forces in the "Shield 82" exercise.

Jr Sgt Yanko Vulev: In the course of our joint exercise we had the opportunity to meet with our Hungarian colleagues and to exchange experience in combat and political training. We held joint sports competitions and together attended youth dances. This enabled us to become even better acquainted and to become better aware of the value of our combat brotherhood.

Dear Hungarian soldiers, I am most pleased to congratulate you on the occasion of the 29 September anniversary of your armed forces. I congratulate you most warmly and wish you even greater successes in combat and political training and good health and happiness.

Sgt Peter Weisgerber, mechanic-tank driver, first grade class specialist, GDR: The assignments carried out in the course of the "Shield 82" maneuvers are important and difficult. They demand a great deal of physical, moral and mental stress. That is why I offer my warm congratulations to the troops of the Hungarian People's Army. I may not be able to find the most suitable words but wish to my comrades in arms above all great success in their noble cause. They are daring and courageous soldiers who have mastered the combat equipment to perfection, for which reason I am sure that they will justify the high trust placed in them during the exercise.

Celebration Ceremony

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Sep 82 p 3

[Text] Last night a solemn evening was held at the Central Club of the People's Army on the occasion of the anniversary of the creation of the Hungarian People's Army.

The evening was attended by officers and military personnel from Sofia Garrison.

A short speech was delivered by Officer Binev, who emphasized that the Hungarian People's Army is a loyal defender of the socialist gains of the Hungarian people.

The greetings were answered by Col Laslo (D'orfi), military and air attache of the Hungarian Embassy in Bulgaria.

The speeches were followed by the showing of two short films describing the life and training of Hungarian troops (our own information).

Second Day of 'Shield 82' Maneuvers

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Sep 82 pp 1-2

[Text] Maneuvers area, 29 September (BTA). The "combat operations" of the "Shield 82" maneuvers are in their second day. They are being observed by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman, comrades Dobri Dzhurov, commander of the exercise, Milko Balev, Pencho Kubadinski and Petur Tanchev, heads of BCP Central Committee departments, ministers, first secretaries of okrug BCP committees, and other officials.

Also present are military delegations from the socialist countries attending the exercise, Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries, and Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces.

A warm meeting was held before the "battle" between Comrade Todor Zhivkov and troops from the motorized infantry unit commanded by Officer Zhekov. The troops described their successes in combat and political training and their preparations for the "Shield 82" maneuvers.

After piercing the "enemy" defense yesterday, the forces of the fraternal allied armies are advancing in a rugged mountainous-forest area. Their actions are characterized by swift and decisive actions and close interaction.

Making skillful use of the topography, the "enemy" has set up a strong defense saturated with various long-term defensive installations. Along with their comrades in arms from the Soviet aviation, the Bulgarian fliers are reconnoitering the defenses in order to further determine the deployment of the defensive installations and the positions of the artillery, antitank weapons, reserves and other "enemy" targets. We are witnessing a display of high combat skill.

Fire preparations for the attack began. This was an exciting moment in the combat operations, an impressive demonstration of the strength and high combat readiness of the advancing allied forces. Loyal to the revolutionary traditions of their peoples, the troops of the fraternal armies are displaying their resolve inflexibly to defend the gains of the socialist comity. With its powerful fire the artillery is destroying the weapons, howitzers and other "enemy" weapons.

Suddenly, from behind the tree-covered mountain slope, combat helicopters appear, led by First Class Pilot Officer Andreev. Together with the helicopters of Officers Iliev, Slavkov, Marinov and others, they strike heavily at fortified areas and the dug-in "enemy" tanks.

During these decisive moments the fraternal interaction among the air forces of the friendly armies once again becomes clearly apparent. Wingtip to wingtip, within a single battle line, they are jointly bombing the "enemy", led by

First Class Soviet Pilot Officer Reshetnikov, Master of Accurate Fire Bulgarian Flier Tanev and his comrades. The actions of the fraternal air forces are exceptionally accurate and flexible.

The annihilating artillery fire goes on. With great precision the crews of the direct laying guns suppress the adamant resistance of the defenders. This allows the advancing forces to mount the attack. The tanks and the other war vehicles skillfully advance along the passages made in the "enemy" obstacles and deploy in a combat order. The attack begins at the stipulated time. Our forces destroy on the run remaining fire power and, interacting with the bypassing detachment, open a deeper wedge in "enemy" defense lines.

Above the mountain hills Soviet transport helicopters, led by First Class Pilot Officer Popov land troops to stop "enemy" reserves coming from behind and to contribute to the success of the advancing forces.

At such moments the increased skill of commanders and troops becomes clearly apparent. Even under most difficult circumstances they can act decisively, courageously and daringly. Proper mental and physical training, high ideological convictions and the will to carry out the assignment at all cost are characteristic features marking the actions of the advancing forces. They are the result of the developed skills and ability, field training, combat unity and high feeling of responsibility in the defense of socialism and peace.

The defenders are doing everything possible to stop the advance by fighting for each pass or path.

Officer Zhekov and his staff quickly assess the changing circumstance, maintain steady interaction among advancing subunits and skillfully and flexibly control the fire of the artillery, the air force and all other weaponry. The bypassing element commanded by Officer Tashev helps to consolidate and expand the initial success of those advancing in depth within "enemy" defenses through decisive actions under difficult mountain-forest conditions. Closely interacting with the paratroopers and the other forces advancing along the front, the bypassing detachment contributed to the successful implementation of the assignment.

In the afternoon as well the thunder of the airplanes and the explosion of bombs and artillery shells do not abate. The advancing forces, inspired by their success, are firmly imposing their will on the weakened "enemy" who tries to regroup his forces and to bring up deep reserves. Commanded by Officers Totev and Ninov, the advancing forces assess his intentions accurately and promptly. Their actions become increasingly accurate and confident.

Once again our airplanes take off. Their strafing and bombing "clear" a suitable area for the landing of airborne troops behind "enemy" lines. The strikes disturb enemy control and destroy his installations.

Closely interacting with their Bulgarian colleagues in the groups commanded by Officers Parapunov, Kalyukov and Popov, the Soviet fliers, led by Officers

Mantulenko and Kolvakhov, display enviable skill in hitting "enemy" targets. As they carry out their assignments, the thunder of a large number of helicopters shakes the air.

Medium and heavy transport helicopters swiftly advance toward the landing area. The groups led by Soviet Pilots Officers Bogachov, Lugovskiy and Mazanko, fulfill their combat assignment promptly. The landing forces they have brought capture the area within a short time and securely block approaching "enemy" reserves.

Meanwhile, pursuing the retreating forces, the leading detachments commanded by Officers Totev and Ninov advance swiftly. They open fire on the run. The increasing resistance of the defending forces force the troops of the advance outposts to deploy in battle order. With their skillful and decisive actions they open a battle area for the units behind them.

The "battle" tension is rising. Supported by artillery and air power, with close interaction and proper control, the advancing forces are implementing their assignment with increasing success. Shortly afterwards the subunits behind them are able to deploy along the secure lines and continue the offensive. They crush the "enemy" resistance and penetrate his battle lines more and more deeply.

The second battle day of the "Shield 82" maneuvers proved the exceptional skill of the involved troops. Under conditions maximally close to real combat they displayed their swiftness and aggressiveness, high combat spirit, excellent mastery of combat ordnance and armaments, international coordination and total reciprocal understanding. This was a combat day of unity, fraternity and readiness inflexibly to defend the cause of socialism and peace.

(BTA) Today Army General Lajos Czinege, Hungarian minister of defense, arrived for participation in the "Shield 82" maneuvers. He was welcomed by Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of general staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, Col Gen Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, and BNA deputy ministers, generals and officers.

Also present were Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact, and Col Gen Karoi Czemi, secretary of state for defense of the Hungarian People's Republic and deputy head of the Hungarian military delegation.

Air Force Operations

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by Major Engineer Veselin Stoyanov]

[Text] Maneuvers area (by telephone from our special correspondent).

Initially, an isolated reconnaissance airplane rose over the battlefield. Shortly afterwards, a group led by First Class Pilot Officer Yordanov pursued this activity of exceptional importance to the advancing forces. Naturally, during that time the "enemy" did not stop to admire these flights but used a variety of means of disturbance to hinder the transmission of information. However, aerial reconnaissance carried out its assignments successfully.

Supersonic fighters covered the advance of the first echelon. The group included exclusively first class pilots from the Soviet air force unit in which Officer Ilarionov serves. This combat unit, which entered into fierce aerial combat with the fascist aggressors as early as July 1941, has a glorious history. A permanent member of its ranks is the hero pilot Timur Frunze, son of the famous Soviet military commander. Today's generation of air fighters, which includes First Class Pilots Officers Lisovitskiy, Morgenson, Plakhtiy, Martinovchenko, Marudin and many others, are worthily continuing the work of their great predecessors.

We entered into the dugouts. No more than 2 minutes later, the artillery and the air force will suppress and destroy with their powerful strikes the most important "enemy" targets, depriving him of the possibility of offering organized resistance to the advancing forces.

The earth is shaken by powerful artillery fire. Motorized infantry and tanks manned by Bulgarian, Soviet, Hungarian and GDR troops have already initiated their advance.

A strike groups of fighters-bombers, led by First Class Pilot Officer Pavlov, deals a powerful strike at an "enemy" missile battery. It is followed by the groups led by First Class Pilots Officers Parapunov and Karlyukov, which accurately strike other targets. Subsequently, the flights led by Officers Tsokov and Dikov, mop up what their comrades in arms began.

However, the "enemy" continues to resist. He sends a large group of airplanes which strike at our forces. An aerial battle breaks out over the "battlefield."

In the subsequent raid combat helicopters prove their great possibilities by striking at the "enemy" and acting below the trajectory of artillery shells.

"Are such joint activities with the artillery not risky?" I asked one of the group leaders before the battle. He calmly answered that everything will be alright. They began training for this responsible test as early as the beginning of the summer by coordinating group activities, and complex navigation singly and in a group with practice fire.

Indeed, the actions of the helicopter pilots are impeccable. They fly so low and close to us that I can see the numbers painted on most of them and can imagine the concentration of the pilots, operators and flight technicians.

I am still excited by the actions of the helicopters when a group of Soviet fighter bombers, which represent the highest accomplishments of contemporary aerospace design, swiftly fly toward the "enemy" and destroy targets at different depths. The first group is led by Officer Avenir Reshetnikov, a master of combat use of the aircraft.

The subsequent groups, led by First Class Pilots Officers Kolvakhov and Mantulenko, destroy important "enemy" targets with heavy bombs.

Soviet and Bulgarian tanks advance on our left and our right like a steel avalanche. The deafening fire, thunder of powerful engines, bomb explosion and machine gun fire can be heard. Infantry combat vehicles are advancing toward the "enemy" at high speed. From the air, Soviet and Bulgarian fighters continue to provide cover to the advancing subunits side by side. The same is accomplished by our troops and anti-aircraft rocket units.

The "enemy" continues to resist fiercely along his already set defense lines. Ground and aerial reconnaissance has refined the striking targets, identified enemy reserves and transmitted to the command centers reconnaissance data. Bulgarian and Soviet fighter bombers fly overhead at short intervals, striking at "enemy" artillery firing positions from different directions, at tank columns and other targets. "This is my third decade of service in the air force," a Polish officer next to me said with unconcealed admiration. "But this is the first time that I see such a mass use of different purpose groups."

Only a few minutes later I had the opportunity in turn to express my admiration at the actions of the Polish comrades in arms. A large group of transport aircraft showed up from the east, led by First Class Pilot Officer Plichta. His crew includes Officer Sharshabitov, whose navigational computations are accurate to the second. At the proper time the first paratrooper jumps followed by a second and a third.... Other paratroopers are jumping from the other airplanes.... The numerous domes holding troops with red berets are nearing the ground. The moment they land the daring paratroopers release their parachutes and join the battle without delay. They are closely interacting with Hungarian and Czechoslovak subunits.

Unconquerable power and swiftness, suddenness and precision, daring and mature technical thinking, comradeship in arms and interaction are a brief description of the combined actions of the air force in the course of this day of battle!

Destruction of Sea Mine

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgaria 30 Sep 82 pp 1-2

[Article by Sr Lt Vasil Danov, NARODNA ARMIYA correspondent]

[Text] Maneuvers area (by telephone from our correspondent). "A sea mine to be destroyed at coordinates...." read the text of the radiogram. The first

thought which crossed the mind of Officer Rusinov was that this is one of the numerous moves prepared by the staff for the "Shield 82" maneuvers. However, the final word "actual" made him realize that it was a question of a real war mine. The mine caught by the drag of a fishing vessel or a navy ship tore itself off from its 10-year-old anchor and presented a serious danger to navigation in our waters, particularly now, when Bulgarian and Soviet forces are engaged in joint exercises. This is not a first occurrence, for 1 or 2 years ago the navy sailors in this unit had already felt the distant echo of the war.

Capt-Lt Milcho Tsolchovski immediately received the order to organize a blasting crew. Volunteers far exceeded demand. "Take me! Take me!" the seamen begged. This was a rare opportunity to display their skills and daring in fighting not a training but a real mine. "If you do not let me go I will jump into the boat!" threatened First Class Seaman Sapper Dimitur Popov. In addition to him, Captain-Lieutenant Tsolchovski selected Senior Lieutenant Iliev, recently promoted, Ensign Vanko Panayotov, Second Class Petty Officer Georgi Stamatov and the young Seaman Valentin Genov. Two teams were set up--the main and reserve.

Two fishing trollers commanded by Capts Trendafil Georgiev and Khristo Zhglov came to assist. They reached the mine at midnight, to replace the Soviet ship which had been guarding it until that time. Under the rays of the pale moon, its dark shape seemed even larger. These were dozens of kilograms of trotyl. Until the morning they circled around it, illuminating it with their searchlights. Even before sunrise the two blasting teams were in their boats.

"The electro-contact mine was covered with weeds. In addition to horns it had a kind of spikes we had never seen before. We assumed that it was of German manufacturing," Captain-Lieutenant Tsolchovski said.

They approached the dark sphere. The strong arms of Seaman First Class Popov kept in place the boat dragged by the waves toward the mine. The sea was relatively calm. Senior Lieutenant Iliev hooked the trotyl charge on the horns, unraveled the fuse fed by Captain-Lieutenant Tsolchovski. The fuse hissed warningly and the boat quickly retreated.

"Seeing the mine from afar I was somewhat frightened," Seaman First Class Popov admitted. "I told myself, this is no joke. Yet when we approached I calmed down. I had been told of such occurrences by older seamen but I very much wanted to experience this personally."

After painful expectation, the mine blew up. The wind carried the thunder of the explosion.

"The fairway is clear." This brief report concealed the difficult work, coolness and daring of the navy sappers, their pride in carrying out their duty and their constant readiness for battle.

Marine Physician

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Capt Lenko Petkov]

[Text] The armored troop carrier of Capt Nikolay Kotov easily dropped into the water and smoothly advanced toward the shore. The sea landing was progressing successfully despite stubborn "enemy" resistance. The motorized infantry subunits of the first landing wave had deployed and were pushing back enemy forces. Captain Kotov's vehicle "bit" into the shore and advanced rapidly.

....Several hours later I had a talk with the captain. "I am the battalion's physician," he said, "as well as a war vehicle commander." I must have registered surprise, for the young officer repeated: "I am the battalion's physician. However, this does not prevent me from taking part in the landing with the others. That is how we, marines, do it."

These are the famous marines! How often we have heard and how frequently we have read about them! When the first war vehicle came out of the large landing ships, Major Ignatenko, my colleague from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA unwittingly exclaimed: "This is where real service is. That is what I call military service!"

I looked at the young shining face of Captain Kotov and tried to imagine him in a white smock with a scapel or a syringe in his hand, but all I could see was a Soviet army officer.

"Is there work for Kotov the physician?" I asked.

"None," he said, smiling again. "I have not had a single patient from the very first day we sailed into Bulgarian waters. A man could forget his profession this way."

"What is the mood of the troops? Have you participated in other large maneuvers?"

"The mood is upbeat. Everyone is thoroughly training for the exercises. We are not afraid. I took part in the 'West 81' maneuvers and I believe that here again we shall do well. During the 'West 81' maneuvers Marshal Ustinov personally cited Lieutenant Colonel Rudenko, our batallion commander."

"What is the opinion of Officer Kotov on the interaction with the Bulgarian troops?"

"My impressions from our joint training are good. Initially it was not easy but, as they say in my country, if the first blyna sticks in your throat the second goes down much more easily."

"What has been your most difficult medical case?"

"Marines are rarely ill. Honestly, I find it quite embarrassing to say that my most serious case was the removal of an inflamed appendix, which I did in the Mediterranean last year. Our ship was sailing to the "West 81" exercises, and since the distance from the Black to the Baltic Sea is quite long, the result was that my patient not only healed before the exercises began but even participated in the sea landing."

Behind the captain crew members Mechanic-Drivers Seamen Ivanitskiy and Bolagura and Signalmen Lomov and Afanasiyev showed up.

"Two Russians and two Ukranians," the officer introduced them. "A wonderful group! They provide impeccable communications and run and maintain the vehicle impeccably."

Coordinated Actions

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Sep 82 p 2

[Report by Col Stefan Rikov]

[Text] Maneuvers area (by telephone from our special correspondent).

The "enemy," who had suffered heavy losses in the course of the combat operations, was panting. The worsening of the situation urged him to look for any possibility of organizing himself. That is why he used all convenient defense opportunities to stop the advance in an effort to gain time. This would have allowed him to regroup his forces, restore the weakened control of his subunits and bring up fresh reserves....

The "enemy" was cunning in his foresight. That is why Officer Denev tried to detect his intentions thoroughly and to counteract energetically.

Reconnaissance and security elements operating ahead of the forces promptly detected the resistance in fire centers and forced the defenders to expose themselves and lose self-control. All of this resulted in errors which, in the course of combat operations, exact a high price.

Mentally, Officer Denev imagined what his subordinates were to accomplish in the tense minutes and hours which stretched ahead. The marching columns would be led by covering elements of the advanced parties. In their war vehicles, the troops of the excellent company commanded by Senior Lieutenant Tonev, the tank personnel of Senior Lieutenant Yankov and others will be looking at the area closely. On frequent occasions he had seen the skill of the troops and the qualities of their commanding officers.

Yes, experience is an irreplaceable aid. It makes it possible clearly to consider how to lead subordinates best. References and computations, knowledge of the personnel and good interaction decisively help the thinking of the

commanding officer. This would be of great importance in today's field activities as well, in which the presence of the Soviet troops participating in the "battle" would be felt tangibly. It enhanced the mood and inspired confidence in the final success. It was pleasing to feel that in the heat of "combat" one would be reliably covered from the air by the famous Soviet and Bulgarian eagles....

Somewhere in the distance the thunder of exploding bombs echoed. According to the "battle" plan, behind the elevations the terrain for an air landing was being "cleared up." In a short while the groups of medium and heavy landing helicopters, flown by Soviet Pilots Logachov, Lugovskoy and Mazenko, making use of the topography, swiftly flew to the landing area. The landing troops under Officer Protsenko skillfully destroyed the "enemy" groups which had remained after the bombing and promptly blocked the bringing up of enemy reserves.

Minutes before the subunits commanded by Officer Denev were to move decisively forward, great activities were noted in the "enemy" lines. The fire preparations were inflicting heavy casualties on the defenders. The accurate hits of artillery shells blended with the air strikes. Wave after wave of airplanes piloted by the subordinates of Soviet Officers Mantulenko, Salnikov and Kolvakhov engaged in precise bombing.

Together with them were the fliers of subunits in which Officers Parapunov, Karlyukov and Pavlov serve. Like their Soviet colleagues, they displayed their high flying skills and envious strafing accuracy in hitting ground targets and providing air cover.

Under the cover of artillery and aircraft fire, the forces of the advance parties swiftly moved ahead. Precisely obeying the orders of young Officers Tonev, Yankov and their colleagues, their troops promptly deployed in battle order and fired at the "enemy" who was trying to hold them back.

The "battle" was becoming more and more fierce. The explosion of shells, the rumble of the engines and the infantry fire blended as an impressive symphony. Surmounting the resistance, the war vehicles advanced with increasing persistence. The troops tried to finish off remaining "enemy" forces on the run and to create conditions for the deployment of the units behind them.

Officer Denev had the possibility of following the actions of the leading subunits and to support them properly. He clearly assessed that in the course of the subsequent action the resistance of the defenders would increase substantially. All of this greatly enhanced the role of interaction with neighbors and supporting fire and aircraft. That is why he tried to pay attention to everything and to make use of even the slightest success which could be developed further.

When the advancing forces captured the advance strongpoints and rushed ahead, they were supported by fire from combat helicopters.

The groups led by First Class Military Pilots Officers Andreev and Georgiev appeared over the battlefield covered by the smoke of gunpowder and dust in teams. Skillfully maneuvering, they actively attacked the "enemy" strongpoints and other targets.

With fire support, gradually the troops of Officers Khalachev, Kapov and Georgiev became increasingly active. In a swift movement, suppressing remaining "enemy" targets, the personnel of the tanks and armored carriers systematically crushed the resistance of the defending "enemy."

All subunit commanders showed speed in their actions, flexibility and creative thinking. Decisively assisted by artillery fire and air support, with increasing persistence they pushed back and destroyed the defenders in order to secure lines for committing new forces.

In the course of the offensive Officer Denev carefully assessed the actions of his and other forces and controlled combat operations. He did not forget even for a minute interaction, communications with neighbors and support. His orders--brief, clear and precise--reached each advancing unit, establishing order and organization. Against the background of the successfully developing advance, and among the din of the air battle, the thunder of exploding shells and the roaring motors, this was particularly useful. It encouraged commanders and troops to double their strength and energy in order to carry out their assignments successfully. This exercise was not only a difficult test in these September days but also a matter of pride: together with Soviet troops which were providing air support, they were able reliably to defend their homeland and the gains of the socialist comity.

Assault From March Column

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Sep 82 p 2

[Report by Sr Lt Evgeni Genov]

[Text] Maneuvers area (by telephone from our special correspondent).

Officer Horst Stendel, commander of a motorized infantry batallion, assessed the situation and his assignment. He realized that the "enemy" has gone into defensive operations and is bringing reserves from the deep rear, trying to prevent the advancing forces from occupying tactically advantageous lines. The enemy's company strongpoint was located on an elevation, as it should be. It consisted of machine gun nests and recoilless guns. Despite the short time at his disposal, the commander made quick and suitable decisions.

The preliminary preparations and the organization of the "battle" were completed. Along with the tank company commanded by Captain Meinberg and the howitzer battery of Major Kruger, the motorized infantry quickly moved toward the front defense lines.

Unexpectedly, helicopters appeared behind the forest. Soviet and Bulgarian aviators interacted with the German motorized infantry, giving it air support. Simultaneously, like an avalanche of fire, Soviet artillery opened fire on the leading echelons, strongpoints and artillery and mortar positions.

All of this created favorable conditions for the further advance of the troops. The important thing was not to miss the opportunity. One could clearly see from the observation point the swift advance of the armored motor vehicles deploying in battle order as they appeared out of the forest cutting.

Attack! Machine and submachine gun fire is heard. The motorized infantrymen are acting with precision and decisiveness. Officer Stendel ordered increased fire in one direction or another. The same orders were issued by the company commanders. The actions of the motorized infantry, the tanks and the artillery were fully coordinated.

"This is a difficult exercise for the troops," the commanding officer had told me on the eve. "The subunit has many young soldiers. They must now prove their physical and mental endurance and martial skills."

Company Commander Senior Lieutenant Hartmann shared with me the following several days before this important test:

"Let me point out the excellent training of platoon commanders. I am confident that they will be able to cope even with the most difficult situation." The same view was expressed by Jr Sgt Andreas Wack. He assured me that his mortars will be destroying the "enemy" tanks with the first shell.

....The advance continued successfully. The "enemy" counterattacked. Having accurately assessed the situation, Officer Stendel decided to repel it on the move. The companies with attached tank platoons swiftly advanced in order to occupy better positions. The motorized infantrymen of the company commanded by Captain Messerschmidt showed their excellent training. The mortarmen displayed their high skill. This was to be expected, for it has become a tradition for the battery's personnel to hit the target with the first shell. Last school year the collective fulfilled its pledge in the socialist competition and was given an excelnt rating. Today as well the personnel are displaying the same qualities.

Another strongpoint faces the battery. Officer Stendel rapidly assessed the situation and made a proper decision. He mounted a frontal attack with the companies of Captain Messerschmidt and Lieutenant Molnau, while the company commanded by Senior Lieutenant Hartmann was ordered to carry out a flanking operation, interacting with the neighbor on the left. The motorized infantry of the Bulgarian People's Army bypassed and penetrated the "enemy's" rear lines. This maneuver made it possible to develop the offensive at a high pace.

The attack and the advance prevented the "enemy" from organizing the defense of his intermediary lines. The dynamic and stressed situation contributed to

the development of useful combat qualities in the troops. The difficult conditions energized troops and commanders. The combat operations required great tension and extreme mental stress. They helped to improve the methods of the commanding officers in troop control and guidance.

During the exercise the troops of the National People's Army of the GDR mastered and carried out their assignments as required by modern combat. They displayed their high combat spirit, proper physical training and endurance and readiness always to defend the cause of peace and socialism.

Tank Crew Activities

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Col Petko Radoev]

[Text] Large maneuvers are remembered by military personnel as great holidays. The stress in the activities of the tank crew commanded by Jr Sgt Ivan Ivanov is rising steadily. At the same time we detect the emotions and the aspiration of every member of this small combat collective to prove himself properly during the maneuvers. This involves the implementation of various combat training assignments and the surmounting of resulting difficulties. However, this is not considered a burden, which is a guarantee for proper action.

The tank crew traditionally is rated excellent and is the champion not only in the company but in the unit and no one is willing to abandon this tradition. The individual and collective pledges of the crew are being fulfilled honorably. Relations among the crew members are comradely, warm and principle-minded.

With unconcealed pleasure the tank gunner said:

"With his comradely approach to us and his personal example, the commander leads us and we follow him enthusiastically in performing our military duties."

Junior Sergeant Ivanov said:

"I am extremely happy that together with all the comrades in the unit, our crew had the honor to prove the strength and power of our arm. I am happy that here, in the exercise, I will be able to meet with comrades from the other fraternal armies. We shall exchange experience. Everyone will share everything he knows so that all of us may be ready to defend peace and the cause of socialism."

Not only this tank crew but all other troops and commanders use every available second to improve and advance their skills. The assignments, pledges and instructions issued by the command and the Komsomol societies are being carried out with military honor.

Continuing Advance

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Sep 82 p 2

[Report by Capt Lyubomir Denov]

[Text] Maneuvers area (by telephone from our special correspondent). The advance is continuing. The main forces, which have pierced the "enemy" defenses need support. Fresh troops must be committed to the "battle." This is the task of Czechoslovak, Hungarian and Bulgarian subunits moving forward on village roads.

Like Real Brothers

In the course of organizing the interaction, a meeting was held between company commanders Sr Lt Alois Janicek, from the Czechoslovak People's Army and Lt Antol Berockoy, from the Hungarian People's Army. They shook hands, embraced and, subsequently, jointly determined the interaction procedure....

The fire preparations ended. The final volley was the strongest and most powerful. It was one of the signals for the beginning of the attack.

The tanks advanced swiftly and daringly. Riding in the command tank, Senior Lieutenant Janicek directed the invisible avalanche of steel. This is his first such attack. After graduation from a military academy with excellent success, he was directly appointed company commander.

With increasing frequency Janicek looks to the right. The "enemy" defenses are slightly protruding in the sector attacked by the Hungarian motorized infantry. For the time being, however, there is no danger that Janicek will lose contact with them, the more so since along the flank is his best platoon, commanded by Junior Sergeant Bajtipan. This youngster has done a tremendous amount of work! He completed a course for junior commanders and his love for the tanks and excellent training were additional grounds for the high trust of the command. The tank commanded by Private First Class Kratki, the last in the chain, is the closest to the war vehicles of the Hungarian motorized infantry. Kratki's brow is covered with sweat. For a second he saw the tank of Komsomol secretary Private First Class Czasta. At first he thought that Czasta had decided once again to prove his high skill to his own driver Private First Class Urbanek but then realized that the soldier was simply skillfully crossing a ditch.

Somewhere ahead of them they saw through the smokescreen the flames of the charges set by the sappers. After a few seconds the torches marking passages through minefields lit up....

The Hungarian troops are advancing side by side with their Czechoslovak brothers. The motorized infantry of the company commanded by Lieutenant Berotskoy is swiftly attacking next to the tank company commanded by Senior Lieutenant Janicek. On the eve of the exercise Officer Balok shared his confidence in the success of the left flank company. Lieutenant Berotskoy is the

youngest commander in the subunit. He has commanded a platoon for only 1 year. For the time being, however, his company leads in the socialist competition.

The platoon commanded by Lieutenant Banhedi is advancing alongside the tank platoon of Junior Sergeant Bajtipan. The last vehicle in the chain is driven by Private First Class Zambo, rated excellent in combat and political training. A few days before the "battle" he was issued a Komsomol assignment not to fall behind his own and the Czechoslovak tanks, while observing the proper distance.

Hard Won Victory

However, the "enemy" resisted stubbornly. Following the successful landing of the Polish paratroopers, which secured an advance area for the development of the offensive, reconnaissance reported that tank columns are moving at high speed and are preparing to counterattack in the flank of the advancing forces.

There was no time to waste. The attackers decided to make use of the mobile detachment to block the offensive. After a few minutes a group of helicopters from the Soviet unit in which Officer Shkadinskiy serves, flew to the line at which the counterattack had to be stopped. This was the mobile blocking detachment. The group was led by Military Pilot First Class Officer Mazanko. He is a CPSU member and bearer of an order for excellent training results. Responsive, calm, and displaying a rare pedagogical tactfulness, Officer Mazanko has earned the recognition and respect of the entire collective. He is always assigned by the command to the most difficult areas. Here again he has been entrusted with mining from the air the line which the "enemy" tanks must cross.

The commander's crew includes Excellent Military Fliers Captain Shashchenko, the navigator and secretary of the party organization, and Flight Technician Captain Rud.

The helicopters flew low. In impeccable combat order they approached the line and began to drop heavy antitank mines....

Meanwhile, the battery commanded by Capt Petur Pavlov had reached its assigned area. The orders "Start! Forward!" were heard. Seconds passed by. The prime movers groaned as they climbed the slope. The battery personnel tensely held their automatic weapons, once again assessing their actions the moment they would jump on the ground. In order to conceal the advance total radio silence was ordered.

"Stop! Come down! Unhitch! For battle!" The prime movers irrepressibly moved ahead and, after unloading the ammunition and sighting instruments disappeared in their shelters. The crew commanders report:

"Gun Number 1 ready!"

Captain Pavlov is pleased with the actions of the antitank forces. The crew has assumed its combat position. However, the captain keeps looking at his watch with increased frequency. "Enemy" tanks may appear at any moment. There they are!

"Battery stop! Mark 42--two groups of tanks! First platoon fire at the right group, second platoon at the left! Fire!"

A sharp noise breaks the silence. Even without binoculars the strikes are visible. However, Captain Pavlov is not celebrating prematurely. He understands perfectly that the outcome of the battle now depends on the accuracy of the fire. Should the tanks be able to cross and strike at the flank the entire advance will be stopped.

"Fire! Fire!"... The fire positions disappear in clouds of smoke.

"Gun Number 1 completed its fire--two tanks destroyed. Two shells spent."

Seconds later similar reports are heard from the crews of Sergeant Ilchev and Junior Sergeant Gruev. Excellent combat actions are reported by Gunners Privates Donchev and Zaykov.

Silence! The artillery fire stops as suddenly as it started. The "enemy" has suffered heavy losses. Meanwhile, the Czechoslovak tanks and Hungarian motorized infantry continue to sweep off the "enemy" defenses. The flank has been protected and the critical moment in the battle is over.

On the staff maps of the opposite sides the outcome of the combat takes shape. The advancing forces are winning, those whose active and decisive combat actions were able to impose their will on the "enemy."

Hungarian Company Actions

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Capt Bela Siklosi]

[Text] An armored troop carrier showed up through the cloud of dust along the road. Its tower "looked around" the area and the machine guns were directed toward the forested and bushy area. The carrier stopped and the cupola turned slowly, grandly "feeling" the surroundings, meter by meter. Its two doors opened and the reconnaissance troops literally flew out of the vehicle. The leader of the two scouts Private Peter Adam threw himself on the ground and rolled quickly toward the side, ran a distance of 20 to 30 meters and assumed a ready to fire position. He motioned with his weapon that the way was clear.

The reconnaissance patrol commanded by Master Sergeant Ferenc Ambrus was given an important assignment in the tactical exercise with practice fire conducted by the reinforced mechanized infantry company. He was to reconnoiter the area where the company was to deploy, the location of engineering equipment along

the route, its condition, and areas with a probable contamination with chemical and radioactive weapons. He was to repel sudden attacks by enemy diversion groups, to secure the proper advance of the company and, in the face of stronger enemy forces, to cover the deployment of the subunit and its engagement in battle. During that day the skill, speed and physical endurance of the troops were repeatedly tested. Every member of the company felt it his obligation during the exercise to prove that the recent failure of control fire practice had been an isolated error. The company commanded by Lt Marton Feyes surmounted a variety of obstacles in the course of the exercise in a truly exemplary fashion. It acted particularly well during the advance and in detecting and surmounting low-flying air targets, enemy air landing and combat helicopters. A simulator of a fighter, which flew over the column, rarely avoided machine gun hits.

The stipulated area was occupied substantially faster than stipulated in the excellent rating norm. The war vehicles were quickly camouflaged. The troops skillfully used natural shelters of copses and bushes. In preparing for their combat assignment, they did not forget the securing of the waiting area or the need for observers, detectors and patrols. In this area the combat vehicles were checked and ammunition, fuel and technical facilities were delivered and readied.

The drill was exemplary. Informing the company marching column the company commander quite perceptively anticipated a possible encounter with the enemy and placed at the head of the company the reinforcing tank platoon and behind it a rocket platoon, which is irreplaceable in fighting enemy tanks.

He was justified, for the advance did not proceed calmly. The reconnaissance patrol radioed that platoon strength enemy strongpoints and a minefield had been detected.

The column stopped. Supported by tanks and the fire of the infantry platoon, the troops undertook to open a passage across the enemy minefield. The method used by the platoon with the help of no more than two sappers in carrying out its assignment was noteworthy. The troops assembled the charges and moved them across the minefield. A long time passed until at a distance of 20 meters within the minefield passages for all three platoons were blasted open.

Major Gen Sandor Simon, who observed the exercise, assessed the organization and control of the fire and the advance of the subunit as adequate. He indicated as another noteworthy feature of the exercise the decisive action of the company commander in controlling the fire. He singled out the fire control of the reinforcing tank platoon.

In a swift attack the subunit captured the strongpoint of the "enemy" platoon. The company continued its advance riding in the armored troop carriers. The day was ending by the time the area of the most difficult and the final stage in the exercise--the firing range--was reached. The issuing of ammunition was preceded by mandatory checks.

Fire commands were heard one after another along the squads, reaching even the most distant soldiers. With the advance the number of targets increased steadily and an increasing number of weapons joined the "battle." Only a few of the almost 150 various enemy targets--tanks, armored troop carriers, guns, combat helicopters and group targets in strongpoints representing infantry subunits--remained intact. One or more bullets hit more than two-thirds of the targets. In one of the targets, which simulated a combat helicopter, the numerous bullet holes proved that the commander properly controlled the organized fire of his subunit.

The company's results may have been even better if several groups of infantry or helicopter targets had not appeared in violation of the planned stipulations. The tank platoon which was supporting the "fight" of the mechanized infantry platoon contributed to the success of the offensive battle waged by the company with its excellent fire results. Although the antitank rocket platoon fired successfully as well, during the "battle" in depth it was quite late and in repelling the counterattack the fire directed at enemy targets was provided by the tanks and crews manning manual antitank weapons.

The company met perfectly its tactical normed assignments and concluded with good results the fire and combat exercise. The formation commander, who followed to the very end the tactical company exercise combined with fire practice, expressed his satisfaction with the results. He noted the thorough and skillful work of the company personnel and the skillful handling by the company commander of the reinforcing tank and antitank missile subunits. He also noted with satisfaction the organization and activities in making the passage through the minefield. He highly rated the dynamics of the combat activities of the subunit, the coordination between the fire and the advance, and the behavior of the troops in combat, indicating that under other difficult and complex conditions they will be able to apply everything they have learned during the exercise.

Third 'Shield 82' Maneuvers Day

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 1 Oct 82 pp 1, 3

[Text] Maneuvers area, 30 September (BTA). The third combat day of the "Shield 82" maneuvers was the culminating point of the exceptional dynamics of "combat operations." They were observed by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman, and Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, commander of the exercise, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Vasil Tsanov, Chudomir Aleksandrov and deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers.

Also present were heads of BCP Central Committee departments, members of the government, first secretaries of okrug BCP committees, heads of sociopolitical and mass organizations, culture and art personalities, public figures and Bulgarian and foreign journalists.

The maneuvers were observed by Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces, and military delegations from the socialist countries attending the exercise.

In order to consolidate the results achieved so far and to develop their success in depth, the advancing units of the fraternal armies were ordered to destroy the "enemy's" facilities for nuclear attack, and to capture important targets behind enemy lines. Reconnaissance aircraft took off and transmitted data exceptionally necessary for the forthcoming decisive clash.

A group of supersonic fighter aircraft showed up from the north. Their target was to prevent "enemy" airplanes from penetrating the landing area. A tense air combat developed. This was hard work for First Class Pilots Officers Videnov, Lolovski, Georgiev and others. However, these are fighters who have grown up in a collective with traditions related to holding leading positions in mastering the new jet airplanes during the 1950s, the training of the first flight of first class Bulgarian fliers, and the reaching of high results in combat and political training.

Several groups of fighter bombers mounted a sudden thunderous attack coming from various directions. They struck with missiles and bombs important "enemy" targets in order to help the landing troops. This was the air force unit in which Officer Malchev serves--a combat group which has always been among the leaders.

Before the noise of the powerful explosions could disperse, a group of Soviet combat aircraft dealt crushing blows at other "enemy" targets. They were led by Officer Igor Artyunshenkov.

The air force preparations for the landing was essentially completed. The "enemy" was disorganized and needed time to recover. However, the first military transport airplanes were already nearing the landing area. The weather conditions worsened drastically. A torrential rain began to fall. Lightning tore up the sky. The dropping of the combat ordnance began--the parachutes with the heavy vehicles dropped quickly, creating the impression that in no more than a few seconds they would hit the ground. The next moment, however, the retrojets ignited and thanks to the thus created "cushion," the equipment landed smoothly. The domes of hundreds of parachutes opened in the air. The Soviet troops of a unit which participated in the Great Patriotic War were landing. These troops displayed amazing examples of courage and heroism in the battles for the liberation of Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Those who landed included Officer Sergey Kochetov, bearer of the For Service to the Homeland Order Third Class, commanders of excellent subunits Captains Valeriy Dyachuk and Aleksandr Lobanov, Sr Lt Valeriy Yuriyev, Privates-Komsomol members Sergeant Oleg Peklich and Private First Class Mikhail Aleksandrovich, both of whom recipients of the Komsomol Central Committee badge "For Military Valor." The landing subunits were highly mobile, perfectly trained for battle under all possible conditions. While still in the air the landing forces opened fire on the "enemy." Bulgarian fighter aircraft circled high in the

sky, ready at any moment to protect the landing forces from the "enemy" air force. A heavy battle developed on the ground.

To the companies of combat and landing ships from the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet of the USSR and the Bulgarian navy, the motorized infantry units and to the combat aircraft crews this day represents a peak of the stressed preparations filled with work and trials. A sea landing was to be made--one of the most complex military operations. The ships showing up at sea are powerful, flexible and fast. The companies have mastered the combat equipment to perfection. For example, the crew of the large "Krimskiy Komsomolets" landing ship has been rated excellent for the past 10 years. Now as well its commander Captain Lieutenant Nekhoroshev and Senior Lieutenant Reshetilo, deputy commander for political affair, are confidently taking it to a leading position in the competition.

Also in the ranks is the Bulgarian ship commanded by Lieutenant Stefanov. It too is struggling for the title "Excellent Landing Ship." In the stipulated areas the dozens of landing ships take aboard ship troops and equipment; the hulls are filled with the thunder of engines and smoke as the tanks and armored troop carriers take their place.

Leading toward the shore are the minesweepers which open ways through "enemy" mine obstacles for the ships behind them. However, the landing is threatened by submarines and missile and torpedo launchers and aircraft. Despite the camouflage measures, the "enemy" could counteract in the course of the loading and deployment, for which reason vigilant air, surface and underwater protection is needed. The submarine in which Officer Yordanov serves, reliably covers the group of ships. The sonar men survey the sea around them and determine the "enemy" steps. The enemy varies its depth, and changes its course and speed. Also present here are antisubmarine ships. The crew commanded by Officer Damyanov is in one of them. It is the first to discover an underwater target which is attacked by the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet of the USSR on which Officer Magazinov serves.

The landing forces are nearing the shore. The missile carrying aircraft of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet of the USSR, whose strike groups include First Class Pilots Officers Lazarev, Moskot, Shchiryayev and Bistritskiy, strikes at the "enemy's" antilanding defense. The fighter bomber aircraft rushes ahead in battle order. The groups of aircraft are led First Class Soviet and Bulgarian Officers Podgornyy, Kolesnikov, Parapunov, Oseledko and Karlyukov.

Escort ships open artillery fire from a distance, hitting the shore strongpoints of "enemy" ground forces. The earth shakes from the thunder of the explosions. Hundreds of kilograms of hot metal are poured on each square meter of shore.

The landing detachments are nearing in battle order. They are covered by the fighter aircraft and naval artillery. Special helicopters open passages in antilanding minefields. The weapons of the landing ships join the battle. The ships reach the landing areas. The marine subunit commanded by Officer

Rudenko is in the first landing wave. It captures sectors on the beach and secures the landing of the main forces. Tanks and armored troop carriers come out of the landing ships and open fire even before reaching the shore. Combat helicopters and Soviet supersonic fighters fly over them. Their missiles destroy the "enemy" weapons and reserves brought up from the rear. The large landing ships of the second wave are nearing the shore. Particularly impressive are the hovercraft ships which fly over the waves at high speed and "land" ashore. The ships land tanks. Marine infantry headed by Officer Reblev joins the battle. The "enemy" pours fire on the landing forces. Our troops are waging a fierce battle to widen the bridgehead. The tension increases... and shortly afterwards we hear the shout "Victory!"

This was the final day of the "combat operations" of the "Shield 82" maneuvers, in which participated staffs and troops from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. The assignments for the exercise were carried out. The troops displayed their high skill, total coordination of action in the exceptional dynamics and complexity of the "battles," and moral-willpower and physical qualities.

"Shield 82" were maneuvers which clearly proved the socialist internationalism of the Warsaw Pact members, whose soldiers were welcomed with exceptional hospitality and great warmth and cordiality by the Bulgarian population. "Shield 82" became another demonstration of the unity and cohesion of the allied armies and the resolve to defend the gains of socialism and strictly to carry out the assignments of the fraternal parties in countering the threat of a new war and strengthening global peace.

Attack at Sea

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 1 Oct 82 pp 1-2

[Report by Capt Lyubomir Denov]

[Text] Maneuvers area (by telephone from our special correspondent).

The sea is calm and the waves are moving toward the shore very slowly. A few meters away a little stream is playfully rushing toward this infinite water mass. Tanks and war vehicles do not fit into this pastoral picture. However, here they are, side by side, with their back to the sea. In no more than a few minutes the company commanded by Senior Lieutenant Zapryanov will start their long sea landing march. The tank platoon commanded by Master Sergeant Cadet Rumen Angelov is in a state of tense expectation.

The Ship Lands

The landing ship nears the shore. The gate opens slowly and becomes a bridge linking the ship to the shore. The first tank starts confidently and accurately in reverse. It is followed by the second and the third. The most accurate is Junior Sergeant Driver Kyuchukov--his tank finds its proper place in a few seconds.

No more than some 10 minutes have passed since the loading and the order to lift anchor is heard. On the bridge, Sr Lt Khristo Boyadzhiev, the ship's commander, is waiting for the commander of the landing. The tank personnel complete the securing of the tanks and also hasten to meet with their friends, the crew members. Senior Lieutenant Boyadzhiev is pleased by the interaction with the fraternal land forces. The tank crews become quickly accustomed to ship procedures and, together with the seamen, participate in resolving various problems which arise in the course of the sea crossing.

The landing conducted by Senior Lieutenant Boyadzhiev earned the rating "Excellent." His crew shows great assurance and is ready to consolidate the result. Convinced of the success of the crossing and the landing are also the ship's mechanic Lieutenant Dochev and Junior Lieutenant Dyakov the ship's deputy commander. The slogan "Radioman, be a marksman in the ether!" hangs over the seat of the ship's signalman. "This is the work of our Komsomol secretary, Second Grade Petty Officer Tomi Geyman," explains the commander. "The society is in a leading position in the Komsomol organization. Let me say that a great share of the good training of the crew is the result of purposeful Komsomol work."

Master Sergeant Cadet Angelov is on the bridge. He is calm. The loading has been completed successfully. I asked him how the tank personnel feel in the new situation.

"Very well," he answers. "We expected that the drivers would be faced with the greatest difficulties. It is obvious, however, that practice runs yielded results. We took preventive measures against seasickness as well. So far no one has used the special pills which we were issued in advance."

During the training period, excellent work was done by tank commanders Master Sergeant Marchev, Junior Sergeant Koklev and Gunner Private Zlatkov.

Cold wind blew from the shore and the rocking increased. A signal flashed from the flagship. Its orders were issued from the bridge. A long and difficult sailing trip lay ahead....

Through Fire and Water

The reconnaissance ended and fighter-bomber aircraft hurled themselves toward the positions of the antilanding defense. The thunder of the jet engines was incredible but rapidly disappeared among the powerful bomb explosions. The task of comprehensive strike was carried out by the naval artillery of the covering forces. Minesweeping helicopters flew toward the shore, leaving behind them a wide passage free from mines. New fighter-bomber units roar toward the "enemy" batteries. They fly low over the positions, dropping their deadly load and sharply rise in the smoky sky.

The outlines of the hovercraft ships show up on the horizon. Gradually the halo of a huge water jet rises behind them. At low height and in orderly

ranks the helicopters of the storming groups are flying toward the shore. Together with the landing forces carried by the hovercrafts, as a leading detachment, they will be the first to join the "battle" and to seize a bridgehead so that the main forces can land.

The landing ships of the first "wave" show up. The tactical deployment has taken place and the officers and seamen from the unit in which Officer Atanasov serves are gathering their strength for the decisive hour. Meanwhile, the "enemy" has recovered and his coastal batteries intensify their fire. One after the other orders come out of the flagship, aimed at ensuring uninterrupted interaction. Yes, interaction is a decisive factor during these particularly important minutes. The bay must be approached simultaneously and in an orderly fashion. This will exceptionally increase the striking power of the landed subunits.

The ship commanded by Senior Lieutenant Kurmakov is following the precisely stipulated course, confidently following the orders of Officer Atanasov.

The flagship and the ship commanded by Senior Lieutenant Boyadzhiev are sailing side by side in the same "wave." The fruitfulness of the entire interaction essentially depends on their coordination.

An air "battle" develops over the bay. Once again fighter-bombers take off and in their wake the shore is covered by a thick cloud of smoke. Sr Lt Khristo Boyadzhiev shakes the hand of Platoon Commander Master Sergeant Cadet Angelov and wishes him success. In a friendly fashion he lays a heavy hand on the shoulder of the tank man. The crews of the tanks have already assumed their positions. It is dark and stifling in the hold and even more so in the tank. However, only a few hundred meters remain to the shore. All seamen are in their positions. Petty Officer Second Class Geyman, the Komsomol society secretary, is steering, standing next to the commanding officer.

"Release the flap!"

Driver Junior Sergeant Kyuchukov is firmly holding the control sticks. When the flap has been dropped entirely the tank personnel realize that there are 20-30 meters to the shore. Yes, the seamen kept their word of maximally facilitating the landing of the equipment.

"Forward!"

The first tank touches the waves and for a second the water hits and "blinds" the driver. However, the commander is in his proper place. The remaining tanks hit the water as well. They confidently follow the leading tank and are ready to engage in "battle" on the shore. Soviet marines brought by the hovercraft and the helicopters are already fighting. The explosion of shells can be clearly heard through the thick armor. Passages through minefields have been already clearly marked. The charges of the Soviet engineers have done a good job.

"Carefully through the passage!" orders the platoon commander. Everything is normal. The tanks go over a deep ditch through a makeshift bridge and begin to deploy for the attack.

Meanwhile, the ships commanded by Senior Lieutenants Boyadzhiev and Bratanov, Lieutenant Stefanov and Commanding Officer Atanasov are already maneuvering. The outlines of the large Soviet landing ships become visible on the horizon. They will be landing ashore the subunits of the famous marines.

Concert for 'Shield 82' Participants

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 1 Oct 82 pp 1-2

[Report by Maj Dragomir Gospodinov and Capt Ivan Yordanov]

[Text] Burgas, 30 September (by telephone from our special correspondents). This evening troops from the fraternal armies came to the Burgas House of Culture for the solemn concert-show of the artistic companies of the troops which participated in the "Shield 82" maneuvers.

The concert was attended by Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Georgi Yordanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Council of Ministers deputy chairmen, heads of BCP Central Committee departments, Col Gen Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, Nikolay Zhishev, first secretary of the Burgas Okrug BCP committee, generals and officers.

Also attending were the military delegations of the socialist countries attending the maneuvers, Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces.

The fanfare for "Shield 82," especially composed for the maneuvers by military band conductor Lt Col Dimitur Bratanov, was played. The curtain rose slowly. The emblem of the maneuvers stood out visibly on the stage, lit by searchlights. The "Victory March," performed by a representative ensemble of the BNA, with which the solemn concert-show began, sounded powerfully. Using the language of music, words and dances, the performers described daily military life, comradeship in arms, and the resolve of the Warsaw Pact armies to defend the cause of peace and socialism.

"The BNA representative ensemble has always been among the troops. Such was the case now, during the joint exercise of the fraternal armies. No other way is possible, for the soldier needs songs," said artist Col Boris Khinchev, chief conductor of the representative ensemble of the BNA.

"Folk music reminds the soldier of his roots and gives him the strength to surmount difficulties, for which reason our performance is based on Hungarian folklore. Although Hungarian is a difficult language, our music and dances

are close to and understood by the troops of the fraternal armies," said Private Gyula Nejmet, first violin in the amateur music and art ensemble of the Hungarian People's Army.

Maj Alfonse Wolf, head of the vocal octet of the "Erich Weinert" GDR army ensemble, said briefly: "We sing of peaceful days, love and happiness, children and a bright future. We know that all of this is needed in order to continue the revolutionary traditions and to strengthen the power and unity of our armed forces."

"Our program describes the daily life of the red berets. We want the people to understand that we are ready for anything in order to defend socialism in Poland and the Warsaw Pact countries. Such are the words with which we conclude our composition," said Private First Class Raszid Staruha, soloist in an amateur music-art ensemble of the paratroop forces of the Polish army.

"Our program includes topics of heroism and the peaceful days of the Soviet people, the spiritual wealth of the builder of communism, high responsibility for the defense of the homeland and permanent readiness for exploit for the sake of the happiness and prosperity of our land and for peace," said Maj Dimitr Volkov, artistic manager of the Song and Dance Ensemble of the Red Banner Odessa Military District.

"Through our songs we want to help the soldiers to forget their fatigue after difficult exercises and to encourage their good mood. They must always remember that they are defending love, children and the future," said Drahomira Hranova, soloist of the performing group of the Military Artistic Ensemble of the Czechoslovak Western Military District.

Seamen carrying the flags of the Warsaw Pact members come on stage under the sounds of the "United Nations March." Pioneers wearing red kerchiefs wave the blue flags of peace. Side by side, the troops of the fraternal armies sing the march of unity and friendship. We are strong because we are together and are defending the sacred cause of peace and communism.

Profile of Minesweeper Commander

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 1 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Capt Second Rank Yani Poptomov]

[Text] Warrant Officer Valeriy Nikolayevich Avdenok, medium-sized, with a thin dark face, talks very rapidly. He is probably the same in his work--fast and dexterous. Otherwise we would be unable to explain the good results he has achieved in training and educating his minesweeping crew.

Yes, the military service of this warrant officer, in love with his profession and totally dedicated to his work, is paralleled by success. Both combat posts have been rated excellent and with a single exception all minelayers are rated as first class specialists. Valeriy Nikolayevich is particularly proud

of the activities and military skill of Petty Officer Second Class Yuriy Barousov, and Senior Seamen Andrey Lyakhov and Andrey Glizhin, who have been awarded the high title of Excellent Navy Seaman. These successes are the result of comprehensive and persistent efforts and a tireless search for the most efficient solution of combat training problems, the struggle to save minutes and seconds and comradely mutual aid.

All seamen in the multinational minesweeping crew are good comrades, ready at all times to help one another. For example, Senior Seaman Velichko was relatively new aboard ship and found it difficult to participate fully in the various activities of the crews. He was helped by Petty Officer Second Class Yuriy Barousov and Senior Seaman Andrey Lyakhov in his faster development as a specialist.

It is a manner of honor to the united minesweeping crew to participate in the joint "Shield 82" maneuvers. That is why its training was comprehensive and extensive: theoretical and practical training in material facilities, combined with special concern for impeccable work of the equipment, exchange of experience among specialists in different ships and practical solution of problems at sea, paying particular attention to lowering norm indicators.

Valeriy Nikolayevich is still under the impression of the recently completed voyage. Darkness had long fallen by the time the ship docked. He felt bone tired. However, the fatigue could not dull the glitter in his eyes or suppress his pleasure of the excellent and coordinated activities in minesweeping, which had once again helped the crew to gain valuable seconds.

Warrant Officer Avdenok, the party secretary, is concerned not only with the success of his subordinates but the entire crew. That is why with his typical persistence he urges on the party members to unite the collective even further, using a rich gamut of means of mass-political work.

The warrant officer was awarded the medal "For Excellent Military Service" Second Class for his comprehensive and active efforts. He also bears the title of "Master in Military Affairs" and has deservedly earned the respect of all officers, warrant officers and seamen in the unit.

Landing Exercise

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 1 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Capt Ivan Sotirov]

[Text] Maneuvers area (by telephone from our special correspondent).

The flat containers of antitank and antipersonnel mines had been concealed in the gold-yellow sands of the beach. Silent death is also floating on the gray-green waves of the maritime bay. The accesses to the neighboring hills--convenient passageways to the positions held by the antilanding defense--have

been mined. The tank guns and mortars are ready for accurate fire at approaching ships and armor. The shoreline is cut up by trenches and the artillery batteries are positioned in the forest which is visible in the distance. Howitzers are threateningly raised in the ravine. The battle for the seashore will be fierce. The troops of the unit in which Captain Zafirov serves, are part of the antilanding defense. They have practiced long and persistently and have upgraded their combat skills.

A Decisive Duel

At present only observers and weapons on duty are to be found along the positions of the antilanding defense line. Shells are exploding around them and aviation bombs leave huge craters. Fountains of dirt, dust and smoke rise in the air. A thick gray cloud of smoke rises high into the sky. At the proper distance from the shore, behind the Soviet minesweeper, the fire support ship of the Bulgarian navy is shelling heavily the positions of the antilanding defense. Bulgarian and Soviet fliers are accurately bombing the "enemy" artillery battery.

Suddenly hovercrafts appear above the waves in the bay. Flying low over the sea are a group of helicopters which turn sharply toward a convenient landing area. One of the helicopters is skillfully piloted by Capt Aleksandr Yelchaninov. His crew includes Diving Pilot Sr Lt Nikolay Lugavtsov and Flight Technician Capt Vladimir Veresov. All three are party members: Yelchaninov is member of the party bureau, Lugavtsov is responsible for the party group while Veresov is an agitator. This crew has shown excellent results in many important tests. The commanding officer is their model. Last year, Military Pilot First Class Yelchaninov was awarded the "Honor Badge" order, which is a high government award.

The artillery turns its fire in depth and the personnel of the antilanding defense leave their shelters in order to assume their positions in the trenches. The fastest and best organized are the platoons commanded by Lieutenants Petkov and Narmiyski. They can see the helicopters flying low over the sea ahead of the gray-black smoke covering the battlefield, quickly landing not far from the beach. The landing forces jump out of them. Short bursts of automatic fire are heard and hand grenades explode. A powerful hurrah can be heard.

The Marines are Advancing

The hovercrafts swiftly approach the shore. They reach the shallow area without diminishing their speed. Surrounded by clouds of sand they come out of the water and go on over the ground. They are unrestrainable! They finally stop and tanks and infantry war vehicles come out through the open flaps and attack. Bulgarian troops and Soviet marines carry out joint tasks shoulder to shoulder--the destruction of the infantry and the remaining weapons of the "enemy." They secure the area of the sea landing.

Soviet Officer Viktor Polosin is the commanding officer of the leading detachment. He bears the order "For Service to the Homeland in the Armed Forces of the USSR" Third Class. He was a delegate to the 26th CPSU Congress. During the preparations for the exercise I had the opportunity to talk to him.

"I was born not far from Moscow, in the city-hero of Tula," he said. "I chose the military profession in order to defend my homeland. I am proud to be a marine, which is the heir of great combat traditions."

Small and large landing ships are approaching the shore. At the proper distance the flaps open and tanks, infantry war vehicles and armored personnel carriers emerge. The marines commanded by Officer Vasiliy Rudenko join the battle. This commander has rich experience and has participated in many joint exercises of fraternal armed forces. He has perfected his skill and combat mastery on Bulgarian soil as well, in the Rodopi maneuvers. He is CPSU member and first class specialist.

Among the leading marine lines is Deputy Commander for Political Affairs Capt Valeriy Zagornov. As during the Great Patriotic War, the commissar is always among the troops.

Excellent work is being done by the left flank company commanded by Sr Lt Aleksandr Zyuzyulya. For the past 3 years he has commanded an excellent company which is always in a leading position in the socialist competition. Sr Lt Zyuzyulya is the bearer of the "For Military Combat" medal for proven command skills and combat mastery.

The actions of the section commanded by Sgt Aleksandr Shevchuk are confident and precise. The section has given the high pledge of achieving excellent results in honor of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. Contributing to this are Jr Sgt Pavel Moiseyenko, secretary of the Komsomol organization, Seaman Sergey Ryaboy, Seaman Bektabek Yuldashev and all others. Their successes in the exercise will be the reward of Sergeant Shevchuk who, prior to the combat operations, had applied for CPSU membership.

Leading Experience Course

The marines advance irrepressibly. A crack develops in the antilanding defense but the "battle" does not stop. From the edge of the forest four columns of tanks and armored personnel carriers advance rapidly in the direction of the wedged forces. With speed and confidence the units commanded by Captains Kapinov and Kichukov deploy for the counterattack. The lines prepared in advance are reached also by the antitank forces commanded by Senior Lieutenant Dimitrov. The actions of the platoons commanded by Lieutenants Lozev and Kozhukharov are excellent.

The advancing counterattacking columns are shelled and bombed. Soviet fliers Military Pilots First Class Officers Mikhail Kolmogorv, Vladimir Salnikov and Vladimir Ryabinin are confidently piloting their supersonic aircraft.

Shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet marines are the Bulgarian troops from the unit in which Officer Angelov serves. In their case, this exercise is not only a difficult trial but irreplaceable training. It is here, in the course of joint actions with the landing troops, that they master leading Soviet experience and learn to fight like the descendants of the great Red Army men.

Both the attack and the "Shield 82" maneuvers will pass. However, Company Commanders Sr Lts Georgi Lazarov, Nikolay Kolev and Kol'o Kolev will continue to apply in their work all that they saw and learned from their Soviet comrades.

....The shore is covered by a smoke screen and ever new ships from which tanks and armored troop carriers pour out come closer. Far into the west the sky is dark from the smoke of the "battle." Despite the stubborn resistance of the enemy, the Soviet marines and Bulgarian troops continue their successful advance.

Airborne Landing

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 1 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Maj Engineer Veselin Stoyanov]

[Text] Maneuvers area, 30 September (by our special correspondent). One of the most characteristic features of the offensive conducted by our troops during the past days has been its decisive nature. This type of offensive is based on the fraternal friendship and close interaction among the different units of the allied armies and their substantially enhanced combat possibilities.

Regardless of its previous lack of success, the "enemy" continues to wage delaying "combat" operations along lines in depth prepared in advance. The offensive is developing steadily, which deprives the "enemy" of the time and opportunity to maneuver with its reserves, bring up material facilities and consolidate his defense.

In order to consolidate results and develop their success in depth, our forces have been ordered to make a landing to destroy "enemy" nuclear weapons and capture important targets in the rear lines. This is an exceptionally complex assignment, for these weapons are distinguished by their high maneuverability and their quick change of positions. They are difficult to reconnoiter because of good camouflage and proper protection. However, any delay in the destruction of such nuclear weapons would enable the "enemy" to deal powerful strikes at our troops and even to defeat their advance....

Under exceptionally difficult weather conditions, with low clouds and uninterrupted rain, the first military transport aircraft advance toward the area. We experience a feeling of veneration as we watch the calm grandiose flight of the Soviet aircraft.

One, two, three..., five..., 10..., 20..., 30..., 50 parachutes are in the air and more and more open.... One of the tasks of the landing is to capture an important target and to create conditions for the further deployment of efforts. The equipment is parachuted. The parachutes with the heavy machines rapidly lose weight and give the impression that in a few seconds they would be crushed on the ground. The next moment, however, the retrojets ignite with a strong counterblast and thanks to this "pillow" the equipment lands smoothly on the ground.

Ever new parachutes "blossom" in the sky and counting them becomes difficult. This is followed by the more interesting launching of equipment with multiple parachute systems each one of which covers several hundred square meters. The fighter aircraft continue to be on guard, preventing even a single "enemy" airplane from reaching the landing area.

The unit currently landing has actively participated in the Great Patriotic War and its personnel has set numerous examples of courage and heroism in the battles for the liberation of Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Today the landing forces include Officer Sergey Kochetov, bearer of the "For Service to the Homeland" order Third Class, for high successes in combat and political training, Commanders of Excellent Subunits Captains Valeriy Dyachuk and Aleksandr Lobanov and Sr Lt Valeri Yuriyev, Komsomol members Sgt Oleg Peklich and Private First Class Mikhail Aleksandrov, bearers of the Komsomol Central Committee badge "For Military Valor" and dozens of other officers, sergeants and privates who, immediately after hitting the ground, get rid of their parachutes, rally and swiftly rush in their war vehicles toward the "enemy." The landing subunits are highly mobile and perfectly trained for combat under all circumstances. They consist of party and Komsomol members infinitely loyal to the CPSU and their great homeland, and ready to carry out their patriotic and international duty.

One, two, three..., five..., 10..., 30..., 50.... The words which we hear cannot described the visual and emotional impact of such a landing. While those who have landed last are removing the landing equipment from the machinery, one of the subunits has almost completed the destruction of the "enemy" in the target area to the northeast. Meanwhile, the anti-aircraft subunit has already assumed combat positions in order to protect the entire group from the hits of the "enemy" from the air, who is tirelessly trying to wreck the landing. The missile battery has also assumed firing positions and is ready for battle.

The landing forces succeed in surmounting the "enemy" resistance and seizing and securing all targets, after which they convert to defense until the main forces, which are not far, approach! They keep coming, thanks to the daring fliers and courageous paratroopers!

Description of Airborne Landing

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 1 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Maj Drago Ivanov]

[Text] One after another the transport aircraft take off. The noise of the engines increases and the land begins to fly under the wings and gradually disappears. Skillfully led by First Class Pilots Officers Petr Belinkskiy, Tadeusz Rasztemborski, Richard Gwardiak and others, the airplanes confidently fly toward their assigned area.

The paratroopers and Lt Jan Flinta are in the aircraft commanded by Officer Janusz Koper. Some of them attentively check their equipment, straighten up belts and tighten up something else. Others are talking quietly among themselves while others again have their eyes focused ahead.

The flow of thoughts is interrupted by a yellow light. Like one all stand up and assume their position in line. Final preparations. The eyes stare at the signaling lights. Green light! The first, with a habitual movement, removes himself from the end of the barrier and plunges into the air. He is followed by a second, third, a fourth,... the sky becomes dressed in white silk.

Bursts of automatic weapons fire become increasingly frequent. The fire-spitting weapons are getting closer to the ground. The first troops of Lieutenant Flinta's company hit the ground. With precise actions Privates Boleslaw Jezorowski and Slawomir Mendziski, Private First Class Miroslaw Banaszkewicz and Sr Cpl Andrzej Madej get rid of the parachutes and swiftly rush toward the "enemy." The ground becomes covered with silk. Among the increased submachine gun fire we can hear the most accurate mortars. The power of the attackers is growing steadily and an increasing number of paratroopers join the "battle."

The "enemy" is unable to hold on and falls back, leaving his trenches. They are immediately occupied by the paratroopers from the platoons commanded by Second Lts Tadeusz Pinkowski, Janusz Glazar and Jan Bulek. The defense system is organized accurately and rapidly. Concealed behind the parapets the mortars are accurately firing at "enemy" fire and armored targets. In this sector the "battle" initiative is being increasingly assumed by Lieutenant Flinta. The assigned target has been captured. Now the fast and initiative-minded actions are replaced by intensive efforts for the engineering installation of the company strongpoint. Despite the uninterrupted "enemy" fire, the paratroopers have dug in, are laying mine obstacles and accurately firing with all weapons. During this period the best action is scored by sections commanded by Sr Cpl Andrzej Madej and Cps Jezi Skrajni and Roman Jasszemski, shock trooper Private First Class Stanislaw Majerczik, mortar launcher Private Andrey Szikora, signalman Private Daniel Konderski, and driver Private First Class Wojciech Budilowski.

The "enemy" does not accept the loss and attacks fiercely but all his efforts are in vain. The company commanded by Lieutenant Flinta is firing accurately and is selflessly defending the captured area.

The "enemy" become fiercer with every passing minute. It is becoming increasingly difficult to hold the area. However, the high skill and combat mastery have their say and the "enemy" efforts to attack are repelled. The circular defense is operating impeccably.

Dust rises in the horizon in the direction of the "front line." The tanks and armor of the allied armies are swiftly rushing in the direction of the landing. This aid doubles the strength of the paratroopers.

Lieutenant Flinta issues orders to the sappers of Platoon Sergeant Walczek as to when to blast passages and how to mark them, after which he resumes command of the defense. Orders can be heard correcting the fire, thus strengthening the faith in the final victory.

Like a wave of steel the allied forces are approaching the landing area. Passages have been opened through blasting and marked with colored smoke. At full speed tanks and war vehicles enter the battle order of the company.

The "enemy" is given no time to recover. Having totally lost the initiative, he rapidly withdraws to better lines. The allied forces begin their pursuit.

The weather-beaten faces of the paratroopers in Lt Jan Flinta's company are smiling. They have reason to be pleased. They and their comrades in the unit commanded by Officer Stanislaw Mazurkevicz carried out their assignments perfectly.

Patriotic War Recalled

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 1 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Col Petko Radoev]

[Text] Whenever I participate in large-scale exercises I think of the Patriotic War. As a former front line veteran I discover something close and exciting, something remembered forever. I still recall the emotion I felt on the eve of my first battle with the Hitlerites.

That is why I understand the excitement of the tank personnel of the unit in which Officer Nenov serves. Everyone has his own way of experiencing such moments. The radio broadcast the command "Carry out 'Avalanche!'"

The next moment red rockets blossomed against the dark background of the cloudy sky.

At that point I recalled the autumn of 1944, the Patriotic War. That day the entire battle order of the 27th Chepino Regiment rose to its first attack as an avalanche and there was nothing that could stop it.

Excited and sweating we rushed into the enemy trenches. We engaged in hand-tohand combat. The frightened Krauts began ro raise their hands and to surrender. Others ran away, but some continued to resist. Many of our comrades were killed by enemy bullets.

Soon afterwards, the Hitlerites met our irrepressible thrust with even more desperate resistance. Steadily intensifying enemy fire nailed us to the ground.

At that supreme moment, all of a sudden Soviet aircraft came out of the clouds and dropped their deadly load on the German bunkers ahead of us. It was like a magic wave which rolled over the troops, and our swift attack became irrepressible.

Now, I kept watching the powerful tank attack with pleasure and admiration.

With its accurate fire the tank commanded by Jr Sgt Ivanov contributed to the successful destruction of an "enemy" gun inthe area of a nameless hill.

Advancing in a column, the tanks of the company of Lt Pekhlivanov and Sr Lt Nedelchev increased their speed and swiftly deployed in platoons, converting to battle order along the line, and penetrated the "enemy's" defenses in active combat.

During this exceptionally tense moment Soviet aircraft flew at dizzying speed above the tanks and dropped their bombs. We saw the fire of the explosions and the entire area trembled.

The excellent companies of Sr Lts Indzhov, Mateev and Petrov continued their rapid advance and went through the "enemy" lines at the exactly planned time.

The high combat spirit and the swift seizure of the assigned area created conditions for continuing the headlong wedging into "enemy" defenses.

The tank actions were one more trial and test of their courage. During the "battle" they proved their readiness to fulfill their sacred duty to the people and the homeland.

'Shield 82' Meeting-Parade

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Oct 82 pp 1,3

[Report by Major Engineer Veselin Stoyanov and Captain Ivan Sotirov]

[Text] Burgas, 1 October (by our special correspondents). "Shield 82," the joint exercise conducted by the fraternal armies, commanded by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, categorically proved the unity and combat might of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces. It expanded and intensified even further their international friendship and comradeship in arms and contributed exceptionally greatly to upgrading the knowledge and improving the practical

skills of commanders and staffs in preparations for and engaging in combat operations.

Today the troops, which proved their high skills, organization and interaction with their tanks, war vehicles, armored troop carriers, ships and airplanes over several days, inspired by the bright ideas of Marxism-Leninism, unity and fraternal love are lined up in ranks in front of the reviewing stand. This is the concluding and most solemn part of "Shield 82," the field meeting-parade of the participants in the maneuvers. It is awaited by thousands of people. They welcomed Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman, with exceptional warmth and cordiality. He was joined on the stand by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Georgi Yordanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Chudomir Aleksandrov, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, secretaries of the BZNS Standing Committee, heads of BCP Central Committee, members of the government, first secretaries of okrug BCP committees and other officials.

Present on the stand were the military delegations of the socialist countries which attended the "Shield 82" maneuvers, Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces and Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces.

Also present were heads and members of diplomatic missions of the socialist countries accredited to Bulgaria.

Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense, who commanded the parade, gave the orders, "Parade, dress!" "Attention!" "Present arms!" He then approached Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, who received the parade, and reported: "Comrade minister of national defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the representative units of the armies of the Warsaw Pact members in the field parade on the occasion of the conclusion of the "Shield 82" maneuvers are in formation."

Army General Dobri Dzhurov reviewed the ranks and greeted the troops of the fraternal armies on the occasion of the successful completion of the "Shield 82" maneuvers," to which they responded with hurrays. This military response continued in powerful waves even after the parade recipient marched to the stand.

The band played the Internationale.

Colonel General Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army opened the field meeting-parade and gave the floor to Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense (published separately).

The personnel of the fraternal armies responded to the speech with a powerful hurray.

Colonel General Kiril Kosev gave the floor to Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces (speech published separately).

Once again the speech was followed by shouts of hurray.

The combined band played the march of the Joint Armies.

The personnel, lined up in formation in front of the motorized columns were ordered to take their seats in the war vehicles and combat equipment....

In the course of several days, side by side, the flags of the Warsaw Pact members flew on crossroads, in the camps of the units of the fraternal armies which participated in the joint exercise, and during meetings and ceremonies which developed into vivid manifestations of the combat friendship and cooperation, sincerity and readiness for self-sacrifice for the sake of the great cause of defending socialism. Today as well the flags are flying side by side, as are the troops participating in the parade. These flags will always fly together, in the way the armies of the peoples of the Warsaw Pact members are together, joined in their objectives, tasks and interests -- the building of a new society and its armed defense against imperialist encroachements.

The start of today's parade clearly confirmed this. It began with a line of seven helicopters carrying the national flags of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia. Excellent pilots officers Yachev, Ivanov, Roydev, Naydenov, Simeonov, Georgiev and Zhelev had the honor of carrying the flags.

Shortly afterwards, three groups of combat helicopters, led by first class pilots officers Georgiev, Andreev and Iliev, flew swiftly and low over the reviewing stand. During the maneuvers we had the opportunity to observe the high flight-tactical skill of the air force in the course of the various events and to assess the great role of the army air force in modern combined-arms combat.

Supersonic fighter aircraft, led by first class pilots officers Yovchev, Videnov and Georgiev flew over wingtip to wingtip. They serve in the air force unit in which the beginning of the new age in combat aviation thundered for the first time in Bulgaria -- jet airplanes. This combat collective is the heir to glorious traditions related to the mastering of the new jet equipment, the training of the first wing of Bulgarian first class flyers, successful attacks of balloons launched by Western intelligence centers during the cold war and a number of high achievements in combat and political training in previous years.

Three groups of fighter-bombers, led by masters of accurate strafing and bombing officers Parapunov, Pavlov and Karlyukov, flew over thunderously and consecutively in the space of several seconds. During the exercise, strike groups of the same unit destroyed important "enemy" targets with precise strafing, missiles and other types of ammunition in support of the advancing forces. One of the most typical features of this combat group is the steady

improvement of its flight and tactical skills. For a number of years the unit has been among the leading ones in combat and political training.

Soviet fighter-bombers, led by master of combat handling officer Kolvakhov, fly swiftly overhead. Strike groups belonging to this guards air force unit, which was formed in 1940 and entered the Great Patriotic War in September 1941 with SB-1 bombers and later IL-2 divers, acted with exceptional skill during the "Shield 82" maneuvers. Today's generation of flyers are worthy heirs of the great traditions they inherited from the front-line veterans. In honor of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR the entire personnel have pledged to carry out on a high quality level all combat and political training assignments.

A group of Soviet front-line bombers, led by first class pilot officer Malinov, marks the powerful end of the air parade...

The field troop parade begins.

Led by parade commander Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, a mechanized column of the BNA approaches the reviewing stand. Worthy heir of glorious combat traditions, the BNA today is a modern armed force, a reliable defender of our socialist homeland and a guardian of peace and socialism. As a result of the tested guidance and constant care of the BCP and thanks to the selfless fraternal aid of the Soviet Union today our army has highly trained military cadres and modern weaponry and ordnance. Georgi Dimitrov's behest that our army be built like the Soviet army and that it learn day and night from its combat experience and martial art is being honored. During the "Shield 82" maneuvers the Bulgarian troops proved not only their ideological convictions and readiness to defend the gains of socialism but their high combat skills as well.

The personnel of the Hungarian People's Army, who participated in the exercise, celebrated their combat day on Bulgarian soil. They celebrated their army day not only at a solemn meeting but also on the "battlefield," where, shoulder to shoulder with their comrades in arms, they carried out their assignments. Riding in one of the war vehicles passing in front of the stand is Captain Ferenc Balog, motorized infantry battalion commander. During the maneuvers he displayed his excellent martial knowledge and command skill.

They are followed by the column of the National People's Army of the GDR. During the maneuvers officer Horst Stendel, battalion commander, displayed his excellent organizing skill. Last year his battalion was awarded the SED Central Committee honor badge for high-quality implementation of the tasks set by the 10th SED Congress, while he personally was awarded the silver medal "For Services to the NPA of the GDR."

The Polish soldiers, heirs to great combat traditions, are now marching past the stand. Their unit was created in 1944 on USSR territory and covered a heroic combat path shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet army. It took part in the battles for the liberation of Warsaw, the capture of the Pomorze Rampart and Kolobrzeg and the crossing of the Oder. It was awarded the honor title of "Pomorze" for combat merit in the liberation of the Pomorze Province

and Kolobrzeg in 1945. It is also the bearer of other high awards, such as the Grunewald Cross, Virtuti Militari and the Labor Banner first class.

Lieutenant Jan Flinta is one of the commanders who earned a high rating during the "Shield 82" maneuvers. For the last 4 years he has commanded a paratrooper regiment and has led in the socialist competition.

Representatives of the legendary and invincible Soviet army are marching past the stand. During the exercise the Soviet soldiers once again set models of command skill and combat mastery, courage and heroism, proving that they are worthy heirs of the combat glory of their fathers.

One of the units which took part in the exercise was created 40 years ago, during the Great Patriotic War. It received its baptism of fire at Stalingrad and was awarded the title of "Guards" for courage and heroism displayed in the fierce battles in 1943. It has covered a glorious combat path and has been awarded the Orders of Suvorov, Bogdan Khmelnitskiy and Combat Red Banner. Twenty-two of its troops have been awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union. Two of them -- Master Sergeant Nikolay Grigorevski and Sergeant Nikolay Reva -- are permanently on the unit's roll-call. In times of peace the unit continues to develop its traditions. Loyal to its patriotic and international duty, it is skillfully mastering the peaks of combat skills.

The infantry's war vehicles are parading past the stand. Riding in one of them is Captain Vladimir Khusarov, commander of an excellent motorized infantry company. He is the battalion's party organization secretary and member of the unit's party committee. He has commanded the company for the past 3 years and all that time the company has invariably led in the socialist competition..

The column of the Czechoslovak People's Army marches past the stand. This unit was created in 1944 in Sada Gura Village in the Ukraine. After brief training it participated in the Carpathian-Dukla operation together with the Soviet forces. On 10 May 1945 it took part in the decisive battles for the liberation of the Czechoslovak capital.

Sr Lts company commanders Jaroslav Fridrich and Alois Janicek distinguished themselves with their excellent actions during the exercise.

Tanks, motorized infantry, artillery, landing forces, rocket forces and antiaircraft personnel solemnly march past the stand... Soldiers with different skills and uniforms but united by their joint international duty -- the defense of peace and the socialist gains of our fraternal peoples. Both during the combat exercise and now, at the parade, they have shown their power, might, unity and cohesion and inflexible loyalty to the ideals of communism!

End of 'Shield 82' Maneuvers

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Oct 82 p 1

[Text] (BTA) Maneuvers of staffs, troops and navies of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, code-named "Shield 82," were conducted on the territory of the

Bulgarian People's Republic and the adjacent Black Sea water area from 25 September to 1 October 1982.

The maneuvers were under the command of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Problems of combat coordination and interaction among formations and units of the branches and arms of the allied armies were developed in the course of the maneuvers.

The maneuvers took place in an organized and instructive manner. They proved the improved operational-tactical training of staffs and ground, air and naval training of the troops and navies. They contributed to the further strengthening of the combat cooperation, development of proletarian internationalism and friendship among the personnel of the Joint Armed Forces.

The maneuvers' targets were reached. The troops, navies and staffs which participated in the maneuvers are returning to their permanent locations.

Formal Luncheon

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Oct 82 p 1

[Text] Burgas, 1 October (BTA). Today the BCP Central committee and the Council of Ministers gave a formal luncheon in honor of the completion of the "Shield 82" maneuvers of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces.

The luncheon was attended by Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Dimitur Stanishev, Chudomir Aleksandrov, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, secretaries of the BZNS Standing Committee, heads of BCP Central Committee departments, members of the government and other official personalities;

Members of the military delegations of the socialist countries which attended the exercise, Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsawe Pact Joint Armed Forces and Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces; and

Heads and members of the diplomatic missions of the socialist countries, accredited to Bulgaria. During the luncheon Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman delivered a speech (published separately).

A speech was also delivered by Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Ustinov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR minister of defense (published separately).

The luncheon was held in an exceptionally cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Todor Zhivkov's Speech

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Oct 82 pp 1-2

[Text] (BTA) Dear guests, representatives of the armed forces of the members of our great socialist comity, comrades:

I am pleased to be once again among you at this friendly luncheon and to be able to congratulate you most warmly on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo and on my own behalf on the occasion of the successful completion of the joint "Shield 82" maneuvers.

As loyal supporters of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist social system, the communist and worker parties in our countries are pursuing a consistent and firm foreign policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, the resolution of disputes through peaceful means, an end to the arms race, disarmament, and mutually beneficial political, economic, scientific and technical and cultural cooperation with all countries and peoples.

This kind of foreign policy yielded substantial results during the 1970s. We shall pursue even more persistently this policy developed in Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's report to the 26th CPSU Congress in the course of the present decade, regardless of the obvious preparations for war against us carried out by imperialism.

We reject the rule that if you want peace you must prepare for war. However, nor do we intend for those who are preparing for war to catch us unprepared. That which we have created while building socialism, our present and our future and the very existence of life on our planet are the very important values protected with our military power, too important to allow third world war "crusaders" to change the ratio of forces in their favor!

The combat skill of the troops, the coordinated actions of commanders, staffs and forces of the allied armies in the organization and conduct of modern operations and the entire course of the joint "Shield 82" maneuvers, which took place on Bulgarian territory, clearly and unequivocally proved that the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact members are on the level of the requirements of modern warfare and the hopes and faith which our peoples and the working people the world over put in them. In the autumn of 1982 our armed forces are a reliable shield of socialism and peace and there is no price we are not prepared to pay so that they may remain such for as long as we are threatened with war!

"United in Peace and Battle and in Defense of the Cause of Socialism!" was the "Shield 82" motto. It is also the motto of the Warsaw Pact member countries, our parties and our peoples.

Extremely aware of the fact that the Soviet Union remains the main bulwark of the Warsaw Pact and the entire socialist comity and that the Soviet army is the backbone of the Joint Armed Forces we, the Bulgarian communists, our entire people, deem it our supreme patriotic and international duty to

strengthen our fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation with the land of the soviets, Lenin's party and the Soviet people and their armed forces!

Our Soviet brothers and the peoples of the other fraternal socialist countries can rest assured that whatever the circumstances, pressures or trials may be, socialist Bulgaria will remain inflexible loyal to our great fate of builders and defenders of the new world!

As to the Bulgarian People's Army, it will continue to do all that is necessary to remain a worthy ally of its comrades in arms and, together with them, to be ready to oppose properly any aggressor and to carry out its patriotic and international duty.

Dear Comrades:

Allow me once again to express the great gratitude of the BCP Central Committee, the State council and the government of the Bulgarian People's Republic to all troops and commanders who took part in this splendidly organized and exceptionally instructive exercise, to the commander of the exercise Army General Dobri Dzhurov and his deputies and to Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces and his staff for their efforts, and to all of you for your invaluable work and courage and willpower displayed in achieving the objectives and tasks of the maneuvers.

A toast to:

Our communist Marxist-Leninist parties -- inspirers and leaders in the building and defense of the socialist and communist society;

The friendship and fraternal cooperation among the countries and peoples of the socialist comity;

The health and success of the personnel of the armies of the Warsaw Pact in their noble work and struggle in ensuring the collective defense of socialism and the peace and security of our peoples;

Your health, dear comrades!

Your health!

Speech by Marshal Ustinov

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Oct 82 pp 1-2

[Text] (BTA) Dear Comrade Todor Zhivkov, dear comrades and friends:

Allow me on behalf of the military delegations of the Warsaw Pact members and on my own behalf to express to you, dear Comrade Zhivkov, the BCP Central Committee and the government of the Bulgarian People's Republic our profound gratitude for your warm words on the communist and worker parties and peoples of the members of the socialist comity and the personnel of the friendly

armies, and to thank you for the attention you paid to the training for and conduct of the "Shield 82" maneuvers.

Allow me to express my profound gratitude to the Bulgarian people for the warm and friendly welcome offered to the members of the allied armies.

Allow me too, on behalf of the heads of the allied armed forces and of all participants in the exercise to express my heartfelt thanks to the leadership of the Bulgarian People's Army and Comrade Dzhurov, minister of national defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic, for the good organization and implementation of the exercise.

It is with great pleasure that I present to you, Comrade Zhivkov, and to all those present the friendly combat greetings and best wishes of Marshal of the Soviet Union Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman!

As a fighter for the happiness of the people and the cause of communism and peace and as a zealous internationalist Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev is always concerned with strengthening the socialist comity and guaranteeing its safety. He closely followed the training for and holding of the recently completed "Shield 82" maneuvers, which he considered a most important military-political measure.

The maneuvers were held in the immediate aftermath of the celebration of the 38th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. Within a short historical period fraternal Bulgaria covered a long distance. As sincere friends of your country we are pleased by the achievements of the Bulgarian people in building developed socialism and wish you with all our hearts the successful implementation of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress!

Comrades:

The members of the socialist comity are united by true internationalism and fruitful mutual relations based on friendly mutual aid and interest in mutual successes and the profound realization that the destinies of our peoples and countries are inseparable. The unity of the ideals and objectives for which we are struggling extends to literally all areas of life of the socialist peoples and bind them with unbreakable ties.

This fully applies to military affairs. The Warsaw Pact reliably guarantees the safety of the socialist comity. As comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "It has everything necessary for the firm defense of the socialist gains of our peoples and we shall continue to do everything possible to preserve this state of affairs in the future."

Guided by the instructions of our communist and worker parties, the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces are steadily perfecting their combat skills. The "Shield 82" maneuvers were an important link in their training. They proved that the defense power of the fraternal countries and the entire socialist comity has been strengthened even further. They proved the increased organizing ability and training of commanders in chief, commanders, staffs and

political organs and the high moral and combat qualities and training of the personnel of large units, units and ships and the reliability and efficiency of the combat materiel with which the allied armies are equipped.

The most important result of the maneuvers is that they contributed to strengthening the combat cooperation among the allied armies and the training of the troops in a spirit of socialist and proletarian internationalism. They were a major contribution to the training of the Joint Armed Forces.

However, while we justifiably point out the high-level training of the allied armies, we should not be satisfied with our achievements. We must mobilize even further our common efforts in order to ensure further improvements in the training of the troops and navies, in equipping them with modern weaponry and in steadily upgrading their cohesion, vigilance and combat training.

These steps are made necessary by the aggravation of the international situation and the increased aggressiveness of the United States and the other NATO members. The course pursued by the United States and NATO is aimed at undermining detente, disturbing the balance of power and gaining military superiority over the members of the socialist comity.

The United States is pursuing a dangerous hegemonistic policy in the Middle East.

This situation and the aggressive intentions of the imperialist circles demand of us tirelessly to upgrade the defense power of the members of the socialist comity. Their growing unity and cohesion, the unbreakable combat alliance of our armies and the joining of our efforts in ensuring the safety of the socialist comity are the decisive prerequisites for the preservation of the revolutionary gains of the fraternal peoples and peace on earth.

Allow me once again to express my most heartfelt gratitude for the attention given to us and the warm welcome and offer a toast to:

New successes by our peoples in building socialism and communism!

Further strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the fraternal socialist countries and the combat alliance among their armed forces!

The health of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman!

The health of the great friend of the working people of the Bulgarian People's Republic and of all members of the socialist comity, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev!

The heads of communist and worker parties of our countries!

The good health of everyone here!

Speech by Army General Dzhurov

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Oct 82 pp 1-2

[Text] (BTA) Dear Comrade Zhivkov, dear soldiers of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact, Burgas Okrug working people, dear guests, comrades:

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee and Comrade Todor Zhivkov, its general secretary and State Council chairman, on behalf of our government and on my behalf I welcome you to the parade which marks the conclusion of the joint "Shield 82" maneuvers.

Allow me to express my sincere gratitude to the population of Burgas Okrug and the other okrugs on whose territory the maneuvers were held and to all Bulgarian citizens who, without disturbing the labor rhythm in while carrying out the plans earmarked at the historical 12th BCP congress, did everything possible to ensure the success of the maneuvers and welcomed warmly the troops of the allied armies so that they could feel among brothers.

Dear comrades in arms of the Warsaw Pact armed forces:

The joint operative-strategic "Shield 82" maneuvers have ended. They were one more vivid manifestation of the friendship, unity and cohesion among our countries and peoples and our armed forces united in the Warsaw Military and Political Alliance. The working people and the armed forces of the Bulgarian People's Republic are proud of the fact that the maneuvers were held on the territory of their homeland. Your short stay on Bulgarian soil enabled you to experience the hospitality of our people, to study their great past and to see with your own eyes the results of their peaceful constructive labor and inflexible will and resolve to follow the path of socialism toward the bright communist future.

Thirty-eight years have passed since the 9 September revolution which won with the decisive help of the invincible Soviet army. During that short historical period the Bulgarian People's Republic changed radically.

Headed by the BCP Central Committee and following the Leninist April line, with persistent work and the fraternal and selfless aid of the Soviet Union and in close cooperation with the other members of the socialist comity, the Bulgarian people honored the behest of Georgi Dimitrov, their immortal leader and teacher: to achieve in a few decades that which, under different circumstances, took other countries an entire century. Today even the enemies of socialism are forced to acknowledge the fact that new Bulgaria is a blossoming socialist state with a high and stable pace of socioeconomic growth, inflexible moral and political unity of the people and steadily growing material and spiritual well-being.

Being in the fraternal socialist family is of decisive importance to Bulgaria's successful socioeconomic development. "We know," Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, "that our state and people can successfully defend their

independence and territorial integrity and increase their socialist gains only as a strong and indivisible link of the socialist comity."

Firmly united with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the Bulgarian People's Republic is making its contribution to the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism and the development of the world's revolutionary process. Our party and Bulgarian people firmly and actively support the peace program of the CPSU as their own and the new peace initiatives and proposals of the Soviet Union, formulated by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, the remarkable peacemaker of our time.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is pursuing a peace-loving principled foreign policy. It is doing everything necessary to strengthen the unity and power of the socialist comity, the development of good neighborly relations in the Balkans and the strengthening of peace and security the world over. This is the purpose of the idea of turning the Balkan Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, an area of good neighborly relations, understanding and cooperation and of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's suggestion of holding a summit meeting in Sofia to discuss this exceptionally important and vital problem.

Some Westerners may ask why was Bulgaria the host of this joint exercise of Warsaw Pact staffs and forces? Why is it that the country which hosts the World Parliament of Peace and which, only a month ago, hosted the Second Banner of Peace Assembly, and which is now hosting the regular international writers' conference on peace and detente has made its territory available for the "Shield 82" maneuvers?

I think that the very name "Shield 82" answers these questions. We are not saber-rattling or threatening anyone. Our maneuvers are not aimed at anyone of Bulgaria's neighbors or any other country. They is entirely consistent with the truly peaceful and coordinated policy pursued by the Warsaw Pact members in the international arena with the most humane purpose of safeguarding and strengthening peace and detente, protecting mankind from thermonuclear war and securing the gains of socialism and the safety of nations. The progressive and honestly thinking people throughout the world are becoming increasingly convinced that the Warsaw Pact serves the greatest good of mankind -- peace. The Warsaw Pact's exclusive contribution is that for the fourth decade running the peoples of Europe are living in peace. The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact members have placed their entire economic and military potential on the service of peace and the security of the peoples. The valorous troops of our armed forces, tanks, airplanes, ships and war vehicles protect the inviolability of our lands, preserve the purity and tranquility of our skies and protect the constructive toil of the builders of communism and socialism and the happy and carefree life of the children.

Such were the lofty assignments of the just completed "Shield 82" maneuvers, a task which you, its participants, carried out with honor.

Imperialist policy is the exact opposite. It is leading the world toward war and doom. By the end of the 1970s and the start of the 1980s the leading U. S. circles charted a course of undermining detente and intensifying the arms race and attempts to implement the American aspirations of global domination,

suppression of the liberation struggle of the peoples and, in the final account, changing the ratio of forces in favor of imperialism. By adopting a military budget of unparalleled scale in mankind's history, the ruling U. S. circles proclaimed the latest "crusade" against socialism and engaged in real ideological, psychological and economic warfare against our comity.

The United States is persistently involving its NATO partners and Japan in its aggressive preparations concealed behind the myth of the "Soviet military threat." The facts irrefutably prove however, that the military threat, real rather than imaginary, comes from NATO and the United States above all.

Mankind is quite concerned by the claim of Washington's politicians that they consider "some things more important than peace" and by their concept of "limited" nuclear war. U. S. imperialism is starting hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world. It is trying to impose in international relations the methods of threats and diktat and is grossly interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign countries. The United States inspired and protected Israel's barbaric aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian population.

Unable to crush the Palestinian resistance, Israel and its protectors organized bloody excesses against the civilian population of Beirut and turned the Lebanese capital into a slaughterhouse for Palestinians and Lebanese. This is the result of the strategic cooperation between Israel and the United States and the so-called "Reagan Plan." We are distraught by Israel's aggression and genocide of the Palestinians. This also triggers our concern, for all of this is taking place not far from our own borders. A just and lasting peace can be achieved in the Middle East on the basis of the principled ideas formulated by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. We fully support the proposals of the Soviet Union.

In the present difficult situation the Soviet Union and the socialist comity are doing everything possible to eliminate the threat of war, to improve the international climate and to preserve and intensify detente.

The Warsaw Pact as well serves the noble objectives of peace and progress. Its members have combined their political, economic and military might not for the sake of starting a war but with a view to preventing it, to defending the socialist gains of our peoples from imperialist aggression and to safeguarding world peace. That is why as long as the imperialist countries will be increasing international tension and accelerating their military preparations the Warsaw Pact members will be strengthening their defensive alliance, maintaining the combat might of the Joint Armed Forces on the necessary level, developing the Marxist-Leninist martial science and training their armies to inflict a decisive defeat on any aggressor. We do not want war and will not use our military power against any peace loving country. We do not aspire to gain military superiority over the West, but nor do we intend to allow the West to achieve military superiority over socialism. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out at the international theoretical science conference on the occasion of the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth, strategic parity between the two worlds is a major victory for socialism and a prime factor in the preservation and consolidation of world peace. No one should

doubt that in the case of aggression on the part of imperialism the Joint Armed Forces will be able to protect the gains of socialism and the independence and territorial integrity of the members of the socialist comity.

The present maneuvers, which were held under the slogan "United in Peace and Combat in the Defense of the Cause of Socialism" were a vivid manifestation of our readiness and ability to repel decisively anyone who would dare to encroach on socialism and the peace and security of the peoples. I am very pleased to express the joint view of the maneuvers' command, the official visitors and of my own to the effe that they were held on a high level and that their objectives and assignments were achieved. They proved the high-level preparedness of commanders, staffs and troops, their ability to organize and engage in modern combat, their excellent mastery of weapons and ordnance and their high moral and political spirit.

This exercise provided real training in the patriotic and international upbringing of the troops and the development of their high moral-political and combat qualities. In the course of the preparations for and holding of the exercise exciting meetings of friendship, youth entertainment and concerts and trips to historical and economic sites took place.

Here, on Bulgarian soil, the essential features of our military and political alliance were displayed once again: class solidarity, socialist internationalism, inviolable fraternal friendship and closest possible cooperation, comradely mutual aid and coordinated actions in the interest of peace and socialism, equality and respect for the legitimate rights and interests of all countries.

We shall continue to widen and deepen these valuable achievements of the socialist comity and to do whatever is necessary for the further strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the Warsaw Pact members, with the clear awareness that it is precisely such unity and cohesion and our joint economic and military power that offer the safest guarantee for the preservation of peace, blocking the path of war and restraining all amateurs of military adventures.

Dear comrades in arms:

Allow me once again to congratulate you on the occasion of the successful completion of the "Shield 82" maneuvers and to wish you good health and new successes in your highly responsible efforts and the implementation of the historical mission of our armed forces -- the protection and defense of the gains of real socialism and peace.

My wish to the personnel of the fraternal allied armies who will be departing for their own countries tomorrow is for them to remember their stay in socialist Bulgaria and to trust that here, on this stormy crossroads of the Balkans, they have and will have loyal friends and comrades in arms and a strong and reliable Bulgarian shoulder on which they can lean at all times.

May our battle ranks become stronger!

Long live the unity and friendship among the countries and peoples of the socialist comity and their solidarity with the great Soviet Union!

Forward to new successes in the struggle for the defense of socialism and peace throughout the world under the leadership of our communist and worker parties!

Hurray, comrades, for the inviolable unity and comradeship in arms among our fraternal armies!

Speech by Marshal Kulikov

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Oct 82 pp 1-2

[Text] (BTA) Dear Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and Bulgarian People's Republic State Council chairman, dear comrade ministers of defense of the socialist comity, comrade generals, admirals, officers, ensigns, midshipmen, sergeants, soldiers and seamen of the fraternal armies, dear citizens of Burgas City and Okrug:

On behalf of the military delegations of the socialist countries here present, headed by the ministers of defense, the General Headquarters of the Joint Armed Forces and all participants in the maneuvers, allow me to express our sincere gratitude to the BCP Central Committee, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the republic's government and the entire Bulgarian people for the warmth, attention and concern shown toward the allied forces during the exercise.

All of us shall remember most warmly our stay in your hospitable country -- the country whose heroic people celebrated the 90th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the 38th anniversary of the socialist revolution and the Bulgarian People's Army.

We know the persistence and labor upsurge with which the Bulgarian people are building a developed socialist society.

The peoples of the fraternal countries are very pleased by your achievements and have no doubt that the successful fulfillment of the tasks set by the 12th BCP Congress will accelerate Bulgaria's advance toward new socialist heights.

The "Shield 82" maneuvers were an important joint undertaking of the allied armies and a report on their readiness jointly to defend the revolutionary gains of the socialist countries and peace on earth. This was a superior form of comprehensive training of the participating forces. The maneuvers proved the enhanced level of operative-tactical training of commanders and staffs and the ground, air and sea training of the armies and navies. They ensured the reciprocal exchange of experience among the allied armies in a spirit of proletarian internationalism and the further strengthening of the comradeship in arms among the personnel of the Joint Armed Forces.

The maneuvers helped to develop problems of combat coordination and interaction among formations and units of the different arms and branches of the

allied armies and to resolved the important and difficult problems set by the central committees of our Marxist-Leninist parties, aimed at upgrading the combat power of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces.

Comrades:

The members of our unbreakable alliance, united by their common objectives and ideals, are confidently advancing in their economic and sociopolitical development, engaged in a steady and persistent struggle for lasting peace on earth. However, we are forced to solve our constructive problems under difficult international circumstances. The imperialist circles, those of the United States in the first place, continue to spoil the global situation.

The supporters of the cold war are trying to promote conflict situations and to interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries.

In their desire to achieve military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact, the North Atlantic Bloc, the United States above all, are trying to change in their favor the existing balance and to establish American domination on a global scale.

Washington has proclaimed military power as the main and almost exclusive "preliminary condition for peace." One after another, adventuristic concepts of nuclear war are being formulated overseas.

Human blood is being shed by the fault of imperialism in various parts of the globe. The world is being constantly shaken up by the flames of local wars and military conflicts any one of which could spread to neighboring areas and grow into a world war.

This is no mere chain of isolated conflicts but a specific manifestation of attempts on the part of imperialism to influence by force the development of events in various parts of the earth and to secure favorable conditions for the implementation of its "direct confrontation" policy toward the USSR and the socialist countries.

The open imperialist attempts to aggravate the situation in the socialist countries, to weaken our comity and to undermine the Warsaw Pact are a real threat to peace.

All of this proves that more than ever before we must take specific steps to put an end to the arbitrary behavior of the aggressive forces. This requires of the allied armies constant vigilance and the enhancement of their combat readiness and capability.

Our communist and worker parties have created the necessary conditions for the steady development and advancement of the Joint Armed Forces with a view to the implementation of this priority task.

The allied armies are equipped with first-rate weapons and ordnance. They have highly trained officer cadres and politically mature and united personnel raised in a spirit of patriotism and socialist internationalism.

Dear Comrades:

The personnel of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces are serving under battle flags hallowed by the victorious glory earned in the fierce battles against the enemies of socialism. They are sacredly preserving and increasing the heroic traditions of the senior generations. This is manifested in the high results of their daily combat and political training, which were fully revealed in the "Shield 82" maneuvers.

Bearing in mind the difficult international situation, we shall continue to improve our knowledge and to take systematic steps which will help us to maintain on the necessary level the high combat readiness of the troops and navies in order to repel any aggression.

Let us be on our guard and never forget the aggressive nature of imperialism. Let us remember the lessons of history and support the steps toward peace by increasing our combat readiness. These Leninist instructions have always been and remain the inflexible behests for the entire personnel of the Joint Armed Forces.

"We created a military and political alliance of the socialist countries," pointed out L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, "above all in order to counter the threat of imperialism and the aggressive military blocs it created and to defend through joint efforts the cause of peace and socialism."

Glory to our communist and worker parties, which are confidently leading our peoples toward the victory of communism!

Long live the inviolable friendship and cooperation among the fraternal socialist countries!

May the combat alliance among our armed forces become even stronger!

Long live the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, standing guard over peace and socialism!

Awards Presented to Military Leaders

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Oct 82 p 2

[Text] (BTA) Yesterday Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central committee general secretary and State Council chairman presented the "Georgi Dimitrov Centennial" anniversary medal to the military leaders of the socialist countries.

This distinction is being awarded by State Council ukase for active participation in the preparations for and holding of the "Shield 82" maneuvers and their contribution to strengthening of the fraternal friendship and cooperation among the armies and peoples of the socialist comity.

The recipients of the award were warmly congratulated by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Petur Tanchev, Stanko

Todorov, Georgi Yordanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Chudomir aleksandrov, and Grigor Stoichkov and Georgi Karamanev, Council of Ministers deputy chairmen.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov presented gifts to military personnel of the fraternal armies for high successes achieved during the "Shield 82" maneuvers.

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, presented the "Georgi Dimitrov Centennial" anniversary medal to the members of the military delegations of the socialist countries on the occasion of the "Shield 82" maneuvers, the deputy commanders of the maneuvers and generals and officers of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces.

Zhivkov Hosts Reception

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Oct 82 p 3

[Text] (BTA) Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, hosted a reception in honor of the participants in the "Sofia 82" international writers' meeting at the Boyana Residence last evening.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov warmly greeted the creators of contemporary fiction on the occasion of the successful completion of their prestigious encounter, which was held under the slogan "Peace Is the Hope of the Planet," and wished them further and even greater successes in their humane and highly noble work. The State Council chairman spoke of the exceptionally important role of the writers in the creation of spiritual values and stressed their contribution to strengthening peace and security in the world and to human happiness.

The reception, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, was attended by comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Milko Balev, Petur Tanchev, Georgi Yordanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, State Council Deputy Chairman Georgi Dzhagarov and heads of BCP Central Committee departments.

Departure of Military Delegations

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Oct 82 p 3

[Text] (BTA) The military delegations of the fraternal armies, led by Army General Lajos Czinege, minister of defense of the Hungarian People's Republic, Army General Heinz Hoffmann, SED Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense of the GDR, Armor General Florian Sziviczki, PZPR Central Committee Politburo candidate member and interim minister of national defense of the People's Republic of Poland, Lieutenant General Constantin Olteanu, Romanian Communist Party Political Executive Committee candidate member and minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Ustinov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR minister of defense, and Army General Martin Dzur, minister of national defense of the Czechoslovak Socialist

Republic, who took part in the "Shield 82" maneuvers, left for their respective countries yesterday.

Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces, and the military delegations of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, headed by Colonel General Le chong Tan, deputy minister of national defense and chief of general staff of the Vietnamese People's Army; of the Republic of Cuba, led by Lieutenant General Sene Casas Regeiro, Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first deputy minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces; and of the Mongolian People's republic, led by Colonel General Jarantayn Abhia, minister of national defense, also left the country.

At Burgas airport the military delegations received a warm send-off by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, commander of the exercise, Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of general staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, Colonel General Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, Zhishev, first okrug BCP committee secretary, and BNA generals and officers.

The ceremony was attended by the ambassadors and military attaches of the socialist countries whose delegations departed. Also present were Colonel General Vladimir Yakushin, representing the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces to the BNA and generals and officers from the fraternal armies, who participated in the "Shield 82" maneuvers.

Profile of Soviet Pilot

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Major Engineer Veselin Georgiev]

[Text] Captain Dmitriy Plakhtiy is particularly happy to serve in an air force unit which started its combat path during the dramatic days of July 1941 and became famous in the flaming skies of the Great Patriotic War. Forever listed in the roll-call of this unit will be the daring pilot Timur Frunze, son of the famous Soviet military commander. Together with his comrades, Captain Plakhtiy is a worthy heir of the frontline flyers who took active part in hammering out the great victory over fascism.

According to a great pilot, philosopher and writer, all this comes from childhood. If such is entirely the case we would be hard put to understand how Dmitriy began his road toward the sky, his father having spent the entire war in regimental reconnaissance. His father is also the bearer of the Combat Red Banner Order for his participation in the taking of Berlin and a number of other high awards. Nor did his mother influence his choice, for she too was in reconnaissance in the group of the famous Nikolay Kuznwetsov. She speaks 14 languages fluently, is the bearer of many orders and medals and is an honored teacher of the UkSSR. She had hoped that Mitya would follow in

the family tradition like his elder sister Irina, who teaches French and German in a secondary school.

"Neither my two brothers nor I became teachers," somewhat apologetically said Captain Plakhtiy. "Oleg is an engineer with a successfully defended candidate dissertation, while Aleksandr is a construction worker in Kiev. Lyudmila, our youngest sister is a chef in Cherkassy. As you can see, life has its demands and laws.

"I think that Oleg was the one who played the main role in my taking up flying. Whenever he came home on leave he described at length and enthusiastically the unit in which he served. This enthusiasm "contaminated" me entirely. I became one of the most active members of the airplane modelling circle in school and hit the books even more persistently. I applied to the military commissariat for flying school with trepidation, as I considered flyers to be exceptional people.... Anyway, I had made up my mind and applied for the Chernigov Higher Air force Academy imeni Leninskiy Komsomol. It was my great luck to be accepted."

My interlocutor proudly named cosmonauts Andrian Nikolayev and Petr Klimuk and other famout test pilots graduates of that school. Particularly memorable to the young student was his first flight with an instructor on an L-29 training jet airplane. Everything seemed to him unusual and infinitely interesting, for before that he had not even flown in a commercial airplane.

After his graduation from the military academy in 1973, Lieutenant Dmitriy Plakhtiy received his first posting in an air force combat unit. Within a short time he mastered a new airplane model and without serious difficulties mastered one after another flight exercises in the combat training course. Even before he had acquired adequate experience, a particular event in flight seriously tested his knowledge, skill and self-control. Immediately after takeoff, at an altitude of 10-15 meters above the ground, a bird fell into the airplane's intake system. The pilot kept his cool despite the smoke which penetrated into the cockpit and the unstable performance of the engines. He continued his flight, circled and landed safely.

One does not have to be a pilot to imagine the type of feeling experienced during 5-6 minntes when a disaster is expected any minute....

"This is not my first visit to your wonderful country," Captain Plakhtiy told me. "I met at a military airfield the twins Grigor and Detelin Trevnenski, who are unanimously considered to be very good pilots and friends. In our squadron, when I look at the bust and picture of Timur Frunze, who brought down two fascist airplanes in a fierce battle and who died in uneven combat, it seems to me that I have not done anything significant in my life so far. However, I try with all my heart to unravel all the secrets of the flying profession in order to be worthy of the memory of the heroes and, wingtip to wingtip with the air forces of the other fraternal armies, to defend the great achievements of the socialist comity."

Commentary on 'Shield 82'

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 82 p 1

[Text] The exercise of staffs, troops and navies of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, code-named "Shield 82," has ended.

The maneuvers became a major event in the life of the fraternal armies. It proved the further increase in the defense power of our Socialist comity and the increase ability and training of commanders, political workers and staffs in organizing the interaction among armed forces under conditions maximally resembling actual combat, martial skills, high combat spirit, physical training and mental endurance of the personnel of formations, units and ships in performing responsible assignments in various types of combat. The maneuvers greatly contributed to upgrading the combat readiness and capability of the Joint Armed Forces and to strengthening comradeship in arms.

The level of training of the forces was tested in the course of resolving combat problems. The close interaction among staffs, commanders and political organs presented a good opportunity for conclusions regarding subsequent trends, forms and methods of training and provided a valuable contribution to the method of organizing and conducting large-scale exercises.

A test of combat maturity is a suitable description of the activities of the motorized infantry, fliers, tank troops, engineers, landing troops and seamen, who displayed courage, dedication, self-control, and iron military discipline. The ship and unit personnel displayed high field, flight and sea training and increased skills in handling the complex modern combat equipment and armaments.

"The combat skill of the troops,"Comrade Todor Zhivkov said in his speech at the formal luncheon after the maneuvers, and the coordinated activities of commanders, staffs and forces of the allied armies, displayed in the course of the organization and conduct of modern combat operations and the entire course of the combined "Shield 82" exercise, which took place on the territory of the Bulgarian People's Republic, proved clearly and unequivocally that the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact-member countries are in step with the requirements of modern warfare and on the level of the hopes and faith in which our peoples and the working people the world over have in them as a reliable shield of socialism and peace. Such are our armed forces in the autumn of 1982 and there is no price we are not prepared to pay to maintain them as such until no one threatens us with war!"

The "Shield 82" maneuvers were of important military-political and educational significance. The unity among the brothers in arms, class and ideas, and their boundless devotion to socialist internationalism and combat brotherhood were manifested to their fullest extent in the course of the joint initiatives, meetings for the exchange of progressive experience, the recreation evenings and the tense nights and days of combat operations.

Mutual respect and trust were developed in all of them during the difficult and dynamic exercise period. The troops saw in each other reliable

fellow-fighters on whose loyalty and unconditional help they could rely whatever the circumstances.

"We are brothers in class and in arms in the socialist military alliance, raised and led by our Marxist-Leninist parties, vigilantly standing guard over peace and the safety of our peoples and all peoples of Europe. We are watching over peace and security by relying on the unity and cohesion of the socialist states.... We shall not surrender even a single foot of socialist ground!" This excerpt from the oath of the soldiers of the fraternal armies sworn by them at one of the joint exercises most aptly express the unbreakable friendship which unites the soldiers of the socialist countries. This friendship is based on the single socioeconomic and political system of the socialist countries, Marxist-Leninist ideology and loyalty to the principles of socialist internationalism. The armed protection of the gains of socialism is the supreme duty of the allied armies which are fulfilling this sacred duty with honor.

One more characteristic feature of the troops in the fraternal armies was clearly manifested during the "Shield 82" maneuvers -- their firm ties to the people. Hospitable Bulgaria and the industrious Bulgarian people welcomed the troops in the maneuvers area like loyal friends and comrades in arms. An atmosphere of friendship, cohesion and unity of interests and objectives prevailed everywhere -- at ceremonies, encounters with labor collectives in industrial enterprises and farm workers, in friendly talks with the local population during the brief rest periods and in the field parade in Burgas. As flesh of the flesh of the people the troops, sergeants and officers of the allied armed forces proved to the rest of the world that they are reliable defenders of the interests and gains of the working people. "Our Soviet brothers and the peoples of the other socialist countries," Comrade T. Zhivkov pointed out, may rest confident that under all circumstances, pressures or possible trials socialist Bulgaria will remain inflexibly loyal to our common great destiny of builders and defenders of the new world!"

The personnel of the fraternal armies are aware of their lofty mission of defending socialist gains. Today the nations of the world are in a difficult and dangerous period. In recent years the leading U. S. circles have mounted increasingly dangerous actions against the socialist countries and world peace. The unrestrained arms race launched by imperialism, the "economic and ideological warfare," the antisocialist and antiprogress "crusade" launched by the U. S. President and the "strategic plan" for "protracted" nuclear warfare adopted by the American military and political leadership are heating up the international situation. Imperialism is starting hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world. It is trying to impose in international relations the methods of threats and diktat and is rudely interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign countries. It inspired and protected the barbaric Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian population and the bloody slaughter of children and old people.

This demands the even greater strengthening of the brotherhood in arms and the power of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces. Their growing unity and cohesion, the invincible combat alliance among our armed forces and the unification of our joint efforts in securing the safety of the socialist

comity and the preservation of peace in the world are the decisive guarantee for the preservation of the revolutionary gains of the fraternal peoples and peace on earth.

GDR Major's Impressions

Sofia NARODNI ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Sr Lt Evgeni Genov]

[Text] Major Gottlieb Korda, from the GDR National People's Army, and I became good friends. We shared a number of things and interesting events from army life. However, the "Shield 82" maneuvers came to an end and the time to part arrived. Before he left, I asked him:

"What are your feelinjs as you are about to return to your country? What will you remember from your meetings with Bulgarian soldiers?"

His answer was as follows:

"I have visited your country twice before. The second time was 10 years ago. I was happily surprised by the changes which have taken place since then. I was impressed by the extensive housing construction and the modern plants and enterprises. I was also greatly impressed by Bulgarian agriculture. Your homeland resembles a garden in bloom. I talked with many cooperative farmers and they all expressed their great satisfaction with the party's policy. The population welcomed us with smiles, flowers and fruits, as brothers in arms. I shall never forget our meetings with soldiers from the Bulgarian and the other fraternal armies. We always managed to find a common language and feelings. We acted jointly on the "battlefields," and enjoyed our rest and recreation together. After the joint "Shield 82" exercise we became even closer to and needed by each other. We improved our readiness and ability to defend the cause of socialism and peace."

It so happened that on several occasions I had the opportunity to observe the skill of Private Robi Elstner. He handled skillfully the communications equipment and coped even during the most difficult situations. When we parted he told me frankly:

"I will miss Bulgaria very much. I will miss my new friends from the Bulgarian, Soviet and Polish armies...every single one of them. Together we shared joys and hardships. Our combat friendship became even stronger. We became used to one another and now we find it hard to separate. What makes me most happy is that, to the best of my possibilities, I was able to see your homeland. Those who have seen it love it forever. This love conquers us and forces us to return and to visit the cherished and loved sites."

Time will pass, but the memory of the days spent in comradeship and mutual help will never pale.

'Shield 82' Impressions

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 82 p 1

[Report by Sr Lt Stefan Shopov]

[Text] Our special correspondents spoke with members of the fraternal armies on their impressions of the "Shield 82" maneuvers and Bulgaria. Following are some of their answers:

Sr Lt Krasimir Daskalov:

"I am glad that I had the honor to participate in the "Shiled 82" maneuvers. The field days were stressed but we found time to exchange experience in combat and political training, to engage in sports competitions ane to enjoy ourselves during the youth dance meets.

"Linguistic barriers were surmounted during the very first days of informal relations which developed among the participants in the exercise. Nor will we forget the joint armored combat order in which we attacked the "enemy."

"In the course of these numbered days I improved my command-organizing and military practical training. I leave proud of the fact that my homeland hosted such a large joint exercise.

"I am convinced that the "Shield 82" maneuvers played their proper role in strengthening the combat power of the Warsaw Pact and the reliable protection of our socialist gains."

Private Nikolay Mateev Shopov:

"For the first time I had the luck to meet with members of the fraternal armies and to feel our combat power in the course of the swift joint attack. We surmounted the difficult periods surrounded by the warm friendly shoulders of our comrades in arms.

"Although I will be discharged soon I shall correspond frequently with my Soviet friend Jr Sergeant Volodya Galayko and other soldiers from the allied armies. Our joint actions during the maneuvers convinced me that our strength lies in unity.

"We shall be together everywhere, in peace and in battle, dear combat friends!"

Parting Statements

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 82 p 2

[Text] "What are your feelings as you depart for your homeland?"

Lieutenant Bogdan Tworkowski:

"Personally I came to love Bulgaria and will return as soon as possible with my wife and daughter. This time, as tourists, we shall have a good time by the Black Sea.

"We saw a great deal during our stay. I met with a number of working people. The Bulgarians are splendid hospitable people. I attended several talks in which experience was exchanged with other political workers from the fraternal armies. This will be very useful in my future work.

"My comrades and I are pleased with the perfectly performed task during the maneuvers and the fact that we acted united and jointly with the other fraternal armies. I am proud to belong to the united steely ranks of the Warsaw Pact -- a powerful bulwark of peace throughout the world."

Corporal Tadeusz Radzieta:

"I leave with an excellent impression of Bulgaria and its people. I have the addresses of my new friends -- Petur, from the Bulgarian People's Army and Sasha, from the Soviet army.

"I am pleased that my comrades and I were able to carry out our assignment precisely and on time, to prove our unity and the power of our defensive alliance and, together with the fraternal Warsaw Pact armies, headed by the Soviet army, our readiness to defend selflessly the gains of the world socialist comity.

"During the maneuvers we proved that we are strong because we are united and are defending peace and progress. It is with this feeling of confidence that I leave beautiful, hospitable, sunny and peace-loving Bulgaria.

Interview With Czechoslovak Political Officer

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 82 p 2

[Interview conducted by Captain Lyubomir Denov]

[Text] Jan Prokopovic, a political officer of the Czechoslovak People's Army impresses us with his warmth and codiality. The age difference between us is substantial, but fails to affect me. I see a smiling face which invites closeness.

"I have been engaged in political work from the very first day of my army service. It is the meaning of my life," Officer Prokopovic said. "I decided to become an officer as a result of two unforgettable events. The first was my encounter with Georgi Dimitrov, the leader of the Bulgarian people, during his trip to Czechoslovakia in 1947. The second was joining the ranks of the communist party 1 year later."

[Question] Tell us more about your encounter with Georgi Dimitrov.

[Answer] I was an adolescent and had just begun to study Marxist-Leninist theory. I was full of enthusiasm and the desire to work. I was included in the group of young people who were to welcome Georgi Dimitrov, the great son of your people. You have no idea what this meant to me. Dimitrov was world famous, the idol of our youth.

[Question] What do you remember of that meeting?

[Answer] I cannot forget even the slightest detail, but what I am saying is that Georgi Dimitrov is my model in life. He came to Czechoslovakia not only as your country's prime minister but also as a person who loved our country and its people. I considered him both great and close to me.

[Question] Were you familiar with Bulgaria?

[Answer] Only from the words of your leader and teacher and from books, newspapers and the television. But what I have seen greatly exceeds my expectations. I am particularly impressed by the warmth and cordiality of the Bulgarians.

During our training in Czechoslovakia I told my soldiers and my children what I had heard Georgi Dimitrov say in 1947. When I go back I shall tell every one that you are fulfilling his behests honorably and worthily.

[Question] What are the characteristic features in the work of the political worker you consider most valuable?

[Answer] Closeness with the soldiers. This is of vital importance to every one of us. The soldier will trust you if he knows that you are not only his superior but his close friend as well.

[Question] You speak Russian well. Where did you learn it?

[Answer] To answer this I should probably tell you about my father. During the Great Patriotic War he was in General Ludvig Svoboda's army, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet troops. Ever since then our family has loved the Soviet Union and its people, and that is how I came to know Russian.

[What is the most difficult feature in your political work?

[Answer] The most difficult? It would be impossible to answer this. Party political work is complex and difficult. It knows no periods of calm and tranquility. Whoever wants to be a good political worker must forget about tranquility.

[Question] What was the main emphasis in your work in connection with the "Shield 82" maneuvers?

[Answer] Before leaving Czechoslovakia we went through an intensive program of study of the past and the present of your beautiful country. I frequently spoke on my encounter with Georgi Dimitrov. We paid particular attention to the international upbringing of the troops. Naturally however, all our

efforts were focused on enhancing the the combat spirit and creating the necessary mood for the great test. I am convinced that our joint exercise proved not only our combat strength and power but also the inflexibility of our socialist comity.

Polish Troop Quiz on Bulgaria

Sofia NIRODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Major Engineer Dragomir Gospodinov]

[Text] Long before the start of "Shield 82" gunner Stanislaw Plechovicz and his comrades in the battery of Lt Janusz Glowinski began to rehearse for the "Bulgarian People's Republic -- Our Ally" quiz. They repeatedly visited the library in search of the necessary answers. They also extensively used selected publications in their unit library (similar to our Dimitrov Room -- the author). The quiz took place during the maneuvers.

My conversation with gunner Plechowicz, which took place during a short break following the completion of an assignment, gradually turned to the beauty of Bulgaria and the charm of its pople.

"Bulgaria is a beautiful country. It has a very good climate and wonderful people who are concerned with its further economic and cultural well-being. We made many friends and let me tell you that all of them are open, warm and always ready to help." Plechowicz listed names and examples. They were quite varied but showed the strengthening of friendship between Polish and Bulgarian army men and their confidence in the strength and power of the Warsaw Pact members headed by the great Soviet Union.

Personal experience convinced me that here as well, during the exercise, the young tank driver spared no effort to develop and consolidate his achievements as an excellent specialist. Whether using his submachine gun or artillery piece he hits his target with the first shot. Dexterous, inventive, initiative-minded and responsive, this Polish soldier sets the example for his comrades.

Now, on Bulgarian soil, together with his comrades, gunner Stanislaw Plechowicz displayed excellent results during the exercise, showing his love for the fraternal soldiers and his loyalty to our great objective -- communism.

Parting Reflections

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 82 p 2

[Text] Sr Lt Khristo Boyadzhiev, landing ship commander:

"I am a young officer and these are my first maneuvers of this kind. We carried out our sea-landing assignment properly mainly thanks to the precise and coordinated actions of our collective. I am particularly pleased by the opportunity to improve the interaction among the ships of the entire unit,

act in various weather conditions and work together with motorized infantry and tanks. This is not our first sailing trip with our Soviet comrades in arms of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet. However, it was on this occasion that I was able to have a very close look at the actions of my Soviet friends and to learn from their valuable experience. I was impressed by the great precision shown in interaction among the individual ships during the landing "waves." The flaps were dropped at a mininal distance from the shore, which increased the striking power of the motorized infantry and tank subunits. "Shield 82" became a great combat training course for me!"

Officer Irzi Tesarzik, Czechoslovak army political worker:

"The Czechoslovak soldiers will retain a vivid memory of the "Shield 82" maneuvers. Here, on Bulgarian soil, we found many new friends and enriched our experience as commanders and political workers. There are no secrets among friends. This truth was confirmed yet once again during our preparations for combat actions and during the test itself. I am happy to have had the opportunity to meet with political workers from the fraternal armies and to participate in meetings to exchange experience in organizing effective and purposeful party-political work. Particularly useful in this connection was the experience we gained from our Soviet colleagues. We are pleased by the interaction which we achieved during "combat" with the Hungarian forces and particularly with the members of the Polish People's Army, for our unit bears the honor title of "Czechoslovak-Polish Friendship Unit!"

"'Shield 82' is already history. It proved once again that the shield of socialism cannot be pierced and that our alliance is unshakable!"

Sr Lt Sandor Sinkovicz (Hungarian People's Army), motorized infantry battalion deputy commander for political affairs:

"Allow me to begin by expressing my warm thanks to our Bulgarian friends for everything they did to make our stay in Bulgaria useful and pleasant. It was indeed very pleasant, for it was here, in your land, that our combat unity became even stronger and our friendship richer. In Bulgaria we proved once again that if we are united and cohesive peace and socialism are in safe hands. The "Shield 82" maneuvers were completed successfully. They became another vivid proof of the friendship and unity among the Warsaw Pact armies.

"Our visit to your country was very agreeable. This was a first visit for many Hungarian troops and commanders. We had wonderful meetings with soldiers and the young and working people of socialist Bulgaria, which will remain unforgettable. We take back with us the sun and beauty of your homeland and unforgettable memories. Allow me to end by repeating myself: Thank you, splendid Bulgarian comrades, we thank you for everything!"

Private Gabor Mokoj, excellent machine-gunner (Hungarian People's Army):

"I leave Bulgaria with sincere regrets. I like everything here very much. You can be proud of your beautiful homeland. I am proud to have spent such unforgettable days with great and loyal friends. I leave Bulgaria with the thought that I leave here a part of my heart. I leave, even more confident

that our friendship is unbreakable and that our joint strength can properly rebuff anyone who would dare to disturb the peaceful toil of our peoples.

"Goodbye dear comrades in arms in sunny Bulgaria!"

Private Tivador Guba (Hungarian People's Army):

"I could say a great deal about the unforgettable days on Bulgarian soil, but I shall try to find just a few words to express our feelings before we part. So, you may write the following: We liked Bulgaria very very much! A splendid country and people and loyal friends -- this is what Bulgaria will mean to me from here on!"

Soviet Major on Bulgaria

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 82 p 2

> [Text] What are your feelings regarding "Shield 82" and on leaving Bulgaria?

Major Nikolay Olifirenko, deputy commander for technical affairs of a marine battalion:

This is not my first participation in joint exercises of fraternal armies. I am convinced that "Shield 82" reasserted the fact that the unity and cohesion among our armies, and the strengthening of friendship and like-thinking of our troops and commanders are created through our joint actions. This is the result of our common ideology, objectives and tasks which face our countries and peoples. Such exercises clearly prove the power of the Warsaw Pact armies and one realizes that they are the only force capable of stopping the war lovers in the West and wrecking the aggressive imperialist intentions.

The "Shield 82" maneuvers are of great importance in upgrading the skill of commanders and the combat mastery of the troops. As a technical officer, let me emphasize that here we saw once again the high combat capabilities and excellent qualities of our weapons and combat ordnance.

This is not my first visit to Bulgaria. I participated in the "Rodopi" exercise. This is a country I love and respect. Once again I felt the sincere love of the Bulgarian people. A few apples offered by an elderly woman, a hand raised in salute, children asking their elder brother for a Soviet badge and friendly smiles are only part of the concrete manifestations of the pure and bright friendship between us.

Let me emphasize, however, that the same type of love and respect we came across in town and country was shown toward the soldiers of the other fraternal armies as well. This proves the maturity of the Bulgarian people and their loyal internationalism.

We are defending peace and socialism in our fraternal alliance, linked by warm friendship and comradeship in arms, unity of thought and readiness for joint action.

Leading Artillery Unit

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Captain Pet'o Dafinkichev]

[Text] Skillful activities distinguished Guards Lt Leonid Kosenovskiy's platoon during the maneuvers. His artillerymen shortened the norm for firing from a sheltered position by 10 percent. No single shell missed the target.

I asked him how he, a young officer with relatively short experience, was able to achieve such high results.

"Dedication," he answered and, in order not to appear immodest, added that he deems it a law to give of himself everything he has -- his knowledge, efforts and skills -- for only this gives him the right to demand the same of the soldiers. "Our platoon," he added, "includes members of many nationalities. On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR we made high pledges. Our platoon is capable of excellent results."

I had the opportunity to observe his work with the soldiers. It was not merely the fact that he had blended with the crews and was doing everything necessary to inspire them, for this would not be a complete description of the invisible means through which he was transmitting his iron will and resolve always to be first among the first.

Crew commander Junior Sergeant Vartan Yegyan said:

"We are champions because we try to keep up with the platoon commander, but he always stays ahead of us. My crew has men of four different nationalities but all of us equally value our commanding officer and are ready to follow him everywhere."

I asked the guards lieutenant if he considered the exercise an incentive for the full display of strength.

"Naturally," he answered. "Together, we aspire to maximal achievements. But I also train my platoon not for exercises but for victory, should this become necessary. Therefore, I consider "Shield 82" more a test of our combat readiness to stop any aggressor and an opportunity to share our experience with the comrades in the fraternal armies. We must leave enriched with new knowledge and even stronger faith in the invincibility of our fraternal armies."

Soviet Military Relate Impressions

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Captain Petio Angelov]

[Text] Before the departure of the Soviet army units I asked Guards Sr Lt Andrey Matitsyn, Military Valor Medal bearer, to describe his impressions on leaving Bulgaria and what he will remember of the "Shield 82" maneuvers:

"The Soviet troops and commanders took a new step forward in their military and professional growth. The high rating awarded to us is the proper result of our dedicated work. It gives us satisfaction and a feeling of legitimate pride. However, unwittingly we also feel sadness caused by our imminent departure. As is frequently the case, at such times we remember not only battlefield events but recent meetings and trips in hospitable and beautiful Bulgaria. I remember the marbled streets of the beautiful Tolbukhin, hear the military band in the main square and recall the march "Great Is Our Soldier," which I liked very much. Nor will I forget the bouquet of flowers presented to me by Kalinka, the second grader...

"I will be home soon, where relatives and friends await me. I am confident that my stories about Bulgaria and its wonderful working people are being awaited eagerly. I am happy to have felt in the course of "Shield 82" once again the friendship and goodness of our Bulgarian comrades in arms and the entire Bulgarian people and to have admired their amazing ideological and political maturity."

I addressed the same question to Guards Private Stepan Kara, excellent mechanic-driver of war vehicle.

"I come from a line of Bulgarian settlers in Moldavia from before the Crimean War," he said. "Our family name is Kirev. I am infinitely happy to have had the opportunity to visit the land of my forefathers. Anything Bulgarian is close and precious to me. I will take to my Soviet homeland a handful of Dobrudzha's fertile chernozem. Our platoon operated jointly with Bulgarian motorized infantry. Whenever it seemed to me that they were slowinj down the pace of the advance I whispered in my telephone headset, "Come on, brothers, a little more, faster," in the language we speak at home. It is somewhat obsolete but is pure Bulgarian over 150 years old.

"I am leaving with a feeling of warmth in my chest and with legitimate pride that Bulgaria, which was once tortured and torn by the enslavers, has become such a modern and beautiful country. I hope to see it and the Bulgarians -- my blood brothers -- on many more occasions."

Statements by Marshal Kulikov

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 82 p 4

[Text] Moscow, 2 October (BTA). On the occasion of the completed "Shield 82" joint maneuvers by the fraternal armies, Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces stated the following to O. Moskovskiy, TASS correspondent:

The joint command of the Joint Armed Forces and the national commands of the allied armies, which are devoting constant efforts to ensure the high-quality solution of defense problems facing the socialist comity, pay particular attention to joint exercises such as "Shield," "Brotherhood in Arms," and others which, along with the staffs, involve the participation of the armies and navies of all or most of the members of our defense alliance.

It is in the course of such exercises that problems of combat coordination and close interaction among the units and subunits of the different arms and branches of the allied armies are resolved most successfully. At the same time, the practical actions of the troops enable us to test the accuracy of our military theory on the nature and means of armed struggle, the realistic nature of norms and the computations made by the respective staffs in planning operations and combats.

The "Shield 82" maneuvers were an important joint initiative of the allied armies and a report on their readiness to defend through joint efforts the revolutionary gains of the socialist countries and peace on earth.

It was a superior form of comprehensive troop training. It confirmed once more the increasing theoretical level of operative-tactical training of commanders and staffs and the army and navy ground, air and sea skills.

The maneuvers helped us to resolve major and difficult problems set by the central committees of the fraternal parties on upgrading the combat power of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces.

The circumstances under which the maneuvers took place were difficult. Rugged mountains, wide water obstacles, forests and difficult weather conditions greatly hindered the actions of the trainees.

I am pleased to note that despite all such hardships the units and subunits displayed high professional skills and the ability to make effective use of modern weaponry and materiel on the battlefield and to operate daringly and energetically in "combat," showing initiative and creativity.

It would be hard to name the best. All staffs and armies displayed high levels of training. Particularly impressive however, were the actions of units and subunits in piercing "enemy" defenses through helicopter and sea landing and bypassing in mountainous terrain. They were not only organized, instructive and dynamic but, I would say, daring as well. The artillery, airplanes and helicopters struck at the "enemy" in a coordinated and accurate manner.

Each new joint exercise conducted by our allied armies and navies is one more important step in strengthening proletarian internationalism and friendship among the personnel of the Joint Armed Forces.

The situation during the exercise and the solution of common problems by the fraternal army units bring them closer to each other and strengthen their reciprocal trust and friendship.

The "Shield 82" maneuvers are one more example of the strengthening combat cooperation among the fraternal armies and the steady aspiration of our countries to strengthen their defense union -- the Warsaw Pact. They provided excellent training in raising the troops in a spirit of constant readiness to carry out their duty and to defend the gains of socialism instantly and with dedication."

Prague, 2 October (BTA). The Czechoslovak public followed with great attention the "Shield 82" maneuvers of the Joint Armed Forces of Warsaw pact member countries. It was regularly informed through the press, radio and television of their successful course and the excellent interaction among the formations and units of the armed forces and branches of the allied armies.

RUDE PRAVO emphasized in today's issue that the "Shield 82" maneuvers proved the strength and inviolability of the fraternal friendship and the unity and cohesion among the peoples and armed forces of the Warsaw Pact members.

The newspaper emphasized the assessment of Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces to the effect that the maneuvers took place on a high combat level with excellent interaction among forces and staffs in resolving difficult combat problems.

Berlin, 2 October (BTA). During the past few days the "Shield 82" maneuvers were one of the main topics of the press, radio and television. Today's press publishes front-page reports on the successful completion of the maneuvers and the impressive parade held in Burgas.

Also extensively covered is the speech by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman, delivered at the official luncheon, emphasizing his statement that the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact members are on the level of requirements, hopes and faith which our peoples and the working people the world over have as they consider them a reliable shield of socialism and peace.

5003
CSO: 2200/6

RESULTS OF 12TH CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS ASSESSED

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 22 Sep 82 p 11

[Article by Zakhari Zakhariev: "Clear Path for Pragmatism"]

[Text] Deng's People in the First Echelon

Face-Saving Retirement of Old Key Personnel

One of the features of the recently concluded 12th Chinese Communist Party Congress is that, unlike the three preceding congresses since the end of the "cultural revolution," it took place under comparatively normal conditions. The decision to convoke it was made at a regular plenum of the CCP Central Committee, the agenda was announced, and regular--albeit incomplete--information about its progress was issued.

The 12th CCP Congress did not glitter with any original theoretical formulations. Rather, it made partial corrections and refined and polished old positions. The three basic tasks facing the party and country--socialist modernization, unification of the country, and the struggle against "hegemonism"--had actually been formulated earlier. The present congress only worked out the details and updated them. The same thing could also be said about certain basic ideological and theoretical principles contained in the speech given by the chairman of the CCP Central Committee, Hu Yaobang. It is no secret that the question of the role and place of Mao Zedong and his "ideas," as well as the "leftist errors" in ideology, politics and economics, had been decided at some of the preceding plenums of the CCP Central Committee.

That is why it would hardly be far-fetched to say that the main efforts of the organizers of the congress were aimed at creating organizational structures to bolster power on a pragmatic basis. It is no accident that the congress adopted a new party statute and made substantial changes in the party power structures. Considered from a narrowly party perspective, the congress consolidated the dominant position of the group of pragmatists in the governing party bodies. The structural changes that were made had as their purpose not only to make the party leadership more effective, but also to intensify still more the influence of the key party personnel most directly associated with Deng Xiaoping's line. Now that the decisions regarding key personnel made at the congress are already known, it is clear that the group of pragmatists

control the situation and hold in their hands all the key positions in the party machine. The first echelon includes only politicians loyal to Deng Xiaoping's line. The purport of these personnel decisions is to assure a gradual transition of power into the hands of Deng Xiaoping's followers.

The two main figures, on whom are placed the greatest hopes of continuing the pragmatic course, mapped out and ratified at the congress, are Hu Yaobang, elected general secretary, and Zhao Ziyang, elected chairman of the State Council. To facilitate their activity, the Central Committee was significantly revitalized with younger personnel--convinced adherents of the present pragmatic policy. The partial changes, made in the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee, followed the same reasoning.

What is new in the practice of the 12th CCP Congress is the election of a Central Consultative Council. For the first time, side by side with the Central Committee, a new institution of similar character has been set up. In its composition--172 persons, the newly created Consultative council actually represents another Central Committee. The truth is that its competence is of a consultative character. As is stated in the new party statute adopted by the congress, "The Central Consultative Council will be a political assistant and adviser to the Central Committee."

The main consideration in favor of the creation of this new institution is to facilitate the process of rejuvenating the party leadership. The appeal made in the past two or three years for the retirement of old "second-line" key party personnel is known to have run into difficulties.

According to the statute established by the CCP Central Committee for the consultative councils which will be created at the provincial levels too, "anyone of advanced age and in poor health but who is still capable of serving as a key worker" may be elected a council member. It is not difficult to gather that these councils of elders will formally fulfill the role of a kind of "council of sages." Clearly, the main principle of their establishment is the advanced age and the inability of old key personnel to participate fully in CCP political life. Thus the creation of the new institution makes possible the face-saving retirement of old key personnel who retain, albeit formally, some attributes of power.

There are, however, also more special reasons that make it imperative to create the Central Consultative Council. It is a convenient way of pushing some inconvenient people out of active political life. The fact that its membership includes some former party functionaries eliminated from the Political Bureau, as well as those who have definite reservations about the present pragmatic course, bears out these suppositions.

The fact that Deng Xiaoping, who alone is a member of the CCP Central Committee and of the Central Consultative Council, was also confirmed as its chairman is very significant. Not only will he represent this new institution in the party structures, he also retains the influential post of one of the permanent members of the Political Bureau and--what is no less important--he was once more confirmed as chairman of the CCP Central Committee's Military Commission.

Although the congress did not satisfy the maximum demands of the pragmatists regarding key personnel, it secured for them almost complete domination in key spheres of the governing party offices and can be said to have cleared the path for the present pragmatic policy.

6474
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POLITICAL OPPOSITION IN CSSR

Treatment of Political Prisoners

Hamburg STERN in German No 30, 22 Jul 82 pp 15, 16, 20, 22

[Article by Dieter Bub]

[Text] The "Hole" is a dark, bare dungeon, 6 meters square. It has no windows. A light bulb swings from the ceiling. A few boards lie on the damp concrete floor. The prisoner has to sleep on them. He is given only a thin blanket. His food ration is smaller than that of the other detainees.

The "Hole," as the prisoners call it, is in Mirov Castle near Zabreh, which has served as a prison since the Middle Ages. During World War II a concentration camp was set up in Mirov.

Today, this prison is one of the harshest punitive institutions in socialist Czechoslovakia. With an official capacity of 800 prisoners, up to 1,200 persons are occasionally crammed in together there.

Peter Uhl, a machine construction engineer, has been living here since January 1980. The coinitiator of the civil rights movement "Charta 77" had been sentenced in October 1979 by the Prague municipal court to 5 years imprisonment for "subversive activity." This enemy of the state is now to be systematically eliminated. Uhl is constantly subject to disciplinary punishment and sent to the "Hole."

The objective of prison director Captain Moravek is the physical and psychic destruction of the political prisoner. Moravek announced to his guards: "He won't come out of the Hole again."

In 1980 alone three prisoners committed suicide because of the intolerable conditions in the prison.

If Peter Uhl survives the harassment in prison and is released after serving his sentence, he must expect to be arrested again within a short time, unless he goes into exile, like thousands before him.

Anyone ringing the bell on the second floor at 2 Jeronymova Street in Prague, a corner house from the turn of the century, must be patient. He is being inspected through the peephole. The door is opened only after three locks have been unlocked. A 54-year old, grey-haired woman invites the guest in through a small room into the kitchen-living area. She apologizes to the visitor for having made him wait. In an emergency there would have to be enough time left to destroy incriminating material.

Anna Maranova is one of the three spokespersons of the Czechoslovakian civil rights movement. This evening she and her husband are working. They are putting brightly colored postage stamps from Mozambique into cellophane envelopes for collectors' mail order. Together they earn Kcs 800 per month, the equivalent of about DM 250.

Stifle All Opposition at the Outset

Her apartment and the telephone are monitored, the house is watched, Charta spokespersons are shadowed. Anna Maranova, a member of the Communist Party from 1948 to 1969, a radio journalist for 20 years, is today regarded as an enemy of the state. After the end of the "Prague Spring" she washed dishes and delivered newspapers. Since January she has been supplying information about "Charta 77." Since then, she and her family have been subject to the psychoterrorism of the state security service. Her son-in-law lost his job. He was threatened with further harassment, if he did not break off contact with his motherin-law.

After STERN's visit to Anna Maranova, her telephone is turned off. She is put under temporary arrest, is interrogated, but is released again the next day.

During the Solidarity strikes in Poland and following the assumption of power by the military, the state security service in the CSSR increased its pressure on critics of the regime in the country. The state leadership is trying to stifle all opposition at the outset with arrests, interrogations, torture, trials and sentencing to harsh punishment.

After Czechoslovakian customs officials on the Austrian border turned up and confiscated exile literature, periodicals and tapes in a French car in April 1981, 36 persons were arrested, 15 were accused of subversive activity, 8 were put in investigative detention. Among them were the writer Eva Kanturkova, the journalist Karel Kyncl and scientists Jan Mlynarik, Milan Simecka, Jam Ruml and Jiri Ruml. Five of them were not released until 11 months later, two of them were released 13 months later, one of them is still in prison. In July 1981, the former Charta spokesman Rudolf Battek was sentenced to 7 1/2 years in prison for counterrevolutionary activity. Punitive persecution of all the accused, among them former Minister of Foreign Affairs Jiri Hajek, continues.

In October, police officers attacked Zina Freundova of "Charta 77" in her apartment, struck her, kicked her, beat her head against the wall, cut off hanks of hair and tore off her nightdress.

During interrogation, critics of the regime Zbynek Benysek, Petr Pospichal, Vaclav Maly, the singers Karel Soukup and Vlastimil Tresnak were beaten, choked and tortured with cigarette lighters and burning cigarettes.

On 14 December, one day after the declaration of martial law in Poland, 11 patrol cars drove up to the house in the Slovenska Ulice. Led by Lieutenant Colonel Karban, police officers forced their way into the apartment of the philosopher Dr Ladislav Hejdanek. Participants in a scientific seminar were gathered in the living room. Together with Hejdanek and his family, they were arrested and interrogated for 24 hours.

From 1968 to 1971 Hejdanek had worked at the Philosophical Institute of the Prague Academy of Sciences. Following his exclusion from the Academy of Sciences, he worked as a night watchman for 5 years and as a stoker for 6 years. Today he earns Kcs 800 per month as a laborer. His wife, formerly a school book reader, has found employment as a typist.

In spite of all these repressive measures, Hejdanek is not giving up and continues to give private lectures. His judgement of the political situation in the CSSR is harsh: "It is a state full of opportunists, to which I will not sell myself!" He thinks that the Charta movement, as a coalition of Communist reformers, socialists and Christians, is important; however, its importance should not be overestimated. An effective opposition in the CSSR still had to be established.

Not only writers and scientists, committed Catholics have also had to suffer under the arbitrariness of the state for decades. For the leadership in Prague the events in Poland, beginning with the strike at the Lenin shipyard in Danzig in August 1980, were a real consequence of the dangerous influence of the Church.

The Church--A Faithfully Devoted Partner

Spurred on by Vasil Bilak, the head party ideologist, a new persecution of Christians began. Along with many others, the Jesuit Frantisek Lizna and the Dominican Jaroslav Duka were declared enemies of the state. Lizna was sentenced to 20 months imprisonment in January 1982, because he had passed six copies of an informational brochure about the situation of the Church in the CSSR to two Catholic priests from the FRG. In December 1981 Duka was given a sentence of 15 months. The prosecution accused him of having conducted religious services without state permission, of having produced and distributed religious literature and of wanting to reestablish the Dominican order. And the Slovak priest Premysl Confal was murdered in the Bratislav (Pressburg) prison.

In order to justify the harsh actions of the courts, the Czechoslovakian press constantly conjures up the ghost of the "secret Church." PRAVDA, the central organ of of the Slovak CP in Bratislava, reported in a lead article that political clericalism had grown in strength and was exerting a "reactionary function." In the ranks of the "secret Church" there were "members of the order who hold a civilian job and politically disoriented young people, who are under the spell of mystic Romanticism and are incapable of recognizing what the realities are." The Pope is accused of wanting to weaken the socialist states.

Unlike the situation in Poland, the Catholic Church in the CSSR has been a faithfully devoted partner of those in power. During the Nazi period many clergymen remained silent, others openly embraced National Socialism. It is also true that hundreds were deported to the Dachau concentration camp--only a few returned. Only when the

Church itself became one of the persecuted did it gain a measure of trust among a minority of the population.

After the order was dissolved in 1950 and the monks and nuns were reeducated to become workers and nurses, the Church organization "Pacem in terris" was established as a state means of control. The state forced the installation of bishops faithful to the regime, restricted the practice of religious freedom and persecuted recalcitrant priests with relentless harshness. Currently two archdioceses and seven dioceses are unoccupied. Only a few priests are being trained in the last two seminaries still in existence in Bratislava and Litomerice.

As the order of Franciscans reported just a few days ago, appealing to authorities in the Prague religious underground, special agents have recently been sent after secret religious circles in the CSSR, which exist mainly among students. Attempts are being made, using the most modern intelligence-gathering technical methods, to uncover secretly consecrated priests.

The People--Accomodated and Disinterested

The political and religious resistance in the CSSR is meeting with far less response in the population than is the case in Poland. In Poland, critics of the regime from the KOR movement under Jacek Kuron, with their criticism of the mismanagement of a corrupt Communist party, provided the spark that ignited the strikes and the formation of the independent trade union "Solidarity." In Czechoslovakia critics of the regime have found very few sympathisers among the people so far. The end of the Prague Spring in 1968 was followed by a withdrawal into the personal private sphere. People were politically disinterested, content with a relatively high standard of living, they bought what was not officially available on the black market and took advantage of the opportunities to make trips abroad to Western Europe, which were granted in exceptional cases of political irreproachability.

Prof Jiri Hajek, minister for foreign affairs during the Prague Spring under Alexander Dubcek, is under no illusions: the populace is depoliticized and the civil rights movement is isolated. The frustration of 1968 is still alive. In Hajeks's opinion there are too many spectators, but only a few active participants: "Charta 77 is like a sports team that has sympathisers among the fans, but the fans are unable to play with the ball themselves. It has been proven to the citizens that it is not worth while becoming involved in resisting power. That he can satisfy his consumer needs if he leaves the state in peace."

But the fat years are over. As a result of mismanagement, poor planning and insufficient investment industrial and agricultural production has shrunk radically. Exports to the West have ceased almost completely. The annual growth rate of the national income fell from between 5 and 6 percent at the end of the 1960's to 0.5 percent in 1981. This year it will reach zero.

The population has long since felt the consequences of the economic crisis. In October the prices of heating oil and gasoline were increased by 30 percent. Since February meat, cigarettes and alcohol have increased in price by up to 40 percent. Minor wage increases and improvements in social services have not brought any compensation.

When the miners in the Ostrava coal region, directly on the Polish border, staged a warning strike because of the price increases, Premier Strougal arrived immediately and calmed the workers with wage increases of 10 to 12 percent for above-ground workers and 15 to 18 percent for below-ground workers. The rest of the country remained peaceful. For this reason Jiri Hajek does not believe at this time that there will be major protests: "The situation has become more difficult, but it is still a long way from the stage in Poland."

There is also no fear of any "Polish germ" in the trade union. Three leading officials explained to STERN that following the formation of "Solidarity" in Danzig there was at no time any distrust of the party and the trade union on the part of the workers. Major mistakes had been made in Poland when socialism was made a reality. In Czechoslovakia, on the other hand, everything was arranged correctly. Convinced of their efficiency, the officials praised each other with disarming self-satisfaction. "We acted according to the tenet that where the mass is, the union must also be. We have always reacted sensitively to stimuli. That is why we have overcome all our problems."

The officials ought to know better. The majority of the 7.3 million trade union members does not regard the state and the party with enthusiasm, but with indifference. Head ideologue Vasil Bilak provided the proof personally: In April, in the party newspaper RUDE PRAVO, he criticized the poor work morale of the Czechs and the Slovaks. Anyone who wants to live better, would have to produce more, just as under capitalism.

The populace feels the accusation of idleness unjustified. They do not think of themselves, but the Poles, as lazy.

The aversion to their Slavic neighbors to the north has historical reasons. Many Czechs and Slovaks have not forgotten to this day that the Poles invaded the Czechoslovakian part of Silesia in October 1938. Naturally, this aversion to their neighbors is welcome to the government in Prague.

Today, Prof Jiri Hajek lives in isolation in the garden city of Prague. His house and his telephone are constantly monitored by the state security service. The 69-year old has not been allowed to leave the CSSR for 10 years. He is also forbidden to travel to neighboring communist states. The former minister for foreign affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic puts his hope in a distant future: "I am convinced that socialism in this country can one day overcome its primitive stage. The Prague Spring, this eruption of freedom, has shown us that we are capable of it."

Mlynar, Exiled Former CPCZ Secretary, On Situation

Hamburg STERN in German No 30, 22 Jul 82, p 22

[Interview with Zdenek Mylar, former secretary of the CPCZ, by STERN, "Detente Was an Illusion," in Vienna; date not known]

[Text] STERN: In Poland bottlenecks in supplies have again and again--most recently in August 1980--led to discontentment, protests and strikes. Other countries in

Eastern Europe are now finding themselves increasingly in economic difficulties. Can that lead to developments similar to those in Poland?

Mlynar: It was the experience of the Polish workers in 1956, 1970 and 1976 that certain concessions can be forced through pressure from below. So finally in the fall of 1980 the founding of "Solidarity" came about. In addition, there has always been the Church in Poland as an independent ideological force. These preconditions do not exist in other countries. So even with growing discontent, developments such as those in Poland are not to be expected at the moment. On the other hand I am certain that the basic idea of the developments in Poland, the founding of one's own trade union, will also survive in neighboring countries.

STERN: The United States reacted with economic sanctions to the most recent developments in Poland. What is your opinion of this method?

Mlynar: My objection to short-term political nostrums such as this is that possible long-term negative consequences are not considered.

STERN: Seen from the other side, communist ideologues, like your former comrade Bilak, feel themselves to be justified in their opinion that the ties to capitalism should not be so strong. Aren't we well on the way to mutual economic isolation?

Mlynar: The Stalinists have always been convinced that the communist countries must be separated economically as well from the West. It is my opinion that it is impossible today to separate these two systems from each other economically. Economic relations are independent of ideologies.

STERN: What is the state of the policy of detente between East and West, is it over?

Mlynar: That depends on what we understand by the term policy of detente. In my opinion the policy of detente of the 1970's ran into a dead end because the Soviet Union pursued a policy of dividing the world into blocks during this period. And the great expectations after the Helsinki Agreement of 1975 (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, CSCE), which was about democratization and relieving human suffering, have proved to be an illusion. The contents of the policy of detente have not matched the expectations of the peoples in the Eastern European countries who were hoping that the ties to the Soviet Union would become weaker and that their countries could develop democratically into a block-free Europe. So the policy of detente has to look for new content, new beginnings.

STERN: How do you judge the chances of groups such as the signatories of "Charta 77" in Eastern European states?

Mlynar: The human rights advocates in Eastern Europe, even in the Soviet Union, were linked very closely with the policy of detente of the 1970's. In recent years these movements have been weakened by the pressure of the state security service and the pressure of the state's power. But also because the old concept of the policy of detente proved to be not quite able to stay alive, a weakening of the human rights movements has occurred. Developing crises in Eastern Europe will result in the opposition forces taking on new forms. And even within the power apparatuses greater currents will form again, which will strive for reforms.

ZSMP DISCUSSES YOUTH ROLE IN NATIONAL REBIRTH

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 15 Sep 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Dariusz Korman, vice chairman of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] ZD [City District Board] "Stare Miasto" in Wroclaw; Robert Bieniek, member of the presidium of the ZSMP ZM [City Board] in Gliwice; Teresa Stwora, vice chairman of the ZSMP ZZ [Plant Board] of the Szombierki mine, Bytom; Danuta Czerepko, worker at the heating and power plant of the Olsztyn Tire plants [OZOS] Stomil; Mieczyslaw Jesionowski, head of the Highway Transportation Department and OKON chairman in largest plant in Olsztyn; Waldemar Jedrzejewski, from the W. Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk; Mark Plotrowski, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the ZSMP ZW [Voivodship Board]; Jerzy Tchorzewski, secretary of the ZSMP ZW in Przemsyl: "To See an Opportunity for Yourself"; date and place not specified; passages enclosed in slant lines printed in boldface]

> [Text] Today, a plenum of the ZG [Main Board] of the ZSMP is discussing the participation of young people in the organs of state authority, self-government and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON].

Eight months have passed since the first elements of Citizens' Committees for National Salvation [OKON] were set up. We have addressed ZSMP members with this question: What is the input and the role of your organization in these committees? What issues and problems are the young people trying to solve by taking part in the patriotic movement? Perhaps their statements will contribute to the proceeding of the plenum?

[Dariusz Korman] In the Stare Miasto OKON, work is underway on setting up a youth work group. We would like all youth organizations to have their representatives in this group. In this way, the scope of the group's activity will embrace all age brackets and social groups among young people.

/At this point, the role of youth in our OKON is small. This is primarily a result of the mistrust with which the young generation is still approaching the committee. Making young people aware of the role OKON can play in making arrangements and solving current problems is a basic issue. This opportunity should be taken advantage of./

The immediate program is, therefore, clear--to propagate the activity of particular committees among the populace to the maximum extent possible, to demonstrate committees in action and the results of their action.

In the framework of our city district board, we mostly take up issues related to housing. Many of our actions meet with success. However, all remain silent about it. Contrary to this situation, we must show this to the people in order to make them really appreciate the significance of this movement, its existence and the work the movement is doing on their behalf.

[Robert Bieniek] I am a member of a youth commission of our local OKON. Similarly, my colleagues from youth organizations, somewhat in accordance with the rules of "apparat," are members of particular commissions and their boards. Our activities are many. However, at present it is difficult to describe youth participation in the movement as broad. To be sure, it is only a beginning. A lot still remains to be done. This kind of social activity requires particular perserverance and persistent action, which we are lacking to a degree. For example, we are trying to bring about the setting up of a club for high school students from our city. Now these youngsters do not have a single place where they can spend their spare time after classes in an attractive atmosphere and, which is also important, at an expense which will not break a student's budget. So far, we do not yet know where the city authorities stand on this issue, and without their close cooperation nothing can be accomplished at this time. How about the young people not exactly participating in the OKON activities? How could it be otherwise, if, in accordance with the old practice, the moment a new committee is organized, a call is made to the relevant ZSMP chapter with an instruction to dispatch a ZSMP representative to serve on the committee? I will say something else on the basis of my personal experience and observation at the meetings of particular commissions /instead of an exchange of views and opinions, often a usual quarrel occurs, which leads the participants nowhere. It is all the more so, because practices and views which are hardly compatible with the comprehensive renewal of our economic life still linger on in some quarters of this movement, not unlike the situation in other [organizations]./

[Teresa Stwora] An employee of our enterprise, who is in charge of the personnel department, represents our OKON at the city and voivodship levels. It is to him that we bring our concerns and doubts, for example, problems associated with social issues involving young miners, with the implementation of loans for young married couples and with equipment deficiencies in the workers' dormitory. This is the basic mode of our cooperation with OKON. It follows from my observation so far that young people have taken up social activity in this movement rather heavily. The younger generation is vigorously active in particular committees in solving numerous issues of concern to their age group. However, we do not know the details, because in this case the principle of acting within organizational structures does not apply. The fact that ZSMP members are not serving on the boards and in other bodies of the OKON is not to say that they are not active in the committees at all.

[Marek Piotrowski] At present, 376 ZSMP members are serving on all OKONs in Przemysl Voivodship. It is not much, however, one must admit that increasingly

more young people are becoming aware of the opportunities this movement offers them. The task is to insure that the issues OKON is taking up are of concern to the young people. I mean such issues as nursery, day-care center and housing construction, utilization of empty lots of land and problems of the younger generation in starting careers and families. Members of ZSMP participate vigorously in solving these problems wherever they are very much in the spotlight. On the initiative of our organization, OKONs were set up in the Unified Voivodship Hospital in Przemzsl, in the JAROSLAW glass factory and in Pruchnik parish.

[Jerzy Tchorzewski] In my opinion, OKON should not be tackling everything, and, specifically, the implementation of resolutions adopted by executive organs or national councils and subsequently swept under the rug. It seems to be that their primary function is to implement the renewal and to rally everyone to whose heart the good of the socialist motherland lies close around its program. I hope that this movement will convince the people to democratize our life. Young people must also be aware of their opportunity.

[Danuta Czerepko] There are many young people in the OKON in our enterprise. However, I am the only representative of ZSMP. This fact upsets me very much, because the way to OKON is open to everybody. You can come and not only listen to what is said at meetings held once a month, but also do something. I am at a loss to explain why there are no people who want that in the youth organization of our enterprise. Half of the OKON consists of young people, and this is a consolation. It cannot be otherwise, because the young account for a majority of our work force. I think that the lack of broad representation in the enterprise OKON undermines the prestige of the ZSMP. To my mind, OKON activities are very useful and needed. They have provided a forum where several production and social issues have been settled. Nonetheless, much still remains to be done. It is evident that housing for young people is the cardinal problem, and one must really wrack his brain to get things moving. Reviewing intended management decisions and resolutions regarding the enterprise is an important activity. I believe that we people from OKON also cannot lay an exclusive claim to wisdom, though there are 37 of us. In particular departments, there are OKON collectives which are, in principle, auxiliary organs assisting departmental management. They also include many young people. It seems to me that it is high time to establish some form of cooperation between the enterprise OKON and departmental collectives. This cooperation can produce valuable initiatives and ideas concerning the entire enterprise and its workforce.

Mieczyslaw Jesionowski confirms the opinion expressed by Danuta Czerepko that ZSMP members do not strive to work in OKON: Nonetheless, new young activists are asserting themselves and nothing else is important in this reference. /Many young people are only capable of criticizing certain phenomena. Sometimes their criticisms are right, but they do not suggest any actions aimed at eliminating evil, shortcomings and drawbacks. Besides, an attitude based on the demand: "give us..." but without an offer of something in return is quite common./ I have heard that the ZSMP is combating such views; however, this is not the case in my enterprise. Therefore, OKON must take up this task as well. We already have a few settled issues under our belt. I will mention

the overcoming of centralism in allocating wage funds among departments, improvement in the supply service and its upgrading. Lately, we brought about some movement on the issue of recycling used machine-tool parts.

Little by little, people are coming to like OKON. They are beginning to attend meetings which are, first, the source of true information and, second, a form for debate. We have managed to avert several conflicts and to prevent disappointment because people have learned the facts of the matter and all the conditions precisely, rather than having evaluated the matter exclusively from the vantage point of their job. One cannot say that this should be credited only to the younger or only to the elder generation. OKON's work is a team effort, but, we could use an increasingly large number of young people in our patriotic movement.

[Waldemar Jedrzejewski] The ZSMP of the GDANSK shipyard joined in the setting up of OKON, but we had reservations with regard to the constituent declaration. Creating OKON was not an initiative of the youth organization. We think that OKON should not only consist of people belonging to the organization, but of all those who desire to discuss concerns of the work force and participate in the front of [national] understanding as well as establish contacts with employees. /OKON must be a sociopolitical, not a social [welfare] organization. In its present format, OKON duplicates the work of management, which is a mistake. After all, what are the people in charge of solving these issues to do?/ Similarly, in our shipyard OKON must handle preparatory work for production, which is another misunderstanding. I think that OKON can be a body that controls and exacts the implementation of decisions, and the base from which young people can proceed in selecting candidates to national councils or in restoring self-government.

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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ZMW LEADERS INTERVIEWED ON UNION'S PROGRAMS, INTENTIONS

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 29, 29 Aug 82 pp 8, 9

[Interview with Waldemar Swirgon, chairman, and Kazimierz Janik, secretary of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] National Board [ZK] by Maria Kalinska; date and place of interview not given]

> [Text] This interview is the first of a series of articles presenting the programs and aims of organizations operating within the academic community. A teacher often serves to inspire the initiatives and activities of young people. Even when the teacher is not personally involved in the youth movement, this movement is a vital element of the upbringing front. Thus, the teacher must know what assistance he may count on from the youth unions.

[Question] Let us begin with some background information. How did ZMW originate; how long has it been in existence?

[Waldemar Swirgon] Usually, when we characterize the ZMW [Rural Youth Union], we start by saying that alongside the scout union, the ZMW is a historic Polish youth organization. It is one of two that endure, that seek their place under changing historical situations, that both continue the past and are something new. The ZMW has achieved something that no other organization could: it has been reborn for the third time. The first time was in 1944, then in 1957 and now, following August 1980. All other organizations, such as the ZWM, OMTUR [Youth Organization of the Society of Workers' Universities], the ZMP [Polish Youth Union] and the ZMS [Union of Socialist Youth] after being dissolved or amalgamated did not arise again. However, this is not a vagary of history; the enduring nature of society's interests and the vitality of the aspirations of the community demonstrate the social need for such an organization.

It is interesting that in 1980, five new organizations beside the ZMW arose: the Union of Democratic Youth [ZMD], the Independent Students' Association [NZS], the Polish Student Union [PZA] and the Communist Union of Polish Youth [KZMP]. Only the ZMW, however, survived the barrier of 13 December, regaining its internal stability, developing and broadening its base. This also proves that real interests and authentic social needs are the basis of our program. Our membership likewise proves this.

[Question] Are they not merely a statistic?

[W.S.] No, they are normal, living people who have not lost their ideals and who are committed ideologically. They are people who have their own interests and who wish to implement them in the union. While these interests are sometimes contradictory to the interests of other social groups, they are in conformity with the interests of the socialist state. They wish to make many changes in the state and in the system for the sake of rural areas, for the sake of the socioprofessional advancement of rural youth.

[Question] How many members do you have?

[W.S.] We have about 200,000 members. The movement is a social movement both legally and in practice. The average voivodship organization, numbering several thousand members, has four to five permanent employees. This is an important factor that protects the organization against being dominated by the bureaucracy. In addition, at least three-fourths of the members of every element of authority must be social activists. We believe that this is the best safeguard against the alienation at the "top."

[Question] How many of the 200,000 are teachers?

[W.S.] There are not many teachers--we estimate about 500 to 600 persons.

[Question] Why are they so few?

[W.S.] This is often the case because when the organization was started they were in other unions. Moreover, the ZMW arose as an organization that nobody wanted--it was too socialist for the opposition and too rebellious and peasant-oriented for the authorities. Hence, neither those who sought solutions in the extremist right nor those who confuse loyalty with unquestioning obedience are found in our membership. The ZMW is composed of rural youth, mainly agricultural and from institutions serving rural areas, with only a minority of the intelligentsia. I think that this proves that the organization was not imposed, but developed naturally.

[Question] However, you cannot exist without the intelligentsia, especially teachers.

[W.S.] We cannot exist without them, and I believe that teachers will join us. Without them, this would not be a natural movement. If we define the ZMW as a movement of the community, then all current forces and trends within the community must be a part of it.

[Question] Especially when it is such a significant group.

[W.S.] Teachers have always been the harbingers of social initiatives and the foundation of rural intellectual and social life. Today this current is weakened by comparison with past years. I remember how in Jaslikowo near Krasnostaw, where I lived for many years, teachers organized state holidays, first of May celebrations, New Year's Eve and St. Andrew's Eve festivities

with equal fire fervor and success, and how this "circle" was the center of cultural and social life. We would like to return to these relations.

I think that it is difficult to overestimate the role of the teacher in our union. A special social commission of teachers as advisers of school organizations has arisen. We are turning to them for help. We are asking that among their social obligations they consider the obligation to help rural youth to find the proper forms of action, to build anew and destroy what must be destroyed.

The organization is preparing a program of activities on behalf of rural teachers. I note here our efforts to extend the government housing construction program beyond large cities and to include the entire rural intelligentsia wherever possible. We are undertaking actions to supply rural areas with books; we are organizing brush-up courses to upgrade teachers' qualifications. Our program is in the developmental phase.

[Question] Teachers themselves could introduce many things.

[W.S.] We are counting on them. We are trying to break through their mistrust. We understand that this will not happen overnight; it is a process spread out over time.

[Kazimierz Janik] I would like to return for a moment to one of the opening subjects in this interview. Waldek [Swirgon], in speaking of the ZMW's historical role did not bring up one of the essential characteristics of the organization, emanating from its mingling of generations. When the movement was reborn, the ZMW arose primarily in schools where older teachers still remembered the first or second ZMW. At that time we turned to older activists and sympathizers for their help, for which we now thank them.

[Question] This brings us to the schools. What is the nature of the school organization?

[K.J.] It should arise out of the natural needs of young people and teachers alike. The teacher must know that the ZMW is one of the components of the teaching-upbringing process. I am speaking primarily of agricultural schools that prepare the student to return to work in rural areas. It is very important that this be understood in academic communities, for example. Whether a teacher will be a natural caretaker or someone merely assigned by the office will depend in large part on whether he was a member of the organization as a student, whether he feels emotionally tied to the organization.

[W.S.] Both rational interests and irrational feelings must mesh with the organization. Hence, the historicity of the ZMW, on which we have placed so much emphasis, is important. There are still people who cherish fond remembrances of their work with the ZMW from decades back. This is a tremendous advantage.

[K.J.] Let us return, however, to the nature of the ZMW in the school. It seems extremely important to me that as an element of the teaching-upbringing

program, it expands the teaching and training program, becoming one of the components of civic and social upbringing. Waldek mentioned the decline of cultural and social life in rural areas. This also happened because the intelligentsia who came to the village was not sensitive to it and did not know how to join into the activities of the rural community.

[Question] It also happened because they often treated their stay in the village as an incidental part of their lives and did not see themselves as members of the rural community. They went there to "wait things out" until they could find something permanent in the city.

[K.J.] Yes, they did. This degraded the village, relegating its role to that of a concentration of producers rather than a normal community with a vibrant social life.

[Question] To summarize this part of our interview--you assume that beginning this September, the gradual stabilization will cause you to venture into the student and teacher community.

[W.S.] Yes, we do. The distinction here is important. We expect to make a broader entry into the teacher's community. There was a stage in which the ZMW established the organization in the schools against the teachers. This stage must end, since the resultant situations are detrimental to upbringing. In the debate over the function of the youth organization--is it ideological, political or a trade union--even if we assume that it should fulfill all of the functions needed by young people, one of these is primary. All of our activities serve upbringing goals. That is why when the organization arises in schools out of rebellious impulses, against the teachers, it does not fulfill its tasks. That is why we hope to act more closely with teachers beginning in September, to close the pioneering period of ZMW school boards, which were sometimes treated as a political foundling.

[Question] This shows that you do not want to act in opposition to the school or alongside the school--as it sometimes happened as a result of the private actions of individual organizers--but that you consider yourselves to be one of the elements of the country's upbringing system.

[K.J.] Beginning with the new academic year, a new stage will be initiated in the school organization and in the union in general. Recent political decisions, especially decisions of the ninth PZPR KC [Central Committee] plenum, have opened this stage. For us this means that the period of the ZMW's struggle for existence has ended; our existence is assured.

[Question] You are a recognized entity.

[K.J.] We are. Our trump card is the fact that our general program, the program that we present to school age youth, is not a program imposed from above. The organization will prove its arguments by building the sort of grassroots program that is needed both in school and in the surrounding community. Although the specifics of the implementation of the programs in particular communities will differ, these programs must correspond with one another closely.

[W.S.] In rural areas, as everywhere, there is an urgent need to break down the fences around the school. A fence surrounding the school is a fence between the teacher and the community; it prevents the-teacher from fulfilling any culture-creating functions in the community. It means that for 2 hours students train on a school court under the teacher's supervision, and on the other side of the fence, a large group of young people from the ZMW and LZS [People's Sports Union] circle plays soccer in a field or pasture. These fences must be broken down, and the ZMW wants to take part in this, not by namecalling, accusations or criticizing the teachers for being egoists and the farmers for not opposing these actions. We wish to do this be creating incentives, natural solutions that make the teacher want to return to the village, to live there where he works, that make him feel needed and a part of the organization in which he worked at his institution of higher learning.

[Question] In other words, you are dreaming of a program of integrating the school with the community in which it functions, rather than a program of ZMV activity in the school.

[W.S.] Yes, we are. Our dream is to create a program of ZMW activity for the community of which the school is a vital element.

[K.J.] We realize that we are not the only ones able to remedy the rural situation in the area of culture, tourism, recreation and sports and education. We envisage being the ally of the school; the school will be our ally, and our organization will be one of the components of the reborn social movement. This is also important with regard to the anticipated results of such activities and the fact that a union member will always be taking part in endeavors of a unified nature; he will be subjected to a uniform type of influence.

[W.S.] The traditional social institutions that once made the rural community active and alive still exist there. This climate was created by the school, the LZS, the Volunteer Fire Brigade, the Rural Women's Circle and the ZMW. We would like to return to this structure, to work to recreate it, to become once again one of its elements.

[Question] Let us return once again to the roots and traditions to which you refer in terms of their role in the community. What links the earlier organizations: ZMW "Wici," and ZMW RP "Wici" [the Republic of Poland ZMW "Wici"] the ZMW from 1957 to 1976 and the present ZMW?

[W.S.] While in our declaration and program we refer to traditions, and in our documents and regulations we allude to their predecessors, we are a new organization. The times, Poland and we have changed. We are linked by the fact that these unions were always there for the community, for the people of the community. The famous Wici motto "Upbringing Within the Group" is still current. Moreover, we do not wish to force human development: we wish to create the conditions for development in the organization.

[Question] Do not carve out his character; let him develop himself.

[W.S.] Yes, we wish to create conditions that clearly define the goals of this development. This is determined by the nature of the organization as an upbringing organization of society and also an organization that sets up the social relations enabling each person to feel himself an individual in full possession of his rights.

Various arguments are now being carried on in the popular movement among activists of former years. What should be carried over into our times from the "Wici" traditions, and what from the ZMW traditions? I think that bidding on history does nothing but stir up new divisions. I think that these traditions are equally valid, but different. They are a reflection of the times in which they arose. Today we must make an assessment of history and reject whatever is unacceptable. From the ZMW from 1957 to 1976, we must reject submission to the immediate interests of the authorities and its contempt for the systemic interests of the state as a state of workers and peasants, a state ruled by the people. What is unacceptable from "Wici" is that part of its legacy that was a program of oppositionist political organization to the "sanacja" state.

[Question] At that time, this program was justly oppositional. Today, without accepting their oppositionism, you accept their tradition.

[W.S.] We accept their tradition and all of their work methods--their positivism and organic work, their work up from the grassroots, upbringing within the group, in the family, for society, for the state. We reject those elements that were elements of systemic opposition. Today we define the ZMW as an organization of essential opposition founded upon the systemic and constitutional solutions of socialism, together with the leadership role of the party and the need for close cooperation with the ZSL.

What links the organization with its predecessors is its opting for modernity and progress. Both "Wici" up to 1939 and its successor reached out for what was new, tried to make the impossible possible and destroyed the old order, not in terms of traditions, but in terms of the obsolete. Today we adopt their methods and values, but we reject whatever is now obsolete. We wish to preserve the permanent achievements of the form of work of our predecessors; for example, we are trying to reactivate the People's Universities. One of these has already started up, and we expect two others to commence soon.

[Question] We spoke of a program of actions whose common denominator is to break down the social stagnation that exists in the village, to build a normal social community where there now exists only a loosely knit cluster of producers. The subtext of this entire interview is the crisis, the need to dispel its social and economic causes. However, history has it that the crisis will end. In your opinion, what is the rural area of the future?

[W.S.] It is always risky to speak of any sort of concept under present conditions. In Poland everyone is fighting against all concepts. This is sad, for without vision, without a view of long-term tasks and goals, it is impossible to undertake effective immediate solutions. Hence, the Polish

agricultural quadrille with its conservatist slogan that comes back like a boomerang. "The poor countryman and the mid-sized farm owner fight with the kulak" on the one hand, and the direct attempt to initiate 3-5 hectare farms on the other, whose proprietor needs nothing from the socialist state beyond salt and matches.

The crisis determines the conditions in which we work. I do not want anyone to think that I underestimate the depth, the pervasiveness and the scale of the crisis. However, our goal must be a vision of the rural area and farming, for we cannot afford to separate the two. This is a vision of farmers who can and want to advance within the compass of the village, to develop themselves and their farms; farmers who have a good education and accessibility to culture, both by visiting the city and due to their own cultural, traditional activity. We have a vision of a village of strong farms, large farms, on which it is profitable to have machinery and which are productive; a village that has running water, and beaten good roads. We envisage agriculture in which the state is concerned about the labor situation and social security following one's productive years and while one exercises his profession.

It is not difficult to conceptualize such a village. It does not materialize due to the low farm awareness of industrial society and the urban intelligentsia. It is enough to give several bad examples to evoke anti-peasant attitudes; even peasants themselves jump on the bandwagon. The industrial lobby executes such manipulations as a conscious, declared opponent of farreaching changes in agriculture. The cause is simple--the pie to be divided in the area of social benefits and means of production is only one. If there are storage batteries for farm machinery, the private automobile industry will not have them. There is only one choice--to give to one, one must take away from another. This is not a drawback of the idea; however, the low farm awareness in the city and the weak political, social and occupational representation of farmers and rural areas in the state structures mean that farm policy is not forceful enough.

The ZMW is trying on its own modest scale to shape the agricultural awareness of society. Rural areas need farm reforms--from procurement and supply organization, which is today monopolized and bureaucratized, through a reform of general supply of rural areas with water, to reforms of the social cultural movement. The ZMW is entering the village with the hope of reforming the educational movement, the LZS sports movement, schooling activity and rural youth tourism and recreation.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

8536
CSO: 2600/17

ADDITIONAL TEACHER'S CHARTER EXECUTIVE REGULATIONS PUBLISHED

Regulation on Administrative Functions

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 26, 8 Aug 82 p 10

[Text] Following our announcement, we are publishing successive texts of directives from the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

Directive

of the Minister of Education and Upbringing from 22 June 1982 (No IS-0162-2/4/82) pertaining to the tasks of teachers entrusted with directing functions in schools.

In reference to Art 7, para 3 of the law of 26 January 1982, Teacher's Charter (DZIENNIK USTAW [Legal Gazette] 1982, No 3, item 19) the following is directed:

Article 1

The teachers who are entrusted with directing functions in schools, beside the responsibilities mentioned in Art 6, para 1, and Art 7, para 1 and 2 of the Law of 26 January 1982--Teacher's Charger (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1982, No 3 item 19)--perform other tasks enumerated in this directive related to the entrusted functions.

Article 2

1. The tasks of teachers mentioned in Article 1 in the area of organizational activity include:

1) determination, in consultation with the pedagogic council and the organ directly supervising the school, the organization of the work of the school according to the needs of students (wards) and the environment, and in conformance with the principles of intellectual work hygiene;

2) establishment of internal work rules and assignment of function for the principal, vice principal and other teachers performing administrative functions in the school;

3) determination of the assignment of functions for the non-teaching employees according to the regulations, norms and separate rules in force;

4) ascertaining the conditions for parental contact with teachers and establishing the hours for teachers performing administrative functions in the school;

5) shaping the appropriate work atmosphere and discipline in the school;

6) ascertaining the conditions for school cooperation with social and political organizations active in the school and the community and the institutions statutorily active on behalf of children and youth; informing them of school activities and inspiring them to partake in the implementation of the school's tasks;

7) submitting to the pedagogic council the proposals and decisions of these organizations and institutions that pertain to matters of school and students;

8) ascertaining the work conditions of the social organizations for students (wards) that are active in the school;

9) assuring proper hygienic-sanitary school conditions, safety conditions on the school grounds and during activities organized by the school outside of school grounds, for students (wards), teachers and non-teaching employees.

2. The tasks of teachers mentioned in Article 1 in the area of didactic, upbringing, and caretaking activities, include:

1) assuring the conditions for full implementation of teaching, upbringing, and caretaking programs and directing the efforts of teachers and students (wards) toward systematic improvement in the quality of work;

2) organizing didactic-upbringing and caretaking work; executing implementation of the assigned organizational-upbringing activities and other activities related to statutory school activity; submitting proposals related to the foregoing matters to the pedagogic council;

3) coordinating preventive work in the area of social maladjustment and resocialization;

4) conducting work in the area of didactic-defensive planning, civil defense and military training;

5) organizing substitutions for teachers absent from work and assuring the continuity of implementation in teaching and upbringing programs;

6) undertaking--together with teachers, school health services employees, parent committees, institutions and organizations cooperating with the school--activities leading to the understanding of the physical and psychological characteristics of students (wards), their life conditions and needs, assuring their necessary material, health, and caretaking-upbringing assistance;

7) increasing, in justified cases, up to 10 percent--with the agreement of the organ supervising the school--the amount of hours for teaching subjects particularly difficult for students;

8) creating the proper climate for pedagogic progress, methodological and meritorious improvement of teachers and upbringing atmosphere in the school, assuring adherence to the principles of professional ethics for employees, particularly for the teachers;

9) performing internal pedagogic supervision of teachers through class visiting, supplying necessary instruction and assistance, partaking in the work of teams performing evaluations of teacher work, and participating in the work of self-education--methodological teams;

10) organizing and assuring conditions--with the assistance of the director of the school's shop (applied training, home economics, laboratory)--for the practical teaching of vocational and laboratory exercises;

11) organizing--with the assistance of the director of dormitories (boarding houses, activities centers)--the necessary caretaking-upbringing and socio-existential conditions.

3. The tasks of teachers mentioned in Article 1, in the area of administrative-managerial activity, include:

1) supervision or maintenance of the school office in the cases where the size of the school does not justify a full-time administrative position;

2) designing or participating in the designing of the draft of the material and financial plan and submitting it to the supervising organ for approval;

3) establishing, in consultation with the pedagogic council, plans for equipping the school in teaching aids, furniture and other equipment, for supplying students with textbooks, and supervising the implementation of these tasks;

4) planning and supervising expenditures within the alloted means and determining the pedagogic council, executing proper management of the funds for the school's parent committee;

5) organizing structural inspections of building conditions, maintenance-repair works (in cases where these matters are not assigned to economic-administrative teams) and appointing a commission for inventorying school resources;

6) supervising the activities of school management and approving its instructional-productive and financial plan.

4. The tasks of teachers mentioned in Article 1 in the area of cadres matters include:

1) submitting to the proper organs proposals in the matters of employment, dismissal, promotion, rewarding, appreciation, disciplining and decorating, with state and ministry medals, teachers and non-teaching employees;

2) settling personal matters of teachers employed on the basis of a work contract, within the limits conferred by the organ supervising the school;

3) settling personal matters of non-teaching employees within the exceptions provided in the particular provisions;

4) issuing, according to the regulations in force, certificates of work and evaluation for the professional work of school employees whose work contract has been entered by the school director.

Article 3

1. Teachers entrusted with administrative functions in schools, according to assigned division of tasks (activities), conduct supervision over didactic-upbringing, caretaking and administrative-managerial activities of the school, and are responsible for school property and proper delegation of responsibility for particular items of property to subordinate employees.

2. Substitution, guaranteeing proper functioning of the school should be organized for the duration of leave or excusable absence of teachers mentioned in Article 1, after advising the organ supervising the school.

Article 4

1. The teachers mentioned in Article 1 also perform other tasks delegated by the organ supervising the school, directly related to the implementation of the statutory school tasks.

2. The teachers in schools located in correctional institutions, mentioned in Article 1, cooperate with the directors of the institutions in the implementation of provisions regulating the serving of deprivation of liberty sentences, while performing the tasks resulting from this directive and from other regulations related to the activities of those schools.

3. The tasks of art school teachers entrusted with administrative functions are determined by separate provisions.

Article 5

The following are no longer in force:

--Directive of the Minister of Education and Upbringing from 23 July 1974, re the status of school directors (Dz Urz MOiW [OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing] No 8, item 62);

--Directive of the Minister of Education and Upbringing from 1 March 1976, re expansion of entitlements and obligations of directors of certain schools and other educational-upbringing facilities (Dz Urz MOiW, No 2, item 12).

Article 6

The directive goes into effect on the day of publication.

Regulation on Teacher-Librarians

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 27, 15 Aug 82 p 11

[Text] Following our announcement we are continuing publication of directives from the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

Directive

of the Minister of Education and Upbringing from 30 June 1982 (No EO-Z2-1013/3/G/82) re the rules of employment for school teacher-librarians. In reference to Article 7, para 2 of the Law of 26 January 1982--Teacher's Charter (Dz U No 3, item 19)--the following is directed:

Article 1

1. The following rules of employment for school teacher-librarians are hereby established:

1) in elementary schools (branches) enrolling up to 145 students--1 hour of weekly activities for each 10 students;

2) in elementary schools (branches) enrolling 146-300 students and in post-elementary schools of all types--except those mentioned in point 4 enrolling up to 300 students--1/2 of a full time position;

3) in elementary schools and post-elementary schools of all types (except those mentioned in point 4) enrolling 301 and more students--one full time position; this rule increases by 1/2 of a full time position for each additional 250 students;

4) in schools and special facilities and in caretaking-upbringing facilities (except kindergartens and special kindergartens) enrolling:

a)--up to 80 students (wards)--1/2 of a full time position;

b)--from 80 to 150 students (wards)--1 full time position;

the rule established in point (b) increases by 1/2 of a full time position for each additional 150 students (wards).

5) in institutions for the vocational rehabilitation of invalids, the rules of employment for teacher-librarians are established according to the principles described in points 1-3;

6) in libraries maintained in out-of-school facilities for youth upbringing (youth palaces, youth homes for culture) numbering:

a) from 150 to 300 library users--1/2 of a full time position;

b) above 300 library users--1 full time position;

the rule established in point (b) increases by 1/2 of a full time position for each additional 250 users.

2. In school consortiums (groups of schools) that include schools for the working and in post-elementary schools for non-working youth with departments for the working, the standard resulting from the provisions of Article 1 may be increased by 1/4 of a full time position, depending on the needs ascribable to the organization of work.

3. The organ conducting school supervision may permit an increase in the standard of employment of school teacher-librarians described in para 1 and 2 by:

--1/2 of a full time position in schools where the school library has a collection of 10,000 to 30,000 volumes and maintains reading rooms in separately assigned areas;

--1 full time position in schools where libraries have a collection of over 30,000 volumes and maintain reading rooms in separately assigned areas.

Article 2

1. The basis for establishing an employment standard for school librarians is:

--in school consortiums--total number of students in all schools that comprise a consortium;

--in schools for non-working youth with departments for the working--combined number of students in the school for non-working youth and its department for the working;

--in special institutions, special educational-upbringing centers, institutions for vocational rehabilitation of invalids and educational-upbringing centers--total number of students involved in the activities of these facilities.

2. Number of students means the planned number of students at the beginning of the school year and teachers employed in the school.

Article 3

When it is not possible to hire a teacher-librarian in the schools enumerated in Article 1, point 1, the activities connected with running a library may be assigned to a didactics teacher of a given school and remunerated according to the rules applicable to overtime work. The basis for computing the pay for overtime work shall be the amount of work that would be performed by a teacher-librarian.

Article 4

A post of teacher-librarian may be filled by persons possessing the qualifications described in Article 9 or 94 of the Law--Teacher's Charter.

Article 5

The work unit of library activities for teacher-librarians is 60 minutes.

Article 6

No overtime working hours in a library may be assigned to teacher-librarians.

Article 7

The following are abolished:

1) instruction from 13 March 1957, pertaining to librarians in school and pedagogic libraries (Dz U.M.O. [OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Ministry of Education] No 3, item 35; Dz U.M.O.i Szk W [OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Ministry of Education and Higher Schools] No B-9, item 75, from 1968);

2) Article 120; point 1 and Article 122 of the directive from the Minister of Education and Upbringing dated 2 July 1973 re executory provisions pertaining to rights, duties and remuneration of teachers (Dz U. MOiW [OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing] No 12, item 100, as amended).

Article 8

The directive goes into effect on the day of publication and shall be binding from 1 September 1982.

9952
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CROATIA'S BILIC INTERVIEWED ON DEBTS, OTHER TOPICS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1658, 10 Oct 82 pp 9-13

[Interview with Jure Bilic, chairman of the Croatian LC Central Committee, by Stevan Niksic: "What Is Croatia Really Asking For"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Why is it that you, a party official, the chairman of the Croatian LC [League of Communists] Central Committee, have recently been so involved with foreign exchange and debts? Why is it that the League of Communists has in general been concerned in this way with that set of problems? Does this mean that organizations of associated labor and the agencies competent in that area under the constitution have themselves been unable to solve the problems that exist?

[Answer] There are several reasons for that. I was intensely involved with this as president of the Croatian Assembly; this is a kind of personal continuity for me. I am not involved with this in the sense of everyday decision-making. That is done by the Executive Council, by the banks, by the economic associations.... But the problem of our foreign debt is now such that it enters into all the pores of the country's public life. And it was stated in a recent meeting of the LCY Central Committee that party forums are required to keep abreast of the situation and to intervene publicly in order to discharge debts abroad and carry out what is referred to as the unwritten law.

As is well known, we now have a foreign debt of somewhere around $17 billion, slightly over $3 billion of which is owed by Croatia; yet special problems exist for this republic because of the $760 million of short-term credits.

About 80 percent of Croatia's foreign debt originated with the INA [Zagreb Petroleum Industry] complex and the electric power industry. Why is that so? Development and many large and ambitious projects were planned on the basis of a petroleum situation in the world altogether different from what we have today. It was not a mistake to have planned it, but the mistake was to do all this at once. There was a desire to have everything right away. The thought was that the foreign credits for all those projects could be repaid from the system of our foreign exchange market. That was a compromise plan, a plan based on wishes. It was drawn up by the leadership structures in the business

community and in public life, and it did not arise out of integration and establishment of ties among interested parties. For example, had DINA [INA's project on Krk], which was supposed to produce 1 million tons of petrochemical products, been devised in that way, then in addition to the foreign partner, Yugoslavia's economy and manufacturing industry would also have put up capital for that undertaking. Then it would have been realistic. But INA planned that on its own, believing that someone on the Yugoslav imaginary market, even if the foreign exchange market had existed, but, as you know, it did not exist, would be in a position to cover that.

The notorious alumina plant in Obrovac was built apart from the aluminum industry in Sibenik. Had that been given to the aluminum industry, perhaps it would have been different. There is also a question, of course, of whether it should have been built at Obrovac or at some other location?... In addition, all these facilities were based on petroleum as an energy fuel, and petroleum has become several times more expensive. As you see, then, everything became involved with everything else. The Petrochemical Combine in Kutina was also built without partners, and only now at the very end, when it is 95 percent ready, the agricultural sectors of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Slovenia are becoming involved. They have put up their own share in order to be able to secure chemical fertilizers from the facility.

That is why we, meaning the League of Communists, must be concerned with those balances. We must see which factors have brought about this kind of planning so that we can avoid anything like that happening to us in the future. Finally, the foreign exchange balance has an effect on the supply of petroleum, production materials, and it has an effect on general consumption. The question of whether industry will be working or not, of whether the workers will be without work, of whether losses will pile up--all of that has social and political implications for the working people and the population. That is why I am so involved with it.

We Must Speak the Truth

[Question] In party forums at the federal level there does not appear to be altogether unanimous assessments concerning this problem area. This is especially evident concerning rescheduling of the foreign debt. Some people seem to feel that all debts should be repaid at any price, while others propose what amounts to taking new credits and to pay off the old debts with that money. What solution do you favor?

[Answer] I think that this year and perhaps next year as well it will be difficult for Yugoslavia to pay back all the foreign debts which have come due unless the decision is made to reschedule. But we have decided to repay everything. The question now is how to do it? Because of our independent policy and position in the world, we have to conduct an economic and foreign policy whereby no one can blackmail us, no one can impose conditions on us. If as a state we request rescheduling, perhaps political conditions could be imposed on us. That is why we think that the state should not undertake rescheduling. Were there countries, and perhaps there are, which would not exert pressure on us, which would not blunt our foreign policy, then we could do

that. We would be willing, at least I think so, to talk with each country separately. This is a delicate matter, since it concerns our freedom and independence.

I think it was a mistake that we did not adopt the view earlier that the banks and the business community could reschedule their debt, since that is a normal thing in the world. Today the important thing on the financial market is to pay interest, which at present we are doing, and the principal is paid according to the partner's abilities. But we have politicized this and made it an international problem, which was a mistake.

If we wish to remain completely independent, so that no one can impose conditions on us, then there is something else we must undertake. We must clearly say to our population: If we are to preserve our freedom and independence, if we are to repel possible pressures, and since over the last 7, 8 or 10 years we have been developing faster than we were able, we are now compelled to retreat. But we are not to retreat in panic, but in an orderly way. We are aware that we must complete what is near completion, we must go without many things, a complete moratorium must be placed for a time on investment in the infrastructure.... And to tell people clearly that there will not be enough of certain articles which require foreign exchange. Which means that we must undertake sacrifices.

Where We Went Wrong

[Question] At the last meeting of the LCY Central Committee you said that Croatia is seeking understanding for its economic position at this moment. What kind of understanding? What is Croatia really asking for?

[Answer] I also presented figures on the size of the foreign debt of each republic and province relative to its respective inflow of foreign exchange. Except for Slovenia, which at present is in a somewhat better position, all the other republics and provinces are in a similar situation, and accordingly Yugoslavia as well; except that Croatia is in a more difficult situation because of short-term credits which it has taken for petroleum on the behalf of others. It also took credit so that it might repay debts when the foreign exchange market disappeared. And credits denominated in foreign currencies so that they could be turned into dinar credits.

Where we went wrong is obviously that we took credits for conversion to dinars. We are to blame for that, but we are not to blame for the petroleum. We took short-term credits for petroleum at high interest rates at levels of 20 and even 25 percent, and we have had to repay that ourselves. But those who use the petroleum did not share in that, or at least not sufficiently. And second, we lost more than 12 billion on the petroleum, and we were given no credit for that, and now everything is falling as a burden on the Croatian economy, and consequently even the Privredna Banka [Business Bank], which has fallen into difficulty. And whereas the Croatian economy had a foreign exchange surplus for 30 years, it joined the other republics in assuming liability for others in Yugoslavia. So, we are seeking understanding of our difficulties which have occurred through no fault of our own.

There is no idyll with respect to foreign exchange in Yugoslavia, and Croatia is not alone in disturbing some kind of idyll.

[Question] What would happen if others should act like Croatia and seek understanding? Every republic and province certainly has some grounds of its own, its own troubles which it might refer to in making its case.

[Answer] Certainly. When I speak about understanding for Croatia's position, I am not thinking that this should be done at anyone's expense. I think that we must seek solutions together. We are not seeking any sort of privileges. Of the $560 million which the National Bank of Yugoslavia gave to the republics and provinces, it gave 274 for Croatia; all the other banks gave 24. But it is not a question here only of foreign exchange, but of instruments which should be adopted, it is a question of this republic having fallen into dinar difficulties as well, and when the other accounts are examined, it is evident that Yugoslavia has also fallen into difficulties of that kind. Consequently, we must jointly seek solutions and not let everyone get through the best he can on his own. When I say this, I am trying to avoid as much as possible being exclusively concerned with Croatian problems. I think that Croatia can extricate itself if Yugoslavia extricates itself and that Yugoslavia can extricate itself if Croatia extricates itself. Assuming that Croatia pays its share.

Is Croatia Hiding Its Foreign Exchange?

[Question] It is thought in some quarters that the foreign exchange situation in Croatia is after all not so black as you say. It is said, for example, that Croatian organizations are holding their foreign exchange abroad to purchase new equipment, while on the other hand Croatia is seeking "understanding" for its situation. How much truth is there in that?

[Answer] Since at this point one republic is a bit better off, it seems that people there think that now both we and Yugoslavia can extricate ourselves without these measures. This is probably a result of being uninformed and perhaps also of suspicions. I know that some people think that Croatia has foreign exchange, and that it is refusing to pay debts abroad and its own foreign exchange obligations in Yugoslavia, that in that way it desires to make its debts the joint concern of all Yugoslavia. There are suspicions that our economy and our banks are holding foreign exchange outside, but I say that this is not so. There are outside only the deposits of certain construction enterprises when they have taken credits on that basis and guaranteed in that way that construction work can be paid for. As far as I know, there are no other resources outside. Perhaps here and there some speculation, but they do not exist on any broad scale. Second, it has been asserted and suspected that even this year we have taken equipment even though we were not fulfilling our obligations, which again is not so. This year we have imported virtually no equipment except on the basis of obligations come due from previous years where we had to pay for imported equipment. This amounted to about $60 million. Consequently, I am stating the facts about all that great amount of money which people suspect Croatia has and is concealing.

[Question] Who are all the people who brought about the present position of Privredna Banka and how did they do that? Who are all those who must draw lessons from that?

[Answer] The situation of our banking system, as you know, has not been resolved. This was an alienated power center, together with certain leadership structures whether in the economy or in sociopolitical communities. The bank was detached from the economy and from planning. All these factors had an influence on the fate of Privredna Banka. The debts of INA and the electric power industry amount to 83 percent of that bank's total debt. That is what it is about.

Who Is To Blame for the Financial Collapse?

We have now taken the view that the problems of that bank should be solved by the Croatian economy as a whole. Since at present we cannot achieve that same thing in Yugoslavia, the Croatian economy and all the banks in Croatia are now giving a portion of foreign exchange resources to Privredna Banka so that it can repay debts. That is, we want to pass on, if you like, the obligations and liability to all those who benefited from what that bank was financing. If the planning was bad, then it is logical that the one who had or was supposed to derive a benefit from that should now also bear the burden. We think that a part of that burden, when it comes to projects which that bank financed and which are necessary for the Yugoslav economy, should be lightened through a joint effort by all those who had an interest in those projects. A good example of this is what is now being done at Kutina, where the economies of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Slovenia have put up their share for the Petrochemical Combine. As you see, it is only misfortune that has forced us into pooling. This is the good part of this, it is good that many people have finally come to their senses.

[Question] Will Privredna Banka manage to survive?

[Answer] We can liquidate the bank, but we will not thereby liquidate the debts.

[Question] And accountability? You speak about who must now bear the burden, but it would be interesting to hear whether someone, someone who has a first and last name, will ultimately be accountable for this financial collapse?

[Answer] I think that the plans of the republics and provinces and Yugoslavia's plan are the principal "culprits." Everything else is of minor importance.

Accountability of Politicians for Unwise Investment Projects

In any case there was not any sort of specific surprise here. We were alerted back at the end of last year, we sought solutions, but this could not be avoided. Then people who did not understand did not believe that we are in this kind of situation.

[Question] What about those who "rooted" and "prompted" on the sideline in favor of building projects which today are giving no one anything but trouble? Will any of them be made accountable?

[Answer] It is not possible to make blanket statements about accountability, this has to be seen after a concrete analysis. Take, for example, the case of Obrovac. I do not know everything that led up to that, though some people even associate me personally with that Obrovac situation. But I know that the alumina plant was necessary. There were many expert analyses from abroad, and they all said that the quality of the raw materials and technology envisaged for that were altogether correct from the technical standpoint. The error, it seems to me, was only in giving in to pressures to build the project there on the grounds that it would be of benefit to that underdeveloped region. It can easily be determined when a particular decision was made. But decisions are not made abstractly, out of relations to reality. The specialists were those who furnished the proposals. Politics put its blessing on it. Perhaps it provided the initiative, but politics itself could not have been decisive. Because of our situation, because of the fact that associated labor is not playing the role which it ought, such things have been happening throughout the entire country. Take, for example, the case of the Nasica cement industry. No one could have said that that project was not justified. But the capacity was wrongly chosen, it was smaller than was economically justified, and they also say there was a mistake in choice of the technology, since it came from a "clearing" country.

The Thought Was "We Will Get By"

At the time when the decision was made on "building" DINA there was much talk about that, I myself even participated in those conversations. There were various warnings because of a contract concerning a joint venture with the Americans. There was even a constitutional dispute over that contract. At the time I was still in Belgrade, and I remember when Milutin Baltic and Leo Gerskovic warned about that contract, and it even went all the way to Kardelj. And that was cleared up. Then the question was put of whether we could manage that project? The business people said that it was realistic and that it would entirely relieve us of imports. Even now I can tell you that that is a project we need, but when the decision was being made on its construction not enough consideration was given to our entire situation and circumstances. Things were taking their own course, and in a situation that was a bit euphoric the thinking was "we will get by."

[Question] You recently expressed suspicion that someone was manipulating foreign exchange balances in Yugoslavia. Would you like to clarify that?

[Answer] Some 10 years back there was the Law on Compulsory Registration of all investment projects at the federal level, and that law was repealed. Then there was a discussion about bringing it back. The republics and provinces were developing each on its own, and for that reason they did not want to render accounts, since it was thought that this might slow down the development of each of them. The situation was the same, I am told by specialists, in the National Bank of Yugoslavia, where the payments balance was kept, but not the

exchange balance. For almost a year we called for the difference between the payments balance and the exchange balance to be cleared up, and they now say that that will soon be done. But those balances are still being concealed, and perhaps we will do not know our real balance.

[Question] You mean to say, then, that it is in someone's interest to conceal data?

[Answer] I think that all the data basically exist. It is just a question of the desire to make them public. I do not think that ordinary incompetence could be involved here, since those are specialists who would have to know the figures. I think that this is a question of a certain policy.

[Question] At the last meeting of the LCY Central Committee you said that "the situation in development of the Yugoslav economy has been altogether spontaneous, especially over the last 7 years." That period coincides almost exactly with the period that the new constitution and the Law on Associated Labor have been in effect. Is this a mere coincidence?

[Answer] We have abandoned unitarianism in the economy. I think that it is good that we have done so. We wanted to break up federal statism, and we have done so. It still exists as a necessary evil today on the basis of instruments. However, at this point republic statism has overcome self-management. Now that statism of the republics and provinces have to be broken up. We cannot accuse the Law on Associated Labor and self-management of being to blame for the situation in which we have found ourselves, since it could not have acted, nor did it act. The Law on Associated Labor was swimming on dry land as it were. If you want someone to learn to swim, you have to put him in the water.

What Ribicic Was Thinking of

[Question] Comrade Ribicic says that even in the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, of which you are also a member, there has accumulated a great deal that is "uncommunist" and "unprincipled." You will acknowledge that these are very grave judgments. Could you explain this in a bit more detail?

[Answer] It would be better for you to ask Comrade Ribicic.

[Question] But you are also among the accused, since you do sit in that forum.

[Answer] I do not know whether he was thinking of the previous or the present membership of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

You see, it is always possible for a man to be unprincipled or for him to be told that he is behaving in an uncommunist fashion at certain moments. Especially if people are burdened with no other interest than that of their own republic or province, an interest which sometimes may be justified, or it may not be justified. When there is no tolerance, no understanding, this is always possible. This applies to all people, not just to leaders.

As for the atmosphere in the present Presidium of the LCY Central Committee I can say that I am satisfied with that atmosphere, I am satisfied with the openness and with the desire to carry on a debate consistent with principle and communist behavior. I do not say that only because I am making a public statement. Perhaps at times there have been excursions in this regard, but there was an immediate reaction, objections were openly stated, and a critical dialogue was conducted. It seems to me that since the 12th congress, and especially since the first meeting of the LCY Central Committee, a great lesson has been drawn and that people are in a way more sober, more serious, if I can so put it.

[Question] Is it realistic to expect that those same political teams, those same people, who beyond doubt bear at least a part of the responsibility for the failure of our economic policy up to now, can find a way out of this situation?

[Answer] Remember this: There was a general pressure to achieve as much as possible. Everyone wanted new schools, highways, hospitals, new jobs.... But the leadership did not always have sufficient strength, although there were warnings, and all of this came down to a realistic measure. In the end there were historic meetings of the Central Committee, there were letters, beginning with Tito's first speech in Split and thereafter. But the spontaneity was stronger than the resistance of the subjective forces to it. Those are the facts. Can that same set of leaders, as you say, now accomplish the change of course? That is relative. If you start with the opstina committees of the League of Communists and go all the way to the central committees, you will see that everywhere 80 to 90 percent are new people; in the higher leadership bodies about two-thirds are new people. These are all relatively young people. The "Partizan generation" is still on the stage, but it cannot be decisive, just as it was not decisive even in the previous Central Committee, nor was it numerically the strongest, though perhaps it held the key positions. I favor that Chinese saying: three in one. Which means: the young, the middle and the old generations. I do not know whether anything would have been different if certain other people had held those positions.

It takes a great deal of strength for any man to judge when he should withdraw. And since often a man cannot judge this for himself, it is best for collectivities and the public to evaluate each one individually. It would be dangerous if we were to say that all those who up to now have carried out the revolution can no longer guide it. That would mean that we have betrayed the basic achievements of the revolution, as it was once said. For all the shortcomings, I think that that generation not only has not betrayed the achievements of the revolution, but has indeed developed them, accomplishing thereby a formidable development in spite of all the shortcomings and possible errors. There are some things that could not have been avoided. Nor do I say that more might not have been done.

Interventions From the Federation Are Possible

[Question] France Popit has expressed the opinion that the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee ought to intervene directly in the individual republics and provinces. How do you look on that idea?

[Answer] Popit himself has said that he was thinking of what Comrade Tito occasionally did. Since we have decided on collective leadership, I think that the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, or still better the LCY Central Committee, should do this. But this does not mean that I think that there is now a need to intervene somewhere. However, I do think it is good for us to be clear that this can, should and must be done should it be necessary.

When things happen somewhere like the events that occurred in 1971 in Croatia or in other places in certain other years, then the Central Committee has the right and duty to do that. But here again one must be realistic. Everything must always be done to first ascertain the need for such an invention. You see, in 1971 we called upon Comrade Bakaric to inform Comrade Tito about the situation in Croatia. But we also asked that Tito not intervene as yet. Then he did after all come to a meeting of the leadership of Croatia in early August and say what he thought. The public is aware of that. But he still did not intervene at that time. He intervened only when there was the strike of university students and when the former leadership, or a part of it, had let events get out of hand, and a crisis came about. Consequently, the moment for intervening should always be evaluated. Conditions have to be created for intervention to be possible, for people in certain quarters to realize that this is indispensable, so that there is a minimum of resistance. That takes patience. This is a very sensitive matter, especially because we are a multinational community.

[Question] Do the party forums at the federal level today have sufficient opportunities to obtain an insight into everything taking place in the republics and provinces? Stane Dolanc, for example, said a few days ago that as a member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee he was not aware in good time of all the facts concerning the situation in Kosovo.

[Answer] I think that the conditions have now been created for the leadership of the LCY Central Committee and Presidium of the LCY Central Committee to be informed about everything happening in any federal unit. I emphasize, that conditions have been created. Whether people actually have the knowledge, of that I am not certain.

You see, in 1971 people gradually learned about what was happening in Croatia. There were special reports from the State Security Service which were received by five or six of the leaders in Croatia, but those reports were not sent to the Federation, nor even to Tito. Kosovo came later. Perhaps we did not know everything that was happening there, at least when I was in the party Presidium I was not aware of many details, nor was the Presidium. But we did know the main things, the tendencies. There were two prior interventions. One when Tito was in Kosovo, he spoke out. And the second, when that issue was raised in the Presidium. At that time Kardelj took it upon himself to talk with the Kosovo leadership. I was in favor of that being debated in the Presidium at the time. Because our practical relations within the LCY were not yet worked out, though it had been properly worked out in the bylaws and in theory, because of the sensitivity of all that, the opportunistic approach was taken. All of that ought to have been a sufficient lesson for us. Judging by the present atmosphere, it seems to me that the condition has been created to prevent recurrence of anything like that in such a drastic form.

[Question] Is it true that certain directors of INA have recently been arrested?

[Answer] Yes, it is true. And, as far as I know, they were arrested because they had been purchasing some pipe for Naftaplin, which is a subsidiary of INA, and because they paid a higher price than they should have paid. The inquiry is under way, but the first explanations offered by a commission of INA state that the pipe was more expensive because it was purchased on credit and was not paid for in cash. Much the same was the case with purchasing certain quantities of petroleum. Since the petroleum could not be paid for in cash, it was purchased on credit, and therefore more supposedly had to be paid than what the price of petroleum was on the world market at the time. When the inquiry is complete, we will see what the truth is.

[Question] Recently the Croatian Republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs presented a report in the Croatian Assembly related to yet another INA director, S. Djurekovic, who fled abroad under mysterious circumstances where, it is said, he joined the extremist anti-Yugoslav emigre community. This is another case that leaves many questions. Can you tell us something more about this?

[Answer] He was, they say, an "inactive agent" of some foreign intelligence service. Although it has been reported that certain previous crimes of one kind or another have been detected, I think that this was nevertheless a case of political rather than economic crimes, though obviously there was also some of the latter. He supposedly was preparing documentation and material so that he could write some book. In every system, you know, it is possible for someone like that to conceal himself. Unfortunately, it was discovered at a late date. But I would not draw conclusions from this at present, as is being done by certain newspapers which are asking: How was personnel policy conducted in Croatia? That is not personnel policy. That is a case, a mistake. We are continuing, as in the past, to take steps so that positions of leadership are taken by loyal and able people, but that is not always easy to achieve.

[Question] Publication of a book by E. Cencic has been announced, some sort of memoirs of Josip Kopinic. It is said that there have been various objections to that book, above all in Zagreb, and that its publication is therefore in question. What sort of criticism was this?

[Answer] That book was to be published by an enterprise in Rijeka. According to what I have heard unofficially, a review was requested and was later rejected. The author then took it to the publishing house "Rad" in Belgrade. We did indeed alert the Central Committee of the Serbian LC and the Belgrade City Committee that certain comrades who have read the book have objections because it could have implications for present political relations in Yugoslavia or could create an atmosphere which would not from a political standpoint be suitable for the present moment in Yugoslavia and indeed in Croatia. The writer and publisher have supposedly said that they would take into account the opinions of those who reviewed the book before publication. At this point I do not know what else has happened and whether there are still obstacles of some sort. As far as we are concerned, if it has been properly reviewed, I think that there are no obstacles at all to its being published.

I have read the book. I do not want at this point to take the position of a reviewer, but I think that there are some questions in it which are not fully elucidated so as to create the right picture. I think, however, that the final judgment about this has to be made by historians and other scholars.

What Is Debatable in the Book About Kopinic?

[Question] What is unclear and imprecise in the book?

[Answer] There are several points which need to be clarified in it. The first question is 1941: Did the Croatian Central Committee want to go into action after Hitler's attack on the USSR or not? It is a question of various circumstances, and this is explained as though there were resistance, opportunism. I allow that there could be something in all this. But only 18 days had passed from the attack on the USSR when the Croatian Central Committee did undertake action. The liberation war and revolution in Croatia showed that that central committee, for all its possible shortcomings, was in the continuity of the revolution. It led the Croatian and Serbian masses into the revolution. And the Communist Party of Croatia also carried out its historical task in that regard, for all the possible errors and faults which there might have been. Consequently, when certain events are represented without taking into account the continuity of the revolution, I think that this can be interpreted only as the result of bias.

The second point which remains unclear has to do with A. Hebrang and events related to him. Aside from certain obvious passages which are unclear in the book, there are also suspicions, which altogether I think is not a good thing. Then there are also quite a few cases when self-criticism has broken down, suspicions concerning individuals. I think that such matters should be spoken about more clearly. One gets the impression that the author wanted through this book to rehabilitate the man he is writing about. It seems to me that his deeds are such that he does not need any sort of rehabilitation. And as to his place in the history of our revolution, leave that to history. I would not want to have a part in that.

7045
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PROFESSOR NOTES MISTAKEN YOUTH POLICY, QUESTIONS PENALTIES IN KOSOVO

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 82 p 7

[Excerpts] At a recent scientific meeting devoted to the social position and role of the young generation in our country Srdjan Vrcan, professor of the Law Faculty in Split, said that studies of the phenomena and problems relating to the younger generation have been imbued for many years with a markedly optimistic sentiment; this historical optimism has not withstood the test of reality. These assertions called forth a heated reaction by participants at the meeting and resulted in the fact that this eminent scholar was besieged by newspapermen.

Why have scholars lagged behind events, not managing to foresee the stormy events such as occurred in June 1968 and the negative trends of the 1970's, as well as the latest Kosovo occurrences? Professor Vrcan says: excessive optimism [one of the main reasons] is the result of the belief that socialist commitment of youth in our country is definitely assured even in advance, once and forever guaranteed in a way which cannot be questioned. Possible political apathy among youth was reduced [in the past] to only individual cases. Why would young people create problems when they are the greatest beneficiaries of all the achievements of socialist development of our society--many asserted this for two whole decades, until the 1970's when this excessive optimism came into question.

In the last few years scholars have started to talk about the special inferior position of youth, about young people who do not enjoy only benefits in our society.

The significance of some negative phenomena which characterize young people and their position today must not be underestimated. They [these phenomena] can have exceptional significance, immediately or over the long term. Hence, we must think about what one can expect tomorrow based on what is happening today with young people. Fortunately, there are a large number of positive elements among young people; the present younger generation is far above that which was characteristic for the last generation of youth. They are more informed, and they have more possibilities for organizing their own free time, selecting various ways of solving their life problems. But the problems of the modern generation cannot be evaluated by proceeding only from the advantages which this generation has compared to the previous ones, but one should proceed also from

disparity between their [today's youth's] aspirations and the possibilities which exist for satisfying them.

...The problems facing the modern generation open up the possibility that tomorrow political apathy and indifference will expand and that the tendencies toward private-ization will be increased. This is not something characteristic [only] for us, it is seen in European dimensions and is evident in the crisis of a large number of [European] political organizations....

In other words some of the younger generation have taken politics out of their lives and placed it on the periphery of social life. This is not a new phenomenon. At the end of 1968 I made a study at Split University. I was surprised at the high percentage of youth who said they thought that the meaning of life should be sought in one's profession, family and close friends, and not in political life.

[In answering the question, "Were not the young people who were the protagonists of the Kosovo events too harshly penalized, considering their age?"] In Slovenia a public discussion was held about this in organized social bodies and outstanding people in politics and legal theory participated. This discussion quite clearly brought out a skeptical view regarding the social result of a specific repressive policy. I hold the opinion that these problems are too serious and important to be given over to narrow forums to decide or for decisions made by such forums placed on a level on which they must not be discussed. I believe that in a self-management society the applicaiton of penal policy is not a matter only for the courts, public prosecutor, and prosecuting organs, but can and should be a matter for the general public.

[Question] Who should give the "green light"?

To "give a green light" means there is some authorized director of traffic who has the right to turn on red or green lights, to decide on the permissible or tolerable dose of "light" for the general public, also when this is a question of the penal policy, or relates to youth, or to that which is called verbal crime. I would not accept this concept of waiting for someone to turn the light off or on, at the same time excluding automatically everyone else in the general public. The question is what is being prosecuted and how. Penal policy cannot cram different things into the same hat. It should differentiate in regard to who is doing what. It is not the same if one is dealing with a 16-year-old or a person who is already mature and is aware of the results of what he is doing. A repressive policy in the broad sense has the effect of intimidating others but in relation to the person on whom the penalty is applied, it often has the reverse effect--it produces radicalization.

One should never forget the first aim of policy: to win over young people for our self-management socialism, to broaden the circle of loyal citizens who will identify their goals with the goals of self-management. This aim cannot be attained by applying a policy of repression and penal measures.

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'WRONG' CANDIDATES ELECTED IN OSIJEK

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 2 Oct 82 SEDAM DANA supplement pp 8-9

[Article by Zeljko Hodonj: "Who Is Electing the 'Wrong' Candidates?"]

[Text] The first example is as follows. Upon the occasion of the election of a director for the Biotechnical Scientific Education Center work organization, only one candidate applied for the competition, a doctor of science and a prominent sociopolitical worker. This candidate obtained a "favorable opinion" from all of the basic organizations of the LC and the trade unions (with the exception of the trade union in the Sugar Beet Institute), and the scientific education council. Prior to this, consultations were carried out, as it has already become customary to say in our jargon, with the Presidency of the OK [regional committee] of the Croatian LC in Osijek, the Croation LC Conference of the Community of Municipalities in Osijek, and the rectorate of the Osijek University, and favorable opinions were also given by the coordinating committees for the conduct of personnel policy in the municipality and the community of municipalities. Nevertheless, after all, [even] when it was clear that the candidate had a majority in the collective, this candidate did not receive the necessary number of votes during the voting in the administrative organ of the Center's council.

The above and the examples to follow are quoted in an abbreviated form from the opening speech by Antun Ignac, the executive secretary of the Presidency of the Croatian LC OK for the Osijek municipality, at the last meeting of the Croation LC OK.

The question arises of who voted against the candidate, and on behalf of whom. According to a directive from the Presidency of the Croatian LC OK, the communists at the Biotechnical Scientific Education Center are to answer this question and discuss it at a meeting of the action conference. They will have to determine the concrete responsibility of the LC members and the managing organs, and the three OOSK's [LC basic organizations] in the BTZNC [Biotechnical Scientific Education Center] will have to analyze the behavior of their members in the Center's council during the election of the director. Finally, they will all have to answer the question of whether they are bound by the position of their LC basic organizations, or whether they in fact have a double standard.

Here is a second example. In the Ribarstvo [Fishing] work organization, where there are no LC basic organizations, upon the occasion of the election of a director a request was sent to the coordinating committee of the OK of the SSRNH [Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Croatia] for the conduct of personnel policy that it "assess" two candidates. The above-mentioned committee felt that both of the candidates had all of the qualifications for performing management duties. It was recommended, however, that the organization elect the candidate who had already worked in the same field of business, and not the candidate who had just begun to work at the Osijek IPK [Industrial-Agricultural Combine]. The reaction to this was more than rapid. On that very day the competition commission met (after the session of the coordinating committee), along with the workers' council, and the one elected was precisely the very candidate regarding whom the coordinating committee had recommended that he remain at his old post, that is, at the Osijek IPK. Instead of commenting, we will quote the position expressed by Antun Ignac at a meeting of the Croatian LC OK: "It should be emphasized that there were 'mediators' from among the members of the coordinating committee, and there was also influence exerted by the former director of the work organization."

The third example is as follows: at the Construction Institute, in the OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] for materials testing, on the occasion of the election of a director, the LC basic organization gave a negative assessment of the moral and political suitability of a candidate for this post. Afterwards an opinion was requested from the coordinating committee of the OK of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia, from which the candidate again did not receive a favorable assessment. After this, however, the self-managing organs of the basic organization of associated labor elected this very candidate as the director. The coordinating committee then charged the social self-management legal officer with bringing suit before the Court of Associated Labor. In the opinion of the Croatian LC's OK, instead of acting quickly, the Court of Associated Labor has reached a decision very slowly, only after several months. Behind all of this was the fact that the first referendum on associating the organization of associated labor with the Higher Technical Construction School in Osijek had failed. The LC basic organization of the organization of associated labor, among its other conclusions after the discussion, stated that it was precisely the candidate for director, then and now the director, who was responsible for the failure of the referendum. The Court of Associated Labor is making a decision which is essentially opposed to the decision by the coordinating committee of the OK of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia, but only after the referendum was repeated and passed by an enormous majority. In the meantime very positive results are being achieved in that area, and it has been proven that heavily organized sociopolitical action can overcome all omissions and not quite socially acceptable interests.

What links all three of the above-mentioned examples is the demand for a clear answer to the question of who had the right, and on whose behalf, not to abide by the sociopolitical conclusions that had been agreed upon in the implementation of personnel policy. Furthermore, one cannot easily overlook the fact that in all three cases people virtually insisted on overturning the role and significance of the coordinating committee of the OK of the Socialist

Alliance of Working People of Croatia, and in two cases, the positions of party organizations as well, It seems as though someone wanted, at any cost, to reduce the implementation of personnel policy to pulling personnel strings.

As Antun Ignac warns, "It is for this very reason, finally, that we should openly state that neither the OK of the Croatian LC nor its Presidency wishes to interfere or has any intention of interfering in the work of self-management organs. When the acts of LC members in individual areas reflect the manipulation of working people, however, and when LC members do not carry out the decisions of their LC basic organizations, then energetic action is needed from the LC, or rather from the LC basic organizations in these areas. We have mentioned these examples in order to keep such acts from occurring any more, since the Osijek party organization will not tolerate attempts that can in fact be reduced to attempts to bypass LC positions.

9909
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JURIST PASIC OFFERS CHANGES IN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Sep 82 p 9

[Article by S. Djukic: "What Should Be Changed in the Political System"]

> [Text] Professor Najdan Pasic sent a letter to the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee, in which he explains the need to form a commission to study the unresolved problems in the operation of the political system.

Before us is a text by Professor Najdan Pasic, in which this scientific worker, the president of the Constitutional Court of Serbia and a member of the LCY Central Committee, attempts to answer the following question: why a competent and authoritative commission should be formed to study current problems in the operation of the political system.

As we have previously reported, almost all of the speeches at the 12th LCY Congress requested that more efficiency and effectiveness be introduced into political relations, and thus indirectly raised the question of the operation of the political system. It was in this spirit that Najdan Pasic proposed that a body like the Stabilization Commission be formed, which could be called a "commission to study the unresolved problems in the operation of the political system."

In the meantime, Pasic has explained this idea in more detail in a letter to the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee; this idea especially deserves attention because there is an increasingly prevalent attitude, which was also expressed at the last meeting of the highest Yugoslav party forum, that a bolder investigation should be made of certain concepts in the political system.

No Need to Change the Constitutional Solutions

What does Professor Pasic suggest? His starting point is that a discussion of this type should not contain proposals for changing the existing constitutional solutions. In his opinion, at least for now this would not only be unnecessary, but also harmful; it would introduce new elements of instability and distract our attention from the measures and actions that should be initiated without delay.

Mentioning that there are several phenomena in the daily operation of the political system that should be subjected to bold critical re-examination and to change, Pasic first of all makes two introductory remarks in explaining his position:

First, it is obvious that there is a decline in the ability of the organized forces of socialist awareness, and even of the LC itself, to guide societal trends successfully and determine the direction and content of further revolutionary change in production relationships and overall social relationships. In important areas of social life, things are going in a direction that is diametrically opposed to the one set by the program documents, plans, and decisions.

Secondly, Pasic continues, it would be fatal if the LC closed its eyes and remained more or less passive in the face of the facts which indicate that not only are the processes of the integration of society on a self-managing basis stagnating, but there are also broad areas of economic, political, and ideological life that are in the grip of processes of disintegration; and that the phenomena of territorial barriers, the disruption of the unified market, the group-property usurpation of "social capital," etc., are taking on increasingly greater dimensions.

Guardianship Over One's Territory

Pasic then suggests several problems that should be dealt witn by the committee, at least during the initial phase:

1. It is obvious that the extent of administrative intervention in the economy is continually increasing. A sort of political and administrative guardianship is being established over associated labor in "one's territory." State-property monopoly relationships are being restored on this basis, in a more or less concealed form, and something is being formed that reminds one very much of republic, provincial, and even municipal "capital."

Pasic says that in order to curtail these tendencies, among other things, it is necessary to conduct a thorough investigation of how the constitutional authority of the organs of the sociopolitical communities "to set business conditions" is used, and to determine where and how much it is being exceeded. On the basis of this, certain measures should be proposed in order to strengthen and make more effective the constitutional guarantees against the usurpation of the rights of associated labor in the sphere of material reproduction.

2. In the early phases of the development of the delegate system (through which we are just passing now), there have been certain biases that seriously complicate and hamper the process of decision-making, and jeopardize the effective implementation of what has been decided. This has to do with the excessive institutionalization of various partial interests, and the formalization of the procedure for their coordination. There is too much emphasis on lengthy procedures and finding compromises, while more long-term and general interests hardly get through. This gives rise to a need for frequent political arbitration and encourages the creation of informal forms and methods for real decision-making outside the delegate system (the various "coordination bodies" and so forth).

The Judicial System -- Burdened by Enormous Disputes

Pasic reminds us of the penetration by partial interests, and the perception that nearly all conflicts in society can be resolved today through consultation and agreement, ruling out decisionmaking by a majority of votes even where this would be necessary. He adds that this inevitably leads to political paralysis and thereby creates a broad field for political mediation. Pasic goes on to say that our judicial system, for example, is threatening to break down under the burden of the enormous number of disputes. Judging by the number of disputes that have to be resolved before the courts (both the state and self-management courts), it could be said that we are the most conflict-ridden society in the world.

With these warnings, he suggests a few ideas. First of all, we should investigate to see where the framework established by the Constitution for applying the principle of a mandatory consensus in decisionmaking has been exceeded. One has the impression that what was, for understandable reasons, accepted as a method of making decisions on certain specifically enumerated issues in the Council of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, has been spontaneously extended to almost all areas of political and self-managing decisionmaking in the assembly system and in associated labor. In spite of the constitutional solutions we have approached a state in which nearly every recognized factor in the process of decisionmaking has the right to a veto, and can in fact prevent a decision from being made even when it is necessary from the viewpoint of the common and broader social interests.

Pasic also recommends that we investigate to see how much of a deviation there has been, and where, from the basic constitutional concept of the sociopolitical communities and the relationships that are established among them. With respect to their vertical association, the Constitution rejects the principle of superiority and subordination in their mutual relations, but also rejects the idea that the broader community is merely the result of a "contract" and agreement among narrower sovereign communities. Instead of this, the Constitution stipulates relationships of equality, independence, and mutual cooperation, on the basis of the rights and duties established by the Constitution.

Has this kind of relationship among the sociopolitical communities been achieved in practice? Doesn't the way in which the principle of decisionmaking in the Federation on the basis of consultation and agreement among the republics and provinces is being implemented today deprive the organs of the Federation of certain vital attributes of an independent legal and political entity?

Personnel "Keys" and the Broken Chain of Responsibility

3. The collective and personal responsibility of all those performing self-managing, political, and social functions, in general, is being emphasized more and more, but this is still more in a theoretical and verbal manner.

In connection with this, he recommends that the following be investigated: how much has the mechanism for the regular control of labor and for the establishment of responsibility been concretized and developed? Also, how much have the system

of responsibility and the system of the recruitment, selection, and assignment of personnel been integrated and coordinated?

Pasic notes that wherever an organ or body to which people are nominally responsible does not have any influence over the selection, appointment, and further assignment of officials who are formally responsible to it, and wherever personnel policy is not subject to real control by the public, the chain of responsibility is inevitably broken. We should establish how much the automatic rotation of people in leading posts, the agreements on personnel assignment that are made in advance within narrow closed circles, and the mechanical application of various "keys" are driving out the criterion of previously displayed results, ability, and expertise. At a time when there is still a large and influential professional political and managerial stratum, this issues are particularly significant. The problem of responsibility in the delegate system cannot be resolved without a corresponding democratization of personnel policy.

Serious Distortions of the Self-Managing Interest Communities

4. A very serious problem is represented by the spontaneous and continuing multiplication of the administrative apparatus in the services of the sociopolitical communities, self-managing interest communities, and even sociopolitical organizations. The formal "de-etatization" of some social activities has led to results that are the opposite of those expected in this regard, and the total number of employees has increased, rather than decreased.

There is no doubt that the constitutional concept of the self-managing interest communities has suffered serious distortions in practice. Searching for the root of these phenomena is among the important tasks that have thus far been neglected, according to Pasic.

5. A problem that also deserves particular attention is the excessive use of the regulatory power of the state. The conditions for work and business are regulated by an enormous number of legal and other acts and regulations. No matter how democratic the procedure for passing all of these regulations is, this itself inhibits free and spontaneous self-managing initiatives, and transforms the worker into an object of state guardianship.

In this jungle of regulations of every sort, the worker often feels lost and impotent. He is forced to seek assistance from specialized "guides," and thus in the organizations of associated labor themselves, and in other self-managing institutions, a large stratum of administrative workers is created--specialists on interpreting and producing all sorts of regulatory acts--and in our entire legal order, these acts number in the millions.

Pasic believes that the formation of the special commission for the problems of economic stabilization will also bring several long-term positive results; but the unresolved (and these days, very exacerbated) problems in the operation of the political system cannot be left to one side either, since the removal of the obvious weaknesses in the political system and the issue of its further improvement cannot be separated from the key issue of the LC's ability to exert a decisive influence on the basic direction of social trends.

He thinks that a commission on the current problems in the operation of the political system could be formed under the Presidency of the SFRY, possibly under the LCY Central Committee, or within the framework of the Federal Social Council for the Issues of the Sociopolitical System.

While we are waiting to see how this idea will be received, as well as the text itself, in which the author does not go into the theoretical considerations, it is worth saying that this is in any case a useful attempt to point out possible directions for changes that would contribute to more effective operation of the political system, after a general crisis that has lasted for several months.

9909
CSO: 2800/14

ORIGINS OF RESILIENT STATISM ANALYZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1657, 3 Oct 82 pp 18-19

[Excerpts from article by Dr Vladan Cetkovic: "The Charms of Statism"]

[Text] There is a logic in it when it is said that everything is in crisis--capitalism, socialism, statism and self-management relations. Better analyses, however, show that there has been a mistake about one thing: statism is as healthy as ever.

Scholarly debate and social criticism must tend constantly toward improvement of the social relations of self-management in the economy, in science and politics. One notes, however, that the relations that exist between these domains of the work of society are better suited to the interests of narrow groups which have attained independence than to the real needs and capabilities of associated labor and to the delegate system. For our Marxist science and social practice the question arises: When and under what conditions did the processes of disintegration and involution and various monopolistic and particularistic tendencies begin? What has prevented linkage among these spheres of the work of society, which "are joined by the nature of things," but which have been separated by means of the political-ideological factor and the inertia of the old administrative-centralistic (statist) system? The effect of this factor and the inertia of the old relations and methods twist and misrepresent the relations of self-management and the "free exchange of labor" in those sectors as in a kind of camera obscura.

The emphasis in scientific research should be shifted toward the internal "concealed factors of the base, of the entire structure of society, as well as of certain political forms." We come to agreement with relative ease concerning general matters and problems, on interpretation of the laws of the economic basis of society and the importance of the "economic factor." However, the thrust of scientific analysis and social action should be aimed at investigating and analyzing certain "empirically given circumstances" which objectively influence both socioeconomic relations, conditions and relations in physical production, as well as the corresponding forms of the political system.

If in routine fashion we pass over the "empirically given circumstances" which in certain situations have even a decisive role for social and political life as we do over something that is negligible and random, then we will not enter into the essence of certain social phenomena. That is, these "concealed factors" which are "slumbering" in various sectors of society's work and creativity are a challenge to authentic scientific commitment, and then a possibility for a new potential of science, economy and politics.

Which are those structures, relations, nuances and variations in thought and activity which can take us onto the terrain of new values in the natural and social sciences, and what can lead us astray, to solutions which are opposed to our political-ideological commitments? What in fact are the empirical circumstances to which we must pay attention in science, in political action and in our commitments?

They are the following:

The natural conditions which have an impact on overall social developments. Within this "factor" and the given set of diverse circumstances there are unprecedented opportunities to "achieve social firmness" of the process of production of socialist self-management. This new historical process of production of physical conditions for the existence of human life has a historically favorable tendency both in social relations (social ownership) and also in the mode of production.

A higher level of development of society's productive forces of labor presupposes emancipation from primitive and underdeveloped production relations in which the interest of independent parts of society, groups and strata is retained with pronounced group-ownership and private-ownership tendencies. In opposition, then, to the development and enrichment of the content of social-ownership relations, there emerge monopolistic and particularistic tendencies. They are concealed behind a screen of false class and national interests. At the same time this is, of course, both an obstacle to the pooling of labor and capital and a cause of the halting of the process of socialization in all domains of the life of society before it reaches the level of state-ownership relations.

Relations among the nationalities, especially in the context of the transitional era and socialist self-management, are a qualitatively new factor in the overall set of socioeconomic and political relations. Remnants of the old society and outdated relations, traditions, and so on, intersect and collide with one another through them. Nor is there any explanation for the absurd demand for creation of so-called pure ethnic entities, for segregation and enclosure in narrow limits in the face of the ongoing processes of social cohesiveness through self-management. In the broad space of ethnic emancipation, which only in our society has become one of the most important commitments and principles, there are examples of doctrinaire interpretation of certain segments of nationality relations. The class aspect and the nationality aspect are being substituted for one another. Distortion and vulgarization of brotherhood and unity are jeopardizing the foundations and continuity of the socialist revolution.

The given "self-management framework" of society ensures the necessary prerequisites for resolution of the nationality question. However, nationality relations may not be a matter confined to particular institutions, the constitution, proclamations, and resolutions, but must be the concern of all the progressive forces.

Self-management objectively contributes to the national emancipation of every nationality and ethnic minority. And conversely, it is the duty of all nationalities and ethnic minorities to enrich and develop the social relations of self-management. Without that reciprocal aspect progress will be halted or slowed in nationality relations and in self-management.

Historical conditions often operate from outside. They are complementary to natural conditions and nationality relations. The historical "factor" is always present in elucidation not only of the "specters of the past," but also of contemporary world-historical events. Many phenomena, forms of behavior in, say, the spheres of science, education, culture and nationality relations can hardly be understood unless a thorough study is made of the facts of history. They contribute to the discovery of certain hidden features in particular social epochs which are not reached by the conventional methods and knowledge in the other social sciences.

However, there are examples where certain illusions are hidden behind the "historical conditions," where the past is embellished for the sake of the future, where circumstances that have a direct effect on the course of social development are neglected. Marx pointed to the complexity and contradictoriness of the "historical factor." According to him: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they wish, nor under circumstances which they themselves have chosen, but under circumstances which they actually found in place, which are given and inherited."

Ensuring the continuity of our revolution presupposes a scientific and Marxist insight into the content of numerous "given circumstances" in economic and social relations as well as those "which are given and inherited." In this way it is possible to examine social development more realistically and to pose those tasks which society is capable of performing. Things (and relations) can be turned around "in epochs of revolutionary crises" if the "spirits of the past are called up, if their names, colorful slogans and bones are called up and then, the scene of world history is presented readorned in these beautiful clothes and by means of this borrowed language."

There is a need, in other words, to make a maximum social effort and build up the "mother tongue" of socialist self-management. The "spirit" of that language is a driving force behind the true creators, the "heroes of labor and the revolution."

"The most intimate secret and concealed basis of the entire social construction, and therefore of the political form of relations of sovereignty and dependence, in short, of every specific form of the state which is temporarily given we in every case find in the direct relation of the owner of the conditions of production toward the direct producers, in a relationship whose form

always corresponds naturally to some particular level of development of the method of work and therefore to its social productive power. This does not prevent that same economic base--the same in its main conditions--from being able to display, as a consequence of innumerable different empirical circumstances, natural conditions, employment relations, historical conditions operating from outside, and so on, infinite variations and nuances in its manifestation which may be understood only by an analysis of those empirical given circumstances" (Marx).

In science and in actual social relations we must free ourselves of unscientific preconvictions and intellectual constructs. "It is in real life, where speculation ends, that real positive science begins, the portrayal of practical activity, of the practical process of human development. Rhetoric without consciousness ceases, and real knowledge must come to replace it" (Marx). We cannot judge ourselves, science, economics, and political relations according to what our subjective commitments and conceptions are, since we would then make an error and we would not arrive at a new quality of relations in economics, science and politics.

For the contemporary world, and that also includes our society, the important question is who derives profit from all the new developments of the general human spirit and their social application? The real social position of science, of society's labor and of creativity is such in our country that it cannot objectively contribute to the productive force of labor. It is outside the real needs and possibilities of society. It is a general conviction that we cannot be satisfied with the material and social position of science, nor with internal relations in science and scientific work. Should the status of science change for the better, we would achieve more in the economy, in economic relations, in ideology and indeed in overall social development.

The new attribute of self-management relations between these three spheres of the labor of society could facilitate a more thorough resolution of certain problems and contradictions and a new attribute of socioeconomic relations in them. Science must answer the question of what the real driving forces are--at this level of development of socialist self-management, and what could lead to new solutions? To anathematize contradictions as an alleged absolute evil makes no scientific sense, since it contradicts the dialectics of the real life of society. Certain contradictions are actually a real driving force of society.

We must free ourselves of certain illusions and conclusions based on formal logic to the effect that the present world crisis has come about solely because of the contradictions that exist in capitalism and certain socialist countries. It is the task of science to analyze the nature of social contradictions and to point out their essence and ways of resolving them. Contradictions come about because of certain differences and antagonisms between material and productive forces and the production relations and the tendency for progressive development is objectively contained in them.

In the foreign literature, and indeed in our own, there is frequent writing and debate about the relationship between socialism and capitalism and

differences between them. Even under present conditions it is relevant to ask whether socialism is lagging behind capitalism and labor productivity, and at what points and in what areas, under what conditions. How much does a worker get (earn) and how does he do it under capitalism, and what does he get in socialism? This is an important socioeconomic and political issue, since there are serious ideological differences concerning it. In connection with this set of issues bourgeois theoreticians and ideologues try to dispute the historical role of the working class and the other progressive forces of the socialist societies. They write that the working class under socialism, because of its poor material position, has little motivation and therefore cannot be the historical vehicle of social transformations.

The essence of Marxist analysis leads us to the question: Does the worker have a lasting historical interest in the reproduction of "social capital"? Do the associated workers (organized in various forms of the economic association of labor) have an interest in accumulation, that is, in carrying on expanded reproduction? If we do not answer that question, can we define the social function of science and of scientific research?

There is a need for us to define in more detail the nature and importance of production relations under socialism. It is becoming clear that this is not some neutral question in the science of political economy, political science and sociology, but a key problem of overall revolutionary and social commitments. Unless we build and affirm social consciousness concerning the necessity of self-management continuity of our revolution, it could happen that we would be "assured" that continuity by the state, by statism and by the bureaucracy, and that we would actually spontaneously and haphazardly find ourselves in the labyrinthine practice and thought of statism and the bureaucracy.

Everything we have said constitutes a serious warning about the need for thorough Marxist analysis of the decisive social tendencies of the present time. Study of the transitional epoch should destroy the one-sided and arbitrary rhetoric that results from the unscientific approach, from formal logic and from intellectual constructs. According to them, capitalism is in crisis, statism is in crisis, and socialism is in crisis; everything is in crisis, while at the same time we speak of a crisis of our own relations of socialist self-management. However, it is becoming clear even to an ordinary observer that statism is not any sort of marginal phenomenon at all, but an inevitable phenomenon of the transitional epoch.

Statism today, under these conditions, with its power, with its economic and military force, with numerous powers and the centralistic instruments it manipulates, is hale and hearty. It makes sense for us to arrive at sociopolitical commitments and scientific knowledge so that we could set up a barrier to statism and contribute to establishment of the broad front of the struggle against statist and bureaucracy tendencies, which are proving to be more resilient and resistant than is usually thought. Those forces quickly become encapsulated in the relations and institutions of socialist self-management. They have to be exposed and driven out.

7045
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DISPUTE ARISES OVER MONUMENT TO 19TH-CENTURY SERB RULER

Sculpture Ready, Authorities Not

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1241, 17 Aug 82 pp 16-18

[Article by Bogosav Marjanovic: "Here I Am, Here You Are, So Decide!"]

[Text] The monument entitled "Takovo Uprising," the work of the sculptor Petar Ubavkic, which for 80 years has languished in a cellar, was supposed to be set up in Takovo a few days ago, but has not been as yet. Why?

Last week was fair time in Takovo, that traditional and famous fair which lasts 7 days. There was everything under the sun at the fair. Most of all there was roast lamb, roast suckling pig and even roast kid. And quite a few tents with lusty-voiced woman singers. And the earth groans there are so many people. Even many natives of Takovo working abroad came back to show their fellow countrymen their new or used cars purchased or rented for this occasion. Probably fearing that their fellow villagers will not notice the motorized horses on which they have galloped here, they take no chances and constantly toot the horn. Time after time the singer is announcing: "Such-and-such a song for Petar Petrovic from such-and-such a village in the red Mercedes registered in Germany." The curious onlookers press close about the tents, watching the "Germans" from Takovo living it up and festooning the singers and accordion players with deutschemarks.

A bit further on the grandfathers and fathers of these gay blades are selling horses and oxen and fat rams, since this is a livestock fair until noon and a people's fair beginning in the afternoon. But few people are looking after their livestock. The peasants are complaining and pointing to an enclosure a short distance beyond the fairgrounds, where the curious are crowded around and saying:

"Alas, if only he were alive, he would buy all this livestock from us. He traded only in livestock and plums, and the government never had debts. But these merchants we have today trade in everything under the sun, and they have neither good looks nor good credit."

Who is it the Takovo hosts are pointing at, and about whom are they speaking?

"About Milos Obrenovic, my friend. He is languishing there inside that enclosure."

And indeed, behind the board enclosure, there was the former ruler of Serbia Milos Obrenovic himself in the company of Metropolitan Melentije Pavlovic who in 1815 gave communion to the Takovo rebels and the prince himself here in Takovo. What is Milos doing back here in Takovo, why is he languishing in a prison of boards in front of the headquarters of the local community in Takovo? Is he waiting for the authorities here to grant some petition of his? He is illiterate, we know, so perhaps he needs help. We therefore sought out Dragoslav Timotijevic, a cabinetmaker from here who is president of the local community, then Branimir Stefanovic, a chauffeur at the Takovo Agroindustrial Combine who is president of the basic organization of the League of Communists, and Dragutin Polomcic, president of the basic organization of the SAWP, to answer these questions for us.

"The first part of your question," our informants said, "we can answer immediately, but the second part about his languishing--ask some of the comrades in Belgrade. As far as we are concerned, he long ago should have been up there on the hill above the spot where in 1815 he raised the Second Serbian Uprising. We have set aside a place for him there. You see even the pedestal for the monument has been dug up. But certain comrades in Belgrade said in passing at some recent gathering, speaking for themselves, that to erect a monument to Milos Obrenovic in Takovo at this moment might be politically awkward, might be interpreted as Serbian nationalism. After that, some newswoman from KOMUNIST rushed to declare that it was not right for us to erect a monument to an unenlightened despot, to the founder of a dynasty remembered for its evil, and at the end of the article she put the question: Who needs this symbol, which neither esthetically, nor historically, nor again politically belongs to this time?"

But, our informants said, this frightened the opstina officials in Gornji Milanovac, and they told us to wait a bit. And so instead of on the hill Milos has remained under the hill, in a wooden suit of armor in his own Takovo.

The Monument in the Cellar

Before we present the opinions of our accommodating informants and other people with whom we talked about all this and before we show that the people of Takovo and Gornji Milanovac have done nothing on their own, but have rather had the concurrence of the competent political, historical and cultural institutions and individuals, beginning with their local community and up through the opstina and the region to the republic, we will relate to you the unusual odyssey of this monument.

The first Serbian sculptor, Petar Ubavkic, made this work for the 1900 international exposition in Paris and called it "Takovo Uprising Group." The monument represents Milos Obrenovic brandishing his saber and Metropolitan Melentije Pavlovic, who gave communion to both Milos and the rebels here in Takovo before they set off to battle the Turks, is giving him his blessing, bending his knee before him.

Little Serbia, which was ruled at that time by Aleksandar Obrenovic, did not have enough money to cast the monument, so that Milos and Archpriest Melentije fetched up not in Paris, but in a classroom in the Palilula Elementary School in Belgrade, where the sculptur Ubavkic had a temporary studio. Of course, the Karadjordjevices soon came to power, and the monument remained where it was right up until World War II. When after the liberation people in the National Museum in Belgrade finally took an interest in it, the monument was in a pitiable condition, since the former classroom in which it stood had been turned into the cleaningwomen's closet. They wanted to transfer it to the National Museum, but it turned out that the huge sculptor could not pass through the door of the storeroom, and so the figure, which was then in plaster, was cut up and transferred in pieces to the storeroom of the museum. A few years ago Kragujevac, Pozarevac and Gornji Milanovac became interested in this monument at the same time. The decision was made to give it to Gornji Milanovac.

That is, 3 years ago the people of Gornji Milanovac, out of considerations having to do with history, culture and tourism, after having already erected many monuments to events and individuals in the revolution, decided to make a memorial park in Takovo where the Second Serbian Uprising was raised in 1815. This included choosing a committee of some 40 distinguished sociopolitical, cultural and public figures from Takovo, Gornji Milanovac, Kraljevo and Belgrade. They even drew up a plan for laying out that park, in which among other things they made provision (much of which they have already done) for restoring the modest stone marker that is already there and which marks the spot of the old bush under which the uprising was raised and where Milos Obrenovic uttered those historic words: "Here I am, here you are, war upon the Turks." Then the landscaping, restoration of the log church which is already under government protection, Milos Obrenovic's log house in Gornja Crnuca, the old chardak [an oriental version of the garrison house--translator's note] on the Savinac, and so on. And finally, the placement of this group "Takovo Uprising" by the sculptor Petar Ubavkic.

The Commission of Experts

The committee immediately communicated all this to the republic Conference of the SAWP of Serbia, that is, its committee at that time for celebration of the 175th anniversary of the First Serbian Uprising, and on 2 April 1980 it received a reply.

"Here, see what is written there," said Dragutin Polomcic, president of the basic organization of the SAWP in Takovo. This is what we read:

"In recognition of the importance of the 1815 uprising in the context of the indissoluble continuity of the love of freedom and revolutionary spirit of the Serbian people, as an extension of its struggle for freedom, dignity and survival which began with the revolution in 1804, the republic Committee for Celebration of the 175th Anniversary of the First Serbian Uprising in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, in a meeting held 19 March 1980. has given full support to your initiative and willingness, as part of the efforts being undertaken to celebrate this important anniversary, to take steps in the time to come to carry out the master plan for arranging the Takovo complex."

The letter went on to say that the work envisaged would be done in collaboration with the republic Bureau for Protection of Cultural Monuments of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia and the Bureau for Protection of Monuments in Kraljevo.

"And that is what we did," our informants said.

Further on the letter said:

"Erection of the monument 'Takovo Uprising,' the sculpture by Petar Ubavkic, because of the complexity of the task itself requires broader consultation and the gathering of opinions of distinguished artists, scholars, urban planners, and cultural and public figures, and we therefore recommend that you create a special commission consisting of a number of our distinguished and established creative people who would propose a possible solution toward adoption of a final position...."

"And so we also obtained that."

They showed us the minutes of the meeting of that committee, which was made up of some 20 distinguished cultural and public figures from Belgrade, Kraljevo, Gornji Milanovac and Takovo, including, for example, Stevan Bodnarov, academy-trained sculptor, Dr Boza Prodanovic, dean of the Fine Arts Academy, Bosko Petrovic, professor at the School of Architecture, Vanja Kraut of the National Museum in Belgrade, Dr Radomir Stanic, assistant director of the Bureau for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia, and others. They resolved as follows:

"The group 'Takovo Uprising' fulfills all conditions from the historical and artistic standpoint to be cast in bronze and set up in the Takovo complex."

The opinion of Miodrag Kolaric, former director of the National Museum, was also obtained concerning the monument's creator, and in his letter he was to say in part:

It Is Not Trash!

"Petar Ubavkic was the first sculptor which the Serbs had of their own, and until Mestrovic's emergence he was our best and the greatest sculptor of the South Slavs. The group 'Takovo Uprising' undoubtedly belonged among his most monumental works as a sculptor. This was our first monumental composition, and as such, in addition to its artistic value, it also has equal historical importance."

Mioslav Petrik, a young architect of the "Graditelj" Construction Enterprise in Gornji Milanovac who is working without pay to arrange the park in which the monument is to be set up, says resignedly:

"And just imagine, in spite of all those opinions, with all those political squabbles, some people now imagine that this monument is--trash. Everything under the sun!"

Dragutin Polomcic, president of the basic organization of the SAWP in Takovo, adds:

"We brought here Kolj Siroka, former chairman of the Presidium of the SAWP of Serbia, and later his successor Dragomir Milojevic, and they had nothing against these ideas and plans of ours. After all that, we introduced an optional tax of 10 percent for 6 years for arrangement of the entire park. The tax obtained the votes of 94 percent of the citizens of Takovo and will yield about 300 million old dinars, and many people are also making voluntary cash contributions. Dragoslav Timotijevic, a farmer, donated the field in which the monument will be set up, and the republic Community for Culture donated 75 million old dinars to cast the monument in bronze."

When the monument was cast, the people of Takovo went to Belgrade to fetch it.

Branimir Stefanovic, a driver for the Takovo Agroindustrial Combine who is also president of the basic organization of the League of Communists in Takovo, told us:

"I went to Belgrade for the monument. They loaded it on the truck; it is huge, and Milos' saber is raised up over it. When we entered the tunnel at Stavica, the saber caught on the edge of the opening and broke off. We were crushed. How could we bring Milos to Takovo without the saber? We called the people from the foundry to come and put Milos' saber back in his hand. And, as you see, we dug up the pedestal for the monument, and a few days ago we intended to set it up without any sort of fanfare when of a sudden certain comrades in Belgrade said that the political situation was not right for that."

A Link in Tourism

This bluff young worker pauses and continues in some agitation:

"First, this is not a monument to Milos Obrenovic, but to the Takovo Uprising, that is, to the beginning of the revolution in Serbia. This people did not rise up in rebellion only in 1941. Some people seem to think that instead of Milos' saber and Metropolitan Melentije's cross, they should have been holding a sickle and hammer. In that case let us abolish Milos the Great Street in Belgrade.

"Did the comrades who spoke with suspicion about this job of ours at the meeting in Belgrade sip Prince Milos mineral water so that their throats would not dry up from all their haranguing," Stefanovic laughed.

"We came upon the idea of arranging the Takovo memorial park," spoke up Dragoslav Timotijevic, president of the Takovo Local Community, "out of historical and tourist motives as long as 3 years back. To upgrade this area which every year is visited by about 30,000 schoolchildren and tourists, to enrich this fair so that it is not just a livestock fair, and so that in addition to the eating and drinking at the fair, there would also be something to see. This monument is not the most important thing in this entire park; it is only a link in the development of tourism and the struggle of this area for

freedom.... Where did they get the idea of nationalism in the Takovo area? That has never existed here! Here the people are in favor of brotherhood and unity, the spirit of consensus. We have some 10 families who have moved here from Bosnia and taken jobs in the Takovo Agroindustrial Combine, built houses, virtual villas, and there you see a motel which, as you see, is called the 'Home of the Two Bosnians,' we have received them like brothers, and they us. They also voted for the tax. Everyone also concurred in our idea in the opstina, in the region, in the republic, and now after this article people have gotten a bit afraid, and they have left us isolated at the end, holding the bag as it were while they dodge about. Here in Takovo we like the truth, we do not like hypocrisy, intrigues behind the scenes, this makes us mad. Moreover, the Takovo Uprising, this Milos Obrenovic, take him for what he is, they do not belong just to us in Takovo, just in this opstina, but they are Serbian, they belong to the republic, and indeed, if you like, they belong to Yugoslavia."

Ilija Drasovic, a painter from Gornji Milanovac, every year at the time of the Takovo fair exhibits his pictures under the Takovo bush, and again on this occasion.

"My good people," he says, "recently I returned from West Germany and Norway where I had shows. There they turn history into business, and we turn it into political monkey business. By setting up that monument we are not bringing back the dynasty to Serbia, but history."

We looked on: people came in groups and peeked through the board enclosure where the monument to Milos Obrenovic is located. Among them the old Belgrade professor Radoslav Medenica and his wife and grandson. The old woman shook her head and said:

"Njegos also spent a long time like this boarded up, and finally he was set up on the summit of Lovcen. It is a scandal that almost 2 centuries have passed since the Second Uprising and still there is no monument to Milos in Takovo...."

The voice of the woman singer is still coming over the loudspeaker from the fairgrounds:

"For the party from West Germany in the white Mercedes...."

And Milos seems to be shouting from behind that enclosure:

"Here I am, but where are you?"

Sardonic Response From Reader

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1243, 31 Aug 82 pp 4-5

[Two letters to the editor from Nikola Bugarcic, holder of the 1941 Commemorative Medal, of Belgrade: "Who Feels Awkward About the Takovo Uprising?"]

> [Text] We received the first letter from Comrade Nikola Bugarcic when the last issue of our paper was already at the printer's, and we are therefore publishing it together with the second one, which we received a few days later.

[First Letter]

An interesting article entitled "Here I Am, Here You Are, So Decide" was published in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA on 17 August of this year!

To go back for those readers who perhaps did not read it:

In connection with the celebration of the anniversary of the Serbian uprisings at the beginning of the last century the people of Takovo (the populace and all the appropriate "structures") decided to commemorate a very important event which took place in their area in 1815. And their conception of all this was wise, astute and proper. First they obtained all manner of written approval (political and expert), then everything was designed just as it should be, they voted in an optional tax (94 percent of the population voted "for"), they found a long-forgotten sculpture by the sculptor Petar Ubavkic (done 80 years ago), they cast it in bronze, they packed it up and transported it to Takovo, farmer Dragoslav Tomasevic donated his field where the monument was to be erected, they dug up the pedestal ... and then they stopped.... Prince Milos Obrenovic in the company of Metropolitan Milentije ("Takovo Uprising Group") is still languishing in a board enclosure in front of the local headquarters, while up on the hill the foundation is already crumbling.

Why?

Because the opstina officials in Gornji Milanovac took fright and advised that the erection of the monument be postponed a bit because "certain comrades" recently said at "some meeting" in Belgrade that erection of a monument to Milos in Takovo at this moment might be politically awkward, might be interpreted as Serbian nationalism and ... because some newswoman of KOMUNIST attacked the people of Takovo for erecting a monument to "an unenlightened despot and founder of a dynasty famous for the wrong it did."

The only thing I have against the reporter Bogosav Marjanovic is that he did not manage to worm out of his informants who those "some comrades" were.... Or, perhaps, he did manage to do that, and he himself became timid?

I propose to the "some comrades" that they themselves speak up and make the case for their view.... Or, if they find that awkward, let them whisper to the people of Takovo in the same way that they have changed their mind, and

let the people do what they intended, since the will of the people should be respected, and here it is evident and has been expressed very imposingly (94 percent).

I apologize to the newswoman from KOMUNIST that I did not read her article, and I draw my conclusion concerning her position solely from the article already mentioned. If we are to be able to interpret history, we must first be familiar with it, and she either does not know the history of her people or pretends not to know it. Milos has secured a very important place in recent history of the Serbian people for altogether different reasons, and not for those which she cites (unenlightened despot, founder of an evil dynasty).

The only thing I do not understand is why you people in Takovo became afraid? ... Do not shame yourselves before your ancestor prince (Kodza Milos!).... To be sure, he himself was cautious, astute, wily and cunning, but he was not a coward.... For many of the moves he made as a statesman even he first had to obtain the tsar's endorsement (that is how it was at that time), but he also managed to push many things through without the endorsement.... And you have the endorsement to erect a monument--all there in black and white--and yet you hesitate!... Or again you are so cautious that for you even an endorsement is not sufficient, and you even want the sultan's decree to enthrone the prince in bronze in Tomasevic's field, and that 122 years after "his demise."

[Second Letter]

I had just sent a letter to your column when I spotted in the most recent issue of KOMUNIST an article entitled "Midsummer Night's Dream" under the caption "Mentalities," written by Zorica Banjac.

I was seized by a kind of anxiety because I realized that that might be the same person who in my previous letter I rudely referred to as "some newspaperwoman from KOMUNIST." I apologize; take my word for it that I did not at that time know her name. When I also read the last lines of her article, the anxiety began to turn into trepidation. I see that we are talking about very dangerous matters.... I began to reproach myself in this manner: What did I have to do that for, why did I have to meddle in those matters involving those dangerous isms?... But what can I do now--I can never escape from this skin.... You are my only hope of somehow extricating myself, comrade editor. I call upon you as a comrade when you publish my letter of 20 August in your column, publish the present text below it as a kind of postscript in order to anticipate Comrade Zorica from giving me as well some role in Shakespeare in the concluding portion of some treatise on the prince in bronze.

So, in the article mentioned Comrade Zorica with the help of Shakespeare ("Midsummer Night's Dream") establishes who is who in this "Takovo drama," and it thus turns out that the principal roles are played by the following: the "brave citizens of Takovo, the timid politicians and a certain newswoman from Belgrade." I am surprised that she did not detect any others involved. She probably thinks that they are extras not even worth mentioning, by contrast with the reporter Bogosav Marjanovic, who imparts to their roles rather great importance. To go back, they are the following: the republic

Conference of the SAWP of Serbia and its two chairmen personally; a committee of some 40 distinguished sociopolitical figures of Takovo, Milanovac, Kraljevo and Belgrade; the republic Bureau for Protection of Cultural Monuments and the corresponding bureau from Kraljevo; the commission of experts made up of some 20 artists and cultural and public figures, and so on.

They are all in favor of erecting the monument, but since Comrade Zorica does not mention them, though she should have, the readers will be in a quandary as where to place them--among the "brave" or the "timid," among the nationalists or among the antinationalists.

So, since the main roles have been given out (in this Shakespeare-Banjac co-production) now begins the plot of a drama, which revolves around the question of who is for and who is against the prince in bronze, and on what grounds?

The citizens of Takovo (those whom Bogosav Marjanovic talked with) are for, but they resolutely reject any suggestion of nationalism (Serbian, of course). However, Comrade Zorica very ingeniously, with the help of Freud, ascertains that they are not altogether straight as far as nationalism is concerned.

The newswoman is against. She also resolutely rejects any other isms in her case (without in this case appealing to Freud), and gives as her arguments historical-esthetic-political criteria, accompanied by serious threats (belt-tightening because of stabilization, the front in Srem--Jajinci and so on). She addresses an especially harsh threat to the republic Community for Culture because of some 75 million dinars (old ones presumably) and announces a further investigation in that regard.

The plot of a drama culminates at the very end of the second act in a passage which the newswoman intones in a crescendo:

"That monument, in the context of everything referred to, is political trash even though some would like to represent it otherwise, and insistence on erecting it is an initiative which someone less well intentioned than the newswoman of KOMUNIST might refer to with a more trenchant name."

I suppose the scenario for the denouement of the play has not yet been written, that is, that there are several possible versions.

You are probably acquainted with Comrade Zorica as fellow members of the same profession. Please put me in contact with her so that the three of us can nicely agree on Act III. We will, of course, insist on a happy ending, or, translated into our language--the wolves have to have had their fill and not a single sheep lost.... What surprises you? Do you think that is not possible? ... Perhaps that is not in accord with the requirements of contemporary playwriting, but it is not out of line with the system. It would fit there somehow as a self-management agreement and a reconciliation of views with a view to harmonizing pluralistic interests. We will have no trouble finding a form for this stratagem and a name to call it by--all is in the essence: to get the bronze prince out of the boards, to unstick the labels, and to save face (and perhaps even one's head).

This in fact is not even my exclusive idea.... You will be surprised if I tell you that the spiritual progenitrix of that idea is actually Comrade Zorica (perhaps Freud had his finger in this as well). That is, I read her article carefully several times and I found one passage which I seized upon as a drowning man a straw. I quote: "No one has the intention (or right) to dispute Milos' merits before history. We are not in principle against the monument to Milos as a historical figure."

We will seize upon that principle of hers and nicely explain to her that in history there are both good and bad figures and that we are insisting on the monument precisely in order to cram the prince into that latter category. With skillful propaganda that could even used precisely in the service of antinationalistic purposes on the basis of that motto that peoples have the governments (and the rulers) which they deserve. And thus the matter is clear: the Serbs were not deserving of a better ruler, since they themselves were unenlightened and roughcast, so to speak, semisavage barbarians in these benighted Byzantine-Turkish Balkans, far from enlightened, refined and civilized Europe. We will say even worse things about the prince than she did herself. We will go on to say that as a merchant he was a cheat, that he ran after women, that he was involved in bribery and corruption (he bribed the Turks and was himself bribed by them, and who knows how many people he took bribes from). We will, of course, pass over in silence that even today there are cheats and people who take bribes, and that not only among merchants, and that today, now that the sexual revolution has been carried out, the prince could even become likable to new generations for his "chasing after women." We will also recall that the prince was a collaborator (working with the occupier), that he took off Karajordj's head, and if we deem it opportune, we could throw it up to him that he conducted a policy of establishing ties with the blocs. The faction consisting of Milos--Milenko (Stojkovic)--Jakov (Nenadovic) is highly suspicious in that regard. And we have yet another high trump: if we leave Karadjordj on Vracar and do not set Milos up anywhere, the generations to come, and indeed even the rest of the world, could get the false impression about the Serbs being unified and monolithic down through history, which might dangerously nurture nationalistic and hegemonistic illusions and tendencies.

Should we not be sufficiently convincing with the line of argument given above, we might also take a quite different point of departure--by utterly minimizing the matter and attempting to prove to Comrade Zorica that this matter of erecting a monument to the prince is not actually any generally Serb affair at all, but a purely local undertaking down there of some of the people in Takovo, that is, of citizens of the former Rudnik Nahija [Turkish district--translator's note]. By means of some ethnogenesis we could quite easily prove that those people of Takovo and Rudnik are not really true Serbs, but some altogether small people (perhaps only a so to speak ethnic group) who came from God knows where at some unknown time. Only the uninformed might find this idea crazy, but if a nice case is made for it and scholarly arguments are presented, it could have a very convincing effect and achieve its goal. Since the people of Takovo and Rudnik are a small people who have no genetic connection to the Serbs and, as we know, since there is no nationalism among small peoples, then let them have their prince, let them parade about on that hill to their heart's content.

Comrade Zorica will probably pull out her last trump as well as to the artistic value of the sculpture entitled "Takovo Uprising Group," saying that it is an esthetic anachronism done in a pompous neoromantic style full of pathos and the like. We will accept her view without debate. We will declare that we never even heard of this Ubavkic. And we would rather have a Henry Moore or at least a Dzamonja, but they are very expensive, and Ubavkic didn't cost them anything. Since the stabilization is now in effect, we must be very mindful of that, since the people in Takovo do not have any more money. (This is where we hit her with her own argument about "tightening the belt.")

I am convinced, comrade editor, that we will reach an agreement with Comrade Zorica and get the job done in fine style. There is, to be sure, one small hazard we are constantly mindful of. That is, it could happen that she continue to insist (solely as a matter of principle, but not because she herself is completely convinced of it) that the label of nationalism not be removed altogether or from everyone. Let us also accept that. We will quickly carry out as it were an ideological differentiation among all those who were in favor of erecting the monument to the prince. The result of that differentiation should be as follows: All would continue to be "for," but with a new line of argument and with a good bit of sackcloth and ashes. We will choose only one among us whose repentance and whose new line of argument we will not accept regardless of the lengths he goes to. I propose that this "scapegoat" be precisely this poor reporter Bogosav, since, if the truth be told, he is the one who clouded it all up. It is not really very honorable, but it is expedient. In any case, this Bogosav is not even important in the whole matter. The important thing is for us somehow to liberate the prince from that wooden box in front of the local headquarters in Takovo.

7045
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ISLAM OFFICIAL DISCUSSES MOSLEM COMMUNITY'S ROLE

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 82 pp 11-13

[Interview with Dr Ahmet efendija Smajlovic, professor and president of the Body of Elders of the Islamic Community for Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia and Slovenia, by Kreso Speletic, in Zagreb: "We Are the Most Independent in the World"; date not specified]

[Text] The polemics over whether pan-Islamism has or has not emerged even in certain of our own Moslem circles, especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina, over what it actually means, what are its routes and goals, has contributed considerably to the public's interests in the activity of the Islamic Community in Yugoslavia. Especially since at roughly the same time as those debates the general public has also learned about construction of the mosque in Zagreb and the intention to build mosques in Ljubljana and Rijeka. Is there some particular activity and initiative on the part of that religious community in our country or is it simply a question here of a piling up of events which have given that impression?

Dr Ahmet efendija Smajlovic, professor and president of the Body of Elders of the Islamic Community for Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia and Slovenia, also covered this topic in our interview. We found him in Zagreb at the anniversary of the laying of the cornerstone for the mosque being built at the east side of the city. Although the time to talk was limited (between meetings with imams and departure for the airport), he showed extreme patience. Not for a moment did he forget to make his precise responses in a measured and almost diplomatic form, obviously avoiding use of any sort of word or sentence that seemed unfitting in his judgment.

Thus in answer to the question What are the relations at the moment in his opinion between the Islamic Community and the government? Ahmet efendija Smajlovic would answer that he thought "that those relations are constantly developing, deepening and broadening" and that the Islamic Community has in the postwar period "regulated its relations with the government and with our society, taking the view that this society would allow both the Community and its members to truly be enriched by everything that Islam offers as a doctrine and faith in relations of cooperation on an equal footing, understanding, equality and respect."

After this introduction Dr Smajlovic would be quite specific: "It should be borne in mind that the Islamic Community under the conditions of our context--with the diverse nationalities and ethnic minorities, languages and culture--is very well suited by the separation of religion from the government (since there are about 40 religious communities in our country), since by definition that separation makes it possible for religious communities to concern themselves with those matters which are closest to their religious obligations and religious duties. The Islamic Community does not lay claim to any special political status or participation in that respect, since it feels that it has enough obligations in the religious domain: to present the Islamic doctrine to members of the faith, to prepare textbooks and everything necessary to shape a member who is familiar with his own faith."

Dr Smajlovic would add that he truly thinks "that our society has become so open as to truly make it possible for every religious community, including ours, to develop on an equal foundation and principles." He says in this connection that the contribution is mutual--both on the side of the Islamic Community and on the side of society--and that the breadth of understanding contributes to a more humanistic attitude toward everything; that a man should first of all be looked upon as a man regardless of whether he believes in this or that philosophy, doctrine or religion, regardless of his color, and that is basic to the Islamic doctrine and Islamic point of view.

"Those few factors do most to determine relations between sociopolitical communities and the Islamic Community at all levels in the country," Dr Smajlovic said. "We are aware of who in society is responsible for politics and who, at least within the framework of the Islamic Community, is responsible for belief in God. And so long as this society, regardless of the republic, the city or the local community, respects the principles of the constitution and law concerning equality, brotherhood, the sense of community, and unity, the Islamic Community will continue to stand stalwartly on those principles, welcoming every step in the advancement of those relations and in a deepending of understanding."

[Question] In spite of the good relations between the government and society on the one hand and the Islamic Community on the other, there still have been certain irresponsible acts. What is your view of them, to what extent could they spoil those good relations?

[Answer] The cases of irresponsibility are in truth just that, cases of excess, a subjective phenomenon. At least as far as the Islamic Community is concerned. And we treat them as such. I think that they occur mostly because a particular individual has not been able to fit into the flow of things or, to put it better, has not been able to understand the particular factor or the given conditions. Had those individuals kept up with the instructions and guidelines of the Islamic Community and also the resolutions of the highest bodies of the Islamic Community, I believe that the irresponsible acts would not have occurred.

Importation of Ideology

[Question] Is it true that foreigners are also giving religious training in your communities? If so, is this not a way of "importing" foreign ideology, of bringing about undesirable consequences?

[Answer] As far as the Islamic Community is concerned, there is not a single foreigner employed in religious instruction or in the religious service. We do not have a single foreigner at any level at all. We have our own schools, our own institutions, our own staff, and we feel that no onw can work as well in our area as one of our own. Previously we had problems obtaining highly qualified teachers at the postsecondary level, we did not have a single university school, and, as was my own case in studying in Cairo, we had to go abroad. Today the situation is different: we have organized religious instruction virtually from the toddler stage to the university. In publishing the necessary literature on Islamic doctrine we have created a capability in this area where we truly have no need whatsoever for someone to come from abroad and teach. On the other hand we feel that we belong to the most authentic thread of Islamic doctrine, and we do not allow any sort of distorted imports or influences from abroad. We want to preserve our independence today, just as 100 years ago when we separated from the Turkish Mushihat out of a desire for our own independence in the religious area as well. We collaborate with all communities with which that is possible, but without any sort of conditions concerning teaching, orientation or anything else. The policy of the Islamic Community is not determined by anybody whatsoever in either Teheran or Mecca or Cairo or Damascus or Bagdad or Tripoli or Rabat or Algiers. It is determined exclusively in the forums of the Islamic Community here in Yugoslavia.

[Question] In that context what do you think about the debate which has been conducted over the alleged occurrence of pan-Islamization in certain Moslem circles in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Answer] In my opinion pan-Islamism was the most revolutionary movement in the 19th century and lasted until about the middle of this century. Its basic tendency was liberation of the entire world that was enslaved regardless of region, that is, not only of the Arab and Islamic world. Its aspiration was for the world to become free, to be its own master, to decide on its own fate, on its own government. Basically that was and has remained the tendency of pan-Islamism. Unfortunately, this is distorted in our milieux; distortions come even from those who have been above all called to defend a doctrine and a world on a scientific and objectively historical basis. Pan-Islamism does not exist today as a movement, and I am able to say this, since I attend almost all international Islamic conferences from Mecca on. In the Islamic world no one is talking about pan-Islamism, but the talk is about Islamic solidarity. Not for a moment has pan-Islamism been presented in our country in the true scientific light. What is said in our country about pan-Islamism is a kind of distorted understanding that sprang up at a particular moment and thanks to an individual who at that moment played an adverse role even for his own people. Your very newspaper has written on that topic, certain names have been mentioned, but you can be sure that those names had no connection whatsoever with

pan-Islamism. I would like to say that it is the task, above all of university professors, of scholars--regardless of ideology, philosophy, or religion, regardless of the nationality or ethnic minority they belong to, to refrain from calling up ghosts and rather to undertake to present what is constructive, what is humanistic and what is ultimately the most noble in a culture.

At Home in Our Own House

[Question] How then is one to account for the great debate, what are its routes, and what are its causes?

[Answer] I think that an answer to that question would take us far away. Insofar as it can be followed, the causes are purely subjective in nature, and I think there is no basis whatsoever from the standpoint of either history or reality. That is why I would not enter into those questions. If, of course, in following the future debates I find it suitable to become involved, I will do so as a scholar, attempting insofar as possible to present things as they should be regardless of my belonging to Islam as a doctrine, a philosophy and a faith.... You see, under the given conditions a difference has been made in our country between the Moslem which is capitalized and the Moslem which is not (when it is capitalized, it signifies the nationality, and when it is not it signifies the follower of the religion--author's note). This difference is deep-rooted in our world and in the context of all the constructive achievements I have already spoken about the fact that Moslems are recognized as a nationality is one of the greatest in our self-management practice, and regardless of what part of Yugoslavia we find ourselves in, we feel that we are at home in our own house.

[Question] You have said that the Islamic Community in Yugoslavia was aloof from any sort of influences from abroad. Yet you do collaborate quite a bit with the Islamic countries.

[Answer] That is so. We do carry on cooperation. I think that the various Islamic countries have a duty to help. As in the case, say, of building the Zagreb mosque, since the members of the Islamic Community in Zagreb and even over a broader area cannot handle it themselves. But that aid is minimal, to say the least. For example, the Islamic Community invested $4 million for restoration of the Gazi Husrefbeg Mosque in Sarajevo, for the Islamic School of Theology in Sarajevo and the like, and we obtained only about $300,000 from certain Islamic countries. When those two figures are compared, it is obviously only a symbolic matter. Yet I would like to emphasize something. We had an offer to renew the Beg's mosque in Sarajevo for us. The cost would have been borne by one Islamic country, but there was a stipulation: after the renovation there was to be a small plaque on the mosque which would state who made the renovation possible. We did not accept that condition, since we want to preserve our independence with respect to all events in the religious area, but also in relations with the Islamic countries.

There is something else I would like to emphasize--and many are now stressing it--the Islamic communities and the Islamic world have something to learn from the Islamic Community in Yugoslavia. From organization and activity to

openness, magnanimity, tolerance and understanding. I believe that we are truly the most independent Islamic religious community, in the world if I am not mistaken. I hope that we will continue to be such. So, if someone wants to help, let him go ahead, the channels are open through the bank.

[Question] In writing about the need to build the mosque in Zagreb PREPOROD, the Islamic newspaper, cited the figure that according to estimates there are about 100,000 Moslems, in the religious sense that is, in Croatia. On what basis are such estimates made?

[Answer] You can be sure that we do not keep any sort of statistics on how many Moslems in the religious sense there are in Yugoslavia; we simply do not have figures on that. As for Moslems as a nationality, in this case we use Yugoslavia's official statistics. Thus no one can say what proportion there is between the Moslems who are members of a nationality and the Moslems in the religious sense. The figure which PREPOROD gave is more the result of an approximation; I cannot say whether it is objective or not. In any case it cannot be verified as an official datum. We deal with this as a matter of information, it was picked up by accident and mentioned at random.

Religion and Politics

[Question] Islam is a religion in which the line between secular and religious life is hardly noticeable. Is there perhaps room for fear, then, that the line between religion and politics might also be barely noticeable?

[Answer] If we look at Islam in the context of such conceptions, we can simply say this: Islam does not in truth distinguish between the religious and the secular and does not draw a line. Islam believes that the unity of the human being in his physical and spiritual existence is a reflection of the unified physical and spiritual world. Islam does not acknowledge total physical existence, but by the same token it does not accept total spiritual isolation. From this standpoint we might rather speak of a deeper--I will not say dialectical--but a complementary unity of the spiritual and physical, body and mind, and all to a single end: accomplishment of man's happiness in this transient existence, that is, existence in this world, which is simply his road toward still better perfection or achievement of happiness in the other world. This is that component of unity, and from the Islamic standpoint a man can sit the whole day in the mosque, pray and bow down, but that prayer of his will have no value whatsoever unless he contributes to himself, to society and to relations. In other words, if he is only pious, and is not at the same time a creative member not only in his own society, but in a broader sense.

I therefore think that there is no place for fear that there is no line between religion and politics, as in fact I have said on a previous occasion. I strictly divide the work of the Islamic Community in our context. Here there are diverse tendencies, diverse nationalities and ethnic minorities, and it is inevitable for religion to be separate from politics. If, then, we want a religious community to maintain continuity in its work, we must make that division. In other words, this means that the work of the Islamic Community in our country is such as to suit both the community and society. Where the

Islamic communities are in the enormous majority, where the population is 99 percent Moslem, matters stand quite differently. I think that then there is no fear of unity, since this can be of benefit to the people, as has been indicated by several revolutions. For example, the Algerian, the Egyptian and a number of others.

It is another question whether Moslems under given circumstances, at a particular moment and in certain countries have been up to their historical responsibility. Moslems in the 20th century first have to become Moslems; we have to present Islam to Moslems, so that they understand it, and only then can we attempt to present it as a doctrine, as a culture and as a philosophy to others. Not so that they might become Moslems, but so that altogether they become richer by familiarizing themselves with cultures such as the Islamic, the Buddhist, the Chinese and others. This is the basic tendency of Islam and the Islamic doctrine, and that authenticity must be respected, but a difference must be made between its existence in those communities and its existence in our own country.

7045
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CATHOLIC PRESS ANSWERS CRITICISM AGAINST BISHOPS

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Speaking in Confidence"]

[Text] The faithful, that is, citizens in our country who are believers, have been disturbed and encouraged by various occurrences in our public and church life. People, the faithful and their priests, have been reporting to us on this in conversations and letters from readers. Unfortunately, we have not found space for this department even in this issue of GLAS KONCILA, since the crisis with paper and prices still keep us down to 16 pages, and that limited space is barely enough for the most basic things which we must report for journalistic and other reasons. Among the letters which we have received in past weeks, those stand out which express confusion because Jakov Blazevic has written again in the weekly DANAS and expressed deep bitterness because of the unprecedented political name-calling which the Presidium of TDKS ["Christianity Today" Theological Society] engaged in in SEDAM DANA on 7 August concerning everyone who does not agree with it. Nothing like that was to be expected of those who are otherwise advocates of pluralism, opponents by definition of inquisition and influence of what was called the "brachium saeculare." But the real background of that event is not known to us; so far those who signed the article have not offered any sort of explanations in the press which is in their possession or elsewhere. Which is why confused bitterness does not result in ready-made conclusions. It is truly best not to prejudice anything, but to establish church consensus through prayer, to call upon the aid of the Holy Spirit for enlightenment and action. But as for the renewed attacks of the former chairman of the Presidency of SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia on our most distinguished bishops and other church figures, there does not seem to be anything new in that or anything worthy of real excitement. In the time since his first such statement Blazevic has not even taken pains to read even the documentation sent to him by Monsignor Vladimir Stankovic by way of the Commission for Relations With Religious Communities of the Executive Council of the Assembly of SR Croatia in order to avoid public debate. One thing that that documentation makes clear is that at the time in question Stankovic was undergoing medical treatment in Yugoslavia and could in no way have been able to perform any mass celebrating 10 April in Buenos Aires or anywhere else. Much less clear and more disturbing are certain quite recent articles by Nenad Ivankovic, especially in SEDAM DANA, and by Stipe Bozic, a new and so far unknown name in journalism, in the weekly DANAS. These are skillfully stylized

attacks on the Metropolitan of Southern Croatia Frane Franic and a truly distasteful defense of the Theological Society with extensive quotations, especially from certain articles of Dr Tomislav Sagi-Bunc, a professor. As for the accusations against Archbishop Franic, the authors of the articles and their editors should get it straight that our domestic church, headed by its bishops, archbishops and the Holy See, will not renounce any of its pastors who down through many years as a bishop has proven his loyalty to the church as a witness, at the same time undertaking brave and risky exploratory efforts for that church to get its bearings and set up properly in the new social reality. If those authors and editors sincerely esteemed the Theological Society and its organizational intellectual leaders, they would not use them in polemics against the archbishop. As it is, they demonstrate that they actually do not esteem the TDKS, but in the short run want to use it in a political manipulation by setting it against the hierarchy and the unquestionably different opinion and disposition of the huge majority of the faithful and the clergy. Why even Blazevic, in attacking Archbishop Kuharic and Monsignor Stankovic, publicly praises the TDKS! It is difficult to foresee where that is leading and who will have the courage to unravel or sever the threads of that manipulation. On the other hand there comes the gratifying news that the Federal Court of Yugoslavia has reduced the sentence of Fra Jozo Zovko, parish priest in Medjugorje, rejecting a part of the incrimination contained in the indictment brought down in Mostar. Before the trial in Mostar and during the trial itself those responsible were advised that the expression "40 years" in a priest's sermon has a well-known biblical significance and is by no means an allusion to the anniversary of the beginning of the revolution. Now the Federal Court has at least to some extent accepted the justifiability of that objection. We hope that in these attacks on distinguished church leaders, as well as in the most recent political condemnations of the two Franciscans in a meeting of sociopolitical organizations in Duvno (OSLOBODJENJE of Sarajevo on 11 September) will not require as much investigation and s many levels of authority to see the groundlessness of the accusations. However, certain words of Hrvoje Istuk expressed at that meeting take us to a topic on which something will have to begin to be said in public not so as to exert pressure on anyone's freedom, but so as to avoid dangerous confusion. This is a phenomenon which certain bishops and numerous parish priests have been calling attention to for quite a long time now. There have been cases, they say, when certain of the best students of religion, who often are also the best students, are at the end of their secondary schooling offered membership in the League of Communists. A young man on the threshold of a career will not refuse that social recognition and affirmation of his moral and political suitability. Moreover, no one explicitly calls upon him to renounce his faith. But once he becomes a member with the best intentions, he realizes that he dare not any longer enter the church, and he discretely advises his parish priest of this so that he might understand and not hold it against him. Such people then collaborate sincerely to the good of this society, they marry in the church discretely, that is, in secret, and they also christen their children. Such behavior--wherever and to whatever extent it exists!--weakens the church and causes confusion, and certainly it does not strengthen the League of Communists. Can one blame a priest who wanted to speak openly about this phenomenon not only with his own faithful, but also with those who are responsible in sociopolitical life? So long as one wishes to speak openly and in confidence, that is a sign that intentions are good and that there is a sincere hope that a solution can be found so that we can get along.

7045
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BISHOPS' STATEMENT AGAINST THEOLOGICAL SOCIETY CRITICIZED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Oct 82 p 5

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic: "The Bishops' Moral Execution"]

[Text] This year's autumn convention of the Conference of Yugoslav Bishops (held in Djakovo from 27 to 29 September) will certainly be remembered for the decision which our bishops made (finally) to carry out a (for the present) moral execution of the "Christianity Today" Theological Society [TDKS] of Zagreb. The formal basis of this was that famous Vatican statement "Quidam episcopi" (which, to go back, forbids clerical associations whose obvious or clandestine purpose is political activity or, on the other hand, trade union organizations relative to the bishop as an employer), which no intelligent person any longer doubts was "elicited" above all at the request of certain of our own prelates.

So it is no wonder that it was ridden so hard, as indeed is evidenced by all those attacks on the TDKS: beginning with the harangue of Archbishop Franic. From the decision of the spring meeting of the Conference of Yugoslav Bishops [BKJ], which formed the commission which was supposed to conduct a study as to whether the activity of the TDKS was falling off as a result of the "Quidam episcopi" to this fall's assembly and its statement. Over that same time period nothing has remained in Europe of the "Quidam episcopi" since it, we might mention by the way, actually decreed nothing, and therefore it has no binding force, and surely they do not have there such an episcopate.

Petition of the Catholic "Intellectuals"

The circumstances under which the fall meeting of the BKJ was held also say much about the conditions in our church: first, Archbishop Franic came out with a new attack, who knows how many there have been, on the eve of the meeting in Djakovo ("The Church in the World"), and then the mental fever was heated up by GLAS KONCILA with articles which are truly a splendid example of the (sometimes) tragic fate of Christianity in these pages. The culmination, however, was the Croatian-language program of Vatican Radio during which (on the very day of the meeting of the BKJ) a "petition of 115 young Catholic intellectuals to the Conference of Yugoslav Bishops" was read. How suitable the petition itself was as a means of Christian "dialogue in a loving relationship" we will not analyze, since what it contains is so stupid that it

indicates very clearly the kind of Catholic "intellectuals" who are involved and what their intention was. That is, just this detail is sufficient: they (not, it seems, without a bit of the devil) believe that the TDKS Presidium offended them in its response to Archbishop Franic (published in the VJESNIK supplement SEDAM DANA on 7 August of this year), and they say: "The only thing which in this matter we request of our bishops is that they protect us from such roll calls and name-calling. We feel that the basic minimum of dialogue and freedom presupposes duality in thought, but not exclusiveness." Or, more clearly: they call upon the bishops on behalf of dialogue in the church (sic!) to forbid the theologians to speak so as to protect them (the weak Catholic "mind") from insults. The truly rather miserable gesture which compromises everything that might be called an intelligentsia, and a Catholic intelligentsia to boot.

But all these pressures did nevertheless bear fruit in the meeting. A press release from the BKJ Secretary's Office along these lines states: "The Conference of Bishops unanimously declares that priests are not allowed to be members of professional clerical societies which do not conform to the statement 'Quidam episcopi.' The TDKS is one such society."

Certainly, this statement of position contains not a word about any evidence (of the BKJ commission of inquiry) that would support the assertion of the TDKS's political or trade union activity, but on the other hand there are many echoes from the petition and similar "undertakings." Which is why the statement of the TDKS in response to that release (published in AKSA [AKTUELNA KRSCANSKA SADASNJOST], No 39, 1982) says: "We declare once again, in the deepest responsibility to God and to history, that we cannot find elements in the Vatican statement 'Quidam episcopi' whereby the 'Christianity Today' Theological Society would fall under what is condemned in that statement. 'Quidam episcopi,' that is, speaks only about clerical associations, which is not what the TDKS is, either in its bylaws or in actuality. It condemns obvious or clandestine political activity and trade union organization of the clergy relative to the bishop as employer. There is nothing of the kind in the nature, activity or goals of the 'Christianity Today' Theological Society.

The Society's Goals

"On the contrary, the TDKS has these tasks: 'advance and assist the professional work of its members; aid and promote theological improvement, study and information; organize meetings, lectures, conferences, scientific and other assemblies in the field of the Society's activity; nurture the study and popularization of the national legacy of theology and sacred art and creativity; promote and assist research of contemporary national and worldwide theological topics, especially those fields and issues which are relevant to the increasingly civilized relations among individuals, religions and peoples; promote cooperation with other theological institutions and initiatives and with individuals, institutions and bodies concerned with matters related or tangential to theology within the country and abroad and conclude self-management accords with them if necessary or enter into associations for federation; offer professional theological assistance wherever it is sought, necessary or suitable; obtain or secure funds, aids and all other resources for achieving the

purposes and performing the tasks of the Society; see to the social welfare of its members and employees and also show concern for their other needs' (Article 7 of the TDKS Bylaws).

"And the actual work and deeds of the 'Christianity Today' Theological Society are accessible to anyone and well known to the entire public from its catalogues, bulletins and reports on its symposiums and statements."

It is obvious: the arguments in the meeting of the BKJ did not play any role whatsoever, since it was not the truth that was aimed at, but an a priori condemnation.

"Revanchism"

The following passage from the press release is more than symptomatic in this context: "The bishops also unanimously and most resolutely reject the serious political insinuation with which the 'Christianity Today' Theological Society's Presidium burdens all those who take a critical attitude toward the TDKS (compare VJESNIK--SEDAM DANA, 7 August 1982). This has carried the ecclesiological problem within the church into the field of politics, which the bishops must condemn. No one can be proclaimed a revanchist and a man who wishes slaughter because he feels that an association of theologians outside jurisdiction of the bishops is harmful to the unity of the church."

It must immediately be said that of all that the TDKS Presidium wrote in its response to Archbishop Franic only one word "revanchism" was mentioned (as though by some rule) in the subsequent debate. Everything turned on that word, and there was a constant expression of horror ("The Church in the World," GLAS KONCILA) just as now. Supposedly because only in connection with that word was it possible to say anything, and that on the condition that the meaning of its use be falsified.

Here is what the TDKS has said in its most recent statement: "We deeply regret and are seriously offended by what is stated in the last two passages of the press release of the Secretary's Office of the Conference of Yugoslav Bishops, since we cannot understand how the Conference of Yugoslav Bishops could find in the text of our Presidium dated 7 August 1982 what is attributed to it in the press release. The text of ours in question made in response to Monsignor Franic reads as follows: 'And in conclusion we believe that every well-intentioned and thinking man who is not a fanatic sectarian or narrow-minded dogmatic will see the obvious value of our task to all human beings in these latitudes, and we know that this has not gone unnoticed even in the most conscious circles of the European continent, which are following with great attention and approval this particular development of humanity and freedom within Yugoslav socialist society as evidenced by the activity of "Christianity Today." This angers only revanchists, though at the price of destruction and bloodshed which these people have never shrunk from in this area of the Balkans. Our own Archbishop Franic has often come out against such extremist views; he even does so in this interview. We trust him in this, since we know that he does not proceed from the same premises as those circles which are using his actions to support their own goals.'

What Kind of Logic?

"... We think that if this passage is read with that attention that was paid to writing it, it will be clearly seen that there is nothing in it that in a manner incomprehensible to us has been attributed to it in the press release of the BKJ Secretary's Office. It is obvious that in this passage is distinction is made between those seeking abolition of the TDKS on grounds of internal church affairs (like Archbishop Franic, for example) and those who desire that because of the ramified public activity of our Society and whose premises have to do with their understanding of Marxism (sectarians and dogmatists), and finally certain people abroad who do not desire the growth of any sort of humanity and freedom of this kind in Yugoslavia (since their slogan is 'The Worse It Is, the Better!'), and for that reason are angered by the activity and existence of the TDKS (the revanchists), and who have made us aware of that in various ways. We are, then, utterly unable to see the kind of logic that can assert that this has 'carried the ecclesiological problem within the church into the field of politics' and has proclaimed to be a 'revanchist and man who wishes slaughter' anyone who 'feels that an association of theologians outside the jurisdiction of the bishop is harmful to the unity of the church.' We have never said anywhere that all those who 'take a critical attitude toward the TDKS' are revanchists."

In conclusion the theologians also say this: "We think that this present time, not only in our country, but even in the world at large, imperatively calls upon us all, regardless of where we are and what we are, to soberly and calmly promote everything that can lead toward greater understanding among people and nations, in a real dialogue for the betterment of all, so that this present moment is not turned into yet another of the sorrowful pages of the history of the church among the Croats."

Attack on the Activity of the TDKS

These last words, we believe, indicate rather clearly the gravity of that moral execution by the bishops. Not only because it could be the first step toward a final showdown with the TDKS, but also because even now it is putting the Society in a very difficult position within the church, dangerously compromising it in the eyes of the faithful. In practical terms: this is a specific assault on the activity of the TDKS as set forth in the bylaws of the Society itself and as it actually is. And it is here, then, that lies the entire paradox: After all, everything which the TDKS has done, to speak in the most general terms, to broaden religious culture in these parts (by its large-scale publishing house), which has become the largest publishing house of its kind in this part of Europe--that (official) church itself now all of a sudden wants to destroy! We doubt that anything like this has ever happened anywhere and that anything like this will ever happen. And to make matters worse, it is being done on the basis of an unproven assertion (that the TDKS supposedly is liable under the "Quidam episcopi") and a misunderstood and then also erroneously interpreted passage (but not without a bit of the devil)! What is one to say to this?

Either those are not the real reasons, or this episcopate (the most influential part of it) has lost all sense of time and space. That is, in that decision the official church is not bearing witness only against the TDKS (which is to say some 70 theologians, the same number of staff members, and, if it can be so put, their numerous Christian sympathizers), but also against itself, since it has shown more than obviously that for it evangelization can under certain circumstances become quite a secondary matter and, what is more, that if necessary it itself knows how to stand in the way of spreading the "good news." This is being done in neglect of the cost and also of the truth. All that remains is the interest of an autarchic use of power at the service of a particular ideology.

This Is Not a Matter Confined to the Church

Yet to analyze this posture would be to repeat everything that we have written in the recent past on this topic. So what needs to be said on this occasion is this: when all the reasons are ultimately reduced to their last basis, it very clearly turns out that the only fault of the "Christianity Today" Theological Society is that through its religious and cultural work it has borne witness (always dangerous to certain spirits) that in this country, in spite of everything, they can promote fundamental religious-church interests and that in this society there is room for both the church and for religion. That is, the misfortune is that the TDKS is a religious-church phenomenon that has sprung up spontaneously on this soil, has a European rank in its spirit and aspiration and in its contribution to theological and religious culture of this region. And that has always been a great sin from the standpoint of an outlook of ours which in many respects is still colonial. Finally, how is it that such "institutions" as the TDKS can exist peacefully all over Europe (certainly western Europe), while something similar exists (just as peacefully) even in Slovenia? We fear that the BKJ would not be able to answer that question coherently.

So all the things that have been happening concerning the TDKS are not a matter confined only to the church, as our bishops would very much like to show, but in a way is also a concern of the broader social community, but not because it has had any particular interest in the TDKS, but because the aim being taken at that Society is actually meant for that community itself.

It is no longer, then, just a question of the "unity of the church," but of an attitude (political) toward that reality. The Theological Society has just found itself by accident in that forked stick, and that is all the guilt it bears.

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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19 November 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2077

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CSSR'S CATHOLIC CLERGY ACTIVITIES

Church Representatives' Visit

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 39, 26 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] On 15 September, Milan Klusak, minister of culture of the CSR, received ordinaries of the Roman Catholic Church in the CSR. Capitular Vicar Doctor of Theology Karl Jonas, Josef Hendrich, Ludvik Horky, Josef Kavaly, and His Excellency Josef Vrana, Bishop and Apostolic Administrator of the Olomouc Archbishopric Doctor of Theology at a business meeting in Prague.

Klusak acquainted the assembled ordinaries with the Czechoslovak Government's position on contemporary foreign political developments and the results of national, in particular economic, development in Czechoslovakia.

At the meeting, attending ordinaries expressed absolute support of the Czechoslovak people's constructive peace movement.

All of the attending ordinaries were in agreement that there was a rightful place in the contemporary peace movement for clerical peace organizations, which, obedient and faithful to church teachings, also make clearly public their civil convictions. Czech ordinaries, like Slovak ordinaries, approve of the noble work of the clerical peace organization Pacem in Terris.

At the close of the agenda, which also involved topical church political questions, the Czech ordinaries assured the minister that, as regards active peace-related civil activities by Catholic clergy, they see promises of good relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church. Minister Klusak acknowledged this assurance and once more asserted that the responsible state agencies would fully support this constructive orientation and other activities of the Pacem in Terris Association.

Czech Ordinaries Meet

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 39, 26 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] At a meeting of all ordinaries of the CSR held in Litomerice on 17 September 1982, problems concerning all dioceses were examined. An important point on the agenda was the question of the seminary and the college and their

personnel. Agreements were reached and solutions found. The question of publications was also successfully negotiated, in particular as concerns the Holy Scripture, the hymnal, the catechism, and liturgical manuals.

At the close of every meeting, all the ordinaries unanimously declare their support of all honest efforts for mutual understanding and the establishment of lasting peace in a trouble and divided world. There can never be enough of these efforts in these times, and all people of good will are called upon for their support, including always believers and clergy, who will therefore support them in the service of God, our country, and all of human society. Peace and good will to all!

Pacem in Terris Conference

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 39, 26 Sep 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by V. Simecek: "For the Common Good"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan of activity of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy of the CSSR, a business meeting was held on 6 and 7 September in the Charity Home in Dolni Smokovec in the Tatras, in which chairmen and secretaries of regional committees of Associations of Catholic Clergy of the CSSR participated. The meeting was chaired by the president of the federal Association of Catholic Clergy, Prelate Doctor of Theology Antanin Vesely. In his introductory address, he voiced the opinion that we should make still greater efforts in working for the church, for the good of both our nations, and for the future of all humankind. He also called for participation in this work by larger numbers of clergy and for the further intensification of this activity.

At the meeting, activity for the first half of this year was evaluated and work planned through the end of the year. The head secretary of the association, Canon Doctor of Theology Zdenek Adler, stated that work was progressing satisfactorily, with a rich variety of projects, and that it was successful as regards both the church, and society and peace. This was demonstrated, for example, by both seminars: The one in Marianske Lazne in April, of a special-interest committee, with unusual participation by the clergy and the more recent one in Hradec Kralove in late August, where participants listened with uncommon interest to lectures by a qualified professor on the 20th anniversary of the inauguration of the Second Vatican Council. Further work of the association in this spirit will be noted in the second half of this year. Such work will include an autumn regional plenum, an extended session of the federal committee and further seminars and meetings of special-interest, peace and theology, and publications committees.

At this meeting there was also a discussion of the subject of the activity of the association for 1983. The United Nations has proclaimed next year as the "Year of Youth" and this will in part determine the work of the association. The association will continue to concern itself to a great extent with the peace issue and collaboration with all who are fighting to avert a nuclear catastrophe.

Ambassador Professor Dr Jaromir Sedlak, CSc., also spoke at the meeting of clergy. In his speech, he analyzed the contemporary international and domestic situation and discussed future development and what it may bring us at the close of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. Humankind would like to live without threat of war, but it is high time to come to terms with other problems which are increasing in severity in the areas of energy, food and the environment.

Realistic and prudent people have on various occasions expressed their resistance to a mad arms race. Throughout the world there exist or are in the process of formating a multitude of religious organizations and movements which are helping to rouse world consciousness against the threat of nuclear destruction, which would be the final page of world history.

It is, therefore, obvious that our people and, with them, we, the Catholic clergy, should raise up our voices against senseless escalation in nuclear arms and make every effort to ensure that our government and our entire country are a happy home for all people.

The assembled participants of the meeting greeted Ladislav Hrasek of the Office of the Presidium of the CSSR. He assessed the Association of Catholic Clergy's peace activity up to the present and welcomed further suggestions which the association plans to realize in its future activity. He expressed the conviction that the relation between the Czechoslovak state and the Roman Catholic Church would continue to develop positively, with the Association of Catholic Clergy doing its rightful share.

The work meeting of chairmen and secretaries of regional associations of the CSSR was evaluated in a concluding address by head secretary Dr Zdenek Adler. He thanked the participants of the meeting and guests for their participation and assured them that the Czech and Solvak Catholic clergy, which are related by a deep brotherly tradition, wish to continue working in our country for the spiritual and material good of our people, and that we must, therefore, know the pulse of our government. Obstacles in the path of our progress cannot discourage us.

The participants of the meeting departed from this lovely Tatra setting encouraged by the knowledge of well-performed work and with optimism for the future.

Pacem in Terris Presidium Meets

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 41, 10 Oct 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by Josef Mestan]

[Text] A meeting of the presidium of the Pacem in Terris Association of Cathalic Clergy of the CSSR was held on 21 and 22 September in Ostrava under the direction of its chairman, Prelate Doctor of Theology Antonin Vesely.

Prelate Josef Stastny, secretary of the Prague Association, recalled some significant activities of the Czech Association in the preceding part of this year, in particular the successful peace and theology seminar which was held at the end of August in Hradec Kralove on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the inauguration of the Second Vatican Council.

The activity of the Slovak Association was evaluated by its president, Canon Doctor of Theology Gejza Navratil, who traced out the tasks which still await the Slovak Association this year. Particular attention is being paid in Slovakia to preparations for discussions with clergy in which priests will be acquainted with topical issues of the contemporary struggle for peace in the light of the recent Moscow Pan-religious Conference. There are also preparations for a peace and theology seminar where, among other things, there will be a speech by Father Bishop Jozef Feranc entitled "On the Relation of Bishop to Priest According to the Second Vatican Council."

Particular attention was devoted to preparing for a meeting of the extended federal committee of the Pacem in Terris Association of the CSSR, which will take place on 11 and 12 October in Brno. On the theme: "The Struggle for Peace and Against Nuclear Catastrophe in the Light of the Second Vatican Council." This important conference will form the basis for holding regional conferences of associations.

Prelate Edmund Kempny, secretary of the Northern Moravian Association, reported on the meeting of chairmen and secretaries of individual regional associations in Dolni Smokovec on 6 to 8 September. The audience listened with interest to a lecture by Ambassador Dr Jaromir Sedlak on contemporary issues of international politics related to efforts of peace forces throughout the world to prevent a nuclear catastrophe.

The assembly warmly welcomed into their midst Bishop Doctor of Theology Josef Vrana, Apostolic Administrator of the Olomouc archdiocese. The Reverend Bishop recalled in his speech his recent visit to Rome and spoke of matters pertaining to this trip. He also acquainted his audience with the conclusions of a conference of all ordinaries of Czech regions held on 17 September in Litomerice, where there was discussion of questions of the mutual relations of the church and our state. There was great approval of the statement by this conference of the need for and importance of peace efforts in today's divided world.

Assembled clergy greeted S, Keppert, participant and vice president of the Northern Moravian Regional National Committee, who spoke on the problems of the Northern Moravian region and its important position in our country's economy. He recalled that, through the fault of the West, the world is on the brink of war. In fact war is being waged in some areas of the world. In this connection, he assessed the significance of the peace activity of the Association of Catholic Clergy of the CSSR.

On 16-19 November in Berlin, under the slogan "Peace to Humankind--Pardon and the Mission," a plenum of the Berlin Conference of Catholics from European Countries which will be attended by an honorary delegation from the association will take place. The presidium was acquainted with the program of this international peace forum by Zoltan Belak, member of the presidium of the Berlin Conference and capitular vicar from Roznava.

At the close of the conference, the representative of the administrative secretariat for church affairs of the Office of the Presidium of the CSSR Government, Ladislav Hrasek, spoke on contemporary and topical questions of the relations between church and state and assured the Association of Catholic Clergy of the CSSR of the support of our state in its peace endeavor. This activity is of course beneficial to church and state, since it strengthens the positive ties between them and in this way creates suitable conditions for continued development. [Joset Mestan]

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CULTURE MINISTER KLUSAK SPEAKS AT PIT MEETING

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACI in Czech 3 Oct 82 pp 1, 3

[CTK Report on Speech by M. Klusak, Czech Minister of Culture, at a meeting of Pacem in Terris CSSR Committee in Brno: "Christians for Peace Against the Nuclear Threat"]

> [Text] Under the slogan "Struggle for Peace against a Nuclear Catastrophe in the Light of the Second Vatican Council," the city of Brno hosted a meeting of the expanded federal committee of the Association of Catholic Priests, Pacem in Terris CSSR.

In the principal address, the capitular vicar of Hradec Kralove, K. Jonas, emphasized that it is absolutely necessary for all honest Christians the world over to raise their voices and respond in no uncertain terms to the movement against the nuclear threat.

Czech Culture Minister M. Klusak recognized the efforts of the association on behalf of peace and, in the name of the government, expressed full support for the patriotic priests in their activities for peace and understanding among nations. M. Klusak in his address stated: "All our citizens, without distinction of their world outlook orientation, share in the achievements of our socialist society. We have always maintained and will continue to do so that all honest citizens of our state, be they religious believers or not, are invited to participate actively in building a developed socialist society. Our state is also truly interested in establishing good relations with the believers, as well as with the churches and religious societies recognized by the state. This approach is not motivated by any transient needs. We strive to establish stable and lasting conditions for the overall development of our socialisq society. Consequently, even our constitution in Article 32 guarantees freedom of religious persuasion: 'All citizens are free to belong to any church or be without religious affiliation, free to perform religious rites, provided they are not in violation of the law.'

"The relations of our state with the Roman Catholic Church are governed by principles which fully respect the hierarchical establishment of this church, its cult rules and other internal customs. The state expends considerable means on the material needs of all churches, personal emoluments of the priets, on education of candidates for priesthood, as well as on religious literature, press, etc. We cannot allow, however, the political conditions under which our churches function to be dictated from outside, nor allow the church to be involved in a political game the goal of which is an effort to weaken socialism.

In recent months, we have on numerous occasions clearly demonstrated our full support for further development of your association, and maintained that we wish and intend to defend it by every means, and develop and strengthen the peaceful and constructive cooperation in our internal social relations--stated concretely--relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church. If the attempts, no matter how intensive, to disrupt these relations failed, it is in no small measure to the credit of your association which continues its work and whose members, without allowing themselves to be disoriented or intimidated, have demonstrated prudence and awareness of their civic responsibility. For this they have our sincere appreciation.

It is without doubt that the position of both assemblies of Roman Catholic ordinaries in the Czech and Slovak republics, taken recently in support of peaceful activities of Roman Catholic priests in our country, had greatly contributed to the calming of the situation. We believe that a constructive atmosphere is again being developed for the resolution of issues of interest to both the Roman Catholic Church and the Czechoslovak state.

A consolidated political situation in church affairs has always been and continues to be an essential prerequisite in the resolution of our internal problems, as well as for our negotiations with the Vatican. We believe that even the latter will be allowed to continue and take a constructive course."

In his conclusion, Minister M. Klusak stated: "You and your association, the same as everyone else, can fully avail yourselves of the right, opportunity and means to share in the achievement of the goals of a program which strives for nothing but peace in the world and undisturbed labor at home for the welfare of all people."

Some 300 Roman Catholic priests, along with their ordinaries, at their deliberations in Brno yesterday, assured the Czechoslovak Peace Committee of their active support in the preparation and course of the World Assembly for Peace and Life against Nuclear War, which had been convoked in June 1983 in Prague by the World Peace Council.

In their proclamation, the Catholic priests voiced their determination to continue their work on behalf of peace. They also welcomed the fact that the Czech and Slovak ordinaries had expressed their full support for the priests' peace efforts. In their proclamation, the priests stated: "We, Czechoslovak Catholic priests, are not silent in the face of the policy of nuclear blackmail, and we cannot maintain silence on the genocide which we have witnessed in Lebanon and Latin America. Such actions are in violation of Christian duty to one's fellow man, a crime against each individual's right to life and peace."

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PRESERVE COSMOS AS AREA OF PEACE, PEACEFUL COOPERATION

Prague LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA in Czech No 19, 1982, pp 721-723

[Interview with V.S. Vereshchetin, doctor of sciences, deputy chairman of the INTERKOSMOS council and deputy director of the Institute for State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by Mahulena Hoskova, secretary of the Czechoslovak national group for legal affairs of the INTERKOSMOS program; date and place not given]

[Text] Cosmic space, especially that part which surrounds Earth, has recently become a permanent workshop for mankind, a place where we put to practical use the latest scientific and technological discoveries, where the interests of future development logically lead to peaceful international cooperation, but where there is also danger of militarization. Technology, scientific findings and inventions in "cosmic dimensions" can be a source of prosperity and happiness for all mankind or, if misused by narrow imperialist or class interests, can threaten, in a manner hitherto unknown, the existence of human society and life on earth. For this reason, the second seminar of socialist countries currently assembled in Prague on the subject of cosmic law, will deal with the development of further cooperation with respect to problems of peace, seek solutions to questions emanating especially from cooperation within the INTERKOSMOS program, as well as discuss future cooperation among our individual countries in this sphere. The socialist countries desire that peaceful use and cooperation become the guiding principles of human endeavor in space. Their joint cosmic program, of which cosmic law is an integral part, is proof of this desire.

Prof V.S. Vereshchetin, one of the foremost experts in the sphere of legal science dealing with astronautics and the use of outer space, emphasized the progressive and peaceful approach to this problem in his responses for our publication.

[Question] Cosmic law is one of the youngest disciplines of international law. What role have the socialist states played at its birth?

[Answer] A very positive role. Most multilateral agreements in the sphere of cosmic law have been elaborated within the United Nations at the initiative and with very active participation of the socialist countries. This is also true in the case of the key Agreement on the Principles of States' Activity in Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Heavenly Bodies, and in the case of subsequent agreements which develop and complement the basic document. The latest of these (Agreement of States' Activities on the Moon and Other Heavenly Bodies) was approved by the United Nations in 1979. In this connection, I would especially like to note that constructive proposals in this field have been presented not only by the Soviet Union but, in varying degrees, by virtually all the countries of the socialist community. Also noteworthy is the fact that a Polish representative, Prof E. Wyzner, chairs the legal subcommittee of the UN Committee for Peaceful Use of Space, where the spadework is performed on the preparation of new agreements in the sphere of international cosmic law. The contribution of scientists from the socialist countries to the handling of scientific problems in this new branch of international law is generally recognized.

[Question] The socialist states explore cosmic space within the INTERKOSMOS program. We often hear talk of its international legal status. What is your view on this subject?

[Answer] The socialist states which have joined to implement the jointly prepared INTERKOSMOS program, did not choose to establish a separate international organization for this purpose. Due to the fact that the Soviet Union had placed space rocket transport at the disposal of its INTERKOSMOS partners without cost, the participants had no need to set up a joint budget and international infrastructure which would have been necessary for the production of such transport (as is the case, for example, with the European Space Agency [ESA] joining a number of West European states).

The successful practical cooperation in the INTERKOSMOS program and the basic scientific and practical results achieved in the course of the program's implementation, convincingly demonstrate that the established organizational forms of cooperation and their basic legal mechanism have fully proved their worth, This does not mean, of course, that one should not consider further improvement of this legal mechanism. One of the practical questions which arise in this connection is especially the form and methods of INTERKOSMOS cooperation as a body with other international cosmic organizations, and its representation at sessions of the UN Committee for Peaceful Use of Space, and other UN organs which deal with space exploration. These problems, among others, will be discussed at a cosmic law seminar of legal experts from the socialist countries.

[Question] The second seminar of the socialist countries on questions of cosmic law will take place in Prague. What in your opinion is the significance of the deliberations by specialists from the socialist countries on problems in this sphere?

[Answer] Many scientific and production collectives in our countries are participating in the joint effort under the INTERKOSMOS program. They produce very complex and often costly samples of new technology most of which are unique. It is natural that relations which emerge in this connection among states and individual organizations, require legal regulation and adjustment. The seminars of legal experts from the socialist countries bring them together to discuss legal problems which appear in the course of international cooperation, and to recommend ways of resolving them.

Thus, in the course of the first session which was held in 1979 in Warsaw, the experts dealt with the rights and obligations of the permanent working groups of specialists which work in the principal areas of cooperation. This deliberation played an important role in the preparation and adoption of the statutes by which the working groups are guided in their work. The Prague seminar, in addition to matters I have already mentioned, will deal with the important practical issues of legal protection of the joint scientific and technological achievements of cooperation both in the INTERKOSMOS member countries and in third countries. The legal experts from the socialist countries, dealing with problems of international cosmic law, will also discuss many other legal problems of work in space, which are now being studied at the United Nations.

[Text below photograph on p 722: The Soviet cosmic program envisages permanent international cooperation of the countries of the socialist camp, primarily within the INTERKOSMOS program, and its plans include joint undertakings with other countries as well. The flight of the first French cosmonaut serves as an example of this. The illustration above shows the docked combination of Salyut 6 and Soyuz 3, below is the antenna of an Intersputnik ground station, and on the opposite page the liftoff of the joint Soviet-French flight]

[Question] At the 27th IAF [International Astronautical Federation] Congress in Rome, held last year, your lecture on legal issues of manned space flight attracted well-deserved attention. Why did you choose this particular problem and what other issues may arise in connection with manned space flight which, in your opinion, should be dealt with on a priority basis?

[Answer] This problem caught my attention for two reasons. First, we are witnessing an increasingly intensive development in manned space flight and its internationalization. Suffice it to say that in the Salyut 6 orbital station alone, six people lived and worked for a total period of almost 2 years. Nine international crews worked at this station, a member of the first of which was your courageous countryman Vladimir Remek. Secondly, among the agreements on problems of international law in space, there is not a single one dealing specifically with the legal position of a cosmonaut in the execution of his flight mission and the emergence of so-called nonsystematized situations. In examining this issue, I have come to the conclusion that the needs of practical cosmonautics require further systemization of legal standards governing the life and work of man in space. Even now, for example, we need to define the rights and duties of the commander and members of the cosmic crew (including international ones), introduce more

precision in the position of cosmonauts in case of unplanned landing on foreign territory, and adopt a number of legal measures intended to improve the safety of cosmic flight, etc.

[Question] You frequently take part in the preparation and discussion of problems of cosmic law at the international level. What issues are being currently discussed, and what stage has been reached in their resolution?

[Answer] Development of cosmic technology and its broad use for practical purposes constantly create new problems of cosmic law which require international regulation. The list alone of those being currently dealt with in law journals and at various international gatherings, would take too much space. I will, therefore, limit myself to those which are at present on the agenda of UN organs which specialize in treaties on cosmic law.

Among these are the elaboration of legal principles regulating the activity of states with respect to the use of satellites for long-distance exploration of the Earth from space. Starting from the position that freedom of space must not be misused for violations of sovereign rights on Earth, the socialist states and many other countries have proposed that a legal norm be elaborated which would preclude the misuse of information on natural resources of foreign states acquired by means of space technology, against the legitimate national interests of these states. These proposals, however, have for several years been encountering opposition from the United States and certain other Western countries which reject any limitation of free use of cosmic space information of foreign--I underline foreign--national resources.

A negative posture has also been taken by the United States on another issue which has been on the UN agenda for a long time, namely, the formulation of legal principles governing direct television transmission by means of satellites. The socialist countries and a great majority of UN member countries are in favor of restrictions which would ban telecasts specifically beamed to foreign states, unless the target states expressed their approval in one form or another. Appropriate UN organs are also dealing with legal aspects of employing nuclear energy resources in space, and one of the old, as yet unresolved issues of international cosmic law, namely, the delimitation of the dividing line between the atmosphere which is covered by state sovereignty, and outer space which is open to all states for exploration and use. This question has recently become timely again in connection with illegal claims of a number of states from the equatorial region of their sovereignty over sectors of the geostationary path which, as is known, is found about 36,000 kilometers above the Earth.

[Question] Which are the important issues currently confronting, in your view, international cosmic law?

[Answer] The principal issue which has confronted and still confronts international cosmic law is not to allow the inclusion of space in any arms race, not to allow the transformation of outer space into a zone of international conflict, but rather preserve it as a sphere of peace and peaceful

cooperation. Unfortunately, existing international agreements merely assume important, nonetheless only partial, measures for the limitation of military operations in outer space. The most effective so far are those prohibitions applicable to the Moon and other heavenly bodies which, in accordance with a 1967 treaty, are to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. As regards so-called "inner space," the above-mentioned treaty forbids the placement in Earth orbit of nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction. Even before the signing of the treaty, a ban was instituted on nuclear explosions in space (as in the atmosphere and under water). Certain other barriers to the use of space for military purposes were also instituted.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have often presented proposals for further limitation and eventually a full ban on military activity in space. An example of such a Soviet initiative is the proposal presented to 26th UN General Assembly in 1981, which demands a treaty banning the placement of any weapons whatsoever in space. One hundred twenty-three members of the United Nations voted for this proposal. From the dawn of the space era to the present, the countries of the socialist community have consistently advocated development of mutually beneficial cooperation in space, and a ban on its militarization.

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YOUTH CONGRESS RESOLUTION OUTLINES FUTURE TASKS

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 5 Oct 82 pp 3, 4

["Resolution of Third Congress of the Union of Socialist Youth [SSM] on the Tasks of the SSM and Its Pioneer Organizations [PO] After the 16th CPCZ Congress"]

[Text] The Third Congress of the SSM took place at a time of dedicated efforts by our people to fulfill the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress. We, members of the younger generation of our country, are also participating in this struggle, which is occurring under very demanding internal and external conditions.

The overall social atmosphere of recent years, the daily attention and assistance of the communist party and the socialist state, the full support of the National Front and the dedicated work of our members have made it possible for us successfully to fulfill the tasks adopted by the Second SSM Congress.

In accordance with the development requirements of the national economy, we have developed the labor activity of young men and women in the direction of increasing the effectiveness and quality of production, especially in key economic sectors. Simultaneously we have been devoting attention to intensifying the socialistic relationship of young people to work, to the responsible preparation of students and apprentices for their future occupations.

We have tried to see to it, particularly in our basic organizations, that the influence of the SSM on the thoughts and dealings of youth increase, so that they will move on from our ranks as aware, politically mature and professionally gifted citizens, comprehensively prepared to realize the tasks involved in the building of a mature socialist society. Our aim is to produce people committed to the defense of socialism, unabashed patriots and internationalists, friends of the Soviet Union and all countries of the socialist community, people determined to fight for peace and social progress. Thousands of the best of us have received the great honor of being candidates and members of the CPCZ.

Through our stimulation of the avocational activities of young people increasing numbers of young men and young women now systematically spend time in cultural, sporting, travel and other activities.

We have attempted to create the finest personnel and material conditions for the ongoing development of multifaceted, attractive, ideologically motivated work by Pioneer collectives. Our PO has grown, and more and more children are becoming involved in and satisfying their interests through its varied and rich activities.

We have also been devoting a great deal of attention to strengthening the ideological and organizational unity, as well as the capacity for action of our union. We have placed primary emphasis on the quality of the work of SSM basic organizations. Our participation in the administration and management of society has also increased. For instance, we have been involved in fulfilling the tasks of the National Front election program.

Many functionaries who today are working successfully in responsible positions in the national economy, social organizations and state agencies have come up through our ranks.

On the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism we have strengthened our cooperation with the All-Union Leninist Union of Communist Youth [Komsomol] and other fraternal youth organizations of the countries of the socialist community. Moreover, we have expanded our ties with progressive children's, student and youth organizations of capitalist and developing countries. We participate actively in the activities of the International Student Union [ISU] and the World Federation of Democratic Youth [WFDY]. We have achieved a further increase in the international prestige and authority of our union, which was evident in the successful conduct and results of the 11th Assembly of the member organizations of the WFDY in Prague.

The most recent 5-year periods have been among the most successful in the history of our united children's and youth organizations. The results we have achieved were recognized at the 16th CPCZ Congress. Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ general secretary and president of the republic, stated in his report on the congress that "The SSM is the acknowledged representative of the young generation, a close fellow warrior with the party."

We accepted this high evaluation with pleasure and pride. We will not, however, allow ourselves to fall prey to any kind of self-confidence. We are aware that along with the positive results of our efforts, our work also contains many areas of weakness, our activities are fraught with problems and shortcomings, and in more than one instance we are faced with superficiality and manifestations of formalism.

By the same token, we are well aware that the successful development of our country, the further advance of socialism, the fulfillment of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress demand great efforts from the people. At the same time, we are fulfilling these tasks under ever more difficult external and internal conditions, and the demands of all of us on life increase every day. All of this places great demands on the work of society, as well as on the SSM. For this reason it is essential to develop further the mission of the SSM and its Pioneer Organization, to increase the sophistication of their activities, and overcome more rapidly existing weaknesses and shortcomings.

We have adopted the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress as a guarantee of firm daily certainties for the present and for the happy future of the young generation. We are in full agreement with it and consider it as our own program. The fulfillment of this program demands the following from SSM organizations and organs:

I

The recruiting and motivation of young people for daily, conscientious participation in the fulfillment of the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan at workplaces, and the cultivation in them of a sense of responsibility for work performance. They must be convinced that an increased living standard for our people is conditioned on shifting our economy to an intensive development path, the wider utilization of research and development [R & D] findings, the more efficient management of all resources, higher quality work at every job, responsible preparation for an occupation, and concern for one's continuing political and professional growth. It depends on the recognition of and participation in the satisfaction of the legitimate needs and interests of the younger generation as a whole as well as of its specific age and social groups.

1. The participation of young people must be intensified in the assertion of scientific and technical progress as a basic precondition for the economic development of our society. The SSM and other organizations must contribute more effectively to the formation of a positive attitude toward science and technology by youth, and stimulate their interest in acquiring greater knowledge and improving their qualifications. They must exert more pressure for a prompter and broader application of R & D results, especially in the most promising sectors and professions, those which are less demanding of raw material and energy resources and require a highly qualified labor force.

They must strive to assure the broader participation of young people, and in particular of workers, technicians, apprentices and students in all aspects of the ZENIT movement, and in high school vocational and student scientific and professional activities. They must try to involve more young men and women in the improver and rationalizer movements and motivate them to participate actively, particularly at enterprises and in the R & D base, in the creation, fulfillment and monitoring of planned development programs, in the generation and implementation of inventions and improvements suggestions for assuring the tasks of scientific and technical development and production. They must set up additional teams of young technologists and natural scientists, especially at critical industrial and agricultural factories, and upgrade the quality of their work. The assistance of union organizations in developing the technical and natural science activities of Pioneer collectives must be substantially increased.

New comprehensive efficiency brigades [KRB] must be formed and their efforts, along with those of other collectives, focused above all on reducing the consumption of energy, metals and other raw materials, on increasing labor productivity and broadening export possibilities. Attention must be paid to taking advantage of underutilized capacity at specific workplaces and in enlisting the broader participation of young people, and particularly workers, in this

process. At the preproduction stage, young people should be encouraged to take more initiative in assuring high product quality, state-of-the-art performance characteristics and operational reliability, and on reducing the labor, material and energy intensiveness of their production and operation.

A comprehensive program of scientific-technical activities for children and youth must be developed in conjunction with state organs, National Front organs and their associated organizations, particularly the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement], the SDR [Union of Cooperative Farmers], and the CSVTS [Czechoslovak Scientific and Technological Society].

2. The SSM and other organizations must develop the activity of young people in all sectors of industry, but especially in mining, energy generation, metallurgy, machine building, electronics, chemistry, transportation and services so as to fulfill the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. They must participate in the implementation of the principles of the "Set of Measures to Improve the Planned Management System of the National Economy After 1980" under the conditions of individual workplaces, and in counterplanning. In the "Youth Efficiency and Quality Account for the Seventh 5-Year Plan" they must focus on a more accurate valuation of raw materials, energy and materials, a reduction in their consumption, on the adherence to a strengthening of conservation limits in all sectors. They must contribute more to the more efficient utilization of capital assets, to improved work force and worktime management, to a substantial increase in quality, to an improvement in supplier-consumer relationships. They must develop more actively varied forms of participation for young people in international socialist economic integration through international competition, and undertake partron responsibilities over export orders.

3. The SSM must increase its participation in the fulfillment of the tasks of the food and agriculture complex. By further developing the "Not a Grain Wasted" movement, it should contribute to a more rapid increase in plant production, particularly of grains, bulk fodder, sugar beets, potatoes, technical crops, fruits and vegetables, and to an improvement of their quality and utilization. The SSM must increase the participation of young people in fulfilling the tasks of livestock production, especially in increasing the useability of livestock and in more rational fodder management.

It must concentrate on the preservation and recultivation of the soil stock, on efficient soil utilization and on increasing crop yields.

Systematic attention must be devoted to the proper application of materials to protect plants and stimulate their growth, and to the use of fertilizers.

In the foodstuff and related processing industry, the SSM must participate in the economical utilization of all livestock and plant production and on the regular fulfillment of delivery requirements for consumer goods inventories.

4. Tasks must be completely fulfilled for the Third Nationwide Youth Construction Project, "The Southern Way." The SSM must further contribute to the building of the capital of the CSSR, Prague, the capital of the SSR, Bratislava,

and of the North Bohemian Kraj. It must successfully carry out its patron responsibilities for the construction of the nuclear energy generation facilities and water works on the Danube. It must continue the tradition of local, district and kraj youth construction projects, concentrating primarily on the building of facilities for children and for young people. It must intensify its role in the effective, high-quality and timely fulfillment of construction industry tasks, and on structural changes in this sector. It must aid in the introduction of two-shift operation, extended shifts during the summer, and other ways of increasing performance.

5. The SSM must be involved more actively in socially useful work, and further increase its participation in the fulfillment of National Front election programs. Through wider development of the Brontosaurus movement in the CSR and the Tree of Life movement in the SSR, it must foster more active participation by youth in the enhancement and protection of the environment.

6. The SSM must provide ongoing and effective assistance to youth group labor collectives and socialist work brigades [BSP], as well as forming new ones, especially at critical workplaces. It must increase their role in the fulfillment of production tasks and in the formation of the socialist consciousness of young people. In conjunction with economic and branch organs, it must create the conditions for them to assert their initiative. Participation must be improved in the development of socialist competition and, jointly with the ROH and other partners, the complexity of socialist competition must be enhanced and the entire program oriented to the critical problems of the workplace. The SSM must play a greater role in the undertaking and fulfillment of joint commitments. It must train the inspectors and staff of the Reflector of the Young to monitor the rigorous management of all types of fuels, energy and metals, the maximum valuation of raw materials and materials, especially those which have been imported. It must direct them to apply the results of research and development in practice, to utilize worktime well, to discover and then to eliminate underutilized capacity, to work to assure the harvesting without losses of agricultural products and their efficient processing.

7. The SSM must more effectively contribute to the preparation of the younger generation of workers for the fulfillment of their tasks, for an increase in their class consciousness, sense of collective responsibility and discipline. It must participate more significantly, in conjunction with trade union organs, in improving their working and living conditions.

Its influence on agricultural youth must be expanded more rapidly, and it must share in the strengthening of their socialist consciousness. Their sense of joint responsibility for the fulfillment of the tasks of agriclutural mass production must be further increased. In conjunction with organs of the ROH and of the SDR, the SSM must aid in the improvement of the working and living conditions of young men and women, especially those who are working in livestock production.

It must contribute to a deepening of the union between the young intelligentsia and working class and agricultural youth. It must stimulate their work and public activity, their creative and innovative approach to their tasks. Greater attention must be devoted to the first days and the learning period at first jobs as well as at subsequent new workplaces. The SSM must play a role in assuring that job descriptions correspond to the qualifications and abilities of each younger worker.

8. The SSM must deepen its role in the preparation of apprentices for their future occupations, in forming and developing their attitude toward work and toward their own creative activities. It must acquaint them to a greater extent with the work and life of the collectives, factories, and enterprises where they will eventually work. In conjunction with the ROH, it must expand and raise the quality of the reserve movement of the BSP. Professional activity at the high school level must be implemented more widely at state specialist training institutes. Greater attention must be paid to a smoother transition by students to the workplace. Additional patrons for working youth must be recruited and trained. Every effort must be made to assure that young graduates are integrated into good collectives where they can work with experienced workers and masters. Their interest in SSM work at the new workplace should be fostered.

9. The SSM must participate actively in raising the quality of preparation of gymnasium and state specialist training center students for their future occupations. In close cooperation with teachers, various forms of curriculum initiatives and rational preparation methods must be applied to the educational process. A favorable atmosphere must be created within class collectives, model students must be rewarded and mediocrity in studies and violations of school rules must be actively discouraged. An interest in the mastery of new scientific and technological findings must be stimulated and fostered by developing professional activities at the high school level. Participation should be increased at secondary professional schools in workmanship competitions. At the gymnasium level, assistance must be given to increase interest in the technical aspects of university curricula.

10. The role of the SSM in raising the quality of the university educational and acculturational process must be more thoroughly defined. This role must be concentrated on increasing accountability for the results achieved through studies. Greater consistency must be achieved in student scientific and professional activities, and these must be oriented more toward practical requirements. Efforts must be made to include more university students in KRB, to increase cooperation with councils of young professionals, to contribute more substantially to the preparation of university graduates for their future professions.

11. The participation of high school and university students in summer activities must be made more effective so that these activities become an ever more valid contribution to the national economy and to the professional and political preparation of the students.

Work must be completed on guidelines for and unified system of summer work activity for students in the national economy, and the SSM must play a role in creating the conditions for the extension of this program to young men and women between 14-18 years old.

12. The SSM must more conscientiously participate in the organization of the material and technical conditions of training at apprenticeship facilities, high schools and colleges. The participation of SSM organizations in an increase in the quality of social amenities for young men and women preparing for a future occupation and for the practical application of their training must be increased.

13. A comprehensive program must be developed for SSM organizations, beginning in the first and second high school and apprenticeship facility years, which corresponds to the specific characteristics of the 14-16 year age category.

II

There must be a more conscientious contribution, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, to the formation of the thought processes and sensibilities of young people in such a way that in their dealings they will display the characteristics of a good caretaker and conscious creator of a new society, prepared and committed to active participation in the building and defense of socialism. The SSM must participate jointly in the creation of the conditions for the comprehensive and harmonious development of young men and women.

1. It must devote attention to the mastery of the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, the comprehension of the policy of the communist party and the active support of this policy through conscientious participation in the building of a mature socialist society. Attention must be focused on intensifying a class understanding of social processes both at home and around the world. The antipeople character of anticommunist and anti-Soviet propaganda must be unmasked; we must take the initiative in defending and spreading the truth about the advantages and achievements of socialism, and consistently take a stand against all manifestations of bourgeois mentality. The revolutionary tradition of the working class, the CPCZ, and the progressive children's, youth and student movements must be systematically recognized and creatively developed.

2. The patriotic and international convictions of young people must be further intensified. The SSM must contribute to a strengthening in the brotherhood of Czechs and Slovaks and all nationalities living in our state. It must guard the friendship of and develop cooperation with the younger generation of the Soviet Union and its Komsomol, and with the young men and women of other countries of the socialist community. It must strengthen solidarity with the progressive youth of all continents, and contribute to the struggle for world peace and social progress.

Friendly ties must be systematically developed and strengthened. The working exchange of experiences in specific areas of activity with fraternal youth organizations must be expanded. In the orientation of these exchanges, greater use should be made of important milestones in the history of our peoples, the people of the USSR and of other countries of the socailist community and of the international progressive children's, youth and student movements. At the same time, close cooperation must be maintained mainly with the SCSP [Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League] and the CSSPB.

3. The effectiveness of the overall impact of the children's and youth press must be improved. Care must be taken that they still more convincingly represent our contemporary reality, that they materially and intelligently win over young people to the policy of the communist party. They must assist the younger generation in orienting itself in this class-divided world, concern itself with the pressing questions of their life, take the initiative in assisting them in the search for world views, and deal in more depth with scientific and technical development and the participation of young people in it. It must propagate the results of the work of the SSM and its Pioneer Organization, give coverage to exemplary employees and assist in resolving the pressing problems of the children's and youth movement by means of constructive criticism.

4. Young People must be motivated to perform more productive, higher quality and effective work, to intensify the educational role of the collective in the formation of a socialist attitude toward work and a socialist way of life. The specificity of content, targeting and overall sophistication of economic propaganda and motivational materials must be raised and a substantial improvement and modernization achieved in the forms and techniques of its development.

Personal motivational activities must be developed to a much greater extent, and greater use made of examples of dedicated, honorable young people, their exemplary work or study achievements and overall attitude.

5. The effectiveness of the SSM political education must be intensified. A differentiated approach must be consistently applied to the incorporation of young people into specific divisions according to their knowledge and experiences, and the sophistication of their work raised through conscious effort. Necessary changes in the content of political education and its organizational structure must be implemented so that this education can still more effectively contribute to the ideologically political preparation of organization members and other young people, so that it can take account of the specific conditions of individual social and age groupings of youth, and react consistently to actual problems of domestic and international political developments. At the same time, it must establish a working relationship with high school and university educational programs. The content and techniques for training propagandists must be refined.

6. The role of the SSM must be intensified in the strengthening of the moral and character traits of young people. It must take an uncompromising position against all manifestations of selfishness, the disruption of discipline,

hooliganism, vandalism and other antisocial activities. The active participation of the organs of the SSM and its PO, of basic organizations and Pioneer groups must increase in the prevention of criminal activity. Particular attention must be devoted to issues of legal education and propaganda.

A greater contribution must be made to the moral upbringing of young men and women, in conjunction with the influences of the family, school and workplace. The SSM must contribute more systematically to the creation of favorable conditions for young families at the workplaces and at places of residence. It must adopt a more active approach to the education of young men and women for married life and parenting, especially for the 14-18 year age group.

7. The free time of young men and women must be utilized to a greater extent for the development of their personalities. It must contribute to the formation of their socialist way of life. In conjunction with state organs, social and hobby organizations, the widest possible opportunities must be created for the satisfaction of the interests of young people, for the development of their involvement and creativity in all areas; culture, sports, science and technology, education generally. The exclusively socialist character, the ideological and educational value of all avocational activities must be deepened. On going attention must be devoted to training a corps of functionaries for this area.

8. Culturally educational activities must be further developed, in close cooperation with national committees and the organs and organizations associated in the National Front. The conditions must be created for the founding of new collectives for avocational artistic activity and to assit beginners in learning techniques. In addition to social enjoyment, activities must be developed of an educational character, providing an education in art through art and assisting in improving the general cultural content of behavior in interpersonal relationships. The organizing of viewings, competitions and festivals for avocational artists must continue, and club activities must be improved by increasing their ideological and esthetic sophistication. Avocational activities in the natural science and technical areas must be developed on a much wider scale.

Efforts must be made to assure the more active participation of younger artists in the culturally educational activities of the SSM. They must be assisted in working with the Ministry of Culture and artistic unions to foster their professional growth, ideological training and the application of their skills.

Artistic creation for children and youth must be conscientiously supported. Care must be taken that the union publishing houses, Mlada Fronta and Smena, publish books of high ideological and artistic value which depict faithfully the multifaceted life of the young people of a socialist society, volumes on subjects of science and popular science, as well as titles of beginning and other younger authors.

The existing SSM facilities must be utilitzed more effectively for culturally educational activity. Ways must be sought for utilizing more extensively the facilities of national committees, ROH, JZD [Unified Agricultural Cooperatives] and other organizations for cultural experiences, especially in residential areas.

9. Physical education, sporting and tourist activities must be developed as an ongoing component of the programs of every basic organization. Cooperation must be deepened with national committees, the CSTV [Czechoslovak Physical Education Union] and Svazarm [The Union for Cooperation with the Army] in defining and implementing joint programs for the mass development of physical education and sport. Efforts and resources must be merged to further increase the impact on young people, to satisfy their interests and to strengthen physical competence and develop the positive aspects of their personalities. Existing possibilities must be more consistently utilized for improving the training and employment of the organizers of these activities, provide for their greater stabilization, especially at the level of the basic organizations. More substantial participation must be achieved in fulfilling the conditions for the Certificate of Physical Competence, with the objective of having a majority of the young men and women of 14-18 years of age eventually be holders of this certificate.

Touring must be enriched by forms of active recreation, and expanded to include the offerings of the SSM CKM [Youth Travel Office] and the activities of additional union facilities. Efforts must be increased in the building of simple playing areas, health centers and other playing fields, and in seeing to the effective utilization of those which already exist.

The influence of union groups and organizations in all sporting facilities and collectives must be increased so that young sportsmen may express their tie to the socialist society through conscientiousness in their training, exemplary conduct on the playing fields and, moreover, by honorably representing our homeland.

More systematic attention must be devoted to military training for young people and to training in the defense of their socialist homeland. In this way, the SSM participates in the fulfillment of the tasks of the Unified System of Defense Training for the Population. The SSM must contribute conscientiously to the formation of a defense consciousness on the part of young people, in cooperation with units of the CSLA [Czechoslovak People's Army], SNB [National Security Corps], the Border Patrol, MV [Ministry of the Interior] soldiers, and with social organizations, primarily Svazarm, the CSCK [Czechoslovak Red Cross] and the SPO [Fire Prevention Union]. The work of union groups at defender training centers must be improved, and the SSM must contribute to an increase in the quality of military preparation of university students. It must work to create, in close cooperation with state institutions, Svazarm, and other social organizations, favorable conditions for the mass development of avocational activities in the areas of military technology and military-related sports.

Patronage responsibilities must be carried out consistently toward selected military colleges. Much greater attention must be devoted in union collectives to youths who step from their midst to fulfill the tasks of basic military service.

10. Assistance must be given to the commanders, officers and political organs in the armed forces and security units in the education of young members concerning their position of responsibility in relation to the tasks of military

and political training and the performance of their duties. In the work of the SSM basic organizations, activity must be developed which will contribute to the fulfillment of the critical tasks of units and divisions and assist in the education of politically and professionally advanced members, the strengthening of their class sensibility, vigilance and watchfulness. Young members of the armed forces must be better and more effectively prepared for work in civilian life. In particular, care must be taken to see that their experiences from military, sporting and cultural activities which they gained during basic military service receive wider application in organizations at factories, schools, residential areas and in Pioneer groups.

11. The balance between the sensibilities, thoughts, and dealings of young people in the interest of socialism and world peace, as manifested during their daily implementation of communist party policy must be considered to be the critical indicator of the effectiveness of all ideologically educational influences. Full use must be made of an honorable right--to be the sponsor of a young person for entry into the ranks of the CPCZ. The best members must be prepared more conscientiously for entry and actively assisted in the fulfillment of their candidate tasks. This is especially true for young workers and farmers.

III

Comprehensive, attractive, ideologically motivated activities must be further developed in all Pioneer collectives. More effective contributions are to be made in this way to an expansion of the influence of the SSM PO on the younger generation, so that children will develop harmoniously and comprehensively, so that they may be healthy and educated, and so that they prepare themselves conscientiously to build and defend their homeland and the interests of socialism.

1. The attention of the entire SSM PO must be turned to the priority task of every Spark and of every Pioneer; to study well, to master the basic knowledge and skills necessary for life and work in a mature socialist society. Children must be motivated to perform socially productive activities, and acquainted with the results and the social significance of their work.

2. Children must be acquainted with the history of the CPCZ, the traditions of the working class both here and throughout the world, above all through concrete examples from the locations where they live. The importance of socialist patriotism must be explained to them, as well as that of proletarian and socialist internationalism. The friendship between Czech and Slovak Pioneers must be strengthened, along with cooperation with fraternal children's organizations. Children must be motivated to participate actively in projects expressing solidarity with children of countries and peoples which are struggling for their liberation and independence.

3. Pioneer activities must be organized so as to satisfy as well as possible the interests of children, to aid them in enriching the knowledge and skills they acquire in school, at home and in social organizations, so as to awaken within them new creative abilities and contribute to their harmonious development and training for a future occupation. The SSM PO Educational System

for Sparks and Pioneers, which was developed on the basis of actual experiences, must be applied consistently and to its full extent, and additional enlightened techniques and forms of work with children must be developed.

4. The relationship of children to the SSM PO and to the SSM itself must be deepened, and the preparation of future SSM members considered to be a priority educational objective.

5. The administrative and organizational work of the organs of the SSM PO must be impoved. The capacity for action of the entire organization must be increased, and the discipline of individuals and of collectives strengthened. Work with the Pioneer leadership must be improved, and its participation in the running of Pioneer units, divisions and groups emphasized. Particular attention must be devoted to increasing the quality of the management by division and group leaders. The SSM PO councils at all levels must provide them with systematic methodological assistance.

6. Conditions must be assured for the successful work of Pioneer collectives. Constant attention must be devoted to the selection and education of division leaders and instructors, especially those from the very ranks of the SSM PO. Informal patron attention of basic SSM organizations for Sparks and Pioneers must be more widely developed, with an emphasis on help in resolving issues of personnel and materials. In cooperation with schools and national committees, efforts must be made to provide more favorable conditions in terms of materials and space for Pioneer activities.

7. Cooperation must be further intensified with schools, the family, social and avocational organizations belonging to the National Front, national committees and other factors in the educational system. Emphasis must be placed primarily on implementing this cooperation broadly at the basic organization level with the objective of making a larger contribution to an improvement of the personnel and material conditions for the functioning of Pioneer collectives. The impact of groups of friends of the SSM PO must expand further.

IV

The role of the SSM must be increased in deepening socialist democracy, strengthening the sense of joint responsibility of the younger generation for the further development of a socialist homeland.

1. At the basic organization level, there must be an assertion of the unity of rights and responsibilities of young people and an atmosphere created which will motivate their creative activity and initiative. Consistent efforts must be made at constructive criticism, at a broad exchange of views on social problems and the means for resolving them. These basic organizations should present their proposed solutions and position papers to party, state and economic organs and request that no important issue be evaluated without the participation of youth. A contribution must be made to the preparation of young people for the administration of public affairs by allowing them a greater degree of participation in the management of their basic organizations.

2. There must be a substantial increase in the participation of basic organizations in production management and production planning in all sectors of the national economy. Production conferences organized by the ROH and the economic leadership must be utilized to a greater extent to resolve the problems of young people, to foster their acquaintance with the tasks of the workplace and an orientation toward their fulfillment.

Participation of union organizations must be increased in the administration of the daily life at apprenticeship facilities, secondary schools and colleges, youth homes, and university dormitories.

3. Young delegates must receive systematic help in the performance of their demanding function. The work of the corps of young delegates must be increased in quality. The number of SSM members on national committee commissions and on citizen committees must be increased. Experienced SSM functionaries must be more thoroughly prepared to perform functions in the entire political system.

Many more initiative proposals and position papers should be submitted on issues being debated by national committees, and there should be more active participation in the formation and implementation of their economic, social and cultural policies.

There should be active participation in the formation of National Front policies, and initiative proposals and position papers should be submitted to its organs.

4. Cooperation with the organs and organizations associated in the National Front must be improved in the area of the education of the younger generation. Joint educational programs run in conjunction with the ROH, SDR, the CSCZ [Czechoslovak Women's Union], the SCSP, the CSVTS, organizations of our cooperative sector, the CSTV, Svazarm, the CSSPB, the CSCK, the SPO and other social avocational organizations must be intensified especially at the level of okres and basic organizations and cooperation increased in the utilization of public resources.

5. Basic organizations in national committees and other institutions must be oriented toward active participation in the elimination of bureaucratic approaches, excessive paperwork, insensitive and haughty attitudes toward people and other difficulties. They must contribute to the education of young national committee employees in such a way that they carry out their work with a high sense of responsibility, fully qualified and familiar with the matters at hand.

V

Work techniques of the SSM organs and organizations must be improved, organizational and ideological unity strengthened, and the many activities of the basic organs developed in a planned manner. The influence of the union on nonorganized youth must be expanded, and they must be recruited for political and public activity.

1. Systematic attention must continue to be devoted to deepening the influence of the SSM on other young people, expanding the membership base, especially from the ranks of young workers, farmers and apprentices. The SSM organizational structure must be improved, both in agriculture and in state specialist training institutes and colleges. More effective preconditions must be created for the development of activities in residential areas.

2. In basic organizations, concentrated attention must be devoted to the satisfaction of the legitimate needs of young men and women, while an active contribution must be required from them in the activity of the entire collective. The individual work of committees with young people must be significantly deepened. Care must be taken that specific objectives correspond more to the interests, abilities and possibilities of specific members, that they be an instrument of their direct participation in the life of the basic organization. The fulfillment of these objectives must be monitored and evaluated regularly. Member meetings must be utilized to a greater extent to unify the interests of the collective with those of the individual, with the needs of localities, schools and workplaces.

Concern for the basic organization must be considered the most crucial area of activity for organs at all levels. They must change their style of work thoroughly in the interest of direct ties with functionaries and members. The approach of the basic organizations in the area of their authority must be unified to a greater extent in enterprise, all-factory, all-school, all-training center and faculty committees. Leeway must be created for the development of individual activity. Efforts must be made to establish further SSM groups and to increase their role in the work of basic organizations.

In the work of district committees, the stress must be on generalizing and expanding the positive experiences of basic organizations. A differentiated approach must be intensified toward lagging as well as newly established organizations. Existing information must be used more effectively for more efficient political-organizational and administrative work. The quality of instructor committee work must be improved, and assistance for beginning functionaries must be entrusted to seasoned functionaries more than in the past.

The creative approach of kraj committees to work with the resolutions of higher organs must be further intensified. There must be a greater application of a differentiated approach to the management of district committees. Their capacity for action must be increased as it applies to their impact on basic organizations.

In central organs, there must be a planned evaluation of the critical objectives for activity development. Efforts must be made to assert a better thought out division of labor, the wider dissemination of experiences from the activities of leading organizations and collectives, the overcoming of a campaign mentality, the intensification of conceptualizing and inspecting activity. Evenhanded methodological assistance must be provided to kraj and district SSM committees.

3. The comprehensive system must be deepened and the effectiveness increased of the training of the voluntary functionary corps, and the ranks of the latter stabilized. Concentrated attention must be devoted primarily to the youngest members who work at secondary and apprenticeship facilities. Arbitrariness in the choice, education and assignment of cadres must be eliminated from personnel work. More work must be done with those who bring with them experiences from the Pioneer leadership corps. There must be a purposeful creation of personnel reserves, especially for basic organization committees. Greater attention must be paid to the inclusion of young women in positions of authority.

Care must be taken to assure that the activities of the councils and commissions assit elected organs to a greater extent in implementing a differentiated approach to individual age and social groupings of young people.

4. There must be a further increase in the quality of the material-technical and financial assurance of activities, a more thorough implementation of planning discipline, economic discipline, and adherence to the principles of great efficiency in the activities of all organs and organizations. Actual incomes must increase further, and the material-technical base must develop in a more balanced manner. All existing resources and facilities must be used more efficiently, and capital investment must be undertaken with maximum effectiveness. Systematic attention must be devoted to the monitoring and inspecting activities of SSM and the SSM PO.

VI

International activities are to assist consistently in the fulfilling of the foreign policy strategy of the 16th CPCZ Congress, and in asserting its principles within the international progressive movements of children, youth and of students. There must be a more active contribution to the struggle for world peace and progress.

1. The center of gravity for these international activities must be the comprehensive expansion and deepening of fraternal cooperation with the Komsomol and other organizations of children, youth and students in the countries of the socialist community. All proven forms of mutual cooperation must be further intensified. Emphasis must be placed on the expansion of ties primarily at the basic organizational level.

2. Ties must be intensified and cooperation developed with all communist, revolutionary and democratic organizations in developing and capitalist countries. A contribution must be made to the strengthening of the unified front of progressive world youth for peace and disarmament, against imperialism, for social progress and the rights of youth. There must be an expansion of solidarity and cooperation with the progressive youth of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their struggle for freedom and independence.

3. Youth must be further mobilized for the struggle to strengthen peace in the world, to support all steps directed at reducing international tensions.

A contribution must be made to the implementation of the resolution of the 11th Assembly of the member organizations of the WFDY on the development of an antiwar campaign, "Worldwide Youth Project Against the Nuclear Threat and For Peace and Disarmament." A role must be played in the organization of significant mass antiwar demonstrations. In cooperation with the broad antiwar front of young people and students and other peaceful forces, there must be an active contribution to the struggle for world peace and progress, against the threat of war and for disarmament and social justice on the entire planet. A role should be played in the implementation of mass demonstrations within the framework of the "March of Peace" on the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism.

The creation of the SSM Solidarity Fund from the proceeds of publicly useful work of the SSM collectives and individuals must continue to be considered a concrete manifestation of the international sensibilities of our young men and women.

4. There must continue to be an initiative-taking role in the comprehensive activities of the WFDY and the ISU, in the implementation of the programs of both organizations and the strengthening of their authority. The best possible conditions must be created for the work of the ISU in Prague. A contribution must be made to the realization of the ideas for a world festival of youth and students, and that efforts be made to assure that the contribution to its honorable development turn out to be the Twelfth World Festival of Youth and Students.

These are the main objectives and tasks of the SSM and its PO for the foreseeable future. We have outlined them with an awareness of our joint responsibility for the further development of socialism in our country. They follow fully on the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress, the successful fulfillment of which is in the most direct interest of the younger generation, in the interest of a clam and happy life for our country.

Let us do everything to assure that in the upcoming period we fulfill our mission honorably of being the recognized representative of the younger generation and a close fellow warrior of the communist party.

9276
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RESTRUCTURE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION VIEWED BY MINISTER

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 9, 1982 pp 109-118

[Article by Milan Vondruska: "Substantive Restructuring of Secondary Education"]

[Text] For 6 years, in accordance with the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, in the whole area of school education we have been realizing the important program document "Further Development of the Czechoslovak Training and Educational System" approved by the decision of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee on 4 June 1976. The past 6 years have been filled with intensive work of all educators and administrators; it was closely followed by parents and received vital support of the national committees and social organizations of the National Front, especially the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Organization], the SSM [Union of Socialist Youth], the SCSP [Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League], the CSTV [Czechoslovak Union of Physical Training], and the like. It involves a comprehensive restructuring of the socialist school in close relationship to practice. Its goal is a school which would provide a reliable base for the socialist and communist life and become an important factor in the buildup of the developed socialist society which, in the sense of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, is based on and concerned with superior preparation of cadres.

The project of "Further Development of the Czechoslovak Educational System" represents a long-term demanding program. Its realization will bring about a strengthened democratic character and modernization of the educational and training system and thus systematic elevation of the educational level of the young generation in particular. The document has the form of a comprehensive political program and is closely linked to the goals and tasks of the CPCZ.

We must constantly keep in mind this starting point. Particularly so when we deal with any sector of the educational system in which the priority—according to the new concept established by the "Project"—is the integration of the various levels and types of schools, their unity of content, organization and administration. In the present epoch of scientific and technological revolution, our entire educational system must make full use of the advances of science and technology. From the viewpoint of the preparation of the young generation and its proper employment in the labor force, it is necessary that the training and educational system in certain sense be even ahead of science

and technology. School graduates must be prepared to work with the latest technology, to utilize the most recent scientific knowledge, including its application. Furthermore, the young people must be able to develop steadfastly progressive socialist ideas in all fields of human endeavor and knowledge, not only for the next decade but with the perspective of the third millenium, when the students of today will be at the peak of their productive life.

Concurrently with the realization of the new concept of training and educational process in the primary schools and with rationalization, quality of curricula and optimum length of college studies, we therefore began qualitative restructuring of the secondary training and educational system. It consists of three channels of secondary school education: secondary vocational training centers, secondary vocational schools and gymnasia. These three channels have a general educational and polytechnical basis; their differentiation is in the nature and the mission of the individual types of secondary schools, i.e., from the viewpoint of the placement of their graduates in production and public life. At present, the general importance of secondary schools rose greatly also for the reason that starting with 1984, the entire youth population will be completing the obligatory 10-year school attendance in the first 2 years of secondary schools.

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Secondary vocational training centers occupy the key position among secondary schools. About two-thirds of young people acquire their education there and a steadily rising number of students and apprentices will receive complete secondary education at secondary vocational training centers (SOU). Therefore from the platform of the 16th CPCZ Congress the Report on the Activity of the Party and the Development of Society, presented by the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Comrade Husak, specified: "We must continue to devote great care to the rise of quality of the secondary schools. We shall give special attention to the work of secondary vocational training centers that are training young laborers. The ministries, the economic production units [VHJ], the cooperatives and the national committees must regard this education as one of the foremost tasks." (16th CPCZ Congress, Prague, SVOBODA 1981 p 46)

The basic method of our further progress toward developed socialist society is intensification, rationalization and higher quality of work. This calls for a new way of thinking, development of creative forces, changes in ourselves and thus literally a drastic change in the way of life of the whole society. The current and prospective demands on the work and standing of the laborer in the production process require rapid, effective and comprehensive modifications of the content, concept and methods of training of the young generation of the working class. Young workers must be taught to learn to apply, in close cooperation with the socialist intelligentsia, scientific and technical knowledge in practice and help advance technological and social progress.

The goal of the training and educational process in the preparation of the young generation of the labor force is therefore not merely a reproduction of a qualified force but education of a man--a producer of a new type. A man who strives to fulfill public tasks and who not only benefits from all the advantages of socialist society but who is faithful to the ideas of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Preparation of the youth for laborer occupations has been concentrated in the new system on a single type of training and educational institution, the SOU. The establishment of the network of SOU was the basic and key step for new quality in the training and education of apprentices. At present, the CSR has 599 SOU in which 264,000 student-apprentices are preparing themselves for their future occupations. In the next stage, effort will be concentrated on the quality of work of the SOU and on the procurement of necessary materiel and cadre conditions. Among other things, it will deal with the achievement of stabilization of the internal structure of SOU. This means that the training and study fields will be established and small groups of student-apprentices will be brought together in one SOU. In this connection, the Ministry of Education requires from the central organs in whose jurisdiction the youth is being trained for laborer occupations that they make the firmest possible decisions concerning the structure of the training and study fields in the SOU. At the same time a legal regulation is being prepared, which will make it possible to properly assign small groups of student-apprentices to the pertinent SOU.

The significant change in the apprentice schooling is the new content of training concretized by the introduction of a system of training and study disciplines of a new concept. This new system was introduced in five stages in the years 1977 to 1981. It now comprises 38 2-year vocational training disciplines, 102 3-year vocational training disciplines, 25 4-year vocational training disciplines completed by a graduation examination, and 34 continued education training disciplines in the secondary schools for the workers. The vocational training and study disciplines of the new system have not only updated the vocational training component but at the same time reinforced the general educational and polytechnical content of the training. Conditions are thus established for the SOU to represent the obligatory 10-year school attendance and at the same time meet the requirement for broad general training of the student-apprentices, including their ability to adjust properly to the constant development of science and technology.

The key premise for the achievement of the new goals in the training of the young generation of workers is proper qualification of instructors in the SOU. For the time being many such centers are employing general education teachers certified for teaching in the primary schools only and some instructors of special subjects without the required college qualifications. The Ministry of Education opened complementary studies at the universities in order to gradually improve the qualification structure of teachers at SOU. As far as the qualifications of the masters in the vocational training centers are concerned, use is made of the possibilities of distant (or external) study at the secondary schools for workers. The regional national committees in close cooperation with VHJ should provide for adequate scope of this form of study on the basis of actual needs.

The question of administration of the SOU is also an important task both in the sphere of action of economic departments and VHJ and of the Ministry of Education and education departments of the regional national committees. In particular, we must gradually remove the dual administration and better define the responsibility of the education and economic departments.

The quality of work in SOU also depends on the adequate supply of all needed textbooks and training texts. This represents one of the most demanding tasks being solved at present by the Ministry of Education. Methodological guidelines concerning training aids and teaching procedures for SOU were also issued in order that this new type of secondary school gradually become equivalent to the other channels of secondary education, i.e., the gymnasia and the secondary technical schools which are sustained by long tradition and great experience.

The main component of the training and education of student-apprentices is without doubt the school which, of course, will not be the only factor forming the whole profile of the young person. After being educated at an SOU boys and girls enter directly the production process, the "reality" of life. From the viewpoint of further development of their personality, this is often decisive. The selection of instructors, cadre workers, who are involved in the development of a young beginner-worker, must therefore be approached with utmost care. Graduates of SOU should be assigned to the best work collectives: among workers assuring their further positive development.

When we evaluate the current stage of the realization of the substantive and organizational restructuring of the preparation of the youth for workers' occupations, we may state that essential favorable changes were attained in the education of the youth. The main tasks for the secondary vocational training school after the 16th CPCZ Congress are now mainly directed at systematic improvement of the quality of communist education of the young generation of workers. It means to prepare them so that they acquit themselves in the complex political and economic conditions and by their study achievements and concrete acts contribute to the fulfillment of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress. Among other things this will involve consistent observance of the curricula, superior methodological preparation and the best possible utilization of time in the entire training of student-apprentices.

A new legal regulation concerning primary and secondary schools is being prepared for 1 January 1984; it naturally also includes SOU, where the substantial part of the young generation will be completing the obligatory 10-year school attendance. Timely issuance of all legal and organizational regulations and norms which will replace the existing regulations of the present transitional period, and the solution of the stated tasks is a matter of honor and endeavor of all concerned with education, whether they be in the central organs, regional national committees or general management of VHJ. Particularly important will be the devoted and creative work of all superintendents of SOU, the superior training and educational work of instructors, masters of vocational training and educators.

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The second of the three channels of secondary education that at present is undergoing the greatest changes in its study content, and thus in the profile of the graduates, is the gymnasium. While developing the new concept of gymnasium education we are proceeding from the critical analysis of the current state. Higher emphasis on the theoretical side of instruction was the reason

the gymnasium did not meet adequately the principle of close relationship between school and life. In particular, it did not correspond to the new demands on applicants for university education in the epoch of scientific and technological revolution and did not give an opportunity for suitable employment to those graduates who did not enter the university.

Through a system of subjects taught and the content, forms and methods of instruction the new uniform curriculum of the gymnasium primarily emphasizes the polytechnical nature of all instruction. Subjects of vocational training have been introduced as a new obligatory component of the studies. Substantive restructuring of the gymnasium, therefore, consists mainly in the transition from often disproportionately demanding theory to functional knowledge which can be applied directly in life. The abilities of each student are thus generally developed and the socialist personality of the young person is harmoniously formed not only from the viewpoint of education but in the pedagogical sense of the word. The much more emphasized learning of basic skills in laboratory procedures and exercises also contributes to it to a greater degree. Polytechnization of gymnasium education per se today would not be sufficient, however. The goal of the gymnasium is to prepare the graduate both for college and for direct employment. This dual function of the gymnasium requires that the educational process be enriched by a new component, i.e., vocational training, represented specifically by the mentioned obligatory elective groups of vocational subjects. It does not mean, however, some kind of "duplication" of the secondary vocational schools or the SOU, or an effort to "compete" with these two types of secondary schools, as the introduction of vocational training in the gymnasium is sometimes erroneously understood and interpreted. The new quality of gymnasium education seeks above all more effective preparation of the graduates for further studies at the universities and concurrently their social equalization with the graduates of other secondary schools. When the student at the gymnasium successfully passes the graduation examination in vocational subjects, he acquires qualification for selected areas of work in the national economy.

This also follows from the arrangement of the vocational component of instruction which specializes in the third and fourth years on the basics of mechanical and electrical engineering, construction, industrial chemistry, agricultural production, economics and production organization, programming and computer systems, or mining and metal engineering, geology of deposits or cultural educational activity.

The substantive restructuring of gymnasium education places high demands on the department of education and needs the assistance and cooperation of other departments, including scientific research institutes. Consistent implementation of the education policy line of the CPCZ obligates practically the whole society to active and initiative assistance. It involves materiel aid such as, for example, equipping of the schools with vocational shops, laboratories and aids, or cadre assistance, mainly the assistance of engineers teaching vocational subjects. With their rich work experience and personal relation to the enterprises, plants and cooperatives they provide a vivid link between the school and the workplace or scientific establishment. These specialist-instructors, with their enthusiasm for the pertinent field and their deep knowledge of it often attract the students and later motivate them in the choice of study fields at the university.

Lack of understanding of the basic principle of vocational training--the idea that such training is merely a matter of schools--is one of the main current problems. The gymnasia would welcome additional institutions and VHJ entering into close cooperation with the Ministry of Education as did, for example, the CSR Ministry of Construction; negotiations are under way assigning tasks related to vocational training of the gymnasium students to the enterprises under its jurisdiction in the individual regions of the CSR.

Introduction of elective groups of vocational subjects into the gymnasia, specific selection of vocational specialization at any one school, requires thorough preparation not only by the school administration but by the regional school organs as well. Each school must first have proper materiel conditions, cadre composition of the teaching faculty, established cooperation with the local plants, cooperatives, institutions and other secondary schools. The outcome of a responsible, deliberate approach to the gradual creation of conditions for vocational education is that the task of the introduction of vocational training is proceeding in all regions of the CSR on the whole successfully, although not without problems and some shortcomings.

In the school year 1981/1982, the new plan of education with vocational training subjects was introduced at 166 gymnasia (in West Bohemian and South Bohemian regions all gymnasia already have elective groups of vocational subjects). In the current school year another 22 schools have been added (i.e., almost 90 percent of all gymnasia). Complete introduction of vocational subjects in the gymnasia is expected by 1 September 1984. The quantitative viewpoint for realization and evaluation of the substative restructuring of the gymnasium understandably is alone not enough. The interests of students must also be channeled to the priority fields of university studies so that they be employed where they are most needed by the socialist society. In practical terms this means that the students should be guided at the gymnasium toward the technical vocational subjects such as, for example, the basics of mechanical and electrical engineering. For the time being, however, the main interest is still centered on the basics of economics and organization of production (less than 14 percent of the students elected mechanical engineering). This ratio must be gradually and prudently modified.

The expanding range of the fields of study at the gymnasium in the subjects of vocational training also requires constant broadening of the scale of professions for which the graduates are being prepared as qualified workers. The Ministry of Education is solving these problems with the pertinent organs and departments to insure that the employment of the graduates of gymnasia in the individual areas of the national economy correspond to the acquired vocational qualifications. This is also important for those graduates who do not complete university study and who are seeking employment with the graduation certificate from the gymnasium.

In connection with the new concept of training and educational work of the primary school, starting with the school year 1979/1980 we also began to test the new substantive concept of training and education at the gymnasium. We are testing not only the new content but also new work forms and methods, in particular consistently with those students who already had experimental

instruction in primary school. The experimental testing of the new lesson plans, lesson outlines, texts and methodological aids is concerned with establishing how the training and educational goals of the gymnasium are met. It is not a mere formality; but the teachers of the experimental schools and the teachers of other gymnasia, the regional pedagogical institutes, scientific institutions including the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and not lastly, the public are asked to comment on the legal regulation. The proposed new modified lesson plans (so far for the first and second years of the gymnasium) were recently published in the professional journals as background information for the preparation of pedagogues.

It may be stated preliminarily that the lesson plans for some subjects were redimensioned in substance and did not allow the instructor to use new stimulating instructional methods in his work with the students. It is also clear that the concept itself will have to be modified for the individual subjects in order to better correspond to the training and vocational goals. For instance, curricula were modified for chemistry and mathematics, and corrections were made in other subjects as well. Thorough analysis of the results of experimental testing of the new concept of training and education on the gymnasium continues. Starting with 1 September 1984, when the new concept of training and educational work will be introduced generally in all first grades, all gymnasia will have to have the needed basic pedagogical documents, that is, the plans of instruction and lesson outlines, including the textbooks. All instructors must also be prepared thoroughly for the teaching of the new vocational content.

In the school year 1981/1982 the gymnasia graduated the first students who had studied according to the new experimentally tested concept of training and education. The graduation examination of these students also reflected some changes, not only in its content but in its concept and form--a logical outcome of the 4-year cycle of experimentally tested study. The subjects of the graduation examination emphasize comprehensiveness of the content of graduation questions; the student must demonstrate not only his theoretical knowledge but above all his ability to apply it independently to practical examples and thus show his ability to utilize it. Successful meeting of the stated goals--as mentioned before--is not the responsibility of the school departments alone but of the entire socialist society. Under the direction of the CPCZ party organizations the communists in cooperation with nonparty members play here an important role, just as do the national committees in the regions, districts and towns, and public organizations, especially the ROH and the SSM. Full support of the Parent-Teacher Association of the VHJ is necessary as well. The gymnasia must fulfill successfully their responsible mission--to prepare well the young generation for college and also for direct and successful entry in the labor force.

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As the program of further development of the Czechoslovak educational system is being realized, gradual changes are also being made in the third channel of secondary schooling--the secondary vocational school. The social mission of these schools rests in the preparation of qualified medium-level personnel

for technical and economic work in the most varied branches of the national economy. Secondary vocational schools in our country have had a significant successful tradition in good preparation of medium-level vocational cadres. The vast economic and social tasks that were set for the individual branches of the national economy by the 16th CPCZ Congress touch directly and significantly the entire area of secondary vocational schools. Among the essential problems of the educational concept as a whole is the optimum accord between the rising level of general polytechnical education and the rising level of vocational training.

Both national ministries of education together with all the departments prepared prospective profiles of the graduates of the secondary vocational schools in accordance with the new concept of instruction and education: the young person should not only acquire a certain sum of knowledge and skills of the polytechnical, economic and other nature but necessary moral qualities as well, which he will definitely need as the future active builder of the developed socialist society.

The drafted new concept of the content of training in the secondary vocational schools takes into account all natural changes in the training and educational system. It also utilizes the results obtained in experimental testing of the new concept of instruction in the selected study disciplines of the secondary vocational schools representing the most varied fields of the national economy. The main goal of the experiment is to test how the newly structured content of learning is contributing to the formation of a broad profile of the graduates in selected fields of study.

A new comprehensive concept of the graduation examination is also being tested at the secondary vocational schools. The student should demonstrate his ability to handle independently a given project applying the knowledge from the general educational and training subjects. The graduation examination thus resembles the conditions of work. The basis of the graduation examination should be the discussion of the project of the year, when the student informs the graduation committee of the purpose and method of the suggested solution; for example, he gives reasons for the selection of the material used, presents economic considerations and ecological viewpoints, and the like. This means that the graduate should demonstrate not only his training and knowledge but above all how he is prepared to solve the tasks of general practice.

The results obtained in the past 4 years of experimental testing have shown that the new concept of the preparation of secondary school students at the vocational schools is achieving the postulated goals of modernized instruction. The newly prepared system of profiles of the graduates has shown that the number of some closely related fields needs to be reduced, while some fields with a broad profile need to be established. This will enable the graduates to adjust to the constantly changing requirements of practice in a relatively short period of time. The new system contains 97 fields of study without any further internal specialization. It fully respects the conditions and needs of the current and prospective development of the national economy by closely relating the study fields to practice.

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We live in a period of unprecedented development of science and technology affecting every area of human endeavor, all sectors of the national economy. The new concept of instruction is, therefore, also influenced by the introduction of an informational system, which should insure that the results of scientific and technological research reach the instructors and the students as quickly as possible. The socialist school must teach the young generation--the future economists and specialists--to utilize fully the system of scientific, technical and economic information, and to use modern means of microelectronics and computer technology. These are the tools which can and should contribute to the higher quality of instruction and thus to the attainment of higher effectiveness and modernization of production. Socialist education regards this task as its main responsibility. New modern teaching aids are being developed for this purpose; in their design and form they will fully correspond to the requirements of polytechnization and the new concept of training and educational process. The main thing is that in every channel of secondary schooling the instructor train the young secondary generation in best manner possible.

Hence, teachers, masters of vocational training, secondary school teachers and their responsible work in socialist education and training are of primary importance. The forthcoming period is the time of gradual culmination of the realization of the document "Further Development of the Czechoslovak Training and Educational System." One of the main goals of this document is the organizational linking of the training and educational content of secondary schooling with the newly established concept of the primary school. At the same time, the content of secondary school study must prepare young people for both employment and college. The substantive restructuring carried out in the area of secondary schooling, therefore, does not represent a one-time action. It is a continually developing process, which reacts wisely to the changes in the individual fields of the national economy and makes full use of science and application of research results in educational work. Its goal is truly superior preparation of the young generation for life and work, also with respect to the fulfillment of international obligations in the framework of the countries of the socialist community.

In accord with the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the "Main Guidelines for Economic and Social Development of the CSSR" the educators as a body are currently prepared to meet the tasks of the innovation of the content, forms and methods of educational work in such a way that training and education be steadily improved and the level of secondary school graduates be raised. Both national ministries proceed and work in complete unity here. This important public effort depends, of course, on the full participation of the widest circle of educators. Only so, by the concentrated effort of us all, from the young generation that studies today at different types of secondary schools, and schools in general, will there grow qualified workers, aware citizens, individuals who will continue with love the work--jointly started the buildup of the socialist country and the strengthening of peace.

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[Article by Zdenek Horeni, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee, deputy editor in chief of RUDE PRAVO, chairman of the Czechoslovak Journalists' Association [CSSN]: "Journalists after the 16th CPCZ Congress"]

[Text] In the spirit of the slogan "All creative forces of Czechoslovak journalists for the fulfillment of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress" workers of the press, radio and television reviewed this year at the congresses of their united ideological-educational, creative and voluntary professional social organization--the Association of Journalists--how they had promoted the socialist development of our society over the past 5 years and how they will help translate into reality the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress in the future. In essence, this was a review of our current journalism, its social mission and the way Czechoslovak journalists understand and implement their coresponsibility for social processes in our country.

The press, radio and television represent numerically a very large sector of our ideological front. Czechoslovak television has 1,400 creative workers, radio 1,200, our dailies 1,500, the local press about 700, the weeklies and central publications 1,350. Almost two-thirds of our journalists have more than 10 years of professional experience and 55 percent of them (members of the CSSN) are college educated. More than 45 percent of our journalists are under 40 years of age, 21 percent are in the 40-50 year age group, 23 percent in the 50-60 year age group, and 11 percent are over 60 years old. We may say that today the breakdown of our journalists by age is balanced and its development auspicious.

Comrade Gustav Husak emphasized at the 16th CPCZ Congress that the CPCZ regards mass communications media as an important tool of its ideological work and considers the employees of the press, radio and television its support and allied aktiv, according to Comrade Vasil Bilak at the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee in March 1980.

After the years of crisis in our party and society, the composition of editorial boards in our press, radio and television passed through very fundamental changes in the 1970's. Editorial boards consolidated their cadres--since 1969 more than 3,000 newcomers, mostly young individuals reinvigorated our journalism.

After April 1969, the right wing prophets of doom tried to predict that after their departure from our journalism the new CPCZ leadership would not be able to find anyone to replace them and that our journalism would be without the young generation. They were wrong. The unprecedented flood of masses of young journalists in editorial boards of our press, radio and television answered the false prophets in the most compelling and convincing way.

We can confirm with assurance and with no flattery intended that talented young people appeared at the side of older, experienced journalists. On the whole, the standard of our news media was objectively upgraded and indubitably increased its influence on public opinion. This tendency is in agreement with the overall positive development in all of our party and our society. At the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee it was said: "On the whole, we may say that our media stand on candid class socialist positions, on ideological positions of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and that they express the interests and the will of our people."

In the early spring of this year, the congress of the Slovak Association of Journalists, the congress of the Czech Association of Journalists, and in June the Eighth Congress of the CSSN discussed these questions, the accomplishments of our work as well as our new tasks of which also Comrade Husak spoke at the reception for journalists in the Castle. The basic yardskick according to which the members of the CSSN measure the results of their work and according to which our entire society judges their accomplishments is the way our press, radio and television help translate into reality the objectives of the program and the tasks of our party and society stipulated in the documents of the 16th CPCZ Congress. In particular, two interrelated sectors of our journalism—economic propoganda and ideological education--are in the forefront of our attention.

Our party and our entire society continue developing the general line for the building of a developed socialist society and adapting it for the future years. The crucial task for the new 5-year period in the development of our society is to consolidate and modernize our country's material technical base and accordingly, to maintain and improve the quality of the material and cultural standard of living for our people. Furthermore, the 16th Congress put before the whole economy the nonnegotiable demand that it progress to an intensive type of development that is distinguished by high efficiency. The employees of our press, radio and television are called to help as efficiently as possible in implementing the concrete line of our party in economic policies, as Comrade Jan Fojtik stressed before the Eighth CSSN Congress: "It depends on our media how well we can develop and improve their work in harmony with the more challenging demands of our times and how successful shall we be in mobilizing our party and our whole society of the fulfillment of the tasks before us. It will depend on our media most of all how to activate the subjective factor, by which we mean not only activities at work and the initiative of the collectives in plants and enterprises but also the activity of the whole managing axis of pertinent agencies and individuals of responsibility."

Success in implementation of economic plans and economic policies of our party in general and in improving the efficiency and quality of all labor will determine the living standard of our population and the general climate in our society. Employees of our press, radio and television are not indifferent to this task; on the contrary, they are realistic and aware of their share or responsibility of our social development.

For that reason economic propaganda and indoctrination quite legitimately appear constantly in the forefront of the attention of the employees of our press, radio and television. As readers of newspapers and magazines, we encounter every day many articles devoted to the most timely and relevant problems of our economy; radio and television use their media to comment by work and picture on this topic. The purpose of this effort is clearly determined: not only to explain the problems and tasks of our economy as informatively as possible, but mainly and above all, to point out the ways to their solution, to convince as many people as possible and win them over for the fulfillment of our national economic plan, for higher initiative and for overcoming difficulties and shortcomings. Many columns in the newspapers and many forms specific for this or that medium confirm that our journalists in the sector of economic propaganda and indoctrination are valiantly trying to find the most effective expression for the stimulating, organizing efforts of our news media.

RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA contributed their efforts in organizing more extensive application of Soviet methods, such as, for instance, the Lvov and Saratov movements for improving the quality of labor, for better stewardship in many enterprises, and for accelerated construction of power engineering projects. Another example of organizing efforts and effects was, among others, the "milk league" of the POCHODEN [daily] in East Bohemia and then also PRAVDA in West Bohemia, in cooperation with district newspapers, which contributed greatly to the successful procurement of milk in those krajs. Specific criticism, positive examples and systematic follow up of this campaign help remedy the shortcomings and increase milk production. The press in other krajs adopted this method of action. Still another example is the television power communication system which not only acquainted our public in a new, interesting fashion with the problems in our power system and with main directions for the necessary conservation, but furthermore vividly described cooperation among its individual sectors. In their specific ways, other mass media tried to promote organized action.

Every "campaign" or "movement" which follows the mainline of economic problems in our society has its meaning and its purpose. Our press, radio and television are now expected to focus particular attention and to be up front, helping enforce the principles of the Set of Measures and apply them in our industry, construction industry, according to the discussions at the third and fourth plenums of the CPCZ Central Committee, as well as in the broad structure of our local economy, according to the agenda of the Sixth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee in April. Naturally, this constitutes a whole broad scale of additional daily "key" tasks: the struggle for a systematic development of our national economy, for accelerated scientific and technical progress, for the transition of our economy to intensive development, for more rational utilization of our production potential, for versatile but always efficient conservation of our material, power and labor resources, and for better quality of work.

Positive examples set by innovators, top workers and technicians and examples set by whole teams are very important as a true and tested method of far-reaching exchanges of practical experience acquired in the process of production. As V. I. Lenin demanded, it fulfills the task to turn the press into an "important tool for economic education of the masses of our population," "to put uppermost the problems of labor in their direct practical formulation," "to turn insipid reports into vivid examples--cautioning as well as worthy of following."

The method of "warning" examples, i.e., criticism freed from subjectivism, should help point out untapped assets, overcome symptoms of bureaucratism, indolence, routine and inertia of parameters of production that have become obsolete. Many party documents challenge our journalists to strive toward this end and such appeals remain timely and valid in direct proportion to the increasing challenges.

Our objective is always to encourage such factors in production and in the working process that can change the way of thinking and shift the level of social awareness so as to anchor the principles of socialist ethics and dynamic involvement in life profoundly and permanently in the deeds of the people.

Nevertheless, despite all the accomplishments mentioned above, we must admit that a good part of our economic propaganda is still languishing on the sidelines of events and developments; it is wasted because it passes by the minds of our people without provoking them to change their thinking. Many articles and programs still portray machinery and technology as the hero instead of recognizing the hero in man as the central figure of every process of production. Their professional standard is frequently low; they are not very original and convincing. Economic journalism contains much random, sketchy information and occasionally even openly promotes individual enterprises or ministries. Some materials are not comprehensible enough, stifled by statistics and esoteric terminology. One of the reasons stems from the fact that economic departments of our media still lack engineers and economists who are experts in their field as well as good journalists.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that the activism and initiative of the press, radio and television in economic propaganda and indoctrination are improving. Every editorial board considers it its creative duty and privilege to contribute its own ideas to this effort. A certain characteristic may be detected in this colorful mixture of initiatives: the more specific and objective the articles and reports, the more responsible the teams and managers of production, the more informed and competent they are, the more effective and penetrating the economic propaganda. What counts most is greater zeal and efficiency.

The standard of economic propaganda naturally depends on the contribution given to it not only by the ideological front but also by the economic sector. It is encouraging that our press, radio and television have in their aktiv of authors many experts, economists and managers and that prominent representatives of our party and state appear on the pages of our newspapers as well as before the microphones or cameras. Nonetheless, the 15th CPCZ

Congress demands that instead of "redundant news about meetings for all kinds of consultations and activities" appropriate managers inform our public regularly in the press, on the radio and television about problems their sectors are dealing with; this demand remains to this day an urgent and pressing challenge. In the same way, it continues to apply that our public must be promptly informed about the response to criticism in the media and that every institution and agency has the duty to "react" to it and "above all, to demand redress of the shortcomings under criticism."

However, many new signals from the media still indicate that criticism presented in the press or on the radio and television has been disregarded and critical comments overlooked, not to mention the reluctance, resistance and displeasure in the approach to eliminating the shortcomings.

The fact cannot be ignored that recently it has frequently happened that managers, mainly those in the economic sector, have refused to observe the part of the press law that obligates state authorities and organizations and scientific, cultural and economic istitutions to provide the employees of our media the data necessary for accurate, prompt and comprehensive information of our public, or to enable them to get access to such information. In some cases orders were issued that no information be given to journalists without the knowledge of this or that manager.

For the sake of objectivity, however, it must be mentioned that most employees of our state and economic agencies do understand the purpose of the press, radio and television and provide them with general information which should be conveyed to the broader public. After all, our journalists do not wish to assert their authority by means of press laws but rather by their conduct, political and professional expertise, reliability--and we may add--also by careful judgment and verification of the fact of which they intend to inform their readers or audiences.

If only some of the employees of our press, radio and television are dealing with economic propaganda and indoctrination, then in effect all of propaganda and all of journalism face the questions of ideological education, education of the socialist man, the questions of our ideological struggle with its internal political and international aspects.

Our ideological struggle which displays all symptoms of a class struggle on the international scale knows no frontiers. Modern means of communication are pulling our whole society into the sphere of that struggle in one way or another. The 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee reminded us that the ideological struggle is intensifying and that we cannot ignore the fact that hostile radio broadcast may be heard practically all over the CSSR and that the West German and Austrian television programs may be viewed in much of our state. "This situation will not change; on the contrary, it will become even more complicated because of technological progress," the session of the CPCZ Central Committee 2 years ago stressed in its challenging, prudent conclusion, instructing all employees of our radio and television and, naturally, other media as well that "the influence of the enemy propaganda may be counteracted only by the quality of our programs and by the convincing power of our reality."

The development in the world offers us sufficient proof that our ideological adversary, the centers of world anticommunism and imperialist secret service never stop organizing slanderous campaigns against socialist countries, which often evolve into psychological war. We must therefore include in the offensive efforts of all our mass information and propaganda media the fullest measure of the defense of realistic socialism as well as the defense of peace and social progress.

No socialist journalist may remain a neutral onlooker in this struggle. This is one of the basic criteria for the work, position in life and belief of our journalists. In essence, there is not one ideological function which our media do not serve in some way. Therefore, our journalist is first of all an ideologist in the true sense of that word.

As in economic propaganda, we may speak with justification and appreciation of the participation of our jounalists in the ideological struggle of the CPCZ and in the educational process in our entire society. Employees of our press, radio and television exert direct influence over millions of people; they transmit daily information about domestic and international developments, and have a positive effect on people's decisions and behavior.

In a report by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee entitled "For Further Upgrading of the Standard and Efficiency of Political Education and Ideological Program, Its Firm Link with Practical Tasks in the Building of a Developed Socialist Society, for a Creative Development and Comprehensive Application of the Ideas of Marxism-Leninism:" the CPCZ Central Committee reviewed in March 1980 on a broad scale the ideological work of our party and in this context, also the contribution of our journalists. This report included premises fully confirmed and further specified by the 16th CPCZ Congress, providing long range objectives and methodical directions for our propaganda. Furthermore, the employees of our press, radio and television have derived meaningful inspiration from the decision of the CPSU "Comments on Further Improvement of Ideological Work and Political Education" of 26 April 1979, and from the all-union consultation of Soviet ideological activists held in Moscow in October 1979. Their conclusions fully apply to the work of ideological activists in the CSSR.

We journalists are pleased that our participation in the ideological programs of our party is so much appreciated. Many editorial teams play a very active and creative part in it. However, we would not be completely sincere if we were to claim that enough has been done and that we may blissfully rest on our laurels. On the one hand, as confirmed by the congresses of journalists, there are many untapped assets in the work of our media, and on the other hand, the challenges are increasing. Educational and cultural standards of our readers, listeners and viewers have risen and--as mentioned above--the ideological struggle has escalated on an international scale.

The problem of efficient performance of our press, radio and television is undoubtedly one of the most complex and urgent issues in the work of our journalists. Many shallow topics, empty words and insipid materials are still appearing in our newspapers and journals and on radio and television programs.

Moreover, some articles and programs are created "out of this world", and wordy, trite "lecturing" without a spark of life or a new idea, impersonal, nonspecific, trivial topics cannot stir up, touch or inspire anyone. Such journalism reminds one of thrashing water and such presentations in the press or on the radio and television cannot plant any fertile litte "seeds" in our people's minds.

Our journalists still owe very much to our party's fundamental challenge which calls for a "specific image" of our newspapers and publications and of our radio and television programs. Our young generation is frequently addressed in the same terms or phrases as the older, more mature and more experienced generations. Concepts, historical parallels and allusions familiar to those people who remember the war and liberation or February [1948] are not always so clear and comprehensible to those who were born during those events or later.

We must choose a different approach when addressing, for instance, trade union members without party affiliation, housewives, etc. Intensification and differentiation of our approach to our readers, listeners and viewers and emphasis on specific "images" and on specific groups of basic issues will always be among the preconditions for more effective press, radio and television.

Under the current circumstances in the world, the "information explosion" or informative competence of the news media is of utmost importance. Are we always able to pat the employees of our newspapers, radio and television on their shoulders for prompt reports about this or that event?

There is no doubt that as concerns promptness, efficiency, thorough knowledge of facts and the ability to present arguments, political reporting, whose main sources are the CTK and the network of information specialists from other media, has improved on the whole. Some editorial boards have begun taking their own creative approaches with an emphasis on the use of more impressive journalistic styles, such as, for example, the morning radio program "Minutes from Foreign Countries" or the television program "24 Hours in the World." Those and other forms of reporting were created in response to the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee which had highly stressed the importance of political information.

Subsequently the secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee discussed the situation and the tasks of political reporting and modern journalism and specified several measures for improving this sector of our journalism in order to achieve more objectivity in our political reporting, to strengthen its informative aspect, and to upgrade its quality in terms of creative and politically effective interpretation of individual developments and events.

Despite all the indisputable accomplishments of our media, the fact remains that our media are occasionally late in presenting reports on various developments, sometimes even on domestic events. Prompt reaction of our media is often further complicated by the fact that some institutions fail to

show sufficient interest and initiative, to recognize their responsibility for prompt publication of the information (and here it is always necessary to assess whether the event in question is of local or statewide significance). The Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee pointed out that the CTK, in cooperation with interested institutions, plays a meaningful role by promptly reacting to this or that event; furthermore, it stressed the responsibility of the managers of those institutions.

Prompt information about significant events as well as prompt commentaries and adopted standpoints mean more than a matter of prestige and journalist's honor. They are of utmost political importance. Precisely this fact was on the mind of the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee when it stressed that in the effort to increase the magnetism of our press, radio and television and to develop an opulent scale of forms and styles in our journalism, it attributes "the most meaningful place" to political reporting.

Political reporting is the historical cradle of journalism. In the course of time, it turned into a powerful instrument which affects public opinion. In today's world, when without exaggeration public opinion has become a formidable political force, the significance of political reporting has multiplied. The phenomenon of "the scoop," the ability of this or that political force in the ideological struggle to bring information ahead of the competitor is not without importance. At the recent Fifth Congress of the Association of USSR Journalists (in March 1982), Academician Victor Afanasiev, the chairman of the Association of USSR Journalists and editor in chief of PRAVDA, touched upon these issues, saying, that our enemies are not sitting with their hands folded in their laps; their actions against real socialism are increasingly more devious, crafty and intensive. The combat of ideas, the struggle for the peoples' minds reached an acute stage. Our ideological arms must, therefore, always be well honed. As Victor Afanasiev said--"we must counteract" ideological subversion "to our best abilities, which must be superior to those of our opponent's, we must proceed more soberly, prudently, convincingly and skillfully," "we must not only defend and justify but become more aggressive, more tenacious, more inventive and efficient." That applies in the fullest measure to our news media.

It is an ever-present task of ideological education in the press, radio and television to assist our party and society in shaping the socialist man, the socialist way of life, the socialist attitude in life. Our journalists are well aware of the words spoken by Gustav Husak in this context from the rostrum of the 16th CPCZ Congress: "The better they serve the needs and the interests of our citizens for authentic information, informed commentary, invaluable cultural experience and good entertainment, the greater their contribution to the growth of socialist awareness and shaping of the socialist awareness and shaping of the socialist way of life." His words apply universally to all employees of our news media.

Our party demands from the press, radio and television that they struggle just as vigorously against whatever holds the citizens of our socialist society back: against all alien influences and vestiges of the past. First of all, this is a struggle against the petty bourgeoisie, against efforts to

benefit from our society as much as possible and in return, to contribute as little as possible, and against indolence and corruption. No doubt, in our press as well as on radio and television programs we may find ample examples of critical or satirical lashing against such antisocial occurrences. On the other hand, it must be admitted in truth that our journalists are often pussyfooting around the problem of tackling the vestiges of the petty bourgeoisie head on, not to mention, for example, such demoralizing practices as bribery.

In his recent interview with RUDE PRAVO (2 April 1982) Comrade Vasil Bilak dealt frankly with these issues faced by our whole ideological front and in fact, by our entire society. He reminded us that education of the socialist man is the most difficult task in the struggle with the petty bourgeoisie which has acquired hundreds of guises and forms in our society, so much more so because it is systematically promoted by enemy propaganda.

Comrade Bilak stressed the fact that even in socialism we are not safe against the danger that the petty bourgeoisie may be revived to some extent if "we fail to become involved in a systematic struggle for the socialist way of life and against some of its deformations." He called to our attention that this must be a total struggle, a frontal attack, and that our ideological program, including our news media, must "continuously upgrade its methods of struggle against the petty bourgeoisie, reveal its wretchedness and perniciousness, and thus, help bring up the all-around, developed socialist man."

It was stated at the 16th Congress that our ideological work cannot tolerate any stereotypes but must display "a lively, creative character and win over man's mind and heart." This applies in particular and without any reservations to employees of our news media from whom our party demands greater social impact as well as higher effect on political organization and education. During the reception of members of the presidium of the CSSN central committee elected at the Eighth CSSN Congress, Comrade Gustav Husak stated: "Our news media must be able to explain current tasks and their social ramifications in greater depth, to strive for efficient, challenging, ethical explanation of problems and at the same time, also for a lively, versatile and captivating style without cliches, phrases and stereotypes. Efficiency in the work of our news media stems from their prompt reaction to all timely issues and from the truth and magnetism of our Marxist-Leninist world view."

There is no doubt that our journalists--who are part of the CPCZ political aktiv--will respond honestly and responsibly as they are already responding in deed to the challenges of the 16th Congress by their vigorous daily struggle for the minds and hearts of our fellow citizens in the most efficient way possible.

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DISSIDENT EVALUATES CZECHOSLOVAK ECONOMY

Paris SVEDECTVI in Czech No 67, 1982 pp 468-474

[Anonymous article: "Brief Guide to the Current Problems of the CSSR Economy"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak political and economic chieftains have not had and still do not have an easy task, even though they had thought that following their victory over the 1968 reforms, the worst was over and that henceforth their path would be bright. They had restored their political and ideological power and propped it up with Soviet troops and a revival of their own coercive apparat. They confirmed the rejection of revisionism by the most widespread screening campaign in the history of their party and the most massive purge in the history of the country since the time of February 1948 when they acquired unlimited power. In the so-called "Lessons from the Crisis Period," they presented a false assessment of the recent past and celebrated the return to Leninist-Stalinist normality at the 14th CPCZ Congress. According to official proclamations of that period, consolidation had begun. Henceforth, they asserted, the regime would march from victory to victory.

Ten years later, the economic backbone of the regime was ruptured. Instead of consolidation there was destabilization, instead of growth there was stagnation. Since the middle of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, i.e., roughly since the summer of 1978, the growth arrow began pointing down. In 1980, the surprised leadership learned from its statistical informers that the 5-year plan would be 25-33 percent short in planned increments and that the whole economic outlook was bleak. There simply is a lack of adequate resources or "input" as they are called, which could cause the economy to move more rapidly. There is a shortage of available funds, people, raw materials, fuels, modern machinery and good managers. The above-mentioned input cannot be produced in sufficient quantity and quality at home, nor can it be imported from abroad. The 5-year plan for 1981-85 cannot be elaborated in a balanced form, in fact, it is difficult to put it together at all. Recently prepared economic branch balances show that the jigsaw puzzle of the Czechoslovak national economy cannot be put together with all pieces fitting and no holes left. Available resources cannot ensure an increment in national revenue and probably will not even be able to preserve the level achieved in 1980. The year 1981 confirmed this pessimistic assessment. Only

through statistical sleight of hand is it possible to show a certain growth, a mere two-tenths of 1 percent in the "creation" of national revenue. Translated into per capita figures, a drop of 1-2 percent was noted. It was considered the better part of valor not to inform the public of this fact. For the second time in the history of Czechoslovak communism (the first time was in 1962-63), the economy performed worse in one year than the year before.

The concrete causes of the Czechoslovak economic depression stem from three cardinal mistakes made by the party leadership in the 1970s. First, the "normalizers" liquidated the market-oriented reform and removed from the economic process thousands of talented economic managers. Second, they focused the fifth and sixth 5-Year Plans on extensive development backed by further capital investment expansion, at the cost of modernization and intensification. Third, as a consequence of their ideological bias, they misunderstood the significance of the sharp rise in prices of raw materials, especially oil, in the mid-1970s and reacted to it insufficiently and too late. Much has already been written and need not be repeated here on how the liquidation of the germ of a market economy harmed economic development in the 1970s. The rulers in Prague began restoring directive elements in the system at a time when its driving potential had already turned into an anachronism. The world was embarking on a different road of postindustrial development in which volume growth of fixed assets plass an incomparably smaller role than technology and, linked with it, inventiveness and quality. At such a time, the allegedly scientifically thinking party Presidium in Prague decided that the Czechoslovak economy would continue to rise and swell in height and breadth, no matter what the quality of the dough.

Faulty Capital Investment Policy

Capital investment is naturally the yeast for almost any economic organism, however, it depends on what is invested in and how the investment process is brought to fruition. In the early 1970s--and still generally true today--it was profitable to invest in what is briefly known as modernization programs, either those which represent newly created technological progress, or those which improve the quality, speed up, or reduce the cost of existing production, provided of course there is guaranteed regular demand for it. It is no longer a question of having more iron, more artificial fertilizers, or more average shaping machinery. Only the developing areas still have room for the typical industrialization programs in which quantity plays an important role. Even those economists, however, wish to build new factories and equipment on today's and, if possible, tomorrow's technological level. It is a valid fact everywhere that the capital investment process must be rapid and effective. In other words, the return on investment must be guaranteed both in terms of time and utility of the newly created assets.

The CPCZ Presidium decided to base the fifth and to a considerable degree the sixth 5-Year Plan on volume growth, as if Czechoslovakia were a developing country. At the same time, it was not even able to ensure the planned increase in the quality of the production forces. Stated figuratively, a newly built factory should with the same input produce not only as much as

the old one but much more in terms of quality and technically advanced utility worth of products and economic effectiveness of the production process. The volume of resources invested in Czechoslovakia in newly-initiated capital investment programs in the 1970s, however, consistently exceeded the total worth of finished installations and the production flowing from them. It became so bad that in 1980 the value of fixed assets in the Czechoslovak national economy rose 8 percent but industrial production only 3 percent.

Following a politically motivated breathing spell, the relationship between capital investment and national revenue began deteriorating beginning in 1971. It is this percentage ratio by means of which economists pass judgment on the national economy, even though they leave aside quality and the purpose of capital investment programs. In the countries with recognized modern economies, a group in which historically Czechoslovakia belongs, capital investment takes up less than 20 percent of created national revenue. In Czechoslovakia this percentage rose from 31.6 in 1971 to 35.4 in 1975. These are figures which would perhaps fit a highly underdeveloped country in Africa which is starting from virtually nothing, or countries of the Arab world which can afford the enormous arithmetical surge by virtue of their income from oil sales.

The extent of capital investment, however, represents but one aspect of economic policy. The speed of project completion in capital investment is another. In 1971, about 21,000 construction projects in Czechoslovakia stood unfinished. This number rose to more than 23,000 in 1975, and reached the incredible total of 30,000 by late 1980. Official Prague estimates tell us that during the same period the amount of capital tied in these unfinished operations rose from 326 billion to 413 billion Kcs, and finally reached 540 billion Kcs in 1980. This sum is more than a fifth higher than the annual national revenue or compute differently, one-fifth of the total worth of fixed assets in the Czechoslovak economy.

With respect to method of utilization, Czechoslovakia spends 30 or more percent of capital investment funds on the primary and semisecondary industrial branches, i.e., mining and production of electricity and heat. This greatly limits opportunities of investing in modernization of the processing branches, to say nothing of the consumer product industry itself whose growth is consistently lagging even behind the low effectiveness of heavy industry.

To this statistic of economic horrors, let us add the fact that the industrial branch most closely linked with capital investment activity, namely, the construction industry, is the first which, as a whole, has in fact failed. In recent years, 75 percent of construction enterprises have failed to meet the state plan, and the volume of work performed stubbornly slips below the level of the year before. The admission that, for all intents and purposes, nothing can be done except to allow the construction industry to rest until such time as it can pick itself up a bit on its own, can also be found in the fact that the central plan for the current 5-year period sets the decrease even in directive form. There is official hope that resources thus saved can be transferred into modernization of the machine plant of the

industrial enterprises. This maneuver, however, is encountering other obstacles which will be discussed later.

The erroneous growth orientation of the 1970s may be expressed in yet another way. In consecutive terms, the Fifth 5-Year Plan for the years 1971-75 was conceived with the intention of raising national revenue primarily through extensive capital investment activity by some 6 percent annually. An annual increment of 5 percent was anticipated during the Sixth 5-Year Plan (1976-1980). And even as late as in 1975-77 when the work on long-term economic prognoses through 1990 was being completed, it was anticipated that the growth in capital investment of 5 percent. Now that, with many delays and difficulties, the prognosis through 2000 is under preparation, the unrealistic grandeur continues in a sort of orgy of capital investment intoxication. This then was the error committed during the past decade by the Czechoslovak leadership, which is not entirely unlike orientation of accelerated expansion by means of foreign credits in Gierek's Poland. In Czechoslovakia, the state became "indebted" within its own economy in two ways, i.e., with respect to an ever growing number of unfinished projects which tied up, and continue to do so, enormous amounts of capital, capacities, and labor force, and with respect to its own energy base which demands enormous outlays and will continue to do so for a long time to come. In both cases, the Polish and the Czechoslovak, the political leaders increased the dependence of their economy on factors over which they had little control and which could not be coerced to produce the anticipated benefits. As a result of this policy, in both cases the ability to maneuver within the already unwieldy centrally directed system was reduced. They eventually found that they could not meet their obligations in the West. In Prague, there are problems with the servicing of unfinished or poorly finished investment projects of little benefit.

"External Economic Imbalance"

This phenomenon meaning that Czechoslovakia is unable in its development to earn enough to pay for the imports it needs, is often presented in Prague as an objective manifestation which afflicted the Czechoslovak economy from the outside and against which little can be done, except to stand firm, tighten belts and try to eliminate the consequences. Moreover, the regime accuses the imperialists who, as everyone knows, enjoy causing harm to real socialism. Quite illogically other official commentaries blame the difficulties on the high price of oil which Czechoslovakia, of course, does not buy from the capitalists. What is so quaint in all this and what Prague propaganda tiptoes around is the fact that the sharp rise in prices of crude oil during 1973-79 is on the conscience of Czechoslovakia's Arab friends and the impact of the price explosion is being transmitted to Czechoslovakia by the most reliable friend of them all, the Soviet Union, the main supplier of the so-called black gold.

Nonetheless, it would be cheap to blame only the Arabs and Moscow. Czechoslovakia would have to buy oil somewhere, even if these friends did not exist. With the exception of the producers and exporters, the whole world suffers from the high price of oil. The wastefully managed centrally

directed system in Czechoslovakia doubled oil consumption between 1971 and 1980, while Soviet prices increased at least 500 percent. Today the bill for imported crude oil is 10 times as high as at the outset of the so-called normalization, and it will continue to rise. In 1980 it amounted to overall billion Kcs. In order to maintain balance in foreign trade, Czechoslovakia should be exporting that much more for correspondingly higher prices to be able to pay the bill. Or, it would have had to initiate an effective savings program in oil and other raw materials much sooner. The economic dogmatists in Prague, however, did not recognize the danger of rising oil prices in time, thus did not react in an appropriate manner. For about 2 years they were convinced that the oil crisis could not affect Czechoslovakia, or do so only slightly, since the Soviet Union would always protect its ward through low prices and ever-increasing deliveries. It is enough to read what they were saying in 1973-74 to see how that differs from today's laments. Nothing at all was done at the time, except for some lip service to the problem, not even after Moscow had raised its prices for the first time in 1975. Even all through the Sixth 5-Year Plan (through 1980), oil consumption in Czechoslovakia was rising steadily and wastefully, as if nothing had changed. Soviet oil prices are now set according to the world market in a fluctuating average every 5 years. In consecutive terms, this meant 400 percent during 1975-1980, i.e., 65 percent annually, and even in 1981 and 1982 prices of Soviet oil for Czechoslovakia rose 25-30 percent each year. Even though the price of crude oil on the free world market had stabilized, even dropped, during the past year, Czechoslovakia, under the method of calculation used, will continue to pay more. Moreover, the compensatory agreement with the Soviet Union signed in September 1966, will expire in 1984. Under that agreement, in return for credits then granted to Moscow, Czechoslovakia would receive each year 5 million tons of crude oil at the contract price of 120 Kcs per ton which in the current market appears ridiculously low, about six times less than Soviet oil actually cost in Prague in 1980. Therefore, in the last year of the current 5-year plan, the oil bill will to some extent automatically jump upward and for the same amount imported we will overnight be paying at least 5 billion Kcs more.

Much fanfare has been raised in the past and continues to be sounded at primitive meetings about the Soviet Union charging substantially less for oil than what it costs on the open market. In better informed analytical circles, this price advantage is no longer promoted as in the past. This is because the relationship between the Soviet and world price of oil represents for Eastern Europe strictly a secondary, inferred, problem. It is less important to theorize about what would have been if there were no Soviet oil, than it is to point out that in 1982 this oil costs at least six times what it did 7 or 8 years ago. The propagandists can perhaps find solace in believing that it would be worse if the oil had to be purchased elsewhere, but the fact remains that the situation is certainly bad enough as it is. It has never been possible to eliminate a foreign trade deficit through unrealistic comparisons. In any event, Western economies which have to cope with expensive oil, were able to handle the impact of the price explosion immeasurably better than Czechoslovakia, even though it was operating with prices which were originally lower than the world average.

Foreign Trade

The capacity of a system to produce and export is undoubtedly of primary significance. Czechoslovakia is able to perform in this area only in a very ineffective manner. This is seen in the prices of both exports and imports. During the 1970s the cost of Czechoslovak imports went up by roughly 169 billion Kcs, while export goods could be sold with an increase of only 116 billion Kcs. Thus, during the decade Czechoslovakia with its low export effectiveness lost 53 billion Kcs, of which 44 billion in the Sixth 5-Year Plan (1976-1980) when we were supposed to be working feverishly to improve the export situation. Instead, the average annual loss of 5 billion during the whole decade, went up to 8 billion annually in the second 5-year period.

These mammoth and systematically continuing losses were partially covered by a depletion of national property, e.g., deterioration of buildings, installations, machinery, ecological devastation, and partially through indebtedness in the West, but also in the East. From a traditional lender, Czechoslovakia has during the past decade become a debtor of CEMA collectively and the Soviet Union individually. The CSSR owes the CEMA countries roughly 10 billion Kcs, and the West some 26 billion Kcs. During the Fifth 5-Year Plan Prague squandered 4.5 billion Kcs in foreign trade, while in the Sixth 5-Year Plan this figure rose to over 20 billion.

Given the slow growth of Czechoslovak trade with the West (including the developing countries), the Czechoslovak economy is turning more and more, seemingly permanently, to the other countries of real socialism, especially the Soviet Union. In 1950, the share of foreign trade of the used national revenue was 10 percent. This year it has reached 30 percent, and prognoses being prepared today anticipate by 1990 an opening of the economy of 40 percent and by 2000 as much as 50 percent. More than two-thirds of the transactions are taking place in the socialist sphere. Half of the total volume is being realized with the Soviet Union. It is no wonder then that the health of the Czechoslovak economy rises and falls with the health of the Soviet system. The seriousness of Czechoslovak economic problems thus depends entirely on what happens in Moscow.

Treating Cancer With Aspirin

The situation in the Czechoslovak economy is serious and will get worse. Prescriptions for recovery, as presented by the party and state leadership, are obviously and inevitably half-way and toothless recommendations. The principal shortcoming of these bandaid measures is simple, namely, they rely almost exclusively on approaches and actions which have failed a hundred times in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere. It is desperately primitive that after all the miserable experiences, we are trying again to pretend that a positive and even permanent turn in the economic situation which is chronic and borders on crisis, will be achieved primarily, if not exclusively, by exhortations, proclamations, slogans, resolutions, decrees, ideological rubbish, instructions and bans, in short, through "mobilization" and

"struggle" of citizens for greater savings and efficiency. All this naturally while the party and state leaders nervously eye Moscow and its reaction.

What the ČPCZ leadership is offering today as a program of healing the economy, can at best maintain it in a state of stagnation or, as seems more likely, merely slow down the slide into a catastrophe of the Polish type.

9496
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MEMBERS OF SUSPENDED UNIONS DISCUSS NEW SITUATION

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 24-26 Sep 82 pp 1, 3-5

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Milkowski, foreman at the Reclamation Department of the Konin Aluminum Works, trade union activist; Robert Pielas, construction machinery mechanic at the Bulldozer Repair Department of the Radom Construction Machinery Repair Plant, member of NSZZ Solidarity, and Stefan Blaszczyk, director of the Bulldozer Department of the Construction Mechanization Industry Association in Radom; by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz and Wladyslaw Styczynski; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] The deadline is approaching for the passage of a new trade union law. Sooner or later the trade union movement will get underway. We know that the reality in industrial plants has changed, that the economic reform is in operation and that a new body, the workers' self-government, is beginning to assume joint control. There are so many new elements that one must pare down the subject matter of discussions on trade unions, rather then stimulating the discussion of topics.

We invited to our office three people from the suspended unions who either are experts on these issues or, like most of us, take a lively interest in them. Mieczyslaw Milkowski is a foreman at the Reclamation Department of the Konin Aluminum Works and a trade union activist; Robert Pielas is a construction machinery mechanic at the Bulldozer Repair Department of the Radom Construction Machinery Repair Plant and a member of NSZZ Solidarity and Stefan Blaszczyk is a director of the Bulldozer Department of the Construction Mechanization Industry Association in Radom. Journalist Wladyslaw Styczynski also took part in the interview. He is the author of a SZTANDAR MLODYCH series entitled "What Sort of Union?" He specializes in the subject, was involved in the post-August subsector trade union movement and was a teacher in the factory-connected schooling program for many years. Our editorial staff was represented by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz, who edited the interview.

[SZTANDAR MLODYCH] All of the participants in our discussion have received copies of W. Styczynski's series of eight articles on trade unions. Let us call to mind its major theses.

[W. Styczynski] I tried to select the most valuable experiences of all three union currents: Solidarity, trade unions and the autonomous unions. A completely new quality is now developing in the union movement. It must be a social movement, free from all bureaucracy, officialdom and subordination because of one's position. The titles of the installments illustrate the thoughts expressed in the series: Embedded in Realities--in Economic Reform; the Ally of Self-Government; Trade Unions--Worthy Partner of the Marxist-Leninist Party, the Government and Other Social and Political Organizations; finally, the installment that deals with structure. It should be the negation of all hierarchy, somewhat along the line of the autonomous unions, although practically speaking these have not taken hold.

[SM] Is there not fear that a movement without a hierarchy likewise will not be able to take hold?

[W. Styczynski] The power to penetrate does not issue from closed meetings of leaders who are guided by their own interests.

[SM] But the group in charge is not always guided by its own interests; it can also truly represent the interests of member masses.

[W. Styczynski] That is why in the last segment I propose that particular trade groups elect executive commissions within the framework of the eventual federations or confederations of labor unions. These must be rank and file elections for the congress or conventions, which would then elect executive commissions. They would have no power over the unions that they represent (if there were several of them). Nor would they have power to issue instructions, orders or recommendations. The central office may not impose any position upon its particular trade union. The initiative may travel only from the rank and file to the top. The sole purpose of the central office is to represent the interests of a given trade group, union or entire federations to the authorities or to political parties.

[SM] In all negotiations, the group of superiors must have the freedom to make a compromise. According to your concept, if this executory commission is wholly subject to the will of the rank and file, it may not withdraw from anything. This limits the field of strategy and draws out negotiations. If this commission were able to make other agreements with the government that did not initiate from the rank and file, these would then be binding for the rank and file, thus granting the commission the power to rule.

[W. Styczynski] I agree that it must possess some powers in these matters. But it should not be permitted to change strategy, the general directions established by the congress.

[M. Milkowski] I am generally in agreement with these views. In the Konin area, our Consultative Commission operated according to this principle.

The work forces, the aktiv at the lowest level decided everything. Manipulation can never be avoided entirely; however, the bottom should manipulate the top, and not vice versa.

[R. Pielas] The most important thing is for the rank and file itself to decide major questions. Workers must have a real impact on their unions; the board should merely represent them.

[S. Blaszczyk] In the past, new trade unions erred by wanting to solve everything too fast. It takes time to settle matters; they must be negotiated peaceably.

[M. Milkowski] Our economy is so crippled today that setting new economic tasks for it ultimately would destroy it completely. Everything must be spread out over time. Our directions and goals must be marked out clearly. The government must be given advance notice of the kinds and amounts of increases we will demand. Moreover, our demands must be based upon calculations and not desires. Spontaneity and pressure or blackmail from the other side do not yield reasonable results. They lead only to resistance and opposition.

[S. Blaszczyk] According to Lenin, the task of unions is to defend the material and spiritual affairs of the working class. In order to fulfill both of these tasks, unions must be a social trade movement, independent of administrative and party organs, but only in the area ascribed to union activity. The union must be an independent body, but a partner at the same time.

[SM] In your opinion, what form will this independence assume?

[S. Blaszczyk] Obviously, unions must recognize the leadership role of the party. Once they functioned merely as transmission belts. However, these belts ran in only one direction--from the party to the masses. Now they must run in the other direction--from the masses to the party. I believe that unions should occupy a place between the party and the government. But so that this would not be a place "between the devil and the deep blue sea," as in the CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions] era, they should have the right to strike--as a last resort, of course.

Based on this model, we must develop forms of consultation with work forces, with members. This is something we have never had. Nor did Solidarity develop such forms--decisions were undertaken very quickly, rashly. Sometimes the leaders themselves decided courses of action.

[SM] Your line of reasoning is contradictory. You say that the leadership role of the party must be recognized and that the right to strike must be preserved. But do we strike against the authorities who are under the influence of this party, or do we strike against the party directly?

[S. Blaszczyk] Just a moment. I said that the leadership role of the party, not the administration, must be recognized.

Formerly the unelected apparatus dictated to the unions what they were to do and how they were to do it.

[SM] But we are forgetting the qualitative change that is occurring. Self-government, on which the industrial administration will be dependent primarily, is being set in motion. In light of this, what aspect will a strike have? Second, a strike against the state administration or against the party apparatus will be strictly a political strike. Unions will probably not obtain the right to do this.

[S. Blaszczyk] The unions should have a class nature. Thus, a political strike against the party that represents this same class is inadmissible.

[SM] In the light of your conclusions, they will have this character.

[S. Blaszczyk] A fundamental motto from August 1980 was "Socialism yes--perversion no." Class unions must have the right to point out perversions to the party--should they occur in the future. I am not a party member, but I recognize the party's leadership role. This does not mean, however, that the party should be infallible. If it is the worker's party, it must also represent my material and spiritual interests.

[M. Milkowski] The party-trade union relationship implies a common goal--the good of the working class. Thus, the activity of unions is of great benefit to the party, enabling it to avoid error. Once I wrote in TYGODNIK RADOMSKI that a union echelon cannot be a department of a party echelon. Neither can it be a sort of party fighting against the PZPR, however. If partnership relations are preserved, the party will succeed.

[SM] We are beginning to speak in generalities; this irritates people. Let us translate into Polish what the term "partnership relations" really mean.

[W.Styczynski] To be frank, in my opinion one of the major causes of the August protest was the refusal to permit trade unions, the major representative of workers, to gain control. The trade union should have the same right as party control organs to point out to party echelons the impropriety of their social decisions. Of course, this does not apply to intraparty matters. Otherwise we are in line for another political crisis.

The pre-August management of unions in the most trifling matters caused people to lose confidence not only in unions but in the party as well. The party should outline general developmental directions of strategy. However, in the preparation and implementation of this strategy, unions must be an equal partner, with the right to vote and to oppose. There can be no return to the undemocratic relations between the party and unions of the pre-August period. Developmental concepts may not arise in the quiet of offices and pillared halls without consultation with the working class and its labor organization.

[SM] But working class interests vary. They are conscious and unaware, tactical, short-term, strategic and sweeping. Today they are often contradictory. In general, workers' parties are trying to direct strategic interests.

Over a period of 16 months, Solidarity demanded increases and money. It implemented workers' interests. But these were tactical, short-term interests. Their fulfillment deepened inflation, divested the markets and exacerbated the crisis.

Drastic price increases, a reduction in the living standard and taking money out of workers' pockets are all required to overcome the crisis. But this is a strategic goal--things will improve eventually. In general, trade unions are defending current interests; here is where the contradiction may occur, a contradiction between party policy and the directions of the work of trade unions demanded from below by the masses.

[W. Styczynski] The working class is not an obtuse mob of consumers demanding "gimme, gimme, gimme!" As the intelligentsia, we are backward by comparison with the development of working class thinking!

A certain worker from Konin told me curtly: the worker can stand the poverty that we have now, but without the trade unions, he feels bad. Let us have poverty if we must, but let me feel that I am sharing in this interest--reactivate self-government.

[R. Pielas] When you speak of sweeping interests, perhaps you are referring to today's party policy. But things were different several years ago. We know how that party policy ended. We were dealing with myopic thinking, with a day by day tactic, in order to survive from credit to credit. This ended in a collapse.

[M. Milkowski] In 1978 the workers already felt that things were clearly getting worse. It was being said at party meetings that truth and openness are necessary. Had we been told that we had to tighten our belts for 6 months or a year or two, we would have understood. We would have given our consent. But they would have had to speak with us as partners.

Today we also need to discuss matters as partners. We need a clear definition of time limits for emerging from the crisis. Of course, this does not mean that everything must be laid bare. External factors can cross up the best plans. Trade unions are especially needed for such dialogue, and to oversee the implementation of programs.

For us workers something is clearly lacking. Neither the administrative nor the party authorities reach us at our work stations. They must speak with the people. They cannot leave this to the press, radio and television. These are one-way transmissions. This is not dialogue! Every worker must be reached!

Today's discussions and meetings with small, select groups, somewhere in conference halls, do not bear results. Often the worker finds out by watching television that such a meeting was held at his plant.

[R. Pielas] We want truthful, honest unfettered discussions. But let us return to today's living conditions. Real income has declined. Workers feel this. We the workers often discuss prices, increases and difficulties among ourselves, but at the same time, we wanted this ourselves. We wanted reform and we have it! It may be spiteful, but that is how the people think. Despite the complaints, we have the real hope that things will improve, for they must.

In our plant there is still little evidence of reform. Recently we distributed a compensation fund that was a result of the reform. Unfortunately, people still do not trust the actions of the authorities.

[SM] Let us ask ourselves a question for today. What need would you specific workers have of trade unions now?

[R. Pielas] They must begin to defend me in current matters of my daily life and material situation.

[M. Milkowski] There must be laws against parasites. This is a very important subject. There must be work camps and stone quarries for shirkers and parasites, and not factories. This is what the workers say. One works himself to the bone to earn the name "worker."

[S. Blaszczyk] On a nationwide scale, the most important task for unions would be consultation and reacting to the three-year plan, of which people are not aware. The particular elements of this plan, housing construction, for example, must be gone over. The credibility of this plan would give an incentive to act both to the union and the government. Today there is basically only one side. Unions must also have the right to supervise and make an accounting of this plan.

[SM] The final major subject of importance in our discussion must be to consider the interdependence of the workers' self-government and trade unions in the plant. If the elected self-government, which has enormous power in practice, represents the workforce after martial law is lifted, then what is the role of trade unions? If it will have authority over the management, production plans, profits and their distribution, then against whom will the trade union use its strike defense? If it opposes management, then it also opposes the self-government. And if it opposes the self-government, then it also opposes us--can we strike against ourselves?

[M. Milkowski] The self-government should change our attitudes toward work. Historically speaking, the name "turtle" came to be applied to one who worked under the partitions or the occupation. Finally we can work for the plant and for ourselves.

As for the unions, they must ensure a broader view. It is not only a question of money and profits, but of human beings. Unions should exert pressure both on management and on the self-government. It should be a question not only of money, but also of health care, recreation and culture. Obviously, the self-government will be concerned primarily with production and financial results. It may forget about human affairs, or relegate them to a secondary plane.

[R. Pielas] Unions should be the defender of the employee. Self-government should act in the defense of the plant, from the economic aspect. Self-government must see to it that the plant and the workforce make a profit. On the other hand, the manner in which this profit is distributed--so that not everything goes for investments and the like, so that people receive both wages and benefits--that is what unions must fight for.

[S. Blaszczyk] If the workforce turns against self-government, this will automatically mean its downfall and new elections. Thus, there must be a clear division of powers between the unions and self-government. Self-government should always act in the direction of profit maximization. We may select various routes to attain this goal, some of which affect the worker directly. This creates a ready-made conflict with the unions. Profit maximization at the expense of human effort must always evoke the resistance of the unions. There may be similar conflicts regarding the distribution of profits.

Another aspect: profit is divided in one firm so that its work force has it much better than the other work forces of the same trade. The push of money into the local market causes it to be divested of goods. This may cause the unions to protest, but not against management, against the local authorities who did not anticipate this and were short of supplies. Thus, the basis of this protest is not politics, but matters of daily living. If there is nothing to buy for money, the incentive to work declines.

[W. Styczynski] I believe that our highest leaders are aware that they aroused tremendous hope among working people in their addresses, especially in the 21 July Sejm address. This is especially so because they provided specific time limits. They did not have to do this, but since they did, the deadlines must be adhered to. In the case of self-government--within 3 months it should generally be set into motion. It would be a mistake for the authorities to begin withdrawing from their concrete plans as announced.

[SM] But if street demonstrations, conspiracy and scenes continue, how are the authorities to activate the unions?

[W. Styczynski] The authorities believe that the working class in its masses is not taking part in disturbances, scenes and demonstrations. On 31 August, the workers went about their work normally. In my opinion, the time has come to trust the working class. Some people believe that during these 9 months, the workers thought of nothing else but their earnings. I believe that they were thinking about important things: the country's future, the future of their own class and of society. There is a tremendous difference between

the mental state of workers 9 months ago and now. Of course there are extremist positions, but these exist on all sides, including in the administration. Such people never learn. They hamper both social and economic reform. Some members of the trade union aktiv are this way.

The thinking majority of workers, however--and this is a highly qualified class, intellectually as well--has learned a lesson from the past months.

[R. Pielas] People have learned, but they still mistrust. They want a rebirth of their organizations.

[M. Milkowski] Although the discussions about unions are lively, they occur mainly within the party. One speaks of them with caution, as if with a hint of fear and disenchantment. Privately, many people maintain that they will not belong to anything. I believe that any sort of unions, whether old or new, will have to work hard for members to dispel mistrust.

Personally I am in favor of one union per enterprise. Inter-union competitiveness is of no value.

[R. Pielas] I do not agree. Although competitiveness can go too far, a matter may be resolved legally--the obligation to come to an understanding may be imposed. All healthy competition leads to the health of the interested parties, the work force.

[SM] What does a poor director do when several unions in a plant which are tormenting one another demand mutually exclusive things and threaten a strike?

[R. Pielas] Obviously, the most convenient situation would be to have one union per enterprise. But people cannot be forced to belong--we had that before. Other solutions must be found. I think that the director should speak only with a joint commission; he should not address unions separately. Most of my colleagues do not want one union. However, there should be unions organized on the basis of occupations--trades--although this term has a history of resistance among many people.

[S. Blaszczyk] I am opposed to social divisions. I am in favor of pluralism --occupational pluralism. I am in favor of trade unions in an occupational system, not a ministerial system, as was the case before August in the so-called trade movement.

[SM] This already detailed discussion could last very long. Here, legislators on the one hand and life on the other must promulgate "wisdom."

However, we are able to draw certain general conclusions from our discussion. The most important of these is the need to activate the union movement as quickly as conditions permit. We also agree that the primary goal of this movement is to defend workers' rights in all spheres of material and spiritual life.

Unions cannot replace the party or the administration. They should be strong and should possess instruments ensuring real control over the implementation of social goals set by the party, which they must recognize as the leading force of the state and its own class, the working class.

You gentlemen differ in your proposals of detailed solutions; you differ in assessing the importance of the movement's goals and tasks. Such differences must exist--there is no progress without them. Nor do interviews for the paper dispel these differences. Only life and action test them.

Let us hope that the opportunity for this will come soon.

8536
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YOUNG WORKERS POLLED ON MEANING OF 'INDEPENDENT' TRADE UNIONS

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29 Sep 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz; pollsters: M. Tr[illegible]zkowski, J. Handerek, W. Jurczak, E. Kupczynska, D. Koniec]

[Text] What does 'independent' mean? Our reporters in several of the biggest industrial centers posed this question to young workers, members of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth Union [ZSMP]. Just a definition of the term 'independent' is not enough, however. After all, nobody is completely independent of the environment and of other people. Then, what kind of independence are we talking about in reference to trade unions? Who should they be completely independent of? What influences and to what degree should they tolerate? Finally, what should they subordinate themselves to?

Below are responses offered by young workers.

Andrzej Stepien, the Szczecin A. Warski Shipyard: "I understand the independence of a trade union as a separation of a trade union organization from management. It cannot be that management will give an order to the trade union, and trade union members at the direction of their union will either execute the order or applaud it. That was the situation until August 1980, in my opinion. It completely destroyed the old trade unions. I believe that there must be a certain justifiable dependence of the unions on various systemic fundamentals. No one can argue against such dependence if he accepts Poland's socialist form. The recognition of the PRR Constitution in the union statutes means also a responsibility for what the union does for the state and for the entire nation. At the same time, a declaration in the statutes is not sufficient. Thus, the recognition of the political system and of the Constitution must be exemplified by the union's daily activities. Therefore, I have been and still am against strikes, which only devastate the economy and harm Poland."

Jerzy Borzecki, Szczecin Port Administration: "An independent trade union is the one, which will in my opinion be uncompromising in the defense of benefits for the working people and for the crew. The unions must accept

the systemic fundamentals, and many accept them as their own views. The unions must be responsible for their activities in the political sphere. After all, political activities cannot be avoided in the unions. At the same time, the unions should not be a "compress" for everything. For example, I am against involving the unions in cultural-entertainment activities, struggle with alcoholism, sports, and recreation. The well-being of the working people should be only domain of the unions. Like many others, I do not want the unions to play the role of a tacit enthusiast of all decisions and resolutions. If something is right and beneficial to the crew, the unions ought to support it; if it is not--I am talking about benefits, not politics--the unions ought to express their vote of no confidence, or abstain from expressing their opinion. The latter applies to those those political matters, which affect the workers' well being. Also, the unions ought to perform functions, which will guarantee that the party will make decisions and pass resolutions beneficial to the workers in terms of their well being."

Jan Popiol, Toolmaker, Gliwice May 1st Iron and Steel Works: "The independence of a trade union is the basis for its proper activity. This independence lust be absolute; most of all, of management and of any organization. Only when provided with such dependence can the union fight and take care of the problems of its members. Naturally, I am taking only about union matters such as negotiations on working conditions, wages, social benefits, health care, etc. I am not talking about political activities, which is the domain of parties; if somebody wants to be active in this area, let him join these. Hence the union must follow systemic and constitutional principles. Should these be violated, responsible union functionaries should be personally accountable for such a state of affairs; not the entire union, but those individual members who would like to use the union organization for politicking."

Hubert Stachowski, miner, "Nowy Wirek" Coal Mine in Ruda Slaska: "If a trade union is supposed to be an equal partner in dealing with the authorities, it must be independent of them. Otherwise, there cannot be any talk about proper activity, because what kind of union will it be if its program is dictated by the management and not by its members, the workers? A real representative of the working people must do whatever they want. If also must collaborate with the party and all kinds of civic and political organizations, but on a partnership basis and without being subordinated to their decisions and orders."

Wieslawa Kwasiborska, spinner, Gen. Walter Cotton Plants in Ledz, ZSMP member: "Above all, the union must be independent of plant management, because its officials can successfully defend the workers' cause only when they are not officially subordinated to management. Therefore, union positions, with a separate financial system, ought to be elected by the entire membership. Here the management should have no say. In other words, the union must be financially independent of the plant in which it operates, and it must independently elect representatives to various bodies without any 'representational system.'

"Our Constitution univocally defines the rights and obligations of citizens as well as of the unions, and of political and civic organizations. Thus, it is inconceivable that anybody or any organization would not be subordinated to these laws. The party was given the leading role, but this does not mean intervention in small affairs and details, but rather in fundamental and important affairs. As to the former, the unions must be self governing and issue decisions. This does not exclude partnership, counselling, assistance, or inspiration from the party. No doubt, such partnership is realistic so long as the unions will limit themselves to activities concerning workers' rights, wellbeing, and benefits in accordance with their statutes and in the existing political arrangements and reality. I am talking about complete independence in union matters and subordination to laws, spelled out in the Constitution and addressed to everybody."

Bouguslawa Krzeczowska, machine set-up person, General Walter Cotton Plants in Ledz, ZSMP member: "As I understand it, a trade union in a plant above all should be independent not only of management, but also of the party. Naturally, I am talking about workers' affairs, union matters, and activities in their behalf. This may be a cliche,' but I cannot imagine these activities outside a broadly understood partnership. Here the workers' self-government can be a forum for a mutual support. Independence of management is a must, because, for example, when the union defends a worker, it simultaneously acts against the management.

"Likewise, union officials must be independent of management. In the case of agreements and compromises the interests and benefits of workers ought to be decisive, but clearly within the framework of the statutory union activity. I cannot imagine that any trade union would not accept the systemic fundamentals, the Constitution, and the leading role of the party; particularly the Constitution as the major law governing everybody in our country. The leading role of the party also is important, however, allowing a broad autonomy in the union matters and in activities for the people and on their behalf. Also, I believe that the union statute ought to include a penalty for noncompliance with the provisions of the fundamental law, and the administrative courts could be given jurisdiction over this matter. Let me repeat that my statements refer to any union in a socialist state. While fundamentals and principles concerning the entire society must be complied with, autonomy is necessary and indispensable. After all, the union movement is a social movement created for the defense of the material and spiritual rights of the working class. And considering the situation we are in now, a partnership with other organizations, including political ones, is simply indispensable for the union to fulfill its role and at to workers' advantage."

Ryszard Wozniczko, 25 years old, repairman, Lenin Iron and Steel Works in Cracow: "I consider it very disadvantageous that we have still no unions. The benefit commissions cannot replace a well-functioning union and that is why I hope that the trade union movement will begin to function soon. I believe that a trade union must be totally independent, and I understand this independence as an authentic representation of all persons employed in a given enterprise. A trade union should not be concerned with its members' views or membership in a political party or organization. The

functioning of a union cannot be limited in any way by the activity of an enterprise. The only limitations that can be considered are ones which come from the Constitution, such as acceptance of the socialist realities in the state and of the leading role of the PZPR. More limitations would only make the union's independence a meaningless slogan. When talking toady about the revival of the union movement we must remember about the existence of many fears with regard to the real shape of the union movement. If 'Solidarity' is being criticized here and there for its errors, it cannot be forgotten that that trade union did a lot of good for the working people. The Gdansk Accords is one such example; their enforcement should be continued and they ought to be used as the basis for the future union."

Krzysztof Bialek, 28 years old, metal worker, Transportation Equipment Plant [WSK] in Cracow: "All of us remember the devastating criticism of the trade unions existing in the framework of the Central Council of Trade Unions [CRZZ]; criticism particularly vivid after August 1980. It was justified, because the old unions had committed many errors, the most important of which was their lack of independence. Sometimes the union was an advocate for the management instead of representing the interests of the employees. We cannot think in terms of those old models, because it would be a tragedy for future trade unions. Personally, I do not care about the name of the union, but I am concerned about their program. Such program should be devoid of any political ambitions, but covering all matters which are of interest and important to us--the workers. In order to function well such a union cannot be subordinated to anybody and must be dependent only on the will of its members. There is a talk now about a bill on trade unions; if the Sejm passes such bill it ought to regulate only our union life. Only the bill and the Constitution can do that and not the directives and orders of some minister or director. If a union violates the Constitution or the bill it should be punished by law, otherwise it should not be accountable to any authority."

Waldemar Skulimowski, W-2 department turner at DOLMEL in Wroclaw, ZSMP member (27 years old): "A trade union must be above all independent of government organs. Union members ought to be sure that when the need arises the union will be able to defend their interests and that it will not be forced to take the side of the management.

"I believe that independence is indispensable for trade unions to allow them to perform their certain control role with regard to the administrative organs in order to check how they fulfill their obligations with respect to their employees, such as the compliance with the Labor Code.

"A trade union ought to be independent of the party as well. As in the case with other sociopolitical organizations it should be the party's partner. At the same time, however, it must recognize the leading role of the party. The party ought to give the development directions for the nation, but in their realization the trade unions must be an equal partner with an equal voice. I am for independent unions which respect the systemic and constitutional principles governing our country."

Marek Maluszczak, W-5 department repairman at DOLMEL in Sroclaw (18 years old), ZSMP member: "Independent above all of any bureaucracy, and official subordination to the enterprise administration and management. I also believe that it should be independent of the party, but accept its leading role. Trade unions along with the party ought to defend the workers' interests. I would also see the unions' independence in their activities not being subjected to the courts' jurisdiction; it is a social movement and the union members themselves ought to guard the compliance with the law and control the union activities. Independence should also guarantee the unions the right to strike, which would be resorted to only under extreme conditions, naturally. And I do not think that it would mean undermining the socialist system, for a strike is directed against the incompetence of management and not against the system.

"If the people's opinions are not listened to daily it will be necessary to listen to them elsewhere. The trade unions with regard to their union activities ought to be independent of the administrative and political organs if they are supposed to really fulfill their duty."

***

Our poll has shown a nearly complete uniformity of views: trade unions must be completely independent of the enterprise's administration, management, and services. Only this kind of independence will enable them to perform their basic task: protection of existential and material interests of the working people.

Similar postulates were made with regard to the party, but in this case our interlocutors seem to be more careful. Somehow they are unable to reconcile the leading role of the party with the independence of trade union sections and entire trade unions of the party. Some evade this problem by using a descriptive technique: the idea is for the party not to direct union activities on everyday basis. We must agree with that. If such direction was allowed we would have returned to the pre-August 1980 situation. And nobody wants that.

There is a universal emphasis on the need to subordinate the unions to the legal acts of the highest level: the Constitution and the bill on the trade unions. The need to subordinate them to their own statutes is being recognized as well. How different was the situation not so long ago, only a year earlier. How disrespectfully these matters were treated.

Differences of opinion can be discerned in the attitude toward the control of respect for the law within the unions. There is either no opinion or a controversial one is offered. One of the persons polled, Mr Maluszczak of DOLMEL, stated that the unions ought to be above the law; the members themselves ought to make sure that the law is enforced within the unions.

Nothing can be held against such attitude, except for its idealism After all, "Solidarity" also had a wonderful statute in which it pledged to respect the Constitution, accept the leading role of the party, and not to be involved in politics. And what happened? Were the members able to control their leaders?

This is just life and those who govern are usually the ones who have mastered the difficult art of manipulation. This is true of the unions as well.

Therefore, I would not be an idealist. The judiciary has been established to enforce the law, and this is true not only in our country. It should be allowed to continue performing this function.

There is another inaccuracy. Mr Wozniczko of the Lenin Iron and Steel Works credited the "Solidarity" with being responsible for preparing and achieving the Gdansk Accords. This is not true. "Solidarity" emerged as a union 2 weeks after the Accords had been signed. The Accords were the result of a spontaneous worker's protest and not an achievment of the trade union. One must not confuse these notions.

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JPRS 82290

22 November 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2078

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22 November 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2078

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/Text/ 1. Definition and Significance

By the term "military nuclear radiation measurement technology" is understood that part of measurement technology and, in a more restricted sense, radiation measurement technology, which is concerned with the determination, by technical measurements, of such radiation source- and radiation field-variables as are caused by transformations of atomic nucleus and which are military relevant. This means that radiations of non-nuclear origin (e.g. laser light or sound) on the one hand and the present-day civil nuclear radiation measurement technology on the other hand are definitely excluded. The general term "ionizing radiation", which is sometimes used, is avoided here intentionally, because it would, for example, also include X rays and short-wave UV-light.

From another perspective, the term "military nuclear radiation measurement technology" on the one hand includes procedures (methods) and on the other hand includes devices (means, equipment), by means of which the measurement variables of a militarily interesting nuclear radiation can be determined, which are relevant for the physical, chemical, and especially biological action of such radiation.

At the present time, the militarily significant measurement variables include dose power and dose in nuclear radiation fields caused by nuclear weapons, as well as the activity and activity concentration of nuclear radiation sources. The nuclear radition types of interest here, in order of their significance, include gamma radiation, neutron radiation, beta radiation, and alpha radiation.

The military nuclear radiation measurement methods and devices can be subdivided in accord with Table 1, and can be associated with one another and with certain types of measurement variables.

In a war, in which nuclear weapons or radioactive combat means would be used, or in which radioactive materials would be released as the secondary effect of conventional weapons or of acts of sabotage against nuclear installations, the military nuclear radiation measurement technology would be particularly

Table 1: Organization of Military Nuclear Radiation Measurement Tasks and Devices

	Nuclear Radiation Measurement Task	Nuclear Radiation Measuring Unit	Type of Measurement Variable
1.	Measuring tasks in the field		
1.1.	Nuclear radiation reconnaissance		γ-dose power
1.1.1.	Nuclear radiation warning (nuclear radiation observation)	Nuclear radiation warning devices (nuclear radiation indicator)	γ-dose power, threshold(s)
1.1.2.	Nuclear radiation reconnaissance of rooms, sections, and directions (land	Nuclear radiation reconnaissance devices (for land and vehicles	γ-dose power
1.1.3.	...(at sea)	...(for ships)	γ-dose power
1.1.4.	...(from the air)	...(for aircraft)	γ-dose power
1.1.5.	Checking nuclear radiation (general)	Nuclear radiation checking devices	γ-dose power
1.1.6.	Checking nuclear radiation (special)	Radiological laboratories and special services	Specific α or β activity
1.1.7.	Nuclear radiation warning, reconnaissance, and checking	Combination devices	γ-dose power
1.2.	Nuclear radiation dosimetry	Nuclear radiation dosimeter	Nuclear radiation dose
1.2.1.	Personnel dosimetry	Personnel dosimeter	Equivalent dose
1.2.2.	Group dosimetry	Group dosimeter	Equivalent dose
1.2.3.	Equipment dosimetry	Equipment dosimeter	Energy dose
2.	Peacetime radiation protection measurement tasks		
2.1. 2.2. 2.3. 2.4.	Data-gathering measurements Checking measurements Contamination measurements Shielding measurements	Dose-power meter, Activity meter, Pulse-density meter, Dosimeter	Gamma and neutron dose, dose power, α and β activity, Pulse-density, energy
2.5.	Source activity determination	Dose-power meter, dosimeter, activity meter	Dose power, dose, specific activity
2.6.	Radiation warning	Radiation warning devices	Dose power
2.7.	Personnel dosimetry	Personnel dosimeter	Energy dose
2.8	Place dosimetry	Place dose	Energy dose

Remark: The table does not show all the possible but only the most frequent associations of task, device, and variable.

significant, primarily because nuclear radiation - in contrast to most other effective weapons - cannot be perceived specifically with any of the human senses and because the effect of radiation can very significantly influence all military decisions.

The step-by-step discovery, researching, and bringing into use of X rays and of types of nuclear radiation was from the very beginning possible only in close collaboration with suitable measurement means. Frequently, the measurement effect was discovered first, but the phenomenon on which it was based was interpreted correctly only much later. Thus, Konrad Röntgen 1895 could demonstrate the invisible X rays, which in many countries are presently called Röntgen rays, only because they accidentally struck fluorescent crystals and caused these to emit light in the visible range of the human eye.

Becquerel, too, after whom the unit of activity (Bq) is now named, detected radioactivity in 1896 only because he accidentally stored his uranium formulation together with photographic plates, which were exposed by the penetrating radiation right through the opaque paper cover. The method that was found in this way is still used today as radiography in research and production, and the film dosimeter of the Government Agency for Atomic Safety and Radiation Protection of the GDR likewise works according to this principle.

After the discovery of nuclear fission by Otto Hahn (1938), many research laboratories began to work with radioactive materials, partly to use nuclear fission for scientific purposes, but mainly to search out ways to use the new discovery for weapons or for peaceful applications. Nuclear radiation measurement devices for these researches were usually fabricated in the institutes themselves and were quite prone to trouble, complicated to operate, and usable only on a laboratory scale.

2. Development of Nuclear Radiation Measurement Devices After Hiroshima

In August 1945, USA imperialism reached its immediate target in military nuclear research and - after a test detonation in New Mexico - used the first two nuclear fission weapons to destroy the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki without military necessity. Thus the USA simultaneously initiated the era of nuclear weapons in weapons history as well as the cold war against Socialism. To protect the socialist camp, which formed after the end of the war, against imperialist extortion and war, the Soviet Union very quickly likewise had to develop and produce nuclear weapons.

During this time, thousands, and later on tens of thousands, suitable nuclear radiation measurement devices were quickly required, first for uranium mining, then for the nuclear weapons industry, and finally for nuclear weapons protection of the armies and countries.

Naturally, there was not yet any experience with military nuclear radiation measurement technology. Consequently, in developing the first nuclear radiation measurement devices for use in the field, one had to draw on the many years of

Table 2: Significance of Symbols in Abbreviations for Nuclear Radiation Measurement Devices

Nuclear Radiation Measurement Devices from GDR Production:

R	Radiological equipment/radiometer
M	Measuring unit
A	Activity meter
D	Dosimeter
C	Dosimeter type which requires an evaluation unit
SA	Radiation indicator

Arabic numerals: year of the planned completion of development:

Roman numerals: device generation (within the device type)

Ch	Chemical equipment
Lab	Laboratory

Letters following the numerals:

D	Dynamo operation
N	Power supply
O	For stationary objects, service agencies (not mobile)
K	For motor vehicles (also tanks)
S	For maritime vehicles
L	For airborne vehicles

Nuclear radiation measurement units from USSR production:

D	Dosimetric-radiometric equipment
P	Device (Pribor)

First numeral: device type (e.g. 1 X-ray meter, 2 radiometer, etc.)
Second numeral: device generation (within the device type)

experience of the laboratory measurement engineers. Thus it came about that the first generation of devices very closely resembled the prior laboratory devices. These devices were indeed technically suitable for the most important measurements, but were useful for field use only with certain restrictions (not matched to their task spectrum, bulky, heavy, complicated to maintain and operate, mechanically sensitive and trouble-prone).

For this reason, this first generation of military nuclear radiation measurement devices was already followed in the fifties by a second, significantly improved generation, and measurement methods specific to the army began to delineate themselves. The evaluation units for personnel dosimeters of the Soviet Army had a desk-shape (Figure 1) for example. On the other hand, specialization already appeared with nuclear radiation reconnaissance devices.

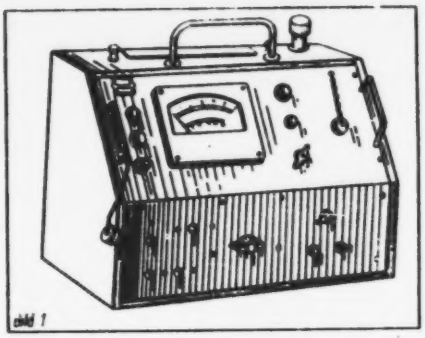

Figure 1:
Soviet Dosimeter Evaluation Unit
of the Fifties

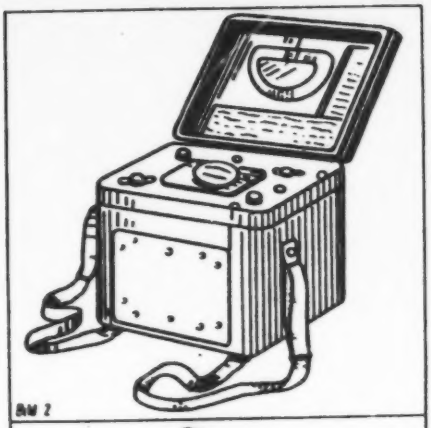

Figure 2:
Soviet Dose-power Measuring Unit
DP 1 of the Fifties

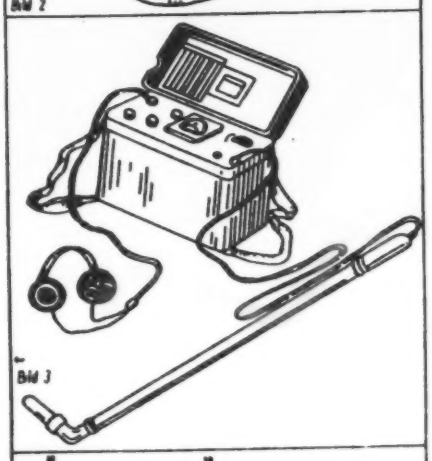

Figure 3:
Activity Measuring Unit DP 11 for
Checking Nuclear Radiation (USSR)

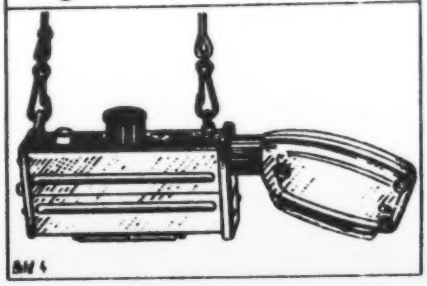

Figure 4:
Nuclear Radiation Indicator DP 62
(USSR) for Detecting Nuclear Radiation by the Flickering of
Incandescent Lamps

The Soviet dose-power measuring unit DP 1 (Figure 2, for designation code, see Table 2), was box-shaped and was carried in front of the abdomen; the activity measuring unit for checking nuclear radiation, DP 11 (Figure 3), already had an easily handled rod probe, by means of which activity could easily be measured even with great sophistication. The reconnaissance units of the chemical service of the NVA (National People's Army) were equipped during the fifties with the Soviet x-ray meter DP 1, the radiometer DP 11, and the dosimeter set DP 21. For non-structural reconnaissance groups, there was the nuclear radiation indicator DP 62 (Figure 4), by which nuclear radiation could be detected but not measured.

3. First Nuclear Radiation Measurement Device Generation of the NVA From GDR Production

Since the USSR could not completely cover the quantities of nuclear radiation measurement devices that were needed by its sister countries, the GDR, in the second half of the fifties, exerted great efforts in developing nuclear radiation measurement devices and radiological laboratories of its own for nuclear weapons protection and to produce these on a production basis so as to cover its needs. This also corresponded to the recommendations of the working team on "Nuclear Radiation Measurement Equipment" of the socialist armies, which assembled for the first time in Moscow in 1957. At that time, the GDR agreed to make a suitable contribution towards the development and production of military nuclear radiation measurement devices.

In the early fifties, small series of the x-ray meter DP 1 and of the dosimeter set DP 21 were produced by license in the Institute for Device Construction (IFG) of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR. Building on this experience, the dosimeter set RDC 2 (Figure 5) was developed. From the perspective of that time, this unit was very small, light, and easy to operate. It was produced by the VEB (State Enterprise) Vakutronic (now VEB Robitron Measurement Electronics) Dresden. This was the first device type of the first nuclear radiation measurement device generation that was developed in the GDR. To this was soon added the "Curie meter" which was developed in the VEB Vakutronik. It was introduced into the NVA with the designation "Activity Meter RAM 60" (Figure 6).

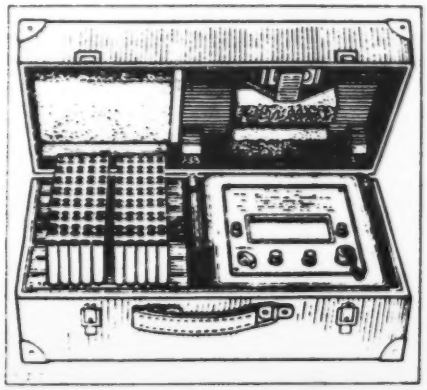

Figure 5:
Dosimeter Set RDC 2 (GDR)

Figure 6. Activity Meter RAM 60 (GDR)

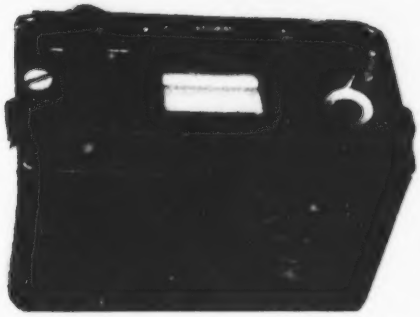

Figure 7. X-ray Meter DP 2 (USSR)

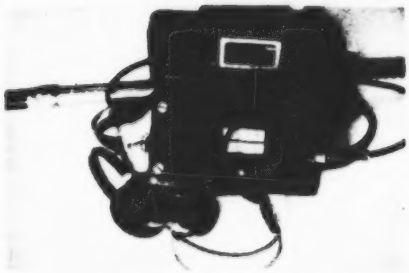

Figure 8. Radiometer DP 12 (USSR)

Figure 9. Radiation Indicator DP 63 (USSR)

Figure 10. Dosimeter Set DP 23 (USSR)

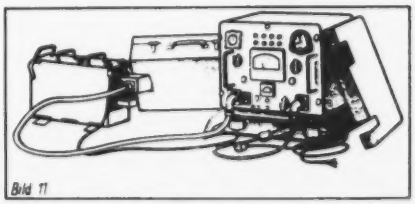

Figure 11. Radiation Measuring Station DP 100 (USSR)

Beginning in 1960, the NVA also obtained Soviet nuclear radiation measurement devices of the second and third device generation. These were the x-ray meter DP 2 (Figure 7), the vehicular x-ray meter DP 3, the radiometer DP 12 (Figure 8), the radiation indicator DP 63 (Figure 9), and the dosimeter set DP 23 (Figure 10), which were mainly imported in a complex with large-scale technology. The x-ray meter IH 2 was introduced from the Hungarian People's Republic. Furthermore, it was intended, in case of actual application, to import the liquid dosimeter DP 72, which was available as a training model, together with its evaluation units (colorimeter) PK 56.

A mobile radiological field laboratory (two G 5 trucks with trunk superstructures) were created for specially checking on nuclear radiation. They were built according to the then prevailing perspectives and had measurement stations and devices that were available at that time, which were only poorly suited for field use. There also were portable field laboratories from the USSR with the radiation measurement station DP 100 (Figure 11), which was already quite well suited for field operation.

The most important measurement tasks could be qualitatively and quantitatively secured with these types of devices, which numbered about 10. In terms of types, the device contribution developed in the GDR was still only small, and the devices did not yet represent top performance on an international scale. However, they were necessary to guarantee the combat readiness of the NVA.

/No 5, 16 Jul 82 pp 269-271/

/Text/ 4. GDR's Second Generation of Nuclear Radiation Measurement Equipment

Although developmental stages are hard to delimit objectively and cannot be specified precisely to the exact day, it seems justified to me to assume the time interval from 1963 to 1970 for the second generation of nuclear radiation measurement devices developed and produced in the GDR. During this time, a collective of specialists of Dresden Technical University, of the VEB Measurement Electronics (previously Vakutronik) Dresden, and of the NVA, in socialist collaboration, analyzed international trends, technical possibilities, developmental and production experience, but especially the experience of the troops in the design, utilization, and repair of previous nuclear radiation measurement devices, and converted this information into new task definitions. During the course of many heated discussions, all the participants succeeded in liberating themselves from preconceptions and troublesome traditions.

New, often daring, and not uncontested paths were taken in significant directions. As an example one might mention the old "rule for measurement engineers" which even today has not been fully eradicated, namely that one must measure as precisely as possible. Much better obviously is the requirement: as accurately as necessary, as suitably and economically as possible. At that time, the opinion was also widespread that the large fluctuations and temperature dependence of transistors would exclude their use in measurement equipment, and that

thermoluminescence dosimetry could not suitably be applied to military purposes. Both of these opinions could be overcome.

Thus, at the very beginning of the second device generation, internationally the first fully transistorized field radiometer RAM 60 A (with GDR transistors), the universally applicable hand-dynamo-fed radiation indicator RSA 64 D (Figure 12), the automatic nuclear radiation warning device RW 64 (Figure 13), and the alpha-scintillation activity meter RAM 63 (Figure 14) could be included and introduced within the equipment of the NVA.

Figure 12: Radiation Indicator RSA 64 D (transistorized, GDR)

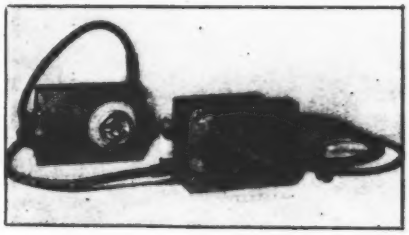

Figure 13: Radiation Warning Unit RW 64 (GDR)

Figure 14: Alpha-Scintillation Activity Meter RAM 63 (GDR)

A recognized top performance was successfully accomplished with the dosimeter system RDC 64, which replaced three types of dosimeters, all of which have previously been regarded as necessary, and with which every member of the armed forces could be equipped.

The radiometer RR 66 (according to international terminology: radiometer x-ray meter) was a combination solution favorable from a military-economic perspective. In the NVA, it replaced the Hungarian dose-power meter IH 2, the activity meter RAM 60 A, and partly also the nuclear radiation indicator RSA 64 D.

As a modification of the nuclear radiation warning device RW 64 for vehicles, there were developed the special designs RW 64 O (Figure 15) with a line connection and an emergency power supply for stationary objects and RW 64 S for ships (Figure 16).

The very low-inertia indicating activity meter RAM 63 could be converted, with little effort, into a dose-power meter for nuclear radiation reconnaissance from the air. Also replaced were the large mobile and portable radiological and chemical laboratories. A small combined mobile type of laboratory was substituted for them.

In a positive sense, the use of semiconductor electronics and electronically calibratable circuits were characteristic for the second device generation which came to its end in 1970. As a result, calibration with strong gamma sources and frequent tube changes was obviated, although this had previously been necessary every half year. The maintenance time could be extended up to 4 years.

As negative characteristics, one must note that the devices were mechanically sensitive because they had pointer measurement instruments. Especially when checking for nuclear radiation, they were difficult to read.

5. Nuclear Radiation Measurement Devices of the Third Generation

The transition from the second to the third nuclear radiation measurement device generation took place in the NVA during the years 1970/71. The first device of this generation was the nuclear radiation warning and reconnaissance device RWA 72 K (Figure 17) which has been described in (6). It replaced the RR 66, the RW 64, and the RSA 64 D, to the extent that the latter had not already been replaced by the RR 66. The RWA 72 K can also be used on ships, inasmuch as 12 Volts are available.

For use in objects, the RWA 72 K was supplemented with the suitcase-shaped power supply RWA 72 N and, together with this unit, forms the RWA 72 O.

The RWA 72 devices operate according to a novel measurement principle. The disadvantages which the troops complained about in their precursor devices, for example the necessary but practically impossible simultaneous reading of pointer positions and observation of the probe have been eliminated. However, it was first necessary to dispose of the widespread opinion that a pointer-based

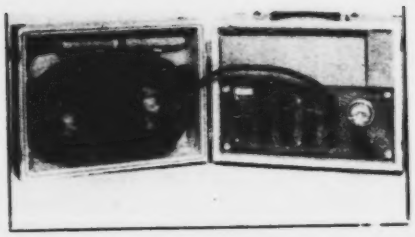

Figure 15. Nuclear Radiation Warning Device RS 64 0 (GDR)

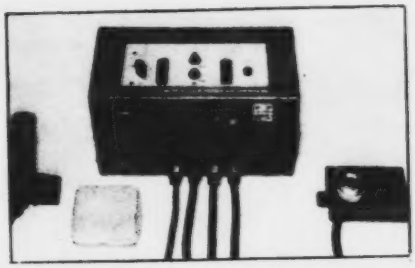

Figure 16. Nuclear Radiation Warning Device RS 64 S (GDR)

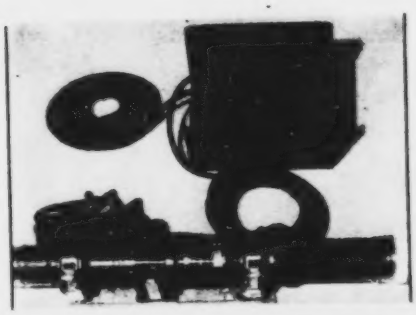

Figure 17. Nuclear Radiation Warning and Reconnaissance Device RS A 72 K (GDR)

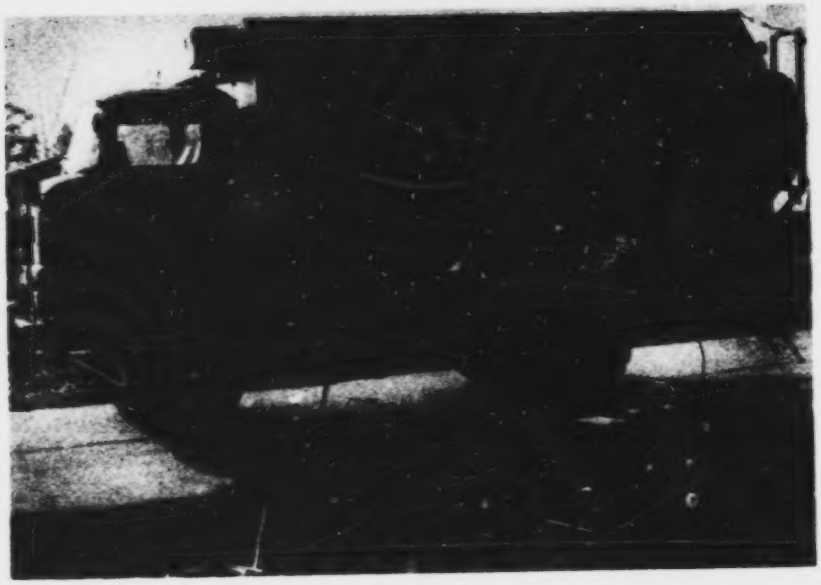

Figure 18. Radiological-Chemical Field Laboratory RChLab II (GDR)

Table 3: Selected Data of Events Relating to the Historical Development of Military Nuclear Radiation Measurement Technology

Year	Event
1895	W.C.Röntgen discovers "X rays".
1898	M. and P. Curie introduce the designation "radioactivity".
1899	E.Rutherford for the first time distinguishes alpha and beta radiation.
1908	E.Rutherford and H.Geiger describe the first alpha particle counter.
1913	H.Geiger introduces the "peak counter" for beta particles.
1924	H.Greinacher uses electron tubes to amplify counting tube pulses.
1928	H.Geiger and W.Müller invent the G-M counting tube.
1929	W.Bothe invents the coincidence method.
1932	J.Chadwick discovers the neutron; D.Iwanenko postulates the composition of atomic cores from protons and neutrons.
1935	A.Trost invents the "self-quenching" counting tube.
1938	O.Hahn together with F.Strassmann discovers uranium fission.
1939	A.Einstein informs Roosevelt concerning the atom bomb problem.
1945	16 July, first nuclear weapons test in New Mexico (USA). 6 August, first deployment of nuclear weapons on the part of the USA (Hiroshima). 9 August, second deployment of nuclear weapons on the part of the USA (Nagasaki). Invention of crystal counters by P.J.van Heerden
1947	I.Borsen and H.Kallmann use scintillation counters with PSEV (photomultiplier).
1949	First Soviet nuclear weapons test (end of the USA nuclear weapons monopoly).
1954	First nuclear power plant goes into operation in Obninsk near Moscow.
1956	Introduction of the x-ray meter DP 1A and B and of the laboratory RLU 1.
1957	Introduction of the DP 1C and of the dosimeter system DP 23A.
1958	Introduction of the radiometer DP 11B and of the first nuclear radiation measuring unit developed in the GDR, the dosimeter RDC 2.
1961	Introduction of the activity meter RAM 60.
1963	Transition from the first to the second GDR nuclear radiation measuring unit generation. Introduction of the nuclear radiation measurement devices DP 63, DP 12, RLab/G 5 and RChLab 62/LO
1965	Introduction of the nuclear radiation measurement devices IH 2, DP 3, RSA 64D, and RAM 60A.
1966	First nuclear power plant in the GDR becomes operational at Rheinsberg. Introduction of the nuclear radiation measurement unit RW 64 (for motor vehicles) and of the scintillation activity meter RAM 63 for α, β, and γ radiation.
1967	Introduction of the radiometer RR 66 and of the RAM 63L for aircraft.
1969	Introduction of the dosimeter system RDC 64.
1970	Transition from the second to the third nuclear radiation measurement device generation.
1972	Foundation of Interatom instrument at the 26th RGW (CEMA) Congress.
1973	First expansion stage of the nuclear power plant "Bruno Leuschner" becomes operational; Introduction of nuclear radiation warning and reconnaissance units RWA 72K.
1975	Introduction of the RChLab II (on LO).
1976	Introduction of the RWA 72 O (for stationary objects).
1980	Introduction of the neutron-gamma dosimeter system RDC III.

measuring unit is necessary for radiation measurements so that averages and measurement trends can also be detected. Within the framework of the preliminary research, this could be done by thorough phantom trials.

Another top unit of the third generation is the neutron-gamma dosimeter system RDC III. Compared to its precursor RDC 64, the following main advantages should be mentioned: bioligically correct sensitivity with respect to weapons neutrons, operational reliability achieved by far-reaching automation, and ease of operation.

The radiological-chemical mobile field laboratory RChLab II (Figure 18), which has been described in (7), also belongs to the third device generation. It represents a further development of the RChLab of the second generation.

To clarify the device abbreviations, Table 2 (see "mt" 4/82) contains the codes for the nuclear radiation devices from Soviet and GDR production. Table 3 contains a survey of the important historical data relating to military nuclear radiation measurement technology.

FOOTNOTES

(1) W. Fratzscher and H. Felke, Introduction to Nuclear Energetics, Leipzig 1971, p 23.

(2) E. Padelt and H. Laporte, Units and Magnitudes in the Natural Sciences, Leipzig 1976, p 25.

(3) P. Stulz, Strong-light Atom, Berlin 1973.

(4) K. Langhans, Nuclear Weapons Radiometry and Nuclear Weapons Detonometry, Berlin 1970.

(5) K. Langhans, Nuclear Radiation Measurement Devices, Berlin 1960.

(6) K. Langhans, Nuclear Radiation Warning and Reconnaissance Device RWA 72 K. In: militärtechnik (Military Engineering) Vol 3/1975, p 124 ff.

(7) K. Langhans, Radiological-Chemical Field Laboratory for Field Investigation of Radioactive and Chemical Materials. In: militärtechnik (Military Engineering) Vo. 2/1979, pp 97-98.

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CRUCIAL PHASES IN DEVELOPMENT OF GDR HISTORIOGRAPHY ANALYZED

Bonn DAS PARLAMENT in German Vol 32 No 36, 11 Sep 82 'from politics and contemporary history' supplement pp 17-26

[Article by Dr Guenther Heydemann, Department of Current History, Bayreuth University: "Marxist-Leninist Contemporary History in the GDR--Genesis, Development, Functions, and Trends." For related information see translation of a Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV article by the same author, published with one by Dr Klaus Goebel of Ruhr Pedagogical College, under the heading, "West German Analysis: Development of GDR Historiography," in JPRS 75760, 23 May 80, No 1788 of this series, pp 41-68]

[Text] A year ago, the respected Italian daily CORRIERE DELLA SERA--pointing to the problems confronting the Federal Republic of Germany--called the FRG a country seemingly petrified "in an ahistorical present."[1]

However one may evaluate this assessment by a foreign observer, it is a fact that for many years the history up to 1945 attracted more attention in this country than did the recent, post-1945 past, the period comprising the establishment and development of the Federal Republic of Germany, which--like the GDR, its eastern counterpart--has by now been existing longer than the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich combined. There is no doubt that the widespread aversion to history after World War II--after so much and direct experience and suffering of German history--was as much responsible for that temporary tuning-out of the recent past in this country as was the nearly exclusive fixation on reconstruction and on the establishment of a secure, affluent existence--and that this aversion entailed serious consequences for the present.

In the GDR, the situation is different, not only because Marxist-Leninist historiography has from the outset directed special attention to contemporary, post-1945 history; the nearly total upheaval that took place in the GDR in the political, economic and social realms has made the Germans living there more aware of and more interested in current history, especially the history of the postwar period including the establishment and development of two German states.

The great significance that has always been attached to current history by the GDR--not least owing to the consciousness-forming function it is supposed to perform--and that for good reason has been increasing since the beginning of the 1970's, since the Eighth SED Congress in 1971 and the power change through the replacement of Ulbricht by Honecker, has by now made current history the predominant

area of historical research; however, to understand why it has been accorded so much significance, one must take into consideration the overall development of historiography in the SBZ [Soviet zone of occupation]/GDR. Specifically, this refers to the transformation process involving ideology, institutions and people that began in the second half of 1948 under a Stalinist slogan--"Seize the Fortress of Science"--and that caused and signified the transformation of a so-called bourgeois historiography into a Marxist-Leninist historiography. At that initial stage in particular, the development of historical research in the other German state has repeatedly been affected by SED interference and this had serious repercussions on the study of current history that was gradually emerging at the end of the 1950's.

Equally important was the fact that at this initial stage of its development GDR historiography was truly fixated--at least up to the mid-1960's--on West German historiography and this in turn had far-reaching effects on the country's own history and on research on current history in particular. At this point, one might note in passing that the FRG's historiography on its part has for many years considered it sufficient to pay at best cursory attention to its Eastern counterpart--and to some extent this is still the case today.

However, current history, which in the GDR is defined--in terms of periodicization--as Contemporary History I, 1917-1945, and Contemporary History II, 1945 up to the present, is determined by other, additional factors which in the framework of our study can only be referred to in passing, however. One might mention here the scientifically--and also politically-ideologically--explosive periodicization discussion, especially in regard to the post-1945 period and the debate concerning content,[2] and finally, the institution-oriented organization within Marxist-Leninist historiography.[3]

In a systematic historical outline, we will in the following present key stages in the development of GDR research in the field of current history; on the basis of this outline, we will then present a catalog of functions of Marxist-Leninist research on contemporary history. In the final part of this article, we will summarize the development up to this point and through comparison with West German research in current history evaluate this development in regard to potential future trends.

I. Initial Problems and Political-Ideological Restrictions

From the very beginning until the 1960's, rapid development of current history as a research discipline of Marxist-Leninist historiography in the SBZ/GDR was hampered by the rigorous transformation process that the SED had initiated--in the second half of 1948--in the historiography of the then Soviet zone of occupation.

These measures prompted an increasing number of non-Marxist historians to emigrate to the West; consequently, the young Marxist historiography lacked the scientifically qualified and ideologically reliable cadres as well as the functional, institutional organization necessary to carry out the "new" historiography demanded by the Party--a high-level historiography based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.[4]

There was another factor that was at least equally inhibitory--especially in regard to the planned development of research on current history. During this initial stage in the SBZ/GDR, the Marxist view of history was greatly influenced and encumbered by the so-called "calamity theory of German history": The personal suffering that many politically active members and functionaries of the German workers' movement underwent during the Nazi period in prisons, in the underground movement or in exile on account of their affiliation with the KPD or SPD and the frequently encountered opinion that German history was marked by tragic constellations and that in contrast to the history of England and above all to the history of France it had never given rise to a successful revolution brought forth the view that German history was nothing but unmitigated calamity.[5]

In fact, this theory persisted well into the first years after the establishment of the GDR;[6] a telling illustration in this regard is the title of the multiple-edition book by Alexander Abusch--"Der Irrweg einer Nation" [The Aberration of a Nation][7]--which reflects this view in well-nigh programmatic fashion.

However, this view of history failed to meet two basic requirements that the Party had imposed on its young historiography:

1. A productive, scholarly reexamination of German history--posing new questions vis-a-vis the so-called bourgeois historiography and thus possibly producing different assessments--for the purpose of establishing a positive view of German history.

2. A socialist consciousness based on this positive view of history--a consciousness that ultimately was to bring about--through historical legitimation--identification with the political and social system created by the SED.

Thus, 2 years after the establishment of the GDR, the SED--"destroying theory"[8] by means of the resolution of the SED Central Committee of 20 October 1951 on "The Most Important Ideological Tasks of the Party"[9]--opened practically by decree the way to a positive interpretation of German history and established a binding interpretation pattern for the further development of historiography in the GDR. Now there began the presently practicable opening of Marxist-Leninist historiography toward the so-called progressive periods of German history and this opening formed the basis for the well-nigh anatomical preparation of two contrary class lines in German history and in particular in contemporary history, where the so-called progressive line is claimed to be represented exclusively by the GDR; this claim culminates in the view that "the emergence and development of the GDR represents the pinnacle of the history of the German people"[10] and that the so-called reactionary line is pursued by the Federal Republic of Germany.

The SED's 1955 resolution on the "Improvement of Research and Instruction in the Historiography of the German Democratic Republic"[11] was another milestone in the development of GDR historiography; it also documented, however, that the ideological, scientific and organizational advances demanded by the Party in regard to historiography still left much to be desired and did not meet the expectations of the Party.[12] As was the case in previous years, it was criticized that "so far there has hardly been a single historical account of the radical changes in Germany since 1945."[13] The obvious reluctance of the GDR's professional historians to examine problems and aspects of current history--especially in regard to the

post-1945 period--resulted by the end of the 1950's in the well-nigh schizophrenic situation where historical accounts of the most recent past were written almost exclusively by leading members of the party and state apparatus[14]--above all by Walter Ulbricht who never concealed his intense personal interest in history and who considered himself a historian, "as a third occupation, as it were."[15]

To be sure, there were tangible reasons for the GDR historians' obvious reserve: Firstly, there was a great deal of anxiety on account of the constant interference on the part of the SED; there was confusion especially in regard to the appropriate ideological standpoint, for since the death of Stalin in 1953 the intraparty debates on the problem of de-Stalinization, especially after the 20th CPSU Congress, had intensified. On account of the aggravation of the world-political situation during the Suez crisis and as a result of the uprisings in Hungary and Poland, the intraparty conflicts had reached a new stage and it was only after Walter Ulbricht's victory settled the power struggle among the party leadership that these conflicts came to an end.[16]

Secondly, 2 years after the contrary resolution of 1955, the Party again felt it was necessary to criticize the historians, since as a result of "certain ideological vacillations in the ranks of the communist and workers' parties, which have influenced even some Marxist historians of the GDR,[17] the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems" had been "transferred to the realm of ideology."[18] What the Party meant by this was that in the opinion of the SED leadership the GDR historians were showing insufficient loyalty to Marxist-Leninist principles "in the discussions between representatives of dialectical and historical materialism and the representatives of bourgeois views."[19]

To be sure, the Party had helped--through equivocal formulation of the tasks concerning research on current history--to obscure the goals of Marxist-Leninist contemporary historiography: The SED's 1955 resolution stated--all at once: "So far there has hardly been a single historical account of the radical changes in Germany since 1945. There have been very few books or articles that in the presentation of historical truth have concretely discussed the historical lies disseminated by the reactionary West German historiography."[20] So how was one to define contemporary Marxist-Leninist historiography? Scholarly study of Contemporary History or ideological examination of the historiography of the West German class enemy--or both of these at once? At any rate, the function of the intensified contemporary historical research demanded in the GDR was formulated equivocally and this impeded the development of contemporary Marxist-Leninist historiography, what with the ideological clashes during the period between 1953 and 1958.

Moreover, it turned out that the few publications that were actually written by historians and that dealt with aspects of contemporary history were subjected--almost without exception--to sharp criticism which focused either on the adoption of an incorrect ideological standpoint or on the incorrect political evaluation of historical processes.

Cases in point are Werner Plesse's study on the "Antifascist Resistance Struggle in Central Germany (1939-1945),"[21] which was criticized on the grounds that it had failed to show "scholarly depth in describing and evaluating the role of the Communist Party of Germany," that it had "actually disregarded it,"[22] and the book by Stefan Doernberg--"The Birth of a New Germany"[23]--which can be considered one of

the first monographs on current history written by a GDR historian.[24] Doernberg was rebuked by two members of the German Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence who criticized that due to his "formalistic view of the state"[25] he had "taken an essentially one-sided approach to state power, considering it only a result, not an instrument of the people's struggle guided by the Marxist-Leninist Party"[26] and that he had thus released "tendencies toward establishing a contrast between the people and the state";[27] this, they claimed, was harmful to the specifically consciousness-forming function of accounts of current history.

Undoubtedly, the harshest criticism of the first results of the early Marxist-Leninist research on current history in the GDR--criticism that at the same time represented the Party's most massive revision of interpretation vis-a-vis historical science--was the rejection of the theses specifically formulated in 1958 on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the November Revolution. Ulbricht's criticism of the historians was unequivocal: "In the course of elaboration of the present theses, there were revealed in the commission established by the Politburo basic differences of opinion and incorrect views on the nature of the November Revolution. Some of the comrades in the historical profession took a position opposed to the resolution of the SED executive board. How did this come to pass?"[28] There followed an extensive explanation concerning the background of these erroneous positions of historians exposed to "revisionist influence." This intervention, which discredited the GDR historians and practically declared their studies to be worthless, represents the nadir in the development of GDR historiography as a whole and of the Marxist-Leninist study of contemporary history in particular. Small wonder that the historians in the GDR were reluctant to meet the expectations and intensify their study of problems pertaining to current history. Consequently, the publications dealing with aspects of current history remained few in number and most of them showed a propaganda slant.

During this first developmental phase of Marxist-Leninist historiography in the GDR, it became obvious--and it has remained obvious up to the present--that current history is linked with politics and ideology and that in comparison with other research areas of GDR historiography it thus is exposed and must react to stronger jolts. A conference staged in 1959, which must be considered "the first big academic conference in the field of current history"[29] in the GDR, arrived at the conclusion that now as before "important historical problems are settled not by the historians, but by the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party."[30]

In retrospect it appears, however--the admonitions urging intensified study of contemporary history notwithstanding--that the SED gradually succeeded in overcoming this reluctance on the part of the historians. For 2 years later, Ernst Diehl, Central Committee member in charge of historiography and highest-ranking historian in the GDR, stated in a tone of unmistakable irony that the SED had now succeeded in "overcoming a kind of distance theory that had been widely held among the historians of our republic. According to this theory, thorough scholarly study of historical processes, which are still going on or have just been completed, is impossible, as is effective historiography without access to all documents. In fact, this view amounted to a pseudoacademic separation of historiography from practical life, from the crucial problems of our people."[31]

It is a fact that the intensified study of contemporary historical problems that the SED had constantly--and at times vehemently--been calling for finally led to a

considerable increase in the number of publications on current history, and owing to the prescribed dual function of contemporary historical research--namely at the same time militantly to review the historiography of the Federal Republic--the latter was at that time somewhat more prevalent. To a large extent, this was attributable to the fact that as a result of the rapid increase in the number of refugees during the 2 years before the erection of the wall and a considerable period after 13 August 1961, the GDR was experiencing a phase of uncertainty during which it feared and thus wanted to repel ideological diversion tactics on the part of the Federal Republic. Summing up, we should note that approximately since the Fifth SED Congress in 1958 contemporary historical research in the GDR has been showing an--in part enforced--increase.[32]

II. Observations on the Consolidation of Historiography and the Institutionalization of Contemporary Historical Research in the GDR

Since the beginning of the 1960's, the increasing consolidation of historiography as a whole has assumed crucial importance for the further development of Marxist-Leninist research on current history. In part, this was a result of the SED's interventions after 1955, which aimed to bring about greater historiographical homogeneity in regard to ideology and research personnel (this developmental stage could aptly be called "discipline phase"); moreover, there was an easing up of tension in the Party/historiography relationship. In this connection, it should be noted that here there never was a really deep or even basic conflict in the ideological realm; rather, the conflicts resulted from the relationship between the requirements of politics and their implementation in historiography,[33] especially since by the mid-1960's GDR historiography produced independent results--e.g. the eight-volume "History of the German Workers' Movement"[34]--which was celebrated even by the Party--and the richly appointed three-volume "History of Germany"[35] published in 1968.

The intensified orientation toward the history of the workers' movement since 1962, which was manifested by the SED Central Committee's advocacy of preparation of an outline of the history of the German workers' movement[36] and which was confirmed a year later by the Sixth Party Congress, did by no means diminish the top-priority goal of intensification of contemporary historical research. With increasing emphasis on the post-1945 period, Marxist-Leninist historiography was directed toward the establishment and development of the GDR as a result of the continuous and regular developmental process of the German workers' movement. Doernberg's "Brief History of the GDR," which was based on this outline and published--after extensive revision--in 1964 and subsequent editions, was the first comprehensive account of the history of the second German state. This orientation toward the history of the workers' movement ran parallel to the SED's claim--advanced at the Sixth Party Congress--to national and class leadership in Germany. In other respects, too, this party congress marked the beginning of an identity formulation specific to the GDR, which until the end of the Ulbricht era in May 1971 was to remain the dominant characteristic in the GDR's self-portrayal.

Regarding contemporary historical research in the GDR, the 1960's represent the gradual transition from a primarily propaganda-oriented historiography constantly squabbling with West German historiography to a methodological as well as thematic differentiation in regard to the treatment of research projects in current history. The key article providing guidelines for historiography after the Sixth Party

Congress stated: "Special attention is to be directed toward examination of the problems concerning socialist construction in the GDR, toward the historical role of the first German workers' and farmers' state, and toward unmasking the hostility the West German clerical-militaristic regime harbors against the people."[37] This sequence implies a ranking. For in the second half of the 1960's, large-scale research was begun on the history of the SBZ [Soviet zone of occupation], the subsequent GDR, which research focused on the policy pursued by the SED and on the development of the national economy and of foreign policy, and the inclusion of source materials and documents signaled the accelerating retreat of the ideological-propagandistic element. Naturally, the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the GDR in 1969 was a high point in the production of contemporary historical research.[38]

III. The Significance of the Seventh and Eighth Party Congresses in Regard to the Intensification of Contemporary Historical Research in the GDR

The Seventh SED Congress in April 1967 proved to be of special significance and it had correspondingly strong repercussions on contemporary historical research. This Party Congress, which through the formula of a "relatively independent development of the socialist society in the GDR"[39] adopted a political-ideological position that was to document the independent development of the GDR, was even within the Eastern Bloc an extraordinary political-ideological phenomenon, what with its propaganda for the "development of the advanced social system in the GDR."[40]

As regards the development of GDR historiography beyond the Ulbricht period, an important factor was the special function attributed to the social sciences. It reflected the system-oriented conceptions that had now come into favor: Society was conceived as a total system comprising dependent subsystems; accordingly, science was defined as a subsystem, i.e. as "immediate productive force" or "main productive force." This reflected the SED's intention to increase the socio-political and ideological effectiveness of the social sciences. The discipline of history--the most important Marxist-Leninist social science--was accorded the crucial function in the development of a socialist view of history that was to form the nucleus of the projected national consciousness of the GDR. Regarding the development of historiography in the GDR, this entailed a large-scale discussion within the academic disciplines on the problems concerning history and historical consciousness in the socialist society; this discussion soon obscured the impetus provided by the Party and led to a truly scholarly debate which in regard to the level of intensity was unprecedented.

At the same time, this internal academic debate had consequences that went beyond the problems discussed: It made the GDR's Marxist-Leninist historiography intensify the study of theoretical and methodological problems. For the incipient--and so far continuing--process of theoretization of historical research in the GDR entailed expansion, implementation and differentiation of the historical theory- and methodology-related potential and this has been a contributing factor in the--in part considerable--broadening of the interpretive scope of the GDR's Marxist-Leninist historical research.[41]

This process had repercussions on the research work in the field of contemporary history. Aside from the fact that the--strongly GDR-centric--portrayal of history (or self-portrayal) advocated by the Eighth Party Congress directly promoted

contemporary historical research and made it the predominant historical research area, the study of the country's post-1945 history produced increasingly differentiated approaches and evaluations, especially since the Party kept up its demand for presentation of a concrete view of history. This has remained true up to the present: "To understand the world in historical terms--this is no empty formula, no abstract thesis devoid of concrete historical life; for the scientific world view must put its imprint on the activities of the people. This calls for a true conception of the key aspects of the course of history; to attain such a conception, one must fully know history, including its contradictions and conflicts, its dramatic aspects, and the struggles, defeats and victories of the progressive classes: The conception of history does not consist of a sum total of abstract theoretical formulas; it presupposes knowledge of the ineluctable developmental process of society in all of its concrete forms."[42]

Thus the hitherto last and still valid political and ideological change of course undertaken by the SED at the Eighth Party Congress in 1971 does not signal any restriction or diminution of contemporary historical research in the GDR. It was precisely in the list of subjects of current history that changes were evident: Since about 1973, the research area "Contemporary History II," i.e. post-1945 history, has taken precedence over "Contemporary History I," i.e. the period from 1917 to 1945.[43]

Since then, the historical reorientation that was ordered by the Party and that remained unchanged at the following party congresses has been of crucial importance for contemporary historical research in the GDR. The slogan "Global Revolutionary Process,"[44] which was advanced in 1971, signaled the withdrawal of the GDR-centric interpretation of history, which had been emphasized at the end of the Ulbricht period, in favor of an internationalist interpretation of history. Accordingly, the GDR's political-ideological position--defined by the Eighth Party Congress (1967) as a "relatively independent and long-term development of socialism in the GDR"--was rejected and the social development of socialism in the GDR was declared to be in conformity with the formula: "Integral part of the world-historical socioeconomic system of socialism/communism." In political terms, this formula expressed anew an intensification of the ties with the Soviet Union and the neighboring socialist states; ideologically, it reestablished the link with dogmatic positions of Leninism. Through the internationalist interpretation of history imposed on it, GDR historiography is above all expected to elaborate the significance of the October Revolution for GDR history and the role of the Soviet Army after 1945 "as integral parts of GDR history,"[45] i.e. as guidelines for the interpretation of contemporary history in the GDR.

This new orientation of the SED almost automatically gave rise among GDR historians to another periodicization debate on the post-1945 development in the SBZ [Soviet zone of occupation], the subsequent GDR. The "internationalist approach"[46] initiated by the Party prompted the Marxist-Leninist researchers in the field of contemporary history to interpret the process of establishing and developing the GDR and the territory of the Soviet zone of occupation after World War II as a constituent part of a wave of revolutions in eastern and southeastern Europe--an antifascist-democratic revolution from 1945 to 1949 and--beginning with the establishment of the GDR--a socialist revolution, which revolutions "coincided with the emergence of other socialist states and with the formation of the global socialist system";[47] that is to say that developmental conditions specific to the GDR were

and are no longer emphasized; rather, the emphasis now is on the developmental parallels with the other socialist states of East Europe.[48]

At the Eighth Party Congress the SED adopted a new position on the national question and this was another factor that affected the interpretation of current history by GDR historiography. This political change of course was a response to the Ostpolitik pursued by the social-liberal coalition whose Germany-policy formula--"two states, one nation"--was at variance with the Party's demarcation-oriented intentions. According to Honecker's statements, the national question must be considered in terms of its "class content"[49] and on German soil the national question has therefore conclusively been settled. Honecker claimed that whereas the Federal Republic of Germany continued to maintain the "bourgeois nation" characterized by the class contrast between the bourgeoisie and the working masses, the GDR was developing the socialist nation. Subsequently, contemporary historical accounts of the development of the GDR put greater emphasis on the adjective "socialist" than on the noun "nation."

IV. Present Developments and Trends

Of late, GDR publications on current history have shown certain beginnings of a more critical attitude toward the country's history and occasionally this criticism has affected even the SED. An example representative of several articles of this kind is the problem of Poland's western border in 1948/49: "Extensive evaluation of the international experience and extension of the international relations were impracticable as long as the SED had not developed an internationalist attitude toward the Oder-Neisse border. Not all members of the Party had drawn the right conclusions from the results of World War II--a war caused by German imperialism. The SED declared the overcoming of anti-Polish tendencies to be the precondition for neighborly and friendly relations with the People's Republic of Poland."[50] Such beginnings are remarkable, but it should be noted that these reeducation processes apparently have failed to produce significant results--both in the Party and among the GDR population. In spite of these beginnings, one must not overlook the fact that now as before there are contemporary historical subjects and problems that are simply suppressed, because they cannot be put under taboo. This goes above all for 17 June 1953 and 13 August 1961.[51]

Summing up, one should point out that in the GDR the 1970's became the decade of contemporary historical research. In this respect, the emphasis clearly lay and still lies on the post-1945 period. The publications comprised both general accounts and studies on special subjects and social developments of GDR history.[52] Undoubtedly, these--from the GDR's point of view certainly positive--achievements of contemporary historical research with its characteristic concentration on the postwar period also reflect the GDR's increased self-assurance. Since the beginning of the 1970's, the other German state has obviously been interested in legitimizing itself on the basis of its own history and it has tried to impart stability to this attitude and this self-image.

FOOTNOTES

1. Quoted from FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 21 Sept 81, p 2.

2. For a comprehensive account, see Christina von Buxhoeveden, "Geschichtswissenschaft und Politik in der DDR. Das Problem der Periodisierung" [Historiography and Politics in the GDR. The Problem of Periodicization], Cologne, 1980.

3. See Guenther Heydemann, "Geschichtswissenschaft im geteilten Deutschland. Entwicklungsgeschichte, Organisationsstruktur, Funktionen, Theorie- und Methodenprobleme in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in der DDR" [Historiography in Divided Germany. Background, Organizational Structure, Functions, Theoretical and Methodological Problems in the Federal Republic of Germany and in the GDR], Frankfurt/Main, 1980, pp 174 ff.

4. Guenther Heydemann, "Geschichtswissenschaft...," op. cit., pp 143 ff.

5. Regarding the mood and atmosphere among the KPD members in exile, see Werner Berthold, "Observations on the Struggle of the KPD Leadership Against the Fascist Ideology of History and the Calamity Conception in German History, 1939 to 1945," ZEITSCHRIFT FUER GESCHICHTSWISSENSCHAFT (ZFG), Vol 17, No 6, 1969, pp 689 ff.

6. See Ernst Diehl and Rolf Dlubek, "The Historians of the German Democratic Republic Are Facing New Great Tasks," EINHEIT, Vol 10, No 9, 1955, p 883.

7. First edition, Berlin, 1946.

8. Diehl/Dlubek, "The Historians...," op. cit., p 883.

9. Reprinted in: "Dokumente der SED" [SED Documents], Vol 3, pp 581 ff. Note the following statement: "The history of Germany comprises not only the ignominious deeds of the ruling classes and of the German imperialists. The history of our fatherland also comprises many freedom-oriented, revolutionary actions and significant achievements of the great sons and daughters of the German people for the development of German culture and of world culture. The scientific study of German history from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism will help to intensify the national struggle to bring about the unity of the working class and to rally all working people in town and country around the working class."

10. Ernst Diehl, "The History of the German People in the World-Historical Process," ZFG, Vol 21, No 3, 1973, pp 272-288.

11. ZFG, Vol 3, No 4, 1955, pp 507-527.

12. See ibid., p 510: "Due to a number of serious ideological and organizational deficiencies, historiography in the German Democratic Republic has failed to meet the requirements of the national struggle and of socialist construction in the GDR." See also the following articles: "The Significance of the Fourth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany for Historiography," ZFG, Vol 2, No 3, 1954; in regard to contemporary historical research in the Federal Republic, especially by Hans Rothfels, see Guenter Paulus, "Scientific Study of Current History or Defense of German Imperialism," ZFG, Vol 3, No 1, 1955, pp 3-28; "On the Occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the Liberation," ZFG, Vol 3, No 4, 1955, pp 528 ff.; "The Working Class Party and Historiography," ZFG, Vol 3, No 5, 1955, especially p 678.

13. "The Improvement of Research and Instruction...," op. cit., p 511.

14. Walter Ulbricht, "Zur Geschichte der neuesten Zeit" [Observations on Contemporary History], Berlin, 1955; Otto Winzer, "Zwoelf Jahre Kampf gegen Faschismus und Krieg" [Twelve Years of Struggle Against Fascism and War], Berlin, 1955; Walter Ulbricht, "Die Entwicklung des deutschen volksdemokratischen Staates 1945 bis 1958" [The Development of the German National-Democratic State, 1945 to 1958], Berlin, 1955.

15. See Lothar Berthold, "My Third Occupation, As It Were," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 Jun 64.

16. Regarding the political background, see Hermann Weber, "Kleine Geschichte der DDR" [Brief History of the GDR], Cologne, 1980, pp 87 ff.

17. See "Present Tasks of GDR Historiography," ZFG, Vol 4, No 3, 1957, pp 449-455.

18. Ibid.

19. Op. cit., p 453.

20. "The Improvement of Research...," op. cit., p 511.

21. Reprinted in ZFG, Vol 2, No 6, 1954, pp 813 ff.

22. In this regard, see the discussion on the article by Werner Plesse: "Observations on the Antifascist Resistance Struggle in Central Germany (1933 to 1945)," ZFG, Vol 3, No 6, 1955, pp 928-933.

23. "Die Geburt eines neuen Deutschland. Die antifaschistisch-demokratische Umwaelzung und die Entstehung der DDR" [Birth of a New Germany. The Antifascist-Democratic Upheaval and the Emergence of the GDR], Berlin, 1959.

24. One should add here the following works: Werner Horn, "Der Kampf der Arbeiterklasse um die Errichtung der antifaschistisch-demokratischen Ordnung in Deutschland (1945 bis 1949)" [The Struggle of the Working Class for the Establishment of the Antifascist-Democratic Order in Germany (1945 to 1949)], Berlin, 1958; H. Lipski, "Der Kampf der deutschen Arbeiterklasse und aller demokratischen Kraefte unter Fuehrung der Partei um die Errichtung der antifaschistisch-demokratischen Ordnung in Deutschland (1945 bis 1949)" [The Struggle of the German Working Class and of All Democratic Forces under the Direction of the Party for the Establishment of the Antifascist-Democratic Order in Germany (1945 to 1949)], Berlin, 1960; Hans Mueller, "Die Entwicklung der SED und ihr Kampf fuer ein neues Deutschland 1945 bis 1949" [The Development of the SED and Its Struggle for a New Germany, 1945 to 1949], East Berlin, 1961.

25. Erwin Hellmann and Lucie Haupt, "Observations on the Problem of the State in GDR Historiography," STAAT UND RECHT, No 5, 1960, pp 744-759.

26. Op. cit., p 747.

27. Op. cit., p 753.

28. See Walter Ulbricht, "Substantiation of the Theses on the November Revolution," ZFG, Vol 6, special issue, 1958, pp 28-54.

29. "A Scientific Conference on the Significance of GDR History," (Guenter Benser), BZG, Vol 3, No 1, 1960, pp 181-194.

30. Op. cit., p 191.

31. Ernst Diehl, "Observations on the State and the Tasks of the Research Work Concerning Problems of Post-1945 History," UNSERE ZEIT, No 3, 1961, pp 237 ff.

32. This finding is confirmed by Chr. v. Buxhoeveden, "Geschichtswissenschaft...," op. cit., p 161.

33. To prevent misunderstandings and rash assumptions, see Guenther Heydemann, "Geschichtswissenschaft...," op. cit., pp 175 ff.

34. Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1966.

35. Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften VEB, East Berlin, 1968.

36. In this regard, see ZFG, Vol 10, No 6, 1962.

37. "The Program of Socialism and the Tasks of the GDR Historians," ZFG, Vol 11, No 2, 1963, p 257.

38. It is interesting that most of the ZFG articles on this subject are memoirs; scholarly articles on current history play only a secondary role. See ZFG, Vol 17, No 7, 1969, pp 864 ff. and No 8, pp 1003 ff.

39. In this regard, see the comprehensive account by Hans Lades, "Observations on the Function of the 'Developed Social System of Socialism' in the GDR," in: "Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte" [Politics and Current History], Vol 6, 1971.

40. In this regard, see Frank Reuter, "Geschichtsbewusstein in der DDR. Programm und Aktion" [Historical Consciousness in the GDR. Program and Action], Cologne, 1973; Reuter's study covers this process which was initiated by the Seventh SED Congress.

41. Guenther Heydemann, "The Theory Boom in the GDR's Marxist-Leninist Historiography Since 1967. Causes--Development--Prospects," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, Vol 13, No 3, 1980, pp 260-271.

42. Thus Horst Bartel and Walter Schmidt, "New Problems in GDR Historiography. Observations on the Evaluation of the Eighth SED Congress by the Historians," ZFG, Vol 20, No 7, 1972, pp 707 ff.

43. This can be proved statistically. A quantitative analysis which was prepared on the basis of the articles on current history published in the ZEITSCHRIFT FUER GESCHICHTSWISSENSCHAFT (ZFG), the most important scholarly organ of GDR historiography (first issue in 1953), is due to be published.

44. In this regard, see the comprehensive account by Ulrich Neuhaeusser-Wespy, "The SED and History. Problems and Aspects of the Present Reorientation of GDR Historiography," in "Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte" [Politics and Current History], Vol 41, 1976.

45. Christina von Buxhoeveden, "Geschichtswissenschaft und Politik...," op. cit., p 169.

46. Heinz Heitzer, "New Problems Concerning Research on GDR History," ZFG, Vol 20, No 8, 1972, pp 954-966.

47. Ernst Diehl, "The History of the German People in the World-Historical Process," ZFG, Vol 21, No 3, 1973, pp 272-288.

48. See Christina von Buxhoeveden, "Geschichtswissenschaft...," op. cit., pp 168 ff.

49. See "DDR-Handbuch" [GDR Handbook], edited by Peter Christian Ludz and Johannes Kuppe, 2nd revised edition, 1979; in particular, see "Nation and National Question," pp 748 ff.

50. Thus Gerd Dietrich, "Observations on the SED's Internationalist Work, 1948/49," ZFG, Vol 27, No 9, 1979, pp 820-834.

51. In the latest overall account of GDR history—"Geschichte der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik" [History of the German Democratic Republic], East Berlin, 1981—17 June 1953 still is considered a "counterrevolutionary putsch," while 13 August 1961 is called "safeguarding of the state border"; see pp. 156 ff. and p 228.

52. Thus the multiple-edition book "DDR--Werden und Wachsen. Zur Geschichte der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik" [GDR--Development and Growth. On the History of the German Democratic Republic]; see also "Grundriss der deutschen Geschichte. Von den Anfaengen der Geschichte des deutschen Volkes bis zur Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik" [Outline of German History. From the Beginnings of the History of the German People to the Development of the Advanced Socialist Society in the German Democratic Republic], 2nd revised edition, 1979; in this work, the post-1945 period takes up nearly half of the text. Equally important are the following monographs on current history: "Abriss der Geschichte der SED" [Outline of the History of the SED], Frankfurt/Main, 1978; Joachim Streisand, "Kulturgeschichte der DDR" [Cultural History of the GDR], Cologne, 1981.

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY INTERVIEWED ON PRESS PROBLEMS

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 24 Sep 82 p 3

[Interview with Jan Glowczyk, PZPR Central Committee Secretary, in Warsaw by Andras Domany; no date given]

[Text] The changes which have occurred in Poland since the summer of 1980 have exercised a great influence also on the press, indicating the conflicts and political struggles which are taking place in society. With the introduction of martial law most of the newspapers did not appear but--as the "verification" of staff members in certain editorial offices and the course to be followed was concluded--the great majority of the pre-December 13 newspapers appeared by the end of May 1982, although several well-known and popular names disappeared from their columns. The press is not only another area of agitation. The radio, TV and press are striving to regain their readers. At the same time, this indicates the struggle of the country's leadership for the confidence of the people. Thus the press is perhaps more important now then before under normal circumstances. I conducted the following conversation in Warsaw with Jan Glowczyk, the 55-year-old economist, who since the summer of 1981 and the 9th Special Congress of the PZPR, is an alternate member of the Politburo. When we met, he was the chief editor of the ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, which is similar to the FIGYELO. Since then he was elected secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and the scope of his duties includes party guidance of the press.

[Question] How do you view the internal situation of the Polish press today?

[Answer] First I would like to speak of those political factors which in the past 2 years have strongly influenced the situation and the atmosphere. Our calling is a very difficult one, for we must convince the reader of the correctness of party and state policy. The press is not an independent political power, nor can it be, although there are those who believe differently. Therefore, when serious errors occur in party and economic policy, the position of the newspaper writers becomes difficult. This is all the more true because a significant part of the population has clearly seen for a long time that matters are not going well. Many working members have felt they were guilty, as if they had a share in a mistaken policy. This is understandable in that respectable journalists also tried to publicize with conviction that which did not turn out to be correct. It is a fact that chiefly in the daily press, the radio and the TV--where there is less opportunity for deep analysis--many felt themselves frustrated politically and morally.

[Question] You are referring to the period after August 1980, are you not?

[Answer] Yes. Many working members of the press had a guilty conscience and wanted to suffer on behalf of the masses, taking on themselves the mistakes by questioning everything which the party and the state leadership had done. Many of them resolved never again to represent anything uncritically. Yes, indeed, but in the meantime there appeared organized, antisocialist social forces which had their own ideology, policy and press. Well, some of the journalists joined up with these--either consciously or under the influence of the above-mentioned psychological influence. In fact, some of them began to serve these forces as uncritically and without thought as they did the mistaken official policy of the 1970's. This attitude of the press was destructive--it is true that frequently they attacked something which actually needed to be changed, but they did not offer any kind of solution. Their main goal was to stir up the readers, and various kinds of ideological influences were mingled in their methods: anarchic notions as well as views which idealized and desired the return of the Polish socio-political system which existed between the two world wars. Under this influence several members of the Federation of Polish Journalists chose a mistaken direction.

[Question] What was this mistake?

[Answer] The new bodies of leaders--at least some of the leaders--elected in the fall of 1980 by the Federation of Polish Journalists wanted to make the Federation an independent political power. They thought that the Federation would be the mediator, the arbiter in the skirmishes of the socio-political forces. It was laughable, but still many believed in it, for such a role appears very pleasant. Moreover, a considerable number of them also saw the negative tendencies of Solidarity, and therefore a mediator's position appeared attractive. But there are few journalists, and on the other hand--and we must know this, too--they always serve someone and something. The saddest thing was that this activity by certain Federation leaders became strong when it was clearly apparent in what direction the extremists were pushing Solidarity. They tried to realize this direction not in 1980 but in the fall of 1981 when one could have really expected them to recognize the situation. I believe that individual ambitions also played a role in this. In any event, a negative political radicalization occurred, and this led consequentially to the introduction of martial law and to the dissolution of the Federation of Polish Journalists following improper conduct by various Federation leaders. This was a difficult decision, and obviously there were unpleasant consequences for us, too. But it is rarely possible to make decisions that are good for everyone. We sought for the least harm. It appeared to us that the renovation of the Federation's operation, in light of the foregoing, would not serve the interests of the journalists.

[Question] Very soon after the dissolution of the Federation, however, the Journalists' Federation of the Polish People's Republic--that is, the successor of the Federation of Polish Journalists was formed.

[Answer] The profession cannot be without an organizational representation. Great changes occurred and are occurring, and it is not a secret: some of the

journalists must give up their career either for good or temporarily, although their numbers are frequently exaggerated. Certain ones found themselves in a difficult situation, but in a situation like this the best political and administrative activity may be onesided. We need an organization which will not reject development, and will represent the interests of the profession.

[Question] The leaders of the new Federation were granted an interview by General Jaruzelski, and later by the chairmen of the two allied parties. What was the substance of these meetings?

[Answer] The provisional leaders of the Journalists' Federation of the Polish People's Republic gave assurances of their support for the policy of the PZPR, the government, and the National Deliverance Military Council. At the same time, they called attention to the problems of the press: they requested assistance for some of those who were dismissed from their career, brought up the matter of the paper shortage, the rapid increase in printing costs, the lag in the payment of journalists, and their social problems. (In this latter subject area, the Federation of Polish Journalists had conducted very valuable activity.)

[Question] According to official data only some of the journalists have joined the new organization. There are prominent editorial offices where few have done this—even among the working members of the party papers. According to others, the "big names" are not joining up. Two well-known journalists, both representatives of the Sejm protested sharply the dissolution of the Federation of Polish Journalists at a recent parliamentary session. Following the first few months, how do you perceive the situation and influence of the Journalists' Federation of the Polish Republic?

[Answer] As I see it, interest and support is livelier in the provinces. The ratio of those joining is relatively smallest in Warsaw, but the capital city is always a special matter. Many do not enter because they do not agree with the general direction of the new organization, and for decades they have been allied with the old organization. I do not want to prophesy, but in my opinion the membership of the new Federation will gradually increase.

[Question] Could it be that there are more members of the PZPR joining the new organization while others for example, working members of the Catholic press—are less inclined to do so?

[Answer] No. As I said, the distribution is primarily by area. Only a short time has passed and the bodies of the new Federation are temporary—moreover, some members of the dissolved Federation's leadership have also joined—and they have much to do. We may and must expect the effect from the work they do.

[Question] We see more and more journals at the vendors. Are most of the press products already appearing?

[Answer] Yes. Several newspapers which have been suspended will not appear any more because, for example, it has no one to do the editing and the staff has been diminished. Others will start again, and new ones have also been

established. Strong debates were conducted, and still are, in all editorial collectives. Frequently, valuable and outstanding working members and respected experts are departing from their place of work simply because they could not remain in the altered circumstances. Editors are revising their ranks, including those which are already permitted to publish, and as I have said these are in the majority.

[Question] I read in an article in POLITYKA that the average total copies of daily newspapers fell from 9.8 million to 8.3 million between the first of December and March. Copies returned to a number of newspapers--including very popular ones--have increased, although so has the number of copies published by certain ones. In any case, it is a striking fact that while last year it was simply impossible to obtain newspapers--this refers to the dailies, weeklies and monthlies alike--now copies are piling up unpurchased at newspaper vendors. What is the reason for this? How much of a role may be played by the fact that since the introduction of martial law some of the readers (and there are reports to this effect) are boycotting the "official" press and do not have confidence in it?

[Answer] Excuse me, I do not believe in the boycott, especially as a lasting phenomenon. People need the press, information. The number of returned copies is fluctuating, it is hard to get a clear picture, and it is chiefly in the capital city--again in Warsaw--that the papers are piling up at the newsstands. (But despite this, it is here that they know everything the best.) I see the following reasons: first of all the price of newspapers rose from one to four-five zlotys in the past 2 years, and the weeklies and the journals sell from between 20 to 80 zlotys. At the same time there was a tremendous increase in the price of foods and other important commodity items. People have less money and they cannot afford to buy five or six weeklies which they will only thumb through because they lack the time to read them thoroughly. And in addition, the atmosphere is different, there are fewer sensational events. It is entirely understandable that when the press was hanging out what the leaders of the time were doing, or when the latest news was being expected on the strikes, everyone was eager to know what the press would write. Following the great emotional fluctuations, a kind of apathy has come about--and no wonder. People are tired; after the great tensions and flood of information, they will let the threads drop for a while. There is need for information. I am not worried about that. As for prices, I would prefer in some cases to reduce the circulation of some newspapers--let them give more and of course better quality--for less money. As for the contents, it is my opinion that all the papers were sold out last year because that was the kind of atmosphere and political situation we had. Now we must work harder to get readers. In my view, this is a good thing.

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MODERNIZATION OF SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian May-Jun 82 pp 416-422

/Article by Ioan Margineanu: "The Modernization of the Socio-Occupational Structure"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics/

/Text/ The modernization of the socio-occupational structure refers to the intensive development of all economic sectors and branches, beginning with agriculture, which, through growth in labor productivity, is releasing a large volume of manpower, making it available for other types of activity. Consequently, an increase in the percentage of the population employed in industry and the other nonagricultural sectors is occurring. In addition, the modernization of the socio-occupational structure refers to the process of raising the general level of school and vocational training of the population, to the growth of the percentage of the peak branches bearing technical progress, to the development of science, education and culture.

I. Defining Elements of the Socio-Occupational Structure

/The revolutionary transformations that have occurred in Romania/ and /the strong expansion of the production forces have caused radical changes at the level of the employed population by triggering a vast process of socio-occupational mobility/. While the population employed in agriculture in 1950 represented 74 percent of the total employed population, over 68 percent of the employed population in 1980 performed its activity in nonagricultural sectors, with over 35 percent being in industry.

The distribution of the employed population according to economic sectors and branches is given in Table 1.

/Industry and agriculture are the economic branches that have the biggest part of the employed population of the country/ (6.7 million people--that is, 65 percent of the total). /At the end of the past decade, industry became the economic branch with the biggest volume of manpower in the whole national economy/ (3,678,000), thus exceeding the volume of the agricultural population. The headlong development of industry and the appearance of peak industrial branches with regard to the technical level attained have led to the attraction of more and more people to this sector of activity. /The great majority of the worker personnel in industry work in the sector of state industry/ (about 90 percent), with a smaller part being in the artisan cooperative system (about 10 percent).

Table 1. The Evolution of the Employed Population According to Economic Sectors and Branches*

Sector, Branches	Year 1950 Thousands of Persons	1950 %	1980 Thousands of Persons	1980 %	Evolution from 1951 to 1980, in %
Employed population	8,377	100.0	10,350	100.0	124
Sector I	6,226	7.43	3,088	29.8	50
Agriculture	6,209	74.1	3,048	29.4	49
Silviculture	17	0.2	40	0.4	224
Sector II	1,187	14.2	4,536	43.8	382
Industry	1,001	12.0	3,678	35.5	368
Construction	186	2.2	858	8.3	460
Sector III	453	5.4	1,720	16.7	380
Transportation	167	1.9	630	6.1	374
Telecommunications	22	0.3	80	0.8	367
Commodity circulation	206	2.5	620	6.0	301
Communal administration	58	0.7	390	3.8	677
Sector IV	301	3.6	811	7.8	269
Education	191	2.3	431	4.2	225
Science	19	0.2	98	0.9	514
Health	91	1.1	282	2.7	311
Administration	142	1.7	65	0.6	46
Other branches	68	0.8	130	1.3	195

* "Anuarul Statistic al RSR" /The Statistical Yearbook of the Socialist Republic of Romania/, Central Directorate for Statistics, Bucharest, 1981, p 123.

In its turn, /the agricultural population is distributed over 3 sectors/: the great majority of the agricultural workers are members of the /agricultural production cooperatives/—72 percent of the total of 3,048,000 in 1980 (which means that 2,195,000 cooperative members performed work for a number of days without being employed in another socialist unit). The sector of /state agriculture/ has about 15 percent and /peasants with an individual farm/ represent about 13 percent of the agricultural population.

Looking at the distribution of the employed population according to sectors and branches of activity, we find nevertheless that Romania is still a developing country, due to the high percentage of the population employed in agriculture (29.4 percent), which indicates a relatively low labor productivity in this vital field of economic activity, as well as due to the low percentages possessed by sectors III and IV, but especially by some of their branches.

In the following, we want to devote special attention to the analysis of the situation that exists at the level of /the population in agriculture/. Under the conditions in which agriculture represents the only occupation for 3 million people (although the participation in work is unequal), this means that theoretically there is 1 agricultural worker per 7.5 inhabitants. A comparative analysis leads us to the fact that on a world level in countries with developed agriculture, with big reserves for the exportation of agricultural products, the percentage of the population employed in this sector is below 10 percent, there being 1 agricultural worker per 30

or even 50 inhabitants. Of course, the differences from country to country are inherent even at a similar level of economic development and technical equipping, due to the size of the areas, the density of the population, the structure of the land and the activities, the work methods, the degree of exploitation of resources and so on. Nevertheless, such differences as those mentioned earlier also indicate different levels of economic development. However, one thing is beyond any doubt--namely, the fact that agriculture can have a relatively low percentage of workers while still remaining one of the most important economic branches under the conditions of mechanization and growth in labor productivity.

Returning to the analysis of the structure of the agricultural population in our country, one can see a marked /process of feminization and aging of the work force/, a process due to the massive migration from agriculture to industry and other economic branches. It is expected that the extensive changes produced in the structure of the employed population during an active generation (1950-1980) would also lead to some undesirable implications. Such a macrosocial process cannot occur smoothly, without dysfunctionalities. Those who headed toward industry and other more competitive nonagricultural economic branches were, in particular, the young people. At present, certain difficulties in meeting the need for manpower in some sectors are beginning to arise. In contrast to industry and other economic branches, where there is a young average age of the worker personnel, in agriculture the process of aging of the work force has become more and more evident of late. The distribution of the agricultural population according to sex and age in 1977 (the date of the last general census of population) is given in Table 2.

Table 2. The Distribution of the Agricultural Population According to Sex and Age*

Specification	Total		Women		Men	
	Thousands	%	Thousands	%	Thousands	%
Agricultural population	3,942	100.0	2,470	62.6	1,472	37.4
				100.0		100.0
14-15 years	14	0.4	8	0.3	6	0.4
16-19 years	122	3.1	73	2.9	49	3.3
20-24 years	244	6.2	157	6.3	87	5.9
25-29 years	331	8.4	215	8.7	116	7.9
30-34 years	348	8.8	228	9.2	120	8.2
35-39 years	470	11.9	310	12.6	160	10.9
40-44 years	547	13.9	355	14.4	192	13.1
45-49 years	544	13.8	350	14.2	194	13.2
50-54 years	528	13.4	332	13.5	196	13.3
55-59 years	318	8.0	202	8.2	116	7.8
Over 60 years	476	12.1	240	9.7	236	16.0

* "Recensamintul Populatiei si Locuintelor din 5 Ianuarie 1977" /The Census of Population and Dwellings on 5 January 1977/, Vol II, Central Directorate for Statistics.

As one sees, women constitute the majority of the work force in agriculture (62.6 percent). While there is a suitable distribution according to age in state agriculture, with a preponderance of the male work force, there is a certain imbalance with regard to both the presence of the two sexes and the presence of the young groups in the other agricultural sectors. In the time that has passed, new changes in the volume and percentage of the agricultural population have occurred, especially at the

level of the agricultural production cooperatives and the individual farms, precisely as a result of the nature of the distribution of this population according to age. The aging process has become even more marked in some units and zones, but the process of the recruitment of new contingents of workers has also been going on, especially in the last 2 years.

In another view, one can note the fact that the general value of 29.4 percent that agriculture had out of the total employed population in 1980 was distributed very unevenly on a county basis. So, for example, in 1977 in Brasov County the agricultural population, including people of 65-75 years of age, represented 10 percent of the total employed population in the county, while in a number of counties the agricultural population had percentages of about 50 percent (the counties of Ialomita, Dolj, Buzau, Gorj, Botosani, Salaj and so on) and in other counties the percentage of the agricultural population was around 20 percent (Hunedoara, Prahova, Sibiu and so on). In this way, while in some counties there was 1 agricultural worker per 5 inhabitants, in others the ratio was 1 to 10 and in the case of Brasov County, the most industrialized and urbanized county in the country, the ratio was 1 to 17.

Of course, certain differences between counties are expected to exist with regard to the volume and percentage of the population employed in agriculture, in order to utilize all the resources that are available. Only the scientific substantiation of the manpower need is capable of indicating the optimum values in each particular case.

/Another important characteristic of the socio-occupational structure concerns the distribution of the employed population according to residential areas/. The raison d'etre of the rural localities has always been that of constituting a human community connected with the utilization of natural resources--the cultivation of land, the raising of animals and so on. Agricultural activity was associated with the rural area, it being differentiated from the urban area, with which predominantly nonagricultural activities were associated. In the modern era of industrialization, the villages too are diversifying their economic activities. Nevertheless, although the rural area is no longer exclusively agricultural, it still remains the optimum framework for manifold utilization of the resources of the environment, for performance of agricultural activities both by the basic workers and by other categories of population living in communes.

The analysis of the distribution of the employed population in the two residential areas brings out strikingly the village-city interaction. The structure of the employed population represents an element of the interaction between the residential areas. A number of people live in the rural area and work in the city, just as others live in the city and work in the rural area.

In the case of the urban localities, the active population in the secondary sector (industry, construction) has the absolute majority, and in the rural localities the percentage goes to the active population in the primary sector (agriculture, silviculture). However, industrial and construction activity also characterizes a large part (more than one-fourth) of the population that lives in communes, including the suburban ones.

The changes that have occurred in the structure of the employed population have been accompanied (and, in fact, favored) by /the growth of the degree of instruction of the whole population as a result of the development of education of all grades/.

Table 3. The Distribution of the Active Population According to Economic Sectors and Types of Localities in the Census on 5 January 1977*

Specification	Total		Municipalities and Cities		Communes	
	Thousands of Persons	%	Thousands of Persons	%	Thousands of Persons	%
Population of the country	21,560	100.0	9,396	43.5 100.0	12,164	56.6 100.0
Active population	10,794	50.1 100.0	4,573	48.6 100.0	6,221	51.1 100.0
Sector I	3,976	36.8	276	6.0	3,700	59.5
Sector II	4,200	38.9	2,548	55.7	1,652	26.5
Sector III	1,500	14.0	940	20.6	560	9.0
Sector IV	834	7.7	586	12.8	248	4.0
Others	284	2.6	223	4.9	61	1.0

* "Recensamintul Populatiei si Locuintelor din 5 Ianuarie 1977," Vol II, Central Directorate for Statistics.

One can note the expansion of the types of vocational training of the work force, in correspondence with the diversification and the growth of the complexity of the activities in the sphere of material production and spiritual production.

II. Trends in the Evolution of the Socio-Occupational Structure

The economic development of the country in the next period, on the basis of the new requirements formulated in the party and state documents, will lead to new changes in the socio-occupational structure, with the process of modernization of it becoming even more pronounced.

a. /Along with the growth in the degree of employment of the work force/, in conformity with the provisions of the current 5-year plan and the long-term orientations, /the volume and percentage of the population employed in nonagricultural sectors will continue to rise/. This trend that will manifest itself in the evolution of the socio-occupational structure of the country will lead to /the growth of the number and percentage of the industrial population predominantly in those zones of the country with a lower level of industrial development/ (as also happened, in fact, in the last 5-year period), resulting in a relative balancing of the territorial distribution of the production forces in ensuing years, thus also producing /a convergence of the structure of the employed population according to economic sectors on a territorial (county) basis/. At the same time, /the general shifting of the industrial work force toward the peak branches/, bearers of technical progress, and /toward the branches supplying raw materials/--the extractive industry--will also grow.

b. /The trend of a reduction in the percentage of the population employed in agriculture will characterize just those counties in which the agricultural population is very numerous/. In other counties, where the agricultural population is now proving to be insufficient, there being difficulties in doing all the work on time and with quality, an opposite direction of mobility of the work force--that is, toward agriculture--is beginning to appear as a result of the needs felt particularly in some sectors, a mobility also facilitated by the increase in incentives.

c. The analysis of the socio-occupational structure, of the distribution of the population employed in agriculture according to age, leads to the fact that, /roughly speaking, the process of occupational mobility from agriculture to other economic sectors has ended. Consequently, agriculture is ceasing to be any longer a supplier of manpower for the rest of the national economy/. Intragenerational mobility between agriculture and industry constitutes an almost concluded chapter also for the socio-occupational structure in Romania. Instead, intergenerational mobility will be present. It is stimulated by the very nature of the socialist production relations, which frees the work force from external restraints of a nature to confine it to a predestined field and makes occupational choice truly possible. The further limitation of the volume of the agricultural population is connected more with the natural process of aging of a part of the population that performs its activity in this field. Annually, about 100,000 people leave the basic activity, even if they still continue to do some work and suitable facilities must be provided for them. In contrast, the entering groups are much smaller in volume: 30,000-50,000 per year.

d. One can also note the fact that the demographic situation in Romania is favorable to the replenishment of the work force in agriculture in the immediate future through the infusion of young labor, including men. A second favorable demographic element, viewed just from the perspective of balancing the structure of the employed population with regard to the percentage of the two sexes in agriculture and supplying manpower to the industrial sectors that are feeling a certain shortage (extraction, ferrous metallurgy and so on), consists of the fact that at the level of the young population of the country the male sex is more numerous by about 10,000 each year for the population of up to 14 years of age. Since more boys than girls were born in the period after the war, in the population of up to 35 years of age in the total value of 12,365,000, the male sex has 6,302,000 (that is, 51 percent)—238,000 more than the female sex.

e. In its turn, /industry/, through the existing units, will /release a part of the work force/ (through growth in labor productivity) for the new industrial capacities that will be put into operation and for agriculture. It should be mentioned that mobility between industry and agriculture entails certain difficulties, assuming that the latter would be competitive from all viewpoints in the working and living conditions offered. Socialist ownership permits much more easily the changing of the direction of socio-occupational mobility, due to the social character of ownership. Of course, within the socialist society too, the process of self-reproduction of the occupational groups plays an important role. However, it does not limit the processes of socio-occupational mobility and does not constitute an obstacle to the redistribution of the work force among the economic sectors when this becomes necessary. The real securing of the possibilities of occupational mobility is directly connected with better fulfillment of the vocational aspirations of the younger generation, the selection of the trade in accordance with the aptitudes of each individual and so on. In the rural area there are sufficient labor resources capable of meeting the needs of agriculture under conditions of competitiveness in relation to other sectors.

In fact, in sociology there is more and more analysis of the phenomenon of "nostalgia for agriculture" present in many industrial workers in the developed countries, with the impossibility of fulfilling the desire becoming greater as a result of the structure of ownership, the cost of agricultural implements and so on.

f. /In Romania, the further meeting of the need for manpower for agriculture will be done in several ways/: first, it is a question of /stabilizing in agriculture those

who perform their activity in this sector/ by limiting the processes of intragenerational mobility between agriculture and industry; second, it is a question of /the entry of new contingents of agricultural workers from the graduates/ of compulsory 10-year education and the graduates of secondary and vocational school, thus forming the model of the modern agricultural worker; it is also a question of the process of the /mobility/ of inhabitants of villages /from industry to agriculture/, some of them working earlier in agriculture, coming either as skilled workers for the mechanization, repair and irrigation sectors or as workers for the other agricultural sectors.

g. /The combining of agricultural activity with activities of an industrial type to a greater extent/ will be an important feature of the evolution of the socio-occupational structure. In addition, especially in villages, but also in the small (agro-industrial) cities to some extent, /the number of people who will perform agricultural activity complementary to the basic activity will rise/, helping to economically strengthen all rural farms, to supply agricultural products for their own needs and for marketing and to achieve self-supplying. The possibilities of doing agricultural activities as a complement to the activity done in nonagricultural sectors, with effects of the most favorable kind, both economic ones and ones of recreation and restoration of the ability to work, are very numerous. It would be ideal for every person who is near an area of land to be concerned with cultivating it, and special spaces either within the cities or on their periphery can be provided for cityfolk, as has also begun to be done. It should be noted that in other socialist countries too, where the percentage of the permanent agricultural population is about 10 percent of the total employed population, agriculture is practiced, with good results, by countryfolk or cityfolk as a second activity.

h. In addition, another trend in the change in the socio-occupational structure in the direction of its modernization consists of /the growth of the volume of the population employed in sectors III and IV, by expanding and diversifying the services for the population/, the development of science, education and culture and the health-care system. One important direction is the development of them in the rural area, where greater needs are felt, precisely in order to rise to the level of the conditions offered by the cities and to become truly competitive with them in the formulation of residential choices by young people, with the advantages of the environment being utilized.

i. A final aspect that we want to note refers to /the general raising of the level of instruction of the employed population/, due to the higher level of school and vocational training by means of which the replacement of the manpower that ceases activity is done. This process will characterize equally the work force in all sectors of activity, including agriculture, regardless of the residential area. In fact, the measures for stabilizing the personnel in the rural area will themselves lead to substantial changes in the distribution of the active population according to levels of school training on a territorial basis by raising the level of culture in the villages.

12105
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REPLACEMENT OF WORKERS IN LABOR FORCE DISCUSSED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian May-Jun 82 pp 423-428

/Article by Florica Dumitru: "The Evaluation of the Rates of Replacement Within the Labor Resources"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics/

/Text/ The planning of the need for personnel who must be provided and trained in order to replace the natural and specific losses requires a good knowledge of the intensity of the phenomenon, which necessitates the evaluation of these losses within the existing work force, in order to provide and train in time suitable contingents in terms of level and structure.

In the specialized literature, the study of the natural losses (old-age pensioning, disability, death) and the specific losses (occupational mobility, fluctuation) within the active population is getting greater interest, due particularly to the studies undertaken by the specialized bodies of the United Nations.

Research done in some industrialized countries* attests that, within the personnel losses, those generated by natural losses have a relatively low percentage, with the great majority of them being caused by mobility, in general, and by fluctuation, in particular, with the total rates of annual loss reaching, for example, up to 10 percent and even 20 percent in the sector of agricultural production. It is felt that in the newly appearing trades, for which those recruited are younger, the losses are not significant. In addition, the rates of loss have higher values among women, as a result of a more complex motivation that causes their mobility (maternity, greater morbidity, matrimonial reasons, family problems and so on).

In our country, the intensity of the natural and specific losses among worker personnel is followed on a quarterly basis, by the central body for statistics, at the level of the sectors of activity in industry, construction-installation by contract, railroad transportation and automotive transportation, according to ministries and people's councils.

The limits of this strictly statistical information are determined by the fact that, on the one hand, out of the total employed population, only the "worker personnel" category is the object of the records and, on the other hand, the existing data have a general character, not being broken down according to age groups and sex,

* R. Rowat (expert-conseil FAO), "Developpement Economique et Sociale. Personnel Qualifie et Developpement Agricole et Rural," Etude FAO, Rome, 1980.

socioprofessional categories and so on. The characteristics of the different demographic categories with regard to the intensity of the losses, the possibilities of replacement and the duration and cost of the vocational training necessitate the differentiated treatment of them.

The series of data offered by the official statistics show that, in our country too, the great majority of the losses among worker personnel are brought about by "movement" (94 percent) and, within it, by fluctuation and not by natural causes, which have a relatively low percentage (at most 6 percent). Nevertheless, it must be stressed that, although they generate significant economic costs, the losses caused by "movement" involve, in general, occupational categories with vocational training, which, of course, from this viewpoint, necessitates a separate evaluation from the natural losses (pensioning, death, loss of the ability to work).

However, given the stable character of the chance of death and the possibility of cessation of activity at a certain age, the evaluation of the need for human resources for replacing the natural losses within the employed population and among worker personnel can be achieved with a high degree of rigor by using instruments specific to demographic statistics--namely, with the help of the "activity table."

The present study proposes to present an experiment in this regard and some concise results of the determinations made.

Methodological Specifications

From a methodological viewpoint, the activity table constitutes an application of the mortality table, bearing similarities in calculation to it and taking over from it part of the biometric functions that it includes. Finally, the activity table expresses the cumulative effect of the law of mortality--a factor that, in its turn, constitutes a combination of influences--and of the regimen of activity of the population subjected to analysis, it being a sensitive instrument for measuring the trends in this regard.

At present, there is a great deal of specialized literature referring to these instruments for evaluating the losses, that is, for forecasting the possibilities of meeting in the future the need planned with the help of the activity table, which is also being used currently in the studies prepared by the specialized bodies of the United Nations, especially the ILO /International Labor Organization/.

The most important functions expressed with the help of the activity table, besides "the expectancy of active life" and "the expectancy of inactive life," at the level of each age group according to sex, are "the chance of death per 1,000 active persons," "the rate of departure from activity during active life" and "the rate of departure from activity" after the legal age of pensioning, with the last two quantities also being expressed per 1,000 active persons.

Finally, the same instrument also expresses "the possibilities of entry" into activity at young ages, but, given the fact that its level is the resultant of a group of factors of a demographic, economic, legislative and behavioral nature which operated during the period of analysis and whose stability over time is debatable, its use in projective calculations bears risks with regard to the rigor of the estimates that are obtained. In fact, since, under the conditions of the labor legislation in our

country, the "rates of entry," that is, the "entries," are determined, in particular, by the size of the generation trained for work, the evaluation of these quantities did not constitute a support for substantiation in the projected calculations made.

Results of the Determinations Made

Using the methodology described in the manual published under the aegis of the United Nations,* we drew up such an activity table for our country,** a table that expresses the conditions of the law of mortality characteristic of the years 1976-1978 and of the regimen of activity given in the last registration of the total and active population, done on the occasion of the census in January 1977, and the special registration of worker personnel on 30 September 1979 (Table 1).

Table 1. Values of the Specific Rates of Activity (in the Census in January 1977 for the Active Population and in the Special Registration in September 1979 for Worker Personnel)—in %

Age Groups	Employed Population (1977)		Worker Personnel (1979)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Below 16 years	2.98	3.41	2.2	2.0
16-19 years	45.28	38.44	28.9	22.8
20-24 years	87.06	75.57	14.7	49.3
25-29 years	97.01	83.09	79.6	57.8
30-34 years	97.93	83.53	90.4	57.9
35-39 years	97.16	83.62	91.8	50.9
40-44 years	95.85	81.73	80.9	42.0
45-49 years	93.78	77.58	72.3	33.8
50-54 years	88.78	69.70	59.7	23.8
55-59 years	78.67	52.45	56.9	10.5
60-64 years	44.73	25.21	27.5	1.3
65-69 years	20.88	13.20	-	-
70-74 years	13.44	10.26	-	-
75 years and over	8.17	5.89	-	-

The table drawn up took into account both the employed population and the subpopulation of worker personnel, for both sexes, in the Socialist Republic of Romania, with the results of the calculations made offering elements for a more rigorous substantiation of the work specific to the field of planning of labor resources.

As a result of the measurements required by the methodology characteristic of the activity table, the level of the stated specific functions was obtained, of which we give the level of those with a projective value (Table 2).

* "Methodes d'Analyse des Activites Economiques de la Population a Partir des Recensements," Departement des Affaires Economiques et Sociales, St. Soa/Serie A/43, United Nations, New York, 1969.

**A single activity table, for the male population, registered on the occasion of the census in 1966, has been published in Romania (Vl. Trebici, "Populatia Romaniei si Cresterea Economica" [The Population of Romania and Economic Growth], Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1971, p 184).

Table 2. The Values of "the Chance of Death" and of the Rates of "Entry" into and "Departure" from Activity for the Male and Female Employed Population Resulting from the "Activity Table"

(in %)

Age Group	Male Population			Female Population		
	Chance of Death	Rate of Entry	Rate of Departure	Chance of Death	Rate of Entry	Rate of Departure
Below 16 years	0.42	49.70	-	0.41	43.22	-
16-19 years	0.53	153.64	-	0.54	116.84	-
20-24 years	1.15	400.55	-	0.65	183.40	-
25-29 years	1.27	364.10	-	0.71	47.00	-
30-34 years	2.13	7.58	-	0.81	3.28	-
35-39 years	2.37	-	2.11	1.58	-	2.10
40-44 years	3.74	-	2.49	1.92	-	7.32
45-49 years	4.62	-	7.46	3.73	-	15.25
50-54 years	7.53	-	7.92	4.86	-	35.09
55-59 years	12.68	-	65.17	8.42	-	81.63
60-64 years	22.10	-	120.98	11.00	-	149.78
65-69 years	35.31	-	153.41	23.23	-	107.44
70-74 years	67.89	-	87.02	34.96	-	59.86
75 years and over	93.34	-	77.31	50.41	-	194.23

In order to determine the actual losses, the potentially employed (probably employed) population and the worker personnel, respectively, were projected, for a start, on the basis of the potentially active contingent, structured according to sex and age, amended with the values of the specific rates of employment (including for worker personnel), which reflect the intensity of the participation in activity according to sex and age in 1977 and 1979, respectively. The "probable" contingents of the employed population and of worker personnel obtained in this way were amended with the chance of death and the probabilities of departure from activity, there being obtained the absolute level of the losses according to the causes that generate them.

The insignificant differences between the level of the employed population planned for 1985 and that projected with the help of the described instruments entitle us to believe that the measurements made lie within acceptable limits of rigor and that the results reflected with the projection of the data are valid.

The dominant characteristics regarding the intensity and evolution of the entries and losses within the employed population (Table 3) are the following:

/The general index of entries/, calculated on the assumption of the employment, in this period, of just the generations of graduates of secondary schools (stages I and II), vocational schools and higher education, has a value of 24.3 per 1,000 employed persons in 1981, and then a spectacular increase will result in the level of 34.9 per 1,000 in 1985;

/The index of losses by death/ gives a picture unfavorable to the employed male population in the sense that, in its turn, the losses are greater than in the employed female population--namely, 4.2-4.6 per 1,000, as compared with 2.4 per 1,000;

Table 3. Specific Data on the Entries and Departures Within the Employed Population According to Sex, in the 1981-1985 5-Year Period

Index or Ratio	Year 1981			Year 1982			Year 1983			Year 1984			Year 1985		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
1. General index of entries (school graduates per 1,000 employed persons)	24.3	23.8	24.2	24.9	25.0	24.9	25.6	25.7	25.6	31.0	31.0	30.9	34.9	35.1	34.7
2. Index of losses by death (deaths within the employed population per 1,000 employed persons)	3.4	4.2	2.4	3.5	4.3	2.4	3.5	4.4	2.4	3.6	4.6	2.4	3.5	4.4	2.3
3. Index of losses by pensioning (pensionings per 1,000 employed persons)	11.7	10.4	13.3	11.9	10.9	13.1	12.3	11.7	13.1	12.6	12.1	13.1	12.4	12.1	12.7
4. General index of losses (total natural losses per 1,000 employed persons--2 + 3)	15.1	14.6	15.7	15.3	15.2	15.6	15.8	16.1	15.5	16.2	16.7	15.5	15.9	16.6	15.1
5. Index of replacement (per 1,000 employed persons--1 - 4)	9.2	9.2	8.5	9.6	9.8	9.3	9.8	9.6	10.1	14.8	14.3	15.4	19.0	18.5	19.6
6. Ratio of replacement (number of "entries" per 1,000 "losses")	160	165	155	162	164	160	162	161	166	193	187	201	220	212	231

However, /the index of losses by pensioning/, through the characteristic values, shows bigger losses among employed women (13.3 per 1,000, as compared with 11.0 per 1,000), with trends of a convergence of the values of this indicator, according to sex, in 1985 (12.7 per 1,000, as compared with 12.1 per 1,000);

The different trends, specific to the sexes, expressed by the two quantities are counterbalanced considerably through summation into /a general index of losses/, which fluctuates between 15.1 per 1,000 and 16.2 per 1,000 during the 5-year period, preserving nonetheless a pro-mille gap to the detriment of men;

/The index of replacement/, having a direction similar to that of the natural index of population, will have double the rate of growth in 1985--of course, under the conditions of the constant maintenance of the rates of activity and the probabilities of death that were used;

The ratio of replacement exhibits a trend of a slight decline, from 165 per 1,000 in 1981 to 151 per 1,000 in 1983, within the employed male population, a date after which the possibilities of replacing the losses with graduates of schools and secondary schools will rise to 220 percent in 1985, with a difference within the female resources (231 percent).

The rising values of the ratio of replacement of the losses among employed persons confirm an expanded reproduction of the potentially employed labor resources, involving both the quantitative aspect and the qualitative aspect of them, with regard to the training and the ability to work.

Conclusions

Initiated and worked out mainly for the purpose of knowing better the elements for dimensioning the need for personnel to provide and train, the method of demographic evaluations with the help of the mortality and activity tables is used in the study.

The results of the determinations made express /the absolute level of the natural losses/ within the employed population and among worker personnel, according to age groups and sex, according to years of the 1981-1985 5-year period.

The derived quantities obtained by processing the raw data offer original information, useful for knowing the trends of the phenomenon, having a high level of detail (sex, age, causes of natural losses).

/The level of the losses according to sex/ can orient the activity of planning of labor resources--that is, on the occasion of drawing up the balance of the work force, the program for providing, training and improving the work force and the program for increasing the participation of women in the activity in enterprises and institutions.

In addition, the level of the losses according to sex, age groups and causes of losses (death, pensioning during active life and after reaching the legal age of pensioning) can be of interest in the activity of substantiating the plan regarding the funds needed for the payment of pensions.

From a methodological viewpoint, but also a practical one, the work is addressed, in general, to the specialists on matters of the planning of labor resources, social security and pensions, fields in which the need for rigor in the determinations no longer has to be demonstrated.

The fact that the indicators resulting from the calculation of an activity table offer, implicitly, the possibility of comparisons over time and differentiations on a territorial basis is also worth emphasizing. The value of the increase in active live and the increase in inactive life and the number of years of active life lost at the level of a population--products of the same activity table--constitute very important indicators, both for the activity of analysis, diagnosis and forecasting and for that of decisionmaking, knowing that, under the conditions of a planned economy, the problems of the potentially active human resources and of the workplaces must be solved sensibly and the eventuality of an impact must be pointed out in time.

12105
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VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN AGROINDUSTRIAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian May-Jun 82 pp 429-438

/Article by Virgil Constantinescu and Gheorghe Ilies: "Vocational Training in Agroindustrial Secondary Schools"/

/Text/ The new agrarian revolution and the integrated development of education with social practice require at present "...decisive measures for raising the general level of education, for training the work force, for increasing the qualification and organization, the retraining of the working people in all sectors of activity."* The placement of the agricultural sector in the center of these measures and the radical reconsideration of the importance of the professions specific to this field entail a basic revision of the system of vocational guidance for the specialized secondary schools and require the stimulation of the choices by pupils with good scholastic performances to attend their courses. Under the current conditions, the complexity and delicacy of the biological processes necessitate qualification at high levels for the workers in the primary sector and specialization of the truest value for the future agricultural producers.

In our study we used the data obtained in the investigation of the agroindustrial secondary schools in the counties of Bistrita-Nasaud and Brasov.

1. The statistical data and the sociological research are in relative agreement in distinguishing the phenomenon of aging and feminization of the agricultural work force, with an emphatic accent being put on the necessity of restoring the production potential in this sector. The fact that, out of those who abandoned agricultural work in a certain period, 81.7 percent were young and very young people and 62.6 percent were of the male sex** confirms the depreciation of the agricultural sector and the deterioration of the professional status that this field offers to its workers. The limitation of the emigration from the rural area to the urban area and the material stimulation of the young people's interest in the activities in this basic

* "Programul Partidului Comunist Roman de Faurire a Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate si Inaintare a Romaniei spre Comunism" /The Program of the Romanian Communist Party for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism/, Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1975, p 93.

**"The Zoning of Agricultural Production According to Counties," a Synthesis, 1980-1985-1990, "Caiet de Studii" /Notebook of Studies/, Bucharest, 1976.

economic branch correspond to the current stage. Referring to this aspect, the secretary general of our party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, stated that one finds "...a more general tendency to go from villages to cities; this tendency is justified up to a certain limit. At the same time, we must ensure the presence of the young people in agriculture, in zootechny."* Of course, the emigration from agriculture to nonagricultural branches is not caused everywhere by the introduction of technical progress or by the existence of surplus manpower in the villages. At the same time, the sociological research has brought out the fact that the migrational movement from the rural area to the urban area was not followed everywhere by growth in labor productivity or by more marked social development of the localities where the emigration arose. Thus, both for the current activities and, in particular, in the periods of maximum demand on production activity, there is recourse to substitutive forms, there being tried fortuitous methods of gathering and utilizing the harvests achieved, but without the results obtained always being the anticipated ones and without avoiding, in this way, the loss and deterioration of agricultural and food goods.

To the negative effects of an economic nature are added consequences of a social nature, such as: the depopulation of the villages, with a direct effect on the plan indicators and the population's incomes; long-lasting disorders in supplying perishable goods to the markets and a drop in the volume of products for the state supply; the abandonment of farms, for which significant sums of money were allocated and which are taken out of the circuit of social values; the reduction of the school population and the appearance of educational discontinuities in the rural area; the generation of difficulties in organizing the communal centers and systematizing the social space; the appearance of obstacles in the process of social homogenization and the production of imbalances in the contexts of cultural ecology; the overcrowding of the urban localities and the generation of deviant behavior due to the phenomena of being uprooted from one context and not being integrated into another; and so on. With such a group of negative effects, it seems absolutely imperative to change the current evaluative view regarding the agrozootechnical professions, it being necessary to restore the social prestige that should define the producer in this field.

The new agricultural revolution and the growing use of biological substitutes in the processes with a technological character put in other parameters of value the actuality of the work in the primary sector and necessitate other criteria for classifying the professions on the list of this sector. This presupposes a reaction of positive reference--especially by young people--to the spheres of agricultural production and the stimulation of the choice of training in one of the specialties existing in this field.

2. Our research was carried out on the basis of a set of six hypotheses, relying on a series of theoretical premises with a profound practical purpose, among which:

a. If contemporary agriculture is permeated by a true scientific and technical revolution and if its components are subjected to new practical metamorphoses, then the worker in this sector will have to have suitable vocational training in order to be able to master the modern technology and in order to have higher production outputs;

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* Nicolae Ceausescu, "Cuvintare la Consfatuirea de Lucru cu Cadrele din Zootehnie" [A Speech at the Work Conference with Personnel in Zootechny], Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1980, p 6.

b. If in the rural localities there are CAP's [agricultural production cooperatives], IAS's [state agricultural enterprises] and associations with good organization and with economic efficiency, then they will constitute frameworks of positive reference for the generations of pupils of the schools in the rural area and will cause them to be trained in agricultural professions; however, the converse of the previous statement is also just as valid;

c. If a negative selection of the agricultural work force is observed and if the entrance examinations for the agroindustrial secondary schools do not achieve a certain eliminatory competition among the applicants, then the choice of the generations of pupils of the general school for the professions in the primary sector will be inversely proportional to the level of their scholastic performance;

d. If both the school in the rural area and the agroindustrial secondary school achieve a true integration with research and production, then an act of equalizing in terms of prestige the agrozootechnical professions with the nonagricultural ones is produced, stimulating the choices of the future graduates of the general school in the rural area to be trained in professions in this sector and orienting their interest toward the agroindustrial secondary schools;

e. If the agrozootechnical units to which graduates of the agrozootechnical secondary schools are assigned create optimum conditions for exercising the professions obtained through school instruction and if such professions are solicited just as much in the agrozootechnical sectors as those in industry, then general-school graduates with high scholastic performances and with aptitudes for research in the future will be attracted to the secondary schools of this type, eliminating or limiting the phenomenon of negative selection of the work force in the agricultural field and the evasive perception regarding the work in this sector;

f. If the agricultural units utilize suitably the graduates of the agroindustrial secondary schools in skilled activities and if they are actually involved in matters of management and decisionmaking, then a marked integration of them into the operating mechanism of the respective units is achieved and a constant stability of the skilled personnel is provided.

3. As the data of our study indicate, the choice of the graduates of the general school for the secondary schools with an agricultural specialty involves, in general, approximately the same psychopedagogic stages as the choices for other secondary-school specialties and they presuppose relatively the same phases of materialization over time. However, they also add certain characteristic notes, determined by a certain kind of deterioration of the social prestige accorded to agricultural work and by the fact that some economic failures in CAP's and IAS's in the country cause an attitude of rejection of the professions in the primary sector, which directly affects the process of selection of the work force in this field.* For this reason, in an extensive sample subjected to research, there is a low percentage (1 percent) for

* We dwelled on this aspect in detail in our study "Occupational Choices as a System of Reference to the Generations of Graduates of the School in the Rural Area," in the volume "Invatamint, Productie, Cercetare" [Education, Production, Research], in the collection "Caiete de Pedagogie" [Notebooks of Pedagogy], Bucharest, Didactica si Pedagogica Publishing House, 1981, pp 164-195.

the choices for the agrosilvicultural secondary schools,* there being found a marked fluctuation in the number of pupils during a school year. Thus, examining the situation of the choices for stages I and II of the agroindustrial secondary schools in Bistrita-Nasaud County in April 1980 and analyzing the situation of the filling of the places by means of the entrance examination given in July 1980 (in comparison with the mechanical specialty in all the industrial secondary schools in the county on the same dates), the synoptic situation in Table 1 was obtained.

According to the figures in the columns and on the basis of consulting the records, for stage I of the agricultural secondary schools there were choices for only 45.16 percent (in Bistrita-Nasaud County) and 41.2 percent (in the agricultural secondary schools in Brasov), there remaining unfilled, after the first stage of enrollment, 49.38 percent of the places in those in Bistrita-Nasaud County and 64.28 percent in the agricultural secondary schools in Brasov County. In contrast, the choices for the mechanical specialty in the industrial secondary schools covered 96.53 percent of the available places, with 92 percent being filled.

For stage II of the agricultural secondary schools choices for about 58 percent were expressed and only 54.45 percent of the places posted at the schools in Bistrita-Nasaud County were filled, while at those in Brasov County the percentage was even lower (54 percent) and 53 percent of the places were filled.

The least favorable situation is presented by the schools with a specialty of agricultural machinery operator, where only 7 out of 36 available places were filled in Bistrita, while only 8 out of 36 existing places were filled in Fagaras, in the 1st session of enrollment. In the fall examination session, all those who could be convinced were enrolled, without a competitive entrance examination being organized.

In contrast, in the mechanical section of the industrial secondary schools, the choices expressed by those who wanted to attend the courses of stage II represented 95.11 percent of the existing places, with 82.11 percent of the places being filled in the first examination session.

To the above is added the fact that, out of the 71 applicants enrolled for admission to stage II at the agricultural secondary schools in Bistrita, only 56 graduates came from stage I of the same secondary school and 63.34 percent continued, in the same stage, the courses of the same specialized secondary school. In contrast, 15 applicants admitted through the competitive entrance examination came from other secondary schools in the county, where they had a lower scholastic standing and where they were not sure of success in the competitive entrance examination in the event of greater competition. At the same time, 21 graduates of stage I at this secondary school, with very good school training and with real mental aptitudes, enrolled for stage II at secondary schools of another type, orienting themselves toward other professions than that chosen initially. This apparent aspirational mobility correlates almost linearly both with the process of school stability during the years of study and with the structure of the reasons that determined the choice of the pupils to enroll in these secondary schools. For the first aspect, one's attention is caught by the fact

* D. Bazac and F. Mahler, "The Selection of the Profession, a Pyramid of the Integration of Young People," in the volume "Integrarea Socio-Profesionala a Tineretului" /The Socioprofessional Integration of Young People/, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Academy, 1976, p 87.

Table 1. The Situation of the Choices for Stages I and II on 5 April 1980 and the Situation of the Filling of the Places by Means of the Competitive Entrance Examination on 9 July 1980 (the Agroindustrial Secondary Schools, in Comparison with the Mechanical Specialty in All the Industrial Secondary Schools in Bistrita-Nasaud County)

Name of Secondary School (Specialty)	Stage I (9th Grade)				Stage II (11th Grade) Vocational School				
	Places	Choices (5 April)	Enrolled (9 July)	Unemployed	Places	Choices (5 April)	Applied	Admitted to Stage II	Unemployed
Bistrita Agroindustrial	108	81	85	23	72	64	71	65	7
Beclean Agroindustrial	108*	65	49	50	72	32	41	36	36
Beclean Vocational School	-	-	-	-	36	6	-	6	30
Teaca Agroindustrial	108	31	21	87	Stage II was not given due to a lack of applicants.				
Branch agroindustrial secondary schools	108	57			The filling of the places will be done in relation to the basic secondary schools.				
Total agroindustrial secondary schools	432	234	155	160	180	104	112	107	73
Mechanical specialty in industrial secondary schools	1,040	937	960	80	684	651	506	495	186
Branches	684	900	720	84	-	-	-	-	-
Total mechanical secondary schools	1,904	1,837	1,680	104	684	4,651	506	495	186

* For the Beclean Agroindustrial Secondary School, the 108 places were divided as follows:

a. In stage I, 36 places for agricultural workers (45 choices) and 72 places for agricultural machinery operators (20 choices)--25 places for agricultural workers and 24 places for agricultural machinery operators were filled;

b. In stage II, 36 places for mechanic-agronomists (30 choices, 34 applicants)--30 places were filled--and 36 places for agricultural mechanics (2 choices, 7 applicants)--6 places were filled.

according to which, in the 1st quarter of the 1980-1981 school year at the Bistrita LAI [Agroindustrial Secondary School], out of 108 pupils enrolled and assigned to 3 parallel classes in the 9th grade--36 left--that is, the equivalent of a whole class--and at the Beclean LAI, out of 69 pupils enrolled in the 9th grade, only 12 transferred to other schools, without producing serious disturbances in the instructional and educational process. It is true that one of the reasons that caused such interschool movement also consisted of the reduction of the number of scholarships to the basic schools and was the consequence of real difficulties of a material nature, felt by pupils right from the start of the first quarter. At the same time, it should be noted that those who asked to transfer from the secondary school at which they were enrolled initially enrolled later at branch secondary schools, also with an agricultural-school specialty, but there also were pupils who obtained approval to attend the courses of secondary schools with a different specialty from that which they left and with harder schooling conditions.

Concerning ourselves with the effects produced in the schools at which those who obtained the notice of withdrawal enrolled later, great difficulties of a teaching and administrative nature were found. First, the very large number of pupils in a single class affected the instructional and educational process, making it impossible to acquire the knowledge for vocational training through integrated learning. Second, the still insufficiently developed technical-material base (at some of the branch secondary schools) often led to recourse to improvised solutions. Third, at these branch secondary schools, the specialized personnel were not suitable everywhere, there being, not rarely, sporadic teacher substitutions or curriculum changes.

All these things have negative effects on the quality of the instructional process and of the vocational training of the pupils. They are not stimulated to have behavior of a creative type and are not induced to develop a heuristic spirit of personally seeking and investigating the solutions to problems of a scholastic nature. Such a large number of pupils in a class transforms it into an amorphous mass, into an aggregation of individuals assembled to hear a lesson but not to also participate in doing it. In such a situation, the pupils remain in the state of an object of education, without rising to that of a subject of it.

4. Regarding self-motivation in the choice to attend the courses of the agroindustrial secondary school, the data obtained from the ninth grade at the Bistrita LAI--after the first quarter of schooling in this specialty (20 January 1981)--correlated with the averages obtained at the end of the eighth grade of the general school from which they graduated, seem significant (Table 2).

Among the specialists there is the opinion that the high aspirations of adolescents are directly and dominantly connected with professions* and the levels of aspiration can represent, in themselves, a preference for different types and forms of social involvement.** At the same time, it is felt that the selection of the occupational category by adolescents and its distribution in a psychosocial space that tends to be defined constitute a variable dependent on the value of its practical use, but also

* For this aspect, see: Cornelis Johannes von Zeyl, "A Comparative Study of the Relation Between Social Stratification, Mobility Aspirations and Achievement Values," University of California, Los Angeles, 1977, p 223.

**Op. cit., p 284.

on the cultural emblems that indicate the social prestige of the profession. In this way, the real (material and mental) factors would be those which orient their occupational choice and which produce the hierarchy of the aspirations in relation to the desired occupation. And then, according to the opinions invoked, there would be a one-to-one correspondence between the level of formative aspiration and the occupational choice, it thus being possible to correlate, in a positive manner, the content of an expected instructional program and the requirements of a known category of posts.* One does not hesitate to make certain connections of principle between the absolute significance of the levels of aspiration and the social classes or the categories of an occupational nature to which the families of the investigated subjects belong, with the avowed intention of observing the coefficient of influence exercised by the parental environment on the occupational choice and for the purpose of establishing a derivation--of a causal nature--of one from the other..

Table 2.

Indicators	Number of Subjects at the Bistrita LAI	Number of Subjects at the Beclean LAI
Number of pupils investigated	72	57
Area of origin:		
Rural	58	49
Urban	14	7
Father's profession:		
Peasant	39	37
Worker in agriculture	11	5
Worker in industry	13	8
Worker in construction	1	5
Worker in transportation	2	-
Functionary	2	2
Other situations (children's home)	4	-
How they were oriented toward this secondary school:		
Advised by teachers	3	5
Advised by parents	16	14
For the sake of agriculture	29	15
Compelled by circumstances	24	12
The belief that they would not succeed in other secondary schools	-	11
Want to be trained and to remain in agriculture	48	28
Want to change specialties when the possibility arises	24	29
Enrolled at the agroindustrial secondary school in the first session	31	24
Enrolled at the agroindustrial secondary school in the second session	41	33

From the observations synthesized in the research thus far and from the above data, it can be judged that the great majority of those who lean toward agrozootechnical

* Ibidem.

professions come from the rural area and are descended from families of workers in the agricultural sector, justifying, in a way, the sense of the above suppositions and verifying the existence of a certain index of generality in the relationship existing between the profession of the parents and the vocational aspiration of the children. The analysis shows--at certain social levels--a correspondence between the categories of professions of the ancestors and the occupational choices formulated by descendants. Some parents have an attitude of reserve toward the activities in the primary sector and, in consequence, it causes them to warn their children to not orient their occupational interest toward work in this field. From this come marked discrepancies between the occupation desired by parents for their children and the plans anticipated by the latter. Consequently, we encountered in some of the pupils in the sixth forms the express intention to be employed in other productive fields--after graduating from the agroindustrial secondary school--than the one for which they were trained, and we caught the intention to abandon professions before they were even practiced. Thus, trying to grasp the methods of prospective reference of the pupils in the 12th grade (horticulture) at the specialized secondary school in Bistrita, at the end of the 2d quarter of the past school year, and seeking to enlighten ourselves about their intention to be employed in the work for which they were trained for 4 years, we obtained a series of useful data for the competent authorities in agriculture and education, which could constitute true directives for the action of vocational guidance and formation of those who choose this sphere of future activity. Briefly, these data are contained in Table 3.

Table 3.

Indicators	Number
1. The number of pupils investigated	31
2. The number of those who want to attend the college:	13
with an agricultural specialty	11
with a teaching specialty	2
3. The number of those who want to remain in agriculture (including those who would attend college)	19
4. The number of those who want to change their specialty	12

If, in a class of 31 pupils, about 31 percent did not want to practice agricultural professions and if, after 4 years of school, this sector could not become a framework of positive reference, it then follows that the system of initial guidance was extremely spotty and the secondary school was not able to stimulate those premises--be they only optative--with which the pupils succeeded there. From the above data it is also possible to derive the idea that, during the years of school, some of the pupils radically reconsidered their initial image of projective reference regarding the desired trade and revised their aspirations, both under the impact of influences of a family nature and under the impact of others of an economic, administrative, cultural and other nature, which have disturbing repercussions on the process of social integration of the future graduates of the agroindustrial secondary schools. Thus, some of the subjects investigated--and, we believe, not just them--judging negatively the agricultural occupations and giving them lower scores for intellectual presence in comparison with the trades in the other sectors, develop evasive behavior or an attitude of rejection toward these trades, without projecting aspirations of prestige into a context of an agrarian nature. For these reasons, the pupils with special scholastic success and with high creative potential abandon or tend to abandon the specialty that they acquired through school instruction and want to practice other

trades than those that they chose earlier, producing serious disturbances in the system of recruitment and distribution of the specialized work force and causing extra expenditures for later training for a new occupation. The situations to which we are referring create a kind of uncertain state or an unforeseeable field of random manifestations in the program for rational distribution of human resources on a territorial basis, real quantitative imbalances, but qualitative ones, in particular, between the sectors of the national economy. For the present case, both the way in which the graduates--partially identified--of the earlier series were integrated into the agricultural units to which they were assigned and the number of those who changed their field of productive activity are illustrative. Thus, from a rough estimate regarding three series of graduates of the agroindustrial secondary school in Bistrita-Nasaud, the data contained in the columns of Table 4 were obtained.

Table 4.

Graduation Series of Year, Total Number of Graduates, and Number of Pupils Identified	Current Field of Activity			
	Agriculture	No	Other Fields	No
1970-1971	Agricultural	2	Manager in trade	1
20 graduates	expert		ADAS /State Insurance Administration/	1
12 identified	Plant-protection	1	functionary	
	technician		UTC /Union of Communist Youth/ activist	1
	Hothouse	1	Secretary	1
	technician		Medical assistant	1
			Pitesti UA /expansion unknown/ worker	1
			Brasov UT /"Tractorul" Plant/ worker	1
			Cluj "Vinalcool" worker	1
Total (1970-1971)		4		8
1977-1978	Worker in IAS	2	ADAS functionary	2
34 graduates	CAP accountant	1	Salesperson in trade	1
15 identified	CAP economist	1	ICIL /Enterprise for Milk Collection and	1
	Flower hothouses	4	Industrialization/ worker	
			Suceava mineral waters	1
			Not employed	2
Total (1977-1978)		8		7
1978-1979	CAP or IAS	13	Spinning-mill training course	2
34 graduates	technician		Not working	2
22 identified	CAP cashier	1		
	IAS economist	3		
	IAS crew chief	1		
Total (1978-1979)		18		4
General total		30		19

Out of the total considered,* 38.79 percent do not work in the sphere of agricultural production and four graduates were not yet employed, which confirms our initial

* Out of the 88 graduates of 3 secondary-school series, we managed to identify the workplaces of only 49 of them, with the current occupation and residence of the others not being known either by the school or by their schoolmates.

hypotheses and reveals the existence of major deficiencies in the system of recruitment, training and utilization of the specialized work force for the primary sector, necessitating, for the present, the intervention of the competent authorities at least in the following spheres of action:

a. The planning of the schooling figure in the agroindustrial secondary schools in accordance with the forecast on the need for specialized manpower in the state and cooperative agricultural units, in order to prevent the extreme situations of a shortage or a surplus of graduates of specialized secondary schools;

b. The organization of services with vocational guidance at the level of the schools in the rural area, so that the choices for the future specialties may follow competent testing, done by sociologists, psychologists and educators, which would ensure the selection of suitable trades by the pupils of the general schools and would thus link the aptitudinal plane with that of an occupational nature;

c. The enactment of a working relationship between the management of the agroindustrial secondary schools and the state and cooperative agricultural units where the graduates of these secondary schools are to be employed, so that the vocational integration of the young specialists may go smoothly and the productive utilization may be efficient. The failure of the administration of the specialized school to have informative data about the way in which its graduates practice the professions for which they were trained is totally unwarranted and it is totally unacceptable for it to not intervene in order to remedy negative situations in which some of these graduates are often found;

d. The employment of the young graduates in posts of technicians and not posts of unskilled workers or day laborers, as we found in some agricultural units investigated, in order to avoid the abandonment of professions and blot out that negative spectrum through whose prism the activities of the primary sector are evaluated. We believe that some analogies of employment--between the graduates of the industrial secondary schools and those of the agroindustrial secondary schools--would eliminate certain inequalities of an administrative nature and would lead to a kind of parity in prestige between industry and agriculture, between one school and the other;

e. The achievement of uniform training between the theoretical aspect and the practical one, between the transmission of knowledge and the experiencing of it, so that the level of specialized training may be that required by the new agrarian revolution and by the new level of development of genetic engineering, with positive effects on an economic, cultural and mental plane for the professions in the agroindustrial sector.

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2080

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2080

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CSO: 2400/57

GERMAN DRMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LUTHER'S ETHICS SEEN COMPATIBLE WITH 'SOCIALIST ETHICS'

'Christian Circles' Conference

East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 5 Oct 82 pp 1, 2

/NZ report from Halle: "Luther's Work Preserved and Continued on a Historically New Level--Conference of "Christian Circles' Working Group at the National Council--Speech by Gerald Goetting--Valuable Discussion--Closing Speech by Werner Kirchhoff." For related information, see translations of articles by various GDR scholars, published under the quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "'Common Class Features' between Religion, Marxism Emphasized" (East Berlin philosophy journal), in JPRS 80540, 12 Apr 82, No 1998, pp 37-45; "Luther's Legacy Accepted for 'Socialist German National Culture'" (East Berlin EINHEIT), in 79591, 4 Dec 81, No 1948, pp 16-33; and "Martin Luther's Merits, Limitations Assessed" (GDR newspapers), in 79401, 9 Nov 81, No 1939, pp 14-21/

/Text/ To honor the reformer Martin Luther as an important figure of German and world history, on the occasion of his 500th birthday on 10 November of next year and to make the 1983 GDR Martin Luther celebration a high point in the social life of our republic these were the goals of a special event on "Tribute to Martin Luther--A Manifestation in the Spirit of Peace, Humanity and International Understanding." For this purpose, the working group Christian Circles at the National Council of the GDR National Front invited 100 church officials and theologians to meet at the House of the Union in Halle yesterday. The opening speech was made by CDU Chairman Gerald Goetting, member of the Presidium of the National Council and deputy chairman of the GDR Martin Luther Committee.

The event was opened and chaired by Guenther Grewe, member of the Presidium of the National Council of the National Front and of the Presidium of the CDU National Committee. The event concluded with an address by Werner Kirchhoff, vice president of the National Council of the National Front. Afterward a discussion clarified the broad range of preparations for the anniversary by social groups in our country.

Participating in the event were the members of the Presidium of CDU National Council Chairman Hermann Kalb, deputy state secretary for church questions, and Otto Hartmut Fuchs, chairman of the Presidium of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics (BK)--both members of the Presidium of CDU National Council--Werner Ruempel, secretary general of the GDR Peace Council; Rudi Bellmann, chairman of the Committee on Church Questions at the SED Central Committee; Helmut Klapproth, chairman of the Halle Bezirk Council; Union Church Associate Prof Dr Dr Joachim Prasse, chairman of the Halle Bezirk Committee of the National Front; and Michael Heinemann, CDU chairman, Halle Bezirk. Bishop Armin Haertel of the Protestant Methodist Church of the GDR was also present.

In his speech Gerald Goetting emphasized that members of all classes and social levels in the GDR, citizens of different philosophical and religious convictions, are taking an active part in the preparations for the GDR Martin Luther tribute. It is only right and just "to consider the joint efforts of all groups of the National Front in preparing the Luther anniversary as a sign of the growing political-moral unity of our nation, as a symbol of the government's efforts to establish peace and friendship between nations, as a proof that our country is conscious of the total extent of its obligation to its historical heritage."

The speaker then paid tribute to the historic importance of Martin Luther as a prominent personality in our history. He did so by explaining the historical background of the Reformation, with its social contradictions and tensions, in which Luther's 95 theses had the effect of a "spiritual spark" in a powder keg. "For one complete, even though brief, phase of the German early middle-class revolution Luther was the harbinger of the forces opposing existing conditions." For us, Luther remains the man who with his "declaration of war against the Catholic hierarchy set in motion all of the opposition elements of Germany" (Engels) and who thereby created for a definite period of history a common spiritual platform for progressive class elements.

Gerald Goetting detailed the reformer's concerns that have lasted through the ages and are still important. "Active concern for the well-being of his fellow men was for Luther the most important meaning of work--concern for the well-being of man, for his individual and social well-being is the content and goal of socialist social progress." Lutheran ethics, especially in regard to one's profession and work, is closely related to the essence and concerns of socialism. "Our social order offers as good a social-economic basis as conceivable for the realization of those requirements that result from Luther's work ethics. If his ethics--e.g., calls for orderly and diligent work--appeals to our common sense and thriftiness, then these are moral values that rank high and have a good reputation in our history."

The speaker explained that Luther belongs to the unperishable components of our humanist heritage. "We are proud that we can pick up and fulfill today what in former centuries was the longing and hope of countless fighters for peace and progress of mankind, for the well-being of humanity and for the

happiness of the people. Especially we who live in a time of revolutionary social change know that we are spiritually related and obligated to all those who, at the turning point from a feudal to middle-class structure, were faced with similar revolutionary challenges. What they accomplished fills us with respect. Whatever remained unsolved then, remains a challenge for us."

Following this speech, the development and tendencies of recent Luther research were explained by Dr Helmar Junghans, professor department of theology, Karl-Marx University Leipzig, member of the GDR Martin Luther Committee and of the Church Luther Committee. Church Music Director Lothar Graap, Cottbus, spoke about Luther's relation to church music.

Chief Church Councilor Siegfried Schulze, Dessau, then detailed the preparations for the Luther anniversary in Protestant parishes and churches of our country. The year 1983 presents an opportunity for intensive attention to the reformer; this in turn results in new motivations for thinking about "our witness and services as a church today in a socialist country." Luther also instructs Christians, he continued to explain, to use their faith as best they can as human beings for the preservation of peace. In the present situation "much weight can often be attached to a few words, such as the open declaration by the Soviet Union some time ago renouncing any first use of nuclear weapons." Because Christians are obligated to serve the cause of peace, he said, "we are seriously concerned with anything that strengthens confidence and makes disarmament possible."

Union Church Associate Church Councilor Dr Gottfried Mueller, editor-in-chief of GLAUBE UND HEIMAT /Faith and Homeland/ and chairman of the working group Christian Circles at the Gera Bezirk National Front, outlined modern ecumenical aspects of Lutheranism. Manfred Sult, president of the Federation of Protestant Free Church Parishes in the GDR, spoke about Reformation principles of Free Church faith and life.

Luther's thoughts on the Protestant parish house, preserved in Protestant tradition, were presented by Union Church Associate Anneliese Probst-Seiler, Beesenstedt, writer and pastor. Pastor Dieter Hemmerling, director of the Lutheran Foundation Frankfurt (Oder), emphasized the social-ethical motivations provided by the reformer to today's works of charity performed by the church. Pastor Klaus Bretschneider, Eisleben, reported on the preparations for the Luther anniversary in Eisleben parishes.

Pastor Christoph Koerner, Mittweida, chairman of the Church Fraternity Saxony, explained the application of Martin Luther's two-power doctrine to the church's witness and service under socialism. Superintendent Juergen Baer, Ebersleben, chairman of the Weimar work group, pointed out how the two-power doctrine is applied to practice in the District Church of Thuringia.

In the concluding speech Werner Kirchhoff emphasized that the National Front "has ever since its establishment considered the expression of historical consciousness a part of its efforts to show political commitment, has pointed out at an early date the importance of the humanist heritage and has always considered the Martin Luther tribute very important." The Martin Luther

tribute on the occasion of his 500th birthday will further deepen and strengthen the political-spiritual and political-moral ties in our country during our struggle for peace and social progress, he said. At the same time, the impending Luther tribute in the context of the tense international political situation is "a time of challenge to all those who make a determined commitment for peace against the armaments race and the danger of war." In the motherland of Luther's Reformation, social and political conditions have been created in which there is complete agreement between the people's desire for peace, the peace actions of the individual, and the peace policy of the government, said Werner Kirchhoff. "All our peace efforts are aiming toward the following most urgent goals: to avoid a nuclear inferno, to stop the policy of imperialist rearmament, to rescind the Brussels decision on NATO rockets. In these tasks we find ourselves in agreement with all peace fighters in the worldwide peace movement who are representing the most different political, social and religious points of view and tendencies."

CDU Chairman's Speech

East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 5 Oct 82 p 3

/Excerpts from Gerald Goetting's speech at the Halle Conference of the 'Christian Circles' Working Group at the National Council of the GDR National Front: "Our Tribute to Luther--Manifestation of Humanism"/

For all of us--regardless of our philosophical or religious conviction--Martin Luther is a prominent personality from the past of our people and of humanity. At the turning point from the Middle Ages to modern times, he made an essential contribution to social and spiritual progress in Germany and even in much of Europe. For Protestant Christians he is and remains the great reformer of the church--an accomplishment that is recognized in many respects and to a large extent by Catholic Church historians. For Marxist historians, on the other hand, the Reformation is, as Friedrich Engels said, the first important, decisive battle in the struggle of the European middle class against feudalism. For all of us Luther's work is a firm component of humanist tradition, which in our socialist state is honored, preserved and continued on a new historical level under today's social conditions.

Each generation has its own ideas about important historical personalities. This is understandable and legitimate. In the historical consciousness of any generation, historical facts become intermingled with the generation's social experiences and needs. This always results in new points of view from which the respective personality is seen and judged. Martin Luther is no exception to this rule. He especially has been exposed to much abuse in the past. Former ruling classes in Germany--first the feudal aristocracy and later the upper middle class--often called Luther as their witness when trying to preserve existing social conditions. We have long tried to cleanse Luther's life achievement of such distorting judgments. In this effort the Marxist concept of history offers valuable help by judging Luther on the basis of the circumstances of his times, by making us realize his greatness within the limits of his era and by giving us a factual picture of the actual

historical consequences of his actions as reformer. Many contemporary church historians have also learned to see Luther in the context of the conditions of his society. This does not in the least diminish the role played by factors concerning faith in his personal development and decisions but rather explains why these factors especially became so important for him.

Recalled Origin of Church Doctrine and Practice

There is no doubt that Luther originally wanted nothing else but the renewal of the church of his time from inside. He wanted to cleanse it of false abuses and burdensome display, wanted to return church doctrine and practice to the state that was prescribed as Christian in the Bible and in early Christianity. He wanted neither to divide the church nor to bring about revolutionary changes in society. His concern was to bring the believers of his turbulent time into direct contact with the word and challenge of God, who according to Luther's opinion does not need any mediator besides Jesus Christ alone.

These articles of faith had matured in Luther during years of internal struggle and found their expression in his 95 theses of 31 October 1517. At any other time these theses would at most have given rise to theological discussions within the Catholic Church; originally Luther had devised them as a stimulus for this kind of discussion. But in the social situation of his time they resulted--without the intention of their author--in a public response that far surpassed their true object. The reason was that Luther's contemporaries understood these theses as criticism not only of certain doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church of their time but as criticism of the foundations of the feudal system whose dissolution had already begun.

This phenomenon can be explained only if one considers two factors. In Luther's time, people had thoughts and feelings exclusively in religious categories under the dominant influence of the Catholic Church; their social conduct too was derived to the greatest extent possible from faith. It was natural therefore that controversies on questions of faith and on the practice of church life frequently aroused extraordinarily strong public interest. On the other hand the Catholic Church was the strongest support of the feudal structure; that is, the social structure whose decay was beginning to show at that time. Therefore, any criticism of church doctrine, as soon as it assumed the form of criticism in principle, was directed objectively against the foundation of traditional conditions of society per se--and it was exactly these conditions that were in the process of change at that time. Only in this light can we understand why the dispute on questions of faith that was caused by Luther's theses changed so quickly into a social movement that questioned the feudal system as a whole.

This does not in any way exhaust Luther's historical achievements. He also provided essential stimuli for the historical processes that led to the formation of the middle-class nations. Let us consider only his pioneering achievement in developing a unified early High German written language. In the first place must be mentioned his translation of the New Testament

and then the Old Testament, which spread quickly and widely among the people who longed for knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. When Luther accomplished this linguistic achievement, he "looked at the mouth of the people," as he said and thereby performed a pioneer action for a living national language--an action that had its historical and cultural effects over the centuries.

There are other lasting ways in which Luther contributed to the cultural development of our people. Where would German church music be without his chorales, without his songs, which were set to music by his Protestant fellow reformers and through their influence were developed and spread by subsequent generations of Protestant cantors and composers? Luther's song "A Mighty Fortress" was the Marseillaise of the 16th century. What would the architecture of modern times be without the Protestant church building, what would the graphic arts from the Renaissance to our day be without the many-sided motifs that the Protestant religion provided for countless painters, graphic artists, sculptors and artisans? What would the moral and spiritual life of our people since the 16th century be without the Protestant parish house, without the Protestant family--two truly culture-forming institutions that go back directly to Luther's example.

Luther also decisively stimulated the charity work of the church; i.e., to the deaconate. He revived the early Christian practice with the entire community made responsible for the support of poor and sick parish members. He applied this duty to be active in charity work to the Protestant Church in general. He and his coworkers are responsible for the wholesome traditions of the work of deacons, which in his opinion should not be a special field of church activity beside all other church work but rather an expression of the life of the church in its total commitment, a proof of the strength of the faith of each Christian. Whereas he opposed the Catholic doctrine of the so-called salvation by good works, he retained the conviction that Christian faith implies the obligation of active care for the well-being of other human beings. This is the spiritual basis of the many-sided work of deacons, whose contributions are valued so highly in our country and are appreciated by socialist society as a service to humanity.

Luther also expressed his humanist concepts in the field of the German educational system of his time. Just like the poor and needy, the sick and weak, the children of his time--especially those from the levels of society that had been deprived of their rights--lived at the edge of society. In his well-known pamphlet of 1530 Luther invited "the councilmen of all German cities to establish and support Christian schools."

Important Role of Reason in All Questions of This World

Luther's ideas on the role of reason in all questions of his world shaped especially the character of the early middle class. How highly he valued reason was clarified in his doctrine of the two kinds of government: the "government of God on the right," with which all people can make contact through faith alone, and the "government of God on the left," the worldly domain that people must manage according to their best ability. Luther

considered it impossible "to govern a whole country or the world...through the gospel"; i.e., to derive social or government decisions directly from faith. He believed that people should decide by themselves through their abilities and experiences and on the basis of their best knowledge and conscience what is good for society as a whole and for each individual.

This is a controversial idea of Luther. It should not imply that a Christian could dispense with his ethical values when acting in worldly matters. The idea should remind us, however, that Christians always have the obligation to make decisions that are of practical use to society, to make good use of their reason, to respect the lessons of history, to consider actual social circumstances and from this basis to take the right steps. Such efforts have always been made by socially responsible Christians in our country and this has resulted in their effective contributions to the socialist development of our republic.

Responsibility and reason must prove their value today primarily where the peace for our people and for humanity is at stake. Peace is the greatest challenge for any political activity that wants to do justice to the commandments of humanity and to the needs of all people now and in the future. Nothing is more important today than to preserve and protect peace. Luther said: "Peace can never be too expensive, because it brings so many advantages to the buyer." This was a wise statement in his time--how much more is it today, when the destructive force of war would be incomparably more disastrous than 450 years ago. Socialist foreign policy proceeds from the assumption that peace is the greatest good of all people. Anybody who really understands Luther will follow this idea.

From Christian Responsibility for Man and Peace

Because of the policy of intensive rearmament and confrontation pursued by the most aggressive circles of imperialism, life on earth today is jeopardized as never before since 1945. All of peace-loving mankind sees its challenge to protest a course that threatens the security of people with every new weapons of mass annihilation, with ever more adventurous doctrines of cold and hot war. In the worldwide peace movement countless officials from the churches of the Reformation, renowned theologians and other church personalities have found their place on the side of all the other forces of peace in opposition to a policy that contradicts all Christian responsibility for man and peace.

Only a short while ago, the president of the Lutheran World Federation, Tanzanian Bishop Dr Kibira, emphasized that the production, development and use of nuclear weapons of any kind must be categorically condemned for ethical and theological reasons. He proposed that the Lutheran World Federation in conjunction with the World Council of Churches, the Vatican and other churches should take the initiative in creating a permanent ecumenical commission for peace so that the churches could "speak on this point with one unified and strong Christian voice."

Thus Luther's peace legacy is creatively accepted and realized--and thus, as this example shows, old denominational barriers can be overcome through a joint effort by churches and religious communities in behalf of peace in a way that corresponds with the social corresponsibility of Christians. A good example of such effort was presented in May by the Moscow World Conference of representatives from different religions in behalf of saving the sacred gift of life from nuclear catastrophe, a conference in which authorized officials from Lutheran churches took an active part.

Luther saw the preservation of peace as one of the principal tasks of the state. Referring to Romans 13 he stated: "Worldly authorities have been established by God not to destroy peace and start war but to manage peace and avoid war." In interpreting this passage from Paul's letter to the Romans, Luther sees the state also from the point of view of its dual task and therefore he continues: "The duty of the sword should be to protect and punish, to protect good people by preserving peace, and to punish bad people by making war." At another place he agrees that in case of war "bad people should be punished so that peace will not be disturbed by them."

Luther thus has a very realistic view of the contrasting realities of this world--the contrast between the forces protecting peace and those forces that for questionable reasons are willing to start a war. "Whoever starts a war is wrong," Luther emphasizes and he adds: "It is only just that he should be beaten and in the end punished who is the first to draw the knife." Under today's conditions this means that defense readiness against those who are arming themselves in order to start a war is legitimate and mandatory for all who--in order to speak as Luther--want to manage peace and avoid war because "in war one must stand up and defend oneself," as he says.

This and nothing else is the meaning of the security doctrine of our socialist republic and its allies. They will do whatever they can to avoid the danger of war. They are in favor of negotiating and /international/ understanding in order to avoid nuclear war and of limiting any kind of weapons on the basis of mutuality and undiminished security, of decreasing and possibly eliminating completely existing arms stockpiles. They are in favor of limiting and solving all international conflicts in a political way; that is, by peaceful means. At the same time they are ready and able to restrain any aggressor, by military means if necessary. They are in favor of a mutual agreement to renounce force. The Soviet Union has even made the unilateral commitment never to be the first country to use nuclear weapons. But vigilance is required so that anybody who disturbs the peace can be confronted with armed force.

Socialist foreign and military policy is therefore essentially peace policy. Christian citizens of the GDR are in agreement with it and support it. Countless young Christians--regardless of denomination--serve in our armed forces, countless Christian citizens in their professions and in society cooperate with the measures that strengthen the defense readiness of our country--and they do this with the comforting knowledge that with their work they help to strengthen and protect a state that considers its highest task

to ensure that, with the help of its allies, German soil will never again be the starting point of another war. They consider this an effective form of their peace service, to which they are called and obligated both as Christians and as citizens of our socialist republic.

Luther believed that it was the highest duty of a Christian to be active socially with the purpose of serving the cause of peace and one's fellow men. He left us the saying: "Act in a way that you will be found in a state of helping your neighbor." This moral imperative was also the guideline of his social-ethical ideas. He had a very high opinion of work and he encouraged everybody to set an example in doing his professional duties. Thus he says: "We should remain in our profession with a happy conscience, and be aware that this kind of work accomplishes more than founding monasteries and supporting religious orders; even if it is only the most menial house work." Statements of this kind date from Christian traditions of Biblical and early church times. How much more are they valid today--under conditions where society guarantees that the fruits of good work, the results of common efforts by working people will benefit society as a whole and thereby each individual.

Luther's work ethics can teach us how to manage economically all the goods available to our national economy. The principles of our economic strategy for the 1980's show what beneficial effects such economy with raw materials and energy, with production and investment means have on the entire society. Practically speaking, Protestant work ethics thus has the same consequences as the political economics of socialism; i.e., the readiness to put talents and knowledge in the service of continued economic and social progress of our society--a policy that is outlined in the directions for our principal goals--and to make available for this task all scientific-technical, economic and spiritual reserves.

This is the kind of realistic attitude that brings Luther close to us. In this way, much of what he left us in the form of knowledge and directions becomes for Protestant Christians in our country a source of strength enabling them to meet with responsibility all challenges of our time. To them Luther should make it clear especially that Christians are always judged by the activity with which they prove their faith and ethics of life.

An Unperishable Part of Our Historical Heritage

Our society looks at Luther and the traditions coming from him as an unperishable part of the humanist heritage that our society has received from the history of our people. Our society is a historically conscious society, which is aware that its present and future are connected with the past by thousands of ties.

This does not mean that we close our eyes to a number of false developments that began in that time, almost 500 years ago. Historical retrospect to that era enables us to form a clear judgment, for instance, on the disastrous internal church and social consequences of the alliance of

throne and altar, which began in the later part of Luther's life and became ever stronger in subsequent centuries. To face one's heritage and creatively to make it one's own includes the task of critically separating and overcoming whatever burdens of the past are included in this heritage. For this task, too, all social conditions are provided for Christians in our soecialist circumstances.

Of special importance to us is the fact that by recalling Luther many Protestant Christians since the days of our liberation from fascism have been helped to do what courageous confessors of faith from the Reformation to the years of antifascist resistance have always exemplified in their lives: to exist for others, to put themselves in service to people and peace. By returning to the sources of their faith and through joint work with other humanist groups of different philosophies or religion, they found their way into the political-moral unity of our people, which is exemplified in the National Front of the German Democratic Republic and which belongs to the most important driving forces of social development in our republic. This political-moral unity includes all who are of good will and want to preserve peace for our country and mankind and to work for the well-being of all.

On the basis of these principles, which correspond with social experiences of Christian citizens, experiences derived from cooperation with the socialist development of our country, on 6 March 1978 constructive and open talks were held during the reception for the leaders of the Conference of the Protestant Church Administration in the GDR by Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR State Council. The conclusions reached at this meeting on the peace commitment of the churches, on their support for international relaxation and understanding, on their contribution to the goals of ending the armaments race and banning weapons of mass destruction, on their humanitarian aid to nations that are needy and struggling for their liberation, on their cooperation in trying to reach the deepest humanist goals of our society, on the participation by all citizens in the work of socialism--all these are related to our practical experiences and remain guidelines for state-church relations on the basis of openness, understanding and the willingness to achieve constructive agreements. This willingness also shows in the preparations for the Luther year 1983, which are going ahead on the basis of good cooperation of the GDR Luther Committee and the Church Luther Committee.

Next year we will be able to welcome in our republic many guests from other countries--representatives from churches and governments, scientists, artists and also many tourists. We look forward to showing them how seriously our nation takes its duty toward peace and how consistently our country works jointly with its socialist brother countries and the friends of peace all over the world for the protection of peace. Our guests will be able to realize that the humanist heritage of the Age of Reformation and also those sites closely related to the life and work of Martin Luther are in good hands in our country. Visitors from other countries will get a vivid impression that Christians, as members of society with equal rights and duties, actively contribute to the progress of developed socialism, which is being built in

our country under the leadership of the working class and its party as a joint effort with all social groups and through joint activities of citizens of all classes and levels regardless of their social background, philosophy or religious affiliation. Our guests will be able to look at the results of this socialist work and will get to know the spirit of unanimity with which all groups of the GDR National Front are committed to peace and international friendship.

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WROCLAW ECONOMICS ACADEMY RECTOR KALETA INTERVIEWED

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 24, 3 Oct 82 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Prof. Jozef Kaleta, rector of Wroclaw Academy of Economics, by Zdzislaw Zaryczny; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Sir, your name is quite universally associated with the post-August times. So much so that some attribute to you the views of the radical wing of Solidarity.

[Answer] Are we going to talk about facts or hearsay?

[Question] About facts! For example, in your speech at the Ninth Special Congress of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] you have stated that "...our society is ready for the effort and specific sacrifices if only it had some broader prospects." What prospects did you have in mind?

[Answer] I thought that it will be possible to achieve national accord. I was an ardent supporter of this idea, and I have expressed it publicly on more than one occasion. It also seemed to me that it would be possible to introduce an integrated economic reform. I always maintained that only such a reform will enable us to find a solution for the crisis.

[Question] You gave a speech on the first day of the congress not knowing yet what its final achievements will be.

[Answer] I expected the achievements not to be insignificant and I was not disappointed. For example, the Ninth Congress economic resolution is, in my opinion, very interesting. The Congress also created an atmosphere conducive to the continuation of a dialogue between the authorities and society together with a quick conclusion in the form of understanding despite critical and pessimistic forecasts. But I was an optimist then.

[Question] And today?

[Answer] First of all, the situation is considerably more difficult than a year ago. Attempts to resume the dialogue are not bringing, for the time being, any serious results. Societal apathy prolongs itself and in some

milieus it turns into passive resistance of the authorities. The economic situation of the country has also become considerably more complicated. All these factors had to lead to a worsening of the political climate.

[Question] Have we then wasted this year?

[Answer] Not quite. Certain events exhibit positive characteristics, for example, an upturn in the mining industry, decent crops of this year's harvest. However, I do think that in a few fundamental issues we did not achieve progress. One of them is lack of specific action on the part of political and economic administrative bodies which would add to their credibility. I continue to notice a tremendous distrust of the society toward institutions and offices.

[Question] You have been repeating this for years! As well as an economic reform project under the auspices of the Wroclaw Academy of Economics which contained a proposal for considerable reduction of the administrative sector particularly on the central and voivodship levels. What was the outcome of the project? Can you say today that, in general, at least one of the postulates of your proposal was implemented?

[Answer] As you know, the Wroclaw project was published at the end of May of last year. I think that its authors need not be embarassed despite the fact that the proposals of other teams were used as a point of departure for the reform. I will not point out the differences, however, for contrary to many opinions, in the fundamental assumptions the projects concurred. This fact has manifested itself in resolutions which were passed and which dealt with companies and their budget management.

Unfortunately, a postulate proposed by us dealing with the integration factor of the economic reform has not been adhered to. It was our opinion that the reform will bring the desired results only when it will encompass simultaneously prices, planning, investment outlays, foreign trade and so on. For the economy is an organism functioning on the principle of connected vessels. It is not possible to take out one element out of them and refine it at the expense of the other. It is already apparent today that the reform is not an integrated one. There continues to exist overly developed bureaucratic structures as, for example, subsectors, excessive number of foreign trade companies and industrial associations, formally transformed into unions. Furthermore, the reform did not incorporate the system of distribution. The reform did not bring many changes to the system of taxation of companies or to the central planning organization.

Some ascertain that the reform mainly resolved itself to just the price changes. I must admit that I share these views. Really, price increases are visible because here the reform was carried out in a rational manner. But precisely because of the fact that the reform is not an integrated one, not much has changed in the entire economy, and the situation in some branches of the economy has even become worse. For example, the ability to

set prices freely by companies led to a situation where companies no longer needed to make an effort to reduce the costs and increase labor productivity for they were able to easily make profit through price increases. I agree, however, that prices should be set within companies but on the condition that an integrated reform will be introduced, i.e. we will create competition, we will allow import competition, the play of market forces and only then companies will be able to set realistic prices rather than ones from the thin air. In the meantime, we continue to maintain a monopoly of producers, we have no competition, and we allow companies to freely set prices. Such a state of affairs must lead to negative results.

[Question] Are there other postulates which have not been implemented?

[Answer] In the Wroclaw project we were emphasizing the incentive function of wages and profit. We stated that profit is a fundamental measure of economic activity and its evaluation, and wages--the fundamental motivational force. Yet these two basic premises of the reform were left out. Next to profit there are, for example, still other, more important measures: one calculates the plan, its fullfillment, one maintains numerous operational programs, and throughout there continues to exist, without change, the management system based on directives from above. I am afraid that it, with the existing system of company taxation, may destroy positive results of the reform. The basis of the reform was to be the dependence of wages on economic results, the creation of incentives for a continuous increase in labor productivity. It is possible that had we had such incentives, the employment structure as well would look differently. People would know that for better work they will receive better pay. They would then tolerate neither wastefulness nor overgrowth of the bureaucratic structure. But unfortunately, in reality, companies were denied even this token of independence. It is not the companies but administration which directs the employment politics. And as is well known, for thirty-five years it has been accustomed to act by means of impositions and prohibitions.

[Question] Once again it is the administration?

[Answer] I always maintained that the administrative body will not reform itself. Some external forces must come into play here.

[Question] What kind of external forces?

[Answer] At the Ninth Congress I suggested that the party take these matters into its hands and bring about the reduction in the administrative body. Energetic action is badly needed. Already after the announcement of the martial law, in one of the press interviews, I suggested that perhaps the military could bring about such a reduction. Some even held grudges against me for suggesting this.

[Question] But do you see a possibility of radical changes, for example, through an introduction of one ministry of industry instead of several one-line ministries, just like the Hungarians did?

[Answer] In our project we proposed just that. I believe that we can afford it.

[Question] Even today?

[Answer] Even today. What would really change?

[Question] Well, I can already visualize this "disaster". Torn up threads of connections and contacts, the fear of directors and clerks, confusion in companies. Frankly speaking, with our present form of management, I cannot imagine it.

[Answer] Yet all the time we say, however, that changes are necessary. We need to do away with the system of impositions from above and introduce a decentralized management system in which economic mechanisms will function as instruments of economic direction. We commit a serious mistake, clutching to the present form and methods of economic management, paying tribute to dogmas set forth many years ago, which today simply do not fit real life. It is my opinion, for example, that it does not collide with the idea of socialism if a bad state farm which brings the nation's economy losses is liquidated, and its land leased to individual farmers. The nationalization of means of production does not at all require collective labor. A similar situation exists in services, skilled and small trades. Socialism does not require the nationalization of small hotels, bars and street stands.

[Question] Professor, let us go one floor down and let us take a look at the administrative body which you so mercilessly flog. We say "body" but let us be specific which parts of it do we have in mind. We criticize the body not knowing what internal lines of demarcation exist in it. Do we have at our disposal such research tools which would allow fast and precise information in this area?

[Answer] You are right. One cannot disqualify the entire structure. Certainly, a sizeable portion of it works well and justifies its existence particularly in areas where it directly serves the citizens. The service branch must be safeguarded and here the administrative body should even grow.

My criticism is primarily directed at economic administration and if I speak of reduction, I have in mind just that sector, starting from the central level down to the basic one. Decidedly it would be necessary to limit administrative sector in companies. For we even have such construction companies where 30-40 percent of employees are clerks. These are records on a world scale! The press should more frequently describe such cases in order to inform society and bring about its pressure to resolve the problem.

[Question] I was asking about research tools and you are speaking of the press.

[Answer] Such tools, of course, exist but we have no institutions which would utilize them. We do not have, for example, specialized public opinion and economic effectiveness centers which would poll developmental tendencies and the mood of the people. Research carried out in academies of economics is rather fragmentary and it is not published.

A few competitive centers would be desirable for the information monopoly of the Main Statistical Office [GUS], as the past indicates, can bring undesirable results. One cannot limit oneself to just one source of information. There must be alternative, independent research centers, for example, under the auspices of the trade unions.

[Question] Correct. It is not normal that press readers in the FRG or France find out sooner and in greater detail about Poland's debts or trade transactions than we do here in Poland.

[Answer] My colleagues, professors, say for example that they go to Japan to study the economy of socialist countries because there are better and richer sources there. I, too, while recently visiting in the United States, talked with people at Columbia University who conduct research on the Polish economy. They have more material and analyses there than some of our universities.

Unfortunately, we did not have and continue to a large degree not to have access to source materials, for example, on the international balance of payments. It is a curious fact that the Finance Institute under the Ministry of Finance did not receive from its division data on the balance of payments and foreign trade because these were considered to be classified matters. Under such conditions it is impossible to carry out integrated, objective evaluations of the economy. It is one of the causes of incorrect diagnoses which partially play a role in the present crisis. In such a situation even competent advisers can help little.

[Question] And which team of advisers do you consider the best?

[Answer] Probably the Economic Council of 1956 with Lange, Kalecki, Bobrowski and Brus. Great names, great authorities.

[Question] At that time there was also talk of integrated, radical reform.

[Answer] Yes, and there was a chance for great changes.

[Question] Why then were they not carried out?

[Answer] Because the entire process of renewal after October 1956 together with an economic reform was at some point stopped by central bureaucracy. An error was committed by retaining personnel from the previous team, who wanted to demonstrate that it is they who are correct and that their model is better.

[Question] Did the situation repeat itself in 1971, also after a political turning point and in the face of an anticipated economic reform?

[Answer] Analogies are very clear. Gierek also announced far-reaching reforms which the resolution of the Sixth Congress included in the official program of the party and government actions. Unfortunately, once again the central structure was not reduced. Yes, the administration on the rural district level was reduced and town districts were abolished but nobody wanted to or could touch the central offices. The structure remained and with it its privileges.

[Question] But after August 1980 the situation was entirely different. Society's degree of knowledge was different. The workers were different.

[Answer] That is why it was and still is our greatest chance for the realization of the reform.

[Question] Today we are at the threshold of a new period of the development of the situation in the country. Whether we like it or not--we have to think in economic terms. It is caused primarily by the drastic increase in the cost of living.

[Answer] Yes, it is apparent. The great majority of society evaluates the governing team and the economy's management system by means of the degree by which the material needs of an individual are met. After all, this is the fundamental goal of the socialist economy.

[Question] In the meantime, to reach this goal one still needs to travel far. The mood of society will certainly not improve because of it. Can we, at the threshold of fall and winter, expect a new wave economic of demands? I am asking you as an economist and a political activist.

[Answer] Yes, I am afraid that is correct. People blame the authorities for the worsening of their situation. I get visits from employees of the Academy of Economics, the adjuncts, the PhD's, who tell me that if they have two children and the wife is on childcaring leave then their families simply have no money to purchase all the items to which they are entitled with their rationing coupons. Of course, they blame the authorities, everybody, for the present status quo. If to all this one adds a disastrous housing situation, problems in finding employment by graduates of higher schools--can one be surprised that anxieties intensify? We should realize this without emotion and make an effort to forestall what can happen tomorrow.

[Question] What do you have in mind?

[Answer] Always the same questions! The economists answer them without change. First, it is necessary to quickly implement an integrated economic

reform. Second, it is necessary to do everything in order to achieve national accord. Third, make an effort so that economic sanctions placed on our country are lifted.

I also agree that the price reform in the absence of reform in other sectors of economy leads to a situation where people who do not understand economic principles disqualify the reform because it worsened their living conditions. If we had few opponents of the reform in the past, we have many more of them today. It is my opinion that it is necessary to break away from sector reforms for they discredit the idea of an economic reform and bring out the distrust in people.

[Question] I must finally strike a blow at you. On one hand you sharply criticize the administrative body and on the other--you simultaneously are its "producer". Every year, the Academy of Economics graduates young people with M.S. degrees who are prime candidates for administrative posts. Are you, as a rector, aware who the academy graduates?

[Answer] It is true that academies of economics educate people for the administrative structure--for the planning commission, for economics posts, etc. I must, however, state that the administrative structure consists mainly of people from other professions. In Poland, by comparison with other socialist countries, we do not have very many economists per 1,000 employed persons. And it is not the economists who play a decisive role in the administration, it is not the economists who hold key posts.

[Question] Yet a question remains: How are they educated? Frankly speaking, I do not see excessive action on the part of the young economists.

[Answer] They do not always have room to show off their talents in a system of impositions from above. In our economy one works according to technological rather than economic principles. Thus, frequently, the engineers and lawyers occupy positions as directors and chairmen. As a result, people leave their professions. Certainly there are many more taxi drivers-economists than engineers. Of course, there are also many people with degrees who are not educated or not quite educated. Conformists, too, can be found. Such are facts.

However, I would like to express certain optimism, for these young graduates of ours are rather well prepared for work in decentralized systems, for economics posts and not bureaucratic ones, where they will be able to act utilizing the tools of economics rather than impositions and prohibitions.

[Question] But are they the front runners of Polish economy and will they defeat the bureaucracy?

[Answer] Who knows?

9949
CSO: 2600/33

'BLUE BERET' TASKS, TRAINING, PERSONNEL DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 39, 26 Sep 82 pp 6, 7, 23

[Article by Zbigniew Damski: "If You Wear the Blue Beret"]

[Text] The sunburned steel of the tank almost sears to the touch. Inside the steel box - better not to say...

And when they've fired the gun...

For the time being, fortunately, the gun has not fired. It will be cleaned. The turret has been turned over; the short barrel of the 76.2 mm caliber has been breeched and now Corporals Lucjan Trela and Piotr Antkowiak join parts of the ramrod.

And - together!

Antkowiak is the commander of this tank, Trela of the neighboring one. Here in the tank area during preparation of military vehicles for the next exercises, the crews help each other and it makes no difference that this one is a commander and that one is "only" a mechanic. Anyway, mechanic-driver Master Sgt Zbigniew Szewinski is inside the tank because to clean the gun a third person is necessary.

"In these tanks the crew is made up of a total of three people," explains Corporal Antkowiak, "the loader, mechanic-driver, and the commander, that is me..."

In order to change from a civilian automotive technician-mechanic to the commander of a tank, it is necessary first to study for six months in the noncommissioned officers school and then to continue to do so actually until the end of the 2-year service. Both commanders Antkowiak and Trela in civilian life were just such technicians: did this help in mastering the art of commanding a tank?

"Maybe yes... Anyway, we were picked for non-commission officer school especially from this angle having had a general or technical secondary education."

This is clear if you know at least roughly the requirements of the tank commander. They are in general not few and in military vehicles of this type he has still more tasks: he fires the gun. Technically, this is called "leading the fire", that is, he himself must find and select the target, approach to the distance of an effective shot (looking out for the whole of his vehicle), and hit it. The loader, who in addition services the machine gun and, if necessary, the large-caliber anti-aircraft machine gun, has his own part in this. The mechanic-driver has his part also but the commander is the brains of the whole works and the last word is always his.

"...but he too gets the boot if something does not work out like it is supposed to!"

But can it not work out?

"We train so that things work out the best possible..."

Mechanic-drivers have a slightly different opinion on this subject:

"All the tactics are for nothing if the tank is not going to run like a top. And that depends on us."

Master Sgt Zbigniew Swieczkowski works with a high pressure engine of almost 300 hp. The engine hold is tight and you have to maneuver quite a bit to get yourself and your wrenches where you are supposed to be. First, however, you must know what the problem is with the engine.

"I was an automotive mechanic in the Koscierzyna 'Transbuda' plant," says Swieczkowski. "But here I got more education. A tank is something completely different but the principles of mechanics are the same everywhere. And the work is the same: dirty."

There is no exaggeration in this because he really is greasy up to the elbows. That is how each of the soldiers working around the armored vehicles looks. There are many of them but they somehow disappear among the long rows of evenly lined up tanks and armored transports.

You can see Swieczkowski has finished his work because his tank's engine roared and in the clouds of exhaust rolled out of the formation. A few precise maneuvers, a short drive forward and to the rear until at last one turn and sixteen tons of steel stop exactly in the same place where it was a short while ago - in a fairly tight gap between other tanks, perfectly in line.

"A master!" the platoon commander says with respectful approval. But to become a really good mechanic-driver here, you must drive at least a year because you do not only drive a tank over land but also in the water.

No, it is useless to look for typical propellers or a rudder. This version of amphibious tank PT-76 uses a stream propeller in the water. The pumps respectively suck water in and expel it under great pressure which gives it its "jet propulsion". The currents regulate the speed and steer the water-borne vehicle both forward and backward. An excellent type of propulsion, especially in shallows where propellers and rudders would not do the trick.

"...and it is not easy, and you have to train a lot to master this skill perfectly."

Technical notes abound. A smooth and properly timed change from "track" to "stream" propulsion and back, on which depends the art of coming out of the water onto shore or the correct loading onto a landing ship must be learned by heart. Of course, the essential condition here is such a knowledge of steering as to flawlessly and exactly reach the ramp in the open hold of a ship, and sometimes this must be done backwards and at night...

Two grimy driver-mechanics, Master Sgt Miroslaw Serafin and Master Sgt Czeslaw Szuttenberg are carrying a large greasegun.

"We're going to grease the running system and the rocker arms," they say. "Tonight we are going for a lesson in aquatics and the vehicles must be properly prepared."

No, they will not go to sea. Not yet. They have here not far away their own special body of water, a small lake. It is necessary to train hard there first.

"The people who write about us, about the 'blue berets', are carried away most often by fantasy," says Capt Ryszard Pisiewicz with a trace of sorrow. "People then think that we constantly splash around in the sea and yell on the beaches but that is not true. I understand that they are looking for interesting topics and unusual and effective situations, and they describe a landing operation. It is true that much happens then but that kind of training occurs rarely and lasts a short time while the basic work occurs here in the tank area and on the exercise field from daybreak to nightfall, and sometimes still longer, all year long. And that work after all is the most important. That it is uninteresting..."

We have indeed become rather accustomed to happy pictures "crowning the work". Thanks to this "hearts were to grow" so only positive effects counted without additional inquiry and explanations of how they were reached."

"And nothing comes quickly or by itself," adds Capt Pisiewicz. "For example, the first individual combat shooting no. 2 in the field was done by the company with an almost 36 percent score while it was 79 percent in the second for an average score of 3.58. Several tank commanders hit the targets with their first shots."

The captain came to the Shore Defense Unit directly after a promotion in the "Poznan Armored" in 1974 and before he became company tank commander he went through all the successive levels of initiation. After so many years he surely knows now how to instruct so as to raise the initial 36 percent to 79 percent and more.

"The basis is order in the company," he says. "This broadly understood: in matters of administration and living conditions with such work organization that every person knows exactly what he has to do, where, when, and how. Then nothing stands in the way of everyone being able to perform his duties - we who instruct and our soldiers who must master the soldier trade."

A simple formula. Later, one of the platoon commanders Second Lieutenant Pawel Lamla will tell me that the commander brought in such order and demands this every day, although there are so-called "objective difficulties." The commander himself speaks about these briefly.

Among the leading "gymnasts" the commander counts the top man of the armored of 1980 Second Lieutenant Pawel Lamla, platoon commander and his unofficial assistant for political affairs, platoon commander Second Lieutenant Jaroslaw Cwiek, Jacek Schomburg who, before he completed Gdansk Technical University, used to go to sea with his fisherman father, and the company technician, an outstanding specialist Company Ensign Roman Skarzynski.

"...and let's look only at the duties of such a technician. Here a driver-mechanic not only must drive excellently but he himself is responsible for the ongoing and total efficiency of his tank. And these are young and not very experienced boys. A technician must therefore know every tank through and through, know and show what to do and how to do it, secure the appropriate parts, and check completed work. It is true that later all the 'dirty work' in the tank area falls on the driver-mechanics and there is a lot of it but that is the army and nobody will do that for them. And that is the best lesson."

There is no doubt. In this matter much depends on the "other side", on the instructed themselves, on how they relate to their duties and on their willingness to learn and to work - in a word on what is generally called "attitude".

"...and in this area," says the commander, "much depends on us."

It is clear that youth of the age which began service in 1981 were exceptionally agitated internally, frightened, critical and negative. The crisis and the seesaw of events hit them very hard because youth experience everything most passionately, and considerable confusion was left in their minds. Added to this was their confrontation with adult life. They started their first job most often in agitated crews, in a mess resulting from shortages which brought with it laxity and production decline. That is how the

disbelief in the sensibility of undertaking any kind of honest effort began in many youth.

"...and that is why we here must organize service and work so that every soldier knows that his labor is purposeful and has sense and that his efforts will be noted."

That's nice but after all every commander has in his hand an instrument such as a direct order: such and such has to be done, execute, march off.

"Of course! Except that an assignment done willingly is certainly done better."

And how do you generate this willingness? After all the draft notice certainly did not arouse any enthusiasm in many of those who now work in the tank area.

"Agreed" says the commander, "but today it is enough to say, 'This has to be done as befits a soldier of the amphibious landing force.'"

And from further comments of Capt Pisiewicz comes the following: it is a perfectly natural reaction in a person, especially a young person, that he wants to be better than others. You must give him the opportunity. The blue beret gives this to him, distinguishing him from others, but the distinguished one must know that he must work for this beret. That, in connection with this, more will be expected of him.

"...and I am not afraid of the term 'elite'," continues the commander. "This is necessary. It gives a better frame of mind and creates additional incentive. Every boy tries doubly hard if he knows that he has reached this elite - that has been proven. And nothing stands in the way of earning this feeling among soldiers and in other branches of service, in sappers, signalmen, artillerymen, etc., because they have the same opportunities.

As was said once by the renowned tank man of the Second World War Gen. Franciszek Skibinski: "A soldier is like a child: it's enough to give him a black shoulder strap for him to feel that he is better and can perform miracles." In this ironic statement is a deep truth and an important reason for the now popular discussion on "equality". Perhaps, enough damage has been done by an understanding of the word to mean equalizing towards the bottom, towards averageness and dullness.

"Because everywhere, and especially in Poland, people are needed who lead others," says the commander, "people with characteristics of 'informal leaders'. We have such and we are glad. For instance, Master Sgt Wiktor Bryja, tank driver-mechanic of the first platoon commander, and leader of our youth organization. He is not 'distinguished'; he simply has that something which has allowed him to rise to the top. And today we can quietly entrust to our young people such matters as designation for award passes and vacations..."

In the tank area is a group of soldiers which is distinguished by its clean exercise uniforms and still clean hands. Nothing strange, they have been in the army only ten days. They look interestedly at the inside of the tanks. That will be their place - at the loading positions.

"We train them here for ourselves," says greasy Corporal Zbigniew Bulczak. He is a tank commander and he shares with a second tank commander, Corporal Wieslaw Parchem, the role of overseer and instructor. "They have even been separated into specific crews..."

The groups already walk fairly well in order; it's a little worse with the drill being led in small columns on the drill ground. However, when an SGMT machine gun appears on a blanket-covered table, the interest rises. They are already able to name individual parts of it ("We've worked on this a little bit'") and now a turn for disassembly and assembly. Instructions, demonstration, and please, now you alone.

"That is the ABC's of it," says Corporal Bulczak, "but each of us started with this. Anyway, in a tank all functions are important and everyone must know his part perfectly."

Exactly: because the strength of the whole chain depends on the strength of each individual link. That is why there are no unimportant parts.

A year from now in this unit I will not meet any of today's tank commanders or mechanic-drivers. They will leave and what kind of person will be here then?

9915
CSO: 2600/46

AUTHOR DISCUSSES WORKS ON POLISH MILITARY AIRCRAFT

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 19, 26 Sep 82 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Morgala by Tadeusz Malinowski, date and place not specified]

> [Text] There is no individual in our country interested in Polish military aircraft who is not familiar with Andrzej Morgala's books. In three volumes, on almost 1,800 pages of type, he has presented a compendium of knowledge about aircraft used by the Polish Air Force starting in 1918. The very gathering and sorting of 12,000 or so pieces of information required many years of labor, perseverance and inquiries for such a formidable and most comprehensive work to appear. As stated so beautifully to me by Magister Andrzej Morgala, the three volumes of "Polish Military Aircraft" are an expression of his recognition and respect for all those who built Polish military aircraft. And that is not all, I should add. They also are a valuable and significant contribution to the historiography of Polish aviation technology.

[Question] Sir, what influenced your interest in aviation, especially aircraft?

[Answer] The desire to fly was the decisive factor. When I was a glider pilot I helped the mechanic to repair equipment. I visited old hangars which held many abandoned airplanes, looking into their corners--I am talking about the 1940s. At the Silesian Aeroclub--in view of my interest--it was suggested that I give lectures on the design of airframes and aircraft engines. I conducted these lectures for a certain time and at the same time gathered documentary material on Polish aircraft. After a couple of years, the condition of the museam exhibits transported from Wroclaw to Krakow shocked me deeply. When I looked at the World War I airplanes something within me broke. I then understood as never before that there is something in them, that they contain a great store of technical knowledge, a treasury of ideas, inventions and ingenuity. Since that time my interest in aviation designs doubled.

[Question] Is that when you got the idea to write the books?

[Answer] Not at all. I never even thought about it. That happened many years later at the instigation of my instructor. When I started flying balloons my instructors were Zbigniew Burzynski and Franciszek Janik. It began with articles on balloons that Burzynski urged me to write. They were published in SKRZYDLATE POLSKA. That was the beginning of my education in publication. After spending some time in the aviation environment and being in contact with young people, I realized that there was no book on interwar period military aircraft. One day I looked at my material, became convinced that it is interesting and could be published if properly compiled. I learned the methodology of preparing a book while writing my master's thesis. I then submitted a proposal to the MON [Ministry of National Defense] Publishing House. Some time later I learned that my offer was accepted.

[Question] How many years did it take you to write the first book?

[Answer] The preparation of the material and writing the book took almost 3 years. But I gathered the material over a period of 12 years or so.

[Question] As an author, what do you think of your first work?

[Answer] I am not pleased with it. The same holds true for the books that followed. It is only when the work is finished that I notice its shortcomings. One cannot continue to make additions or corrections forever. The publishing house, which earlier established its size and composition schedule, is waiting for the book. Certain concessions must be made; one cannot write a single book for the rest of one's life. After the first volume appeared, I received many letters and additional material. If I could work on it one more time, then I would start from scratch. Some text passages should be eliminated and other passages expanded because several new designs have been revealed, for example, Zygmunt Pulawski's unfamiliar P-2 airplane.

[Question] The second volume deviates somewhat from the first and third volumes. Why did you choose such and not another concept to write the second volume?

[Answer] It is a book about airplanes used by Poles in World War II, and a large part of the text--initially unforeseen--was added as an afterthought by me at the request of the publishers. For the first time I presented equipment changes for individual units in a synthetic form, including selected military operations with combat feats. Thanks to archival documentation, data on utilized aircraft could be sorted, the arrangement could be prepared and, for the first time, many known facts and details could be presented.

[Question] What guided you when writing the books? What documents or material determined the form of your work: Where did you obtain the technical information for your books?

[Answer] The life of an airplane is quite complicated: it arises in a certain designated place, then a prototype is constructed there or at some other place, then it is produced serially and utilized by the units, and the end of an airplane often is baffling. Thus, one must go to many sources. Regarding the final shape of a book, I was guided by three primary sources: first, the aircraft concept, the design, the prototype and its initiation into production; second, the application of the airplane; and third, the retirement of the airplane from a unit. I studied many unique documents. At times I was surprised that they still exist, that they have been waiting for me for dozens of years so that they could finally be disclosed. I was unable to obtain drawings of all the airplanes, but I did discover their working or detail documentation. I obtained a large part of the relations concerning the construction of aircrafts from the engineers, technicians and workers. I often checked and compared these relations with other sources. I was guided by the chronology of events and the logic of association of facts, continually checking details and making comparisons, and as a result I developed a viewpoint on a specific type aircraft and its development versions. The pilots and aviation personnel who worked daily with the airplanes helped me very much. I depended on their goodwill and they did not disappoint me.

[Question] Your third volume contains much unknown information about airplanes utilized after the war by our airforce. And at the same time you showed up to be an inquisitive investigator...

[Answer] I believe that I was the first to have the opportunity to become acquainted with the instructors for the utilized aircraft. I had access to source material by virtue of which I was able to present original material to the reader, first hand so to speak.

[Question] How many years did it take you to write the three volumes on Polish military aircraft?

[Answer] The writing alone took about 10 years. They are years that are obliterated from my life, so to speak. Each day after completing my regular work (I work in the power engineering industry), I would work on the book. I neglected my family and limited social contacts to an absolute minimum; I discontinued going to the movies and theater; I seldom watched TV. Simply stated, I had to choose. If I acted differently I would have been only half way through my accomplished work.

[Question] Being more experienced and knowing the opinions of many readers who contributed greatly to the popularization of Polish aircraft, would you now write these books the same way or differently?

[Answer] I got much experience just by writing, and the sympathetic readers of my books helped me a great deal. I would write differently; I would arrange the material presented in the first volume differently. I would

show only serially built aircraft, that is, those that made an important contribution during peacetime and wartime. The first volume would be the most changed one. I would include small supplements in the other volumes.

[Question] What aircraft were first described in your books?

[Answer] The average reader of my books does not even realize that there are many. The most important are: Volume 1 aircraft: PWS-15, Wibault 70C1, Lublin R-XIIIE, DH-60G, Bre-XIVT bis., LeO H-13, LeO H-135, CAMS-30 and LWS-5; based on original documents and the accounts of the designers: LWS-4, Zubr and PWS-35 Ogar. For the first time I included unrealized designs: BM-1, PWS-40, PWS-22, PWS-23, PWS-17, M2 family of fighter planes, Sep. PWS-27 and PWS-28. Volume 2: Koclhoven FK-58, D-501/D510, Martin 167 A3, Halifax I and V, Warwick, Auster, Oxford, Anson, USB, Szce-2, R-5 and I-16; also aircraft of foreign units and captured aircraft. Volume 3: LiM-5M, LiM-6bis, Su-20, An-26, Jak-40, UTB-2, FM-13, ILot As, TS-16 Grot, Wilga 45, Mak 11, Mak 30 and Hal 30.

[Question] In addition to the three mentioned volumes, two smaller books appeared in the SKRZYDLATA POLSKA library.

[Answer] Yes. They are supplements to increase knowledge in some areas and are designed primarily for the readers of my three volumes on Polish military aircraft.

[Question] Do you expect to revise the three volumes, to correct and supplement them?

[Answer] The initiative lies with the editor. If the MON Publishing House believes that it would be advisable and useful to revise the three volumes then I will prepare a second, better edition.

[Question] What inspired you to write books about Polish military aircraft?

[Answer] I was guided by the desire to give evidence of and honor to those who built the airplanes. I would not want them to be forgotten and hidden in mystery. Simply stated, I decided to give these people the proper honor due them and to show them respect for what the did for Polish aviation.

Author's Biography

Andrzej Morgala became interested in aviation from early childhood. Together with colleagues, he built and flew flying models in the fields between Sosnowiec and Bedzin (1944). Poles were not allowed to do this by the Germans. He completed glider school in 1947 (category A and B, Sosnowiec), in 1948 (category C, Jezow) and training in Pinczow and Katowice. In 1950 he passed paratrooper training in Nowy Targ. That same year he started flying airplanes. In 1953 he completed studies in economica

at Katowice. After obtaining a license, in the 1960s he completed 26 balloon flights as a pilot, including the longest of over 300 km. He wrote five books: "Polish Military Aircraft," published by the MON Publishing House: Volume 1 (1972), the period from 1918 to 1939; Volume 2 (1976), the period from 1939 to 1945; Volume 3 (1981), the period from 1945 to 1980; "Fighter Aircraft in the Polish Air Force" (1979) and "Bombers and Attack Aircraft in the Polish Air Force" (1981), both issued by the WKil [expansion unknown] of the SKRZYDLATA POLSKA Library.

11899
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ACTIVITIES, PLANS OF ZBOWID (VETERANS' ASSOCIATION) REPORTED

Warsaw ZA WOLNOSCI LUD in Polish No 31, 23 Oct 82 pp 7, 8

[Article by Stanislaw Kujda, secretary general, Veterans' Association [ZBOWID] Main Board]

[Text] By implementing the tasks contained in the ZBOWID statute, specifically in Section 59 which deals with electoral reporting meetings, our union this October enters a period of the electoral reporting campaign and begins it with meetings of circles, which will be followed next year by voivodship conferences of delegates in preparation for the national ZBOWID congress in 1984.

I would like to point out that the electoral reporting meetings of ZBOWID circles convene every 30 months, while the voivodship conferences of delegates, every 5 years.

Based on the above statutory requirements, the Presidium of the Main Board in its resolution of 8 April of this year announced the beginning of preparations for the electoral reporting meetings of circles in the fourth quarter of this year. Last June special directives were formulated which after being approved by the Presidium of the Main Board reached the ZBOWID voivodship committees. The directives outlined in detail the organization and course of electoral reporting meetings in the ZBOWID basic cells. Considering the complexity of the sociopolitical situation in the country, said document formulated the ideological-political and organizational tasks of the union in the planned campaign. These mainly require a comprehensive evaluation of the cells' activities supplemented by description of activities undertaken since the imposition of martial law. We assume that the electoral reporting campaign will be a good opportunity to raise the activity level of the veterans' ranks in such areas as the union's internal integration, welfare benefits, and organization on the local level. Furthermore, within the framework of the electoral reporting campaign we would like to continue introducing more order in the structure of basic cells by dividing--when necessary--the numerically big cells into smaller ones; this should make them more operational in general as well as improve identification of the needs of the veterans' ranks in individual cells.

In response to demands of some ZBOWID voivodship boards the Presidium of the Main Board in the resolution of 8 April acknowledged the need for introducing justified structural changes within the individual ZBOWID cells and recommended that the structural order be implemented before the beginning of the electoral reporting campaign in the cells.

As a result of activities undertaken in this area 19 voivodship boards submitted proposals for structural changes by 15 September. After reviewing the particulars, which assumed the need for perfecting the activity coordination of the ZBOWID local units and for strengthening the organizational ties with the membership at large, we decided to adopt the presented proposals. Thus, 9 new city boards (in Kielce, Legnica, Gniezno, Slupsk, Zielona Góra, Koszlin), 3 city district boards, 16 town-rural commune boards, and 3 rural commune boards have been created within the ZBOWID organization.

Similar approval was given to proposals envisaging a division of big cells and creation of 73 new ones, including 51 city cells, 13 rural commune cells, 2 town-rural commune cells, and 1 plant cell.

I wish to recommend that the plenary meeting of the Main Board approve these proposals.

Last August the BOWID Main Board Secretariat forwarded to voivodship boards the projected timetable for the electoral reporting campaign, which contains introductory recommendations to carry out the following activities: electoral reporting meetings in the basic units (cells) between October 1982 and March 1983; city district, city, and town-rural commune meetings between April and June 1983; conferences of voivodship delegates between October 1983 and March 1984; and the Congress of ZBOWID in May 1984.

At this time, in the fourth quarter of this year, the Main Board Secretariat will prepare the instructions and key for the elections of delegates to the voivodship conferences and upon approval of these will forward them to the voivodship boards. In this regard relevant materials will be submitted for approval to the Presidium of the Main Board in November this year.

Furthermore, in the fourth quarter of this year the Secretariat will undertake activities with regard to introductory preparations for the Congress, so that appropriate commissions entrusted with responsibilities in this area will have been established by the beginning of the coming year.

Thus, as it can be seen, an important part of the union's activity, starting this October, will focus on the electoral reporting campaign already in progress.

In order to make the campaign efficient and achieve a high level of discussion at the meetings our activities in this area ought to involve the central and local aktiv as well as full-time employees of the Main Board office and voivodship boards.

We assume that the Main Board's aktiv and full-time employees ought to be able to cover approximately 100 electoral reporting meetings in the cells and all city district and town-rural commune conferences.

In addition to the electoral reporting campaign in the union, the introductory work on the implementation of the May 1982 bill on special benefits for the veterans has reached an advanced stage. The ZBOWID Main Board closely

cooperates with the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs in the area of preparing jointly with other ministries executive orders necessary to implement the bill.

As we know, the bill provides for a number of benefits for the veterans. To avoid standing aside at the time when various ministries were involved in the preparation of executive orders, the Main Board Secretariat worked out preliminary proposals, approved by the Main Board, which constitute now the basis for talks with the ministries affected by the implementation of the bill.

As we know, the bill requires that the ministries and the main organs of the state administration issue directives defining the range, level, and detailed regulations on the use of benefits and rights, guaranteed by the bill, after consultations with the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs and the ZBOWID Main Board.

To this date proposals of the implementation directives have been submitted by the following ministries:

[1] Ministry of Price Affairs - reduced payments for the use of electricity, gas, heating, and heating water for home use by the veterans-retirees.

The 25-percent reduction in payments is too low in our opinion. Therefore, jointly with the Ministry of Veterans Affairs we have submitted our comments about this proposal and recommended reducing the payments to 50 percent.

Our consultation with this ministry have not been concluded yet.

[2] Ministry of Communications - reduced payments for telephone service subscriptions.

The Ministry's proposal guarantees to the eligible veterans a 50 percent reduction in payments for telephone service subscriptions and free of charge use of radio and TV sets in accordance with the bill. The reduced subscription payments will be handled by the local postal-telecommunications and telecommunications offices.

We have not submitted any comments on these proposals, because they agree with our position on the subject. However, we have suggested a new date of their implementation, 1 January 1983, so that the new payment rates for the veterans coincide with the effective date of the bill's implementation.

[3] Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection - reduced local transit fares.

The Ministry's proposal guaranteed reduced fares to the veterans only on the regular local transit bringing them in line with the transit fares for the retirees and pensioneers.

We have suggested a reduction by 50 percent of fares on all remaining municipal transit lines such as express, night, and special events lines.

Our suggestions were included in the revised executive order of the minister which guarantees to the veterans reduced fares in accordance with our proposals.

[4] Ministry of Transportation - registration fees for automobiles.

The minister's executive order guarantees to the disabled veterans the same reduced fees as to other disabled persons. Since this directive conformed with our proposal, we have not submitted any comments.

[5] Ministry of Veterans' Affairs - in the process of preparing an executive order on the rates of retirement pensions and emergency pensions granted by the Ministry. Due to the recent changes in retirement benefits and pensions this matter is still being resolved.

We are confident that this matter will be resolved by the coming January.

[6] Among the important benefits granted to the veterans by the bill the veteran supplement still has to be formally settled. This problem is in general resolved by the bill, which states that the veterans, who are eligible to receive a pension or retirement benefits but who do not receive any supplements for state and military decorations, honorary title, or underground teaching during World War II, are eligible to receive a veteran supplement in the amount specified by the regulations on the universal retirement benefits for the possession of decorations or an honorary title. This supplement amounts to 25 percent at this time.

This matter will be ultimately resolved after the new bill on the retirement benefits, which specifies the amount of a supplement for decorations, goes into effect.

[7] The problem of health care.

We have not yet received an executive order proposal from the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

In this area our Social Welfare and Health Commission has prepared a detailed proposal for a comprehensive solution of the problem of a hospital and sanatorium care as well as welfare services for the veterans which will be used in our talks with the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

Our talks with the Ministry will focus on the following:

(a) the area of health care:

(1) within the framework of the Voivodship Specialized Clinics to create a network of veterans clinics, which will provide specialized medical consultations, as well as rehabilitation and hospital services. Such clinics ought to be established in every voivodship;

(2) under the auspices of the Medical School Specialized Clinic at Banacha Street to establish in Warsaw the Main Veterans Clinic, which will coordinate and lead the entire veterans health care; to start the construction of the Main Clinic at Dickensa Street;

(3) to start the construction of the planned sanatoriums for the veterans during the coming 3-year economic plan;

(4) to prepare appropriate regulations, which would allow the veterans to use the health care centers of the Ministries of National Defense [MON] and Internal Affairs [MSW];

(5) attention has been given to the need for increasing the number of veterans sent to sanatoriums (in comparison with 1982);

(b) in the area of welfare there is a need for:

(1) intensification of construction of veterans homes; to aim at constructing at least one veterans home in every larger voivodship city;

(2) to secure priority allocations of motor vehicles to handicapped veterans in conjunction with increased financial assistance for purchasing such;

(3) to secure priority for the veterans in the admittance to senior citizens centers. According to our information the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare will soon submit to our Main Board a draft of the executive order to that effect.

(4) I wish to remind here that the veterans 75 years old and up already receive a nursing supplement, while veteran retirees and pensioneers get 50 percent discount on train and bus fares. The bill gave these an official sanction only.

In summary: the main provisions of the bill concerning the benefits for the veterans are in the final stage of resolution. In the nearest future they will appear in the form of executive orders of appropriate ministers, other are in the process of being resolved. We hope that by the end of this year all of the participating ministries will issue appropriate executive orders. Our goal, guiding us in our talks with the ministries, is to make sure that the benefits granted by the bill are felt by the veterans and constitute a considerable material help and moral satisfaction to them.

We are also aware of the fact that the bill, while granting considerable benefits to the veterans, does not resolve all of the socioexistential problems of our membership, particularly in the area of care for the disabled, who require a special care and assistance. This problem ought to be given particular attention now in the period of coming fall and winter. I am talking about it because it should not happen that in the midst of our electoral reporting campaign in the cells the most vital needs of our members are forgotten. We also have in mind the need on the part of the cell boards to provide for maximal assistance to and care for those who are in particular need of such by using the opportunities in this respect offered by the Polish Social Assistance Committee [PKPS], Polish Red Cross [PCK], Polish Scout Union [ZHP], and schools as well as mutual aid program. This assistance will be necessary for the purchase of supplies for the winter season.

We would like these matters--which are our important obligations to the membership--to be discussed in the cell meetings.

8609
CSO: 2600/60

FORMER SOLIDARITY LEADERS INTERVIEWED ON PAST PROBLEMS

National Commission Member

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 8-10 Oct 82 p 4

[Interview with Aleksandr Chrzanowski, Solidarity National Commission member by Ireneusz Czyzewski: "The Workers Will Be Able to Judge"]

[Text] Interview with Aleksandr Chrzanowski, a machinist at the Agricultural Machinery Combine AGROMET in Lublin, and a member of the National Commission [KK] of the suspended Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity.

[Question] Please describe your position in the union.

[Answer] I was one of the organizers of the new trade unions in the Lublin area. I was first active in the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ], and then in the Central-Eastern Regional Board. In October 1981 I was elected to the National Commission of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity.

[Question] Where were you when martial law was declared?

[Answer] At the train station in Gdansk. After a meeting of the National Commission, several of us sat there until quite early in the morning, because there was no train. No one stopped us or asked to see our papers. We found out in the train that martial law had been imposed. I returned to Lublin quietly, and my family told me that the militia police had been by. I went to bed, and on Monday I went to work. Part of the plant was striking, and so I tried to persuade people to break off the protest. It was not easy, but I finally succeeded. Then, basically together with the director, we reached the conclusion that I ought to report to the militia station. There I answered a couple of questions and signed a statement that I would not act against the Polish People's Republic. I signed it because I have never acted against Poland or had any intention of doing so. Since then no one has asked me about anything, and I have been working quietly at my position. I am a machinist in the tool shop.

[Question] I have heard that you are still active...

[Answer] You cannot call it that. The unions have been suspended, but many questions have remained. People know me and if they have some kind of problem they come to see me. Can I refuse them? I go to the director and talk to him. I do not have any difficulties as a result of this.

[Question] What were the mistakes of the trade unions that were active before August?

[Answer] It is not possible to ennumerate everything that was associated with the trade union movement before September, but a great deal absolutely has to be, at least the obvious lack of autonomy, guidance from outside, controlled elections, and inability to act. It was not possible to make a breakthrough on any of the problems, however. Many good people were running from one wall to another because they could not settle anything. Others were too submissive, and did not have the courage to take risks. The fact is also that if someone did settle union affairs firmly, this was lost in one way or another. In any case, we cannot return to that. Today it is also worthwhile to ask whether the trade unions were the only ones responsible. I think not, because they were operating under specific conditions and did what the conditions allowed them to do.

[Question] You were one of those who first questioned this state of affairs by organizing new unions. You made it possible for things to be different. Did the beginning really offer such an assurance?

[Answer] Definitely. Nevertheless, the workers created a workers' union. People came to us with great hopes. We tried to fulfill their expectations. Dozens of forgotten problems that had previously been impossible to settle were resolved literally overnight. This was very dynamic work, carried out in a rather nervous atmosphere, and it is understandable that various disputes arose, and often very sharp discussions. We considered this a normal phenomenon, since it was confined within tolerable limits. As time went by, however, this situation began to change.

[Question] What were the symptoms of this change?

[Answer] There were more and more outsiders bustling around us. They did not have access to us, however. We effectively guarded against their participation in our unions, meetings, or gatherings. Then, when the union had already developed, there were more and more of them. They got out of control. We only learned that they were quietly organizing some kind of meetings. They began to bother the activists about whether they could get into the Committee for the Defense of the Workers [KOR], the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], or other groups. It was difficult to determine who was who. They got into the authorities by various means, even as a result of various manipulations. It nearly happened, however, that completely different people from outside our region, from some completely unknown list, got into the authorities at a meeting. We did not elect them in the primary elections. Was it possible to prevent this in all of the regions, however?

[Question] Still, couldn't the most informed people--you were one of them--ask specifically who these people were and why they came? We are not even citing such a concept as freedom of speech, since it is perhaps too high-sounding.

[Answer] In theory, this was possible, but in practice it was not. I repeat, it was very difficult to orient oneself in all of this. For example, I only learned what "National Commission" meant after working there for a certain period of time. The principle of preserving the unity of the union was also in force from the beginning. It is correct and necessary, but its use to limit criticism of individuals or activities should be recognized as impermissible. Unfortunately, something like this was really the case.

[Question] Did the National Commission work in a similar atmosphere?

[Answer] There was a group of people there who were not interested in union affairs. There was also another group, which consisted mainly of workers. We stayed together and consulted on various matters, and even sat together. When any of those who, let us say, thought realistically, took the floor, then Walesa said, "Listen, finally something concrete!" Even at the last meeting of the National Commission, when the well known resolutions were adopted, there was also no lack of prudent voices warning of the consequences. It is a pity that they were not shown on television. These voices were there, but there were too few of them. As we put it, the advantage was with the people who spoke in a picturesque style, and when it came to a vote, they triumphed.

[Question] Wasn't there any chance of eliminating that state of affairs?

[Answer] An awareness emerged that the union was not acting as it should. People learned more and more about various things that were happening behind the scenes, and activists at various levels unravelled it. It was difficult for the idea of irregularities to penetrate. Thus, there was some chance that they might be eliminated in January 1982, when a meeting for reports was supposed to take place in the region. It is difficult for me to say to what extent this was possible. It is a fact that genuine activists who did not agree with Solidarity's policies at that time were leaving the union. A classic example of this was the notorious Cwikla affair. When the authorities in the region were changed he was elected vice president, and he said, "I will not work with those people." This was a very brave step at that time. Cwikla, however, was accused of disrupting the unity of the union; he was reviled, and as a result of his article, the founder was expelled from the union. We tried to defend him, but we were too weak.

[Question] Today, after some time and after many difficult experiences is there an awareness that this was really the situation inside the union?

[Answer] The truth is penetrating with difficulty. People are feeling the results; what the union was able to settle is important. And this is the way it should be. In fairness, we have to acknowledge what Solidarity did for the workers. We cannot pass over the bad phenomena and mistakes, however. It is characteristic that someone who reached the heart of the union participated in various meetings outside of work and frequently rubbed his eyes from amazement.

I know of such cases, which are not rare at all. Those who did not see this did not believe it, however, and the truth is such that they still do not believe it. I have even met people who said that KOR actually did not mean any harm.

[Question] How frequent are these views, especially the last ones?

[Answer] It is difficult to say exactly, since I have not performed any research. I only know one thing. The political shouters did not find any support among the workers. Obviously, at every meeting there was someone who shouted, for example, that he did not like the party, or brought up some political matters. The work force, however, had a negative view of this. Furthermore, I was at dozens of different meetings at plants, among the workers, and it is on that basis that I can say this. The workers were able to judge what they needed. Political matters in Solidarity were not their business. It did not occur to the workers to overthrow the system. They want work and a fair salary ensuring an appropriate standard of living. They want to have someone to turn to whom they can count on to help them.

[Question] What comes next, then?

[Answer] The situation is difficult today. People are perplexed and are thus no longer confident of their professions. Trade unions are thus even more necessary at this time. Everyone sometimes has the need to say something or even complain. He does not have anyone to turn to. I think that in spite of martial law and the suspension of union activity, some sort of production conferences or meetings should take place in the teams. People could say there what bothers them; now they are just whispering to each other in the corners. Thus, a union is needed that the workers will accept and recognize as their own, since otherwise they will not join it. This is what people think, and I am passing it on faithfully. Any substitute for trade unions could only increase the apathy, and that is what we need least of all in the present situation.

[Question] Therefore, what should the unions be like?

[Answer] Obviously, concepts of this are certain to be different. I see that many people are attached to the name "Solidarity," and to its aggressiveness. I do not know what it will be like. In my opinion a proper structure should be created and the unions should "come out of" the plants. I think that everywhere where there have been three organizations in the work force, they will somehow come to an understanding and there will be one, although several matters will necessarily have to be guarded against.

Different people cannot join a union from school or from who knows what kind of organizations. The people there have to be primarily the representatives of the work force, authentic ones, because only such people can be controlled by the work force. Also, such a person is capable of a firm presentation of the things demanded by the work force. Union members need a sort of intellectual base. I am not rejecting the presence of educated people; they are necessary for clarifying and explaining various things, but not for directing or even manipulating the union.

In contrast to the structures existing before August, the trade union should be independent and self-governing, not burdened with bureaucracy and reports. The activitists should return to their place of work. Only then will they try to fight for the causes of the workers, knowing that when they return they will be asked about what they have done. The union authorities also cannot be politically oriented.

[Question] What about conflicts?

[Answer] They can always appear. The union has to present the workers' causes forcefully, but it also has to know where the limit to its activity lies, and not cross it--in light of recent lessons, this does not lead to anything. It should simply look at the world realistically. At National Commission meetings, I heard such words as "general strike," and "an active strike." We wondered whether you really knew what an active strike was and how hard it is to carry it out--what it can lead to. After all, even when the well known referendum was outvoted, there were people who said loudly, "Stop." Unfortunately, matters had already gone too far and it ended the way it did. Now, if a good resolution on trade unions came out that ensured against certain things, then there would be a chance for a good union.

[Question] Won't there be adverse reactions to these statements?

[Answer] If you please, I have been a worker for 28 years. After August I fought for new unions when there were still few brave people. I devoted hundreds of hours to Solidarity. I subordinated my personal and family life to it. I am not afraid to speak because I am not presenting anything here that I have not seen. I am not repeating gossip. Even if someone does not like this, I still think that people have to learn the truth. We will not settle anything by overlooking unpopular matters, and at most, just as in the 1970's, we will calmly build a new conflict.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

Jastrzebie Interfactory Committee Chairman

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 25, 10 Oct 82 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Jaroslaw Sienkiewicz, former chairman of the Jastrzebie Interfactory Workers' Committee of NSZZ Solidarity, by Stanislaw Roszkowski: "The Absent Ones Are Wrong"]

[Text] [Question] I have heard awful things about you.

[Answer] And what are people saying about me?

[Question] One hears the words drunkard, degenerate, a careerist, who has gotten a villa and several automobiles for himself. You are charged with collaborating with the government. People talk about the party's messenger boy. In general, you are considered an extreme Red.

[Answer] Journalists ought to know quite well how people who are uncomfortable are dealt with. If you do not have any valid arguments, the attacks are based on libel; this means that it is hard to win against such a person. I still do not have the right to travel, and I go to work as most people do, by bus. I don't want to justify myself, however. These calumnies have assured me that I am an opponent to be reckoned with.

[Question] At first, however, there were no calumnies. You had genuine support in Silesia. Is it true that from the beginning you knew what to do?

[Answer] Perhaps I did not so much know, as hear. I phoned the secretary and director at the "Borynia" mine with a proposal for stepping up our activities. It was a warning call, at five to twelve. The party had to become involved in all of this, since otherwise someone else would barge in. Later on that is really what happened. Therefore, in Jastrzebie I tried to step up events, in contrast to those activists who saw August from behind the curtains in their offices. I was once asked how it happened that a member of the party with thirteen years of service became a strike leader. A representative of the workers was talking with an authority that was supposed to represent the interests of the working class. I answered that a member of the party should be among the people.

[Question] Didn't you thus hide behind your goals?

[Answer] Someone wrote that I went to the work force with the party's blessing--I never concelaed this. I am not a politician, but I still know how to take the facts into account. And the fact was that I was acting together with the people. I have spoken about this at meetings of various kinds, even at one of the meetings of the Interfactory Workers' Committee [MKR], where all of this was accepted without any reservations. In the beginning, over 50 percent of the authorities in the Jastrzebie Solidarity were party members. At that time, Jastrzebie was called Red Jastrzebie.

[Question] You have been accused of merely wanting to infiltrate the workers and calm down the hotheads.

[Answer] The strikes had to take place, at the lowest possible cost. Stopping work in a mine is not such a simple matter. This is coking coal that can be sold at a good price. Borynia cannot be closed up with a podlock, since this would threaten its ruin. In addition to this, as a [party] member and a citizen, I identified with the demands announced by the miners.

[Question] A proper authority is needed in order to organize a strike for the first time. Perhaps you read the famous KOR order?

[Answer] No, I didn't read it. You can imagine that this was very spontaneous, however. Really! People saw the coal trucks that came from the Coast toward the end of August with the signs, "Kill a Silesian and you will have a pig." This strike was to a great extent a solidarity strike, and an authentic one. The fact is that the Jastrzebie understanding turned out to be the most

impractical of all, but this demonstrates the fact that this authenticity was real. A bunch of experts did not work on it. Besides, I have to admit that I always drove away all kinds of advisors; I knew what that could lead to. The only chance this union had to exist was as a genuine one. Otherwise it had to lose. And it did lose, since it had lost its aut enticity.

[Question] But you lost much, much earlier. You began to be vilified. Which of the accusations was most unpleasant?

[Answer] I was made to appear an enemy of the union. Of the union--I am stressing this! Can anyone show me a document proving that I sold out any of the workers' causes?

[Question] Mr Sienkiewicz, in preparing for this interview, I looked through various kinds of Solidarity publications. In one of them I read that once, at a meeting of the heads of the Interfactory Founding Committees [MKZ] operating in the Silesian area, which was to result in the appearance of a single strong region, you stated that you were leaving, because you had come to an agreement with the secretary of the party. Couldn't the union members have felt themselves to be affected by this?

[Answer] If you please--you are simplifying matters a great deal by putting the unions and the party in opposite ends of the ring. Who told you that the party does not want strong unions?

[Question] Nevertheless, such accusations have been raised.

[Answer] I remember how at those meetings--and there were a lot of them--controversies occurred over the future of Solidarity. We were unable to agree on anything for many hours. I stated that if the leaders could not reach an agreement we should resign from our posts.

[Question] But from the point of view of politics, walking out like that was not the wisest move.

[Answer] Since when have I been a politician?

[Question] Then why did you push yourself forward as the chairman?

[Answer] I am too weak in politics. I win when I have the support of the workers at my back. But as an aside, I never pushed myself forward as the chairman at all. I was simply elected.

[Question] But what finally happened with that walkout? Are you going to answer my question or not?

[Answer] All right. The representatives of several mines were invited to a meeting in Zabinski. At the meeting, we were supposed to discuss matters that were extremely important to the union and the workers--the question of wages. New strikes were threatened if this problem were not solved. At the meetings

with the chairmen of the Interfactory Founding Committees I simply heard nonsense. The first problem that was discussed there was whether we ought to talk to the party or not. So where was I supposed to go--here or there? Which would you have picked?

[Question] What do you think--why was that attitude held against you? Why did you begin to lose out? First came your resignation from the office of chairman, and then your withdrawal from Solidarity and simultaneously the famous open letter.

[Answer] The "KORniks" began to gnaw away at Silesia.

[Question] The "KORniks?"

[Answer] Right. That isn't my name; it was invented by people from the Walbrzye Solidarity. KORniks, that is, people from KOR [Committee for the Defense of the Workers], since wherever they appeared they stubbornly gnawed away at everything--until it began to fall apart. KOR and the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] slowly, but even so very systematically, took over the Solidarity structures. I knew that when they took control of the union everything would collapse, and it did. My concept was based on authenticity of action, as it was at the beginning. In addition to this, as you know, there were dollars, leather jackets, and modern printing machines. People could be bought with these. And then enormous difficulties in supply were already being observed. Please realize that throughout the entire period of my management Jastrzebie did not get a cent or a pfennig from the West, as this demonstrates.

I also didn't meet with any understanding from the government apparatus at that time. I was left by myself. At any given moment I was leaning against a glass door that could break into a thousand pieces at any time. At that time the economic difficulties had begun for good, literally everything was in short supply in the shops, inflation was running wild, and the old authorities had collapsed. The government was blamed for all of this. After people had begun to be selected, I was left by myself, but I persisted even more. I not only knew what was wrong with the country, but spoke about it aloud...

Two weeks after it was signed I had an opportunity to talk to Grudzien, who was at that time the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee [KW]. I already knew then that this person did not know much about what was going on in the country.

[Question] Did you tell him about it?

[Answer] I told him. I also proposed that he record the next party meeting in the mine on tape, listen to it at his leisure, and then read the protocol from that meeting and draw his own conclusions.

[Question] You are again bringing the matter back to individual people and leather jackets.

[Answer] A few months after August, some people had already forgotten what had created the protest, since the way it happened, some people were motivated by expediency, and others did it for a purpose, with consideration. Someone said that a time when people had forgotten the reason for August would be the beginning of the next turning point, from which we would no longer be able to rescue the country.

[Question] I think that not only the party membership ranks, but also the leaders, realize this.

[Answer] There is something arresting in the fact that after any resolution is adopted, by any assembly, everything seems to be correct. The difficulty has always been consistency in carrying out what has been resolved. I think that what Jaruzelski is doing has a chance of success, since consistency can be seen in it.

[Question] You have to admit, however, that the process of emerging from the crisis is taking place very slowly. Many people are beginning to be doubtful about the future. We should not conceal this.

[Answer] Unfortunately, some people cannot understand that new times have come. If someone has had the schedule for his entire day set for years: at a certain time he drinks tea, then he writes a report, then at four he has a meeting, this is no longer a habit, but a way of thought.

[Question] Do you believe that we will get clear soon?

[Answer] At a meeting of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] in Warsaw, someone said that when a ship is at sea one captain has to lead, since otherwise the ship will sink. I believe in the present administration. I am worrying about something else: we have a bad tradition of putting the entire blame on individuals; one team is selected that governs for a certain period of time, and then it is wiped off the face of the earth. It is not true that only individuals are guilty.

[Question] I am afraid that a lot of people have cautiously acquired the ideas of socialism. They think that someone has to solve everything for them, and they heap guilt on everyone around them, only not on themselves.

[Answer] It is after all a question of changing convictions. I see my role as bringing about this change.

(During our interview, which lasted for several hours, an unsigned letter was delivered, together with the daily mail, addressed to "PZPR Comrade Jaroslaw Sienkiewicz, the Borynia hard coal mine." The anonymous letter began with the words, "I learned from today's TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA that you participated in a meeting of the commission that initiated the creation of the PRON National Provisional Council. I have several questions in connection with this..." The anonymous letter concluded with the words, "Please answer these questions in the columns of the newspapers.")

[Question] If you don't mind, let's satisfy the request from the author of the letter, especially since the questions are related to our interview. Let us begin with the last one. "Why do you think that trust in the government can be achieved by filling the shelves in the stores, but you do not say anything about prices? As a good person, in December 1980 you wanted to revive the understanding, but who stopped you? Now it has turned out that you are a fox in disguise, that you were a plant, and that you want to make your career as a cad. But you are putting on the cloak of a martyr for the freedom of the workers."

[Answer] Nothing new, but I will answer it. After all, prices and store shelves are inseparably linked to each other. There is also production, which has to be increased. But maybe this person does not want full shelves; maybe he thinks that the worse it is, the better it will be. I am not a martyr, since I am the only one who has gotten fed up, among other things by such anonymous letters. The rest of the questions have already been brought up in our conversation. Let's go on.

[Question] The second question is, "The other day you appeared on TV. Why do you speak on behalf of the members of Solidarity if you do not have that right, since Solidarity has been suspended?"

[Answer] I have spoken and I am speaking about Solidarity as a citizen of this country. I assume I have a right to my own view? Maybe the author of this anonymous letter understands pluralism differently.

[Question] "Who delegated you to this meeting (of PRON--ed.)? Whom did you represent at it? How did it happen that you were sent there?"

[Answer] The party made the proposal, and I tried to represent it. Besides, as the name itself indicates, this is a provisional commission. In connection with this, no elections have taken place yet.

[Question] Do you think that PRON has broad public support?

[Answer] Good will, every initiative, and the desire to act have to be taken into account. It is enough that a few people who want to do something are getting together. I think that people with different convictions and world outlooks will be meeting within the framework of PRON's activities; not all convictions, however, but the absent ones are wrong.

Some people were a step away from the government and felt the taste of it; the word "understanding" would not get past their throats. They are a minority, but unfortunately it has turned out that they have found a great deal of public support.

[Question] Do you thus have a future ahead of you?

[Answer] You are saying this ironically. The fact is that at a certain time my support among the workers was taken away. Recently someone said that the KORites were mortally afraid of me, since they knew that I was a powerful opponent. The most difficult thing is for a person to deal with his opinion of himself, but I have such an opinion. But by the way, I am curious; why did you want to interview me?

[Question] Perhaps I wanted to get a ride in one of your automobiles? The task of a journalist is to present different points of view; and besides, I can see that you were right on a lot of things.

[Answer] If concepts like the ones I presented had won, today we would have a strong party and very strong trade unions; but look at them today. With every day, this will be more and more apparent.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

9909
CSO: 2600/45

SLOVENIAN NAMED DIRECTOR OF 'BORBA'

[Editorial Report] The 28 October 1982 issue of BORBA (Belgrade) announced on the front page that the presidium of the Federal Conference of SAWPY had named Bozidar Kovac the new director of the "Borba" NIGRO (News, Publishing, Printing Work Organization). It noted that Kovac, who will take up his new duties on 15 November, was born in 1935 in Podkum, Zagorje, had been director of Ljubljana television since 1979, and a member of the LC since 1963; he had earlier been a journalist and editor for DELO, and had held various SAWP posts in Slovenia.

On 29 October BORBA published (page 4) the following (excerpted) statement from the presidium of the SAWP Republic Conference of Croatia, protesting that Croatia's candidate, Sime Kronja, had not been named to the "Borba" post:

"The presidium of the Croatian Republic Conference of SAWP nominated Comrade Sime Kronja as director of NIGRO "Borba," proceeding from the conviction that Comrade Kronja fully meets all the conditions for this function in his work abilities, experience, and moral-political qualities. After this proposal [i.e., nomination] was submitted to the Federal SAWPY Conference, he was fully supported in several republic and provincial conferences. But the nomination was linked, clearly without basis, to various interpretations of Kronja discussions in the Federal Conference of SAWPY in April of this year. During the proceedings the public was informed about the candidacy in an unusual way--a way which does not serve as an example for our social relations. In the political organs of the Federation and of the Croatian LC the attempts to disqualify Comrade Kronja were rejected and the interpretations of the Kronja discussion at the meeting of the SAWP Federal Conference section for information were considered an unacceptable method in handling free democratic dialogue in the SAWP based on the principled positions of the LC. Despite this, and because of the long wait for agreement and the need to solve the key cadre question in "Borba," the presidium of the SAWP Republic Conference of Croatia withdrew its nomination, making it possible for other solutions to be made."

CSO: 2800/45

MACEDONIAN SURVEY POINTS TO PARTY WEAKNESSES

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 82 p 5

[Excerpts] Special attention has been drawn to the answers regarding the moral image of communists given by 1,200 persons surveyed [recently] in Macedonia by the Institute for Sociological and Political-Legal Questions in Skopje. Persons from all social strata, of all ages and educational levels, were asked: "What qualities should LC members in this area have in the present struggle to achieve socio-economic stabilization?" and "How many LC members whom you know have these characteristics?"

Djoko Spasov, one of those supervising the researching of public opinion in Macedonia, said that these questions had been asked in surveys for several years. One wants to [find out] to what extent the LC, in the opinion of working people and citizens, remains avant-garde, i.e., the motive force in changing socioeconomic relations and overcoming the increased difficulties which have appeared at this stage in our socioeconomic development.

Spasov said that, if one proceeds from the conclusions of the 21st meeting of the LCY CC last September, or from the Congress views, it is noticeable that "many LC organizations and leaderships continue to be burdened by the practice of repeating the same conclusions, by issuing general appeals, by passivity, by reconciling themselves with the status-quo, and by negative tendencies which have resulted in certain areas in a loss of confidence in the LC."

Judging from the answers received to the questions [asked in the survey], one-third who were LC members and one-fourth who were not said [only] a small number of LC members whom they know meet the characteristics expected from a communist, i.e., that a small number of communists can serve as an example in the struggle for economic stabilization.

The problem is even sharper if one bears in mind that such judgments have essentially not changed for the last several years. Surveys have also showed that a good number of working people and citizens think that many in the LC "join in order to make it easier for them to achieve their personal ambitions, goals, and interests."

Studies show that there are more and more "theories" according to which current requirements do not apply to LC members, that they differ from other citizens, or that it is normal that they change their character, relation, method of living (under the influence of a consumer psychology) from what it was in a "revolutionary period."

Deeper analysis of the opinions of the one-third who were LC members and who said ["only] a small number of the members of their basic LC organization possess the qualities needed by a communist," shows that they are the product of [reflect] a certain powerlessness, revolt, and the attempt to justify their own consistency and violation of statutory norms by noting the "poor qualities of the majority."

CSO: 2800/47

BRIEFS

AUTHOR SENTENCED FOR 'LIES'--The 30 October 1982 issue of VJESNIK (Zagreb, page 4) reported that the Pregrada opstina court sentenced Mijo Golub (82 years old) and parish priest Zeljko Slonjsak to 3 years each for spreading false reports according to Article 197 of the Croatian criminal code. Golub is charged with writing a collection of stories "Vinagorsko Raslinje," one of which "is offensive to the national hero Josip Janko Jutrisa from Vinagora, his family, and the entire Vinagora area. In addition, it interprets in an inadmissible way the action of the people of this area and all of Croatia in the National Liberation War. Golub says that these poor peace-loving people [of this area] were simply tormented and their lives disrupted by armed groups of ustashe and partisans who terrorized them each in their own way. Such writing, the chief prosecutor said, blackened not only the concept of the revolution and the liberation war, but also the role of the Croatian people in these historical events." Golub, the report said, acted as his own defense lawyer saying that he himself had participated in the National Liberation War and won two medals for bravery and one for service to the people. Slonjsak was charged with editing, publishing, and distributing the book. [Editorial Report]

END

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3 December 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2081

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3 December 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Bogoljub Lacmanovic: "Self-Management--New Topic"]

[Text] After long years of silence about self-management, Moscow has begun to speak about this topic in the past few days, placing itself at the head of the countries developing "authentic self-management."

The appearance of the political essay entitled "Socialist Democracy, Government and Self-Management," published in the last issue of KOMMUNIST, the journal of theory and politics of the CPSU Central Committee, has been an unavoidable topic of the domestic political public and foreign observers these past days in Moscow. Under the "collective authorship" of the Institute of Government and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, this article attracts attention for two reasons. It reveals the pragmatic pulse of Soviet party and government policy and the "viscosity" of domestic ideological fluids [original reads "shocks"].

The problem of socialist democracy, brought on both by international and domestic conditions, has been by way of becomine one of the central topics in the Soviet Union in recent months. Certainly, the fifth anniversary of the new Soviet Constitution provides an immediate context for more extensive discussion of this, since the constitution is said to open wide the door to further democratization of Soviet society and that critics of Soviet reality have neither the right nor the arguments to attack Soviet socialist democracy. To be sure, it is admitted that in the mid-1930's there were breaches of democracy and law, which was the result of "the phenomenon of the cult of the personality," but those departures from Leninist norms in party and government life, it is now asserted, have been overcome successfully by the party and the people.

More Than Others ...

Proceeding from the fact that self-management and construction of socialist self-management relations are becoming an ever spreading banner representing the aspiration of the present-day working class movement in the world, Moscow felt the need to present its views on self-management at length and with some precision. These views, there is no doubt, represent at the same time a

debate with all those (present-day) theoreticians of Marxist-Leninist thought whose ideas do not coincide with the Soviet practice of building a socialist society.

In short, the basic ideas of the "collective author" in the journal KOMMUNIST can be reduced to several positions and conclusions: the CPSU does not have a negative attitude toward the idea of self-management in the construction of a socialist society. The Soviet state, in a comparison with others, has realized the concept of self-management more than any other. Strengthening the role of the state does not contradict the development of self-management; "balance" is merely needed between the institutions of government and those of social self-management. It is an error to think that the state is the only source of bureaucracy and that self-management is the sole means of eliminating bureaucracy and technocracy. Socialist democracy cannot develop by merely doing away with the institutions of government. Self-management can develop only in the context of mature socialism. Decentralized management of the national economy is not and cannot be unlimited, since that would result in "fragmentation" and the private-group relationship. Soviet practice not only acknowledges, but even consistently develops, the principles of self-management and in doing so does not prefer them over the socialist state. Moscow sees the proof of "self-management" and of decentralization of relations in the USSR, that is, of the transformation of the governmental dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the entire people and the rule of the people in the fact that there are in the Soviet Union 2.3 million deputies who, it is alleged, last year resolved and made decisions on more than 869,000 items of public and government business.

Several Motives

There are several motives behind Moscow's beginning to speak in the recent past about self-management as a socialist socioeconomic relation and for its even having set itself at the head of those who are "authentically" realizing the ideas of self-management in practice. The first is certainly the demand already mentioned for democratization of relations in socialism and the identification of socialism with the social relationship of self-management, which is increasingly present today in the world of working people. First and foremost, those are the aspirations and demands of the working class in Poland. The second reason is the criticism of Soviet practice coming from certain communist parties in western Europe. Various critics of real socialism assert that in Lenin's time the development of Soviet society was following the course of self-management and that after his death the idea and practice of self-management were forgotten. "The facts do not bear that out," KOMMUNIST now writes and thereby indirectly rejects the criticism of Berlinguer and the Italian CP addressed last winter to the CPSU and the USSR.

The reason for publishing Soviet views on self-management should probably be sought first of all in domestic Soviet conditions and endeavors to overcome the weaknesses of their own system, which are especially pronounced in the economy. The actual article in KOMMUNIST is certainly a part of a deliberate ideological offensive which was announced a month ago on both the domestic and international scene, and whose aim is to "prove the advantages of real socialism," that is, of the Soviet way to socialism.

In the article published in the last issue of KOMMUNIST the authors quite certainly did not "scratch below the surface" of the fundamental issues of their own socialist reality, nor was their purpose to initiate such domestic reflections. This article opened the door to polemical tones in the international working class movement, and those tones will probably be forthcoming. It is another matter whether Moscow desires that debate or the presentation of Soviet reflections on self-management at this moment was an occasion not to be "left out" concerning such an important commitment, one which is today dominant in the thinking of the working class movement in the world.

7045
CSO: 2800/41

ACADEMICIAN WARNS AGAINST MISINTERPRETING 'COMMUNIST EQUALITY IDEAL'

East Berlin TRIBUENE in German 24 Sep 82 p 11

[Reprint of LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG interview with Prof Dr Herbert Hoerz, program director, Central Institute for Philosophy, GDR Academy of Sciences; by Rolf Moebius: "A Talent Is Formed in Silence, A Character Is Formed in the World's Current." For related information see translations of articles from other GDR sources, published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "SED Sociologist Claims 'Intellectual Work' Insufficiently Rewarded," 80936, 28 May 82, No 2017, pp 12-16; "Existence of Contradictions in Socialist System Acknowledged," 80734, 5 May 82, No 2007, pp 22-24; "Philosophical Work on Contradictions in Socialism Reviewed," 81738, 10 Sep 82, No 2054, pp 31-35; "Ideological Demands on Talented Students to Be Relaxed," 81121, 24 Jun 82, No 2025, pp 49-54]

> [Text] "A talent is formed in silence, a character is formed in the world's current"--this quotation, used as a heading for the interview below, is taken from Goethe's "Torquato Tasso." The latter is searching for an explanation of the "disproportion between talent and life." The well-known words are spoken by Leonore Sanvitale in Act II of the drama.

[Question] With the word talent we sometimes mean a special artistic ability, sometimes the skill of a child in tinkering. The word is also used to describe a quick mind or extensive knowledge, as well as many other things. Is it even possible to debate such a scintillating term?

[Answer] One has to. The vaguness of the term merely shows how much research still must be done in this area. The only thing that is fairly certain is that there is apparently a genetic-biotic foundation for different types of individuals, and what is made with this potential depends on social conditions, influences of the environment, group and family relationships.

And it has been shown that there is decidedly more genetic-biotic potential than is being developed socially. This is important, because it proves that it is not necessary to manipulate genes in order to get better people, but instead one has to use an entirely different approach.

[Question] What approach, please?

[Answer] If it is correct--and much speaks in favor of that--that there are such bases and that it is decided between age one, perhaps, and the first year of school what interests will be formed, what motivations there will be for doing anything, then the basic problem to be solved is: early recognition! We must learn to recognize very early preshaped bases for certain abilities and skills--that means talents.

[Question] But we cannot do this yet. That means then it is hardly worthwhile to continue discussing this topic?

[Answer] That is a little hasty. First of all, even the best early recognition would have to take into consideration that late developments and changes are possible. Secondly, it is absolutely wrong to say that we cannot do it. Just think how we select and promote our future Olympic champions, which is no doubt easier than it is with other talents. But we have also already recognized some connections in Math Olympics, in furthering artistic talents--we are far from having explained them, but we have noticed, described and used them.

There are strategies for specialists, and there are some for the early detection of genetically caused weaknesses, e.g., reading and spelling disorders, so that they can be corrected early. This is quite successful. The question facing us now is: are there no abilities and skills that lie between specialization and genetic defects?

[Question] You mean not only the unknown future geniuses can be considered talents?

[Answer] Every person has special gifts and it is our obligation to find social solutions so that we do not lose anything. I understand with the word talent not only special scientific abilities. Practical experiences of pedagogues practically provoke the question of whether there are not two basic types of personalities we must deal with in more detail: think of youths who are always having difficulties in school learning by way of the deductive reasoning, logical method which is applied there. They have no difficulties performing their duties as skilled laborers.

There are people who have two left hands and there and those with golden hands; some who learn about reality through the logical, deductive process, that means they recognize the laws, build classes of problems and accept reality as a practical example for theoretical insights, and there are those who can grasp reality only through objects (empirical-inductive), who literally go merely from observation to generalization. The former understand reality with the help of concepts, the latter by grasping with their hands. And all of them are needed.

[Question] Would the practical consequences of this not require changes in our educational system?

[Answer] Nothing rash has to be done. We must differentiate between a strategy for communism--which we must consider now, however--and that which we can do immediately according to present knowledge and economic possibilities.

Thinking about communism means remembering what Lenin said about the fulfillment of all needs in communist society, of varied needs which also depend on natural and social differences. This is especially important for the shaping and furthering of talents.

At stake now are scientific programs, and in school practice much would be gained if the evaluation of the student's personality would be focused on more closely.

Part of this is a complex overview over several specialties, and also "longitudinal sections" over at least 4 to 5 years, because there are phases of stagnation in between spurts of growth; we must not act as if there is only growth (or, with "bad" students, only setbacks). And it is good so--even a student in difficulties has to prove himself as a personality.

[Question] What does this have to do with talent?

[Answer] Talents should not only be sufficient unto themselves. By furthering all talents we want to further conditions for mass-creativity--for a new way of controlling the environment. One needs ideas for this and the ability to apply them--talent by itself is not enough. Steadfastness, perseverance, pertinacity must be taught. What good would Einstein have been to the world, had he not been able to prevail against his enemies. The loss of potential creativity, when we do not teach and learn in time how to overcome difficulties, is just as great as if we were to let talents go to waste. The ability to persevere is one of the conditions for the development of talents.

[Question] What is the final goal of furthering talents?

[Answer] Man is for us the main force of productivity and personality, which includes everything from the way he deals with his environment to his innermost feelings. And he is both in one, not one next to the other or one after the other. This is important, because in the educational system of capitalist countries there is a sharp division between career training and life. There, social training aims to teach how to exploit man, and the needs of the personality have no part in this. Other institutions --especially religious ones--attempt to see to the rest (most of the time not without self-interest).

We can overcome this separation and are in the process of doing it. But this is not possible if we only take into consideration what the individual wants, what is good for him--this would result in individualism, egotism, at any rate, nothing socialist. On the other hand, considering the functioning of man as a productive power would mean a regression into capitalist barbarism. We need a meaningful combination of personal interests and social usefulness in the education of talents.

It is also not enough to see the productive function only as a means to an end--if you slave hard enough, you create for youself the prerequisites for a good life. Of course this also does exist, and it is more than any capitalist country can say of itself, that we work for our benefit. But this is not enough--it would mean a split between work and leisure, between productive force and personality.

[Question] And how can they be combined?

[Answer] The socialist society needs creative personalities everywhere. And the personality, in order to affirm itself as personality, needs the experience of success and social recognition.

Wanting to be useful to society is an important step in the direction of perceiving work as a need. And I would want to count social recognition, praise, social prestige among the personal benefit which one wants to get from his work. Here, too, we should change our thinking a little: the most important thing is, of course: pay according to achievement; but personal benefit is more than personal property of material and cultural goods.

All this is among the most favorable conditions for the development of gifts and talents, for a gain of personal freedom. When it is combined with creativity, then the personal achievement becomes the social prerequisite for being able to develop further as a personality.

[Question] Can furthering the gifted open a door to elitist thinking once again?

[Answer] Every polemic remains correct against opinions according to which a person, based solely on characteristics he was born with, is somehow "chosen," possibly superior or inferior because of his social background or race; and according to which the decisive significance of social conditions for the realization of genetic-biotic bases is denied. This is a reactionary ideology which must be fought as a matter of principle.

But I can also understand the word elite simply in the sense of a cadre selection, a selection of people who are especially suited for certain tasks--then this is a task which must be solved on a continuous basis. When I make someone a director, a department head, further him, praise him, distinguish him...this is correct and necessary. As soon as we would start to level existing individualities and outstanding special gifts--perhaps because of a falsely understood communist ideal of equality--we would also get only leveled performances, nowhere top performances.

And this would not have anything to do with communism. Communism means on the one hand highest achievements, on the other equal right (this we already have) and equal opportunities for everyone to develop his abilities freely (socialism has been working on this from the very beginning successfully as nowhere else). I remind you of needs. Communism is not equality in the sense of uniformity, but a society of freely associated personalities.

It is, however, wrong to think that sometimes only top scientists or top artists are meant by the term special gifts. Also an engineer, a technician building a new device, gives a top performance. We need top performances--by those especially talented for them--in administrative functions as well. The skilled laborer with his golden hands belongs to this also--they all belong to an elite in the sense of a selection of especially gifted persons whose talents must be furthered and used.

[Question] Should we then specialize more and considerably earlier?

[Answer] Beyond creating opportunities and fun--in other words in special classes or schools--at first only, where we know enough about interrelationships and facts. It applies at present especially to talents in the fields of art, sports and mathematics. Otherwise, general education must be emphasized, that means the gaining of basic skills and basic knowledge for dealing with reality. Today, this involves knowing how to work with electricity, how a crane or a lever function, or the fundamental principles of biology.

Not until later in life can a field be decided on, and then general knowledge becomes basic knowledge in this field, because man cannot be a universal production force. In addition to that comes special knowledge, which today wears out quickly; the foundations must suffice to enable one to deal with the latest changes continuously. This type of temporal gradation is necessary.

[Question] How can both be brought under one denominator?

[Answer] In general it is true that uniformity in training and differentiation, specialization must not be thought of as alternatives. Everything that has been discussed here must be incorporated into the uniform school system, it cannot be pursued in addition to it. Special talents do not exclude a high degree of general education.

It can be said, with Einstein: we are against one-sidedly trained dogs which can only do what they have been taught. Neither a really important --that is, creative--productive force nor a personality can develop in a narrow specialty field alone. New ideas, new ways of looking at the environment are the result of having an overview, of curiosity, when one wonders about contradictions; often of analogies, when one seeks connections between areas about which one otherwise had thought of only in isolation--all this has been shown by the history of science as well as our present practice.

Narrow specialization would limit the reservoir for creative ideas and the richness of the personality.

9328
CSO: 2300/28

LAW FOR PROTECTION OF PERSONAL RIGHTS DISCUSSED

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 36 No 5, May 82 pp 224-227

['Discussion' feature article by Dr Ingo Fritsche, assistant professor, and Prof Dr Martin Posch; Department of Political Science and Jurisprudence, Friedrich Schiller University, Jena: "The Civil Law Protection of the Citizens' Personality Rights"]

[Text] An essential task for socialist law consists in fostering citizens' development of their personalities. An intensified influence upon this process requires both the continued juridical elaboration and the achievement of the varied associated forms of cooperation as well as the comprehensive legal protection of personal integrity and liberty. The directly reciprocal dependencies of both complexes of societal relationships is reflected in the constitutions of socialist countries, wherein the "personal rights and liberties" have, in increasing measure, come to be seen as independent basic legal categories and have taken on growing significance.[1]

The System of Legal Claims for Respect for Personal Rights Within the Civil Law of the GDR

The constitutional guaranty of personal integrity and liberty is defined and elaborated i.a. by the standardization of civil law claims to the protection of personal rights in Articles 7 and 327 of the Civil Code. The formulation of a general claim to respect for personal rights under the principles of socialist civil law (Article 7, Civil Code) is an indication of the importance which the law ascribes to this ruling within the entire complex of civil law relationships. It becomes clear that the orientation of the Civil Code to the individual citizen as its main addresses demands respect for equality, the reciprocally operative penetration of property relationships, welfare relationships and personal relationships. For this reason a formal definition which regards personal rights basically as the "residue" of those rights which are not already governed in terms of property or contractual relationships[2] is not appropriate to their real status in socialist civil law. A reciprocal demarcation and division of property rights from non-property rights is, for that reason alone, inadmissable since the obligations for action to prevent injury and damage governed in Part 5 of the Civil Code apply to all the spheres indicated above. Legal claims to the protection of personal rights pursuant to Article 327 of the

Civil Code are also laid down in terms of contractual and welfare relationships. They can have application particularly in the following spheres:

--in terms of tenancy law in the event of conflicts in the communal life of the tenant community as well as in the relationship to the landlord (evidence of trespass, protection of personal communications, determination of what is personal activity meriting protection as against inadmissable encroachments);[3]

--within the framework of personal service for the assurance of the obligation to confidentiality of a mandatee (Article 200, Paragraphs 2 and 3, Civil Code)[4] as well as the safeguarding of documents placed in safekeeping;[5]

--with respect to enterprises performing transport and communications services and whose responsibility is determined according to civil law (e.g., assurance of the confidentiality of mail and telephonic communications);[6]

--in the relationship of the citizen to lending institutions and savings banks (obligation to confidentiality concerning bank balances and transfer of funds, pursuant to Article 235, Paragraph 2, Civil Code);[7]

--in the sphere of the cooperative efforts of citizens in associations and in the instance of mutual assistance (protection of the privacy of civil associations, assurance of the rights of privacy in the event of dealings with or without contract, obligation to scrupulousness in the transmittal of personal documentation for use by another, pursuant to Article 280, Paragraph 1, Civil Code);

--within the framework of health care relationships respecting information given to the patient, the right of decision over surgical treatment, the freedom of movement and communication in the event of hospitalization and the obligation to medical confidentiality.[8]

This summary overview indicates the unitary character of the system of obligations to appropriate action and conscientiousness within which the obligations for respect for personal rights are inseparably integrated at various levels. In addition to this, Article 7 of the Civil Code offers a definition in terms of the entire socialist legal system which--apart from the concrete possibility of enforcing civil law claims--establishes a general binding obligation to respect personal rights.[9]

Constitutional Bases and Extent of Claims in the Event of Encroachment Upon Personal Rights (Article 327, Civil Code)

The civil law claims based upon the above mentioned constitutional norms are aimed directly at the protection of personal integrity and liberty. The concept of "personal rights" in the meaning of Articles 7, 327, Civil Code, thus contain a necessary delimitation with respect to the sometimes employed characterization of basic rights as a whole as socialist personal

rights[10] and it is also not identical with the rights of political participation. The guaranty of personal integrity and liberty creates, however, the essential prerequisite for participatory action and, in addition, becomes directly effective in the process of safeguarding participatory rights. To this degree--taking into account the particularities of the evolution of the law and the protection of the various categories of basic rights[11]--there exists a close functional connection between personal rights and the rights of participation.

With these initial points in mind, the following domains of personal rights which are relevant to civil law emerge:

1. The protection of integrity comprising in particular the protection of personal integrity (life, health, well-being)[12] of moral integrity (honor, reputation, dignity), of personal documentation and personal identity (documents, pictures, names) and of the immediate living and residential environment (personal domain);

2. The protection of the freedom of decision (freedom of conscience and belief) and the freedom of activity (freedom of physical movement, freedom of movement from place to place, freedom of opinion);

3. The protection of individual creative effort and its results (copyright, innovation and patent rights).

Functions and Conditions of Claims Pursuant to Article 327, Paragraph 1, Civil Code

The characteristic protective function of civil law responsibility is defined in terms of Article 327, Civil Code, through the deterrent effect of the normed obligations for respect of such, together with the claims upon prevention and restitution. The central claim, pursuant to Article 327, Paragraph 1, Civil Code, is directed at the elimination of the illegal condition. As distinguished from responsibility in accordance with Articles 330 ff, Civil Code, restitution ensues--determined by the particular manifestations of the consequences of the violation under consideration--not, as a rule, by means of monetary awards but instead through a (juridically enforceable) undertaking by the violater, intended to eliminate or to minimize the adverse consequences of the act in violation. The provisions indicated in the law of retraction and of public rectification can be supplemented or supplanted by further appropriate stipulations of the court (e.g., obligation to seek the injured party's pardon, imposition of an obligation to silence), if the interests of the injured party are thereby more effectively protected. All of this is supplemented by the obligation to restore damages, insofar as material damages in the meaning of Article 336, Paragraph 1, Civil Code, are indicated, including the expenditure requisite to the elimination of the illegal condition and its consequences.

According to our Civil Code, the imposition of material sanctions (monetary fines) exceeding the restoration of damages is not possible.[13] In the event of serious violations of personal rights, however, further educational

measures, together with sanctions covered under the Penal Code, or measures imposed by the Societal Courts are possible.

As in the case of the other remedies against violations offered by the Civil Code, so too does Article 327, Civil Code,--as distinguished from the corresponding facts of the case under the Penal Code--not assume in advance an offense on the part of the violater of personal rights. This is of particular significance for the protection of personal documentation (e.g., unauthorized though not culpable possession and use of personal likenesses, documents, sound tracks, etc). Under certain circumstances, a violation of the rights of property or possession can thereby be caused. In such a case, the owner or person otherwise entitled to possession can make use of the claims under Article 33, Civil Code, together with the claims under Article 327, Civil Code. In addition, any citizen whose personal rights have been thereby violated (e.g., the sender of letters, the person depicted, et al.) can demand the elimination of the illegal condition, irrespective of the circumstances of property or possession pursuant to Article 327, Civil Code, together with Article 86 of the Copyright Law.

Claims against violations of honor and reputation assume the illegality of the offending action. In this connection, a distinction must be made between judgments and criticisms on the one hand and the assertion of fact on the other. Value judgments and criticisms represent an exercise of the right to freedom of opinion (Article 27 of the Constitution) within constitutionally admissable limits. Since the distinction between the right to freedom of opinion and its misuse must be unitary within the system of rights, the objective criterion for gross disrespect of personal dignity laid down in Article 137 of the Penal Code also applies for civil law judgment claims for restitution of damages asserted in connection with violations of personal rights (Article 327, Paragraph 1, Item 4, Civil Code) are governed by the conditions of Articles 330 ff. of the Civil Code. In contrast to protection claims, therefore, they include the possibility of relief afforded by Articles 333, 334 of the Civil Code.[15] Regarded as material disadvantages in the meaning of Article 336, Paragraph 1, Civil Code, which can arise from the infringement of personal rights are: lost income, the consequences of damage to psychological or physical health as well as expenses incurred by the injured party for the alleviation or elimination of the consequences of the injury.

Extension of Protection of the Right to Privacy Under Article 327, Civil Code

The reorganization under civil law of the protection of the right to privacy necessarily raises the questions of the areas of its application. This is all the more the case since Article 327, Paragraph 1, Civil Code, contains no caustic limitation upon that protection but indicates only in an exemplary way a number of "traditional" rights of personality (honor, reputation, name, etc). The ruling is thus designed to contribute in other areas of societal relationships to the preservation of the interests of the citizen with respect to this personal integrity and freedom. The following proposals are intended to suggest such considerations in theory and practice:

1. Within the framework of protection of integrity, along with claims in the event of injury to honor, reputation and name, reference must be made to the extension of protection of personal documents and identification. This concerns, e.g., the protection of oral expression which previously had not been assured either by the Copyright Law (Articles 86-90) nor the general civil law; mention of this has already been made in the literature.[16] Analagous to the protection of likenesses and recordings afforded by the Copyright Law--the storage of oral expression and its further use or publication is only admissable with permission. A claim for elimination (erasure) or surrender of the stored material can be asserted pursuant to Article 327, Paragraph 1 of the Civil Code in the event of an illegal recording. How and to what degree the party obliged to surrender such material is entitled to compensation is to be decided analagous to Article 33, Paragraph 2, Civil Code, together with Articles 356, 357 of the Civil Code. Because of the general nature of Article 327, Paragraph 1 of the Civil Code, detailed questions (e.g., exceptions to the principle of permission, length of protection) are to be decided through legal practice analagous to the conditions of Articles 86 through 90 of the Copyright Law; insofar as such actions have the force of law, they should, in our opinion, be incorporated in the Copyright Law itself.

The legal protection of personal data with respect to the status of the citizen in his relationships under civil law to partners (banks, insurance companies) is taking on increased importance. In connection with the growing use of electronic data processing equipment, several authors have correctly pointed out the sources of error with the storage and transmission of data.[17] This indicates the necessity of preparing a complex means of regulating the storage and use of personal data which must also guarantee legal protection. In the meantime, efforts must be made to assure the protection of personal data within the framework of existing civil law, especially in the instance of errors on the part of data processing equipment (whether through human or technical error). Such efforts are also needed to gather experience applicable to future regulation. While for the resulting damages the application of expanded responsibility on the basis of heightened risk is indicated (Article 343 ff., Civil Code), a citizen's demand for rectification of incorrect data should be asserted as a concrete instance of his claim for its elimination pursuant to Article 327, Paragraph 1, Civil Code and, circumstances permitting, be pressed in the courts.[18]

The personal dwelling and living sectors of every citizen are also regarded as being under the protection of Article 327, Paragraph 1 of the Civil Code. In particular this includes the dwelling place, containers intended for the safekeeping of personal items (e.g., closets, desks) as well as the personal items themselves (articles of clothing, briefcases, trunks, etc). Protection in terms of the right to privacy also exists with respect to unauthorized intrusion into the circumstances of one's personal life such as the taping and recording of personal conversations, photographing, surveillance and the collection of personal data. Article 327, Paragraph 1, Civil Code (in some circumstances together with Paragraph 328, Civil Code) affords claims to the cessation or destruction of material gained through such unauthorized actions.

2. In the sphere of protection of activity and liberty, the significance of Article 327, Paragraph 1, Civil Code is to be seen not so much in terms of protection against acute assaults upon personal freedom since the Penal Code offers a more effective means of response. Civil law claims, on the other hand, can serve for the resolution of conflicts resulting from disregard of the rights to privacy in the forefield of the facts of the case in which penal law may apply. In the event of actions falling under penal law, a response can be made, circumstances permitting, in terms of civil law by the issuance of an interlocutory decree before the initiation of a criminal trial.

3. Personal rights problems within the framework of other legal relationships, e.g., of custodial or medical care relationships, can also be dealt with using the remedies of civil law. What is at issue here is generally the guaranty of the individual citizen's right of self-determination, such citizen being in a relationship of care or custody. Thus, for example, within the terms of the health care relationship, the standard obligations of the hospital staff to supply information and explanations to the patient, to respect his capacity for decision with respect to diagnostic and therapeutic measures, the maintenance of the physician's obligation to confidentiality and the respect of the patient's need for freedom of movement and communication form a unity with corresponding personal rights which, in the event of conflict, are to be protected by the courts. The significance of the extent, the limits and the guaranty of these rights have, in our opinion, been underestimated in the past as compared to the problems of material responsibility in the field of health care. When more recent studies of the health care relationship assess the respect for the social needs of the personality of the patient as one of the most significant conditions of a successful treatment,[19] then this points explicitly to the function of the right of guaranty of personal rights within the health care relationship.

4. Article 327, Paragraph 1 of the Civil Code also includes copyright as well as other similarly protected rights of creative activity among personal rights.

Those components relevant to the rights of property are thus assigned to personal property pursuant to Article 23, Paragraph 1 of the Civil Code. The question is also raised with regard to this field, as to whether an overlapping civil law protection of creative activity has thereby been created which supplements existing regulations. This problem, in our opinion, deserves to be further elaborated in the following directions:

--the protection of scientific-technical accomplishments which are not or are not yet covered by patent or copyright (e.g., scientific partial solutions, preliminary stages of inventions, spinoffs of inventions) from illegal applications or appropriation.[20] Such protection can also be afforded to enterprises pursuant to Article 327, Paragraph 2, Civil Code.

--guaranty of designation by name and of moral recognition as well as protection from illegal application and appropriation in the instance of innovation proposals.

--general protection of the honor and reputation of innovators and inventors.

Article 327, Paragraph 2, Civil Code, makes it possible for corresponding application of personal rights claims to be asserted also by enterprises. With this the problem of collective rights of personality in civil law is touched on in general terms. In our opinion, the corresponding application of claims from Article 327, Paragraph 1 of the Civil Code should also be extended to organizations which are not subsumed under Article 11 of the Civil Code, in particular to non-incorporated citizen communities. This arises from the fact that the quality of a "collective personality" is not primarily a factor of its legal autonomy, but is the result of the societal community which has evolved in its cooperative effort and of its societal achievements. To this degree, associations of citizens and working collectives should be regarded as bearers of collective personality rights. Appropriate for the practical application of Article 327, Paragraph 2 are the protection of collective reputation and societal esteem; the protection of buildings, grounds, objects and documents of organizations and communities as well as protection of communication of enterprises and organizations.

6. In conclusion, mention should be made of the need for protection of personal rights after death. The Civil Code does not contain any specific rule governing this. Posthumous protection of personality is, however, a societally justified concern and thus in accord with the rules governing copyright (Articles 33, 34 of the Copyright Law). Claims pursuant to Article 327, Paragraph 1, Civil Code, can accordingly be asserted by family members and, under certain circumstances, also by other citizens and by enterprises which can prove a legitimate interest. As examples of such application might be seen especially the protection of the reputation of deceased persons, the guaranty of certain relationships of decedants to the deceased (cemetary upkeep) and the protection of personal rights which the deceased, during his lifetime, exercised with effect after his demise (e.g. prohibition of the removal of organs).[21] Concerning the term of such protection, the rule established by Article 90, Copyright Law (10 years after death) should apply by analogy.

NOTES

1. Compare, e.g., Article 19, Paragraph 2, 20, Paragraph 1, 27, 30, 32, 35, 37, Paragraph 3, 39 of the Constitution of the GDR of 7 October 1974; Articles 39, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57 of the Constitution of the USSR of 7 October 1977; Articles 28, 30, 31, 32 of the Constitution of the CSSR of 6 July 1971.

   Compare also E. Poppe, "Die politischen und persoenlichen Rechte und Freiheiten der sozialistischen Grundrechte (Political and Personal Rights and Liberties in the System of Socialist Basic Rights), STAAT UND RECHT 1979 No 9 pp 806ff.; editorial collective under the direction of E. Poppe, "Grundrechte der Buergers in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (Basic Rights of the Citizen Within Socialist Society) Berlin 1980, pp 154ff., as well as H. Klenner, "Menschenrechte--Klassenrechte" (Human Rights--Class Rights) NEUE JUSTIZ No 7 p 287, which stresses particularly

the unity between individual self-realization and collective personality development as the essential substance of socialist basic rights.

2. Compare "Zivilrecht der DDR, Lehrmaterial fuer das Fernstudium" (Civil Law of the GDR, Instructional Material for Correspondence Study), No 1, Berlin 1973 p 138.

3. Compare Municipal Court of Berlin--Capital of the GDR--, Judgment of 31 July 1979--106 BZB 149/79--(NEUE JUSTIZ 1980 No 2 p 90) with commentary by G. Hejhal.

4. With regard to the obligation to confidentiality on the part of attorneys, cf. Article 5 of the Law Governing the Bar Associations of the GDR of 17 December 1980 (GBl. I 1981 Nr 1 p 1).

5. The obligation of persons entrusted with the safe custody of items (Article 200, Paragraph 2, Civil Code) also includes the obligation not to make personal documents available to third parties for inspection without the permission of the party entrusting such documents for safe custory.

6. Compare Article 46 of the Law Governing the Post and Telegraph Service of 24 June 1971 (GBl. I No 3 p 49) as well as the Ordinance Governing the rights and Obligations of Members of the German Postal Service (Postal Service Ordinance) of 28 March 1973 (GBl. I No 25 p 222).

7. Compare Article 9, Paragraph 2 of the Statue Governing Savings Banks of the GDR of 23 October 1975 (GBl. I No 43 p 703); Article 15 of the Administrative Ordinance Governing the Postal Savings Bank Service--Postal Savings Bank Ordinance--of 17 May 1968 (GBl. II No 60 p 348); Administrative Ordinance Governing the Postal Checking and Transfer Service--Postal Checking Ordinance--of May 1968 (GBl. II No 60 p 343) of the Administrative Ordinance No 2 of 17 November 1975 (GBl. I No 47 p 762). An exception is provided for if, in the event of the uncertainty of the possibility of carrying out a writ of execution, the judge can demand information concerning the accounts of the debtor from savings and credit institutions.

8. Together with the applicable provisions of the Outline Ordnance Governing Hospitals of 14 November 1979 (GB.--Special No 1032), s.a. Article 136 of the Penal Code as well as Article 5 of the Administrative Ordinance Governing the Licensing of Physicians--Licensing Ordinance for Physicians--of 13 January 1977 (GBl. No 5 p 30).

9. Concerning the function of the civil law protective norms within the socialist legal system, cf. M. Posch "Allgemeine zivilrechtliche Schutznormen, Verhaltenspflichten und Rechtfertigungsgruende" (General Civil Law Protective Norms, Obligations for Action and Justification Grounds) NEUE JUSTIZ 1976 No 19, pp 384 ff.

10. For the most recent literature, cf. esp. G. Riege, "Der Buerger im sozialistischen Staat" (The Citizen in the Socialist State) Berlin 1973

pp. 52f as well as the work by an editorial collective under the direction of E. Poppe, "Grundrechte des Buergers in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (Basic Rights of the Citizen in Socialist Society) op. cit., pp 40ff.

11. Thus the rights of political participation are bound, as a rule, by citizenship and a stipulated age level (cf. Article 22 of the Constitution and the applicable rules concerning the right to vote as well as the legislation governing defense and obligatory military service). The legal protection of the individual, on the other hand, is not dependent upon such assumptions. Political rights may be partially or wholly subject to deprivation (Article 58, Penal Code, Article 5 of the Voting Law) while individual rights can merely be constrained for particular reasons (Article 30, Paragraph 2 of the Constitution). The specific place and function of basic rights categories permit enforceable claims only in the area of protection of personal integrity and liberty.

12. The protection of life and health as well as defensive claims are assured through the claims for restitution of damages of the general civil law responsibility in accordance with Articles 330 ff., Civil Code. Through the reference of Article 327, Paragraph 1, Item 3, Civil Code, however, there ensues an organic connection between claims for protection and material responsibility.

13. Differences are seen, e.g., in the regulations of Article 84 of the Civil Code of the Hungarian Peoples Republic of 1 March 1978 and Article 7 of the Rumanian Federated Socialist Republic of 10 June 1964. The material sanctions do not serve primarily the personal satisfaction of the injured party in the sense of satisfaction of individaul emotions but are intended instead to effect a social education purpose. They are therefore employed only in the case of aggravated injuries and the fine is to be paid to the State Treasury. No comparability exists with the bourgeois concept of a "private fine" or a "monetary satisfaction."

14. The form of publicity is to be determined by the type and mode as well as the extent of the injury. For this reason the summoning to the hearing of those parties immediately involved can, under certain circumstances, be sufficient. Since the law does not regulate the way in which claims arising from Article 327, Paragraph 1, Civil Code, will be carried out, the court is to decide the appropriate form in the stipulations of its judgment.

15. The responsibility of enterprises for injuries to personal rights caused by its co-workers is determined in accordance with Article 331 of the Civil Code. While an exoneration is excluded in the instance of claims for elimination, restraint and the declaraion of an infringement of individual rights in accordance with Article 334, Civil Code, an exemption from the obligation for damages is also possible for enterprises. The condition of Article 334, Civil Code, may be at hand in cases of non-illegal infliction of injuries (e.g., technical failure of electronic data processing installations).

16. Compare W. John, "Zivilrechtliche Grundsaetze des Persoenlichkeitsschutzes im ZGB-Entwurf" (Civil Law Principles of Protection of Personal Rights in the Civil Code Draft) STAAT UND RECHT 1975 No 2 pp 194 ff. (200 ff.); do., "Zum rechtlichen Schutz der stimmlichen Aesserung," (Concerning the Legal Protection of Oral Expression) NEUE JUSTIZ 1975 No 4 pp 114 ff.

17. Compare W. Anders, "Neue juristische Fragestellungen durch die Anwendung und Nutzung des wissenschaftlich-technischen Fortschritts," (New Legal Questions Posed by the Application and Use of Scientific-Technical Advances) WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER KARL MARX-UNIVERSITAET LEIPZIG 1978 No 6 pp 687 ff.; V.S. Bodandarenko, "Rechtliche Aspekte der Automatisierung der Leitung eines Zweiges," (Legal Aspects of the Automation of Branch Operations) SOWJETSKOJE GOSSUDARSTWO I PRAWA 1976 No 9 pp 11 ff.

18. A citizen's claim for correction of data has already been incorporated in the new version of Article 83, Civil Code of the Hungarian Peoples Republic.

19. Compare, e.g., the work by the editorial collective, "Der Patient im Krankenhaus--Erwartungen, Rechte und Pflichten," (The Patient in the Hospital--Expectations, Rights and Obligations) Berlin 1979.

20. This concept is the result of adjudication in patent matters which assumes that the patent protection is limited to the patent claims formulated in the application. Cf. Supreme Court judgement of 23 May 1967-2 UZP 5/66--(more recently, No 5 p 125); G. Hildebrandt, "Die Rechtsprechung des Obersten Gerichts in Patentsachen," (Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in Patent Matters) NEUE JUSTIZ 1972 No 5 p 159; G. Becker, "Fragen des Erfinderrechtssprechung" (Questions of Jurisdiction Regarding Inventions) NEUE JUSTIZ 1979 No 1 pp 15 ff.

21. Compare the Ordinance Governing the Conduct of Organ Transplants of 4 July 1975, (GBl. No 32 p 597).

9878
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WEST GERMAN LEGAL EXPERT ANALYZES NEW GDR LAW ON SOCIAL COURTS

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 21 May 82) pp 570-572

[Article by Dr Erika Lieser-Triebnigg, jurist; consultant, Research Office, Bundestag, Bonn: "A New Law for Social Courts." Translations of the GDR Law on Social Courts, relevant resolutions and a discussion by the GDR justice minister are published under the heading, "State Council Issues New Laws on Social Courts," in JPRS 8082, 13 May 82, No 2009 of this series, pp 8-69]

[Text] Within the framework of the wave of codification felt in the GDR since the beginning of this year, it is not only the recently promulgated law governing military service (cf. the essay by K.W. Fricke in DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV 5/1982, p 458) which has taken on special significance for each citizen of that country, but now also the revision of the law governing social courts[1] which, on 1 January 1983, will replace the now standard version dating from 1968[2]. The law applies to the long-existent GDR conflict commissions, now numbering some 26,000 and the 5,000 arbitration commissions. These bodies, also designated as "societal organs of the administration of justice," are recruited from citizens "who are exemplary in their work as well as in their social and personal behaviours..." Who qualifies as such is decided by the trade union congress in the case of the conflict commissions and by the party, resp. all mass organizations, for the arbitration commissions. The so designated candidates are then elected at their work places or by the local popular assemblies.

Conflict commissions exist in plants and state institutions with more than 50 workers. Arbitration commissions, on the other hand, operate in communities and production cooperatives. Both commissions continue to have the authority to make decisions for community members or workers in the same enterprise in cases of simple civil law disputes. The value in dispute formerly could not exceed 500 marks. The new law raises the limit to 1,000 marks. Minor misdemeanors or offenses against the school attendance law also fall within the jurisdiction of the commissions. Upon conclusion of a "consultation" (the counterpart to a public court hearing), a decision is handed down in the form of a reprimand, a fine or an educational measure intended to restore the damage inflicted. From next year on, there can also

be the imposition of an obligation "to serve up to 20 hours of unpaid community service work during one's leisure time."[3]

The conflict commissions also rule on disputes arising in the working relationship between the enterprise and its workforce. Here the conflict commissions have long played a role as a kind of preliminary hearing in cases headed for the labor courts. Some 90 percent of all disputes arising from labor relationships are dealt with by these means. In 1981 some 49,000 "consultations" took place within this sector, the great majority of them being concluded by settlement between the parties. Of the remaining cases in which an appeal was made to the district court, the panel for labor cases reversed only 2 percent of the decisions of the conflict commissions.[4] The use of the conflict commissions in advance of court action (and not the transfer of the means of production into state ownership, or the feeling of workers that they are "co-owner" and thereby "co-determiners") is, among others, the main reason why judges in the GDR concerned with adjudication of labor disputes, have a far smaller case load than do their colleagues in the Federal Republic.

If we keep in mind the range of situations which can lead to the invocation of the commissions, it becomes apparent how broadly the individual, in his working life as well as in his private sphere, can be affected by the decisions and the influence of the "societal courts." The feeling of "being on somebody's list" may be even more discomforting than being summoned to the hearings designated as "consultations" preceeding the decision of the commissions where the testimony of colleagues from work, neighbors and friends, will be called for to resolve the dispute, all of this being accompanied by embarrassment for the individual concerned. Thus, during the infancy of the commissions, there were instances in which the defendant requested the transfer of his case to the courts because of the greater degree of anonymity offered there. In the meantime, it appears that people have made their own accommodation to the inevitability of these public "consultations."

The new law governing the societal courts, including the conflict and arbitration commissions inaugurated by the State Council[5], hold fast to their traditional and tested goals. At first glance, the new version appears to be more exhaustive (36 paragraphs as compared to 24 in the older one). The main reason for this is that the composition and the choice of the commissions is now governed exclusively within the new law while the activity and the operations of the commissions, unlike earlier practice, continue to be reserved to the individual special ordinances.

A closer examination of the regulations shows that the most significant innovations originate in the expansion of the jurisdiction of the societal courts. Not least, because of the substantial influence they exert, they are to be employed even more than had been before for the disciplining of individual citizens, workers and their supervisors. Pursuant to Article 3, the courts' activity is aimed at "protecting the socialist state and social order as well as socialized property" though primarily toward

"strengthening the socialist consciousness of individual citizens with respect to the state and the law, of fostering their readiness voluntarily to maintain socialist law and of strengthening their intolerance of behaviours not in accord with the norms of society."

This goal is served by the "discussions"[6] stipulated in the new law. These are the talks between the members of the commission and the appellant which precede or initiate the trial before the societal court. These "discussions" are intended to facilitate "the avoidance and elimination of legal disputes and violations." In connection with these discussions, the societal courts can issue "recommendations" to the enterprises or state institutions aimed at eliminating the causes which led up to the violation. The effectiveness of these "recommendations" which, until now, had only been issued at the conclusion of a trial, are to be assured by granting to the members of the commission a right of inspection. On the basis of the law still in force, the director of an enterprise or a state institution which has been enjoined, is obliged to make a response within 2 weeks to the proposals worked out in the "consultation." This does not necessarily mean that the suggested changes will be effected. The subsequent inspection by the members of the commission, as proposed from 1 January on, could, for one thing, serve to motivate the directors of such enterprises. For another, it would give the societal courts the opportunity to report the lack of appropriate action to the enterprise's supervisory agency and to request assistance.

The new regulations will also assure a monitoring right in regard to the educational measures imposed. Thus the commissions can demand proof of the payment of an imposed fine, which in the future can be fixed appropriate to the type of violation (for petty misdemeanors 150 marks, more serious misdemeanors 300 marks, violations 500 marks), ranging up to a maximum of 500 marks (previously 150 marks).

For the individual citizen summoned before the commission there will also be an innovation. During the hearing, he can be assisted by a representative of his trade union.[7] It should, however, be remembered that the trade union in the GDR is subordinated to state goals so that the interests of the individual can only be represented to the degree that they do not run counter to those state goals or those of the enterprise. The new form of trade union support created in favor of the worker thus tends to be balanced out by the greater significance of the maintenance of state interests.

As a supplement to the expanded responsibilities of the societal courts, the law also regulates an improved direction of the commissions through the trade union congress, the courts and the ministry of justice. Regular certification of all members of the societal courts is called for, precedent is to be generalized for easier and more unitary application of the law. An arbitration commission advisory council is to be instituted from among the directors of the regional and state courts. They are also entrusted with the task of supervising a unitary application of the law and the certification of the members of the commissions. Also included in supervision are the state prosecutor's office, the local popular assemblies, various levels of the

trade union congress hierarchy and the committees of the National Front. If the commissions function effectively in the future, they can expect commendations from their supervisory bodies. These can take the form of letters of commendation, material or cash prizes, or the awarding of the "Badge of Honor of the Judiciary."[8]

It remains to be seen whether the innovations cited here will, in fact, result in gains for "order, discipline and security."[9] One thing, at least, is evident: the new law affords the basis for subjecting the individual citizen as well as the members of the societal courts, to state direction and control even more than was the case in the past.

FOOTNOTES

1. Law Governing the Societal Courts of the GDR--GGG--of 25 March 1982 (GBl I p 269).

2. of 11 June 1968 (GBl I p 229)

3. Article 20, Item 3, GGG (new version).

4. Heusinger, NEUE JUSTIZ 4/1982 p 147.

5. Resolution of the State Council of the GDR Governing the Activity of the Conflict Commissions--KKO--of 12 March 1982 (GBl I p 274); Resolution of the State Council of the GDR Governing the Activity of the Arbitration commissions--SchKO--of 12 March 1982 (GBl I p 283).

6. Article 17, GGG (new version).

7. Article 21, Paragraph 1, GGG (new version).

8. Article 33, GGG (new version).

9. Heusinger, op. cit. (Note 4).

9878
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MARXISM TO PROVIDE 'RESEARCH METHOD,' NOT 'READY-MADE DOGMAS'

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 14 Oct 82 p 6

/'Theory and Practice' feature article by Dr Manfred Neuhaus, Karl Marx University, Leipzig: "How Relevant Is Marx for Us Today? Why It Is Good Continuously to Seek Advice From Him--Facts and Arguments for the Party Study Year"/

/Text/ History knows of many social events, movements, doctrines and phenomena that deserve to be ranked important or significant for the world as a whole. No doctrine has stamped the thoughs and actions of generations, indeed of mankind as a whole, so deeply and lastingly as the ideas of Karl Marx. In the coming year we will celebrate the 165th anniversary of his birth and the 100th anniversary of his death. What are the roots of this immortal vitality? What is the source of this fascination? What is the secret of this eternal youth?

On the Test Bench of Historical Practice

Is it possibly generated by a long concealment of Marx's works in well guarded archives? Surely not. True, such archives house innumerable volumes enclosing the theories of audacious social reformers who aimed to turn the old world upside down but failed on the test bench of historical practice. The secret of the youth and vitality inherent in Marx's works consists in its indissoluble links with the modern workers movement and its revolutionary and materialist dialectic that requires constant links with real life and a scientific approach to reality.

Marx is often compared with the legendary Greek hero Prometheus who instructed mankind in the arts and sciences, and who brought down fire from the heavens to protect man against hunger, cold and dark. The image of Prometheus embodied the creative genius of mankind, its tremendous urge to fight for progress, freedom and happiness. Our Prometheus from Trier replaced utopian and wishful dreams and religious fantasies by science. He did so by virtue of his two great discoveries: The materialist interpretation of history and the doctrine of added value. He demonstrated that the class conflict alone, carried on by the organized proletariat, is capable of freeing mankind from its tribulations.

Something Qualitatively New Needed to Arise

Of course this doctrine did not suddenly spring from the genius of its creator. It was generated by persistent and sacrificial scientific work to produce a total

revolution in the centuries old history of social thought. Traditional scientific approaches were quite unable to cope with the universal nature, the totally new dimensions of the problems transcending national borders and even continents, such as historical developments had piled up to confront Marx, Engels and their contemporaries. No help could be found by applying the methods of a single traditional discipline of social thought, nor by simply adding them all together. A solution beckoned only if someone succeeded creatively to transform all basic sectors of social thought and meld them with revolutionary practice. It was necessary to synthesize in a qualitatively new whole and bring into the workers movement all significant findings with regard to the life of human society and the laws of thought as well as important results of natural sciences and technology, enriched by original discoveries. Born by this means after many years of work and disputations with opponents was a doctrine that correctly reflected the objective laws of social development and that, as Lenin and the Bolsheviks were the first to prove, may be realized in practice.

The strength and vitality of Marxism is most convincingly demonstrated by the victorious October Revolution. For the first time in history a socioeconomic organization emerged in accordance with a scientic plan rather than spontaneously. That is the profound meaning of the concept formulated at the Twenth-fifth CPSU Congress by L.I. Brezhnev who said that there is nothing more practical than a good theory. In the SED Central Committee Report to the Tenth SED Congress Erich Honecker emphasized: "The doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin is the only science permitting us to understand and consciously organize the past, present and future. Without it nobody has succeeded in eliminating exploitation or lay the foundations of the new social order, let alone in constructing the developed socialist society."

Gaining Insight for Today

Lenin once noted that it was not appropriate for the working class to intone philistine peons of praise when celebrating the birthday of one of its outstanding men. Instead the working class should use such occasions to gain from the past new insights for the present and illuminate future tasks. Accordingly the fourth conference decided, with a view to the 165th anniversary of the birth and the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, to "stick to the tried and tested principles of constantly consulting the classics of Marxism-Leninism, studying their doctrines and creatively applying them."

What do we mean nowadays by consulting Marx? Dissatisfied with the merely formal appreciation of important literary achievements, Lessing once complained: "Who will not praise a Klopstock? But will everybody really read his works?--No. We would prefer to be praised less and read more."

Consulting Marx means first and foremost to thoroughly study his works. It is easy for young people in our country to find their way to Marx. The schools already serve to bring about familiarity. The blue volumes are accessible to all. True, we must earn our heritage in order to possess it: As Engels pointed out shortly before his death, "Marx's entire conception of the world is not just a doctrine, it is a method. It does not provide ready-made dogmas, it indicates the starting points for continuing research and the method of such research."

Marxism's inherent dynamism, its ability to constantly advance and prosper by the generalization of new social processes and new scientific findings--these are essential features of Marx's teaching. Marx and Engels neither wished nor were able to describe all vicissitudes of the historical process. They drafted the basic scientific principles to provide a reliable orientation for the understanding of the general trend of social development and its inevitabilities. Neither Marx nor Engels, and not Lenin either, left behind a "book of recipes" for socialist and communist construction. At the fourth conference Erich Honecker baldly stated: "We are organizing the developed socialist society in the GDR in the world such as it is, not as some imagine it to be. There are not patented prescriptions for the accomplishment of the tasks to be accomplished."

Science, Not Dogma

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, predicted all of this very clearly. For that reason the creative application of Marx's teaching has always implied the acquisition of the scientific working method of the classics, in other words dialectic materialism. For that very reason Engels called it "our best tool and sharpest weapon." Again in this meaning Lenin objected to the mistaken belief "that it is enough to spout communist slogans without making our own that sum total of knowledge that leads to communism itself." He told Ines Armand that the spirit of Marxism, its entire system required "considering every proposition a) only in terms of history, b) only in conjunction with others, c) only in connection with the concrete experiences of history." Lenin never interpreted Marxism as a pedantic doctrine involving academic examinations but as the science of the revolutionary transformation of conditions. He searched for solutions, not formulas. He taught that Marx's greatness does not consist in having a ready answer to all questions but in enabling us to answer all questions.

11698
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'GERMAN-RUSSIAN COMRADESHIP-IN-ARMS' PIONEERED BY PRUSSIAN ARISTOCRAT

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Oct 82 p 4

[Article by Dr Gerd Fesser: "Progressive Reformer and Patriot—225 Years Ago Baron vom Stein Was Born." A translation of an article by the same author on a related subject is published under the heading, "Russo-Prussian Alliance of 1813 Tied to GDR-Soviet Alliance," in JPRS 80382, 23 Mar 82, No 1991 of this series, pp 4-6]

[Text] Leaving Russia, Sweden and the Ottoman Empire aside, Napoleon Bonaparte dominated the entire European continent at the end of 1808. The forward momentum of his battalions had caused the feudal nations to collapse like houses of cards. It was on 16 December 1808 that Napoleon issued a rather odd decree in Madrid in which he declared war not on a particular country but on a single individual. "The man named Stein who is trying to create unrest in Germany" was characterized in the document as an enemy of France and of the Confederation of the Rhine. His property was confiscated and all French troops and those of the Confederation were under orders to arrest him on sight. Who then was "the man named Stein ?"

Free Lord of the Empire Heinrich Friedrich Karl vom und zum Stein was born on 26 October 1757 in Nassau/Lahn into an ancient family of knights of the German empire. He studied law at Goettingen University and entered the Prussian civil service in 1780 soon becoming an acknowledged authority on economic and fiscal administration. In 1804, he took over as minister for taxation, customs, commerce and industry. Following the defeat at the hands of the French in the battle of Jena and Auerstedt in 1806, the Prussian state and army leadership lapsed into cowardice and panic. While Count von der Schulenburg-Kehnert, the governor of Berlin, was letting 50,000 brand new rifles fall into the hands of the French troops occupying the city, Stein succeeded in removing the state treasury to safety. The minister then called upon King Frederick William III at last to carry out a number of long overdue reforms in this hour of need. When the king refused, Stein handed in his resignation.

Stein thereupon retired to his Nassau estate where he put to paper the "Nassau Memorandum" calling for a thoroughgoing reform of the Prussian state. Stein realized that the only way to beat Napoleon was to win the bourgeoisie and the masses over to the fight for national liberation by introducing progressive reforms.

At the express request of Napoleon, who thought Stein a supporter of his, Frederick William III was forced to name Stein chief minister on 30 September 1807 and to vest him with farreaching powers.

Stein was superbly suited to the task of throughly modernizing the state. He not only had extensive experience in administration but was also a man endowed with an enormous capacity for work, an iron will and unshakable stamina. Just 9 days after he assumed his post, the famous October edict was issued which abolished serfdom in Prussia effective 11 November 1810. There were further laws which abolished obligatory guild membership and which granted limited municipal self-administration to the bourgeoisie. Stein also energetically championed Scharnhorst's army reforms.

Stein's reform program initiated the bourgeois upheaval in Prussia and contributed to winning the masses over to the fight against foreign domination. The Prussian Junkers opposed the reforms for the most part with a lack of understanding and hatred. In August 1808, they saw to it that the French police got hold of a letter by Stein which contained information about his connections to patriotic conspirators in Hesse and Westphalia. That provided King Frederick William with the pretext he needed and on 24 November 1808 he let the troublesome reformer go. Ostracized by Napoleon, Stein was forced to make his escape to Bohemia under cover of darkness and in 1812, he moved on to Russia.

During the Patriotic War, Stein served as personal adviser to Czar Alexander. On his initative, a Russo-German legion composed of German deserters and prisoners of war was formed which fought side-by-side with the Russian army against the aggressor Bonaparte. In that sense, Stein may be counted among the pioneers of Russo-German comradeship-in-arms. In January 1813, Stein supervised the establishment of a 20,000-man territorial militia in East Prussia and turned the province into a center of the war of liberation. During the 1813/14 war of independence, he was in charge of administration in the liberated former states of the Confederation of the Rhine and of supplying the allied armies under difficult conditions.

As soon as victory over Napoleon had been won, Stein had outlived his usefulness. The feudal reactionaries were quick to dismiss the so-called "Prussian Jacobins" whom they had seen fit to summon in 1807—but who in fact were not revolutionaries at all. Gneisenau and Clausewitz were transferred to positions without any influence; Arndt and Jahn were persecuted as "demagogues" and Stein, disgusted by the machinations of the reactionaries, withdrew from public life. He died on 29 June 1831 on his estate at Cappenberg in Westphalia.

9478
CSO: 2300/45

BRIEFS

NEW CHIEF EDITOR FOR 'MAGYAR NEMZET'--Istvan Soltesz, vice chairman of the CC Information Bureau, has been relieved of his post with the bureau to become editor in chief of the PPF daily, MAGYAR NEMZET. He is taking the place of Tibor Petho who is retiring with recognition of his merits and will continue to hold his position with the PPF. [Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 13 Nov 82 p 3]

CSO: 2500/45

GENERAL OLIWA DISCUSSES SIGNIFICANCE OF ARMY DAY

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Oct 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with General Wlodzimierz Oliwa, a member of the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON], commander of the Warsaw Military District, Lt., by Stanislaw Reperowicz, National Employment Agency: "A Soldier's Generosity Can Be Counted On"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Comrade General, we are conversing on the eve of 12 October, or army holiday. What reflections does this date arouse in the current year?

[Answer] The present period is not predisposed to celebrating. Especially for us in uniform burdened with enormous joint responsibility for the fate of the country. Polish Army Day, despite the fact that it falls on the anniversary of the battle at Lenino was always a solemn holiday, conducive to thoughtfulness and consideration along the beaten path. This year the reflection is simply richer.

The army shares the same problems of the society of which it is a part. Soldiers and their families are tormented by similar daily difficulties which confront the whole nation. Not unfamiliar to us also are the inconveniences resulting from industry's not fulfilling agreements to supply various parts, equipment and the like. Out of necessity we are developing our own production. In many units of the Warsaw Provincial Center [OW] we organized the reclamation of batteries, the production of gaskets and other interchangeable parts. This involved the additional efforts of technological cadres. Being fully appreciative, I wish to state that among them are many magnificent people who are not only able, but also desire profoundly to work for the common good.

[Question] This activity, apart from its measurable material benefits, likewise has great educational significance because it teaches resourcefulness and management.

[Answer] Already in the initial 1970's, leadership of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic began regorously to introduce into all organizational sections of the army the principles of sensible and thrifty management of financial and material resources. Intelligent management was recognized as one of the main criteria in appraising the value of a leader and his perspective for advancement.

[Question] The press, in its comments on the army on behalf of the national economy, emphasizes the enormous generosity of the soldiers in performing productive tasks, exceeding quotas and the like, which under present circumstances has special significance.

[Answer] The army continues the traditional good work of soldiers, who, after the end of the struggle for liberation, plowed and planted abandoned fields, raised factories from ruins, and the artifacts of culture as well. They placed all their strength into their work because they knew it was indispensable to the country. Since that time many changes have occurred in our country; however, soldierly sacrifice has not weakened. The sons of soldiers, who rebuilt the capital, worked on the construction of the smelting works in Katowice, the compact auto factory in Tychy, or the Central Railway Station in Warsaw in the 1970's, and still regarded their tasks with the same dignity and deep feeling that their fathers did 30 years before. And likewise today, during a period of certain frustrations, I know many 20-year-olds--soldiers in basic military service who voluntarily engage in the performance of various social tasks of benefit to the country and army.

For example, it is known that every autumn large military groups support the efforts of the State Farms [PGR] work force. Less known, however, are the numerous small groups of soldiers who during free time, on Sunday and holidays, instead of taking leave, travel to the village out of kindness to help elderly people, invalids, widows and combatants with the harvest or potato diggings. Some army units even have their own regular charges.

As district commander, I receive many letters of thanks for the soldiers' aid. Most poignant are the letters written by children, especially from the childrens' homes where they offer thanks to soldiers for repairing buildings in which they reside, for restoring playgrounds, for holiday gifts donated, and also for donations from the soldiers' meager monthly living allotment.

A beautiful page in army annals is likewise provided by its participation in coping with the elements....

[Question] These soldiers represent a portion of our young people, concerning whom various opinions are being circulated, which likewise include that they are devoid of ideals.

[Answer] I would avoid such evaluations regarding people on the threshold of life in search of their place in society. The road they will travel, to a great extent will depend on us, of the older generation, family life, school and the like. The armed forces likewise participate in the formation of the individuality of the young generation.

[Question] And hence, returning to our motto: Army--school--gentility.

[Answer] There was never a departure from it. Providing refinement is still one of the chief functions of our People's Army. In preparing citizens to defend the country, we not only teach them to operate battle equipment and functionon the battlefield but we likewise develop desirable personal characteristivs--sacrifice, valor, courage, comradeship, solidarity, competent

dedication in the name of such a great goal as the safety of one's country. Participating in this procedure are all higher ranks, the political machine, party organizations and elements of the student unions.

The results are visible. Please observe how many soldiers wear the "Model Soldier" badge on their uniforms or braids signifying membership in leading regiments. You can believe me--it is not easy to obtain these honors. A good deal of sweat is required in drilling, in order to fulfill a soldier's obligations for the proverbial "triple." The attainment of higher rating struly requires great effort. And yet the movement for leadership in instruction and discipline is a massive manifestation. Certainly conducive to this is an atmosphere of recognition and regard for good work in the whole army, as well as the lack of tolerance on the part of the collective soldier body for even the slightest indication of cunning or laziness in their centers.

[Question] We celebrate Army Day on the day of an important anniversary. Hence, perhaps a few words on the subject of the presence of history in the training of soldiers.

[Answer] It occupies an important place in the education of the soldier, whom we teach the progressive tradition of Polish arms during the entire thousand years of our statehood; we recall the participation of Poles in battles for the freedom of other nations; we focus on the figures of known leaders and soldiers who can serve as examples to be followed. We attach much significance to the war for the liberation of the Polish nation during the years of 1939-1945, because a knowledge of this chapter of our history, which also includes a history of the Polish army can be very helpful in comprehending subsequent historical courses of action in the entire country.

We speak of the contributions of the Polish Workers Party which developed the concept of the democratic national front in the struggle with the invader; of national and social liberation; and subsequently based this struggle on an alliance with the USSR. This was the only road leading to a rescue of the physical existence of the nation. A huge chapter of knowledge concerning most recent history, is the Polish-Soviet brotherhood in arms. Knowledge of this subject can immunize young people against the demagogic shouts of opponents to socialism, who recently urged the alleged necessity to "defalsify" the most recent history of Poland.

[Question] We have written much recently on the need for national understanding. How is this matter viewed by the army?

[Answer] All people in uniform are united by a common goal which is the security of the country, its freedom and independence. This is not only the main plane of understanding but also of army unity. The welfare of the country--here is the fundamental motivating factor deciding the attitudes of soldiers not only at training sites but also during the performance of national assignments associated with the introduction of martial law. I would like to emphasize that together with us there are to be found likewise thousands of former soldiers, combatants and reservists with whom we form a common front to properly understand the necessity to strengthen Poland;

to immunize it to all forms of attempts to weaken its defenses, especially with regard to the menacing tensions of international and American attempts to expand the arms race on a large scale.

The People's Army always acted in concert with the best-conceived national interests. "Our greatest goal and good," said the General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [KC PZPR], president of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON], during this year's promotion of officers in Poznan, "is socialist Poland--strong, just, unafraid of changes consistent with the spirit of the times. The people's army is by nature an advocate of progress and promotes that which is new, better and more effective. Difficult national matters do not stop at the barrack gates. Every realistic civic thought flowing from concern about the state, about the real social good, found and will always find an ally in the armed forces." We act in accordance with this motto.

Thank you for the interview.

Interviewer: Stanislaw Reperowicz [National Employment Agency]

9951
CSO: 2600/51

FORMATION OF SEAMEN'S ATTITUDES DISCUSSED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD MORSKI in Polish No 7-8, Jul-Aug 82 pp 26-29

[Article by Lt. Commander (Dr.) Wodzimierz Korczynski: "Formation of Seamen's Attitudes"]

[Text] The essential purpose of instructional-upbringing activity conducted with ship's crews is the formation and strengthening of certain attitudes of the seamen. This is a difficult and responsible job, since both proper, desirable behavior during combat action as well as the future activity of seamen going into the reserves, depend on it.

The process of attitude formation, its course and results are to a great extent dependent on the conditions in which this formation takes place. We are speaking here especially of the relative stability of social influences. The more fixed or normalized they are, the more easily and quickly the effects of the instructional-upbringing activity become apparent. Variable and unstable conditions not only prolong this process, but also make necessary a more careful and accurate (with a lower tolerance for error) selection and application of the principles, forms and methods of action directed toward the goal.

This is precisely the kind of activity made necessary by the present socio-political situation in which the training of seamen is taking place, and various factors of which modify the behavior and form of the personality of young people.

Essence and Structure of Attitudes

Even a superficial analysis of the theory of attitudes encountered today in the sociological and psychological literature clearly reveals two basic positions.

One of them emphasizes the share of the so-called potential, internal factors, which are able to mobilize certain behavior and actions in a person. This group of theories includes: the concept of "dispositions," "readiness for action," "psychophysical mobilization" and the like. Their content, it will be remembered, consists of mechanisms capable of producing types of behavior which in actual practice must not be fully revealed because, for example, of unfavorable conditions. We can call these attitudes declarative (verbal) attitudes, which express desire rather than actual action.

According to the second concept, attitudes must always be revealed in practical action. Only then can we speak of an attitude which is "complete," "durable," etc.

Practice shows that the best solution is a linking or joint use of the basic features emphasized in these concepts to describe attitudes. We may then accept that attitudes are mechanisms which regulate human behavior, and which have a clearly defined object toward which definite reactions are exhibited. These reactions can be of a cognitive, emotional or behavioral nature (the stock of definite actions). In other words, attitudes have three basic components: a definite cognitive relation (knowledge, convictions, dispositions, opinions and the like), certain comparatively constant emotional states (which attract or draw one near to the object of the attitude, or which repel or drive one away from it), as well as certain kinds of behavior (the way in which it is manifested, forms of reaction in contact with the given attitude).

The attitude not only organizes, but also directs the behavior and actions of seamen.

Measurement and Value of an Attitude

To be able to change or form a certain attitude in a seamen, one must first of all determine the practical possibilities of this. That means measuring and determining the value of attitudes already formed, or the level (intensity) of the components of the attitude which is the object of our operations directed at influencing it.

Measuring attitudes is not a simple task, for attitudes are difficult to pin down for direct observation. What we usually determine constitutes most often the external manifestation of types of behavior which are the visible sign (indicator) of a given attitude. This indicator can be manifested verbally: expression of agreement (disagreement), acceptance (rejection), etc., toward the given object or phenomenon; it can also be non-verbal: manifestation of active signs of interest, manipulation or hostility, e.g. an attack, destruction of the object of the given attitude, and in social interactions - fairly frequent instances of "discussions" with people who accept and manifest attitudes which are alien to the attacking group or individual.

According to previously accepted determinations, attitude has a strong link with action. We can say that the stronger the attitude, the more often we observe activeness on the part of seamen toward its object. They speak of it more willingly, they want to acquire it, to participate in activity connected with it, or in the case of a negative attitude toward a given object, they avoid it.

An attitude which does not manifest itself in definite action is generally weak, unsteady and susceptible to the influence of other, stronger, more fixed attitudes. We can express the link with action as follows: attitudes always lead to certain actions, which in turn confirm the given type of attitude.

In upbringing practice we can occasionally observe the phenomenon of an inconsistency between already identified (established) attitudes and the behavior of seamen in certain situations. The causes of this phenomenon are most often:

1. The weakness (unsteadiness) of a given attitude, its incomplete formation. We are speaking, then, of a partial attitude.

2. Inaccuracy in determining the range, the degree (level) of "generality" of the attitude. For example, the attitude of a young seaman toward the duty of military service is manifested in one way, while that of a seaman who has had long service is manifested in a different way. Therefore, other indicators must be accepted for describing the attitudes mentioned above. This requires good preparation and long teaching experience.

3. The difficulty of measuring and interpreting a given attitude. There are no constant standards for attitudes, e.g., a standard of a friendly attitude, of the attitude of a model seamen, etc. It should also be remembered that even those standards which we accept in this type of situation always have a certain measurement in space and time (they can refer, for example, to a given ship, group of ships, to a given list of seamen, etc.).

4. A conflict of attitudes observed in a given seaman (in his personality). It happens that in certain situations, in concrete actions, in carrying out assignments, dominant attitudes exert the strongest influence.

5. An environmental conflict of attitudes. We sometimes observe that under the pressure of a given social environment certain attitudes are repressed. Usually we see such behavior in a so-called situation of exposure (submitting oneself to the criticism of one's peers or another social group); the behavior is then in accordance with the expectations of the group or institution (determinations, prohibitions and the like).

6. A conflict between attitudes and strong needs. For example, a very strong need of hunger can overcome an attitude of honesty, and incline one to a act inconsistent with the attitude formed: stealing, or tolerance of such behavior among members of the group who are in a situation similar to that of the evaluating seaman, and the like.

Proper evaluation of attitudes, skill in distinguishing durable attitudes from behavior of the moment is a tremendously important element of upbringing activity. Improper behavior (conduct) of the upbringer can be counterproductive. Severe punishment of, for example, sporadic, one-time manifestations of improper behavior not only does not change the manner of behavior, but also weakens the attitude which, being not fully formed, exerted little influence on behavior in the given situation. Thus, instead of changing behavior and strengthening the desired attitude, it does not change behavior and tears down that which we are trying to build up, namely the attitude which we are trying to strengthen.

Change in Attitudes

The formation of seamen's attitudes (their personality) is not an abstract, isolated process. Upbringing activity must take into account all the factors accompanying the process under discussion. Among the most important indications in this area are:

1) The greatest influence on the form of attitudes is exerted by the social environment (crews, military units and the like). Thus the process of formation of attitudes and their change can not be reduced to some sort of isolated actions such as an "upbringing lesson," after the end of which everyone can do what he likes. To permanently change seamen's attitudes, one must modify their environment in such a way that the given attitude can be fully developed and realized.

2) Analysis of the opportunities for developing attitudes must be linked with the establishment of measurement and control systems. Various cells in the functional upbringing system in the given unit (on the given ship) must take part in this activity. We are speaking here not only of direct upbringing actions for control, but also of corrective, indirect action: on groups of seamen (crews), the system and organization of ship life, military activities, etc.

3) Control of attitudes, and the analysis of the results of that control, must be taken together with the analysis of the transformations in social, sociopolitical, demographic and other conditions, not only in a given, sometimes relatively limited, social group, but also of changes on the macro scale (in society as a whole). In spite of the relative isolation of the military as an institution, external influences in various forms are reflected in the attitudes of seamen.

4) The most willingly applied methods for changing attitudes are direct methods. When acting directly, it must be remembered that the best results in the process of changing attitudes are yielded by influence directed at all three components: at the emotions, the cognitive stratum and the ways of reacting (modeling of experience) toward the object of the given attitude. Unilateral attempts to change attitudes do not yield the intended results, even given a desire to change them completely. They are distinguished by a certain degree of effectiveness only when weaker, threatened elements of an attitude are strengthened. Thus they can serve to consolidate already formed attitudes.

5) Acting on the cognitive sphere, attempts to change knowledge, the range of information, must be carried out while preserving the essentials of correct propaganda (information) action. The content of information (argumentation) is just as essential as the channel or means by which it is transmitted (reliability of the source, the form in which the content is given, etc.).

6) The emotional element is a very sensitive regulator of the attitude. Neglecting previous conditioning of emotions, their form, their significance in the confirmed experiences of seamen can even at the outset cancel the effectiveness of planned upbringing action and evoke a "defensive," "counter-," or similar attitude (behavior).

7) The behavioral component is confirmed and changes only through direct action. Attitudes of seamen are "realized" in practical action. Activity confirms and to a certain extent cements the two above-mentioned attitude components. However, the conditions and organizations in which these actions take place, and the course of these actions, are also important.

The observations presented above are given in a relatively condensed form. Each of them could constitute the thesis of a separate discussion. They merely indicate the basic direction of instructional-upbringing operations aimed at changing the attitudes of seamen. Use of the means presented, even in this general form, should bring results in upbringing significantly more effective than those met with fairly often and already criticized by the content of the article, which are based on costly, and sometimes dangerous, actions by "trial and error" methods.

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9970
CSO: 2600/61

DEROGATORY STORIES ABOUT ZOMO FORCES DENIED

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polis 18 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by (rk): "What Are the Boys from ZOMO Like?"]

[Text] The "Zomowcy" [members of ZOMO (Motorized Reserve of Citizens' Militia]. This sobriquet, and perhaps even label, has stuck to ZOMO personnel even though the unit in which they serve has currently been renamed Mobile Regiment of the Voivodship Command of the Citizens' Militia. Who are these young men from Ks. Witold Street in Wroclaw?

When they go out on duty, their thoughts are with their families. For what else than one's parents, wife, children can one think of after 185 days of quartering in barracks?

It is hardly surprising that a section of the public regards them as a coherent, well-shod nightstick-wielding phalanx, because that is usually how they look during street disturbances. And yet, the boys from ZOMO cannot be considered a faceless crowd. Although they conceal their faces behind plastic shields and face-guards, and sometimes they can hardly be seen behind teargas smoke, this does not at all mean that none of them is an individual.

They uncovered their faces during an encounter with representatives of the Wroclaw press, radio and television. They answered the questions of the journalists fluently and wittily, because nearly all of them had their intellectual level determined by school graduation certificates even before their enlistment in the militia. The conversations were attended by: Boguslaw Wieczorek, PZPR Voivodship Committee secretary; Danuta Wielebinska; and Col (Dr) Zdzislaw Biernaczyk, commander of the Voivodship Committee of the Citizens' Militia.

From the very first moments of the meeting it could be seen that the boys from ZOMO do not often have the opportunity to meet with the authorities. Thus almost from the outset they asked the representatives of the authorities numerous questions. The reader will certainly be surprised to learn that the problems and concerns of the "Zomowcy" are the same as those of the greater part of the public, which is suffering the consequences of the [economic] crisis. Unfortunately, for the time being, these problems are not soluble, even if they are the problems of militia personnel who seem to quite a few people to have considerable privileges.

One young man about 20 years old declared: "Unfortunately, we cannot buy a washing machine, because loans for such purposes are available only to "MM" [newlyweds]--unless I marry a fellow militiaman...."

He came to the meeting with journalists wearing just-barely smooth trousers which he had himself pressed under a mattress, because pressing irons are not available in stores....

The "Zomowcy" requested that not too much should be written about their day-by-day problems and the psychological suffering of their wives, because hardly anyone would believe it.... But this journalist cannot resist trying to dispel the "legend" about the ZOMO.

Their families do not have coupons for cars and household appliances. Apartments of their own remain a dream to them, like to most other citizens. They are not provided with stores at which non-rationed food can be bought, and they have to move out from the homes they rent because their landlords do not like their presence. The wives of the "Zomowcy" bear the sobriquet of "milicjantowe" [militamen's wives].

If some reader believes what was written above, he might ask why is it then that they serve the authorities for such miserly remuneration?

It is difficult to answer this question, the more so as they were not lured by any special perks to enlist in the mobile regiment. But in order to answer it, one has to understand the young people from ZOMO. The lifestyle of a certain part of the youth which shirks hard work and keeps its hands unspotted by work does not suit them. They prefer to perform responsible tasks ambitiously, as should every young person, because only then he can demonstrate his usefulness to society. They prefer to be the descendants of the brave rather than those of rioters. And as a result they are exposed to insults and the psychological isolation of their families.

One young man said: "It happens, and I heard it myself, that mothers scare their misbehaving children with the 'Zomowcy' instead of the Wicked Witch. I would like to know whom would they turn to for help if, right afterward, their naughty darlings were to disappear....?"

Well, such is this hazardous and hard work for 12,000 [zlotys] monthly. Is it much or little? At any rate, it is not the money and not the privileges, which they do not have, that link them to ZOMO. They know that their work is not popular, but they also know that it serves to safeguard the state--that highest good of us all.

1386
CSO: 2600/63

'RFE' COMMENTS ON WRITERS UNION SCORED

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 16 Oct 82 p 7

[Article by Dan Zamfirescu]

[Text] For a while now the concern which Radio Free Europe has been displaying for the literary scene in Romania has provided an almost touching spectacle. A specialized team, with the Virgil Ierunca-Monica Lovinescu couple shining at the front, "participates" with greater passion than do the Dimbovita people themselves in all the council meetings of the Union, pities some, blasts others, gives ideas, rates, classifies the people according to its own criteria, is a subscriber to all the literary reviews, comments on, censors, and carefully shuns what it dislikes. At first sight one might say that it is a matter of a simple obsession of some failures, who have found a way of existence and who, losing their sense of the ridiculous and reserve (I do not believe that another woman was in Monica Lovinescu's position of glorifying Ion Caraion, after all the bedroom stories of the distinguished lady had appeared in the inimitable writing of the above-mentioned person!) continue with their fixations. Actually, their personal rabidness is ably employed for the same major goal, which is the tactic of destabilization, of creating the greatest possible confusion in our culture. Their usefulness makes them invulnerable to any blunder, to any meanness, to anything that would make anyone burn with shame. But shame and intellectual honesty are left outside the door to this radio station.

Lately RFE has been terribly sad! Scandal repercussions no longer reach its ear, it no longer perceives the voice of some rhetors of meetings, it can no longer point a finger at writers in Romania, alerted, in internecine fighting for the whims of some inveterates in such pursuits since the time of the notorious "June nights" of yore. RFE has nostalgia for the "June nights," nostalgia of proletcultism. It sees in the disappearance of these sequels of dogmatism in the life of the Writers' Union some kind of diabolic machinations without assuming for a moment that it was not difficult to foresee that a writer from an antidogmatic generation, not having time to waste on scandals, because he needs it for writing, was bound to set an "antimeetingmania" style also for the institution which he is now presiding. Scandal was eliminated from the Writers' Union, without great efforts, but with great attitude consistency. Therefore, for the Ieruncas nothing has remained but to comment on the journals (where there is a hunt for any sign that is favorable for their expectations!) and hungrily collect worthless gossips that reached the banks of the Seine through all kinds of "voluntary correspondents." But the merchandise is rather scant and that is why Mrs. Lovinescu keeps repeating beyond

saturation some sentences on what she believes that it is our literary life. Let her keep them! If we deprive her of these too, she will be unemployed! Because a station concerned only with the harm one can cause to Romania and its people does not pay only for "theses and antitheses in Paris..."

RFE always has selected its workers according to their level of harmfulness. Hence, Jean Popper, who left in the 1950s Romania the memory of his gloomy proletcultism, settled, taking off from the GAZETA LITERARA office, directly in the anticommunist and anti-Romanian editorial office of RFE. He was a trail blazer. Here, legal status is for the first time given to the ideological marriage of proletcultism, which is anti-Lovinescian by definition, represented by Jean Popper on behalf of his colleagues who stayed in Bucharest, with the esthetic autonomism, Lovinescian by definition, represented by Eugen Lovinescu's daughter on behalf of esthetizants who stayed home. The common trait of the two marrieds was the easiness with which they left their country and the promptness with which they accepted pay from enemies of Romania. Godfathers of this monstrous combination were Noel Bernard and RFE. Facts showed us that both the radio station involved and Eugen Lovinescu's daughter are capable of any mesalliances as, moreover, turncoat Caraion wrote. The situation of a daughter that while claiming that she defends the harmed memory of her prestigious father actually collaborates with his structural opponents or praises them is pitiful. But the pursuit chosen by Eugen Lovinescu's daughter does not permit her selection: because of her role at RFE she must ally herself to anyone who insults the country, regardless of the fact that he also insulted her father. Eugen Lovinescu's daughter is compelled by her position of paid rhetor to collaborate even with her denigrators.

The point reached by RFE, in the situation of semi-unemployment, as to literary activity, is tragicomically demonstrated by the career of the latest recruits: Ion Caraion, who was quickly removed from the foreground, for reasons that are known, and Vasile Manuceanu.

To go from Caraion to Manuceanu means one really is in dire straits! This untalented "writer for children" who is quasi-unknown to his colleagues and general public, but who now has become a star at RFE, tortured, in Romania, the editors assigned to edit his boring books and his workmates, in the radio network, where he worked for a long time due to totally extraliterary qualities. When his "glory" days ended for him, like for many others, Vasile Manuceanu followed the path taken by his daughter, who was swifter of foot, and settled in West Germany, where it seems there no longer are so many streets paved with gold. Money troubles or some carefully accumulated hatred, in gratitude for the years when he could be what he was in Romania, or both, suddenly projected him into the posture of prosecutor of social, economic, and literary realities in this country, modulating his voice according to the baton of old-time prosecutor Emil Georgescu. He provides a distressing spectacle, whose end we foresee, because of lack of drive and complete lack of consistency of the personage.

However, recently Vasile Manuceanu changed the distressing spectacle into the most ridiculous one when announcing his bombshell broadcast entitled "Security and Romanian Writers" (or something like that) to afterwards give us the capital revelation that...Traian Iancu, the director of the Literary Fund, is neither more nor less than...a security colonel. The proof? He yells at writers, treats his subordinates roughly, persecutes the writers who are not at the "top" and favors the executives in the Writers' Union. Vasile Manuceanu -- and this fact does not surprise us, you

will see why -- does not notice any contradiction in his accusations. Should the "top people" in the hierarchy of the Writers' Union (for instance, noted members of the former council, who were very active at its meetings and therefore praised by RFE) be the favorites of the above state body? However, it is certain that the last recruit of Eugen Lovinescu's offspring is not very well informed about happenings in the last 4 years at the Writers' Union from whom he received a pension. But nothing is surprising from broadcasts where obscene publicists and involuted proletcultists are presented as great writers while the genuinely great writers from Arghezi to Ion Gheorghe are denigrated.

Such contradictory assessments can only occur in broadcasts of a radio station such as Free Europe. There is another question: what is Manuceanu actually hinting and what are his recent bosses pursuing by this furibund attack against the director of the Literary Fund.

It is not difficult to guess, especially if we recall a particular period when, under the pretext of a more fair distribution of funds, Traian Iancu was almost completely deprived of the right of signature, transferred to some committees which were so "neutral" and "collegial" that they perfectly seconded a certain literary policy and systematically poured oil on the fire in the artificially maintained conflicts within the Union. The ones that toed the line enjoyed the committee's benevolence. Anyone who gave signs of independence, as was the case of poet Nichita Stanescu, was punished by the committee by refusal and called to order. RFE seems to have nostalgia for this course and also the thought of maneuvering these funds. It is rather much. It is understandable why E. Lovinescu's daughter and her cohorts prefer to concern themselves with Traian Iancu without uttering one word about these underground maneuvers. How, otherwise, can our attention be diverted from the unusual sums collected by Ion Caraion through this committee or through the Cartea Romaneasca Publishing House?

Let us say it straightforwardly: picking on the director of the Literary Fund involves a man, undoubtedly not without flaws, but who has identified his existence with the material and professional interests of the trade. Vasile Manuceanu, unfortunately, knows it better than many among us and that is why his attack is odious, if it was not excusable because of the two hospitalizations in the mental institution (I hope that now he will not pose as a political victim!) with a diagnosis which embarassment prevents us from making it public in the press. It is the diagnosis on whose basis he received a pension from the Writers' Union. But nothing prevents us from reminding Vasile Manuceanu that, every time, the person who did his utmost to ensure for him conditions of hospitalization and recovery and made full use of the right of granting sick allowances and later helped him to obtain pension from the Union was precisely Traian Iancu. Hence, from 1 July 1974 until June 1982 when he left this country, Vasile Manuceanu collected 171,000 lei in pension. Throughout this period on countless occasions he received loans even though he was not among those to which Traian Iancu "kowtows." But it seems that, afar, Vasile Manuceanu only remembers Traian Iancu's verbal explosions, ignoring the deeper significance of the situation. The most difficult facet of the literary life is the one that bothers the nostalgics of the artificially maintained tensions, the proponents of the tactics of differential treatment. Were they the ones who suggested the topic to Vasile Manuceanu? Or is it his specific form of gratitude to the people who helped him? Anyway, the career started at RFE attests his pensioning certificate.

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CSO: 2700

DECREE ON BORDER CROSSING CONTROL SYSTEM

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 98 2 Nov 82 pp 1-5

[Council of State Decree regarding controlling the crossing of the Romanian state border]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I

General Provisions

Article 1. - The crossing of the state border by persons, means of transportation, products and other goods is done through border crossing control points, hereafter called control points in this decree.

Article 2. - The Romanian state border crossing control points are:

a) Highways: Albita, Vaslui County; Bors, Bihor County; Calafat, Dolj County; Giurgiu, Giurgiu County; Halmeu, Satu Mare County; Jimbolia, Timis County; Naidas, Caras-Severin County; Nadlac, Arad County; Negru Voda, Constanta County; Ostrov, Constanta County; Petea, Satu Mare County; Portile de Fier; Mehedinti County; Siret, Suceava County; Stamora-Moravita, Timis County; Vama Veche, Constanta County; Varsand, Arad County;

b) Railways: Calafat, Dolj County; Carei, Satu Mare County; Cimpulung la Tisa, Maramures County; Curtici, Arad County; Episcopia Bihor; Bihor County; Falciu, Vaslui County; Galati, Galati County; Giurgiu, Giurgiu County; Halmeu, Satu Mare County; Iasi, Iasi County; Jimbolia, Timis County; Negru Voda, Constanta County; Salonta, Bihor County; Stamora-Moravita, Timis County; Valea lui Mihai, Bihor County; Valea Viseului, Maramures County; Vicsani, Suceava County;

c) Ports: Braila, Braila County; Calafat, Dolj County; Cernavoda, Constanta County; Constanta, Constanta County; Corabia, Olt County; Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Mehedinti County; Galati, Galati County; Giurgiu, Giurgiu County; Moldova Veche, Caras-Severin County; Orsova, Mehedinti County; Sulina, Tulcea County; Tulcea, Tulcea County; Turnu Magurele, Teleorman County; Zimnicea, Teleorman County;

d) Airports: Arad, Arad County; Bucharest-Otopeni; Constanta-Mihai Kogalniceanu, Constanta County; Oradea, Bihor County; Timisoara, Timis County.

The crossing of the Romanian state border by travellers is permitted only at the following highway, railroad, port and airport control points: Albita, Arad, Bors, Braila, Bucharest-Otopeni, Calafat, Constanta, Constanta-Mihail Kogalniceanu, Curtici, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Episcopia Bihor, Galati, Giurgiu, Iasi, Jimbolia, Naidas, Nadlac, Negru Voda, Oradea, Orsova, Ostrov, Petea, Portile de Fier, Salonta, Siret, Stamora-Moravita, Timisoara, Tulcea, Valea lui Mihai, Vama Veche, Varsand, Vicsani.

Article 3. - The opening of new control points or the temporary or definitive closing of existing ones is approved by Council of State decree.

Article 4. - The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, together with the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, can establish for animal traffic and animal and vegetable products the crossing of the border only through certain control points of those listed in Article 2, depending upon the volume of the traffic, the epizootic and epiphytic situation and the health-veterinary and phyto-health agreements concluded with other countries.

Article 5. - In control points, there is organized and carried out the control of persons, the means of transportation, products and other goods that come into or go out of the country. The crossing of the Romanian state border is permitted only under the conditions established by legal provisions.

Activities in control points are carried out without interruptions.

Chapter II

The Organization and Operation of Control Points

Article 6. - Control points are organized by the Ministry of the Interior in cooperation with the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, the Ministry of Tourism, the Committee for the Problems of the People's Councils and the Department of Civil Aviation.

Article 7. - The Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, the Ministry of Tourism and the Department of Civil Aviation establish the tasks for their subordinate personnel located at the control points; they cooperate and are responsible for fulfilling their attributes, according to law, regarding the movement of travellers, products and other goods under good conditions, the respect for the border system and the provision of security for the state borders in the control points; in accordance with legal norms, they ensure the staffing of the control points with qualified personnel who understand, as much as possible, a common international language.

Article 8. - The chief of the control point is an officer of the Ministry of the Interior. This officer coordinates, controls and is responsible for all activities in the control point with regards to the proper movement of international traffic and serving travellers in accordance with legal provisions.

The chief of the control point can take appropriate legal measures on-the-scene so that control point personnel correctly carry out their service duties, informing the appropriate organs about these measures.

Article 9. - The border crossing control is carried out by teams made up of officers or sub-officers of the Ministry of the Interior and customs personnel who, normally, work together.

In port control points, the representative of the harbor master's office is part of the control team. On cargo ships, in addition to the control team the representatives of the shipping agency also have access to the ship, while those ships that carry tourists the representatives of the Ministry of Tourism have access.

In airport control points, a representative of the Romanian air transport company also is part of the control team.

The chief of the control team is an officer or a sub-officer who belongs to the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 10. - In carrying out border crossing control, the supervision of the means of transportation and the guarding of ships tied up in ports, drafted military border guards are also used from the subunits attached to the control points by the Ministry of National Defense.

Chapter III

Carrying Out the Control for Crossing the Romanian State Border

Article 11. - The control of passports and other documents for crossing the Romanian state border is done by the officers and sub-officers of the Ministry of the Interior in the control teams.

The chief of the control point organizes the activity of issuing visas and extending visas, in accordance with legal provisions.

The control of passports or other documents for crossing the border is carried out in compartments in railroad cars, at highway vehicles, at control booths in airports, at the ship's gangplank, aboard the ship or in the vicinity of the control points.

In cases where it is necessary to clarify certain situations regarding the crossing of the border, passports or other border crossing documents can be retained by the control team chief. The resolution of these cases is done with a maximum of urgency.

The chief of the control point can interrupt the travel of persons in cases where he finds that the requirements outlined by law for crossing the Romanian state border have not been met.

Article 12. - The customs control of baggage, other goods found on persons, goods and the interior and exterior of the means of transportation is carried out by the customs personnel in the control teams according to the legal regulations regarding the customs system.

Article 13. - The personal health control is carried out in accordance with legal regulations by the medical personnel named by the Ministry of Health, under the guidance and control of the Central State Health Inspectorate in the Ministry of Health.

The health-veterinary and phyto-health control are carried out by personnel named by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry in accordance with legal regulations.

Article 14. - The measures regarding the sanitary protection of the state border are applied, according to legal regulations, to all persons, means of transportation, products and other goods, regardless of their origin and destination. Persons who do not submit to these measures are prohibited from crossing the border.

In the case of diseases that require quarantine measures, in situations where they are not postponed, the Ministry of Health takes the first measures to prevent and combat the diseases and immediately notifies the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Department of Civil Aviation.

Article 15. - The control of ships and aircraft crossing the border begins with the personal health control.

The personal health control of persons in trains and highway vehicles is done concomitantly with the control of border crossing documents and the customs control.

Article 16. - In carrying out the health-veterinary and phyto-health control, the specialists of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry can work, as the case may be, together with the control team.

Depending upon the epizootic and epiphytic situation, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry can prohibit animal traffic, as well as animal and vegetable products, from crossing the state border, notifying the interested central organs about this situation.

Article 17. - The temporary crossing of the state border of hunting weapons, target shooting weapons and munitions for them, as well as panoply weapons, belonging to natural persons is permitted under conditions established by law only if these weapons and munitions are recorded on the state border crossing documents by the organs that issued them or granted the Romanian visa or by the control point organs, as the case may be.

When the traveler does not accept recording the weapons and munitions listed in paragraph one in the border crossing documents, they are retained by the customs organs. If the traveler does not agree with the retention of the weapons and munitions, he is not permitted to cross the border.

Travellers who come to the Socialist Republic of Romania and have weapons and munitions, other than those listed in paragraph one, are required to turn over these weapons and munitions to the customs organs. These persons are permitted to cross the state border with the approval of the Directorate for Passports, Foreigners' Records and Border Crossing Control.

Those weapons and munitions that are retained are sealed in the presence of their owner, the owner is given a receipt for them and they are turned over to the organ of the Ministry of the Interior in the control point. The weapons and munitions are returned to the owner upon his departure from the country, retaining the receipt that had been issued.

Article 18. - Hunting weapons, target shooting weapons and munitions for them, as well as panoply weapons, found on travellers transiting the Socialist Republic of Romania, which are declared, are sealed upon the person's entry into the country by the customs personnel in the presence of the control team chief and the owner. When the weapons and munitions that are declared are not recorded in the Romanian state border crossing documents, the control team chief records in these documents the type, make, serial number and category of these items.

During the transit of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the traveller is prohibited from transferring these weapons and munitions or breaking the seals that were applied.

Upon leaving the country, a check is made to verify the integrity and authenticity of the seals that were applied and of the data about the weapons and munitions correspond to that recorded in the state border crossing documents. If the seals are not intact or if the data do not correspond with that recorded in the state border crossing documents or the weapons and munitions were transferred, completely or partially, to another party, the traveller is permitted to cross the border only with the approval of the Directorate for Passports, Foreigners' Records and Border Crossing Control of the Ministry of the Interior.

Persons who have weapons and munitions other than those outlined in paragraph one are not permitted to transit through the Socialist Republic of Romania. The

prohibition of transiting is also applied to those persons who do not accept the recording of these items in border crossing documents and the sealing of the weapons and munitions listed in paragraph one.

The transiting through the Socialist Republic of Romania of hunting or sport weapons and the appropriate munitions belonging to certain foreign legal entities is done with the approval of the Ministry of the Interior, upon request to the interested institutions.

Article 19. - The weapons and munitions listed in Article 17 that are not declared, as well as other weapons or munitions that are discovered during the border crossing control, are retained for confiscation and turned over with a report to the county inspectorate of the Ministry of the Interior in the area where the control point is located. The chief of the control point permits the continued travel of those persons upon which weapons or munitions were found for confiscation, with notification to the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 20. - The provisions in Articles 17, 18 and 19 are also appropriately applied in the case of gunpowder or grains or other explosive substances, as well as devices loaded with toxic or radioactive substances, found on persons who cross the Romanian state border.

Article 21. - The control of automobiles, buses, motor coaches, tractor-trailers and other means of highway transport which come into or leave the country is carried out at highway control points.

Article 22. - The border crossing control of trains is carried out in border stations or while moving between border stations and an interior station.

For the control when departing the country through the railroad control points, travellers can be given control forms which are collected at the border stations prior to the departure of the train.

Article 23. - The border crossing control of ships that enter or depart Romanian ports on foreign travels is carried out at port control points.

The border crossing control for ships that are to stop in Romanian ports located on the Danube, where control points do not operate, is carried out in the first Romanian port located upstream or downstream from this port where a control point operates.

The border crossing control of those ships under foreign flags that navigate in the maritime sector of the Danube, between the ports of Sulina and Braila, is carried out in the port of Sulina, upon entry, and in one of the ports at Braila, Galati, Tulcea or Sulina upon departure, if the ship is leaving directly on a foreign trip from these ports.

Upon the arrival of maritime ships in the ports of Tulcea, Galati or Braila, permits to disembark are issued on the basis of the crew list that has been approved upon arrival at the port of Sulina.

The border crossing control is carried out on all ships that navigate through the port of Sulina heading for the ports of Reni or Ismail. There is no control on Romanian and foreign ships that come from these ports and do not stop in a Romanian port, as well as cargo and passenger ships under the Romanian flag that travel between the ports of Constanta-Sulina-Galati and Braila upon their entry and departure through the maritime sector of the Danube River.

Ships under foreign flags that navigate on hte interior Danube River are controlled, upon entry, in the first port in which they stop, and in the last port they depart when leaving.

Ships under foreign flags that transit along the interior Danube River without stopping are not subject to control, with the exception of those cases where there is a violation of the border system.

Article 24. - In cases where a ship in the port's roadstead runs aground or a fire breaks out on board the ship, rescue ships can go out into the roadstead to give assistance without going through a border crossing control. These situations are reported to the chief of the control point by the harbor master's office.

When a fire breaks out in the port that threatens tehe safety of ships, the ships are permitted to depart the port for the roadstead without going through a border crossing control.

Article 25. - The border crossing control of sailors is carried out by comparing the seamen's cards with the crew list that is presented by the ship's captain.

Foreign sailors can disembark on the basis of permits issued for this purpose by the chief of the control point.

The control of the ship itself and the identification of the sailors at their posts are done by the control team and a patrol made up of drafted military border guards.

In the case of Romanian cargo ships which, for justified reasons, are required to anchor in the port's roadstead, permission to disembark is given by the chief of the control point. In this case, In this case, control of the ship is carried out after it enters the port, while the control of the seamen's cards is done when they come ashore.

If there are indications that an infraction has been committed, a new control can be carried out on the persons on board the ship, as well as on the ship itself. The hierarchically superior organs will be immediately informed of the results of the control.

Article 26. - The crews on ships located in the port's roadstead that were not subjected to a border crossing control upon their arrival can be given medical assistance, with a doctor having access to the ship, upon the request of the ship's captain and with the approval of the control point chief.

On the basis of a notification to the appropriate medical organs, foreign sailors can come ashore for the purpose of being admitted to one of the hospitals in the port city with the approval of the chief of the control point and upon the request of the harbor master's office.

Article 27. - Foreign sailors on ships in one of the Romanian ports who are to travel in the interest of duty to another port or to another location in Romania in order to make contact with a diplomatic mission or a consular office of the country to which they belong, are given entry-departure visas upon request. The visa request is resolved through the shipping agency or through the navigation agency of the country to which the ship belongs or by the control point chief where such agencies do not exist. In the case of sailors travelling to other countries, a transit visa is issued.

The visas listed in paragraph one are not necessary in the case of sailors who are citizens of countries with which the Socialist Republic of Romania has concluded agreements regarding the discontinuation of the use of visas or the recognition of seamen's cards as international travel documents.

Article 28. - Foreign sailors left behind in the Socialist Republic of Romania after the departure of the ship will go to the navigation agency of their respective country to resolve their situation. If there is no navigation agency in that port, the chief of the control point can permit the sailor's departure from the country on other ships.

The transfer of sailors from the crew of a ship upon which they are listed as crewmembers to the crew of another foreign ship located in one of the Romanian ports is done by the harbor master's office or the navigation agency of the country to which the ship making the request belongs, with notification of the control point chief.

Article 29. - For passenger ships under Romanian and foreign flags, as well as passengers on cargo ships, which come into or depart the Socialist Republic of Romania, the border crossing control is carried out on the persons and the goods with which they embark or disembark.

It is permissible for foreign passengers to come ashore after obtaining a visa on the basis of the state border crossing document, with the exception of those citizens belong to countries with which the Socialist Republic of Romania has concluded agreements concerning the discontinuation of visas.

Article 30. - Access to ships for the family members of foreign sailors serving on ships located in Romanian ports or which navigate between the ports of

Constanta-Sulina and Moldova Veche can be done, after carrying out a customs control, on the basis of passports or other border crossing documents, upon the request of the ship's captain and the with notification of the control point chief. Family members are subject to a control under the same conditions as the sailors on the ship.

Article 31. - In airports, the border crossing control is done upon the arrival and departure of aircraft on international routes.

If aircraft that fly international routes land because of force majeure at airports that do not handle international traffic, the border crossing control is done by the county inspectorates of the Ministry of the Interior.

When, because of force majeure, an aircraft cannot continue its flight and the passengers in transit have no other immediate connection, they are permitted, upon request, to have access to the city until the departure of the first aircraft or to transit the Socialist Republic of Romania using other means of transportation on the basis of a tourist visa issued by the control point or, as the case may be, by the county inspectorates of the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 32. - Foreigners who enter or leave the country are given an entry-departure form to be completed with the necessary data and then presented, together with the border crossing documents, to the control organs. The forms will also be completed by those persons who are in transit or who are citizens of countries with which the Socialist Republic of Romania has concluded agreements regarding the discontinuation of visas.

Article 33. - The state border crossing control is carried out according to the rules established in Annex No 1 (the Annex was forwarded to the interested institutions).

Article 34. - The resolution of certain unusual situations regarding crossing the border is carried out according to the rules established in Annex No 2 (the Annex was forwarded to the interested institutions).

Chapter IV

Final Provisions

Article 35. - The Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications and, as the case may be, the Department of Civil Aviation, ensure the measures necessary for carrying out the activities in the control points according to Annex No 1.

Article 36. - The buildings in which the highway control points operate and the land surrounding these buildings are in the direct administration of the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 37. - Annexes No 1 and No 2 are an integral part of this decree.

Article 38. - Council of Ministers Decision No 602/1971 regarding the Romanian state border crossing control, as modified through the decisions of the Council of Ministers No 1144/1971, No 1441/1971, No 458/1972, No 464/1972, No 1442/1972, and No 1166/1973, as well as any other contrary provisions, are abrogated.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 1 November 1982
No 400

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CSO: 2700

REGULATIONS ON USE OF SULINA FREE PORT

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 98 2 Nov 82

[Council of State decree for the approval of the regulation regarding the use of the Sulina free port]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole Article. - The Regulation regarding the use of the Sulina free port is approved.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 1 November 1982
No 401

Regulation Regarding the Use of the Sulina Free Port

Chapter I

General Provisions

Article 1. - The administration and management of all activities in the Sulina free port are carried out by the Sulina Free Port Administration, a specialized foreign trade enterprise headquartered in the city of Sulina, Tulcea County which operates on the basis of worker self-management and economic-financial self-administration and is a legal entity, with this enterprise being the port authority for the Sulina free port.

The Sulina free port is located at the mouth of the branch of the Danube River with the same name where it flows into the Black Sea, with the geographic coordinates of 45'10" north lattitude and 29'45" east longitude.

The Sulina free port is identified by a white lighthouse located on the eastern edge of the city of Sulina, visible between 8 and 166 degrees and with a height of 21.4 meters above sea level, with a light visible to a distance of 12 nautical miles.

Article 2. - In exercising the attributes outlined by law, the Sulina Free Port Administration carries out the following activities:

a) the handling of goods: loading, unloading and transloading;

b) the receiving, storage and turning over of goods;

c) special services, such as: sorting, conditioning, packaging, selling and purchasing of goods, activities involving the technical supervision of ships, repairs, financial-banking operations, producing, processing, marking, exhibiting and testing goods, outfitting operations;

d) the domestic and international forwarding of goods;

e) the renting and use, on the basis of contracts, of port buildings, docks and other facilities in the Sulina free port to Romanian and foreign partners for the purpose of storing goods, as well as open spaces slated for the construction of economic projects;

f) the entry and removal of ships, with or without their own propulsion systems, into and out of the basin using tugs or motorboats; the maneuvering, tying up and untying of ships;

g) the reception of ships in the basin for wintering over;

h) the control of goods from a quantitative and qualitative point of view;

i) the representation and supplying of ships;

j) ship salvage work;

k) other services specific to free ports and zones.

Article 3. - The use of docks, land areas, the basin, installations, warehouses and buildings in the port is accomplished through the Sulina Free Port Administration.

Article 4. - For those ships that transit the Sulina canal and that do not carry out operations in the Sulina free port, the Sulina Free Port Administration [SFPA] provides, upon request, representation and supplies for these ships.

Article 5. - In the area of the Sulina free port, as well as onboard those ships that anchor in this area, the following have access on the basis of permits issued by the SFPA:

a) workers employed by the SFPA;

b) personnel from other enterprises and institutes that take part in the activities that are carried out in the Sulina free port;

c) personnel who travel in the interest of their jobs into the Sulina free port on behalf of Romanian and foreign companies, enterprises and institutions. The access permits for these persons will be issued for a limited period of time and only for the required areas.

Chapter II

Access to Ships in the Basin and to the Docks in the Sulina Free Port

Article 6. - The entrance, departure and maneuvering of ships in the basin or the tying up at docks, piers, ways and natural banks in the Sulina free port for the loading and unloading of goods, anchoring or other purposes are permitted on the basis of scheduling and in the order established by the SFPA.

The scheduling of the arrival of ships is normally done in the order of their arrival and by keeping in mind the capacities affected by the movement of goods for which the ship was chartered.

Entrance priority is given to those line ships which are loading or unloading perishable goods, live animals, barges, container ships, ships carrying vehicles, petroleum tankers, passenger ships and military ships. Similarly, maritime ships are given priority over river vessels.

In exceptional cases and for special economic interests, other priorities can also be given at the request of Romanian economic enterprises.

The costs stemming from providing priority entrance into the port are paid by the unit that made the request.

Article 7. - For the purpose of bringing ships into the Sulina free port, the captain, the outfitter or the chartering agency requests the approval of the SFPA, communicating the name of the ship, its flag and the operations that are to be carried out.

Article 8. - The entrance of ships and their maneuvering within the Sulina free port, as well as the tying up at the dock according to the schedule, are ensured by the piloting service on the basis of a docking permit issued by the harbor master's office of the Sulina free port, subordinate to the Inspectorate of Civil Navigation, after obtaining the approval of the SFPA.

Ship loading and unloading operations can be started only after completion of the phyto-health and veterinary control and the border control and obtaining the operations permit.

The time of arrival is that identified and recorded by the Sulina free port harbor master.

Article 9. - In cases where the safety of the ship or the crew is in danger, the Sulina free port harbor master, together with the SFPA, will permit the provisional tying up of the ship at the docks in the Sulina free port until the danger is over, with the ship's commercial operations being handled later in the established order and the appropriate dock.

Article 10. - The entrance into the Sulina free port of those ships which, during their voyage, had a navigational accident is permitted only after the submission of an expert's document by an expert named by the Sulina free port harbor master which shows that the ship does not represent a danger and can enter and tie up in the port.

Article 11. - Those ships that are loading goods will receive an authorization to tie up at an operational dock after the arrival in port of the full amount of goods, with the exception of those goods which, by their nature, cannot be stored in warehouses or on platforms.

Article 12. - Persons aboard a ship, with the exception of the pilots, cannot disembark or make contact with other persons ashore upon the arrival of the ship in port, except after the completion of the health and border control.

Article 13. - Upon the arrival of the ship in the Sulina free port, the captain notifies that the ship is available, which attests that the ship is ready for operations.

The ship is ready for operations when it has obtained the operations permit, it has all holds appropriately prepared to receive the goods for which it was chartered, the loading equipment is in good operating condition and within the parameters outlined in the chartering contract, it has the electric lights needed for working at night, and it has the crew necessary for carrying out the ship's operations during the loading or unloading of goods, under condition of worker safety.

Article 14. - The acceptance of notification is done by the SFPA and the loader, or recipient or their representatives after the ship ties up at the dock where the handling of the goods for which the ship was chartered will be carried out and if the conditions listed in Article 13 are met.

The acceptance of the notification is done on the basis of the certificate issued by the Good Control Office which confirms that the ship is capable of being loaded, if it has a contract with the Goods Control Office.

In the event of a refusal of notification, the ship is required to carry out the maneuvers ordered by the SFPA for the purpose of leaving the dock and waiting until the required conditions are met for the acceptance of notification, with the ship paying these costs.

Article 15. - For notifications submitted and accepted up to 1200 hours the time established for loading-unloading operations is calculated from 1400 hours

of the same day, while for those notifications submitted and accepted after 1200 hours in the official hours of the work day, the time is calculated beginning with 0800 hours of the next day. On Saturdays and the days prior to a legal holiday, the time is calculated beginning with 0800 of the next work day. The time worked on legal holidays is not taken into consideration.

Article 16. - Upon the completion of loading-unloading operations, the ship's captain, the representative of the loader or the recipient of the goods, the ship's agent and the delegate from the Goods Control Office, in cases where there is a contract with this office, will complete and sign the documents regarding the operations on the ship, after which the ship's agent will summon the control organs to complete the formalities for departure.

The control organs are required to show up onboard the ship within 1 hour of being summoned.

After carrying out the control, the ship's agent will call for a pilot to carry out the departure maneuvers, with the ship being required to immediate depart the operational dock.

Article 17. - In cases where the ship does not leave the dock, the SFPA, together with the Sulina free port harbor master's office, will take measures to move the ship from the operational dock to an non-operational dock, a double dock or into the port's roadstead. The costs incurred by this movement will be paid by the ship.

Article 18. - The damages caused by the ship's fault in the case of refusing to leave an operational dock at the end of the departure control are paid for by the ship. The amount of the damages is established by the SFPA on the basis of findings made by the Sulina free port harbor master's office and the payments are made through the ship's agent.

Article 19. - The assistance of the pilot is required for the entry and departure of ships from the Sulina free port, as well as for any other maneuver carried out by the ship in the port or anchored in the roadstead. While the pilot is onboard, the captain will continue to be responsible for the ship's maneuvers and any damages that result from the maneuvers that are executed with the ship.

The fees established according to current regulations are charged for the piloting services.

Article 20. - The SFPA can order the movement of a ship from one dock to another in those cases required by the characteristics of the chartered ship and the nature and structure of the goods being worked, keeping in mind the loading-unloading capacities of the other means of transportation.

The costs of the additional movements made by the SFPA, with or without the approval of the chartering agency, will be paid by the person in the interest of which the movements were made.

Chapter III

The Receipt and Storage of Goods

Article 21. - The receipt of goods in storage areas and in warehouses is done only if these goods meet the conditions for conservation.

The goods presented for storage in the port's warehouses and storage areas must be well-packaged. The packaging must be solid and capable of preserving the quality of the goods and preventing degradation or waste over the period of different operations.

Goods that have deteriorated or those whose packaging is defective are received for storage only if the party placing it in storage declares in writing that he accepts the consequences of not meeting the conditions for conservation.

Upon request, the SFPA will make, for a fee, repairs to defective or deteriorated packaging.

Article 22. - In cases where during unloading it is observed that the packaging of a crate is defective or it is presumed that the contents are altered or opened, the SFPA can request that the crate be weighed and that eventually a determination of the contents be made in the presence of the depositor or his representative, as well as the ship's captain. The results of the determination are presented in a report. If the depositor or his representative refuse to participate in the unpacking of the crate, the SFPA can conduct the unpacking and weighing in the presence of the representative of the Sulina free port harbor master's office. The determinations made are presented in a report.

Article 23. - Approval for the storage of goods in the Sulina free port is obtained by fulfilling the following conditions:

a) in the case of goods that arrive by vehicle, approval for their storage is given on the basis of a written request completed by the party storing the goods using a standard form made available by the SFPA. The request will be accompanied by travel documents that are returned after comparison with the specifications in the request. Confirmation of the receipt of the goods is done on a copy of the request for storage, which is returned to the party asking for storage;

b) in the case of goods that arrive via water, those interested are required to present to the SFPA, within 6 hours of the beginning of cargo handling operations, two copies of the cargo manifest. The manifest must contain the exact specifications of all the goods that are to be unloaded, indicating the type of goods, the weight of the crates and their numbers and manufactire; together with the manifest, a list of goods that are to be unloaded is presented for each hold.

In the situations listed in letters a) and b), the type and weight of the goods are established on the basis of the manifest, invoices and other documents that the parties involved are reqiured to present to the SFPA. The SFPA can verify the weight and contents of the crates.

Similarly, the SFPA can carry out, at cost, the weighing of goods at the request of the party requesting storage or of the recipient, as well as in cases of verifying the entries in the documents that have been presented in the case of claims.

Article 24. - The storage of goods is done with adherence to the following requirements:

a) goods are stored within the limits of available space and space capable of ensuring storage under good conditions, having been placed and handled according to the technical procedures established by the SFPA in accordance with the specific nature of each storage area and the type of goods, keeping in mind the following:

- the permissible tons/square-meter loading factor of the storage area and the location of this area with regards to the dock and wharf;

- the height for stacking types of goods and for the packaging, in accordance with the norms for worker safety;

- the danger of spontaneous combustion for the goods;

- the proper airing and conservation of the goods;

- the provision of the spaces needed for tying up the ships at the docks and wharfs;

- the provision of opportunities for operational handling;

b) dangerous or harmful goods can be stored only in certain indicated places and only within the limits of possibilities. If, on the basis of an incomplete or erroneous declaration made out by the party requesting storage on the storage request or on the manifest for goods to be stored in warehouses or storage areas, they were to claim other types of goods, which later were found to be in the dangerous goods category, the SFPA has the right to request their immediate removal or to remove them at cost and at the risk of the party asking for the storage;

c) goods are stored in the storage areas on the docks and wharfs at the distances established for each particular dock.

Goods are stored on land areas, in storage areas and in warehouses for the timeframes established in the contracts that have been concluded.

Upon the expiration of the timeframes established for storing the goods or in cases where the continued storage of these goods could cause harm to other goods, as well as port facilities, the SFPA can decide which measures should be taken, informaing, at the same time, the party that requested the storage.

In cases where the party requesting storage does not adhere to the measures taken by the SFPA, it is also responsible for the damages caused by them to other goods or port facilities.

Article 25. - The storage areas and land areas can be used depending upon their space and the time upon the request of domestic and foreign users on the basis of an understanding between them and the SFPA, in accordance with the current norms and charges.

The roads and open spaces within these land areas and storage areas that are retained or occupied, which are necessary both for the handling and for the movement of goods within these areas, are considered to be a part of the areas that are rented.

The charges for using the roads between two or more land areas or storage areas that have been rented by various users will be proportionally discounted to the user parties.

Article 26. - Warehouse goods will not be stored in storage areas except at the written request of the party requesting storage. In these cases, the responsibility for these goods belongs to the party making the request.

Article 27. - In cases where other operations are necessary to conserve the goods, the SFPA can transport the goods from one place to another, informing the user or the representative of the user.

The costs involved in these operations are paid for by the user of the goods or his representative.

In order to conserve the goods stored in storage areas, the SFPA can proceed with covering these goods with tarps or plastic sheets within the limits of possibilities upon the request of the party requesting storage or his representative, with the appropriate costs being paid by this party.

Article 28. - The storage, movement or removal or any type of goods in the Sulina free port is done only with the prior authorization of the SFPA. The SFPA has the right to order the movement of goods when general interests require it, giving written notice to the owner of the goods 48 hours in advance.

The SFPA does not assume any responsibilities for deteriorations to goods stored in storage areas because of bad weather, even in cases where the goods were covered with tarps or plastic sheets. The party storing the goods has the right to request, whenever he feels it necessary, the movement of goods from storage areas into warehouses.

These requests will be honored within the limits of possibilities, with the charges for the warehousing and the handling costs being levied in accordance with the current rates.

Chapter IV

The Handling of Goods

Article 29. - The goods handling operations in the Sulina free port are permitted only by the SFPA.

The foreign trade enterprises and the international shipping companies for Romanian or foreign goods which have to carry out goods loading-unloading or storage operations in the Sulina free port are required to communicate in writing the amounts and types of goods at least 10 days prior to their arrival in order to receive clearance from the SFPA.

Article 30. - The SFPA is required to carry out the loading-unloading of ships with the timeframe standards for the port that have been established for a ship or a hold.

The setting of loading-unloading norms for the Sulina free port is done on the basis of the technical possibilities of the equipment located in the port or on the basis of certain agreements concluded between the SFPA and the user of the loading-unloading services.

The timeframe for loading or unloading a ship will not included: the time required for maneuvering the ship prior to bringing it up to the dock; the maneuvering of the ship so it can be worked at other docks; the opening and closing of holds; the removal of covers; the pressurization of winches; and the time for sorting goods.

The assignment and direction of work crews are done by the SFPA, keeping in mind the volume and urgency of the operations.

Article 31. - The loading-unloading operations on maritime and riverine ships are carried out on a permanent basis, day and night.

Article 32. - Handling operations are carried out on the basis of written orders according to the standardized form made available by the SFPA. The handling order on the standardized form will be obligatorily completed with the data indicated by the printed headings.

For riverine ships, the handling order is submitted at least 12 hours prior to the time indicated in the order for the start of operations. In the case of maritime ships, the handling order will also obligatorily show the idle time outlined in the shipping contract.

The ship's cargo-plan must be communicated to the SFPA at the latest by the start of the handling operations. If changes occur in the set cargo-plan during operations, they will be immediately communicated to the port organs.

In order to carry out the diverse handling operations within the Sulina free port, the order is submitted at least 12 hours prior to the hour indicated for the start of operations.

If the handling cannot take place because of the user's fault, he will pay for the costs incurred by the use of the work crews and the equipment that were assigned, in accordance with current charges.

In cases where the partners do not provide the conditions for carrying out the requested operations and do not ask for a cancellation of the handling order, the execution of the handling operations ceases after 3 hours from the time indicated in the order. The costs incurred during this waiting period are paid for by the partners according to the current rates.

The unloading of goods from riverine and maritime ships is done in the order in which the goods are found on the ship.

The separate unloading into storage spaces (storage areas or warehouses) according to dimensions or markings is done on the basis of a written order upon the request of the user, with the payment of the legal rates.

Article 33. - After carrying out the handling orders, the user units will confirm in writing that the operations were carried out, as follows:

a) within 12 hours for weighed goods or crates having a constant and equal weight;

b) within 24 hours for unweighed goods whose weight is determined from the manifest.

In cases where these timeframes are not adhered to, the SFPA isses the payment documents from its offices.

The cleaning of ships after unloading or prior to loading is not a part of the handling operations.

Article 34. - Goods are released upon the written request if the owner or a party empowered by the owner. The request to release goods is completed on the standardized form made available by the SFPA.

The party requesting the storage of goods is required to complete the transit declaration, providing the data listed in the standardized form.

Article 35. - The release of goods that have been stored is done as follows:

a) goods that have been stored can be removed totally or partially;

b) goods stored in sacks, barrels, baskets or another types of packaging can only be released in complete units. The removal of goods is done in the order in which they were placed in parcels, without selection.

In cases where there is need for the release of parcels to be done according to their position, make and number, by means of selection, the additional handling operations will be paid for according to the current rates;

c) if the goods are not removed by the party that stored them within the timeframe for which the warehouse space was rented, the goods are considered as being continued in storage, with the charges in effect being applied;

d) if the release operation cannot be begun or is interrupted by the goods' user or his representatives, the costs incurred during the waiting period for personnel and equipment will be paid by them according to the legal rates;

e) empty crates and damaged goods, as well as other items that are not submitted as goods, will be removed by the party requesting storage within 7 days, after which he will begin to pay for their storage.

Article 36. - In cases where the partners that have submitted the handling order do not make ships available for loading-unloading or do not make the goods available within the established timeframes, the costs for the waiting period or for the interruption in the workers' work will be paid for by these partners.

Article 37. - The SFPA is responsible for the storing in good condition those goods that are placed in warehouses and storage areas, guaranteeing losses and damages that occur. Similarly, the SFPA is responsible for the weight of the goods that are stored only if weighed them upon their storage in the warehouses or storage areas. Without this weighing process, the SFPA is responsible only for the number of parcels, bales, sacks or crates.

In cases where total losses or damages are found in the goods, the amount of the damages is calculated on the basis of the prices in the invoices or the documents that accompanied the goods. In cases where partial losses or damages are found, payment is made only for the appropriate value of the losses or depreciation of the goods.

The amount of the damages will not exceed:

a) the total value of the goods, if they were lost or depreciated completely;

b) the partial value of the goods, if a portion of the goods was lost or damaged.

The user will receive those goods that suffered partial damage in the state in which they were discovered upon the finding of the damages.

In all cases, the user is required to pay the established amount of money for the services rendered, on the basis of legal rates.

Article 38. - The SFPA is not responsible for:

a) damages stemming from situations of force majeure, which also includes cases of heavy icing, high temperatures and torrential rains, for those goods stored in storage areas;

b) losses and damages to goods stemming from a lack of, an insufficient amount of or a defective status in packaging if this was mentioned by the SFPA at the time of the request for storage;

c) losses and damages stemming from hidden aspects in the goods or packaging;

d) damages suffered by those goods which, because of their nature, are subject to the dangers of loss or deterioration, especially through spontaneous combustion, breakage, rust, spillage, drying and waste:

- for dangerous substances, such as sulphuric acid, that are explosive, nitric acid and other caustic products or products susceptible to spontaneous combustion;

- for the alteration of fruits, liquids and other goods that are subject to fermentation or rapid putrification or that suffer from heat or cold;

- for the rusting of metallic goods;

- for the spontaneous combustion of grains, coal and other goods in this category;

e) damages stemming from the fact that the goods cannot be stored due to a lack of space in warehouses;

f) damages stemming from the fact that the packaged goods do not correspond to that recorded in documentation;

g) losses in weight due to the nature of the substances, if they do not go beyond the following limits:

- 3 percent of the total weight of the following items: minerals, fertilizers, phosphates and coal;

- 1.5 percent of the total weight for liquid and wet items, as well as the following dry items: graphite, cement, wood, fruit, tobacco, skins, wool, dry fish and matches;

- 1 percent of the weight for all other dry goods.

In cases where a number of goods are stored, the listed limits are calculated for each particular parcel if the weight was specified upon receipt in the storage request separately for each parcel.

In cases of a total loss of the goods, the coefficient used for the loss in weight because of storage is not taken into consideration for calculating the damages.

Cases for exonerating the SFPA of its responsibilities will not be taken into consideration if it is proved, according to the facts, that the losses did not stem from the causes listed in this article.

Article 39. - In the Sulina free port, demurrage calculations are made on the basis of applicable legal regulations in other Romanian ports.

Article 40. - The SFPA is responsible for the losses of and damages to goods that are handled during the handling operation, with the exception of:

a) losses or damages that result from the lack of, an insufficiency of or defective packaging;

b) losses or damages stemming from aspects hidden within the goods or packaging;

c) losses or damages that occur to the goods during operations that are requested by enterprises to be carried out in unfavorable weather (rain, snow, ice and storms);

d) losses or damages that stem from the means of transportation that do not belong to the SFPA;

e) losses or damages to the goods that require special handling or in cases where the enterprise did not make this known and did not provide directions on how to handle the goods.

Article 41. - In cases where the SFPA finds or assumes a partial loss or damage to goods or if this is requested by the user of the goods or his representative, the SFPA, in the presence of these persons and a representative of the Sulina free port harbor master's office, completes a report in which it establishes the state and, eventually, the weight of the goods, as well as the causes, the amount of the damages and when it occurred.

If the user of the goods or his representative do not accept the facts set forth in the report, he has the right to request an expert determination of their status and weight and, through legal channels, the amount of the damages in accordance with legal provisions. After the removal of these goods from the storage area, the user can no longer make claims about the manner in which the goods were stored or the how they were handled.

Article 42. - The SFPA is responsible for keeping records on the goods that are stored, that enter and that leave the free port, and, to this end, it produces monthly reports that are made available to the users.

Article 43. - The user is responsible to the SFPA or, as the case may be, a third party, for damages caused as a result of fires, explosions and other accidents that occur in connection with these goods and because of his fault.

The SFPA is free from an responsibilities in the case of an inexact declaration made by the owner of the goods or his representative in the data with regards to the goods that are brought into or shipped from the port.

The SFPA is not responsible for damages caused by delays in releasing and receiving goods when these delays are due to force majeure or other events that are unforeseen and not accountable to the SFPA.

Chapter V

Prices and Charges

Article 44. - For all types of port services, such as handling, storing, industrial operations and other operations specific to the free zone and port area, prices will be charged as established in the agreements and contracts concluded with Romanian and foreign partners by the SFPA, in accordance with the current norms and prices.

Article 45. - The payment of charges owed by the partners for services carried out by the SFPA is made in accordance with current legal provisions.

Charges for the storage of goods are paid at the time of release of these goods when the storage timeframe is less than 1 month. Beyond this timeframe, the charges will be paid quarterly if there are no other agreements concluded with the Romanian or foreign partners.

If the price that was charged was incorrect, the additional amount will be returned while shortages are paid later.

Requests for the repayment of overpayments can be made within 6 months of the date of payment and only by the organ that made the payment or that was involved in removing the goods, or by a person empowered to do so.

The SFPA will return the rightful amounts that are found after a check of the documents that there was an overpayment.

If a check of the documents reveals a shortfall in the calculation or an incorrect charge, the differences will be paid by those who paid the charges upon the written request of the SFPA.

The timeframe in which the SFPA can request payment of the differences is 6 months from the initial date of the payment of charges.

Chapter VI

Relations With Units That Carry Out Their Activities in the Sulina Free Port Area

Article 46. - Border and customs control in the Sulina free port is carried out as follows:

a) for ships that enter into or depart from the Sulina free port for the purpose of a customs transit of the Socialist Republic of Romania for other ports, the border crossing control and the customs control are carried out according to current regulations and in those places established with the SFPA. In addition to the control team, the SFPA representative also has access to the ship in his position as an agent of the ship;

b) for those ships that anchor or operate solely in the Sulina free port and that do not enter the customs area of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the border control is provided by the organs of the Ministry of the Interior and through teams that also contain a representative of the SFPA and the Sulina free port harbor master's office. The place and points for carrying out this control are established by the SFPA;

c) outside of the established perimeters, customs organs will ensure customs supervision through the use of mobile teams, with these teams being able to carry out customs controls at the exit points on the access roads in the specially managed spaces that are made available by the SFPA. The chief of the border crossing control point can order the carrying out of a control on the ship itself and the identification of the sailors at their posts, on the basis of the crew list and their seamen's cards, any time there is information regarding the entrance of an unauthorized person aboard the ship or the commission of certain infractions.

The SFPA, as an agent of the ships, will ensure the transportation of the control teams, as well as the drafted military border guards, so they can participate in the controls of the ships, in interventions and in other justified cases.

The SFPA informs the border crossing control point a minimum of 3 hours prior to carrying out a control with regards to the departure or arrival of a ship at the Sulina free port.

Access ashore or onboard the ships for all persons is permitted only after a control is carried out at the gangplank.

Article 47. - The health and veterinary control organs exercise their attributes upon the arrival and departure of ships and during their anchorage in the Sulina free port, in accordance with current regulations.

Article 48. - The Sulina free port harbor master's office, subordinate to the Inspectorate of Civil Navigation of the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunication, ensures the supervision and control of navigation in the Sulina free port and within its territorial authority according to the legal norms.

Similarly, it pursues the manner in which the current national regulations are respected in the area of navigation, as well as the provisions of those international agreements to which the Socialist Republic of Romania is a party.

Article 49. - The Lower Danube River Administration provides, on the basis of contracts and at the request of the SFPA, the following services:

a) the dragging of the maritime basin and the dockside berths at the operational docks to the appropriate depths along the Danube in the Sulina free port;

b) technical assistance for provisioning or operating martime ships in the roadstead of the Sulina free port;

c) daily reporting to the SFPA on the status of the ships that are to cross the Sulina bar, both for their entry and their departure, as well as the depth of the bar;

d) the necessary assistance, in the case and danger, for ships located in the Sulina free port.

Article 50. - The repair shipyard in the city of Sulina will carry out, at the request of the SFPA, works and services for a fee for those ships belonging to foreign economic companies and organizations.

Article 51. - Foreign legal entities and the representatives of foreign companies who wish to work under conditions other than those in the form of a joint company are required to obtain the approval of the SFPA and the operating authorization under the conditions of the law.

Article 52. - The employment of Romanian personnel who provide services to foreign companies in the Sulina free port, the payment of their salaries, the payment of contributions for social insurance and the amortization of fixed assets made available by the Romanian side are carried out according to current legal provisions.

Article 53. - Romanian and foreign economic companies and organizations can carry out production, commercial and financial activities in the free port area in cooperation with the specialized Romanian economic enterprises with the approval of the SFPA.

Article 54. - The achievement of certain projects in the Sulina free port area, financed by foreign companies and organizations in cooperation with Romanian economic organizations, must also be approved by the SFPA.

Article 55. - According to legal norms, commercial retail sales units, using payment for goods in freely convertible currencies, can operate in the Sulina free port.

Chapter VII

Other Regulations Regarding the Use of the Sulina Free Port

Article 56. - The SFPA approves taking samples and test items for laboratory analysis by the appropriate organs from the goods that are located in the Sulina free port.

Article 57. - The users of services are required to meet, directly or through their representatives, all the formalities required according to legal regulationsin depositing, handling, releasing or removing goods in or from the Sulina free port.

Article 58. - Damages stemming from the failure to adhere to this regulation are the responsibility of the legal entities and natural persons, with the exception of cases of force majeure.

Force majeure cases are considered to be those with unforeseeable circumstances and events and those that are impossible to eliminate, such as: strong winds, strong waves, groundings, torrential rains, blizzards, ice floes, icing, dense fog, floods, rapidly falling temperatures and other similar cases that occur during the use of the port.

Article 59. - Proof of the causes of force majeure that occur during the use of the port is given in a findings report completed by the SFPA with the delegates of transport units and the users of the services, with help from the representatives of the Sulina free port harbor master's office, or by other means of proof permitted by law.

In the case of the absence of unit representatives or the refusal to participate in the findings or to sign the report, the report is completed by the SFPA, making note of this in the report.

Article 60. - At the request of the SFPA, Romanian and foreign enterprises, institutes, companies and representatives who operate in the Sulina free port area are required to communicate data and information regarding the activities that they carry out.

Chapter VIII

Responsibilities and Sanctions

Article 61. - Ships, regardless of their flag, that enter the Sulina free port are required to adhere to the regulations regarding the order and security of navigation in the port and in the roadstead as outlined by the current regulations of the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as this regulation.

Article 62. - The enterprises, companies or other units that use the warehouse, land areas, basin and port facilities and buildings, as well as the natural persons who have access to and work in the free port area, are required to adhere to the provisions of this regulation.

Article 63. - Violations of the provisions of this regulation result in for the guilty party disciplinary, financial, material, civil or criminal sanctions, as the case may be.

Article 64. - The dumping or venting of hydrocarbons, mixtures of hydrocarbons, chemical products or radioactive products, as well as residues of these, into the waters of the maritime basin or into the Danube is prohibited and is punished according to the legal norms regarding polluting navigable national waters.

Similarly, it is forbidden to dump shipboard wastes and to deposit garbage in unauthorized spaces within the Sulina free port area, as well as to degrade buildings, storage areas, fields and green areas and the fence which surrounds and marks the Sulina free port area.

Article 65. - Smoking is prohibited in those areas for storing goods, in fuel depots, onboard ships and in areas marked by no smoking signs.

Similarly, it is forbidden to use oil stoves and lamps and portable electric stoves, as well as any other similar item, near goods storage areas.

The failure to adhere to the provisions in paragraphs 1 and 2 is punished according to legal norms.

Article 66. - The following acts are considered infractions if they were not committed under such conditions where, according to criminal law, they are considered to be more than infractions:

a) the violation of the provisions in articles 12, 16, 29 paragraph 2, article 46 letters a) and b), article 60 and article 64 paragraph 2 is punished with a fine of from 200 to 500 lei;

b) the violation of the provisions in articles 5, 6 paragraph 1 and article 8 paragraphs 1 and 2 is punished with a fine of from 500 to 1,200 lei;

c) the violation of the provisions in article 14 paragraph 3, article 17 and article 19 paragraph 1 is punished with a fine of from 5,000 to 10,000 lei.

Article 67. - The finding of a violation and the application of punishments are done through a report completed by the personnel of the SFPA who are empowered to do so.

Article 68. - An appeal can be made against the report finding a violation within 15 days from the date the report is forwarded.

The appeal, accompanied by a copy of the report finding a violation, is submitted to the SFPA.

Article 69. - Foreign citizens who do not have a residence in the Socialist Republic of Romania and who are punished according to Article 66 submit the sums owed as fines in lei stemming from the conversion of hard currency, made for this purpose at the current rates for non-commercial operations.

Article 70. - The provisions of Article 66 are combined with the provisions of Law No 32/1968 regarding the establishment and sanctioning of infractions.

Article 71. - This regulation is applied in the Sulina free port area, as it is defined by law, and is complemented by the legal provisions regarding the commercial use of maritime and riverine ports.

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ART, LITERATURE UNDER REVOLUTIONARY HUMANISM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 82 pp 27-28

/Article by Dumitru Matei/

/Text/ The ideals of revolutionary humanism are inseparable from the basic structural data of contemporary Romanian society. They were conceived and confirmed in the course of Romania's historical evolution in the years of socialist construction and revolution, while the contemporary world was seeking the formula for a new humanism by frequently diverging paths. In this atmosphere of feverish searching and allowing both for the demands and spirit of the time and for the humanistic traditions of the Romanian people and their culture, the RCP opted for radical reconstruction of society in order to lend it a truly humane nature and purpose.

There was a time when "socialist humanism" was merely an abstract approach and consequently limited in a narrow and dogmatic way to its planned proportions. But revolutionary humanism calls for a process of forming and transforming the individual as a freely developed personality in the very construction of the new order.

The Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 and the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture that followed it characterized revolutionary humanism once more as a specific effort to build a humane society while forming a new man to carry out its ideals and introduce them in everyday behavior. Therefore it may be said that as part of the contemporary Romanian intellectuality does not mean merely a new view of the individual and his dignity but especially a new set of values through the incorporation of which the human personality finds its true fulfillment and constant intellectual enrichment.

The problems of revolutionary humanism, as they were defined in the view and conception of the party man, are indeed complex and involve many aspects from the political ones to the philosophical, axiological and cultural ones. On the cultural level this humanism is expressed both in carrying on, critically and constructively of course, the values of the past and the national and universal historical and cultural traditions and in full consideration of the present, while it figures particularly as a component of the general social activity.

Accordingly, in summing up the people's aspirations contemporary Romanian art promotes the idea of humanism while actually continuing an older tradition. In the rapidly evolving present-day Romanian culture humanism figures as a factor for continuity and cohesion in social activity. It can be quite rightly said that the whole development of the Romanian intellectuality of yesterday and today is characterized by its humanistic traditions. Note also that in their historical formation the humanistic traditions and characteristics of Romanian intellectuality were made fertile by the ideals of Romania's socialist labor movement and by the Communist Party's general policy.

Ideologically and politically conditioned today by the concept of revolutionary humanism, contemporary Romanian culture is fully committed to the intellectual construction of the fully developed socialist society. And so, as part of the general social evolution, art and literature express in their works of recognized richness and depth a humanistic impulse characterized by a militant, realistic and clear attitude that is also in keeping with the intellectual horizons of socialist humanity. When correctly interpreted and differentiated, that position is basic to contemporary art and literature's capacity to serve as a liberal approach to the treatment and comprehension of reality, as a matter of fact, since it places the creative act in a specific, tangible, vivid and significant historical context. Against that background, the diverse artistic styles and methods of construction, the flexibility of the approach to ideas and of the modes of expression, the originality of the artistic view of the world (in most cases), and the breadth of conception in prose, dramaturgy, poetry, plastic arts or music also attest contemporary Romanian art and literature's capacity for humanistic construction.

Of course those are considerations of a more general nature, but the basic humanistic criterion is to be stressed that is expressed in the harmony among the social, historical, ethical and aesthetic, with emphasis upon transformation of people's consciousness into the spirit of their natural aspiration to perfection. And this emphasis involves flexible interpretation of the relationship (in the artists' view) between freedom and creation, so that the artistic act really reflects the dialectical change whereby life shifts the directions taken by social and individual history. Contemporary Romanian art is developing in this direction an enriching the relationship between work and creation from the standpoint of moral responsibility. For example the contemporary Romanian political novel, or the novel of "political awareness" as I would call it, no longer sums up the highly complex data on that relationship in a biased and dogmatic way. Beyond the ideological guidelines, which take a didactic-rhetorical tone in some writings, it displays a more appropriate understanding and interpretation of the political and social phenomena in the not too remote historical past.

The Romanian novelists who have been treating political subjects concentrate on the processes of perception of the ideals of socialist humanism and moral responsibility. There is a clear effort to treat them not from the standpoint of abstractions and formal-dogmatic programs but in substance and in the entirety of actual social experience. It is a good sign that the fact that the individual is actually the "raw material" of morals is understood in contemporary prose. The moral element and moral responsibility no longer appear in a starry and falsely embellished firmament standing above a world filled and satisfied with itself. In a not very remote literary and artistic period that viewpoint impaired the relationship of the ethical to the aesthetic by maintaining the

illusion of a noncontradictory alternative in paradise. Note in this connection that the party documents have repeatedly stressed the idea of contradiction, but in the light of a basic aim that also applies to literature and art, namely a clear transition to reconstruction of the socialist ethos and to realistic comprehension and interpretation of its entire structure and historical evolution.

To be sure literature and art hold no power other than that of their particular genius but that power, par excellence and as part of the contemporary Romanian intellectuality, is constructive aesthetically, ideologically, politically, philosophically and morally alike, while on some levels of the cultural institutions the mere mention and indication of the system of revolutionary humanism's categories are considered educational and influential as far as art is concerned. It is not very well understood that a work of art is a value "in its existence for us," a value that does not exist to serve any immediate practical purpose, which certainly does not mean that it is "gratuitous," a "luxury," or "aimless." In other words, the artistic value does not include, for example, any political, ethical, philosophical or, in general, ideological "imperative" and we cannot expect the ideas, convictions, behavior and attitudes shaping the political, social and moral roles of the characters of a novel or play to be carried over directly and immediately to everyday life. Of course the artistic value can plead for worthy convictions and attitudes just as it discredits the worthless ones, thus influencing the conception of the world and life of a given reader, a spectator or another. That is because the contents of life, in their entire extent and diversity, are not something superimposed upon the aesthetic value. On the contrary, the extraaesthetic value context is present in the data of the artist's feelings and vision, in the act of "shaping the material," in the political, moral and philosophical consciousness of the period and consequently in that of the artist.

Sometimes misunderstanding of the action of the powers of art or the particular artistic way of inculcating the ideals of revolutionary humanism in people's minds and consciousness causes hazardous errors and underrating of the peculiar genius and powers of art. Such "detractions" are due to consideration of the real as a noncontradictory, rosy fact without dramatic perspectives. It is too easy to forget that revolutionary humanism is primarily based upon recognition of the entirety of life and the human universe as a whole. An artistic projection of the circle of problems and attitudes involved in the idea of revolutionary humanism is sometimes considered much more convincing if the critical or "rougher" aspects of reality are subordinated.

Accordingly the action of art is sometimes misinterprted in Romanian literary and artistic ideology. It is often believed that in revolutionary-humanistic education all should be demanded of art and nothing of the public, and that too when the public has exceptional opportunities for cultivation and exercise of the arts. It is a question of the idea of accessibility, concerning which we should ask ourselves what we mean by accessibility in reference to art? If to be accessible means to be understood, what do we mean when we say art is to be understood? Everyone will say Eminescu is accessible, but it is far from certain that Eminescu is understood by everyone.

When we suggest or demand that the artist be accessible, it means we are asking him to make every effort to reach the receiver's emotions, where his work is

actually understood. Therefore to be accessible does not invariably or necessarily mean to be understood, because "Understanding of art invariably and necessarily requires artistic cultivation" and "preparation of the senses," as Calinescu said, according to the work we are contemplating. From the creator's viewpoint accessibility is the capacity to construct stimuli and communicate them to the human strata prepared to communicate through a work of art. The public needs a certain capacity acquired through artistic cultivation to know and receive the work of art. Accessibility is a category of relationship and not an intrinsic attribute of the work. Eminescu or Stendahl, for example, were not "understood" at first, nor the impressionsists in fine arts, but that does not mean their works were basically inaccessible. There are many accessible works (in the sense that "we understand rationally" what is meant, especially in the language arts) that communicate nothing, just as there are readers and viewers who are not accessible to the great and true works of art but are fascinated by ridiculous, false and plentifully powdered works.

In general aesthetic experience is still a particular, qualitatively differentiated horizon of social practice, an intellectual horizon in a permanent relationship with social existence and awareness and with all forms of human action and sensibility. Literature and art are factors for stimulation and involvement of the consciousness. The system of relationships that contemporary Romanian literature and art maintain with the horizons of culture and civilization can be regarded as a system of lines of force that is adapted in a particular way to the general evolution of Romanian socialist society and reflects that evolution in specifically aesthetic ways. The act of intellectual influencing, which is a militant, humanistic-revolutionary objective in Romania, actually promotes the "ideological aspect" of art and literature, the aspect that participates from within in formation of the transmitted human meanings. Therefore the nobility of art could not be legitimized by probing the significance of man's mission and duty and of his experiences, dilemmas, aspirations and power to surpass himself if art did not fulfill its fascinating projective capacity to open up horizons, impart enthusiasm, and shape the consciousness.

The depth and complexity of the process of socialist construction of Romania and the resulting changes that have taken place on all levels of social experience and awareness have extensive and stimulating effects upon all literary and artistic output. In complete harmony with the great ideals and realities, the art of today is receiving determinations that guide it toward its natural and noble goal of shouldering its task to tap and develop the intellectual sources in the substance of which the structures of socialist humanity are formed.

In all of its manifestations the literary-artistic movement is accordingly organized around an ideal flowing from the Program for Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society, namely that of active intervention in social activity and in guiding the consciousness toward revolutionary humanism and reform. In the light of this high ideal, the main theme of Romanian socialist art is advancement of the people's creative energy and praise of the humane. This gives it the high social responsibility of making a particular contribution to the formation of the new man and the human model of the socialist and communist order.

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REVIEW OF 'KORUNK' ARTICLE ON URBANIZATION, DEMOGRAPHY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 82 pp 41-42

/Article by Buia Simion/

/Text/ The Cluj-Napoca prestige journal KORUNK, founded in 1926, is distinguished by its consistent maintenance and cultivation of the highest traditions of democratic Hungarian journalism in Romania. It is an active forum of recognized scientific probity for bringing out the historical coexistence of the Hungarian nationality with the Romanian people in the millenary common fatherland of Romania.

Publishing essays, studies and articles intended to keep the readers abreast of the latest ideas and advances of scientific and literary-artistic theory and practice here and abroad, KORUNK provides specialized journalists (especially sociologists but also economists and researchers and thinkers in the most varied humanistic fields) with a broad and fertile field for original creative work and constructive discussion of current problems of national public interest. In their journalistic comments Hungarian scholars and researchers join the extensive effort throughout Romania to boldly promote the new in all activities. Istvan Semlyen's article "Questions About Romanian Cities" in No 6, 1982 of the Cluj journal is noteworthy in this connection.

The author of the article begins with a number of statistical data indicating that on the whole an in comparison with other European countries the evolution of the birth indices in Romania is favorable, since the population of Romania increased by more than 700,000 between 1977 and 1981 and now reaches 23,5 million. In the period under consideration the population of the urban centers increased particularly, from 10,239,000 to 11,150,000, but not everywhere and not equally according to the natural increase, but particularly because of the "demographic migration" and the shift of workers from agriculture to cities and from one area to another. In this period the most rapid population growth was in Brasov (48,000), in Galati, Bacau and Constanta (between 21,000 and 25,000), in Timisoara and Braila (18,00-19,000), and then in Oradea, Pitesti, Botosani and Buzau (15,000 each). Meanwhile in the big Romanian cities and in the municipalities where settlement is affect by a law requiring authorization, but not in those localities alone, the number of transients is particularly high (In

1981 the record of transients included 108,000 in Bucharest, 44,000 in Timisoara, 36,000 in Brasov, 34,500 in Iasi, 32,000 in Cluj-Napoca, etc.), in addition to tens and tens of thousands of commuters, persons who come to work daily in the heavily crowded centers.

Istvan Semlyen explains these extensive population shifts by the pronounced increase in the manpower requirement resulting from accelerated industrialization, which requirement cannot be met in all localities due to the insufficient or even decreasing natural increase in the local population, for there are discrepancies between the birth indices in various localities. Last year in Iasi for example the natural population increase was 15.5 children born per 1,000 inhabitants, while the figure was much lower in Bucharest (4.2) and in some counties (3.1 in Teleorman and 2.2 in Caras-Severin). As the author rightly notes, the relatively weakened demographic dynamism of the population in some settlements and the gradual aging of the local population and its retirement from production and active life are counteracted by the influx of young population from other areas of Romania. But this process presents problems of industrial, agricultural and cultural planning that have to be solved in close interrelation. Satisfaction of the wish expressed by "traditionalists" to take more account of the local demographic situation and to make developmental plans only in proportion to that population's capacity could retard the developmental rate in some cases or lead to neglect of the exploitation of some important natural deposits as well as other optimal economic conditions that would benefit the overall development of the national economy. Therefore the central planning organs are taking appropriate measures, ignoring narrow local interests of such settlements and establishing proportions of socioeconomic and consequently demographic development in agreement with the rates and directions of the whole nation's general development.

Raising the question whether there can be any maximum harmony between the interests of centrally planned proportions of urban growth and the interests, traditions and attitudes of the local inhabitants, the author concludes that this harmony requires the agreement and realistic concern of the elements involved. It is a long established fact that every geographic unit or network of settlements "has its culture, attitude, awareness of its particular identity, and its own system of relationships and traditions...," Istvan Semlyen writes, adding that the distinctive features of the various communities naturally include a new kind of economic, administrative, cultural and human relations formed in the decades of socialist construction. These factors partly compose and feed the "dignity of the local characteristics" and partly guarantee the possibility of reaching dialectical unity between the local values and interests and those on the state level. The author feels that the problem of agreement of the two factors is still an open one and also requires in-depth studies in sociology, ethnosociography, social psychology and economic planning. Such studies would permit adoption of the options for directions of development on the sis of profound knowledge of the reasons for the relative underdevelopment of some regions (historical-economic, political and other reasons), while allowing for the involvement of various ethnic groups and their particular local-national charcteristics.

As we know this policy has always guided the RCP's efforts toward harmonious development of all regions of Romania and equitable distribution of the productive forces and industry throughout all Romanian territory. Construction of major

economic capacities in every county and especially in the underdeveloped ones provided greater population stability, since tens of thousands of new jobs are a major attraction for local inhabitants and especially for youths once tempted to leave their birthplaces in search of employment. New demographic phenomena can be expected in the coming years, once the stage of extensive industrial development is over and better use of the labor force in the big urban centers has begun. Some of the population of those centers can be directed, spontaneously or in an organized fashion, toward their native regions, which now offer them opportunities for employment. The author quotes the professor and demographer Mircea Bulgaru to this effect, who believes further industrialization of the villages will enhance the native regions' power of attraction to such an extent that we shall soon see a "reverse migration" from the cities to the villages.

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ROMANIA

NEED FOR MULTILATERAL TRAINING OF YOUTH

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 82 pp 22-23

/Article by Prof Dr Docent Iosif Tripsa, state secretary in the Ministry of Education and Instruction/

/Text/ Firm application of the RCP's conception of the vital role of education in the all-around training of youth provided the Romanian schools with favorable conditions for a qualitative leap of historic significance. The great progress made consists of organic integration of education with science and production, close correlation of schools with the national socioeconomic realities, and coordination of the instructive-educational system with the real manpower requirement in all activities. Rapidly improved organization of education, modernization of its material base and content, and general improvement of schools to a point reached by few countries with generalized compulsory 10-year education are natural in this social context. The effort Romanian society is making to achieve this performance is necessary because conditions must be created to fully develop and exploit every youth's personality and because of the increasingly pronounced impact of the technical-scientific revolution upon socioeconomic development, which revolution must be promoted in all activities as a means to a new quality and greater effectiveness in all fields. It necessarily follows from this that the schools must prepare each and every youth to best perform his occupation in the future for a period of about 40 years, a period that will certainly see some radical socioeconomic and technical-scientific changes.

The extent of the basic task assigned education by the 12th RCP Congress, namely to prepare the young generation for work and life, is accordingly clear. This task can be specified for each type and level of education only through extentensive studies to forecast development of the socioeconomic sectors, studies from which conclusions can be drawn about the need for occupational skills upon graduation from the various schools including the university departments. Therefore the continuing effort to improve the school programs and textbooks (an effort made by the Ministry of Education and Instruction /MEI/ for all levels and forms of education) is always based upon careful analysis of the disciplines, skills and behavior required of all graduates at the close of each scholastic cycle.

As in other educational systems existing in the world today, complete mastery by pupils of all the lessons specified in the school programs and presented in depth in textbooks assures them of the highest marks, that is recognition of a complete scholastic success. But clearly not all pupils in all grades in all schools can achieve the best scholastic results, and every grade contains a majority of good pupils who are promoted every year and a minority that are problems for the teachers as well as their families and society, problems that are more or less difficult. In Romania, where all necessary conditions have been created to include the entire young generation in compulsory 10-year education, the teachers have the heavy responsibility of providing (through properly correlated efforts of the pupils, families and other educational elements) for each and every pupil's acquisition of the minimum competence required for promotion with actual qualification in disciplines, skills and behavior.

In past years, in the absence of any scientific system for evaluating knowledge, there were a number of failures to evaluate all pupils correctly and objectively, alongside the worthy efforts of thousands of professors. Sometimes pupils were promoted only so that their techers would not be criticized for scholastic failures or lack of perseverance and pedagogic skill. The main reason for this was actually the serious irresponsibility of some school administrators and some workers in the school inspectorates and the MEI, whoo took the convenient path of bureaucracy to the neglect of further improvement of the instructive-educational process. And so instead of using modern, active and participative teaching methods to cathch the attention of all pupils and to encourage them to meet their scholastic obligations, some teachers gave passing marks without qualification and thus violated their basic scholastic obligations.

Improvement of Romanian education requires an end to the pursuit of inflated statistical results and objective evaluation of every pupil's level of knowledge and of the way he performs his scholastic tasks in each grade. To this end and to help all teachers the Executive Bureau of the Higher Council of Education and Instruction prepared and approved minimum compulsory standards for primary education, gymnasium education, and first year high school. Those standards form the uniform system for evaluating pupils' preparation throughout Romania.

The standards to be applied beginning with the school year 1982-1983 specify the minimum volume of knowledge, skills and behavior all pupils must show in order to be promoted at the end of the scholastic cycle. These standards are now being disseminated through the county school inspectorates to all Romanian schools. They will be brought to the knowledge of all professors, pupils and parents so that they will know from the first days of the new school year what the scholastic requirements are for promotion to the various cycles, and the scholastic tasks obligatory for promotion to each particular grade are to be set later in a breakdown.

It should be noted that the new standards are applied according to the usual oral and written examinations and require no special tests of any kind (which are prohibited by the MEI). In drafting the quarterly school report passing marks are given only to the pupils who meet all the provisions of the standards, and the closer the pupils' results come to the entirety of the provisions of the school program and the content of the textbooks the higher the marks are. What scholastic tasks specified in the obligatory standard have not been fulfilled

and how to fulfill them in the following period are explained to the failed pupil. The teachers are required to proceed in the same way in drafting the annual school report, in supplementary training of the failed pupils during summer vacation, and in the case of the make-up examinations.

As a powerful instrument for improving the instructive-educational process, the obligatory standards of minimum competence were designed in the light of the need to scrutinize the educational character of school preparation. They stress correct application of the acquired knowledge and not its most exact reproduction in the words of the professor or textbook.

In the experimental disciplines (physics, chemistry and biology) as well as the technological ones, the emphasis is on performing experiments to rediscover the laws of transformation of inorganic, organic and living matter, on mastery of the various highly advanced technologies used in the Romanian economy, on implementing the new economic-financial mechanism in the various activities learned by the pupils, on better and more complete use of raw materials and energy and reuse of recovered materials, on perfect maintenance of equipment, etc.

To enhance the professional competence of the graduates from the first and second stages of high school, it is intended to train them in trades of broad scope and to improve their ability to learn to use the new technologies. In this way the transition to a modern education is becoming increasingly evident, an education wherein the main emphasis is upon teaching pupils to apply the acquired knowledge directly and effectively and to assimilate reliable methods of continuing to learn to apply new disciplines and technologies after graduation from high school.

In close connection with the above, the problem arises of further improving the pupils' practical and productive instruction. In addition to improvement of the school programs for this important activity and the annual increase in the material base and technical inventory of the school workshops, the enterprises sponsoring high schools, under whose direct care and supervision all school workshops of the industrial high schools have been placed recently, are required to make a more consistent contribution. The measure was taken to further involve the economic enterprises in training the manpower earmarked for them and to bring the level of school production up to that of industrial production technically, organizationally and economically.

The instructing foremen and all personnel working in the school workshops will be directly responsible to the workers councils in the enterprises for their performance of their service functions and the occupational training of every graduate. In the new organizational relationship the practical training in production of pupils in the final years of a stage (10th grade for the first stage and 12th grade for the second stage) will be improved. They are to receive their practical instruction at their future work places in order to become accustomed to the equipment, raw material, production processes, and labor discipline including technological discipline.

Starting in school year 1982-1983 the professor-engineers teaching specialized disciplines in high schools, including those pertaining to the future graduates' trades, will have additional opportunities to acquire detailed knowledge of the

work places to which pupils will be assigned upon completion of their current studies, and they will be able to adapt their teaching methods and subject matter to the particular realities of those work places.

Development and improvement of evening high-school education are highly important to Romanian schools. The RCP's broadly democratic school policy is being implemented through it, providing all working youths with unrestricted access to the higher levels of education, including university education. The attendance figures for evening high-school and higher education have increased this year and major improvements have been made in the teaching methods for such forms of training.

The best professors in a school will teach the high-school classes for evening students. Most of the activities will be conducted in halls, laboratories and well-equipped workshops. The teachers are required to make more use of the direct teaching methods in class so that the pupils will leave the classes with the lessons understood and mastered. There will also be more intensive study of the basic disciplines affording intimate knowledge of the physical-chemical processes basic to the manufacturing technologies, in order to give the evening pupils an opportunity to make a greater contribution to improvement of the technologies and products.

In view of the necessity (pointed out by Nicolae Ceausescu at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982 and at the Second Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture) of more emphasis in all schools upon Romanian language and literature as well as national history, the specialized commissions of the MEI have started an in-depth analysis of the programs and textbooks, recommending measures to improve them as well as the methods of teaching those disciplines with an educational role of great patriotic significance.

Heavily emphasizing the educational potentials of all school activities, education must keep increasing its contribution to the all-around training of youth for work and life in the spirit of revolutionary socialist patriotism.

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BRIEFS

SLOVENIAN REPORT ON PERSONNEL CHANGES--At the session of the Romanian parliament, former premier Manea Manescu was elected one of the three vice presidents of the Council of State, which is headed by Nicolae Ceausescu. Manescu's return to the political scene, after an absence of approximately 6 years for health reasons, was heralded by the announcement today, of his candidacy for deputy in the upcoming elections in Bucharest. Manescu replaced the former premier, Ilie Verdet, who, only a few months ago, was released from his position as vice president of the Council of State and, in the meantime, was elected secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Steliano [as published--should be Niculina] Moraru was elected vice chairman of the Grand National Assembly in place of Cecilia Stan who was released without any explanation. [Excerpts] [Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 13 Nov 82 p 3]

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INCIDENT OF POLICE BRUTALITY IN SERBIA DETAILED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1657, 3 Oct 82 pp 22-24

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic]

[Text] Is the "clash" between two young militiamen and two youths in Gornji Milanovac merely an isolated incident, or something else?

Some militiamen are like electricity: if you come into contact with them, watch out for the current! Frequently there is a spark.

That is how stories begin, such as the following that has been going around Gornj' Milanovac for 20 days. The stories are looking for possible answers to the question as to why two young militiamen, judging from all accounts, cruelly maltreated two 17-year-olds. If all the details of the scenario composed by witnesses' accounts prove true, the incident demands involvement of a psychiatrist more than an investigator!

Everything began at the obligatory evening gathering of all young residents of the city, where in the triangle between the church, the memorial and the hotel the institution of the "corso" functions without a flaw. On 8 September, sometime before 10 o'clock, five young friends gathered by a bench were talking about the eternal theme of 17-year-olds, girls! Slavomir Cirovic (17), one of them, did not like the teasing, and so somewhat later he said to his comrades "queers!" It turned out that that was the crucial word in the whole incident that followed. A second later militiamen Vojislav Cirkovic (22) and Veselin Perovic(20) approached the group and asked for identity cards. As was later explained, it happened that someone yelled at them "Oo, queers!"

Cirkovic immediately clubbed Dejan Radisic (17), who didn't have an identity card. When the patrol went on, he also clubbed Cirovic, who asked where they were taking Dejan. We follow the subsequent happenings according to the story that we heard from four people, of the total of five youths who were present. The fifth was on a trip.

The Law and the Nightstick

The patrol took Dejan to the militia station. Along the way, at their direction, someone yelled several times the incriminating words as to whether the militiamen by some "test" had discovered a "crime." Cirkovic hit him several more times with his stick while they were on the street. He continued to beat him at the militia station, demanding that he repeat the whole story many times as to how "that word" had been heard. Dejan stubbornly insisted that that word was not intended for the militiamen, but in vain. Unnerved by this "obstinacy," Cirkovic placed his index finger on the boy's eye and said he was so mad that without remorse he could tear it out.

After he hit the boy several more times with the nightstick and his fists, the lad "began to talk," saying that his friend Cirovic was the "author of that word." Then all three got into the "Fica" (Fiat) and went after Cirovic. In the meantime, Dejan's friends had informed his parents about the incident, and they all set out after him. The parents were told at the militia station that Dejan had been brought in, but then let go. Wandering around the town, his father somewhat later, by accident, came across the "Fica" containing the militiamen and his son. But the militiamen told Dejan's father that he could go home only when they found Cirovic.

Dejan Radisic told us, "I dared not even hint to father that they had beaten me."

Now Dejan's father went to inform Cirovic, who was waiting in his apartment, that he should "surrender." However, the young militiaman Cirkovic was in form that evening. A group of lads gathered in front of the "Fica" and he asked one of them why he was smoking in front of a militiaman. The alarmed youth threw the cigarette on the street.

"What, you are throwing a cigarette on the street?", the militiaman yelled. The youth in alarm picked up the cigarette and headed toward a trash can. At that point he had earned an honest kick in the stomach, and Cirkovic pushed him onto the back seat of the Fica where Dejan was sitting. Somewhat later, informed of the pursuit, Cirovic found the patrol and "surrendered." The youth who did not know what to do with a cigarette in the presence of "the authorities," was immediately thrown out of the car. Then the Fica with the two militiamen and the two youths headed for the deserted depot for old buses. There in the semidarkness, the m-litiamen took off their caps and put them on top of the automobile. Cirkovic took a club and immediately began to beat Cirovic. He beat him on the back, the head, the upper arm and his extended palms. He asked him to repeat the whole story several times. Along with that he asked the youths several times if they knew what the militia was. He was not satisfied with their dry definition, learned during classes, but yelling he explained that the militia was power! It was already clear to Radisic and Cirovic that that was true!

Cirovic told us: "Beating me with the stick he pushed me against the Fica, and then beat me because I had leaned on the car. After that he told me to take off my shoes because, as he said, it seemed to him that I had flat feet. Holding the stick with both hands, he beat me on the soles several times. I only asked him not to hit my hands anymore, because my fingers were cramped and my fists swollen."

At last, "under torture," the boys admitted that the word was addressed at the militiamen. Because of that admission they received several more blows. Then Cirkovic gave his stick to the trainee Perovic (who did not yet have the right to bear arms), asking him to show what he knew. Perovic so weakly beat the boys that Cirkovic decided that "nothing would ever come of him." After everything, he ordered Dejan to slug Cirovic. The boys refused to hit each other, but after effective "convincing" they exchanged a few blows.

Finally, about 11:30 pm, the patrol took Dejan to his house, where his parents were waiting, and took Cirovic to the militia station.

Cirovic told us, "They demanded that I wash and put myself in order, but my hands were so cramped that I was unable to turn on the faucet." But Cirkovic wet a little paper and wiped his face. After they took him home, they ordered him to tell everyone in the morning that he had insulted the militiamen with his friends and therefore, they have intervened. If he did not do so, "We will beat you whenever we are in the mood," Cirkovic promised him.

The same night the parents of the two boys went to the militia asking for an explanation. There they encountered Cirkovic and several other militiamen. They were told that no one had beaten their children. When the parents protested bitterly, because it was apparent from their appearance that the children had been beaten, they were thrown out of the station "because they did not know how to talk nicely!"

The next day, the doctor wrote a certificate of bodily harm on the boys that cites swelling, hematomas, bruises on the arms and head, welts on the back 10 centimeters long and 3 centimeters wide, as well as cut and swollen lips and a hematoma on the head the size of a child's palm. Because of these injuries the boys did not go to school for 5 days.

Ten days ago Radisic and Cirovic were called by the investigator of the Secretariat of Internal Affairs to come and make a statement about this incident. He was very friendly and correct, the boys tell us, as if he wanted to show that "Cirkovic is not the militia."

"Constables" and "Gendarmes"

At school, where the two boys attend the fourth course, there is plenty of praise for both of them. Radisic was an excellent pupil, and is now doing very well, while Cirovic has always been excellent, and at the primary school he had been an honored pupil. Both are in athletics, they

have been involved in work activities twice and as early as the third course they were nominated for acceptance into the League of Communists. There have never been any complaints about them either in their families or on the street where they live. Before this incident they had no experience with the militia.

The young militiaman Cirkovic came to this station 2 years ago directly from the school for militiamen located in Sremska Kamenica. We did not find him in Milanovac, because he has been suspended, so we went to his parents' house near Kraljevo. His colleagues described him as "tall, curt, a nice looking lad." They say that from his well-to-do family, he had his own car, and as the militia station asserted, he had had no conflicts with the citizenry.

Trainee Perovic had only come from Kamenica 3 months previously. As long as he is a trainee, the head of the patrol answers for him, so that no disciplinary action is being pursued against him. Through an intermediary we arranged a conversation with him. Unexpectedly, he did not show up for the conversation, obviously not of his own volition.

In the report written immediatley after the incident, Cirkovic admitted that he had used the stick because someone from the group had yelled "ooh queers" at him and Perovic. The disciplinary action has not been concluded, and the public prosecutor's office is interested in the entire episode.

The most uproar, however, was caused by this incident in the school. The comrades and friends of Radisic and Cirovic were embittered. The students assert that for 10 days the presidium of the League of Socialist Youth sought to discuss this incident with the opstina president, but that he was at some sort of meetings. Dissatisfied with the haste with which the whole thing is being resolved and the insisten-e that the incident be concluded "in quiet," the students sent a letter describing the incident to POLITIKA. That is how the incident became known outside of Milanovac.

Nevertheless, the militia station asserts that such incidents are rare and that relations between the young militiamen and the yough of Milanovac are very good. Every generation of young militiamen that comes from school is received better by the young, we were assured at the militia station. But some 10 young residents of the city with whom we spoke noted that the new militiamen, whom they do not know, who have just come to the town, harass and annoy them with increasing frequency.

As one told us, "If we are out on the 'corso' after 10 pm, they chase us home. If someone talks a little loudly, they ask why we are yelling around town, why we run when that is forbidden."

Neither the militia or the town had an explanation as to what drove the young militiaman Cirkovic to prove his "power." A simple explanation probably would not be right. Was he acting that evening under the influence of some notion that the militia was "untouchable?" Or perhaps he wanted the quick fame of a stern and malicious "man in blue" that he could gain by

quickly beating up several boys. Perhaps the presence of the recruit Perovic affected the "old, tempered" Cirkovic who wished to show him how an "old" militiaman controlled his parish. Or perhaps something else is involved?

In any case, however, it seems that in the last year the number of drastic incidents involving the "men in blue" has been on the rise. We might mention just several of the most typical: In PUla, a militiaman used his service pistol to kill a youth he had never seen before, and recently the trial was concluded for three militiamen in Macedonia who killed a youth for making an uproar. Then they threw his body in the Vardar river. In the brigade of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, a former militiaman killed his colleague in his sleep, while a drunken militiaman emptied two clips from an automatic rifle into the walls of a cafe. Recently a Belgrade sociologist came to our offices, asking us to publish his text of protest because he saw a painful scene: a traffic militiaman on Republic Square had slugged a 40-year-old man because he had run across the street outside of the pedestrian crossing.

What is happening with the "men in blue?" Is there some flaw in the selection process, unsuitable training, for it seems to us that it would be normal that people in such a sensitive profession would be "healthier" than the common statistical average of the population. Perhaps among them, within the service, tension grows that occasionally breaks out in such incidents. The topic is one about which silence has generally been kept until now. The difficult economic situation also hits this service most directly. In Gornji Milanovac they told us that a militiaman with 10 years service earns 11,000 dinars, while the trick chief at the militia station with 30 years toward retirement, has reached all the way to 12,500 dinars. Yet these are simply reasons, not justification, for individual incidents in a service that, according to general estimates, performs its job correctly.

Such incidents have multiple negative echo, for it is not good that blows from the "organs of power" be considered as a risk of living in an organized society. To be specific, we all know that the job of the Secretariat of Internal Affairs would be very simple and easy--if we did not have any internal affairs! Unfortunately, we do have internal affairs!

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8 December 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2083

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8 December 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2083

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BULGARIA

PROBLEMS OF CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY EXAMINED

Sofia POLITICHESKA PROSVETA in Bulgarian No 9, 1982 pp 57-67

[Article by Docent Stoil Karatanchev: "Nature and Character of Contradictions during the Building of a Developed Socialist Society and the BCP's Policy for Solving Them"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The problem of dialectical contradictions and their nature and role occupies an exceptionally important place in the philosophical theory of Marxism-Leninism and is of tremendous methodological significance for comprehensive human cognitive, revolutionary and reform, constructive and creative activity. This applies with special force to socialism, under which, according to V. I. Lenin's famous thesis, antagonism disappears, but contradictions remain[1] and continue to be its source of development. Basing itself on the dialectical-materialist doctrine of contradictions and the law of the unity and struggle of opposites, our party's Central Committee simultaneously enriches and applies this doctrine.

Inestimable in this regard is Comrade Todor Zhivkov's personal contribution not only to the theoretical enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of contradictions, but also to the party's practical activity involved with their timely detection and solution conformably with the specific conditions under which socialism is being built in our country. It is this contribution of his, especially in his reports, speeches and statements since the 12th BCP Congress, that is the subject of analysis here. That is why the propagandist's success in disclosing the subject-matter of this theme depends to a great extent on a thorough knowledge of these reports and speeches, especially of Comrade T. Zhivkov's address to student youth on 7 December 1981, in which, with reason, he declared that "some philosophers have even denied the existence of social contradictions in socialist society" and that "now as well there are scholars who still mute their discussion of contradictions under socialism," with which opinions "we cannot agree. . ."[2]

We suggest a model plan of two main points which in our opinion makes possible fullest achievement of the purpose of the training session:

1. Character and role of contradictions under socialism.

2. Overcoming contradictions--the heart of party policy in building a developed socialist society.

In analyzing the first point of the plan it might be well, to begin with, to recall--even if briefly--some of the most important principles of Marxist-Leninist philosophy regarding the nature and role of the law of the unity and struggle of opposites and the categories through which it is formulated.[3]

After this general theoretical introduction to the topic, the BCP's rich historical experience in solving the contradictions in our social development should be pointed out. It is advisable to do this on the basis of the experience of recent years in building a developed socialist society in the country. It should also be emphasized that the main question is not whether contradictions exist under socialism, but what their character is and how they are solved. Of methodological importance as a starting point for a scientific analysis of this question is Comrade T. Zhivkov's formulation in his address to student youth on 7 December 1981, namely that in our society "objective laws and regularities exist, on the basis of which certain contradictions arise and cannot help arising. Our society also develops by detecting and overcoming these contradictions. Whether we like it or not, objectively these contradictions show up. Whether they have their own specific character and differ essentially from the contradictions that operate under capitalism is a different question."[4] At this point one should recall that socialism eradicated the roots of man's exploitation by man, eradicated class antagonisms and achieved social unity, which is a great gain of the new social order. This unity is a great expediter of social progress because it is the cooperation between classes and social groups rather than some irreconcilability in the relations between them that determines society's movement along the road towards the building of developed socialism and towards communism. Here it is important as a matter of principle to note that cooperation that is based on the unity of the fundamental interests of friendly classes and social groups does not preclude, but presupposes the existence of contradictions, which are a source of development under the conditions of the new social order as well.

Hence socialism is characterized by its own system of dialectical contradictions, which are its immanent source of development. In its capacity as leading subjective factor and decisive link in the system of social administration in our country, the BCP from the very first day after the victory of 9 September 1944 has guided the building of the new social order, systematically and steadily solving the urgent social contradictions in all spheres of life.

In their nature and especially in their genesis, the contradictions under socialism can be classified in several basic groups:

First are the contradictions that characterize every social formation. Such are the contradictions between social being and social consciousness, between productive forces and productive relations, between the economic base and the superstructure of society, which here, however, take on a new content and have a socialist character. For example, after the victory of 9 September 1944 our party had to solve the contradictions between the new political superstructure, i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat which had become established in the form of people's democracy, and the old economic base. As is known, the party solved this contradiction by nationalizing industry in 1948 and by

completely unifying agriculture into cooperatives and setting it on a socialist track.

The second type includes contradictions that arose long ago at a certain stage of social development under the influence, mainly, of the social division of labor, and which under socialism and with the transition to communism are entering upon the last period of their existence. Such are the essential differences between city and countryside, between mental and physical labor etc., which show up as well in the stage of the building of a developed socialist society. Here, actually fall "all contradictions inherited from the past, which socialism, as the first phase of communism, cannot overcome at once,"[5] but introduces a profoundly specific character into them. It is a good idea for the propagandist to cite several examples, too. The entire activity of the party and its Central Committee with Comrade T. Zhivkov at its head, aimed at mobilizing the energies of the people for fulfillment of the BCP's program, with the achievements of the modern scientific and technical revolution utilized to the maximum, is a brilliant illustration of this.

The third group includes the new contradictions that arise with the establishment of socialism and that are characteristic of it alone. For example, here we can cite the contradictions between the forms of socialist property, between the working class, the friendly class of the peasantry and the stratum of the intelligentsia etc. Actually, during the building of a developed socialist society in our country, such contradictions continually arise in all spheree of life--in the economy, in social relations, in the spiritual realm, in administration and politics, in the everyday existence and education of the New Man etc. Of such a character, for example, is the sharp contradiction that has appeared in recent years in the economic sphere between the extensive development and the possibilities of intensive development of our economy, which the party and the people are now solving. In large part, the contradictions to which Comrade T. Zhivkov turned his attention in his speech to the October (1981) National Conference are also of such a character.

Also of fundamental significance in analyzing the first point of the plan is the formulation of the question of /the character of the contradictions under socialism/. Here we must proceed from the Marxist thesis that under the conditions of the new order and especially at the stage of the building of mature socialism, nonantagonistic contradictions predominate and determine the character and directions of development in all areas of life. In his reports and speeches since the 12th Party Congress Comrade Todor Zhivkov has repeatedly emphasized that the contradictions in our society "are not antagonistic, and detecting and overcoming them leads not to liquidation of the socialist order but, on the contrary, to strengthening it. For they are solved on its very foundation; they arise, are operative and are solved under conditions where the fundamental interests of society and of its social groups coincide."[6]

For a more thorough comprehension of these initial theses, it is a good idea for the propagandist to direct his audience's attention to the fact that Marxists have already overcome the incorrect understanding that the nonantagonistic contradictions under socialism have lost their characteristic of opposites, that the contradictions themselves are the fruit only of subjectivism or of the

elemental principle in human activity, that their role reduces to only indicators of shortcomings.[7]

It is a good idea on the basis of an analysis of characteristic examples from life under socialism to illustrate that the opposite sides of nonantagonistic contradictions are not in a hostile conflictive struggle between themselves and that the basic trend here results in change to the benefit of both sides. Of course, there is also a certain irreconcilability between these dialectical opposites; it does not, however, pit one against the other as a whole, but is expressed in the struggle between the new and the outdated characteristics and elements of social relations and of particular institutions in the system of social administration. This, in its turn, is a basis for cooperation between the opposites, between both sides of the contradictions that have sprung up in their struggle for liberation from the Old and for strengthening of the New. This specific, nonhostile irreconcilability is an objective basis in principle for solving all nonantagonistic contradictions under socialism gradually, consciously and by peaceful means, under the guidance and usually at the initiative of the Communist Party.

But under socialism there exist as well individual antagonistic contradictions which interact with the nonantagonistic contradictions and have their specific character, too; any attempt, while analyzing the topic, to clarify the character of these contradictions under socialism (however limited they may be) and of the conflict (however specific it may be) would be of undoubted interest. After it has been proved with representative examples that the basic contradictions are overcome as early as the transition from capitalism to socialism, it should be noted at once that individual contradictions preserve their character of antagonistic contradictions since the struggle between their opposite sides is waged totally and uncompromisingly until the complete victory of the positive and leading opposite. Such, for example, is the case of the contradiction between the people's socialist consciousness and the bourgeois vestiges in their consciousness and conduct, which were the object of a thorough analysis in the materials of the July (1976) plenum of the BCP Central Committee. In evidence here is a typical conflict situation even though the "clash" with "the evil spirit," as Comrade T. Zhivkov explained in his speech to this plenum, is often a "clash" of us against ourselves. In such cases, he pointed out, nobody can help us except ourselves. But it is important to mention that the party solves these contradictions during the stage of the building of mature socialism just as it does nonantagonistic contradictions, by peaceful means specific for the new social order, i.e. by the gradual extinction of the negative phenomena, which usually happens deliberately and in planned fashion. Here we may recall some of the more important decisions of the July (1976) plenum of the Central Committee which mapped out a whole system of forms and means for the gradual solution of similar contradictions in the interest of the accelerated development of our society on the road towards the building of mature socialism.

It is worth calling the audience's attention especially to the fact that dialectical thinking does not deny the existence of conflicts and takes a resolute stand against the thesis of the so-called conflict-free situation. All the more so since nonantagonistic contradictions under socialism do not preclude

the possibility of elements of a conflict situation. It is no accident that dialectical thought in our country includes the use of the concept of a "non-antagonistic conflict situation," which reflects the joint and irreconcilable struggle of the New against the resistance of the Old until its final victory, usually by peaceful means on both sides of the contradiction. Some Soviet authors, with reason, speak of two comparatively more important forms of conflict situation under socialism: the first, between individual members of society (between spouses, between parents and children etc.), and the second, between a given collective and a prominent member thereof, including the leader. Consequently, possible conflicts in socialist society differ in principle from the profound social conflicts that shake up capitalism and ultimately lead to socialist revolution.

Under socialism, isolated cases are possible where, mainly as a result of subjectivistic errors in the management and administration of society, some non-antagonistic contradictions may turn into antagonistic contradictions and lead to perversion, deformations and profound social crises and cataclysms. It may be recalled that the deformations in Maoist China and the counterrevolutionary events in certain fraternal socialist countries (Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland last year), for example, have confirmed these possibilities. That is why the BCP Central Committee is making all necessary efforts constantly to elevate the socialist consciousness of the subjective factor and the scientific level of its activity by solving all urgent contradictions in good time.

Comrade T. Zhivkov's personal contribution to the solution of this problem and to the effort to protect the party and people from making subjectivistic erors is especially great. In his address to the student youth on 7 December 1981 he noted that "we, too, have contradictions which are not caused solely by the operation of the objective laws of social development. There are also contradictions which are due to subjective causes, to errors and shortcomings, to the wrong work style and management on the part of the subjective factor and on the part of key cadres and individual institutions. Contradictions of this kind do us tremendous harm and they must be resolutely overcome, too. . . ."[8] Among these contradictions Comrade T. Zhivkov included, for example, a large part of the contradictions in the sphere of health care or legal services, which lag behind the public's needs. That is why the party raised these questions so pointedly at the 12th Congress and at the October National Conference last year. Taking note of our people's historic successes in health care, Comrade T. Zhivkov stressed that "in health care there are also serious reasons for the occurrence of these contradictions,"[9] which must be overcome in the very next years ahead by making the fullest use of the health facilities that have been created in the country and by making a drastic change in the method of health care. The same holds true also for the sphere of legal and administrative services where "thousands of people are given the runaround, their time is lost, and questions are not always solved in complete conformity with the requirements of our laws,"[10] with "moral wounds inflicted" on them.

In summarizing, it is important that the propagandist point out the BCP's implacability towards such phenomena and its consistent concern for the Marxist-Leninist maturation of cadres, as well as something that Comrade T. Zhivkov has observed, namely, that "a characteristic feature in our party's approach to the management of socioeconomic and spiritual processes is that it not only

takes into account the existence of all these contradictions (I refer to both objective contradictions and those that arise for subjective reasons--Author's Note), but also prevents them from festering and becoming a source of social perversions and cataclysms. This is /a historic achievement, a major gain of April Bulgaria. . . In the future, too, we must elevate the creative role of the subjective factor, must intensify its capacity to analyze truly real processes and phenomena, detect in good time the contradictions that spring up and mobilize the working people for their timely solution./"[11]

Winding up the analysis of the first point of the plan, we should note that under socialism its foreign contradictions also affect the entire system of different domestic contradictions. Some of these foreign contradictions have a vividly pronounced antagonistic character, as is the case, for example, with the contradiction of our country, as a component part of the world socialist community, with the imperialist states. Here vivid examples can be cited of our party and government's skill and vast favorable experience in solving these contradictions too, gradually and peacefully, by means of foreign policy and diplomacy, ideological struggle etc.

Thus on the basis of an analysis of our specific experience we arrive naturally at the necessity of saying that thanks only to the BCP's Marxist-Leninist maturity in the timely detection and solution of contradictions has the accelerated development of the country along the path towards the building of mature socialism taken place.

Analysis of the second point of the topical plan must begin by pointing out and giving the supporting argument for the fact that one of the BCP's greatest merits is the ability of its Central Committee, headed by Comrade T. Zhivkov, to detect in time and map out the right measures for solving dialectical contradictions in the process of our society's development. This ability is the heart of the party's overall policy and is a methodological precondition for correctly laying down its general line, its strategy and tactics. The propagandist must try to show all this in operation, with examples from the present stage of our development, especially since the 12th Congress when the party and people have been solving exceptionally important problems. For this purpose the following thought of Comrade T. Zhivkov may be of significance as a point of departure: /"The Central Committee of our Party has attached and continues to attach great significance to the contradictions in our country, constantly endeavors to detect them, makes a timely study of them and maps out comprehensive measures for overcoming them one after another. We are guided by the realization that this is an essential precondition for correctly determining and implementing our party's general line, strategy and tactics."/[12]

Further, on the basis of representative examples, it must be shown that in its leadership activity the party takes into account, first and foremost, the different role of different types and kinds of contradictions in the individual spheres of our social development. In laying down its strategic line of activity the BCP is guided, first and foremost, by the correct determination of /the basic contradiction/ in the economics of socialism, which is not reducible to the contradictions in production relations alone,[13] but refers to the entire system of the mode of production. As early as the Seventh Party

Congress it was pointed out that the role of basic contradiction in our country--primarily in the economic sphere, to be sure--is fulfilled by /the contradiction between social productive forces and socialist productive relations/. This contradiction continues to be basic now too, appearing in both its forms also, /the one/ being a contradiction between socialist production relations and the insufficient degree of development of social productive forces. This made it imperative to formulate in the program adopted at the 10th BCP Congress the goal of building a material and technical base adequate to a mature socialism on the basis of the achievements of the modern scientific and technical revolution. It is precisely this goal that ran through the basic indicators of the Seventh and Eighth Five-Year Plans for the socioeconomic development of the country that were approved at the 11th and 12th Congresses. /The other/ form in which it is manifested is the contradiction between the continuously developing social productive forces and the obsolescent elements of the socialist production relations.

The basic contradiction (in both the forms in which it is manifested) is responsible for the entire system of contradictions, above all in the economic sphere; it functions at all stages and substages in the development of socialism and determines the nature and the main directions of the party and the people's activity, as well as the party's most important measurements of mature socialism. On the basis of it there appear and are solved /the main contradictions/, which at every individual stage or substage of development come to the fore and gradually take on paramount importance for the scientific control and accelerated course of the social processes. It is known that by the end of the 1970's the role of the main and decisive contradiction in our country began to be played by the contradiction that Comrade T. Zhivkov formulated as follows: /"Of exceptionally great--I would say, decisive--significance for our successful progress at present are the detection and overcoming of the contradiction created between the rapidly developing economy, the increasingly complex relations in the production and nonproduction spheres and the objective requirements for the planned and proportionate development of the country, on the one hand, and the significant laggardness in the area of the organization of labor and planning, on the other."/[14] The National Party Conference in 1978 was actually compelled by necessity to map out a system of measures in order to bring the laggard organizational and planning activity into conformity with objective requirements, i.e., in order /"to discuss the problem of improving the socialist organization of labor and the planned management of the economy as a decisive factor in the intensification of the economy. . ."/[15]

At the same time that we recall some of the more important factors in the decision of the National Party Conference (1978) to improve the socialist organization of labor and to further better planning in our country, it is especially important to note that the party is solving this contradiction, too, by new measures undertaken since the 12th Congress. Of paramount importance in this regard is the universal introduction of the new economic mechanism with all its requirements as regards the organization of labor, profit-and-loss accounting, autonomous financing etc. Of fundamental importance among these measures is the introduction of /"the brigade organization of labor/, which under the present conditions of development of the material and technical base is

extremely necessary."[16] But in response to the question whether we can figure on keeping the present brigade organization in the future when the entire economy will be put on a full-automation basis, Comrade T. Zhivkov, using the power of Marxist-Leninist prognostic thinking, answers, "No, we cannot because this form of the organization of labor too, at a certain stage, will come into conflict with the existing level and the new production requirements of the economy as a whole."[17] The future new situation will necessitate other measures for solving this newly arising contradiction. Consequently, the BCP's leading and guiding activity is a continuous process of detecting and solving in good time the contradictions in our development not only in the sphere of the economy, but in all other areas of life as well.

On the basis of this analysis it should be recalled that on their solution the main contradictions cease to play their previous role, and some heretofore secondary contradictions come to the fore and begin to fulfill the role of main contradictions. In recent years the problems in our country that have become increasingly urgent and have gradually, but imperiously come to the fore are "the problems of the material and technical base of developed socialism, of socialist property at the present stage, of the relationship between centralism and decentralism in social administration. Here, in the course of our socioeconomic development new contradictions come to a head and appear; a struggle arises between the New and the Old. The necessity of detecting and overcoming these contradictions was the starting position and basis for the mapping out of strategic and tactical tasks by the 12th Congress. At the National Conference in October of this year (i.e. 1981--Author's Note) they were interpreted more concretely in order to mobilize the party and broad masses of the people for implementation of the specific decisions one after another/."[18]

To disclose more fully that the basic nature and content of party policy are expressed in the solution of urgent social contradictions even during the stage of the building of a developed socialist society, the propagandist may also analyze some other typical examples of party activity in recent years. Especially characteristic is the example of the new dialectical contradiction in the sphere of the economy between the owner and the manager of socialist property that has sprung up in recent years "when the process of the closer convergence and interpenetration of the two forms of ownership reached a very advanced stage. . ."[19] The owner of socialist property in our country is the state by proxy and as representative of the people, but its actual managers are the respective collectives, the working people, who are employed in economic organizations and manage and use this property. The question arises whether there are contradictions here between the state and the labor collectives in respect of socialist property. There are unquestionably contradictions here and they have already been the subject of special scientific analyses, even though in the event there is no place for antagonism because the fundamental interests of the state and labor collectives under conditions of the building of mature socialism coincide and require the continuous strengthening and enrichment of socialist property.

Tremendous credit goes to Comrade T. Zhivkov personally for detecting and solving this contradiction. In clarifying our party's approach towards solving it in keeping with the requirements of objective laws and with the

spirit of the new economic mechanism that has been introduced into the country, he explains: "The right approach to these contradictions required clearing up what the powers, duties and functions of the state are as owner, and what those are of the labor collectives that manage the socialist property. The state has the duty of developing and increasing this property so as to guarantee the basic balances and ensure a continuous rise of the working people's material and cultural level. We are now establishing a system under which the functions of the state shall not extend to the direct control of the property. We are therefore mapping out appropriate measures so as to give the labor collectives ample opportunity to manage the socialist property, increase it with maximum efficiency and develop it simultaneously in the interest of the state and people and in their own interest. S e are doing this on the basis of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism."[20]

It would be a good idea at this point for the propagandist to try to show some features of this new system and the party's more important economic, political, financial, organizational, educational and other measures for solving these contradictions.

With the maturity of its Marxist-Leninist approach and from a position of full confidence as the tested and universally recognized leader of the people, the BCP discovers in good time and solves all the more important contradictions of the present moment in our country, for which decisive credit goes to Comrade T. Zhivkov and to which his personal creative contribution is outstanding. The more important of these in individual spheres of life can be briefly summarized. They have to do especially with contradictions in the political sphere and the area of administration, with the spiritual sphere, the sphere of family and domestic relations etc. For example, in the political sphere and the area of administration, the party is solving, stage by stage, the pressing contradictions between centralism and democratism, taking into account objective requirements and the necessity of a continuous improvement in socialist democracy. It would be a good idea to trace the development of this dialectical contradiction and its stage-by-stage solution by the party in recent decades since the July (1968) plenum of the Central Committee. But it is mandatory that the propagandist dwell on the party's most recent planks and measures,[21] especially those that were adopted at the 12th Congress and since then, and that are aimed at the improvement of economic democracy under conditions of the new economic mechanism and at the development of direct socialist democracy. An important measure in this area is the draft Law on Consultation of the People, recently published for nationwide discussion. Proceeding from the premise that administration and state authority should function on the Marxist-Leninist principle of democratic centralism, this draft law has as its purpose to give new impetus to direct power of the people in our country as the supreme form of socialist democracy. It will create juridical conditions, adequate to present-day requirements, for active participation by the working people in the discussion and solution of the more important questions within the competence of the National Assembly, the State Council and people's councils.

With allowance for the time that the unit has at its disposal, the propagandist must be prepared to analyze some other contradictions as well in various material and spiritual spheres of life in our society that the BCP has recently solved.

The propagandist must be fully prepared to conduct seminars or discussions in the unit on this complex, current and important topic. For this purpose it is especially important to outline the main problems to be talked about and to do such organizational work as is necessary to make timely assignment of questions for expressions of opinion and to render assistance with bibliography, consultations etc. in preparing them. We suggest the following model questions for expression of opinion:

/1. The problem of the role of nonantagonistic contradictions in our country in Comrade T. Zhivkov's recent reports and speeches.

/2. Comrade T. Zhivkov's personal contribution to the BCP's effort to solve the contradictions of a subjective character in our development.

/3. The basic economic contradiction in our country at the present-day stage and the BCP's effort to solve it.

/4. The more important dialectical contradictions in the sphere of our country's political relations and administration in recent years and the directions to be taken to solve them, as outlined in Comrade T. Zhivkov's post-congress speeches and reports.

/5. Characteristic contradictions in our labor collective under conditions of the new economic mechanism./

Certain visual aids may also be used in explaining the topic. Suitable for the purpose are the visual aids for the supplementary materials used in higher educational institutions and in the party educational system in teaching the law of the materialistic dialectic of the unity and struggle of opposites.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Leninskiy Sbornik" [Collection of Leninist Works], XI, Moscow, 1931, p 357.

2. T. Zhivkov, "Da Vuplutim v Realni Dela Resheniyata na XII Kongres na Partiyata"[Let Us Embody the Decisions of the 12th Party Congress in Real Deeds], Partizdat, 1982, pp 94-95.

3. See V. I. Lenin, "Such." [Works], "On the Question of Dialectics"; A. Kutov, "Yadroto na Dialektikata" [The Kernel of Dialectics], Sofia, Nauka i Izkustvo, 1975; "Uchebnik po Osnovi na Marksistkata Filosofiya" [Textbook on the Principles of Marxist Philosophy], Izd. na BKP, Sofia--the relevant chapter on the law of the unity and struggle of opposites etc.

4. T. Zhivkov, "Da Vuplutim v Realni Dela Resheniyata na XII Kongres na Partiyata," Partizdat, 1982, pp 93-94.

5. Ibid., p 94.

6. T. Zhivkov, "Da Vuplutim v Realni Dela Resheniyata na XII Kongres na Partiyata," Partizdat, 1982, p 95.

7. See "Osobennosti Deystviya Zakonov Dialektiki v Periode Perekhoda k Kommunizmu" [Characteristics of the Operation of the Laws of Dialectics during the Period of Transition to Communism], editor-in-chief V. P. Tugarinov, Leningrad University, Leningrad, 1963, p 29.

8. T. Zhivkov, "Da Vuplutim v Realni Dela Resheniyata na XII Kongres na Partiyata," Partizdat, 1982, pp 107-108.

9. Ibid., p 107.

10. Ibid., p 107.

11. Ibid., pp 108-109.

12. T. Zhivkov, "Da Vuplutim v Realni Dela Resheniyata na XII Kongres na Partiyata," Partizdat, 1982, p 95.

13. See Aroyo [Arroyo], Zh., "Contradictions in the System of Socialist Production Relations," POLITICHESKA PROSVETA [Political Education], No 3, 1982.

14. T. Zhivkov, "Za Usuvurshenstvuvane na Sotsialisticheskata Organizatsiya na Truda i Planovoto Rukovodstvo na Ikonomikata" [On Improvement of the Socialist Organization of Labor and Planned Management of the Economy], Partizdat, 1978, p 20.

15. Ibid., p 21.

16. T. Zhivkov, "Da Vuplutim v Realni Dela Resheniyata na XII Kongres na Partiyata," Partizdat, 1982, p 105.

17. Ibid., p 105.

18. T. Zhivkov, "Da Vuplutim v Realni Dela Resheniyata na XII Kongres na Partiya," Partizdat, 1982, pp 97-98.

19. Ibid., p 104.

20. T. Zhivkov, "Da Vuplutim v Realni Dela Resheniyata na XII Kongres na Partiyata," Partizdat, 1982, pp 100-101.

21. See T. Zhivkov, "Da Vuplutim v Realni Dela Resheniyata na XII Kongres na Partiyata," Partizdat, 1982, pp 102-103.

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2. Zhivkov, T., "Otchet na TsK na BKP pred Dvanadesetiya Kongres i Predstoyashtite Zadachi na Partiyata" [Report of BCP Central Committee to 12th Congress and Impending Party Tasks], Partizdat, 1981, pp 23-48, 68-73, 82-110.

3. Zhivkov, T. "Za Usuvurshenstvuvane na Sotsialisticheskata Organizatsiya na Truda i Planovoto Rukovodstvo na Ikonomikata" [On Improvement of the Socialist Organization of Labor and Planned Management of the Economy], Partizdat, 1978, pp 20-23, 33-38.

4. Zhivkov, T., "Let Us Embody the Decisions of the 12th Party Congress in Real Deeds--Address to Student Youth of 7 December 1981," "Na Druznovena Rabota i Borba za Izpulnenie Resheniyata na Dvanadesetiya Kongres na Partiya" [On to Bold Work and Campaigning for Fulfillment of the Decisions of the 12th Party Congress], Partizdat, 1982, pp 88-109.

5. Zhivkov, T., "Nyakoya Problemi i Zadachi vuv Vruzka s Izpulnenieto na Resheniyata na XII Kongres na BKP (Doklad pred Natsionalnoto Oktomvriysko Suveshtanie 1981 g.)" [Some Problems and Tasks in Connection with the Fulfillment of the Decisions of the 12th BCP Congress (Report to the National October Conference 1981)], Partizdat, 1981.

6. Zhivkov, T., "Bulgarskata Mladezh e Kruvno Svurzana s Naroda, Dulboko Predana na Partiyata" [Bulgarian Youth Has Blood Ties with the People and is Deeply Devoted to the Party], Partizdat, 1982, pp 7-19.

7. Zhivkov, T., "Da Izdignem Rolyata na Bulgarskite Profesionalni Suyuzi v Izgrazhdaneto na Razvito Sotsialistichesko Obshtestvo" [Let Us Elevate the Role of Bulgarian Trade Unions in Building a Developed Socialist Society], Partizdat, 1982, pp 9-32.

6474
CSO: 2200/14

PROBLEMS IN YOUNG CADRE SELECTION FOR NOMENKLATURA DISCUSSED

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 37 No 17, 1982 (signed to press 26 Aug 82) pp 641-646

[Lead article by Helmut Mueller, member, SED Central Committee; second secretary, SED Berlin Bezirk Management; member, NEUER WEG editorial staff: "Cadre Work Means Teaching an Attitude of Commitment to the Party"]

[Text] The principal area of struggle for the members and candidates of our party, functionaries in the state, the economy and social organizations is the continued creation of a socialist society in our republic, particularly through the consistent implementation of the policies of principal objectives, of increasing the productivity of the economy and of securing the material and cultural standard of living of the people.

Recognition for the Tireless Efforts of the Cadres

We are proceeding successfully along the path laid out at the 10th Party Congress. The assessment given by comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the Fourth Central Committee Congress also represents a major recognition of the tireless efforts of the cadres in our party, of tens of thousands of nonaffiliated functionaries and friends of the parties allied with us. At the same time, his words: "All our experiences tell us that our greatest reserves lie in the proper use of the cadres," are a major appeal to the managements of party organizations. Under the Marxist-Leninist orientation of the party leadership, with its clear goals, a major process of maturation is taking place among the cadres as the decrees of the 10th Party Congress are carried out. A great number of functionaries who have been active for many years are proving themselves again, while young cadres are gathering valuable experience in struggle and management, which prepares them both theoretically and practically for fulfilling the demanding and complex tasks of the present and the future.

An Important Instrument of Leadership

On the basis of the decree of the Secretariat of the SED Central Committee of 7 July 1977, the cadre programs for the management of basic organizations and for Kreis management became important instruments of leadership for the orderly selection, training, education and employment of cadres in their area of responsibility. To assure continuous, qualified staffing of important functions in the future, an in-

dispensable requirement is the analysis of the situation concerning cadre policy, of political and specialized qualifications, the experience and attitudes of the party's manpower and the predictive assessment of the demands on operation and/or installation.

As directions in the development of our production profile and in scientific, technical and technological developments can be determined more accurately and over a longer term, there is a consistently greater demand in the cadre program for evidence about the need for university and technical school cadres and their specialized and political training and continuing education. Great importance attaches to the composition and distribution of party manpower in the individual main sections. Party managements that keep an eye on talented youth brigadiers and university and technical school graduates, particularly those from Soviet educational institutions, when working out the cadre programs, are acting correctly. They are also assuming that planning for the next generation of cadres always begins with the preparation of the best ones for acceptance into the ranks of the party. These are basic points of departure to ensure the leading role of the party in all sections, on all levels and at all times, as well as to take into consideration that cadre policy must always contribute to the exercise of power of the working class.

Outstanding Workers Are an Important Cadre Reservoir

In selecting functionaries for nomenklatura functions, as well as for the cadre reserve and the new generation, we pay particular attention that personal experience in professional life provides a foundation. Two-thirds of the comrades who are numbered among our cadre reserve began their professional development in production.

The Berlin Conference for Outstanding Workers, with its rich history of tradition, which constitutes a main reservoir for the development of workers cadres, plays an important part in the activity of the bezirk managment, as well as in that of the kreis and party managements.

Concrete political-ideological education of the cadres plays a decisive part in the cadre programs of the party managements. Our party has at its disposal a great stock of functionaries who are experienced and qualified both politcally and in special areas. Of the more than 1,100 who, for example, belong to the nomenklatura of the Berlin bezirk management, the majority have had many years of practical management experience. Almost 80 percent have had thorough training at party schools, and more than 60 percent have graduated from a university or technical school.

There are many comrades, colleagues and friends of youth in the cadre reserve for the different areas of the party, of state management, the economy, science, culture and social organizations who have made great advances in their education. They are constantly striving to implement successfully the tasks assigned to them by the party.

In our work we take into consideration that the degree and extent of management experience among the functionaries vary widely. Only about 10 percent of the functionaries managing the economy, and who belong to the nomenklatura of bezirk management, have been in their positions for more than 10 years. Most of them

acquired their principal experience in work and struggle in the 1970's. In other words: they were managing work in their area during a time in which we were executing the policy of major objectives under conditions when favorable factors such as relative detente in the international arena, mainly in Europe, were having an effect. In working with functionaries, special attention must therefore be given to the circumstance that the international situation has been substantially aggravated as a consequence of the policies of arms buildups, boycott and embargo pursued by the United States. Clarity concerning the changed conditions for struggle, the new, higher standards and the resulting consequences for management activity must be at the center of political-ideological and organizational work with functionaries.

On the Solid Ground of Our Policy

We can assume that functionaries in all areas always take their positions solidly on the ground of our party leadership's policy, determined by penetrating analysis, that they promote it and struggle for its realization. At the same time it cannot be overlooked that many functionaries in state and economic management organs are very quick to state that the general line of the party is clear to them and they would therefore like to deal "with practical matters" quickly. Unfortunately, the results of work show in many instances that the merely superficial solution of such problems as the connection between a policy of arms buildup and the economic war of imperialism against socialist countries and the resulting disturbances in the work of a combine, a factory or a collective is paid for dearly.

Too frequently there is still talk of the new demands of the 1980's, demands for higher quality and work effectiveness. But among the functionaries--and not depending on the length of their work--there are often astonished faces when the proof is presented that the demands that comrade Erich Honecker worked out at the Third and Fourth Congresses of the Central Committee were not put on the agenda out of a clear blue sky and not from one day to the next. It is consistent with the continuity of our Central Committee's policy that today's objectives were worked out, prepared and established over the long term.

Thorough Analysis of the Situation Makes Vision More Acute

In his speech "The Socialist Revolution in the GDR and Its Prospects," comrade Erich Honecker indicated the signs of an intensified course of confrontation on the part of the most aggressive imperialist circles, which can lead to abrupt switches in the international arena. The resulting consequences for our party's policy were set out with complete clarity. The situation is the same regarding the requirements which result in order to ensure dynamic economic growth through determined and profound intensification of production, the most effective use of available funds and monies, increasing our exports, etc.

All the cadres who have made a thorough study of the analysis of the situation and the party leadership's setting of objectives and who have set themselves the same objectives, have sharpened and expanded their vision for their work. This is a lesson which must be taken to heart in connection with the assessment of the prospects for international class discussions which was made by the Fourth Congress of the Central Committee. Comrade Erich Honecker stresses that we must implement our

objectives "in the world as it is, not as many people imagine it to be." That means above all adjusting to the possibility that the international situation may worsen and that this will increase the strains and complications in the area of the national economy.

Thorough absorption of the overall policy of the party, of its strategy and tactics, and absorbing a knowledge of the governing laws, the course and the prospects of the class struggle represent an indispensable foundation for successful management. They are the Marxist-Leninist foundation that every functionary must master from the outset. It requires of the party managements that they combine firmness of principles with a great deal of empathy, patience and endurance in all their dealings with the cadres.

Study Historical Experiences Well

In training the cadres for present and future tasks, particularly in the economy, a knowledge of the historical experiences of our party plays a part that must not be underestimated. In the 37 years since the new beginning, there has not been a period which might be described as easy and uncomplicated. It is clear from a look at the age and party seniority of the cadres: The group of those who are not familiar with the difficult periods of our advance is constantly growing larger. One in five of the nomenklatura cadres in the Berlin bezirk management was born after World War II. In the upcoming generation of cadres there is no one who is older than 35. The number of comrades whose service with the party begins after 1961, a year which left a profound mark on the development of the GDR, is naturally increasing. Among the cadre reserve well over one-third did not become party members until after the Eighth Party Congress. Naturally it is almost 100 percent among the next generation of cadres.

In this context, great importance attaches not only to the presentation of our successful and struggle-filled way. The factors for victory are no less important. Such questions as permanently assuring the leading role of the party in all areas of social life, consolidating our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and cooperation with other brother states are not merely of theoretical importance. They must become part of the flesh and blood of every cadre.

It is the same with respect to solid unity with the workers, to our trust in the creativity, the willingness and ability to produce of the workers and the members of the scientific-technical intelligentsia and of youth in particular. Consequently, party managements are trying hard to impart to comrades of both sexes a good insight into the historical experiences of our development. The reason is: The greater their knowledge of the successful path we have covered and its causes, the firmer will be their conviction that we also have available full-fledged possibilities to master future demands, which continue to grow.

To bring these possibilities to full development--that is the principal responsibility of the cadres in implementing the decrees of the 10th Party Congress and in realizing the tasks established in the concluding words of comrade Erich Honecker at the Fourth Congress of the Central Committee. To do this requires thinking through the tasks thoroughly, great elan as well as objectivity, the enjoyment of taking risks and careful calculation. Enthusiastic agreement with the decrees of the Central Committee

and a basic organization's best program for struggle are worth nothing, if a determined and successful fight is not waged for a rapid increase in the economy's output, for the economically more effective use of science and technology and the manufacture of currency-profitable products.

In realizing the party's decrees, it is above all results that count in judging success. They are the criteria for the understanding of and for the degree of seriousness in affirming the party's policy. So the struggle to fulfil the 1982 plan and to achieve the additional output of 2 days production as well as ensuring the transmitted quotas for 1983 are constantly linked up with the judgement and education of functionaries in economic management.

In addition to the factors of learning, knowledge and experience, the continuing molding of an attitude of commitment to the party among the cadres is acquiring increasing importance. In this respect we feel a sense of obligation to Thaelmann's legacy. In Ernst Thaelmann's well-known letter to a fellow prisoner, he sketched the character traits of a revolutionary in the following words: "The worth and standing of an individual depend on his character. What is the most significant aspect of character in an individual? That he risks his entire being at every moment for the sake of the idea, to gain something more exalted. . . . Being a soldier of the revolution means: Keeping unbroken faith with the cause, . . . showing absolute reliability, confidence, valor and energy in all situations. . . . Loyal and firm, strong in character and confident of victory in action, in this way and only in this way will we . . . be able to help true socialism to final victory."

This party educational activity is most successful, as the experiences of the most advanced basic organizations prove, when it takes place during the course of work, in its attitude to people's everyday problems. Working with cadres is highly responsible work with people. As in general, individual relations, individual judgement and development play a crucial role in working with reserve and next generation cadres. Fundamentally, it clear to everyone which criteria are involved in making a judgement: Party and state discipline, exemplary behavior in production, fighting to fulfil qualitative numbers for the plan, social activity in the collective and at home, aggressive explanation of our policy, independent additional political and job training, etc. What the attention of the managements must constantly be redirected to, is the sheer amount of the demands.

If a person is to be judged correctly, it is always a question of grasping his total personality, his actions, thoughts and emotions and getting to the bottom of the motives for his behavior. Examples of excessive demands can be matched by significantly more examples of satisfaction with normal work results, of tolerance in the face of what is deserving of criticism--in regard to political-ideological effectiveness, solidarity with a collective or an HGL [housing community leadership; or advanced-school labor-union leadership], restraint in confronting slacking on the job, wasting material, energy or finances. On occasion, eyes are inadmissibly closed when "someone kicks over the traces."

Naturally, a management is doing a disservice to the development of the cadres, if ideal standards or standards formed according to one's own self are applied to their development. Approaching the matter in such a subjective way does not produce good results. A person is served just as little by an uncritical attitude and being patted

on the shoulder. On the contrary: Anyone who shields a cadre from justified, pedagogically necessary and beneficial criticism, is harming the development of that comrade. Part of the development of cadres is being educated to adopt a party-like attitude to criticism and self-criticism.

Continuity in Work with the Cadres

The Fourth Congress of the Central Committee underlines the responsibility of all party managements for ensuring continuity in the area of cadre policy through regularly scheduled work with the cadre reserve and young next generation cadres. Party management is turning to this important task with increasing success. Good results in this area presuppose endurance. The development plans written down on paper will only come out correctly as the result of systematic work carried out over quite a long period.

It is proving to be good practice to have put this next generation of cadres under the tutelage of experienced functionaries, so that they can be talked to with patience and empathy and be given appropriate tasks that challenge their talents. This requires experienced party functionaries, who, as V. I. Lenin said, have mastered the art of employing "fresh new forces" and who possess courage in the sense of "giving these new forces the immediate opportunity of developing their talent and proving themselves in multifaceted work." (V. I. Lenin: Works, Vol 30, p 57).

For qualification, promotion in professional and social work takes precedence. In work and in activity on the collective,abilities in the political-ideological and organizational area can be recognized most quickly. Attending party schools, which is presently often the most concrete statement in the cadre programs about the development of next generation cadres, can only be one of various developmental steps.

In working to develop young cadres, we are turning our attention particularly to early selection and testing of FDJ functionaries, of youth brigadiers and members of the scientific-technological intelligentsia everywhere. Through the party managements, these selected cadres must be "set on the track," at the right time and with the proper perspective, towards becoming a professional revolutionary. This is important in the context of the "natural" development time preceding the principal professional actvity in the party, in the state or in the economy becoming longer. Completing middle school, job training, military service in the case of the boys and university study make this the more urgent if "overage" next generation cadres are to be avoided.

In his address to the first kreis secretaries in February 1982, comrade Erich Honecker stressed this: "Working with the cadres is and will remain a key problem of management." Party managements are creating a fundamental precondition for the continuing execution of the party's policy by increasing their efforts to select from the group of young cadres and capable functionaries in our socialist youth association the cadre reserve and the next generation of cadres who, class conscious, in a feeling of solidarity with the masses, active and full of initiative, will struggle to implement the decrees of the 10th Party Congress and of Central Committee.

9581
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'EDUCATION POTENTIAL' SEEN 'UTILIZED INEFFECTIVELY'

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 21 Oct 82 p 6

['Theory and Practice' feature article by Dr Rudolf Pfretzschner, Karl Marx University, Leipzig: "Catchword Socialism--Special Characteristic: Higher Education--Privilege for Everyone?"]

> [Text] Educational expenditures from first grade of general education polytechnical school to completion of education: 1) for skilled workers, 26,000 marks; 2) for vocational school cadre, 45,300 marks; 3) for college cadre, 84,000 marks.

No doubt, our citizens get the education, through the 10-grade polytechnical secondary school and solid vocational training so they can do a topnotch job at work and understand the complicated problems in international development and in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR and the fraternal states.

Furthermore, an increasing segment of the working people are college or technical school graduates so they can cope with the demanding economic and scientific-technical tasks of the 1980's. In 1975, some 70.7 percent of people with jobs had completed graduate vocational training, in 1981, the figure had risen to 81.4 percent. The number of foremen and technicians rose from 3.2 million in 1970 to 4.7 million in 1981. The number of people working who were college or technical school graduates rose from circa 716,000 in 1970 to 1.4 million in 1981, it doubled in other words. That, even on international standards, marks a high educational level.

This high educational level is the result of a far-sigthed and sound scientific educational policy by the SED and our socialist state. A comprehensive and many-sided state educational system provides our citizens with comprehensive general education, solid social science knowledge and high technical training. Our state allocates extensive material and financial funds for it. As the budget for 1981, presented to the People's Chamber and ratified by the deputies, shows, M 10.6 billion go to education and M 2.8 billion to science, technology and research. That is nearly 9 percent of total outlays.

Our working people are getting a fine education, and not only through our socialist state's educational system. Many learn much about Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the political economy, scientific communism, history and other social sciences through the educational institutions and other forms of training given by the SED and the other friendly parties, the trade unions, the youth association and other social organizations.

Educational Speed Is Developmental Speed

If one asks whether we need still more education, the answer can only be in the affirmative. No doubt, the learning process is something all workers are in more or less all their lives. And so this becomes an overall social concern.

The scientific-technical revolution in the 1980's places some specific requirements on the working people's educational level, however. E.g., a broad application of microelectronics in all economic fields calls in many ways for new knowledge and skills. The speed by which new skills and knowledge are acquired greatly determines the speed with which microelectronics can be introduced. Clarity, and the willingness and ability to acquire the latest and shift over to new occupations, therefore is an important educational goal.

Do We Get Enough From Our Educational Potential?

An equally important or even more important question now is whether we are by now using the GDR's educational potential efficiently enough for solving the tasks of the 1980's. And that question can surely be answered in the negative. In his concluding speech at the fourth session of the SED Central Committee, Erich Honecker said: "All our experience tells us that our largest reserves lie in correctly assigning our personnel. Enhanced production refining, on which our economic strategy is based, mainly requires making full economic use of our considerable potential in skilled labor." His critical assessment was that in 1981 still circa 12 percent of all college graduates and up to 22 percent of master workers were employed below their qualification levels. Some 18 percent of all technicians were only used as semiskilled or unskilled workers. All that means is that valuable knowledge and skills, capabilities and abilities of such working people are not used for solving our tasks to the proper degree.

Yet our society can as little afford the waste of educational potential as that of material. Significant reserves can still be tapped by a long-range and purposeful development and the most efficient assignment of the public labor capacity in line with acquired qualifications and occupations trained for.

5885
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PARTY MUST ACT TO MAINTAIN PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Jeno Szanto: "The Moods of Our Society"]

[Text] One wonders if the concept designated in the title can be measured and manifested. Even a single individual's state of mind is influenced by many circumstances, ranging from his state of health to his working place, from the family to the street, to his concern for everyday supply, by which we mean both the provisions and the cultural standard of trade; furthermore, by the fulfillment of his cultural and artistic demands, even by the crowdedness of the transportation facilities (or very rarely the convenience of them), as well as the result of his favorite soccer team's game. The state of mind depends on these and many other things. In this sense, it is not stable. And how much more complicated a structure a country's society is!

Yet, for many years it has been the general view both here at home and abroad that the public state of mind in Hungary is clam, and the atmosphere of work and creativity can be noticed. This is especially valued greatly by the older generation, because they know what events have gone before and what course of development we took before the overwhelming majority of the population accepted and supported actively the policy of the party that is leading our country, and now live, work and think in the spirit of strengthening socialist national unity.

The public confidence and public state of mind are, so to speak, the peak of our attained achievements which we must preserve and strengthen since only mutual trustfulness can help our country through the severe tests to which the world politics, world economy, and their consequences, the difficulties of internal situation puts our people's political capability.

We can remember that hardly a decade ago, heaving a sigh of relief after the end of the imperialist aggression on Vietnam, and with the outlines of the European security conference at hand, in short, in the "classical" period of detente, how much differently we felt and judged the world and our own affairs. It is not boasting to bring to mind that the foreign trade of Hungary had operated roughly at zero balance before the first great oil shock. Then let us remember what shocks our economy has had to endure since then. But in spite of everything, in 1981, our import and export practically balanced each other, and at the same time we have made every outstanding payment at the designated

time--though our debts have considerably inflated and this year's interest has amounted to the total of hard currency export of a decade ago. To be more precise, here at home--though the steady rise of our living standard has been broken--the 12th Party Congress has bravely set the goals to improve our balance situation and at the same time to preserve the obtained achievements. We have, up till now, succeeded in fulfilling these goals. Few countries can claim that personal consumption has increased during these years. Most countries could hardly maintain it. In our country, on average of recent years, more than 100,000 cars, 300,000 television sets, of these 60,000 of them color, have been purchased. The level of savings deposits has increased by 50 billion forints since December 1978. Each year 82,000 to 83,000 apartments are built, and 1,100 to 1,200 elementary school rooms, 3,000 day nursery and 13,000 kindergarten spaces, 2,000 hospital beds are added. The demands, we know, are even greater, but these figures are significant to every man of thinking and understanding.

The important, mood-setting facts are: We place the internal supply over the export. We strive vigorously at remuneration in accordance with performance, namely, the more noticeable and practical translation of the socialist principles. Meanwhile our social policy aims firmly at increasing family income in conformity with our possibilities. In addition to the improvement of the country's financial situation, the protection of the living standard and a regulated pricing policy, we have maintained full employment. All these have shown our party's and our society's determination.

We could keep on listing the undeniable, evident achievements and these have strengthened the belief that our economic policy is sound and that the effort of those involved in the country's leadership and working actively for its implementation has not been in vain. One of the important, mood-setting facts is the conviction that the effort being made by the most responsible leaders are striving for the same thing as are the millions of working people and families. Hence stems the feeling of security which determines the people's civic and communal state of mind. We have reason to be proud of the achievements. But when we list our achievements, we do not do it from a sense of bubbling optimism. There is no reason for that. Because we must not overlook that the maintenance of the living standard--which applies to the whole population--has not been equally successful for all individuals or families. The situation is different for those whose income keeps pace with rising costs; and it is different for those families where, for example, the children who were students have now become skilled workers or professionals, that is, wage-earners. It is again different for those families where former active working members retires. The living conditions of about one-third of our society have become more difficult and we must how great attention and tact in regard to this and must alleviate their worries as much as our possibilities allow us. All this is an important factor of individual and family mood.

In the aggregate, however, our pride, which citizens of few countries can feel, can be fostered by the fact that in the midst of enormous difficulties we have preserved the world opinion of us and our prestige, and so far we have held our ground.

Nevertheless, the demand for correct information gathering makes it necessary to provide other facts. Just as a reminder: Several years ago, our party discussed both the reorganization of the national economic structure and the long-range foreign trade programs, as tasks in conjunction with each other. In both areas things have obviously made progress. However, we must know that we have not yet been able to offset the deterioration of international economic relations to the desired degree through greater efficiency. In other words, the challenge has not been met by a national economy in Hungary with solid consolidation and adjustment in detail to the situation, but by one that has to hold in hand constantly the helm of a storm-tossed ship and navigate it on high sea. The real, lasting and in the long-term, reasssuring response to the aforementioned challenge can only be and should be given from the production side.

That is to say, it is out of the question that our achievements could possibly be due to any kind of favorable development of the world market. No, for every little step we have to fight. For the present and in the foreseeable future, there is no sign for such change in the world. Our public opinion is fully informed of the world political situation burdened with tensions. Our people understand that this situation has an adverse effect on detente and the maintenance and extention of economic relations based on mutual interests. Moreoever, the United States is leading a real world economic campaign, naturally first and foremost, against socialist countries; and, in accordance with the logic of capitalist competition, it does not spare its allies either. The unemployment which is striking the capitalist world is further tightening purchasing power and, with it, the market which in turn lead to further unemployment. And the vicious circle, for the time being, is broadening. All this has intensified the competition to extremes as everyone wants to sell, but to buy as little as possible. In this situation, only products of top quality, which meet world standards in technique and technology and are reasonably priced can make their way.

This has made the above-mentioned fact, that we can remain afloat if we can, first and foremost, quickly align our production, more understandable. That is why we are hearing more than ever about how conditions are being made stringent, and that greater discipline and economy are necessary. There is no denying that these strict orders of the time have perceivable effect on public mood. Not everyone cares for discipline. But the public confidence of the great majority of the people will surely be increased if they experience order, punctuality and determination at their working place. Only in this way can they work efficiently and create conditions to later improve their own living circumstances. Thus, the appeal to and effort for national economy will meet with acceptance. But thrift as an essential view and way of life should show itself not only in investments, material- and energy-saving, but also in forint savings in all areas of our life. In this regard, the words and actions must be congruent. Right is the laborer, the intellectual, the employee who, if expected to cling to every gram of material and every kilowat of energy, demands that no one should spoil the purchasing power of the forint with forced luxury solutions when simple solutions, appropriate to the socialist unpretentiousness would answer the purpose. Today this is simply not only a moral matter, but also a material matter and a matter of truthfulness! In the light of this the people will not harbour resentment against discipline, punctuality and economy

if they are equally mandatory for every one. In fact, it will improve their confidence, because the surrounding world will be more clear-cut, more trustworthy and more just for them.

The forint saving also dictates that not a single forint should be paid out for which there is no product coverage. The government has stated that during the summer some prices--among other things--had to be raised under the pressure of necessity, because from one month to the next more wages had been paid out than warranted by production results. That is, if we did not control forints here, there would be chaos and shortage of goods on the domestic market. We should not forget the balance of the national economy includes not only the external balance, but also the internal balance of the purchasing power and consumption fund.

If today there is anxiety in the public mood, the party organization and other activist organizations must, with forceful explanatory work, direct the strength hidden in this anxiety in a positive direction, to action. In production areas the best answer to that is the improvement of working conditions and the guarding of socialist security. Not everyone is able to take stock of world economic relations. But we must at least clarify the market situation within a profession, a branch, a product made there, and indicate the direction of its technical development. With this the proprietary consciousness, the understanding and the capacity to obtain a comprehensive view will increase.

The understanding of the situation, the appreciation of our achievements, and the everyday struggle for subsequent results can strengthen the conviction that, with the best of our strength and knowledge--and only with that--we can take up the challenges. The goal of this public mood is not to deny the concerns or to check the resulting anxieties, but to do our best to make everyone do everything to overcome those concerns and anxieties.

12200
CSO: 2700/7

CEAUSESCU SPEECHES DURING SOUTHEAST ASIA TRIP REPORTED

Jakarta City Hall Ceremony

AU291833 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Nov 82 p 4

[Speech by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at ceremony in the Jakarta City Hall occasioned by his meeting with Jakarta Governor R. Suprapto on 23 November]

[Text] Mr Governor, Madam, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to thank you for your greetings and wishes and in turn I extend to you, Mr and Madam Governor, the other representatives of the municipality and all inhabitants of Jakarta city, friendly greetings and best wishes on my own behalf and on behalf of my wife and all inhabitants of Bucharest city.

Indeed, this is our first visit to Indonesia at the invitation of President Suharto. During this visit we have concluded good agreements on developing relations between our countries and an active cooperation between Romania and Indonesia at the bilateral and world levels. I believe that Jakarta will occupy an important place in the context of these good relations.

We have gained very pleasant impressions about Indonesia's capital city, Jakarta, and about the life and work of its inhabitants. We have noted with great satisfaction the new buildings going up everywhere today in your capital city.

Socialist Romania's capital city, Bucharest, also has a history of over 500 years. Bucharest has played an important part in the great events of our fatherland's history and in the struggle to attain national unity, carry out the 1944 revolution for social and national liberation and ensure Romania's new and socialist development. Today, Bucharest continues to expand at a fast pace. Some of you who have visited Romania can confirm this fact. I hope that in the future, you Mr Governor, and other Jakarta representatives will visit Bucharest and our country and will be able to personally note the efforts being made by the Romanian people to build a better and more just system and ensure a dignified, free and independent life. In view of the agreements reached with President Suharto on developing Romanian-Indonesian

relations at all levels, I would like to take this opportunity--and I hope President Suharto agrees with me--to invite you, Mr and Madam Governor, together with a Jakarta delegation, to visit Romania and its capital city, Bucharest.

During the talks with President Suharto, we reached the joint conclusion that everything should be done for peace in the world, since only thus can our peoples implement their socioeconomic development programs and raise their levels of well-being and civilization. Therefore, I believe that Bucharest and Jakarta, the capital cities of Socialist Romania and the Republic of Indonesia, should actively cooperate in the struggle for peace, disarmament and relations based on full equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states.

Once again I would like to thank you for the wishes and reception extended to us. I wish you and the representatives of Jakarta's citizens new success in your activity and efforts aimed at ensuring an ever richer and happier life for all the city's inhabitants.

I wish for good cooperation between the capital cities of our countries, Bucharest and Jakarta, and between our countries and peoples!

I wish all Jakarta's inhabitants and all citizens of the Republic of Indonesia well-being, happiness and peace! (Lively applause)

Toast at Singapore Dinner

AU291907 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Nov 82 pp 1 and 3

[Toast proposed by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at the 24 November official dinner in Singapore given in his honor by Singaporean President C.V. Devan Nair]

[Text] Mr President, Mrs Nair, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to thank you for your reception and welcome and in turn extend to you greetings and best wishes.

Our visit to Singapore is an important step in developing Romanian and Singaporean relations and we are convinced that it will open up new prospects for cooperation between our countries at the bilateral and international level, in the struggle to assert the policy of peace, independence and cooperation in the world.

It is necessary for states, regardless of social system, to actively cooperate in promoting their socioeconomic development, ensuring peace and striving for independent development. One should proceed from the need to observe each people's right to independently choose its socioeconomic development path and system, without any outside interference. I am glad to note that the relations between Romania and Singapore are developing in this spirit.

Mr President,

A particular kind of tension has taken hold in international affairs as a result of the policy of redividing the spheres of influence and the policy of force and the threat of force. The world economic crisis is increasingly expanding and the arms race is continuously escalating. All this seriously jeopardizes the freedom and independence of peoples as well as the peace and security of all mankind.

In these circumstances, it is now absolutely necessary to ensure the unity and close cooperation of all states and peoples to halt the aggravation of the international situation, bring about disarmament, primarily nuclear, and ensure detente, cooperation and peace. Reality shows that strict observance of the principles of equal rights, national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage and each people's right to shape its destiny alone, without foreign interference, is the only rational way to guarantee peace and security.

Romania firmly speaks out for resolving all conflicts and contentious problems between states through peaceful negotiations alone. In this respect, I would like to mention first the Middle East problems. We believe it necessary to do everything possible for a lasting and overall peace, for resolving the Palestinian people's problems on the basis of their right to self-determination and the creation of their own state and for ensuring the independence and sovereignty of all states in that region.

We believe that other conflicts, including the problems of Southeast Asia, should be resolved in the same spirit. Romania actively supports a negotiated resolution of the problem of Kampuchea on the basis of national reconciliation and by ensuring the independence, neutrality and nonaligned status of that country.

As a European country, Romania pays particular attention to questions of security and cooperation in Europe and works to ensure that the Madrid meeting concludes with good results and that a conference on disarmament and trust in Europe will be convened. We advocate the continuation of meetings devoted to peace and cooperation. We believe that everything possible should be done to halt the deployment of medium-range nuclear misiles in Europe, bring about the withdrawal of existing ones and create a united Europe of cooperation and peace, without any kind of nuclear arms.

As a developing socialist country, Romania works along with other developing countries to eliminate underdevelopment and establish a new international economic order based on full equality, which can ensure the faster progress of all countries, including those lagging behind, and world economic stability.

The solution of today's complex problems requires that everything be done to ensure the equal participation of all states, regardless or size or social system, to resolve them; it also requires an increase in the role of the United Nations and other international bodies to ensure peace, cooperation and independence.

I would like to mention with great satisfaction the active cooperation of our countries in the international bodies in solving various complex problems in the interest of each nation and of peace in the world.

We are convinced that peoples everywhere, by acting in unity and solidarity, can halt the course toward disaster and can ensure peace and mankind's basic right to existence and independence. Before nuclear bombs start falling, let us do everything possible to prevent their ever being put to use, let us bring about disarmament, primarily nuclear!

In the conviction that our visit to the Republic of Singapore and the talks to be held will give new impetus to relations between our countries and peoples, I would like to propose a toast to:

Your health, Mr President and Mrs Nair!

The health of all of you!

The happiness of the people of the Republic of Singapore!

Cooperation between our peoples!

For peace! (lively applause)

Toast to Malaysian Sovereign

AU291727 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Nov 82 pp 1, 3

["Toast by President Nicolae Ceausescu" at the 25 November official dinner given for him in Kuala Lumpur by the king of Malaysia]

[Text] Your Majesty the King of Malaysia, Your Majesty the Queen of Malaysia, Mr Prime Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen. We are happy to be visiting your beautiful country, and on this occasion to convey to you, on behalf of myself and my wife, cordial greetings and best wishes. We want to express warm thanks for the hospitality accorded to us on the soil of friendly Malaysia and for your welcoming wishes.

Our visit to Malaysia--the first by a Romanian head of state to your country--indeed constitutes a historic moment in Romanian-Malaysian relations.

Although Romania and Malaysia are located at great geographical distance from each other, our countries are developing a fruitful cooperation in the spirit of mutual esteem and respect and of the principles of equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty. In the 15 years since we established diplomatic relations, we have intensified exchanges of visits at various levels which have contributed to a better mutual understanding. Similarly, on the basis of the commercial agreement and the agreement on economic and technical cooperation between Romania and Malaysia, our economic and commercial exchanges have been continuously developing. In March this year we

commissioned our first joint economic venture: The Pekan assembly facility for "Roman" trucks. We are confident that during our visit and the talks we will have we will conclude additional agreements and sign new conventions, thus opening up even broader prospects for mutually advantageous cooperation and collaboration between our countries.

The development of Romanian-Malaysian relations demonstrates that when two countries consistently observe the principles of equality, independence and respect for each nation's right to independently decide on its destiny, without any foreign interference, they can develop sound relations of mutually advantageous cooperation and collaboration, whatever their social systems. In point of fact, life itself has shown that only on the basis of those principles can the states maintain fruitful relations and safeguard international peace and detente.

We live today in very complex times, a time of great tension in the world. The economic crisis is deepening and the arms race is being intensified; that seriously threatens the peace, independence and socioeconomic progress of nations. The policy of zones of influence and of redividing them, and the policy of force and diktat are still being pursued.

The peoples, however, are increasing their opposition to those policies, and are striving to defend their independence and their right to live their lives as they want to, without any foreign interference.

The fundamental problem of our times is to ensure peace. In view of the escalation of the arms race and of the danger of a destructive nuclear war, every possible effort must be made to defend peace. Nuclear bombs will not select or differentiate between social systems, between philosophical or any other concepts; they will sow death everywhere, will destroy the great achievements of human civilization, and will endanger life itself. Faced with such prospects, the nations must join their efforts and closely cooperate to eliminate the policies of confrontation and war, to achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to safeguard the supreme right of nations and of people to life, to a free and dignified existence, and to peace.

We must do everything possible to eliminate force from international relations, to settle all interstate relations only through negotiations. Life has shown that there is no problem, however difficult it may seem, that cannot be solved peacefully if the sides proceed from the right of each people to develop freely and independently, without any foreign interference, if they are reasonable and if they grasp the fact that conflicts or a new world war constitute a grave danger for all mankind, for all the nations in the world.

In this spirit, Romania consistently advocates a peaceful solution in the Middle East so as to establish a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in that area based on Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories and on a solution to the Palestinian problem--in line with that people's right to self-determination and to have an independent state. In the Middle East there is room enough for both an independent Palestinian state and for the State of Israel, and both must coexist peacefully, as must all the countries in that area.

In the same spirit, efforts must be intensified to peacefully settle problems and conflicts, especially those in Southeast Asia in keeping with the interests of peace and security, and permitting the free and independent development of all nations, without any foreign interference. Kampuchea has the right to live in freedom and according to its wishes, free of foreign troops on its territory, and has a right to pursue an independent and nonaligned policy. We believe that solving those problems and turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, free of any foreign interference, can make a major contribution to abating the present tension and bolstering confidence and cooperation in that area and throughout the world.

Your country, which is in favor of and resolutely militates for developing regional cooperation in the various parts of the world, particularly appreciates the contribution that the ASEAN member states can make to promoting cooperation and collaboration among the nations in the area and to the cause of understanding and peace there.

There are many grave international problems that must be solved through the joint efforts of nations. We Europeans are concerned with and devote special attention to the Madrid meeting, which should conclude with the best possible results. We hope that it will convene a conference on confidence and disarmament and that it will ensure the continuity of meetings for peace, cooperation and security. We are struggling to halt the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe and to forge a united Europe of peace and cooperation, free of nuclear weapons.

We devote great attention to developing cooperation among all the Balkan countries and to establishing there an area free of nuclear arms and foreign military bases, an area of peaceful cooperation.

Reality has shown that one of the gravest problems of the contemporary world that must be urgently solved is that of eliminating underdevelopment and establishing a new economic order. The continuous deepening of the world economic crisis, the policy of high credit and interest rates, the discriminatory practices and the inequitable international relations in general have aggravated the situation of the developing countries and have further deepened the gap between poor and rich countries. In view of that, all possible efforts must be made to launch negotiations and to achieve constructive solutions to ensure the more rapid progress of the developing countries, to pave the way for socioeconomic progress, stability and for the development of the world economy. We believe that the developing countries must consolidate their solidarity and cooperation even further. For that purpose, we recommend the organization of a high-level conference of those countries to discuss the complex problems of underdevelopment and of a new world economic order and to set down a common strategy in the struggle for socioeconomic progress and for a new world economic order based on equality and equity and on mutual advantage.

Romania resolutely recommends that all international problems be settled with the equal participation of all the states, regardless of social system or size. Thus, a more important role must be played by the small and medium-size countries and by nonaligned and developing countries, which are in the majority

in the world and which are directly interested in a policy of equality, national independence, cooperation and peace.

The role and contribution of the United Nations to solving problems and democratizing international relations must be increased.

We hope that Romania and Malaysia--which actively cooperated at the United Nations and in other international bodies, and generally hold common positions on many contemporary issues--will cooperate even more closely in the future, in the interests and for the benefit of their peoples and of the general cause of detente, cooperation, national independence and peace.

Your Majesty, we must do everything possible to strengthen the joint actions of nations everywhere, since they are the ones that have to bear the brunt of war and of economic crisis, that can stop the march of international affairs toward an abyss, and can ensure the resumption of the policy of detente, the triumph of reason, peace and social and national justice.

Convinced that our visit to Malaysia, our talks and the agreements we will conclude will give a fresh impetus to our cooperation and friendship, I propose a toast to:

--The health of His Majesty the king of Malaysia!
--The health of Her Majesty the queen of Malaysia!
--The health of Mr Prime Minister!
--The progress and happiness of the friendly Malaysian people!
--The Romanian-Malaysian friendship and cooperation!
--The health of all of you!
--Peace and cooperation in the world! (Lively applause)

CSO: 2700/39

CEAUSESCU TALKS TO INDONESIAN NEWSMEN

BK231139 Jakarta ANTARA in English 0843 GMT 23 Nov 82

[Text] Jakarta, 23 Nov (ANTARA-OANA)--President Suharto and President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania hold the same view on international issues, particularly concerning world peace and formation of a new world economic order.

"We entertain the same view and President Suharto also believes that all nations should mutually respect each other's sovereignty and do not interfere in the affairs of other countries," said Romanian President Ceausescu Tuesday here answering news papermen's questions.

The Romanian president arrived here Monday on a three-day state visit.

He made this statement after he had a second meeting with President Suharto Tuesday morning for one hour beginning 0900 hours local time (0200 GMT) at Istana Merdeka. Their first talks took place Monday morning.

Said President Ceausescu through an interpreter, "We have drawn the conclusion that cooperation should be stepped up and holstered in order to attain a better international life."

Queried if during his talk with President Suharto he had touched on the relations between Indonesia and the People's Republic of China, the Romanian state visitor said "No".

However Ceausescu added that the question of Indonesia-China relations should be settled between the two countries themselves.

Asked if the Indochina question including the Kampuchean problem had been touched upon, President Ceausescu diplomatically replied, "We discussed international problems and questions relevant to the mutual interest of Indonesia and Romania".

He stressed the necessity of peace and cooperation among all nations for the sake of the realization of a new world economic order.

This press statement was made as President Ceausescu left Istana Merdeka where he had met with President Suharto on his way to Wishma Negara (State Guest House).

He had earlier refused to make any press statement but seeing he was being followed by newsmen he finally acceded to talk to them if only for five minutes.

Tuesday morning President and Mrs Elena Ceausescu visited the Kalibata heroes cemetery and the beautiful Indonesia mini park.

CSO: 2020/5

CEAUSESCU TOAST AT DINNER IN JAKARTA

AU251648 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Nov 82 p 3

[Toast by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the 22 November dinner given for him in Jakarta by Indonesian President Suharto]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President, Mrs Suharto, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I cordially thank you for the invitation to visit Indonesia and for the welcome and hospitality extended to us and in turn I extend to you, Mr President and Mrs Suharto, all your aides and all the friendly Indonesian people warm greetings and best wishes.

Our visit to your beautiful country is an expression of the positive evolution of Romanian-Indonesian relations and proof of the common desire to give ever broader dimensions to these ties.

We have the pleasure of noting that the Romanian-Indonesian relations have developed considerably in recent years. We believe that the ever growing economic and scientific-technical potential of Romania and Indonesia presents great opportunities for developing broad and mutually advantageous cooperation, particularly in such important economic sectors of mutual interest as the extracting industry, petrochemistry, machine building and so forth.

The different social systems of our countries should not be an obstacle to developing broad international cooperation. As a matter of fact, life clearly proves that in this day and age all states should develop ties of cooperation based on full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage. Our countries act in this spirit and it is in the same spirit that we conducted our talks today. Therefore, I express the conviction that we will further stimulate Romanian-Indonesian relations during this visit.

Mr President, the Socialist Republic of Romania is fully engaged in implementing a broad program of socioeconomic development and raising the overall material, intellectual and civilization level of all the people; at the same time it actively promotes a policy of cooperation, peace and detente among all states, regardless of social system.

We are very concerned about the tension in international affairs, the scope of the arms race and economic crisis and the worsening of the situation in the developing countries.

It is true that the peoples are determined to powerfully assert their determination to promote a policy of peace and independence and to ensure their own socioeconomic development. Reason and common sense must triumph in the struggle between these two contradictory trends in international affairs; everybody should comprehend the meaning of peace and show respect for each nation.

Many weapons, particularly nuclear, have been accumulated in the world; they can destroy all of mankind several times over. Therefore, the basic problem of our age is to halt the arms race, proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear, secure peace and defend the vital right of men and peoples to a free and dignified development, life and peace.

We must do everything possible to resolve the contentious problems existing in various parts of the world through negotiations alone. No matter how difficult or long such negotiations are, they are much better than wars and represent the only way of ensuring the free existence of peoples and peace in the world.

In this respect, it is enough to just mention the Middle East problems. We believe that everything should be done for an overall peace in the area leading to Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories and the resolution of the Palestinian people's problem by creating an independent Palestinian state. There should be an independent Palestinian state and the State of Israel in the Middle East and relations of good-neighborliness and cooperation should be developed between all states.

This is how we believe that other problems, too, including those in Southeast Asia and Indochina, should be resolved. We appreciate the position taken by Indonesia and the ASEAN countries for a political solution of problems in that part of the world and for turning Southeast Asia into an area of peace and cooperation among all states.

A very serious situation has developed now in Europe as a result of the concentration there of the most important weapons, including nuclear ones and the existence of the two military blocs. Romania, therefore, firmly works to successfully conclude the Madrid meeting on security and cooperation, convene a conference on trust and disarmament in Europe and ensure the continuity of meetings on cooperation and peace started in Helsinki.

We deem it necessary to do our best to halt the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe, to seek the withdrawal of existing missiles and to create a united Europe without nuclear arms.

In this respect, we attach great significance to cooperation among Balkan countries and turning that region into nuclear-free zone, without foreign bases.

One of the serious problems facing mankind today is the growing gap between rich and poor countries. Concerning the developing countries, we should work to strengthen their solidarity and cooperation so as to give new impetus to talks between developing and developed countries in order to attain a new international economic order.

In order to resolve all problems it is necessary to ensure the equal participation of all nations, regardless of size or social system. We attach great importance to small and medium-sized countries and the nonaligned movement. Likewise, we deem it necessary to do everything possible to increase the role of the United Nations and other international bodies to democratically resolve the complex problems in international affairs.

As is well known, Mr President, large demonstrations against war and for peace have taken place and continue to take place in Europe. One can say that--in order to attain peace, establish a new economic order and build a better and more just world--the peoples must play a more decisive role and firmly impose their will.

I would like to note with much satisfaction that, concerning the complex problems of international affairs, Romania and Indonesia cooperate actively in international bodies. This cooperation proceeds from the fact that our peoples want peace and want to live in freedom, independence and equality, which actually all nations wish for themselves. We are convinced that this cooperation will play an important role in the future, too, in solving international problems.

I would like to again express the conviction that our visit and talks will open up new prospects for cooperation between our countries, for the benefit of both peoples and in the interest of the cause of international peace and cooperation and independence for each nation.

With this conviction, please allow me to raise my glass and toast:

An ever more durable cooperation between Romania and Indonesia and between our people!

The well-being and happiness of the friendly Indonesian people!

Your health Mr President and Mrs Suharto!

The health of all of you. (loud applause)

CSO: 2700/35

CEAUSESCU TOASTS PAKISTANI LEADER IN KARACHI

AU252050 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Nov 82 p 2

[Toast by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the 21 November Karachi dinner given in his honor by Pakistani President Ziaul Haq]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President,

Ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to thank you for the hospitality and cordial reception extended to us and for your words of appreciation about the Romanian people and the cooperation between Romania and Pakistan. We are glad that this short visit gives us the opportunity to meet again with you and your aides and to warmly greet you and the friendly Pakistani people.

Indeed, broad relations of economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation are developing between our peoples as well as close cooperation at the international level. We attach great importance to cooperation between our countries and believe that your visit to Romania and the talks and understandings reached on that occasion have marked a new and important point in the development of this cooperation and these ties.

Both Romania and Pakistan are firmly engaged along the road of independent socioeconomic development; hence, strengthening cooperation between them becomes all the more important. The proceedings of the joint Romanian-Pakistani governmental commission, which concluded recently, and the conclusions they reached will mark an important point and open up new prospects for implementing agreements concluded and developing a comprehensive and mutually advantageous cooperation.

It is worth mentioning the fact that relations between our countries are based on principles of full equality of rights, mutual advantage and noninterference in domestic affairs; therefore, they are recording an ever more powerful development.

Life and world events clearly demonstrate that the peoples should firmly act to continuously consolidate their national independence by increasing the economic potential of their countries and improving the living standard of the

people as a decisive element of strengthening each nation's independence and sovereignty. It is all the more necessary to stress this point how that the world economic crisis has worsened and such trends as interference in the affairs of certain states, the imposition of political conditions and the widening of gaps between rich and poor countries are appearing in international affairs.

As is well known, serious tension has developed in international affairs: the economic crisis is becoming worse and the scope of the arms race ever larger, all of which seriously jeopardizes peace and the independence and socio-economic progress of peoples. One can state that today the issues of halting the arms race, bringing about disarmament, primarily nuclear, and securing the peace of all nations are the key tasks of our age. The current level of armaments and the prospect of a devastating nuclear war necessarily require that everything be done to defend peace. Nuclear bombs will not be choosy and will not take into account any kind of difference in social system, philosophical concept or anything else. They will spread death everywhere equally and will destroy huge achievements of human civilization. Proceeding from this we believe that we should do our best to resolve contentious problems between states through negotiations alone.

It is in this spirit that we view the solution of problems in your area, including the problems in Afghanistan; such as solution should ensure Afghanistan's independence and sovereignty, put an end to any outside interference and create possibilities for the Afghan people to independently resolve the problems of their democratic socioeconomic development, along the road of progress, in accordance with their wishes.

This is how we also view the serious problems in the Middle East. Indeed, Israel's aggressive actions in Lebanon have created a very complex situation. World public opinion has firmly advocated an end to this intervention, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and respect for Lebanon's independence, integrity and sovereignty. We believe that everything should be done now to reach an overall peace in the Middle East, which should also resolve the problem of the Palestinian people by ensuring their right to self-determination, including the creation of an independent Palestinian state. There are, of course, several proposals in connection with what should be undertaken to this end. We believe that all of them should be taken into consideration. In this respect, one should convene an international conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestinians and the PLO. There must be an independent Palestinian state in the Middle East as well as the state of Israel and all states should establish relations of peace and good-neighborliness between them. Even the recent events in Lebanon proved that there can be no military solution and that everything should be done toward a political and negotiated solution.

There are many problems in international affairs. In this respect, I would just like to mention the concern of European countries with ensuring that the Madrid meeting attains positive results in strengthening security and cooperation and ensuring the continuity of meetings started in Helsinki and convenes a conference on disarmament and trust in Europe.

We are concerned with halting the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and bringing about the withdrawal of existing ones.

Concerning the Balkans, we advocate a nuclear-free zone, without foreign military bases, and peaceful cooperation among all Balkan states.

I deem it necessary to briefly mention the very serious problems of underdevelopment. The developing countries should increase their cooperation and solidarity and should act in greater unity to make sure that the rich countries adopt a constructive stand at the current negotiations with a view to establishing a new international economic order. During the talk we shall conduct this evening, Mr President--it's true, the hour will be pretty late--we will undoubtedly discuss these very important problems both for our countries and all the developing ones.

Romania firmly speaks out for resolving all complex international problems with the equal participation of all states, regardless of social system and size. Of course, we understand the responsibilities of the great powers, but we also understand that problems cannot be solved by the great powers alone and that all peoples should assume responsibility and actively participate in attaining agreements that will ensure the right of each nation to free and independent development.

I would also like to stress that our position on complex international problems are the same or very close and that during our talks in Bucharest we reached joint conclusions on strengthening our cooperation and participation in resolving these problems.

One should work to strengthen the role of nonaligned countries in international affairs, to strengthen their unity and cooperation and the solidarity and unity of developing countries.

We would like Romania and Pakistan to continue to actively cooperate internationally--along with cooperating for their socioeconomic development--for a policy of peace, national independence, detente, each nation's socioeconomic progress and peace.

Although today's visit is very short, it is part and parcel of the good relations between our countries and ourselves personally and I hope that our talks tonight will contribute to further developing Romanian-Pakistani cooperation and friendship.

With this conviction, I wish the friendly Pakistani people ever greater success in their socioeconomic development, well-being and happiness!

I wish for an ever broader and more lasting cooperation between our peoples and countries, between Romania and Pakistan!

To your health, Mr President!

To the health of all of you! (lively applause)

CSO: 2700/35

FRENCH JOURNAL DISCUSSES PROBLEMS FACING REGIME

Paris ETUDES in French Oct 82 pp 307-321

[Article by Edith Lhomel: "Romania: A Regime With Its Back to the Wall"]

[Text] Romania is currently going through a political, economic and financial crisis that has led many Western observers to liken the country to a "second Poland." It is true that these two Eastern countries exhibit several identical symptoms of crisis. In the past two years, the Romanian economy has in fact experienced a major drop in its growth rate. Its foreign debt amounts to over $10 billion, while shortages and rationing measures have hit the main food products. The Romanian Communist Party (RCP), headed by the all-powerful Nicolas Ceaucescu, has tried, in a kind of general panic, to remain the sole indisputed master of the country by resorting to increasingly repressive measures. Confronted with this totally discredited government, the people are not only endeavoring to respond to the gradual undermining of their slim gains, but also to organize.

While it is undeniable that 17 years of "Ceaucescuism" have affected the country's domestic and foreign policy in a very specific way, so that likening the case of Poland to that of its Romanian counterpart would, with respect to an analysis of the causes of the current crisis, amount to a pure amalgam, it is nevertheless indispensable to measure the implicit economic, political and social effects of the events in Poland over the past two years on the current Romanian crisis.

For a long time, Romania has appeared as the *enfant terrible* of the Eastern bloc countries. As soon as he took over the reins of power in March 1965, Nicolas Ceaucescu undertook to erect as the main axiom of his policies what his predecessor Gheorghui-Dej had already outlined. Consequently, there was a fierce affirmation of national independence, one so spectacular that very quickly, the exhibition of independence was considered as a kind of possible path toward "desatellization." It is true that Ceaucescu's diplomacy succeeded, thanks to a shrewd combination of boldness and caution, in imposing the image of a "national communism" in a country where the exaltation of patriotism and national sovereignty was destined to serve as a catalyst for an economic take-off made all the more laborious and costly because it intended to make use of the least possible "aid" from its powerful neighbor. The independent line followed by the RCP was to lead to a rapid industrialization economically speaking and internationally, to an intense, all-points diplomatic and

commercial activity. The Romanian "dissidence," whose birth goes back to the RCP Central Committee resolution of 27 March 1964,[1] enabled Ceaucescu to enjoy definite popularity during the years from 1965 to 1970. A large part of the population then gave its support for policies which, although they did not procure immediate and substantial material satisfactions -- presented by the authorities, we should note, as the main objective of the mode of economic development adopted -- did have the undeniable merit of giving a people whose nationalist feelings had long been repressed the possibility of peaceful resistance to the meddling of the big Soviet brother. As Serban Orescu so accurately put it: "In evoking the spectre of a Soviet threat, Ceaucescu is trying to impose a "patriotic silence" on the Romanian people. By publishing the rigorous orthodoxy of Romanian communism, he is asking the Soviets to observe an "ideological silence."[2]

It has therefore been through this astute but dangerous dialectic that Romania has been able, until recent years, to appear on the international scene as a kind of champion of national independence, which, through a ricochet effect, could not fail to constitute an ideal springboard for the development of privileged economic and political relations with both Western nations and all the countries of the Third World.

But the constant contradiction between the liberties taken in international politics and the lack of freedom at home has now been greatly exacerbated by a resurgence of tension in international relations and the worsening of economic and financial difficulties inside the country.

Undivided Power

These difficulties, which are both the cause and consequence of the economic strategy chosen, have led to a substantial hardening of the regime, which, clinging to its privileges, is beginning to exhibit its most flagrant defects, helped by the current crisis. These defects partly stem from the monopolization of the government by a limited group headed by Ceaucescu and several members of his family. For example, his younger son, Nicu Ceaucescu, has had a meteoric career, to say the least, and now appears to be the successor to the throne, while his wife, Elena Ceaucescu, is the regime's No 2 man, after remaining in the shadow of her husband until 1972.

The prevailing nepotism is accompanied by a concentration of power in the hands of Ceaucescu, who combines the duties of secretary general of the party, chairman of the Council of State, the Council of Defense and the High Council for Economic Development, and finally, president of the republic. As for the personality cult which the person of the secretary general enjoys, it has ended up by destroying any energy in Romanian political life, reducing it to the megalomania of a single man.

And yet, in this type of "personal" regime, the Romanian Communist Party remains the privileged instrument of control and recruitment. The leaders are members whose essential quality is obviously loyalty to the "*Conducator*." Membership in the RCP has recently gone from 3,044,336 in 1980 to 3,150,812 in 1981 for a population of over 22 million.[3] Application of the principle of

a "rotation of leaders," which results in frequent demotions and shakeups both in the party and the government, is aimed at preventing the formation of any area of dissent within the realm of power.[4] The frequent changes in political personnel also serve to provide an exasperated population with veritable scapegoats, thus concealing the source of economic difficulties. The "leadership walse" was particularly noticeable in 1981 (eviction of the ministers of oil, finance, the food industry, radio-television, tourism and sports) and on 21 May, resulted in an actual reshuffling, the main reasons for which escape the observer. Prime Minister Ilie Verdet, brother-in-law of the president's wife, was removed and the group of deputy prime ministers, previously made up of eight members (all removed), was reduced to four, including the sister and brother of Elena Ceaucescu. The only common trait of these shakeups since 1971 has been a strengthening of Ceaucescu's personal power.

Confronted with the rising discontent of the population, increasingly aware of being totally deprived of the fruits of its economic and political emancipation effort, the regime is now trying to strengthen the ideological and political hold of the party over all economic, cultural and social life. No pocket of dissent, however timid it might be, will henceforth be tolerated by a government at the end of its rope. For example, the failure of the attempt to rein in the Writers Union in July 1981, one of the rare institutions to retain a democratic type operation, led authorities to use strong-arm tactics in May. The repression of intellectuals resulted in a wave of arrests in scientific and literary circles, while the discovery of an unusual conspiracy aimed at withdrawing Romania from the Warsaw Pact and orchestrated by a transcendental meditation sect -- whose official raison d'etre in Bucharest was in no way subversive a priori -- provided an excuse for many dismissals among the psychologists, anthropologists and musicians. In order to strengthen the party's authority locally and in the enterprises, control of the economic and social activities of the Workers Councils was recently taken from the unions and given directly to the local committees of the RCP. One must add here the creation of a new corps of propagandists made up of personalities occupying high posts in the party, government and mass organizations. Their task is to disseminate the political and economic decisions made at the highest levels and to train other propagandists throughout the country.

The establishment of these new corps of instructors, whose purpose is to regiment the population more tightly and to reintroduce a kind of internal vigor into the highly bureaucratic party apparatus, is joined by a stepped up organization of Romanian youth. In March 1982, membership in the Union of Communist Youth, whose secretary is Nicu Ceaucescu, and the Associations of Communist Students was declared obligatory for all young people from the age of 14 on up and a campaign to extend enrollment in the unions to young people between the ages of 26 and 30 was launched through the means of a new type of membership: associate membership. The royal power exercised by Ceaucescu is thus accompanied by an ever increasing consolidation of the hold of the RCP and its auxiliaries over all areas of life of the Romanian people.

The events in Poland exert great influence here, for while the Romanian leaders welcomed with obvious relief the attempt to crush Solidarity, the "expression of antisocialist elements," they nevertheless distrust the role

played by the army, a role which the Romanian press has practically not mentioned. In their opinion, the POUP was to remain the "principal guarantor" of the implementation of the line of socialist renewal" and it is clear that Bucharest looks askance upon the shelving and loss of authority in Poland of the Communist Party, which in Romania represents the essential bulwark of power.

Impact of the Polish Crisis

In addition, the Polish crisis has provided the opportunity for a singular distortion in the principles of noninterference in internal affairs, equality and mutual respect between nations, principles which Romania reaffirmed emphatically and not without flair at the time of the occupation of Prague in 1968 by the Warsaw Pact troops, inasmuch as its own troops did not participate in the maneuvers. But times have changed. Romania, mainly concerned about protecting itself from the possible consequences of the "Polish renewal," has not hesitated to join the other Eastern countries in bringing pressure on Solidarity. Between the preservation of the renowned "autonomy" of Romania vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the need, in the face of the budding economic crisis combined with the danger of an explosion of popular discontent, to check a possible "Polish-type contagion," Ceaucescu has not hesitated to adopt the second position, aware of the erosion of his political legitimacy.

Since the mood for international detente has passed, the "original" position of Romania, consisting of escaping, at least outwardly, the logic of the blocs by playing the card of nonalignment, is at least shaken. The possibility of a "Romanian way" has lost even more credibility on the international scene since Romania then decided, given the gravity of the economic situation, to issue an appeal to the CEMA organization at the Sofia summit conference in July 1981. The appeal asks for development of economic cooperation between Eastern countries with it understood, according to the wishes expressed by the Romanians, that such cooperation should favor the least industrialized CEMA countries, of which it is one.

Caught in its own contradictions and unable to continue to mobilize its opinion on the theme of the "foreign threat," the regime has decided to become the "poet of pacifism." Beyond the very ambiguity of the move, it is clear that the regime hopes to make the theme of peace and disarmament a kind of safety valve for the discontent of the population. But can it really work and thus make Romanians forget their daily difficulties? That Ceaucescu should once again resort to the proven technique consisting of diverting attention from internal problems through the use of international action, in order to once again defer the balance sheet of 25 years of exaggerated industrialization, now sanctioned by an impressive foreign debt, today seems obvious.

Structural Crisis

The first signs of a veritable crisis stemming from an economic strategy which, beginning in the 1960's, consisted of giving priority to rapid industrialization of the country at the expense of agriculture, however promising,[5] are not new. While a general slowdown in growth rates could be seen in the 1970's in

all East European countries with a planned economy, encouraging them to use more moderation in their 5-year plans, Romania nevertheless decided to have a plan as ambitious for 1971-1975 as previous ones, only accentuating the already perceptible distortions of an industrialization with exaggerated objectives. Overinvestment and low productivity, the lack of adaptation of labor to technology bought at a dear price from the West, the irrationality and giant size of some facilities, the backwardness of agriculture and chronic supply problems then began to hinder the country's economic development in a profound way.

Anxious to make their country an industrial power, the Romanian leaders obstinately insisted on giving it a petrochemical and iron and steel industry requiring large quantities of raw materials, along with other advanced industries such as data processing and computers, aerospace and automobiles, whose products, in order to be competitive, implied the purchase of a costly technology which the country bought on credit from European partners. The international situation from 1970 to 1975 found Western bankers only too ready to loan without restrictions to countries like Poland or Romania that constituted "good risks."

Initially adequate in a country with an essentially agricultural tradition, the Ploesti oil deposits were soon too small to supply a large petrochemical industry. Romania, which became a net importer of energy in 1975, was thus forced, like Western nations, to suffer the full effect of the oil crisis, worsened in its case by the Iranian-Iraqi conflict which, by depriving it of two of its main suppliers, forced it to turn to the USSR in 1979[6] for part of its supplies.

But the problem of the profitability of heavy industries with increasingly prohibitive operating costs does not stem solely from the circumstances of the international market. The poor results obtained in mining and petroleum extraction compared with programmed objectives -- disproportionate compared with extracting capacities -- are a clear example of the short-sightedness of the political and economic leadership of a country with resources that are definitely good, but sold off too cheaply and even overestimated.

Debt Trap

Maintaining the refining capacity of the petrochemical industry therefore required growing oil imports, causing a rapid deterioration in the trade balance ($2-billion deficit for oil products alone in 1981). This limitation became all the worse because since agriculture was neglected for the benefit of industry, Romania also began to have a deficit in its agrofood trade in 1978. Nor is that all. Like Poland and Hungary as well, Romania is now heavily in debt to the Western countries, as the burden of service on the debt has rapidly neutralized the anticipated advantages of the borrowing policy. Having adopted the theorum of Polish leader E. Gierek: "We go into debt today to build the plants of the future whose production will make it possible to repay the debt," the Romanian economy turned out to be incapable of supplying truly competitive products and on time. Caught in the trap of the spiraling debt, Romania, declared in default in November 1981, had to officially admit, after much beating around the bush, that it had to restructure its

short-term debt, amounting to over 40 percent of its foreign debt (an estimated $10-$12 million). This request for a partial rescheduling concerning payments due in 1981 and 1982 sowed panic among Western financial circles. Actually, the additional charge stemming from the rescheduling of the Polish debt clearly hurt Romania, as the creditors' threshold of tolerance had been lowered by it. This element of "collective psychology" was joined by the lack of transparency of the Romanian economy: The authorities reticence about giving out reliable statistics only accentuated the distrust of Western lenders.

International Monetary Fund: Start of a Solution?

The only short-term solution to the problem of Romanian indebtedness seems possible only from the IMF, which Romania joined in 1972 in order to enjoy the same advantages as developing countries and desirous of having easier access to Western markets. The possibility of such aid[7] was recently increased by the release in June 1982 of a large share ($500 million) of a loan amounting to $1.2 billion, which the IMF decided in June 1981 to grant Romania. But the IMF attached Draconian conditions to its loan, requiring a reform in price and exchange systems, as well as a rapidly rehabilitation of the commercial trade balance, which had shown a steady deficit since 1976. Fulfillment of the first condition resulted in a price increase of nearly 30 percent for the people. As for the trade balance, it presented a surplus of $304 million for 1981, thanks to a radical drop in imports. These were the first results -- definitely positive -- of a policy of everything for export which, on the other hand, heightened the people's difficulties in obtaining supplies.

Forced to "freeze" certain production capacities, to tighten the already harsh program of energy conservation even further, and counting on an improvement -- however hypothetical -- in productivity, the Romanian planners preferred to carry out heavy cuts in imports of energy and raw materials and to continue to give priority to the obtention of Western products and technology. In their opinion, this difficult choice would permit the manufacture of rapidly exportable goods. But the problem of marketing these products still exists, given the protectionist climate now prevailing on the international market.

The fact nevertheless remains that the reduction in imports would only hinder the normal operation of the industrial apparatus. The economic results for 1981, far below planned objectives, confirm the sudden slowdown in economic growth resulting from this race toward industrialization.[8]

An Internal structural reform, definitely necessary in order to soften the hypercentralization of this type of economy, can only come about through a certain "liberalization." But is a government as rigid and bureaucratic as the Romanian regime capable of proceeding to make any reform without risking having its authority undermined by that reform?

Institutionalization of Rationing

The Romanian standard of living is the lowest of the Eastern countries. The orders of October 1981, which in a way institutionalized rationing by setting consumer standards for basic products[9] and by setting forth very repressive

legislation for the crime of hoarding, did nothing but confirm -- and aggravate -- a situation that had actually existed for several years. In addition to the severity of penalties meted out (6 months to 5 years imprisonment, plus heavy fines) for hoarding more food products than needed for the month, it is the lack of precision of decrees now governing rationing that appears to be the most dangerous: The list of products involved is not restrictive and the definition of monthly needs is left up to the competence of local authorities, the people's councils.

In the guise of regional "self-sufficiency," the latter are to ban any provisioning of the people outside of places imperatively defined by virtue of the rule of self-sufficiency by department.[10] The establishment of this type of "regional autarchy," which considerably broadens the power of the people's councils of the municipalities (departmental capitals), turns out to be a double-edged sword in a highly centralized system. Actually, this proposed local responsibility, launched at the end of 1980 in the face of growing difficulties, enabled Romanian authorities to unload the organization of provisioning to the people's councils, presenting this measure as a kind of self-management although centralization of the system was in no way brought into question. Inhabitants of villages and cities in rural areas with individual plots are therefore forced, not only to meet their own needs for food, but also to supply the state with their products. They are measures identical with those reiterated in the October orders but in more restrictive terms. At prices set by the state, farmers will be required to deliver their surplus grain production from both collective and individual land, once they have satisfied their own needs, by virtue of standards that are arbitrary, to say the least.

Discipline: "The Most Productive Tool"

But the farmers are not the only ones targeted by the hardening of living conditions. An order of 21 December 1981 set forth measures aimed at stepping up discipline in enterprises "with a high degree of operating danger."[11] In the guise of ensuring greater security and developing the workers' sense of duty and responsibility," a series of infractions sanctioned by heavy prison sentences was drafted, thus instituting almost military discipline in industrial units. By way of example, a prison sentence could be meted out to any worker having left his place of work during his shift without authorization from the foreman, or having halted his work "without entrusting the equipment, tools or machinery to the following shift." Among other objectives, these measures are to encourage improved productivity, with intimidation serving as the chosen means. More order and discipline are urged, while the promise to reduce the work week from 48 to 44 hours is postponed for the umpteenth time. Not a day goes by without the columns of the official daily SCINTEIA praising the merit of certain model workers in putting in additional hours. As for the sums allocated by the government in order to compensate for the loss in purchasing power resulting from the vertiginous increases in the prices of many food products in February 1982, they should now be "recovered" by accelerating production! The deterioration in the standard of living appears in all its gravity when one notes that none of the compensations in question represented over 10 percent of the wages on the average, while the increase in products amounted to 35 percent.

As one can see, the Polish people have no reason to envy the Romanians' standard of living. As for this kind of "continuing normalization" which the Romanian people are experiencing in all aspects of their daily life, it does not appear to be so different from the repression raging in Poland.

The state of constant mobilization in which the regime wants to keep the people, without granting any material satisfactions, continues to deepen the divorce between the government and the party, on the one hand, and the Romanian people on the other. The sight of the president criticizing Romanians, on a television broadcast, for "eating too much" is enough to irritate a people now aware of the total scorn with which its leaders view it.[12]

The imperturbably triumphant speech of those leaders has irremediably widened the gap between those in government and the governed. In total contradiction with reality, the Romanian official press constantly praises past and future performances of the country, promising access to intensive development of the economy by 1985, its passage to a stage of intermediate development, without mentioning the strengthening of "self-leadership" and "workers self-management," the future achievement of "energy independence" (sic) and the accomplishment of a "new agrarian revolution." But does the latter not also risk remaining a dead letter? Actually, the recent measures taken in the field of agriculture (inventory of livestock down to the last chick, the seizure of land deemed improperly cultivated or not cultivated at all, an appeal to increase the "active force" -- that is, labor) resemble a "second collectivization" more than they do a real effort to modernize and mechanize a sector long neglected.

By assigning individuals a single supply point, the government has tried, among other things, to break up the people's mutual help systems which scarcities inevitably engender. Orders on rationing have further isolated all Romanians, already closely organized and watched by the RCP militias and the sadly famous but very effective Securitate (political police). It is an effectiveness that seems to try to extend beyond the Romanian borders, with a fair amount of success, it is true: The Tanase affair,[13] as related to the press, beyond its happy ending, nevertheless revealed the methods used by the Romanian police with regard to Romanian residents fleeing abroad. The people are kept in a state of total isolation in which any conversation with foreigners visiting the country must be reported, in which housing a foreigner has been illegal since 1974. The grilling of a French journalist in January 1981 because he was trying to meet with the family of a dissident who "disappeared" like so many others illustrates the authorities' zeal in snuffing out the slightest possibility of information.

Tradition of Struggle

At first, the relative passiveness of the people surprises the foreign observer who has recently seen the formidable fighting spirit of the Polish workers. And yet, dissent is there, scattered, but uninterrupted. The explosions of anger, whose echo has crossed Romania's borders, generally resemble anarchistic and sporadic local revolts. But the increase in number of acts of sabotage, such as the explosion of homemade bombs at Ploesti and the Arad Railroad

Station, the fires at the Pitesti petrochemical plant, the harassment of local leaders and the sacking of party headquarters in several villages, are not the only manifestations of discontent registered.

It is essentially in the Motru region, where the Levrda, Lupoaia and Horasti coal strip mines are located, that one finds the hardcore dissenters. During a visit in November, Ceaucescu was welcomed by stones and insults. "Pacification" of the region was then undertaken by the political police troops and is still going forward.[14] These events remind one of the miners strike in the Jiu Valley in August 1977. At the time, the miners refused to go through the official trade union machinery recognized as totally subservient to the RCP. They succeeded in gaining direct negotiations with Ceaucescu. The disappearance and imprisonment of the main strike leaders marked the end of that heyday of workers resistance. It is likely that these regions constitute the cradle of workers dissent, which is nevertheless cruelly lacking in a structured, national organization. Political and organizational experience, as well as the fighting traditions of the Polish working class, obviously do not (yet) have an equivalent in Romania. The only attempt to set up a free union in March 1979, at the prompting of a group of workers including Vasile Paraschiv, for which Amnesty International and the League for the Defense of Human Rights in Romania continue to wage action as a result of its disappearance, was brutally put down. Nevertheless, it enabled nearly 2,000 persons to express their intention of joining.

Moreover, discontent in Romania has found no pole around which to crystallize, as has been the case in Poland, where the Catholic Church has in some way channeled the people's resentment. In Romania, the majority Orthodox Church has totally backed the regime, which has not prevented the latter from engaging in religious persecution with regard to hotbeds of dissent of different sects which, united within a "Christian Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Religion and Conscience" (ALRC), undertook actions aimed at forcing Romania to respect the third section of the Helsinki Accords on human rights. Baptist ministers have particularly stood out in this fight to denounce the violation of religious freedoms included in the constitution. They have also waged a fight to obtain recognition of the Uniate Church (Oriental Christian church that accepts the dogma of Catholicism) and also that of the Lord's Army which, although springing from the Orthodox Church, was banned in 1948 because of its religious organizing.[15] It now has about 400,000 members. There is now a resurgence of the dissident voices of the Orthodox Church such as the neo-Protestant sects (Baptists, Adventists, Pentecostal), whose impact is particularly strong among young people and in rural areas, especially Transylvania Province, peopled with a strong Hungarian minority. As in the case of the Gypsies, the object of brutal discrimination, the government does not hesitate to designate the Hungarians as those mainly responsible for disturbances of the "public order." It does not ignore the danger posed by this new hotbed of dissent. Another manifestation of passive resistance of the people to the regime is the development of illegal immigration (mainly going to Austria), for few of the million applications filed annually receive a favorable response.

The spectre of Solidarity looming over a regime which obviously has its back to the wall remains one of the explanations of the increased repression now

aimed at the Romanian people. Despite the total lack of information which the Romanian media try to maintain, the experience of the free Polish union has found a favorable response among many population groups.

Confronted with possible attempts at imitation, the government's response remains -- in addition to the tried and true use of repressive methods -- one last move to rally solid public support -- enlightened, to say the least -- around pacifistic and nationalistic themes. In his last speech of 1 June 1982, which revealed the defensive attitude now forced on the regime, Ceaucescu once again played the card of attachment to national identity, exalting "the age-old origins of the Romanian people," who are now considered to be the "heirs of the highest virtues of the Dacians and Romans." Using history as an essential instrument of propaganda, it is by referring to the earliest Dacian kings that the regime now tries to find some legitimacy. But it seems highly unlikely that this approach will allow it, at home or abroad, to reconstruct its political virginity, especially since the current economic mess, the harbinger of growing social disturbances, will only increase the risk of destabilization.

FOOTNOTES

1. Which affirmed the "sovereign right of any socialist state to work out the methods of its construction" and added: "There can be no father or son party."

2. S. Orescu: "The 'Romanian Way' and the Contradictions of a Policy of Independence," LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, May 1979.

3. Proportionately speaking, it is the largest Communist Party compared with the other "people's democracies" of East Europe.

4. Some information mention great discontent within the leadership group, exasperated by the jokes about the "people's favorite son." This only makes Ceaucescu's government more fragile, without mentioning the fact that at any given moment, Moscow could take advantage of the resentment which this personal power has engendered among the Romanian political elite.

5. Romania rejected Soviet pressure aimed at making it play the role of the CEMA breadbasket.

6. The USSR supplied one-tenth of all oil imports in 1980, or 1.5 million tons.

7. This type of loan, which only Romania and Hungary can receive (after entry into the IMF in June 1982), has naturally helped soften the position of Western governments, which on 28 July 1982, accepted a major rescheduling of Romanian debts.

8. See "The Romanian Economy in 1981: A Painful Balance Sheet," LE COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, No 264, July-August 1982, La Documentation Francaise, Paris.

9. Or 410 grams of bread or wheat flour a day, one pound of sugar a month.

10. Inhabitants of villages and rural areas cannot buy products such as bread or meat (if they find them!) except in the area where they live.

11. The list of plants involved is so large that it actually covers nearly the entire industrial sector.

12. The height of ridiculousness was achieved on 14 July 1982 with the publication, in SCINTEIA, the RCP organ, of a proposed "scientific food program for the population" (LE MONDE, 13 August 1982).

13. Romanian Virgil Tanase, missing since 20 May, was not kidnaped by the Romanian Secret Service, but "turned out to pasture" by the French DST [Directorate of Territorial Surveillance], which was reportedly warned by a secret agent in Bucharest. The latter says it was asked by Ceaucescu's services to get rid of the man who, in an article in ACTUEL (January 1982, No 27), called the Romanian regime a "communist dynasty."

14. The region is still called a "banned department" on the pretext of an epidemic of "swine flu."

15. Father Gheorghe Calciu, sentenced in 1979 to 10 years in prison for denouncing the subservience and spiritual vacuum of the Orthodox hierarchy in his sermons, is one of the best known figures. See Sanda Stolojan, "Religious Persecution and Resistance in Romania," L'ALTERNATIVE, No 9, March-April 1981.

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CROATIAN PARTY DISCUSSES CADRE PROBLEMS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 82 pp 14-16

[Article by Gojko Marinkovic: "The Kind of People the Party Needs"]

[Text] Do we have enough capable cadres? There is a clear answer to this question, which is only at first glance a simple one, but is actually very complex, since first one must answer who and what the cadres are: "yes." Asserting otherwise would mean calling into question our entire postwar development, and in the final analysis our self-managing path as well, since self-management is in fact based upon a broad cadre base. Just the fact that about three million people are more or less active in our delegate system demonstrates our cadre possibilities for electing the best and most capable people to responsible social posts. Nevertheless, it frequently occurs that there are no adequate candidates for some posts, because the capable ones are supposedly already busy, involved, or assigned. The worst thing is that the people who are supposed to make the proposals about who is to be elected for what are often really at a loss; the personnel people are often really in agony, because with the best of wills they cannot find an appropriate person, or, as we are accustomed to say, the right man for the right job.

Thus, we have hundreds of thousands of people with a university education or higher; we have thousands of masters and doctors of science, 3 million delegates, and more than 2 million LC members. Nevertheless, we sometimes hear that we do not have enough capable cadres. We do not agree with this thesis, naturally, but on the other hand it is relevant to ask why we have and do not have cadres, and why we boast of the enormous successes achieved in education, and then in spite of this constantly rotate the same people in certain areas and at certain levels. The real question, in fact, is whether in this system, which is extremely institutionalized, we have created a special group of people, a special stratum that has received the name of the cadres. This question is not a pointless one if we recall that even our highest officials (cadres) frequently say "we have to explain to our cadres and people," or "The activists and members of the LC should be told," and so on in the same vein.

This division into cadres and others clearly shows what connotation and meaning the word cadre has for us. It is really a replacement for the words manager and official, and thus for the people in the most prominent social

offices. Thus, the people are quite right who assert that cadre policy and work with cadres are not or should not be a seasonal job reserved only for the times of major assignments, changes and alterations, such as, for example, delegate elections or party congresses.

Who Goes Where

Unfortunately, the practice is different and cadre policy is rarely discussed outside of those dates; even then everything is reduced to personal assignments and to the question of who goes where. This "who goes where" means that for every person who has once sat in even the smallest armchair, there also has to be a job during the following term. This assertion was proven in the latest elections and congresses, and one can almost count on one hand the number of people who were left without a new post after membership in some central committee or assembly. There were even fewer people who, after one post as a professional political official, were not able to find another. All of this was done with the blessing of the so-called coordination committees for cadre policy, which are less and less places for coordination, and more and more a sort of power center, where the cadre crossword puzzles are filled out.

By now we have already been warned innumerable times about how people are made candidates for the most prominent posts, without previously even being delegates to the body that is supposed to elect them, or about how many times citizens are surprised when they receive the list of candidates and it is not clear to them how someone became a candidate at all. It also happens that someone finds out from the newspapers that he is a candidate for a delegate at the congress, and that several thousand workers and party members likewise read in the newspapers who "their" delegate or candidate for member of the Central Committee is. It has even happened that a municipal conference put forward its candidate for Central Committee member, and then some unseen hand simply crossed him off the list of candidates without a word of explanation.

These examples are naturally not dominant and things are not that black everywhere, but the higher the body for which members are being elected, the less the influence of the base; it is completely in the hands of the coordination bodies and cadre workers. When we say that cadre policy is rarely discussed, we are not thinking of purely verbal and theoretical discussions and so forth, but rather primarily of how we lack analyses and open discussions about the way in which the principles and the documents based on them (which we have in abundance) are put into effect. The principles are as clear as they can be, and instead of repeating them here at length, we will quote part of Comrade Tito's report at the 11th LCY Congress: "The working people and citizens should make more extensive use of their constitutional right to decide in a direct and responsible manner on the selection and assignment of cadres to responsible working and managing posts. The obligation of the LC is to continue to help this million-strong self-managing potential to take charge of personnel policy."

Where Do the Incidents Come From?

It is just in the last few days that cadre policy has again come to the fore and is at the center of public attention, and in all of the numerous discussions, which the Central Committee of the Croatian LC has also joined, people are attempting to give an answer to the question of why basic positions are not carried out and why practice even goes in the opposite direction from the one that we as a society subscribed to. The view that it is precisely at this time, and in this economic and political situation, that we have to talk about cadres was heard on several occasions, even at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Croatian LC. This view was more or less presented as a statement without additional explanations, about as though the answer were implied, but it could be concluded from everything that was said at that interesting, and in some details heated, meeting that this theme has forced itself upon us because of the difficult economic situation, but also because of certain, let us say, cadre incidents.

The reasons why cadres are being discussed under various aspects just now, neither during nor before an election, must perhaps be sought in the criticisms and complaints that are being sent to managers throughout the country. These criticisms, as Mika Spiljak said, especially appeared at the last party congresses, and they are a serious warning that cadre policy is not under sufficient social supervision. Whenever there is no supervision, different and even foreign policies can appear (and do). Thus, it has been possible for unverified people who are foreign to socialism to obtain various very sensitive posts in society. This has also been assisted by some privatizations in the conduct of cadre policy, which have forced the committees and other collective organs to one side. It is for this reason that various "incidents" are occurring that are a burden to the LC, and even this Central Committee.

It may be concluded from these words of Spiljak's, and has been shown by later discussion, that cadre policy is not being placed on the agenda merely to carry out the Central Committee's work plan; the reason must also be sought in certain concrete situations. We do not mean to say that the theme was imposed, but the Central Committee was simply unable to pass over in silence what took place in public view at Petrinja and Sisak, in Karlovac, or in the famous "Djurekovic case."

Thus, even though the main point on the agenda was the cadre and organizational formation of the LC, this was at the same time a plenum devoted to newspapers and journalists. This demonstrates once more the complexity of what we usually call cadre policy, and so the real question is actually, "Isn't there a cadre policy?"

By placing this theme on the agenda, the Central Committee intended to introduce more order into the area of cadres, and supported abiding by the principles in practice, through several concrete measures, such as the mandatory record-keeping and evaluation of the work of communists. If the principles had always been respected, there would have been no need for the presidium of the Central Committee to establish special working groups for the Petrinja and

Karlovac cases. This is not always easy, because we are still a society in which it is important to have a post and a social "rank," since in spite of all the successes of the delegate system, it is still important to have "your" minister, "your" member of the presidium, or "your" chairman of the municipality. After all, we are still far from the ideal, when politics will no longer be an alienated sphere and when working in politics will not be reserved for specific social strata, when performing public management functions will become more and more a continuation of self-management responsibilities, and not a trade.

It is precisely because a political office still means a great deal, because it makes possible great authority and in some instances even the making of decisions that may be critical for the country, that it is important whose hands cadre policy is in, and who decides about who goes where.

Without Covering Up

Mika Spiljak says that cadre policy is not under sufficient social supervision, and much criticism is even directed against the work of the coordinating committees, while also mentioning privatization, group formation, clique formation, and the pushing forward of one's own people. All of these assessments do not apply just to social posts, to party or state leaders, but also to the economy, education, and various other institutions. Still, how is it that even enemies get into some prominent posts, not to speak of opportunists and incompetents, hangers-on and hindrances? How is it that this is possible when LC members and for the most part the most prominent leaders are on the cadre coordinating committees, and how does this happen when in practice not a single director of any significant work organization is elected without a "green light" from the LC committee?

We could enumerate these questions and similar ones endlessly, but an answer might be found in the words of Vilim Mulc, who says that we are faced with a moral crisis, irresponsibility, abuse, robbery, and a threat to social property. All of these phenomena, including economic failures, must inevitably be associated with the LC, since one could not speak of a moral erosion in society if the membership of the LC were morally pure. Mulc says that it is obvious that society's faults are also deep within the bowels of the party, and thus when we talk about weaknesses in society, we have to turn toward ourselves, not just because members of the LC are responsible for these faults, but rather because we are slack and indifferent, and behaving in an opportunistic manner.

This criticism is sharp and trenchant, but one must also add to it the fact that the party's standing and authority have also been shaken because there is not enough differentiation. It is unacceptable to have views generalized on the basis of individual cases, and to have the impression created that everything is black, that all are dishonest or robbers, and that all are opportunists or incompetents.

There have been several more statements along the lines of this one by Mulc, but also some views according to which it turns out that an "attack" on one

LC member is really an attack on the LC, and that criticism of the conduct of any official is really an attack on the LC, the system, the state, and who knows what else. The logic is one that would lead us, and is leading us, back to certain former times. How else are we to interpret a question that we heard during the discussion: "Who is permitted to expose members of the Central Committee without a decision from the Central Committee?" Isn't that member of the Central Committee primarily responsible to his electoral base? In addition to the fact that he is a member of the Central Committee, isn't he also a citizen, and a self-manager and worker? Can't he commit an offense in spite of being a Central Committee member? The standards of this society apply equally to members of central committees and to non-members, both to party members and to those who are not party members. These standards are even stricter for those in the LC. Thus, at this time we are not speaking of possible erroneous accusations, of conscious attempts to discredit the party through one member of the Central Committee, but rather of a principle. There is no immunity from social criticism for members of the Central Committee or any other body; on the contrary, their conduct is under a different public spotlight than that of ordinary LC members.

We are therefore opposing any cover-ups, but we also support what was said by Josip Vrhovec: that the LC has to be responsible for social criticism, an energetic fighter against everything that is aimed at destruction, regardless of who is responsible for that destruction. This is the only way to strengthen confidence in the LC among the workers, and to restore that confidence when it has been jeopardized or may be jeopardized tomorrow. In this context, cadre policy is of exceptional significance, and it becomes especially significant to prevent any kind of cadre manipulations through existing group interests, and to struggle against the leadership ambitions, monopolies, and privileges that would like to impose themselves upon the LC and secure their own interests through it, naturally, to the detriment of the interests of the LC and of the revolution as a whole. The public nature of cadre policy is becoming a vital issue, according to Vrhovec.

Breaking Up the Monopolies

Some reasons why this is still not the case were also pointed out by Milutin Baltic, who felt that the LC is freeing itself too slowly from the old method of operation, carried over from the time when the LC made decisions in the name of a class. Dissatisfaction with the way in which cadre policy is being carried out was also expressed by Ante Milkovic, who supported this with the example that the League of fighters is often in trouble when it has to give its agreement to an individual proposal, since the only thing that is available to it is the biography of the candidate that he wrote himself; the LC has neither an assessment of his past work and competence, nor an explanation of why it is this man who is being proposed for a given post. Milkovic feels that the situation at the level of the municipalities is even worse than at the republic level, but Branko Puharic disagreed with this when he said that at the lower levels, there have been considerable improvements and a high degree of implementation of many of the principles of our cadre policy. Younger people, the majority of whom are from associated labor, have come

into into several leaderships, and monopolies and privileges have been broken up. Puharic said, however, that what is characteristic of the social base is not a feature of the higher social levels, since the degree to which the proclaimed principles have been implemented at the level of the republic or the federation is considerably below what has been achieved in the municipalities. Puharic sees the reasons for this in the fact that many of our cadres who were in leading posts in the republic have held those posts for many years, and this has become a lifetime vocation for them. The principle of leaving for associated labor is not feasible because they did not come from associated labor, and associated labor furthermore has few jobs of that type. A large number of these people are qualified for a pension, but are nevertheless not expressing any desire to leave their posts.

Branko Puharic also pointed out that most of the people coming from associated labor do not want to return to their own area; all of these are reasons why the lowering of the average age is taking place slowly, and the age composition of the leading cadres in Croatia is the most unfavorable in Yugoslavia. While it is not a rarity elsehwere in the world for prime ministers or ministers to be between 30 and 40 years old, such people are a real rarity here. The partisan generation that bore the development and creation of this country upon its back -- that is, the youngest members of that generation, who were members of the League of Young Communists, are on the threshold of their 60's. This does not have anything to do with some sort of conflict between generations, but rather with the natural human desires imposed by common logic. A conflict of generations can be caused only by the monopoly of one generation, and in order to avoid this and ensure the continuity of the revolution, we must allow younger people to reach the most responsible posts.

What Kind of Cadres?

Puharic also advocated a normal advancement of cadres, and not having this depend upon whether someone likes someone else's face or considers him his man. He was particularly critical of the way in which cadres are elected in the Federation, and their behavior. Our real situation now appears to be such that everyone who represents his republic is exclusively responsible to his own republic, or rather, to the political leadership of that republic. When the election year comes, it is completely irrelevant what other areas or the Yugoslav public in general think of his work.

The main rule for his conduct can be reduced to the skill of realizing the interests of his own area as successfully as possible; it is from this political philosophy that compromise decisions satisfying no one emerge. In the distribution of offices in the federation, posts are received by the republics and provinces; there are no criteria that a given individual has to meet. Instead, parity and mathematical equality are the only things taken into account.

It is therefore natural that the cadre composition in the federation is not the result of the best possible selection, and that the differences in the quality of the cadres are so obvious. Wondering whether it is sensible and wise to implement the principle of equality in such a far-reaching and

mechanical manner, Puharic asked whether it would not be more useful to Croatia for a given federal minister to be competent for that office and thus directly and indirectly assist his own area as well, instead of having an incompetent person [from Croatia] in that post.

Feeling that it was not sufficiently clear what was meant by social influence, Stipe Suvar stated what he understood socialist public opinion to be. This was primarily taking into account the views of the broad strata of working people and citizens in work organizations and communes, in the broader community. If names known throughout the entire country are at issue, then we can call this the Yugoslav socialist public opinion. Thus, even if a person is criticized and insulted in his own area and cliques attack him, we have to take into account such a Yugoslav opinion.

In continuing, Suvar disagreed with the view that we do not have enough young cadres in responsible positions, but admitted that it was true that there were few of them at the level of the republic or federation. According to Suvar, we are still less of a gerontological society than the Chinese or Soviet societies, for instance, and all of our delegates are younger than American congressmen or English representatives.

It is clear just from these positions from the meeting that in attempting to answer the question of what kind of cadres are needed by the party, the Central Committee touched upon a controversial and difficult subject, which has not been closed by this plenum, but only begun.

Instead of answering this question, and instead of citing social agreements and old conclusions, we will quote Jura Bilic: "We are a revolution and a party of honorable people; everything that is dishonorable should be purged -- resolutely and without any reservations."

9909
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CROATIAN LC DISCUSSES IDEOLOGY, MEDIA

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Oct 82 p 5

[Article by T. Indik and B. Kovacevic: "Accountability of the News Media"]

[Text] In following its work schedule and preparing for one of the next meetings of the Croatian LC [League of Communists] Central Committee, the Commission for Ideological Affairs and Information of the Croatian LC Central Committee opened debate on political-ideological tendencies and the problems of our ideological effort at the meeting held on Thursday, which was chaired by Josip Vrhovec.

Excerpt From the Speech of Dr Stipe Suvar

After he made several remarks about the present moment of our development and about ideological developments in our society, Dr Stipe Suvar discussed at length the incidence and events in and around the news media, and said in part:

The news media must truly be free in presenting the truth and portraying and analyzing social actuality, but they cannot operate as an independent political force. Nowhere in the world are they free in the sense of not serving particular class interests.

In our country, Suvar said, the role of the news media is specific in that they are socially owned and at the service of the organized socialist forces. But in practice they are still in the hands of the technobureaucratic monopoly, and that at various levels of society.

In Whose Hands Are They, and Whom Do They Serve

Suvar went on to emphasize that any discussion of the role of the news media must begin with the question: In whose hands are they, and whom do they serve? In our country they are not yet at the service or under any real influence of the producer and worker majority in society, nor are they predominantly oriented toward it, nor do they present the news primarily from it and for it, they do not sufficiently express its interests, they do not record its everyday life, nor do they sufficiently interpret that life. They simply are not yet socialized to the extent that the level achieved in socialist self-management allows and demands.

There are strong tendencies in the news media, Suvar went on, toward group ownership, and the technobureaucratic monopoly in the news organizations themselves not only has not been destroyed as yet, but recently has even become stronger in spite of declared public intention.

Going on to speak about possible directions toward overcoming this situation, Stipe Suvar said: If the subjective forces are to exert an organized influence on the news media, we have to find solutions which would not return any sort of bureaucratic control, and in particular would not open up the way to government censorship and statist arbitration, which would be especially contrary to the intentions and lines of development of the political system of socialist self-management, but would on the contrary expose those media to the influence of the social base, the associated producers, the working people and citizens.

Returning to the topic of freedom of the press, Dr Suvar said in part: Thus we hear assertions and assessments to the effect that freedom of the press and freedom in presentation of the news are the most important indicator of the progressiveness and democracy of this society of ours; what is more, that it is a barometer of whether society is moving forward ... that the main thing is to destroy the "rigged" press and develop a "free" press, that the press must cease to be a "messenger," that only an open dialogue in the public about absolute everything can save us....

For the great majority of journalists in our country, Dr Stipe Suvar went on to emphasize, the basic challenge is still how to be both responsible and creative, how to be critics, but not cavilers, how to demonstrate their courage as members of our overall socialist movement, how to confirm themselves as fighters for the program of the LCY. But a minority of the journalists are "freewheelers," possessors of various knockout and similar departments in which they call the roll, and some of the editors who have taken it into their heads to pad out their papers by giving as much space as possible to topics that are supposed to be ticklish, and often in the manner of petty political attribution and sensationalist tricks ... have come to see themselves as the conscience and consciousness of society, concede themselves to be the most authentic interpreter of the views and feelings of the people and the uncompromising builder of public opinion.... Some of them would like to constantly expose our own Watergate affairs....

Calling the Roll Accomplishes Nothing

Dr Stipe Suvar went on to say that the "calling of the roll" and "exchange of criticism" between the political leadership and journalists and the newspapers leads nowhere. The newspapers and journalists should not serve individual leaders and leadership bodies, but both the one and the other are called upon to act in the spirit of the LCY Program and the program of all the organized socialist forces. The main question facing our news media is how to develop criticism of the right topics, that is, how to fight for the news media to have much greater rights and abilities to criticize, and to fight for them to be as open as possible to socialist (and not underground) public opinion.

Now a portion of the news media, Suvar continued, is managing to arouse the masses with what it writes, but is not authentically politicizing them. And it is also true that we often carry on propaganda in a primitive way, we actually "buy" the public in a cheap way. The programs and contents of the main body of our news media are far below the creative abilities of both them themselves and the creative forces of society.

In his introductory address Dr Stipe Suvar also took up the virtual manhunt of "politicians" and "leaders" and the possible consequences, and he said in part: In this especially fierce attacks are being made on that portion of the Partizan generation which has not yet left public and political office. The entire Partizan generation is actually put in the defendant's dock when it is asserted that "achievement in the revolution and recognition for those achievements are taking on the character of privatization of the achievements of the revolution, and the achievements are becoming a kind of source of unearned income...."

Is it true, Dr Suvar went on to ask, that all our "professional managers" are really criminals by the mere fact that they perform that function?

There are journalists, Suvar said, who own twice as much and more than the most responsible leaders in this country, and they keep quiet about their earnings, but they try to give the public the idea that the leaders have excessively high personal incomes and various privileges.

Stipe Suvar summed up that section of his address: One thing is the right and need in public, but also with full responsibility, to examine everyone's work and behavior and accountability for what he does or does not do, but it is something else to push and to spread the blanket accusation that all "politicians" and all "leaders" are to blame and that only they bear responsibility for everything that is wrong in society.

(Beginning in tomorrow's issue we will be publishing extensive excerpts from Dr Stipe Suvar's address in several installments).

The Discussion

Everything we have been talking about has resulted solely from imprecision and unclear beginnings in the realization of income, was the view of Kosta Spaic. In that struggle for income, for example, in organizations of associated labor in the film industry, theaters, schools and the like, there are cases where all want to improve their income and then seek standards by which to evaluate that work. But how can you apply the principle of income in evaluating someone's acting, singing, or dancing, say? Then everyone thinks that his work is the most valuable, and that naturally leads to antagonism.

He then spoke about the operation of the news media, saying that the source of all the disagreements concerning particular phenomena in that sphere lies in the distorted view of material relations, in the way business is conducted. If we were to put work and man's liberation through work at the top of the list of values, then all that economism in the spiritual superstructure would disappear. I am not for banning writing, he said, but I am in favor of our

being concerned with those ways of evaluating work which today are unfortunately seen solely in terms of income.

But the Majority Keeps Silent, Does Not Speak ...

We are witnesses of a penetration of the most negative ideological and esthetic and every other sort of trash, and that not only in all our media, but also in our psychology, Mirko Bozic believes. At one time we carried on propaganda for culture in general, regardless of where it came from, we fought so as not to be a colonial country, to create our own culture, but today we are a more colonial country than ever. Often today the party is reduced to a debating society, to assurances about consciousness, to appeals for consciousness. The enormous majority stands in place, keeps silent, does not speak. Where is our humanistic and technical intelligentsia, our scientific intelligentsia? In Zagreb we have perhaps 100,000 such people, but only a few people are creating this consciousness of ours through their appearances in the communication media. Why is that so? We cannot take an exclusively economistic view of public affairs. What sort of instruments does society have for exerting an effective influence on the operation of the news media? As a rule these are councils. However, you can say your piece there, but things go on as before. Why did we make a monopoly of this, and what is the way out? Why is it that 5 or 15 people in the newspapers create, interpret and influence that consciousness. There is a big difference between these people bringing in others to interpret social dispositions, to explain and conduct policy, and that being done by those people who run the newspapers. We have expelled an enormous number of people in those public communication media. Why is it that as a society we are not changing that situation?

In the entire sphere of artistic work we have neglected domestic creativity, and this has had an impact not only among people in the field of culture, but also a general effect. Priority has been given to a spirit which is more colonial.

Our society is not as impoverished as it is presented in our media. When they are crammed full of news from the rest of the world, and not with our own news, then a consciousness is shaped in them which is difficult to correct later on. We are dong little work on this. We have made an assessment of certain excesses and political tendencies (in novels, for example), but we have not made it possible for that other side to take wing--so that at least the scales are in balance.

Where To Put the Blame?

Goran Babic warned that what for years happened in our economy is now taking place in the area being discussed here. The party has for a long time been on the defensive on the ideological front, and it has to get out of that defensive posture. Never can we deny as many lies as they can tell, Goran Babic said. There is a position which for several years has been based on the slogan of the false peace, on the psychology that it is good if it does not get worse.

The fundamental error was to blame the newsmen and newspapers and news media. Everything that is taking place within the newspapers themselves indicates that the decisive battle is being fought by honest people, brave newsmen who are dedicated to the line of the LCY and to the prosperity of this country. And they have very often suffered. Those people should be given support to persist in their effort. Consequently, the greatest error is the blanket assessment and generalization.

The fundamental issue is where to put the blame and why these things are happening. In his opinion it is mostly a kind of opportunism, indifference, a shrugging of the shoulders, passing the buck or evasion of confrontation and resolution of particular problems. It has gone so far that party members talk about how this discussion is taking place within the Socialist Alliance. The principle of democratic socialism is in effect in the LCY; it therefore should not happen that the LCY Presidium issues assessments to the effect that a news organization is not following the line of the decisions of the congress, but the basic organization of that news organization says that we are not following the line, since if they are right, then the LCY Presidium is not right.

Goran Babic illustrated this opportunism and this ideological defensive with several case histories.

Committees Close to Reality, to the Base ...

On the supposition that our forces are on the defensive, and assuming agreement about what we should do, we should fix our attention on the issue: How are we to get out of this lethargy, which is fraught with all kinds of dangers, Ante Franic said. In the ranks of members of the LCY in targeted education and higher education passivity and deep-seated opportunism prevail. And not only that--some members of the LCY openly act the coquette and court oppositionist currents on one side and the other. Some individuals even enter into open confrontation with the views and decisions, fundamental decisions, of this society with respect, say, to reform of education.

As he put it, members of committees of the LCY--from the opstina to the Federation--ought to be more in communication with the membership, ought to spend less time in the headquarters of their committees and participate more in the practical and concrete battle being waged by members of the LCY in their own milieux. They ought to do that job with an awareness of that wartime slogan to the effect that the leaders go into the basic organizations and wage the fight together with them in specific actions there, with an awareness of the slogan: After Me, Comrades, rather than "Go Ahead, Comrades."

Aggressiveness of the Minority

Pero Pletikosa says that the central issue for the LCY at the present time is how to encourage, to equip and to support forces which are on the same ideological front. How is it that we have allowed to be imposed on us propositions to the effect that in the battle for the strategy and program of the LCY we ought to feel ourselves inferior? It would be tragic if the LCY were a minority in what it offers to this society; and yet it is not and cannot be

tragic when a minority aggressively imposes itself, delivers lectures, and carries out usurpation, while our forces are silent and enter very little into the ideological struggle, into the confrontation. Accordingly, we do encounter elements of a defensive posture, of vacillation, and if we do react, we do so very late and in a disorganized way.

What sort of debates do we carry on, who participates in them? Pero Pletikosa asked, noting that with honorable exception the space for debate in the media has been usurped by a few blasphemers, intolerant people, people who appear to be clowns. No honorable man wants to participate in such debates full of curses and name-calling, nor does it do credit to any serious newspaper to publish such quasi-intellectual debates. However, what is worst, exclusivity and the demand for monopoly are actually offered in those so-called debates and in those demands for dialogue. So long as their is space for such debates and such debaters, that situation will persist even in our broader areas. Individuals who have compromised themselves in their own milieux very quickly find space in others.

We have lost the sense of talking about all this in the broader space of Yugoslavia; we are shutting ourselves off more and more. If we speak openly, in the communist way, both critically and self-critically, about certain phenomena in our own milieu, then we have the right and duty (especially within the LCY) to speak about such matters when they occur in other milieux as well. Moreover, none of us should have any feeling whatsoever of inferiority or fear.

Both Day-to-Day and Long-Term Battles

As a society we constantly have imposed on us topics which we have long ago laid to rest, and attempts are made to keep them open. For example, topics concerning taboos of one sort or another are constantly being reheated. The last such example was the assertion in DUGA that Andrija Hebrang is a taboo topic for the party, which we know is not the truth. The purpose was to call into question the revolutionary past and present practice of the LCY and CPY and of the Croatian LC and Croatian CP. The desire was to prove that the history of our party is dishonorable and that we conceal those dishonorable elements.

Certain insinuations are finding more and more space in certain marginal areas as, for example, in writing about sports. In what manner, for example, was our failure at the World Soccer Championship written about? Some of the articles cleverly passed off the thesis that the failure of our national team is a reflection of the debacle of our social system.

These are matters which we must discuss in the ranks of the LCY, but also more widely, not so that we might make any sort of hasty and forced moves, but precisely in order to broaden our front as much as possible. The LCY ought to be concerned in more detail with the situation in our academies of arts and schools in those areas of study where journalists are trained. It would be very dangerous if we were to discuss this only in connection with situations involving excesses; on the contrary, these and similar conversations must eliminate every possibility of excesses occurring.

The essential question is how to equip and encourage the majority which has committed itself to following the line of the League of Communists and committed itself to socialist self-management, the important thing is to give as many weapons as possible for the day-to-day and long-term ideological battle.

(We will be publishing the subsequent proceedings of the meeting in issues to come.)

7045
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CRITICAL COMMENTS ON WEAKNESS OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION

[Editorial Report] The 14 November 1982 issue of BORBA (Belgrade, page 3) published the following statement made during the recent Ninth Congress of the SSJ (Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia) by Mirko Medjava, president of the Croatian Trade Union Federation: "Recently various kinds of criticism have been heard directed at the Trade Union [Federation] and trade union congresses in which it is said that nothing new has been enacted, that earlier decisions are simply renewed; and since things operate this way, the statement is made that the trade unions are not needed in general and that they are one of our unnecessary institutions.

"Obviously people who judge the work of the trade unions in this way, do not know its activity, practice, results, yet it is certain that there are trade union organizations with weaknesses.... The workers, too, are asking for a more offensive, effective, and energetic trade union. What more should the workers ask for than what they said at the congresses, for power over their income, over expanded reproduction, to decide on investments, responsibility from top to bottom, a more active fight against waste, etc. What is more revolutionary than this?

"From whom are they asking this, with whom are they negotiating, ...with the state, like some trade unions in the West, and who is doing this instead of them or their forums? The LC program does not say that discussions or negotiations are to be carried on in the name of the workers, but that the workers themselves are to do this, starting with their basic [trade union] organization."

In regard to the problem of revitalizing the trade unions by replacing entrenched functionaries, EKONOMSKA POLITIKA (Belgrade 27 Sep 82 p 6) reported the following statement made by a woman worker in the "Beko" clothing enterprise in Belgrade when the candidate list for the new trade union leadership was announced: "What does this mean? The same people are being shifted from one job to another, from one comfortable chair to another. How does this happen? Have we not been lying to ourselves? This is not right and I absolutely disagree with it. Individuals who support and create the policy are themselves violating it. In solving these matters we have to begin right here." The candidate list was reportedly adopted, with her vote the only dissenting one.

Mika Spiljak, a long-time trade union functionary and past president of the SSJ, in an interview in the SSJ weekly RAD (Belgrade, 11 Nov 82 p 5) disagreed that there were few younger workers in the Croatian trade union federation. In being asked to comment on Mitja Ribicic's statement at the opening of the International Book Fair in Belgrade that "we are among the countries with the oldest party and state leadership and that this should be looked at as one of the causes for lagging development of the system," Spiljak said: "Ask Comrade Mitja what he means by this. In Croatia there are young educated cadres, with some exceptions when it is a question of people from the wartime. In the Croatian leadership, of the party, trade union, etc., most are young people. I am 66 and am the oldest in the Croatian Central Committee. Perhaps in Comrade Mitja's area things are different...."

The interviewer, in pursuing the question, further noted: "Workers are asking ever more loudly for a new system of electing trade union (and not only trade union) leaders: i.e., several candidates on the lists and secret balloting. What, in your opinion, would be gained by this...?"

The following comments/questions were also put to him: "It can be heard that in some cases the basic activity of individual [trade union] leaders during their 1-year term of office is assuring for themselves some other presidency or influential job after their term expires...." And, "At the recently-held Croatian trade union congress, comments were heard from delegates that many trade union cadres were not workers but rather that they were imposed [on the organization] by cadre combinations put together at forums, and frequently were even informal groups which have no contact with the workers base. Are these comments well-founded?"

DANAS (Zagreb), in an interview in the 8 June 1982 issue (page 10) put the following statement to Spiljak: "An analysis of some strikes shows that the trade union leadership has been completely equated [by the workers] with the rest of the work organization management and has separated itself from most of the workers."

EKONOMSKA POLITIKA of 1 November 1982 (page 7) reports that, according to the SSJ information service, the percentage of workers in trade union organs from the opstina to the federal level, is constantly declining. "Six years ago the percentage was 43.7, in 1979 40.1, and in 1981 38.3. Only in Croatia did the percentage increase during this period; in all other republics and provinces it declined and in Slovenia there was even a 12.7 percent decline. In 1981, the trade union organs with the most workers were in Vojvodina (45.2 percent), while those with the lowest percentage of workers were in Slovenia (29.5 percent), and Macedonia (31.3 percent)."

CSO: 2800/64

KECMANOVIC PLACES LC ETHICS BELOW BOURGEOIS LEVEL

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 2 Nov 82 pp 6-7

[Excerpt] Professor Nenad Kecmanovic says: "Speaking about the erosion of morality in the LC, it would be logical to assume that one has in mind the inconsistency of party members in putting into practice the specific, ethically-elevated scale of communist values which place greater demands on members of the avant-garde than on other working people and citizens of a socialist society. Unfortunately, today we all have in mind something entirely different and less [elevated]: LC members, en masse, are coming into conflict with elementary moral norms on which every civilized society rests. We are accustomed to say that our communists have been poisoned by petit-bourgeois morality, but we thereby ignore the fact that instances of irresponsibility, lack of discipline, idleness, nepotism, despotism, giving jobs to family members, carelessness, abuses, fraud, etc. are much closer to the pre-urban [pre-bourgeois] and feudal milieu rather than being characteristic for any of the cultured and civilized areas of the bourgeois world. In rejecting the bourgeois level, we have sometimes gone below rather than above it, in the consciousness and conduct of both party and nonparty members [of society], we have been left, namely, with something of the traditional ethical code of the robber mentality of the Middle Ages. Of course, this cannot be rooted out all at once, because it depends on our overall development, but quite a bit can be changed."

A moral regeneration cannot be implemented, as Dr Kecmanovic says, by the police going into enterprises or institutions and arresting thieves. This etatistic consciousness which expects the state, i.e., the Social Accounting Service, SUP (Secretariat for Internal Affairs), or similar institutions, to solve the problem of eroding morality or which expects some LC plenum or meeting of the Presidency to carry out ethical regeneration by some radical intervention is also the main obstacle to making an effective decision.

CSO: 2800/63

BRIEFS

CHARGED WITH TERRORIST ACTS--The district court in Rijeka is conducting an investigation of Jandro Fracin (born 2 Feburary 1949 on the island of Pag), who had been working in Cologne, and is suspected of committing several terrorist actions this last summer at various places in Croatia which endangered the lives of innocent citizens. He also placed a time bomb in the bus station in Zagreb which was discovered and defused, thanks to the efficient self-protection action of workers in this work organization and measures taken by the internal affairs organs. During the investigation Fracin acknowledged that he was a member of an Ustashe terrorist group in Cologne led by Josip Ledic. [Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 Nov 82 p 12]

MARXIST-LENINIST GROUP LEADER--The district court in Pristina, chaired by Isak Nishevci, has sentenced Hidajet Hyseni, leader of the so-called "Marxist-Leninist group" In Kosovo, to 15 years in prison for enemy activity. [Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 Nov 82 p 12]

CRITICIZED FOR PROPOSING NATIONALIZATION--The presidium of the SSJ (Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia) opstina council in Zenica critically dealt with the statements and certain standpoints of its delegate Ante Simic whose views were uncritically published in certain newspapers. Simic stressed that he was speaking in the name of 21,225 workers in Zenica and that his views were the common opinion of the SSJ organization and organs. But in his statements in which there were also good critical judgments about negative occurrences and weaknesses in society, Simic did not base himself on the commitment and interest of the working class of Zenica to solve all life's questions, above all, through developing self-management.... But he built his demand for issuing a law on nationalization [state ownership of enterprises] in Yugoslavia on disinformation and half-truths. Evaluating the existing laws and implementing organs as obsolete, he made a number of other statements which are not based on facts but on stories, intrigue, and untruths about the situation in our society and the conduct of the most responsible organs and individuals. Simic did not get authorization from the working people for such statements and views. The presidium judged his views and conduct to be unacceptable and politically damaging. The presidium also criticized its own work because it had not reacted early enough...to such occurrences and negativism in its midst. It stressed the need to purge itself of all negativism regardless of where it arises and to energetically suppress the spread of distrust in our system's institutions, of intrigue, the irresponsible discrediting of individuals, and all other forms of destructive action. [Excerpt] [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 82 p 4]

EXPLOSIONS IN PRISTINA--On 26 October at 2005 hours there was an explosion in Goleska St behind the "Vlaznimi" movie theater. About 15 minutes later there was a second explosion behind a building at No 11 Mostar St. Several windows in nearby buildings were blown out; otherwise there was no damage. Since the detonations were in open areas, the destructive force was weakened. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 28 Oct 82 p 3]

FIRE IN DEVIC MONASTERY--In the night between 10 and 11 November unknown persons set a fire in the Devic monastery near Srbica [Kosovo]. According to SUP (Secretariat for Internal Affairs) organs, citizens from the village of Lausa were of major assistance, in addition to the fire-fighting unit from Titova Mitrovica; as a result of their help, one-half of the property was saved, but there was great damage, nevertheless. The presidency of the opstina LC committee and the local committee for nation-wide defense and social self-protection severely condemned this arsonist act and decided that the opstina executive council would assess the damage for which the monastery will be compensated. An investigation is in process. [Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 82 p 12]

CSO: 2800/54 END

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13 December 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2084

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13 December 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CURRENT SITUATION IN ALBANIA REVIEWED IN VIENNA SOURCE

Vienna WIENER TAGEBUCH in German Nov 82 pp 21-24

[Article by Richard Swartz: "Everyday Albania: The Party Is Everywhere"]

[Text] The party is everywhere.

Underneath the dome of the circus tent, the trapeze artist suddenly unfurls a red flag. Hanging in the back of her knees, she swings around in a big curve in the air, causing the flag of the Albanian Workers Party to flutter above the heads of the enthusiastic crowd. During the final parade, the red flags turn up once again. At the microphone, the circus director tries to shout down the shrill military music; something about the Eighth Party Congress of the Albanian Workers Party is drowned out by the roar of Balkan drums and wind instruments, after some spotlights go out down, the acrobats are forced to finish their act in semi-darkness: An unvoluntary illustration of how far apart the slogans of the circus director and Albanian reality still are.

But the Party is Everywhere

It focuses attention on itself by means of posters, banners, and slogans which have already become part of the everyday language. Nowhere does the visitor meet an "ordinary" Albanian without one or several party representatives being present, a presence that, although discreet and tactful, leads to the feeling of facing semi-arranged situations rather than the tru Albanian workday.

Sometimes that party interferes directly in everyday living. On December 18, 1981 radio Tirana reported that Prime Minister Shehu, in a sudden nervous breakdown, had committeed suicide. A state funeral for Enver Hoxha old comrade-in-arms was out of the question, it said: An Albanian communist does not commit suicide.

In fact, Shehu has been completely removed from the Albanian workday, as were former alleged traitors such as Koci Xoxe (1948) or Bequir Balluku (1975). During my 1979 visit, Shehu had still been a solid part of Albanian propaganda; often he was shown at Hoxha side. Now, even Enver Hoxha memoirs, "When the Party was Born", have disappeared, apparently because they also mentioned Shehu. A visit to the new National Museum is also a strange experience: Shehu's name and his picture have disappeared although most displays came from the old Museum of the Revolution where he occupied a prominent location. Now he has become a "non-person."

To the "ordinary" Albanian as well, a large part of reality must appear to be packaged by the party--a reality in which the party embodies everything between tangible reality and blurred myth; it is sometimes difficult for the visitor to decide what is real. "Comrade Enver visited with us and urged that we increase production," the chief engineer of the precision instruments plant in Korca says. "We immediately followed his sound advice and have never had any reason to regret it." He said that in all seriousness. However, what does it mean? Is that merely a rhetorical question, a programmed and obligatory reference to Enver Hoxha and the party? Or is it a matter of genuine, revolutionary enthusiasm?

The same question comes up over and over again in Albania: Despite two lengthy stays in that country, in 1979 and 1982, I am still not yet in a position to provide an unqualified answer.

In Korca, we walk through machine sheds that look like something between a sooty blacksmith shop and a primitive laboratory. With the help of largely Chinese machinery, measures, rulers with precis.on scales, adjustable wrenches (monkey wrenches), compasses, etc., are manufactured here, all of them instruments that are needed to make an industrial company work. Often they are coarse as well as primitive, produced at high costs, and the casual visitor has mixed feelings. Is all of this really necessary? Why not benefit from the experience of the rest of the world instead of reinventing the bicycle?

Annoying Questions

Such questions irritate the Albanians. "To us, proteins are more important than taste", states agronomist Fejzo Pashaj of agricultural collective number 17 Nentori, when, in referring to Western experience, I expressed surprise when told that they want to set up a huge production plant to fatten chickens with fish meal. Thus, many discussions are cut short with a frequently supreme lack of interest in the experiences of others or with a reference to the ideological and economic blocakde to which Tirana feels subjected.

"You are forgetting the blockade," said the chief engineer in Korca, too, when I asked him why they do notimport precision instruments instead of manufacturing them in Korca, at costs that are obviously uneconomicla.

The blockade remains a myth even though the party has turned it into reality. The blockade must not be questioned and becomes a fact through a mentality reminiscent of other mountain peasants in Europe: A mentality that consists of a heavy does of distrust, pride, puritanism and stubborness bordering on self-righteousness, however also nearly unlimited confidence and similar hospitality once the ice is broken. This mentality explains a lot. Keeping it in mind makes it easier to understand why the Albanians first accepted the Yugoslavs, then the Russians and finally the Chinese and then remained behind, disappointed and bitter, like credulous peasantswho were taken in by a peasant catcher in the city. This mentality also explains their attitude toward foreign credits, which are prohibited in the constitution, and the panic-like fear to owing anyone.

Credits? "If we buy something, we pay cash," they say, and it is as if one is listening to peasants who remember hundreds of years of daily wages and feudalism. "We can't understand how you Swedes borrow so much money abroad," they say with genuine concern in the Foreign Ministry. "Sweden is a neutral state. Aren't you afraid of losing your independence?"

Hard Discipline and Spartan Customs

Hoxha's regime seems to build consciously on this rural frugality and conservative cautiousness; with hard discipline and spartan attitudes it has become a system which has little in common with those of other socialist states in Eastern Europe. Therefore, in the Balkans, it is the Bulgarians who seem closest to the Albanians--the Bulgarians who at one time wer labeled the "Prussians" among the Balkans--and next to the ideological fathers Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, George Dimitrov is practically the only foreign communist one comes across in Albania: Here and there a bust or statue, occasionally a portrait behind glass. In Bulgaria, I always felt welcome and almost at home, writes Enver Hoxha in that part of his memoirs in which he gets even with the "lackeys of the archrevisionist Khrushchev" in Eastern Europe.

The heritage of this society of peasants, more than socialist value standards, seems to have shaped the aesthetic ideals that are being propagated in Hoxha's Albania; there are no traces of influences dating back to the period of artistic experimentation following the Russian October Revolution. Instead, a mixture of naive art and dogmatically interpreted socialist realism was created that is so exaggerated that it would be difficult to find something similar even in the basements of art museums in Warsaw or Budapest. Andrzej Wajda's "Man of Marble" from the stalinist 1950's still occupies his place of honor in the exhibition halls. I Albania, art must /represent/ something and one should be able to /see/ what is represents: Even if Khrushchev is considered to be the worst of all revisionists, there must be here--at least secretly--some sympathy for this Russian "muzhik" who said during an exhibition of modern art in Moscow that the pictures looked as if donkey tails had swished across the canvas.

The natural gallery of Tirana presents itself to the visitor from the West as a pathetic collection of cheap kitsch that has the revolution as its motive--the place is teeming with badly painted partisans and foundry workers casting steel, with people glorified to the extent that they are unrecognizable, small children unmasking American agents, and workers who are a cross between superman and Arno Breker's Third Reich monumental statues. I stop in front of a canvas which shows a worker in blue overalls, with obligatory swollen muscles and standing before an easel in an artist's studio, who explains to a rapt group of artists how they must paint. "We are against any elitist art," explains the tourist guide who herself is a painter, "with us, art must be such that it is immediately understood by the working masses." Should, conversely, the artists go to the factories and explain to the workers how they should do their lathe and foundry work? She prefers not to answer the question as too rhetorical. But she giggles; it takes a while before she regains her obligatory cool.

Literature is Viewed the Same Way

"A drama like Hamlet is not particularly important in a socialist society," says the chairman of the Writers' Association, Dritero Agolli. "With us, the basic dilemma of man has already been resolved." While I attempt to reassure myself that I heard him correctly, Agolli reports that, instead of Hamlet, they want literature that fights bureaucracy, intellectualism or technocratic tendencies in society. In response to my question, he suggests the topic of an inventor who, after a long struggle against bureaucrats who lack understanding and ingenuity, is able to persuade them that his invention is really ingenious and of benefit to all society. Such a novel must be written, he said. What Agolli does not mention--perhaps does not even know--is that it was this very topic which degenerated into a literary fad under Khrushchev. Vladimir Dudinxew's novel "Man Does Not Live by Bread Alone" is one of those novels that anticipated the political thaw in the Soviet Union in the mid-fifties.

Travel Into the Past

Again and again situations arise when everything seems to repeat itself and lead to the temptation to compare today's socialist Albania with an earlier development stage of the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe.

Thus a visit to Albania can also become a trip into the past, an almost perfect trip into that time period which in Eastern Europe is called "retro". Hungarian friends, with home I shared my impressions on my return while stopping over in Budapest, are slightly amused and feel very superior. All this is old hat. It is nothing but the stalinist fifties in a new format, the same gray world with its combination of deadly boredom and sounds emanating from ideological prayer wheels. Their smiles are a bit forced: Albania is of no interest to them, except possibly as an example of a semi-oriental exotic culture. Quite naturally, our discussion is colored by their central-European arrogance.

"As soon as these Albanians stick their noses across the border, they will realize that they live in a fool's paradise," they note.

Still, does history repeat itself? Could Albania be an example of such a repetition, which in the end astonishes and fills with enthusiasm only those directly involved? Closer examination shows that the parallels are no longer quite so bvious. Albania's isolation, for instance, is in many respects less than that of the classical stalinist society: Yugoslav or Italian television can be viewed in large parts of the country, and every evening, a relay station in Tirana transmits the news program of the Italian television (Telegiornale), which is transmitted in full length and without commentary. Party functionaries in Tirana say the foreign program "complements" their own--the fact that it also projects a completely different view of the world, does not seem to bother them too much. At least in the cities, almost everyone seems to have a good command of Italian; during the World Cup Soccer matches, the streets of Tirana were full of young people crowding around rare transistor sets to hear direct reports from Italian broadcasting stations. And this

schizophrenia of world views in the mass media does not appear to interrupt the system. Maybe the Western consumer society will all its freedom is not as great a magnet for a semi-oriental society ~~like~~ that of Albania as we imagine?

Yet, at the same time, isolation is a reality. "Ordinary" Albanians have almost no chance to leave the country, although party functionaries try to deal with the isolation through the use of statistics. "Albania has diplomatic relations with 95 countries," one frequently gets to hear, even from the smallest grade-school boy (a reply that is almost automatic as if in response to pushig a button), but what is meant to prove Albania's links to the rest of the world, has of course the opposite effect, since the citizens normally never bother with such a statistic; a society that has to document such a phenomenon /is/ in a sense isolated. This isolation also carries a high economic price and could have future political consequences as well.

Enveloped by the clatter of sewing machines and looms in the Korca textile plant, women sit at precisely the same machines theqy have at Lilienbach, Germany, as shown in photos of the solemn dedication ceremony of the factory: Both the photos and the machines are vintage 1947. The work climate here is worse than that in the textile factories of Lodz where embittered women workers went on strike during the summer of 1980, a kind of dress rehearsal for events in Poland later that same summer. And here? Does the isolation also have a political price? But nobody protests. "Yes, sure," they answer through an interpreter, "it is pretty noisy here." Sometimes one has quite a headache when one returns home. Wouldn't they like to move away from here? To another job? They laugh somewhat embarrassed by such an obviously silly question. A young girl with a scarf on her head answers; "But we work where our country needs us most."

Without the Least Trace of Irony

"Lead us!"

Where one is needed most is determined by the Albanian Workers Party. Free choice of work is non-existent in Albania: In an agricultural collective in the south of the country, they do not even want to understand my question. The party has a plan for the whole country and knows best. Why should anybody push to get his way? This would only harm the nation. "Lead us!" reads a propaganda poster in the village main street, created by party propagandists in the name of the people and addressed to the party, a reminder that what rules here, is, according to doctrine, the dictatorship of the proletariat. There is no doubt that this notion is close to Albanian reality. But here again, one must be careful about parallels. Because against /whom/ is that dictatorship directed?

It is easy to see that Albanian society is very homogeneous: A fully developed class structure never existed here, hardly a bourgeoisie in the traditional sense, no aristocracy, and the landowners and few entrepreneurs left the country with the Italian or German troops. Similarly, the abolition of all

religion in 1966 must be viewed rather as a political action against the three large church groups, which were considered /institutions/ to have always also represented foreign interests (the communists believed that they conceivably could become a basis for future organized opposition). "If we maintain that it was the people that did away with religion of its own volition, it is not mere propaganda," said a party functionary in a moment of inadmissable sincerity. Albania's peasants wanted to be masters of their own homes for the first time in history, and the churches reminded them of a time when that was not possible: This modification as well must be added to the classical picture of a stalinist party which establishes its power monopoly.

Peasants as the Only Class

It is this social homogeneity, a society with peasants as the only class and filled with patriotism for the first sovereign state in the nation's history which seems to be a reason of at least equal importance for the stability of the system as the dictatorial terror foreign observers tend to emphasize. The combination of a backward peasant society with stalinism also explains the absence of politics per se in Hoxha's Albania: After the collapse of the "world view" of the feudal lords and their underlings, an ideological vacuum developed that could never be filled by a peasant population that was largely indifferent toward ideologies. The peasants were interested in obtaining the right to own land, in preventing the return of the feudal lords, drainage to eliminate malaria and, in general, in their Albanian fatherland. The small group of communists promised them most of these things and filled the remaining vacuum with their own ideas. Therefore, politics in that society are a prerogative of the party--political decisions are made within the party and not in a dialogue with society, and presented to society. And the dictatorship becomes concrete /within/ the party rather than at the interface between it and society: A party, which since the war convulsed with bloody purges and repeated punishments of alleged traitors.

It is almost impossible for the "ordinary" Albanian or the casual visitor to gain an insight into the politica process. Because it is one of the most significant characteristics of this society that it is barely transparent, that it surrounds itself with secrets in some areas and that the system keeps creating new ones. A "terra incognita" for its citizens. In the museum of Korca, I look at a magnificent collection of icons by the Byzantine master Onufrij. The interpreter, a student at Tirana University, is just as enthused as I am, and together we admire one icon after the other until he asks me what they actually represent. They show the traditional motives of icon paintings, such as the crucification of Christ, the Last Judgment, the Last Supper, Christ in the Manger...

What do they represent? Is he joking? No, he honestly doesn't know what Onufrij describes, and I suddenly realize that I am facing a European youth who lost knowledge of the myths and values that form the basis of our civilization. While we make the rounds of the museum, I try to tell him about at least the most important things of the life of Christ and he listens very attentively, appears to look at the icons with new interest.

"About these things we have never learned anything," he then says.

7821
CSO: 3620/77

GDR DEFENSE MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON CUBA VISIT

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 15 ~~No 47, 1982~~ (signed to press 15 Nov 82) p 5

[HORIZONT interview with Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member, SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR minister for national defense, on his visit to Cuba, 14-23 October 1982 (date and place of interview not given): "GDR-Cuba Friendship and Militant Partnership Have Been Intensified"]

[Text] [Question] In the second half of October you visited socialist Cuba heading an official military delegation of the GDR—as we know it was not the first time. What were your most important impressions compared to earlier visits?

[Answer] The first visit by an official military delegation of the GDR was in the spring of 1971—then we participated in the demonstrations on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the victory over the mercenary invasion at Playa Giron, and we got acquainted with the "General Antonio Maceo" officers' school of the ground forces, which we were able to visit again this time. Here it became particularly obvious what enormous progress the revolutionary armed forces of Cuba has made in the past 11 years in protecting the achievements and the peaceful construction of the Cuban people, in developing an army of rebels into a modern socialist army. This school, founded in 1963, was given college status in 1978, and in July 1982 the first students finished their 4-year education. About 70 percent of the teaching officers have received a college education. The minister of the revolutionary armed forces of Cuba, Army Gen Raul Castro, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and deputy chairman of the state council and the council of ministers, stated that the educational program does not yet meet modern demands in all respects but is already quite good. We were able to fully confirm that—the study rooms, the classrooms and above all the obstacle course and the training courses for short-range tank defense and for combatting incendiary agents make possible the very intensive and hard, realistic training and education of the future young officers.

[Question] Were you able to note similar progress in other fields of social life?

[Answer] Yes, because everywhere in the country there is building activity going on, new enterprises, roads, power lines, schools, hospitals and also

apartments have been built. Since the establishment of the people's power, yearly dozens of large-scale projects have started operation--all in all over 1,000, a quarter of them with Soviet assistance. Apart from the traditional export goods, sugar, tobacco, and rum, today Cuba produces cement, nickel, combines, vehicles, television sets and data processing machines. We were able to visit a ceramics factory which was set up with the assistance of the GDR in record time on the Isla de la Juventud (Isle of Youth). The former Isla de Pinos on which Fidel and Raul Castro as well as their comrades-in-arms were imprisoned after the storming of the Moncada Barracks from Santiago de Cuba. Today on the island there are dozens of country schools, modern teaching institutes with boarding schools ~~for children~~ and young people from young states.

However, the blockade by the United States and the constant threat to Cuba of diversive actions, of attacks by counterrevolutionary mercenaries, including demonstrative actions by the U.S. Armed Forces and joint maneuvers of the United States with formations of Latin American states in the Caribbean have forced the Cuban leadership to constantly pay great attention to the national defense and make available comprehensive means for it.

This made the swift development of the consumer goods industry and housing construction as well as a rapid increase in the material standard of living of the working people more difficult. Thus, today food and the essential material goods on demand are still rationed. The free sale of surplus goods of the individual economies at so-called farmers' markets is still in the initial stages. The health sector and the education sector, however, operate at a high level which is unique in all America. In these fields Cuba has made striking internationalist achievements: about 50,000 Cuban physicians, teachers, construction experts and other specialists work in over 30 developing countries.

[Question] In the past years the Cuban health sector--along with the entire state and economic apparatus--was under great strain due to epidemics and bad weather....

[Answer] This is right. In 1981 the Cubans had to fight a yellow fever epidemic, whose spread must be seen in connection with the methods of the imperialist biological warfare as well as with the U.S. blockade. Government offices and concerns of the United States prevented the sale of corresponding vaccines and antiepidemic means even by Mexican and FRG companies.

For several years now Cuba has also been stricken with three other--as Fidel Castro said--ruinous scourges: swine fever, cane rust and tobacco blue mold. The large harvest and animal losses, of course, also resulted in additional economic difficulties for the foreign trade and foreign exchange balance which, due to the very depressed sugar prices on the capitalist world market, is serious anyhow.

As is known the U.S. Armed Forces have been experimenting for decades with precisely such bateria, viruses, microorganisms and pests that can be used as "economic weapons." It has been proved that they practiced chemical and

biological warfare in Korea and in Vietnam. Therefore, it is only understandable that many Cubans think that these epidemics and diseases have been brought into their country by Yankee imperialists.

[Question] In 1981 Fidel Castro discussed that in detail. You had a long talk with him....

[Answer] Yes, he received us on 21 October at about 1900 and we spent over an hour with him in his office at the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. I conveyed to him the greetings of the SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker and briefed him on the successful implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. Fidel Castro was very interested in our experiences with science and technology, particularly microelectronics and the employment of robots. Upon our request, he discussed in detail the political situation in Latin America and the attacks of U.S. imperialism against Cuba, Nicaragua as well as against the liberation movements, in particular that of El Salvador. The Falklands conflict upset the imperialist plans to smash the Sandinist Government of Nicaragua, but at present the United States is doubling its efforts to win back its dominant influence on the states of Latin America and maintain in power the regimes depending on it. Cuba, however, it was stressed by Fidel Castro, Raul Castro and all other Cuban partners in the talk, is not to be blackmailed and is not to be taken off its course of building and defending socialism, supporting young states in the spirit of proletarian internationalism by new forms of economic war or military aggression.

[Question] You have also visited the Hendrik Witbooi Solidarity School on the Isla de la Juventud.

[Answer] Yes, it is the same school which Erich Honecker also visited 2 years ago. Young people from Namibia, a former colony of the German empire whose troops waged a criminal war against the populace, curelly persecuted the insurgents under Hendrik Witbool and pursued a policy of genocide, are now studying there. After World War I, Namibia fell under the rule of the racist South African regime which exploited the rich natural wealth of the country and opposed all UN resolutions on the granting of independence. As socialist German military men, we saw with deep emotion how students whose parents had been murdered by the South African racists on Angolan soil, in Cassinga, commemorated this event in an artistic presentation and pledged never to forget Cassinga. And we told these African youths who are being educated as guests of the Cuban people: "Some day you will return to your liberated homeland for whose peaceful and happy future you are now studying here along with the students from Namibia who are receiving a college education in the GDR or have even received a college teaching degree—children of a people who in their own homeland must not even have access to secondary schools or colleges.

[Question] What do you regard as the main event during your stay in Cuba?

[Answer] The visit of the official GDR military delegation to this beautiful country, on which Christopher Columbus set foot almost 500 years ago and which

he admired, has conveyed to us new impressions of the industriousness and revolutionary passion of the liberated people in the first socialist state of America. We have once more seen confirmation of the fact that the decisive source of strength of each socialist country lies in the creative vigor of its people, in the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist Party and their deep friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

During these days we became acquainted with many outstanding people in socialist Cuba: workers, peasants, physicians, teachers, engineers, party and state officials, members of the revolutionary armed forces. They are communists who are most deeply devoted to Marxism-Leninism, to the victorious ideas of proletarian internationalism, who under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party headed by the outstanding revolutionary and statesman Fidel Castro are accomplishing truly heroic deeds on all fronts of the class struggle and the socialist construction. In the armed forces we met well-trained and educated soldiers and noncommissioned officers, officers and generals who are mastering the scientific foundations of modern military science.

Certainly our visit has helped to reaffirm and deepen the firm friendship and fraternal combat unity between the GDR and Cuba. This is particularly important at a time when U.S. imperialism has launched crusades against the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. Cuba is a special target of the Reagan administration which would like to crush all forces of national independence and social progress in Central America and in the Caribbean.

We are convinced that these dangerous machinations will founder on the political and moral strength of the peoples, particularly of socialist Cuba, on the justice and victory of the cause of peace and socialism.

We are convinced that Cuba, the beacon of socialism in the Caribbean, will also in the future not go out but will shine more and more brilliantly and point for the Latin American peoples the way to a happy and peaceful future.

CSO: 2300/67

ANTISUBMARINE PATROL TRAINING DESCRIBED

East Berlin VOLKSAMEE in German No 37, 1982 (signed to press 6 Sep 82) p 4

[Article by Lt Col Siegfried Posselt: "Portrait in Sidelights: Dedicated to the Submarine Hunt"]

[Text] Permit me to present: Lieutenant junior grade Rainer Harms, commander of the "Luebz"

--Born in Rostock 27 April 1955
--Graduated with honors in 1973, admitted as a candidate to the party and began studies at the Karl Liebknecht Officers School
--Happily married since 1977, and commissioned lieutenant in the same year
--Began serving as second watch officer on board the subchaser "Buetzow," which I was appointed to command 2 years later
--Today commanding officer of the antisumbarine vessel "Luebz"
--Once intent on studying human genetics but finally decided in favor of the profession of naval officer
--A passionate philatelist, "with a Lada in the closet," as far as the value of the collection is concerned.

I am all alone in the commander's cabin of the antisubmarine vessel "Luebz" and have time to look around. To the left of the door is a wall-shelf full of books. It is said that books can tell you about their owner. I need such information about the man I want to present. My eyes scan the spines. Hofe and Clausewitz lean against each other as good neighbors. The one is represented with "Red Snow," "Merci, Friend" and "Final Agreement," and other with "Selected Military Works." Navigation manuals are leaning against them and a volume about international law of the sea. In another bay: Erich Honecker's "From My Life" and in booklet form material from the Fourth Central Committee Meeting...Farthest left two books in the Russian language, on seamanship, already a bit worn-out. They arouse my curiosity. I am flipping through them as Lt J G Rainer Harms enters--the youngest commanding officer in LCDR Klaus Rohde's antisubmarine patrol boat section, based on rank and age.

The two volumes in Russian at the extreme left on the shelf have a history. Officer candidate Rainer Harms accepted them from the hands of an old Soviet naval officer. His name is written under the dedication. Another entry in German is signed by Dr Birr, captain and instructor at the Karl Liebknecht Officers School. It reads: "To the best officers school candidate on the navigational training voyage of Training Course 73 around Zealand-Gdynio-Tallinn, awarded on behalf of the Soviet brothers in arms..."

That was on 22 July 1976--in the presence of the Soviet brothers in arms: They were seated in the lecture hall, already in high spirits because of their imminent leave. But the high point of the training is yet to be evaluated: In the past weeks the candidates practiced all the aspects of navigation on a voyage. In unknown waters, mind you. That was anything but easy. The thoughts of officer candidate Rainer Harms are occupied with this when his name is called. He did not misunderstand. He is the only one to be called forward. That surprises him. You did not do any heroic deed, he thinks. And he is a little confused when the Soviet naval officer steps up to him and presses his hand. He is to pass on the textbooks when he is older and more mature. To a young, promising comrade at his side.

Meanwhile, 6 years have passed. The then officer candidate now commands a modern antisubmarine patrol ship as lieutenant junior grade. The two volumes which accompanied him on this path now stand unread on the bookshelf of the commander's cabin. Lt J G Rainer Harms's Russian technical vocabulary is not sufficient to tackle them. But he might need them when in the not too distant future he will study--as has been planned--at a military academy in the Soviet Union.

Early Morning Inspection

Morning muster on the boat deck is over. Those who have anything to report to the commander come to his cabin: Petty Officer 2nd Class Peter Borth--the boatswain, Petty Officer 2nd Class Andreas Bruelke--the officer of the deck...I am sitting in as a quiet observer. The meal plan for the day must be changed; there are 15 more men to feed. An entry is missing from the log book. Lt J G Rainer Harmr makes a note of it. The incorrect delivery of weapons and ammunition must be evaluated, he remarks. He flips through the ship's diary, scans the columns with the ballpoint pen: The seals have been checked, as well as the lines and fenders and the ammunition stocks. The ship's chronometers were compared at 0700 hours and synchronized to the second. He asks in order to check, and gives instructions: "That will be changed..." or "You will report to me..." without raising his voice noticeably. Nothing imperious, but a touch of friendliness in the voice, which lends something youthful to it and makes it congenial. And it occurs to me: What he says sounds decisive and clear, seems well thought out and excludes contradiction. He is used to giving orders and presumes that they will be obeyed as a matter of fact.

The ship he commands was commissioned in February this year. The crew has learned to use the equipment and weapons in combat. This will shortly be tested by the senior staff. It would be an illusion if they were to maintain that they are already capable of completely utilizing the combat capacities of the ship.

Tough training is still needed for that. "To have a 1 as a goal would be illusory." Those are his words. I still have them in my ear as he said them. "But a 2 should be possible." They want to defend their title of "Best Ship" in the socialist competition.

Inquiries Between thn Bridge and Engine Room

The commander is the sovereign leader, it is said on board. What has impressed the crew about him? "The clear political attitude as a communist, the expert knowledge, the endurance," (Ens Joerg Zipfel). "The way he identifies with the ship--with the crew" (Seaman Tino Oechel). "His whole demeanor" (Seaman Andre Schoene). "How with his 27 years he has everything so firmly in hand" (Seaman Jens Meyer). "That he, when it is called for, calls someone to him and says: Well done!" (Petty Officer 2nd Class Andreas Bruelke). "The demands he places on the people--above all his officers" (Ens Michael Rohde). "The will power he musters" (Ens Hans-Peter Kuchar). "That he is a good sport and sometimes also cracks a joke" (Petty Officer 3rd Class Uwe Seidel). And in many variations is repeated, when the talk turns to his weaknesses: In a tense situation he has to be calmer.

As if he did not know it--Lt J G Rainer Harms. He has a lot of impatience in him and sometimes he presumes too much. What will he do when the submarine chase fever grabs him? He still takes too many decisions away from the commanders of the combat division. "That will change," he says. "With the increasing level of training. Even over the next 6 months." Since he left the officers school he has not stopped learning. In the future as well nobody will be able to absolve him from that. But they will take him at his word, the 25 communists on board. He can rely on that.

Debut as Commander in the ATAKA Room

This confounded learning--it never ends. And he also does not want it to end. Once in a while memories come to life: He sees himself sitting in the cabin, scarcely having become commander of the "Beutzow," of the sub-chaser which is now no longer in service. This was 3 years ago. They are practicing an attack by an antisubmarine group. Contact is to be made and maintained with the enemy ship, the position toward the enemy must be taken up, bow and stern attacks alternate...For the first time he has to make decisions as a commander.

LCDR Bernds Eue directs the training. Rainer Harms still lacks the power of imagination to understand the situation at the site of the action at sea. He has the sounding and distance to the submarine. What must his course be in order to avoid interfering with the contact by another sub-chaser? With some difficulty he succeeds in taking up the recommended position. He follows the submarine. But it changes course, sharply toward his sub-chaser. Precisely at the moment when he is calculating the minimum range. That surprises him. He has not counted on that. The distance is shrinking while he is watching. Only one or two cables still separate the submarine and the sub-chaser. How to react? A decisive maneuver would be necessary. He would have to run very fast

over a measured distance, ask the division chief for the assignment of a new escort sector and resume the contact which had been lost. He would not lose the submarine. Combat Sector I keeps the dead reckoning. But that does not enter his mind--cannot enter his mind. He still lacks the necessary antisubmarine patrol experience. Only a single thought is in his head: "You must not lose contact!" Consequently, he splashes around, as they say, in its vicinity.

He must motivate his decision in the evaluation room at the blackboard. Around him are the older and more experienced commanders. LCDR Siegfried Kuehn steps up, describes the maneuver from his point of view, what would have been necessary.

Yes, they teach him how to hunt submarines, and later they play through such situations with him on the table, use pencils as submarines and sub-chasers, push them back and forth, mark their courses, demand that he makes decisions, correct him.

The Entire Crew Attacks, Not Just the Commander

He must keep his nose to the grindstone if he wants to command a ship. It has remained thus, to this day. The combat capabilities of the modern antisubmarine patrol ship, which has replaced the sub-chaser of the past, must be mastered and utilized. Not at some point, but in the shortest possible time. This is demanded by the present tense situation. And the antisubmarine sections of the training, those are moments of truth. For him as well as for everyone on board. In combat they may not permit an enemy submarine to arrive at its deployment target, to interrupt our own supply lines or to attack the harbor. No ship in the submarine reconnaissance and attack group may evade this responsibility--no officer of the watch, no sonar man, no helmsman, no pump man. He attaches great importance to making this clear, Lt J G Rainer Harms. In man to man conversations. At meetings of the communists. In the FDJ organization. So that no one should think that he as commander only has to lead and the rest would follow. "You must write that," he says to me. "That is important. I can set high goals for myself as commander. But if the crew is not behind me, I can forget the whole thing..." In his conversation he sometimes uses examples from one of the antisubmarine exercises of the past. His crew has never failed him. But once they exceeded themselves. "100 percent successful attack," it was said. Over several hours, which constituted 75 to 80 percent of the possible time, they maintained contact with the "enemy submarine." All the depth charges hit their target without exception. The level of training of this crew will be achieved and exceeded. Nothing else is on his mind.

Withdrawal Into the "Hinterland"

In the evening of a normal day of training, when Lt J G Rainer Harms climbs on his bike at the harbor in order to go to his "hinterland," then he knows what he has accomplished. Sometimes he does not want to hear or see any more. It may be like that today, for he says that answering my questions about himself was more strenuous than 12 hours of sub-chasing. But at home his wife Irene and

sons Thomas and Holger, one 4 and the other 2, are waiting for him. They expect a friendly word from him and have much to tell. And Thomas, the oldest, does not forget to ask whether his father greeted the "uncles" on board, as he asked him to do that morning. They have been his good friends ever since he visited them once when he was a 3-year-old lad. And just as Daddy on his ship he believes: You must have discipline!

11949
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

RISKS OF PEDAGOGICAL MODELS' 'AUTHORITATIVE STYLE' POINTED OUT

East Berlin NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR in German Vol 30 No 10, Oct 82 pp 71-81

[Lecture by Prof Hans-Dieter Schmidt, child psychologist, Humboldt University, East Berlin presented at 20th theoretical conference on "Days of Children's and Adolescents' Literature" in Halle, April 1982: "The Image of the Child--A Norm and Its Effects"]

[Text] The topic of the child admits of many variations in science and art. Artistic varieties of it are found in movies, the visual arts and literature. As far as the visual arts and literature are concerned, I am thinking of Uhde's "Little Moorland Princess," the Boy of Picasso's rose period, Zille's victorious and defeated kids, and Heidrun Hegewald's "Child at Play"; I am thinking of Thomas Mann's Hanno and Dostoyevsky's Ilyusha, Strittmatter's Tinko and Jersild's Reine. The most typical examples they may not be; my perspective may be somewhat one-sided. Be that as it may: to me they are the prototypes for a transcendence from the subject of the child in its narrowly defined isolated sphere of experience to a wider frame of reference that relates the child to the societal the social environment.

One might think of such works of art as purely individual creations with their roots confined to an autonomous creative Ego. It would be hard to build a bridge from there, however, between those who write about and for children and paint them and someone like myself who, as a child psychologist, empirically explores the manifestations and changes in the child's thinking, feeling and behavior and is looking for rules that govern all that. The distance between these two different ways of approaching the nature and growth of a child can be mitigated, however, if we turn the shared element of awareness we all bear within us into the focal point: the "image of the child" as part of the societal, the social awareness in which we all have a part. Being a copy and symbol at once, it works as a naive theory on the nature and behavior of the child, as a norm, reflective or not, and as a principle for our manner of dealing with the child.

What then does the "image of the child" mean? -- Actually, something very plain, to be gathered from answers to questions such as these: What is the child's potential for feeling, judging and understanding? What is the child's place within our life's order of values? Which values are beneath and which are above the child? What rights should we grant children, what duties expect of them? What produces child development, what moves it ahead? For what must children

be equipped so they can one day manage the world we leave to them with success? In our image of the child then, ideas about possibilities and limits congeal with those about the conditions and capacities of child development, about the meaning and value of the child's existence and growth, and about maxims for shaping and directing the child.

The image of the child in our commonwealth belongs to the ideology of a social order which for good reasons may be regarded as friendly to the child. Deficiencies are thereby not precluded, however. Those are what I want to talk about, deliberately leaving aside all acclaiming of our successful achievements. I should like to outline what developmental psychology and behavioral biology are after these days so as to complete, and also to revise, the image of the child. And I also want to raise the question whether or not the image of the child that in a practical sense informs our society conforms with scientific insights.

That intention could align and ally us all, I think, because it is our shared obligation to be our children's agents, i.e., to contribute by whatever means we have to an essentially identical urge toward promoting a more beautiful and productive life and experience for them. We presuppose a unanimity to the effect that the cognitive, volitional and emotive potentials of our children are likely to be the most reliable and the dearest reserve for our productive force for the future--probably much more vital than our material and technical resources, which some people want us to believe are over the long run the overriding values.

Let me start with a downright trivial state of affairs. The children's psychological development takes place within the social range and in the framework of our way of life and culture. That space is filled with requirements and inducements for education and training; "the child develops by being trained and educated," says Rubinstein, the noted Soviet psychologist. We know for certain as a result of much research: without such a space, a human countenance and type and character would and could never and nowhere develop. That is what we mean by the social determinants in psychological development. And this is the basis from which my analysis and discussion start.

Herder already knew it: "Man is born for society!" To us that means today: the child's biological behavioral blueprint is such that it is set and long prepared for individual socialization. Phylogeny has done that. In the transition era from animal to man, it produced the phase of man's social conditioning--a historic event of most ancient prehistory that converted the biological into a social hold on life. Phylogeny gave man--and hence gave the child--capacities for a material and mental embodiment and appropriation that must be regarded as a biological programming for the social way of life. The structural and functional cerebral development testifies to that most compellingly. Another indicator for that advance lies in human speech and its cultural derivatives. No generalized pessimistic confrontation therefore is tenable between the individual's biological indigence on the one side and the culturally conditioned repression of the need for satisfaction, on the other. An occasional, often depressing, "Unbehagen in der Kultur" [Civilization and Its Discontent], to quote Freud, is not constitutive for man per se. Wherever encountered, it is due to a construction error in any given civilization and can be corrected. It may block the individual's self-realization and cause painful conflicts--all the way to pathological psychosomatic conditions. It must be uncovered and eliminated.

One such construction error that aggravates the relationship between the child and society I must comment on in this context. It is widespread, especially in highly industrialized countries. It lies in overlooking, underrating or ignoring some of the child's phylogenetic needs and demands that have nothing directly to do with the capacities for embodiment and appropriation referred to above (i.e. the ability consciously to recognize, to think, learn or fashion). Which of the child's needs and demands are the ones that most of the time fall by the wayside? Anyone who studies the child's behavioral development under the aspect of conflict and fear phenomena will find out soon: they are the boundless urge to move and the need for close bodily contact, which Freud correctly related to the sex drive, and the inclination, connected with it, to form social and emotional bonds with but a few persons the child relates to. Those bonds form the premise for what is sometimes referred to as the warmth of the nesting ground. It is enormously important for the child's protection--given the insecurity, the perilous and menacing experiences of the intellectually still immature and thus often helpless child, this bonded protection--that forms the basis for daring to attack, grasp and shape the environment.

Why now is it that even our own societal or social institutions--the family, the day nursery, the kindergarten and the school--are not without indications of this construction error? That the child must suffer for being denied elemental needs? I have some hunches why that is so and would like to propose them for consideration. My impression is that the Marxist theory on human development is at times still being misunderstood as an empiricistic and intellectualistic milieu and tabula rasa theory. And too frequently I run into an overt or covert mistrust of the kind of anthropology and behavioral biology that call our attention to phylogenetically acquired demands for movement, contact and bonds. And furthermore I suspect that our society's predominant orientation toward cognition, knowledge and performance greatly helps induce a cool and severe rationalism which--if made too much of--can be disastrous for the child. The child simply needs more emotional warmth and societal attention and comfort to get along than we adults do. Only that way can the child get the necessary degree of inner stability that is imperative to be ready later to respond to our society's performance expectations by performance. (Incidentally, and by way of criticism: Are all these performance expectations actually necessary? Take, e.g., our intolerant fetishism about grades that makes life so tough, and not only for the slow learners. Or take the "seduction" of a selected staff of children into accepting the quality standards of high performance sports. And then I ask: may not the acquisition of the abilities to love be as important as that of the abilities to think?).

I now arrive at a second set of problems touched on also by Hans Weber during the November conference in Karl-Marx-Stadt (cf. NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR, No 2, 1982). It also closely connects with the image of the child as defined above. What I have in mind can be suggested by the brief formula "deficit model for the child." This model, used by many people (most of the time without their knowing it or being aware of it), amounts to this: whatever children feel, think and do--being unfinished, they always remain far behind the adults who, a priori, feel more deeply, think more logically and act more systematically. So our job is to turn the child into an adult as fast as possible. There are, no doubt, some merits to the model. It proceeds from the idea of development

and establishes the requirement and ordinary practice of systematic training and education. Having child's play overlap with preschool and school learning and then the intertwining of that learning with productive work are examples of it we all are familiar with and we all approve. Yet the model also implies risks I wish to commment on in the following.

The first risk lies in the evaluation that is inherent in the model. Being an adult is the ideal standard strivenfor; training and education, as it were, come down to "redeem" the child from being a child. The results are apparent every day and in many places: "My Felix keeps clean already, even at night--finally!"--"Does your child drink out of a cup by now? He doesn't? But that you have to teach him before he gets into the nursery. At his age, that must function!"--"My child can already read books, yours too?" Such remarks reveal three things: A strange devaluation of natural transitional developmental stages, then a clearly revealed contest among the guardians for having the most "grown up" child, and finally the risk of exacting too much from him. (How threatening that is can be seen by the frightfully high number of bed-wetting children--partly because of too exacting demands made and partly because of even inhumane demands for cleanliness.) Yet the adults would not even have to burden the educational process so much with the ideal standards of their mature state. Developmental psychology shows that the adult guardian becomes a model for the child that learns by imitation solely by dint of his existence as perceived--which appears, at least to the smaller infants, as an incarnation of admirable powers. Children as such want to be older, bigger, stronger, smarter and more mature than they happen to be. Anyone who observes the children in their role playing will have no trouble finding that to be so.

A second risk likewise results from the model's evaluation hierarchy. Someone who considers adult maturity so weighty an ideal will all too easily slide into the role of the know-it-all, always superior and condescending educator who lets the power of disposition he has over the child, which cannot be contested in the first place, unscrupulously turn into a preponderance of administrative and restraining measures. Thereby an authoritative educational style is generated interdictory to the child, which completely negates the collective, cooperative aspect of pedagogical processes. Technical psychological literature has gone into detail about its consequences for the formation of character--the child's passivity, his trying to get away with things and his hypocrisy, and even his aggressiveness.

A third risk should interest and concern the writers in particular. The deficit model leads to simply not noticing the child's productivity and creativity in thought and action. We meet this truly marvellous developmental phenomenon in all phases of child growth. Many instructive examples exist: recently, the experimentally demonstrated discursive, that is imperceptual subjective, representation of object characteristics by a 6-month old baby not yet able to speak; systematic experimentation by an 18-month old with his budding locomotive skills; the discovery of principles for the solution of real life problems in the second and third year of life; the inventing of entirely new words due to the infants and preschool children being hard pressed for speech; the spontaneous and free-wheeling drawing of objects and events, not yet encumbered by artistic traditions and convention; or the smooth movement on the as-if level of role playing with creative transformations of reality in service to dramatic designs. The last

two instances span the long creative period between the third and tenth years of life. They and all others document something most essential if one wants to plumb them at greater depth: A child may certainly be our equal, may even leave us behind here and there by what it can do. Should that not suggest a measure of modesty--as prerequisite to an attitude that creates better conditions for the unfolding of the child's potentials? Picasso had something like that in mind when he put his pictures on bullfights together with children's pictures and published them together.

The risks of the model I mentioned are neither invented nor irrelevant to our social reality. He who keeps his eyes and ears open will find abundant evidence for their abounding in practical everyday life. Therefore it would be a good idea to give up the deficit concept definitively and irrevocably. A genuine dialectical development model is needed. Remember Hegel: development is suspension in a threefold sense. First that means that within us adults psychological potentials are preserved that were formed in our childhood. Looked at it like that, the child is our own mirror-image, an opportunity for us to become better familiar with ourselves. And it furthermore means that in the child there are psychological potentials that we have lost when we shed out childhood.

An evaluation different in kind must be discussed within the scope of a third set of problems. My question here is: for which psychological features of the child must we grant an especially high place value and emphatically foster their consolidation and stabilization? I want to be explicit about what I have in mind with this question: I am interested in the child's personality development. And I do understand the concept of personality, with Marx, as a "social quality" of the individual, i.e. as a value and quality characteristic of acts and properties mirrored against the central requirements for ensuring and enhancing societal, social life. There are two different sides to personality development, a normative one, that has to do with the "ought" of our ideals and models, and an empirical one, to be derived from the quiddity of observed development. The instance of developmental circumstances and conditions mediates the two, and that includes training and education.

From where should we get the ideals for personality development? Reasonably, it seems to me, from prognosticating on the needs for living conditions confronting our children once they are grown. And what will they be? No one today is likely to be able to tell us for sure. So we have no other way out but to extrapolate on a long-range basis valid goals and values from our own experience thus far in test situations in our own lives. How can one define such goals and values? Three years ago, I paraphrased them in a publication as follows: "One day the child is to be independent, without our being there and without our guidance. The child is to be able to shape his own life as an adult successfully through socially useful work. The child should agree with his present and future life and affirm both happiness and unhappiness, success as well as failure. Later he ought to be able to fight and ought to want to fight for making truly humane conditions of life prevail; he is to learn that he is nowhere abandoned and gets help when he wants to help others; he is to realize that life has its basis in the common actions by many for the good of the individual. And we should always remember that a good educator becomes redundant through his education, enabling the child no longer to need his mediation some day." This is how I understand the model for the child's personality development.

What then, measured against the frame of reference of such ideas, teaches us the reality of practiced standards and developmental phenomena generated through them? What fits together here and what does not?

So as not to be misunderstood it might make sense at this point to suggest the framework conditions for our way of life that must be there even to admit such standards. Let us mention the key terms: our level of production and consumption, our public health and social welfare successes, our network of nurseries and kindergartens to complement and relieve the family and, last but not least, our concern for preserving a protective shield for all the things referred to, for peace in the world. There is vast evidence, let me add, for a remarkable rapprochement between the ideal and reality. Here some key terms should also suffice: the already mentioned coupling between learning and working processes; the promotion of performance motivation which, though age-specific, always implies an ambitious profile of tasks in our educational plans; and finally the collectively borne and oriented shaping of character.

Again I must not fail to nail down symptoms which are pointing to construction errors--this time possibly leading to the burdening, blocking, even destruction of the child's personality development. And which symptoms occur to me here?

Since I cannot deal with all of them, let me start with a catalogue of problems. I have my doubts about the widespread smugness that assumes we have solved the educational policy problem of a congruence between current education and training goals (as standards as well as in practice) and the future requirements for meeting our tests in the world of tomorrow. I also find one is making a big deal everywhere in espousing independence and self-reliance as an educational goal and making it effective under the normal conditions of the child's existence. I am frightened by the occasionally formulated principle, which usually is only realized in part fortunately, of assigning to all educators a unity of goals and effects. It violates the developmental law of contradiction, it seems to me, and entangles the child in a web of control instances and persons that leaves no margin for decision-making and from which there often is no escape. Nor can I reconcile myself to the fact that the child's mind keeps to be fed with a conventional, indeed an anachronistic, notion of a functional gender distinction causing a false evaluation of himself and others.

I am especially concerned with the model for "independence and self-reliance." That is mainly so because it conforms--as I understand it--with the central objective of our social development: must we not enable the citizen to exercise a critical control over his living conditions--on a mass basis and as a mass phenomenon--in order thereby to release at the same time his productive and creative potential? I believe the weal and woe of our future will largely depend on when and how we attain that goal. In theory and practice, that model has many contradictions, absurdities and uncertainties, I find. I shall now mention a few of them.

Too much is made, it seems to me, of the position of the child as an object in the educational process. E.g., I cannot agree with the statement from a noted pedagogue that the socialist personality evolving in school children and adolescents is marked by the desire "to conform with the growing new and higher

requirements in all spheres of life." Viewed under the aspect of the ideal, I am asking that pedagogue: Should the adolescents not at least critically examine the need for higher demands before they accept them? Are we not doing the same thing? And if we do not do so--should we not make efforts in that direction? What am I driving at? -- I regard education as a cooperation between the educator and the child in solving developmental tasks, as a partnership on the basis of turning the objective content of such tasks into a problem, and this by both partners.

Despite longtime efforts by our educational psychologists toward empirically establishing and enforcing at our schools the principle of instruction oriented to thinking, by and large a receptive acquisition of material still predominates. Storing knowledge often still enjoys a higher place value than the training in flexible and productive thought operations and inferences. That is also true of the expanded secondary school. Anyone who deals with students can tell you a thing or two about that. In the actual educational sphere the situation is still more precarious. In the family and social educational institutions, independence mainly is wanted where it is a matter of the child's taking care of himself, so that the overtaxed educators get relieved--when the children wash themselves and get dressed on their own and get their own breakfast, for instance. Much worse is the situation in fostering mental independence--regarding their own opinions, evaluations, decisions; to keep one's mouth shut, be proper and punctual, adapt and accommodate oneself, in short, being good and well behaving are qualities too many educators ask of our children, and expect and reward, to an extent that is totally out of line with the educational goal of our pedagogics. Indicating doubtful, skeptical or critical arguments make life tougher for many children to be able to cope. That is regrettable and a shame at the same time because a critical question addressed to the father or the teacher could generate reflection and stop premature judgments and make both partners more receptive and hospitable in listening to others and taking them seriously--for the benefit of exercising social exchange and learning well-balanced and prudent argumentation.

The model I advocate--let me add this--conforms with the system of children's needs. Already for the 2-year old we seek and stubbornly insist on independence and self-reliance and seek to make them prevail against any resistance. The adult's enviable autonomy--as it appears from the child's perspective--furnishes the model for it. But this child tendency also depends on a phylogenetically acquired trait of the human species which is called exploration drive by the behavioral biologists. Without that acquisition, showing up in our behavior as curiosity, pleasure in experimenting, critical testing and mental reservation, for the purpose of actively procuring, producing and evaluation information, the ape-man could never have gotton out of his animalistic form of existence. Furthermore we have to consider this: if we induce even infants to take care of themselves, we must not be surprised that they will later draw general inferences from such a posture and seek to acquire intellectual and social independence.

Well considered (even if not unconditional) respect for the need for autonomy, as psychologists know, facilitates the shaping of personality traits we define by concepts such as initiative, pleasure in making decisions and taking risks, a critical acumen, and cognitive productivity and creativeness. Results of

having the autonomy drive frustrated are found in children and adolescents we consider passive, complacent, obsequious, afraid of authority, shunning risks, and unproductive. But the result may also be aggressiveness, when the child has not yet given up his resistance to that frustration. If we want to take steps against the development of the features mentioned last, we must grant the model of independence and self-reliance more weight in the system of our educational objectives.

I started with the image of the child, the idea of its essence and its formative guideline. As suggested by my own professional scientific mode of asking questions and thinking, I mainly wanted to show at which spots critical probing and revisions of the image appear to be necessary. That seemed more important to me than enumerating all that has proven itself and is worth preserving. What I presuppose is that our child image has a share in determining the child's real position in society with all the opportunities and risks, and that a modified child image can make a real difference in improving the child's position. And what do I mean by "improvement" here?

Whatever we may do for it, it will not (and should not) take the child into a Land of Cockaigne. As our own place in society is charged with contradiction, conflicts and tension, it will also always affect the child at equal measure. It is growing into the dialectics of making its way through life, which is painful sometimes but also always exceedingly attractive and activating. Yet we should be capable and willing to make their growing up easier as they are, compared to us, extremely insecure and vulnerable, certainly not by being overly solicitous and by over-indulgence, but simply through assured knowledge about what they need, what they require, in order to be equipped for making demands on others and on themselves later on. Not to a mean extent this task is a real struggle for the emancipation of the child. Each of us should see which of his means are the best for satisfying that task.

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MAROTHY DEFINES PARTY ROLE IN THE ECONOMY, PRAISES SOVIET PAST

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Laszlo Marothy: "Inheritance and Source"]

[Text] We are remembering an event which created a new historic epoch for mankind, the Great October Socialist Revolution. The social revolution which was victorious in 1917 was the first which did not replace the power of one exploiting class with that of another but rather desired something qualitatively new--it brought into being the power of the exploited, of the oppressed.

Today there is no corner of our earth which is not affected by the force of this history forming revolution. In the past six and a half decades the spirit of the Lenin October has transformed continents, and it is doing so today. It was proven long ago, concerning the Great October Socialist Revolution, that its historic significance is enriched with the passage of decades, with the unfolding of the world revolutionary process.

It is our pride that the forces of Hungarian progress did not remain distant from those forming the events defining the history of the newest age of mankind, did not remain distant from the Russian proletarian revolutionaries. Hundreds of Hungarian prisoners of war joined the Bolshevik party. Tens of thousands participated in the armed battles of the revolution, of the civil war. On the fronts and in the rear Hungarian internationalists took up arms in defense of the first worker-peasant state. We count the deeds of the Hungarians who participated in the Soviet Russian civil war among the most noble historic values laying the foundation for the friendship of the Soviet and Hungarian peoples. The experiences of the Hungarian prisoners of war tempered into revolutionaries in the fire of the Great October were used for the benefit of the first Hungarian proletarian power, the Republic of Councils.

From the first, the fact and inheritance of the Great October prompted the taking of a stand; no one could remain indifferent in the face of it. The positions taken, the opinions--of politicians, statesmen, poets, artists or whoever--may be for it or against it, but one fact cannot be ignored: Socialism, the socialist world system, exists as a factor defining the fate of mankind.

Tests

When we count up the contemporary achievements of socialism we must admit that never in history did a victorious revolution have six and a half decades so filled with dangers and contradictions. Lenin's statement is true not only of the years immediately after victory but of our age also: "To the degree that the international significance of the revolution increased the fevered uniting of the imperialists of the entire world increased and strengthened also..." From the moment of its birth the international bourgeoisie conducted intervention, a campaign against the first socialist state in the world, finally provoking the second world war, in which the fascist war machine tried to erase the Soviet Union from the face of the earth.

But no army was ever able to reverse the course of history. At the price of heroic sacrifices the Soviet people beat back the attacks of the intervention, broke the fascist military and political forces attacking the forces of the proletarian state and international revolution, and thus opened the road for a new great growth of the progressive movements, of world revolution. Twenty million Soviet citizens sacrificed their lives for this irreversible change, for the annihilation of fascism, the terror of mankind. Workers and peasants, engineers and agronomists, writers, poets, artists, doctors and workers in science remained faithful to the teachings of Lenin and the ideals of internationalism; they fought in the trenches, at the work benches, in the hospitals and on the fields crushed by ceaseless bombing. Thus they became heroes, and immortal.

When in solemn moments memory prompts us to pay our respects, we should compare the lessons of the past with the facts of present reality. The Soviet Union has become a great socialist power, the determining factor of international power relationships. It broke the nuclear blackmail, put a brake on the cold war with its peace policy and became capable, with its consistent activity, of defending the peoples of the world and the existence of mankind from threatening war.

Today the chief force of the struggle being waged for peace, for international security and for social progress is the socialist world system, which has strong allies, the other creative forces of the international revolutionary process--the communist and workers parties of the capitalist countries and the national liberation and progressive movements, the increasing strength of a number of developing countries and the multiplicity of movements with a socialist orientation.

In these six and a half decades the international communist movement has become a social, political force which must be reckoned with in every country in the world. The communist and workers parties wage their struggle for their common goal, for a socialist, communist society, amidst quite different conditions and with many different tactics. It follows from this that debates may arise in the communist movement in connection with the world situation, the directions and chief forces of social progress, and especially in connection with the existing socialism. Our party believes in contacts, exchanges of ideas,

talks, and--when necessary--comradely debates, because all this can contribute to the clarification of important theoretical and practical problems, and on the international scale it can help to find new paths to socialism. We will never give up our principles--for the purity of which our party feels great responsibility. We cultivate our contacts with the communist parties so as to serve not a drawing apart but rather a coming together, to enrich the strength of socialism. Even when we debate it is our sincere desire that our friends should be successful in their countries, that they should lead their societies onto the path of socialist development. We should not forget that the victory of the October Revolution opened, for us as for them, the historic opportunity.

In our day, when the countries of the socialist community are fighting for peace, for a relaxation of international tension, for the preservation of the achievements of detente, this not only ensures the external conditions for their creative socialist work, it also contributes to the world-wide struggle of the forces of democracy and social progress. Preserving the peace and averting nuclear world catastrophe is today the vital question for every people of the world.

Because their ability to take world political initiatives has declined the imperialist policy to regain their positions has started a stepped up attack against the forces of social progress--especially in the sphere of economics and ideology. They hope that, amidst the new and more difficult circumstances, the socialist world system will not be capable of bearing the simultaneous burdens of a forced arms race and conversion to a new developmental phase. The existing socialism is answering this challenge by renewing its economy.

We say--because it is true--that the world and our domestic situation now prompt us to struggle. Meeting with growing problems we often burst out, "It was never so bitter before." But the older ones, the main body of the army today, and those who have studied the history of socialism, they can say that the struggle demanded by life, by historic fate, was never an easy test. The generations before us frequently stood their ground amidst conditions and circumstances many times more difficult.

This is how our life has been; frequently even our indisputable successes become sources of new difficulties and present us with new problems. The age did not spare our predecessors and it does not spare us; to struggle unfalteringly for our goals, this is our only possibility.

Our Program--The National Interest

It is a natural human property, in the hours of celebration, to look not only at the past but to try to cast light on our future also. The prospect of tomorrow, which so often seems uncertain, fills many with anxiety for the fate of the homeland, of socialism and of the world. The beginning of the 1980's poses new, great questions on the scale of generations; new progress can be achieved only by answering these questions correctly. It is the fateful undertaking of our people and our nation to decide "what now," to prepare for and proceed on the paths of tomorrow.

Our party and our people assume and make their own the inheritance of socialist construction--do not want another path, want to continue the path followed thus far. To do this we must discover the reserves of our society, must put in motion the driving force of initiatives which create the new. In overcoming our difficulties and solving the ever new contradictions accompanying development we must work in such a way as to strengthen and create anew socialist national unity, at a higher level, in joint thinking and action. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has concrete and long-range ideas about socialist construction in which the renewal of social organizations, communities and institutions will complete the reform processes of economic life.

Today our people expect the party, the communists, to provide an active program, supported on broad public opinion and with a frank analysis of the situation. We cannot lose sight of the fact that socialism can be built only for and with the participation of every honest person who loves the homeland. The solution of our problems also can be imagined only if the link between the party and the masses, based on trust, remains, if socialist democracy becomes stronger, if we succeed in uniting the forces of the nation on the boradest scale. The trust which has developed in society is our great value. Frankness and openness is natural in this atmosphere. All this, in itself, will aid the undertaking and solution of difficulties.

We know that in our work we must frequently reckon with many unknown factors. But experience shows that the broader and more democratic the debate preparing for decisions the less the possibility of error. It is our historical experience that we can achieve our goals only if people participate not only in carrying out but also in formulating and designating the tasks. The party is striving, even amidst our present circumstances, to increase further the participation of working people in the managing of public affairs, in forming the life of smaller and larger communities. Democratic rights are broadly realized in our homeland, but we have much yet to do to give richer content to the system of existing forums.

The unfolding of socialist democracy in our public life is inseparable from a broadening of democracy within the party. When the democratism of party life is restricted--however difficult the times--the political activity of the party membership necessarily decreases, and as a consequence the ability of the party to act decreases also. So the democracy of party life is not a formal slogan for us; it is a constant condition and requirement of the development of party work.

For the Public Good

Economic work occupies a crucial place in social life for us as it does everywhere in the world. The explanation is simple: the favorable development of the economic situation also means political success, while an unfavorable change in it can cause serious political problems too. The economy, and the development thereof, is not a goal in itself, rather it is the basis and mover of the many-sided development of the socialist society, serving the development and enrichment of socialist social relationships.

Thus the principle of the priority of politics in the economy requires that we examine every significant question from the political side also. That is, he who decides in an economic question must consider in a fundamental way the political consequences of the decision. The other side of the mutual interdependency is true also. He who decides in a political question has the obligation to reckon with the economic conditions for and consequences of the decisions. For decisions affect people, and he who decides must reckon with the influence they will have on human fates and thinking.

Today the most important area for the realization of the leading role of the party is the economy. The party has the obligation--today more than ever before--of guiding management units and institutions politically, of leading, organizing, aiding and supervising the activities of communists deriving from the political guidance of the economy.

The economic foundations of our society are strong; our country and people are progressing even amidst the more difficult circumstances; united under the leadership of the party they are working so that we can liquidate our present difficulties. At the same time, it cannot be denied that doubt arises as to whether we are capable of holding on to the results we have achieved, for example, the standard of living and full employment. Criticisms of the economic policy have strengthened. All of this shows the increasing responsibility of the party in guiding, organizing and supervising the economy and it indicates new, increased demands being made of the party.

The party must constantly study the development of our economy, primarily from the political side, must uncover the essence of the economic processes and harmonize or rank order the interests recognized. In this way it can create canconditions for correct and realizable economic decisions. In doing so the party cannot neglect an analysis of the concrete relationships which have developed in production either. It must study how planning and regulation, the organizational and decision making system, the institutional system of place of work democracy and the functioning of these things help or hinder the attaining of our goals, or how these things should be changed to "serve" better. In its guidance of the economy the first thing the party must do--as a matter of principle--is designate what chief direction the economic leadership should follow in the given situation to achieve the goals, and resolve the problems, contradictions and clashes of interest. We must take care to see that the economic leadership, while being guided by the party, should work independently, in accordance with its own sphere of authority and responsibility.

We feel, however, that the party must act immediately and in every case if it senses a distortion of economic policy or an infringement of the social interest. It must see if the actions of the state or economic leadership correspond to our social program, to the valid economic policy. If this harmony exists then our party will support the activities of the economic leadership with every tool of political work.

Our Possibilities and Our Responsibility

We are in the stage of building a developed socialist society. There is national agreement and practice has proven that our chief goals are correct and that our basic decisions are realistic. What we have achieved thus far in the building of socialism--including what we have done amidst the more difficult circumstances of recent years--has strengthened the regard for our people beyond our borders also. We have nothing to be ashamed of before anyone in regard to either our achievements or our goals.

The party is realizing an accommodation to the more difficult conditions, methods transformed on the basis of our own experience and a renewed management practice just in order to preserve our achievements and so that we can strengthen the foundations for our further progress. Although there is much uncertainty in the present world situation and although many earlier "truths" have become questionable, our ideals and principles are unchanged. Not for a moment have we lost sight of our socialist goals.

A comparison of present realities and our long-range goals generates for us gigantic tasks which cannot be postponed. Solving them demands from us a Lenin style of work. Because even amidst our everyday problems we must see in Lenin that courageous thinker who did not recognize a question that could not be answered. We must revive the creative debating spirit which embued his work and days. We must draw again and again from his political experiences, from those methods which characterized him. The example of October and Lenin teach us that communists must be guided in their every step by a consistent attempt to disclose reality, must strive for the fullest possible recognition of the concrete situation and must make decisions on a basis of principle, which in certain cases requires creative debate. This also means that ones views and decisions must be compared with practice and, if necessary, one's earlier ideas must be re-evaluated. And the decision must be followed by determined, consistent action.

The experiences of the path leading to the achievements of socialism thus far and the greater requirements necessary for the solution of the tasks standing before us should both remind every member of our party of the historic timeliness of the Lenin method of work. To think and act in the Lenin way, this is our great opportunity; to strive toward our socialist goals, this is our communist obligation!

Our prospects, the outlines of which we have drawn ourselves and which we will make precise with our deeds, we consider to be attainable and realistic. The chief conditions are given for us to draw nearer to their fulfillment. We see the chief condition in ourselves, in the Hungarian people, in the communists. We worked hard for our achievements thus far, and we will work for the future also.

We were not alone in the course of our socialist building work and we will not be alone hereafter. The Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community stand beside us, and, even if we are struggling with similar problems,

making use of each others' experience, developing our contacts and our many-sided cooperation will be the indispensable source for solving our problems and for our further progress. The communists of the world are with us; men of good will on the side of social progress support us.

We are given strength by the knowledge that in decades past the Hungarian communists were always capable of recognizing the challenges of history, and, after more or less struggle, they gave an answer to them corresponding to the level of the age. If we erred, we had the courage to face up to it and the strength to correct our errors--and so it will be hereafter. Even now we are open to a re-evaluation of experiences acquired and to a reception of new things. We are ready to carry out the changes which are ripe so that new measures will strengthen the basic values of socialism.

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ROUNDTABLE PANEL DISCUSSES GYPSY STATUS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Oct 82 p 7

[Interview with Laszlo Bojtar, Mrs. Istvan Kozak,Ph.D., Dr Sandor Kormos, Jakab Orsos and Albert Porkolab in Budapest by Jozsef Konya; date not specified]

[Text] The number of Gypsies in our country may be estimated at 320,000 to 340,000. The development of their lot, life and future--in addition to depending on themselves--is the problem and responsibility of society. Gypsy affairs are not the greatest of the social problems to be solved over the long term, requiring continuous and consistent work, but they are perhaps the most complex because of the history, culture and customs of this ethnic group and not least of all the prejudices that still undeniably exist against them.

The Politburo of our party and then the Council of Ministers reviewed the situation of the Hungarian Gypsies most recently in 1979 and passed resolutions regarding the more important tasks for their assimilation. The fulfillment of a resolution reflecting the attention and concern of a society depends primarily on people, frequently people who know frightfully little about the actual problems of today. Most of these problems are no longer the same as they were two or even one decade ago.

How are the Gypsies faring today? How far have they progressed and how far can they continue through their own will and with our help? These problems were discussed in our editorial office by Mrs Istvan Kozak PhD. department chief of the Council of Ministers' Office; Laszlo Bojtar, chairman of the Gypsy forum of the HNF [Patriotic People's Front] National Council; Dr Sandor Kormos, department chief in the Ministry of Education; Jakab Orsos, pensioned Gypsy; Albert Porkolab, deputy chairman of the Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen Megye Council; and Jozsef Konya, staff member of NEPSZABADSAG.

NEPSZABADSAG: I hear--at various forums one can often hear--that public opinion is painfully asking: Still the Gypsy question? Some people, undoubtedly on the basis of their experience, have decided that the situation has changed little in the past two decades despite the intent to help and the enormous subsidies....

I. Kozak: Let me interrupt right now on hearing the phrase "enormous subsidies." Many believe that the Gypsies are receiving too many subsidies, for example, they acquire housing more easily and they can build under more favorable conditions. But anyone in similar circumstances can obtain these subsidies. The elimination of living sites that do not meet social requirements is a basic part of our housing policy and does not concern the Gypsies exclusively, if for no other reason than that they are not the only ones living in such sites. I would prefer to say "lived" because one of our greatest achievements is that we have done away with most of the hovels. Twenty years ago 70 percent of the Gypsies were still living, to put it mildly, under bad conditions but today only 13 percent of them are still living at the old sites.

Qualitatively Speaking, Other Problems

NEPSZABADSAG: Did they receive these apartments as gifts?

I. Kozak: No, although they received council housing in the same way as any other Hungarian citizen. Many of them built from OTP [National Savings Bank] credit in the framework of various programs similarly available to others or by some other way, that is to say, they have done much to improve their own lot. We are happy to observe that more and more of them are expanding and installing more and more conveniences in their homes, which for the most part are small. This also shows that the desire for a better and more cultured life has grown in the Gypsies.

But let me return with a few words to the Gypsy question that was mentioned--as an expression of bad taste--at the beginning of our discussion. I too have observed that many people for some resson or another do not see the forest for the trees. Despite the problems that still exist, the situation and lives of the Gypsies in our country have changed a great deal. Qualitatively the problems are different: they are more complex and more differentiated and therefore their solution requires more attention and concern.

A. Porkolab: On the basis of our own example I can only support what has been said. Perhaps it is well known that the majority of Gypsies live in our megye, in Borsod Megye, 65,000 of them, which makes up 8 percent of the megye's total population. The council made a considerable effort to eliminate the 318 Gypsy sites that once existed in Borsod. But the elimination of the remaining dozen or so is causing a different kind of problem. To be sure, quite a number of families are living at these sites. They also have the desire to better themselves but are unable to undertake the OTP credit conditions and charges because of old age, sickness or other reasons. There the council is handling 60 apartments separately and granting some to those who cannot do better on their own.

To keep from making the bride appear too beautiful, I cannot ignore the fact that new dangers, which for the want of a better term we call "blighting," are appearing. Generally the apartments obtained by the Gypsies are very

small but the children grow up and establish families, which remain in the 42-square-meter home. I do not exactly know how, but we must help with this problem also if we do not desire to recreate poor living conditions.

Half of the Children Attend Kindergarten

NEPSZABADSAG: It has also often been disputed whether it is rational to develop new Gypsy quarters. Perhaps it would help them to adapt and assimilate if they were to break out of their closed communities.

A. Porkolab: In most cases this is a matter of what is possible, not of intent. It is common knowledge that it is rather difficult to find space in the inner areas of villages. It is not even certain that it would be a good thing because it is no secret that one side or the other has a certain reluctance "to nest together."

I. Kozak: It is not worth debating this. If we want to be of assistance, the Gypsy interest is the important thing. There are settlements where they have remained together and within the village community they have risen to the level of the others; in other places, where they were deliberately dispersed, they lost the ground from under their feet, could not find their place and were not accepted.

NEPSZABADSAG: Has the improvement in living and housing conditions changed the life concept of the Gypsies? Let me point to one example: the school of Gypsy children cannot be a matter of indifference either to the Gypsies themselves or to society because this will influence the jobs that they will hold and their future welfare. Are there still problems about Gypsy children not being enrolled in shcools?

S. Kormos: This happens only infrequently. This change came about not primarily through official measures--rather it is related to what you mentioned about the change in a life concept. The great majority of the parents of Gypsy children who are of school age attended school themselves and therefore they regarded it as their obligation, a basic human obligation, to enroll their children. We have achieved this through enlightenment and educational work by social organs and activists. We have achieved good results in education: for example, half of the Gypsy children are attending kindergarten in this school year--and this is a big achievement--but I regard it as even more a matter of substance that 20 percent of them also participated in school preparation activities. In one decade we succeeded in reducing by one half the number of Gypsy children who could not complete general school.

NEPSZABADSAG: Which at the same time means that there are still many who drop out after finishing several grades.

S. Kozak: This is also my view. In education we have achieved less than we could have if the teachers had received more assistance for the education of Gypsy children.

S. Kormos: The problem is that we still have not solved the continuing training of teachers, what is bad in Hungarian education is bad for all pupils, Gypsies and non-Gypsies alike. But it is true that the ill effects are more sharply evident with the Gypsy pupils.

Employment and Work Education

NEPSZABADSAG: Formerly there were quite a few classes with Gypsy children only. I assume the pedagogical point of view justified the separation because it is not too understandable from the human point of view at a time when our goal is to make assimilation easier and to help close the gap.

J. Orsos: In no way do I regard the creation of separate Gypsy classes as proper. Let me use myself as an example. When I first entered school, among non-Gypsy children, I could hardly speak 20 or 21 words of Hungarian. Being in the new environment helped me so much: my more developed, better-educated fellows helped me to learn what I did not know. They taught me many things; whatever I could I learned by observation. This is not to say that Gypsy children are intellectually retarded but--to speak in images--they brought empty baskets with them; if I put all those with empty baskets together, nothing good will come. It is substantially better if they live and learn in an environment that will have a good effect on them. I am not sure that separately it is possible to achieve better pedagogical results in handling Gypsy children because I know from ny own experience the effect of environment. A teacher who is working conscientiously will achieve more with the Gypsy children or other weak pupils if they are not grouped together.

S. Kormos: Eighty-five thousand Gypsy children are attending general schools, the great majority in mixed classes. From year to year, the number of classes organized expressly for Gypsy pupils is declining. Despite this, Gypsy classes are necessary in some cases, particularly if the difference in level is great among the children starting school; these classes are also justified in settlements with a large Gypsy population. But we are preferably working toward mixed classes. I also regard it as a great achievement--and this is related somewhere to the foregoing--that 40 percent of the Gypsy pupils participate in day-time board and 38 percent of the Gypsy children who are learning a trade live in students' hostels.

NEPSZABADSAG: An appropriate education strongly influences subsequent employment, which is an important link in assimilation or, if you please, a condition of assimilation. I will put the question crudely, but public opinion is not modest: Are the Gypsies work-dodgers?

I. Kozak: I will reply as unambiguously: It is true that there are work-dodgers among the Gypsies as there are among the non-Gypsies--only people regard this more critically in the case of Gypsies. Otherwise we have reached the point--this could not have been said 10 years ago--where Gypsy males are working in a ratio similar to that of the non-Gypsies and the majority of them have permanent jobs. A decade ago 30 percent of the Gypsy women worked, today about one half.

L. Bojtar: In speaking of work, we must dwell on two important matters. One is how well employment has developed among Gypsies and the other is what they do. There is no problem about finding a job, the signs are out everywhere stating where people are being hired, who is needed and for what. We have always concentrated on how the employer can keep a worker although it is much more essential how he--whether Gypsy or not--can be trained to be a good worker. We have made a number of serious mistakes in this matter. It is well known that many enterprises hired Gypsy workers in order to balance the average wage level. What these workers did was not of much interest to these employers, only the fact that in this way they could pay the trained, well-performing skilled worker better. Think about it. What kind of help was time spent in this way to a person so employed?

It is worth investigating our legal position with employment and the progress of the training process. The basic problem is adapting to society is the work relationship, participation in the work community; I fear that we are in a less favorable position in this respect than we are legally.

Let me give a concrete example of how it is possible to do well. Half of the workers in the Kemikal roofing plant are Gypsies. There were serious problems with them, the fluctuation was endless and the factory could not fulfill its plan. Several years ago, however, a new leadership took over the plant; it placed higher requirements on the workers and regarded worker training seriously. Some of the Gypsies quit because of this, but others who took their place remained honorably on the job because they felt that they had a task. It is essential, therefore, to know whether performance is being required or whether they are merely tolerated for political, wage or any other reason.

Still Stumbling about at the Bottom

J. Orsos: Again I will bring up my own experiences. The Gypsy stays where he is accepted, supported and trained. I visited, for example, the rolling mill at Ozd, where an incredible number of brown youth work. I talked with them a great deal and learned that most of them had the same kind of problems as any other worker.

They are already at work, we have succeeded in starting them on a path that they will be able to follow. I am not saying that we should not concern ourselves with them but we need to concentrate our strength and attention on those Gypsies who are still stumbling at the bottom--and there are still quite a number of these. Our society including the various social organizations, has done much for these people but we cannot ignore the fact that KISZ and the trade unions have not been active in the execution of the Politburo resolution.

NEPSZABADSAG: Most of the Gypsies live in villages where jobs are not advertised on every fence. Frequently they must go to the other end of the country to work and this affects them not only materially but also in their whole life style. Could more jobs be created for them locally?

A. Porkolab: From the viewpoint of Gypsy employment the upswing in auxiliary workshop activits is important. In Borsod, for example, we started out from zero; it is due mostly to the increased number of auxiliary workshops that 20 percent of the megye's Gypsies are working in agriculture. This is important from the viewpoint of a change in life style, for it is possible to reduce the number of commuters--and I do not need to explain what this means for the family and society.

I. Kozak: The employment of women is also a problem, for it is possible to stimulate intent only where possibilities exist; among other things I mean day nurseries and kindergartens. But we should not forget that half of the Gypsy women are working and many have taken seasonal or incidental work chiefly in agriculture, which can employ unskilled workers. We cannot expect much more than this from Gypsy women, who in general have many children.

Are We Too Modest?

NEPSZABADSAG: Now that it has been mentioned, how has the Gypsy population developed in recent years?

I. Kozak: Despite common belief it has declined for the past several years. Of course, there are families with 10 children, but most of the young people do not want more than 2 or 3 children. This is due partly to the rising state of culture, including health education work--for we have made great progress in this area.

NEPSZABADSAG: I do not mean to list and evaluate the prejudices against the Gypsies. But we must spaak of these because they do exist and according to cautious statements on the matter they have not changes much.

L. Bojtar: In addition to the many tasks mentioned here, this perhaps might be the most important--the formation of attitude and the dissolution of prejudices. This is all the more true because as long as society is not receptive to understanding and solving the problems of Gypsies, we can go on passing resolutions but the work will somehow never be done. We are a bit modest in this matter for we do not use the means of effective propaganda--although the lack of information about Gypsy life is surprisingly great.

It is just as important that we bring into public life the Gypsies who merit this and are so inclined. Where I live we have a Gypsy council member to whom, in a certain sense, 2,000 Gypsy inhabitants have entrusted their lot. Let us think of how much this situation will mean in the dissolution of prejudices if this council member actually accomplishes something.

A. Porkolab: We need to prepare them also for a role in public life, to convince them of what it means to be a council member. In our megye we have 105 Gypsy council members and we have not been ashamed to work with them individually so that they could satisfy this trust to the public's satisfaction. On their part they asked for and were glad to receive this help.

I. Kozak: We regularly invite Gypsies into the national coordination committee; more and more intellectuals help Gypsies in their own areas.

Public opinion is aware of only a few of these in the forefront but there are also a considerable number of lesser known workers in the field. It is not necessary to analyze the impact that the intelligentsia can have on the life of a people or group of people.

S. Kormos: The institutions of public education, above all television, play an important role in the formation of the Gypsy outlook. The Gypsy clubs also have an important role.

NEPSZABADSAG: We could continue talking about a thousand more things and enumerating the clear facts about the changes that have occurred as well as the continuing, clear disadvantages and differences. But we must not forget that in the past two decades the Gypsies have had to close the gap with a society that is not stagnant but changing and moving. That is to say, they have to march at a faster pace in order to reach the level below our society's average. And this "march" is still proceeding.

6691
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PARTY THEORETICAL JOURNAL DISCUSSES POLITICAL FUTURE OF PZPR

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 7-8, Jul-Aug 82 pp 26-32

[Article by Augustyn Wajda: "The Political Future of PZPR"]

[Text] PZPR initiatives aimed at overcoming the social and political crisis stimulate a deeper reflection on the causes of the present state of affairs. As time passes, however, they compel us to reflect, first of all, on those aspects of the party's actions whose effects can be related to the political future of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR].

The functioning of the party as the political subject of the most recent history of the Polish nation is a historical process which has occurred under diversified social conditions. These conditions, though their substance is derived from the program and policy of the party, determine the changing parameters of the latter. Nevertheless, the party's political sovereignty and its role continue to make it the main factor in the shaping of Polish reality.

An essential condition for overcoming the crisis is the suppression, in our society's consciousness, of negative stereotypes and notions concerning PZPR. Quite naturally, the errors and failures of the past lie heavily on the party. But it is a past which, as new practices are initiated and public feelings stabilize, may be subjected to a carefully weighed objective assessment. Such an assessment is indispensable for a better future of our party and country. Traditions and experiences--in all their complexity--must be examined and elucidated in order to aid in the future progress of the party and the tasks of its complete rebirth.

It is true that in the heat of idelogical polemics, in an atmosphere of antiparty feelings rekindled by the opposition, when arguments resorted to were emotional rather than rational, PZPR could not be assessed objectively in all its historical dimensions. During a certain period, elements of social criticism and disapproval predominated. Even today, the party is far from glorifying all of its past; however, it does not accept extremely critical assessments of its activity. All that which has proven to be historically justified, productive, and enduring, furnishes arguments that are indispensable for the restoration of its strength, social prestige and

trust. Therefore, we must not allow the achievements of the party and the effects of changes and decisions made under the party's leadership to be lost in critical analyses.

The errors made by PZPR do not refute the general thesis that the interests of the working class have been and will be the determinant of its role and place in our society. These interests are closely linked to our nation's development; the history of the working class is at the same time the history of the nation and reflects the nation's struggle, aspirations, and sacrifices, self-denials, successes and failures. The party has the obligation to consider not only all the stages of socialist construction up to this time but also our country's present political and social reality, including also our country's international situation and its place in a world divided by systems; it also has the obligation to realistically evaluate chances and possibilities and to avoid delusions and easy promises.

Political diagnoses cannot result only from a reaction to a crisis but must create a convincing image, accepted by most of our society, of socialist construction, of the latter's goals, and of the ways to attain them. The principle of the party's role in relation to the state, as well as the concept of political leadership in our society, need a new and creative interpretation. From the perspective of our historical experience we can see quite clearly that the leading role of the party in our society is not only demanded by political theory but required by political practice. Thus, the leading role of the party must be interpreted as a systemic reality and a desired political status and not merely as a subject of legal guarantees. Today we perceive more clearly that an improper or incorrect understanding of this role brings about the loosening of the ties between the party and the working class and society. We must not allow the weakening of the role of the party; on the other hand, we must not place the party above the law and implement its goals in a way that undermines the principles of socialist democracy. Because this gives practice an aspect of voluntary action and makes us lose sight of the social goals of our system. This happens when the party becomes incapable of objectively evaluating social phenomena, or loses its Marxist-Leninist perspective and assessment of the development of a socialist society, overestimates its achievements, and takes no account of difficulties and contradictions.

Under present political conditions, the party's leading role in our society requires, first of all, strengthening of its ideological, moral, and political authority. This is even more necessary today, when large areas of social and spiritual life are excluded from the party's influence, or else have become a subject of ideological and political controversies.

The party's leadership must be manifested not only in the sphere of systemic institutions but also in the process of formation of our society's opinions, attitudes, and feelings. Thus understood, the leading role of the party in our society calls for democratic action that is a result of political considerations.

Especially timely today is again a view of V. Lenin, according to which the methods, forms, and the form of the guiding role of the party depend on historical traditions and on the conditions under which a socialist system happens to be built. These basic recommendations by Lenin demonstrate the universal character of Marxist-Leninist science in relation to concrete tasks and situations. The [basic] principle is the creation of leadership in a way that does not restrict creative search that meets contemporary needs while being a continuation of its historically confirmed forms.

It is necessary to find solutions which will convince our society that PZPR and its ideology form the basis of socialist humanism and system of values and that they are basically opposed to petty bourgeois ideology, a particular model of consumption, and technocratic distortions.

Linking the party more closely than ever with Marxism-Leninism is a condition for the party's being able to fulfill the above tasks, because Marxism-Leninism, while continuing to be the party's theory and ideology, is at the same time the basis of the party's strength. As a theory, it describes and explains reality; as an ideology, it serves a social practice that assures gradual attainment of the goal of a socialist society.

Marxism proves an invaluable and indispensable tool in our analysis and assessment of reality. If used properly and at the right moment, it enables us to discover the sources of failures and weaknesses and to prevent us from committing basic errors. However, the condition here is whether and to what extent PZPR will make use of this tool. I must say that until recently this tool has been insufficiently utilized. Here, both objective and subjective restraints have been involved. Marxist theoreticians have not always hastened to make honest analyses and assessments, and the party has not provided sufficient incentives and encouragement in that respect and has ignored whatever has not corresponded to its concepts of voluntary action.

To continue to develop Marxism and to achieve concretization or make corrections, Marxist theoreticians and intellectuals should utilize not only scientific data but also the experience of social practice. In order to achieve this, the party should inspire and favor honest research which will also consider problems not included in it heretofore but essential from a social viewpoint, and should make known its demand for an in-depth analysis of phenomena which are regarded as important. We cannot forget that the party assumes particular responsibility for Marxism as an ideology and that in this role nothing and nobody can replace the party or help it out. This does not mean that the party has a monopoly on the spreading of Marxism. However, there is no doubt that it is precisely the party that is interested, as no other political power, in a creative development of Marxism, expressing, as it does, the current and prospective interests of the working class. Indeed, the party derives from Marxism its strength and its inspiration for its actions.

In recent years, Marxism in Poland has met with considerable failure. This concerns its role as an ideology and particularly its impact on social awareness. This fact causes well-founded apprehension. However much we should be cheered by the fact that we have a relatively large and well-educated cadre of Marxist theoreticians, the social importance of every idea, and particularly of an ideology, is measured by the number of its convinced and conscious adherents. Meanwhile Marxism, contrary to the activist directives contributed by its creators, has been on the defensive in our country, having been displaced from many areas of social thought and practice. This has been brought about by years of underestimating and even scorning ideological problems in the party, by years of proclaiming narrowly progmatic slogans whose rallying power dwindled from one day to the next. However, the main source of these phenomena were errors and distortions which reduced the impact of Marxist ideology on the working class and on society. A politically and ideologically significant fact stands out clearly in this tangle of dependences, namely, that the fate of Marxism as an ideology will always be a reflection of the fate of the party. If the party suffers defeat, Marxism will also suffer defeat as a system of values that are represented by the party.

These values have depreciated considerably also as a result of an ideological expansion of the organized political opposition. This expansion has had a particularly devastating effect on the consciousness of the working class. In this area, the party faces difficult long-range tasks. Several decades ago these were formulated by V. Lenin when he spoke of the need to "implant" revolutionary consciousness in the minds of the working class. Has the Leninist formula lost its timeliness today, or has it ceased to be binding under the conditions of a social and political crisis, as some persons are ready to affirm? This question has to be answered decidedly in the negative. The party's obligation today continues to be to "implant" not only classical Marxist knowledge but also the truth about the contemporary problems of socialism and the mechanisms of its creation, including the difficulties and dangers of this process.

The thesis that socialism is built in a constant political and ideological struggle cannot be treated ceremonially. Therefore PZPR must not only struggle to win over those who have doubts about socialism or are disenchanted by some or other errors in its practical implementation, but it must also carry on a determined struggle against the adversaries of socialism. Today the situation in which we have to act has changed radically. Under new circumstances, in a process of political polarization, we must learn to recognize who is our ally and who is our enemy. The party should promptly react to constantly reappearing revisionist tendencies but, on the other hand, must not lose sight of the recurrence of sectarianism and regression to assumptions and theses that have been rejected by the communist movement in the process of its development. While being guided by the principle that whoever does not oppose socialism is our potential ally, we have the obligation as a party to master the difficult art of political and ideological struggle.

In this connection we ought to make sure that in the near future there is an increase in the number of popular works as well as in-depth studies undertaken by social disciplines; in particular, we expect more studies dealing with the theory and experience of the building of socialism as well as with the party's history. In this area considerable help should be provided by, first of all, party scientific centers and party intellectuals.

The place of PZPR in our political system makes the party, in our society's consciousness, synonymous with political authority. The party is regarded as the main creator of this authority. The source of these associations is the fact that the essence of socialist authority is the political rule of the workers's class. The party ought to be both an instrument of this rule and a tool used for the shaping of the means and mechanisms of exercising authority. Thus, if the working class and its party are the promoters of a socialist political system, since they have built and consolidated this system, it is they that constitute the principal powers capable of carrying out a reform and long-range transformation of the system.

In accordance with the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism, the present form of a political system in Poland cannot be regarded as petrified and unchangeable. On the contrary, the experience of recent years points up the need for a constant search for new values and alternatives that can be utilized to improve the system and make it more effective. This applies particularly to the place of the party in this system and to its functions as regards individual echelons and organizations which constitute the social and political framework of democracy. It is well to remember the words of V. Lenin, who stated: "There is nothing shabbier and more ridiculous from a practical viewpoint than to imagine the future in this respect in a monochromatic, gray color."[1] From the viewpoint of the realities of the present time as well as from the viewpoint of needs and anticipations with regard to the development and shaping of our future, the party's activity aiming at a renewal of systemic mechanisms calls for "application of the basic principles of communism in such a way as to properly modify these principles in detail and to adapt them regularly to national and national-state differences."[2]

This general regularity--despite appearances--is not changed by the introduction of martial law as provided in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic [PRL]. Temporary restrictions on the functioning of some institutions, and the application of strict regulations, do not indicate any stagnation of state structures. Quite the contrary; these [restrictions] aid operative actions in the economic field, and, representing a factor which reorganizes and stabilizes political life, facilitate the preparation and implementation of needed changes.

New political qualities have appeared, together with new forms of concretization, among others, of the concept of a Front of National Understanding [Front Porozumienia Narodowego--FPN]. The idea of the latter requires

successive reevaluations of social attitudes and the adaptation of the political line of PZPR to the emerging possibilities of a political dialogue. The party does not stand aloof from these processes, and does not assume the role of a passive observer. It is a factor which stimulates and releases initiatives needed for the implementation of social and political reforms which conform to the principles of socialism.

To cope with these complex tasks, the party has to reorganize its ranks and to carry out a particular regrouping of its forces in order to attain a maximum degree of internal integration. The political offensive capability of PZPR is, indeed, a function of its ideological and organizational cohesiveness.

The social and political crisis has had a negative impact on all the spheres of party life: it has weakened organizational unity, and has caused confusion and misinterpretation with regard to the organizational and political as well as ideological criteria of PZPR unity. Many of these criteria have lost their Leninist character, and their working class identity has been effaced. An analysis of integration as well as of disintegration factors is, in the present situation, only an introduction to a thorough review of the status of the party with respect to its ideology and political organization. This process should reflect the constant readiness of the party to "verify" its quality, effectiveness, and purity.

Such readiness seems to be indispensable, considering the dependence between the internal mechanisms of the functioning of the party and the totality of its actions with regard to society as well as to individual elements of the political system. The party unity determines the extent of the party's influence and the effects of its functioning in social and political structures. That is why the particular interdependence between the party's effectiveness and the unity of action of all its members cannot be formulated in transitional categories but requires constant examination and care.

The degree of ideological as well as organizational and political unity of PZPR, like that of every Marxist-Leninist party, should be a result of a proper correlation between the political interests of its members and the ways and forms of their implementation. The process of the rebirth of PZPR will, in this context, depend on the degree to which the unification of the political attitudes of the party members is subordinated to the objectives of the party program, in which the determining elements are the interests of the working class.

Proper recognition of difficulties as they arise is indispensable here, because party unity or lack of it is but an expression of convergences or divergences in political ideology which result either from a different interpretation of objectives toward which the party is progressing or from the ways in which it implements these objectives. These dilemmas should be resolved through expressions of opinions by party members who act in accordance with the letter and spirit of the PZPR Statute.

In the light of our experience up to the present time, the need arises to have a nonschematic look at the ideological identity of party members and on the motivational aspect of their membership in PZPR. Because this identity is a state in which individual assessments and ideas approach most closely those values which the party proclaims and popularizes. This [ideological] unity can be only achieved under conditions of a persistent struggle for uniformly shaped attitudes, for the proper ideological mold of party members. The so-called purity of party ranks calls for eliminating from the party ranks all those whose political orientation or ethical and moral attitudes do not correspond to values that are basic for a Marxist-Leninist party.

As indicated by the recent past of PZPR, the social authority of the party depends not so much on the ideas proclaimed by it as, above all, on the extent to which these ideas materialize. Hence, in our society's perception, the party's authority is associated more with individual or group attitudes of its members than with the attractive but long-range objectives of its program. From this fact, practical conclusions can be drawn. They concern a systematic improvement of the quality of the party's membership, and its functioning in changeable social structures; and they concern also the role of basic organizations and local echelons, as well as activists in general.

The quality status of PZPR, the effectiveness of its action and, consequently, the social ideas derived from the functioning of the party, are inseparably linked with the situation and competence of the party apparat. Earlier critiques during party and general social debates concerned, most frequently, inconsistencies in applying uniform ideological and moral criteria to this group; they also concerned deficiencies in the party's recruitment methods, promotion, rotation, manner of work, etc. Thellist of charges brought against the party apparat was extensive. Many of these charges were politically justified, though often they were of an extremely subjective nature. This does not alter the fact that the most urgent question for the party continues to be the formulation of clear rules of cadre policy. These are problems of considerable importance, because their solution reflects on many areas of the party's organizational and political activity and, simultaneously, has a real impact on cadre policy in our state. Normalizing actions, already undertaken to this effect by appropriate departments of the Central Committee [KC], aim at eliminating bureaucratic barriers as well as unpredictability and excessive subjectivism in the assessment of the work of party cadres.

Especially negative are social reactions to numerous manifestations of neobourgeois attitudes and behavior of some PZPR members. For PZPR, a campaign against pursuit of private interests, egoism, abuse of official privileges for personal gain, protectionism, etc., should become not only an ideological objective but, in an equal measure, a way to regain our society's trust. Thus, concern about the adequacy of party cadres, and

their legally unquestioned material status, must be included in a nationally accepted social policy and should not evade general social control.

We should also remember that the existence, in a socialist state, of a private small-goods sector together with its peculiar ideological-awareness baggage, produces undesirable results in the sphere of social awareness. Thinking of these matters in narrowly economic categories represents a step toward absolutization of values, at whose roots one can find a prosaic cult of money. In such a situation, is there not a danger of symbiosis of the state administrative factor with the world of the private economy margin? This continues to be an open question--as indicated by life' realities--which arouses concern particularly where we find, at the contact point of mutual penetration of interests of state and small-goods sector, a party member involved in actions that can be variously interpreted from a legal and a party standpoint. The way to overcome the difficulties which confront PZPR today involves stimulation of the political activeness of party masses, and particularly of the working class. This is one of the most important functions whose performance is conditioned by the avant-garde character of the party. A return to the Leninist formula of the party being an avant-garde requires an understanding of the interdependence between the activeness of the working class and the policy of its party.

The nature of these interdependences is today determined by the fact that the Polish working class is not a monolith. The extent of their identification with the program of socialist construction, likewise, varies. There are various reasons for this state of affairs. We cannot fail to perceive among them the ideological baggage of the political opposition which penetrated worker milieus after August 1980. One cannot forget, too, the errors made by the party in the 1970's. In this situation, political activization of the working class is a complex and difficult but nevertheless necessary task. We need continuous discussion, dialogue, persuasion aimed at permanently linking the political aspirations of the workers with the PZPR program. This is a road of strengthening the party's ties with its class, ties which are indispensable for consolidation of socialist authority and productive leadership of PZPR in the life of the entire nation.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "On a Caricature of Marxism and on 'Imperialist Economism'," Works, Vol. 23, p. 67.

2. V. I. Lenin, "The Childhood Disease of 'Left-Wing Orientation' in Communism," Works, Vol. 31, p. 78.

9577
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SIGNIFICANCE OF NEW VETERANS' RIGHTS LAW CLARIFIED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 26 Oct 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Witold Smolarek]

[Text] In May 1982, the Sejm passed a law about veterans' special rights, which will take effect on 1 January 1983. Col Henryk Siekiewicz, director of the Veterans' Office, discussed this issue with PAP.

He stated that the law defines the scope of its obligation. A veteran is one who participated in the fights for the homeland's national and social liberation and independence, and against reaction and fascism. They are also those who participated in the antifascist coalition, resistance fighters, concentration camp prisoners and those who were imprisoned by the fascists for political, national or racial reasons. Combatants are also those who fought for Polish culture during the partitions, participated in the Great October Revolution or taught children in secret during the Nazi occupation.

Col Sienkiewicz stated that those persons qualifying under the law are Polish citizens living in Poland if they are members of ZBoWiD and fulfill the membership conditions. ZBoWiD will establish the conditions for fulfilling the law and the periods of veterans' activity.

The law retained all existing powers, e.g.:

1. It counts the period of a veteran's wartime activity up to his employment. From that period, wartime service is figured into the equation of establishing the level of retirement or pension;

2. It sanctions early retirement up to 5 years; i.e. age 55 for women and age 60 for men;

3. It increases the vacation period by 10 working days (this applies to combatants who are still working);

4. It facilitates the acquisition of retirement or pension under exceptional conditions if the veteran is not entitled to retirement or pension on the basis of individual regulations.

Col Sienkiewicz stated that among the newly defined regulations anticipated for veterans who are still working, it is worth noting the principle confirming the resolution of the issue whereby a veteran who retires two years before he is entitled can do so only through the agreement of the proper administrative organ in the area; this regulation has the purpose of guaranteeing care to a veteran released from his job, and it also guarantees him the possibility of continuing to work under conditions allowing for the full utilization of his qualifications and experience.

A fundamental correction for veterans who have won the right to retire but who have not obtained supplementary funds for a medal or honorary title will receive an award equal in value to that of the medal or title. Article 14 on retirement entitles veterans nearing age 75 to nursing care. Also broadened were the rights of veterans to use the health facilities of every ministry.

Article 18 of the new law has particular meaning for veterans. It grants fare reductions on urban transportation systems, price reductions on apartments purchased from the state, priority in obtaining garden plots from the state and priority in opening private businesses in agricultural areas or the crafts.

To retired or invalid veterans are granted fare reductions up to 50 percent on PKP and PKS, reduced telephone costs, free use of radio and television equipment and reduced costs associated with electricity, gas and heating for domestic use. They are also entitled to reduced costs associated with car registration and motorized wheelchairs.

Bringing the law into reality will require a wide range of regulations defining the principles of the law. Work already is taking place in several ministries to prepare the necessary documents. This work will be completed within the proper deadline.

Col Sienkiewicz stated that after completion of this activity, the question that must be answered is the document setting the basis of this law. Everyone who had used ZBoWiD privileges has received a certificate from the voivodship ZBoWiD authorities. Validity of the certificate stays in force and will be sufficient proof for obtaining the privileges described in the 26 May law.

It is known to me that the ZBoWiD authorities intend to replace the certificate and membership card with a new veteran's card in the future, Combatants will be informed after the appropriate decisions are made.

9807
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PROGRAM, GOALS OF NEW STUDENT ORGANIZATION OUTLINED

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 15-17 Oct 82 p 6

[Article by Dariusz Lanocha: "The New Academic Association [NOA]--An Opportunity for the Student Community"; date and place not specified]

> [Text] This year's annual plenary conference of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students, usually held on the eve of the inauguration of the academic year at Uniejow, was unusually important to the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] with preparations under way since May, when by decision of the Supreme Council an opportunity was created for the functioning in the Association of the so-called "platforms" to whom has been assigned the task of preparing the Union for the 4th Assembly and of stimulating the community.

It is no secret to anyone that the academic community is today--in polite terms--passive, unfriendly towards every possible organizational structure. The Socialist Union of Polish Students presently organizes up to 20 percent of the students and the work of self-governments is suspended. The Polish Socialist Youth Union [ZSMP] and the Fighting Youth Union [ZMW] which were supposed to initiate activities in the Institutes rapidly became convinced that they could depend upon the support of hardly a handful of enthusiasts--these are the facts.

One can detect many reasons for the lack of student activity. However, no purpose can be served by causing another stir, warding off accusations from all sides. For truth, traditionally already, remains in the middle. Today students are in need of constructivism, ideas and achievements. Existing community organizations, before and after martial law, have not fulfilled their expectations. The Socialist Union of Polish Students 3rd Assembly decision in merging two functions--the socioprofessional and the ideological-educational organizations--did not fare well in either the former or the latter, being unable to reconcile them in daily activities. Anyway, with the passage of time, one became convinced that the community itself does not expect any ideological-educational activity from the student

association, which in such difficult times--is openly adversely received. Satisfactory proof of this was the success, or rather lack of success of the Socialist Union of Students leftist platforms, of which there were many; however, none gained support. Because even the Warsaw Platform of the Nine, and the Polish Union of Academic Youth--"Life," and the Platform of the Wroclaw Left, have gathered around themselves very small groups of active members of the Socialist Union of Polish Students in numbers not exceeding 20 to 30 individuals. These platforms finally agreed on the necessity of appointing a socioprofessional association in the academic community, seeing in it however, more room for a section, let us call it ideological-political.

In Krakow, April marked the initiation of platform activities for the New Academic Association which were instituted with student participation--members and nonmembers of the Socialist Union of Polish Students. The National Bureau for Coordination was called into being, at the head of which stood Andrzej Orecki, currently chairman of the District Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [RO SZSP]. In time it gained many followers who prepared a joint program of activities which was fully presented at Uniejow.

The New Academic Association [NOA], demanding the creation of a socio-professional organization precisely stated its objectives and program: "We feel that the program and objectives of our organization should deal with several spheres comprising problems involving student life in school (this includes the whole sphere of sociosurvival problems, as well as scientific and didactic), as well as beyond it (culture, sports, recreation and tourism). A 3rd sphere is economic activity, very essential under today's conditions and next, student matters."

The New Academic Organization is desirous of devoting attention to problems of the young family, employment for graduates. Management of economic activities has as its objective the attainment of the greatest independence possible for the financial organization. The development of epicurism and services, the affording of possibilities to earn a living for its members have been established, while in perspective is aid in the form of scholar-ships and grants.

"We wish to create an independent organization cadrewise, an independent, decentralized organization, according to plan, which prepares a program and studies finances proceeding from the ranks, possesses a reliable system of control mechanisms relative to higher echelons (...). We shall not conduct ideological activities, but only those proceeding from adopted socioprofes-sional objectives."

[Initial portion omitted] ... we read in the Program Declaration of the New Academic Association [NOA]. This was specified precisely in the Uniejow Resolution, where the opportunity is being created for the academic Left to operate in other multicommunity youth organizations on the principle of dual membership; whereas in perspective, the opportunity for a separate ideological-educational organization is being created in the academic

community. The New Academic Association's proposition therefore, establishes the mutual integrity of the organizations operating in the community.

Thus, the new model of the student movement should represent as the best variant a triad, consisting of: a socioprofessional organization; an ideological-educational organization; student self-government. This is the best possible variant and over the short term has no opportunity to be fully implemented: the work of self-government, in view of the lack of individual school statutes is suspended; whereas the opportunity for instituting an ideological-educational organization over the near term is limited.

Therefore, a fundamental task of the Socialist Union of Polish Students should be the joint creation of the first segment of the triad mentioned, and this should be accomplished with the participation of nonorganized students working in many branches of the Socialist Union of Polish Students. Student clubs, tourist departments, the academic movement and self-government of student dormitories represent a numerically important membership base for the new organization. Active students there have already said that they would join the socioprofessional association of the 4th Assembly as soon as it is established.

In discussing the form of the new association much space must be devoted to the mechanisms of internal life, as well as to instruments for implementing the program. It is especially important to provide a precise answer to the question--how? The matter on which attention has already been focused, is the necessity for great decentralization of authorizations and responsibilities. It is also the simplification of regulations and financial mechanisms in order to eliminate barriers to the implementation of new concepts and social initiatives. Also the manner of electing officials and the undertaking of decisions on organizational levels should be such that every active group of the new association could exercise influence on its policies and all essential decisions. For it will be only then, when authority will have been vested in the representatives of tourist, sporting, cultural and academic clubs and other branches that their decisions will be rendered in a natural manner and conform to basic matters and problems of the association's membership.

Therefore, the plenum of the Supreme Council at Uniejow constituted a forum for discussion on the program of the future association. It was agreed that it would be a student association, but not for students, which leads to definite preferences associated with membership; that it would be an association of active and not passive people. The principle of passive membership widely used in other organizational structures will not stand for strength in the new association.

This might sound immodest, but the outcome of the plenum was a success for the Krakow Association of the Socialist Union of Polish Students. The votes of our delegates aroused the greatest approval of the assembly and individual communities. For these were specific and planned pronouncements and were anticipated by the students. Likewise, the resolutions and decisions which

were passed were practically identical with the Krakow propositions prepared earlier by the New Academic Association platforms. Work on documents, which had been prepared for the 4th Assembly is already in progress in the planning group appointed at Uniejow. With the collaboration of experts from individual spheres of student activity, work is being conducted on the statutes, structure and areas of function of each branch of the New Academic Association. In short, something new is taking place.

Meanwhile, the mass media remains silent. It was clearly written in the resolution of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Worker's Party [KC PZPR] dedicated to youth matters, that youth organizations are to be treated impartially and equitably. Hence, this likewise concerned the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP]. But it would be futile to seek comprehensive press announcements from the Uniejow Plenum even while it is resolving such important issues. By declaration, the party is not indifferent towards the affairs of the student community; furthermore, this community with its criticisms, knowledge and ambitions can be very useful to the party.

However, of what benefit is it when the information published by the Polish Press Agency [PAP] concerning the Plenum simply aroused the community with falsehoods. The statement that the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] at Uniejow decided to combine three functions: the socioprofessional, the ideological-educational and the student self-rule organizations is simply a falsehood.

It is difficult while functioning under such circumstances to create new ones. Much of the hard work of students, sometimes in the first and second year, hoping to build a community socioprofessional organization, almost came to naught because of a single, less-than-accurate communique. At one of the plenary sessions of the School Committee of the Policy United Worker's Party Jagiellonian University [PZPR UJ], the argument was expressed that the academic community is particularly sensitive to such facts. But after all the opportunity always exists for its greater activation. Young people wish to jointly organize outings, cultural entertainment and occupy themselves with many student walks of life. In order to create such opportunities, they have already given much of themselves--as they say--they will give more. They wish only that no one place a barricade before them on the road to building a better, authentic, general understanding of the student.

9951
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ACTIVITIES OF MILITARY PARACHUTISTS DESCRIBED

Bucharest VIATA MILITARA in Romanian Sep 82 pp 6-8

[Article by Captain C. Struna: "Parachutists"]

[Text] 1. The 535th Jump

Now I know for sure. His voice is always quiet, gentle, and his whole being radiates a separate sensitivity. A definite thing and it is not simple to discern at first glance in his make-up, which has a number of facets with gentleness and poetry, this man who has made courage a profession. His biography can be summed up in three sentences. But, it can also be a huge source of inspiration for an author who would want to dedicate a novel to military parachutists. A battalion commander, a class-I military parachutist, Lieutentant Colonel Teodor Minciunescu's number-one concern now is gaining his sixth outstanding sub-unit award. It is difficult to get him to talk about himself. "My satisfaction and concerns stem from the troops that I train and educate, these deserving defenders of our country whose deeds and virtues shine like diamonds. Write about them. Or, write about Lieutenant Major Dan Macovei, about lieutenants Vasile Ghinea, Silviu Moraru and Constantin Ghilic, communists and members of the Union of Communist Youth who are filled with the awareness of the noble mission entrusted to them."

When he was a lieutenant, Teodor Minciunescu "tasted" the sharp air of the altitudes as a commander of a mountain infantry platoon. There he worked hard. He climbed steep slopes. On very hot days, he felt the line of the shadows, and he went through awful winters when the ice was vicious. Trembling, he slipped over bottomless chasms hanging from a cableline that vibrated like an instrument, emitting a strange music. It was then, perhaps, that the sharp desire was born in him to master the altitudes of the sky, elegantly crossing the first light of day like a knight of the air despite the gravitational force of the earth. He remembers every detail of his first jump with all its intrigue and in perfect harmony with his spirit during those unique moments. "Each jump is a new experience, an act that cannot be repeated. Because others are continually human feelings, because others are always of the physical parameters of the flight, the atmosphere and the land at that particular time."

The aircraft that I entered has gone beyond the 1,000 meter level. The aircraft ahead of us has already dropped some of the troops. It is raining very heavily.

When the door is opened, we have before us a fascinating view - a mixture of forms and boiling colors, billowing clouds filled with rain. The broiling gray forms are threatening. Wave after wave of soaking rain continues, currents rise and current descend. Like well-polished tobaggans, these military parachutists, equipped with their weapons and containers, disappear into the liquid flood and are absorbed by a gust of powerful wind. First to go are the group commanders: corporals Neculai Stan and Ion Dinu; then the soldiers Ovidiu Nour, Vasile Dezsi, Marin Maruntelu and Constantin Toma - all with over eight actual jumps. Now the battalion commander leaves the aircraft. For him it is his 535th jump. The tactical situation is not at all friendly: mountains, forests, rocks, dangerous slopes and chasms. Adventurers of the sky, trained to act under any type of landing conditions, any type of weather, day or night as outlined by the requirements of the directives of the supreme commander, forged by the school of tactical exercises and in forced marches, these men will have to fight an even more dangerous enemy until they feel the solid earth beneath their feet - a wind blowing at over 15 meters per second. Wind, rain and reduced visibility. Guiding the parachute requires a type of effort close to mastery, to perfection. Certainly, after eight jumps no one claims to have these qualities. They all, however, feel in their blood the decisiveness to make it, to get past any obstacle in order to fulfill the mission at the highest possible rating. Thus, they carry out their duty to the country, and prepare to be ready at any time to defend the country's independence and freedom. The drop zone is a small one, allowing for a quick regrouping and setting-up along the ordered deployment lines. Soon, they hear the echoes of shooting and the explosions that announce the start of the "battle." Equally good shots (Lieutenant Valentin Jerca tells us that in their last firing training with infantry weapons the sub-unit got the highest rating, while saving 40 percent of the munitions involved), the parachutists put up a strong resistence to the enemy soldiers and armored vehicles during the battle, forcing the enemy to give up ground inch by inch. Thus, for Lieutenant Colonel Teodor Minciunescu this was the 535th jump. For each of the 535 jumps everything went normally, not a single incident upset the hundreds of descents, and never did this officer have to use his reserve parachute. This in itself does not represent an achievement since there are military parachutists with over 1,000 jumps who have nothing to say under the chapter of airborne mishaps. This is a clear picture of what it means to talk about exemplary specialized training, the education of desire and reflexes, faith in the parachute materials and courage understood as a knowing act of confronting danger and consistent action under risky conditions. "Courage involves not the absence of fear, but mastering and going beyond it," says the officer to the troops he trains. And, it is normal for this experienced communist to train these military parachutists not to fear anything more than... fear.

It would be rare, however, for the military parachutists to never have some trouble with the landing. And this is due to the complex circumstances under which jumps are made: in the dark, in mountains or over water, under difficult weather conditions, at aircraft speeds of over 300 kph, and so forth. Lieutenant Colonel Teodor Minciunescu remembers: "In a tactical exercise, in order to carry out certain missions along the seacoast we had to land in the water. A

storm came up out of a clear sky, the sea was boiling and giant waves were furiously sweeping everything in their path. We were equipped with life vests and one-man life boats. Upon hitting the water, a very strong wave hit me and tore the boat away, tearing it to pieces. I held on using only my life vest for several hours, while protecting my parachute and my weapon, until a boat came by and picked me up... Another time, we were dropped into an unknown mountainous region in the middle of the night. In the dark, your degree of attention in the air is heightened so as to miss hazards. Similarly, you have to be looking in all directions when you land since the ground comes up instantaneously in the middle of the night. After regrouping, we received orders over the radio to urgently move to a point located 50 km away. The continuous training and the mountain lessons presented by the personnel in the unit, who were instructed by the mountain climbing master Emilian Cristea, were of a real use to use in carrying out this mission."

As a witness to jump 535 by Lieutenant Colonel Teodor Minciunescu, I acquired an understanding that these military parachutists are some modern heroes in the socialist era which we are building, people continuing the legends of Icarus and Dedalus, people among people who come as close as reality to the perennial dream of man to break free of gravity's bonds.

2. The Jump - An Unfinished Poem

Corporal Dorel Dinache, a graduate of a railroad industrial high school, is the commander of an anti-tank grenade launcher. He has made nine jumps in the army during training and exercises, and overall he has made 190 jumps. Parachuting is his hobby, with sleepless nights when he imagines hundreds of canopies floating in the blue and the sharp desire to conquering the fear of heights... On 26 April 1979, after just turning 16 years old and with a fear but also ambition, he received his baptism of the air at the Clinceni aeroclub. The years since then, although few in number, have given him unimagined satisfaction: participation in the "Daciada" sports competition in the national championship for jumping to a fixed point, inclusion in the group for certain air acrobatic competitions and so forth. "The Cup of Romania" for parachuting for this year (acrobatics and fixed point) is one of the competitions where he has a chance for a title. These results were not the things on his mind for a single moment in the theoretical and practical training carried out in the unit. The launcher crew that he commands, composed of Union of Communist Youth members Constantin Moise, Ionel Vasii and Gheorghe Buta, helped get the sub-unit a "very good" rating both for the firing sessions and for the instructional jumps, after which they were ranked as military parachutists. This was also due to the personal example set by Corporal Dinache. How many dozens of hours did they work together in ground parachute training! The jump begins at the special facilities and equipment (the trainer, the acrobatic wheel and boat, the rotating swing, the progressive jump steps and so forth) which reproduce the jump. Here, the perspiration comes in waves, to use Corporal Dinache's words. Here, the movements in the air are rehearsed until they are a reflex action. Here, during the training they carry out over one hundred jumps on the simulator, with the shock of each amplified and making

life more beautiful and easier for the time under the real canopy of the parachute. The elastic net, the physical exercises, the harnesses, the combat and the sports in general make the military parachutist tough and prepare him for the battle under any conditions. These soldiers can also survive absolutely unforeseeable situations that depend upon the indecipherable dynamics of the atmosphere. This was the case of a soldier who jumped from 1,000 meters. After entering an updraft, he went up to over 3,000 meters, and travelled laterally approximately 10 kms. One hour. That was the length of his drifting "trip" - a period during which the parachute could not be controlled. The soldier kept his cool, stoically endured the aerial dangers and immediately took control of the parachute after he came out of the turbulent area, landing in good shape. "That fraction of a second in which we must make a decision is given to us in our training and is integrated in our biological rhythm. In acrobatic sports jumps, in just several seconds I have to complete six figures while in free fall. Everything is possible, but only through work and more work. The party organization, the youth organization in the sub-unit and the commanders have delicately gotten into the soul of the people and given them the perennial values of our socialist ethics."

The most generous gesture that Corporal Dorel Dinache can make to thank his commanders and all those who, by example and their words, with their hearts and culture, gave him these virtues and molded his life is his future project: to become and officer and to return to the unit. And,this is so because parachuting is his life and because the jump is an unfinished poem that is composed in the sky and comes to the ground to be recited in the quiet of the hours of meditation.

3. The Sky of a Thousand Suns

Major Nicolae Stancu is considered one of a kind. Certainly if this is understood to mean a man who always knows what, why and how he wants things. Always in the middle of the troops, the way the secretary of the party base organization should be, he takes the time to talk (day after day) with nearly all his troops. Just to hear him speak: "How do we stand with the artistic group?" Soldier Liviu Codescu, a talented recitalist and a key person in the cultural affairs in the sub-unit, immediately gives him the details: the final details are being made for the group's program, they will also have some guitar music and so forth. (Later, at the unit's club I saw the artistic group's captivating program and I can say with all sincerity that I witnessed some at-ease, inspired amateur artists at work, elegantly moving about the stage. The program, with a profound educational nature, was based upon the specific problems of the life of this group, even using names when it was necessary.) Major Stancu then went to a work shop in the unit to see when they would finish working on a device for taking a correct aiming line, a device designed by Corporal Toma Avram and soldier Valeriu Bragagiu. He has a leisurely discussion with soldier Constantin Hopirtean who, although he has made a number of jumps, still has emotions and hesitations when the jump door opens on the aircraft. Major Stancu admits: "It is natural, I understand it. There is no incident in the air that cannot be resolved. And, the troops well know the procedures they must follow in each case. The party organization is designed to fortify them psychologically

so as not to be easily shaken up. The troops know that if they have a worry or if something is bothering them they have the right, and this is even recommended to them, not to jump. We have great faith in our people, this dispels the fear, gives them security and strength, and reinforces their manliness. We criticize and praise in the party meetings, but we criticize and praise face-to-face. They are received in the group and among the young personnel with understanding and warmth. Lieutenant Petre Dumitru, the commander of a mortor platoon, had just made his acclimation flight. When he saw how his comrades made their jump, his shirt was covered with perspiration, but he will become a good paratrooper. I felt he had the stuff."

Ten years ago, the brave secretary of the base party organization moved into the base a team of sport parachutists that was later affiliated with the Romanian Federation of Parachuting. Among the 580 jumps made by Stancu are several dozen good ones as sport jumps. Elite military parachutists, like his colleague Captain Ion Badoiu and himself, Stancu also has among his personal records a participation in the international jump competition for fixed point (in France), where the Romanian team placed in the top spot. He has also been involved in testing, operations that require great responsibility and courage. The high degree of steering techniques that he has mastered has given him the right (a right held by only several officers in the unit) to make jumps using high performance parachutes (completely different from the other ones since they operate on the principle of aerodynamic lift). This is done not for daring, but for maintaining and consolidating their skills. After he lights a cigarette, Major Stancu tells us, "I am not made of rock. Each jump is a struggle with ourselves, and we have also lived moments of tension... Of my own fault. I did not correctly leave the aircraft, my foot got into a riser and the pack wrapped around me like a bobbin. No way would be parachute open. In this situation, I could not even use the reserve parachute. Do not think this strange, but I broke out in a smile. This I cannot forget. With a great deal of calm, I untangled the pack cover and at 400 meters I pulled the reserve chute... What cannot be told is the joy that we experience, the thirst for flight that consumes us, the state of euphoria that gets us when, up above us, the canopy opens like an immense flower and we float above a fairy-tale world..."

On a fiery horizon, the sun announces a new day. Above the airfield, aircraft fly grouped together in formations with military parachutists onboard. Soon, the crystal heights will be decorated festively with a thousand suns.

8724
CSO: 2700

LINGUISTIC UNITY OF MOLDAVIANS, WALLACHIANS

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 12 Nov 82 pp 6, 7

/Article by N. Stoicescu: "The Keen Awareness That Dominates the Romanians' History"/

/Text/ One of the fundamental postulates of Romanian history, toward which the party leadership consistently directs the historians' investigative and productive efforts, a postulate strikingly presented once again by Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee, is summed up in the idea that from the most ancient times the Romanian people have been characterized by "awareness of their common origin and the desire to unite in a single state" and that in the medieval period "The Romanian people's self-awareness was formed, awareness of the continuity and unity of origin and culture of all inhabitants of the three principalities." That awareness is apparent from their very name, Romanian from Romanus, since they are the only people of Latin origin that bear witness to their origin by their name. Therefore awareness of their common Roman origin, in which the Romanian people have always taken pride, was the first form of awareness of their unity of kinship It was recorded back in 1404 when Ioan, archbishop of Sultanyeh, noted in his treatise on geography that "The Romanians boast of being Romans and it is evident in their language, for they talk like the Romans." The testimony of the Italian Della Valle is very convincing to the same effect. He learned in 1532 from the monks living in Dealu Monastery that the Romanians "call themselves Romans in their language, saying they came from Rome in ancient times to settle in this country." And so from then on knowledge of their Roman origin and their own consequent awareness of their unity of kinship were basic to the idea of the Romanity of the Romanians repeated in the accounts of the foreign travelers and scholars.

The historian Eugen Stanescu says, "In medieval history the name of the Romanian people and their country embodies in a single symbol what came before national awareness, namely their awareness of kinship, a basic form of social awareness in the Romanian Middle Ages. Uniform and homogeneous, the Romanians' awareness of kinship takes three characteristic forms, namely awareness of unity of kinship and language, illustrated by the Romanian people's very name considered in

the evolution of its meanings; awareness of geographic unity, illustrated by the name of the country, Romania; and awareness of the common origin, illustrated by the equivalence of Romanus and Romanian."

Proofs of the Romanians' awareness of their common origin and unity of kinship are multiplied after the middle of the 16th century. While the Italian humanists specified the Latin origin of the Romanian language and the Roman origin of the Romanian people, leaving only the Romanians' unity of kinship to be understood without explicitly confirming it, the idea of unity of kinship began to be expressly stated after 1540, either together with that of origin or separately. Thus in 1542 Petru Perembski, Queen Isabella's secretary, wrote in reference to the Transylvanian cities occupied by Moldavian and Wallachian troops that "Some Wallachians are occupying a large part of the country. Those regions readily defected because of the community of language." It is certainly no coincidence that G. Martinuzzi reported at the same time that "It has long been the Transylvanians' intention to be separated from this Kingdom of Hungary." At about the same time the scholar Nicolaus Olahus noted in his turn that "The Moldavians have the same language, customs and religion as the Wallachians. They differ somewhat in their clothing alone."

In 1574 the Frenchman Pierre Lescalopier in turn supported the unity of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania on the ground that their inhabitants were descendants of the Roman colonists "and they call their language Romanian, that is Roman." Ten years later Franco Sivori, the Italian secretary of Petru Voda Cercel who was very familiar with the local facts, also said the Wallachians and Moldavians "are of the same stock."

Whether the Moldavian Slavic-language chroniclers of the 16th century (Macarie, Eftimie and Azarie) were aware of the unity of kinship is a problem not yet discussed in Romanian historiography. Short of declaring themselves explicitly, as the 17th century chroniclers were to do later on, they recognized the Wallachians' unity of kinship with the Moldavians in the terminology they used for the two countries, which they called Moldovlahia and Ungrovlahia, or both Wallachias, that is the Romanian Lands.

The Romanian-language religious books printed in the second half of the 16th century by Deacon Coresi and his followers, which were not addressed to the Wallachians, Moldavians and Transylvanians but to the Romanians, or the Romanian people in their entirety, played an important part in the development of the idea of unity. And of course we must not overlook the fact that at the same time the Romanian language began to replace Church Slavic even in the documents of the princes' offices in Moldavia and Wallachia, especially in Mihai Viteazul's time.

Mihai's glorious reign was an important point in the development of the idea of Romanian unity. He achieved the first political unification of the three Romanian Lands, Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia, "restoring the Romanian people's uniform political structure in keeping with their real unity," as Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out.

Note that two plans of action were open to Mihai Viteazul after the defeat of the Turks, the Dacian and the Balkan ones, and the prince was insistently solicited by the inhabitants south of the Danube (Bulgarians, Greeks etc.), who even

promised him the Byzantine emperors' throne. But the great prince chose the Dacian plan and became the Restitutor Daciae by uniting the three Romanian Lands on the territory of the former Dacia. How is that choice to be explained? Primarily by awareness of unity of kinship, a powerful force at the time. The sources contemporary with Mihai's reign report that the great prince encouraged his troops under the difficult circumstances by asking them "to acquit themselves courageously for the glory of their nation and that of the Romans, from whom they claimed descent." In their turn the Wallachian boyars of the time wrote the Moldavian boyars that "We are all of one law and one language," eloquent evidence of awareness of unity of kinship.

Moreover not only the Romanians but also the foreigners of the time, who were impressed by the great prince's glorious deeds, knew that the Romanians were a single people. For example, the Italian Lazaro Soranzo wrote in 1598, "I Transilvani insieme con i Moldaui e con i Valacchi sono gli antichi Daci, tanto temuti da Romani," and the Hungarian bishop Nicolae Istvanffy, a diplomat in the service of Rudolf II, stated that "Duas Valachias, quae hoc tempore Moldauiae et Transalpinae nomine censentur, simul cum Transilvania, veteres uno Daciae nomine appellabant."

At the news of Mihai Viteazul's entry into Transylvania there were veritable explosions of popular feelings of Romanian solidarity based on awareness of unity of kinship. As the chronicler Szamoskozy said, "The Romanians, who are settled in villages throughout Transylvania..., joined the men of the same origin who had crossed the Carpathians and rebelled everywhere, full of the confidence with which a prince of their people inspired them." The same thing was reported by another contemporary chronicler, a Saxon this time named G. Kraus: "The Romanians rebelled then because the tyrant Mihai was of their people, namely a Romanian."

There was a similar situation in Moldavia, where "The Moldavians rebelled and turned their weapons against Ieremia Movila in support of Mihai." The peasants' desertion to Mihai's side in both Transylvania and Moldavia demonstrates that we have to do with a manifestation of Romanian solidarity, a proof that there was an awareness of unity of kinship.

Furthermore the Transylvanian Romanians' unity of kinship with those in Wallachia was also known to Gen G. Basta, who wrote in January 1600 that Mihai Viteazul "is sending his priests to all the villages on the borders of the country that are inhabited by his people (habitati dalla sua natione), which gives me pause." And finally, there are the words of the chronicler Biselius, an admirer of Mihai Viteazul's, about this same unity: "For who is closer to a Transylvanian than the Romanian in the vicinity?... For they are of the same blood, the same origin, and the same name: They are all Dacians."

Therefore Mihai Viteazul's unification was based upon a Romanian solidarity born of awareness that the Romanians belonged to the same people. In the light of this fact, some foreign historians' statements that Mihai Viteazul was a conqueror who waged "typical wars of invasion" are entirely unfounded and downright insulting to the history of the Romanian people. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "History itself has confirmed the correctness and objective necessity of Mihai Viteazul's act by the later fulfillment of his ideal, the ideal of all Romanians, and by the achievement of the single Romanian national state in the modern period."

After Mihai Viteazul's treacherous murder, the great prince became the symbol of the unity of kinship of the Romanians whom he had united for the first time under his scepter. Nicolae Iorga said, "After 1600 no Romanian could think of the unification without his great personality, without his broadsword or halberd raised to the heaven of justice, or without his image in a pure and perfect tragic poem."

The origin of the most important manifestation of social awareness in the 17th century, the transformation of the Romanian people's awareness of unity of kinship and language into a militant and active idea that was to dominate the chroniclers' activity in the 17th and at the beginning of the 18th century, is to be sought in the influence of the war of liberation from Ottoman domination waged by the great prince at the close of the 16th century.

Here follow only a few of the many examples proving the generalization of awareness of unity of kinship. In "The Response to the Calvinist Cathechism" of 1643 Metropolitan Varlaam of Moldavia addressed "the Christians in Transylvania... and Romanians of one people with us wherever they are in the regions of Transylvania where you are in one faith with us." The same learned metropolitan's "Romanian Instruction Book" is addressed "to the whole Romanian nationality, wherever there are believers, in that language." It was considered "a gift to the Romanian language, a book in the Romanian language," and it was widely circulated in the Romanian Lands. Turning to Wallachia, we shall mention that Serban Cantacuzino's "Gospel" of 1682, also widely circulated, was printed "for better understanding of the Romanian language." As Eugen Stanescu noted, the idea of a "Romanian people" is found 29 times in 18 publications between 1639 and 1656 and 74 times in 30 publications appearing between 1673 and 1699, which is significant for the development of awareness of unity of kinship in all three countries inhabited by Romanians. It is interesting to note that in this period "the Romanian people" are associated with the idea of a "Romanian language," because the scholars of the period knew that the entire people spoke the same language. For example in the preface to the "Gospel Teacher" of 1642 Udriste Nasturel said that he made the translation "into the Romanian language" to help "our people." In 1685 the priest Ioan din Vint translated a book "into the Romanian language for the use and benefit of our Romanian people," and concerning the "Bible" of 1688 attributed to Serban Cantacuzino (a collective work of some scholars in Wallachia and Moldavia and an important monument of the Romanian language), it says on the title page that it was published "for understanding of the Romanian language" and that "It was dedicated to the Romanian people for their common benefit."

As Nicolae Iorga noted the Brancoveanu publications were intended "for our Romanian nation," "for the common benefit of the Romanian people," "for our Romanian people," and "for a whole people, Romanians, Moldavians and Ungro-Wallachians" (that is the Romanians in Hungary). As the great historian noted, "all three branches of the Romanians" were represented in the intensive publishing effort in Constantin Brancoveanu's time: Mitrofan, Bishop of Buzau, a native of Biserica in Moldavia, Atanasie the Moldavian, Mihai Istanovici, a native of Transylvania, etc. The preface is very interesting of the book "Chiriacodromion," published in Alba Iulia in 1699 at Constantin Brancoveanu's expense following Varlaam's "Sermon" of 1643, "for the use and enlightenment of our Romanian people," because the prince of Wallachia did not forget "the Romanian people" in Transylvania. Other such books published in the 17th century speak with pride of the "Romanian nation," "Romanian nationality" and "Romanian people."

Much credit for consolidating and substantiating the Romanians' awareness of unity of kinship is due the Moldavian and Wallachian chroniclers, who greatly intensified the development of that awareness by use of both the local traditions and the writings of the foreign humanists who supported the Romanians' Roman origin and unity of kinship. As it was noted, "By historically and linguistically substantiating the self-awareness of the Romanian people throughout their whole ancestral land, they (the chroniclers) started a process of ideological and political clarification and hastened the definitive crystallization of the national consciousness." Concerning their contribution, which has been minutely studied by great personalities of Romanian historical science, we shall try to make a few documentary and interpretive contributions on another occasion.

5186
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INCREASED INTEREST IN ROMANIAN HISTORY ABROAD NOTED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 12 Nov 82 p 7

/Article by Dr Lucian Boia: "Romanian Historiography in the World"/

/Text/ The achievements of Romanian historiography are now being followed with increased interest in all quarters of the globe. There is unquestionably a tradition here. Historians like Dimitrie Cantemir, A. D. Xenopol, N. Iorga and G. I Bratianu, to name only a few out of a whole constellation, often addressed themselves to the foreign public in works of wide reknown, making Romania's past, intellectual contribution and legitimate aspirations known. But those were primarily individual accomplishments of great personalities. Historiographical relations with the rest of the world, especially since 1965, have been intensified under other circumstances. It is a matter of coordinated amplification in pursuance of a number of specific objectives and involving a large number of researchers.

Special emphasis has also been placed upon the basic problems of Romania's past (with not only historical but also current political implications) like that of the formation of the Romanian people and their uninterrupted continuity on Romanian soil (with strictly justified opposition to the unscientific theories that try to deny those facts), the uniformity of Romania's entire historical evolution, the ceaseless struggle to preseve the national existence and for independence and unity, etc.

Romanian historians have attended many international meetings, making the achievements and viewpoints of Romanian historiography known. Note the fact (eloquent for the greater prestige of Romanian science in the world and for Romania's international position in general) that many of those scientific meetings and some of the most important ones were hosted by Romania itself. Of course that is particularly true of the International Congress of Historical Sciences (Bucharest, August 1980) which, following the noteworthy participation of Romanian historians in the previous world congresses (Rome, 1955; Stockholm, 1960; Vienna, 1965; Moscow, 1970; and San Francisco, 1975), marked a high point in historiographical activity throughout a decade and a half.

Historical demography is one of the newest and most dynamic fields of contemporary historiography. The International Commission for Historical Demography is chaired by a Romanian historian, Academician Stefan Pascu. A new commission was founded in August 1980, at Romania's suggestion and with adequate representation of the Romanian historical front, namely the International Commission for History of Historiography, which is already publishing, in Milan, an international journal in four languages that is also widely open to Romanian specialists.

Works have been published in the world languages in the Biblioteca Historica Romaniae, whose titles cover a vast subject matter and practically all the more important periods and poblems of Romanian history. Scientific articles on history in world languages also appear in REVUE ROUMAINE D'HISTOIRE, REVUE DES ETUDES SUD-EST EUROPEENES, and more recently in ANALELE UNIVERSITATII BUCURESTI, SERIA ISTORIE.

Another significant fact is the increased number of historians who, in various countries of the world, are taking an interest in Romanian history and often devoting an essential part of their activity to it. Some of them, who were specialized in Romania, are authors of very valuable scientific studies advancing views close to or even identical with those of Romanian historiography. To cite only one example out of several possible ones, the studies are well known of the American historian Keith Hitchins on the Romanian national movement in Transylvania. Note also the growing number of foreign candidates for doctorates at Romanian faculties and institutes, eloquent evidence of the prestige of Romanian science and the interest in the history of the Romanian people.

Through the progress made so far (half way) many paths have been opened up, essentially in the last decade, toward international assertion of Romanian history, an extensive effort through the intensification of which we shall succeed in the coming years in offering the world the true and complete picture of the evolution of the Romanian people throughout the centuries, of their far from negligible place in the context of world history, and of the material and intellectual values through the implementation of which they have been contributing to mankind's progress.

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SUVAR DISCUSSES DISSIDENCE IN MEDIA, 'PETITIONISTS'

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct, 1, 2 Nov 82

[Article consisting of excerpts from the opening address delivered by Dr Stipe Suvar, member of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee, in a meeting of that committee's Commission for Ideological and Information Work on 28 October 1982: "Political-Ideological Tendencies and Issues in Our Ideological Struggle"]

[31 Oct 82 p 2]

[Text] The False Radicalism of an Aggressive Minority

A true euphoria of caviling has developed in the news media, signs have appeared of a kind of terror instituted by an aggressive minority of our free-thinking establishment. The press and newsmen are being used for an aggressive "reassessment" of both recent history and the current scene.

The programs and content of the main body of our news media are far below both their own creative capabilities and the creative forces of society. True bridges have not been erected in them for cooperation with creative people in all areas of material and nonmaterial production, with all those who have an authentic message, who can express themselves and who have something to say. It is indeed disturbing the extent to which the news media avoid relying on the broader creative forces in society, the extent to which they are cut off and rely only on their own pens. Incidentally, as a rule a creative person has a harder go of it in the news media than someone who is not creative.

Ties With the Party

The influence of the League of Communists on the choice of subject matter in the news media and on political-ideological developments in them certainly cannot be reduced either to the influence of the party organizations within the news organizations and in the ranks of the newsmen, nor to the personal influence exercised from party leadership bodies or even from a few leaders or an individual leader whom some newsman is "obeying" or "not obeying." The guidance of those media cannot be confined to the nexus of ties between the technical and administrative power in the news organizations themselves and specific political leadership groups, with newsmen as some sort of victims of the one and the other.

The influence of the League of Communists must exist and must become stronger, not in the sense of operational directives and direct intervention even in the most petty details of writing and broadcasting, but in the sense of the requirement that activity conform to the party program, that service be rendered to the party line rather than to some individual or individual party leadership group. There should be ties not with leaders, but with the party. And there are undoubtedly elements of monopolization and privatization of newspaper space, of screens and of the airwaves, as well as of editorial policy by groups and individuals. There is even good reason to ask whether in our context individuals are not virtually owners of the newspapers?

Without Divisions Into "Yours" and "Ours"

The broader influence of the party should be manifested both in the right and also the possibility of any party organization and any leadership coming forth with argued criticism and demands, whose weight will depend on the extent to which the demands have been presented, documented and justified in public.

Nor should there be a division in this between "your" and "our" newspapers, regardless of where in our country the particular newspaper is published. But unfortunately such a division does exist. Our attention must not be reduced to saving the souls only of news media in our own community, region or republic, displaying a priori criticism and a sense of suspicion toward those public media whose headquarters are somewhere else in Yugoslavia.

It is still an urgent task to guarantee the free flow of information in our socialist community, to safeguard its completeness, timeliness, quality and truthfulness. At the same time the news media cannot be neutral, unselective and uncritical. They cannot perform the role of a mere letter carrier. They cannot provide support to all ideas, propagate every sort of ideology, pass off alien systems of values, and take the position of fans of the "superstructure" of society, while their coverage of the "base" is lackadaisical, routine and stereotyped.

But the most dangerous are the manifestations of the news media being shut off and fragmented, of passing things over in silence and of being manipulated. All sorts of nationalistic exchanges of fire and liberalistic tutoring of others are taking place in the vacuum.

Powerful Weapons

Any sort of thunder-and-lightning attitude toward the news media would be very dangerous and harmful. Every sort of negative generalization is undesirable. After all, on the whole our news media are powerful weapons for the socialist progress of our society and a point of support for the organized subjective forces of socialism. But it would be not only naive, but also myopic to fail to see the fact that the organized efforts of those forces which not only are not interested in a real resolution of the key problems of our society at this moment, but are carried away with ambitions for threatening and even destroying our sociopolitical system and seeking some sort of alternatives, are finding expression through those media. It is in that sense that a true euphoria

of caviling has developed in the news media, as someone has already said; signs have appeared of a kind of terror exercised by an aggressive minority of our free-thinking establishment. The press and newsmen are being used for an aggressive "reassessment" of both recent history and also the current scene, in which our roses are not exactly blooming, but nevertheless there are no reasons for even the slightest divergence from Tito's course. Nor is there any scarcity of individuals who would rewrite history, supposedly having had enough of hagiographies and mystification. But contemporary reality, according to them, has been built up only of rotten stuff, our society is on the brink, and our ship is sinking hopelessly.

By no means do we wish to put all the news media in the defendant's dock, but rather we want to point to those oversights in them which could have serious consequences for our future development, for the continuity of the revolution. First of all, it is a question of acting from the positions of a false radicalism. This kind of radicalism is embodied by an aggressive, but not very numerous, group of newsmen and public figures who make statements on all sides and have actually privatized certain periodicals, columns and broadcasting programs.

Responsibility

Matters have gone so far that some of our news media often carry subject matter and themes which foreign services for psychological warfare and so-called ideological sabotage would gladly serve to our public. Children and young people are more exposed through these media to bourgeois than to the socialist view of the world. We should add to this the orientation toward protocol activity, ceremonies, celebrations, political gatherings and meetings. There are things which might be referred to as unsuitable imports, a certain "americanization" in news techniques and technology, in the training of newsmen and in the patterns of their behavior, as well as in the competition for readers, for viewers and for listeners, all of which goes hand in hand with the technocratic ideology and functionalist sociology.

There is no justification whatsoever to place on the news media all the responsibility for a certain escalation of the symptoms of the petty bourgeois cultural counterrevolution which have recently been piling up in a kind of revival of what already happened in the seventies. Some of the media serve as an exercise ground and transmission for them, they often generate them, and to that extent they themselves cannot be granted an amnesty from responsibility.

But the symptoms of the petit bourgeois cultural counterrevolution have deeper social causes in the entire context of our overall spiritual reproduction, which as yet is not at all subject to the dictate of associated labor and is not its internal measure, nor its inherent expression. The organized socialist consciousness is not only not on the offensive against these symptoms, but, what is more, is itself going to ruin under the pressure of their invasion. Above all there are no clear party assessments and timely reactions.

[1 Nov 82 p 4]

[Text] Petit Bourgeois Outbursts and Cases of Complacent Affectation

From the newspapers, by way of magazines and the airways and various university departments ... to church pulpits there are successions of rightwing and "leftwing" and of reactionary and false-revolutionary criticisms and the offering of alternatives. Everything is being questioned, and the consequences could be serious unless our ideological front begins to operate with full force.

Aside from the columns of newspapers and magazines, the airways and screens, various round table discussions, symposiums, exchanges of opinion on particular topics, scientific gatherings, lecture halls at universities and in schools, portions of the output of publishing houses, entire bodies of the social sciences, areas of culture, the study of history, literature and much else, all places where people talk, express themselves and explain things, all the way to church pulpits, are today battlegrounds of an intensified offensive various rightwing and "leftwing," that is, reactionary and false-revolutionary criticism and the offering of alternatives. Everything is being questioned, which as an intellectual demand is fine, but also everything that this society has created and done and which it is attempting is rejected, is negated, it is all spit upon and a competition seems to have developed in who can spit the most and furthest. We have here not only the illusory consciousness which the mass of half-educated people have of themselves, but also an abundance of pure petit bourgeois outbursts and complacent affectedness, hucksterism and glibness.

And all this monkey business is certainly not harmless in the least, but is threatening very serious consequences unless our ideological front is better organized and begins to operate with the full force of its potential. And that potential is not small, but is momentarily banked up.

Let us briefly examine several theses which have already been uttered around us like constants, assaulting the ears, the eyes and the hearts of people, especially the young.

Petit Bourgeois Witticisms

One of the theses is that socialism has more or less everywhere undergone a historical reduction to Stalinist practice, and that this has occurred in our case as well. The witticism of our "anti-Stalinist Stalinism" was uttered and written long ago. It is repeated today in countless variations. Let us illustrate this with statements concerning the literary output concerning Goli Otok (which is not even to mention the theses of that literature, most of which was trumped up). The author of one of the novels much talked about concerning the sufferings on Goli Otok (presumably a portion of the universal GULAG of socialism) has explained to us in one of his interviews that we settled accounts with Stalinism with Stalinist methods, and that we "vomited up our own Stalinism" on Goli Otok.

A newsman and journalist who has proclaimed himself to be a prvoborac [holder of the Partizan 1941 Commemorative Medal--translator's note] dating from 1968, explains to us that in that year, 1948, our party "divorced itself from Stalinism, but even to this very moment it has not managed to free itself altogether of--Stalinists." He asks: Why should we whip only other people's Stalinism, "as though that was a plant that did not grow here, as though we here did not have our own Boris Davidovich"? A Partizan general indeed has this to say concerning Goli Otok: "The most immediate moral interests of the present time, of our people ... demand that the blemishes be cleaned away ..." and demands that the truth be learned from official sources, since "... what was done on Goli Otok is more amoral than the death penalty, harder to bear than a bullet or the guillotine."

Every petit bourgeois, including the one who declares himself to be a Marxist, that is, who thinks of himself as the greatest and best Marxist, when he lacks arguments in a confrontation with someone who happens not to think like he does, shouts: Down with the Stalinist! And this shout, in typically petit bourgeois manner, will be taken as the principal proof that someone actually is a Stalinist.

Stalinism, we are told by authors in our university departments and free-lance journalists, and their numbers are not exactly small, is our constant, while anti-Stalinism is only our mask. Even the League of Communists has essentially remained a Stalinist party and is therefore supposedly withdrawing from the historical scene, since it is incapable of opening up an authentic socialist and democratic future. It is in fact the principal obstacle to real self-management. That is why this kind of socialist self-management, which has been painfully developing on our soil, is only a manipulative tool for maintaining the historically hopeless rule of a Stalinist party, which is barely to be distinguished from any party--an incarnation of statist socialism. Books, studies and articles can be cited in which all of this is argued, and unfortunately it is popular reading matter from which many young people get their education.

The Eastern Error

The eastern error even of our own socialism as we are today developing it in our country, according to certain of our thinkers and "thinkers," lies in the fact that its historical genesis dates from the Russian October Revolution and that it has not (yet) renounced its Leninist legacy. All the evils of present-day socialism both in the east and in our country are supposedly founded in the Russian doctrine of "political socialism," which was shaped by Bakunin, Nechayev, Tkachev, Lenin, while Lukach "gave it its supreme philosophical form," and that in the sense of "shifting the value stresses from the concept of freedom toward the concept of discipline." And that doctrine of political socialism leads toward a revolution of the mechanical, totalitarian type, which "in certain of its features" does not rise essentially "above the ideological field of vision of the repressive and conservative regimes of the past." Supposedly, then, our own revolution has also been of that mechanical and totalitarian type. Political socialism in and of itself--we are told even in the columns of popular magazines--does not lead only to dictatorship, but also to

despotism (the former, that is, is unlimited power for a limited time, while the latter is unlimited power for an unlimited time).

According to some, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia became Stalinist even before it entered the revolution and before it came to power. That is why, for example, in the disputes about Krleza, and after his death, when the dirty work of the group of radical and freedom-loving intelligentsia revived and continued with more fierceness, stubbornly striving to set Krleza in opposition to the party in order to portray the party hopelessly Stalinist on the eve of the revolution, in the National Liberation Struggle and up to the present day, one was to hear the more than recognizable allusion even to Josip Broz Tito, when it was asserted that in 1939 "some people were living in the Hotel Lux and listening at night when the NKVD was taking people out to be shot, but they still remained Stalinist." It has been said of Krleza's opponents at that time in the conflict and the literary Left that they "learned Stalin's lesson by heart," that they followed the policy of the Comintern and that they sent reports to Moscow about the behavior of the Krlezians and of Krleza himself, that, say, Ognjen Prica "advocated a discipline which presupposed the rolling of heads, the heads of his own friends among others." And so on.

Criminal accountability for malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country, which does exist in our system, is also according to some people "an instrument taken over uncritically from the Bolshevist practice of terror and violence toward people of different political persuasion." Even our own 1948, in the sense of suppressing the Cominform spirit, began in Kronstadt in 1921. In general the events in Kronstadt are "the root of what would later come to be called Stalinism." We are still following Stalin, some of our radical critics assert, and Stalin followed Lenin: "... the Stalinist terror imposed on communists and noncommunists would not have been possible, viewed in historical terms, if there had not been the Leninist terror exercised over communists."

The "Demystifiers" of the Past

The favorite topic of some critics of our society, historians, journalists and various speakers from public platforms, a topic that is stubbornly being passed off on the broad public, is what is referred to as demystification of the past, not just any past, nor anyone's past, but the past of our own revolution and society. Assertions are uttered to the effect that we still do not have an adequate history of the revolution and postrevolutionary period. Praise is addressed to V. Dedijer for the courage with which he "approached the truth stored away in the archives, removing the seal of the taboo from it." The efforts toward "demystification" are evidenced by all the "output" related to Krleza and the year 1939, to Dedijer's writing, to various works of history and memoirs, to literary treatments and various testimony concerning Goli Otok and the suffering of the followers of the Cominform.

The Partizans, our fathers and elders, and superiors, were great sinners, while the subsequent generations were brought up in error and were deceived. One very popular and "easy to digest" writer has uttered these words along

those lines in a fit of sincere confession: "It turns out that we were abused and manipulated and that they were really deceivers, murderers and liars--notorious memoirs have been appearing in which they attack and accuse one another. Light is entering dark places which previously were not to be mentioned.... Some of them stopped trains between stations so that their wives' morning cafe au lait would not spill; they had warehouses for diplomats, it turned out that even during the war the leaders had a different diet than the soldiers, horrible things have cropped up which an entire people had no idea of."

Dangerous Mythomanias

This program to "demystify" the revolution has room, for example, for efforts to attribute to an agent of the Comintern great service to Tito and Tito's behavior and Tito's decisions at certain points, efforts to minimize the National Liberation Struggle in Croatia and the role of the Croatian CP in 1941, to impart "authentic truth" to the entire history of the liberation war, and to rehabilitate certain bourgeois movements and individuals in our more recent history.

Debates and squabbles have become steadily more frequent concerning evaluation of the cultural legacy, the writing of history, literature and the film, and in them nationalistic and liberalistic views have been predominant.

Squabbles about articles for the second edition of the encyclopedia of Yugoslavia are also symptomatic in this regard. They were loyal to the myths of the respective nationalities, they were allergic to the myths of others, especially when it was a question of our own nationalities and ethnic minorities, who only in the context of socialism have been registering and evaluating their own history and culture, so that in their ranks, by a deeper logic of history, there is also tendency emerging today for the creation and accentuation of myths. There are cases of exclusiveness, and unscrupulousness quarrels are conducted (having nothing in common with application of real scientific criteria) instead of the most intelligent and best-qualified people, regardless of the nationality they belong to or community where they live, coming together in the joint task of Marxist reevaluation of the history and culture of all our nationalities and ethnic minorities.

In any case a danger threatens that the second edition of the encyclopedia, instead of being a step forward from the first edition, which was under the vigilant eye of such a great man as Miroslav Krleza, will in fact be a step backward and will be redolent of the spirit of restoration of provincial criteria which were formulated on this soil at one time by the underdeveloped bourgeoisie: that is, for it and in its name by earlier generations of petit bourgeois semi-intellectuals. Credit is due to those few great scholars in the past whose vision rose up above their time.

[2 Nov 82 p 4]

[Text] Developing Authentic Socialist Thought

The best method of the ideological struggle against reactionary political phenomena and the undermining activities and indeed even aggressive attacks of the antisocialist forces is to indicate before the broadest public, before the working people and citizens, the real subject matter, essence, background and consequences of what is being done, written and asserted.

A certain group of people have been constantly concerned because of the threat to the freedom of spiritual creativity in general, and artistic creativity in particular, because of the repression of words and thoughts (the "crime of thinking"), because of the persecution of the "most distinguished" intellectuals, those few people who think and act as the consciousness and conscience of society. In any case, it is asserted that the divorce between the government and art is simply a matter of destiny under socialism.

Exemplars

In one of our newspapers the author of a novel about Goli Otok agreed in an interview with the person interviewing him "that regimes have quarrels with a large portion of the intelligentsia in countries where socialism has triumphed." According to him this is a painful and accurate fact. And evidence that this actually is the state of affairs is given by a well-known film director in one of his numerous interviews: "As though in the so-called socialist systems there were a kind of jealousy between the party and art: Who is going to define what is beautiful, who is going to define what human happiness is? Since the October Revolution there has been a tradition that party congresses report to the people that it is happy and tells it why it is happy."

You will note that this film personality attaches the epithet "so-called" to the phrase "socialist systems" and that he certainly is not making an exception of our own. In general a repressive policy is conducted toward freedom of thought, and "where there is no dialogue or disputation, where there is no movement of the air (...) that is where cults arise, that is where spiritual weakness dominates and where freedom is still distributed in doses." The freedom to write is so "threatened" that the author who writes a great deal and writes quickly and has had a huge success from his "smooth" and lightweight stuff, makes this answer to the question of why he publishes so much: "I have to say quickly everything I have to say, while it is still possible, before some other semiliterate guys come back again." (He tells us that he experienced the first semiliterate guys when he was young.)

Another writer, who teaches us the old virtues with increasing frequency and fierceness, and who at the same time is propagating many reactionary and purely retrograde things, explains that "someone's 'yes' makes sense only if it includes the possibility of saying 'no' at any moment. In our context you can be in the swim or out of it. In that case I am in favor of being out of it." A well-known reviewer and polemicist, a man who writes feature articles about everything under the sun, also teaches us that "as long as it is possible

to go to jail for the 'crime of thinking,' it will not be possible to speak of real freedom." Another person, neither a writer nor a critic, though he claims to be both (and is a university professor), calls for as many books as possible which will portray the sufferings of the followers of the Cominform, since "when there is a dozen or so such books, we will receive them without any sort of sensationalism." And at the same time "greater freedom is attained" thereby.

The Petitionists

One group of intellectuals and university students sent a petition to the highest bodies of government back in late 1980 favoring that the "crime of thinking" be abolished, that is, that the concept of hostile propaganda be deleted from the criminal code, which certainly would mean that punishment would no longer be imposed for anything like that. One of the ideologues of the struggle for absolute freedom of thought says along these lines that "whenever speech and thought have been a matter for prosecution, law enforcement agencies and the organs of repression have had the easiest time classifying them as hostile propaganda."

It is well known that over the last 2 or 3 years there have been several petitions calling for ending the political repression of the freedom of writing and speech, and in connection with the trial of certain nationalists, the trial of the poet Djogo, the pronouncement of sentences against the members of the Irredenta in Kosovo, the "ban" on showing 12 films over the period since 1972, the sentences for misdemeanors against the group which in a meeting for solidarity with the Palestinian people (held in Belgrade) sought solidarity with the Polish Solidarnosc, against the "manhunt" against V. Seselj in Sarajevo, and so on. The group of people who sign these things are more or less the same and is lengthened or shortened depending on the names of university students, most of them in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana.

As examples of repression in the period since the 21st Meeting of the LCY Presidium, when supposedly the bureaucratic lid was again put on, up to the present time, the following are referred to: the closing down of the Korcula school, abolishing the journal PRAXIS, the removal of seven professors from the School of Philosophy at Belgrade University, accompanied by the unwritten ban on speaking and writing in public, which also "frightened" other people, imposed a harsh self-censorship, drove people away from the treatment of outstanding problems, held back the development of thought in fields which have great public importance, especially in philosophy and sociology, and so on. This has occurred--according to the interpretation furnished by one of the principal leaders of PRAXIS-ism in an interview in our most influential newspaper--because simply "some people think that socialism should develop as a self-managing, democratic and humanistic society, but that process has to be carefully controlled."

Films

Since 1978, as part of the battle for liberties and freedom, the topic of the "black wave" in the films has again been raised, since supposedly our best

film creators have been frustrated and their films removed from repertoires, and in this sense "true political campaigns" have been undertaken "with the clear desire to bring ideological order into the film industry." The art of the film has been suffering from "ideological interventionism." This we are told by five or six of our "disputed" creators in what must run to some 50 interviews which they have given to our newspapers in the course of just 1 year, and along the same lines are to be found many articles and essays defending the freedom of film creativity. Recently there was a petition on this as well going so far even as to state that "the actual banning of these works of art, as an act of illegality and unfreedom, is one of the factors which have contributed to the social and moral crisis of the Yugoslav community today," and revision of the bans "would have the value of an incentive even in mobilizing democratic socialist forces toward resolving the Yugoslav crisis in the spirit of democratic socialism."

But not only is the "black wave" in the film defended, but fierce attacks are conducted against the "red wave," a term which is supposed to cover a majority of films about the National Liberation Struggle, which are said to be artistically without value and on which so many billions have been spent.

Tactics

So, a battle is being waged in our country over human rights and freedoms. Individuals and groups are very outspoken in their defense, and against their being threatened and trampled upon, against repression and manipulation, and they have developed a systematic activity of presenting petitions, which is scrupulously advertised abroad and taken as evidence of a rebellion of the intelligentsia against the regime and the system. This is indeed understandable, since it fits into the general concern of Amnesty International and PEN CLUB circles, certain liberal deputies in western parliaments and certain Social Democrat leaders as to freedoms and rights in Yugoslavia, and also in the unprecedented Quaker Christian and democratic-humanistic campaign for freedom and democracy under socialism.

Socialism is everywhere oppressive, administered by police methods, totalitarian, an expression of one-party monopoly, antimarket, incapable of conducting economic activity and of achieving high productivity and of assuring people any sort of prosperity on any scale, of the right to integrity and individuality, and so on and so forth. Socialism and Stalinism are equivalent terms, and it is a great error to suppose that it is different in Yugoslavia. That is why the forces of "democratic socialism" need to be rallied against the outdated and antihumanistic one-party dictatorship, the bureaucratic reign of terror and police repression. The tactics and strategy of "capturing freedom" are worked out and tested along those lines. And all is to be presented to the public so that there are no taboo topics, so that absolute freedom prevails, so that the people knows everything, and then it will also know what it should do.

Society should be bared so that all the filth in the organism is made evident, so that all its incurable diseases are X-rayed; self-management should develop spontaneously and freely, and the League of Communists, as the quintessence of

the political monopoly, should no longer be a historical obstacle. The League of Communists could be relegated to a museum of antiquities, which would open up the way to the forces of "democratic socialism."

Criticism

In this country it is not any sort of "democratic socialism" which is convulsively and painfully developing and going forward in spite of all the moments of crisis, but socialism of the associated workers. Social criticism, which ignores our goals and offers restoration of bourgeois solutions in the political organization of society and at the same time neglects the change in the mode of production and production relations and the liberation of the producers in the social process of labor, is for us on a track that leads nowhere. And that kind of criticism, as we see, has become very common and has more and more been capturing the news media, creating its own "public," making prey of more and more young people, who already have many reasons and occasions to be dissatisfied with their position and opportunities for public expression. This criticism is not confronted nor tackled by real Marxist and socialist criticism which is sufficiently stimulated, developed and offensive, a criticism fully committed to the historic and immediate interests of the working class and to the vision and upward development of Yugoslav socialist self-management.

The Public

Nor is the problem so much in the fact that "suspicious" books are also being published, that "objectionable" films are being made, that in publishing activity there has been a kind of flowering of various ideological trash and various sabotage operations motivated by commercialism and sensationalism, that popular magazines are overflowing with political gossip, various "provocations" and insinuations, nor is it confined to these magazines, that in many public platforms individuals and groups openly take up positions which are antisocialist, whether they be nationalistic or anarcholiberal or dogmatic Stalinist, that much that ought to be the topic of serious Marxist criticism has found a place in textbooks and lectures, that in the ranks of the League of Communists there are a great many cases of ideological unresourcefulness and confusion. More or less of all this is inevitable and it must all come out on the surface of public light and come before the public as an expression of deeper social contradictions and basic developments of society and of the real class alignment of the social forces.

No policy of prohibitions and repressions and unnecessary trials here and there can be fruitful in overcoming adverse political-ideological manifestations and developments, nor indeed in keeping antisocialist forces from speaking out and acting. We must do a good job of organizing the ideological struggle at every moment and in every place and conduct it with skill and arguments, each speaking in good time to his own kind. The best method in an ideological campaign against reactionary political manifestations and subversion and indeed against aggressive outbursts of antisocialist forces is to point out to the broadest public, to the working people and citizens, the real content, essence, background and consequences of everything being done, written

and asserted. In that way we will develop authentic socialist thinking in all its breadth, in which it will not be easy for various ideological diversionary operations and tricks of our political opponents to get by, offering their nationalistic, clericalistic, false-leftist and bureaucratic visions and solutions to social problems.

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WEST GERMAN ARTICLE CITES WARNINGS FROM INTELLECTUALS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 16 Nov 82 p 6

[Excerpt from article by Carl G. Stroehm] In a recent interview in Belgrade Professor Bosko Gluscevic, director of the Institute for Socail and Economic Research in Titograd, said: "Our social, economic and political structures have become the means for holding back the mobility of people, goods, raw materials, social capital, even of information. These structures want to regionalize and localize everything. They want to subordinate everything to their control.... Especially dangerous is the hindrance placed on the flow of information..." This prominent party member was pointing to the inclination of local functionaries. He then noted that warnings and proposals by scientists were usually seen by these political functionaries as "attacks on the system." Suggestions made by scientists at the right time on how to master the present crisis more easily...had been ignored by political elements.

Gluscevic recalled a recent Central Committee meeting where the Slovenian official Popit attacked scientists and intellectuals while the Macedonian Grlickov warned the party against setting itself over the intellectuals. Gluscevic said anti-intellectualism of the Yugoslav party is a lesson taught it from outside (obviously meaning one of the Soviet lessons) which many functionaries had retained for decades. "It is no wonder," he said, "that even today there is a deeply-rooted conviction in the party apparatus that we do not need smart people, but obedient people."

He also spoke of the transformation which takes place in normal people as soon as they have a position of power. "As soon as we elect someone to a function, even if it does not conform to his abilities but was done because of the needs of the (political) structure, this person, even if he were natural, simple, and realistic before, suddenly, after his election, considers himself something special and, in conformity with his function, insists on making absolute judgments and final conclusions and interfering in very complicated problems and subtle analyses requiring a highly qualified person...."

Similar radical judgments were made a few months before by another prominent Yugoslav scholar, the Belgrade sociologist Neca Jovanov (also a party member) who said in the Belgrade publication INTERVJU: "I categorically dispute the assertion that the source of our difficulties lies in the contradiction between concept and practice. Because then one assumes that the concept is good but

the practice is bad. And behind this thesis is concealed its real essence, namely, that the creators of the concept are a-priori good and indispensable and are thus exempt from all critical analysis; while those who are applying this concept are a-priori bad and thus are the constant target not so much of analytical criticism as political and moral condemnation. The blatant content of this thesis is: When disagreement arises between the government and the people--the people must be changed!"

Jovanov asks for a "dialogue in the party which would be conducted in a human and intellectually honorable way," in which there would be a settling of accounts, not with people but with ideas. Instead of this, however, the party lacks even "an elementary dialogue" and any attempt at such outside the party is immediately disqualified as "party-hostile action."

The accumulation of institutions and norms, Jovanov says, has suppressed self-management in Yugoslavia. Those who have been part of this self-management process are exhausted...by the feeling that they have to deal with problems over which they have no real power of decision (which is held by the party). ovanov says: "Here we know the results of elections to leading functions even before the elections have started. Because it is a question not of an election but of the distribution of the same people to various posts."

He warned especially of the dangerous political consequences of the immobility which exists. The strike mechanism is known, but that which one calls "absenteeism" and passive resistance which Jovanov says has reached "unimaginable proportions," have not been inadequately studied. "We only know that the causes are of a social nature: the growth of an intellectual proletariat, youth unemployment, and a lower living standard, even below the minimum for existence for an industrial worker." He warns, "What no one can predict is when this passive political resistance will change into active resistance, and to what degree. Our political structure totally overlooks this fact."

Certainly a comparison between Yugoslavia and the explosive situation in Poland was not mentioned for many reasons. But obviously some intellectuals and intelligent party people in Yugoslavia are thinking about this. Jovanov said in regard to a book he wrote in which he sets forth the [above] non-conformist thesis: He hopes he has thereby given "the semi-literate ideological overseers" some sleepless nights.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2085

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Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 24 Oct 82 pp 1, 2, 11

[BTA report: "Stronghold of Bulgarian Spirit--Samuil's Fortress Memorial Complex at Foot of Belasitsa Officially Opened"]

[Text] PETRICH, 23 October. On the legendary hill between Belasitsa and Ograzhden there was enacted in the year 1014 one of the most dramatic episodes in the 13-century history of the Bulgarian people--the battle between the armies of Tsar Samuil and the Byzantine invaders. This holy spot in our chronicles, called Samuil's fortress by the people, is a sacred symbol now, too, of the readiness of Bulgarians to sacrifice themselves to protect their homeland, to defend its name and uphold it proudly and unshakably. Erected literally on the dust of Samuil and his brave warriors and on the pain of a national tragedy, the Samuil's Fortress Memorial Complex now rises majestically here.

On the occasion of the official opening of the complex a stirring assembly and meeting was held at the foot of Belasitsa today.

Present were member of the BCP Central Committee and first deputy minister of the Council of Ministers, Todor Bozhinov; candidate member of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture, Georgi Yordanov; secretary of the BCP Central Committee, Stoyan Mikhaylov; department heads of the BCP Central Committee; first secretary of the DKMS [Dimitrov Communist Youth Union] Central Committee, Stanka Shopova; first secretary of the Blagoevgrad okrug party committee, Vladimir Sandev, and other okrug and city leaders; veterans of revolutionary struggles; generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army; many guests from the capital, from all over the country and abroad.

The meeting was opened by the first secretary of the Petrich BCP obshtina committee, Metodi Ribnishki. "Our people are receiving another relic of their inexhaustible optimism and another confirmation that we keep holy in our memory every page of our 13-century annals," he said. "Socialist Bulgaria feels filial admiration for the cause of Samuil, this ancient Bulgarian tsar whose life for more than 40 years was self-abnegation on behalf of Bulgaria's freedom, an example of selflessness in defense of its independence. This sacred hill on which we stand does not have the unfading glory of an "imperial capital."

Our national history still shunts it to the rear while it opens its pages for Great Preslav or Pliska. Unquestionably, however, its place is there, on a par with the shrines of the First Bulgarian Empire. By sword and thought Preslav and Pliska created the material and spiritual values of the young Bulgarian state. Samuil's Fortress shed its last drop of blood in their defense. These are sources of patriotism and national pride that are identical in power; this is historic heroism that is identical in significance.

"The Samuil's Fortress Memorial Complex," the orator continued, "is the result of long years of research, of coordinated efforts. Archeological excavations were needed to show us its authenticity, sculptors and architects were needed to recreate them, builders were needed to construct them. That is why our gratitude is profound. It is addressed, first and foremost, to the never-to-be-forgotten Lyudmila Zhivkova, who saw in 'Samuil's Fortress' a future monument of nationwide homage and with her characteristic party-minded passion and energy undertook to make it a national treasure."

Academician Dimitur Angelov delivered an address on "The Struggle of the Bulgarian People to Establish and Defend the Bulgarian State and the Great Selflessness of Samuil's Warriors":

"We are gathered together in festive celebration before one of the most stirring monuments of our distant past. We are in front of 'Samuil's Fortress,' one of the strongholds of the First Bulgarian State, one of the silent witnesses of the Bulgarian people's heroic struggle to preserve their freedom and independence. Our celebration provides an occasion to turn back in thought nearly a millennium ago to those days of arduous trials, to those times that steeled the will of the Bulgarian who had risen up in defense of his native land. We turn back in thought to the events, filled with exceptional tension, from the end of the 10th to the beginning of the 11th century, associated with the name of Tsar Samuil and with the heroism of an entire people. These are events, about which we find information mainly in the works of the Byzantine chroniclers and historiographers and which in the mass reveal to us a drama-packed picture of one of the most fateful periods of our medieval history that left profound traces in the memory of generations.

"As is well known, the Bulgarian state, created in 681, was able to achieve great successes in its political, ethnic and cultural development as a result of adroit domestic and foreign policy. For about two centuries its boundaries included all Slavs of the Bulgarian group inhabiting the geographic regions of Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia. By the end of the ninth and the beginning of the 10th century, Bulgarian nationality had once and for all won recognition as a monolithic, ethnosocial and ethnocultural community uniting Slavs and proto-Bulgarians into a whole. With the introduction of the Slavic written language and the formation of educated and literary circles in Pliska, Preslav and Ochrid, the Bulgarian state rapidly set forth on the path of a cultural advance extraordinary for its time, the peak of which was "the golden age" during the reign of Tsar Simeon. The medieval Bulgarian cities sprang up and developed as centers of busy economic activity, of educated and literary life. The prestige of the Bulgarian state as one of the most powerful and best organized state formations won recognition not only in the European Southeast, but also in the whole of Europe.

"Thus these successes in the political, economic and cultural development of medieval Bulgaria took place in quite an uneasy setting, characteristic of the feudal middle ages--a setting of frequent military clashes with various adversaries and, above all, with the neighboring Byzantine Empire. Time and again, as is evident from the course of events in the eighth to 10th century, Bulgaria and Byzantium came into sharp conflict and repeatedly the ambition of individual Byzantine emperors, as, for example, Constantine V Copronymus (741-775) and Nicephorus I, Logothete of the General Fund (802-811), to subject their northern neighbor to their authority was discernible. The Byzantine emperor John I Tzimisces, who ascended the throne in 969, i.e. at a time when the Bulgarian state after Simeon's death and Peter's rule was experiencing a period of political and military decline, acted in the spirit of a similar policy. And, as is known, in 971, when Tsar Peter had died and his son Boris II was on the throne in the capital of Preslav, John Tzimisces launched a surprise campaign against Bulgaria, crossed the Balkan Range, captured Preslav and occupied the northeastern Bulgarian lands (between the Danube, the Balkan Range, the Black Sea and the Isker River). Boris II was taken prisoner to Constantinople, and the occupied territory was turned into a Byzantine province.

"Grievous though the blow inflicted in 971 may have been, it by no means signified, however, that the Bulgarian state had perished. It continued to exist, although with diminished territory, preparing for decisive resistance against its dangerous enemy. And since the northeastern Bulgarian lands had fallen under foreign rule, the political center of the state shifted to the southwest. As is known, four Bulgarian boyar brothers--David, Moses, Aaron and Samuil, sons of Count Nicholas, highest official and governor of the city of Serdika (Sofia)--took the lead of the Bulgarian lands untouched by the Byzantine invasion and comprising present-day Northwestern Bulgaria, Sofia Oblast, the valleys of the Mesta and Struma and almost the whole of Macedonia. On them came to rest the onerous task of stabilizing the shattered position of the state and of frustrating any new attempts at aggressive operations on the part of Byzantium. And their efforts were crowned with success. In a number of battles the Byzantines suffered serious defeats, and in 976 when John Tzimisces died and Basil II ascended the throne, the four brothers, taking advantage of the internal crisis that had arisen in the empire, succeeded in driving the conqueror out of the occupied northeastern Bulgarian lands, and thus the Bulgarian state was once more restored to its previous territorial integrity with the exception of part of Thrace. But its political center had now shifted to the southwest, and Preslav, though liberated from Byzantine rule, was not restored again as the capital. Originally, as is evident from the data of the sources, Serdika (Sofia)--where their father, Count Nicholas, had been--became the center of the Bulgarian lands ruled by David, Moses, Aaron and Samuil. Later the capital was moved to Voden; afterwards, when Samuil had become a one-man ruler, his seat was the city of Prespa, and by the end of his reign Ochrid became the capital city. The seat of the patriarch--the head of the Bulgarian church--likewise moved in accordance with the transfers of the capital from one city to another. The first patriarch was Damian, who after the fall of the Eastern Bulgarian lands abandoned his seat in the city of Drustur (Silistra) and found refuge with the four brothers while continuing to direct religious affairs. The city of Serdika probably became his residence. He was succeeded by German, about whom we know from a list of Bulgarian patriarchs

that 'he bore witness' in Voden and Prespa, i.e. in the two later capital cities. But the last Bulgarian patriarch of the Samuelian state, David, by then had Ochrid as his center.

"After the return of the northeastern Bulgarian Lands, hostile operations between Byzantium and Bulgaria continued with unremitting intensity. The four brothers began aggressive operations against southern Macedonia and Thessaly. The youngest brother, Samuil, penetrated Thessaly with his troops, while Moses advanced on Seres but fell during the siege of the city. The other brother, David, perished at the same time. Soon afterwards Aaron died too, and all power passed into the hands of Samuil, who by 979 succeeded in taking Thessaly. In the meanwhile the former Bulgarian tsar Boris II and his brother, Roman, prisoners in Constantinople, succeeded in escaping and made for Bulgaria. At the border, however, Boris was killed by mistake by the Bulgarians who took him for a Byzantine, and only Roman managed to reach Samuil's residence. Since he wanted to emphasize his continuity with the old dynasty, Samuil recognized and proclaimed Roman as tsar although he actually remained the chief director of affairs of state.

"Alarmed by the successes of the Bulgarians, the Byzantine emperor Basil II decided to launch a counterblow. Assembling a huge army, he set out by the Plovdiv-Adrianople road for Serdika and placed it under siege. His attempts to take the city by storm remained ineffective and he was compelled to withdraw. On the way back, however, his army was suddenly attacked by Samuil in the long and narrow "Bulgarian Gorge" in the Yavoritsa River valley (between the Gates of Trajan and Vetren) and smashed completely on 17 August 986. Many Byzantines fell in battle and the Byzantine emperor had a narrow escape from captivity. Inspired by the great victory, the Bulgarians undertook wide-scale military operations during the next two years. A considerable strip along the Adriatic coast (the Byzantine theme of Dyrrhachium) was seized and the cities of Verria (Berrhoea) and Servia were liberated from Byzantine rule, with Dobromir and Niculitzes installed there by Samuil as governors.

"Gradually, however, after the internal crisis had passed, the Byzantine empire recovered from the blows inflicted on it and the emperor Basil II, famous for his tenacity and indomitable energy, began anew--and, what is more, with great vigor--his attempts to crush his northern neighbor. There began a new and decisive phase in the military clash between Byzantium and Bulgaria that had already gone on for years. The Byzantine emperor was the attacker and aggressor and Samuil gradually had to go over to the defensive. Bitter military operations were conducted between 991-994 when the Byzantine forces penetrated deep into the southwestern Bulgarian lands and ravaged them, with Tsar Roman taken prisoner in one battle. In response to the Byzantine offensive, three years later Samuil launched a counterblow, moved through Thessaly, Boeotia and Attica and got as far as the Peloponnesus, but on the way back suffered defeat in a battle on the Spercheius River (997). Meanwhile, after the death of Roman, who perished while a prisoner in Constantinople, Samuil was officially proclaimed Tsar of the Bulgarians (according to a 12th-century Serbian source, the chronicle of the priest Dukljanin).

"Raising ~~great forces~~ at the beginning of the 11th century, the Byzantine emperor renewed military operations against Bulgaria. In 1001 he succeeded in recapturing the northeastern Bulgarian lands, while in the following year he seized the cities of Berrhoea and Servia. In 1003 the Byzantines attacked Vidin after a siege lasting several months. The next year (1004) Basil attempted to seize the Pernik fortress, one of the most dazzling strongholds of the Samuelian state. But the defender of the fortress, the voivode Krakra, "a man distinguished in military affairs," as the Byzantine chronicler Scylitzes characterized him, repelled the enemy's attacks and the Byzantines were compelled to withdraw. For his part, Tsar Samuil, "a warrior who never knew repose," as Scylitzes, again, put it, made great efforts to put an end to enemy pressure. In 1003 when the Byzantines besieged Vidin, he launched a counterattack and with his forces penetrated as far as Adrianople. And the next year when Basil II made desperate efforts to take Pernik, the Bulgarian [line missing due to transposition] advanced against Thessalonica and took prisoner the military commander of Thessalonica, John of Chaldia, who sallied forth against them. Thus Samuil, maneuvering skillfully, succeeded to a significant extent in making the enemy hesitate and in thwarting his further aggressive plans.

"The period between 1004-1011 passed comparatively more tranquilly. But this was actually a temporary lull before a new great storm. Having decided to wage life-and-death war, the Byzantine emperor Basil II prepared the next blow. For his part, Samuil, who was very well aware of Basil's intentions, was taking corresponding measures. The fortress walls of various cities that had suffered during combat operations were repaired and reinforced; military discipline was tightened up.

"The fateful moment came in the summer of 1014 when Basil II at the head of a large army marched away from (Kser) and invaded the Struma River valley. Here he was halted, however, by a large earthen fortification, erected by order of Samuel in the so-called Klyuch (or Petrich) pass between the mountains Ograzhden and Belasitsa. Again the Byzantine chronicler Scylitzes mentions the Bulgarian ruler's fortification measures, undertaken with a view to preventing the enemy's advance: 'And since Samuil knew,' he tells us, 'that the emperor usually invades through the so-called Cimbalongus [Long Plain] and Kleidion [Klyuch], he decided to fortify this narrow pass and bar the emperor's access. And thus he threw up a very wide wall, mounted reliable sentinels thereon and waited for the emperor.'

"And, as a matter of fact, it is precisely the defensive system that Scylitzes was talking about and that was erected in 1014 during the new war that had begun with Byzantium (the hamlet itself dated from the ninth century and was destroyed in 1003) with which we must associate this earthen fortification now in front of us and which is known by the name of Samuil's Fortress.

"The development of events, which culminated tragically for the Bulgarians and Tsar Samuil, is well known. At first the enemy's assault was rebuffed and all Basil II's attempts to advance encountered the stubborn resistance of the Bulgarian troops and their experienced leader. 'The emperor,' Scylitzes tells us, 'had already lost hope of getting through.' But a Byzantine detachment, led by

Nicephorus (Esifia), succeeded in bypassing the mountain Belasitsa (probably by the road which now as well leads from the village of Dolni Poroy via Matnitsa to the village of Klyuch) and showed up unexpectedly behind the defenders' back. There followed a bloody battle which culminated with 14,000 (and according to another source, 15,000) Bulgarian warriors being taken prisoner. This took place on 29 July 1014. Samuil himself barely escaped being taken captive, thanks mainly to the daring of his son Gavrail Radomir, who dragged him out of the battle. There followed the gruesome episode of the blinding of Samuil's warriors, save one in every hundred who had one eye left to him so as to lead them. Aghast at the cruel sight of his blinded soldiers who with difficulty had managed to make their way to his residence in Prespa, where he had retired after the battle at Belasitsa, Samuil had a stroke and died (on 6 October 1014). The exact date is given in a message of Bishop Michael of the city of Devol. Thus ended his days the Bulgarian ruler whose life was spent in ceaseless struggle in defense of the homeland and state, and under whose banners the entire Bulgarian nation fought. He concluded his life, leaving behind a lasting remembrance in the memory of generations.

"Samuil's death, grievous though it might be for the Bulgarian people, did not mean that they had now lost the power of resistance. The struggle continued under Samuil's successors--Gavrail Radomir and Ivan Vladislav. Efforts were made to seek allies against Byzantium; the destroyed fortresses were repaired. Among other things, as can be seen from Ivan Vladislav's inscription of 1015-1016, the fortress of the city of Bitolya, erected, as the inscription says, by order of the Bulgarian 'autocrat' and 'native Bulgarian' to 'protect and save the lives of Bulgarians,' was renovated at that time. New assaults on the part of Basil II, who later received the sobriquet of 'Bulgar Slayer' and new demonstrations of heroism, linked with the names of Krakra of Pernik, Fruzhin, Elemagus, and the voivode Ivatsa, characterize the last years of the First Bulgarian State's existence. Its forces, however, fell short and by 1018 the entire country was already under Byzantine rule. There ensued a long period of foreign rule that culminated with the uprising of the Bulgarian people under the leadership of Asen and Peter and the restoration of the Bulgarian state.

"Such is the course of events associated with the dramatic duel between Samuil and Basil II, described by the Byzantine chroniclers Scylitzes, Leo Diaconus, Zonaras and others, and also confirmed by our written and archeological records. Events which attest that during the Middle Ages the Bulgarian people were not only a creative people bringing forth eternal material and spiritual values, but also a fighter people, ready to sacrifice themselves on behalf of freedom. And today, nearly a millennium after these tragic, and at the same time magnificent moments of our distant past, we pay homage to the valor of Samuil and his warriors; we honor and eulogize their memory in the setting and under the conditions of our free and flourishing socialist homeland."

Comrade Todor Bozhinov then greeted the thousands of participants in the council and declared the Samuil's Fortress Memorial Complex open.

On the hill at the foot of Belasitsa there rises a 5-meter bronze figure of the legendary Bulgarian tsar Samuil, work of the sculptor, Honored Artist Boris Gondov. Outlined in bas relief are figures of Samuil's blinded warriors and scenes from the battles at the Gates of Trajan, Thessalonica and Larissa. Archeological artificats from the time of Samuil are on exhibit in the museum. On the ridge of the hill there rises an architectural body of four concrete pillars with a panoramic platform, from which the entire Klyuch pass and the peaks of Belasitsa and Ograzhden can be seen.

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CPCZ WEEKLY ON DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRAL VILLAGES

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 42, 20 Oct 82 p 5

[Article by Oldrich Bilovsky: "Information on the Work of Central Villages"]

[Text] It follows from the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress that we must strengthen the authority of the national committees in towns, central villages and housing developments. This task has stressed at the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, which stressed the need for further democratization of public services, which must be brought closer to the people's needs.

This is a topical problem with which the legislative bodies have concerned themselves; both national councils have approved the so-called small amendment of the law, by which the law on national committees in central villages is amended and supplemented. It's enactment has taken effect in both republics.

A Brief Look

Socialist society has undergone and will undergo changes. "The ago-old backwardness of the countryside has disappeared forever," it was stated at the 16th CPCZ Congress. "Today's village is modern, cultured and attractive to young people and educated specialists." And the facts on this are obvious at first glance; it is enough to make us envious of one-time backward regions of Czechoslovakia. Yes, the differences between town and country are gone, and the poor areas of the past, which people used to leave, have changed beyond recognition. "It is currently becoming increasingly apparent," it was pointed out at the Sixth Plenum of the Central committee, "that, considering the historically arisen large number of settlements in Czechoslovakia, it is not possible for economic reasons and from the standpoint of optimal utilization, for all townships to be provided with schools, medical, cultural and other facilities.

It is, for example, paradoxical that the numbers of places in day-care centers in some districts exceeds the number required, but we must continue to build

them, since while in some, usually smaller, villages these centers are underutilized, in other places requirements are not entirely satisfied. The situation is similar as concerns cultural centers, networks of retail stores, etc. Therefore, in the most recent period residential and public construction has been concentrated in central villages. This has been the only possible solution. And this is why the number of inhabitants in the smallest villages is decreasing--people of working age are leaving for central villages and for towns.

In the most recent period, following a worldwide trend, but primarily as a direct reaction to objectively arisen conditions, there has been integration of national committees and central villages have gradually been built up. This process has been completed by the above so-called small amendment to the law on national committees.

The First Step

In Southern Moravia, on the basis of Law No 49/1982 of the Czech National Republic, broader authority is being exercised by the 61 national committees. The largest number--11--of these is located in the Uhersko Hradiste District. "Over one-third of the district's population lives in places which have been approved as central villages," we learn from the secretary of the ONV [District National Committee] in Uhersko Hradiste, Frantisek Marvan. "This is a logical development and the result of integration of national committees." He mentions that this process was underway in Uhersko Hradiste in the sixties but reached its greatest extent in the seventies. In the course of this process, the number of national committees was decreased; now there are only 46 in the district. "We have oriented the process, and since 1980 there has been a group in the ONV which deals with issues from the work of consolidated townships," adds the chief of the organizational division of the ONV, Cyril Barinka.

Thus was created the foundation for the construction of national committees in central villages. This was a naturel development, with a decline in the number of inhabitants of the smallest villages in Uhersko Hradiste. Cyril Barinka gives us more precise information: "Based on the results of the latest census of people, houses and apartments, in 1980 nearly 35 percent of the entire population of the district lived in five towns or villages."

The first stage in building up the central villages consisted in the integration of the national committees. But this was not and cannot be the ultimate solution; it is only the first step. "Consolidation was carried out only where conditions for it had been created," Cyril Barinka tells us. "We consider it a means for bringing the law on federal public services closer to the people, and at the same time for creating the conditions for intensive development of territorial districts."

These words are logical, but to ensure intensive and, at the same time, comprehensive economic and social development of territorial districts, to raise the quality of federal public services, is not a simple task. This task cannot be fulfilled in the space of 1 day. It is, on the contrary, a

process. It is important to grasp the complexity of the tasks, to endorse the party line, to enforce it quite consistently, to progress from the simple to the complex, not skipping stages. The secretary of the ONV, Frantisek Marvan tells us: "Broadening of the authority of the national committees in central villages is only one further step. We consider it a starting point in the process of gradually making these places a basis for providing and granting services needed by society and those of value to the entire district involved, a basis for the further development of social and cultural life."

Not Only Authority...

The passage of the so-called small amendment on national committees has created the legal, material and other preconditions for the organs of federal authority and public service in central villages to provide improved services, to better fulfill the people's needs, and to work on and put into practice the comprehensive development of the territorial district at a higher level and in cooperation with other partners. "They are taking over a part of the agendas formerly the concern of ONCs and the pertinent part of their apparatus," stated Comrade Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Center Committee, at its Sixth Plenum.

In the Uhersko Hradiste District, starting 1 July of this year, the 11 national committees have greater authority--both greater rights and greater responsibility. But this is not all. The conditions under which they operate have changed and a new situation has been created. And this must be taken into account, methods must be changed, adequate forms of work must be chosen--we must change over from quantity to quality of activity and operation, from extensive development to intensive, increasing the role of elective organs, etc. But requirements cannot be fulfilled in an instant, overnight. "Conditions have been created gradually: while the national committees were being integrated the foundations were being laid for the idea of central villages. Before the Czech National Council approved the so-called small amendment, we weighed the pros and cons, evaluated the situation, analyzed the results, gradually strengthening the basic link of organs of federal authority and public service," Cyril Barinka tells us. In the most recent period town and local national committees were strengthened by [the addition of] 19 people; Buchlovice, for example, received as its chief of the office of construction Ladislav Horak, who served on the committee for construction and territorial planning of the ONV. "While earlier a citizen, before he could obtain a building permit, had to make the rounds of various institutions, from health to water commissions, losing a great deal of time, now this is all taken care of by the office of construction in our township," adds chairman Jaroslav Kocenda of the MNV [local national committee] in Buchlovice, a central village in whose territorial district live more than 3,500 inhabitants.

Yet the reason for building central villages is primarily to achieve better results, to do more efficient and better quality work. "We have been successful in affecting the plans of organs of the national committees in

central villages in such a way that, for example, at a plenum the basic tasks of development of the territorial district were discussed, and representatives at this forum worked on the prosperity of services, residential and public construction, the improvement of the environment, people's problems and concerns, what they consider to be important and decisive," Cyril Barinka tells us. Then he summarizes: in almost all central villages there are offices of construction, public service commissions, and citizens' committees. But he points out that the quantitative and material side of things has come to the fore. "Some representatives, in this district almost 20 percent, are relatively inactive, plenary, council and committee meetings are not at the level called for by the situation, and there are problems in the work of many citizens' committees," asserts the secretary of the ONV, Frantisek Marvan. "To eliminate imperfections requires that we pay constant attention to the central villages, make good use of reserves, and work more effectively."

Building up central villages is a process which has its own regularities. In the course of building, we must improve the quality of what exists but at the same time engage in a struggle between old and new, waging a difficult battle to assert the line of strategy of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the conclusions of the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee and, in order for the goals which we have set to be realized, they must be widely publicized among our citizens. To be sure, the sense of all these measures is to bring the administration of public affairs closer to the people, to improve the conditions of their life and work. And in this process communists, representatives officials of organizations joined together in the NF [National Front], and agitators are fulfilling and must continue to fulfill their tasks, in which they cannot be replaced. Explaining to the people the sense and purpose of modifications in the functioning of the national committees in central villages and obtaining their active support of the measures which have been adopted are among these tasks. But in order for the central villages to gradually become actual centers of life and work for the people, this is where regional and district national committees must create the conditions. By the way, and this is confirmed also by experience which we have gained, legal norms, in this case the so-called small amendment on national committees, create only the necessary legal, material and other conditions. To bring these to life, to apply the principles in territorial districts, is primarily the concern of the people--communists, officials and representatives of national committees, and citizens.

9832
2400/44

FEAR OF POLISH PRECEDENT DEEPENS ECONOMIC STAGNATION

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 16 Oct 82 p 3

[Text] R. St. Prague, October--Ten months after the imposition of martial law, 2 years after the founding of the recently dissolved independent trade union, Solidarity, the Polish phenomenon still weighs heavily on Czechoslovakia's policy. Neverthelsss the continual warnings to the fraternal party have been dropped and leading Czechoslovak politicians appear to be satisfied with the policy of General Jaruzelski. Still, the developments in the northern neighbor have on the one hand made the leadership in Prague's Hradchin uncertain and on the other hand strengthened the view that any economic or social-political experiment contains a moment of danger that cannot be assessed and is therefore undesirable.

Declining Work Morale, Worsened Consumer Supply

The hard-currency debts, in Prague's view, have brought Poland to a strong dependency on the West. Although the Czechoslovaks are rated as good credit risks, they refused last year on that account to buy fodder in the West on credit. As a result emergency slaughtering became necessary; meat shortages were avoided last spring by massive price increases. To the statement of a high official that the decision of the government was approved by the people, one would like to add a question mark. The vague projects for economic liberalization and for the encouragement of private initiatives among peasants and artisans remain in the files; in 1968 officials saw that the call for political reforms follows these initiatives and in the experience of Poland see that a party that loosens the reins finally, falls into an identity crisis. On the basis of the experience in Poland the influence of the Catholic Church is again judged particularly dangerous; we will address its situation in a separate article.

Nevertheless Polish conditions could come about in Czechoslovakia, even if in altered form, for quite different reasons. A citizen there who is concerned about the economic situation of his country suddenly asks how it looked in Poland before 1980. In his observation, work morale and work performance have been sinking in Czechoslovakia from year to year with people becoming steadily more unfriendly. Finally the reliability of deliveries of materiel has been constantly declining. There are increasing occurrences of construction workers standing idle without cement. In the area of consumer goods of daily life there are bottlenecks in milk and milk production

as well as in sugar. The fact that a persistent late summer and fall brought a good fruit and vegetable harvest leads one to overlook the fact that cheap meat is practically speaking no longer available, and the better-quality cuts are almost beyond price. The supply of articles not absolutely necessary to life has worsened; yet one can still wonder whether, for example, a coal shovel is not a necessity in a country where coal heating predominates and small weekend cottages are widely owned. Although the government asserts the opposite, the buying power of the krone has sunk in the opinion of the people and the business of the foreign exchange shops has climbed. Foreign tourists in restaurants pay their bills more frequently in foreign currency than before, without the waiter sweating with fear over it.

Pensions for Graduates of Higher Schools

Even more serious seems the complaint of a budding electrical engineer. The young man is studying computer sciences but sees little chance of finding a job appropriate to his education when finished in a year because, he says, with the present standard of computer technology in his country most of the work can be mastered by training ordinary workers. For some professions Slovakia is offering graduates of higher schools a monthly pension of 800 krone instead of a job. As soon as they have a job, they must repay the money that they received from the state.

Stability and Immobility

The astonishing stability of the political establishment, which externally appeared to be ideologically strict, is leading the country further into stagnation. In the Politburo, which for more than a dozen years has met with a practically unaltered membership, the balance between dogmatists and pragmatists is to fine that new ideas as a rule do not get underway because their introduction would distrub the balance. Experts on the political scene in Prague no longer want to associate dogmatists and pragmatists with particular names. Prime Minister Strougal, they say, listens with interest to the situation analyses of Western politicians and economic experts and is aware of the inadequate efficiency of the Czechoslovak economy but also does not want to give it any stimulus. The industry of Czechoslovakia suffers from the obsolescence of its equipment; money for new investment is lacking. From 1980 to 1981 Czechoslovakia turned a trade deficit of 1.3 billion krone into a surplus of 1.4 billion krone. The import restrictions with regard to the hard-currency countries continued this year as well cannot be extended at will, however. Whether the increased concentration on trade within CMECON is the correct way to stimulate industry is disputed in the party leadership as well. The fact that the Credit Commercial de France is the first Western bank to be permitted to open an office in Prague shows that they do not want to burn any bridges but no one regards this as an indication of any significant revival of trade with France. The sum of all diverging opinions leads to immobility here as well.

The Private Sector Stepchild

The revival of a private service sector, which could unleash hidden, dormant energies, is not moving forward. The situation is somewhat better in part with regard to the revival of the peasant fruit businesses. Nevertheless, in a roughly 1,000-kilometer trip through the country we saw all of two peasants selling fruit by the roadside. The Central Committee secretary, Pitra, recently criticized the modest scope of these branches of trade. Obviously there are differences of opinion in the party leadership whether such activity is desirable. All the same, early next year a law on private service enterprises will go into effect.

Party chief Husak and his Politburo have bestowed "normalization" upon Czechoslovakia under severe restriction of individual rights. One gets the impression these days that this policy is slowly ending. Of course this process has nothing to do with events in Poland or only to the extent that here as well as there the suppression of individual and collective liberties were the beginning of the difficulties.

6108
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NOTED PROFESSOR INTERVIEWED ON NATURE OF POWER IN POLAND

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 27, 24 Oct 82 pp 4, 5

[Report on interview with Prof. Jerzy J. Wiatr, by correspondent Zdzislaw Zaryczny: "Do We Have a Strong Government?"; date and place not specified. "Polish Truths"]

[Text] [Question] Professor, do we have a strong government in Poland today? Under martial law conditions this is perhaps a paradoxical question--after all, the government in reality possesses practically a monopoly in the initiation of changes. No social group can achieve its goals without the approval of government sources. And so—we have a strong government, is that not so?

[Answer] We do not have a strong government in Poland today, in the manner of understanding it which I frequently use. For example, I wrote in POLITYKA even in 1979, referring to Konstanty Grzybowski and his thoughts regarding a strong government: "The criterion of a government's strength is not the concentration of all-important and semi-important decisions in one hand, in one center. On the contrary, a strong government knows how to concentrate on central issues crucial to a situation taken as a whole; whereas it unhesitatingly turns over all others to lower divisions, permitting them to act efficiently and independently."

I further emphasize that, "the criterion of government strength is not the increase in orders and prohibitions either. In social life orders and prohibitions are indispensable, but a strong government uses them with moderation. With moderation but also with consistency." The outstanding difficulty with our present situation stems not so much from the fact that the state relies upon a large number of orders and prohibitions, characteristic of martial law, but from the fact that it must rely upon them; inasmuch as the government is too weak to function well.

[Question] Are we to understand from this also that Poles were and are a difficult people to govern?

[Answer] This is a certain reflective stereotype which actually means that Poles are ill disposed toward any government, their own or foreign. In light of historical data, it is not, however, an irrefutable truth. For example, during the occupation, Poles displayed astounding civic discipline with respect to the government of underground Poland, and this under circumstances

where it had very limited means of enforcing measures.

And so, one cannot generalize that Poles are difficult to govern in every instance. On the other hand, it is true that they become difficult when they are governed badly. History often demonstrated that there exists in our society a considerable willingness to oppose a type of government which is objectionable, which is not acceptable. There are societies in which every government with better or worse performance, which by virtue of its existence as a government enjoys obedience. We are not that type of society. Simply, the demands which we make on our rulers are higher.

[Question] Higher, but later fairly judged?

[Answer] Not always. Poles often proved to be unfair towards those who governed them with good intentions and sensibly.

For example, after December 1970, the way not only the leading circles but also a large segment of society treated Wladyslaw Gomulka. I hesitate to state that there were no reasons to criticize his leadership, but criticism is something other than the condemnation of someone who with great ideology, honesty, and no small successes led Poland for many years.

Hence, I imagine there is something like this in our tradition which generates the conviction among many politicians, that as a nation we are unfair towards them. This is the source of very dangerous and unfavorable attitudes of rulers to whom Aleksander Wielopolski has attributed: "We can sometimes do something for Poles but never with Poles." It is an unfair appraisal but it expresses the bitterness of the politician, who again in any nation whould go down in a history completely different from that which is current and which is "inhaled" in Polish political culture.

[Question] A trace of this tradition can be found in the specific discrediting of Polish crises and the political destruction of steering committees which, once they have lost, leave the public scene forever. What is the source of this self-annihilation of our governing elite?

[Answer] This is less related to the crises themselves, but more so to the structure of political life, which at least until recently left no place for anyone who dropped out of the steering body. Until recently, because we already have the type of situation in Poland in which those who once occupied high positions appear in public, although in more modest roles. But such a situation would only be ideal where a frequently and fairly stipulated rotation would not indicate that those quitting fall into anonymity, only that they remain on the political scene. This would be an important defensive device against annihilation of steering committees.

We do not yet always understand and appreciate the fact that talented politicians are as valuable a social capital as, for example, talented physicians or musicians. It is, therefore, necessary to economize on these people and not squander this capital, because it is not unlimited. Every nation, during a

given historic moment, has only a certain number of people with outstanding competence. And, therefore, it is a matter of prime importance--primarily for the common good--that this potential be most beneficially pursued.

[Question] Why are these issues so seldom openly mentioned? Why are the dilemmas of rulers most often foreign to those governed?

[Answer] It is necessary here to distinguish the present situation from that of the past. All prior crises were crises that were limited to steering groups and did not involve the masses. October 1956 was an exception but only to a certain degree. I do not have in mind here of course, the eruptions of the February riot in Poznan in June 1956, nor in Wybrzeze in December 1970. I am concerned about political activities aimed at solving the crisis and not about the demonstration of social anger itself. The fact that our past policy was to a great extent the policy of the closed elite, from whence only very abridged prepared news filtered through, had to make society feel not only isolated but also uninformed. This has changed very distinctly in the course of the past 2 years.

For the 1981 policy was a policy of mass social movements. Obviously steering groups existed in each of these movements, both in the party as well as in "Solidarity," but they functioned in the context of an activated mass movement taken as a whole.

The extent to which alienation of government in the more distant past was caused by the closed process of decision making by the narrow steering elite, it is now necessary to the same extent to find another explanation for the situation of the past 2 years.

I am convinced it lies in the present psychological state of Polish society. It does not depend on the fact that society is uninformed, that it does not know that the actual state is concealed from it. It is something else, a mechanism, which the American psychologist Festinger described as cognitive dissonance: when certain information clashes with our own intensely experienced emotions, we do not accept this information. Therefore, a frustrated society does not accept certain information, not because it does not possess it, but because it sets into motion a specific emotional obstruction. However, I emphasize--the essential cause of this state of affairs lies in the fact that this is a society which is seriously hurting psychologically.

[Question] And perhaps simply resentful? After all, it is not accidental that the post-August period was marked by a developed feeling of national and community pride on the part of every citizen.

[Answer] Of course, in some sense it is certainly so. A large segment of society which survived the euphoria of 1981 had to feel very hurt by the fact that physical force was used against it. Or was the introduction of martial law something else?

Martial law was, however, inevitable if Poland was to be rescued in a situation when so many people, overcome with emotion and incapable of rational evaluation,

were engaged in activities which if not restrained would lead to catastrophe and who knows, if not to tragic international conflict as a consequence.

It is still necessary here to remember the leadership. And so up to 13 December, the leadership of "Solidarity" maintained that the government is a colossus with legs of clay, that it will be in no condition to do anything. The invincibility of the union movement prevailed. And so, not only the use of force but likewise the great ease by which this force succeeded, revealing the disproportion between promises and reality, in effect delivered such a powerful blow to the personal pride of those who were engaged in this movement, believing in its indomitable strength.

Prof. Janusz Reykowski in his "Basic Dilemma" pointed out that "Solidarity" was regarded as a moral movement, an embodiment of ideas; something to which other criteria can be related rather than that normally accepted in an evaluation of movements and political institutions. Consequently, confrontation with reality had to provoke violent, emotional resistance in that segment of society which was experiencing a state of euphoria. It is necessary to see this. The politician who would not wish to take into consideration the psychological condition of our society at the present moment would be a very poor politician.

[Question] Since that is so, then perhaps one can actually expect the government to extend a hand and initial steps in the direction of reform and reconciliation with society?

[Answer] In a highly centralized system, initiative for reform will remain only as an idea, unless it gains national direction. However, I visualize a very real problem elsewhere--what is happening when the stimulus toward reform, which at the moment is in its initial stage, meets enormous difficulties? Is reform to be implemented by the government with the passive attitude of society? If so, then we can tell ourselves immediately that reform will come to naught.

Hence, I distinguish impulse, initiative; the creation of legislative frameworks from activities which must be broad in order for reform to succeed. This does not only entail changes of an economic character but also political. In conjunction with this, these changes should not be changes in only this or another institution, but a change in the climate of governing; in other words--an expansion of the network of forces jointly controlling the country.

Thus far, however, the efforts for national understanding, not only those from before, but likewise those after 13 December, have brought less results than anticipated. After all, we cannot delude ourselves that the vase majority of our society was already engaged in building the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], or other forms of activity aimed at creating the framework of understanding.

[Question] What positions does one encounter mostly in this sphere?

[Answer] Currently, one can generally observe one of two positions. The first, not devoid of reason, depends on a scrupulous analysis of the method of functioning of government initiators in the building of understanding: do they not make mistakes which result in less strength, attracting fewer people to this movement? I think that this is a reasonable point of view. Certainly it would be absurd to maintain that this time we have a government that makes no mistakes.

The second position is dealt with less frequently. It is to be found in the answer to these questions: which social groups, organized or not organized units enjoying authority hastened with their offers to enter this movement? Who came and who was rejected? Who had the door slammed on him? Are there such groups, such people, who came and were barred from the movement? However, because national understanding does not lie exclusively in the interest of the government but of all Poland, its construction, therefore, should take place as a result of various initiatives. Permit these initiatives to maintain contact; permit certain types of debate based on a common denominator to go on between them to enhance the desire to reach this understanding. Then it is easier to negotiate a specific formula which will reflect the understanding of the people who must understand each other. And hence, not those who are already in agreement among themselves. This is not the issue. It is a matter of bickering, of understanding within the framework of diversity, of controversial positions, of groups and units; but standing on the base of constitutional order; a socialist form of government and--what is vastly significant--recognition of the immovable position of Poland in the alliance of socialist countries.

I would place much greater emphasis on the fact that everything points to the approach of hard times, not only in the economy but in world politics. The international climate is bad, the worst in 20 years. Under these conditions, a country of medium size located in the very center of Europe, in addition to being tormented by internal crisis, is in great need of unfailing support.

Then we need an alliance! Then Poland needs alliance with the Soviet Union as a guarantee of safety and, therefore, recognition of this alliance; rejection of all that could sabotage it must be a fundamental condition for understanding. Whoever does not understand this should take a long vacation from political activities.

[Question] Which social reactions have a tendency to grow today: acceptance, apathy, refusal? What influences it?

[Answer] You forgot a very essential position--passivity. It is not the same as apathy. I know numerous people who are not at all apathetic but do not accept the government's policy, nor likewise--do not reject it. Their motto is: we shall see what results from this; we have been burned so many times, hence let us now wait.

This is the silent majority which waits and desires to assess the government. I thing that to assess positively, in contrast to those who assume in advance--

that the government is worthless regardless of what it did. This majority has within itself the positive disposition to accept government policy and the formula for understanding, but it must be convinced to the end.

[Question] Could government policy in any way program and hasten this process?

[Answer] It could. To a certain degree. The most simple but also the most demagogic answer would sound like this: Let the government conduct a good policy, and then those passivists will become its active followers. Yes, only it is not that simple. Results of economic actions will come only after years. The economic situation is tragically difficult and the effects here cannot be immediate. No government in Poland, in let us say half a year, can bring about the introduction of noticeable progress capable of changing social moods.

An equally essential, objective circumstance is the psychological state of our society, exceptionally distrustful. It will be necessary to convince it significantly with more obvious arguments than ever before in the past. Therefore, of even greater significance today are the sensible endeavors which should be supported by at least two principles:

First--no renouncement of any move which could increase the capital of confidence and acceptance of the government. These are often small matters and not large moves which the whole world immediately talks about. Of course confidence will also be the consequence of the number of interested persons who become culturally and rapidly settled in office. But this does not depend on the premier.

Secondly--do not harm. Refrain from doing anything that would repell those in waiting. Especially menacing are mistakes typical of those which were committed in the past. For example, I see many indications where the officials of some sectors of government treated martial law as an occasion to take revenge. Not all, and I would not like to generalize here, but there are quite a number of facts indicating a return of governmental arrogance, of retaliation, despite the unequivocal declarations of Gen. Jaruzelski.

An additionally dangerous situation is created by the occurrence of street encounters, where the logic of battle takes place and where it is easy to harm someone innocent, is followed by the definite reactions of many people. It would be Utopian to dream that under conditions of severe turmoil all will escape unscathed. But it is not Utopian to most certainly insist that everything possible be done to reduce to a minimum negative manifestations of this type. This is extremely important for the climate in which government functions.

[Question] Let's dot the "i." Do you think that the development of the situation leads to an increasingly acute polarization of society and also to the smearing of sectors?

[Answer] Total polarization would be dependent on the fact that the government with its followers would be on one side with the opposition on the other. And nothing in the middle.

[Question] Are we headed in that direction?

[Answer] In my opinion--no. Slowly, even too slowly, we are heading in another direction. If we compare the situation of 14 December 1981 with today, then the polarization is not more but less. There is expansion of the field occupied by those who are neither at one or the other pole. It is because they are either apathetic or passive--inclined to take a stand, but not yet today.

Extremists do exist and will continue to exist for a long time. It must be realized that centers, groups not only extremely opposed to the government but to the socialist system will not vanish from our lives. Reality requires an awareness of the fact that this is a phenomenon that must be reckoned with in terms of years and not months.

However, the situation is very likely such that the evolution of the power structure will gradually adapt itself to a course of attracting acceptance by the extremist--by the national authorities, the party and allied parties of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. This will be a prolonged and slow process. I would not deceive either myself or others that there is a possible timetable, a time schedule here. Simply, this will be the consequence of changes for the better in the country's situation and of gradual recovery from psychological shock.

[Question] However, is time surely on the side of acceptance by the extremist?

[Answer] Time of itself is not on the side of anyone. It can be utilized, it can be wasted. The policy of Gen. Jaruzelski's government requires time, because it is a policy of gradual reforms, changes, which are to accumulate, bringing desired results over a definite period. This is not a policy of spectacular moves, all the same, in a direction that would immediately lead to a crisis. To be sure, a year ago, it appeared that such a move existed.

[Question] Will Jaruzelski, Glemp, Walesa meet?

[Answer] Yes, although it is known that through no fault of the government or the church, no understanding has been reached in the meantime. But that is the past. Today no similar possibility can be seen. The only sensible policy is hence, one of gradual change. In this sense, the statement that time is on the side of this policy is correct.

[Question] Under the condition that it will be time actually utilized effectively?

[Answer] If it were otherwise, it could even work negatively. For example, it could be the source of the question: What have you done during this period of time; where are the results? We are approaching the anniversary of the introduction of martial law and soon we shall all be asking ourselves questions about the outcome of this period. Certainly there will be great differences of opinions.

I am consciously convinced that not all opportunities were taken advantage of and not all dangers averted--however, it is necessary to recognize that outcome,

summarily, as positive. For the martial law period brought Poland relative stabilization, both internal and economic. It initiated economic reform and moves serving the formation of a climate for understanding, although it is a self-evident fact that one could likewise add a list of adversities and mistakes to each of these points.

[Question] Does the present political make-up as characterized by the existence and work of various structures--Military Council for National Salvation [WRON], the government, party and political parties internally bear the seeds of future changes in these structures? In which direction will changes in the system of national government go?

[Answer] Certainly it will be necessary to ponder calmly the form of the national government as an institution which arose in our midst 30 years ago, and in principle remains unchanged since the adoption of the July Constitution. There are various concepts; for example, the Democratic Party already last year proposed the introduction of the office of president of Polish People's Republic [PRL]. As I understand, this proposition is not concerned with a name change or a departure from the collective body represented by the National Council, as much as with the establishment of a presidency with significant powers. A matter worthy of discussion. There are also other issues: for example, a change in the electoral law, or the enrichment of legislative process with the institution of the referendum.

Yes, as we caught a glimpse of the economic reform, we also surely caught a glimpse of the reform of political institutions. However, it requires that decisions be preceded by careful research and analyses of possible consequences. I do not say this, by any means, from a conservative position. I was and am a follower of one and the other reform. But certainly as their follower, I know well that the introduction of hasty changes, not thoroughly considered, is very detrimental to reforms. They compromise and often bury all possibilities of reform for entire years. Hence, there is a need for reflection, patience and time. Time, however, not excessively long and wisely filled.

Professor, thank you for the interview.

9951
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COVERAGE OF ACTIVITY PRIOR TO NEW ACADEMIC YEAR NOTED

Facts and Figures

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Sep 82 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed article: "Before the First Lecture: More Places Than Accepted for Studies--The "Invasion" of Humanistic Directions Continues--Repairs and Investments--Executory Acts for the New Law"]

> [Text] [Polish Press] [Our own information] In 87 educational institutions throughout Poland more than 400,000 students soon will be starting a new academic year. Nearly 59,000 young people will hear their first lecture. For, among 77,000 candidates, this many students did well on their entrance examinations and will receive result books.

The university presidents will set the precise dates for the beginning of the academic year in particular schools, but we already know that studies have to begin everywhere by 10 October.

We have addressed our questions on the course of this year's school enrollment and on innovations in the academic year just beginning to the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology.

Enrollment

In practice, the number of openings in the lower grades has decreased in all institutions this year, but the competition for entrance examinations also has fallen off everywhere. In general, there were 169 candidates per 100 places, one candidate less than last year. The greatest success was enjoyed by the universities (nearly two candidates for each opening), the higher pedagogical schools, and the agricultural academies. The economic academies had the fewest candidates--the same number as the places which the schools had available.

Iberian studies (more than six candidates for each opening), Italian studies, art history, preservation of art works, Oriental philology, fine arts education, and psychology truly experienced a "siege."

On the other hand, many fewer youth than planned new openings applied for difficult technical courses--metallurgy, product determination, physics, economic cybernetics, or planning of the national economy.

In general, examinations for technical institutions turned out very badly. A total of 1,290 candidates less than was planned were accepted for these examinations. Moreover, during the July recruitment there were candidates for all the available places only in the agricultural schools. The universities, higher pedagogical schools, and economic academies all complained this year--unfortunately, even more than previously--of the inadequate preparation of middle school graduates.

The greatest popularity among the educational institutions was enjoyed by: Warsaw University, the higher pedagogical schools in Olsztyna, Kielce, and Bydgoszcz, and the agricultural academies in Wroclaw and Lublin. But we cannot speak of an exceptionally great siege of any institution. Today those embarking on studies are governed less by a school's reputation and more by economic considerations--studying outside the home costs too much. This year fewer working class and peasant youth than usual embarked on studies--42.2 percent of the total number of candidates, only 8.9 percent of whom came from peasant families.

Investments and Repairs

Unfortunately, it was necessary to limit investments considerably. Twenty of them were discontinued. At the present time investments that had been started are being continued, and in discontinued buildings under construction jobs are being secured, for which the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology obtained another 247 million zlotys from the state budget.

Work is continuing at 113 installations, but it is hard to hope for quick results. This year only four new student dormitories and one teacher's residence with a combined capacity for 1,716 residents will be put to use.

As long as there has been too little money for new investments, no institution has asked the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology for additional assets for repairs. It is, in truth, unknown what this means: whether it means that repairs are proceeding as needed or whether the exact opposite is happening, or that institutions are having difficulties disbursing the money they have obtained. The second possibility is very probable, since one hears complaints from all sides about the lack of indispensable materials and the difficulties of finding executors.

The Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology will be able to impart specific information on the course of the summer repairs only in November, when ministry employees return from their traditional annual reconnaissance. Already today, however, we can hope that repairs will last into the academic year.

New Legal Acts

Beginning on 1 October 1982 a new law on higher education becomes binding. But we will not be able to speak about its full force until all the executory acts have been elaborated. For the time being three decrees are ready: one on the remuneration for academic teachers, one on the remuneration for other institutional employees, and one on the new stipend system. Work on principles of economics and school financing and regulations concerning the professional status of accredited librarians is in its advanced stages.

In the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology they also are preparing specific regulations concerning the procedure for establishing, registering, and dissolving student organizations and associations, regulations concerning the area of entrance examinations, and, jointly with the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, principles for organizing free forms of assistance for preparing candidates for studies, as well as several other legal acts. Most of them require consultation with the Main Council on Higher Education, which will be constituted in its new form only in October.

Work on the statutes began in the institutions as early as September, however. The presidents created statute commissions for this purpose. Conferences of the presidents of various types of institutions now are being held to deal with this issue, among others. But these meetings serve primarily as consultations on the new system of material assistance for students. For the date for implementing these principles has changed again. They will be binding in all institutions beginning on 1 November 1982. Thus, all the schools have the same number of months to prepare for this significant reform.

And thus, in the new academic year there will be many innovations, much work, and, continually, many difficulties.

Higher Education Minister Interview

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Sep 82 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Professor Benon Miskiewicz, minister of science, higher education and technology, by Polish Press Agency correspondent Tadeusz Belerski: "A New Law and the Academic Environment; Student Benefits; Before the New Academic Year"; date and place of interview not given]

> [Text] [Polish Press] On 1 October a new academic year begins. In 87 institutions throughout Poland classes will begin for more than 400,000 students, among them nearly 50,000 young people attending university lectures for the first time.
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> In connection with the new academic year, a Polish Press Agency correspondent is interviewing the Minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology, Professor Benon Miskiewicz.

[Question] Today the problem of autonomy in the activities of the higher schools is causing the most controversy: have some changes taken place recently in the area of autonomy in educational institutions?

[Answer] The problem of autonomy for the higher schools is one which has troubled the academic environments for many years. When we look back, we can state that in the last 10-year period changes have taken place in the area of granting institutions defined powers.

During the 1980-1981 academic year it turned out that autonomy in the higher schools was not always understood properly. Sometimes it came to introducing far ranging anomalies in the life of the institution in the name of autonomy. This has been expressed even by the fact that there has been an attempt to keep the professors and docents from making basic decisions in the higher schools. Attempts have been made to change the proportions of the share in the Senate or on faculty councils of other academic employees and students. At the same time, however, the academic environments in this period endeavored to shape the autonomy of the schools. The Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology created a social commission to prepare a new law on the higher schools. This law, together with the observations and reservations of the government, was sent to the Sejm as early as November 1981. The period of martial law did not stop work on this law. Quite the opposite--intensive work began in the Sejm commissions. On 4 May 1982 the law on higher education finally was approved. It seems to me clearly necessary to emphasize that this law's passage is an expression of the great confidence of the state authorities in the academic environment. The law not only does not cancel the autonomy of the higher schools but, quite the contrary, deepens and broadens it.

[Question] How was the passage of the law received in the academic environment?

[Answer] Some people were surprised that such a law could be passed under conditions of martial law. I believe that it is precisely this circumstance that should be emphasized today as an expression of the faith of the authorities in relation to the promises given to the academic environment.

In connection with the fact that we have no possibility of enacting all the executory acts, and there are more than 40 of them, we still cannot ratify the statutes of the higher schools. But we will try to do so as quickly as possible, thereby creating the formal legal bases for the autonomy of the institutions. For, in accordance with the provision of the law, each act must be evaluated by the Main Council of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology before it is enacted. We have to wait for this body to be created and constituted and for work to begin.

Enacting the law on higher education, the Sejm had in mind the functioning of our state under conditions of harmonious economic and sociopolitical development. At the present time, the conflicts in our life which still are being revealed have required that provisions be introduced into the law which would guarantee the functioning of the higher schools during martial law and the maintenance of social discipline in them.

But I would like to emphasize that what determines the actions of the authorities in the area of institutions' autonomy is primarily the law on the higher schools, which the authorities intend to give the fullest possible implementation.

[Question] How has work aimed at preparing for the new academic year been progressing?

[Answer] We established that it would be good if each institution devoted its inauguration to its own internal life, to reflection on the main directions of its work, and if each institution defined its didactic, and in particular its upbringing, activities.

As for the ministerial activities connected with preparation for the new year, they have taken various directions. Primarily it has been a matter of eliminating specific barriers in the sphere of awareness as well as material barriers. I already referred in part to this first type of barrier when I spoke of the aspiration to autonomy and the trustworthiness of the authorities' provisions in this very area; for the law is the best proof of this.

When it comes to material issues, through the great efforts of the state, wage regulations have been introduced for those who not only are conducting research but also are teaching and educating.

Our subsequent actions were aimed at the broadest possible inclusion of academic environments, primarily professors and docents, in all-state activities. There is a deep conviction among the highest authorities that it is these very environments which, on account of their intellectual values and profound knowledge, can give much to our state in the present situation. Hence, professors and docents frequently are invited to various commissions of experts to give their opinion on various activities, etc.

Prior to the new academic year we decided very controversial issues in the academic environment, namely, benefits aiding student education. Until now the view prevailed that primarily the state should lay out funds for instruction in the higher schools. We support this view, while applying it to the present situation in Poland. We believe that today it is necessary to distribute the burden of these benefits appropriately, to place it not only on the state, which continues to accept the greatest proportion, but also on students' parents and on the students themselves.

Thus, we have introduced a social stipend which primarily covers the minimal needs of the students in the area of room and board, and, moreover, we have introduced a credit stipend which permits a young person to obtain assets for still other purposes. If he uses this latter credit, upon completing his studies he will be obliged to repay the protracted credit to the state. This system also is adaptable to generally accepted social policy: it is a matter of having the neediest receive the most from the state. The system possesses one more value--an

educational value, which gives preference primarily to those who do well in their studies. For every student who completes his studies with honorable mention or a very good evaluation gains the right to amortize the protracted credit entirely and, if he completes his studies with a good evaluation, to amortize 75 percent of the credit. The stipend system provides for the possibility of profitting from the benefits only upon the final completion of studies.

[Question] Which important problems has the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology been involved in resolving at the present time?

[Answer] We have a very sophisticated analysis of the current state of the distribution of higher schools in Poland, their organizational units, their consultation points, and their branch offices. We are eager to be able to obtain a clear picture of the general needs of the country as well as the needs of the specific regions in this respect. Based on this identification as well as the particular culture-producing needs in defined environments and regions, we would like to propose a revision of the distribution of the higher schools, and perhaps also a diminution of their number.

We are carrying out activities aimed at raising and equalizing the quality of teaching in educational institutions. This is closely connected with the analysis of the network of higher schools in Poland. For we are aware of the unequal level of instruction in various types of schools. Thus, we will be striving to make certain corrections and, in justified cases, to suspend enrollment in courses of study where the educational cadre is not suitable.

Another direction of our activities covers issues connected with scholarly research. It is a truism that a higher school deprived of a research component stops being a higher school. Hence, research is essential in educational institutions. However, we think it would be necessary to direct the closest attention to the elaboration of specific ways of interesting schools in what particular employees are doing in the field of scientific research. We have comparatively tight control over the so-called sphere of centrally coordinated research. But in the area of research being conducted at individual institutions we do not always know what is being researched, whether the work is purposeful, and whether the effort and means spent on research are utilized properly. Consequently, we are proposing to the institutions that they carry out evaluations of their own research using several criteria. The first criterion is the usefulness of the research for the development of science itself; the next criterion is the manner in which the research can be or is useful in meeting the most pressing needs of the economy and the culture; and the last criterion is the extent to which the higher schools' research components are involved in meeting didactic-educational needs. For we have been having constant difficulties with, among other things, the lack of textbooks, mimeographed lectures, etc.

Our ministry also is striving to elaborate a new model for teacher education in Poland. We have taken up this subject jointly with the Ministry of Education and Upbringing. We consider it particularly important today, when the main burden of raising the young generation in the spirit of the ideals of socialism and devotion to the Polish People's Republic rests with the teachers.

We are working intensely on the concept of upbringing through work in higher studies. It is a matter of judiciously replacing former student work practices in a manner acceptable to youth. At the same time, it seems advisable to us to return to the system of flexible studies as well as to the system allowing students to get to know their future work establishment and to learn how to work after their studies while these studies are still in progress. This is a complicated question, especially in the face of economic reform, but we believe that the work establishments also will be eager for the best possible preparation of their future workers.

We also are holding discussions on the elaboration of a new school of studies for working people. It seems to us that we have an obligation to support this type of possibility for acquiring knowledge. Specific needs always can arise among certain groups of people who did not complete their studies in a stationary system. We would like simultaneously to conduct these studies differently, to attract the interest primarily of the work establishments whose cadre policy should consider such a possibility.

PZPR School Secretary Interview

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Sep 82 p 4

[Interview with Dr Andrzej Rozycki, secretary of the PZPR School Committee at Warsaw University, by TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent Wieslaw Debki: "In the Academic Environment: To Get People To Sit Down at the Same Table"; date and place of interview not given]

> [Text] In several days the new academic year is beginning. We are talking about the problems which it will bring, about expectations, and about tasks of the party organizations with Dr Andrzej Rozycki, secretary of the PZPR School Committee at Warsaw University.

[Question] The past 2 years have been atypical for the higher schools--strikes, political feuds among students and the academic cadre, demagoguery, and intolerance have not fostered the proper implementation of the main tasks of the institutions, that is, upbringing, didactics, and scientific research. In your opinion, what will characterize the academic year that is approaching?

[Answer] Primarily, the search for normal functioning of the institutions. We will be doing everything to see that Warsaw University begins the new year without disturbances. Speaking of this, I have in mind the vicissitudes of our institutions and academic environments after August. Then we rushed from strike to strike; thus, there could be no talk of normal didactic or upbringing work, of foreign collaboration, or of scientific research. Thinking about normalcy, I have in mind not only a normal political situation but also a situation in which the institution would function properly within its own organizational structures, so that the didactic course would be properly organized, social issues would be ably settled, and the administration would function properly.

An important question which we are asking ourselves is the question of student deportment. In my opinion, there are speculative hopes of using students to stir up tensions. In certain circles functioning outside the institution, hopes always have existed that as students return, they will partake in activities which will result in disorder. Of course, this is an astonishing view. We will do everything to prevent the use of students in activities incompatible with activities for which the institution was created.

[Question] Much will depend on how much the academic cadre supports you.

[Answer] Of course. The influence of the academic teachers on the students is particularly important. After all, there are people who do not have a very soothing effect on students' impassioned heads. It seems to me, however, that within an hour of the beginning of martial law, serious reappraisals occurred in many minds. At the present time, even among people who were intensely involved in the Solidarity movement--so intensely that they sometimes acted without thinking--there appear statements to the effect that it is necessary to come to an understanding. And this attempt to come to an understanding must characterize the coming months. People at the institution have to sit down at a table together, for people who do not do this have no chance of coming to any agreement. Coming to an understanding in our case has to take place in connection with concrete work, in connection with our normal obligations. What I am saying may sound hackneyed, but it is the truth. The College Committee treats reaching a common understanding as the most important matter, as the condition for the functioning of the institution.

[Question] The party's power to operate depends mainly on its members. What is the status of your party organization today?

[Answer] The organization numbers about 1,000 members, including 250 students. We are convinced that we will have to assume the burden of taking stock of our ranks--I am avoiding the word "verification" purposely, for, after all, it is not a matter of that; we must simply, without becoming hotheaded, speak with our comrades, to evaluate whether everyone fits into the framework delineated by the Ninth Party Congress. There may be fewer of us, but let us be people on whom we can rely in all circumstances. We do not have that feeling now.

[Question] You respond to youth issues on the College Committee. Is there a chance that a broad upbringing front will be created at the university? Whom can you count on?

[Answer] We should turn to some positive experiences from several years ago. At that time a system composed of three factors operated in the institution: a presidential member who functioned very well, with a whole system of plenipotentiaries, a strong Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], and a party organization. The party organization does not have to be in the forefront at all, it is rather a question of a certain inspiration, of exposing a good idea, and, sometimes, simply of fostering ideas which arise elsewhere. The "Sigma" Political Work Center, where the initiative of the SZSP was supported and protected by the College Committee, is such an example.

This system functioned quite decently; I think that it is not the system which collapsed, but the reality behind the walls of the institution.

[Question] But this system has not functioned in the past 2 years....

[Answer] The situation was quite different than it was previously; many factors were imposed on it--let us omit here the external factors and point out the internal ones. In the new presidential team, and partially also in the College Committee, there prevailed what is in my opinion the unhealthy custom of negating the achievements of past years. Many valuable things were cancelled out then, for example, the rectors' and deans' plenipotentiary system. This was a good system, the students knew where they could seek help and advice; the institutional authorities in turn could have comparatively easy access to the students. That was cancelled. It was acknowledged that these forms were no longer timely, that new ones had to be sought. But no one devised any new ones.

[Question] The activities undertaken by the party to form this system constitute one issue. Another one is the direct access to students. How will you want to influence students' attitudes, on whom will you rely here?

[Answer] We must concern ourselves with the students--the members of the party. This is our first obligation. They have the right to expect from us an active attitude towards them, and not only through ideological education. We have to bring about a situation in which we know each other and have a feeling of mutual bonds. Therefore, we are coming out with an initiative on winter camps for party youth. It is not a question of establishing some "schools," of course, but of bringing the members of the party organization close together.

The second issue is the future of the youth organization. The SZSP was always our natural ally. We have very positive experiences here. Therefore, we are interested in the situation of this organization. We are adopting the assumption that the SZSP will succeed in the environment, and we would like to see it as our partner. For the time being the situation with the union is a difficult one; the supreme council, district council, and another school council are continuing, but there is almost no organization in the faculties.

The third issue is that youth are not organized. We will want to reach them. We want to show that the party does not sit on the College Committee, that we have nothing to hide, that we are able to begin a dialogue. We ourselves will propose the topic, we will propose discussions, an unhampered exchange of views. We also want to get to know the views of youth in this way. We are counting here on the support of the student leftist environments, grouped mainly around the "Sigma" Departmental Party Organization [OOP] and the "Otrycki Club." Moreover, we are directing these proposals not only to the students but to all employees of the institution. I think that it is necessary to get people away from their absorption with daily issues and to incline them toward some intellectual reflection. The subjects are numerous, but we want to take up two groups of subjects in the near future, through party meetings, seminars, and panel discussions. They are: the face of Polish socialism, and economic reform.

[Question] The students are voicing many reservations about the didactic process; they maintain that classes are conducted poorly and that not all employees apply themselves to these classes. What does your party organization want to do in this area?

[Answer] In every party organization there are people responsible for these matters. We want them to examine the didactic classes and to intervene in the case of irregularities. We also are focusing the attention of all party members in our institution on these matters. Sociopolitical subjects are particularly important for us; changes occurred in their programs and now the problem is how they will function. To decrease daily burdens, the secretaries of the Basic Party Organizations [POP] should know how to look into student difficulties, and to aid them in various matters concerning not only didactics but also social questions, for example.

[Question] The effectiveness of your actions also will depend on what effect the party has on decisions made in the institution.

[Answer] Of course. A new law on higher education is coming into being, it guarantees us a place in the Senate (although not yet in the faculty councils), but it is not a matter of formal resolutions. Our influence will depend on how we appear in the environment, in all spheres of institutional functioning, and on what we have to say. The enormous political task of gaining influence in the faculty councils and the deans' colleges awaits us. We can gain our place in these bodies, our effect on their shape, not by formal entries but by political methods, methods of persuasion. After all, there are people who will be eager that the party not be present in academic autonomy. Now we have to fight for this presence.

8729
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NEW STUDENT ORGANIZATION 'NOA' FOUNDED

Krakow ECHO KRAKOWA in Polish 28 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Ewa Smeder: "The ZSP 'NOA' Is a New Student Organization"]

> [Text] The next congress of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] will probably take place in the second half of November. This may be the last SZSP congress. Formerly, the SZSP is today the only student organization. However, in practice, it has in its ranks very few members. Only 10 percent of the students in Krakow Voivodship are avowed members who pay dues and officially admit membership. The situation is similar in other areas of the country.

However, this number is not a measure of student involvement in the organization. Many students get involved in various interest groups, agencies officially belonging to the SZSP. They work there, they organize their peers' and their own free time, but they do not feel any connection to the SZSP.

There is another group, just as numerous: passive students who limit themselves to their private social circles and have a negative attitude toward all forms of organizational activities. These are the facts.

A new idea has taken root, even before the martial law was announced. The idea of creating an entirely new student organization that would continue the professional-social traditions of the Polish Student Association, (ZSP), was developed in Krakow in the Bakalarz Club among the students of the Higher Pedagogical School. The WSP students quickly made contact with other higher schools and academic communities. They found a sizable number of dedicated students. They strongly influenced about 14 academic communities in the country. This summer they founded the ZSP "NOA" Countrywide Coordination Office. "NOA" means "new student organization" [nowa organizacja akademicka]. The organizers use this name to show that even though they are close to the ZSP traditions, they plan to create their own, new organization. It is interesting that, after the initial misunderstanding, the ZSP "NOA" organizers came to an agreement with many current SZSP activists, mainly at the

school councils level. They agreed that if there is to be an organization supported by a significant number of students it has to be an entirely new organization, and not just a mechanical change of an existing organization's name.

The ideological declaration of the ZSP "NOA" founding group says: "It is true that we are divided by deep political and ideological differences. It is also true that we have much in common, including didactic problems, socioexistential issues, proper organization of free time, and the question of finding a place in so-called adult life.

"We appeal: To defend our common interests, to fulfill our needs and ambitions, let us found today a socioprofessional student organization. The organization would have program, cadre and financial autonomy. It would be open to all points of view and it would display its own creative resources and those of others. It would be decentralized and it would use simplified regulations and financial mechanisms that would not become a barrier to implementing new initiatives and ideas."

These words have had a great impact among students. Let us not deceive ourselves, it does not mean that all students were reached and that they all supported the declaration. However, the declaration has led to discussions as a proposal that is worth thinking about. Thus, the planned impact was achieved. And it is of significance that mainly students attending the first year of studies, those who would seem the least active, were interested.

As I mentioned before, "NOA" was born in Krakow. The chairman of the National Foundation Group is Andrzej Orecki, a student of the fifth year of physics at WSP. Since 28 September of this year, he has also been the chairman of the SZSP District Council in Krakow. This is one more example of how the "NOA" influence with students is growing. But let us give him the floor.

ANDRZEJ ORECKI: "It would seem that I conduct a double-track activity. But the idea is to create a socioprofessional organization in which all students will find a place. We do not want an ideological-educational organization. Maybe such organization will be created later, if a need for it arises. But at this time we need an organization with a model and a program that would unite students instead of dividing them. We believe that on the first day of its congress the SZSP organization will be dissolved. The next day, in the conference room, the "NOA" delegates and about 170 so-called "consultants," nonmembers, representatives of student "branch" activities (i.e., culture, housing, sport, and other groups linked by common interests) will sit next to SZSP delegates. This is how the ZSP "NOA" National Founding Congress will begin. Of course, this will not be a fully authentic congress, i.e., it will not represent all students. In the present situation this is simply impossible. However, if the ZSP "NOA" is founded at the congress, a framework for the program of the new organization will be adopted, and a year later delegates to the First Common Congress will be chosen by ballot. Then we will see how many of us there are and what we want to do together.

It is difficult to predict the future of the new student organization. It is obvious that there is going to be a new student organization, since the "NOA" movement does not seem ephemeral. However, will it work out a program and modes of operation that a significant majority of students would accept as representative of their interests? Time will tell.

9959
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BARBU INTERVIEW CITES IMPORTANCE OF LITERARY IDEOLOGY

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 8 Oct 82 pp 23, 26, 27

[Interview with Eugen Barbu by Ilie Purcaru]

[Text] [Question] Dear Eugen Barbu, you are a very controversial personality in Romanian literature today. Some people's dislike for the man also affect the works and vice versa until you do not know what to say anymore: does Eugen Barbu make trouble for the works or do the works trouble Eugen Barbu? Are you really that troublesome for others? And for yourself?

[Answer] I am not at all troublesome; I am just a person with the courage to speak certain truths and that's it. The works do not inconvenience me but they inconvenience others. As far as I am concerned I get along very well with myself.

[Question] This year it is a quarter-century since the appearance of your novel "The Hole." What do you think? Has time worked for or against this book?

[Answer] I think that "The Hole" will have a long life. Unfortunately, there are two or three generations of readers who only know the book from reading it in school. Nobody has proposed a republication in about 10 years. The publishers are concerned with other matters. This does not sadden me. The rarer a book is, the greater its fame. And this saga of the low life has suffered a cruel fate from the beginning. Taken out of the libraries for four years, the scandal at its appearance and so forth--everything worked against it but, look, it has been translated into 13 languages.

[Question] The "scandal" when "The Hole" appeared, however, cannot be forgotten. If you will permit me to remind the readers, then you were condemned as a "naturalist" like Marin Preda for "Ana Rosculet" or, later, like Ion Lancranjan for "The Cordovans." Now, since time has passed, what do you think were the real reasons for the adversities toward your book?

[Answer] Appearance of "The Hole" angered the old caliphs of dogmatic writing. One of them, Doreanu Popescu, set the tone by writing that the novel was scandalous and so forth. I also had stupidly accepted "launching" the book by beating the drums, that is, some photographs with a slum neighborhood wedding shown in the bookstore windows. At that time this gesture meant a provocation. They took the photos away and pounced on the book. They found all the defects possible. Of course I minded my own business. And does anybody know anymore who Popescu Doreanu was?

[Question] Perhaps. We only know that he also was the one who unmasked G. Calinescu for "Poor Ioanide."

[Answer] Exactly ! How much more about the mentality of that era can we talk? Just read "The Steppe" and other nonsense and you can understand why "The Hole" was so shocking.

[Question] Weren't the revisions you eventually made on this book somehow the effect of the pressures exerted by the critics? Remember how it was fashionable for critical interventions, better said the dictates of criticism or of "guidance," required changes in the aspect or even the structure of the works involved? Even if not admitted, some books actually were rewritten for these kinds of reasons.

[Answer] Happily, as also in the case of "The Prince," I did not accept any kind of change! The only change was made voluntarily by me at the 13th rewriting of the novel. There were just several words at the end: "You just think that the grass is growing, Gregory." And that's it. Nothing else was touched. It is true that as revenge the book was condemned for naturalism and other questions but , as had happened to others, I was trained. The whole thing is to resist the dummies.

[Question] If you will permit, let us return to the matter of the republication of "The Hole." I still do not really understand why even now, when time has done justice to your book, it has not been republished for so many years.

[Answer] I am not the one republishing "The Hole." The publishers do that and that is their business.

[Question] Recently, in LUCEAFARUL M. Ungheanu was speaking about critics of the period (the period of "The Hole") who, he said, had a sure instinct in having intuition about the value, an instinct which helped them identify it so that they could immediately demolish it. Was Ungheanu right?

[Answer] Ungheanu is right and Cristoiu was right when he cited articles of the time in his "Proposal" for "A History of Literature" in the literary-artistic supplement to SCINTEIA TINERETULUI. Whoever reads this realizes that today's liberals are the old Proletcultists who destroyed dozens of talented writers.

[Question] And the great classics!

[Answer] Exactly. They "killed" Labis, they buried Blaga all cowering and they forced Arghezi to sell cherries, they shoved V. Voiculescu in a sack and beat him like a cat. These things cannot be forgiven on any account. In their book "The Ages of Reason" Florin Mugur makes Paul Georgescu a champion of antidogmatism. I met this critic when I was an editor employed at GAZETA LITERARA. Sometime I shall publish some pages from JURNAL of that time; you will see another kind of "angel" in this man. You really have to be named Paul Georgescu to lie with such shamelessness. Ungheanu gave just a tiny bit of the "accusations" of the former critic, the "great novelist" of today, in Florin Mugur's opinion. You see that you cannot stand him anymore.

[Question] But, really, why doesn't the other part of the generation involved react to such mystifications of the period? You, for example, when will you decide to write your memoirs? What about "The Journal" you were talking about?

[Answer] It is written. I have more than 2,000 sheets for the "Journal." It paints a picture of my entire generation, with everything it has done, good or bad. I am sorry that I burned another "Journal" of 5,000 pages from the time of Stalinism. That was the first time I was frightened. There were even more interesting things in that one. Too bad. Of course, many of those I described in these notebooks will croa , but I cannot do anything about that. Their acts speak for themselves. They try to put forth a clean "face" in vain.

[Question] Please let us in on some of the things in this "Journal." For example, tell us about a less well-known episode (I was going to say a less clear episode) from your life, which gives rise to a kind of speculation: the school for military police, a school where you would get a certain military-type spirit.

[Answer] I was sent to the school for military police officers by my father, who did not want to have me die on the anti-Soviet front. He had made a simple calculation: the courses lasted three years. During this time I also was attending the faculty of law, which was required. I did want to enroll in the literature faculty, but this meant that after six months I would be sent to the officers' school in Ploiesti and from there to the front! I was against this and my father beat me silly, as he had done another time when I had decided not to go to high school anymore since I felt that I had nothing more to learn from the professors. I am indebted to him for his wisdom. He had calculated well. From '43 to '45 I fulfilled my years of military service. But I had a 9-year contract. I deserted. I was punishable with prison. The war had ended, the sentences were softer, but because I had passed as a "Bolshevik" I escaped. Colonel Petruc, who was to be mayor of the capital under the communists, understood me and I left safely, without failing to make another gesture. During the worker demonstration in the spring of '45 I refused to receive the 10 ball cartridges with which I would have been forced to shoot into the people on the street. This put an end to everything. We were under "martial law." But I was lucky. During the military service I wrote a type of thesis in which I came out against the anti-Soviet war, which a smart captain named Paguba read before the entire division and he ripped it up, actually helping me. I ended up with three days locked up, which was nothing compared to being courtmartialed. But I never made a big deal of these things.

[Question] Not a big deal or money, as I know it.

[Answer] I was young, imprudent. After I got out of the army I found some soldiers at my door. "It's all over," I said, "they're going to grab me!" But they were bringing me the "Military Virtue" for my antifascist activity. I still have the certificate. I was just Sgt Eugeniu Barbu! Some idiot wrote that I was a military police officer and that he found me in the military year ok for 1940. I was 16 then and a pupil at "Schewitz Thierin." Ion Caraion wrote in his "Journal" that I was at Mostovoi (the imbecile who wrote it copied Mostoboi, making an error on the proof) where I killed Jews!! In '40 I was giving them each a bowl of soup when they were working in the snow in our neighborhood. How would these unfortunates know that the people in the suburbs were not and would never be anti-Semitic!

[Question] Earlier, when you were talking about the ones correcting their biographies, trying to make them brighter for the new generations, I did not ask you something important. Please allow me to now. How do you explain your passion for aesthetic purism and for de-ideologizing positions of the former enemies of aesthetics, former followers of a tyrannical literary ideology?

[Answer] I have not given up short stories, but I only write for pleasure. I think the novel is much more interesting, although I do recognize the merits of short stories.

[Question] How did you reach "The Prince"from "The Hole," which are so different thematically as well as far as artistic formula is concerned?

[Answer] By accident. Opris from the movies came to me and said: "Balaure, give us a scriptwith robbers!" I had not even imagined such a thing but somewhere the language of those scripts was in me. I called Sterescu the secondhand book dealer and ordered some books from that era; I still had something in my library but it was not enough. He found several hundred. I am still reading and in the meantime I also have written a volume entitled "The Adventure of the Romanian Language." I am fascinated by our language.

[Question] Excuse me for interrupting: what does the Romanian language represent for you?

[Answer] I wouldn't trade it for any foreign language! I detest French for its artesianism, of which so much is made. I think that only Spanish enchants me as much as Romanian and, somehow, Greek, although it is a language of crickets.

[Question] Let's come back to "The Prince." I interrupted you when you were saying that you are fascinated by the Romanian language. So?

[Answer] I am reading church books, old papers, commercial acts and many more and I still have not finished. That is how "The Prince" was born--through language. I thought I was done once and for all with this book but, look, from out of the blue came "Week of the Fools" too and I think something else is brewing. God help me!

[Question] Before "Incognito," that technique for living together which caused so much criticism, you experimented with it in "The Prince." But it seems that at that time you still were not quite so troublesome for some people , a right for which, if we remember well, nobody was against your procedure. Just Fanus Neagu seemed to have said something to you.

[Answer] That is how it was. As far as the polemics with Fanus are concerned, it brought us closer together than it made enemies of us. With his linguistic genius he could not help but get a taste of me, but the good-for-nothings made him nibble at me. He is younger than I am. I will leave the words of the Romanian language to him because he loves them.

[Question] Some critics are saying that "Week of the Fools" is better than "The Prince." What do you say?

[Answer] I never come out on my books. I collect all the praise and all the insults. I am not a masochist but when you read Iorgulescu and Manolescu you have to laugh.

[Question] Some say that Eugen Barbu detests all writers! Whom do you not detest?

[Answer] That's not fair! I love all the Romanian and foreign writers who write well. There is room for all of us; I'm not jealous. I gave a start to many young people

[Answer] A guilt complex! They want everything to be erased, but paper remembers. The new generations can be led into error, but a "history" of that time should show what they were thinking and, particularly, what they want to hide today! I want to say further that I did not like Beniuc and that he as well as others bear a large part of the guilt (like Zaciu, for example), in the Blaga case, but, at least, he does not deny it. I prefer Beniuc who does not regret anything to the flunkeys who change their color from day to day. And there are enough of them.

[Question] In the 60's LUCEAFARUL, moving under your leadership, opened a new road for our literature, particularly that being written by young people, a clear matter for friends and for the enemies of Eugen Barbu. In connection with the LUCEAFARUL era, I would like to ask you two things. First, was the innovative direction you gave the magazine continued by those who followed you? Second, why did so many of the writers you started at LUCEAFARUL after a time become the "black clients" of the critics, being attacked violently by them? That the idiosyncrasies attributed to you should have repercussions on them, that is, that Eugen Barbu whould be called names through hischildren, through his grandchildren?

[Answer] Let us take that one line at a time. Unfortunately, what followed after I left LUCEAFARFUL did not at all resemble what I had done there. During the time that N. Dragos and Ungheanu were directors, the magazine returned to the line I had imposed on it, perhaps a little more timidly, it is true! No matter what, the attitude of those there was imposed on me. Second, it is true that all the ones started out by me had to suffer because of me, but I bear no guilt. Happily those, these persecuted ones, all are real personalities! The literary harrassers have nothing they can do to them and that's it. Then Nichita Stanescu escaped from me and if I would have had him in tow perhaps he would have won more. I think even now that the ones directing him at his beginnings deformed him a little aesthetically, but with his talent he knew how to reenter the national family in which any great poet enters in the end!

[Question] Let us come back to Eugen Barbu and his literature. Please tell us, did this literature--we now are referring to that following "The Hole"--also suffer from the labelling, from the black seals applied to your first novel and the type of literature you were proposing?

[Answer] All my books were slandered, trials were organized against them and charges were made against them. My polemics were to blame, but I do not regret anything. An important writer lacking literatury ideology is unimaginable. Many talented people look pretty for the critics and fawn over these " pseudo-critics." . I remember that around '57, when "The Hole" had appeared, Ivascu introduced me to Calinescu, who invited me to his house, curious to find out what kind of person I was. I didn't bother him and I did not even send him a book. I never sent a book to any critic precisely not to appear that I was looking for favors. This costs, but it is worth it.

"Question] Why did you give up short stories, where your successes were so great? And precisely when the need for short stories is being felt so sharply in our literature?

and I will keep doing that with the same enjoyment. I do not like imposters and false values. Today getting into the Union of Writers is not done on the basis of value but of relations. Join the grouping with the power--the publications come quickly;if you have another opinion, you wait for years! For about two years I have been asking two publishers to publish a poet from Galati and Dan Ciachir, although he has been published for so long, cannot find his place under the editorial sun; but they are continually being postponed, although the two publishers are publishing others who are far from Pegasus. Everything has become a kind of lottery. And at least I tested my taste with a "History of Modern Romanian Poetry!"

[Question] Artistically what Romanian writers today do you feel close to?

[Answer] I am close to very many Romanian writers, even those I have warred against at one time. I like Nichita, Gheorghe, Alexandru, Paunescu, Vadim Tudor, Fanus, Breban (even if I have spanked him plenty) but how many others they are but I do not want to make a long list. Everything that moves on the literary front must be helped and promoted.

[Question] How would you have done it if you had been president of the guild once?

[Answer] Why would I have been? I do not have the talent to accept praise so I have preferred to stand aside. Perhaps this is what brought me so much unhappiness but I swear that, still, if I had been there the writers would have had another system. Perhaps I would have demanded that they be more worthy, not to live from the charity of the Literary Fund (not all of them, clearly, but enough of them), to write, not stay day and night at Mrs Candrea's. Perhaps the state authority would have viewed us differently. We have 1,800 writers, but how many works? That's the question.

[Question] But today's critics--in your opinion, what duties would they have in the job of reestablishing a correct appearance for today's Romanian literature?

[Answer] We need sincere criticism, without animosity, group criticism, objective criticism which would not take into account the literary individual but his works. Without this we will never succeed at anything. But the literary atmosphere is so damaged that I am very pessimistic. Through the university, through the circles, through the Union of Writers journals the group policy is being manipulated and nobody will succeed in correcting anything. Read ROMANIA LITERARA. As soon as the Union of Writers president is changed, no matter who he is, then it becomes "genial." Studies, articles, books, republications, plays performed in all the local theaters, films, like in the fairytales! As soon as that one disappears from the scene, nobody hears of him anymore. You see the cases of Beniuc, Demostene, Botez, Stancu, Macovescu and so forth. You have pity for them.

[Question] What do you think, should we also talk about your client from SAPTAMINA, Ion Caraion the deserter? Or would it be better to give up saying anything extra about this sad person? Many say that he does not deserve the attention you are giving him.

[Answer] Why should we give up? You knew him better. Perhaps we should exchange roles and you tell me something from Craiova because you helped him. As far as the attention he is getting, it is welcome. The perfect flunkey deserves a series. But let's see what was the story with Caraion in Craiova?

[Question] In 1964, when I had the job of reestablishing RAMURI, the Craiova magazine, Ion Caraion also was sent to me as an editor. I really did want to help him and not just I, but all those from RAMURI, encouraging him with compassion, as a man who had suffered a great deal. I did not get mad that he did not work very much because he was not really succeeding in writing. I said to myself that he probably was traumatized and his pen wasn't working. But I soon was to find out--the paper with the proof was put before me--that his pen was working. What was Caraion composing? Poems, translations? Yes, a type of "translation," if you will, like the kind that SAPATAMINA is publishing now. Actually Caraion was a secret reporter from the editors. Like we Romanians say, he was telling on us. Denouncements upon denouncements, untruths about his colleagues, which forced me to give up his "services" for RAMURI. And that was everything. Oh, one other spicy detail for you. The megalomaniac you know was making a big deal of his relations abroad. Once he asked that I help him reach France, telling me that there, in two leaps and three bounds he would convince Ierunca to give up his traitorous activity and, even more, to return to Romania. "If you want," he told me, "I will bring him right to the RAMURI editors!

[Answer] And didn't you take him up on his proposals?

[Question] Heaven forbid! Did I need another Caraion on the editorial board, with the pseudonym of Ierunca? As we know, the two of them later were to make a tandem poison. And that's about it regarding Caraion. And now do you agree to return to SAPTAMINA? Recently the journal has carried out a number of important campaigns against falsifiers of images and ideas, against the apologists for E. Lovinescu and the defamers of G. Calinescu, against the attempts of Z. Ornea to simplify the history of the interwar literary currents and so forth. But why, except for Z. Ornea's response, hasn't SAPTAMINA also given the retorts of others of those criticized by you?

[Answer] I have only received an answer from Z. Ornea. The others did not deign to publish in the "gutter press," as they stated. If you realized it, I allowed myself the luxury of being crushed by Caraion even in SAPTAMINA. I do not run away from insults and lies. I wish that more of those who are arguing with me would write me. I have broad shoulders. I can bear anything.

[Question] But it seems that they, or some of them, prefer to be behind the scenes.

[Answer] Yes, that is how it seems. As far as the denigrators of Calinescu are concerned, I think they have gotten what they deserve! Unfortunately, Lovinescu's defenders forget what is basically negative in his works, that is, anti-Romanianism, which cannot be forgiven. I do not think that anyone can be accused of love for another nation, but the denigrator of one's own country must be set straight mercilessly! Nobody can stand having the nation in which he is born be insulted; we should we?

[Question] You are warring vehemently with "Free Europe" in SAPTAMINA, on the radio. I ask you, as in the case of Caraion: does this pathetic "voice" deserve the waste of energy you are dedicating to it?

[Answer] It does. I am in good company. In their times, Arghezi, Ralea, Calinescu argued with it. But Manolescu, Eugen Simion, Ornea, Ilie Vrancea did not. So you see! Some listen to this station and believe the slanders it broadcasts. Should

we let them throw egg in our face, should we ignore them, should we endure it? Why? Is everything clean and pretty for Easter in their backyard?

[Question] What books will you give us, Eugen Barbu?

[Answer] I have two novels which are half completed: "A World to Win" and "Amza the Robber." One, "Janus," has reached page 800, but is unfinished. I don't know where the ideas will pop up next.

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CRITERIA OF LITERARY CRITICISM EXAMINED

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 9 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Valentin Silvestru]

[Text] The careful reader of modern literary histories--Italian, French, American, German--somehow is surprised by the multitude of names and notations on areas which generally are not the subject of research in reference books. A pair is remembered for reporting gathered "from the four corners of the earth"; someone is noted as a "newsman, theater critic" for a widely-read daily; someone else, "for many political articles and essays." "An editorial writer," "a radio-television script writer, " "an author of musical comedies and poetry set to music" describe an attempt to include the literary phenomenon throughout the entire area of culture--which, of course, is in agreement with the times; literary creation no longer is considered to be just prose and poetry, dramaturgy is not being refused and works are not being ignored, works which as television series, for example, are veritable novels in installments, devoured by an enormous public.

The literary language itself and the practice of speaking correctly as well as a critically aperceptive faculty , so precious, of certain levels of the population now are being cultivated, along with books, also by other means, in which literature is introduced. Literary mythology, which is produced not only by literary figures and critics, gathers up in its vast melting pot an imponderable substance which emanates from the public's taste, activated in extremely diverse ways, not only by basic readings. Undoubtedly, the modern Romanian spirit is nourished by all types and breeds, even by those which literary theory has not yet identified or, stated better, has not taken on yet. Justifying his extension of a critical view not yet investigated by others, a famous foreign literary historian said that in his volume he programatically brought out new forms of creation opposite to the traditional procedures, convinced that the Novel, the Theater, the Life of Ideas deserve equal attention (not just the essay, but also philosophy, political thought, history and even the sciences to the extent to which they "inform" literary creation).

That is one viewpoint. Another purist one which we often encounter from the start eliminates from the sphere of science of literature everything which is not printed independently and interferes with other concerns--with the arts, for example. In one such survey, the "Dictionary of Romanian Writers" eliminates nearly all of dramaturgy (and specialized criticism, even if it was demonstrated in volumes and series of volumes). The most modest attempts to give a history of the current literary movement exclude film production, eliminate satirical and humorous literature, do not take into account the giant quantity of poetry or plays upon which operatic music or

coral singing rely. Also inexplicable is the disappearance of the interest in folklore for literary art, a folklore which in the modern times is seeing new, original expression and which always has been a chapter in the old histories.

A restrictive preconceived idea--which in some way shows why things are like this and not otherwise--is that what is of strictly cultural importance is not of interest. Invoked is the aesthetic perspective of G. Calinescu who recommended "the isolation of artistically cultural." But this disjunction was proposed as a polemic just for a certain age and to rectify archivistic excesses. His monumental "History" really is of all values, written with an inexhaustible concern with not leaving "shadowy areas," even cataloguing numerous "modest authors," or "those who passed by fast." It studies not only definitive and defining works but also peddled books, translations, reworked books. Here are included authors of productions which today we would call minor (and we do) and, in any case, unrecordable. For example, for E. Winterhalder verses are recalled which are no more than "charades, enigmas, puzzles," as well as others "put to music by I. Wachmann" as well as "the libretto for a heroic opera in three acts to the music of conductor Engel, entitled "The Battle of Calugareni." Moise Cilibi is remembered for his aforisms. G. Baronzi's satires are cited, the first "journal" (written by Matei Millo), "The Waters of Vacaresti," a "vaudeville comedy." Brought to attention is the theater columnist Al. Lazarescu-Laertiu. Recalled about N. Burlanescu-Alin is that he translated opera and operetta libretti ("Carmen," "The Bells of Corneville" and so forth). D. Teleor is part of a warm presentation as a "fantasy writer," an author of parodies and sketches. Appearing for the period closer to us are publicists, essay writers, memoir writers, authors of travel books. Mentioned (for N. Kiritescu) are press campaigns "in connection with the attitude of public opinion and the official world toward art." It is certain that the illustrious critic read the opera and operetta libretti signed by G. Bengescu-Dabija (in order to comment on some and get all of them in the bibliography). Finally, it is cause to recall that G. Calinescu made broad considerations on dramaturgy and, in general, did not remain insensitive to aspects which today generally are avoided by his descendants by invoking or not understanding enough the concept presented by him as a principled attitude, not a methodological criterion.

Clearly, each of the authors mentioned above is put in his place, some penalized drastically or treated condescendingly. Presenting a panorama of the field of literature without axiological instruments would produce ridiculous results and it would be of no use to anyone to have simple siloing of names of poets of choral groups and ballet librettists, of titles of sketches broadcast on the radio. But also just as useless is erasing certain literary contributions with vast reverberations from the indices and bibliographies. Writing about "Dramatic Poetry," E. Lovinescu dwelled in a certain way on the creation of Mihail Sorbul and,another time,on A. de Herz' comedies, But he did it without preconceived ideas about the minor nature of the comedy just as, another time, Titu Maiorescu did not hesitate to express positive opinions about the plays of Samson Badnarescu, without preconceived ideas about the lack of literary nature about the theater. A critical survey of the literary history is given its dimension by the importance of the work, by its influence and durability in time. But can the historical view be restricted on purpose through sanctioning in advance as lacking in importance of the literary act which requests the right to agreement and evaluation? The omission is more regrettable with regard to professional morality than the verdict which perhaps will prove to be wrong; one is the offence of lack of knowledge while the other, a circumstance which is totally normal and possible, is of an aesthetic lack or doubtful criticism or evasive taste. Is it

natural to devote entire pages in a wide-ranging work to certain poets of two thin books and to ignore Aurel Baranga's dramaturgy? According to what criteria can Teodor Mazilu's theater be abolished and excluded from an anthology of modern Romanian dramaturgy? Could Titus Popovici's film scripts(thousands of pages) be so inferior to his sketches of youth and short stories that they should not even be included in the specialized inventories of works? Is "Light and Shadows," his television series, basically a political novel of broad historical scope, outside literature just because it enjoys a visual artistic transcription?

The corollation of avoiding certain works regularly, and even genres, from axiological reasoning--on the basis of their claimed minor artistic nature--is precisely the spread of a subliterature in these territories, which is abundant the more it lacks critical checking and the need for order, classification and the hiererarchization with which basically literary history has its duty before the current times as well as before posterity. Under conditions of a cultural movement in which the confluences of literature with the arts and the trends of modern syncretization of the most varied creations require a certification of creative intellectuality against artisan improvizations and aggressive imposition through simplism, when the sociology of culture detects phenomena so captivating as the role of the critical awareness of literature in the extraordinary impact of works on the public, or the considerable extension of interest in modern art, or the gradual evolution of the task generated by taking into one's actual possession the national spiritual heritage on a broad level, criticism, literary and artistic history, specialized theory and culturology more than ever before have to offer plural contents and overall viewpoints. That is, divulging a quality of view and vibration of the sensitivity which also should express and intensify the developmental nature of the state of fact.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2086

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2086

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DISSIDENT COMMENTS ON CURRENT SITUATION IN HUNGARY

Paris SVEDECT VI in Czech No 67, 1982 pp 461-467

[Excerpt] Private individuals in Hungary have now for several years had the right to buy themselves a business in any area of the economy. The demand is high because the prospects of profit are enormous. The state sells a license valid for 5 years, and is authorized to inspect the quality of the services provided by the private undertaking. If a private individual wants to continue being a proprietor after the first 5 years, he must pay to renew his license. Even so, this process is profitable for both sides; 15 percent of businesses are now in private hands. In 1982 private ownership expanded to industry. Today, every Hungarian has the right to establish (or to renew) a business in any branch of industry on condition that it does not employ more than 10 persons. Profit sharing was initiated in "national" enterprises and there is a rather liberal decentralization of enterprises, the possibility of concluding contracts directly in capitalist countries, and of producing (outside the plan) parts or other "bottleneck" goods. In other words, immediate needs of the market are being taken into account. It is even possible to buy shares in private cooperatives.

It is true that the regime tries to maintain the number of private enterprises (in industry, commerce and services) at a low level (for ideological reasons--however obscure--and again with an eye fixed on Moscow). It so happened that in the period from 1970 to 1981, the number of workers employed in privately owned enterprises dropped by about 21 percent. That, however, was due to the fact that private enterprises decreased in number as a result of the official policy of giving economic priority--more than in the other Bloc countries--to the production of consumer goods. To be sure, official statistics are practically worthless: not necessarily because of being so falsified, but because they simply do not take account of (and are neither capable nor willing to take account of) the balance sheet of the "second economy" which amounts to hundreds of millions of forints each year.

For the time being this chastely concealed trend toward private capitalist enterprise has not run into publicly expressed Soviet criticism (although allusions to it, characterized privately by Hungarian officials as denunciations, have been expressed by Czech experts at CEMA meetings). On the contrary, Moscow has expressed itself favorably several times about the continuing growth of work productivity in socialist Hungary; needless to say,

without revealing what its principal source was. It is true that there also are problems which indicate that even the Hungarian "economic miracle" will not last for ever, and that even that country will not continue to remain exempt from the consequences of the crisis in the other Bloc countries. First of all, Hungary is heavily indebted to Western banks (8 billion dollars); the per capita debt is even greater than in Poland. Even the payment of interest on those loans encounters great difficulties; in order to discharge its obligations, Budapest must continue to borrow; however, Western banks which were so badly burned in Poland do not intend to take excessive risks anywhere in East Europe (the major portion of credits is guaranteed by the governments of the lending countries). There is even talk to the effect that nothing will be loaned to Hungary in 1984. Nevertheless, Hungary was accepted as a member of the International Monetary Fund this year. The Kadar government gave its population a summer shock: at the beginning of August it announced a 20 percent increase in the prices of bread, coffee, flour, rice and other foodstuffs, and 50 to 120 percent in bus and railroad fares; and it did not conceal the possibility of further "price adjustments."

Hungarian Dissident Movement

There is talk and writing about Hungary being the most liberal barracks in the barracks system of the Soviet Bloc ("a green revolution," "a goulash archipelago"). Kadar is said to have succeeded in concluding a settlement between the rulers and the citizens (according to the principle of "whoever is not against us is with us," and also because of the widely held view that this man is thousand times better than any kind of a Moscow-manipulated puppet like Husak); relations are said to have normalized to the satisfaction of both sides, political prisoners and political trials do not exist, and dissidents can be counted on the fingers of one hand. To be precise, the reality is somewhat different. In the lead article of the first issue of the Hungarian samizdat (dissident) periodical BESZELO* one reads:

"It is true that in the last decade there has been no strike in Hungary which would halt the work of an entire enterprise. However, strikes do appear at lower levels, in workshops and guilds. It is a fact that the press in most cases is stifled by the self-censorship of authors and editors. And yet from time to time a periodical will print an unpublishable manuscript and staunchly defend its editorial policy. It is a fact that obedient people head the church, people who are either tainted by cooperation with the authorities or who are thoroughly corrupt. However, the collaboration of ecclesiastics and state dignitaries cannot prevent the rise of independent religious movements

*Issued in Budapest in December 1981, 120 pages, in a printing of 1,100 copies. In April 1982 the publishers, whose full names are given, released a second issue with some noteworthy studies: about the peace movement among Hungarian Catholics, the reaction of the Hungarian public to events in Poland after the declaration of martial law, and the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia. The text of the lead article of the first issue may be read in a Czech translation in the publication 150000 SLOV, No 1, 1982.

inside and outside individual denominations. It is true that the results of elections are always prepared in advance behind the scenes, while the only option available to the voters is to lift their hand when instructed to do so. It also happens, however, that members of cooperatives or basic organizations of communist youth, the party or the trade unions suddenly feel fed up with this and simply do not elect the official candidates. And then there are also some young people, full of resolve, who regularly travel to Romania and Slovakia in order to bring back evidence about the fate of Hungarians living abroad, in order to help when it is possible to do so, without regard to the fact that authorities disapprove of these actions, and that their disapproval often is not just passive. There also are solitary seekers of the truth who will never be reconciled to the premise that authority should be omnipotent."

Following a long pause after the suppressed national revolt of autumn 1956, the Hungarian dissident again raised his voice in 1977, when 34 Hungarian intellectuals signed a declaration of solidarity with Charter 77. Moreover, some of the signatories were people who belong to the young generation and who up till now have not expressed themselves politically. It is from among these that today's intellectual opposition spokesmen have been recruited. In contrast to its Marxist ("Lukas") predecessors, the present opposition no longer takes an interest in theoretical speculations, still less in the merits of this or that "face" of socialism. Their attention is focused on society's real problems--and not just the Hungarian ones; problems concerning existence, human and civil rights, ecology, oppression, persecution, censorship conducted under the slogan of a "better tomorrow," and breaking through the regime's policy of isolation from the rest of the world. A series of monographic works has come into existence. In the fall of 1978, "Monday university courses" began in Budapest, modeled along the lines of the "flying universities" of Poland and Czechoslovakia. At that time there was also established the first (technically poorly equipped) samizdat publishing house. A portion of its output appears in printed form in Paris in the periodical MAGYAR FUZETEK, circulated in the West, but also circulating in large numbers inside Hungary.

From the beginning, Hungarian opposition considered itself to be a cultural rather than a political group movement. Writer Gyorgy Dalos formulated it as follows: "We are a cultural opposition...whose mission in contemporary Hungarian society is not to conduct a political struggle against the existing order but to create a new unofficial culture." These are evident echoes of a similar effort inside Czechoslovakia to create a "second culture." Numerous translations of Western novels and political literature have appeared in the samizdat issues. In 1979, two young sociologists, Peter Farkas and Gabor Nemeth, published interviews with 36 intellectuals about the regime's policy concerning publication and censorship. At the turn of the years 1980-1981, the democratization process in Poland exerted a definite albeit slowly materializing influence on the Hungarian community. Calls for more penetrating reforms and broader freedoms were heard in universities, in the official union of communist youth, in writer and artist organizations. As is customary in similar situations, representatives of the authorities

issued an order for a propaganda anti-campaign, but they did not quite know how to deal with a "second public opinion" (in view of their wish at the same time to support and expand a "second"--private enterprise--economy. The relationship between these two issues did not just concern internal politics; an excessively harsh persecution of "those who think otherwise," police actions against them and their eventual imprisonment, would have had a negative effect in the "capitalist West," on whose credits "the second economy" was and is so dependent. The regime resorted to a less drastic penalization of some of the dissidents: loss of jobs, ban on travel, telephone monitoring, inspection of correspondence.

Samizdat Book-Stores

The catalog of a new book-store in Budapest appeared during the middle of February 1981. It is only a kind of an apartment-based shop but samizdat literature is being sold there to this day--every Tuesday evening. The shop's owner is none other but Lazslo Rajk, the son of a high Communist functionary, who was executed during the Stalin purges in 1949. In other words, a person whom Kadar would hate very much to put behind bars.

In April of the same year (1981), the first printed samizdat was published, in the form of a primarily political periodical MAGYAR FIGYELO (Hungarian Observer), with extensive reports from Poland, analyses of the present-day Hungarian society, and reports about the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania and Slovakia. Another periodical, evidently inspired by the "New Left" movement in the West, KISUGO, unmasked the liberal rhetoric of the Kadar regime, and called for a more decisive and open civic opposition. At the beginning of the current year an independent publishing house (modeled after the Polish NOWA) appeared in Budapest. It is managed by Gabor Demszky. So far it has issued several essays and samizdat reprints. In August of this year, apparently more to calm the concerned supervisory Soviet embassy officials than to cater to any domestic concern, Demszky was sentenced to a fine (for illicit activity) of 4,000 forints (in case of incollectibility to 20 days in prison). This was no draconic measure when compared to sentences meted out for a similar offense in other countries. Even so, more than 20 Hungarian writers and artists (among them Gyula Illyes and film director Miklos Jancso) immediately protested to party and government organs.

Fund to Help the Poor

Indisputably, however, the most remarkable undertaking of contemporary Hungarian dissidents in SZETA, the "Fund to Help the Poor" that was established in November 1979. Another private enterprise, this one is the most original of all. Official statistics do not conceal the fact that over 20 percent of the Hungarian population lead an existence which falls under the minimum living standard. A shameful figure for allegedly socialist state, which does not contest it, is silent about it, and is unable to change it. SZETA decided to apply self-help: in 1 year it collected almost 100,000 forints, tons of clothing, and other necessities, and distributed them to the poorest families (with the most children) in the country. In addition, many of them were given legal aid (just as in the Polish Committee for the Defense of the

Workers), and citizen's attention was directed to regulations and rules concerning the area of social care which are little used, either because of ignorance or because of lack of civic courage. Also the method which SZETA uses to obtain financial means is original, and has an indisputable political impact. It arranges concert programs and exhibitions from which the entire profits are donated to the poor. The regime reacted but, as often happens in Hungary, in an ambiguous way. The police stopped the first public concert given by SZETA in Budapest, but an exhibition of modern pictures, combined with an auction for the benefit of the poor people, was not only not prohibited by the authorities, but the organizers were told that the authorities would not object if the event took place in the hall of the Budapest district committee of the National Front! Works were exhibited by 130 painters and the auction brought in 150,000 forints. SZETA organized other similar undertakings, among them a summer camp at Lake Balaton for children of poor Polish families. All this in the Hungarian Socialist Republic--and behold--it did not disintegrate. There are even some Western observers who assert that after the weakening of the Charter 77 movement in Czechoslovakia (by imprisonment, police persecution, surveyance, and compulsory emigration), and after the driving of Solidarity into an uneasy illegality in Poland, and after the neutralization of the dissident movement in the Soviet Union, Hungary today is the only Eastern Bloc country where the opposition movement grows stronger and is being organized in new forms, dictated by past experience.* One of its noteworthy features is its unconcealed solidarity with the movements of citizen initiative in other countries of real socialism. This was demonstrated again on 31 August of this year: of all of the Bloc countries, excluding Poland, a public demonstration of sympathy for Solidarity on the occasion of the second anniversary of the signing of the Gdansk agreement was held only in Hungary's capital. The call for this was issued by Lazslo Rajek and his comrades. On the dav the demonstration was planned, however, they were detained by the police for several hours. The police also surrounded the main thoroughfares of central Budapest. Despite all this, perhaps a hundred demonstrators managed to break through to General Bem Square where the Hungarian revolution had erupted in 1956. Tibor Pakh, a dissident famous in Hungary because of his recent hunger-strike protest, spoke to the gathering. In other words, it was a display of a determined Hungarian citizen initiative that wants to persist and to survive.

Prospects

For how long? Forty years of experience in all countries of the Soviet Bloc prompt utmost caution in evaluating the prospects and capabilities of an opposition, albeit predominantly cultural, within the countries ruled by Soviet-type, basically still Stalinist, regimes. Not even Kadarism can outreach its shadow. The Hungarian system, like all its sister regimes, can be improved, shortchanged ideologically, modified economically, it can patch up holes of all kinds and even give the police an occasional rest, but its basic make-up, its pyramidal power structure, must remain untouched--cost

*Bill Lomax, "The Rise of the Democratic Opposition," Labour Focus on Eastern Europe, London, No 3-4, Summer 1982.

what may. That is because a structural reconstruction does not lead to a reform of the system but to its dismantling. All reform attempts in these countries in the last 30 years have demonstrated this conclusively, and therefore all of them had to be crushed by force, or at least neutralized and finally eroded into disappearance.

Much in Hungary will depend on whether Kadar and his successors succeed in keeping the Hungarian economy above water (and that presupposes, among other things, continuing the present hazardous dance between a command and a market-oriented economy), and hand in hand with it maintaining the relatively liberal attitudes which the regime today either believes in or at least pretends that it does. If this does not work out, the country will be plunged into an economic ruin that has already overtaken Poland and Romania (with Czechoslovakia waiting in the wings): in such a situation a repressive, crudely authoritarian policy usually is not long in coming. Hungarian dissidents have no other choice than to prepare themselves for both of these eventualities.

10433
CSO: 2400/35

WOZNIAK MAKES OCTOBER REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY SPEECH

LD052114 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1532 GMT 5 Nov 82

[Speech by Marian Wozniak, PZPR Central Committee Political Bureau member and first secretary of Warsaw PZPR Committee, at a meeting held in Warsaw's Wielki Theater to celebrate the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution--live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades and citizens, respected guests, representatives of the diplomatic corps of the fraternal countries:

In accordance with many years' tradition, today we celebrate the 65th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR].

The victory of Great October meant the opening of the way to the implementation of the highest social values and the most sublime ideals. The October Revolution, overthrowing the power of the exploiting classes, socializing the means of production, laid the foundation for the order of social justice, and by the authority of the first decrees of the new power, it announced peace and the right to self-determination of nations to the world.

The events of the memorable 1917 confirmed the correctness of the Marxist theory of revolution developed by Vladimir Lenin, and of his concept of a party of the new type. The Leninist party of the Bolsheviks became a true revolutionary avant-garde of the masses. It was characterized by a high consciousness, and was guided by a strategy and tactics that ensured concentration and organization for the cause of the revolution of the working class and working people.

The party was characterized by cohesiveness and discipline. It was closely connected with the masses. It lived their lives, it led them and at the same time it learned from them. It was a party of zealous ideological stance and of iron organization. Such a party was shaped by Lenin, and only such a party was able to be victorious in a struggle in which the stakes were both the future of the peoples of Russia and the future of the world's working people.

A proper relation to great events, to epoch-making turning points in the history of mankind, has always been and always remains the practical yardstick that defines the genuine ideological and political countenance of all social forces.

It was no different and it is no different with Great October. One's attitude to the socialist revolution and to Leninism remains a universal criterion of one's involvement on the side of the social progress, democracy and justice. The coming into being 60 years ago of the USSR--the first sociaist state in the world--was a momentous event of historic significance for the fate of the whole world, a result of the victorious October. The creation of the USSR made it possible to strengthen young Soviet authority and to undertake, for the first time in the world, the task of building a society without social exploitation and injustice. It made it possible for the country to emerge from the enormity of regression that had been inherited after the rule of the czars. From hard work and an unshakable will to win, a uniform multinational socialist power came into being. It had great economic, scientific and cultural potential. It enjoyed great authority. Today it is the main force in the socialist community, the mainstay of forces of peace and progress throughout the world.

Dear comrades, the participation of our compatriots in the GOSR and in the formation of the beginnings of the Soviet state belongs to the most beautiful eras in the Polish revolutionary movement. Polish revolutionaries, fighting side by side with the working people of Russia, contributed to the work of creating the new era and implemented the prospect of freedom and independence of our nation. The young Soviet authority was the first government in the world that, in full voice and with consistency, expressed its support for the right of the Polish nation to have an independent existence, and it invalidated for all time all partition pacts.

History in the 20 years between wars resolutely confirms that hostility toward the Soviet Union damages our vital national and state interests, that it leads to defeats and misfortunes. This truth has its topicality today. The anti-Soviet campaign that not long ago was storming through our country was not able to undermine this. Its initiators were not working in the interest of our country but arousing antipathy or even hatred toward everything connected with the ideal of socialism. They were working to exploit our country and nation as a tool in the struggle against the Soviet Union and countries of the socialist community.

Political adventures in our country, inspired by reactionary circles in the West, have never accepted the reality based on the realization of the wise and clear direction that is included in the July Manifesto of the PKWN [communist-backed war-time Polish Government] that reads: For 400 years there was a period of incessant conflict, damaging for all sides, between the Poles and the Ukrainians, Poles and Belorussians and Poles and Russians. A historic turning point has been achieved in those relations now. Conflict has given place to friendship and cooperation, which are being dictated by vital bilateral interests. Friendship and fighting cooperation that was initiated by brotherhood-in-arms of the Polish and Red armies has turned into lasting alliances and neighborly cooperation since the war. The Socialist Union--its leaders have repeatedly emphasized this--needs an independent, strong and stable Poland. From our point of view, confronted by increased threats to peace, the value of our alliances with the Soviet Union and all Warsaw Pact states is of even greater significance.

Poland can exist and develop in a sovereign fashion only as a socialist country, in unfailing alliance with the socialist community. This was farsightedly established by the 1943 PPR [Polish Workers' Party] declaration: "What We Are Fighting For." That declaration said "The establishment of goodneighborly and allied relations with the USSR will become an important factor in consolidating our defensive system, our economic potential and our position in Europe." And this is just what the enemies of Poland and of the Soviet Union--the enemies of socialism--do not want. For our opponents, both without and within, we have only one, resolute, answer. The Polish People's Republic is and will be a genuine and credible ally of the USSR, and an unfailing link in the socialist community and in the international peace front.

Comrades and citizens, the experiences of the Soviet Union found their first expression and confirmation in the October Revolution, the principles of the socialist system that correctly expressed the contents of a new historic epoch. They exert a great influence on the international communist and workers' movement, and they create for them sources of inspiration--as Vladimir Lenin wrote--"on a truly democratic and truly internationalist basis." The precondition for a proper unfolding of the revolutionary processes and for socialist construction in every country is a creative observance of those principles and rules, and of the connections between them and national peculiarities in a manner adapted to the historically formed conditions of particular nations and states. Departures from these principles have always generated an insufficiency of socialism, have brought about deformations and errors, have become sources of holdups in development, of social tensions and conflicts. Such is the genesis of the present crisis. That was how it was assessed by our Ninth Party Congress. We are persistently uprooting these deformations, basing ourselves on the universal principles for the construction of socialism, drawing on the experience of the fraternal countries. From the great achievement of the land of the Soviets. We are boldly implementing solutions in accordance with the spirit of socialist renewal.

This is primarily a reform of the economic system: a complex and difficult reform, which sometimes requires corrections in its course, but which changes our economy for the good and also brings about the desired changes in the way people think.

We attach great hopes that it will heal the economy, overcome the crisis, improve the market situation, fully reconstruct the social sense of security of working people, and in the somewhat longer run, improve their standard of living. The reform should become an opportunity for the nation's younger generation, for a broad awakening of social activity, for the shaping of the work ethic in fulfilling life's aspirations.

This program includes a series of new legal regulations that create the bases for improving institutions of sociopolitical life, for equipping its social factors with broad powers in the areas of initiatives, consultation and control of decisions at all levels of authority and administration, and for strengthening the status of the law as a factor affecting the moral norms of the public.

We have announced a war against the deformations of socialism wherever voluntarism, bureaucratism, order-giving, soullessness, arrogance, incompetence and other shortcomings may bring about deformations. Our resoluteness can be measured by the fact that following the introduction of martial law, the program of socialist renewal--a program of fundamental and consistent transformations--is being implemented particularly actively and with all determination.

Just under a year ago, a deadly threat hung over our country. The threat to its system's socialist foundations grew. It became necessary to resort to extraordinary measures. The introduction of martial law averted a national catastrophe of incalculable consequences. It was necessary for our revolution to defend itself. Lenin indicated that only a revolution that is able to defend itself is worth something. There are still many difficult days and problems before us. The tough class struggle is proceeding in all fields--in the economy, in social problems, in ideology. Hostile foreign centers and the antisocialist opposition at home are stepping up their efforts to hold up the process of normalization, to disturb that which is most threatening to their end--socialist renewal, normalization, fortification of the people's state. Admittedly, we have merely begun on this road. An enormous stretch still lies before us. We are profoundly convinced that only socialism can resolve our development problems and can renew our life in accordance with today's and tomorrow's aims and needs. Nor can there be any doubt that only the PZPR--implementing its leading role, regenerating a Leninist-style of action, ideological adherence to principles, openness to human affairs, modesty--will continually and effectively lead this process in alliance with the fraternal parties, will regain full social confidence, establish a capacity for action, and will strengthen the links with the working class and with society as a whole.

A socialist Poland, cured of crisis, freed from deformations, will rebuild its international authority and prestige, as well as its role as an important factor in the progressive and peaceful changes in Europe and in the world. This is one of the principal tasks of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. This is our great, common obligation.

Comrades and citizens, striving for all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union has found confirmation in a document of historical significance--the 1945 Polish-Soviet treaty of friendship, mutual aid and postwar cooperation. This was the implementation of the strivings of both our parties, whose ideological unity and political cooperation became a principal factor in arranging good neighbor relations between Poland and the USSR, and in making them closer. Fraternal cooperation between the PZPR and the CPSU has this considerable significance also today.

Economic and scientific-technical cooperation have been an important lever in the development of our country. Both in the first period of people's power, and later, in successive phases of socialist construction, the Soviet Union remained our most important and immensely valuable economic partner. The complementary nature of both national economies, which becomes more clearly marked as our country develops, the possibilities connected with contiguous neighborliness, a beneficial atmosphere formed by many factors--starting with

a community of ideological aims through mutual understanding and intensive actions of parties, governments and economic apparatus of both countries, and ending with the ease of establishing friendships between people--have enabled the rapid development of Polish-Soviet cooperation in practically all areas.

In overcoming the crisis that plagues us today, a great role is played by the possibility of using various forms and means of economic aid from the Soviet Union, and by the clearly increasing economic cooperation both with the Soviet Union and the other member-states of CEMA, in the entirety of structural changes of our country's economy. This has particular significance in the face of the breakdown of our supply ties with Western countries as the result of their restrictive economic policy. Possibilities to purchase raw and other materials and components that are necessary for the functioning of the economy from capitalist countries have decreased drastically. Many enterprises were faced with a halt to production.

In such conditions it is only expansion of economic cooperation with the USSR that could ease our difficulties and in many cases actually save us. Supplies of raw and other materials for our industry constitute a key problem for our economy. In this field, cooperation with the Soviet Union plays a decisive role.

Almost two-thirds of all imported raw and other materials for our economy come from the socialist countries. Seventy percent of this is made up of deliveries from the Soviet Union. Oil and natural gas are of special significance here. For our part, we currently supply the Soviet Union with 43 percent of our total export of machinery and installations. This, in our economic condition, is a most beneficial proportion. Meeting our current requirements halfway, the Soviet Union has agreed to an arrangement whereby, during the current year, the turnover between our two countries will not, on our part, be balanced fully. We have received a Soviet (?100) percent credit, payments of which commence in (?1985) to enable us to eliminate our deficit that, without the debts incurred over the past years, will amount in (?1983) alone to R1 billion. The Soviet leadership has already agreed to a similar solution for 1983 as well. The decisions, already taken, whereby the Soviet Union will join in the work to complete certain industrial investment projects on Poland's territory, also pertain to economic issues of very great importance to us.

In a situation in which certain circles in the West that are hostile to us escalate the policy of economic boycott of Poland, cooperation with the Soviet Union is the most important factor in the struggle to get Poland out of the crisis and onto the path of propitious development. We shall do all we can to make it come about as soon as possible, so that the period in which our cooperation is mainly characterized by aid from the Soviet Union gives way to a period in which it will have become possible for us to be equal trading partners.

Our of all the fields of Polish-Soviet cooperation, it is above all the extensive cooperation between scientists from our countries and between our higher education systems that has brought about continues to achieve tangible results. Thanks to this, it has been possible for us to develop a number of unique

directions in research and to train our own scientific cadres in them, and also thanks to this a Pole became a cosmonaut. The extensive cooperation in all fields of creative endeavor and dissemination of culture plays an important part that serves to enrich our national culture and our cultural life. One also has to emphasize the importance, (?greater than at any other time before), of the cooperation between organizations of young people and, generally, of the ever closer contacts between the young generation and Soviet youth.

Comrades, the Great October and, subsequently, the setting up of the USSR, opened up a new stage, a hopeful stage in the struggle waged by the nations and the entire progressive mankind against wars, aggression, and (?territorial gains), for a (?lasting and just) peace. The Lenin peace decree was the first harbinger of a world free from war. Even though (?this road is still long and arduous, one can say) that this prediction will be fulfilled. And the 21st century is not far off. It will, at long last, be the crowning glory for the (?Leninist humanist peace ideals). It will finally free mankind from its (?fear) of annihilation. It will put mankind on the road to mutual trust and cooperation among nations.

The humanitarian and internationalist principles of the Soviet foreign policy shone with all their brightness when the Red Army--together with the partisans fighting at the enemy's rear, and the entire Soviet nation--bore the main weight of the heroic battle against the Third Reich paying a huge sacrifice in blood not only in defence of their own freedom, but also to liberate mankind from the nightmare of Hitlerism.

The victory thus gained--in which the Polish nation and Polish soldiers also played an honorable part--changed the political and territorial map of Europe upon the road to socialism. This was the second historic breakthrough in the 20th century, after the October Revolution, with which it is closely connected. The legacy of the October Revolution also included the avalanche of the decolonialization process and the emancipation of the nations that throughout centuries had been subjected to the cruel pressure of imperialism. The Soviet Union ceaselessly confirms that, in accordance with its ideological and class essence, it consistently aims at peace and at cooperation among nations. The aim of its policies was and is to erase war completely from international relations. In the face of the threat of nuclear war, only this policy can provide humanity with a way out of total extinction. In order to carry out this great task it was essential for the Soviet Union to link a far-reaching conception of peace based on an active international policy and defensive might, thus condemning all designs for a military showdown with socialism to be fiascos. Year by year, stage by stage, the Soviet Union expanded and perfected the interaction of these factors. Today they are the property not just of the USSR, but of every socialist state, of their entire political and defensive coalition community in the shape of the Warsaw Pact.

People's Poland and its armed forces, as hitherto, will make their essential contribution to consolidating its strength and unerringness in action. We do not intend to play down the contribution made by others, nor to monopolize any credit. Nevertheless, we have every reason for stating that it is thanks to the merits primarily of the land of the Soviets and the socialist states, of our whole community, that Europe is living through the longest period of

peace in its history. Although this has cost an enormous amount of effort and sacrifice, it has been possible to break up the ice of the Cold War and to shatter the atomic blackmail practiced by imperialism at the end of the 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's.

Despite successive threats by West German revisionism and its patrons, it has been possible to defend and consolidate the results of the victory over Hitlerism, which were fought for and won on the battlefield. A long and complex process has made it possible to open the way to the stabilization of peaceful relations on our continent, and to create the infrastructure of detente, which furthers this and finds its supreme achievement in the CSCE Final Act. It is in this long historical view in particular that one ought to consider a further attempt to set back the historical clock made at the beginning of the 1980's by the aggressive U.S. economic-political-military complex. The present American Administration has gone the way of destroying the achievements of detente, exacerbating the international situation, and of stepping up the arms race and of a confrontation course with socialism.

Together with the cold war circles of the other Atlantic states, the American strategists have forced through in NATO a plan to install a large number of weapons of new kinds--rockets in particular--in West Europe.

We have another threat to peace, the greatest since the end of World War II. Alarming signals are heard throughout Europe. All conclusions have to be drawn from this. The Soviet Union has for years been a consistent spokesman for building an effective collective security system in Europe and in the world. It has adopted an unshakable stance of respecting the independence, sovereignty and equality of all states and of noninterference in internal affairs. It is opposed to the use of force in resolving controversial international issues. It is an act of particular significance that the Soviet Union committed itself unilaterally not to be first to use nuclear weapons. This was covered in Leonid Brezhnev's address to the second special UN General Assembly session devoted to disarmament.

There are forces in the West for which this policy is contrary to their interests and, in the crusade against socialism, they are playing with the fate of nations. They are striving to disturb the balance of power in Europe and in the world, and to cause an impasse in the disarmament negotiations. The policy that threatens the achievements of detente and peace in Europe is behind the reaction of the United States and certain other anti-Soviet states to the problems that are at present experienced by Poland. Attempts at interfering in our internal affairs, using pressures and extortion by means of economic sanctions, among others, are evidence of an intention of again playing the so-called Polish card for purposes that are profoundly contrary not only to the interests of Poland and other socialist states, but also all nations of Europe. They are contrary to the interests of peace on our continent. That is why our struggle for the elimination of dangers connected with the activeness of the adventurous antisocialist opposition that cooperates with aggressive groupings of the West, for a return to normalcy, and for the success of democratic reform, and for national accord has important international dimensions. It serves to defend peace, whose value the Polish nation knows as no other.

The international policy of the Polish People's Republic has passed its historic test as a policy of an alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist states in the joint struggle for peace and security, detente and disarmament in Europe and in the world. That is the kind of policy it has been, it is and it will remain. Only such a policy can serve Poland, strengthen its sovereignty and security, multiply our contribution to the ideal of saving Europe from a nuclear holocaust.

Comrades and citizens, friendship of Poland and the Soviet Union has passed and is passing its historic test. The ideas of the October Revolution will live forever. They have been confirmed by history. They are being confirmed by the present. The cooperation and alliances of our countries, born out of those ideas, will remian a constant guarantee of our independence, of our security and prosperous development.

Long live the homeland of October--the USSR!

Long live Polish-Soviet friendship!

Long live socialism and peace!

CSO: 2600/113

BRIEFS

WAR VETERANS COMMITTEE APPOINTEES--A meeting of the National Committee of War Veterans was held today at the central house of the people's army. "Comrade Shefqet Peci was elected chairman of the National Committee of the Albanian People at today's meeting. The committee also elected Comrade Sul Baholli as its general secretary." The meeting was also attended by Comrade Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary. In a speech, he stressed the valuable role of veterans for the patriotic and class revolutionary education of the working masses, particularly the youn generation, and pointed out some major directions of the work of veterans in the context of the decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings. [Summary] [AU041944 Tirana Domestic Service in Alganian 1900 GMT 4 Dec 82]

CSO: 2100/8

NEW LABOR CODE POSTULATES

[Editorial report] AU061226 Sofia Rabotnichesko Delo in Bulgarian on 3 December on pages 1 through 7 carries the 25,000-word "basic postulates on the party concept of the new labor code, worked out by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria," adopted by the 29-30 November BCP Central Committee Plenum.

The postulates, "a part of which are directly related to the new labor code, and another part to the social environment and atmosphere which are to be created by their application," represent the broad basis "of a broad discussion of the basic principles, on which the new labor code will later be based," "proposals and suggestions made as a result of this discussion will eventually be incorporated into a draft of the new labor code, which subsequently will be submitted for approval to the National Assembly."

The basic postualtes on the party concept of the new labor code consist of eight chapters. The first, entitled "For a Modern and Perspective Approach in Working Out the New Labor Code," describes the old labor code. It is pointed out that "life imposed changes on the old labor code," and subsequently it was amended and supplemented 17 times, something which "has exhausted the possibilities of amending it further." Therefore, "no more amendments, but rather a new labor code is needed." Other reasons for working out a new labor code, as presented by the postulates are: The new stage of socialist construction; the new stage of social development; the consolidation of new socialist forms of life; the new economic approach and its mechanism; the development of science and culture, and so forth. The new labor code is also expected to facilitate "the further development of socialist labor democracy in Bulgaria."

The second chapter--"For Decisive Progress in Perfecting the Material-Technical Conditions of the Labor Process, for Increasing the Quality of Labor"--describes the development of mechanization in Bulgarian industry and the "intellectualization of labor." The new labor code is expected to further enhance these processes, intensify the use of specialists in production and cut down the waste of labor time.

The third chapter--"The New Labor Code and the Consistent Evaluation of the International and Domestic Economic Conditions"--deals with the need to increase the quality of production "in order to produce products of high quality, capable

of competing on the international markets." It describes the functions of the working collective as owner of the socialist property and its role in working out and adopting the counter plan. This chapter deals further on with improving production by "improving the production and social labor conditions," and "better utilizing existing potentials."

The fourth chapter--"For Further Developing and Perfecting Socialist Democracy in the Area of Labor and Labor Relations"--deals with "expanding the rights of the working collectives with the view of turning them into self-governing units." It stresses the need "to increase the rights and responsibilities of the workers," as well as the duty of the administrations "to introduce direct democracy and attract the workers to taking an active role in the decision-making process."

Chapter five--"For a Quality New Role of the Working Collective in the Sociaist Labor Relations"--returns to the subject of the working collectives' role. It describes their rights and obligations and their tasks in "preserving socialist property" and "increasing labor effectiveness."

The sixth chapter--"For Expanding the Rights and Duties of the Sociaist Personality in the Process of Labor and Their Strictest Observance"--deals with the rights and duties of individual workers. This chapter is a continuation of the previous ones, which dealt with the rights and duties of the working collectives. It goes on to describe those rights and duties, namely, "better utilization of economic stimuli," "participation in production management," "better utilization of labor time," and so forth. This chapter also points out the workers' duties related to creating better safety and hygienic conditions at work places and "more effective utilization of workers' time outside their places of labor."

The seventh chapter--"For Decisively Improving Labor Management"--deals with increasing the effectiveness of labor management and suggests the following measures aimed to achieve this effect: To improve the organization of labor; improve the training of cadres; coordinate scientific-technical research; secure better labor information; secure better utilization of labor resources; establish local councils on labor and social affairs; and so forth.

The last chapter--"For Increasing the Role of the Trade Unions in the Area of Labor and Labor Relations"--charges the trade unions with the responsibility of introducing most of the reforms and improvements enumerated in the previous chapters. It also demands that "the ideological work of the trade unions be improved" and that they participate in organizing socialist competitions. The same chapter also stresses the responsibility of the local party organizations in achieving the effect sought by the new labor code.

No further processing planned.

CSO: 2200/30

JOINT BULGARIAN-TANZANIAN COMMUNIQUE ISSUED

AU281951 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Text] Sofia, 28 Nov (BTA)--A communique on the visit to Bulgaria (Nov 24-28) of Tanzania's Prime Minister Mr Cleopa David Msuya, has been released for the press here. A positive assessment is made in it of the development of bilateral relations and of the fulfilment of the agreements reached by Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Julius Nyerere.

Bulgaria and Tanzania are ready in future too to create favourable conditions for the development of bilateral relations especially in the economic sphere.

They will actively promote the halting of the arms race and the disarmament. Bulgaria and Tanzania are attaching great importance to the creating of nuclear-free zones, zones of peace and cooperation, in Africa, the Indian Ocean, northern Europe and the region of the Balkans and the Mediterranean.

The two sides assess positively the role and contribution of the organisation for African unity in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid. They condemn the acts of the imperialist circles aimed at spreading variance and split among the organisation's member-countries.

Bulgaria and Tanzania back up the struggle of the people of Namibia led by SWAPO and declare themselves in support of the immediate fulfilment of resolution number 435 of the UN Security Council.

They condemn the alliance of the imperialist countries with the racist and fascist regime in Pretoria and the barbarous aggression of the South African Republic on Angola and the other frontline states.

Bulgaria highly esteems Tanzania's contribution to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism, apartheid and neocolonialism and the positive role of the organisation for African unity and the non-aligned movement.

The two sides condemn Israel's aggression on Lebanon and declare themselves backing the immediate withdrawal of the Israel troops.

Bulgaria and Tanzania are alarmed by the continuing war between Iran and Iraq and think that the controversial issues can be resolved by peaceful means. They stand for a readjustment of the international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, for doing away with any forms of colonialism and neocolonial dependence and of the discriminatory measures in the world trade.

BULGARIAN-TANZANIAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE RELEASED

AU012107 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

[Joint communique on the visit of Cleopa David Msuya, prime minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, to the People's Republic of Bulgaria 24-28 November 1982]

[Text] At the invitation of Grisha Filipov, chairman of the council of ministers of the people's Republic of Tanzania, paid an official friendly visit to Bulgaria from 24 to 28 November 1982.

The esteemed guest laid a wreath and paid his respects at the mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov, the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people and eminent figure of the international communist and workers movement.

During his visit, Comrade Cleopa David Msuya and those accompanying him acquainted themselves with the achievements of the people's Republic of Bulgaria in the sphere of political, economic and cultural development. The prime minister of Tanzania visited a number of economic projects, historic and culturally remarkable sites in Sofia and in the country. He was cordially welcomed everywhere.

Official talks between Grisha Filipov, chairman of the council of ministers of the people's Republic of Bulgaria, and Cleopa David Msuya, prime minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding.

The following persons attended the talks: On the Bulgarian side--Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade; Aleksandur Petkov, chairman of the national agroindustrial union central council executive committee; Marin Yotov, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Asen Velkov, chief of the cabinet of the chairman of the council of ministers; Georgi Georgiev, deputy chairman of the state planning committee; Yordan Tenov, deputy minister of machine building and electronics, and Serafim Serafimov, Bulgarian ambassador to Tanzania.

On the Tanzanian side--Prof Kighoma Malima, minister of state for economic affairs and planning; (Gilman Rutihinda), secretary general at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Isaac Sepetu, Tanzanian ambassador to Bulgaria; (Peter Dzh, Ngumbulu), director at the Ministry of Planning and Economy; (M.T.

Kibauana), commisar on matters of foreign financing and technical cooperation at the Ministry of Finance, and (K.P. Muzo), adviser at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

During the talks, Comrade Grisha Filipov and Comrade Cleopa David Msuya briefed each other on the situation in their countries and on the tasks they face at the present stage of their development. They reviewed bilateral relations and exchanged views on the prospects for and trends in their future development and ways to deepen them.

The prime minister of Tanzania highly assessed the Bulgarian people's successes in building a developed socialist society by fulfilling the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress.

The chairman of the council of ministers of the people's Republic of Bulgaria highly appraised the Tanzanian people's achievements along the path of socio-economic reforms in the country under the leadership of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania (SSM).

The two prime ministers were pleased to note that the relations between Bulgaria and Tanzania were developing on an ascending line.

In fulfilling the agreements reached by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the State Council of the people's Republic of Bulgaria, and Julius Nyerere, chairman of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania and president of the United Republic of Tanzania, substantial results have been achieved in building industiral projects, in agriculture, trade and other areas.

During the visit, the following documents were signed:

--A protocol on the talks between Comrade Grisha Filipov and Comrade Cleopa D. Msuya;

--A cooperation agreement between the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency (BTA) and the Information Agency of the United Republic of Tanzania (Shihata).

The leaders of the governments, of the people's Republic of Bulgaria and of the United Republic of Tanzania, exchanged views on a number of topical international issues. They were pleased to establish that the stands of the two countries on these issues are identical or similar.

The two prime ministers assessed the international situation as being very complicated and tense for which the reactionary imperialistic circles fully bear the responsibility.

The two countries noted with satisfaction that the struggle of the peoples of all countries for peace and against the threat of nuclear war is intensifying.

They emphasized a readiness to actively contribute to halting the arms race and rearmament. In this connection, the latest peace initiatives of the

Soviet Union and particularly its commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, were noted. They also called upon the other countries to undertake this obligation.

The two countries confirmed the importance of setting up nuclear-free zones, zones of peace and cooperation in various areas in the world, particularly in Africa, the Indian Ocean, northern Europe, the Balkans and in the Mediterranean.

They expressed the hope that the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States held in Geneva on limiting and reducing nuclear weapons in Europe and on limiting and reducing strategic weapons as well, as the Vienna talks on reducing the armed forces and armaments in central Europe will conclude with an agreement to strictly observe the equality and equal security of all states. The prime ministers of the two countries are agreed that a successful end of the Madrid meeting and the approval of a substantive political document providing for the convocation of a conference on strengthening the measures for maintaining confidence and security, on disarmament in Europe and on the balanced progress of all sections of the Helsinki final act will contribute not only to consistently continuing the all-European process of detente but also to strengthening peace and security in the world and to developing useful cooperation among all countries and peoples.

The two government leaders exchanged views on the situation in Africa. They positively assessed the OAU's role in and contribution to the struggle of the African peoples against imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid. The two prime ministers particularly condemned the actions of the imperialistic circles to create discord and dissidence among the OAU member countries which have recently particularly intensified.

They expressed full support for the just struggle of the people of Namibia, under its only legitimate representative--SWAPO [South West African People's Organization]--for national liberation and for true independence. They also categorically declared themselves in favor of the comprehensive and immediate fulfillment of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

The two sides expressed wholehearted support for the struggle of the people of South Africa against racial discrimination and the system of apartheid as well as for national liberation and social progress.

They most strictly condemned the overt alliance of the imperialistic countries with the racist and fascist regime of Pretoria and also condemned the constant barbarous aggression to which the South African Republic subjects the people's Republic of Angola and the other frontline countries.

The people's Republic of Bulgaria highly appraises Tanzania's contribution to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, apartheid and racism as well as to realizing and strengthening the political and economic independence of the African countries as well as its positive role in the OAU and in the movement of nonaligned countries.

The United Republic of Tanzania highly appraised the peaceful and constructive foreign policy of the people's Republic of Bulgaria for strengthening peace, cooperation and understanding in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world. The United Republic of Tanzania has supported Bulgaria's initiative to turn the Balkan Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone.

The two sides sharply condemned the Israeli aggression against sovereign Lebanon. They expressed themselves in favor of the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanese territory.

The two sides asserted that a lasting and just peace in the Middle East can be achieved only after the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories it occupied after 1967 and securing the legitimate right of self-determination of the Arab people of Palestine, including the establishment of an independent state and the guarantee of the right of existence of all states in this area.

The two sides expressed serious anxiety over the continuing fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq. They are of the opinion that all disputes between the two countries can be resolved through peaceful means.

The two leaders were pleased to note the important role played by the non-aligned countries movement in the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism and racism as well as for strengthening peace and security in the world.

The people's Republic of Bulgaria and the United Republic of Tanzania expressed themselves in favor of reforming international economic relations on a just and democratic basis and of liquidating all forms of colonial and neocolonial independence as well as discrimination measures in international trade.

The two sides emphasized the role of the United Nations in safeguarding and strengthening world peace and security and in developing cooperation among all peoples and countries.

The prime minister of the United Republic of Tanzania expressed warm gratitude for the cordial welcome accorded to him and to those accompanying him. He invited Grisha Filipov, chairman of the council of ministers of the people's Republic of Bulgaria, to pay an official friendly visit to Tanzania. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Sofia, November 1982

CSO: 2200/30

BRIEFS

TELEPHONE AUTOMATION INCREASE--In order to improve telephone services for the population in the border areas and in the settlements of the fourth and fifth functional category, the Ministry of Communications has developed a special program. The program provides for 50 automatic telephone stations to be installed in the centers of the conurbation systems. This will make it possible to service individual municipalities, and hence to integrate these areas into the Okrug and national communication system. [Text] [AU051635 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Nov 82 p 2]

AUSTRIAN TRADE UNION DELEGATION--Sofia, 1 Dec [BTA]--A delegation of the amalgamation of Austrian trade unions led by the Secretary General Erich (Hoffsteter), was on a visit to Bulgaria, 28 through 30 November, at the invitation of the Central Council of the Bulgaria trade unions. The Austrian guests were received by Mr Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian trade unions. During the talks between the leaderships of the two organisations the results of the previous cooperation were reviewed and satisfaction was expressed with its consolidation and deepening. Discussion went also on the new forms of further extending of relations and direct communication between the workers of the two countries, stress being laid on the role in this respect of the reciprocal exchange along the line of social tourism. [AU051635 Sofia BTA in English 0825 GMT 1 Dec 82]

BULGARIAN-KAMPUCHEAN TRADE PROTOCOL--Sofia, 3 Dec (BTA)--A trade and payments protocol for 1983 was signed here today by Bulgaria and Kampuchea. The document provides for diversifying the two countries' export lists. The protocol was signed by Mr Krustyu Popov, Bulgaria's deputy minister of foreign trade, and Mr Thi Ho, deputy minister of planning and economic cooperation of Kampuchea. [Text] [AU051635 Sofia BTA in English 1335 GMT 3 Dec 82]

PROTOCOL WITH YEMEN--Sofia, 3 December (BTA)--A cooperation protocol between the Bulgaro-Yemeni and the Yemeni-Bulgarian friendship societies was signed here today by the chairmen of the two societies: Mr Yancho Georgiev, member of the CC of the BCP and head of the "Information-Sociology Centre" with the CC of the BCP, and Mr (Anis Hassan Yahia), secretary of the CC of the Yemen Socialist Party. The document extends on a period of 2 years and provides for initiatives contributing to the development and deepening of the relations between the two countries. [AU051635 Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 3 Dec 82]

BULGARIA-YUGOSLAVIA: TOURISM--Sofia, 4 December [BTA]--Seven hundred twenty-five thousand seven hundred Yugoslavs visited Bulgaria last year. The excellent transport facilities--air, rail and motorway, and the absence of a language barrier [the Bulgarian and the Yugoslav languages are very close] served as good prerequisites for this exchange. The Yugoslav tourists prefer individual to package travel in Bulgaria. They visit here with friends and relatives and, when in need of accommodation, chose private lodgings or hotels. [AU051635 Sofia BTA in English 0835 GMT 4 Dec 82]

DUTCH DELEGATION SEES TANCHEV--Sovia, 2 December (BTA)--Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and first vice-president of the State Council, received a delegation of the political party of radical democrats, led by Mr (Gisbert Wiljamsen), secretary on the international questions of the party. The Dutch delegation is on visit here at the invitation of the standing commission of the Bulgarian Agrarian union. [AU051635 Sofia BTA in English 0830 GMT 2 Dec 82]

DELEGATION'S RETURN FROM AFRICA--Sofia, 4 December (BTA)--A delegation of the CC of the BCP, led by Mr Georgi Petrov, member of the CC of the BCP, and first deputy head of the "People's Councils and Mass Organizations" department with the CC of the BCP, returned to Bulgaria today. The delegation visited the people's Republic of Congo, the people's revolutionary Republic of Guinea and the Republic Guinea-Bissau. During its stay in these countries the delegation had talks on the further strengthening of the contacts of the Bulgarian Communist Party with the Congolese Labour Party, the African Party for the independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape de Verde, and Parti-etat de Guinee. [Text] [AU051635 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 4 Dec 82]

CSO: 2200/30

TEXT OF CHNOUPEK FOREIGN AFFAIRS REPORT TO FEDERAL ASSEMBLY

Prague PRACE in Czech 10 Nov 82 pp 3, 4, 5

[Text of Report by Foreign Affairs Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek to the Federal Assembly]

[Text] I come before you, the supreme representative body of our people, with a report on Czechoslovak foreign policy covering the period since October 1979, amid worrisome circumstances marked with concern, complications and a sharpening of the international situation. I come to report to you on the 3 years during which the work in all spheres of our life was influenced by such key events as the 16th CPCZ Congress, the 26th CPSU Congress, our elections for the representative bodies, after which the federal government presented its program to this Federal Assembly which approved it.

We can be justifiably proud of a positive balance. In the cited period we have--in close coordination with the fraternal socialist countries--contributed in a principled manner to the struggle for peace and progress, and have done all we could to ensure that the international position of socialist Czechoslavakia, our authority and prestige might grow, that we might continue to be considered a reliable and sought-after partner.

We were able to achieve such results only thanks to the fact that the immutable principle and cornerstone of the building of a socialist society have been and remain our indivisible relations and bonds of alliance with the USSR.

We are, therefore, justly proud that, together with the Soviet people and millions of their friends, we can celebrate already the 65th anniversary of the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution, the 60th anniversary of the birth of the USSR, amid a general blossoming of its forces. We remember that only the advent of this most just and most humane social system made possible such a unique document as the Leninist Document on Peace which found its logical continuation in the grand Peace Program for the 1980s adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress with which the 16th CPCZ Congress was in full accord. The Peace Program incorporates Soviet proposals directed at the resolution of the most burning problems of today--the elimination of the threat of nuclear catastrophe--and charts a positive program which places in sharp contrast the imperialist course toward confrontation and feverish armament with the impossible objective of halting the historical process of the advent of socialism.

An analysis of current international events clearly shows that socialism--this enormous catalyst of global progress--increasingly determines international development as its most influencial social force.

"In definance of all the intrigues of world imperialism," stated Comrade Gustav Husak at the 16th CPCZ Congress, "it has been possible to safeguard peace and develop the process of detente, strengthen international security and achieve further successes in the struggle for peace, social progress and freedom of nations."

Detente--the Only Suitable Alternative

If in its long-term objective legality the balance of forces is developing in favor of peace and progress, it is especially valid in Europe where two world war catastrophes had flared, but which has now lived in peace for 37 years.

It is precisely here on this war-ravaged continent that the socialist countries have during the 1970s applied one of the fundamental principles of Leninist policy, namely, peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. During that decade, this policy, known as detente, became deeply rooted not only in the consciousness of the broadest popular masses but also within these political, economic and social circles which think realistically, as the only alternative in the atomic age. Detente has spread deep roots, despite all attempts to slow it down or even bring it to a halt. Consequently, all the commitments stemming from the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, remain valid to this day. Prerequisites still exist to make the process of detente continue, even to make it broader, more effective and dynamic, while expanding it to additional geographic areas. As for ourselves, we are doing everything in our power to achieve precisely that.

The ruling circles of the United States obviously have opposite views on the subject and they are the ones who have caused the current tense situation in the world. They are the ones who in the late 1970s and early 1980s initiated a significantly more aggressive orientation toward a balance of forces favoring imperialism.

Let us remember that in the past the most reactionary proponents of imperialism have never made any secret of their opposition to the policy of peaceful coexistence, cooperation and easing of tensions. They have never reconciled themselves with a retreat from confrontation, not even in the early 1970s, during the time of the Helsinki Conference, or in the period which followed. Their arguments, then as today, have the same denominator, namely, that detente is a one-way street advantageous to the East, while selling out the interests of the West.

At the same time, it is they who initiated the new crusade against socialism and communism by ruthless application of a policy of force, threats, diktat and willful delineation of "spheres of influence." More recently, this has even included insults, slanderous rhetoric and twisting of facts, in other words, the unleashing of psychological war such as the world had not seen since the Dulles era, and which began to undermine not only equitable and

mutually beneficial relations among states, but even the very foundations of peace and international security.

Thus, no longer merely an ideological struggle based on facts, but psychological warfare aimed directly at changing the system in the socialist countries, with active participation of even the top Washington officials and recently the State Department itself, which hosted a subversive conference on the so-called democratization tendencies in communist countries, which really dealt with nothing but the planning of subversion and even more intensive interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries.

The course of adventurism, pressures and unconcealed arrogance, however, has not evoked the kind of response the organizers had hoped for. On the contrary, nations responded with an explosion of massive antiwar, antinuclear and antimissile movements which are without precedent since World War II.

These realities were so potently demonstrated that they could not be merely shurgged off even in the very citadel of imperialism. Under their impact, attitudes had to be at least partially modified. While at first imperialism wanted to erect an iron curtain between the East and the West with the aim of blocking and rejecting dialogue, or tying its resumption to unacceptable preconditions, later Washington was forced even but its own allies to reconsider. Where these circles tried to coerce their allies into closing all channels of economic cooperation and trade with the East, they themselves had to come to realize that such projects as the Siberian pipeline to Western Europe would materialize whether they liked it or not.

The Future of the Planet Is at Stake

The 16th CPCZ Congress emphasized that "relaxation of military tensions between states in the spirit of detente and peace is of utmost importance." This thesis represents the priority tasks for our foreign policy, i.e., to participate as actively as possible in halting the feverish arms race and to avert a nuclear catastrophe.

Time and again at every opportunity we emphasize at disarmament negotiations and elsewhere that the only way to success lies in reason rather than force, in the principle of balance and equal security and not in the superiority of one side over the other. No conflict between states or groups of states and no difference between social systems can overshadow what is most needed by all nations, namely, preservation of peace and prevention of nuclear war. The USSR has shown a realistic road toward this goal in its extensive program of measures to stop the feverish arms race in all types of weapons, nuclear, chemical and conventional.

If the nuclear chain reaction represents the ultimate threat to our planet, then the chain reaction of disarmament under Soviet initiatives unquestionably represents its salvation.

For this reason, we follow with great interest the course of the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on the limitation and reduction of nuclear

weapons in Europe. Our interest in these talks is understandable, since almost half of the planned new American medium-range missiles which are to be stationed in Western Europe are to be placed on FRG territory, thus in immediate proximity to our borders. This plan worries us considerably; consequently, we support the reasonable and constructive approach of the USSR to reach an equitable agreement with the United States. We strongly reject the so-called zero option in which the American side is proposing complete liquidation of Soviet medium-range missiles, while America refuses to reduce its own and its allies' deployment of such weapons in Europe by one single unit.

We have greeted the resumption of Soviet-American negotiations on strategic arms with satisfaction. Even here, however, we regret to note that U.S. positions are still oriented toward measures under which only the USSR would disarm unilaterally, while Washington could go ahead with a program of building up its strategic forces.

As a direct participant in the Vienna negotiations on force reduction in Europe, Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries actively work toward a treaty which would reduce the existing high state of troops and armaments on this, not unjustly called, European "powder keg." The constructive proposal of the socialist countries of February of this year calling for an equitable and useful agreement, is still without adequate respone from the West. On the contrary, without any justification whatever, the West demands a three times higher reduction on our side.

On top of this, there is the negative effect of the recently concluded treaty between the United States and the FRG which, under various pretexts, makes it possible to move to Europe additional contingents of American troops. All this is being done in the face of the socialist countries' demonstration of goodwill, such as the unilateral withdrawal of 20,000 Soviet troops and 1,000 tanks from the GDR, or the goodwill gesture of passing to the West the exact numbers of our own troops, an act unprecedented in history.

The effort to reduce tensions was also expressed in the Warsaw Pact call for not expanding its and NATO's sphere of operations into new areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

For the Success of the Madrid Conference

We hope that an important voice toward the resolution of burning problems of disarmament and lowering the threshold of risk of military confrontation will also be heard at the 20-year old "diplomatic marathon" of the Madrid meeting of participants of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which after a 6-month adjournment is about to resume negotiations.

Along with the other socialist countries, we are sincerely interested in having the conference proceed in the spirit of constructive dialogue and adopt a meaningful and balanced concluding document which would include a mandate to summon a conference on measures toward strengthening confidence and security in Europe.

We especially appreciate the interest of the uncommitted and neutral countries which are expressing serious concern over the complicated international situation, being aware that their place and role in world politics grows with the easing of tensions. We believe that their proposal of last December for a concluding document of the Madrid conference, provides a solid foundation for the achievement of generally acceptable results.

We must say frankly, however, that the continuing attempts of certain NATO countries, especially the current Washington stance, to misuse this platform for interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, only complicate the situation and prevent a successful conclusion of the meeting. All five preceeding rounds have been notoriously misused by the United States for antisocialist, anti-Soviet and, during the last 2 years, anti-Polish attacks which evoke a confrontational situation and could make concrete positive results impossible. It is only natural that such results require the necessary political will of all the participants.

Remove the Flash Points of Tension

The well-known flash points of tension continue to represent one of the most serious problems of current international relations. The first of these is the dramatic development in the Near East. We are still convinced that the Gordian knot in this area can be cut through the convocation of a special international conference with the participation of all the interested parties, including the Liberation of Palestine Organization, the sole legal representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

Unceasing tension continues to characterize the situation in southeast Asia. The cause again is the expansionist policy of American imperialism and the reactionary forces in the region which use as a pretext the assistance of socialist Vietnam to the people of Cambodia in the overthrow of the barabarian regime of Pol Pot. Even here, we wish to stress that we are in full solidarity with the nations of Indochina in the defense of their liberty, independence and unity. We believe that the problems of the region should be resolved by its own nations through peaceful dialogue. We proclaim again that the lawful seat in the United Nations belongs solely to the legal representative of the Cambodian People's Republic.

We actively support Soviet initiatives to transform the Indian Ocean into an area of peace and to convoke toward this end an international conference in 1983.

No less serious is the situation in South Africa. Together with progressive people the world over, we firmly denounce racist policies. As to Namibia, we demand that the South African Republic grant its independence in the spirit of the pertinent UN resolutions.

With respect to Latin America, we are of the opinion that the sharpened situation which threatens peace in this region has been caused by the threats and maneuvers of American imperialism against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and other states of Central America and the Caribbean region, as well as by the

brutal suppression of the patriotic forces in El Salvador. We support resolution of the conflict over the Malvinas Islands on the basis of UN resolutions.

As founding members of the United Nations, we note with satisfaction that it was from this forum that there originated, with active contribution of especially the socialist countries, many recommendations toward the strengthening of peace and security.

Experiences accumulated during the 37 years of work in the United Nations overwhelmingly show that measures adopted in its name and under its charter have served mankind well. It is for this reason that we oppose those voices which call for a partial or complete revision of the UN Charter which we helped formulate in San Francisco.

We continue to consider timely the consistent fulfillment of the Declaration on International Cooperation in Disarmament which, at our initiative, was adopted by the 34th General Assembly. We constantly work with this document, which calls on states to participate actively, constructively and with initiative in disarmament negotiations and demonstrate a genuine desire to achieve concrete results. The proposed resolution, the sense of which is to develop the idea of our declaration and adapt it to current international events and needs, is to be presented by our delegation in the near future.

It is this type of activity on the floor of the United Nations which has earned Czechoslovakia well-deserved international recognition.

Alliance with the USSR, Guarantor of Our Security

The cornerstone of our foreign policy is the development and intensification of our alliance and overall cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. We are living up to this principle in all spheres and at all levels. We thus contribute with our endeavor to a further strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the socialist community, to the intensification of friendship, cooperation and coordination within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, which assume even greater importance in the face of the growing efforts of world imperialism to divide, politically isolate and economically weaken the socialist community.

For future elaboration of a coordinated foreign policy line set forth by the central committees of the fraternal parties, we actively apply the broad opportunities of the Warsaw Pact organization. In this respect, we assign priority importance to sessions of its supreme organ, the Political Consultative Committee whose constructive approaches and initiative proposals are always highly valuable contributions to the strengthening of peace and security in the world.

Another important instrument of the institutionalization of the common policy of the Warsaw Pact countries is the Foreign Ministers' Committee whose recent fifth meeting in Moscow significantly contributed to improving the cooperation of member states in international questions.

In the sphere of economic policy, an irreplaceable role belongs to CEMA. The immediate needs and tasks of further progress in our country demonstrate in full measure the essential need for international economic integration, how necessary it is to supplement plan coordination among the countries of the socialist community with coordination of their entire economic policy. Fulfillment of the tasks of the complex program, as well as the long-range targeted programs of cooperation are considered by us a basis for stability and dynamic development in our homeland. We are convinced that the coming consultation on economic problems of CEMA member states at the highest level will significantly contribute to the realization of these very timely tasks.

In this connection, we reemphasize our determination not to isolate ourselves from broadening equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation with all states willing to reciprocate. Turning inward, engaging in boycott or discrimination against others has never been nor will it ever be our policy.

The highest and lasting principle of our foreign policy, the fundamental criterion which daily permeates our life and ensures peace and constant progress for our socialist society, is our sincere fraternal friendship, firm alliance and all-embracing cooperation with the USSR.

The nucleus and guarantee of these is the firm combat union of the CPCZ and the CPSU which embodies the deeply rooted friendhsip between the nations of our two countries.

We note with pride that relations between our two fraternal socialist states and their peoples have, in harmony with the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation of 1970, developed into unprecedented depth and all-embracing dimensions. There is no sphere of endeavor where we do not find close comradely cooperation and fruitful exchange of experiences.

Our unbreakable friendship and cooperation was again convincingly demonstrated by the visit of our party and government delegation, led by Gustav Husak, in the USSR in June, and the already traditional meeting of the supreme representatives of our two countries in Crimea in July of this year. Both of these important events brought forth many new incentives toward the development of our mutual relations.

Economic cooperation is irreplaceable for us in its extent and importance. It influences positively the situation in and dynamism of our national economy and makes possible its planned development with a long-rang perspective. We anticipate that during the Seventh 5-Year Plan, mutual trade exchange will exceed the 50-billion-ruble mark, a level never previously achieved. For the future, we place emphasis on cooperation in those spheres which determine current technological development, i.e., primarily the creation of additional effective and lasting stimuli for the development of cooperative relations and scientific and technological cooperation.

Unquestionable successes have been achieved in the development of contacts in the sphere of culture, science and education. The mutual spiritual enrichment of nations, exchanges of the latest achievements in the sciences and arts, are

understood by us as an important integral component of strengthening friendly relations and enhancing the internationalist consciousness of our people.

We Are a Firm Component of the Socialist Community

We purposefully intensify and broaden cooperation between state organs at the level of parliaments, as well as social organizations in mutual relations governed by substantive, concrete and multifaceted forms of cooperation.

We are constantly strengthening friendship and cooperation with the Warsaw Pact member states. In years past they have achieved considerable growth, dynamism and new quality. Important in their strengthening are the constant personal contacts, conversations and consultations of our party and state representatives. In the spirit of socialist internationalism, we are developing with them rich, productive and beneficial cooperation in all spheres. Such practice adds to the enhancement of our capabilities, unity and solidarity within the socialist community.

We especially welcome the fact that in the Polish People's Republic there is a gradual normalization in all spheres of political, economic and social life. We fully support the efforts of the Polish leadership to arrive at a consolidation and strengthening of the socialist system. We clearly assured the Polish comrades of this during the official friendly visit of the Polish party and state delegation led by Wojciech Jaruzelski in April of this year. We resolutely condemn all efforts to exploit the current development in the country toward disruption of the process of detente and for attacks against the socialist state. Equally firmly, we reject the incredible attempts at political and economic blackmail of our Polish friends and the gross interference in their internal affairs by some of the Western countries, especially the United States. Together with the other socialist countries, we offer and will continue to offer fraternal all-around assistance within the bounds of our capabilities in Poland's effort to overcome current difficulties and strengthen socialism in the country.

Our cooperation with the Bulgarian People's Republic has traditionally been good. The results of talks between the general secretaries of the CPCZ and the BCP, comrades Gustav Husak and Todor Zhivkov during an official and friendly visit in September of this year, confirmed the determination of our two fraternal countries to continue on the tested road of developing mutually beneficial all-embracing relations. We see good prospects in the already successful economic cooperation, especially with respect to its most progressive forms.

Cooperation with the Hungarian People's Republic is marked by its traditional breadth and multifaceted nature. The recent working meetings and deliberations of our supreme representatives, comrades Husak and Kadar in Budapest, provided new impulses to further successful development of mutual relations and created even better prerequisites for a useful exchange of experiences. Our economic relations are marked by an encouraging degree of production specialization and cooperation.

The unusually broad relations with the GDR reach into virtually all spheres of the life of our society. The recent working visit of Gustav Husak and his talks with the GDR supreme representative, Erich Honecker, demonstrated mutual trust, understanding, complete unanimity of views and goals. The development of close fraternal contacts among regions, towns, enterprises, tourist exchanges, contacts among individuals, all assist in improving our knowledge of each other and enhance the rapprochement of our fraternal nations. With this, our second largest trading partner, we are developing increasingly more intensive progressive forms of cooperation.

Our cooperation with the Romanian Socialist Republic can be evaluated in positive terms. The conclusions of last year's official friendly visit of the party and state delegation headed by Nicolae Ceaucescu, the general secretary of the RCP and president, represented an important impulse for its all-around development. Our mutual relations are characterized by the effort of both countries to seek effective new forms, especially in economic cooperation.

Together with the Mongolian People's Republic we celebrated last year the 60th anniversary of the victory of the people's revolution in this friendly country. Our relations with this reliable and important member of the socialist community are being successfully developed and intensified from year to year.

On a lasting basis, we are expanding and intensifying all-around fraternal cooperation with the Socialist Cuban Republic, so close to us in common goals, internationalism and a firm anti-imperialist position. We express unflinching solidarity with the heroic island of freedom which is constantly the target of threats, sharp attacks and political and economic pressures exerted by U.S. imperialism.

Fruitful Cooperative Relations

Our relations with the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia [SFRY] have a rising trend in many spheres. They are developing positively in the spirit of traditional friendly contacts between the two countries. We advocate their further expansion and strengthening for the benefit of both countries. Economic cooperation is continuing successfully, as attested to by the fact that the SFRY is our fourth largest trade partner and the CSSR also the fourth in the overall volume of Yugoslav foreign trade.

An important place in our foreign policy is held by the fraternal states of Indochina with which we are firmly bound by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and common goals. The signing of friendship and cooperation treaties with socialist Vietnam and Laos in February 1980 represents a foundation for the raising of our relations with these countries to an even higher level.

With the Vietnamese Socialist Republic we maintain broad dynamic cooperation and, within the bounds of our capabilities, assist in their socialist construction. An important place in this assistance program is reserved for the training of Vietnamese cadres.

In addition to students and many apprentices whom we have accepted for education, thousands of young Vietnamese citizens are active here gaining qualification and specialized experience.

We follow with great sympathy the process of revolutionary changes in the Laotian People's Democratic Republic. We devote constant attention to the intensification of political contacts, and expand our participation in the renewal and progress of the Laotian national economy.

Our relations with the Cambodian People's Republic are intensifying constantly, ever since its birth in 1979. We offer active support to the efforts of its people to march on the road of socialist development they had embarked on, and firmly reject the continuing interference of outside forces in the internal affairs of this country. An important role in overcoming the consequences of the Pol Pot tyranny is played by our aid, especially in the form of experts and health care personnel.

We are developing friendly relations and cooperation in various spheres with the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and support the struggle of its people for peaceful reunification and the just demand for the withdrawal of American forces from the south.

We continue to be ready to normalize state relations with the Chinese People's Republic in accordance with the basic principles of our foreign policy. We take note of certain new indications in the position of this great socialist country, which could create conditions for concrete steps in this direction. Of fundamental importance, however, for a healthier situation in the world, would be a positive approach of the Chinese side to the constructive initiatives of the USSR with respect to a normalization of relations between these two countries.

As regards the Albanian People's Socialist Republic, we are now as in the past interested in restoring normal relations, provided the Albanian side creates favorable conditions for it politically.

Together Against Imperialism

An important position in our foreign policy is held by contacts with a broad circle of developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have freed themselves from colonial oppression and among which the number having chosen the course of socialist development is growing.

We expand and intensify mutually beneficial relations with them in the most varied spheres on the basis of equity, respect for sovereignty and noninterference in internal affairs. In the spirit of our internationalist approach, we support their struggle against neocolonialist practices. stand fully behind their demands for the strengthening of political and economic independence, elimination of exploitation and obstacles placed in their path by imperialist states and supranational companies. We advocate the principle of basic restructuring of international economic relations on a democratic, equitable and mutually beneficial basis. Through this policy of ours, we are contributing to the strengthening of a united anti-imperialist front.

Most of these countries belong to the nonaligned movement whose importance in the present world situation, exacerbated by imperialism, continues to grow. We welcome their positive stance on such global problems as war and peace, halting feverish armament, support for the process of dentente, and other serious problems.

We hope that the planned Seventh Nonaligned Conference in New Delhi will confirm the progressive principles which marked the birth of the movement, and will forcefully express its support for the just resolution of the most timely problems of the present period. In this manner, they will strengthen the role and prestige of the movement in global politics.

It is quite natural that we devote priority attention to those developing countries to which we feel the closest due to their active and consistent struggle for revolutionary socialist ideals.

Of ever-growing importance is our all-around cooperation with the Afghan Socialist Republic. We are developing it successfully on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. We will continue to grant Afghanistan all-around internationalist support in its struggle to safeguard its revolutionary achievements against attacks of internal and external enemies who are trying to reverse the course of progressive change by violent means. We, therefore, support Agfhan proposals for a normalization of relations with Pakistan and Iran which would create realistic conditions for a reduction of tension in this sensitive part of the world.

Our relations are developing successfully in all spheres and at all levels with the Yemen People's Democratic Republic which, through the practical application of the teaching of scientific socialism, is playing an important part in the Arab world.

A significant improvement in relations with the Angolan People's Republic in the political, economic and cultural spheres was greatly enhanced by last year's consultations of the supreme party and state representatives of our two countries. An important cornerstone in their development is the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation concluded on this occasion.

The highlight of our all-around expansion of relations with socialist Ethiopia, this important bearer of progressive revolutionary ideals in the Horn of Africa, was last year's visit there of Comrade Gustav Husak. Its results have become a long-term and important stimulus of further development of mutual relations. The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed during the visit helps create conditions for a lasting and systematic intensification of mutual cooperation in all spheres and their movement to a higher level.

New Impulses

New impulses for further intensification of cooperation with the Mozambique People's Republic reflect the results of a meeting between the supreme representatives of the two countries. We assign fundamental importances to the development of relations in all spheres as envisaged in the jointly adopted Declaration on Friendly and Cooperative Relations.

The firm anti-imperialist policy of the Madagascar Democratic Republic enjoys our full support and there are prerequisites for the development of mutually beneficial relations.

We also devote constant attention to expanding cooperation with other countries which have entered on the road of socialist development, such as Benin, the Congo People's Republic and other anti-imperialist-oriented states.

With respect to our relations with the Arab states, we base them on the principles of activist solidarity with the patriotic forces, support of their just cause, and all steps aimed at strengthening their action unity in the struggle against imperialism, aggression and Zionism.

We have traditionally been joined with them in friendship and fruitful cooperation based on the principles of mutual respect, equity and mutual benefit. We rightly count them among our important long-range trading partners.

I would especially like to emphasize the all-around development of relations with the Syrian Arab Republic which stands in the front line against the aggressiveness of imperialism and Israeli expansionism. Our cooperation can serve as an example of equity and mutual benefit, while it steadily maintains an upward trend. We feel the same way about further expansion of the intensity of our relations, as demonstrated by the recent visit here of Syrian Prime Minister Abd al-Rauf al-Kasim.

We can voice similar satisfaction with the dynamic development of our relations with the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Its culmination was the signing of the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty during the recent visit of Colonel Quadhafi. We follow with interest and sympathy the tireless efforts of the revolutionary leadership of this young anti-imperialist-oriented country to carry through just social change.

With respect to another friendly Arab country, the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic, we have for many years registered a growing trend of expanding all-around mutually beneficial cooperation. We have done well with the practice of constructive political dialogue, and the benefits of economic, scientific and technological cooperation. This fact also faithfully mirrors the results of the recent visit of our federal prime minister to Algeria.

We have for a long time been successfully improving bilateral relations with the Iraqi Republic. We assess positively the fact that they are becoming broader and richer in content. This is also attested to by many high-level visits in all spheres. We are lastingly interested in a further intensification of these relations.

We can express satisfaction with the potential of further development of cooperation with Tunisia which was confirmed by the recent visit there by our federal prime minister.

In the spirit of solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people against the barbaric aggression by Israel, we are developing contacts with the Palestinian resistance movement. We actively support the just demands of the Palestinians for recognition of their legal rights, including the right to establish their own independent state.

Our relations with Kuwait have continued to grow in many spheres.

In a global context, development in certain Asian countries is becoming of greater significance. In our foreign policy, therefore, we try to intensify relations with the countries of this largest and most populous continent, grant them lasting support in their effort to strengthen their national independence and help relax international tensions.

Besides the countries we have already mentioned, our most important partner in Asia is the Republic of India. We highly appreciate its constant peace-loving and realistic positions in the international arena. We also value India because of the important role it has long played in the nonaligned movement. Our traditionally good relations are marked by dynamic development in all spheres. We are intensifying political contacts, broadening economic cooperation and we are enriching the considerable cultural heritage of both sides. We hope that this situation will prevail.

We note with satisfaction that we recently established political contacts with the Islamic Republic of Iran, and that apparently there are prospects of economic cooperation beneficial to both countries.

We have been developing mutually useful contacts, especially in the economic sphere, with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), notably with the Indonesian Republic, Thailand and the Philippines.

There has also been an activization in recent years in our cooperation with Burma, where there are prerequisites for further development in the political sphere.

Our relations with Sri Lanka are stable and we would like to develop them further.

This is also true of our contacts with Bangladesh.

The focal point of mutual contacts with Pakistan lies in the economic sphere. We are interested in their continuation, as well as in the development of relations in other spheres.

We Condemn Racism

Our foreign interest in the recent period has continued to be focused on the continent of Africa, which illustrates better than most other regions the world process of revolutionary change. It is, therefore, not by accident that this area has become the subject of dangerous intrigues of the imperialist and neocolonialist forces which engage in inciting a great variety of problems and

conflicts, up to and including an attempt to destroy the Organization of African Unity. We firmly support the just struggle of the African people against imperialism, neocolonialism and all forms of racism and apartheid.

Consequently, the assessment of our relations with the African countries would be incomplete if, in addition to African contacts already mentioned, we failed to evaluate the positive development on contacts with other states of this continent, especially those with which we are linked through common interest in safeguarding peace and development of mutually beneficial cooperation based on our common struggle against imperialism.

We have achieved successful relations especially with the Nigerian Federated Republic both in trade, where it is our largest partner in Africa, and in the political sphere. We have developed and strengthened mutual relations and cooperation with the Republic of Zambia, and we anticipate further intensification of traditionally good relations with the United Tanzanian Republic, especially in the political sphere. We consider important the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Republic of Zimbabwe and opening our embassy in Harara. We have thus created the basic conditions for developing relations with this progressive country.

We also try to use all opportunities for broadening contacts and establishing mutually beneficial cooperation with other African countries.

Support for the National Liberation Struggle

An important place in our foreign policy belongs to Latin America. In the case of some of the countries on this continent, cooperation has a history of more than 60 years. In the present period, the area is marked with a growing national liberation struggle, especially in Central America and the Caribbean region, as well as a continuing democratization process in the southern portion of Latin America. These tendencies running counter to the hegemonist policy of the United States, have deepened the crisis of the intra-American system and have caused certain of the countries of the continent to reevaluate their political posture.

We assign special importance to our relations with Nicaragua and Grenada. We are pleased with the successful development of relations with these states in all spheres. We intend to further broaden these contacts and improve their quality.

As an example of good relations, we can cite our high-profile contacts with Mexico. We value the independent foreign policy of this country which enjoys considerable international authority which, in turn, contributes in great measure to the preservation of peace and security, notably in Central America and the Caribbean region. We have traditionally had very good relations, especially in the cultural sphere, and we are also registering an upward trend in the political and economic areas.

Good relations are developing with Argentina, especially in the economic sphere, where they show an upward trend. In the most recent period, we have

registered a certain positive trend even in the political area. We have expressed our solidarity with the Argentine people and condemned the revival of violent colonial practices of the past, which became so obvious in the recent conflict over the Malvinas Islands.

As regards Brazil, we consider of great importance the success in economic cooperation which open the door to broader development of mutual relations, including even the political sphere. We believe that with Venezuela, where we maintain good, mutually beneficial economic contacts, we can expand into the political and cultural fields. We have traditionally maintained good economic and cultural relations with Colombia and we see opportunities there for expanding political contacts. The current favorable level of mutual relations with Peru creates good prerequisites for developing relations in several other areas. We are gratified to see that the Bolivian Government has taken the road of democracy. We see in this an opportunity for all-around development of relations. In relations with Ecuador, we see the possibility--besides economic cooperation--of broadening cultural exchanges. Relations with Costa Rica continue largely in the cultural and trade spheres.

In our policy toward the capitalist states, we base ourselves on the tried principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. We strive for the development of equitable, mutually beneficial cooperation, while rejecting all forms of pressure, discrimination and interference in our internal affairs. We consistently respect all provisions of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, which we regard as an indivisible whole. Thanks to the application of this policy, we have achieved positive results with a number of Western countries.

Good Neighborly Relations

This refers, first of all, to Austria. Relations with this sourthern neighbor can be viewed basically as normalized, developed and having a future potential. They are the result of bilateral interest in long-term development of mutually beneficial cooperation. We have intensified political contacts and broadened cooperation in the economic, cultural and other spheres. We consider it important that trade exchange with this, our second largest trading partner among the capitalist countries, continue to show an upward trend. In the last 3 years alone, our turnover doubled and last year reached almost $1 billion. There are still unexploited opportunities, both in terms of volume and, even more so, structure of our mutual trade. However, we do not consider mutual exchanges narrowly merely from the point of view of volume achieved. The similarity of our positions on certain key international issues, such as maintenance and intensification of the policy of detente and peaceful cooperation among countries with different social systems, undoubtedly contributes to the preservation of peace and strengthening security in Europe, as palpable evidence of detente and its desirability. We wish to build on this foundation in the future. We expect that the coming official visit of CSSR President Gustav Husak to the Republic of Austria--the first such visit by our head of state since the birth of Czechoslovakia in 1918--will become an important milestone in our relations and bring forth valuable new impulses for their development in the future.

We consider relations with our neighbors to the west--the FRG--an integral part of the all-European process of easing international tensions. We are developing these relations in the spirit of good neighborliness and mutually beneficial cooperation on the basis of the Treaty on Mutual Relations of the CSSR and the FRG, whose 10th anniversary we will be marking next year. The mechanisms created during this period of regular political consultation have significantly contributed to the development of contacts in all spheres. We have carefully noted the declared intention of the new German federal government to continue in the dialogue and cooperation with the socialist states on the basis of valid treaties. It will, of course, be concrete deeds which will be decisive. As regards foreign trade, the FRG, as our most important partner, shares 25 percent of our overall turnover with the developed capitalist states. It would be beneficial for both sides to profitiability utilize opportunities offered, especially through industrial cooperation and cooperation on third markets.

Live by the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

CSSR interest in all-around development of contacts with France continues. It appears that recently the response has been more positive. The problem is to resume political dialogue at appropriate levels about new perspective forms of economic cooperation, increasing the currently low commercial exchange which is far from reflecting the capabilities of both countries. It is for this reason that we welcomed certain positive indications which emerged at the recent negotiations at cabinet level. As for us, we are prepared to improve political and economic relations with France so that they might be restored to the traditional level of mutual respect between our nations. I see no reason why the fruitful cooperation which marks our cultural exchanges could not exist in other spheres.

An example of excellent, constantly improving relations, are the traditional good contacts between the CSSR and Finland, living proof of cooperation between countries with different social systems. We are convinced that the recent visit of our federal prime minister will contribute to their intensification, especially via the implementation of the Long-Term Program of Development and Expansion of Economic, Industrial, Scientific and Technological Cooperation, a document signed on that occasion.

The decisive characteristics of relations with Greece is the interest on both sides in further development of contacts, including a dialogue at the highest level. The existing contractual base makes it possible to further raise the scope and effectiveness of economic and cultural cooperation.

Thanks to the atmosphere of friendship and understanding which characterizes our relations with the Republic of Cyprus, we have advanced in successful development of mutually beneficial cooperation. We have always stood firmly on the side of the Cypriot people in their struggle for independence and freedom against foreign intervention. We stand at their side even now when we advocate a just political solution which would ensure the full independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state.

We have correct relations with Belgium and Holland. We wish to continue a useful dialogue, especially in the political sphere. Relations with Luxembourg have a positive trend and we are developing mutually beneficial cooperation in many different areas.

Our relations with Turkey are characterized primarily by bilateral, mutually beneficial economic cooperation in which we have achieved positive results.

In relations with Britain, we have recently noted certain elements of progress in mutual contacts. This trend was preceded by the settlement of property issues and the signing and implementation of an appropriate agreement. We have also noted an intensification of dialogue even at government level. Given the fact Britain is our third largest trade partner among the capitalist states, we have a lasting interest in expanding this cooperation.

Our relations with Denmark, Norway and Iceland are relatively good; however, we are convinced that there is still considerable room for improvement. The same can be said for relations with Switzerland.

We note with satisfaction the overall development of relations with Spain. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, i.e., during the past 5 years, we have expanded our contact base into all spheres and we are interested in strengthening it.

Our current relations with Italy do not correspond to the opportunities and objective needs of the development of mutual relations, even though there have been some recent contacts. Our relations with Sweden would, in our opinion, also merit improvement. We are ready to do so.

Through no fault of ours, there has been a considerable cooling off in relations with Portugal. We are always ready to contribute to their normalization.

With respect to the signatories of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on the American continent, we do not have any outstanding problems with Canada. Political dialogue with this country, however, does not reflect all the opportunities which have been created, especially by progress in the sphere of economic cooperation.

On an occasion such as this in 1979, I informed you that the United States remained the only developed capitalist country with which our relations were burdened with unresolved problems.

Unresolved Problems with the United States

As you know, based on the agreement between the CSSR and the U.S. governments of 29 January 1982, a property settlement between the two countries finally materialized. This meant the return to us of 18.4 tons of exchange gold which had been stolen from us by the Hitlerites and later held illegally in the United States and Britain. The agreement also settled some of the American claims emanating from nationalization of property here. I have already

explained in detail the history and the complexity of the resolution of this problem in my appearance before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Federal Assembly in March of this year.

The closing of this matter removed a serious obstacle which for 37 years had negatively affected our relations with the United States. Our constructive approach to this complicated problem and a number of concrete steps on our part documented the lasting interest of the CSSR in improving and normalizing CSSR-U.S. relations on the basis of equity and respect for the principle of mutual benefit. We intend to continue acting in this spirit. This requires, however, that the U.S. Government reassess its position to date toward the CSSR and eliminate the existing discriminatory measures employed against us in practically all spheres.

In relations with the developed capitalist states, we note with satisfaction the lasting trend of growing mutually beneficial cooperation with Japan. Contacts with that country in all spheres have reached a high plateau. We consider it useful to make use even better than heretofore of all the opportunities for further development of relations, especially in the commercial, scientific and technological spheres.

International Authority of the CSSR Growing

We consider our activities in a broad area of external economic contacts an integral component of our foreign policy. We are doing all we can to see that diplomacy, foreign trade and broad economic, scientific and technological cooperation become a unified flexible and effective instrument of our external international activity, as prescribed to us by the general policy line of the CPCZ.

As regards foreign relations in the sphere of culture, education, science and health care, these are providing increasingly more evidence of the successes and highly developed cultural life in our homeland.

These contacts make possible not only an exchange of cultural values and scientific discoveries, but to a certain degree assist politically in those areas where, due to the complicated international situation, other avenues are limited. We are backed by a solid base of 77 cultural and 28 health-care treaties and dozens of agreements directly between schools, institutes and health-care facilities.

The highest level in this sphere has been achieved with the USSR and the other socialist countries. We are purposefully broadening cooperation with the developing countries and have an important role in training their qualified cadres at secondary and higher institutions of learning in the CSSR.

International treaties represent an important instrument in the realization of CSSR foreign-policy goals. We currently have a total of 2,549 valid international treaties and agreements.

In terms of political impact, special significance is embodied in the friendship and cooperation treaties. The CSSR has these with all the states of the socialist community and in recent years has also concluded such treaties with six developing countries which have chosen the road of socialist development.

The international contacts pursued by our social organizations are another part of the multifaceted mosaic of CSSR external realtions. Foreign contacts of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement are characterized by a broad spectrum of activities. It has relations with almost 150 trade union organizations in 120 countries of all continents and participates with them in countless events emphasizing the rights of the working people, social progress and peace.

In a number of the countries of the Arab world, in Africa, Latin America, Australia and, by now, in most European countries, there are 36 friendship societies with socialist Czechoslovakia.

The presence of more than 1,500 experts, primarily in the developing countries, unquestionably enhances the good name of our republic abroad.

The CSSR maintains diplomatic relations with 131 countries. We have 112 diplomatic installations abroad, of which 87 are embassies, 7 permanent missions, 14 general consulates and 4 consulates. These installations are staffed by closely knit collectives of professionally and politically qualified exployees of the diplomatic service who are totally dedicated to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Such are the results of our foreign policy and the conditions under which it operated during the past 3 years. We can say, the worsening international situation notwithstanding, that peaceful conditions have been preserved for the building of our socialist society. The alliance with the socialist community has been strengthened and the international authority of Czechoslovakia has grown. We have achieved these results thanks to the purposeful leadership of our communist party and the support according to foreign policy by all of our society.

Allow me therefore to express from this platform my appreciation to the Central Committee of the CPCZ, its Presidium and to you personally, esteemed Comrade General Secretary, for the consistent, daily care. I also wish to thank you, comrades, as deputies of our supreme representative and legislative body, for your consistent activism and support.

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OBZINA ON CRIME INCIDENCE AMONG YOUTH

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[Article by Jaromir Obzina, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, CSSR Ministry of Interior: "Further Reducing Criminal Conduct in the Young Generation"]

[Text] Security Situation in the CSSR and Strategic Aims of Imperialist Reaction

Since the beginning of the Carter and Reagan administrations the United States of America has been forming a distinctly new foreign and military-political doctrine. In May 1981 at the University of Notre Dame in South Bend (state of Indiana), the American President, Ronald Reagan, declared: "The West will not hold back communism. The West will surpass it. We are not going to bother condemning communism, we are going to cross it off as a tragic, bizarre chapter in the history of humanity, the last pages of which are now being written." In order to confirm that he was not misquoted, on 8 June 1982 he said in London: "What I propose now is a long-term plan and hope. It is the march of liberty which will consign Marxism-Leninism to the dustbin of history." To attain this objective Reagan's administration is even expanding the authority of American special services, especially the CIA. Government circles of the United States consider the espionage activities of their intelligence apparatus as an integral part of American foreign policy and an effective instrument for attaining their objectives.

As communists, citizens of a socialist state which is a firm part of the world socialist community, we cannot ignore the program declarations of the leading representative of world imperialism. They are directly related to the fact that at the same time special services of the main capitalist states have intensified their subversive activities against countries of the socialist community and especially against the CSSR. Evidence of this is the direction of subversive activities of imperialist intelligence against the socialist countries as prescribed at the NATO meeting in Brussels in September 1981. Its objective is to create conditions which would bring about societywide crises in the individual socialist countries.

The interest of imperialist intelligence in the CSSR is concentrated on the economy, especially key sectors of the national economy and on new military technology. Hostile activity of the special services is clearly perceived in

the support of internal antisocialist elements. They are getting materials from them especially useful for organizing ideologically diversionary activity, they arrange rapid and secure communications for them with emigre centers and offer them all kinds of material and financial aid. Reactionary elements in churches and religious sects, in spite of their manifest activity, have not succeeded in abusing the people's religious feelings and their freedom of religious profession to directly threaten socialism, even though it is precisely with this objective that they are waging their "holy war" against socialism.

Foreign imperialist reactionary and antisocialist forces in the CSSR are striving to form new groupings to carry out active antistate activity, particularly among young people, the working class and the educated class. They are interested in groupings that are connected with the everyday life of our people and could perhaps be politically misused on a mass scale in overcoming problems, difficulties and shortages which occur in the process of building developed socialism in the CSSR. In their antisocialist activity they are using the tactic of gradually disturbing the socialist consciousness of the young generation, casting doubt on the values of socialism, social security and the pillars of security in our country, especially our alliance with the Soviet Union.

In addition to military preparations and a feverish arms buildup, the United States of America and other capitalist powers are conducting overt and covert economic warfare against the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other the socialist countries. We should not take this as only a sum total of blockades, embargoes, discriminatory measures of particular regimes in banking and exchange operations, in the rules of foreign trade, controlled by corruption and bribery and attempts to penetrate into individual branches of the national economy or condemn them to technological obsolescence, but rather as a unified doctrine whose objective is to preserve the superiority of the most developed capitalist countries over the world socialist system in the scientific-technical and technological, financial, banking and product areas. In this way, they want to achieve either the economic inferiority of the socialist countries or their disruption and ward off the historically approaching period when the socialist world in the area of labor productivity and economic development will attain the level of the seven most highly developed capitalist countries of the world. This is the political substance of the overt and covert economic war expressing the desperate and deep-seated hatred of imperialism toward socialism.

The economic war being waged against the socialist countries cannot prevent the progressive development of socialism even by natural changes in the power relationship of both systems. It can, however--if we do not manage to resist it politically, economically and securitywise--threaten the stability of the socialist order in those socialist lands which, in the course of developing socialism, seek assistance in the embrace of the capitalist economy and their specific, so-called forms of "help" or "cooperation." From our own and international experiences we know that socialism cannot be built with the help of imperialism!

The security situation in the CSSR is favorable in spite of the sharpened international political, military and economic situation. Nowhere has there been any serious antisocial behavior which would threaten the socialist social order, public order or give signs of negative manifestations in the fight against crime.

The Struggle to Reduce Criminal Activity in the Young Generation--Important Goal of Socialist Society

Every society is assured of its future only insofar as its concerns are adopted by the succeeding generation. It is necessary that young people in particular place them above their own everyday, personal concerns because they perceive the purpose of life in social concerns--the natural continuation of history. This was also emphasized at the 16th CPCZ Congress: "We must always see to it that youth is aware of its responsibility to the future, that it express its love for its native land by work beneficial to socialism, that it link the deep feelings of socialist ownership with proletarian internationalism and that it be prepared to build and defend its socialist homeland."

From the viewpoint of the security policies of the CPCZ and the socialist state and its strategic goals--to attain further reduction of crime, its social dangers and reduction of ensuing losses--the SNB [National Security Corps] raises the question of the new, upcoming generation's share in criminal activity in general and criminal activity in the area of state security in particular. This concerns an important factor determining the security situation in our country and its future. When we refer to our new, upcoming generation we realize that this is a large part of our population: children up to 6 years, about 2.3 million pupils of our schools, some 700,000 teenagers 15 to 18 years of age and about 2.9 million young adults 18 to 30 years old. Thus the extent of their share in criminal conduct is not a matter of indifference. Data from 1980 which we are using as a basis for comparison shows that the young generation is responsible for 57.9 percent of the total number of criminal offenders, apportioned as follows:

--delinquent children 6 to 15 years old, 6.3 percent

--teenage offenders 15 to 18 years old, 8.1 percent

--young offenders 18 to 30 years old, 43.5 percent

From a societywide and political standpoint there is no need to regard severely the incidence of crime among our young people or as any kind of alarming situation, either when compared with our own past or compared with other countries. On the contrary, compared with 1970 the degree of delinquency among children fell from 8.6 percent to 6.3 percent in 1980, that of criminal conduct among teenagers from 10.8 percent to 8.1 percent and among young adults from 45.7 percent to 43.5 percent. Nevertheless, these facts can in no way be regarded as satisfactory since thus far in the course of building socialism we have not succeeded in preventing the formation of individuals within the young generation, brought up under conditions of a socialist society, from becoming perpetrators of criminal and other antisocial acts, even though we have eliminated the fundamental causes of criminality--private ownership of production facilities and the exploiting class, unemployment and social insecurity, poverty and destitution. Because of the dangers to society and the large numbers of criminal offenders in the young generation we must consider this fact as the most important problem of our security operations (besides recidivism in crime). The main concern is criminal activity of a public security nature, since from a state security point of view the number of offenders in the young generation

is minimal and they are made up of two distinct groups: illegal emigration and verbal offenses, these mainly among university students.

From the characteristics of criminal offenses according to the age composition of the perpetrators we can deduce the following:

1. close to 60 percent of criminal acts and misdemeanors in the CSSR are committed by persons up to 30 years of age;

2. after the age of 30, criminal activity among citizens drops sharply and the chief problem becomes not the number of offenders but crimes committed by recidivists, which for decades has represented more than 40 percent of all criminal acts;

3. the incidence of crime in the state security area among offenders up to 30 years of age is minimal and chiefly of a verbal nature, in effect it occurs among those over 30 years of age.

These and other facts indicate that we should concentrate on the indicence of crime among young people, chiefly because we regard it from the standpoint of the requirement and need for objective legality in socialist development and the societywide mission of the young generation.

Consistent with the strategy of the security policies of the CPCZ and the socialist state, the problem of child delinquency and the incidence of crime among teenagers and young adults are key problems above all because--as put by Marx--"the wise lawmaker prevents crime, so it need not be punished." Under conditions of socialism we must strive for such a thrust in our policies, especially the security policies and particularly among the young generation. This can be achieved in effect only by properly responding to socially negative aspects of the material discrepancies which exist in our society and at the same time making the fullest use of the values of socialism to effectively educate the socialist person, especially children, teenagers and the young generation in general.

Facts show that criminal activity among the young generation at a given stage of socialist development makes up a significant portion of criminal activity in general. This means that a more effective influence of the CPCZ, the socialist state and social bodies and organizations on this segment of the population would set the stage for a significant reduction of criminal activity in general.

It is a most important fact that a successful battle to reduce the incidence and social dangers of crime among young people under socialism is the main instrument not only for limiting present criminal activity, but also gradually eliminating it as a collective negative social phenomenon under communism. That is why even today there is validity in the words of Dzerzinsky, that we can limit and eliminate criminality much more rapidly if we prevent adult convicts from raising their new generation.

The reasons for the commission of crime among the young generation are the same as for crime in general, although certain conditions and factors in the incidence of crime among young people have specific characteristics which we can classify into four categories:

The first category consists of factors and conditions of an institutional character strongly influencing delinquency in children and criminal conduct in teenagers. These are chiefly the family, schools, training centers, work centers, residences or mass housing (dormitories and boarding schools).

The second category consists of factors and conditions associated with subjective manifestations in the child, the teenager and the young adult. These are: the character of work and employment, free time and how it is spent or used, type of activity in informal groupings of children, teenagers and young adults, and the influence of the adult generation on the social activities of children, teenagers and young adults.

The third category consists of factors and conditions arising from the nature of the socialist social and state system, the substance and application of the socialist legal order (to what extent it recognizes substantive special characteristics and maturity of the young generation in adult citizens) and, associated with this, the tenor of the security policies of the CPCZ and the socialist state as well as the means of implementing them, especially by the SNB and the forces of the Ministry of Interior.

The fourth category consists of factors associated with other external positive and negative influences of a permanent or temporary nature.

Data show that in spite of the significant role of the young generation in the overall number of crimes committed, the SNB and Ministry of Interior forces have not so far devoted themselves sufficiently to the problem of offenders among young people. This can be proven by these facts, among others:

a) General knowledge and concepts about the special character of this criminal activity according to age distribution are for the most part fragmentary and inadequately systematized. The most important thing is that there are no conclusions on which the SNB and Ministry of Interior forces can take practical actions in this area. This makes it difficult or at times even impossible to orient oneself properly in the social-psychological mechanism which leads individual children to delinquency and teenagers and young adults to criminal actions. If we are to achieve any significant improvements we must learn to master and implement the Marxist-Leninist analyses of social relations among people and study actual personalities.

b) The number of specialists in the SNB and Ministry of Interior forces who are selected for work with the young generation, is, in view of the gravity of the problem, very small and they have no special preparation.

c) Empirical and statistical findings show that a significant proportion of criminal activity, especially among offenders between 15 and 25 years of age, is carried out in gangs. Crimes perpetrated by gangs have not only socially

serious consequences but also have a very negative impact on the process of developing the personality. As a rule, these are gangs of approximately the same age with erroneous and confused concepts of life and society and the means of gratifying their interests and needs. The fault lies in the fact that, instead of carrying out immediate educational, preventive, prophylactic and specific practical measures, we merely report statistics of "delinquent youth" gangs.

d) Generalization of practical findings and knowledge of theory confirm the fact that a significant portion of criminal offenders in the young generation is influenced by bourgeois ideology and the effects of certain features and aspects of the bourgeois way of life, false and hostile manifestations of its material and intellectual culture. We are emphasizing this dual aspect of the impulses and motivations of criminal conduct among individuals of the young generation because up to now generally only the ideological aspects of reactionary influences have been accented and the influence of other aspects of capitalist society is underestimated. At the same time, Marxism-Leninism teaches us that "the bourgeois influence on workers has never been limited to the ideological influence" because the experienced bourgeoisie is well aware that if its ideological influence on workers is shaken and if it weakens it must use all kinds of other means against the laboring class, including corruption, bribery, demoralization, lies and slander. We should also realize this and react accordingly! After all, this kind of action is currently being carried out against the CSSR not only by 12 radio and 6 television stations but in a much more dangerous form by a certain part of visaed foreigners, emissaries of reactionary emigration, trade partners from eastern departments of foreign monopolies, reactionary representatives of the church and religious sects and antisocial groups in the CSSR.

All of this urges us on to greater concern about the young generation than before, and also because we are convinced that all our problems, faults and shortcomings are not enough in themselves for foreign imperialist reaction and the special services of our adversaries to significantly and collectively influence the life of workers in the CSSR toward an antisocialist spirit. So they are striving to form new groupings which would have real political influence among the broad masses of our workers and would have sufficient prospects not only to threaten socialism but in the long run try to eliminate it. And it is precisely from here that their strategic orientation issues today:

--toward the young generation in general;

--toward the working class, especially young apprentices;

--toward university students.

For their disruptive activities, so-called parallel structures are to be set up through organized forms, supplanting the operations of state and social organizations; so-called centers of social discontent, politically reactionary and antisocial manifestations of unrestrained, justified or unjustified dissatisfaction of citizens with the handling of problems, shortcomings and faults of our life; reactionary elements in the Roman Catholic Church and other churches, church and religious sects which have at their disposal legally or illegally

built up systems of organization which at the critical moment will enable them, through political reaction, to misuse the religious sentiments of the people toward antistate and antisocialist actions.

For these objectives, the special services of imperialist countries are striving to take advantage of even criminal activity of certain members of the young generation. Thus they want to be parasites on this negative antisocial manifestation particularly in these ways:

1. on a reactionary, antisocialist basis manage to politicize all criminal and asocial elements;

2. take advantage of their temporary economic superiority, especially in the exchange area and the technical standards of certain branches of consumer goods in order to promote corruption, bribery and speculation controlled and instigated by them in order to propagate antisocialist views for the purpose of ideologically disarming our young people and to this end they even misuse selected genres of certain branches of degenerate cultural forms, pseudocultures and decadent so-called fashionable everyday amusements;

3. at an opportune time they proceed to set up information networks among some of the working and university youth in order to organize their agencies.

From the above, it is obvious the SNB and Ministry of Interior forces will, for valid reasons, devote greater attention to the problem complex of the young generation, not only from the political and societywide standpoint but above all for security reasons. The basic orientation of our struggle against criminal and other antisocial activity of the young generation rests on these principles:

1. to proceed against antisocial and criminal activity of the young generation as part of the important, comprehensive and societywide objective in the struggle of socialist society for the young generation. The main directions of an effective struggle against delinquent children and criminal activity of teenagers and young adults call for both full recognition of the CPCZ program--a program of all-round development of the personality--and the strategic and tactical objectives and goals of the security policies of the CPCZ and the socialist state;

2. a more effective struggle against antisocial and criminal behavior of the young generation depends directly on resolving current inconsistencies within socialism itself in this stage of building a developed socialist society in the CSSR. This calls for ability and the skill to explain their substance scientifically, pointing out realistic programs or essential approaches and measures for resolving them. The ideological and political aspect of this objective consists in seeing that inconsistencies of socialism do not form barriers which could lead the young generation to a sense of "loss of life's prospects";

3. the strategic objective of our struggle against crime in the young generation at the present time is to achieve--as in the past decade--its continued reduction with emphasis on limiting delinquency in children and reducing the number of socially dangerous criminal acts and gang crimes;

4. to achieve this strategic objective, we must expand the number of specialized workers in the SNB and Ministry of Interior forces for the struggle against criminal and other antisocial conduct of the young generation, see that they are specially prepared and make needed organizational changes in SNB units and Ministry of Interior forces;

5. emphasize the direct responsibility of commanders and political training organizations for the closest possible cooperation of the SNB and Ministry of Interior forces with all organizations of our political system in the joint struggle against crime among young people, especially in the formation and effective operation of the system of social preventive measures;

6. evaluate past experiences and fully develop tested forms of participation of the young generation in the formation and execution of security policies of the CPCZ and socialist state. This means increasing the proportion of members of the young generation in the Auxiliary Public Security Corps; activate operation of the battalion of Young Defenders of Public Order, establish new battalions and substantially increase the number of children and youth in their activities; activate operation of the battalion of Young Border Guards; on the model of the South Moravian Kraj and others, establish Clubs of Young Friends of the SNB and see that their activities are meaningful; implement agreements concluded with apprentice facilities and schools; prepare conceptual participation of university students in the formation and execution of security policies of the CPCZ and socialist state.

Fully support creative initiatives which in any suitable form expand and increase participation of the young generation in the struggle against criminal and other antisocial activity for the purpose of stimulating active resistance by politically, morally and intellectually mature members of the young generation against violation of the socialist legal order, socialist values and the socialist way of life;

7. at all levels of management of the SNB and Ministry of Interior forces elaborate a system of their influence on children, teenagers and young adults, particularly on young apprentices and university students.

A more effective struggle of the SNB and Ministry of Interior forces against criminal and other antisocial conduct of the young generation and increased concern for their protection will contribute to strengthening the security of our society, will prevent realization of the plans of the special services of the chief imperialist states and thereby contribute to consolidating the socialist social order in the CSSR.

8491
CSO: 2400/23

BRIEFS

POLISH DELEGATION LEAVES--Prague [no date as received]--A delegation of the Polish Front of National Unity and the Patriotic Movement of National Redemption, which was in Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee, left here Friday for home. The delegation met during its study stay here with representatives of the Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions, the Union of Cooperative Farmers Central Committee, the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee and the Czechoslovak Women's Union Central Committee. Members of the delegation were also received by deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak National Front Tomas Travnicek. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 2105 GMT 3 Dec 82 LD]

ENVOY TO INDIA APPOINTED--Gustav Husak, president of the republic, has appointed Jaromir Nehera ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Czechoslovakia to India. At the same time, he recalled Pavel Kanka from that post. [Text] [LD040351 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 3 Dec 82 LD]

YAR ENVOY RECEIVED--Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, today received at Cernin Palace the ambassador of the Yemn Arab Republic, Yahya 'Abd Ar-Rahman Ibn 'Ali Al-Iryani, who is taking up his post. The two officials discussed the opportunities for further developing bilateral relations, as well as some contemporary international problems, particularly the situation in the area of the Arabian Peninsula. [Text] [LD040351 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 3 Dec 82 LD]

CSO: 2400/76

PZPR MEETINGS IN KRAKOW AND NOWY SACZ NOTED

'Kuznica' Club Address by Orzechowski

KRAKOW, NOWY SACZ in Polish 7 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (cis)]

[Text] The Friday [4 June 1982] meeting with the secretary of the Central Committee, Marian Orzechowski, which took place in the "Kuznica" Club, was partly of a seminar nature, since historians dominated both behind the table of the presidium, as well as in the audience. The subject of the meeting, which was held under the slogan of celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers movement, was the publication of the 6-volume "History of the Workers Movement in Poland," which is under preparation.

The decision about its publication, as Professor Orzechowski, a historian by profession recalled, was included in the Resolution of the 6th Congress of the PZPR. Work began in 1973, and although some volumes are nearly ready, the publication of this monumental work is being delayed because the twists and turns which recently took place in our country brought about the need to verify many texts. Such at least was the position of the co-authors from Krakow and Warsaw, who were present in the room. Incidentally, their position was criticized by Professor Serczyk, who said that scientific criteria (if history is to be considered a science) cannot depend on the twists and turns of history. His was, however, I think a theoretical postulate rather than an applicable theory, especially when dealing with such a recent period as in, for example, the final volume.

How is this work, so impressive in its concept, to look and how far advanced is its progress?

Volume I, comprising the period through the year 1890 is nearly ready and should appear this year. Volume II, reaching to 1919, is furthest behind, because of the death of its principal author, Professor Kalabinski. Volume III, which deals with the interwar period, is near its finalization. Volume IV, the period of World War II, is ready. Volume V including the years 1944-1948 (to the Unification) already has a preliminary version, which however requires correction. Volume VI, which brings in the history of the PZPR, is basically in disarray, because that is the volume creating most of the problems.

It is also worth knowing that "The History" will have its own one-volume appendix, containing a chronology of events and compositions of the central authorities.

A separate idea for publishing is the implementation of the resolution of the 6th Plenary Assembly of the Central Committee regarding the publication of a one-volume synthesis, which could serve as a kind of popular manual of the history of the workers movement in Poland. The second guest at the "Kuznica" Club, the prorector of the Higher School of Social Sciences (WSNS), Docent Dr Habilitatus Jan Sobczak, recalled also that monographs are being created separately and have already appeared on the "Proletariat," the PPS, and in preparation is a history of the KPP.

The wide range of questions posed at the beginning of the discussion by the leader of the meeting, Andrzej Kozanecki, was probably responsible for the fact that the discussion lasted several hours. It would be impossible to report it here fully.

Thus we may stress along with Professor Orzechowski, that it will not be a history of a political movement, leadership groups, or even parties. The work should present, or at least such is its intention, five great developmental trends comprising society, classes, the nation, the movement, the party. The problems are numerous: from showing the national, native character of the Polish workers movement, through the battle for the heritage of "Proletariat," through various difficult twists and turns of the history of the KPP, or the still not fully explained death of Marceli Nowotko, or finally the evaluation of the person of Gomulka, a subject which whipped up many controversies during the meeting. It is in any case a feature of the current status of the works that the authors, as reviewers declare, have managed to depart from narrow polonocentrism.

An interesting trend was dealt with by Docent Sobczak, among others, in his remarks; namely the question of figures in the Polish workers movement who would be synonymous with it. The thing is striking because, for example, Rosa Luxemburg, after Lenin, remains the most fascinating figure of the world workers' movement and a lot of attention has been paid to her theoretical works.

In his turn Docent Dr Habilitatus Zenobiusz Kozik from the WSNS [Higher School of Social Sciences], who deals with the most recent theme (PZPR), postulated that the range of limitations in the research process should be minimal; a problem which, considering its current dimensions, became the subject of a theoretical controversy. One thing is sure, concealments cannot be avoided. It is worth mentioning that Dr Bronislaw Syzdek, the director of the Archives of the Central Committee of the PZPR, stressed that this phenomenon is not always caused by inaccessibility of sources. Sometimes securing oneself against responsibility is the reason.

Besides the above-mentioned guests of the "Kuznica" Club, reknown scientists-historians participated in the discussion: Professor Celina Bobinska, Professor Buszko, Professor Podraza, Professor Serczyk, Docent Pilch, and also

Wladyslaw Machejek. Perhaps "Zdanie" will report the course of the meeting. On our part we can only hope that the consecutive volumes of the "History of the Workers' Movement" will soon appear on the book market and will not be so hermetic that this work is inaccessible to the wide masses of readers, for whom the history of the workers' movement is like wandering through the traces of their ancestors, in search of their own genealogy.

'Kuznica' Club Meeting With Orzechowski

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 7 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (wk): "Problems of the Workers' Movement. Rebuilding the Authority and Strength of the Party"]

[Text] (Own Information) To tell the truth, that [above] slogan was the leitmotif of the recent meeting in the "Kuznica" Club. The history of these meetings already has its own tradition [sic], a tradition of discussion and unrestrained conversation. Such was the case also at the latest, Friday meeting with Prof Dr Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR and a group of scientists from the Warsaw Higher School of Social Sciences. This meeting was devoted to the presentation of the problems with which the authors and publishers of the multi-volume history of the Polish workers movement wrestled; the work the Resolution of the 6th Congress of the PZPR demanded to be published. The problems are indeed many and complicated, because while the historiography of the workers' movement in Poland is subject to the same rules as all other social and humanist sciences, at the same time it is also subject to the laws of an ideological and political struggle; it is both the weapon and the subject of the struggle.

In his address, Marian Orzechowski stressed precisely this moment of assessing anew the value of our own history, its successive interpretations and reinterpretations, which have accompanied each "turn-taking" in our contemporary history. It would also be a mistake--Marian Orzechowski continued in his address--to put the history of the workers movement only in its political aspect. The workers movement is a multilevel phenomenon, and its traditions transcend the narrow by nature scope of purely ideological questions. In this particular domain there exist too large "blank spots." The needs of research demand a proper elucidation of the issue of the dissolution of the KPP, a new, comprehensive look at the whole of the relations in the workers' movement, both interorganizational relations (the question of the PPS and the SDKPiL) and all conditions of the workers movement as well as external and internal conditions.

But discussions also belong to "Kuznica" Club traditions. One can hope then that this Friday conversation in the Krakow club will to some degree influence the final shape of the publication. This issue was sharply and clearly put forward by Prof Dr Wladyslaw Serczyk, who asked about the concept of publication of the intended work, a concept which could, after all, oscillate between the extremes of a contemporary party document and a scientific work. A change of opinions following a consecutive crisis is a dangerous thing for

historiography. The attitude of the writer, the historian who must make a choice between the variant of a chronicler's record or an interpretation, is crucial.

A journalistic presentation of all addresses always impoverishes their ideas. Thus it is impossible in this necessarily short note to report all the addresses and voices, even such an interesting and constructive one as that of Prof Dr Celina Bobinska. The important thing however is that this particular confrontation of the "Krakow" historical school with Warsaw researchers should above all be to the advantage of the scheduled work.

Nowy Sacz Meeting With Orzechowski

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 7 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by K. Bryndza]

[Text] (Own Information) Last Saturday [5 June 1982] secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR Marian Orzechowski came to Rabka for a meeting with the party aktiv of the Nowy Sacz voivodship. As was noted during the welcome, Rabka for the first time was host to such a high party official. The Central Committee secretary began his longer [sic] address with a report on the situation in the country and in the party after 13 December 1981, that is from the moment of the interrupting of the mad course of events. At that point he referred to the sources of the draft of the ideological-programmatic "Declaration" of the PZPR. Anticipating questions, he said that, despite a difference of opinions among the party members, the "Declaration" need not be one more document thrown on the rubbish heap of history, provided that we all would wish to give it a vigorous form. We are aware of the fact that the military will not resolve all the problems to the end: it can create the conditions and framework for bringing back normalization and democratization. Let us remember: the party, broken up from within and without, was weakened in general. Weakened ideologically, it lost its identity. Today we already know what to do in order for the PZPR to regain the ability and the strength to act, in order for it to be needed by the working class. And from this point of view the discussion over the theses of the "Declaration," although critical, served its basic function. Since December the party has trod a long path. The majority of the basic organizations are capable of action, and they mainly determine the party's image. There is progress in the consolidation of the ranks. Now a more difficult period awaits us: coming out, proving that the way shown by the party leads to the goal, contrary to the insinuations of the still active opposition, which wants to lead the nation nowhere. There is a period ahead of us during which we should overcome apathy, lack of faith, doubts. There are attempts at instigating, weakening, dividing and agitating the party. The struggle goes on. Winning battles doesn't mean you have won the war; this should be remembered.

After an intermission Marian Orzechowski answered two rounds of questions; those presented earlier in writing, and those taken from the floor. Here are some of them:

[Question] What is the forecast for easing the rigors of martial law?

[Answer] Our adversaries must reconcile themselves to the process of normalization in the country, and cease actions against order. Much depends on social attitudes. The decisions of martial law in economic matters are not short range.

[Question] Why was "Solidarity" not delegalized?

[Answer] This matter does not lie in the categories of a legal act, or a given decree. Millions of people cannot be identified with "Solidarity's" top and with the active antisocialist extremists. It would be a political mistake.

[Question] When will people responsible for the pre-1980 crisis and those who later aggravated this crisis be brought to trial?

[Answer] In his speech at the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski did not use as a rhetorical embellishment the following statement..."Let us remember however that gathering evidence on every case is arduous work. The weight of the accusations requires careful preparation and documenting the evidence. We can hardly model ourselves on the practice of Iranian courts, for example."

[Question] Unemployment, relocations, requalifications, earlier retirement--such social processes, among others, were planned In practice only retirement was implemented....

[Answer] I agree. And certainly with some harm to the economy, because many good, experienced and needed people left.

[Question] How much truth is there in the rumors about an increase in the prices of flour and flour products?

[Answer] There hasn't been any such thing planned. Competent people spoke about other increases.

[Question] Is the change in the position of the minister, the head of the Office for Religious Affairs, to be an announcement of a new course toward the Church?

[Answer] The course in relation to the Church is unequivocal and established. Putting aside all other reasons--it is not in the interest of the state and the party to create an additional battlefront. We will try to resist attempts to create such a front.

[Question] Will the Pope's visit to Poland take place this year?

[Answer] Regarding this there have been no binding decisions either on either side.

[Question] What is the conception of the party in creating a platform for understanding?

[Answer] It is understandable and clear. To quote Lenin: Socialism cannot be built with the hands of communists only. [The conception is] to bring together people standing for the Constitution; all those, who are not against us. The elements of understanding are: the cooperation with the PZPR, ZSL, SD, the alliance of workers and peasants, the OKON social movement, and all that which furthers progress.

The First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR in Nowy Sacz, Jozef Brozek, among others, participated in the meeting with the aktiv and lecturers.

Plenum on Agricultural, Food Problems

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 22 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Antoni Kiemystowicz]

[Text] (Own Information) In the Nowy Sacz Party House (Dom Partii) the voivodship echelons of the PZPR and ZSL made an evaluation of the implementation of the guidelines of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PZPR and NK of the [Peasant] Party (ZSL) in the question of the key problems of agricultural policy, agriculture, and food economy in the Nowy Sacz voivodship.

I quote the motto of the deliberations: "The aim today is not to lack perseverance and stubbornness in working for the implementation of the guidelines." In the report delivered by the secretary of the voivodship committee, Tadeusz Rabianski, is the answer: "They [the guidelines] coincide with the thinking of the farmers."

An attitude common to the party and the ZSL is that the political opposition, which brought the battle into the countryside, made the implementation of guidelines in these key issues difficult. What's more, endless discussions and negotiations, eternal "consultations" and reaching agreement did not move these issues forward but effectively slowed their realization. To this can be added the factor of weakening and then breaking economic ties between the city and the countryside--which was the consequence of raising purchasing prices in April of last year and diminishing the supply of agricultural products. Anarchy and uneconomical management followed. Chaos deepened.

Imposition of martial law put an end to the destructive actions of the opposition, made possible the initiation of political and economic reforms, and also created better conditions for the implementation of guidelines.

This was and is served by important and justified decisions, among others, the introduction of uniform prices for agriculture as a whole, identical possibilities for access to the land, unified conditions for credit and rules

for sales of agricultural products. The statement of the leadership of the PZPR and the ZSL was well received: if we want to treat the reform seriously, we must be aware of all the new rules in the national economy. In agricultural production the normal criteria of the economic calculus and profitability must govern. For this is the only way to act rationally and logically toward agriculture--be it collective, cooperative or private.

Nowy Sacz voivodship is agriculturally a difficult land. The types of soil, the configuration of the terrain, the cultivation which has so far been applied, dictate the effects. If these are not the worst on the national scale, it is due to wise, proprietary and sensitive care that [farmers] get the most from the barren land. It was stressed that in this region machines, tools and means for agricultural production are lacking, but the enormous effort of the peasant to wrest out the most from the land is visible. Visible also is the care to give the land as much as possible. Such thinking has future.

The whole nation is responsible for agriculture, its development and perspectives. Jan Jurek from Lipnica Wielka said directly: "Our agriculture is able to feed not one but two Polands." Megalomania? No. There is much justification in it. This is how one should and must think. There is no other way.

In the plenary discussion of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR and the Voivodship Committee of the ZSL, which was led interchangeably by First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee, Jozef Brozek, and Chairman of the Voivodship Committee of the ZSL, Stanislaw Smierciak, the following spoke consecutively: Antoni Kolarz from Sidzina, Jan Barzyk from Siary, Jan Jurek from Lipnica Wielka, Kazimierz Garbacz from Lack, Jerzy Miskowiec from Dobra, Antoni Hobler from Mystkow, Stanislaw Krolczyk from Czorsztyn, Edward Warmuz from Nowy Targ, Jozef Mokrzycki from Korzenna, Marian Kulpa from Nowy Sacz, Zofia Mroz from Nowy Sacz, Jan Szewczyk from Krynica, and the chairman of the WKR--Jan Boczon. The discussion was enriched by the remarks of the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR, Jozef Brozek, and guests: the head of Agriculture and Food Department of the PZPR, Stanislaw Zieba, and Presidium member, secretary of the NK of the ZSL, Jozef Koziol. Jozef Oleksy, head of the Bureau of the CKR also participated in the discussion.

The Voivodship Committee of the PZPR and the Voivodship Committee of the ZSL formulated a joint resolution. The members of the Party and the ZSL were obliged to show a particular care for the development of the Nowy Sacz agriculture, individual responsibility for the implementation of the adopted document, wise and progressive thinking about the future of the Nowy Sacz countryside--its today and tomorrow.

Plenum on Agricultural Production Planning

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 22 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (tacz): "One Agriculture, One Agricultural Policy"]

[Text] This [above] slogan could actually be the motto of yesterday's deliberations, during which members of the voivodship authorities of the PZPR

and the ZSL sat at a common table to discuss the implementation of the guidelines of the Central Committee and of the Presidium of the NK of the ZSL in key issues of agricultural policy in the area of Nowy Sacz voivodship. The deliberations were presided over by the First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR, Jozef Brozek and the chairman of the Voivodship Committee of the ZSL, Stanislaw Smierciak. Also participating were: Jozef Koziol, member of the Presidium, secretary of the NK of the ZSL, Stanislaw Zieba, head of the Agriculture and Food Department, and Jozef Oleksy, head of the CKR Bureau of the PZPR.

One agriculture signifies a break with favoring the collectivized sector, something that was confirmed last year by introducing a reform to that branch of the economy. In Nowy Sacz voivodship only 5 percent of arable land belongs to collective farms and state farms, thus private farmers' work determines [agricultural] results. Tadeusz Rabianski, a secretary of the voivodship committee of the PZPR, stressed in a report presented at the plenum that it is especially important that present possibilities for growth in agricultural production create, in addition to a whole sphere of supplies and services, uniform prices, credit conditions, and possibilities for access to the land.

The discussion, in which more than a dozen people presented their opinions, did not undermine this thesis: also on the local level the principles of agricultural policy are applied in agreement with the intention of the central authorities. Nevertheless in many specific, more concrete issues there remains much to be corrected.

Nowy Sacz voivodship desires to strengthen the direction of production for which it is known in the country, that is, horticulture, cattle breeding (including milk cows) and sheep breeding. For this, it needs an injection of the means of production, namely machinery and equipment especially adapted to mountainous terrain. A suggestion was even made during the discussion that the Nowy Sacz NOWOMAG, which now supplies equipment for mining, should specialize in such production. More important for us is Nowy Sacz agriculture, argued Antoni Hobler, a farmer from Mystkow, not to mention the coal supply, something which does not stir up such emotions in the summer.

Much attention was paid to the profitability of production. One has to worry about the low price of piglets, which, as Jan Jurek from Lipnica Wielka said, no one wants to buy even though they cost only 3,000 zlotys a pair; thus the forecasts for the production of hogs are not good. This is simply the result of lack of fodder.

The plenary discussion dealt with a very wide thematic range. The participants tackled an ambitious task: to cover in a few hours the questions most vital for the agriculture of Nowy Sacz. Thus they debated the need to improve the work of agricultural service, to reduce its bureaucracy and to make closer contact with farms; the activity of cooperative farms which, although they farm worse soils, have produced results which are not bad. They spoke about the insufficiency of trade shops working for agriculture in the countryside, even though permission to open them is continuously being issued.

The deliberations did not settle even one concrete issue, because that was not the aim of the plenum. However, many problems noted by the farmers (including nonparty, who were invited to the deliberations) found their way into the notebooks of the representatives of the voivodship and central authorities. And once again the significance of agriculture in the whole economic system was emphasized as well as the necessity of helping the countryside in order finally to implement the supreme goal of socialism--to improve the subsistence of society. The fact that many ministries do not treat the needs of agriculture as their own shows that such actions will be needed for a long time to come.

12270
CSO: 2600/86

JEWISH PAPER REPORTS ON RABBI ROSEN'S VISIT TO U.S.

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 1 Sep 82 pp 1, 5

["The Visit to the United States of His Eminence Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen"]

[Excerpts] At the invitation of Jack Spitzer, president of the Bnai Brith International Organization, extended in the name of the Conference of Presidents of Large Jewish Organizations in the United States of America, His Eminence Chief Rabbi Dr. Moses Rosen left the country on 1 August 1982 to travel to the United States.

The invitation was extended to enable His Eminence to have direct and personal contact with members of the American Senate and Congress and with officials of the administration for the purpose of establishing the truth about the way in which the Aliya (the traditional name for the reuniting of Jews in the world in the land of Israel) of Jews from Romania is being carried out.

It should be remembered (the Jewish people will never forget this but it seems that some people, who would like to forget, must be reminded of this fact from time to time) that, taking into consideration the great Jewish tragedy of the Holocaust and the creation of the state of Israel, the Romanian Government has made it possible, without demonstrations and without hubbub, during the past 35 years, for more than 350,000 Romanian Jews, that is, about 90 percent of the 400,000 Jews who were still living after the liberation of the country from fascism, to join their families in Israel. No other country in the West or the East can present such a record, neither in absolute figures nor in percentages.

Despite these obvious and incontestable facts, false statistics have been circulated once again; once again, certain circles have tried to give a distorted picture of the situation; once again, they have believed that they could cover up some other unmentionable interests through the use of a "Jewish problem" which does not exist in Romania.

With the patriotic sentiments which characterize him, with a constant desire to make a contribution to the cause of peace and collaboration among peoples, with the abiding love which he feels for Israel and for her noble ideals, with the fanatical passion for the truth which inspires him, His Eminence accepted the mission of "peace and truth."

A meeting of the Conference of Presidents was held on 4 August [in New York], under the leadership of its chairman, Julius Berman. Chairman Berman and Vice-Chairman Yehuda Hellman welcomed His Eminence with words of respect and esteem. His Eminence presented the leaders of American Judaism with the respective reports: a) on persons who left for Israel in 1982; b) on persons who received approval during the course of 1982 but have not left yet; c) on persons whose requests are still being resolved. These records show clearly that there has been an increase and not a decrease in comparison with preceding years (1979, 1980, 1981).

On 9 August, an article "Using the Jews," written by Rabbi Rosen, appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES. The article had a great effect, both in the ranks of political personalities and among the millions of readers of this newspaper. (We publish below a translation of this article.)

On 9 August, there was a reception in honor of His Eminence, given by Bnai Brith International in Washington, at the Capitol. A number of senators and other political personalities attended the reception. His Eminence gave a report on the situation of the Jewish communities, on demographic aspects and on issues related to the Aliya, supplying names and precise statistics.

Then he responded to various questions, asked in a spirit of understanding, respect and esteem. In regard to the matter of religious freedom, His Eminence stated:

"It is my intention to limit myself to the Jewish aspect of the matter. However, when there is a discussion of religious freedom in Romania, I cannot keep from speaking as a religious leader who has been the shepherd for his community for more than 34 years. Before God and men, I can only say that millions of Orthodox Christian, Catholic, Evangelical Lutheran, and Moslem believers and persons of other faiths (there are 14 faiths in Romania) are subject to no restrictions in the practice of their religion and they carry on their religious life in complete freedom. The tens of thousands of churches of the Romanian Orthodox Church and of the other religions function on a regular basis. An atmosphere of brotherhood and cooperation reigns among the religions, from the top hierarchies down to the masses of believers. This is the real situation and anyone who comes to Romania (and hundreds of thousands or even millions of tourists come) can only confirm this truth which has become self-evident for us, the citizens of Romania."

CSO: 2700/47

ANNOUNCEMENT ON REQUESTS FOR EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 1 Sep 82 p 5

["Announcement"]

[Text] The Federation of Jewish Communities once again informs all Jews who are submitting requests for permanent departure for Israel for the purpose of joining their families that they can register these requests in the Jewish Communities of their cities of residence, so that the Federation will have a record of the requests and will be able to monitor their approval. The registrations will take place every workday, except Saturdays and Jewish holidays, at the headquarters of the respective communities.

President of the Federation of Jewish Communities
Chief Rabbi Dr. Moses Rosen

General Secretary
Emil Sechter

CSO: 2700/47

'CREATIVE' APPLICATION OF ENGELS' IDEAS ADVOCATED

AU041346 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 3 Dec 82

["Creative Spirit: A Permanent Feature of Scientific Socialism"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Dec, AGERPRES--An article published under the above headline in daily SCINTEIA of December 3 in marking 162 years since Friederich Engels' birth, stresses the contribution of the prominent theoretician, organizer and leader of international proletariat, alongside with Karl Marx, to the working out of the materialist dialectics, to the turning of communism from utopia into science, to the theoretic generalization of the experience of the international working-class movement.

Recalling that Friedrich Engels followed with interest and attention the affirmation of the Romanian proletariat in the second half of the 19th century as a revolutionary force in the country's sociopolitical life, and the ascent of the socialist movement, showing keen interest in the Romanian people's history and culture, SCINTEIA writes:

The working-class movement in Romania takes pride in having managed to espouse the ideas of scientific socialism soon after their emergence, which speeded up the process of ideological clarification and political organization, and the development of its links with the international working-class movement.

The truthfulness to the Marxist theory, the preoccupation to creatively apply it were a fundamental feature throughout the history of the working-class movement in Romania, accounting for an essential factor of the big victories won by the Romanian people under the RCP leadership, in the struggle for national liberation and in the socialist construction.

The approach to the revolutionary theory in a creative spirit is the more necessary in our days as the deep-going transformations come about in the world; the tremendous diversity of conditions in which the world revolutionary process proceeds face the communist and workers' parties and the revolutionary forces with new problems that cannot find solution in the past social practice.

It is in this spirit that the RCP carries on its activity.

The period elapsed since the 9th congress of the party proved to be very rich in achievements and this is first of all thanks to the vast creative activity unfolded by the party and its general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

Mentioning that the anniversary of Engels' birth takes place in conditions of the historical dispute between socialism and capitalism acquiring new accents, as the bourgeois propaganda intensified its attacks on the working-class, socialist conception about world and society, SCINTEIA shows that the appreciations of the founders of Marxism become topical, namely that the laws in social life and historical development find areas of manifestation through the agency of human activity, of social groups, and the objective existence of these laws presupposes the active intervention both practically, for the creation of the framework of manifestation of the respective laws and for actively contributing to the moulding of the future, and theoretically, in order to combat the attempts to distort the true meaning of historical evolution, to approach a question of such cardinal importance from the angle of narrow and reactionary class interests. Today, when the debate on the concepts of the sense of history and historical progress ceased being a strictly theoretical dispute, having instead an essential political importance, the progressive researchers are bound to study the mechanism of social determinism, which is obviously more complex in the modern society, to develop and enrich the conceptions holding positions of historical progress. The combating of these theses which want to halt the course of history, which promote obsolete outlooks of social management and organization and which maintain that the answers to the new problems posed by society today can be found in the past, is an objective necessity and the success of such an action first of all demands the unity of the progressive forces everywhere.

Organically blending the efforts devoted to the prosperity of socialist homeland with those for the intensification of the relations of solidarity with all socialist countries, withthe developing countries and the non-aligned countries, with the working-class and communist, socialist and social-democratic parties, with the progressive and democratic organizations everywhere in view of strengthening the unity of the anti-imperialist front and of all peace and progress loving forces, the RDP discharges creditably its tasks as an active detachment of the contemporary evolutionary movement.

CSO: 2020/8

'SCINTEIA' ON 'SUBVERSIVE' NATURE OF ELITISM

AU041437 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 3 Dec 82

["SCINTEIA on Subversive Character of Theories of Elites"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Dec, AGERPRES--An extensive article signed by Liviu Zapirtan, carried by SCINTEIA of December 3, reveals the meaning of the so-called "updatings" of the theories of elites, cautioning that basically they aim at "justifying the inequalities and inequalities of the contemporary capitalist world".

The article warns that although elitism has been compromised for good with its integration in the fascist ideology, in recent years it has reemerged, seemingly purified from its retrograde, conservative, traditional content; it is presented as "compatible with the bourgeois democracy", the latter being viewed as a "supreme stage of democracy" by the non-Marxist ideology. More minute research, the article goes on, attests to the fact that this is an apparently subtle, actually brutal attack on certain perennial values of humanism--equality, democracy, etc--a defiance of certain aspirations that are dear to mankind.

Presenting the antidemocratic, retrograde character of certain elitist models and revealing the subversive meaning of the "changes" made by such theoreticians as W. W. Rostow, R. Dahl and M. Young, SCINTEIA reads:

In recent years, alongside the tendencies toward a resumption of certain theses of fascist elitism there proliferated also versions of another elitism that stems from older racist, biologistic stands. The "new" elements derive not only from names ("the new right", biopolitics, sociobiology), but also from the efforts made for substantiating the ideological these with data supplied by the contemporary sciences. The main thesis of biopolitics is the so-called natural inequality among races and individuals that would presumably render masses unable to make historic decisions and the elites would "objective" play the decisive part in social development.

It is in the same ideological framework that fall the political theories of sociobiologists, representatives of what we can call a new aspect of elitism. According to this orientation even the political structure itself follows

biological rules and consequently at the top of power there will be selected an elite with a strong instinct of domination, able users of the techniques of domination and manipulation of the masses.

This is, no doubt, a biologic and mechanic oriented reductionism and a deformating interpretation of scientific data meant to "prove" viability of obsolete conceptions that caused countless suffering to mankind. The fact is telling that many scholars, researchers in social sciences have powerfully branded the abuse and distorting use of scientific achievements to justify the profoundly inegalitarian structures of the capitalist society.

Irrespective of their arguments and, to a certain extent, of the moment when they were elaborated the theories of elites play an essentially conservative, reactionary role as their aim is to support the values of the ruling classes. The attempts of promoting elitism in various ways express the effort of refining the interests of the ruling classes, of presenting them as something with no relations to history or time and organically linked to human condition.

The essence of the criticism made by the elitist theories is the contempt for the masses. Opposing the masses, elitism opposes the criteria of progress, reveals its essentially retrograde content. The resort to authoritarianism, the immixture in social life, the contempt for progressive sociopolitical assets, for those specific to the socialist system in particular, the predilection for hierarchism, for a preestablished order make the elitist theories run counter not only the socialist democracy but also any type of humanism.

Given its ideological meaning, the notion of elite is improper to denominate the political leaders of the masses of people, the most active ministers of the interests of the exploited classes. In this context, the Marxist conception, casting light on the basic precepts of revolutionary humanism, shows that the leaders, the historic personalities, who spared no efforts to serve the interests of the people, have always guided the masses in their political actions. It is precisely to distinguish the historical position of the leaders of the masses that Marxism uses the notion of historic personality, characterized by a close link to the masses, to the social classes whose interests he is called upon to serve.

In conclusion the article reads: The subversive character of the elitist theories has often been highlighted in the documents of the Romanian Communist Party which stress that the non-Marxist ideology manifests the reactionary tendency to revive obsolete theories regarding the role of the creators of spiritual values considered as an elite that holds the monopoly of understanding the fundamental problems in society, or social leadership that manifests full contempt for the masses. [sentence as received] The newspaper considers the active fight against the modern elitist theories, bearers of a conservative, anti-democratic and anti-humanist message, opposing progress, disguised defenders of the existing capitalist order, of the supremacy of the rich, as a lofty duty of the progressive thinking everywhere.

CSO: 2020/8

IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE ON ATTACKS AGAINST SOCIALISM

AU042058 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 4 Dec--SCINTEIA of December 4 renders on a full page opinions set forth during a debate on ideological questions by Prof Dr Constantin Vlad, director of the Institute of Political Science and study of the national question, by Prof Dr Ovidiu Trasnea and Dr Elena Zamfirescue who stress that the main goals pursued by the "ideological strategy" of anti-socialism promoted by Western reactionary circles consist in demobilizing the masses in their struggle for social equality and justice, concealing the profound social inequities just as the serious consequences of the general crisis of capitalism. [as received]

The note preceding the addresses the participants made during the debate shows that, although the attacks against socialism are not new, it can be noticed that the virulence of the respective criticism is inversely proportional to the "performances" the capitalist society registers on a socioeconomic plane. Whenever the capitalist order faces difficult problems, as it happens nowadays in the conditions of the generalized crisis of capitalism, whenever it is given obvious recoils--the newspaper shows--the fire of the bourgeois propaganda is intensified and directed against socialism to prove what cannot be proved: that "the capitalist order would be the only one apt to ensure the progress of society", that "socialism would be inept to be a model worthy of being followed". This criticism--SCINTEIA further shows--claims to be an answer, from the position of narrow, reactionary political interests, to such theoretical questions of a major importance as the course of history, the evolution of historical movement and social progress.

The participants in the debate point to the new traits of the anticommunist propaganda, to the causes of the intensification of apologetic theories with regard to the so-called superiority of capitalist democracy as well as to the elements of superiority specific to socialism in the historical confrontation with capitalism.

The furious attacks against socialism are accompanied by a sustained and subtle propaganda in favour of the order that enables the maintenance of the bourgeoisie's domineering positions, [comma as received] in favor of capitalism--one of the participants shows adding that the main goal of the criticism of

socialism is that of negating the role of socialism as an historic alternative to the capitalist society as well as of supporting the prospects of the capitalist society. Going along the same line are the attacks on human rights and liberties: disparagement and misinterpretation of socialism from the stands and the angles of the bourgeois practices of rights and freedoms. The current "cannonade" against socialism—as a historical fact and a social ideal—has been initiated under the circumstances of the new stage in the crisis of capitalism. It is not only a means of distraction, of diverting the masses' attention from the difficulties encountered by the Western economic and socio-political system but also a form of an indirect apology of the bourgeois society--another participant in the debate notes.

It is stressed that the relaunching of the leitmotifs of the Marxism's "crisis" falls within the same logic of counteracting the aspiration for social and political changes of the masses of people in the capitalist countries. Despite misinterpretations, Marxism continues to be a live presence through its open and creative spirit, through its methodology which imposed itself in the interpretation of social life and of its prospects. Its presence is all the more obsessive and irritating as an ever larger number of Western researchers point out that the Marxist point of view is one of the most fertile ones, that it cannot be made "marginal" since it is a major point of reference in the endeavours of comprehending and changing the contemporary world. It is also mentioned that the current economic difficulties in the socialist countries are brought about, to a great extent, by the world economic crisis, for the beginning of which the developed capitalist countries and the inequitable relations they promote are mainly responsible.

The final part of the debate focuses on the demand for a realistic understanding of the current evolution of socialism, and highlights that "the socialist society is a live body which develops, raises questions which should be solved and it tries to solve, which encounters difficulties that, part of them, stem from the character of socialist construction and part from the realities of the international relations, from the reality of the world in which the respective construction proceeds, difficulties which should be and will be surmounted. If negative phenomena were apparent in socialism, they do not derive organically and necessarily from the nature of socialism or from the nature of the relations among the socialist countries. They are not an inevitable effect of the principles of socialism; on the contrary, they show that its principles are not applied to the full. The participants in the debate point to the significance of observing the principles of socialism with regard to the creation of a unitary socialist economic base, with the consistent achievement of an equity--and justice—based socialist distribution, the promotion of the Communist Party's leading role in forms and ways apt to strengthen its links with the broad masses of people, the institution of efficient forms of masses' participation in governing society, the development of consciousness and civic responsibility through a steady and systematic ideological and political-educative work in the ranks of all social categories.

In this respect, emphasis is placed on the deep significance of the Romanian Communist Party's creative attitude in solving the problems posed by life, in providing such conditions as the socialist system may turn its valences to best account. Such an attitude to the questions raised by the building of the

new system expresses the RCP's firm belief that socialism, although not absolved of shortcomings and mistakes, although confronted with difficulties, is able to eliminate and surmount them by consistently applying revolutionary principles according to the specific historical conditions in each country.

CSO: 2020/8

TELEVISION PROGRAM ON YOUTH CLUB ACTIVITIES CRITICIZED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 29 Oct 82 p 13

[Article by Dorin Gherghinescu: "Let us respect the truth!"

[Excerpts] On Saturday, 23 October 1982, our television showed some pictures of aspects of the activity of the Flacara Club of Revolutionary Youth organized by the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth and the review FLACARA. This was another one of those efforts by which, from time to time, the small screen seems to give the impression that it does not even want to satisfy the curiosity of the public in connection with a cultural activity which is much beloved by the youth. Such a broadcast is, in itself, or, more correctly, should be, a cultural act and the demands placed upon it require a correct presentation. Therefore, the distortion of the real picture of the thing presented signifies not only a lack of confidence in one's own work but also an abuse of the truth and of the public which has the right to be informed correctly.

Unfortunately, due to an unallowable mentality, a distorted and impoverished picture was presented, last Saturday, of the work and art of the Flacara Club. Since it already had experience with situations of this same type, the Flacara Club requested publicly that insignificant fragments of the activity of the Club no longer be presented on the national television station, since the way this club looks, from some sketches here and there, it is better to keep your children home. This absolutely justified request was not taken into consideration. Serious damage has been caused both to the Flacara Club and to culture.

The peak of the lack of attention in choosing truly significant selections is found in the fact that only the song "Iancu in Tebea" was mentioned from the great demonstration which took place in Tebea, as a sign of homage by today's generations, especially the youth, to the great national hero on the 110th anniversary of departure of Avram Iancu from the Apuseni forests to the forests of eternity, this extraordinary event of music and poetry. The production and broadcasting of this program took place without consulting the leadership of the Club. We will not even mention the fact that, according to regulations in effect, the Flacara Club could demand royalties for the use of its work by television, just like a theater, for example. But how can one justify the fact that Adrian Paunescu, the leader and motivating spirit of the Flacara Club, appeared to be the producer of this broadcast which did a disservice to the ideas and prestige of the Club? Who has assumed the improper right to do whatever he wants with the image of the Flacara Club and with the name of its leader, to their detriment and in opposition to the most basic truth?

BRIEFS

JEWS NOT CONSIDERED IMMIGRANTS--[Report by Avino'am Bar-yosef]--"Romania does not regard Jews leaving its territory and emigrating to Israel as immigrants. These are not citizens fleeing the socialist regime in search for a different standard of living but people taking part in a natural process of family reunions." These remarks were made by Ion Popescu-Puturi, director of the Institute for Training Cadres in Problems of Socio-Political Management of the Romanian Commmnist Party, in a banquet in Bucharest in honor of the director of the Yad Vashem Institute, Dr Yitzhaq Arad. This is the first utterance by a Romanian political figure that distinguishes between the immigration of Jews and that of other nationalities from Romania to the West. Many Germans living in Romania asked to immigrate in the wake of the permits issued to Jews wishing to immigrate to Israel. "Yad Vashem" and the Romanian Institute signed an agreement on exchanging publications and documents and on exchanging researchers for 30 days every year. The agreement also provides for the participation in scientific conventions and for holding annual meetings between historians of both sides. The first conveniton, scheduled to be held in the spring of 1983, will deal with the situation of Romanian Jews during World War II. [Text] [TA051312 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 5 Dec 82 p 6]

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END

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2087

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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SHEHU DEATH, KOSOVO SITUATION, 'INVASION' DISCUSSED BY SWISS PAPER

Zurich NEUE ZURCHER ZEITUNG in German 13 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by R. St.: "Hoxha Attacks Yugoslavia Sharply, Calls Shehu an Agent"]

[Text] Vienna 11 Nov--It does not happen every day that the head of a government is accused of being an agent in the employ of three foreign powers. [sic] Last Wednesday, Albanian party chief Enver Hoxha, in an election speech, called his long-time comrade-in-arms, Prime Minister Mehmet Shehu, a traitor , who bashed in his head against the wall of solidarity formed by the party and the people. Official reports indicated that Shehu had voluntarily taken his own life in mid-December 1981. He was not given a state funeral, nor was there any special mention by the Albanian press of his 27-year service as head of the government. This has led to speculation that he might have been murdered by an outsider, or possibly in an exchange of bullets with Hoxha. However, Tirana, while remaining silent about the Shehu case for about 10 months, indicated that the former second-ranking man of the state had no longer enjoyed the confidence of his superior at the time of his death.

"Mercenary of Foreign Nations"

Hoxha explained that Shehu had been criticized several times for serious mistakes but that he had been able to protect himself. As late as the Eighth Party Congress in early November 1981, there was no doubt that the head of the government was in full control since it was he who read the government's report and, in the foreign affairs part of it, was highly critical of Yugoslav politics vis-a-vis the autonomous province of Kosovo. If any differences of opinion existed at that time, the party chief was evidently still too weak to strip his comrade of his power. Hoxha now claims that he is able to prove on the basis of discovered documents and unrefutable evidence that Shehu was in the employ of the CIA as early as pre-World War II. Afterwards, he said, he had been active in Albania as a mercenary of foreign powers and on instructions from abroad. As a fighter in the First Brigade, Hoxha claims, Shehu was hired by the Yugoslav secret service and later on by the Soviet KGB .

His goal, in collaboration with a group of conspirators, had been to bring Albania under foreign rule. He had been ordered by the Yugoslav UDBA [secret service] to murder Hoxha and party and state leaders devoted to him. However, because he was afraid of the people and the party, he did not dare take this last step. Pressured by the UDBA, his last resort had been the disgraceful way of committing suicide.

Titoists in the Background

In his accusations against Yugoslavia, Hoxha was, however, not satisfied with attacking only the secret service. He said he had facts to prove that the September 25th commando action of "bandit" Tschevtet Mustafa had been under the direction of Yugoslav Titoists. In time, the world would learn all the details. As may be remembered, at the end of September, Albania had reported the liquidation of a commando that had invaded Albania from the sea under said Albanian-in-exile. Soon afterwards, the son of ex-King Zog , Leka, admitted his connections with Mustafa. Hoxha calls Leka a dealer in women, arms, and narcotics, who was used by the Yugoslavs for their purposes. Belgrade is accused of training terrorist gangs and of sending them abroad, which, in light of the practice, must be considered a very criminal act of international relations.

Criticism of the Situation in Kosovo

If, on occasion, there is reason to believe that these are exaggerated phantasies, the attacks against the Yugoslav and especially the "Greater-Serbian" politics in Kosovo are absolutely real. The gentlemen from Belgrade--so they claim--transferred 60,000 Serbian soldiers to Kosovo in order to suppress and kill Albanians living there and to intimidate Albania. The party chief threatened that no Albanian would take it for very long that the honor of his sons and daughters was being violated. So far, attempts had been made to talk reasonably with Yugoslavia, but Tirana also knows the language of force .

Hoxha urged Yugoslavia's leadership to set free the young people held in Kosovo jails. He said that, if the cup is made to run over, the reaction might be dangerous. Referring to potential tensions in the Salkan countries, he described the Greater-Serbians as reliable and secret friends of the Russians , urged the other Yugoslavs to better control the Serbians, and finally declared that Albania was not a state of three million people but a nation of six million; with these statements, he expressed a feeling of solidarity that transcended borders. Nevertheless, the figure he quoted was too high.

Outlook

This extremely excessive and descriptive language contrasts with realistic assessments of Albania's political future. Here, Hoxha tried not to

present his country as archaic and isolated, talked of industrial growth, in general, and the production of consumer goods, in particular. With friendly nations, especially in Western Europe, trade relations are to be expanded. The United States as well as the Soviet Union were condemned, as usual side-by-side. He announced an amnesty for the occasion of the 70th anniversary of Albania's independence.

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CSO: 3620/79

SUGGESTED MEASURES, APPLIED TECHNIQUES IN CRIME DETECTION

People's Militia Conference

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 27 Oct 82 pp 1-2

[Test] For the second year the personnel of the People's Militia, together with the working people in the country, inspired by the historical decisions of the 12th BCP Congress, are living with the constructive rhythm of the party's program of building a developed socialist society. Displaying high revolutionary vigilance and creative efforts and possibilities, they are working for the preservation of the gains of our people and upgrading the effectiveness of the struggle against crime and violations of public order. It was in this light that the conference with the leading personnel of the People's Militia was held on 19 October 1982 in the hall of the DNM [State People's Militia].

The conference was attended by Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, minister of internal affairs, Col Gen Velko Palin, head of the Military-Administrative Department of the BCP Central Committee, Kostadin Lyutov, prosecutor general of the Bulgarian People's Republic, Maj Gen Ivan Dimitrov, deputy minister and director of the People's Militia, Maj Gen T. M. Shukayev, representative of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, deputy directors of the People's Militia, chiefs of administrations and departments of the State People's Militia, deputy chiefs of okrug MVR militia administrations and of rayon administrations in the capital, as well as other personnel from the People's Militia units in Sofia and throughout the country.

A report was submitted by Maj Gen Ivan Dimitrov, deputy minister of internal affairs and director of the People's Militia. Based on the study of the operative circumstances, he provided a profound assessment of the results achieved during the first 9 months of the year, exposed existing weaknesses and shortcomings and the reasons for them, drew proper conclusions and defined the directions along which efforts must be concentrated at the present stage.

The most important thing now is model service to the economy and the prompt detection of economic crimes by improving interaction with the organs of the prosecution and the financial-auditing and control organs. Particular attention should be paid to national projects and to the construction, transportation and trade sectors.

The speaker stressed that decisive measures must be taken to restrict crimes committed by young people and by criminal circles. The organization of control over them must be improved and measures of administrative supervision must be strengthened. Tireless attention must continue to be paid to strengthening the discipline in recording and accounting of reports. In order to neutralize basic crime-triggering factors, such as drunkenness, vagrancy and domestic conflicts, broader use should be made of the possibilities of the units within the unified social prevention system. The work of the operative units on duty must be energized and the organization of initial operative investigation and procedural-investigation actions must be improved.

On the basis of the specific analysis of the practical circumstances in the settlements, measures must be taken ensuring the strick implementation of the deployment order for the autumn and winter period. In settlements without rayon MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] administrations, the problem must be resolved with the participation of the obshtina people's councils and municipalities. The organization of active subunits patrolling specific sectors must be completed. In this respect the measures of the DNM on improving the activities of the DOT [Voluntary Detachments of the Working People] must be carried out.

In connection with improving traffic safety measures must be taken to organize steady control and display intolerance of violations related to the use of alcohol, speeding, improper passing and violation of priorities. Preparations for traffic under autumn and winter conditions must be completed on time.

For all of these reasons responsibility and discipline must become the permanent yardstick of the conscientiousness and behavior of the personnel and the quality of their work.

The important assignments which the party has set the People's Militia personnel call for steadily upgrading the level of administrative activities, improving information and analytical work, ensuring systematic and efficient control and aid in carrying out assignments, and firmly improving coordination among various activities. It is imperative as of now to begin preparations for the formulation of the 1983 plans and to plan specific measures consistent with the operative circumstances, closely coordinated with the plans for the socioeconomic development of conurbation systems and territorial units. Problems of comprehensive nature, which involve all territorial administrative and economic organs and public organizations, related to the preservation of public order, the struggle against crime and traffic safety, must be submitted for consideration at the sessions of okrug and obshtina people's councils.

A profound study must be made and positive experience, particularly that of the Soviet Militia, must be applied in an organized fashion.

The organization of Marxist-Leninist and professional training of the personnel during the 1982/1983 school year must be approached with a feeling of responsibility.

Speakers at the conference included Maj Yancho Venev, chief of the crime department of the Sofia City Administration, Col Yanko Vachev, chief of the People's Militia Administration in Burgas, Col Stati Byalkov, chief of the People's Militia Administration in Plovdiv, Col Ivan Dimov, deputy chief of the Shumen Okrug MVR Militia Administration, Col Angel Panchev, chief of the Transportation Militia Department of the DNM, and Col Kostadin Kotsaliev, chief of the Main Investigation Administration.

They were followed by Kostadin Lyutov, prosecutor general of the Bulgarian People's Republic. He spoke of the creative cooperation and joint work between the prosecutor's office and the organs of the MVR. He discussed the new amendments and supplements in the Penal Code and, more specifically, the need for an even more extensive and creative application of Article 39 of the ZNM [Law on the People's Militia] and Articles 272, 329 and 218b of the Penal Code.

Col Gen Velko Palin, head of the BCP Central Committee Military-Administrative Department, made an exceptionally valuable statement on the matters under consideration. He rated positively the work of the MVR organs and emphasized that the People's Militia is making its worthy contribution so that the Bulgarian people can work creatively and actively in building a developed socialist society. He discussed the role of the party commitees and organizations and the individual party members in resolving the responsible problems facing the People's Militia. He stressed the prime importance of social prevention work and the need to involve the entire public in it. Col Gen Velko Palin particularly emphasized the class-party education of the personnel and their skills and professional growth. He expressed his confidence that in the future as well, under the guidance of the party and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the militia personnel will carry out their assignments and ensure the calm and peaceful toil of the Bulgaria people with dedication and a feeling of the highest possible responsibility.

The final speaker was Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, minister of internal affairs. He emphasized that now we must make a profound study of the amendments to the Penal Code and apply them accurately in the personnel's practical activities. A critical assessment must be made of the work on all levels in the People's Militia. Those who fail to fulfill their assignments must be taken strictly to task and those whose actions or inactions have yielded unsatisfactory results in various militia activities must be held personally liable. In this connection, the minister criticized traffic safety work in some okrugs, the activities of inspectors in children's education halls, and the efficiency of units on duty and more especially the work related to "hot" clues and reports submitted by the voluntary units. Anticipatory measures must be taken in order to change matters in the most favorable way. He also discussed the implementation of Council of Ministers Decree No 52 and indicated some tasks which have still not been carried out in this respect. He discussed the protection of agricultural commodities from thefts.

In conclusion, the minister of internal affairs stressed that even better work must be done for the moral upbringing of the personnel and the comprehensive

application of the political approach which is our strength and our advantage. Finally, the minister indicated the stipulations, evaluations and tasks earmarked at the conference which should be made known to every official, accepted and profoundly realized and applied in the work of the People's Militia.

Efficiency in Struggle Against Crime

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 27 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Maj Ventseslav Genchev]

[Text] The entire personnel of the Sliven Okrug MVR Administration were alarmed. It was as though private passenger cars were being swalllowed by the earth--one, two, three, four.... From other cars parts, tires, or cassette players were skillfully and quickly removed.... This situation lasted for quite some time and finally there was a clue: suspicious individuals were trying to sell spare parts for various car models, with carefully scratched out factory numbers. A mysterious specialist had covered the numbers with a metal lining, which made identification impossible. Nevertheless, the criminals were caught, for the experts from the scientific and technical department decided to use X-rays to identify the erased numbers. It simply occurred to them that a plant in Sliven had a special X-ray machine with which concealed defects in metal parts could be detected. They tried and succeeded.

This may sound elementary--they got the idea, tried and discovered. However, only those who work in this area would realize the endless and persistent efforts of the experts and their tremendous wish to discover a crime, and the thousands of pages of scientific publications which were read, reinterpreted and applied.

Currently the experts at the Sliven Okrug MVR Administration scientific and technical department are engaged in fingerprint, handwriting, technical, clue, ballistic, morphological, chemical and physical-chemical expert studies. The speed with which accident areas are surveyed has been improved. Over the past 5 years, in the course of the competition in the People's Militia NIKK two third and one second place have been gained. This is a success which pleases and inspires the young people.

All four experts are senior lieutenants. Zhivko Zhelev is department chief. He has two degrees--in chemistry and economics--and currently is specializing in the department for criminal experts at the Higher Investigation School of the MVR in Volgograd, in the USSR. His deputy was Dimitur Dimitrov, a 30-year-old youngster who has completed the full training course offered by the same school. He introduced me to his colleagues Stancho Stanev, a chemical expert, and Slavcho Koparanov. The young officials have enjoyed the support and guidance of the former department chief Lt Col Gospodin Dinev, currently deputy chief of the rayon MVR Administration. They know and feel their great responsibility in the course of their daily efforts, which help mainly the operative-investigative work in criminal and economic matters and are actively participating in providing the necessary proof of committed crimes. Although their

practical and personal experience is small, it is the ambition of the experts steadily to upgrade their skills and to raise their work to the level of contemporary requirements, in which they are successful. Along with familiar and always valid forms of crime detection, of late they have been using most modern photographic methods involving the application of ultraviolet and infrared rays, work with microscopic traces and, furthermore, studies of their formation. Let us point out once again that the Sliven experts of the DNN-NIKK were among the first in the country to undertake such investigations.

They see possibilities of improving their work in the sufficient, meaningful and qualitatively accurate raw data on crimes. Unquestionably, this directs them toward the proper use of additional scientific and technical facilities. There is still something left to be desired in terms of looking over the site of the crime and the full gathering, storing and studying of the various types of clues and proofs.

Now that we mentioned the preservation of clues, allow me to complete with an interesting and rather indicative example. One New Year's day R. K. developed a yearning for baked pork, belonging to someone else. The attempt to steal the pig failed. However, as he was being released by the rayon administration, he was fingerprinted in any case. A long time afterwards an elderly woman was raped and killed in Nova Zagora. A fingerprint was found on the broken glass pane in her house. For three days all experts worked from dawn until dusk with microscopes and magnifying glasses and categorically established that R.K. was the author of the crime.

Currently the Sliven experts have pledged to earn the title of "Excellent Section."

5003
CSO: 2200/21

'RUDE PRAVO' DEPUTY CHIEF EDITOR ON IDEOLOGY

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 82 p 4

[Article by Vladimir Gerloch, deputy chief editor of RUDE PRAVO: "In Unity With Practice"]

> [Text] The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia regards ideological work as an important component part of its political work. This was again taken note of by the March (1980) Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The efforts of communists are directed toward its improvement.

The party regards the education of the people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and of a strengthening of socialist patriotism and class consciousness to be one of the most important tasks of ideological work. This is all the more important since the age composition of Czechoslovakian society is changing before our very eyes. Nearly one-half of Czechoslovakia's citizens did not go through the crucible of class battles in the bourgeois republic, and did not participate in the anti-fascist and national liberation struggle. Often young people take socialism and its gains as something given. This can sometimes develop into a frivolous attitude toward the values which have been created. But it is precisely the young whose task it is to accept the baton from their elders and to safeguard and develop what has been gained. We must not lose sight of the fact that the ideological diversions of the anti-communists are directed especially toward the youth. For this reason, one of the paramount tasks of ideological workers is to help young people to distinguish genuine values from false ones, and to attract young citizens into conscious and active work for the good of society.

The work of education in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist teachings demands from propagandists the creative mastery of the enormous historical experience which has been built up by Soviet communists and by the entire Soviet people. The approaching 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR is providing a new impulse for an even deeper consciousness of the historic role of the Soviet Union and of its peace-loving policy. At the same time, ideological workers have to unmask the dangerous plans of international imperialism led by the United States which has adopted a course aimed at intensifying the arms race and inciting new centers of tension.

Today the economy of the Czechoslovakian SSR stands before the objective necessity of moving on to the path of intensive development. In this connection, economic propaganda has a special place. The amount and quality of work put in socialist construction has to be the chief criterion for evaluating the work of everyone. Ideological work has to do everything to increase respect for selfless creative work for the good of society.

In the Accounting Report of the Central Committee which was delivered at the 16th Congress by Comrade G. Husak it was stated: "All the successes which our people has achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party are undoubtedly connected with the ideological and political educational work of the party. . . . We can say without exaggeration that most Czechoslovak citizens organically connect their lives with socialism. They are proving their attitude toward the socialist system and the party's policies and their patriotism by selfless and honest labor and civic activeness."

This, however, does not mean that everything is gotten without problems. One of the chief tasks upon whose accomplishment our party is working in the field of ideology is the latter's close connection with social practice. It is necessary for those who are engaged in the social sciences--scientists, lecturers, propagandists, journalists, and all ideological workers--to be even more thorough and deep in studying and explaining the problems which are being solved by society and to understand both plans and goals as well as the corrections which are made by life.

Leading workers in the economy and in other fields of social practice also have to regard ideological and political educational influence on the masses as an inseparable component part of their work. Ideological educational work has the task of providing practical assistance to the struggle against bureaucratic and technocratic hinderances at whose basis is a faith in the unlimited might of prescriptions and administrative measures. It is the mission of the workers of the ideological front to support those who work honestly and well and who have a creative attitude toward their work.

One of the most important tasks of ideological work is the struggle to strengthen labor discipline in all elements, from top to bottom. It is well known that Vladimir Il'ich Lenin often emphasized that the success of socialism is inconceivable without the victory of conscious proletarian discipline over spontaneous petty bourgeois anarchy.

The socialist system has eliminated the petty bourgeoisie as a social strata. But even today in Czechoslovakian society there is still evidence of survivals of bourgeois views in the habits, thinking, and behavior of individual people. There are still those among us who see the meaning of life in accumulation, in an endeavour to take as much as possible from society and give it as little as possible. The imperialists are deliberately trying with their hostile ideological activity to enliven these manifestations which are alien to socialism. It is for this reason that the documents of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia speak about the necessity for waging a principled struggle against philistinism and against survivals of it in the consciousness of people.

The ideological education of communists occupies a paramount place in ideological work. The party agencies and organizations of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party provide for the increased theoretical training of their members above all through the system of party education which covers plants and agricultural cooperatives, and through the houses and studios of political education at residences.

The development of party education in the Czechoslovakian Communist Party is being fostered by a study of the documents of its 16th Congress and of the 26th CPSU Congress. The students in the system of party education make concrete comments and proposals concerning, in particular, economic tasks. We are best able to combine studies with practice in the "Marxist-Leninist Principles of Party Work" seminars which are attended by party workers who have theoretical knowledge and experience in political work.

The rayon committees are devoting unremitting attention to the Marxist-Leninist training of candidate members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and of young communists. We have a principle in keeping with which every candidate has to go through a week-long introductory political course before he joins in one or another type of studies.

The untiring development of mass political work is of great importance for influencing people and for enlisting them in the active realization of the policies of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The open meetings of the primary party organizations are among its tested forms. At these meetings communists inform non-party people about the tasks which follow for the plant, cooperative, or institution from the decisions of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its Central Committee and other agencies, and about the measures which the party organization is taking to accomplish important tasks in one or another sector.

Other forms of mass political work have also justified themselves: for example, discussions between party workers and the workers of economic agencies and the public, and the holding of political information sessions.

Political agitation is a duty of a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Every party organization strives to see to it that its communists are always and everywhere an example, and that they actively influence their non-party workmates and explain the party's policies to them. They are supposed to form an active life position among our citizens. And this is one of the basic criteria of the effectiveness of ideological work.

2959
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POLITBURO REPORT TO FIFTH SED CC PLENUM PUBLISHED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Nov 82 pp 3-6

["Excerpts" from SED Politburo report delivered by Hermann Axen, member, SED Politburo and Central Committee secretary, to the Fifth Plenum of the SED Central Committee held 25-26 November 1982 in East Berlin]

[Text] Comrades:

Events since the fourth Central Committee plenum have fully confirmed that the resolutions of our 10th party congress and of our Central Committee's subsequent plenums are correct and effective. Their deliberate and creative implementation by the masses of the people enables our country to move ahead assuredly in solving the greater tasks in our developed socialist society at a time of increased international tension.

I

On the Party's International Activity

International developments in the reporting period confirm the assessments of the third and fourth Central Committee plenums. The dangerous exacerbation of the international situation persists. Comrades Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev and Erich Honecker, at their Crimean meeting in August this year, stated "that the world situation continues to be agitated and disturbing." They clearly identified the causes for this perilous trend: "The U.S. administration has proclaimed a crusade against the socialist community, as it were. That includes ideological diversion and psychological warfare, trade sanctions and a further boost to the arms race, the destruction of contractual relations and the refusal of constructive dialogue. Counting on their strength, U.S. leaders expect to dominate the international arena and dictate their will to the nations."

Facts since our last Central Committee plenum reinforce these statements:

--In the military field, the arms buildup aimed at gaining military-strategic U.S. superiority is being pushed by accepting a record military budget for the next 6 years of $ 1.9 trillion. The U.S. Senate ratified in this period the expenditures for the development and production of new dangerous weapons systems.

--Logistic preparation for deploying U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles in Western Europe in 1983 is in high gear. The formation and assignment of U.S. rapid deployment divisions and the development of their military bases are being speeded up.

--The region in which NATO holds sway is to be expanded at a global scale by the design of ruling U.S. circles.

--The kindling and expansion of hotbeds of conflict, defined as extremely dangerous by Comrade Erich Honecker at the fourth Central Committee plenum, is carried on by the United States and its NATO allies in the Near East, Southeast Asia, South Africa, Central America and the Carribeans.

--Relying on its dominant position in the capitalist finance market, the Reagan administration continues its measures in trade sabotage and restrictions toward the socialist countries. This is so although the U.S. government has suffered a setback in sabotaging the oil pipeline business of West European firms with the USSR and has difficulties in imposing on the other six leading imperialist states a joint economic warfare strategy against socialism.

--At the same time the ongoing disarmament negotiations in Geneva and Vienna are being dragged out by the United States and the other NATO partners to gain time and justify the arms buildup. Undersecretary Richard Burt of the U.S. State Department admitted it frankly on 1 November by saying: "If we had not started negotiating with the Russians, it would have been impossible to induce the allies to deploy missiles on their territory. The anti-nuclear movement keeps growing in Western Europe; it could jeopardize the December 1979 NATO resolution on deploying medium-range missiles. So we had to give the allies the impression we are seriously seeking advances in nuclear arms limitation."

--After U.S. President Reagan in his speech before the British House of Commons proclaimed an extensive crusade against socialism, the new U.S. Secretary of State Shultz, at a State Department conference in mid-October, proclaimed a broadly designed program in psychological warfare, diversion, and ideological subversion of the states of socialism and national liberation. This is meant to deflect from the extraordinary intensification of the capitalist crisis and the decline of the capitalist system that goes with it and pave the ground for further blows in the confrontation course.

Solidly Alongside the USSR, Resolutely for Detente and Disarmament

That imperialist calculation will not make it. In his last speech at the reception on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev unmistakably declared:

"We shall do everything necessary so that the adherents of military adventure can never surprise the Soviet land and a potential aggressor knows an annihilating counter-strike inevitably awaits him. Our power and vigilance, I think, will cool off the all too eager hotheads among the imperialist politicians.

"The Soviet Union will continue to struggle tenaciously for detente and disarmament in the future. We shall concentrate our efforts on avoiding the danger of nuclear war. That is what the foreign policy initiatives of the USSR and the fraternal countries of the socialist community are mainly aimed at."

The GDR is determined to continue unerringly the way of thwarting the confrontation course and securing the peaceful coexistence and cooperation among states with different social orders together with the USSR and the other fraternal countries and with all forces seeking reconciliation.

The most important prerequisite for it remains the all-round strengthening of socialism. Also in the reporting period our party and state gave the major attention in their foreign policy to the consolidation of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union.

The international importance of the GDR-USSR fraternal alliance was described in the communique on the friendly Crimean meeting on 11 August between Comrades Erich Honecker and Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev as follows: "The firm friendship between the Soviet Union and the GDR is a reliable guarantee for further successes in solving the tasks of socialist and communist construction. It is an influential factor of political stability on the European continent."

That meeting lent new impulses to our relations. Agreement was reached, above and beyond our successful cooperation in such dynamic branches as microelectronics, robot construction and chemistry, to speed up science and technological development, together with other interested fraternal countries, and introduce modern technologies in industrial and agricultural production.

In September the Politburo passed concrete resolutions on implementing the arrangements made at the Crimean meeting with respect to the economic, scientific-technical and foreign policy cooperation between both states and parties.

After the passing of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, the CPSU Central Committee on 12 November unanimously chose Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov as CPSU Central Committee secretary general.

In the summons of the CPSU Central Committee as well as in the speeches by Comrade Yuri Andropov the consistent and resolute continuation of the Leninist course of the CPSU was proclaimed as worked out under the leading influence of Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev from the 23rd to the 26th CPSU Congress.

The secretary general of our Central Committee in his telegram pointed out that Comrade Yuri Andropov enjoyed high respect in the GDR as a proven internationalist and true friend of the first socialist state on German soil. Erich Honecker expressed the conviction that the many bonds of irrevocable friendship and comradeship between the SED and the CPSU, and between the GDR and the USSR, were a reliable guarantee in our joint efforts for the further growth of the strength and influence of socialism, for ensuring peace and for the happiness of the nations.

Wholly in that sense our party and people are getting set for the important anniversary, the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR.

Further Deepening the Cooperation With Fraternal Countries

During the friendly meeting between Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Gustav Husak, secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, it was reiterated that the alliance between the two socialist neighbors proved a stable factor of peace on the dividing line between socialism and imperialism in Europe. Tribute was paid to the good advances in their already traditional cooperation in the fields of olefin-chemistry, microelectronics, robot technology, machine tool and farm machinery construction, the energy industry and materials management. It was agreed to start shortly with consultations on coordinating the 1986-1990 national economic plans.

An important contribution to developing our friendship and cooperation with Yugoslavia was the official friendship visit in the GDR from 22 to 24 November 1982 of Comrade Petar Stambolic, chairman of the presidium of Yugoslavia. That visit gave rise to assessing the fine development of our relations with Yugoslavia in all fields and set down tasks which our two countries intend to resolve in the time ahead through cooperation, particularly in the economic field.

During the negotiations between Comrades Erich Honecker and Petar Stambolic there was an extensive exchange of views on the current international situation, the causes for its exacerbation, and the implications of it. There was unanimity that it was a task of principal importance for the socialist countries, the nonaligned states and all progressive forces in the world to do everything to avert the risk of a third world war.

The joint communique signed by Comrades Erich Honecker and Petar Stambolic expresses the congruent positions of our countries on the important international issues today and reasserts the firm determination of both sides to extend their cooperation and reinforce the friendship between our peoples and states.

The further deepening of GDR cooperation with the fraternal countries also was served by the negotiations between Comrade Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and the prime ministers of Bulgaria and Romania.

By signing the GDR-Laos friendship and cooperation treaty while Kayson Phomvihan, secretary general of the LPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Lao Council of Ministers, was on a visit to the GDR, lifted the relations of fraternal friendship, solidarity and mutual aid onto a higher level. As an outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia, Laos, together with Vietnam and Kampuchea, is engaged in a policy aimed at creating a region of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation in Southeast Asia.

We reaffirm our unshakable solidarity with these fraternal countries and fully support their constructive proposals and resolutely oppose all attempts by imperialism and reaction to intervene in the internal affairs in that region.

The focal point of the Warsaw Pact states' foreign ministers committee session in Moscow on 21 and 22 October 1982 was a still closer cooperation among the states of the socialist community for ensuring peace and frustrating the imperialist confrontation policy. It dealt with the matters of continuing the detente process and developing international cooperation, in particular with regard to resuming the Madrid conference.

We Are Interested in Good Relations With China

At the 10th party congress we expressed our interest in good relations with the PRC. For the struggle for peace and against the imperialist confrontation course it is good to normalize relations with the PRC.

The PRC has underscored the need to safeguard peace and the desire to normalize Chinese-Soviet relations. A first round of talks between delegations from both countries was held at Peking. The tribute to the personality and distinctions of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, the attendance of a representative PRC delegation at the obsequies in Moscow, and the stress placed at it on the traditional friendship between the Soviet and the Chinese people have roused attention among us and all over the world. Our party is profoundly interested in a positive outcome of the Soviet-Chinese talks. The GDR is taking constructive steps toward normalizing its relations with the PRC in accordance with the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and nonintervention.

Wide Resonance to Erich Honecker's Trip to the Near East

The recent visit by Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to Syria, Cyprus and Kuwait was an important contribution in the struggle by the peace forces for damming in the dangerous sources of conflict at present. That visit gained great international importance on account of the sudden exacerbation of the situation in the Near East.

The U.S. confrontation course stood revealed in all its brutality by its abetting Israel's barbarous aggression against the PLO and the progressive Lebanese forces. Israel's aggression against Lebanon suited the long-term plans of U.S. imperialism to regain sway over Arab oil and transform the Near East into a strategic staging area against the Soviet Union and the national liberation forces.

Due to the heroic resistance by the PLO and the Lebanese patriots, and to the solidarity of the USSR, the GDR and other socialist states, and the protest from the world audience, the Zionist aggressor and his strategic ally abroad could, however, not reach their farflung goals. The aggressor Israel stands politically and morally isolated in the world today.

The most recent events in the Near East have made still more apparent that a just and comprehensive solution of the Near East conflict is possible only by respecting the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The Soviet Union's proposals, actively supported by the GDR, take account of that. The GDR welcomes the outcome of the conference of the state and government chiefs of Arab countries in Fes as an expression of the effort to proceed in unanimity in the struggle for solving the Near East conflict.

Our party and people have always given solidary support to the just struggle by the PLO. That solidarity stands up well, especially now after the most recent Israeli aggression.

In the frank and confident talks Comrade Erich Honecker held with the leading representatives of those states identical views emerged on the basic issues of world politics, averting the danger of nuclear war and safeguarding the peace in the world.

In those meetings, Comrade Erich Honecker explained the positions of the GDR and of the entire socialist community on the international situation and especially on two of the toughest world problems: the situation on the Near and Middle East after Israel's aggression and the peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem in conformity with UN resolutions. The positions taken by the partners in the talks and the published joint declarations and communiques show that GDR foreign policy, seeking peace and the implementation of the peoples' right to self-determination, has met with recognition and agreement.

When Comrade Erich Honecker was in Kuwait, he engaged in a friendly exchange of views with Yasir Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. There Erich Honecker reiterated the GDR's firm solidarity alongside the Palestinian people and its legitimate representative, the PLO.

In the course of the Near Eastern trip, some important bilateral accords and agreements were signed that serve the development and consolidation of mutually advantageous relations with the states visited.

The Near Eastern trip by the secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council not only found broad resonance in the world public, it was also recognized as another proof for the consolidation of relations between the socialist and nonaligned countries, and between the GDR and the Arab states.

The GDR Supports What Serves the Recovery in the International Climate

At a time of intensifying confrontation between imperialism and socialism, extraordinary importance attaches to a steady exchange of views among leading politicians and to the development of trade and relations in the fields of science, technology and culture between states with differing social systems.

Since the last Central Committee plenum, the GDR has concluded some additional cooperation treaties and agreements with nonsocialist states in the political, consular and economic fields.

Comrade Guenter Mittag's recent visit to Japan served the further extension of bilateral cooperation at the higher stage in our relations accomplished by Comrade Erich Honecker's official visit last year. The negotiations between the delegation headed by Comrade Mittag and leading Japanese political and economic representatives underscored the common fundamental interests of both countries in the preservation of peace and the development of mutually advantageous economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation.

The further development of good bilateral and advantageous relations between the GDR and capitalist states was served by the GDR foreign minister's negotiations with the foreign ministers of Greece and Austria and by his talks at the 37th UN General Assembly with many of his colleagues. The GDR foreign minister's

speech of principle and the activity of our delegation at the 37th UN General Assembly constitute an active contribution by our workers and farmers state to the coordinated foreign policy of our socialist community.

The GDR furthermore actively supports the most recent Soviet proposals and initiatives for contributing, through far-reaching accords, to a perceptible recovery in the international climate. Our party and our state resolutely advocate that all other nuclear states without delay join in the USSR's solemn commitment to not making a first use of nuclear weapons.

We also support the Soviet proposal connected with it for speeding up the preparation and concluding of a general and complete nuclear weapons test ban treaty. That would effectively close the channels for developing and perfecting new types and systems of nuclear arms. As the first step the Soviet Union has proposed a moratorium on any nuclear explosions. We also attach great importance to the proposal from the Soviet Union that NATO and the Warsaw Pact issue a declaration on not expanding their action radius into Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Recently the Madrid meeting of the CSCE member states resumed its work. The GDR delegation has the clear directive to do everything possible, in close cooperation with the delegations of the other fraternal states, to conclude the meeting as soon as possible through a substantial and well balanced final document. A good basis for it is the draft submitted by the neutral and nonaligned states in Europe. In Madrid we keep seeking a resolution on summoning a conference on confidence and security inspiring measures and disarmament in Europe.

For Normal GDR-FRG Relations

The government change in Bonn is an internal FRG affair. To us, as the FRG's socialist neighbor, it is of course of extraordinary importance whether the new Bonn government meets its obligation for peace in Europe here on the border between the two military pacts and the two social systems or new incalculabilities and tension arise.

Anyone who looks at the situation in Europe realistically and cares about the destiny of the peoples on our continent can see that everything has to be done to make peace secure. Tension must be alleviated and not rekindled, the arms race must be stopped and not heated up, the results achieved in the detente policy must be preserved and not jeopardized, and we must proceed step by step toward cooperation on equal terms. The safeguarding of peace is of overriding importance, especially also for the development of relations between the two German states.

The new FRG government has thus far made a point of talking about foreign policy continuity, especially also in its Ostpolitik. To that we have given a constructive response. During the reception for the military academy graduates on 8 October 1982, Comrade Erich Honecker commented that if the FRG government said that all its partners in the Warsaw Pact could rest assured there would be no change in the detente policy and the Ostpolitik, it would have positive effects on the development of GDR-FRG relations.

In our policy toward the FRG we let ourselves undeterredly be guided by the principles for a peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders. We obey the historic obligation to make sure that never again war arises from German soil. That also is the most important task for the good of the people in both German states. We have attempted and are attempting to reconcile GDR-FRG relations to the spirit and letter of treaties concluded so they will help improve the tense international situation. That was attested to by the meeting of Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and FRG President Karl Carstens in Moscow on 14 November.

Everyone may rest assured we have carefully examined and evaluated what FRG Chancellor Kohl said about FRG-GDR relations, and we take a realistic view of it. That holds true for his remark that his government fully accepted the treaties concluded and all obligations assumed. But it holds true also for those words that might place the credibility of treaty loyalty in doubt.

If the remark that they wanted talks and not polemics is to be taken seriously, it is yet contradicted by the all-German pronouncements from prominent representatives of the coalition parties against the GDR.

In his ADN interview on 14 October 182, Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, pointed out that the German Empire perished in the fire of Hitler's war, particularly under the blows from the Red Army. The results of the war and postwar development, he said, are unlike the dangerous dreams in Bonn. Now there are two sovereign German states on German soil, independent of each other--the socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG. It accords with the interest in peace and the interests of mankind for both German states, not only for the GDR, to proceed from that reality.

The Basic Treaty unequivocally stipulates that the two German states respect their sovereignty and equality, and the independence of each of the two states in their internal and external affairs. They assert the inviolability of the border between them for now and the future and commit themselves to an unlimited respect for their territorial integrity. How should it then actually not be acceptable for the FRG to respect GDR citizenship? Why should it then be inconceivable to settle for once and for all the course of the Elbe river in the border area? If it was possible for thousand kilometers of the land border, why not also for 90 kilometers of the riparian border? Those are by no means unjustified maximal GDR demands, as is claimed in Bonn, but settlements in the sense of international law of eminently practical importance.

The GDR Peace Council Is Very Busy

The peace movement in our country engages in its activity under the favorable premise of total agreement with our state policy aimed at peace and the prosperity of its citizens. Under the proven leadership by the GDR Peace Council, it has, thanks to its energetic efforts, gained much respect in our country and outside.

A plenary session of the GDR Peace Council, held on 16 July 1982 at the People's Chamber building in Berlin, turned into a persuasive demonstration of the unity, might and strength of the peace movement in the GDR. In an atmosphere marked by great responsibility and confidence, representatives of all classes and strata, of all parties and mass organizations, men, women and youths with different ideological and religious convictions reaffirmed that there can be nothing more important for the GDR people than the safeguarding of peace. Noted representatives of the churches and religious communities stressed how convincing the religious peace commitment found expression in the unified GDR peace movement.

That meeting, marked by confident cooperation, also resolutely turned down all attempts undertaken by certain forces to split the peace movement. The declaration of intent passed in that plenary session has found wide agreement among all circles of the population. Everywhere in our country the appeal from the fourth Central Committee plenum is brought to life to do a good deed for peace each day on the job, strengthen our socialist state all-around and thereby actively aid the GDR's peace policy.

On 1 September, for the World Peace Day, Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received a Peace Council delegation. At that meeting he made the point that it was not enough to worry about peace but that all responsible people were called upon to try still harder to spare mankind war and annihilation.

The Ninth Regular Congress of the International Federation of Resistance Fighters was held from 8 to 10 September in the GDR capital. The attendance of 298 delegates from 23 countries and West Berlin and of representatives of 19 international organizations made that congress the most representative thus far. All participants were deeply moved by the great political importance our party and citizens attributed to that world conference of the antifascist resistance fighters.

The festive opening event, the guiding statements from Comrade Honecker on the international situation and the important role of the congress, and the awarding of the medal, "Great Star of Peoples' Friendship," deeply impressed all participants. The congress was pervaded with the deepest care for peace. It is highly significant that the congress, politically and ideologically diversified as it is, unanimously adopted the main congress documents, the activity report, the guideline program, and the resolution on peace and disarmament.

Solid Cooperation With Communist and Workers Parties

Since its fourth Central Committee plenum our party has developed much activity in its relations to promote the unity of action in the international communist and workers movement and the three main revolutionary currents of our age.

The same purpose was served by the conferences in which Comrade Erich Honecker engaged during his visit to Syria with Comrade Khaled Bagdache, secretary general of the Syrian Communist Party, to Cyprus, with Comrade Ezekias Papaioannou, secretary general of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus,

with the PCP delegation headed by secretary general Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, with the Finnish Communist Party delegation headed by party chairman Comrade Jouko Kajanoja, and with the general secretary of the Turkish Communist Party, Comrade Bilen.

In the end of October, a party executive delegation of West Berlin's SED, headed by its chairman Horst Schmitt, paid a friendship visit to the GDR. The SEW comrades were received by Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, for an exchange of views conducted in fraternal solidarity, during which the traditional close fighting community of the two parties in the spirit of proletarian internationalism was reaffirmed. Comrade Erich Honecker paid tribute to the SEW struggle for peace, work and the democratic rights of West Berlin' working population.

In meetings with the SED Central Committee general secretary and with working people in Halle Bezirk, Comrade Horst Schmitt reported on the various activities of the growing peace movement, the operations against job cutbacks and social welfare reductions, and the experiences in the representation of the West Berlin working people's democratic and social interests. His vivid account of the drastic consequences of heaping the crisis burdens upon the working people and of the ominous effects of mass unemployment, especially on youth, and of the radical social welfare reductions in West Berlin, once again illustrated how much of an historic achievement full employment and social security, as guaranteed and realized by socialism in the GDR, are.

The SEW chairman called the growing economic capacity of the GDR and its staunchly carrying on the main task policy, the stable development of socialism in the GDR altogether, a great encouragement for West Berlin's communists.

Erich Honecker and Horst Schmitt unanimously declared that preventing U.S. missile deployment in Western Europe and, with it, steps toward ensured peace, detente and cooperation profoundly conformed with the interests of the inhabitants of West Berlin too. Strictly abiding by and fully applying the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin, especially its key provision to the effect that West Berlin is not a part of the FRG and may not be governed by it, is prerequisite to ensuring a life in quiet and peace for the West Berlin population. They also opposed any design in testing the burdens that might be imposed on the Quadripartite Agreement.

1983--Karl Marx Year in the GDR

In 1983, there will be the 165th birthday and 100th death anniversary of Karl Marx. The whole world on this occasion will pay tribute to the person and work of that ingenious founder of scientific socialism, who above all gave inspiration and organization to the German and international workers movement and was an indefatigable fighter for freeing mankind from exploitation, suppression and war.

The party and broad social forces in our republic are getting set for celebrating the Karl Marx anniversaries in 1983 with dignity. The Politburo

proposes to the Central Committee to declare and make 1983 a Karl Marx Year in the GDR. The present "SED Central Committee Theses on the Karl Marx Year 1983" also serve our getting set for the Karl Marx Year.

The scientific world-outlook and doctrine established by Marx, Engels and Lenin more than ever proves the only correct compass in the struggle for socialism, peace, freedom and social security. We shall make use of the preparations for the anniversaries of the greatest son of the German people in conveying deeper insights into the inevitabilities of social development to all citizens in our country and in persuasively dealing with the basic issues in our era of mankind's worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism. The Karl Marx Year--the Central Committee is convinced--will be an enormous spur for new exemplary deeds on behalf of all-round strengthening our socialist workers and farmers state.

The Central Committee of our party for this occasion has invited communist and workers parties, other revolutionary parties and national liberation movements, and socialist and social democratic parties to attend an international science conference in Berlin in April 1983. Its theme will be: Karl Marx and Our Age--The Struggle for Peace and Social Progress.

We think a frank and constructive exchange of ideas, opinions and experiences about this topic can help promote and strengthen our common interests in preventing a nuclear inferno and the solution of other worldwide problems humanity is facing today.

II

Staunchly Continuing the Proven Policy for Continued Economic Performance Improvements for the Good of the People and for Peace

The Central Committee Politburo and secretariat have taken all necessary measures in the reporting period in carrying on successfully, and in line with the economic strategy issued by the 10th SED Congress, the performance improvements of the GDR economy for the good of the people and the safeguarding of peace. The basic guidelines for it have been and are the orientations provided by Comrade Erich Honecker at the third and fourth Central Committee plenums and at the conference with the kreis first secretaries in February this year.

The GDR Economy Achieved a Growth of Which We Can Be Proud

The Politburo affirms: Firmly linked with our party, the rural and urban working people have up to the end of October, in an atmosphere of strenuous and creative work and rich initiatives, produced outstanding achievements in socialist competition to fulfill and exceed the 1982 national economic plan. Especially in view of the higher and more complicated tasks in the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, the proven course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy turns out to be the crucial motivating force for the activities of the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the intellectuals and the other working people. That is shown by the results in plan fulfilment.

By 31 October, the growth rate in industrial production in the area of the industrial ministries had risen by 4.2 percent above the rate of the same period last year and labor productivity, by 3.5 percent.

By the end of October, the industrial commodity production plan was met by 100.7 percent. It provided products at a value of M 2.4 billion above plan for public supplies and export. This plan lead was accomplished primarily by a better utilization of domestic raw materials, the economic use of available energy, raw material and materials resources, and the increase in labor productivity.

Industrial combines accomplished a 1.8 full-day volume plan lead in their industrial output. An essential share in that high plan lead goes to such combines as the Schwarze Pumpe Gas Combine, the soft coal combines in Bitterfeld and Senftenberg, the Schwedt Petrochemical Combine, the Synthetics Plant Combine Schwarzheide, the automation equipment construction combine in Berlin, the Deko Plauen Combine and many others.

Successful work was done in the coal and energy industry supplying the population and the national economy steadily with fuel and energy. By the end of October, 2.3 million tons of raw brown coal and 339,000 tons of loose coal above and beyond the plan and 421,000 tons of brown coal briquettes had been mined or produced. For the clearance a lead of 20.8 million cubic meters was achieved, which made a higher volume of coal extracted than the plan had anticipated.

Construction reached its production goals at the end of October by 101 percent and reached a plan lead of a 2.2 full-day output. Compared with the same period last year, construction had a growth rate of 3.4 percent. Net production rose by 6.6 percent. The plan was overfulfilled.

In transportation we continued shifting freights from road to railroad and waterway traffic and making transportation processes more efficient. The railroad showed a 3.2 percent increase. Its share in overall domestic freight transports rose from 67 percent last year to 72 percent now. Important is the fact that all this transportation was handled through reduced economic outlays, particularly in public transportation and plant traffic.

The Politburo wishes to point out that we succeeded better in the reporting period in using the qualitative factors in economic growth by way of socialist intensification and rationalization.

The effort on behalf of high scientific-technical achievements brought it about that since the start of the year in industry more than 3,000 tasks from the science and technology state plan and the enterprise plans were put into production. That alone will give us in 1982 a production volume of more than M 13 billion, showing much higher labor productivity, efficiency and qualities. Output with the "Q" quality seal, for instance, rose by 12.4 percent by late September compared with last year.

Another important indicator for better control over our intensively expanded economic reproduction, in line with the economic strategy issued by the 10th party congress is the development of net production. In the area of the

industrial ministries it rose by 5 percent, which is faster than did our industrial commodity production. That is the outcome of the greater efforts the working people in industrial combines and enterprises are making to improve the cost/benefit ratio.

The effort to reduce basic material costs had altogether good results. The working people in the metal-working industry made a fine contribution to that. They managed to reduce specific rolling steel consumption by 6 percent.

The advances in the implementation of the economic strategy showed up in the return to the state of material allocations. The commitment assumed, in a letter from the general directors of the combines and the Central Committee party organizers to Comrade Erich Honecker, of saving an amount of M 1 billion in raw materials, working materials and energy and returning that amount to the state, was met already in late October by almost M 1.2 billion.

The Central Committee thanks all the collectives which with great energy turned this initiative from the Riesa metallurgists into a standard procedure of theirs, whereby they made an economically significant contribution to strengthening our economy.

Results in plan fulfilment during the reporting period confirm that the GDR economy keeps developing stably and dynamically. Our working people have every good reason to be proud of it.

Yet we must not overlook that the economic upswing is quite uneven. There are considerable differences among the combines and enterprises in terms of their production, their improvement of labor productivity and efficiency, their product qualities and their reduction of production consumption. This does not mitigate the growth in national income.

We must, in this connection, overcome the disparities in the performance development and in the use of the qualitative factors of economic growth and see to it still more resolutely that each combine and enterprise completely meets its economic responsibility. There is only one way to achieve our economic performance goals everywhere. It lies in organizing our intensively expanded reproduction in terms of the measures set down in Comrade Erich Honecker's concluding speech at the fourth Central Committee plenum.

The Housing Construction Program Is Being Fulfilled rigorously

The working people in construction had by the end of October newly built or modernized 152,524 dwelling units, whereby they exceeded the quota proportion of the 1982 national economic plan. Our constant concern in educating and taking care of the young generation is reflected by the new allocation of 9,600 nursery spots, 19,295 kindergarten vacancies, 1,899 classrooms, and 103 school gyms.

The 2,727 new old-age and foster home vacancies also met the plan tasks in this field.

By rising to 108 percent compared to last year, building repairs on apartment houses perceptibly advanced. Furthermore, the population, through its "join-in!" competition, greatly contributed to apartment maintenance and the beautification of towns and communities.

The renovation of Berlin was purposefully continued, greatly through the efforts of youth within the framework of the "FDJ Initiative Berlin." By the end of October, 16,484 dwelling units, 11,096 of them new ones, were handed out in the capital.

In line with the Politburo resolution of July this year, extensive work was done to carry out the housing construction program, the centerpiece of our social policy, by means of a much improved cost/benefit ratio. In 1982, in comprehensive housing construction, while fully ensuring the planned apartments and communal facilities, an additional reduction in building costs that exceeds the plan of an expected M 290 million is in the works. That is mainly done by making earth transports more rational and using building sites more effectively.

Now, in the resolute implementation of the fourth SED Central Committee plenum resolutions, the point is to come to grips with the many questions resulting from more definitely intertwining new construction, reconstruction, modernization and preservation of structures, especially in reconditioning inner-city residential areas. That will create in all kreises and towns more favorable conditions for an efficient and high-grade implementation of the housing construction program. We furthermore have to mobilize additional performance and efficiency reserves, especially for more maintenance and repair of old housing units. We must therefore more purposefully draw general rules from the best experiences of the kreis-directed construction enterprises in the use of technological lines and the repair bases of the enterprises in the housing industry, so as to encourage the public's own initiative.

On the Results in Agriculture

The cooperative farmers and workers in socialist agriculture, proceeding from the resolutions of the third and fourth SED Central Committee plenums and of the 12th Farmers Congress of the GDR, have done a great deal in supplying the population with food and industry with important raw materials.

After the 12th Farmers Congress, the Politburo made resolutions aimed at further consolidating the rural socialist production relations and improving the efficiency of our socialist agriculture by the tapping of reserves.

The results demonstrate the vitality of the working class alliance with the class of the cooperative farmers under Marxist-Leninist party leadership. The class of the cooperative farmers and their LPG's have been further consolidated. Through close cooperation among the cooperation partners in crop and livestock production, the increased responsibility of the cooperation councils, and the extensive involvement of the entire rural population good prerequisites were created this year for high yields in crop production. Thanks to the industrious efforts of the cooperative farmers and farm workers, 10 million tons and an average yield of 39.8 decitons per hectare brought us the thus far largest grain harvest in the history of the GDR.

Because of the excessive and long-lasting drought, the efforts of the cooperative farmers and rural workers did not produce the anticipated volumes in the other cultures. The extent of the effects can be seen by that in most bezirks in our country, partly, less than one-third of the longtime mean precipitation fell. That led to growth stagnation and partly killed the cultures, mainly in potatoes, sugar beets, fodder root crops and maize, and particularly on pastures.

In addition to the drought damage there were not insignificant losses due to foot and mouth disease.

Despite the strained livestock feed situation we managed to keep livestocks stable and develop them according to plan in the reporting period. By 31 October we had 5,690,105 heads of cattle, 12,106,741 pigs and 2,193,010 sheep. This lays the basis for plan fulfilment next year, and we have to secure it at all cost.

Plan fulfilment in agriculture demonstrates that those LPG's and VEG's get ahead best where the cooperative farmers and livestock production workers assume their responsibility for a high economic end product. The most important task in the weeks and months ahead will be to produce a maximum in meat, milk and eggs by means of the livestock feed available, ensure the reproduction of cattle stocks according to plan, and ensure the contact with the new harvest.

It is a realistic task if we can overcome the unjustifiable production level disparities among the various agricultural production cooperatives and other agricultural enterprises. That applies to level differences in crop production, in the livestock feed economy, in livestock production and in the efforts made against incurring animal losses. Good training for breeders is of great importance to it.

Results of the 1982 harvest year thus far make clear the decisive importance of the struggle for an all-round plan fulfilment on schedule in agriculture and the foodstuffs industry for the GDR's national economy at large. When the work in fall is concluded proper as to deadlines and qualities, we will have favorable preconditions for high yields and achievements in 1983.

Winter grain, winter oleaginous fruits and winter catch crops were, generally, seeded at fine quality at the agrotechnically most favorable schedules. Mainly we must make sure that we use all suitable acreages and do away with unsown field edges.

By 20 November, the fall furrow had been drawn up to 93.4 percent of the acreage allotted.

The 1983 national economic plan must be fulfilled right from the first day. In the plan discussions the cooperative farmers and workers expressed their determination to reach their goals with the funds they have.

The most important task in 1983 is to direct the initiative of the cooperative farmers and workers, in socialist competition, at high yields in all cultures,

high livestock productivity, and a favorable cost/benefit ratio. As experience has confirmed, it is of benefit there to prepare and apply concepts for maximum yields for each field, for pasture land and for the stables.

The extensive application of science and technology is the most important factor for high yields and performance especially also in agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry. For that reason precisely it is very important to create the necessary lead for a stable performance development through scientific-technical top performances in agricultural research. That requires close cooperation among all science areas, especially the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, the Academy of Sciences, the academic institutions and industry. That objective is also served by the agricultural sciences research program.

The Central Committee secretariat has made a resolution on developing the VdgB (BHG) [Peasants Mutual Aid Association (Peasants Trade Cooperative] as a socialist mass organization of the cooperative farmers and cooperative gardeners. That resolution has met with a broad response from all cooperative farmers. After the resolution was adopted, the VdgB got already 20,000 new members. The members and boards of the VdgB-BHG are to contribute actively to promoting the initiatives of the cooperative farmers for increasing agricultural production and making it more efficient.

The activity of the VdgB-BHG is expected to shape further the social position and responsibility of the class of the cooperative farmers as alliance partner of the workers class, support their participating in socialist democracy, and give more substance to public life in the villages. To that end, our party's bezirk and kreis managements have to provide effective guidance to the VdgB-BHG executives.

Fulfilment and Targeted Overfulfilment of the 1982 National Economic Plan and Ensuring a Good Start for the 1983 Plan

The Politburo, from the Central Committee plenum in session, directs the state and economic managers, the bezirk and kreis managements, and the party organizations at purposefully continuing the struggle for the fulfilment and targeted overfulfilment of the 1982 national economic plan up to the last day of the year. The ministers and general directors of combines are charged with aiming their management activities more still at accelerating economic growth and the boosting of labor productivity--the chief reserve for a dynamic performance development--in the weeks ahead. All possibilities must be exhausted to fulfil the 1982 plan completely. Closely connected with that is the task to prepare a smooth and stable transition to the next plan year. Party supervision must rigorously be aimed at that fundamental issue.

The Politburo underscores the initiative of many collectives in working already in accordance with the parameters of the 1983 economic plan. For that a solid basis was laid by the constructive 1983 plan draft debate conducted in recent months. We can in turn report to the Central Committee that more than 5.5 million working people took part in the democratic debate, conducted with high energy, on the completion of the 1983 economic plan.

It attests to their high sense of responsibility for the further successful implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions that almost one million working people took the floor in that constructive debate. Much more than half of their proposals aimed at higher labor productivity and greater efficiency and better labor qualities.

More than 242,000 proposals have thus far been incorporated in the plan. Ministers, the general directors of the combines, and the directors of the enterprises are obligated thoroughly to analyze the proposals and suggestions from the working people on the 1983 plan for performance improvements, greater labor productivity and efficiency, and continued improvements in working and living conditions, create prerequisites for their being implemented, and account for it before their work collectives.

The Politburo has passed on the proposals from the FDGB Executive Committee for conducting socialist competition in 1983, on the competition priorities in agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry, and on the FDJ and FDGB projects in job competition for the year ahead. The basic guideline, passed on by the Politburo, for socialist competition, in line with the requirements of our economic strategy, concentrates especially on the following tasks:

(1) Significantly increasing labor productivity through further deepening intensification by way of accelerating and enhancing the economic effectiveness of scientific-technical progress and socialist rationalization, and further improving the cost/benefit ratio;
(2) producing more and a higher grade of consumer goods for the population and for export by means of allocated raw and working materials;
(3) further decisively reducing production consumption and prime costs so as to ensure the necessary production growth by means of available raw materials, working material and energy and enhanced refinement, and boosting the work collectives' contribution to the national income;
(4) using better available basic assets and making investments and the social labor capacity still more effective;
(5) meeting export tasks on schedule and in conformity with contractual terms; and
(6) what matters is to combine still more closely the struggle for large production, efficiency and labor quality with further improvements in the working people's working and living conditions.

The Central Committee secretariat in the reporting period again concerned itself with ensuring stable fuel and energy supplies for the 1982/83 winter and made the arrangements necessary for it. It is important to meet the planning and supply tasks during the winter months every day and ensure maximum availability for surface working, briquette factories, powerplants, heating plants, gas production and energy transmission installations during peak energy requirement periods.

Further Accelerating Scientific-Technical Progress

For our continued economic policy work in implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions, the Politburo emphasizes the task to achieve a much more penetrating production intensification and rationalization by accelerating our scientific-technical progress and its broad economic use. Good results have

been achieved this way. Among them are the 65-percent increase in top product production by the end of September and the fact that through research and technology 10 percent more manpower was shifted over to other assignments than last year.

A more creative performance drive by researchers, engineers and innovators requires measuring objectives and results everywhere against international standards representing the technically and economically attainable. Greater efficiency and quality growth presents the combines with the task constantly to raise the proportion of top achievements in products and technologies.

Above all it requires to proceed without compromise from the demands of our party's economic strategy in all the objectives of our scientific-technical work. The tasks resulting from that must from the outset be included in the plans and govern the preparation of the official duty records. Scientific-technical tasks must not be authorized until funds are released for them once their economic performance targets are unequivocally oriented to international market and productivity requirements. That is an obligation of the first order for each general director of a combine.

The 25th Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow has furnished vivid evidence for the importance of youth initiatives toward coping with science and technology.

Concentrating Investments on Socialist Rationalization

A great reserve for increasing production and labor productivity and reducing prime costs lies in making much better use of basic assets on hand and making investments more efficient.

Concentrating investments on socialist rationalization emphatically requires making much more of the construction of means of rationalization as the strategic-technical basis for the updating of products and the introduction of modern technologies. That will make possible using purposefully the necessary prerequisites in tools, devices and means of operation for an economic utilization of scientific-technical data.

It will become much more necessary to find rationalization solutions that connect the use of industrial robots with the modernization of production installations on hand so that highly productive technologies and procedures can produce greater economic effects. An important source for performance growth lies in reducing the time frame from putting new capacities in operation to attaining their full production effectiveness.

Enforcing an investment policy geared to highest effectiveness makes higher demands on the research and project planning collectives. The outcome of their efforts largely controls the scientific-technical level, the effectiveness and profitability of future production, the investment expenditures and the production span.

In connection with the implementation of the 1982 national economic plan, the Politburo dealt with the issues of a more efficient use of basic assets and laid down rules to make this important potential more effective. In conformity with the resolutions of the fourth Central Committee plenum, it becomes a matter of resolutely continuing the effort to increase labor productivity faster than the basic assets allocations. Part of that is increasing the daily operations of machines and installations through more shift labor.

Increasing the National Income Through Greater Reductions in Production Consumption

A basic issue for further increasing the GDR's national income lies in greatly improving the cost/benefit ratio in all economic domains and, thus, in the further reduction of production consumption. Therefore the Politburo dealt with the status of the resolution implementation in energy and materials management and set down further rules for more advances of the work in this field. Through rational energy use we have succeeded in recent months in ensuring our economic performance development without an increased consumption of primary energy.

A great performance growth through reduced energy consumption must become the yardstick for all combines and territories. So energy consumption must be ruled by accurate norms everywhere.

Fine materials management and enhanced refining of all raw materials and material used are key points for ensuring our economy's continued performance growth. That has to become still more of an object of our political-ideological work. Everywhere it must become a concern of the first rank in scientific-technical work to achieve the highest effects in refining by a reduced specific material use at high qualities, product reliability, and a volume/capacity ratio on a par with international standards.

A firm component of the Politburo's work in implementing the 10th party congress resolutions in the field of economic and social policy has been the development and deepening of socialist economic integration. In view of the exacerbation of the international situation, we intend still more resolutely to extend and deepen our economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to which, as one knows, always two-thirds of the total GDR foreign trade has gone.

The Politburo has conferred several times on expanding economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community. Proceeding from the resolutions of the 36th CEMA session, arrangements also were made with other CEMA countries for preparing a solution for long-range cooperative tasks.

The Leipzig Fall Fair impressively confirmed the GDR's internationally recognized role as a stable and reliable economic partner. That fair, held under the motto, "For open world trade and technical progress," made an important contribution to the development of mutually advantageous economic relations with all states.

III

The State, Education, Culture and Social Organizations

The Politburo has paid appropriate attention during the reporting period to strengthening our socialist state power as the chief instrument for political stability, social security and a peaceful life for our citizens.

Greater attention is given to the work of capable and reliable mayors as representatives of socialist state power and trustees of the citizens. The Central Committee Politburo has received a report on results and experiences in the work with mayors and on the preparation given to a new generation of functionaries.

The presidium of the Council of Ministers, in a resolution of 4 November 1982, set down concrete measures for the selection, training and assignment of mayors. Obligations assumed in letters to the secretary general of the Central Committee, from the mayors' conference, are being purposefully realized.

The effectiveness of state management is gaged, not last, against how well the planning goals and obligations in the "join-in!" competition are met, how public life in each town and community keeps developing and improvements according to plan are attained in the working and living conditions, especially in the housing conditions, of the citizens.

The most important prerequisite for that lies in uniform political-ideological conduct, in a firm political position by all deputies and managers and associates of the state machinery, and in exemplary deeds of labor in all towns and communities.

Abundant Activity in Service to National Defense

Moved by concern for the protection of peace, our party is doing persistent work to solve the tasks in the field of socialist national defense. The members of the NVA and of the GDR's protective and security organs are purposefully working on the implementation of the third and fourth SED Central Committee plenum resolutions and, under party leadership, in a proven manner, reliably and conscientiously, are fulfilling their class mission as assigned by the 10th party congress. In the command organs, formations, troop components and teaching institutions of the NVA, fine political and military results were achieved during the 1981/82 training year.

Based on the Politburo decision to carry on socialist competition for the continued implementation of the 10th SED Congress resolutions, the minister for national defense issued a new directive on conducting socialist competition. For their exemplary achievements, 14 troop components for the first time were awarded the title of "best troop unit."

The political-moral condition of the combat collectives was reinforced and is marked mainly by the recognition that the high combat and mobilization readiness required for the reliable protection of socialism and peace has to be assured daily anew. The achievement performed in this by army personnel fills us with pride and respect.

What our working people create in industry and agriculture through their industrious efforts is steadily and securely being protected in our military service system, in combat duty and border service, through close everyday cooperation with the Soviet Army and Navy and the other fraternal socialist armies.

Furthermore, the members of the NVA and of the garrisoned units of the ministry of the interior are doing exemplary work in tackling important economic tasks.

The NVA has during the reporting period fulfilled according to plan and systematically its tasks within the scope of the Warsaw Pact united armed forces. A high point no doubt was its taking part in the joint exercise, "Shield 82," from 25 September to 1 October 1982, on Bulgarian territory and the contiguous sea areas of the Black Sea. That exercise, as all our other military efforts, fully harmonized with the Warsaw Pact countries' peace policy. It proved a school for patriotic and internationalist education and demonstrated our armies' ability to rebuff any aggressor.

The comrades in the state security ministry, the ministry of the interior and the GDR customs administration engage in successful struggle against all peace-endangering and subversive intrigues by the imperialist enemy and ensure a high level of public order and security.

Our party and our people highly appreciate the responsible service of the GDR border troops. We must also in the future do everything possible to protect our national borders reliably.

Fine results and experiences are noted in the political work and task fulfilment of the GDR civil defense. The dedication of the volunteer associates to the humanistic concern of civil defense deserves the highest appreciation and all-round promotion.

The working class militia groups have successfully completed the first part of training in the 5-year training period the Central Committee secretariat has ordered. High points were the tactics exercises conducted in the fall of 1982. Good results came from the thorough political-ideological and organizational preparations for the training measures entailing high demands. The level of the previous training period was surpassed in all parameters important for fighting strength and combat readiness, and a large participation in this training was ensured. All fighters and junior and commanding officers and all who actively supported the combat teams deserve great gratitude and recognition for their fine achievements.

Important initiatives were released by the Central Committee secretariat resolution on preparing and conducting the 30th anniversary of the working class militia in the fall of 1983. The militia members responded to that by assuming accountable obligations for further perfecting their operational readiness.

The 12th Society for Sport and Technology Congress was held between 25 and 27 June 1982. The balance-sheet drawn up on the 30 years that defense organization has been in existence indicates its increasing contribution to the communist education of youth and solid achievements in premilitary training and defense sports. Based on the 10th party congress resolutions, the GST tasks for the 1980's were worked out.

Confident Fellowship in the National Front

True to the proven principles of Marxist-Leninist alliance policy, our party is incessantly and successfully working on deepening the constructive and confident cooperation among the parties and mass organizations in the National Front of the GDR.

Our struggle for the all-round strengthening of the GDR and the safeguarding of peace received new powerful impulses for fortifying this alliance from the comradely exchange of views between Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and the representatives of the friendly parties and the president of the National Front of the GDR about topical domestic and foreign policy matters after the fourth SED Central Committee plenum on 30 June 1982.

The congresses of the LDPD, NDPD, DBD and CDU, held this year, have given most eloquent testimony to the high degree of awareness and organization among their memberships. Their congress resolutions express their determination to help shape all public life in the GDR by contributions of their own. It indicates the greater maturity of our alliance relations.

The congresses of the friendly parties released among our alliance partners many new initiatives and specific motions to enforce the economic strategy for the 1980's and for the rigorous fulfilment and targeted overfulfilment of the plan tasks. We rate this high dedication by our fellow-combatants as a convincing confirmation of their unshakable trust in our party policy and as an effective contribution to the further solidification of the political-moral unity of our people. We shall reinforce this close alliance policy cooperation on all levels.

Good achievements came in town and countryside during the reporting period from the civic initiative of the National Front, "More Beautiful Towns and Communities--Join-in!" surpassing the results of the previous year for important positions.

On 29 October 1982, the Martin Luther Committee of the GDR met under Erich Honecker as its chairman. Representatives of the Luther Committee of the Evangelical Churches in the GDR attended as guests, including its chairman, Bishop Leich.

In the committee session Erich Honecker remarked that the Martin Luther tribute of 1983 confirmed: "It is part and parcel of socialism to take from the best the German people and other peoples have produced to make existence such that man can be a man." That is shown in a vivid manner by the many activities in preparation for the 500th birthday of the great reformer, about which citizens from all strata of our society reported during the session.

The School-Year Started in an Open-minded Atmosphere

In an open-minded atmosphere questions of the struggle for peace and disarmament and of the science contribution to the implementation of the party's economic strategy were discussed with the students at the start of the 1982/83

school year. It turned out to be profitable for science specialists and party and economic functionaries to offer special lectures that addressed the vital issues of humanity and our socialist development and drew all students into the discussions. College teachers and students expressed their boundless support for the peace policy of the USSR and the whole socialist community.

There are 62,000 young people who started full-time studies this year, among them many young comrades who became party candidates during the FDJ party rally. The party organizations are going to use this reinforcement for further improving the party's fighting strength and the effectiveness of political mass activity.

The universities, colleges and technical schools are making their study plans and documents more distinct to shape further the students' own responsibility and independence and dedication. An emphasis was placed there on the consequences resulting for teaching from the 10 key points of the economic strategy. The substantive structuring of studies aims at setting up an optimum connection among basic theoretical training, theoretical-methodological education and the acquisition of specialized knowledge and at promoting all gifts and talents early in the game.

The central performance show sponsored jointly with the 25th Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow was the students' and young scientists' public status account on the advances made in this. The more than 1,600 projects reflected the greater productivity of mental work in teaching and study. A point should be made of the contributions in such important fields as the research on the inevitabilities of developed socialism and on the application of microelectronics and robot technology.

The Central Committee secretariat on 10 November 1982 received a report on the results of the assignment of FDJ students brigades. The summer work of students reflected to a special degree the readiness of young students to devote all they have to socialism. Altogether, a total of more than 46,000 students worked in FDJ students brigades on economic priorities and came up with high economic achievements. Some 21,600 of them worked within the scope of the FDJ Berlin Initiative in our capital.

When the plan for basic research in mathematics, the natural and the technical sciences was made more distinct in recent months, good advances were made in concentrating research on crucial economic tasks.

Important efforts were undertaken by scientists, master workers and specialists in workshops and laboratories of Academy institutes and colleges to shore up research projects in material and technical terms so that more and better results are achieved for science development by means of funds and resources on hand.

These initiatives are mainly aimed at the construction and maintenance of scientific devices and making available biochemicals and refined chemicals for important research projects.

To disseminate more rapidly and efficiently use over again new scientific methods and the results in scientific instrument construction in science and production, the Karl Marx University in Leipzig sponsored its first "Science Equipment Construction Fair of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs." In the outcome of that exhibition, more than 200 reuse contracts have thus far been signed with industrial science facilities.

The Central Committee secretariat has passed on the "conception for the long-range development of techniques at universities and colleges." That has made important decisions on the further expansion of the material-technical base and a closer combination between basic and applied research.

High Effectiveness of Pedagogical Work

Of great importance in politically getting ready for the 1982/82 school year were the public education activists' meetings held once again in all kreises on the basis of the Politburo resolution of 1 June 1982. The kreis first secretaries there explained the resolutions of the fourth Central Committee plenum and the tasks and problems arising from them for their implementation in the territories. The focal point was placed on the questions of aggressive political work among school youth and on the experience exchange about how the effectiveness of pedagogical work can and must be heightened.

Conferences in the school party organizations and on the pedagogical councils reflect the greater political maturity of the pedagogues and school functionaries in their wanting to do what they can to help implement the 10th party congress resolutions.

In the first weeks of the school year, more than 2.5 million mothers and fathers, in a constructive and confident atmosphere, elected the more than 540,000 members of the teachers' aides groups. The parents' conferences indicated that the parents highly appreciate the party's solicitude for their children's development as a benefit of socialism, of which we must make a full use in our confident fellowship for the education within the family and in school.

The Politburo paid much attention throughout the reporting period to the development of socialist art and culture. Right after the fourth Central Committee plenum, the 19th Workers Festivals of the GDR and the Cultural Festivals of the Working People in Socialist Agriculture were held. They indicated with how much success the socialist cultural policy of the 10th party congress is being implemented. Especially in Neubrandenburg Bezirk the festival showed most impressively how effectively intellectual-cultural life can contribute to reinforcing the citizens' bonds with our socialist state and their pride in our revolutionary accomplishments, arousing creativeness, and increasing the job satisfaction and joy of life in our socialist society.

In July, the Central Committee secretariat came out with a resolution on the tasks in the community halls and clubs. It contains the higher political-ideological, artistic and managerial tasks for these facilities that are so massively effective and so very popular among the population.

The Fourth Congress of the GDR Film and Television Association was prompted by the realization that the demands made on the substantive ideas and mass effectiveness of art and culture are noticeably increasing. The movie and television people turned their congress, which was held in Berlin in September 1982, into an important signpost for the continued implementation of the 10th SED Congress resolutions in the field of movies and television. They showed a party-minded stance in acknowledging their responsibility in the struggles of our era.

The Politburo received a report from Berlin Bezirk Management on the implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions in the field of socialist national culture. Berlin Bezirk Management has come up with good results in its consistent and continuous activity. The basic organizations, it was found, are taking an increasingly better account of the party's leadership role in the field of cultural policy. More than ever, culture and art have the task in the 1980's to reinforce socialist convictions, unfold the working people's creative capacities and foster the shaping of their socialist way of life.

This involves the whole range of culture and art in all domains of life in our socialist society, in enterprises, residential areas and the cultural institutions. We are especially endeared to originating and disseminating works of art that depict the work and life of our people in shaping the developed socialist society, in strengthening the workers and farmers power, and in the struggle for peace, in a realistic manner and with high artistic skill.

Bezirk and kreis managements are oriented to further enhancing the role of the communists in all cultural and art institutions and to more cooperation with artists and creators of culture. The party organizations ought to pay special attention to systematic political and technical work with the new generation of artists.

Since the fourth Central Committee plenum, international cooperation in the cultural field with the fraternal socialist countries and other states has been deepened and expanded. The Days of the Soviet Book and the Soviet Film Festival this year stood under the aegis of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR and the 65th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution. They once again confirmed the close bonds of our country's citizens with the literature and art of the Soviet Union's peoples.

Several times the GDR hosted cultural activities with international guests. Leading ensembles and orchestras from many countries in the world enriched this year's Berlin Festival and the Dresden Music Festival.

Big Activities by the FDJ and Its Ernst Thaelmann Pioneer Organization

On 16 September, Comrade Erich Honecker and other party executive members, after the fifth Central Council conference, which had issued the "FDJ Peace Rally," received the Central Council members and candidates and the FDJ bezirk and kreis first secretaries. In this meeting, which impressively documented the close ties between the party and the FDJ, the youth association announced its intention to make an important contribution, through its peace rally, to the all-round strengthening of the GDR and the defense of socialism.

Comrade Erich Honecker's speech at that meeting assigns essential tasks for the continued implementation of the 10th party congress orientation for carrying on the communist education of all youth at a higher level.

The "FDJ Peace Rally" is a pertinent response to the appeal by the party congress addressing the young coshapers of the developed socialist society so they make the communists' purpose of living their own.

The secretariat accepted a report on the central youth project, "FDJ Berlin Initiative" and took measures to extend it till 1985. Already more than 4,000 FDJ members and senior working people are working on the oil pipeline in the Soviet Union. The first pipes have been shifted, and the construction of compressor stations and dwelling units has begun. The FDJ has taken on new youth projects in our republic.

The FDJ's culture conference, held in Leipzig in October, became a significant event in the political life of our country. It stressed the great responsibility culture and art bear for the communist education of youth. Essential suggestions came from there for the intellectual life of youth and for the further development of our socialist national culture. Thereby the FDJ has made an important contribution to the implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions in the cultural policy field. The conference and the subsequent festival for young talents and young artists were prepared in an atmosphere of confident talks between the FDJ and creators of culture. A great number of new remarkable works of art originated there. The partnership of creators of culture, artists and the FDJ once again has proven most fruitful.

A resolute implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions makes high demands on functionaries, including those in the FDJ. The secretariat received a Central Council report on "results, experiences and conclusions of cadre work in the FDJ." Special attention was given there to a class-bound education, training and testing of the young functionaries.

The Seventh Pioneer Meeting in Dresden was a magnificent demonstration of our children's will for peace, their love for the socialist fatherland, and their ties with our party, which found its expression especially in their impassioned affirmation of Comrade Erich Honecker's speech. The young and Thaelmann pioneers turned their meeting into an inspiring performance exhibition. The vast store of experiences from the Seventh Pioneer Meeting ought to be used to hold the pioneer expedition, "My Homeland the GDR," on a high level in all pioneer groups and pioneer friendships.

More of a Boost to Sports

Considering what has been accomplished since the fourth Central Committee plenum in physical culture and sports, it certainly makes sense to say there has been another upsurge in sports in our country. An impressive picture of the various initiatives and activities of the athletes, both male and female, is shown by the fine results of the contests of the DTSB of the GDR, "Spartacus and Sports Festival Relay 83." Another 73,000 became members in the socialist sports organization. Newly founded were 138 sports clubs, 1,063 sections and 1,015 general sports groups.

More than 2 million citizens joined the movement aspiring after the GDR sports medal, "Ready for Work and for the Defense of Our Homeland."

This year's children's and youth Spartacus festivals in the kreises and bezirks concluded with fine results. Some 3.6 million boys and girls in the elimination contests, 970,000 participating in the kreis Spartacus festivals, and 100,000 athletes taking part in the bezirk Spartacus festivals are eloquent testimony to the joint, continual and purposeful, work of the DTSB of the GDR, the organs of public education, the FDJ and its Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization.

Kreis sports festivals with their many types of sports adapted to the various age-groups became massively effective high points in leisure-time and recreational sports.

Competitive athletes produced many fine accomplishments at the different world and European championships which fill our citizens with joy and satisfaction.

IV

Successful Party Activity

More than 2 million communists in our party have done much creative and successful work in the reporting period in implementing the fourth Central Committee plenum resolutions jointly with our country's working people.

It is the impression of the Politburo that the bezirk and kreis managements have drawn the required conclusions from analyzing the fourth Central Committee plenum in further elevating the level of their management activity, mainly in providing effective and convincing political work for attaining our economic objectives.

The creative and successful work of millions of working people for the all-round strengthening of the GDR convincingly expresses the growth of the SED's leadership role, it being the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the workers class and the entire GDR people.

The analysis of the fourth Central Committee plenum in bezirk and kreis managements, in bezirk and kreis activists' meetings initiating the party school year, and at the public education activists' conferences furnished new creative impulses for fulfilling the 10th SED Congress resolutions and turned into an experience exchange among more than 300,000 party activists and managerial functionaries about the most effective methods in mass and party activity for deepening the working people's relationship of trust with the party. Those conferences were imbued with the will to reach the targets of the 1982 national economic plan, meet the extra commitments assumed, and achieve the necessary contribution to ensuring an economic performance improvement in the GDR by responsibly preparing the 1983 plan.

The conclusions the bezirk managements have drawn from analyzing the fourth plenum take account of the requirement to direct the capacity of all party and work collectives at fully exhausting the reserves for intensively expanded reproduction. Such tried and tested forms and methods of management activity as working with long-range conceptions, massively effective action slogans, performance comparisons and management examples should be used more effectively while attention is paid to all new experiences.

That also was the concern of the report from the Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk Management to the Politburo entitled "Party Management Activity in Implementing the Economic Strategy of the 10th SED Congress in the Enterprises of Industry and Socialist Agriculture."

Bezirk Management, through purposeful leadership activity, increasingly managed to make a more effective use of the grown material-technical and intellectual potential in the bezirk, so as to meet ever better its responsibility for strengthening the GDR's economic capacity.

The Politburo made the point that mainly by concentrating political-ideological and organizational work by the party on science and technology, new reserves are to be tapped for our intensively expanded reproduction.

A crucial criterion for party work lies in the ability closely to combine political-ideological, economic and organizational work and make that effective in the development of the working people's mass initiative. The quality of party work is more and more gaged against how well the executive party organs can, persistently and systematically, draw general rules from the experiences of advanced party organizations. Here one must objectively analyze any given situation and draw concrete inferences from each and every labor sector.

Ever more closely connected with the efforts for high achievements in party and mass political work is the growing importance of systematic party supervision. That, experience has shown, promotes the kind of climate where each on his job and in his field assumes the full responsibility for carrying out the tasks and no evasion in solving complicated tasks is tolerated and no shoving off responsibilities onto others. Advice, suggestions and criticism from party and work collectives deserve the greatest attention. In particular, a most conscientious use should be made of the rich treasure of propositions advanced during the 1983 plan debate.

Basic Organizations Are Working on New Campaign Programs

Typical of the working style of many kreis managements after the fourth Central Committee session has been that they have more effectively brought to bear the great capacity of the basic organizations by allowing them more work that is creative and comes out of their own responsibility.

The Politburo has the impression that the basic organizations are seeking ever more creatively and with richer ideas the application of the 10th party congress resolutions. This maturation process was vividly reflected by the membership meetings that analyzed the fourth Central Committee plenum. The model

effect of the party members' struggling for a great contribution of their own to the performance dynamics of the GDR economy became more distinct. The membership meetings thereby lent new impulses to the implementation of our principle, "Wherever There Is a Comrade, There Is the Party, Too!"

The Central Committee secretariat received a report from the basic organization in the VEB printing machinery plant Planeta, Radebeul, about the results and experiences of the political-ideological work in fulfilment of the production tasks. The comrades in that basic organization were induced by the fourth Central Committee plenum resolutions to bring the qualitative factors of economic growth into effect through new initiatives. Especially the report from the party organization of the Radebeul printing machinery plant provides new evidence for the effectiveness of concrete campaign programs.

So it is welcome that in most membership meetings of basic organizations that dealt with analyzing the fourth Central Committee plenum the party collectives reviewed the fulfilment and further development of their campaign programs.

We advise all basic organizations to use the results of the 1982 plan and of the debate on the 1983 plan to prepare their campaign programs which will have to be ratified in the membership meetings in January.

The campaign programs for 1983 ought to direct party and mass activity more consistently at our intensively expanded reproduction and thereby make science and technology more of a motor for the everyday labor rhythm in the enterprises and the basis for the stability and dynamics of the reproduction process.

The work results of the party collectives in the implementation of the 10th SED Congress and the Central Committee resolutions confirm that the consolidation of the basic organizations' fighting strength depends mainly on the level of intra-party life. The further elevation of the party's leadership role turns more than ever our developed intra-party democracy, collectivity, criticism and self-criticism in the basic organizations into the point of departure for the communists' conscious discipline and uniform conduct.

Through basic organization work shall go, like a red thread, the communist education that will instill a principled and disciplined implementation of the 10th party congress and Central Committee resolutions in any given situation.

In the months since the fourth Central Committee plenum, our party has done most intensive and extensive ideological work. Many Politburo and Central Committee secretariat resolutions and many other party documents, especially the speeches by our secretary general, took a position on the ideological questions in the continued implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions, thereby assigning a direction and goal to our political mass activity efforts. On that basis, the bezirk and kreis managements and the basic party organizations have done much to improve the comprehension of our domestic and foreign policy tasks and mobilize our country's citizens for actively bringing them to realization.

Confirmed again is the experience that our citizens' initiatives toward fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan tasks develop all the more mightily and purposefully, the more convincingly and aggressively the daily conversations within the work collectives are conducted.

Much has been done toward reinforcing the realization that the preservation of peace today requires more than ever tapping all intellectual and material potentials, through a fraternal fighting alliance with the USSR and the other states in the socialist community, for comprehensively strengthening the political, economic and military power of socialism. We shall purposefully carry on the great ideological work done by the party and mass organizations among all classes and strata of our people while approaching the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR.

The 65th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution became altogether climactic. During the celebration sponsored by the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the GDR on 5 November 1982 in Berlin, where Comrade Erich Honecker spoke, the world-transforming role of the Great Socialist October Revolution and the vitality and timeliness of its doctrines for today's struggle for socialism, peace and social progress in the world were demonstrated, and the unshakability of our fraternal alliance with the CPSU was underscored.

More Than 1.7 Million Take Part in the Party School Year

The revolutionary life's work of Karl Marx was the focal point of the first theme in the party school year. The bezirk and kreis party activists' meetings initiating the 1982/83 party school year made a fine beginning for our aggressive political-ideological work. They were attended by circa 125,000 party activists and propagandists. The party activists' meetings brought out clearly that growing importance attaches to the party school year through the thorough acquisition of Marxist-Leninist theory, party strategy and tactics and party history by all communists and through the further consolidation of the party organizations' fighting strength.

A total of more than 1.7 million communists and unaffiliated working people attend the 1982/83 party school year. Last year the study of the 10th party congress documents followed a uniform topical plan; now it is going to be continued through circles, seminars and lecture cycles taking up their specific themes. The largest portion, more than 41 percent of total attendance, is made up by the seminars for the study of the basic problems of political economy of socialism and the SED's economic policy.

In the bezirk and kreis management party schools, 70,000 functionaries again in September started a systematic study of Marxist-Leninist theory and of party policy. Proceeding from the new criteria established for the continued implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions, the most significant mission of the party schools now is enabling the functionaries to conduct the party organizations' struggle for rigorously fulfilling the Central Committee resolutions at high quality and fulfil any task assigned them by the party with revolutionary fighting spirit and high personal dedication.

The results of our work since the last Central Committee plenum thus confirm that we, relying on the advances and experiences in implementing the line of the 10th party congress, and in firm alliance with Lenin's party and land, can attack the tasks for 1983 with strength and confidence.

5885
CSO: 2300/66

REGIME'S CONSPICUOUS INTEREST IN 'LUTHER JUBILEE' ANALYZED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 23 Nov 82 p 4

/Article signed 'rkr': "GDR Prepares for Luther Year"/

/Text/ The GDR is spending an astounding amount of money on preparations for the Luther Jubilee 1983. Wherever the reformer lived or worked, restoration work is in full swing. Luther's birthplace in Eisleben, where he was born on 10 November 1843, has been turned into a construction site marked "entry forbidden." The house in Eisleben, where he died on 17 February 1546, is also included in the work of restoration. A major overhaul is taking place in the former Augustine Monastery in Erfurt, where Luther lived as a monk in 1505-1511. This overhaul includes the church and the monks' cells. Completion appears near of the work on the Wartburg where, in winter 1521/1522, Luther--then an outlaw--translated the New Testament. The inside of Wittenberg city church is being completely restored. High up on the tower of the Wittenberg palace church, on the door of which Luther nailed his defiant theses on 31 October 1517, 190,000 new mosaic tiles are being set to refurbish the key sentence of the Protestant hymn "Our God is a Strong Fortress."

State and Church Preparations

These works of restoration would be impossible unless expressly sanctioned by the regime. On 13 June 1980, chaired by SED chief Erich Honecker, a GDR Martin Luther Committee was constituted in Berlin with 100 members. On that occasion Honecker celebrated the reformer as "one of the most important humanists, whose efforts were for a more equitable world." Historial Prof Horst Bartel, GDR Academy of Sciences, outlined the basic attitude: "Martin Luther holds a vital place in the progressive traditions of German history. These were adopted by the working class and the people as a whole, continued in new conditions and culminated in the victory of socialism in the GDR." Church representatives, for their part, point out that in past times Marxist theoreticians attempted to present a very differentiated Luther image.

In addition to this committee, convoked by state representatives, a Church Luther Committee has been at work since 1978. It intends to let Luther speak for himself. Its slogan for the jubilee year is taken from Luther's "Kleiner Katechismus" /Short Catechism/ : "To fear, love and confide in God above all things." Its chairman, Thuringia Land Bishop Werner Leich, outlined his expectations in the course of an interview. The prime consideration is that of deepening the faith of the congregations. Seven regional Church conferences in Dresden, Eisleben, Erfurt, Frankfurt/O.,

Magdeburg, Rostock and Wittenberg will be conducted with the slogan "dare to be confident" and are designed to carry the Gospel to society as a whole with the greatest possible publicity. Going by previous experience, at least half the people attending church conferences are young. Leich also hopes for a broad encounter with other denominations and an impetus toward the settlement of matters separating Lutherans and Catholics. Erfurt is also to host an international Luther Research Congress.

Two Goals

We are justified in asking why the government is making such a conspicuous effort for the Luther Year. Two goals are prominent: For one the GDR is endeavoring as emphatically as possible to make its own people conscious of their national identity. A sweeping look at history is particularly suitable for this purpose. For the other the GDR intends to put forward its best face to visitors arriving in the GDR in the Luther Jubilee Year. Honecker concluded his address to the state committee's second meeting on 29 October 1982 with the following invitation: "We extend a cordial welcome to all visitors who feel devoted to Martin Luther and his work. When staying with us they will have an opportunity to witness real socialism as organized by our people in true freedom." However, the most closely guarded national border of Europe is by no means being loosened.

Moreover, when considering this conspicuous GDR approval of an ecclesiastical celebration, we are bound to think of something else, too: The state, founded on Marxism-Leninism, may well be quite pleased that there are churches which, by their particular ideology, are specially inclined to devote themselves to the service of their less fortunate fellow men. The charitable works of the GDR Union of Protestant Churches maintain 48 hospitals with 6,600 beds, 273 retirement and nursing homes with 11,000 places and 105 homes for 5,400 mentally and physically handicapped people. Some 8 million of the GDR's total population of 16.75 million consider themselves Protestants and 1.3 millions Catholics. Another 150,000 are members of a free church or other religious congregation.

11698
CSO: 2300/60

POPE'S MESSAGE TO VISITING BISHOPS REPORTED

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 24 Oct 82 pp 1, 3

[Article: "Our Bishops in Rome: the Address of the Holy Father to the Bishops]

[Text] We have reported that Pope John Paul II received on 7 October the members of the Hungarian Council of Bishops, who arrived in Rome for an "ad limina" visit. In the following we shall report the address made by the Holy Father to the bishops. First the Holy Father greeted the bishops, who came to Rome together with Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, archbishop of Esztergom, to worship at the grave of The Apostle and to meet with his successor. Through them he sent his greetings to the whole Hungarian nation with its eminently rich, thousand-year-old Christian history and to the beloved Hungarian Church, which through the centuries has always borne witness of its deep adherence and indomitable loyalty to the Roman Pope and the seat of Saint Peter beginning with Saint Stephen, Saint Laszlo, the king, and the martyr Saint Gellert. The Pope continued his address as follows, and we quote:

"Our meeting today is not at all an isolated and incidental one but rather the crowning of many ties which have followed one another since the beginning of my papacy. Whether through letters I sent to you or through visits like that of the Cardinal undersecretary on the occasion of the thousand-year-old celebration of the birth of the martyr Bishop Saint Gellert, the travels of Luigi Poggi in your country, or your individual and collective visits of Rome on the occasion of the dedication of the Vatican Chapel of Our Lady of Hungary." The Holy Father here noted that he was familiar with the reports prepared for the "ad limina" visit of the bishops. He was happy to meet with each of them and to be informed ot the situation in their diocese. As on the occasion of their individual visits they have now informed him collectively of their joys, sorrows and hopes that they have encountered in the fulfillment of their pastoral missions. The Pope shares their joys and cares and accepts them as his own. He is happy to affirm that the Christian tradition is alive in Hungary, particularly the reverence for Mary, which has become rooted in the soul of the Hungarians. We may regard with hope the religious awakening of the young generation. The demand is growing among the faithful that their faith should be deepened as is witnessed by the

number of those enrolled in the theological correspondence course. Moreover, the fact that every Hungarian diocese has a bishop entitles us to hope that efforts are being intensified to improve the situation of the Church in Hungary and that these efforts with their great perseverence and mutual respect will bring positive results. "I wish from my heart," said the Holy Father, and we quote, "that these efforts will lead to the solution of the serious problems that still exist."

On Youth

Then the Holy Father spoke of those problems which he knew of through the reports of and his conversations with the bishops. He said:

"It appears that the solution of several problems requires your special commitment. First of all, the teaching of the catechism to the young and in general to the faithful requires your constantly diligent and generous care. You know that this problem is of vital importance. On Easter, 6 April 1980, I wrote a letter to the entire Hungarian Church. In it I recalled the serious obligation which the bishops of the diocese, the priests of the parish, all parents have in the teaching of the catechism. Parents have received from God their great responsibility for the education of their children. Despite all difficulties, it is your mission as good shepherds of the flock of Christ constantly to strive in the most effective way to fulfill the holy and serious obligation of assuring your faithful, especially the young, a basic religious education. To this end, you must attend to and put in the balance all available means. Therefore I exhort you to look with constantly increasing zeal after the schools, actually too few in number, which are operating in your country in order that they may appropriately fulfill their role. In regard to the teaching of the catechism, you have for some time, my Reverend Brothers, been faced with the serious difficulties of the ecclesiastical basic communities. This problem is rightfully troubling you as the responsible bishops of the Church. A positive solution to this problem can no longer be delayed without harm to unity. In my aforementioned Easter letter with reference to the apostolic exhortation of my predecessor of blessed memory, Paul VI, beginning with Evangelii nuntiandi I emphasized: 'These communities, in order to be called truly ecclesiastical, must above all be in firm unity with the local churches into which they are built and through these into the universal church always together with their bishops and acting under their guidance.' I am certain that you will support and openly assist those basic communities which observe these guidelines, and I would wish that all of them adjust as soon as possible to the norms."

On the Family

Furthermore, the family problem requires special care. "Unfortunately, in your country, as generally elsewhere, the family is in a serious spiritual crisis. Divorces are spreading, abortions are increasing and births are declining. We are speaking of the problems of modern societies in the industrialized world. One of the most important obligations of the Church is to guard the institution of the family as firmly tied to the basic

principles of Christian faith. To prepare appropriately those about to enter on matrimony, constantly to offer sacramental, moral and community support, to teach and lead spouses to love, to be faithful, to worship and partake in joint prayer. In my apostolic exhortation beginning Familiaris consortio I mentioned the following: "At a historical moment when many forces are seeking to break down or distort the family, the Church feels its mission more keenly and urgently, in knowledge of the fact that the good of society and of itself is closely tied to the good of the family, and that it proclaims to everyone the plan of God for marriage and family, providing the family with full life-force and human, Christian development, and contributing in this way to the renovation of society and the people of God."

My Reverend Brothers! We should naturally turn our loving attention to the monastic communities of men and women which have performed such worthy work throughout the centuries in the culture, history and progress of the Hungarian nation. Now here I can only give expression to my fervent wish and prayer, in which you, too, certainly share, that all those who in your country sense the call of the Lord to devote themselves to Him in monastic life, including the meditative monastic form of life, can follow their calling for building the people of God and serving the civil community."

On the Priests

"Now I shall remind you with special care of your priests, who are your necessary and immediate work colleagues. You have stated with rightful satisfaction that you have good priests who devotedly and generously endure the burdens of the day in the vienyards of the Lord. Although most of them are of advanced age and often in poor health. My Reverend Brothers! Always be close to your priests, and behave toward them with fatherly feeling, respect their work, make their problems and interests your own, and actually give them your support. Above all, maintain with them the relations of friendship, confidence and fatherly solicitude. In this way, a priesthood living in unity and solidarity will surround you, and you will fulfill your mission with greater efficiency. On this day I would like specially to make mention of old priests, whether in the diocese or in the monasteries, as well as the sisters, who live in social homes and pass the long years of their life in managing schools, teaching pupils and caring for the sick. Moreover, I express my gratitude for all those who pray daily to God for the Vicar of Christ and for the Church, and who offer up their sufferings and problems of advanced age for the salvation of all. From my heart I ask the merciful God to strengthen with His heavenly grace these aged servants and maidservants of His!

In my address here I shall naturally mention the question of seminaries and the priestly calling. I offer from my heart the constant and diligent furthering of these to your apostolic care. Let us recall the words of Christ: "The harvest truly is great, but the laborers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he would send laborers into His harvest!' Let there be no lack of zealous prayer initiatives in your diocese. Pray to the Lord that he should send many generous workers to fulfill their

service to the holy field of the soul's salvation. With full devotion help the seminaries to be firm homes of deeply spiritual and intellectual education for the youth who are called to priestly service, and follow with fatherly solicitude the various phases of their life even when they are fulfilling military service.

Finally in a more general but no less important field, I call on you that you increasingly improve the education of your followers in pastoral care and for the joint responsibility to which they are called by strength of their baptism and general priesthood according to the principles of the Second Vatican Synod."

After enumerating several important problems of the Hungarian Church, the Holy Father, in the concluding portion of his address, acknowledged that the bishops lead as fathers and masters those who are entrusted to their care, and then he turned to them with fraternal encouragement: "Through unified and fervent priests and through well-trained and loyal lay people inspire in your diocese the true Christian testimony. Through decisions made at conferences of the Council of Bishops, you yourselves should see to the joint forms of pastoral activity, generous and mutual cooperation, regular programing of the solution to pastoral problems, and finally to the wise distribution of means and energies." The Holy Father gave his apostolic blessing to the Hungarian bishops, and he extended this to the priests, the seminarians, to the men and women in the monastic orders, and to all the faithful in Hungary. Finally, he also sent his special greetings and good wishes to all those Hungarian citizens who do not follow the Catholic faith.

Reception

A reception for the Hungarian bishops visiting in Rome was given on the evening of 7 October by Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, primate and archbishop of Esztergom, and by the Rector of the Hungarian Papal Institute, Laszlo Danko, at the seat of the Institute in the Palazzo Falconieri. Attending the reception were Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, undersecretary, Bishop Luigi Poggi, and others from the undersecretary's office, monastic order principals and bishops, and Hungarian clerical and lay people living in Rome. At eight o'clock they showed the color documentary film which was prepared on the visit in Hungary of Cardinal Agostini Casaroli, undersecretary, on the occasion of the observance of the birth of the martyr Bishop Saint Gellert, and of the dedication of the Hungarian Chapel in the Vatican. This was followed by a concert given by Italian musicians.

Holy Mass in the Hungarian Chapel in the Vatican

On the morning of 8 October the Hungarian Bishops led by Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, primate, concelebrated holy mass in the Vatican Chapel of Our Lady of Hungary. A number of Hungarians living in Rome, and tourists, were present. At the beginning of the mass, Cardinal Laszlo Lekai said the following among other things:

"One cannot enter this Chapel without being moved because we are seized by the thought that this task waited on us, the now living Hungarian Chapel in the Vatican in unifying Hungarians:

"The "ad limina" visit of the bishops is a recommencement. After giving account: a weighing, deliberation, again the call of the Holy Spirit in order that we may go farther, and that the next 5 years should be more successful. Here where we stand everything is new. This Hungarian Chapel was dedicated 2 years ago when Pope John Paul II concelebrated with the Hungarian bishops. We are thankful for this and feel that the 15 million Magyars throughout the world have received a new spiritual center. The Council of Hungarian Bishops is beginning the recommencement with the reckoning that we have taken a step and this must be developed further. The "ad limina" visits began in the time of Saint Stephen when Europe was yearning for the unity of the Christian nations; the storms of the great migrations had subsided and they became aware that there is a spiritual center: the grave of The Apostle. And as the Romans made pilgrimages to the Ara Pacis from all corners of the world, the sons of the nations made pilgrimages here around the year 1,000--Irish, Spaniards, Portugures, Russians, Ukrainians, and others. Kings and sovereigns came for an "ad limina" visit. They were followed by the bishops and the faithful. We are in that time when Europe's unity became necessary and the "ad limina" became not only the symbol of this unity, but its reality. The unity of the eternally living Peter.

We want to go farther. I could put this in the words of the Synod: we want to make the Church omnipresent. We shall go home and march forward with bold, determined strides.

The Fifth Symposium of the European bishops has now been concluded. What did we speak of there? Of re-evangelization. Europe has become pagan, secularized. We must make it Christian once again, we must evangelize Europe once more. The Pope said at the Symposium: the bishops and priests are primarily responsible for the kind of Europe we will have tomorrow. And this is bewilderingly true. This is how the bishops went home from the Symposium: We are responsible!

This is no small responsibility. More integrity, more integrity! This is what we need. In this corruption, only a redeemed humanity will save the world. Man who meets with God in Jesus Christ, and humanity possessed by God will again be capable of saving the world. This is what Cluny once was, and this was once behind the "ad limina." It was then that Europe discovered that Peter represents the mystic Christ, and where Peter is there is the Church. Not only in congregations and institutions but also in the representation of the mystic Christ. Every heresy and every error has failed. Not because they condemned and confronted Peter, who was given the keys, but because of the confrontation with that Peter who represents Christ in his everyday worship in the order of priesthood. They pushed aside the mystic Christ and explained him according to their own taste.

We are here to give account and to recommence. We look about in this world which is filled with crises, and again we state: nothing else can save us but faith! If we do not have this faith, we cannot even have hope. Then all our human efforts will be bankrupt. Can we once more call out: I believe in the Lord!

On the morning of 11 October, the Hungarian bishops arrived back in Hungary. Cardinal Laszlo Lekai and Imre Timko, Greek Catholic bishop of Hajdudorog remained in Rome. The Hungarian bishops said their last concelebrated holy mass at 4 o'clock in the afternoon on 9 October in the Saint Paul Basilica outside the walls with the participation of Many Hungarian faithful. The main celebrant was Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, primate.

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YOUNG WORKERS POLLED ON CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW TRADE UNIONS

Meaning of 'Self-Governing' Unions

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 4 Oct 82 pp 1, 2

/The opinions expressed were recorded by B. Redzioch, L. Nauka, D. Koniec and W. Jurczak/

/Text/ Pursuing our investigations as to what kind of trade unions one expects to be, our reporters have inquired of the young workers, members of the ZSMP /Union of Socialist Polish Youth/, about the meaning of the "self-governing" trade union? How should this self-governing be understood in the daily routine of an enterprise? What is the role of the individual, that is the so-called rank-and-file member, in the formation of this notion?

These are their opinions expressed on this subject:

Ryszard Radomski - "Walbrzych" Mining Plants in Walbrzych:

Union self-government should function on the premises of a plant or enterprise. Naturally it should relate to the functioning of the union organization and matters that will fall within the scope of the activity of the trade unions. There is one thing that I know at present for sure--a trade union cannot play at politics. It should be more concerned with matters that are being labeled as "human matters." Things that a workplace is owing to its workers. After the 13th of December commissions of social affairs were formed--they try to "patch up a hole" that arose from the suspension of the trade unions. But despite strenuous efforts not all is as it should be. Certain tasks can be performed only by the people that represent a certain group of persons, by which they are elected and act in its name.

Trade unions should likewise have the possibility of taking part in discussions of economic decisions concerning activities of the enterprise in which they function. As I understand it, this can be achieved through the participation of union representatives in the workers self-government. Under conditions of economic reform the defense of workers' interests will constitute an especially sensitive matter.

It is unimportant at this moment what name the unions will have. However, already at present we may emphasize that these must be authentic workers' unions. Also they cannot function apart from the plant's life. The rank and file of the union members will consist of the people that are likewise active in the ZSMP or PZPR, and of many non-Party men. The union must represent the interests of everyone, and thus become a specific plane of understanding.

To be sure, the self-government of the unions does not mean that they will be uncontrolled. After all they will function in our country where all institutions, or organizations, are subject at least to control by the NIK /Supreme Chamber of Control/. And within such control the trade unions should also fall. One cannot form "a state within the state."

The workplace is such a small community of working people that it is possible to introduce a democracy there that is closest to the ideal. There is no need, therefore, for union organs to take independent decisions on important questions in someone's behalf or to represent someone's standpoint. It will be always possible to carry out a referendum quickly. Its results will represent the standpoint of the union organization from a given workplace.

Mieczyslaw Koziol--electrician from the Chief Power Engineering Section of the MEWA Knitwear Goods and Hosiery Plants in Bilgoraj:

Union self-government--this very statement already means that the union should be self-governed, based on its statute and resolutions of its members, which should be passed while observing and respecting the law of the country. Union self-government should also include the financial sphere of the union and its assets. Control and watch over proper management of these values should rest with the eligible union bodies--perhaps with the board of control or auditing committee--which should not be subordinated to the elective managing board or other trade union organs. They should be responsible only to the members.

Finally, self-government also means the relations between elected authorities of the trade unions and the members. Here one thing should be clear: no instance of any important matter--I mean here strikes--should be decided without previous general consultation with members. In the matter of strikes, right to work, wages, social achievements--I emphasize: all decisions--decisions of special importance for members and state--must be submitted to consultation.

Danuta Bielak--manager of the Organization and Administration Section of the MEWA Knitwear Goods and Hosiery Plants in Bilgoraj:

Union self-government means also its cooperation with other organizations, with government, its organs, with administration. I fully agree with the resolution of the 9th Party Congress which states that "a leading principle of union activity should be to represent broadly-conceived workers' interests and developmental needs of national economy," and emphasizes "a need for joint responsibility of trade unions for the increase of national output, and the shaping of economic and social policy." Therefore the union should be

self-governing, but this self-government should obligate it to cooperate with all other people for the good of union members and for the good of the country.

Jerzy Bruegier--metal worker from the Mining Equipment and Tools Factory in Katowice:

Self-government is--not only in my opinion--the basis of real union activity. To be self-governing is to be able to decide about all, and especially about those most essential, matters. To be sure, the union must have managerial authorities who should be elected by the totality of members in a fully democratic manner. When we entrust to some persons the mandate of our confidence, we at the same time empower them to engage in certain undertakings in our name without specific consultations. In electing them we already impart to them our intent and our wishes and what they have to arrange. However, when some especially "drastic" activities will be involved, for example strikes and actions conceived on a wide scale, then making such decisions must be very thoroughly and honestly consulted with the members. It cannot be any other way. Self-government cannot be limited by anything. One of its important aspects is the possibility of a wide control over union authorities, for example in the matter of assets, and this control is exercised by union members themselves, or--but only at their explicit request--by other state organizations, for example the NIK.

Pawel Andrys--operator of the Concrete-mixing Center of the Construction Combine in Bytom:

As a member of the trade union I want and must have the right and possibility to influence activities of this union, to decide about its activities and about the forms that it assumes. I must also have the possibility to control its elected organs. That is how I understand self-government. Naturally--self-government does not mean a complete exclusion from the general movement of social and union organizations--there is room in it for cooperation with others. But it cannot be so that somebody decides for union members or against their will. The most proper is here the principle of the majority of votes and when some decision is being made in this manner, it should be binding to all union members.

Kazimierz Maras--plater of the Szczecin A. Warski Shipyard:

I do connect the notion of self-government in the trade unions with the notion of democracy and democratic methods of action. From the union link in the workplace up to the very top. And what kind of "top" should this be? It should be elected. First elections should take place for union offices in workplaces, and then for higher offices. Under present conditions self-governing trade unions should strive for the quickest way out of the crisis and for this purpose it is necessary to cooperate with the government and administration. In a workplace the union should be at present a partner with such links as management, party and youth organizations. Likewise on the way out of the crisis a self-governing union must fulfill control functions in relation to the administration. The point is that the union should have an influence

on a quicker recovery from the crisis. There should also be established strict union discipline. Higher offices should not have the right to make essential decisions without consultation with the mass of members. With any actions to be undertaken, higher organs should first approach the workforces and to make decisions in accordance with their will. All important decisions should first be submitted to consultation and not be approved on the basis of some informal debate.

Jozef Kogucik--tube fitter of "A," Warski Shipyard:

In my opinion self-government of a trade union does not exclude cooperation with other social and political organizations. There should be a cooperation with the party. Likewise with administration of the plants. I consider that at present in order to improve the economy such cooperation is indispensable. This does not mean, however, that in their inner management the unions should be dependent on anyone.

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/Editorial Report by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz/

/Text/ From the content of this probe one thing reveals itself: a distrust of any union authorities. Those interviewed suggest all kinds of controls that would prevent the elected authorities from manipulating the "masses," adopting resolutions "in their name," nobody knows under whose influence.

Thus self-government is being understood here as a form of governing oneself in one's occupational organization by the membership masses under the greatest possible limitation of the executive authority of the "top."

One can understand the reasons of this distrust. It did happen before that elected representatives permitted themselves to be drawn with the union into politics, which they themselves not quite understood, let alone its members.

The people do not want to be blind tools--they want to have a strong representation of their current interests in these difficult times when acquiring shoes has become the number one problem and going to movies is an expensive, almost inaccessible luxurious recreation.

This bitterness however entails a certain danger which it is worthwhile to think about at present. How we are to construct in practice this control by representative bodies so as not to deprive them of effectiveness, possibility of a quick response, authority for negotiating and finally to settle disputes by compromise, which is obligatory to the whole union. One would say that these questions must be answered in practice, by life itself. I do not think it is only so. The answer should be formulated by people having recourse not only to theory of management to ensure effective functioning of the organization but, chiefly, to serve its aims.

The aim of the existence of the union movement is after all to assure the needs of its members. Self-government is also within the scope of the structure of this movement which must render possible to the masses to govern ther their unions.

Meaning of 'New' Unions

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 6 Oct 82 pp 1, 2

/Article by Ryszard Maleszkiewicz, in cooperation with: M. Truszkowski, P. Rejer, W. Jurczak, and J. Handerek/

/Text/ We continue to receive opinions on the subject of fundamental notions concerning the union movement: its independence and self-government. As in previous ones, also in the utterances presented one can see many divergences. Nevertheless, the predominant general opinion is that the unions cannot be controlled from the outside by anyone. Workers and their interests should constitute their basic core. Interests of the masses and of the workforce must be primarily represented and not "directed."

Waclaw Kufel--fitter in the WSK /Transportation Equipment Plant/, Krakow:

In my plant, "Solidarity" was working well. I suppose because in our factory union authorities there happened to be men who understood what a trade union should be. We had no "Solidarity-promoted" strikes. We did not especially take to heart the appeals to organize demonstrations that had nothing in common with the interests of the workforce. I know, however, that in other enterprises it was different. My colleagues employed outside the WSK asserted that in the course of time, in "Solidarity," they could not settle any of their problems, because the union was busy with everything but not the problems related to workers.

In my opinion, the new unions should function in the workplace, involving the whole workforce in the area, regardless of whether one is an engineer, worker, clerk, or constructor. After all, matters involving the workforce are common, and if one would form separate, branch unions for each group, it would soon result in disagreements, struggle for influence, settlement of affairs of that part of the workforce which belongs to some sort of union, and that would have to be done at the expense of some other group. The stronger one would have a better chance of success. After all, this is not the thing we would like to have today.

Jerzy Rosiak--carter in finishing department of the J. Marchlewski Cotton Industry Plants POLTEX in Lodz, member of the ZSMP /Union of Socialist Polish Youth/:

Union self-government should, in my opinion, consist in that the unions in an establishment would not be dependent on anyone, so that no one would have to say to them anything from the top: neither management, nor any other organization--these may have only an advisory voice. Especially no cell should be introduced into worker affairs. Naturally, this does not exclude cooperation

or joint action with some other organization, and even in my opinion such cooperation is necessary: with the Party organization, youth union, and social cells. But on equal partnership rights, without any systems of the nature of command. Such self-governing unions must nonetheless be controlled. There should be a cell to control the whole, so that there would be no repetition of such a situation as in the CRZZ /Central Council of Trade Unions/. In the workplace there should be an audit committee, and higher up a control agent either under voivodships or under the minister for matters related to trade unions. Such control should pertain only to financial matters and assets--for all other matters will be controlled by the aggregate of union members, or in case of transgression of law by the corresponding courts.

The union in a workplace should be managed by a body elected by the aggregate of workers, members of the union. That cannot be a single person but several. In this body may be also represented other organizations, such as the Party, and ZSMP. The union is to be for worker-related matters, but its membership does not exclude membership in a political organization. Such a collective body should control unions, and its opinion would be binding. In important matters concerning the entire workforce, or one department, these decisions should be submitted to consultation with the aggregate of members. In case it would be difficult to call them together, one should at least convene its major, representative part. Such a union should not be intended to govern masses through the "top" but it should be a union of workers that belong to it. These always form a majority of its members and their voice should be of the highest importance.

Renata Gebicka--machine adjuster in the J. Marchlewski Cotton Industry Plants POLTEX in Lodz, member of the ZSMP:

In my opinion, union self-government should manifest itself by decisionmaking and its independence of other sociopolitical organizations, especially from the PZPR. After all, there cannot be a "manual control," and a real opinion of the commonalty should be reckoned. This does not automatically exclude cooperation and joint action with other organizations, and this cooperation should take place as often as possible for the common good of workers. After all one can always arrive at a compromise. The control of the union: as much as possible. But by its people, representatives of higher levels. On the other hand, the "government" of the union should be assumed by the workers, through their own people, elected at a conference. I emphasize--workers, and no other is from the outside, or "advisors." The union authorities must in this system obey the membership, or the commons, and all actions be taken only in accordance with their will, instead of pressing them authoritatively at their own sweet will. For not infrequently someone is using a mandate in "someone's name," and those "governed" do not even know about any such decisions.

Stanislaw Kwasniewski--electrician PKP /Polish State Railroads/ Engine House, Poznan-Franowo; member of the ZSMP /Union of Socialist Polish Youth/:

A single, universal trade union must unavoidably transform itself into a political force--that was proved by the history of the last two years. In

order that a trade union represent solely occupational interests of the people it should be a union assembling solely the specialists of a certain branch. In other words, there cannot be a union to which belong persons having different or absolutely opposite interests. All this looks simple, but unfortunately only in speeches, on paper. I, for example, can hardly imagine that in a single workplace there could function separate unions of metallurgists, another for turners, others for administration workers, transport, supply services, and so on. No, I cannot imagine such a union Tower of Babel. What then? Surely, most sensible would be to form only one trade union in each workplace, regardless of the existing there occupational differences, but for the sake of the workforce.

Kazimierz Maras--plater of the Szczecin A. Warski Shipyard:

In my opinion, future unions should be divided in accordance with occupational branches. For only such a division would guarantee the interests of the working people. The things that matter are the problems of wages and social problems in individual workplaces and not in departmental branches. Regional divisions did not prove right, nor did "departmental" divisions of such unions as existed before August 1980.

The trade union cell in a workplace should promptly receive authorization for handling various funds and social entitlements. That would be the beginning, and later would come the time for other, more important problems connected with the settlement of our affairs.

Mieczyslaw Budys--electrician in W3 Szczecin A. Warski Shipyard:

I am for a division into occupational groups and for completely new organization of union structures. One should begin from the simplest solutions. For only they can guarantee self-government and independence of unions. In a professional union, in a workplace, a place must nonetheless be kept open for workers of the factory technical offices and services. However, representatives of managements of establishments cannot be members of the same union. This would go against the purpose and tasks of the union. We should prepare well these structures that will be verified in life. One thing is already certain: new unions cannot have anything in common with the unions which we had before August or with those after August. Things that were good in their activity may be utilized but they should be adapted to present life. I have in mind branch unions before August. It cannot be denied that some of their assumptions were right. I would not attach much importance to names of future unions.

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/Editorial Note/

How to avoid a repetition of the past? How to avoid the recurrence of puppetized, window-dressing unions from before August? How to avoid also the multiprofessional political machine into which Solidarity was gradually changing?

One of the proposals, of which speak some of our respondents, are branch unions. They argue objectively, soberly, why in this system precisely they see organizational directions of the future unions.

The people see clearly that individual work-related interests only a union of these people will be able to understand best and articulate; that is, a union formed due to concurrent interests, resulting from work and not from political, superior, or general aims.

On the other hand we apprehend the repetition of a lesson from recent history. We are afraid of some union on top, afraid of uniformity, unity. We are rendered sensitive to all this: too many times this uniformity spoke in our name, against our individual interests. Many times we did not understand aims of the "top," many times people elected by us moved away from us, became different.

It is difficult to offer any prescriptions. Nevertheless, since old practices do not verify themselves, one of the means to reform them is to introduce some different solutions. One of these new solutions is a proposal to create branch unions, such as they are understood by our respondents. Will it be efficacious? Will it prevent us from a repetition of the errors that we know too well? Will it assure unions against manipulation, window-dressing, whitewash in relations with authorities? I do not know, the answer will be given by practice, which is being created by the people.

Concluding Commentary

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 7 Oct 82 pp 1, 2

/By Ryszard Maleszkiewicz/

/Text/ Within the scope of our discussion about a new formula for trade unions we published three editorial probes in which we have asked basic questions of young workers, members of the ZSMP /Union of Socialist Polish Youth/: Meaning of "independent" (on 29 Sep), "self-governing" (on 4 Oct), and finally: Meaning of "new" unions (on 6 Oct).

The opinions and definitions received in the answers were at times contradictory. One thing, however, was showing through them--a fear of manipulation and dependence of workers organization on anyone from the outside. More daring respondents were adding shyly--also from the PZPR.

This fear was showing also in the case of the notion of "self-government." The majority desired that their union would not be controlled by anyone even in financial matters, and would preserve its self-government in all fields of activity and management.

Finally, the third characteristic trait showing through almost all the statements--there were as many as 22 participants, which, for a press probe, was a pretty good result--is a fear of authority and distrust of it.

I am writing about authority, although the respondents spoke mostly of union authorities, sometimes stating only that unions must be especially independent of authorities in general, and especially self-governing in relation to authorities...

This distrust symbolizes the general mood of society, and it is not to be wondered at it. The period of the last twelve years brought about a crisis of confidence in any authority. The promises and abuses of the Gierek team, ending in total economic and political collapse, as well as the later willful activities of the "Solidarity" propaganda, exploiting real and fictitious faults, had undermined the confidence and authority of government.

The present time also does not raise one's spirits. The torpor of administration and in many cases its inefficiency, which is confirmed by the results of military controls, reinforce the conviction that the process of recovery of confidence and authority will be long and strenuous.

On the other hand, also in the same period, was taking place a decrease of trust in the value of our own union authorities.

The pre-August period proved that a trade union meant actually only its apparatus, and that elected authorities had not much to say. And in the reformed unions, especially in "Solidarity," similar processes began promptly to occur anew, insofar as they mostly did not reach factory levels, which were not subject to bureaucracy. On the other hand, in the regions, and in the National Committee, the apparatus had acquired such a crushing influence that it could at will manipulate elected bodies. There were effected ingenious cadre changes, whose promptness and frequency rendered impossible practical control of the top by the lower levels.

Finally, facts and documents revealed after 13 December have thwarted the people for good. They undermined trust not so much in the idea of self-governing and independent unions as such, as in structural solutions and in men.

Hence--I think--that great fear of submitting to being "governed," hence--inventing all possible sorts of means insuring against being manipulated. Hence, finally, reluctance to submit to any persuasions from the "top," a reluctance which today has such unfavorable repercussion in our social life.

What sort then, are--as a result of our great probe--the new trade unions to be?

They must be, in the first place, independent of outside influence, of management of enterprises and institutions, of social organizations, and of the party. However, they must be independent within the framework of the Polish constitutional system, and they cannot engage in politics, which was stressed by almost all respondents.

They should govern themselves and that from the bottom. Although no concrete proposals--except cliches--were offered, the statements of respondents reveal a desire for a very strict control of the"top" by the rank-and-file membership. The necessity of cooperation with other organizations, with the party, with administration of all levels, is emphasized, but without infringement of the sacred principles of self-government and independence. Resistance also is being felt to any executive actions of the representative union organs. They should represent the interests of the membership--they are not allowed to govern it.

The respondents--all of them--are in favor of the multiplicity of trade unions in Poland, and on the other hand, the majority is in favor of a single union in the area of a plant.

Fears are also being expressed about a later uniting of all unions into some single central union. Fears of "coming to an agreement" by chiefs, which would permit manipulation and control of the member masses. The necessity is emphasized of organizing unions on a trade basis and not on a department basis, as before August, and in large measure after August in the so-called trade movement. It is asserted that the strongest and most natural bonds between men result from common work and common needs which it creates, as well as from common methods for their satisfaction.

Based on the opinions expressed, I will risk to assert that after 13 December 1981 there occurred great changes in the thinking of young workers. The lasting effects of shock, frustration, exposure of one's own objectivity that served others to realize concealed aims, has brought about a change in human attitudes, but it also brought about increased distrust of the union movement in general.

There is no doubt that the new union movement is to begin under very difficult social conditions. Breaking through the barrier of dislike and mistrust, pulling men away from the "front of renewal," that, for example, our reporters encountered in the POLAR [extension unknown] of Wroclaw, will be a thankless task.

Much will depend here on the attitude of the authorities and party. Will they help or will they wish to control? And whether, even in individual cases, in actions and decisions, there will prevail a social interest perspective that demands prompt reconstruction of the movement, or a desire to take one's revenge, to label people, or simply a fear after all?

I cannot answer these questions, but I have my misgivings that the bureaucracy which got used to governing under martial law will do much to "break" the new movement at once and for all. To be sure, it will do it doubtless as effectively as it does at present in blocking and delaying the formation of self-government in many enterprises.

However, the starting of unions is indispensable in the first place from the viewpoint of a common interest. Their statutory activity will contribute most promptly to the achievement of the "normality" of our life. It will contribute to a suspension and at last the abolition of the martial law.

For this reason, the question, "What sort of unions?" will still be the problem of the day for a long time.

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SCOUT UNION COMMANDER INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 12-14 Nov 82 p 6

[Interview with Ryszard Wosinski, commander of the Polish Scout Union, by Magda Rulska: "We Frankly Make Our Demands"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Magda Rulska: What, to you, is scouting?

[Answer] Ryszard Wosinski: It is, first of all, an idea, a way of conducting oneself and a pro-social behavior, and overall, it is an outlook on life. Second, it is a system of upbringing, i.e., that which ensues from expedient upbringing activity. Scouting is also a social movement. That which distinguishes us from other organizations is the idea, the specific ethics of "being a Scout", the upbringing method.

[Question] Who, in that case, is the instructor?

[Answer] The educator. This means, among other things, that in his everyday behavior he should be evidence of fidelity to the principles, goals and ideals which he demands of those who are in his care. We refer simply to a conformity between the declared truths and the attitude.

[Question] This is natural, is it not?

[Answer] Yes, but we are the only organization that has made this kind of conduct an integral part of the program, and furthermore, we have advanced it to the forefront. In addition, we recognize that the scout instructor must have a great deal of formal knowledge in order to properly function in the organization. He must also be a social worker, in the full and positive meaning of this term, for this is the basic condition for upbringing effectiveness.

[Question] How, in that case, do you see the role of a 16-year-old, who is also, after all, an instructor? Is there no contradiction in the fact that on the one hand we want there to be as many such young people as possible, and on the other hand they themselves will require care, assistance, and upbringing influence?

[Answer] We have learned not to divide instructors into teachers-nonteachers, old and young, etc. I oppose, and will continue to oppose, such thinking in the organization. The only division is the division into good and bad instructors. All these sociological or parasociological differentiations polarize the community, and cause illwill and a bad atmosphere.

[Question] Well then--a 16-year-old educator?

[Answer] I agree that this may sound strange, but after all, all of scouting is so constructed that the older person teaches the younger one, that the instructor-student has an opportunity to solve many problems more effectively than someone from the outside, an adult. First, because he knows his fellow-scouts, and second because he must study many problems, simply because he himself is currently experiencing them. In such groups not only arrangements reminiscent of a guardian-ward relationship are being formed, but also those typical for a peer group, on the "you want a fat lip?" principle. The troop accepts someone like this not as an educator, but as a buddy, a good comrade, a leader. This is important and... effective.

[Question] I understand. However, I ask myself what has the Union done, what do you plan to do to finally change the status of these young people. At the moment they have, I am sure you will agree, no status.

[Answer] That is a very difficult matter. To put it into order will require "pushing" a civil law, and furthermore, the matter extends to the basic legal documents of our state. Under Polish regulations, a 16-year-old is simply not a full citizen. The executory acts only intensify this state. It can be said that it is totally stagnant.

[Question] Does this absolve the new commander, the Union?

[Answer] Absolutely not. We are conducting talks with the Ministry of Education and Upbringing on the subject of the student-educator role, and we are, I think, on a good road. In any case, this is a problem not just of the instructors.

We are concerned with gaining the proper place in the school for all students who are of age. Too often the educators even refuse 18-year-old instructors the right to work independently. This is a complicated question, for it is not so much the official barrier that has to be overcome as the psychological barrier. What? A student as a member of the educator team, or the pedagogical council? This is outrageous!

Most educational regulations also forbid an instructor-student, even one of full age, to work outside the school. Those are matters which must be solved and we will fight for this consistently.

[Question] A great deal has been said recently about the older scouts. How do you treat this part of the organization? What can scouting today propose, or "give" to the youth?

[Answer] You see, without them, without the "older" ones, scouting would be incomplete, it would be crippled. If the matter is put in this way, there can be no fear that a certain important age group is slipping away from us. It is simply that the ideal is a certain continuity, an alternation of roles. The older scouts have an opportunity to become good instructors. Instructors who have "lived through" their scouting, can be relied on, and who have a feeling for our cause, our style.

But we see this part of the organization not just in cadre, or cadre-producing, terms. I will use an ugly term--only in the case of 16-18-year-old people can we speak about a 'final product". Whether or not our method of exerting influence has proved itself will be determined by whether the scout has chosen those values which we suggested to him as being important and good. But that is rather our "adult-instructor" viewpoint.

[Question] So what are you offering them?

[Answer] A program of scouting service. The organization has always served society, the state, other people. And now we want to show that it is worth being useful and needed.

[Question] It is hard to believe that today a program like that would be greeted by the youth with enthusiasm.

[Answer] From my observations it appears that this proposition is being accepted with great frankness. Perhaps, however, with less awareness of the depth of what we are talking about. Service is understood most frequently to be simply work in behalf of the immediate surrounding, it is still constantly so very small... But we are patient. Civic, pro-social attitudes should develop slowly, tactfully. They cannot be decreed.

[Question] What does the specific nature of the work with older scouts consist of?

[Answer] We give them an opportunity to prove themselves, to prove their own abilities and skills. Prove themselves, but with the awareness of transforming themselves, of improving themselves, self-educating themselves. This is an inseparable part of our method. We do not resort in this case to systematic camouflage. We state our demands and expectations frankly and simply demand that they be dealt with. This is called working on oneself. And this is what the youth are accepting.

I will not talk to you about camps, bivouacs, scouting culture and traditions, because this is obvious and in a certain sense secondary. Anyway, we are emerging from the period of total enchantment with woodland scouting--the fad for scout primitivism is passing. This is natural. Youth has begun again to seek something more, really something much more. That is why we are helping the scouts from the high schools to develop their technical and cultural hobbies, and their social and political interests. We are constantly seeking and trying to create new forms.

[Question] Are you not afraid that you will be accused that this enhanced scouting will lose its specificity? After all, the adult society sees in a scout only someone who helps the elderly in the winter, and who entertains the village children in the summer. During the school breaks he goes camping and bivouacking. In time of need he grabs a weapon.

[Answer] Are you saying that scouting is regarded to be a non-intellectual organization, whose activities are based on simple emotions? Yes, our method is based on emotions, but there has always been place in scouting for thought and reflection.

By the way, scouting is a movement so old and complex that almost any thesis can be illustrated by making use of its history.

Anyway, scouting is now quite varied. There are troops that like to play military games, there are those to whom only songs are important, and there are communication troops, etc. Could I, on this basis, say what is and what is not scouting? No.

[Question] That means that you do not plan to make everything the same, i.e., equal?

[Answer] Of this type, no. However, scouting ideology should be common to all troops. Without it there can be no talk about our identity. The basis of this ideology is duty and loyalty to the scouting ideals, self-improvement.

[Question] What do you think--what events, decisions, or actions from the recent period will remain as a new standard for the future, will become part of the rich tradition?

[Answer] I do not like to play prophet. Anyway, in upbringing, results are not apparent until after many years have passed. I can only assume that "what will remain' will be that which is the resultant of the scouts' anticipations and the 'nstructors' intents. That which is important to them and to us.

[Question] And do you not see a new, important quality in the fact that during the Congress the older scouts determined themselves, that they themselves determined the principles on which they will remain in the Union, that they formed their own structure, and said in their own way what is and what is not scouting?

[Answer] You see, I look at this calmly, without emotion. Calmly, because as a matter of fact, there is nothing new in this explosion. It is true that previously there were no councils made up of older scouts, but those who functioned were always chosen and the representatives of troops from the high schools always had the right to a vote. The participation of the adult, appointed educator was very slight. Thus the mechanism has not basically changed. However, the appearance of councils of older scouts as advisory organs for statutory bodies is really something new. Is it permanent? Time will tell.

[Question] Are you pleased with their self-reliance?

[Answer] We do not want to transfer all of the responsibility to them. We do not want them to be so self-reliant that they not disturb us at all. That is not what is important. We must seek a prudent compromise. And in this Congress explosion there was the tendency: "We don't want to have anything to do with these older ones". At that time it was most wise not to interfere, for any attempts made then would have been interpreted as manipulation, the stifling of self-reliance and democratic endeavors. Today this is changing. They themselves are catching on now that we should work together and not against one another. But aren't you interested in what we, the Union authorities, expected of them?

[Question] Of course.

[Answer] We wanted to learn more about the scout youth, what they want, what they see scouting to be, how they regard their membership in the organization, how they want to work, and in what forms. We wanted them to be active. Instead of activity,

there was a howl. And loud does not mean effective, even in opinion-forming terms. We were waiting for mature, weighed, synthesizing assessments. And we are still waiting for them.

Let us not forget that the councils, aside from the fact that they are representative bodies, expressing the opinions of this community, are also a school for democracy, for expressing oneself, for the shaping of viewpoints. This function in the first phase was not very perceptible. The development of a representative system is a problem also because the Union was not structurally adapted to this. And so two large groups collide--the instructor cadre and the older youth. A wise compromise must be made here. We cannot allow a situation to occur where one group tries to outvie the other by matching its achievements. Each must have its place in the Union--its own role. We cannot say that the older scout and the instructor are absolutely equal. That would be a mistake.

[Question] I asked at the beginning, what, for you, is scouting. Tell me now what it should be, what should be "done" to it to satisfy the needs of the children and youth, and at the same time serve the State and give it good, productive citizens?

[Answer] I think that we must take out of the scouting history all that is valuable and useful for the present. We must synthesize the experience and apply it to the State and social activities, to enhance them.

[Question] Will this be enough?

[Answer] I am apprehensive when I observe that economic activities are being conducted more energetically, while the moral crisis is considerably more dangerous. We will have to work for years to make up what has been lost. Attention was also called to this fact during the deliberations of the PZPR Central Committee's Ninth Plenum.

This plenum was an attempt to solve the matters of the young in a systems-type, institutional way, and not just by occasional, emergency measures. The youth are finally being treated in an objective way. The method for implementing the plenary decisions, as specified in the resolution, is based on a principle that is different from that of past years: do not give, but work jointly. Such reasoning is very familiar to us who are in scouting. Today we must point out clear and precise goals for the youth, and jointly with them undertake the activities aimed at achieving these goals.

We have said so much, for example, about the older scouts. After all, they, too, expect that we will help them discover a purpose, a sense, that we will help them understand what will come later in their already adult life. They want to fight, but they want to fight for something, for some specific goals...

[Question] Do we give them an idea, or an enemy?

[Answer] The giving of an idea is more humanistic. The giving of an enemy is often more practical and more effective. During the "teen" years, ideals are closer; however, the enemy theory really consolidates and mobilizes. But this is not a scouting theory.

9295
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AIR DEFENSE IN FUTURE WAR DISCUSSED

Poznan-Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I OBRONY POWIETRZNEW KRAJU in Polish No 9, Sep 82 pp 5-12

[Article by Col (Docent, Dr. Habilitatus) Jozef Smoter: "Operation of National Air Defense Forces in a Possible War"]

> [Text] Until the end of the century, national air defense forces will continue to be the branch of the armed forces that has been designated for air defense of the national territory against enemy reconnaissance and air attack. This mission will not change in a possible future war regardless of the nature of that war, only the manner in which this mission is accomplished may change.

Efficiency of operation of air defense forces, especially an effective repulse of a first massive raid by air assault weapons will determine further possibilities of the subsequent potential of a state (or a coalition of states) to continu military activities, including: entry of land, air and naval forces into an outer combat front; crossing of the national territory by operational and strategic reserve forces; (domestic and allied) maintenance of uninterrupted supply to the troops operating in the outer and inner front and possibilities for efficient functioning of the systems by which the state and its national economy are managed.

Combat activity of air defense forces in a possible future war will also be contingent on the nature of the means of enemy attack, their operational tactics, the defense forces combat means and their tactical applications, during combat. It will also depend on the nature of a future war. This sequence will be followed in presenting issues that pertain to a general characterization of air defense forces in a possible future war.

Probable Developments in Air Attack Means

It should be believed that in the nearest decade and a half and after the year 2000 those states that conduct agressive policies will consistently perfect existing air attack means and will strive to build new combat chage carriers to designated targets. These means will be marked by substantial immunity to the operation of electro-magnetic waves, preventing their detection by radar

reconnaissance systems, and by their ability to attack from very low altitudes, by variable flight speed and by horizontal and vertical flight path changes.

Apparently as early as in the next 15 years, and certainly by the year 2000, the air attack arsenal will include spacecraft equipped with laser weapons capable of destroying space, air and ground targets. This new variety of space attack means equipped with an advanced, effective striking device will definitely cause quantitative and qualitative changes in conventional air attack means, though rather than eliminating them completely, it will reduce their share in enemy targets for destruction. It can be concluded, therefore, that effective penetration of air attack means to designated targets for destruction will increase with each passing day.

Air attack means to be made part of standard equipment in the next 15 years will, for the most part, be assured of subsonic velocities. Their bulk will be deployed on the European continent. Rocket carrier aircraft will be on duty in the air (in various regions) continually changing their positions away from the enemy at distances permitting them to strike at targets located on the entire area encompassed by military operations.

The variety of air offense means and their number and deployment indicate that air raids can be expected at various intensities from different air-operational directions. That is to say, it will be impossible (prior to the onset of an air raid) to determine its chief direction (if there is one), thereby to concentrate the bulk of OPK (national air defense forces) beforehand to cover a specified air-operational direction allowing access to installations located on the national territory. For these reasons it is necessary to organize zonal defense and to equip the national air defense forces with more easily maneuver means for combatting air targets.

Flight velocity ranges of individual varieties of air attack permit simultaneous takeoff within a relatively short duration of a sortie and delivery of a strike, within 1 to 2 hours. During that time all air attack means can execute their first decisive strike if they take advantage of the element of surprise.

There are grounds to assume that the means of a first air attack possibly striking at targets within a country will be rocket missiles of various types, fired from stationary and mobile launching pads (on aircraft or sea vessels). These should be expected to be followed by an attack by air-to-surface missiles, unmanned aircraft and, finally, by strike aircraft.

Offensive aircraft flights will probably proceed at varying altitudes, changing course and altitude profiles under fairly strong electronic and electromagnetic storm conditions, which will substantially facilitate their reaching specified strike targets.

Many air offense devices, due to electromagnetic wave-absorbing materials used in the latter's construction are unlikely to detect radioelectronic detection systms. Their detection will only be possible by visual observation posts.

Anticipated Air Defense Development

The development, organizational structure and basic equipment of air defense forces are unlikely to undergo major changes by the year 2000. For the most part, such changes may involve their becoming equipped with new types of fighter aircraft, antiaircraft missile assemblies and radio and radar tracing stations. Defenses of protected targets will be improved. New combat devices included in standard weapons lists of air defense forces are likely to increase the effectiveness of combatting air-attack weapons. It can also be assumed that certain versions of fighter aircraft will be retained. Totally new types of fighter airplanes, suited for shortened--500 meters to 700 meters--takeoff and landing runways, can be expected only after the year 2000. Aircraft structures will be considerably lighter than the present ones. Aircraft will be marked by substantial velocity ranges and by propulsion by new types of fuel, several times reduced in volume and mass in comparison to present fuels. Fighter aircraft will be, as a rule, unmanned, armed with long-range missiles, self-guiding to air targets regardless of the aircraft's position with regard to the target. Fighter planes will be equipped with instruments enabling them to determine state affiliation of the air target to be attacked. Similar devices will be installed to guided air-defense missiles and air-to-air missiles.

Fighter aircraft will be commanded from mobile command posts, deployed at different locations in the vicinity of base airfields. Modern air-defense fighter aircraft will continue to have as its basic combat targets the aircraft of strategic, tactical and deck aviation as well as other aircraft that can be successfully combatted because of their flight velocity and altitude parameters. It appears that because of the participation of fighter aircraft in antiair operations, enemy ground installations can become its additional targets: airfields and aircraft parked on them, radio detection posts, missile launchers and command system posts. At the same time, fighter aircraft can accomplish missions in providing cover to their own airstrike force within its own radius of combat action and, at times, utilizing their full range including landing on allied countries' airfields.

Developments in fighter aircraft operations will be mainly conditioned by the craft available, its combat capacities and the potential of those means that cover their operations. That is to say, after the year 2000, fighter aircraft's primary objective will continue to be to defend targets at the furthest possible distances, to defend against piloted aircraft used in air attacks, and in particular to defend reconnaissance and command planes and long-range missile carriers.

Therefore, the main task for airforce fighters in the system of air defense forces will be to defend the approaches to the borders of the region to be defended and to combat the enemy means of air attack inside the territory. This task will be achieved in cooperation with the other means of air defense against reconnaissance and air attack.

Because of the increased combat capabilities of new types of fighter planes, air battlefield tactics will be reevaluated. There will be an increase in

air flights carried out at midranges (from 20 to 50 km) with air targets being attacked from various directions, including the frontal hemisphere. In the long run, due to development of onboard radio-location devices and due to increased air-to-air missile ranges, flights carried out at long distances--range 70-120 km--will be possible with the capability of attacking air targets from various directions and altitudes, under various atmospheric conditions, during any time, day or night, and during strong radioelectronic disturbances.

In the next 15 years, as well as after the year 2,000 missile air defense forces will be used as a basic weapon to fight air targets, but they will certainly undergo substantial changes in armament. Today's missile assemblies will be replaced by new ones that are compact, very maneuverable, with very fast launch readiness from launcher stations not requiring engineering back-ups; they will be mounted on vehicles. New missile assemblies will have a much greater number of antiaircraft missiles. They will be equipped with new engines and high-efficiency fuel. This will decrease considerably the size of new missiles. The equipment allowing our own aircraft to be identified will provide security to our aircraft fighters and will simplify the conditions of cooperation.

Simplified construction of missile assemblies, more effective action of antiaircraft guided missiles and smaller crews will allow maneuverable missile forces groups to be established to defend the targets as well as to defend the directions of air operations. Elimination of stationary launching stations will progressively take place as current missile assemblies wear out. Of established arrangements of air defense missile forces only group covered stations will remain stationary. They will be basically different, however, from existing ones.

Each subunit of air defense missile forces, in the framework of battle groupings, will have 4-5 launching positions. It is reasonable to think that the frequency of changes in launching positions will depend on the number of subunits in the unit or tactical union of missile forces performing a specific assignment. It is thought possible that within 24 subunits of missile forces will change position at least twice. Launching stations will be at such distances from each other that maximum fire range will not change, because of established conditions of cooperation with air force fighters; the maximum distance should provide in each instance for effective defense of specific sites.

The organization will be followed by changes in the tactics of air defense missile forces. There will be a transition from site defense, in addition to maintaining the capability of attacking enemy air targets as far as possible from the country's own air borders; during battle forces maneuverability, weapons and fire will have increased significance. Control over the battlefield actions of the air defense missile forces will be fully automated.

Radio Engineering Forces in Air Defense

Now and in the future will responsible for air reconnaissance and for defending the active means of air defense forces. It is also possible that

later on those forces will be equipped with new detection stations (radio location equipment, television, heat detection devices etc.) mounted on a cross-country vehicle (helicopter or other aircraft) and will be manned with few crews. Existing stationary radio location stations will be systematically replaced by mobile stations. New positions of air-targets detective stations will not require prior engineering preparations but only topographical adaptations. Each station will have a few equally operational positions. The time needed to set up and take over the station will be just a few minutes. The new air-target defense station will be less vulnerable to distruction, since establishing their location will be more difficult because of frequent changes in position. Therefore, the early flight programming of self-adjusting missiles will be impossible. To attack these stations, the enemy air force will be required to first detect, get a fix, and only then strike.

The process of receiving, processing and transmitting information will be automated. All command posts and stations for Radio engineering forces will be equipped with such systems. Development of mobile detection stations will allow a defense network of stations to be organized. This will greatly increase the ability to detect, and attack over the whole air territory of the country and will provide full protection of the active means of the air defense forces (OP).

The formation of the mobile air detection system in OP forces will influence changes in the command system of radio engineering forces. Smaller, more efficient centers wi . be formed. They will not be necessarily linked to local airforce fighters, missile forces or other OP forces command centers, located the time on country territory. Communication with higher command posts will be based exclusively on radio communications.

The future air detection system, after fundamental reconstruction, will be more flexible and maneuverable; this will assure faster incorporation with the all-army air defense.

Development of the OP radio engineering forces tactics in the near future will be easily in the area of conduct of radio location detection under conditions of intensive radio electronic static, and detection and tracing of air targets characterized by small reflection areas. This will have to be performed at very low and stratospheric altitudes.

In the long run, radio engineering forces tactics-development will be mainly in principles governing the usage of new detection systems during battle, in increasing the life and reliability of the detection system, in decreasing late reception time, the transmission time and the time for analyzing the air situation as well as insuring the probability of homing guidance of fighter planes and increasing the aiming capability of OP missile assemblies against air targets under various air conditions.

The role of radioelectronic warfare will increase. However, it will not be the domain of special radio engineering forces exclusively. Other kinds of OP forces will have an active part in it as well.

Basic changes will take place in the command structure of OP forces. Automation of the command of OP forces and means will allow for centralized decisionmaking concerning the use and cooperation of missile forces with air force fighters and with other kinds of forces, on both an operational and tactical level, i.e. tactical union of OP forces.

Therefore, one may say in general, that from 1985-2000 there will be insignificant changes in OP force tactics. This can be foreseen based on the changes that have been planned (in various countries) in equipping OP forces with new kinds of weapons. In this period the development of general OP force tactics the issues regarding integrated utilization of various OP forces and weapons will have increased importance.

In the near future the function of national air defense systems in the OP coalition system will increase. In addition to air defense, the system will also link countermissile and antispacecraft defense systems. Therefore the OP coalition system will have a decisive role in defending sites located on territories belonging to coalition participants, against enemy missile and space strikes. Besides the means of air defense, OP forces may also include other means of countermissile and antispacecraft defense.

Engagement of OP Forces in Case of Nuclear War

A surprise attack with a massive strike of the most powerful offensive weapons is rather improbable. The lesser probability of a war beginning in such a way results from inevitable retaliation with nuclear missile forces belonging to the major power that is attacked. The mighty force of such an attack and retaliation, as well as the predictable effects, gives such action the disaster of "collective suicide." Nevertheless, the possibility of a war beginning in such a fashion cannot be disregarded, since the likelihood of such action may be most probable during times of technological and organizational advantage by the aggressor country. This will increase the chance of surprise attack and will, therefore, considerably decrease the forces of retaliation.

In case of nuclear war, the country will be subjected to unusually destructive strikes. Within the framework of an offensive air operation, one would think that the enemy, using all available battle charge carriers, would attack most forcefully first the opponents' means of air attack, air defense sites and energy and transportation networks. Thus one can expect simultaneous assault by missiles, air-to-surface missiles, unmanned aircraft, strike aircraft and by laser weapons mounted on satellites in space.

In such situations, a future fight with the agressor's air assault weapons will be extremely complicated. It will be carried out by joint OP forces and the air defense forces of the remaining armed forces, and also by designated striking air force, missile forces and artillery acting in antiaircraft operations. In resisting the first massive assault by the agressor, it appears that warfare will be organized, centrally commanded, and the results may be satisfactory in terms of the number of destroyed enemy air targets and air force ground devices. Additional OP force actions will be less centrally

commanded. The effectiveness of the remaining forces will most likely decrease, since most of its potential will be used to eliminate the effects of strikes by the weapons of mass destruction. At that time separate air defense centers may be established to carry out the tests in conjunction with surviving forces and sites. Tactical unions of OP forces, and in particular their command centers will be most essential on this period of executing the tasks.

After the first massive strike by weapons of mass destruction, the enemy will attempt to destroy remaining sites, in particular military sites as well as the forces themselves--mainly operational forces in order to make counter-aggresive actions impossible. In this stage of war, the main effort of OP forces will be to defend operational forces. It is likely, that air defense will take the form of site defense, executed by combined forces made of all kinds of national OP forces and antiaircraft defense forces (OPL) commanded by the remaining OP command system centers. Battle actions in this phase of the war will be more difficult because of a lack of cooperation between specific air defense stations. Certainly serious difficulties in war supplies will decrease the effectiveness of air force fighters and OP missile forces in particular. OP may include, besides air defense, antimissile and antispace defenses.

Nuclear war could start also as a consequence of conventional war. Use of weapons of mass destruction could be sporadic at the beginning and could escalate later to full scale use. In such a situation military actions will be carried out at the beginning in a manner similar to those of a conventional war.

Regardless of the initial character of nuclear war, one can anticipate that it will develop as a much larger territory than currently postulated. Rear borders of a front (or fronts) may shift considerably within a country, or may be even eliminated. Guerrilla groups and partisans supported by enemy air assault may act within the territory of a country.

Guerrillas will be combatted by civil defense methods as well as by operational forces. Other OP forces besides air defense, could also be used in an all-army battle and could support civil defense forces and operational forces; therefore, air defense will have an all-army character. This will require the unification of individual armed forces air defense systems (land forces and navy)--our own and allied--with the OP system. The OP system will have the role of integrating and leading the established all-army air defense system.

The established all-army air defense systems, described above, will result in the unification of army equipment, in particular in antiaircraft missile assemblies, in air detection stations, and on force command automatic devices assuring guidance of air force fighters on air targets.

Conclusions:

1. The projected development of the political and military situation shows that the function of OP forces in the defense system of a country or coalition

of countries will systematically grow. This will cause the existing opinions regarding strategy used by OP forces to be reevaluated. This will become evident in the necessive introduction of organizational changes and in the use of individual kinds of OP forces, in conformity with the expected character of future wars and warfare.

2. The increased importance of OP forces will influence changes in the development of operational forces towards the establishment of smaller units that will be quantitatively better than existing ones. The qualitative increase in operational force units will lead to the formation of an increased number of military units within the country. The latter will become additional targetable strike sites for the enemy, and, therefore, will require air protection by OP forces. For this reason the importance of zone defense increases.

3. Due to continuous improvement of air assault means, due to the predicted economic and military development of countries and conceptions of future military actions, it is reasonable to think that it will be necessary to defend using more economic and military sites, and above all to defend operational forces in regions of concentration, deployment and also those fighting within the country. Therefore, the number of tanks for OP forces will certainly increase. Only full and appropriate execution of those tasks will determine the country's defense capability as well as the defense of our own and allied operational forces within the country.

4. The projected character of enemy air assault, in particular a first massive strike, certainly will cause difficulties: in centralization of OP forces command, in cooperation within the system and with neighboring OP systems, as well as with other kinds of OP forces.

5. Under an all-army air defense system the mobility of OP forces will be of particular importance. Consequently, this will cause modification of existing military equipment. Stationary equipment will have to be replaced by very mobile equipment, which requires a short time for war-readiness in unspecified terrain and air situations.

6. The projected participation of OP forces in antiaircraft operation will increase the number of air-defense tasks, assigned to other kinds of armed forces, which participate in such operations: such as, strike air force air bases, operational missiles and operational-strategic launching stations. In the operation of antiairforce OP forces, air force fighters in particular could be used (in addition to attacking air targets) to defend the airstrips used by the striking air force and also to attack the enemy air force targets located on the ground.

7. Considering the projected danger to the country from the means of air assault over the next 20 years, the function of OP forces in the country's defense system will have a decisive influence at the beginning of a war, regardless of the character of the means of attack used.

12199
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NEW EMIGRATION LAWS DISCUSSED IN SWISS PAPER

Zurich NEUE ZURCHER ZEITUNG in German 9 Nov 82 p 4

[Article by R. St.: "High Payments for Emigration From Romania. Payments in Hard Currency"]

[Text] Vienna 7 Nov--The Romanian State Council has issued a decree setting forth the financial obligations of emigrants. Romanian citizens, who have obtained definitive permission to leave the country, must compensate the state for its services. The amount of compensation is not mentioned. Since part of the amount must be paid in [hard currency], the regulation amounts to ransom payments on the part of Western countries. Towards the end of the 1970's, over 10,000 [Romanians of German descent] from Siebenburgen and the Banat left their homeland for the German Federal Republic; several hundred thousand [Romanian Jews] emigrated to Israel over the past 30 years. There was never any doubt that Bucharest demanded and received some kind of compensation for this "generosity", but the material demands had not been stated quite so openly until now.

Compensation

The decree describes the sum the emigrants have to pay as compensation for government services in the areas of education and training, health services, and social insurance. There is talk of a [debt] of the individual vis-a-vis the state, socialist enterprises or cooperatives, and other organizations. The emigrants would have to compensate society for the material services it has provided. Exempt from the [cost reimbursement] are apparently only emigrants who have reached retirement age. Hence, according to the Romanians, it takes until retirement to repay debts incurred for education and training in spite of the fact that people with higher education and skilled workers earn relatively very low salaries.

Romanian nationals, who have been assured of definite permission to leave the country, must discharge their obligations toward the state in [two stages]. Before their passports are issued, they must pay for the costs of education and for private debts, and during the period between receiving the passport and their actual departure, they must settle all other obligations. This also includes payment for services received as tourists.

This cannot be interpreted in any other way than that emigrants are charged for hotel stays at the same rate Western tourists have to pay, i.e., about four times the rate they previously paid. People who, for 10 years, had enjoyed apparently inexpensive vacations in Mamaia at the Black Sea, can now expect a hefty [additional bill]. Furthermore, it is not just real estate owned by the Romanian emigrant that becomes the property of the state, but he must also pay a fee for the "export of national cultural treasures" if he wants to take along a piece of art he personally owns. [Forced measures] for settling the "debt" are used against people who left the country illegally or who did not return in time. So far, there has been no mention of reprisals against family members; however, they cannot be excluded, judging from what has become known.

New Source of Income

Only in very rare instances do Romanians have legally acquired money in the form of hard currency. The precarious health of the state's finances evidently has caused Bucharest to develop a [new source of income]. Only Western countries are able to provide the required sums of money. The fact that emigrants must pay in hard currency makes it impossible for Hungarians in Siebenburgen to resettle in Hungary. How large the amounts of money demanded from prospective emigrants are, is not yet known. Romanian emigration policies--except for their attitude towards Jews--have never been generous and always linked to [political services in return]. The fact that the State Council decree was issued a few days prior to the resumption of the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] [follow-on meeting] in Madrid, appears particularly macabre. Here, a government is making the rights that are guaranteed in the Helsinki final act specifically dependent on the payment of money. Only recently, if we can trust our memory, has Bucharest offered to host the next meeting which will reexamine the principles agreed on in Helsinki...

7821
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ROLE OF CULTURAL VALUES, QUALITY OF WORK IN SOCIALISM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 82 pp 24-26

/Article by Prof Dr Ion Tudosescu: "Role of Cultural Values and Quality of Work in Determining the Way of Life"/

/Text/ Formation of the socialist way of life is a major aim of the RCP's overall strategy for building the fully developed socialist society in Romania. The cultural values of that society, their creation and assimilation, and the entire cultural-educational effort to form the new man are increasingly important in the system of factors governing this process, along with the material values of socialist civilization and the technical-material base and economic and organizational structures of socialist society. In describing this complex mechanism for objective and subjective determination of the socialist quality of life, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982 that "We must always bear in mind that the way of thinking, social consciousness, and degree of scientific, educational and cultural development are determined by the material base of society and the way the material goods are produced and distributed, while social awareness, science, education, culture and ideological and political-educational work play an important part in development of the productive forces. Both aspects of activity are interdependent in a dialectical unity and ensure further social progress, the greater welfare of the people, and consolidation of national sovereignty and independence. In the light of the principles formulated by the RCP secretary general and the current political-ideological and cultural-educational tasks set by the Second Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, we intend to present some of the axiological and practical aspects of the present process of creating a new quality of life in Romania.

1. Objective and Subjective Determination

In general the way of life may be defined as a way of bringing about a human condition, of fulfilling men's fundamental aspirations, and of meeting their material and intellectual requirements. The range of the requirements and the extent to which they are met always depend upon a series of objective factors, namely the material possibilities that society has (depending on the extent of

growth of the national wealth) for distributing to its members the goods and values that they need as well as the types of social relations and the nature of the production relations that shape the society (which determine the criteria and methods of distribution).

In addition to those objective factors there is also a series of subjective factors determining the way of life (and consequently the quality of life determined by the way of life) which depend upon the degree of people's comprehension and axiological assimilation of the relationships between the social condition and their human condition.

The social universe in which people live actually consists not only of social relationships and phenomena, technical-material resources, economic structures and organizational structures but also of ideas and values that are in turn complex and stratified in various areas and on various levels. In supporting the cultural edifice of society, the ideas and values play a particular part in forming people's social environment and they constitute their axiological frame of reference, their means of signifying their existence and detaching themselves from the objective world. Therefore the cultural horizons and values act as a controlling factor in determining people's quality of life and their way of life.

Accordingly one may speak of four areas of social-human construction upon which quality of life and development and improvement of people's way of life may depend, namely growth of the national wealth (and its surpluses for rational service of the needs of both social reproduction and the public's material and cultural consumption), improvement of social and production relations (for an equitable application of the social consumption fund to higher material and cultural living standards), social integration of people (the main means to this end being work, in the sense of activity producing goods and values, and a responsible attitude toward the regulatory codes of society), and people's perception of the objective conditions for their fulfillment, including the necessity of their integration in the system of social determinism through work and a sense of responsibility.

That last aim of social-human construction requires the individual to set and assimilate values and to live up to the set of values characteristic of the society in which he lives and functions. The cultural level helps the individual not only to perceive the objective determination of his way of life but also to form his militant social attitudes, because the individual's practical effort behalf of social construction is aimed not only at his integration in the social production system through work but also his active participation in the improvement of social relations and of the organizational structure based on those relations.

The cultural level is ineffective in determining the way of life unless it is centered on the key values (the basic values characteristic of each stage of the historical process) and completely developed to include the entire range of values from the material ones to the cultural and moral ones. Therefore society is vitally concerned in an extensive educational effort to intensify people's axiological receptiveness to all kinds of values and the prevailing basic values pertaining to the nature of the respective society's social relationships. Only through such a comprehensive educational strategy can educational work be expected to ultimately result in enhancement of people's awareness or its adjustment to the historical imperatives of the period.

In this light and under the conditions of construction of the fully developed socialist society, Romanian society is vitally concerned with and concentrates on the cultural-educational effort to form the advanced, revolutionary socialist consciousness and the new man as a fully developed personality because, as the RCP Program points out, a fully developed society requires a fully developed individual, with the qualification that this type of man is not only a result but also a cause as the builder of the new society.

Correlation of the four areas of social action (material and value production, improvement of social relationships and organizational structures, social integration of individuals with correlation of their individual and collective action, and cultural-educational work to enhance people's level of awareness and cultural horizon) results, especially under the conditions of socialism, in the system of factors in people's way of life and the levers available to society in its effort to bring about a new quality of life.

2. Value and Culture

Among the components of people's way of life we first distinguish the two most important ones, namely the living standard, or amount of goods and values with which society provides its members (according to its particular criteria of distribution) to meet their material and cultural needs, and the way people satisfy their needs (according to the society's standards of value and the extent to which its members assimilate and observe such standards). In the latter component, the way of life involves a qualitative aspect, upon the intensity of which a given life style depends (people's behavor in their relations with society and the extent to which the standards of value are involved in their direct relationships and in determining and selecting the range of demands to which they aspire and according to which they set their courses of action and ideals).

Besides those components of a quality of life (way of life) there are others that are of increasing importance in view of the technical-scientific revolution now in progress, such as the quality of the natural environment and not just the social one, the working conditions and the way people perceive the human and humanizing value of work.

In the present impact of man upon nature, man will actually lose the primary quality of his existence, his biotic environment, unless he puts a stop to the strategies and technologies that seriously and irreparably pollute the ecologic system (already sufficiently disrupted). Contemporary society's cultural standards and whole scale of values should sound the alarm about this and make contemporary man responsible in his relations with nature and society.

Of course the cultural values and acculturating efforts cannot perform their particular intensifying function unless organizational structures, strategies and suitable methods of social action are established in advance. It follows that the cultural values and the cultural effort must have a direct organizational purpose. This is necessary not only in the system of man's relations with nature but especially in the relations between man and society. Moreover in the course of the contemporary revolutionary processes, cultural activity and creation of values have permanently abandoned the luminist /sic/ and contemplativist positions. As the cultural standards and value strata characteristic of the

contemporary societies (especially the socialist ones) are assimilated, the agent of social action becomes militantly political, pursuing changes (sometimes radical) or improvements in the system of society's organizational structures so that they will function as means of achieving the human condition and suiting the social structures to the basic requirements and ideals of the new man of our times. It may be said in this connection that today more than ever homo significans is homo organizationalis.

The practical-organizational aim of the cultural values places those values in the context of the political, a field endowed par excellence with organizational virtues in the system of determinism of social experience. On the one hand the political phenomenon includes, besides the organizational structures of a political nature, political culture and awareness (vital in motivating and directing political relationships and actions), and on the other hand the political values are also included among the cultural values. Therefore homo significans is a zoon politikon as well.

Since political values are included among the cultural values and the organizational purposes of the cultural process in the present period are being emphasized, it is also legitimate to include political education in cultural-educational activity and thereby in the strategy for achieving the human condition.

Political education in itself just as cultural-educational activity in itself, which also includes or involves political-ideological indoctrination, unquestionably has no direct or immediate purpose of developing the living standard nor even any direct causal effect upon the way people's material needs are satisfied. Those educational fields directly affect the quality of life only by influencing people's basic value options and their rational attitudes toward the requirements of the relations between the individual and society in the process of fulfilling the human condition. From this standpoint the qualification is noteworthy that the political and cultural values in general perform a causal function in determining the nature and proportions of people's cultural and moral requirements and thereby play a part in shaping their life style and social behavior.

But in directly influencing the structure of the cultural and moral requirements the cultural values (including the political ones) also determine the range of the material requirements by their intervention. People measure such requirements responsibly by political standards and culture and relate the extent and nature of them to society's objective possibilities. This direct correlation between cultural values (including political ones) and quality of life is particularly apparent in our society, which makes it an aim of human achievement to create the fully developed personality of a new man whose quality of life is to reach the level of a communist way of life.

And so in the series of factors contributing to creation of the new quality of life during construction of the fully developed socialist society, the cultural values and cultural-educational work are of growing importance and a strategic significance which I think we must give further consideration in the current studies of the determinism of social experience in socialism.

3. Quality of Work and Quality of Life

Nature of work, working conditions and organization of work occupy a place apart in the system of indicators of quality of life. This indicator is so important in socialism that it may be said that in the process of the fully developed socialist society quality of live critically depends upon quality of work.

Actually, in socialist society it is by work that the individual is socially integrated and also personalizes himself. Society only contributes to his personalization.

We feel certain courses of action are necessary to make work highly effective in determining the quality of life. In the first place we think of the necessity of always correlating and varying the level of distribution with the workers' contribution of work (measured both quantitatively and qualitatively). In this connection we must also consider the occupational training invested in the various worker categories, as well as the difficulty of the occupations and the degree of social responsibility determined by the position of the job on various levels of society's organizational hierarchy. We also consider the more suitable geographic allocation of the enterprises to allow for the degree of pollution of the natural environment, the enterprise's social functions, avoidance of commuting, etc. Of course this also requires an optimal organization of the enterprises and the work by proper proportioning of the enterprises and the degree of concentration of the population in them, and organization of the labor collectives and teams according to psychosociological criteria of a scientific nature. Dysfunctions and difficulties in all those respects serve to depersonalize the individual and impair his social integration through work.

I feel intensified democracy in the activity of the enterprises, institutions and socioeconomic units will provide not only for optimal operation of the organizational bodies and resources available to the workers for their greater participation in the management and activity of the enterprises and institutions but also for careful application of the principles of socialist democracy in electing personnel for economic, administrative and political management (according to professional and political training, organizational aptitude, psychological and social experience in working with people, and level of responsibility in performance of tasks), and for creating the conditions for relative stability of personnel and jobs.

As we know, arrangements for workers' best use of their spare time are vital to restoration of physical and intellectual working capacities, to instruction and education, to performance of managerial activities in the family, on the job, and in the community, and to participation in cultural and athletic activities. But we think good organization and operation of the services are first necessary here, so that the spare time will be spent effectively for both the individual and society. We also feel greater encouragement should be given in educational work to actions that can help to enhance job satisfaction, so that work will not be merely the main criterion (and measure) of distribution but will also become more and more of a vital necessity to both society and the individual. To this end the work place must become more and more a framework of the workers' lives and not just an organizational framework wherein they perform their function as producers to obtain remuneration, and their incentive to raise the levels of labor productivity and production must be motivated by a harmonious combination of individual and social interests.

Through such ways and means of encouraging the individual's social integration through work, work acquires truly humanizing powers and becomes a decisive factor for creation of a better quality of life meeting the requirements of the socialist way of life. In a comprehensive view of the factors contributing to formation of the socialist way of life listed above, the work factor is fundamental and critically affects the other factors, because the way in which work functions in the system of social dynamism and in the structuring of the set of values in socialist society determines not only the whole series of factors for that society's material and cultural progress but also the process of forming the workers' socialist self-awareness, and along with that, the development of their confidence in the possibility of achieving their human condition in such a system. In the light of the revolutionary process now going on in Romania, we stress the point that such a feeling of confidence is and should be more and more a decisive factor in perception of the need of the entire people's total commitment to creating the new quality of life characteristic of the present stage in the progress of Romanian socialist society.

As we have seen, both objective and subjective determinations are correlated in the historical materialist conception and in the process of transforming the way of life. In this system of interactions, two factors have been found decisive in our analysis, namely people's practical productive action (work producing goods and values) and people's assimilation of society's standards of value, and the whole cultural-educational effort is subordinated to the latter objective.

The first factor contributes to people's objective social integration and the second process to their personalization and subjective social integration. That establishes a reverse connection between the individual and society, within which the individual builds the objective structures of social activity (on the basis of which society provides people with the material and cultural necessities of life) while society contributes to the individual's formation (his personalization and achievement of a human quality of life) according to its nature and humanizing capacities (or limitations).

The two factors of the system of determinism of the way of life act in correlation. Any structural dysfunction in that correlation has bad effects and serves to distort the way of life. Impairment of the quality of work or inefficiency of any kind in the production of goods and values causes defects in the whole process of social construction and prevents attainment of optimal economic growth rates, reducing society's capacity to meet the human requirements adequately. Lags and inefficiency in cultural-educational work affect the level of perception of the objective factors for quality of life, and people come to measure their share of the necessities by subjective criteria.

Such difficulties give rise to feelings of frustration, dissatisfaction and nonfulfillment and accordingly the appearance of deviant trends toward objective social determinism. It may even come to phenomena of a value crisis and of an operational and organizational dysfunction.

In order to counter act such effects, with their direct bad consequences for people's quality of life and way of life, it is urgent to intensify people's education for work and through work, where the true revolutionary and patriotic convictions are formed, and to make a more extensive and sustained effort to raise the cultural standard, to develop the workers' socialist awareness, and to

form the new man, in direct correlation with the more general effort toward socioeconomic development and enhancement of the workers' material and cultural welfare.

In that connection, the program for the political and cultural-educational efforts that will be made to form the new man with a keen socialist awareness (unanimously approved by the Second Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture) is particularly important not only for the workers' cultural improvement but also for attaining higher levels of quality of life. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the conclusion of the congress, the effort toward general improvement of the cultural standard and revolutionary socialist education "must be made throughout the whole activity and in all that the Romanian people plan and achieve in their way of life and work."

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SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 82 pp 20-21, 44

/Article by Adrian Dinu Rachieru, Timisoara: "The Romanian Village from the Standpoint of Social Evolution"/

/Text/ The theoretical discussions of a sociological nature about the evolution of the social structure, including the one published in ERA SOCIALISTA, are of major interest and have aroused a wide response as well as some polemic reactions. In "X-raying" the present class structure, some comments rightly emphasized the relationships between the scientific-technical revolution and the evolution of the working class, and in that context less was said about the present state and evolution of the Romanian village. Analysis of such problems, and others as well, meets the requirement stated by Nicolae Ceausescu at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982, in that the new developmental stage of Romanian society calls for thorough examination of the facts in order to draw theoretical and practical conclusions for future activity. Subject to the changes induced by the agrarian-industrial revolution and the evolution of the entire Romanian social system, the Romanian village has departed from its former almost exclusively agricultural structure. The conversion of agriculture to industry, the proliferation of some nonagricultural productive sectors in rural areas, the functions of the cooperative system, the considerable reduction of the proportion of agricultural population, and regional use of the surplus labor force are affecting the fate of the rural settlements. As we know the "demographic metabolism" from village to city as well as the shift of population and products were accompanied by imbalances, so that the specifically rural activities had to be reinvigorated in order to make the rural and urban functions complementary. Rural modernization cannot be dissociated from reappraisal of the social status of rural activities and the efficiency of agricultural labor as adjusted to the concept (still to be desired) of the agrarian revolution. In the context of emphasis upon the qualitative aspects of social development, the agrarian revolution is a general concept subject to development and extension involving "production, labor productivity, technical standards, economic effectiveness and general social activity in the Romanian villages," as Nicolae Ceausescu regarded it, and a component of the process of social leveling.

Everywhere in the world we see such a rapid reduction of rural population that we can say that as rural life "retreats" the importance of knowing it increases. The facts compel us to return to the "peasant problem," noting that the application of some sociological conclusions has been late and the predictive capacity of such studies has been insufficiently exploited, while sociology lags behind reality at times and is slow to perceive some very far-reaching processes and effects. Sociologists have recommended some measures (in the course of so many studies over the years) that merely reflected processes, without substantiating the strategies for managing the social reforms in keeping with the possibilities and requirements, and contenting themselves with merely "justifying them."

The dismantling of the old social and class structure, the leveling of the peasantry (becoming a new class of a nature characteristic of socialist production relations), in a decreasing proportion undergoing an intensive process of professionalization through the development of activities of an industrial type, diversification of the field of services and development of the technical infrastructure of agriculture resulted in a spectacular occupational diversification and modernization of the regional settlements, speeding up the process of equalizing their access to goods and services. The single rural occupation (in the sense of solely agricultural pursuits) and the "universal worker" type of peasant have disappeared, but the expanded "executor" attitude (due to restriction of independent initiative), the intensified feeling of a coowner, the changes in the rural way of life, and the diminished role of rural culture as a coherent system of standards, values and attitudes are affecting behavior.

Before probing the question let us remember that the structure of the rural population employed in agriculture is a pyramid distorted as to age groups and unbalanced as to sexes. As for use of manpower resources, in view of the declining proportion of the active population in the total rural population employed in agriculture, A. Ciora mentioned in his comment in ERA SOCIALISTA the "abnormal" ratio between specialists with secondary education and those with higher education. In addition to that, there is also the phenomenon of "negative selection" in the choice of agriculture as an occupation, as well as the agricultural specialists' unnatural residence in cities. The end-choices of rural-agricultural vocations impair the quality of the labor force, in addition to the quantitative limitation of the influx into rural-agricultural activities, casting doubt on the validity of the trend toward social and occupational self-reproduction in rural areas. "Devaluation" of the village and rural-agricultural activities in the mechanism of social status diverst interest toward occupations of the urban type. In any case, the exodus of the rural population to the cities (giving rise to many sociological studies that are not always accurate) confronts us with an inescapable finding, namely aging and feminizing of the rural labor force accompanied by youth's indifference to agriculture.

When it assimilated industrial occupations and professions, the village overcame the "inherent" immobility of rural society, and the changes it underwent opened it up to a comprehensive process of modernization. We prefer the latter term to urbanization particularly because in some of the comments the general idea of urbanization meant the eventual disappearance of any differences in city and village relationships, as "an invention of a way of life about to become universal" (1). We think those relationships involve disappearance of any opposition of the types of settlement but by no means an obliteration of them through

imitation of the city and mechanical application of measures peculiar to the industrial-urban area. It is at least premature to declare the "disappearance of any differences" as long as obvious differences still persist and the evolution of Romanian society indicates that the rural and agricultural structures must be strengthened.

Furthermore, social leveling as an overall macrosocial process characteristic of socialism calls for gradual elimination of all the essential social inequalities and distinctions among the groups without deceiving ourselves about total elimination of the differences, some of which cannot be eliminated (the natural ones due to age, individual ability, geographic features, etc.) while others should not be. (2) Social inequalities still persist as regards living conditions, opportunities for development and advancement, and possibilities of satisfying human requirements, since the evolution of Romanian society calls for equal social conditions for a multilateral and differentiated development. By the same token the criteria for evaluating changes in the social structure call for activation of the social mechanism for advancing some changes and checking others according to the model (strategy) of evolution of the social structures. It goes without saying that this problem cannot be separated from observation of the radical changes in the village itself. While the traditional village, coming to the attention of Romanian sociology between the wars and explored with no scientific detachment or superficial interest, was defined as a self-sufficient, acquainted group, the communities characterized by commuting now show a pronounced trend toward emancipation by the "urbanization" route. And as we know, modernization of the villages by infusion of urban elements has reduced the "distance" between city and village as the rural environment goes through an all-inclusive process of surpassing its "traditional civilization" by overcoming the immobility characteristic of the former village world.

Note however that the "pressure" of urban culture does not entirely eliminate the old living and working habits. Being largely acquired, the urban values meet with the "resistance" of the local traditional values. The phenomenon proceeds on the basis of "marginalization" of the peripheral position of the commuters in the evolution of the urban community and unquestionably merits a separate discussion.

At any rate, the shuttle service reconciles nonagricultural activities with maintenance of a rural residence, and the "industrial" commuters are distinguished by their occupational characteristics and the series of effects modifying their family structure, the scope of their social relations and aspirations, use of their spare time, etc. Commuting to industry was considered a "stage" phenomenon, but since that sociological hypothesis was not confirmed, their integration as commuters is a question of primary importance in the limited investigations of the phenomenon.

Interested in the areas of "interacting civilization," the sociologists warned of the ambiguous social status of the "semiurbans" and "semirurals, and the symbiosis of attributes is reflected in the current inadequate statistics that convey no real knowledge of the rural situation. In any case, the operational definition retaining the occupational factor is clearly irrelevant, missing the succession of roles that are distinct in cultural value and differ in action. Evaluation of the social structure and its evolution presents an inadequate

picture if we overlook the characteristics of that group category of the active population, which does not definitely belong to any class. Sociologically speaking, however, the twofold occupational affiliation and consequent juxtaposition of roles maintain a cultural hybrid, since the industrial commuters pursue a way of life that combines the urban values with the rural symbols, and their coexistence results in a cultural dualism that is often of a doubtful quality. Therefore urbanization is not confined to the nature of the "social area, requiring only transformation of the environment, but primarily requires transformation of the individual as the bearer of models of culture and behavior.

It has been noted, however, that the role and significance of urbanization itself, on the theoretical level, as an eminently constructive process was exaggerated. It was not until more recently that the ecological indications intensified by the environmental crisis compelled reconsideration of the extent of the city's bad effects upon temporary or occasional visitors from the world of the village.

But the error of the sociologists who persisted in the rural exodus theory lay not only in their one-sided analysis of the migration phenomenon, which also existed in the period between the wars, but especially in overlooking the internal causes of population shifts (away from agriculture) beyond the "objective necessities." It is clear now that this exodus (once applauded by sociologists) is only favored by industrialization, and the analysts of the phenomenon follow (and amend) the theory of "release of manpower" through agricultural industrialization a long as agriculture itself shows a shortage of manpower.

The hypothesis advanced by Ion Dragan, Honorina Cazacu and Oscar Hoffman that now "The proportions of the classes will not undergo major changes" (3) was contested in the discussion in ERA SOCIALISTA. Stabilization of the growth process concentrates social mobility inside the social classes and categories and considerably decreases the volume of intercounty migration. Of course that does not mean we are seeing a final stabilization of the labor force according to social-professional sectors or structures, without any change in it. Certainly the "remigration" hypothesis, which is about to be confirmed as its author himself, Vasile Miftode (4) noted, should also be considered although we have our doubts that it will be increasingly evident in the future. To be sure commuting has passed the eruptive stage, but the reconversion that the remigration calls for (Some worker-peasants will become farmers again) will not give rise to a reverse exodus in the sense of any considerable increase in the proportion of the rural population, but rather the "surplus" will be absorbed primarily by the services sector within the limits of this stabilization which, moreover, will be favored by the blocking of the rural exodus.

But the economic and moral attractiveness of the occupation is still the first consideration in management of the agricultural labor force. Virgil Constantinescu noted in his comments in the discussion that the agricultural occupations are making less gains in moral prestige, and for the immediate future the industrial workers trained in the trade school network and naturally used in nonagricultural activities are expected to be less inclined to do agricultural work in their spare time. There is no question that the economic motivation played an important part (remuneration, working conditions) in the "rural hemorrhage,"

but it was not the sole cause of it. It is associated with the disappearance of "the satisfaction of being a peasant" and the disintegration of the traditional life style (5), since the changes in the Romanian village were not all favorable and harbored a retinue of secondary effects. The depreciation of the peasant's status, marginal to "social success," resulted in the efforts to change it, and of course the current measures to revitalize the agricultural units and make them profitable are not overlooking the economic mechanism of material incentive. It was noted that the present system of indicators for evaluating the effectiveness of agricultural work and for remuneration will have to be revised shortly. Moreover the indifference, the offenses, the irresponsibility or the deficient use of the "occupational reserve" of personnel do not require just severe measures because, as V. Miftode correctly commented, such defects "cannot be remedied legally alone or by political indoctrination alone." (6)

The fundamental problem concerns the very direction of the evolution of the Romanian village in "the course of development." At first it was believed that the historic recovery awaiting Romanian society inevitably entailed the disappearance of the peasantry and the dissolution of the state. In copying some models from other places the characteristics were overlooked and urbanization was narrowly interpreted as transformation to townsmen. But in the very broad concept of urbanization (as a step toward socioeconomic changes and changes in attitude) the economic complementarity of industry and agriculture coexists with the social one between city and village, with efforts to close the gaps that separate them in regard to quality of life. I feel this point is of the greatest importance to the forecasts that mark out the evolution of Romanian society. In accordance with the party and state policy, the rural communities of the future will find their roots in the matrix of the village itself, based upon the foundations of socialist social relations.

The theoretical significance and practical implications of these problems require a more realistic approach, implicitly required in the case of sociology anyway because its epistemological status is based upon specific facts. It is quite rightly said that sociology cannot become a purely academic discipline without risk of annihilating itself, while its restriction to reality also prohibits its falsification. Then there is the temptation of facile borrowing (unfortunately an overworked "method"!) by quoting the Romanian facts from foreign contributions, many of them remarkable to be sure but not thereby applicable to the Romanian realities. And finally it should be noted that not much consideration has been given to the rural and agricultural sociological studies, and by avoiding mention of them and not engaging in their solution sociology sacrifices its militant calling and consequently its opportunity to be "in the front line" of the social-human disciplines. And as we know, ignoring its conclusions can only be harmful.

FOOTNOTES

1. Gh. Bourceanu, "Perspectives of the Romanian Village," CRONICA, No 13, 1982.

2. Cf. I. Dragan, H. Cazacu and O. Hoffman, "Evolution of the Demographic and Social Structure in Romania," ERA SOCIALISTA, No 3, 1982.

3. ERA SOCIALISTA, No 3, 1982.

4. V. Miftode, "Evolution of the Social Reality and Its Sociological Investigation," ERA SOCIALISTA, No 8, 1982.

5. D. Bartun, "Rural Culture and the Impact of Industrial Civilization," ASTRA, No 2, 1982.

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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DOMESTIC, FOREIGN POLICY

Bucharest FRA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 82 pp 35-36

/Article by Univ Reader Dr Victor Duculescu: "What is the Relationship Between a State's Domestic and Foreign Policies?"/

/Text/ In general there is a close connection and a natural correlation between states' domestic and foreign policies in view of the unity of the political phenomenon. As we know the political expresses the social interests arising from certain economic structures, production and ownership relations, and certain balances of class power in the given society, so that the political phenomenon, which reflects a number of aims and objectives undertaken by certain classes, parties and social groups, naturally entails a uniform strategy wherein the domestic factor cannot be dissociated from the foreign one. The connections between them are always apparent in one form or another, and the two aspects of politics, domestic and foreign, affect each other and determine the corresponding options on the part of the decision makers.

And so the class motivations of a state's domestic policy are more or less reflected in its foreign policy and in the way it plans and organizes its relations with other nations and other peoples, a fact summed up in the well-known principle that foreign policy is a continuation of domestic policy. But the correlation between domestic policy and foreign policy has particular aspects and manifestations that vary with each country's economic, social and political structures, with its social system, size and economic and military potential, with its place and role in the system of international relations, with the given historical period, etc. The contemporary world presents an extremely complex and diversified picture. There are socialist and capitalist countries in the world today, countries freed from the colonial yoke that are exercising their choice of a socialist development, developing and developed states, great powers and small and medium countries, countries involved in military blocs and neutral and unaligned countries. There are also considerable differences even between countries with similar social and political structures. This situation calls for a careful and specific analysis of each and every state's domestic and foreign policies and a detailed evaluation of the relationship between the domestic and foreign policies of any given state without dogmatizing or making categorical, undiscriminating or universally valid judgments.

Historical experience tells us that pursuit of an antidemocratic, antipopular policy at home generally means (especially in the case of some great powers) a policy or actions abroad that are incompatible with other nations' dignity and tendencies toward hegemonism in international affairs, violation of other peoples' aspirations to freedom and independence, use or threat of force, and expansion and consolidation of spheres of influence and domination. Thus the foreign policy of some great empires that practiced colonialism and repression or enlavement of other peoples in the course of history was directly correlated with intensive forms of oppression and domination in their own countries, and the barbarous oppressive methods practiced in their relations with the so-called "uncivilized" nations were always involved with the effort to make more profits by exploiting their own workers. It is also a well-known fact that the fascist regimes identified with ruthless exploitation and oppression of the masses, abolition of the most elementary democratic rights and freedoms, and virulent manifestations of racist ideas and practices became known abroad as avid proponents of the policy of force and dictation, hegemony and aggression, disarmament and war, and they flagrantly violated other states' national sovereignty and independence as well as the elementary principles and standards of international law.

But the unity and especially the complexity of the political phenomenon do not mean that there is a direct relationship between domestic policy and foreign policy or always a complete correspondence between them. This relationship is inevitably affected to a considerable extent in our times by the vast social and national revolutionary reforms that have taken place in the world, by the changes and shifts going on in the balance of power and the military balance in the world, by the intensive and unprecedented development of the role of the revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces and of the nations and peoples everywhere, and by the growing mobilization of world public opinion in the effort to promote a new policy of national independence, detente, disarmament and peace.

Meanwhile it is clear that as worldwide interdependence increases we are seeing a growing generalization of the problems that vitally concern the community of nations. For example there is no question that a nuclear war would have catastrophic consequences for all countries of the world regardless of social order, size or material potential. Peace, security, disarmament and the new world political and economic order are impossible unless the foreign policy actions of all states without exception are integrally correlated with their own peoples' aspirations to prosperity and progress as well as those of the peoples everywhere.

Meanwhile it is equally true that in view of the great social and national changes that have taken place in the world, the states' foreign policies must take account of the internationally recognized principles and standards of conduct set forth in the international documents and accepted even if not invariably observed today by all countries of the world. The principles of national sovereignty and independence, equal rights and mutual benefit, noninterference in the internal affairs of other states, and prohibition of use or threat of force are rules of international behavior that have been "crystallized" by a long process of historical evolution, and their observance by all states without exception is a first requirement for the peoples' peace, freedom and progress.

Thanks to the combined effect of the above-mentioned and other factors, it is actually possible that the foreign policies of the various capitalist states will

eventually embrace constructive elements and more realistic positions on a number of international problems and especially the problem of war, peace and disarmament, which is the main problem of contemporary international affairs. That also makes relations of peaceful coexistence and collaboration among states with different social systems possible.

There is no question that the imperialist, reactionary circles in some western states are pursuing a foreign policy hostile to detente, peace and the peoples' freedom and independence while maintaining and encouraging the armaments race, and this of course seriously threatens world peace and security. And it is unquestionably necessary to give the right answer to the actions of those circles. Moreover it should also be noted that in the present international situation the ruling classes in various countries are resorting more and more to new and more subtle ways and means of advancing their own interests and of maintaining and consolidating their influence in various parts of the world. And so alongside the military methods, either together with or apart from them, there is an increasingly wide scale use of economic forms of the policy of force and interference in other states' internal affairs and of neocolonial exploitation and domination of smaller and weaker countries, especially the developing ones.

Beyond a doubt the progressive domestic social policies are essential to advancement of a really new policy in international affairs, consistent promotion of the principles of international law, and complete correspondence between a country's foreign policy and every people's basic aspirations. Accordingly socialism as a qualitatively higher social order creates the objective basis for a progressive foreign policy of international peace and collaboration and new relations among states based upon respect for every people's dignity, national sovereignty and independence, equality and mutual benefit, noninterference in other states' internal affairs, and abstention from use or threat of force. The important role of the socialist countries in current international affairs, their foreign policy of peace, detente and collaboration, and their constructive initiatives and suggestions to solve some crucial current problems including those of peace and disarmament all demonstrate the power and viability of the ideas of socialism in the world of today.

Achieving a complete correspondence between a state's domestic and foreign policies is an extremely complex and sometimes contradictory process. The progressive changes made at home are not always automatically, permanently and entirely reflected in a given country's foreign policy. We must bear in mind that foreign policy is influenced not only by the nature of the respective country's social-political system but also by factors from its past, by the nature of its historical evolution, by the survival of older and still unresolved disputes with other states, by geostrategic considerations, by its alignment or nonalignment in military alliances etc., all of which can give rise to discrepancies or conflicts (partial, limited and temporary no doubt) of one kind or another at any given point between the respective state's domestic policy and some aspects of its foreign policy. The reasons why there are still conflicts in the world among countries whose social systems and ideologies by their very nature categorically reject the methods and ideas characteristic of the old policy of force in international relations are better understood in this light, among other things. As the RCP and its secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu keep emphasizing, these situations make it particularly clear that it is the socialist

countries' highly responsible duty to demonstrate in practice that they can settle any disagreements or problems among them by negotiation on the principles of scientific socialism, equality and mutual respect, noninterference in internal affairs and mutually advantageous collaboration, that they can bring about a new kind of international relations, and that they can set a significant example of this to all peoples of the world.

And so experience and the extremely contradictory and complex evolution of events prove that any narrow, superficial view of the relationship between domestic and foreign policy must be abandoned. Foreign policy is essentially a continuation of a state's domestic policy, but this should by no means lead to any mechanical, automatic interpretation of the relationship between the two manifestations of the political factor. The phenomenon requires a specific, in-depth analysis from the positions of dialectical and historical materialism, in the entire complexity of its manifestations and in direct relation to the given historical circumstances.

The great and far-reaching revolutionary changes that have taken place in Romania since 23 August 1944 have also brought about essential changes in Romania's foreign policy. As we know, in following the guidelines set in the RCP Program, socialist Romania pursues a foreign policy that fully meets the Romanian people's aspirations to national freedom and independence, peace and social progress as well as the vital aspirations of all peoples of the world. The party's and state's domestic and foreign policies are harmoniously combined and interdependent, and there is a close dialectical unity between them. The policies determined by the Ninth Party Congress, the election of Nicolae Ceausescu as head of the party and state, and the party's and state's policy and entire domestic and international activity in the last 17 years have all played a decisive part in the achievement of that unity.

As we know, alongside their effort to best implement the program for construction of the fully developed socialist society and Romania's socioeconomic development the party and state are conducting an intensive international activity on behalf of peace and collaboration among all peoples of the world and solidly based upon the principles of full equality of rights, national sovereignty and independence, and every people's right to national sovereignty and independence. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "There is a close dialectical unity between Romania's domestic and foreign policies, as those two aspects affect and determine each other. The success of the great programs for socioeconomic development that we have undertaken heavily depends upon a policy of peace and security and extensive collaboration with all peoples of the world. On that basis Romania is taking an active part in international affairs and in the efforts of the progressive forces to secure a climate of peace, confidence and security in the world." The party secretary general's speech about the program at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 brilliantly expresses this complete and permanent unity in its entire content, its substantiated objectives and its recommended courses of action.

Assertion of the RCP's leadership in all socioeconomic development and in determining the strategy for building the new society is the factor that ensures the unity of socialist Romania's domestic and foreign policies. Headed by its secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu the RCP uniformly directs the preparation and

implementation of its domestic and foreign policies on the basis of scientific knowledge of the national and international realities and the patterns that have emerged in the evolution of Romania's domestic affairs and foreign relations. In this integral correlation domestic policy is an increasingly powerful aid to the assertion of Romania's foreign policy, while in its turn Romania's international policy becomes indispensable to fulfillment of the Romanian people's peaceful aspirations, the steady improvement of their living standard, and the prosperity of the Romanian socialist nation and also makes an important active contribution to promotion of new and truly democratic international relations in the world and to the victory of the cause of socialism, progress and peace. Moreover the complete unity of its domestic and foreign policies is one of the chief reasons for the esteem, prestige and respect socialist Romanian enjoys in the world today and for the wide impact of its constructive efforts and initiatives on behalf of all peoples' freedom, progress and peace and creation of a better and more just world.

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POLEMICS IN PRESS EXAMINED BY WRITERS

Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian Oct 82 pp 13-18

[Roundtable discussion with Serban Cioculescu, Edgar Papu, Eugen Barbu, Mircea Iorgulescu and Ion Cristoiu, coordinated by Cristina Dumitrescu: "Polemics and Its Unwritten Rules;" date and place not specified]

[Text] In recent times, we saw a lively presence in the press - especially, but not only in the literary press - of polemics. There are also frequent articles about polemics and more importantly reciprocal rebukes regarding one polemist's or another's failure to adhere to the rules and the requirements of this type of writing.

In fact, what are these rules? How is polemics defined? When does it become necessary? What is its role? What is the literary quality of current polemics? These are merely several of the problems proposed for discussion in the investigation initiated by our magazine, with the conviction that a confrontation of the points of view on this subject is truly necessary and that such a professional roundtable should naturally take place in the trade publication of newspaper writers.

[Question] What place and role do you give to polemics in the overall type of writing presented in newspapers?

Cioculescu: In the literary movement of a country, of a national culture, polemics has a very important role. It is, frequently, the promoter of new things and naturally, as always, new things find resistence on behalf of the old, which does not renounce its position, wanting to believe in them and wanting them to be consolidated for all time. Polemics is, therefore, the exchange of ideas through which the new succeeds, most frequently, in coming out. Naturally, however, polemics requires adherence to certain conditions in order to merit this name.

[Question] Precisely with regards to these conditions, I would like you to refer to them.

Cioculescu: First of all, we are talking about the good faith of the one carrying out the polemics. Second, the polemics must stay in the realm of ideas and not degenerate into polemics aimed at certain persons or deal with the physical flaws of an adversary or biographical data. Finally, there are certain cultural conditions

that must be met and, without a doubt, in the great polemics in the history of our culture these conditions were respected. And, today, some polemics are civilized while others, unfortunately, contain elements that distort or truncate a person's ideas, evidencing bad faith or stupidity. I must say, however, that, unfortunately, the bad faith is more serious than the stupidity.

[Question] We also have a very generous tradition in this field, the field of polemics. What ideas do you have, what do you think we should remember with regards to it, in researching it?

Cioculescu: We have, in fact, a very generous tradition. I feel that the first polemics in our culture - even if the person involved is no longer alive in order to respond, in other words, we cannot meet the requirement of polemics of bringing together the two adversaries - the first polemics, therefore, is that with regards to Simon Dascalu's interpolations in Grigore Ureche's chronicles. These contributions gave rise to numerous undertakings over time and over many generations, beginning with Dimitrie Cantemir, finding itself even during the era of the Ardealian School. Even during our times, Simion Dascalu was defended by the late academician C. C. Giurgescu. Clearly, not with regards to the fundamental statements that the Romanian people were an outgrowth of the liberated soldiers of Rome, but in the sense of his considerations not only as an interpolator but as a true co-author. Furthermore, polemics have continued because this idea was contested by another important historian, P. P. Panaitescu.

Another long discussed problem was that of the authorship of "The Teachings of Neagoe Basarab to His Son Teodosie." In other words, polemics can be continued throughout time when they are about ideas and not persons, with the interest not fading after several weeks or months.

Closer to our times, I remember the polemics surrounding Titu Maiorescu's personality, which at first was denied and then later restored to its rightful place. Actually, some of the reconsiderations are indirect polemics because the values that they present were unknown or not recognized 30 to 35 years ago. In this case, we have to deal with a very interesting situation: retrospective polemics.

[Question] How do you feel about the polemics presented in the press today?

Cioculescu: In our times, I feel that the polemics are not very deep because in the main problems literary criticism is in agreement. Perhaps precisely because of this there is a proliferation of personal polemics which are not always resolved elegantly.

I am convinced, however, that there are and will be in the future very important problems to be discussed and that it is fitting for them to be dealt with seriously and in good faith. This seems to me to be the two fundamental conditions: good faith and seriousness. When a polemicist is of ill faith or is not serious

he is purely and simply in trouble and his undertakings cannot be taken into consideration. Let us not forget that the essential element of polemics is the struggle to bring out the truth, and this struggle must be waged with the rigors and the intellectual approach of a scientific researcher.

[Question] In the area of journalism - in this case, in polemics - what relationship is established between freedom and responsibility?

Papu: Freedom is a very delicate notion. Used without prudence and reason, it can become anarchy. If you do not maintain lucid vision, if you do not have a permanent control over it, freedom falls into entropy and it dissolves. Hybrice and excess lead to the disappearance of freedom itself.

[Question] There is a legal framework - "The Law on the Press" - within which the journalist carries out his profession and, therefore, exercises polemics. Do you, however, also think that it is necessary for us to talk about a deontological framework?

Papu: I would answer affirmatively. Polemics is free but, going back to my earlier idea, this freedom must be well understood so that it will not degenerate, not slip to a lower, acultural and anti-human level.

[Question] What points should absolutely be contained in this "moral code for the polemicist?"

Papu: First of all among these rules should be urbanity. It should never be viewed with hostility, with hate with regards to a contrary idea. Otherwise, this beautiful struggle of opinions would become a vulgar argument and, certainly, arguments have nothing to do with the spirit of polemics.

I would then include honesty in this code. I have heard some opinions, yes, even those from a distinguished intellectual, which contain some ill faith in the polemics. Probably for "seasoning." In any case, I cannot in any way be in agreement with this type of opinion.

Similarly, I can note among the conditions that polemics should take into account a certain coefficient of modesty, which is naturally tied to good faith. By this I understand accepting the fact that the adversary can also be right - even partially right only in some of the points in this demonstration - and of publically recognizing this. Here, I do not see an abdication from your position from which you are confronting your adversary. I feel that the attempt to place a deontological framework upon polemics should not neglect these three requirements.

[Question] Sometimes a sui generis form of polemics is practiced: a statement is answered with a series of retorts and through concerted rejoinders. Do you feel that this type is interesting, useful or risks degenerating into a vendetta, into feuds like those between Sicilian families?

Papu: I think that the last hypothesis is the exact one. When a certain position is expressed in the press simultaneously by a number of "partisans," it is inevitable to slip into exaggerated subjectivism and into an incorrectly understood "friendly blind devotion." A false group solidarity is attained that damages the truth. I think that polemics must be maintained merely by the two opponents, without the noisy and unfortunate supporters. Certainly, when the person involved does not respond, the retort can be given by someone else, but this is very unpleasant and gives the wrong impression of the presence of certain "clamoring voices," appearing to come from a number of places at the same time.

[Question] When do polemics become necessary? Just in the case of certain important questions or, to an equal degree, in questions related to a certain moment about which one can easily intuit that it will not have an echo over time?

Papu: I think so in both cases. I see polemics as a means of verifying lucidity. Man is a subjective animal and no matter how well he may be guided by good faith it is difficult for him to completely overcome subjectivity. In order to succeed, he needs to be helped, and this can be achieved more by adversaries than by friends. Certainly, in great problems polemics is absolutely necessary, and the question should be asked merely in connection with the smaller, less significant ones. In their case, polemics also has the role of a welcomed exercise necessary for the great confrontations of opinions on the essential subjects. In order for you to interpret a symphony correctly, you need many solfeggios.

[Question] What difference do you believe should be made (we will assume the risk of falling into didacticism by asking this question) between the critical article and polemics?

Papu: In the critical article, there can be - like a crossed sphere, as is said in logic - polemics, but this is not obligatory. Let us suppose that a writer was unjustly attacked for a book he published. The words expressed in his defense belong to polemics and the reply will contain, in addition to combatting the adverse opinion, ample references to the quality of the contested work, which were not already noted. Therefore, there exists the possibility of the interference of the critical article with polemics, but it is not obligatory.

[Question] How would you evaluate the current status of polemics?

Papu: From a number of points of view, this moment seems interesting to me. I was myself involved in one of the great polemics of this period, a fact which I noted, I must admit, with surprise. I had not believed that a certain assertion of mine would be received with such passion and would create such controversy.

I think, however, because we are talking about the polemics of this moment, that polemics should not be tied to personal feelings, to ambitions or to

reasons foreign to the problems under discussion. I must note, however, that in Romania there is an abuse being made in this regard. Many times, polemics become a weapon of revenge or a means of stronger self-assertion, of expressing one's own ambitions. I do not think this is an acceptable position.

Nonetheless, even with these imperfections, asperity and accidents today's polemics have won out. In general, in a country's spiritual affairs polemics are an active, fertile element that stimulate a permanent verification (and self-verification) of opinions and positions towards a more serious documentation and towards finding certain more powerful arguments. For me, at least, the polemics opened in connection with an opinion expressed in journalism caused me to analyze my point of view with a maximum of rigor and even to consolidate my view. If I had not been attacked, perhaps I would have more easily passed over these assertions. Having been violently fought, justly or unustly, for reasons directly related to the opinion I expressed or foreign to it - this does not interest me - I was forced to check my position once again, using a critical spirit, and even to reinforce it. Regardless of the fact that this examination produces a confirmation of the opinion or a renunciation of it, the examination itself seems to me to be especially necessary. And, the credit for this goes to the polemics.

[Question] This very interesting observation regarding the role of polemics in bringing about a self-check is tied, I think, to your earlier assertion referring to the idea of lucidity. In the area of polemics, what role do you attribute to passions, which you also mentioned before?

Papu: Passions can be white and black. There are welcomed, constructive passions, but also passions that do not go beyond personal ambition, that are simple means of self-serving efforts. To the degree about which we are talking, about a clean, just passion serving a great idea, it is not only acceptable, but vitally necessary to polemics. Here I would permit myself a parenthetical statement. We are a very well-equipped people and we have numerous artists of certain value. We have, however, a shortage of receptive people, I think. It happens very frequently that even the great creative people are not very receptive. There are numerous cases. It is sufficient for us to refer to Macedonski, who was not receptive with regards to Eminescu's creations, or to Ion Barbu, who was also not very receptive to Arghezi's poetry, and so forth. I think that this aspect should make us think and have discussions when we talk about polemics. In order to polemicize, it is not sufficient to be honest (Father Grama was probably honest when he fought with incredibly naive means against Eminescu), but you also have to have a certain level of culture and competency. Otherwise, you are not only off target, but also ridiculous.

[Question] In our society, the open confrontation of opinions and points of view enjoys complete freedom. In this context, how do you define and evaluate the relationship betwen the freedom of expression and the responsibilities of exercising this right?

Barbu: I want to state that in all societies polemics was the nerve of literary life. Imagine a literary world in which the writers would applaud themselves from morning to night, in this manner showing that they are all friends. As you probably know, polemics always are born out of great books. With regards to mediocre books, there is quiet; with regards to stupid books, everyone is in agreement. When a better one appears, like in the story of the apple tree that yields fruit, the old and the young get their hands on the club and have at it! It happened to me with "Groapa" [The Pit], it happened to me with "Principele" [The First] and it happened to me with "Saptamina nebunilor" [The Week of the Insane]. At the same time, no one bothered Rodica Ojoc-Brasoveanu, who is an excellent author... That is why your question - what is the relationship between the freedom of expression and the responsibility of exercising this right - seems futile to me.

[Question] From this point of view, how do you feel about the polemics in our press today? What seems to be the defining factors of current polemics?

Barbu: The polemics in our current press are a consequence of the old struggle between the dogmatists and the writers of good sense. The dogmatists want to be rapidly rehabilitated, to make people forget the shameful past when they defiled the Romanian works and language in which Eminescu had written, when they buried Blaga with his knees to his mouth, when they locked up V. Voiculescu, when they forced Arghezi to sell cherries and when, at that time, they declared themselves to be liberals and the defenders of European and world culture!! We, those of us who held to the middle, who did not spit upon our master writers of all times, are being pushed by the flag of the neodogmatists! Yes, and we are told even worse things: the new right. Why should man be at the new right? Because we were never ashamed of saying the words "Romania" and "Romanian," words which, right up until our times, someone stayed away from and took them out of the pages of the review SAPTAMINA, the review which I head up... Otherwise, he is a distinguished poet, he controls the press and publishing houses, and he writes patriotic poetry for the big occasions. But, he sure would like to not have to stand alongside us! His position requires him to do so, his older friends require it of him, people who have forgotten their addresses in Romania. Actually, the current polemics are carried out between these sheltered chameleons in the big publishing houses and in the numerous reviews, screaming loudly that we are sticking our fist in their mouth, that we wish they would die and disappear from literary life. If this could be proved, they would do it. But they cannot! And, then they use intimate meetings, they use secret couriers which everyone knows leads, in turn, to Paris to the mailbox of Monica Lovinescu.

In a word, I would consider this polemic a dispute between the people with a backbone who held their head high during the period of Novicov-Selmaru, Savin Bratu, Paul Georgescu and Sorin Toma, today encountering their nephews who have been raised in the university departments and the offices of the publishing houses where they carry out their evil activities, not forgetting to tell whom they wish and whom they do not that they are our victims, the few we have kept out of the affairs of the Writers' Union after an abominable electoral plot. The defining factor in current polemics seems to me to be good sense and good faith.

[Question] The denial of an outdated idea or false values requires, along with a critical action, a constructive position and the affirmation of certain ideas and higher values. From the natural perspective of creative requirements, how do you see the polemics initiated in our press in recent years?

Barbu: I think that by denying certain outdated ideas or false values everyone supposes that something constructive is being done. To build a new house on weak girders and cardboard boxes instead of bricks, as sometimes still happens in some projects, means cheating. For those who are hasty with constructivism in polemics, yes, a new type of polemics has appeared: cordial polemics! (What this would be, I do not know! I think that the author of the phrase does not understand the word polemical.) In this type of polemics, it is recommended to us to slap faces while singing. In my opinion, the polemics initiated in our press in recent years are welcomed. As far as I know, no one has died from it, none of the combatants' homes have been blown up and no one has set himself afire in the public square. So, let us continue.

[Question] In an interview you gave in the Artistic Literary Supplement to SCINTEIA TINERETULUI (28 March 1982), you said: "If someone asks me a question, I give a full answer." Does this view of answering also reflect an idea about polemics?

Barbu: Yes, I stated that I give a full answer, with this not meaning that I have put one off into a corner somewhere, or checked my watch instead or that I am crazy. Misfortunate has brought about the fact that I have never started a polemic. I have always been forced to respond. If I pointed out to someone that he has a precarious school of thought, he answered me by saying that my mother had green eyes; if I stated that someone had a stumbling style, he answered me saying that my uncle stole wood from the Grant Bridge and so forth. The misfortune of my adversaries is that I have a heavier hand and that people choke on this, choke and shout: Author! And then, the polemics are transformed into denunciations: "Daddy, he hit me..." Get out of here, get some training, read some more and then come back to the fray...

[Question] How can we avoid the undesired transformation of confrontations between ideas into confrontations between people? What consequences can it have?

Barbu: I do not want to think about being insulted after an exchange of opinions in the journals in which I published my polemics. Recently, I wrote that Manolescu has a detestable opinion with regards to my literature, but I continue to greet him on the street. I am talking about an elementary urbanity...

[Question] When is the effect of a polemical attitude expressed in the press considered welcomed?

Barbu: I feel it is welcomed when the person I tried to correct comes around. For example: our colleague Breban, after he went through the Giga column in SAPTAMINA, learned how to write more carefully. That is something, is it not?

[Question] In the area of polemics, Romanian culture has a rich tradition not lacking famous examples. What do you consider the defining characteristics of polemics at the current moment?

Iorgulescu: By "polemics," one can at the same time understand a great deal and very little. Not just because of a vague, imprecise meaning of the term, but also because of certain meanings that are not convenient in relationship to a given circumstance or with the interests existing at one point or another, and so forth. The definition itself of the meaning of polemics can become, as you can see, an opportunity for... polemics! Let us get by this first obstacle and go on. I do not think we can speak of our traditions in polemics as long as we understand poorly, superficially or not at all the most frequently invoked polemics. For example, there is frequent mention of the polemic between Maiorescu and Gherea. Being considered in an exemplary light, it is always recommended as a model. But, no real polemic can be carried out by following a model! Polemics are unforeseeable and unrepeatable, even if they are sometimes apparently taken up again: a change in the climate and the participants in fact leads to a change in the polemics themselves. Then what would a planned, scheduled and known-in-advance polemic be? Finally, we cannot truly understand a polemic that took place at some point if we do not place it in its political, historical and cultural framework. This is so since there are periods in which the polemics are fruitful and periods in which the polemics are impossible. Gherea's first polemic text - let us stay with this example - did not involve Maiorescu: it had a political nature and referred to two speeches given by the prime minister at that time (1883), I. C. Bratianu. And, Maiorescu was, in 1886, when Gherea published the first polemic article against him in the magazine CONTEMPORANUL, not only a known cultural personality, but also a prominent politician. While Gherea - Gherea was an obscure shopkeeper who ran a railroad station restaurant in Ploiesti, a person with an uncertain situation from all points of view. For example, at that point he still did not have his Romanian citizenship (he was naturalized in 1890, just a short time after Maiorescu, the minister of cults, had given him "quieting assurances" in this regard). Gherea's courage and Maiorescu's gallantry remain, however, misunderstood if we consider them merely as their personality traits, if we do not place them in the climate of that period. Further, by taking them out of context and making them absolutes, we inevitably falsify them. Placed in other historical moments, Gherea's daring and Maiorescu's loyalty become impossible.

Contemporary polemics are to a good degree false polemics. We no longer know how to carry out polemics, we have lost this skill. And, I am not merely thinking about the violence of the vocabulary and the insinuations of a personal nature ("insinuations" is a euphemism!), about inventiveness used to obscure evidence, truth and logic. These are the results of the inability to carry out polemics. In my opinion, the causes must be sought in an unfortunate heritage from the dogmatic period. At that point, polemics were not carried out, but rather excommunications, discussions were replaced with verdicts, confrontation with accusations and dialogues with monologues. In a recent article, the critic M. Ungheanu was greatly surprised that a "certain" N. Doreanu was able to publish a denigratory, aggressive and rudimentary article in 1954 about

G. Calinescu's novel "Bietul Ioanide" [Poor Ioanide]. Innocence or ignorance? N. Doreanu was not a certain "somebody." He was an important figure of the period (he was even a minister, among other things), and I do not understand how M. Ungheanu did not understand why this article was published and, especially, why there was no answer... Is it so hard to understand? I doubt it! Certainly, since then there have been a sufficient number of changes, but the custom of giving a monologue has remained. The majority of today's polemics is of this type: the people who carry them out are more interested in compromising their adversaries than in coherently stating their point of view. Here is where the violence of vocabulary comes in, the personal attacks, the invectives, the thinly veiled denouncements and so forth. This is the source of the strategy of hiding behind generous generalities. It has also reached the point where writers lacking even a minimum amount of literary talent are conducting "polemics" with critics who do not recognize this, accusing them of not being "sympathetic" to the high themes which they, in fact, degrade in their compositions which are totally lacking in value - as if the intention counts and not the achievement. It is not the principles or a principled nature that is lacking in our polemics, but rather the dialogue and open confrontation.

[Question] It is a unanimously accepted truth that polemics involve - in addition to combatting erroneous ideas or outdated ones - supporting certain new ideas and certain higher values. Could you refer to these values that are involved in the polemics that have appeared in the press in recent years?

Iorgulescu: I am somewhat more skeptical than you are, and I do not believe that new ideas appear, as such, at every step and at any moment in an uninterrupted and overwhelming statement. To defend "old" ideas and values - not obsolete ones, but those consacrated by time and history! - does not mean being opposed to the new. The confusion between change and renewal leads to nothing good because simple evolution does not absolutely also mean progress. To transform, to change is not always the same as renewal and the mania to make changes frequently hides a strong resistence to authentically new things. Superficiality maintains a basic immobility. To judge a literary work strictly on the basis of its artistic value is not at all a new thing, but the affirmation of this principle in the 1960's and 1970's represented an authentic force for the renewal of contemporary Romanian literature, whose remarkable results are well-known. And these examples are countless. Terms such as renewal, new ideas and new values can become factors slowing progress in a culture if they are not placed in relation to the situation and realities of that culture. It is my opinion that today in Romanian culture and literature there is a greater need for consolidation than for changes, modifications or transformations, no matter how spectacular they might be. Unfortunately, we still do not know how to build without tearing down.

[Question] What are the indispensible attributes of a worthwhile polemic designed to build, not merely to tear down?

Iorgulescu: Polemics are constructive through their own existence: they give dynamics to the spirit, involve an intellectual and moral responsibility and

awaken the interest in one question or another. Real polemics multiply the points of view and exclude exclusivism, authoritarian monologues and the monopoly on opinions and the truth. Without dialogues and without confrontations - no matter how harsh, no matter how cutting, no matter how sharp - we arrive at a mortifying silence. But, there is need for, and I repeat, the formulation of true polemics, not campaigns against certain persons. I am not, certainly, so naive that I do not know that principles exist only through people, that they do not exist outside of them. But, from this point to taking on people as targets there is a great distance.

[Question] To what degree does the initiation of a polemic and the establishment of its objective take into account the readers' area of interest?

Iorgulescu: Ideally speaking, the reader is the "umpire" in any polemic. The only judge. He can be interested in the dispute and in its object or he can remain indifferent. Furthermore, these are the means through which he can intervene in the conduct of a polemic. Any other undertaking distorts the meaning of polemics. When polemics are influenced by external factors, its conduct is corrupted and it can even lose the meaning of being a polemic. It is like, for example, the way an umpire at a sporting event can give an advantage - discretely or openly, it is not important how he does it - to one of the teams, a player and so forth. Polemics need as an obligatory condition the full freedom of movement of the participants. And, their moral responsibility is directly dependent upon this condition.

[Question] What is the place of polemics in the press directly dedicated to young people?

Cristoiu: As can be seen in even a summary investigation of the history of literature, polemics are part of the development of this history itself. It is true that in the meaning that is today given to polemics and in the discussions recently carried out in the literary press we tend to understand polemics merely as a certain form of this, a direct, immediate form. This is so because polemics - understanding this as a critical attitude towards a certain state of affairs, towards certain ideas, towards certain characteristics of literature at a given moment - polemics in this sense go far beyond the direct expression of a confrontation between two personalities or two points of view. Seeing it from this angle, all the great works were polemics: the novel by Camil Petrescu in relation to the traditional novel is a polemic. Stendhal's literature is also a polemic, and so forth. I understand polemics to be a denial, a critical attitude that is absolutely necessary to progress, entering the development of literature itself.

[Question] I think that here we are talking more about an attitude, about a polemic meaning. I would ask you to refer, however, to the polemics understood as a type of journalistic writing.

Cristoiu: This attitude is supported by the journalistic formulation. The confrontation between two adversaries in the press is the expression of the denial of a point of view and the advancement of another, a new one.

[Question] What do you think about the polemics presented in our current press?

Cristoiu: Recently, a great many things have been said in connection with polemics. If we were to summarize them, the dominant direction is that grouped around the idea according to which polemics should adopt civilized forms of expression, should not fall into suburban forms and should not be used in personal attacks. This requirement is truly justified, but from the experiences of our journalism we can see that such statements suffer from a fundamental deficiency: it does not specify the content of the terms. We are all in agreement that polemics should not be suburban and should not become a personal attack, but I do not think we are all in agreement upon the exact meaning of suburban, the exact meaning of personal attack. As can be seen from these polemics or from the discussions surrounding them, some people use personal attack and the fact that a literary critic makes a statement about a book is considered stupid. In a way, even this is a personal attack since I do not see a greater attack on a writer than to say that he has no talent. Therefore, when such justified criteria are formulated, the terms should be specified. On the other hand, we risk removing from this type of writing precisely its defining attributes. I do not believe in this so-called cordial polemics that is constantly being mentioned in the literary press since, through its excellence, polemics use irony, sarcasm sometimes and a preemptory tone in attacking the point of view of an adversary. How can you be in such a case, cordial? How can you obscure in the criticism of the adversary's point of view the references to his professional training, to the logic of demonstration? In other words, how can you avoid suggesting, even if you do not say it directly, that he did not sufficiently read up in this problem, that he is illogical? To exclude irony and a firm position towards another point of view or certain deficiencies means excluding the concept of polemics. Actually, it can be clearly seen that those people who clamor against polemics are the very ones who do not know how to practice it or, more precisely, those who express their disagreement in another manner. By keeping quiet, for example. With regards to a book a critic can say that it is very poor or that an author should not publish such a book, and this is a polemical attitude, with the risk of making someone mad or being interpretted as a personal attack. There can also be, however, another attitude of criticism - much practiced in recent times - which is the silence surrounding a book. This is also a form of polemics, yes, even more harsh than a verdict because it also implies a level of scorn. Sometimes it is even an elitist attitude. Silence as an attitude can also be used with regards to the answers to a polemic attack. Not knowing how to conduct polemics, some people pretend that they will not "descend" - as if conducting polemics means climbing down from a spiritually superior universe that is inaccessible - to give an answer.

Actually, polemics are an expression of the structure of the person in the fray, but we must recognize that even those writers and critics who do not use polemics know how to fight. It is true that they use other means, other ways. In my case, I have more faith in those who write than those who are silent and who do not respond to that which is said about them.

[Question] I do not believe that someone can consider a statement that a book is poor as a personal attack. To express yourself publically implicitly implies subjecting yourself to public judgement, and there is nothing original in this observation. Commenting on certain details of a person's private life, however, revealing certain data of a personal nature and so forth, constitute something else entirely different from natural submission to public judgement.

Cristoiu: One statement is needed: it is very good that we ask polemics not to degenerate into something else, but I think that there is another factor that is much more powerful to counteract such attempts - the reader. We have a reader of our press who is very mature and he who tries to lower the quality of the polemics is discredited in the eyes of the public reader. I think that this fear, somewhat justified fear, regarding the degeneration of polemics in the press nonetheless also stems from the fact that there is no clear awareness of the maturity of the readers. It has been proven that the polemics with the greatest circulation among the public are those that bring our arguments and the reader is the first one who sees that an author's attempt to use personal attack translates into the author's inability to support his statements with proof.

[Question] Because you mentioned the reader: do you feel that all the polemics that have appeared in the press recently have effectively taken into account the public's areas of interest?

Cristoiu: No. There were, there are and there probably will continue to be some polemics on minor themes that cannot interest the broad public and even less the history of literature. If we were to seek an explanation for these polemics - which are straw fires that are quickly put out without any further trace - I think we would find it in the fact that very few cultural magazines have a clear point of view that is firm in a certain fundamental problem of socialist literature. If we would look carefully, we would note that we cannot exactly state which point of view is supported by a certain publication, a point of view that we could recognize in an editorial or an investigation or an interview and so forth. In the Literary Artistic Supplement to SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, we do not give the idea that a literary review should express all opinions. Thanks to the democratization of culture after the Ninth Party Congress, we now have a large number of publishing houses and literary reviews. This was an extraordinarily wise decision from a political point of view. It is one thing to have a single publishing house and a single literary review (or only two, as it was in 1965), and it is something else to have a number of them. We were given this opportunity precisely so each idea and each opinion could be expressed.

Getting back, we find, therefore, that the magazines are not confronting each other on serious problems, defending strong points of view because, frequently, they do not have a point of view. When we can talk about a real personality in the literary publications, the confrontations we are talking

about would be truly important and on fundamental problems, not minor aspects. Only then can we talk, really, about confrontations of opinions and about confrontations between persons. This trip into minor aspects is, perhaps, also a reflex response to the prejudice that the reader is interested only in the superficial aspects of literary affairs. I belong to an editorial staff that receives numerous letters from the readers, with many of them containing daring and very serious points of view so that I could state with complete conviction that our public is interested first of all in literature and not the personal relationships between the people who produce the literature.

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ECONOMIZING EFFORTS BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SKETCHED

Overview of Situation

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1661, 31 Oct 82 pp 10-12

[Article by Jug Grizelj: "How the Government Is Economizing"]

[Text] On Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday--while NIN was conducting this survey--the 53d meeting of Milka Planinc's government, whose term of office just passed its 160th day, was being prepared in the offices of members of the Federal Executive Council [SIV]. It takes nothing more than the simplest mathematical operation to compute that the new SIV has since last May held meetings every third day. In quantitative terms at least, as we were jokingly told by a member of SIV, "the public might be satisfied with the productivity of the supreme executive body of the Yugoslav Assembly."

On this occasion the purpose of NIN's conversation with a sizable number of SIV members (and also with staff heads in the General Secretariat) was not to learn what SIV is preparing this week as part of its fall offensive, but to obtain an answer to the question: What has the Federal Executive Council specifically done in its own house to economize?

Given that economy and reduction of expenditure run like a red thread through all the decisions, proposals and assessments of the Federal Executive Council, what has the Federal Executive Council done so as first to put its own house in order? If you would be believed, we have been told, you must first show by personal example that you can be believed. Which accounts for why SIV, as we were to see for ourselves, has in the last 2 weeks done more to economize than over several years previously, all in the fear that someone might point a finger to some action to which the reaction would be: "You deliver speeches and you enact economy measures, but you yourself throw money around."

Here is one example of this: at the very moment when the Federal Assembly, 2 weeks ago, was adopting the "assessments and positions" of SIV on economizing, not a single member of SIV and not a single officeholder in the federal administration got into a Mercedes, although the proposed version of the text of the decree on use of public automobiles had just begun the regular parliamentary procedure.

One of the vice chairmen of SIV told us: no individual measure and no person can alone solve our difficulties, but unless every citizen of Yugoslavia, from the messenger to the prime minister, does everything in his power to save, we will not get out of the difficulties. He added that extensive economy measures have been adopted in SIV and that there is a moral obligation: at a time when sacrifices are being required of the public, the behavior of public figures is of inestimable importance. "People's confidence in 'government' must be restored."

The episode with the Mercedeses--which we will be coming back to again--is only a detail of a truly extensive economy campaign which SIV has undertaken and whose purpose is to change the way of life of those employed in the federal administration and to inaugurate a climate which will create a new attitude toward expenditure.

From the Paper Clip to the Rest and Recreation Facility

Perhaps one of the most important actions which SIV is concerned with at this point in the field of economizing is preparation of the rebalanced federal budget. This time (the first time as far as this author can remember) the federal budget is being reduced by SIV itself, on its own initiative, and that retrospectively, but with the clear intention that this rebalanced budget would become the basis for the new budget. We were unable to learn by how many percentage points this year's budget would be reduced. They have not yet arrived at specific figures. This is certainly a delicate matter, since it is well known that the armed forces are the largest consumer of the budget and it does not occur to anyone to jeopardize its defensive capability. Nevertheless, if we have understood those we talked with correctly, reduction of this year's budget by 3 to 4 percent would be considered a success, and a reduction between 7 and 8 percent (which is the general idea concerning reduction of consumption in Yugoslavia) would be an exploit on the level of a miracle.

How is the reduction of this year's expenditures of the federal administration being planned?

There is simply not a single item which has not been questioned--from the paper clip in the office to the rest and recreation facility. A few examples, perhaps not the most significant ones: in the past material running to at least 1,000 typed pages has been prepared for every meeting of SIV. Counted up: 1,000-1,500 pages times 60 copies, times 100 meetings. One member of SIV told us that on the basis of the procedure followed in paper production up to now, one paper factory in Yugoslavia would have to work for SIV alone, not counting the special print shops, the energy of typists that is expended, and so on and so forth. An order which is taking effect with the next meeting urges proponents and those preparing material for SIV to prepare their texts on no more than 10 typed pages.

This is not just a question of thrift. A member of SIV who has been concerned for a long time with organization of the administration has calculated that everyone who is preparing for a meeting of SIV and wants to properly read all the material would theoretically not be able to sleep: it would take at least

100 hours to read the 1,000 pages of material. If one has to read between 2,000 and 3,000 pages every week, not counting other work, it would take people 8 days just to prepare for the average of two meetings of SIV a week. This does not include the effort and cost of the hundreds and thousands of specialists who prepare this material, aware that no one will read it.

Postponement of State Visits

Another example: some time ago every trip began to be checked and was made subject to specific consent not only for staff personnel of the federal administration, but also for members of SIV. This sounds unlikely, but it is so: official travel and indeed even state visits of delegations of SIV abroad, including the number of members of the delegations, is decided on by SIV in its meetings for each individual case!

A federal secretary whose sector of operations has many ties with consultations and collaboration with colleagues in Europe and the world told us that he is keeping in his drawer 10 official state invitations over just the last 5 months, but that in our present financial situation he is delaying acceptance of these invitations. Unfortunately, he added, a routine check was made recently in certain organizations at the "federal level" (not including the federal administration) showed that certain officials in those institutions have since the beginning of this year been members of even 10 official delegations visiting various countries of the world!

Now to go back to the use of official automobiles in the bodies and agencies of the federal administration. We have already said that the day after the new measures were announced--use of Mercedeses was abolished--prohibited! Members of SIV are driving low-power and medium-power automobiles and, we were told, the only trouble is that SIV does not have in its garage enough "Stojadins" [nickname for the Fiat 101, signifying "100 troubles"--translator's note] (the use of "Stojadins" is considered the ideal solution here), so that some medium-power cars are also used, such as small Citroens and Rekords. When we asked why a sufficient number of "Stojadins" are not purchased, we were told that SIV has no intention to buy a single new car, but has required that its garages organize the operation in such a way as to make maximum use of as many low-power and medium-power cars as possible.

We also learned, although the proposal of the new decree on use of public automobiles has just entered the procedure, that according to the new rules, even now, not a single member of SIV has the right to use an automobile for personal use, but exclusively for official use, which means that the automobile would be called for when there is an official need for it.

The purpose of these measures is to reduce the use of automobiles to their bare function, that is, for the individual to use a publicly owned car when he needs it to conduct his business. We thus learned in passing that the "Stojadins" that had been purchased and the Ladas which are already there, and this also applies to the other cars, are "fortunately of all colors," so that that status symbol of the "black limousine" will drop out of the "consciousness" of SIV and the federal administration.

When you see a Mercedes on the street, an official of the federal administration jokes, you can be sure that it does not belong to SIV. We asked: Fine, and what is going to happen to these black "cruisers" now? That is a serious problem, they said. First, it seems that the climate is such that none of the officials any longer want them. Some members of the Council of the Federation who were offered Mercedeses recently asked that they might be given "something more lightweight." The idea of selling the Mercedeses in Yugoslavia would accomplish nothing, since then "Peter would be getting off so that Paul could ride," and instead of the Mercedeses being driven by members of SIV, we would see opstina presidents or enterprise directors in them.

One member of SIV told us, quite unofficially, of course, that the possibility is being looked into of perhaps selling somewhere "in the Middle East" these fallen Mercedeses which everyone scrambled for up to now, but now no one wants.

And here is some news in the domain of SIV's economizing that will not bring joy to those employed in newspaper organizations and the PTT [postal, telegraph and telephone service]: strict limits and checks have been put on the purchasing of newspapers, magazines and bulletins, and telephone use has begun to be monitored, as one person we talked to said, "just like in rotten capitalism."

The most important question--one which has been given different interpretations in the public in recent weeks--has to do with the number of persons employed in federal administrative agencies. The number of persons employed in the federal administration and their effectiveness and productivity are in any case a topic which has been manifested in our public life--it is thought by one person we talked to--in direct proportion to the place and role which the Federation has had in the various phases of our development in recent years. Whenever it was necessary to diminish the prestige of the Federation--once again its alleged cumbersomeness, inefficiency and incompetence is bruited about.

Bachelors in Hotels

This was brought up a few days ago even in the Federal Assembly in connection with the erroneous news published in some periodical that the number of employees of the federal administration had risen 16 percent. Reacting to this news item, Borisav Krajina, federal secretary for jurisprudence and general administration, furnished an extensive explanation in his response to a delegate query (which our reader will find in the box published on pages 10 and 11). In the conversation which we have conducted these past several days on this topic, we were told that a special commission in SIV is just now completing the work of preparing a proposal for reorganization and restructuring of the staff services of the federal administration so that it might respond to its tasks. "The position taken by this SIV is that through modernization and reorganization the number of persons employed in the federal administration would be reduced by 10 to 15 percent over the next 3 to 5 years." "Federal administrative agencies are easy prey for a hue and cry, and the newspapers take particular relish in this," said one member of SIV, "though no one has ever attempted to find out who is working in the federal administration, how much he is paid, and what sort of working conditions he has." It is almost an

established rule, he added, that an able man will leave the administration after 2 or 3 years to go into some organization of associated labor, since in this case his pay will be at least 1 million dinars higher.

The author has not included the datum which follows in this article in order to make his readers weep over the fate of members of SIV. Nevertheless, it is worth thinking about: from the middle of this May up to a few days ago all of 14 members of SIV were living in Belgrade hotels, since apartments could not be found for them. Even today four members of SIV with very important posts are living in hotels. One of them furnished his own calculation: he receives 700,000 old dinars a month for separation from family, since his large family has continued to live in the republic capital he came from. Of those 700,000 he paid 300,000 as his share for covering the cost of sleeping in the hotel, which leaves 400,000 to eat on. He has calculated that that money cannot cover his meals even in the restaurant of SIV.

So, a partial answer to our question What is the Federal Executive Council doing to economize in its own house? This story, though it is incomplete, will be of some use if certain experiences are drawn from it by all those who handle government money--from the president of the opstina and the Socialist Alliance in our smallest towns all the way up to the other bodies at the federal level (which is not to mention on this occasion the bureaucracies in the republics and provinces).

The figures given in this article contradict the numerous stories going about, some of which have no basis whatsoever. We asked one member of SIV why in her last television interview Milka Planinc answered a question about her personal life, since in our opinion that departed from the general tone of the conversation which, it can be confidently said, was most favorably received by the public?

This is what we were told: "We do not know what Comrade Milka's motives were, but it is not impossible that she was thinking of the nonsensical story that had recently been going around all over the country--to the effect that the chairwoman of SIV is living in Zagreb and commuting to work every morning and evening by plane."

Employee Figures

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1661, 31 Oct 82 pp 10-11

[Text] "The datum published in BORBA on 20 September of this year to the effect that the number of persons employed in federal administrative agencies and federal organizations has increased 16 percent over the last several years is inaccurate," said Comrade Borisav Krajina, federal secretary for jurisprudence and organization of the federal administration, at the beginning of his response to a delegate query in the Federal Assembly, adding that this figure was picked up in a meeting of the Committee of Basic Organizations of the League of Communists of the Federation and that the misinformation occurred either through an error of the committee's staff service or through the newspaperman's error.

"Differing, by and large unverified and inaccurate figures have been presented recently in meetings of certain bodies and also in certain news media on the number of persons employed in federal administrative agencies and federal organizations, specialized and technical staff services of SIV, as well as on the increase in the number of personnel in those bodies and agencies, organizations and staff services. The number of about 29,000-30,000 persons employed in the federal administration has been mentioned, and this is also inaccurate."

Showing how this misinformation occurred, Borisav Krajina said that federal administrative agencies are mistakenly attributed even the work communities of the Yugoslav Automobile and Motorcycle Federation and the Yugoslav Red Cross, and then personnel in the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, in the National Bank of Yugoslavia, the Social Accounting Service, the business communities of the lottery organizations, and then the personnel of BORBA, TANJUG, Radio Yugoslavia, the Institute for Criminological and Sociological Research, the Yugoslav Register of Shipping, and so on. Thereupon stating precisely the number of persons employed in the agencies of the federal administration, the federal secretary for jurisprudence said:

"As of 30 June of this year there were 15,460 persons employed in all federal administrative agencies, federal organizations and specialized technical staff services of SIV. Of that number 11,256 are employed in federal administrative agencies in the 'strict sense' of the word (that is, the federal secretariats, the federal committees, the federal administration and federal inspectorates). However, of that number 9,497, or 84.37 percent of the total number of employees, are employed in just four federal administrative agencies, namely the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the Federal Customs Administration and the Federal Administration for Flight Control.

"As a practical matter there is a total of 1,759 employees in all the other federal administrative agencies, which is 15.63 percent of the total number."

Secretary Krajina explained how the number of employees increased in certain administrative agencies:

"The principal causes of the increase in the number of workers in the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs were that in 1977 this secretariat was given new tasks related to security of foreign diplomatic personnel and that in that period a police brigade was created to meet the needs of security. The increase in the number of personnel in the Federal Customs Administration is mainly the result of the opening up of a sizable number of customs houses and new border crossings as well as the increased traffic of passengers and freight over the national borders. The number of personnel in the Federal Administration for Flight Control increased in this period because the civilian and military flight control services were merged."

When it was explained that just these four federal agencies (the federal secretariats for internal affairs and foreign affairs, the customs and flight control) have in recent years hired a total of 88 percent of all persons hired

in federal administrative agencies, it turns out that there has been a reduction in the number of personnel in other federal agencies. Illustrating the assertion that for a long time now there has been no increase in the number of persons employed in the federal administration, Borisav Krajina said that "the Federal Executive Council makes an individual decision in a meeting of the Council on every application of an administrative agency to hire new personnel, whether it is an unskilled person or supervisory person in a federal agency or federal organization, so that it can evaluate as realistically as possible the foundation for every individual request to hire a new worker.

"In conclusion I would like to emphasize," Comrade Krajina said to the delegates of the Federal Assembly, "that SIV also takes a critical attitude toward this situation not only with respect to the number of persons employed in the federal administration, but also concerning other affairs of the federal administration, even though that situation is nothing like the way it is often represented to the public."

Federal secretary Borisav Krajina made this response in a meeting of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly on 14 October of this year.

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D. MARKOVIC DISCUSSED DEBTS, MEDIA, SUNDRY TOPICS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1663, 14 Nov 82 pp 12-17

[Interview with Dragoslav Markovic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, by Mirko Cekic and Miroslav Stojanovic: "About the Whole and the Parts"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Until recently it was said that our socioeconomic relations were very problematical, and then it was said ever more openly that it was a question of an economic crisis. More recently a finger has also been pointed to a crisis in political relations. When the term "crisis" is used, is it being used properly, are we talking about disturbances of that degree in the socioeconomic system and in political relations, or is this a question of inconsistent application of the system in practice?

[Answer] I have no way of knowing who is saying what about this and in what place. I would recall that we have the assessments of the Third Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, the resolutions adopted by the Central Committee, and the views adopted jointly on what we might call the diagnosis of our condition and the manner of overcoming our present difficulties. It was noted both in that meeting of the Central Committee, as it has been in the Yugoslav Assembly when the case was being made for the measures of SIV [Federal Executive Council], that we confront large economic problems and that it will take the efforts of all of us in society to overcome the difficulties. It is certain, as it always is, that the disturbances in the economic field also affect both the political situation and also political dispositions. And I would say that they already exist. It is clear that our economy is passing through a truly difficult period, that this is having serious consequences for the social standard of living and for the functioning of a number of activities, that it is difficult to ensure the conditions for regular conduct of economic activity, that it is difficult to maintain the personal and family standard of living. And this certainly results in certain waverings and is generally reflected in what we refer to as the political situation. In all of this, as always happens in such cases, the activity of the internal and external enemies is intensified.

I would say that recently we have succeeded in clearly indicating to our working people, the working class and general public how serious and difficult the

situation of our economy is. The resolutions of the LCY Central Committee, the initiative of the SFRY State Presidency, the recent measures of SIV and the SFRY Assembly, aside from their pronouncedly material effects, have also played an important role in waking people up and bringing them to grasp the general situation more fully, both in institutions making decisions and also in the public at large.

[Question] However, it has been noted that the word "crisis" is reluctantly used in our political terminology. Why? No society, not even our self-managing society, develops on a straight line from the splendid toward the ideal, without internal and external difficulties.

[Answer] I am not sure, you see, whether it is proper to immediately use precisely the term "crisis" for these serious difficulties we have confronted after a lengthy period of relatively comfortable life. It is not a question of avoiding the terms "economic crisis" or "political crisis," but that a more serious analysis would not show that we are actually in a crisis. True, we do have great difficulties in production, this year, for the first time after an entire decade, we have had lasting shortages of one commodity or another, from medicine by way of detergents to coffee, and recently gasoline as well, and so on. However, at the same time there have been half as many work stoppages and strikes as in the previous period. Is this not a fact which alerts us to the need to be cautious and to examine the political situation comprehensively? Determination of all the factors affecting the totality of the situation is a matter for more thorough and comprehensive analysis. But certainly the awareness of the strained interethnic relations and the need to display in such a situation a high degree of responsibility in defending the independence of this society and the country's stability is having a paramount influence on the consciousness of the working class and the working people. We are talking, then, about patriotic motivation. There is also an awareness that the entire world is going through a crisis and period of recession, that even such highly developed countries as the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy and indeed the United States have serious economic problems and that this is also having an impact on our situation. We are talking about a sense of responsibility. Our people know that we could have mitigated or resolved many difficulties, but also that the entire world is in a crisis. Nor should we lose sight of a number of other factors such as the fact, for example, that this year we have exceptional results in agriculture. I am not going into all this in any detail, but those are the facts.

Most important of all is the authentic trust which the working class and working people have in the social system, in self-management and in the LCY Program. Regardless of how much we talk about weaknesses in our system, however justified we are in being dissatisfied with the level of development of self-management we have attained, it is a fact that every one of our workers feels himself to be a self-manager and knows that many solutions lie in his own hands. I think that is a decisive factor which should not be underestimated when one speaks about the political situation and about the political mood.

In this connection I would like to turn to a rather widespread argument about the responsibility of one and the same people who for years have been in

positions of leadership, who yesterday were responsible "for all the wrong decisions" and who even today, in the process of overcoming the situations that have come about, occupy posts and positions of responsibility. The facts, however, indicate a different state of affairs. For example, in the Yugoslav Assembly, based on the delegate principle, in which there are 308 delegates, 38 of them have been elected for the second time. Of the 340 delegates in the Assembly of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia only 14 delegates have been elected twice. Of the 163 members of the LCY Central Committee 94 members have been elected for the second time. Only 27 members of the Serbian LC Central Committee are serving a second term. In the present membership of SIV only two members have been reelected from the previous one, and of the 38 members of the Executive Council of the Assembly of SR Serbia 13 have been reelected. In the State Presidency of SR Serbia 9 of the 13 members have been reelected. What, then, do these arguments signify? It is not, then, the "same people" who are coming, but people of the same political-ideological, self-management and socialist orientation, people with the same political commitments. If that bothered someone, then something else is involved, and that something is the advocacy of another system than socialist self-management.

[Question] On one occasion you said of the time in which we live that it is instilling more realism. A certain sobering up is felt.

[Answer] When I spoke about realism and about sobering up, I was not referring only to the working class and general public, but above all to the institutions which are taking action and making decisions.

Frank Talk About Debts

[Question] Our public knows almost to the last detail the size of the burden of our foreign debt. Some say that Yugoslavia's economic potential is sufficiently strong to ride out the crisis, drawing extremely serious conclusions from it. Others are under the impression that we are being pulled along out of control in a state of social and economic helplessness. They express a fear of major social upheavals.

[Answer] We do talk frequently and openly about our foreign debt, about responsibility for such a high level of indebtedness. It is certain that at the moment this is one of the greatest problems causing many of our difficulties by a chain reaction. But I would like to say at once that for us as a developing country the policy of borrowing abroad was not in principle a mistaken one. Without relying on foreign credits, we would not have been able to overcome so quickly the great economic backwardness and backwardness of every other kind which we inherited.

In spite of all the difficulties we confront, we are today a country with a per capita national income of about $3,000, and we are among the moderately developed industrial countries. We are a country which possesses up-to-date technology, we have sufficient trained personnel and an educated and modern working class. The main burden of that development has been borne by the working class, by its liberated initiative in our self-managed socialist society, and foreign credit potential has been used as a supplemental material

factor in development. I think that we mostly made good use of that capital if we examine the distribution of those credits by purposes: above all the infrastructure, highways, railroads, development of an up-to-date industry and agriculture.

There are times when we need to recall certain numbers, however incomplete their language might be. For example, in the period 1947-1981 the social product grew at an average annual rate of 5.9 percent. We are among the countries with the fastest economic growth. In 1947 the employed labor force numbered 1.2 million, and in 1981 it was about 6 million people (or fivefold greater). Every year the level of employment has been increased by an average of 141,000 people. About 63 percent of employed people have finished specialized schools, universities, etc. (unskilled workers comprise only 37 percent). At the end of 1977 automatic and semiautomatic machines made up more than two-thirds of the total value of the equipment in industry.

The figures are also interesting on agriculture. The share of the farm population in the total population has dropped from 67 percent in 1948 to 29 percent in 1981. In 1980 there were about 416,000 tractors operating in agriculture: that is, 1 tractor for every 24 hectares of arable land, while in 1949 there were 1,485 hectares per tractor. Wheat production increased 3.8-fold between 1949 and 1981, and corn production 3.5-fold. Here are a few other figures. Since the war 54,000 km of roads have been built or modernized, up to 1980 2,665 km of rail line had been built. The rail network is 33 percent electrified. Between 1952 and 1980 personal consumption increased more than fivefold (at an annual average of 6 percent), electric power consumption increased 42-fold, consumption of textiles 4.4-fold, consumption of footwear 3.4-fold, and so on. There is now an automobile in 38 percent of the households and a television set in 60 percent. Radio and television are being broadcast in the languages of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities. General health insurance covers 83 percent of the population (about 25 percent in 1952).

This, of course, does not mean, as in fact I have already said, that we have always been up to the task, that there have not been errors and inpermissible oversights, that we have not tolerated shortcomings, sluggishness, and inefficiency, which have diminished the country's productive capacity. The public is aware of all that. Aside from that, I would say that many of the faults are on the other side. I am referring to a failure to examine the dynamic pattern of repayment in good time, to a lack of clarity in relations concerning the obligations of borrowers, and then to slow adaptation to the deteriorated international economic relations, and I am referring above all to energy and disturbances on the monetary market, which have had an essential impact on our situation at the moment. For example, if over the last 2 years we had not had to pay an additional $2 billion for the same amount of petroleum, $1 billion for higher interest and differences in rates of exchange, the balance sheet of our debt would be altogether different, as indeed would be the growth rate of our economy in those years.

A Strengthening of Responsibility

[Question] Might this have been foreseen?

[Answer] Ivo Perisin wrote a very interesting article in that respect in PRIVREDNI VJESNIK on 18 October 1982 in which he speaks about the present international economic relations, that is, about the position and aspirations of big capital worldwide which is first of all creating a hunger for capital in the developing countries by conducting a certain monetary policy, and then, through credit financing and "aid," is exploiting those countries. In part, it seems, even we have not been able to avoid that fate.

Thanks to our efforts and rapid and dynamic development, we are today in a situation where we can fulfill all our obligations. We are in any case discharging our obligations, with quite a few difficulties and efforts, and our orientation is clear--we will discharge them. Our greatest problem at present is how to make maximum use of up-to-date technology and our augmented productive forces so that our utilization of capacity will not be 60 or 70 percent, but all of 90 percent, as is done elsewhere in the world. I believe that our orientation, set forth in the long-range economic stabilization program, will help us to reestablish normal economic relations in which the emphasis will be on the struggle for larger income, for higher labor productivity, in which every worker and every work organization will be motivated to strive for larger income and for exports.

The fact should not be ignored that it is precisely thanks to this augmented economic potential that in the most difficult year, this year when so many of our obligations have piled up, we have nevertheless been successful in our effort to discharge all our obligations. Under those difficult conditions we even managed to increase the coverage of imports by exports from 61 percent to 72 percent in this year. Are those not elements which indicate that we have the conditions for performing the tasks which have been set? The most recent measures, especially all the changes that have occurred in our general behavior and in the awareness of almost everyone, will have the result, I am deeply convinced, that we will overcome our present difficulties. I do not intend to create the illusion that everything will go without a great deal of effort; on the contrary, there are also many difficulties ahead of us, and there will be consequences and certain social problems. The most important thing is that we are aware of the way out. Augmented efforts will, of course, have to be made by all responsible public institutions, all the working people and every individual so that production capacities and personnel, the social stock of knowledge, are used to improve the economy of labor, to carry on economic activity optimally and to do business profitably, to improve work discipline and responsibility without exception. Overcoming the accumulated difficulties will require a great deal of effort, large sacrifices, a radical reduction of consumption, and a narrowing of certain rights acquired. And also larger and more productive production. It will be possible to spend only what one possesses within the limits of the income he has earned.

I would like to express one other opinion: however aggravated economic problems, employment, the standard of living, and so on, have been, if there is a

clear, straightforward and comprehensible and convincing line of policy for overcoming this situation, one which mobilizes and motivates, it will also be easier to overcome all the difficulties.

Did all of this, all of these difficulties, have to occur? Every dynamic economic and social development also brings certain problems with it. However, would it have been better if we had encountered everything this year, when practically the entire world is in a crisis and recession, with a per capita national income of $1,000 or $1,500, without highways, without a modernized industry and agriculture, without this high degree of activation of our own sources of energy, with a fifth as many passenger cars and many fewer employed persons? I think that our orientation, the road we have been traveling, was basically correct.

Of course, the League of Communists, our system as a whole, should be open to a maximum of criticism, should incorporate everything in that criticism that is borne out and helps to improve the situation, should honor the justified and necessary thrust which criticism gives to the strengthening of responsibility at all levels of society. But the truth is that it is through that kind of economic policy, applied in decisions on development, that Yugoslavia has attained its present level of socioeconomic development, the present level of its social standard of living, the present level of human freedom, its current way of life, and, if you like, also its international position and the reputation which it has. The truth is, that is, that a different orientation would not have yielded all those results--neither economic, nor political, nor social. Many people outside Yugoslavia who have not been particularly inclined toward its social system also concur in this.

Analysis of the Political System

[Question] Over the entire time the Commission of the Federal Council for Economic Stabilization has been working, the public has been regularly informed about the proceedings. Even to such an extent that it now seems that the work in the commission has become so complicated and intricate that there is no end to it. As a member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, on the basis of the division of tasks in the Presidium, you have been responsible for monitoring socioeconomic relations, and on that basis you have participated in the proceedings of the Krajger Commission. It is expected that this job will soon be completed. Please explain why it took so long and what is the most significant and lasting value of its work?

[Answer] First, I am not sure that one can really say that the work of the Commission for Economic Stabilization has taken a long time. If this extremely important job is finished by the end of the year, as is planned, that would be satisfactory. The commission of the two federal councils for economic stabilization, created on the initiative of the SFRY State Presidency, brings together directly or indirectly several hundred of the most eminent scientists, specialists and the most responsible political figures. I think that it is precisely the effort made to enlist all the creative forces of our society that has made it possible for us to obtain in a relatively short time a complete picture of our economic position, an analysis of the economy as a

whole and of its individual sectors, and on that basis it is now possible to issue the main guidelines of a future economic orientation both for the whole and for the individual sectors. That will be the basis for a number of legal changes which are to come, and the elements of what resulted from the agreement and give-and-take in the commission are already being incorporated into the new economic measures and decisions.

[Question] Conversations about the political system have become more frequent. We have even heard the assessment that the functioning of the political system is at the moment just as large a problem as the economic difficulties. Does this mean that changes are also needed in the political system?

[Answer] There is an integral relationship between the functioning and the effectiveness of the economic system, between the socioeconomic relations that exist, and relations in the sociopolitical system. Those are two sides of a single entity.

The constitution and the Law on Associated Labor have properly set up our socioeconomic relations, and this was also confirmed by the current debate in the Commission for Stabilization. However, it has turned out that there are many problems in the functioning and in the building of socioeconomic relations on the constitutional principles, that there are serious departures from economic laws in the conduct of economic activity, from our programmatic orientations in the economic field and from the relations defined in the constitution.

Major weaknesses and ineffectiveness have also shown up in practice in the functioning of the sociopolitical system. This has made it necessary to discover the causes of certain hangups and indeed even stagnation in development and to open up space for new steps in development of our system of socialist democracy. For a long time, for example, we have been agreed in our assessment that we cannot be satisfied with the functioning of the delegate system in spite of certain results. Again, there is dissatisfaction because of the functioning of the self-managing communities of interest and the assessment that they are not always an appropriate form of free exchange of labor. There is also agreement that there has been a lag in the process of establishing ties based on shared income and the pooling of labor and capital and so on. It is not possible that only resistance and a lack of understanding are involved here. It is certain that there are also causes which are contained in the laws embodying the system and in certain normative solutions which constitute a definite objective impediment.

[Question] The public was recently informed about the initiative of a member of the LCY Central Committee, Dr Najdan Pasic, the professor, and about his theses pertaining to the inadequately defined, unrealized and unrealizable provisions of the political system. This initiative, and this is very significant, originated at almost the same time in both the SFRY State Presidency and the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, as well as in other bodies, which is certainly the best expression of the awareness that we need a more thorough analysis of the functioning of the political system.

[Answer] Perhaps even the experience in the proceedings of the Commission for Economic Stabilization had a constructive effect in that respect. After all, experience has shown that it is very worthwhile when several hundred creative minds of our society, scientists, specialists and responsible political people, become involved in a job.

Newsgathering

[Question] One of your recent speeches (in a meeting of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee) evoked contradictory and stormy reactions, especially among newsmen. You said at that time that the media have become centers of power and partners of the bodies of government, partners of bodies of political leadership in the country. It is the opinion of the newsmen that this judgment is exaggerated.

[Answer] Now that we have devoted so much time to the problems of the functioning of the political system, let us recall that the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor confirmed that the news media are organizations of particular public interest. In the discussion in the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee I tried to speak about those matters without entering into specific analyses and evaluations of any particular newspaper or any particular article. I think that this is a complicated issue and that the press is probably one of the most sensitive areas in public life.

The question arises in this connection of how to achieve what we call the socialization of the news media and how to avoid the danger of monopolistic usurpation, bureaucratic dictate, subordination of the news media to day-to-day political or any other group interest, the interest of a particular forum or institution. There is on the other hand a need to safeguard the independence and responsibility of the press and to avoid group-ownership behavior.

It is not essential to an approach to this problem nor to its full understanding whether the work collectives of each news organization have behaved or are behaving as centers of power, as partners, as the self-management consciousness of society, or not. The unsettled social status is creating conditions for tendencies which recently, in the aggravated socioeconomic relations, are beginning to dominate and to become more and more evident. Under such conditions it is very easy for a group or several individuals of a different, anti-self-management, bourgeois or other orientation to engage in manipulation in the name of the so-called free press and to impart a different orientation to the news media, regardless of the orientation toward socialist self-management of the enormous majority of newsmen. At this point I would state quite definitely: even the freedom of information (just like other freedoms) has "limits" in a democratic, self-managing and socialist society, that is, in an organized and responsible society: first, man's integrity and human dignity, and second, the fundamental values and elements of the constitutional order.

It will be necessary to conduct a more detailed analysis of all this. It is obvious that the instruments in the system and the laws which have provided for integration of the news media into society and social processes, are not adequate, either because some of those bodies are not operating satisfactorily

or because appropriate solutions have not been found. Nor have the self-managing communities of interest for newsgathering made a contribution to this, the publications councils or broadcasting councils have not safeguarded this to the necessary degree, and I think that the founders, who have not only the right, but also the duty, have not sufficiently ensured that socialization. Under such conditions there are inevitable tendencies toward monopolization by certain groupings in society or there is group-ownership behavior. This is simply the way things happen.

As for the alleged "sharp criticism" of the press, I would recall that equally grave words were expressed concerning the process of the free exchange of labor, concerning the shortcomings of the organization of self-managing communities of interest, concerning the weaknesses in the functioning of the delegate system, and yet no one felt himself to be particularly insulted--some delegate, say. Why at this point should criticism of the press be taken as an attack on the press, why do newsmen, who are themselves either "attacking" or transmitting "attacks" now so sensitive and offended? Isn't this "storm" of reaction evidence of the conception that after all some special position in society, in the system, does exist and is aspired to?

Of course, not for a single moment did all this cloud over the real, indispensable and large constructive role which in our overall development up to now the media have largely played and are playing in strengthening public scrutiny, social criticism, in the struggle for the socialist and self-management idea, for disseminating it, for its realization. And one is evaluating the press, it has to be emphasized that on the whole we do have an objective press, and one that is also varied and interesting.

[Question] The explicitness with which you cautioned "that everything cannot be public in this country" inevitably requires that an answer be given to the question of what ought to be concealed from the public and who would decide what is and what is not for the public?

[Answer] As for the question of whether everything is for the public or not, I think that there truly are matters which are not for the public or are not for the public at a particular moment. For example, aside from certain matters in the domain of national defense or state security, which are not for the public, it is common thought in our country that everything else is for the public, which is to forget, for example, that there are foreign policy matters, economic and technological facts which are extremely important and which for objective reasons cannot be accessible to the public at every moment. Of course, the problem does not lie solely in whether something is kept confidential or not, but the problem is who has the monopoly and the right to make it confidential, is someone arbitrarily seizing the right to make something confidential, or is this a matter of an evaluation by consensus, in the interest of society? Certainly no individual should be making an arbitrary decision on this: there have to be established norms, some kind of code, as a matter of consensus among the newsmen and all the other responsible factors in society.

"One's Own" and the Common Interest

[Question] The decisionmaking process in the Yugoslav community is a lengthy one and in the opinion of many ineffective. Often the procedure to reach agreement among the republics is turned into outright negotiation concerning interests of the moment.

[Answer] I think that criticism to the effect that the process of reaching agreement is a lengthy one is usually justified. But there is also unjustified criticism. Let us be clear: no democratic agreement can be reached without negotiation. If differing interests do exist objectively in our society, and they do exist, and if there is a need to arrive at the common and general interest with maximum possible respect for each separate and specific interest, that process cannot be a simple one, nor can it always be brief and speedy. However, what has accompanied the process of reaching agreement?

I think that very often entrenchment in a separate interest, in "one's own" interest, an interest viewed outside the context of the common and general interest, has been a characteristic of the process of reaching agreement. Objectively, this is a short-term orientation, since usually it also threatens that separate interest. Actually this is related to the functioning of the delegate system and to the degree of public scrutiny in the process of decisionmaking. There is no other possibility, no other means of democratic control and enhancement of responsibility in the decisionmaking process, in the process of reaching agreement, than the public. Definite results have been achieved in that regard. I think that we would move even faster in that regard if it were not for the burden of so-called monolithicism and unity and if in informing the public there were frequent insistence on the differences expressed in the process of arriving at decisions, rather than on the decision unanimously reached. The decision is important, but not the differences. This has an inhibitive effect on the process of opening things up further and on greater public scrutiny in the decisionmaking process.

I would mention two other issues: it can be asked whether on the basis of past experience the constitutional instrument of the temporary measure which can be adopted for a restricted period of time to overcome some adverse situation (on the initiative of the State Presidency) is sufficient or whether we should also think about other ways out in keeping with the system. Experience shows that when the procedure defined for reconciliation of views has been exhausted, but no decision has been reached, not even when reality demands urgency in decisionmaking, decisionmaking on the basis of unanimity, that is, consensus, becomes in practice a veto. There are signs of paralysis of institutions. In such cases is the temporary measure a sufficient and always applicable way of getting through the "blockade" of decisionmaking?

The second issue is the place and role of the Federal Executive Council. On the basis of the constitution SIV must bear more responsibility and obligations with respect to the process of reaching agreement. After all, by the nature of things SIV is the origin of initiative in most cases and the body submitting the proposal. However, the process of building up proposals in SIV takes a long time for many reasons. Here we encounter the rather old problem

of interrepublic committees which have not yet been overcome. Under the constitution and by law they were envisaged as a form of coordination in the field of implementing decisions, but they have turned into an interrepublic form for reconciliation of views in adopting the proposed version of decisions, which is the exclusive jurisdiction of the SFRY Assembly, while SIV, on the basis of special powers, has the right and obligation to submit proposals. The interrepublic committees may be only one of the forms of consultation. Often for those reasons SIV and the bodies of the Assembly do not make the necessary use of their constitutional powers. This ought to be analyzed.

However, there is yet another question raised here which I would mention: during the constitutional discussion much was said about the institution of the mandator from the standpoint of collective leadership. The criticism of that institution sometimes loses sight of the essential constitutional role of SIV in submitting proposals which are to become a joint decision adopted unanimously. Although the constitution has prohibited the member of SIV from acting under the influence of any republic or province, including even "his own," the question is whether this is realistically possible when his election depends upon a nomination originating in the republic, and not just the nomination, but also the consent of the republic.

Still another question: all the analyses which were made at the end of the term of office of the delegate assembly in the last convocation, as well as the discussions in the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and in other bodies, as well as in the Socialist Alliance, have shown that the domain covered by agreements among the republics and provinces has been very greatly expanded, beyond the limits envisaged by the constitution, even into areas where the constitution made no such provision, nor is the consent of all the republics and provinces realistically necessary in those areas. And this is having an adverse effect on effectiveness in reaching agreement on those issues on which agreement must be reached under the constitution, and aside from that this practice is contrary to the constitution and unconstitutional. People seem to believe that application of the principles of the constitution on the principle of "going beyond the requirements of the constitution" is not unconstitutional, but that is not so. They forget that the constitution is a precise measure at the limit of knowledge about where and when decisions should be made by reconciliation of views and where a decision should be made in some other way. Consequently, our view must be merely this: nothing more than the constitution, nothing less than stated by the constitution.

[Question] Is there less community spirit in our country now, in this period of crisis have the needs for consensus receded before the troubles of the various regions and the hope that one's own troubles can be eliminated more quickly by taking one's own decisions? Or, on the other hand, is there a stronger awareness that only through a spirit of community is it possible to get out of the crisis, that is, out of our difficulties?

[Answer] I think that we are right now witnesses to this latter process: greater awareness that only by pursuing the common interest, viewed both in the long run and also in the short term, is it possible to also pursue each particular interest. There is a great deal of evidence of this. That is why

in the final analysis even the measures of SIV which are rather radical and rather serious were adopted without a great many problems and delays. The process of reconciling views has gone much easier and faster both in SIV and also in the SFRY Assembly than previously when we were discussing less important issues. This indicates a more pronounced awareness and responsibility that only through joint efforts and on the unified Yugoslav market, within the framework of a single economic system, is it possible to get beyond present relations and the present situation. In that respect I think that we should anticipate a constructive development. You know that SIV is already preparing several proposals of measures, and it is anticipated that by the end of the year we will adopt amendments to the foreign exchange law and then the Law on Credit and Monetary Policy, which previously was long debated. All of this is an expression of new awareness and more sober attitudes. The League of Communists and the Assembly and all other institutions are acting more decisively. And the mood of the public is different.

[Question] It follows that the responsibility for consensus and for the Federation cannot always be regarded as unitarianism. But doesn't it seem to you that recently there has been renewed interest in "keeping accounts straight" and debates about how much who has given whom and when and how much is being taken and who is getting what from whom?

[Answer] I am not sure that one can speak about "keeping accounts straight."

I think that the fight should be waged for something else. All the republics and provinces are responsible under the constitution for their own development and for the development of the whole. However, development of the whole has an effect on the development of each part, and the development of the parts affects the development of the whole. In our behavior up to now in development policy and in overall relations the awareness of this reciprocity has not always been sufficiently present. Perhaps I might put it this way: in the previous period--I will not say exclusively--responsibility for one's own development was more manifest, and responsibility for development of the whole was in the background. I therefore think that there is good reason to demand that the Yugoslav public be informed about how obligations to the whole are being discharged and by what strategies and in what ways individual development is being achieved. As to whether someone is violating monetary and credit relations and monetary and credit policy, naming names, as to whether in borrowing policy we adhere to the principle that everyone who borrows must be able to repay debts, as to whether we are respecting legality in the behavior of all entities. And then we come to that problem of credit-creditor relations, which concerns not only the situation within one republic, but always the situation of Yugoslavia as a whole. In that respect I think it would, of course, be very bad to constantly measure in a petty way who has given what to whom. In the final analysis, on the unified Yugoslav market, under the conditions of economic activity which are changing, it is difficult to ascertain and to quantify where resources have been siphoned from and how this is done. I think that those computations could lead us to undesirable situations and to a flareup of various nationalistic dispositions, and the upshot would be a step backward.

So, if we succeed--and we must succeed--in carrying out the concepts contained in the long-range economic stabilization program, I think that all those issues will be automatically eliminated. And we know what is meant by solidarity: the policy toward the underdeveloped, additional resources to maintain the functioning of certain services of the underdeveloped republics and SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo, and so on--everything else should be regulated on the basis of economic laws, economic relations in primary distribution, labor productivity and so on.

Criticism of Practice

[Question] In the most recent political debate we have been going back again to clarification of the question of what is meant by democratic centralism. We recall the speech which Franc Popit made at the Third Meeting of the LCY Central Committee. He said that the need is felt for someone who by his prestige will make it possible for decisions to be made in moments of disagreement. He mentioned Comrade Tito and his authority.

[Answer] I think that the 12th LCY Congress answered those questions. I also think that commitments as to principle are not being called into question and that the appeal to principles and repetition of provisions in the bylaws are being used mainly to criticize practice. We have no need to start disputes about what democratic centralism means in the LCY, but in practice there are cases when those principles are departed from. It is a question, then, of criticizing practice from the standpoint of the principles that have been adopted. This was indeed understood by Comrade Popit himself.

In any case, there is a danger, given certain oversimplifications in interpreting democratic centralism, that two essentially unified principles might be confronted with one another: the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is defined as a unified organization of the League of Communists in which the organizations of the League of Communists in the republics are independent. Is there a contradiction in that fact? I would say that there is not. But at the same time there is no constitution or bylaws which can regulate all relations in everyday life. Much depends on tendencies in development, on the alignment of forces. We have unity with respect to programmatic commitments, we have unity of political orientation, but there is independence when it comes to defining and performing tasks within the framework of those unified commitments. It is natural that every organization should adapt itself to its own specific conditions and circumstances.

In practice, of course, there may be disagreements, departures from the principles adopted. And they have occurred and they do occur within the LCY, and, as is well known, they have occurred in relations within the League of Communists of Serbia, which is also specific, since within the unified League of Communists of Serbia, there are components, the leagues of communists of the provinces, which also have both their independence and a specific position. Nothing is given in advance for all time, and that is why the fight must be waged constantly for the implementation of principles and for unity in the League of Communists. I think, then, that discussions about this are not indicative today of any demand for a change of the relations that exist, but

they are a demand for practice to be brought into conformity with the provisions of the bylaws and the constitution.

[Question] How is it that in these moments of social development the arguments and debates recur over drastically differing views, from unitarianism to confederalism?

[Answer] In difficult situations many differing tendencies are always manifested, and everything is put into circulation--from unitarianism to confederalism. This is demonstrated by our own experience and also by the experience of others. All the forces emerge on the scene. And that is logical. They are looking for their chance--I do not see that that social chance will be offered to them.

[Question] The public has gradually been finding out what happened in the first meeting of the LCY Central Committee and then at the meetings of the Presidium. Speaking in Kumrovec, Mitja Ribicic presented an assessment which obviously has great political weight, "that much that is uncommunist and unscrupulous has accumulated in the leadership of the LCY Central Committee" and for a month it has been concerned with itself rather than the decisions of the congress.

The public has also been informed that one member of the Presidium of the Central Committee did not receive the two-thirds majority in the first and secret ballot, and that the vote was repeated. Only a portion of the public has been informed that you are that member.

[Answer] The LCY Central Committee adopted positions in this connection which have been made known to all leadership bodies of the League of Communists and in some places even the rank and file. Those views were interpreted by Comrade Ribicic, along with some more details, in Kumrovec. That meeting was attended by party activists of the League of Communists, who had already been informed about the course of the first meeting of the Central Committee. Your colleagues did not abide by the agreement and published this in some of the newspapers. I think this demystified something which had been suspected, which was in part known, and then there was some juggling with half-facts.

But that is the past. Returning to this moment, which is an expression of precisely those states which we are superseding, or which have even been superseded, and drawing attention from the agreed line of action, always in some measure signifies tickling the curiosity of everyone, and in this connection one must bear in mind what I said about other matters--that in every case the decision is more important than any phase in decisionmaking. Which means that it is important that the LCY leadership made the decision which it did.

Why I did not receive two-thirds of the votes in the first ballot is also another question. It is obvious that in a vote one can either win or lose. However, it is obvious that because of relations within the LCY and the position of the leagues of communists of the republics and provinces set forth in the bylaws that this cannot be regarded solely as a question of attitude toward one individual. The vote was taken again immediately after an analysis

of what had happened on the basis of the unified views of members of the LCY Central Committee from the Serbian LC Central Committee and then the unified view of the entire personnel commission, which is made up of representatives of the leagues of communists from all the republics and provinces.

It is certain that all of this was affected not only by the relations we had recently in the LCY, but also by the relations we had until recently in the Serbian LC. I think that we should not return to this for many reasons, but above all because the effort to put a stop to the relations which previously prevailed has won out. The basic orientation of the LCY and of its Central Committee is turned toward the future and the tasks of the future. And truly relations in the leadership have since that time been characterized by openness, by an atmosphere favorable for a principled discussion of all issues. There has been a new quality in the effort, and I would say that this is true in a direct and literal sense.

[Question] There are two interpretations. According to one it is not good that this happened immediately after the congress, and according to the other it is good because the clarification occurred immediately after the congress.

[Answer] I think it is good that this occurred, given that the situation was already what it was. After that people began to talk differently. Nothing has been passed over in silence, by and large nothing any longer remains unsaid and unclarified, and that is a new quality in our proceedings.

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REGULATION ON TRANSPORTING OF PASSENGERS, BAGGAGE

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian May 82 pp 28-30

[Council of Ministers Order No 1 of 22 March 1982 on the Transportation of Passengers and Baggage]

[Text] For civilized service and in order to strengthen discipline in the transportation of passengers and their baggage, on the basis of Article 245 of the Civil Code of the Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania, the Council of Ministers issues this order:

Article 1

The transportation of passengers on established lines of urban service and on those of inter-urban service, and of their baggage, is carried out by the means of transportation of the Ministry of Communications.

In places where there are no established lines for this service, the transportation of workers from their residence to their workplace and vice versa is carried out by the means of transportation of the enterprises, institutions, agricultural cooperatives and military units, by designation of the executive committee of the district peoples council.

Article 2

The transportation of a passenger and his baggage, from starting point to destination, is carried out on the basis of a travel ticket and a baggage receipt.

Article 3

The transportation enterprise has the following main duties and rights:

--To ensure that the passenger has the necessary conditions during the trip and that his baggage is transported and protected.

--To bear responsibility for the loss or damage of the baggage, with the exception of cases stipulated in Article 243 of the Civil Code.

Compensation for loss of baggage is given on the basis of the declared value. When it is proven that the real value of the baggage is less than the declared value, the compensation is given on the basis of the real value.

Compensation for damages is given on the basis of the value of the part damaged.

--To provide the passenger with another means of transportation for continuing his trip or to return him to his starting point without charge, refunding the money he paid for the ticket when the trip is interrupted because of a natural disaster, a technical defect or because of some other fault on the part of the transporter.

Article 4

The passenger has the following main duties and rights:

--To be equipped with travel tickets and baggage receipts and to keep them until he arrives at his destination.

--To take children under 6 years of age with him in the bus or railroad car, without tickets, and without the child occupying a separate seat, and to take personal belongings weighing less than 20 kg, without charge.

Article 5

During the time that passengers are being transported, the transporting of combustible materials, explosives, poisons, abrasives and other things of this nature, and livestock and the drinking of alcoholic beverages are prohibited.

Article 6

The violation of the provisions stipulated in articles 4 and 5 of this order and of the regulations set forth by the Ministry of Communications, when it does not constitute a penal act, is punished on the spot by a fine of up to 10 leks, levied by the control organs of the Ministry of Communications and of the Peoples Police. Also, these organs have the right, if needs be, to make the passenger get off right there or at the next station.

Article 7

This order goes into effect immediately.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers

Adil Carcani

CSO: 2100/9

FOJTIK SPEECH AT 30 NOVEMBER SEMINAR

AU071348 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Dec 82 p 3

["From" the speech by Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at a nationwide seminar marking the 60th anniversary of the USSR's founding, held in Prague on 30 November; passages between slantlines are published in boldface]

[Text] The progressive world public, together with the Soviet people, are getting ready to celebrate an important jubilee--the 60th anniversary of the USSR's founding. For us, the CPCZ and all Czechoslovak people, as well, 30 December, the day of the jubilee, will be a great holiday.

Everything important taking place in the present world is influenced by the Soviet Union, by the policy of the Leninist CPSU. The Soviet Union, the first country in which socialism triumphed, is the main source of inspiration and determination to fight for the progressive and revolutionary forces all over the world. It is their reliable support and protector. It serves as a living example of adherence to principles, selflessness and heroism in overcoming all obstacles and difficulties, in seeking ways toward and creating new forms of social life, freed of exploiters and oppressors, in real freedom, democracy and permanent peace.

The fate of our country is forever and firmly linked with the Soviet Union. We are well aware that without the Soviet Union we would not exist as a nation and state. Without the Soviet Union we would be unable to defend the achievements of the revolution; there would be no socialism in our country. Without the Soviet Union we would be unable to enjoy peace and apply ourselves to peaceful construction work.

The firm alliance and friendship binding our nations with the nations of the Soviet Union is a fruit of the /fundamental historical experience/ our people have learned in the struggle for their very existence face to face with the horrors of the fascist yoke, in the fight for restoring the state sovereignty, a sovereignty that could be based on the platform of a new, genuinely people's system and guaranteed by a foreign policy making it impossible, once and for all, for the fate of our country to be decided behind the back of the people, by those pursuing only their limited, selfish class interests.

Munich did not pay off for those who plotted it. The treacherous bourgeoisie had to pay dearly for its intrigues against the people, its shady dealings with the perfidious Western allies and its collaboration with fascism. Its political exponents reaped what they had sown. The anticommunist centers, overflowing with emigres of diverse generations, are needlessly going to the trouble of trying to prove, at any price, the "illegitimacy" of our revolution and the onset of socialism in our country, claiming that it "forcibly" tore our country out of the "Western sphere." According to them, this was unlawful. And it goes without saying that the notorious "Moscow hand" had to be involved. When they speak about the results of the socialist revolution in our country--and, as we know, this does not concern just us--they refer to them only as the consequence of some sort of "expansion of Stalinism." Because the bourgeoisie completely lost its game, because it lost power and property and because power in our country has been seized by the workers' class and all working people, who have finally become their own masters, our country was, according to these anticommunist critics, one of the first "victims" of the expansiveness of the "Soviet imperium," which is the term they use for the socialist community.

By such means they grossly and shamelessly sully and try to denigrate the broad liberation and revolutionary movement of the masses that grew out of the antifascist resistance and which was spearheaded, above all, by communists, genuine patriots and internationalists. Thereby they would like to kill two birds with one stone. To discredit the communist party by presenting it as a force, that, as they have always tried to prove, due to its very internationalism and defense of the Soviet Union since its founding represents some sort of a "foreign element" in the national organism and cannot, therefore, seek the trust and the leadership of our nations. At the same time they would like to cover up the total political and moral fiasco suffered by the bourgeoisie, whose pseudo-patriotism (vlastenceni) did not outlive Munich. Its exponents were justified in linking their interests with the interests of the West and with the rule of capitalism in the world in general. However, they were wrong in elevating these interests to the status of national interests.

The entire process of the gradual transition to socialism--and, in particular, the process of transition in democratic forms, which demonstrated the working people's growing trust in the policy of the communist party and the Soviet Union, whose victory against fascism and liberation of our country earned for it great prestige in the eyes of the broad public--had to lead, /by its own inner logic/, to such changes in the political suprastructure of society and to shaping such political structures and institutions as would once and for all provide the guarantee that the sovereign will of the liberated people would really count and that power would never ever return to the hands of those who gave orders to fire on workers demanding work and bread, to the hands of those who cherished their well-filled purses more than the freedom and independence of their own state.

When we are reproached today for having abolished in the process of the socialist revolution the system of "political pluralism" and, thereby, allegedly, democracy, we retort: Yes, the revolution has eliminated a system that made it

possible to deceive the working people, to simulate democracy by toying with the parliamentary pluralism of political parties while enforcing measures directed against the people, to assert the well-known "policy behind closed doors," and to decide about all fundamental issues of the state and its domestic and foreign policy not according to the will of the people but according to the will, aspirations and interests of those holding in their hands the real power, the power of the capital. It was this system--let them call it whatever they wish--that the revolution has eliminated. Precisely therein was its historical meaning and its greatness. In lieu of this system it has established a state and social system that expresses the will of the people.

No one had to impose it on us. The foundations of the political system of the national front were laid by the national and democratic revolution, which--in a law-governed process--turned into a socialist revolution. The transition of the national and democratic revolution toward a socialist revolution was only accelerated when the reaction, even though the signatures of some of its prominent representatives were below the Kosice Government program, through its constant obstructions and acts of sabotage that culminated in the counter-revolutionary putsch of February 1948 discredited itself in the eyes of the working people.

This had, and it could not be otherwise, its consequences. The political defeat of the reaction in 1948 further reinforced the leading position of the communist party in the political system of the national front and thus significantly strengthened the power of the people. The bourgeoisie had to leave the political stage--it failed not only in the struggle for the national existence and national freedom but, equally, with no less disgrace, when it was necessary to implement the program of the country's reconstruction. It had to expeditiously make room for the workers class and its class allies. This removed, as Klement Gottwald tellingly described the situation, the last barrier in the way of socialist construction. This happened in line with the valid constitutional laws and by democratic means. What was against the constitution and anti-democratic were the maneuvers and conspiracies of the reaction.

We, communists, are criticized for not having missed the historical chance, for having seized it to seal the defeat of the reaction, of those forces who used all means possible to bring back the old times. We defeated them on all fronts, politically, economically, ideologically, in the spirit of Leninism, in the spirit of the bequest of the Great October Socialist Revolution and according to the example set by the Bolshevik Party. But we ask: Wherein did we commit such a horrible sin? What, in fact, should we have waited for? Should we have waited for the bourgeoisie and the international reaction to recover and launch a new attack? Did we not witness that wherever the Western allies' troops were or wherever the American or British Governments were able to impertinently interfere in the affairs of the liberated states, revolutionary forces were being oppressed and everything that the patriotic antifascist forces had achieved was being rapidly done away with? Did we not see how even before February 1948 the reaction disposed of communists in France and Italy and what was happening in Greece where British troops restored by force the hated monarchy and drowned in blood patriots who demanded freedom and

democracy? And should we have been blind in the face of the plots organized against our republic? Should we have, perhaps, continued to profess our gratitude and dedication to the "Western ideals" only because the West and some people in our country regarded the existence of our republic as a gift from the American President Wilson, in defiance of everything that this republic went through and how it was treated? In other words, should we have remained dependent on imperialism and have bartered our freedom for cans and food parcels from the aid funds of the Marshal Plan?

According to some of our critics, we should have apparently let the counterrevolutionary plotters at least in the parliament, after they had maneuvered themselves out of the government. So that one day various theorists of revisionism, that is people who try in all possible ways to sully real socialism and the Soviet Union in particular and to deny the viability of Leninism, might find in history--to which they like to refer so much but which, alas, treats them so uncharitably--at least a single argument in support of their conclusions about the possibility of building socialism under the conditions of "political pluralism," with the assistance of parties that not only reject socialism but that are doing everything possible to prevent it, no matter what its form. By having failed to accommodate our present critics, by having failed to be more forthcoming to their suggestions at that time, by having decided, on the contrary, to build socialism without having its enemies in the key power structures and with the awareness of the inevitability of a sharp class struggle against all those who stand in the way of the building of socialism, and by continuing to insist that the subjugation of the enemies' resistance was essential for the ultimate victory of socialism in our country, for socialism to strike roots, we have obviously prodded our critics to come up with arguments of an utterly different kind against us--arguments about our party's alleged renunciation of national and specific ways toward socialism, about its subordination or subjugation to the so-called Stalinism, from which they have made the biggest bogey of all and about the acceptance of some sort of a "Soviet model" of socialism which may be applicable--alas, how hackneyed is this refrain!--to backward countries at most.

We can assure all those who cast doubt on our path toward socialism--regardless of their motivation, whether it be downright hatred for communism or the attempt to construe some sort of a "brand new model of socialism"--that their criticism, albeit it that it may have an impact on those who are ill-informed or faint-hearted, not only misses its target but, in reality, is utterly counterproductive. /It is, in fact, only in confrontation with this criticism that the correctness of our party's policy stands out, a policy oriented toward a creative, high-principled, consistent and unyielding implementation of Leninism, the Marxism of the epoch that was ushered in by the Great October, the epoch of mankind's transition to socialism./

How to proceed in this, for every genuine revolutionary, fundamental matter, how to apply and develop Leninism--that we have really learned, and continue to learn, from the glorious CPSU, from the Bolsheviks. We are proud that this has been characteristic of our party especially since Comrade Gottwald came to lead it and since April 1969.

The endeavor for the party's Bolshevization forms the content of its ripening process, of its shaping into the real vanguard of the workers' class. It was only because our party had become a party of the Leninist, Bolshevik type, because it had freed itself of its social democratic heritage and of the ballast of opportunism of all kinds that it was able to fulfill the historical mission of the leading political force of the working masses and live up to the tasks in bringing about revolutionary transformations of our society.

Let us recall how in the sixties when the party honestly tried to rectify the wrongdoings [prehmaty] of the so-called personality cult, when the need to draw strength from Lenin's work was so strongly manifested as well as the need to reassess in the spirit of his work the forms and methods of political-organizational and managerial work and to strengthen the party's ties with the people and to deepen and reinforce the party's leading role in society, some people tried to throw out the baby with the bathwater and to cast doubt on the entire Bolshevization process. More than once they described the Bolshevization efforts, associated with the name of Gottwald, as one of the sources of the pillorized deformations. That was the beginning of a campaign of disorientation, which was designed to prepare the ground for so-called liberalization and democratization, for the opportunist policy of the right-wingers and overall discrediting of the party, for bullying its history, for breaking up and gradually liquidating the party, for watering it down and dissolving it in a "pluralist" system.

No one claims that no mistakes were made in forming the party as a Marxist-Leninist vanguard, in the process of Bolshevization and, in particular, in the party's practical activity, in implementing its leading role. It suffices to recall the more-than-once criticized methods of implementing the party's leading role that led to substituting the pertinent managerial bodies, to reducing their responsibility, to subjectivism and voluntarism. They were undoubtedly among the causes of the mounting crisis in the sixties. And I think that even today no one can claim that we were perfect, that the Leninist norms of party life and Leninism have entered the bloodstream of all of us, that everything we do, our decisions and thoughts, is based on a thorough knowledge of the revolutionary movement. In this respect we will never be able to say that we have already reached a limit at which we may stop.

One of the most important documents our party has ever adopted, a document to which we should always return, which we should study and against which we should measure our practice, the lesson drawn from the crisis development in the party and society after the 13 CPCZ Congress, rightly stresses that, as a rule, we experienced the greatest difficulties and the most serious problems when we believed, to use Comrade Gottwald's telling image, that our trees would grow into the sky; when we failed to be guided by the Leninist demand to analyze absolutely soberly and critically the situation and our own work, when we tolerated deviations from the theory and practice of Leninism, from the method of materialist dialectics, when we backed off from the principles of the Leninist doctrine about building socialism or tolerated inconsistence in applying this doctrine in practice.

/On the other hand, all the successes and victories we have achieved along the revolutionary path in profoundly transforming our society and which are reflected in the firmness of the socialist system in our country, in the advantages demonstrated by this system in all spheres of social life, in the unity between the party and the people, in the harmonious cooperation and fraternity between the nations and nationalities of the CSSR, and in the standing of our state in the present world, regarded as a firm part of the international community of the socialist countries--all this has been achieved solely and exclusively due to the fact that our party has been guided in its policy by the generally valid doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and that it has consistently learned how to consistently implement this doctrine, how to apply it to our conditions and how to transform it with creativity and principle into living reality from those most experienced, from those who have progressed the farthest on the path toward communism--the Soviet communists./

As is known, the entire revolutionary movement--no matter how intricate and tortuous its path may be, no matter how great the difficulties may be that it has to go through in one part of the world or another, no matter how desperate the efforts of the world reaction may be to thwart the results of the revolutionary processes begun by the Great October 65 years ago--viewed in the whole historical perspective, shows an upward and irresistible development. This is precisely because the masses of millions of people cannot be prevented from having access to the inspiring ideas of Leninism mediated by the living example of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, of which our country is part.

Small wonder that anticommunism is doing everything it can to stifle the impact of the ideas of Leninism and to weaken the attractive power of the example of real socialism. However, the instigators of this counteroffensive are concerned, above all, with discrediting the Soviet Union, which is the mainstay of all revolutionary and liberation movements, of all progressive and peace-loving forces in the world. The bosses of the imperialist revolutionalizing impact of the USSR's example that is robbing them of their sleep and making them feel most uneasy. We remember the American president's speech in the British Parliament this June. In it he called the whole "free world" to launch a new crusade against the Soviet Union and its allies. To all appearance, the recent conference in Washington, which was marked by the participation of numerous prominent representatives of the Western states' present policy led by U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz, was intended to detail the propositions expounded in Reagan's speech. Everything suggests that they will try to make their crusade a total one and to involve the whole "free world" in it.

The main blow, however, is to be aimed at the land of the October, the USSR. It is there, according to the instigators of this new crusade, that the root of all evil lies. After all, even the peace movement, the movement against the deployment of destructive nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, is regarded by them as "Moscow's crime."

The imperialists spare no means when it comes to building the technical base and to training cadres in the area of propaganda and information. They are

trying to form an information monopoly, to seize full control of publishing houses and major press organs and to subordinate press agencies to themselves. To have free hands in this activity they would like, under the pretext of freedom of information, to use for their aims international negotiations on security and cooperation. They are making their willingness to support detente contingent on the adoption of such commitments on our part as would facilitate their interference in our affairs, their political and ideological subversion. However, even today they have hardly any regard for international law and agreements. In Austria, for example, even though it is a neutral state whose government wants to develop relations of cooperation with us, they are using television, radio and other information media for gross attacks on our country, our social system and official figures.

It is becoming apparent that we must anticipate that the aggressive circles of imperialism will continue to escalate their attacks on real socialism. They will try to deprive socialism of initiative in the propaganda of peace and progress and to cover up and conceal everything that makes our system attractive, that proves its historical supremacy over capitalism and its undeniable merits.

We must also anticipate that, as heretofore, they will not shy away from any lie. However, that is nothing new. Anti-Sovietism and anticommunism date back to the time of the founding of the Soviet Union and the emergency of the communist movement. It is only a question of the rise or fall of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism at different periods of time. In this connection I would like to quote a few sentences from a remarkable article that was published long ago, on 28 January 1920, in the American paper NEW REPUBLIC, under the headline "The Red Hysteria." The authors of the article are the famous bourgeois journalist Walter Lippmann and a certain Charles Merz. They were not people from our camp but they shielded themselves against the flood of propaganda that was intended to erect a barrier to truth about the newly born Soviet Russia.

"The root of all our present problems," they wrote at that time, "is the lie, the official lie, the unofficial lie as well as the lie that outwardly resembles truth. Our nation is beginning to understand that. All the hysterical, endless and complicated impatience of our days is linked with the chief lie--the lie about Russia.... They infected us with this lie to be able to declare war on the Russian nation and sustain it. Monstrous, gigantic propaganda was poured forth on mankind to be able to maintain the disgraceful blockade imposed on a nation that demands peace, to be able to provoke a fratricidal war in Russia. It was a lie that the Russians believed in Kolchak and Denikin. It was a lie that they did not want the Soviet government but a government of the sort that was offered to them by the generals of the allied troops and the monarchist cliques. It was a lie that they were getting ready to invade peaceful Europe. It was a lie that Soviet Russia did not offer any honest peace with safeguards. The lie about Russia is the mother of every lie. And, indeed, it was a lie and as such let it be damned."

Lies about Russia, and the Soviet Union and, today, about real socialism and the revolutionary movement in general, are still the mother of all lies--the

main content of the "psychological war" that is being unleashed by imperialism. Gus Hall, U.S. Communist Party secretary general, has rightly called the absurd accusation that the Soviet Union harbors expansionist and war intentions and the egregious claims about some kind of "Soviet military threat" and a "communist danger" the greatest lie of the present times. It is seconded by the shameful lie that calls the nations' revolutionary and liberation movement, which is an answer to unbearable exploitation and the oppression of the masses by contemporary imperialism, plain "international terrorism." In their animal hatred for the Soviet Union and for communism, even the most responsible figures of American imperialism do not hesitate to threaten with a nuclear war, which, according to the so-called doctrine of limited nuclear war, they would be obviously willing to unleash wherever it would not affect American territory. In this connection some of them cynically speak of the necessity of "sacrificing Europe" for the sake of destroying the Soviet Union and finally settling accounts with communism.

In no way do we underrate the propaganda campaigns pursued by the leaders of the imperialist world. All peace-loving forces must be seriously alarmed by the unpredictable adventurous policy of Washington's hawks. But we know very well about the correlation of forces in the world and about the way objective historical laws operate, laws which are also expressed in the broad, unprecedented people's peace movement. The basic factor of today is that this movement can rely on the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of real socialism. The Soviet Union is persistently and untiringly striving to save and further deepen detente, to consistently implement the principles of the Leninist policy of the peaceful coexistence of peoples and states irrespective of their social system. At the same time it is taking good care to preserve the realtive strategic equilibrium in the correlation of military forces between the United States and the USSR, between the NATO countries and those of the Warsaw Pact.

The present situation in the world, and the problems which we must resolve on the path of continuing to build socialism in our country, also enhance the responsibility of our ideological front. It is in the awareness of this responsibility that we must approach the tasks with which we have been charged by the 16th Party Congress and which concern /the substantial improvement of ideological and the entire political-education work./

The conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Central Committee Session of March 1980, which continue to be topical, have determined how we should proceed. At the moment it is particularly important to ensure the vital connection between political-educational and ideological work on the one hand and the organizational and management activities of party and state bodies and organizations of the national front on the other's to ensure that our words do not diverge from our deeds; and to ensure that we do not allow the party's authority and leading role to be threatened by the failure to draw conclusions from those instances when practice clearly diverges from the principles of our policy and from the resolutions we adopt, when pragmatism and alibism arise and when burning problems are circumvented, and so forth. It is undoubtedly important today to have at our disposal the latest means of ideological influence. However, the main thing in this work is not the ability to drown out the enemies' activities, but the ability to implement our policy so that

it proves the force of our ideology, of our truth. We confront lies, falsifications and half-truths with truth. Herein lies our superiority. The only thing is that we must not confuse the duty to use convincing arguments, based on a fair analysis of the reality and simultaneously on the deep intrinsic enthusiasm for the ideals of communism and on devotion to the cause of the working man and the socialist fatherland, with an alleged duty to talk in formal phrases and make declarations of formal attitudes.

Time and again we have pointed out the ineffective and harmful nature of the so-called propaganda of successes, a primitive propaganda of a troublefree path to socialism, which ignores the operation of the laws of dialectics in building socialism and communism and which operates with black-and-white categories and ideas. No matter how convinced the authors of this propaganda may be that it proves their adherence to principle and their loyalty to socialism and Marxism-Leninism, such propaganda in fact plays into the hands of our adversaries. Those who are trying to denigrate socialism, to instill in people a lack of faith in the socialist perspective and nihilism as regards the possibilities of our social system, are tremendously pleased whenever they encounter propaganda of ours that does not correspond to the working people's actual life experience and does not direct them to overcome obstacles and resolve the problems that are overwhelming them, but which conceals or even denies the very existence of these problems instead.

In fighting for the mind of present-day man, in striving to make him adopt our own scientific world outlook, to become responsible and thrifty, to make him show his awareness in his attitude to work and in the thrifty handling of society's property; in striving to make him express his socialist conviction in corresponding behavior rather than in merely talking about it in public--in all this we must not forget how enormously important it is for him to understand well the times which gave birth to our socialist present. It is no coincidence that our enemies are devoting so much time to belittling the party's activities in the historic period which decided who would win and whether Czechoslovakia would be socialist--or whether it would revert to capitalism.

However, we may look back with pride to the period when the foundations of our socialist social system were being laid. These are firm foundations, unwavering and reliable--among other things, or perhaps mainly, because the party at that time made skillful use of the CPSU's experience and accomplished remarkable work in implementing Marxism-Leninism under the given specifically historical conditions in which the revolutionary process was taking place.

I have already mentioned that we must very resolutely reject each and every slander about our party which claims that at that time we acted without regard for the specific conditions of our historical development. Had this been true, we could not have achieved such a magnificent victory as the one achieved by our working people under the communist party's leadership in the people's democratic and socialist revolution. There was of course one circumstance which we always mention and will always continue to mention with pride. It was a most significant and, in a certain sense, a determining factor which favorably influenced the result of our revolution: and that was the fact that our fatherland was liberated by the army of the first country of socialism.

We will never forget that in this way our revolution, evoked by the all-national opposition to fascist tyranny, was able to gain real momentum and to achieve its goal--the complete liberation of the working people from the domination of capital. The liberation of our country by the Soviet army made possible the successful transition of the national and democratic revolution into a socialist revolution in a peaceful way, that is, it made it impossible for this process to be prematurely broken off and frustrated by any imperialist interference. It is the greatest malicious slander of our people to present this factor in the development of our revolution--which developed, thanks to the existence of this factor, in accordance with the sovereign will of the overwhelming majority of our people--as a factor that obviously determined the direction of events allegedly against the wishes and aspirations of our people. This can be claimed only by those whom the revolution affected and cast aside on the garbage heap of history, discarding them from the nation. Led by the well-tested communist party, which was the only one of all the political parties that had not failed during the difficult times of the occupation and during the postwar period, which always stood firmly on the side of the people not only in happy times, but also in the times of suffering, and which bore upon its shoulders the severest burdens that afflicted the people, our people did not need anyone to tell them what the resolution could or could not achieve, how far it may or may not go, and where the limits of its revolutionary activity lay.

And our people understood, and still understand, very well who protected them on the path of revolutionary transformations. /They already regarded the Soviet Union not only as their liberator, but also as their powerful protector in the postwar renewal, in the building of their own state./ The people's victory in February 1948 strengthened not only the authority and positions of the communist party as the leading political force of the national front, but also the authority and unquestionable prestige of the Soviet Union.

And this authority and prestige logically strnegthened in the subsequent period, in the process of building socialism. The alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union--which have relieved us of the centuries-old feeling of uncertainty about the fate of our nations, a feeling harbored so intensely, and sometimes even desperately, by our revivalists--guaranteed together with the victory of the socialist revolution also the successful path of our further development. /This is why our firm course along this path, and our achieving along it the victory of socialism, quite naturally required us to further deepen, strengthen and comprehensively develop the fraternal ties between our nations and the nations of the Soviet Union, to develop and consolidate the unity of our parties, the unity of the CPCZ and CPSU--a unity based on a common ideology, on the theory of Marxism-Leninism and on the principles of proletarian internationalism./

This was an objective need which continues to exist, and which will not cease to exist even in the future--a need justly formulated by Klement Gottwald as /one of the main laws governing the development of our society and the socialist construction of our country./ The need was and is also the source of our duty to broadly apply the experience the CPSU has acquired in building socialism and communism in the Soviet Union, in the construction and further advance of socialism in our own country.

In fact, for our party and our people this was never a thing that could burden us, that we could feel to be a kind of threat to our economy, our independence, our national characteristics or our identity. And there can also be no question about its weakening in any way our responsibility to decide on the tasks affecting the interests of Czechoslovak people. Despite the various mistakes we have made in the past--for instance, by simplifying many problems--we have always made decisions in the awareness of our own responsibility; and no subsequent alibism, which could perhaps excuse our simplified and incorrect views and approaches, can change one iota of the basic thing--namely, /that the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet people, the experience of the country which was the first to embark on the unexplored and difficult path of socialism, was and still is of enormous, invaluable assistance to us. It significantly enriched the theory and practice of our revolutionary reorganization of our society and alleviated our development in many respects./

Part of the greatness of the CPCZ's history is that, in resolving all the problems set before it by our revolutionary era, it has always been able to combine the workers' class interests with the national interests, and these interests with the duties of internationalism. We should never forget that this is the main source of our party's respect and authority both among our own people, and in the international revolutionary and progressive movement.

As recalled by Gustav Husak at the 16th CPCZ Congress, the CPCZ has been an inseparable component of the international workers' movement since its very birth. We are proud that Vladimir Ilich Lenin, leader of the international proletariat, organizer of the Great October Socialist Revolution, creator of a new type of party--the party of Bolsheviks, and founder of the USSR, stood at the cradle of our own party. Loyalty to the Leninist principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism, fraternal cooperation and solidarity with the revolutionary workers' parties throughout the world, are and will always be the key principle of our party's policy. Everything that we do for the benefit of our people and our fatherland is done in the awareness of our international responsibility. It is in this way that we best prove our patriotism.

Real patriotism, one which bears in mind the interests of the people and the fatherland, which holds dear the progressive traditions and culture of the nations, proceeds in unity with proletarian and socialist internationalism. Of course, for the communists both patriotism and internationalism are no mere slogans on a demonstration banner. They are a matter of vital conviction, of honor and conscience, a matter of the highest values. We must always feel pain and concern when we encounter a lukewarm attitude to the socialist fatherland, to the homeland in which we were born and in which we live; we feel the same when we encounter a lack of understanding for the needs and interests of those who are standing together with us, in the same anti-imperialist front.

/For us, Czechoslovak communists, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism invariably include a warm feeling of respect for the Soviet Union, of admiration for the Leninist CPSU and sincere comradely relations with it./ The simple and unpretentious heroism of Julius Fucik contains patriotism and

internationalism, love for the country of the Soviets, and the hope with which he looked toward it in the conviction of our great common future--all in one solid block of steel. And since I have mentioned his name, which has since become a symbol, we see in Julius Fucik in particular that his love of his fatherland and his home country was deeply rooted in respect for the working man--that it was inseparably linked with an understanding and recognition of the liberating mission of the workers' class in our current historical era. This is the foundation of his positive attitude to the victorious socialist revolution in Russia, in his endeavor to grasp the purpose of the gigantic struggle which Russia's so severely tried proletariat had to wage against the unbelievable brutality and obsolescence of the forces of the old, exploiting world. The fact that Russia's proletariat succeeded in overcoming seemingly insurmountable obstacles, that despite all the plotting and inveterate resistance of the allied domestic and world reaction it succeeded in laying the foundation stone of mankind's revolutionary revival, that it took upon itself a truly epochal task--to pave mankind's path toward communism, toward the victory of free creative work, toward installing its rule--this fact was for Fucik, as it was for all communists who regard the Soviet Union as a clear, bright beacon, a natural and indisputable reason /to measure the firmness and truthfulness of the patiotism and internationalism of every revolutionary and progressive person by his relationship toward the Soviet Union./

When Klement Gottwald said in the past that the relationship toward the Soviet Union is a touchstone, a criterion of real patriotism and real internationalism, he expressed the convictions and sentiments of all Czechoslovak communists. This has been always valid, from the very first days after the birth of the country of the Soviets. It is also valid today, and will continue to be valid in the future.

Our relationship with the Soviet Union is determined by the entire modern history of our peoples. It was no coincidence that, despite the furious resistance of the ruling bourgeoisie--and let us not forget that up to 1936 in our country people used to be imprisoned for exclaiming "long live the Soviet Union," and that it was our bourgeoisie which was the longest to refuse to acknowledge the Soviet Union de jure, in fact until it was driven to do so by the fact that our country was threatened by Hitlerite fascism--organizations were soon established in our country, which rallied a relatively large number of friends of the Soviet Union. At the beginning of the 'thirties, the Union of Friends of the Soviet Union, which was born out of the well known society for economic and cultural contacts with the USSR--in which a remarkable role was played by Zdenek Nejedly in particular--already had up to 300,000 members. The influence wielded by the Union of Friends of the Soviet Union on the broad masses of workers and of the progressive intelligentsia was enormous.

Slav awareness also played a certain role in shaping a positive attitude to the Soviet Union. This awareness has been rooted among the people's masses since time immemorial and is, in fact, largely identified with the pro-Russian attitude in our country. With the victory of the Russian October and the establishment of the Soviet Union, in which the RSFSR was the core of the

voluntary union of free peoples--60 years ago the other Soviet republics and oblasts had rallied around it on the principles of absolutely equal rights, setting up a powerful state of workers and peasants on one-sixth of our planet, a state relieved of tsarism and of all its political and spiritual supports--our Slav and pro-Russian attitudes received a new and progressive content. And it is indisputable that they have played a significant role in shaping the specific contents of socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism within the process of the revolutionary transformations of our society. Today this is one of our most significant progressive and revolutionary traditions.

Our relationship with the Soviet Union--anchored in a whole number of agreements and accords, among which a key place is held by the treaty on friendship, mutual assistance and postwar cooperation of 1943 and the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance of May 1970, which was linked with it--is, of course, not in the least determined by the simple awareness of the advantages which these ties ensure for us and for our advance in every sphere of social life. On behalf of all Czechoslovak communists and all Czechoslovak people, Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, declared from the rostrum of our party's 16th Congress: /"By its pioneer work, the Soviet Union is paving mankind's way toward freedom and social progress.... It is the Soviet Union which is making an enormous effort to protect the world against the catastrophe of a nuclear war, against the destruction of human civilization and culture. The 26th CPSU Congress convincingly reaffirmed that peace and the peoples' freedom are supreme values for the Soviet Union; that Soviet man links his happiness with the happiness of all mankind."/

Several days ago we received with great sorrow the announcement of the death of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, great son of the CPSU and the Soviet people, outstanding Leninist and revolutionary, acknowledged fighter for peace, and our friend and Czechoslovakia's liberator. At the 16th Congress we ardently welcomed him, and listened with pride to the speech he addressed to our party, to all Czechoslovak people; a speech in which he expressed high appreciation of the historic road of our party and our people, of the experience we have acquired in building socialism, which he characterized as an experience that had acquired international significance and through which we have contributed to the common treasury of Marxism-Leninism. He particularly underscored the way our party had overcome the crisis at the end of the sixties and renewed its Marxist-Leninist character, and also the way we are building advanced socialism in the spirit of the principles of Leninism. Ou- party and people also deeply appreciate the appraisal of Comrade gustav Husak's merits contained in Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's statement. We will always remember this last statement by Comrade Brezhnev in tzechoslovakia. For us it is a kind of legacy, particularly in the parts in which he indicated our common duty to deepen and consolidate our mutual relations, to strengthen the unity of all countries of the socialist community, and to ward off jointly and most resolutely all the attempts by our enemies to weaken and disrupt this unity.

We know very well that the CPSU's policy is not prone to succumbing to the influences of the movement. Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, stated this clearly and unambiguously when taking

leave of Comrade Brezhnev, and at the latest CPSU Central Committee Session. The CPSU's line at the 24th, 25th and 26th Congresses is a line of creative Marxism-Leninism, of continuing Lenin's legacy. It corresponds to the needs of the times, to the laws governing modern developments in the world. The principled and resolute way this line is being realized, the responsibility with which it is approached by the Soviet communists, both before their own people and before the revolutionary and progressive movement in the world, are also an encouragement for us; they provide certainty for us, and inspire us to intensify our endeavors to fulfill the program of the party's 16th Congress.

In realizing the program of further building the advanced socialist society and in resolving the difficult tasks set before us by the present and which we will also encounter in the future, we Czechoslovak communists are fortunate to be able to proceed in the closest and firmest possible collaboration with the Soviet communista and also in international unity with the other fraternal parties. The experience of the CPSU and of other fraternal parties is, and will always be, a rich fount of knowledge also for our party; it provides us now, and wi-l provide us in the future, with strength for our life and work in the coming years.

For us, for all Czechoslovak people, friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and the people of the Soviets are and will be the support and guarantee of all our further successes.

CSO: 2400/83

PERSECUTION OF CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CSSR

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 21 Oct 82 pp 3, 4

[Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] The relation between the state and the Catholic church in Czechoslovakia has continued /to cool off rapidly/. The impression is growing that state and party are imitating the development in Poland in their hostile attitude toward the church, and that they believe that the establishment of an independent union [in Poland] was the result of the triumphal papal visit of 1979, which for the first time made Catholics conscious of their real strength. For several months now /a confrontation/ has been developing between church and state; Cardinal /Tomasek/ is experiencing difficulties.

Sharp Attacks On John Paul II

In a statement of 8 March, the Vatican Congregation of Faith forbade members of the clergy from belonging to /political organizations/. As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, this statement was directed against the priests association /"Pacem in Terris"/, which is friendly toward the government. After a visit to Rome, Cardinal Tomasek demanded that his priests leave the priests association; Czech dignitaries and Bishop /Gabris/ of /Trnava/ backed the cardinal's demand can be judged only indirectly, that is, from the government's reaction. Several times during party newspapers and TVORBA, the party's political-cultural weekly, sharply attacked the Vatican and /Pope /John Paul II/ personally. The chief of the government's church office, /Karl Hruza/, who has held his job ever since the Communist takeover in 1948, accused the pope of still holding /Cold War/ views and of blocking the appointment of bishops to vacant seats. The Vatican sanctions [Hruza said] only those clerical associations that fight against socialism and forbids those that stand for peace and social progress, whereas Czech politicians at various high levels have taken the opportunity to pay tribute to the patriotic and peaceful activities of "Pacem in Terris."

Hruza mentioned support for the "Soviet policy of peace" as a positive accomplishment of the priests association. Even more important for the government, however, is the fact that Pacem in Terris, to which about half of the priests in Czechoslovakia are assumed to belong, lets itself be used to paralyze /the Catholic hierarchy./ This was the main reason for founding

Pacem in Terris in 1970, as a secret document has since made known. Those in the West who are familiar with the church situation in the CSSR believe that "Pacem in Terris" priests can be divided into three groups: government agents, opportunistic fellow-travelers, and priests who joined the association out of fear. This three-way division corresponds with customary Communist subversion tactics. The make-up of the association also explains the resignations from it.

Vatican Considered As A State

The Communist party of the CSSR is trying to explain the conflict with the Catholic church not as a question of the practice of religion but as a quarrel between Prague and Rome. The Vatican is described as a state which tries to meddle in /the internal affairs/ of another state. The party cites as examples of meddling not only the ban against "Pacem in Terris" but the oft-repeated statement that the pope has secretly consecrated three bishops, two of whom are factory workers and one a truck driver, and that he supports the establishment of an underground church. Arguments of this kind would at least mean that religious freedom within the state was not well off. The Communist party of Czechoslovakia points out there is a /constitutional guarantee/ of religious freedom and provides ample statistical materials for this claim. Thus the country is supposed to have no less than 18 [district] churches and religious communities with a total of almost 5,000 priests and 27 church newspapers. The state pays the priests' salaries and provides financial support to the six theological faculties.

Influence Through Financial Dependence

These statistics, however, say nothing about the reality in which religious communities and especially the Catholic church are placed--except that the state kept religious communities in /financial dependence/. Because priests receive a state salary, though a small one, they are not only, as it is put officially, obligated to be faithful to the state but must also accept a whole series of stringent limitations. For example, it is illegal to "obstruct state supervision of religious practice," which means that a priest who meets with some of his parishioners for prayer outside the church building can be punished. The state is not opposed to church weddings. But couples who are students, for example, do not dare to be married in a church because they are afraid of losing their places at the university. Chances of professional promotion are bad for practicing Catholics. Even though State Secretary Hruza recommends that Western press representatives visit priests in their churches and talk with them, the accompanying interpreters usually are told that it might not be to their professional advantage to if they took part in discussions.

Over the last year and a half, /discrimination/ has developed more and more into /repression/ of the Catholic church. In this period, at least six priests and lay people were sentenced because they had said masses without state approval and had given courses in theology or religious instruction to young people in private homes. The sentences ranged from 4 months to 2 years in prison. About one dozen addition men and women were sentenced to up to 3 years in prison because they had distributed or printed religious literature.

Growing Respect For the Church

Government measures of repression and persecution have in no way frightened away the courageous members of the clergy. On the contrary, these measures have resulted in a /more determined attitude/ on their part. It is true that in view of the external circumstances priests do not seek open conflicts but, on the whole, try quietly to accomplish whatever is possible within the framework of what they are permitted to do. Respect has grown for the Catholic church, which for a long time in /Bohemia/, had been a pillar of strength for the Habsburgs and therefore an object of nationalist suspicion, even if this new respect does not necessarily result in increased church attendance. Cardinal /Tomasek/ is respected by the people. Thus the question arises whether the repressive policies of the CSSR Communist party have not been /counterproductive/.

Slightly different are circumstances in traditionally Catholic /Slovakia/. Priests of the /Tatra region/ had frequent contacts with their colleagues to the north of the mountains. It is not likely, however, that the church in Slovakia could become as influential as the church in Poland because its organizational structure, which was destroyed in the Stalin era, has been /very weak/ ever since.

8889
CSO: 2300/32

CPSL WEEKLY ATTACKS VATICAN, CATHOLIC CHURCH

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak No 41, 14 Oct 82 p 8

[Article by university lecturer Jan Bilas, PhD, ScC: "Clericalism and the Workers Movement -- Reactionary Aims of the Vatican"]

[Text] The encyclical "Laborem Exercens" by Pope John Paul II contains clericalist and anticommunist concepts of social teachings of Catholicism, particularly on issues concerning labor and the workers class, and in it the Vatican put again Christianization and clericalization of the workers class in the forefront of its ideological and political program. Under its hypocritical concern about the problems of modern working people, under its abstractly humanistic postulates and illusory spiritual consolation the Vatican tries to hide its true reactionary aims which have been revealed many times through history and in our times in their stark nakedness.

Clericalist propaganda does not lack allegations crediting the church for organizing the workers and for dealing with their social problems. The history of the workers movement, however, unequivocally confirms that Christian workers organizations and the movement of Christian socialism have nothing in common with the contemporary workers movement. On the contrary, they represent regression to the church's feudal aspirations. K. Marx and F. Engels said in "the Communist Party Manifesto": "As the priest would always go hand in hand with the feudal lord, so also goes clerical socialism hand in hand with feudal socialism." Illusory protests against actual conditions, the mysticism and martyr's resignation of Christian workers organizations, as well as of Christian socialism as a whole, obstructed the process of raising the class consciousness of the working people and served the church and clericalism as a tool in smashing the unity of the working people.

Only after the defeat of the Paris Commune and during the ascendancy of imperialism did clericalism begin to realize the real power of the workers movement. In cooperation with the bourgeoisie, it initiated a systematic organizational, ideological and conceptual program among the workers with the objective of curtailing the influence of socialist trade unions and workers political parties on the masses of the working people. As a result of far-reaching political and organizational efforts of the church and the bourgeoisie, Christian trade unions began appearing one after another in 1886-1894 in most European states. The "recruiters" for Christian trade unions focused on believing workers with

inferior class consciousness and education, mostly outside main industrial centers. From the very beginning, the church, the bourgeoisie and the leaders of Christian trade uions used the inconsistent program of the revolutionary trade unions and the opportunism, or revisionism, of the socialist and social democratic parties to their reactionary ideological and political advantage.

In his encyclical "Rerum Novarum," Pope Leo XIII outlined in 1891 the ideological basis for the relations of clericalism toward the workers class in general and for the action of Christian trade unions in particular. In fact, this encyclical concluded the process of the Catholic Church's adaptation to the conditions of capitalism. By this program the church identified its place and mission in defense of capitalism against the revolutionary determination of the proletariat. "Rerum Novarum" theologically, philosophically and politically upheld capitalism, which is based on private ownership of the means of production, on exploitation and social inequality, as the only political system in agreement with Catholic social and ethical principles. The encyclical declared that strikes and revolutions are evil, and appealed to workers to join christian trade unions.

The antiworker and counterrevolutionary principles of the encyclical "Rerum Novarum" were most thoroughly enforced precisely by Christian trade unions. Using believing workers, the clericalists, the bourgeoisie and the leaders of Christian trade unions made every effort to break down the workers movement from the inside by proclaiming abstract principles of Christian ethics, by renouncing strikes as acts of violence contrary to Christianity, and by rejecting socialism, which they branded as godless and immoral society. Leaders of Christian trade unions would join with all kinds of reformists, opportunists and revisionists in the workers movement. Clericalists and the bourgeoisie perceived the greatest merits of Christian trade unions in their shattering the unity of ideology, organization and action in the workers movement.

Christian trade unions played a reactionary role in the history of the workers movement. Particularly after the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, they joined the clergy and the imperialist bourgeoisie in an open attack against communism. Christian trade unions hold a place of "honor" in the camp of clericalist and anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. The "historical merits" of the clericalists and of the leaders of Christian trade unions, which they happily assumed, include their participation in breaking up the workers movement on the eve of World War II, their indirect support of the fascist ascendancy in Italy, Germany, Portugal and elsewhere, and their share in fomenting the so-called Cold War.

As a tool of the Vatican, German fascism and Slovak clerofascism, the Christian trade unions played a reactionary role in splitting the pre-Munich Czechoslovak Republic and in the penetration of fascism eastward. Christian trade unions in the Sudetenland and in Slovakia used nationalism and spread religious intolerance to break up class solidarity with Czech and Slovak workers. Their program postulated fragmentation of the republic.

Until the proclamation of the so-called Slovak State, Slovak Christian trade unions failed to show any distinct effect on the workers movement. Following

the declaration of the Slovak State they turned into a tool serving to liquidate the social and political achievements for which the workers class in Slovakia had fought and which it had won. They were a part of the clerofascist political system focusing mainly on denying the revolutionary essence of the working class, i.e., its materialistic world view, its Marxist-Leninist ideology, its revolutionary trade union and political organization.

Especially in the struggle of progressive forces in the world against fascism, the church's overt clericalist anticommunism prompted the church to give preference to fascism rather than to socialism, which became one of the main causes of the crisis of clericalism after World War II. In Christian trade unions, this crisis was expressed by extensive declericalization of the workers movement. Believing workers absolutely rejected the compromised trade union leaders and the intervention of the church and clericalist political parties in working people's affairs. Declericalization and de-Christianization of the trade union movement led to the disbandment of the International Conference of Christian Trade Unions and to the disintegration of the Christian trade union movement in France, Belgium and other states. Christian trade unions ceased to exist in those states where the working class itself had taken the government into its own hands, i.e., in the countries of the world socialist system. This defeat of clerical strategy aiming at direct control of the most revolutionary power in the world, the working class, seriously weakened the position of clericalism in the world.

The Second Vatican Council was compelled to acknowledge openly the crisis of Catholicism and all Christian religions. It found it especially difficult to admit that the workers had turned away from the church. The so-called council popes, John XXIII and Paul VI, hypocritically tried to interpret de-Christianization of the working class as a result of misunderstanding. According to John XXIII, the church had always been most concerned about "those who are suffering and exploited." However, it should be mentioned that its aid to the exploited people had always been abstract and tended to help more those who are the cause of poverty and exploitation in the world. In the council documents, we may find proclamations by which the Vatican acknowledged the achievements for which the working class had fought and which it had won in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, the council fathers had forgotten that whatever advantages the working class had won from the bourgeoisie by strikes and struggle, it had also won in its struggle against the clergy and against the divisive policies of the leaders of Christian trade unions.

The Second Vatican Council itself could not stop the process of de-Christianization of the working class, which is a part of an objective process in raising the working people's class consciousness and in a broader context, an expression of a total crisis of Christian religion. Sociological data from church sources demonstrate, for instance, that only 3-5 percent of the workers in industrial centers of the FRG and 3-8 percent of the workers in France attend religious services (GEIST UND TAT, 1966, Nos 7-8). The situation in other industrially developed capitalist states in Europe is the same.

The crisis of clericalism, especially of its relation to the working class, has forced the church hierarchy, clericalist parties and anticommunist centers to

seek new, more efficient methods for their struggle against Marxism-Leninism and scientific atheism. Since the 1950's, and particularly after the Second Vatican Council, we may note several "new" strategies of clericalism in its effort to blunt the revolutionary character of the working class and to undermine world socialism.

1. Method aimed at disorientation of the workers class rising in countries which are fighting against colonialism and neocolonialism for their national and social freedom.

2. Method aimed at repeated initiation of a "dialogue" with workers, communists and atheists who had already abandoned clericalism.

3. Method aimed at splitting the working class in socialist states.

Clericalism began using the International Conference of Christian Trade Unions to implement its program aimed at disorienting the working class in countries which have joined the movement for national liberation. This program is based on anticommunist principles contained in the encyclical "Rerum Novarum" and on the "proven" principles of the Christian trade union movement in Europe. Alas, we must note that the workers class in Africa, Asia and South America is not yet sufficiently class conscious and thus, the political activity of clericalism has inflicted relatively considerable damage to the movement of national liberation. Nevertheless, that does not imply that the revolutionary process in those parts of the world has stopped. Its anti-imperialist and socialist essence is occasionally reflected even in the form of religion and in the participation of the rank-and-file clergymen. However, the Vatican completely rejects this form of social action of the working people and of "left-wing Christianity." During his trip to South America John Paul II instructed the priests to avoid any political activity and to devote themselves exclusively to spiritual service.

The "dialogue" with the workers, communists and atheists, developed by the Vatican in the framework of the aggiornamento, was supposed to return the lost confidence of the working people to the church and to clericalism. Ideologically it drew from its ample experience of collaboration of clericalism with reformism, opportunism and revisionism in the workers movement of the 19th and 20th century. A relatively new trait of "dialogue cooperation" is that after World War II the reformist political parties officially renounced Marxism even where it concerns their world view and in the "dialogue" they integrated the Christian world view and Catholic social teachings into their program for transforming capitalism into "democratic socialism," as the notorious Godesberg Program envisages.

In the post-council period, the revisionists also adopted the objectives which the Vatican had pursued in the "dialogue." From classless and idealistic positions they analyzed religion which was presented in the program of aggiornamento as progressive, humanitarian and, thus, compatible with the communist movement.

R. Garaudy, E. Fischer, N. Machovec and others confused the communists and workers and deprived them of their basic asset -- their revolutionary materialistic world view. The reformists and theologizing revisionists turned into

heralds of clericalism which was compelled by the crisis of Christianity and by the defeat of vulgar clericalist anticommunism to alter its form, to become more subtle, shrewd, sophisticated and up-to-date, however, it failed to change its reactionary nature.

The program aimed at ideological and conceptual disarming of the working class in the countries of the world socialist system is supposed to lead to the fulfillment of an old anticommunist dream of world clericalism -- liquidation of socialism. This program bases its ideology on an eclectic combination of Catholic social teachings with reformism and theologizing revisionism. All clericalist and lay anticommunist centers are participating in the implementation of this program. The attempt to re-Christianize the working class in socialist states and to restore clericalism in the socialist political system represents a certain climax and, at the same time, also an explicit expression of the true ideological and political interests of clericalism as regards the working class.

Socialism in the Polish People's Republic was chosen as the first victim of clericalist anticommunism. Long before the founding of the so-called Solidarity, clericalist centers developed a systematic program aimed at political manipulation of believing workers, farmers and intelligentsia against socialism, particularly those belonging to the ranks of the young generation which has not experienced the class struggle and whose ideological education in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism has been considerably neglected. The Catholic hierarcy in the Polish People's Republic, eminently supported by the Vatican and by clericalist emigration, organized religious associations for workers and youth and planned various activities in the church and outside of it, where it glorified the past and present position of the Catholic Church in Polish history. The leaders of the so-called Solidarity would not make a single relevant decision without previous consultations with the Polish episcopate and with the Vatican. Religious worship, prayers, clericalist slogans and religious symbolism accompanied all antisocialist activities organized by the so-called Solidarity.

We may find the philosophical and theological justification of the program for re-Christianization and clericalization of the working class in the latest encyclical, "Laborem Exercens," issued by John Paul II on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the anticommunist encyclical "Rerum Novarum." In his encyclical, the pope underscores and outlines the objectives of re-Christianization of the workers movement at present. He openly adopted the anticommunist spirit of the encyclical "Rerum Novarum" and unequivocally demands that the trade unions abandon their class aspirations and leave workers political parties. Advocating political independence of trade unions in accordance with the objectives of the program of the so-called Solidarity, he alleges that as employer the socialist state is no different from capitalism or, as the case may be, monopoly. The struggle of the working class at this stage of the crisis of capitalism is unusually difficult and the pope intends to subordinate it to anticommunist objectives of the bankrupt and discredited campaign for "human rights."

As often in history, with the manipulation of the so-called Solidarity in the Polish People's Republic it is obvious that clericalism is willing to sacrifice everything in order to achieve its political goals. By the encyclical "Laborem Exercens," the Vatican unambiguously chose the side of capitalism and anticommunism.

9004
CSO: 2400/37

DECLINING CHANCES FOR WOULD-BE LAWYERS, DOCTORS

AU161328 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Nov 82 p 4

[Jaroslav Mesko article: "What To Study--What To Become?"]

[Summary] In applying for college education, both students and their parents should take into account the social interest and social needs. They should also realize that certain professions have gradually become satiated with experts and that it was only with difficulty that the philosophy students, physicians, lawyers and economists who graduated in the 1981-82 academic year found jobs according to their ideas and near their places of residence. Meanwhile, owing to the increased attention being paid to this problem, all those who graduated in 1981-82 have been employed, except for some 800 students who did not pass their final exams within the set deadlines.

Next year, "according to the set quota, 53.3 percent of all accepted applications will be for technical colleges; 25.2 percent for universities; 10.3 percent for agricultural colleges; 10.48 percent for advanced schools of economics; and 0.72 percent for arts colleges. Compared with the current academic year, the number of those accepted for all three medical schools in Slovakia will decline from 424 to 356; the number of newly enrolled students of law schools from 248 to 180 and so forth. Whereas the engineering departments of the Bratislava, Kosice and Zilina colleges will accept 20.8 percent of the total number of newly enrolled students and the electrotechnical departments more than 11 percent, the three medical schools will accept only 2.73 percent and the law schools 1.87 percent of the total number of new students."

These figures, as well as the outcome of the application procedures for the current academic year, should prompt the applicants to think realistically. This year, out of 100 applicants for enrollment at technical colleges, 85 were accepted. The corresponding number for advanced schools of economics was 44; for universities 42; for medical schools only 30; for law schools only 26 and for arts colleges only 16. As regards some fields of study, such as biology, psychology or sociology, only 1 in 10 applicants was accepted.

Those applying for technical colleges will have the best chances to receive a college education. Next year, the advanced school of technology in Kosice will accept 2,065 applicants; the Slovak Advanced Technical School in Bratislava will accept 855 students for its engineering department, 700 students

for its construction department, 680 students for its electrotechnical department, 510 students for its chemical technology department and 70 students for its school of architecture. The advanced school of transportation and communications in Zilina will accept 1,280 applicants; the advanced school of economics in Bratislava 1,230; the advanced school of agriculture in Nitra 840; and the advanced school of forestry and lumber in Zvolen 370.

As far as the further education of the 14- and 15-year-olds is concerned, more than 62 percent of them should be trained for workers' professions, mostly in secondary vocational training institutions; some 13 percent of them should attend the gymnasium; about 18 percent secondary professional schools and roughly 2.5 percent secondary medical schools.

CSO: 2400/83

BORDER TROOP COMMANDER SPEAKS ON BORDER TROOP DAY

DW021233 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Interview with Lt Gen Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten, GDR deputy minister for national defense and chief of the GDR border troops; by Joachim Stenzl; date and place not given--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Comrade lieutenant general, what is the balance sheet with which the border troops are proceeding into the 1982-83 training year?

[Answer] Your question, Comrade Stenzl, actually points to our position on anniversaries and days of honor. Comrade Thaelmann once said that for communists anniversaries are not only days of commemoration but are much rather guidelines for the class struggle and directives for actions to be taken. This applies today just as it did back then.

On our day of honor, which we observe together with the citizens of our country and with our friends and fighting comrades, we therefore take stock and measure the results of our work by the requirements of our time. On this day we also stake out the course ahead.

As far as the past year's results are concerned the border troops of our republic demonstrated a high level of readiness for action in political and military training and in guarding our borders. In this area they can point to good results. Thus our balance sheet is part of our republic's successful progress in the fulfillment of the 10th SED Congress decisions, and it holds a worthy position in the intensive work and the manifold initiatives of our country's working people in the continuation of our party's tested policy for the well-being of our people and for safeguarding peace.

On behalf of all border troops, I would like to say that we are very proud that at the fifth meeting of our party's Central Committee a few days ago, the party leadership highly assessed the responsible service of the GDR border troops. At the same time, however, this means a commitment for us border troops to contribute in the future as well to protecting what our working people are creating in industry and agriculture through diligent work.

It is generally known, and this point was also stressed [at the SED Central Committee meeting], that our republic has always placed great importance on

the inviolability of borders in Europe, and in the long run nobody can close his eyes to the fact that peace in Europe will be secure only if, the borders that emerged as a result of World War II and during the postwar developments, are respected in accordance with treaties concluded and if calm and order prevail along them.

This is the goal to which our border troops are committed, and to this end they perform their soldierly duties. I believe I can say that in so doing they contribute to the preservation of peace. This is and remains the decisive factor; this is the ultimate objective, and this also is the purpose of the many good and outstanding competition results in the troop components and units and at border troop installations.

It goes without saying--and everyone is aware of this--that it is not just our border soldiers who guarantee secure borders. After all, peace policy in a socialist state is national policy. This applies to everyone, and all the people participate in this.

[Question] It is generally known, comrade lieutenant general, that the GDR border troops maintain a very cordial and trusting relationship with the people along the border. Why are we hearing and reading more about this now than at other times?

[Answer] There are several reasons for this. As you know, this spring the GDR people's chamber adopted the border law. This law is based on the tested principle that the traditional and trusting cooperation of all party organizations and state and social forces operating in the border area, and thus the people's cooperation with the border troops, constitutes the guarantee for secure borders. Another reason is the fact that for 30 years now, that is, since August 1952, voluntary helpers of the border troops have been supporting us to secure the state border. Their selfless work, often outside their working hours and under all sorts of weather conditions, reflects in a very special way the political-moral unity of the people and the armed forces in socialism. I think this may be quite justly said.

This solid unity between the border population and the border troops is increasingly proving to be an important precondition for guaranteeing calm and order along the state border and for making it possible to protect the border successfully under all conditions. We border troops greatly appreciate the comradely relationship with the border population and the existence of tested border-helper collectives. We are becoming proud of hearing the inhabitants of the border REA speak of us as their border troopers.

We feel the sympathy and support of the border population every day, and we feel at home in the border towns, too. This allows the border troops to repeatedly experience the profound political and moral meaning of their class mandate, and this also means for them a secure hinterland, solidarity, comradeship and unity with the homeland and its people.

For this reason I would like to use this interview to thank with special cordiality on behalf of our republic border troops the comrades and friends who are working to reliably secure the borders of our homeland and who support us in any way. I express cordial thanks to the citizens in urban and rural areas, to the family members and colleagues of our border soldiers, but especially to the people of the border area, and this year in particular to the many voluntary helpers of our border troops.

CSO: 2300/78

NEED FOR COMPETENT YOUTH ORGANIZATION 'PROPAGANDISTS' UNDERLINED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 168, 20 Oct 82 p 2

/Report from Berlin: "Indifference Toward Political Education of Free German Youth (FDJ)." A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG article cited below follows this commentary/

/Text/ A leading FDJ functionary has complained about many FDJ member's apathy in the course of politico-ideological instruction sessions carried on by the GDR youth federation. According to him undisciplined behavior at instruction courses was by no means rare, some of the young people not even bothering to attend. The official admitted that this indifference was largely due to the boring nature of the instruction. Often the interests of the young as well as topical political issues were neglected. Moreover, some of the young people were not willing to sacrifice their leisure to the study of ideological texts. (DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG No 42, 1982).

FDJ Functionary's Critique

East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG in German Vol 29 No 42, 22 Oct 82 p 1

/Lead article by Wolfgang Heptner, chief, School-Youth Department, FDJ Central Council: "On the Occasion of the 1982-83 FDJ Study Year: A Compass for Life"/

/Text/ In early November group study sessions on the life and struggles of Marx and Engels, on Marxist-Leninist philosophy and political economics will begin at secondary schools and in the socialist youth federation generally. This is an effective method for systematically familiarizing FDJ members with the basic issues of Marxism-Leninism. Ever since the new study groups were introduced, we have been aware that Marxism-Leninism is a science and, as such, needs to be thoroughly studied. All of this challenges group leaders and members.

Experience has taught us that FDJ members like to participate in the study year if the propagandist is able to link the basic issues of Marxism-Leninism with topical political problems, if questions from students are taken seriously and discussed, if the propagandist knows by persuasive arguments, indeed by his entire personality, to arouse the enthusiasm of FDJ members.

Even greater efforts will be needed to recruit as propagandists those comrades who have the appropriate ability and experience. On the other hand many FDJ groups--from leaders down--need a more conscious and committed attitude to studies. Indifference and the undisciplined behavior of some friends or failure to attend the group indicate that our political work will have to be better and more effective.

The FDJ leadership is primarily responsible for the preparation and conduct of the FDJ study year. Obviously here as in other matters it requires the support of comrades and colleagues at the schools. However, it is definitely up to the leadership regularly to appraise the work of the groups and conscientious home studies, to come to a decision about a group category and be concerned with the propagandists.

Our leadership organization must devote more consistent attention to the actual reading of the instruction material, the actual viewing of the television series. It is also the leaders' right to talke with the propagandists about progress in the group and suggest activities and initiatives for the FDJ group as a whole. It has proved to be very useful for party leaders regularly to consult with the FDJ leadership organizations and propagandists as to the progress achieved in the study year.

Of course I have not enough space to deal in detail with all methods employed in the FDJ study year, such as youth forums or the propagandist FDJ event. We do, though, have a very useful way of finding out how an FDJ actually meets one of the most important requirements of our statute, the study of Marxism-Leninism: The discussions on the acquisition of the badge "for sound knowledge." Let us not confine them to any particular season nor to the aftermath of study group sessions and conduct them, in honor of Marx and to our profit, emphasize them following the study of the "Communist Manifesto."

At the same time let us profit from the benefits offered us by the publication of the Marx-Engels biography and the "Geschichte der FDJ? /History of the FDJ/.

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SOLDIER RELATES BASIC SERVICE EXPERIENCES

East Berlin AR--ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 10, Oct 82 (signed to press 2 Aug 82) pp 6-11

[Article by Lt Col Horst Spickereit: "My 18 Months"--Pfc Andreas Blumenthal from the Hans Beimler Motorized Rifle Regiment Talks about his Basic Service; a Mason by Trade, residing on Neuruppiner Seestrasse, he Served in This Unit From November 1980 to April 1982]

[Text] Induction

I was called up at age 17. It was determined that I would be a pioneer. Why not, I thought. After all, you are a construction worker, and that would be the right sphere of activity for you. And so I didn't give the army any further thought. My buddies were called up when they were 20 or 21 years old. So I told myself that there was still time for me. I was not even startled by an induction test in Septmeber. It was only when the green card notifying me of my induction in November arrived that I was surprised. I had not expected that I would become a soldier so soon. But then I said to myself: the sooner, the better. You are now still capable of adjusting to this. Later, perhaps, if you are married and have children it could be more difficult. And I felt a little proud of the fact that I would be part of it all at just 18 years of age, while I was still so young.

A new phase in my life is beginning, I said to myself, and I made up my mind to accomplish something and to learn a lot. I have a low opinion of those who intend simply to get through those 18 months in a passive manner. That is tantamount to wasted time and makes no sense. After all, one makes things only more difficult for oneself with this kind of an attitude.

To be sure, I did have some mixed feelings. I am a sociable person, and I get along well with everybody. I kept asking myself whether it would be that way in the army. I had indeed heard about bad practices and of stupid pranks which many an "old" soldier indulges in with new personnel. I was not afraid of discipline, order, and cleanliness requirements, because I had learned in the GST [Society for Sport and Technology] how to work in accordance with strict schedules and how to subordinate myself. I knew that in the armed forces one cannot always do just what one would like to do and that one cannot always be one's own master. I was anxious to find out to

tasks and to what type of vehicle I would be assigned. On the way from the railway station to the barracks, I really had a prickly sensation in my stomach!

Throw In the Towel?

"You will become an SPW [armored personnel carrier driver!] "I shall never forget this sentence spoken by an officer as he pointed at me. Along with others who had arrived some hours earlier, I now was sitting in a large room, still dressed in civilian clothes. I was beginning to feel uncomfortable. I did not know much about technical equipment. And when, at the weapons exhibit on the following day I took a look inside one of those armed personnel carriers, I still did not feel any better about it and I asked myself: Will I be expected to drive this thing?

To be sure, I did have a driver's permit, and that certainly must have been the basis for this decision. But what about the way in which I acquired this permit? When I was an apprentice in the industrial construction operations of the East Potsdam VEB BMK [state-owned building and assembly combine] and a member of the GST, I was put inside a W 50. A driving instructor explained a few things to me concerning the engine and the gear-shifts, then I drove this way and that way through Potsdam for a few hours, and after a week I received my driver's permit. I was hardly taught any theory or given any driving practice.

During the initial days I was vexed by such thoughts as whether it would not be better to go to the company chief and to tell him about the manner in which I had acquired my driver's permit. But I decided not to do it. I told myself that I had now been given an assignment which I had to carry out. After all, I told myself, it can do no harm to learn something new and to pursue an objective. Throwing in the towel was out of the question.

Hurrah, I'm a Driver!

The 4 weeks of basic training were followed by 4 weeks of specialized training. Man, did I have some problems at first! These did not occur so much in the theoretical area, because in the latter sphere the work was done in a precise and methodical manner. But, the practical aspects of this work! I had trouble with the various engine parts, and I forgot a lot. My feelings were hurt whenever soldiers who were skilled mechanics pushed me aside, saying "Let me get at this, you don't know the first thing about it." Of course, they were right. I had to learn more about it. However, I was too tired in the evenings to look up any specialized technical books. And again I toyed with the idea of going to the company chief and to let him know that my driver's permit was not worth much and that I was not fit to be a driver. But every time I discarded the idea, saying to myself, "you've started something--now finish it!" This is a principle which I had already followed in my civilian life.

We were nine men in our room: eight who were to become drivers and one who was in his first service half-year and was already a driver. This man was

private Laabs. I had detailed discussions with him and described my problems to him. He encouraged me, showed me many things and called my attention to skilled motor vehicle drivers who also had their initial difficulties with the armored personnel carriers. It was Laabs who restored my strength and who straightened me out again, saying, "With will power you will succeed."

And things did go forward. I was given a "Good" rating for my first driving test. My self-confidence was enhanced. It was my first experience of success in the army. And later, when I also passed my first test on a difficult obstacle course with good results and was given the special license for driving an armed personnel carrier, my heart shouted jubilantly: "Hurrah, now you are an SPW driver!

To be sure, I had initially imagined that driving this motor vehicle would be much more complicated. However, it is easy to steer the SPW with its hydraulic system. It can practically be done with one finger, and it isn't so bumpy when going through the terrain. When it is ready for action, when both engines are running evenly, when the gear-shift devices are in good order, and when there is the proper oil pressure, much can be done with it in the terrain.

Substitute Work

Whereas after the first half-year all my comrades were transferred to other units, I remained in my initial company. As a substitute driving instructor, I was now to assist in teaching new personnel the basics concerning the SPW.

In July I was ordered to join the 5th Company for 2 weeks. A regimental exercise was about to be carried out and Group 1 in the 2d Platoon had no SPW driver. I was ordered to help out and join an unfamiliar collective. I felt bitter about this because I wanted to get away on furlough. My last furlough was in May. I only had 1 hour's time for taking over the unfamiliar vehicle. I resolved to return it safely and bring no discredit upon me or the group.

My initial bitterness soon vanished. The exercise, which actually was my first, inspired me with its manifold activities. I learned many new things: driving in the course of an attack, driving through a lane, carrying out a deployment, utilizing uneven terrain and so forth. I came to understand the fact that one must not be just a driver, but a combat driver, that one's thinking must be tactically oriented, and that one must always act in the interests of one's own unit. It was great fun and a change from the at times monotonous barracks service. Beaming with joy I returned to my quarters and I had much to talk about.

Together, But How?

The greatest gain derived by me in the course of this exericise was the fact that I came to know a real collective. Group 1 received me like a trusted friend and I was immediately and fully accepted. During breaks in

combat activities we had exhaustive discussions. I was astonished at all the topics which were discussed. And all this support given one another! Each and everyone tried to make things easy for the other fellow. What morale!

I had never before experienced anything like this. In my old quarters there was a lot of quarreling, everyone looked out for himself, and one hardly felt any community spirit. In the second half-year I made efforts to create something constructive with the young soldiers. But mostly they did not listen and became arrogant, at times making such remarks as, "He used to have his difficulties too. He has no business talking like that." It was too bad that we were unable to find our way to mutual understanding. It would have been a better life for everyone concerned.

It pleased me all the more that I had then come into a good collective in the last half-year of my service. For as of December I was transferred to thd 3d Company headquarters personnel as the driver of the command vehicle. We understood each other perfectly. Everyone helped with the work, reached for the broom to sweep the room and carried the trash pail downstairs without being asked. Consideration was shown to whoever happened to be under stress. There was no such thing as vilifying anybody.

The experiences which I have gathered are these: One must acquire the ability to adapt oneself to anyone. Above all, one must have respect for one another, one must be able to communicate on both personal and service levels, and there must also be some joking one another now and then. I have noticed that this way things will go more smoothly in the service. In army life, difficulties arise often enough. So who needs any squabbles on top of that?

Frustration

In the summer of 1981 we received new SPW. They incorporate some technical changes. On the old vehicles, the carburetor valve is on the upper part of the engine. On the new vehicles, it is located in the lower part of the engine. Thus it is difficult to see it and one must rather feel one's way toward it when trying to locate it. If this valve--regardless of whether it is part of the old or the new engines--is not closed, it is possible for fuel to run out and to reach the hot engine. And if that happens, an explosion might occur!

Such a mistake happened to me. I was just about to drive the armed personnel carrier from the parking area into the hall, when someone shouted: "There is fuel running out of there!" It was still possible to shut the valve and avoid further damage. There was a lot of excitement. I was given a severe reprimand. It was the only punishment I received in the course of my army career. It was justified, because it was my fault and I was aware of the consequences. I felt like creeping out of sight, that's how ashamed I was. I slept badly for several nights after this happened. Almost everyone lit into me. They said to me "And you want to be an instructor?" It took days for me to get over my faulty work performance. I brooded over it a lot and

expected to be relieved of my duties as a driver. That would have been the worst punishment of all for me and it would have caused me much pain. Fortunately it did not happen.

I needed time to come to terms with myself. Safety above everything--that is what I had learned. It is better to take another look or two instead of just assuming that everything is in order, even at the cost of an occasional dressing down by a time-conscious superior who feels that things are getting done too slowly. I now check things out more carefully because, after all, it is I who is responsible.

This Kind and that Kind of Superiors

I was pleased by the fact that after this incident my superiors did not condemn me, but gave me a chance to prove my mettle. My punishment was canceled in November.

I have always gotten along well with my superiors, especially with the officers. I trusted them and gradually found my way to them on occasions when I did not know just what to do next. I had noticed quickly that one can talk to them openly and without any restraint. And, although I respect the various service ranks and have acted in accordance with the service regulations--I was not so much aware of the rank insignia on their epaulettes as I was of the man himself, the person with experience. I can only recommend such an approach to everyone. The officers, too, want to get to know the problems of their comrades, for what good is a superior who does not know how things are going with his soldiers?

Of course, character attributes are important. Each officer has a different style. I had come to know two company chiefs. In the initial period I had Lieutenant Vorpahl. This one acted strictly in line with the regulations, but saw too little of the soldiers and did not occupy himself sufficient with them. But Captain Broemer, under whom I served in the last half-year period, was different. To be sure, he also takes his tasks very seriously, but he also recognizes the capabilities of the individual soldiers and furthers them. He demanded that all of us carry out our tasks in an orderly fashion, but he also stood up for all concerns of the individual soldiers, even if this had to be done at the senior staff level. The company stood behind him. Of course, there also were occasions when some harsh words were spoken, but afterward he offered words of encouragement again, and now and then he also patted a soldier on the back.

The Mere Act of Driving Is not Enough

I have driven to SPW some 2,000 to 3,000 kilometers. I participated in three exercises. My vehicle never broke down. One must have confidence in it, but one also must do things for it. One must take care of it, check it over meticulously, pay attention to how it sounds, and be able to distinguish the wrong noises from the right ones. After all, there is no fun at all in sitting in a vehicle the various components of which play different tunes and in continuously having to think "I hope they will make it."

I had become part of my vehicle, and I am glad that I have accomplished what I had intended to do at the outset. For me, one of the finest commendations was the one given to me on 1 March of this year, when I received from my battalion commander a document which said "In Gratitude for Demonstrated Achievements as an SPW Driver."

I am proud of having served with the motorized riflemen. I have learned to appreciate them. They constitute the most traditional service branch, the basis of our army. They are the decisive troop units in combat. The manysidedness of their weapons and technical equipment is impressive.

The fact that I am chattering here so much about me as an SPW driver does not mean that other training subjects had played a less important part for me. Not at all. Sports, for instance--or "military body building," as it is called in the army--are indispensable. I experienced that in my own case. I had thought that the 5 kilometers of going to my place of work on my bicycle and the physical exercise I was getting in connection with my work at the construction site were enough. But when, initially, I was only able to run the 3,000 meter distance in a quarter hour and when other, older, soldiers ran right past me, that gave me some food for thought. I trained diligently and half a year later I had reduced the time to 10.4 minutes. I would really recommend to many a young man to make it a frequent practice to get off his motorcycle and to do some running or to lubricate his bicycle chain and engage in some vigorous pedaling. It will make it easier for him in the army. In this connection, I remember our Private Koehler. He was somewhat corpulent. Good gracious, what drudgery, what trouble, and what anxieties he had to go through in order to meet the required norms!

The Bare Leave Uniform

In the first service half-year, our superiors called our attention to the "Best Performance" badge. They said that every soldier should make efforts to acquire it. I familiarized myself with the pertinent conditions and came to the following conclusion: "They are not all that difficult, you can handle that. After all, one must have some goal which one seeks to achieve." So I set this goal for myself. And, besides: My leave uniform looks so bare! I acquired the "Best Performance" title in my first and third service half-years. Of course, in the second half-year I had botched it all up myself.

It is my opinion that it would be quite all right if the conditions for acquiring the badge were to be made somewhat more difficult. In my unit, there unfortunately was a good deal of playing the numbers game in connection with the "Best Performance" title and some soldiers were given the title when they did not deserve it. It hurt when one could occasionally hear someone say "they really threw the badge at me." This is an insult to those who struggled hard and honestly to acquire it.

But that should not keep any good comrade from trying to acquire it. I would advise him not to ease off even in the face of occasional reverses. One mistake alone is not decisive. That can be straightened out. What counts

is what one does in order to get back up to the top again. And everyone should give some thought to what can be organized differently in the service.

Superiors will always appreciate a soldier who thinks along with them.

FDJ Work on Orders?

Of course, training constitutes only one-half of a soldier's life. His free time is also part of it. Spending it in a sensible manner is also important. I have a low opinion of spending it by stupidly flopping around on one's bed. On one occasion when I raised this topic at the FDJ meeting I was promptly elected to the FDJ management board. They made me a deputy secretary. Now let's see what you can do, I said to myself.

We gathered recommendations from the soldiers and involved many of them in the work, even though some of them initially grumbled and said that nothing would come of it and that everything would have to be done on orders anyway. We organized wonderful Christmas and New Year's festivities in which all participated. The officers were astonished at what we had brought about. Our FDJ management also organized record-playing and skat and rummy evening sessions, air-rifle shooting contests, and sports competitions. I have experienced the following: There are two preconditions for free-time work. The ideas must flow from the ranks of the soldiers, the latter must be participants, and their superiors must support them. They cannot do it just by themselves.

Finally, I had yet another social function, which was that of being a member of the management board of the SED basic organization in our battalion. Because I stand up for my country and because I have a firm belief in socialism, I became a party member in September of 1981. Soon after that I became a member of the management board--I, a private among older comrades! I soon had overcome my shyness, because I was treated as an equal among equals and I was aware of the confidence placed in me, and that gave me strength. It was interesting work and I was in a position to participate in the making of decisions concerning interesting matters and to learn a great deal.

I Will Be True to You

I believe that a service tour in the army which is to run a smooth course also includes love. In this respect, too, the 1½ years have given me much in the sphere of my private life and have contributed a good deal to the maturing of myself and my girl friend, although this was not made easy for us at all. How often did I have to send a telegram back home advising that I could not come home and that my leave had been canceled.

At the time I was ordered to join the 3d Company because of the exercise, I had to forgo my furlough. I was definitely to get it upon my return, but then it was again others who went on leave, anyway. This went on up until September. Almost 5 months! Four times, five times my girl waited

in vain in front of the barracks gate, because my leave did not materialize. Forty-five kilometers she had traveled on the train, had spent money, and all was for nothing. Those were disappointing hours for her.

Nevertheless, she never gave up, she stuck by me, and she never thought of turning to another man. I am proud of my girl. We had discussed it all before my military service and we knew about the privations to be endured. What a pity that not all girls think that way. On many an occasion I have experienced such trouble in my company. It is very bitter to take.

Advice from Someone with Experience

For me, these 18 months do not at all constitute any lost time. I have become wiser and more sure of myself. One now sees many things differently and more clearly, and one can judge things more thoroughly. It is especially my experiences in dealing with people which will benefit me greatly in civilian life.

And if I may make a few recommendations to future soldiers, then let it be the following: First, get a clear idea of why and for whom you are in the army. Then go after your objective with all your strength. Everyone will at first experience difficulties. He should, however, not be shy about seeking the confidence of his superiors as quickly as possible. They can help as soon as problems arise, even if at some other times some harsh words are spoken occasionally.

In no case should a soldier come with the intention of just getting his 1½ years over with. That can become a very long and unpleasant experience, because he will clash with people everywhere, and he will have trouble, senseless trouble. He will get nothing out of it and will become dissatisfied even with himself.

How are things going with me now? Well, for the time being I am still active in construction work and then, beginning this fall, I will start my college education in Magdeburg. My objective is to become a certified building construction engineer.

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HARASZTI INTERVIEWS KENEDI ON TRAVAILS OF DISSIDENTS, SOCIOLOGISTS

Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian No 4, 1982 pp 11-14

[Article by Miklos Harszti: "The Mornings of a Bell-Wether"]

[Text] Miklos Harszti, the writer of "Darabber" [Piecework] converses with Janos Kenedi, the author of "Yours Is the Country, You Are Building for Yourself...." We hardly need to introduce the participants in the dialogue to the readers of IRODALMI UJSAG: We published the abridged minutes of Haraszti's Budapest legal proceedings in our January-February 1974 issue; on the first page of our July-August 1979 issue we published his article "The Hungarian Miracle"; and we gave a detailed review of Kenedi's book in our No 2, 1982 issue.

The following text was originally prepared for L'ALTERNATIVE, the periodical of the French publisher Francois Maspero. The IRODALMI UJSAG is all the more happy to publish it because it gives a more precise and faithful insight than any previous article or document into the life of Hungary's democratic opposition, even more broadly into the situation of the literary and scientific world of present-day Hungary, and the relation between intellect and power.

The opening sentences of the dialogue refer to British press reaction to Kenedi's novel. Some of the British critics misunderstood a book that was written in the first person--they thought that the writer and his "hero," the clever, sharp-witted but not entirely sympathetic house builder--were one and the same. Haraszti: Let's go Jancsi, let's start with the British critics! From the fine TIMES Literary Supplement all the way to the socialist NEW SOCIETY, the critics of your book agreed that among Hungarian sociologists you are not only a "white man" (feher ember) who tore the veil from the "black society" (fekete tarsadalom), but you are also a bright intellect: you profit lavishly from your knowledge of the second economy. You greet Solidarity from the window of your Wonder Palace. In the second economy you outwit the state and in the second publication system (masodik nyilvanossag) you add moral capital to it. In short, you are a centaur like the ideal of the hero in "Yours Is the Country...": from the trunk upward a civil rights skirmisher, but your hooves are for beating out illegal paths, and you make your pile. Isn't it so?

Kenedi: And how! The X-ray eyed critic of the NEW SOCIETY saw so well through my concealed talent that he wrote: "Well, if they would return his

confiscated passport, he would become a technical expert like his father, and he could apply for all the new positions advertised by the Greater London Council. He could be, for example, chairman of the Business Council of Greater London with 25,000 pounds pay, or the director of commission agents for 27,00 pounds." Since this appeared I am waiting for the BM [Ministry of Interior] to evaluate the British criticism of my book, send my passport by courier, and at the airport for Janos Fekete, the deputy president of the Hungarian National Bank, to wish me godspeed, whispering as he embraced me that he hopes that I will at least give something to my old homeland when I am in a new position. But it exceeds my most daring flights of imagination to expect that a critic may receive me at Heathrow who can differentiate the writer of the book from the hero....Turn off the taperecorder a moment, Miki, the telephone is ringing, I'll be right back.

Haraszti: What has made your face purple?

Kenedi: Nothing. It is a usual daily rite. Let us continue with the British criticisms, because there is still something else isn't there, the forepart of the centaur, to be sure, is about what a revolutionary I am, my pockets stuffed with Molotov cocktails....

Haraszti: I can see that something happened on the telephone. It was not Janos Fekete....

Kenedi: I tell you, Miki, nothing, the usual everyday thing.

Haraszti: What is for you the usual everyday thing?

Kenedi: Please I can tell you about it if you are not interested in the relationship of literary criticism and reality. An administrator from one of the social science institutes advised me that despite that we agreed I should not be the one to return the codified questionnaire but rather my wife because she was a linguist who before they removed her from her position often went in official capacity to the institute, and would be less conspicuous than if I were to walk along the hall where I am forbidden to go. The institute is full of "inspectors," the staff does not believe that they are prying into accounting but are policemen sniffing after blacks [dissidents hired at low pay to collect data for a work appearing in someone else's name]. It is not certain, said the administrator, that this will reassure me or you on the telephone, but the research chief, from whom I received the job on the sly, is afraid. He took a big risk when he assigned me the codification work.

Haraszti: What did you codify?

Kenedi: Here is the dangerous questionnaire and the coding instructions under your nose. Look at it.

Haraszti: I see the questions are exciting. "Who tells the children their bedtime story? Their father--1: Their mother--2: Their grandparents--3: Brothers or sisters--4. radio story--5: TV story--6: Other--7: and then what kind of toy did Father Winter bring? Teddy bear, sleeping doll--1: Roller skates, bicycle--2: Logic toy--3:...." Is this what caused your research chief to excrete [euphemism]?

Kenedi: This is not exactly the point. The subject matter of the research is incidental. The main point is that bell-wethers like you and me must be kept away from the institute--if by chance you, too, make a living from writing small figures into a square grid--and this joker still gives me work out of the goodness of his heart, but he wants to be cautious. He is protecting his own position also, and of course he also gives work, if there is any, to other friends of ours who are banned. I say, Miki, let us drop this, it is an everyday matter, let us continue with the interview, ease my path, please, to immortality, for time is passing, I must finish the codification in order that my wife might take the materials in this afternoon.

Haraszti: Do not be in such haste to climb Olympus! It will wait. But what if it interests the readers how a bell-wether comes under an employment ban. Let us now for once talk like black to black. Well, what does it mean that you are banned from the institute? Is your "wanted" picture nailed on the gate?

Kenedi: Sure! I have good relations with the gate keeper because I always greet him unlike the scientific researchers who have a position and who stare into the clouds above the heads of the servants. Good, I'll give you an example. Last year--in another research institute--the department chief called one of my friends into his office from whom I regularly received codification jobs--of course, always in someone else's name--that is, as a black--and he asked the following of him: "Peti, now we are at the finish. We have finally come to where the entire department is to work on a real project--for 5 years we have been (brusztolunk). Isn't it suspicious to you that X, the director's confidant is always hanging around the department?" My friend opened wide his eyes and shrugged his shoulders, and finally replied that X, too, is a worker in the institute and wanted to chase around one of the young researchers. "Ahhh," said the department chief with a wave of his hand, and he drew his chair nearer to my friend and whispered: "The thing is that Kenedi comes to see you, and X has reported this to the director. The director has asked me twice already what kind of guarantee I can give him that word of the project will not get abroad, alluding obviously to you who are signer, and to your friend Kenedi. Peti, it is in our common interest that Kenedi should not visit the Institute, be so kind as to tell him this in a tactful way." At first my friend did not want to pass on the message, and clung to the position that the ban should be given in writing, but then the matter was settled more quietly because Peti visits the Rajk-shop[1] to buy samizdat for his superior, and thus one extortion could be used to limit the other. And this was a new turn in the game between the two of them, for the department chief defended Peti when in 1979 they wanted to fire him for signing the solidarity statement.[2] And it is true that the department chief is using his subordinate as a straw man (someone who lets his name be used for work performed

1. The apartment of the younger Laszlo Rajk, where samizdat publications are obtainable.
2. The statement signed by 254 Hungarian intellectuals in the autumn of 1979 against the Prague condemnation of the leaders of the Charta 77 movement. The text appeared in a special edition of IRODALMI UJSAG, 4 November 1979.

by a dissident) when he wants to remain in the black in the second publication system, but Peti is protected at his work place precisely by the fact that his chief would not like to be known as a bad guy in that circle where they write the samizdat materials. In short, there are unwritten rules in the jungle of scientific life, even though these rules are primitive, but the rules cannot be broken by demanding in writing what is usually not put in writing. It would disturb the peaceful life of the tribes. Three tribes have a role, Miki, in this simple matter, but let us not go into anthropology, it would take us far afield, and now you only asked me why there is no use for written documentation.

Haraszti: Good, but for the sake of clarity would you at least interpret to civilized Europeans what are the three tribes?

Kenedi: They may be distinguished on the basis of three categories: critical opinion, work place, formal power. I belong to tribe one because I have only the first label. Peti belongs to tribe two for although he has the same critical opinion as myself he has a work place and also a little bit of formal power--he can give work. The department chief belongs to tribe three for he has greater formal power--naturally he also has a work place--but he also has a little bit in the way of critical opinion. Tribe three can ban someone with formal power, tribe two cannot; there is also contact between one and three on the basis of a common critical opinion category--it is clear from this how one might trace the other tribes and variations, but these do not have a role in the story where the only important thing is that these are three tribes that are very close to one another. Their territorial protectiveness, culture, habits of contact are similar, whereas at the poles of tribal society the customs of contact are different....

Haraszti: ...hunter, fisher, critical critic," something dawns on me from Marx....

Kenedi: Only here it is not a matter of the liquidation of work distribution as in prophesied communism, but of the liquidation of work partition in "existing socialism." Of course, this is light punishment only for tribe one, to which the closely related tribes react with little sympathy and a small feeling of threat. The rules for the customs of contact are determined by this peaceful condition until some kind of danger rears its head. The widening of the East European area of mobility started this kind of sense of danger among the most distant tribes. Among the others, the reputation of tribe one increased (for example, the Bibo Memorial Volume[3] was born from the looser relationships of one and two), but repression also grew. Not to an extent that they would have lifted the hunting ban on tribe one--that is, a state of war--but the changing forms of reaction showed an increase. Xenophobia increased--fear of anything which comes from abroad or goes abroad--increasingly deeper classes were liberated to infantilism--a mania for secrecy and secrets;

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3. Prepared in memory of Istvan Bibo with the cooperation of 76 authors, the volume consists of almost 1,000 typewritten pages and is the most important publication of the Hungarian samizdat. (See IRODALMI UJSAG, July-October 1981 issue.)

whispering at the work place; concealment of information (undoubtedly a sign of the fact that he grasps hold of secrets, as power, whose balance with rational forces is deteriorating)--the magnifying of small things, and the minimizing of big things--magical fear of naming something; "if I do not say something, it does not exist," and vice versa "If I say it, a myth will arise," and so forth. And of course, they began to transgress the customs of contact with flighty and hysterical reactions. In the weeks during the Solidarity Congress, one of the scientific researchers lost his temper at an open meeting of the MTA [Hungarian Academy of Sciences] Sociological Institute and charged the director (!): "Don't be surprised if the Polish revolution breaks out here, too, the Hungarian Bujaks and Walesas can come freely into the Institute and take the sociological information to the workers!" And then he demanded that my friend give an account in presence of the party (!) why I visit him in the work place. They could scarcely restrain the researcher, but still they sternly instructed my friend to tell me that I was an undesirable element. Elsewhere, too, the banning has taken place in this way, not in writing. And not only from the institutes. Do you know how many friends of mine they urged "to break contact with me?" I myself don't know exactly how many--I assume all of them did not tell me about it....

Haraszti: The others actually broke off...?

Kenedi: I don't think so. Rather they were embarrased, ashamed of their chief, their work place, and of the fact that they were alive, Good Lord! Or they felt like a child whose hand has been rapped. Like the signers with whom "conversations were held." From whom they asked for promises and vows. Listen, old chap, at the time of the first Charta, the department chief invited my wife for a walk: "...promise you won't sign any more!" "No!" Mari replied because she took the matter seriously, and thereafter she was no more a linguist, a candidate-designate, and colleague. The perfect infantalism! Adult men, mothers, out of 254 as many as have a work place (or had at the time of the second signing)[4] sits with knees pressed together before Uncle Director and reply to three questions like in the folktale. And the "true" adults listen to the promises, and if these are not good enough they shake their heads. He says: "Set yourself apart from the letter of Bence-Kis-Kenedi,"[5] a 10-line text (which they do not dare read aloud in a room, but the person they badger must know it from VILAGUR, "Free Europe reported the news!" and it says that we three do not like to see others unjustly hurt. This, too, is infantilism--I acknowledge it to you, Miki--I show the serious side of my face only to the authorities--or do I make a mistake? And this

4. The 1979 protest against the Prague sentences, referred to in footnote 2 above, was in two forms: some of the 254 signers addressed the collective letter to the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, and others to Janos Kadar.
5. At the time of the 1979 protest movement Gyorgy Bence and Janos Kis, philosopher, and Janos Kenedi wrote an open letter to the 1977 signers of the Czechoslovak Charta assuring them of their solidarity (IRODALMI UJSAG published the open letter in a special edition on 4 November 1979).

solidarity announcement was a very serious matter! I myself do not know because it is the characteristic of this neoprimitivism that it leads to a full change of values. Do you think that the opposition did not adapt itself to infantilism? Tell me, pet, where did we meet the last time?

Haraszti: At a house party.

Kenedi: And before that?

Haraszti: At a house party.

Kenedi: Well now, as 35-40 year-old men we are living our second childhood, rock and rolling at house parties, instead of pondering over social programs, if it is for this reason that we are bell-wethers! But for years this is the first time we are talking about serious matters. But even now we are not talking because you came here at 8 o'clock, we exchanged a pair of jeans and a pullover, and we sat down to prepare an interview for Monsieur Maspero, and then the telephone rang, we lost our seriousness, you ran off to see your little daughter saying you would be back by noon, and since then I am writing the answers and questions for you, so that by the time you return, it will be ready, because at least I try to take my own book seriously, if I cannot do anything else with my everyday events. Be ready for it if you are curious about my days: you will hear about the social manifestation forms of neoprimitivism and infantilism whether we are talking about me or my environment. Try to transmit this to the French readers!

Haraszti: In this way the task will be more difficult since even the Hungarian concepts will have to be transformed in order that they may adjust to this reality. Therefore, a black list (fekete lista) no longer exists against the writers who are reduced to black status (lefeketedett)--only a consultation list. Black is banned from the palette of scientific and cultural policy. You gave a consultation--colored pullover for these red jeans. Red still exists....

Kenedi: For a tail at the end of an article....

Haraszti: You said something, perhaps this neoprimitivism started when it became the general practice in publications to permit differences from official views, if that is why there is a red tail at the end of an article.

Kenedi: Why? In your area of interest, at the censor, doesn't the consultation list operate in place of the black list like the "conversations" that occur after signings?

Haraszti: But actually with the same infantilism. In the editor's office the consultation list means that if you turn in an article, the chief editor must first consult with the party-center or the information chief. They may perhaps say: please go ahead and consult. And then they will consult with you. Will you agree not to publish abroad any more? If so, they will again consult with their chiefs about why you have written and whether it can be published like this.

Kenedi: At the scientific institutes, too, this is how they buy and sell the soul of the scientific workman (codifier, interviewer) except that while the haggling violates the freedom of opinion and speech, in the scientific work places it also affects the right to work.

Haraszti: It is possible in the editorial offices to defend against this as against lists as shown by the story of Csalog,[6] but how are you making out at the scientific institutes?

Kenedi: Csalog?

Haraszti: He took an article to KRITIKA and presented it as was his usual custom. Pandi,[7] who respects his writings, blushed. "Let's go in here," he said to Csalog, drawing him to an empty office. "The situation is this: We have a consultation list. I can publish your writings only if you do not publish any more in MAGYAR FUZETEK. Do you promise?" "No," replied Csalog. "No?" "No!" "Have you thought it over well?" "Yes." "Are you sure?" "Yes." "Well, good," he said, and with an editorial sigh he passed on the article. It appeared in the next issue.

Kenedi: But at the social science institutes the banning system and the defense against it are actually different. Let us continue with Csalog. He was able to save the article in this case with civil courage: He was protected by his name, his reputation as a writer, and the public opinion before which our cultural policy is a bit embarrassed if a well-known writer's work does not appear for years. But his name may hurt him in his sociological research work, although he not only uses it for literary material but he lives off of it, it succeeds or it doesn't. Because his name appears on the consultation list, he was sent packing from the Central Service Development Institute, although both of us had already been called up for deep interviews. But while in the literary world (in principle) only Csalog can substitute for his own name under the article, he could extend to me his solidarity like respectable writers did in the 1950's: I could write in the black, I could translate under his name--until then the trump card of an institute manager in social science is that names can be substituted for. It is all the same who does 25 deep interviews, who fills out and who codifies 100 questionnaires--if Csalog's or Kenedi's name is on the consultation list--someone else will do it. No problem.

Haraszti: But in your hands, too, the trump card is that you can substitute a name! A straw man, whose name does not appear on the consultation list, signs the contract, and you give an interview in the black. You can find respectable men who will give their name, even as the writers did in the 1950's--what's the difference?

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6. Zsolt Csalog, writer: until 1970 he was active as an antiquarian and ethnographer. He is the author of several volumes of short stories, and of literary sociography. A number of his writings have appeared in MAGYAR FUZETEK in Paris.
7. Pal Pandi--party functionary and man of letters, chief editor of the Budapest periodical KRITIKA.

Kenedi: The nature of the work, the organizational structure and how accustomed political control and society have become to each other, there is actually no other difference. In the 1950's those among the persecuted who remained free survived somewhere in the area of literature if they were deprived of their position: journals, book publishers, radio, film studio, that's all. The whole world fits into Mandy's short stories. Aside from family, friendship and residential relationships, it met perhaps with the more distant parts of society. Science-based big industry still did not exist. The world sociology was taboo. Istvan Kemeny wrote his first sociological work under the pseudonym of Aron Mate in 1948, and then as a sociologist he remained silent for 15 years. If anyone, as he did, translated a novel in the black, wrote a radio play for kindergarten children--and managed to get by the censor with a straw man contract--he lived somehow at the level of the living standards existing at the time--he was glad to be alive! It was an extensive period, they published books by the ton, fillers trickled down from the "rolling forint" to the writers, too. The persecuted writers generally were poor like the social majority and this meant a silent solidarity, and sometimes more, in opposition to both sides, the small minority of power and its instruments of force. At the time, Ignacz Rozsa projected a head tax on those artists who gave in to authority, and even the kosher Stalinist writers "gave milk." Their conscience was not snow white. There is a difference in concept, they thought, between them and their writer colleagues who were reduced to writing in the black, but it is not necessary to eliminate them for this reason, time will solve the problem. It was the official outlook of the period that the "old, reactionary writers" will die out like buffalo, and of course there would be no "young reactionaries"--how could there be! But how long did this last? From 1948 to 1956 at most, but only to 1953 for most of the writers. A new wave of persecution but with partially different personnel composition followed the earlier one in 1957 and lasted until about 1962. The maximum time periods were 6 years for each. The 12 years which Istvan received as his share was a rather exceptional and unfortunate coincidence. But those who are in a similar situation today have had it for 12 years, for it was because of 1968 that they were separated from intellectual work places, and since then they are living on (but not in prison!). The difference is not in the double time period, but in the fact that meanwhile the world and society have changed. These 12 years have also become a socialization and learning process, the concept of the times has also transformed the official outlook. The ancient buffaloes are dying, but the young ones are coming--and they must eat. And where did they come from? From families and schools, of course, but also from the institutions of the socialist system, that is, their social composition differs decisively from that of the persecuted in the preceding two waves. The behavior forms that develop are adjusting to the difference once it is evident that it is not possible to eliminate the species. Living standards have risen, consumption habits have spread, and the science-based large industries have appeared. This absorbs the opposition up to the unskilled workers and sometimes higher, but at the same time makes it more subordinate than the writers once were. Those living today could not live merely from literature: the completion time for a translated novel is two or three times longer than in the 1950's, whereas the honorarium is two or three times less. The spatial difference is linked to the duration of time. The writer bought a dictionary and the novel and sat down, as Laszlo

Nemeth put, in the "galley bench," until he finished the book. He turned the translation over to the straw man, who took it to the publisher, and brought back the money. In relation to the nature of the work, the writer could be controlled at home, in the coffeehouse, where he drank a small black cup of coffee, or in the editorial office if the style of the straw man was too reminiscent of Laszlo Nemeth. In addition to the fact that the control conditions tied to this area have not come to an end, the ability to control black work as a consequence of its spatial embededness has multiplied, even though control itself has been socialized and freed from rude intervention. As long as literary production is essentially tied to a single subculture, the large industry which brings forth a scientific society is linked to as many subcultures in society as surveys are prepared. A part of the control, therefore, is in the straitened conditions that the straw man must fetch the work while the black must go out in the broad area of society: he visits the villages and farms, and the more telltale signs he carries the wider the social distance is between the interview subject and the black. Istvan Bibo carried out his own convictions in a dark-blue horseherd outfit, and (outside the 6 hard years when they put a striped coarse garment on him) he visited the library, the Europa Kiado (publishing house), and for 30 years the same social circle equipped like this--I saw his wardrobe. But even if you don't have long hair, to which society is becoming accustomed, and the big Kossuth beard is not as prominent a mark as it was on the 56er's (I myself have sat opposite a detective with a small Petofi beard), you have something else, Miki, which is conspicuous. You can change your clothes, but what are you going to do about your cultural and consumer habits? If you don't have a television set, and you did not see last night's program, they will look at you funny when you are interviewing in the countryside. "Why don't you have a car, a lot, a summer house," your interview subject will be wondering: "Is this a decent man?" He will ask questions of his own and you will be all the more suspect if you answer in an unusual way. In the 1950's, if a shabby-looking writer came to a village because he was going from door to door selling Sztalinvaros regional pictures, they looked at him and fed him tripe stew. This is how it was. They understood the situation. A stigma was a stigma, and right away they stigmatized the entire society. The "survivors" of old times looked on the intellectuals as missioned to lead the people out of their troubles sometime. But the subsequent generations were too late for this outlook, while the older ones sometimes abreact to the disappointment by exclaiming "What has become of the intelligentsia, they are parasitic millionaires! They fatten themselves on the work of others!" This is what the TV shows the youth also. There is nothing surprising in the hostile reception. Not because the false picture is true at times, not at all! Well, what will you answer when they ask who you are, and why are you what you are? Nation, Independent Homeland--they would understand this, but we have taken on another area of freedom: Human Rights, Freedom of Speech and Opinion--"Hey, what in the world" what are you saying?--"Well, here anyone can speak, for example, you yourself said whatever it was, rights, or what the devil." Or you can tell some lie, but your ears will burn, and you are not facing some kind of idiot, Miki, and he now realizes: "Well here is the parasite millionaire, and he is lying, too, look how his ears are burning!" But it flashes through your mind that the stigma is protected then too, for you are preoccupied with how you might be freed from the behavior signs of your own subculture. If a symbolic representation appropriate to the political meaning is lacking, then let there be nothing which will separate you

from the engraved caricature of the intellectual. If in following (expensive) consumer habits or in flexibility of mentality, you neglect to adjust to the falsely inspired image of the intellectual, then God help your straw man! When they start to pester him at the work place: "Where did you do the interview, what did you say to the subject? Oh, it wasn't you who was there, then who?" Your interview subject (or his son) is a member of the MHSZ [Hungarian Sport Federation for National Defense], of Civil Defense, of the Workers' Guard, and of countless shadow authorities that are growing behind political and semimilitary organizations (you know what it is since it froze a whole Europe like this to its thick ice), and he did not report you, only in his boredom he told an anecdote about the queer guy who visited him the other day--"He spoke of human rights and things like that." The information is as great a value for your interview subject as for you, but he uses it elsewhere for something else. There is a big difference between reporting and telling anecdotes. Miki, you are the one for whom a dive is all the same. You may run into the shadow power, but it may even be more likely that you are the shadow of the power. As compared to the 1950's, your different interview subjects have much more to lose: the country has become richer. How? People have reason not to blab it out to just anyone. If there had been sociological surveys at that time, the interview subject would have kept quiet about how he loathes the system, and this would have been it. He had nothing. But today he is building a house, he is storing gasoline in the cellar. He is making a disco purse [diszkotaska] for small shops on the sly. He coexists with the system as he can, and he is on the defensive against you who "came from above," you are the power since you are defending your straw man because you did not succeed in coexisting with the system and you slipped down into the status of a black. For interviewing you need a letter of credence, if it is made out in the name of the straw man what will the black do when the interview subject asks for it, or the policeman asks for identification? In 1971 when we were working on Istvan Kemeny's Gypsy research project,[8] the party center had already revoked my commission, but not Csalog's, we covered ourselves by visiting the megyes together, and when we were asked for identification, Csalog would show his ltter, at the same time pointing to me as a servant carrying the tape-recorder. I carried a palm-size tape cassette behind Csalog's weighty letter. Of course, to do this it was necessary to have the complicity of the research director, but where now are the protective wings of Kemeny?

Kenedi: He has alighted in Paris, well good, but this was a national survey about a very sensitive subject. Commissioned interviewers were also arrested at times who had a perfectly valid letter of credence because the local police decided that they themselves were the authorities in Gypsy matters, and

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8. Between 1969-1970, young research workers under the leadership of Istvan Kemeny began the sociological study of the situation of the poor in Hungary, including the Gypsy population. The summary, which was prepared by 1972, was classified as strictly confidential by the authorities, and all further research was forbidden. In 1977, Istvan Kemeny left Hungary, he is living now in Paris, a permanent staff member of our periodical. (In regard to the poverty survey, see the supplement in the September-October 1978 issue of IRODALMI UJSAG.)

not the sociologists. Kemeny fished his colleagues out of provincial police stations, but it was finally decided in Pest who was authoritative: the Gypsy studies were stopped and the research director was sacked. But still, Jancsi, in less important matters it is not necessary to have a letter of credence, and for codification not at all, in such cases the authorities are defenseless against black work.

Kenedi: I too believed in this for a time until I realized what incidental information from telephone eavesdropping is useful for, the tidbit. It became suspicious to me that the following was repeated again and again. A research director calls me up, say on Tuesday, asking me to go in on Friday to the institute for some codification work. I arrive there, explanations, like in Karinthy's classical book "Please, Mr Professor": there is no school, they took in the gates. Then in order to verify my hypothesis, I entered on a scientific experiment myself. I agreed with friends of mine working at three different scientific institutes who were participating in a given, current research project that they should call me up and offer me work on the telephone, and they should talk to no one about this but me. All three of the "experiment personnel" were called in by their superior either inquiring as to why he wanted to give work to a suspicious outside worker or forbidding outright that I should be given work. I also controlled the result on a "control group." Together with four of my friends, we prepared a telephone scenario. According to this, we acted out a telephone conversation as if I were already taking part in a codification job under way: we debated the technical details. But this kind of codification was not being done at all at the institute. The superior pestered my four friends about this fictional work, but this kind of stupidity did not even have a place in the plan.

Haraszti: Well, you can defend yourself if you avoid the telephone!

Kenedi: With my own infantalism, for what am I in fact doing? I hear on the telephone that I am codifying the bedtime stories of the little ones, but with all the strength of my lungs I blow my anger at the system because I do not plot my political views! You can see that in face of this opposition the consultation list is adequate power. Do not imagine that they will extend expensive telephone eavesdropping to such a broad scope that it will include all those on the consultation list! Such work is going on in hundreds of institutes, and anyone can enter a telephone booth, well not everyone has a telephone as yet! But what is the organization of science for? If scientific collective life has resigned itself to its professional autonomy being broken down by the so-called "main directions" and a top organ decides what is the subject in society that is worthy of research, why should they not resign themselves to having no independent voice in the selection of work colleagues? It has become widely believed, for example, that in scientific life the consultation list refers exclusively to the "main directions," or to those several special subjects which are performed with special-purpose finances and inter-institute work. If they employ an outside worker on these special tasks, they send the third copy of the contract form to a special department of the Academy, and there they approve the job of the person concerned or they do not. But last week the following happened to me. I walked into the office of the National Health Institute to have them sign a contract for codification

work, or more precisely the renewal of a contract from last year which somehow passed through the officials in charge. No subject could be farther removed from "major troubles" for here it was mostly foods that had to be codified. I recall "dish of boiled beans, with sausage 360: tokefile rantva 482," and so on. A lady friend of mine who was passing through Pest, stopped by my desk, licked her lips and asked: "What is this, are you working for Gundel?" I should have continued this codification in the spring but the research organizer informed me that there is no more tripe stew and roast pork a la McMahon. They canceled my contract. I am on the consultation list. Who on earth?--I thought dumbfounded. The officer in charge of the matter was Mrs Marcell Seress, and she could be found in the Theoretical Research Institute of the Trade Unions, that is where they put out the research money. I picked up the telephone to find out from Marcell Seress why I could not do the work. "I am not obligated to justify," the lady informed me. I referred to my right to work at the institution whose factotum is Sandor Gaspar, the president of the Trade Union World Federation, who is not only obsessed with the right to work but is also such a hero that he thumbed his nose at the trade union functionaries of the socialist countries and wrote a letter to Walesa in Gdansk,[9] perhaps his subordinates have caught some of this fever. "I sign 600 contracts a day," said Marcell Seress, "you don't think that I am going to justify all 600, do you?" "It would be enough with those that are rejected," I tried to make a point. "I am not obligated in those cases either," I heard her say with a warm, calm voice in the telephone receiver. I referred to the UN Labor Affairs Organization, and I asked her if she had heard of it. "Of course, I have heard of the United Nations." "Well, they will hear about you, too," I started impudently to throw in the towel, because I knew I was powerless. Walesa is under house custody, the leaders of Solidarity are behind barbed wire standing knee-deep in snow, would the UN Labor Affairs Organization defend my rights?

Haraszti: Is it always the Marcel Seresses who won?

Kenedi: No. Last year there was a sensational victory, this was perhaps my best day of all year. The affair started in 1980 when the ELTE [Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences] Sociology Faculty signed a contract with me to complete 30 questionnaires. The first job had been in my own name 3 years ago: it required information on the careers of engineers. The work started in a promising way because the research director, with whom I had no friendship ties, behaved 100 percent correctly. The use of commissioned interviewers is proper for questionnaires, here is the contract, he said, but the next phase of the work--deep interviews with the same engineers is more interesting and better paid--and also outside your competence. For that it

9. In October 1981, on the threshold of the Solidarity trade union congress, Sandor Gaspar, secretary-general of the Hungarian Trade Union Council, wrote a letter to Lech Walesa. To be sure he did not accept the invitation of the free Polish trade unions to the congress but he added that he was ready at anytime to discuss with Walesa "the role and mission of the trade unions in the spirit of international requirements and the traditional Polish-Hungarian friendship." Since the military putsch by General Jaruzelski, Gaspar visited Warsaw a number of times, but it has not been reported that he talked with Walesa.

is also necessary to have the signature of the faculty department chairman, and he not only doubted that Tibor Huszar would approve, but he was not even inclined to fight for me, because he found research work more important. This was plain talk, and anyway I like the work. There was a deadline, several hundred engineers had to be questioned in 2 months. Meetings between the employed engineers and the commissioned interviewers, who were harried by a deadline, was arranged by the faculty administrator, who was suffering from a very serious mobility illness and who carried out his work with superhuman effort and diligence; and he did it by sending the interviewers out to the engineer's work place or residence, or if there was no way of doing this he invited the engineer into a vacant room in the faculty department or the faculty library. In the first month I worked in the provinces, and in the second month in the faculty department as well. The first day that I set my foot into the faculty library the librarian requested a Bibo-bibliography from me--he knew I had prepared one. "We had one, but we lost it," and he berated the disorder, also complaining that for days he had been unable to find the xerox copy of a Bibo letter, although the faculty had started on a serious Bibo collection. And Tibor Huszar, too, is dealing with Bibo. It is his intention to render Bibo harmless and build him into the official intellectual gallery, and it is mine to let him show his fangs if these belong to the picture, but the difference in our Bibo concept is less interesting to this story than the fact that about that time Huszar published a Bibo biography interview in VALOSAG, and I resolved the next time we met to congratulate him. No matter how surprised Huszar would be who sees me as an enemy in Bibo and other matters, I would shake his hands for it was in fact a very good interview. But a week before the deadline the administrator's secretary came up to me in tears: Huszar had ordered that no one may conduct interviews in the building, and now she has to rearrange at least a hundred dates, she doesn't know how, for those who were supposed to come into the faculty department had no other suitable place. The measure did not particularly affect me with my three remaining engineers, I invited the subjects of the interview to my apartment--but the tears were flowing in the girl's face, the other commissioned interviewers were tearing their hair, and mainly the engineers were enraged because they had given their time as a favor. The row was over the lost copy of the Bibo letter--at the faculty they said: "The BM men came out to investigate how the letter got abroad" sic!--but what this meant I understood only the next evening. That is, I was suspected of stealing the letter (which several months later Huszar arranged for publication in TISZTAJ). It became clear as I was interrogating the next to the last engineer, the telephone in my apartment rang and the well-mannered research director spoke: "Wherever you are, close the questionnaire and leave off with the work," this was Huszar's order. Naturally, I did not tell the engineer that he should scram home because I am a public enemy, but I finished filling out the questionnaire, as called for, and next day I turned everything in, I heard the research director out, who told me in a voice trembling with shame the official reason--"with my personality I overwhelmed them, the researchers!"--and I resolved to tear off Huszar's ears when I see him. For a year I was enraged every time I was around the university and like a lunatic I kept repeating what I would say when I met Huszar--how he had humiliated his subordinates in my eyes, how he made clowns of tired engineers and young commissioned interviewers only because he had conceived a suspicious relationship between the missing copy of a letter and my appearance at the faculty, and finally on that wonderful day last year, he appeared on the

street. I began with a sincere congratulation, and I enjoyed seeing his head swell at the tribute for the Bibo interview, and then I let him have the rest! My anger did not die down for a year whenever I thought of the secretary--she bothered me the most about the whole incident. I felt as though I had added the seventh goal to a 6:3 score.

Haraszti: Is this the only victory you had in the Kenedi versus Marcell Seress game?

Kenedi: Only? Isn't one good day out of 365 enough for you? What kind of proportions do you have in your life, Miki? But leave nonsense aside! The truth is that as many times as I put down the receiver with a humiliation masked by this kind of impudence or I wave my hand at the thought of protest and I do not even lift the receiver because I regard the UN Labor Affairs Organization as a Circumlocation Office, I am harming myself, too, but even more I am harming the unskilled worker class into which the researchers who are being forced out of social science are sinking, and those young people who after their university career do not rise higher than this. With the subclass of "codniks" it is a relatively small group which belongs to the Hungarian democratic opposition, and political discrimination forbids their employment. When one of them, like myself, gives into someone like Marcell Seress on the telephone, I believe there are two reasons for this.

Haraszti: Realism and faint-heartedness....

Kenedi: Yes. Those who direct scientific and cultural policy take advantage--let us say--of my submission in that they know that Western public opinion judges the government of the Hungarian People's Republic as one that observes the UN Charter and the Helsinki Agreement because--at this moment--none of the members of the democratic opposition are in prison. This is the standard. It does not interest anyone to know whether or not I am allowed to codify tripe stew. This directly contradicts international law, violates the basic principles of democracy and human dignity, but still it is a more realistic concept. I also prefer to codify tripe stew rather than eat out of a "prison kitchen." This is realism. In the West, it is held together by public opinion imbued with Eastern propaganda, and in the East by my own worthlessness. Why do I not fight to the very end with every single Marcell Seress if I believe in the universal ideal of the right to work, and in all the other lesser freedom rights? This is faint-heartedness. and of course, "health education." I don't want to be a lunatic at large. I don't want to be a letter writer, a denouncer who is always carrying on a quarrel, rushing into offices, brandishing my rightful grievances and the justice of my case like a club and scattering blows among the bureaucrats. No, Miki, I do not want that. I would like to read, to think, to learn about society, and for this I would like to protect the soundness of my mind. From compromise. Only my submission--may I put it in plurality--our submissions will lead to dangerous consequences if we make light of these things with a sniggering laugh. The waving of consultation lists or pure bluffing is spreading among the scientific institutes like an epidemic, and the nonscientific institutions are also starting to borrow the custom. Listen, old chap, the Film Studio (not the art but the architectural division) wanted to rent my apartment for shooting a

film--this one, where we are sitting, and not the one that the hero of the book built for himself. For 2 months I would have received the equivalent of a year's codification work--which is 32.4 percent (not calculated at black market multipliers) of the sum at which the critic of NEW SOCIETY estimated my ability--but it could not be! I would have had to collect materials for the Pannonia Film Studio for an animated film on the lure of the West, on emigration--like the movement of people at the turn of the century. Do you think it was possible? No. Because the infection of the consultation list is spreading outward from the scientific institutes, and every small and sensitive matter, dealings in personalities can be hidden away behind this procedure. Consider the career of Mihaly Hamburger, which shows the course of the future. Because of 1968 (and thereabouts) he was fired as a university professor--he was teaching philosophy in the Faculty of Philosophy. He received a sinecure for several years at the Theoretical Research Institute of the Trade Unions, not exactly in a subject that he understood, but still a task that belonged to his sphere of interest. He contributed to the samizdat book "Marx in the Fourth Decade,"[10] and with this he also said goodbye to the sinecure. He got a job pumping gasoline, far removed from this area of interest and from science, but at least he could work: He has three children. At the end of the 1970's, however, he signed as many solidarity statements as appeared. And now what is he doing? He is a salesman traveling the country selling fly buttons. They did a number on him, that is certain, but look at the story from another aspect! In three entirely different work environments what did they learn during these 14 years about the fate of Hamburger? How many, but how many saw that they ruthlessly violate the provisions of the legal code, the enterprise statutes when they remove someone from his position because of his convictions. My history also betrays its indirect effects because at the sociological faculty the researchers for whom the removal of their onetime colleagues was a lesson cast down their eyes before me, and Marcell Seress, if never before, during the long period involved in the casting out of Hamburger learned at the Theoretical Research Institute of the Trade Unions where the Lord God dwells. And still, the whip is not cracking on us, the several hundred members of the democratic opposition, but on those researchers and bureaucrats who are working in these institutions, and on those for whom the institutes are proving constantly lower level work. For the hand that reaches after Hamburger, is giving the cue to me, too, when I seek work, but the warning symbol of interference remains in the scientific work places. But now everyone treats the symbol with caution. This beating about the bush is fixed and refined in patterned rules and the behavior is integrated in the operation of the institution. The results infiltrate the science and the morale of the employees. In the case of science this happens when a number of friendly hands as opposed to the threatening fist appear on the scene and help Hamburger or me to black work, which satisfies my professional capabilities with interviewing, but Hamburger was swept by his sinecure

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10. One of the first publications of the Hungarian samizdat appeared in September 1977. Andras Kovacs, philosopher, sent a circular questionnaire to the Hungarian intellectuals who were entering on their fourth decade regarding their relationship to Marxism. He collected the replies, 21 in number, in a 270 page volume. (For a detailed review of the book see the July-August issue of IRODALMI UJSAG.)

to the very edge of his professional skill, not to speak of the others. But in order not to meander out of science, let us continue with a philosopher. Mihaly Vajda would also have taken part in the administrative-sociological survey from which Csalog and I were discharged--9 of us out of 16 commissioned interviewers. Vajda dealt with hermeneutics, Husserl, and others as long as he could; of course he can push down the tape-recorder button when he sits opposite the reporter of the jaras council, but a more talented interviewer than he could be engaged except that the research director felt obliged to help his friend, the philosopher. That is to say, if he did not take up the struggle with the hiring ban at the expense of his own scientific production. The preparation of a sociological interview is a profession. Its value is best known to the research director who most often lends a helping hand because relatively it means more work for him to make up for the professional shortcomings of the philosopher, the librarian and the musicologist, while in the absolute sense what he does affects the substance of science adversely. It would be sensible only if science were science, that is, if Vajda dealt with hermeneutics, Hamburger with his profession, and then in this way the conscience of the research director would be concentrated on his own production since money is taken from the taxpayers for science-based industry. But of course few research directors will start with qualms of conscience at the level where Tibor Huszar and Marcell Seress are risking the citizens' money, rather they will generally begin at a lower level where it is possible to help the immediate victims. If they start at all. When the mode of treatment that has been dealt us spreads, the spine of the scientific researchers cracks and rattles and they can shield themselves from this by saying they are looking after more colleagues who are "without problems"--that is, they are setting up behavior models to a willingness to conform--and they can also shield themselves by saying that they are helping to release the limits of protectionism and corruption because this is for them the best cover. Personality can pervade a research place dealing with social science to such an extent that even the data recording will be distorted if the research director has the questionnaires filled out by reliable rowing partners or if the same university study circle receives the work. Intensive familiarity and the lack of outside names can loosen morale to such an extent that they will simply fill out at home the answers of the interview subjects. The consultation list actually is a defense against the formation of a data-falsifying lobby composed of the members of the opposition, but I would not think that this is its goal.

Haraszti: Actually, one can look at these happenings from another aspect and it can be seen that the consultation list, the devising of the hiring ban, and so forth will lead to the further moral weakening of the bureaucrats and to a paralysis of the institutions. But there is also a third aspect from which to judge the situation. From where it can be seen that the defense is organized at a higher level. Vajda wrote a petition to Dr Miklos Siman, the director of the Central Service Development Research Institute; Hamburger collected documentation on the ban and presented it to the president of the academy. However, when they fired Balnt Magyar from the World Economic Institute--because he had consulted(!) with Polish colleagues--there were three dozen economists who defended his professional reputation, who protested to the president of the academy, and lo and behold Magyar succeeded in being restored to his profession. But Jancsi, don't you think, you who have written a book on

the intertwining of protection, corruption and the black market, that this is the way a rigid dictatorship falls apart? Open judgments are lacking; their place is taken by cunning internal directives, which are sometimes observed and sometimes sabotaged, because many different kinds of moralizing have taken over the role of plain compliance. Moralizing is born in gaps, and this in itself releases new gaps. Even for the more effective defense of human rights.

Kenedi: How?

Haraszti: In cleaning up one sentence: We Are Kicking Balint Magyar Out Because of His Political Views, 2 kilos of paper are used. The first kilo is used up by the official bureaucracy for a clever settling of the matter. And while after a half year of push and shove the result is born: Balint Magyar Is Unsuitable for His Work, the file records of three labor courts are swallowing paper, ministries and department heads are corresponding with another: the Foreign Ministry writes to the Interior Ministry and the latter to the academy, paper, paper. And then estimate the other overhead expenses in paper value: telephones, institute and interinstitute notices: how should the dismissal be rationalized that in the end it was not for political reasons--how many paid employees waste their time with this, Jancsi, can you calculate? The second kilo of paper, on the other hand, is sucked up by the second publication system for everyone writes his manuscripts on paper stolen from this bureaucracy, on its typewriter ribbons, using its paper clips and dossiers. Looking at it from this point of view, the one piece of paper on which the 30 protesting economists signed their names can be reckoned over into solidarity like that 40-gram package when the typist, who heard throughout some similar matter, slips into your hand, and the solidarity can again be recalculated in manuscript paper--well, how would that ad hoc group of economists have been formed around this case which stood up for their persecuted colleague, if they had not known one another from the second publication system? And from house parties.

Kenedi: I know it is an expensive past-time for the state to suppress publication.... But the second publication system is not such a good deal for culture.

Haraszti: Because even bad samizdat works have a mystical value?

Kenedi: Not at all. If I were to accept this well-known demagogic argument, I would have to accept that they published "Darabber" in the West only because it did not appear in the East (only in samizdat). Although cultural values have nothing to do with censorship. But the suppression of publication in the East is one of the fallen dominoes in a series which the corruption of Western democracy started, although the deformation of its cultural values is the "smallest" consequence of the crumbling.

Haraszti: From your reasoning I understand that you are waging a "two-front war" like the comrades of old, but for whom and against whom?

Kenedi: Well, Western public opinion compensates at our cost the above-mentioned omission in culture--let it stay between the two of us. Instead of

protecting the right to work, it supports the success of a literary production if it comes from the second publication system. It is a bit of a smuggling--do you know its result? From the cultural point of view it is that they publish your book and mine in Paris with the beat of drums. Monsieur Maspero grows poorer, the reader doesn't understand a word from this Hungarian jungle, and thus it is not possible to publish the sociographic works of Csalog, Tar, Vagi, Berkovits, etc. because the publisher would truly be ruined, but no matter: "They will appear officially in the first publication system" and as a consequence it will not even come to Western public attention that they are presenting this Hungarian reality one by one and more valuably than you and I together. The differentiation between the first and second publication system stems obviously from the censor and not from Western public opinion, and not from the Hungarian sociographers. But as our books come back to the second Hungarian publication system from their Western detour, they bring with them the censor's outlook--in protest of which we handed manuscripts to the samizdat--and the Hungarian sociographic works will soon be of two kinds, according to the censor's distribution of the publications. From the viewpoint of the right to work the result of the smuggling is that the paralysis of the institutions, the constraselection, and the complete deterioration of the work morality is spreading, along with the smug indifference of Western public opinion, and this is what is bringing us to ruin, not enforced silence. If possible, we would speak of this in the unnumbered publications. And to those whose life is ruined by this, no? Samizdat is not suitable, to be sure, for value formation, but it is for mobilizing public opinion if human rights are violated. Simply because life is dangerous in a mass society if democracy is eliminated from its institutions. Morbus hungaricus comes from the anemia of democracy, and it is this shared conviction that leads the sociographers, even 50 years ago the demand for land distribution by the first generation around Illyes and Zoltan Szabo was the common creative strength of solidarity, which could not be corrupted either with censorship or success.

Haraszti: The course of Hungarian development, therefore, is that it must adjust with corruption to the corrupt Western democracy, isn't that what follows from your words? In order for you to advocate liberty of opinion and freedom of speech you must also defend corruption. You or someone else must if you fear for your spiritual purity, or you may choose a centaur solution like the hero of your book.

Kenedi: My hero does not regard freedom of speech and opinion as special values, he feels close to those values of middle-class democracy that cluster around consumption. He sees reality from the aspect of his own interest relations, and he forms an ideology out of this. A rational but not a sympathetic one. Have you ever seen an ideology put together of (only) two contradictory theories?

Haraszti: But you, too get into contradictions with yourself by moralizing over corrupt relations, which also keep alive your moral principles, and with greater sociological binding power than any kind of ideological declaration. Take the institute department chief of whom you were talking a while ago. Isn't it better that instead of turning away from samizdat publications he

keeps sending your friend Peti to the Rajk-shop and in this way his dual morality eases (hozzalazul) to the crumbling science policy. But the sociological faculty "stole" the Bibo bibliography from the samizdat, and then somebody stole it from them, and again it was obviously copied. There is a broad contradiction also in this latter example. If officials were always strictly observant of rules and nobody were to sabotage the law and the direction of superiors, even fewer Jews would have survived Nazi rule. There would have been no one to issue false papers, to wink at the sight of someone in hiding, and so on. When you damn the network of relations woven around institutions, you not only forget that you are also sponging on it. You forget something even more important. In how many officials, scientific researchers is civil courage strengthened because they do not shut ears when hearing what superiors are contriving merely in order to keep you from coding tripe stew. I am not certain that it has a greater effect on morale than what we do in the democratic opposition, but I am certain that you look down on your colleagues and on officials if you do not assume that they, too, have eyes, ears, a mouth, and they will also speak when like you they have had enough. Ultimately, this is why you also do what you do, isn't it so?

Kenedi: Miki, I was speaking not about my ideals but about my everyday life. This is what you asked when we wanted to start an elevated dialogue about the relationship between the British criticism and reality, but the telephone rang. And if I did not think that the values of middle-class society emerge in the disintegration process of a dictatorship, I would not have written a sociographical work saying that they certainly do appear, but in what distorted way! The everyday ideology which comes together in the hero's head in "Yours Is the Country..." is the exact opposite of reality. Of distorted reality. In which protection, corruption and the underground economy are organically built together, and are indivisible from the other life processes of society. It is part of a civil society that one should want to live as my hero likes, but what also belongs here is that someone else according to another value system should accept or reject values of this heterogenous process, whether of the old democratic values or of the new. That civil rock--of which you speak--which rises from the sea of corruption is actually present in the Hungarian society of today, but the hero of my book is a Robinson Crusoe on it. I do not want to shove him off that rock, but I am attempting to see that in addition to the consumer demands of a civil society, moral demands should also be present, but should stem from another stock. It is true that if the scientific institutes were not as corrupt as they are I would not get work either, and what is even more true, factual and intelligent studies would not be prepared from the frightful efforts, adroitness, and exploitation of gaps by a number of persevering researchers, and through the sinful waste of talent. But for the time being, it is not those officials I see who will rise up on their hind legs in a disastrous situation. (It is true, that for now we do not have a catastrophe.) But what do I see? In the archives of the social science institutes--where documents on the personal lives of thousands and thousands of interviewed citizens are kept--two persons who do not belong to the institute and who according to the administrator's knowledge are inspectors from the BM--spend their time reading. They are only curious about our telling who interviews under what assumed name. And what do the inspectors find? That a bartender from Angyalfold tells how

he makes illegal brandy; another youngster tells about a currency network that extends to three countries; and a third one tells how he got an apartment by a trick or else he would still be living in a tool-house in Halasztelke. If the inspector is the least bit ambitious--and who would not be in a military organization--he will not be satisfied only with knowing what assumed name I used for the interviews, but he will also enter in his little notebook all these affairs. And then who will defend these people? Those whom straightforwardness and a naive trust in social science will not bring before a court of justice but they will be exposed to all kinds of blackmail, that is dead sure. Of course I believe you that in the moments of a national catastrophe there will be officials of good will who will afford protection to the stigmatized, but for the moment the moral slackness has made many things permissible and natural. Including that I need to work in the black despite the ban, and that this is the way to find out who my straw man is. Because this simple situation comes about when a researcher who is invited to teach in a sociological faculty and an evening student who is incidentally a BM man like each other, and then the BM man comes a bit into the institute archives to browse among the old interviews. He learns, and he is even devoted a bit to his profession. I believe in times when the situation is not dangerous, career morality, professional etiquette and the observance of rules protects these people who have been interviewed. This is why my face turned purple when the telephone rang, and the administrator said that the inspectors were visiting and my wife should go instead of me. It is a small thing as an everyday occurrence. Do not be angry, Miki, but I am jarred from superiority when the telephone rings like this, and even with your help I am not able to dance attendance before the French reader, because I am always thinking of why the administrator woman called. Why she didn't alert the chairman of the Sociological Society to the fact that improper persons were in the archives and doing mischief in the biographic materials!

Haraszti: She should have called the police because police were in the archives?

Kenedi: That's right, Miki, that's right!

Haraszti: It is good that you say this, Jancsi, you are the one who does not get work from these sociological institutes because they spread a rumor that you "smuggle deep interviews abroad"....

Kenedi: I wish it were true, and then there would be some sense to this silliness, namely, the publications system would offer some protection to these men since the laws do not do what they are supposed to.

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MINISTER OUTLINES AIMS OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION SYSTEMS

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[Article by Deputy Minister Dr Gabor Magyar: "The role and further development of production systems"--Based on a talk given at the Godollo Science Days; portions within slantlines in italics]

[Text] In our agriculture at the beginning of the 1970s appeared the production systems, as cooperative and integrated organizations, in which a specific circle of agricultural enterprises undertakes the profitable development of certain crop-growing or livestock-raising sector. In the course of this undertaking, they allow the results of the latest biological, technical and organizational learning into uniform production technology, develop this further, and organize their industrial utilization parallel with various intellectual and material services. Its purpose is /to achieve faster than average productive development in the areas so integrated, by the application of leading technology--leading, even by international standards--and thus exert a pull-along effect on the development of agricultural production as a whole/.

Production systems were created by leading agricultural large enterprises, institutions, or industrial concerns and are operated on the basis of mutual interest.

The Road of Progress

Based on the experiences of the past decade, it can be stated that most elements of system-like agricultural production emerged in the area of crop cultivation on arable land. Leaders here are the IKR [Industry-Type Corn Production System] of Babolna, the KITE [Corn and Industrial Crop Growing Cooperation] of Nadudvar, the KSZD [Socialist Cooperation in Corn Production] of Szekszard and the BKR [Baja Corn Growing System] of Baja.

In the mid-seventies, horticultural and animal husbandry production systems formed, based on the experiences of the crop growing systems, and already more and more of these are starting to join up with the leaders.

In the area of crop cultivation on arable land there are 21 production systems operating. The integrated sown area already exceeds 2.5 million hectares,

or more than half of the arable land--(74 percent of the total area sown in wheat, 85 percent of the large enterprises' corn fields, 82 percent of sunflower, 74 percent of sugar beet fields belong to production systems).

/The most significant results were achieved in wheat and corn production./ Here development of cultivation technology and various services succeeded to the highest level. The system average per hectare yield of wheat was stabilized at about 4.5 tons and corn at above 6 tons. In 1981, on cornfields drawn into system-like production, the average crop harvested was 6.6 tons per hectare, but there were several member estates, where /an enterprise average of 11-12 tons per hectare corn yield was attained./

In horticulture there are 13 state-recognized production systems operating. In the 530 partner estates affiliated with them, they are organizing the production of 37,000 hectares of fruit, 24,000 hectares of grapes and 25,000 hectares of vegetables. The large number of partner estates and the relatively small area drawn into integration indicate that in this area the specialization and production concentration are less than in crop cultivation on arable land. In horticulture, the more significant results were obtained in the development of grape and winter apple production. At the same time, the difficulties of development of industry-like technologization are shown by the more modest results of /vegetable production./

With production systems operating in animal husbandry, large-scale /sectional specialization/ can be seen. At present 19 animal husbandry systems are operating, and taking into account the sectional specialization of the production systems, some estates are members in several production systems, and thus are in partnership with more than 1,200 agricultural enterprises. Characteristic of the capacity drawn into integration is that 40 percent of dairy cow breeding stock, 49 percent of beef-producing cows, 70 percent of sow stock, 45 percent of brooding poultry is produced on the partner estates of the production systems.

In the animal husbandry systems, milk yield increased by 12 percent, beef cattle production by 20 percent, pork for slaughter by 11 percent relative to the baseline--the level before entering the system.

Advantages

Operational experiences of the production systems to date prove unambiguously, that /even state-of-the-art production technology can succeed in practice only if the system center is able to provide the most objective technical advice and service tailored to the needs of the enterprise, for the practical application of the technology. Today it is unambiguously apparent, that only those production systems are workable which are ready for the renaissance, for the exploration of development possibilities, and at the same time with variegated service are able to rise to the needs of their partner enterprises, and are able to satisfy them on ever-increasing level./

We can consider as one of the big achievments of the production systems, that /they connected Hungarian agriculture with the international flow of knowledge./ As a result, /we possess today the world's best plant and animal species, hybrids, effective weedkillers and pesticides. But they achieved their most successful breakthrough in the area of mechanizing agriculutre./ From the beginning, their basic ambition was to put into operation effective machinery suitable for the high-level agrotechnical demands and yields. By trying out the best machines and implements, they proposed the purchase of licensing of many machines and implements or urged starting their cooperative manufacture. It is a result of the production systems' integrating activity, that they forwarded to many agricultural enterprises the latest domestic and international scientific knowledge, the most modern material and technical implements; without the production systems, some of the enterprises could have had access to these only with great difficulty or not at all.

/Through the example of the production systems it was proven that in our country not only those 60-80 leading large agricultural enterprises which undertook the development, organization, and then operation of a certain production system are capable of continuing the renaissance, but the decisive majority of our large enterprises have an affinity for the new, the modern, the progressive./ But the ideal, the developmental solutions can really become successful nationwide only when they appear integrated, and in this respect also the production systems have great responsibility.

It can be stated from experience that specialists working in agriculture are receptive to the new and willing to venture. As a result, the production-developing activity of the production systems--although they brought results mainly in the partner estates--had an impact on the development of food production as a whole, and even in areas outside of agriculture.

Tasks

The number and size of production systems evolved in the past time period. From now on, not the area, but /economical yield increase, better quality and improvement of efficiency indicators are the main tasks./ It would be sensible for those smaller systems which are not providing the integration of some special sector, and, except for the giving of expert advice--because of lack of material implements--cannot improve their services, to /cooperate/, or even /merge/ with one of the larger systems.

In the interest of further concentration of material and intellectual strengths, and more rights of intervention by the specialists of the partnership circle, /the systems' organizational form must be further developed, agricultural associations/ must be emphasized.

In developing the technology, special attention must be paid to the utilization of /energy-efficient solutions,/ to efficiency improvements, to the increase in profitability of production.

In the increasingly more difficult economic climate, those systems which can offer differentiated services, that suit the needs of the partnerships will be viable.

In the coming years, systematic, indepth /economic analysis/ and evaluation of the full productive process is indispensable. Today, the biggest work lies in this area.

In the association of the organizers of the productive systems and their member estates, /risktaking/ should also manifest itself in the wage, or financial-incentive system. The current solutions are often not suitable for this. The increased responsibility of the member estates and system organizers justifies working out the terms of /dividing/ among the organizers and member estates the excess income resulting from excess yield, quality improvements, utilization of byproducts, reduced expenses. /System organizers should avoid limited-type agreements when working out the remuneration./ Starting with the member enterprises' circumstances and level of production, and taking into consideration the necessary allocations, they should develop /differentiated/ remuneration and apply it as such.

Appropriation of the profits from system-organizing activity--beside maintaining a reasonable incentive for the system organizer--should be aimed primarily toward the expansion of the system's services, toward its completion.

1. Crop-cultivating Systems on Arable Land

In the interest of better implementing utilization, it is advisable to further expand /section association./ The whole arable land crop area of the partner estate should be integrated. Each partner estate--except for special tasks--should be, if possible, a member of only one system.

It is a stressed role of production systems that in the future--to moderate differentiation--/they work out such less costly production technologies for estates with poorer cropland/ as will enable them to make use of the advantages offered by industry-like production.

The working out of field-level technology and occasional work management--harmonized with the partners--should also be demanded of production systems.

The increase of crop yields and improvement of content value (the quality) are equally ranked tasks, especially with those plant products that will be industrially processed, or to which our export interests are connected.

We must pay special attention to the /rapid introduction and dissemination of new production methods./ In this connection, stressed tasks are the rapid dissemination of energy-efficient production methods, the maximum utilization of cropland and cultivating possibilities. We emphasize especially:

--/the better coordination of ecological and biological possibilities,/ for example, smaller changes in the production structure of forage cereal. In those areas (North Hungary and West Transdanubia) where conditions for economical corn production are not fully met, those cereals which require significantly less allocation and which are more frutiful /should be favored;/

--in the interest of reducing drying costs, initiate the development of such plant specie and variety structures which, with respect to growing season, water-loss possibility at harvest time, etc make /energy savings/ possible;

--the continual decrease of arable land area, and our increasing production tasks demand /the increased efficiency of forage production./ (It is really absurd, that on a fifth of the country's arable land we should grow, with very low efficiency, first planting hay.) An important task of the crop cultivating and animal husbandry systems that are prepared for this is /to promote a fundamental improvement in the standard of green management,/ and by increasing yield, make possible the reduction of first planting fields in hay;

--today we already have well worked-out methods of /energy-efficient soil cultivation./ With due caution, energy costs can be significantly reduced. Primarily, we expect the faster dissemination of well-tried methods from the large-area production systems;

--by an order of magnitude /we must advance in the storage of forage grains without drying,/ in its use and in the utilization of plant residues.

2. Horticultural Production Systems

The horticultural production systems contribute to the supply of the population, the processing industry and the fulfillment of export tasks with many kinds of produce. But in addition, with certain produce, /supply lags behind demand. The average yield of production systems exceed by 10-20 percent the average of large-scale enterprises. This leading role must be preserved, despite the increasing production levels outside the system, but we must pay more attention than ever to the /quality of the produce./

The horticultural sector produces with high-valued, fixed-implement stock, large production costs and labor usage. Therefore, in the horticultural sector it is especially important, that /investments be profitably utilized. The key question of our advancement is the success of economic attitude in production./ We expect the production systems to provide the example in this respect, too.

Generally, horticultural produce can be utilized several ways: fresh consumption, processing, export. There is need for keen market sensitivity, for the flexible exploitation of possibilities hidden in the vertical. In

these the bases and possibilities of production systems are good, it is necessary that they be better utilized than thus far.

Production systems in horticulture generally did well in developing finished-frame technologies whose adaptation is attained within the frame of systematic consultations. The requirement is also valid for this area that /the systems should do more in undertaking to adapt the frame technologies on the basis of production places and enterprises./ The partner enterprise circle is generally heterogenous (size of enterprise, equipment, specialist provisions, manpower situation, financial capacity, plant stock: species, cultivation methods, etc). This manysidedness must also be reflected by the application of technology.

The system organizer /should take the responsibility/ for the success of the technological plan, and /check consistently/ the execution of the technological plan.

It is also the duty of the system organizer to have up-to-date information on species, technical implements and production procedures. But it is also necessary that he know the accessibility and applicability of these. Therefore, we deem important /the nurturing of the production systems/ external connections with research and development institutions,/ with supply organs and with organizations abroad.

The other condition of exacting and high-standard production is the /receptiveness of the partner enterprise./ Therefore, the system organizers must bring greater care than ever to the training and continuing education of skilled workers and specialists, and also of production foremen.

3. Animal Husbandry Production Systems

Animal husbandry production systems should pay more attention to the /vertical development of production/, through the formation of branch systems (for example, beef raising, hog raising, etc) which direct the whole process of branch production.

During the formation of complex branch technologies /they should avoid parallel developments,/ adopt some tested methods, and technological elements of the systems operating in the branch. /Make better use of licensing and buying of know-how possibilities./

They should develop collaboration with identical branches, and also with systems working in crop production (forage production, animal product manufacturing vertical); implement among their partners rational, research-based fodder management.

Beside the quantitative increase of production, more attention should be paid to improvements in efficiency and profitability, to mutual interest and to the enforcement of risk taking.

They should strive to apply the results of research and development faster and more widely than before and in this connection, make use of new types of partnership possibilities, and accept and disseminate research institution results that are ripe for introduction.

The production systems form an integral part of our agriculture as a whole. Within this, it is necessary that system centers become such progressive places of creativity, that they can play a decisive role in the execution of stressed tasks and programs facing agriculture.

9918
CSO: 2500/39

SWEDISH AUTHORITIES FORCE RETURN OF 105 POLISH REFUGEES

Increased Emigration to Sweden

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 Oct 82 p 6

[Text] Immigration from Poland is up sharply so far this year. There have been almost three times as many Polish immigrants to Sweden as there were during the same period last year.

According to the SCB [Central Bureau of Statistics], a total of 22,900 persons immigrated to Sweden during the first three quarters of this year. That is a drop of 1,100 compared to the same period in 1981.

Emigration is down by 200. In all, 21,700 persons emigrated from Sweden. The two largest groups of emigrants were Finnish and Swedish citizens.

Since immigration dropped more sharply than emigration, this year's excess of immigration over emigration was barely half as high as last year.

Most Allowed To Remain

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 21 Oct 82 p 5

[Article by Agneta Rolfer]

[Text] During the first half of this year, 3,000 Poles were allowed to immigrate to Sweden. Of that number, 2,500 were granted residence permits for political reasons or because they were classified as refugees. During the same period, 105 Poles were turned away.

The 20 Poles who reached Sturup Airport on Tuesday evening will be questioned by police before the Immigration and Naturalization Board takes over and decides whether they can be regarded as political refugees.

Marie Andersson of the Immigration and Naturalization Board's press office says that the board will consider the fact that the 20 not only left Poland illegally but did so in an aircraft belonging to the Polish Government.

It is probable that the aircraft in question will be turned over to the Polish Government.

"The 20 committed a crime for which they will presumably be punished if they are sent back. The Immigration and Naturalization Board will try to determine whether they are risking an unreasonably severe sentence in Poland. If that turns out to be the case, it can be suspected that there are political reasons behind it."

On 13 December of last year, the military proclaimed military law in Poland. The Swedish Government decided that all Poles coming to Sweden would be regarded as refugees and allowed to stay. That policy continued until 14 May, when the compulsory visa system was applied to Poles, and Poles became subject to the same rules as other refugees.

Of those who were granted residence permits in Sweden during the first half of this year, 500 had ties with Sweden, since they had relatives who already lived here.

The 2,500 who had political reasons did not meet all the requirements set for political refugees, but they were granted refugee status either for humanitarian reasons or because they had ties here.

11798

CSO: 3650/23

NEW MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON CULTURAL AFFAIRS

Prospects for Polish Culture

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 26, 17 Oct 82, pp 6, 7

[Interview with Kazimierz Zygulski, minister of Culture and Art; interview conducted prior to Prof Zygulski's appointment to this post]

[Text] [Question] Professor, I am inviting you today to undertake a difficult task, perhaps not even fully performable--an assessment of the current crisis of Polish culture: how deep is the crisis, what areas it affects, and whether we have any remedy for it...

[Answer] I accept the invitation, but on condition that you will not demand of me any prepared prescriptions. After all, I do not know whether anybody has such prescriptions today.

[Question] Agreed. And so, let us start our discussion with the turning point of 13 December 1981. Did the imposition of martial law intensify, or perhaps check, the crisis in Polish culture?

[Answer] The proclamation of martial law--an unprecedented event in the life of our contemporary young generation--was and continues to be tantamount to a shock which has been felt by our entire society and which has affected its consciousness and normal functioning. Such a shock could not but affect culture and, because of the specific characteristics of the latter, it will have a more profound and more lasting impact on it than on other areas, which can be quickly reconstructed and restored to normal activity.

Recent events have had a most negative impact not only on dissemination [of culture] and creativity--the most delicate elements of our nation's cultural life--but also, though we still do not know to what extent, on our cultural heritage and our attitude toward our past. Because in difficult moments we always turn to our past, trying to find in it not only the causes of a crisis but also indications as how to overcome it. We try to find analogies and genealogies. The past, in a way, comes alive; moreover, it is dramatized. Thus, we can even say that one of the consequences of our present crisis is the necessity of revising, for the nth time in Poland, our attitude toward our past.

The basic trait of a culture is precisely its ability to record a nation's experience and to relive this experience while trying to view it from a distance. Those who think that any episode of our present history can be eliminated from our social consciousness, and forgotten by our creative artists are wrong. They are wrong both with regard to those creative artists who are already well-known today and those who are only beginning to mature. Indeed, all that is happening now is for them an experience of a generation, a baptism, and a dramatic social initiation.

I think that reverberations, images, or even specters of our current experience will continue to be a part of our cultural life for a long time to come. It would be irresponsible to ignore this fact and to impose some form or other of passing over it in silence and limiting the artistic expression of people's experience in this very period. This would be a drastic curtailment of our nation's cultural activity and a lessening of its [social] awareness.

Let us recall that during the past 200 years we have relived, and we continue to relive again and again, all our previous crises; and it is only when they are relived, precisely in the area of culture--of fiction, theater, film, recollection--that these crises come into prominence. It is only in this form that they make our society aware of them, and our society accepts them and, in a certain manner, brings them to completion. Until this is done there will be some interruption, something unsaid, in the historical process, which in turn will be both frustrating to our society and will have a negative impact on the latter. It is here that criticism and dissatisfaction, coming from all directions, find their natural nourishment.

[Question] To speak of criticism and dissatisfaction is probably not enough. During the period of martial law, indeed, there has been an intensification of very negative phenomena in the area of culture: on the one hand, creative artists have become internal immigrants and have boycotted the mass communication media; on the other hand, there has been an increase in anti-intelligentsia feelings, reaching such extremes as a proposal to liquidate associations of creative artists. Can these occurrences be regarded as merely transitory?

[Answer] It is an incontrovertible fact that martial law results in publicly acknowledged serious restrictions of civil freedoms including also creative freedoms. For creative milieus, these restrictions are hard to bear. Moreover, at present, a very substantial part of creative activity is linked to the mass communication media, and is addressed to very wide audiences.

He who comprehends and justifies restrictions related to martial law as a higher necessity resulting from raison d'etat, should also recognize that this temporary, as I believe, inconvenience for culture is a part of the overall cost of martial law.

However, there is also another side of the coin. Elementary psychology demonstrates, and life's practice confirms, that different groups have different perceptions of the time of martial law. Some see it as a time for entertainment and enjoyment of life, others as a time for business

transactions, and still others as a time of waiting for a miracle. When thinking about creative milieus we should remember that creative activity is not a question of belonging to one association or another or of having an ability to write or to compose. It is, first of all, a well-defined psychological disposition, one of whose most essential elements is an above-average sensitivity, and an ability to perceive reality fully and at times tragically. And if this is so, then it becomes obvious that the reaction of these milieus to events of our time must be considerably sharper and seemingly more delayed.

[Question] But our time is considerably more impatient. What will happen, for example, to the fine network of meetings and to circulation of information and opinions that compose everyday cultural life? For example, what should be the reaction of the readers to the prolonged silence of their authors?

[Answer] While defending the right of creative artists to individual sensitivity I do not, by any means, regard it as an obligation to remain silent. After all, there is also a kind of creativity that reacts spontaneously to current events, and it should be given a green light.

[Question] But what would happen then to restricted freedoms?

[Answer] It is here that the rigors of martial law should be eliminated as soon as possible.

[Question] You are saying this on a day on which there still has been no resumption of activity by several important creative associations.

[Answer] Yes, but the problem of the associations is not simply a problem of creativity but also of the autonomy and role of these associations in the totality of the cultural life of our country. This is a much broader problem.

[Question] One of the unquestioned gains of the post-August period was also a much more active and freer circulation of diverse information and opinions about our culture. That polyphony was something creative and inspiring. However, attempts occur to close that period and to distort its true picture by, for example, omitting some and stressing other themes of creativity.

[Answer] Yes, I regard it as dangerous. Some people, owing to their primitive concept of didacticism, are inclined to believe that it is possible to return to a simplified and very one-sided presentation of our history and culture, based on the principle of arbitrarily plucking out one trend and passing over other trends in silence.

However, the most recent period has given proof of what has been no secret to any one of us, namely, that we are a pluralistic society also in the area of culture. Different world outlooks, different philosophies and traditions are coexisting and will continue to coexist with one another. Acceptance of this diversity results in acceptance of the multitrend character of our creativity and charges us to present a true and complete picture of our

history and cultural heritage. Every democratic society has the right to cultivate its diverse cultural traditions and to disseminate knowledge about them.

These cultural traditions have always appeared and reappeared in our history, and it is contrary to our traditions to remain silent about them today. Moreover, trends that have been forced to disappear from the surface become undercurrents, and then their influence always becomes distorted, and harmful to our society, in view of, let us say, our tendency to overemphasize and distort other trends in succession. Then antidemocratic tendencies begin to increase, and intolerance and hatred penetrate our society from all sides.

While being justly proud of the polyphony of Polish culture and of the coexistence of its various trends, we should regard the above as a danger signal.

[Question] Are you also taking into account another danger, that of returning to cultural nationalism?

[Answer] I would not use the word nationalism, which is so excessively burdened by too many negative connotations. It is associated with dislike of other societies, with a feeling of being exceptional, and with messianism. Nevertheless, the problem is still timely: how can Polish culture, toward the end of the 20th century, preserve its identity and its developmental force?

[Question] And, simultaneously, the accessibility and attractiveness of what it has to offer the world...

[Answer] Of course, but please remember that identity is, in a way, a guarantee of attractiveness; because, as seen against the background of deepening processes of uniformization, only those cultures will be attractive which have preserved their separateness, not in the form of exclusiveness but in the form of a friendly overture to the world. They will have preserved, moreover, their cultural sovereignty which manifests itself in a society's ability to conserve its own intellectual judgment about what is happening in the world and what a society itself is--a judgment which is currently, and not only historically, adequate. This should not be accompanied by any superiority complex, but neither should it be accompanied by unnecessary masochism and nurturing of an inferiority complex as is the case in our country.

[Question] I fear that the continuing economic crisis may have a negative impact on this objective and may even make its implementation impossible.

[Question] Let us not have any illusions! Polish culture will pay the highest price of the crisis. Polish viewers will not see many films, Polish readers will not read many books, and Polish scientists will not receive the publications of many of their foreign colleagues. However, if we just limit ourselves to these obvious assertions, it will be a hundred times more dangerous.

[Question] But what can be done?

[Answer] Inevitably, the cost will have to be paid. The question is: How high a cost and for how long? To give you an example--it is obvious that our contacts with abroad will be adversely affected, but do we not have the means to provide our society and, above all, our creative milieus, with our own, fuller than hitherto information about what is occurring in world culture? This is much easier from a technical standpoint, though more difficult in another sense.

We also can and must have a polity of [cultural] selectiveness. If we have funds to purchase not 20 but 3 films, then they must be selected with special care and must be preceded by additional publicity. While doing this, we ought to avoid pennywise thrift policies and bureaucraric delays.

For a rather long time we will have to struggle to reduce costs and to find substitute funds; but precisely this venture, requiring energy, resourcefulness and perseverance, will be a test of the force of our culture and of our society as a whole. It is an idle exercise to complain, to point out that we have missed this or that, or have not seen something else, of have not read still something else.

[Question] Let us tell ourselves openly one more thing: The place which was hitherto occupied by Poland in international cultural exchange has not remained vacant. It has been occupied by others, with their own proposals. Will we be able to regain our [cultural] markets and [foreign] interests in our culture that we have lost during the crisis?

[Answer] Time will tell whether this will be for us either one more lost chance or a proof of our national resourcefulness. I should like, however, to draw attention to another aspect of the crisis, perhaps not too fortunate for us but a real one nevertheless. For two years now, events in Poland have been in the headlines of the world press, radio, and television. Despite a generally unfavorable attitude toward our "sick" country, these events have heightened interest in it. Never before has so much been written and spoken about Poland. Although, on the one hand, most accounts are rather unfavorable, many [foreign] milieus, on the other hand, have learned some facts about Poland. I would not dismiss this lightly.

Crises in one form or another are affecting all countries today. Thus, our country is a kind of clinical example that is being watched with rapt attention by friends and enemies, and also by many neutral observers who are interested in transformations of the contemporary world. It is a certain kind of curiosity and expectation, sometimes coming from a distance of many thousands of kilometers. I had the opportunity to find this out personally during my recent visit to Mexico, where ordinary people have relatively good knowledge of our painful problems, being informed about them by the mass communication media. And so, we have a historic chance to show ourselves and prove ourselves as a nation, as well as a culture.

[Question] Today we have a great need for this kind of awareness, as well as awareness that the world is changing at a very rapid pace, becoming, in spite of diverse and sharp conflicts, also a world of nations which are ever more closely tied to one another and are compelled to cooperate closely with one another, including cooperative projects under the auspices of the U.N. If we continue to focus only on what happens between Nowy Swiat and Krakowskie Przedmiescie [streets in Warsaw], and on divisions [of our society] into those who "collaborate" and those who "solidarize," I am afraid that we will lose this very important race toward a new arrangement of international cooperation, including also cultural cooperation.

[Answer] You are quite right. What matters is that the gradual overcoming of our crisis should occur with a total awareness of not only our situation, especially that of our creative milieus, but of the situation of Poles and Poland in the current epoch. And this situation can be properly defined only when global arrangements are taken into account. Our own assessments must always contain this correction: How are our problems related to great world problems? This concerns economy, science, and culture--all the areas of our social life. Our getting rid of our provincial partisanship and pettifoggery and, at the same time, of our naivete in viewing matters for which we often have no proper measuring standards, can only improve our chances of coming out of the crisis.

An enormous role in this process is played by creative milieus, which form and disseminate an important part of public opinion. We should be developing an awareness of this responsibility today, because overcoming certain complexes of perfectly natural stresses and shocks will require time, even when general conditions are more favorable. Unfortunately, each negative fact of our life, as, for example, the events of 31 August, delays and impedes the chance to preserve and develop the Polish cultural identity, to overcome our difficulties and extricate ourselves from them, already as an independent, sovereign and cultured society which is, at the same time, an organic part of the contemporary world.

[Question] You do not overestimate, I hope, the importance of the creative milieus?

[Answer] I do not, although I have been professionally associated with them for a long time. Their activity represents an important aspect of our nation's life, but at present this aspect does not determine our historical development. Moreover, I also believe that economic problems are not the most crucial. All those who seem to think that our problems will be solved automatically by filling store shelves with goods are greatly mistaken.

In my opinion, at the root is the political crisis, and only solutions in the political sphere can provide a basis for overcoming all of our troubles. I mean here, particularly, a social contract and a real understanding and not merely attempts to gain support. Any [political] orientation toward gaining supporters leads in a straight line to dissension in society, because these supporters, in greater or lesser numbers, will unite under different banners

and will defend them persistently, with ever-increasing radicalism, as the only true ones.

At this juncture, when the times demand an ability to come to an understanding with people who, it is true, prefer a different world outlook but have sufficient historical responsibility and political intelligence to enable them to approve them [sic]. Without this true understanding, which is not just a bandying of slogans about understanding but--I do not hesitate to use this definition--comes from compromise, tolerance and finding a common denominator, no real attempt at overcoming the crisis can begin.

I consider this understanding also to be urgently necessary in order to unblock dialogue and internal communication and to counter what threatens us most--the solidification of the front lines, or, as the military put it, a war of attrition, the digging of trenches under one another and shooting at one another, without any prospect for the war to end.

These fronts must not solidify. We must achieve a minimum of understanding that could be accepted by most of our society and not just silently acknowledged as something imposed from the outside. What we are observing today is still the expectation of many milieus, particularly of worker milieus, that an understanding will come about--even after the last dramatic confrontation. Please remember that each such event is, in the awareness of most of our nation, a signal that we have very little time left to come to an understanding and that we need an understanding more than ever.

[Question] I wish I could regard this assessment as an optimistic overtone of our conversation. Thank you very much, Professor.

Culture and Politics

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish No 3, 31 Oct 82, pp 3, 16, 17

[Interview with Prof Kazimierz Zygulski, minister of Culture and Art]

[Text] [Question] After the events of 1905, Stanislaw Brzozowski [a Polish proletarian poet] stated that "outside of the proletariat, no other force in our society is capable of building its own life purposefully and consciously, of fighting for its own dignity, and of believing in itself." To what extent do these words still preserve their intellectual freshness, and to what extent is it already a dated document, important only to a historian?

[Answer] An attempt to interpret literally what Brzozowski wrote almost 80 years ago, without taking into account the real context and the universal hopes, convictions, and ideas of that time, cannot provide any explanation and, quite to the contrary, can even obscure the real sense of things. All the more so that a few years later the same author published, in AZIENNIK, among others, also other articles which also pertained to culture. Therefore I suggest that we narrow down our conversation to one specific point, because

a discussion of all the points can only result in increasing the number of questions and doubts, which are already quite numerous.

I will focus on the problems of the worker milieu, on what is expected of that milieu, and on the real possibilities of these expectations becoming a reality. I will begin by saying that often we see cultural matters being identified with education and, particularly, with the level of education. While participating in a world conference on cultural matters which was held recently in Mexico, I listened to the opinion of a Third World country representative, who said: "Illiteracy is not tantamount to lack of culture." And he was right; because, if we thought otherwise, we would have to assume that hundreds of millions of illiterates who comprise a large part of mankind are really a cultural desert. And this indeed is not true.

An assumption that he who has not attained a definite level of school education is, in our cultural life, simply a burden to society that requires some kind of special remedial action, results in a schoolmasterish and churlish treatment of culture.

These digressions seem indispensable to the extent that all considerations of culture have to begin with realities. Although in Poland we have noted an enormous progress, when measured on a historical scale, in the area of education of worker milieus, this progress is still slower than in many other industrialized countries. And so, we must view the culture of these milieus as it really is, and I believe that making school education the sole criteria of culture is of little use. I believe so because, among other things, never before in our history has a person been able to learn so much--as is the case at present--outside the school system: from radio, television, press, and literature.

[Question] However, research has proven that lack of proper preparation accounts for the fact that in worker milieus there is limited reception of information transmitted through the mass communication media, including cultural items.

[Answer] The problem of which you speak is already related to the quality and intensity of reception. In this case, the element of school education actually plays an important role, even though--in my opinion--not a decisive one. However, a statement cannot be made that it is only through school knowledge, through education of an encyclopedic type, that our participation in culture increases and acquires valuable characteristics. Too often we make fetishes of encyclopedic knowledge as well as of scientific degrees. I assert that precisely one of the causes of improper assessment of the culture of worker milieus is the attempt to apply to it criteria which are transferred from a world which is professionally concerned with cultural matters. Please remember that one of the consequences of this system in recent decades was the usurpation, by the rather exclusive world of artists, cultural activists and journalists, of the right to decide what is cultural and valuable and what is not. Because of this, amateur creativity was treated with scant respect, and was tolerated only on condition that it accept criteria which were used by professionals.

[Question] I frequently had the impression that the participation of worker milieus in culture, and their amateur and literary creativity, were treated in our cultural policy as a harmless, though inconvenient, game-playing by "little ones." What was the origin, in your opinion, of such a supercilious attitude of artist milieus toward amateur creativity, as well as toward the cultural needs of large segments of our society?

[Answer] These are, among others, relics of a gentry culture, though I think that here a greater role is played by a certain legacy which we have tended to accept, regarding it as a basic source of our inspiration. In concrete terms, it is the legacy of the epoch of enlightenment, which equated and still equates enlightenment--in the sense of school education--with culture. All this has produced a certain concept of dissemination of culture--a concept which I call "enlightened absolutism": enlightened people who have authority, including cultural authority, want to make culture available to others on the basis of drawing them, in one way or another, into the sphere of those cultural values and criteria which they themselves have recognized as genuine without asking anybody else's opinion. Consequently, what was regarded as good by those enlightened milieus was universally regarded as good. History of culture has recorded numerous examples of such "enlightened absolutism." Thus, for example, when European enlightenment flourished toward the end of the 18th century, this [enlightened absolutism] was understood to mean drawing the countryfolk into the sphere of contemporary bourgeois-aristocratic culture, or, as in the case of Poland, gentry culture. But, to give you an example, the total achievement of folk culture was treated scornfully and regarded as an example of primitiveness. Well, as late as the first half of the 19th century, the artistic achievements of non-European, particularly, African, peoples, were considered examples of barbarism meriting to be studied solely by ethnographers. This was due to identification of culture with only one area of civilization--with Europe. However, as soon as folklore was ennobled in those milieus, it became a subject of instruction. And after primitive art was finally "discovered" and scholars became fascinated by it, ignorance of its elements was already regarded as an indication of cultural poverty.

[Question] Why, then, in our socialist state, which proclaimed the need to draw from the rich wellsprings of worker and peasant culture, was there a growing inclination toward such a school system of disseminating culture as mentioned by you? As we remember, already in the interwar period many scholars "boasted" of excellent results of their research on rural and worker milieus. On the other hand, now you, Professor, are one of the few who are doing such research.

[Answer] The truth is that then the leftist scientific milieus were characterized, in my opinion, by more leftist and more democratic attitudes than now. The causes of our present, frequently scornful, attitude toward less educated milieus can be found, among others, in the results of the educational revolution which was carried out in our country. As its consequence, we began to believe that education was the basic road to social advancement and that, therefore, he who had completed higher studies was

better than others. Such a person was automatically granted the right to look "down" on those who had been prevented from obtaining higher education by fate, social conditions, or lack of predisposition. I also recall a television program of some years ago, which purported to show the worker roots of our society by presenting biographies of worker families. The producers accepted then a fairly schematic thesis which, however, was characteristic of views held at that time. Namely, a family's social advancement was always illustrated by examples of children leaving the family milieu. In the case of the worker milieu, they moved on to intellectual professions. Social advancement was linked with the need to go outside one's own social class; it is, therefore, no wonder that most often it was related to rejection of the cultural values of one's own social class. The new milieu represented, in the awareness of those who advanced socially, a higher value; and, in connection with this, few people were eager to stress their social origin.

[Question] A question of more general nature comes to my mind. Is it possible to advance socially and culturally and, simultaneously, to preserve one's ties and identification with one's original milieu and its criteria and values?

[Answer] This is a very delicate matter and it depends mainly on the criteria which are valid in a new milieu.

[Question] Professor, what kinds of conflicts can occur between a worker's son who obtained higher education and, for example, became a director, and the values which he inherited from his parents? Why must we, in a modern society, and a socialist one at that, deal with conflicts of this kind? Indeed, should not all the values compose what we call our national culture?

[Answer] You speak about what should be but I, as a sociologist, describe what is. This is a typical discrepancy between an idea-demand and reality. Let us begin by stating that there is language differentiation, in varying degrees, in our country. This differentation is not based on a principle of total language difference, as in the case of the ancient Latin language which in Poland indeed was once a language of culture, or of national or people's language. But please note that recently worker milieus often rejected certain formulations and texts which were supposedly written and meant for them. The workers stated that they did not understand this language, because it seemed elitish, artificial, and alien to them. Also, please make an analysis of the language of some periodicals which are highly esteemed by milieus professionally concerned with culture. And, at the same time, please discuss cultural matters in worker milieus as well, and you will find out that there is a clear difference [as far as language is concerned]. On the other hand, it somebody tells the workers that they have to learn the language of the professionals in order to be able to discuss culture, that person demonstrates his contempt for them and, at the same time, his narrowly professional-intellectual point of view.

I believe that fascination with the language of the milieu professionally concerned with culture is one of the main factors favoring the formation

of cultural barriers. In Poland, the ambitions of people professionally active in the field of culture are directed not toward possibly wide circles of recipients but inside of their own miliey, because today the latter is already sufficiently numerous, influential, and opinion-forming to enable a person to make a career. This cannot be provided by worker or rural milieus, in which the reception of indeed the same cultural content is somewhat different and is expressed in a different language, albeit cultural and having full value. We have become a multilanguage society which, indeed, has to communicate somehow. Not noticing or ignoring these phenomena may prevent social understanding and may also affect adversely the circulation of cultural works and values.

[Question] This probably applies not only to the language. Indeed, the existing model of culture and, particularly, of its dissemination, was constructed on the basis of recognition of the priority of the needs and interests of people professionally concerned with culture. A well-known truth is that the sneeze of one or another writer or film director made a greater impression on our cultural politicians than the fact of closing several hundred cultural clubs and centers in the rural area.

[Answer] In Poland, one of the consequences of artistic creativity not being controlled by any market mechanisms was its limited communicativeness. I wish to emphasize that I have always defended and will defend the cultural rights of the professional milieu. I am of the opinion that this milieu, as soon as it has grown to a certain number, has the right to its internal life, in which an important role should be also played by theaters--laboratories, experimental galleries, etc. However, the situation worsens when such in-house criteria of a milieu come to be regarded as the only valid ones, and spectators of such experimental events are regarded as the only qualified ones. Because then we have, as a consequence, a dangerous identification of professional criteria with culture at large. Moreover, a certain bureaucratization of the process of thinking occurs, for, reversing our thesis, we can indeed say that culture is only whatever our Ministry is concerned with. And because our Ministry is concerned with creativity and with the dissemination and preservation of our [cultural] heritage, everything else appears to be unrelated to culture. In reality, however, as we know, matters of a broadly conceived culture transcend all the boundaries of the Ministry and of the professions. There are, indeed, milieus which, in a professional sense, are remote from culture and yet have a rich cultural life.

[Question] On what principle can we organize the cultural life of large milieus?

[Answer] There are several possibilities. It can be organized--and this is what teachers urge--with the support of school. This view is a result, as I have already mentioned, of identification of school with culture. Thus, everybody in this school, except for a handful of teachers, remains a perpetual student. This type of attitude reduces large social groups to the role of recipients-students and is anachronistic, because it does not help solve all the problems of culture--particularly of culture of society,

morals and manners, esthetics of everyday life, and language. These social groups do indeed participate in all this not only as students but also as carriers, which makes them potential creative artists. This applies mainly to the worker class.

[Question] Precisely, the workers ever more vigorously are demanding the inclusion of the values of the manners and morals of their class in our general national culture...

[Answer] This occurs in all industrial countries, and is closely related to a keenly felt need for [cultural] rehabilitation. We should remember that in the 19th century--incidentally, for various reasons--the worker class was criticized as being culturally inferior. Such opinions were voiced not only by the bourgeoisie but, among others, by the Trotskyites. Let us recall that Trotsky believed that the proletariat had no culture and that culture could emerge in that milieu only in a historical perspective, after the revolution...

[Question] As if automatically...

[Answer] There were two ways to ascertain this. The first one was the "Proletcult" [Proletarian culture] movement, which believed that the worker class, strengthened by the avant-garde, after attaining power and thus freeing itself of [capitalist] oppression, and, moreover, [capitalist] cultural heritage, would produce a new type of culture. The "Proletcult" movement exerted, until the 1930's, a very strong influence in the Soviet Union and also, much later, in other countries. The expectations and aspirations of the artistic avant-garde, which was disenchanted by its social isolation and at the same time was linked with certain elements of modern culture, such as technology, constructivism, machinism, and urbanism, were forcibly imposed on the worker class which, particularly in East Europe, was of rural origin. It had a baggage of rural culture that was loathsome to the avant-garde artists. Equally loathsome to them was the cultural baggage inherited from the bourgeois-aristocratic culture.

The second way, which, in principle, has won out, has been a school concept based on classical works. Its consequence was a classicization of culture, and the orientation of both the school and the dissemination toward teaching of elements of Polish and world classics. This was backed by the enormous authority of the school. Hence its unusual permanence, strongly supported by teachers, concerned for many decades with dissemination of culture, who objected to any recognition of cultural values which could not be called classic ones and which originated, first and foremost, in rural and worker milieus. These values, consequently, were treated as something inferior and lacking artistic finish or, in the case of folklore, as a painful concession to popular tastes. Actually, advocates of both the classical and the avant-garde trend transferred their criteria to worker milieus, thus making their own selection of cultural values. The traditions of worker milieus were ignored. They mattered only when, as I have already mentioned, they accepted what had been worked out in opinion-forming and "the only competent" circles of people who had professional connections with culture.

In my opinion, this is the reason, among others, for the growing distance and alienation, and the desire of the workers to emphasize their own presence in culture.

[Question] An expression of this is, among other things, the emergence of the worker writers' movement...

[Answer] Undoubtedly.

[Question] Is this just an attempt to use one's own language when speaking of one's own problems? Or is it also the realization of the well-known truth that together it is easier to join a group of professionals?

[Answer] It depends on circumstances. It is a fact that the interests of amateur creative artists can conflict with the interests of professionals, particularly when funds are scarce. Just imagine a situation in which the Ministry of Culture and Art would earmark for the needs of amateur creative art a substantial portion of available funds. It is clear that this would be regarded by the professionals as an attempt against their rights and as a threat to our entire culture.

We face a successive danger when, as I have already pointed out, we narrow down the concept of culture to creative activity. Then we take no account of certain aspects [of culture] which we do indeed try to develop, such as moral culture and the culture of language and customs. During the past two years we had opportunities to ascertain that many workers speak excellent Polish; so it turns out that language culture does not have to be linked with having a diploma...

[Question] Nor will the problem be solved by nominating a plenipotentiary of the Minister of Culture and Art...

[Answer] Of course. All the more so that in the case of the worker milieu this applies also to the language which is used in the sphere of work. The character of this language is, indeed, also an important part of culture. Let us remember that the polonization of industrial terminology has begun to take place only in the last 30 years. But it is not only the terminology that we are concerned with; we are concerned with the already mentioned character of human conversations, and with the functioning of this language --to what extent is this language lucid, clear, precise, and beautiful, and to what extent it is enriched or impoverished.

[Question] In this case, of no less importance is also what people have to say to one another, what is their attitude toward their fellow workers, and what values they regard as being of primary importance.

[Answer] Recently, while I was in Scandinavia, I heard a definition of culture being "our community way of life." And so, let us repeat this once more. If we narrow our culture down to the fields of art and artistic life, then we impoverish our life, erect barriers between people, and are unable

to grasp the essential problems of culture. Indeed, even in a small plant there can be very interesting cultural life--measured, of course, not on the scale the National Philharmonic or the Grand Opera Theater but on the scale of the cultural needs of the milieu and its ability to produce cultural values. Let us understand that the cultural life of a person, and particularly of a worker, develops, above all, in a cycle which is connected with work and with the rhythm of basic production and not with cultural activeness in a creative form or in the form of unlimited cultural consumption. The last-mentioned can be afforded only by those people who have professional connections with culture or by those who have at their disposal an enormous amount of money and leisure.

[Question] Professor, in recent years we wanted to build a bridge between the professional culture milieu and worker milieus. This was to be aided by, among other things, "an alliance of the worker world with culture and art." From today's perspective it would be easy to ridicule both the slogan itself and the expectations of its initiators. And so, let us try to analyze what the errors consisted in and why it was impossible to achieve the expected effect.

[Answer] The first error was a conviction that such an alliance between these milieus was something natural and completely satisfying the needs of both parties. Also, an enormous role was assigned to motivations of ideology and world outlook and to skillful propaganda and organization, hence to administrative-type measures, and also to material incentives. I believe that in order to maintain and even expand such an "alliance" it is necessary to take into consideration the viewpoints and interests of both parties. In my opinion, those creative artists who seek inspiration in the worker world do not need any organizational measures. Art people, who truly have an inner ideological drive, will themselves find a way to reach worker milieus. We, at the most, should not prevent them from doing so. Can there also be other mechanisms? I believe so. Indeed, such mechanisms operate in the world of culture. The first of them is of a prestige character and is linked to the awareness and perception of one's own place in the hierarchy of creativity. In such a case, both parties can see a real advantage in their mutual contact. This must be a distinction and not an obligation for a creative artist, but it must be also a distinction for his milieu. Such matters cannot be handled through a circular. The second mechanism is represented by financial or prestige-financial connections. If the creative artist knew that his award depended on some concrete worker group and not on his colleagues on the jury committee or on Ministry of Culture and Art [MKiS] employees, I believe that it would have significance for him and also for his creativity. But in such a case the sponsorship [of the creative artist] by the worker milieu would have to be linked with a truly democratic opinion of this milieu.

[Question] Professor, there is a universal demand for stimulators of cultural life. Why precisely for stimulators?

[Answer] Because these are people who remain permanently in a certain milieu. A professional in principle cannot be a stimulator, because he

represents a different world; on the other hand, a stimulator is, in other words, an activist who assumes the responsibility of taking the initiative in a milieu with which he is thoroughly familiar. He takes into consideration the needs and possibilities of that milieu and does not, as is often the case in our cultural life, bring criteria, works, and opinions from the city or a university, i.e., from outside.

In our cultural life such [modern] stimulation is much needed. It should utilize modern technology media [of communication] but should also reassure people that their achievement and traditions will not be accorded scant respect, and that they themselves will not be treated like savages who can be cultured only to the extent to which they repeat the views and opinions of professionals. In other words, a [cultural] stimulator is a person who is able to perceive that the worker milieu has its own cultural character. He is a person who believes that dissemination of culture, as one of the forms of flow of information from different social groups, will always be needed. However, this dissemination cannot be a perpetual grade school. It cannot be regarded solely as a "mission" or a "sacred mission," of people who believe that they have a monopoly on truth. In the future, we should strive to prepare, from among the worker class itself, cultural stimulators, i.e., those who will want to assume the responsibility of taking the initiative for the benefit of their milieu, of their own social class.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

9577
CSO: 2600/89

NEED TO LINK CULTURAL POLICY WITH PEOPLE

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 19 Nov 82 p 3

/Article by Mihnea Gheorghiu: "On Cultural Policy"/

/Text/ While trying to keep up with the circulation of ideas on our continent, I have noted that most of a contemporary cultural philosopher's time and energy is spent on determining the new relationships between the "form and substance" of culture, between "expression and content," "language and speech" etc., so that one might think the great fundamental ideas have been determined like a classical musical score while the rest is left to the interpreters, who undertake their thankless task of variations on a given theme. And so the dissidents and the iconoclasts gladly perform their profession of denying anything because "originality" profits by an inherent publicity while heresy no longer repents at the stakes of the Inquisition (The successors of the Spanish grand inquisitor have recently made a public apology). Read Eugen Ionescu's "Hugoliad," for example, where Ionescu imagines he is annihilating Victor Hugo...

Europe is a continent embodying a number of geopolitical features with the aspects of a historical unity, grouping countries differing in size and economic and military strength and governed by different social-political regimes but having some traits in common and similar, coinciding interests. Militating for the "unity in diversity" of its continent, Romania considers the similarities first and the differences second, short of ignoring the latter altogether.

That is also true of the cultural cooperation of which I had occasion to write in a previous issue. A dialog from sincere positions and in good faith obligates the parties to trust and tolerance in comparing opinions. The crusades, like all the other "holy wars," belong to an inglorious past. Seneca knew that without "audiatur et altera pars" we enter into a dialog of the deaf. If a chief of state, hidebound in a dogmatic, sectarian view, declares ideological war upon another state he excludes himself without right of appeal from the republic of the intellect.

In connection with such conflicts of opinion, an older colleague, a distinguished socialist intellectual, told me about a discussion of his with a noted French

Catholic poet about the lay freedoms of conscience. When he heard the word "tolerance," the poet of the "Five Great Odes" (religious) replied ironically, "Tolerance? There are certain houses for that, sir!" Our philosopher's reply was not slow in coming: "And also for intolerance, sir. One has just been opened right at Weimar!" Actually it was the year in which Hitler inaugurated the sinister death camp that is now open to visitors as a tourist attraction.

Only obscurantism does not withstand free discussion. Unfortunately the signs of revival of backward minds are becoming more pronounced, and we are astonished to see, for example, the return of the "monkey trial" in the year of Darwin's centennial in the country with the highest standard of technological civilization.

In Romania we have succeeded in widely popularizing education on all levels in a relatively short time by means of a reform in successive stages. Compared with other countries and with Romania's own past, the numbers of institutions, teachers, pupils and students have reached very praiseworthy percentages, and the institutionalization of culture and state protection of the arts have also made rapid progress.

Yet the problem of current problems is still the acculturation of education, the methodology of its transition to the intensive period, and promotion of the moral and intellectual qualities of pupils and students, readers and spectators, and the nation.

Ideas are circulated by media and in a language of a variety that reaches a much greater number of citizens than in the past but also a far less selective one. An educated man receives information differently than an uneducated one, so that a greater (and more differentiated) presences is needed of the cultural intermediary, the pedagogue and the educator.

Nor is political information any exception to this rule. Combatting increasingly aggressive superficial learning demands our special attention, not only in restoring the truth but also in the "content-expression" relationship, upon the quality of which the propagandist's success depends today, for it is difficult to give lessons to others less informed than oneself.

I remember the start of a writer who gave hundreds of pages full or grammatical heresies to the service editor of a publishing house to be restyled. He was not devoid of talent (as it turned out after he was reeducated), but he was the product of a period when respect for the Romanian language and for the national values in general was considered incompatible with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I am pleased to note the campaign conducted by the writers and professors with a sense of responsibility for restoring the Romanian language and literature and national history to their natural rights. A political directive was necessary to lend this normal requirement the authoritative voice of Romania's men of letters. While Romania's main cultural heritage was deteriorating due to some unqualified teachers' indolence and ignorance, some of the professional theorists and historians of the language and literature who were slaves to ephemeral literary fashions wasted their time on clannish disputes. This has continued very

steadily, yet no effective measures have yet been taken by the educational establishment because we go on making great plans although we do not always have the personnel to carry them out. Actually we must prepare a whole generation of cultivated and capable educators, whose places are now taken by some ineffectual substitutes.

It is also a well-known fact that the present categories of adolescent students have been differentiated in the sense that the number of well-educated students is decreasing in comparison with that of the ill-bred ones who have fallen under the bad influence of the fringes of society. The cultural level of education, moral discipline and the sense of values has dropped alarmingly. A formal and stereotyped "civic education" provided by some individuals prematurely professionalized (and indifferent) in that field, who also make their perfunctory "plan," does more to impair than to help serious, qualified pedagogical work. It should be understood before it is too late that any kind of educational reform and any policy of "mass culture" begins and ends with a certain consideration, namely what we are cultivating here and why. Since socialism would be betrayed in what it represents that is nobler and newer in the world if we failed to understand that the ultimate goal is not the robotized individual at the production point, as in the brutalizing industries of some capitalist countries, but the professionally well-instructed and civically well-educated individual, conscious of his rights and duties in a society created to make use of his aptitudes and qualities so that he will enjoy life in honor, dignity and humanity.

Art, science and all the other social factors that make up the concept of culture must find for themselves, by an effort combined with wisdom, a new way of contributing to acculturation of education and its reproportioning in keeping with the great soul of this people desirous and worthy of a better and finer life.

That is the cultural policy to which an intelligentsia truly linked to the people and the nation aspires.

5186
CSO: 2700/41

HOARDERS OF GASOLINE CONDEMNED BY BUCHAREST PAPER

Bucharest INFORMATIA BUCURESTIULUI in Romanian 27 Nov 82 p 5

[Unsigned article]

[Text] Recently, at PECO gas stations, some motorists, buying gasoline over their needs, for the purpose of hoarding, most often with the intention of profiteering, have caused inherent disruptions in satisfaction of the needs of the citizens who understand to supply themselves according to the strict needs of a normal, sensible consumption, and have also caused serious fire dangers.

Excessive buying of fuel generates matters with special implications. For instance, some citizens are storing gasoline at home, in canisters, in all kinds of makeshift containers, and this may cause serious accidents in the buildings involved -- fires with baneful consequences not only for those concerned but also for the other tenants. For example, at 18 Comorel Street, at the home of N. Georgescu, serious damages were caused by gasoline canisters that caught fire; at the home of N. Constantin, in the Otopeni commune, at 88 Polona Street, two gasoline barrels and other fuel damaged the dwellings and annex structures; at 32 Dr. Iatropol Street, because of some gasoline and kerosene canisters, the building caught fire. Such serious violations of the laws in force concerning fire prevention were facilitated, here and there, also by the attitude of some workers at PECO stations who, in spite of regulations, were caught delivering gasoline to persons without cars, directly, into canisters. They include Elena Pausescu, unit head, and saleswomen Elena Vargan and Ancuta Vasiu, at the gas station on Tudor Arghezi Street, Georgeta Moise, unit head, and Niculina Craescu and Ana Cucu, saleswomen at the gas station at 262 Colentina Road. In such cases, there is the need for strict punishment for violation of legal provisions of both the servicing crew at the gas stations and of the citizens who, with their lack of responsibility, expose to serious accidents the building where they live and the tenants involved.

Causing justified anger is the fact that many of those who try to hoard gasoline have absented themselves from their work place, seriously violating production discipline and thus causing difficulties for the collectives involved. For instance, on 25 November, although they should have been at their work places, Romulus Georgescu, service head at IMGB, and Aurel Radut, lathe operator at IMUC, were at the PECO gas station on the Constantin Brincoveanu Boulevard. With good reason, the work collectives to which these persons belong firmly discussed and penalized such unpermissible actions of violation of discipline, deciding on reducing their pay by 10% and considering the whole work day involved as absenteeism. Also other citizens,

including R. Barbulescu (6 Doamna Ghica Street), economist at ICECOOP, I. Motor (123 Lacul Tei Boulevard), technician at ICVL, N. Neamu (200 Muncii Boulevard), worker at ICB -- were caught, on the morning of the same day, in the same situation at various gasoline stations. Of course, these gross violations of order and discipline, of the provisions that regulate the presence of the workers on schedule will be firmly examined in all the work collectives and exemplarily penalized.

Lastly, as pointed out, it is clear that those who try to hoard gasoline create disruptions in service, ultimately cause hardships for the motorists who, proving normal citizenship and thriftiness, supply themselves with no more than the necessary amount. These attitudes of violation of legal provisions, these selfish procedures characterize Constantin Pietris, driver at the Voluntari Center for Heavy Transportation Facilities for Construction, at whose home 300 liters of fuel oil and 200 liters of gasoline were found. In his garage at 19 Linariei Street, Enache Corneliu had hoarded 150 liters of gasoline. Also caught transporting gasoline in makeshift containers in car trunks -- even though their tanks were full -- were Alexandru Burcila, of Botoroaga Commune, Teleorman (50 liters), Traian Popescu of Pitesti and Marin Gavrila of Ploiesti (more than 30 liters each). Of course, in these cases also, the measures stipulated by law are applied with the required intransigence.

This is how these reprehensible practices cause many chain violations -- beginning with absenteeism from work, with creation of potential fire dangers and ending with disruption of normal supplies, no more than the actual essential level, at the PECO gas stations. It is in the interest of citizens themselves to have these unpermissible attitudes severely punished and firmly stopped.

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END

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27 December 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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SCHOOLS OF HIGHER EDUCATION MUST BE SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Aug 82 pp 12-22

[Article by Tefta Cami: "The Task of Our Higher Education Is to Enhance Its Role as a Scientific Institution"]

[Text] Our science has made an important contribution in the realization of all those grandoise achievements and profound changes which have taken place in our country in all fields during the decades of socialist construction.

The party has continually shown special interest and concern for the development of science. Its decisions and guidelines, and the constant recommendations of Comrade Enver Hoxha, have constituted a great work program for the expansion, extension and deepening of the content of the scientific research work, for the organization, management and continuous increase of its qualitative level. In this way, guided, strongly supported and led directly by the party, our science has spread its roots in the entire life of the country and is being successfully developed, closely connected with our entire economic and social development which it has served and is serving more and more.

As the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the party of June 1980 stressed, it has by now become clear that the progress of the country is inseparable from the development of science and technology. The building of hydroelectric power plants and thermoelectric power plants, of combines and of factories, our entire industrial and agricultural development and all the successful efforts being made for the deepening of revolution in all the fields have relied on and are relying, more and more, on our technology.

An important role for the ever broader and faster development of science and technology, has been played and is being played by our higher education.

Along with training of capable cadres, with profound scientific knowledge, our university and other higher schools of our country also are making an important contribution to the solution of a series of problems in various fields of science, by steadily increasing their role as scientific institutions.

The intensive development of the country, the construction of socialism relying on our own forces, are entrusting our science and technology with ever greater tasks which are, however, fully realizable.

The foundations of the further development of scientific research work have been laid and consolidated by the party on time. Over 50,000 higher cadres and over 161,000 intermediary level cadres, who have been trained and work in all the sectors of our country, are a powerful support for setting the economy, industry, agriculture, construction on increasingly sound bases. In this way, the party has created a high technical and scientific intellectual potential which has successfully faced and faces all the problems of development. This constitutes a considerable capacity for advancing technical and scientific thought in our country.

The general cultural, technical and professional level of the working class and of the cooperative peasantry has been steadily rising and, parallel to it, their contribution to the development of the technical-scientific revolution.

On the other hand, the new technology applied in production, the equipment, machinery, technical supplies, laboratories, the entire technical material base, which has been created for foresight by the party, create other great possibilities for better organizing and advancing research, study and experimental work.

These objective factors are being utilized, but can be better utilized by our schools, especially by higher education. Relying on the guidelines of the Eighth Party Congress, which considered scientific work as an activity which must lead the development in all the sectors of the country's economy and culture, the Politburo of the Central Committee, in its decision of June 1982 "About the Further Improvement of the Teaching and Education Work of the School," presented on a new, broader and deeper plane, the improvement of the scientific level of this work in general, and in particular, the improvement of the role of higher education, as a scientific institution. Through this decision, the party demands that our higher education increase its efforts and raise the level of its entire work, aiming to better fulfill the needs of the economy, of culture and ofdefense with specialists who are ideologically well formed and who have the best possible scientific training, who will be in a position not only to face every day work, but, also, to design and implement new technologies, to lead and to scientifically solve important tasks, to be capable of promoting the technical-scientific revolution at a rapid pace in the sector in which they work.

The party has assigned great tasks to our higher education for the solving, through their own forces or in cooperation with other scientific institutions and with production enterprises, a series of important scientific problems which serve the fulfillment of the tasks of the seventh five-year plan and of the long-range tasks.

To what extent have these tasks been fulfilled so far and in which directions must our higher education broaden and improve its work in order to better play the role of a scientific institution?

In the entire scientific activity which is carried out in our country, from the work of the technological and design bureaus in the enterprises and in plants, of the scientific cells in the agricultural cooperatives, up to the

specialized, design, research and study institutes of the ministries and of the Academy of Sciences, the ever-increasing effectiveness of the work of our higher education, especially of Tirana University and of the Higher Institute of Agriculture, in the ever better training of capable cadres, is felt.

The schools of higher education have undertaken a broad scientific research activity, which is led by the guideline of the Eighth Congress of the AWP that scientific work should support and ensure the fulfillment of the tasks of the seventh five-year plan. They have undertaken 80 important themes of the nomenclature of the Council of Ministers, and 127 other themes of the ministries, in addition to the involvement in the important work which is carried out for the needs of the school itself, which has to do with the crafting of texts and of monographs, with the various types of scientific, experimental and laboratory research, with the preparation of sessions, conferences, dissertations and so forth.

This rich scientific activity, regardless of the aims and directions of its development, serves on the whole, but it must also better serve, in the first place, the raising of the scientific level of the cadres which our higher education trains. During the discussion which was organized lately to raise, qualitatively, the level of schools, in which students, teachers, cadres and specialists of scientific and production institutions participated, the need to further strengthen the faculty as an important scientific unit, aiming to better help higher education to ensure the continuing training of the teachers, their involvement in scientific research work and the increase of the contribution of the school in solving the most important problems of the economy, culture and education itself was emphasized.

Viewed from this angle, scientific work in higher education cannot be understood and treated as a secondary activity, or as something optional, but as a fundamental activity and an an important demand for every instructor and department. The implementation of this function of the department requires from every instructor of higher education that he master scientific knowledge in the field which he covers, enrich them continually and carry them out in practice. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches that the "instructors in higher education must involve themselves more deeply in research activity because only a researcher can follow his discipline with interest and be capable of presenting to an audience with real passion." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Party Congress of the AWP," p. 135-136)

The training by our higher education of capable specialists, by concentrating more on the creative aspect of the educational process and by activating the entire intellectual potential of the students, cannot be done by those educators who only transmit, albeit methodically well and attractively, ready-made information. This requirement can be met by those teachers who are themselves creative in science and take part and contribute directly to its promotion, by solving important problems and tasks. Therefore, in the evaluation of the work of the teacher priority must be given to his results in the field of scientific research, how much and to what degree he has proven himself as a scientific student and researcher, what his role is in the field of studies and research. This type of demand guarantees not only up-to-date lectures,

but also an up-to-date study, research and scientific work. The party has made it clear that we live in times of rapid progress which do not allow hesitation, haphazard and mediocre work.

But despite the efforts of the teachers, the departments, the basic party organizations of the faculties and their levers to raise the scientific level of work in higher education and despite the considerable achievements in this field, there still remains a lot to be done. There are still teachers who do not make the necessary efforts to monitor those rapid changes in technical equipping and in technology which take place in our country and in the world, to monitor that process in which the old methods have given way to the much more effective new methods of research. And it is a fact that such teachers find it difficult, if not impossible, to provide the students with up-to-date scientific knowledge and the necessary practical instruction in the special field for which they are training, with an introductory, but fundamental, theoretical training in the respective field, as well as with the necessary practical expressions of an independent study work and of an introductory scientific research activity.

Life itself, with its demands and pace, leaves behind and confirms these types of teachers. At the same time. life facilitates the work of knowing and keeping the more skillful ones in our faculties and transferring to other fields those who do not meet the standards of our higher education. "It must be clear to all, Comrade Enver Hoxha declared at the Eighth Party Congress--that school demands sweat and effort, demands passion and willpower, conscientiousness and higher discipline." (Enver Hoxha, "Report at the Eighth Party Congress of the AWP," p. 137)

Our school will solve the problem of preparing text-books of a high theoretical and scientific level correctly and quickly in accordance with such requirements. The fact that our school works in all the disciplines with text-books drafted by our teachers, is proof of an important achievement. Of course, the experience which has been gained so far will also be used in preparing and securing new text-books according to the requirements of the decision of the Politburo of the party Central Committee of June 1982 about education, in which the task is laid down for them to reflect the changes and the improvements being made in the substance and the structure of scientific disciplines. But this task cannot be properly realized through partial regulations and improvements. Profound changes are required, on healthy study and scientific bases, for our school to help in improving the scientific level of the educational process, and resolving the important problems of socialist construction.

In order to achieve these objectives, basic party organizations must strongly rely on the experienced gained, which constitutes a concrete and useful example for the practical possibilities which exist for all to implement this demand of the party and of the times.

A number of departments of the University of Tirana, such as these of hydraulics, electric power stations, the Albanian language, neuropsychiatry, geophysics, electrical engineering, machines, mines, general mathematics, as well

as well as a considerable number of departments in other schools of higher education, have succeeded in creating a solid field of research. In this way they are crystallizing their scientific physiognomy and are providing great services to production.

The departments which carry out their study, research and scientific activity in the field of energy, hydroenergy, of electrification and construction, for example, in cooperation with scientific institutions and economic enterprises in these fields, are making an important contribution in the drafting of the thermal-energy balances the country and the rational exploitation of fuels, the optimal distribution of the water and hydroenergy resources in the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the drafting of concrete plans for the utilization of the rivers and their branches, the hydraulic laboratory study of the hydro-power plants, such as that of the Koman dam, increasing the effectiveness of the development and utilization of the energy system, the production of electrical equipment and solving the problems of automation in production, studying light prefabricated constructions, the production of new construction materials and so forth.

Of course, the generalization of the work carried out in these departments cannot be carried out quickly and easily. The basic party organizations in the departments and the party committees in the districts must oppose and resolutely combat all those ideas and attitudes which prevent the department from turning into a basic unit of scientific work. In our departments there are still teachers who try to justify their poor progress and inability to keep up with the pace of the times with all sorts of excuses, such as those which are heard at meetings too, "we are too busy with the teaching process," "scientific work requires free time," "we don't know what to do first," and so forth.

These obstructing concepts, if not resolutely opposed, are expressed in practice by the delays in implementing the plan of scientific work themes, through the placing of minor themes in this plan, without the breadth and value which must characterize the scientific work of the teacher in higher education, in the distribution without criteria, of the scientific forces of the department and by a number of other shortcomings which hinder the organization, the management and coordination of scientific work within and between the departments, within the school of higher education and between it and expanded production.

The incorrect concepts of some teachers concerning the scientific work of the department can also be observed in those onesided and intellectualist attitudes of some teachers when they are engaged with study or scientific work. A close examination of the programs of the scientific work of some departments shows that some teachers reduce study to the theoretical or laboratory aspect of the problem and show lack of responsibility in putting the results of their studies into practice. Some others understand the party's demand that scientific work be carried out in close connection with production and that it aid it, only as a contribution of departments in the service of production, without taking into consideration the powerful influence of the

revolutionary productive and social practice about the teaching, educational and scientific activity on teachers, students and our school, as a whole.

The greater activization of teachers in study, research and scientific work and the increase of effectiveness of every theme, require a more correct solution of a series of problems of an organizational nature, with the goal of freeing the teacher from unnecessary burdens, reducing to a minimum his routine work in order to increase the volume and the effectiveness of scientific work in higher education. It is necessary and possible, in all our departments, for the entire administrative work to be concentrated as a whole in the administration of the school keeping it from reaching the departmental level. Possibilities exist for using auxiliary teaching cadres and not specialized cadres for educational and scientific support. Special care is required for the activization of cadres with titles and scientific grades. In order to raise the effectiveness of their work, it is necessary for them to be further activated in the field of science and that they give further assistance in resolving the main problems of the teaching process, for the training and specialization of the cadres, so that progressive scientific thought can guide the entire school work.

The improvement of the method and style of organizational and management work requires the strengthening of the department as an organizational unit, so as to make it possible to better organize and manage scientific research work in its subjects, to insure scientific debate for theoretical problems, to build research methods and to follow the results attained in the field which it covers. The raising of the effectiveness of the scientific work of the department requires among other things, aiming at making them gradually more homogeneous, so that each can cover one field of science and not several, as happens today, when most of them are organized on the basis of subjects and branches. The raising of the departments to a higher level of specialization with a larger number of workers, will also justify the charging of special people with the programming and achievement of the fulfillment of the scientific work plan.

The other task of the decision of the Politburo of the party Central Committee to reduce and to differentiate the teaching load of the teachers by having as criteria their better involvement in scientific research work and their scientific title and grade, will create favorable conditions and the more rapid development of scientific work in these schools.

The integration of the scientific work of higher education with that which is carried out throughout the country means to coordinate the work in some directions: between the faculties of the schools of higher education and the respective institutions of the Academy of Sciences, between the faculties and the respective institutions of the ministries, between the faculties, the research institutions and economic enterprises, and between the faculties of the schools of higher education which cover the same areas.

In these conditions, the strengthening of the role of the school of higher education as a scientific institution demands that this role be understood in a broad and profound manner in the theme plan and the plan for the level

of scientific work which is carried out both within the school and outside the school, for the problems involved in the fulfillment of the tasks of the seventh five-year plan, as well as studies in forecasting.

Under the conditions of our country, the integration of the scientific work of our higher education in the program, in the scientific forces, in the material base and in the financial means of the entire country is of special importance and contributes to increasing its effectiveness. The problems which have been set before our science for solution are quite varied and require the coordinated contribution of many scientific forces. Our school of higher education, because of the large number of specialists which it possesses, because of their relatively high level of training, and because of the many fields of science which it covers, must better evaluate the problems of the integration of its scientific work with that of the scientific institutions of the Academy of Sciences and of the ministries, as well as with the work which is carried out in the economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives.

In order to carry out this important recommendation of the party, our school of higher education has already taken measures and is continually improving its results. The University of Tirana, for example, especially following the Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee of June 1980, has expanded its scientific activity in cooperation with the scientific institutions and production enterprises, and has strengthened the demands and its responsibility in this cooperation.

On the basis of the experience gained, the scientific work plan for the seventh five-year plan 1981-1985, includes a broad and important field of themes, which in close cooperation with the economic organs and scientific institutions, is helping in the solution of a series of tasks in the various fields of the economy and culture. The departments of the University of Tirana have been engaged in the study of 71 themes of the nomenclature of the Council of Ministers, 10 of which are directly led by the University, whereas in 61 others, for which the ministries and the various institutions are responsible the University cooperates on a broad scale. The workers of the departments carry out the guiding scientific role for many important themes even when the responsible organs for them are the ministries and other institutions.

With the fulfillment of the programmed tasks in the thematic plan of scientific work, our school of higher education will make an important contribution in the study and solution of a series of dunamental problems for the development of the economy and culture of our country.

These problems must be pursued with a higher sense of responsibility by the basic party organizations, the dean and the departments of the faculty of Geology and Mines, which have undertaken to solve a series of important problems in the field of geology, of exploration and of utilization of valuable mineral resources, of petroleum and gas, such as the drawing up of the geological map of Albania on the scale 1 : 200.00, the finding of possibilities for increasing the production capacity of the Valiasj mine, the establishment of the chrome-bearing potential of the Lura massive, and the use of

alternative methods in the exploitation of petroleum and gas, and so forth. The faculty of Geology and Mines has been chosen to cooperate on these themes with the Institute of Petroleum and Gas, with the Institute of Geological-Mineral Studies and Designs, with the geological and geophysics enterprises, as well as with the various mines of the country.

Greater attention is required also from the departments of the faculties of engineering, of economics and of natural sciences, where about 80 percent of the workers have taken part in the study of the themes of the nomenclature of the Council of Ministers and of the ministries.

On the road of cooperation, in the field of machine building, a series of studies are being undertaken, such as those for the designing of engines with internal combustion, for the introduction of present-day technologies in the production process, for the designing and production of metal-processing machines, or robots for the food industry and of heavy portable cranes, for the designing and production of defense objects, and so forth. In order to complete these studies successfully, the Department of Engineering must better cooperate with the institutions and enterprises of the Ministry of Industry and Mines, of Communications, of Agriculture and so forth, as well as with the "Enver Hoxha" auto-tractor combine, with the "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine, with the shipyards in Durres, and so forth.

Other departments have scheduled a broad field of cooperation for the resolving of a series of important problems. It is the task of the offices of the dean and rector and of the departments to feel their responsibility in this field of cooperation and to fully implement their tasks.

Despite the achievements so far, in the field of integration there still exist narrow concepts, minor interests, departmental attitudes, shortcomings in the organization, pursuit and coordination of scientific work and so forth. It is still not understood by all that the integration of scientific work of higher education in the scientific work which is carried out throughout the country, creates better conditions for the proper development of the teaching process itself. The experience gained by the departments which are more advanced in this field of work, proves that coordination helps the school get better associated with production, to raise the effectiveness of scientific work, raise the quality of its entire teaching work and help resolve the most important problems of production. The creation everywhere of such convictions will result in a further qualitative improvement in the entire activity of our school of higher education and will enhance its role as a scientific institution.

The proper understanding and implementation of the party's demand that our school of higher education be turned into a powerful scientific institution, requires the vitalization of the life, debate and scientific criticism in every department and faculty.

As a relatively new qualitative demand, of a technical character, but also one of outlook, in order to be carried out it requires that the basic party organizations of the faculties create healthy convictions in every teacher and other workers of the departments, that in the conditions when our country

marches forward rapidly on the road of technical progress, the deepening of the scientific character of the school becomes essential.

The basic party organizations and their links in the departments, as well as the respective sectors of the Ministry of Education and Culture, in evaluating and establishing the degree and the quality to which this task is fulfilled, must set out from the position of how much the broadening and deepening of scientific work in the schools of higher education helps to increase the theoretical level of the teaching process, how much it actually enables the students to undertake scientific activities and how much it actually influences and contributes to the implementation of the party program for the further progress of science and technology.

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CULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS TO 'ALLEVIATE DIFFERENCES AMONG SOCIAL GROUPS'

West German Commentary

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 17, Sep 82 pp 8-9

['Background' report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Developments and Changes in GDR's Cultural Sector." A translation of the East Berlin WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT article cited below follows this commentary]

> [Text] Official financial subsidies for the GDR's cultural sector are no longer scheduled to grow at the previous rate and, for all intents and purposes, be held at the prevailing level. That is indicated in a contribution by economist Dr Holger Martin and economist Dr Renate Walther in the GDR monthly WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT (No 8, 1982), which details developments and changes in the GDR's cultural sector. According to the article, the number of persons attending concerts in the GDR rose by circa 50 percent between 1970 and 1980, and that of visiting museums, by circa 58 percent. Within the same time span, there was a circa 15-percent drop in theater attendance, and a 13-percent drop in cinema attendance. At the same time, "funds allocated from the state budget for the satisfaction of cultural needs" had been doubled since 1970 and in 1980 came to barely M 1.6 billion.

That sum, in the authors' view, was "used in accordance with the socialist cultural policy priorities and responsive to the changes taking place in the structure and order of precedence in cultural needs." Specifically, allocations for theaters, varieties and cabarets were raised by a goodly 41 percent in the last 10 years, those for culture and club houses by circa 168 percent, for libraries, by a sound 90 percent, and for museums and visual arts institutions, by 150 percent.

In this, "the scope and rate of development of the funds to be allocated are determined by the purpose of socialist cultural policy to give all citizens access to culture and art regardless of their individual income for small entrance

fees (with high official subsidies) or free of charge." Here too the authors mention figures. According to them, "the population now pays only circa 16 percent of the expenses for theaters and circa 30 percent of what all officially directed cultural sectors cost."

Much official money is spent for "ensuring the performance level, mainly for the development, structure and qualifications of labor." That has perceptibly boosted the number of people working in culture and the arts, by 21.2 percent from 1970 to 1980, an increase, according to WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT, that "clearly exceeds that of the national economy."

Investments for Projects of National Representation

They also increased the "funds for investment and value preservation measures in recent years." No figures are mentioned about that, however. For instance, in the 1976-1980 period twice the sum for cultural investments over the 1971-1975 period had taken effect.

Those funds were used exclusively "for rebuilding or reconstructing projects of national representation." Special mention is made of the Place of the Academy in East Berlin, the construction of the new Gewandhaus in Leipzig and the reconstruction of the Semper Opera in Dresden. "Allocations for preserving the value of cultural institutions" had kept pace with it.

In the current five-year plan period (1981-1985), funds for the cultural sector available will be "circa at the same value as in the preceding five-year plan period," so that "all cultural sectors (must) attain their higher goals and solve their more ambitious tasks with more or less the same or only slighty higher material and financial funds."

Investments in the cultural sector are again to be concentrated on "completing central construction projects started of national and international importance." There they mention again the East Berlin Place of the Academy along with the Semper Opera in Dresden, and the Friedrichstadt Palais, Deutsches Theater and Kammerspiele, all three houses also in East Berlin.

"Better Use of What We Have"

What remains in investment funds, in the authors' views, will not be enough to "ensure the simple reproduction of the mass of cultural institutions." The only possible way "for allocating more investment funds also to the cultural sector in the future" was "the concentration of economic funds on material production." Literally, they continue by saying: "There can be no other task for us right now but making still better use of what we have and resorting to the opportunities of other claimants (commerce, restaurants, public education, sports)."

A "difficult situation," in the view of the two authors, had arisen "mainly in the sector of the material-technical base for cultural institutions." Their "age structure and their, in part, valuable historical structures, the wear and tear of their technical installations and so forth" required "also in the

future extensive expenditures to maintain their viability." In this connection it is being pointed out that "40 percent of the basic assets of the state's cultural institutions are buildings built before 1900." What was important for the years ahead was "to secure the viability of many institutions through regular repair and maintenance and improve the prevailing working conditions."

"Alleviate Differences Among Social Groups"

A brief section in the WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT article comments on the "higher tasks in the cultural sector," required by the "continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR." It was mainly a matter of "encouraging the shaping of the people's cultural needs and interests." In particular, the "shaping of the variety of 'facilities, capabilities and pleasures' of all working people" was the "immediate goal in the further development of the socialist personality and of the socialist way of life."

Now it had been found through surveys "on the use made of cultural achievements" that there was indeed a steady growth in the number of persons attending cultural institutions like theaters, cinemas, museums, libraries and culture houses, but that "a considerable sector of the population makes only little use of it," the proportion lying around 60 percent, for instance, in theater attendance.

Furthermore there were "relatively strong diferentiations among the social groups of the population, between workers and employees and, again, between workers and employees on the one side and cooperative farmers, on the other," and there were "a number of different reasons for these phenomena." It was decisive for the "further shaping of the working people's cultural needs and interests how one succeeded in further developing the creativeness of the labor process and in further mitigating heavy labor." But also "improving the availability of cultural facilities in working centers and in the countryside" would help significantly "alleviate the differences among social groups."

GDR Socioeconomists' Analysis

East Berlin WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT in German Vol 30 No 8, Aug 82 (signed to press 15 Jun 82) pp 1174-1194

[Article by Dr Holger Martin, economist (born 1947), research fellow, Institute for Advanced Training, Ministry for Culture; and Dr Renate Walther, economist, lecturer, Socialist Economy Department, Bruno Leuschner School of Economics, East Berlin: "Topical Questions of the Economics of the Cultural Sector"]

[Text] Culture and art, inseparable components of social processes, have a direct and increasingly more effective influence on the shaping of the developed socialist society. "Cultural progress is an inevitable and necessary element in the development of socialism. It is expressed in the all-round formation of socialist personalities, in the all-inclusive shaping of the socialist way of life in accordance with working class characteristics and ideals, and in the increasing well-being and happiness of the people."[1]

The results achieved in that sense, especially in the last 10 years between the Eighth and 10th SED Congress, impressively reflect the continuity of socialist cultural policy.

Proceeding from the effectiveness of culture and art thus far, their further tasks were determined for the 1980's at the 10th SED Congress. In substance, the further successful development of socialist culture and art depends on the strategic 10th party congress decision to carry on the main task policy even under more complicated conditions. And so, based on high achievements, the people's material and cultural standard of living is ensured and gradually elevated further. Embedded in the overall social processes, "the demands made on the quality and efficacy of our socialist culture and art are going to be heightened further" in the years ahead.[2]

Table 1: Development of Selected Cultural Achievements

	1970	1970=100 1971	1975	1980
State Public Libraries and Trade Union Libraries				
Total of books in units of thousands	27,282,7	107.4	129.7	167.9
Users (in thousands)	4,134,1	102.4	112.0	116.5
Book rentals (in thousands)	66,375,6	107.7	123.3	139.7
Culture and club houses				
Events	317,348	109.6	145.5	176.0
Visitors (in thousands)	35,334,5	107.3	157.3	169.5
Theaters				
Performances	25,918	101.5	97.9	100.8
Visitors (in thousands)	12,258,6	100.5	94.3	85.5
Cinemas				
Showings	973,235	97.4	94.8	88.5
Visitors (in thousands)	91,355,4	91.3	84.3	87.0
Museums				
Visitors (in thousands)	19,830.8	106.8	152.8	157.9
Concerts				
Number of concerts	6,971	93.7	99.1	95.4
Visitors (in thousands)	2,126	97.3	134.9	149.8

Source: GDR Statistical Yearbooks 1971, 1972, 1976, 1981, Berlin, Staatsverlag der DDR.

The higher demands result primarily from the close interaction between economic performance improvement and the efficacy of socialist culture and art. Indispensable conditions for the achievements by the working people in material production as well as in the scientific-technical sector are creativeness, pleasure in work, dedication, initiative, diligence, discipline, order and security. Culture and art have their specific contribution to make to the shaping of these traits.

"Our development makes ever more apparent how much the cultural level, intellectual-cultural life and dealing with art have an essential share in whether and how effectively our country's working people cope with the high requirements of the scientific-technical revolution--including its social consequences, and whether and how they acquire the ability to cope with most up-to-date technologies to make products that satisfy the highest technical parameters while they also are distinguished in terms of high aesthetic standards."[3]

The centerpiece of the cultural policy of the 10th SED Congress therefore lies in further elevating the cultural level of the workers class and in its creative efforts toward the development of the socialist culture and way of life.

The 10th FDGB Congress against emphasized that this policy be continued. This addresses many tasks which have also recently been introduced more into the discussion by the creators of and scientists in culture in theory and practice. For instance, the "work, learn and live socialistically" movement is eager to direct the working people in the enterprises still more at their creativeness, at product quality and reliability, and at the application of scientific-technical progress.

Cultural care and control in the enterprises as well as the residential areas and cultural opportunities must be fashioned in such a way that they still better conform with the specific needs of the workers class and are linked with its interests. That should also received attention when we organize enterprise and workers' festivals. The further development of socialist work culture ought to be looked at as a complex and multilayered concern. It must more still contribute to solving problems that are so very important to the workers class such as organizing an uninhibited labor process, order and hygiene, and sound collective and management relations and a healthy and civilized manufacture of the tools of labor.

Closely connected with elevating the working class cultural level is the 10th party congress task to shape further the mass character and popular relevance of socialist culture and art, unfold the various talents and abilities in the population, especially those of youth, and develop with them and for them a rich, diversified and interesting intellectual-cultural life. A relevant and pertinent fashioning of life in its full wealth and range and variety of artistic genres and modes of expression is and remains the crucial art policy requirement. Another important cultural policy concern lies in the preservation, appropriation and further development of our cultural legacy and of the traditions. Not last, there also will be an important cultural policy task in the future in further shaping the internationalist content and character of our culture and art and in developing cultural cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries.

These tasks must consistently be taken care of in terms of the unity between economics and culture. The implementation of the economic strategy of the 10th party congress, to accomplish an unprecedented performance improvement under the changed internal and external reproduction conditions, is the direct economic prerequisite for implementing our ambitious cultural policy goals.

As in all other economic fields so also in the cultural field higher demands arise in the early 1980's for the sociocultural effectiveness and the economically most effective use of material, personnel and financial funds.

As Erich Honecker explained at the third SED Central Committee plenum, "in harmony with the material standard of living, the cultural also is being elevated steadily. For all public domains without exception the five-year draft plan contains task that make high demands. To take care of them, we must improve the cost/benefit ratio everywhere."[4] In view of the extensive

outlays from the state budget, the enterprises and the social organizations for cultural purposes, that economic policy demand has to be pondered still more than we have done with respect to the cultural field. The economic strategy issued by the 10th SED Congress demands many creative ideas of the cultural institutions on making better use of the planned and allocated resources in energy, fuels and propellants, material and equipment. For the planning phase as well as the process of plan implementation, what matters is to achieve a maximum of high-grade cultural opportunities by means of the funds available.

State budget allocations for satisfying the citizens' cultural needs more than doubled in the last 10 years and came to circa M 1.6 billion in 1980.[5]

In conformity with the priorities of socialist cultural policy and the changes taking place in the structure and rank of cultural needs, these funds were invested with discrimination. In the various areas, the growth rates between 1971 and 1980 (1971=100) amounted to: 141.2 percent for theaters, variety shows and cabarets; 268.5 percent for community halls and club houses; 109.3 percent for libraries; and 250.3 percent for museums and visual arts institutions.[6]

The scope and development tempo of funds to be allocated are in principle governed by the socialist cultural policy objective to give all citizens, regardless of their individual income, access to culture and art for a small admission fee (subsidized by the state) or free of charge. Right now, the people themselves pay only 16 percent of theater fees and circa 30 percent for events in the state-managed cultural field at large.

The considerable allocations from public funds are used to ensure performance quality and mainly for developing the numbers, structure and skills of the work force and for the material-technical base of the cultural field.

Considering that the chief support for socialist cultural work comes out of the public labor capacity invested, an increasing part of it has been placed in the cultural field in conformity with economic possibilities and cultural policy requirements. There has been a circa 21.2 percent increase in the number of people working in culture and art in comparison with 1970. This increase clearly surpasses that of the economy and even the non-producing domain at large (cf. Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2: Trend of Persons Working in Cultural and Art Institutions (in thousands)

	1970	1972	1975	1977	1980
Culture and art at large	68,1	68,1	73,1	76,5	82,5
Film and television	12,9	12,4	12,2	11,9	11,8
Libraries	6,4	6,5	7,3	7,5	8,0
Theaters	17,7	17,9	18,4	18,4	18,6

Source: GDR Statistical Yearbooks 1971, 1973, 1976, 1978, 1981.

Table 3: Proportionate Increase of People Working in Culture and Art Institutions Compared with Non-producing Fields and the Economy at Large (in percent)

Year	Culture and Art Proportion in Non-producing Fields	Growth over 1975	Non-producing Fields Share of Economy	Fields Growth over 1975	Economy at Large, Growth over 1975
1976	4.9	3.4	19.3	2.2	0.9
1977	4.9	4.7	19.5	4.0	1.4
1978	4.9	6.8	19.7	5.7	2.1
1979	5.0	11.6	19.9	7.9	3.0
1980	5.0	12.9	20.1	9.1	3.5

Source: GDR Statistical Yearbooks 1977-1981.

Besides the number of the manpower made available, the network of cultural institutions and the fashion in which they are equipped have a significant influence on the scope and quality of cultural need satisfaction. Compared with other countries, the GDR has a very fine and multifaceted network of cultural institutions, considering the number of its inhabitants and the size of its territory.

Ever since the GDR was founded has the material-technical foundation for the cultural field been systematically developed through a targeted investment policy.

Allocations for investment and value preservation measures clearly increased in recent years. From 1976 to 1980, e.g., twice as much was invested in culture as in the 1971-1975 period. These funds were used for rebuilding or reconstruction of nationally representative projects, e.g. the place of the academy in Berlin, the new Gewandhaus in Leipzig, and the renovation of the Semper Opera House in Dresden. Allocations also rose for the preservation of cultural institutions. The continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR raises higher demands also in the field of culture. It mainly amounts to encouraging the development of the people's cultural needs and interests. Surveys on the use made of cultural opportunities indicate that there is, to be sure, a steady increase in the number of those who attend cultural institutions like theaters, cinemas, museums, libraries and community halls, yet a considerable sector of the population does so only to a minor extent (for theaters, the proportion is, for instance, only circa 60 percent). And then there also are strong contrasts among the social groups of the population, between workers and employees and then again between workers and employees on the one side and cooperative farmers, on the other. There are various causes for all that. For further molding the working people's cultural needs and interests it is decisive how well we succeed in further molding creativeness in the labor process and further reducing labor impediments. But also improving cultural opportunities in the workers' centers and in the countryside would greatly help further reduce disparaties among the social groups.

Shaping a variety of "facilities, abilities and enjoyments" of all working people is a direct goal of the further development of the socialist personality and of the socialist way of life. But also, and especially, from this there arise considerable demands for the cultural and artistic development.

As the 10th SED Congress, based on analyses of the socioeconomic conditions, demanded that labor economy must be improved everywhere, it is to be made clear how that demand is to be implemented in the cultural field, too. This would certainly not mean admitting any curtailment of artistic quality. But it does mean that the great expense has to be justified by great artistic achievement and a massive effectiveness, with proper attention also given to enforcing novelties. It follows from the resolutions on the 1981-1985 five-year plan that allocations for the cultural sector will more or less be on the level of the previous five-year plan period.

That is again quite a lot. All cultural domains have to reach their higher goals and solve their demanding tasks with more or less the same or only slighty higher funds. Responsibly dealing with these funds in terms of cultural and economic policy is an indispensable prerequisite for it.

A tough situation mainly exists with respect to the material-technical base for the cultural institutions. Their age and their in part valuable structures and the wear and tear of their technical installations and so forth will also in the future require that much be spent on their effective upkeep. Some 40 percent of the basic assets in state cultural institutions pertains to buildings built before 1900. It will be important in coming years to ensure the functionality of many institutions through systematic preservation and maintenance and to improve working conditions as they are step by step.

In the 1981-1985 five-year plan, investments for the cultural sector are going to be applied in a concentrated fashion to completing central construction projects of national and international importance that were started (the Semper Opera House, the Friedrichstadt Palais, the Platz der Akademie, the German Theater and the Kammerspiele). Investments left over will not suffice to ensure a simple reproduction of most of the cultural institutions. Concentratic economic resources on material production, to enforce the economic strategy of the 10th SED Congress, is the only possible way for allocating more investments to the cultural sector in the future as well. There can thus be no other task at present but to use better still what we have and to resort to the opportunities of other claimants (commerce, restaurants, public education, sports).

Intricate tasks are confronting also the specific reproduction of the labor capacity in the cultural sector. It is typical of sociocultural sectors that their performance and performance development largely depend on the number of manpower, its structure and its qualifications. As in the past, the work force in the cultural sector is going to increase in the future, too. Yet here also needs, despite the great efforts made toward intensifying the public labor capacity, will increase still much faster. That is mainly due to the fact that cultural opportunities, as already explained, have to be expanded in various fields but cultural needs newly to be satisfied are also arising.

The main thrust of the efforts and deliberations relating to the fulfilment of the tasks assigned to the cultural sector and to a solution of the complicated problems should go toward improving the cost/benefit ratio.

A cost/benefit analysis of the last 10 years shows that costs rose faster than benefits (which is also true of the other sociocultural sectors). No oversimplified conclusions ought to be drawn from that, however, in that some theoretical and practical problems impinge on the precise indicators for cultural achievements, quantitatively and qualitatively.

--First one must consider, when one looks at this complex, that more money spent on the cultural social sectors certainly indicate improved achievements, e.g. if through increasing and improving the qualifications of manpower the cultural tutelage over the population was improved in quality or in case that material-technical conditions could be reconstructed. That is not going to be reflected always by a higher number of attendants, visitors or users.

--Faster growing allocations also are due to the cost trends in sectors or in fields that are needed for the production of cultural achievements. For the cultural sector, that required allocation increases for maintaining and expanding the material-technical base, for material and energy and, as far as work force assignments were concerned, in consequence of urgently needed wage policy measures.

--Greater costs compared with benefits can also arise from that, first of all, a certain capacity has to be in place before there can be any achievements or any improvement of achievements. When libraries increased their accessions it did not automatically increase loans. There are normally time limits for such processes.

--Finally, the causes for a faster growth of costs than benefits may lie in an insufficient regard for the connection between cultural policy and economic work. That may be the case when very expensive performances are attended by only few people.

So one finds various causes for a faster increase of costs than benefits; they have to be examined discriminately. To improve the ratio, one needs accurate surveys on certain objectively necessary ongoing processes, which then must be distinguished from others that are economically unjustified. What makes things hard here is that no satisfactory definition has yet been given for what is meant by cultural achievement and how that can be reflected as accurately as possible, quantitatively and qualitatively. In addition to more attention to be given to it in the management and planning process of the appropriate responsible organs, institutions and enterprises in the future, we must significantly enhance the work on the nature and economy of labor in the cultural sector. It is necessary more precisely to examine the ways the economic laws of socialism function in the cultural sector in order to be able to support more strongly the great practical efforts toward a higher cultural policy effectiveness by an efficient utilization of available funds.

On the Status and Object of Research on Cultural Economy

The GDR, other socialist countries and within the framework of UNESCO, economic research has in various respects recently been strengthened on the economic problems of cultural development. Some socialist countries--the USSR, the CSSR, Hungary and Poland--have systematically engaged for some time in economic research on culture. Results on that have been published, in the USSR by Dadamyan Mokhov, Punanov; in the CSSR by Novotny and Vike; in Hungary by Koncz and Kuti; and in the GDR, among others, by E. Rohde. It is necessary to organize this complex and independent culture-economic research not from the vantage point of distinct disciplines (e.g. the finance economy, the labor economy, the economy of consumption and of the standard of living) or to explore economic problems merely from the standpoint of distinct cultural sectors (e.g. the film economy, the theater economy, the economy of library affairs).

Experience demonstrates that exclusively in that way a theoretical development cannot be ensured for practical management and planning in the cultural sector in its entirety. With the increasing social importance of the sociocultural sector and the formation of appropriate science disciplines (as the economy of public health, the economy of the educational system), it seems to us, also for the cultural sector the question arises about further refining the theoretical basis for improving the cultural policy and economic effectiveness of management and planning both on the central and local level.[7]

Publications extant in the GDR and other socialist countries therefore are in accord in expressing the view that systematic and effective work in this field must go hand in hand with setting up an independent economic discipline--cultural economics in the sense of an economic branch discipline. That demand is well called for, even though it cannot be ignored that because of an only inadequate political-economic and theoretical scientific penetration of the non-producing sphere or its sociocultural sector, the questions about a scientific economic systematization and the problems in defining the subject that have to do with it have not been very much clarified as yet in the different disciplines.

In conformity with the current state of knowledge one should therefore stress less the independence of the branch discipline of cultural economics but rather its being part of the emerging "economics of the sociocultural sector." More theoretical work in cultural economics must be done mainly with respect to determining its subject matter and in close cooperation with the political economy and the Marxist-Leninist science of culture. In the prevailing phase of opinion molding, there is one predominant question connected with the formation of any sort of science discipline, and that pertains to its scientific subject matter. Pronouncements by the science of culture available on the general connection between economics and culture form an indispensable foundation for it.[8] And then there are also many longtime practical experiences in the management and planning of culture.

The starting point for all deliberations is a definition of the culture concept found suitable for economic research: "In talking about culture and

cultural tasks in the developed socialist society, we are not referring to any strictly confined field. We are concerned with the totality of living conditions, the material and intellectual values, ideas and knowledge, by the appropriation of which men in company with others become mature capable, educated and convinced builders of socialism and truly socialist personalities."[9] This approach to the definition of culture becomes the general foundation for all cultural economics deliberations. However, as this culture concept is very broad, a theoretically established demarcation or systematization of the levels to be explored is needed on the basis of which the economic problems of cultural processes have to be examined. If culture is defined as "one side of the social life process in all domains of society and social activity,"[10] it is tough to approach as the subject matter of scientific economic research. The necessary theoretical preliminaries for solving this problem have come from John among others. He considers that, with all the complexity of social phenomena and the need to take account of them in management activity, all social relations, processes and so forth in a certain respect have dominant components. Therefore John in this connection between politics, economics and culture speaks of specific social phenomena that have a predominant cultural quality and are therefore managed by appropriate functional organs.[11] In that sense then there is a "dominance of cultural quality" in the economic branch of culture and art, the function of which lies directly in the satisfaction of cultural needs. One must clearly differentiate between the theoretically established culture concept, and thus between culture as an overall cultural requirement, on the one side, and, on the other, the social culture area as a branch of the economy that is integrated in the economic reproduction process in terms of its capacity and personnel, materially, technically and financially, to ensure the cultural tutelage of the population.

In this respect the culture sector is comparable to public health. In public health economics, analogously, one must distinguish between health protection as a basic overall social requirement and public health as a branch of the economy.

The branch of culture and art at this time includes circa 20,000 facilities which make this sector extremely heterogeneous because they differ in size, character and legal position. It includes libraries, community halls and club houses, cinemas, museums, theaters, zoological gardens, domestic animal gardens, music conservatories, art colleges and technical schools, science institutions and so forth. These facilities fall under various spheres of responsibility. Most of the branch of culture and art belongs to the network of cultural institutions in the area of responsibility of the minister for culture and of the local people's representations. Furthermore it includes the cultural facilities in other areas of the economy (e.g. enterprise community halls and libraries) and of the social organizations.

In addition to those facilities, the area of responsibility of the minister for culture also includes a number of producing enterprises. In its totality this sector (including facilities and enterprises under the jurisdiction of local people's representations) is called the state-managed cultural sector. Typical of it is that producing and non-producing processes are managed and planned through coordination.

Cultural economics as a science discipline seeks its area of investigation in the non-producing processes and, hence, in the economic branch of culture and art. The crucial criterion for determining its fundamental subject matter is the predominant character of social labor expended. Of most cultural performance it is typical that it is aimed directly at need satisfaction and produces no material product. Therefore the vast majority of cultural needs taken care of in cultural institutions are satisfied as "intrinsic values" in the form of services produced as the outcome of concrete social labor expended. The basic economic function of labor in the cultural institutions under the socioeconomic conditions of socialism therefore lies in the social utility of its services and performance, service being understood as a "specific expression for labor's specific intrinsic value in so far as this serves not as an object but as an activity."[12]

Consequently, the cultural performance process is in essence a custodial process addressed at man directly that produces achievements with specific cultural policy and cultural results (even if not immediately measurable ones).

Due to the specific economic conditions of this custodial process, cultural economics like public health economics and other branch economics of the sociocultural sector, from the political-economic as well as the science-theoretical vantage point, is a non-productive labor economics. This, on the other hand, does not prevent cultural economics from investigating the specific connections between the production of cultural goods and cultural services in the satisfaction of cultural needs. Especially the need for enhancing the complexity of planning in the ministry for culture requires a scientific penetration of the theoretical and practical problems that are linked with it.

Tasks of Cultural Economics

Cultural economics generally explores the substance and the conditions for the effect and utilization of economic laws in the cultural sector of the economy where the personnel, material and financial prerequisites for taking care of the population culturally, the elevation of the working people's cultural level, the development of artistic culture, the appropriation and preservation of the cultural heritage and so forth are handled; that is to say, the sector which specifically, primarily or exclusively deals with creating cultural opportunities.

So cultural economics must not be reduced to the tasks resulting from the allocation of funds, but it is an active instrument of socialist cultural policy. It explores the economic laws with the purpose of rendering the conditions for their conscious utilization ever more favorable and of exhausting all the possibilities of such conscious utilization, so as to combine the solution of ever more ambitious cultural tasks and requirements with the most effective use of economic means.

Specifically, cultural economics has to fulfil two essential tasks.

The first task lies in establishing and justifying, while proceeding from cultural tasks and requirements, the economic means required. That presupposes on the one

hand very thorough investigations into the scope, quality and structure of cultural tasks developing with their particular economic consequences. On the other hand, it is necessary to undertake an integration of the cultural sectors with the overall social reproduction process and its political and economic goals. Account has to be taken here of the relations between production and the use of the national income, especially of the accumulation/consumption ratio, of the proportionality of the entire reproduction process, especially of the proportions between the producing and non-producing sectors and, within the non-producing sectors, between the sociocultural and the other areas, and even of the requirements for the proportionate development of the cultural and social sectors themselves. By way of summary that means, cultural economics must determine the necessary and the possible, whereby it decisively affects the effectiveness of the cultural sectors from the start.

The second task of cultural economics lies in its contribution to the further perfecting of the management and planning of the connection between politics and economics in sectors that directly exercise cultural functions, especially in the cultural institutions that are directly responsible to the ministry for culture. This complex task essentially comprises the
--further perfecting of long-range and medium-range planning and of the annual planning of cultural achievements with their requisite investments of funds and the analytic-prognostic work done as an essential prerequisite for it;
--development of such methods and management and planning tools that ensure a favorable cost/benefit ratio and, thus, high effectiveness of the social work of the cultural sectors;
--further improvement of the economy of the material-technical base (network structure, structural conditions, equipment), the economy of labor capacity assignment including cadre training and advanced training and the materials and energy management;
--further perfection of the management of cultural institutions and their financing, and of the analysis of the results achieved, especially by providing a better visibility and rating of achievements and allocations; and
--further development of the legal premises in accordance with cultural policy and cultural economic requirements.

On Further Perfecting Management and Planning in the Cultural Sector

In substance, the goal of further perfecting management and planning in the cultural sector lies in improving there also the economic work in terms of the unity of politics, culture and economics. Here one has to pay special attention to what is specific in the connection between cultural policy requirements and the allocation according to plan and the efficient use of material and financial funds.

The function of culture in socialist society for the cultural sector assigns a dominance of cultural requirements compared with economic processes. Planning takes care of that by strongly focusing on the substantive priorities in cultural activity. Planning in the cultural sector largely goes to goals verbally assigned which on all management levels serve as guideline for enforcing the principles of the state's cultural policy. One accomplishment of socialism, after all, lies in the uniformity of goals and contents in social, and so also in cultural, development, ensured by the mandatory emphases governing the entire cultural sector.

The substantive tasks therefore have to be drawn up most responsibly. Equal account has to be taken of the population's ripened cultural needs and of the social objectives and conditions for enforcing the socialist way of life.

Requirements in cultural policy are important tools for substantive planning on the central level; they are normally prepared for 2 years at a time. They are rendered concrete in response to specific requirements from the various technical fields and management levels and are made specific in the annual cultural plans of the territorial organs and in the task planning of cultural institutions. This approach to the planning of the cultural sector documents the attitude of principle by the social order toward men's needs and interests. Economic means are allocated with the idea of fostering culture and art and satisfying the cultural needs that exist.

Although plan targets in the cultural sector are mostly assigned verbally, it does not preclude the application of parameters for qualifying the targets in cultural policy work, in fact it requires them. They, as it were, give quantitiative expression to the cultural policy objectives. Therefore the planning of achievements and of capacities is a necessary element of the entire cultural policy management process.

The further perfecting of achievement planning gives rise to problems resulting from the nature of services by non-producing sectors and concerning the practical aspect of parametric planning, stimulation and accounting. Generating and consuming cultural achievements go together directly and thus cannot be separated in time or space. As the user's leeway is much wider for cultural services than when he resorts to other services, he can more easily do without them if they are not up to par. That has its own consequences of course, not only for the attention that has to be given to qualitative factors in the shaping and planning of cultural opportunities, but also for the utilization intensity and the effect of cultural achievements and capacities in the quantitative respect.

Another characteristic of cultural services is that their intrinsic value--the direct satisfaction of cultural needs--cannot be expressed in terms of parameters, so that it is not directly measurable. Here one must resort to surrogate indicators such as the number of visitors of theaters, museums or fairs for quantitative or sociological surveys to get to a qualitative judgment. Another consequence then is that a surplus in capacities and performances and higher economic outlays for them need not be reflected in measurable cultural policy effects. That makes economic work in the cultural sector tough also because, vice versa, from cultural policy requirements one cannot always derive precisely the economic means necessary for them.

Through introducing the task plan,[13] the performance and capacity planning has been perfected in the following direction:

--Ensuring a uniform and mandatory enforcement of qualitative and quantitative aspects in determining cultural policy priorities;
--ensuring a target-directed development of the supply degree in taking care of the population culturally, especially with regard to ensuring a proportionate development for overcoming level differences among the territories;

--guiding cultural institutions toward using funds rationally and attaining high achievements;
--improved rating and evaluation of the work done by comparable cultural institutions; and
--further extension of the bases for conduction competition and for the moral and material incentives for the working people in those institutions.

The theoretical insights and practical experiences gained entered the planning methodology for the 1976-1980 five-year plan period issued in 1974.[14] The purpose of its expansion of the performance and capacity parameters lay in an adequate and more complex reflection of the qualitative and quantitative aspects of real cultural processes by parameters for the purpose of having the state exercise a target-directed central influence. One step among others in this direction was including the most important cultural achievements and capacities of the enterprises and social organizations in the planning process of the state-managed cultural sector. In practice, the plan preparation indicated, however, that not all parameters of this planning order stood up completely. There were various reasons for that, such as a limited stimulation functionality of the parameters, or too little dynamism in the cultural processes reflected by the parameters. Appropriate conclusions were drawn from it and taken into account when the parameter nomenclature was revised for the planning order of the 1981-1985 five-year planning period.[15] In conformity with that planning order, bezirk councils are annually handed 11 performance and capacity development parameters as official quotas. Along with these planning parameters directive in nature, the management and planning process relies on additional information parameters handled through statistical reporting.

A problem borne out in practice is that on the one hand, to cope with ever more complex contexts, there is a great need for information but that, on the other, a wealth of information remains unused. Part of that is even meaningless because it has no bearing either on ideological argumentation or on the practice of management and planning.

The causes for that in particular are that cultural statistics, as far as its conception, the development of analytical survey methods and so forth are concerned, has not kept pace with the level of general statistics. There are no bases for a sound system of cultural statistics. In contrast to other branches in the sociocultural sector (public health, for instance), pertinent systematic work in the cultural sector is done only in exceptional cases (e.g. in library affairs).

For that reason, theory and practice have to address two closely connected tasks:

(1) For effectively rationalizing managerial and administrative work, reporting must be limited to what is absolutely necessary. Doing without all that is superfluous requires a number of ideological and substantive-organizational prerequisites. They range from a departure from obsolete routine all the way to creating more rational management relations and structures.

(2) The level of analytical work to discover cultural-economic connections must be raised step by step. Mainly through stronger economic analysis must the preconditions be further improved in the future and further performance improvement reserves must be tapped that way.

The last-mentioned task is mainly of great importance for improving standardization. Standardization in the cultural sector largely controls the improvement of the cost/benefit ratio beyond its prevailing status.

Proceeding from best examples, the norms for cultural institutions working under comparable conditions are state standards and requirements for achieving optimum cultural policy and cultural accomplishments with personnel, material and financial funds allocated according to plan.

Though there is no denying the objective need to improve the planning process and plan implementation this way, we must not ignore the specific conditions of performance processes in the cultural sector.

If in other branches of the sociocultural sector a much larger share of the budgetary income and expenditures is governed by investment criteria, for instance, objective reasons exist for it. Compared with that, nailing down the cost/benefit ratio in institutions of the cultural sector is vastly more complicated.

With reference to that and to uneven cost/benefit ratios in various sectors, lack of attention to this problem as an object of scientific investigations is often being justified in theory and practice. The problems hiding behind that are no reasons to prevent us but rather to take account of the specifics of a cost/benefit ratio analysis in the cultural sector. And that also is the reason why, in connection with performance financing, all that has been experienced here has to be thoroughly analyzed and made the basis for our further efforts.

Suitable measures keep creating in the cultural sector the preconditions for a more efficient use of the available material-technical base and personnel and financial funds.

Right now, under the responsibility of the ministry for culture, targeted measures are being taken in close cooperation with science institutions. Along with checking into the relevance and effectiveness of existing institution-specific individual norms, the job now mainly is to create an effective normative base for management and planning on the level of central state organs and the bezirk councils. Norms have to be assigned to volume planning in large expenditure positions such as the wage funds, material or productive achievements. Such centrally directed planning norms are economic criteria for essential types of expenditures in the cultural sector and are meant to affect the drop in expenditures for material, energy and other purposes. This also makes it possible that accounting on the implementation of the budget plans can be used better than before to see whether norms were complied with or not.

In working out the norms one has to base them on the outlays by those comparable institutions that handled their allocations most economically and efficiently. The goal must be to reduce or eliminate unjustified differences in expenditures by the comparable institutions in the various bezirks and kreises.

Without detriment to that general objective, it is absolutely necessary to keep in mind that

--the decisive criterion for working with norms is improving the quality and ideological effectiveness of cultural and artistic achievements;

--opportunities given the population must not be diminished;

--cultural institutions often perform under personnel, material-technical and territorial demands and conditions that are hard to compare;

--the institutions cannot always directly affect the use made of what they have to offer;

--the inevitable connections in the trend of expenditures must be differentiated from effects resulting from the solution of certain topical tasks, partly even from a need to catch up, or from factors violating the socialist thrift principle; and

--the structure of expenditure trends is in part highly dynamic (cf. Table 4), for which reason norms have to be updated in conformity with these changes.

Table 4: Trends of Proportions of Selected Expenditures Compared With Overall Expenditures for Culture and Art (in percent)

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Total Expenditures (without investments)	100	100	100	100	100	100
of which:						
Preservation	8.38	8.67	9.27	9.87	9.38	10.34
Wage Funds	34.51	34.51	33.77	33.29	33.12	33.56
Money Spent on Population	13.18	13.96	14.69	14.89	15.20	15.28
Material	10.28	11.30	11.29	11.23	11.21	10.58

Moreover, in further work done with norms one ought to proceed from the experiences of recent years; they indicate that work with norms must not be confined to the financial expenditures because close connections or dependencies exist among the material, personnel and financial norms.

That makes the preparation of norms another priority for the use of manpower. Up to now in this field we have had most positive experiences in the field of official public libraries. The Central Institute for Library Affairs has come out with basic guidelines for planning personnel in public libraries. Such norms have the function of slotting standards which makes acceptable personnel requirements possible. Improving personnel planning largely depends on preparing such norms that take account of the differentiated tasks and specific services in the institutions and of the technical and other conditions of the work. Jobs which should reflect personnel requirements in conformity with cultural policy no longer have that function in many institutions. Often a subjective interpretation decides how much personnel is needed. In practice this brings it about that comparable institutions employ unequal numbers of personnel not justified.

Norms should be mainly prepared and applied where in the practice of cultural and economic activities comparable and repetitive processes take place. That mainly applies to subsidiary processes (like management and administration). And that is where the emphasis should be place in our further work with norms.

An efficient utilization, in terms of cultural policy and economics, of the funds in the cultural sector furthermore greatly depends on how well one succeeds in planning fund utilization on the basis of more long-range conceptions.

The fact is that every expenditure in public funds that ignores the long-range developmental trend of individual and social cultural interests means that future requirements will not be satisfied. The need for more long-range planning follows directly from the nature of cultural processes of a more long-range and strategic character.

Cultural needs and habits do not change from one day to the next. It is properly being pointed out, therefore, that cultural processes are per se long-range, with effects that become apparent only after a longer period of time, as they enter men's lives only gradually. So the conditions for enforcing socialist culture also have to be shaped prognostically. Thus the need for more long-range planning results from that current cultural policy and economic decisions have to be made with an eye to the intellectual-cultural needs they are to satisfy in the future. The practical consequence of that is that the quantitative and qualitative developmental tendencies of cultural needs must be explored for a period of some 10 to 15 years and the prerequisites for satisfying them must be prepared on as long-range a basis as that. In the field of culture quite successful long-range work has been done for years, so that we have perfectly safe assumptions now about the chief developmental tendencies in the cultural field.

In working with long-range conceptual ideas on the development of the cultural sector it also became apparent, however, that its tasks in need satisfaction cannot be resolved independent of other social and economic claimants to the satisfaction of cultural needs. While there is already a high degree of correlation and cooperation, more suitable managerial and planning method prerequisites have still to be created for it.

There are certain methodological difficulties here--due to what "culture" means specifically--in unambiguously determining the population's cultural needs and combining them all-inclusively. When in such a "culture" complex of needs cultural needs are accounted for in their complex and objective reciprocal interdependence and explored in their objective developmental tendencies, it could become an important tool for long-range planning, provided that the economic consequences are determined at the same time. A precise knowledge of economic requirements permits a still better correlation with economic parameters and thereby a still more cogent definition of what may be allocated in economic means for the satisfaction of cultural needs within a given planning period.

Furthermore, such a "culture" need complex would be apt to correlate more precisely still the tasks of the various claimants to need satisfaction (the state-managed cultural sector of the ministry for culture, the State Radio Committee, the State Television Committee, the combines and enterprises, the parties and social organizations, domestic consumer goods trade) and provide this way for a still better long-range orientation in the cultural sector.

Illustration 1: Trend of number of users, loans and accessions in State General Libraries and state budget expenditures for these institutions

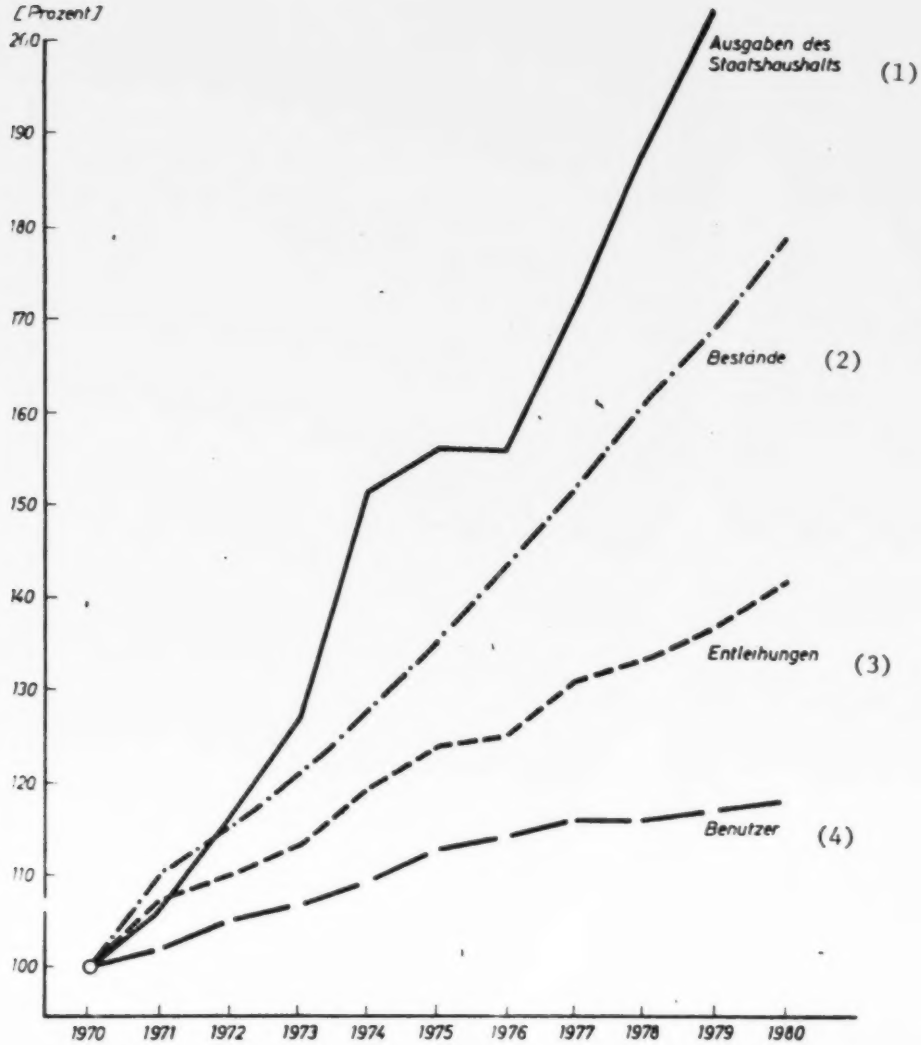

Key:

1. State budget expenditures
2. Accessions
3. Loans
4. Users

On the territorial level, the more long-range conceptions for the management and planning activity of the bezirk councils are a proven form of prognostic work established in management practice. They contain the fundamental tasks and objectives for the development of intellectual-cultural life in the territory. More and more such conceptions must include considerations such as for how long an extensive network of cultural institutions must be ensured to function. Even though in the 1970's investment and preservation allocations rose considerably for the sector of culture and art, the preservation, reconstruction and rebuilding measures can become effective only over the long run, especially since new projects (and not only those that are historically valuable) require new construction measures.

As resources are of course limited and expenses rise, long-range work aiming at, largely, preserving the network structure of GDR cultural institutions is of great importance.

Yet not only with regard to the investment and preservation measures but also with respect to the development of the labor capacity in the cultural sector, the demands are increasing that are made on the quality of long-range work. This problem becomes most apparent in the training of artists. Due to their high degree of specialization, their training must be long-range and target-directed. That places high demands on long-range manpower planning in this sector.

Illustration 2: Trend of Budget Expenditures for Theaters, Variety Shows and Cabarets, number of performances and number of visitors

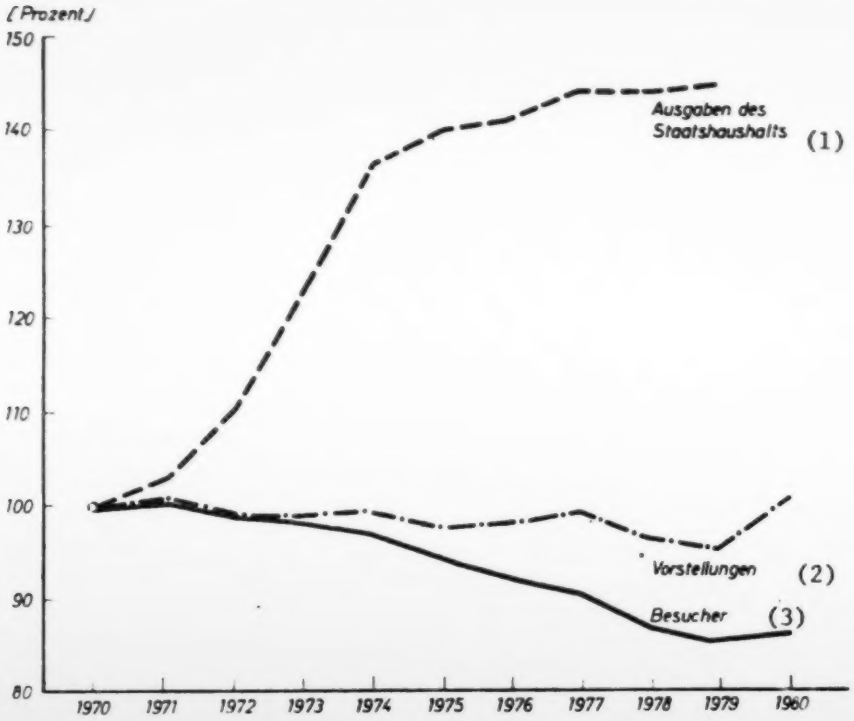

Key:
1. State Budget Expenditures
2. Performances
3. Visitors

FOOTNOTES

1. Sixth SED Central Committee Plenum, K. Hager, "Zu Fragen der Kulturpolitik der SED" (On Questions of SED Cultural Policy), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1972, p 13.

2. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der SED an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 105.

3. H. J. Hoffmann and W. Kuehn, "For a High Aesthetic Culture," EINHEIT, No 4/5, 1981, p 463.

4. E. Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 3. Tagung des Zentralkomitees der SED" (Excerpts from the Politburo Report to the Third SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 29.

5. Cf. "Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR 1981," Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1981, p 253.

6. Cf. ibid.

7. This demand mainly is to be given emphasis with respect to perfecting the basic and advanced training for economists in the cultural sector. Economists for economic activities in the cultural sector are going to be trained, as of 1 September 1982, at the Bruno Leuschner College for Economics, Berlin, in a new department, "Economics in the Sociocultural Sector."

8. Cf. E. John, "Zur Plannung kultureller Prozesse" (On the Planning of Cultural Processes), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978; cf. N. Mader, "Theoretical-Methodological Foundations for Defining the Relationship Between Economics and Culture in the Developed Socialist Society," WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER HOCHSCHULE FUER OEKONOMIE 'BRUNO LEUSCHNER' BERLIN, No 1, 1979, pp 38 ff; cf. J. Kuczynski and W. Heise, "Bild und Begriff" (Image and Concept), Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1975, pp 355 ff.

9. Sixth SED Central Committee Plenum, op. cit., p 10.

10. "Grundlagen des historischen Materialismus" (Prinicples of Historical Materialism), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 706.

11. Cf. E. John, op. cit., p 33.

12. K. Marx, "Theories on Surplus Value," K. Marx/F. Engels, "Werke" (Works), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1956-1968, Vol 26/1, p 379.

13. Cf. "Plan Preparation Guideline for the Tasks in the Cultural Sector," VERFUEGUNGEN UND MITTEILUNGEN DES MINISTERIUMS FUER KULTUR, No 2, 1974, pp 21 ff.

14. Cf. "Decree on the Order and Planning of the GDR Economy 1976-1980, of 28 November 1974," GESETZBLATT DER DDR, No 775 a (Special Issue).

15. Cf. "Decree on the Order and Planning of the GDR Economy 1981-1985, of 28 November 1979," ibid., No 1020 (Special Issue).

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GROUND FORCES CHIEF URGES GREATER USE OF NEW TRAINING DEVICES

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 130, 5 Nov 82 p 2

[Article by Col Gen Horst Stechbarth, deputy minister for national defense and chief, ground forces: "Great Demands in Combat Training"]

[Text] The daily struggle by military personnel for a high degree of combat strength and combat readiness is even now, under the new, worsened conditions of imperialist confrontation policy, one of the most important prerequisites for the reliable fulfillment at all times of the class mission received by the GDR's party of the workers class. Especially in combat training, in unison with the political education of military personnel, is military knowledge and ability solidified. The present degree of modernization of our strike forces presents constantly increasing demands.

Modern weapons, technical means of warfare, leadership, reconnaissance and transportation, give to the divisions a high degree of mobility, maneuverability, fire and assault power. They change the character, forms and methods of armed combat and increase the role and responsibility of the individual and of small collectives significantly.

Increased Capacity

Making full use of the capacity and potential of military technology, with all its electronic components and its often complex technical construction, the demands increased requirements on the military and military-technical knowledge and ability of military personnel, as well as their political-moral character and steadfastness.

This would require a longer training time. However, that is not possible--on the contrary, it has decreased, relatively speaking, in relation to the weapons, weapon systems and devices to be mastered. The fact that we nevertheless successfully solve the demanding training tasks, we owe to the increased ability and good will of military personnel, in whom our socialist society has instilled a high level of consciousness and education as well as solid vocational training, and who gained important prerequisites for their honorable service in the general military and career training of the Society for Sports and Technology.

The main method of teaching the necessary increase in military knowledge, ability and skills of military personnel and collectives consists in more intense combat training. This purpose is also served by the increased development and introduction of modern training aids, especially simulators and training devices. With the use of microelectronics and other products of the scientific-technical revolution, these devices offer the real possibility of transmitting more knowledge, ability and skills per training hour than before.

In contrast to the actual technology, these training devices and simulators offer more training slots for the simultaneous training of several individuals. They allow for systematic training. Difficult training elements or those not yet mastered can be repeated and practiced at will, and it is possible to select various degrees of difficulty and to portray a variety of combat situations realistically, up to a point.

The modern devices render training more vivid, allow a trainee more complete and more precise information and contribute to developing his activity and independence. Control and measuring devices register and signal every single negligence, inattentiveness and every mistake of the trainee and make it possible to measure and evaluate every step of training with precision.

Today, e.g., crews for antitak guided missiles are trained on simulators, which allow for firing on suddenly appearing and moving targets at various distances and in various sizes under many different circumstances. Driver training devices already exist in a fairly large number, and the effects of weapons are realistically portrayed with the help of optoelectronic installations during tactical training and field maneuvers.

Practical Training With Decreasing Material Waste

In addition, the modern training devices are more economical, because many elements of training can first be practiced in the classroom. While the actual technology is used less, they still allow for complete training and contribute toward a saving in time, transportation, fuel and technical expenses. By using a gasturbine simulator for the ground forces antiaircraft defense, e.g., practical training has increased from 3 to 97 percent, the operational hour limits have been lowered by 99 percent, and expenses per training hour have been reduced considerably.

With such results, the ground forces confirm the dictum of the Fourth SED Central Committee session that it is the will to be not only a good soldier, but also a smart economizer, which determines to an ever greater extent all thinking and acting.

In numerous cases, training devices and simulators are built by the manufacturers at the same time as the actual technology. The scientific-technical installations of the NVA, in cooperation with the scientific and production potential concentrated in industry, are also making greater efforts in furthering the development of modern training devices. We are very grateful to management, engineers, and workers of our people-owned industry for their understanding of the important mission of our socialist national defense.

9328
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PEOPLE'S POLICE SCHOOL'S TRAINING METHODS DESCRIBED

Karl-Marx-Stadt FREIE PRESSE in German 13 Oct 82 p 6

[Article by Klaus Mueller: "Young People's Policemen Are Learning for the Protection of the Citizens: The People's Police School in Zwickau-Planitz Provides Comprehensive Knowledge and Teaches Responsible Action"]

[Text] Without much hesitation, Police Lieutenant Hans-Joachim Eckardt had jumped into the water-filled ditch. Literally at the very last moment he pulled the small, blonde, totally exhausted head from the deadly, icy water. The officer had been alarmed by the cries for help of a slender, young woman. Later, he himself did not know any more exactly how he had managed to get out of the deep hole without a ladder, carrying the 4-year old boy in his arms; only that the woman had helped him as well as she could. She also took the strange little boy home with her for the time being. From his apartment nearby, Lt. Eckardt then notified his headquarters, which took over from there...

newly hired people's policemen in the people's police school in Zwickau-Planitz listened attentively to their teacher's detailed account of this rescue, which had occurred in the "Fritz Heckert" new housing development in Karl-Marx-Stadt.

Practice as Part of the Curriculum

Breaktime. The young men graduating from the basic course after several months in Zwickau-Planitz have a lively conversation about what they have just heard. On one side of the large rectangular inner courtyard, they debate about courage, a sense of responsibility and quick reactions. How would I act, they ask themselves. Comparisons to other examples are made.

Practice as school. Teaching material from everyday occurrences in the people's police kreis headquarters and reviers. This is practical expertise. The graduate from this school must know what he must do as a policeman in case of an accident. First Aid is taught at the beginning of the course. From experienced officers, the student learns the difference between felonies, misdemeanors, disorderly conduct, what the duties and rights of a policeman are in certain situations. Of course this also means that many paragraphs must be studied, because the knowledge of law, various regulations and rules is part of it.

Knowledge and Conduct as Goal of Education

The break is over. Now comes a film about proper conduct at the scene of the crime. A number of films like it or similar to it are available. After the film, the teacher explains the reasons for everything. But he also asks this or that comrade: "How would you have acted in this case?" Police instructor 1st Lt. Gottfried Schoot confirms at the end of the hour: "To do the right thing for the protection of our state and its citizens requires not only extensive knowledge but also conscious and exemplary conduct." The evaluation of many examples serves this important educational goal of the people's police school. The 1st Lt. counts the student Frank Weidauer among those who are already highly conscious of their future responsibility. Frank is a quiet person who does not draw much attention to himself. One does not notice him immediately when a group gets together for debate. His fellow students and the instructors value his goal-directedness and reliability. Everything he does is to the point, be it his answers about the subject taught, or Marxism-Leninism, or his participation in the Join-In-Competition at school, in sports and in training.

Our Citizens Are To Live in Security

Frank Weidauer had displayed this goal-directedness before. He passed his qualifying examination for his vocational training with good results. Like many of his fellow students, he passed his qualifying examination for his vocational training with good results. Like many of his fellow students, he served honorably for 3 years in the NVA. Even during that time he also trained others. His mostly good and very good marks at the people's police school attest to his seriousness with which the 24-year old prepares himself for the profession of policeman. In the meantime, Frank Weidauer has begun work as trainee in the bezirk town. Here, too, his performance has already been evaluated as exemplary. He himself says it this way: "It gives me satisfaction to see to it, along with others, that there is always order and safety, that crime is reduced. For this I want to give all I have to give."

9328
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'NEPSZABADSAG' ON ANDROPOV CPSU CC SESSION REMARKS

AU291125 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Nov 82 p 3

[Ferenc Varnai article: "The Future Belongs to Detente"]

[Excerpt] Detente is not a chance episode in the history of mankind, the future belongs to this policy: This remark, which was made by Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee [at the 22 November plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee], has, in a few days, gone around the world. One of the reasons for this was probably the fact that it was made at a time when imperialist propaganda is using every means to persuade world public opinion that detente is finished, that it was a passing detour not even worth mentioning.

The Soviet leadership is aware of the fact that relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, these two particularly mighty great powers, are decisive from the viewpoint of the further development of the fate of the world. Already in the seventies, the "decade of detente," there have been numerous warnings made by the Soviet Union. Political detente can be firm only if it is complemented by steps on the path of military detente. Unfortunately, the influence of the bosses of the war industry monopolies has strengthened in the United States. They have succeeded in spreading the fallacy that only by creating a military superiority can the United States ensure the external energy and raw material sources indispensable for its production and consumption. However, this concept has led to a swift increase of the problems of economic management and a rapid rise of unemployment and inflation. In the system of cooperation among countries, satisfying the energy and raw material requirements of the United States and preventing the decline of peaceful economic branches can, in fact, be guaranteed precisely through detente.

Yuriy Andropov called the attention of U.S. Vice President George Bush to this at their meeting on the occasion of Leonid Brezhnev's funeral when he stressed: The Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate on the basis of equality and to develop mutually beneficial relations. This willingness was substantiated by the statement made by Premier Nikolay Tikhonov at the Soviet-U.S. Trade Council meeting held in Moscow which more than 200 U.S. businessmen attended.

Evidently, the U.S. businessmen who attended the council meeting want peace and would like to profit by a livening up of business contacts. However, although

the present U.S. administration was obliged to lift the gas pipeline embargo--among other reasons because of the resistance of its own allies--it is striving to force its allies to accept even more extensive discriminatory measures against the socialist countries. And extremist advisors are suggesting that the Soviet Union be induced to "arm to death" and, unfortunately--as shown by the latest decision on the placement of the MX missiles--this suggestion is having an effect for the time being.

When the CPSU declares that international tension can and must be overcome in spite of this and resolutely opposes the escalation of the dispute of ideas into a confrontation between states, an incessant arms race and war, it is not its mere desires that it expresses and it does not indulge in naive beliefs. It does not strive for negotiations that camouflage armament, but honest negotiations that serve disarmament and concessions that result in solutions that are useful and sensible for both sides. It disavows the policy of demanding unilateral concessions, "punishing" sanctions and blackmail. At the same time, it ensures its country and its allies and the peoples of the world against any surprise. It undertakes the necessary defensive measures against the threatening aggressive acts of imperialism and devotes increased care to strengthening the unity of the socialist community, seeing to it that the peace-loving people of the world close their ranks even tighter in the face of the machinations of warmongers.

Particular notice is deserved by those words of the CPSU general secretary that call attention to the fact that, keeping in mind the interests of socialism and peace, efforts are also required in socialist countries where appropriate trust and mutual understanding are still lacking for various reasons. "This also refers to our great neighbor, the people's Republic of China," noted Yuriy Andropov. "The ideas formulated by Leonid Brezhnev in his speeches in Tashkent and Baku, the emphasis on common sense and the significance of an attitude based on rejecting prejudices expressed the conviction of all our party, its endeavor to look to the future. We receive with great attention every positive response to this from the Chinese side."

The desire to improve these relations was also reflected by the gesture made by the CPSU general secretary when, while condolences were conveyed, he had a lengthy discussion with Huang Hua, the Chinese Government's foreign minister who was still in office at the time, and the fact that, after almost 1 and 1/2 decades, such high-level negotiations have taken place as have been conducted between the two countries' foreign ministers.

On the basis of equal rights and mutual agreement, the Soviet Union is always prepared to extensively develop its relations with the peace-loving countries of the developing world and the West European capitalist countries, which are playing such a significant role in making peaceful coexistence unfold, including the FRG, which has been assuming an outstanding role in bringing about detente in the last 1 and 1/2 decades. This was expressed by Andropov in his talks with West German Head of State Karl Carstens when he declared: His country remains prepared to do everything to maintain the previous cooperation which has also produced so many results for Europe as a whole.

The Soviet leadership represents a policy of striving for peace, detente and good-neighborly relations all the more consistently since--contrary to slanders--it does not need to expand in any way. It is a country that possesses a vast productive force and reserves, a country whose successful development needs only one prerequisite to be ensured. Years and decades spent in peace, the ability to apply its forces--instead of armament--to developing the economy and improving the standard of living and to work under tranquil external conditions to develop an efficient system for the direction of the national economy, to further develop socialist democracy and promote all factors ensuring the development of the socialist social system. That is the reason for the fact that the policy of the Soviet Union's leadership has been and remains predictable and the explanation for the fact that Yuriy Andropov could safely confirm at the CPSU Central Committee plenum. The future belongs to detente.

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CAUSES OF YOUTH DISSATISFACTION EXAMINED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Istvan Huszar, director of CC Institute of Sociology: "Youth and Society*"]

[Text] We must look at the problems of today's youth from the standpoint of the social, economic, political, and ideological processes that mark the 1980's. In the midst of our consolidated stable social structure today there are many phenomena which deviate from the processes that could have been predicted from the earlier world view. The processes of mobility which changed the social structure in large-scale and predictable ways have stopped. Economic development has slowed and numerous inconsistencies have become more pronounced. In the given network of international economic connections, among the inconsistencies, crises and crisis conditions of the world economy the development of our economic strategy and the creation and maintenance of urgently necessary balance conditions has come to require unprecedented effort, and has become more difficult than expected. International tensions have increased. We are surrounded by dozens of crisis sources, and the near future, in our present opinion, does not promise carefree living or soaring dynamism. It is even possible that we are facing a period punctuated with setbacks in important economic and standard-of-living economic processes. The present has fallen out of rhythm with the period from the early 1960's to the late 1970's, and despite the apparently successful initiatives and experiments, we cannot offer a constructive answer to all aspects of the internal and external challenges of the times. We have not yet discovered all the factors of our society which provide flexibility and renewal; nor do we yet know how to resolve the necessary conflicts without polarizing them, so that we can continue to approach our social goals despite the increasing problems and can strengthen the political unity of our society.

All these issues and occurrences effect our youth deeply, and affect its various strata in many various ways. At the same time, they represent a call for rapid changes in our youth policies.

Many signs indicate that the issues of the 1980's puzzle and increasingly disorient our youth, or at least a significant majority of them. The fact that today's young generation has no personal experience with capitalistic, feudal Hungary is one explanation. It is important to remember that the parents of this generation grew up after the liberation, and thus their social experience

* Based on the introductory presentation of the national conference, "Youth in Society in the 1970's and 80's," Nyiregyhaza, 7 September 1982.

and socialization are entirely tied to the reality of socialist development. The present young generation was raised in the period of dynamic socio-economic change, improving standard of living, and broadening of social democracy; they were spared the experience of dramatic contradictions and social cataclysms. The impact of these historic values can in their own way bring about lack of understanding with regard to today's concerns and unusual occurrences.

These factors can only be aggravated by the unique hardships of the youth situation. These always seem new, even if some are not historically or sociologically, because every generation experiences them for the first time--and thus anew. Some of these hardships are the frequent sharp distinction between efforts and possibilities for continuing education or learning a trade; difficulties with career decisions and finding a job in some trades; unsatisfactory financial and moral recognition for higher general and trade learning; in many cases, extremely slow occupational advancement; and providing an independent existence, especially in obtaining housing.

These factors together create a situation in which it is necessary for our society to react in an entirely new manner, and rethink certain key tenets of our youth policy.

A rightful question can be posed: is the earlier, generally accepted opinion that among youth, the social behavior, conscious belief, and attitude towards the domestic socialist system and our goals generally positive, still valid? I am convinced that this opinion still stands. For this reason, we can construct the strategic program of youth policy with collective work. Both the demand and the readiness for this task is collective. General, troublesome political tensions are not present; youth take part information and implementation of social programs as a group; in other words, in their orientation towards our society, positive elements predominate.

This generally acceptable picture should not exclude certain important and hardly attractive elements, however. In practically every stratum of youth, passivity in politics and public life and alienation from activity in social institutions and especially youth organizations can be seen. We have begun to analyze the reasons.

With no less attention to the role of the mentioned historic factors and the effect of objective social and multifold international influences, we must also see that a chronic weakness envelops the system and practice of the transmission and reinforcement of our ideas. Besides the mentioned reasons, perhaps this explains why some groups of our youth can occasionally come under influences inimical to our morality. The institutional system dedicated to raising our youth is contending with serious functional difficulties. Formal actions initiated from above by the youth establishment have painfully little positive influence. The substantial majority of youth affected by the actions are forced to take part, and they rightfully miss possibilities for greater independence and initiative and those institutional forms which would allow broader space for positive social activity. These phenomena would merit attention even if they were motivated by inadequate recognition and inappropriate development of modern conditions. In any case, I feel that the answer to these questions can be a part of a long-range, conceptual youth policy program.

It is a truism that youth is not a unified social group, although peculiarities and characteristics arising from generational social differences must not be neglected. Indeed, new tendencies in the internal stratification of youth can be observed; on one hand, these tendencies relate closely to the changes taking place in the social structure, and on the other, these general social changes affect certain groups of youth uniquely. Until now, both policy and pedagogy have paid little attention to these facts, with the result that certain questions that did not affect all of youth, but large groups of it, often remained out of mind. Thus, for example, we speak of the situation and problems of the young intelligentsia, while in most cases we are focusing attention on the situation of one group of humanistic intellectual youth. Until very recently, we paid almost no attention to the problems of the technical and agricultural intelligentsia, even though this is the largest group of professionals; in addition, they are in direct contact with production, the strata of manual workers, they fill directorial positions in production and other management institutions, and thus generally realize and transmit central economic policy intentions. Thus the ideology they transmit or even the behavior and opinions they demonstrate can influence a very broad range of social agencies.

The employed strata fall similarly outside the attention of institutions dealing with youth. Although their numbers and proportion within youth are growing rapidly, we have much too little information concerning their situation, living conditions and way of life. In the past decade, youth policy has not been able to react successfully to the problems of this stratum.

Among working youth, skilled laborers receive selective attention. We have practically forgotten about the situation of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, especially those who have realized little mobility over the generations; yet this is the stratum for which social disadvantages frequently appear in clusters, and strictly determine the social opportunities and the rebirth of disadvantages generation after generation. Nearly 15 percent of all youth belong to this group. In the 1980's, their problems deserve special attention because, as the past decade demonstrated, this group cannot join in our social development processes on its own strength.

Thus, we should not speak of the problems of inequalities for youth; instead, in our social policy, we should concentrate on resolving the situation and conflicts of youth groups suffering from cumulative disadvantage.

Tensions among youth are due in part to the commonplaces of daily existence. Heightened tensions focus on starting life or family independently. These concerns have grown significantly in the past decade. The possibility of acquiring housing independently depends primarily on the parents' income; the young people's level of income by itself does not allow for accumulation of the resources necessary for independently financing housing. Parental support can determine the ability of youth to establish independence even in the long run; in this way, differences in the parents' social situation can be transmitted in a broad way, and can strongly inhibit the establishment of real independence.

The pay for young workers doing equal work generally falls far behind that of older people. This is especially apparent among young professionals, whose starting salary is far less than that of skilled workers of the same age, and does not catch up until they are over the age of 40.

The financial burden for day care represents a growing concern. To balance it, numerous measures have been enacted in the past 15 years. However, their effect has been neither lasting nor significant. The income level of families with children is increasing more rapidly. While 60 percent of the growth in nominal income between 1970-75 also represented real income growth, this proportion dropped to 40 percent in 1976-78 and 10 percent in 1979-80. Nominal income growth without corresponding real income growth hurts young couples with children doubly, since the cost of raising children grows rapidly even when real income stagnates. Aid to families covers only 20 percent of the family burden of raising the children. The discrepancy between the income per person of childless families and families with 2-3 children has increased by nearly 70-75 percent since 1972; generally, for a family with 2 children income is 1300 forints lower per person.

At present, the most serious concern of youth is the housing situation. Eighty-four percent of childless youth and 35 percent of youth with children are now without independent housing; furthermore, 10.5 percent of families with children live in their family homes or in sublet apartments. Four-fifths of redistributable housing is obtained through market means, and 75 percent of already high housing construction costs is covered by the financial resources of the population; thus the majority of youth are unable of their own strength to accumulate the money necessary to obtain housing. For certain strata of young wage-earners, the same housing level differences apply as for the adult population.

The conditions of housing availability today hardly motivate youth to save, and influence their consumer orientation adversely. Those that have accepted the burdens of securing housing are faced with such strict and lasting financial stress that their consumerism and way of life and sometimes even their career is deformed by it. The consumption level of youth independently securing housing is nearly 30 percent lower than that of other youth groups. Those who cannot find a realistic perspective on securing independent housing consider themselves "futureless"; they cannot realize the social goals of their circle. Thus it is timely that the current decision of the Central Committee and Council of Ministers concerning housing construction and management embodies the creation of conditions in which "young couples--regardless of their occupation or social standing or the forms of housing construction--will obtain their first housing more quickly and with more equitable chances." Yet the road from the possibility to the social tension-resolving reality still seems long.

On the basis of these straining influences and others we have only touched upon, other urgent, ideological questions arise: what kind of society are we creating? How and when will the financial and social conditions for the many-sided development of the individual come about? How will the perspective goal of social equality, socialist democracy and so on be defined and realized? In other words: the future is not enough; we need a vision of the future. Since this picture can never be finished, complete, nor especially free of surprises, it can only receive the same corrections and expansions that our past predictions have undergone. Despite all this, these questions deserve special attention. These questions embody the fact that youth do not expect only housing, increasing income, and a more free life from the socialist future; they desire a society in which concrete possibilities are offered for the development of identification

with the most important spheres of human activity, the modes of existence of the public character, organizations, collectives and institutions, social ideals and goals, and personal interest and aspirations. Reality is not the earthly twin of the ideal, and the roads are more uneven than those for which we have prepared youth. This is in itself adequate grounds for what we call social identity breakdowns.

It is true for our whole society, and especially for our youth, that values previously considered stable have gone through significant changes and have been strongly relativized. The yardstick has become more unsteady, unsure; social expectations and reality differ conspicuously from the mentioned values. In the institutional system of today's socialist democracy, useless measures are frequent, while in other areas the working mechanism for economic and social life is unpredictable, overregulated, and incomprehensible to youth. Thus it creates feelings of both anomie and defenselessness. All these can lead to confusion of social knowledge.

In the conclusion of an earlier party research project, we read that socialist knowledge "reflects the given society as its own." The statement continues: "socialist knowledge is not a satisfied knowledge...the metaphysical reaffirmation of the extant is not a characteristic of socialist knowledge. Its relationship to what exists is that of guardian or destroyer...it considers the extant a given chapter of historical development, which must be transcended." It seems that sincere efforts to transcend existing conditions are absent from the public knowledge, and that denial is the ruling force. Insufficiencies in our national and historical self-knowledge are probably involved to a large degree here.

We actively promote development of our national consciousness, but hardly enough. We speak openly of our concerns and burdens; we cannot deny this. Yet if we do not add historical lessons--or if we are dealing with the present, conceptions of social progress--we may begin to feel a lack of perspective and a real grasp of the situation is our best tool for decreasing and overcoming our identity and value-orientation troubles. Luckily, we have already thought out and concretized numerous important elements of such a program; however, creation of the missing, necessary elements and integration of the elements into a unified whole will still require great effort.

It is a general characteristic of institutions for raising youth that they evade youth's questions entirely. In some instances, the atmosphere is sometimes such that these questions cannot even be raised. Total condemnation of problem-sensitive youth and the application of reproach still takes place occasionally. These factors together can at times strengthen the effects of oppositionist movements. Thus I find it a central task--and basic social concerns come to bear here--that we renew our pedagogical institutions, particularly youth institutions and the school system, both in content and form. The party Central Committee established a basis for the latter in its spring decisions concerning directives for the development of the educational system. It must be emphasized that the road from planning the foundation to completing the house is still long and rugged. Of course, youth policy must be integrated with other aspects of the social institutional system in the changed reality of the 1980's. Only in this way can we react offensively to social changes and their accompanying sociological issues. There are high stakes involved in action and attitude, just as much as in postponing or neglecting them.

9890
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LEGAL DEFINITION OF POVERTY LEVEL QUESTIONED

Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian No 10, Oct 82 pp 74-83

[Article by Agota Horvath: "Assistance to the Poor"]

[Text] Sociographic articles and, less frequently, sociological studies inform us that poverty has not disappeared in Hungary. But who are the poor, and how many of them are there?

A library full of literature exists on the subject, and the approaches to the problem are of many different kinds.[1] Essays on poverty start for the most part from income size although it can hardly be disputed that those should be included among the poor who have no house or whose housing conditions are unacceptable[2] and can be improved only through merciless limitations on their consumption from their own resources (or not even in this way). This is true even if their income is at the average. Or where can we list the approximately 720,000 people who live four persons in a single-room apartment?[3] But no matter what variety of causes and how intricate the combination of the causes from which poverty situations derive, we can make statistically valid findings only on the basis of income as long as we lack a systematic study of poverty. Even though we still do not have in Hungary an officially accepted "minimum subsistence" concept.

According to 1977 income data,[4] 20.3 percent of the population had a per capita monthly income of no more than 1,600 forints, while 6.8 percent had less than 1,200 forints. If in place of the missing minimum subsistence concept we take the 1,070 forint pension minimum for the year in question, we may say that one-fifth of the population was poor, 6.8 percent was very poor. (Although it can in no way be taken into account, it must be mentioned that it was usually the most deprived sub-classes that were left out of the various surveys, the ones that can be the least supervised by the institutional system of society.) At any rate, there are about this many poor. But who are they?

First, we must include those families in which the earner-dependent ratio is unfavorable. This can be caused by the high number of children, the unemployment of women (whether in the form of gyes [childcare benefits] or housekeeping) and the broken character of the family, particularly if the family principal is a woman. In 1977, 62.8 percent of those living in families with four or more children managed with a monthly average income of less than 1,200 forints

per person. For families with one child or with two, the percentage was 2.2 percent or 4.4 percent respectively.[5]

Secondly, we must include those with low pensions: Those who retired a long time ago, manual agricultural workers performing unskilled or semiskilled work whose performance and earnings were thus reduced in the years immediately before going on pensions. While the above mentioned 6.8 percent lived on an income of less than 1,300 forints on a national average in 1977, the same ratio for pensioners and dependents was 12.4 percent.[6] Disabled pensioners are included here, their number was 333,000 in 1978.[7]

Thirdly, those without pensions: the tsz [producer cooperative] annuitants and those on social welfare. Among the latter are not only elderly but also those in an active age group who became disabled before gaining the work relation necessary for pension entitlement. (In 1974 about 51,000 people received regular and full social welfare assistance, while the number of those registered on the waiting list was about 1,200. In the first half of 1975, the upper limit for one month's assistance was 532 forints.[8])

As we know, the years of schooling completed by the principal in families with a low income is generally low. A low level of schooling indicates their place in social work specialization: in 1977, 6.8 percent of the population lived on an average income of less than 1,200 forints a month, but among the families of semiskilled workers this was 9.8 percent, unskilled workers and auxiliary workers 16.6 percent and manual agricultural workers 7.4 percent.[9]

The above-listed, but by no means all, factors often appear in clusters, which makes it more difficult or even impossible to break out of poverty through one's own resources.

Both on the basis of sociographic works[10] and sociological studies,[11] the picture emerges that the housing situation of sub-classes with low incomes is substantially below average, in quality, degree of amenities and density. Their nourishment is inadequate both quantitatively and qualitatively. Thus there are families that are destitute, and naturally children are also living in these families. The social policy of the state tried to help them in their circumstances when in 1974 regular rearing assistance (hereinafter RNS) was created and put into operation on 1 January 1975. What is this assistance?

"If because of social circumstances the parents are unable to care for a minor because they as well as other relatives obligated to maintenance have through no fault of their own such low earnings, or other incomes, that these do not reach the prevailing per capita pension minimum, and therefore institutional placement should be provided for the minor, but the parents' (...) circumstances are suitable for them to provide for the rearing and care of the minor: the public guardianship authority--as a duty of the office or upon request--may arrange to provide regular rearing assistance without institutional placement. The goal of the rearing assistance is to help the rearing of the child in his own family."

The granting of rearing assistance may be ordered only if the following, combined conditions exist:

--if "the housing conditions assure a healthy environment for rearing the minor";

--if "the parent and persons living together with the family are suitable for properly assuring the development of the child's personality";

--if "a desirable family atmosphere and emotional ties are secure between parent and child."

The rearing assistance consists of monetary payments and payments in kind, and these may be granted combined or separately. The form and extent of the assistance is established by the public guardianship authority together with the Child and Youth Protection Institute (hereinafter GYIVI), and it will be this latter institute that makes the payments.

Assistance is excluded:

--if the behavior of a person living together with the parent may endanger the rearing of the minor;

--if the parent neglected to provide medical care for the child;

--if the development of the unfavorable material and social situation of the family was caused by irresponsible behavior, improper use of income, and unwarranted job changes; and

--if the parent is unable to change objectionable behavior by the child.

The rearing assistance must be withdrawn if the parent does not require regular school attendance by the child, and if "in the same semester the child has a second unexcused absence because of his own fault, regardless of the number of hours or days missed."[12]

The question arises as to how many children in Hungary are living in such social conditions that the parents are unable to take adequate care of them.

According to the calculations of Zsuzsa Ferge,[13] there were about 2.2 million children below the age of 15 years in the country in 1977. On basis of 1977 income data, there were 240,000 children among these who lived in families where the monthly income was 1,200 forints or less per capita. Therefore, to judge by age and the material situation of the family, this many children would have been entitled to RNS in 1977. (This figure is raised somewhat because a child over 15 years of age who is continuing his studies may also receive RNS; it is somewhat reduced by the fact that the pension minimum in 1977 was only 1,070 forints.) Of these approximately 240,000 children, 8,400 received RNS, or not entirely 4 percent of those entitled by virtue of their indigence. Even if we assume that in 1977 all of the 34,400 children in state care were in institutes because of material reasons, still in the most ordinary sense of the word approximately 200,000 children were deprived. In essence, this ratio has not changed: although the number of those sharing in RNS in-

creased, there were only 10,066 in 1979. One reason for this is that the decree excludes a large portion of the indigent, mostly by reason of the fact that it sets appropriate housing as a condition. The other reason is that the indigent--giving the lack of adequate information--do not know about the assistance. The third is that the institutional capacity--of which we shall speak below--does not make systematic fact-finding of the cases possible. Down to 1979 there was no sign at all that they would like to expand the institution with a fact-finding apparatus (or with a considerable addition in personnel), presumably because the money intended for this purpose would turn out to be too little for those entitled to assistance. And with this we have arrived to the internal contradictions of this form of assistance.

Material Sources of Support

In Budapest it is the Capital City Council which provides the financial cover for RNS:[14]

in 1975	6,493,144 forints including supplementary credit:	1,455,592 forints
in 1976	12,099,737 forints including supplementary credit:	4,515,337 forints
in 1977	12,594,172 forints including supplementary credit:	2,554,974 forints
in 1978	14,994,168 forints including supplementary credit:	4,176,482 forints

It is evident that in 1976 they built 1,019,256 forints of the previous year's supplementary credit into the budget (and only 25 percent was not). In 1977 they built in 2,454,798 forints (and not 45.6 percent); in 1978, however, the budget was expanded by only 778,488 forints (and 69.5 percent was not built in). In 1979, 2,800,000 forints were lacking from the budget, of this 2 million forints were given from supplementary credit, but they made the further saving of 800,000 forints the task of the GYIVI.

It is obvious from the budgetary data that as the extent of the help given was expanded the council became more tight-fisted, to the same extent, in legalizing additional expenditures. An increasingly smaller percentage of additional outlays stemming from the discovery of new cases were built into the following year's budget until finally a rather absurd--given the fact it was a matter of social welfare--savings requirement presented itself. With a bit of fantasy one may also imagine what happened to the frame of mind of the administrators (the CYIVI managers and working staff). It is one thing to work with a budget that rightfully increases with a growth in the number of those who are rightfully helped, and an entirely different matter to work with an increase in the ratio that is not built into the budget. If the increase is not built in, this is the same as if "it were not entirely just." And the word itself--supplementary credit--stirs unpleasant notions--as if someone had managed unwisely, lacked foresight, and calculated poorly. And it only confirms a faintly guilty conscience that in the future it will be necessary to "economize."

But how can a Child and Youth Protection Institute--which has the task of supporting children in low-income families--economize? At the most, it can do so by not giving support.

"With the new fact-findings we are still constantly encountering families living at a low-income level like this (under 800 forints per person) who in

the course of well-managed circumstances would be entitled to assistance. But because of the material sources available, a possibility for their support at present exists only in ratio to the elimination of on-going assistance grants."[15]

Thus the indigent must wait their turn. The public assistance authorities and GYIVI rank those on the list. (What else could they do?) It places at the top the families with the lowest incomes, and with slowly released sources begins to give them assistance. With this a hopeless competition begins: The pension minimum rises from year to year, and accordingly the scope of the entitled expands from year to year. The support inevitably lags: for example, the monthly per capita income of families that started to receive aid in the first half of 1978 was 895 forints. Even in 1975 this sum was below the pension minimum, but their turn did not come up until 3 years later.

It is also possible to economize by observing a special technicality. In principle, everyone is entitled to the rearing assistance who meets the criterion and applies for the aid. But how does one arrive to the point of making an application? There is no systematic fact-finding work, the assistance has not been given much open propaganda. After these things:

"It may come in various ways to the attention of the authorities that some respectable family is living without means, in poverty, and the children as a result are disadvantaged. The unfavorable situation of children may become evident at school, to department chiefs during family visits, and teachers in charge. Welfare workers and kindergarten teachers may become aware of the bad conditions. Neighbors, acquaintances may report to the district council, for example, that the material conditions of some family have deteriorated and they need help."[16]

One method has been omitted from the enumeration: being familiar with the assistance (as they are familiar, let us say, with gyes), the indigents initiate the procedure themselves and--knowing the statutory provisions regarding assistance--they put in an application. This occurs, but is actually not characteristic.

On the other hand, I have encountered various such cases where the social department of the council--because of its impecunious status--has for years been paying out a monthly 700-800 forints in social assistance to the family principal, but regular rearing assistance has been issued only in the recent past. It has also been known to happen that the guardian affairs department has granted several exceptional assistance payments (that is, these were "discovered"), but regular rearing assistance was made only after the request of the parent. In fact, it has also happened that several children in one family have received RNS, but altogether their income remained below the pension minimum. In the sense of the decree they continue to be unprovided for as those who do not receive RNS at all. But five other children in the family could be granted assistance, and the income brought up to the pension minimum. Why is this not done? We learn the answer from the notes of a foster-parent inspector:

"Even with our assistance their income remained below the pension minimum (...). The children wore out one another's clothes until they fell apart. We raise their own 700-forint income to only 1,100 forints. If the remaining five

children were to receive regular rearing care, this would mean 2,550 forints according to the present ages of the children, and since the present assistance is 4,330 forints, the total would come to 6,800 forints, or 140 percent of the parent's own wages. We have not given such assistance sum to any single family as yet, but it is also true that there is no other family at present with this number of members. The parents have not as yet asked for assistance for the listed children."[17]

Since there are many indigents and little money, we must also inevitably weigh other considerations in addition to the extent of the material indigence: the situation is such that it not only gives those who direct assistance affairs an opportunity but also imperatively calls their attention to the fact that they should rely on their subjectivity. In fact, it is necessary to select! But this is the source of further contradictions.

Prior to Assistance

Before the granting of assistance, basic preliminary studies involving much work are prepared. The major means and at the same time the product of preliminary studies is the environmental study. Various peoples and organizations prepare environmental studies about the same family: the official in charge of the proper guardian authority, the foster-parent inspector of GYIVI, teachers at school, the rearing, advisory and family care pedagogues and the welfare workers.

Unexpectedness is characteristic of the preparation of an environmental study. It must in every way be avoided that families expecting aid should prepare the "environment" and paint a better picture of themselves than is actually true. Whoever wants help (whoever is poor) must accept the fact that the authorities may drop in unexpectedly at any time; morning, afternoon, evening, Saturday, Sunday--any time is suitable. And not only when the preparatory work is going on but to the end throughout the years that assistance is granted. This places an enormous burden on the authorities (consider how often they visit in vain), who do it only to firm up their own convictions that they are doing their work well.

Among environmental studies, the most important one is the so-called official environmental study, which is prepared by GYIVI and the guardian affairs authorities. This is a basic report on family incomes (pay, bonus, profit shares, sick pay, pension payment, family allowance, maintenance, money paid by subrenters, incidental income scholarship for a child who is an industrial apprentice, and so forth).

This report is the basis of their getting any aid at all. But since many are indigent for material reasons, further information must serve the purposes of selection, justification as to why "it was they who received it." These and other points of view show up in the descriptions of the housing, children, and parents.

Regarding housing:

"The family makes use of its possibilities. Every room is furnished with curtains, carpets, flowers, and appropriate furniture satisfying every requirement is available to the family."

"Bedding, blankets, needle-work, dishware that can be seen in the apartment indicate that the family has tried to accumulate."

"Their only wardrobe is a built-in closet in which clean, neatly arranged children's belongings may be seen.

"...a pantry in which preserved foods and a smoked piece of pork, bacon and sausage can be seen. The animal was raised and slaughtered by the parents...."

Regarding the parents:

"They are well-balanced, lively. They never complain, they are thankful for every little thing."

"The mother had little schooling, but she willingly accepts our advice on child rearing."

"The father is an extremely respected worker at the institute, an old party member, member of the institute's Politburo, he does a great deal of social work, and raises his children in the socialist spirit."

"The parents are quiet, soft-spoken people. Each child studies music. In the evenings they play in a chamber orchestra."

"The parents' lifestyle is well-ordered, harmonious. The six minors are evidence that they like each other, have confidence in each other."

"The family is modest, orderly in behavior."

Regarding the children:

"The children behave with the greatest respect toward their parents."

"The children learn well...they are courteous."

"The children are free in a disciplined way."

"He is an active group child. He accepts every task. Good-spirited, balanced, very quiet, likeable. Scout leader."

"The relations of the children with their teachers and peers are exemplary."

"The children are modest, obedient."

What do these environmental studies indicate? First of all, the ideals of an institution: conflict-free, proper, solid families who live in nicely furnished apartments that may not be too large or extremely good, together with their children who are good learners, diligent, quiet and courteous. It is only necessary to correct their material situation a bit. But the environmental studies indicate something else: the worthy efforts of those who prepare the studies to demonstrate the suitability for assistance of the families entrusted to their attention. After the assistance is received, another picture unfolds from their subsequent unannounced visits to the families: the life of the poor as it is ridden with conflicts and unsettled problems.

The official environmental studies--in respect to the circumstances of their preparation and their substance--are characterized by a strange duality: the wariness of the official and the compassion of the individual. It is possible to interpret in different ways the conditions in the decree--for example, "the existence of a desirable family atmosphere and emotional ties between parent and child," or the suitability of "the parent and persons living with the family for properly assuring the development of the child's personality." For a person visiting in the name of an institution, the most strict interpretation of a statutory provision appears to be the most appropriately official way to act in doing the most exact work. But with strict interpretation it will be possible to give help only to very few families. Thus those who prepare an environmental study find themselves faced with the raw reality of poverty. This stirs the compassion that dwells in their breast. They turn from a strict interpretation, but they do so with a bad conscience and a vague sense of guilt. To counter their sense of guilt and increase their inner security, they become suspicious: what if they were taken in by some kind of appearance, what if they were deceived by the families entrusted to them. They try to avoid this with unannounced visits, this is why the substantive and insubstantive elements are mingled in the environmental studies, this is why they peer into the pantries, and this is why they pry into the more intimate spheres of human life.

Sharing in Assistance

After the preparation of the environmental study, the guardianship authority brings before the director of GYIVI an assistance proposal for a "worthy" family. After this, assistance is begun generally on the first of the following month.

The regular rearing assistance consists of two parts: money assistance and allowances in kind. The financial aid is a regular monthly sum, the exact amount determined by a precise schedule depending on the age of the child, his health condition, and the school grade that he is in. The lowest schedule entry is 480 forints (for a healthy pupil between the ages of 0 to 3) and the highest is 900 forints (for a healthy pupil between the ages of 14 to 18, or for a very sick child of the same age).

The allowances in kind consist of clothing twice a year, school and gymnastic equipment. Between the age of 3 to 18 the value of clothing comes to a total of 2,500 forints, and between the ages of 0 to 3 to a total of 800 forints. The value of the school and gymnastic equipment comes to 300 forints. There

is also also an intermediate solution, the so-called starting clothing. This means autumn and spring clothing with further allowance in kind. The value may exceed 2,500 forints.

A child may receive both kinds of assistance, but it may also receive only financial aid or allowance in kind. Generally, and becoming more and more so, the solution is financial assistance without allowance in kind. A family may receive RNS for a number of its children, or for all of them, there is no limit on the sum that can be paid out to a family.

In gathering the data, I examined 310 assistance allocation actions affecting 289 families. On the basis of these data I reviewed how the material situation of the assisted families developed after assistance was started.

Before assistance is granted, of course, the cinome of every family is below the pension minimum. What caused the low per capita income in these families? I found the following main reasons (I have not ranked the individual factors, because in some instances they appear accumulatively):

--A poor earner/dependent ratio. This is caused in part by a high number of children (in the families that were studied the average number of children was 3.9); it is also caused in part by single-parent families (29 percent of those studied). Moreover, in broken families, aside from a few exceptions, women were the breadwinners. In seven families the grandparents (as guardians) were the breadwinners.

--Gyes. At the time of aid remittance 100 women (32 percent) were on child care assistance.

--Homemaker status. In the families that were studied, 74 women (24 percent) were homemakers, most of them in families with three or more children. In case of a small number of children, a homemaker mother was to be found only in the case of a gravely ill or mentally retarded child.

--Disability pension. Among the parents, 76 persons are on disability pension, among these 23 are the only breadwinners.

A characteristic picture is shown by the socio-economic group to which the family principal belongs. On the basis of data on 201 fathers and 78 single mothers I found the following distribution:

Társadalmi-gazdasági csoport (1)	fő (2)	% (3)
értelmiségi (4)	22	7
középszintű szellemi (5)	12	4
együtt (6)	34 fő	11%
szakmunkás (7)	39	13
betanított munkás (8)	57	20
segédmunkás (9)	49	17
együtt (6)	145 fő (2)	50%
Egyéb:* (10)		
nyugdíjas (11)	61	21
gyes (12)	19	7
egyetemi hallgató (13)	9	3
szoc. segélyezett, sorkatona (14)	11	4
ismeretlen (15)	10	4
Összesen (16)	289	100

* Az itt felsoroltak egy részénél (nyugdíjas, gyes stb.) az aktakból kiderithetetlen volt az eredeti (17)

Table 1. Socio-economic group, 2--number, 3--percent, 4--intelligentsia, 5--medium-level intellectual, 6--combined, 7--skilled workers, 8--semiskilled workers, 9--unskilled workers, 10--Other*, 11--pensioners, 12--gyes, 13--university students, 14--socially assisted enlisted soldiers, 15--unknown, 16--Total, 17--*Among some of these (pensioner, gyes, etc) it was impossible to make out the original.

After this detour in characterization of the families receiving assistance, let us return to the development of the material situation after receipt of aid.

Year assistance granted	Pension minimum (31 December)	Average monthly, per capita income of assisted families (in forints)	
		Before assistance	After assistance
1975	910	683	944
1976	960	789	1079
1977	1070	869	1159
1978 (30 June 1978)	1140	895	1198

In the average total grant, together with aid, the monthly per capita average income rose above the actual pension minimum in every year. But the average covers up the fact that there is a group--and a rather large one--in which income remained below the pension minimum even when combined with aid.

Between 1975 and 1978, the monthly per capita income remained in the year of the grant below the pension minimum in 86 cases (28 percent) out of 310.

It is possible to remain below the pension minimum for two reasons after assistance is granted. Either because the schedule disallows the granting of greater aid (that is, all the children in the family are being assisted, but this is not enough to attain the pension minimum) or because all the children are not being granted assistance, and if they were, the family income would

come up to the pension minimum. But why do they not grant aid to more children in these families, why do they not bring their income up to the minimum as represented by the pension? To answer this question, we must see what kind of families these are.

Let us take as an example the data on those assisted in the first half of 1978! In Budapest in 1978 a total of 1,455 children were being assisted, among whom I have data for the families of 524 children (36 percent). These 524 children lived in 179 families. In 130 of these families the per capita income, combined with aid, reached the pension minimum, but it did not in 49 families. In 23 of these 49 families the schedule causes the shortcoming, and in these cases there are no unassisted children at all. In the remaining 26 families the average number of unassisted children is 2.2. (For comparison purposes it is worth noting that the average number of unassisted children in families that have reached the pension minimum is 0.7.)

Moreover, the average number of children in the 130 families that reached the pension minimum is 3.4; in the 23 families that remained below the pension minimum because of the schedule system, 3.1; and in the 26 families with many unassisted children 5.8.

If I assume the assistance that fell below possibilities was the result of some kind of subjective discrimination then I can state that the discrimination operates against families with a greater number of children. Of course, this is not absolutely valid or automatic, for there are five or six children in some of the families that have attained the pension minimum. These data only indicate that the greater the number of children in a family the greater chance there is to fall below the pension minimum. Actually, it is not even a matter of the number of children but of the fact that the larger a poor family is the greater the chance that a unique "poverty subculture" will be characteristic of it, and this does not correspond with the "propriety" notion of the institution. In regard to parents with children who are assisted at a sub-level, there are frequent comments in the characterizations about the disorderliness of the lifestyle, bad relations with the school, the "low level of house culture," neglect of cleanliness, and so forth.

In addition to the value conflict between the office and those assisted, the above-mentioned suspicions are stimulated even more strongly because in these families the ratio of women in housekeeping and child care assistance is substantially higher than in the families studied as a whole. Although it is none of their business, the inspectors representing the institution fear that mothers bear children in the hope of aid, or terminate work relations for the same reason. It is evident from the notations that the subject of a large number of children or contraception is often discussed between the inspector and the family.

Further evidence of subjective discrimination is the fact that examination of the 12 foster-parent inspectors shows clear differences in their practice. In the various families under the care of different inspectors the ratio of those at sub-level assistance varies, and also the tolerance for families with a large number of children is different.

Summarizing the problems related to the material aspect of assistance, it may be said that the statutory provisions make possible the dysfunctional operation of aid from two aspects:

1. The schedules prevent some of the families from attaining a per capita income as compared to the pension minimum.

2. Since only the upper limit is clearly indicated but not the lower, an opening is left for subjectivity by the grant officers who withhold a part of the sum that in principle may be paid out. In this way, some of the families at the moment of the grant issuance, remain below the income level for the attainment of which they were given assistance in the first place.

This operational irregularity cannot be ignored for its affects more than one-fourth of the families studied.

"Family Caring"

Regular rearing assistance does not actually consist only of money assistance and allowances in kind. Since the beginning of the aid program, GYIVI foster-parent inspectors maintain regular relations with the family. In the course of this, they pay--still unannounced--at first weekly and biweekly, and then monthly visits, as I read in one report "they build into the family." They supervise the use of the assistance, the behavior of the family, and if they regard it as necessary they give advice, instruct--in short, they exercise their inspection rights and obligations. They follow carefully the child's study results, ask for regular reports from the school, maintain ties with the teachers, and in fact sometimes they even help settle some of the everyday problems of the family.

The original role of the foster-parent inspectors was to supervise state wards who were placed with foster parents. This was later expanded to include the supervision of children placed with their own natural parents. By and large, all this tied down the capacity of the network. And then in 1975 they created a brand new institution, the RSN, which imposed about three times as much work on them as their previous tasks. To do this work, they did not create an organization three times as large, or expand the existing organization to one three times as big. The number of inspectors, to be sure, was raised between 1975 and 1978, but not at all to the same extent as the number of families entrusted to them. In 1979 in Budapest, for example, 18 persons carried out this task.

In respect to their qualifications, most are pedagogues (lecturers, teachers), several are special education teachers for retarded children, a few are without training but are long time guardian affairs specialists. Several of them are near pension age or above. The network consists exclusively of women, only the group leader is a male, who does not do field work.

Besides their family visits, it is their task to conduct state administration over the children placed in foster homes (their number was 107 in 1979) and those receiving rearing assistance, prepare new assistance cases, maintain office days, perform duty officer service, etc. To carry out these tasks they have three crowded rooms which are always noisy because this is where clients

are received, where even the use of the single telephone linked to the center is complicated. (With this brief review I want merely to give an awareness of the social respect for family care activity.)

Administrative work related to assisted families is not exhausted with the preparation of an environmental study. Twice every year, every family's material situation must be reviewed and in addition experiences with the family must be recorded on a so-called "Character and Development" sheet.

In the following the discussion will be about the problems of family care activity. The documents created in the course of the assistance include by and large observations like those in the previous environmental study, only a little more critical, indicating at the same time areas of conflict:

"The five children and the sick father frequent the apartment. This coming and going shows on the condition of the floor."

"The affairs of the family require serious study (...) Z. is fighting with his brothers and sisters."

"They are not inclined to guard themselves against or interrupt pregnancy."

"He was given a serious warning in February. If he does not change his behavior, he will endanger the regular rearing assistance received by his four brothers and sisters."

The basis of the conflicts is in the fact that the RNS institution not only has distributable money but also an ideology. It is not satisfied when indigent children have something to eat and wear; the granting of assistance must also fulfill other tasks. There must be an improvement in:

1. The children's study achievements; 2. the relationship between the family and the school ("they regard the school education as good," "they speak respectfully of the teachers in presence of their children"); 3. the personal hygiene of the family and the family members; 4. family planning; 5. the family atmosphere; 6. the socialist character of the education (although the family is "idealistic in outlook"), they "rear the children in a humanist, socialist way similar to thier school education"); 7. knowledge of how to handle money (the inspectors give advice on purchase priorities); 8. an increase in the family's free time which must be devoted to excursions, sports, cultural programs, movies, theater, museum visits; 9. an increase in the family's cultural activities, which must become evident in concert season tickets, development of a home library, subscriptions to magazines, etc.

These requirements appear in the documents prepared by the inspectors and the institutional questionnaires, but they have no practical importance. No one can be denied assistance for giving his child a religious education or not, whether he quarrels with the teacher or not, whether he has concert season tickets or not. All this promotes an ideological administration of the institution. These become a source of conflicts because in family care work they try to implement these requirements. And since the lack of information among

assisted families regarding criteria for aid is very great and since they believe that they must meet every wish of the inspector (otherwise why would he say it?), they suffer through every expression of disapproval as a threat. They believe assistance is at stake. At the same time they take it hard that the inspector should intervene in the most intimate sphere of their life and try to decide their lives on the basis of his own culture and values. The conflict may rise at various points of the requirements; I will choose here only one, where the child stands at the point of impact.

Since the inspector is continuously following the school achievements of the children and the development of their behavior at school, and "he talks with them from time to time and urges them to study more industriously, many of the parents believe that assistance depends on this. They do not know (at least in the case of a child in the general school) that it is not possible to withdraw assistance either for poor studies or for poor behavior at school. The uniformed parent tries to influence the child through hard or delicate means. The child is afraid of the parent, and the parent is afraid of the inspector. These children are conscious from the age of 6 years that they are different from other children and that by virtue of their behavior and school achievements they, too, are responsible for the material situation of the family. But this will not make them learn better because the present Hungarian school system does not "teach" study material but "teaches it down"; it "entrusts learning to the pupil, the parents,"[18] and it is precisely the parents who can least help in learning. And thus anxiety becomes fixed in the children. The deficient expertise of the inspectors strengthens the conflict-arousing effect of the unrealistic desires linked to assistance. This is illustrated better than by any analysis if we list the observations made by the inspectors on children of various ages:

Eighteen-month old: "they bathe him daily. Still he is not clean. He is always crawling around on the ground, and his clothes and hands are dirty most of the time."

Twenty-one month old: "not house trained."

Two-year old: "guards his toys."

Three-year old: "becomes hysterical when his plan is unsuccessful; or "does not always obey his mother."

Four-year old: "an extremely lively, agile, undisciplined child; or

"Moral-political development: he cannot distinguish the imaginary from the real. Traces of mystical thinking can be found in the minor"; or

"...They do not give him physical work to do at home."

Seven-year old: "puts his room in order only if ordered to do so" or; "dresses slowly."

Nine-year old: "Reads an awful lot, but only tales."

Ten-year old: "Cannot as yet set definite goals, only short-term ones that can be swiftly and easily achieved. But if some good game comes up, he puts aside his good intentions (...) and does not have any career direction."

Fifteen-year old: "...in constant conflict with his mother. Friends with a boy. Wants to be a waiter. Only income interests him in career selection."

It is questionable what kind of family-care work can be done by people who are so uninformed in development psychology. And yet the basic problem--and this is the last of a series--does not derive from a lack of professional training but from the fact that family care is tied together with assistance. Even if the inspectors' work were carried out by gifted psychologists-pedagogues-sociologists, the effectiveness of their work would be ruined by the fact that those they cared for were materially dependent on them. In such a one-sided relationship, it is not possible to develop close human relationships, although this is the condition for successful family care.

FOOTNOTES

1. See in this regard: Ferge-Gara-Horvath-Szalai: "A Review of Western Views Regarding Poverty and the Multiple Disadvantageous Situation," VALOSAG, February 1982.

2. In 1974, 31 percent of families with three children and 44 percent of families with four children or more lived in a one-room apartment.

   "Of the 413,000 registered at councils as seeking an apartment, 2,000 justified their housing demand with reference to the dangerous conditions of their present apartments and 20,000 with reference to their unhealthy state." (And these were only the registered.) "About 100,000 persons lived in shacks or a construction of similar level, and in addition another 20,000 persons lived in premises not built as housing (kitchen, cellar, business place). Among state apartments about 20,000 are in cellars and subground floors, and the number of people living in such places may be estimated at about 60,000."

   (Source: "Composition of the Multiple Disadvantageous Sub-Classes. The Causes for the Reproduction of Disadvantage," Research Program. Prepared by Dr Karoly Marjanke, SZEKI [Expansion unknown] 1980.)

3. Estimated from housing data in the 1980 census: Zsuzsa Ferge (Manuscript).

4. "Level and Distribution of Family Income in 1977," Budapest, Central Statistical Office, 1980.

5-6. Ibid.

7. Julia M. Venyige: "Concept, More Important Groups and Occupation of Manpower with Limited Work Capability," (Discussion materials), Ministry of Labor Research Institute, 1981.

8. Ildiko Bakcsi: "Analysis of the Living Conditions of the Socially Assisted," Ministry of Labor Socio-political Department, 1975.

9. "Level and Distribution of Family Incomes in 1977," Budapest, Central Statistical Office, 1980.

10. Katalin Fabian: "The Makoldi Family (The Discovery of Hungary). Szepirodalmi Kiado, Budapest 1977; Gyorgy Berkovits: "In a Metropolis" (The Discovery of Hungary), Szepirodalmi Kiado, Budapest 1976; and many other shorter pieces in VALOSAG, MOZGO VILAG and KULTURA ES KOZOSSEG.

11. For example: "Research Conducted in 1971 Dealing with a Report on the Situation of the Gypsies in 1971" (publications of the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1976); Ottilia Solt: "A Low-Income Working Family in a Budapest District," BUDAPEST NEVELO, March 1975; "Unskilled Laboring Families" (publications of the Capital City Pedagogical Institute, Budapest 1977. Edited by Ottilia Solt).

12. The basis of the assistance survey and the source of the quotations is the decree of the Minister of Education, OM, 1974 (27 June), and the circular letter published on this subject by the Ministry of Education in 1977.

13. Zsuzsa Ferge: "Several Contributions to the Income Situation of Families with Children," VALOSAG, August 1980.

14. I completed my study in Budapest, and thus in the following there will be a discussion of assistance practices and data in the capital city.

15. From the GYIVI report presented to the Education Committee of the Capital City Council, October 1979.

16. MAGYARORSZAG, No 13, 1979.

17. "Report on Inspectors' Experiences Regarding Minors in RNS," GYIVI, Budapest, 1976.

18. Jozsef Nagy: "The Strategy of Instruction," KOZNEVELES, 16 October 1981.

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FORMATION OF 'ROMANIAN NATION' DISCUSSED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 5 Nov 82 pp 4, 10

/Article by Vasile Iota: "When Was the Romanian Nation Formed?"/

/Text/ As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982, scientific knowledge of the millenary history of the Romanian people and their struggle for existence, for social and national freedom, and for independence and unity is basic to any ideological, theoretical and political-educational effort toward the masses' patriotic, socialist and revolutionary indoctrination. From this standpoint scientific-theoretical clarification of the historical period and the particular historical factors and circumstances that led to the birth (formation) of the Romanian nation is of vital theoretical and practical importance.

In discussing the critical importance of community of economic activity in explaining the birth (formation) of nations (See CONTEMPORANUL No 40, 1 October 1982) I think we must reject the theory (a basic component of the old conception) that a relatively lasting community of economic activity was formed in certain areas but not until the appearance of the capitalist production method.

To be sure continuing intensification of the division of labor and development of production and exchange of goods played an important part in the formation of relatively lasting communities of economic activity. But on the one hand we must allow for the actual fact that division of labor, production and exchange of goods, trade and trade capital appeared long before capitalism and even flourished in some previous periods. For example, historical and archeological evidence unquestionably proves the intensive development of the handicrafts and of domestic and foreign trade right in the feudal period, in the time of Stefan the great and Mircea the Old. That fact in itself attests a relatively close community of economic activity in that period. On the other hand, we must allow for the fact that the community of economic activity of a population with a relatively stable state organization of its own is not confined to ties due to the division of labor and production and exchange of goods. It was brought about, and sometimes to an even greater extent, by a number of legal-administrative, political-military, fiscal and other ways and means. The maintenance of the

boyars' and princes' courts, the capacity to equip and maintain armies, and the fulfillment of many "obligations" bear witness to a relatively lasting community of economic activity and permanent and close economic ties between the inhabitants of the Romanian lands during the period of developed feudalism and of formation and consolidation of the centralized feudal states. Moreover the princes' donations,the validity throughout the entire country of various commercial, political or military treaties concluded by a prince with other countries, etc. indicate a lasting community of economic activity in the Romanian lands long before the "seeds of capitalism" appeared. Furthermore the increasingly abundant historical and archeological evidence reveals close economic ties (and others) both among the inhabitants of each of the three different Romanian lands and among the three Romanian lands, or the whole area inhabited by Romanians, and the specialists also consider this the historical period when the basic elements of the Romanian language were formed and established, when it was becoming, and already was, the medium of communication among all Romanians. The fact that various religious works began to be translated into Romanian back in the period of the centralized feudal states and the various chronicles and documents of the princes were written in Romanian proves the necessity of communicating with the people in the language spoken by the people. The great chroniclers' notation of the community of kinship, language and origin of the population of all three Romanian lands and their rejection of the mistaken theories that had begun to circulate concerning the origin of the Moldavian, Wallachian and Transylvanian peoples proves that awareness of national unity and unity of kinship already existed in this period in a developed form. In the old Romanian language (and not in the old one alone) the word "neam" was used not only in the sense of a connection of kinship but more and more frequently in that of the modern term "nation" while national awareness and especially awareness of national unity were only reflections of national existence.

It is a good sign that historical studies in the last decade and a half have found and attest the existence of all the definitive characteristics of the Romanian nation throughout the whole area inhabited by Romanians, the territory of the three Romanian lands, back in the period of developed feudalism. The historical studies as well as the party documents in these last 15 years quite rightly describe Michael the Brave's unification as a first attempt toward actual accomplishment of the Romanian nation's political unity as a state and the numerous wars in the period of developed feudalism as struggles for national liberation, preservation of national existence, and protection of national sovereignty and independence.

As Nicolae Ceausescu said in the above-mentioned speech, "It is very significant that close ties among the three Romanian principalities developed from the beginning. Awareness of the common origin and the desire to unite in a single state existed in one form or another, and they were fulfilled in Michael the Brave's time if only for a short period. The unification achieved under his rule reflected the Romanians' wish for a single state of their own, and it presaged the formation of the single Romanian national state later on in 1918." Yet some historians even evade express mention of the Romanian nation's existence in that period, while the "theorists" of the social sciences go on blandly stating in various works and textbooks that "The Romanian nation was founded in the middle of the 19th century."

As we well know, L. Patrascanu demonstrated 40 years ago that the transition from feudalism to capitalism in the Romanian lands began in the second half of the 18th century, and further historical studies of the origin of capitalism confirmed and reinforced those conclusions. Consequently the RCP Program, other party documents and the historical studies regard the people's uprising under Tudor Vladimirescu as a first manifestation of the bourgeois revolution, which clearly indicates the previous existence of a socioeconomic evolution toward capitalism. Patrascanu and many subsequent authors have pointed out the national and social character of the outlaws' revolution. And so not even capitalism appeared "in the middle of the 19th century," to say nothing of the "Romanian nation."

The basic error leading to the conclusion that the Romanian nation was formed in the middle of the 19th century also lies, among other things, in the confusion between the process of forming the nation and that of creating and completing the Romanian nation's political unity as a state.

The stages considered, in more or less the same way in all the sources that tried to determine the historic moment when the Romanian nation appeared, are not stages in the formation of the Romanian nation but in the creation and completion of the Romanian single national state. To be sure there is an inherent connection of interdependence and mutual influence between the two processes, but they are not identical and relatively distinct. One is the nation, and the national state, single or otherwise, is something else again.

Accordingly the theory of the nation's formation in the period of transition to capitalism is not borne out, at least for some nations, including the Romanian nation. Nor is it borne out for the nations, fully constituted today like the Mongolian nation for example or a number of nations within the USSR (whether or not they have been made autonomous republics), that have undergone no capitalist period of development but have passed to socialism upon skipping that stage, while some have even skipped the feudal stage. In our times the nations in full course of formation in Africa for example, or in other areas of the world, that have not even gone through feudalism and are not evolving toward capitalism have distinctive characteristics and features of their own. All this leads to the conclusion that the various nations were formed in various historical periods, under various economic and social-political conditions, and according to a series of specific-historical circumstances and each nation's own characteristics. Possibly some nations were formed in the period of transition to capitalism, but I think the Romanian nation and perhaps others too were formed right in the feudal period during the formation and consolidation of the centralized feudal states. I believe that some of the small feudal states (in Europe at least) between the latter and the Romanian lands were already formed in the Middle Ages on the principle of nationality, in the sense that each one of them comprised a population belonging in its great majority to the same nation, speaking the same language, etc., and could be regarded as national states in that period or as national states uniform in national structure.

But the fact that the Romanian nation in its entirety, like other nations and some even in our time, existed in the framework of three national states is another thing. Even in that period each and every one of them had within it all the distinctive characteristics and features of a nation. Futhermore, with the

exception of the community of political administration and partly of economic activity, the Romanian nation took the form of a single, uniform and identical nation throughout all three of the Romanian lands. In view of that fact, already noted and confirmed by the great chroniclers of the 16th-18th centuries, it is quite inaccurate and wrong to regard Moldavians, Wallachians and Transylvanians as separate and distinct nations and not to consider them all a single nation, namely the Romanian nation, as they actually were for more than 500 years. The sophistries that exaggerate the "qualitative" differences between the Romanian "people" and the Romanian "nation" or try to present Moldavians, Wallachians and Transylvanians as separate nations different from Romanians have nothing in common either with science or with reality or with the "Marxist-Leninist conception" of the nationalities problem. Consequently some "territorial amputations" effected by the various great powers after the period of the Romanian nation's formation but before the capitalist era directly and brutally violated the Romanian nation's legitimate rights, especially the right to national unity and independence and sometimes the right to life and national existence. And the formidable resistance to those attempts at denationalization, the formidable power of their instinct for national self-preservation, and the fact that after centuries of foreign oppression, including forced incorporation of territories within other states, the Romanian population of those territories preserved and even consolidated their national entity and awareness, their awareness of belonging to the Romanian nation, prove beyond a possible doubt how strongly constituted the Romanian nation already was in the period of the centralized feudal states.

Scientific clarification of the nation's origin, of the historical period and circumstances in which it appeared, and of the socioeconomic and state-political stages through which it passed, as well as rejection of some erroneous, superficial and simplistic ideas and theories about all those problems, are of a vital current importance that calls for a more detailed analysis.

5186
CSO: 2700/52

INCREASING ACCEPTANCE OF NATIVE ROCK MUSIC TRACED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1663, 14 Nov 82 pp 24-25

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic: "The State Has Withered Away"]

[Text] Has a cease-fire finally been agreed on between the government and rock music in spite of polarized public opinion and the occasional outbursts of "keepers of law and order in the world of music"?

In spite of assertions to the effect that our government apparatus has never been in better form and condition, there is irrefutable evidence that some parts of it are withering away. It is true that this is occurring in an area which seems marginal, but one has to start somewhere!

We are referring, then, to the relationship between the government and rock music. Are they leaving one another "at peace"? We have several reasons for asking this.

Several evenings last week Djordje Belasavic, a Vojvodina (lalinska) version of a rock singer, spoke to an overflowing audience at the "Sava" Convention Center. I say "spoke" advisedly, since his performance was above all a first-class political cabaret rather than a conventional concert. In a communique lasting almost an hour, between his hits, Belasavic commented on the following in order: Medenica, the deposit, the stealing of the gasoline of members of parliament, the situation in Kosovo, the international situation, the sad case of Yugoslav soccer, and export and import problems. Judging by the approving reactions of the audience, it was clear that they are familiar with these cases and their thoughts run along the same lines as Belasavic. He concluded with this:

"We are in a mess and it is not easy for us, but not all of our problems are so serious and great. We have extricated ourselves from even bigger messes!"

A bit earlier, 3 weeks ago, a bass guitarist with a short haircut opened a rock concert in Novo Mesto with these words:

"Enjoy our group and the most recent measures of the Federal Executive Council!"

Two months after the "keepers" of law and order in the world of music called for the song "All Quiet on the Western Front" by the Belgrade group "Fish Chowder" to be banned--all because of the line "Fools die for ideals"--the "Chowder" made an appearance at a rally to show solidarity with the Palestinian people together with the generals and politicians. This seemed to be evidence that the shadow of ideological suspicion had been removed from the group and its lyrics.

However, two events back at the beginning of the year indicate still more obviously that some of the relations between the state and rock music are finally being regulated differently than in the past. (We are, of course, referring to the state in the broad sense--actually in the sense of everyone except that portion of young rock musicians!)

We are referring to the new records of the "Idols" of Belgrade ("Defense and Last Days") and the "Pankrti" of Ljubljana ("Favorites of the State").

Favorites of the State

The record of the "Idols" is what one might call liturgical in its spirit! The record smells of incense, and the song "You Are Mine" ends with a regular church ritual--"Save me, gentle comforter."

But these facts, viewed out of context, give the wrong impression. On the whole religious motifs are used very skillfully to make a very good rock record. That is why of the 10 or so excerpts of the lyrics which have appeared in the press concerning this record, only 1 has mild political intonations.

The second record being talked about is "Favorites of the State," which has already been mentioned. In the song "Unanimous and Firm" the Ljubljana group "Pankrti" sing:

"I am shocked that things can exist which consciously put our present moment in a bad light and destroy our average,
I protest, whoever is not for us is against us,
I protest, whoever is not for him is not one of us,
I am shocked that it is possible at all for someone to do what he likes, to make cakes like that,
I am shocked that we still put up with the indecisive who are detracting from our ability to act. Whoever thinks too much gets everything wrong.
I am shocked at this critical moment. But if we are unanimous and firm, we will be able to destroy them when we come across them."

What has happened when these records "passed" without protest, when just recently the demand from any trade union local would have been enough to put a song or the entire opus of a rock musician under the political-ideological microscope? The lack of a real answer is confusing even to the musicians themselves. A few days ago one of the best known of them complained in Belgrade:

"I wrote everything in my last record and there was no reaction!"

It is obvious that the state is no longer figuring in the first line of monitors and that publishers are keeping a loose rein--above all, one would say, for commercial reasons, but they still cannot be criticized for lack of vigilance. On the jacket of the record by the "Pankrti," for example, a decent-looking young man is hugging the knees of some monument. The publisher explicitly required that this monument not be one from World War II, so a monument from World War I was used.

And then the "Pankrti" intended to have printed on the jacket, reminiscent of the advertising slogan "Fruktal in Collaboration With Nature"--"The Pankrti in Collaboration With the State"! But the publisher did not allow this. But all the lyrics on the other hand "did pass."

Freedom 82

The "Pankrti" themselves say that the appearance of the new record confirms that our society is far more tolerant than is usually thought. They are just starting out on a tour to which they have given the name "Freedom 82." Thus the public will ascertain whether the reference is to their criticism of social reality, which is sufficient unto itself--like most of the so-called committed rock lyrics, or whether it means a step further.

In this context we cannot avoid the case of the Slovenian punk rock musicians who were recently associated with scandals involving swastikas drawn in Ljubljana and the group "4 R" ("Fourth Reich") which was intentionally accentuated as evidence that a portion of Slovenian young people are playing around with fascism.

Later a round-table discussion of punk rock was organized at the School of Political Science at Ljubljana University which was attended by more than 300 listeners and participants in the discussion. Representatives came from the Supreme Court of Slovenia, the Ljubljana City Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the Slovenian republic secretary for internal affairs. There were differing opinions beginning with the view that "punk is Nazism in the small," to the statement that it is not socially harmful, but is nonsensical in our social circumstances. Not long afterwards the new Slovenian minister of culture Matjaz Kmecl said that he does not like punk, but his official position is that "punk is among the phenomena which every national culture must have if it wishes to be complete."

It is obvious that the relations between the state and rock music have passed through several phases. We have passed from the complete ideological unsuitability of rock music and the time when it lived a deep underground existence to the phase of suspicion of individual songs, and then of lines and finally only of individual words in the songs of the young rock musicians and on the jackets of their records. That is obviously the phase we are now in.

In any case, it should be said that even in the past strict monitoring did not amount to much of a burden on young musicians who had something to say. Everything they were unable to record on a record they would sing at concerts. In short, it is a fact that the concerts and records of certain home-grown

groups do contain political commentary of a sort concerning our sociopolitical situation.

It would be too much, of course, to assert that there will not continue to be "custodians on duty" in the future. That would signify that something has gone wrong with rock music, since it is by definition outside the establishment. Just a few days ago some of the fiercest groups were complaining that there are cities in which they cannot get a hall for their concert, the television station did not want to mention the title of the record of the "Pankrti" in an advertising spot, and we have already written about the trial of members of the "Sound Laboratory" of Novi Sad because of the "unsuitability of their poster."

What is indisputable is that on recent records and in recent concerts there is more and more talk about the status of young people in society. These are not political rallies, it would be difficult for them to become that, but they are an obvious indication of the young generation's mood.

After all, young people today think that a job, an apartment and money are very important! When they get older, they will be assured of it! Otherwise why would those who are no longer young defend their jobs, their apartments and their money so stubbornly?!

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2090

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30 December 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2090

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REPORT ON SESSION OF ROMANIAN-HUNGARIAN HISTORY COMMISSION

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Sep 82 pp 1048-1049

[Article by Alexandru Porteanu: "The Eighth Session of the Joint Romanian-Hungarian History Commission"]

[Text] The proceedings of the 8th session of the Joint Romanian-Hungarian History Commission were held in Bucharest and Sibiu between 20 and 23 April 1982. The Romanian delegation was composed of Academician St. Pascu, chairman; Dr Dan Berindei, deputy chairman; Dr Alexandru Porteanu, secretary; Venera Teodorescu, member; and Prof Iosif Kovacs, report writer.

The Hungarian delegation, headed by Academician Andras Mocsy, included Zoltan Szasz, secretary; Dr Agnes Szabo, member; Dr Peter Gunst, Dr Tibor Kolossa, Dr Bela Pomogats, and Ildiko Lipcsey, report writers. Other Romanian specialists also participated in the discussions: Lecturer V. Curticapeanu, Dr Al. Dutu, Lecturer Teodor Pavel, Paul Oprescu, Dr Apostol Stan.

The topic: "The formation process of the nations in central and southeastern Europe under the conditions of the dissolution of feudalism and the appearance of capitalism, with special emphasis on the formation of the Romanian nation and the Hungarian nation." On this subject, the Romanians presented the reports: "The formation of the modern nations in Southeastern Europe" (Acad. St. Pascu) and "The formation of the modern Romanian nation" (Dr Dan Berindei), and the Hungarians, "Socio-economic problems of the formation of the nations in Central and Eastern Europe," (Dr Peter Gunst) and "The beginnings of the bourgeois transformation of the Hungarian state--problems of liberalism and democracy in the formation of the system of the new institutions (in the absence of the report writer Dr Karoly Voros, the report was presented and defended by Dr Tibor Kolossa).

Although the discussion of the first topic stressed, initially, the role of economic factors in the formation of nations (without maintaining determinist economic points of view on this matter), the deepening of the discussion permitted the outlining of the importance of the historic roots of the modern nation, the significance of the national awareness and of cultural factors, and the role of the nation in the formation of the national state.

Both sides stressed the complexity and specific character of the historic process mentioned in the area of central and southeastern Europe, its role in the formation and development of the national states.

Although the Hungarian side stressed the liberal-moderate character of the institutions of the state in the period of the dualism, it also noted the significance of the "political illusion" represented by the concept promoted by the Hungarian ruling classes in regard to the so-called "single Hungarian nation" which included all the citizens of the state, including the national minorities. Although the oppressive policy toward the national minorities was not delved into deeply, the historians from the Hungarian People's Republic concluded that the principal weaknesses and anachronisms of the institutional political system of the Hungarian state in the period of the dualism lie in the area of the nationality problem, which involved the majority of the population. Also, by the same system, the access of the Hungarian people to political life was substantially hindered.

From the discussions there emerged a certain consensus in regard to the restraining role played by foreign domination and in regard to the fact that the political structures of Transylvania were, in part, different from those of Hungary, especially in regard to the electoral system, which had a more restrictive nature than the anachronistic electoral law of 1913 in Hungary. The Hungarian report maintained that the new classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, their most active strata, were formed, at the beginning, of elements which were foreign from an ethnic point of view, which indered the democratization of the national movement and the workers movement; the Romanian side gave the necessary explanations in regard to this opinion, mentioning the dominant characteristics and the principal indigenous sources of the formation of the new classes.

On 22 April, in Sibiu, the topic "Romanian-Hungarian cultural relations under conditions of the building of socialism" was discussed, on the basis of a report with the same title by the Romanian side (Prof Dr Iosif Kovacs) and the report "Romanian-Hungarian literary and cultural contacts, 1945-1948" by the Hungarian side (Dr Bela Pomogats), to which a co-report, entitled "Chronicle of 1948 on Romanian-Hungarian cultural relations" (Ildiko Lipsey).

While the report of the Romanian side represented a synthesis of the entire period of the building of socialism, the Hungarian side restricted itself to the 1945-48 period.

The reports and discussions presented a rich and varied picture of Romanian-Hungarian cultural relations in the framework of the new political realities of the post-war period, for the first time in the history of the two peoples, in which a large number of prominent personalities of the two countries were involved. The evaluation of these extensive manifestations gave rise to a proposal that a chronology of Romanian-Hungarian cultural relations for the period mentioned be compiled. In general, the discussion of this topic was the occasion for a noticeable rapprochement of the views expressed by the two delegations.

In conclusion, both sides stressed that the activity of the Joint Romanian-Hungarian History Commission should be taken into consideration to a greater extent in the framework of Romanian-Hungarian cultural relations.

After the reports were presented, a Hungarian delegate expressed the opinion that while in the 1945-1948 period, the role of public opinion and of the masses and, predominantly, social interests, were asserted, after 1948, in Eastern Europe, the emphasis was placed more on official and state contacts and initiatives from below were of less importance. In response to this statement, the Romanian delegate stressed that after the consolidation of the new socialist order it is natural that the role of the socialist state in cultural policy and in promoting cultural relations would increase.

On the afternoon of 22 April, in Sibiu, there was a work session of the Commission; a protocol noting the results of the session was signed and the work plan for the Commission for the future session, scheduled to be held in the Hungarian People's Republic was established. The session will have the following themes: "The European role of the struggle of the Romanian and Hungarian peoples against Ottoman expansion (14th to 16th centuries)" and "Romanian-Hungarian cultural, scientific and artistic contacts at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century". It was decided, in the protocol, that, at future sessions, bibliographic reports would be submitted on the treatment of the history of each people in the historiography of the neighbor country. "The members of the Commission will strive to extend in their countries the climate of friendship and collegiality in which controversial historical issues should be treated, thus contributing to the avoidance of bitter polemics."

On the whole, the 8th session of the Joint Romanian-Hungarian History Commission was the occasion for the discussion of important topics, in a constructive work atmosphere; some differing views did not affect the value of the consensus achieved on important aspects, of common scientific interest. The session showed, once again, the usefulness and necessity of a dialogue between the historians of the two countries as a concrete and important form of scientific and cultural collaboration.

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OCTOBER 1982 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Oct 82 p 4

[Klaus Kimmel review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37, No 10, October 1982, signed to press 18 September 1982, pp 977-1088: "Youth--Course, Goal, and Prospects." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] "Youth in Our Society" is the topic of EINHEIT No 10, 1982. To do something useful for society, for the benefit of all and thus for one's own happiness, and to devote one's entire personality to the strengthening of socialism and peace in accordance with the "Peace Effort of the Free German Youth (FDJ)"--this, to a high degree, brings the fulfillment of a purposeful life today. With this fundamental idea, Wolfgang Herger begins his contribution about the purpose in life of the Communists as a yardstick for the young generation.

The heart of Communist education for the entire youth, according to the writer, is and will remain the acquisition of the scientific world outlook of the workers class, the distinctive development of an unshakable socialist class position that stands the test in every situation. The point here is more than ever actually to reach each and every young person. Particularly in ideological work with the young people it is imperative to elucidate the dialectics of safeguarding peace and of implementing the party's economic strategy. "The more openly and specifically we talk with the young people about the great responsibilities of our era, the more consciously and responsibly will they struggle to achieve the required high level of performance."

Wolfgang Rudolph focuses on new requirements in training class-conscious qualified skilled workers. Rainer Buhle outlines current tasks of the FDJ in agriculture, proceeding from the decisions of the 12th GDR Farmers Congress.

Further contributions deal with "Studying--A Proving Ground" (by Wilfried Possner) and with the development of class-oriented defense motivation among the young people (by Karl-Heinz Borgwadt and Peter Miethe). Lothar Bisky and Dieter Wiedemann analyze intellectual-cultural claims and activities of young people.

"Facts and Figures" about the development of the FDJ since 1971 provide a lucid supplement.

CSO: 2300/70

YOUTH'S ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE, 'SOCIALIST CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS' ASSESSED

Young People in National Economy

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 10, Oct 82 (signed to press 18 Sep 82) pp 893-990

['Youth in Our Society' feature article by Dr Wolfgang Herger, member, SED Central Committee; chief, Youth Affairs Department, SED CC: "The Communists' Purpose in Life--A Yardstick for the Young Generation"]

[Text] On the 'Peace Effort of the Free German Youth (FDJ)'

Youth seeks to prove itself and build a meaningful life. Each young generation seeks for the measure by which its thoughts and actions can be gaged. To do something useful for society, for the benefit of all and thus for one's own happiness, and to devote one's entire personality to peace and socialism--this, to a high degree, brings the fulfillment of a purposeful life today. Therefore the 10th SED Congress appealed to the youth in our country: "Acquire the communists' purpose of life to do everything for the benefit of the people!"[1]

More and more young people, especially the young comrades and members of the FDJ, apply that measure. Every day they find out: Only socialism and the struggle for its constant improvement can provide the youth with the goal and direction in its seeking a meaningful life. Youth is called upon to carry on the course of sacrifice and the efforts of the preceding generations under party leadership. That is possible only in peace. GDR youth and its political organization, the FDJ, therefore are among the most resolute contenders for safeguarding this most elemental human right. That was shown recently once again by the FDJ's Whitsuntide demonstrations in 1982 and the Seventh Pioneers Meeting in Dresden. As in the struggle for peace every good deed counts that fortifies socialism and makes it invulnerable to its enemies, the FDJ Central Council has summoned GDR youth for a peace effort under the motto, "My Deed for Our Socialist Fatherland." Doing everything for the people's benefit and dedicating all one has to the protection of peace--that belongs inseparably together and conforms with the communists' purpose in life.

Socialist Class Consciousness and Performance Dedication

Everywhere in our country the young generation, alongside the elders, achieves great things in implementing the 10th party congress resolutions. Many young workers stand in the front rank in implementing the tasks of the 1982 plan. Tens of thousands of youth brigades are engaged in accordance with the principle, "Everyone With a Fine Balance-sheet Every day." Thousands have answered the FDJ call to the new central natural gas pipeline youth project in the Soviet Union. Pupils and students not only have stood up to the high demands for learning and studies, but also, during the summer months, at building sites and production halls and in the fields. Young cooperative farmers have shown their mettle particularly during this year's grain harvest. The young members of the armed organs--alongside their comrades in arms from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries--are reliably protecting our socialist accomplishments and thereby the peace.

All these achievements are more and more based on a stable socialist class consciousness. Taking part in the fulfillment of such tasks important for socialist society helps more and more young people in acquiring the communists' purpose of life. They realize their deeds serve the good of the people and are of use to them themselves--for the molding of their personality and their own well-being. And so, from the commitment to society personal happiness arises.[2]

Under which essential social conditions do the shaping of a socialist class consciousness and the formation of communist modes of thought and action take place today?

--Our youth is growing up under the favorable conditions of our stable socialist society. Social security and comfort in a country in which the care for the young generation, its harmonious development, its happiness and assured prospects are the principle of party and state policy are among the everyday experiences of youth. It knows neither material misery nor dread about its existence nor worry about the future. In its own life it fortunately never became acquainted with the ills and crimes of imperialism that deeply affected the lives of the senior citizens--thanks to the sacrificial struggle of the communists and their allies. In contrast, in connection with the so-called Shell Study, "Youth '81," on large parts of FRG youth it was found: "The outstanding result: young people take a dim view of their and all our future."[3]

--Our youth is the witness and coshaper of the greatest revolutionary change in our history. Led by the SED and, in its vast majority, organized in the FDJ, youth has a part in shaping the developed socialist society and so helps create in the GDR the prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. In this gigantic revolutionary movement it is shown confidence and assigned an exceptionally great responsibility. Often it stands in the front rank of this movement, particularly in coping with the scientific-technical revolution for socialism.

--Our youth grows up at a time when the worldwide class conflict between socialism and imperialism has entered a new stage. It is the witness of decisive victories by the Soviet Union and the other socialist states in shaping a new, humane social order, a witness to historic successes by the national liberation

movements in many countries on the earth. At the same time, youth also opposes the dangerous exacerbation of the international situation, the threat to world peace by the arms buildup policy of the United States and the other NATO states. It especially most seriously reacted to the assessment of our party that since World War II peace has never been as much threatened as it is today.

In our political-ideological work with youth we further have to consider that new generations keep growing into this age-group. Every year, circa 200,000 at the age of 14--provided with their first political experiences, which they gained in the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization--become FDJ members. Especially at that age--the last years among the pioneers and the first 2 or 3 years of FDJ membership--penetrating developments in their consciousness and entire personality take place. The ideological position becomes firm, the class standpoint takes shape. Furthermore, young people in this brief time span have to make decisions that control all their future life in our society--about their trade, their contribution to the defense of our homeland, about their friendships, love, marriage and family. The politically most conscious among them get set for joining the party of the communists.

Developments differ of course, as far as individual adolescents are concerned. In one and the same collective there are young people with already fully shaped Marxist-Leninist class positions together with others who are still ideologically undecided or passive in their conduct. Even under socialist conditions no one is born a revolutionary. Moreover it must be kept in mind that youth--for understandable reasons--is among the special target groups of imperialist diversion.

On the whole we may regard it as an accepted fact that the vast majority of youth in our country is distinguished by socialist class consciousness. Trust in SED policy, firms bonds with the socialist fatherland, an unconditional love for peace, friendship with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and anti-imperialist solidarity are the distinguishing marks. The great political interest shown by young people is conspicuous. They seek clear and party-minded answers for their questions and tolerate no general or round-about talk.

The basic political stance of youth in our country combines with a great dedication to performance. One often talks about our youth's performance capability due to the achievements of our practically oriented training and education at our secondary schools, in vocational training and at the colleges and technical schools. That is indeed correct but only half the truth. A distinctive sign of our youth is that it also is ready for high achievements in strengthening and defending our socialist fatherland. This performance readiness--including the performance capability--is at present rather underrated than fully resorted to in many enterprises, cooperatives and institutions. The outstanding results of the mass movement "FDJ 10th Party Congress Mission" have underscored anew that youth is able and ready to confront the tasks of the 1980's.[4]

The shaping of the developed socialist society requires continuing the communist education of all youth at a higher level. The heart of communist education is and will remain the acquisition of the scientific world outlook of the workers

class, of Marxism-Leninism, the distinctive development of an unshakable socialist class position that stands the test in every situation. The point here is more than ever actually to reach each and every young person. Therefore the 10th party congress posed the task: "In this successful work each young person should be led to a high performance readiness, unshakable class consciousness and a combative dedication to the cause of communism."[5]

This ultimately aims at the formulation "communist education of all youth at a higher level." That makes it necessary for all the social forces responsible for education to ask themselves: "How do we truly reach each individual?"[6] That in turn requires using consciously the potentials of the politically organized collective--i.e. the pioneer or FDJ group. A crucial youth policy party task therefore lies in strengthening the FDJ organizations on all levels and in all social sectors so that they will always live up to their function as the helper and reserve of the SED. In that sense all party executives now ought to issue measures in support of the "FDJ Peace Effort."

The party congress referred to the responsibility all society has for the communist education of youth--from the parents via the teachers, those in teacher training, the armed organs, the economic functionaries all the way to the various social organizations. The responsibility of our party members moved to the front: "We expect of each comrade--starting with the education of his own children--to hand over to youth the experiences of his own life and to help reinforce the revolutionary unity of the generations."[7] The young socialists' circles and the talks about gaining the "good knowledge" medal, the youth forums and round-table talks with party functionaries, the club evenings and FDJ membership meetings with anti-fascist resistance fighters and labor veterans are well suited for such encounters between the communists and youth.

We keep running into the experience that youth is ready for great achievements for the strengthening and protection of socialism when it has properly understood the meaning of the main task and the GDR's position in the international class conflict. Therefore, particularly in ideological work with youth it is imperative to elucidate the dialectics of the two tasks which the fourth Central Committee plenum formulated as safeguarding peace and doing everything for the implementation of the party's economic strategy. The more openly and specifically we talk with the young people about the great responsibilities of our era, the more consciously and responsibly will they struggle to achieve the required high level of performance.

The Party's Economic Strategy--Challenge to the Performance Readiness of Youth

The five-year plan tasks, especially those in coping with scientific-technical progress, challenge the ability and readiness of youth for helping implement the party's economic strategy in all combines, enterprises and cooperatives. Therefore our party has charged the FDJ with great responsibilities in all economic sectors. In this sense the "FDJ Peace Effort" calls for a great contribution from each basic organization and every member to fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan goals. This mainly involves
--the economic FDJ initiatives derived from the economic plan and from the basic trends in socialist competition,

--drawing ever broader sections of youth into the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, especially through the MMM (Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow) movement,
--the work of all youth brigades in line with the motto, "Each every day with a fine balance-sheet" and the forming of more youth brigades, and
--taking on significant economic tasks as central youth projects.

The specific economic FDJ initiatives are geared to important qualitative plan parameters. So last year, 2,870 jobs and 82 million working hours were cut, a value of M 1.6 billion was achieved through the FDJ's "materials economy" campaign, 424,000 tons of scrap and 78,000 tons of old paper were made available for recycling, and 11,809 apartments were converted or completed. Rural youth, through the FDJ's "fodder economy" campaign, produced a saving of M 38 million. For these economic initiatives, M 47 million could be transferred to the "young socialists account." In 1981, 87.1 percent of all basic FDJ organizations took part in the economic initiatives. The economic targets desired for 1982 are, on an average, 10 percent higher than those of the previous year. By 30 June they had already been met by 60 percent. In 1982, each basic organization is to take part for the first time in the economic initiatives. In some kreises that is already the case, mainly because of targeted economic propaganda in the basic organizations and specific missions assigned to the FDJ groups or members.

Of increasing weight are youth achievements in coping with scientific-technical progress. In November, the 25th Central MMM will be held in Leipzig and the Eighth Central Performance Show of Students and Young Scientists. In this connection the 11th FDJ Parliament assigned the task to carry on the scientific-technical work of youth at a broader range and higher level.

That purpose is also served by the FDJ initiatives in "microelectronics" and "industrial robots" through youth projects in bezirk, kreis and basic organizations. The center is the VEB communications plant in Erfurt. In 1982, the production of microelectronic circuits is expected to double in that enterprise. A "program on youth participation in scientific-technical progress" sets down the proportion of youth in R&D and production till 1985. Through 61 partial youth projects the young communications workers take part in the production of crucial items. The founding of five youth research collectives gathering the most capable college graduates functions as a stimulus for performance. New and advanced developments are being worked on there.

This level has, however, not yet been reached in all combines, enterprises and cooperatives. That is why the Central Committee at its fourth plenum came out with the criticism "that in some combines the performance readiness and capability of young workers, engineers and scientists are not sufficiently utilized."[8] In 1981, only 55.5 percent of the industrial MMM tasks was derived from the science and technology plans. In the enterprises the involvement of young working people with MMM fluctuates between 95 and 20 percent. Of the more than 40,000 youth brigades, only 23,119 were given an MMM task in 1981. Still many young graduates are not taxed enough. Even of the performance willingness of apprentices much more could be made, as a recent Workers and Farmers' Inspectorate check revealed. Over that especially, more party control ought to be exercised.

Mainly its youth brigades express the grown economic potentials of the FDJ. In 1971, there were 15,685; now there are 40,642. The 11th FDJ Parliament resolved that all youth brigades should work in accordance with the motto, "Each every day with a fine balance-sheet" and that 5,000 more youth brigades are to be set up until 1985. "Each every day with a fine balance-sheet" is a high criterion for communist education in the youth brigades and for their performance contribution. There are two aspects to that motto:
--each works honestly, with discipline and creativeness, and seeks to fulfil and exceed the plan each day, and
--the performance comparison among comparable collectives--within the scope of the competition--focuses on highest achievements and lowest expenditures.

At the fourth session of the FDJ Central Council, youth brigade chief Jochen Preissler, labor hero, of the Wismut regional FDJ organization, reported on how his youth brigade conducts its performance comparison with another. The plan is broken down in detail all the way to a third of a shift. Each brigade member has a personal plan to work on. Every day the achievements of both collectives are publicly analyzed. The performance comparison aims at taking over whatever are the better experiences so that both brigades achieve optimum values. Since his brigade always showed itself superior to its competition partner, Jochen Preissler handed his collective over to what up to then had been his deputy, and he made himself the brigade chief of the other youth brigade. The performance comparison continues, of course.

If FDJ executives in the Peace Effort--supported by the party organizations and trade unions--enlist all 40,642 youth brigades in conducting the performance comparisons in accordance with the motto, "Each every day with a fine balance-sheet," that then conforms with the higher level of communist education the 10th party congress has called for. For that, ensuring party influence also is imperative in those 4,017 youth brigades that up to now have no comrades as yet. The FDJ therefore has adopted the goal to prepare its best members as SED candidates distinctly from youth brigades.

Nor are the reserves exhausted by any means for forming new youth brigades. On the average, in the centrally managed industry 25.3 percent of the young working people is organized in youth brigades. But this fluctuates among the combines between 52 and 8 percent. When technological changes are made, the retaining or formation of youth brigades is often ignored. Furthermore--as a Workers and Farmers' Inspectorate check revealed--only one-third of all apprentices receives special training in youth brigades.

Yet our party has always assigned important projects in socialist construction to the FDJ. Right now, there are the following central youth projects:

--"FDJ Initiative Berlin." In this largest youth project in FDJ history, more than 14,000 delegates from other bezirks work together with their Berlin colleagues. There are 889 youth brigades engaged in 277 youth projects which include, e.g., Berlin-Marzahn, the largest housing construction project in the GDR.

--"Natural gas pipeline" Soviet Union. In February, the SED Central Committee Politburo accepted the FDJ application for being assigned the GDR efforts in

building natural gas pipelines in the USSR as the central youth project "natural gas pipeline." Up to 1985, FDJ delegates will build at sites in the Ukraine and in the RSFSR 540 kilometers of pipes, seven compresser stations, dwelling units and social facilities. The first delegates have started working. By the end of the year there are already going to be as many as 5,000.

--Central Youth Projects from the Central Science and Technology Plan. Since the 10th FDJ Parliament in 1976, the ministry for science and technology and the Central Council have each year been assigning tasks from the science and technology state plan as youth projects, since the 11th Parliament, mainly on robot technology and microelectronics. Of the 92 youth projects handed out thus far, 53 are already completed, most of them ahead of schedule and showing a high economic effectiveness.

--Centrally Assigned Investment Youth Projects. At the 11th Parliament, the FDJ Central Council and the State Planning Commission for the first time handed important investment projects over to FDJ collectives. There are now 17 youth projects like that including, especially, rationalization projects, projects for the production of microelectronic devices, and for the production of robots, on the electrification of segments of the German Railroad and on a speedup in replacing heating oil.

-"FDJ Microelectronics Initiative." The heart of this initiative is to delegate 480 FDJ members to the Frankfurt/Oder semiconductor plant, the Erfurt communications plant and the Center for Research and Technology in Microelectronics in Dresden, to increase the production of microelectronics components.

--"Havel Fruit." There are 2,500 FDL members engaged in this central youth project which was handed over in 1975. They are responsible for working on the largest fruit growing area in the GDR and the processing capacities that go with it. On 10,000 hectares more than half of the apples, one-third of the tomatoes and one-fourth of the strawberries in our country are produced.

High criteria apply to all these central youth projects. Primarily they are to set an example for how youth exerts itself toward high effectiveness and production quality and copes with the tough problems which naturally arise with demanding tasks that often thrust into virgin territory. In these projects, our party's economic strategy is meant to be implemented in a model fashion, especially through the acceleration of scientific-technical progress.

In their struggle for the fulfilment of the tasks assigned, the youth projects meet their tests as places for communist education. Class consciousness, performance readiness, the collective spirit and managerial capabilities develop. In that sense then the youth projects are significant "cadre forges." Simultaneously they are centers for interesting FDJ work where the young working people's bonds are deepened with their political organization and from which many impulses arise for FDJ work in all areas.

In April 1983 the FDJ Central Council and the FDGB National Executive Committee will sponsor a "Congress of GDR Working Youth" in Berlin. It will discuss how the 10th party congress resolutions have become the yardstick for what working youth and all young people in our country are doing and what the new tasks are they assume in the FDJ Peace Effort.

Improving the Working and Living Conditions of Youth

The youth--together with all other working people--is doing a great deal for implementing the main task. Young people are not passive beneficiaries of our party's social welfare policy but they help improve, according to plan, the working and living conditions of the entire people, and so also their own.

Especially through the ideological work done with youth it should be brought out clearly that high achievements for society ultimately benefit each and every one. Thus in 1981, our state allocated M 17.6 billion for the education, social care and cultural and sports activities for young people and children. That was more than 10.5 percent of the entire state budget. Of it, M 10.6 billion went for school education, M 2.2 billion for college and technical school affairs, and 0.83 billion for vocational training. M 2.65 billion was spent for the social care of children and adolescents.

One out of every five newly built or modernized apartments between 1971 and 1981 went to young couples. For the social assistance of these young couples our state spent M 4.8 billion in credits since 1972. Of them, M 1.1 billion did not have to be repaid because of the birth of children.

Young workers--men as women--enjoy job security. For equal work they get the same wages as their older colleagues. The learning and study conditions for youth have improved steadily during past years. Between 1971 and 1981, as many as 36,171 classrooms and 1,431 gyms were created. Whereas in capitalist countries more and more teachers are becoming unemployed, in our country the number of employed teachers has risen from circa 140,000 in 1971 to 170,000 in 1981. Every secondary school graduate has an apprenticeship coming to him. Between 1971 and 1981, as many as 2.2 million young people have started an apprenticeship. Some 76 percent of the college students, 59.4 percent of all technical school students, and 25 percent of the apprentices live in boarding homes. The social situation of pupils, students and apprentices has been steadily improved. Starting in September 1981, all students for the first time got a basic monthly stipend of M 200. The pay for apprentices was raised. Pupils in 11th and 12th grade get training subsidies of M 110 and 150 respectively per month.

Much is done for the leisure time interests of youth. Vacancies in youth club facilities rose from 160,000 in 1971 to 379,000 in late 1981. The publishing volume of books for children and adolescents has doubled since 1971. It came to circa 22 million in 1981. There are much more dance events for youth now, even if not all wishes are satisfied in that field as yet. Tourism and sports are promoted generously. Whereas during the whole year of 1974 some 190,000 young people traveled in the GDR and abroad with "Jugendtourist," the FDJ's travel bureau, in the first half of 1982 alone, that

figure rose to 886,600. Some 65 percent of all children and adolescents between 6 and 18 years of age is engaged in organized sports in the DTSB. For maintaining and expanding sports arenas, M 2.78 billion were allocated between 1971 and 1981.

Of great importance for promoting the young generation is the GDR Youth Law which was issued in a new version in 1974. It has become the regular routine of many state managements to take a position regularly on its implementation. In 1981, all bezirk councils and 210 kreis councils together with the FDJ bezirk and kreis executives conferred on measures for its implementation. During the "1982 Youth and Athletes Week" state and economic functionaries once again gave account to youth on the fulfillment of the law. Youth promotion plans stand up well as valuable instruments of socialist youth policy. Thus the Youth Law creates essential premises for the young people to meet their tests in strengthening and defending socialism and thereby acquiring the communists' purpose of life. What matters now is that all party organizations and state managers take measures by which to support the implementation of the FDJ Peace Effort.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 146.

2. Cf. Alfred Kosing, "Meaningful Life in Our Society," EINHEIT, No 7/8, 1982, pp 676 ff.

3. DIE ZEIT, Hamburg, 16 July 1982, p 14.

4. Cf. Egon Krenz, "The Youth Association Is a Strong Force in the Peace Struggle," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 17 September 1982, p 3.

5. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," op. cit., p 146.

6. Cf. Margot Honecker, "Assuring Each Pupil of the Best Start in Life," EINHEIT, No 7/8, 1982, pp 716 ff.

7. Comrade Erich Honecker, 'bericht . . .," op. cit., p 147.

8. Comrade Paul Verner, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 4. Tagung des ZK der SED" (Excerpts from the Politburo Report to the Fourth SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 64.

Young People in Agriculture

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 10, Oct 82 (signed to press 18 Sep 82) pp 997-1001

['Youth in Our Society' feature article by Rainer Huhle, secretary, Central Council, Free German Youth (FDJ): "Agriculture and Rural Youth"]

[Text] In conformity with a 10th SED Congress resolution, the 12th GDR Farmers Congress was held a few months ago. It demonstrated the loyalty of the cooperative farmers and of the workers in agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry to the policy of the working class party. The firm determination was expressed to confront the higher requirements and help enforce the economic strategy in achieving through lower costs still greater services in feeding the people and consolidating our workers and farmers power. The Congress adopted far-reaching resolutions, countersigned by the FDJ, on further advances in our socialist agriculture. It amounts to a concrete implementation of the Youth Law that 10,000 young people attended the kreis farmers conferences, FDJ members themselves handed in 2,100 proposals for the draft documents, and one out every four congress delegates was wearing the blue shirt. "It is impossible to talk about our agricultural development," Comrade Erich Honecker has said, "without paying tribute to the young people among our farmers and the great FDJ contribution. The FDJ has always been dedicated to socialist development in the countryside and thereby represented the interests of rural youth. Since the democratic land reform to our own days, from Ruegen to the Rennstein, it has left traces of its active partnership in every village. Today, we need the FDJ initiative more than ever."*

We regard this as an appreciation for the revolutionary traditions of the FDJ throughout the 30 years of our socialist agriculture's successful development and, following the 10th party congress appeal to the youth in our country, derive from it the great responsibility of the young generation for the further implementation of the Marxist-Leninist agrarian policy in the 1980's. The documents of the 12th Farmers Congress, especially the speech of Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, provide us with the guideline for the continuing implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions in agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry and form the basis for FDJ work in the countryside. It attests to a deep trust in our party policy that the young cooperative farmers, workers, members of the young scientific-technical intelligentsia, and apprentices in agricultural production are making an ever more active personal contribution to consistently carrying on the main task policy and enforcing the economic strategy. The yardstick for their actions in the "FDJ Peace Effort" is to help through higher achievements on the fields and in the stables while decisively improving the cost/benefit ratio in stably supplying the population with foodstuffs and industry with agricultural raw materials at ever higher levels.

Our youth very well understands at a time when peace is dangerously threatened by the imperialist warmongers: Misusing foodstuffs as means of blackmail and suppression is an expression of imperialism's anti-humanity. Having made the experience that none but socialism can offer youth secure prospects, the rural youth supplies the following response: We do all we can to strengthen our state through high economic achievements. Through greater efforts of our own we shall increase our supplies in crop products to take care of the demanding tasks without grain imports. The various initiatives for the all-round strengthening and protection of our socialist fatherland, in following up the fourth SED Central Committee plenum, again document the urban and rural youth's agreement with the 10th party congress course for the safeguarding of peace and the well-being of the people.

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*Erich Honecker, "Workers and Farmers Hand in Hand for Socialism and Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 15/16 May 1982, p 3.

A New Generation Has Grown Up

In his significant speech at the 11th FDJ Parliament, Comrade Erich Honecker said: "With great joy we can record that in the GDR's countryside a new generation, highly educated and full of vitality, has grown up. And not by chance. Through the socialist transformation of agriculture, the workers and farmers power also has changed the looks of the village and will continue to change it for the good."*

A vivid expression of the SED's successful agrarian and alliance policy is that, based on socialist production relations, the basic rights of the young generation have also been realized in the countryside and a life in social security and free from worry about its subsistence is guaranteed to farming youth. Today, the cooperative farmers and agricultural workers are highly skilled. The proportion of specialists rose from 5.9 percent in 1960 to 89 percent in 1981; the figure of college cadres rose tenfold. The proportion of youths in the total number employed rose from 7.2 percent in 1970 to 13.5 percent in 1980. More than 85,000 young people are directly tied up with cooperative property. Love for agriculture, a high performance readiness, initiative and creativeness, loyalty to the cooperative and to the enterprise, and close bonds with the village more and more control the thoughts and actions of the farming youth. Agricultural youth is a great social force which--as was emphasized at the fourth Central Committee plenum--proves "by its deeds that it has accepted the challenge to its performance determination and creativity and is ready for actively participating in the fulfilment of the tasks of the 12th Farmers Congress."**

Our aim is to explain to all young people in the countryside the SED's domestic and foreign policy through various mass political activities and to familiarize them with the tasks in the continued implementation of the Marxist-Leninist agrarian policy. In all FDJ collectives a combative and propelling atmosphere must be developed, and each and every young person must be mobilized toward making a responsible and initiative-rich contribution to further improving the performance of agriculture. That is why the 11th FDJ Parliament has appealed to all groups and basic organizations in the cooperatives, enterprises, cooperative facilities and villages to take an active part in the movement, "Rationalizing--Producing More, Better and Cheaper." As producing more, better and more cheaply challenges the attitude of each FDJ member in agriculture, we want to turn that movement in the truest sense of the word into a mass movement in all basic FDJ organizations. In this we aim our competition initiatives at using each square meter of soil, improving soil fertility and increasing hectare yields. We want to make our contribution to meeting the livestock production plan daily, supplying our cattle with feed from our own economy, reducing animal losses, and tapping new reserves in the FDJ campaign in the "fodder economy."

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*Erich Honecker, "Der Sozialismus loest die Lebensfragen der Jugend" (Socialism Solves the Vital Problems of Youth), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 18.
**Comrade Paul Verner, "Aus dem Bericht des Politburos an die 4. Tagung des ZK der SED" (Excerpts from the Politburo Report to the Fourth SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 65.

This year's harvest was the first acid test after the 12th Farmers Congress in socialist competition; the grain harvest, of over 10 million tons, was the biggest in GDR history. Alongside more experienced cooperative farmers, 1,054 FDJ harvester-thresher units, 385 FDJ straw clearing units, 173 FDJ transport brigades and 1,570 students in the FDJ "grain harvest" students brigades showed their mettle.

Model initiatives in response to the fourth Central Committee plenum came from the basic FDJ organizations in the Kerspleben cooperative. Spurred by the effective support from the party organizations and LPG boards, they assumed the goal to provide fresh feed for cattle for 200 days and raise summer catch crop yields by 100 hectares. Their target is to reduce livestock feed comsumption in cattle and hog breeding, tap new fodder reserves and save an additional amount of fodder at a value of M 45,000. With the support of FDJ members in the basic organizations in the village and the Kerspleben party organizations, through multiple gleaning on potato and turnip acreages, 1,000 decitons of grain units in fodder are to be made available. The experiences with the Kerspleben cooperative demonstrate it pays off, in accordance with the SED principle, to place trust in young people and assign great responsibilities to them in the cooperatives, enterprises and villages.

"The chief course for the requisite performance improvement in the 1980's," Comrade Werner Felfe stated at the fifth People's Chamber session, "in agriculture also is the still closer combination of the advantages of socialism with the accomplishments of the scientific-technical revolution."*

In socialist agriculture also youth, science and technology belong together. In 1981, some 34 percent of the young people in agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry took part in the MMM (Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow) movement. That was an achievement that confronts the LPG boards, the state managements and the youth association with new tasks. After all, it is a matter of drawing more young people from the LPG crop and livestock production into solving scientific-technical tasks. Of the total of 9,600 MMM tasks assigned, 74 percent came out of the science and technology plans. Every other youth brigade was drawn into the solution of MMM tasks. The agricultural, forestry and foodstuffs industry exhibits at the 24th Central MMM attested to the scientific-technical creativeness of rural youth. Computed on an annual basis, those accomplishments yield a benefit of over M 7.6 million. The achievements of the young innovators made for a saving of 90,000 working hours, of material at a value of M 4.5 million, 4,700 tons of solid fuels and 509 tons of diesel fuel and heating oil.

These and other examples teach us: wherever LPG boards and state executives assign demanding tasks to rural youth, according to plan, mainly from the science and technology plans and the rationalization conceptions, their proclivity toward tinkering and exploring is encouraged and we succeed in involving them still more extensively in the MMM and innovator movement, more young cooperative farmers, workers, apprentices and members of the young scientific-technical intelligentsia are inspired to cope with science and technology, and their love is aroused and deepened for the demanding modern farming trade.

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*NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 3 July 1982, p 4.

Also in agriculture, the youth brigades are becoming more and more the centers for communist education and the shock troops in socialist competition. Their number climbed from 1,862 in 1970 to 5,289 last year. And so at present 32 percent of the young people in crop production enterprises and 20 percent of them in livestock production enterprises work in youth brigades. At that, there still is much to be accomplished here. "It is highly pertinent," Comrade Erich Honecker said during the 12th Farmers Congress, "to help the FDJ executives in organizing the work in youth brigades and on youth projects in accordance with the motto, 'each every day with a fine balance-sheet.' The chances for setting up more youth brigades and handing over more youth projects have by no means as yet been exhausted."* The idea is to raise the number of rural youth brigades by 1,000 up to 1985.

The young people in agriculture completed 7,400 youth projects last year. Some 40 percent of the youth projects comes out of the science and technology plans. To mobilize further reserves the FDJ collectives should be given more responsibilities by handing them youth projects for focal points of the intensification of agriculture and husbandry. And there, a highly skilled mastery, the capacity use made of farm equipment and its repair and maintenance, a higher materials and energy management, the rationalization of stable installations and the production of means of rationalization present testing grounds for youth initiatives.

Much Attention for New Blood

Experiences in socialist competition illuminate that for further performance improvement in agriculture observing the standards of the best units, constant performance comparisons and generalizations of the most advanced experiences are an essential key to the successful solution of ambitious tasks. Following the example of the competition initiative of Harald Behrens, youth brigade chief in the Wilhelm Pieck crop production LPG Hamersleben and delegate to the Farmers Congress, many youth brigades in crop production picked it up in their spring cultivation, their maintenance and their harvesting with a public performance comparison. The youth brigade of the Hamersleben LPG accomplished 1.5 decitons of grain per hectare above the plan, a saving of 6.1 liters of diesel fuel per hectare, and several times won the bezirk's harvest competition. The public performance comparison among LPG and VEG livestock production youth brigades in "Junge Welt" aimed at optimum values and maximum increases in the daily volumes of high-grade milk while economizing as much as possible in fodder. The optimum values achieved have already become permanent values. The milkers' occupational skills and responsibilities have grown. They seek still better breeding results and achievements and a more radical reduction in animal losses. Many other FDJ collectives, even in LPG's with a lower production and efficiency level, joined the youth brigades' competition for optimum values.

Public performance comparisons provide the youth association with important experiences for its further work. Working in accordance with the competition slogan, "each every day with a fine balance-sheet," calls for good sense and

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*Erich Honecker, "Workers and Farmers . . .," op. cit., loc. cit.

presents a challenge to the campaign position of the entire collective. Acts of awareness are wanted from each and every one. Each brigade member has to be familiar with his plan and has to be given tasks that can be concretely accounted for. That way alone can one sense every day how much depends on one's own diligent and honest efforts on behalf of our socialist cause. It has been found useful effectively to assist our best youth brigades and young exemplary cooperative farmers and the workers in agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry in their turning into initiators in socialist competition. Competition initiators also are models for the even younger generations taking over in our socialist agriculture. Encouraging them and popularizing their accomplishments, and awakening profound interest by their example for the demanding agricultural trade, greatly ensures that there will be enough young personnel to take over in agriculture. This also bestows a heavy responsibility on the work of the youth association. The point is, after all, to attract 17,000 school graduates each year to the agricultural trades up to 1985.

Entertaining, interesting, diversified and close to nature is the farmer's activity. That can inspire the boys and girls. That is why the FDJ pays so much attention to educating and bringing up young cooperative farmers. It sees to it that the fine tradition is carried on for children to follow in their parents' footsteps. And experience teaches us: wherever the LPG works closely together with the school, the youth association, the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization and the parents, and where the training is provided by experienced instructors and specialists and work collectives, and where adolescents are early in the game familiarized with interesting scientific-technical tasks, we manage to interest the children of cooperative farmers in agricultural work and recruit adolescents as members of cooperatives while they are still apprentices.

Providing young people with knowledge and skills in agriculture and husbandry from their earliest youth, and instilling in them love for the soil and for animals, and for cooperative work, and firm bonds with the village--that is what counts, and for this the FDJ also proves a mighty force. So we bring it about that the LPG itself remains young and that youth in turn, full of initiative, contributes to the all-round consolidation of the LPG. Of great weight in this is the apprentice training in accordance with modified instruction plans since 1 September 1982 so as to direct the new blood in agriculture more than before at further performance improvements in crop and livestock production. Adolescents learning the trades of agro-technician, zoological technician, agro-technical specialist or specialist in cattle or hog production receive extensive basic agricultural training. The responsibility of the cooperatives and enterprises for attracting school graduates to agricultural trades and for a high-level vocational training is thus notably heightened.

The various activities of the basic FDJ organizations and pioneer friendship groups toward instilling the love for agricultural trades in children and adolescents range from assisting the activities of the working communities via the further development of sponsorship relations all the way to polytechnical instruction. Numerous basic FDJ organizations, youth projects and youth brigades make distinctive contributions to a high-level vocational training by assuming sponsorships for the apprentices to be trained and by effectively conducting socialist vocational competition.

Dynamic farm production and village development presents a testing ground for many FDJ generations. That attaches great importance to our distinctive efforts in further deepening the cooperation and further molding cooperative democracy and improving working and living conditions and opening up new opportunities for fashioning an interesting intellectual-cultural and athletic and touristic life for rural youth. We firmly count on the ideas and initiatives of all basic FDJ organizations and on the activity of those FDJ members who were elected into the LPG boards and cooperative councils. A great responsibility for representing the interests of all rural youth goes to the over 14,000 FDJ deputies in the communal representations. In all groups and basic organizations we espouse a party-minded atmosphere and high energy for all FDJ members. We seek stable and strong basic FDJ organizations in each cooperative, enterprise, cooperative facility and village. We want to recruit more younng cooperative farmers and workers into membership in our socialist youth association and prepare our best members for membership in the working class party. In implementing the Marxist-Leninist agrarian and alliance policy in the 1980's also, the FDJ will prove itself a faithful helper and reliable fighting reserve of the SED.

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SKILLED WORKER TRAINING REQUIREMENTS FOR SCHOOL GRADUATES DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 10, Oct 82 (signed to press 18 Sep 82) pp 991-996

['Youth in Our Society' feature article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Rudolph, director, GDR Central Institute for Vocational Training; chairman, Scientific Council for Vocational Training: "Develop Class-Conscious, Qualified Skilled Workers"]

[Text] The typical occupational course of development for girls and boys in the GDR is that they acquire skilled workers qualifications after their graduating from the ten-grade polytechnical secondary school. That gives them important prerequisites for coping with the increasing requirements in their public and work life--including their continuing higher education. That this course is open to all young people without exception and that the acquisition of a trade is both a constitutional right and duty, for the assumption of which the socialist state also creates the necessary preconditions, constitutes a gigantic historic accomplishment. It is an irrevocable element of the SED's youth policy, the implementation of a fundamental demand of the revolutionary workers movement, and an indispensable necessity for successfully continuing the socialist revolution in the GDR. For those reasons our party has always paid great attention to vocational training, to developing class-conscious, qualified skilled workers.

The Training and Education of the Workers Class of Tomorrow

Vocational training is a developmental phase in the life of young people of great significance to society and to the individual. It performs an important contribution to the reproduction of our society's social structure at an increasingly higher level. All young generations of the workers class and the class of the cooperative farmers go through this phase of our uniform educational system. All master workers and increasingly more socialist intellectuals have acquired skilled workers qualifications.

For the young people's personality development this phase is marked mainly by a profound change in their social position. Lengthy as the preparations may have been, the fact still is that practically "overnight" pupils become workers, members of socialist enterprises, producers of our public wealth, and they become directly a part of the workers class or the class of the cooperative farmers. Acquiring a trade is a chief element in the socialization of personality.*

*Cf. V. G. Podmarkov, "Man and His Trade," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT, GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE, No 2, 1973, p 173.

Proceeding from there, our party has always let itself be guided in its educational policy by the following remark by Marx: "The enlightened sector of the workers class understands very well that the future of its class, and thus the future of humanity, depends on the education of the growing workers' generation."* In our republic therefore the direct influence the workers class brings to bear on the education of youth is among the advantages of the socialist educational system, especially of vocational training. And so the best brigades, many youth brigades among them, work closely together with apprentice collectives and train during such special training apprentices within their brigade. The activities of 100,000 experienced skilled workers exercise a great influence on the training of young qualified skilled workers. In many places, and most exemplarily in the workers centers in Halle Bezirk, the apprentices are familiarized with the traditions in the struggle and the work. Through combining the vocational competition with the working people's socialist competition, the apprentices are drawn early on into the struggle for economic performance growth. The great advantage our vocational training derives from its close linkage with the industrial reproduction process should be used still more definitively everywhere by drawing general rules from the many different fine experiences.

In the mission given them by the workers class, 56,000 professional pedagogues and managerial cadres in vocational training responsibly take part in the training and education of the budding skilled workers. Their main field is theoretical and practical vocational instruction aimed at the implementation of the goals and subjects set down in the teaching plans. They--as our entire educational policy--are oriented to the values that determine the looks of the workers class in coming decades. The specific task of vocational training is to prepare the young people directly for their working life. Tied to the knowledge and skills acquired at the secondary school and to the acquired convictions and attitudes, general education and communist education are extended by contents aimed at skilled workers activity with the idea of enabling the apprentices to engage in creative and independent work on their jobs. This conforms to the demand by Marx for "combining productive work, intellectual education, physical exercise and polytechnical training."**

Graduates Entering Vocational Training

Year	Totals	Tenth Grade Graduates	
		Totals	Percent
1965	183,603	98,477	53.6
1970	193,894	137,046	70.7
1975	206,837	162,264	78.5
1980	231,450	198,193	85.6

The vocational training teaching plans authoritatively set down the working class standpoint on training its young generations. Relying on the preliminary achievements at the polytechnical secondary school, it comes down to a continuing and permanent fashioning of important characteristics identifying the working class as the most revolutionary social force, such as profoundly pronounced

*Karl Marx, "Instructions for the Delegates to the Provisional Central Council on Particular Issues," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 16, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 194.

**Ibid., p 195.

Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and political steadfastness in the class struggles of our time, combined with the readiness and ability to strengthen socialism economically and militarily, communist labor ethics, high technical skills, creativeness in coping with the scientific-technical progress, social energy and the ability to take part in socialist democracy, a high cultural level and collective action.

Since these teaching plans are politically so very important, the socialist state is intent on keeping them always at the requisite level and permitting no curtailment in their implementation. Teachers, instructors and educators do for it what they can--as was once again ascertained by a Workers and Farmers' Inspectorate check in May this year--and are increasingly better helped in this by their enterprise managements. At the same time the need was underscored always to struggle resolutely for the fulfilment of this task in all enterprises. Neglecting the educational tasks set down in the teaching plans, interruption in instruction or a deficient quality in specific subjects and courses are bound to lead to negative consequences to personality development, to the future productive work, and in the skilled workers' attitudes in other public sectors.

Preparing Apprentices Better for Coping with the Economic Strategy of the SED

The 10th SED Congress emphatically emphasized that the knowledge and skills of the skilled workers constitute a reserve for economic performance improvement that is essentially inexhaustible. That also adds more weight to vocational training while we are carrying on the course of the main task. It must contribute significantly to forming the abilities and readiness of the skilled workers of the future to help cope with the SED's economic strategy. As was brought out in Magdeburg in June 1982, at the central experience exchange of the State Secretariat for Vocational Training with the chairmen of the skilled trades commissions, rigorous account has to be taken of these requirements when teaching plans and other training documents are reviewed or concretized.[4]

Combining the advantages of socialism with the accomplishments of the scientific-technical revolution--e.g. in the application of microelectronics and robot technology, in automation, in tapping new energy and raw material resources, in enhanced refining and so forth--requires higher knowledge and better skills. The struggle for a perceptible performance improvement demands politically responsible economic thinking and actions from every working person. Labor contents altogether are getting more intricate. Surveys and many practical experiences keep telling us that we must develop, especially, the disposition capability of skilled workers, their skill and readiness to adapt readily to growing and changing labor requirements and to new technologies, working tools and products. Highly important for this is a well balanced relation between general and and basic vocational education and specialized vocational training and between theoretical knowledge and practical vocational skills, and so is preparing for occupational advanced training that lasts a lifetime.

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*Cf. "Richtlinie zur Inhaltsbestimmung, Entwicklung von Ausbildungsunterlagen und lehrplanbegleitenden Materialien fuer Facharbeiterberufe vom 25 Februar 1982" (Guideline on the Definition and the Development of Training Documents and Training-related Materials for Skilled Workers Occupations, of 25 February 1982), Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1982.

Surveys on the labor requirements in the introduction of microelectronics and robot technology and in the construction and use of means of rationalization have established that under the conditions of modern production processes the working people become no "button pushers," and their occupational qualifications are not devaluated, but that it raises higher demands for their knowing about economic and technological frames of reference going beyond their particular jobs. They need sophisticated practical occupational facilities and a permanent form of such attitudes as discipline, a sense of responsibility, endurance and reaction capability. Only by education and training aiming at that, which of necessity includes conveying the party's overall policy, can we bring it about that the working people consciously cope with the scientific-technical progress and do not fall prey--as they more and more evidently do in the capitalist world--to its social consequences they could not cope with.

Of an importance not to be underrated for educating the future skilled workers and motivating their struggle for high achievements in their skills is making an effective use of the intellectual potentials already created. Also the effect on the working and learning morality of the new generation of skilled workers is to be paid attention to if, as Comrade Erich Honecker emphatically demanded at the fourth Central Committee plenum, "the considerable potential in skilled labor is to be brought to full economic effect."*

Growing Combine Responsibility for Young Skilled Workers

Through having formed the centrallly managed and bezirk-managed combines, we not only have more favorable possibilities for improving our efficiency in production, R&D, sales and foreign trade, but we also have better conditions for training our working people. "For solving the tasks in training and education the young generation of the workers class, the advantages and possibilities of the combines are to be used extensively in cooperation with the official state organs,"** as Comrade Erich Honecker put it in his report to the 10th party congress. Those advantages are in particular

--the direct combine responsibility for the content of 170 skilled workers occupations;

--the long-range planning for the vocational and qualifications structure, derived from the scientific-technical and economic development conceptions of the combines and recruiting for them the needed amount of school graduates, in cooperation with the secondary schools and vocational guidance centers;

--the effective use and target-directed improvement of the material and personnel conditions for a high level of vocational training, with an eye to the combines' overall development and by exhausting all their potentials; and

--raising the vocational training level and rigid central management, and rapidly applying the best experiences throughout the combines' vocational training departments.

These and other advantages of the combines can and must be used purposefully.

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*"Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker, 4. Tagung des ZK der SED" (Excerpts from the Concluding Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker at the Fourth SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 93.

**Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistichen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 103.

Many of our combines are active in the working class centers, following their great traditions and having excellent educational potentials at their disposal. The apprentices are members of the combine enterprises. That they should sense every day by being involved in all decisive concerns in their enterprise: in the struggle for plan fulfilment, the scientific-technical innovations, the rationalization, the introduction of new technologies and procedures, and the various efforts in coping with the economic strategy. Indispensable for that also is the advanced training to which the vocational pedagogues were committed by the 10th party congress.*

Graduates of 1980 Starting Vocational Training in Terms of Trades

	Total	Percent		Total	Percent
Chemistry	4,795	2.1	Textile/Clothing	10,645	4.6
Energy	3,203	1.4	Leather/Synthetics	1,734	0.8
Metallurgy/Materials Management	2,558	1.1	Foodstuffs Industry	7,453	3.2
Construction of machinery, equipment and installations	44,599	19.3	Trade/Gastronomy/ Services	28,819	12.5
Manufacturing and procedural techniques	16,469	7.1	Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries	18,019	7.8
Electrical engineering/ electronics	15,580	6.7	Construction	30,98	13.1
Automation technology	4,122	1.8	Traffic and Transportation	8,078	3.5
Lumber	3,604	1.6	Post and Telecommunications	4,237	1.8
			Economics and Administration	17,369	7.5

A decisive role lies in assigning demanding tasks to the apprentices that are appropriate to their training plans. That is an unistakable yardstick for the attitude an enterprise takes toward its apprentices because it indicates, after all, how enterprise managers look at the future. A carefully considered and well planned apprenticeship production helps the apprentices in focusing on their productive labor as skilled workers. Many positive examples, especially from the apprentice training in advanced youth brigades, the assigning of responsible tasks in the construction of means of rationalization, and the production of consumer goods and export products, unequivocally demonstrate their lasting effects on the performance of skilled workers at the end of their volcational training and on the bonds established with their trade and enterprise. Equally fruitful, it turns out, is for the apprentices always to find out about the economic value of their productive tasks so that they consciously contribute their share to enterprise operations and their work morality is boosted.

Assigning ambitious apprenticeship production tasks not only means an investment in the future. Even for the present the apprentices are doing a great deal in fulfilment of industrial plan tasks. Many desired spare parts and consumer

*Cf. ibid.

items, many export products or means of rationalization, many structures built in our country, and not a few of our daily food items attest to the diligence and skill of the apprentices. And also in the services and supply sector they are often the ones who through their dedication help make our daily life more pleasant. To be sure, more could still be made of those potentials. At times one still runs into unjustified reservations about entrusting modern, efficient equipment to the apprentices or assigning them on focal points of industrial operations. Not always does vocational training pay enough attention to the great knowledge already acquired and the pronounced urge of young people to stand up in complicated test situations, test their capacities and perform something extraordinary. Sure enough, those tasks also must be appropriate to developing the knowledge, abilities and skills the teaching plan calls for. That requirement remains crucial in vocational training; in fact, ultimately that is its proper purpose.

Noticeable advances in this field were found in the survey, already referred to, by the Workers and Farmers' Inspectorate, which is gratifying. Some 90 percent of the enterprises checked have an apprenticeship production plan, confirmed by the enterprise manager, as a standard component of the enterprise plan. And yet it remains a permanent task to struggle for a high level of such a plan in each enterprise and for its purposeful implementation. That is the chief interconnecting link for further improving the level and effectiveness of vocational training both with regard to the personality development of the apprentices and the economic interest.

Vigorous Apprentice Involvement in Vocational Training

Teachers, instructors and educators carry out their mission in turning all apprentices into class-conscious, qualified skilled workers with devotion and dedication. Based on solid training, and helped by various advanced training measures and the experience exchange in the pedagogues' collectives, they strive for providing high-grade theoretical and practical vocational instruction. Experienced vocational pedagogues keep confirming that vocational training is most successful when apprentices are induced to do work on their own, the apprentices' activities in acquiring the substance of education and training are guided pedagogically, and a vivid interaction is achieved between education and self-education, while attention is paid to the potentials of the FDJ and apprentices' collectives. That makes it correct and necessary to keep thinking all the time about the apprentice of today, his prerequisites, his social position, his psyche, his ideas of life and so forth. That should be discussed. Our approaches thus far should be analyzed. New ones should be worked out and tried out. It goes without saying that all who are involved in the training and education of apprentices should take part in that debate.

Today's apprentices differ from the ones some 15 or 20 years ago. It surely is not immaterial that they already have an extensive political and natural science knowledge from their 10-grade polytechnical secondary school--since 1978 all school graduates have been instructed along new instruction plans, starting in first grade--and have a solid polytechnical education and their own personal production experiences, that they were publicly engaged in various ways while they went to school and have already done active political work

for several years as members of the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization and the FDJ. That young people experience a profound change in their social position when they start their vocational training was already pointed out. It is this new social position of which the apprentices, on the one hand, have to be made aware and which, on the other hand, has to be made more use of as a favorable condition for instilling a sense of responsibility. Nearly all apprentices belong to the FDJ and the FDGB where they assumed high political responsibilities as members of those social organizations. Quite a few make the decision while they are in vocational training to become members of the working class party.

In this phase of life a young person has to make many important decisions: on his life's occupation--that process, as one knows, is not finished by choosing an occupation; on his further occupational development. e.g., by college or technical school studies; on his future spouse (an apprentice may even already be about to establish a family and may have his own children to educate), and on much else. As such decisions to a large extent have to be made on one's own and consciously, they invite a sensitive and yet principled educational work by the vocational pedagogues, the work collectives, the enterprise managers, the functionaries of social organizations and naturally also the parents. We should take more account of the fact that especially at that age one is looking for models, who not rarely have a crucial influence on the rest of one's life.

These and other traits that are typical of apprentices--e.g. in leisure time activities and in psychological development--must be taken into account throughout the apprentices' entire educational process as much as their individual talents and abilities. Above and beyond our instruction as the main field of education and training, we can dispose, in GDR vocational training, of a whole arsenal of tried ways and means for furthering the apprentices' independent and responsible conduct such as socialist occupational competition, the apprentices' participation in the economic FDJ initiatives and the MMM movement, in youth and apprentices' projects, in fashioning a socialist communal life in apprentice dormitories, where more than one-fourth of all apprentices live, or in taking part in the work in social organizations. That has to be made use of still more purposefully in the vocational education process, partly also to discover special gifts and talents and sensibly encourage them.

The society has every good reason to expect of the apprentices that they, in accordance with their maturation and social position, make a constantly growing contribution of their own to developing into class-conscious, qualified skilled workers. That in turn requires that apprentices are shown confidence and assigned responsibilities. This principle of SED youth policy, which like a red thread runs from summoning the apprentices for their first occupational contest in 1949 to the resolution of 7 December 1976 by the SED Central Committee Politburo, the GDR Council of Ministers, the FDGB National Executive Committee, and the FDJ Central Council, on further improving the level of vocational training, and was again underscored at the 10th party congress, will continue to be the basic line for bringing up a new working class generation in our country.

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FUTURE GRADUATES' 'LEVEL OF COMMUNIST EDUCATION' TO BE RAISED

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['Youth in Our Society' feature article by Dr Wilfried Possner, secretary, Central Council, Free German Youth (FDJ): "Studying—A Proving Ground"]

[Text] The 10th SED Congress posed the task "to take another step in combining the advantages of socialism with the accomplishments of the scientific-technical revolution, fully exhausting the potentials of the scientific-technical revolution, and gaining a maximum increase in economic strength from the latest scientific-technical data."* Here lies an inexhaustible proving ground for pupils.

The higher demands arising from that for bringing up future graduates are complex in nature. They involve the entire personality, political steadfastness, scientific capability and a broad intellectual-cultural level. Forming such graduates to a not insignificant degree depends on further improving the students' level of training and communist education.

For the solution of this task our party's science and youth policies are intertwining more and more. In that respect, the implementation of the 18 March 1982 SED Central Committee Politburo resolution on the "tasks of the universities and colleges in the developed socialist society" has become an indispensable prerequisite for the continued successful development of socialist college affairs. Especially our party's orientation to increasing the students' own responsibility and a still closer cooperation between students and teachers gives the socialist youth association much more room for actively participating in improving the quality and effectiveness of studies and research.

Commitment to the Strengthening of Socialism

The 11th FDJ Parliament demanded "to take part in enhancing the productivity of mental work in studies and research, firmly tying up every student with the party policy and the working class ideals, and helping him to learn to understand his studies as a revolutionary mission from the workers class."** Such

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*Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 49-50.

**Egon Krenz, "Die Verantwortung der Jugend bei der Weiterfuehrung der sozialistischen Revolution in der DDR und die Aufgaben der FDJ nach dem X. Parteitag der SED, XI. Parlament der Freien Deutschen Jugend," Junge Welt publishing house, pp 76-77.

an orientation still more definitely aims at placing the focal point of the youth association's political-ideological work on everyday studies as the revolutionary proving ground. That is also reflected by the "FDJ Peace Effort" the fifth Central Council session issued. FDJ students understand that as a challenge to making their contribution to the struggle for the preservation of peace and the strengthening and protection of socialism by high achievements in their studies and in their scientific and productive activities. One of the chief tasks in this lies in inducing the students to come to grips with the political and scientific requirements of our era in a still more committed and personally binding manner and while proceeding from solid basic Marxist-Leninist positions, and in challenging them always to relate their study attitude and performance to overall social requirements.

We always look at the acquisition of scientific knowledge and skills as being closely tied up with the shaping or solidification of such personality traits as loyalty to the working class ideals, love for our socialist fatherland, friendship with the Soviet Union, diligence, a collective spirit and the readiness to assume responsibilities. The 1981/82 school year, from that vantage point, was a year rich in political and scientific tests. Typical of the open-minded political climate in our highest educational institutions has been and is that, under working class party leadership, teachers and students together seek to enhance the effectiveness and quality of education and training, extend further what has proven itself and at the same time are looking for new opportunities clearly to raise the performance level in studies and research.

The FDJ students' proposals for implementing the 18 March 1980 SED Central Committee Politburo resolution, their committed stance at the Pentecostal meeting of youth, their achievements in studies and in scientific and productive activities, during the FDJ Student Days, in civil defense and military training camps, and in the FDJ student brigades convincingly demonstrate: student youth is firmly tied up with the working class party policy and the socialist fatherland. Study motivation is more and more determined by the realization that both the exacerbation of the international situation and the level attained in the shaping of the developed socialist society require a still greater personal commitment to the strengthening and protection of socialism, and that high expectations of society must needs be connected with high achievements for society.

Struggle for Highest Achievements in Studies

In his concluding speech at the fourth Central Committee plenum, Comrade Erich Honecker pointed out that in view of the greatly increased intellectual potential and the considerable outlays for the development of science and technology the proportion of scientific top achievements was still too small and that we should have to make more definite headway in this regard.* The cornerstone is laid for it at the universities and colleges. Even though the urge for high achievements has perceptibly grown and become more intensive, still

*Cf. "Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker, 4. Tagung des ZK der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 93.

considerable efforts are yet needed to turn such a high performance level into a norm for all students. Teachers and students therefore are in honor bound in the school year that has just started to raise the broad mass of the students up to the level of the best ones and further elevate their performance through targeted encouragement measures. That mainly means using the strength of the FDJ for instilling in all students the firm resolve to use their studies effectively for absorbing the sciences and developing their own personality. Of the students in our era, siding with the cause of peace and socialism and the variety of interests and needs should be as typical as their stubborn efforts in the solving of problems and for accuracy in details. Their studies must already teach them that high scientific achievements always are the outcome of strenuous and arduous mental work and that their success is preceded by the hardships of everyday life.

Such positions on studies do not develop on their own. They are the outcome of a conflict-rich process, especially within the FDJ groups. To foster that and thereby turn the FDJ groups into motors for high student performances, that--the 11th Parliament emphasized--also is the most important concern of the contest for the title "socialist students collective." That this contest now involves nearly all FDJ groups is among the most significant successes achieved after the 10th party congress at the universities, colleges and technical schools. The title "socialist students collective" is awarded those collectives in which politically and scientifically committed students set the tone, where one constantly comes to grips with all students' study attitude and performance, resolutely opposes any mediocrity in thought, and develops ideas and propositions of one's own on how the training level might be further elevated. The most important business of the contest for the title "socialist students collective" is to develop the kind of climate in the FDJ collectives that stimulates each student in his efforts always to side with the cause of socialism and do as best he can for himself and for society.

Proceeding from there, all FDJ groups ought to feel challenged not to stop with ascertaining generally positive tendencies in the students' consciousness and performance development but to carry on a more differentiated political-ideological debate and more compelling still come to grips with any lack of seriousness still encountered in studies. In his FDJ collective a student learns to explain his political and scientific opinion, defend his ideas, get advice, give assistance and receive it, bear responsibility, and assess the attitude and performance of others and his own. Experience keeps demonstrating that the political atmosphere in the FDJ group goes a long way toward shaping the students' communist education and self-education.

In his discussion contribution at the Fifth College Conference, Comrade Egon Krenz asserted: "Which students study with dedication and zeal--which gives all he has and still has reserves--a good FDJ group leadership knows that, knows it before teachers and custodians can know it, and it is grateful for getting help from the teaching staff in solving such problems because from this the FDJ membership meetings and the entire political climate in the groups can only benefit."* That capacity is by no means everywhere being used as yet.

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*"V. Hochschulkonferenz der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Protokoll" (Proceedings), Zwickau, 1980, p 162.

The cooperation between official state and FDJ executives, down to the groups, should however not be left to the discretion of one leader or another but it constitutes an essential problem in the implementation of the principle of the unity of generations at universities, colleges and technical schools. Imperative for it is helping especially the FDJ group executives in comprehensively assuming their responsibilities. That includes involving them in the decision-making on all business relating to the students' study and living conditions and equipping them systematically for conducting vivid ideological work. The monthly "group leaders' schooling" is most suitable for that.

Appropriating Marxism-Leninism as a Compass for Life

It has always been among the best traditions of the FDJ to promote a systematic study of Marxism-Leninism. Nowhere else in studies is the connection between the appropriation and application of a science and the fundamental task of the FDJ to help the party in educating youth into convinced fighters for communism so apparent. "The basis for a solid picture of the world and for higher study achievements in all subjects and for the practical application of science also will be in the future the manner in which the FDJ students acquire Marxism-Leninism in its entirety and absorb permanently the analytic method and dialectical mode of thought of the classical authors of our world-outlook."*

The membership meetings with the theme "Peace must be defended--peace must be under arms" which were held particularly in preparation for the Pentecostal meeting of youth, and the great number of topical policy forums of the students during the FDJ students summer of 1982, once again demonstrated the students' interests in the discussion of current political events and ideological questions and showed the ability they have developed to take a party-minded and committed position, proceeding from Marxist-Leninist viewpoints, on the basic issues of our social developmental processes and the class conflict in our time. That is, not last, the outcome of the confident cooperation between FDJ students and teaching staffs in basic Marxist-Leninist studies, to which the youth association has always paid special attention.

In most FDJ collectives it is understood to devote special attention to the attendance of lectures and of the seminars and test preparations in basic Marxist-Leninist studies and to reading the classic authors in the original. It attests to the FDJ students' high sense of political responsibility that when the decisions are made about handing out performance-related scholarships the results in the studies of Marxist-Leninist principles are considered particularly important and the question about the unity between knowledge and action is raised consistently.

In nuce, the particular attitude a student takes toward studying Marxism-Leninism reflects his relationship with the workers class and its party, its revolutionary traditions and its strategy and tactics in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. What is especially important is to help

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*Egon Krenz, "Die Verantwortung . . .," op. cit., p 77.

the FDJ students by means of Marxism-Leninism to come to see themselves as the subject of the class struggles of our era and comprehend why it is necessary always to take the position of the workers class in these struggles.

For more and more FDJ students a precise knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and of the party resolutions becomes imperative for comprehending the ongoing process of revolutionary changes, the causes for the confrontation and arms buildup policy by the most aggressive imperialist forces, unmasking them and looking through them and effectively opposing them and their far-flung ideological assaults on socialism. We find in the appropriation of the insights and method of Marxism-Leninism also the key to answering those ideological questions in which the students become increasingly interested in conjunction with the advances of the scientific-technical revolution. Among those questions are those about the social effects of scientific-technical progress on socialism and capitalism, about the role of man under highly automated production conditions, and about the interaction between science and production.

Because the implementation of the "FDJ Peace Effort" is eager to provide all students with a firm class consciousness and to help them to side with the party on behalf of socialism and peace under any conditions, it is our obligation to see to it resolutely also in the future that all students are firmly tied up with Marxism-Leninism. Wholly in this sense, there is currently under preparation at all universities, colleges and technical schools a central conference devoted to the theme "Marxism-Leninism--Guideline for Revolutionary Action in Our time," by which the FDJ students in our country are going to pay tribute next year to the 165th birthday and 100th death anniversary of Karl Marx.

Studies and Scientific-Productive Activity

The 11th FDJ Parliament called upon students and young scientists to take an active part in the students science contest and get set through top achievements for the Eighth Central Performance Show of Students and Young Scientists that is going to be held in November 1982 together with the 25th Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow, in Leipzig. Together with teaching staffs, many youth projects and students' rationalization and design bureaus have intensified their efforts to accomplish scientific top achievements, and nearly all universities and colleges have sought to involve still more students in research and further improve the level of instruction. Students made up 40.5 percent of the entire research capacity at universities and colleges in 1981.

The Technical University Dresden is sending its "program system for the design of innovative circuits and basic technologies and for the design and application of the A 277 circuit" to the Eighth Central Performance Show. It has thus far been used 30 times over again, received the gold medal and brought a benefit of M 7.5 million. The elaboration, justification and dispatching of such shows clearly indicate that "science-production activity is the way by which the students' ability for independent scientific work becomes more pronounced and scientific gifts can early be spotted and promoted,* as Comrade Kurt Hager asserted in his concluding remarks at the Fifth College Conference.

*"V. Hochschulkonferenz . . .," op. cit., p 265.

Many FDJ executives and teachers are perfectly correct in pointing out that the chances to draw students into research precisely through the specific forms of science-production activity are not everywhere yet being used to the proper extent and that there are still great differences among various institutions in the degree of participation by students and young scientists in the youth projects and the students' rationalization and design bureaus.

We also have to make the best use of every lecture, seminar and self-study hour. Many FDJ collectives therefore took the resolutions from the third and fourth Central Committee plena to mean they should resolutely see to it that the problems derived from the SED's economic and science strategy are included in training everywhere and still more inform the requirements and the students' dealing with research subjects. Among those problems are an orientation to world standards, considering the cost/benefit ratio, frugality in dealing with material, raw materials and energy, the substitution for imported raw materials, reducing transitional time frames from the research results to production operations, the best use made of graduates, and the effective capacity utilization of the basic assets. Greater efforts also still have to be made in bringing the students to make the fullest use of their capacities in their regular studies. Crucial for that are a high teaching level, the ability of the teaching staffs to inspire the students for their special fields, and an efficient planning and organization of studies which allows the students enough room for independent scientific efforts.

A teaching staff will always find the FDJ backing it when it is a matter of turning study hours into a time of increasing demands; where high demands are made, the efforts for high achievements develop, leaving no ground for mediocrity and smugness. And this, in the final analysis, also is what makes those talents and gifts be noticed that make an above-average headway in the acquisition and application of the sciences, develop a pronounced problem perspective and accomplish original scientific solutions.

Promoting them in special ways is one of the most essential tasks in giving rise to an efficient new science generation that can come up with internationally recognized science achievements. Much has happened in this field since the Fifth College Conference. Among the special forms of promotion are special study plans, concluding diploma projects or dissertations ahead of time, and special courses. More also still has to be done, with FDJ support, by means of temporary college transfers or going abroad for the specially gifted and talented, so they can get still deeper insights into their sciences.

In all this, to us scientific creativeness has nothing in common with seclusion or egocentricity. Our experiences, rather, tell us that the most broadly interested and socially active students always also are among the scientifically most creative. For one thing they find it easier to comprehend in terms of time the close interaction between politics and science and to find social needs reflected by science development. And then again, due to their social commitment, they acquire such personality traits that are imperative for a scientist as a sense of responsibility, dedication, and the ability to work systematically and make the most efficient use of the time they have available. We expect of our best students that they will do still more for helping all students get a dedicated attitude toward their studies, sweep others along, and express criticism where mediocrity still is the order of the day.

Making Effective Use of the New Study Schedules

An important field for the democratic involvement of the socialist youth association for the further development of studies is the new study schedule plan that was introduced. It provides more time when there are no lectures, which reflects the trust in the students' performance readiness. To justify that, we must now discuss with all students in the FDJ groups and basic organizations that they should use all chances the time-off gives them to penetrate still more extensively into the sciences on their own so as to make the best use of their mental efforts for the sake of increased productivity. Furthermore, in the outcome of this year's control post operation, "FDJ and Studies—Tracking Reserves," proposals should be submitted to all official state executives on how we can render more effective the annual study schedules as such and the time-off from lectures, in particular.

Through the step-by-step implementation of the 18 March 1980 Politburo resolution, the prerequisites for elevating the training, teaching and research levels have further improved. A permanent task is fully to exhaust all inherent opportunities for training politically committed and highly educated graduates. What has been accomplished should be further expanded, yet new approaches also must be taken in the conveying, appropriation and application of knowledge.

This is a creative process that is also full of conflicts. Proposing it, our party fully counts on the FDJ students' sense of responsibility and political maturity. The results of the 1981/82 school year, the extensive preparations for the Eighth Central Performance Show and the wide echo the "FDJ Peace Effort" has found among student youth are an expression for that the SED can firmly rely on that the socialist youth association will continue to meet its tests at the universities, colleges and technical schools in our country as an active helper and fighting reserve of the working class party.

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YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS TO PROMOTE 'CLASS-ORIENTED DEFENSE MOTIVATION'

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 154, 9 Oct 82 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "FDJ Intends to Intensify Military Education for Young People." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The FDJ leadership now has confirmed that the military education for young people is being further strengthened. Among other things, the FDJ now plans to "form still more working teams on military policy at schools and in extracurricular facilities." In the theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 10, 1982), two functionaries of the FDJ Central Council furthermore announced that the direct military service preparations would more and more be shifted to the work collectives. The FDJ's "most important contribution" to socialist defense education was to "steadily shape class-bound defense motivations, convince all young people of the need for the protection of their socialist fatherland, and improve their capabilities for defense through a purposefully organized premilitary training."

FDJ Functionaries' Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 10, Oct 82 (signed to press 18 Sep 82) pp 1008-1013

['Youth in Our Society' feature article by Dr Karl-Heinz Borgwadt and Social Scientist Peter Miethe, Free German Youth (FDJ) Central Council secretary and department chief, respectively: "FDJ and Socialist Home Defense"]

[Text] In view of the exacerbation of the international situation by imperialism, the 10th SED Congress unmistakably affirmed the fact that the focal point in the struggle of our time was "more than ever the safeguarding of peace, which ultimately decides over the presence and future of humanity." The 11th FDJ Parliament's response to that was: "We FDJ members are ready always and under

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*Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomittees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 11.

any conditions for the defense of our socialist home! We accept the statement in the SED Program that the protection of peace and of our socialist fatherland is the right and honorable duty of every GDR citizen."*

So the FDJ in our days worthily carries on one of its most creditable traditions--mobilizing youth for the defense of its socialist fatherland. At the Fourth Parliament in 1952, Comrade Erich Honecker, FDJ chairman at that time, asserted: "It cannot be ignored that youth has found its fatherland in the GDR because the interests of the state and of youth are identical in it!" And the conclusion he arrived at was that it was the logical consequence of the FDJ's resolute efforts on behalf of peace that in view of the remilitarization in the FRG it would promote, together with all young people, the armed protection of the GDR.**

Relying on the Soviet Union's experience that the armed protection of the socialist fatherland is mainly up to youth, the FDJ assumed the sponsorship for the armed organs in the young republic. A few weeks later already thousands of members and functionaries of the youth association joined the ranks of the garrisoned People's Police.

Members of the youth association they were who in 1956, when the NVA was founded, answered the call from the FDJ Central Council, "You Are the One Who Counts, as We All Do," and volunteered for their honorable service. Within the scope of the FDJ Effort, "The Fatherland Calls--Protect the Socialist Republic," after 13 August 1961 more than 285,000 young people announced their readiness to join the NVA. The military policy and defense sports mass activities, "GDR Signal," in 1969, 1974 and 1979 had a great effect. It conforms to this line of tradition that at a time when world peace and the survival of human civilization are threatened as never since World War II, the FDJ pays great attention to the defense readiness and capability of youth. The "FDJ Peace Effort" is a new expression of it.

Steadily Shaping the Defense Motivation of Youth

The protection of socialism demands of every boy and girl an unshakable political class standpoint. For that reason it is the most important contribution the FDJ can make to socialist defense education, and thus to the implementation of the military service law, steadily to shape class-bound defense motivations, under party leadership and together with all social forces, especially with the socialist defense organization, the GST. It is of special importance to convince all young people of the need for the protection of their socialist fatherland and to improve their defense capabilities through purposeful and organized premilitary training.

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*Egon Krenz, "Die Verantwortung der Jugend bei der Weiterfuehrung der sozialistischen Revolution in der DDR und die Aufgaben der FDJ nach dem X. Parteitag der SED, XI. Parlament der Freien Deutschen Jugend" (Youth's Responsibility for Extending the Socialist Revolution in the GDR and the FDJ Tasks After the 10th SED Congress, 11th FDJ Parliament), Junge Welt publishing house, p 79.
**Erich Honecker, "The FDJ--The True Agent of the Young Generation," "Zur Jugendpolitik der SED" (On the SED's Youth Policy), Neues Leben publishing house, Berlin, 1977, pp 184-187.

The positions from which we can start here are sound. That is proven by the outstanding achievements of most young people in the GDR in strengthening their home day by day. Confronted with the peace-threatening antisocialist crusading designs of Washington's first-strike strategists, they come to realize better and better that our joint socialist work of construction also has to be protected militarily. That is revealed especially also by the efforts of our FDJ members in the NVA and the other protective and security organs in ensuring always, even under the most complicated conditions, the reliable protection of the workers and farmers power.

The defense motivation arises mainly from the firm bonds GDR youth has with its socialist fatherland. For that reason we find an important task in making all young people still more persuasively aware, with reference to our country's successful development, of that socialism is worth to be defended. For the first time in the history of the German people a state now exists, the GDR, the supreme goal of which is peace and the well-being of the entire people. Our workers and farmers state at the same time is a state of youth because it finds a true, a socialist, fatherland in the GDR, where youth likes to live because it feels truly at home there, a country which, thanks to the sacrificial struggle of preceding generations, today holds, in firm fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, a place of respect within the socialist family of peoples and everywhere in the world. This land with its industrious people, its forests and lakes, its magnificent places of culture and great historic traditions is close to the young people's heart. A meaningful life and happy prospects are in store for each and every one. That is attested to, e.g., by our 10-grade polytechnical secondary schools, solid vocational training and job security for all young people. This is the first time that the basic rights of youth have become a reality in a German state. Today, GDR youth exercises its righ to codetermination, among other things, by the 30,188 young deputies, of whom 22,114 carry the FDJ mandate.

Considering the situation of youth in the capitalist countries, it becomes all the more apparent: only socialist society can ensure that each may make his life meaningful. In the FRG, the number of unemployed youngsters below the age of 20 climbed to 168,000 in July this year, an increase of 46 percent over the same period in 1981. How many personal destinies are tied up with that? How many dreams and ideas of a meaningful life have been shattered? The meaning of being unemployed, cast out by society, without purpose or prospects in life, is inconceivable to us. What sort of an inhuman society is that which has nothing to offer of real weight to an increasing number of young people but a place in line outside of the employment bureau, depression and dread of the next day? What character does such a society have where more and more young people after their schooling, yet without vocational training, end up in the streets? Who can be surprised that youth under capitalism more and more perceives itself as a "social fringe" and more and more young people seek in narcotics their only way out?

This places all the more boldly in relief the accomplishments, ideals, values and advantages of socialism. To protect them reliably therefore is mainly in the interest of youth itself. Because we want our socialist fatherland to prosper in peace and blossom more and more beautifully, we awaken and encourage

the defense readiness of youth and allow no one to upset it. This is wholly in the spirit of V. I. Lenin, who admonished the Ninth All-Russian Soviet Congress: "After having begun our peaceful work of reconstruction, we shall use all our strength to carry it on without pause. At the same time, however, comrades, watch out, guard the defense capability of our country and of our Red Army like the apple of your eye, remember that we do not have the right to allow even for a second any weakening of our workers and peasants and their achievements."*

It attests to the political maturity of GDR youth that, in view of the dangers to peace conjured up by imperialism, more and more are asking how we can prevent the outbreak of a third world war and what an individual can do for it. Even the question suggests the conviction that the peace forces in the world can resist imperialism's onslaughts on peace and life. Having become more aggressive, imperialism is now more dangerous. Even so: never yet were the forces in the world so strong that can prevent a war, can indeed banish it from the life of mankind forever. This optimism relies on the strength of the Soviet Union, the chief bastion in the struggle for the safeguarding of peace, and on the entire socialist community as well as the growing strength of the peace movement all over the world. We harbor no illusions: Imperialism is unscrupulous and ready even to risk a war to turn back the wheel of history and keep in place its obsolete system. So it must never see a chance to win such a war which would inevitably lead to a nuclear inferno!

In Central Europe, on the dividing line between the two opposed world systems, each and every one has an especially great responsibility also to prevent imperialism by means of our military might from spoiling for a fight. Without the armed protection of socialism there can be no peace. Therefore the personal act for strengthening socialism's defense capability lies in necessary and effective service to peace. That makes particularly high demands on the moral education of youth because decisions are demanded by individuals which, in the interest of society, also imply personal sacrifices. Helping the young people to acquire so aware a posture therefore is the major emphasis in the FDJ's defense policy activity.

Many sources feed the motives for defending the socialist fatherland. They are formed and reinforced in the learning and working process, through target-directed political-ideological activity, and in organizing one's leisure-time. That is of course much affected by the young people's parents and acquaintances. The FDJ has proven that its ideological work makes a significant contribution to youth's defense readiness. Of great topical importance here are the experiences we have gathered through the membership meetings on the theme "Peace must be defended--peace must be armed." They showed what great effect and mobilizing strength can come from ideological debates and a frank exchange of political opinions in the FDJ collectives when the theme touches an ideological nerve and everyone gets a party-minded and persuasive answer to his questions.

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*"Werke" (Works), Vol 33, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 134.

The young people--and that means boys as well as girls--are greatly interested in information about military-political connections, the national defense requirements and the service with the armed organs. We are grateful to the SED members, the NVA comrades, the border troops, the other protective and security organs of the GDR, and many reservists for their constant readiness to make themselves the young people's partners in discussions in the various forms of political mass activity as in membership meetings, on forums or in military-political round-table discussions. Young people want answers to the questions that move them. Therefore discussions conducted with expertise by experienced comrades is the best way also to form in the military-political area class-bound standpoints and convictions. Skilled and comradely response to questions, a sensitive concern for their interests and inclinations and for their problems as well, turns out, time and time again, to be a key to the hearts and minds of youths.

The Unity of Allegiance and Action

As a firm component of communist education, for the socialist defense education the unity between ideological work and concrete tasks, between word and deed, is of special importance. Decisive here is the readiness and capability for defending the socialist fatherland and peace, which must demonstrate itself mainly in the fulfilment of one's military service and in other forms of fulfilling one's defense obligation.

The demands going with it deeply penetrate the lives of the individuals, cause much discomfort and demand personal sacrifice, too. And that precisely is why, through test situations and emotional experiences, class-bound political-moral attitudes toward the defense of socialism have to be formed and constantly reinforced. The military protection of socialism makes high demands on preparing the future soldiers. They result from the implacable measures of war and from the incessantly growing political-moral, military-technical, psychological and physical demands of the service under arms.

In recent years, in concert with all social forces, a number of defense-policy and military sports activities have been used in the FDJ and the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization, in various forms made appropriate to the different age-groups, which conform still more to the young people's needs for interesting and experience-rich test situations. The "friendship" maneuvers for the Thaelmann pioneers and the traditional Hans Beimler Contests for the 8th grade FDJ members become an important age-group specific contribution to defense education if each receives a concrete task and the kind of test situations are established that call for toughness and tenacity, courage and skill. They are most effective in places where the great value of emotional experiences is taken into account as well as the urge pioneers and FDJ members have for adventure and romanticism, where their imagination is fired and they are drawn into the preparation, organization and analysis of all measures.

The outcome of the Seventh Pioneer Meeting also confirms: Children and adolescents want to be active, want to realize their own notions and ideas, and want to prove themselves in solving self-assigned tasks. That is why we shall advocate forming still more working teams on military policy at schools and in extracurricular facilities.

Military instruction as introduced in ninth and tenth grade in 1978 offers each FDJ member fine opportunities to acquire the basics in socialist national defense early. Best use is made of them wherever the FDJ groups and basic organizations in the secondary schools feel a shared responsibility for achievements, discipline and dedication and perform active political work in the military training camps.

A special place value in the immediate military service preparations for youths attaches to the premilitary training and the defense sports in the GST. The new training programs for premilitary career training in the GST conform to the higher demands placed on the fighting strength and combat readiness of the GDR armed forces. We dedicate the political strength of the FDJ to having the members of our youth association consciously fulfil the higher requirements and seek exemplary results in premilitary training with dedication and fighting spirit. The FDJ activists groups have proven a great mobilizing force for it in many places. They help the youths turn the struggle for reaching the training objectives into their own business. Through their political work they foster the spirit of initiative, the resolve to fight and the independence of all who take part in the training. It is an FDJ executive task to form such activists groups in all training units, familiarize their members with the training requirements, and see to it that our young friends get drawn into the preparation, organization and analysis of the training.

Higher and partly new tasks especially also arise for the FDJ from the fact that immediate military service preparation is going to be dispensed for most young people more and more in the work collectives themselves. The traditional rhythm of school-apprenticeship--military service--occupation can no longer be maintained for many who are subject to military service. Simultaneously, reservists' service gains new importance for national defense. Many basic FDJ organizations and youth brigades have already drawn the correct conclusions from it. By their political work they help increase the readiness to perform military service at any point deemed socially necessary. To make sure that everyone is physically in shape for it, they, together with the GST, the DTSB and the FDGB, make arrangements for regular sports activities for working youth. Many opportunities for that are offered by GST defense sports and the sports medal, "Ready for Work and for the Defense of the Home."

Of no less importance it is that the FDJ in the work collectives also concerns itself with the personal problems of conscripts, reservists and their families and that every conscript finds out, before, during and after his military service, that his armed service for the protection of our accomplishments enjoys high public recognition. The celebrations when recruits leave, the constant contact the FDJ collectives keep with them while they serve, and the celebrations when they return to their work collectives should therefore become regular procedure in each basic FDJ organization. It is sure to find the support of all social forces in the enterprises. High social recognition in the enterprises and work collectives, not last, also is accorded to those girls and young women who, in the civil defense units, in GST defense sports or in the Red Cross medical units, are making an outstanding contribution to our national defense. Their active defense policy and defense sports activity also enhances their understanding, as mothers, wives or girlfriends, for their sons or partners in military uniform.

The Military Profession--Opting for Peace and Socialism

As the SED's helper and fighting reserve, the FDJ bears an exceptional responsibility for ensuring military career replacements. By deciding to serve in a military profession, a young person deliberately expresses his patriotism and internationalism. Therefore, those FDJ members who take up the profession of officer, warrant officer or NCO enjoy a special respect in our socialist youth association. We consider it our responsibility mainly to see to it in all FDJ organizations that the most reliable and qualified boys opt for that profession. And those collectives best live up to their task in which precisely such young friends set the political tone by their class-bound stance, their exemplary study, and their dedication and pass their first political tests as functionaries in the youth association.

"FDJ Applicants' Collectives for Military Professions" have for 10 years proven an efficient way for the youth association to assist the working class cadres to get set for their military careers. Led by the FDJ kreis managements, in the more than 1,000 applicants' collectives active career soldiers and reservists help our young friends to get ready for their future military careers and especially also help shape their political-ideological positions further. Military-political training measures, providing realistic ideas and familiarizing the girlfriends and parents create essential conditions to reinforce the decisions of the 14 or 15 year old boys until they actually begin their courses at an officers college of the NVA, the GDR border troops or the ministry of the interior. But above all, each applicant here gets the chance to test himself in a practical sense in accordance with his inclinations, interests and capabilities. Each young friend should get distinctive tasks assigned there. Many of them are already assigned in GST training units or FDJ public order groups where they acquire their initial leadership qualifications. Something else that is important are the visits all careeer candidates make to the training institutions where they are going to get, after 4 years of study, diplomas as commanding or political officers or military specialists. Together with the armed organs, we are going to create similar opportunities also for the long-range preparation of career replacements for NCO's and warrant officers.

The FDJ has done quite a lot in the past for the defense readiness of youth in the GDR. In the future as well the socialist youth association will always assign a proper place to the requirements for the military protection of our accomplishments and so deserve the high distinction of the Scharnhorst Medal with which Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, decorated the FDJ on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of its assuming the sponsorship for the armed organs.

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ENTERTAINMENT ARTS TO TEACH YOUTH 'VALUES OF SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE'

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 156, 14 Oct 82 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Youths to Become Involved With 'Valuable Art.'" A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Through more effective art propaganda GDR youths, the theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 10, 1982) has demanded, should be made more aware of "important works of art." Otherwise, considering ordinary offerings, "much of value" would be lost. That was all the more true in as much as only some of the works of art young people accept were "value-forming in the socialist sense," and among some youngsters one could find "tendencies of one-sidedness and mental barrenness."

GDR Art Scholar's Critique

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 10, Oct 82 (signed to press 18 Sep 82) pp 1014-1018

['Youth in Our Society' feature article by Prof Dr Lothar Bisky, lecturer, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; and Dr Dieter Wiedemann, department chief, Central Institute for Youth Research, Leipzig: "Intellectual-Cultural Demands and Activities of the Young People." For related information see translations of articles published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "Artistic Works 'Reflecting Socialist Life' to Be Promoted" (by Ursula Ragwitz, SED culture functionary), 80637, 22 Apr 82, No 2002, pp 11-14; "Ideological, Political Deficiencies in Film Industry Discussed" (by Lothar Bellag, president, Association of Film and Television Speicalists), 80515, 7 Apr 82, No 1996, pp 59-63; "Theater Criticized for Indifference to 'Politically-Oriented' Dramas" (by Hans-Rainer John, GDR theater journal chief editor), 80452, 31 Mar 82, No 1994, pp 23-26; "'Idealized' Hero Models Rejected for Young People" (East Berlin youth journal), 80582, 15 Apr 82, No 1999, pp 29-33; "Regime's Measures to Co-opt 'Discotheque Culture' Discussed" (West German article), 81941, 7 Oct 82, No 2062, pp 47-48]

[Text] Against the development of youth-specific entertainment in socialism, bourgeois ideologues have battered down with the "argument" that youth sought entertainment from rock music and adventure and thus evaded the educational goals of the party and the youth association. Through the media they also seek to persuade the GDR youth that the party and FDJ were just grinding their teeth in tolerating entertainment. That also implies the effort of propagating imperialism as a society of sensual pleasure and enjoyment, colors and games, while imputing to socialism an ideal of asceticism. What becomes completely distorted and suppressed is the fact that it was the workers movement that vigorously fought for the right of youth, not only to work and education, but also to pleasure and happiness, and that this has been among the basic demands of the FDJ ever since its founding. And what enemy propaganda refuses to see is most clearly in evidence today: the same young people who go for entertainment and take a vivid part in ideological debates are also the ones who enjoy "serious art" and entertainment art.

The Causes for Higher Intellectual-Cultural Demands

Needs for information and communication, for the enjoyment of art and culture, for entertainment and sociability, have broadly spread especially also among our young people. That is found in the various intellectual-cultural activities that have a pronounced mass character. Research has shown how with the greater cultural needs also the qualitative demands have developed that are made on contents and forms, mainly also on a substantive variety in intellectual-cultural life.

The growing demands are attributable to various processes working together. There first are the high educational qualifications. Consider that in 1978 there were the first graduates from 10th grade who had been educated along new teaching plans starting in first grade. Also the commitment of youth in all sectors of public life brings its influence to bear on its intellectual-cultural demands and activities. Compared with earlier generations, youth today grows up with an altered and also expanded "cultural experience." Used to television and having portable radios, record players and cassette recorders from early on, reading the press on a regular basis, using "family libraries" and engaged in travel and tourism, its cultural impressions are broadened. A young person of 25 years of age has by now seen between 2,000 and 3,000 movies on television or in movie houses. Furthermore, most young people today grow up under conditions where both parents are working so that their leisure time calls for greater self-reliance, children are encouraged to assume duties in organizing their daily family life, and so forth. In the overall effect of objective living conditions and the tendencies of the socialist way of life, the outcome of education and training and their own cultural activities, not only diversified intellectual-cultural needs have formed among youth but higher qualitative demands as well.

If one talks about a higher need for diversified intellectual-cultural life, that includes the substantively differentiated and specifically developed needs for education and art enjoyment as well as the needs for information and communication, entertainment and sociability. That gives rise to high demands made on shaping the proportions in the intellectual-cultural life of the youth.

The mass media today, e.g., provide rich cultural experiences at home but do not satisfy the need for collective cultural experiences, vivid communication, debates and diversified intellectual-cultural life in the territories. Territorial cultural institutions, that is to say, are by no means superseded by the "central cultural opportunities." And the best territorial cultural opportunities do not supersede intellectual life in the collectives and the FDJ groups.

None but intellectual-cultural life at improving quality can satisfy the level of needs and demands attained. And we are not blinding ourselves to that there are tendencies of one-sidedness and mental barenness among some young people, too. Surveys have established that such phenomena normally go hand in hand with the same kind of atmosphere at home and in the circles of friends. But experience also demonstrates that such young people also may develop more diversified interests once they get involved in the more demanding intellectual-cultural activities of their work, FDJ or sports collectives.

Also to youth applies what was remarked at the 10th SED Congress: "In the 1980's the demands made on the quality and effectiveness of our socialist culture and art will rise further. They help, after all, in releasing the creativeness in man and enhancing the working people's job satisfaction and well-being in socialist society. The point is to improve further everywhere the intellectual-cultural prerequisites for our performance improvements."* To that end we must also above all encourage and challenge the young people's need for cultural activity of their own. That applies to their active participation in forms of FDJ cultural mass activity, to popular cultural and art activities, and to individual cultural and art activity. Dealing with science and technology, working for MMM (Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow), tinkering and hobby work--all activities that enrich the creative potential of youth and give expression to it deserve appropriate attention in intellectual-cultural life.

A manifold promotion of the cultural activities of youth also always implies demands, especially with regard to the connection of work, study and culture. In our intellectual-cultural life one ought to take more into account that it is undoubtedly very important for the cultural development of young sales ladies, to take an example, to go to the theater, no less important, however, is their contribution to improving sales culture. Right now, the question that is becoming ever more prominent in our intellectual-cultural life is how the appropriated intellectual potentials, the cultural level acquired, can become practically effective, at work mainly, but also in other public domains. In summarizing a debate on communist education by Soviet scholars, the Soviet sociologist A. Kharchev writes: "It is important to overcome the encrusted yet obsolete notion that the formation of a socialist personality comes down merely to intellectually appropriating scientific, political and ethical information."** He supports that remark, among other things, by reference to the kind of people who are certainly highly educated and ideologically oriented in the proper way yet do not translate such knowledge and orientation into commensurate actions. For that reason it would also be important to form the

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*Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 105-106.

**A.Kharchev, "Problems of Communist Education," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT, GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE, No 12, 1980, p 1265.

"emotional potential" of a personality. The aim would be "that everyone appropriates socialist culture in the whole range of its forms (from the ideological-political to the emotional) and manifestations (from the theoretical to the practical)."* The diversified intellectual-cultural needs most young people develop are an important starting point for working out connections between demands made on intellectual-cultural life and demands on one's own cultured acts, one's own performance in study and work, and for raising awareness of it time and time again.

Youth and the Arts

In all strata of youth the enjoyment of art is an everyday habit, a "victual" consumed daily. Yet the relation of the various groups of youth to the different artistic types and genres has developed most unevenly. Music, entertainment art, movies and literature are used massively. More young people attend theaters and concerts than adults do.

Remarkable are the changes in the preference for art. Young people of today select with discrimination and deliberation from the much expanded availabilities in art. In part they are forced to do so because all there is in art cannot be indulged in. Furthermore--especially as far as the mass media are concerned—they let themselves be guided by their own experiences and distinct expectations. That becomes clear when one thinks of going to movies, for instance. While movie attendance slightly declined in 1980, compared with 10 years before, the proportion of young moviegoers disappointed in particular films also declined in that period. Things can be shown to be similar in other arts as well, for instance in theater attendance.

One finds that in some fields of art the interest groups have become younger. Partly due to owning portable radios, record players and recorders early in life, rock music fans, e.g., are much younger now than they used to be years ago. Now it is mostly pupils and apprentices who go to the movies. Many of the ones below 14 years of age watch evening television programs regularly. In one sense that expresses an early cultural independence on the part of young people. Not rarely, however, on the other hand, pupils and children are partly overtaxed by such programs. That is shown in part by their being unsure in the aesthetic judgment they make about what they have been watching.

It is striking that the young people resort to the arts in their whole range and variety but the various age-groups certainly prefer different genres and types of art. And then there are specific art fans who normally know a lot about the arts of their concern and can then also advise their friends and acquaintances.

Much suspense and entertainment is expected of works of art. A not insignificant outcome of youth research tells us that young workers, apprentices and students mostly expect to learn something new from art and literature. That is to say, increase in knowledge is explicitly expected of works of art—which contradicts the assumption of many. Especially contemporary art is expected to furnish suggestions and orientations for one's manner of living. That expectation is massively developed. Literature and art enable the young people

*Ibid., p 1266.

to become acquainted, through aesthetic enjoyment, with the behavior patterns, values and attitudes of others, experience vicariously and "without risk" attitudes in certain situations, confront them in an identification process and probe into the values of the socialist way of life, of ideological issues and so forth in open debates or in talks with friends and acquaintances. That such talks go beyond the "narrow" horizon of everyday living is shown by the great resonance of works of art, including rock music, which express our youth's will to peace and its stance in the defense of the fatherland, shows itself also in the discussion on works of art devoted to the idea of solidarity and proletarian internationalism. Granted, as there are so very many different works of art, not all have a value-forming effect in the socialist sense. All the more important is the talk and discussion about and the issue-taking with what is presented.

There are times when artistic figures in films, novels, stories or theater productions turn into models for young people, which goes beyond being directly preoccupied with the work of art itself, but such models need not be looked at uncritically. Such models are normally not looked for and found in only one artistic figure but they often change when one is very young. With increasing life experience, ideological education and art experience, the relation to model figures in art stabilizes. They are chosen with more discrimination and are less subject to fluctuations and are then accepted as models selectively, with respect to particular attitudes. About the function of heroes in works of art young people have relatively clearly defined ideas. Heroes, as they understand it, have to be unequivocally exemplary and embody personality traits and values that can be acceptable as the goal of one's own life structure. E.g., Hella Lindau in the DEFA film "Die Verlobte" (The Betrothed) is accepted as a model: It is Hella Lindau's steadfastness and humanity and her knowing of the strength of communist ideals and of that of love, which turn her into a heroine young people also approve of. The movie's success among young people shows that heroes must be depicted with great artistic skill and achieve personal significance for young people.

Empirical surveys document that not every work of art produces an effect equivalent to that which comes out of the experiences with outstanding works of art. Not every film has the impact of "Die Verlobte." Some works even seem ineffective initially. The many works of art accepted by the young people is something that makes it necessary mainly to deal also with the long-range consequences of what initially seem to be ineffective works, especially the art of entertainment. They have an effect on social psychology, on ordinary consciousness, on value orientations in everyday conduct, on historical consciousness, on convictions and imagination and, not last, on the ideals as well.* Art production and dissemination for that reason are so significant for the socialist personality development. That is true of contemporary works as well as of our legacy.

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*Cf. Hans Koch, "The Function and Effect of Literature and Art in the Forming of a Marxist-Leninist World-Outlook and the Forming of Communist Ideals and Value Concepts," "Literaturunterricht und kommunistische Erziehung der Schuljugend" (Literature Instruction and the Communist Education of School Youth), Volk und Wissen state-owned publishing house, Berlin, 1979, pp 7 ff.

We have been dealing here in detail with trends in young people's receptivity to art because we have to bring it about through more effective art propaganda and indoctrination that young people are made aware of important works of art. So much is offered every day that quite a lot that is valuable gets lost. More attention also has to be paid to the fact that the "change of generations" goes relatively fast as far as the reception of art is concerned. Important works of socialist realism which were important to the adults when they were young are no longer known to most young people, even if some of those works have certainly been of some interest even today. It has become an important question in cultural and art policy how that legacy, which shapes especially the development of historical consciousness, can be refashioned and made available to the new generation. The impact art has on youths depends not only of what is now being produced but more and more also on how the total potential of works of art is properly offered and used.

On Youth-Specific Entertainment

Especially in the 1970's our party resolutely saw to it that the opportunities for entertainment and sociability would broaden, especially for youth. The long-range orientation to the development of a youth-specific dance and entertainment music has done well. Entertainment opportunities broadened in the mass media through records and cassettes and so forth, and the development of our rock music was a success.

Entertainment, dance and sociability are indispensable components of a cultured socialist way of life. The need to take it easy and relax after hard work and study is also clearly of a mass character among youth and is not likely to abate. Satisfying such needs does by no means normally supersede other cultural needs. So it is all the more important to overcome still existing tendencies of underrating the entertainment needs of young people. Sociological surveys have shown repeatedly that the same young people who go to see demanding movies will also go to see entertaining adventure and detective films.

"In all fields we must enforce our socialist position, our value criteria, our sense of life, our social psychology."* The art of entertainment, in that sense, has to enlarge its massive effectiveness further by becoming more relevant to our reality and more intensively responding to the social experiences of youth. As young people resort to it every day, the many different opportunities in this field do contribute to social well-being and to an atmosphere of optimism and energy. They also can support the needed atmosphere in the 1980's of productivity and performance readiness. Effective songs in the peace struggle sung by the young people, suspenseful adventures, entertaining games and always again good music and much else are needed so that in this area of our intellectual-cultural life more progress is made also. They like combinations of music and information, as offered through the mass-effective youth broadcasts "DT 64," "Hallo--das Jugendjournal," and "rund."

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*Kurt Hager, "On Questions of SED Cultural Policy," "Beitraege zur Kulturpolitik" (Contributions to Cultural Policy), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 14.

There is a strong need for communication in the territories where young people spend their leisure. Every day, in the various forms of sociability and entertainment events, conversations with friends and acquaintances are held about music and movies, television and radio programs, books, politics, and matters of ordinary life, and about fashions and sports. Many young people go to discotheques not only to listen to music and to dance but also because they meet their contemporaries there. In some places it still is necessary to raise the level of discotheques and youth dance events so they will conform to the demands and diversified needs of young people; they must become more substantial and attractive. There still are too few youth-specific entertainment affairs and forms of sociability that evoke active participation, combine play and fun, are suggestive, lead to vivid discussions and promote communal experience. One could also pick up the readiness most youngsters have to get involved themselves in providing their leisure time with meaningful structure. That readiness is found primarily in the cultural activities the young people engage in, in the work, learning and study collectives, the FDJ groups, the FDJ youth clubs, the FDGB, the Culture League, the local people's representations, and in popular art. Carrying on a productive use of them also then expands the potential available for an ambitious intellectual-cultural life for and by youth.

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DATA ON YOUTH ORGANIZATION'S STRUCTURE, FUNCTIONS PUBLISHED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 10, Oct 82 (signed to press 18 Sep 82) p 1019

['Youth in Our Society' feature report: "Free German Youth (FDJ) in Facts and Figures"]

[Text]

FDJ Members (in millions)			"Good Knowledge" Medal Winners		
1971	1976	1981	1971	1976	1981
1.8	2.1	2.3	393,809	396,759	653,437

Basic FDJ Organizations (in thousands)			FDJ Youth Clubs		
1971	1976	1981	1971	1976	1981
24,8	26,6	27,5	—	4,327	6,651

Young Socialists Circles	1971/72	1976/77	1981/82
Circles	59,546	76,045	83,945
Members (in millions)	1,3	1,6	1,7

Economic FDJ Initiatives	1971	1976	1981
Benefit of FDJ's "Materials Economy" Campaign (in million marks)	608,0	1,034,0	1,670,0
Benefit of FDJ's "Fodder Economy" Campaign (in million marks)	—	13,8	38,5
Scrap Deliveries (in tons)	56,425	307,319	424,769
Old Paper Deliveries (in tons)	--	37,330	78,268
Saving of Working Hours (in millions)	--	45,0	82,1
Modernization or Conversion and Completion of Apartments (Dwelling Units)	--	6,659	11,809

Proportion in Labor Force of Young Innovators (in percent)

	1971	1976	1981
State-Owned Economy Total	21,7	38,1	42,4
Ministry for			
Coal & Energy	32,6	52,8	62,3
Ore Mining, Metallurgy and Potash	41,2	56,2	62,4
Chemical Industry	25,2	50,1	52,3
Electrical Engineering/Electronics	28,0	44,6	46,3

Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow

	1971	1976	1981
Fairs	11,200	27,700	43,200
Exhibits	195,000	582,900	741,000
Members	840,000	2,244,000	2,485,300

Youth Brigades

	1971	1976	1981
Brigades	15,685	27,862	40,249
Members	199,725	319,864	465,493

Youth Projects

	1971	1976	1981
Projects	30,073	81,630	98,820
Members	374,000	1,019,226	1,157,024

In 1981, youth projects were assigned 45,337 tasks from the science and technology plans.

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PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIONS TO EXPAND RESPONSIBILITIES, 'PERSONAL DIALOGUE'

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 10, Oct 82 (signed to press 18 Sep 82) pp 1048-1053

[Article by Heinz Eichler, member, People's Chamber Presidium; secretary, GDR Council of State: "People's Representations--Focused on Higher Standards." For related information see translations of articles published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "Candid Discussions of Citizens' Trust in State Organs Urged" (SED Politburo statement) and "State Organs' Distrust of Citizens' Judgment Chided" (People's Chamber deputy's critique), 79943, 26 Jan 82, No 1966, pp 7-11 and 12-14, respectively; "Party Influence to Be Increased in State Organs (by Paul Verner, SED security chief), 80076, 10 Feb 82, No 1974, pp 7-12; "Legislative Cooperation Between State, Social Organizations Analyzed" (GDR law and political science journal), 81941, 7 Oct 82, No 2062, pp 27-35; a West German analysis of "Structure, Function of 'People's Representations,'" 80896, 25 May 82, No 2015, pp 14-21]

> [Text] What are the potentials of the local people's representations? What are the central tasks for resolutely implementing the party's economic strategy in the territories? The emphasis is placed on making the working methods of the people's representations still more effective, applying their recommendations and suggestions, from their keeping constantly in touch with the citizens, to decision-making, and promoting their initiatives in every way, so as to tap all territorial reserves for economic performance improvements and for improving the working and living conditions.

In the SED Central Committee report to the 10th SED Congress, Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, remarked that socialist state power under Marxist-Leninist party leadership and its authority and functional capability were the basis and premise for successful advances, and that this was and remained the cardinal issue of the socialist revolution. "As one knows, the workers and farmers power is profoundly democratic in character, it being a true people's power. Socialist democracy is the main trend in which state power will continue to develop among us. It ensures the broadest involvement of the working people in the management of social processes, especially in state management. We therefore focus our efforts at an

ever closer cooperation of the state organs with the social organizations, the work collectives and the various activities of the working people in all domains of life."*

This orientation of principle outlines the responsibility of the people's representations in coping with the growing political and economic requirements in the 1980's. The people's representations, as to Lenin, form the core of our unified socialist state power because they are "the immediate organization of the working masses themselves, making it easier for them to fashion the state itself and direct it in every possible way."**

Their basic function therefore is to represent the interests of the workers class and of all working people, translate them through their resolutions into the authoritative will of the state, and implement them in concert with the working people. By and through the people's representations, to a large extent, all classes and strata are ever more closely rallied around the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, without which the workers class is unable to fulfil its historic mission. The most important guarantee for the successful enactment of this process is the constant reinforcement of the working class party's leadership role. For that reason our party always pays much attention to further improving the efforts of the people's representations and their deputies and their ever closer ties with the masses. That also is expressed by the 10th SED Congress mission to render the law on the local people's representations and their organs more distinct in accordance with the new conditions.

The main task policy in its unity of economic and social policy also governs the activities of the people's representations. That this policy is correct and successful also has become persuasively apparent in the work of the local power organs in recent years. The working people's practical experience, to the effect that a commitment and performance for society also benefits the individual, has lent socialist democracy, and especially the work of the people's representations, new impulses.

Our party has always considered that the political fusion of all citizens under working class leadership calls for a composition of the people's representations that conforms with the structure of the population and makes sure that all classes and strata are represented by deputies elected into the state power organs in conformity with their social positions. From the People's Chamber down to the communal representations our republic has put a total of 205,242 deputies and 60,700 successor candidates to work. Which goes to say that right now one out of every 82 GDR inhabitants is a people's representative elected by the citizens. In the 1979 communal elections the number of deputies to the kreis assemblies, city-kreis assemblies and city-district assemblies and community representations was raised by a total of 10,675. In kreis towns and communities, one out of every 67 of the 11 1/2 million citizens living there carries the mandate of a people's representative today. That has given rise to

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*"Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 116.
**"The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky," "Werke" (Works), Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 246.

more favorable premises for direct relations between the voters and the elected and for the work of the deputies in residential areas and work collectives. The social composition of the people's representations reflects the predominant role of the workers class in the GDR. Some 45.6 percent of the deputies to the local people's representation are workers, 50.3 percent of the deputies to the bezirk assemblies and 57.6 percent of those to the city-kreis assemblies, and these workers are mostly engaged in the most important economic sectors. Their political and technical qualifications are indicated by the fact that 35.3 percent of all deputies completed college and technical school training.

Starting from such fine premises, the activity of the people's representations is to be aimed consistently at fostering the working people's creative initiatives and performance readiness for fulfilling and surpassing the national economic plans and mobilizing all reserves, and at developing activities in mass solidarity that get closer to the citizens. In the recommendations by the State Council on the activity of the people's representations in kreis towns and communities, of 18 June this year, a point is made explicitly about the connection between the responsibility of the people's representations for all-round assistance to economic performance and efficiency development and the further improvement in working and living conditions and the development of public life in all towns and communities.* Implementing that demands, above all, making a still better use of the valuable experiences of the working people and their collectives and of the people's representations, their permanent commissions and their deputies. That is also served by the recommendations and information from the State Council, in conformity with its mission as of Article 70 in the Constitution, for supporting the people's representations, promoting their democratic activities, and influencing the consolidation of socialist legality.

Resolutely Implementing the Economic Strategy

"The implementation of the party's economic strategy takes precedence in state activity."** This precedence applies to state activities in their entirety and thus also to the work of the local people's representations. It calls for their participation in those economic and teritorial priorities on which depends our ensuring the working people's material and cultural standard achieved and its step-by-step development. It is important here to recognize still better the connection between economic performance and efficiency development and a relevant practical democratic working procedure by the people's representations and to draw the necessary inferences from that. Placing the basic needs and possibilities the people's representations have to aid in economic performance development on a common denominator, the following has to be emphasized:

--The growing demands on the activity of the local power organs can be taken care of with success only if the people's representations in every way exercise their great responsibility as vested in the GDR Constitution. Because the centerpiece

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*Cf. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 19/20 June 1982, p 5.

**Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 3. Tagung des ZK der SED" (Excerpts from the Politburo Report to the Third SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 51.

of our economic organization lies in full combine and enterprise responsibility for the management and planning processes in their sectors, the activity of the people's representations and their organs has to concentrate on shoring up the performance and efficiency development in accordance with economic priorities, i.e., on ensuring optimum territorial reproduction conditions for the combines, enterprises, cooperatives and institutions. They bear a special responsibility for the performance development in the enterprises and areas under their direct authority.

--The work projects and activities of the people's representations must be aimed at ensuring in every way the fulfilment of the economic plans they themselves have decided on and at encouraging the extra obligations the working people assumed for it. That applies to their resolutions and to their organizing their conferences, to the surveys by the permanent and temporary commissions, and the work of the deputies' groups and election district activists. The implementation of the plan targets in all positions, proper as to costs, qualities and deadlines, more than ever becomes the yardstick for their conduct and for evaluating the work they do. It is necessary here to develop more of an independent and plan-oriented activity and assign tasks to the people's representations and their deputies that accord with given local conditions and possibilities.

--The best conceptions are not of much use unless they are enforced consistently and uniformly on a high level in all kreises, towns and communities. It diminishes the achievements of pacemakers if in some territories, let us say in housing construction, in preservation or in optimizing transportation, planned tasks are not properly fulfilled and standard values are not obtained. The most important technique for doing away with unjustified disparities, it always again turns out, is to generalize and enforce the working people's best experiences and recommendations in practical plan implementation.

Especially with regard to fully exhausting all territorial potentials for overall social performance growth there are now tasks to be solved that are virtually tailor-made for the people's representations and the public forces engaged in them. That pertains particularly to more speedily enforcing the territorial rationalization, which greatly contributes to economic performance development and to improving the citizens' working and living conditions according to plan.

Bezirk assemblies and many other local people's representations are seeking to aim their rationalization conceptions more at plan implementation. It indicates they recognize the indissoluble unity between overall state and territorial requirements. It is indispensable, however, for the people's representations and their organs to get still more out of the opportunities that exist, as the Politburo at the fourth Central Committee plenum has demanded, "to make further headway in securing teritorial production conditions, the tracking and tapping of further reserves for the performance development of the enterprises, the securing of supply, transportation and shipping tasks, while strictly abiding by the allocations in energy, fuel and propellant contingents, and in solving the very many different communal problems."*

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*Comrade Paul Verner, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 4. Tagung des ZK der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 57.

It is mainly a matter of achieving effective economic and communal rationalization through still more sensible cooperation and more purposefully encouraging the initiative of the social forces in the enterprises and cooperatives, the work collectives and residential areas. A State Council task force presented a report early this year on experiences of the bezirk assemblies in organizing the work in implementation of the 10th SED Congress resolutions. It also defines as a priority of the bezirk and kreis assemblies and their organs to generalize and enforce in a binding manner, through rigid political, technical and organizational management measures, the best experiences and results in territorial rationalization in their areas of responsibility.

The deputies' personal responsibility is heightened in this process. They are the representatives of the voters' interests also in the sense that they head the contest for economic plan fulfilment and the towns' and communal initiative programs. They set examples by excellent job performances and by their commitments to surpassing their personal plan commitments and applying material and cost-saving working methods. In Magdeburg Bezirk, e.g., circa 13,000 personal commitments and proposals from deputies to local people's representations on all levels on economic performance improvements and effective communal-political solutions had already been submitted by the end of the first quarter this year.

The ramifications of such exemplary work are in many respects significant to the activity of the people's representations. Thereby the deputies create for themselves better prerequisites for their political mass activities in their collectives and election districts and for confident dialogue with their voters. They also form their own standpoints and judgments for working on the decisions in their conferences and for the meetings with the standing commissions. Their personal experiences enable them to place communal aspects in the framework of the necessary sociopolitical and economic requirements.

More Effective Working Methods for People's Representations

An important task of the local people's representations and their standing commissions is, together with the working people, their supervision over a uniform implementation of the resolutions. That is accomplished if proven experiences and optimum values are thoroughly studied and enforced without delay in all appropriate areas. Noteworthy performance reserves also are still found in more rapid information, an organized experience exchange and a target-directed application of the most advanced methods beyond bezirk or kreis boundaries. A realistic assessment of results achieved and broadly enforcing optimum levels also demand of the activity of the people's representations that their sound analytic surveys more and more end in accurate performance comparisons. They make it possible for the state organs to draw concrete conclusions on the application of the best working methods and reduce unjustified disparities in state management activity and political mass activity.

A realistic assessment of the work has to be undertaken for the sake of plan fulfilment, the shaping of the working people's working and living conditions, and the status of intellectual-cultural life. A performance comparison in 19 small and medium-size towns in Cottbus Bezirk, e.g., contains experiences in implementing economic targets and in the initiative program of the "Join-in!"

competition, as well as in organizing political mass activities. In the outcome of it, considerable reserves were located for improving the housing conditions, the collection of secondary raw materials and kitchen offal, and the beautification of the towns. Annual targets for housing modernization were raised by M 240,000 and the collection of offal, by circa 2,500 tons.

Territorial rationalization reveals most clearly that the involvement of working people and their collectives in state management has to be broadened constantly and cannot be left to spontaneous campaigns and parts of territories. This holds true in particular for conferences of the people's representations which deal with basic territorial development problems and high priority tasks of the national economic plan. The working people's best experiences in the practical implementation of plan tasks and their opinions and suggestions must be reflected in the debate and in the resolutions. More can be achieved here when the debates during the sessions, based on accurate activity reports from the councils and on targeted substantive reports, are concentrated on the topical problems in the planning process and of the performance development in economic key positions. Good results are being achieved by people's representations that involve as many citizens as possible in the decision-making process and carefully analyze the recommendations from the working people before the final decisions are made on the resolutions in the sessions. Thorough supervision enables the people's representations and their deputies to uncover obstructions to the implementation of resolutions and initiate necessary measures. Massive controls by the standing commission together with other state organs and social forces as well as the use of temporary commissions of the local people's representations to resolve economic priority tasks have stood up well in practice. Regular question periods during the meetings of the people's representations, where the deputies can bring up matters pertaining to the plan implementation in their work areas and suggestions received from the citizens, also help implement decisions made and qualify the activity of passing resolutions.

An active contribution by the people's representations to implementing the economic performance and efficiency targets implies solicitude for reinforcing socialist legality and ensuring order, discipline and security in all public sectors. The ever more diversified initiatives for it by the working people in the enterprises and residential areas are a persuasive expression of the development of socialist democracy and of the citizens' state and legal consciousness. The people's representations and their deputies ought to foster such initiatives still more and also any intolerance to damages of public property and to law violations. That creates important prerequisites for a public atmosphere in which the working people can sense their social security and comfort. With that in mind, the State Council in June came out with recommendations which, in particular, direct bezirk and kreis assemblies still more at updating their programs on ensuring legality, order and security by new experiences and at keeping regular controls over the implementation of the measures set down and drawing the broad public into this. Reports on the results of such controls and on the steps taken to do away with deficiencies belong to the regular agenda of the people's representations. That also holds true for status reports by managers of enterprises, institutions and cooperatives on protecting order and security in production, on labor safety and health protection, on preventing breakdown, fires and technical interference and preventing animal losses.

An indispensable condition for resolving all problems and a task of primary importance in political leadership activity lie in reinforcing and constantly deepening the people's representations' relations of trust with the citizens. No management, however well organized, no resolution, however well formulated, makes up for the deputy's personal dialogue with his voters. Talking with the citizens about the basic political issues in our time is more crucial than ever today in the political-ideological work done by the people's representations. "Through persuasive work in political mass activities, the consequences resulting from the intensified political and economic class conflict with imperialism, as they affect the solution of the economic tasks and the safeguarding of peace, have to be made clear."* That includes informing the citizens about economic interconnections and the communal concerns affecting their work and life, ensuring close cooperation between the deputies, the National Front commissions and the local councils, and keeping conversations with the citizens alive. A deputy must be assigned a permanent area for carrying on his political mass activities and must have detailed objective information about basic social issues, priorities in communal policy, and the citizens' concerns.

It is very important to make the work of the people's representations in kreis towns and communities more professional. Considering that two-thirds of our country's citizens live in such localities, it becomes obvious what rank their activities hold, in particular, in strengthening the ties between socialist state power and the citizens and for implementing the resolutions from the party and government leadership. The performance increase that is needed in all sectors, including those of crop and animal production, makes it imperative to activate the public forces in towns and communities. A communal policy of relevance to the citizens calls for the continued development, according to plan, of socialist working and living conditions for the good of the citizens in the over 7,000 small towns and communities as a crucial prerequisite for economic performance development.

Support for the economic performance development from the city-kreis assemblies in the kreis towns and from the communal representations first and foremost means tapping all local reserves for the production of the enterprises and for supplying the population. If the State Council recommendations there refer to a broad palette of measures, it merely underscores the variety of possibilities there are. Such diversification also is the focal point in organizing interesting public and intellectual-cultural life in the towns and communities. The same direction is indicated by our carrying on our communal work. What remains critical is to ensure and further strengthen the people's representations' own responsibility in the towns and communities in all state management matters, including material and financial planning. Given all due to the responsibility of their own--as the State Council recommendations of June this year affirm--mainly such joint tasks in communal policy are to be undertaken through which, by concentrating capacities and funds, the citizens' needs can be satisfied better and faster. Here too, lower costs are to bring a more effective yield for the citizens' benefits.

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*NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 19/20 June 1982, p 5.

Further perfecting the activity of the local people's representations and their organs has a significant influence on making overall state requirements prevail and on ensuring the necessary territorial prerequisites for a stable economic performance growth and the effectiveness of socialist communal policy. Fostering and supporting it constantly therefore is a significant part of our party's political work.

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HONECKER'S BOOK ON SED'S CULTURAL POLICY REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 10, Oct 82 (signed to press 18 Sep 82) pp 1084-1086

["Socialist Cultural Policy--Result and Task"--Review by Klaus Hoepcke, deputy minister for culture; chief, Main Administration for Publishing Houses and Book Trade, Ministry for Culture; of book "Die Kulturpolitik unserer Partei wird erfolgreich verwirklicht" (Our Party's Cultural Policy Is Being Implemented Successfully), by Erich Honecker; published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1982]

[Text] In reading the contributions compiled in this volume in which the secretary general of our party's Central Committee during the 1970's and the early 1980's dealt with fundamental cultural policy problems in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, one keeps meeting the unity of the result and the task.

Even the occasions for some of those speeches remind us to what extent cultural institutions were established during the 1970's that serve the well-being of the people in our country: the Palace of the Republic--celebration at the completion of the framework in 1974, its opening in 1976; reopening of the German National Theater in Weimar--1975; Berlin's Sports and Recreation Center--framework completion celebration in 1980, its opening in 1981. If one adds the New Gewandhaus in Leipzig, Gera's House of Culture and the Potsdam Bezirk Library, one realizes that permanent material cultural values are among the landmarks of our party's successful cultural policy in recent decades.

A basic problem in socialist social policy, in which cultural policy is embedded as an inseparable component, is how with the material, the people's cultural standard of living might also be raised. Comrade Erich Honecker reiterates that connection time and time again. We have since become still more profoundly aware of the key role played here by performance improvement. A growing economic capacity, political stability and a rich intellectual-cultural life are interacting essential features of socialism. Regardless of where a communist stands, he acts in conformity with a realization that stems from the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and that may be formulated as follows: Performance increase through cultural progress, cultural progress through performance increase. Therefore those statements deserve special attention by which Comrade Honecker explains the grown cultural standard of living as of

1980. He points to 6,100 titles published in more than 148 million copies as an annual output of the publishing houses; to 100 million book loans annually from the libraries; and to more than 10 million theatergoers, 80 million moviegoers and over 31 million visiting museums and 3.2 million attending concerts per year. And he recommends further improving the quality and effectiveness of cultural and arts institutions and making a much better use of available means and opportunities (cf. pp 302-303).

With the same power of conviction with which Comrade Honecker discusses the satisfying of cultural needs as a component of the main task he explains essential ideological aspects of our cultural life, like the formation of the socialist nation under working class leadership or the appropriation of our national legacy, most importantly the impulses in the speech that constituted the Martin Luther Committee. He compellingly discusses the internationalist liaison of GDR culture with the cultures of the USSR peoples and those in the other countries of the socialist community of states, and he emphasizes our being open to humanistic cultural achievements from all over the world in the spirit of the Helsinki Conference. Crystal-clear are his words when he says that in our country, building socialism directly on the border with imperialism, we shall turn back the most massive designs for counterrevolutionary ideological impacts and influences by the class enemy as stubbornly as any attempt at spreading hostile ideologies, in artistic garb, aimed against socialism and our party policy.

Among the more recent cultural policy pronouncements from Comrade Honecker, made in February 1982 before the kreis first secretaries, is the idea that the focal point of our cultural policy is the elevation of the cultural level of the workers class and its greater influence on the development of socialist culture and art. Knowing that today there are many and tomorrow there will still be more workers among the readers, spectators, listeners and visitors, is among the distinguishing marks, appropriate to socialism, of the GDR as a land of readers, and of theater, music and art lovers. The trade union groups with their culture and education plans and the FDJ groups and basic organizations can do a lot for it. Comrade Honecker's pronouncements also have implications for other sectors. One may think of popular art propaganda, of more responsibly fostering artistic needs in secondary schools and institutions, or of how the degree of intelligibility in new works might be raised for a wide circle of people interested in culture--and that is a question of principle with respect to the popularity of socialist works of art.

Ideas about raising the cultural level and the working class influence can be found in this book also where it deals with commissions given to artists, with the active intellectual partnership between the workers class and artists, and with the longtime and rich relations between them, or with the concern for a new generation of artists. When one cares that more children of workers and farmers attend a music school or become actors, one makes a contribution to a continuing enrichment of our art professions with talents from the people at large, which then also again strengthens the artists' bonds with the workers class and all working people. Elevating the cultural level of the workers class finally also means strengthening its direct involvement in popular culture.

Comrade Honecker suggests far-flung considerations, not last by that he always discusses cultural issues in connection with the development of public education, science and college affairs, physical culture and sports, architecture and the building trade, and public health and social welfare, without in any way excluding the problems in literary and art policy in the more narrow sense. He pays tribute to accomplishments and takes a position on discussion questions: "Socialist art can and must also assert itself where, to quote our party program, it is a matter of overcoming attitudes that are essentially alien to our socialist social order" (p 306). He orients us to the expectations those have of our art who are accomplishing our work of construction, and he adds a consideration to that that proved extremely fruitful in subsequent discussions: "That requires artistic treatment in the total range of its means of expression that is not only close but true to reality" (p 306). Several times he points to the rank and importance of art work done by the workers class.

The following statement comprises the basic idea of Comrade Honecker's cultural policy pronouncements: "Party-mindedness, solidarity with the people and a content in socialist ideas are and remain the criteria by which the value of a work of art is mainly measured" (p 307). Proceeding from there, he supports the creative search for new themes, contents and modes of presentation, for new forms in which there is much that is novel, surprising or even willful, for a variety of modes of expression, and for promoting talents. He pleads for not measuring a high realistic content and creative imagination of the artists "by the yardstick of style or artistic technique" (p 189). This at once manifests the credo for the substance and method of our party's art policy effort altogether. And it defines Comrade Honecker's personal relations with the arts and with writers and artists. About that the book also provides a vivid impression. See his speech before culture creators and artists of 22 June 1979.

Important for the ongoing art debates also are his remarks about the word of the taboos, often quoted during the 1970 by friend and foe alike. Thrown into the debate first in 1971, Comrade Erich Honecker comments on it in 1979, with an eye to the experiences gained meanwhile: "If I once said that, in proceeding from the firm positions of socialism, it seemed to me there could be no taboos in art and literature, and then added that these are matters of content as well as of style, or in other words that which concerns artistic accomplishment, I can only reiterate that today. We are interested in art and literature that can guide men, through deeply penetrating the present, still more actively toward the future, so he will take a still stronger part in the formation of communist ideals and explore what remains to be done for bringing them to realization. Such art and literature aspirate the greatness of our cause, the achievements performed for it and the human values gained from it. That enriches ideas and sentiments, it entertains and is as vibrant as life itself" (p 224).

One aspect is touched on time and time again. That has to do with the "open, objective and creative debate on how the new object can be coped with better and better" (p 27), with the "openminded debate that leads ahead" (p 63), that profits from the working people's relations with art that is increasingly knowledgeable and combines the need with critical standards, with an "objective debate on principle between likeminded and fellow-seekers," where it can best

be accomplished "to appreciate what has succeeded, provide stimuli for further projects, frankly criticize the less successful and oppose ideologies and attitudes that are alien to socialism" (p 66). The promise is that from that and "from the debate in the associations and distinctive public discussions about works of art" (p 161) we can derive valuable impulses for a further upswing in socialist ralism in the GDR and for the talent and skill of the writers and artists.

Much is made of a high level in literary and art criticism "by which advances in art creation should be clearly spelled out but weaknesses or errors in particular works of art should not be hushed up" (p 226). That presupposes a high degree of political responsibility, of course, on the part of the artists themselves, the institutions that disseminate art and the competent state manager. In preparation for the FDJ culture conference, things have become quite lively here. One must hope that on the occasion of the Ninth Art Exhibit of the GDR, like that of the Eighth a few years ago, the media will come up with conversations about art and life that will be useful in their controversial parts. That would, by the way, also be in line with the further implementation of the Politburo resolution passed 5 years ago on the tasks in literary and art criticism, which called for discussions about our art.

This latest volume in the series, "Studienbibliothek der marxistisch-leninistischen Kultur- und Kunstwissenschaften" (Study Library of the Marxist-Leninist Art and Cultural Sciences) is full of suggestions for our party's cultural policy activities on all levels. Often Comrade Honecker addresses kreis and bezirk managements and advises them to attach special importance to their political-ideological work with artists and regularly to inform writers and artists, through executive bezirk and kreis functionaries, about important results, tasks and problems of social development. In an "atmosphere firm in principle and marked by confident cooperation, which includes comradely and personal relations between the executive functionaries and artists, we shall do what we can in further promoting and in every say supporting socialist realism" (p 174). These are words that should induce every party member to reflect on his relationship with art and with the artists. For the artists, in turn, the book may serve as a compendium of social criteria for socialist creativity that is both close and true to reality.

The revolution in ideology and culture is among the most intricate sides of socialist social transformation and development. The present books assists in better understanding the objective inevitabilities of that revolution. It shows how by conscious concern in raising questions, in requirements, in in critically evaluatingwhat has been and has not yet been resolved, determination and caution have to be combined.

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SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 10, Oct 82 (signed to press 18 Sep 82) 'Resumes' addendum

And Once Again the Call Goes Out "To All ..."

[Summary of article by Eberhard Heinrich, candidate member, SED Central Committee; chairman, GDR Association of Journalists; pp 1020-1025]

> [Text] Peace, more than ever the common good of mankind and the vital premise for its survival in our time, can and must be preserved and reliably protected through the concerted efforts of all anti-war forces. Again and with particular urgency, this warning and mobilizing call from Lenin's land goes "to all." The alternative for imperialist war and power policy opening up for the world in the outcome of the peace policy pushed for decades by the Soviet Union and the fraternal states alllied with it.

Expenditures and Results

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolek, economist, member, SED Central Committee; director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED CC; chairman, Council for Economic Research; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 1026-1033. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Better Cost Analyses Seeen Necessary to Reduce Expenditures," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] Why is a favorable cost/benefit ratio such an urgent economic need? The answer contains not only some essential reasons and the results achieved thus far, but furthermore the sets of instruments are shown by which in the enterprises and combines and also in the other sectors of the social reproduction process the ratio can be decisively improved. A special point is made in this context of the role of cost analysis.

Economic and Ideological Requirements for More Effective Reproduction of Basic Assets

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Harry Nick, economist, research program director, Institute for Political Economy of Socialism, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 1034-1040. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Intensification Process Requires Better Quality Management," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] The implementation of the party's economic strategy requires imperiously that full use be made of the possibilities growing through our scientific-technical progress in including its results in a new way in the reproduction of the extant material-technical base. To what extent do the relations change then between simple reproduction and accumulation? Which modes of thinking and habits have to be broken and which prerequisites have to be laid to turn modernization into the most important form of reproduction?

On Policy and Culture

[Summary of article by Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, member, SED Central Committee; minister for culture; and Prof Dr Werner Kuehn, secretary, Council for Culture, under Minister for Culture; pp 1041-1047. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

> [Text] Our party's cultural policy is an inseparable element of its overall policy which is aimed at the well-being of the entire people. Why does the implementation of our economic strategy demand and promote a high cultural and educational level, social awareness and man's inner maturity? How can the available intellectual and material resources be more effectively exhausted and new ones be opened up to enhance further the effectiveness of cultural life? What are the specific effect potentials of art? Why is it indispensable in the life of socialist society and for making its people-related policy prevail?

West German Commentary on H.-J. Hoffmann Article

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 156, 14 Oct 82 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "SED Admonishes Artists to Be Loyal to Party Line"]

[Text] East Berlin's minister for culture, Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, has emphatically admonished GDR artists to be loyal to the political-ideological line. The further development of literature and art in the GDR, as he wrote in the

theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 10, 1982), essentially depended on "that the writers and artists--mainly also the young ones--identified with our party policy, with the aims of socialist society." The artists should have to stand in the political struggles "on the side of progress and socialism." The high political responsibility the party attributed to art required "that it did not remain indifferent to manifestations of thoughtlessness, ideological vagueness, and to signs of departure from clear, class-bound judgments of circumstances and interconnections, that it refused to tolerate any superficial reflection of life."

Active Party Groups Mobilize the Work Collectives

[Summary of article by Dr Anneliese Bauerhorst, senior assistant, and Dr Hans Buchholz, director, Main Department for Correspondence Courses, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee; pp 1054-1059]

> [Text] Concrete examples demonstrate how party groups are turning into the solid core of work collectives and how the exemplary and active efforts of the communists help fortify the relationship of trust with the working people. The consistent application of our economic strategy, the tapping of reserves and resources, the better utilization of scientific-technical data and the saving of energy and raw materials form the core of their political-ideological activities. How measures are set in the work collectives by the model effect of party groups and of each comrade.

In the Struggle for Daily Plan Fulfillment

[Summary of article by Hans Risse, chemist, director, VEB Tire Plant, Riesa; pp 1060-1063]

> [Text] Ensuring smooth production requires combining rigid management and organization with persistent political-ideological work. Which experiences were gained by the enterprise collective of the Riesa Tire Plant seeking to improve production continuity further, especially by a higher quality of labor, the systematic application of scientific labor organization and the introduction of three-shift labor?

On the Occasion of the Yugoslav Communists' 12th Congress

[Summary of article by Peter Schubert, political scientist, staff employee, SED Central Committee; pp 1064-1067]

> [Text] The balance-sheet drawn up by the 12th SAWPY Congress--the first one after Tito's death--on the

social development of the socialist federation and the requirements for the coming years which confirm and carry on Yugoslavia's domestic and foreign policy thus far. Objectives in the struggle for political and economic stabilization and the party's responsibility as the vanguard in solving the approaching tasks.

Bourgeois Economic Theory and Practice Under Crisis Pressure

[Summary of article by Dr Guenter Krause, economist, lecturer, Economic Sciences Department, Humboldt University, East Berlin; pp 1068-1073]

[Text] Under the pressure from the capitalist crisis, bourgeois economics is forced to increase its search for system stabilization solutions. To a large extent, "neoclassical"-conservative conceptions and practices hold sway there, Reaganomics in particular in the United States. A frankly reactionary social apologetics of capitalism and a glorification of the social function of the "rich," a cynical discrediting of the "poor" and forceful social welfare cuts, and an unscrupulous orientation to maximizing monopoly profits control what these concepts are like. The ills of this obsolete society will not be cured by them either.

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RECRUITMENT OF 10TH GRADE STUDENTS FOR MILITARY CAREERS STEPPED UP

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 15, Jul 82 pp 10-12

['Background' report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Schoolboys More Actively Recruited for Military Professions"]

> [Text] East Berlin and GDR dailies in numerous contributions these weeks point to the training opportunities for 10th grade graduates from general polytechnical secondary schools, both male and female, who are to begin their apprenticeship in September. Compared with previous years, this time they are more actively recruiting the boys for military professions while the generally available apprenticeships are in part more than before reserved for girls.

The example of East Berlin shows how one is recruiting for professional military training. BERLINER ZEITUNG, published by the SED, shows in a 12-page supplement for training occupations--which has been coming out for years--this year for the first time that when thinking about their occupational goals, girls should more consider technical occupations but the boys, especially, careers in military professions.

In presenting military professions, they are pointing explicitly to officers careers, though they are normally only available to graduates of the expanded secondary school or those who have completed vocational training with a graduate highschool degree; 10th grade graduates after completing vocational training may through a 1-year course as officer students qualify for college admission. In proposals for officer careers, they are pointing to various "training profiles," including for the first time the training for political officers. The comment reads: "They are party workers in uniform; their work is devoted especially to the communist education of the army personnel."

As other "training profiles" the following is mentioned:

--At the Ernst Thaelmann ground forces officers school they are training, e.g., commanding officers for motorized infantry units and tank, rocket, artillery and engineer units. That college also is the training institution for commanders and officers of communication units, the motor vehicle service, technical weapons service and rear services. At the Franz Mehring air force/air

defense officers college, they are training future pilots, officers for command organs, of the flight engineering service, radar troops and antiaircraft rocket units. Naval officers and naval machinists are prepared for their future military employment at the Karl Liebknecht naval officers college. Commanders of border troop units study at the Rosa Luxemburg officers college for border troops. And then there still is an Artur Becker officers college of the ministry of the interior for commanders and officers of the Alert Police and companies of the transport police.

Generally, however, 10th grade graduates are recruited for the NCO career or warrant officer training. The contributions dealing with that make the point that the NCO career is equivalent to the master workman qualification in industry. It demands skilled worker qualifications of 10th grade graduates. As an NCO he is trained in a 5 or 10-month course. Then he serves for 2 to 3 years. His training is then continued in an NCO career course of 3 to 5 months at a military institution and ends with his master worker qualification.

Career NCO's have various employment possibilities:

--He may be used as the leader of a motorized infantry or repair squad, master gunner, tank commander, runway supervisor, computer-squad leader, engineering equipment commander, platoon leader in a radar station, on a battle station, on a warship or a boat."

A future warrant officer must after 10th grade go through skilled worker training. The young skilled worker then has three chances to become a warrant officer:

--The first: He attends a 1-month course at an NCO school, at the end of which he becomes an NCO or mate. Then comes the practical work in an appropriate service position. Then he may take the warrant officers course for a year. The second chance is a 2-year course at a military technical school, after which he gets his warrant officer's commission. Finally, and third, he may also study at a civilian technical school. Then he gets a 3-month military course, after which he is appointed warrant officer."

As far as warrant officers' assignments are concerned, the BERLINER ZEITUNG only mentions in its supplement that they are made in the arms and services of the NVA and the GDR border troops in various special fields. Young people who want to know more about military careers, BERLINER ZEITUNG says, should address "those in charge of ensuring military replacements at the secondary schools" or the competent military district headquarters.

Comparable to NCO's are the members of the People's Police who, after similar training, serve with the traffic police, the transport police, in industrial protection, in passports and registration, with the criminal police, the fire department and in the administration of justice.

BAUERN-ECHO has published examples of the pay future career soldiers may expect. As net amounts the paper quoted for
--a squad leader (a first-year NCO, married, with 2 children), M 815;
--a deputy platoon leader (staff sergeant, 6 years of service, married, 2 children, M 1,025;

--a platoon leader (warrant officer, 6 years of service, married, one child), M 1,155;
--a master sergeant (chief warrant officer, 10 years of service, married, 2 children), M 1,222;
----a graduate of an officers college in his first officer's assignment as a platoon leader (lieutenant, 4 years of service, single), circa M 1,185;
-- a company commander (captain, 9 years of service, married, 2 children), M 1,495.

The average gross income for a skilled industrial worker in the GDR was M 1,018 per month in 1980.

When referring to promotion opportunities, one also mentions the furlough career soldiers get. It ranges from 24 calendar days in the first year of service to 46 days in the 16th year for career NCO's; for warrant officers and career officers it goes from 36 to 46 calendar days. For all three groups there also are two Saturdays off each month.

Of the 12,500 graduates from 10th grade in East Berlin more boys are likely to enter the military profession than had originally planned to do so because many training spots are reserved to a large extent for girls this year. BERLINER ZEITUNG says that 22 girls but only 16 boys are trained in men's fashions, in the clothing business there are only two apprenticeships for boys, but 221 for girls. As many as 221 girls may learn to become cooks, but only 108 boys may do so. The post office will employ almost exclusively female apprentices. As many as 704 salesgirls are to be trained, but only 30 salesmen. Among the economic buyers there are 679 apprenticeships for girls and 88 for boys, in the finance business there is a ratio of 168 girls against 9 boys. Even in trades like electromechanic, house painter and mechanic the share reserved for girls lies between 30 and nearly 50 percent. Only for auto-mechanics, airplane mechanics, carpenters and construction workers, apprenticeships go almost exclusively to boys.

No data are given on the total number of apprenticeships for the 12,500 graduates from 10th grade. It is only said that everyone gets an apprenticeship, which does not indicate whether the training spots in the military sector are included in it.

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ENGINEER TROOP COMMANDER SEES CONTINUED EQUIPMENT UPGRADING

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 6, 1982 (signed to press 14 Sep 82) pp 283-286

[Interview "on current problems of engineering support" with Maj Gen W. Seifert, chief, Engineering Service, National People's Army (NVA); by MILITAERTECHNIK editors (date and place of interview not given): "Everything for a High Level of Combat Readiness"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Major General: The growing demands in the 1980's are also going to tax the members of the engineering troops of the NVA more heavily. That suggests our first question: What results have the members of the engineering troops achieved in recent months in dealing with the tasks assigned them by the 12th delegates conference? What are they concentrating on today to achieve further growth in fighting strength and combat readiness?

[Answer] In answering your question I should like to mention first that the assessment of the international situation and the tasks derived from it in further improving the GDR's national defense, as to the SED Central Committee report to the 10th SED Congress, are the basis and guideline for the actions of NVA members, and so also for the engineering troops.

Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, commented on that as follows: "Increasing dangers arise from the growing aggressiveness of imperialism and the exacerbation of the international situation caused by the United States and NATO. Making peace permanent requires of the NVA and our protective and security organs to boost their fighting strength and their combat and operational readiness."*

Never since the end of World War II has world peace been threatened as much as it is now. NATO's aggressive imperialist circles are unscupulously escalating their arms buildup and confrontation policy. They seek military superiority over the Warsaw Pact. Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy minister for national defense and chief of the NVA's Political Main Administration (PHV), in this

*Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED," Berlin, 1981, p 126.

connection, at the 12th delegates conference of the SED party organizations in the NVA and the GDR border troops, called for unmasking the enemy's aims and designs. He called for "bringing all comrades to realize that the NATO armies in the early 1980's are much better prepared than ever before for aggression under any conditions of the situation and after an extremely brief preparation for it."*

I can assure you the members of the NVA engineer units have derived their conclusions from that demand which they apply creatively in the leadership activity and in education and training. For engineering support, the focal point is placed on problems such as
--perfecting the protection of troops and combat equipment from the enemy's conventional and mass anihilation weapons, especially in connection with the introduction by the United States of the neutron weapon,
--reconnaissance and surmounting of barriers of all sorts, and
--ensuring combat operations and troop maneuvers after the employment of weapons of mass destruction.

These problems affect all sectors of military affairs more today than ever.

In implementation of the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress and of the 12th delegates conference of the SED party organizations in the NVA and the GDR border troops, engineering units are seeking a permanent high fighting strength and combat readiness. Those concepts have become the yardstick for our performance capacity. In the 1980/81 training year, the year of the 10th party congress, as well as in the 1981/82 training year, our staffs, troop components, units and institutions have come up with good and very fine results. I only wish to refer to the tenacious and successful work of senior officers in political and military education and training and the close cooperation with the party, FDJ and trade union organizations. We also managed to increase the subordinates' responsibility for the combat and special technology and equipment in their charge. Out of that came many initiatives in socialist competition that led directly to a boost in fighting strength and combat readiness on the part of engineer troop components and units. And then there were other accomplishments like the construction of 800-meter pontoom bridges from the outstanding PMP pontoon park of Soviet design, the construction of command bridges for narrow and medium-size water obstacles at high speed and with new mechanization devices, the advances in the cooperation of all branches with engineer troops for overcoming enemy minefields, and the good and very fine accomplishments in specialized training.

This genuine growth in fighting strength and combat readiness became possible through a target-directed political-ideological work of the superior officers, the political workers and the party, FDJ and trade union functionaries. It became possible through a target-directed intensification of combat training, the initiation of new training programs and other military provisions.

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*"Excerpts from the Report of the Secretariat of the PHV in the NVA to the 12th Delegates Conference of the SED Party Organizations in the NVA and the GDR Border Troops, submitted by Col Gen Heinz Kessler," PARTEIARBEITER, special February 1981 issue, p 23.

The minister for national defense, as you know, has asked for effective combat training with the lowest cost but without any cuts. We have some initiatives and rules for that. We conduct more all-round and other training in field camps. So we can make a more rational use of training tools and equipment, specialized and transportation equipment, and the distances and hours in driving. We have done well here, I must say. But there still are reserves left. Especially on the platoon and squad levels and for crews and operations units. There we still have to learn to think more economically, because that is where the means made available come into direct use. Also the superior officers have to get more training as well as the drivers, machinists and crews among the engineers.

[Question] You are talking about the political-ideological education, a more intensive combat and specialized training and about making the engineers more adept in handling military equipment. How can one meet the growing demands from scientific-technical progress in military affairs and provide the engineer units with better and more effective combat training?

[Answer] That has basically been answered by Col Gen W. Fleissner, deputy minister for national defense, in his contribution at the start of the 1981/82 training year.* On that basis, I shall comment on some specifics in the engineer units.

The revolution in military affairs and its effects on modern combat have also made the tasks in engineering support rise by leaps and bounds, and the time has shrunk for solving them. Mechanization alone can help us do more in reduced time frames. Army engineers, apart from tank units, command the highest motorized capacity per head.

There is not only more to do but what there is, is now more diversified and intricate. The variety of tasks and the high, above-average, degree of mechanization, compared to most branches and special troops, call for further specialization in the engineers' combat training.

Expert control over equipment in combat operations presupposes for the engineers, as it does in all other branches, special troops and services in the NVA, a firm class standpoint and sound ideological discernment.

A reflection of that is, at least that is the way I see it with regard to the accomplishments in engineer equipment, that the engineer troop components and units always came up with a higher operations readiness of their equipment than asked for by the coefficient for technical operational readiness. The troop components that came up with outstanding results were those of Erwin Panndorf, Horst Vieth and Kurt Roemling.

To make combat training better and more effective, however, means above all that training be simulated as much as possible to the warfare conditions and criteria. In individual and unit training, soldiers and units must seek great military skill under permanent stress. No idling or simplifications must be allowed.

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*"Perfect Mastery Over Modern Combat Equipment Requires the Intensification of Political and Military Leadership, Education and Training," MILITAERTECHNIK, Berlin, 1981, No 6, p 281.

The decisions in armed combat, as you know, come from people. So our duty is to train them as best we can and enable them to act with consciousness and conviction; otherwise the most perfect equipment is of little use in modern combat. But for that pupose we also have to have superior officers who know what it means to provide socialist education and training. Most officers among the engineers have engineering diplomas from technical schools or colleges. The number of those that have studied at a military academy and gained an engineering degree there keeps growing.

NCO and warrant officers training and advanced training programs have been revised and the base for teaching has been improved at the teaching institutes. Greater reserves for that still have to be tapped in troop service because for much of the engineering equipment licenses for operating it must be obtained in the troop component or unit. Training documents thus must be in good shape and the courses must be high level. I think it necessary, for working out the methods for solving these tasks, to keep looking at the party resolutions and above all at the resolutions from the 12th delegates conference.

Thanks to our party and the GDR government, the NVA troop components are steadily being replenished with modern engineering equipment. To operate it must thus constantly be learned. The superior officers in the engineering units are heavily taxed because their equipment is so complex in nature. Even engineering platoons have different types of equipment.

That spectrum ranges from optical and electronic reconnaissance devices via obstacle devices and explosives, ground and woodworking equipment, amphibious and river crossing devices, power production equipment all the way to water production and processing installations.

A platoon leader, as that list suggests, must know a lot about the operations and the care or maintenance of the equipment in his charge. And he must be able to pass on his knowledge to his subordinates and train them to handle the equipment on their own.

It often happens in combat that drivers and machinists get detached from their unit and still have to act. For that they must be prepared in time, and they must be trained to exercise their responsibilities conscientiously. The rich store of experience by the Soviet Army engineers always again is a source of strength to us in our resolve to perfect our combat training and in our education and training as such.

Relations of friendship with the Soviet Army, especially with the "engineering units next door," of the GSSD, are a good tradition that has lasted for years. Take, for example, the Boehland pontoom company of the Johann Philipp Becker troop component. That company has had close relations for years with its partner, the company of Captain Sergei Gemenyuk. They build bridges, not only in their comradeship-in-arms, but also in firm friendship, which document the alliance between our two fraternal armies.

The soldiers in both companies know that a war against the socialist community of states, unleashed by imperialism, will face our coalition as a whole. But

they also understand their unit's combat quality greatly depends on the quality of leadership and their training condition. To learn from each other and jointly put up the best they have is one of their principles.

There is another example I like to refer to which confirms the close comradeship-in-arms between the NVA's and the GSSD's engineer units, the Ottomar Geschke troop component. The members of that component met with their Soviet partners for a performance comparison in erecting barriers and positions. Everyone tried his best and showed what combat training had taught him. A subsequent experience exchange served to apply new knowledge in education and in coping with military equipment to combat training in a target-directed manner.

Building friendship bridges and conducting performance comparisons in various fields of combat training are among the annual measures in cooperation with our Soviet partners. Of these traditions we are especially proud.

[Question] Combat training specialization for the engineering troops, as you have said, also calls for a better quality and effectiveness in the technical skills of the officers and specialists. What do you consider important with regard to technical maintenance and repair?

[Answer] The increasing tasks in engineering support can be solved only through well trained specialists and equipment that is kept operational. That makes high demands on operations and use and also on maintenance and repair. Our engineering technology includes hydraulic, pneumatic, electrical and electronic components. Properly running such modern equipment and fully exhausting its performance parameters is possible only for someone who knows a lot and has excellent practical skills. That is true for the drivers or crews and for the maintenance and repair specialists. The point is always to operate in such a way that a high operational readiness is ensured for engineering equipment. The whole process in engineering support has to be prudent and strict, from the combat training to the maintenance and repair, all the way to the planning and ensuring of spare parts.

The various types of engineering equipment must be used still more purposefully and effectively. Maintenance schedules must be strictly observed, and the maintenance itself must under all conditions be of a high quality because that alone will ensure the reliability of the equipment.

There is a very close connection between the technical training for officers and specialists and the quality of technical maintenance; that must be kept in mind in education and training and must always again be reviewed in the troop component, in accordance with distinct requirements.

As a good quality of training depends on a modern training base, modern technical training centers were set up in the teaching institutions as well as in some engineer troop components, where training officers can find the training equipment, tools and documents they need. A complex maintenance of armored, motor vehicle and engineering equipment must be organized in the service stations as well as under field conditions. And the equipment must be kept ready, according to plan and in good time, for the tasks ahead, with its appropriate forces and means. We must strictly abide by the legal regulations and military provisions on labor safety and protection against breakdown.

[Question] In socialist competition, the joint responsibility of commanding officers and enlisted men, of the military collectives and the superior officers, for the wanted growth in fighting strength and combat readiness finds its most striking expression. How do competition and the innovator movement help meet the growing requirements?

[Answer] MILITAERTECHNIK already published some results of socialist competition, especially of the innovator and MMM movement.* In addition I would like to say that socialist competition significantly affects all military life on our staffs and in our troop components, units and institutions and that our accomplishments would be inconceivable without socialist competition and the innovator and the MMM movement. What we have accomplished must, however, be still more extended. It is important, I think, to conduct the contest between man and man, and between collective and collective, more rigidly still and to generalize the best experiences. Experience exchange, the cheapest investment, must be used for eliminating still existing disparities in levels. All army members and civilian employees are to be drawn into the experience exchange because every initiative and suggestion is wanted.

The troop components of Kurt Roemling, Willy Becker, Erwin Panndorf and H. Philipp have come up with good results in socialist competition. Those units conduct the socialist competition and the innovator and MMM movement in a complex fashion. Commitments assumed are publicly accounted for, and everyone must confess whether he has fulfilled his obligation consciously, honestly and with benefit.

The tasks for the innovator movement, as mentioned in the contribution referred to, remain valid for the time ahead. The focal point continues to be the improvement of combat training, especially its material base, and more efficient maintenance and repair methods for technology and equipment. Closely embedded in that is the economical use of energy and material. Good results were achieved by the facilities of Fiebiger, Ehrentraut and Meyer.

[Question] The variety of engineer equipment also makes high demands on the material-technical support. How can financial and material means best be used economically on behalf of all-round engineering support?

[Answer] The variety of engineering equipment does present us with big problems. So already in recent years we have therefore initiated extensive measures for the development of stable foundations for material-technical support. Some rationalization projects have to do with improving transportation, transshipment and storage processes and the storage management in the engineering camps.

Proceeding from the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress and of the 12th delegates conference of the SED party organizations in the NVA and the GDR border troops and from order No 20/81 issued by the minister for national defense, good initiatives have come from the units, troop components, staffs and institutions that deal with an economical and effective utilization of financial

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*H. Tesche and E. Regel, "A Fine Balance-sheet for the Innovators in the Engineering Troops," MILITAERTECHNIK, Berlin, 1982, No 2, p 82.

and material means. What has mattered and still matters is to use available means economically without any cutback in the level of combat training and combat readiness. We must still more effectively plan than we used to the financial and material means on the basis of inventory and consumption norms while paying attention to what we have in stock. Moreover, on the various command levels, inventory norms have to be constantly updated and supplies and reserves have to be ensured and remain greatly accessible.

Also in maintenance and repair, allocations must be used cautiously and effectively. Everyone will understand that scheduled maintenance and repair improve the reliability of the equipment and prevent premature losses, which would normally make for higher repair costs. So also in the future all engineering equipment has to be serviced contractually and on schedule, while the service intervals themselves should be further cut back. That will succeed all the more, the better and more efficiently we learn to involve the ideas of the service specialists and the associates in material-technical support in solving our tasks.

[Question] Would you then, please, in conclusion, summarize the chief tasks of the NVA engineering troops for the 1982/83 training year we are going into?

[Answer] They are set down in the basic documents. Let me, however, refer to some priorities that have to be taken account of in combat training and to be perfected through drill and exercises:
--troop cooperation in reconnaissance and in clearing barriers of various sorts,
--putting up barriers and field fortifications while observing the demands for tactical camouflage,
--establishing routes of march and forcing and crossing water obstacles,
--procuring and processing surface water at high quality,
--an efficient use made of engineering equipment and maintaining its operational readiness with strict regard for the demands of military economy, and
--fulfilling the tasks the engineering troops were assigned in the economy.

I wish all success to the members of the engineering units in solving these tasks.

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AGE FACTOR IN RULING PARTY, GOVERNMENT CIRCLES REVIEWED

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 16, Aug 82 pp 8-13

['Background' report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Age Structure and Term of Membership in the Highest Organs of the GDR Parties"]

> [Text] On 25 August 1982, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED and chairman of the GDR State Council, turned 70. He is the seventh member of the 17-member SED Politburo who has crossed over the threshold of age 70. The superannuation of this body continues steadily, for the membership of those who belong to it ends for the most part only through death. As a consequence, the average duration of membership in the Politburo is also very high--in addition to Honecker, eight full members were represented in it already under party chief Walter Ulbricht (1950-1971). All 17 full members of this most important SED body and its 8 candidates, who have no voting rights in the deliberations, occupy the highest positions in the party and state apparatus of the GDR. In the other GDR parties, too, the highest representatives have in the meantime reached a relatively advanced age, to some extent they still belong to the generation of founders.

The average age of the 17 full members of the SED Politburo is close to the retirement limit of 65 years effective in the GDR--in round figures it comes to 63 years. Already during the past 15 years there was a continuous increase in this magnitude of average age--from 57 years (1967) to 59 (1971) and finally to 61 years (1974). Currently, Erich Mielke, the 74-year-old minister for state security, is the senior among the full members*, and the junior is Konrad Naumann, first secretary of the SED Bezirk administration of Berlin (East), 53 years of age.

There are primarily two reasons for the constantly increasing age curve of the Politburo members. First of all, as a rule during the past 20 years or so, individuals--once they have been called to become members--belong to the

*Cutoff date for all age data is 25 August 1982, Honecker's 70th birthday.

Politburo until the end of their life. Ever since Honecker assumed the leadership of the party, there has only been one exception to this--unwritten rule: At the 10th SED Congress during the past year, Albert Norden, who was 76 at the time and had been a member of the Politburo since 1958, was not reelected. (During the first half of the Ulbricht Era, to be sure, this rule was not yet in effect. At that time several full members and candidates were excluded from this body, for the most part on the basis of the justification that they were guilty of "deviation from the party line."

Secondly, new members of the Politburo are called only when they have assumed authoritative positions in the party or state apparatus, which presupposes a certain age. Thus, for example, all Politburo members currently holding office were already at least 40 years old when they became full members. Only one exception exists in the case of Willi Stoph, who moved into the Politburo at the age of 39 (1953). Eight were between 40 and 49 at the time of their appointment, 6 between 50 and 59, and only 2 were already older than 60 years of age: Heinz Hoffmann (63) and Erich Mielke (69).

The full members of the Politburo--which in its sessions taking place every Tuesday decides on all important political and personnel matters of fundamental importance--in addition occupy the most important positions in the party, state, government and People's Chamber, frequently several simultaneously.

Thus Erich Honecker is not only general secretary of the party, but also chairman of the State Council and the National Council of Defense of the GDR. In the 25-member State Council, which has primarily representative functions and includes representatives of the other GDR parties, another 7 full members of the Politburo are represented, including 3 as deputy chairmen.

The GDR Council of Ministers, which includes more than 40 persons, is headed by 3 full members of the Politburo: The chairman, Willi Stoph, and his two first deputies, Werner Krolikowski and Alfred Neumann. Moreover, the two representatives of the GDR security system are among the full members of the Politburo: Heinz Hoffmann, minister for national defense, and Erich Mielke, minister for state security.

These five representatives of the Politburo in the government--their average age is close to 68 years--show the continuity of the administration of power especially clearly. Four of them have their present (or other) functions in the government already for more than 20 years, only one of them has been in the government for a mere 6 years. More specifically:

--Politburo member Willi Stoph (68) has been the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers since 1964 (with a 3-year interruption, when he was chairman of the State Council); prior to that he was minister of the interior for 3 years, minister for defense for 4 years, and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for 2 years;

--Politburo member Alfred Neumann (72) has been active in government functions since 1961, since 1968 as first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers;

--Politburo member Werner Krolikowski (54) has performed his duties as first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers since 1976 after previously holding the highest positions in the party (first secretary of the SED Bezirk administration of Dresden, Central Committee secretary for economic affairs);

--Politburo member Heinz Hoffmann has been minister for defense since 1960 after he had previously already been deputy minister (1952) or first deputy minister (1956);

--Politburo member Erich Mielke has been chief of the ministry for state security since 1957--a ministry which he helped to build and in which he was a state secretary since 1950.

Of the remaining full members of the Politburo--in addition to Honecker--nine are the highest party functionaries. Seven are secretaries of the SED Central Committee, who see to the actual coordination and control of party work (the remaining two of the total of nine Central Committee secretaries are Politburo candidates).

The oldest among the Central Committee secretaries is the 71-year-old Paul Verner, who since 1971--as the successor to Erich Honecker--has been responsible for security affairs. The secretary with the greatest amount of seniority is 70-year-old Kurt Hager, since 1955 responsible for cultural and scientific affairs in the Central Committee Secretariat. The now 66-year-old Hermann Axen, Central Committee secretary for international relations, has been in office since 1966, and Guenter Mittag (55) has been performing his duties as Central Committee secretary for economic affairs since 1962, interrupted by 3 years as first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. Horst Dohlus (57) has been Central Committee secretary for party organs since 1973; he has been in charge of the Central Committee department having the same name since 1960. Joachim Herrmann (53) has been Central Committee secretary since 1976, responsible since 1978 for the area of agitation and propaganda, having previously been editor in chief of the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. Werner Felfe (54), who last year became the successor to the deceased secretary for agriculture, Gerhard Grueneberg, and previously had been first secretary of the SED Bezirk administration of Halle, has the least amount of seniority among the Central Committee secretaries.

The two remaining party functionaries are Erich Mueckenberger (72), who is at the same time the chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, heads the SED fraction in the People's Chamber and is also president of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship, and Konrad Naumann (53), first secretary of the SED Bezirk administration of Berlin (East).

All full members of the SED Politburo are deputies of the GDR People's Chamber, whose president is Politburo member Horst Sindermann (66), who previously for 3 years had been chairman of the Council of Ministers (1973-1976). In addition, some Politburo members chair important committees of

the People's Chamber. Thus, Hermann Axen, Central Committee secretary for international relations, is chairman of the Committee for Foreign Affairs; Paul Verner, Central Committee secretary for security affairs, is chairman of the Committee for National Defense; Guenter Mittag, Central Committee secretary for economic affairs, directs the Committee for Industry, Construction and Traffic; and the Committee for Public Education is under the direction of Kurt Hager, Central Committee secretary for culture and science.

Another full member of the Politburo, finally, is the chairman of the federal executive committee of the FDGB [Free German Labor Union Federation], Harry Tisch, who has been performing this function since 1975.

Candidate Members of the Politburo

Among the candidate members of the Politburo, too, there has been a steady increase in the average age since 1967. In 1967, it was close to 40 years, increased to 45 years in 1971 and to 49 years in 1974; it now (8 candidates) is close to 53 years.

This increase in the average age of the candidate members is traceable, above all, to the fact that 3 of them have already held their candidate status for more than 15 years. These three candidates were appointed to this function during the Ulbricht-period (between 1963 and 1967). What is conspicuous is the fact that these three--the 50-year-old Guenther Kleiber, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, the 55-year-old Werner Jarowinski, Central Committee secretary for trade and supply, and the 51-year-old Margarete Mueller, director of an agroindustrial association--thus far have failed to achieve promotion to full member. To be sure, they were selected as candidates at a relatively young age--Jarowinski and Kleiber at age 36, Margarete Mueller at age 32--but were forced in the course of time to let a number of coapplicants pass by them who had become candidates at a later point in time or managed the jump from Central Committee member directly to Politburo full member.

In addition to these three Politburo candidates of long standing, this status is held at the present time by the high party functionaries Ingeburg Lange (55), Central Committee secretary for women; Guenter Schabowski (53), editor in chief of the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: and Werner Walde (56), first secretary of the SED Bezirk administration of Cottbus. Also candidates are the 61-year-old Gerhard Schuerer, chairman of the State Planning Commission, and Egon Krenz (45), first secretary of the Central Council of the FDJ [Free German Youth], the first of the Honecker successors as FDJ chief, who in this function was accepted as a candidate member of the Politburo.

Striking is the scant representation of women in the Politburo: There is no woman among the 17 full members; the 8 candidates include 2 women: Ingeburg Lange and Margarete Mueller.

Length of Membership or Term as Candidate Members

The duration of full membership in the Politburo at the present time is over 13 years on the average, while the duration of the term as candidate

members on the average is over 10 years. The high average magnitude in the case of members can be attributed to the fact that the older ones among the Politburo members have already belonged to this body for more than two decades. Willi Stoph, who in his time did not have to serve a term as candidate member during the coming year will complete the third decade of his membership in the Politburo. Erich Honecker, Erich Mueckenberger and Alfred Neumann each have 24 years of full membership, having previously served 8 or 4 (Neumann) years as candidate members. Since 1963--that is 19 years--Kurt Hager and Paul Verner have held a seat in the Politburo, both of them having previously been candidate members for 5 years. The following also moved into the Politburo during the time of Walter Ulbricht: Guenter Mittag (1966, after 3 years as a candidate member), Horst Sindermann (1967, previously 4 years as a candidate member), and Hermann Axen (1970, after 7 years as a candidate member).

In other words, nine of the Politburo members already had a seat and vote in the highest SED body when Walter Ulbricht still stood at the helm of the party. To this group of persons must also be added the three candidate members, Werner Jarowinski, Guenther Kleiber and Margarete Mueller, who had already received this status in 1963 or 1967 (Kleiber). These 12 politicians--in addition to those deceased in the meantime--also formed the core of the Politburo when in 1971 the former FDJ chief (1946-1955) and subsequent Central Committee secretary of long standing for security affairs (1958-1971), Erich Honecker, replaced Walter Ulbricht as party chief, who was almost 78 years of age at the time. During the subsequent years a number of members and candidate members were newly appointed, almost exclusively occasioned by the death of previous members and candidate members and by the fact that the number of members or candiate members was increased. The new appointments in the Politburo involved, first of all, former associates of Erich Honecker from his work as FDJ chief--almost all of them had in the meantime attained the highest party functions--secondly, additional high party functionaries or members of the government, and, thirdly, associates of the new party chief from his work as Central Committee secretary for security affairs.

The first group includes the following functionaries, all of whom were formerly or are secretaries of the FDJ Central Council:

--the full members Werner Felfe (1976, candidate member since 1973), Joachim Herrmann (1978, candidate member since 1973), Konrad Neumann (1976, candidate member since 1973), as well as candidate members Ingeburg Lange (1973) and Egon Krenz (1976).

The second group (high party functionaries and leading members of the government) includes:

--the full members Werner Krolikowski (1971, without being a candidate member), Harry Tisch (1975, candidate member since 1971), Horst Dohlus (1980, candidate member since 1976), and candidate members Gerhard Schuerer (1973), Werner Walde (1976) and Guenter Schabowski (1981).

The third group (representatives of the GDR security system) includes:

--Heinz Hoffmann (1973, without being a candidate member) and Erich Mielke (1976, candidate member since 1971).

In the entire Honecker era, there have thus far been only two discharges of members of the Politburo: In 1973 the then-candidate member (since 1967) Walter Halbritter--according to SED information "by his own request"--was relieved from his functions (he was then and is still today a member of the Council of Ministers and director of the Office for Prices). The second discharge (1981) involved--as already mentioned--Albert Norden, deceased in the meantime.

The Top Leadership of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], the DBD [Democratic Peasant Party of Germany], the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany], and the NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany]

The top leadership of the GDR parties, too, has in the meantime reached a high average age; however, some parties have dissociated themselves from older leadership personnel and replaced them with younger ones at party congresses that took place this spring. But in these parties, too, there is a great deal of continuity among the top leaders; many of the chairmen and their deputies occupy the top party ranks for more than 20 years or these politicians have held high positions in the state and government apparatus, which were assigned to them by virtue of their party rank.

The average age of the CDU chairman and his three deputies is 64 years. Party chairman since 1966 is Gerald Goetting, who is 59 years old today and is at the same time one of the deputy chairmen of the State Council (since 1960) and the only deputy president of the People's Chamber (since 1980), whose president he also was at one time already (from 1969 to 1976). Before Goetting assumed the leadership of the CDU of the GDR in 1969, he had already been general secretary of the party for 17 years (from 1949 to 1966) and thus had already started his political career at the age of 26.

Goetting's deputies are:

--the 61-year-old Wolfgang Heyl (since 1971), who since 1963 has been the leader of the CDU fraction in the People's Chamber;

--the 68-year-old Max Sefrin (since 1966), who for 13 years was minister for health and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers (from 1958 to 1971);

--the 68-year-old Heinrich Toeplitz (since 1966), who since 1960 has been president of the Supreme Court of the GDR.

The average age of the top leadership of the DBD decreased this spring from 71 to 63 years after party founder Ernst Goldenbaum (83) and deputy Hans Rietz (68) retired from the top party leadership. As the new party chairman, the DBD Congress selected Ernst Mecklenburg (55), a deputy until then, who in the meantime has also taken over Goldenbaum's place as deputy chairman of the State Council.

Deputy party chairmen are:

--The 79-year-old cofounder Paul Scholz (since 1949), who for 15 years had been deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers (from 1952 to 1967) and minister for agriculture for several years;

--the 57-year-old Hans Reichelt (since 1982), who from 1953 on was active in the highest government functions in the area of agriculture and since 1972 has been deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and at the same time minister for environmental protection and water management.

The average age of the LDPD chairman and his three deputies is 60 years. Party chairman since 1967 has been Manfred Gerlach, who since 1960 has been deputy chairman of the State Council. Like his party chairman-colleague Goetting of the CDU, Gerlach--prior to his appointment as chairman of the LDPD--was general secretary of his party (from 1954 to 1967) and thus was likewise already at the age of 26 (that is for 28 years) active in the leading position of the party.

Gerlach's deputies are:

--the 57-year-old Hans-Joachim Heusinger (since 1972), who since 1972 has been deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of justice;

--the 79-year-old Willi-Peter Konzok (since 1951), who previously at one time was deputy minister for light industry (1950-1958);

--the 53-year-old Gerhard Lindner (since 1982), who previously since 1966 was secretary of the LDPD Central Executive Committee.

The executive committee of the NDPD, finally, is represented in the GDR party landscape only by the chairman, Heinrich Homann, (71) since the NDPD statutes do not prescribe deputy party chairmen. NDPD cofounder Homann, who--like his party chairmen-colleagues of the CDU (Goetting) and the LDPD (Gerlach) is a member of the State Council since its founding in 1960 in the capacity of a deputy chairman, has been chairman of the party since 1972, but had already been executive NDPD chairman for 5 years prior to that. From 1952 to 1967 Homann was deputy party chairman.

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CSO: 2300/62

ARMED FORCES EQUIPMENT CHIEF ON UPGRADING OF TRAINING DEVICES

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 46, 1982 (signed to press 8 Nov 82) p 3

[VOLKSARMEE interview with Col Gen Werner Fleissner, deputy minister for national defense; chief, Technology and Weapons (date and place of interview not given): "In the Focus of Collective Innovator Work: Simulators, Trainers and Training Equipment--Innovator Collectives of National People's Army (NVA) and GDR Border Troops Demonstrate at 25th MMM (Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow) in Leipzig Effective Struggle for High-Level Combat Strength and Combat Readiness--Planned and Perfected Innovator Work Is Inseparable Component of Socialist Competition"]

[Text] On 8 November, the 25th MMM, the anniversary Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow, was opened in Leipzig. The doors will be open until 19 November. The young innovators of the republic are showing a total of 2,173 exhibits, of which 1,700 have already been used in factories and 250 outside factories.

The exhibit area of the National People's Army, the border troops of the GDR and the civil defense is located on the grounds of the Technical Fair in Hall 4.

Five of the 81 exhibits from the innovators in uninform have been developed jointly with Soviet inventors and efficiency experts. In addition, our brothers in arms from the Soviet army are exhibiting 15 of their own inventions.

One of the many attractions is a piece of training equipment for firing at aerial targets, which was made by a youth innovator collective led by Capt Klaus Bormann from the Franz Mehring Officer College of the Air Forces/Air Defense Command.

On the occasion of the 25th Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow, the representative of the Minister of Technology and Weapons, Col Gen Werner Fleissner, gave this interview to the editors of VOLKSARMEE:

[Question] The 25th Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow is an "Anniversary Fair. How doe you, comrade colonel general, evaluate the development of the fair movement?

[Answer] If I think back to the first Fairs of the Masters of Tomorrow, a comparison between what has been achieved today and our starting point at that time clearly demonstrates the great growth process that our innovator and masters of tomorrow fair movement has achieved.

As the National People's Army developed into a modern, powerful coalition army, while it fulfilled its class obligation, the innovator and masters of tomorrow movement, with respect to both its level and its breadth, developed into an effective force in the struggle to achieve high combat and action readiness on the part of our forces, which all our chiefs, commanders and leaders are utilizing in full measure to achieve our political and military objectives.

Today the innovator and masters of tomorrow movement, as an integral part of socialist competition, is a strong social force that we cannot imagine as not being part of the life of our army.

It has also become a school of socialist brotherhood in arms, because a great deal in the activity of the innovators and in the process of improving efficiency links us with the "regime next door." Not only were technical solutions discovered and substantial military and economic solutions achieved in the innovator movement, but, most important, the personalities of socialist soldiers and combat collectives were formed.

While our innovators participated in the early years in the exhibitions mainly with simple models of technology and weapons, with cross-sectional views of power plants and devices to make work easier in the workshops, today there are many exhibits using electronic components to intensify military activity, to ensure an optimal cost-benefit ratio in solving assigned tasks and principally to qualify and accelerate the process of mastering combat technology. At this point, I would like to stress in particular the active role of the FDJ organizations in the National People's Army and the GDR border troops, which are playing a signficant part in this positive balance.

[Question] Which achievments of the National People's Army and the GDR border troops are represented at the 25th Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow/

[Answer] The National People's Armu exhibit area at the 25th Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow demostrates how the young members of the army, the border soldiers and civilian employees are putting into effect the decrees of the Fourth SED Central Committee Congress and the objectives set by the Minister for National Defense. The innovators in uniform are represented by 81 exhibits, which provide a representative cross-section of the innovators' work in the army. Seventy nine exhibits were built collectively and are solutions taken from the plans of the innovators. To me it seems particularly valuable that it has possible to apply for patents on five of the inventions. Representing many who exhibited their innovations at the unit fairs and thus also demonstrated their creative activity at the Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow, I would like to mention the innovators' collective led by comrade Maj Bernd Scheibner from the army, which developed a trainer for the driver's cab of an SPG [self-propelled gun] in collaboration with innovators from socialist industry.

The value of this trainer lies in the saving of a large quantity of diesel fuel and of operating hours on the original equipment.

In order to make combat training even more effective, to achieve even greater proficiency in technology and weapons, our innovators have turned mainly to simulators and modern training equipment, to increase combat strength and combat readiness, while also taking adequate account of military-economic demands. I would not like to hide the fact that the following is also true in this area: what has been achieved is not what can be achieved. The National People's Army exhibit area at this year's Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow shows that our innovators and inventors have taken to heart the tasks set by the party of the working class and the orders of the defense minister and are directing their activities and initiatives toward making the best of available material means, monetary funds and even the time available to us. The creativity of our innovators, who devote a great deal of their personal free time to the work of innovation, is an expression of their complete identification with the policies of the SED for the benefit of the nation, in the interest of peace and socialism.

[Question] What must be done to shorten the time from the development of an innovation until it is put in practice?

[Answer] This is a problem with many levels. I see the basic premise in shortening the time for transmission and the broad introduction of innovations in planned innovation activity. It should constitute the largest area of all innovations. The following will have to be put into effect as a component of the innovators' plan: planned innovation as the subject of the leadership actions of chiefs, commanders and managers as well as of military superiors who have all the opportunities and authorizations available to them, innovation in the troop workshop, in an industrial operation in our republic or perhaps in workshop of our Soviet friends --all in the shortest possible time. That means the deadlines will be short in every instance, if everyone feels responsible, if work is performed without bureaucracy, if the informational process is developed and if duplicate work is avoided.

The accuracy of the leadership of military superiors is an important factor which can influence this. This means drawing up worthwhile plans, a timely orientation to the directions of scientific development, all the way to the purposeful continuing education of our people.

I see one important aspect to shortening the time of transmission and the broad introduction of innovations into practice in guaranteeing from the outset a high technological level for the innovation. Achieving the best composition of the innovators' collective plays a crucial role. Our experiences show that, when putting complicated innovator subjects into practice, it is practical to bring together both scientific and/or academic and skilled worker caders, who are the most experienced sources for the task of innovation at hand, through the collective innovative work of soldiers, sailors, NCOs and mates, ensigns, officers and civilian employees. It is confirmed time and time again that through collective efforts the mental potential for an optimal solution is multiplied. A comparison of performance revealed that in the first 6 months of 1982 the value derived from planned, collective innovative activity was 10 to 1 better than that from individual suggestions.

Shortening the time from the development of an innovation to putting it into practice is a problem that is intimately bound up with the maturity and the level of the innovation.

In our army and in the border troops of the GDR, we therefore place great importance on the rapid realization of each innovation in the necessary numbers, for each innovator's suggestion that is not put into practice is wasted effectivity and has a negative effect, principally on the creative initiative of our people. Experience shows that in putting innovations into practice and in their broad utilization there is particularly good progress in the units and groups in which the activity of the innovators is a solid part of socialist competition.

Thanks are due to all the innovators and inventors, the chiefs, commanders and managers for the efforts they have made in preparing the 25th Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow.

[Question] Comrade colonel general, VOLKSARMEE thanks you for the interview!

9581
CSO: 2300/74

CHARGE OF SCIENTIFIC DEFICIENCY IN GDR HISTORIOGRAPHY DISPUTED

Historian's Interview

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 2-3 Oct 82 pp 11

['We and Our Times' feature interview with Prof Dr Manfred Bensing, Karl Marx University, Leipzig, in view of the forthcoming Seventh Congress of Historians in East Berlin, 6-9 December 1982 (date and place of interview not given): "Who Writes Our History?" A translation of a report on the concluding speech given at the congress by SED Politburo's Kurt Hager follows this interview. For references to discussions of the same and related subjects see translation of article by Bayreuth University Prof Guenther Heydemann, published under the heading, "Crucial Phases in Development of GDR Historiography Analyzed," in JPRS 82290, 22 Nov 82, No 2078, pp 14-26]

[Text] [Question] GDR historians are getting set for their congress in early December 1982 in Berlin. You together with Prof Rossmann of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism are going to lead working circle II that will deal with GDR history since the early 1960's. This newspaper will report about it when the time comes. The forthcoming event induces us to ask about the connection between history and politics.

[Answer] That is indeed a cardinal question in our scientific work, an old and yet always new question, to us, settled in principle but always again subject of debate. I remember we history students in the late 1940's disputed vehemently about it because some of our college teachers then thought political party bias did not conform with the search for truth and objectivity, and a historian should stand above the classes and political parties.

[Question] Does that still apply today? Prominent FRG politicians, such as J. F. Strauss, have publicly announced that history was not worth anything unless it served political purposes.

[Answer] That is no disguise or hypocrisy but the frank acknowledgement of the fact underscored by Lenin that any statement about history, the image of history, always was of a class character, always served class goals, that there is an inseparable connection between history and politics. The GDR specialists in the FRG, proceeding from "western value judgments," do not blame us for party-mindedness as such, but only for one on behalf of socialism, our purported subordination to the "will and diktat of the SED," from where they seek to cast doubt on its being scientific. Some of them claim they have found

our successes, no longer denied, were achieved against the party and its line. They evidently view reality there through the spectacles of their outdated hopes.

[Question] What importance does the political orientation of the party have to your scientific work?

[Answer] I must ask our readers first to reflect on the following questions with me. Does not in principle hold true for our historiography what Karl Marx wrote in his Theses on Feuerbach about philosophy, that its task was not to interpret the world but to change it? I acknowledge that principle, else my scientific work would be meaningless. Changing the world in the sense of enforcing the objective inevitabilities of social development is in our era possible only on the side of the workers class, through implementing its world historic mission. That provides me with my class position. Our party policy is the concentrated expression of the class interests of the workers class in our country. For solid scientific work it is exceedingly important that this policy itself is based on scientific foundations, on the application of Marxism-Leninism, that it is the outcome of extensive analyses of social processes, and thus possesses a high truth value.

[Question] Would that not apply only to the importance of party policy to contemporary history? But what about older history? Such a question imposes itself in view of the forthcoming Luther anniversary.

[Answer] We could relate your question also to the Marx Year of 1983, which is likely to induce us to look more closely at the relation between politics and historiography in the work of the classic authors of Marxism. It is interesting that always political needs, principally those of the German and international workers movement, decided the choice of historical themes. Engels' dealing with the Mark cooperative or the German Peasants' War was no escape from politics into history but part of revolutionary efforts; in that case it was part of the proletariat's preparing its alliance policy toward the peasantry.

It is important to see how important topical inquiries have been for deeper research into history itself. Only remember the picture Engels drew of the first bourgeois revolution in Germany and his image of Muentzer or Luther. And today we have our party resolutions which help us understand history always anew. The enemy is lying when he claims the party dictates to the historians what has to be true. Rather, it orients historiography to questions that have become ripe for solution, to themes and aspects the dealing with which is suitable to supporting the struggle of the workers class. Historiography is not harmed by following such an orientation, but it would miss its task were it to underrate even for a minute the political character of its scientific pronouncements.

[Question] Does the unity of politics and historiography effect changes in the image of history?

[Answer] Bourgeois historians and political scientists insinuate we constantly revise our image of history in conformity with (political) needs. Our historiography, like any other Marxist-Leninist social science, is a living science containing constants and variables. Constant are the ideological, philosophic

and theoretical principles. And changes do not come arbitrarily but are determined by the course of social development and the class conflict.

Scientific cognition, furthermore, is a process always leading from the particular to a more and more complex views. It also plays a role here that our science is relatively young and the reservoir of historians is not unlimited, and that our task initially was to make a radical break from the tradition concept of history. If they are now repeating their thesis that we are constantly revising our image of history by special reference to the image of Luther and the history of Prussia, it shows exactly the determining role of reactionary policy in bourgeois historiography. In contrast to bourgeois historians writing about the Reformation, GDR historians have from the outset emphasized the unity between the Reformation and the Peasants' War as components and phases of the early bourgeois revolution in Germany and always claimed Martin Luther for the progressive line of tradition. As to Prussia, GDR historiography has come to a point that allows it to turn more to to the history of the ruling classes and to the role of the territorial states in the complicated period of history between the 16th and 19th centuries. That is a most natural process.

[Question] Let us go back to the relationship between party-mindedness and objectivity in historiography. We have defined party-mindedness toward the workers class as an essential condition for uncovering historic truth. Does that then already satisfy all requirements?

[Answer] Being scientific means a historian must control his tools, the methods specific to his profession, and he must work painstakingly. The choice of theses and aspects as determined by working class interests in no way means that historic facts are treated arbitrarily.

[Question] As specialist in GDR history you are dealing with contemporary themes in the broadest sense, aren't you? Aren't there still particulars with regard to the relationship with politics?

[Answer] Contemporary historical research and historiography mean an encounter with events and processes that to a large extent are not completed, with their effects continuing, and in the shaping of which the historian takes a direct part. That makes for a great cultural experience but also for certain problems. Sometimes the lack of distance from events is used to argue that contemporary history can be no science but merely a terrain for propagandists and journalists. But when we look at literary history we find that most of the best work has been done by contemporaries.

Not the distance in time then decides on truth value but the historian's or journalist's class position. Great historiography has always been written through issue-taking on behalf of social progress.

A contemporary historian must of course always be willing to check his judgments if so many new sources or new evaluations call for it. Especially in that respect is the party's political and theoretical work of inestimable value.

Kurt Hager on Historians' Tasks

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Dec 82 p 4

[Report on concluding speech by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for culture and science, given at Seventh Congress of Historians in East Berlin, 6-9 December 1982: "History Sharpens the Eye for Our Achievements--Kurt Hager Spoke About the Historians' Tasks for the Present"]

[Text] "Precisely Karl Marx it was who first discovered the great law of motion in history, according to which all historical struggles, may they be in the political, religious, philosophic or the rest of the ideological field, more or less distinctly express social class struggles." With that quote from Friedrich Engels, Kurt Hager started his remarks on the topic "History and Present Times." But Karl Marx had not only discovered the causes and nature of social transformation but had, as a communist, also been engaged in recruiting and forming the workers class for its struggle against capitalism and for socialism.

Karl Marx As a Scientist and Revolutionary Model

"Marx is a scientist and revolutionary at one; he not only announced a concept of history of dialectical materialism, he also applied it in his theoretical work and his revolutionary practice. That must never be forgotten; it charts our direction," the speaker pointed out in his concluding speech at the Seventh Congress of Historians.

In the whole history of humanity, Kurt Hager said, there had been no other event with so profound and permanent an influence as the Red October of 1917. Today already, hundreds of million of people on four continents were advancing toward socialist construction. That most impressively confirmed Ernst Thaelmann's remark of 1925 that the October Revolution in Russia marked the "start of the greatest revolution in the history of mankind" and that in the future there would be "no significant political phenomenon in the world" that would not be affected by it, the speaker remarked.

In the native country of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels socialism also has triumphed. Under SED leadership, the GDR had become a stable socialist state, the Politburo member pointed out. That made socialism triumph on a territory from which two devastating world wars emanated in this century and where 50 years ago the fascist dictatorship was installed for the very purpose of erecting a dam against any social progress. It remained one of the most important tasks of Marxist-Leninist historiography in our country, the speaker said, to explore and present the magnificent transformation process which our people has undertaken in firm liaison with the Soviet people and the other peoples in the socialist community.

"The socialist revolution had to cope with gigantic tasks and keeps facing enormous problems. It does not complete itself by rendering the capitalists and landowners impotent and by establishing the workers and farmers power. Bringing socialist social conditions and relations to realization, overcoming modes of thinking and conduct shaped through centuries of exploiter rule,

fashioning a consciousness that accords with the new social conditions--all that calls not only for great efforts but for a lengthy historic period as well. As we all know from experience, for resolving many new problems life raises, virgin territory has to be entered and new creative solutions have to be sought." In establishing awareness of these revolutionary changes and requirements, the speaker asserted, our historical science and history propaganda are assigned a priority obligation.

Not Only a Chronicle for Posterity

It was not a matter of recording the history of our socialist fatherland merely as a chronicle for posterity. The history of socialism was aimed mainly at the here and now as it, after all, was the biography of the living generations in action. "It erects a memorial to all those who through the work of their hands and their ideas, under much deprivation and trouble, turned a ruined landscape into a flourishing socialist state. And we remember not only our successes but also the difficulties and reversals we had to overcome. Knowing the tough but successful course of the GDR is a source of justified pride in what we have accomplished and a spur to coping with the ambitious tasks of today and tomorrow."

Thorough research into GDR history was an indispensable prerequisite for spreading socialist historical consciousness, Kurt Hager affirmed. "We need an ever more comprehensive and differentiated picture of this magnificent and yet complicated process rich in conflict and problems."

That, the speaker said, required surveys on the ways and means by which the universal inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and of constructing the new society in our country came to prevail. Thorough research was needed on the diversified experiences of our party and its historic achievements for the good of the workers class and all working people. No diminishing but rather increasing efforts were needed in research and interesting spell-binding history propaganda to trace the whole wealth of our people's creative achievements in GDR development, down to the territories, towns and communities, the enterprises and the brigades. The vivid interest in regional history indicated the great need there is to find out particulars about how our life has changed and who has contributed exemplary and permanent changes.

The speaker then went into detail in discussing our historic legacy and our cultivating and preserving our progressive traditions. "An important spot in the socialist German's national historic identity attaches to the fact that socialism in the GDR is deeply rooted in history. It carries on the best traditions in German history which evolved in centuries of struggle for social justice and an order of human dignity. We are strengthening and protecting socialism in remembering all who, through their productive labor, their intellectual-cultural accomplishments, and their political struggle, advanced social development, who fought and suffered for social progress."

The socialist GDR, the speaker concluded, evolved out of the antifascist struggle and is the outcome of all of German history, of all class struggles and developments, the high points of which were the great people's revolutions.

Progressive Traditions Are Alive Among Us

Kurt Hager pointed out that our picture of our tradition developed as did our society itself and did the intellectual needs of the various classes and strata, so that our concept of our heritage was bbecoming more distinct all the time.

In that sense, the speaker declared, Martin Luther's work was being explored and judged in connection with and as a component of the revolutionary struggles of the early bourgeois revolution. His lasting achievements and revolutionary thrusts were as much being taken into account as Luther's limitations, dictated by the class interests of his era.

Our country's historians, Kurt Hager emphasized, were taking up a clear position against the reactionary forces and inclinations in German history. Thus the German communists and Marxist-Leninist historians have always been asking themselves about the social roots of fascism, about how it was possible for the fascist dictatorship to be established in Germany in 1933. More recent research has further corroborated the basic judgment that the fascist dictatorship is the open terrorist rule of violence by the most reactionary and aggressive elements of finance capital, a variant in monopoly capitalist policy.

The speaker recalled that mainly the communists were the ones who did all they could to prevent a victory of fascism in Germany, at a time when other political forces proved unable to defend the bourgeois democracy or even actively helped destroy it. In this context, Kurt Hager took issue with distortions by bourgeois historiography.

In detail Kurt Hager brought out in the further course of his remarks that it was none but socialism working as the decisive force in the world for social progress and fighting for the preservation of peace. Socialism had proven its vitality in the most complicated situations in history. Thanks to it, mankind did not succomb to the military and nuclear blackmail by the most aggressive imperialist circles. Historiography should have to make evident that the roots of war danger did not lie in technology but in the imperialist system and its aggressive policy. Still more than before the historic lessons and the traditions of struggle against imperialist war and for peace should have to be revealed and conveyed, the speaker affirmed.

In this connection he recalled the Basel Conference of 1912, Lenin's and Karl Liebknecht's fight against the imperialist war form 1914 to 1918, and the KPD's warning: "A vote for Hindenburg is a vote for Hitler, and a vote for Hitler is a vote for war."

Youth Greatly Interested in History

"Historiography is a report on the great achievements of the generations for the progress of humanity, a report of man's creativeness and will to peace," that way Kurt Hager summarized that part of his concluding speech, and then addressed the questions of the relationship youth has to history. He reminded us that many of our citizens have by now grown up under socialism. Many of them no longer recalled the birth of our republic, the 1953 conflict with our class enemy or the securing of our national border from their own direct experience, let alone the earlier phases of capitalism or of the fascist dictatorship.

Many socialist accomplishments have by now become accepted facts of our life, and that is good because it is part of socialist progress. Young citizens especially often can no longer imagine what it was like before the workers class and its allies seized power in our country," the Politburo member stated.

Those facts placed a great responsibility on the historians. "We can assert with satisfaction that considerable advances have been made in recent years in handing on the Marxist-Leninist conception of history to youth. We have many good books written for youth," he said. The great resonance encountered by relevant literary works, movies and television documentaries likewise expressed the interest in history, especially contemporary history.

The capability was growing to depict historic events and processes in a concise and well-rounded manner, in their unmistakable uniqueness. No one would assume, however, that not much still had to be done in this respect, Kurt Hager said. Public expectations of a vibrant and effective portrayal of history, especially those from youth, should be something for historian always to keep in mind in their work.

The speaker pointed out that historical events never proceeded without complications, without resolving the contradictions inherent in them. But social progress and the role of the workers class could be seen precisely in "how the working class party and the activities of the working people cope with these difficulties, and by taking this into account, historiography enhances its own value in forming a historical consciousness and in the communist education of youth."

In his conclusion, Kurt Hager addressed the methodological questions in massively effective history propaganda. He referred to Franz Mehring, who in the preface to his Marx biography also placed high demands on the language and the style. All barenness and fatuity in the presentation of historic events was bad, the speaker said.

Reaching the Hearts and Minds

Along with the historians in our country, it is the school, the home, the youth organization, the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization, the arts and the public media from where we get much independent work in conveying historical knowledge. The veterans of the party and of the revolutionary struggle, many forms in the preservation of our tradition and the museums, Kurt Hager emphasized, play an outstanding role in developing and disseminating our image of history.

"The historians and all who teach history should be aware of how great history's role is today when it is interestingly and convincingly conveyed. Its importance keeps growing because of the magnitude of our social tasks and the intensity of the ideological conflict today. We also should be aware that dealing with history does not do much good until it reaches the hearts and minds. There have been fine preconditions for that in our country for a long time. Much has been done, but much still remains to be done, and done better."

5885
CSO: 2300/91

DISSIDENT WRITER'S BOOK ON COMPLIANT GDR AUTHORS REVIEWED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 7 Dec 82 p 29

['Comments on Books' feature review by Barbara Meyer of Joachim Seyppel's book "Ich bin ein kaputter Typ. Bericht ueber Autoren der DDR" (I am a Finished Person. Report on GDR Authors), published by Limes Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1982]

[Text] "Give an accounting," "confess," "measure the present against the past"-- the guiding thoughts of a whole generation of German writers, who understand their own life's history as part of that other history, that of their country, which no longer forms a whole. "Die Mauer oder Das Cafe am Hackeschen Markt" [The Wall or the Cafe on Hackesche Markt] (1981) is the title of the last novel, rather in an autobiographic vein, by Joachim Seyppel, born in Berlin, which mainly deals with his childhood and youth reminiscences of Berlin in the 1920's and 1930's. The divided city, "the gigantic metropolis on the tumbling ground of history," which one "can saw through in the middle without killing it," also becomes the focal point in the account of the years 1971-1979, which the author voluntarily spent in the GDR. Seyppel sees the stations of his life as a piece of contemporary history: POW in the Soviet Union, emigration to America, 1961 return to West Berlin, after 8 years in the GDR as "GDR citizen" with a 3-year visa again domiciled in West Germany. Courted by both German states, accused of opportunism, finally defamed by one of the two, he had to find out how easy it is to make political capital from his search for national identity.

An open letter to Erich Honecker in the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in late May 1979, in which author Dieter Noll denounced his colleagues Joachim Seyppel, Stefan Heym and Rolf Schneider as "finished persons" who were "eagerly cooperating with the class enemy," which then also was instrumental in their being expelled from the GDR Writers Association, induced the returned Seyppel to settle accounts with the East German cultural policy.

What came out of it is by no means a well balanced presentation. The notes compiled from diary entries, letters, documents, essays and memoirs, attest to the perplexity of their author's. Cynical, polemical, often with the wrong intonation, and using a cheeky and sloppy mode of expression, but committed nonetheless, Seyppel, an insider who yet stands "outside," opens the curtain in front of the GDR's literary enterprise. The Biermann affair and the events connected with that then no longer make the impression of a sudden turn in the cultural policy thaw period but rather that of a logical consequence of a continual development since the Ulbricht era. The revelations about

the sordid practices in votes taken in the Writers Association, the expulsion of authors, the surveillance of private correspondence, the measures taken against uncomfortable fellow-citizens--from house arrest to imprisonment--are known to western readers from similar accounts by exiled members of the opposition. Seyppel's case is only another example showing that even close relations with highly placed personalities of public life do not shield a person from the clutches of the state and party organs.

And then one can read about the streamlined structure and excessive bureaucratism in that culture business an author depending on the publication of his works cannot evade. Almost absurd is Seyppel's search for his travelogue about Turkey, which never reached the booktrade, and which ended up "somewhere deep in Saxony" in a pigsty of a farm.

Seyppel portrays his East German writing colleagues implacably, turning their pictures, as in Hermann Kant's case, into caricatures. Partly getting lost in trivialities, such accounts are suited poorly to a search for truth that takes its clues from Augustine. Even so: This Saul became no Paul, the contender for "real socialism" became no assured champion of capitalist conditions. The attribute of "Janus head," applied to the president of the Writers Association Hermann Kant, Joachim Seyppel also applies to himself. "Was I then a martyr? Certainly not! There were long stretches of happiness in these years!" Inner discord, expressive of the external division of a nation, keeps one from making oneself comfortable hither or thither.

5885
CSO: 2300/81

WEST GERMAN BOOK ON GDR STATE SECURITY SERVICE REVIEWED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 44, 1 Nov 82, pp 68, 70-71

/"Clandestine Services: Strict Line"--Unattributed review of book "Die DDR-Staatssicherheit" (GDR State Security) by Karl Wilhelm Fricke, chief, East-West editorial office, Deutschlandfunk, Cologne; published by Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, Cologne; 263 pp; DM 29.80/

/Text/ A documentation on the GDR State Security Service reveals: Industrial espionage saves the GDR M 300 million annually in research and development costs.

Marion and Peter Magdeburg, a married couple, were leading a contemplative life. They were happily married, merrily traveling all over the country, making a stop in Bremen or in Wiesbaden and on several occasions in Cologne, Mainz and even Bonn. There was only one thing that was conspicuous: In all these cities they regularly emptied certain post-office boxes.

Presumably nothing would have changed until this day about the everyday travel activities of the Magdeburgs, if a hotel proprietor had not suspected them of failure to pay their bill--it turned out that the suspicion was unjustified.

Instead, however, the police discovered another, a hot trail: The post-office boxes for which the couple had master keys belonged to the Federal Intelligence Service, the Office for Bundeswehr Security and three Land offices for the Protection of the Constitution.

For 5 years, until their arrest on 14 December 1980, the Magdeburgs read and photographed the mail of Federal secret services. The two were using a simple steam-producing device to open letters and later they returned them to the post-office boxes. The information was passed on to their employer on 22 Normannen Street in Berlin-Lichtenberg: the GDR Ministry for State Security (MfS).

The Magdeburg case is exemplary for the ordinary day life of German-German agents. There is no other area where the concentration of secret services from East and West is as heavy as in both German states; there is no other area where there is so much and such clever espionage activity as can be found at this boundary between two power blocs.

The most serious espionage cases in recent years--the exposure of Guenter Guillaume, a spy in the chancellor's office, and the change of fronts by Werner Stiller, first lieutenant in the GDR Ministry for State Security--may have been spectacular, but they reveal only a small part of secret-service activities. The giant bureaucracies are continuing their work in the dark, employing tens of thousands of full-time and part-time workers and using secret budgets that amount to several hundred million marks.

The journalist Karl Wilhelm Fricke, chief of the East-West editorial office at the Deutschlandfunk in Cologne, spent 15 years collecting material to shed some light on one of these enormous apparatuses. The result of this painstaking research: the first comprehensive portrayal of the GDR State Security Service.

In Fricke's opinion, the Ministry for State Security--which has approximately 20,000 permanent employees and between 60,000 and 80,000 "unofficial staff employees"--is "an indispensable instrument of control for the SED," a factor of power which, however, does not have any political power itself.

Walter Ulbricht, the original architect of the GDR made sure of it. Wilhelm Zaisser and Ernst Wollweber, the two first ministers of the Ministry for State Security, were turned out of office during the 1950's because they sympathized with oppositional groups which "were using divisive methods to seize control of the SED and the state." To put it bluntly: They were planning to overthrow Ulbricht.

Following Zaisser's removal from office, the SED leader had good reasons to keep any minister of the Ministry for State Security from joining the politburo. Erich Mielke, the chief administrator of the State Security Service has been in office for 19 years when--in 1976--Erich Honecker, Ulbricht's successor, made him a full member of the highest leadership body of the party, the most intimate circle of power.

According to Reiner Fuelle, a top agent who had defected to the West in 1981, the 74-year-old Mielke--who in the meantime has become "completely senile, who signs everything automatically"--took the State Security Service and within a 25-year period he developed it into an omnipresent security apparatus which strictly follows the party line.

The central office in Berlin controls 14 bezirk administrations and numerous branch offices; the 6,000-member "Feliks Dzierzynski" guard regiment is under the command of the Ministry for State Security as is the counterfeit printing press in Berlin-Oberspree, where bank notes are printed to be used in foreign countries. It even has its own choir and orchestra "contributing to the cultural work" in the republic.

The quality is less noble when it comes to the main tasks of the Ministry for State Security: surveillance of its own population. Werner Obst, a former department head in the Office of the Council of Ministers who came to the FRG in 1969, mentioned "more than 70 central letter distribution centers," where approximately 1,200 employees of the Ministry for State Security

("precinct 12") are snooping in the mail from the West. Obst: The Ministry for State Security has an enormous data bank "which includes all private correspondence between the GDR and the FRG, so-called "letter lines." Telephone calls to foreign countries are monitored in the central repeater station of Wildpark, south of Berlin.

For its listening actions, the Ministry for State Security is bound by legal regulations, if it is controllable at all. According to article 115 of the GDR Code of Criminal Procedure--in 1979 it was expanded for this purpose--the recording of telephone conversations is only permitted in cases of strong suspicion of serious criminal acts. At any rate, a confirmation by the competent judge is required within 48 hours.

Along with the internal stabilization of the system, the methods of the State Security Service have become more subtle. According to Fricke, cases of arbitrary acts--toward political prisoners, for instance--have become "the exception rather than the rule." The twofold function of the secret service and investigative organs provide adequate opportunities for the GDR State Security Service to influence unpopular citizens or those who are suspected of divergence.

Cadres, economic and party functionaries who travel abroad are familiar with Mielke's extensive, intricate net of surveillance. A secret directive by the minister states that GDR citizens "are to be watched" also "in West Berlin and in the FRG."

During the 1970's, when tourist traffic rose significantly, the Ministry for State Security increased its foreign activities substantially. FRG secret services estimate that there are between 2,000 and 2,500 GDR agents practicing their trade in the FRG. State Security Chief Mielke praised his undercover agents publicly, saying that the work of these "socialist emissaries" reflects "the very essence of the humanist character of socialist politics."

Preferred recruits for service at the front are "secretaries of 'mature age'" (Fricke). In 1979, when Ingrid Garbe, secretary at the German NATO Embassy in Brussels, was arrested for suspicion of espionage, a short time later four additional secretaries left Federal agencies for the GDR--all of them were working for the "firm" on Normannen Street in East Berlin.

The man who made the State Security Service one of the most effective espionage organizations is the senior officer and head of the secret services of the Warsaw Pact states: Markus Wolf, 59, who for 3 decades has been the chief administrator of reconnaissance. In 1979, following the defection of Werner Stiller--one of his leading officers--his career was in jeopardy. The facts and names that were smuggled to the West by the State Security agent not only endangered dozens of Wolff's spies, they also revealed the intensive involvement in industrial espionage by the GDR in recent years.

At a cost of M 5 million annually, Stiller explained to his new employers at the Federal Intelligence Service, the East Germans save at least M 300 million annually in research and development costs.

8991
CSO: 2300/63

REVISED SCHOLARSHIP, STUDENT AID MEASURES CAUSE DELAY, CONFUSION

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Oct 82 p 5

[Article by Istvan Rethy: "Scholarships: Complications and Solutions"]

[Text] In recent years the most frequently debated topic among students of our universities and colleges has been the amount of scholarship aid and the method of its distribution. Justly so, because before the new scholarship system began full operation this September, the last time a decision was made in this important question was 13 years ago. Prices have completely changed since then, and the faults of the earlier system have surfaced.

The Students Decide

The need for new regulations to increase the amounts of aid and to change the way social assistance is distributed was also approved by last year's KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] congress. After this the proposal of the Ministry of Education, which was prepared in the meantime, was debated in the youth parliaments. Then in the spring of this year the minister's directive dealing with the new system of higher education scholarships was published.

The government raised the amount of assistance at the national level by 30 percent. The ministry developed only basic principles for a fairer distribution of academic scholarships and social assistance that would provide real incentives. According to the new directive, general educational scholarships of 200 to 1,200 forints per month--calculating from an average grade of C-- may be awarded. However, the students will determine how to weigh the results achieved in each subject and how much money to award for the averages.

The basic principle of social assistance is that the ministry provides a certain amount, which will be based on the average of the per capita incomes. In addition, the ministry has specified--for lack of a better way--that proof of income be obtained, that a differentiation be made between out-of-town and local students, and that dormitory and cafeteria reimbursement fees, which would be raised to 75 percent of the costs, be standardized. The additional income will increase the distributable funds.

However, the ministry entrusted the exact distribution of funds to the institutions. Independence for the schools has meant not only much work but also serious responsibility for the KISZ committees at the universities and colleges.

For this very reason the possible alternatives for the rules of distribution at most institutions were already worked out even when they did not even know the amount of the increase in the scholarships the government was going to approve.

The amount of the so-called compensation sum (80 percent of the averaged and totaled per capital incomes) became known only a few days before the start of the new academic year. Thus at the beginning of September the state's organs were not able to pay out social assistance even in the operating areas of those KISZ committees that exercised foresight.

The Data Were Missing

It is easy to understand that this situation caused some dissatisfaction among the students. However, the new scholarship system admittedly required an extreme amount of preparation by the supervisory organs as well as by the KISZ committees at the institutions. Data on several thousand incomes had to be summarized, and the methodological principles for computerized distribution had to be developed. This was certainly time-consuming work. Further delays in payment were caused when the necessary data from several institutions was not gathered until 2 or 3 weeks after the start of the academic year. Thus it was impossible to determine on time the amounts to be paid out to the individuals.

Tamas Biro, secretary of the KISZ committee at the law school at ELTE [Lorand Eotvos--University of Sciences] told us that because of the delay they were first able to make payments on 5 October, even then only advances. They tried to ease the grumbling of the students, which were due in September. In a few days their task forces will also make their proposals by taking into consideration the new viewpoints of who should receive how much social assistance as of 25 October. In addition to the information furnished on the questionnaires about income verification, data from the questionnaire regarding property and assets as well as personal information will be considered. In addition to the basic sum payable after the per capita income of the family, separate amounts are determined for sublet payments or dormitory fees; for lunch, for dinner, and commuting costs, and for siblings and dependents; and even for the self-supported. Biro's opinion is that on the basis of all this information the amount of support reflects the realities.

Received With Satisfaction

One of the things remaining to be resolved in the law school in Budapest is to differentiate between the amount of social assistance for residents of the well-appointed dormitories and for those of the poorly-appointed ones. Imre Nagy, secretary of the KISZ committee at ELTE, told us that the majority of the students accepted with satisfaction the modifications, which at last became final after so much debate and preparation. It has been found that this way the needy receive more social assistance and those with better financial circumstances receive less.

It was possible to measure this satisfaction at the Godollo University of Agricultural Sciences sooner than at other institutions because of the better

disciplined start of the academic year and because of the fact that most students live in dormitories made it possible to make payments in late September. Laszlo Guth, the secretary of the KISZ committee, informed us that the students who participated in developing the distribution system and the workers in the dean's office, which volunteered to supply the data and do the calculations, worked day and night during the first days of the academic year for the preparations. Because of this effort, they were able 2 weeks later to entrust the entire distribution of social assistance to the student groups. Their experience demonstrated that there is no problem of distribution in those groups which had the courage to take on the problem of differentiation, a problem that at times involves personal battles. But where the remaining sums were distributed the easier way, that is, in proportion to the number of people, nobody receives the 30-percent raise. Members of the KISZ committee feel that the easier way is the wrong solution, but it does not interfere in the study group's decision. But they do provide the opportunity for these groups to modify their ideas later. The students at Godollo University also accept the scholarship system that has been made flexible and fair.

Ivan Szandtner, secretary of the university and college council, which operates alongside the KISZ KB [Central Committee], summarized the experiences of the modification--available to them at this time--on our request:

"Of course, we do not yet have accurate information, but indications are that those studying in higher education were reassured by the fact that their opinions and suggestions were not only heard but also used. The new opportunities have made the assistance more circumspect and more realistic and have improved the democratic atmosphere of the institutions. The political responsibility of the KISZ committees has also increased. They must thoroughly prepare themselves to supervise the distribution system of scholarships and social assistance and possibly to make modifications."

And the students, and KISZ, the political organization of youth, will again have a role to play in this.

8584
CSO: 2500/18

GOVERNMENT PRESS SPOKESMAN SCORES REAGAN-KOHL 'COMMUNIQUE'

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-21 Nov 82 p 7

[PAP declaration by government press spokesman on "communique" published after the official visit by FRG Chancellor Kohl to the United States]

[Text] The government of the Polish People's Republic has with surprise become acquainted with the communique published after the completion of FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl's official visit to the United States. Several excerpts of this document are glaringly inconsistent with declarations made on other occasions concerning readiness to improve East-West relations, and also place the sincerity of these declarations in question.

The communique reveals, i.e., that the President of the United States and the FRG Chancellor have recognized each other as qualified to express opinions on the internal affairs of Poland. This constitutes still another example of interference in our affairs, and of the violation of the principles of the CSCE Final Act, which they are so willing to cite. They have with striking obstinacy striven to ignore the positive changes taking place in Poland, changes which are aimed at realizing important socioeconomic reforms and national accord on the basis of the legally binding Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. They are repeating yet another variation of the familiar formula which makes the development of bilateral relations contingent upon the fulfillment of certain conditions, and thus are pretending to issue instructions on how Poland should resolve its internal affairs.

The government of the Polish People's Republic categorically rejects this latest manifestation of arrogance and interventionism.

The accusation that the situation in Poland is having a negative impact on the building of security and cooperation in Europe sounds cynical. It is not Poland which is the source of the trouble. The cause of the trouble is the imperialist policy of the United States, which aims to change the balance of forces in Europe and the world, and also to play on Polish affairs toward this end, which is apparently supported willingly and obligingly by the new government of the Federal Republic of Germany. The Polish people and the peoples of Europe know and remember history. No one has the right to set Poles against one another and impair the foundations of Europe's security, which is unequivocally affirmed in the CSCE Final Act.

In light of this communique, it becomes even more evident that the so-called Polish problem is being used as a screen for promoting the arms race and imposing a "new American-West German order" on Europe. It is also clear that, with the help of declarations of this sort, the attempt is being made to divert public opinion from one's own embarrassing domestic problems.

Poland will not deviate from its chosen path and will not bow under pressure. We will resolve our affairs in accordance with the most vital interests of the Polish people and the Polish state.

It is high time that both of these states adopt a realistic attitude toward Poland, in the interest of bilateral relations and in the name of peace in Europe.

CSO: 2600/145

ILIE CEAUSESCU'S VIEW ON DEFENSE OF 'HISTORIC TRUTH' HAILED

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 19 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Liviu Borodi: "An Obligation To Defend the Truth"]

[Text] We often read, with interest, articles of great value and importance published in reviews which, addressing themselves to a limited public or a certain speciality (occupation), have a rather limited circulation although they might deserve general attention. We find such articles in VIATA MILITARA, the illustrated review of literature and art published by the Ministry of National Defense, the Higher Political Council.

In the most recent issue (October 1982), Major General Dr. Ilie Ceausescu discusses a very timely issue--objective truth, a basic condition for any historical work--stressing a number of criteria which motivate the research of historians of good faith and stigmatizing the attempts of voices which are as self-seeking and deplorable as they are insistent "to falsify the truth in the history of these parts of the world."

Respect for this truth makes the Romanian historians show special concern for ensuring that their attitudes contribute to understanding and cooperation with all peoples of the world, on the basis of the thesis so full of humanism of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the party, that "the profoundly objective presentation and the just, correct, and high-principled interpretation of historic data and facts are of essential importance in eliminating the sources of lack of confidence and animosity created over the years among peoples'."

The article analyzes thoroughly the way in which, under present conditions when the struggle to divide the world into spheres of influence and domination is being manifested with particular acuteness, history is being used by some people--through falsehoods and distortions--for imperialist purposes, contrary to the interests of the peoples; "frequent attempts are made to present the history of imperialist and colonialist domination, the policy of oppression and plunder of other peoples, promoted for centuries, as progressive manifestations which have supported the development of the oppressed peoples. The dismembering of some states, the arbitrary dividing of some peoples are presented as expressions of historic necessities, and the results of such artificially created situations are theorized and interpreted as a natural process involved in the formation of distinct nations."

Such approaches--which are not only in contempt of the reality of the facts but are also profoundly in conflict with the materialistic-dialectical concept--also appear in the journalism of some countries in regard to the history of the Romanians (the theory of the demographic vacuum"; the assertion about the "immigration" of the Romanian people from the south of the Danube; the alleged formation of "two distinct Roman peoples" in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area; "justifications" of a socioeconomic nature for the well-known territorial ruptures imposed on the Romanian people over the centuries; the so-called "imperialist nature" of the participation of Romania in World War I; the belittling of the efforts made by the Romanian people and of their sacrifices in the struggle against fascism and for the defeat of the Third Reich.)

The author considers, with good reason, that such materials "show a nostalgia for times past or a desire to perpetuate current advantageous situations which have nothing in common with the spirit of ethics and equity which should characterize international relations;" they represent a "flagrant violation of moral and scientific principles" and cannot contribute to "the cause of friendship and active cooperation among peoples."

The article states that, under such circumstances, animated by the most correct and most noble sentiments and aspirations, "historians in our country are, at the same time, justified in defending and obliged to defend the truth about the past of their people from slanderous defamations, regardless of from whom they might come."

CSO: 2700/60

BRIEFS

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that: Comrade Marin Maroiu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of transportation and telecommunications; Comrade Alexandru Dobre is appointed deputy minister of transportation and telecommunications; Comrade Nicolae Vaidescu is appointed deputy minister of the machine-tool, electrical engineering and electronics industry; Comrade Alexandru Bertalan is relieved of his position as secretary of the executive committee of the Harghita Peoples Council; Comrade Dominic Varro is appointed secretary of the Harghita County Peoples Council: Comrade Alexandru Robu is appointed secretary of the executive committee of the Timis County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 103 13 Nov 82 p 8]

PEOPLES COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Dumitru Berinde is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Bihor County Peoples Council; Comrade Stefania Stanescu is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Olt County Peoples Council; Comrade Todor Trifan, director general of the General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry in Cluj County, is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Cluj County Peoples Council; Comrade Ladislau Lado, director general of the General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry in Harghita County, is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Harghita County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romania Part I No 103 13 Nov 82 p 9]

PERSONNEL CHANGES IN LIGHT INDUSTRY--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Laurean Tulai is relieved of his position as minister state secretary in the Ministry of Light Industry, receiving other tasks. Comrade Constantin Bostina is appointed deputy minister of light industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romania Part I No 107, 22 Nov 82 p 3]

APPOINTMENT IN BIHOR--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Laurean Tulai is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Bihor County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romania Part I No 107, 22 Nov 82 p 3]

APPOINTMENT IN TULCEA--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Barbu Poescu is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Tulcea People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 102, 10 Nov 82 p 3]

PEOPLES COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that: Comrade Ioan Vlad is delegated to fill the position of first deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Vaslui County Peoples Council, Comrade Constantin Petre is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Prahova County Peoples Council and Comrade Mihai Benea is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the Satu Mare County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romania Part I No 102, 10 Nov 82 p 3]

CSO: 2700/58

WEST GERMAN COMMENT ON SITUATION IN CROATIA

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 26 Nov 82 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Difficult Times for Croatia--Political Repression, Foreign Debts, Power Struggles"]

[Text] Zagreb, November 1982--For more than a year now, four prominent intellectuals tried for alleged nationalist utterances have been in prison--the writer Vlado Gotovac, the historian and former general Franjo Tudjman; the former economics professor and deputy Marko Veselica and the theology student Paraga. They were sentenced in partly questionable circumstances. In some cases the police had used material taken from foreign correspondents. The prisoners, with one exception, are interned in the Lepoglava Penitentiary. They are being subjected to poor treatment and chicanery. As political prisoners, they all belong to group C, which does not have any privileges. Tudjman, in addition, is seriously ill. In Croatia the imprisonment of these people is increasingly being felt to be absurd, and this extends far into political circles. The general opinion in Zagreb is that if Serbian intellectuals expressed themselves similarly concerning Serbian interests as Gotovac or Tudjman did concerning Croatian interests, they would be getting a literature prize in Belgrade, whereas in Croatia they would be sent to prison.

Indeed it appears that to an increasingly pronounced degree there are "positive" and "negative" peoples in Yugoslavia. On the "negative" side, right after the Croatians, there are the Albanians. In the 10 years since Tito's intervention against the Croatian leadership of that time, it has evidently not been possible to find in Zagreb a new political leadership team which might engender respect and again instill in the Croatian Republic or the Croatian people an identity and a natural relationship with their traditions. True, the rotation in May caused some improvements in the climate, with the fierce Serbian Milutin Baltic stepping into the background and the former head of the republic Jakov Blazevic being retired after, in his last year in office, for good measure having instigated serious conflicts with the Catholic Church. The onetime prosecutor in the trial of Stepinac, the Zagreb archbishop during the war and the postwar period, Blazevic is going around today accusing the Polish pope of Italian irredentism, extolling the "revolutionary" Khomeyni and reviling Iraq, the country supplying Yugoslavia with oil. For scores of years, people like Blazevic have been able to exercise a significant influence on important concerns in Yugoslav internal affairs--such as relations with the church.

The new leading political team in Zagreb--in the lead, party chief Jure Bilic and former Foreign Minister Josip Vrhovec, who has come back and is now an important member of the party presidium--is already invovled in a power struggle over the succession to Bakaric, who is seriously ill and is hardly seen in public any longer. Bakaric represents Croatia both in the presidium of the Yugoslav state and the presidium of the party. While the new people apparently realize that Croatia's communists one day will have to free themselves of their disturbed relationship toward the Croatian-nation phenomenon as well as the police state atmosphere prevailing in the republic, they are not getting very far as yet. It is said that Bilic privately called on Croatian authors to do something for people like Gotovac and Tudjman, saying that as representative of the party he could not do much and suggesting that they should turn to the new government. The new head of the government, Cvetkovic, on the other hand, is said to have refused for 2 months to receive a delegation of the authors for the only reason that this will make it unnecessary for him to take a stand on the delicate question.

Stipe Suvar, former minister education of the republic who had cuased a great deal of confusion with his educational reform, managed to get some satisfaction in the new climate. In his present position as the party's chief ideologist, he was at long last after all given a position of professor of sociology at the university. Previously the professors of the university, apparently dominated by an alliance of so-called nationalists and supporters of the leftist "Praxis" group, had rejected him. Sarcastically, the faculty gave as the reason for admitting Suvar the fact that it wanted to follow its old tradition of admitting "dissenters" to their ranks. The party press did not dare make this reasoning public. This affair shows that there are also signs of courage in Croatia. Another positive phenomenon is the journal DANAS, which wants to follow the Belgrade NIN and writes fairly openly about economic problems. It has already been attacked several times by leading official of the republic.

In economic respects the leadership in Zagreb represents the interests of the republic better than in the political field. This time it was not the Slovenes but the Croatians who in the Federal parliament offered the main resistance against some particularly unsatisfactory aspects of the new economic measures, including the 5,000-dinar limit for trips abroad. In the disputes about areas of responsibility which followed the decisions, the Croatian government is even said to have threatened to resign. Croatia furnishes the main contingent of Yugoslav workers abroad. On the other hand, Croatia is also the republic which incurred the most so-called short-term obligations in foreign currency and is now suffering from this. The short-term and medium-term indebtedness, on the one hand, resulted from tourism but, on the other hand, according to party chief Bilic, from the fact that Croatia, being the republic with the most important port for importing oil, the most important refinery and the biggest Yugoslav company for the sale of fuel--INA--always had to advance the needed foreign currency for the importation of oil, while the other republics were in no hurry at all to reimburse it. The Privredna Banka in Zagreb, because of these obligations, had to be saved from collapse with the help of other banks and the central bank.

Croatia is, however, also a republic with particularly massive bad investments, for which the present leadership team tries to deny, but also should bear,

responsibility. The beauxite plant in Obrovad, in the hinterland of Zadar, built at one time at enormous expense and considered by many Croats a special effort in behalf of the Serbian minority living there, will have to be closed down and liquidated. Likewise the construction of the petrochemical works on Krk will probably have to be stopped. Perhaps in order to divert attention from these failures, the leadership engaged in its action of arresting six directors and high-ranking employees of the oil company INA, with a seventh managing to escape abroad. This too turned out to be a failure in that it could not be shown that those arrested had done any wrong. The whole thing is threatening to turn into a scandal for the police and leadership.

The unsatisfactory political conditions in Croatia continue to leave the Catholic Church in its only partly desired role of guardian of national traditions. While the direct polemics of the government have leveled off somewhat compared with last year, the role of the church in Croatian society now appears to have been established more firmly than ever. Its inflexibility, occasionally described as stubbornness by certain observers, evidently, because it is a question of a fundamental long-term confrontation, has paid off. Perhaps, it is hoped, the pope will attend the Eucharistic Congress in Bistrica in 1984.

There are also problems apparent in the church, however. It is said that the so-called Theological Society of the Christian Present, an organization of so-called "progressive" priests, which also runs a publishing house and thus is also organized on a secular basis, in accordance with a decision of the Yugoslav Bishops Conference is to be pushed aside once for all. This decision, which however can be implemented only by the bishops individually and as they see fit themsleves, may have been contributed to both by the papal condemnation of the so-called priests of peace of last March and by certain nervous utterances by Sagi-Bunic, the effective head of the "Theologial Society." It is being said among the bishops that it can no longer be tolerated that the regime and its press can constantly draw ammunition for attacks against the church hierarchy from utterances by members of the Theologian Society.

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